GUIDE TO THE NV9 TZELTAL FILE

[The Tzeltal are an American Indian ethnic group concentrated in the central highlands of the State of Chiapas, Mexico. Contiguous Indian groups are the Tzotzil to the west, the Chol to the north and northeast, and the Tojolabal to the southeast. However, the basic population cleavage in the Chiapas highlands is between the Ladinos (Spanish-speaking, usually racially mixed people) who occupy primarily the major towns, and the Indians who live primarily in outlying municipios (cf. Evon Z. Vogt, "Chiapas Highlands," in Robert Wauchope, ed., Handbook of Middle American Indians, Vol. 7, 1969, pp. 133-34, map on p. 136, p. 137).

The Tzeltal and Tzotzil languages form the Tzeltalan subdivision of the Mayan language family. Lexicostatistic studies indicate that these two languages probably became differentiated around 1200 A.D. (cf. Vogt, 1969, p. 140).

The Tzeltal-speaking population numbered approximately 50,000 in ca. 1950. This population is distributed through twelve municipios with thirteen main communities. Of the latter, nine are almost entirely Indian (i.e. reported to be over 85 per cent Tzeltal-speaking): Aguacatenango, Amatenango, Cancuc, Chanal, Chilon, Oxchuc, Tenejapa, Petalcingo, and Sitala. The other four communities are about 65 to 80 per cent Tzeltal-speaking: Altamirano, Ocosingo, Villa de las Rosas, and Yajalan (cf. 4: Villa Rojas, pp. 195-96; Vogt, 1969, p. 139).

Ecologically, the Tzeltal region divides into three zones: north, central, and south. Some demographic and cultural variations coordinate with these zones. More fundamentally, however, each Tzeltal community constitutes a distinct social and cultural unit. "Each community has its well-defined lands, its own dialect forms, wearing apparel, kinship system, politico-religious organization, economic resources, crafts, and other cultural features" (4: Villa Rojas, p. 197). Strong intra-community solidarity contrasts with the lack of any social or political solidarity at the ethnic group level.

Basic food sources consist of maize, beans, chile, and squash, supplemented by manioc, sweetpotato, potato, chayote, chickens, and pigs (4: Villa Rojas, pp. 202-203).

All of the Tzeltal communities follow an essentially similar structural pattern, with a town center which may be heavily or thinly populated, and a number of communities, called parajes, which are scattered over the municipio. The town is the political, religious, and commercial center of the entire community. The town centers are divided into two sections, called barrios or calpules, each with its own local authorities and sometimes its own patron saint. In addition to political and religious functions, each barrio traditionally was endogamous (4: Villa Rojas, pp. 203, 205).

Other major aspects of traditional Tzeltal social organization which persist today in the more conservative communities include exogamous patrilineal sibs, patrilineal lineages within which land is inherited, and an Omaha

type kinship terminology. In the more acculturated communities the sib-lineage system tends to disappear and to be replaced by a bilateral system similar to that characterizing Ladino society. Although there are some extended families, the nuclear family is the basic pattern (4: Villa Rojas, pp. 213-16).

Nine sources, all by ethnologists, have been processed for this file. Except for one translation from Spanish (1: Guiteras Holmes), all of the sources are in English. The basic sources are 7: Nash and 8: Hunt, but 4: Villa Rojas contains an excellent general summary of Tzeltal ethnography and culture history, which provides a very useful starting point for the study of Tzeltal culture.

Nash's field work covered a period of 18 months during five field trips in the years 1957-58, 1964-67, and was concentrated in the municipio of Amatenango del Valle. 7: Nash is a study of socio-cultural change in Amatenango, focusing on the economy, political leadership, religion, and relationships with the Ladino population and the Mexican government. 3: Nash provides a very interesting analysis of 37 homicide cases which occurred between 1938 and 1965 in the fictitiously named town of "Teklum." 9: Nash is a structural-functional study of the change of officials in the community of Tzoʔontahal.

8: Hunt is a Ph. D. dissertation based on field work in 1958. Hunt focuses on an analysis and comparison of domestic group organization and process in the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango. 6:

Metzger is also a dissertation based on field work in Aguacatenango, but concentrates on a narrower study of ceremonial drinking patterns.

The earliest source is 5: Blom and LaFarge, which presents detailed descriptions of aspects of material culture obtained during an expedition through the Chiapas highlands in 1925. 2: Redfield and Villa Rojas is a generalized account of community organization and cultural patterns derived both from the literature and a short period of field work (ca. 1 month) by Villa Rojas in 1938.

Finally, 1: Guiteras Holmes is a short article analyzing the unilineal kin groups and kinship terminology in the town of Cancuc. Data were gathered during two short field trips totaling about three months in 1945 and 1946.

Generally, this is a good file as it now stands, but a number of major sources which have yet to be included should also be consulted by the researcher.]

Processed in 1969-1971

File Guide prepared in 1974
by Robert O. Lagace

614 /1/ Cancuc is a Tzeltal town of Chiapas, Mexico, whose
[101] social organization is based on exogamous patrilineal clans.
[176] These clans are intimately related to: 1) the nagual or guardian
[551] spirit, which is given the name of lab among the Indians of this
[613] region; 2) the native surnames that constitute the lineages within
[621] the clans; 3) the "barrios," as the Spanish chroniclers called the endogamous tribal subdivisions (called calpulli among the Aztecs and culibal in Cancuc); 4) the kinship system; and 5) the behavior.

614 All the individuals belonging to a clan consider themselves
601 "legitimate siblings" /Sp. "hermanos legítimos"/, using the terms that designate this class of relatives. This theoretical consanguineous kinship is expressed by means of the word chapomal -- a Cancuquero /a person from Cancuc/ calls another "brother" be-
614 cause he is his chapomal. This form of usage is indicative of
601 common ancestry, something that we were not able to clarify, as
124 our questions on this point only received answers that showed that
829 they had lost any notion of a real or mythical ancestor. Our informants invariably explained this situation with the expressions: "it is the custom," "San Juan /Saint John/ (Patron Saint of Cancuc) ordered it so," or "it was ordered by Manuel (God)." What does constitute a clear concept in the minds of all is that "formerly" each clan lived in a cave, from which its members went out in the form of human beings to populate the earth and in which lived the naguales, or lab, that bound them to their place of origin.
[775] The soul came back to this cave after death. There are as many caves as the number of clans.

614 The children belonged to the paternal clan. A woman who marries does not become a member of the clan of her husband.

/2/ Exogamy is strictly respected; persons belonging to the same clan never marry each other.

[591] The clans are not local, as their members live in all of the places and rancherías.

[178] At present the clans lack chiefs, this institution having dis-
[669] appeared about 30 years ago, according to all our information, when the zone that we are studying underwent a chaotic period due to political revolts.

/16 cont./

two women belonged to the same clan, and in the other two they were women from two different clans. The levirate and sororate exist, but do not constitute a custom practiced /17/ by many; formerly it must have been more frequent, as is proved by the fact of designating the stepfather and stepmother by the same terms used for the father's brother and mother's sister, respectively, and the stepchildren as nephews and nieces. There are several cases of marriage between brother and sister of one clan and sister and brother of another clan. Marriage between cross-cousins is frequent, especially that of a man with the daughter of the mother's brother. Husband and wife always belong to the same generation.

Residence is patrilocal, with temporary matrilocal residence for a year after marriage.

There still prevails the custom that those who intercede in a direct manner in the preparation of the cadaver and in the inhumation must be members of a different clan. If a married woman who has not had children dies, she is buried with her relatives, without the intervention of her husband.

The members of one and the same clan co-operate among themselves and lend each other mutual aid; the younger people obey and respect their elders in the same way that a younger brother respects and obeys his older brother. And we have stressed how "sorcery" is practiced only within the limits of the clan as a means of social control.

Mexico City,
Mexico

Note: The materials for the present study were collected during two seasons of field work: May-June, 1945, and June, 1946, financed by the University of Chicago, Instituto Nacional de Antropología de México, and Government of the State of Chiapas.

NOTES ON THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF TZELTAL COMMUNITIES OF CHIAPAS

In February and March of 1938, Alfonso Villa Rojas made an ethnological reconnaissance of Tzeltal settlements in northeastern Chiapas, Mexico. The work was done under the auspices of Carnegie Institution of Washington as a guide to the planning of more intensive field work. San Cristobal de las Casas, where Mr. Villa arrived on the first of February, served naturally as a base. A short trip was taken to Teopizca and Amatenango, and a second to visit the ruins of San Gregorio[1] and the village of Chanal. On the fourteenth of that month, Mr. Villa started northward from Las Casas, visiting fifteen Tzeltal settlements, and then entered Chol country at Tila and left Chiapas by airplane from Salto de Agua. 101- 114 [122]

In Mexico City Mr. Villa was provided with a letter of introduction from Ing. Ignacio Marquina, head of the Department of Prehistoric Monuments, of the Secretariat of Public Education. In Tuxtla Gutierrez the Governor of Chiapas, Ing. Efrain Gutierrez, received Mr. Villa and heard from him explanation of Mr. Villa's interests and purposes. Mr. Frans Blom had given Mr. Villa a letter of introduction, but the person addressed was not in Las Casas when Mr. Villa arrived. In Las Casas Mr. Villa received great help from Don José Villanueva. To all these persons who extended kindness and help, grateful acknowledgment is made. Dr. Ruth Bunzel kindly wrote information on the region to Mr. Villa before he began his journey. 122

The Tzeltal communities, given in the order in which they were visited and with indication of the length of time spent in each, were as follows: Amatenango (2 days), Chanal (2 days), Tenejapa (3 days), Cancuc (1 day), Oxchuc (5 days), San Martin (1 day), Tenango (2 days), Sivacá (1 day), Ococingo (6 days), Bachajón (2 days), Citalá (2 days), Guaquitepec (2½ days), Chilón (2 days), Yajalon (2 days), Petalcingo (½ day). 114 103

These villages have been the locus of a number of Indian uprisings,[2] and disturbances have occurred recently, in 1914, 1917, and 1930. Therefore the inhabitants of Spanish culture (Ladinos) are not infrequently uneasy. In Cancuc and Oxchuc Mr. Villa's work was impeded by a revival of this uneasiness, the Ladinos fearing that the celebrations of the carnival season might lead the Indians to acts of violence. With this exception, however, Mr. Villa found the Indians accessible and conditions of work favorable. The information reported herein was obtained in almost every instance from Indians, not Ladinos. Mr. Villa used an interpreter in cases where the Indians did not speak Spanish, although he has a command of Yucatec, and has done ethnological work in Yucatan,[3] he does not speak Tzeltal. 114 669 114 [124] [122]

The notes Starr[4] collected on the Tzeltal in 1901 were apparently[5] obtained

[1] For a short description of these ruins, see Schuman, 1936, pp. 296–305.
[2] Vicente Pineda, 1888. [4] Starr, 1902.
[3] Redfield and Villa Rojas. [5] Ibid., pp. 69–72.

Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (2,3,8) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

114 chiefly at Tenejapa and Cancuc. In 1925 Blom and LaFarge[7] entered the Tzeltal country from the north, visiting Bachajón, Sivaca, Tenango, Cancuc, Tenejapa, and Amatenango. These authors have published a short general account[8] of the culture of these people. In 1928 the John Geddings Gray Memorial Expedition of the Tulane University of Louisiana passed through the villages of Ococingo and Sivaca, and visited the hacienda "El Real." At this last place Carlos Basauri, a member of the expedition, collected notes on the Tzeltals.[9] Marcos E. Becerra, who was for ten years head of the Department of Public Education of Chiapas, assembled information on the languages, ethnography, and history of the Indians of the highlands and of other parts of the state.[10] Dr. Ruth Bunzel has spent some time recently in the region; her materials are unpublished.

•101 361 The Tzeltal-speaking communities may be divided into those situated in the highlands (Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Cancuc, Oxchuc, San Martín, and Tenango), and those situated at less than 1000 m. above sea level and that consequently enjoy a warmer climate (Sivaca, Ococingo, Bachajón, Citala, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo).

133 In general the State of Chiapas is highly dissected and mountainous. It is crossed from east to west with three cordilleras, with subdivisions into various branches which cross with one another to form a complicated orographic system. The ranges which cross the Tzeltal region are those belonging to the Cordillera de Huehitepec (reaching an altitude of 2597 m. above sea level) in a mountain of this name situated east of the city of Las Casas. With the exception of some [361] Chamula settlements (this is the settlement of greatest altitude (2110 m. above sea level)[11] in the entire state) from this point and continuing northward are to be found the other pueblos Villa visited. The land decreases in altitude until it reaches the Ococingo Valley where there is a sharp descent of 600 m.[12] From here on, the terrain is not so dissected and the altitude is less than 1000 m. above sea level and becomes gradually less.

132 [823] As is natural, the climates of these two zones present marked differences which have given rise to the expressions "tierra fría" and "tierra caliente" by which the natives distinguish them. The former refers to the higher region where, according to Amram, "The temperature rarely falls below freezing, though in November, 1935, it dropped as low as 24° F. During the long dry period, when for weeks at a time no rain falls, the temperature in the shade occasionally rises above 75°, and the temperature in the sun may reach well over 100°. The relative humidity is low, and there are great differences between shade and sun temperatures. The nights are cool."[13]

The region of the tierra caliente begins in the Valley of Ococingo and the temperature rises as one goes northward. At Salto de Agua, 73 m. above sea level, one experiences tropical heat.

[7] Blom and LaFarge, 1927.
[8] *Ibid.*, 2: 124-400.
[9] Basauri, 1931.
[10] Becerra, 1932 and 1933.
[11] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 20. See also Waibel, 1935, pp. 69-77; Santiabañez, 1931, p. 7.
[12] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 20.
[13] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 518.
[14] *Ibid.*, 2: 377.
[15] Amram, 1937, p. 52.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV: Tzeltal NV9

As is the case in the highlands of Guatemala, the outstanding social unit, corresponding to a tribe, is the population of several hundred or several thousand Indians whose activities center in one leading settlement from which the community gets its name. As in Guatemala, these communities vary greatly with respect to the proportion of Indians living permanently in this central settlement. Dr. Tax[14] uses the phrase "town nucleus type" for Guatemalan Indian communities in which all or a large majority of the Indians live in the principal settlement, and the phrase "vacant town type" for those in which most of the Indians live in scattered rural habitations, coming to the town center occasionally for commercial, governmental, or festal reasons. Among the Tzeltals the town-nucleus type is less atypical than it is in Guatemala, and the town-nucleus communities are suffering from a scarcity of land. The following communities may be regarded as of this type: Amatenango, San Martín, Tenango, Sivacá, Petalcingo, and probably also Chanal and Citalá, although at least in the case of the last two, there are also considerable numbers of Indians dwelling in the countryside. The vacant-town type of community is represented by Cancuc, Oxchuc, Bachajón, and Chilón. It will be seen that both types are represented in both highlands and lowlands. With respect to this classification Tenejapa, Guaquitepec, and Yajalon are intermediate, and illustrate Tax's "Type III" in that many of the people live in the town and work their fields closely surrounding it, while many live on their farms and only occasionally come to town.

621 361 632 [101]• [171] [619]

As in the highlands of Guatemala, the ethnic distinction between Indian and Ladino is marked, here also the Ladinos are much outnumbered by the Indians, and here too the Ladinos are very predominately town-dwellers. In Chilón and Yajalon the permanent town-dwellers are chiefly Ladinos; the permanent population of Oxchuc consists of about seventy Ladino families, the several thousand Indians live about the town and in the country. In other towns (Tenejapa,[15] Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Petalcingo) a considerable number of Ladino families have become established, although in these communities there are more Indians even among the inhabitants of the town itself than there are Ladinos. A general disposition to exclude Ladinos from permanent settlement in Indian communities is most marked in Cancuc, the site of the uprising of 1712, and where in 1935 some Ladino merchants were slain by the Indians. No Ladinos reside there now. In Amatenango, Chanal, Bachajón, San Martín, Tenango, and Sivacá the Indians are also unfavorable to settlement by Ladinos, in each of the three last-named villages the only Ladino residents are the school-teacher and the government-imposed municipal agent. Recently a few Ladino tradespeople have settled in Bachajón, and a "Center of Native Education" has been established there (as also at Amatenango) by the Mexican national government. In the lowland towns of

563 [661] [871]

[14] Tax, op. cit., pp. 444 ff.

[15] It is interesting that in Tenejapa, where both Indians and Ladinos live in town, the two groups recognize different patron saints, and there are separate schools for Indians and for Ladinos, whereas in Oxchuc, where all the Indians live outside the town, the same saints are worshipped by both groups, but the Ladinos maintain their own celebration on the day of the festival.

[16] Vicente Pineda, op. cit.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.455-A] Teklum

Death as a Way of Life: The Increasing Resort to Homicide in a Maya Indian Community[1]

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105

The breaking-down of a social-control system based on belief in the guardianship of the spiritual ancestors and their temporal agents, the curers, is reflected in a rising homicide rate as people turn to individual sanctions when threatened. The acts of homicide differ in their social significance according to who is killed, the context, the agency, and the motivation of the killer. Thirty-seven homicides between 1938 and 1965, analyzed in terms of these component variables, reflect the conflicts arising from competition in new economic enterprises, the rising suspicion of curers' abuse of their supernatural power, and the loss of belief in the guardianship of the ancestors.

121 682 [762] THE social impact of homicide has caused some analysts[2] to treat it and its supposed inverted complement, suicide, as one kind of behavior with a single meaning, ignoring Durkheim's caveat that behavioral rubrics categorize diverse phenomena. Here I shall analyze the variety of strategies involved in [101] killing in a Mexican community, which I shall call Teklum (the Tzeltal term for village), and endeavor to show how rules of behavior are expressed in killing and in attempts to avoid being killed. Further, I shall endeavor to point out what these indicate about structural and organizational changes both within the community and in its relations with the wider society. Since suicide is absent, except for a [762] single case of a madman, I have restricted my enquiry to homicide.

161 162 [101] 621 Teklum is a predominantly Indian township of Mexico. The population of the town center—about 1,900—includes only one Ladino, or non-Indian, family, that of the schoolteacher. The sense of community is limited to people living in the center and in the four nearby hamlets (*barrios*).

621 632 The town center is divided physically and socially into two endogamous sections, called "upper" and "lower." The outlying hamlets are linked to the nearest section by social and economic ties. The civil and religious posts of 621 632 the town are, in local theory, apportioned evenly between the sections. This was in fact 178 true until the 1950's; for each of the ranked posts had a paired complement, so that both sides of the dual division were represented, and the single posts of president and *síndico* (the president's administrative assistant) were al-

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

175 177 648 797 The mistakes, lack of attention and pretensions of the Indians in regard to the Christian doctrine, who they say they know, and the ones instructed best in them, say as many heretic words as Christian, is consequence or necessary sequel of the lack of care in the secular and ecclesiastical government.

This situation became more and more acute owing largely to the political unrest which absorbed the attention of the authorities, unrest which culminated in the separation of Chiapas from Guatemala and in 1824 its incorporation with Mexico.

175 177 648 The next period, *invasion of lands by Ladinos*, extends from about 1850 to 1911, when the first sparks of the Mexican Revolution reached Chiapas. In this period Ladinos began to invade lands of the Indian communities by bribery or by force. Toward 1856 the Indians complained against the invasion of lands in San Martin, San Miguel Mitontic, San Pedro Chenalo, Cuncuc, and Tenejapa, but failed to halt Ladino inroads (Trens, 1942, pp. 274–75).

The history of recent times, from 1920 on, is marked by increasing support from federal authorities throughout the entire [178] republic. In the Tzeltal area progress has been slow but constantly improving (see LaFarge, 1940; Beals, 1951).

Ethnographic Studies of the Region

114 [101] In his first trip through the Mayance area in 1839 and 1840, Stephens (1841) visited the northern zone of the Tzeltal, from Ocosingo to Yajalon, going through Bachajon and Chilon.

Traveling the same route two decades later in the opposite direction, the French explorer Désiré Charnay recorded his impressions in a small book (1863).

In 1901 Frederick Starr (1902), from the University of Chicago, made a short visit to the region.

In 1925 Blom and LaFarge traversed from north to south a large part of Tzeltal territory, publishing their data in three chapters of their *Tribes and Temples* (1926–

[P 198-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

114 27) but without touching on social organization.

[101] [122] Study of social organization began in 1938 when I made my first trip through the region under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington (Redfield and Villa Rojas, 1939, pp. 107–19). In 1942–44 we spent several periods among the Tzeltal of Oxchuc, establishing camp at Yochib, and published the results soon thereafter (Villa Rojas, 1946, 1947).

Since 1957 various investigations by the universities of Chicago, Harvard, and Stanford have been headed by the anthropologists Sol Tax, Norman A. McQuown, Evon Z. Vogt, Julian Pitt-Rivers, and A. Kimball Romney.

221 241 SUBSISTENCE PATTERNS AND FOOD HABITS

The Milpa

Nothing is of greater importance to the Indian than to have a good *milpa*. Three classes of milpas are cultivated: *sijomal*, planted in mid-January and harvested three months later; *nal-aual* or "March milpa", planted in mid-March and harvested toward the end of August; the main milpa, *jabil-caltic* or "milpa of the year," sown between April and May and harvested between November and December. The first two types are most often cultivated in the lower zone of Tierra Caliente, where humidity is favorable.

241 804 Among the Tzeltal of Oxchuc (Villa Rojas, 1946, pp. 510–39), milpa work begins in February with the measuring of the plot. The measuring rod (*jaubtic*), which presumably corresponds to a *brazada* (the distance between the arms extended), is equivalent to 1.98 m. The area 8 brazadas square takes the name of *tarea* (about 256 sq. m.). The area of the milpa is also computed according to the number of ears of corn needed for seeding; 60 ears of corn are required to fill 1.5 hectares, the average in milpas that we observed.

241 412 Since the bush is short, only a hatchet (*eche*) is necessary to cut it down. The

[P. 199-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

CHAPTER XV

THE NORTHERN TZELTAL TRIBES

114 Ever since leaving Zona Sala, we had been working in the coun-
101 try of the Tzeltal-speaking tribes who form an outpost of the High-land Indians. The Bachajon, of the Finca Encanto and Bachajon village, and the Indians of Ocosingo and the neighbouring valleys, living as they do, cut off from the outside world, strong in number, and of a rather independent disposition, gave us the first evidences of how little the Indian of the Chiapas Highlands has changed since the days before Columbus. The kings and priests are dead, the temples have been replaced by churches and Christian forms, but the Indians and labourers of today in many respects live the life that their humble forebears did five hundred years ago.

114 At this point, before describing our trip up into the true moun-tain country, it seems opportune to tell something of these people, their manners and customs. We did not have time to make an ex-haustive study of any of them, but they were constantly with us as guides and labourers, and we passed through many of their villages.
115 At El Encanto we had a chance to visit and examine the settlement of the finca's workmen, with the kind help of Señor Ciriaco Aguilar,
126 who acted as interpreter and supplied us with invaluable informa-tion. Señor Arturo Tovilla helped us with the Linguistic Lists (see Appendix III), as well as describing many of the customs recorded in this chapter. Señor Aureo Cruz of Toniná dictated a Tzeltal Prayer and Conversation, which was analyzed with the help of Señor Manuel Bulnes of El Real. (See Appendix VI). In general it may be said that all the Spanish-speaking people with whom we dealt helped us in every way possible.*

01 The Bachajon (*Batcahon*) and Ocosingo Valley Indians are, as
197 has been said, an outlying part of a large group living in the moun-tain country. They speak the Tzeltal language, belonging to that branch of the great Mayance stock more closely related to Maya.
131 In the pine country of Chiapas they hold the largest share of land,
101 occupying an irregular area running southeast from Simojovel to

[175] *The written sources bearing directly on the ethnology of these people are very meager. Nuñez de la Vega (1702) gives the best account of the early religion; his section on Nagualism has been reprinted by Pantiagua (1908) along with an important selection of other early sources. Licenciado Vicente Pineda (1888) in his account of the Indian uprisings, gives some information, together with the most complete linguistic material. He gives a native calendar, probably based on one published by Emeterio Pineda (1845). Of modern scientific works, Starr (1901 and 1904) has ethnographic material, and pub-lishes the only physical measurements (1902). Seler (1898) goes into the calendar in detail. For com-parative material Tozzer (1907) and Sapper (1925) have been our chief reliance. Sapper's "Nordliche Mittelamerika" (1897) was in constant use in the field for information on all subjects. Particular references are given as they occur. Prof. Rudolph Schuller kindly allowed me access to his manuscript material.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

the Guatemala border, which it overlaps at Gracias á Dios. They do not reach the highest part of the mountains. For the most part, they live in isolated tribal groups, although in some places, notably in Ocosingo Valley, they are attached to *haciendas* and *fincas*. Much of the easternmost country marked in the maps as belonging to them and the Chol is actually uninhabited wilderness, or, if occupied at all, is Lacandone territory.

Their immediate neighbours of the Highlands are the Zotzil and Chaneabal. The former speak a language differentiated from Tzeltal only by a shift of *a, e,* and *b* to Zotzil *o, i,* and *m,* respectively.* Chaneabal is spoken by a small group near Comitan. The people of that place say that the language is simply Tzeltal influenced by Mames contact. The list given in Appendix III, seems to bear this out. To the north, and around Tumbalá, are the Chol Indians, whose language is quite distinct, but, of all the other Mayance tongues, probably the nearest to the Highland group.

The language itself has been variously named Cendal, Tzendal, Cendales, Tzental, and Tzeltal. I have taken the latter form, as it most nearly represents the Indians' own form, *ts'eltal,* varied in careless speech to *tceltal.* The villages are spoken of as tribes, because each one forms a separate, self-governing unit. There is no evidence of cohesion within the language-group as a whole save during certain periods of uprisings. Individual villages may resemble tribes of another speech more closely than they do those of their own. The Mexican spelling of Tzeltal names is given first, followed by the phonetic spelling (See Appendix III), and the translation, if known.

The Bachajon live on the threshold of the pine country. Their farms may be found hidden away in the thick jungle land of mahogany and palms, through which their little hidden trails lead to houses tucked away out of sight of alien travelers. Altogether, they are estimated at five thousand families, but it is doubtful whether evidences of more than fifty farms could be seen by one passing along the trail through the heart of their country. The capital, Bachajon Village, is among the pines. There, periodically, the Spaniards used to round them up, that they might be more easily policed, and for the benefit of the church established there. Once there was a fine, stone church and a neat Cabildo with white walls, colonnade, and tiled roof. Both have been wrecked by the Indians, apparently because they did not like to be reminded of alien domination, for from the wreckage of the old church, they took tiles to roof their new one, and they have a straw-thatched Cabildo for the Maestro, or government agent.

*Starr (1903) quoting Sanchez (1890).

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Acknowledgments

My study of the people of Tzo'ontahal was made in four field sessions, the first in 1957 with return trips in 1958, 1964, and 1965, for a total of eighteen months. Brief visits were made in 1966 and 1967. With each returning visit it was possible to penetrate more deeply into the lives and experiences of the villagers, most of whom were highly resistant to an outsider on the first contact. I began writing the book in 1966, and some of the predictions I made came true before I finished it in 1968. These included the demise of the ceremonial leadership of the *alfereces*—the officials in charge of religious celebrations—the waning of the community status of curers, and the killing of one of my principal informants who had taken a leadership role before acquiring the traditional validation of age and experience in office. The transformations over the period of my study in this community created difficulties in recording and organizing my material. I owe whatever clarification has emerged to the efforts of Jane Olson and Gale Griffin of Yale University Press.

I am indebted to the National Institutes of Mental Health, which made possible the research for this study. I owe an intellectual debt to Sol Tax, who introduced me to the problems and potentialities of the area as a locus for field study, to Norman McQuown, who gave me the first instruction in Tzeltal and provided a grammar which facilitated learning the language, and to Manning Nash, who provided some of the earlier formulations of the culture from which I have borrowed. I am grateful to Duane Metzger and Gerald Williams, who generously provided equipment and facilities for work with informants in San Cristóbal Las Casas in the summer of 1964. Alfonso Villa Rojas, who was director of the Instituto Nacional Indígenista, was of great assistance in the first summer's field trip, introducing me to leaders within the town and in the Instituto's headquarters in Las Casas.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle
Mexico NU1

nic unity extending back to the beginning of time. The people set boundaries by such external symbols as a locally specified costume for men and women, a distinctive dialect of Tzeltal, and specialization in the production of pottery. Implicit boundaries are established by socialization processes that inhibit response to the outside world and that define a code of behavior understandable only in its own context. The completely socialized member of the community is not expected to seek recognition, nor could he find prestige, outside these boundaries. The community comprises the moral universe: cooperation and reciprocity are limited to members of the community, as are most cases of homicide and theft. Lacking concrete evidence, people assume misdeeds to have been committed by someone from the community.

The boundaries that separate these Indians from other Indian communities as well as from non-Indian, or *Ladino*,[1] communities are social artifacts that give a sense of security to members of the in-group. They call themselves "the true men" (*b'atz'il winik*), and their world is defined in "the true word" (*b'atz'il k'op*). The latter is their term for the Tzeltal dialect of Maya which is the language of the house and of the street, the courthouse, and the church in the absence of the Spanish-speaking priest. Tzeltal names differ from Spanish names for most of the surrounding towns, the earth, the heavens, and the cosmological bodies. Catholic saints are incorporated under a Tzeltal name or a Tzeltal version of their Spanish name. All of the members of the community have a Tzeltal patronym in addition to the Spanish surname with which they are baptized. The given name is that of a Spanish saint but is shortened and pronounced with Tzeltal phonemes, and female names have the feminine prefix *I*. Their world is labeled in their own language.

The people assume that their expectations will be met and their projec-

1. The term Ladino has a range of usage throughout Middle America. In Mexico City, people define Ladino as any person who abuses his superior skills to take advantage of others. In Oaxaca, a Zapotec Indian defined Ladino as "an Indian who knows Spanish, has adopted western-style clothing, and takes advantage of other Indians because of his knowledge of the language and ways of life of the non-Indian society. He is like a fox." In Chiapas, the term is applied to any non-Indian without derogatory connotation, and the same is true in Guatemala. In the metalanguage of anthropological monographs, it is used in this latter sense.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Chapter 1

Spirits and Places

Social space is the cognitive pattern of relationships imposed upon any terrain. In Amatenango del Valle[1] there are two superimposed patterns. One is defined by the nation for the purposes of political administration. This follows the pattern of colonial administration of *municipios,* or townships, with a *cabecera,* or administrative center, containing the church, town hall, and school house, and serving a number of colonias and *rancherias,* local hamlets or nuclei of populations. The other pattern is defined by the inhabitants using Tzeltal terminology or a Tzeltal rendition of a Spanish name. In this pattern, domains of good and bad spirits are defined, and behavior appropriate to each place is specified in myths and rituals. Persistence of this pattern has had profound implications for continuity of pre-Conquest culture. It provides a ground plan for the system of social control and security exercised by the old gods and their human intermediaries.

In the following section, I will discuss first territorial divisions defined by national law and modified by indigenous categories, and then the interaction between the spirits of persons and places.

The Territorial Divisions

The township of Amatenango del Valle is located at 92°30′ longitude and 16°30′ latitude in the highland zone of the state of Chiapas. The town center is located no more than fifty yards from the Pan-American Highway twenty-five miles southeast of the departmental capital of San Cristóbal.

1. I use the national designation derived from Nahuatl, Amatenango del Valle, to refer to the township, and the Tzeltal term Tzo'ontahal to refer to the center.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Although the town center forms a rough rectangle on Map 1, the people think of it as being a square.[2] This conforms to the cultural ideal of a square applied in house, milpa, village, and probably world, although when anyone is asked about the last, he cautiously answers, "I have heard that it is round." The center is the unit that the people think of when they say *hteklum*, my land or my village. House lots are not sold to outsiders, particularly Ladinos, but the prohibition applies as well to other Indians living within the limits of the township.

The residents of the center identify themselves with the former residents of the two pre-Conquest sites occupying the hill of Amawitz[3] northwest of the center, and the hill of San Nicolás (called Lelem in Tzeltal) to the southeast. The following account is given of the founding of the present town in the valley:

Our ancestors lived in Amawitz. There wasn't enough water there, but there was a great deal that passed here in the valley. The ancestors came out of their cave to look at where the people should move. They told the people where they should go. The people "thought in common." They cut the trees here; then, when it was dry, they burned it with fire as they do for milpa. When it was cleared, they began to build their houses. Others saw this and came to build their houses. When they finished building their houses, everyone began to think of building a church. The first church was built in Alannantik [the low side] for San Pedro the Martyr. This was torn down because the witches used to come to get the permission of San Pedro to do witchcraft. When the new church was built, there was a division of the town into the upper and lower sections.

It is significant that the people attribute the initiative in the resettlement to the mythical ancestors, although archaeological evidence indicates that the present center was settled after the Conquest. The Conquest is not a part of their mythico-historic past. The ancestors are given credit for establishing everything.

2. The pre-Conquest term for local center was Tzamgholal (Calnek 1962:25), signifying "square head." "Head" town was possibly a ceremonial center.

3. Hermitte (1964:48) notes that in Pinola the "police" of the spiritual government are sent to outposts in Amawitz and Me?wakal in Amatenango. This suggests that it may be considered the ancestral home of other Indians of the area.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER II

THE GENERAL BACKGROUND FOR A CONTROLLED COMPARISON

Geography and Ecology

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131 The communities selected for this study are located in the southwest quarter of the state of Chiapas, which is the southernmost state of the Republic of Mexico. This is a mountainous area [133] belonging to the Sierra Madre Occidental, and a part of the state's Central Plateau. The Plateau Summit of the area is to the north northwest of the villages, and contains the city of San Cristobal las Casas, ex-capital of the state (the present capital, Tuxtla, is in the lowlands).

The villages themselves are situated in the terraced margins of the plateau, which extend to the South into the Grijalva River Depression, and to the north and east into the Lacandon Jungle.

133
487 The slightly inclined terraces are criss-crossed by sev-
491 eral small streams tributary to the Blanco River, and by a complex network of paths, trails, and roads, including a section of the Pan American Highway which connects Mexico City with Guatemala and which is being constructed.

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36 The villages of Aguacatenango and Amatenango are in two contiguous valleys (see Fig. 1) near to the section of the Pan

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 16]

174 621 and Amatenango are at present divided into two endogamous barrios, remnants of these parcialidades.

173 101 The origin myth of Aguacatenango seems to agree with the historical evidence, both indicating that the Amatenango settlement was founded somewhat earlier. According to the people of Aguacatenango their ancestors came from a place named "Bahuitz," close to the region of Oxchuc. The elders of the group chose a place about 1,000 feet lower than the present location of the town. They had to move from this place (which now is the colonia of El Puerto, where Aguacatenango owns land for cultivation) because "they were bitten by insects and disliked the climate."

They arrived at the site of their present location, and asked for permission to occupy it from the people of Amatenango, from whom they obtained the land. While they were clearing the land for their houses, some men from Amatenango arrived to ask what they were doing. "We are cutting down the trees," they answered, and thus "Ćeté," which means "cutting down," became their name. When they finished their work they sent some men to visit the Amatenango men and they found them gathering firewood. They asked again "What are you doing?" "Hćob'tah," "gathering" the other responded, and that became their name. Both villages today call themselves and each other by these names.

Linguistics

174 197 The legend summarized above seems to imply that the two villages were populated by people who could speak to each other in the same language. This is confirmed by linguistic evidence.

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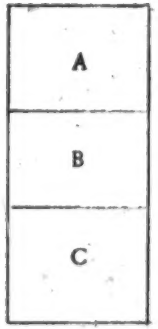

Chart of Positions of Map
Facing p. 239

[facing p. 239]

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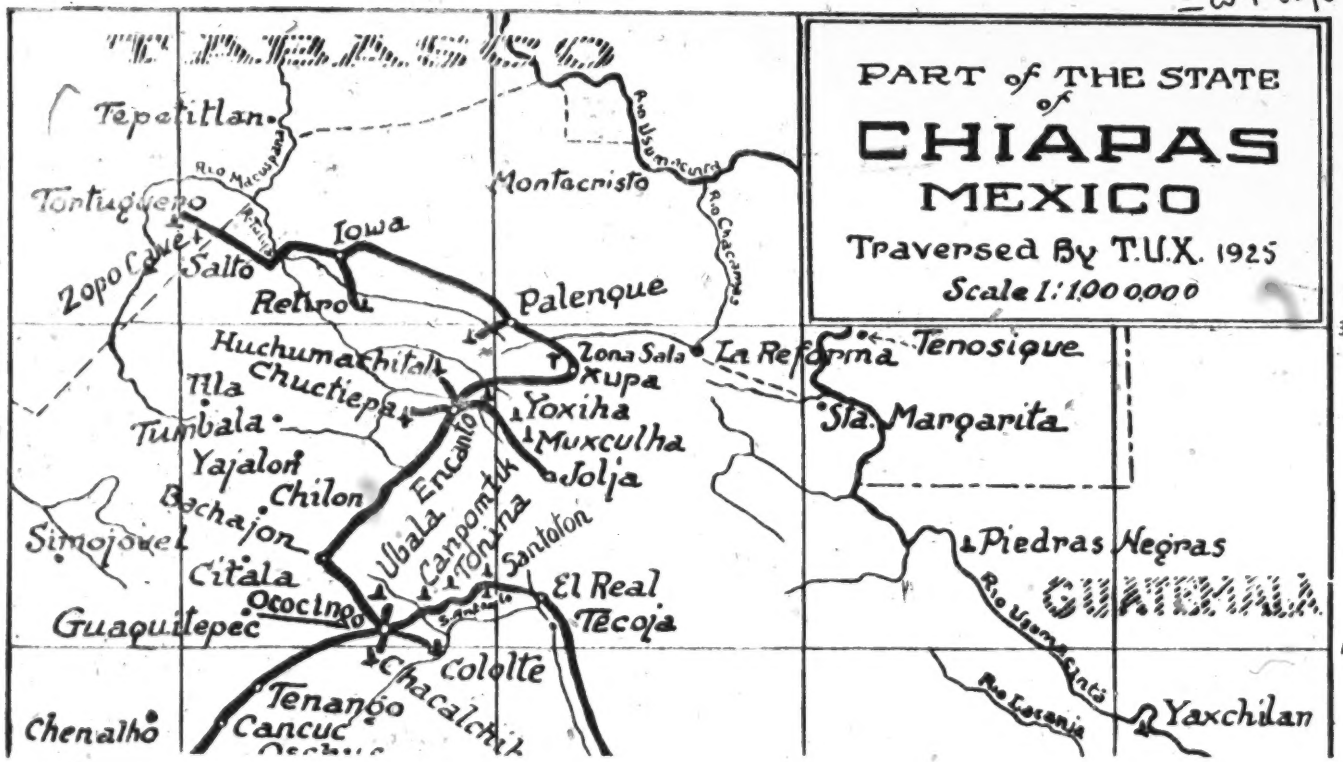

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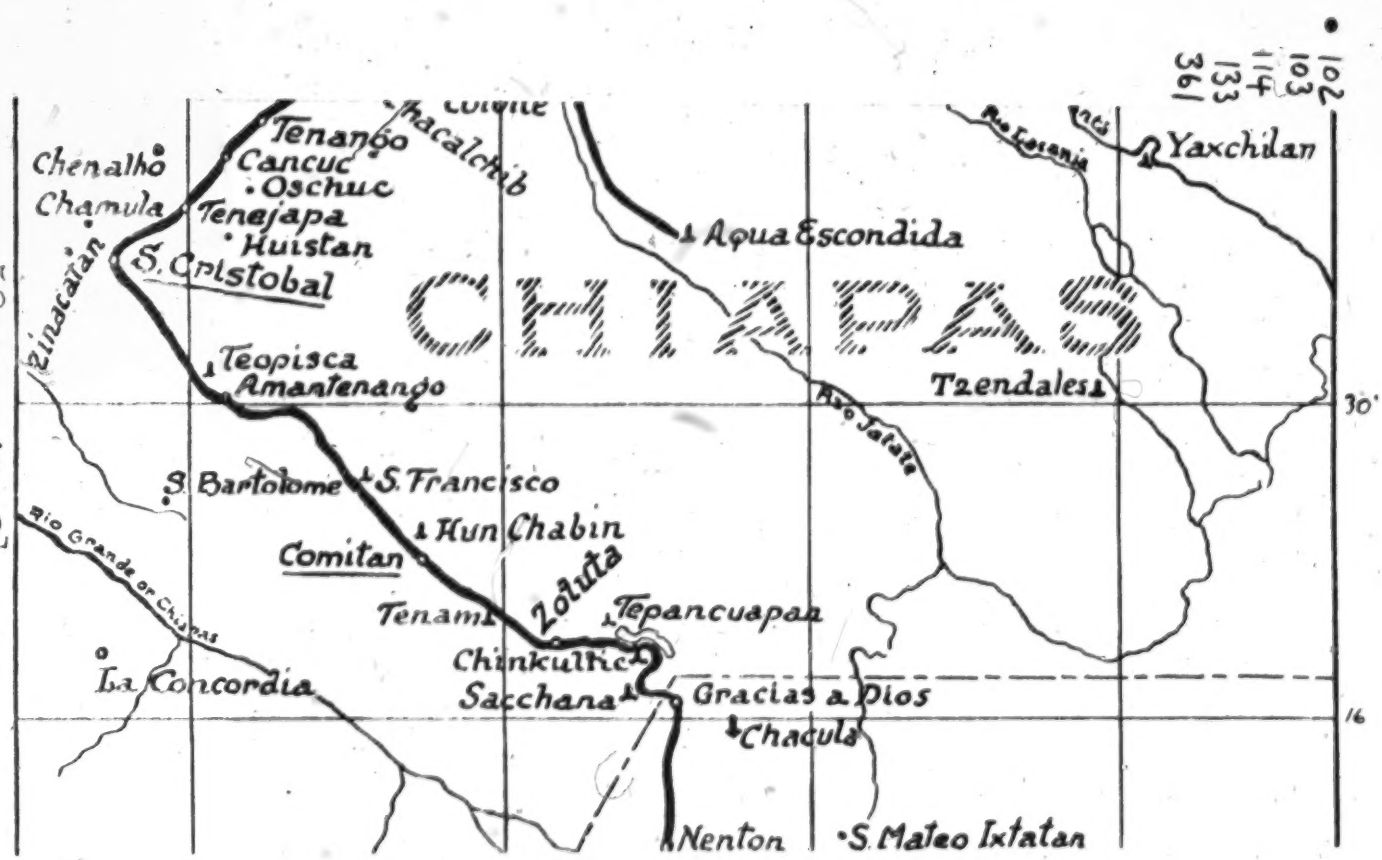
5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9



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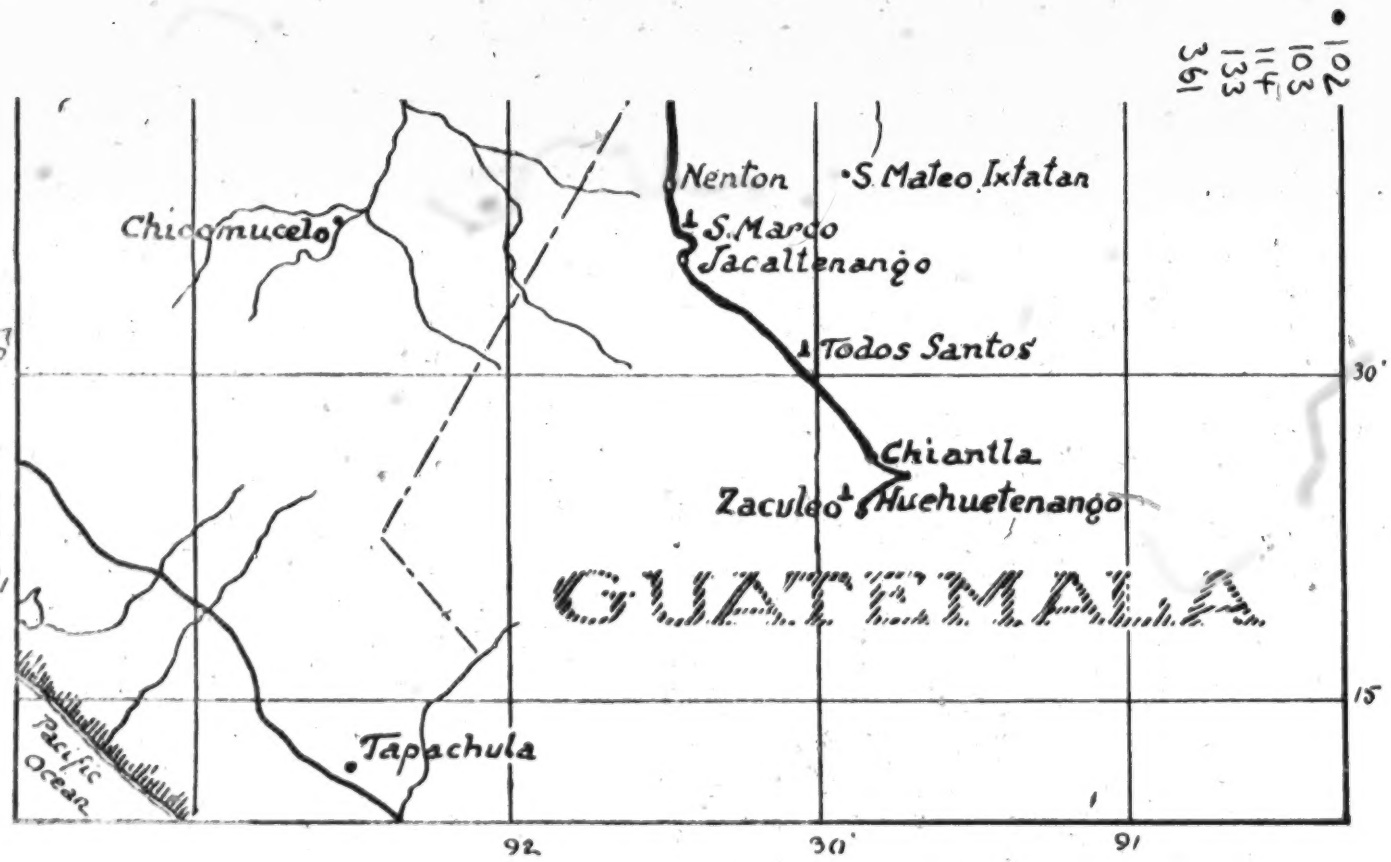
5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9



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5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

5. Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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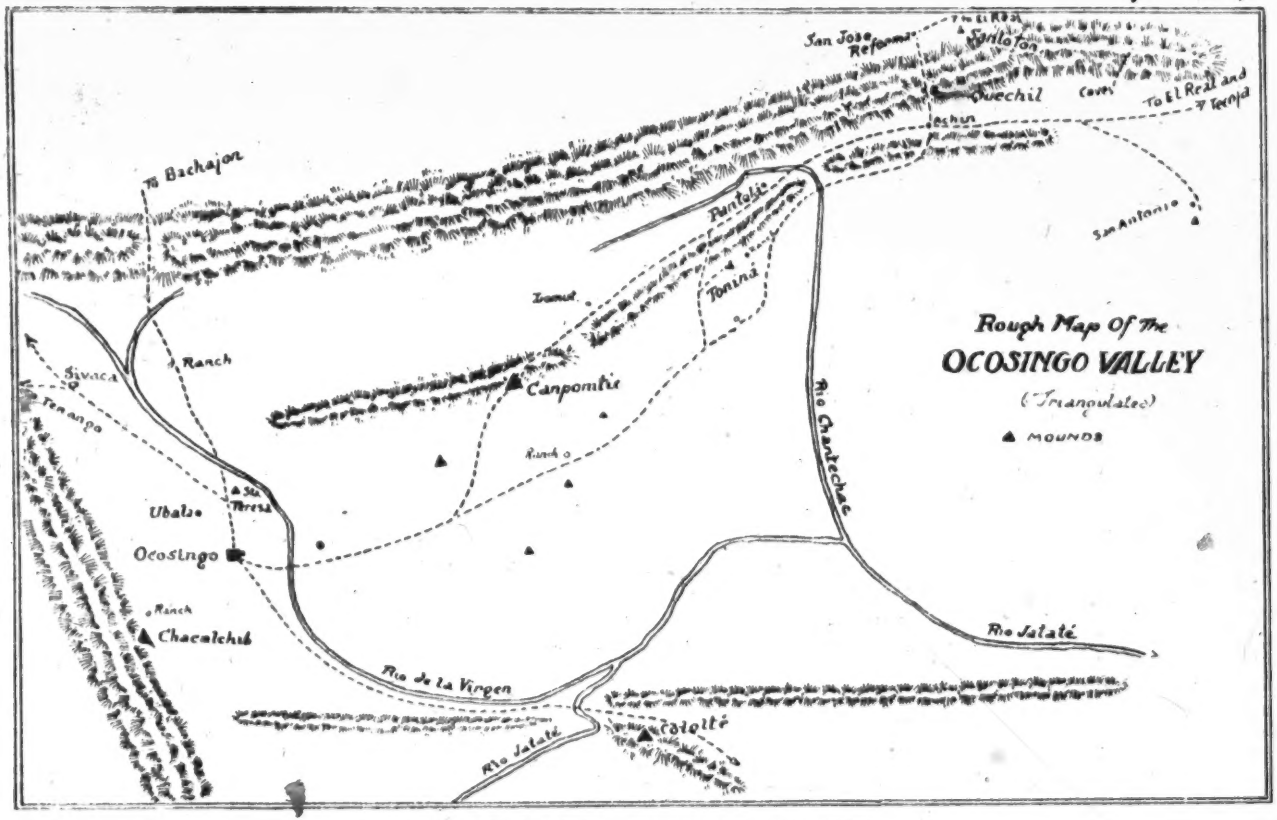

FIG. 198—Ocosingo Valley. (Triangulation). Scale 1:85,000.

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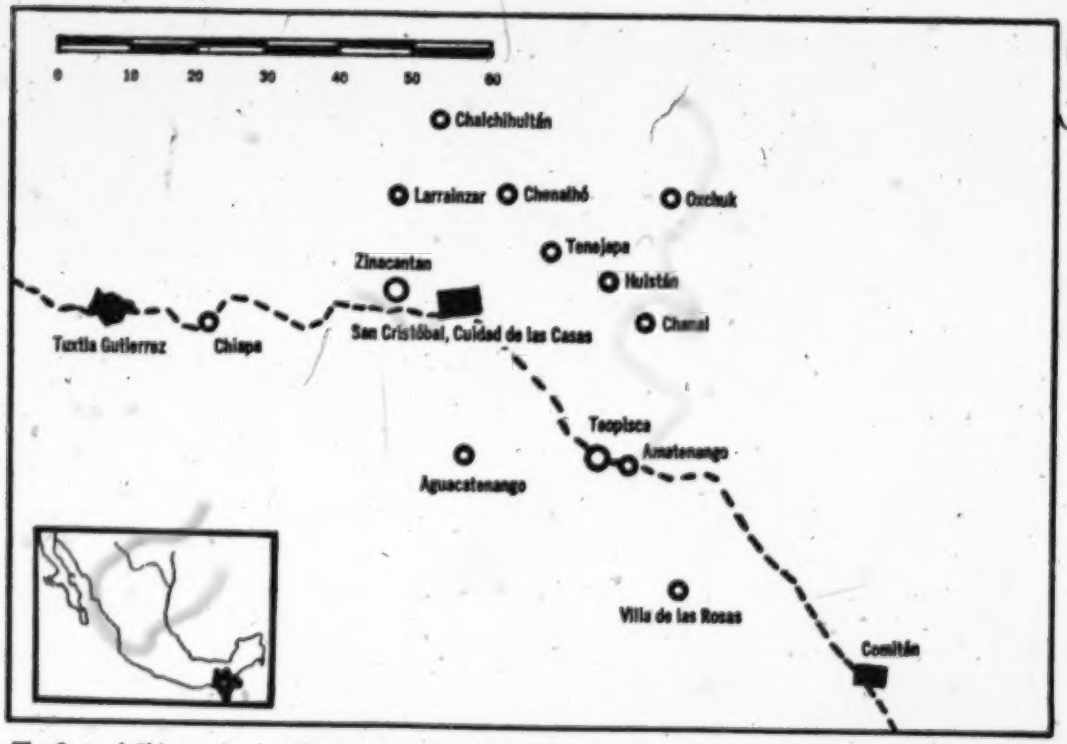

The State of Chiapas, showing the capital, Tuxtla; the two principal cities, San Cristóbal and Comitán; several surrounding Indian towns; and the Pan-American Highway (dashed line).

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8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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Fig. 1.--Physiographic Sketch of the Valleys of Amatenango, Aguacatenango and Adjacent Towns.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

NOTES ON THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF TZELTAL COMMUNITIES OF CHIAPAS

In February and March of 1938, Alfonso Villa Rojas made an ethnological reconnaissance of Tzeltal settlements in northeastern Chiapas, Mexico. The work was done under the auspices of Carnegie Institution of Washington as a guide to the planning of more intensive field work. San Cristobal de las Casas, where Mr. Villa arrived on the first of February, served naturally as a base. A short trip was taken to Teopizca and Amatenango, and a second to visit the ruins of San Gregorio[1] and the village of Chanal. On the fourteenth of that month, Mr. Villa started northward from Las Casas, visiting fifteen Tzeltal settlements, and then entered Chol country at Tila and left Chiapas by airplane from Salto de Agua.

In Mexico City Mr. Villa was provided with a letter of introduction from Ing. Ignacio Marquina, head of the Department of Prehistoric Monuments, of the Secretariat of Public Education. In Tuxtla Gutierrez the Governor of Chiapas, Ing. Efrain Gutierrez, received Mr. Villa and heard from him explanation of Mr. Villa's interests and purposes. Mr. Frans Blom had given Mr. Villa a letter of introduction, but the person addressed was not in Las Casas when Mr. Villa arrived. In Las Casas Mr. Villa received great help from Don José Villanueva. To all these persons who extended kindness and help, grateful acknowledgment is made. Dr. Ruth Bunzel kindly wrote information on the region to Mr. Villa before he began his journey.

The Tzeltal communities, given in the order in which they were visited and with indication of the length of time spent in each, were as follows: Amatenango (2 days), Chanal (2 days), Tenejapa (3 days), Cancuc (1 day), Oxchuc (5 days), San Martin (1 day), Tenango (2 days), Sivacá (1 day), Ococingo (6 days), Bachajon (2 days), Citalá (2 days), Guaquitepec (2½ days), Chilón (2 days), Yajalon (2 days), Petalcingo (½ day).

These villages have been the locus of a number of Indian uprisings,[2] and disturbances have occurred recently, in 1914, 1917, and 1930. Therefore the inhabitants of Spanish culture (Ladinos) are not infrequently uneasy. In Cancuc and Oxchuc Mr. Villa's work was impeded by a revival of this uneasiness, the Ladinos fearing that the celebrations of the carnival season might lead the Indians to acts of violence. With this exception, however, Mr. Villa found the Indians accessible and conditions of work favorable. The information reported herein was obtained in almost every instance from Indians, not Ladinos. Mr. Villa used an interpreter in cases where the Indians did not speak Spanish, although he has a command of Yucatec, and has done ethnological work in Yucatan,[3] he does not speak Tzeltal.

The notes Starr[4] collected on the Tzeltal in 1901 were apparently[5] obtained

[1] For a short description of these ruins see Schuman, 1936, pp. 296–305.
[2] Vicente Pineda, 1888.
[3] Redfield and Villa, 1934.
[4] Starr, 1902.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 60–72.

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TABLE 1—DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY MUNICIPALITIES
(Census of 1950)

Municipalities	Area in sq. km.	Tzeltal-speakers	Spanish-speakers	Total Population
North Zone:				
Sitala	550	5,435	1,385	6,821
Yajalon	145	6,026	4,010	10,036
Chilon	462	9,049	2,070	11,118
Ocosingo	12,143	9,170	3,770	12,940
Subtotal	13,300	29,680	11,235	40,915
Central Zone:				
Chanal	192	2,328	553	2,881
Oxchuc	42	4,074	1,338	5,412
Tenejapa	67	6,215	1,535	7,750
Altamirano	1,559	2,945	1,810	4,655
Subtotal	1,860	15,462	5,236	20,698
South Zone:				
Teopisca	270	754	4,601	5,355
Amatenango	355	1,773	756	2,529
Pinola	185	1,384	5,736	7,120
Subtotal	810	3,911	11,093	15,004
GRAND TOTAL	15,970	49,053	27,564	76,617

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TABLE 2—SPEAKERS OF TZELTAL
(Distribution by Zones)

Zones	Monolingual	Bilingual	Total
North Zone	23,429	8,251	31,680
Central Zone	11,291	4,171	15,462
South Zone	323	3,588	3,911
TOTAL	35,043	16,010	51,053

[P. 196-A]

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Chart of Positions of Map
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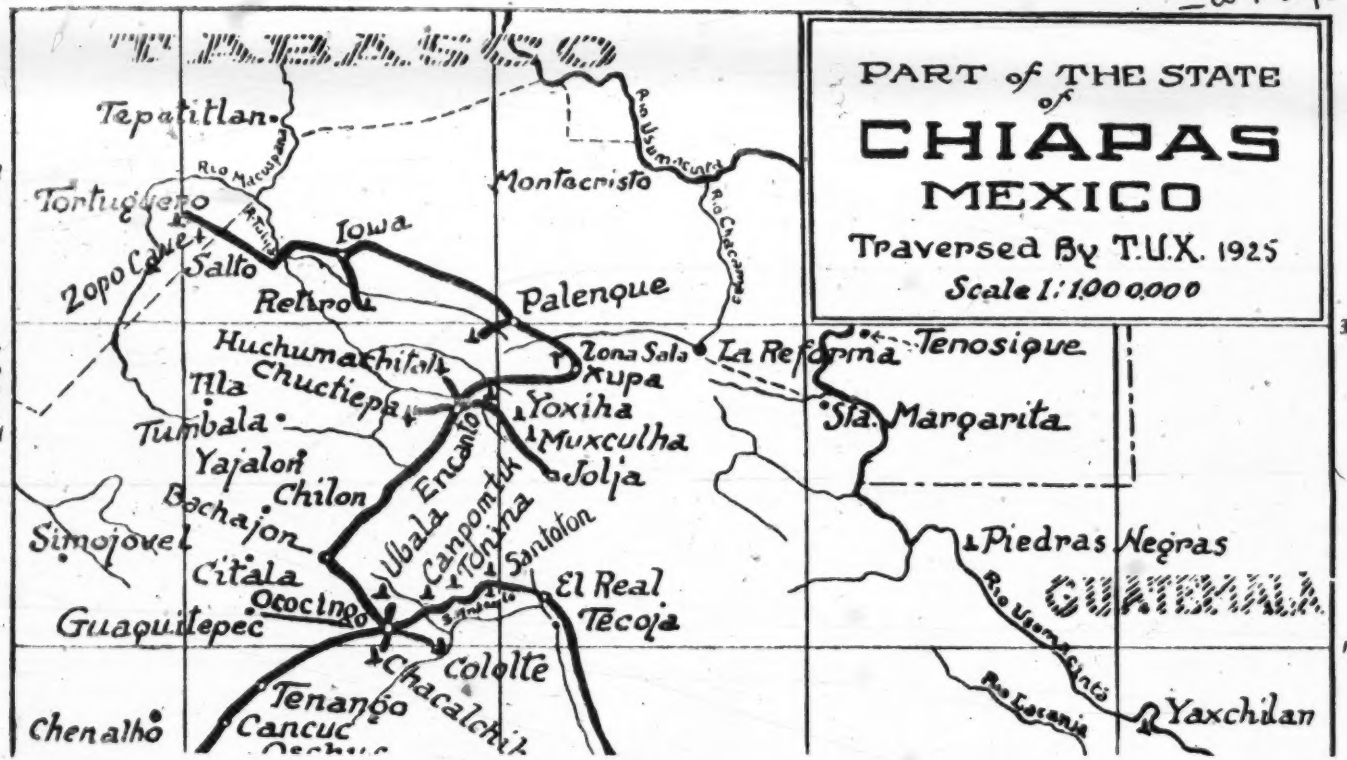

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5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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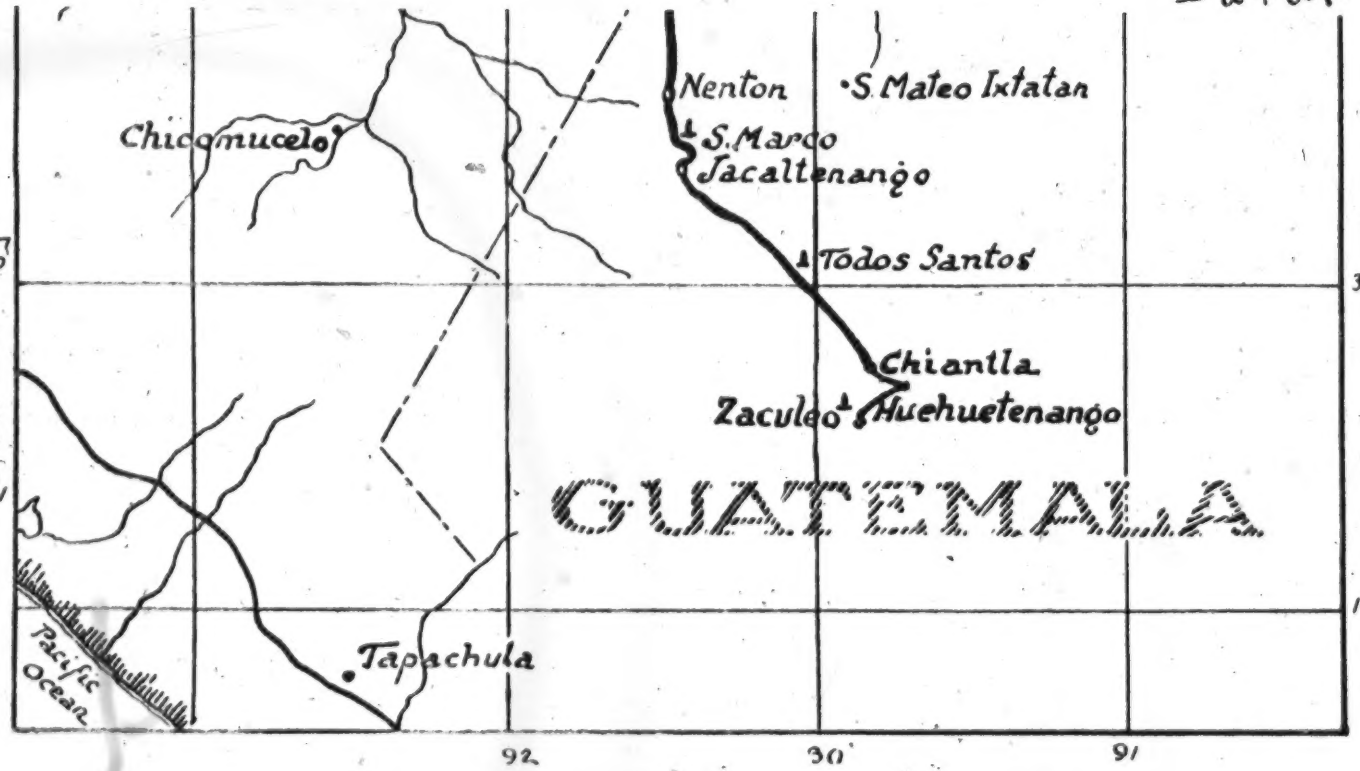

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5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Chapter XII

THE OCOSINGO VALLEY

The name Ocosingo is Aztec, signifying the "Place of Pines," 103 a name well chosen, for the valley is enclosed in pine-clad hills. 137 When one stands at the southwestern end of the valley it stretches 133 out in front like a huge natural stadium with the high San Martín mountain lying at the back. The northern and southern sides of the valley consist of two parallel rows of mountains, the inner rows being lower than the outer. The interior ranges slope towards the valley and turn nearly vertical cliff walls towards the very narrow valleys that separate them from the exterior mountains (fig. 196).

The interior ranges are broken up in many points, and this the 133 Maya took advantage of, selecting the highest points for pyramids. [172]

The floor of the valley is grass covered, with scattered groups of [137] pine trees. Here and there lie ranches, mostly inhabited by Mex- [361] icans, called Ladinos here. The Ladino is, strictly speaking, a man of mixed Indian and Spanish blood, but the Indians use the term to 829 indicate any Mexican or Spaniard who lives in a town or owns a larger ranch. With the name generally goes a certain amount of education, and the ability to read and write.

Ocosingo town now contains only about 500 inhabitants, living 000 in whitewashed brick houses with red tiled roofs. In the center of the town is a Plaza, at one end of which lies the Palacio Municipal, and at the other end a huge Spanish Colonial church. In front of the church is the public fountain; the water and news supply of the town. All day long girls come here to fill large clay jugs with cool water, led down from the San Martín mountain through an underground canal.

Half of the Plaza is planted with trees, which surround a dilapidated music pavilion, without which no self-respecting Mexican village could exist.

The houses that face the Plaza all have colonnades where one may walk in the shade, and where families bring their rocking chairs in the evenings to sit and watch the crowds of as many as twenty-five men and women who walk around the pavilion, or to look at the horses and cows that feed on the grass growing exuberantly between the paving stones of the Plaza.

The Ocosingo Valley and many smaller valleys adjoining for- 233 merly supported large herds of cattle and had considerable trade. 43

[Text continues on p. 247]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

We have divided Maya history in two groups, the Old Empire 175
and the New Empire. Of the history of the New Empire we know 174
a considerable amount, but our knowledge of the Old Empire history is scant. We know the area in which it flourished as a whole, like knowing Greece without being aware of Sparta, Athens, and Corinth. Here in front of me lay one of the first hints of the subdivisions of the Old Empire. Knowledge will advance, and soon we shall be able to tell about the rise and decline of states and cities, to revive the history of the foremost people of ancient America.

Nearly due north across the valley lies the Campomtik pyramid. 172
La Farge visited it while we worked at Toniná. It, too, is a re- 133
modeled mountain top, and as it is covered with grass, it stands out 778
sharply against the forest-clad hills. It consists of a series of terraces with a depression which has stone-faced terraces and floor. From the valley bottom the hill rises 280 meters, of which 105 meters (325 feet) have been terraced. Broken pottery is found in various places on the hillside, and on the top now stands two wooden crosses, set there by the Indians. The name Campomtik means [103] •
"much yellow incense." Incense was burned on the hilltop until [782]
quite recently. At such times they burned great fires, and shot off [796]
many rockets bought in Ocosingo. Finally the celebrations got too [177]
fervent for the Catholic Father, and he had the Indians driven away [178]
by the town officials. Generally, though, the Padres let the Indians alone when they celebrate in honour of the ancient gods (fig. 201).

Outside Ocosingo, where the trail divides, one going to Bachajon, 172
the other to Sivacá, lies a group of mounds called Santa Teresa. Rumors that Indains had buried church treasures here after an uprising, led the townspeople to make a large excavation. According to some people in Ocosingo, they found a small wooden sanctuary, and a beautiful clay bowl with a fish on its lid. This bowl later was bought by Seler.*

It is remarkable how persistent are rumors of buried treasures. 123
Every Ladino expects to find "dinero," money, in any mound, and 172
they are usually sadly disappointed. Also, most of these people believe that we find money, else why should we dedicate so much time to our explorations? We had a case where one man offered to go fifty-fifty with us if we would explore a mound on his lands. The whole mound at Santa Teresa has been dug through, and it is told in Ocosingo that the excavators found, not money, but a small wooden sanctuary with a saint inside. We hear every day, when among the Ladinos and Mexicans, stories of church bells of solid gold, and cocks that crow at midnight on top of the mounds.

*Seler, E., 1901. Fig. 279.

ah-ken -- a bench to hold the metate
asron -- hoe
avutel -- digging stick
bastonudos -- those officials who carry the staff of office
batzil-booch -- large serving dishes or bowls
beybal-ja -- the marriage feast
brazada -- a unit of measure equivalent to the distance between the arms when extended
canoja -- a special container, made from a fluted tree trunk, for making chicha
cha -- a metate or grinding stone
chenkuluaj -- tamales
chuj-chut -- a red sash or belt of cotton
chunel -- a go-between in arranging a marriage
chojak -- net bags
eché -- an axe
jaubtic -- a measuring rod corresponding to the brazada in length
jícaras -- small individual bowls
jilote -- first fruits of the harvest
luk -- a coa, or curved machete with a long handle
machit -- a machete

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malal -- a red woolen ribbon worn in the hair
matzmalté (or vebalté) -- small tables
morral -- a sack hung from the shoulder containing seed
mucul pulato -- large pots
mukel-ja -- the meal and feast following the first year of a successful marriage
nabté -- the staff of office
nátil-kú -- a long shirt worn by men
olote -- corn cobs
oshe-vuelto-uaj-matz -- a meal given long after a marriage, by a husband to his wife's clan
pishol -- a palm hat
pus -- a temascal or structure used for steam baths
selab -- the cutting of grass from a plot where milpa had been the previous year
shanabil -- leather sandals
sok-uej -- cutting of bush grown for three or four years
stojyinam -- bride price
tarea -- a unit of measure equivalent to 8 brazada's square or 256 Sq. M.
temascal -- a structure used for steam baths
tzante -- small benches made of scooped-out tree trunks

104

tzek -- a wool skirt worn by women
ual -- glass necklaces
ue-el olical -- lunch
ue-el sab -- breakfast
ue-el xmalcal -- supper
uesh -- short pants worn by men
yajk makte achish -- a custom of gift exchange, used by a boy's family to secure a wife for a son at some future time
yulel-chikinil -- earrings

131 the Guatemala border, which it overlaps at Gracias á Dios. They
101 do not reach the highest part of the mountains. For the most part, they live in isolated tribal groups, although in some places, notably in Ocosingo Valley, they are attached to *haciendas* and *fincas*. Much of the easternmost country marked in the maps as belonging to them and the Chol is actually uninhabited wilderness, or, if occupied at all, is Lacandone territory.

101 Their immediate neighbours of the Highlands are the Zotzil and
197 Chaneabal. The former speak a language differentiated from Tzeltal only by a shift of *a, e,* and *b* to Zotzil *o, i,* and *m,* respectively.* Chaneabal is spoken by a small group near Comitan. The people of that place say that the language is simply Tzeltal influenced by Mames contact. The list given in Appendix III, seems to bear this out. To the north, and around Tumbalá, are the Chol Indians, whose language is quite distinct, but, of all the other Mayance tongues, probably the nearest to the Highland group.

197 The language itself has been variously named Cendal, Tzendal, Cendales, Tzental, and Tzeltal. I have taken the latter form, as it most nearly represents the Indians' own form, *ts'eltal,* varied in careless speech to *tceltal.* The villages are spoken of as tribes, be-
197 cause each one forms a separate, self-governing unit. There is no evidence of cohesion within the language-group as a whole save
628 during certain periods of uprisings. Individual villages may resemble tribes of another speech more closely than they do those of
[104] their own. The Mexican spelling of Tzeltal names is given first, followed by the phonetic spelling (See Appendix III), and the translation, if known.

101 The Bachajon live on the threshold of the pine country. Their
[131] farms may be found hidden away in the thick jungle land of ma-
[137] hogany and palms, through which their little hidden trails lead to houses tucked away out of sight of alien travelers. Altogether, they
[161] are estimated at five thousand families, but it is doubtful whether evidences of more than fifty farms could be seen by one passing along the trail through the heart of their country. The capital, Bachajon Village, is among the pines. There, periodically, the
[648] Spaniards used to round them up, that they might be more easily policed, and for the benefit of the church established there. Once
[346] there was a fine, stone church and a neat Cabildo with white walls, colonnade, and tiled roof. Both have been wrecked by the Indians,
[344] apparently because they did not like to be reminded of alien domination, for from the wreckage of the old church, they took tiles to roof their new one, and they have a straw-thatched Cabildo for the Maestro, or government agent.

*Starr (1903) quoting Sanchez (1899).

592 on the basis of the age and sex characteristics of the candidates, nor do they describe house membership in these terms.

592
614 The two principles in terms of which the Aguacatenangeros would describe the membership of the household are rules of relations. The first rule states that members of the house should be lineally related to some one or more other persons in the house through males. The second rule states that: if the first rule does not apply, then the person in the house is a spouse of one such person to whom the first rule does apply. From the diagram, then, we may construct--with the aid of these two rules and the convention that the "over-under twenty" contrast is equivalent to the "with spouse-without spouse" contrast.

1. A is married to a, but either A is dead or a is dead.
2. B is married to b, and B is a lineal descendant of A.
3. C is married to c, and C is a lineal descendant of B.
4. D through I are unmarried siblings and are the lineal descendants of (most probably) C.

This may be expressed in a slightly more convenient manner by the following expression.[1]

---

[1]Capital symbol = male. Small symbol = female. = = married. - = offspring. o = sibling. Slash through letter = deceased. Slash between letters = no relation expressed between letters.

See A. K. Romney's forthcoming work on this subject.

Glossary

104 *?ahc'al* mud; body (in religious metaphorical usage)
alférez captain of religious fiesta, pl. *alfereces; ?lperés, ?alperesetik* (Sp.)
?ali?b'al assistant to religious official
?alisil attendant to alférez
?alkal judge, pl. *?alkaletik; alcade* (Sp.)
?apultol apostles
b'alnial male in-laws; applied to assistants in household ceremonies
b'atz'il genuine; *b'atz'il k'op* genuine language (i.e. Tzeltal); *b'atz'il winik* genuine man (i.e. member of the community)
bersinatak neighbors
cabildo town hall
cacique local leader; *cacicazgo* supporter of a cacique
č'om betrothal
compadre co-parent in godparenthood relationship
firmanetik signers; literate men who sign documents in the town hall
fiscal assistant to the priest
h-me?tikčič'u Our Grandmother the Moon
hu?el official, pl. *hu?eletik*
?ič' ha? baptism
?ič' rason taking of understanding
?ič' yo?tan taking of heart
kallan person of European culture; non-Indian male; *castellano* (Sp.)
kobraria brotherhood; head of brotherhood in religious hierarchy; *cofradía* (Sp.)
koronaetik judges during the installing of the alférez
k'ol the last one; youngest child
kotončuh jacket or tunic of indigenous man's costume
krinsipal elder leader who has served in office, pl. *krinsipaletik; principal* (Sp.)

104

kumare co-mother in godparenthood relationship; *comadre* (Sp.)
kumpare co-father in godparenthood relationship; *compadre* (Sp.)
kurik country hick, pl. *kurikетik* Indians not of the center
Ladino male non-Indian
Lahinbahel sk'in last day of a fiesta
la ventosa cupping
lum soil; *hlumiltik* our flesh
maliwanehetik people who "sit and wait" in household ceremonies
martomaetik caretakers of the saints; *mayordomos* (Sp.)
mayoletik policemen; *mayores* (Sp.)
me?ℓ'om mother of the betrothal
me?eletik women prayer-reciters
me?eštateš ancestors, when applied to judges
me?iltatil ancestors, when applied to curers as guardians and guardians in household ceremonies
me?tiktatik ancestors
nakawane household officials, pl. *nakawanehetik*
niℓ'an child, what a man calls his offspring
niℓ'nal lowest post in the religious hierarchy
niℓ'nal martoma junior mayordomo
padrino godparent
pasaró man who has served in office, pl. *pasaroetik; pasado* (Sp.)
Paswamal Decoration Day; first day of all big fiestas
pat?o?tan prayer form
personaetik persons; used in reference to regidores during the installing of the alférez
pukuh evil, devil
síndico assistant to president
sme?ispetb'ak ceremonial embrace
spatbeyo?tan prayer form of speech
Spiritunsantú Holy Spirit
statal ?u?ul leader curer
tamohel soul calling
ta sit me?tik tatik in the eyes/presence of the ancestors
tat father; elder
Tatik K'ak'al Lord Sun
Tatik Martil St. Peter the Martyr
Tatil Martoma Lord Mayordomo

104 *Tios Niš'anil* Jesus
Tios Tatil God the Father
?u?uletik curers
wayohel animal spirit; *swayohel* his animal spirit
Wišperel Vespers; eve of a fiesta
yermanotak his siblings
yol balamilal center of the world; navel

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 NV9.Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[p.455-A)

Death as a Way of Life: The Increasing Resort to Homicide in a Maya Indian Community[1]

JUNE NASH
Yale University

105 *The breaking-down of a social-control system based on belief in the guardianship of the spiritual ancestors and their temporal agents, the curers, is reflected in a rising homicide rate as people turn to individual sanctions when threatened. The acts of homicide differ in their social significance according to who is killed, the context, the agency, and the motivation of the killer. Thirty-seven homicides between 1938 and 1965, analyzed in terms of these component variables, reflect the conflicts arising from competition in new economic enterprises, the rising suspicion of curers' abuse of their supernatural power, and the loss of belief in the guardianship of the ancestors.*

121 682 [762] THE social impact of homicide has caused some analysts[2] to treat it and its supposed inverted complement, suicide, as one kind of behavior with a single meaning, ignoring Durkheim's caveat that behavioral rubrics categorize diverse phenomena. Here I shall [101] analyze the variety of strategies involved in killing in a Mexican community, which I shall call Teklum (the Tzeltal term for village), and endeavor to show how rules of behavior are expressed in killing and in attempts to avoid being killed. Further, I shall endeavor to point out what these indicate about structural and organizational changes both within the community and in its relations with the wider society. Since suicide is absent, except for a [762] single case of a madman, I have restricted my enquiry to homicide.

161 162 [101] 621 Teklum is a predominantly Indian township of Mexico. The population of the town center—about 1,900—includes only one Ladino, or non-Indian, family, that of the schoolteacher. The sense of community is limited to people living in the center and in the four nearby hamlets (*barrios*).

621 632 The town center is divided physically and socially into two endogamous sections, called "upper" and "lower." The outlying hamlets are linked to the nearest section by social and economic ties. The civil and religious posts of 621 632 the town are, in local theory, apportioned evenly between the sections. This was in fact 178 true until the 1950's; for each of the ranked posts had a paired complement, so that both sides of the dual division were represented, and the single posts of president and *síndico* (the president's administrative assistant) were al-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

tions of self will find a responsive audience only within these linguistic and physical boundaries. The sense of insulation is a denial of regional and national political institutions in which they interact with the other Indians and Ladinos who are part of their present world and share their history. The town itself is a product of the Spanish colonial *congregación,* which drew together diverse Indian populations that had been scattered in small settlements. The outlying barrios are occupied by Indians who have moved out from the center, as well as foreign Indians who had worked in the *fincas,* or large plantations, within the township. These latter people are referred to by a derisive term, *Kurik,* meaning roughly "country hick." Beyond these, and still within the municipal limits, there are a series of *colonias,* settlements populated by Indians who have moved here from other towns and by *mestizos,* or acculturated Indians. These settlers acquired land in the time of Juarez or later in the Cardenas period. Ladino men are called *Kaślan* and women *Šinlan;* foreigners who do not appear to be of the country are called *Alemán,* the Spanish term for German.

The focus of this book is on the lives and thoughts of people living within the center. The people of Tzoʾontahal live in a square world, surrounded by a round universe. From the square hole, cut in the earth at the center post of their square house to receive the sacrifice of a live chicken when the house is built, stretches a square village (it appears as a rectangle on the map, but they draw it as a square).[2] The fields are measured in squares of twenty-five arms' breadths, with five handspans measuring the square between each plant. Within this square world, they have elaborated techniques for dealing with spiritual and human co-residents in curing rituals, offerings for crops, burial practices, and baptism rites. Their present cultural stock reveals a selective absorption of Spanish colonial features along with twentieth-century innovations. They have techniques for planting and harvesting milpa, marketing the pottery manufactured in all the households, curing an eclipse of the moon, divining causes of illness and curing the maladjusted social relations which cause it, manufacturing and

2. This view of the world as square is shared by Tzeltal and Tzotzil neighbors in Larráinzar (Holland 1963:69), San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:254), and Pinola (Hermitte 1964). The four-direction concept of the village and world noted by Landa (Tozzer 1941:135) suggests a square-space concept.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

marketing contraband liquor, minimizing discord and settling disputes locally, and preserving continuity in a town administration marked by the annual rotation of officials. 105 177 178

These are the techniques acquired for dealing with the world in which they were born. For the world into which they are being propelled, they are combining new skills with old, creating a semblance of continuity but with a recombination of elements. Fitting this square community into the round post-Columbian world is a task consciously undertaken by the Mexican government. Within the town, strategies are being developed to meet the new demands made on the community as economic and political horizons widen.

The problem focus on the relation between belief and behavior in a changing social environment can be restated by asking how behavior is conditioned by custom and how it responds to cues from the environment. The first class of responses is adjustive, fitting the behavior of the individual to a given environment, and the second is adaptive, changing the external environment (Kluckhohn 1962:46). I shall use the distinction Mowrer and Kluckhohn (1944:258) have made between adaptation, "which develops and changes inherited ways of behaving," and adjustment, "which develops and changes habits," with the former referring to socially acquired responses and the latter to individual responses. A moving equilibrium is found when changes in adjustive and adaptive responses fit a persisting framework of understandings and explanations. Both adjustive and adaptive responses follow rules. These rules enable social groups to generate consistent, understandable, and appropriate behavior in response to a variety of settings. The "rules of the game" set the parameters for adjustive behavior; the "rules of strategy" generate behavior adaptive to change. The rules of the game are validated by the belief system of the society; the rules of strategy can be justified on the same premises, but if they are so fundamental as to challenge existing values, they require a new ideology. 121

The model of change which takes into account the techniques of adaptation and adjustment occurring within small-scale societies is that of moving equilibrium. Wallace (1962:142) has stated the dimensions of this model:

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Summary and Conclusions

The preceding generalizations anticipate conclusions that will be stated in terms of the hypotheses raised in the Preface. 181 105 182

1. *The stability of the society varies directly with the efficiency of its procedures for adjusting conflict.* The rising homicide rate is a behavioral index to the breakdown in procedures for adjusting conflict. The elders and cures still officiate in rituals to settle conflict, but their judgments are no longer as effective in overcoming fear and suspicion. The principle of age-based authority on which their authority rests has been undermined by ejido lands giving married sons earlier independence from their fathers and by young leaders assuming positions of power in the civil authority. More dispute cases have been referred to the departmental courts in the 60s than in the 50s.

2. *The stability of the society varies directly with the ability to validate behavioral innovations in terms of existing values.* Leaders in the new economic enterprises and the political factions based on them have tried to justify their efforts by stressing the goal of increasing their independence from the Ladinos. Their attempt to develop an ideology emphasizing the need for cooperation to overcome the dominance of the Ladinos is handicapped by the rampant suspicions about other members of the community and pessimism about the chances of the cooperative to succeed in the wider world. The conflict in the individual between desire for improvement of his welfare and fear of exciting envy is exacerbated by each innovation that raises the level of living. The leader who was most explicit in formulating an ideology for adapting to the new, the entrepreneur Santos, was a victim of the conflict he tried to interpret. There is no expression of pan-Indianism that could support the goal of cultural separatism of Indians from Ladinos. Indigenismo is the ideology of national leaders who have left behind the cultural heritage they extol. The Indians of Tzoʔontahal are as suspicious of neighboring Indians as they are of Ladinos. The retreat into separate communities which has ensured their survival in the four and a half centuries of colonial rule and independence makes it difficult to mobilize

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

181 support for cultural independence as economic interdependence grows.
105
182 3. *The stability of the society varies directly with the effectiveness of its procedures for transforming old power positions into ceremonial posts.* The community demonstrated the effectiveness of its technique of cooling off old power-holders as new leader usurped the authority of the principales. The struggle going on between the curers and the new civil leadership had not been resolved in ceremonial absorption of the curers' power when I left the community. The community was ridding itself of these fear-provoking agents of the supernatural by resorting to homicide. The loss of the institution of the alférez marked the waning of these old techniques of ceremonially incorporating leadership into a traditional hierarchy and linking civil office with religious obligations.

4. *The lability of the society varies directly with the gap between expectations and experience.* The Indians condition themselves to expect the worst and so are not disappointed by it. They pray only that they may maintain a given level of suffering and poverty. They are not caught up in that revolution of rising expectations that makes for discontent when experience does not match them. The Indians know they
[175] are better off than they were, and they contrast their present prosperity
[131] with the famine of 1915 when revolution and banditry depleted their crops and cattle, and with the typhoid epidemic of 1928 when hundreds died and the rest did not have the money to bury them properly. An attitude of pessimism about the future limits the problem of adjusting to it or of making adaptations to improve it. One could predict neither revolution nor moral collapse.

5. *The lability of the society varies directly with the degree of dissonance between traditional and contemporary interpretations of events.* The old explanations are still applied to current events. Disaster is blamed on individual or communal failure to carry out ceremonials. Sickness and death are attributed to witchcraft motivated by envy or malice. The paranoic theories of human nature are confirmed by every illness or death that occurs. Even the gods are characterized as envious and vindictive. Containment of blame for misfortune within the community minimizes the political involvement of Indians in the wider society and limits the changes that might affect them.

The material conditions making for equilibrium are breaking down within the community, but the failure for protest to develop means that old beliefs are not challenged by new ideologies. Adaptations and adjustments made in response to changes are still forced into this framework of understandings and expectations. But without any stated changes in belief, Indians are themselves transforming the internal structure of the society by undermining the old gerontocracy and shifting the locus of power to the innovating young men. A binary model of change that poses a transformation from traditional to modern might ignore these internal changes that maintain a given equilibrium intact but that provide a reordering of power making possible a successful adaptation to larger social orders. Tzo?ontahal is a case in point proving that the external conditions are not sufficient to explain fundamental restructuring of the society. People continue to act out a faith in the ways of the ancestors at the same time that adjustments and adaptations are made in response to increasing interdependence in regional and national institutions. The same framework of government is retained as shifts of power give scope to a new kind of leadership. Continuity in forms has the positive effect of preserving a sense of security. The social costs are a slowing down of adaptive responses and a high investment in the "ceremonial fund" (Wolf 1966). The benefits can only be measured by comparison with cultures that have lost these controls.

The universal problem which this community is in the process of working out has been stated by G. H. Mead (1938:22): "How is a society to find a method for changing its own institutions and still preserve the security of those institutions?" The present phrasing of the problem in the community is: "How can we preserve the solutions of the past and apply them to the present?" So long as the problem is phrased in this way, the solution is to exile or kill the deviants or innovators who attempt fundamental change. The threat of witchcraft continues to maintain conformity, and fear subverts the search for an ideology to phrase behavioral adjustments and adaptations in such a way that they will be congruent with future goals. Such an ideology cannot be imposed. Only the people themselves can work out the ways in which meaning and understanding are given to technological and social change.

[P 332 is blank]

628 establish with them the relations of posada and compadrazgo, men-
438 tioned above, as well as (in the infrequent cases of inter-com-
571 munity marriage), some affinal kinship ties. In the few recorded
608 cases of emigration from the village, some members of the com-
582 munity keep communication with a few consanguineal relatives living
628 in other Indian villages, although social exchanges and the memory
166 of such relatives tend to die out after a generation or two.
602

105 With the other Indian communities in the area, Amatenango and Aguacatenango share a common material culture and belief system, derived from a Highland Maya cultural tradition, the same linguistic background, and a subsistence pattern based on agriculture. They are peasant, in the sense that they are rural villages which depend, for survival, not only on agricultural work, but on economic exchange with other semi-urban and urban centers (Redfield, 1956:25-28).

438 Aguacatenango buys pottery and chayotes from Amatenango,
[273] whose women come periodically to sell them, and trago (drinking alcohol) which some Amatenangueros produce illegally. Amatenango buys from Aguacatenango surplus corn.

628 The two towns have amicable relations, thinking of each
[311] other as neighbors, and sharing the same pasture lands, and
[312] source of water for irrigation. The two communities share the
628 same cultural hero, called Juan Lopez in Aguacatenango and Lopez
776 Shuntón in Amatenango, connected with the corn and with the "lightening who lives in a cave." For Aguacatenangueros this personage is the builder of the roads, responsible for the eradication of "cannibalism," the conversion of man-hunting animals

I SUMMARIZE the evidence offered in the inaugural acts first in terms of a functional analysis of the ceremonial behavior and second in terms of structural and organizational changes revealed in the strategies of interaction. The following goals are attained in the rituals of inauguration: 621* 105 794 178 18 [128]

1. *Preservation of continuity.* In the highland Maya Indian communities the problem of maintaining continuity is crucial because most of the offices

796 794 608 554 533

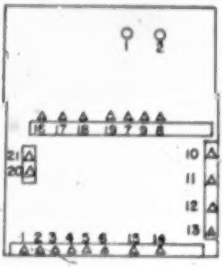


CHART 14 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF SACRAMENTO, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 *Meºil K'op*
2 *Sčebal smeº*

MEN (triangles):
16 Cofrade of Sacramento (*Kobraria Sakramentú*)
17 First Nakawane (*Sba Nakawane*)
18 Second Nakawane (*Sčebal Nakawane*)
19 Third Nakawane (*Yolebal Nakawane*)
20, 21 Guitarist (*Balnial Alpultero*)

Remaining numerals refer to role terms listed in Chart 13.

are changed simultaneously. The emphasis on continuity is evident, first of all, in the repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetitive behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expectation which assures participants in a performance of a link with the past. Bunzel (1952, p. 251) has shown that this familiarity of ritual "sets" in a variety of ceremonials provides linkage with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango. Repetition in behavior is reinforced by verbal references to perform- 621* 105 794 178 18

[P. 227 - A]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

ing "what our mothers and fathers did" (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 64). Second, continuity can be seen in the presence of both old and new officials in the townhall. In this setting, the old officials acknowledge acceptance of the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28). Finally, of greatest importance in establishing continuity are the principales, who await the arrival of the new officials with the old officials (App. 1, Q. 28) who pass over the symbol of authority (App. 1, Q. 31), and who remain alone in the townhall for the return of the new officials, when they have gone to church.

621* 105 794 178 18 [624]

2. *Role commitment.* The officials are members of closed corporate communities, integrated in a prior set of kinship and other social relations. They cannot rely on anonymity when acting in their official capacity as judge or policeman. Thus one of the functions of the inauguration as a rite of passage is a disengagement from the preexisting network of obligations and a commitment to the obligations of the office (cf. Parsons, 1951, pp. 80–84; Gluckman, 1962, p. 34; Cancian, 1964). Behaviorally, this function is indicated in the unfailing use of the term *Mam* (elder respect term) in both address and reference. The reference to the holy nature of their task (App. 1, Q. 19) and of the symbol of their authority, the "holy" staff (App. 1, Q. 30) which they always carry when discharging an official errand, establishes the supernatural authority on which the role is based. The effectiveness of these symbolic role identities in neutralizing prior affective commitments can partially be judged in that most dispute cases are brought before the local courts rather than referred to higher courts, suggesting that the complainant expects fair treatment.

621* 105 794 178 18 156 554 [576] [293] [691]

3. *Role learning.* The inauguration provides a setting in which the individual who is about to assume office learns what is expected of him (cf. Fortes, 1962, p. 82). The instruction of the novice officeholder is acquired most importantly in the home from the speeches of the *nakawanehetik* and cofrades (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 38, Q. 64) and in the directions he may be given in the ceremonial setting (App. 2, Q. 39, observation).

4. *Introduction of new officeholders to the villagers.* The new status of the officeholders is made

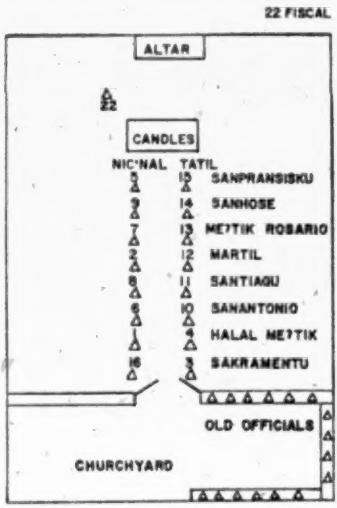
621* 105 794 178 18 788 [P. 227-B]

public in the procession around the plaza (App. 1, Q. 39). The mayordomos gather in the church specifically to view the new incumbents (App. 1, Q. 50). There is less public display of new officeholders in the case of the religious officials than in the case of civil officials.

621* 105 794 178 18 [788]

The morphological description of the structure of a society is inadequate unless it includes role behavior as well as status positions. The behavioral data pro-

105 121 182 554 571



794 796 554 346

CHART 15 — NEW MAYORDOMOS INSIDE CHURCH, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

vide the basis for describing the physiology of a culture, or how actors and social groups interrelate in carrying out tasks. In the inaugurations, the household emerged in the behavioral descriptions as an important ritual domain supporting the civil and religious hierarchy. Similarly, the asymmetrical relation between the role of religious officials in the civil inauguration and that of civil officials in the religious

105 121 182 554 571 621* 105 182 794 [592] [571] [554]

[P. 228-A)

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX ~~K~~—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN CIVIL INAUGURATION

	Setting	Role (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	Relationship	Behavior
*621 105 192 554 593 [574]	House, evening of inauguration	*ʔAČʔAʔTEL*, new officials	Ego	Receives guests, sits next to leader *nakawane*
		NAKAWANEHETIK, house officials	Father of new official or elder of neighborhood who has passed in higher offices (first regidor and elder mayordomo)	Initiates greetings; sits in head seat
		BALNIALETIK, assistants	Sons of new officials, husbands of daughters or of sisters	Serve food, measure drinks
[608]		*ʔAK'SIETIK*, wood gatherers	Neighbors, compadres, brothers	Bring wood, eat, drink
		MEʔELETIK, Meʔil K'op, woman speaker Yinam, wife	Mother, or elder relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings
		SKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers		Serves food. Cook food, dish out food, eat
*621 105 192 554 [593] [602] [608] [574]	House, morning of inauguration	*NAKAWANEHETIK*, house officials	Father and/or elder neighbors	Initiates greetings, addresses blessing to liquor
		AʔTELETIK ALKALETIK REHIROLETIK, judges, regidores	Men of village	Receive food and liquor
		BALNIALETIK, assistants	Brothers-in-law, godsons, compadres, fa's sis's sons, brother, comadre's son, neighbors	Serve food, measure drink
		YULATAK, visitors	Men from rural colonias	Give *abrazo*, embrace, to new president, eat, drink
		MEʔELETIK, women Meʔil k'op Sčebal Smeʔ Yolebal Smeʔ	Mother or elder relative ? ? ?	Responds to *nakawane's* and *alkal's* greeting. Orders women in serving of food
		ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	(See Chart 3)	Cooks food, dishes out food
	Townhall, morning session, civil inauguration	*K'AʔAʔTELETIK*, old officials	Men of village	Drink; wait for new officials seated
[594]		*ʔALPERESETIK*, alferecés	Men of village	Bring banners from church, drink wait for new officials

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX 3B—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN RELIGIOUS INAUGURATION

105
192
554
794

SETTING	ROLE (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	RELATIONSHIP	BEHAVIOR
[574] House of kobraria Sacramento, morning of inauguration	KOBRARIA SAKRAMENTU	Ego	Receives guests; sits at first seat on outside wall near door
[604] [605]	NAKAWANEHETIK	Fa's brother and fa's brother's sons	Initiates greetings, sits at head seat
[593] [608]	BALNIALETIK	Sons, sons of campadres, neighbors	Serve liquor, food
[602]	ME?ELETIK, women	Elder female relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings, orders helpers
[608]	Me?ilk'op, woman speaker		
	ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	Comadres, sisters, neighbors	Prepare food, coffee
	MARTOMAETIK		Eat and drink. Listen to advice of *nakawanchetik*
	3 KOBRARIA TATILETIK		
	NIČ'ANILETIK		
Church, morning of inauguration	PIŠKAL, fiscal		Advises mayordomos of duties. Divides up candles brought by mayordomos; hands them to new mayordomos
	KURA, priest		
	?AČ'MARTOMAETIK, new mayordomos		
	K'A MARTOMAETIK, old mayordomos		

1: Guiteras Holmes, Calixta. Clanes y Sistema de Parentesco de Cancuc (México) [Clans and Kinship System of Cancuc (Mexico)]. Acta Americana, Vol. 5, pp. 1-17. México, D. F. and Los Angeles: Inter-American Society of Anthropology and Geography, 1947.

Yale: C51 8 5. [HRAF MS: pp. 1-19.]

Translated from the Spanish for the Human Relations Area Files by Mary Louise Bravo.

[This study of the kin groups (clan) and the kinship terminology of the Tzeltal in the town of Cancuc, Chiapas, Mexico, is based on the author's two season's fieldwork during May-June in 1945 and June in 1946. In this short article information concerning the structure of the unilinear kin groups, the relationships of these groups with the community structure, the characteristics of these groups such as names, and the kin terms are clearly presented.]

Field date: 1945 & 1946
Analyst: Cheng-ruey Ma

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1969

2: Redfield, Robert and Alfonso Villa Rojas. Notes on the Ethnography of Tzeltal Communities of Chiapas. Carnegie Institution of Washington, Contributions to American Anthropology and History, Vol. 5, pp. 105-119. Washington, D. C., 1939.

Yale: C52.08 5.

[This is an ethnographical account of Tzeltal communities dealing specifically with community structure, political organization, economics, and religious festivals. The source was written on the basis of Villa Rojas's 34-day fieldwork in 1938 and further supplemented by both authors' later literature research and analysis. An agricultural calendar is also recorded.]

Field date: February & March, 1938
Analyst: Cheng-ruey Ma

Evaluation: Ethnologists-4, 5
Processed in 1969

3: Nash, June Caprice. Death as a Way of Life: The Increasing Resort to Homicide in a Maya Indian Community. American Anthropologist, Vol. 69, pp. 455-470. Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association, 1967.

HRAF copy.

/In this article the author studied and analyzed 37 homicides between 1938 and 1965 in the town of Teklum a fictitious name given to the Tzeltal community where she did field research during her two seasons actual residence in 1964 and 1965. The cases are analyzed on the basis of their various components: according to whom is killed, the context, the agency, and the motivation of the killer in those cases in which the acts of homicide differ in social significance. The increasing homicide rate reflects the change of social control systems in the community--the conflicts arising from competition in new economic enterprises, the rising suspicion of curers' abuse of their supernatural power, and the loss of belief in the guardianship of the spiritual ancestors./

Field date: 1964 and 1965
Analyst: Cheng-ruey Ma

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1969-1970

4: Villa Rojas, Alfonso. The Tzeltal. In, Robert Wauchope, general editor, Handbook of Middle American Indians, Vol. 7, pp. 195-225. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969.

3 tables; 7 text figures

Yale: CF 1434 H35 7. DLC card no.: 64-10316.

[Additional bibliography included as pp. [225(D)] - [225(G)].]

[This article, written by a professional anthropologist with fieldwork experience among the Tzeltal, is concerned with the people, their culture and society. Data to be found in this source pertain in brief to the Tzeltal environmental setting, culture history, technology, food, social structure, political organization, life cycle, religion, etc. The author also mentions the socio-cultural changes in Tzeltal society and regional differences between Tzeltal communities in terms of their culture. Although this account is based primarily on the author's fieldwork, it is further supplemented by additional library research.]

Field Date: 1938-1944
Analyst: Cheng-ruey Ma

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1969

5: Blom, Frans and Oliver LaFarge. Tribes and temples: a record of the expedition to Middle America conducted by the Tulane University of Louisiana in 1925. Tulane University, Middle American Research Series, Publication no. 1, vol. 2. New Orleans, 1927.

4, 239-536, [16] p.

Yale: C68.08 1.[2]

[Only pp. 239-258, 325-400, 465-478, 485, 503-504, 523-536, and one map, which refer to the Tzeltal, have been processed.]

[This book is a generalized description of an expedition through the Chiapas highlands undertaken by an archeologist and an ethnologist. There are detailed descriptions and pictures of ceramics, textiles, clothing, basketry, buildings, and other items of material culture. Descriptions of settlements, land use, political institutions and religion are sketchy.]

Field date: 1925
Analyst: Sigrid Khera, marker
John Beierle, checker

Evaluation: Archeologist, Ethnologist—5
Processed in 1970-1971

111

NV9 Tzeltal

6: Metzger, Duane. Interpretations of drinking performances in Aguacatenango. University of Chicago Library, Department of Photoduplication, Microfilm Thesis no. T10465. Chicago, 1964.

4, 187 l.; 14 tables; bibliography.

HRAF copy.

[In this doctoral dissertation in anthropology, the author distinguishes between ceremonial and individual drinking among the Indians of Aguacatenango. The former occurs at every public and household ceremonial. During ceremonial drinking, at which only adult males participate, the status of each individual is given proper consideration. Though every adult male of the community is supposed to participate at ceremonial drinking parties, successful attempts to gain acceptable dispensation from drinking are not infrequent. Aggressive behavior of drunken persons is not condemned. The author presents numerous native verbal texts for the interpretation of drinking behavior. The study also discusses kin terminology in detail.]

Field date: no date
Analysts: Sigrid Khera, marker
John Beierle, checker

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1970-71

7: Nash, June. In the eyes of the ancestors: belief and behavior in a Maya community. New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1970.

24, 368 p.; 10 plates; 1 map; 8 text figures.

HRAF copy. DLC card No.: 70-81425.

/This book describes and analyzes socio-cultural changes in the Tzeltal community of Amatenango del Valle (Tzoʔ ontahal). It discusses mainly changes in the economy, relationships to the Mexican government and the surrounding Ladino population, political leadership and religion. In the traditional economy which was based upon agriculture and ceramics manufacture, entrepreneurship was in the hands of Ladinos. Villagers are beginning to break this pattern of Ladino entrepreneurship through their own co-operatives (trucking co-op and co-op store). Individual entrepreneurship of community members would meet strong resistance in this society where accumulation of wealth is not tolerated. Political leadership, which so far has rested on the principle of age grading, has in some cases been given to young persons on grounds of their ability to write and speak Spanish. Literacy is increasing among the young people due to a now well established school education. Literacy enables the Indians to learn more about their rights as Mexican citizens, of which they make use when controversies with Ladinos arise. The hiring of lawyers in extracommunity law suits has become common practice.

7: Nash

The belief in the overall importance of the ancestors for the well-being of the community has given way to strong skepticism. As a result certain ceremonies have been dropped, and the healing practitioners are no longer considered as benevolent religious agents but are through-out suspected of witchcraft. Accusations of witchcraft not only against healers but against cultural deviants also have increased over the past years. The killing of persons accused of witchcraft is tolerated by the community. Numerous typographical errors detract from the general scholarly quality of this work./

Field dates: 1957, 1958, 1965, 1966, 1967
(18 months total)

Analysts: Sigrid Khera, marker
John Beierle, checker

Evaluation: Ethnographer-5

Processed in 1970-1971

8: Hunt, Muriel Eva Verbitsky. The dynamics of the domestic group in two Tzeltal villages: A contrastive comparison. Chicago, University, Library, Department of Photoduplication, Micro-film Thesis No. 9048. Chicago, 1962.

7, 223 l.; 17 illus.; 16 tables.

HRAF copy.

[This study is a doctoral thesis submitted to the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago. It is based upon the author's intensive field work in the two Tzeltal communities of Aguacatenango and Amatenango, and upon analysis of several other recent primary sources on this ethnic group. Differences in the social grouping of the two communities, especially as far as the household is concerned, are to a high degree due to the different roles of women as contributors to the income. In Aguacatenango the economy is based solely upon agriculture, which is a purely male activity. In this village viri-patrilocal residence is a predominant feature. In Amatenango, ceramic manufacture, which is purely a female activity, is the main source of income. Here the incidences of uxori-matrilocal residence are by far higher than in Aguacatenango.]

Field date: 1958
Analysts: Sigrid Khera, marker
John Beierle, checker

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1970-1971

9: Nash, June C. The change of officials in Tzo?ontahal, Chiapas, Mexico: an analysis of behavior as a key to structure and process. Tulane University, Middle American Research Institute, Publication 24, pp. 209-248. New Orleans.

3 appendices; bibliography.

HRAF copy.

[This source presents a structural-functional analysis of Tzeltal behavior based on the rituals of the inauguration of civil and religious officials in the community of Tzo?ontahal, Chiapas, Mexico. Much of the data presented in this work was gathered by the author by intensive questioning of native informants using both the informal, unstructured technique of interviewing and that of formal analysis employing the method developed by Metzger and Williams. This was further supplemented by the author's own observations of the inauguration ceremonies. The first section of the source is concerned with the cognitive frame of reference in terms of roles and relationships in the civil and religious hierarchies. Section 2 deals with the actual behavior or civil and religious officials during the inauguration ceremonies in which these role structures are both exemplified and modified. In section 3, divergences between data elicited from informants and that obrained by the author's observations

9: Nash

are analyzed in terms of their significance for social change (see appendices 1 and 2). The author notes that here she has fed into this particular model data obtained from the informal analysis of informants using the procedure previously mentioned. The final section 4, along with the following 3 appendices, summarizes the behavioral data in terms of structural-functional explanations and their implications for social change.]

Field Date: 1964
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5.
Processed in 1971-1974

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

221 241 Concerning the correspondence between the months and the agricultural activities, Emeterio Pineda says:

Moc is the month in which fences should be repaired, and *Olalti* is that in which the sowing is to be done, no matter what may be the condition of the atmosphere, so that if rain fails or is insufficient or is excessive, nevertheless it may not be done in any other month even though then weather and precipitation permit.

Uch (*Uch*): in this month plants are attacked by ailments and insects, in particular by insects such as plant lice which weaken and destroy them; in the month of *Elech* (*Eluch*) the favorable winds should cure them. But in case they are not favorable, the loss of many plants is sure, as, for example, the potato which neither flowers nor gives a yield. *Nichquin* corresponds with the period of flowering, *Shalvinquil* with pollenization and *Xchibalvinquil*, *Yoxibalvinquil* and *Xchanibalvinquin* with the three periods of the formation of the seed: that of the pearl, that of the milk and that of the starch.

Pom (*Pom*): in this month honey may be taken from the hives, and the harvest may be carried in. *Mux* represents the beginning of cold, and *Yaxquin* the Christmas season.[46]

[114] O. D. E. Bunge quotes this paragraph but attributes it erroneously to Nuñez de la Vega.[47] Bunge's publication provides other interesting data on this subject. It may be added that the nineteen-month calendar with close relation to the agricultural year has recently been reported by Weitlaner[48] for a non-Maya people, the Chinantec, in northern Oaxaca, and for the Mazatec, a people neighboring the Chinantec.[49]

[46] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 119.
[47] Bunge, 1935, p. 54.
[48] Weitlaner, 1936, pp. 197–201.
[49] Bevan, 1938, p. 5.

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[P.470-A] Teklum

000 syndrome of Kaingang society. The frustration-aggression formulation has blinded us to many other possible formulas in sentiment and behavior.

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764 need in the afterlife are placed with him: a comb, a bowl, a bottle with water to dissolve the posol, a needle and thread, and, if a man, aguardiente.

The arms of the dead are crossed over the chest and a rosary (*uenteshil*) is put be-

[text continues top of p. 225-B]

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[References continue on middle of p. 225-B]

[p. 225-A]

764 tween his hands. The head is always placed to the west. During the following days, prayers are said to the memory of the dead. [768] Sometimes the house is evacuated because [775] people are afraid of the soul who remains saying goodbye to friends and relatives.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

113 The bibliography concerns itself merely with works consulted or referred to in this report, it is not in any sense intended to cover the field. Reference is always given to the edition of any book actually used, without trying to give a complete list of the editions through which the work may have passed. Particularly is this true in the case of earlier sources and manuscripts which have been more recently re-published.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

[p. 524]

ABBREVIATIONS

113 The following are the principal abbreviations used:

Am., American.

Am. Geog. Soc., American Geographical Society.

Am. Philos. Soc., American Philosophical Society.

Anniv. Vol., Anniversary Volume.

Anth., Anthropology.

Arch. Inst. Am., Archaeological Institute of America.

Bol., Boletin.

Bull., Bulletin.

Bur. Am. Ethn., Bull. and Ann. Rep., Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin and Annual Report.

Cong. Int. Am. —— *Sess.*, Congrés Internationale des Américanistes, ——ième Session.

Ethn., Ethnology.

Field Columb. Mus., Anth. Ser., Field Columbian Museum, Anthropological Series.

Ges. Abhandl., Gesammelte Abhandlungen.

Harvard Univ., Pea. Mus. Pap. and Mem., Harvard University, Peabody Museum, Papers and Memoirs.

Inst., Institute.

Int. Journ. Am. Ling., International Journal of American Linguistics.

Journ., Journal.

Köng., Königlich.

Lib. Aborig. Am. Lit., Library of Aboriginal American Literature.

Mus., Museum.

Mus. Am. Ind., Heye Found., Contrib., Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, Contributions.

Mus. Nac. Mex., Museo Nacional de Mexico.

Proc., Proceedings.

Sess., Session.

Smiths. Inst., Smithsonian Institute.

Soc., Society.

Soc. Mex. Geog. Estad., Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadistica.

Univ. Penn., Pub., Ser. Philol., Lit. Arch., Bull. Free. Mus. Sci. Art, and Anth. Pub., University of Pennsylvania, Publications, Series in Philology, Literature and Archaeology, Bulletin of the Free Museum of Science and Art, and Anthropological Publications.

U. S. Nat. Mus., United States National Museum.

Zeits., Zeitschrift.

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/11 cont./

601 father and his brother, mother and her sister -- using for this class of relatives the /12/ same terms, even though making use of a suffix that distinguishes real parents from the classificatory ones, and in the same way among their reciprocals, as we have noted above. In ordinary conversation the suffix may be eliminated, thus confusing the real relatives with the classificatory ones. The children of these relatives are all brothers and sisters among themselves.

601 611 This type of system seems to have its origin in the one known by the name of "Omaha," whose most outstanding characteristic is the classification of the male descendants of the mother's brother, through the male line, with the mother's brother, and the classification of the female descendants, through the male line, of this same relative with the mother's sister. Nevertheless, in Cancuc there is a marked tendency to designate by means of the term kichán both the male and female descendants of the mother's brother, through the male line, without any distinction of sex, which, according to the rule of the uniform reciprocals, brings with it on the part of a female EGO the designation of kichán for the children of the father's sister, in place of the kaal-jún used by a woman for this class of relatives. Furthermore, we are faced with the fact that the descendants of the mother's brother through the female line are no longer considered as relatives; that is to say, the descendants of a woman who is designated by the term mee-jún, and who, according to the rule of uniform descent, should receive the title of "siblings," are not considered as such. This 601 614 disequilibrium tends to disappear with the elimination of the term mee-jún for this class of relatives and the extension of the term kichán for the designation of the same, embracing all the members of the maternal clan, that is to say, all those whom the mother of EGO calls "brother" and "sister." The term kichán, which formerly denoted "man of my mother's clan," would now mean "every person of my mother's clan."

[114] We have not been able to obtain the kinship terms corresponding to the descendants of the grandparents' siblings, since in the genealogies that we possess these terms do not appear because of having been replaced by those applied to clan siblings, or chapomales, or to members of the maternal clan, due to marriages concluded with persons belonging to these clans, there existing, as we have already indicated, a preference for these terms over those.

/16 cont./

614 595 two women belonged to the same clan, and in the other two they were women from two different clans. The levirate and sororate 587 exist, but do not constitute a custom practiced /17/ by many; [174] formerly it must have been more frequent, as is proved by the fact of designating the stepfather and stepmother by the same terms used for the father's brother and mother's sister, respectively, 583 and the stepchildren as nephews and nieces. There are several 614 cases of marriage between brother and sister of one clan and sister and brother of another clan. Marriage between cross-cousins is 582 frequent, especially that of a man with the daughter of the mother's brother. Husband and wife always belong to the same generation.

591 Residence is patrilocal, with temporary matrilocal residence for a year after marriage.

593 There still prevails the custom that those who intercede in a 614 direct manner in the preparation of the cadaver and in the in- 764 humation must be members of a different clan. If a married woman who has not had children dies, she is buried with her relatives, without the intervention of her husband.

614 The members of one and the same clan co-operate among themselves and lend each other mutual aid; the younger people obey and respect their elders in the same way that a younger brother respects and obeys his older brother. And we have stressed [626] how "sorcery" is practiced only within the limits of the clan as a [754] means of social control.

Mexico City,
Mexico

101 Note: The materials for the present study were collected 114 during two seasons of field work: May-June, 1945, and June, 1946, 122 financed by the University of Chicago, Instituto Nacional de Antropología de México, and Government of the State of Chiapas.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

NOTES ON THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF TZELTAL COMMUNITIES OF CHIAPAS

In February and March of 1938, Alfonso Villa Rojas made an ethnological reconnaissance of Tzeltal settlements in northeastern Chiapas, Mexico. The work was done under the auspices of Carnegie Institution of Washington as a guide to the planning of more intensive field work. San Cristobal de las Casas, where Mr. Villa arrived on the first of February, served naturally as a base. A short trip was taken to Teopizca and Amatenango, and a second to visit the ruins of San Gregorio[1] and the village of Chanal. On the fourteenth of that month, Mr. Villa started northward from Las Casas, visiting fifteen Tzeltal settlements, and then entered Chol country at Tila and left Chiapas by airplane from Salto de Agua. 101 114 [122]

In Mexico City Mr. Villa was provided with a letter of introduction from Ing. Ignacio Marquina, head of the Department of Prehistoric Monuments, of the Secretariat of Public Education. In Tuxtla Gutierrez the Governor of Chiapas, Ing. Efrain Gutierrez, received Mr. Villa and heard from him explanation of Mr. Villa's interests and purposes. Mr. Frans Blom had given Mr. Villa a letter of introduction, but the person addressed was not in Las Casas when Mr. Villa arrived. In Las Casas Mr. Villa received great help from Don José Villanueva. To all these persons who extended kindness and help, grateful acknowledgment is made. Dr. Ruth Bunzel kindly wrote information on the region to Mr. Villa before he began his journey. 122

The Tzeltal communities, given in the order in which they were visited and with indication of the length of time spent in each, were as follows: Amatenango (2 days), Chanal (2 days), Tenejapa (3 days), Cancuc (1 day), Oxchuc (5 days), San Martin (1 day), Tenango (2 days), Sivacá (1 day), Ococingo (6 days), Bachajón (2 days), Citalá (2 days), Guaquitepec (2½ days), Chilón (2 days), Yajalon (2 days), Petalcingo (½ day). 114 103

These villages have been the locus of a number of Indian uprisings,[2] and disturbances have occurred recently, in 1914, 1917, and 1930. Therefore the inhabitants of Spanish culture (Ladinos) are not infrequently uneasy. In Cancuc and Oxchuc Mr. Villa's work was impeded by a revival of this uneasiness, the Ladinos fearing that the celebrations of the carnival season might lead the Indians to acts of violence. With this exception, however, Mr. Villa found the Indians accessible and conditions of work favorable. The information reported herein was obtained in almost every instance from Indians, not Ladinos. Mr. Villa used an interpreter in cases where the Indians did not speak Spanish; although he has a command of Yucatec, and has done ethnological work in Yucatan,[3] he does not speak Tzeltal. 114 669 114 [124] [122]

The notes Starr[4] collected on the Tzeltal in 1901 were apparently[5] obtained

[1] For a short description of these ruins, see Schuman, 1936, pp. 296–305.
[2] Vicente Pineda, 1888.
[3] Redfield and Villa, 1934.
[4] Starr, 1902.
[5] Ibid., pp. 62–72.

: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1936) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

114 chiefly at Tenejapa and Cancuc. In 1925 Blom and LaFarge[7] entered the Tzeltal country from the north, visiting Bachajón, Sivacá, Tenango, Cancuc, Tenejapa, and Amatenango. These authors have published a short general account[8] of the culture of these people. In 1928 the John Geddings Gray Memorial Expedition of the Tulane University of Louisiana passed through the villages of Ococingo and Sivaca, and visited the hacienda "El Real." At this last place Carlos Basauri, a member of the expedition, collected notes on the Tzeltals.[9] Marcos E. Becerra, who was for ten years head of the Department of Public Education of Chiapas, assembled information on the languages, ethnography, and history of the Indians of the highlands and of other parts of the state.[10] Dr. Ruth Bunzel has spent some time recently in the region; her materials are unpublished.

101 361 The Tzeltal-speaking communities may be divided into those situated in the highlands (Amatenango, Chanai, Tenejapa, Cancuc, Oxchuc, San Martin, and Tenango), and those situated at less than 1000 m. above sea level and that consequently enjoy a warmer climate (Sivaca, Ococingo, Bachajon, Citala, Guaquitepec, Chilon, Yajalón, and Petalcingo).

133 In general the State of Chiapas is highly dissected and mountainous. It is crossed from east to west with three cordilleras, with subdivisions into various branches which cross with one another to form a complicated orographic system. The ranges which cross the Tzeltal region are those belonging to the Cordillera de Hueitepec, reaching an altitude of 2597 m. above sea level[11] in a mountain of this name situated east of the city of Las Casas. With the exception of some [361] Chamula settlements, this is the settlement of greatest altitude (2110 m. above sea level)[12] in the entire state. From this point and continuing northward are to be found the other pueblos Villa visited. The land decreases in altitude until it reaches the Ococingo Valley where there is a sharp descent of 600 m.[13] From here on, the terrain is not so dissected and the altitude is less than 1000 m. above sea level and becomes gradually less.[14]

132 [823] As is natural, the climates of these two zones present marked differences which have given rise to the expressions "tierra fria" and "tierra caliente" by which the natives distinguish them. The former refers to the higher region where, according to Amram, "The temperature rarely falls below freezing, though in November, 1935, it dropped as low as 24° F. During the long dry period, when for weeks at a time no rain falls, the temperature in the shade occasionally rises above 75°, and the temperature in the sun may reach well over 100°. The relative humidity is low, and there are great differences between shade and sun temperatures. The nights are cool."[15]

The region of the tierra caliente begins in the Valley of Ococingo and the temperature rises as one goes northward. At Salto de Agua, 73 m. above sea level, one experiences tropical heat.

[7] Blom and LaFarge, 1927.
[8] *Ibid.*, 2: 374-406.
[9] Basauri, 1931.
[10] Becerra, 1932 and 1935.
[11] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 20. See also Waibel, 1935, pp. 69-77.
[12] Santaebañez, 1911, p. 7.
[13] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 26.
[14] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 518.
[15] *Ibid.*, 2: 577.
[16] Amram, 1937, p. 58.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The Indians manufacture and consume *chicha*, an alcoholic beverage fermented from sugar cane or maize. They drink larger quantities of rum prepared in Ladino-owned distilleries. *Pilico*, a combination of lime and tobacco, is chewed frequently, especially in Oxchuc, Tenejapa, and Cancuc.

Tenejapa is the only Tzeltal town that enjoys importance as a market center. Here a market is held every Sunday.

Pottery is made for sale outside the local community in Amatenango and in Tenango. In almost all the other communities the industry is practised in a rudimentary form merely to supply local needs. Blom and LaFarge observed and reported the techniques of pottery manufacture at Sivaca;[10] Villa limits his data to mentioning the industry there. Blom and LaFarge report, on hearsay, the method of making large, egg-shaped, three-handled water jars at Tenango; Villa observed and reported this industry. The former authors report that the clay used is "a light greenish brown colour."[11] Villa says that two kinds of clay, "white earth" and "red earth," are combined to form the paste. Villa also noted the tempering with a ground sandy limestone (*hi*) and the painting with a paint made from a soft stone from the river (*huxu-tzaik*). The pots and griddles are made from one kind of clay tempered with a different sandstone called *bax*. The method of firing described for Sivaca by Blom and LaFarge from hearsay, involving the preparation of "an A-roof, forming a long tunnel,"[12] was observed and photographed by Villa in Tenango. Villa was told that vessels after firing are filled with *pozol* in water to reduce the porosity.

In Tenejapa metates are made for export, and in Oxchuc halters, lead-ropes, nets, and bags. The methods of weaving, net making and basketry, reported by Blom and LaFarge for Bachajón[13] were not reported by Villa.

The type of habitation is the same throughout the whole region, although there are small variations from village to village. The houses are rectangular in form with four-sided roofs, thatched with grass, and with sides made of poles and clay. Only the houses of Chanal form an exception. The walls of these structures are in most cases of wood. The houses of Tenango present another exception in that they are the only ones where the roofs do not terminate in a ridge, but in a point; it is usual to cover this with an inverted pot. Houses are throughout divided into two rooms, one of which serves as living room and kitchen and the other as sleeping room. In some cases the kitchen is placed in the latter section. There is a single door in front; only in certain settlements to the north, as Chilón and Yajalón, where the influence of the white man has been greater, are houses to be seen with two doors and even some with small windows. The floor is always of packed earth.

The furnishings of the living room are limited in general to beds, improvised of boards placed on the ground or on logs, and covered with mats. The hammock is little used; it is generally reserved for children. The furnishings and domestic

[10] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:342–345.
[11] Ibid., 2:385.
[12] Ibid., 2:344.
[13] Ibid., 2:345–349.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

352 utensils pertaining to the other room include three tables of varying form and size. One of these, about 60 cm. high, is called *akhintel*,[23] and serves as a support for the metate (*cha*). Another smaller table (*matzamalté*) has three legs and is circular in form; it is used in making tortillas. The third table (*ucbalté*), also small but quadrangular, is used in serving food. Three benches of hollow logs 415 (*tzantel*) and small chairs (*taburetes*) serve as seats. Deep baskets and gasoline 251 boxes are used for holding clothes. Hanging from the roof is always to be seen a disk made of vines (*iikin-nab*). This is used to keep comestibles from the rats. The other implements are the griddle, pots, and other vessels of clay, and calabashes and gourds in various forms and dimensions.

343 Besides the fowl pen (*na-mut*) and the pigpen (*na-chitán*) it is common to [417] see near the house the temazcal, or steam bath (*pus*). It is made of clay and irregularly shaped stones; it is rectangular with a small door in front and a ventilator in the rear. It is usual to cover it with a small shelter of straw. The use of the temazcal [184] is common in the highlands. It is almost not to be found from Ocozingo northward.

29 Each village has its own costume; however, local variations conform to a 184 certain pattern which changes according to the altitudes and climate. Thus, in the region of Los Altos the usual pattern of dress is the following: for men, short cotton trousers (*uex*)[24] and cotton shirt (*kú*) reaching to the knees, a sash (*chukichut*) of wool or cotton and in most cases red in color, a poncho (*tzotz*) made of wool and in most cases dark grey in color, a handkerchief (*chukkil*), a straw hat (*pixol*), and leather sandals (*xanab*), women wear a white blouse (*ku*) and a blue shirt (*tzequel*), both made either of wool or of cotton, and a red woolen sash (*chukichut*). Some women in going out-of-doors add a woolen *rebozo*. Women use also a cotton cloth (*zitz-cal*) to carry small children. They wear no footgear.

In the tierra caliente the dress of the women is almost the same except that it is cleaner. On the other hand that of the men, although equally clean, presents marked differences: the trousers are longer and the shirt shorter, coming to resemble an open blouse or *guayabera*. The sash and the poncho cease to be indispensable [177] garments. It is in this region that there is most use of trousers and shirt in European style.

551 In Tenejapa, Starr found that the Indians had Tzeltal surnames. He says, 582 "We feel sure that these are *not* nicknames, but the old family names still preserved."[25] He does not give examples, and says nothing about any relation between .114 these name-groups and marriage. Blom and LaFarge make no note of such names, and say, "there are no formal restrictions on marriage."[26]

582 Villa found Indian surnames present in Chanal, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc, 551 and was told that marriage is not allowed, or is at least strongly discouraged, between persons of the same Indian surname. In Chanal an informant indicated that such

[184] [23] The names of these objects vary from one village to another; those which are described here were obtained in Chanal.

[24] The names of some of these garments vary likewise from one village to another; here Villa gives names used in Chanal.

[25] Starr, 1902, p. 75.

[26] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 554.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

and four *chuycales*, who are in charge of sacred matters. Certain shamans, called *dzunubiles*, also participate in calpul government.

In Cancuc, Villa did not inquire into the matter, but in Oxchuc and in Bachajón the calpules have separate patron saints and are known, in the case of Bachajón, by the names of San Sebastian and San Geronimo, in the case of Oxchuc, Santo Tomas and La Trinidad. In the church at Bachajón the santos belonging to the north calpul, San Sebastian and two others, stand on the left side of the church, while San Geronimo, San Manuel, and the Virgin, representing the south calpul, stand at the right side. It appears, however, at least in the case of Oxchuc, that the festivals of these saints are maintained by the people of both calpules jointly.

The antagonism between the calpules of Cancuc has expressed itself from time to time in violence. During Villa's stay it was rumored that the people of the southern half were about to attack those of the northern half, and indeed, shots were fired. Blom and LaFarge reported "a dragging feud" in this village.[28] Apparently marriages may and do take place between the calpules; there is no indication, however, that they are exogamous.

In Oxchuc a principal annual ceremony attends the transfer from one calpul to the other of a certain sacred book. This greatly venerated object was, after some reluctance shown to Villa. He was requested to deliver to its custodians a dozen rockets, some candles, and some incense; he was then allowed to examine it in the presence of the chiefs and the chuycales of both calpules. It is a notebook of twelve paper sheets, 40 by 20 cm. in size; it has a deerskin cover. Of the twelve pages, nine bear writing, all but one on both sides. The text appears to be a series of orders set down by the Spanish authorities in the year 1674. The book is kept in a black wooden box; before and after removing it the chuycales prayed, kneeling, while incense was burned and the rockets were discharged.

The book is called *tahualtic* "Our Master." The ceremony of transfer of this sacred object takes place during the thirteen days beginning December 31. The principal members of the government of both calpules, numbering thirteen, assemble in the cabildo. The book is placed on a table with thirteen candles, thirteen rosaries, thirteen calabashes of lime mixed with tobacco, and thirteen vessels of atole. During the thirteen days the men remain segregated in the cabildo without contact with their homes or with women. Many prayers are uttered. At the conclusion of the period the box containing the book is escorted in solemn procession to the place it occupies during the rest of the year—not in the church, but in a special hut on the outskirts of the calpul of La Trinidad.

Information which Villa received from Indians of Chanal on the customs attending marriage differs in a number of respects from the account given by Blom and LaFarge,[29] or supplements that account, and therefore may be summarized here. There are no professional marriage negotiators. The boy's parents pay, ordinarily, four visits to the girl's parents to complete the agreement. On each visit they bring bread, eggs, fruit, and especially rum. The boy is expected

[28] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 187.

[29] *Ibid.*, 2: 158–159.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The boy is expected to live for a year with the girl's parents; then he makes his own home, usually near that of his father. If the boy's parents are sufficiently powerful, they may pay the girl's parents twelve pesos in lieu of the year's service. Villa was informed that a woman unable to pay a debt or a fine may be taken as a secondary wife by any married man who will pay the debt or fine; that a woman who loses her virginity may be bought similarly of her parents for a little rum; and that in the case of any of these polygynous marriages, a single household is maintained. No such household was observed. 583 591 583 592 595 [681]

No information was obtained on birth customs,[18] or on customs in connection with death.[19] 114

Blom and LaFarge describe a church festival held at Tecojá ranch on June 22 and 23.[20] When Villa visited the highland villages the carnival was being celebrated. In Tenejapa on February 20 he witnessed the "Festival of the Flags" (*takimalkin*). The (annually elected) leaders of the festival, the *alfereces*, assembled in the morning at the church. Each man conveyed a red banner with green edges, fastened to a pole, and each held in his mouth a short hook on which an orange was impaled. Nothing was learned as to the significance of these objects. The alfereces remained for a time inside the church drinking rum and singing. They then went by fours to pray in turn before each of the crosses set up in the village. The rest of the day they spent visiting the house of each one of them in turn; in each house they sang the same song sung in the church; in each the host offered rum, so that by nightfall all were drunk. These acts were to be twice repeated during the days following. They had for their stated purpose the announcement of the days of carnival. On the following Thursday the carnival became generally celebrated, and many natives went out costumed and masked. 796 [114] [574] [533]

The alfereces were accompanied by musicians, and also by three personages carrying the dried bodies of, respectively, a wild cat, a rodent called *saben*, and an iguana. Villa was informed that these animals are used in a later festal pantomime in which the alfereces enact a sowing, and in which these animals are represented as performing their characteristic mischief. [825]

Villa observed other elements of the carnival ritual in Oxchuc. On Thursday, February 24, Indians of the calpul of Santo Tomas assembled in the church where they prayed for a time before the large altar, and then danced and drank rum in the nave. The dance was performed alternately by men and by women, and was accompanied by music from a harp, a guitar, and a rattle made of a calabash and a deer's hoof. On the following day these acts were performed by Indians of the other calpul; on this occasion the music was furnished by two drums and a flute, and the leader (*capitán*) was dressed in red. On this latter day natives of the calpul of Santo Tomás moved in procession through the streets; four individuals bore each a large pole to which were fastened ribbons of various colors; a fifth carried a red banner. [535] [533]

[18] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 359.

[19] *Ibid.*, 2: 360–62.

[20] *Ibid.*, 2: 364–71.

[18] The frequent association, in Middle America, of small animals, especially furred animals, with festivals, in connection with ideas of fertility and of festal buffoonery, has been noted. See Redfield, 1936, pp. 231–243. [171]

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

796 carried a red banner. At the church the four men performed a dance. Divided into
535 pairs facing each other at a distance of 6 m., they first shook the ribbons on their poles while giving loud cries, varied by putting the hand over the mouth, and running to meet one another. Then they made a slight inclination of the head, turned half around, and returned to their original places. After repeating this thrice, the pairs exchanged places and performed new figures. At the conclusion they surrounded the flag-bearer, shouting and waving the ribbons.

796 Although harp and guitars were here used in an apparently religious dance,
534 in several of the communities it appears that the stringed instruments of European
184 origin (guitar, violin, and harp) are used only for secular purposes, the religious
[177] musical instruments (which are often kept in the church) consisting of cane flute (*ahmay*) and drums. In Chanal two drums are used, a large drum (*kayob*) and a small one (*chin kayob*). In Tenejapa the single drum is called *anteel* and is accompanied by a sort of cornet.

778 Some minor observances having to do with the cult of the saints may be
776 mentioned. In the highland villages it is usual for each important saint to be repre-
184 sented by two images of which one, the genuine santo, is too sacred to be taken
[194] from the church; the other, called *debo* (for *doble*) substitutes for the true santo in religious processions.[a] In Bachajón the care of the church is alternated weekly between the two calpules; on Christmas Eve each church-caretaker (*priore*) must contribute to the decoration of the altar ten little figures of clay, of which five are in the form of a bull, and five in the form of a horse and rider. The church at Citalá contains many santos of which two (San Mateo and San Gabriel) are painted black and enjoy special prestige. In this church a straw mat, yellow in color with red ribbons interwoven, is used to kneel upon before the principal saints; it is kept with extraordinary care. At Citalá a principal annual event is the ritual
778 washing of the saints' clothing. This occurs two weeks after Holy Week. The
776 "Great Washing," when the clothing of the principal saints is washed, is performed
796 at a spring where the water is thought to be of absolute purity. The "Small Washing" of the clothes of the lesser saints may be done in the river. The Great Washing is reported as involving the consumption of eight hogs and a great quantity of rum.

78 Although it is evident that the religion of the Tzeltals contains many pagan
[114] elements, some of which have been reported by Blom and LaFarge,[b] Villa's notes
778 do not add a great deal on this point. The use of hilltop shrines was noted at
782 Oxchuc, where one of these is called Ikal Ahau, apparently after an ancient deity.[c]
776 The teacher at Amatenango reports that the Indians there make offerings for
114 rain at a rock marked with a zigzag thought to represent the lightning. No information was obtained on the beliefs as to *cahualel*; this subject is discussed by Blom and LaFarge.[37]

[a] This usage corresponds closely with that of the pairs of crosses used by the Quintana Roo Maya, of which one, the true Santa, is moved about in ritual.

[b] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:369–374.

[c] Núñez de la Vega (1702, p. 91) says, "Los de Oxchuc y le otro pueblo de los Llanos veneran mucho al ídolo que llaman Lalebas, que quiere decir origen principal o señor de segnal." As quoted in Brioso, 1932, p. 144.

37. Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:369-371.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

by Blom and LaFarge.[37] At Tenejapa and again at Guaquitepec, Villa met persons terrified by fears of witchcraft; it is apparent that the subject is important throughout the region. The word for witch is *agchamel*, and the phrase used is to the effect that the witch "eats" his victim. Villa understood this to refer to the belief that a person's soul may be lured away from his body, a notion consistent with facts reported by Blom and LaFarge.[38]

Villa's notes establish the fact that the nineteen-month pagan calendar is in current use in the highlands, at least in Chanal, Cancuc, and Oxchuc. In 1702 Nuñez de la Vega[39] published the names of twenty days of the month; these have apparently not been reported since. In 1845 Emeterio Pineda[40] gave for the first time (but for the Tzotzils) the names of the months, omitting only the name *chayquin* for the five-day period. In 1888 Vicente Pineda[41] furnished a complete list of the months for the Tzeltals. Villa was informed that the month *Yaxkin* ended in November so that the new year would begin in the second week of January. Starr[42] says that the first twenty-day period (*Tzin*) begins January 1. Becerra[43] says that the year should begin with the winter solstice. However, he gives, based on information received from the Indians themselves, a table[44] correlating the variations from village to village; thus, the month *Batzul*, first of the year, begins in Oxchuc on January 1, in Cancuc on the second and in Tenejapa on the third. Furthermore, according to this author, there is a marked difference between the correlation followed by the Tzeltals and that followed by the Tzotzils; thus the month *Olalti*[45] begins among the Tzeltals on March 27 and among the Tzotzils on April 12. The list of months Villa secured differs from both Starr's and Pineda's list, but agrees with that of Becerra.

Batzul	(Time of harvest)
Zakilab	(Clearing the milpa begins)
Agelchac	(The clearing continues)
Mac	(Time of sowing)
Olalti	(Time of sowing)
Jul-ol	(Time of sowing)
Uec-cachaquin	(No work)
Joquen-ahau	(Time of sowing in the tierra caliente)
Chin-uch	(Time of weeding)
Mucul-uch	(Time of weeding)
Juc-uinquil	(Time of resting)
Uac-uinquil	?
Jo-uinquil	?
Chan-uinquil	?
Ox-uinquil	?
Pom (Octubre)	(When the new ear forms)
Yax-kin (termina con Noviembre)	?
Mux	?
Tzun	?

[37] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 369–371.
[38] *Ibid.*, 2: 371.
[39] Nuñez de la Vega, 1702.
[40] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 111.
[41] Vicente Pineda, 1888, pp. 130–131.
[42] Starr, 1902, p. 177.
[43] Becerra, 1933, p. 90.
[44] *Ibid.*, Table 8.
[45] *Ibid.*, Table 10.

z: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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Concerning the correspondence between the months and the agricultural activities, Emeterio Pineda says:

Moc is the month in which fences should be repaired, and *Olalti* is that in which the sowing is to be done, no matter what may be the condition of the atmosphere, so that if rain fails or is insufficient or is excessive, nevertheless it may not be done in any other month even though then weather and precipitation permit.

Uch (*Uch*): in this month plants are attacked by ailments and insects, in particular by insects such as plant lice which weaken and destroy them; in the month of *Elech* (*Eluch*) the favorable winds should cure them. But in case they are not favorable, the loss of many plants is sure, as, for example, the potato which neither flowers nor gives a yield. *Vichquin* corresponds with the period of flowering, *Shalxinquil* with pollenization and *Xchibalxinquil*, *Yoxibalxinquil* and *Xchanibalxinquil* with the three periods of the formation of the seed: that of the pearl, that of the milk and that of the starch.

Poix (*Pom*): in this month honey may be taken from the hives, and the harvest may be carried in. *Mux* represents the beginning of cold, and *Yaxquin* the Christmas season.[46]

[114] O. D. E. Bunge quotes this paragraph but attributes it erroneously to Nuñez de la Vega.[47] Bunge's publication provides other interesting data on this subject. It may be added that the nineteen-month calendar with close relation to the agricultural year has recently been reported by Weitlaner[48] for a non-Maya people, the Chinantec, in northern Oaxaca, and for the Mazatec, a people neighboring the Chinantec.[49]

[46] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 112.
[47] Bunge, 1935, p. 54.
[48] Weitlaner, 1939, pp. 197–201.
[49] Bevan, 1938, p. 5.

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3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 456-A) Teklum

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632 It is in the con ext of these structural divisions that social change and its behavioral indices must be analyzed.

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182 Homicide—an act viewed as a delict in national Mexican law—has in the past two decades become an accepted strategy in social interaction. It is part of the expectations of the society upon which members predicate their own code of behavior and in terms of which [626] they react to others. Gossip not only fails to [521] suppress homicide, but serves to create a consensual base for condoning it. The corpse is re- [764] ferred to as "the one who had the guilt," *?a stukel smul*, and even when knowledge of the particular act is lacking, certain assumptions are made: the killer was someone in the community; the victim provoked the killer. In list- 682 ing crimes, informants sometimes failed to 674 mention killing, or they included it after witch- [124] craft, theft, or adultery. Homicide is considered a *reaction* to crime, not a crime in itself.

The rate is phenomenally high—up to 251.2 per 100,000 (when adjusted to bring the whole township's population of a little over 3,000 to the base for measuring international rates)—and it is increasing. This compares with national rates of 4.8 for the United States, 31.9 for Mexico (United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1964), and 36.2 for a nearby town (Favre 1964).

The following tabulation summarizes the homicides by decades since 1915, the earliest date for which records are available.

1915-1924	4
1925-1934	5
1935-1944	19
1945-1954	9
1955-1964	35

• [114) Figures prior to 1950 are not apt to be accurate, for only since that time have there been adequate reporting and checking of township records. In the following tabulation, the marked increase in the annual number of homicides since 1960 represents a real increase.

1950	1	1958	1
1951	0	1959	1
1952	1	1960	4
1953	1	1961	7
1954	1	1962	6
1955	0	1963	7
1956	1	1964	4
1957	4	1965	9

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121 In order to assess the meaning of its remarkable increase during the 1960's, I have pro-

682 156 themselves killed." When they see a man who is abusive while drunk, who brags of his power and of that of his animal spirit, they will remark: "That man is going to wake up dead" (*sakubk'inal čamel*). When such a man is killed, no one complains, even among his immediate relatives (cases 5, 10, 14, 16, 19, 22, 24, 26, 27, 29, 31, and 32 are of this type). When I asked [562] why women do not get killed, the response was, "They don't look for trouble" (*ma sleik smul*).

682 *Setting*

	Total	*Dawn*	*Afternoon*	*Evening*	*Night*	??
Streets of town	11				11	
Milpa, woods, road out of town	10	2	3	2	2	1
Highway	4		1	1	1	1
In cantina	3		1		2	
In houseyard	3			1	2	
In bed	1				1	
Neighboring hamlets & towns	2		1			1
??	3					3
Total	37	2	6	4	19	6

Where the killing takes place and its timing in the diurnal cycle are directly linked. All of the homicides in the streets of the town were committed at night, while those in the roads out of town near the milpa occurred in the late afternoon or evening. In providing privacy and security from discovery, the darkness of night is functionally equivalent to distance from the town center during the daytime. When I suggested that the killings might be reduced if the town would connect the lights that had been installed in the streets, the response was that when they had been in use, killings had increased. The lights helped the killer find his victim, perhaps lying out in the road after a drinking session. He would shoot out the light and then kill his victim.

682 114

682 579 The only killings in which considerations of space or time were ignored were those in the cantina during a drunken brawl, for in contrast to the usual killing their onset was unpremeditated.

682 [527] The timing of homicide is related also to the annual cycle: 14 homicides occurred during the fiestas in the town or in a neighboring town. [579] The drunkenness of the fiestas provides an appropriate occasion for killing an enemy, although a drunken brawl is in itself rarely a [755] sufficient motive (two cases). Other opportune times are after a curing ceremony (six cases) [273] and after the gathering of curers during an

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Treltal NV9
[P.465-B] Teklum

as with the cattle industry, is a covert cause for personal attacks on other grounds.

A third enterprise, trucking, has caused a realignment of political interests in factions associated with two truck-owning cooperatives. Membership in one of the cooperatives, or patronage of one of the two trucks, arouses the enmity of members of the other cooperative. Several threats have been made on the lives of the owners and the operators, but the only damage done has been to tires.

The tensions resulting from the introduction of these new enterprises cannot be fully measured by the deaths attributed to direct economic conflict. Wealth differences resulting from the new enterprises excite envy, and with it come accusations of witchcraft. In this community, witchcraft killing does not perform the normative function of reducing wealth differentiation that Kluckhohn saw operating among the Navaho (1944), since it is the poor man who is killed as a witch, not the rich man. The slaying of the envious witch exacerbates the economic differentiation that provides the seedbed for conflict.

Another new source of tension is found in the growing demand for political leadership or even independence from the township by the *ejido* colonies formed since land reform went into effect in 1937. The inept maneuvers of two founders of the ejido colonies in hot country resulted in two homicides (cases 12 and 18 in Table 1).[8] The increasing strength of these hamlets will mean that more attempts will be made in the future to gain political equality and/or independence. Whether this will result in increasing homicides will depend on social-control agencies external to the Indian communities.

Homicide occurring as a direct result of economic and political competition represents a new strategy in the community. The decision to kill rather than to use other negative sanctions is related to the social-control mechanisms discussed below.

Changing Mechanisms of Social Control

A system of social control rests not only on the exercise of negative sanctions, but on the sense of personal security derived from confidence in the institutions of control. In Teklum, the maintenance of control was formerly centered in the guardianship against malevolent spirits held by the ancestor spirits and the curers. The "police force," made up of ten

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967
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Teklum
[P.469-B]

leaders, both in the civil authority and in the curing profession. The transition from the old hierarchy of control to the new leadership structure is still in process. In the most recent confrontation of the civil authority and curers, the fact that neither side resorted to violence suggests the transitional nature of homicide as a solution in intracommunal conflict.

This study of homicide indicates that the changing rate of behavior points to structural change, but does not in itself indicate what kind of change occurs or from what motives it stems. Qualitative case analysis related to structural changes within the recall of informants is essential for understanding social process.

NOTES

[1] Field work is based on two periods of residence in the community in 1964 and 1965; it was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health. I am grateful for comments by Paul Friedrich, Richard Hunkeson, Harold Scheffler, and Peter Wilson, who have improved the original version read at the 1965 meetings of the American Anthropological Association. I remain responsible for the contents of the paper.

[2] Henry and Short (1954:18) analyze both suicide and homicide as undifferentiated aggressive reactions to frustration, the rates of which vary—in the first case inversely and in the second case directly—with the strength of the external control system over behavior. Their assumption that homicide is motivationally a single phenomenon, and not an expression of a variety of motives, stems from the assumption that all cases of aggressive acts are the result of frustration. Straus and Straus (1964:587) apply a similar correlational analysis of homicide and suicide rates with structural features of society in Ceylon, but come to opposite conclusions. They maintain that one would expect greater evidence of homicide in a "loosely structured society," by which they mean one with considerable sanctioning of variation in individual behavior. These studies contradict each other in the conclusions that they reach by similar analytical processes, but they are attempts to move away from such psychoanalytic reasoning as the death-wish theory.

[3] Bohannan's (1960) survey of homicide and suicide in African societies represents a useful model for comparing the total pattern of homicide cross-culturally. In presenting the case material here, I have used a similar format, adding to it the circumstances surrounding the killing. In the analysis of these materials, I have diverged from Bohannan's model in trying to demonstrate the linkage among the components—the ratios, to use Burke's (1945) terminology of scene/setting/actor/agent.

[4] The term "witch" is a translation of the Tzeltal term *Pab'-lomel*, literally "giver of sickness." The term "curer" is a translation of *Pa'tal*. The power to cure and to give sickness stems from the possession of a *nuyeb'*, or animal spirit.

[5] For a discussion of the tactics of gaining consensus in witch-killings, see Manning Nash (1960).

[6] Political homicide by agrarian leaders, which is so frequent in the central plateau (Friedrich 1967), is a relatively recent phenomenon in the retreat areas of Indian population. The cases analyzed by Friedrich are a strategy of political power stemming from a revolutionary background, and the cultural assumptions to which he points contrast with those underlying witch killings. My only comparable case is, significantly, found outside the traditional center, in the new ejido colony.

[7] Jules Henry (1936) sees the formula of fear and anger as the

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

175 177 648 797 The mistakes, lack of attention and pretensions of the Indians in regard to the Christian doctrine, who they say they know, and the ones instructed best in them, say as many heretic words as Christian, is consequence or necessary sequel of the lack of care in the secular abd ecclesiastical government.

This situation became more and more acute owing largely to the political unrest which absorbed the attention of the authorities, unrest which culminated in the separation of Chiapas from Guatemala and in 1824 its incorporation with Mexico.

175 177 648 The next period, *invasion of lands by Ladinos*, extends from about 1850 to 1911, when the first sparks of the Mexican Revolution reached Chiapas. In this period Ladinos began to invade lands of the Indian-communities by bribery or by force. Toward 1856 the Indians complained against the invasion of lands in San Martin, San Miguel Mitontic, San Pedro Chenalo, Cuncuc, and Tenejapa, but failed to halt Ladino inroads (Tsens, 1942, pp. 274–75).

The history of recent times, from 1920 on, is marked by increasing support from federal authorities throughout the entire [178] republic. In the Tzeltal area progress has been slow but constantly improving (see LaFarge, 1940; Beals, 1951).

Ethnographic Studies of the Region

114 [101] In his first trip through the Mayance area in 1839 and 1840, Stephens (1841) visited the northern zone of the Tzeltal, from Ocosingo to Yajalon, going through Bachajon and Chilon.

Traveling the same route two decades later in the opposite direction, the French explorer Désiré Charnay recorded his impressions in a small book (1863).

In 1901 Frederick Starr (1902), from the University of Chicago, made a short visit to the region.

In 1925 Blom and LaFarge traversed from north to south a large part of Tzeltal territory, publishing their data in three chapters of their *Tribes and Temples* (1926–

[P 198-B]

114 27) but without touching on social organization.

[101] Study of social organization began in
[122] 1938 when I made my first trip through the region under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington (Redfield and Villa Rojas, 1939, pp. 107–19). In 1942–44 we spent several periods among the Tzeltal of Oxchuc, establishing camp at Yochib, and published the results soon thereafter (Villa Rojas, 1946, 1947).

Since 1957 various investigations by the universities of Chicago, Harvard, and Stanford have been headed by the anthropologists Sol Tax, Norman A. McQuown, Evon Z. Vogt, Julian Pitt-Rivers, and A. Kimball Romney.

221 SUBSISTENCE PATTERNS AND FOOD HABITS
241 *The Milpa*

Nothing is of greater importance to the Indian than to have a good *milpa*. Three classes of milpas are cultivated: *sijomal*, planted in mid-January and harvested three months later; *nal-aual* or "March milpa" planted in mid-March and harvested toward the end of August; the main milpa, *jabil-caltic* or "milpa of the year," sown between April and May and harvested between November and December. The first two types are most often cultivated in the lower zone of Tierra Caliente, where humidity is favorable.

241 Among the Tzeltal of Oxchuc (Villa
804 Rojas, 1946, pp. 510–39), milpa work begins in February with the measuring of the plot. The measuring rod (*jaubtic*), which presumably corresponds to a *brazada* (the distance between the arms extended), is equivalent to 1.98 m. The area 8 brazadas square takes the name of *tarea* (about 256 sq. m.). The area of the milpa is also computed according to the number of ears of corn needed for seeding; 60 ears of corn are required to fill 1.5 hectares, the average in milpas that we observed.

241 Since the bush is short, only a hatchet
412 (*eche*) is necessary to cut it down. The
[P.199-A]

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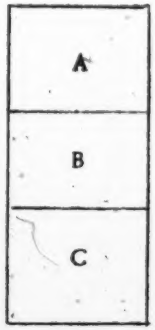

Chart of Positions of Map
Facing p. 239

[facing p. 239]

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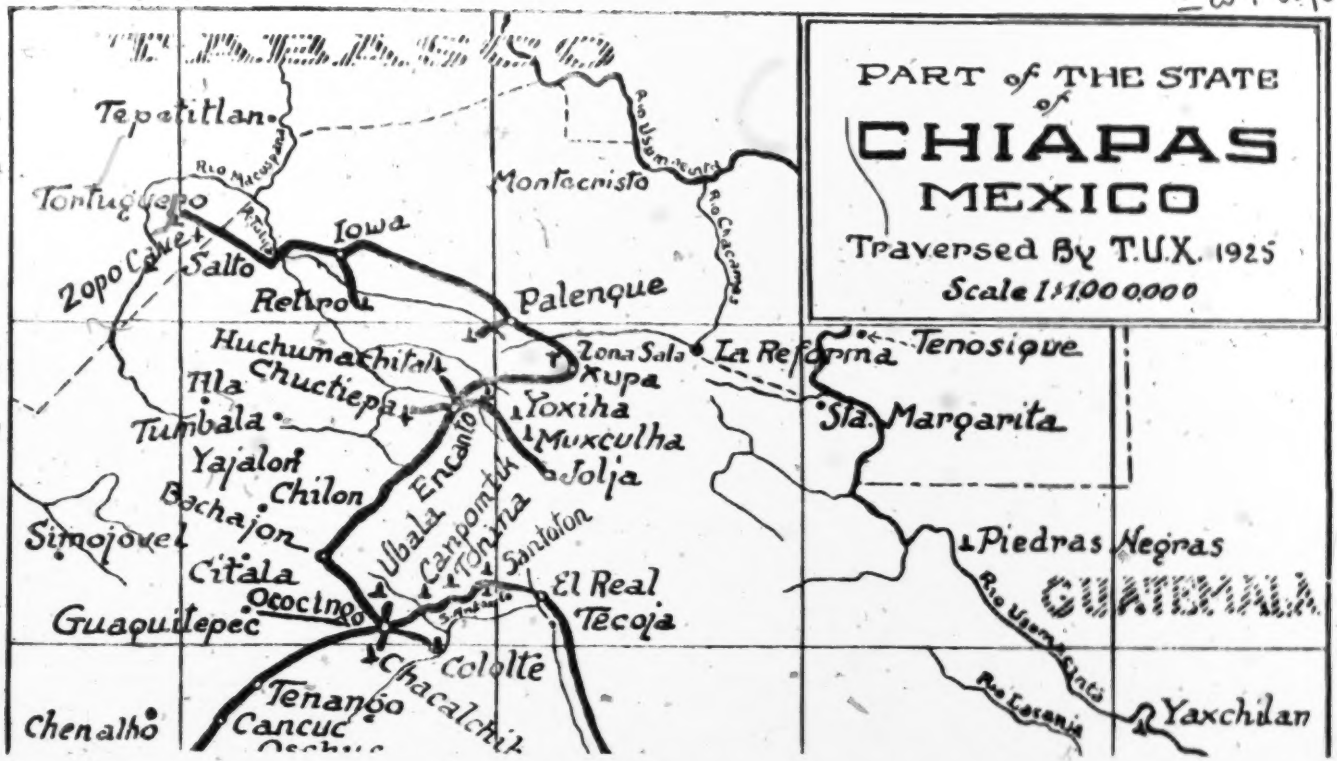

[Facing P. 239-A]

[Facing p. 239, B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A.E.4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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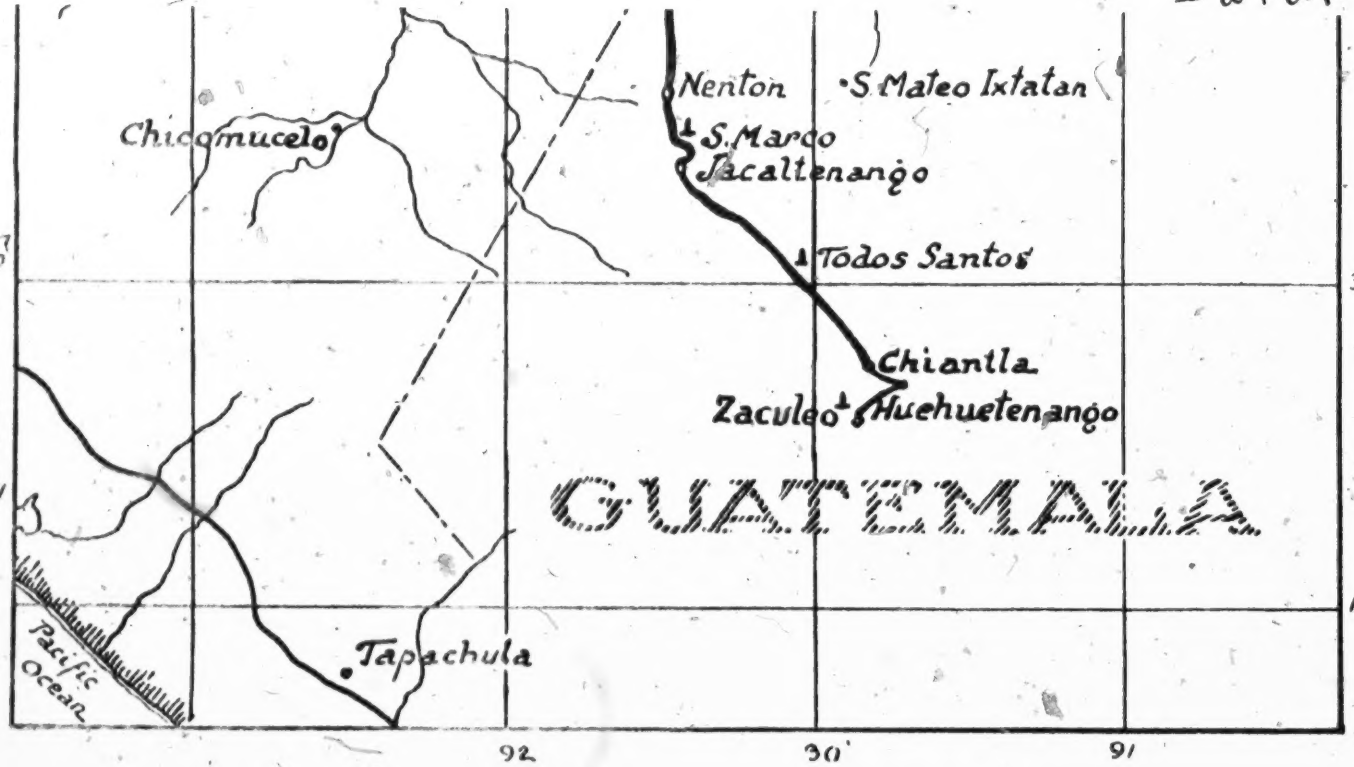

[facing p. 239, C]

PY 172 by the great forest. New cities, one after the other, sprang up in
174 the new country. Several tribes stayed behind, but the leaders and
131 chiefs must have gone north. The tribes still living in the southern
167 area are descendants of those who remained.
361

PY Several explanations have been advanced for this migration,
174 among which are disease, war, and change of climatic conditions.
167 Probably there are many reasons for the exodus, of which the ex-
241 haustion of the soil is one of the principal.

PY The Maya could have gone south. There they would have
131 found igneous mountains. We find Maya speaking tribes in the
167 highlands of Guatemala, but rarely find great buildings in that
174 area. To the north, on the peninsula of Yucatan, the migrants
135 found a limestone country, much like that which they had left.
241 Limestone played a principal role in their whole culture. Lime was necessary for making their principal food, the corn cake (now called tortilla by the Spaniards). Limestone was easy to cut and carve with stone tools, and burnt lime was essential in their temple building. Moreover, the agricultural conditions were similar to those to which they were accustomed. Therefore, after two centuries of moving around, searching for a suitable place, they settled in Yucatan. There they built more great cities, and blossomed out in a magnificent renaissance, finally to reach the climax and then came the downfall of their entire culture.

T Now and then we met a few Indians, but only when we reached
361 the high points of the trail did we see their houses in places of vantage on the hills, away from the trail, so that the inhabitants could look out for strangers.

T Reaching a steep climb, we dismounted and drove our animals
• 114 along, urging them with Indian cries. The pack animals laboured under their burden, frequently stopping to get their wind, then driven forward again by the yells and whistling of the boys.

T The trail went straight over the ridge, from the top of which we
133 had a magnificent view of the valley of the Bachilá and Bolontichná
137 rivers. Below we heard the roar of the rivers, and in front lay the
114 nearly vertical wall of the southern side of the valley, an enormous geological fault. Along the backbone of a long narrow ridge we could see our trail winding up to the edge of the wall miles ahead. Nowhere in the huge valley at our feet did we see big forest; all was second growth and patches of grass.

T Shortly after noon we had crossed the two rivers, and continued
133 the gradual climb towards the southern rim. As we ascended we
114
[361]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

saw houses and fields, lying away from the trail, and at a bend before us in the distance a perpendicular wall of yellow and red rock, about 400 meters high, framed in green foliage. A vertical, shining white band, the waterfall "Chegua," cut the center of the red cliff. 133 114 361

Toward evening we made camp by a small stream not far below the rim of the valley, 980 meters above sea level, and rolled ourselves in our blankets just as a downpour started to drum on our tent-fly. 114 133

Early in the morning a few Bachajon Indians came stealthily out of the bush to look at our strange outfit. They talked with our Indian carriers, and evidently found out that we were not bad people, as they soon came near to our camp to talk with us. 123

137

Fig. 195—Bachajon, Chis. Pine Forest.

It was a cool morning and the bottom of the valley was hidden under great soft banks of white mists with the mountains appearing above in sharp silhouette against the morning sky. Soon we reached the rim of the valley and looking back towards the north, saw the many mountain ranges we had crossed and also the Don Juan mountain along the foot of which we rode towards Palenque. 114 132 133

The vegetation changed to low oak-like bush over ground covered with fern-like moss and pretty wild iris. As we rode downward to the next valley new mountain ranges appeared before us and we could see the pine country at a distance. There is no transition from tropical vegetation to pine forest. Change in soil is 137

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

137 Change in soil is
134 probably the reason for change in vegetation. The tropical forest grows on black humus soil and the pine country is underlain by a red sandstone which weathers into a heavy red clay. The contact of this sandstone with the limestone country on which leaf trees grow lies about an hour's ride north of the village of Bachajon.

[133] The pine country is very hilly, the trees are scattered over a carpet of vivid green grass cut by the strong red line of the soil of the trail like a scar (fig. 195).

114 It was like riding through a magnificent park, up and down the hills and across small streams. Our poor animals had a hard time on the slippery trail. La Farge's horse gave out, and he had to change his saddle to a spare animal.

361 The Bachajon Indian village came in sight, lying on a hill in the
342 middle of the valley. It was well after noon when we reached the
346 dilapidated, grass-roofed and mud-walled huts clustered around the huge ruin of an old Spanish stone church. The Indians use a new church which they have built of the same material as their houses.

122 The house of the Government agent lies in the middle of the
344 village and here we were quartered in a room, the floor of which had just been covered with a carpet of fresh pine needles.

123 The Bachajon Indians are reputed to be unfriendly to all travellers, so we were not surprised when the Indian chief of the village told us that he could not furnish fodder for our animals or men to carry some of our cargo. To all our questions he answered "Mayuk," or in English, "Ain't got none." But when the chief, a little later, heard from our Encanto men that we had been friendly to them, and that furthermore, we were friends of the big father President in Mexico City, he changed his attitude.

648 The Government agent is sent to the Indian village by the civil
[651] authorities of the neighbouring Mexican town of Ocosingo. He is
[653] supposed to collect certain taxes, raise labourers for public works in the Mexican town, and help the Indians with their affairs. He is highly unpopular among the Indians, who counteract his orders through a remarkable system of passive resistance. They say "yes" to everything and do nothing. The only reason the Indians tolerate
[273] him is because he keeps a small store and sells liquor. The Indian is very fond of sugar-cane rum, and every Saturday and Sunday all the villagers generally get drunk. The agent complained bit-
[123] terly that the Indians were not selling him any food supplies and was astonished when they sold us chickens and eggs.

361 Most of the Bachajon Indians live hidden away in the bush. Only the families of the chief and the village officials live around the old church ruins.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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the old church ruins. The chief and the officials all spoke Spanish, 191
but the only one who knew how to read and write was the town sec- 212
retary, a 15-year old boy.

After dark the Indians gathered in front of the municipal house 123
and presently some of the elders made signs that they wanted to talk 648
to us. We followed them into the dark out of earshot of the agent, where the Indians told us of all their sorrows and difficulties, asking if we could not help them. They said that the agent tried to raise unjust taxes, that they were forced to do much work for the Municipal President of Ocosingo and did not have time to look after their own corn fields, and also that they were molested by the managers of the neighbouring properties. They asked us to bring their complaints before the Central Government, which we have done.

From there our route followed the main trail, or Camino Real, 114
between Chilon and Ocosingo. A few hours ride through pine forest 133
brought us to the top of a pass from where we had a magnificent 361
view over the Ocosingo Valley. We could see the Indian village of Sivacá, and the white walled, red tiled houses of the Mexican town Ocosingo, lying on a green carpet of extensive grazing land. Down over the mountain side we scrambled towards the valley bottom, and by noon the hoofs of our animals clattered against the cobbled stones of Ocosingo's streets.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Revolutions have since destroyed the herds, and the town now has only a small local trade in sugar and rum. 233

All goods are transported on mule-back over bad trails. Main trails run to Yajalon, San Cristóbal las Casas, and Comitan. Minor trails connect with Tenosique in Tabasco, a ride of five or six days through uninhabited forests. Other small trails lead into the heart of the forests along the Usumacinta river, where there are a few mahogany camps, fourteen days distance on a good mule. 492 491 [313]

The Spanish Conquerors had quickly discovered the richness of the soil and taken possession of it. Therefore, we find but a few Indians around Ocosingo, save at the small town of Sivacá, entirely inhabited by Tzeltal-speaking Indians. From there we secured our labourers, who were summoned by the municipal president and worked for us at the regulation pay of 50 centavos per day. Ocosingo holds sway over the native towns of Sivacá, Tenango, Oschuc, San Martín, and Bachajon. The municipality commands the Indians for all kinds of work, and in many ways lives on what can be pressed from them. As a consequence, the good people of Ocosingo are anything but popular among the Indians, though it appears that the man then in charge, Señor Simon Leon, was quite friendly towards them, and therefore well liked. 175 134 563 [114] 661 829

Geologically, the Ocosingo Valley is a syncline, the valley bottom and the interior mountain ranges being of a coarse red sandstone, and the exterior ranges of limestone. The axis of the valley runs approximately N-80-W to S-80-E, and Ocosingo town is located at an altitude of 900 meters above sea level. 133 [135]

As we rode into the village, La Farge discovered a stone block, carved with hieroglyphs, set in the pavement of the sidewalk, an excellent reception for archaeologists. 172

Our first concern was to find quarters, which we located in a house on the corner of a street leading into the Plaza. Soon our equipment was unloaded, and while we unpacked, the Ladino guide we had acquired in Bachajon went to his house to order food for us. 114 [122]

The restaurant and meal were a surprise, though not pleasant. In a room with a rotten board floor, the plaster falling off the walls, and a huge box full of saints, we were served fried eggs and black beans by an old woman with a large goitre. Though nothing in the house appeared to be either particularly exclusive or clean, the Ladino family seemed to resent that we sat down at the table with our chief guide, the trusty old Indian, Lázaro, now called "Tata" by us.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

114 [192] [554]

"Tata" means something like father, and the Indians use the word as a remark of respect to old men. Our old Lázaro had by now become a part of our outfit, always working, looking after the welfare of our animals and ourselves. We had come to regard him as a friend, and the name "Tata" grew out of nowhere, as the natural thing to call him.

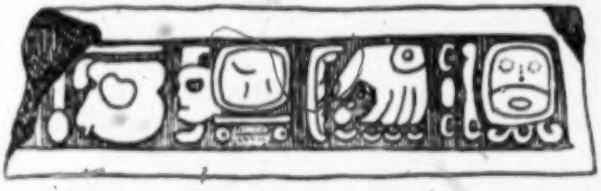
172

FIG. 197—Teotihuacán, Chile. Monument T-1.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The Municipal President was visited, and as soon as he saw our credentials, arranged for labourers to be furnished from Sivacá, and sent to the ruins of Toniná nearby, to clear the bush for our work. Then we drew the stone discovered by La Farge (see figs. 214-215). [126]

During the evening we talked with many of the inhabitants, and were told of several more carved stones to be found in other parts



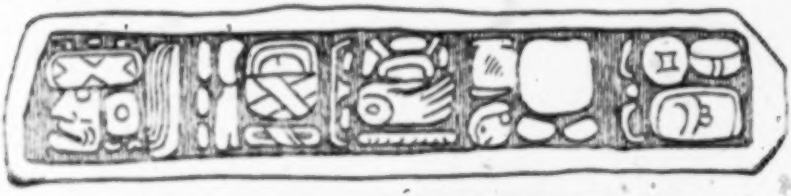


FIG. 188—Toniná, Chia. Drawing of Monument T-7.

of town. Previous Municipal Presidents had paved the streets with cut stones from the Toniná ruins. As a matter fact, it appears, that from the very founding of the Spanish town of Ocosingo, the inhabitants have occupied themselves mainly with hauling rocks from the ruins to the village. [363]

Our search for carved monuments led us into strange places, and amusing situations. In the corner of a house belonging to the Ger-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

172 114 man, Dr. Schmeling, was a stone with rows of hieroglyphs somewhat similar to the one first discovered. Behind the church, in a combination back yard and pig sty, we located three large stone figures, two of them with inscriptions. Then we heard of a stone said to be partly buried in the ground on an old site. When we arrived at this place, the owner of the lot appeared, very drunk, and insisted that we pay him $25.00 for permission to see and draw the stone. He was very noisy so we retired, and the next morning returned with an order from the municipal president giving us authority to do what we wanted to with the stone, as it was government property (see figs. 197-198). The laws of Mexico state that all ancient buildings and monuments belong to the nation. Monuments cannot be excavated or removed from the country without government permission. The Tulane Expedition had permits to explore, and due to these permits we received much help from all officials. All objects we discovered were drawn to scale and photographed, but nothing was removed.

[122] → [126] →

FIG. 199—Ubala Ranch, Chis. Upper half of Monument T-8 with modern cross.

Outside the village there was said to be a large stone with carvings. La Farge went out in search of it led by our somewhat imbecile local guide. For some time they wandered around without finding anything, but finally the guide led him to what he said was another stone, a large square block with a circular hole in the center, in which was stuck a huge wooden cross (fig. 199). The stone had been dragged to its present position by our guide's family, and used as a base for the cross of his grandmother's grave. His family did not wish us to find the monument, as they feared we would excavate it; but our imbecile thought he had to produce something for his pay, so he took La Farge to the stone.

[126] La Farge made a sketch of the principal inscription, which showed that it began with one of the so-called Initial Series, most

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

important in Maya Chronology. The writer went to draw the monument, but could not finish it the same afternoon as it began to get dark. The following morning the work was continued and we found that a part of the monument was missing. While working, the owner of the land arrived and told us that there was another stone nearby. This turned out to be the missing fragment, and when the two parts were placed together they carried the Initial Series date 9-12-10-0-0 9 Ahau 13 Zotz, or 422 A. D., after our reckoning. 172 [126]

This was an important discovery, and we persuaded the owner of the Ubala ranch, where we found the monument, to bring the two stones together. His intention was to use the lower part of the monument, which had a large hole in its centre, as a rim to a water tank.

We found a total of nine carved stones of different sizes in and around Ocosingo. All were of the typical yellow sandstone common to Toniná monuments, and there is little doubt but that they all come from these ruins.

Our stay in Ocosingo was very delightful. The children of the village eagerly hunted monuments for us, and our arrival made a boom in the local market. Usually the inhabitants spend their time passing a few pennies from one to the other. One day A makes bread and sells it to B, and the next day B sells bread to A. Now we added a few cents to the city capital. 123

On the day of Corpus Christi the women, with their heads wrapped in black shawls, went to church many times; the men did less work than usual; and the children played baseball on the Plaza. A quaint phraseology, a mixture of American baseball words and Spanish swearing, cheered the play.

While drawing one of the monuments behind the church, we heard an organ playing inside. Suddenly the music swung into some cheerful opera tune, later to return to serious religious music. We had the feeling that whoever was playing suddenly felt gay and happy and decided that the good people of Ocosingo did not know what the music was anyway, but thought anything coming from a church organ was religious, so why not be happy for a short moment?

Indians went back and forth over the Plaza, often filling the door of our room to watch the strangers. Ladinos would come to pay their respects and offer help, and both the Padre and the school teacher often came in for a chat. There was an extraordinary feeling of peace in the little town, a silence which became more notice-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

123 able when broken by the clattering of horses hoofs against the paving stones.

172 From the Plaza one can see a great part of the valley and sur-
114 rounding mountains. When the sun in the morning falls on the San Martín mountain, one's attention is attracted by a spur on this mountain which strongly resembles a pyramid. We asked about this and were told that it actually was an ancient mound. Therefore, one morning, we rode to the foot of the San Martín.

Reaching a small ranch, we left our horses behind and ascended on foot. A spur of the mountain had in ancient times been levelled and shaped to the form of an immense truncated pyramid, rising in terraces.

778 We had heard that there were caves in the mountainside, and
114 that every year, on the 3rd of May, the Indians come here to worship the god of the mountain. Soon we reached a small cave, or rock shelter, and upon entering saw that a tunnel led into the dark. This we followed, with lighted candles, into a small cave, and there on the floor we found signs of a small altar.*

We took great pains not to disturb anything on the altar, returning to the mouth of the cave, and emerged into the glaring sunlight. We then climbed to the top of the pyramid, and found a large level area in the center of which stood a small mound. On top of the mound Indians had erected a wooden cross and at its foot we found bunches of pine needles, also remnants of burnt copal incense. Evidently this also was a place of Indian worship.

114 Sitting on top of the mound we had the whole Ocosingo valley
133 at our feet. The red roofs of the town lay 500 meters below us.
172 The top of the pyramid, called Chacalchib, is 1,440 meters above
361 sea level. Far away we could see two other hilltops that likewise had been turned into pyramids. On the northern edge of the valley lay Campomtik, and further away on the same side we could distinguish the ruins of Toniná. On the southern side of the valley was the mountain-pyramid called Cololté. All these places were later visited.

133 The valley floor spread out before us. Here and there lay small
137 ranches, and patches of pine forest. Several groups of mounds were
361 easily distinguished, as those of Santa Teresa just outside Ocosingo
172 on the trail to Bachajon. At the head of the valley lay Sivacá, the Indian village.

172 On the level top of the pyramid were rows of stones, indicating
114 old house foundations, but though we made a careful search, we found no monuments.

*For Description, see Chapter XV.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Slowly we descended towards the valley, enjoying the magnificent view. The country we were to work in for the following weeks lay before us like a map. About half-way down we encountered another cave, in which we also found an Indian altar. This time the offerings were placed before a small cross, crudely made of wood.

La Farge, as usual, was busy collecting data on the Indians' life and customs, and while he paid a visit to the village Sivacá, the writer set out to explore the Cololté pyramid, sometimes called Hocuchupac, which was said to have a stone idol on it. We also heard that the good inhabitants of Ocosingo were afraid to go to the mountain top, not knowing what the Indians might do.

Fig. 200—Cololté, Chia. Altar on top of the Cololté Pyramid.

Our local guide was eventually persuaded to take me to the ranch of a Ladino boy, by name Cenón, on whose property the pyramid was located.

From Ocosingo we rode along the Rio Grande de la Virgen until it joined the Jataté River, which we crossed and soon came to the ranch of Cenón, who was in the field, but came out when we called. Though the pyramid, as stated, was on his property, he was not eager to take me to it, and when he finally agreed, he first armed himself with an old 30-30 Winchester.

Following long, narrow, pine ridges we approached the pyramid. It was beautiful country with scattered pine and grass below.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

172 114 At last we had drawn all the carved stones in Ocosingo, so, preceded by a gang of Tzeltal-speaking Indians from Sivacá, we rode out to the ruins of Toniná. The road led through the centre of the valley, crossing the Rio Grande de la Virgen over a bridge which had recently been reconstructed after the rebels of the last revolution [137] had destroyed it. We were riding through rolling grass-covered country with clusters of pine trees and small groups of mounds scattered here and there. The Campomtik pyramid stood out sharply against the surrounding dark pine forest. We turned off from the main trail to the north and soon came in sight of the ruins, which Stephens, eighty-five years before, had come over the same trail to visit. Several explorers had been before him, but none had

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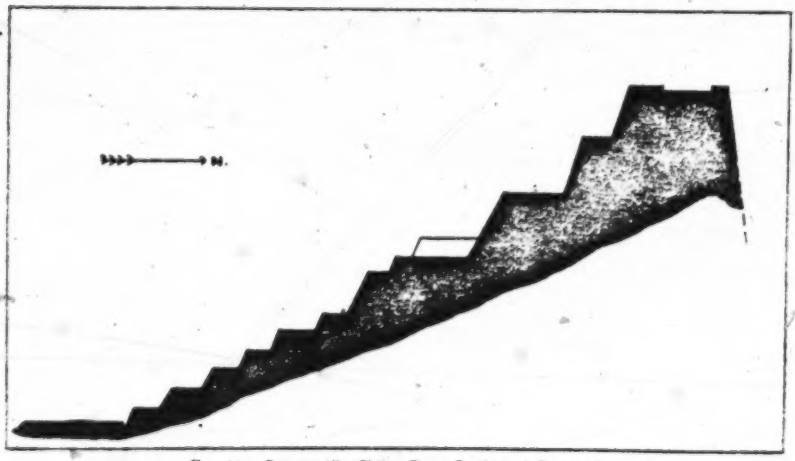

FIG. 201—Campomtik, Chia. Cross Section of Pyramid.

172 114 given such a vivid description of the ruined city we were now to explore.

Following the northern mountain range, we came to the Plaza at the foot of the ruins, and rode up to the first terrace as Stephens had done. There we tied our horses and proceeded on foot. Don Aureo Cruz, owner of the land on which the ruins lie, guided us through a part of the ruins that had never been recorded. We reached the Temple of the Wooden Lintel, saw the "winged globe" drawn by Catherwood, then entered the sanctuary. Before us was the wooden lintel which has been lying over the door for nearly 1500 years, and which made Stephens marvel. Then and there we drank a small tumbler of the local cane wine in memory of John Lloyd Stephens and F. Catherwood, among the first to break the trails we

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

are now following in our search for the history of the ancient Maya. 172 114

After crossing a small stream, we rode up to the ranch of Don Aureo Cruz. The ranch consisted of a two-room, palm-thatched house with adobe walls, and a dilapidated hut which served as kitchen, across a small courtyard. We had spent our days and nights in so many strange places that we hardly noticed this, and the more time we spent with Don Aureo and his family, the better we liked it. One could not have found a more kind and courteous family. What they possessed was ours. Don Aureo kept watch over our workmen, and helped us in our investigations from early to late. His wife and daughters were constantly preparing special dishes and cakes for us. 114

While we were getting off our animals, we saw the extremely pretty eldest daughter of the house, a beauty of about 17 years with long black hair and fiery dark eyes, strewing the floor of the main room with fragrant, fresh pine needles. We were ushered into this room and were at once offered fresh milk and several handfuls of small clay idols by Don Aureo. In one corner of the room was a table and benches, in the opposite corner an altar to San Antonio of Toniná. A few days before our arrival a fiesta had been celebrated in honour of this saint, and the altar was still decorated with garlands of coloured paper, and a paper band with gilt letters saying "Viva San Antonio, 1925."

Our stay at Don Aureo's house will not soon be forgotten. The evenings we shall especially remember, when we sat outside the hut and listened to Don Aureo's tales of the Indians, while his pretty daughters were busy flirting with our guides, and with us too. A pine stick fire lit up the walls of the houses and flickered over the brown faces of our hosts and our Indian labourers, who sat just back of us, chatting in their own strange language and enjoying the local cigars we had given them. Out in the dark our animals could be heard grazing, and now and then a pig or a dog would approach the fire, to be driven away with shouts and sticks.

[pp. 258-324 not processed]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

CHAPTER XV

THE NORTHERN TZELTAL TRIBES

114 Ever since leaving Zona Sala, we had been working in the country of the Tzeltal-speaking tribes who form an outpost of the Highland Indians. The Bachajon, of the Finca Encanto and Bachajon village, and the Indians of Ocosingo and the neighbouring valleys, living as they do, cut off from the outside world, strong in number, and of a rather independent disposition, gave us the first evidences of how little the Indian of the Chiapas Highlands has changed since the days before Columbus. The kings and priests are dead, the temples have been replaced by churches and Christian forms, but the Indians and labourers of today in many respects live the life that their humble forebears did five hundred years ago.

114 At this point, before describing our trip up into the true mountain country, it seems opportune to tell something of these people, their manners and customs. We did not have time to make an exhaustive study of any of them, but they were constantly with us as guides and labourers, and we passed through many of their villages. At El Encanto we had a chance to visit and examine the settlement of the finca's workmen, with the kind help of Señor Ciriaco Aguilar, who acted as interpreter and supplied us with invaluable information. Señor Arturo Tovilla helped us with the Linguistic Lists (see Appendix III), as well as describing many of the customs recorded in this chapter. Señor Aureo Cruz of Toniná dictated a Tzeltal Prayer and Conversation, which was analyzed with the help of Señor Manuel Bulnes of El Real. (See Appendix VI). In general it may be said that all the Spanish-speaking people with whom we dealt helped us in every way possible.*

The Bachajon (*Batcahon*) and Ocosingo Valley Indians are, as has been said, an outlying part of a large group living in the mountain country. They speak the Tzeltal language, belonging to that branch of the great Mayance stock more closely related to Maya. In the pine country of Chiapas they hold the largest share of land, occupying an irregular area running southeast from Simojovel to

*The written sources bearing directly on the ethnology of these people are very meager. Nuñez de la Vega (1702) gives the best account of the early religion; his section on Nagualism has been reprinted by Paniagua (1908) along with an important selection of other early sources. Licenciado Vicente Pineda (1888) in his account of the Indian uprisings, gives some information, together with the most complete linguistic material. He gives a native calendar, probably based on one published by Emeterio Pineda (1845). Of modern scientific works, Starr (1901 and 1902) has ethnographic material, and publishes the only physical measurements (1902). Seler (1898) goes into the calendar in detail. For comparative material Tozzer (1907) and Sapper (1925) have been our chief reliance. Sapper's "Nordliche Mittelamerika" (1897) was in constant use in the field for information on all subjects. Particular references are given as they occur. Prof. Rudolph Schuller kindly allowed me access to his manuscript material.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

539 Lacandone prayer in Tozzer's "Comparative Study of the Maya and Lacandones," page 169. As *tsax*, which a Ladino would probably give as *tsak*, means "red" in Tzeltal, the two words may be taken to be the same. *bak* means "bone," and *tci* means "blood." Many of these translations are doubtful, and all of them together do not suffice to explain the text.

II.

hun ahau bitskilim gravilan yokivin-wits yevakinok . . .

This also begins with Hun Ahau. *wits* means "hill." Beyond that no translation could be obtained.

124 The whole material on medicine and shamans is very slight and unsatisfactory. Indeed it is doubtful whether anything could be learned save after a long stay and much patient work, so secretive are the Indians on this subject, and so suspicious of inquiries. What we have is presented here in the hope that it may prove useful for comparative purposes, and offer suggestions to any worker going into this field.

796 178 According to Nuñez de la Vega, the old calendar was still current in his time. Starr* quotes a Zotzil Calendar of eighteen months, and Pineda* gives a Tzeltal calendar of both months and days. We asked in the different villages what names were given 124 to the days, and were told always the Spanish names, as also for 796 the months. This may well have been from unwillingness to impart 177 ceremonial information, but consistent replies, plus the statement of 178 various Ladinos who knew the Indians well, incline me to believe that if the old calendar is known at all, it is known only to a very few of the most learned shamans. Feasts, as far as could be made out, are controlled entirely by the cycle of Christian saint's days. However, the Maya year might well have been by now adjusted to the Gregorian, and a time-count actually kept in the old style be stated for public purposes in the terms of the new. Pineda's calendar is adapted from one published by his father† some forty years earlier, but he speaks of it as being still current.

114 178 796 Seler also doubts the modernity of Pineda's calendar. In his article "Der Festkalender der Tzeltal und der Maya von Yucatan" (1898), he brings together various interesting statements. Of them, one may be applied to this survey. Emeterio Pineda he quotes as saying that the sixth month, Olalte, is the time of planting. This would be in April of our year, or the end of April and early May,

*Starr, 1903—Pineda, Vicente, 1888.
†Pineda, Emeterio, 1845.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

as is also shown by his placing of Yaxkin, the first month, in the end 114
of December. The seventh month, Ulol, is co-ordinated with Kankin 178
of the Maya calendar. Now, according to Sebastiano Guzman, the 796
Bachajon shaman, the big fiesta at Bachajon on May 13th is called *Kank'in*. Is this a coincidence, or a true calendar name, and if the latter, what is a Yucatan calendar name doing among the Bachajon, when we should expect the Tzeltal Ulol? In the present state of our knowledge, no more can be done than to state the facts.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Chapter XVI

THE HIGHLAND TZELTAL

On the Fourth of July we left Ocosingo for the last stretch in to this fabled city of San Cristóbal, about which we had so long been hearing, up into the real mountains, the country of the highland tribes. We thought to spend the day in quiet travel, without fireworks, but our animals had other ideas. El Viejito, the old, white horse, led off by giving out under his pack right at the start. Then the bay mare cut loose, distributing her load over several acres. 114.

The celebration finally being calmed, we reached Sivacá, at the foot of the long climb. The men who knew us were away in the fields. A few frightened women misdirected us as best they could, the animals got loose again among the orange trees and winding paths, and it was another half hour before, to the accompanying enthusiastic squeals of the local pigs, we finally got them rounded up and on the right way.

Right behind Sivacá the trail stands up on end to climb the first of the series of ramparts that lie like a defense about the highland country. It was very much like trying to ride up a gutter on the side of a house. The narrow trail was also the bed of a feeble brook. It was worn so deep that the packs rubbed along the sides. We pushed and pulled and tugged. There was the usual repetition of fallen horses and packs to be put on again. Thus for two hours, slipping 114
and scrambling, until at last we came to a level place where an old 133
wooden cross, decorated with offerings of flowers marked the top of 137
the pass—1,660 meters, 600 meters (about 1,900 feet) above Ocosingo. From there on, as our trail dipped and rose along the uneven plateau, we had occasional glimpses through the tall fir trees back to the ranges behind Ocosingo Valley, and far over the hills of the Tzendales and the Lacandone country, looking very cool and blue. The trees were fine, and widely spaced; below were good grass, patches of pine-needles, and scars of red earth. We followed a succession of ridges, not very notable in themselves, but tiring to the animals after their long climb and earlier celebrations. In the late afternoon it grew cooler, and stimulated by that, and the beauty of the country, we did not know that we were weary.

One of the pack animals, a game little sandy-coloured pony with 114
a Roman nose, who drew his neck back like a camel's when he traveled, was making better time than the rest. So Blom, on his

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

114 mule Borrachito, took him ahead, planning to get into Tenango early and arrange for food and lodging. They went along briskly enough for a while, leaving the pack train well behind. Then the pony stopped, lowered his nose to the ground, blew a moment, and keeled over. There was nothing for it but to unpack him and wait
114 for help. By and by an Indian turned up. Blom hailed him in
123 Tzeltal, "*La!*"—"come here!" He took cover and disappeared. Two more came along the trail, stopped at a distance to look him over, and also disappeared. After a while an Indian's head popped up for an instant behind a stone. All this was rather disconcerting, here in the Indian country, and he had noted that one of the Indians carried a thing that looked like a cleaver on the end of a long pole. He moved over to the mule, hiding his revolver side so that the Indians should not notice that he carried no fire-arms, and put himself in reach of his machete. A head stuck out again from behind a tree. Then two more Indians came down the trail, whom he hailed, asking them to carry the pack boxes into town. At first they refused, but after looking for a long time at his mule, they accepted the job. So he continued peacefully towards Tenango. He came into the open valley just before dusk, with the shadow of the further mountains just on the village, and the mountains themselves dark blue and black under tremendous thunder-clouds. The men and women were all trailing in from their cornfields, with their hoes and machetes over their shoulders. Some stopped a moment to stare at him, then went on, moving with slow steps over the cultivated land.

When La Farge and Lazaro came out into the cleared land, the valley was deep in purple shadow. They reached the Cabildo after dark, too tired to take notice of anything.

Early the next morning, while wisps of cold, silver and pink mist still lay in the valley, the village elders gathered to welcome us, bringing two chickens as presents. They said that they had heard of us already, and would show us through the village. In return for all this, we were to report to the *Tata Presidente* in Mexico that they needed more land, and were hard put to it to find food throughout the year for the 135 families of the village. At first we were escorted by the whole group, from the Village President down to the Secretary, who was illiterate and spoke little or no Spanish. Later, most of the elders lost interest and trailed off, but we always had enough of a delegation to ensure us good service. It was Sunday, so no one was working in the fields, yet we saw remarkably few people, the women, especially, keeping within their houses most of the time.

133 As has been said, Tenango lies in the eastern part of a wide valley that slopes down from the eastern ridge until it meets an abrupt.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 380]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango
Cancuc

443 439 themselves maintain an export trade, yet there is some. From the distant, shy Lacandones a little tobacco of fine grade comes out, in exchange for salt, dogs, powder for flint-locks, and aguardiente. Tenango pottery goes down to Salto de Agua and up to Tenejapa where it meets the finer products of Amatenango, with which it cannot compete. Amatenango pottery is traded as far, at least, as San Andres in Guatemala. Chamula blankets are worn in Cancuc, and all through the Chiapas mountains. The Indians of the highest section keep warm in a heavy woolen shirt called *"chuj,"* which is made in Guatemala. So they themselves, on a small scale, and the Ladino peddlers yet more, keep alive a vestige of the old trade that once ran from Central America to Utah.

114 291 482

FIG. 321—Cargadores with our boxes.

114 The last day's climb had seriously fatigued our horses. It became obvious that they alone could not bring us safely through, so on the sixth we arranged for five *cargadores,* under one of the village councillors, to carry five of our boxes through to Cancuc (fig. 321). It seemed as though that would make quite a load for each of these men, but we came to realize that the carrying power of a Highland Tzeltal truly puts a mule to shame.

At the end of the valley we swung up into the highroad that runs from San Cristóbal to the Lowlands at Salto de Agua. Once fairly well smoothed and levelled, this road is now impassable for ox-carts, and even horses must pick their way over the jagged limestone

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

boulders with care. It still is broad in most places, and has reasonable grades. We climbed to a rather desolate upland of wind-swept grass with a few crooked trees. There was some traffic on the road. We passed a group of Tenejapeños going down to the hot country to carry sugar. The men were ragged and woolly, like those we had seen at Salto de Agua, and their women, in short blue skirts and white blouses gorgeously ornamented with gold and crimson silk, were remarkable for their very pink cheeks showing through dark brown colouring.

The town of Cancuc (*kank'uk*) lies on the rounded shoulder of a long ridge that juts up above the high moors commanding a tremendous view North, West, and South over a jumbled mass of mountain ranges, like a herd of great elephants shouldering away to the horizon. A wind blows day and night, the trees are small and stunted, and the general effect is one of bleakness and height. At an altitude of 1,440 meters, with the unresting wind, it is always cold. The highroad climbs from a ravine up into the village where a small plaza is laid out on a level place. On our left was the big, white church, still well preserved. Opposite it, the Cabildo surprised us, a neat building with tile roof and white columned portico, built in President Diaz' time. Round about were some tumbling and ruined huts, and behind, the village rose on rough terraces crudely faced with stone.

Cancuc has a stormy history. It was the center of the famous rebellion of 1712, the subject of Brinton's "Maria Candelaria."* According to Starr (1904) who passed through here, there is a tradition that the men's long hair, covering their ears, is so worn in memory of the clipped ears which their ancestors received at that time. Recently, there has been political dissension in the form of a dragging feud, and a series of small fights and murders has resulted in those left of the defeated party abandoning the village and setting up their houses in the bush. It is from this that one sees so many huts deserted and beginning to disintegrate, adding to the general cheerless aspect of the place.

We were well received at the Cabildo, where the village officials with their silver-headed canes turned up shortly to look us over. They were younger men than most of the officials we had met previously, and a pretty tough looking crew, much what one would expect of a group that had attained office largely by means of the machete. The people on the whole rather resemble the Bachajon physically, being of a small-limbed type with an average height for men of about 160 centimeters, and nearly beardless. The men wear tunics cut as at Tenango, but decorated with red and yellow em-

*Brinton, 1897; Pineda, 1888.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc
Tenejapa

From Cancuc the road falls slowly away, then it climbs to the steep side of the ridge and at last dips percipitously to a covered bridge over a narrow ravine. All along on both sides little cornfields alternate with second growth. Ahead, the same great palisade that we saw from Tenango rises in a green wall, patched with fields and broken here and there by outcrops of cliffs and hanging valleys. We passed a dribbling of traffic, Indians on foot, and at the bridge met a family of Mexicans noisily eating a picnic lunch. The ravine was deep, rock-walled, with a roaring stream in the shadows of the bottom. From the other side of it the palisade rose immediately, looking almost perpendicular and indefinitely high to us as we contemplated it. The road assumed a stiff grade, rising in a series of zig-zags that gained painfully to the top. Straight up, almost like a ruled line, lay the Indian trail, taking no account of the twists and turns of the road. Our carriers from Cancuc, who took on the cargo that the Tenango men had carried the day before, had gone up that fearsome climb. We tried it, but the horses slid and fell back on their haunches, and we ourselves could barely keep our footing. So we continued along the road, turning and turning, seeming never to gain, and fearing that our animals would never make it. The heat of the sun was thrown back by the hillside and the road. 133 114 [241] [491] [487]

We toiled on. Low growth and brush on the side of the road gave no shade. The dust rose high. The air, for all the heat, began to have a pleasant crispness that reminded us of high altitudes in other countries. Then we smelt a familiar smell which we ignored until its persistent recurrence forced us to look, see, and believe—that blackberries grow wild in Chiapas! The event of the next hours amused Lazaro greatly, for here in Mexico we found ourselves among familiar northern flowers and wild fruits, buttercups, dandelions, wild roses, blackberries, strawberries, all strange to him. We passed an Indian farm, stuck into a tiny hanging valley, where peach trees and alligator pears were growing together in the cornfield. 137 114 245

At the top of the pass in a shallow V-shaped cut, the barometer read 2,100 meters, a climb of 600 meters—about 1,900 feet—in two hours. 133 [114]

The country changed beyond here to steep ravines, high cliffs, rushing, cold brooks, and tall, dark fir trees clothing the rocks. The tilled fields disappeared, the scattered houses, and stick fences. It was a wild, shaggy country—a perfect setting, we thought, for the home of the rough Tenejapeños that we had seen along the road.

Near evening, a road forked off to the right, leading to a split in a wall of high cliffs through which we could see, already dark with

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

133 shadow, another wall far behind. A Mexican told us that Tene-
133 japa lay in the valley thus enclosed. With the cool evening air our
• 114 animals picked up, taking us along at a good trot. We swung around a green dell, up under one cliff into the opening, over the threshold of a ridge. Some Indians sitting there waved to us. Beyond was a tiny, lush meadow and a brook where some Mexicans were making clay tiles. There was another rocky hillock, around which we swung to find ourselves trotting down a well-cobbled street lined with little white cottages, white-walled gardens, and
361 roses. To us, looking for something yet wilder than the villages we had seen, the neat houses and candle-lit casement windows, the doors of tiny shops, the flowers, and the shingled roofs were an utter surprise. In the streets was a sprinkling of touselled-headed Indians

[346]

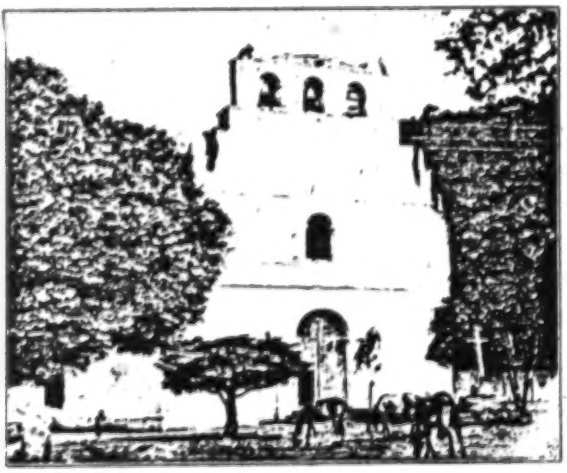

FIG. 329—Tenejapa, Chis. Church and Plaza.

and Ladino people of much fairer complexion than the typical, Lowland Mexicans. We rode past a gaunt, high-shouldered stone church into the plaza, a field of about two acres planted with a few trees, and with a fine town fountain of icy water in the middle (fig.
344 328). Along one side ran the Cabildo, a long, one-storied building
531 with a very deep veranda, gorgeously painted in cubist fashion, red,
123 yellow, green and blue. Here we halted to unpack and present our credentials to the *Presidente Municipal*.

361 Tenejapa is really two towns in one. There is the Ladino town,
563 around which lie the houses of some eight thousand Indians, by local

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

291 shorts are also usually embroidered in red and yellow. The chief had such a pair, very fine and gaudy, which we asked to see. He took [123] them off to show us, but when we tried to buy them from him he [293] became furiously angry and abusive. Sandals, when worn, are of the ordinary type. Most of the Indians carry a staff of some kind.

The women wear the typical blue skirt, but the blouse, cut like [531] a poncho, is usually tucked inside and heavily embroidered about the neck and shoulders. This work takes a long time, and the finished blouses are valued very highly. When worn outside they nearly cover the skirts, which are just knee length. Red sashes with a yellow stripe from Tapachula, of the kind worn also around Ocosingo, bind the skirts at the waist. Hair is done in two braids with dark red ribbon, or tied up in a knot over the forehead as at Cancuc.

[342] [231] [854] ← 302 → 301 → 621 563 → [293] →

FIG. 330—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians in the street.

Men and women alike wear cheap, gay-coloured necklaces, usually rosaries.

The Indians move with great freedom through the town and lounge in company with the Ladinos on the broad porch of the Town Hall. The officials are distinguished by silver-headed canes with black tassels. In lieu of a Maestro, they are directly under the Ladino *Presidente Municipal,* and their disputes are tried by the local judge. Their lawsuits have a mediaeval air, carried on publicly with great clamor on the Town Hall porch, and all concerned speaking with the utmost freedom. A breach of promise case was observed in the course of trial. It went on for at least two hours with never less than two Indians, usually women, speaking at once. One could not but admire the patience of the rather bored and indifferent judge.

695 344

• 114 The cargadores from Cancuc arrived shortly after dark, still lively despite the long day and steep climb. More remarkable still,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa
Amatenango

one of them had developed fever, "so that he lost his breath," and another had made almost the whole trip with two kayaks, over 200 lbs. on his back. They camped on the Town Hall porch where we, with our beds on piles of grass in a room labelled *"Commandancia,"* heard them, as we fell asleep, still chattering over a friendly bottle. Here, as long ago at Ocozotepec, our goods and saddles were stored in the jail, the room next ours, bearing the tactful label in red and blue, *"Prevencion."* Our grass beds were soft and sweet. The big door framed a little of the plaza, the fountain, a cottage with a narrow barred, candle-lit window, and the towering back-drop of cliffs behind, reaching to the stars, with one small winking fire, high up, from some Indian's house. We heard our *cargadores'* low chatter-

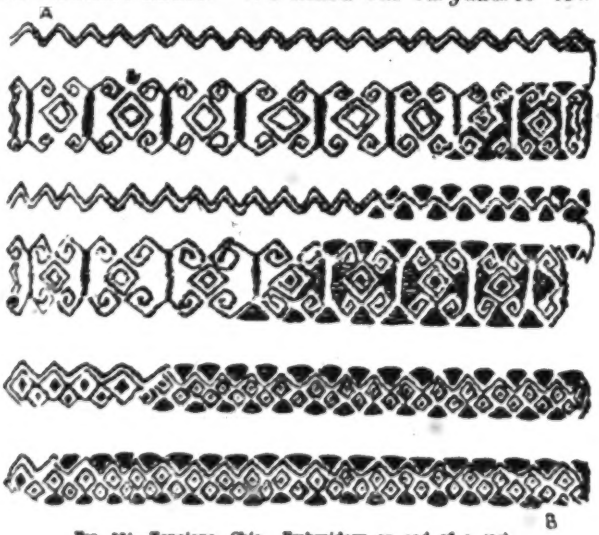

Fig. 331—Tenejapa, Chis. Embroidery on end of a sash.
A. Front. B. Back.

ing, the play of the fountain, a distant guitar. The air was fresh with pines and sweet grass and mountain coolness. We were in a magic country, and we were very, very tired.

Although it breaks the sequence of our journey, it seems best to mention the town of Amatenango here in connection with the other Highland Tzeltal tribes. We passed through it just beyond Teopisca on our way to Comitan, having no time to stop off. The people had been observed in San Cristóbal, where they come in to trade their famous pottery, men and mules alike piled high with loads twice their size.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

121 This thesis is an introduction to the ethnography of drinking in Aguacatenango, a Mayan-speaking community in Chiapas. It displays in some detail the roles and the circumstances of drinking performances there, and it examines some of the ways in which drinking performances reflect the more general beliefs and habitual actions of the people of the community.

*273 183 The drinking of beverage alcohol is a highly frequent, well-patterned part of life in most of the Chiapas highland Indian communities, the only known exceptions being some of the *273 184 protestant enclaves in Oxchuk and environs (Slocum 1956). While [114] detailed references to drinking performances are scarce, it has been determined that variations on the patterns to be described for Aguacatenango are likely to be found at least in Amatenango (Nash 1960); Cancuc (Guiteras-Holmes 1946); Chamula (Bunzel 1940, Pozas 1959); Chenalhó (Guiteras-Holmes 1961); Huistan (Miller 1958); Oxchuc (Castro 1959, 1962; Siverts 1960; Slocum 1956; Villa-Rojas 1946); Tenejapa (Metzger and Williams 1963);

Acknowledgments

My study of the people of Tzoʔontahal was made in four field sessions, the first in 1957 with return trips in 1958, 1964, and 1965, for a total of eighteen months. Brief visits were made in 1966 and 1967. With each returning visit it was possible to penetrate more deeply into the lives and experiences of the villagers, most of whom were highly resistant to an outsider on the first contact. I began writing the book in 1966, and some of the predictions I made came true before I finished it in 1968. These included the demise of the ceremonial leadership of the *alfereces*—the officials in charge of religious celebrations—the waning of the community status of curers, and the killing of one of my principal informants who had taken a leadership role before acquiring the traditional validation of age and experience in office. The transformations over the period of my study in this community created difficulties in recording and organizing my material. I owe whatever clarification has emerged to the efforts of Jane Olson and Gale Griffin of Yale University Press.

I am indebted to the National Institutes of Mental Health, which made possible the research for this study. I owe an intellectual debt to Sol Tax, who introduced me to the problems and potentialities of the area as a locus for field study, to Norman McQuown, who gave me the first instruction in Tzeltal and provided a grammar which facilitated learning the language, and to Manning Nash, who provided some of the earlier formulations of the culture from which I have borrowed. I am grateful to Duane Metzger and Gerald Williams, who generously provided equipment and facilities for work with informants in San Cristóbal Las Casas in the summer of 1964. Alfonso Villa Rojas, who was director of the Instituto Nacional Indígenista, was of great assistance in the first summer's field trip, introducing me to leaders within the town and in the Instituto's headquarters in Las Casas.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

ters in Las Casas. His encouragement and support of investigations by foreign students set an example in international cooperation. I am personally indebted to Mary Marshall for the companionship and assistance she offered during our summer of residence in the public bathhouse of the town; she is responsible for the observations in Appendix 3A and 3B. Terrence Kaufman checked the Tzeltal words appearing in the glossary. I am grateful for the hospitality and friendship of the family of the schoolmaster, Louis Tavernier. Without the patience, the insight, and the friendship of Juliana Lopez Shunton, Mariano Lopez Lin, Simón Perez Kantirón, and their families, the book would never have been written. Vera Deutsch provided encouragement and assistance in the final typing of the manuscript. My children, Eric and Laura, shared the hardships of fieldwork and of producing the book.

Chapter 6

Curing and the Curers

Sickness is a sign of upset relations between the spirits or people and those of relatives, neighbors, or places. In the curing ritual, the curers not only treat the disease, but also try to bring about spiritual readjustment by dramatizing the ill effects of animosity. Because they claim to be able to counteract witchcraft, the curers exercise a great deal of power. This power is limited by institutional requirements controlling entry into the profession and exercise of their skill and knowledge. The breakdown in the authority of elder curers during my study of the community, and their attempts to reinstate themselves, made explicit some of the structural principles of the institution.

The Curing Hierarchy

Recruitment into the hierarchy. Until the 1950s, each side of the dual division had an age-ranked order of curers and recognized the leadership of a single elder, called *stätal ?u?ul.* The older, more experienced curers, called the *b'ankilal,* or elder brothers, had authority over the novice curers, called the *?ihtz'inal,* or younger brothers. With the breakdown of the hierarchy during my stay, this distinction was becoming less clear. In 1964 there were seven curers in Alannantik and six in Ahk'olnantik; on a return visit I made in 1967, their numbers had been reduced by homicide and exile to five in Alannantik and five in Ahk'olnantik.

Entry into the profession occurs during an epidemic when the civil authority calls upon the curers to gather in the town hall to determine who is bringing the "heat" that causes death from disease. The curers decide whether there are any promising young men who have the third soul, swayohel, which gives them the ability to cure. If a young man is deemed

shortly before the fiesta of the saint's day with which he was charged. 794
When the nomination was made, the president sent out the first policeman with the chief policeman to bring the man chosen to the town hall. 796 556
They expected, and were always confronted with, resistance to the nomination. In order to gain acceptance they got the nominee drunk in a drinking session at the town hall. Liquor was measured out, and all the officials drank only a half cup at each round, but the new alférez was required to drink a full cup. The rounds continued until the new alférez was drunk. If he did not accept at this session, he was put in jail to think it over. Another drinking session took place the following day. [666] [273] [697] [689]

Nomination to the post of alférez was the only situation in which the jail penalty has been brought into effect, since refusal by nominees to other posts simply means that the officials "look for someone else." The reason given for invoking the punishment was "we know he has the wealth and therefore he should serve." Until 1965 the town had always succeeded in recruiting two of the alfereces from Ahk'olnantik and two from Alamantik. Since the upper division of Ahk'olnantik has grown at a more rapid rate than the lower division, candidates were found only in Ahk'olnantik. This unbalancing of the population ratios undermined the institution of alférez, which had always been the most unpopular position. When I returned to the field in 1967, it had been eliminated. 794 556 621 [114]

The Functions of Civil Officials

An analysis of the formally prescribed functions of the civil officials must take into account three sources of data: the functions as prescribed by state legislation, the functions as understood by local officials, and the observed activities of the officials. Table 26 compares the functions of officials as stated in the constitution of the state of Chiapas (Secretaría del Gobierno Departmental de Chiapas, 1828: Decreto 52, Nov. 30, 1825) [3] to statements of informants and to my observations of the carrying out of their official obligations. 128 621

3. I have chosen this constitution as the first post-independence statement of the status of local civil administrators.

621 578 177 178 was channeled along existing lines of competition. During my stay in the community from 1964 to 1966, most conflicts were attributed to economic competition between the two trucking cooperatives. Along with this, the [114] [474] [182] waning of the position of the principales has undermined the confidence of the people in the system of checks and balances in which the principales watched over the judges, the judges watched over the curers, the curers watched over the people to see that no one brought in evil, and the ancestors watched over everyone. [756] Curers are more and more often accused of witchcraft and are frequent victims of homicide. The sense that they are the guardians of the pueblo and the agents of the ancestors is nearly dead. They are consulted only because the people feel that, because of the evil in them, they can fight the evil caused by others.

621 756 177 178 The shift in power from the old leaders to the new has not been accompanied by a shift in ideological allegiance. The new leaders cannot offer the security the people felt when they were living in the eyes of the ancestors. The curers remain as a powerful group because of their claims of being able to fight evil, but there is no longer a legitimate authority controlling their use of destructive forces.

561 554 177 178 A system of authority based on rule by elders is a structural correlative of a behavior pattern in which people act out the ways of the ancestors. This applies to the schematized behavior contained in rituals and in traditional productive activities. The ideology of a seniority-based prestige system persists at the explicit level at the same time that behavioral changes in contradiction to this are occurring.

626 177 178 Social control in a system of behavior based on what was done in the past depends upon the belief that people are carrying out their lives "in the eyes of the ancestors." Ritual behavior in Tzoʔontahal seems to confirm this, but in view of the waning belief in the presence of the ancestors and the loss of confidence in their agents, the curers, this behavior is a kind of social ~~lie designed~~ to perpetuate the old code of morality. In their everyday behavior, people no longer act on the same premises. The social lie is perpetuated because the people who enjoyed power in the old social system—the curers and the elders—do not wish to relinquish it. It will last only so long as they can find successors, and with the abolition of the recruitment through alfereces, this should not be for long.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

121 and can be empirically described by the observer in the form of a model.

I do not pretend these to be always the best possible definitions of any of these concepts. I find that in the course of my training as a social anthropologist, I came to think of these concepts in such terms, and in working my problems they became the most comfortable conceptual frame. I do feel, however, that in explicitly defining my use, I solve the main problem of communication between author and reader.

Sources of Data

•114 122 The area in which the communities selected for this study are located have been under intensive multi-disciplinary study for more than ten years. Mexican anthropologists of the National Museum and the National Indian Institute have done surveys and community descriptions on their own and under the direction of Robert Redfield and Sol Tax, of the University of Chicago. (See bibliography.) The University of Chicago Chiapas Project, now in its second stage and seven years old, has covered the area with a fine-tooth comb, and prepared a three-volume report which contains information on geography (soils, rain distribution, physical character, water supply, etc.), botany, linguistics, social anthropology, archeology, ethnohistory and other related fields (see McQuown et al., 1959).

There is a wealth of primary sources for the area, but, unfortunately, there has never been up to the present a careful analysis of their content, although they have been extensively quoted by modern authors with different purposes in mind.

114 The previous mentioned sources of information will be
128 utilized for background of the study.

The actual data pertaining to the two communities under scrutiny is derived from the following sources: (1) Aguacatenango field-notes, prepared by Duane and Barbara Metzger in the year 1956; (2) Aguacatenango field-notes prepared by the Metzgers and myself during 1958, summer session; (3) my Master's paper on Residence Patterns in Aguacatenango (Verbitsky, 1959b); (4) Amatenango reports prepared by June and Manning Nash, with the assistance of Joan Ablon during 1958-59; (5) the subsequent writings of the Nashes and Metzgers, published, and unpublished but available in mimeographed form for consultation.

125 Whenever it was possible, the data were collected quanti-
124 tatively. The section on residence was based on a formal questionnaire, checked for reliability with informal interviews with the same and other informants. This questionnaire was applied by the Nashes to 280 households in Amatenango and by myself to 68 in Aguacatenango. The residence analysis of Amatenango was prepared by June Nash (1959) with methods comparable to those utilized by me in my Master's paper. (Both used comparable analytical procedures.)

124 Other data were collected by direct questioning about particular subjects and analyzed and contrasted with case histories on the same topic.

Complete genealogies of the two villages were utilized for placing individual histories in the context of the family and other social relations.

M 563 621 647 doctors and officers of the National Indian Institute (INI) who arrive to the villages at irregular intervals. In Amatenango, T 621 743 647 the INI has established a "clinic" in which a native nurse provides some medical services, such as vaccinations, the selling of aspirin, etc., while in Aguacatenango the native INI nurse provides services in his home.

T 621 647 474 In both the villages the INI has established a cooperative store which sells staples which are not produced in the community, but such stores are in no sense agents of cultural change, selling only commodities which the Indians habitually buy elsewhere. (A reason for the lack of success of such stores is that the Indians have not understood the "cooperative" principle, very few men have joined, and they are disillusioned with the marginal profit obtained through them.) In 1958, Amatenango had water T 621 647 312 .114 piped into the village, a project completed by the INI in 1957; while after the author left Aguacatenango in 1958, water pipes were installed there.

M 563 692 Political relations with the Ladinos of a more formal nature occur through the courts of justice and national government offices, and they are characterized by the covert (and at times open) hostility and misunderstanding on the part of both Indians and Ladinos (see D. Metzger, 1956 and Fuente, Julio de la, 1958).

T 628 438 571 608 582 Relations with other Indian villages are common both for Amatenango and Aguacatenango. They trade with the communities located in different ecological zones the products that do not grow in their territory (ocote from the highlands, sugar cane from the lowlands, etc.) in exchange for their own products and they

621 Although the barrio lines are imaginary, they are effective limits for interaction between the inhabitants of the two sections.

621 582 The barrios are ideally, and in practice, endogamous. (Eighty-three per cent of marriages contracted in Amatenango are barrio endogamous marriages, and 86 per cent of Aguacatenango couples have spouses from the same barrio.) The distribution of Inter- and Intra-Barrio marriages is shown in the following table:

TABLE 4

INTER- AND INTRA-BARRIO MARRIAGES

	Amatenango %	Aguacatenango %
Spouse from the same barrio	83	86
Spouse from other barrio	7.5	8
Spouse from other rural settlements	9.5	6

Given the fact that barrios originated from the parcialidades, which were at the time of the reducciones independent communities, it is possible to assume that the endogamy rules are as old as the establishment of the villages.

621 578 582 [714] The latent hostility between the barrios becomes evident when the endogamy rules are broken. Young men trying to flirt with girls of the opposite barrio are reported to be beaten up, and although most informants insist that this custom is a "thing of the past," the Metzgers' field notes (Metzger, 1956-58) on Aguacatenango recorded two contemporary cases. Sometimes an offering of liquor to the single men of the opposite barrio will help

60| differentiation based on some other criteria which are not descent or affinity.

[114] The "kinship terms" of Amatenango and Aguacatenango form a Hawaiian type (Murdock, 1949) system, and do not suggest, as Murdock indicated for the Tzeltal as a whole, the characteristics of a Normal Omaha (Murdock, 1955:228-31).

The main emphasis on classifying others from the point of view of Ego are relative age (seniority and generation) and sex. All discriminations made in the addressing of individuals are of a bilateral nature. More contrasts are made for the older than for the younger generation of Ego. This gives the impression that the societies face "upwards," which is confirmed by the behavior of the villagers in many dimensions of their social action, by being consistent with the terminological usages within and outside the kin group.

The classificatory principles which underlie the uses of terms are, for the society at large: seniority, generation relative to Ego, and sex, both of addressee and speaker.

When the terms are restricted to "real kinsmen," the number of terminological distinctions is expanded, so some other principles are used. The principles are:

1. Seniority
   a). Younger than Ego
   b) Older than Ego, younger than Ego's father
   c) Older than Ego, older than Ego's father
2. Sex of the addressee
3. Lineal versus collateral

TABLE 7

591 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: NEWLY MARRIED COUPLES IN COMPOUNDS, 1958

Residence	Cases	Per Cent
Viri-patrilocal	13	72
Uxor-patrilocal	4	23
Neolocal (Borrowing house)	1	5
Total	18	100

592 593 183 Aguacatenango: Residence Patterns of Old Marriages, Nuclear Households

The composition of nuclear households shows that people live according to their own ideas about who should live separate from their parents. Nuclear households with no children in them represents 7 per cent of the total. Nuclear households with only one child also represent 7 per cent of the cases. Nuclear households with two or more children represent 86 per cent.

125 591 593 Paternal sponsorship after a couple has moved out of the husband's parental compound was measured by (1) degree of proximity between the two households of a man and his son, and (2) father-son transmission of a house site.

361 591 593 The fact that the town is closely settled, especially in the center, makes it increasingly difficult to maintain strict contiguous patrilocal proximity between father and son, so at first glance, many a man seems to be living in a neolocal setting according to Fischer's typology. The problem of applying the concept

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114 591 593 of sponsorship is that Fischer indicates that the residence sponsor is a person living in the same household, while in Aguacatenango patrilocal sponsorship is expressed by giving the sons a house site, even if it is not contiguous with the parental one. Therefore, to determine patrilocality of men, the couples in the sample were located (1) territorially, in terms of proximity to the husband's and wife's parents; (2) and in terms of who owned the house site, and from whom it had been obtained.

183 591 [428] The results of this analysis indicate a statistically significant emphasis on patrilocal proximity, and a strong bias towards inheriting the house in the male line.

TABLE 8

AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: PROXIMITY TO PARENTAL HOME.
MARRIED INDIVIDUALS IN NUCLEAR HOUSEHOLDS

	Man				Woman			
	Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent		Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent	
Same block	10	56	84	100	3	14	38	76
Adjacent block	5	28			5	24		
Same barrio	3	16	16		8	38	38	
Different barrio	. . .	. . .	. . .		3	14	24	
Other town	. . .	. . .			2	10		
Total Sample	18	100			21	100		

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593 The reasons for keeping a son are not as pressing as the
[432] reasons for keeping a daughter. Amatenango land holdings are
[184] somewhat smaller than Aguacatenango, and the buying and selling of agricultural parcels, as long as it does not involve outsiders to the village, is a common practice which accounts for approximately 16 per cent of land transactions. The

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> limited land holding units in Amatenango require minimal cooperation in agriculture. Because of fractured land holdings, fewer than one-half of the households have two tablones . . . of land. Therefore, fewer than one-half the households can keep more than one man actively employed. Even in those households with from two to five tablones, a man and his adult son are sufficient labor for most activities except harvest.
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[582]
[178]
> Women's pottery production, however, requires frequent cooperation. Two tendencies are reinforcing the cooperation of women, especially of mothers and daughters: (1) with increasing need for cash income to buy products which are not longer produced in the home, or which have been introduced, money is constantly needed. Pottery offers an easy means of acquiring cash with almost immediate returns, and (2) marriages are currently contracted at a later age for girls than formerly. Before, about a generation ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve were the rule. Most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques begins at that age. Consequently, pottery was taught to the daughter by the mother-in-law if the girl
• [114]
> was married and resided in the husband's house. (See Frans Blom and Oliver LaFarge [1927] who commented that all pottery was taught by the mother-in-law.) Most marriages now are contracted for girls from 14 to 17 years of age. At this time they are already proficient potters, and accustomed to working with their mother. Therefore, there is a greater stress put on their remaining in or near their parental home after marriage (Nash, J., 1960:47).[1]

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The people of Amatenango recognize that during the period in which a woman learns to make pottery, she establishes particular habits of cooperation and a strong solidarity bond with the woman from whom she learns and with whom she works. "Parents say that there is an advantage in early marriages, in that the girl would be more willing to learn the ways of her mother-in-law if she

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[161] [1]It is also important to notice that with the increase in population over the area, the market has increased.

129 Although Murdock's statement takes a position which is not
•014 fully supported by the historical evidence, all information, however incomplete, points in the same direction.

127 Baroco (1959b), working with the Register of Civil Mar-
611 riages of the state of Chiapas from 1880 for Chanal, and the censuses of the same village for 1957, noticed that several patrilineal inherited Indian names were attached to a single Spanish surname. The Indian name functioned in regulating marriages. Moreover, through some of the realignments (in time depth) of name groups, he pointed out that the fusion and fission of the lineal segments could be traced historically, not only for one village, but for several villages sharing the same lineage names and suspected clans (represented by the Spanish name groups).

In another unpublished article, Baroco (1959a) indicated that according to the sixteenth and eighteenth century documents, including a book of baptisms, patrilineal name groups were associated with the naming of children with calendrical personal names, that is, names of the Mayan calendar, a custom reported in all early Mayan sources (see Barrera Vazguez, Ed. 1948; Recinos, A., Ed. 1950; Ximenez, Ed. 1857).

Contemporary evidence shows that several communities in the Chiapas highlands still preserve a strong patrilineal bent. Localized agnatic lineages and clans have been reported for Oxchuc (Villa Rojas, 1945; Siverts, H., 1960) where they have both ritual political and land-tenure regulatory functions, and Cancuc (Guiteras-Holmes, 1952). Patrilineally inherited name groups with restricted corporate functions are present in practically

571 and outside the household by the bilateral group of kinsmen of each particular Ego and his or her spouse, which because of the residence pattern, live localized within a neighborhood.

602 592 562 In Aguacatenango, on the contrary, most important activities are carried on mainly by agnatically related kin. This, of course, does not mean that matri-kin or affinals are absolutely excluded. But in making decisions for giving or receiving help in work, for example, agnatic kin are preferred, especially for men, because women tend to collaborate mostly with the agnatic kin of their husbands. The reason for this is that activities for women are not determined in terms of the kinship lines, but in terms of household membership: they collaborate with the closest kin of the household in which they reside, and not their own closest kin. A household contributes labor and interacts more often with agnatically linked households than any other.

361 602 592 The reason for this difference in emphasis could be said to be a result of the fact that one collaborates more with the people who live the closest. After all, the neighborhood in Aguacatenango tends to be a cluster of agnatically related households. [114] Nash felt that in Amatenango, "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relations are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130). We disagree with this statement.

323 241 433 182 591 592 621 In Amatenango, pottery making and corn agriculture are the two principal productive enterprises which affect the organization of the domestic group, including the residence choices, so it is not strange that the neighborhood group (or residence clusters within the barrio), made up according to the criteria of selecting

323 241 433 182 591 592 621 producers for the particular domestic groups, seems to be the originator of bilateral increase in interaction, while it could be equally well said that the bilaterally settled neighborhood in Amatenango is a result of the selection of household personnel along both males' and females' kinsmen lines.

114 602 182 361 J. Nash (1960) interpreted the bilaterality of Amatenango as being a result of the residence pattern. Nash assumes that kinship and territoriality are two mutually exclusive principles of association, while in reality they are not so. On the one hand, if territoriality (or the spatial placement of the individual in the household) is determined by kinship alignments, both would tend to be symmetrical; on the other hand, even if they are not mutually inclusive (which in this case they are), both are emphasized simultaneously in the same set of choices, so that the principles of spatial proximity and kinship proximity, although independent variables, are concomitant in their effects. Moreover, Nash found out that activities which did not involve immediate reciprocity followed the kinship line exclusively without reference to territorial propinquity.

121 The danger of assuming that "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relationships are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130) becomes evident in a larger theoretical context. If residential propinquity tends to set up interaction along bilateral lines, the opposite, residential dispersion, would tend to emphasize interaction among unilineal relatives. Then, all lineally organized societies ought to be organized in exogamous settlements, or in a dispersed hamlet pattern, and all large concentrations of

121 population, such as an endogamous village, ought to be bilateral societies. This is obviously not so. Even if we assume that our statement is a reductio ad absurdum of Nash's point, there is evidence in the immediate vicinity of Amatenango that other villages, equally concentrated in population, with the same physical setting, are not bilateral. J. Nash (1960) compared Amatenango and Aguacatenango in a few paragraphs, and she felt that the evidence supported her theory. However, the data available to her was very unreliable. She quoted a preliminary report of Metzger written before the residence analysis of the community was carried to completion, which contained only impressionistic observations, and gave the impression that residence was neolocal and that agnatically related households were widely spread within the community, which we have shown in chapter vi not to be true.

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Moreover, Aguacatenango not only has patri-virilocality, but corporate patrilines. The name-groups in Aguacatenango form localized agnatic descent groups (which we above called the localized clusters of agnatically linked households). The people belonging to a name-group are recognized as relatives or, in Tzeltal, "those who are my family on my father's side." Those individuals have one last name (Indian surname) in common with Ego. Within the Spanish surname, some people are considered in the descent group and some are considered aparte (separate), but a man of the Spanish name Perez, would say that all those Perezetik who are not aparte belong to his family, and any Perez is "closer" to another Perez than to a man of another Spanish name. The reason for the segmentation of the Spanish name-group is lost in the past. When the lineage system was composed of

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128 residence changes through time, in a developmental cycle which is
591 the result of the developmental cycle of the domestic group, both
[591] [602] as a kinship unit and as economic centers of village life. (3) It tries to contribute to the study of residence by showing how a combined methodology, utilizing both Fischer's residence typology and Fortes' developmental cycle analysis, can render more fruitful descriptions than either of the two methods in isolation. (4) It
128 592 shows how a single institution, the household, is affected by the multiple pressures of several alternate social domains, and how its functioning is adjusted and organized in reference to the multivariable social world.

128 I am aware that the study has suffered at times for lack of depth in the analysis of particular data. I have been unable to discuss carefully the implications of the functions of bride-price in the two communities, because I lack sufficiently objective data to support my ideas or disprove them. The same is true for a more careful analysis of the social dynamics of coalitions between siblings and between individuals living outside each domestic unit. Although June Nash's dissertation offers several complete
128 114 examples of sibling interaction, and Metzger's field notes have
127 invaluable information in certain kinship roles, I lacked the equivalent materials from the two communities to make a more than superficial comparison.

000 I do not expect, however, this study to be the end of my inquiry into the subject. I propose to continue working in the same area of the world in the future (perhaps in the same

Introduction

BEHAVIORAL REGULARITIES in ritual or informal interaction are usually considered the raw material for making structural-functional statements. The descriptive data are used illustratively or may never be included with published material. This monograph describes ritual activity, both elicited and observed. The object is (1) to state the behavioral dimensions of a structural-functional model and (2) to show where social changes are putting stress on that structure. 121

Ritual events are good occasions for such study because both communally prescribed and individually preferred behavior can be recorded. The expected behavior can be sorted out from the chance since the rules are more explicit than in ordinary interaction. Ceremonial behavior projects in a public performance a given set of status relationships. In doing things as they were done in the past, a theme repeated in prayers and in explanations for actions, people assert continuity of tradition. But just because of this, ceremonies are an occasion for dramatizing social change (Geertz, 1957). Competition between groups and tensions deriving from contradictions which are not apparent in everyday life may be expressed during the ceremony.

I have chosen the rituals of the inauguration of civil and religious officials in the community of Tzo?ontahal, Chiapas, Mexico, because in these performances people act out their techniques for maintaining continuity at the time of change.[1] The inauguration is a rite of passage designed to gain social acceptance of new personnel in a given set of roles. However, as in all ceremonies in this community, the occasion provides the backdrop for the release of latent hostilities. The formal ceremony requires drinking a great deal of the locally distilled liquor, "the gift of the ancestors" that makes fiestas possible.[2] Liquor rids the participants of embarrassment 121 182 796 121 796 273

[1] Field research was supported by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health which made possible my stay from May to September, 1964, and again in December, 1964. I am grateful to Duane Metzger for providing facilities for working in San Cristobal de las Casas with my informants. Comments by Harold Conklin, Constance Sutton, and David Hunter have helped improve earlier versions. [122] [114] [128]

[2] In a myth concerning the origin of liquor, it is said that the town had no fiestas until Santiago gave the gift of liquor.

[P. 209-A]

and, in fostering social intercourse, it frees them of other constraints. With the usual inhibitions removed, the social interaction following the ceremony allows the investigator to see below the surface. 121 796 273

We have many structural-functional descriptions of the civil-religious hierarchy of highland Maya Indian communities (Adams, 1957; Cámara Barbachano, 1952; Cancian, 1964; McArthur, 1961; Siverts, 1960, 1964; Tax, 1964; Vogt, 1965; Zabala Cubillos, 1961). The roles and functions of the hierarchy are at least minimally described in the many community studies of the area (Bunzel, 1952; Guiteras Holmes, 1961; LaFarge, 1947; LaFarge and Byers, 1931; M. Nash, 1955; Tax, 1947a,b; Valladares, 1957; Wagley, 1949; Wisdom, 1940). We have, as well, historical summaries of the colonial and independence developments (Aguirre Beltrán, 1953; Carrasco, 1952, 1961; Chávez Orozco, 1943). In previous summaries of the structure and functioning of the hierarchies, however, systematic descriptive data on performances are mostly lacking. Vogt (1965, p. 42) has indicated the value of observing behavior as a "reliable operational measure for determining rank" in Zinacantan. Cross-community comparison of institutions would be facilitated by such behavioral data. For example, the recurrent descriptive phrase "closely integrated civil-religious hierarchy" covers a spectrum of behavioral and ideological components which ranges from one in which officials of both ladders are linked by a series of sacred acts, functions and personnel, to one in which there is independent and exclusive participation. These generalizations can be broken down to a series of acts in which they are expressed. If comparison over time or between communities is to be meaningful, we must look to the descriptive detail which went into such generalizations. 121 114 121

For any scheduled event such as a ritual, three sources of data are available: the expectations of what will happen, the case histories of similar events in the past, and the observation of the event. In tapping the first of these, I have used the technique developed by Metzger and Williams (1963) in formal ethnographic analysis.[8] In this approach, the informant co- 121 124

[8] I am indebted to Duane Metzger for training in these methods, and to discussions with him, Brent Berlin, and Paul Kay which helped me in working out the observation schedule. [114]

[P. 209-B]

formants' conscious understandings as well as of their subconscious patterns of behavior. [121] [024]

Description of behavior requires a theoretical approach to the problems of segmenting activity streams, selecting events, and ordering them. Too large chunks of behavior are not useful in comparisons made over time in the same society or between societies. However, because human (as well as animal) behavior is characterized by motivation and cognition (Tolman, 1961) we cannot expect to isolate minimal units which are invariant from one context to another. Verbs, as French (1954, p. 162) points out, are one-act plays in which a change of dramatis personae creates entirely new meaning. Furthermore, the symbolic weight of a single act varies; it can encompass the history of an institution, such as crossing oneself, or it can establish identification with a social movement, such as raising a clenched fist. However, for any behavioral schema, which I define, following Piaget, as component acts structured in an organized totality (Flavell, 1963, p. 54), it is possible to segment acts and assess their significance. In the major schema of the inauguration of officials in Tzo?ontahal, place, time, and roles are the bases for structuring related sets of activities.

Segmenting human behavior has been treated as either an actor-oriented or an observer-oriented problem. Pike (1954) and Adams (1962) rely on informants' advice to isolate the "behavioreme," whereas [114] Harris (1964, p. 367 ff.) rejects the actor's statement of goals in favor of the investigator's own definitions of action units. If the "basic unit of action in the human body is purposive motion" (Burke, 1962, p. 61), then we must consider the meaning of action at the first stage of an analysis.[4] The anthropological observer's segmentation at this point injects cultural bias which stems from his point of view (Hymes, 1964, p. 14; Spier and Sapir, 1930, p. 217). Since our [124]

[4] Most verbs used by informants in describing action patterns imply purpose. The informant says that he "eats," not that he raises food to his mouth and masticates it. The coding of motives and goals in the verbs underlines the importance of eliciting in the performer's own language. For example, when one observes the Indians as they enter the townhall, one sees them kneel and do what could be interpreted as crossing themselves. Asked what they do, the informants reply, "We measure our noses (*sp'is sni?ik*)." Measuring water (*sp'is ha?*) is another important ceremonial act. This suggests the possible ceremonial significance of measure in ceremonial performances. To assume knowledge of the act because of its similarity to Catholic forms might rule out suggestions requiring deeper probing. Cf. Adams' (1962) distinction between the reported and the observed act, and Barker (1963). [121] [124] [193] [788] [804] [114]

[P. 210-B]

In addition to this regular ladder of officials representing the center and its close-lying barrios are judges representing the *colonias*, or rural settlements, of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Crus Quemada. They do not regularly attend the townhall sessions, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of new officials. Only after I had elicited officials from two informants was I able to get from the third the three judges of the colonias with the question, "Are there any other officials in the cabildo?" 621* 693 632

These civil officials constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. The positions of president and *sintiku* (in Spanish *síndico*), not included in the offices of the townhall as a category by informants, were elicited in response to the question stated above. These posts are occupied by younger men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy, until the present generation, was limited to those in the 30-year age bracket. Those with such skills passed immediately into the *comisario ejidal*, commission for land grants, where they assisted in the control and redistribution of land granted under the ejido program, or went directly into the post of *síndico*. Thus they were able to avoid the onerous and time-consuming functions of the traditional posts and enter into the remunerative post of president, where their authority was recognized at an early age. With improved literacy, the competition for such posts is increasing. Although informants say that the post of president alternates for the two sides of the dual division, case materials do not bear this out. 622 624 [124] [191] [212] [423] [178] [212] 622 621* 114

The only Ladino in the hierarchy is the secretary. For the first time this year (1964) the post of secretary has been taken by an Indian of the town. This is part of the power play described below. 563 624 178

Naming of civil officials is done in November, first in a closed session in the townhall at which each official names his successor, followed by a mass meeting *(Komun K'op)* at which the names are read to the assembled household heads in the plaza. To the question, "What are all the kinds of offices in the church?" the response was given: *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces (or captains, the Spanish term *alfereces* comes from the Arabic). There are 16 mayordomos. Role terms for the mayordomos indicated that each saint was repre- 666 621* 794 [776]

[P 213-B]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS Replication of behavior in both civil and religious inauguration is also seen in the house ceremonies. Prior to setting out to the townhall or to the church, the new officials acquire a sense of the sacred obligations they are about to undertake from the words of the *nakawanehetik*. 621* 794 796 182

The major behavioral schema are established in the settings in which activities occur. In each setting, the actors assert status in a social arrangement by their position in a physical arrangement: seating order clockwise from the door indicates rank order in all settings. The same act has a different significance in each setting. For example, drinking in the townhall differs from drinking in the house because it ties together different sets of actors.[10] As the actors move from one setting to the next, they are accompanied by some of the members linking them to the prior setting, as when the *nakawanehetik* accompany the president to the townhall. 621* 794 156 182 571 554 [273]

The significance of setting in allocating roles is evident in the Tzeltal terms for categories of officials: religious officials are called "officials in the church" *(?a?teletik te ta ɛ'ulna)* and civil officials are called "officials in the townhall" *(?a?teletik te ta ɛ'ulna)*. If my guess concerning the derivation of the term *nakawane* from house officials is correct (note 6), then this category derives its name from the locus in which authority is recognized. 621* 794 182 192 156

The analysis of behavior, or roles in action, corroborates some of the understandings gained from eliciting the structure, but requires some modification. The segmentary character of the hierarchy is evidenced in the domain, action, and the timing of action. However, qualifications of the elicited model must be made on the basis of the behavioral data. First, the asymmetry of the links between civil and religious officials in the church setting as compared with the townhall setting requires a qualification of the meaning of the integration for the two wings. 621* 794 182 156

[10] This adds a further caveat to the "behaviorist fallacies" pointed out by Lewin (1951, p. 79) when the psychological setting is ignored in the description of the physical dimension of an act. [114]

[P. 221 - A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

CHAPTER XV

THE NORTHERN TZELTAL TRIBES

114 Ever since leaving Zona Sala, we had been working in the coun-
101 try of the Tzeltal-speaking tribes who form an outpost of the Highland Indians. The Bachajon, of the Finca Encanto and Bachajon village, and the Indians of Ocosingo and the neighbouring valleys, living as they do, cut off from the outside world, strong in number, and of a rather independent disposition, gave us the first evidences of how little the Indian of the Chiapas Highlands has changed since the days before Columbus. The kings and priests are dead, the temples have been replaced by churches and Christian forms, but the Indians and labourers of today in many respects live the life that their humble forebears did five hundred years ago.

114 At this point, before describing our trip up into the true mountain country, it seems opportune to tell something of these people, their manners and customs. We did not have time to make an exhaustive study of any of them, but they were constantly with us as guides and labourers, and we passed through many of their villages.
115 At El Encanto we had a chance to visit and examine the settlement
126 of the finca's workmen, with the kind help of Señor Ciriaco Aguilar, who acted as interpreter and supplied us with invaluable information. Señor Arturo Tovilla helped us with the Linguistic Lists (see Appendix III), as well as describing many of the customs recorded in this chapter. Señor Aureo Cruz of Toniná dictated a Tzeltal Prayer and Conversation, which was analyzed with the help of Señor Manuel Bulnes of El Real. (See Appendix VI). In general it may be said that all the Spanish-speaking people with whom we dealt helped us in every way possible.*

101 The Bachajon (*Batcahon*) and Ocosingo Valley Indians are, as
197 has been said, an outlying part of a large group living in the mountain country. They speak the Tzeltal language, belonging to that branch of the great Mayance stock more closely related to Maya.
131 In the pine country of Chiapas they hold the largest share of land,
101 occupying an irregular area running southeast from Simojovel to

[175] *The written sources bearing directly on the ethnology of these people are very meager. Nuñez de la Vega (1702) gives the best account of the early religion; his section on Nagualism has been reprinted by Paniagua (1908) along with an important selection of other early sources. Licenciado Vicente Pineda (1888) in his account of the Indian uprisings, gives some information, together with the most complete linguistic material. He gives a native calendar, probably based on one published by Emeterio Pineda (1845). Of modern scientific works, Starr (1901 and 1903) has ethnographic material, and publishes the only physical measurements (1903). Seler (1908) goes into the calendar in detail. For comparative material Tozzer (1907) and Sapper (1925) have been our chief reliance. Sapper's "Nordliche Mittelamerika" (1897) was in constant use in the field for information on all subjects. Particular references are given as they occur. Prof. Rudolph Schuller kindly allowed me access to his manuscript material.

621
554 "giving the head" to certain elder women, but the reason could not
576 be ascertained.

581 Marriage is an economic and social affair, apparently free of religious significance. Don Arturo Tovilla of Cacate-el, gave us a description of the manner of seeking a wife, which is here paraphrased. It will be seen that the importance, ceremonially, centers on the contract with the parents, while the actual joining in marriage is not stressed.

584 The boy's father goes with the boy to the girl's house, both dressed in their best clothes, and carrying a gift of three bottles (pints) of aguardiente "and some animal." His father tells the girl's father that his son wishes to marry the daughter; to which the answer is to call the girl and ask her if she likes him. She says nothing, but keeps on scratching the wall with her finger and the floor with her toe, thereby indicating that she likes the boy, while showing the proper maidenly modesty. The latter gives her a coloured handkerchief, pearl beads, etc., with which the contract is sealed.

The boy is obligated to bring to her house what the father may ask, such as corn, beans, aguardiente, as well as to help in the work for a year. He makes a social visit each Sunday, which the girl must receive. At the end of the time appointed by the parents, he takes her to his house.

If the girl does not signify her consent in the manner described, the match does not take place.

583 When the parents of one or both parties do not countenance the match, it may happen that the children, taking the law into their own hands, run away. The procedure in this case has become formalized so that, while unpleasant enough to act as a deterrent, it recognizes this as a regular manner of marrying. This description also is para-
• [115] phrased from Señor Tovilla.

When the parents forbid, but both children desire the match, after the boy has gone to the girl's house and been refused, his obligation of respect is ended. He builds a house in a retired place in the jungle. He and the girl meet to make their plans where she goes to get water, for which purpose she may often choose a spring a kilometer or more from her house. At an appointed time, they run away.

584 When he has carried her off and hidden her, his parents must go
585 and apologize to hers. The girl's father tells the boy's not to leave before being punished. He, however, finds and brings in the couple, who kneel before the girl's parents. The boy's shirt is taken off, and

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

he is whipped by the girl's father for a thief. The girl is stripped to 584
the waist and whipped by her mother. With this the marriage is 585
legalized. As the first act of their true married life, the girl makes posole and offers it to her parents. The boy is under obligation to bring presents of bread, chocolate, aguardiente, etc., to his parents-in-law.

There are no formal restrictions of marriage, but the Church 582
exercises a general influence against wedding brother and sister, 177
cousins, or other relatives forbidden by Christian doctrine. In this, 178
owing to the disposition of the Indians, and to the purely tribal character of marriage, which is not regarded by them as a religious or governmental matter, the Church is only partially successful. In- 588
formal unions actually do occur between brother and sister, apparently without any ceremony, the pair merely continuing to live together, their family relationship slowly changing into that of a married couple. That such a wife's status has some regularity in their eyes is shown by the fact that she has the same position in funeral rites as an ordinary wife.

It is probably due to the negative influence of the Church that 115
the various important crises in the life of an individual, ordinarily 126
marked by such colourful ceremonies among primitive people, here are distinguished by very little of ritualistic observance. For description of the main events in the life course, we were again dependent on Señor Tovilla, whose information, given with little change below, checked entirely with the result of other inquiries. The funeral ceremonies were observed at first hand, after the fight described at El Encanto; for them, accordingly, I have used my own notes.

When a woman is about to give birth to a child, a midwife—an 844
older woman with some knowledge of herbs—is summoned. A few days before parturition, the woman is carefully tended by the midwife, well fed with choice food, and provided with a little rum. At the moment of giving birth, the midwife prays that the child may be brought forth happily. The mother kneels, and the midwife prepares to receive the child with a new cloth. Meantime the father is told to stay outside the house, or may be allowed to help in minor matters.

It is said that at Tenejapa the women go out into the woods to give birth untended, coming back with the child.

The baby is given Christian baptism. 852

A child's soul is considered to be particularly delicate, and there- 789
fore liable to magic influence. If the people of the house must go [774]

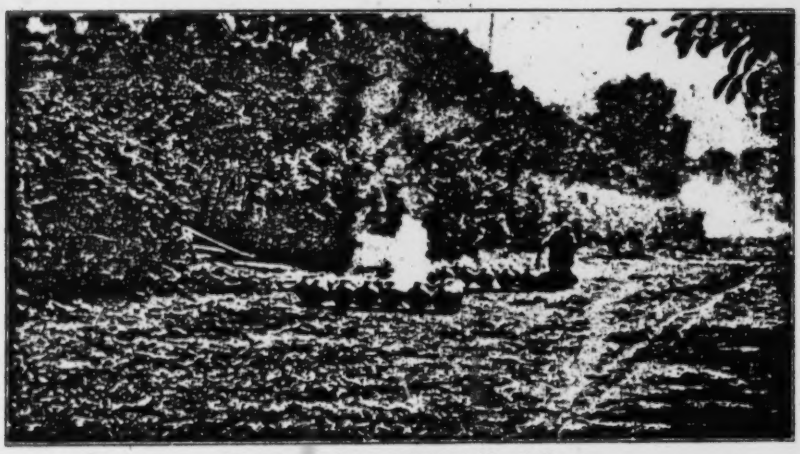
5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Tzotzil NV11

Tze 142 Tze 291

The men are tallish and the majority of them have sparse, black beards. They wear plain, white cotton tunics and short trousers, sashes, and hats of the sombrero type. The women wear the usual short, blue skirts. Their blouses are cut with a square neck, around which are embroidered three bands, each about two centimeters wide, of red, yellow and red. At the corners, little imitation tassels are embroidered in the same colours.

Tze 621 623 Tze [115]

We were told, by an unreliable informant, that this village was remarkable for its independence. Its officials are chosen by the natives alone, and run through a regularly prescribed *cursus honorum* from secretary up to president, and then on to the council of elders. Government laws and orders sent to the village are debated by this council and are not published unless approved by them.



Tze 323

FIG. 323—Amatenango, Chia. Pottery baking.

Tze 584 323 606

We were also told that in case of marriage each party works for his or her prospective in-laws, and that the girl at that time learns pottery making, taking over the mother-in-law's specialty.

Tze 648 434 171

While there was no way of checking up on this information, it is true that there is no Maestro at Amatenango, and that the Indians seem to be an unusually self-respecting and self-reliant lot. Of all the Tzeltal people observed, they were the only ones who seemed to compare with the Zotzil-speaking Chamulas in energy and prosperity.

Tzo 114 137

Returning to ourselves and our trip. We left Tenejapa on the following morning by a winding, broad road climbing to a pass in

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

194
193 lish "met," short *i* (ĭ) as in English "mix," long *u* (ū) as *oo* in English "boot," and short *u* (ŭ) as in English "hut." *E* represents a sound between ŭ and English *er* in "water." *O* is a sound like English "or" said while holding the mouth for *u*. Diphthongs are *ai*, *oi* and *au*.

Double vowels are always to be pronounced separately, the second having a slightly shorter quantity than the first.

Accent is indicated by ′ in those words in which the stress does not fall on the last syllable.

INFORMANTS. The Chontal List was taken down by Mr. William Gates from two pure-blooded Indians of Tecoluta, Tabasco. It was made at Comalcalco. Mr. Gates' spelling has been revised to accord with the other lists, as far as possible.

Two Yocotan lists were made, the first, from José Hernandez, a young Indian of San Fernando, Tabasco, at Macuspana. The second was given, together with the ethnographic information, by Lázaro Hernandez Guillermo, a man of forty or forty-five, also of San Fernando; he had a little Ladino blood on his mother's side. This man, although illiterate, was remarkably intelligent, and was by all odds the best informant that we had in the course of the trip. The list was made at leisure on board the steamer, and he was by that time thoroughly at home with us, and acquainted with our methods and wishes. He showed some, limited, ability to analyze his own grammatical forms.

124 The first Tzeltal list was given by Sebastiano Guzman, a Bacha-
126 jon shaman, at El Encanto in Chiapas. It was supervised by Don
115 Arturo Tovilla, who was thoroughly conversant with the language. The second was given, also at El Encanto, by Fidencio Morales, a Ladino house-boy from Ocosingo, who was not satisfactory. The third was taken down from Don Ciriaco Aguilar at Bachajon. Señor Aguilar had been assisting in Ethnological work for over two weeks, and spoke Tzeltal fluently. He was assisted by a volunteer committee of Indians and Ladinos.

The Chaneabal list was compiled at El Puente, near Comitan, from an Indian estimated at thirty-five years of age, called Casimiro Gomez. He was moderately satisfactory.

Two Jacalteca lists were made. The first, at Jacaltenango in Guatemala, was given by Santiago Hernandez, a middle-aged Indian of doubtful purity, with occasional help from other Indians. He was literate, fairly intelligent, and enthusiastically coöperative. The second was hastily taken down at Concepción. It was begun by Alonzo Rafael Alvebal, pure-blood, about thirty years old, who

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

the roots of each plant so that it will be protected. One farmer commented on this process: "The face of the earth remains loose. Thus the corn remains of one heart. Nothing dies because the soil is moved, and the tender shoots begin to grow. When the second hoeing is finished, God looks at it to see that the corn matures." In the second hoeing, any corn which has grown between hillocks is pulled out so it will not deprive the main stalks of strength. 243

When the corn has matured, the stalks are doubled over to hasten the drying process. The mature cobs are left on the doubled-over stalks for about two weeks to ensure the maximum drying of the kernels before har-

TABLE 6. Schedule of Activities in Corn Production

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Activity	*Month*	*No. of days necessary for task*	*Helpers*	*Tools*
Clear irrigation ditches	Oct.	6		Machete, forked stick
Fence fields	Nov.	4		Machete, ax
Cut stalks of last year's crop; burn leaves and weeds	Dec.	4		Machete, forked stick
Plow land 3 times	Jan.	3	Oxen	Plow
Clear irrigation ditches	Feb.	2		Machete, forked stick
Irrigate land and leave 6 days	Feb.	2		
Select seed and put in water, leaving overnight	Mar.	1	Wife	
Measure rows and distance between hills so there will be 5 handspans between each hillock; plant corn	Mar.	1		Digging stick, string, net bag
Irrigate planted corn	Mar.	1		
First hoeing	Apr.	4	2 or 3 men	Hoe
Second hoeing	May	3	2 or 3 men	Hoe
Fix irrigated ditches	June	1		Machete
Outside employment	July–Aug.			
Double over corn and leave 15 days	Sept.	4		
Pick corn; put in net bag and degrain cobs with few kernels; carry home harvest.	Oct.	5	Wife, horse	Net bags, sticks,

SOURCE: Information from a farmer possessing ½ hectare of irrigated land in center. He has no sons and one married daughter, whose husband works in sawmill. [115]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

244 which there is a black variety and a colored variety, and (2) climbing beans, of which there are four subclasses: "painted," white, yellow, and black. Beans must be grown only in irrigated lands of highest productiv-

TABLE 8. Schedule of Activities in Wheat Production

Activity	Winter wheat	Summer wheat	No. of days necessary for task: Winter wheat	No. of days necessary for task: Summer wheat	Helpers	Tools
243 464 461 Clear land	Dec. 7	May 12	5	2	2 paid workers	Machete, forked stick
412 Irrigate land; leave soaking	Dec. 7	May 15	1	1		
407 Plow	Dec. 15	May 23	1	2	Oxen team	Plow
221 Sow seed broadcast; cover, crossing over twice	Dec. 16	May 24	1	1	Oxen team	Plow
Cut wheat	May 1	Oct. 5	2	2	2 or 3 unpaid workers	Scythe
Thresh						
Carry wheat to shelter	May 3	Oct. 7				Net bags
Horses trample wheat	May 4	Oct. 8				
Shake stalks						Forked stick
Scoop grains into wooden box and sift to get rid of chaff	May 5	Oct. 9	3	3	4 or 5 unpaid workers, 5 horses	Box with wire mesh
Put grain in burlap bags; carry to houses on horseback						Burlap bags

[115] SOURCE: Information from two informants, one who grows winter wheat and the other who grows summer wheat, both cultivating ½ hectare of irrigated land.

244 ity. The land in the center, except for the fertilized corral areas, has lately yielded a very poor harvest. People say that the soul of the bean departed when they introduced the crop to their ejido plots in hot country. The scheduling of bean production is shown in Table 9.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Guarding the crops. The crops must be guarded against intruders. The farmers sometimes sleep in the fields when they expect animals to steal the ripening corn. They observe the habits of these intruders and develop belief systems which help them organize opposition: 241 825

The raccoon steals maize seeds. He pushes down cornstalks when they are in elote and steals the cob. He is very smart. He can tell whether the owner is sleeping or not by putting his hand on his own anus. If his anus is cold, the owner is awake; if it is hot the owner is asleep and he enters.

Some men who live below in Alannantik have good dogs. They planted their milpa, and the next night wanted to hunt. "You stay with one dog,"

TABLE 9. Schedule of Activities in Bean Production

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412

Activity	*Date*	*No. of days necessary for task*	*Helpers*	*Tools*
Cleaning and preparation of soil is same as for corn (Table 6)				
Ground beans				
Plant between rows of corn	Mar. 1	2	3 exchange workers	Digging stick
Cultivate	Apr. 19	3	2 exchange workers	Hoe
Harvest, pulling up entire plants and putting them in burlap bags	July 10	2		
Store in eaves of house				Burlap bags
When pods are very dry, beat bag with stick to depod beans	Sept. 1	2	women of household	Stick
Pole beans				
Plant, following the second hoeing of corn, setting seeds near each hillock of corn	May 2	1		Digging stick
Wind the vines up on corn stalk; tie	June	1		
Cut pods and store in burlap bags in eaves of house	Nov.	1		Burlap bags
Shell beans as they are used				

SOURCE: Same as for Table 6.

[115]

304 The traumatic experience of his first day in school is recounted by a man now sixty-eight years of age. He was thirteen in 1918, the first year that compulsory education was introduced into the town. In the Eyes of the Ancestors

872 177 115

159 177 872

I was in my house when I heard the civil authorities call the children to school. The police came to tell me to go to school. I did not go because my mother wanted me to accompany her on the road to Teopisca. On our way to Teopisca, the inspector saw me and asked me why I didn't go to school. My mother replied, "I am a widow. He came with me because I seek for what we eat. Therefore he must go with me."

The inspector did not hear her words. Since he was mounted on horseback, he said to me as I was walking, "Come here, boy. Don't walk on foot, climb up on the horse." I was embarrassed to climb up on the horse, and I had some fear because I had never ridden on horseback. I began to cry. "Don't cry," he said. "You are only going to school. The schoolmaster will not beat you." It is then that my mother said, "Señor, don't take him. See that there is no one else to accompany me on the road. When I come home, there will be no one to do errands."

But the inspector feared nothing. His heart was hot, hot. A man came by and told the inspector that I did not know how to ride and that I was afraid. The inspector said, "If he doesn't know how to ride, then you take him." But the man replied, "But I don't want to. It is better that I go get wood. You take him by force if you can, Señor. I go before your face" [a way of excusing himself].

I didn't want to go, and I just cried because I didn't want to. The inspector seized me, and put me on horseback. I was afraid to get up, and I cried and cried from fear. He said, "Stop it! Let us go!"

And so he led the horse with me on it. My mother cried when she saw the inspector take me off on horseback. She remained very sad as I left, since she no longer had a companion. I went on to school, and the inspector handed me over to the schoolmaster.

The schoolmaster gave me a paper with my name, which I didn't know. I did not hear what was said in that large school because I did not know Spanish. The schoolteacher asked me, "What are you called, little boy?" I cried a great deal because I felt sad for my mother whom I had left in

1: Guiteras Holmes E-5 (1945-1946) 1947 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

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Clans and Kinship System of Cancuc (Mexico)
[Clanes y Sistema de parentesco de Cancuc (México)]

C. Guiteras Holmes

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[Title page]

614 /1/ Cancuc is a Tzeltal town of Chiapas, Mexico, whose
[101] social organization is based on exogamous patrilineal clans.
[176] These clans are intimately related to: 1) the nagual or guardian
[551] spirit, which is given the name of lab among the Indians of this
[613] region; 2) the native surnames that constitute the lineages within
[621] the clans; 3) the "barrios," as the Spanish chroniclers called the endogamous tribal subdivisions (called calpulli among the Aztecs and culibal in Cancuc); 4) the kinship system; and 5) the behavior.

614 All the individuals belonging to a clan consider themselves
601 "legitimate siblings" /Sp. "hermanos legítimos"/, using the terms that designate this class of relatives. This theoretical consanguineous kinship is expressed by means of the word chapomal -- a Cancuquero /a person from Cancuc/ calls another "brother" be-
614 cause he is his chapomal. This form of usage is indicative of
601 common ancestry, something that we were not able to clarify, as
124 our questions on this point only received answers that showed that
829 they had lost any notion of a real or mythical ancestor. Our informants invariably explained this situation with the expressions: "it is the custom," "San Juan /Saint John/ (Patron Saint of Cancuc) ordered it so," or "it was ordered by Manuel (God)." What does constitute a clear concept in the minds of all is that "formerly" each clan lived in a cave, from which its members went out in the form of human beings to populate the earth and in which lived the naguales, or lab, that bound them to their place of origin.
[775] The soul came back to this cave after death. There are as many caves as the number of clans.

614 The children belonged to the paternal clan. A woman who marries does not become a member of the clan of her husband.

/2/ Exogamy is strictly respected; persons belonging to the same clan never marry each other.

[591] The clans are not local, as their members live in all of the places and rancherías.

[178] At present the clans lack chiefs, this institution having dis-
[669] appeared about 30 years ago, according to all our information, when the zone that we are studying underwent a chaotic period due to political revolts.

/2 cont./

614 The chieftaincy of each clan was filled by the oldest man,
887 who was called chunel. (It seems to have the same meaning as
156 the word catinab, but some informants recognized the latter as
the one used in the adjacent municipality of Oxchuc.) The office
was not hereditary, and upon the death of a chunel the oldest man
156 of the clan was venerated as such. The chief of the clan was re-
614 spected and feared, because he was recognized as endowed with
888 supernatural power which, through his lab, he exercised over all
776 the members of the clan. Two informants of advanced age de-
554 fined the chunel as "the oldest one and the greatest sorcerer."
The lab feeds on souls, and a person who has "done wrong" is
776 "eaten" by the lab of the one offended and dies. In this way
761 social control was exercised on and among the members of the
[784] clan, never going beyond the limits of this. The life of the in-
[626] dividual is intimately bound to the life of the lab, or guardian
776 spirit: the death of one brings with it the death of the other. All
the Cancuqueros have their lab, but they hide it and sometimes
[756] deny it. The curer knows which is the lab of the sick person be-
[827] cause "he hears it in the pulse." The lab reveals itself in dreams
[787] to "its owner," with whom it speaks because "it is his own com-
pany." One person discovers the lab of another "because he sees
it." The lab takes care of its owner, defends him, and is the in-
178 strument of revenge for an injury unjustly received. Today this
614 concept is intimately bound up with the omniscience of the patron
626 saint; only with the permission of San Juan can a lab "eat" the
776 soul of a chapomal, or "clan brother," and this permission is
granted only in the case when the saint is unfavorably impressed
by the conduct of the individual. In any case the lab never
wreaks its vengeance except for a bad act that would fully justify
614 it according to the social morality. As can be seen, social con-
626 trol was not only rooted in the chief of the clan, but this function
extended to the whole group, as happens at present.

/3/

178 There are informants who remember the time when there
584 were chuneles, and the younger ones know about it because their
614 fathers have told them. The social conflict brought about by the disappearance of this institution seems to have its most intense point in what concerns marriage. It was the chunel of the clan of a girl to whom the parents of a boy would go to ask for her in marriage. He received gifts and gave his consent in case he thought it advantageous, and, accompanied by the boy and his parents, he went to the house of her parents, to whom he presented the pleas of the young man. No one could oppose the decision of the chunel. An informant adds: "If the woman does not
[586] love her husband and leaves him and flees, the man advises the chunel and the chunel eats the woman." She dies if she does not respect the wishes of the oldest man of her clan. Now that there
[578] are no chuneles, a boy, with his parents or without them, is accompanied by any member of the clan to which the girl belongs; generally the parents are opposed, the girl is not willing, and the use of force, which serves instead of the traditional fear and reverence, only gives rise to conflicts, bringing irreconcilable hatreds.

614 Formerly the clans of Cancuc were four: Chik, Chejeb, Ijká, and Boj. At present only the first three exist, the members of the Boj clan having been incorporated into the Ijká clan. This fusion of two clans took place a short time before the political revolts to
[125] which we have referred. While taking the census of the town, we found marriages between individuals belonging to these two clans, concluded before the fusion. Since that date "the Boj know that they are now Ijká," and clan exogamy has prevented these unions; "If a Boj marries an Ijká now, the two will die," say my informants, "because they are chapomales."

614 To an inquiry about the reason for the fusion and the manner
539 of accomplishing it, our informants gave the following explana-
776 tions, which show undeniably the close relationship existing between clan and nagual:

/3 cont./

614 Esteban Santis Pin, of the Ijká clan:
539
776 Many ants entered the home of the Boj and they asked the Ijká to lend them a home, and they joined there, becoming like chaponales /sic/ to each other since then. The ants did not enter the homes of the "Christian" (people), but the home of the lab; "the people did not talk it over, only the lab talked it over."

/4/ Mateo López Chij, of the Chik clan:
Lightning hit the home of the Boj "because it is very high on the hill." "The lab left" and they took refuge in the home of the Ijká. The members of the clans know this because it is in the home of the lab where "the chuleles (souls) are brought up." Before there were four homes and now there are three, because since that day the Boj and the Ijká live together. The homes are caves.

Diego Domínguez Tzul, of the Ijká clan:
The Boj were ill and the Ijká went to help them and to cure them. The Boj said: "It is good that we join the Ijká." It was the lab that spoke, not the Christians; "but the lab speak the same as people do, that is why they drank, talked, and gathered together." The people know this because those of them who have lab told them. The Boj were those who wanted the union with the Ijká, "and they said that when the lab became drunk."

Miguel Ordóñez, of the Chik clan:
"The lab of the Boj talked and drank with the lab of the Ijká, and presently they joined. Perhaps someone with a lab dreamed about this and then told it to his companions."

/4 cont./

614 Juan Jiménez Chan, of the Ijká clan:
539 It was arranged in the times of the old chuneles, when the
776 lab talked it over, there where they live. The chuneles later heard about it through their lab, and they were in agreement.

Tomás Vásquez Coreta, of the Chik clan:
Ants went into the home of the Boj, and the latter went to the home of the Ijká, where they were very well received, and "all are happy." Only the lab spoke, but the chuneles knew and told it to their chapomales.

Domingo López Uax, of the Boj clan; now of the Ijká:
The lab of the Boj and of the Ijká spoke and all was arranged. "Now they are chapomales and cannot marry."

614 The surnames in Cancuc determine the clan to which an
551 individual belongs. There are two of them: a native one which
177 is preceded by a Spanish one (except in various exceptional cases in which there is only a Spanish surname). All the Cancuqueros know their native surname, but most of them do not know the Spanish surname with which it is combined. Upon the uttering of a native surname, all know to which clan it belongs, which does not happen with the Spanish one, because these can be placed before native surnames belonging to one, two, or three clans. Therefore we can say that there is exogamy of the native surname, but not /5/ of the Spanish one, which does not seem to have any function with respect to the clans.

551 In the lists of surnames that we were able to obtain and which
614 in no way pretend to be exhaustive, we find 20 Spanish surnames and 92 native surnames. These last are distributed among the four clans in the following way: 33 of the Chik clan, 31 of the Chejeb, 21 of the Ijká, and 7 of the Boj (now incorporated into the Ijká clan).

/5 cont./

551 614 The great majority of the native surnames could not be translated by our informants, who asserted that they did not signify anything in the Tzeltal language. Those for which we could obtain the meaning are: Chan ... snake, of the Ijká clan; Chij ... deer, of the Chik clan; Uax ... wildcat, of the Boj clan; Chikin ... ear, of the Chik clan; and Lot ... lie /Sp. mentira, lie, story, error/, of the Ijká clan.

428 424 551 613 614 The surnames are inherited through the paternal line and constitute the lineages within each clan. The lands formerly belonged to the lineage and could not be alienated. This custom is tending to disappear in recent times, but even today we have found several cases in which only an individual belonging to the lineage can occupy land that has been left without an owner when one has died without leaving male descendants.

166 551 553 614 A native from another municipality or group who comes to Cancuc with the aim of settling down in it must be incorporated into one of the clans, for which it is necessary to change his native surname for a Cancuc one. (The different native groups of this central region of the State of Chiapas have surnames that differ among themselves, and it is through them that their place of origin is shown.) Generally he keeps the Spanish surname and takes a native surname that in Cancuc corresponds to that. One Gómez Tzima from Oxchuc became Gómez Uotán of the Chejeb clan of Cancuc. One Aguilar belongs to the Chik clan, like all the Aguilar of Cancuc. One Santis Kujul, the small son of an Oxchuquero and a woman from Cancuc, gave up his surname from Oxchuc when his father died and his mother's family incorporated him into the Ijká clan, changing the native surname Kujul for that of Lul, "so that he will be from here, and have his chapomales here, and marry here," his maternal aunt of the Chik clan explained to us. These cases are rare. We could not find out before whom these incorporations are carried out. One informant, born [829] in Cancuc, whose paternal grandfather /6/ had come from the municipality of Tenejapa, told us that he had heard his father say that "in the old times the old people arranged that."

/6 cont./

621 The native surnames are regarded as belonging to a definite
[551] barrio, two of which exist at present. (In an old document, which
[127] we cannot now locate, reference is made to four barrios of Cancuc. Our informants do not remember this fact and emphatically deny it, but they do refer to a third one, which became incorporated into the two remaining ones a very long time ago.) These two barrios formerly bore the names of Chejeb and Chiklajum, by which they are still known, but today they are preferably called Ajkol-culibal, or "upper barrio," and Alán-culibal, or "lower barrio," respectively. Some informants say "calpul" in referring to the barrios, but not so others, who recognize the word calpul as the one used by other native groups -- "here there is no calpul, only Alán- and Ajkol-culibal," several Cancuqueros explain to us. One informant tells us that formerly there were three culibales, the third being called Alal-bikit-culbal. The dividing line of the barrios passes through the center of the town, located on the crest of a hill, drawn from east to west, the lands of the north belonging to Alán- and those of the south to Ajkol-culibal. The
[361] third one, which has now disappeared, included all the land
[368] to the west of the town, as the dividing line terminated at the point where the building of the Cabildo /town hall/ is located -- to the east of the great plaza, having in front the Iglesia /church/ and the ruins of the ancient "convento." When Alal-bikit-culibal was incorporated into the other two, the line that divided them was extended, separating its lands into two parts: those that remained south of the line being transferred so as to belong to the "upper" culibal, and those of the north to the "lower" one.

621 Even though at present there are persons from one culibal
551 living in the other, they always consider themselves bound to the one from which their surname comes (for this purpose our informants never took into account the third barrio to which we have referred). According to our list of native surnames, we can say
[614] that 54 belong to Ajkol-culibal, and 38 to Alán-culibal. According to the division into three clans, we have the following distribution:

/6 cont./

551 621 614

Ajkol-culibal	Alán-culibal
19 Chik	14 Chik
13 Chejeb	18 Chejeb
22 Ijká	6 Ijká

/7/ Among the Spanish surnames we have 6 that belong exclusively to Alán- and 6 to Ajkol-culibal (not counting the case in which a native surname of the Chik clan is joined to two different Spanish surnames that are found in both culibales). The remaining 14 Spanish surnames are combined with surnames from the two culibales.

621 582 178 174 551 Today the culibal is not endogamous, but we believe it possible that it was in former times (as we have found in recent investigations of the Tzotzil group of San Pablo Chalchihuitán of this region). The present possibility of changing residence and the incorporation of native surnames originating from a culibal (or perhaps two) that have disappeared within the boundaries of the two remaining make the reconstruction of the pre-Hispanic 621 582 551 culibal impossible in this case. According to the data obtained in our census, 62.5 o/o of the marriages were concluded between persons whose native surnames originated from the same culibal. [125] [166] [613] In spite of the low percentage, nevertheless the custom of marriage between people of the same culibal predominates (we should not forget the mobility permitted in recent times, because of which residents of one culibal are persons whose lineages originate from the other), although cases of marriage between persons belonging [614] to the two different culibales also abound. It is almost always preferred to look for a wife among the women of the same place or rancheria, but at present we can say that clan exogamy is the only thing that regulates marriage.

621 622 [631] [614] [651] Each culibal has its own chiefs, elected from and by those members who have filled political-religious positions in the Chakel or Ayuntamiento /municipal government/. The clans are taken into account in this election, rigorously taking turns. The culibal chiefs assign the communal lands, organize the collective tasks for the benefit of the community, pray for the health and

/7 cont./

621 the harvests of all on the appointed days, and collect the taxes
622 on the lands of the culibal, which they take to the seat of the
[651] municipality of Ocosingo, from which Cancuc depends in the capacity of municipal agency. An order given by a chief is obeyed without discussion by all the members of the correspond-
[614] ing culibal. The men of each culibal participate in the local government in equal number and category, just as also in the filling of religious positions, the clans always taking turns.

/8/ Kinship System

601 Below we shall see the kinship system, intimately related to the social organization based on exogamous patrilineal clans.

Kinship Terms of Cancuc*

601
128

*This list presents the kinship terms with their significant primaries /Sp. primarios/. Some have the possessive prefix of the first person, but we have preferred to retain this form because this is how they are obtained in the genealogies and how they are heard in the common language in the forms of usage and because we use the charts of EGO, which are the ones of more common use. Due to the lack of printing types representing the phonemic signs, we have chosen the Spanish orthography.

601

bankil	a man's older brother
xibel	a woman's older brother
uix	older sister; father's sister
kitsín	younger siblings of both sexes
tat	father
me	mother
nichán	a man's children
kaal	a woman's children

601 /8 cont./

ta-jún	father's brother
mee-jún	mother's sister
nicha-jún	a man's brother's children
kaal-jún	a woman's sister's children
kichán	mother's brother; a man's sister's children
cha-mam	a man's grandchildren
kil-al	a woman's grandchildren
mam	grandfather
meel-kuj	grandmother
mamalal	husband
kinam	wife
bal	a man's brother-in-law
jauán	a woman's sister-in-law
mu	brother-in-law or sister-in-law of opposite sex
nial	son-in-law
kalib	daughter-in-law
nial-mamal	a man's father-in-law
kalib-mamal	a woman's father-in-law
nial-meel	a man's mother-in-law
kalib-meel	a woman's mother-in-law

Siblings. -- In the nomenclature for this class of relatives, they take into account the age relative to EGO and the sex of the latter and that of the relative when /9/ the latter is older than EGO. A man calls his older brother bankil and a woman calls him xibel. As for the younger siblings, both the male EGO and the female one use the term kitsín without distinguishing the sex of them. The three terms above are applied to parallel cousins. Those that designate older siblings are extended to all the members of the clan to which EGO belongs.

The same terms as for siblings are used for half-siblings, adding the prefix cha-. By half-siblings are meant the children of the mother by a man from a clan different from that to which the father of EGO belongs or belonged; thus, the children of the father by another woman and the children of the mother by a man of EGO's father's clan are considered true siblings.

/9 cont./

601 Parents-children. -- Both sexes use the same terms to designate the father (tat) and the mother (me). As for the children, we find different terms according to the sex of EGO: the children of a man are nichán, and those of a woman, kaal.

Uncles and aunts -- nephews and nieces. -- There are four terms used for this class of relatives: father's brother, mother's sister, father's sister, mother's brother. The first two are designated with the same terms with which the father and the mother are named, adding the suffix -jún; thus we have ta-jún for the father's brother and mee-jún for the mother's sister. The stepfather and stepmother are also designated in the same way. On the other hand, the father's sister is also the sister of EGO -- older or younger, taking into account her age in relation to EGO and not in relation to the age of the father of EGO -- being designated with the terms suitable for this class of relatives. The mother's brother is designated by the term kichán, the same as his male descendants through the male line, there being a tendency to apply it to all the members of the maternal clan.

With respect to the nephews and nieces, we distinguish between parallel and cross, the first being the children of a man's brother and the children of a woman's sister, and the second being the children of a man's sister and the children of a woman's brother. The parallel nephews and nieces are designated with the same terms with which one's own children are named, adding the suffix -jún, as are the stepchildren. With regard to the cross-nephews and cross-nieces, we find differences based on the sex of EGO and the sex of the relative of the connection. A /10/ man calls the children of his sister kichán, without distinguishing their sex, extending the term to the children of the women of his clan, while a woman calls the children of her brother in the same manner as her own brothers.

Cousins. -- Here we also find a marked difference between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, the first being the children of the father's brother and the children of the mother's sister, and the second, the children of the father's sister and the children of the mother's brother. The parallel cousins are named in the same manner as own brothers and sisters, making distinctions with

/10 cont./

601 respect to the sex of EGO, the sex of the relative, and the age relative to EGO, the same as for this class of relatives. With regard to the cross-cousins, we find differences according to whether it is a matter of a male or female EGO. A man designates the children of the father's sister with the term kichán, like the sister's children, that is to say, he calls nephews and nieces and cross-cousins by the same term, which is consistent with the act of calling father's sister sister. For this same reason a woman calls the children of the father's sister kaal-jún, like the children of her own sister. The children of the mother's brother are named in the same manner as the mother's siblings, that is to say, distinguishing the sex of the relative: the son is designated by the same term that is used for the mother's brother (kichán), and the daughter by the term applied to the mother's sister (mee-jún).

Grandparents-grandchildren. -- The term that designates both the paternal grandfather and the maternal one is mam, without distinguishing the sex of EGO. The grandmothers are designated by the term meel-kuj in the same manner. The siblings of the grandparents receive the same title, as do the great-grandparents too. The reciprocals are: cha-mam or mam (grandchildren of a man) and kil-al (grandchildren of a woman); the great-grandchildren are named in like manner, as are the grandchildren of siblings. Frequently an old person applies these terms to a child and vice versa, even if this relationship is not maintained between them.

System of affinity. -- Kinam designates the wife, and mamalal the husband, these terms being used exclusively for such relatives. The wife of the father's brother is designated with the same term as the mother's sister, and the husband of the latter by the same one as the father's brother. The husband of the father's sister is designated with the terms bal (brother-in-law of a man) /11/ and mu (brother-in-law of a woman), according to the sex of EGO. The wife of the mother's brother is called simply meechú or meetik, which means "lady" /Sp. "señora"/, as she is not considered a relative. In case this lady belongs to the clan of EGO, she is called uix or uixín (sister), and the mother's brother is called bal

/11 cont./

60 and mu (brother-in-law) instead of kichán, preference being given to the relationship through the paternal lineage or clan over the term corresponding to this consanguineous relative, but of the maternal clan. This rule is applied to any relative by affinity, with the exception of parents-in-law, sons-in-law, and daughters-in-law, even though in referring to these relatives one hears said: "my mother-in-law is my sister" or "my father-in-law is my chapomal." The terms that designate the son-in-law (nial) and the daughter-in-law (kalib) are used by both EGOS; but not their reciprocals, which not only take into account the sex of the relative, but also the sex of EGO. These reciprocals are compound forms, formed by the above plus the suffixes mamal (old man) and meel (old woman) for father-in-law and mother-in-law, respectively: nial-mamal (father-in-law) and nial-meel (mother-in-law) for parents-in-law of a male EGO, and kalib-mamal (father-in-law) and kalib-meel (mother-in-law) for parents-in-law of a female EGO. The brothers of parents-in-law are named in the same way, even though there is a tendency to limit this nomenclature to the collateral parents-in-law, calling the father-in-law's sister "sister-in-law," and the mother-in-law's brother simply "gentleman" /Sp. "señor"/ (tatik), the same as a non-relative. The terms used in the designation of the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are three: a man calls his wife's brother and his sister's husband bal; a woman calls her husband's sister and her brother's wife jauán, and mu is used by a man and a woman to designate a sibling-in-law of the opposite sex, that is to say, wife's sister, a woman's sister's husband, the husband's brother, and a man's brother's wife. The terms for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are extended so far as to include all of the members of the clan to which the spouse belongs.

[614] [613] In this kinship system we see how the nomenclature is primordially based on the grouping into exogamous clans, stressing the paternal and maternal lineages so far as to include all the members of the two clans to which these lineages belong. The parallel and cross lines are markedly differentiated. We can say that there is fusion between lineal and collateral relatives --

/11 cont./

601 father and his brother, mother and her sister -- using for this class of relatives the /12/ same terms, even though making use of a suffix that distinguishes real parents from the classificatory ones, and in the same way among their reciprocals, as we have noted above. In ordinary conversation the suffix may be eliminated, thus confusing the real relatives with the classificatory ones. The children of these relatives are all brothers and sisters among themselves.

601 611 This type of system seems to have its origin in the one known by the name of "Omaha," whose most outstanding characteristic is the classification of the male descendants of the mother's brother, through the male line, with the mother's brother, and the classification of the female descendants, through the male line, of this same relative with the mother's sister. Nevertheless, in Cancuc there is a marked tendency to designate by means of the term kichán both the male and female descendants of the mother's brother, through the male line, without any distinction of sex, which, according to the rule of the uniform reciprocals, brings with it on the part of a female EGO the designation of kichán for the children of the father's sister, in place of the kaal-jún used by a woman for this class of relatives. Furthermore, we are faced with the fact that the descendants of the mother's brother through the female line are no longer considered as relatives; that is to say, the descendants of a woman who is designated by the term mee-jún, and who, according to the rule of uniform descent, should

601 receive the title of "siblings," are not considered as such. This 614 disequilibrium tends to disappear with the elimination of the term mee-jún for this class of relatives and the extension of the term kichán for the designation of the same, embracing all the members of the maternal clan, that is to say, all those whom the mother of EGO calls "brother" and "sister." The term kichán, which formerly denoted "man of my mother's clan," would now mean "every person of my mother's clan."

[114] We have not been able to obtain the kinship terms corresponding to the descendants of the grandparents' siblings, since in the genealogies that we possess these terms do not appear because of having been replaced by those applied to clan siblings, or chapomales, or to members of the maternal clan, due to marriages concluded with persons belonging to these clans, there existing, as we have already indicated, a preference for these terms over those.

1: Guiteras Holmes--15 E-5 (1945-1946)1947 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

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/13/

Kinship System of Cancuc

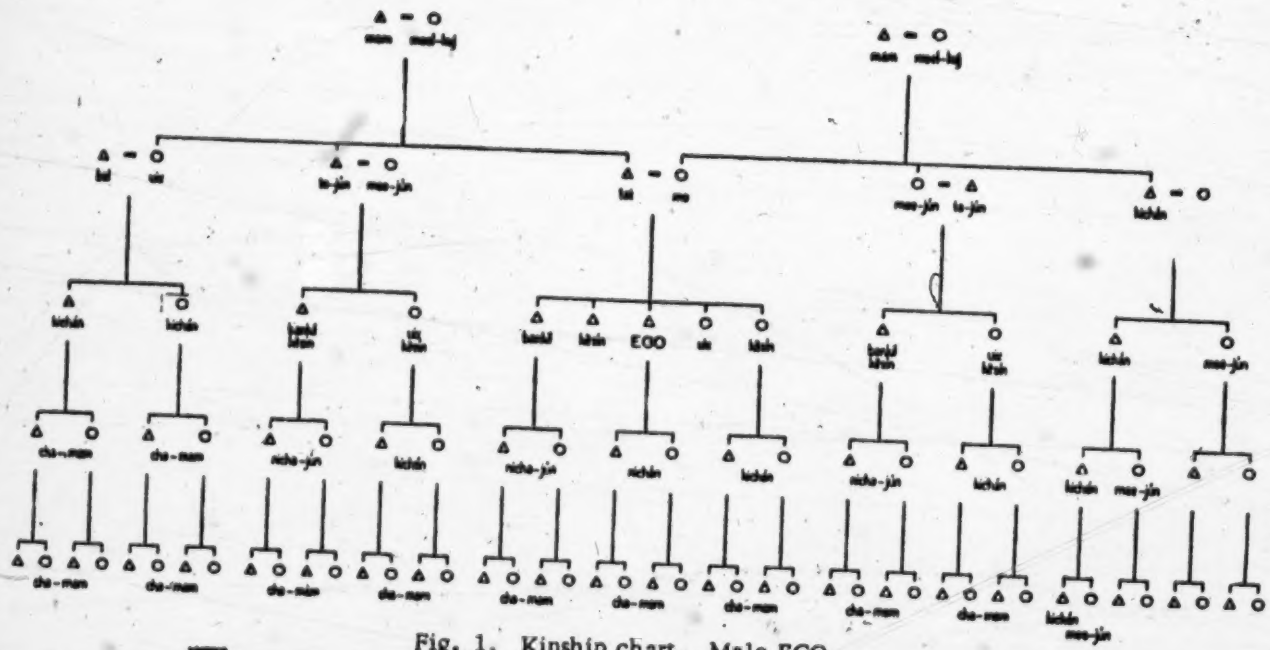

Fig. 1. Kinship chart. Male EGO.

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/14/

Kinship System of Cancuc

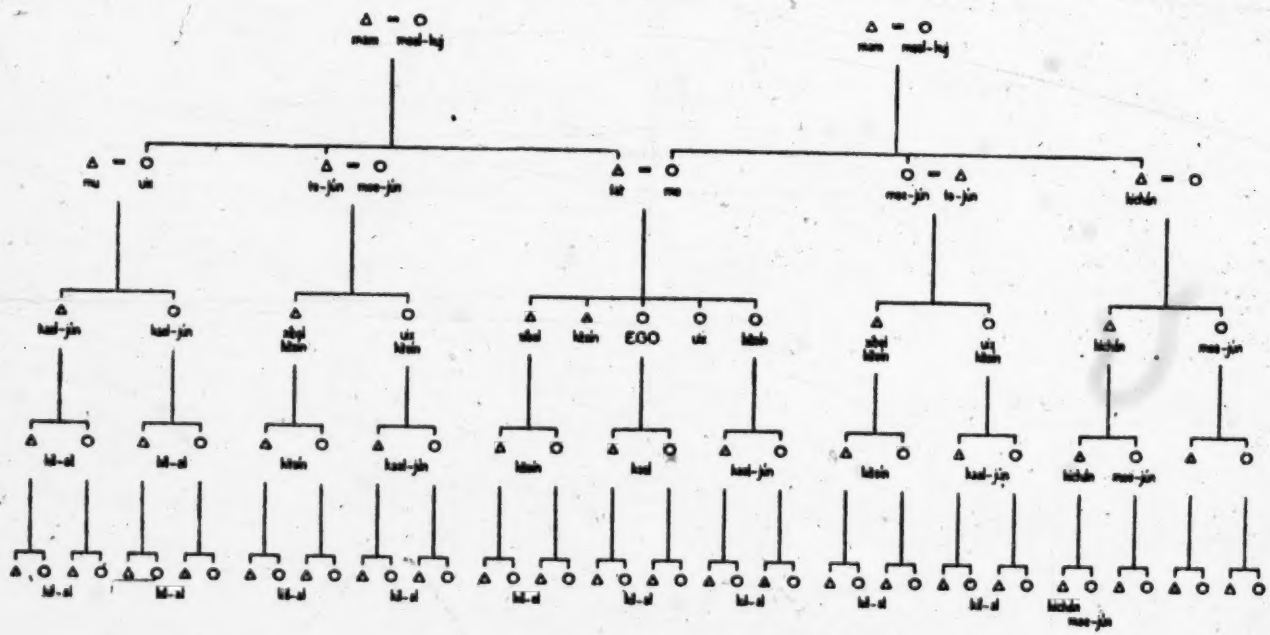

Fig. 2. Kinship chart. Female EGO.

/15/

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Kinship System of Cancuc

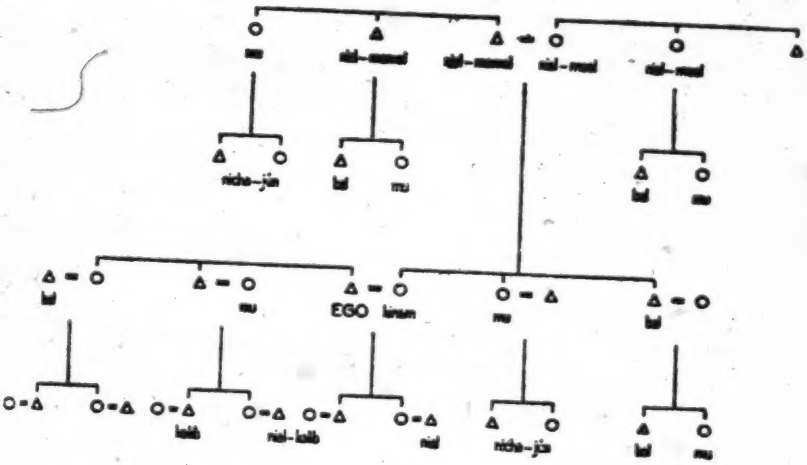

Fig. 3. Kinship chart for affinity. Male EGO.

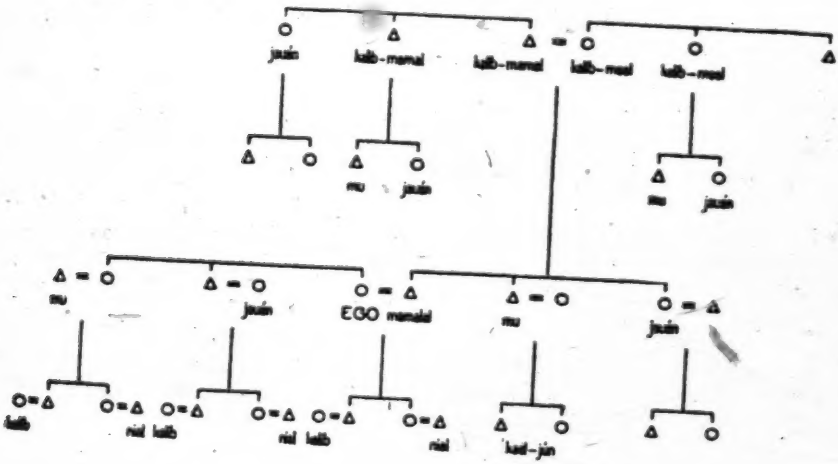

Fig. 4. Kinship chart for affinity. Female EGO.

/16/

601 The kinship terms, excepting those that extend to all the
614 members of a clan, do not seem to apply to persons outside of those included in the charts (Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4). The terms that designate older siblings are applied to all the members of the paternal clan without taking into account the principle of generation or the age relative to EGO. This custom tends to be applied even among descendants of the same grandparents: an old woman greets the granddaughter of her paternal uncle, calling her uix (older sister) instead of the corresponding kitsín (younger sister), the young girl using the identical reciprocal in her reply. We can say that there is a tendency toward the elimination of the principle of generation and that of age relative to EGO even among close relatives, using only one term for sister, a woman's brother, and a man's brother (uix, xibel, and bankil), except within the limits of the elemental family.

601 An individual, when born, is related to the members of
602 two clans: the paternal one, which is his own, and the maternal
614 one. Upon contracting marriage, he establishes new relationships, applying, as we have already shown, the terms which designate brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law to all the members of the clan of the spouse. In this manner a Cancuquero can be related to all the members of the tribe or native group, because at present only three clans exist, one of which may be the clan of EGO, another the maternal clan, and the other one the clan of the spouse. This is not always the case, because an individual may have married within the clan of his mother, in which case his kichanes and his siblings-in-law belong to the same clan, preferring then the use
[609] of the word bal to that of kichán. The members of the non-related clan receive the title of tatik and meetik (gentleman and lady).

582 The clans regulate marriage. Preferred clans with respect
587 to the selection of a spouse do not seem to exist. Upon the death of
614 the wife a man may marry again within the same clan or in the other. One of our informants had three successive wives belong-
614 ing to the same clan, but this is exceptional. In the three cases of
595 polygyny known to us the wives were not sisters: in one case the

/16 cont./

614 595 two women belonged to the same clan, and in the other two they were women from two different clans. The levirate and sororate 587 exist, but do not constitute a custom practiced /17/ by many; [174] formerly it must have been more frequent, as is proved by the fact of designating the stepfather and stepmother by the same terms used for the father's brother and mother's sister, respectively, 583 and the stepchildren as nephews and nieces. There are several 614 cases of marriage between brother and sister of one clan and sister and brother of another clan. Marriage between cross-cousins is 582 frequent, especially that of a man with the daughter of the mother's brother. Husband and wife always belong to the same generation.

591 Residence is patrilocal, with temporary matrilocal residence for a year after marriage.

593 There still prevails the custom that those who intercede in a 614 direct manner in the preparation of the cadaver and in the in- 964 humation must be members of a different clan. If a married woman who has not had children dies, she is buried with her relatives, without the intervention of her husband.

614 The members of one and the same clan co-operate among themselves and lend each other mutual aid; the younger people obey and respect their elders in the same way that a younger brother respects and obeys his older brother. And we have stressed [626] how "sorcery" is practiced only within the limits of the clan as a [754] means of social control.

Mexico City,
Mexico

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CLANES Y SISTEMA DE PARENTESCO DE CANCUC (MEXICO)

C. Guiteras Holmes

Cancuc es un pueblo tzeltal de Chiapas, México, cuya organización social se basa en clanes exogámicos patrilineales. Estos clanes se encuentran íntimamente relacionados con: *1)* el nagual o espíritu guardián, que recibe el nombre de *lab* entre los indígenas de esta región; *2)* los apellidos indígenas que constituyen los linajes dentro de los clanes; *3)* los "barrios", como llamaron los cronistas españoles a las subdivisiones tribales endogámicas (denominados *calpulli* entre los aztecas y *culibal* en Cancuc); *4)* el sistema de parentesco; y *5)* el comportamiento.

Todos los individuos pertenecientes a un clan se consideran como "hermanos legítimos", aplicándose los términos que designan a esta clase de parientes. Este parentesco consanguíneo teórico se expresa mediante la palabra *chapomal* —un cancuquero llama a otro "hermano" porque es su *chapomal*. Esta forma de tratamiento es indicativa de ascendencia común, cosa que no nos fué dable esclarecer, ya que nuestras preguntas acerca de este punto sólo obtuvieron respuestas que demostrarían el haberse perdido toda noción de un antepasado real o mítico. Nuestros informantes invariablemente explicaban esta situación con las frases "es costumbre", "así lo ordenó San Juan" (Santo patrón de Cancuc), o "fué orden de Manuel" (Dios). Lo que sí constituye un concepto claro en las mentes de todos es que "antiguamente" cada clan habitaba una cueva, de donde salieron sus miembros, en forma de seres humanos, a poblar la tierra y en las cuales viven los naguales o *lab*, que los ligan al lugar de origen. A esta cueva vuelve el alma después de la muerte. Hay tantas cuevas como número de clanes.

Los hijos pertenecen al clan paterno. Una mujer que contrae matrimonio no pasa a pertenecer al clan del esposo.

La exogamia es estrictamente respetada; nunca contraen matrimonio personas pertenecientes al mismo clan.

Los clanes no son locales, ya que miembros de éstos habitan todos los parajes y rancherías.

Actualmente los clanes carecen de jefes, habiendo desaparecido esta institución hace alrededor de treinta años, de acuerdo con todas nuestras informaciones, cuando la zona que estudiamos atravesaba un período caótico debido a revueltas políticas.

La jefatura de cada clan era desempeñada por el más anciano, a quien se denominaba *chunel*. (Parece tener el mismo significado la palabra *catinab*, pero, algunos informantes reconocieron ésta como la empleada en el municipio colindante de Oxchuc). El cargo no era hereditario y a la muerte de un *chunel* se acataba como tal al más anciano del clan. El jefe de clan era respetado y temido, porque se le reconocía como dotado de un poder sobrenatural que ejercía a través de su *lab* sobre todos los miembros del clan. Dos informantes de edad avanzada definieron al *chunel* como "el más viejo y el más brujo". El *lab* se alimenta de almas y una persona que "tiene delito" es "comida" por el *lab* del ofendido, y muere. En esta forma se ejercía el control social sobre y entre los miembros del clan, nunca sobrepasando los límites de éste. La vida del individuo está íntimamente ligada a la vida del *lab* o espíritu guardián: la muerte del uno trae aparejada la muerte del otro. Todos los cancuqueros tienen su *lab*, pero lo ocultan y a veces lo niegan. El curandero sabe cuál es el *lab* del enfermo porque "lo oye en el pulso". El *lab* se revela en sueños a "su dueño", con quien habla porque "es su misma compañía". Una persona descubre el *lab* de otra "porque lo ve". El *lab* cuida a su dueño, lo defiende, y es el instrumento de la venganza de un daño recibido injustamente. Hoy en día este concepto está íntimamente ligado al de la omnisapiencia del santo patrón; sólo con el permiso de San Juan puede un *lab* "comerse" el alma de un *chapomal* o "hermano de clan", y este permiso es otorgado únicamente en el caso en que el santo se encuentre desfavorablemente impresionado por la conducta del individuo. De todas maneras, el *lab* nunca ejerce su venganza si no media una mala acción que la justifique plenamente de acuerdo con la moral social. Como puede verse, el control social no sólo radicaba en el jefe de clan, sino que esta función se extendía a todo el grupo, como sucede actualmente.

Hay informantes que recuerdan la época en que hubo *chuneles*, y los más jóvenes lo saben porque se lo han contado sus padres. El conflicto social ocasionado por la desaparición de esta institución parece tener su punto álgido en lo que concierne al matrimonio. Era al *chunel* del clan de una mujer a quien se dirigían los padres de un muchacho para pedirla en matrimonio. Él recibía regalos y daba su consentimiento en el caso de creerlo conveniente, y, acompañado del muchacho y sus padres, entraba a la casa de los padres de ella, ante quienes presentaba las súplicas del joven. Nadie podía oponerse a la decisión del *chunel*. Un informante añade: "Si la mujer no quiere, y deja al marido y huye, el hombre avisa al *chunel*, y el *chunel* se come a la mujer". Ella moría si no acataba la voluntad del más anciano de su clan. Ahora que no hay *chuneles*, un muchacho, con sus padres o sin ellos, se hace acompañar de un miembro cualquiera del clan a que pertenece la muchacha; generalmente los padres se oponen, la muchacha no quiere, y el empleo de la fuerza, que trata de suplir el temor y reverencia tradicionales, sólo ocasiona conflictos, portadores de odios irreconciliables.

Antiguamente los clanes de Cancuc eran cuatro: *Chik*, *Chejeb*, *Ijkd* y *Boj*. En la actualidad sólo existen los tres primeros, habiéndose incorporado los miembros del clan *Boj* al clan *Ijkd*. Esta fusión de dos clanes tuvo lugar poco tiempo antes de las revueltas políticas a que hemos hecho referencia. Al hacer el censo del pueblo hemos encontrado matrimonios entre individuos pertenecientes a estos dos clanes, realizados antes de la fusión. Después de esa fecha "los *Boj* ya saben que son *Ijkd*" y la exogamia de clan ha impedido estas uniones; "Si un *Boj* se casa ahora con un *Ijkd* mueren los dos", dicen mis informantes, "porque son *chapomales*".

Al inquirir acerca del porqué de la fusión, y la forma de realizarlo, nuestros informantes aportaron las siguientes explicaciones, que ponen de relieve incontestablemente la estrecha relación existente entre clan y nagual:

Esteban Santis Pin, del clan *Ijkd*:

> En la casa de los *Boj* entraron muchas hormigas y aquéllos pidieron casa prestada a los *Ijkd*, y allí se reunieron, quedando desde entonces como *chapomales* unos de otros. Las hormigas no entraron en las casas de los "cristianos" (personas), sino en la casa de los *lab*; "las gentes no platicaron, sólo platicaron los *lab*".

Mateo López Chij, del clan *Chik:*

Cayeron rayos en la casa de los *Boj* "porque está muy alta en el cerro". "Salieron los *lab*" y se fueron a refugiar a la casa de los *Ijkd*. Los miembros de los clanes lo saben porque en la casa de los *lab* es donde "se crian los *chuleles*" (almas). Antes eran cuatro casas y ahora son tres, porque desde ese día viven juntos los *Boj* y los *Ijkd*. Las casas son las cuevas.

Diego Domínguez Tzul, del clan *Ijkd:*

Los *Boj* se enfermaron y los *Ijkd* acudieron a prestarles auxilio y a curarlos. Los *Boj* dijeron: "Está bueno que nos unamos a los *Ijkd*". Esto lo hablaron los *lab*, no los cristianos; "pero los *lab* hablan igual que las personas, por eso tomaron trago, platicaron y se juntaron". Las gentes lo saben porque lo dijeron los que tienen su *lab*. Los *Boj* eran los que ambicionaban la unión con los *Ijkd*, "y lo dijeron cuando ya se emborracharon los *lab*".

Miguel Ordóñez, del clan *Chik:*

"Los *lab* de los *Boj* platicaron y tomaron su traguito con los *lab* de los *Ijkd*, y ya se pegaron. Tal vez uno con su *lab* lo soñó y luego lo dijo a sus compañeros".

Juan Jiménez Chan, del clan *Ijkd:*

Lo arreglaron en tiempos de los viejos *chuneles*, cuando platicaron los *lab*, allá donde viven. Los *chuneles* luego lo supieron por medio de sus *lab*, y se pusieron de acuerdo.

Tomás Vázquez Coreta, del clan *Chik:*

Entraron las hormigas en la casa de los *Boj*, y éstos fueron a la casa de los *Ijkd* donde los recibieron muy bien, y "todos están alegres". Sólo hablaron los *lab*, pero, lo supieron los *chuneles* y lo contaron a sus *chapomales*.

Domingo López Uax, del clan *Boj:* ahora del *Ijkd:*

Hablaron los *lab* de los *Boj* y de los *Ijkd* y todo quedó arreglado. "Ahora son *chapomales* y no se pueden casar".

Los apellidos en Cancuc determinan el clan a que pertenece un individuo. Aquéllos son dos: uno indígena, al cual precede uno español (salvo varios casos excepcionales en que sólo se posee un apellido español). Todos los cancuqueros saben su apellido indígena, pero, la mayoría ignora el apellido español con el cual se combina. Al pronunciar un apellido indígena todos saben a qué clan pertenece, lo cual no sucede con el español, ya que éstos pueden anteponerse a apellidos indígenas pertenecientes a uno, dos o tres clanes. Por lo tanto podemos decir que existe exogamia del apellido indígena y no

1: Guiteras Holmes NV9 Tzeltal

así del español, que no parece tener función alguna con respecto a los clanes.

En las listas de apellidos que nos fué dable obtener, y que en manera alguna pretenden ser exhaustivas, encontramos 20 apellidos españoles y 92 apellidos indígenas. Estos últimos se hallan distribuídos entre los cuatro clanes de la siguiente manera: 33 del clan *Chik*, 31 del *Chejeb*, 21 del *Ijkd*, y 7 del *Boj* (ya incorporados al clan *Ijkd*).

La gran mayoría de los apellidos indígenas no pudieron ser traducidos por nuestros informantes, quienes aseguraban que no significaban nada en la lengua tzeltal. Aquellos de los cuales pudimos obtener el significado son: *Chan*... culebra del clan *Ijkd*; *Chij*... venado, del clan *Chik*; *Unx*... gato de monte, del clan *Boj*; *Chikin*... oreja, del clan *Chik*; y *Lot*... mentira, del clan *Ijkd*.

Los apellidos se heredan por línea paterna y constituyen los linajes dentro de cada clan. Los terrenos pertenecían antiguamente al linaje y no podían enajenarse. Esta costumbre tiende a desaparecer en los últimos tiempos, sin embargo, aun hoy, hemos encontrado varios casos en que sólo un individuo perteneciente al linaje puede venir a ocupar tierras que han quedado sin dueño al morir éste sin dejar descendencia masculina.

Un indígena de otro municipio o grupo que viene a Cancuc con el fin de permanecer en él debe incorporarse a uno de los clanes, para lo cual le es indispensable cambiar su apellido indígena por uno de Cancuc. (Los distintos grupos indígenas de esta región central del Estado de Chiapas poseen apellidos que los diferencian entre sí y por los que se manifiesta su lugar de procedencia). Generalmente conserva el apellido español y toma un apellido indígena que en Cancuc corresponde a aquél. Un Gómez Tzima, de Oxchuc, se transformó en Gómez Uotán, del clan *Chejeb* de Cancuc. Un Aguilar pertenece al clan *Chik*, como todos los Aguilar de Cancuc. Un Santis Kujul, pequeño hijo de un oxchuquero y una mujer de Cancuc, al morir su padre dejó su apellido de Oxchuc, y la familia de su madre lo incorporó al clan *Ijkd*, cambiando el apellido indígena Kujul por el de Lul, "para que sea de aquí, y tenga sus *chapomales* aquí, y aquí se case", nos explica su tío materno del clan *Chik*. Estos casos son raros. No pudimos averiguar ante quién o quiénes se llevaban a cabo estas incorporaciones. Un informante, nacido en Cancuc, cuyo abuelo pa-

terno había venido del municipio de Tenejapa, nos dijo que oyó decir a su padre que "eso lo arreglaban de antiguo los viejitos".

Los apellidos indígenas se consideran como pertenecientes a determinado barrio, de los que existen actualmente dos. (En un antiguo documento, que ahora no podemos localizar, se hace referencia a cuatro barrios de Cancuc. Nuestros informantes no recuerdan este hecho y lo niegan rotundamente, pero, sí se refieren a un tercero, ya incorporado desde hace mucho a los dos restantes). Estos dos barrios llevaban antiguamente los nombres de *Chejeb* y *Chiklajum*, con los que aun se les conoce, pero hoy se les llama preferentemente *Ajkol-culibal* o "barrio de arriba" y *Aldn-culibal* o "barrio de abajo" respectivamente. Algunos informantes dicen "*calpul*" al referirse a los barrios, pero, no así otros, quienes reconocen la palabra *calpul* como la empleada por otros grupos indígenas —"aquí no hay *calpul*, sólo *Aldn-* y *Ajkol-culibal*", nos explican varios cancuqueros. Nos dice un informante que antiguamente eran tres los *culibales*, llamándose el tercero *Alal-bikit-culbal*. La línea divisoria de los barrios pasa por el centro del pueblo, colócado sobre la cresta de un cerro, trazada de oriente a poniente, perteneciendo los terrenos del norte a *Aldn-* y los del sur a *Ajkol-culibal*. El tercero, ya desaparecido, comprendía todos los terrenos al poniente del pueblo, ya que la línea divisoria terminaba en el punto donde se encuentra situado el edificio del Cabildo —al oeste de la gran plaza, teniendo enfrente la Iglesia y las ruinas del antiguo "convento". Al incorporarse *Alal-bikit-culibal* a los otros dos, la línea que los divide se extendió, separando los terrenos de aquél en dos partes: pasando los que quedaban al sur de la línea a pertenecer al *culibal de* "arriba" y los del norte al *culibal* de "abajo".

Aunque en la actualidad hay personas de un *culibal* habitando en el otro, siempre se consideran ligados a aquel de donde procede su apellido (a este efecto nuestros informantes nunca tomaron en cuenta el tercer barrio a que hemos hecho referencia). De acuerdo con nuestra lista de apellidos indígenas podemos decir que 54 pertenecen a *Ajkol-culibal*, y 38 a *Aldn-culibal*. Según la división en tres clanes tenemos la siguiente distribución:

Ajkol-culibal	*Aldn-culibal*
19 Chik	11 Chik
13 Chejeb	18 Chejeb
22 Ijká	0 Ijká

Entre los apellidos españoles tenemos 6 que pertenecen exclusivamente a *Alan-*, y 6 a *Ajkol-culibal* (descontando el caso en que un apellido indígena del clan *Chik* se une a dos distintos apellidos españoles que se encuentran en ambos *culibales*). Los 14 apellidos españoles restantes se combinan con apellidos de los dos *culibales*.

Hoy en día el *culibal* no es endogámico, pero, creemos posible que antiguamente lo haya sido (como lo hemos encontrado en recientes investigaciones en el grupo tzotzil de San Pablo Chalchihuitán de esta región). La posibilidad actual de cambiar de residencia y la incorporación de apellidos indígenas procedentes de un *culibal* desaparecido (o quizás de dos) dentro del marco de los dos restantes imposibilitan en este caso la reconstrucción del *culibal* prehispánico. De acuerdo con los datos obtenidos en nuestro censo, el 62.5% de los matrimonios fueron realizados entre personas cuyos apellidos indígenas procedían del mismo *culibal*. A pesar de lo reducido del porcentaje, predomina, sin embargo, la costumbre del matrimonio entre personas del mismo *culibal* (no debemos olvidar la movilidad permitida en los últimos tiempos, por la cual son vecinos de un *culibal* personas cuyos linajes proceden del otro), aunque también abundan los casos de matrimonio entre personas pertenecientes a los dos distintos *culibales*. Casi siempre se prefiere buscar esposa entre las mujeres del mismo paraje o ranchería, pero, actualmente podemos decir que la exogamia de clan es lo único que regula el matrimonio.

Cada *culibal* tiene sus propios jefes, elegidos entre y por aquellos miembros que hayan desempeñado cargos político-religiosos en el Chakel o Ayuntamiento. En esta elección se toman en cuenta los clanes, turnándose rigurosamente. Los jefes de *culibal* disponen de los terrenos comunales, organizan los trabajos colectivos a beneficio de la comunidad, rezan por la salud y las cosechas de todos en los días señalados, y recogen las contribuciones sobre los terrenos del *culibal*, que llevan a la cabecera del municipio de Ocosingo, del cual depende Cancuc en calidad de agencia municipal. Una orden emanada de un jefe es obedecida sin discusión por todos los miembros del *culibal* correspondiente. Los hombres de cada *culibal* participan en el gobierno local en igual número y categoría, como también en el desempeño de cargos religiosos, siempre turnándose los clanes.

SISTEMA DE PARENTESCO

A continuación veremos el sistema de parentesco, íntimamente relacionado con la organización social a base de clanes exogámicos patrilineales.

TÉRMINOS DE PARENTESCO DE CANCUC*

bankil	hermano mayor de un hombre
xibel	hermano mayor de una mujer
uix	hermana mayor; hermana del padre
kitsín	hermanos menores de ambos sexos
tat	padre
me	madre
nichán	hijos de un hombre
kaal	hijos de una mujer
ta-jún	hermano del padre
mee-jún	hermana de la madre
nicha-jún	hijos del hermano de un hombre
kaal-jún	hijos de la hermana de una mujer
kichán	hermano de la madre; hijos de la hermana de un hombre
cha-mam	nietos de un hombre
kil-al	nietos de una mujer
mam	abuelo
meel-kuj	abuela
mamalal	esposo
kinam	esposa
bal	cuñado de un hombre
janán	cuñada de una mujer
nu	cuñados de sexo opuesto
nial	suegro
kalib	suegra
nial-mamal	yerno de un hombre
kalib-mamal	yerno de una mujer
nial-meej	nuera de un hombre
kalib-meel	nuera de una mujer

Hermanos.—En la nomenclatura de esta clase de parientes se toman en cuenta la edad relativa a EGO y el sexo de éste y del pariente cuando

* Esta lista presenta los términos de parentesco con sus significados primarios. Algunos tienen el prefijo posesivo de primera persona, pero, hemos preferido conservar esta forma ya que es así como son obtenidos en las genealogías y como se oyen en el lenguaje corriente en las formas de tratamiento y porque empleamos las tablas de EGO, que son las de uso más frecuente. Debido a la falta de tipos de imprenta representando los signos fonémicos, hemos elegido la ortografía española.

éste es mayor que EGO. Un hombre llama *bankil* a su hermano mayor y una mujer le llama *xibel*. En cuanto a los hermanos menores, tanto el EGO masculino como el femenino emplean el término *kitsin* sin distinguir el sexo de aquéllos. Los tres términos anteriores se aplican a primos paralelos. Aquellos que designan a hermanos mayores se extienden a todos los miembros del clan a que pertenece EGO.

Para medio-hermanos se emplean los mismos términos que para hermanos, añadiendo el prefijo *cha-*. Entiéndase por medio-hermanos los hijos de la madre con un hombre de un clan diferente de aquel a que pertenece o perteneció el padre de EGO; pues, los hijos del padre con otra mujer y los hijos de la madre con un hombre del clan del padre de EGO son considerados como verdaderos hermanos.

Padres-hijos.—Ambos sexos usan los mismos términos para designar al padre *(tat)* y a la madre *(me)*. En cuanto a los hijos encontramos términos diferentes de acuerdo con el sexo de EGO: los hijos de un hombre son *nichán* y los de una mujer *kaal*.

Tíos-sobrinos.—Son cuatro los términos empleados para esta clase de parientes: hermano del padre, hermana de la madre, hermana del padre y hermano de la madre. Los dos primeros son designados con los mismos términos con que se nombran al padre y a la madre añadiéndoles el sufijo *-ján*, así tenemos *ta-ján* para el hermano del padre y *mee-ján* para la hermana de la madre. De la misma manera son designados también el padrastro y la madrastra. En cambio, la hermana del padre es también hermana de EGO —mayor o menor, teniendo en cuenta su edad relativa a EGO y no relativa a la edad del padre de EGO— siendo designada con los términos correspondientes a esta clase de parientes. Al hermano de la madre se le designa con el término *kichán*, lo mismo que a sus descendientes masculinos por línea masculina, existiendo la tendencia a aplicarlo a todos los miembros del clan materno.

En lo que respecta a sobrinos distinguiremos entre paralelos y cruzados, siendo los primeros los hijos del hermano de un hombre y los hijos de la hermana de una mujer, y los segundos los hijos de la hermana de un hombre y los hijos del hermano de una mujer. Los sobrinos paralelos son designados con los mismos términos con que se nombran los hijos propios, añadiendo el sufijo *-ján*, como también los hijastros. En cuanto a los sobrinos cruzados encontramos diferencias basadas en el sexo de EGO y el sexo del pariente de enlace. Un

hombre llama a los hijos de la hermana *kichán* sin distinguir el sexo de éstos, extendiendo el término a los hijos de las mujeres de su clan, mientras que una mujer llama a los hijos del hermano como hermanos propios.

Primos. — Aquí también encontramos marcada diferencia entre primos paralelos y cruzados, siendo los primeros los hijos del hermano del padre y los hijos de la hermana de la madre; y los segundos, los hijos de la hermana del padre y los hijos del hermano de la madre. A los primos paralelos se les llama como a hermanos propios, haciendo las distinciones en cuanto al sexo de EGO, sexo del pariente, y edad relativa a EGO lo mismo que para esta clase de parientes. En cuanto a los primos cruzados encontramos diferencias según se trate de un EGO masculino o femenino. Un hombre designa a los hijos de la hermana del padre con el término *kichán*, como a los hijos de la hermana, es decir, llama con el mismo término a sobrinos y primos cruzados, lo cual es coincidente con el hecho de denominar hermana a la hermana del padre. Por esta misma razón una mujer llama *kaal-jún* a los hijos de la hermana del padre, como a los hijos de la propia hermana. Los hijos del hermano de la madre son llamados como a hermanos de la madre, es decir, distinguiendo el sexo del pariente: al hijo se le designa con el mismo término que se emplea para hermano de la madre *(kichán)*, y a la hija con el término aplicado a la hermana de la madre *(mee-jún)*.

Abuelos-nietos.—El término que designa tanto al abuelo paterno como al materno es *mam*, sin distinguir el sexo de EGO. Las abuelas son designadas mediante el término *meel-kuj* en la misma forma. Los hermanos de los abuelos reciben el mismo tratamiento, como también los bisabuelos. Los recíprocos son: *che-mam* o *mam* (nietos de un hombre) y *kil-al* (nietos de una mujer); los biznietos son nombrados de igual manera, así como también los nietos de hermanos. Frecuentemente un anciano aplica estos términos a un niño y viceversa, aun cuando no guarden entre sí este parentesco.

Sistema de afinidad.—*Kinam* designa a la esposa, y *mamalal* al esposo, siendo estos términos exclusivamente empleados para tales parientes. A la esposa del hermano del padre se le designa con el mismo término que a la hermana de la madre, y al esposo de esta última con el mismo que al hermano del padre. El esposo de la hermana del padre es designado con los términos *bal* (cuñado de un hombre)

y *mu* (cuñado de una mujer) de acuerdo con el sexo de EGO. A la esposa del hermano de la madre se le llama simplemente *meechú* o *meetik*, que significa "señora", ya que no es considerada como pariente. En el caso de pertenecer esta señora al clan de EGO se la llamará *uix* o *uixín* (hermana) y al hermano de la madre se le nombrará *bal* y *mu* (cuñado) en vez de *kichán*, dando preferencia al parentesco a través del linaje o clan paterno sobre el término correspondiente a este pariente consanguíneo, pero del clan materno. Esta regla se aplica a cualquier pariente por afinidad con excepción de suegros, yernos y nueras, aunque refiriéndose a estos parientes se oye decir "mi suegra es mi hermana" o "mi suegro es mi *chapomal*". Los términos que designan al yerno *(nial)* y a la nuera *(kalib)* son usados por ambos EGOS; no así sus recíprocos que no sólo toman en cuenta el sexo del pariente, sino también el sexo de EGO. Estos recíprocos son términos compuestos, formados de los anteriores más los sufijos *mamal* (anciano) y *meel* (anciana) para suegro y suegra respectivamente: *nial-mamal* (suegro) y *nial-meel* (suegra) para suegros de un EGO masculino, y *kalib-mamal* (suegro) y *kalib-meel* (suegra) para suegros de un EGO femenino. Los hermanos de suegros son llamados de la misma manera, aunque existe la tendencia a limitar esta nomenclatura a los suegros colaterales, llamando a la hermana del suegro "cuñada", y al hermano de la suegra simplemente "señor" *(latik)* lo mismo que a un no-pariente. Los términos empleados en la designación de los cuñados son tres: un hombre llama *bal* al hermano de la esposa y al esposo de la hermana; una mujer llama *jaudn* a la hermana del esposo y a la esposa del hermano; y, *mu* es empleado por un hombre y una mujer para designar al cuñado de sexo contrario, es decir, hermana de la esposa, esposo de la hermana de una mujer, hermano del esposo, y esposa del hermano de un hombre. Los términos para cuñados se extienden hasta incluir a todos los miembros del clan a que pertenece el cónyuge.

En este sistema de parentesco vemos como la nomenclatura se basa primordialmente en la agrupación en clanes exogámicos, acentuando los linajes paterno y materno hasta incluir a todos los miembros de los dos clanes a que dichos linajes pertenecen. Las líneas paralelas y las cruzadas están marcadamente diferenciadas. Podemos decir que hay fusión entre parientes lineales y colaterales —padre y su hermano, madre y su hermana— empleando para esta clase de parientes los

mismos términos, aunque haciendo uso de un sufijo que distingue los padres reales de los clasificatorios, como también entre sus recíprocos, como anteriormente hemos anotado. En la conversación ordinaria suele suprimirse el sufijo, confundiéndose así los parientes reales con los clasificatorios. Los hijos de estos parientes son todos hermanos entre sí.

Este tipo de sistema parece tener su origen en aquel conocido con el nombre de "Omaha", cuya característica más saliente es la clasificación de los descendientes masculinos del hermano de la madre, por línea masculina, con el hermano de la madre, y la clasificación de los descendientes femeninos por línea masculina de este mismo pariente con la hermana de la madre. Sin embargo, existe en Cancuc una marcada tendencia a designar mediante el término *kichán*, tanto a los descendientes masculinos como a los femeninos del hermano de la madre por la línea masculina, sin distinción de sexo, lo cual trae aparejada, de acuerdo con la regla de los recíprocos uniformes, la designación por parte de un EGO *femenino*, de *kichán* para los hijos de la hermana del padre, en sustitución del *kaal-jún* empleado por una mujer para esta clase de parientes. Además, nos encontramos con el hecho de que los descendientes del hermano de la madre por línea femenina ya no son considerados como parientes; es decir, los descendientes de una mujer a quien se designa mediante el término *mee-jún*, y que, de acuerdo con la regla de la descendencia uniforme, debían recibir tratamiento de "hermanos", no son considerados como tales. Este desequilibrio tiende a desaparecer con la supresión del término *mee-jún* para esta clase de parientes y la extensión del término *kichán* para la designación de los mismos, abarcando a todos los miembros del clan materno, es decir, a todos aquellos a quienes la madre de EGO llama "hermano" y "hermana". El término *kichán* que antes denotaría "hombre del clan de mi madre" pasaría a significar "toda persona del clan de mi madre".

No hemos podido obtener los términos de parentesco correspondientes a los descendientes de los hermanos de abuelos, ya que en las genealogías que poseemos no aparecen estos términos por haber sido sustituidos por aquellos aplicados a hermanos de clan o *chapomales*, o a miembros del clan materno, debido a los matrimonios efectuados con personas pertenecientes a estos clanes, existiendo, como ya lo hemos señalado, preferencia por estos términos sobre aquéllos.

[P.13]

SISTEMA DE PARENTESCO DE CANCUC

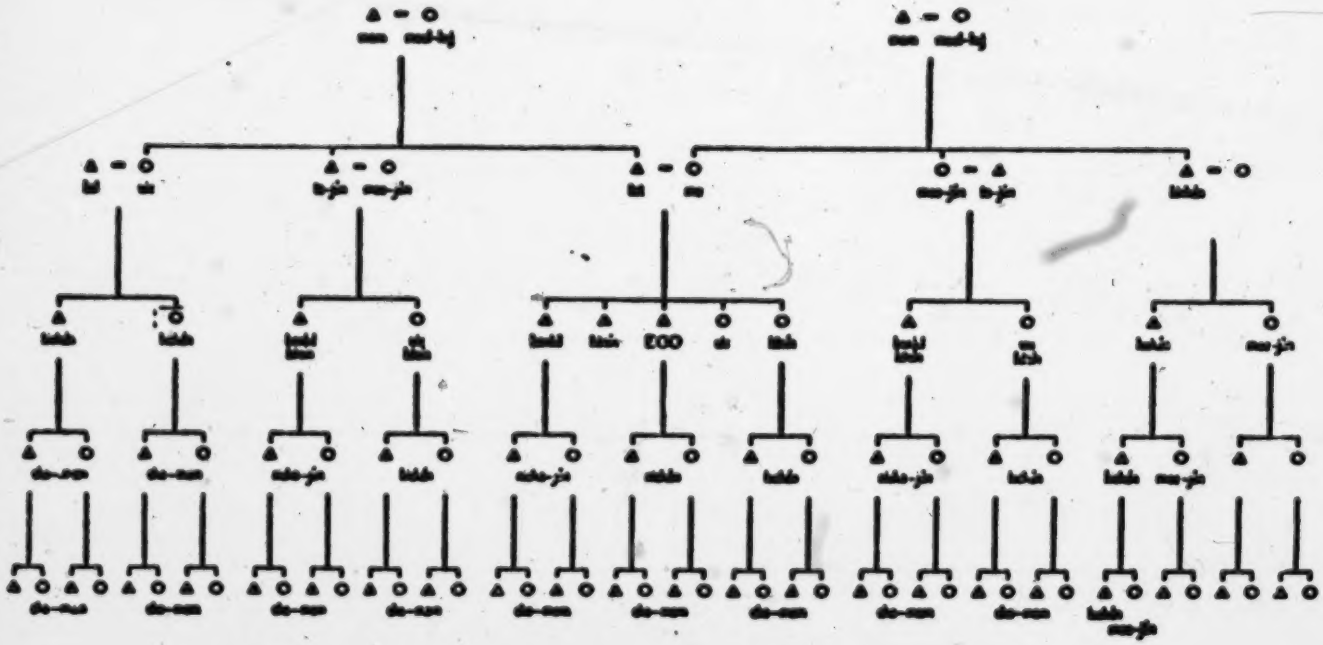

FIG. 1. TABLA DE PARENTESCO. DOS GENERACIONES

[R 14]

SISTEMA DE PARENTESCO DE CANCUC

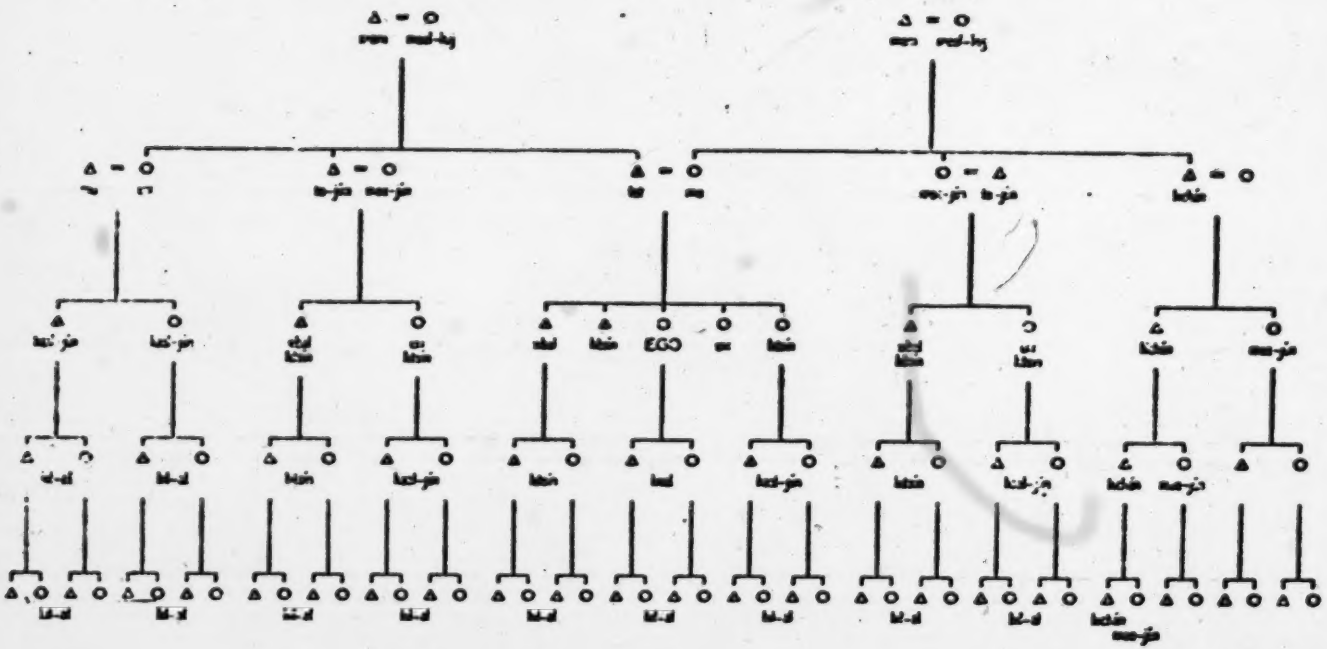

FIG. 2.- TABLA DE PARENTESCO. EGO FEMENINO

[P. 15]

SISTEMA DE PARENTESCO DE CANCUC

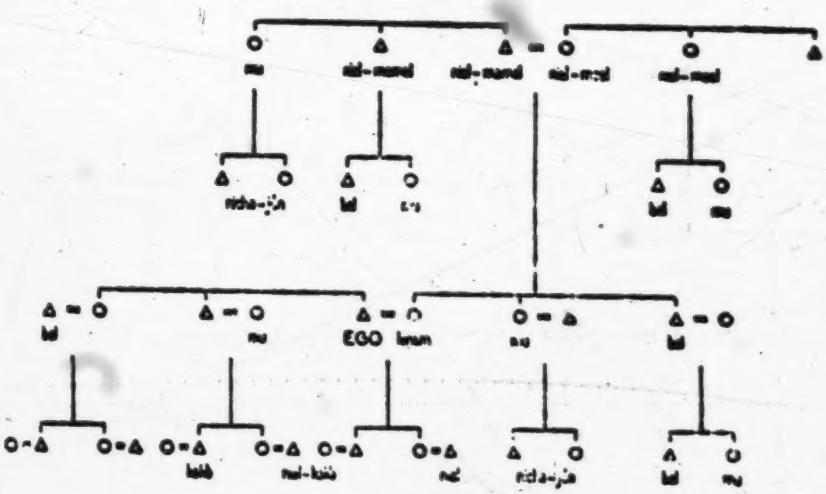

FIG. 3.- TABLA DE PARENTESCO POR AFINIDAD. EGO MASCULINO

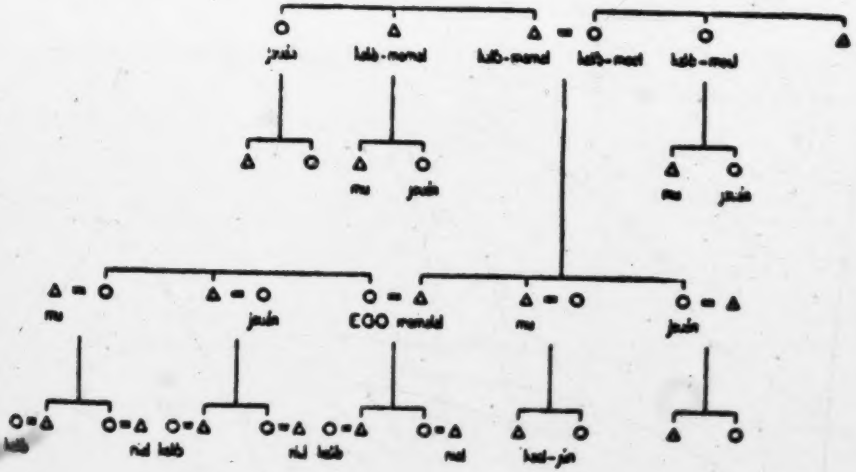

FIG. 4.- TABLA DE PARENTESCO POR AFINIDAD. EGO FEMENINO

Los términos de parentesco, exceptuando aquellos que se extienden a todos los miembros de un clan, parecen no aplicarse a personas fuera de aquellas comprendidas en las tablas (fig. 1, 2, 3 y 4). Los términos que designan a hermanos mayores se aplican a todos los miembros del clan paterno sin tener en cuenta el principio de generación ni el de edad relativa a ego. Esta costumbre tiende a ser aplicada aun entre descendientes de los mismos abuelos: una mujer anciana saluda a la nieta de su tío paterno diciéndole *uix* (hermana mayor) en vez del correspondiente *kitsin* (hermana menor), empleando la joven el recíproco idéntico en la respuesta. Podemos decir que existe una tendencia a la supresión del principio de generación y el de edad relativa a ego aun entre familiares cercanos, empleando un sólo término para hermana, hermano de una mujer, y hermano de un hombre *(uix, xibel*, y *bankil)*, excepto dentro de los límites de la familia elemental.

Un individuo cuando nace se encuentra emparentado con los miembros de dos clanes: el paterno, que es el suyo propio, y el materno. Al contraer matrimonio establece nuevos parentescos, aplicando, como ya lo hemos señalado, los términos que designan a cuñados a todos los miembros del clan del cónyuge. De esta manera un cancuquero puede estar emparentado con todos los miembros de la tribu o grupo indígena, ya que actualmente sólo existen tres clanes, de los cuales uno podría ser el clan de ego, otro el clan materno, y el otro el clan del cónyuge. Este no siempre es el caso, ya que un individuo puede haber contraído matrimonio dentro del clan de la madre, en cuyo caso sus *kichanes* y sus cuñados pertenecen al mismo clan, prefiriéndose entonces el empleo de la palabra *bal* al de *kichán*. Los miembros del clan no-emparentado reciben el tratamiento de *tatik* y *mertik* (señor y señora).

Los clanes regulan el matrimonio. No parecen existir clanes preferentes en lo que respecta a la elección del cónyuge. A la muerte de la esposa un hombre puede casarse nuevamente dentro del mismo clan o en el otro. Uno de nuestros informantes tuvo tres esposas sucesivas pertenecientes al mismo clan, pero esto es excepcional. En los tres casos de poliginia conocidos por nosotros las esposas no eran hermanas: en un caso las dos mujeres pertenecían a un mismo clan, y en los otros dos eran mujeres de dos clanes diferentes. El levirato y el sororato existen, pero no constituyen una costumbre practicada

1: Guiteras Holmes NV9 Tzeltal

por muchos; antiguamente debe haber sido más frecuente como lo probaría el hecho de designar al padrastro y a la madrastra con los mismos términos empleados para hermano del padre y hermana de la madre respectivamente, y a los hijastros como a sobrinos. Hay varios casos de matrimonio entre hermano y hermana de un clan y hermana y hermano de otro clan. El matrimonio entre primos cruzados es frecuente especialmente el de un hombre con la hija del hermano de la madre. Esposo y esposa siempre pertenecen a la misma generación.

La residencia es patrilocal, con residencia matrilocal temporal de un año después del matrimonio.

Aun prevalece la costumbre de que sean miembros de un clan diferente los que intervengan de manera directa en la preparación del cadáver y en la inhumación. Si muere una mujer casada que no ha tenido hijos, es inhumada junto a los familiares de ella, sin la intervención del marido.

Los miembros de un mismo clan cooperan entre sí y se prestan mutua ayuda; los jóvenes obedecen y respetan a sus mayores de la misma manera que un hermano pequeño respeta y obedece a su hermano mayor. Ya hemos hecho resaltar cómo la "brujería" se ejerce sólo dentro de los límites del clan como medio de control social.

México, D. F.
México.

Nota: Los materiales para el presente estudio fueron recogidos durante dos temporadas de trabajo de campo: mayo-junio 1915 y junio 1916, financiadas por la Universidad de Chicago, Instituto Nacional de Antropología de México y Gobierno del Estado de Chiapas.

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGY AND HISTORY, NO. 28

NOTES ON THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF TZELTAL COMMUNITIES OF CHIAPAS

ROBERT REDFIELD AND ALFONSO VILLA R.

[Issued June 30, 1939]

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NOTES ON THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF TZELTAL COMMUNITIES OF CHIAPAS

In February and March of 1938, Alfonso Villa Rojas made an ethnological reconnaissance of Tzeltal settlements in northeastern Chiapas, Mexico. The work was done under the auspices of Carnegie Institution of Washington as a guide to the planning of more intensive field work. San Cristobal de las Casas, where Mr. Villa arrived on the first of February, served naturally as a base. A short trip was taken to Teopizca and Amatenango, and a second to visit the ruins of San Gregorio[1] and the village of Chanal. On the fourteenth of that month, Mr. Villa started northward from Las Casas, visiting fifteen Tzeltal settlements, and then entered Chol country at Tila and left Chiapas by airplane from Salto de Agua.

In Mexico City Mr. Villa was provided with a letter of introduction from Ing. Ignacio Marquina, head of the Department of Prehistoric Monuments, of the Secretariat of Public Education. In Tuxtla Gutierrez the Governor of Chiapas, Ing. Efrain Gutierrez, received Mr. Villa and heard from him explanation of Mr. Villa's interests and purposes. Mr. Frans Blom had given Mr. Villa a letter of introduction, but the person addressed was not in Las Casas when Mr. Villa arrived. In Las Casas Mr. Villa received great help from Don José Villanueva. To all these persons who extended kindness and help, grateful acknowledgment is made. Dr. Ruth Bunzel kindly wrote information on the region to Mr. Villa before he began his journey.

The Tzeltal communities, given in the order in which they were visited and with indication of the length of time spent in each, were as follows: Amatenango (2 days), Chanal (2 days), Tenejapa (3 days), Cancuc (1 day), Oxchuc (5 days), San Martin (1 day), Tenango (2 days), Sivacá (1 day), Ococingo (6 days), Bachajón (2 days), Citalá (2 days), Guaquitepec (2½ days), Chilón (2 days), Yajalon (2 days), Petalcingo (½ day).

These villages have been the locus of a number of Indian uprisings,[2] and disturbances have occurred recently, in 1914, 1917, and 1930. Therefore the inhabitants of Spanish culture (Ladinos) are not infrequently uneasy. In Cancuc and Oxchuc Mr. Villa's work was impeded by a revival of this uneasiness, the Ladinos fearing that the celebrations of the carnival season might lead the Indians to acts of violence. With this exception, however, Mr. Villa found the Indians accessible and conditions of work favorable. The information reported herein was obtained in almost every instance from Indians, not Ladinos. Mr. Villa used an interpreter in cases where the Indians did not speak Spanish; although he has a command of Yucatec, and has done ethnological work in Yucatan,[3] he does not speak Tzeltal.

The notes Starr[4] collected on the Tzeltal in 1901 were apparently[5] obtained

[1] For a short description of these ruins, see Schuman, 1936, pp. 296–304.
[2] Vicente Pineda, 1888.
[3] Redfield and Villa, 1934.
[4] Starr, 1908.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 60–72.

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114 chiefly at Tenejapa and Cancuc. In 1925 Blom and LaFarge[6] entered the Tzeltal country from the north, visiting Bachajón, Sivaca, Tenango, Cancuc, Tenejapa, and Amatenango. These authors have published a short general account[7] of the culture of these people. In 1928 the John Geddings Gray Memorial Expedition of the Tulane University of Louisiana passed through the villages of Ococingo and Sivaca, and visited the hacienda "El Real." At this last place Carlos Basauri, a member of the expedition, collected notes on the Tzeltals.[8] Marcos E. Becerra, who was for ten years head of the Department of Public Education of Chiapas, assembled information on the languages, ethnography, and history of the Indians of the highlands and of other parts of the state.[9] Dr. Ruth Bunzel has spent some time recently in the region; her materials are unpublished.

101 361 The Tzeltal-speaking communities may be divided into those situated in the highlands (Amatenango, Chanai, Tenejapa, Cancuc, Oxchuc, San Martin, and Tenango), and those situated at less than 1000 m. above sea level and that consequently enjoy a warmer climate (Sivaca, Ococingo, Bachajon, Citala, Guaquitepec, Chilon, Yajalón, and Petalcingo).

133 In general the State of Chiapas is highly dissected and mountainous. It is crossed from east to west with three cordilleras, with subdivisions into various branches which cross with one another to form a complicated orographic system.[10] The ranges which cross the Tzeltal region are those belonging to the Cordillera de Hueitepec,[11] reaching an altitude of 2597 m. above sea level[12] in a mountain of this name situated east of the city of Las Casas. With the exception of some [361] Chamula settlements, this is the settlement of greatest altitude (2110 m. above sea level)[13] in the entire state. From this point and continuing northward are to be found the other pueblos Villa visited. The land decreases in altitude until it reaches the Ococingo Valley where there is a sharp descent of 600 m.[14] From here on, the terrain is not so dissected and the altitude is less than 1000 m. above sea level and becomes gradually less.

132 [823] As is natural, the climates of these two zones present marked differences which have given rise to the expressions "tierra fria" and "tierra caliente" by which the natives distinguish them. The former refers to the higher region where, according to Amram, "The temperature rarely falls below freezing, though in November, 1935, it dropped as low as 24° F. During the long dry period, when for weeks at a time no rain falls, the temperature in the shade occasionally rises above 75°, and the temperature in the sun may reach well over 100°. The relative humidity is low, and there are great differences between shade and sun temperatures. The nights are cool."[15]

The region of the tierra caliente begins in the Valley of Ococingo and the temperature rises as one goes northward. At Salto de Agua, 73 m. above sea level, one experiences tropical heat.

[6] Blom and LaFarge, 1927.
[7] *Ibid.*, 2: 354-400.
[8] Basauri, 1931.
[9] Becerra, 1935 and 1935.
[10] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 20. See also Waibel, 1935, pp. 69-77.
[11] Santiabañez, 1911, p. 7.
[12] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 20.
[13] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 518.
[14] *Ibid.*, 2: 377.
[15] Amram, 1937, p. 52.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas 4,5 (1936) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

As is the case in the highlands of Guatemala, the outstanding social unit, corresponding to a tribe, is the population of several hundred or several thousand Indians whose activities center in one leading settlement from which the community gets its name. As in Guatemala, these communities vary greatly with respect to the proportion of Indians living permanently in this central settlement. Dr. Tax[14] uses the phrase "town nucleus type" for Guatemalan Indian communities in which all or a large majority of the Indians live in the principal settlement, and the phrase "vacant town type" for those in which most of the Indians live in scattered rural habitations, coming to the town center occasionally for commercial, governmental, or festal reasons. Among the Tzeltals the town-nucleus type is less atypical than it is in Guatemala, and the town-nucleus communities are suffering from a scarcity of land. The following communities may be regarded as of this type: Amatenango, San Martin, Tenango, Sivacá, Petalcingo, and probably also Chanal and Citalá, although at least in the case of the last two, there are also considerable numbers of Indians dwelling in the countryside. The vacant-town type of community is represented by Cancuc, Oxchuc, Bachajón, and Chilón. It will be seen that both types are represented in both highlands and lowlands. With respect to this classification Tenejapa, Guaquitepec, and Yajalon are intermediate, and illustrate Tax's "Type III" in that many of the people live in the town and work their fields closely surrounding it, while many live on their farms and only occasionally come to town.

As in the highlands of Guatemala, the ethnic distinction between Indian and Ladino is marked, here also the Ladinos are much outnumbered by the Indians, and here too the Ladinos are very predominately town-dwellers. In Chilón and Yajalon the permanent town-dwellers are chiefly Ladinos; the permanent population of Oxchuc consists of about seventy Ladino families; the several thousand Indians live about the town and in the country. In other towns (Tenejapa,[15] Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Petalcingo) a considerable number of Ladino families have become established, although in these communities there are more Indians even among the inhabitants of the town itself than there are Ladinos. A general disposition to exclude Ladinos from permanent settlement in Indian communities is most marked in Cancuc, the site of the uprising of 1712,[16] and where in 1935 some Ladino merchants were slain by the Indians. No Ladinos reside there now. In Amatenango, Chanal, Bachajón, San Martin, Tenango, and Sivaca the Indians are also unfavorable to settlement by Ladinos; in each of the three last-named villages the only Ladino residents are the school-teacher and the government-imposed municipal agent. Recently a few Ladino tradespeople have settled in Bachajón, and a "Center of Native Education" has been established there (as also at Amatenango) by the Mexican national government. In the lowland towns of

[14] Tax, 1937, pp. 441–444.

[15] It is interesting that in Tenejapa, where both Indians and Ladinos live in town, the two groups recognize different patron saints, and there are separate schools for Indians and for Ladinos, whereas in Oxchuc, where all the Indians live outside the town, the same santos are worshipped by both groups, but the Ladinos maintain their own celebration on the day of the festival.

[16] Vicente Pineda, 1888.

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563 Citala, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo relations between Indians and Ladinos are more friendly, and the Indians are regarded as milder and more tractable.

181 Of the strongly Indian towns, Cancuc is the most conservative, Chanal the most progressive.

631 563 In respect to official political organization, these villages are divided according to their importance and the number of their inhabitants, into free municipalities (*municipios libres*) and dependent municipalities (*agencias municipales*). The former are those which have the right to choose their own government, upon which formal administration depends. To this category belong Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Ococingo, Chilón, and Bachajon. Until a short time ago the municipal governments of these settlements were composed of Ladinos in the principal posts and of Indians in the subordinate positions. At the present time the government is seeking to reverse this situation so that the Indians have the greater authority; it is for this reason that the governments of the four villages first mentioned are now headed by Indians. This change has brought about marked [177] alterations in certain places in the social equilibrium that before existed between the two ethnic elements which compose the population.

Villages of the latter category are those which depend, in administrative matters, on a free municipality. In these cases authority is represented in the first place by the *agente municipal*, who is named by the central municipal government. This post is always discharged by a Ladino. In most instances the municipal agent compensates for the meagerness of his salary by controlling the sale of rum in the village which he administers. The other members of the municipal government are chosen almost always from the Indian group.

184 243 439 In several of the highland communities, notably Amatenango, Chanal, and to a much less extent, Tenejapa, the Indian grows (in addition to the universal maize) a certain amount of wheat for export, the Ladinos of Oxchuc cultivate this crop, but in Cancuc, where there are no Ladinos, wheat is not grown. (Wheat is 433 also grown in the Tzotzil towns of Chamula and Huistan.) Other money crops 241 of the highlands are chickpeas, peas, oranges, and other fruit. Some coffee is grown in San Martin, it is the principal export from Yajalon and Petalcingo. In Bachajon, Citala, Guaquitepec, and Chilón a principal produce is brown sugar, made locally from sugar cane locally raised. Cancuc is the only village that cultivates cotton commercially; the production in the other communities is insignificant. The local [286] manufacture of loom-woven clothing is rapidly disappearing. Most Tzeltal com- [178] munities are without beehives, but there is considerable apiculture in Sivacá, and 231 a little beekeeping is also practised in Tenango, Bachajón, and Yajalón. Apparently 184 the bees kept are wild colonies brought to the villages in the sections of hollow log they are made to inhabit. The raising of hogs and poultry is a principal economic 233 recourse in all the Indian settlements. The beef cattle industry has always been in the hands of Ladinos; however, recently the Government, acting through the [654] Centers of Native Education, has sought to stimulate the industry among the Indians.

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The Indians manufacture and consume *chicha*, an alcoholic beverage fermented from sugar cane or maize. They drink larger quantities of rum prepared in Ladino-owned distilleries. *Pilico*, a combination of lime and tobacco, is chewed frequently, especially in Oxchuc, Tenejapa, and Cancuc.

Tenejapa is the only Tzeltal town that enjoys importance as a market center. Here a market is held every Sunday.

Pottery is made for sale outside the local community in Amatenango and in Tenango. In almost all the other communities the industry is practised in a rudimentary form merely to supply local needs. Blom and LaFarge observed and reported the techniques of pottery manufacture at Sivacá;[19] Villa limits his data to mentioning the industry there. Blom and LaFarge report, on hearsay, the method of making large, egg-shaped, three-handled water jars at Tenango; Villa observed and reported this industry. The former authors report that the clay used is "a light greenish brown colour."[20] Villa says that two kinds of clay, "white earth" and "red earth," are combined to form the paste. Villa also noted the tempering with a ground sandy limestone (*hi*); and the painting with a paint made from a soft stone from the river (*huxu-tzaik*). The pots and griddles are made from one kind of clay tempered with a different sandstone called *bax*. The method of firing described for Sivacá by Blom and LaFarge from hearsay, involving the preparation of "an A-roof, forming a long tunnel,"[21] was observed and photographed by Villa in Tenango. Villa was told that vessels after firing are filled with *pozole* in water to reduce the porosity.

In Tenejapa metates are made for export, and in Oxchuc halters, lead-ropes, nets, and bags. The methods of weaving, net making and basketry, reported by Blom and LaFarge for Bachajón[22] were not reported by Villa.

The type of habitation is the same throughout the whole region, although there are small variations from village to village. The houses are rectangular in form with four-sided roofs, thatched with grass, and with sides made of poles and clay. Only the houses of Chanal form an exception. The walls of these structures are in most cases of wood. The houses of Tenango present another exception in that they are the only ones where the roofs do not terminate in a ridge, but in a point; it is usual to cover this with an inverted pot. Houses are throughout divided into two rooms, one of which serves as living room and kitchen and the other as sleeping room. In some cases the kitchen is placed in the latter section. There is a single door in front; only in certain settlements to the north, as Chilón and Yajalón, where the influence of the white man has been greater, are houses to be seen with two doors and even some with small windows. The floor is always of packed earth.

The furnishings of the living room are limited in general to beds, improvised of boards placed on the ground or on logs, and covered with mats. The hammock is little used; it is generally reserved for children. The furnishings and domestic

[19] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:342-345.
[20] *Ibid.*, 2:383.
[21] *Ibid.*, 2:344.
[22] *Ibid.*, 2:345-349.

352 utensils pertaining to the other room include three tables of varying form and size. One of these, about 60 cm. high, is called *akhintel*,[23] and serves as a support for the metate (*chá*). Another smaller table (*matzamalté*) has three legs and is circular in form; it is used in making tortillas. The third table (*ucbalté*), also small but quadrangular, is used in serving food. Three benches of hollow logs 415 (*tzantel*) and small chairs (*taburetes*) serve as seats. Deep baskets and gasoline 251 boxes are used for holding clothes. Hanging from the roof is always to be seen a disk made of vines (*iikin-nab*). This is used to keep comestibles from the rats. The other implements are the griddle, pots, and other vessels of clay, and calabashes and gourds in various forms and dimensions.

343 Besides the fowl pen (*na-mut*) and the pigpen (*na-chitán*) it is common to [417] see near the house the temazcal, or steam bath (*pus*). It is made of clay and irregularly shaped stones; it is rectangular with a small door in front and a ventilator in the rear. It is usual to cover it with a small shelter of straw. The use of the temazcal [184] is common in the highlands. It is almost not to be found from Ocbcingo northward.

29 Each village has its own costume; however, local variations conform to a 184 certain pattern which changes according to the altitudes and climate. Thus, in the region of Los Altos the usual pattern of dress is the following: for men, short cotton trousers (*uex*)[24] and cotton shirt (*ku*) reaching to the knees, a sash (*chukichut*) of wool or cotton and in most cases red in color, a poncho (*tzotz*) made of wool and in most cases dark grey in color, a handkerchief (*chukkil*), a straw hat (*pixol*), and leather sandals (*xanab*), women wear a white blouse (*ku*) and a blue shirt (*tzequel*), both made either of wool or of cotton, and a red woolen sash (*chukichut*). Some women in going out-of-doors add a woolen *rebozo*. Women use also a cotton cloth (*zitz-cal*) to carry small children. They wear no footgear.

In the tierra caliente the dress of the women is almost the same except that it is cleaner. On the other hand that of the men, although equally clean, presents marked differences: the trousers are longer and the shirt shorter, coming to resemble an open blouse or *guayabera*. The sash and the poncho cease to be indispensable [177] garments. It is in this region that there is most use of trousers and shirt in European style.

551 In Tenejapa, Starr found that the Indians had Tzeltal surnames. He says, 582 "We feel sure that these are *not* nicknames, but the old family names still preserved."[25] He does not give examples, and says nothing about any relation between 114 these name-groups and marriage. Blom and LaFarge make no note of such names, and say, "there are no formal restrictions on marriage."[26]

582 Villa found Indian surnames present in Chanal, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc, 551 and was told that marriage is not allowed, or is at least strongly discouraged, between persons of the same Indian surname. In Chanal an informant indicated that such

[184] [23] The names of these objects vary from one village to another; those which are described here were obtained in Chanal.

[24] The names of some of these garments vary likewise from one village to another; here Villa gives names used in Chanal.

[25] Starr, 1902, p. 73.

[26] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, p. 199.

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a marriage was incestuous in the same sense as marriage between close relations. 582
These surnames are transmitted patrilineally. Of ten informants in Chanal, nine 551
gave their Indian surnames; the tenth said he had none. Furthermore, in cases [611]
where potential spouses have the same Spanish surname but different Indian [179]
surnames—and such cases occur—marriage between such persons is similarly discouraged. And in San Martin, Tenango, Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo, where apparently the Indian surnames do not exist, Villa received information to the effect that marriage between persons of the same Spanish surname is disapproved."

Indian surnames noted by Villa, with translations offered him, follow: 551

CHANAL: Yemuc (large mouth), Xampil, Tuib, Calabal, Chicó, Cories, Comistal.
TENEJAPA: Tzunin (sowing?), Hovilizil (mad dog), Uacax (cow), Chacax (?), Mee-mut (mother hen), Lobal (banana), Ton (stone).
CANCUC: Oxom, Sav, Chig-yax, Coreta, Caxlan-pucú, Hokob-canela.
OXCHUC: Chinbac (small bone), Aquilan (from Aquilar), Chichol (tomato), Barsen (*pinto*), Nimail (squash-tip), Holchi (deer head).

In all the highland villages information was given to the effect that each 621
pueblo (town, with its rural population, if any) is endogamous; in most instances the endogamy was represented as absolute. As some of the communities include only a few score of households, the matter requires further investigation.

The communities of Cancuc, Oxchuc, and Bachajón (and apparently only [184]
these) are divided into antagonistic sub-communities called *calpules*. (Neither Starr nor Blom and LaFarge give information on this point.) In each case an 621
imaginary east-west line across the plaza divides the northern lands of the one 829
calpul from the southern lands of the other. In Cancuc (at least) the lands of 823
the north are considered "hot," those of the south "cold," with corresponding favorable and unfavorable connotations as to their fertility. In Cancuc the 621
northern calpul is called either *muhul calpul* 'large calpul' or else *alankuluhibal*; the southern is called *bikit calpul* 'small calpul' or else *kalankuluhibal*. Each calpul (*barrio* to the Ladinos) had its own government, established by the members of each calpul independently of the formal local government, which, recognized by the state and national authorities, acts for both calpules in matters that must be taken to the outside authorities. In Oxchuc the calpul officers are one *presidente*, two *alcaldes* or *cantakines*, two *gobernadores*, two *catinab* 'very respected chiefs,'

"Among the Lacandone there are patrilineal, totemically named kinships grouped into two exogamous phratries (Soustelle, 1937). It is likely that among the ancient Maya of Yucatan there was surname exogamy. Landa says (Section XXIV), "... the Indians consider all of the same name related, and treat them accordingly. ... Thus also no man or woman marries another of the same name, because this was for them a great infamy" (Gates, 1937, p. 40). Landa also says (Section XXV), "... nor did they ever marry one bearing their own name on the father's side, for this was considered a very bad thing." On the subject of Maya names, Roys says, "The Maya family name, which was perpetuated in the male line, survived the Conquest, but the old pagan pre-names were abolished and replaced by Spanish Christian names when the Indians were baptized. Two varieties of pre-names are well known: one indicating a man's profession or office, and the other, derived from his mother and preceded by the prefix Na-. The Maya called the latter the *naa*, and there were also two other classes of pre-names, which they called the 'boy-name' and the 'jesting name.' Many of the 'boy-names' are referable to fauna-names, especially those of birds, while some of the 'jesting names' appear to be descriptive. It seems to have been possible for a single person to have borne all four names" (Roys, 1934, p. 106). [171]

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1936) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

62 and four *chuycales*, who are in charge of sacred matters. Certain shamans, called
[756] *dzunubiles*, also participate in calpul government.

In Cancuc, Villa did not inquire into the matter, but in Oxchuc and in Bachajón
621 the calpules have separate patron saints and are known, in the case of Bachajón,
776 by the names of San Sebastian and San Geronimo, in the case of Oxchuc, Santo
184 Tomas and La Trinidad. In the church at Bachajón the santos belonging to the north calpul, San Sebastian and two others, stand on the left side of the church, while San Geronimo, San Manuel, and the Virgin, representing the south calpul, stand at the right side. It appears, however, at least in the case of Oxchuc, that the festivals of these saints are maintained by the people of both calpules jointly.

621 The antagonism between the calpules of Cancuc has expressed itself from time
578 to time in violence. During Villa's stay it was rumored that the people of the southern half were about to attack those of the northern half, and indeed, shots were fired. Blom and LaFarge reported "a dragging feud" in this village.[29] Ap-
[582] parently marriages may and do take place between the calpules; there is no indication, however, that they are exogamous.

778 In Oxchuc a principal annual ceremony attends the transfer from one calpul
788 to the other of a certain sacred book. This greatly venerated object was, after
123 some reluctance, shown to Villa. He was requested to deliver to its custodians a
778 dozen rockets, some candles, and some incense; he was then allowed to examine it in the presence of the chiefs and the chuycales of both calpules. It is a notebook of twelve paper sheets, 40 by 20 cm. in size; it has a deerskin cover. Of the twelve pages, nine bear writing, all but one on both sides. The text appears to be a series of orders set down by the Spanish authorities in the year 1674. The book is kept in a black wooden box; before and after removing it the chuycales prayed, kneeling, while incense was burned and the rockets were discharged.

778 The book is called *cuhualin*, "Our Master." The ceremony of transfer of this
788 sacred object takes place during the thirteen days beginning December 31. The principal members of the government of both calpules, numbering thirteen, assemble in the cabildo. The book is placed on a table with thirteen candles, thirteen rosaries, thirteen calabashes of lime mixed with tobacco, and thirteen vessels of atole. During the thirteen days the men remain segregated in the cabildo without contact with their homes or with women. Many prayers are uttered. At the conclusion of the period the box containing the book is escorted in solemn procession to the place it occupies during the rest of the year—not in the church, but in a special hut on the outskirts of the calpul of La Trinidad.

58 Information which Villa received from Indians of Chanal on the customs
114 attending marriage differs in a number of respects from the account given by Blom and LaFarge,[30] or supplements that account, and therefore may be sum-
584 marized here. There are no professional marriage negotiators. The boy's parents
583 pay, ordinarily, four visits to the girl's parents to complete the agreement. On
000 each visit they bring bread, eggs, fruit, and especially rum. The boy is expected

[29] Blom and LaFarge, op. cit., 2: 187.

[30] *Ibid.*, 2: 358–359.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The boy is expected to live for a year with the girl's parents; then he makes his own home, usually near that of his father. If the boy's parents are sufficiently powerful, they may pay the girl's parents twelve pesos in lieu of the year's service. Villa was informed that a woman unable to pay a debt or a fine may be taken as a secondary wife by any married man who will pay the debt or fine; that a woman who loses her virginity may be bought similarly of her parents for a little rum; and that in the case of any of these polygynous marriages, a single household is maintained. No such household was observed. 583 591 583 587 595 [681]

No information was obtained on birth customs,[26] or on customs in connection with death.[27] 114

Blom and LaFarge describe a church festival held at Tecojá ranch on June 22 and 23.[28] When Villa visited the highland villages the carnival was being celebrated. In Tenejapa on February 20 he witnessed the "Festival of the Flags" (*takimalkin*). The (annually elected) leaders of the festival, the *alfereces*, assembled in the morning at the church. Each man conveyed a red banner with green edges, fastened to a pole, and each held in his mouth a short hook on which an orange was impaled. Nothing was learned as to the significance of these objects. The alfereces remained for a time inside the church drinking rum and singing. They then went by fours to pray in turn before each of the crosses set up in the village. The rest of the day they spent visiting the house of each one of them in turn; in each house they sang the same song sung in the church; in each the host offered rum, so that by nightfall all were drunk. These acts were to be twice repeated during the days following. They had for their stated purpose the announcement of the days of carnival. On the following Thursday the carnival became generally celebrated, and many natives went out costumed and masked. 796 [114] [574] [533]

The alfereces were accompanied by musicians, and also by three personages carrying the dried bodies of, respectively, a wild cat, a rodent called *saben*, and an iguana. Villa was informed that these animals are used in a later festal pantomime in which the alfereces enact a sowing, and in which these animals are represented as performing their characteristic mischief.[29] [825]

Villa observed other elements of the carnival ritual in Oxchuc. On Thursday, February 24, Indians of the calpul of Santo Tomas assembled in the church where they prayed for a time before the large altar, and then danced and drank rum in the nave. The dance was performed alternately by men and by women, and was accompanied by music from a harp, a guitar, and a rattle made of a calabash and a deer's hoof. On the following day these acts were performed by Indians of the other calpul; on this occasion the music was furnished by two drums and a flute, and the leader (*capitán*) was dressed in red. On this latter day natives of the calpul of Santo Tomás moved in procession through the streets; four individuals bore each a large pole to which were fastened ribbons of various colors; a fifth carried a red banner. [535] [533]

[26] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359.

[27] *Ibid.* 2:360–362.

[28] *Ibid.* 2:364–365.

[29] The frequent association, in Middle America, of small animals, especially furred animals, with festivals, in connection with ideas of fertility and of festal buffoonery, has been noted. See Redfield, 1936, pp. 231–243. [171]

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796 carried a red banner. At the church the four men performed a dance. Divided into
535 pairs facing each other at a distance of 6 m., they first shook the ribbons on their poles while giving loud cries, varied by putting the hand over the mouth, and running to meet one another. Then they made a slight inclination of the head, turned half around, and returned to their original places. After repeating this thrice, the pairs exchanged places and performed new figures. At the conclusion they surrounded the flag-bearer, shouting and waving the ribbons.

796 Although harp and guitars were here used in an apparently religious dance,
534 in several of the communities it appears that the stringed instruments of European
184 origin (guitar, violin, and harp) are used only for secular purposes, the religious
[177] musical instruments (which are often kept in the church) consisting of cane flute (*ahmay*) and drums. In Chanal two drums are used, a large drum (*kayob*) and a small one (*chin kayob*). In Tenejapa the single drum is called *anteel* and is accompanied by a sort of cornet.

778 Some minor observances having to do with the cult of the saints may be
776 mentioned. In the highland villages it is usual for each important saint to be repre-
184 sented by two images of which one, the genuine santo, is too sacred to be taken
[174] from the church; the other, called *debo* (for *doble*) substitutes for the true santo in religious processions.[36] In Bachajón the care of the church is alternated weekly between the two calpules; on Christmas Eve each church-caretaker (*priora*) must contribute to the decoration of the altar ten little figures of clay, of which five are in the form of a bull, and five in the form of a horse and rider. The church at Citalá contains many santos of which two (San Mateo and San Gabriel) are painted black and enjoy special prestige. In this church a straw mat, yellow in color with red ribbons interwoven, is used to kneel upon before the principal saints; it is kept with extraordinary care. At Citalá a principal annual event is the ritual
778 washing of the saints' clothing. This occurs two weeks after Holy Week. The
776 "Great Washing," when the clothing of the principal saints is washed, is performed
796 at a spring where the water is thought to be of absolute purity. The "Small Washing" of the clothes of the lesser saints may be done in the river. The Great Washing is reported as involving the consumption of eight hogs and a great quantity of rum.

78 Although it is evident that the religion of the Tzeltals contains many pagan
[114] elements, some of which have been reported by Blom and LaFarge,[37] Villa's notes do not add a great deal on this point. The use of hilltop shrines was noted at
778 Oxchuc, where one of these is called Ikal Ahau, apparently after an ancient deity.[38]
782 The teacher at Amatenango reports that the Indians there make offerings for
776 rain at a rock marked with a zigzag thought to represent the lightning. No
114 information was obtained on the beliefs as to *nahuales*; this subject is discussed by Blom and LaFarge.[37]

[36] This usage corresponds precisely with that of the pairs of crosses used by the Quintana Roo Maya, of which one, the cruz *madre*, is moved about in ritual.

[37] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:362–374.

[38] Núñez de la Vega (1702, p. 9) says, "Los de Ochchuc y de otros pueblos de los Llanos veneran mucho al ídolo que llaman Icalahau, que quiere decir negro principal, o señor de negros," as quoted in Becerra, 1932, p. 244.

37. Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:369-371.

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by Blom and LaFarge.[37] At Tenejapa and again at Guaquitepec, Villa met persons terrified by fears of witchcraft; it is apparent that the subject is important throughout the region. The word for witch is *agchamel*, and the phrase used is to the effect that the witch "eats" his victim. Villa understood this to refer to the belief that a person's soul may be lured away from his body, a notion consistent with facts reported by Blom and LaFarge.[38]

Villa's notes establish the fact that the nineteen-month pagan calendar is in current use in the highlands, at least in Chanal, Cancuc, and Oxchuc. In 1702 Nuñez de la Vega[39] published the names of twenty days of the month; these have apparently not been reported since. In 1845 Emeterio Pineda[40] gave for the first time (but for the Tzotzils) the names of the months, omitting only the name *chayquin* for the five-day period. In 1888 Vicente Pineda[41] furnished a complete list of the months for the Tzeltals. Villa was informed that the month *Yaxkin* ended in November so that the new year would begin in the second week of January. Starr[42] says that the first twenty-day period (*Tzin*) begins January 1. Becerra[43] says that the year should begin with the winter solstice. However, he gives, based on information received from the Indians themselves, a table[44] correlating the variations from village to village; thus, the month *Batzul*, first of the year, begins in Oxchuc on January 1, in Cancuc on the second and in Tenejapa on the third. Furthermore, according to this author, there is a marked difference between the correlation followed by the Tzeltals and that followed by the Tzotzils; thus the month *Olalti*[45] begins among the Tzeltals on March 27 and among the Tzotzils on April 12. The list of months Villa secured differs from both Starr's and Pineda's list, but agrees with that of Becerra.

Batzul	(Time of harvest)
Zakilab	(Clearing the milpa begins)
Agelchac	(The clearing continues)
Mac	(Time of sowing)
Olalti	(Time of sowing)
Jul-ol	(Time of sowing)
Uec-cachaquin	(No work)
Joquen-ahau	(Time of sowing in the tierra caliente)
Chin-uch	(Time of weeding)
Mucul-uch	(Time of weeding)
Juc-uinquil	(Time of resting)
Uac-uinquil	?
Jo-uinquil	?
Chan-uinquil	?
Ox-uinquil	?
Pom (Octubre)	(When the new ear forms)
Yax-kin (termina con Noviembre)	?
Mux	?
Tzun	?

[37] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2, 569–571.
[38] *Ibid.*, 2, 571.
[39] Nuñez de la Vega, 1702.
[40] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 111.
[41] Vicente Pineda, 1888, pp. 130–131.
[42] Starr, 1902, p. 177.
[43] Becerra, 1933, p. 50.
[44] *Ibid.*, Table 8.
[45] *Ibid.*, Table 10.

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Concerning the correspondence between the months and the agricultural activities, Emeterio Pineda says:

> *Moc* is the month in which fences should be repaired, and *Olalti* is that in which the sowing is to be done, no matter what may be the condition of the atmosphere, so that if rain fails or is insufficient or is excessive, nevertheless it may not be done in any other month even though then weather and precipitation permit.
>
> *Ueh* (*Uch*): in this month plants are attacked by ailments and insects, in particular by insects such as plant lice which weaken and destroy them; in the month of *Elech* (*Eluch*) the favorable winds should cure them. But in case they are not favorable, the loss of many plants is sure, as, for example, the potato which neither flowers nor gives a yield. *Vichquin* corresponds with the period of flowering, *Shalzunquil* with pollenization and *Xchibalzunquil*, *Yoxibalzunquil* and *Xchanibalzunquil* with the three periods of the formation of the seed: that of the pearl, that of the milk and that of the starch.
>
> *Poin* (*Pom*): in this month honey may be taken from the hives, and the harvest may be carried in. *Mux* represents the beginning of cold, and *Yaxquin* the Christmas season.[66]

[114]

O. D. E. Bunge quotes this paragraph but attributes it erroneously to Nuñez de la Vega.[67] Bunge's publication provides other interesting data on this subject. It may be added that the nineteen-month calendar with close relation to the agricultural year has recently been reported by Weitlaner[68] for a non-Maya people, the Chinantec, in northern Oaxaca, and for the Mazatec, a people neighboring the Chinantec.[69]

[66] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 118.
[67] Bunge, 1935, p. 54.
[68] Weitlaner, 1936, pp. 197–201.
[69] Bevan, 1938, p. 5.

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Death as a Way of Life: The Increasing Resort to Homicide in a Maya Indian Community[1]

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The breaking-down of a social-control system based on belief in the guardianship of the spiritual ancestors and their temporal agents, the curers, is reflected in a rising homicide rate as people turn to individual sanctions when threatened. The acts of homicide differ in their social significance according to who is killed, the context, the agency, and the motivation of the killer. Thirty-seven homicides between 1938 and 1965, analyzed in terms of these component variables, reflect the conflicts arising from competition in new economic enterprises, the rising suspicion of curers' abuse of their supernatural power, and the loss of belief in the guardianship of the ancestors.

121 682 [762] THE social impact of homicide has caused some analysts[2] to treat it and its supposed inverted complement, suicide, as one kind of behavior with a single meaning, ignoring Durkheim's caveat that behavioral rubrics categorize diverse phenomena. Here I shall [101] analyze the variety of strategies involved in killing in a Mexican community, which I shall call Teklum (the Tzeltal term for village), and endeavor to show how rules of behavior are expressed in killing and in attempts to avoid being killed. Further, I shall endeavor to point out what these indicate about structural and organizational changes both within the community and in its relations with the wider society. Since suicide is absent, except for a [762] single case of a madman, I have restricted my enquiry to homicide.

161 162 [101] 621 Teklum is a predominantly Indian township of Mexico. The population of the town center—about 1,900—includes only one Ladino, or non-Indian, family, that of the schoolteacher. The sense of community is limited to people living in the center and in the four nearby hamlets (*barrios*).

621 632 The town center is divided physically and socially into two endogamous sections, called "upper" and "lower." The outlying hamlets are linked to the nearest section by social and economic ties. The civil and religious posts of 621 632 the town are, in local theory, apportioned evenly between the sections. This was in fact 178 true until the 1950's; for each of the ranked posts had a paired complement, so that both sides of the dual division were represented, and the single posts of president and *síndico* (the president's administrative assistant) were al-

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621
632 ternated for each three-year term between the
178 upper and lower sections.

But with the recent increase in dealings
621 between the national and regional administra-
632 tive centers and the local communities, re-
178 cruitment into office as president and síndico
554 has come to depend upon the candidates' possessing a knowledge of Spanish, literacy, and familiarity with the ways of Ladino society. Because of the relative scarcity of such skills, selection of these two officials has tended to ignore the former residence requirements
[887] relating to the dual division. Along with this change in the criteria for selecting these officials has come a decrease in the power and the authority exercised by the *principales*—elders from each side of the dual division who rose to their position by passing through all of the lower offices in the hierarchy—and a corresponding increase in the importance of the presidency.

621 This dual division also affected the structure
632 of the curing profession. The curers are men
754 who can overcome sickness caused by witch-
756 craft because of their possession of an animal spirit (*swayohel*) and their knowledge of ritual. In each of the two sections of the town was a leading curer (*stalal ʔuʔul*) who, by virtue of his age, experience, and recognized authority, was able to control entry into the profession. Their function was to prevent as well as cure, for the leading curers were also charged with guarding their section against the entry of
621 witchcraft. In the last two decades, leadership
632 by recognized elder curers from each side of the
756 dual division has been lost, and along with it
178 control over limiting the practicing of curing.

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121
621 It is in the context of these structural divi-
632 sions that social change and its behavioral in-
dices must be analyzed.

682 Homicide—an act viewed as a delict in na-
182 tional Mexican law—has in the past two dec-
ades become an accepted strategy in social in-
teraction. It is part of the expectations of the
society upon which members predicate their
own code of behavior and in terms of which
[626] they react to others. Gossip not only fails to
[521] suppress homicide, but serves to create a con-
sensual base for condoning it. The corpse is re-
[764] ferred to as "the one who had the guilt," *?a*
stukel smul, and even when knowledge of the
particular act is lacking, certain assumptions
are made: the killer was someone in the com-
munity; the victim provoked the killer. In list-
682 ing crimes, informants sometimes failed to
674 mention killing, or they included it after witch-
[124] craft, theft, or adultery. Homicide is con-
sidered a *reaction* to crime, not a crime in itself.

The rate is phenomenally high—up to 251.2 per 100,000 (when adjusted to bring the whole township's population of a little over 3,000 to the base for measuring international rates)—and it is increasing. This compares with national rates of 4.8 for the United States, 31.9 for Mexico (United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1964), and 36.2 for a nearby town (Favre 1964).

The following tabulation summarizes the homicides by decades since 1915, the earliest date for which records are available.

1915–1924	4
1925–1934	5
1935–1944	19
1945–1954	9
1955–1964	35

[114] Figures prior to 1950 are not apt to be accurate, for only since that time have there been adequate reporting and checking of township records. In the following tabulation, the marked increase in the annual number of homicides since 1960 represents a real increase.

1950	1	1958	1
1951	0	1959	1
1952	1	1960	4
1953	1	1961	7
1954	1	1962	6
1955	0	1963	7
1956	1	1964	4
1957	4	1965	9

682 In order to assess the meaning of its remark-
674 able increase during the 1960's, I have pro-
121

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682 ceeded along two lines of enquiry. First, I have
674 analyzed the circumstances surrounding the
12 deaths in as many cases as my informants could remember. Variations in the components of homicidal acts—the setting, agents, purpose, and outcome—suggested the different assumptions underlying each case. Secondly, I have correlated the different kinds of homicide with structural and organizational changes in
682 the community. The analysis of cases in Sec-
674 tion I summarizes the patterned components
128 of behavior. The social environment providing the cues to the actors is explored in Section II.

682 I THE PATTERNED COMPONENTS OF
165 37 HOMICIDE CASES[1]

[128] The following tabulations and discussion are based on the 37 cases presented in Table 1.

Who Is Killed

Sex:	all male	
Age	18–22	5
	27–30	7
	34–38	7
	42–48	8
	50	3
	60	2
	65	2
	70	2
	??	1
[463] Occupation	curer	8
	political leader	1
	farmer	28

One-half the total number of killings occurred to those between the ages of 34 to 50. However, as the six victims aged 60 and over indicate, survival to a late age does not ensure that one will die a nonviolent death. The age of the victim may be correlated with motive, insofar as some events leading to conflict occur
68 only at certain times in the life cycle. Thus,
[578] betrothal conflicts involved only young men, while victims accused of witchcraft were older: 27 was the age of the youngest, and 16 out of the 18 men killed as witches were over 34. Cattle theft, on the other hand, occurred throughout the age range.

682 Eight of the victims—more than one-fifth of
165 them—were curers, a much higher proportion
756 than their share in the total population, for there are only about a dozen now living in the town center of 1,900.

682 There is a personality type recognized by the
156 community as distinctive of those who "get

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682 156 themselves killed." When they see a man who is abusive while drunk, who brags of his power and of that of his animal spirit, they will remark: "That man is going to wake up dead" (*sakubk'inal čamel*). When such a man is killed, no one complains, even among his immediate relatives (cases 5, 10, 14, 16, 19, 22, 24, 26, 27, 29, 31, and 32 are of this type). When I asked [562] why women do not get killed, the response was, "They don't look for trouble" (*ma sleik smul*).

682 *Setting*

	Total	Dawn	Afternoon	Evening	Night	?
Streets of town	11				11	
Milpa, woods, road out of town	10	2	3	2	2	1
Highway	4		1	1	1	1
In cantina	3		1		2	
In houseyard	3			1	2	
In bed	1				1	
Neighboring hamlets & towns	2		1			1
?	3					3
Total	37	2	6	4	19	6

Where the killing takes place and its timing in the diurnal cycle are directly linked. All of the homicides in the streets of the town were committed at night, while those in the roads out of town near the milpa occurred in the late afternoon or evening. In providing privacy and security from discovery, the darkness of night is functionally equivalent to distance from the 682 town center during the daytime. When I suggested that the killings might be reduced if the 114 town would connect the lights that had been installed in the streets, the response was that when they had been in use, killings had increased. The lights helped the killer find his victim, perhaps lying out in the road after a drinking session. He would shoot out the light and then kill his victim.

682 579 The only killings in which considerations of space or time were ignored were those in the cantina during a drunken brawl, for in contrast to the usual killing their onset was unpremeditated.

682 The timing of homicide is related also to the [527] annual cycle: 14 homicides occurred during the fiestas in the town or in a neighboring town. [579] The drunkenness of the fiestas provides an appropriate occasion for killing an enemy, although a drunken brawl is in itself rarely a [755] sufficient motive (two cases). Other opportune [273] times are after a curing ceremony (six cases) and after the gathering of curers during an

682 epidemic (two cases), when people have drunk
[755] a great deal and their motive is fresh in their
[273] mind.

682 The settings in which homicides occur indi-
152 cate that a killer is expressing not his own
154 bravery but rather his fears. Wounds are fre-
[273] quently inflicted from the rear, and often the victim is outnumbered and set upon by a group. The victim is sometimes invited to drink with his killer(s), and in this session he is disarmed psychologically and physically. Alcohol reduces the chance of his effective reaction, and this is important when a knife or machete is used. Shotgun killings are done at a distance and do not require this tactic, al-
682 though it may still be employed. For drinking
273 serves to reduce the killer's own fears. Drink
152 "heats the blood" and makes unusual behavior possible. One killer, in recounting his act, was not trying to prove bravery, but rather his own good judgment and cool-headedness. The killer fired at the victim while he was sleeping, his back turned to the door, and killed him. The shot also entered the arm of the
[695] sleeping man's wife. She saw the killer as he left the scene, but testified in court that she
[683] had seen no one. She was, in effect, accepting his verdict that her husband was a witch.[4] This homicide was not regarded by the killer or by anyone else as a heroic act, nor was the killer in recounting it attempting to emphasize anything other than the necessity of the act.

682 *Instrumentality: Weapons and Wounds*
411

gun	14
machete	6
gun and machete	4
knife	3
knife and gun	1
knife and machete	1
knife and stone	1
hatchet	1
nail	1
sandals	1
??	4

The variety of weapons reduces the question of any technological determinism to a minimum. The actual weapon used seems to be a matter of convenience. When more than one is used, it is usually evidence that the assailant had helpers. The nail is unusual. It was hammered into the jaws of a man who had entered the curing profession at an age considered too
682 young. The attack on the jaws of the victim
774 seems related to the power of speech and to the
756 [text continues on p. 461-B]

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3:Mah I-5 (1964-1965) 1967 MY9 Tzeltal MY9
[P.458] Teklum

TABLE 1. CASE ANALYSIS OF HOMICIDES OCCURRING FROM 1938 TO 1965
(AS RECALLED FROM MEMORY BY THREE INFORMANTS)*

CASE No.	DATE	AGE	WEAPON	WOUNDS	PLACE	TIME	SUSPECTS	MOTIVE	OUTCOME
1	1938—fiesta in neighboring town	50	pistol, machete	head cut off	in boneyard of borrowed house in neighboring town	afternoon	?	Accused of witchcraft	No one apprehended.
2	1945	65	pistol	shot between eyes	in street	night	two drinking companions (relatives of victim)	Drunken quarrel	Two companions went to jail. While in jail, with help of witch from neighboring town, set fire to four houses in pueblo.
3	1946	48	machete (brothers disarmed him of shotgun)	?	road at outskirts of town, at cross	dawn (5 a.m.)	brothers: 1 elder, 2 younger	Curer, suspected of being witch.	One brother went to jail for five years.
4	1946	45	machete	well chopped up	neighboring hamlet	?	?	"I don't know what crime he had. He was a curer."	No one went to jail.
5	1946—fiesta San Francisco	38	machete and gun	well cut up, head and neck	in woods	?	?	Accused of witchcraft.	No one complained.
6	1946	50	shotgun	?	in street	night, after curing ceremony, very drunk	?	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	Wife complained, but no witness.
7	1958	27	nail	in throat	in street	night, after curing ceremony	father of boy who died of witchcraft	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	Before dying, victim revealed name of killer, but local authorities would not arrest him. Case went to higher court, but no witnesses.
8	1960—11/28	60	machete	cut off head	in street	night, after curing ceremony	son-in-law	Accused of witchcraft by curer at ceremony for daughter.	Son-in-law fled town.
9	1960—12/18 fiesta, Sta. Lucia	38	knife, machete	heart, throat, stomach	?	?	killer paid by cattle owners	Stole cattle.	Released killer on bail of 2,500 pesos paid by cattle owners.

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3:Rmh E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 MW9 Tzeltal MW9
[P.459] Teklum

10	1960—12/18 fiesta, Sta. Lucia	60	shotgun	shot in back—bullet entered lung	houseyard, two feet from house	7 P.M., after curing ceremony	brother-in-law	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	No one apprehended
11	1961—8/16	70	machete	many wounds	near highway	9 P.M., after gathering of curers	neighbors	Curer, accused by other curers of being witch causing epidemic.	Neighbors were not identified.
12	1961	35	shotgun	shot in back	highway	?	leader of political independance movement (wife's brother)	Refused to pay tribute to independence leaders.	Killer's wife (victim's sister) left husband. No one jailed. Later, killer killed by victim's brother (case 18).
13	1961—7/26 fiesta in neighboring hamlet	30	?	?	street, near cantina	late at night	wife's brother	Very abusive, fought drunks.	Wife's brother fled town.
14	1961—10/24 fiesta in neighboring hamlet	45	knife	many wounds	?	?	neighbors	Accused of being witch by neighbors.	No one apprehended.
15	1961—12/13 fiesta, Sta. Lucia	37	gun	?	cantina	late at night	?	Accused of witchcraft.	Wife agreed he was witch.
16	1962—9/25	18	?	?	?	?	rival for girl	Fought over girl.	No one accused.
17	1962—9/25	30	knife	stabs	in street	night (1 A.M.)	cattle owners	Accused of stealing cattle.	Went to jail, but released on bail put up by cattle owners.
18	1962—9/26	35	gun	shot in head	highway	(4 P.M.)	brother-in-law's brother	Revenge—victim had killed his own brother-in-law (case 12).	Killer declared he had killed. Paid fine and went free.
19	1962—11/13 fiesta, All Saints	20	knife, gun	stabbed in heart and shot	drinking in cantina	late at night	rival for girl	Fought over girl.	No one accused.
20	1962—12/24 fiesta, Christmas Eve	50	gun	shot between eyes	road outside town	dawn (6 A.M.)	leader of cattle association	Accused of stealing cattle.	?
21	1963—4/4	36	hatchet	head	in woods, given drink by killers	5 P.M.	?	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	No one apprehended. Brother did some investigating.
22	1963—7/24	45	?	?	in bed	night, after curing ceremony	Curer from neighboring town	Victim had accused suspect of being a witch when curing a patient.	Nothing.

* Two more homicides were recalled for 1964 than official records show. They most probably occurred in a previous year.

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3:Neah E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 MY9 Treltal MY9
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[P460]

TABLE 1.—(Cont.)

Case No.	Date	Age	Weapon	Wounds	Place	Time	Suspects	Motive	Outcome
23	1963—8/28 fiesta, San Augustin	?	sandals	kicked to death	in cantina	afternoon	drinking companions	Barroom brawl	One of two assailants arrested, bailed out.
24	1963—9/25	70	shotgun	forehead	in field	late afternoon	sons of man whom he was accused of having killed by witchcraft	Accused by curers in neighboring towns of having caused sickness	Nothing.
25	1964—1/2 (New Years)	30	machete, gun	?	street outside house of new president	night (11 P.M.)	killer paid by brothers	Accused of stealing cattle	Brother fled, but was jailed when he returned.
26	1964—3/3 (carnival)	34	gun, machete	chopped up with machete	street, one block from house	night (11 P.M.)	?	Accused of witchcraft by neighbors.	No one accused.
27	1964—5/14	30	gun	forehead	highway	afternoon	Ladino liquor distiller, not of community	Victim had denounced distiller to federal authorities.	No one accused.
28	1964—9/1	30	gun	?	milpa, after his brothers gave him drink	afternoon	his brothers	Accused of witchcraft.	One brother fled. The other was jailed but claimed the first one did it.
29	1964—9/14	65	knives	many knife wounds	street, three blocks from house	late at night, after gathering of curers	curers	Curer, accused by other curers of being witch causing epidemic	No one accused.
30	1964	22	?	?	eight meters from his house	night (1 A.M.)	close friend, hired by cattle owners, brothers of killer	Accused of stealing cattle	Freed on bail.
31	1965—2/14	42	machete	head cut off	road to neighboring hamlet	night (3 A.M.)	?—at first thought it was wood spirit, until they found head	?	No one accused.
32	1965—2/22	45	knife, stone	stabbed in heart, head bashed	street near house	night	?	Accused of witchcraft by neighbors.	No one accused.
33	1965—3/21 (Carnival)	45	shotgun	?	street	night	?	Accused of witchcraft.	No one apprehended.

3:Death E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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54	1965 6/24	27	axe	?	found in woods, body dragged there from town	night (1 A.M.)	brother-in-law	He had relations with 14-year-old sister-in-law. When he tried reconciliation, became drunk, abusive.	No witness, no blood found in in-laws' house.
55	1965 5/30 fiesta, just before San Francisco	35	shotgun	three shots entered back	road	afternoon	?	Stole cattle, corn.	Killers left note saying old man did it, but no one believed it.
56	1965 8/11	42	machete	head severed, side wounds	road to milpa	6 P.M.	son by first marriage	Failed to help son get a wife; accused by dying wife of causing her death by witch craft.	Widow spread rumors that it was his son, but refused to testify.
57	1965 10/7	20	shotgun	back	in housyard	6 P.M.	rival for girl	Accident — killer mistook him for his brother, who was challenging killer's suit for a girl.	?

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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682 724 756 location of the soul, *sč'ulel*, in the tongue, *yut*, wherein lies the particular power of the curer. This possibly suggested the mode of attack.

682 411 412 [223] [224] The instruments used to kill are carried by the farmers of this area most of the time. The men go to their milpa with a machete strapped to their side, a shotgun slung over their shoulder, and sometimes even a knife stuck in their waistband. They frequently interrupt work to hunt birds, rabbits, and deer. The shotgun does not excite suspicion or comment when it is seen. The men of Teklum are technologically prepared to kill in the course of an ordinary day's work.

682 [152] [683] The number of wounds and the thoroughness with which the job is done (see Table 1) suggest not so much the fury of the assailants as the fear motivating their act. In a witch-killing, it appears to be thought necessary to hack up the victim completely so that his power is effectively ended: one witch was cut into 32 pieces; another had 166 wounds.

682 674 656 The death acts drawn up in the local courthouse have been increasingly specific in their statements as to the wounds inflicted ever since the government's intervention in the case of an accidental death in 1950. The local authorities were threatened with a fine of 600 pesos if the details were not properly recorded. The careful measurement of the body in relation to the road and to neighboring milpas and the measurement of the size and depth of the wounds provide the screen of complicity that wards off further investigation by federal authorities and preserves local independence. There is never any questioning of suspects or attempt to solve the crime by officials. The success of the ploy is illustrated in the following account:

> Pedro had animals at the spring and had gone out early with ropes in his bag to lasso them. He was found with a rope tied around his neck hung from a *bibinib* tree. We went out and measured the length and thickness of the rope and how many centimeters it penetrated his neck. We put all these facts in the report, which gave the cause of death as suicide.
>
> At that time we had a schoolteacher in town who asked the dead man's wife why the town didn't investigate who killed him because someone must have done it. He went with the widow to the Ministerio Publico in the capital. Well, when they came out, there were all the facts in the death act. [Informant laughed heartily as he recalled this success.] He saw that we had discovered the body at 3 P.M., that the rope was 15 meters

682 674 656 long, and that the body was suspended 35 centimeters from the ground. He saw that we had raised the act well, and nothing was done.

682 562 *Who Kills and Why*

The only universal factor among the killers is sex—only men kill (Table 2). Women do not kill nor are they killed in Teklum. This does not mean that they are not subject to as many tensions or abuses as men, or that these have no channels for expression. Women work through men by agitating them to homicide. [593] Sometimes revenge is delayed, for the agents chosen by women may be children who must reach maturity before accomplishing the deed (see case 36, in which the son's animosity toward his father was kindled at his mother's deathbed).

682 683 621 Neighbors are a significant group in witchcraft killing. (Neighbors may be listed in Table 2 under another relationship, for instance as brother-in-law or as cattle owner.) They are the informal judges of suspected witches, and it is frequently they who kill a man considered to be a witch. When the curers accuse a man of causing epidemics, his neigh- [608] bors are usually the executors. For this reason, most people try to neutralize the hostility of

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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682 their neighbors by establishing *compadrazgo*, or
683 godparental, relations with them.
621 Ten of the 37 homicides here reported were
608 committed by immediate consanguineal or
682 affinal relatives of the victim. The high f-
593 quency of killings involving brothers or
607 brothers-in-law (8 cases) suggests a locus of
[602] high tension in these relationships. Male
[476] siblings, the *yermanotak*, comprise the closest cooperating group. Cooperation between brothers is obligatory when wheat is to be threshed, a house built, or a roof rethatched. If a brother or brother-in-law is unavoidably absent, he must pay a substitute. Brothers, or sons and fathers, are the only relationship pairs who work the milpa in common and share
[428] the harvest. Bilateral inheritance, with equal division of land and house to both male and female offspring, means that brothers-in-law are potentially equivalent in the competition for goods as well as in their obligation to cooperate. A man kills his sister's husband if the husband is abusive to the woman or to mem-
682 bers of the family (two cases). The brother
627 figures not only as a lethal opponent, but also
593 as the man who avenges one's own death (case 18, Table 1). When someone has been killed for witchcraft, his brothers are expected to accept the verdict or to avenge the killing.

[Text continues on p. 463-A]

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[P.462-C]

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TABLE 2. SUSPECT, BY MOTIVE FOR HOMICIDE

	Brother	Brother-in-law	Son	Son-in-law	Neighbors	Relative of witchcraft killing	Curers	Cattle owners	Rival for girl	Drunks	Not of community	??	Total
[688] Victim was accused of witchcraft	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	—	—	—	—	8	18
Victim accused suspect of witchcraft	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
[685] Cattle theft	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	1	6
[578] Rivalry over girl	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	3
Abusive behavior	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
[579] Drunken quarrel	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
[627] Avenge a death (not caused by witchcraft)	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2
Political conflict	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
??	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Total	3	5	1	1	2	2	1	4	3	2	2	11	37

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000
cept the verdict or to avenge the killing.

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In selecting a single motive in categorizing the killer and the reason for his act, I have distorted reality more than in the other tabulations. Motivations include both the instrumental reason and the rationalization for the act. The complexity of motivation is correlated with the multiplicity of social ties existing between any two people. For example, when a man shoots his father for failure to provide him with his bride price, but feels justified and expects social approval because his mother on her deathbed accused the father of having provoked her illness by witchcraft (case 36, Table 1), it is impossible to assign a single primary cause. However, in order to correlate the factors of agent and motive, I have been forced to select only a single feature in categorizing them.

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In one-half of all the cases reported, the motive attributed for homicide is suspicion of witchcraft. (Whether or not witchcraft is ever practiced here is irrelevant since men act in terms of their interpretation of an event, not of the event itself.) Almost all sickness in the community is believed to be caused by witchcraft (the term for witch and witchcraft, *ʔak'čamel*, means "giver of sickness"). The family of a sick person consults the local curers, who pulse the patient. The witch "has left his signature in the blood" of the patient, and by pulsing him the curer can "hear and feel" who the witch is. His procedure is to ask the patient to tell what troubles he has had with his neighbors and relatives, and as the patient recites the names of the people with whom he has had conflict, the pulse jumps. As in the use of the lie detector, this indicates where there is high affect: in Teklum it is interpreted as positive indicator of the guilty person, the witch. If the curer gets drunk enough, he may reveal the name of the witch, but he usually prefers not to—I know of at least three cases, one of which is reported here, in which the man who announced the name of the witch was killed by the person he accused. The family may then check the consultation with curers in neighboring towns or even in the departmental capital. Since these distant curers are not inhibited by fear of the witch, they name the guilty one. The family, or the patient, may broadcast their suspicions, even announcing the consultation over the loudspeakers in the local liquor shops. If the patient dies, a member of the family may act on

682 these suspicions and kill the witch. If he should
674 kill the witch while the patient is still alive, it
75 is believed that the patient will die.

Killing men for cattle theft (six cases) is a
682 relatively recent occurrence. It has put hom-
685 icide on the market: the associations of
674 cattle-owners have hired killers in three of the
[463] six cases. In addition to the killer's fee, they
[697] pay the fine to release him from prison. Fines
for homicide have increased in the past five
years—from 1,000 to 3,000 pesos—but not
sufficiently to price the murder of cattle
[435] thieves out of the market. A good bull is worth
1,500 pesos, and the threat of further loss by
theft seems to justify the expenditure of fees
685 and fines. When the cattle-owners lose some
787 of their herd, they go to spiritualists or to San
776 Miguel, the talking saint of Ixtapa, to find out
who did the stealing. Since such evidence does
not hold up in court, legal settlement is not
685 attempted. Legal action, moreover, would
694 create an enemy who might seek revenge. A
Ladino secretary of the town center who had
lost a bull accused a man of stealing his cattle
and demanded 500 pesos in compensation. By
receiving the money he jeopardized his safety,
and eventually he had to leave town.

The Resolution of the Case

682 It is nearly impossible to find witnesses to
69 homicide. Of these 37 cases, 28 resulted in no
action being taken by the authorities, and in
five cases where the killers went to jail, they
were released with the payment of minimal
fines. In the calculations of the townspeople, it
is hardly worth risking one's neck to get such a
minimal revenge.

However, this does not mean that homicide
682 goes unnoticed in the community. After a
593 killing the widow sings of the life of the dead
626 man. If she is in agreement with the verdict
arrived at by the killer and others, she will
[683] deny knowledge of what he has done, or even
suggest that she too was aware of what harm
he has caused (one widow implied that her
husband, killed as a witch, was responsible for
the death of four of her six children). If she
objects to the verdict, she sings of what a good
man he was and how blameless. She will then
air her own suspicions in the following weeks as
to who killed her husband.

682 Following the funeral, when the women
683 have left the cemetary, the men sit at the
627 grave. As they measure out a liter of liquor and
pass it around, they advance hypotheses as

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682 to who did it. The consultations with curers
683 prior to the death of the supposed victims of a
627 witch will be introduced as evidence. (Some degree of consensus may have been built up beforehand, in witch-killings, by the public broadcast of accusations noted above.[8]) The focus of the discussion is not so much on who killed the dead man, but whether he was indeed a witch. This kind of mock trial occurs
[753] after every funeral, since it must be decided
[152] who caused the sickness. Emotions run very
[273] high as the liquor is passed around, and accusations are made, sometimes against those present. It was after a funeral that one man killed his son (not included in Table 1) for accusing him of having caused the death of the son's child, who was being buried.

682 In the weeks following a homicide, it is dis-
[521] cussed at all the drinking sessions in the homes or in the town hall. Eventually an authoritative version begins to emerge. Those who have defended the victim then keep silent, and the
682 affair "rests in peace." Avenging the death of a
683 man judged to have been a witch, so far as I
[627] know, has never been done. In one case (no. 36, Table 1) the widow of a man killed as a witch vigorously denied the legitimacy of the act and built up a case against the killer. She spread word that it was without doubt the dead man's son by a prior marriage. When the son was killed shortly after (case 37, Table 1), everyone assumed that he had been killed by the widow's son by *her* prior marriage. However, the authoritative version concerning the second killing was that it was an accident: he had been mistaken for his brother, whom the killer was after because of rivalry over a girl.

682 *Rules for Surviving*
183 The patterning of the selection of victims and the circumstances of homicide provide the basis for formulating a set of rules that can
682 ensure survival. The long-range rules of sur-
539 vival, in the words of an elder at the occasion of
183 the death of his godchild, are:

ʼekon kak'o ta kwenta meʔtat
I pay respect to my elders.

hun ku kihtz'in kalnican
[601] I greet my younger brothers and my children (classificatory extension of kinship terms).

spisil kak' ta kwenta
To all I give respect.

haʔ hit lekotik. Ma taltik milel ma tallik čamel

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Thus I fare well I have not been killed, nor have I been sick

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A good man is of one heart, and he shows it by his humility, *ben k'un yo?tan* or "very soft heart." He can drink with friends on either side of the dual division of the town, and he is called upon in many household fiestas to greet the guests of the house-owner.

But the man who is "very strong of heart," *ben toyol yo?tan*, who "fails to take people into account," *ma ?awa ta kwenta*, who "abuses people," *me ya wnu*, has means of survival despite the many threats to his life. He sur-
[608] rounds himself with a circle of *compadres*, or
[756] godparents, he especially picks out curers, both to mitigate the use of their power against him, and for them to serve as intermediaries if he should have enemies with animal spirits. When a threat becomes imminent, he may stay within his house or limit his range of activities to a very circumscribed area, always taking a weapon when he does go out. He will usually
[273] try to limit his drinking, or give it up entirely. These short-range rules of avoidance are clearly indicated by the circumstances in which killings occur: in the hills or at night, when the victim is under the influence of liquor.

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These 37 cases of homicide reveal a regularity in the kinds of people and situations in-
[578] volved. The victims are most often men who assert power, principally curers, or men who violate standards of behavior by abusiveness or theft. Their killers are often linked to them by kinship or neighborhood, the bonds in which tensions are greatest. The regularity of time and place of homicide suggests the precautions that can be taken to avoid being killed if one has an enemy. The general failure
682 of the community social control agents to
626 bring negative sanctions against a killer indicates that homicide is an accepted solution for interpersonal conflict. The structural setting that validates this behavior is discussed below.

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II. STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Case analysis, useful for discerning certain patterns, is inadequate for understanding the interrelationships among a variety of social changes in the community. An increasing rate of homicide of this magnitude indicates fundamental changes in the social matrix in which individual decisions are made: it suggests not

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682 only a rise in the tensions that provoke con-
178 flict, but an undermining of the social-control
121 mechanisms for channeling them. The percep-
626 tion of these changes by the members of the society makes for shifts in the individual calculi, grossly measured in changes in the rate of
[128] behavior. In order to understand the interrelated problems of the sources of the increasing tensions and the reasons homicide is chosen as a means of resolving them, I have reconstructed the course of social change in the period from 1935 to 1965.

178 *Increasing Social Tensions*

556 New economic enterprises have increased wealth differences in the community. The best measure of this is in the increase in cattle-holding, which is a socially approved way of spending money. Twenty-five years ago, there were only a half-dozen men with cattle, and
178 they had only one or two head each. Today,
233 one of the herders in the community has 200
556 head of cattle, and 75 percent of the households have one or more each.

Cattle-herding is a "new" industry in the sense that instead of just having a team of oxen to help with agricultural labor, men are
233 breeding cattle for profit. Because the cattle
685 roam freely, there is much loss, and this leads to accusations of theft. I have never heard such accusations directed against anyone outside the community; crime as well as positive moral relationships is confined within the
682 boundaries of this corporate community. Sus-
685 pected cattle thieves are killed by the cattle-
[474] owner or by a killer hired by the cooperative of cattle-owners. Such killings account for six of the 37 cases analyzed above (Table 1).

178 The illicit distilling of liquor has also added
274 to the town's prosperity. The liquor industry was introduced about 15 years ago, but the number of distillers has increased from 5 to 40
[438] in the last five years. From an enterprise
[439] formerly meeting only local market needs, contraband liquor is now sold as far away as the coastal area and across the border in
274 Guatemala. A cooperative of distillers has re-
474 duced the frictions that immediately followed the introduction of liquor-distilling. The cooperative pays the fines of any member caught distilling, and in addition threatens to use group action against informers, who were formerly tempted to earn the 200 pesos offered
[578] by federal agents. But the envy aroused by the sight of those who profit from this enterprise,

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274 474 578 as with the cattle industry, is a covert cause for personal attacks on other grounds.

A third enterprise, trucking, has caused a 494 realignment of political interests in factions 474 associated with two truck-owning cooperatives. 578 Membership in one of the cooperatives, or patronage of one of the two trucks, arouses the enmity of members of the other cooperative. Several threats have been made on the lives of the owners and the operators, but the only damage done has been to tires.

682 578 The tensions resulting from the introduction of these new enterprises cannot be fully measured by the deaths attributed to direct economic conflict. Wealth differences resulting 682 578 from the new enterprises excite envy, and with it come accusations of witchcraft. In this com- 556 munity, witchcraft killing does not perform 754 the normative function of reducing wealth [114] differentiation that Kluckhohn saw operating among the Navaho (1944), since it is the poor man who is killed as a witch, not the rich man. [683] The slaying of the envious witch exacerbates the economic differentiation that provides the seedbed for conflict.

578 423 Another new source of tension is found in the growing demand for political leadership or 668 even independence from the township by the *ejido* colonies formed since land reform went into effect in 1937. The inept maneuvers of two [682] founders of the ejido colonies in hot country resulted in two homicides (cases 12 and 18 in [178] Table 1).[6] The increasing strength of these hamlets will mean that more attempts will be made in the future to gain political equality and or independence. Whether this will result in increasing homicides will depend on social-control agencies external to the Indian communities.

682 578 Homicide occurring as a direct result of economic and political competition represents a new strategy in the community. The decision [626] to kill rather than to use other negative sanctions is related to the social-control mechanisms discussed below.

Changing Mechanisms of Social Control

626 182 A system of social control rests not only on the exercise of negative sanctions, but on the sense of personal security derived from confidence in the institutions of control. In Teklum, [756] the maintenance of control was formerly [769] centered in the guardianship against malevolent spirits held by the ancestor spirits and 000 the curers. The "police force," made up of ten

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625 The "police force", made up of ten
626 Indians of the town who served without pay for a year, acted as errand boys more than as guardians of public safety. The townspeople conformed to the cultural code of behavior because of a sense that their welfare was being cared for.

626 More recently, the breakdown of certain
178 structural features and competition between
756 new and old leaders have undermined non-violent methods for the maintenance of social
[128] control. These changes will be discussed in terms of (1) the organization of the curing profession, (2) conflict between the curers and the civil authority, and (3) how both the curing profession and the civil authority are affected by the breakdown of the old dual division of the town.

(1) *Organization of the curing profession.*
[124] Perception of structural changes in the curing profession and their effect on attitudes are indicated in the following statement by an informant:

> Formerly there were not many curers. Only two—one in the low side and the other in the high side. They alone spoke together. They walked every night, looking and watching over the pueblo to see that no illness was brought in, checking to see who was bringing it and to see if there was any illness of God [reference to contagious diseases]. They saw which of the children had a soul
> [174] [reference to the third soul, the swayohel or animal spirit, which gives the power to cure and to do evil].
>
> If anyone wanted to be cured, they bathed them, cured them, and in a little while people got better because there was good illness only. If later on it turned into a disease of the devil, with their animal spirit they seized the force of the illness.
>
> When there was a contagious disease, and a witch "brought heat," and the children began to die, the two curers alone consulted and waited to see who had brought the evil and where they lived. One of them went to the town hall and gave an account of the fact that they had taken care of the evil and gotten rid of it. It was not necessary to gather together the pueblo—only the two knew what was the matter and how to care for it.
>
> The [two] leader curers of each section [*stalal ʔuʔulelik*] alone ordered other curers. No one else could enter curing until permitted by the leaders. They continued in power until they died, and then one of the younger curers took over.
>
> Beginning in 1940, more curers started to enter on their own accord. The elder curer had died, and his successor was not recognized. People saw that someone could pulse, and so they would ask him to cure.
>
> Now when there is an epidemic, the president

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orders the curers to gather together. The curers look for the man who has "brought the heat." And then they kill him. Formerly it was not so.

The statement points to two interacting features of change within the curing profession: (1) the loss of leadership and of control over entry into the profession and (2) the loss of faith in the guardianship function of the curers. The effect of these changes has been to reduce security and the maintenance of social control.

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[621]

Formerly the recognized leader of the curers in each section of the dual division legitimized entry of new curers and expelled those who abused their power. When these curers died, there was no one of sufficient power to replace them. In listing curers who are active today, there is no agreement as to who the leading curers are or even as to whether there are leaders.

756

Loss of leadership in the curing profession has led to competition among the curers. There is discussion such as the following concerning who is the strongest.

> When N, a former curer, killed as a witch, was alive, he was land-control officer. When we were half drunk one day, the president asked him: "Tell me who is the strongest of all you who know curing." N replied, "Ah, you want to hear. There is no one who is very strong, only the dead Mama, K and myself." The president said, "But Man D is good." N said, "Less so. I know because one time we proved it, at a meeting of the curers. I arrived as a sheep, and 'took out' [literal translation of *lok'*] one black dog. He took out a sheep and a pig and ordered them to run. And I saw that they could not run. After my animals ran a little with his, mine arrived first. It is thus that I saw his were less strong."

[541]

The present competition among the curers to assert their power by telling such stories or by displaying fearlessness in the bullfights held in community fiestas is symptomatic of the disruption caused by the breakdown in the hierarchy of the profession. When curing was a controlled profession, abusive conduct by the curers was minimized, but the new curers are reputed to use their power for their own gain. The following story is typical:

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> J, born in Tetikil, went to live in hot country. A friend invited him to drink. J, who was reputed to be a curer, said to his friend when they were half drunk, "Do you want to 'take out' a girl?" His friend said, "No, how can you?" "*Pendejo!*" J replied, "I can because I have an animal

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756 539 [682] [swayobel]." "What one?" asked his friend. "You won't be afraid?" asked J. And then he put his shirt and hat on the floor, spoke three words (my friend didn't say what), and raised his hat and shirt, and a horse appeared. He did this again and a bull appeared. He was a great *?ak'čamol* [witch]. He stole a great deal. He was killed by five bullets.

756 [152] Such stories of curers "who walk on both sides" (*sbe?en ta ta mehč*) are favorites in the drinking sessions of Teklum. The power of curers inspires fear, so much so that some of the town presidents have been afraid of putting them in prison.

756 776 [133] [769] The open competition between curers serves to undermine the faith of the people in their guardianship function. This function was believed to have been acquired by the leaders from the *me?tiktatik*, the ancestors, who were said to live in a cave in a hill near the town, from which came the progenitors of the present townspeople. To carry out this guardianship function, the animal spirits of the two leading curers roamed the streets at night, when the evil spirits were out, each one remaining within the limits of his own side of the dual division. In this role, the two major curers were called the *me?iltatletik*, a term derived from the one referring to the ancestors.

178 776 756 769 [796] 796 796 756 178 769 The loss of faith in the guardianship function of the curers was coincident with the loss of belief in the presence of the me?tiktatik. Some deny that the me?tiktatik live in the cave anymore, and others say they just appear on the day of their fiesta, the Day of the Cross in the Catholic calendar. This fiesta formerly was an important event in establishing the guardian power of the leader curers, since they were the only ones who dared enter the cave and talk to the ancestors. But this fear and this belief have gone. In 1960 one young man of the pueblo entered the cave on the day of the fiesta, when the curers were "deceiving the people" in claiming that they were talking to the ancestors; the fact that he dared enter the cave indicates an ambient distrust (in part resulting from verbal attacks by the priest, who at that time was gaining more power in the town). By now, on the Day of the Cross the church and civil officials, the women prayermakers, and an assistant of the priest, the *fiscal*, go to the cave, but the curers are no longer present, even as bystanders. The curers have tried to buttress belief in the guardianship of the ancestors by claiming that a nephew of the ancestors is now in residence in

[794] [793] 178 756 769

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178 the cave and that they are in communication
756 with him. But these claims are met with ex-
769 pressions of disbelief by the people. Almost everyone is convinced not only that the curers do not now talk with the ancestors, but that the ancestors no longer look over them from the watchout hill outside their cave.

756 The loss of control by the curers is drama-
178 tized in the long passage quoted above con-
731 trasting the past and present treatment of epidemics. Formerly the two leaders of the curers consulted together and announced to the president that they had rid the town of evil. Now the curers as a group are ordered to come before the civil authority. There, in a
[273] long examination called *?it yo?tan*--"taking the heart"--in which 18 liters of liquor are consumed, the assembled curers and civil authorities decide who among them is responsible for bringing in the witchcraft that is causing the epidemic. Later in the evening,
[682] one of the curers is usually killed (cases 11 and 29, Table 1).

756 *(2) Conflict between the curers and the civil*
578 *authority.* The competition between the curers and the civil authority can be traced in a series of incidents beginning in the '30's and culminating in an open confrontation in the spring of 1966.

756 The first incident occurred in 1932, when
578 the town was still part of the neighboring
682 Ladino township.

683 F went and asked permission of the authorities to
[632] kill his enemy, a curer, who he thought was bewitching his brother-in-law. The president went to the house of the suspected witch with the order to imprison him. He said they were going to take him to the neighboring township center to put him in jail. The group of authorities set off with the suspected witch. On the way, another group met them and asked them where they were going. The president replied, "To H." The group that had encountered them asked if they would like a drink to beat their body. They gave one cup, and then another. Then they cut up the suspected witch with a machete and put his body in the cave of the ancestors. When the widow enquired the next day where her husband was, the president said that the man must have gone to the finca.

The ambush by the killers was prearranged in the town court, and the president covered their deed when questions were asked.

[622] In 1940, the leading curer of the lower section was president. When he killed a man who

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682 accused him of being a witch, he was put in
683 the local jail by the judge and then removed to
756 the departmental capital. During his term of
754 imprisonment an epidemic broke out in the
682 town; it was attributed to witchcraft sup-
683 posedly practiced by him and by two other
578 curers who remained in town. These two were then imprisoned. After they were set free, all three men were killed in different episodes involving accusations of witchcraft. Permission to act as executioners was granted by the civil authority.

178 In the past, the public review of a case before
682 a killing probably served to minimize homi-
754 cide, since permission was not always granted.
627 Since 1953, when a large highway first linked
[491] the town to the departmental capital and communication between this center of justice and the local township increased, the civil authority has not given permission, and prior review of witchcraft cases occurs only with epidemics.

756 The final incident in which the civil author-
754 ity confronted the curers occurred in the spring
578 of 1966. The president accused one of the
627 curers of cutting short his life by lighting candles in the mountains. The curers were called together to hear the threat and to go to the hill to look at the evidence. The accused curer remained at home pleading that he was sick. He was warned not to pursue his witchcraft, and as yet there has been no use of
[178] violence on either side. This open confronta-
[622] tion without the use of violence may indicate a change in the strategy of conflict with the growing power of the president.

756 (3) *Breakdown of the dual division.* The loss
178 of internal controls in the curing profession
578 and the conflict for power and control by the
621 civil officials and the curers are related to a
626 more fundamental change in the social structure of the community. Formerly the division of the town into two sections provided a channel for opposition as well as cooperation. Recruitment into leadership positions in both the civil hierarchy and the curing hierarchy was based upon residence. The system provided checks and balances in the exercise of power, for the two principales—one from each section of the dual division—were supposed to act as watchdogs over the curers. The shift in the locus of social control from the principales to the president has been marked by the open confrontation with the curers.

OOO The authority of the president, however,

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The authority of the president, however, depends on the use of legal sanctions of prison sentences and fines imposed by extracommunity enforcement agencies in the departmental capital. The weakness of these sanctions—the fine for homicide is 1,000 to 3,000 pesos or three to five years' imprisonment—means that these threats do not have a controlling effect on people's decisions to act. Homicide, carried out by individuals who feel themselves to be threatened, is a supplementary mechanism for social control. Cast in the idiom of witch-killing, homicide is the quasi-official execution of a community threat.

The breakdown in the former structural controls has not been compensated for by the intervention of extracommunity institutions. Attempts to circumvent killing are made by the priest, who counsels against it, warning that the killer will acquire the sins of the man he kills, and by the talking saint of Ixtapa, whom the Indians consult when they are pressed and who advises them to wait—their enemy will be killed for them. This advice is not sufficient to forestall all killings. Motivated by fear, some men still seek to eliminate the object of their fear. The sense of the guardianship of the ancestors and their intermediaries, the curers, is lost along with the intervention of the civil authorities. The individual reacts, using his own means and trying to get sufficient consensus to avoid reprisal.

III. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Homicide in the community of Teklum can be a statement of the fear of witchcraft, of revenge, or of quasi-official reprisal depending on the circumstances and social relationships involved. Even in this small, self-contained community, homicide does not have a single meaning, analyzable within a single framework of change.

Homicide is part of the expectation pattern of the town. The patterning of the acts of homicide in terms of time, place, and agent makes possible rules of avoidance both in long- and in short-term calculations for survival. The long-range rules require respect behavior to elders, equals, and juniors and the avoidance of abusive or boastful statements. The short-range rules are to avoid walking alone in the woods or milpas far from town, to stay home at night, and to stop drinking.

Despite the grim and expectable outcome of being killed, not all men heed these rules. The love of power and the projection of self into

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682 183 wider ranges of expression than are usually permitted in the community prompt men to assert the strength of their swayohel, to run races with the animal spirits of others in the assertion of pre-eminence, to boast of their material goods, and to "wake up dead."

682 674 178 578 The increasing rate of homicide is related to the following changes in the community:

(1) Increasing friction resulting both from the introduction of new economic enterprises and from political competition by the recently settled land-reform colonies has introduced a new kind of homicide, in which an opponent is killed either by the person whose interests are threatened or by hired killers. It has also stimulated accusations of witchcraft stemming from envy [754] 558

682 674 178 578 756 754 (2) The curers' loss of leadership and of control over entry into the curing profession has led to competition among them and to a loss of respect for their ability to overcome witchcraft. Curers have become the most frequent suspects of being witches.

682 674 178 781 776 626 (3) Loss of faith in the guardian ancestors and in the guardianship functions acquired from them by the curers has further undermined the position of the curers as agents of social control. This has aggravated the sense of insecurity and fear, which provokes the uncontrolled use of individual violence.

682 674 178 621 626 (4) The shift of power from the principales to the town president has led to a breakdown in the system of checks and balances exerted by the principales over the curers, and to a direct confrontation of the curers by civil officials.

682 674 756 178 626 683 (5) In the confrontations of the civil authorities and the curers in the '40's and early '50's, the fact that a witchcraft case was officially reviewed and the killing of the witch sanctioned may have served as a brake on the number of such homicides. Since 1953, when this practice was abandoned, those who have felt themselves or their families to be the victims of witchcraft have been left to their own recourse.

178 578 682 [624] [632] [756] The organizational changes summarized here are provoked by structural changes affecting recruitment into the positions of power and the validation of leadership in the exercise of power. The dual division of the town provided an accepted basis for recruiting

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leaders; both in the civil authority and in the curing profession. The transition from the old hierarchy of control to the new leadership structure is still in process. In the most recent confrontation of the civil authority and curers, the fact that neither side resorted to violence suggests the transitional nature of homicide as a solution in intracommunal conflict.

This study of homicide indicates that the changing rate of behavior points to structural change, but does not in itself indicate what kind of change occurs or from what motives it stems. Qualitative case analysis related to structural changes within the recall of informants is essential for understanding social process.

NOTES

[1] Field work is based on two periods of residence in the community in 1964 and 1965; it was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health. I am grateful for comments by Paul Friedrich, Richard Henderson, Harold Scheffler, and Peter Willson, who have improved the original version read at the 1965 meetings of the American Anthropological Association. I remain responsible for the contents of the paper.

[2] Henry and Short (1954:58) analyze both suicide and homicide as undifferentiated aggressive reactions to frustration, the rates of which vary—in the first case inversely and in the second case directly—with the strength of the external control system over behavior. Their assumption that homicide is motivationally a single phenomenon and not an expression of a variety of motives stems from the assumption that all cases of aggressive acts are the result of frustration. Straus and Straus (1964:587) apply a similar correlational analysis of homicide and suicide rates with structural features of society in Ceylon, but come to opposite conclusions. They maintain that one would expect greater evidence of homicide in a "loosely structured society," by which they mean one with considerable sanctioning of variation in individual behavior. These studies contradict each other in the conclusions that they reach by similar analytical processes, but they are attempts to move away from such psychoanalytic reasoning as the death-wish theory.

[3] Bohannan's (1960) survey of homicide and suicide in African societies represents a useful model for comparing the total pattern of homicide cross-culturally. In presenting the case material here, I have used a similar format, adding to it the circumstances surrounding the killing. In the analysis of these materials, I have diverged from Bohannan's model in trying to demonstrate the linkage among the components—the ratios, to use Burke's (1945) terminology of scene/setting/actor/agent.

[4] The term "witch" is a translation of the Tzeltal term *ʔak'-ʔawal*, literally "giver of sickness." The term "curer" is a translation of *ʔa'was*. The power to cure and to give sickness stems from the possession of a *mayaʔel*, or animal spirit.

[5] For a discussion of the tactics of gaining consensus in witch-killings, see Manning Nash (1960).

[6] Political homicide by agrarian leaders, which is so frequent in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962), is a relatively recent phenomenon in the retreat zones of Indian population. The cases analyzed by Friedrich are a strategy of political power stemming from a revolutionary background, and the cultural assumptions to which he points contrast with those underlying witch-killings. My only comparable case is, significantly, found outside the traditional center, in the new ejido colony.

[7] Jules Henry (1936) sees the formula of fear and anger as the

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000 syndrome of Kaingang anxiety. The frustration-aggression formulation has blinded us to many other possible formulas in sentiment and behavior.

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4. Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

HANDBOOK OF MIDDLE AMERICAN INDIANS

ROBERT WAUCHOPE, General Editor

VOLUME SEVEN

Ethnology

PART ONE

EVON Z. VOGT, Volume Editor

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[Title Page]

4 Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

9. The Tzeltal

ALFONSO VILLA ROJAS

131 OCCUPYING A REGION east of the Tzotzil, the Tzeltal live in the central part of the state of Chia-
133 pas, Mexico. Three natural zones divide this land: gentle slopes and plains in the south (Amatenango del Valle, Aguacatenango, Pinola, Soyatitan, and Socoltenango), high peaks and irregular terrain in the central part (Chanal, Oxchuc, Tenejapa, Cancuc, Abasolo, and Tenango); lower peaks toward the north.

GEOGRAPHY AND DEMOGRAPHY

13 Vegetation varies with climate and altitude. In the temperate or cold lands, evergreen oaks and pines predominate; in the lower and warm areas are high evergreen forests, alternating with savannas and subdeciduous forest (F. Miranda, 1952, vol. 1, ch. 3). In
[245] the temperate and the warm zones coffee and a great variety of fruit trees—orange, annona, peach—are cultivated.

133 Few rivers of any volume cross the moun-
[487] tainous terrain. None are navigable. The hydrographic system is delimited by the Usmacinta and Grijalva rivers; the former

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9. The Tzeltal

ALFONSO VILLA ROJAS

133 flows through the eastern part of the region, the latter through the western, both draining large basins.

161 162 According to the census of 1950, the population of the zone totals 76,617 individuals, distributed over 15,970 sq. km. Of these 49,053 persons are Indian, 27,564 are Ladino. This population is distributed according to Table 1.

[128] San Cristobal de las Casas is omitted from the table because its population is predominantly Ladino (19,758 individuals) and because the Indians who live there (3,296) are of the Tzotzil tongue. Socoltenango and Nicolas Ruiz are also omitted because they no longer have an Indian-speaking population.

161 631 The central region has the municipalities of the highest density of population: Oxchuc with 129 inhabitants per sq. km., and Tenejapa with 115. [134] The northern part has an area seven times as large with only twice as much population; the municipality of Ocosingo has hardly one inhabitant per sq. km. in spite of the fact that its lands are the most fertile of the entire region. Although it

[P. 195-B]
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 196-B]

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TABLE 1—DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY MUNICIPALITIES
(Census of 1950)

Municipalities	Area in sq. km.	Tzeltal-speakers	Spanish-speakers	Total Population
North Zone:				
Sitala	550	5,435	1,385	6,821
Yajalon	145	6,028	4,010	10,036
Chilon	462	9,049	2,070	11,118
Ocosingo	12,143	9,170	3,770	12,940
Subtotal	13,300	29,680	11,235	40,915
Central Zone:				
Chanal	192	2,328	553	2,881
Oxchuc	42	4,074	1,338	5,412
Tenejapa	67	6,215	1,535	7,750
Altamirano	1,559	2,945	1,810	4,655
Subtotal	1,860	15,462	5,236	20,698
South Zone:				
Teopisca	270	754	4,601	5,355
Amatenango	355	1,773	756	2,529
Pinola	185	1,384	5,736	7,120
Subtotal	810	3,911	11,093	15.004
GRAND TOTAL	15,970	49,053	27,564	76,617

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TABLE 2—SPEAKERS OF TZELTAL
(Distribution by Zones)

Zones	Monolingual	Bilingual	Total
North Zone	23,429	8,251	31,680
Central Zone	11,291	4,171	15,462
South Zone	323	3,588	3,911
TOTAL	35,043	16,010	51,053

[P. 196-A]

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Although it

161 has an average of 19 inhabitants per sq. km.. [241] the southern zone has lands that are suitable [631] for agriculture and for irrigation, such as in [128] Amatenango. Later I shall discuss the influence of these factors on the uneven economic and social development of the three zones.

161 The figures on Indians are based exclu-
162 sively on use of the Indian language and
197 so include both monolinguals and bilin-
191 guals: To differentiate each group, however, I have made corrections based on field work as shown in Table 2.

141 The average height of these Indians ranges from 1.55 to 1.60 m. Referring to

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141 the Tzeltal of Tenejapa. F. Starr (1902a) gives measurements of 1.557.1 of height for men and 1.438.4 for women. Local variations exist between municipalities and between zones of different climate and altitude. Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:328–29) describe the Tzeltal of the lower area of Bachajon:

Physically, the Tzeltal, like all the Mayance Indians, are short, averaging probably about 160 centimeters (5 feet, 4 inches) for the men, 142 and slightly less for the women. Their build is slender, with stringy muscles, except for a good development of the calves. Hands and feet are small and well formed. Their slender-

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Their slender-
147 ness is deceptive, for their great strength lies
[482] in their legs, back, and neck, seen in their ability to carry loads of 45 kilograms (100 lbs.) and upwards, all day up and down hill without
142 undue fatigue . . . Hair form is straight, coarse, and black. Gray hair or baldness are very unusual. Body hair, as far as could be observed, is negative.

143 As many as 99.56 per cent of Tzeltal belong to blood type O, which is one of the highest frequencies registered in the Ma-
143 yance area. According to Matson and Swan-
144 son (1959, p. 50), "In general the more isolated peoples such as the Lacandon, Tzeltal, Tzotzil and Cakchiquel show the highest frequency of the O gene." This condition is attributed to the absence of racial mixture.

CULTURAL CONFIGURATION

621 Like the Indians in the highlands of Gua-
[171] temala (Tax, 1937), the Tzeltal group themselves in communities which are distinct social and cultural units, as is characteristic
621 of the tribe. Each community has its well-
184 defined lands, its own dialect forms, wearing apparel, kinship system, politico-religious organization, economic resources, crafts, and other cultural features. Any native of the region finds it easy to identify the origin of other Indians by noting their speech, wearing apparel, or the goods they
621 sell. Solidarity between the members of each community is strong and becomes manifest in times of conflict with outside groups or in their way of gathering according to their "nationality" on fiestas or market days when people of other communities attend. On the other hand, no ethnic solidar-
[628] ity whatsoever exists. Each community restricts itself to its own affairs and nothing else; whatever happens to the other Tzeltal communities is something altogether apart.

621 The territorial limits of these communi-
632 ties do not always coincide with those of
[971] the municipalities, as in Guatemala. Various well-defined communities exist (in the terms described above) which belong to

[P. 197-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4.5. (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

621 other municipalities (Aguacatenango, Can-
632 cuc, Tenango, San Martin, Sivaca, Guaqui-
tepec, and Bachajon). Petalcingo belongs to the municipality of Tila, where Chol is spoken. The reason for these heterogeneous municipalities is that, within the political constitution of the state, only communities containing a sufficient number of inhabitants may achieve the status of municipality; the rest are considered merely as agencies of the municipality to which they have been assigned.

18 Another cultural variation stems from its
177 ecological location. Communities of the
191 southern zone, which have good lands,
361 roads, mechanized transportation, and therefore greater contacts with the outside world, occupy a more advanced place in the process of acculturation, which is revealed by the scant number of monolingual Indian residents and by their better economic condition. Communities of the central zone, of irregular landscape and high demographic pressure, isolated, and without economic opportunities, are the poorest, most conservative, and most untrusting of the entire region. The northern zone has a high index of Indianness because of the number of those who do not know Spanish, but their economic condition is better than that of the central zone, because there is more opportunity to cultivate coffee and work on the plantations.

Historical Antecedents

175 I shall mention only the periods of greatest
177 social significance in the past four centuries.
648 The dates are approximate.

The period of the conquest, from 1524 to 1545, saw the most violent encounters and occasional skirmishes between Indians and Spaniards. The fortress of Chamula was taken by Captain Luis Marin in 1524, and four years later Ciudad Real (now San Cristobal de las Casas), destined to be the politico-religious center of the region, was founded.

The period of catechization and consoli-

[P 197-B]

4: Villa Rojas, E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1968
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

175 *dation of the Spanish dominance* lasted from
177 1545 (when Fray Bartolomé de las Casas
648 arrived with 17 Dominican friars) until
[166] 1600. During this period a vast movement of population took place characterized by changes in location of some towns, reductions, and congregations.

During the entire 17th and early 18th centuries, the *period of slavery and royal land grants*. Indians were subjected to heavy tributes and to forced labor on the plantations and in transporation systems of the encomenderos, as *tememes* or carriers. Great caravans of 300–400 Indians, at the command of 10 or 12 Spaniards, transported goods the 1000 km. from San Cristobal de las Casas to Veracruz. Many died from excessive loads and lack of food (B. Metzger, 1960, p. 19).

175 From about 1720 to about 1850 may be
177 considered the *period of resurgence and*
648 *autonomy of the Indian community*, when
797 the system of royal land grants was suppressed, the Order of Dominicans was weakened, and Spanish authority became relaxed and even indifferent. Bishop Polanco sent a report in 1781 to the Royal Court of Justice of Guatemala, complaining of the abandonment of the Indians (Trens, 1942, p. 200).

> It is wondrous that in the town of Chamula, contiguous to Ciudad Real, Indians have need of interpreter to defend themselves or to beg for what they desire. So that they are as they were twenty years after their conquest; in such a state of blindness and ignorance they find themselves. In the town of San Andres, next to Chamula, there are many saints, old and indecent, whom I thought of burning; I did not do it because those evil souls say that they make them see clearly and alleviate their needs. I suspected a riot without having assistance.
>
> Oh, my Lord, their audacity and shamelessness are such that they even come to command in the church, without respect for the priest. They hold to the idea that the third person of the Holy Trinity is the Sun, because, they say, it was thus taught to them by the old fathers.

[P 198-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
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175 The mistakes, lack of attention and pretensions of the Indians in regard to the Christian doctrine, who they say they know, and the ones instructed best in them, say as many heretic words as Christian, is consequence or necessary sequel of the lack of care in the secular and ecclesiastical government.

This situation became more and more acute owing largely to the political unrest which absorbed the attention of the authorities, unrest which culminated in the separation of Chiapas from Guatemala and in 1824 its incorporation with Mexico.

175 The next period, *invasion of lands by Ladinos*, extends from about 1850 to 1911, when the first sparks of the Mexican Revolution reached Chiapas. In this period Ladinos began to invade lands of the Indian communities by bribery or by force. Toward 1856 the Indians complained against the invasion of lands in San Martin, San Miguel Mitontic, San Pedro Chenalo, Cuncuc, and Tenejapa, but failed to halt Ladino inroads (Trens, 1942, pp. 274–75).

The history of recent times, from 1920 on, is marked by increasing support from federal authorities throughout the entire republic. In the Tzeltal area progress has been slow but constantly improving (see LaFarge, 1940; Beals, 1951).

Ethnographic Studies of the Region

114 In his first trip through the Mayance area in 1839 and 1840, Stephens (1841) visited the northern zone of the Tzeltal, from Ocosingo to Yajalon, going through Bachajon and Chilon.

Traveling the same route two decades later in the opposite direction, the French explorer Désiré Charnay recorded his impressions in a small book (1863).

In 1901 Frederick Starr (1902), from the University of Chicago, made a short visit to the region.

In 1925 Blom and LaFarge traversed from north to south a large part of Tzeltal territory, publishing their data in three chapters of their *Tribes and Temples* (1926–

[P 198-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
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114 27) but without touching on social organization.

[101] Study of social organization began in
[122] 1938 when I made my first trip through the region under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington (Redfield and Villa Rojas, 1939, pp. 107–19). In 1942–44 we spent several periods among the Tzeltal of Oxchuc, establishing camp at Yochib, and published the results soon thereafter (Villa Rojas, 1946, 1947).

Since 1957 various investigations by the universities of Chicago, Harvard, and Stanford have been headed by the anthropologists Sol Tax, Norman A. McQuown, Evon Z. Vogt, Julian Pitt-Rivers, and A. Kimball Romney.

221 241 SUBSISTENCE PATTERNS AND FOOD HABITS

The Milpa

Nothing is of greater importance to the Indian than to have a good *milpa*. Three classes of milpas are cultivated: *sijomal*, planted in mid-January and harvested three months later; *nal-aual* or "March milpa" planted in mid-March and harvested toward the end of August; the main milpa, *jabil-caltic* or "milpa of the year," sown between April and May and harvested between November and December. The first two types are most often cultivated in the lower zone of Tierra Caliente, where humidity is favorable.

241 804 Among the Tzeltal of Oxchuc (Villa Rojas, 1946, pp. 510–39), milpa work begins in February with the measuring of the plot. The measuring rod (*jaubtic*), which presumably corresponds to a *brazada* (the distance between the arms extended), is equivalent to 1.98 m. The area 8 brazadas square takes the name of *tarea* (about 256 sq. m.). The area of the milpa is also computed according to the number of ears of corn needed for seeding: 60 ears of corn are required to fill 1.5 hectares, the average in milpas that we observed.

241 412 Since the bush is short, only a hatchet (*eche*) is necessary to cut it down. The

[P.199-A]

241 [412] machete (*machit*) or the *luk*, a sort of curved machete with a long handle, are the implements needed. The cutting of the grass from the plot where the milpa had been the previous year is *selab*, the cutting of bush grown for three or four years is *sok-uej*. The work of cutting the bush is done by the entire family, including children of seven or eight years old.

[221] [412] [242] [824] The planting is done between April and May after the first rains, with a long stick whose tip is hardened by fire or protected by a metal point. The seed must come from large, healthy ears whose tips have been cut off because they have small corn. The *lolote*, or corncob, is either kept or thrown away at a distance to avoid its being used as fuel, for this would hurt the milpa which then would produce ears with broken kernels.

241 462 785 834 241 574 [476] The task of planting is a very delicate matter, to be performed after fasting and sexual abstinence. It is exclusively a man's affair. A great banquet is served at noon, generally outdoors as the hut interiors are small, to the friends and neighbors who will participate as helpers. Sometimes as many as 10 men help to plant a friend's milpa. The meal is offered "precisely when the sun stops for a moment midway on its run and the doors of the Church of Heaven are opened, from where the quality of the banquet is observed." This is *s-uelil-abal* ('meal of the planting').

241 262 272 574 [263] When things are properly done, the meal consists of a number of items. First the *atole* (*pajal-ul*) is served, which is slightly sour and sweetened with *panela*. As "companion" to this atole are tamales (*chenkul-uaj*), which are prepared with cornmeal and ground beans. It is said that both things are to be served together so that "the seed may penetrate deep into the ground."

241 252 262 574 272 After this preliminary snack comes what is considered the main course for each person: a hard-boiled egg in a thick reddish broth prepared from dough and ground chile dissolved in water; a large tortilla,

[P.199-B]

NEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201-A]

4 Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Tenejapa

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531

FIG. 1—PARAJE REPRESENTATIVES VISITING THE CEREMONIAL CENTER OF TENEJAPA. (Copyright Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 200]

241 boiled beans; other tamales (*petul*), which
252 are made from dough and whole beans;
262 and finally, still more atole. The atole is
574 served not in individual *jicaras* but in two
272 or three large ones (*batzil-booch*), which
[415] are passed from person to person. The same is done with the other foods; they are served in one or two large pots (*mucul pulato*) out of which everyone serves himself. This banquet is given only on the first
241 day of the planting; if other days are re-
574 quired, the milpero himself does the planting.

241 Since weeds grow rapidly during the rain season, the milpa must be hoed twice before it reaches maturity. For this the luk or coa is used and also the hoe (*asron*), the same one used to break the soil before planting. The first weeding is done in June, the second between July and August. Women
[462] help their husbands in this chore and some-
[566] times do it entirely themselves, since the
[464] men are in the habit of leaving for Tapachula to work as peons on the coffee plantations.

244 Also in the milpa beans of several varieties are planted: *chuil-chenek* (or *ibes*, according to the Ladinos); *botil*, a large common bean; *xakil-chenek* or *frijol de vara*; and the *x-luumil-chenek* or *frijol de la tierra*, thus called because it is a creeping plant.

Chile is planted on a separate lot, 15–20 m. square. The planting is done during the first weeks of March, in alternate years so that it will not coincide with the year when the people of Cancuc plant cotton. Chile planted by the people of Oxchuc is *dzajal-ik* or red chile.

241 Toward the end of August, the first fruits are ready (*unimajam* or *jilote*, according to Ladinos). These are received with great joy by the families which are by then lack-
[242] ing food. From each plant, which provides two or three *jilotes*, the farthest down is picked to let the other two grow bigger.
[252] These jilotes are boiled without salt and
[263] are eaten whole, including the husks.
[262] [P 201-A]

241 Between September and October, when the tender ears are ready, some are torn loose to prepare atoles and tamales.

Toward the middle of October, when the milpa has reached maturity, all hands proceed to the task of the *dobla*, folding or breaking the stem of the plant so that the ear dries and may later be put into the barn. This is an easy task, in which men, women, and children take part. [462] [857]

The harvest takes place in November and December with the participation of the whole family; it is a joyful task which compensates for all the moments of anxiety in the previous months, when subsistence was scarce. The produce from the milpa is gathered in large nets and later stored in a corner of the house or in some improvised structure nearby. The crop is measured by *zontles*, units of 400 ears, which are formed by counting the ears by fives; two ears are taken in one hand and three in the other until 400 are reached. The family of five members which manages to harvest from 15 to 20 zontles considers itself happy, since that much will last them the entire year, consuming 20 ears a day plus feeding one or two hogs and 10 or 12 chickens. [592] [251] [804] [261] [231]

The milpa also produces various squashes, manioc (*dzinté*), and peanuts, which the Indians call *caxlan-chenek* ('Ladino's bean').

243 184 Exceptional among the Tzeltal is the cultivation of wheat in Amatenango. There the small valley and a creek have favored its development.

241 796 The most important ceremonies take place immediately after planting. They entrust the germination of the seed to the care of God, of the "thirteen holders of Heaven," and of "Tatik Jesucristo." The "thirteen holders of Heaven" refer to the principal saints who are mentioned in the prayers. The ceremonies consist in offerings of prayers and incense before the crosses kept in caves belonging to each paraje, and in one *bikit mixa* ('small Mass'), which the cabildos and principales of the [798] [782]

[P 201-B]

241 paraje perform before the altar of the
782 church in the ceremonial center. All prayers
796 are said in Tzeltal, some are Christian in
[778] origin, others entirely pagan. This prayer
[177] I recorded in 1944:

241
796 Here we come to bring you your food, to
782 light your candles, to play the harp, to play the
539 guitar. Here we come to perform your fiesta,
[534] so you may be happy, so you will not abandon us.

We have already planted the milpas; the seed is already in the soil. Father, do not forsake us; let the rains come properly; let them not be abundant nor deficient. Let there be a little sunshine and a few clouds. Let the soil be happy.

Father, let no hail come; let no wind come; let no locust come, let no harmful animals come, let no robbers come, lest they steal from us and leave us in poverty.

Father, let the year come well; let the corn turn out well; let the beans turn out well. Let there be no sickness, let there be no sorrow. Father, the mouthful has already entered; the word had already entered.

The word "mouthfal" refers to all the gifts, "word" to all the prayer.

796 A similar ceremony is the *mukul mixa*
[621] ('great Mass'), organized by members of
[776] each calpul. Each calpul has its own patron
[622] saint and its own chiefs. For this ceremony
[534] many more people gather, for representatives and musicians (flute, drum, harp, and guitar) come from all places. The candles offered as "mouthfuls" are greater in number and size.

778 Household ceremonies follow as the head
78 of the household, in private, prepares the small home altar, where the cross which
[834] protects the home is always found. He adorns it with *juncia* and five candles; he says appropriate prayers at 6 o'clock in the morning or at midday, as he observes fasting and sexual abstinence. These family prayers may be repeated occasionally, depending on the condition of the milpa.

241 At the beginning of the month called
782 [P.202-A]

241 782 *chin-uch* (May 20–June 8), an offering is made to the supernatural being which reigns over it. The natives have vague no-
[825] tions of the nature of this being. They say that *uch* is the name of a small insect which spoils the pozole and, also, of the *tlacuache* or *zarigueya* which often destroys the milpa. The offering, hung at the entrance of the hut, consists of a ball of pozole wrapped in plantain leaf, a red chile, a tortilla, an ear of corn, and a little stick like the kind used to turn the ear cooking over hot coals.
241 782 787 All objects are minute in size. When the offering achieves its purpose, on the completion of a 20-day period, the atmosphere becomes hazy "as if there were smoke." It is explained that "the chin-uch burned its house," which forecasts a favorable sun for development of the milpa. If such a sign should not appear on the indicated date or at the end of the next month of *mukul-uch* (June 9–28), the forecast is ominous and indicates that the rains will be excessive, greatly harming the milpa.

778 796 Another mukul-mixa is performed in Oxchuc, in homage to the hill called Ikal-Ajau,
[184] near the ceremonial center, of which the Indians say "it is a living hill." The name of the hill is that of the ancient hill worshipped by the Oxchuequeños. Nuñez de la Vega (in Becerra, 1933, p. 293) reports: "Those of Oxchuc and other towns of Los Llanos venerate very much the idol which they call Icalajau, which means principal Negro or
[789] lord of the Negroes." This Mass, performed the first days of June, prevents locusts and other plagues from coming.

241 78 Once the crop is in the granary, other family prayers are said before the household cross, to give thanks for the good received and to petition the supernatural beings to protect the grain from insects and rodents.

Other Subsistence Resources

262 235 Other food resources include raising chickens and pigs. A family averages about
[231] 10 chickens, using the eggs as money when
[437] [P. 202-B]

262 they visit the regional market. Only during
235 illness or fiesta are both chickens and eggs
[437] eaten.

231 In towns like Tenejapa and Cancuc, In-
439 dians buy small pigs from the Ladinos of the center, fatten them for 8 or 10 months, then sell them to the Ladinos, who slaughter them and sell the meat to the Indians. As may be supposed, in this sort of symbiosis the greatest profit accrues to the La-
[454] dinos. However, the Indians more often keep the money from selling pigs to meet emergencies or expenses of clothing, tools, and fiestas.

262 *Food Habits*

Corn, beans, chile, and squash are the core of Indian diet, supplemented by ma-
262 nioc, sweetpotato, potato, and chayote. One
263 or more chayote trees next to the house are common; every part of the chayote is used—fruit, tender leaves, and root—usually boiled with salt. Wild herbs are eaten raw or cooked. Among the raw ones are *culix-uamal*, *xhix-uamal*, and *alauanex*, the last a wild radish which Ladinos call "the Indian's radish." Herbs that are cooked include *tzul* and *tuxac*. Some herbs are eaten both raw & cooked: *verdolaga* or *chic-xecul*, *muem* (*hierba mora*), *maj-tas*, *tzuy*, and *San Sibro U'amal*. The last is a small grass with long
[276] thin leaves which the Indians grind and add to give a better taste to the *pilico* or wild tobacco. This is called *poxil-may*, which is like saying "medicinal pilico." Ladinos use its leaves in tea sweetened with panela.

262 There are three main meals during the
264 course of the day: breakfast (*ue-el sab*), which consists of atole or pozole, beans, chile, and tortillas; lunch (*ue-el olical*) of the same foods plus a vegetable such as squash or chayote; and supper (*ue-el x-malcal*), with atole, tortillas, beans, and chile. In Tenejapa rabbit meat is frequently
177 on the table. In Amatenango, Aguacate-
262 nango, and Pinola, greater contact with Ladinos has added coffee, wheat bread, var-

[P. 203-A]

177 262 ious meats, and canned foods such as salmon, sardines, and sausages.

231 [222] The keeping of bees is not widespread. The Indians instead take advantage of the wild honey, which is commonly gathered during certain parts of the year. Tenango was the only town where I observed beehives next to the huts. The bees, large and yellow, are called *aja-chab* and are brought from the woods. When a tree is found with one of these beehives, the section containing the hive is cut off and is taken to town; the ends of this section are covered with jícaras, which are stuck on with clay.

Settlement Patterns

Town and Parajes

632 621 361 All the communities consist of a town center and a number of settlements, called parajes, which are scattered over the municipio. The town is the political, religious, and commercial center of the entire community; there the municipal authorities have their offices, [563] and the church and shops are located. In general, the Ladinos reside in the center, their houses arranged in aligned streets, but some communities (Chanal, Amatenango, Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Bachajon) refuse to accept Ladinos in the town permanently. The Indians prefer the parajes, where the huts are dispersed irregularly.

162 As observed by Sol Tax for the highlands of Guatemala (1937), the proportion of Indians who reside in the town center varies. In some communities (Chanal, Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Tenango) nearly all the people live in the capital. In Chanal, with a population of 2,881 persons, 2,386 reside in the center and so it is a "nucleated town," according to Tax's terminology. In contrast, the most common community is the "vacant town." Tenejapa, for example, has only 517 inhabitants of a total 7,750 residing in the center. The least frequent is an intermediate type, where some live in the center and some in the parajes, as typified by

[P. 203-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 205-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Tenejapa

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FIG. 2—TENEJAPA WOMAN AND CHILD. (Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 204]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
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162 Amatenango del Valle, a community of 2,529 inhabitants, of which 1,470 reside in the town center.

621 The town centers are divided into two sections, called barrios by Ladinos and calpules by Indians (Oxchuc and Cancuc). The imaginary line which separates one barrio from another passes through the center of the town, sometimes east-west, sometimes north-south, with no fixed orientation.

[776] Each barrio has its own local authorities and sometimes its own patron saint (Oxchuc and Bachajon). The principal function of the barrios was not only political or religious but also social, in regulating mar-
[178] riage. Endogamy was common to all barrios, but today that rule is losing its rigidity. In Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1960, p. 8) tells us that, "The rule of barrio endogamy, which is viable in 86% of the known marriages, contributes to the localization of related families limiting the geographical range of marriage choice." A similar situation obtains in Amatenango (J. Nash, 1959, p. 3), Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes, 1947, p. 7), and Bachajon (Guiteras Holmes, 1961c, p. 167).

[178] In Bachajon, Guiteras Holmes states that: "In the old days there was no marriage be-
[578] tween the *barrios*. If a boy from San Sebastian took a walk through San Geronimo, he was beaten; they would give him a '*maciza*,' as they say. If a boy from a *barrio* approached the waterholes to court a girl, he fared very badly." The calpules of Oxchuc, although they have politico-religious significance, have no influence at all in the selection of wives.

621 The parajes have a few scattered huts
778 among the cultivated fields. Each paraje is
[361] bound by religious ties to a given cave where a cross, the supreme sacred symbol, is kept. The name of the paraje is generally
778 taken from the name of the cave. Sacred
821 caves of secondary importance also exist.
823 This mystical regard for caves is based in the belief that they are the place from which issues the lightning to punish the

[P. 205-A]

778 natural elements (hail, wind, storms),
821 which often threaten and destroy the corn-
823 fields.

Distribution of Huts

621 In the parajes as well as in the centers the tendency to cluster huts in patrilineal nuclei is strong. One perceives this tendency also where lineage or clan ties still persist (Oxchuc).

[594] The majority of households consist of the elementary family, a couple and their
342 offspring. The habitations include a hut,
343 which serves as dormitory and kitchen, plus
[417] chickencoop, pigpen, and, sometimes, the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths.
343 Among industrious families another small hut serves exclusively as a kitchen. Seldom
417 does a fence separate this nucleus from its neighbors, but it may protect a vegetable patch from animals. In the capital, however, each family must fence its lot.

Relationships between Communities

628 Communities establish commercial and other ties according to their ecological distribution and cultural condition. In the southern zone, Amatenango and Aguacatenango form a kind of unit, based on physical proximity and cultural affinity. Their residents meet frequently at the Sunday market of Teopisca. In the central zone, Oxchuc, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Tenango, which more or less share ways of life and natural environment, form another informal association, contacts resulting from the weekly markets of Tenejaya and Yochib. In the northern zone, Sitala and Guaquitepec form another unit. Ocosingo, Chilon, and Yajalon are centers of commercial and political importance, occupied largely by Ladinos but used as trade centers by Indians throughout the northern zone.

412 TECHNOLOGY

Tools and Techniques

Farming tools are the most important: axe

[P 205-B]

412 (*eché*), hoe (*asron*), machete (*machit*), coa (*luk*), and digging stick (*avutel*). In a 243 few towns (Amatenango), where lands are [407] flat, the plow is made of wood and pulled by oxen but only for wheat farming. During [415] corn planting, the seed is carried by the planter in a *morral* hung from the shoulder, [824] in a gourd with a large spout, or in con- [237] tainers made of armadillo shells. The harvested crops are placed in deep baskets, made of reed-grass, or in big pita (*chojak*) [412] net bags. The ear of corn is cleared of its [237] husk by a sharp bone or a small deer horn.

322 412 The axe, machete, and knife are used in wood working, which is very rudimentary, though handsaw and hammer have a place. With these tools the Indians make doors, tables, seats, small benches, shelves. Blom [534] and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:351) add that the Tzeltal near Ocosingo also make violins of a shape similar to the European type, but they have no resonance and poor tone. They also manufacture pipes and combs roughly [463] finished. No village of this group has specialists in carpentry to compare with the Chamulas (Tzotzil-speaking), who supply furniture at low cost to San Cristobal de las Casas and other places of the area.

324 412 Stone carving requires a pickaxe with one end very sharp, the other very flat to serve as a hammer, and a short wooden handle. This is the tool used in Tenejapa for making metates. These metates have three legs, but Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:338) mention metates without legs (Ocosingo municipio) which are made of volcanic stone found along the San Martin River. According to the Tzeltal of Oxchuc, the name of the metate is *chá*, its handle *kab-chá*.

412 An iron bar to break the ground, an axe, and a machete are the tools for building huts, chickencoops, sweat houses, and other small structures.

283 413 Another tool, used in the making of pita rope, is *karet*, which probably comes from the Spanish *carreta*. It consists of a wooden disc fixed to a tree trunk that is nailed to

[P.206-A]

283 the ground. This disc has two hooks to
413 which the fiber is knotted; when the disc is turned by a crank, it braids the fibers into rope. A thick board, smoothed by a metal knife (manufactured by the Indians from iron pieces bought in the city), is used to scrape the pita and remove the fiber.

407 The most complex machine that the Tzel-
[177] tal own and build is the wooden cane press, which was imported by the Spaniards to grind sugarcane (fig. 6). This machine is operated by two men, who move the rollers by a handle (*kabal-té*) at each end of the
[415] machine. The juice pressed out by the rollers drops into fluted containers made of pieces
273 of banana tree, and finally into a pot. This juice is used in the preparation of an alcoholic beverage, *chicha* (*chi-ja*, 'sweet water'), and for panela. Chicha is prepared by
[415] fermenting this juice by bran, corn, or wheat, in a special container (*canoja*) made from a fluted tree trunk. The bran or other fermenting agent is *smé-chi-já* ('mother of
[184] the chicha'). Some communities (Tenejapa, Cancuc, Oxchuc) have greater preference for this beverage than other Tzeltal groups.

224 A gun has become very common in hunt-
411 ing. Sometimes (Oxchuc and Tenejapa) rabbits are taken by striking them with a
[412] coa, after cornering them with the aid of dogs. Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:352) state that the Tzeltal of the lowlands usually hunt wild boar with long wooden spears with fire-hardened or metal points. Traps protect the milpa as well as snaring game.

41 Cooking utensils are mainly indigenous. The usual set consists of clay containers of varying size and shape, jícaras, baskets, wooden spoons, a comal, a metate, hooks, and wooden tripods for hanging items over
177 the fire. In the last few years metal pots,
404 dishes, frying pans, boiling pans, and espe-
415 cially handy *nixtamal* mills (which are gradually displacing the grinding stone)
177 have been introduced. Other items that
207 come from the city are flashlights, small
405 kerosene lamps, watches, scissors, and (in-
412 frequently) battery radios.
416
[P 206-B]

Handcrafts

323 Among the few handcrafts practiced in
[462] the Tzeltal areas, ceramics, produced mainly
by women, is the most widespread. Tenango
[184] and Amatenango del Valle are the only
communities which have made a specialty
of this craft. Tenango exports its products
[439] through the northern zone. Amatenango
through the southern zone, including neigh-
323 boring Guatemalan villages. Both places use
184 a similar ceramic technique but different
shape and ornamentation. Referring to
Amatenango del Valle, Blom and LaFarge
(1926–27, 2:396) state:

> The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one shape; a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, however, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep, reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of boards, two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman in charge turns them
> [438] until they are done. These pots are carried by
> [439] the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they are redistributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala.

283 Another widespread craft is spinning and
286 weaving of fabrics for clothing. No village
in the Tzeltal area trades these products
[438] because production barely meets their fam-
ily needs. The backstrap loom of pre-
Hispanic origin is the chief tool.

[184] Pita articles—ropes, bags, and nets to
gather the harvest or carry loads—are
mainly produced in Oxchuc and Cancuc.
322 In Cancuc wooden combs are also manu-
184 factured.

342 *Houses and Furniture*

Houses, from 3 to 5 m. on a side, are
predominantly square with thatched roofs.
The walls are wattle-and-daub or plain
tree trunks tied with vines. Floors are of
[354] hardened earth. The houses only have one
door and no windows, except in some vil-
[P. 207-A]

342 lages of the lowlands where the houses have
[354] small windows, which improve ventilation
and illumination slightly. In places like
342 Chanal, where there is abundant lumber,
184 the sides of the houses are built with wooden boards set vertically. The largest and best-built houses are in Tenejapa center.

Generally, the hut is divided into two rooms: the front is parlor and kitchen, the rear is bedroom. In Bachajon the rear room serves as bedroom and kitchen, the front room for sewing and grinding and the re-
[574] ception of visitors. In Amatenango del Valle the front of the house is open and
[323] used as a porch for visits. Ceramic work
[251] is also performed here. In one room of the house a bin of wood or reeds stores corn.
[343] Sometimes, small structures which serve as granaries are built inside the hut.

343 Among the auxiliary structures outside is
515 the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. Not every hut has a *pus* since one is enough to attend the needs of several neighboring families. The *pus* is a small room 1.5 m. high by 2 m. on each side, built of stones and clay. The roof is flat. Inside a hollow forms a hearth for heating stones. Water thrown on these red-hot stones produces the necessary steam. On the floor are boards on which people lie while taking the bath.
[184] Among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil the *pus* is
not only for cleanliness but also for the cure
[757] of certain diseases and to strengthen women
[846] after childbirth. Sweat baths are more commonly taken in Tierra Fria than in Tierra Caliente.

417 The other structures near the hut are the chickencoop and the hogpen.

352 Furniture is limited to essential items. In the kitchen are the three hearth stones, the comal (*samet*), the grinding stone (*chá*), a bench or strong table to hold the metate (*ah-ken*), one or two small tables (*matzmalté* or *vebalté*) 25–39 cm. high and 30–40 cm. in diameter, and small benches 15–20 cm. high made of scooped-out tree trunks
415 (*tzanté*). Kitchen equipment includes earthenware (pans, pitchers, and jars) and

[P. 207-B]

415 containers made of jícara (*boch*) or tecomate (*tzu*). In the bedroom is a bed
352 (*uaybal*) made of boards placed on four
[513] forked poles, usually with a sleeping mat
[735] on it. Only the very poor sleep on mats on the floor. Small chairs, wooden chests for
[415] clothes, baskets of all shapes and sizes, pita bags and nets, shelves made of wood ribs, and pegs for hanging clothes are scattered around the hut without order.

353 The most important article is the altar
798 with the family cross. Its construction varies in different areas: it may be a plain small table made of tree trunks or better material. The altar is generally ornamented with pine needles. Occasionally, the figure of a saint is placed by the cross.

Clothing and Ornaments

291 Each community has its own style of
184 clothing, which gives a sense of unity to its members and permits the observer to identify easily the groups during fiestas or market days. This variety applies only to a few items of clothing, which is basically the
291 same for the entire region. Men's costume consists of short pants (*uesh*) and a long shirt (*nátil-kú*) which reaches the knee, both made of cloth that women weave; a red sash or belt (*chuj-chut*) of cotton, 10–15 cm. wide by 1.5 m. long, a palm hat (*pishol*); and leather sandals (*shanabil*). Residents of cold areas wear a woolen chamarra which is manufactured by the Chamulas. Women's costume consists of a skirt made of wool (*tzek*) or blue thick cloth, made in one piece and wrapped around the body with two pleats in front; it is belted at the waist by a red wool sash, which the Chamulas manufacture. Occasionally, they
301 wear a wool rebozo. They tie their hair with a red woolen ribbon (*malal*) and wear earrings (*yulel-chikinil*) and glass necklaces
291 (*ual*) bought in the city. Women always go barefoot, even during long trips. When outdoors they cover their heads with a cloth or wool fabric.

[184] Each municipio has made of these clothes
[P.208-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
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291 184 a typical outfit with special characteristics. For instance, the men of Tenejapa wear a hat of broad brim and pointed round crown, trimmed with thin ribbons of different colors. They also wear a dark chamarra or poncho with thin white stripes. The characteristic clothes of Cancuc are short, tight pants and a long shirt trimmed with red wool yarn. In Tierra Caliente the wool chamarra is not used nor is the variation in outfit so well defined.

Transportation

482 [484] [487] [492] 482 147 Men and pack animals are the principal carriers in the Tzeltal region, which is crossed in all directions by narrow trails. Men carrying loads of 40–50 kg. usually walk, in one day, as far as 8 leguas (leagues). According to Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:386), the Tzeltal of the highlands are so strong "que ponen en vergüenza a una mula." In 1944 I observed Indians [565] passing by my Yochib camp, carrying chairs on their shoulders, in which a lady or a child of upper-class Ladinos from Ocosingo 492 and Yajalon would be sitting. Pack animals are now becoming common among the Tzeltal, some of whom also have saddle horses.

491 Part of the Tzeltal-Tzotzil region is crossed by the Pan-American Highway joining Guatemala and Mexico City. In recent years, roads called "brechas de penetración" for motor vehicles are being constructed. 474 493 The natives of some communities (Oxchuc and Chanal) have organized cooperatives and purchased their own trucks.

804 *Units of Measure*

The system of measures still retains aboriginal characteristics. The main units are:

Nab: Distance between the end of the thumb and the middle finger extended.

Chutub: Distance between the end of the thumb and the index finger extended. It is equivalent to the jeme. The Indians do not use the cuarta (distance between the thumb and little finger extended).

[P 208-B]

804 *Shucubil* ("codo"): Distance from the elbow to the end of the middle finger extended.
Jaub ("braza" or "brazada"): Distance between the ends of both extended arms.
Yankabal (equivalent to the meter): Distance from the armpit to the extended middle finger of the opposite hand.

[484] The "legua" is also used and is equivalent to the distance a man can walk during one hour (approximately 5 km.).

Of square measures used for the milpa, the most common is the *tarea* (equivalent to a square of 8 jaubs). This is equivalent to a square of 16 m., which is very close to the mecate used by the Yucatec Maya.

The standard most often used for measuring maize or beans is the *almud*, which among the Tzeltal of Cancuc, Oxchuc, and Tenejapa, is equivalent to 4 *quartillas* (each quartilla is equivalent to 8 large *borcelanas*). The borcelana is an earthen cup or pot, which can be either small or large. The large one is equivalent to ½ kg. of maize, the small one to ¼ kg. of maize. The borcelana is used to measure chile.

[415]

Economics

241 *Division of Labor and Specialization*

462 Care of the milpa is men's work, but sometimes women help with light tasks such as weeding or harvesting. Seeding does not require great effort, but it is considered a job for men exclusively. Women may participate in chile seeding—but in the planting only; the holes in the ground can be made only by men, who use a *macana* or planting stick. Cutting and carrying firewood are tasks for men, but women may perform them when men cannot. Women can handle an axe or machete skillfully. Fetching water, from river or fountain, is work for women. It is considered inappropriate and ridiculous that a man carry a cantaro on the hip. Laundry and all kitchen duties are performed by women, as well as spinning, knitting, sewing, embroidering, and making of earthenware. Manufacture

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[Text continues on p. 210-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
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FIG. 3—INDIAN GIRL, FINCA EL REAL.
(Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P 209-B]

4 Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Aguacatenango

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Fig. 4—WOMEN FROM AGUACATENANGO (Copyright Gertrude Dubs)

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4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969
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462 of palm articles (sleeping mats and hats) as well as articles of wood, stone, or leather are tasks for men; the same applies to basketry but women may occasionally help.

Government matters are under the exclusive supervision of men. In religious affairs women may participate but only in a very minor way—to say prayers or to take care of the saints in the church. The most important ceremonies—on hills, in caves, at waterholes, or in other mountain spots—are performed by men who specialize in the ritual.

[P. 210-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969
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462 All activities related to curing of disease are also performed by specialized men, though in some places women occasionally participate. Help at childbirth is always as-
[844] signed to experienced female relatives; there
[959] are no professional midwives--nor profes-
[584] sional marriage brokers.

Specialization is little developed. Only in
463 the largest centers are there a few individuals concentrated on carpentry, tailoring, trading, masonry, or some other activity.
[241] The families in Tenango and Amatenango who carry on the ceramics industry also

[P 210-C]

463 241 handle the milpa. It is rare to find an Indian who does not have a milpa since this is the work that ensures his existence.

Property Rights

423 613 This is a matter that varies according to the degree of acculturation reached by the [197] community. In the most conservative groups [181] (Oxchuc, Cancuc, Tenejapa, Tenango) there are still family property rights, but they seem to depend on lineage rather than on the immediate family (Villa Rojas, 562 1947, ch. 19). As these lineages are patri- 428 lineal, a woman does not count when inheritance is involved. She can own her parcel of land only when she has saved the money to buy it, but this is not frequent. Any man can claim lands that previously belonged to his lineage; it is enough to give back the money paid for them two or three generations ago. Of course, he has to prove by witnesses or documents that those lands were the property of his lineage.

127 According to a document dated 1861, 423 which I found in the possession of the 613 Gómez Ichiloks (they belong to the Gómez 614 clan and to the Ichilok lineage), residents of the paraje of Tzajalchen of the municipio of Oxchuc, this property system seems to be very ancient. The document is of special interest.

000 DOCUMENTO DE TIERRAS DE LOS GÓMEZ ICHILOK A

Por pedimento de los ciudadanos Domingo Gómez Ichilok, Tomás Gomez Ichilok, otro Tomás Gomez Ichilok, Miguel Gómez Ichilok, Diego Gómez Ichilok, otre, Domingo Gómez Ichilok, otro Diego Gómez Ichilok y su hijo Diego Gómez Ichilok y por último su hijo menor Manuel Gómez Ichilok, y como antiguamente se acostumbra en este pueblo que segun los hermanos de una propria familia, se les demarca un retazo de terreno de ejido para que en lo sucesivo no haya pleitos con los vecinos como suele suceder, nosotros los Gobernadores, Auxiliares, Justicias, Escribanos y Testigos, pasamos al paraje denominado Tzajalchén a

[P. 211-A]

A /For a translation by H.R.A.F. of this document, see category 116, p. 225-C--Analyst/

4: Villa Rojas E-4.5 (1938-1944) 1969
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000 ponerles sus mojones y a darles al posesión que les corresponde segun el número de ellos.

"Donde principió para primer mojón *Busulton Pacton* que está en el camino derecho; 2° mojón *Oxloton* que está en el camino; 3er. mojón *Tzovilton*; 4° mojón *Tequelton*, mojón con Pedro Moreno; 5° mojón *Yolnelej Lomchen*; 6° mojón de acuerdo con Juan Gómez Bet y Martin Sanchez Chelap se llama la raya *Teguel Canté* que es también la raya con Manuel Chinbak; 7° mojón *Tequelton* raya única con Marcos Hernandez López y Diego López y Diego Giron Vázquez; 8° mojón y último *Basulton Pacton*.

"Habiendo quedado todos los vecinos colindantes contentos, ofreciendo ambos que en lo sucesive no tendrán el menor disgusto, pues, son nativos de su propio pueblo, bajo el concepto que si alguno delinquiese en trastornar el orden en que han quedado, el agraviado lo pondrá en conocimiento del Juez para aberiguarlo y aplicarle la pena que merezca, para acuya seguridad son testigos Lorenzo Ichilok, Martin Solel, Miguel Gómez Ichilok y Gobernadores Diego Méndez Chizna y Nicolas Jiménez Acux. Por los testigos y Gobernadores que no saben firmar. Abril 12 de 1861 y como testigo y escribano Alonso Santis.

423 613 614 The descendants of the Gómez Ichiloks still live in the same paraje of Tzajalchen and share the same parcel. In other lineages the original parcel was subdivided on agree-
[178] ment between the interested parties. In this way single individuals now own pieces of land, a type of property ownership that is becoming more general as the old social organization based on clans and lineages gradually breaks up.

423 427 The parcels can be rented to people of other lineages and of other communities. Often the Tzeltal of Oxchuc rent their parcels to natives from Tenejapa or Cancuc
[613] who are their immediate neighbors. Pay-
[614] ment, made with food, chicha, and money, must be shared by the most important members of the same clan other than the ones of the same lineage (Villa Rojas, 1947, ch. 19).

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423 In the most acculturated communities
592 (Aguacatenango and Amatenango) individ-
[184] ually held property is more general. The head of the house is the owner of the parcel and he can manage it as he pleases. Referring to Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1960, p. 11) states that:

> In general, land is "owned"—that is, controlled—by the household; as long as the son lives with the father, he may speak of "his land," but in fact he works the land with his father, planting what and when his father de-
> [428] cides. The son who lives apart is usually given a piece of land by his father, and he acquires new land which he, in turn, will pass on to his sons at his death or, if he chooses, before.

[613] At this level the lineage concept has dis-
[593] appeared, and the only recognized connection is the father-son relationship.

423 Irrigated lands ("tierras irrigables"), however, in Aguacatenango and in Amatenango contain parcels belonging to private owners and parcels used in common, which are administered or given by the local authorities to be cultivated. Metzger (*ibid.*) informs us that: "Recently, land has been bought on the edges of the town by each of the two barrios for the exclusive use of their members, while in the irrigable area the holdings of members of the two barrios are separate and watered by separate canals."

[175] Ejido lands exist in almost all the region, distributed according to the Programa Agrario de la Revolución Mexicana since 1914 but in some communities not put into practice until after 1930. These lands are administered by the "comite ejidal" of each municipio, which gives to any individual who needs land the permission to cultivate it. These lands cannot be sold or transferred in any way, because they are considered common property.

421 Family land as well as the house and its
586 equipment belong to the man. When a marriage is dissolved, the woman goes back to her parents without taking anything but

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her own clothes and her backstrap loom. A widow may continue living in the hut and use its equipment only if she has a son. Otherwise, she must leave the house and return to her father's home because the land will be claimed by the brothers or other male relatives of the deceased husband.

Production and Consumption Groups

The family controls all matters related to production and consumption. The head of the house, with the help of his wife and other members of the family, takes care of farming and producing the basic food crops. In the most conservative communities, the old custom of planting by a cooperative group, composed of relatives and friends, is still practiced. This is a task for men exclusively, since much skill and strength are required to dig up the ground in carefully spaced, perfectly straight rows. The owner of the milpa has to fast and observe sexual abstinence before starting the planting.

Only the family shares in the rest of the labor, according to their sex: men take care of tasks requiring much effort, women perform those such as tending domestic animals. Help from relatives and neighbors may also be asked occasionally, to build up fences around the orchard, to open or improve irrigation systems, etc.

Trade and Markets

Tenango and Amatenango concentrate on producing ceramics and trading them to neighboring municipios. Other municipios have a very limited commercial activity: Tenejapa exports a few sleeping mats; Oxchuc, ropes, nets, and pita bags; Cancuc, wooden combs, Bachajon, clay toys. These Tzeltal villages have no specialized merchants as do Zinacantan and Chamula.

There are a few markets where a large number of people meet regularly: Teopisca, in the south, has a Sunday market where natives from Aguacatenango, Amatenango, and Pinola meet. In the central part of the region they meet every Sunday at the mar-

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
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443 ket of Tenejapa. Other commercial centers are Ocosingo, Chilon, and Yajalon in the north. These markets are also frequented by Ladinos, but others, located far from the cabecera, are exclusively for Indians. The most important of them is the Saturday market of Yochib near Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc. It draws 300–400 natives, who arrive at dawn carrying agricultural and handcraft products. Most people come from 8 to 10 in the morning, after which they begin to depart; about 2 or 3 P.M. only those staying to drink chicha are left. Transactions
[439] are paid in trade or in money.

Wage Work

464 Because the cold climate and the rugged topography of the region produce little corn, the natives must work periodically as day laborers on the coffee plantations of the Soconusco area on the Pacific coast. About 7000 Tzeltal and a few more Tzotzil work there each year. Natives may go to the coffee plantations any time of the year but prefer to do so during the months the milpa requires less attention (either after planting or after harvest). Between Yajalon and Ocosingo are plantations where men from the neighboring villages are hired for short periods.

Use of Wealth

556 578 829 183 Because of their social organization, it is very difficult for these Indians to accumulate wealth. The worst sin an individual can commit against the community is to store up crops, domestic animals, or clothes, or simply to build a better house. Whatever
[754] raises an individual above his fellows—buying a new house, improving an old one, buying a horse—can cause in them a deep fear of being the target of witchcraft (Villa Rojas, 1947).

556 829 183 Those who, enjoying good health, are able to pile up some wealth, are obliged by the community to spend it in banquets and amusements for the community. It is believed that the old men and principales

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556 829 183 know, with the aid of the *naguales* (supernatural spirits), about the wealth each member of the group has; those who have more than necessary must pay for the expenses of fiestas, etc.

Social Organization

Kinship

614 613 The basic elements of the clan system of the ancient Maya can still be found in the most conservative groups. At the present time, the kinship system is divided into patrilineal clans, which are divided into [199] patrilineages. In some cases, the name of the clan is of Spanish origin; the name of the lineage, of indigenous origin. In Oxchuc there are six clans whose names are: Gómez, Santis, López, Méndez, Encines, and Rodriguez. The first two clans are the largest, since the Gómez clan has 37 lineages, the Santis 39. The last two are almost disappearing as they have only one or two lineages. Among the indigenous names for lineages are: Ichilok, Nimail, Akux, Cojton, Chic, Molox, Nich, Antun, Chisná, Tib, and Mulesh. These designate names of animals, plants, or objects.

A man whose name is Juan Gómez Nich, for example, belongs to the Gómez clan and to the Nich lineage. Generally, the name of the lineage is enough to show to which clan somebody belongs; if his name is Juan Nich, it is immediately known that he is from the Gómez clan. This special characteristic of the indigenous name is designated by the word *Jol s'bij*, which means 'head of the name.'

[184] In Cancuc (a community next to Oxchuc) clans have ~~special names~~, such as Chik, Chejeb, Ijká, and Boj. If the indigenous name is known, the clan name is self-evident. The Spanish name has lost its specific function, and, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, pp. 4–5), there are Indians who do not even remember it. However, the Spanish surname designates exogamic units of a patrilineal type throughout the region; without

[P. 213-B]

[Text continues on p. 214-B]

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Tenejapa

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FIG. 5—TENEJAPA GROUP WITH VESSELS CONTAINING CHICHA. (Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

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614 exception, both names (lineage and clan)
613 are inherited from the father.

[178] In the more acculturated communities the
[612] clan and lineage system tends to disappear and to be replaced by the bilateral system,
[582] characteristic of Ladino society. In Aguacatenango, despite the belief that there is a relationship between people of the same
613 Spanish name, they may marry. Moreover, they are starting to be ashamed of using the indigenous name differentiating the lineages. B. Metzger states (1959, p. 18):

[551] Lineage names appear to be used as surnames within the community—as we have discovered
[P 214-B]

613 551 by overhearing them spoken in unguarded moments—but their existence is vigorously denied or only cautiously admitted to outsiders. As a result, we have not been able to discover how these names are distributed in the community, how wide the lineage is, and whether or not kinship terms are applied throughout.

613 [614] In the more conservative municipios the clans are not centralized but dispersed throughout the parajes. Lineages are now fragmented, and the common ancestor is no longer remembered. Generally these lineages are localized in one or two parajes, but neither can remember its genealogy further

[P. 214-C]

613 than three or four generations. In the past, these lineages were localized, and in places like Bachajon, Cancuc, and Oxchuc the exact locations are still remembered.

613 769 778 A few generations ago, the most distinguished members of each lineage were buried in the cave after which the paraje was named, the bones and ashes of the dead being placed in large jugs or urns. The caves were places for ceremonies honoring the ancestors. Blom (1954) made a study of these burials and mapped the distribution of the sites. These caves are still places for worship but not for burials; the cross protecting all members of the lineage is kept there, as well as, in some instances, small crosses belonging to the important members of it (Villa Rojas, 1946, p. 16).

614 The words *chapomal* and *tijinabal* name the members of the clan in general. It is said that "the neighbors of this paraje are all chapomales," or "those cannot get married because they are chapomales." Tijinabal also means neighbor or member of the same paraje. Another word, *patshunk*, is also an equivalent of tijinabal. These words are currently used in Oxchuc, Cancuc, and Bachajon. On the other hand, there is no specific word to designate the lineage.

[835] The main function of the clan is to regulate marriage, as the union of two chapomales is considered incestuous. The clan [574] also gives much self-confidence to the Indian who travels to other parajes, for he can always find hospitality among people of his own clan. It also has a function of social control, exercised by the old men of the group, who punish all transgressors against the established rules. Helped by the nagual (supernatural spirit), they find out about the behavior of the members of the clan and punish according to the crime (Villa Rojas, 1947).

614 626 887

613 428 The lineage relationship is also important in inheritance (especially land), since the plots should always be under the control of individuals of the same Indian name. Only where such persons are absent or missing or

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613 [428] have no interest in the land is preference given to the chapomales of other lineages. The importance of the lineage is stressed again during events such as curing ceremonies, conflicts, weddings, burials, fiestas, or banquets, where members of the same lineage should be invited first, then the chapomales.

601 The Omaha type of terminology still predominates in the more conservative municipios, where the same names are used for children of the father's sister as well as for children of the ego's sister, while children of the mother's brother are considered to be uncles and aunts on the matrilineal side (Murdock, 1949, p. 102; Guiteras Holmes, 1947, pp. 13–15; J. Nash, 1959, pp. 4–7).

The name *kichan*, given to the mother's brother, is also given to all the patrilineal descendants, stressing the concept that they are regarded as persons from another clan.

The most common kin terms collected in Cancuc by Guiteras Holmes (1947, p. 8) and in Oxchuc by Siverts (1955, pp. 16–20) are practically the same.

Tzeltal	*English*
Bankil	older brother of a man
Xibel	older brother of a woman
uish	older sister; father's sister
Kitzin	youngest brother or sister
Taʼ	father
Me	mother
Nichán	a man's children
Kaal	a woman's children
Ta-jun	father's brother
Mee-jun	mother's sister
Nicha-jun	the children of a man's brother
Kaal-jun	the children of a woman's sister
Kichán	mother's brother; children of a man's sister
Cha-mam	a man's grandchildren
Kil-al	a woman's grandchildren
Mam	grandfather
Meel-kuj	grandmother
Mamalal	husband
Kinam	wife
Bal	a man's brother-in-law
Jauan	a woman's sister-in-law
Mu	siblings-in-law of opposite sex

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[Text continues on p. 216-B]

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Oxchuc

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TABLE 3—DOMESTIC COMPOSITION

	Number	Percentage
Nuclear Families:		
Man, wife, no children	4	8.2
Man, wife, children	19	38.8
Man, 2 wives, no children	1	2.0
Man, 2 wives, children	5	10.2
Widow, children	2	4.1
Man, wife, children not own	2	4.1
	33	67.4
592 596 Extended Families:		
Man, wife, married son and wife	6	12.2
Man, wife, married daughter	2	4.1
Widow, married son	6	12.2
Widow, married daughter	1	2.0
Man, wife, married son, and married grandson	1	2.0
	16	32.5

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Nial	son-in-law
Kalib	daughter-in-law
Nial-mamal	a man's father-in-law
Kalib-mamal	a woman's father-in-law
Nial-meel	a man's mother-in-law
Kalib-meel	a woman's mother-in-law

601 576 The word *tatik* (from *tat*, 'father') is usually applied as a courtesy name to all married males, without distinction of clan or lineage. The same applies to *metik* (from *me*, 'mother'), a term applied to all married females. *Mamtik* (from *mam*, 'grandfather') is the name given to old and also to very respected people.

601 608 The ritual kinship terminology is:

Tzeltal	*English*
Kumpare	compadre (GodFa of ego's children)
Kumale	comadre (GodMo of ego's children)
Jalatat	godfather
Jalamé	godmother
Jala-al	a woman's godson
Jala-nichan	a man's godson

594 *Family Groups*

The nuclear family, formed by a couple and their children, is the basic pattern throughout the region.

[P 216-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

000 throughout the region. There are also com-
596 pound families in which other members, married or widowed, from the same patrilineal nucleus, plus their children, share the same house or the same kitchen.

[129] Table 3, taken from J. Nash (1959, p. 2), was compiled from data gathered in Oxchuc parajes, where we had our headquarters.

Of the 16 extended families, 13 are formed by married sons living in the parents' house, the married daughters living with their parents derive from the custom that the son-in-law spends a period of service in his father-in-law's house during the first months of marriage.

592 These types of family composition continue even in acculturated communities like Aguacatenango. According to B. Metzger (1959, p. 8), of the 174 homes that constitute this village, 121 are nuclear and 53 are extended families; of the latter, 15 are formed by parents living with their married sons and 10 are formed by widows living with an unmarried son. There are only two instances of parents who live in an unmarried daughter's house. Married brothers very seldom live in the same house.

000 Though the nuclear family predominates,
[P 216 - C]

Though the nuclear family predominates, 591 custom dictates that the house be near mem- 613 bers of the same lineage or patrilineal [361] group, perhaps because of the patrilineal [592] system of land inheritance. In the parajes groups of houses in which families composed of mother, father, uncles, and other members of the patriline live are common. [351] No fences mark the limits of the property; their infrequent presence merely keeps the 591 pigs and chickens under control. This group 592 of houses, easily accessible and inhabited by people related by kinship, constitutes the most important influence in the individual's formation, since it is here that he acquires his first experiences and cultural values, as well as the emotional links that will have the greatest weight in his life. This system of patrilocal residence is observed all through the region, even in compact villages like Aguacatenango, where lack of space favors dispersion. B. Metzger (1959) tells us: "Looking at the nuclear families to trace patrilocality there, we find that in 74 cases where we have adequate data, 39 are in the same block and 12 in adjacent blocks with husband's parents or siblings; 11 in the same block and 8 in adjacent blocks with wife's parents or siblings; 4 are classed to neither spouse's family."

351 In villages or cabeceras of a compact type 591 it is customary to mark family plots by a 592 fence of stones or sticks, with entrance toward the street (Chanal, Sivaca, Amatenango, Aguacatenango.) Occasionally, when the nuclear family is divided because of the marriage of one of the sons, then the "solar" or the "sitio" (as it is called in the region) is subdivided by another fence that separates the portion now belonging to the new family. A door allows easy communication between both families. Sometimes, even three nuclear families live in a large sitio, divided by fences.

583 *Types of Marriage*

Types of marriage vary from that following the old traditional to one requiring the

[P. 217-A]

583 procedures (*trámites*) of church and civil registry. The traditional marriage is an ar-
584 rangement between two families. The young man's parents, with his agreement, select the bride and start the visits leading to the
[574] petition. The visits to the girl's house must
[273] be made at dawn, accompanied by two or three bottles of aguardiente. These visits continue for several months, because the girl's parents want to consult the old men or the most important members of the patrilineal clan.

585 The wedding itself is simple, a family ritual concerning the boy's parents, the girl's parents, and old men of the clan she belongs to. Now the boy appears for the first time, bringing articles that will "warm up" the fiesta (Villa Rojas, 1949):

1 garrafón (about 18 liters) of aguardiente
80 cooked eggs
80 tortillas
80 tamales of the *chenkul-uaj type* (corn and bean dough)
10 kilos of pozole with chile
10 kilos of pozole without chile
1 kilo of ground chile
1 almud (4 kilos) of beans

According to my informants from Oxchuc, these items represent what the girl's parents have spent for her during childhood.
[574] This marriage feast is called *beybal-ja* ('the first delivery of aguardiente').

585 These items are presented with the great-
614 est formality to the girl's clan in oral forms that symbolize the wish for everlasting friendship between both families. The oldest member of the girl's clan responds by expressing on behalf of all members their satisfaction in receiving those articles and their good wishes for a successful union. Immediately, the couple kneels on a petate and listens to the oldest member of the clan, who formally announces they are married and recites the duties and obligations of each.

584 Until recently in Cancuc the custom ob-
184 tained of making these marriage arrange-
[P 217-B]

584 [184] ments through a special person (*chunel*) for each of the four clans, and differed from Oxchuc, where the case is presented to the nearest old man of the clan. In Cancuc, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, p. 3):

> The boy's parents dealt with the *Chunel* of the girl's clan when petitioning her. He received the gifts and gave approval; and then accompanied by the boy and his parents he went into the house of the girl's parents. There, he presented the boy's petition. Nobody could oppose the Chunel's decisions. The girl would die if she didn't obey the decisions of the elder of the clan.

583 Once a marriage feast is finished, the boy stays in his parents-in-law's house to fulfill the bride price (*stojyinam*). This service, which consists in helping the father-in-law in the milpa and in other duties, usually lasts a year, or less if arrangements are made in advance. Frequently during this period the man spends alternate periods of three weeks with his parents-in-law and with his own parents. When he has the means to do it, he builds his own house and starts the new cycle of a nuclear family.

581 585 574 [273] [614] After the first year of marriage, if the couple get along together, the man must make a present of two garrafones of aguardiente and the same petitionary items of food, though in larger amounts. This time, more of the girl's clan are present, and so increase the importance of the event. The purpose is to celebrate the success of the couple and the union that will exist between the two families. This big *tertulia*, along with the corresponding meal, is called [888] *mukel-ja* ('abundance of drink'). Old men of [273] the clan who cannot attend receive at their homes the portion of aguardiente they 586 should have drunk. On the other hand, if the couple could not get along during the first year and the union is annulled because of the woman's fault, her parents must give back all they have received during the first ritual.

581 574 [P 218-A] Finally, to bring all these duties to an

581 end, the husband gives a big meal sometime
574 (even 30 years later) which must be attended by the important members of the wife's
[153] clan. Many illnesses in a family are attributed to the fact that the man did not fulfill this third requirement of a food gift (*oshevuelto-uaj-matz*, 'third delivery of food').

584 Another custom, known as *yajk makte achish* ('cover or secure the girl'), is practiced when the chosen girl is too young (10–12 years) to get married. To secure her in the future, the boy's parents make arrangements with those of the girl, offering them liquor that other members of the girl's clan also share. When she grows older, they proceed with the wedding arrangements and the customary formal ceremonies.

583 Another form of marriage, existing among very traditional groups, begins with the capture of the girl. This happens when she has no father or important man representing the house. The boy and his parents must obtain cooperation from one of the male members of the girl's clan. With this accomplice the men go to the girl's house at midnight, take her, and bring her to the boy's parents either by persuading her mother with liquor or by force. Days later, they try to calm the anger of the important people of her clan, bringing further bottles of liquor. Usually the union becomes formally recognized after this, and the couple settle in their own home with the neighbors' approval. It is thus a sort of institutionalized capture.

581 Among the less conservative communities,
177 these forms of marriage are being replaced
585 by Ladino forms, which regard marriage not as a contract between two lineages or families but as an agreement between two individuals. Furthermore, the Catholic ceremony
583 is considered very important. Premarital sex-
836 ual relations and elopement are frequent.
584 Metzger states that, "in Aguacatenango, to a considerable extent, the marriage choice
[836] is made by the boy and the girl after sexual experimentation and a period of 'going steady.' The boy tells his family about it and they proceed to make the arrangements

[P 218-B]

584 with the family of the girl. If the boy is accepted, the gifts are received and the marriage takes place.

585 184 [177] In Aguacatenango and Amatenango, the Catholic ceremony is sometimes delayed for several years after the informal marriage, because of the belief that the latter really consolidated the union. On the other hand, in places where the Ladino population is larger (Pinola and San Bartolo) the religious ceremony is considered by the Indians as a very important part of the customs.

184 177 608 The compadrazgo relationship is stressed among these communities where Ladinos have great influence. There are baptism, confirmation, and wedding padrinos. The rights and duties established through this relationship are still respected, especially 608 the compadre relationship. It is the duty of the child's parents to give occasional gifts [736] to the godparents. If the child's parents die, the godparents must take care of him, except when there are closer relatives to the father.

585 608 It is the main duty of the wedding godparents to help the couple maintain a good understanding and to dissolve, by advice, any disagreement. They always receive great respect and affection from their *ahijados*.

608 [851] Among conservative groups, the compadrazgo relationship arises only from the baptism of a child. Sometimes this relationship is established in a very informal way; perhaps during fiesta at the ceremonial center they may take advantage of the priest's presence to ask a very close friend to "embrace" the child. The padrino is then invited 574 608 to have aguardiente. At other times the arrangement is made formally; the parents of the child go to the house of their future [431] compadres to ask them that favor. Exchanges of gifts and dinner invitations are frequent, the child's parents feeling the greater obligation. These meals can be really banquets where many "platillos" and much aguardiente are consumed. Among 184 608 some groups, padrinos neither give a gift to 431 736 [P 219-A]

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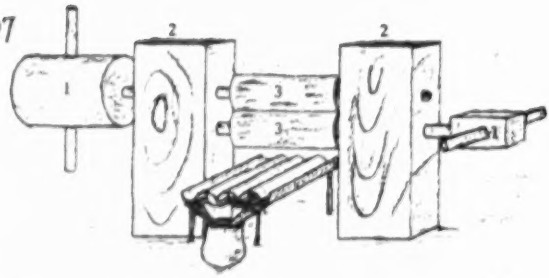

FIG. 6—SUGARCANE PRESS.
1, Kabal-té. 2, Smete-al. 3, S-kab.

184
608 their godchild nor protect him if he be-
736 comes orphaned, but this is only because
431 closer members of the same lineage take
608 care of him. But the padrinos must attend
764 the wake (*kanka-almail*) and the burial when the godchild dies, as is expected from the godchild when the godparents die. In
608 these communities, compadrazgo consti-
182 tutes both an important religious obligation and a means of establishing friendship and cooperation between families.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

621 The political and religious patern is the
631 same throughout all the Tzeltal communi-
[184] ties, governed by two groups of authorities whose activities are interrelated. The first group, formed by members of the cabildo and ayuntamiento, manages political affairs of the community. The ayuntamiento maintains relationship between the local gov-
631 ernment and the national authorities. The presidente municipal and the intermediate authorities are popularly elected and then confirmed by the congress of the state.
[563] These authorities must represent both ethnic groups (Indians and Ladinos) to warrant the claim that "justice is equal for everybody." In 1936 the state government ruled that in all municipios where the indigenous population predominates, the presidente municipal should be an Indian.

Next in authority after the presidente is

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631 the secretario, who is, without exception, a Ladino, for his responsibilities require a good knowledge of the Spanish language as well as office skills, which the Indians usually lack. Actually it is this official who controls all the administrative affairs of the municipio. He imposes fines, collects taxes, assigns communal work, and keeps in con-
[62] tact with the state authorities. After him rank the regidor, síndico, alcalde, police commander, and policemen.

621 Besides these authorities, which are the officially recognized ones, the Indians have their own government system, which in most places is still operating. Oxchuc is
[888] typical of the regional pattern. There the
[887] municipio is divided into two calpules, each of which is a kind of fraternity under the supervision of those old men having the
[776] greatest knowledge and prestige. Each cal-
[796] pul has also its own patron saint, venerated with special feasts and ceremonies throughout the year. (In Oxchuc the calpules are not geographically determined, and its members are spread in different parajes of
62 the territory.) Authority is now integrated in the following officials:

1 katinab, supreme chief of the whole calpul
1 okil kabil, "feet and hands" of the preceding, i.e., secretary
2 dzunubiles, supreme "pulsers" or "curers"
1 alcalde, who carries a staff of office
2 cornales (or governors), who also carry staffs of office
2 síndicos, who also carry staffs of office
4 x-tules (or regidores)

555 The four last jobs are reached by strict
624 hierarchy and indicate the progress of each
794 individual in the fulfillment of his social duties. This social-service career begins when the man is not yet married, when he is assigned the cargo of mayordomo of the church, which means that he has to attend to minor affairs connected with the church and to keep it clean. Shortly after his marriage he usually reaches the position of capitán, where he is responsible for the fies-

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555 ta for minor saints. He alternates between
624 a period of activity and expense and one of
794 quiet and economic recovery. The cargos alternate between church positions and civil government positions, but in communities where Indian tradition is stressed, there is no clear-cut division between civil and religious matters, because of the influence of the sacred and supernatural in daily life.

554 Those functionaries who have a staff of
624 office wield great influence in their calpul.
293 This cane (*nabté*), a sign of important status, is made of pine or other fine wood, and has a silver handle adorned with colored ribbons, primarily yellow, green, and red. The staff is ornamented by the owner and is considered a family object, usually placed on the home altar. Occasionally it is the [778] object of prayers and offerings of incense. [782] People carrying it are called *bastonudos*.

624 It is the duty of the staff-carriers to com-
627 municate to every paraje the orders of the ayuntamiento and those coming from the supreme chief of the calpul; to summon people for communal duties; to apprehend prisoners in cases of crime, and to deal with public problems such as taxation and epidemics. Coping with transgressions such as minor stealing, adultery, disputes, and intrigues are also their responsibility within the paraje, following the traditional form of procuring mutual understanding on both sides, in a calm atmosphere, around a bottle [692] of liquor. If conflict persists, those involved appear before chiefs of the calpul, who are called principales or "cabildos de justicia" even after they have finished their term of office.

794 The cargos from dzunubil on up are sacred and are open only to people with superior knowledge, recognized moral status, and expert experience in church ritual and in the semi-pagan ceremonies practiced in the caves, waterholes, and special mountains. These cargos are thus obtained not by automatic advancement but by special merits which are usually not acquired until advanced age. All such high representatives of

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794 the calpul must have a powerful nagual, through which they can learn about the private lives of their subordinates. This is usually the way they know who has enough money to pay for a feast, who can occupy special jobs, and which sinners deserve punishment.

Religious Life

The Catholic Cult

177 The beliefs and religious practices intro-
797 duced by Catholic missionaries in the 16th
795 century have been adapted to the aborigi-
795 nal culture. The largest and most important
778 building of the village is the church, situ-
[346] ated on the east side of the ceremonial cen-
[361] ter. In it are the image of the patron saint
[776] of the group, the holy cross, and lesser
[796] saints. The most profound ceremonies take
[794] place before the altar of these saints, who are looked upon as mediators between God and men, and are performed by the cabildos de misa, dzunubiles, and other elderly men of high rank who know both Catholic and Indian ritual.

346 During the ceremonies the altar is deco-
796 rated with flowers and with paper and rib-
795 bons of different colors. The floor is covered with pine needles, which give off an agree-
[782] able fragrance. Candles and copal are part of every prayer and ceremony, the copal having been used since pre-Hispanic times.

795 Common prayers of people who visit the
782 center also have a place. These people have to enter the church and make an offering of candles to the patron saint. The prayers follow a formal pattern but vary in content according to the need and mood of the suppliant. Each individual talks intimately to the saint, specifying the help he needs, much as he would to a relative or a friend in whom he has absolute confidence. The two most frequent matters of petition are health and food; as the latter depends almost entirely on the condition of the cornfield, people pray that "it may not be damaged by the wind, or by cold, sun, birds, or plagues."

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795 782 In most of the prayers, Dios Tatik Jesucristo and the 13 *fiadores* who are in heaven are mentioned. These 13 fiadores are God's immediate helpers and correspond to the [778] Christian saints. The cross is venerated as a representation of God wherever a prayer is said and so appears on the family altar, on mountaintops, in caves, at fountains, at entrances to the town, at the four corners of the plaza, and in front of the church.

795 778 776 177 The local character of Catholicism is seen in the Masses offered to the mountain called Ikal Ajau, near the ceremonial center of Oxchuc. The Indians say that it is a "living mountain" and give it great reverence, for Ikal Ajau was the name of the idol venerated by Oxchuc people in pre-Hispanic 795 184 776 times. In almost all the municipios the saints are dressed as Indians. Towns with a large Ladino population have different saints for the Ladinos, who are dressed as Ladinos and to whom the Indians are completely indifferent, even to forgetting the names of them.

Fiesta for the Patron Saint

796 794 One of the major events in the religious life of the Indians is the annual fiesta in honor of the patron saint and the other saints kept in the church. The capitán principal and some of his immediate assistants are in charge of the organization and expenses of these fiestas. The length and cost [435] of the fiesta correspond to the importance of the saint and range from one day and 100 pesos to four days and several thousand pesos, like the one for the patron saint. To become a capitán principal a man must go through all the ranks and be able to afford the expenses of any fiesta, from a small one to the very large ones of the patrons.

The fiesta of the patron of each village is similar to that for any other saint but larger. There are Masses and other religious observances in the church, processions with the image of the saint along the main streets, large meals at the house of the cargoholders, and, above all, constant drink-

[P. 221-B]

[Text continues on p. 222-B]

4. Villa Rojas • E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Amatenango del Valle

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534
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FIG. 7—CARGO OFFICIALS, AMATENANGO DEL VALLE. Note ceremonial hats and drum with which church functions are announced. (Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 222-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

796 ing in and out of church. From the second day on, everybody is drunk, including women and young people. The sound of skyrockets is heard continuously and marks the gaiety of the people.

An important part of the ceremony at the church is to clean carefully the face of the saint and to change his clothes for new or at least clean ones so that he can be happy during his fiesta. Another act is to take his [788] image from the main altar to carry it in procession. This is important because there is 796 danger that the patron of other villages may 796 come to steal his power and he would then lose influence over the crops: the saint of Oxchuc helps the growth of corn, the one of Cancuc protects the cotton, and so on. To avoid this danger a substitute image is put in his place while the real one is taken out.

[P 222- B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

776 This substitute is called *gelol*, the same im-
796 age but smaller, which is kept next the original one.

[788] During the procession the saint is carried
[782] in a litter. Incense is burned before him,
[533] while music with drums and flutes is played.

Traditional Ceremonies

796 There are other ceremonies held in the
[177] parajes which, although based on Christian
[178] ritual (including some of the prayers, presence of the cross, candles, etc.), still manifest ancient aboriginal traditions. Among
[776] these ceremonies is the one made before the house altar to Chulmetic (the earth goddess), to God, to Tatik Jesucristo and the 13 Fiadores del Cielo, for the soul of one newborn, to guard against sicknesses or bad influences of any kind. This ceremony is

[P. 222-C]

796 "sembrar el alma del niño" and must be performed by the dzunubiles and the cabildos
[776] de misa. A similar devotion is made to Uch, the supernatural being connected with the growth of the cornfield mentioned earlier.

782 Also important are the prayers said by
778 families before the cross of the ancestors, in the sacred caves.

Finally, certain prayers and offerings are made to particular lakes considered sacred because they are inhabited by virgins who look after the well-being of the people. The best known of these lakes is Banabil in Tenejapa. Some day during the year, a small box containing a woman's dress and all its ornaments is thrown into the water. The dress must be made by a virgin or an old woman.

787 *Talking Saints*

776 Another religious form where Indian tra-
[177] dition is manifested through Christian formulae is the veneration of the talking saints, a widespread cult among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil. These saints are always private property and are usually kept in a small case on the house altar. The believers go to the house of those who own a talking saint and ask him about any secret problem that might require a special knowledge to be solved. Although any saint can be asked, the most popular one is San Miguelito. In order to consult him, people have to tell his owner their problems. The owner, who supposedly is the only one who can understand his saint, talks to him behind a curtain so that no one can see him. Often the owner of a talking saint succeeds in creating a cult out of the saint's box, making a special altar for him and asking the believers for frequent offerings and prayers. Sometimes there is no box, so the effigy is placed on an altar and concealed by a curtain when the private dialogue takes place.

There have been cases, however, in which the talking saints exceed their function as oracles and advise people on political matters. This is why some talking saints have

[P. 223-A]

787 been taken away by the local authorities
776 and sent to the Indians' Affairs Office in San Cristobal.

LIFE CYCLE

842 *Pregnancy and Childbirth*

183 The strongest desire of every Tzeltal couple is to create a numerous family, preferably
843 boys. The relationship between sexual inter-
[833] course and pregnancy is well understood among the Indians. They know that pregnancy lasts nine months and they keep a
843 good count of it. On the other hand, there
789 are ideas about the possibility of the woman being influenced by old men or "the owners of the nagual," who can interrupt pregnancy and change the fetus from one woman to another. This is why a woman who thinks she is pregnant for three or four months suddenly realizes that she carries nothing any more, while another one, maybe her neighbor, finds herself in advanced pregnancy, giving birth a few months later. It is to be stressed, however, that these changes can take place only among married women.

844 In conservative villages (Tenejapa, Ox-
[181] chuc, Cancuc) there is no professional midwife. Children are delivered by the oldest women in the neighborhood.

[757] When labor begins, the first thing is to
[237] give the mother a beverage made of powdered opossum tail dissolved in boiling water. It is very common for Indians to have a dry tail hanging next the fireplace. The woman kneels at labor, facing the midwife. The husband's belt or the woman's rebozo is tied very tightly around the upper part of the abdomen to prevent the child from "going up again." The mother can also help herself by seizing a rope tied to the roof, or taking firm hold of any post of the house. The umbilical cord is chopped with a machete or cut with scissors, supported on an
[241] ear of corn. This ear is afterwards used as
[824] seed and is considered very fertile.

[757] When labor has finished, the mother is given another hot beverage of pepper,

[P. 223-B]

844 cloves, and corncake, to keep her "warm
[757] and fertile." The placenta can be burned,
[842] thrown to the dogs, or deeply buried in case
the mother does not want another preg-
[789] nancy soon. The umbilical cord is put under
a three-stone fireplace if the baby is a girl,
on top of a tree if it is a boy so that he may
become brave and agile when adult.

846 A few hours after childbirth, at the latest
515 the next day, both mother and child take a
temascal (steam bath). Some women stay
in the temascal until they feel completely
recovered.

Childhood and Adolescence

789 During the first weeks of life, children are
774 in danger of losing their souls because their
inexperience makes them an easy prey to
the naguales and bad spirits who wander
around. As protection, mothers place a small
[237] piece of beeswax at the back of the child's
head or tie, as a bracelet, a red or blue
thread around the wrist. If none of these
precautions are taken, the mother has to
cover with branches the paths her child
walks, so that his soul can easily find its way
in case he loses it.

789 Because of all these dangers, fathers al-
852 ways try to perform the ceremony of "seed
774 the soul of the child" as soon as possible. It
[553] is during this ceremony that the child is
given a name, later confirmed according to
Catholic ritual at the ceremonial center. A
[608] very important aspect of the ceremony is
selection of the godparents.

753 *Sickness and Death*

776 Most sicknesses come from infection or
[888] malnutrition. To the natives, however, ill-
nesses have a supernatural cause and are
ascribed either to the anger of gods and
spirits or to old people who have a nagual
or who can throw a spell. The most frequent
explanation is that naguales or supernatural
beings are acting against people. They can
adopt human or animal form or appear as
[P 224-A]

753 thunder, wind, or lightning. All the men
776 who occupy or have occupied cargos in the
[794] political or religious organization are sup-
[888] posed to have a nagual, as do the older
[613] members of the lineage. They consider it their duty to punish those members of the group who have sinned and use their nagual, who can devour the soul of the victim little by little.

774 According to this idea, everybody has two
776 souls: one which can be eaten by the naguales, and one which follows the destiny that its patron saint has planned for it.
761 When death comes, the naguales take away
775 the first soul and have a banquet up in the
776 mountains. In this feast, the naguales of the old people of the clan participate, joined by others induced to comradeship.

761 It is a widespread belief that at midyear
773 the naguales go to a place in heaven called
776 Atimaltik, where an old man who possesses the Book of Life lives. Since in this book he keeps account of the time each person can live, it is a source of information for the naguales, who thus can know who is close to death. When the signature of a person disappears from the book, this means that the person died.

764 People have to keep watch over the body for two days and two nights. It is placed on a wooden plank in the middle of the house after being washed or just given a change of clothes. Two candles are placed at the head. At night friends and neighbors come to keep company with the family. They play harp and guitar and drink chicha and aguardiente. At dawn, the men go home and the women remain crying near the corpse.

[613] Following the ancient custom, the dead are buried near the graves of other men of
[184] the same lineage. In Cancuc, however, dead are buried inside the house.

The bottom and sides of the grave are covered with slabs to form a coffin. The corpse, bundled up in a petate, is placed inside. His clothes and other articles he may

[P. 224-B]

764 need in the afterlife are placed with him: a comb, a bowl, a bottle with water to dissolve the posol, a needle and thread, and, if a man, aguardiente.

The arms of the dead are crossed over the chest and a rosary (*uenteshil*) is put be-

[text continues top of p. 225-B]

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[p. 225-A]

764 tween his hands. The head is always placed to the west. During the following days, prayers are said to the memory of the dead. [768] Sometimes the house is evacuated because [775] people are afraid of the soul who remains saying goodbye to friends and relatives.

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/Document of Lands of the Gómez Ichilok

On account of the petition of the citizens Domingo Gómez Ichilok, Tomás Gómez Ichilok, another Tomás Gómez Ichilok, Miguel Gómez Ichilok, Diego Gómez Ichilok, another Domingo Gómez Ichilok, another Diego Gómez Ichilok and his son Diego Gómez Ichilok, and lastly his minor son, Manuel Gómez Ichilok, and as formerly was the custom in this town that, according to the brothers of one family, a piece of common land is marked off for them so that in the future there will be no disputes with the neighbors as is usually the case, we the Governors, Auxiliaries, Justices, Scribes and Witnesses, give the paraje /place/ called Tzajalchén for them to put their landmarks on and to give them the possession that corresponds to them according to their number.

"Where began to stand the first landmark Busulton Pacton which is on the road to the right; 2nd landmark Oxloton which is on the road; 3rd landmark Tzovilton; 4th landmark Tequelton, landmark with Pedro Moreno; 5th landmark Yolilnelej Lomchen; 6th landmark in accord with Juan Gómez Bet and Martin Sanchez Chelap is called the line Teguel Cante which is also the line with Manuel Chinbak; 7th landmark Tequelton only line with Marcos Hernandez López and Diego Lopez and Diego Giron Vásquez; 8th and last landmark Basulton Pacton.

"Having left all the bordering neighbors content, offering both that in the future they will not have the least disagreement, as they are natives of their own town, under the judgment that if anyone is guilty in upsetting the order in which it has been left, the injured party will put in the cognizance of the Judge to investigate it and to apply the punishment that it deserves, for whose security the witnesses are Lorenzo Ichilok, Martin Solel, Miguel Gómez Ichilok and Governors Diego Méndez Chizna and Nicolas Jiménez Acux. For the witnesses and Governors who do not know how to sign their names. April 12 of 1861 and as witness and scribe Alonso Santis./

[P. 225-C]

4: Villa Rojas--[225(D)] E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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ah-ken -- a bench to hold the metate
asron -- hoe
avutel -- digging stick
bastonudos -- those officials who carry the staff of office
batzil-booch -- large serving dishes or bowls
beybal-ja -- the marriage feast
brazada -- a unit of measure equivalent to the distance between the arms when extended
canoja -- a special container, made from a fluted tree trunk, for making chicha
cha -- a metate or grinding stone
chenkuluaj -- tamales
chuj-chut -- a red sash or belt of cotton
chunel -- a go-between in arranging a marriage
chojak -- net bags
eché -- an axe
jaubtic -- a measuring rod corresponding to the brazada in length
jícaras -- small individual bowls
jilote -- first fruits of the harvest
luk -- a coa, or curved machete with a long handle
machit -- a machete

malal -- a red woolen ribbon worn in the hair
matzmalté (or vebalté) -- small tables
morral -- a sack hung from the shoulder containing seed
mucul pulato -- large pots
mukel-ja -- the meal and feast following the first year of a successful marriage
nabté -- the staff of office
nátil-kŭ -- a long shirt worn by men
olote -- corn cobs
oshe-vuelto-uaj-matz -- a meal given long after a marriage, by a husband to his wife's clan
pishol -- a palm hat
pus -- a temascal or structure used for steam baths
selab -- the cutting of grass from a plot where milpa had been the previous year
shanabil -- leather sandals
sok-uej -- cutting of bush grown for three or four years
stojyinam -- bride price
tarea -- a unit of measure equivalent to 8 brazada's square or 256 Sq. M.
temascal -- a structure used for steam baths
tzante -- small benches made of scooped-out tree trunks

104

tzek -- a wool skirt worn by women
ual -- glass necklaces
ue-el olical -- lunch
ue-el sab -- breakfast
ue-el xmalcal -- supper
uesh -- short pants worn by men
yajk makte achish -- a custom of gift exchange, used by a boy's family to secure a wife for a son at some future time
yulel-chikinil -- earrings

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

TRIBES AND TEMPLES

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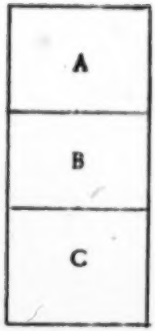

Chart of Positions of Map
Facing p. 239

[facing p. 239]

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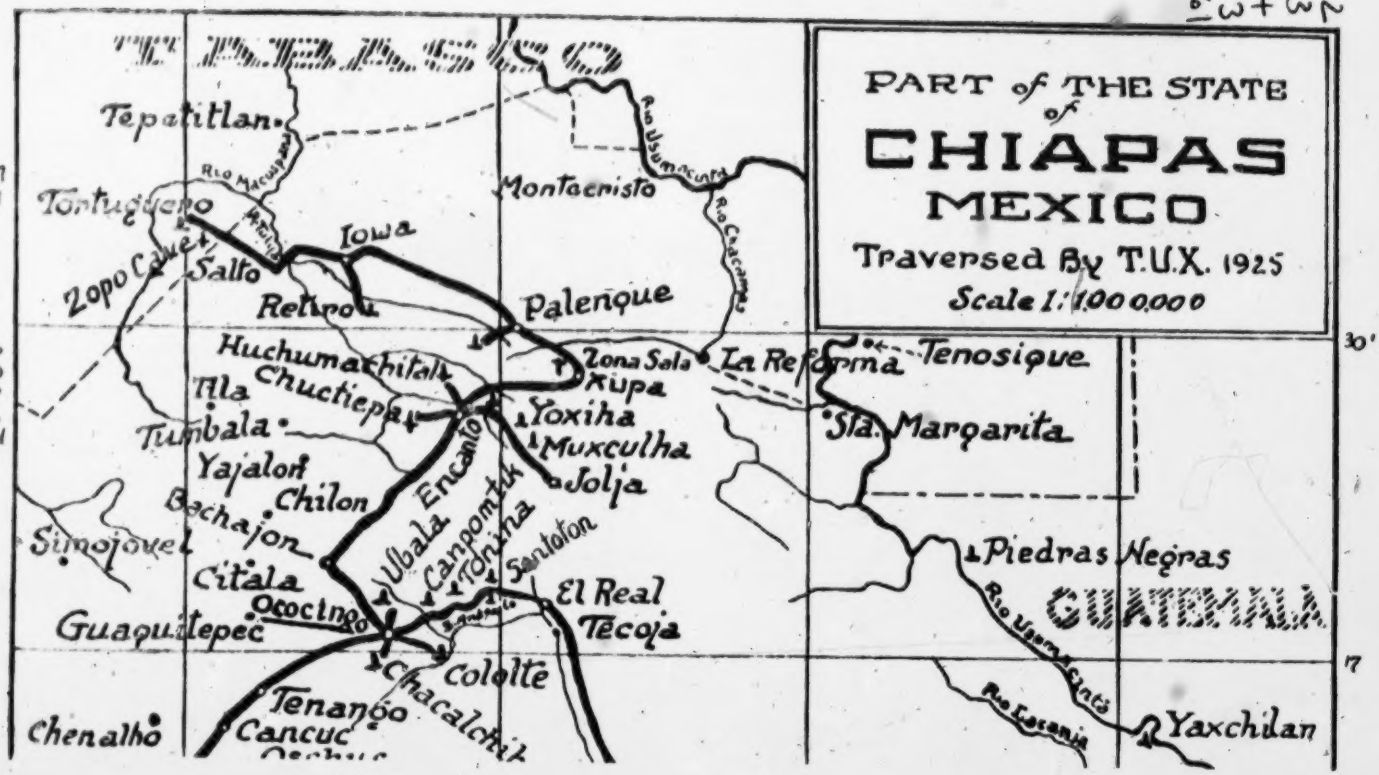

[Facing p. 239, A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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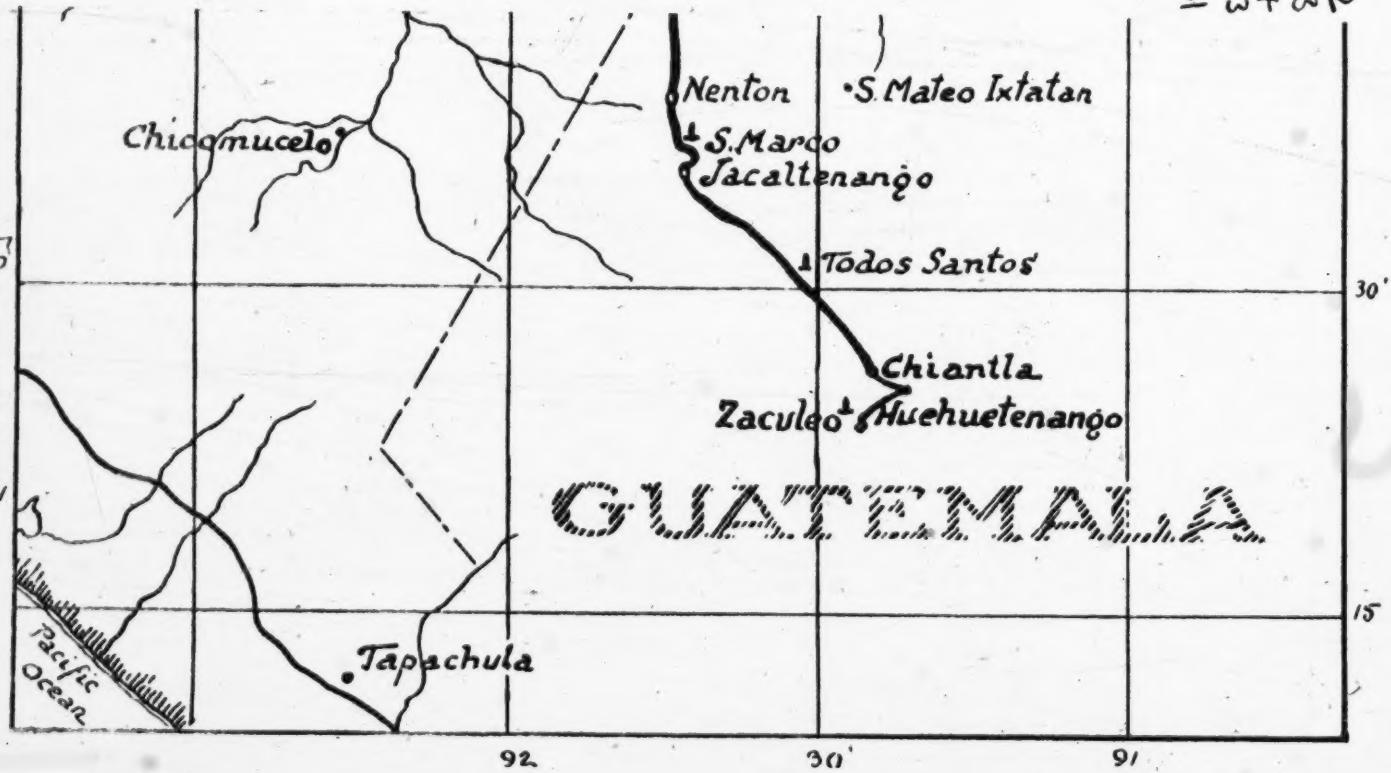
5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9



[facing p. 239, C]

Chapter XI

PINES

T 137 Our trail wound through low bush and second growth. Here and there on hills were islands of high forest, but the level ground formerly under cultivation was now covered with an impenetrable network of low bushes and thorny brambles.

T 241 Indian agriculture is very simple. Towards the end of the dry season the Indian selects a place in the forest for his corn field, and makes an extensive clearing. All trees and branches are cut in small pieces, and left to dry in the baking sun. When thoroughly dry they set fire to them, and in a short while the ground is clear, leaving it as clean as a floor.

Then the Indian plants his corn in holes made with a wooden digging stick. He sows just before the rainy season sets in and waters his field, and thereafter he has nothing to do until it is time to harvest. The ground is never broken, and no fertilizer is used.

This method is very wasteful. Three to four plantings can be made in the same clearing, after which the soil is burnt out and exhausted. Then a new place must be found for the field.

T 161 In this way great tracts gradually become waste land. Today the population is scarce, and the damage is therefore comparatively small; but before the Conquest the population must have been much P.Y. 174 greater, judging by the many and large ruined cities. In those days the Maya undoubtedly first cultivated the lands near his town, and 166 as the soil became exhausted, moved farther away. Then one fine 241 day the distance from field to town became so great, the labour of cultivating the distant field and transporting the crops so excessive, that he was forced to look for new country. Very likely the inhabi- P.Y. [721] tants of one city would invade the territory of a neighbouring city in their search for cultivable land and this would result in war.

P.Y. 172 Dates inscribed on monuments show us that the Maya for some reason abandoned the southern part of their country around the 174 year 600 A. D. After 630 A. D., we find no more dates in this, the Old Empire area, as it has been called; but about the same time 131 dated monuments appear in northern Yucatan.

167 A general exodus from the southern area must have started at 361 this time, and little by little, tribe after tribe went north, leaving their magnificent cities to a few stragglers—eventually to be claimed

PY 172 by the great forest. New cities, one after the other, sprang up in
194 the new country. Several tribes stayed behind, but the leaders and
131 chiefs must have gone north. The tribes still living in the southern
167 area are descendants of those who remained.
361

PY Several explanations have been advanced for this migration,
174 among which are disease, war, and change of climatic conditions.
167 Probably there are many reasons for the exodus, of which the ex-
241 haustion of the soil is one of the principal.

PY The Maya could have gone south. There they would have
131 found igneous mountains. We find Maya speaking tribes in the
167 highlands of Guatemala, but rarely find great buildings in that
194 area. To the north, on the peninsula of Yucatan, the migrants
135 found a limestone country, much like that which they had left.
241 Limestone played a principal role in their whole culture. Lime was necessary for making their principal food, the corn cake (now called tortilla by the Spaniards). Limestone was easy to cut and carve with stone tools, and burnt lime was essential in their temple building. Moreover, the agricultural conditions were similar to those to which they were accustomed. Therefore, after two centuries of moving around, searching for a suitable place, they settled in Yucatan. There they built more great cities, and blossomed out in a magnificent renaissance, finally to reach the climax and then came the downfall of their entire culture.

T Now and then we met a few Indians, but only when we reached
361 the high points of the trail did we see their houses in places of vantage on the hills, away from the trail, so that the inhabitants could look out for strangers.

T Reaching a steep climb, we dismounted and drove our animals
114 along, urging them with Indian cries. The pack animals laboured under their burden, frequently stopping to get their wind, then driven forward again by the yells and whistling of the boys.

T The trail went straight over the ridge, from the top of which we
133 had a magnificent view of the valley of the Bachilá and Bolontichná
137 rivers. Below we heard the roar of the rivers, and in front lay the
114 nearly vertical wall of the southern side of the valley, an enormous geological fault. Along the backbone of a long narrow ridge we could see our trail winding up to the edge of the wall miles ahead. Nowhere in the huge valley at our feet did we see big forest; all was second growth and patches of grass.

T Shortly after noon we had crossed the two rivers, and continued
133 the gradual climb towards the southern rim. As we ascended we
114
[361]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

saw houses and fields, lying away from the trail, and at a bend before us in the distance a perpendicular wall of yellow and red rock, about 400 meters high, framed in green foliage. A vertical, shining white band, the waterfall "Chegua," cut the center of the red cliff. 133 114 361

Toward evening we made camp by a small stream not far below the rim of the valley, 980 meters above sea level, and rolled ourselves in our blankets just as a downpour started to drum on our tent-fly. 114 133

Early in the morning a few Bachajon Indians came stealthily out of the bush to look at our strange outfit. They talked with our Indian carriers, and evidently found out that we were not bad people, as they soon came near to our camp to talk with us. 123

137

Fig. 195—Bachajon, Chis. Pine Forest.

It was a cool morning and the bottom of the valley was hidden under great soft banks of white mists with the mountains appearing above in sharp silhouette against the morning sky. Soon we reached the rim of the valley and looking back towards the north, saw the many mountain ranges we had crossed and also the Don Juan mountain along the foot of which we rode towards Palenque. 114 132 133

The vegetation changed to low oak-like bush over ground covered with fern-like moss and pretty wild iris. As we rode downward to the next valley new mountain ranges appeared before us and we could see the pine country at a distance. There is no transition from tropical vegetation to pine forest. Change in soil is 137

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

137 Change in soil is
134 probably the reason for change in vegetation. The tropical forest grows on black humus soil and the pine country is underlain by a red sandstone which weathers into a heavy red clay. The contact of this sandstone with the limestone country on which leaf trees grow lies about an hour's ride north of the village of Bachajon.

[133] The pine country is very hilly, the trees are scattered over a carpet of vivid green grass cut by the strong red line of the soil of the trail like a scar (fig. 195).

114 It was like riding through a magnificent park, up and down the hills and across small streams. Our poor animals had a hard time on the slippery trail. La Farge's horse gave out, and he had to change his saddle to a spare animal.

361 The Bachajon Indian village came in sight, lying on a hill in the
342 middle of the valley. It was well after noon when we reached the
346 dilapidated, grass-roofed and mud-walled huts clustered around the huge ruin of an old Spanish stone church. The Indians use a new church which they have built of the same material as their houses.

122 The house of the Government agent lies in the middle of the
344 village and here we were quartered in a room, the floor of which had just been covered with a carpet of fresh pine needles.

123 The Bachajon Indians are reputed to be unfriendly to all travellers, so we were not surprised when the Indian chief of the village told us that he could not furnish fodder for our animals or men to carry some of our cargo. To all our questions he answered "Mayuk," or in English, "Ain't got none." But when the chief, a little later, heard from our Encanto men that we had been friendly to them, and that furthermore, we were friends of the big father President in Mexico City, he changed his attitude.

648 The Government agent is sent to the Indian village by the civil
[651] authorities of the neighbouring Mexican town of Ocosingo. He is supposed to collect certain taxes, raise labourers for public works
[653] in the Mexican town, and help the Indians with their affairs. He is highly unpopular among the Indians, who counteract his orders through a remarkable system of passive resistance. They say "yes" to everything and do nothing. The only reason the Indians tolerate
[273] him is because he keeps a small store and sells liquor. The Indian is very fond of sugar-cane rum, and every Saturday and Sunday all the villagers generally get drunk. The agent complained bit-
[123] terly that the Indians were not selling him any food supplies and was astonished when they sold us chickens and eggs.

361 Most of the Bachajon Indians live hidden away in the bush. Only the families of the chief and the village officials live around the old church ruins.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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the old church ruins. The chief and the officials all spoke Spanish, 191
but the only one who knew how to read and write was the town sec- 212
retary, a 15-year old boy.

After dark the Indians gathered in front of the municipal house 123
and presently some of the elders made signs that they wanted to talk 648
to us. We followed them into the dark out of earshot of the agent, where the Indians told us of all their sorrows and difficulties, asking if we could not help them. They said that the agent tried to raise unjust taxes, that they were forced to do much work for the Municipal President of Ocosingo and did not have time to look after their own corn fields, and also that they were molested by the managers of the neighbouring properties. They asked us to bring their complaints before the Central Government, which we have done.

From there our route followed the main trail, or Camino Real, 114
between Chilon and Ocosingo. A few hours ride through pine forest 133
brought us to the top of a pass from where we had a magnificent 361
view over the Ocosingo Valley. We could see the Indian village of Sivacá, and the white walled, red tiled houses of the Mexican town Ocosingo, lying on a green carpet of extensive grazing land. Down over the mountain side we scrambled towards the valley bottom, and by noon the hoofs of our animals clattered against the cobbled stones of Ocosingo's streets.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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[p.244]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Chapter XII

THE OCOSINGO VALLEY

The name Ocosingo is Aztec, signifying the "Place of Pines," 103
a name well chosen, for the valley is enclosed in pine-clad hills. 137
When one stands at the southwestern end of the valley it stretches 133
out in front like a huge natural stadium with the high San Martín mountain lying at the back. The northern and southern sides of the valley consist of two parallel rows of mountains, the inner rows being lower than the outer. The interior ranges slope towards the valley and turn nearly vertical cliff walls towards the very narrow valleys that separate them from the exterior mountains (fig. 196).

The interior ranges are broken up in many points, and this the 133
Maya took advantage of, selecting the highest points for pyramids. [172]

The floor of the valley is grass covered, with scattered groups of [137]
pine trees. Here and there lie ranches, mostly inhabited by Mex- [361]
icans, called Ladinos here. The Ladino is, strictly speaking, a man 829
of mixed Indian and Spanish blood, but the Indians use the term to indicate any Mexican or Spaniard who lives in a town or owns a larger ranch. With the name generally goes a certain amount of education, and the ability to read and write.

Ocosingo town now contains only about 500 inhabitants, living 000
in whitewashed brick houses with red tiled roofs. In the center of the town is a Plaza, at one end of which lies the Palacio Municipal, and at the other end a huge Spanish Colonial church. In front of the church is the public fountain; the water and news supply of the town. All day long girls come here to fill large clay jugs with cool water, led down from the San Martín mountain through an underground canal.

Half of the Plaza is planted with trees, which surround a dilapidated music pavilion, without which no self-respecting Mexican village could exist.

The houses that face the Plaza all have colonnades where one may walk in the shade, and where families bring their rocking chairs in the evenings to sit and watch the crowds of as many as twenty-five men and women who walk around the pavilion, or to look at the horses and cows that feed on the grass growing exuberantly between the paving stones of the Plaza.

The Ocosingo Valley and many smaller valleys adjoining for- 233
merly supported large herds of cattle and had considerable trade. 43

[Text continues on p. 247]

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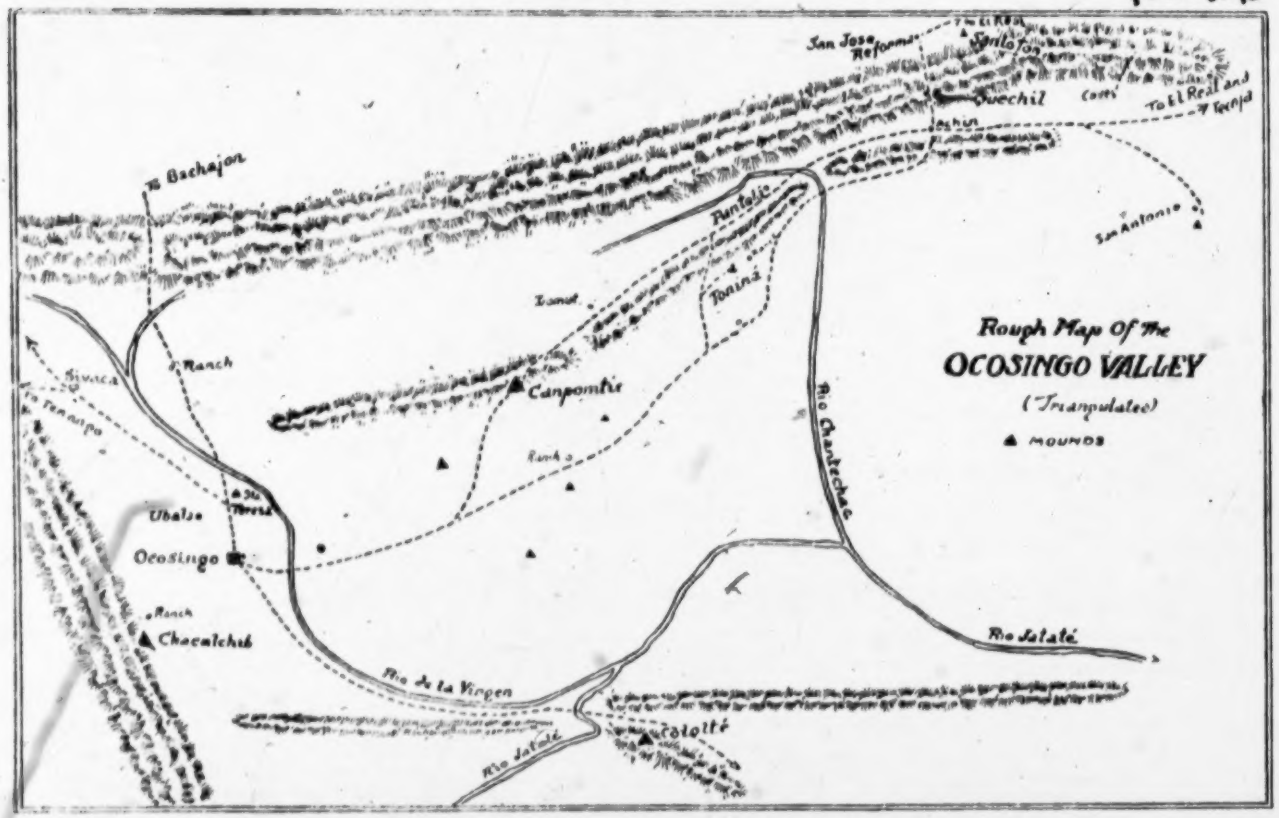

FIG. 196—Ocosingo Valley. (Triangulation). Scale 1:95,000.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Revolutions have since destroyed the herds, and the town now has only a small local trade in sugar and rum. 233

All goods are transported on mule-back over bad trails. Main trails run to Yajalon, San Cristóbal las Casas, and Comitan. Minor trails connect with Tenosique in Tabasco, a ride of five or six days through uninhabited forests. Other small trails lead into the heart of the forests along the Usumacinta river, where there are a few mahogany camps, fourteen days distance on a good mule. 492 491 [313]

The Spanish Conquerors had quickly discovered the richness of the soil and taken possession of it. Therefore, we find but a few Indians around Ocosingo, save at the small town of Sivacá, entirely inhabited by Tzeltal-speaking Indians. From there we secured our labourers, who were summoned by the municipal president and worked for us at the regulation pay of 50 centavos per day. Ocosingo holds sway over the native towns of Sivacá, Tenango, Oschuc, San Martín, and Bachajon. The municipality commands the Indians for all kinds of work, and in many ways lives on what can be pressed from them. As a consequence, the good people of Ocosingo are anything but popular among the Indians, though it appears that the man then in charge, Señor Simon Leon, was quite friendly towards them, and therefore well liked. 175 134 563 [114] 661 829

Geologically, the Ocosingo Valley is a syncline, the valley bottom and the interior mountain ranges being of a coarse red sandstone, and the exterior ranges of limestone. The axis of the valley runs approximately N-80-W to S-80-E, and Ocosingo town is located at an altitude of 900 meters above sea level. 133 [135]

As we rode into the village, La Farge discovered a stone block, carved with hieroglyphs, set in the pavement of the sidewalk, an excellent reception for archaeologists. 172

Our first concern was to find quarters, which we located in a house on the corner of a street leading into the Plaza. Soon our equipment was unloaded, and while we unpacked, the Ladino guide we had acquired in Bachajon went to his house to order food for us. 114 [122]

The restaurant and meal were a surprise, though not pleasant. In a room with a rotten board floor, the plaster falling off the walls, and a huge box full of saints, we were served fried eggs and black beans by an old woman with a large goitre. Though nothing in the house appeared to be either particularly exclusive or clean, the Ladino family seemed to resent that we sat down at the table with our chief guide, the trusty old Indian, Lázaro, now called "Tata" by us.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

114 [192] [554]

"Tata" means something like father, and the Indians use the word as a remark of respect to old men. Our old Lázaro had by now become a part of our outfit, always working, looking after the welfare of our animals and ourselves. We had come to regard him as a friend, and the name "Tata" grew out of nowhere, as the natural thing to call him.

172

FIG. 187.—Toniná, Chis. Monument T-7.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The Municipal President was visited, and as soon as he saw our credentials, arranged for labourers to be furnished from Sivacá, and sent to the ruins of Toniná nearby, to clear the bush for our work. Then we drew the stone discovered by La Farge (see figs. 214-215). 114 [126]

During the evening we talked with many of the inhabitants, and were told of several more carved stones to be found in other parts 172 114

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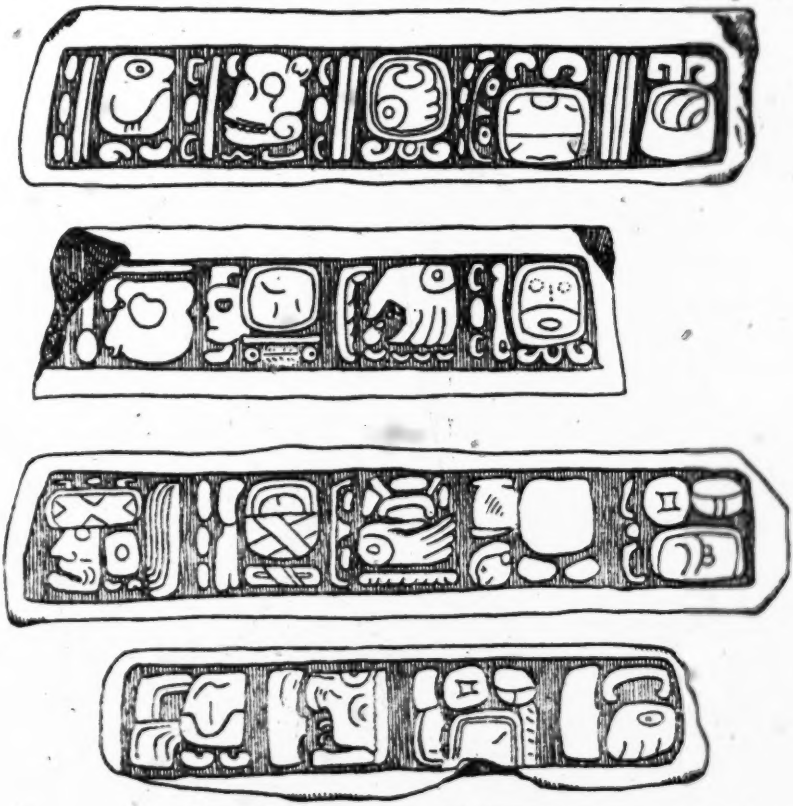

FIG. 198—Toniná, Chia. Drawing of Monument T-7.

of town. Previous Municipal Presidents had paved the streets with cut stones from the Toniná ruins. As a matter fact, it appears, that from the very founding of the Spanish town of Ocosingo, the inhabitants have occupied themselves mainly with hauling rocks from the ruins to the village. 172 114 [363]

Our search for carved monuments led us into strange places, and amusing situations. In the corner of a house belonging to the Ger-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

172 114 man, Dr. Schmeling, was a stone with rows of hieroglyphs somewhat similar to the one first discovered. Behind the church, in a combination back yard and pig sty, we located three large stone figures, two of them with inscriptions. Then we heard of a stone said to be partly buried in the ground on an old site. When we arrived at this place, the owner of the lot appeared, very drunk, and insisted that we pay him $25.00 for permission to see and draw the stone. He was very noisy so we retired, and the next morning returned with an order from the municipal president giving us authority to do what we wanted to with the stone, as it was government property (see figs. 197-198). The laws of Mexico state that all ancient buildings and monuments belong to the nation. Monuments cannot be excavated or removed from the country without government permission. The Tulane Expedition had permits to explore, and due to these permits we received much help from all officials. All objects we discovered were drawn to scale and photographed, but nothing was removed.

[122] → [126] →

FIG. 198—Ulala Ranch, Chis. Upper half of Monument T-6 with modern cross.

Outside the village there was said to be a large stone with carvings. La Farge went out in search of it led by our somewhat imbecile local guide. For some time they wandered around without finding anything, but finally the guide led him to what he said was another stone, a large square block with a circular hole in the center, in which was stuck a huge wooden cross (fig. 199). The stone had been dragged to its present position by our guide's family, and used as a base for the cross of his grandmother's grave. His family did not wish us to find the monument, as they feared we would excavate it; but our imbecile thought he had to produce something for his pay, so he took La Farge to the stone.

[126] La Farge made a sketch of the principal inscription, which showed that it began with one of the so-called Initial Series, most

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

important in Maya Chronology. The writer went to draw the monument, but could not finish it the same afternoon as it began to get dark. The following morning the work was continued and we found that a part of the monument was missing. While working, the owner of the land arrived and told us that there was another stone nearby. This turned out to be the missing fragment, and when the two parts were placed together they carried the Initial Series date 9-12-10-0-0 9 Ahau 13 Zotz, or 422 A. D., after our reckoning. 122 [126]

This was an important discovery, and we persuaded the owner of the Ubala ranch, where we found the monument, to bring the two stones together. His intention was to use the lower part of the monument, which had a large hole in its centre, as a rim to a water tank.

We found a total of nine carved stones of different sizes in and around Ocosingo. All were of the typical yellow sandstone common to Toniná monuments, and there is little doubt but that they all come from these ruins.

Our stay in Ocosingo was very delightful. The children of the village eagerly hunted monuments for us, and our arrival made a boom in the local market. Usually the inhabitants spend their time passing a few pennies from one to the other. One day A makes bread and sells it to B, and the next day B sells bread to A. Now we added a few cents to the city capital. 123

On the day of Corpus Christi the women, with their heads wrapped in black shawls, went to church many times; the men did less work than usual; and the children played baseball on the Plaza. A quaint phraseology, a mixture of American baseball words and Spanish swearing, cheered the play.

While drawing one of the monuments behind the church, we heard an organ playing inside. Suddenly the music swung into some cheerful opera tune, later to return to serious religious music. We had the feeling that whoever was playing suddenly felt gay and happy and decided that the good people of Ocosingo did not know what the music was anyway, but thought anything coming from a church organ was religious, so why not be happy for a short moment?

Indians went back and forth over the Plaza, often filling the door of our room to watch the strangers. Ladinos would come to pay their respects and offer help, and both the Padre and the school teacher often came in for a chat. There was an extraordinary feeling of peace in the little town, a silence which became more notice-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

123 able when broken by the clattering of horses hoofs against the paving stones.

172 From the Plaza one can see a great part of the valley and sur-
114 rounding mountains. When the sun in the morning falls on the San Martín mountain, one's attention is attracted by a spur on this mountain which strongly resembles a pyramid. We asked about this and were told that it actually was an ancient mound. Therefore, one morning, we rode to the foot of the San Martín.

Reaching a small ranch, we left our horses behind and ascended on foot. A spur of the mountain had in ancient times been levelled and shaped to the form of an immense truncated pyramid, rising in terraces.

778 We had heard that there were caves in the mountainside, and
114 that every year, on the 3rd of May, the Indians come here to worship the god of the mountain. Soon we reached a small cave, or rock shelter, and upon entering saw that a tunnel led into the dark. This we followed, with lighted candles, into a small cave, and there on the floor we found signs of a small altar.*

We took great pains not to disturb anything on the altar, returning to the mouth of the cave, and emerged into the glaring sunlight. We then climbed to the top of the pyramid, and found a large level area in the center of which stood a small mound. On top of the mound Indians had erected a wooden cross and at its foot we found bunches of pine needles, also remnants of burnt copal incense. Evidently this also was a place of Indian worship.

114 Sitting on top of the mound we had the whole Ocosingo valley
133 at our feet. The red roofs of the town lay 500 meters below us.
172 The top of the pyramid, called Chacalchib, is 1,440 meters above
361 sea level. Far away we could see two other hilltops that likewise had been turned into pyramids. On the northern edge of the valley lay Campomtik, and further away on the same side we could distinguish the ruins of Toniná. On the southern side of the valley was the mountain-pyramid called Cololté. All these places were later visited.

133 The valley floor spread out before us. Here and there lay small
137 ranches, and patches of pine forest. Several groups of mounds were
361 easily distinguished, as those of Santa Teresa just outside Ocosingo
172 on the trail to Bachajon. At the head of the valley lay Sivacá, the Indian village.

172 On the level top of the pyramid were rows of stones, indicating
114 old house foundations, but though we made a careful search, we found no monuments.

*For Description, see Chapter XV.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Slowly we descended towards the valley, enjoying the magnificent view. The country we were to work in for the following weeks lay before us like a map. About half-way down we encountered another cave, in which we also found an Indian altar. This time the offerings were placed before a small cross, crudely made of wood.

La Farge, as usual, was busy collecting data on the Indians' life and customs, and while he paid a visit to the village Sivacá, the writer set out to explore the Cololté pyramid, sometimes called Hocuchupac, which was said to have a stone idol on it. We also heard that the good inhabitants of Ocosingo were afraid to go to the mountain top, not knowing what the Indians might do.

FIG. 200—Cololté, Chia. Altar on top of the Cololté Pyramid.

Our local guide was eventually persuaded to take me to the ranch of a Ladino boy, by name Cenón, on whose property the pyramid was located.

From Ocosingó we rode along the Rio Grande de la Virgen until it joined the Jataté River, which we crossed and soon came to the ranch of Cenón, who was in the field, but came out when we called. Though the pyramid, as stated, was on his property, he was not eager to take me to it, and when he finally agreed, he first armed himself with an old 30-30 Winchester.

Following long, narrow, pine ridges we approached the pyramid. It was beautiful country with scattered pine and grass below.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

133 Finally we reached the foot of a steep hill, on top of which the idol
77 was supposed to be. This hill sloped gradually towards the north
172 and the valley. Its southern side was a vertical cliff wall. It was difficult to climb to the top as the ground was slippery underfoot from its carpet of pine needles, but it was well worth the trouble. We reached the top, and there before us stood a small altar, built of rough stones (fig. 200). On the centre of the altar stood the idol, a small figure, 64 cm. high, carved out of yellow sandstone, and of the same type as those idols we had already seen, and knew to come from Toniná. The idol was badly weathered—only its sandaled feet were distinguishable. It was without a head, and had no carved hieroglyphs. Before it stood crude clay bowls in which were the charred remains of copal incense; rows of crude candlesticks were planted between the stones; and offerings of coloured strips of paper and small bunches of pine needles lay scattered around.

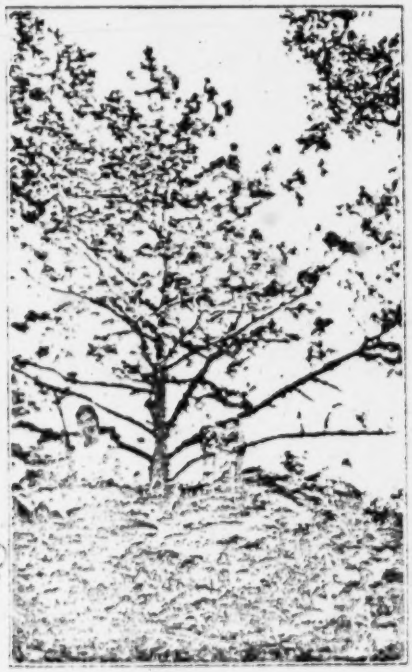

Fig. 200—Cololté, Chis. Altar on top of the Cololté Pyramid.

Four hundred years of Spanish rule, four hundred of Catholic missionizing, had not been able to stamp out the worship of the ancient gods in the ancient way. Here I stood, the first white man to behold this altar, a white man with a deep interest in the ancient history of this country. I could not help feeling that the ancient gods were still living, and that I was nearer to the ancient times at that moment than I had ever
172 been before. As I turned and saw just across the valley the mighty pyramids of Campomtik, and Toniná, the powerful city that once ruled over the valley, I realized that before me lay buried the ruins of a small State within the huge Maya area—a State born of Maya culture, using Maya hieroglyphs, speaking a Maya dialect, but at the same time expressing itself through its art in a way distinct from any other part of the Maya area.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

We have divided Maya history in two groups, the Old Empire 175
and the New Empire. Of the history of the New Empire we know 174
a considerable amount, but our knowledge of the Old Empire history is scant. We know the area in which it flourished as a whole, like knowing Greece without being aware of Sparta, Athens, and Corinth. Here in front of me lay one of the first hints of the subdivisions of the Old Empire. Knowledge will advance, and soon we shall be able to tell about the rise and decline of states and cities, to revive the history of the foremost people of ancient America.

Nearly due north across the valley lies the Campomtik pyramid. 172
La Farge visited it while we worked at Toniná. It, too, is a re- 133
modeled mountain top, and as it is covered with grass, it stands out 778
sharply against the forest-clad hills. It consists of a series of terraces with a depression which has stone-faced terraces and floor. From the valley bottom the hill rises 280 meters, of which 105 meters (325 feet) have been terraced. Broken pottery is found in various places on the hillside, and on the top now stands two wooden crosses, set there by the Indians. The name Campomtik means [103]
"much yellow incense." Incense was burned on the hilltop until [782]
quite recently. At such times they burned great fires, and shot off [796]
many rockets bought in Ocosingo. Finally the celebrations got too [177]
fervent for the Catholic Father, and he had the Indians driven away [178]
by the town officials. Generally, though, the Padres let the Indians alone when they celebrate in honour of the ancient gods (fig. 201).

Outside Ocosingo, where the trail divides, one going to Bachajon, 172
the other to Sivacá, lies a group of mounds called Santa Teresa. Rumors that Indains had buried church treasures here after an uprising, led the townspeople to make a large excavation. According to some people in Ocosingo, they found a small wooden sanctuary, and a beautiful clay bowl with a fish on its lid. This bowl later was bought by Seler.*

It is remarkable how persistent are rumors of buried treasures. 123
Every Ladino expects to find "dinero," money, in any mound, and 172
they are usually sadly disappointed. Also, most of these people believe that we find money, else why should we dedicate so much time to our explorations? We had a case where one man offered to go fifty-fifty with us if we would explore a mound on his lands. The whole mound at Santa Teresa has been dug through, and it is told in Ocosingo that the excavators found, not money, but a small wooden sanctuary with a saint inside. We hear every day, when among the Ladinos and Mexicans, stories of church bells of solid gold, and cocks that crow at midnight on top of the mounds.

*Seler, E., 1901. Fig. 279.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

172 114 At last we had drawn all the carved stones in Ocosingo, so, preceded by a gang of Tzeltal-speaking Indians from Sivacá, we rode out to the ruins of Toniná. The road led through the centre of the valley, crossing the Rio Grande de la Virgen over a bridge which had recently been reconstructed after the rebels of the last revolution [137] had destroyed it. We were riding through rolling grass-covered country with clusters of pine trees and small groups of mounds scattered here and there. The Campomtik pyramid stood out sharply against the surrounding dark pine forest. We turned off from the main trail to the north and soon came in sight of the ruins, which Stephens, eighty-five years before, had come over the same trail to visit. Several explorers had been before him, but none had

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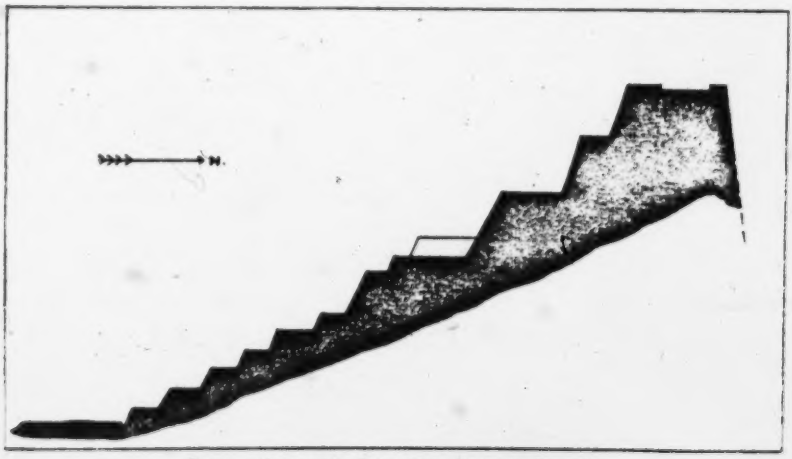

Fig. 201—Campomtik, Chia. Cross Section of Pyramid.

172 114 given such a vivid description of the ruined city we were now to explore.

Following the northern mountain range, we came to the Plaza at the foot of the ruins, and rode up to the first terrace as Stephens had done. There we tied our horses and proceeded on foot. Don Aureo Cruz, owner of the land on which the ruins lie, guided us through a part of the ruins that had never been recorded. We reached the Temple of the Wooden Lintel, saw the "winged globe" drawn by Catherwood, then entered the sanctuary. Before us was the wooden lintel which has been lying over the door for nearly 1500 years, and which made Stephens marvel. Then and there we drank a small tumbler of the local cane wine in memory of John Lloyd Stephens and F. Catherwood, among the first to break the trails we

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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are now following in our search for the history of the ancient Maya.

After crossing a small stream, we rode up to the ranch of Don Aureo Cruz. The ranch consisted of a two-room, palm-thatched house with adobe walls, and a dilapidated hut which served as kitchen, across a small courtyard. We had spent our days and nights in so many strange places that we hardly noticed this, and the more time we spent with Don Aureo and his family, the better we liked it. One could not have found a more kind and courteous family. What they possessed was ours. Don Aureo kept watch over our workmen, and helped us in our investigations from early to late. His wife and daughters were constantly preparing special dishes and cakes for us. 114

While we were getting off our animals, we saw the extremely pretty eldest daughter of the house, a beauty of about 17 years with long black hair and fiery dark eyes, strewing the floor of the main room with fragrant, fresh pine needles. We were ushered into this room and were at once offered fresh milk and several handfuls of small clay idols by Don Aureo. In one corner of the room was a table and benches, in the opposite corner an altar to San Antonio of Toniná. A few days before our arrival a fiesta had been celebrated in honour of this saint, and the altar was still decorated with garlands of coloured paper, and a paper band with gilt letters saying "Viva San Antonio, 1925."

Our stay at Don Aureo's house will not soon be forgotten. The evenings we shall especially remember, when we sat outside the hut and listened to Don Aureo's tales of the Indians, while his pretty daughters were busy flirting with our guides, and with us too. A pine stick fire lit up the walls of the houses and flickered over the brown faces of our hosts and our Indian labourers, who sat just back of us, chatting in their own strange language and enjoying the local cigars we had given them. Out in the dark our animals could be heard grazing, and now and then a pig or a dog would approach the fire, to be driven away with shouts and sticks.

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5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Chapter XV

THE NORTHERN TZELTAL TRIBES

114 Ever since leaving Zona Sala, we had been working in the coun-
101 try of the Tzeltal-speaking tribes who form an outpost of the High-land Indians. The Bachajon, of the Finca Encanto and Bachajon village, and the Indians of Ocosingo and the neighbouring valleys, living as they do, cut off from the outside world, strong in number, and of a rather independent disposition, gave us the first evidences of how little the Indian of the Chiapas Highlands has changed since the days before Columbus. The kings and priests are dead, the temples have been replaced by churches and Christian forms, but the Indians and labourers of today in many respects live the life that their humble forebears did five hundred years ago.

114 At this point, before describing our trip up into the true moun-tain country, it seems opportune to tell something of these people, their manners and customs. We did not have time to make an ex-haustive study of any of them, but they were constantly with us as guides and labourers, and we passed through many of their villages.
115 At El Encanto we had a chance to visit and examine the settlement
126 of the finca's workmen, with the kind help of Señor Ciriaco Aguilar, who acted as interpreter and supplied us with invaluable informa-tion. Señor Arturo Tovilla helped us with the Linguistic Lists (see Appendix III), as well as describing many of the customs recorded in this chapter. Señor Aureo Cruz of Toniná dictated a Tzeltal Prayer and Conversation, which was analyzed with the help of Señor Manuel Bulnes of El Real. (See Appendix VI). In general it may be said that all the Spanish-speaking people with whom we dealt helped us in every way possible.*

101 The Bachajon (*Batcahon*) and Ocosingo Valley Indians are, as
197 has been said, an outlying part of a large group living in the moun-tain country. They speak the Tzeltal language, belonging to that branch of the great Mayance stock more closely related to Maya.
131 In the pine country of Chiapas they hold the largest share of land,
101 occupying an irregular area running southeast from Simojovel to

[175] *The written sources bearing directly on the ethnology of these people are very meager. Nuñez de la Vega (1702) gives the best account of the early religion; his section on Nagualism has been reprinted by Paniagua (1908) along with an important selection of other early sources. Licenciado Vicente Pineda (1888) in his account of the Indian uprisings, gives some information, together with the most complete linguistic material. He gives a native calendar, probably based on one published by Emeterio Pineda (1845). Of modern scientific works, Starr (1901 and 1903) has ethnographic material, and pub-lishes the only physical measurements (1902). Seler (1898) goes into the calendar in detail. For com-parative material Tozzer (1907) and Sapper (1925) have been our chief reliance. Sapper's "Nordliche Mittelamerika" (1897) was in constant use in the field for information on all subjects. Particular references are given as they occur. Prof. Rudolph Schuller kindly allowed me access to his manuscript material.

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131 the Guatemala border, which it overlaps at Gracias á Dios. They
101 do not reach the highest part of the mountains. For the most part, they live in isolated tribal groups, although in some places, notably in Ocosingo Valley, they are attached to *haciendas* and *fincas*. Much of the easternmost country marked in the maps as belonging to them and the Chol is actually uninhabited wilderness, or, if occupied at all, is Lacandone territory.

101 Their immediate neighbours of the Highlands are the Zotzil and
197 Chaneabal. The former speak a language differentiated from Tzeltal only by a shift of *a, e,* and *b* to Zotzil *o, i,* and *m,* respectively.* Chaneabal is spoken by a small group near Comitan. The people of that place say that the language is simply Tzeltal influenced by Mames contact. The list given in Appendix III, seems to bear this out. To the north, and around Tumbalá, are the Chol Indians, whose language is quite distinct, but, of all the other Mayance tongues, probably the nearest to the Highland group.

197 The language itself has been variously named Cendal, Tzendal, Cendales, Tzental, and Tzeltal. I have taken the latter form, as it most nearly represents the Indians' own form, *ts'eltal,* varied in careless speech to *tceltal.* The villages are spoken of as tribes, be-
197 cause each one forms a separate, self-governing unit. There is no evidence of cohesion within the language-group as a whole save
628 during certain periods of uprisings. Individual villages may resemble tribes of another speech more closely than they do those of
[104] their own. The Mexican spelling of Tzeltal names is given first, followed by the phonetic spelling (See Appendix III), and the translation, if known.

101 The Bachajon live on the threshold of the pine country. Their
[131] farms may be found hidden away in the thick jungle land of ma-
[137] hogany and palms, through which their little hidden trails lead to houses tucked away out of sight of alien travelers. Altogether, they
[161] are estimated at five thousand families, but it is doubtful whether evidences of more than fifty farms could be seen by one passing along the trail through the heart of their country. The capital, Bachajon Village, is among the pines. There, periodically, the
[648] Spaniards used to round them up, that they might be more easily policed, and for the benefit of the church established there. Once
[346] there was a fine, stone church and a neat Cabildo with white walls, colonnade, and tiled roof. Both have been wrecked by the Indians,
[344] apparently because they did not like to be reminded of alien domination, for from the wreckage of the old church, they took tiles to roof their new one, and they have a straw-thatched Cabildo for the Maestro, or government agent.

*Starr (1903) quoting Sanches (1890).

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The country near the village has been farmed out long ago; now 361
the fields lie at a distance in the jungle. After every concentration, 311
the Indians drift away again like blown smoke. Today most of the [241]
houses are rotten, sagging, with gaping doors. The paths are grown up with weeds, huge, old moss-covered crosses lean at crazy angles by the main trails. Over all broods the frame of the sacked church, huge stone walls with rank vegetation around them, and a twisted, unhealthy oak-tree on one side, like a composition by Piranesi.

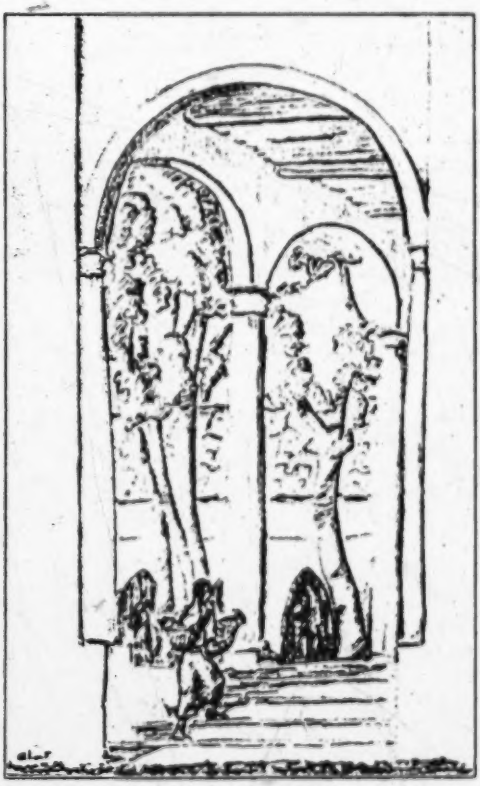

Fig. 277—Ocosingo, Chis. Colonnade on the Plaza.

Ocosingo Valley and 133
its neighbours furnish a transition towards the real highlands. The valleys are fertile and green, ringed in with ranges of steep, rich hills. The soil 134
in the lower parts is 137
light; here palms and pines grow together, with a luxuriance of rich grass that makes an ideal grazing country. Through 361
the valleys are large and small ranches of Ladinos and old Spanish families. The bigger ones, such as San Antonio, Quechil, and Achin in the Ocosingo Valley, San José Reforma and El Real beyond the San José Pass, and Tecojá in its own valley, each has a village of Indian labourers attached to them. The 342
natives' houses are rather better that the average, and often tile-roofed (fig. 278). The In- 241
dians of each ranch function more or less as a tribe, governed by 648
the owner of the ranch, conducting their own worship at its chapel. A few Indians own scattered, independent farms. Sivacá (*sivak* 361
ha', "Gunpowder Water"), near Ocosingo on the trail to Tenango, 621
is a true village, self-governing, with its own *alcalde*, under the su- 622
pervision of a Ladino *maestro*. All these groups come together at 628
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Bachajón

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796 certain times of the year for ceremonies, such as those at Chakalchib, and formerly at Campomtik, to be mentioned later. The Bachajon hold their own ceremonies at their village.

141 Physically, the Tzeltal, like all the Mayance Indians, are short, averaging probably about 160 centimeters (5 feet, 4 inches) for the
142 men, and slightly less for the women. Their build is slender, with stringy muscles, except for a good development of the calves. Hands and feet are small and well-formed. Their slenderness is
147 deceptive, for their great strength lies in their legs, back, and neck, seen in their ability to carry loads of 45 kilograms (100 lbs.) and upwards, all day up and down hill without undue fatigue. Taking in a tump-line a load under which they cannot rise from the floor.

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FIG. 276—Finca Tecojá, Chis. Houses of Indians attached to the Finca.

147 without help, they will carry it with ease. The lifting power of their arms is less than that of Americans or Ladinos. Their headform is
142 meso- to brachycephalic, and the cranium is small. Deformation in
[304] the shape of a marked depression just above the juncture of the hair-line and the forehead, due to the use of a tump-line from early infancy, may be responsible for the conical appearance of the top of the skull. Noses are, on the whole, mesorrhine and small, with little appearance of the famous "Maya Nose," and then in a narrow form, lacking the width of nostril seen in pre-historic figures. Prognathism is slight; alveolar proganthism being the more common, particularly in children. Hair form is straight, coarse, and black. Gray hair or baldness are very unusual. Body hair, as far as could be observed,

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is negative. Among the Bachajon, face hair was very slight, or 142
negative, even on men of past middle age. At Sivacá the Alcalde, an elderly man, had a small beard. This is more commonly found among the Indians further in the Highlands. A slightly taller and more heavily boned type here also suggests the Highland influence (figs. 279-280-281-282-283).

Temperamentally, the Bachajon were by far the least pleasant 152
Indians with whom we had to deal. They are drunken, revengeful, and murderous. The murders, usually the sudden outburst of a long-nursed feud, are sometimes so appallingly brutal that one would think them committed by an abnormal or degenerate people.

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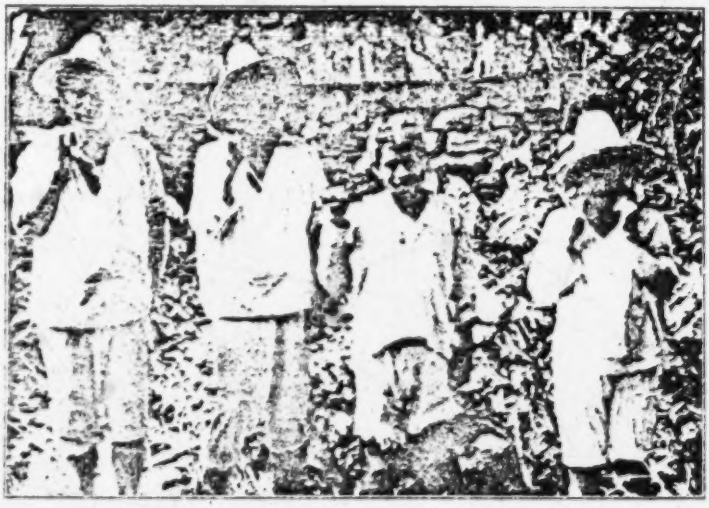

FIG. 279—Huxumachital, Chia. Bachajon men.

Yet, at the same time, these were the most independent Indians we 648
met, controlling their own lives and way of living, and are left very much alone by the neighbouring Ladinos.

All the Indians are outwardly restrained, at least in the presence 609
of strangers, although an accident, such as a narrow escape, shows 152
them to be volatile and ready to express emotion. At home, they are cheerful, and laugh willingly. In bursts of feeling, as during an uprising, or one of the murders mentioned above, capable of any outrage, ordinarily they are not a cruel people. They showed them- 123
selves always responsive to friendly advances on our part.

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Bachajón

000 An excellent discussion of the character of the neighbouring Indians of Guatemala, which applies well to these, by one who has lived long among them, is found in Sapper's "Der Charakter der Mittelamerikanisch Indianer."

648 771 793 Before passing on to the native culture, a little must be said of the outside influences that do so much to mould it — the Church, the Government, and the Hacienda. The first of these occupies a very curious position indeed. While the Indians are ostensibly Christian, as will be [142] [291] [301] [302] shown later, in many ways they are still unconverted. It may be said, briefly, that they acknowledge two antagonistic worships. Of these, the Christian has publicly the upper hand. The Priests, accordingly, wield a tremendous influence among them, and did even more so in the past, when supported by the State. Our experience on this trip was that, on the whole, this [142] [291] [302] influence was intelligently and beneficially used. To the Priests the Indians confide their troubles, to them they accord the greatest honour on the occasions of their visits to the villages. Yet, at the same time, the Indians conceal from them one-half of their worship, knowing them to be sworn to stamp it out.

FIG. 288—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon girls.

FIG. 291—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon man and boy.

648 241 361 466 The Hacienda system has caused the formation of many small villages, as has been said above. In other cases, as with the Bachajon on the Encanto property, the Indians living at large on the distant lands of the

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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hacienda, are held liable for a certain amount of labour each year, in lieu of rent. Should one of them fail to do his share, the owners are considered free to arrest him and bring him in. While so working, they are paid, largely in credit at the local store, and fed. On the haciendas with regular village establishments, and in other parts of Mexico, this system has worked smoothly in the past, because the workers found themselves cared and provided for, corn laid up for the future, money or credit ready for festive occasions, and so forth. But the more independent Bachajones seem amply able to take care of themselves, and do not relish working for a ranch miles from their homes, even when they acknowledge its ownership of the jungle in which they dwell.

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The payment of labour is seen again in relations of the Indians with the Government, which holds them liable to road-mending and municipal work, as a form of tax. Commonly, crimes are also punished by fines of such work. The system is irregularly applied. For instance, some Indians from Cancuc, who were carrying part of our outfit to San Cristóbal, were held up for two hours road-work at one point. Every Indian that came that way was similarly held. Starr (1902) reports the same experience. In San Cristóbal the right to collect any Indian for labor has been so abused as materially to harm the trade of the town. Quite serious crimes, as long as only committed by one Indian against another, are relatively lightly punished in this manner. It may be said, as far as concerns the tax-*corvée*, that the right of the Indians to go home again before staying away long enough to cause their crops to suffer is generally recognized, and the Indians themselves know when it is time to announce that they must leave. The whole system, however, leads to a certain amount of hard feeling on the Indians' part.

FIG. 283—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon men.

[829]

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Interwoven with these specific factors must be considered the Ladino's general attitude towards the Indian. To him, especially the town-dweller, the natives are barbarous in all respects, legiti-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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648 mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

829 The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We received many small favours and [123] acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

Fig. 269—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

241 In their culture these people [181] belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend [433] primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the [291] staple crop. Calabashes, melons, [301] beans, tobacco, bananas, and cotton are raised. The farming is [302] carried on by the same wasteful "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old [178] Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment [166] of many cities. In the case of the Bachajon, it has already become one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn 262 boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates 252 which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and 411 weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but al- 412 ways made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most 184 amazing industries in the world. 177

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amazing industries in the world. In addition, most men own smooth-bore flint-lock muskets, a few having progressed to percussion caps. The bow and arrow occurs occasionally as a child's toy. 411 [524]

The Bachajon men dress in cotton clothing, made of material bought in Ocosingo, or, more rarely, of home weave (fig. 284). The shirt is cut without tails, the trousers are of European type save that they tie with a string and have no buttons. Ordinarily they are worn rolled up above the knee. Over the trousers is worn a sash of native weave, red with fringed ends, and often decorated with black and yellow design in lines, sometimes forming a plaid effect. The sash is wound around, crossing in front, then turned back on itself, and the ends tucked under behind, so that they hang down below the shirt (fig. 285). 291

FIG. 284—El Encanto, Chix. A Bachajon Medicine Man.

Shirts of native weave occasionally have fine coloured lines running through them. The opening, which runs about two-thirds of the way down the front, the cuffs, and the seams at the shoulders may be decorated with very simple stitching. Down the front is a row of small buttons, coloured if possible, not all of which are for use. The most admired arrangement seems to be an alternation, such as red, black, white, repeated, although cases were observed in which no two were alike. These buttons are bought at the stores.

Sandals, *tep*, are ordinarily of leather, a thick sole with simple heel-toe string and loop. The leather is usually bought ready-cut. Formerly they were made of *mahagua* bast wicker-work, in form corresponding to that found in Basket-Maker sites of the Southwestern United States,* and these are still occasionally woven. The finest specimens are dyed red with a bark. Bast sandals are called *canak* (fig. 286). [92]

*Kidder and Guernsey, 1919, Page 100 et seq.

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291 Their hats are a smaller-brimmed version of the Mexican sombrero, plaited by the men out of straw. The long plait is stitched in a spiral with *ixtle* fibre or henequen. They may be decorated with coloured ribbons.

302 Hair is worn short, and banged across the forehead.

291 The Bachajon women get themselves up a little more gaily, in a dark blue skirt and prettily embroidered blouse. Both are made of materials purchased in the stores. The skirt, *tsekel*, made of the blue cotton from San Cristóbal, is in the form of a cylinder, decorated along the seams, with parti-coloured stitching, red, white, green, and yellow. Naturally, it is a great deal too full at the waist; this fullness is taken up with a twist, which is then tucked in, holding the skirt in position without disaster.

The blouse, *kuul*, is of white cotton, the neck open from shoulder to shoulder, with a short sleeve coming half-way to the elbow. [294] Embroidery of red and blue thread, or an appliqué of stamped tape bought in the stores, outlines the neck and shoulder seams, the edge of the sleeves, and the upper part of the front of the blouse. The bottom is tucked in under the skirt.

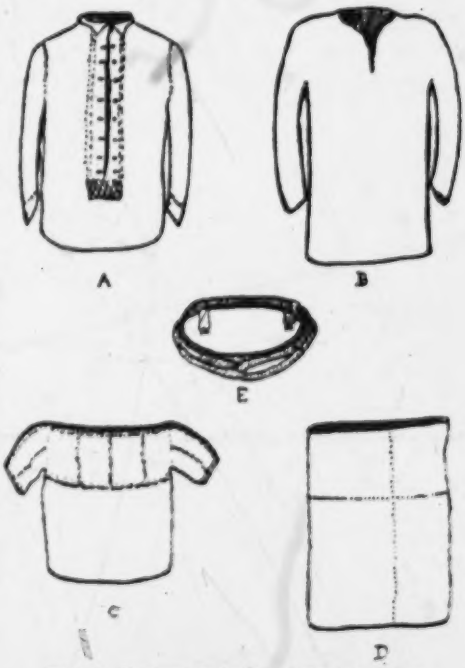

Fig. 285—Costumes, Bachajon and Ocosingo Valley.

A. Shirt, Bachajon.
B. Man's shirt, Ocosingo Valley.
C. Woman's blouse, Bachajon.
D. Woman's skirt, Bachajon and Ocosingo Valley.
E. Sash

302 The women do their hair in one or two braids, which may be decorated with red or yellow ribbon. Ordinarily it is very neatly combed and parted down the middle. Sometimes it is allowed to hang unbraided, but gathered with a pin or ribbon just behind the head.

291 177 Curiously enough, the Indians in Ocosingo Valley, although more in contact with the Ladino people, have a less European costume.

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tume. The men's shirt is more of a tunic, home woven, without cuffs, collar, or buttons, with a V-neck, and much longer. It may be tucked in under the trousers or worn outside, with the sash over all. Their trousers are sometimes wrapped at the ankles with tape. On the haciendas, a great deal of ordinary European clothing, bought at the local stores, is worn. 291 [177]

The women's dress does not differ from the Bachajon, save for a coarse red sash with yellow stripes, which comes from Comitan.

Houses, *na'*, are of two kinds, the normal, highland type found in Ocosingo Valley and in Bachajon Village itself, and a palm-roofed variant, not unlike the houses of the lowlands, found among the Bachajon in the jungle region (fig. 287). 342 [184]

FIG. 286—El Encanto, Chis. Bark Sandals.

The roof of the normal type, made of a grass thatch laid on in overlapping bundles to a thickness of about twenty centimeters, is called *winikak*. It stands independently of the walls, being supported on cross-beams laid from the main uprights, *kuk'up*. A hip roof is always used for a true dwelling. Often the building is under-cut at one end, so that a small porch is made, on which the door opens. [291]

The walls, *p'ahk*, are of upright sticks stuck in the ground and lashed with lianas, standing without support, separate from the frame. Usually they are thinly plastered with mud. The manner of building the frame itself is described below.

Those of the Bachajon living in the close jungle, where grass is not available, thatch their roofs with palm, when they are called *can*. The leaves are usually of the *chiapai*, *tcyapai*, or *chichon*, *ak'te*. Banana leaves are sometimes used for temporary structures, but fray too readily. Owing to the warmer climate, the walls are not plastered, and often part of the house is un-walled. Usually the porch is omitted. A careful study was made of a house of this type about half a mile from the Finca Encanto, which was a good example save that, being in an open space where grass was plentiful, it was grass thatched.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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123 648 Visiting such a house is not a mere, simple social affair. Here, on a steep-sided and slippery natural hill, lived a family belonging to a notoriously exclusive people. Our hostess seemed suspicious of the visit at first, although one visitor was a "Melicano," one of the pair who had already acquired a good reputation with the Indians, and his guide, Señor Aguilar, was known to be a friend. Men in felt hats and boots seldom visited those houses for good purposes; at the best, they might be expected to make off with a quantity of eggs and tortillas without paying their value—at the worst, the head of the house might be haled away for forced labour, or there might be a fight, the pigs killed, and the little hut set afire. The family consisted of a married couple their small son, and two grown girls. On our first visit the wife alone was there. She was at first sullen and a little frightened, but becoming reassured by degrees, showed herself to be a placid, dignified woman, pleasant, neat, and in many ways an ideal type of the traditional housewife. After we had given medicine to one of the girls for cold, and to the husband for mild fever, with a gaudy chromo of a saint to decorate the family altar, they came [342] to take us for granted, and allowed us to see unfolding the harmonious, dignified family life, with its feeling of unvoiced yet real affection that is so typical of the American Indian where European contact has been slight. The 342 little house, only half walled, and small—about 15 x 13½ feet—was [353] always neat, its dirt floor swept clean, each small posession in its [356] place. There was a faint smell of wood-smoke and earth, with the scent of the rich jungle drifting in, the sound of low-voiced talk, wind in grass, or the grind and thump of the metates, now and then laughter.

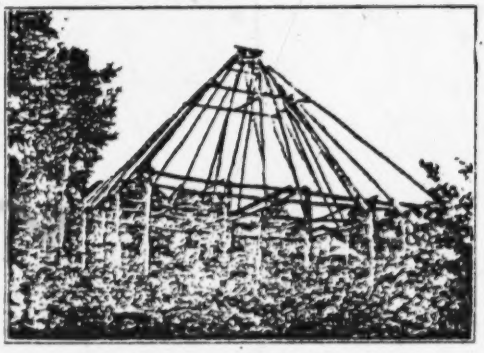

Fig. 287—Cancuc, Chis. Frame of house, illustrating type used in whole area.

The house was a rectangle, 4.90 x 4.20 meters (figs. 288-289), the front of the house being on a short side. The back and slightly less than half of the sides were walled with close-planted, upright [352] poles, without plastering. To wooden beds, *waixyivel*, like low tables, were built into the corners thus framed. Four corner-posts,

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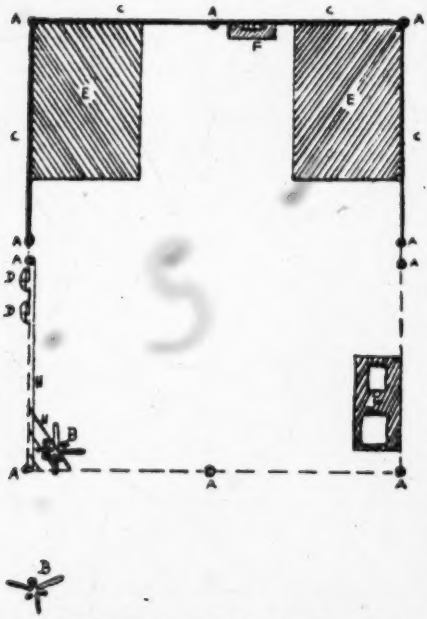

FIG. 289—El Encanto, Chia. Bachajon House. Plan. (Scale 3:100).

A. Uprights, kak'up.
B. Fire.
C. Wall, p'ahk.
D. Rat Trap.
E. Beds.
F. Altar.
G. Table with Metates.
H. Racks.

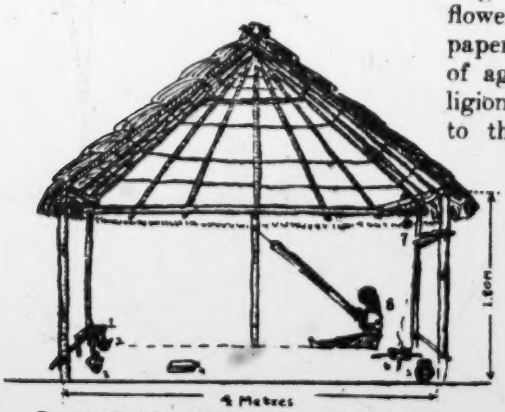

FIG. 290—El Encanto, Chia. Section of Bachajon House.

1. Table, ahk'en, with Metates.
2. Basket of clay, teavek hum.
3. Tenango water jar, k'ip.
4. Squatting chair, tsamate.
5. Olla, ocom.
6. Fire, kak'.
7. Racks, bartet, with packages.
8. Woman weaving.

a central front and back post, and two posts close together on each side at the ends of the walls, supported the roof-beams. There were no horizontal members save the plates, following the line of the eaves. The rafters were built up from these direct to the ridge-pole, joined by light cross pieces, or thatching-poles, laid on outside. Near the top they were braced by a purlin of heavy logs on the inside. From floor to eaves it was 1.80 meters, and about the same from eaves to the ridge-pole. The floor was of hard dirt, fairly well levelled, and well swept. We were told that situations on hills, such as this, are commonly chosen to assure drainage, and that there is no orientation.

The altar, a table and a large cross decorated with flowers, pine-tips, and bits of paper, which will be spoken of again when discussing religion, was placed at the back to the right of the middle post. In front, to the right, was the table, *ahk'en*, on which were two metates, or grinding stones. They were legless, one end being raised slightly by propping with stones. The finer one was called *skaltca-tut* ("metate-small"), it was made of a fine, sandy lime-

412 stone, *ton-al-ha'*, ("water stone"). The other, *skaltca-muk* ("big metate") was made of an igneous stone called *hayáltcak*, brought from San Martín. The *manos*, or smaller stones used for grinding
354 on these, were called *miscabtca* (fig. 290). To the left, opposite this table, was the fire, *kak'*, built of two broken ollas and two small rocks, placed so that the logs could be laid star-fashion between them, and close enough together to support the tortilla griddle or
354 an olla (fig. 291). Outside the house was another fire, with only
251 three stones, on which was drying a basket full of *pinole*, *tcilim*, a
252 fruit which is mixed with cacao in a form of chocolate. Over the house fireplace racks, *bartet*, were placed at the level of the eaves
354 across the corner, and along the wall to the middle post, that things
353 hung up there might be protected by the smoke from insects. All
417 these things are indicated in the plan.

352
412

FIG. 290—Table with Metates

352 A hammock, *aktci*, which we understood was not of native make, hung across the middle of the house. Two woven mats, *pOp*, the Spanish *petate*, lay on the beds. Beside this, the beds, and the table, the only thing that could properly be called furniture was a three-
[287] legged stool about 30 centimeters high, *matsumte*. Two mats of pounded bark, or tapa, *bat-te* ("bark tree"), or *bat manil tcahan*, were rolled up in a corner. First comers got the hammock to lie in, others sat on the low "squatting seats," *tsamate*, of which there were three, made each of half a log, peeled, and partially flattened on top, with a handle on one end.

415 The tortilla griddle was a flat, dish-like pottery affair, about 40 centimeters in diameter. There were five ollas, *ôcom*, with plain

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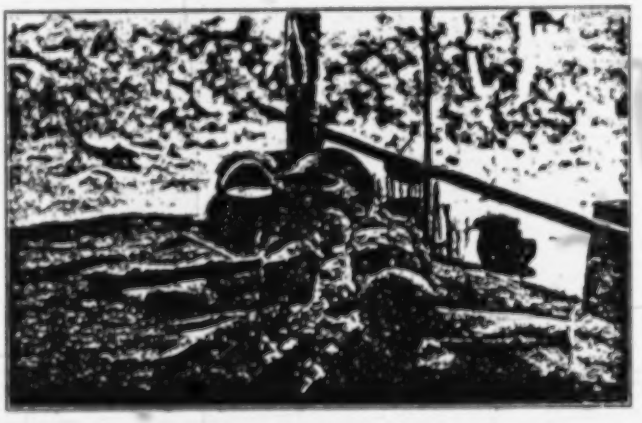
necks and round bottoms. Two were full of corn and lime for 415
tortillas, just off the fire. A big Tenango jar, *k'ip*, of the kind to be described at that place, was used for water.

A pottery dish, about 7 centimeters across, *tsets*, is commonly [515]
offered to guests to wash their hands. It is placed on a pottery stand [574]
of an hour-glass shape, about 15 centimeters high, *awaliko* (see fig. 299). The ordinary plates and general vessels are flat gourd dishes, *qai'*, about 20 centimeters across. Gourds as well were used for a dipper, *tuts*, and a water-jar, *tsux*. Two nets hung from the rack. 353
There were three small baskets, *tutemotc*, and four big ones, *mukulmotc*. Hanging on the wall were a pair of the basket-work sandals mentioned before, and selected ears of corn for seed. The wife's 283
textile outfit, more fully described later, consisted of a spindle, *pĕtĕt*, 286



354

FIG. 291—Bachajon Fireplace.

with clay whorl, spun in a gourd bowl, *tsima*, cotton, *t'umin*, hang- 283
ing in leaves, and the loom itself, *holĕl*. A sling, made of a forked 286
stick and rubber band with a leather piece to take the clay pellet, 411
finmutc, belonged to the small boy. Bananas were drying on the rack. With them were laid, or hanging in packages of leaves, bees- 353
wax, *tcavek*, blocks, 20 x 20 x 2 centimeters, for trade purposes, 237
used for making candles, a lump of hard red clay, *baq lum* ("bitter [251]
earth"), for washing the hair, and sometimes also eaten, a package of brown loaf sugar, salt, *atsam*, traded down from the Zotzil country, several packages of pimiento pepper, and serpent fat, *junto tcan*, for rubbing on the chest to cure coughs. Under the table was a 353
basket of coarse, blackish-gray clay for making pottery, *tcavek lum* [323]
("beeswax earth"). Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail

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353 Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail
[231] hung in the eaves so that the dogs might see them, to prevent their
[415] going away or losing heart. A swizzle stick, *mahas*, about 40 centi-
[224] meters long, was used for stirring cocoa. It is made by cutting a twig above a joint with four branches. Two rat traps, *yakul*, just outside the hut, were exact models of the larger deadfalls used for jaguars (see fig. 308).

[291] Add to this the clothes on the inhabitants backs, and the man's
[411] machete, and you will have a complete list of the worldly possessions, large and small, of a Bachajon family—altogether some forty-four different kinds of things. We assembled as many together as pos-
[126] sible, arranging them as for a feast, and placed in the middle the small son of the house, and a little monkey of a boy, Miguel, who accompanied us to run errands (fig. 292).

342 [516] [291] [415] [123] [122]

Fig. 292—Bachajon boy guests.

If mud-plastered walls are added to this description, you have a typical Ocosingo Valley house. Change the grass roof to palm, it is the kind to be seen in the jungle country.

At Muxculja (*muckul ha*, "Covered Water"), in the jungle, our Indians built us a trail shelter or hut of the type called in Spanish *champa*, and in Tzeltal *tutna'*, "small house." This enabled us to note the manner of building the frame-work and laying on the roof. The kind of *champa* built for us, with an A-roof and gable ends, is called *gwakac na'*, "cow house"; the more common type built by the Indians when alone, a simple lean-to, is called *lestce-pat* (should be *lestce-pahk?*) "only one wall."

Our shelter being more than usually pretentious, we could observe most of the steps in building a true house, although, of course, the form here was different and the construction much lighter (figs. 293-294). It was three meters, fifty-one centimeters long by three meters wide, two meters high at the ridge-pole, one at the eaves.
[46] It had no walls. From the construction of the outline of the frame to the completed thatching it took fifty minutes for four men, later only two, working without haste.

5: Blom & LaFarge A.E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

342
[412]

only two, working without haste. The only tools used were machetes, which served even for digging the post-holes and for trenching.

The elementary frame consisted in two forked upright posts, *makan-te*, supporting the ridge-pole, *kabaiye-te*, four forked corner posts, *oix*, two plate-poles, *tsañ-te*, and gable-rafters, *sak-te*.

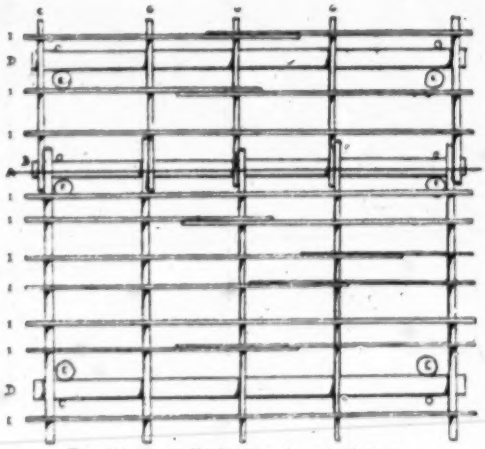

FIG. 293—Formalised plan of roof of shelter.

A. False ridge-pole, kabaiyete.
B. Ridge-pole, kabaiyete.
C. Gable rafters, sakte.
D. Plates, tsañte.
E. Corner posts, oix.
F. Center posts, makante.
G. Rafters, sakte (?).
I. Thatching-poles, butl.

Three lighter poles were then laid on each side as rafters, and lashed to the ridge and plates with lianas. Thatching-rods were laid parallel to the ridge-pole across them, they were also lashed with lianas, the vines being laid along the rafters in a spiral, with a criss-cross hitch at each rod. A light false ridge-pole was laid over the true one, resting in the crotches of the crossed gable-rafters. It was said that this was also called *kabaiyete*. Projecting ends of sticks were then trimmed.

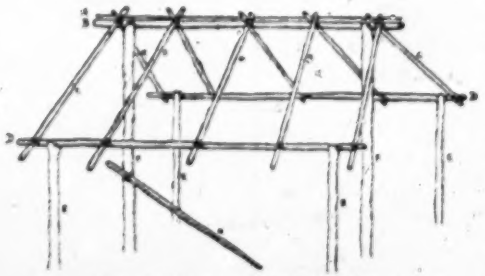

FIG. 294—Sketch of frame of shelter.

A. False ridge-pole, kabaiyete.
B. Ridge-pole, kabaiyete.
C. Gable rafters, sakte.
D. Plates, tsañte.
E. Corner posts, oix.
F. Center posts, makante.
G. Rafters, sakte (?).
H. Staging for work on under side of roof.

Palm-leaves were gathered in bundles of four, tied together with their own base-fronds. These were laid on in the manner of shingles, and the stems tied down to the thatching rods with a spiral running liana similar to that binding the poles. As the leaves are over a meter long, only four rows were needed to cover the long side of the roof, allowing a considerable over-hang, although more would have been used in a permanent dwelling. A row of over-lapping leaves was laid on top of and parallel to the false ridge-pole, bound down, and secured with yet another light stick.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajon
Tenango
Sivaca

342 The thatching was done by one man on the roof and another, who stood on a slanting stick tied to one of the center uprights, to help the first pass the liana around.

The angle of the long side not being steep enough, the roof leaked. Two men held the eaves-pole on their shoulders while the rest drove the corner posts in deeper, thus making the angle sharper and improving the shed.

[356] Repairs in thatch are made by laying new bundles of leaves directly over the old, the stems being stitched into the thatch with a liana, and a wooden needle made on the spot.

343 In all the larger settlements sweat-baths, *pus*, are located (figs. 295-296). The essential element is a cube of wattle thickly plastered

[291]

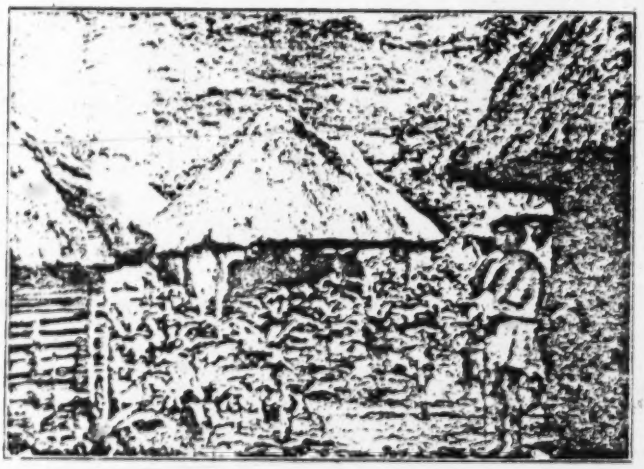

FIG. 295—Tenango, Chis. Sweat House of same type used in Ocosingo Valley.

with mud, about a meter to a meter and a half in all measurements, with a small doorway in one end. The door is of the same construction, or of boards. At Sivacá there were thatched roofs above the baths, but entirely separate from them. Water poured on hot stones is used in them. The purpose appears to be medicinal rather than ceremonial.

323 All the Highland Indians make vessels of clay, with the possible exception of the Tenejapeños. Among the Bachajon and at Sivacá, the art is not very well developed, only the most common [135] forms being made, without decoration. Their clay, *tcavek lum*, ("beeswax earth"), is found in the banks of many small streams. It is a

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajon
Tenango
Sivacá

dark gray in colour, with a considerable admixture of fine limestone gravel. As far as could be ascertained, the mixture is worked without other preparation than that of dampening it to a good consistency. 323

The actual pottery making, *hutsul ya pas ŏcom*, ("I am making a cooking pot"), which is done by the women, was observed at Sivacá. Some of the men of the village had worked for us at Toniná, and they, particularly the heavy set one on the extreme right of the picture (fig. 297), a cheerful and very thirsty fellow, remembered me as a friend. A few poor jokes and a handful of cigarettes won the men over, so that the visit became less an investigation than a triumphal tour, escorted by the whole male population, the Alcalde leading, in and out through the village. It really was very good fun. We wound our way among the huts, seeking the 323 123

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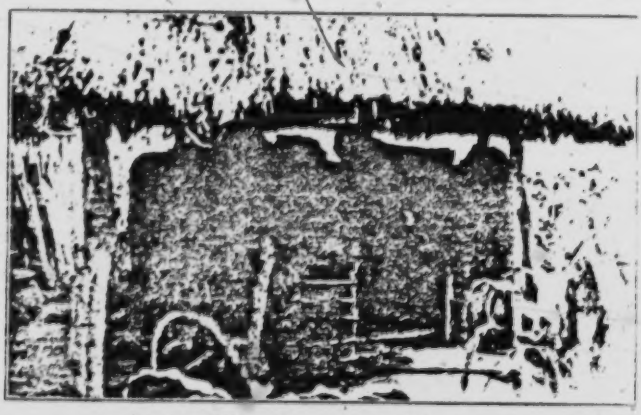

FIG. 298—Tenango, Chis. Close-up of Sweat House.

323 123

shade wherever possible, scuffling up a good deal of dust, now and then tripping over a pig or a dog. Whenever we came to an orange tree, someone would climb it, to come down with a handful of little, green fruits, so poisonous to look at, and so very sweet and refreshing to eat. They dragged out specimens of all their pottery, and at last lead me with some pomp to a house in which a woman was at work. The good wife did not in the least understand this visit, and was not at all sure that she liked it. All the men clamoured at her at once, telling her to come out and be photographed. Finally she brought her clay and unbaked pots, setting all in the sun, still a little bit afraid that this meant some new Ladino imposition. She set to work as though finding some relief from her embarrassment in the occupation. [245] [126]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

323 She formed the base of her pot rapidly in a saucer-like clay form, *hutstahibe* ("rest"). When the bottom was finished, she took it out and laid it on a broad leaf. The work progressed surprisingly quickly and without pause, the potter's hands moving with great speed and precision; the slapping sound as she patted the clay into position was unceasing. The clay was put on in slabs and built upwards, contrary to the coiling technique of the Southwest, the bowl on its leaf being turned rapidly as she worked around the sides. The finishing was done with her hands. The completed bowl was symmetrical, but not very smooth. It was then set in the sun to dry (fig. 298).

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342
624

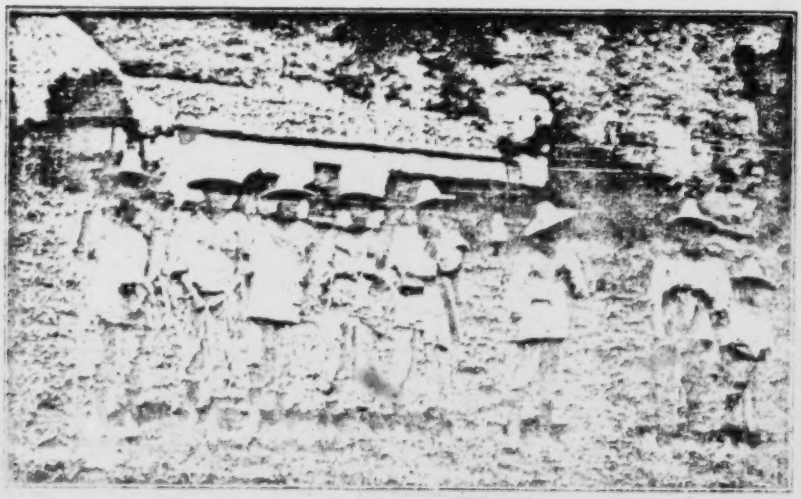

FIG. 297—Sivacá, Chis. The men of the town with the Alcalde on the left.

323 The larger forms are started in a flat, gourd dish, and the *tsets* bowls (see below) in an ordinary drinking gourd. Large tubs, when drying, are protected by leaves covering the rim, and are placed on leaves in the gourd dishes used as forms. The leaves are to prevent their drying too quickly and cracking. When cracks do occur, they are filled in with fresh clay. After enough pots are ready, there is a baking, apparently a community affair. I was told that the pottery was ranged in a line, the pine-fuel being laid up in an A-roof over it, forming a long tunnel, through which the draft ensures a brisk fire. One would expect from such a process that the vessels would be much blackened from contact with the fuel, which was not the case in the new ones that I examined, all having an even

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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red-gold colour. The baking observed at Amatenango, which is described in the following chapter, was quite different. 323

The forms made at Sivacá are: (Fig. 299) a tub, *pok'et;* cooking pots or *ollas, ŏcom;* form for making cooking pots, *hutstahibe;* bowl, *tsets;* stand for bowl, *awaliko;* form for making sugar, with a hole in the bottom, *hor'mo;* tortilla griddle, *tsamets;* and a perforated olla for washing corn, *tcistcinaix.*

The Bachajon make most of these also, but the tub and clay *tsets* are rare, a gourd often serving for the latter. The surfaces are less well smoothed. In no case was any attempt at decoration observed. It should be noted in this respect, however, that almost all of these would eventually be quite blackened with smoke.

[142] [291] [302] [516] [342]

FIG. 299—Sivacá, Chis. Woman making pottery.

Among the forms shown in the figures, it will be noticed that there is no piece with a markedly contracted neck; such work seems to be beyond their abilities. All through this district the big *cantaras* or water jars are imported from Tenango, and will be discussed in the next chapter.

In general throughout Ocosingo Valley white cloth for men's clothes and women's blouses, made of native cotton, *na'*, as well as the men's sashes, are of local manufacture. Among the Bachajon, cloth is compartively little woven, but sashes are always home made. The coloured thread is usually bought in stores. Weaving is entirely done by the women. 286 [291]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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286 126 123 Our Indian hostess at the Encanto house was commissioned to make us a sash; after observing and photographing the process (fig. 300), we bought the loom with the unfinished piece on it. At Sivacá the army of guides produced a woman who was weaving cloth, and another who was just preparing the thread for the loom (fig. 301). The former was very bored and matter-of-fact about the whole pro-

323

Fig. 299—Sivacá, Chis. Pottery Forms.

A. Ocom. B. Pok et. C. Tsametz. D. Hor'mo. E. Hutstahibe. F. Tsets. G. Awaliko. H. Tcistcinaix.

286 126 123 ceeding, but the latter, a younger one, was at first frightened. At the first sight of me, she put away all her work. As she spoke no Spanish, I fell back upon a corps of seven or eight interpreters, who all spoke together while I looked as harmless as possible. Then she thought that the Mayor of Ocosingo, or the President of Mexico, or some one had sent for her, and packed her things to travel. At last she understood, and then balked. The men explained to me, with some amusement, that she was ashamed—*"dice que tiene verguenza"* — but finally she consented to pose. The result was a picture worth the while; she herself was a good type of young Indian woman, on her back was slung a pretty though somewhat grimy baby, while an underfed puppy and very small chicken completed the family group. The picture also shows a good example of the squatting-seat mentioned when listing the contents of the Encanto house (see fig. 301).

[286] [291] [142] [302] [516] ←

Fig. 300—El Encanto, Chis. Woman Weaving.

283 The spindle, *pĕtĕt*, is a stick 85 centimeters long, at the foot of which is a clay whorl, for which no name was given. It is spun with the weighted end resting in a gourd bowl, the upper end held against

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

the thigh. The spinning is done with the left hand, the right holding and drawing out the thread, *tsahalna'* (fig. 302-d). 283

The thread is then arranged for the warp on a form called *kumen* (fig. 302-c). This is a pole 1.40 meters long, notched at intervals on one side, and with a groove in one end joining two unnotched sides. In one of the notches, according to the length of thread desired, is placed a cross stick, *tumin-te,* (equals *kumen-te?*), 45 centimeters long. The thread is laid from one end of this cross stick, through the groove, around to the other end of the cross stick, and so, back and forth, until the required number of woof-strands are prepared. The loops around one half of the cross stick are then transferred to the head-stick of the loom, those around the other to the foot-stick, and the woof is ready. At the head end, the loops are braided for the selvage. 286 342 284 142 516 854 302 291 231

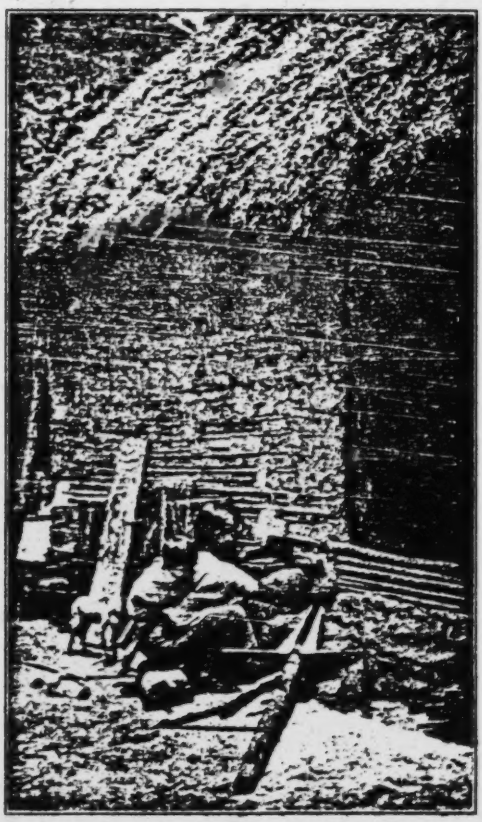


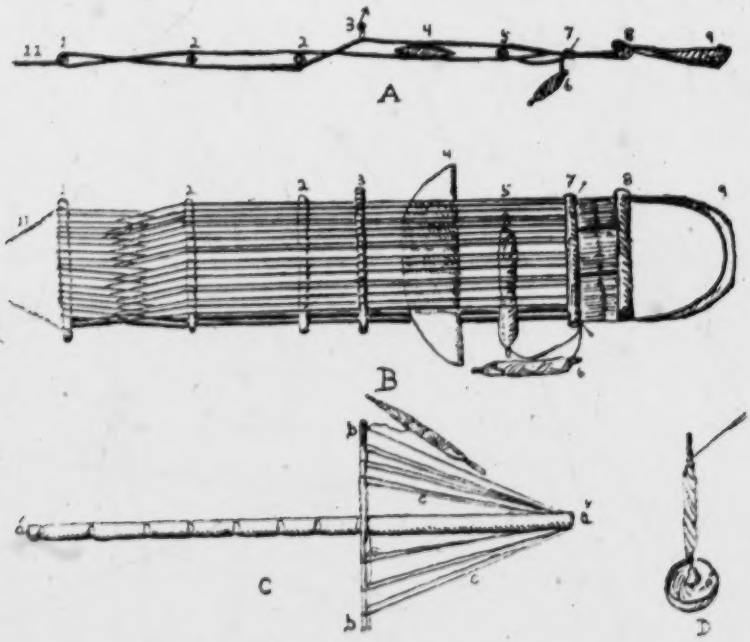
FIG. 301—Sivacá, Chis. Woman Winding Thread.

The loom, *holĕl,** has no rigid frame. The woof is stretched over the head and foot-sticks, *wolol-te.* The head-stick is fastened to a beam in the house or to a branch, usually more than a meter above the ground. Before this the weaver sits, with the foot-stick strapped to her by a broad leather strap, *ku'epat,* thus holding the set-up taut (fig. 303). At a little distance below the head-stick, the woof-strands are crossed, those underneath being carried on top, and held in place

*holĕl is one of a large class of words ending in -el, -il, or -il, which are at once verbal nouns and infinitives; e. g. tal-il, to come, or the act of coming, corresponding to the Latin venire and veniendo. hol-il primarily means to weave, here it is also applied to the loom. [193]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

286 by a stick called *wolol-te* at El Encanto, and *ibal-te* at Sivacá. The former name was probably obtained through faulty questioning, as it is also applied to the head and foot-sticks. *Wolol-* may be derived from *hol-*, in which case the word would simply mean "stick for weaving" (*-te*, "stick, tree, wood"), and would be applicable to any part of the loom. Below these two is a heddle, *yolala*, attached by



[283]

FIG. 302—Weaving Implements.

A. Side view of loom.
1. Wolol-te.
2. Ibal-te.
3. Heddle, yolala.
4. Batten, halawil-te.
5. Shuttle, tiomal.
6. Shuttle, tiomal.
7. Wolol-te.
8. Wolol-te.
9. Ku'epat.
B. Top view of loom.
C. Kumen.
a. Notched end.
b. Tumen-te.
c. Warp strands.
D. Spindle.

cotton loops to the lower set of warp-strings. Below this is sometimes set another separating stick, *tsutuhil*. The pounding batten, *halawil-te*, is inserted at this point. At Sivacá a wooden comb *holaHl*, was also used. As the woven part becomes long, it is rolled up around the foot-stick, thus keeping the work easily within the weaver's reach. That part which is woven but not rolled up is held

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

stretched flat by a stick with thorns in the end, also said to be called *wolol-te*. The string for tying up the head-stick is called *tsul*. (See fig. 302-A, B). 286

The different coloured threads are wound on shuttles, which are called *buk'al* when bare, *tiomal* when wound. These are passed back and forth between the warp-strands, with an alternate raising and lowering of the heddle. The threads not in use at the moment are laid parallel to the outermost woof-strand at the selvage. Cross-stripes are thus made with the warp, longitudinal stripes with coloured woof-strands.

The shape of the loom depends upon the article to be woven. A sash-loom is about 40 centimeters wide. A cloth-loom is about 75 centimeters wide, and usually not as long as the sash-loom; the sword is a meter in length. The sword at Sivacá was of a heavy wood, very smooth, and dark with much handling. We were told that the wood was not indigenous, and that such swords were very valuable, as they could not be obtained any more. The one seen in use was borrowed from another woman, who refused to sell it.

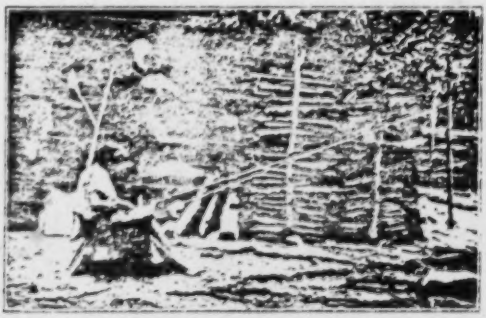


FIG. 302—Sivacá, Chis. Woman Weaving.

Cloth for clothes is ordinarily woven plain white, but is sometimes varied with fine lines laid in the woof. The Bachajon weave relatively little cloth, being more accustomed to buy cotton at the stores; their sashes, however, show more variety and use of colour than do those of Ocosingo Valley.

Hats and baskets, *mOc*, are made by the men. The former have already been described. 285 [462]

Baskets are woven on a frame of heavy splints laid crossing each other at the center. These are bent upward, leaving a sufficient length flat to provide for the bottom. The warp of reeds is then woven in and out, in a simple wicker-work, around the bottom and sides. At the top the splints are doubled over and tucked down under the strands. The rim is formed of two strands twisted around each other between each splint. The work is not very fine, there

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285 being an average of only three strands to a centimeter, with the splints about three centimeters apart. Ordinarily the widest part of the basket is at the rim, but a very small basket, *tutemOtc*, was observed, in which the greater diameter was about half-way up the side. The weave was the same. The standard large size is 23 centimeters high, 36 centimeters diameter at the rim, and 13 at the base (fig. 304).

286 [482] The men also make the nets, *tcotcaH*, which are used, suspended from one shoulder, as a pocket, or, slung from a tump-line, to carry small burdens. They are made of hennequen or ixtla cord. The mouth is an extra heavy string, from which the woven part of the net hangs (fig. 305). The method of laying the cord was observed

[285]

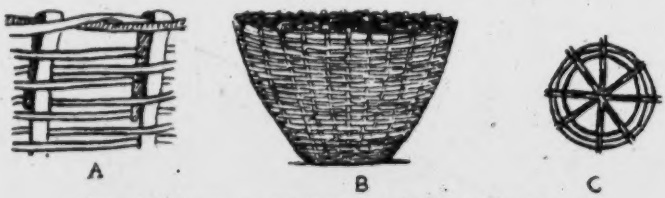

Fig. 304—Basketry. A. Detail of weave showing finish of rim. B. Basket, height 23 c.m. C. Arrangement of splints at the bottom.

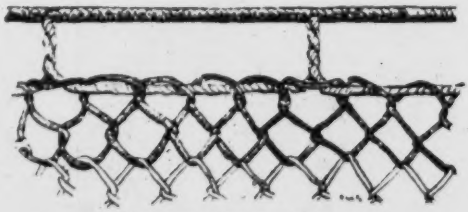

Fig. 305—Detail of Net.

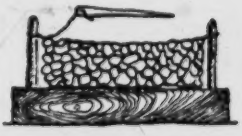

Fig. 306—Frame for weaving net.

at Cancuc. The istla threads are held in the crotch of the left knee, and the cord is wound on the thigh with a flat-hand, rubbing motion. A bundle of threads laid parallel to each other, is taken by the middle and rolled into the already made cord, forming two strands. When the strands are ready, they are laid together with a reverse-stroke of the hand on the thigh. The net is woven with a deer-horn needle, *muk*, on a frame, *tiaH*, consisting of a board about 18 centimeters long with an upright stick at each end (fig. 306). The actual weaving was not observed.

322 412 Considering that their only tools are their machetes, and an occasional cheap pocket knife, the wood-working done by the men is

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

remarkable. They make combs of one piece of wood, averaging 15 centimeters long, 8 wide, by 4 millimeters thick. The teeth are cut out of one of the long sides, running back less than half-way into the body of the piece. These teeth may be as fine as two in three millimeters, or as coarse as two in five millimeters; sometimes they are graded. The back is slightly arched. On the ends a piece of wood is left uncut, usually about four millimeters wide. The shape is not unlike the small Japanese combs to be found in most of our curio stores. The best examples are made from mahogany, chosen with a nice feeling for the effect of the grain. They are not worn, but used for combing the hair. 322 412

They make violins which are small copies of the European type. The instrument and bow are known by their Spanish names, *violina* and *arcilla*. The body is about 26 centimeters in greatest length and width; the neck, *tsutsuH-te*, projects about 50 centimeters. Save for a decoration of wavy lines on the back, the violin looks like a cheap toy fiddle. The strings, *tcucuix*, are of *mico de noche* (night-walking lemur) gut, save the G-string, which is of the usual type, bought in the towns. The bow-strings are of horse-hair treated with rosin. The tone is poor, lacking resonance. 534 322

One tobacco pipe, *bum*, was observed, which was a remarkable piece of whittling (fig. 307). It was about 14 centimeters long, made of one piece of mahogany, and apparently modeled after the American corn-cobs occasionally seen among the Ladinos. The bowl was roughly rounded, with a flat bottom. The stem was round, with a step in it at the middle, in imitation of the step in the mouth-piece of an ordinary pipe. The tube had been hollowed out with a hot wire. The tin-foil cap over the cork of a *Habanero* bottle had been hammered onto the base of the bowl, and two strips of tin-foil laid around the stem, each held on with a brad. It may be mentioned that the mahogany coloured prettily from handling and smoking, and that the flavour was sweet. 276 322

Fig. 307—Pipe.

Stools, with three legs let into a single, round piece, and rather rickety tables on the same principle, but four-legged, are made by the men, as well as the squatting-seats mentioned in describing the house. 352 322

Game furnishes an important part of the Indian's food supply. Wild boar, deer, howler monkey, *faisan*, *cojolite*, dove, and quail are hunted for food. The various large cats, alligator, lemurs, and many of the larger snakes are sought for their hides, which form a considerable article of trade. The chief weapon used in hunting is 224

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

224 411 The Chief weapon used in hunting is the muzzle-loading smooth-bore gun, really a shot-gun, usually loaded with shot. Both flint-locks and percussion caps are known, and occasionally match-locks are made by the Indians themselves, the barrels being bought in the towns, or taken from old guns. Powder is carried in a cow's horn, which sometimes also serves as a flask.

Wild boar is sometimes hunted with spears, *mojara,* made of sticks with points hardened in the fire, although iron-headed spears are known, having been used in the Uprising of 1868. The latter form, however, does not appear to be made at present. Spears left over from the Uprising are highly valued and cannot be bought. [669] That they were brought out of hiding during a period of unrest at Bachajon in 1915 is considered one of the proofs that a real revolt was planned at that time.

224 231 Dogs take part in the chase, their use being connected with some curious superstitions. It is a common practice in Mexico to cut a

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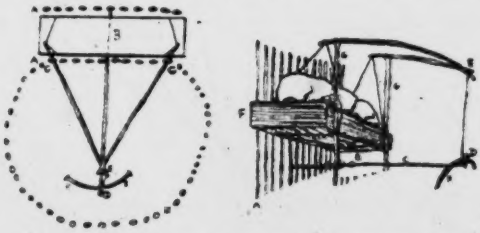

FIG. 308—Deadfall, from a rat trap at El Encanto, Chis. A. Plan. B. Sketch of essential parts.

224 231 piece off a dog's ear and keep it in the house if he shows a tendency to roam, or to go hunting alone. If he will not follow a trail, a similar piece is cut off and thrown on it. The Indians keep jaw-bones or other trophies of animals killed with the dogs' help hung in a conspicuous place under the eaves of the house; the object being to remind the dogs of their achievements, and to keep them from losing heart during a period of no hunting.

223 Birds, as well as being hunted, are caught with snares and with limed twigs.

224 Dead-falls, *yakul,* are used to trap animals, both for game, and to protect the fields. They are substantially all of one pattern, the drawing for which was taken from a rat-trap in the house at El Encanto (fig. 308). The deadfall consists essentially of a log, F, weighted with stones, held suspended in two slings, which hang from the ends of two sticks, EE, resting over two forked uprights, GG. The two sticks cross each other at the further end, where they are

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

tied by a string carried down to an arched stick, H, stuck in the 224
ground. This string, by holding down the far ends, counterbalances the weight of the fall at the other ends. At the end of the string the cross-stick, D, holds it against the arch; it, in turn, is held by the trigger, C, one end of which braces against it, the other end against the far side of the trap, passing under the deadfall. A circular fence of sticks prevents an animal from getting at the outer part of the trap. A straight fence on the other side of the fall necessitates its entering through the entrance, AA, to get at the bait, B, on the trigger. The animal dislodges the trigger, releasing D and with it the string. The outer ends of the sticks fly up, and the weighted log falls. In the rat trap, the log and stones came to at least three kilograms, arranged to fall through a space of about ten centimeters, other traps being in proportion.

When hunting with a gun, a red fruit called *ahoon* is frequently [824]
rubbed on the shot, and *palma bendita, tcul-tĕc-wil can,* the palm used in church decorations, is used for the wad. This prevents the bullet "from getting tired" before it reaches its mark.

Meat obtained while hunting, if it cannot be carried immediately 251
to the house, is dried on a rack, *tcar.*

The primary method of carrying goods of all kinds is by the 482
tump-line, for which, as has been said in the discussion of physical and other characteristics, these people are very well adapted. The tump-line, *pak,* is a broad strip of inner bark, or of cow-hide. For their ordinary uses, this is a single strip, the ends being attached to a net (q. v.) of their own manufacture. When a package too bulky for the net is carried, a long strap is used with the ends tied together. This is looped through itself, around the package, so that it hangs in two slings. Additional straps may be attached to the line where it passes over the ears, to wrap around the sides of the burden. A flat piece of cowhide, *tcokHax,* is worn against the back, to protect the carrier from the chafing of his load. Both men and women use the tump-line, the carrying of objects on the head being unusual.

Formerly the Indians of this district are said to have owned a 492
good many mules and horses for packing, which they lost during [978]
the recent political disturbances. Many of them know something about packing. At present, however, few if any own cattle of any kind.

The highland rivers do not, on the whole, lend themselves to 487
water travel, although the Bachajon territory reaches to the Bascan, Tulija, and other more amenable water-ways. Canoes are known only 581
as introductions of German or Ladino ranchers. The natives use a [977]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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501 raft, *poi*, to cross rivers or make very short trips. The specimen observed at *Hol-ha'* (Head of the Water), was made of five cork logs averaging 22 centimeters in diameter and 3.25 meters long, held together by two cross-sticks lashed on with lianas. There was some space between each log, the width of the raft being 1.25 meters. It had a definite bow and stern, the logs at the forward end being cut to an edge, "to cut the water." These rafts are propelled by a pole, preferably of mahogany, the one observed being 2.50 meters long. They are moored by thrusting the pole through a crack between two of the logs, into the bottom of the stream.

648 As one would expect, the old, complicated organization of priests and rulers, the aristocracy of pre-Conquest days, has been utterly swept away. Today, in their social organization, one may trace a little of the feeling of the old times, but the system is the creature of Spanish contact. On the haciendas there are no native officials save those who preside over the fiestas. The owner of the hacienda maintains a patriarchal sway over his workmen, governing them in every respect. Among the village tribes at Bachajon and Sivacá life is still influenced by the obligation to work for the government or the ranchers, although the independent nature of the Indians has won for them a good deal of self-government. Those of the Bachajon living on land belonging to ranches find themselves under a dual system, although the scattered location of their dwellings, deep in the jungles, minimizes the power of the Ladinos.

621 The tribes are very different from those of North America. From our brief observation, it appears as though there was none of that deep feeling of loyalty towards the group, of essential, almost mystic unity with the other members that characterizes our own Indians. Similar customs, common interest, and geographical proximity hold each Tzeltal group together; bonds that are easily broken. [609] Should an outsider attack the common weal by seizure of land or [578] by any other infringements, he will find the tribe solidly united against him, but at the same time it may be, and often is divided 627 within itself by many quarrels. The Bachajon carry out long feuds between families and individuals in the form of occasional murders. These have their origin in delayed retribution for some wrong received by one party from the other, for which, in turn, there is retaliation, and so on indefinitely.

For instance, the murder committed while we were at Encanto was the climax of a long-nursed grudge, and almost immediately afterwards there were indications that from that fight would arise 648 many others. Occasional attacks on ranchers are also usually carried

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

out by a small group bearing a grudge, although in this case the 648
tribe as a whole stands more solidly back of the offenders.

The Bachajon exhibit internal dissension and strife to an un- 628
usual degree. There are many small, outlying sub-groups, some of which are more or less openly at war with the main body. In the description of Zona Sala oil camp (Chapter VIII) something has already been said of the settlement there of men driven away on account of the misbehaviour. They still call themselves Bachajon and maintain some slight intercourse with the tribe, although they are quite inimical in their attitude towards Indians passing through on the way to Palenque. There are other such settlements in different parts of the jungle, although these, having most recently split off, are the most hostile.

What group loyalty the Bachajon have centers around the de- 621
serted village that bears their name. It was described at the begin- 609
ning of this chapter. Founded under compulsion, deserted whenever possible, its church and Cabildo in ruins, none the less it is their focal point, jealously guarded from intrusion. These Indians have had the same experience as our own; the European comes first as a visitor, then a few settle for trade, then comes a host in their footsteps, until soon there is no place for the Indian, and he finds himself an intruder in his own home. Against this sequence of events, so common in our history, the Bachajon protect their land by an attitude of unremitting hostility. Travellers may pass through, but no trader may set up even a lean-to bower under which to display his wares, save during the few days of their main fiestas, although it would be a great convenience for them to have a store nearer than Ocosingo.

The destruction of the Spanish-built church and Cabildo, with 829
the substitution for them of native edifices, is curious. The feeling probably is that when they do congregate in their capital for a fiesta, they do not wish to be confronted by evidences of alien domination.

The strongest actual unit is that of the individual family, the 593
man, his wife, and children. Indians who are forced, for one reason 594
or another, to go into hiding in the jungle, will run great risks to return and fetch their wives and children. Even beyond this smallest 602
group there is a little feeling, a man's relatives by marriage or blood 627
often joining to support him in a feud, or to revenge a wrong done him. Similarly, the relatives of the individual who committed the [672]
wrong are held in some degree liable to punishment, although there is no formal rule of collective responsibility, the action taken depending largely on individual inclination.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón
Sivacá

621 Bachajon and Sivacá are governed through native officials selected from among the men of repute in the tribe by the Mexican Government, more or less in accordance with the Indians' wishes. They serve for definite terms, usually two years, and may be reappointed. Bachajon Village, organized when the whole tribe was concentrated there, has two complete administrations, each with a 624 president, council, and secretary. At Sivacá the only official is the *alcalde*, who carries as insignia a staff, *barra*, 1.50 meters long, decorated with a double cross in black at the head. The secretaries [212] are chosen primarily for literacy; the others are older men of influence in the tribe. The great respect with which they are treated by the natives indicates that the selections accord fairly well with those they would make themselves.

648 Each group is in the charge of a resident Mexican official called 651 the *Maestro*, corresponding to our Reservation Agent. He is appointed by the Presidente Municipal of the local government. He is paid with taxes collected by himself from the Indians in produce or money, to which he adds commissions obtained from his services as a labour agent, the profits of trade in a few staples, and receipts from travelers, for whom his house is the official guest-house.

648 Ordinarily the *Maestro* does not give his orders directly to the 622 Indians, but works through the native president, who may openly 621 oppose him if he see fit, though he is in some degree bound to obey. The influence and power of the *Maestro* depends upon the individual, and on the temper of the Indians under him. In extreme cases he will send for troops, a measure greatly dreaded, as the soldiers, once arrived, may stay indefinitely, helping themselves freely to the pigs and chickens of the natives, and generally making themselves objectionable.

648 In addition to those appointed by the Government, the Indians 622 accord obedience and respect to a considerable body of purely 624 native officials. The only ones fulfilling a civic function are the class known as *Principales*, who exist chiefly among the Bachajon. They are men who know how to read and write Spanish, living in places more available to the outlying Indians than the Secretaries at Bachajon Village, and are usually men in whom confidence is reposed. Although they hold their position without official selection, but by general consent, they are recognized by the Mexicans with whom they deal as holding a sort of power of attorney for their people. They examine and sign written documents, and compose communications from the Indians to the Government. Through this they gain an influence with which, if they be men of force, they may become leaders of real power in their own districts. A *Principale* whom we met at El Encanto, where he had come in to buy salt, was

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

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the informal chief of one of the semi-separated, turbulent groups already described. He was a well-built, square-faced, sullen yet cunning looking fellow, with a long scar from a machete cut across one cheek, and credited with a number of murders.

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The shamans or medicine-men, *poci'*, although primarily doctors, have a quasi-priestly status, the result of the intimate relation of prayer and healing, of which more will be said later. They are honored accordingly as holy men, as well as for the power conferred by their knowledge of medicine and charms. A shaman obtains his position by some years of study under another, who teaches him both medicines and prayers. His repute largely depends upon the results of his practice.

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Certain older men are selected annually to have charge of the fiestas, or saint's day celebrations; they have charge of all preparations and of the conduct of the fiesta, as well as being usually responsible for the care of the various sacred properties during the year. These officers exist in the hacienda groups as well as in the tribes. At the Finca Tecojá, where a fiesta was observed in progress, they were an amiable pair of rather drunken old men, known as *Caporales*, and at most places, in common with other officers holding posts of Spanish derivation, they were known by Spanish names. Interestingly enough, in the villages with the Governmental organization described above, they rarely coincide with the Government appointees, although this may be partly due to the fact that they are usually selected from among the oldest men. In Guatemala these semi-church officers often are a mask for tribal positions of real power, as was found to be the case with the *tcimañ* of Jacaltenango, who will be described in writing of that place (Chapter XIX). Here their influence and prestige was relatively slight, [554] save during the period when their duties placed them in charge.

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Almost the only trace of pre-Conquest feeling is to be found in the great reverence shown towards all shamans and Government appointees. An ordinary Indian will offer food, drink, or tobacco to all men of authority present before taking anything himself, even though it means the consumption, for instance, of almost all of a bottle of *aguardiente* before he gets any at all. We saw a chief at Tenango, where the same system prevails, take a lighted cigar from an Indian's mouth, giving him instead some unrolled tobacco leaves. When first coming into the presence of such men, or passing them on the road, an Indian will take off his hat, bowing deeply; the chief or shaman touches the Indian's forehead, and he goes on. This is performed with grace and dignity. It is known as *k'ol-tanup*, "head giving" (*k'ol* from *hol*, head). Instances were observed of thus

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

756 621 554 576 "giving the head" to certain elder women, but the reason could not be ascertained.

581 Marriage is an economic and social affair, apparently free of religious significance. Don Arturo Tovilla of Cacate-el, gave us a description of the manner of seeking a wife, which is here paraphrased. It will be seen that the importance, ceremonially, centers on the contract with the parents, while the actual joining in marriage is not stressed.

584 The boy's father goes with the boy to the girl's house, both dressed in their best clothes, and carrying a gift of three bottles (pints) of aguardiente "and some animal." His father tells the girl's father that his son wishes to marry the daughter; to which the answer is to call the girl and ask her if she likes him. She says nothing, but keeps on scratching the wall with her finger and the floor with her toe, thereby indicating that she likes the boy, while showing the proper maidenly modesty. The latter gives her a coloured handkerchief, pearl beads, etc., with which the contract is sealed.

The boy is obligated to bring to her house what the father may ask, such as corn, beans, aguardiente, as well as to help in the work for a year. He makes a social visit each Sunday, which the girl must receive. At the end of the time appointed by the parents, he takes her to his house.

If the girl does not signify her consent in the manner described, the match does not take place.

583 When the parents of one or both parties do not countenance the match, it may happen that the children, taking the law into their own hands, run away. The procedure in this case has become formalized so that, while unpleasant enough to act as a deterrent, it recognizes this as a regular manner of marrying. This description also is para-
[115] phrased from Señor Tovilla.

When the parents forbid, but both children desire the match, after the boy has gone to the girl's house and been refused, his obligation of respect is ended. He builds a house in a retired place in the jungle. He and the girl meet to make their plans where she goes to get water, for which purpose she may often choose a spring a kilometer or more from her house. At an appointed time, they run away.

584 585 When he has carried her off and hidden her, his parents must go and apologize to hers. The girl's father tells the boy's not to leave before being punished. He, however, finds and brings in the couple, who kneel before the girl's parents. The boy's shirt is taken off, and

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

he is whipped by the girl's father for a thief. The girl is stripped to 584
the waist and whipped by her mother. With this the marriage is 585
legalized. As the first act of their true married life, the girl makes posole and offers it to her parents. The boy is under obligation to bring presents of bread, chocolate, aguardiente, etc., to his parents-in-law.

There are no formal restrictions of marriage, but the Church 582
exercises a general influence against wedding brother and sister, 177
cousins, or other relatives forbidden by Christian doctrine. In this, 178
owing to the disposition of the Indians, and to the purely tribal character of marriage, which is not regarded by them as a religious or governmental matter, the Church is only partially successful. In- 588
formal unions actually do occur between brother and sister, apparently without any ceremony, the pair merely continuing to live together, their family relationship slowly changing into that of a married couple. That such a wife's status has some regularity in their eyes is shown by the fact that she has the same position in funeral rites as an ordinary wife.

It is probably due to the negative influence of the Church that 115
the various important crises in the life of an individual, ordinarily 126
marked by such colourful ceremonies among primitive people, here are distinguished by very little of ritualistic observance. For description of the main events in the life course, we were again dependent on Señor Tovilla, whose information, given with little change below, checked entirely with the result of other inquiries. The funeral ceremonies were observed at first hand, after the fight described at El Encanto; for them, accordingly, I have used my own notes.

When a woman is about to give birth to a child, a midwife—an 844
older woman with some knowledge of herbs—is summoned. A few days before parturition, the woman is carefully tended by the midwife, well fed with choice food, and provided with a little rum. At the moment of giving birth, the midwife prays that the child may be brought forth happily. The mother kneels, and the midwife prepares to receive the child with a new cloth. Meantime the father is told to stay outside the house, or may be allowed to help in minor matters.

It is said that at Tenejapa the women go out into the woods to give birth untended, coming back with the child.

The baby is given Christian baptism. 852

A child's soul is considered to be particularly delicate, and there- 789
fore liable to magic influence. If the people of the house must go [774]

789 away, leaving it alone, an ear of yellow corn is left with it, that its soul may not be stolen. There is an interesting parallel here with [171] the ear of corn as a "ceremonial mother" in the Southwestern United States. If somebody expresses too strong admiration of a child, fire must be passed near it, or spittle rubbed over its forehead; otherwise the baby will become ill. Infants are particularly susceptible to the evil eye. To cure one that has been thus cursed, a female shaman is summoned, who passes a whole egg all over the baby's body. This is then opened, and the evil eye will be seen (by the shaman) in the yolk of the egg. They throw the egg into the river, or bury it in a secret place. Almost this same belief was found in Chontal of Tabasco. (Customs of San Fernando, Chapter VI, Volume I).

868 Children's education is simple and direct. As soon as a boy is old enough to work at all—at about five years of age—he is given a worn-down machete and set to cutting and hauling wood. From then on, following his father, he learns the man's duties. Girls are started with a miniature metate, grinding corn.

872 The Government maintains some public schools, such as at Bachajon Village, in which a few children learn to read and write, but in general great difficulty is found in obtaining scholars. As soon as they are old enough to study, they are strong enough to be of material help in the house and the farm; the parents do not like to relinquish what represents the interest on the investment of the price paid by the father for marriage, and the expense of the children's early years. Under the present administration, however, efforts to educate the Indians are being pushed as never before.

881 Puberty is attended by no observances of any kind. Marriage, 582 which comes fairly early, has been previously described.

764 At death the ceremonial side is greatly emphasized. The funeral rites combine the idea of mourning with a general belief that the soul of the departed lingers for a brief time about his former domicile. When possible, the house of the deceased is abandoned for a short time, during which period, if any small animal is observed about the house, particularly at night, it is supposed to be his soul. No particular powers are ascribed to the soul, as far as could be found out, but it is considered poor company.

As it happened, a man was killed while we were at the Finca Encanto, whose funeral rites we could observe. His wife began mourning for him almost immediately—this being in the middle of the afternoon. His body was taken to another house, neighbour to his own. The true ceremonies began after nightfall. Accompanied [123] by Lazaro and Señor Aguilar, the writer went up with a gift of

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

candles for the wife; we had previously sent flowers. The family, being poor, were very glad of our contribution. When we arrived the scene was lighted by one tall candle and the glow of a low fire, mostly coals, with a few weak flames flickering across it. The body was laid out, wrapped in all its clothes and then in a mat bound with cords, forming a bundle more or less resembling a mummy. At its head was a cross, on top of which flickered the solitary candle. The family and neighbours were crowded into the house, the women sitting on the floor about the body, their heads covered with black shawls; behind them the men made themselves as comfortable as possible. They brought such musical instruments as they possessed. The family provided rum. At the dead man's feet squatted his wife, her face almost completely covered by the black shawl. 764 [123]

The wife rocked to and fro, from a squatting to a kneeling position, alternately laying her clasped hands on the pall, and holding them to her eyes, keening. She gasped out a few broken words, half choked with sobs, then let her speech rise higher and higher, crescendo, to a wail that broke off with a half-sob, half-gasp. Thus she went on, falling into a chanting rhythm, which the other women joined spasmodically. The men talked in low tones, and played faintly on their instruments, more or less in time with her. The packed place was very warm, and had the acrid, smoky smell of many Indians.

Later, drinking went on, and the visitors danced, as at any ceremonial. The keening was maintained all night.

When we brought our candles, the woman stopped her mourning long enough to hustle the men, who were slow in setting them on the cross, then she took up again.

The body may be interred the following day in a burying-ground, or in the floor of the house. The former custom, observed at El Encanto, is probably due to outside influence. In that case, the body was carried on a plank by four men. A few more men came along to help, and the wife and three or four women followed. The men wore clean clothes, and had left their machetes behind. Only the wife wore a black shawl, which must have been hot in the sun at high noon, when the procession took place. She continued her keening, and carried a lighted candle. Whenever the pall-bearers laid the body down to rest, she fanned flies away with the dead man's hat. [177]

The grave was well dug, about five feet deep, without regard for orientation. After being lowered into it, the ropes binding the body were cut, that the dead man might rise freely on judgment day. Lumps of dirt and rocks were laid on to hold the mat in place.

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764 While this went on, all the women joined with the wife in keening, forming a sort of harmony. A cross was placed at the head. After the grave had been filled in, the party returned to the house where the mourning was carried on in all respects as on the previous night.

The wake is called *kanantaiy-el tca-vinik,* "to watch over (the) dead man." For the second ceremony, the only name obtained was *van-tik pas yan k'in,* "let us go to make another ceremony."

It should be noted that in the case observed, the wife maintained her keening, without apparent cease, from before sunset of one day, through the next day and until the morning following. She was audible, on her high notes, at least five hundred yards away; this was no mean feat of endurance.

On the trail to Bachajon Village, several ruined houses were observed with burials in the floor. The graves were outlined by planks set into the ground vertically. We were told that the dead were buried under their beds, and that a house was abandoned after the number of burials came to be "too much for them." This latter statement is borne out by the frequent occurrence of as many as three graves in one house, occupying most of the floor.

771 In common with most of the Indians of Middle America, the religion of the Tzeltal is a mixture of Catholic Christianity with considerable emphasis on saint-worship, and of their old cults. The surface presents fairly pure Christianity, but further examination shows that the deeper religious current is of an older form, altered by Christian contact. The Indians' attitude towards the newer religion is interestingly stated by Sapper (1925) who says:

"The relation of the Christian God to the remaining pagan gods may briefly be explained by the fact that the Christian God has a higher rank, but, as a foreigner, he cares less for the Indians and does not understand their petty troubles and intimate affairs. This is why the Indian turns to his old gods first in matters of everyday life, as for example when the maize is sown, and at harvest time . . ."

000 The same idea was brought out in the Zotzil uprising of 1868, when a boy was crucified to provide the Indians with a saviour of their own race, who would help them.*

796 Each village or ranch-settlement has and observes its Saint's Day, the celebration centering around the church, and whenever possible a Priest attends and gives Mass. Other fiestas are held on minor Saint's Days, or events such as the coming of a Priest to the

*Pineda, 1888, Page 77.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

village. In common with all ceremonial celebrations, these fiestas 796
are called *k'in*, the old Maya word for "sun." Even non-Christian elements appear in the fiestas. The Bachajon call their chief fiesta, St. Jerome's Day, May 13th, *kan-k'in*, "yellow sun," an old Maya month name.

On many points one cannot say whether the ritual be Christian 771
or not; the use of the cross is such a point. The Mayas had a cross,* 177
the worship of which was encouraged by the early Padres, while 178
teaching the Indians to associate with it Christian ideas. Certain 778
it is that crosses now play a greater part in Indian than in Ladino religion. They are maintained on the roads at partings of the way and crests of hills, and they are used in ceremonies that have little or nothing to do with the Church. Crosses by the road are usually covered with offerings of flowers and pine tips; in the houses they are decorated with any bits of bright paper, flowers, or pictures that can be obtained. The house-altars seem to be more truly Christian, as is indicated by the names, *altar, tcun tat-ik,* "altar of our Holy Father," and *cruz tcun tat-ik,* "cross of our Holy Father," in both of which the most important word is Spanish. At the house by El Encanto we had a chance to observe one such altar at leisure (fig. 309). It consisted of a neatly made cross, 75 centimeters high, standing above a small and rickety table. About the cross were fir branches, brought down from the highlands, and it was hung with cacao beans and small yellow gourds. A revenue stamp pasted across it gave a touch of more vivid green. The wall behind was entirely covered by a sheet of an old news-

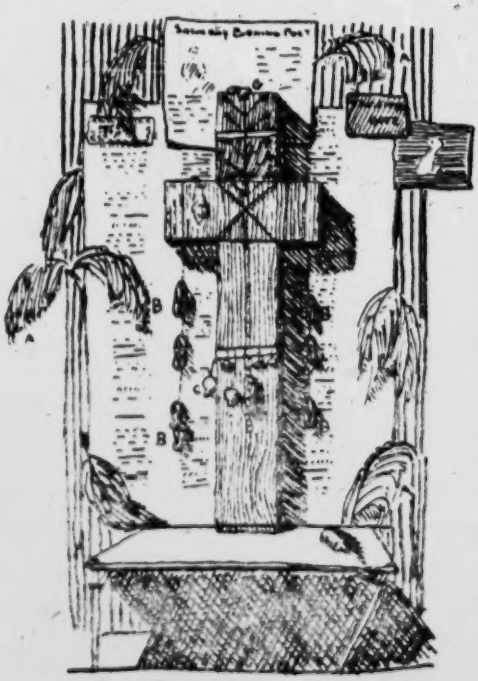

FIG. 309—El Encanto, Chis. Altar in House.

*Cf. Tozzer, 1907, Page 151 ff.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

778 paper, brightened with colour added by a cigarette package, a label from a tin of beets in a deep red, a joke in German about the fall of the mark, of which the prevailing tone was pure viridian, and a page of advertising from the Saturday Evening Post. We gave [123] this family a chromo of a saint, which was immediately framed with a sort of wooden box, and set up beside the cross. The table below was used for laying odds and ends on, such as the spindle and a couple of empty aguardiente bottles.

782 Incense, *pom*, and candles, both extensively used by the Indians 788 today, had a place in the old Maya ritual similar to that of the 177 Catholic Church.
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The Priest is an important figure to the Indians. They come to 793 him with respect to tell him their troubles, and receive him into their villages with rejoicing. At the same time, there is no doubt that they deliberately hoodwink him as to the orthodoxy of their faith.

796 Although it includes several non-Christian elements, a description of the fiesta observed at Tecojá will give a fair idea of the Tzeltal's church observances. Tecojá ranch has a village of about [241] twenty houses attached to it. The fiesta was held on the twenty- [648] second and twenty-third of June. By custom, the ranch had to allow the Indians this time off, as well as accepting the lowered efficiency on the following "cold grey dawn of the morning after." The owners had, moreover, to provide the rum for the whole celebration, in this case, two demi-johns.

The ranch chapel was thrown open and decorated with fir [794] branches and streamers. The proceedings were in charge of two older men, called *caporales*, who were distinguished by a cross-belting of red handkerchiefs. One house was set aside for the celebrations, in front of which was a table and three triangular, crimson banners with gold edges. By these drumming and flute-playing went on irregularly. Here was the official dispensary for rum, which was given out by the *caporales*. Inside the house, a palm-thatched one with stick walls, about fifteen feet square, some thirty [534] Indians, men and women, were squatting against the walls. There was an orchestra of a guitar and a mouth-organ, occasionally augmented by the piper, who would wander in from outside. This individual, although most amazingly drunk, managed to maintain his [533] musical ability until he fell asleep. The tune they played was like a rather wistful jig, but the time was lively. To this four couples [535] danced, the men facing the women, with a shuffling step not unlike waltzing. They kept very much in one place, but occasionally changed sides. The dancing was evidently a serious affair. This type is called in Spanish *zapatea*, in Tzeltal, *ahk'Out*.

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The performance continued until late that night and began again the next morning. Later in the day the banners were carried to the chapel in procession, with music, and deposited by the altar. The *caporales* led in prayer. The fiesta went on again in the evening. 796 [794]

Christian forms are applied to or mixed with non-Christian rites and ideas, to some extent, a confusion resembling the appeal to both saints and native gods in prayer among tribes of Guatemala* and British Honduras.† Much of Christianity is adapted to conform to old, fundamental native concepts. 771 172 178 171

In the church at Bachajon Village there are fourteen saints beside the tribal patron, St. Jerome. These others each have a special care, as the cornfield, hunting, the rivers, etc., and are prayed to for help in their particular provinces. They are given gifts of cloth, usually red or blue, which is draped about them. Many of them duplicate the functions of non-Christian "guardians," to be described below. 776

In this connection it may be mentioned that the Zotzil-speaking Indians of Huistan are accustomed to beat their saint (St. Martin) when they have a bad year, and to caress him and anoint him with oil when things go well. We were told that he had lost his nose and both ears due to this practice. [171]

One prayer was dictated to us by Señor Cruz at Toniná, the full text of which is given in Appendix VI, Text I. It is primarily meant for a poor man when making his offering in the cornfield, a use which is indicated by the phrase "health of the earth," but it may also be used in church. The phrase "blood of my flesh" suggests a remniscence of the ancient Maya offerings of blood from the ear, tongue, etc. A free translation is given here. 126 782 196

PRAYER OF A POOR MAN WHO HAS NOT MUCH TO OFFER.

"Do Thou accept, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, what I have gained, and what I have not gained. Do Thou forgive, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, blood of our flesh; our hearts are open, our lips are open. Give health of the earth; protect thy son kneeling here." [539]

Of primary interest to us were the survivals of the old worship. At the time of the Conquest the Spaniards put forth their utmost efforts to suppress the native religion, and the process has gone on 771 178 177

*Sapper, 1925.
†Gann, 1918.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

771 178 177

spasmodically ever since. The temples and idols were overthrown, the theocracy, that knew the lore and could read the books, was killed off or reduced to the common level. The books themselves have vanished. At the same time, churches were built, and Christianity preached with a fine enthusiasm. Later, idols whenever discovered were destroyed, and all forms of heathenism vigourously opposed. This process has continued for some four hundred years. In other places less than half that time has sufficed to wipe out every vestige of an old cult, but here, not only had the Padres to deal with a race at least semi-civilized, supporting a sophisticated religion, but a people of remarkable, tenacious conservatism, and who, moreover, at all times have outnumbered their conquerors.

It must be borne in mind that the highly evolved, elaborate old-time religion could only be maintained in its purity by an educated people, men who could philosophize, study history, and read the stars with scientific accuracy. Obviously, what survives can only be in a simplified and debased form.

778 178

Most directly religious are certain places of worship retained by the Indians. The old Mayas are known to have used, of course, caves as well as their mounds and temples. Nuñez de la Vega* tells of such worship going on in his time, and according to Sapper† it continues in Guatemala today.

In Ocosingo Valley, the pyramids of Cololté (*kolol-te,* a kind of tree), Chakalchib (*cakaltcip',* translation not known), and Campomtik (*kan,* "yellow," *pom,* "incense," *-ĕtik,* "much"), have been mentioned in the last chapter. They are all prehistoric places of worship. Their use by the Indians has been continued into modern times.

On top of Cololté the almost completely disfigured idol has already been described. It is decked with fir branches, and fir tips have been laid about its base. Before it in an arc stand wooden sticks to hold candles. The Indians do not come here at set periods as is usual elsewhere, but only when there is great need of rain.

Campomtik, across from Cololté, was used annually until a short time ago. Their celebrations made so much uproar that finally a local Priest had them driven away, and the worship there has been discontinued. There is still a big, rotting cross set up on top, but there are no offerings or candlesticks.

Behind Ocosingo, Chakalchib is still a place of worship, where fiestas are held annually without benefit of clergy. A large pile of stone in the center of the platform supports one cross about the

*Nuñez de la Vega, 1702.
†Sapper, 1925.

5: Blom & LaFarge A, E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

height of a man, and several other smaller ones in more or less dis- 778
repair. On the northeast side is a fireplace. There are a few candle- 178
sticks, some with traces of wax in them. Fir branches and tips, mostly withered, were piled so deeply as to indicate several years' deposits. According to description, Indians come here from far and near, to dance and drink as at any ceremony.

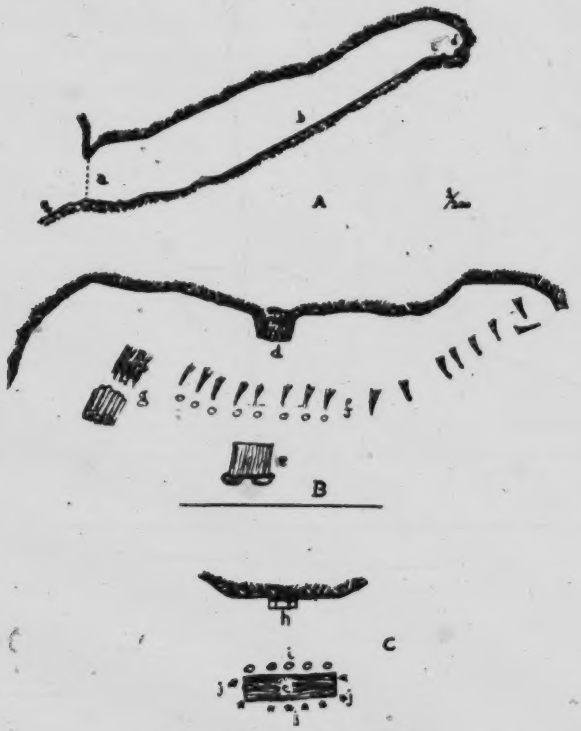

FIG. 310—Chacalchib, Chis. Altars.

A. Section of cave.
a. Sleeping place.
b. Ascent.
c. Level place.
d. Projection of rock.
B. Plan of Altar.
e. Board for incense.
f. Pine tips and candle sticks.
g. Reserve pile of pine tips and candle sticks.
C. Plan of Second Altar.
h. Cross.
i. Candle sticks.
j. Pine tips set on end.

More interesting than the top of the mound were two caves in its side, formed by the natural hollowing out of limestone outcrops near its base. The first of these had a small entrance, not high enough to stand up in, and just about large enough to give room for the grass bed and fire of which we found traces (fig. 310 a, b). From there the cave went up a few meters, and divided. The

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778 left-hand fork ended shortly. The right-hand one went on to a small
178 level place, on which about four people could squat at once. The roof was too low to stand. In the end wall a block of rock about half a meter high and twenty centimeters broad stuck out. In front of it were eight small candlesticks in a row, a neat bundle of fir tips laid before each. More of these extended in an arc to the right, and there was a pile of spare tips and candlesticks at one side. Behind this was a square of bark resting on two stones, which showed signs of having had incense burned on it.

The second cave was more open, more of a room, high, and broken with pillars of limestone and dirt. It was caused partly by hollowing out limestone through the action of water, and partly by washing out the soil. In a quite open situation a small, square cross was leant against a rock. There was a flat board for incense, with five candlesticks on the side of the cross, and fir tips around the other three sides (see fig. 310 c).

These two caves, whether or not they were used in pre-Conquest days, do definitely represent the survival of a purely non-Christian manner of worship.

The general attitude of the Indians towards all the carvings of the Old People is not without interest. While they appear to attach no particular significance to the temples, they call all idols by the generic term of "santo." Thus the fine bas-relief found near San José Reforma, told of in the last chapter, was known to the natives as *Santo Ton*, "Saint Stone," or "Holy Stone."

782 Distinct from worship at these archaeological sites are the offerings made to the "guardian," *yaHxal*, of the cornfields, a pure old Maya rite carried on in the modern fields. This is purely family matter, at which the head of the family officiates. A cross is set up, *atole* or *cocoposole* (*posole* with cocoa and sugar) and rum are offered in bowls, candles and incense are burned, and a chicken killed. The prayer quoted on page 365 is recited at this time. The offerings are only made at the time of planting the *milpa* in the spring, and suffice also for the fall *tonamil*. As nearly as we could find out, each field has its particular guardian, an idea which was shown by the case, to be described later when speaking of magic, of a man who took steps to gain the consent of a field's guardian before putting a curse on it.

776 There is a guardian of the river, *yabahen*, and of the mountains,
[323] *hun ahau*. This last is of particular interest, correponding as it does with the old Maya day-name signifying chief. Hun Ahau is mentioned in Landa, page 200, edition of 1864, as ruler of Mitamnal or hell. As Hunahpu he may be referred to in the Popol Vuh. Two

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fragments of prayers to him will be given when discussing medicine. 776
Distinct from the guardian of the cornfields, he is known only by name to the ordinary Indians, and mention of him appeared to alarm them a good deal.

Drunkenness still retains some of its old, ceremonial significance, 273
in its association with fiestas, funeral rites, and particularly with medicine, under which head it will be more fully taken up.

There are a number of beliefs and practices, no matter what their 789
origin, which, as they exist today, must be considered as superstitions 771
rather than religion. Of such a type is the belief mentioned 822
when speaking of hunting, that painting the bullet red would make it go further. This is of interest in the study of survivals, in view of the importance of the colour red in pre-Christian times. It may be equally well argued, however, that the red in this case represents the blood of the animal to be slain. Most of the superstitions are 774
concerned with the *nagual* or the soul. 776

The set of ideas that constitute Nagualism is derived from ancient and important beliefs. The *nagual*, *tcul-el* (*tcul*, "holy," *-el* "the, the one"), is a companion-spirit to a man, taking the form of some animal. The stronger the *nagual*, the stronger the man, thus one with a jaguar for a familiar could work any kind of magic or other harm on one with a rabbit. We were told both that the *nagual* was assigned by popular consent, due to people's opinion of a man, and that it was seen in a dream. A man who has a quarrel with another will deliberately shoot animals of the species of the other's *nagual*, hoping to hit the particular one associated with his enemy. If that one dies, the man dies, and vice versa. Thus, it is plain that there is no idea of association with a whole class of animals, but only with one individual of a class.

According to Nuñez de la Vega,* in the seventeenth century the 776
nagual was assigned by a shaman, who took it from the name of the 756
day on which the individual was born. The child was later caused 774
to see his *nagual* . . . *"se abrazan cariñosamente con su nagual, que por arte diabólica se le apparece muy doméstica y supersticiosamente cariñosa, aunque sea una bestia muy feroz, como leon, tigre, etc."*† [171]
According to Sapper (1925) exactly the same practices obtain in Guatemala today, the animal being caused to appear by means of hypnotism.

It is possible that further investigation would show a similar 774
manner of choosing the *nagual* among the modern Tzeltal. How- 776

*Nuñez de la Vega, 1702, loc. cit.
†Extract in Panlagua, 1908, Page 87.

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5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

How-
796 ever, much hinges on the difficult question of whether or not they
178 still possess the old calendar, without which the divination would be impossible. This will be spoken of again. On the whole, the Tzeltal do not show anything like the robust survivals of old religion that are found in Guatemala; in this respect, also, they have retained only a degenerated form.

776 Concerning the attitude of the Indian towards his *nagual,* two
756 stories may be told that have a certain interest. The first is an incident which occurred to us at Cacate-el, the ranch of Señor Tovilla in the Bachajon country. A Bachajon came in to complain that another Indian was casting spells on his fields and chickens. The other had taken a piece of dirt from his cornfield, so as "to gain consent of the guardian" (see above). He was making the corn wither and the chickens die. His power lay in his *nagual,* a *leon colorado* (*saxal-tvoq*), the most powerful that one can have. The Indian who complained had some much weaker familiar. We gave him a bril-
[123] liant chromo of Saint Jerome with his lion; not only because St. Jerome is the patron of the Bachajon, but also because of the lion, obviously to him the Saint's *nagual,* which anyone could see was larger and more powerful than any known to the Indians. With this picture set up in his house, he felt that he could rest in safety.

Señor Tovilla also passed on to us a story told him for true by an educated and trustworthy upper-class Mexican, an *abogado* (somewhat corresponding to the English solicitor). It is interesting for showing what is commonly believed even by the European people, although somewhat hard to accept. This man stopped at a Bachajon house, wherein he saw two old men sitting with their backs to each other, and two dogs fighting furiously on the floor. When he asked why they did not stop the fight, one of them answered:

"Our *naguales* are in those dogs, and my friend (*sic*) and I are fighting."

He went on to relate that, after the dogs gave up from exhaustion, both the men's faces were covered with black and blue marks.

[829] The Indians and their medicine men have succeeded to a remarkable degree in impressing the Ladinos with the reality and power of their magic, although it seems to be generally felt that it can only be used against themselves. Several very extraordinary stories were told to us by trustworthy people of more than the usual intelligence, and we were occasionally surprised at the reluctance of educated Ladinos to give information concerning native shamanism.

Because of the close relationship, the Indians try to keep secret their *nagual* lest an enemy should start hunting for it. Moreover,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

to admit to having a weak one would admit weakness in magic and all other things, and set one's enemies immediately to work with the certainty of success. 776 756

Although the idea prevails among the Ladino people of Chiapas that the *nagual* and the soul are the same, in reality they are quite distinct. The soul, *lap*, is conceived of as a separate possession, distinct also from the principle of life, both in its conception and etimologically ("life"—*kucul*). This soul is a delicate thing, easily lost, and the object of many ceremonial precautions. Apparently it dwells within the body, but may be jarred loose, or lost in whole or in part. 774

Apropos of this, the Yocotan curse, given in Volume I, Chapter VI, a prayer to get hold of a man's soul, shows a similar idea. The damage is not done by catching the soul, but by the magic that may be worked on the man after it is caught. Save for the immortality which the Indian enjoys through it after death, his soul may be regarded as much more of a liability than an asset.

If an Indian falls down, the shock of the fall loosens his soul. He must lie where he is until his companions, or the next comers, place a circle of little crosses of grass about him. They then sweep up the trail behind him, gathering the dust and placing it in a heap by his head. On this the grass crosses are burned, and the Indian, inhaling the smoke, regains his soul.

It should be mentioned that these are a very sure-footed people, who seldom fall, and that no importance is attached to falling down when intoxicated.

In case of severe fright, the soul is also thought of as jarred loose. To cure this, an egg or a chicken is buried at the spot where the fright occurred. There is some idea of fright being caused by a spirit that must be placated, an idea which is differently expressed in a custom described as common among the Chol Indians near Palenque. With them, if a child is frightened; the mother beats it soundly, meantime crying "Go away, devil, go away, devil!" (*Que sale el diablo!*") In this case fright is definitely a form of possession. It is part of a conception found among many of the Mayance tribes that there is something unnatural and supernatural about a sudden shock of this sort. Being startled must be distinguished from merely being afraid of something, which is considered entirely natural and comprehensible.

On the trail the Indians sleep on beds of palm leaves which take an impression of the sleeper's body. Before going on, these leaves must be shaken out, and should also be held over the smoke of the [513]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

774 [513] fire and then hung up to destroy the impression and prevent leaving behind with it a portion of the soul, on which magic could be worked. Our own observation was that this precaution was carelessly observed.

789 123 Although magic may be worked on impressions on leaves, bits of hair, earth from fields, etc., the Indians showed no objection at all to being photographed beyond a certain embarrassment, and very little to being drawn. Often they asked to be photographed, and at some villages posed readily for sketches.

756 Although, according to Nuñez de la Vega,* there were originally several classes of shamans among these tribes, at present they seem to have narrowed down to one medicine-man type. Primarily these are doctors, but in their practice they preserve certain priestly char-
756 acteristics. They have a real pharmacopeia, and Ladinos and oc-
757 casional foreigners who have tried their skill testify to the effectiveness of the medicines.† All their knowledge, however, is kept in greatest secrecy. Just enough medicine is administered at once for a dose, the shaman watching to see that it is consumed, and none held out for identification. Of these we were able to find out virtually nothing. Serpent fat, *junto-tcan,* is in common use as a rub for colds. Head-aches and extreme drunkenness are treated by cutting the forehead with a bit of sharp glass, and bleeding is resorted to in some other cases. The use of the tourniquet in cases of snake-bite is widely known.

All applications of medicine are accompanied by prayers recited in such a way as to be unintelligible to lay hearers. The prayers are an essential part of the treatment.

756 Shamans are trained from early infancy, being selected probably by the older practitioners. One of them takes the student in hand and teaches him prayers and medicines proper to his particular specialty. With this goes a certain amount of plain magic. Whether a man may then study under others and continue learning is not known; however, they vary in reputation both for their ability at curing, and for clairvoyance, casting spells, etc. Casting spells is a sort of reverse function of doctoring, the man who can cure disease being, obviously, able also to cause it.

[273] One of the two words given for a shaman, *poci',* shows an interesting resemblance to the Tzeltal for rum, *poc.* This similarity gains importance in view of the real connection between curing and drinking. A shaman definitely will not perform unless he is more

*Op. Cit.
†Cf. Sapper, 1925.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

or less inebriated, not from greediness, but because it is a ceremonial necessity for him to be in that condition when dealing with the sacred things. Drunkness was a requisite of certain functions among the old Maya, and with the present-day Lacandones,* the Chontal shamans similarly will not perform unless drunk.

Sebastiano Guzman, a Bachajon at El Encanto, a specialist on snake-bite cases, would not treat a friend for snake-bite, although he carried him on his back for two hours to get treatment from us, because the friend could not buy him any rum. It probably would be considered very dangerous to deal with the supernatural healing powers when sober.

When a group of Indians are drinking at any time, the shamans, as soon as they are drunk, go off together to one side and proceed to exchange prayers and prescriptions which they will not discuss when sober. They make a curious spectacle thus; a group of elderly men sitting in a corner passing a bottle about, plainly drunk, and gravely intoning prayers that are obviously to all of them matters of weighty importance.

Of their prayers two, or parts of two, were obtained. The first was copied by a Ladino secretary at El Encanto from the recital of an intoxicated shaman. The shaman became a general object of ridicule to all his people, lay or initiate, for having let out one of his secrets to an outsider. The second was recited by Señor Aguilar of El Encanto, who had overheard it. No one was able to give us any but the most fragmentary and unsatisfactory translations for these prayers; undoubtedly the text is in part archaic, and may contain some gibberish. The manner in which they were acquired, moreover, prevents accurate transcription. They are given here, rather than with the Tzeltal Texts in Appendix V, because of this failure to translate them, and their primarily ethnological value.

I.

hun ahau ilic tunic baken pusti-lum tal kowit' tal keke manic tunic inic kilan kun in ahau keke tunic hun tsak-unti-bak tsak-unti-tci.

Hun Ahau, the Guardian of the Mountains, has been discussed already. *ilic* was said to mean "drove out the sickness," and *tunic*, "placed the sickness." *pusti-lum* contains the stem *lum*, "earth." *tal* may be the stem of the verb *tal-el*, "to come." *kilan* is a lizard used in medicine. *keke tunic* was explained as meaning that the sickness was placed by means of *ajo* fruit. *tsak-unti* is remarkably similar to the Lacandone *tsakuntik*, "to redden," occurring in a

*Tozzer, 1907.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

539 Lacandone prayer in Tozzer's "Comparative Study of the Maya and Lacandones," page 169. As *tsar*, which a Ladino would probably give as *tsak*, means "red" in Tzeltal, the two words may be taken to be the same. *bak* means "bone," and *tci* means "blood." Many of these translations are doubtful, and all of them together do not suffice to explain the text.

II.

hun ahau bitskilim gravilan yokivin-wits yevakinok . . .

This also begins with Hun Ahau. *wits* means "hill." Beyond that no translation could be obtained.

124 The whole material on medicine and shamans is very slight and unsatisfactory. Indeed it is doubtful whether anything could be learned save after a long stay and much patient work, so secretive are the Indians on this subject, and so suspicious of inquiries. What we have is presented here in the hope that it may prove useful for comparative purposes, and offer suggestions to any worker going into this field.

796 178 According to Nuñez de la Vega, the old calendar was still current in his time. Starr* quotes a Zotzil Calendar of eighteen months, and Pineda* gives a Tzeltal calendar of both months and days. We asked in the different villages what names were given 124 to the days, and were told always the Spanish names, as also for 796 the months. This may well have been from unwillingness to impart 177 ceremonial information, but consistent replies, plus the statement of 178 various Ladinos, who knew the Indians well, incline me to believe that if the old calendar is known at all, it is known only to a very few of the most learned shamans. Feasts, as far as could be made out, are controlled entirely by the cycle of Christian saint's days. However, the Maya year might well have been by now adjusted to the Gregorian, and a time-count actually kept in the old style be stated for public purposes in the terms of the new. Pineda's calendar is adapted from one published by his father† some forty years earlier, but he speaks of it as being still current.

114 178 796 Seler also doubts the modernity of Pineda's calendar. In his article "Der Festkalender der Tzeltal und der Maya von Yucatan" (1898), he brings together various interesting statements. Of them, one may be applied to this survey. Emeterio Pineda he quotes as saying that the sixth month, Olalte, is the time of planting. This would be in April of our year, or the end of April and early May.

*Starr, 1903—Pineda, Vicente, 1888.
†Pineda, Emeterio, 1843.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

as is also shown by his placing of Yaxkin, the first month, in the end 114
of December. The seventh month, Ulol, is co-ordinated with Kankin 178
of the Maya calendar. Now, according to Sebastiano Guzman, the 796
Bachajon shaman, the big fiesta at Bachajon on May 13th is called *Kank'in*. Is this a coincidence, or a true calendar name, and if the latter, what is a Yucatan calendar name doing among the Bachajon, when we should expect the Tzeltal Ulol? In the present state of our knowledge, no more can be done than to state the facts.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Chapter XVI

THE HIGHLAND TZELTAL

On the Fourth of July we left Ocosingo for the last stretch in 114
to this fabled city of San Cristóbal, about which we had so long been hearing, up into the real mountains, the country of the highland tribes. We thought to spend the day in quiet travel, without fireworks, but our animals had other ideas. El Viejito, the old, white horse, led off by giving out under his pack right at the start. Then the bay mare cut loose, distributing her load over several acres.

The celebration finally being calmed, we reached Sivacá, at the foot of the long climb. The men who knew us were away in the fields. A few frightened women misdirected us as best they could, the animals got loose again among the orange trees and winding paths, and it was another half hour before, to the accompanying enthusiastic squeals of the local pigs, we finally got them rounded up and on the right way.

Right behind Sivacá the trail stands up on end to climb the first of the series of ramparts that lie like a defense about the highland country. It was very much like trying to ride up a gutter on the side of a house. The narrow trail was also the bed of a feeble brook. It was worn so deep that the packs rubbed along the sides. We pushed and pulled and tugged. There was the usual repetition of fallen horses and packs to be put on again. Thus for two hours, slipping 114
and scrambling, until at last we came to a level place where an old 133
wooden cross, decorated with offerings of flowers marked the top of 137
the pass—1,660 meters, 600 meters (about 1,900 feet) above Ocosingo. From there on, as our trail dipped and rose along the uneven plateau, we had occasional glimpses through the tall fir trees back to the ranges behind Ocosingo Valley, and far over the hills of the Tzendales and the Lacandone country, looking very cool and blue. The trees were fine, and widely spaced; below were good grass, patches of pine-needles, and scars of red earth. We followed a succession of ridges, not very notable in themselves, but tiring to the animals after their long climb and earlier celebrations. In the late afternoon it grew cooler, and stimulated by that, and the beauty of the country, we did not know that we were weary.

One of the pack animals, a game little sandy-coloured pony with 114
a Roman nose, who drew his neck back like a camel's when he traveled, was making better time than the rest. So Blom, on his

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

114 mule Borrachito, took him ahead, planning to get into Tenango early and arrange for food and lodging. They went along briskly enough for a while, leaving the pack train well behind. Then the pony stopped, lowered his nose to the ground, blew a moment, and keeled over. There was nothing for it but to unpack him and wait
114 for help. By and by an Indian turned up. Blom hailed him in
123 Tzeltal, *"La!"*—"come here!" He took cover and disappeared. Two more came along the trail, stopped at a distance to look him over, and also disappeared. After a while an Indian's head popped up for an instant behind a stone. All this was rather disconcerting, here in the Indian country, and he had noted that one of the Indians carried a thing that looked like a cleaver on the end of a long pole. He moved over to the mule, hiding his revolver side so that the Indians should not notice that he carried no fire-arms, and put himself in reach of his machete. A head stuck out again from behind a tree. Then two more Indians came down the trail, whom he hailed, asking them to carry the pack boxes into town. At first they refused, but after looking for a long time at his mule, they accepted the job. So he continued peacefully towards Tenango. He came into the open valley just before dusk, with the shadow of the further mountains just on the village, and the mountains themselves dark blue and black under tremendous thunder-clouds. The men and women were all trailing in from their cornfields, with their hoes and machetes over their shoulders. Some stopped a moment to stare at him, then went on, moving with slow steps over the cultivated land.

When La Farge and Lazaro came out into the cleared land, the valley was deep in purple shadow. They reached the Cabildo after dark, too tired to take notice of anything.

Early the next morning, while wisps of cold, silver and pink mist still lay in the valley, the village elders gathered to welcome us, bringing two chickens as presents. They said that they had heard of us already, and would show us through the village. In return for all this, we were to report to the *Tata Presidente* in Mexico that they needed more land, and were hard put to it to find food throughout the year for the 135 families of the village. At first we were escorted by the whole group, from the Village President down to the Secretary, who was illiterate and spoke little or no Spanish. Later, most of the elders lost interest and trailed off, but we always had enough of a delegation to ensure us good service. It was Sunday, so no one was working in the fields, yet we saw remarkably few people, the women, especially, keeping within their houses most of the time.

133 As has been said, Tenango lies in the eastern part of a wide valley that slopes down from the eastern ridge until it meets an abrupt.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 380]

5: Blom & LaFarge A, E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

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FIG. 311—Tenango, Chia. Street Scene.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

133 green wall away to the westward. Midway, there is a break in the slope, with a dramatic splash of deep red cliffs, in violent contrast
241 to the fertile grass and soft tones of the limestone outcrops. Only the upper end of this valley belongs to Tenango, so little, in fact that the inhabitants cannot practice the usual, sprawling milpa system of agriculture. The very yards are planted, and the fields
[35] start almost in the village, radiating from it in a close patchwork
[417] as in Europe. Everything is fenced with roughly split planks set on end, and fences line the road into Tenango where it passes
361 through the cornfields. The houses with their yards lie close about an open plaza in which are the grey bones of a ruined church, a

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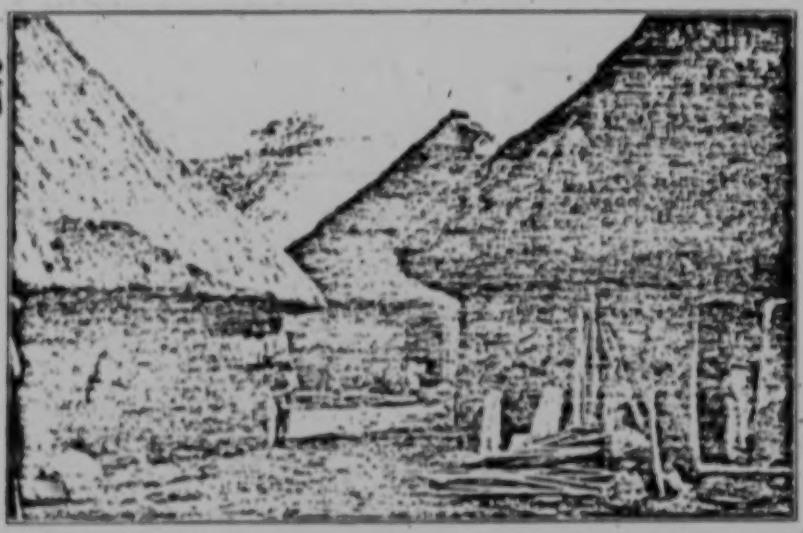

FIG. 310—Tenango, Chis. Houses.

361 whitewashed, palm-roofed native one, and the shack of a Cabildo for
245 the Maestro. The streets are lined with useful trees, oranges, gourds,
363 and a few bananas, which do poorly at this altitude.

342 The houses are square and well-made with walls of broad, split planks covered with mud (figs. 311-312). The roofs are steeply thatched and pyramidal, or have a short ridge along which broken pots are laid after the manner of tiles. The frame-work differs from that described in the last chapter in having cross-pieces laid between
[354] the plates. There are no chimneys, the smoke is allowed to seep through the thatch, keeping out vermin and making the roofs steam like a clam-bake.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

Physically, the people are taller and somewhat heavier boned than the Bachajon. The older men have small beards, close to their chins, of sparse, wiry black hair. Moustaches are faint. The men wear their hair longer on the backs of their necks and over the tops of their ears (fig. 318). 142 302

The men's costume is like that of Ocosingo Valley, a long, V-necked tunic without buttons, coming down nearly to their knees, but the trousers are usually rolled up until almost hidden. A plain red sash is worn knotted in front with ends hanging. 291

We had great difficulty in getting a look at any of the women until finally the officials arranged for a few of them to come and 126 123

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FIG. 319—Tenango, Chis. The Village Elders.

be photographed with their husbands (fig. 314). Nothing could have brought them alone. They were very strange and stiff about the whole thing, and showed more genuine fear of the camera than we saw anywhere else. The women of marriageable age draw their hair together at the back of the head. Around it a long, red, woolen ribbon, about three centimeters wide, is wrapped until it forms a disk standing out like a halo, the exact size being a matter of coquetry. The hair is then turned back and laid along the edge of the disk and wrapped in the last few rounds of ribbon. The result is that it comes out from the head through the center of the disk in a thick mass, then forms a flat elbow where it is doubled back to the 126 123 302 [301]

5: Blom & LaFarge A.E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

302 edge (fig. 315). Married women use the same head-dress, but with a smaller disk. Girls not yet marriageable do their hair in a pig-tail.

291 The women's blouse is of the old *huipil* type, a long sack of a garment, hanging to the knees, with the shoulders broad enough to come to the elbow, or else with short sleeves sewn on. The seams, cuffs, and neck are picked out with red stitching. The skirt is dark blue, and comes about half-way between knee and ankle.

323 It is an interesting point, and one which archaeologists should note, that Tenango makes the only decorated pottery in the district and has a monopoly also on the big, three-handled water-jars. The

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Fig. 314—Tenango, Chis. Married Couples.

323 Indians explain that they go in for pottery-making because they need the money to supplement the products of their insufficient fields. We were there during the farming season when no work is done on pottery so we were not able to see the processes of manufacture. However, one of our guides took us to the house of a woman who had some reputation for skill, and all types were brought out for us. Besides the forms described in the last chapter, and the big water-jars (fig. 316), they make a goblet-shaped salt-cellar, *yoc-wal-ats' a'* (*atsam*—"salt"), a *tscts* bowl of

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Fig. 315—Tenango, Chis. Woman's head-dress.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

one piece with its stand, which is then called *cOt*, and a pot with one or two spouts and a handle on top called *bur nia* (figs. 317-319). 323

The decoration is fairly standardized. In the big cantaras each woman uses a central element of her own, and all follow the same general scheme. Occasionally a potter breaks out with an odd form, such as an undersized cantara which we bought. It has a row of pellets about the rim, called *tut-cuH*, "little beads"; around the center is a zone of galloping animals showing considerable action, but difficult to identify. When we asked what the animals were, the woman replied rather wearily that they were "to make it pretty," so we let it go at that (fig. 318). 323 531

Fig. 316—Tenango Jar. (43 c.m. high).

The clay used is a light, greenish brown colour, and lumpy before being prepared. It is tempered with ground, sandy limestone, *hiH-ton* ("sand-stone") of fine quality. The jar is painted with a paste made of a soft, 323

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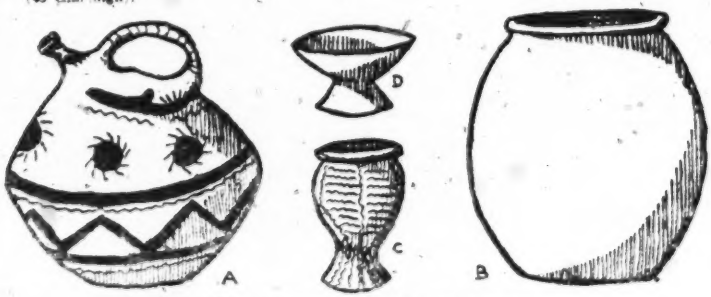

Fig. 317—Tenango, Chia. Types of Pottery.
A. Burnia. B. Ocom. C. Yocwal-ets'a D. cOt.

Fig. 318—Tenango, Chia. Central designs from jars.

black stone, *tsa-ik* (*ik* equals "black") ground and mixed with water. It is laid on with the soft, green tip of a bush called *Hwamal*.* 323

The women's *huipiles* and all the men's clothes are woven at Tenango by the women. The men's sashes, which they make, are not as finely woven as among the Bachajon. They are undecorated 286

*To make a cantara—*tsa-k'ip*. To paint a cantara—*tsen-k'ip*. To bake cantaras—*wakcik k'ib-tik* (*-tik* is the emphatic plural, they are always baked in large batches).

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

286 and often have no fringe. We were told that it was impossible to
123 see a woman weaving at that time, but by persistent stalking the
126 writer finally managed to locate a girl at work, whom he observed
286 and sketched from behind a bush. The women here were so consistently shy that no doubt she would have rolled up her loom, which was of just the same type as the one seen at Sivacá, and fled into the house had she known she was observed. Our procession through this very pretty village, too, was a serious affair—distinguished strangers being shown around town by the mayor—and had none of the cheerful joking and general *bonhommie* that produced such friendliness and good results at Sivacá.

241 Something more should be said about the agriculture here. Ordinarily, Indians go out to choose their own land in the bush and

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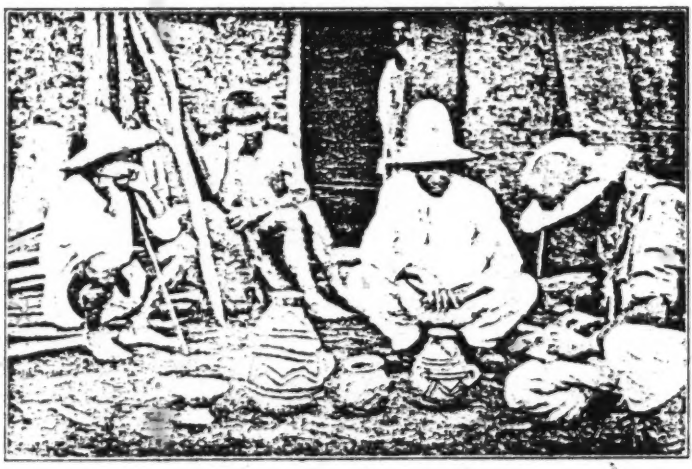

FIG. 319—Tenango, Chis. La Farge drawing pottery.

241 plant it with little cultivation, placing the corn close together. Here each family has its land assigned to it by the council. As the same field must be planted year after year, the hills of corn are widely spaced, and the ground is turned over as deeply as possible by means of heavy hoes, *ak'en*, purchased in San Cristóbal. As was said, every-
[417] thing is fenced as much as possible. When some of our pack animals got loose in a field, the excitement was intense. In the yards of the houses they raise corn, beans, and a plant related to tobacco. This
824 plant grows nearly as tall as a man. The leaf is rubbed on their legs to cure fatigue. It is carried with lime in a small gourd and offered and accepted for chewing with much the same bowing and formalities as obtained among our ancestors when offering snuff.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

We had a better chance here than anywhere else to look over 621
the village government. It being Sunday, all were present, the 624
Presidente Municipal, the *Secretario,* and council of *Regidores,* elderly men, grave of mien, with small, black goatees. The ordinary villagers treated them with the greatest respect. Each official carried a silver-headed cane with a red ribbon tied to it and the name of his office inscribed on the head. They are appointed to their offices by the government with the ratification of the village. The Maestro works entirely through them, and their orders are ab- 624
solutely obeyed. Indeed, owing to the independent nature of the 648
Tenangeros, the Maestro is rather like the ambassador of a powerful foreign nation persuading the local government, through tact and very gentle pressure, to behave.

We finished our survey about noon, the Indians appearing un- 126
willing to have us enter their houses. For the rest of that day we 123
spent our time working up our notes into good shape, then teaching the gift chickens to do tricks until Lazaro claimed them for the pot, and in dodging the local officials who, having got themselves slightly tipsy in honour of the Sabbath, came importuning us to give them cigarettes, of which we ourselves were short.

Both that night and the night before, traveling traders built 443
their little pine fires on the mud verandah of the Cabildo. In one case it was a Mexican and an Indian, in the other two Mexicans, to be distinguished from Indians only by the cut of their trousers and a donkey. They travelled with their big packs on a tump-line, long staff in hand, for all the world like a living re-incarnation of the traders shown in the pre-Columbian drawings of the codices (fig. 320). In old times they traded parrots, macaws, obsidian, textiles, jade, and later, gold and copper. Now it is a business of cheap 443
watches, gaudy cloths, and ten-cent jewelry, bringing Connecticut, 439
Hamburg, and Orizaba down to a fiesta in Bachajon village, following the old trade-route along which we were going, in the other direction, to San Cristóbal. Very few of the present Indian tribes

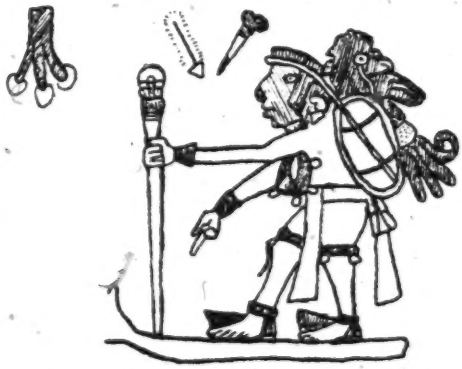

FIG. 320—Travelling Aztec Merchant. Drawing after the Codex Land.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango
Cancuc

443 439 themselves maintain an export trade, yet there is some. From the distant, shy Lacandones a little tobacco of fine grade comes out, in exchange for salt, dogs, powder for flint-locks, and aguardiente. Tenango pottery goes down to Salto de Agua and up to Tenejapa where it meets the finer products of Amatenango, with which it cannot compete. Amatenango pottery is traded as far, at least, as San Andres in Guatemala. Chamula blankets are worn in Cancuc, and all through the Chiapas mountains. The Indians of the highest section keep warm in a heavy woolen shirt called *"chuj,"* which is made in Guatemala. So they themselves, on a small scale, and the Ladino peddlers yet more, keep alive a vestige of the old trade that once ran from Central America to Utah.

114 291 482

Fig. 321—Cargadores with our boxes.

114 The last day's climb had seriously fatigued our horses. It became obvious that they alone could not bring us safely through, so on the sixth we arranged for five *cargadores*, under one of the village councillors, to carry five of our boxes through to Cancuc (fig. 321). It seemed as though that would make quite a load for each of these men, but we came to realize that the carrying power of a Highland Tzeltal truly puts a mule to shame.

At the end of the valley we swung up into the highroad that runs from San Cristóbal to the Lowlands at Salto de Agua. Once fairly well smoothed and levelled, this road is now impassable for ox-carts, and even horses must pick their way over the jagged limestone

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

boulders with care. It still is broad in most places, and has reasonable grades. We climbed to a rather desolate upland of wind-swept grass with a few crooked trees. There was some traffic on the road. We passed a group of Tenejapeños going down to the hot country to carry sugar. The men were ragged and woolly, like those we had seen at Salto de Agua, and their women, in short blue skirts and white blouses gorgeously ornamented with gold and crimson silk, were remarkable for their very pink cheeks showing through dark brown colouring.

The town of Cancuc (*kank'uk*) lies on the rounded shoulder of a long ridge that juts up above the high moors commanding a tremendous view North, West, and South over a jumbled mass of mountain ranges, like a herd of great elephants shouldering away to the horizon. A wind blows day and night, the trees are small and stunted, and the general effect is one of bleakness and height. At an altitude of 1,440 meters, with the unresting wind, it is always cold. The highroad climbs from a ravine up into the village where a small plaza is laid out on a level place. On our left was the big, white church, still well preserved. Opposite it, the Cabildo surprised us, a neat building with tile roof and white columned portico, built in President Diaz' time. Round about were some tumbling and ruined huts, and behind, the village rose on rough terraces crudely faced with stone.

Cancuc has a stormy history. It was the center of the famous rebellion of 1712, the subject of Brinton's "Maria Candelaria."* According to Starr (1904) who passed through here, there is a tradition that the men's long hair, covering their ears, is so worn in memory of the clipped ears which their ancestors received at that time. Recently, there has been political dissension in the form of a dragging feud, and a series of small fights and murders has resulted in those left of the defeated party abandoning the village and setting up their houses in the bush. It is from this that one sees so many huts deserted and beginning to disintegrate, adding to the general cheerless aspect of the place.

We were well received at the Cabildo, where the village officials with their silver-headed canes turned up shortly to look us over. They were younger men than most of the officials we had met previously, and a pretty tough looking crew, much what one would expect of a group that had attained office largely by means of the machete. The people on the whole rather resemble the Bachajon physically, being of a small-limbed type with an average height for men of about 160 centimeters, and nearly beardless. The men wear tunics cut as at Tenango, but decorated with red and yellow em-

*Brinton, 1897; Pineda, 1888.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

291 broidery along all the seams, at the cuffs, and over what would be a pocket in a European shirt. Trousers are either very short "shorts," or replaced by a cotton breech-clout. Hats are seldom worn. Most men carry woolen blankets woven by the Chamula Indians. The red sashes are knotted in front (fig. 322).

The women's dress is the same as at Tenango, but without any 302 decoration, and with a shorter skirt. Their hair is worn in two braids, or done up in a knot over the forehead, forward of where the tump-line is placed.

Fig. 323—Cancuc, Chis. Men on the Cabildo porch.

771 These people, for all their turbulence, are very devout, although, like many who are more civilized, they leave most of the expression 794 to the women. The church is swept out daily by women appointed for the purpose. Along about five o'clock in the afternoon all the women drift in, singly or in small groups, pray for awhile, 346 and come out. Looking in the door one sees the large interior almost pitch dark, cut here and there with [291] tiny, yellow candle-flames, and hears a monotonous sing-song drone of chanted 796 prayers. Their festivals center about the church. In this connection they have a very curious custom. [417] There are two scaffolds by the plaza (fig. 323) very small platforms on four rickety poles about four meters high, surrounded by an insufficient railing, arched over with palm branches, [273] and reached by a frail-looking ladder. The drinking which, as was explained in the last chapter, is an essential part of any ceremony, must all take place on top of these scaffolds. It is indeed a miracle that every fiesta does not cause a score of broken necks.

123 While wandering around to see what he could see, the writer was hailed by an elderly woman who gave him to understand by signs

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

that he was invited into her house, presumably to take shelter from the evening rain that was beginning to fall. The house, of which he sketched a hurried plan (fig. 324) was more rectangular than is usual, the prevailing type being square with a pyramidal roof. He entered through a low doorway, closed with a wooden door on leather hinges. Although the ridge of the roof was high, the many cross poles reaching from the top of one wall to the other made it necessary to stoop. The writer squatted by the door, facing the fire, which smoked merrily in the closed room. The old woman immediately set to shaping a pile of tortillas for baking. Along either wall was a well-made bench, decorated with notches along the top and geometric designs on the back, similar to the benches on the Cabildo porch (fig. 325). These and a sturdy table that was stored on top of the stringers were said to be purely local products. By the door stood a big jar, a full meter in height, crude and undecorated (fig. 326). There was the usual collection of ollas and gourds, and one other new form, an open-mouthed pot about eight centimeters high and as many in diameter, flat bottomed, with a handle on one side, called *hütc* (fig. 327). In the thick smoke, it was hard to see anything. I was interested to note that my hostess' eyes watered nearly as much as my own. In the darker end of the house I could make out corn stacked neatly along one wall, and a partition that presumably hid the beds. For a while the woman answered the few questions that I could make her understand by means of signs, my half-a-dozen words of Tzeltal,

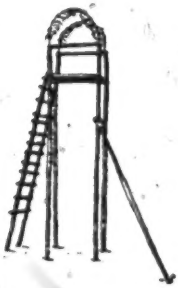

Fig. 323—Cancuc, Chis. Drinking scaffold.

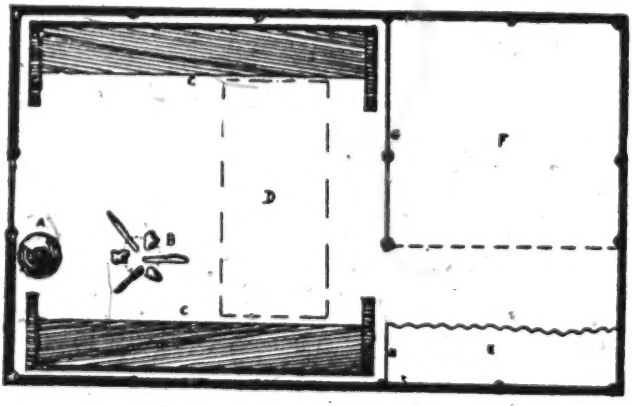

Fig. 324—Cancuc, Chis. Plan of House.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

124 and her three words of Spanish. Then she grew hostile, answering
123 everything with a plaintive "*Ma snaa,*" "I don't know." This went on for two or three minutes, then suddenly she flung open the door and waved me out with no uncertain gesture, saying something about the "Presidente Municipal," and the "Secretario." By this time it was pouring cats and dogs, but there was nothing to do save run for it.

284 Cancuc is not noted for any product. There are about the same
322 arts and industries as at other towns, but the only ones that amount to anything like a specialty are netmaking and whittling combs. The combs are better and more neatly made than those of the Bachajon, and with a selection of the wood for grain that often produces very pretty combinations. The nets are made by the men, who

[352]
[531]
←
[415]
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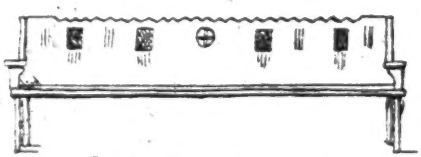


Fig. 325—Cancuc, Chis. Bench.

Fig. 327, Cancuc, Chis. Pottery, Hilte. (8 c.m. high).

Fig. 326—Cancuc, Chis. Tall Jar. (1 m. high).

go about rolling the twine or knitting as they walk. The process was described in the last chapter.

485 Being on the main highway, the government maintains a long shed, like a wagon-shed, thatched with leaves and grass, which is at the disposal of travelers. This relieves the Maestro of duties of entertainment. Towards nightfall, various groups came into camp here, a family of Mexicans, with a big fire, and goods piled high, two traders with their packs, some Chamulas, fine-looking men dressed in white wool tunics, with flowing cotton kerchiefs round their heads, and a couple of Tenejapeños with nets full of apples. The Chamulas, who are remarkably progressive Indians, had come in with a string of mules. After dark, the line of fires in the divisions of the shed, the talk, the fire-lit figures in their varied costumes, with the Church and houses rising on the terraced hill behind made as picturesque and charming a scene as one could possibly imagine.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc
Tenejapa

From Cancuc the road falls slowly away, then it climbs to the 133
steep side of the ridge and at last dips percipitously to a covered 114
bridge over a narrow ravine. All along on both sides little corn- [241]
fields alternate with second growth. Ahead, the same great palisade
that we saw from Tenango rises in a green wall, patched with fields
and broken here and there by outcrops of cliffs and hanging valleys.
We passed a dribbling of traffic, Indians on foot, and at the bridge
met a family of Mexicans noisily eating a picnic lunch. The ravine
was deep, rock-walled, with a roaring stream in the shadows of the
bottom. From the other side of it the palisade rose immediately,
looking almost perpendicular and indefinitely high to us as we con-
templated it. The road assumed a stiff grade, rising in a series of [491]
zig-zags that gained painfully to the top. Straight up, almost like
a ruled line, lay the Indian trail, taking no account of the twists and [480]
turns of the road. Our carriers from Cancuc, who took on the cargo
that the Tenango men had carried the day before, had gone up that
fearsome climb. We tried it, but the horses slid and fell back on their
haunches, and we ourselves could barely keep our footing. So we
continued along the road, turning and turning, seeming never to
gain, and fearing that our animals would never make it. The heat
of the sun was thrown back by the hillside and the road.

We toiled on. Low growth and brush on the side of the road 137
gave no shade. The dust rose high. The air, for all the heat, began 114
to have a pleasant crispness that reminded us of high altitudes in
other countries. Then we smelt a familiar smell which we ignored
until its persistent recurrence forced us to look, see, and believe—
that blackberries grow wild in Chiapas! The event of the next
hours amused Lazaro greatly, for here in Mexico we found our-
selves among familiar northern flowers and wild fruits, buttercups,
dandelions, wild roses, blackberries, strawberries, all strange to him.
We passed an Indian farm, stuck into a tiny hanging valley, where 245
peach trees and alligator pears were growing together in the corn-
field.

At the top of the pass in a shallow V-shaped cut, the barometer 133
read 2,100 meters, a climb of 600 meters—about 1,900 feet—in two [114]
hours.

The country changed beyond here to steep ravines, high cliffs, rushing, cold brooks, and tall, dark fir trees clothing the rocks. The tilled fields disappeared, the scattered houses, and stick fences. It was a wild, shaggy country—a perfect setting, we thought, for the home of the rough Tenejapeños that we had seen along the road.

Near evening, a road forked off to the right, leading to a split in a wall of high cliffs through which we could see, already dark with

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

133 shadow, another wall far behind. A Mexican told us that Tene-
133 japa lay in the valley thus enclosed. With the cool evening air our
114 animals picked up, taking us along at a good trot. We swung around a green dell, up under one cliff into the opening, over the threshold of a ridge. Some Indians sitting there waved to us. Beyond was a tiny, lush meadow and a brook where some Mexicans were making clay tiles. There was another rocky hillock, around which we swung to find ourselves trotting down a well-cobbled street lined with little white cottages, white-walled gardens, and
361 roses. To us, looking for something yet wilder than the villages we had seen, the neat houses and candle-lit casement windows, the doors of tiny shops, the flowers, and the shingled roofs were an utter surprise. In the streets was a sprinkling of touselled-headed Indians

[346]

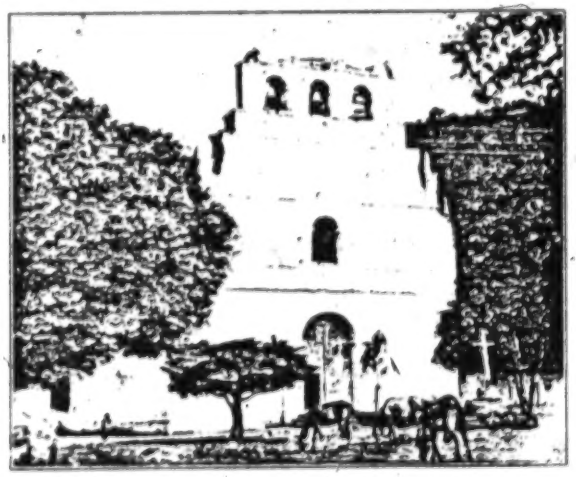


FIG. 329—Tenejapa, Chis. Church and Plaza.

and Ladino people of much fairer complexion than the typical, Lowland Mexicans. We rode past a gaunt, high-shouldered stone church into the plaza, a field of about two acres planted with a few trees, and with a fine town fountain of icy water in the middle (fig.
344 328). Along one side ran the Cabildo, a long, one-storied building
531 with a very deep veranda, gorgeously painted in cubist fashion, red,
123 yellow, green and blue. Here we halted to unpack and present our credentials to the *Presidente Municipal*.

361 Tenejapa is really two towns in one. There is the Ladino town,
563 around which lie the houses of some eight thousand Indians, by local

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

estimate, with their own, regular Indian administration under the control of the Ladino government. The *Presidente Municipal*, a most obliging man, got the Indian *Presidente* for us, whom we photographed by the last light of the day (fig. 329). Through this chief, men were sent out to bring in grass; they returned with enormous, green bundles as big as themselves.

The Indian houses outside the town differ from those previously described in the possession of a sort of porch, or part under the roof in front screened with boards, introductory to the house itself.

The Tenejapeños are strongly built, thickset, and short, with enormously powerful calves. In fact the chief industry of the tribe is acting as porters. They go in large bands to places at a considerable distance to take or bring back loads, competing successfully with the Chamula packtrains. In this the women are as proficient as the men. Their colour is dark, a rich brown, more red than golden, with distinctly pink cheeks showing through in the case of the children and old people. The men are almost beardless. Faces are rather broad and round* (fig. 330).

FIG. 329—Tenejapa, Chia. The chief of the Tenejapeños.

The essential parts of a man's costume are a pair of shorts and a brown and white striped Chamula Indian blanket, worn as a poncho. Two of these blankets may be comfortably worn in that climate. Hats, when used, are also of Chamula make, of straw with a flat brim, and round, close-fitting crown pointed at the top. Usually they are decorated with ribbons. A sash of white material may be worn, the ends of which, hanging down in front, are elaborately embroidered (fig. 331). The

*Starr (1907) made some measurements upon these people, the most important of which are summarized here. They show an interesting variability.

STATURE IN MILLIMETERS

Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range	Below 1600	1600—1650	1650—1700	Above 1700	Total
1,587	1,798	1,468	330	75	18	6	1	100

	Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range
CEPHALIC INDEX	78.8	86.6	68.0	18.5
FACIAL INDEX	81.6	94.5	65.6	29.0
NASAL INDEX	88.8	102.2	64.1	38.2

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

291 shorts are also usually embroidered in red and yellow. The chief had such a pair, very fine and gaudy, which we asked to see. He took [123] them off to show us, but when we tried to buy them from him he [293] became furiously angry and abusive. Sandals, when worn, are of the ordinary type. Most of the Indians carry a staff of some kind.

[531] The women wear the typical blue skirt, but the blouse, cut like a poncho, is usually tucked inside and heavily embroidered about the neck and shoulders. This work takes a long time, and the finished blouses are valued very highly. When worn outside they nearly cover the skirts, which are just knee length. Red sashes with a yellow stripe from Tapachula, of the kind worn also around Ocosingo, bind the skirts at the waist. Hair is done in two braids with dark red ribbon, or tied up in a knot over the forehead as at Cancuc.

[342] [231] [854] ←

302 →

301 →

621 563 →

[293] →

Fig. 330—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians in the street.

Men and women alike wear cheap, gay-coloured necklaces, usually rosaries.

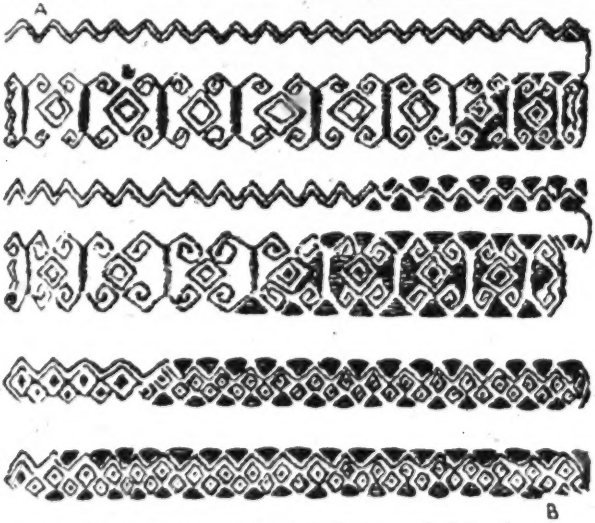
The Indians move with great freedom through the town and lounge in company with the Ladinos on the broad porch of the Town Hall. The officials are distinguished by silver-headed canes with black tassels. In lieu of a Maestro, they are directly under the Ladino *Presidente Municipal,* and their disputes are tried by the local judge. Their lawsuits have a mediaeval air, carried on publicly with great clamor on the Town Hall porch, and all concerned speaking with the utmost freedom. A breach of promise case was observed in the course of trial. It went on for at least two hours with never less than two Indians, usually women, speaking at once. One could not but admire the patience of the rather bored and indifferent judge.

695 344

114 The cargadores from Cancuc arrived shortly after dark, still lively despite the long day and steep climb. More remarkable still.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa
Amatenango

one of them had developed fever, "so that he lost his breath," and 114
another had made almost the whole trip with two kayaks, over 200 lbs. on his back. They camped on the Town Hall porch where we, with our beds on piles of grass in a room labelled *"Commandancia,"* heard them, as we fell asleep, still chattering over a friendly bottle. Here, as long ago at Ocozotepec, our goods and saddles were stored in the jail, the room next ours, bearing the tactful label in red and blue, *"Prevencion."* Our grass beds were soft and sweet. The big door framed a little of the plaza, the fountain, a cottage with a narrow barred, candle-lit window, and the towering back-drop of cliffs behind, reaching to the stars, with one small winking fire, high up, from some Indian's house. We heard our *cargadores'* low chatter-



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531

FIG. 331—Tenejapa, Chia. Embroidery on end of a sash.
A. Front. B. Back.

ing, the play of the fountain, a distant guitar. The air was fresh 114
with pines and sweet grass and mountain coolness. We were in a magic country, and we were very, very tired.

Although it breaks the sequence of our journey, it seems best to 361
mention the town of Amatenango here in connection with the other 323
Highland Tzeltal tribes. We passed through it just beyond Teopisca on our way to Comitan, having no time to stop off. The [492]
people had been observed in San Cristóbal, where they come in to trade their famous pottery, men and mules alike piled high with loads twice their size.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Tenejapa

361 Amatenango lies in an open valley. It is estimated at three
342 hundred houses, each in a fenced yard of good size, and shaded with
351 fruit trees. The houses are large and well built, of mud and grass
245 thatch, with porches. The small church and Town Hall are tiled-
346 roof and stuccoed. The fields, which lie close around the town, and
344 the gardens in the town itself are watered by a stream brought down
241 a very pretty, roaring flume from higher land behind the village.
312 The irrigation system is fairly elaborate, and is unique in this area as far as we know.

323 The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one shape, a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, how-

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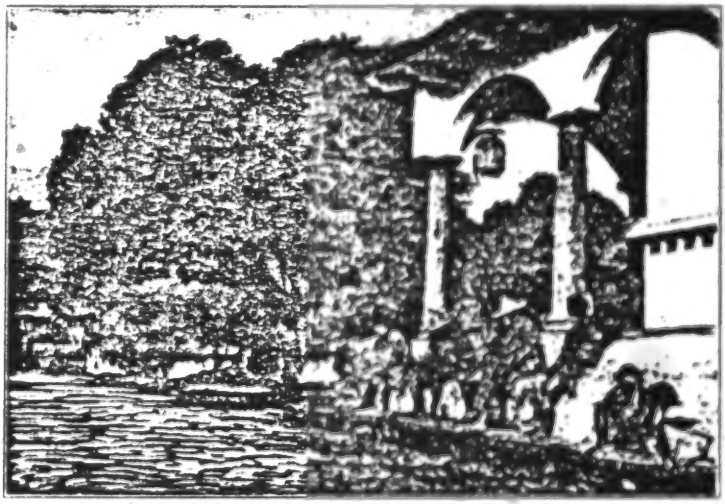

FIG. 332—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians at the Town Hall.

323 ever, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep, reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of boards, two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman in charge turns them until they are done (fig. 333). These pots are
[443] carried by the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they are redis-
[492] tributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala. Their industry is sufficient to enable them to maintain mules for carrying their goods, although both men and beasts are equally loaded.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Tzotzil NV11

The men are tallish and the majority of them have sparse, black beards. They wear plain, white cotton tunics and short trousers, sashes, and hats of the sombrero type. The women wear the usual short, blue skirts. Their blouses are cut with a square neck, around which are embroidered three bands, each about two centimeters wide, of red, yellow and red. At the corners, little imitation tassels are embroidered in the same colours.

We were told, by an unreliable informant, that this village was remarkable for its independence. Its officials are chosen by the natives alone, and run through a regularly prescribed *cursus honorum* from secretary up to president, and then on to the council of elders. Government laws and orders sent to the village are debated by this council and are not published unless approved by them.

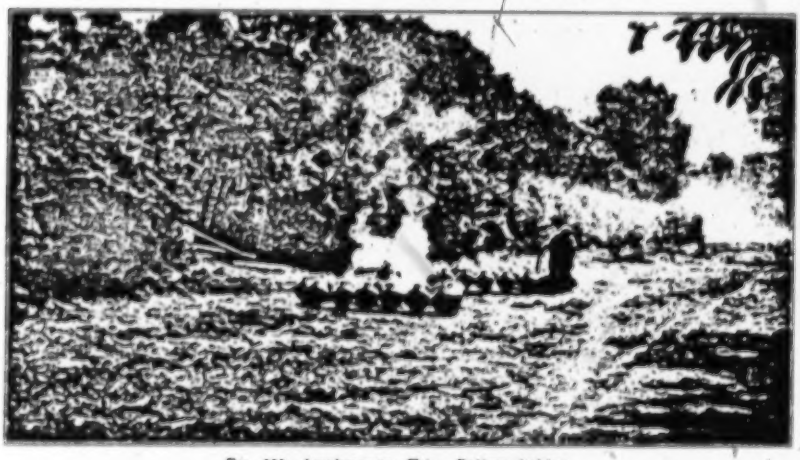

FIG. 333—Amatenango, Chis. Pottery baking.

We were also told that in case of marriage each party works for his or her prospective in-laws, and that the girl at that time learns pottery making, taking over the mother-in-law's specialty.

While there was no way of checking up on this information, it is true that there is no Maestro at Amatenango, and that the Indians seem to be an unusually self-respecting and self-reliant lot. Of all the Tzeltal people observed, they were the only ones who seemed to compare with the Zotzil-speaking Chamulas in energy and prosperity.

Returning to ourselves and our trip. We left Tenejapa on the following morning by a winding, broad road climbing to a pass in

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal
Tzotzil NV11

114 the cliffs, past a wilding apple tree, and many wild rose bushes.
137 These roses, apparently self-planted, differ from the Northern wild rose. One variety, a large red one, has a double row of petals, the other is covered with small, compact white blossoms. The red rose grows on a small bush, the white on a more rambling vine.

132 In the early morning, with the sun just beginning to show, and
342 the fires newly lighted, the straw roofs of the Indian houses were clouded with a white mist of evaporating dew.

114 The day was windy, crisp, and clear, like late October weather.
13 Our animals stepped forth briskly, well fed with two good meals of the long grass, and stimulated by weather that they, in their lowland lives, had never known. We travelled gaily along broken moors, stopping now and again for blackberries, or to drink at cold,
114 swift streams. Hailing an Indian working in his cornfield, he gave
[123] us a handful of small peaches, not quite ripe, and an utter novelty to Lazaro. Here and there we passed Ladino cottages, always white,
[342] with a white-walled courtyard, many flowers, rose-vines, and shingled roof. The shingles are held down with pegs which stick up a couple of inches in rows of amusing bristles.

114 In the late forenoon we came up to the 2,500 meter level (about
133 7,900 feet). The country was pine-clad, with rolling valleys. Then
137 we crossed a canyon and swung around onto a great, open, windswept moor, reaching away to the horizon, with one or two oak trees beaten down by the wind, like trees near a stormy coast. Underfoot was a vivid, green carpet of a fine, close-growing herb dotted with
114 tiny, pale yellow flowers. Along the road wash-outs had cut gashes
[134] of red soil, burnt orange and sienna in colour. Against the sky-line a rounded hill stood up, bearing a row of huge, towering crosses with
[264] a wrack of clouds flying behind them. At their feet was a maze of small crosses, a Chamula cemetery.

[361] Shortly we came to the first of their settlements, a group of very
[342] neat houses with high, pyramidal thatched roofs, truck gardens close to the houses, the whole carefully fenced in a square, and across the road another fenced square of wheat and corn. Outside, a flock of
[23] their sheep was grazing, watched over by a woman in a black wool
[291] *huipil* belted with a deep red sash and decorated by a tuft of crimson wool in the middle of the chest. Her black hair was done in two
[302] braids, wrapped in heavy, crimson ribbon, then coiled on her head like a turban.

[133] Beyond this was a succession of small, green valleys of fine grass,
[137] each with a stream in the center, many yellow flowers, and the ridges between clothed in pine and live-oak. The flocks of sheep and cattle
[231] were guarded by herders dressed in black, sleeveless tunics over
[233]
[291]

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longer, creamy-white wool kirtles with red sashes at their waists. Their heads were bound with white kerchiefs, flowing behind, and some wore the stiff-brimmed straw hats with close-fitting crowns, decked with ribbons. Their legs were bare to their sandals, which had high backs reaching sometimes up to their calves. They leant on long staves, watching us ride by with none of the furtive or humble appearance that marks so many of these Indians. Here and there over the tops of the trees we saw smoke rising, and the roof-tops of other groups of houses.

The road began to wind along beside cliffs, falling away on one side. Ladino houses became common. Here and there were little stands, beside the broad, beaten track, offering various refreshments.

FIG. 334—San Cristóbal, Chis. Huistan Indians.

Then we came into traffic of all sorts, Mexicans a-foot and a-horse, bullock carts, strings of Indians, and Chamula pack-trains. The afternoon sun was hot, but our horses kept their vigor, and as for us, the excitement of this strange country that lay behind the Mexico of the books held us spellbound.

The roads in from the various neighboring villages and towns converged into a trunk highway, twenty or thirty yards wide, with a sheer cliff of tough, mortar-like clay on one side and a steep drop to a ravine on the other. Here we saw all the traffic of the Highlands, every tribe that traded at San Cristóbal. Tenejapeños shuffled by in single file bearing heavy packs, usually under command of a Ladino man or boy.

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114 mand of a Ladino man or boy. There were Indians from Cancuc,
438 and once we saw a Tenangero. Chamulas were plentiful, with mules
439 or tump-line loads of their products, wool, blankets, vegetables,
[492] grass, wood, and leather. The women carried babies on their backs
[482] or slung in front if they had burdens; children just old enough to
[854] walk trailed along, dressed like their parents in miniature. Indians
[855] from Sinancatan, related to the Chamulas, wore tunics of creamy
[291] white with a fine red stripe. The Zotzil-speaking Huisteños were dressed in cotton shirts, always ragged, the long tails of which, caught up under their sash in front, served for trousers. They wore very small straw hats with streamers, stuck onto one side of their heads and tied on with a string (fig. 334). The explanation of this parody on British sailors is that their patron San Martin at Huistan wears such a hat. The women wore the usual blue skirt and embroidered blouse, with sailor-hatted babies nodding over their shoulders. We saw men of Amatenango with their enormous loads of pottery, San Bartolomés from near Comitan, breeked like Dutchmen, their cotton clothes dotted over with red spots, Ladinos walking or riding, fine dandies in big hats with a clean shirt wrapped in a towel behind their saddles, trotting showily into town on their finest horses, muleteers from Oaxaca in tight-fitting breeches and huge sombreros, with beautiful serapes slung over their shoulders.

114 The road turned abruptly, bringing us around the cliffs to a
361 view of the valley and San Cristóbal at last. We looked down into a little bowl ringed with green mountains. Around the edge was a band of meadows cut by streams with scattered white farm-houses, a grouping of white walls, red roofs, green trees, and the domes of twenty-two churches. On a hill, as steep as any pyramid, just behind the town, the little temple of San Cristóbal himself looked down over the town.

The road became a cobbled street, the shingled, white houses closed together and took on red roofs. We trotted past block after block of the smallest shops in the world, mere doorways, in which hung every imaginable Indian product or thing that an Indian would buy, while natives of every village in the highlands bartered at the doors. The streets debouched into the plaza, cool with the massed green of camphor trees, beside the cathedral with its cream-coloured walls and terra-cotta pilasters. Around in front of the modern and ugly Palacio Municipal, to the dark, arched doorway of the Hotel Español, we clattered into a shaded, flowery patio and dismounted at last in San Cristóbal las Casas.

[pp. 401-464 not processed]

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Appendix III

COMPARATIVE WORD-LISTS

YOCOTAN, CHONTAL, TZELTAL, CHANEABAL, JACALTECA

The Yocotan dialect spoken at the villages of San Fernando and San Carlos, and neighbouring rancherias, near Macuspana in Tabasco, proves on comparison to be merely a variant of Chontal of the Chontalpa proper. The name Yocotan is retained because it is their own name for the dialect, and offers a substitute, if applied to the whole language, for the confusing Chontal, which is also applied to an entirely distinct, non-Mayance dialect of the Pacific Coast. Both Berendt* and Thomas and Swanton* have objected to this confusion.

Comparison with Tzeltal does not bear out the assertion, quoted in Thomas and Swanton, of Berendt,* and of Brinton, who had seen Berendt's unpublished material, that Chontal is only a form of Tzeltal. While undoubted similarities exist between the two dialects, enough to cause them to be classed in the same larger division of the Mayance stock,† the two do not belong together in the sense in which Tzeltal and Zotzil, or Tzeltal and Chaneabal are joined. Yocotan shows a greater number of lexical similarities to Maya proper, and in their resemblances to and variations from Maya the two languages do not agree.

Structurally, the Yocotan dialects are marked off from all the others of this group by their verb construction (see Appendix IV). The most notable point of this is that in Yocotan the possessive pronoun is ordinarily prefixed to the verb, while with the others a verbal-nominal pronoun is suffixed.

The graded variations and similarities from Yocotan all the way to Jacalteca cause one to wonder whether it is correct to take Maya as the type language for the stock, a position which at present seems to be based on historical priority rather than on linguistic grounds. Proper study both of sound-shifts and, especially, morphology, may possibly place in a new light the languages—Chol, Chorti, Tzeltal, Chaneabal—of Indians occupying the Old Empire terrain, partially surrounding the Lacandon country. It would, for instance,

*Thomas and Swanton, 1911, p. 69; Berendt, 1874, p. 9.
†Stoll, 1884, quoted by Tozzer, 1921; Gates, 1930. Sapper groups Chol, Chorti and Chontal.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

197 be of great interest could it be ascertained whether Tzeltal really is the parent tongue of Zotzil, or whether Zotzil, with its marked vocalic individuality, has not corrupted Tzeltal from an original form more closely allied to the lowland languages.

194 The alphabet used here is modeled on that of Dr. Tozzer,* with a few changes and some additions. It would, perhaps, be possible to enlarge the range of *k* sounds yet further, but the result would be only to make the present records needlessly difficult of comparison with the older lists.

PHONETICS. The languages recorded here closely resemble Maya itself in their phonetic system, although a slightly wider range of sounds, especially in the vowels, is found. This may in part be due to uncertainties of pronunciation; certain sounds occur differently in the same word spoken by different men, e. g., *ts'* and *tc'* in Tzeltal, final ' and *k* in Yocotan Chontal. If enough Indians could be questioned, a normal form could undoubtedly be derived from many of these alternates. The presence of the *k* fortis (*k'*), velar *k* (*q*), and the palatalized *g* (*x*), with the frequent stop ('), gives a wider range of *k* and *g* sounds than in Maya.† These, with the fortis forms of *t* and *p*, and the dental surds *ts* and *tc*, make the languages distinctly harsh and unpleasant to the ear. In addition, the Tzeltal and Chaneabal have an ugly, whining tone in ordinary conversation, very much increased when emphasis is desired. Yocotan has an unusual range of nasals.

193 CONSONANTS. The system of consonants includes one velar, three
194 palatals, alveolars, and a double set of dentals, both surd and fortis, a dorsal, nasal, and labials. It is difficult to distinguish between *b*, *p*, and *w*, although they are probably not interchangeable.‡ In Jacalteca the *p* at first appeared to be a *w*, but was found to be actually distinct; the sound is almost impossible to imitate.

Mention should be made of the added letter *r*, already suggested by Dr. Tozzer, who says:§

"I have been much perplexed by what I have long thought to be an *r* sound, possibly a sonant of the spirant. No mention of this sound is made in any of the early grammars and its presence is denied by the Mayas themselves. This sound I seem to have heard in several words written by Maya scholars with a double vowel . . . I have come to the conclusion to omit this sound from the list."

*Tozzer, 1921.
†Cf. Tozzer, op. cit., p. 17.
‡Tozzer, op. cit., p. 18, and Gates, 1930, p. 612.
§Ibid, page 18.

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193 This *r* I have heard and recorded in the same word in different lists, particularly among the Tzeltal; e. g., *kere* (boy). It is rare, occasionally confused with *l*, but quite forcible when present. It has a short, hard trill, not unlike the Japanese, made with the forward part of the tongue against the roof of the palate.

	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Nasal	Lateral	Trill
Velar	—	q	—	—	—	—	—
Palatal	—	k	k'	H	—	—	—
Alveōlar	—	t	t'	s	n	l	—
Dorsal	g	—	—	x	ñ	—	r
Nasal	—	—	—	—	h	—	—
Dental	—	ts	ts'	j	—	—	—
		tc	tc'	c			
Labial	b	p	p'	v	m	—	—
Glottal	'	—	—	—	—	—	—

Breath, *h*. Semi-vowels, *w* and *y*.

q, the velar *k*, is formed between the back of the tongue and the soft palate. Palatal *k* is as in English. The fortis, *k'*, is made as the *k*, followed by a strong explosion of breath. The various fortis sounds may be similarly described in relation to their respective surds.

H is an intensified *h* sound, resembling the Mexican pronunciation of *x* in "Mexico," or *g* in "gente."

The dorsal *x* resembles *ch* in German "ach," but with less aspiration.

g is rather faint, as in Spanish "agua."
ñ is the *ng* in English "ring."
tc is the *ch* in English "child."
c is the *sh* in English "shoot."

The lateral *l* is accompanied by a slight breathing, giving it a thick sound.

j is pronounced as in French "jamais."

Vowels. On comparing the vowel sounds listed here with those of other writers, it seems possible that I have made too fine distinc-
[124] tions. However, the new vowels were found to occur with great
[126] regularity, and in several cases I was corrected by my informants for changing them to the nearest approximate standard form, as, in pronouncing Yocotan *kE-* as *kŭ*, or the sound I have represented by *O* as *o*. Unmarked vowels have their Spanish sounds, *a* as in "pan," *e* as in "me" (not as in "metate"), *i* as in "bonita," *o* as in "lodo," but *u* is pronounced as *oo* in English "good." In addition there is a long *a* (*ā*) as in English "father," short *e* (*ĕ*) as in Eng-

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193 lish "met," short *i* (*ĭ*) as in English "mix," long *u* (*ŭ*) as *oo* in English "boot," and short *u* (*ŭ*) as in English "hut." *E* represents a sound between *ŭ* and English *er* in "water." *O* is a sound like English "or" said while holding the mouth for *u*. Diphthongs are *ai*, *oi* and *au*.

Double vowels are always to be pronounced separately, the second having a slightly shorter quantity than the first.

Accent is indicated by ′ in those words in which the stress does not fall on the last syllable.

000 INFORMANTS. The Chontal List was taken down by Mr. William Gates from two pure-blooded Indians of Tecoluta, Tabasco. It was made at Comalcalco. Mr. Gates' spelling has been revised to accord with the other lists, as far as possible.

Two Yocotan lists were made, the first, from José Hernandez, a young Indian of San Fernando, Tabasco, at Macuspana. The second was given, together with the ethnographic information, by Lázaro Hernandez Guillermo, a man of forty or forty-five, also of San Fernando; he had a little Ladino blood on his mother's side. This man, although illiterate, was remarkably intelligent, and was by all odds the best informant that we had in the course of the trip. The list was made at leisure on board the steamer, and he was by that time thoroughly at home with us, and acquainted with our methods and wishes. He showed some, limited, ability to analyze his own grammatical forms.

124 The first Tzeltal list was given by Sebastiano Guzman, a Bacha-
126 jon shaman, at El Encanto in Chiapas. It was supervised by Don
115 Arturo Tovilla, who was thoroughly conversant with the language. The second was given, also at El Encanto, by Fidencio Morales, a Ladino house-boy from Ocosingo, who was not satisfactory. The third was taken down from Don Ciriaco Aguilar at Bachajon. Señor Aguilar had been assisting in Ethnological work for over two weeks, and spoke Tzeltal fluently. He was assisted by a volunteer committee of Indians and Ladinos.

000 The Chaneabal list was compiled at El Puente, near Comitan, from an Indian estimated at thirty-five years of age, called Casimiro Gomez. He was moderately satisfactory.

Two Jacalteca lists were made. The first, at Jacaltenango in Guatemala, was given by Santiago Hernandez, a middle-aged Indian of doubtful purity, with occasional help from other Indians. He was literate, fairly intelligent, and enthusiastically coöperative. The second was hastily taken down at Concepción. It was begun by Alonzo Rafael Alvebal, pure-blood, about thirty years old, who

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did not like it and ran away. His place was taken by a younger man, Nicholas Cardon Niqol (the third names appear to be nicknames), but too much time had been lost to accomplish a great deal.

In the printed lists, preference has been given to the first-named informant in each dialect, although when the variation is considerable, both versions are set down.

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
Abeja	tcanal-tcap tcap-tcúl-tat-tik	yūm -tcap mu-yum olokte	tcupim
abuela	tcutcux tcutcun-el	kE-mim pan'ocip	ka-mam
abuelo	tat-mam-al (father-old-the)	kE-mop	ka-mam
agrio	bax	amuh-ba'*	pa
agua	ha'	ha'	ha
aguacero	tulan-ha-al (strong water)	no-ha (big water)	
alacrán	tsek	sina'	sina'
aliento			ik
alma	lap	pican	
alto	toyol	diski	iski
amarillo	k'an	kun	k'an
amo		yum	
andar	be-el	cuma'a ya-kE-te†	te camba
animal	tcam-ba'lam	Eluk'i	tcitam
año	hun hab-il hab sin-il	hun hap (future) hun habi (past)	
aqui	liil	nida^{n}	
araña	ām	t'oi	ah-toi‡
árbol	te	te	hun tsit-te
arcilla	tcav-ek lum (beeswax-earth)		
arco	timal-te yalab	wun-te	
cuerda del arco	ahci'al		
ardilla	tcutc	tcutc	ictcutc
arroyo	ukum	sañ-ha'	
asiento		tcumlip	tcunlip
áspero		ketscn	
atole		mats	mats
aya		nant'i	

*amuh, amo-, or amos-, appearing in various adjectives, means very.
†In many verbs the informants gave the first person singular, present form. This may be detected by the pronominal kE. See Appendix III.
‡ah = the definite article.

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SPANISH	TZELTAL	VOCOTAN	CHONTAL
baile			ahk'out
barba	kisim	kE-tsuktik	tsutsti
balsa	poi		
banda		ku'tcinuk	
barca		no-hukup (big canoe)	
bastante	bisel	kōēn	
blanco	tsak	tsuk	suk
blando		la'am / pukum	laam
bobo		tsitsuk	
boca	kĕ	kE-ti'	ati
bonito		pitsi'	
mujer			goodo ke pokem novicik
bosque	mukul hamal (big woods)		
brasero		pulvĕnip	nitci kak
brazo	kap	kE-kup	kab
brujo	poci'	atsak'	ah tsataya (sacerdote indio)
	iluxhom		
bueno	lek	uts	uts
está b-	lek-ai (good-there is)	uts-an (good-there is)	
buho	koOts	buhup	ah-hu
caballo	tsemen	tsimin	
cabello		kE-tsuk	tsuk
cabeza	hol	kE-pam	ka-pam
caer			ta yelo
calabaza	tcum	tcum	tcum
calavera	sbak-el-hol-al	pama-tcim'i / k'an	a-tcime
caliente	kiicin	tiko'b	tiku
cama	waix-yiv-el	nutc	tsen
camino	be	bii	bi
camisa		buk	
campo	huta-kin / akiltik	ñam	campu
cangrejo	nĕp	aiy'uc	yue
caña	qwahale	oi	oh
caoba		atsutso	tsutsub
carne	bak	uye'e / bekta	vee
casa	na'	otOt	otot
CASAS		otOte	

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SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
cayuco	*cayuca*	kûkûp	hukub
cazar	muts-umihel	kola-tute'he (let us go hunting)	ya-ka-ce-te-lo-toHa (now I go hunting)
ceniza	tan	tsitañ	tsitan
cerca	hoôpol	hEtsûk	natsa
cerro	wits	wits	
ciego	tupen-tsit	'ahtcOk'	{tcok-uhul {atcuk
cielo	tc'utcan	*cielo*	*cielo*
ciervo		tcimai	tcimai
cojo			{tcunnyok {petcOk
cola		ne	ne
colgar		kE-tcoi-kE-tcc (I-hang-I-do)	ka-tcu-ka-tcc
collar		yentac	
comer		ko-yie	koatekucka
concha	puix	{petak {tOt	
conejo	t'ul	a'-tûl	ah-tul
corazón	kôtan	kEyo-pican	{ka-halin {pusika
correr	axnimal	ya-kE-tcc'-tuañkre	
coser	espanyĕl	tcuwi'	
cuerpo	winik-ilel (man-entire)	kE-*cuerpo*	ka-*cuerpo*
culebra	tcan	tcañ	tcan
cuñada	hal	kE-mo'	
cuñado	bal	kE-n^{n}an	
curar			ta tsakalka
danta	tsemĕn	te-el tsimin (woods beast)	
dar	aweyel		benet
débil	mankyip	mats-an-umuk (not-has-force)	pue-tcem
dedo		kE-nikûp	nikab
todos los d-	lalatak	kE-petc'kûp	
d- del pie		kE-niOk	
día	k'akal	k'in	
diablo		kwo'tak	manap
diente	ke	ke	ke
molares		kE-tcaam	muela
dios	tcun-tat-tik *dios* (our-father-of-us-all)	kEn-yum-la *dios* (our-master-of-us-all)	u-yum-kab

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SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
dormir	waixy-el	te-weye	ta-vaye
dulce	tcab	tsa	tcab
duro		mo Etsuts	tsuts
echar suertes			u yakti ik
que sabe e-	labil		
eclipse	makisit k'akal	mukutce kuwa-kin	{aitobni kin muku kuekan kin
elote	axhan	teOk-icim	tcok-na
enfermo	{tcamel (sickness) aix tcamel (he has sickness)	amo-nkoho'lun amon-kohu'lun	koHo
encantar	puku	ankotcuwen upican (force his soul)	tsataya
encanto		jyaan	ah tsataya
e- adentro de la laguna		ta-manap (cf. *diablo*)	
escoba		misip	misip
escopeta		tsomba'	
escribir	tsibahel	kE-tsivan-hom-tsip	te-tsib
espalda		kopaat	tsumpat
espina	teic	teic	teic
espinazo	{teiic-pat mötco-bakel	tsompat	ubuke tsampat
esposo		k-itök	
esposa		k-itök	
esqueleto	{teicil-bak bak-el-etik		upete u-bak'e
estrella	ök'	ik	*lucero*
de mañana	tsök	ah-no-ik* (the-big-star)	
vespertina		ah-no-ik*	
pleiades (?)		tcookök (la que brilla)	
Ursa Major	cana-ek		
familia	{bisil te-kal te-kal-atak	{kE *familia* nats'ün tok'up (nosotros todos)	
feo		matc-uts	poeyik
fiesta	k'in		
f- del santo (May 13, Bachajon)	kan-k'in		
flecha	{t'imal-te tu-te	wun-te	
flor	nitcim	unitc	nic-te
frente		kE-pül	{ka-tihut pul

*"They say it is the same star." (i. e., Venus).

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SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
frijol	tcenek buul	bu'um bu'u	bû
frio	sik	sīs	tsis
fruta	sit	tsahE	
fuego	k'ak	k'ak'	k'ak'
hacer f-	wakEnuk k'ak pas k'ak'	tcen-k'ak'	ka-tse-ve-k'ak'
fuente		huta	tcan
fuerte	tulan	amo-k'en-umuk'	pok'om
fuerza		ûmuk'	
gallina		piyuk	
ganado	gwakac (cow, Spanish)	pam-beket (head-horned)	
gato	mis	mis	
gato montes	t'el tcox wac		
grande	mukul	nok, nob, lokönok	noH
grano	tcic	hun-cim	
guaracha	tep tcahan	putcyok	
g- de cascara	canak		
hablar	k'op	k'aan tcen'-tan	te-t'an
hacer	pas-el	kE-tcen	
hermana mayor	wic gwic	kE-tcitc	ka-tcitc
h- menor	kitsin	kE-kits'in	ka-tcitc
hermano mayor	bañk-il	kE-sukun	ka-sakun
h- menor	kitsin	kE-kits'in wits'in	k'itsin
hierro	*hierro*	pal'ip	
hija	atcic	kE-yök-istcO'k	
hijo	nitcan	kE-yök-haxlO'k	
hilo	*hilo*	pui'	
hombre	winik vinik	winik	vinik
hueso	bak-el	bak	bak
h- del tobillo		OkutkOk	
huipil		kamic	
huso	pětět	pětět	
iglesia		tcuuk'	tcu *iglesia*
iguana	tOlök	hû'	huh
incienso	pöm	pOm	pom
jarrete		tcu-telkin	

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SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
jefe	yaxwhal	anoha kE-xhwes	noh-van-vinik noci-vinik
j- del pueblo		k-anoha-la tuwa-k'a (our-chief-of-us-all of-the-village)	
jícara	tsima', kax tuts	tup, buc	tup
j- (rattle)	tcitcil tsutsu	tcikic	
labrar (madera, etc.)	waluyel	půl	
lagarto	aihyin	Ehin	ahin
laguna	mukul-ha'	nap	*laguna*
lanza	fisig'a (?)	stcik-te	*lanza*
l- para pescados		tceki'biye	
lejos	lum-namal	muhnaat	pwenat
lengua	kak'	kE-ak	ka-ak
la l-, (idoma)	ts'eltal	yoko'tan	
leon	tcambalam tsax-hal-tcox (red-the-tiger)	tcimai bäl'um	bal'am
lia		sum	Hote
ligero	ma-waal (not-heavy)	scěp	pwe sop
liso		ts'eyyum	
luna	uH(halalme-tik)	uhi	u
llano		nun-ham	
llever	itceltai-il		
lluvias (tiempo de)	bayel-ka-haal bayel-yac-stal-haal	amo-ken-ha' ha'-leltin	non-ha
madera	tc te' eti	te'	te
madre	nan	na'	ka-na
maiz	icim	icim	icim
maléolo		kE-petcOk	
malo	ma-lěk-uk	matc-uts	kanic mats-uts
hombre m-	tcopal malek-owotan (bad-his-heart)		
mañana (morning)	sakubal	isapan	ika sapan
mano	dyal-k'ap	kE-k'up	ka-nikab
mediodia	holi-kak'al	kEncin-k'in	
mente		kahalin	
mes	hun uh	hunpe-uhi*	

*Used for counting time of childbirth.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
miel	axa-tcap, usum tcap-tcul-tatik	te'cle tcap	tcap
mijilote		abalai'	
mono	mac	pūm	ah-pum
monte	hamal	bwulena	bwenala
mojado		atch	
muchacha	atcic	yok'tclum	
muchacho	kere kerem	yokhaxlOhk ah-lohk	
mucho	bayel	amo-k'en	k'en
muerte	talteamel tca-winik	ah-tcimi	ah-teami
mujer	ants	icik	icik
murcielago	tsOts	tsūts	sūts
muslo		kE-wOk	
muy		amos icta	
nadar		nu'ci	
naranja		arancus (Spanish)	
n- agrio		pahala	
nariz	ni	kE-ni'	ni'
negro	ik'	ik	ik
nieta		k'-umam	ka-tcok-mama
nieto		kE-bit-umam (pl.)	
niño pequeño	tut-alat	tcik'steOk (que todavia son de pecho)	
noche	ak'abal	ehak'Ek ak'ūp	aitabni
norte	kin haal yaxtal-hale' (por aca viene el agua)	te-*norte*	
viento del n-		ben'dawal	
nuera		kE-hrip	
nuevo	yatcil tomut	tcOk* sihip†	tsihib
ofrenda	matamniil (gifts)	cux'hiwa atcumpom (first fruits)	hisi utci hunpe si
ojo	sit	kE-pu'ut hut	hut
olorosa		mahatsin'na	
olla	ŏcom		
oreja	tcĭkin	kE-tcikin	tcikin

*For animals and human beings. †For inanimate objects.

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
192 padre	tat	kE-pop	ka-pop
197 pájaro	mut	mut	mut
panacho		teim-pain	
pared	pak'	wOk'teč	
pecho		kE-tokpa'	pantis
pequeño	tut	teOteOk	teitcok
persona	winik	untu-tengha / untu-winik	vinik
pava		nakuu'lup	
pavo		ahtsŏk	ahtso
perro	tsit	wi'teuk	vitcu
pesado	ahl	amoh-al	al
pescado	tcai	byiyc'to-ha'	imaluh
pescuezo			lukub
p- en frente		kE-lukup	
p- por atras		kE-picte	
petate	pOp	pOp	pop
pie	kOk'	Ok	ok
piedra	ton	tun	te'a
piel		putci'le	patcihi
pierna		kOk / kE-wOk	ka-vok
pito	amai	Emwi	
plata	tak'in	takin	
pluma	kŭkum	makup / vitc	maku
platano		haas	haas
poco	luunteb	taintap	tsita
poniente	yaxubak-kaka-baitik	ko-pome-kin (where-sets-sun)	muku-pome-kin / baca-u-pome-kin
posole	mats	puhk'a	buka
primo	cavankil	kE-bitis'ä'	ka-pom
pulgar	sme-kap		noh-nikab
pulsera		teutcui-kup	
quemar	k'utcik k'akel	pulu'	tu-pule
quemo		kE-pule	
raton		tsuk	ietsuk
red	trokhax	teip	
redondo		pete	
relámpago	nixkel, tsantsegwal / kaka-teauuk	ah-lemi-teawŭk	teavuk
rio	ha	*rio*	
rodilla		kE-tenek	

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
192 rojo	tsak	tcuk tcik	tcuk
197 saliente	yax-loke-kakal hwantec-lok-tcul-kakal (lok — risen tcul — holy)	biete-kin ko-tuts-kin (where-rises-sun)	muku-pasc-kin baka-pasc-kin
sangre	tciitc	tcitcc'	tciitc
sapo	pokOk	mutc	ah-mutc
seco	takin	ti'k'in	tikin
el s., tiempo	takin-huc kepel-kinal	amo-tik'in	noh-kin
sembrar	tsuncl	pEkE	tu pükŭb
semilla	tsumbul	ubĕk	
sierras	*sierras*	tc-wits*	
sol	k'ak-al	kin	k'in
sombrero		hopo	hop'o
soplar		hutstañ	
subir		kE-topsen	
suegra	meelnial	kE-noh-nak	
suegro	nial	k-itcan	k-itcan
sueño	wayel		
sur	nitaa-lan (here-below) hwantec-otc-kakal	*sur*	
tabaceo		kuts	
tambor	kayo'	kowĕn	boven
techo	hol-na'	hai-te'	te-can
techo de palma	can	can	
tejer	waluyel holel	hŭ'lvwehe	
tejedor	holel	hElŭ	
tia	mehun	kE-tcitc (elder sister)	
tio	baxhun	kE-sukun (elder brother)	
tierra	lum	kaap	kab
tigre	teox	ba'lum	ba'lam
tinaja	cip	Ots	pŭ
tirar (piedra)		la-kE-hulchi-tun	yak-ce-ka-Huleh
(escopeta)		kE-tcen-sombak	
(lanza)		kE-tcik-teen	
tortilla	gwax	dlaañ gua' (all forms of cornbread)	va

*Really a directional term South. "Towards the Hills."

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
192 197 tortuga	ahk'	ak'	ak'
trueño	stackwaiyel / aicwaiyel, t'om	kweye / tcawŭk*	tcavok*
tumbar (un arbol)		kE-yEsen	
uña (de hombre o de animal)		itcek	itchŭk
verde	yac	yuc	yuc
vida	kucŭl	anto-pican	halin†
viejo	kaalic / mamal	tcupin‡ / su'§	nohcib
viento	ik'	ik	ta ik'
volar	wixhlel	kE-wil'e	
yacer			ya ka-cacutoe
yerno	bal	kE-ni'E^n	
zaraguate	bats	aHwats	
192 197 802 1	hun	hun-pe¶	un-to
2	tcŏ-eb¶	tca'-pe	tca-to
3	oc-eb	uc'-pe	uc-to
4	tcan-eb	tcum'-pe	tcan-to
5	ho-eb	hun'-ka (one hand) / no'pe	ho-to
6	hwak-eb	*seis*, etc., in Spanish	
7	huk-eb		
8	wacak-eb		
9	balun-eb		
10	lahun-eb		
11	bulutc-eb		
12	lastcai-yeb		
13	uc-lahun-eb		
14	tcan-lahun-eb		
15	ho-lahun-eb		
16	hwak-lahun-eb		
17	huk-lahun-eb		
18	wacak-lahun-eb		
19	balun-lahun-eb		
20	tab, tax.		
21	hun-ka-vinik		
30	lahun-is-tca-vinik		
40	tca-vinik		
50	ho-lahun-eb‖		
80	tcane-vinik		
100	hol-vinik		
400	bak		

*Cf. "Relampago."
†Cf. mente. ‡Used for animate beings. §Used for inanimate objects.
¶The suffix = "times."
‖Obviously an error, cf. 15.

[pp 479-484 contain no Tzeltal material]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

SPANISH	TZELTAL	JACALTECA
qué estas haciendo?	bin-ka-pas bin-u-kala-pas	tsetca'u
cuando viene?	ban-oi-extal-at*	bain-tcotchuli
estoy parado	hoon† tekel-on	linan-in-an
está parado	estuke-tekel	
estoy sentado	hutsul-on	pisan-in-an
soy vivo	kucul-on	ain koh-an
soy muerto	estcam-on	tcin-kam-an
yo	hoon	hainan
tu	haat hacat	hatc
el	estukel	ha-nax
ella	estukel	ha-ic
nosotros	hoo-tik-on	hai-un-tik
Vds.	tcebal-ik	hec-tik
ellos	estukel-ik hai-ik	hep-nax
ellas	estukel-ik	hep-ic
mio	kuün	ku- -an (?)
tuyo	aguün	
suyo	yuün	
nuestro	kunn-tik hun- -tik -tik	ku- -tik (?)
suyo	yuün-ik	
este	haini	
ese	ham'to	
aquel (lejos)	hame lumai antabai	
estoy cantando	lakalta-k'aiyo‡	tcimit-nian
voy a cantar	exbakaix-k'aiyo	
quiero cantar		tcimit-ni-ninox
ya canté	lakaic-k'aiyo	sac-kimit-ni
que es el camino por?	ban-ix-vac be	bai-t'et-be
donde está?	ban-oya ban-aix	bai-taiya
de donde viene?	ban-tala ban-ic-talat	bai-tuapeto
para donde va?	ban-ix-vat ban-ic	bai-tcectoiyi

*Second person. †May be omitted.
‡The person is uncertain.

[PP. 486–502 not Processed]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Appendix VI

TZELTAL TEXTS

Given by Senor Aureo Cruz, of Toniná

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TEXT I

PRAYER OF POOR MAN, WHEN MAKING OFFERINGS IN CHURCH OR IN THE MILPA

(See The Northern Tzeltal, Chap.)

Pas-a	*resib-il*	*yun**	*k-aHwal-tik*
Do thou	accept (Sp. recibir)	in the name of	our guardian of us

Dios		*tcul-ba-lum-milal*†	*bin*	*la-ta*‡	*y*
God	(of)	blessed the world	that which	found	and

bin	*ma-va-la-ta.*	*pas-a*	perdon	*yun*
that which	not was found.	do thou	forgive	in the name of

k-aHwal-tik	Dios		*tcul-ba-lum-milal*	*tcitc'*
our guardian of us	God	(of)	blessed the world	blood

bak'-et-al	*ham-al*	*k'-otan-tik*	*ham-al*	*ti'-tik*
of (?) bones the	open	our hearts of us	open	mouths of us

aw-on	*te-lum-al*	*koltai-ya*	*haHwal*
give me	health of the earth	free it (protect?)	kneeling (?)

ha-nitcan.
thy son.

TEXT II

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TZELTAL CONVERSATION

hoon	*lok'-on*	*tax*		*lum-al*	*v-oon*	*ta'*
I	went out I	from	(my)	land the	went I	to

yan	*lum-etik*§	*ta'*	*yil-el*‖	*yan*	*lugarz-etik*
other	lands	to	see	other	places

y	*lak-il*¶	*s-na*	*es-etik*	*baiyel*
and	look at	their (?) houses	Old Ones ("los antiguos")	plenty

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*This was originally given *sok*, "with," but one of the Indian girls at El Real corrected it to *yun*.
†The stem is *lum*, "earth." No definite translation was found for *-ba-* or *-milal*.
‡The root is *ta*, "come."
§*-etik*, or *-tik*, is the emphatic plural, as well as forming, with the first personal pronoun present or implied, the inclusive plural.
‖*-l* is the generalizing suffix, here it represents the abstract idea of the action, and corresponds to our infinitive.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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santo	*ton-etik*		*tsiwab-il**	*laH-lokes*		
holy	stones (carved monuments)		written	it looked		
te†-bit-il	*aix*	*te-sit*	*y*	*paca-hon*		
it saw (?)	there are	the faces	and	enjoyed I (myself)		
ta-lek	*lax*	*mulan*	*aix*	*s-na*	*puro*	*ton*
well	they	pleased	there are	houses	pure	stone
ta-sba	*wits*	*lax*	*kaltai-tik-on*		*hil-el*	
on top	mound(s)	them	cleared plural we		(we) left (them)	
tsoowōl	Christianos	*yackoi*	*tsi*	*yil-el*	*tsxbil*	
many	Mexicans	came	to	see	pretty	
hil	*li*	*ya*	*kikitai*	*li.*		
(it) remained	here	I (?)	left	here.		

*tsibai-wel, "to write."
†May be omitted.

[pp. 505-522 not processed]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

113 The bibliography concerns itself merely with works consulted or referred to in this report, it is not in any sense intended to cover the field. Reference is always given to the edition of any book actually used, without trying to give a complete list of the editions through which the work may have passed. Particularly is this true in the case of earlier sources and manuscripts which have been more recently re-published.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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ABBREVIATIONS

113 The following are the principal abbreviations used:

Am., American.

Am. Geog. Soc., American Geographical Society.

Am. Philos. Soc., American Philosophical Society.

Anniv. Vol., Anniversary Volume.

Anth., Anthropology.

Arch. Inst. Am., Archaeological Institute of America.

Bol., Boletin.

Bull., Bulletin.

Bur. Am. Ethn., Bull. and Ann. Rep., Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin and Annual Report.

Cong. Int. Am. —— Sess., Congrés Internationale des Américanistes, ——ième Session.

Ethn., Ethnology.

Field Columb. Mus., Anth. Ser., Field Columbian Museum, Anthropological Series.

Ges. Abhandl., Gesammelte Abhandlungen.

Harvard Univ., Pea. Mus. Pap. and Mem., Harvard University, Peabody Museum, Papers and Memoirs.

Inst., Institute.

Int. Journ. Am. Ling., International Journal of American Linguistics.

Journ., Journal.

Köng., Königlich.

Lib. Aborig. Am. Lit., Library of Aboriginal American Literature.

Mus., Museum.

Mus. Am. Ind., Heye Found., Contrib., Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, Contributions.

Mus. Nac. Mex., Museo Nacional de Mexico.

Proc., Proceedings.

Sess., Session.

Smiths. Inst., Smithsonian Institute.

Soc., Society.

Soc. Mex. Geog. Estad., Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadistica.

Univ. Penn., Pub., Ser. Philol., Lit. Arch., Bull. Free. Mus. Sci. Art, and Anth. Pub., University of Pennsylvania, Publications, Series in Philology, Literature and Archaeology, Bulletin of the Free Museum of Science and Art, and Anthropological Publications.

U. S. Nat. Mus., United States National Museum.

Zeits., Zeitschrift.

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[For a comparison of Chanabal, Jacaltec and Spanish phrases, see 5: Blom & LaFarge, NV9 Tzeltal NV9, category 116, p. 485.]

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Aguacatenango

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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INTERPRETATIONS OF DRINKING PERFORMANCES IN AGUACATENANGO

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

121 This thesis is an introduction to the ethnography of drinking in Aguacatenango, a Mayan-speaking community in Chiapas. It displays in some detail the roles and the circumstances of drinking performances there, and it examines some of the ways in which drinking performances reflect the more general beliefs and habitual actions of the people of the community.

*273 183 The drinking of beverage alcohol is a highly frequent, well-patterned part of life in most of the Chiapas highland Indian communities, the only known exceptions being some of the *273 184 [114] protestant enclaves in Oxchuk and environs (Slocum 1956). While detailed references to drinking performances are scarce, it has been determined that variations on the patterns to be described for Aguacatenango are likely to be found at least in Amatenango (Nash 1960); Cancuc (Guiteras-Holmes 1946); Chamula (Bunzel 1940, Pozas 1959); Chenalhó (Guiteras-Holmes 1961); Huistan (Miller 1958); Oxchuc (Castro 1959, 1962; Siverts 1960; Slocum 1956; Villa-Rojas 1946); Tenejapa (Metzger and Williams 1963);

273* 184 Tzinacantan (Laughlin 1962). Many more of the Indian communities could be added to this list.

273* 171 In a more general way, the drinking patterns found in Chiapas highlands are observed throughout much of the aboriginal new world. Thus Cooper (1946: 544) says:

> In some regions, particularly the Andean and parts of the forested lowlands, fermented beverages are drunk as a common everyday beverage. Most of the drinking, however, throughout the great brewing area of the West Indies, Middle America and continental South America is in connection with drinking sprees, of a social and/or magicoreligious nature in which groups participate. These drinking bouts are main or attendant features of gatherings of all kinds, especially in connection with hunting, fishing, harvesting, and other food-getting activities, with visiting and hospitality to guests, with war, victory, and peacetime councils, with births, naming, initiations, weddings, and funerals, and with magico-religious festivals, rites, and celebrations--the specific occasions differing from tribe to tribe and from area to area. The sprees may last from a few hours up to many days, usually until all the available liquid is exhausted. The participants imbibe until they reach various stages of intoxication, from mild tipsiness to complete alcoholic coma. Among nearly all people on whom we have information, the bouts are accompanied by and end in the airing of grudges and hurling of insults, which lead to quarrels and fighting, more or less violent and not uncommonly fatal. Sex intrigues and orgies are equally common accompaniments.

121 273* While some of the general characteristics of drinking are known for the New World, detailed ethnographic descriptions are rather rare, causing Cooper (1946), Heath (1962), Simmons (1962), and Washburne (1961), among others, to suggest that more attention needs to be paid to this type of study. The descriptions of drinking performances which have been published on the aboriginal populations of the New World are perceptive if overly brief.

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273 They tend to aim at understanding drinking as a pathological phenomena and thus dysfunctional (cf. Bunzel 1940) or, alternatively, as an anxiety reducing mechanism (Horton 1943), dysfunctional only in those societies which have not successfully integrated drinking performances into the set of legitimate and even necessary social performances. On the other hand, drinking has been viewed as functional and integrative by Mangin (1957), Heath (1962), and Simmons (1962). Most recently, a cross-cultural study done by Field (1962) has suggested that heavy drinking is related to "variables indicating a personal (or informal) rather than a corporate (formal) organization, but is substantially unrelated to the level of anxiety in the society."

The paucity and the inadequacy of description reported in these cross-cultural studies indicate that performances have been primarily of interest to students of alcoholism and have been of only peripheral interest to anthropologists. To the extent that drinking has been of interest to anthropologists, it has been interpreted with a view to throwing light on the consumption of beverage alcohol in the United States. The point has been well made that alcoholism as it is known in the United States is but one of a variety of forms of drinking performances and that students of alcoholism may wish to examine other forms before constructing a general set of statements about the consumption of beverage alcohol by human beings. Whether the use

121 of beverage alcohol is functional or dysfunctional depends on
273* socio-cultural contexts which need to be uncovered in every next case in which such use is investigated. A description of the relation of drinking patterns to their socio-cultural context, then, contributes to a steadily growing but still inadequate ethnographic literature without which further cross-cultural perspective will be lacking.

121 The present investigation is devoted to a detailed statement of how alcohol is used in Aguacatenango. The bulk of the
123 data herein reported came as the result of participant observa-
124 tion for extended periods in Aguacatenango. Some material on the drinking patterns of individuals was gathered in interviews conducted by transcribing informants. These interviews were special Tzeltal conversations in which Pedro Juárez and Mariano Juárez separately read off or otherwise repeated questions directing the respondent to report some aspect of his experience with drinking.

124 Of all the questions which could be asked, we selected
125 seven which are reported by our informants to occur frequently in conversation about drinking and which men answer about themselves if they are asked. Our two transcribing informants then asked these questions of seventy-six men in town. The procedure was simply to ask each person a question, listen to his response, and then write down in Tzeltal a "synopis" of the response. The

124 Tzeltal and nearest English equivalents are listed below:
125

1. HAY C'OH KAWUC' TRAWO TA HUN *U? TU *ORA HATE LA *AWUC' IXE?

   How many times a month do you drink? When did you last drink?

2. HAYE* K'AHAL KAWUC' HUHUN YAKBELE?

   How many days do you drink on each drunk?

3. TUT'IL X LIHK *AWUC'.

   How did you begin to drink?

4. ME ZAM YA XNEL AWU*UN YA XYAK'UBATE, ME MA*YUK TA PLETO, ME MA*YUK YA*BAT CAMEL?

   Do you drink contentedly? Do you fight? Do you get sick?

5. ME YA SOL AWUN *IP, ME TENEX YUZIL KAWUC' *A.

   Do you drink in excess, or do you drink a proper amount?

6. ME YA YA*BAT CAMEL?

   Do you get sick?

7. TUT'A CAMELIL LA YA*BAT?

   What illness did you get?

125 Such a set of question frames as the above could obviously be expanded to include a wider variety of behavior related to drinking. The present set was used simply to provide evidence for the observation that drinking patterns are "important" in Aguacatenango--importance being measured in terms of the reports of the number of persons engaging in this behavior, the amount of

125 time they spend and the perceived consequences of the behavior. The evidence is inferential; it does not express actual times spent at drinking, actual payments for drinking, nor actual [124] quantities of alcohol consumed. Since the questions and responses were Tzeltal, the reports are at least appropriate in local terms.

126 In addition to the above data, a great deal of material on social roles and their relation to drinking and on the general beliefs and patterns of action in drinking performances has been extracted from native language texts. The text constitute a number of conversations between individuals in Aguacatenango, recorded on tape and then transcribed and translated into Spanish 124 by a bilingual informant. The conversations were at first unfocused; later, I instructed the informant who initiated all of the conversations to elicit a description of a recent illness in [121] the household of the other party. Drinking was not at that time my major interest, but its frequency and its close association with illness brought up the subject in over half of the conver- 126 sations. The taped records were made in a variety of settings 124 and under a range of constraining conditions; my general strategy was to go from house to house with my informant and to record his conversation with whoever was present and willing to talk. The best of the records share the feature that at least two Aguacatenangeros were present in the recording setting and knew

126
124
[122]

that they were present. I took no active part in the recording, since I could not speak Tzeltal and did not know the appropriate range of responses that the communication called up in the participants. None of the records are expressions of communication that would have taken place had I not chosen to make records. That is, the sessions were always initiated by me with the express intent of making records. This is reflected in the records by discussion of the tape recorder, of my performances associated with it, and so on. In addition, the content of some of the records is focused, as I have mentioned, on recent illnesses in the household. By and large, however, to some unmeasured and thus unknown degree, the communications in the records are reflexes of pressures on the speakers that endure far longer than the recording session, that are structured by the variable modes of linguistic expression, by the internal coherence of the domains of "content" that became the subject of the conversation, by recent experiences which are structured by the content of the domains, and by the previously well-defined social relationships existing between the speakers. Some evidence that the relationship between the informant and the other party to the conversation helped to structure the recorded communications is presented in a report to the National Science Foundation (Metzger 1961). Briefly the length of the conversation--i.e., the total number of words--was greater when the informant knew and/or liked the

124 126 other party than when he did not; the proportion of the total number of words which was spoken by the other party was greater when that person was older than the informant than when he was the same age, and younger persons spoke, relatively, even less. The frequent use of various terms of respect and ritual kinship between the informant and the other speaker also suggests that their other behavior in the recording situation takes these relationships into account.

12 [191] Our bilingual informant, Mariano Juarez, was trained in the field by N. A. McQuown in the phonemic transcription of Tzeltal. When he had completed the transcription of the tapes, I instructed hi to produce a translation in which the translation equivalents were to be forced into the Tzeltal frame of reference insofar as possible, using the vernacular Spanish as he knew it. The examples of text which appear herein should be understood to be Mr. Juarez' work. The fact that a native speaker of Tzeltal, who knew the general and idiosyncratic contexts in which the Tzeltal material appeared, did the translating guarantees as accurate a translation as possible. The always knotty problem of English glosses involves not only the depth of my understanding of the vernacular Spanish and its relation to the Tzeltal, but also the more general point, made recently by Conklin (1963), that the structure of English domains stands in no necessary relationship to the structure of domains of any other language. Frake (1961),

12 in his discussion of Subanun medical beliefs, speaks of English "glosses" for the Subanun structure of things--the glosses being understood to be proximate devices to give the reader a sense of the familiar. The major part of Frake's language of description lies in his use of hierarchically ordered, mutally exclusive classes as they are found in the native language. The following description of drinking performances in Aguacatenango, though loosely organized in comparison, is a first step in this direction. It is an approach to an "inside" view of drinking in Aguacatenango in that it makes extensive use of Tzeltal propositions and statements of relationship, drawn from the texts and verified or elucidated by eliciting procedures, in the construction of generalizations. The use of such statements in this account may make it easier for the reader to check my interpretations or for another ethnographer to verify, amplify, or revise my description.

128 In the chapters to follow, I shall deal with the relationships between drinking performances and the inventory of social roles (Chapter II), the role of drinking in conflict and its resolution (Chapter III), and in illness and curing (Chapter IV). In summary (Chapter V), I shall review the common elements of these instances of drinking in an attempt to show some aspects of the "meaning" of drinking performances in Aguacatenango.

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CHAPTER II

DRINKING PERFORMANCES AND SOCIAL ROLES

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554 The scheduling of drinking in Aguacatenango and the internal structure of individual drinking performances can be considered as a code in which information about the roles and statuses of individuals is communicated. A brief look at the inventory of social roles will provide essential background for the description of this code.

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562 The composition of the Aguacatenango household, in terms of age and sex of members, is patterned as follows: Persons in the household under twenty years of age may be of either sex and any age. The ages of members of this group, relative to each other, are minimally two years apart. Persons over twenty years of age stand in a special age relationship: There is approximately a fifteen-year minimum age difference between individuals of the same sex. Age differences between individuals of opposite sex are such that they will either be the same age or the age rule for same sex members will hold. Finally, there will be no more than one individual of each sex in any of these age slots in any household. An age-sex distribution of a house, then, looks like the following diagram.

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TABLE 1

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AGE-SEX MODEL OF MAXIMAL COMPLEMENT OF A HOUSE

Absolute Age = unmarried vs. married

	-20						+20			
	Minimal Relative Age--2 yr. units						(Minimal) Relative Age--15 yr. units			
Sex Indifferent	1	2	.	.	.	10	1	2	3	
	I	h	G	F	e	D	C	B	A*	Male
							c	b	a	Female

*A and a are mutually exclusive; if one is present the other is absent.

592 Such a description is hardly adequate for the definition of the complement of a house, though it describes fairly the potential age-sex slots that are there to be filled. We begin with this simply because the description is constructed of fairly readily available observables, namely, age and sex. The difficulty one encounters is that there are further defining properties of such a maximal collection of individuals who live in a house. Our informants will not let us assemble households barely

592 on the basis of the age and sex characteristics of the candidates, nor do they describe house membership in these terms.

592
614 The two principles in terms of which the Aguacatenangeros would describe the membership of the household are rules of relations. The first rule states that members of the house should be lineally related to some one or more other persons in the house through males. The second rule states that: if the first rule does not apply, then the person in the house is a spouse of one such person to whom the first rule does apply. From the diagram, then, we may construct--with the aid of these two rules and the convention that the "over-under twenty" contrast is equivalent to the "with spouse-without spouse" contrast.

1. A is married to a, but either A is dead or a is dead.
2. B is married to b, and B is a lineal descendant of A.
3. C is married to c, and C is a lineal descendant of B.
4. D through I are unmarried siblings and are the lineal descendants of (most probably) C.

This may be expressed in a slightly more convenient manner by the following expression.[1]

---

[104] [1]Capital symbol = male. Small symbol = female. = = married. - = offspring. o = sibling. Slash through letter = deceased. Slash between letters = no relation expressed between letters.

See A. K. Romney's forthcoming work on this subject.

592
614 1. A = a, but ~~A~~ or ~~a~~.

2. B = b, and A = a - B.

3. C = c, and B = b - c.

3. (D o e o F o G o h o I) and C = c - (D . . . I).

A full expression of the maximal household may then be written: A - B / B = b - C / C = c - (D o e o . . . I).

592 The maximal complement of a house expresses one configuration of the residence pattern. Variations in household composition consistent with this configuration occur where a household lacks members in certain age-sex positions--e.g., childless couples, widows, and couples with or without living children, living apart from their parents. The minimal complement of the household is two people, either of same or different generations; no individual lives alone.

One of the variations in household composition which is inconsistent with the above configuration is that of married
591 siblings, with their spouses, living in the same house. Generally speaking, the movement of individuals from one house to another takes place at the time of marriage or soon thereafter.
[582] Siblings marry in an order relative to their relative age, the oldest marrying first. If the marrying sibling is a male, he will bring his wife to live with him in his father's house. If the marrying sibling is a female, she will live with her husband in his father's house. If there are further males in the sibling

591 order, they will also marry and with their spouses live in the house of their father. In general, the older sibling moves out when a younger sibling marries (if not before). The youngest male sibling when he marries is not required to move--he takes "care of" his parents in their old age and becomes sole possessor of the house. The relatively older male siblings are established in houses of their own by the parents as close as can be managed to the parents' house.

Thus, there is discriminable clustering of male siblings in Aguacatenango. The youngest male sibling who is married lives in the parents' house and the older males live in houses which are immediately adjacent to his. The female siblings tend to be scattered more widely throughout the rest of the town.

591 592 562 Should the family fail to procreate male offspring, one of the daughters may remain in the parental home and bring in a husband to live with her there--they in turn become possessors of the house.

591 586 It is not unusual that marriages are broken off in the course of movement through the residence pattern. When such happens, the spouses return to their respective households of origin until remarriage. This reversal of residence pattern in the case of separation does not disturb the major pattern outlined above.

591 There are also cases where the youngest of the male siblings does not remain in the parental house, though this is

591 clearly an available option. The senior couple then live there
[768] by themselves until one of them dies, in which case the widow(er) moves to the house of some one of the children, or alternatively, the youngest son moves in to the parental house, closing his own.

These, then, constitute the modalities of the pattern of
591 residence movement which take place at or near the time of marriage in the preponderance of cases. Other de facto household compositions may be interpreted as variant forms of this pattern with the addition of further particular circumstances of little apparent generality.

We have suggested that the observer may understand something of the nature of household composition in Aguacatenango in terms of consanguineal and affinal relationships of the members involved. We see that individuals join existing households primarily through marriage to some member in the household and that new households are established as the potential marriage slots
571 in the existing household fill up. The organization of members
551 in the household as well as the membership in other enduring groups is expressed in part in terms of names which are assigned to individuals on the basis of absolute and relative characteristics they are perceived, and perceive themselves, to possess. These characteristics serve to define a membership potential for any individual and to exclude him effectively from alternative positions. They are used frequently in the course of interactions

571 551 between members of the community to identify persons in references--that is, persons who are not present in the conversation. From the speaker's point of view, they as unambiguously identify individuals as does naming the house in which they live. So, then, turning from a general consideration of the membership of houses, we now consider the variety of intersecting classes in terms of which the individuals in the houses may be identified. This listing will introduce the principal organizing features in the community, each of which will then receive separate treatment.

571 551 601 554 Terms of reference in Aguacatenango include (1) personal names; (2) relationship terms--kinship, ritual kinship or compadrazgo and other relationships of a more general nature; (3) "role names," which identify persons in terms of characteristics other than interpersonal relationships; and certain combinations of these three types.

551 <u>Personal names</u>

The major subclass of the set of personal names, identifiable as Christian names, is subdivided on the basis of sex; with a few exceptions, a particular Christian name is appropriate to males or to females but not to both. Christian names may be used with a possessive prefix, e.g. /H-MARIA/, "my Maria," to refer to children of the coordinating person. They can be made diminutive by the addition of /C'IN/, "little."

553 A pair of intersecting principles influences the Christian name which is assigned to a child by the male parent. An important factor in naming is the "saint's day," the parent choosing one of the several patron saints of the day of a child's birth. It appears that in general the name assigned to the child is selected in this way. The choice of one of the appropriate set of saints' names is further conditioned by the preference for assigning the name of some relative of the preceding generation, two such individuals with the same Christian and surnames then standing in a /HELOL/ relationship. The precise interaction of these principles--that is, which overrides the other under what circumstances--is the subject of further investigation.

551 Christian names may be used alone or with surnames in reference to persons; surnames are not used alone. The minor subclass of names which can be identified as surnames reflects family membership in that lineally related males and their female siblings share a surname. The spouses of these individuals will in general not share this surname, nor will they share a single surname among themselves. This distribution of surnames corresponds to the following statement: The offspring of a married couple receive the surname of the male parent.

Three variants on one or another aspect of the above distribution may be noted, though none of them occur in the corpus.

(1) There are contexts in which the Tzeltal surname is

551 transformed into a Spanish equivalent. Thus the offspring of a couple, the male of whom has the surname /*ENTIS/, may refer to himself and be referred to by others as /*ERNANDES/ as well as by the Tzeltal equivalent /*ENTIS/. The variables that determine this variation are unknown to us.

(2) There are contexts in which the offspring of a couple, the male of whom has the surname /MENTES/, will be referred to by two surnames in the order /MENTES TONTON/. Comparison of these examples with the senior lineal equivalents indicates that the second surname is associated with males of the set of lineal kin. This is a low frequency occurrence variant and the conditions of its appearance are unknown to us.

(3) There are contexts in which the offspring of a couple, the male of which has the surname /PERES/, will be referred to by two surnames in the order /PERES HWARES/. Comparison of these examples with the senior lineal equivalents indicates that the second surname is identical with the surname (as previously defined) of the mother. The contexts in which the father's surname plus mother's surname appear are in part determined by the demands of ladinos who prefer a pattern of surnames which resembles their own. So, for example, this variant pattern appears on birth and death certificates, on censuses, and on bills and receipts.

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Kin terms

Another class of terms of reference can be defined as kin. At the first descending (-1) generation, the basic terms are as follows:

TABLE 2

KIN, -1 GENERATION

	Criterial Attributes			
	Sex of referent	Sex of co-ordinating individual	Absolute age	Relationship specified in head
/-*UNTIKIL/	∅	∅	∅	∅
/-*AL/	∅	F	∅	L
/-NIC'AN/	∅	M	∅	L
/-KEREM/	M	∅	A_1	∅
/-*AC'IX/	F	∅	A_1	∅
/-*ALAL/	∅	∅	A_2	∅

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Among the attributes of these terms, absolute age has two values--(1) older, and (2) younger. The absolute age indicated for /-*ALAL/ is from birth to about three years; that for /-KEREM/ and /-*AC'IX/ is from three to about sixteen years, except that the modifier /C'IN/ depresses the age of either of the latter to less than twelve.

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TABLE 3

MODIFIERS KIN -1 GENERATION

601
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	Criterial Attributes		
	Sex of referent	Absolute Age	Other
Position 1			
C'IN	∅	despresses absolute age	
∅			
Position 2			
BA	∅	∅	specify order of birth among referent's own siblings
CEBAL			
etc.			
*ANZ(IL)	F	∅	occurs only with terms showing sex of coordinating individual (i.e. /-*AL/ and /-NIC'AN/)
∅	M	∅	
PATIL-K'OX	∅	expresses recent vs. relative remoteness of birth	
∅			
KUCBIL	∅	distinguishes "babe-in-arms" from "walking child" (with /-*ALAL/)	

601

Lineal relationship (L) is an attribute of only two of these terms, /-*AL/ and /-NIC'AN/, "own child" of a female and of a male, respectively. The special nature of these two terms is reflected in the fact that while all of the other terms in this set may occur either with or without a possessive prefix, /-*AL/ and /-NIC'AN/ never occur unpossessed. While /-*AL/ and /-NIC'AN/ always refer to own children of a particular person, each of the other terms may refer, if possessed, to the child of any parent, the parent being specified by name or possessive affix, or, if unpossessed, simply to a child with relationship unspecified.

The terms of reference at the -1 generation are often accompanied by modifiers which express differences in absolute age, birth order, or sex. These modifiers and their attributes are shown in Table 3 (p. 20).

Position 2 modifiers may be preceded by a position 1 modifier, but no more than one position 2 modifier occurs at a time.

The reciprocals of -1 Generation terms are labeled +1 Generation and are shown in Table 4 (p. 22).

As in the case of most of the terms at -1 generation, lineality-collaterality is not a criterial attribute of these terms. However, /-TAT/ and /-ME*/ are appliedmarly exclusively to own parents of the coordinating individual, while /TATA*/ and

TABLE 4

KIN, +1 GENERATION

601

[562]

	Sex of Referent	Relationship specified in head
-TAT	M	0
-TATA*	M	0
-ME*	F	0
-NANA*	F	0

/-NANA*/, though they may refer to parents, are used primarily to specify a class of persons (including collaterals, affinals, and non-kin) of the approximate age of parents.

Terms of reference at the 0 generation also lack lineality-collaterality as a criterial feature, and while they tend to refer to lineals and collaterals, they may refer to non-kin as well. The 0 generation terms are shown in Table 5 (p. 23).

Lineality-collaterality and kin-non-kin distinctions can be made in Tzeltal by using an appropriate complex term of reference. If one asks, /ME MAC'A TATA*/, "Who is the /TATA*/?," the informant may respond, /XI*LEL H-ME*/, "my mother's older brother." Lineal kin of 0 generation can be further specified as /MERO BANKIL-*ERMANO/ "true brother," or /HUN ME* HUN TAT/, "of one mother, one father." Use of these expressions to resolve ambiguity about the

TABLE 5

KIN, 0 GENERATION

601
[562]

	Age relative to coordinating individual	Sex of Referent	Sex of coordinating individual	Relationship specified in head
-BANKIL	0	M	M	ø
-XI*LKL	0	M	F	ø
-WIX	0	F	M/F	ø
-IHZ'IN	Y	M/F	M/F	ø

relationship of a previously mentioned individual is rare, and we are led to hypothesize that precise genealogical relations are not crucial in the use of kin terms of 0 and ± generations. Indeed, 0 and +1 generation terms without a possessive prefix are often used in combination with names or other reference terms to indicate the relative age of the referent (when he is older than the speaker). The ranking of these terms is shown in Table 6 (p. 24).

[554] The terms /TATIK/ and /ME*TIK/ are not used in reference to kin as such, but as a collective compound, /-ME*TIK + TATIK/, they may designate either "respected elders" or "curer" in the appropriate contexts.

As in the -1 generation, modifiers /C'IN/ "little" and /MUK'UL/ "big" operate in the 0 and the +1 generations to depress

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TABLE 6

AGE-STATUS IN KIN TERMS

601
[561]

	M	F
Older	TATIK	ME*TIK
↓	TATA*	NANA*
	TAT	ME*
	TAT	NAN
Younger	BANKIL XI*LEL	WIX

or augment age. Thus, /X-C'IN+XI*LELAL/, "her little big-brother,' is used in reference to a boy, older than his sister (who is represented by /X-/) but younger than the speaker. /MUK'UL+BANKIL, "older brother," distinguishes an older brother much advanced in age, while /C'IN+TATA*/ may refer to an older brother of the approximate age of a parent.

The form /MUK'UL/ combines with /TAT/ and /ME*/, however, not merely to augment age, but to set apart the +2 lineal generation. The compounds and their reciprocals (the -2 generation lineals) are shown in Table 7 (p. 25).

While most terms of reference in the 0 and ± generations may be used to specify either linealy or collaterally related individuals and sometimes also affinal kin and non-kin, in the

TABLE 7

KIN, ±2 GENERATIONS

601
[562]

	Generation	Sex of referent	Sex of co-ordinating individual	Relationship specified in head
-MUK'UL+TAT	+2	M	M/F	L
-MUK'UL+ME*	+2	F	M/F	L
-*IL+NIC'AN	-2	M/F	M	L
-*IL+*AL	-2	M/F	F	L

±2 generations, the terms are applied exclusively to lineals of the coordinating individual. (Like the -1 generation terms /-*AL/ and /-NIC'AN/, none of these terms occurs without the possessive prefix.)

TABLE 8

AFFINAL KIN (SPOUSES)

M	F
-MAMILAL	-*IHAM
~	~
~~-WINIKUL(=WINIKIL)~~	-*ANZ(ELAL)
~	~
-MARIDO	-C'IH+*AC'IX[a]

[a]This form is used only for a very young wife.

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601 The terms of reference for affinal kin share with the ±2 generation kin terms the feature that they are not used without designating the coordinating individual by a possessive prefix. The set of alternative reciprocals used to refer to spouses is shown in Table 8 (p. 25).

The remaining terms in the set are the following:

TABLE 9

AFFINAL KIN

[562]

	Criterial Attributes of Heads		
	Sex of referent	Sex of Coordinating individual	Generation
-MA+NEAL	M	M	+1
-ME*L+NEAL	F	M	+1
-MA+*ALIB	M	F	+1
-ME*L+*ALIB	F	F	+1
-BAL	M	M	0
-HAWAN	F	F	0
-MU*	F	M	0
-MU*	M	F	0
-NEAL	M	M/F	-1
-*ALIB	F	M/F	-1

601 The applicability of the affinal terms is limited to spouses' lineals and the respective reciprocals, lineals here defined as siblings, parents, and children. Relations other than these through some marriage tie (e.g., "brother's wife's brother," etc.) are encompassed by the terms of compadrazgo (see below).

Kin terms are often combined with each other or with per-
[561] sonal names to form complex terms of reference. We have mentioned the use of the unpossessed forms of kin terms of 0 and +1 generations with names to indicate age-status of the referent, as in /TATIK TABYANO/, "Octaviano (who is a respected elder)," and /WIX MARIA/, "Maria (who is the age of an elder sister to
[551] me)." Kin terms in their possessed forms are not specified by the personal name of the referent, as in the English usage, "my brother George." Further, simple possessed kin terms are not used to specify each other in a single utterance, although the identification of a person in terms of his several kin relationships to speaker and listener, or to either participant and some absent person, is common in complete conversations. (I.e., while a person may be referred to as "my brother" and as "your uncle" by the same speaker in the course of an extended conversation, the single utterance, "my brother, your uncle," does not
[551] occur.) Possessed kin terms are used with personal names in complex terms which identify the referent in terms of his rela-

601
551

tionship to some other absent person (this coordinating person being identified in turn by name). Examples of this kind of reference are /Y-INAM H-MA-TAT/, "my father's wife (not my mother)," /X-NIC'AN HWAN/, "Juan's child," and /S-NEAL MA TATIX HOSE GOMES/ "(respected elder) Jose Gomez' son-in-law." An alternative to the possessive prefix--which is set off by a dash from the kin term in the examples--is an expression with /YU*N/ which is used exclusively in the identification of children of the coordinating person, as in /*AC'IX YU*N PEYRO/, "the girl of Pedro (Pedro's daughter)."

A special case of this coordinating construction is the use of a personal name following /S-TAT/, "his (her) father," or /S-ME*/, "his (her) mother," as in /S-TAT PEYRO/, "Pedro's father," and /S-ME*CUS/, "Jesus' mother." This combination is distinguished by the fact that, unlike simple kin terms, it is often specified by the name of the referent, as in /S-TAT PEYRO LUTERYO/, "Pedro's father, Eleuterio." Also, in contrast to simple kin terms, it is used to specify possessed kin terms, as in /H-BANKIL S-TAT PEYRO LUTERYO/, "my brother, Pedro's father, Eleuterio," and unpossessed kin terms of the age-status set, as in /TA(T) S-TA(T)-HWAN/, "(Mr.) Juan's father." It is also used to identify a referent through a second absent person, as in /X-NIC'AN S-TAT HWAN/, "the child of the father of Juan." Whether specified by the name of the referent or not, this construction

601 conforms to what has been termed teknonymy in the literature.
551 The occurrence of such an expression as /X-NIC'AN S-TAT HMAN/ led us to suppose that not any child is equally candidate for membership in the teknonymous construction. Informants agree that the child who is candidate for the said position has the attributes of "first-born child of a legitimate union who lived long enough to be named." Since the teknonymous candidate is recruited exclusively from the first position in the relative order of own children, it might be appropriate to suggest that teknonymy be hereafter distinguished on the basis of the type and degree of explicit definition of the coordinating person.

Terms of compadrazgo

601 The terminology of compadrazgo, ritual kinship, includes
608 the following forms which are shown in Table 10 (p. 30). The terms /-KUMPRE/ and /KUMRE/ are self-reciprocal except for sex of referent, and thus generation is not one of their characteristics. However, /-KUMPRE/~/KUMRE/ enter into compounds with the modifiers /MUK'UL/ and /C'IN/, these modifiers serving as in kin terms of -1 generation to augment or to depress age relative to the coordinating person.

608 The employment of /-KUMPRE/~/KUMRE/ in reference to known
602 siblings of speakers led to an inquiry regarding the limits of eligibility for compadrazgo relations. Informants state that a

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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TABLE 10

COMPADRAZGO

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	Criterial Attributes		
	Sex of referent	Sex of coordinating individual	Generation
-KUMPRE	M	∅	∅
-KUMRE	F	∅	∅
-NIC'AN+SNARYOS-*IHADA	∅	M	-1
-*AL+SNARYOS-*IHADA	∅	F	-1
-TAT+SNARYOS-PAGRINO	M	∅	+1
-ME*+SNARYOS-MAGRINA	F	∅	+1

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person may establish the /-KUMPRE/ relationship with any person except his spouse, his own father, his spouse's father, and the spouses of these persons. Related individuals frequently become compadres--particularly as siblings of the father or the mother are often chosen as padrinos (godparents) of a child--and compadre relationships established at weddings (see below) involve some affinally related individuals (e.g., "brother's wife," "sister's husband") for whom kin terms are reported. Where the person stands in a specified kin relation (e.g., /BANKIL/) to the speaker, the compadrazgo relationship assumes priority over the kin term in reference (as well as in address). These two

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[602]

608 sets of terms, then, are mutually exclusive; a single term of
601 reference does not include both /H-KUMPRE/ and /H-BANKIL/, although /H-BANKIL/ may occasionally occur as an alternative term of reference succeeding /H-Kumpre/ in an interchange in which
601 the first term was unclear to the listener. However, /-KUMPRE/
608 does occur in complex terms of reference in which, like kin
551 terms, it is specified by a teknonymous construction, e.g., /H-KUMPRE S-TAT MIGEL DANYEL/, "my compadre the father of Miguel, namely Daniel." Unlike kin terms, /-KUMPRE/ does not combine with personal names in the coordinating constructions of which the teknonymous is one type (i.e., we do not find such a term as "Juan's compadre").

Alos, unlike kin terms, /-KUMPRE/ may be specified by a personal name, e.g., /H-KUMPRE BISENTI/, or by a "role" name, e.g., /H-KUMPRE PRESIDENTE/, "my compadre the president." (The terms of compadrazgo of +1 generations, relatively infrequently used, always occur alone.)

601 The terms of compadrazgo may be further specified as
608 follows:

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	/ .... YU*N *IC HA*/, "of baptism"	/ ... YU*N KOMPRE-MASYON/, "of confirmation"	/ ... YU*N NUH-PUNEL/, "of marriage"	/ ... YU*N S*AN NINYO/, "of Christmas"
/H-KUMPRE/ /H-KUMRE/	x	x	x	x
/H-TAT+SNARYOS/ /H-ME*+ SNARYOS/	x	x	*	-
/H-NIC'AN+SNAR-YOS/ /K-AL+ SNARYOS/	x	x	*	-

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Both baptism and confirmation involve ritual relationships across generations. The padrinos (H-TAT+SNARYOS/, etc.) chosen for the child on these occasions become compadres (/-KUMPRE/ ~ /-KUMRE/) of the child's parents and, sometimes, of the child's paternal grandparents as well.

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The traditional (in contrast to church) wedding, on the other hand, establishes no cross-generation ritual relationships. The parents and married siblings of the spouses become /-KUMPRE/ ~ /KUMRE/ to each other, as may even the grandparents and parents' siblings of the married pair. The newlyweds alone do not enter into this relationship with anyone present. The terms of reference to persons so related are the stated /-KUMPRE/ ~ /-KUMRE/,

585 608 sometimes modified by /MUK'UL/ or /C'IN/ as previously shown.
601 602 When, in addition to the exchange of gifts which constitutes the traditional wedding, the couple is married in the church, a pair of padrinos (male and female) is chosen from outside the set of relatives who become compadres in the ceremony just mentioned. These people are referred to as /-TAT+SNARYOS~PAGRINO/ and /-ME*+SNARYOS~MAGRINA/ by the married couple (who are called by them, respectively, /-NIC'AN+SNARYOS—IHADA/ and /-*AL+SNARYOS~*IHADA/) and as /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ (self-reciprocally) by the parents of the married partners.

796 608 The fiesta of Noche Buena establishes /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ relations, and no others, between the host of the fiesta and a few other individuals he invites to sponsor the fiesta.

Other relationship terms

571 192 There remains a set of terms which, when used with possessive prefixes, identify the referent in terms of a more general relationship to some coordinating person. These terms are as follows:

(1) /HOY/, "companion" (in reference to spouses; one who lives in the same house, including specific kin; and all of the specified kinds of companion below)

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(2) /HOY TA YAKBEL/, "drinking companion"

(3) /HOY TA *A*TEL/, "working companion"

(4) /HOY+YAXBEN/, "traveling companion"

(5) /*AMIGO/, "friend"

(6) /BESINO/ /NAHPAL NOCOL/, "neighbor"

(7) /-KONTRA/ /-*ENEMIGO/, "enemy"

(8) /-*AHWAL/, "boss"

Examination of genealogical data, data as to residence, and compadrazgo relations reveals (as might be inferred from the apparent meaning of /HOY/) that the same referent may occupy more than a single one of these associative roles at the same time as well as be kin and/or compadre to the coordinating individual, though in any given reference term only one such identification will be employed. Though formally mutually exclusive (as in the less general case of kin and compadrazgo terms), all of these may intersect in the same individual.

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These general relationship terms combine with names, terms of compadrazgo, and teknonymous constructions, both in terms where the second form specifies the first, e.g. /HOYTIK SIRIL HWARES/, "our companion Cirilo Juarez," and in terms where the second form refers to a cocrdinating person, /S-HOY S-MAGRINA/, "her madrina's companion." The general relationship terms share with kin terms the feature that in complex terms they are always the first of the two forms; terms of compadrazgo combine with

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these two sets of terms only as the second term but always precede names, role names, and teknonymous constructions. General relationship terms are like the terms of compadrazgo in that they may be specified by a personal name (as above).

"Role names"

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The set of terms to which we apply the label "role names" is distinguished by the fact that these terms usually occur unpossessed and are not defined in terms of a relationship to some person. While they occasionally have possessive prefixes, they never occur in the third person in coordinating constructions. Also, when possessed, these forms always carry the agentive prefix /-H-/, which is optional in the unpossessed variants. Thus:

Unpossessed	Possessed
/PRESIRENTE/ /H-PRESIRENTE/ "presidente"	/*AW-AH-PRESIRENTE/ "your presidente"
/H-*UL/ "curandero"	/*AW-AH-*UL/ "your curandero"

Among the forms in this class is /(H)KAX(1)AN(-ETIK)/, "ladinos (as a class)," which contrasts with the elicited from /H-TUL H-LUMAL/, "one of my pueblo (Aguacatenango)." (Both forms are included under the headword /KRISTYANO-ETIK/, "human being," which contrasts with /CAMBALAM-ETIK/, "animals," and /TUTU-TIK/, "things.")

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The dimensions of contrast are not simple here, since there is involved as well /H-TUL YAN LUM/, "one of another pueblo" in reference as well to persons other than ladinos. Furthermore, an immediate contrast that suggests itself to the [829] informants when differentiating themselves from ladinos is:

/H-TUL LUMAL/	/KAXLAN/
/POBR-ETIK/	/K'ULEHETIK/
"the poor ones"	"the rich ones"

Among other forms of the class is a series which repre- [756] sents alternative terms for a single group of people, i.e., native curers:

/H-*UL~H-POXTAWAN(EH)~H-*AK'-POX/~/H-ME*TIK+TATIK/

which while possibly distinctive (we are unprepared to say until our studies of Tzeltal medicine have proceeded further), share the characteristic performance /PIK C'IC'/ "pulsing." A contrasting form /H-*OKTOR/, "doctor," marks a curer who does not know how to pulse, but who instead gives "consultations." The form /*OKTOR/ differs from the others in this subset in that it may also be used as a modifier, as in /*OKTOR PEYRO/, "Dr. Pedro" (in reference to an Indian nurse) and /*OKTOR+KAXLAN/, "ladino doctor."

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Other terms in the "role-name" class cannot conveniently be lumped under a descriptive head. Some might perhaps be labeled "occupational," but this would result in merely grouping together otherwise distinctive forms in a way which appears "reasonable" to the ethnographer. In this heterogeneous group are the following, all of which have the agentive prefix.

/H.KANAN+LUM/	"overseer of land"
/H.PRINSEPAL KRINSIPAL/	"principal, elder"
/H.GOBYERNO/	"governor (of the state)"
/H.ME*BAL/	"orphan"
/H.LO*LIWANEH/	"liar"

Another subgroup of terms lacks possessive or agentive prefixes, and these share the feature that the referents are persons outside the Indian community. These terms are the following:

/COHWER/	"driver"
/DOKTOR/	"doctor"
/DOKTOR+DENTISTA/	"dentist"
/KARPINTERA/	"carpenter"
/MASTRI/	"teacher"

Two other terms in this class are exceptions to the rule that requires the agentive prefix when possessed; /-*ANZ/, "woman," and /-WINIK/, "man," may be used with the possessive prefix alone,

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554 and the meanings of the possessed forms are "wife" or "husband"
192 of the coordinating person.

The remainder of the forms in this class are subsumed under the headword /H.*A*TEL-ETIK/, "workers."

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554 On the next lower level of contrast, the headword is
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621 modified by one of the mutually exclusive post-modifiers /TA KABILTO/, "in the cabildo (civil)"; /TA MARTOMIL/, "in the mayordomía (religious)." These in turn constitute head words of two mutually exclusive classes of forms. The set of contrasting forms in the class /H.*A*TEL-ETIK TA KABILTO/ is as follows (in order of ascending rank):

/MAYOR/, "policía" ranked from /XWAXKEBAL/, "eighth," to /BA/, "first" or /HEFE DE KWARTEL/

/SINTIKO/, "síndico"

/REHIDOR/, "regidor" ranked from /XCEBAL/ "second" to /BA/ "first"

/XCEBAL REHIMAL/, "second regimal"

/BA REHIMALA ~ SUPLENTE PRESIRENTE/, "first rehimal or assistant presidente"

/PRESIRENTE ~ *AHENTE (MUNISIPAL)/, "presidente or ahente munisipal"

/XCEBAL HWES/, "second juez"

/HWES/ ~ /*ALKAL/, "juez"

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554 (Several forms not included in this set are nevertheless part of
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621 the civil administration--/SEKRETARYO/, "secretary," /PRESIRENTE DE EDUKASYON/, "supervisor of education," and /KOMISARYADO *EYHIDAL/, "ejido commissioner.")

The /*A*TEL-ETIK TA KABILTO/ are responsible for the civil business of the community, resolution of conflicts brought before it, the maintenance of community facilities and the making of a limited number of decisions which affect the community as a whole. Its members are recruited yearly for one-year terms
[641] the whole group assuming office in January. Every male in the community is expected to hold office as a civil cargo holder four times in his life, and the order of recruitment to the position for any individual is more or less fixed.

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554 The forms of the class /H.*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/ are
192 grouped as follows (also in order of ascending rank):
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The first and lowest set of positions includes:

/MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO/	"mayordomo of San Antonio"
/MARTOMO ME*TIK ROSARYO/	"mayordomo of the Virgin of Rosario"
/MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD/	"mayordomo of the Virgin of Natividad"

By lowest, we mean that set of positions into one of which an individual would initially be co-opted upon entering the mayordomía.

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554 The saint's name associated with each is that one for whose fiesta
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794 the mayordomo is primarily responsible. The second and next lowest set of positions includes:

/MARTOMO *ANIMA/	"mayordomo of Todos Santos"
/MARTOMO SAN MARTIN/	"mayordomo of San Martin"

The third set includes the position:

/MARTOMO SANTA CRUS/	"mayordomo of Santa Cruz"

And the fourth set includes the position:

/MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN/	"mayordomo of San Sebastian"

In turn, for each of the saints, there are two mayordomos, ranked relative to each other, the higher in rank being the:

/BA MARTOMO/	"1st mayordomo"

and the other being the:

/CE*BAL MARTOMO/	"2nd mayordomo"

The /*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/ are formally responsible for the correct interpretation of the saints' days celebrated in Aguacatenango. There are seven of these fiestas under the supervision of the mayordomía, and two /MARTOMO-ETIK/ are co-opted for each, the pair serving for one year beginning on the saint's

571 554 192 [794] day for which they serve. Every male in the community is held responsible to be co-opted into four /MARTOMO/ positions before he is freed from any further performaces of this sort, and as was pointed out earlier, these positions must be held earlier.

The various forms of the "role-name" set most often occur as simple terms of reference, often modified by status terms. However, the combination /H-KUMPRE SEKRETARYO/ "my compadre, the secretary" is reported.

Modifiers

In addition to the basic classes of terms of reference, modifiers are important in identifying persons. Among these are enumerators, diminutives (mentioned above), and demonstratives. Two modifiers establish the physical condition of the referent-- [602] /CAM/ and /*AN(I)MA/, both glossed as "dead." One, /MERO/, noted earlier, distinguishes "legitimate" or "real" relationship from terminological equivalence, as in /MERO *ERMANO/, "true brother." 571 554 561 192 [562] Two, differing only by sex of referent, indicate advanced age: /MA MAMAL/ "old" (male referent) and /ME*L/, "old" (female referent). When these two modifiers are used with terms indicating younger persons, the incongruity expresses depreciation or derogation. Other modifiers, most of which are age-status terms like the special kin terms discussed earlier, include the following:

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554 /C'UL/ "holy" honorific titles used with
561 /SENYOR/ "mister" role-names of the
192 /H.*A*TEL-ETIK/ group

/YAN/ "other"

/NEX/ "big"

/SOLTERA/ "unmarried" used with /KEREM/ "boy" and /*AC'IX/ "girl" primarily to establish precise age-status (adolescence)

/DON DONYA/ "mister mrs." used with names of ladinos

/NINYA/ "miss"

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192 Still another set of modifiers occurs after the noun head rather than before and includes internally complex phrases. These might be termed locatives, and they include /NUN/ "there," /LI*/ "here," and such combinations as /NUN TA HEHC/, "there on the other side (i.e., in the other barrio of Aguacatenango)"; /LI* TA *ALAN/, "here below (i.e., in El Puerto, a closely related village down the mountain)"; /LI* TA TEHKLUM/, "here in the pueblo"; /LI* TA PAT NA/, "here behind the house"; /NUN TA *AHK'OL/, "here above"; and /NUN TA XOHLEH/, "there at the corner."

While the subject of the relationships (position and co-occurrence) between modifiers and between modifiers and noun heads will be deferred until a forthcoming paper, some general

571 idea about the use of modifiers can be gained from a brief list
192 of examples. These examples are also illustrative of some of the complexity of personal reference in Aguacatenango.

/TE CAM MA TATIK HOSE GOMES/	"the late old Mr. Jose Gomez"
/MA TA(T) S-TA(T) CUS KAYTANO/	"old Mr. Jesus' father, Cayetano"
/H-MA KUMPRE S-TAT CEN/	"my old compadre, Cresencio's father"
/ME*L WIX PETRONA MENTES/	"old (elder sister) Petrona Mendez"
/S-ME*L *INAM/	"his old wife"
/ME*L ME* ZME* H.PINI/	"old Mrs. Delfina's mother"
/H-KUMPRE S-TAT KANT(E)LARYA	"my compadre, Candelario's father here above"
/BANKIL LUTERYO NUN TA *AHK'OL/	"(elder brother) Eleuterio here above"
/TATIK SINTIKO NUN TA *ALAN/	"Mr. Sindico there below"
/SENYOR *AHENTE/	"Mr. agente"
/MA DON MANWEL/	"old Don Manuel"

571 The patterns of social relationships are displayed in the order and arrangement of individuals in households and in the sets of role-names which frequently occur in the conversa-

571 tions of community members. We now propose to display some of the ways in which further sets of performances, among them drinking, are associated with those already described.

Roles and the procurement of alcohol

273* 571 178 The procurement of alcohol for drinking involves social relationships which have undergone a change within the period of study. Traditionally, Aguacatenangueros have obtained 273* 439 aguardiente--a distilled sugar cane alcohol--by purchase. For many years aguardiente was manufactured by ladinos in San Cristobal and in Comitan principally for sale to the Indians. Before 1940, one ladino family established a liquor monopoly throughout the highlands and with the aid of government liquor inspectors was able to close down all competitors, which meant that production in Comitan and San Cristobal was completely stopped save for the factories of this family. In the first part of this period, then, Aguacatenangueros bought all their aguardiente from Comitan, and it was and still is known as 273* 548 comiteco by Indians and ladinos throughout the area. With the closing down of the several factories that produced aguardiente, Indians--principally Chamulas--began to manufacture the aguardiente in clandestine stills in mountain areas that were apparently difficult to patrol. [435] The monopoly determined price of about 90 pesos a garafón (18 liters) was cut nearly in half by these clandestine operators.

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438 With the closing of the stills in Comitan came a second economic pressure which sharply changed the Aguacatenangueros' pattern of travel. The trade specialty which Aguacatenango had intensively developed, at least by 1920 and perhaps long before, was the weaving of palm hats. A principal point of trade for these hats was Comitan where the Aguacatenangueros took them.

294 With the advent of the Pan-American highway, the region was
438 flooded with nationally manufactured sombreros, which, in the
439 period of ten years completely destroyed the Aguacatenango mar-
438 ket. As the marketability of palm hats decreased, the Agua-
439 catenangueros stopped going to Comitan; and it was during this
+273 same time that the supply of comiteco was cut off.

432 The people from Aguacatenango then began to buy their
438 aguardiente from licensed sellers in Pinola (Villa las Rosas)
+273 and Teopisca as well as from clandestine sources, the nearest being in Amatenango and the mountainous area that lay between
548 there and Chanal. The use of clandestine aguardiente was still
687 restricted by the occasional inspection by patrols of soldiers and liquor inspectors who would examine the contents of the houses in Aguacatenango, confiscating the aguardiente for which one did not have a legitimate receipt and taking the holders of such to jail in San Bartolomé de los Llanos. By the end of the 40's, distillation technology had disseminated widely enough among the Indian municipios that a few men in Aguacatenango began

548 687 distilling aguardiente. Distillation of aguardiente continued for a relatively short time (perhaps as long as three to four years) because satisfactory arrangements could not be worked out within the community so that the distillers would not be denounced to the authorities by their neighbors. Unlike Amatenango, where the clandestine distillation of aguardiente continues to the present time, inspectors were able to discover and destroy the four or five stills operated by the men of Aguacatenango. The punishments meted out to the owners were relatively severe, some having to spend as long as a year in jail and having to pay as much as 1000 pesos to secure their release.

273+ [178] The pattern of procurement of aguardiente has changed substantially in Aguacatenango since the time we began doing [432] field work there. In 1957, when we were first there, the buying of aguardiente was both situation-and-family-specific. Most of the aguardiente was being bought in Pinola and later in Teopisca and had to be carried on one's back to Aguacatenango. In an- [796] ticipation of each fiesta or other occasion where it was known drinking would take place, each family would bring in three or four liters for that occasion. Beyond this family supply, there was relatively little aguardiente in the community. It was not at all unusual, after a fiesta, to see men inquiring all over town about the possibility of buying, or borrowing, a liter of

273* aguardiente. And it was not unusual that they were unable to secure a single liter. In fact, it appears that the termination of drinking performances was in no small amount controlled by
273* the exhausting of the community supply of aguardiente. What re-
432 sale there was of aguardiente in the community was carried on
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589 by widows who might secure as much as five to six extra liters to resell to men who wished to continue drinking after their own supplies were exhausted. As a business venture, a widow would buy for three pesos the liter which she would sell for five, gaining thus ten pesos every month or six weeks.

273* At the fiesta of the patron saint, ladinos would bring
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439 in a supply of aguardiente to be sold. The large number of people coming from the neighboring towns made this a profitable
[191] venture for the three or four days of the fiesta. In order to
[216] increase the sale of the aguardiente (and other distilled beverages, as well as beer), ladino vendors set up cantina complexes in the plaza, the cantina consisting of a thatch or canvas shelter, a few tables and chairs, and principally a tocadisco--a loudspeaker system connected to a phonograph as well as a microphone, so that music and announcements could be made which
275 could be heard from blocks around. Typically in this cantina
216
191 pattern, a man from Aguacatenango would sit down with a few friends, drink a liter or two of aguardiente, and during this period, request that pieces be played on the tocadisco for which

275 216 191 he paid twenty centavos and in return for which payment his name was announced over the loud speaker as well as the name of a person to whom he might wish to "dedicate" the piece.

275 216 191 178 In 1959, there occurred a set of circumstances which permitted the Aguacatenangueros to gain control of the elements of the cantina complex, and in this year cantinas were established permanently in Aguacatenango. As the result of some difficulties in Pinola, the cantineros there were required by the town government to sell or otherwise get rid of their tocadiscos. [432] And three or four of them sold their tocadiscos to the men in Aguacatenango. These gas generator-driven units were set up in various yards in the community, the loudspeakers were mounted on tall poles as is the custom in the neighboring towns, and men came to these door yards when they were drinking to request [171] pieces be played with appropriate dedicatory remarks. The cantineros in Aguacatenango then simply filled out the rest of the cantina complex as they had seen it in the plaza.

442 275 432 439 They began to buy aguardiente by the garafón, most of it from clandestine distillers in the neighboring towns who deliver it to the buyers, and also beer and other distilled beverages, these being delivered by San Cristóbal distributors or bought and transported there by cantineros.

275 Thus the retailers of alcohol drunk by Aguacatenangueros are no longer ladinos and local widows, but local men. Some of

275 178 434 736 Some of the effects of this change can be seen in the growing wealth of cantineros, observable in changes in house construction, and a shift to the raising of small livestock (always an alternative strategy) by women who must support themselves. With regard to *273 178 drinking performances, the effect of the change in retailers seems to have been an increase in the number of drinking performances--especially for boys and young men, whose limited ceremonial responsibilities have made them relatively infrequent drinkers in the past. In turn, the increase in the number of drinking situations has required slight modification in the timing of the drinking--men seem to drink for shorter periods of time. Thus, for example, drinking on Sunday is becoming more common, but the continuation of drinking on a second day (Monday) has decreased. These matters will be spelled out in more detail in later sections.

<u>Age-sex distribution of drinking</u>

273* [434] Aguardiente is bought by men who have control of money, [562] and it is drunk almost exclusively by them. Women drink rarely, [858] and it is considered inappropriate for them to do so. Children [883] do not drink at all; boys begin to drink on festive occasions at fifteen or sixteen, and it is probably relevant that by this time they are old enough to work for wages and usually have some money of their own. Old men often give up drinking except when, as of-

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*273 887 621 Old men often give up drinking except when, as office holders, they are obligated to participate in drinking performances. Changes in drinking patterns during the life cycle

273* 539 are discussed by Felix Perez as follows:

HTATIK TA HNA *AMETO LEK SYA*BE C'IN TRAWO, HO*TIK X*ATEHOTIK *A MATO HNA*TIK YUC'EL *A C'IN TRAWI.

My father drank aguardiente a lot. We worked, we didn't know how to drink aguardiente.

*EHK STUKEL KOM TA YUC'EL Z'IN *EHK C'IN TRAWI.

Then he himself stopped drinking trago.

*ATEHON HPAS PUERSA NAME TALE MATO KUC'LEK *EHK *A C'IN TRAWI.

I worked, I made an effort for several years. I didn't drink much trago.

YUN Z'IN TE HLIHK HZAK MANYA Z'IN *EHKE, KUC' PERO YUN LA KILIX TEK TE *AY TU*Y KUN Z'IN *EHKE.

Then the madness began to get hold of me, and I drank, but it was because I saw that I had something of my own.

Composition of drinking groups

273* 571 Almost without exception, men drink in groups rather than alone. The importance of companions in the development of a

273* 539 571 drinking situation is suggested by Sabino Hernandez' description of one such situation:

TAL Z'IN *IL *ABANKIL, STAT CIKO, BETO Z'INI.

In came your elder brother, the father of Francisco, Alberto.

HUL SK'AN HUN KWARTA XC'IN YA*AL.

He came to ask for a cuarto of aguardiente.

273* 539 571 HA* Z'INABI; *OC KUC' SOK, Z'INABI.

Then I entered into drinking with him.

LAH Z'IN TE HUN KWARTA Z'IN HC'IN-KA*ALTIK Z'INE.

We finished a cuarto of aguardiente.

HK'AN HUN XAN KWARTA KU*N *EHUK.

I ordered another cuarto for my part.

KUC' SOK Z'INABI.

I drank this with him.

KON SOK Z'INABI YUKUBEL XAN, TAL XAN YAN WINIKETIK.

With that the drunk began, other men came.

LIHK HZOB HBAHTIK XAN...

We began to gather together again . . .

MUK'UBIX LO*L *ABI.

(The drinking situation) began to come out bigger.

Solitary drinking is rare. Speaking of one Antonio who has come repeatedly to his friend's house, already drunk, and has finally gone off alone, Carmen Espinoza laughs:

*E MA*Y SHOY XC'IN-TUKEL, HE-HE-HE-HE-!

And he doesn't have a companion, he's all by himself! Ha, ha, ha.

273* 571 [24] The most frequent response to the question, "How do you begin to drink?" was "when someone invites me." The invitation may come from brothers, compadres, "friends" or "companions" (these classes, as I have noted, tend to intersect in the same

273* 571 individuals), and occasionally one's children. The close association of drinking with household rituals--birth, baptism, marriage, illness and death, the building of a new house, the settling of disputes--is consistent with this pattern, for it is kinsmen and neighbors (often also compadres) who participate in these rituals. Men who are not related become involved together in drinking performances by virtue of the fact that certain roles--those of officeholders in the civil and religious hierarchies--entail ceremonial drinking by definition. Alternatively, men who are not friends or relatives may drink together whenever they choose to continue drinking after their closer companions have stopped. Individual patterns of drinking vary. Of the seventy-six men asked how long they usually continue drinking, once they have begun, six reported that they drink less than a day, thirty-four that they drink a full day or a day and a night, nineteen that they drink two or three days, and nine that they drink four days or more. Thus about 40 per cent of the men questioned reported that once they engage in a drinking performance, they continue drinking for two days or more. This being the case, it is fairly likely that some or all of one's drinking companions of the first day of drinking have chosen to sober up on the second day. The man who cannot find friends to drink with must either stop drinking himself or relax his restrictions on the characteristics of drinking companions. The

273* 571 social distance between drinking companions increases with the length of time from the original drinking situation, and one finds men who live great distances apart and even men from opposite barrios (who are afraid of each other when sober) sharing a bottle of aguardiente as the days go by.

273* 621 571 Aguacatenango men drink largely within the community, and even when men drink in market towns such as Pinola or Teopisca they tend to drink with their traveling companions and not with ladinos. (The one or two reports of Aguacatenangueros drinking with ladinos involved fully bilingual individuals, and they ended with fighting or loss of property by the Aguacatenango men.)

273* 182 Drinking in Aguacatenango is scheduled in terms of the calendar of saints' days and by the occurrence of critical events in the life cycle of individuals--e.g., birth, baptism, marriage (and sometimes divorce), and death. Drinking is also an essential part of the resolution or the escalation of conflict, of illness and curing, of the branding of livestock and of the consecration of new buildings. Participation in a particular drinking cycle is largely determined by--and signifies--an individual's membership in a household group, in the civil or the religious hierarchy, or in the larger, highly relational role set including bilateral kindred, ritual kinsmen, and neighbors. Participation in drinking cycles is restricted to adult

273* Participation in drinking cycles[54] is restricted to adult
562 males, and in fact participation signals that such persons are
885 indeed adult males. These are some of the things that participation in drinking cycles "means."

273* Types of drinking cycles

Particular instances of the drinking cycle differ in the degree of "formality" of their organization.

Ceremonial drinking

The full expression of a ceremonial drinking cycle has a number of performance correlates which permit its identification. While it is generally true that ceremonial drinking, in contrast to "informal" drinking, is specifically initiated as a part of one of the rituals just mentioned, its most crucial, i.e., unambiguous characteristic is a formal speech which a senior male of the sponsoring group makes to the receiving group. This speech is responded to with equal formality by a senior male of the receiving group. There are several examples in text of this particular interchange between the sponsor and the receiver. An example of one of these, as reported by Lorenzo Mendez, is given below.

273* *E TYOS KUMPRE, *AK'A LAH PERTON, BA* LA HZO*BEX TALEL, BA*
539 LA HYOMEX TALEL HZ'INUK, H*A K'UK, TA STI*IL HME*BAL HWOKOL. BWENO, SOYOK KALTIK HNIC'ANTIK.

Ay, dios, compadre, excuse me. I have brought you here, gathered you here for a moment, for a little while, at the door of my poor house, with my children and grandchildren.

273* 539 TUTA *AY TUT'A LA HTABE TYOS SOYOK KAL HNIC'ANTIK TA C'UL BALAMILAL, MA LA XU* KUC' HTUKEL.

What I have, what I have obtained with God's help, along with my children, in this world, I cannot take it myself.

MA XU* HTUNTES HTUKEL, *AY LAH HME*, *AY LA HTAT, SOK HKUMPAGRE TA BA* ZOBOLOTIK YOMOLTIK, KIK'EX TAL HZ'INUK H*AK'UK.

I cannot serve myself alone. I have my mother, my father, my compadre. Here they are together, I have called them together for a moment, for a little while.

HBAL HMAY, HBAL SIGARRO, ME XYAL, ME MA XYAL TA *AWO*TANIK, TU YIPAL LA HTABE TYOS TA HME*BAL HWOKOL.

Some tobacco, a cigarette, let it go down or not go down in their hearts, that which I have accumulated with God's help, here in my poor house.

HA* YU*UN TY YIPAL LAH KIK'AT HZ'INUK H*AK'UK, KAHWAL TAT ME*, HKUMPAGRE PUES *AK'A PERTON KUMPAGRE, ME XYAL, MA XYAL TA *AWO*TAN HBAL HMAYTIK, HBAL SIGARROTIK KUMPAGRE.

For this reason I have invited you here for a moment, a little while, respected comadre and compadre, excuse me, let us see if it goes down or does not go down in your heart, our tobacco, our cigarette, compadre.

The response to this formal speech is made by one of the elder guests and goes as follows:

E TYOS KUMPAGRE, BA LAH ME LAH *AWIC', BA* LAH ME TAL *AWU*UN.

Ah, compadre, where did you get the wealth? Where did you bring it from?

MA*YUK TUT'A HK'ANTIK, MA*Y TU'TA HLOK'ESTIK, LA *AWIK'OTIK TALEL, BA* LA *AZO*BOTIK TALEL, HOKOL AWALTIK.

We aren't asking for anything, we don't want to take anything from you. You invited us, you brought us together. Thank you very much.

273* [329]

MA* ATUKELUK LA *AWAK' TA *AWO*TAN, MA* *ATUKELUK LA *AWAK' TA *AWAHC' ALEL, LA *ANA* BA*Y AHE*, LA *ANA* BA*Y ATAT, KUMPAGRE, HOKOL AWALTIK, KUMPAGRE, KALEBON XC'IN WINKLEL.

You didn't use your wealth by yourself, you didn't consume it by yourself. You remembered your mother, your father, your compadre. Thank you, compadre. Find someone to pour the drinks.

This exchange initiates the ceremonial drinking sequence. (The sequence is composed of a series of acts; a set of drinking sequences constitutes a drinking cycle.) Upon the termination of the speeches, the owner of the aguardiente asks a junior male to take a proffered liter bottle of aguardiente and a shot glass and offer a drink to each of the men present.

The server must initiate the act of drinking with every other male in the group. Whatever the quantity of aguardiente in the liter bottle, it must be equally distributed among all those present including himself. The drink server must estimate the amount of aguardiente in the bottle and fill the shot glass accordingly. The relative order of initiating the drinking act with the several persons present must proceed from persons of greater rank to persons of lesser rank. As has been suggested in the role inventory, there is a near-perfect correlation between age and rank in Aguacatenango. Hence, the oldest male present is served first and the youngest male present is served next to last, the drink pourer himself being served last. Since the drink server is a junior male, his relative position of

273* 554

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drinking is not far from his actual position--that is, he would have been served near the end of the drinking sequence in any case. (It may be the case that the depression of his status by being served last is compensated for by the fact that a person of senior status, the host, serves him.)

When the drink server has offered a drink to each man in the group, he returns the bottle to its owner, and the owner initiates the drinking act with the drink server. This act terminates the drinking sequence. After it is terminated, no drinking acts take place for a period of time generally as long as the drinking sequence itself. All drinking acts, then, take place within drinking sequences.

The relative positioning of drinking acts in the drinking sequence distinguishes the participants by rank. In such a context, the isolatable drinking act encodes one's own rank relative to all other persons present, or, alternatively, each person's rank relative to every other. In the drinking sequence the drinking act assumes symbolic value. It measures one's status. It takes on a code value on the dimension of status. The drinking sequence is a message, then, which encodes an individual's rank, the particular value of rank in this message being determined by the position in the message which any particular individual's coded value falls.

Many if not most of the inferences that human beings draw

273* 554 about the state of their environment are deduced as the result of the communication of information encoded in some one or more media. The determination and certification of an individual's social rank is one type of inference and action that individuals engage in in Aguacatenango. Rank and role are not only encoded in the drinking performances, but also in a variety of other media as well. When we examine the ceremonial drinking cycle as it occurs in the civil and religious hierarchies, it becomes clear that the arrangement of persons in space, modes of greeting, modes of offering toasts, the differential access to settings, etc., all may encode an individual's social position just as do the set of role labels that may be used to identify him.

[518] [609] [596] [621] After the settlement of a dispute, after having agreed to permit a /HTUL YAN LUMAL/, "foreigner," to settle in the community, and on certain saints' days (especially those saints associated with the installation of new civil officers), the /*A*TELETIK TA KABILTO/, or civil hierarchy, is given or secures for itself aguardiente in liter bottles. The aguardiente is equally distributed in shot glass amounts among the members of the /*A*TELETIK/, a particular individual drinking the glass which is offered him; or alternative should he choose not to drink it, taking a sip from it and handing it to some other member of the group who drinks the remaining portion and returns the glass to the first drinker, who in turn returns it to the

273* 554 pourer of drinks. It is in the succession of drink-pouring to the several members that we observe an orderly recurring pattern.

The drink pourer, who is one of the /REHIDOR-ETIK/, proceeds directly to the /HWES/. The REHIDOR/ carefully pours the drink, picking any dirt from the liquid, and hands it to this individual. The /HWES/ then offers the drinking salute: /LISENSYA TAT/, "With your pardon, sir." The other members of the group respond with /*OCAN TAT/, or alternatively /*OCAN TATA*/, "down it, sir," or, "down it, respected sir." The drink pourer /REHIDOR/ then proceeds to serve succeeding persons down the rank order. The rank order may be observed in the seating arrangements displayed in Table 11 (p. 60). Beginning at the door, the relative order of succession is down the page, through the position /SINTIKO/. Then the position just above the door is served and so on through an adjacent succession through the position of /XWAXKEBAL MAYOR/.

*273 796 794 554 One of the important performance correlates of the role of mayordomo is to engage in the drinking of aguardiente. Almost without exception, the mayordomos as a group drink themselves into a state of deep drunkenness on each of the seven fiesta days. The initiation of the drinking takes place on the porch of the annex of the church. Benches run the length of the porch on its inside and outside edges. As the mayordomos as-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

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TABLE 11

273*
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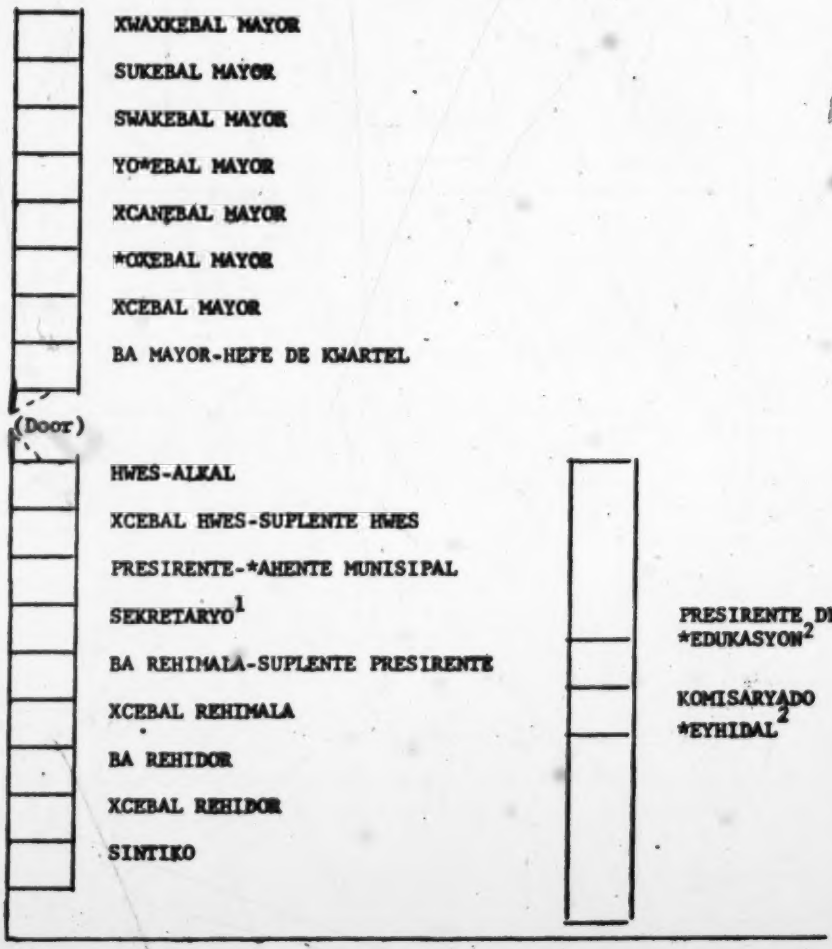
SOME PERFORMANCE CORRELATES OF "RANK" WITHIN /*A*TEL-ETIK TA KABILTO/: SEATING ORDER



[1]The position of secretary is by appointment and is not included in the civil hierarchy.

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TABLE 11--Continued

000 not included in the civil hierarchy.

273* [2]The positions of president of education and ejido
621 commissioner are two-year appointments, and neither is (yet)
554 in the civil hierarchy.

273* semble, they seat themselves initially on the inside of the two
796
794 benches. The relative order of seating is as follows:
554

TABLE 12

SOME PERFORMANCE CORRELATES OF "RANK": SEATING ORDER OF /*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/

BA MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO

XCEBAL MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO

BA MARTOMO ME*TIK ROSARYO

XCEBAL MARTOMO ROSARYO

BA MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD

XCEBAL MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD

BA MARTOMO *ANIMA

XCEBAL MARTOMO *ANIMA

BA MARTOMO SAN MARTIN

XCEBAL MARTOMO SAN MARTIN

BA MARTOMO SANTA CRUS

XCEBAL MARTOMO SANTA CRUS

BA MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN

XCEBAL MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN

273* 796 794 554 The drinking of aguardiente takes place on the porch after the men are seated. Again the aguardiente is distributed in shot glass amounts to each member of the mayordomía. Again, as in the case of the civil officials, a strict relative order of succession of drinking is followed, proceeding from the top of Table 12 (p. 61) to the bottom.

273* 621 794 554 In both the referential sets of civil officials and religious officials, then, there are occasions when both seating arrangements and drinking arrangements uniquely express a relative order property in the relations between members of each set. This relative order property we can call <u>differential rank</u>. While this type of rank is a somewhat special case, it is essentially the same age differential which establishes rank in [561] the community at large. The civil and religious hierarchies are very nearly age-graded, the higher-ranking positions being occupied by older men. A survey of the histories of individuals' cargos indicates that the age grading is more strict in the case of the mayordomos than in the case of the civil officials. In each set of officials, men with adjacent ranks sit next to each other and drink in succession, the man with the higher rank sitting in an arbitrarily defined higher position on the bench and drinking sooner. It is important to note that of a variety of ways in which the aguardiente could be used to express the rank difference (e.g., the distribution of larger amounts to the senior

273* positions), only relative order of drinking is used. It is the
621
794 arbitrary selection of order as the medium of communication of
554
roles and ranks that leads us to describe drinking performances as a code.

*273 We have observed that on the occasion of ceremonial
621
794 drinking, not only will the relative age differences of the
554
561 adult males be expressed in the relative order in which they are served aguardiente, but so also will they arrange themselves spatially in such a way that the drink server will be able to meet the obligation of serving the older person first without skipping anyone in the seating order. In other words, men, in the first stages of ceremonial drinking, will arrange themselves in order of relative age-rank, and thus receive in perfect spatial and temporal succession the aguardiente which they drink.

273* The ceremonial drinking sequence is associated with the
621
794 presence of a marimba which plays throughout the course of the
554
533 fiesta and the departure of which signals the termination of the same. While the marimba players are paid to play at the fiesta, with regard to the consumption of aguardiente they are treated as are all other males who are present. In some cases, they will be offered drinks with greater frequency to begin with, as it is supposed by the host that they will play more frequently and will charge less if they are somewhat intoxicated.

000 The ceremonial drinking sequence is regularly associated

273* 262 The ceremonial drinking sequence is regularly associated with the serving of food by the sponsors to the guests. The alternate possibilities are included in the following table:

TABLE 13

FOODS AND BEVERAGES ACCOMPANYING CEREMONIAL DRINKING

	Food	Beverage
[272]	Beans	coffee
tortillas and	chicken broth with a chunk of chicken	aguardiente
	beef broth with a chunk of beef	chocolate
	turkey broth with a chunk of turkey	

The relative prestige of the food served increases with the descending order.

273* The duration of a ceremonial drinking cycle is well-defined. It does not last beyond an eight-hour period, in general. Its termination is marked, as has been noted above, by the departure of the marimba from the scene and by the fact that the host ceases to serve aguardiente. Individuals who continue to drink after the ceremonial cycle is terminated do so under informal drinking rules.

273* Informal drinking

An informal drinking cycle may be initiated on a saint's
273* day or on the day following a ceremonial drinking cycle. An
574 individual may also initiate an informal cycle on the occasion of some personal crisis--e.g., desertion by his wife, illness of some member of the household. The formal speech which begins the ceremonial drinking sequence has as its parallel in the informal sequence the simple invitation to drink, /ME MA*K AWUC TRAWO/, "Would you like a drink?" This statement in general does not permit a refusal on the part of the person being so invited. (Expressions of invitation in English also carry some slight obligatory component.)

Following the probably affirmative response on the part of the invited person, a bottle of aguardiente is proffered from which the receiver takes a drink. While aguardiente in the ceremonial drinking sequence is measured in liter bottles, aguardiente in the informal drinking sequence is measured in bottles of smaller size, regularly a quarter-liter bottle, though occasionally the aguardiente will be offered in a liter bottle. As noted above, informal drinking sequences are more likely to involve drinking directly out of the bottle rather than out of a shot glass filled from the bottle. Thus the precise amount of aguardiente drunk by each participant is likely to be unknown to the others. In the ceremonial drinking sequence,

273* 574 all persons drinking receive the same known amount, as measured by the shot glass; since each liter is equally divided, the host may stop serving at any time knowing that all have shared equal amounts. In informal drinking, in contrast, equal distribution of the aguardiente is only approximated by passing the bottle to each in turn. Precision in distribution is perhaps of less concern in informal drinking because there is no single host; each man in turn contributes his own bottle to be shared by the group. Mariano tells how he and his friends shared the expense of a drinking cycle as follows:

[539] M. TAL Z'IN *EHK HOYTIK I, K'EHEL BA YUC'IK *EHUK, TE XBOTIK *A, XU* KU*NTIK *EHUK....

Then some other companions came, we went to drink over there, we went to continue over there also. . . .

TUME HA*T NAX K'AN AWAK'IK XCION, SK'AHK' KO*TANTIK *EHK HC'IN TOHOLTIK I.

"It's not right for you alone to give [aguardiente]," I told them. "Now we will buy some with our money."

TENEX K'OT YAK'IK *OLIL HUHUTUL Z'IN *A PAHAL LA YAK'IK STUBI.

Then and there they began to give a half-liter each, afterward all gave equally.

273* The informal drinking cycle is likely to be initiated by same-sex, same-age peers who consider themselves to be friends. In contrast to the ceremonial drinking sequence, in which persons of various ages and role relations always take part, the informal drinking sequence places little emphasis on the individual's rank

273* in the order of drinking. There is no drink server in the informal drinking sequence; a man initiates the drinking act with
273* each other man in turn until his bottle is empty The relative
561 age-ranks of the participants are recognized, however, in that if an older person is present, he is served first. Also, toasting (see the description of drinking by the civil hierarchy) incorporates forms of address--/BANKIL/, /TAT/, and /TATA*/--in which relative age-rank is recognized.

273* The informal drinking sequence, then, is loosely structured internally, and its length is determined by the interaction of the number of participants with the quantity of aguardiente in the bottle. The sequence is terminated when the bottle is empty. A new sequence is initiated when another participant produces another bottle and invites the others to drink. The length of time between sequences varies from virtually no time, when the group is in a bar and a new bottle can be quickly bought, to much longer periods when participants must go to borrow money to buy a bottle or (as happened before the cantinas were established) to find someone who has a bottle to sell. One sequence follows another until all the participants have run out of aguardiente or are unconscious.

[264] No eating--even of regular meals at home--is associated
[533] with the informal drinking sequence. Sometimes a marimba is associated with the informal drinking sequence, but only when the

273* [533] [275] marimberos drink together with their friends in the house where the instrument is kept. When the informal drinking sequence takes place in a cantina, it is accompanied by music played on the phonograph of the cantinero. Each piece costs the owner twenty centavos, and before it is played the names of the donor and his drinking companions are announced over the loud speaker, which carries the sound all over the community.

The informal drinking cycle differs from the ceremonial cycle in that it may move from one setting to another. The two types of cycle differ also in the settings in which each may occur. The distribution of cycles by setting is shown in the following table:

TABLE 14

DISTRIBUTION OF DRINKING CYCLES BY SETTING

Informal drinking	Ceremonial drinking	Informal drinking and ceremonial drinking	Neither
cantinas	porch of cabildo	uncultivated fields	cultivated fields
	inside cabildo	door yards	inside church
	inside caves	house porches	inside convento
	porch of convento	inside houses	inside clinic
			inside store

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273* Like the ceremonial drinking cycle, the informal drinking cycle usually lasts about eight hours. Both types of drinking cycle tend to occur in the daytime, although ceremonial drinking associated with marriage ceremonies and with curing rituals and funerals may often occur at night. On the day following the original drinking cycle, some, at least, of the participants are very likely to drink again. Ceremonial drinking cycles are succeeded by each other only in the case of the annual installation of civil officials, when the members of the hierarchy drink together formally for several days in a row. All other ceremonial cycles, and all informal cycles, are succeeded, if at all, by further informal cycles.

The second day of drinking opens with either the public or private consumption of aguardiente to the extent of about 1/8 to 1/4 liter depending on the strength of the aguardiente. I say public or private in the sense that a man may simply drink it in his house in the presence of his family (private) or he may search out drinking companions or remain with those whom he accompanied the night before (public). The reported purpose of this early morning drink is to reduce the effect of the hangover. It does not in and of itself begin the second day drinking performance, since a man may still choose to go to work rather than to drink. The public consumption of this brace-up drink increases somewhat the probability that second day informal drinking will begin.

273* While the rules for second day drinking are no different than for first day drinking, the drinkers face some changing conditions. Also, they express their drinking role in a slightly different fashion. As was observed in the survey, only half as many men report drinking for two days as report drinking for only one day. No man drinks privately, that is, only in the presence of his family (except to "cure" a hangover, as noted above). But his friends may not have chosen to continue drinking on the second day. Not finding one's friends (either before or after the brace-up) decreases the probability of second day drinking, but a man determined to drink--one whose "heart wants" more aguardiente--will make a persistent search for friends before he either gives up or settles (as I have suggested earlier) for drinking companions whom he knows less well. [609] (Drinking with strangers is believed to be dangerous, for reasons to be given in the next chapters, and perhaps even drunks keep this belief in mind to some extent.) A friend of Juan Hernandez came twice to his house to look for him and "went right in there where the corn grinder is [the kitchen]," /*OC'K'AL NUN TA BA*Y MOLINE/. On hearing this, Juan says, "How could he be sober? He's drunk!" /BA*NBA KUXUK *ULEM/, implying that he would not otherwise have come uninvited into the kitchen.

Since it is difficult if not impossible for a man to

273* refuse a drink in a setting in which men are drinking, and since men who are drinking actively seek companions all over town, the only really satisfactory strategy for those who choose not to drink on a succeeding day is to get out of town. (One of Simmons' informants in Lumahuaná reports that there also, "if a man does not wish to drink, he has to go away from the place where the drinking is taking place and must avoid places where men are drinking." Simmons 1962, p. 42.) In the text just cited above, Juan Hernandez has avoided his friend by going in-
273* to the hills to cut poles for his garden. His wife, Carmen,
539 tells about it:

ME K'AN KUXUK YUN NAX LI*YIX BALAWETEL AMETO.

"You won't sober up wallowing around here."

... LE TE*EL C'UNTE TONC MA*K XWEHT BA XBAT.

"Go look for poles for the chayote, since you don't know where to go."

*AYIL HICWAN, XCI.

"Maybe it's better that way," he said.

*AYIL BAHKON HLEH TAL C'IN HYALELUK HKUHSES TAL HBA*A, XCI.

"It's better that I go and take a trip to sober up," he said.

Juan himself comments as follows:

BETIL XYAL HAYUN MA*BA LA HSOLES LEK *EHUK.

One goes into debt, for that reason also one doesn't overdo.

273*
539 HA* LIK *AY *EHK HKUMPRE STAT PEPRI, HA*YUN MA*C'A K'AN HMON BA SOK.

Also, my compadre, Pedro's father, wasn't here, so there wasn't anyone to join me.

HKUMPRE STAT PEYRO WOL I, BAHT TA *A*TEL EHK NUN TA BA*Y TANKE, SOK SYAKBEL BAHT HAL HKUMPRE ABI.

My compadre, Pedro's father, Gregorio, went to work down there by the tank, he went with his hangover, that compadre of mine.

273* I have seen men leaving the community on fiesta days so as not to become involved in drinking. The following text fragment from Felix Perez is an example: (Felix went to San Cristóbal on the day of the fiesta in order not to be in his house when companions came by to offer him drinks. He makes the point that he is a compulsive drinker, compulsive in the sense that once he starts drinking he cannot stop on the following day but continues for as long as a week. Thus all the bad aspects of drinking are magnified for a person such as himself. While he drinks more infrequently than most individuals, when he drinks he drinks longer than others.)

273*
539 YAN HO*NEH HA* NAX TAL HC'AY KOK YU*N K'IN YA*YEL I,

I only came to entertain myself because of the fiesta.

HA* XI* *EHK TRAWO *EHK I, HA* MA HK'AN *EHK TE ... LIHK YAKUBOKON *EHK TEY *A I.

I'm afraid of the aguardiente, I don't want to get drunk.

YU*N *IP HTEN BAH TA BETIL, MA* LO*L BETIL STENON *EHK TEME LIKH KUC' E.

273* I would go deeply into debt, it's a heavy debt I carry when
539 I begin to drink.

TOH *AY STUK YU*N HNA*TIK. HUN K'AHAL, CE* K'AHAL E.

It would be all right if I could drink one day, two days.

PE *ILI TONC XBAHT TA MUK' KUNTIK HONA, YIC'O HUN SEMNA, YIC'O HO*E K'AHAL, WAXBE* K'AHAL.

But for me it always gets to be a big thing, it lasts a week, five days, six days.

E BA TO K'AN TAK'IN, SIEMPRE XLAH KUNTIK *EHK TAK'IN I.

Where is the money coming from? Our money always runs out.

273* In order not to become involved in drinking, men pursue activities in terms of the necessity of which they lament inability to have taken part in the fiesta. "One of my cattle has been missing for two weeks--and I had to spend all that day and the following day searching for her." "The dogs have been eating elotes in my field in the Paradise section, and I spent the day laying poison and watching the field," etc. The observation of such behavior as this provides a good example of the fact that not all people in Aguacatenango look forward to being "happy" on any given fiesta day, and in turn those people who are being "happy" feel some compulsion to require their fellows to be "happy" with them.

The alternative strategy for avoiding drinking performances is to take the "cure." This consists of taking a medicine so strong that should the taker thereafter drink aguardiente, he

273* is sure to die. One then may refuse a drink, saying, "I have taken the cure and I surely will die." Furthermore, taking the cure is supposed to dispose of one's desire to drink. The cured 273* drinker should find aguardiente repulsive. Candelario Hernandez 539 and Mariano Juarez discuss such a "cure" in the following text fragment:

M. YUN WAN LA *AWUC'BE XPOXIL.

Perhaps you took the medicine?

C. LAH NIX KA*BE TE*K *A, PERE MA HNA*TIK ME XU*YUN T*K HAL *EHUK.

I took a little, but I don't know how long I will be able to stand not taking a drink.

M. PERE ME M*K SK'AN TUT'IL *ORA *ILI, MA*K WAN....

But maybe now you won't want it, since now you won't. . .

C. MA SK'AN BA KUBUL *UC'AN ... LA HATE YUN YA KUUNTIK TE*K C'IN HNUX E, MASK'AN.

Right now I don't feel like it when they invite me to drink, and then if I drink a little I don't like its taste.

HA* *ORA SK'AN XC'I HC'UHTIK YU*UN *ORA XTI*WAN TA HC'UHTI

Right away my stomach begins to hurt, right away my stomac begins to swell.

M. PE YUN HA* WAN XPOXIL ABI.

Well, maybe it's the medicine all right.

C. HAYUN HIC MA* BA KA*BE Z'IN, LA YAK'IK LEK PERSA HONC STUB MAC'A YUC' i.

For this reason I don't drink. A lot of the drinkers are taking the medicine.

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273*
539 HAL XTU*L KUC'OHTIK MAMAL POX I, *E HZ'IN NAX TEME HMIL HBAHTIK *A E.

When we have taken the medicine, we could easily kill ourselves.

M. YAL TASTAT CUS NAX I, *AY YUC'OBE XPOXIL *EHK I.

The father of Jesusa has just taken the medicine.

C. LA TU*L WAN STOHOL *EHK *ILE.

How much did it cost him?

M. PERE TUN TUT'IP PE HUN TA HTAB HAL YA YAL NAX I.

How much? I think twenty pesos was what he said a while ago.

C. YUC'OH TO.

He's still drinking.

M. C'IN HUN K'IN HONC HATE LA HZ'IK E....

He only lasted through one fiesta sober.

*E YUN YA SK'ANIX HAL KO*TAN I, PE XCI.

"My heart is still begging for aguardiente," he said.

ZAM YA XKO, MA* BA TUTA SPAS HNUXUK XCI TAK.

"It goes down well, it doesn't hurt me at all," he said.

YU*NEN MAHAK *EHK XPOXIL I.

Maybe it isn't the medicine.

C. BA* LA SMAN WAN.

Where did he buy it?

M. *ILI XINLAN TA MUK'UL *AKIL LA XCON PE XCI.

"It was a ladina from Pinola who sold it to me," he said.

273* 539 C. HA* HAL ME*L HLO*LIWANEH XINAN HAL YA X BEN LI* I.

That's that lying ladina who comes up here.

M. *E *AWA* MA* BA TUTA SPAS HNUKUK.

And he says that it didn't help him at all.

C. *E TEY *A YUN SZ'IHK TE*K YUN C'IN HUNUK HA*WIL *A E, *IL C'IN CE* OKE*K'AHAL HONC TAK.

It should at least keep him from drinking for a year, and he only lasted two or three days.

M. *E YUN TONC *ANC TA *AWO*TAN LA *AZ'IK *EHK *ABI, XKUT, *E YU*NIX *A XCI.

"Well, you only stop if you want to," I told him. "Yes," he said.

HINX *A MA YUNUK LA YILA LA STUK YO*TAN I, YUN TONC LA SZ'IK.

"Yes, my heart didn't reject the aguardiente, I willed not to drink."

273* One of the reasons why men may avoid drinking on succeeding days is economic. As drinking continues, there is a tendency to water the aguardiente, prolonging the drinking cycle by reducing the per person unit cost. Nevertheless, men go into debt to buy aguardiente and must often seek work outside the community in order to pay what they owe. [426]

273* 124 Other reasons are suggested by the questions and responses of the survey. Fifty-four men reported that they became ill as a result of drinking--and illness following drinking appears very frequently in the texts. Eleven men reported that, at least occasionally, they are involved in fights while drinking. Fifty-two

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273* of the seventy-six men reported that they drink "in excess" rather
124 than "a proper amount." This contrast seems to be based not primarily on moral principles, but rather on a belief that the state of deep drunkenness which most men reach when they drink in-
128 volves hazards to life and well-being. In the two chapters which follow, I shall describe some of these hazards--conflict and illness--along with the ways of dealing with them, in more detail.

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CHAPTER III

DRINKING AND CONFLICT

293* The generation of conflict

The drunken man in Aguacatenango characteristically communicates his condition relatively clearly in a variety of ways. During an extended drunk, he does not change his clothes from day to day. His belt or sash may be loosened, his clothing muddy. He may show a number of more or less superficial untended wounds encountered during the drinking performance. The direction and pace of his walking is erratic. Instead of taking direct paths between two points, he takes roundabout paths. He may talk to himself, sing and shout, laugh or cry, sit down, fall down, or sleep in the middle of the street. He may lose objects--hat, jacket, sandals. He may refuse food or neglect to return home for meals. He becomes indifferent to the loss of money and may spend much more than he has. He may, under some circumstances, make sexual advances to other than his own marriage partner. He may join drinking groups in the opposite barrio, thus not only relating to people he knows hardly at all, but entering settings into which he would never go when sober.

273* All of these performances fall within the range of acceptable,
183
[689] though perhaps imperfect, behavior for drunken men; that is, while some of them are considered deplorable and others dangerous, sanctions are usually limited to scolding and the conflict does not persist beyond the drinking situation.

On the other hand, the drunken man may be insulting or physically aggressive, and while these performances may be discounted on occasion, they often bring the individual into conflict which persists beyond the particular drinking situation. For the purposes of this description, we will define the conflict focus as that state which exists when an individual perceives his control over resources to be temporarily placed in increased jeopardy by circumstances some portion of which can be attributed to the action (or failure to take action) of some other individual; the jeopardized party must also perceive that there exists some form of action he can take (some remedy) in relation to the individual "causing" the conflict which will decrease his feeling of vulnerability.

273* Both insults and physical aggression by drunken indi-
578 viduals are verbally proscribed and often physically sanctioned. Aurelia Ramirez, speaking of the drunken insults of a relative who has been living in her house, says:

[539] PURA XC'AB YA YAL TU*L YA YAX YAKUBEL.

He talks of nothing but witchcraft when he is drunk.

273* 598 539 TYABLO TYABLO NA *I, HOLA CINGADO NA.

"Curse the house, curse the house!"

TONC YAN XYAKUB TA WINIKIL STUK.

It's inappropriate the way that man drinks.

HAYUN LA YALBE Z'IN SMA*ALIB, XC'OHT TA *AYEL, *A LOK'UK BAEL *A NUHZUK,

So [my daughter] went to her father-in-law and told him to turn them out,

MA*K HK'ANTIKIX *EHUK.

We don't want them any more.

273* 754 539 In another case, the outcome was more serious for the offender. Mariano Juarez describes how the men of the community decided who was the witch responsible for an epidemic of measles as follows:

PERO HIC EHK MAC'A YA XKUC *AK' CAMEL I, YUN YA YAL TA SYAKBEL TE SNA* *AK' CAMEL E.

But they blame that one for the witchcraft, because he says when he's drunk that he knows how to do witchcraft.

MA LA YAK XIW TULAN LA *AY, HA*C YA YAL TA SYAKBEL MAC'A TE SNA* *AK' CAMEL E.

[He says] that he's not afraid, he's strong, that's what he says when he's drunk, that he knows how to do witchcraft.

HAYUN HIC A SKUC *AK' CAMEL YUN KRISTYANETIK I, YUN A YAL TA SYAKBEL.

That's why they blame him for causing the illness among the people, because he says it when he is drunk.

... TA SYAKBEL YA YAL HA*TE MATO KAWAK' *A LIMXNA XCI TA SYAKBEL.

273* 754 539 . . . When he's drunk he says, "you haven't paid your tax yet!" (This is interpreted by our informant as meaning that none of the listener's children has yet died and, further, that the speaker can guarantee that some of them will die.)

HAYUN HIC MA XC'AY TA YO*TANIK HAL KRISTYANETIK I.

And so the hearts of the people don't forget this.

XLIHK CAMEL TA TEHKLUM HA* YA XKUC STUKEL.

When the illness begins in the community they blame him.

... TA SKAHABI YA XLAH TA MILEL YUN SBOLIL.

Because of this they kill him for his foolishness.

MA* TOHUK XYAKUB.

He doesn't get drunk the way one ought to.

273* 518 Physical aggression against drinking companions usually has immediate physical consequences. One fight which occurred between two drunken young men in the cemetery at the fiesta of Todos Santos ended with a broken arm for one of them, and in another fight hospital care was needed for the victim. Sabino Hernandez, on waking up after a night of drinking, is puzzled to find his hand sprained, because, as he remembers,

[539] MAYU*NUK *AY MA*C'A LAH KUT H'A SOK, TONC YU*N TOH LAH KU*C' HAL HC'IN KA*AL I.

I didn't fight with anybody, I just drank my aguardiente the way one ought to.

273* 593 621 Drunken men who beat their wives can expect retaliation in kind only rarely, but a mistreated wife may complain of her husband's behavior to his elders, who will reprimand him and exact a promise to reform.

273* exact a promise to reform. Drunken abuse of a wife is specifi-
593 cally proscribed in the counsel given to a young couple during
the wedding ceremony:

[539] HA*T KEREM, K'UXUTA ME AWINAM, MA ME AWUT, MA ME AMAM.

You, boy, esteem your wife, don't scold her, don't strike her.

ME LA *AWUC' POX, TOH ME XAK'AN AWE*EL, TOH ME XAK'AN AMAZ.

When you drink aguardiente, ask for your supper as one ought to, ask for your pozole as one ought to.

273* One wife's attitude toward her husband's aggressiveness when
539 drunk is characteristic of the Aguacatenango woman's view:
593

YU*NEN YIC'O BOLUBEL TA SOL HAL *IX *UTWAN NONC I, WAH.

Maybe he's crazy, since he fights so much! Ha, ha, ha!

TONC YA HZE*LU Z'IN.

Afterward he just laughs.

*AY TYOS, HESUCRISTO, *ABONIK TE*K PERTON, MA*K HNA*, *E XCI Z'IN.

"God, Jesus Christ! Forgive me, I don't remember what I did," he says afterward.

*Y HAYUN HIC MA KAK' TA MUK' Z'IN.

And so I don't pay any attention afterward.

*IP ME KIC' E, KIC' *ABI, *E XCEBAL K'AHAL, *E MA*K HNA*, *E XCI.

Sometimes he hits me, he hits me then, and two days later he says, "I don't remember."

ATUKEL XANA ME KAWAK' PERTONE MA* KAWAK' PERTONE.

"Only you know if you will forgive me or not."

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273* *E HIC PERE XX'AXAMON AWU*UN, YA KUT.
539
593 "I will pardon you, but I am ashamed of you," I tell him.

*E *AYIL NA*K HPASIS HONC *A, SLOT.

"It's all right, I won't do it again," he lies.

YU*N MALAME K'OPOHAN STUK TEME YU*N T'UXAH E.

It's that he doesn't like to hear talking when he's lying down drunk.

YU*N HUN TA *ALAL YU*N C'A*BAL YANE XWAY.

He's just like a baby, he only sleeps if it's quiet.

YAN STUK TEME YAKAT WULWUNEL E, YU*N HWINIK LA KAHMULA HATE XK'OPOHON SOK E.

If I make any noise he says I am talking with my lover.

*E YU*NEN *AY CAWAH TA SOL WAH.

Maybe he's crazy.

TONC YU*N XXUXLEH STUK *ILI.

That's just the way he is.

273* The willingness of the average wife to forgive drunken
593 abuse is an illustration of the fact that, in general, the behavior of an individual when he is drunk is subject to special interpretation by others. A drunken man is generally assumed not to be responsible for his actions; his unsocial behavior is likely to be disregarded. Speaking of a man who is accused of having given his brother a fatal illness by witchcraft because they had fought over an inheritance, Mariano Juarez and Juana Espinoza agree that it is unusual for fighting to have this result.

273* 578 539 M. YA XLIHK KUT HBAHTIK SOK *EHK HBANKILTIK I PERE ...

We start to fight with our brothers too, but . . .

J. *E PE TOH *AY C'IN HNUX I SKAH NAX YAKUBEL *EHK ABI.

But it's easy [to fight] a little on account of drunkenness.

M. YAKUBEL ...

Drunk . . .

J. MA* KUXLEHALUK.

Not sober.

M. SKAH YAKUBEL.

On account of drunkenness.

J. YU*N TONC TONC MOEM A YA*Y STRAWO *EHK ABI.

It's only that one feels like overstepping from the aguardiente.

HAYUN *AY A XMOH TA *AHOLIK Z'IN PE HA*NAX TE*K ABI.

Sometimes it goes to their heads, but only a little [fighting].

M. TOHOL K'OP.

Just talk.

J. MA*K XCAMOTIK YU*N *EHK TOHOL K'OP I.

We don't die from just talk.

Another illustration of the tendency to discount drunken behavior is a discussion in which Aurelia Ramirez reports the insults of the young man whom she had turned out of her house (mentioned in text above):

273* 578 539 A. NUN TE*K'EL NUN TA YUT C'IN NA E, YA XBON, YA XK'OTON TEME ...

He stood right over there, inside the little house [and said], "I'm going, I'm going to come". . .

MA* LOMUK A XBON STUK *ILI, YU*N K'AN LAHUK SLA* KO*TAN E.

"I'm not going away just like that, not till my anger is used up."

MA XLAH SLA* KO*TAN TU*L A SNUZONIK LO*L I, YAK'ONIK LO*L E.

"My anger isn't used up, because they turned me out, they sent me away."

TYABLO YA KIL TU*L A XLOK' TUK SLA* KO TAN I, MA*Y BA* XBAHT, XCI.

"The devil! We'll see how my anger will come out, it's not going to go away," he said.

M. *A XCI.

He said that.

A. XCI TONC XCA BA YAL HONC HAL BAHT I.

He said that, he talked a lot of witchcraft when he went away.

M. ME YUN A XYAKUB *A.

Could he have been drunk?

A. MA*K XYAKUB TAT KUXLEHAL A YAL.

273* 578 He wasn't drunk, mister, he said it when he was sober.

Mariano, in evaluating Aurelia's remarks, asks the crucial question, "Could he have been drunk?" The fact that he was sober implies that much more weight can be placed on his statements of his power to do witchcraft against others. We may perhaps infer

273* that Mariano will keep this in mind in future transactions with
578 this man--if he believes that Aurelia is telling the truth.

While a man's behavior when he is drunk is usually disregarded in forming character judgments, there are circumstances in which drunken behavior is seen as ambiguous. It is believed, for example, that foreign matter can be put into aguardiente by a member of the drinking group so as to cause the illness or death of one of the other participants. Examples of illness attributed to "poisoned" aguardiente will be offered in the next chapter; here it is sufficient to cite the belief as an indication that "true" aggression may sometimes be expressed when men are drunk. Other aspects of the ambiguity of drunken behavior are suggested in the following text fragment:

273* F. KILIX TEK TE *AY TU*Y KUN Z'IN *EHK E, PUES HA* Z'IN
578 HBANKIL, *ORA *ILI, LA HKABETIK SLUM TE HKOHT SKAH HTEK"EN
539 BETIK SNA....
593

Once I had seen that we had accumulated a little wealth, we gave a piece of land to my brother, we gave him a horse, we built him a house. . . .

HO*N YA STI*ON Z'IN HAL BAY NA *IL KUMPRE.

He comes around and bothers me in my house now, compadre.

... HA*Z'IN BA* STA TRAWI, BA* STA POX I, HA*TE XLIHK MOUK TA SOL *A.

. . . That's the way it is when one finds aguardiente, it goes to his head.

YAXC'IN YAL YA*KBIL CAMEL *EHUK, BUENO, HO*N MA* ZAMUK YA KA*Y *EHK HO*N ABI KUMPRE.

273* He begins to talk about witchcraft and I don't care for
578 that at all, compadre.

539 HAL TRAWI, HA* MA HNA*TIK TUT XKALTIK SOK, MA HNA*TIK
593 TUT HLOK'ESTIK SOK, TONC YUN *AY SLUWAR *AY MA* SLUWARUK
XK'OPOHOTIK *A.

Because of the aguardiente, we don't know what we are saying, we don't know how to speak, sometimes it's correct and sometimes it's not possible what we are saying.

M. PERE HA* TE YUN MOEM TA HOLTIK YUN TRAWO *A E.

But this only happens when the aguardiente goes to his head.

F. HAIX KKMPRE, YUN MOEM TA HOLTIK MA HNA* TUT XKALTIK PERES TA SKAH TRAWO, SKAH POX *EHK *ABI.

That's right, compadre, it goes to our head and we don't know what we are saying, but it's because of the aguardiente.

MAYUNUK KUXLULUK KO*TANTIK E.

It doesn't happen when we are sober.

BA LA HTATIK HUN KERMANOTIK HUN HBANKILTIK, Z'AHAL BANKIL, Z'AHAL TAT, HA* XCI XK'OPOHOTIK Z'IN ABI, KONTENTO XK'OPOHOTIK SOK MAC'A KAMIGOTIK E.

When we are sober, when we encounter some brothers or uncles we say, "Good day, uncle, good day, sir," we talk contentedly with our friends.

PERO ME *OC Z'IN C'UL TRAWO, *E HUN *ORA HNA*TIK HUN *ORA MA HNA*TIK HA*YUN *AWA*Y TUL HIC.

But when aguardiente comes in, part of the time we remember and part of the time we don't remember.

MA* ZAMUK TA *UC'EL *EHK C'UL TRAWO HUN *ORA E.

In a way, it's not good to drink aguardiente.

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273* 578 593 In this text fragment, Felix is describing to Mariano how his older brother is threatening him over a matter of inheritance. Felix reports that his brother comes to his house and threatens witchcraft upon the family unless the matter is resolved in his favor. Mariano, in his only appearance in the text excerpt, inquires rather sharply if this does not happen only when the brother is drunk. Felix answers in the affirmative and sketches in his feeling about the ambiguity of the situation: (1) one may threaten while drunk, but the hearer does not know whether what the drunken speaker is saying is, from the speaker's point of view, a statement which is true of his sober condition as well or only of his drunken condition; (2) the ambiguity is further reinforced if, when the speaker is sober, he is properly respectful of the listener, whom he has insulted or threatened while drunk; (3) from the point of view of the drinker himself, one knows that he sometimes remembers his performances and sometimes does not remember them. An unremembered performance has the character of communicating less reliably to the receiver than a remembered performance. The receiver must note, then, that any particular drunken performance may be a member of the unremembered class and hence not entirely useful as a basis for inference and action in relating to the person who is performing it. This characteristic of drunken communication causes Felix to evaluate drinking negatively. It leaves him in doubt as to

273* what his "true" relationship with his older brother is.
578
[593] While in principal the intent of a communication sent by a drunken individual under the circumstances noted is subject to modification by him when next he is sober, there occur instances in which the drunken performance is critical in the definition of character. Any expression of hostility (scolding, fighting, stealing) when sober may bring the drunken behavior into focus as an expression of the individual's "true" character. In the case of the young man who "talks pure witchcraft when he is drunk" (mentioned earlier), the decision to make him leave the house was based also on the fact that he quarreled with members of the household and his wife stole chickens, and the decision was later justified, as we have just seen, by the fact that he threatened witchcraft when sober.

It may be the case that hostility or aggressive performances while drinking may be classified into two types as may be seen by the responses to them of other community members. If the basis for hostility can be found in specific antecedent events, then angry words or blows between individuals who are drunk or between a drunk person and a sober person are subject to later apology before any final conclusion is drawn as to the [754] character of the aggressor. If, on the other hand, no specific antecedent events are known to be the source of the hostility, and the drunken performer's anger seems to be directed at random

273* towards the other members of the town, and/or if hostility is
578
754 characteristic of the individual even when sober, then a witch-
craft component will probably be attributed to his character.
If the vernacular of witchcraft is used in expressing hostility
in either the first or the second condition, the attribution of
witchcraft to the person is made more likely.

273* Occasionally the outcome of drunken fighting is so ex-
578 treme (e.g., when one participant dies) that "bad character"
(but not necessarily witchcraft) is attributed to the aggressor
regardless of considerations of intent or of his behavior when
sober. In the following text fragment, such a case is discussed.

273* (The fact that the pair had been drinking was ascertained from
578
539 a source other than the text.)

J. HA* CAM *ILI *ATATIK I.

The old gentleman died.

M. TU* LA SPAS.

What happened to him?

J. MA*YUK LAH TA MILEL.

I don't know, he was killed.

M. ME MA* CIKNAH.

Have they found out who did it?

J. CIKAN *AY HA* NAX MISMO SNEAL I, HA* HAL MA TATIK KCIK I XCI.

It seems that it was his own son-in-law, they said, that old Francisco [the honorific, used here in reference to a young person, derogates his status].

273* 578 539 ... HATE YAHWAL NA HATE SWINKLEL Z'INE, *ABOT TON TA S(H)OL ... HIZ

That head of the house, that owner, was hit on the head with a rock.

MA K'OLO MA TONI.

A rock this big around.

HNA*TIK Z'IN, TU*L LIHK TE SK'OPIK Z'INE, LAH SMIL SBAIK.

We don't know how their argument began, he was killed.

... HA* MILAWAN SNEALI.

His son-in-law killed him.

... HATE MAC'A MILAWAN Z'INE, YIP LA HTATIK TAL Z'IN *A TE SMORAL, SMORALI, YIP LA HTABETAL Z'IN *A SOK CEB PIXLAL.

That one killed him, we only found his morral, only his morral and two hats.

... *ORA *ILI MA* TEK'AY *A, *ANIX LO*EL.

He's not here now, he fled.

M. HIC KOLOL Z'IN.

Then he got away.

273* The possibility that an individual when drinking is in fact speaking the truth is an entertainable idea especially under the circumstances that he reports information which individuals have been searching for unsuccessfully.

273* 626 578 In one text we find Mariano defending himself against statements he allegedly made while he was drunk. The context in which these statements were made is as follows. The woman who

273* leads the prayers in the church (the rezadora) had two anonymous
626
578 notes left at her door, asserting that her character was incompatible with such a role. The effect of this accusation was sufficiently strong to cause her to withdraw from her position. She and her family tried to discover who the note writers were. Under these circumstances it was not long before a few candidates for this position were being considered.

273* Rules of evidence for finding the performers of anonymous
695
626 acts are quite relaxed, though sufficient to the task from the
578 community's point of view. The successful anonymous act is not seen by anyone, hence the reconstruction of the act is made on the basis of motives, and on the succeeding acts which the allegedly guilty person may display. Furthermore, there may be special characteristics of the act which restrict the number of those who may be guilty. If, for example, a man is known to have been killed with a pistol, the assassin is conceded to be limited to one of those who is known to have a pistol. In the present case, a note was written in Spanish, and the author was hence limited to that handful of individuals in the community who can write Spanish. Mariano is perhaps one of the best Spanish writers in the community.

He further damned himself by saying while drunk that he wrote and delivered the note. In this text, he is talking with the rezadora who was forced out of her job, with the full knowledge

273* that she has heard that he made these remarks while drunk and
695
626 knows that he writes Spanish well. He constructs a conversation
578 for her between himself and one Augustin (who also writes Spanish) in which Augustin asks him if he did in fact write the threatening note, as he had claimed in Augustin's presence to have done. (Mariano never admits himself that he made these remarks while drinking.)

273*
578
539
626

HTAH BA SOK Z'IN HAL *AWSTIN I.

Later I met Augustin.

*ILI ME HIC ME YUN HAT Z'IN LA *APAS HUN I, XYUTON.

"Is it true that you wrote the note?" he asked me.

TU*UN XKUT.

"Why?" I asked him.

HA*BI *AY LA *AWAL TA *AYAKBEL XCI, LA AWAL TA *AYAKBEL *ILI, HO*N LA HPAS HUN I, HO*N LA KAK' HIL TO *AK'EL HIL TA STI* SNA XCIAT.

"Once when you were drunk you said so," he said, "You said, 'I wrote the note, I sent it to her house,' that's what you said," he said.

TU*N BA* LA HTA HBAHTIK XKUT.

"Where did we meet?" I asked him.

*AY LA HTA HBAHTIK TA YAKBEL, HO*N LA HPAS XCAT.

"Once we were drinking together, 'I did it,' you said."

*AYIL C'A*BAN MA HNA* MAC'A LA SPAS *EHK ABI, MA HA*KAT LA *APAS XKUTAT STUK HO*N E.

"'Stop it, be quiet, I don't know who did that. You didn't do it,' I said."

273* 539 578 626 HU*U HO*N LA HPAS XAWUTON HIL XCI.

"'Yes, I did,' you told me," he said.

TENEX *A HUL KAL XAN TA HNA Z'IN.

From there I went home to hear it again.

HA*C LA YAK'IK HKUC ... HA*C LA ... HO*N LA KAL TA HYAKBEL.

"They are blaming you . . . ." that I said it when I was drunk.

PASE *AK BA* HTA YAKBEL METO, XKUT AWIX I.

"Don't worry, what I could have done when I was drunk?" I told your aunt.

273* 626 578 In telling his wife not to worry, Mariano implies that the rumor will lose its force since it cannot be true.

Mariano also makes it plain to the rezadora later in the text that he wonders at Augustin's insistence on calling this story to his attention and spreading it around town. He implies that Augustin is being somewhat aggressive in doing this or is trying to cover up his own part in the note-writing act. The rezadora draws the conclusion for Mariano that it is probably Augustin who wrote the note, with which conclusion Mariano agrees. Thereby, in this interaction at least, he not only denies any part in the act but also supplies the rezadora with another person who is probably guilty.

273* 578 Individuals in search of the source of hostile acts are not averse to searching the conversations of men who are drinking deeply. In turn, men who drink deeply may use the privileged

273* communication status of deep drunkenness to brag about brash
578 acts they have done and/or to assume authorship for acts they would have liked to do. The aftermath of such performances sometimes requires a delicately balanced conversational gambit to return a relationship to its pre-drunken state.

The resolution of conflict

Where the drunken behavior of an individual is seen by another individual as placing him in jeopardy which persists beyond the limits of the particular drinking situation, the jeopardized person has a choice of actions by which he can decrease his feeling of vulnerability. He may do so either by regaining his pre-conflict control over resources or by placing the person who is the source of the conflict in an equivalent or more serious state of jeopardy. (A fairly detailed description of these two alternate modes of action in response to conflict in Aguacatenango can be found in Metzger 1960.) The distinction between increasing the antagonist's jeopardy and restoring one's own control over the situation serves as the basis for the distinction between what I have termed penalizing and restitutive outcomes of conflict. The principal feature of a restitutive strategy is that it renders the state of jeopardy between individuals "neutral" as a basis for post-conflict interaction between the parties involved. This neutrality is relative

273* 578 our measures of it are crude, but will perhaps serve as a first approximation. A penalizing strategy, in contrast, remains "active" as a basis for post-conflict interaction between the parties. The pure type of conflict bound by penalty is in fact an infinite series of conflicts operating on the pre-conflict role relationships of the parties so as to transform them, in the extreme case, into a relationship which must be terminated if either is to survive as a "social person." Under some circumstances, a penalizing strategy may call forth a counter-strategy of restitutive nature which breaks the chain before it becomes necessary to terminate interaction.

Among the restitutive strategies used to reduce the effects of drunken behavior is apology or restitution for the jeo-
273* 578 pardy on which the drunken aggression is based. Felix Perez
573 tells how he has tried to stop his brother from threatening him
539 while drunk:

> PUES HA* Z'IN HBANKIL I *ORA *ILI LA HK'ABETIK HKOT SLUM ESTE HKOT SKA, HKA SLUM, HTEK'EN BETIK SNA....
>
> Well then, we gave my elder brother his piece of land, his horse, his land, we built him a house. . . .
>
> HA* XTI*WAN HIL Z'IN YUN Z'IN TE XTI*WAN KUMPRE.
>
> He kept on bothering me, he kept on bothering me then, compadre.
>
> LA HTATLANOK TA CAMEL YUNTIKILE *E.
>
> His children were taken ill.

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273* Z'IN *EHR HO*NE SESNTA SINKWENTA SIEN PESO KA*BE TUTIL XCOP
578 YUNTIKIL I, PE MA SNA* Z'IN HA* LA STI*ON YA*TIK BA*YON *IL,
593 KUMPRE.
539

I gave him sixty, fifty, a hundred pesos to cure his children, but he doesn't recognize that, he goes on bothering me here, compadre.

HA* XTI*WAH YUN NA I.

He bothers me about the house. (Felix, the youngest son, remained with his father and has been promised the house as his inheritance. His elder brother complains that the house should be his.)

... LIHK BENUK XAN KO*TAN Z'IN *E TU*UN *E LAH HCON HKOT C'IN CITAM Z'IN *E TU*UN *E *A KUMPRE *ILI.

I began to think again, and so then I sold a little pig, compadre.

*ABA XAN SIEN PESO XKUT Z'IN HTATIK TA HNA E, LEK'AY *ABI XCI.

"Give him another hundred pesos," I said, and then my father said, "All right."

KA*BE Z'IN YA*BE Z'IN STUKEL YUN Z'IN TE LA HKA*BETIK XAN Z'IN *ABI.

I gave it to him, he gave it to him, then we gave him more.

MA*SK'AN XAN NAXTAK *ABI STI*ON XAN NAXTAK YUN HNA *ILI.

He still didn't like it, he still kept on bothering me about the house.

273* The failure of all these measures to stop the brother's
578
593 drunken threats has led the father to consider building a new house for Felix and giving the family house to the elder brother.

Another strategy is reprimand or punishment, where the jeopardized party has authority over the drunken offender or, alternatively, where the jeopardized party can appeal to such

273* 578 [539] an authority. One example of a reprimand is found in the texts:

K'UXIX YU*N HA* MA*K STAIX *AWɔ*TAN HAL TRAWI, AKUT.

"It's hurting you now, the aguardiente doesn't agree with you," I told him.

*ILA *E HIC PE YU*N YA TO SK'AN HONA XCI, *A SKUT.

"Yes, but my heart still wants more," he said. "All right," I said.

LA LOK' XAN K'AEL.

Then he went out again.

BALOTA *UTEL YU*N TATA* I.

His father reprimanded him.

LOK' XAN K'AL Z'IN.

He went out again afterward.

While the reprimand administered here had no immediate effect on the son's behavior, it was probably repeated when he was sober and was surely a factor in his subsequent avoidance of drinking settings.

273* 593 692 [606] A father may reprimand a son. A wife, if she has a good relationship with her father-in-law, can have her husband reprimanded by his father. When these measures fail (as in the case of a son who struck his father in response to a reprimand), or when the jeopardized party is not in a position of authority over the offender, resort to the community court is an alternative strategy by which a restitutive outcome may be obtained.

273* 683 In cases of drunken fighting which results in injury, the

273* 683 court usually demands a nominal fine (10 pesos--about a day's wages--being the customary amount), and sometimes the defendant will apologize as well. In one such case, the plaintiff had to have hospital care, and the defendant was ordered to pay the 273* 682 bill (30 pesos) instead of a fine. Where the fighting ended in a death, both fine and damages are charged, as in the murder [537] case already mentioned in text above:

M. PERO ME LAHWAN YAK' TAK'IN TOHUBEH.

I wonder how much money it was settled for.

J. KINYENTOS PESO LAH YAK' HIL.

He handed over five hundred pesos.

M. ME HA* LAH SMUK Z'IN TE MAC'A CAM E.

Did he pay for the funeral of the dead man?

J. PUES MA HNA*TIK, MA YU*N LAH YA*BE SIYERO TRESYENTOS PESO.

Well, I don't know, maybe he gave him something like three hundred pesos.

M. APARTE XAN Z'IN TE KINYENTO LAH YAK'HIL E.

Apart from the five hundred that he handed over?

J. APARTE Z'IN *EHK HATE KINYENTOS PE E LAH YAK' HIL TA KABILTA.

Apart from the five hundred pesos that he handed over to the court.

682 627 It is important that in this case, the murderer not only paid the fine and damages (through his wife) but also found it advisable to leave the community. Murder and witchcraft do not

682 admit of truly restitutive outcomes in Aguacatenango; an indi-
627 vidual is dead and cannot be reclaimed, and from the point of view of the Aguacatenanguero, nothing can reduce the survivors' sense of vulnerability except another life. Furthermore, any sanction short of death or permanent expulsion from the community
682 might result in reprisals. The Aguacatenango court has no popu-
627 lar mandate and hence no power or desire to hand down a death
692 sentence to a community member; the most severe sanction it can employ for a murder is a heavy fine-plus-damages. Since this sanction falls short of the family's needs, the court is rarely consulted in such cases; when such cases do come to court, they are often dismissed (sometimes on the basis of lack of evidence, for murders and witchcraft are not often observed by witnesses) or referred to the municipio court.

627 Murder and witchcraft are usually dealt with by means of
682 penalizing strategies, most often murder or the threat of it which
754 will drive the individual permanently out of the community. A lesser penalizing strategy--breaking off interaction--is sometimes used in such cases, particularly if the jeopardized party is weak or the evidence is inconclusive. For example, Josefa Lopez' husband was accused of doing witchcraft against a neighbor's wife. When her husband was later killed while drinking, nobody saw the killing but Josefa "knew" that the dead woman's son had done it out of vengeance. Josefa, now a widow with small

627 children and without father or brothers to support her, found it
682 impossible either to retaliate or to remain under the eye of the
754 "killer," so she moved to a distant part of the community.

578 More often, breaking interaction is used as a penalizing
627 strategy in less serious conflicts. For example, a daughter-in-law living in her husband's paternal household complained that her father-in-law scolded her when he was drunk and, in order to reduce her vulnerability, left the house and returned to live with her own family. Sometimes, in such a case, the husband will attempt to make restitution in response to the penalty and the conflict will be resolved. Another case, mentioned in text earlier, is that of Aurelia Ramirez and her unwelcome house guest; she appealed to the young man's father-in-law and had him removed from her house. The penalizing nature of this strategy is illustrated in the text which followed (also cited above); the conflict remained "active" in the relationship between Aurelia and the young man in that he returned to threaten her with witchcraft. Aurelia's next move is instructive; still feel-
[692] ing vulnerable, she sought the judgment of the court. However,
[754] this being a case of threat of witchcraft, the court refused to rule. She describes her rebuff as follows:

[539] KIK' Z'IN KALBE LO*L SME*L NEAL, KOMO PRESIDENTE.

I went out to speak to his father-in-law, since he is president.

578
627 MALA TUTA YAL, MALA TUTA SLOK'ES, YU*N HO*N LA HA HLE HK'OP,
539 HO*N LA PIS TYTA KALTLAN LA.

[He said] that he isn't saying anything, that he isn't taking anything, that I'm lying, that I'm the one who's saying it all.

273* In general, persisting conflicts arising from drunken
578 behavior are relatively infrequent among highly relational role pairs--people who live in the same household and/or are tied to each other by extensive obligations, such as parent-child, sibling-sibling, husband-wife, parent-in-law-child-in-law. In this role set, drunken behavior tends to be discounted or excused on later apology by the offender. When persisting conflicts occur, they are usually handled by means of restitutive strategies employed within the family and do not reach the community court. On the other hand, persisting conflicts based on drunken behavior among lowly relational pairs--people whose obligations toward each other are relatively few, such as siblings-in-law, neighbors, persons of opposite barrios (in descending order)--are fairly common. Indeed, all of the fighting and much of the murder and witchcraft in this role set involve drunkenness. Here there is perhaps no basis for discounting drunken behavior or less
[692] opportunity to make apologies. In any case, these conflicts tend to be taken to the community court--the only authority which both parties recognize--for a restitutive outcome when only injury is involved, and they tend to be handled with severe penaliz-

273* ing strategies outside the court (murder or threat of murder)
578
[692] when the jeopardy involves a death.

Patterns of drinking in the expression of and the resolution of conflict

Two sets of circumstances in which drinking occurs in the course of the settlement of conflict can be distinguished. First, there are those circumstances in which conflict is to be bound; that is, reduced as the basis for further inference and action. The second set of circumstances is that in which the conflict is to be escalated; that is, in which individuals are going to engage in aggressive acts in order to reduce their per-
273* ceived state of jeopardy. We will exemplify the first set of
578 circumstances by discussing the role of aguardiente in the settlement of cases in court. We will exemplify the second set of circumstances by discussing the role of alcohol in the performances which lead to anonymous assassination in that circumstance where consensus is that the man to be murdered is a witch.

*The settlement of conflict in court
273
695 The process of settling conflicts under the direction of the ayuntamiento is mutually exclusive with required or mandatory drinking performances. However, once the conflict has been settled, the interaction between the members of the ayuntamiento and some, if not all, of the parties of the dis-

273* 695 pute cannot be terminated until drinking has taken place. Search procedures used by the court such as testimony, the cross-examination of witnesses, the handling of material evidence, debating points of law, none of these are thought to operate at all well unless the parties to the dispute, and the court, are sober.

It is nonetheless the case that the court often entertains a set of disputants while one or more of the relevant parties is substantially intoxicated. For informal drinking is so usual that at least some of the members of the set of those who will participate in the conflict settlement are drunk. Furthermore, it appears to be the case that sometimes an individual who does not wish to be bound by the court's decision and the public certification of the conflict will use drunkenness as a strategy to delay the proceedings. Under such circumstances, the court will initiate the proceedings, but will drag them out over a period of several days so that individuals who were drunk initially will have the opportunity to sober up. In turn, individuals who are drinking for other purposes, for example, to delay the trial, will be separated out and their behavior sanctioned. Sometimes they will be sent off, and the decision made without the benefit of their presence.

To sum this up, we may say then, that the parties to the conflict and the court must remain sober. Court outcomes are

273* 695 dependent on a most careful and detailed examination of the conditions under which the conflict was originally generated as they are concerned in reaching a decision which fairly expresses the variable jeopardy that each party could reasonably be held accountable for vis-à-vis the other party. In the circumstances that any of the three parties to the conflict are drunk, the case will be postponed, or if it is not postponed it will be considered void, to be retried or else appealed to another court.

273* 695 684 593 There are a few kinds of circumstances in which drinking during the course of conflict settlement is seen to be appropriate though optional to the parties concerned. The type of case is best exemplified by circumstances where a daughter, say, is known by her family to have been promiscuous previous to the trial, and where they are being called by the daughter's husband or suitor to account for their daughter's behavior. In such circumstances the parents of the girl will appear at court. During the trial, each of them will publicly whip the girl. In such a case, where a male parent is certain of his daughter's misbehavior, he may drink aguardiente so as to reduce his feelings of shame at having the affairs of his daughter made public, and, as a result having to whip her. The mother does not drink [562] in these circumstances, the proscription on women drinking being so strong as to prevent her from indulging in this shame-reducing behavior.

273* 695 Drinking is characteristic in court settlement once the outcome has been decided. One or both parties to the dispute will present one to five liters of aguardiente to the ayuntamiento who with the parties will drink it up, the aguardiente being equally distributed among all persons present, the relative order of drinking being that described in Chapter II.

273* 695 571 While interpretations of the "meaning of drinking" in the terminal period of the settlement of a dispute are by and large speculative, we may observe that such drinking appears to signal that the role relationships specific to the dispute are now dissolved. That is, the court no longer judges, and the disputants are no longer in jeopardy with reference to each other. Rather it is the case that the relationships between those involved have been returned to their pre-conflict state. The enduring relationships between the individuals previous to the conflict again hold. It should also be observed that the gift to the ayuntamiento of aguardiente is a form of payment for having mediated the dispute.

273* 695 Drinking performances in conflict settlement can be easily identified as either ceremonial or informal. The ceremonial drinking expression following conflict settlement begins with the presentation of the aguardiente to the ayuntamiento by one of the parties to the dispute. The ceremonial drinking segment terminates when this aguardiente has been drunk up by those present. Addi-

273* 695 tional informal drinking segments may follow, but they will not necessarily take place on the cabildo porch, and the group may break up, so that drinking is simultaneously going on in two or three settings. All informal drinking rules hold from then on. The normal drinking performance following dispute settlement includes ceremonial drinking plus informal drinking segments which lead to drunkenness. The probability of this is expressed in text where an elder warns the wives of town officers that their husbands will sometimes return home drunk (see Chapter V for citation of text).

The escalation of conflict

273* 578 731 In the case where conflict is to be "settled" by increasing the jeopardy of the other party, aguardiente is supplied by the individuals who are interested in escalating the conflict. The aguardiente is supplied during the time when the conflict is 273* 578 731 "settled" rather than afterwards. Such a case is described in 539 text as follows:

> K'ALAL LIHK K'OP E YUN SKA CAMEL SARANFIA YUN BAYAL XCAM *ALALETIK.
>
> The fighting began because many children were dying of measles.
>
> HA* SLIHKIL K'OP *ABI HTIHK' WINIKETIK LA SNOP SK'OPIK, YUN LA *OCEM CAMEL TA TEHKLUM.
>
> The action began in the beginning because a group of men got together to talk about who had put the illness in town.

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273* HA * HIC LIHK SZOB SPISIL WINIKETIK TA TEHKLUM.
578
731 In this manner all the men in town began to get together.
539

HA* PRIMERA ZOBAWAN MAC'A TE SK'OKIK TA MUKAHEL E.

The first men to get together were those who had been to the funeral [of a boy who had died of measles].

HA* HIC LIHK K'OP *ABI LA YALIK TE YUN *AY MAC'A YOZES E CAMEL TA TEHKLUM.

In this way the action began, and they said that someone had put the illness in the town.

HA*LA YUN HIC BAYAL YA XCAM *ALALETIK.

And for this reason many children died.

HAYAN HIC LA SZOB SBA SPISIL WINIKETIK YUN CAMEL I.

Because of this, all the men got together, because of the illness.

TA SKA TRAWO LIHK YALIK HA* HIC LIHK SZOB SBAIK.

Because of the aguardiente they began to talk, and thus they began to get together.

LIHK YALIK YUN *AY SWINKLEL HAYUN HIC MUK'UB YUNIK HAL K'OP I.

They began to say that the illness had an owner and for this reason the excitement increased.

LIHK YUC'IK TRAWO YUN HIC *AY SPERSIK *A MAYUK XIWEL TA K'OP *A.

They began to drink aguardiente so that they would be strong, so that they would not be afraid to speak.

HAYUN NAL YA XKIXINTES SBAIK TA TRAWO YUN MILAWAN E.

For this reason, first they warm themselves with aguardiente in order to kill a man.

273* 578 731 539 YUN PLETO HA* HIC MAYUK XIWEL *A.

In order to fight without being afraid.

753 In conjunction with collateral evidence, this text provides support for the following points. One of the standing beliefs in Aguacatenango is that sickness of god /XCAMEL YU*UN TYOS/ is essentially curable. Measles is classified as such a [754] sickness. When the children die in a measles epidemic, some "witch" must be laying on further illness components which cause the death. One mode of reducing the witchcraft component in the illness is to kill the witch or witches.

754 755 The problem of determining who the witch(es) may be in such a case as this is very difficult. The well-defined and formally correct mode is to call together several of the curers, have them pulse the patient, hear their announcement that the sick person is suffering from witchcraft and insist that they name the witch or witches. The curers are likely to go as far as to indicate that a witchcraft component is involved in the illness, but they most often are unwilling to name an individual, as their name becomes associated with their testimony and the alleged witch and his kinsmen are likely to impose severe 754 penalties on the curer. The search for the witch, then, must go on, under the force of standing beliefs as follows: Individuals in the community may be assigned a witchcraft potential on the basis of a variety of evidence. In this case the text

754 mentions that the man (one Margarito Mendez) claimed to be a witch while he was drinking. Hence without knowing whether Margarito Mendez was the witch in this particular case, but knowing that he was thought to be a witch in general, the men attributed the deaths to him.

754 627 *273 To kill a witch is a dangerous undertaking. The community should be in agreement, and the mode of killing must be sure or the coalition of the witch will defend him and take counter action against the assassins. In this context, drinking places the individuals in that condition of lack of fear in which they can complete the affair without undue consideration of its effects on their further plans.

754 539 An example of the specific statement of the fear reflex in naming witches appears in Ausencio Espinoza's monologue, where one finds the assertions (made at the funeral of a youth who was presumed to have died of witchcraft):

HA* Z'IN ABI YA YAL SPISIL MAC'ATIK XK'OK TA MUKAHEL I,

And afterward, all those who went to the funeral said,

CIKAN *AY MA*C'A LAH HAK'HOL CAMEL I, PERO MA SPAS TA HALEL MAC'A LA YAK', TA REPENTA ME LA YA*BOTIK *EHK E.

"We know who caused the illness, but we can't say who did it, for he might quickly make us ill also."

HA*YU*N MA SPAS YALEL PORKE YAN K'OP XI'BINTIK SBA XCILIK HAL WINIKETIK I.

"For this reason, it isn't possible to say it, because it's bad talk, it's dangerous," said the men.

754
539 HA*YU*N MA HNA* MAC'A LAH HAK' NAL C'OHBIL CAMEL I.

For this reason, it isn't known who did the witchcraft.

273* One further reason for drinking in such a situation in-
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672 volves the belief of Aguacatenangueros that individuals who are drunk must be excused for an act they commit. Thus, the individual who is about to increase the probability that some other members of the community will come into conflict with him (i.e., the immediate family of the witch) becomes drunk, and is thus not responsible for his acts. Acts performed while drunk express less clearly the intent of the actor than similar acts performed while sober.

In the case of drinking performances associated with acts of violence, the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking contrast is not well defined. The persons who most desire that the sanctioning acts be performed supply the aguardiente. They continue to supply aguardiente until their ends have been achieved. The ceremonial drinking segment is determined temporally by the vagaries of events. It may be short or long. It is probably not followed by an informal drinking segment. In fact, it more probably is preceded by either an informal drinking segment or, for that matter, a ceremonial drinking segment. The necessities of the situation override the ceremonial aspects of the performances.

273*
122 Drinking performances are associated with risky forms of

273*
182 direct action. The men in Aguacatenango drink in the course of simplifying their search procedures for the witch. They drink to reduce the fear they have to perform highly aversive acts just as they drink to reduce the fear they have for the consequences of their acts. In drinking performances comes the truth to judge and the power to see the judgment rendered.

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CHAPTER IV

DRINKING PATTERNS ASSOCIATED WITH GETTING SICK AND DYING

75 Illness is probably the least well-controlled variable in Aguacatenango planning. As such, it is a recurrent event in the lives of Aguacatenangueros, and its implications are serious.

The household, the most complex and long-enduring organizational effort of Aguacatenangueros, may be destroyed by the death of one of its adult members. Extreme illness may cause a family to close up its house and leave town altogether. Any illness is potentially a severe strain on family resources.

273* 753 [764] Drinking is intimately associated with illness: it figures in the etiology of illness; it is central in the procedures used to reduce illness as a basis for inference and action; and finally, it is an important instrument of expression of mourning should the ill individual die. After a brief description of the [128] "theory of illness" in Aguacatenango, we will show how drinking is related to this theory and to its behavioral expression.

Restrictions on the characteristics of acceptable data in the study of illness

/2/ In attempting to study illness in Aguacatenango, procedural difficulties led me to the following observations.

(1) It is not possible to duplicate the sense experience of a member of another culture. Even knowing, now, some of the rules in terms of which inferences are made from sense experience, I believe it to be unlikely that we will be able to write ethnographic descriptions on the basis of similarity of sense experience (between ethnographer and informant). Hence, the hope of making ethnographic descriptions by "learning through internalization of the culture" seems to be explicitly excluded as a basis for making cultural descriptions.

The perception of events, objects, processes by even the most sophisticated ethnographer must inevitably suffer contamination from his own cultural experience. Even should it be the case that the ethnographer can properly learn the native culture in the sense that he can always make the proper deductions, the time consumed makes it impractical, the investigator hence being constrained to the learning of one, or at most two, cultures besides his own in the course of his professional life.

(2) Even if it were possible to duplicate the sense experience of the native, it would still be the case that much of native communication is based on non-shared sense experience.

12/ This is clear in the case of illness as it is reported by individuals in Aguacatenango. While I had no trouble in establishing an inventory of states of illness, as informants reported them, I could not establish a basis for measuring the informant's sense experience independent of his report.

There may be cultural dimensions where the investigator is able independently to establish stimulus values. The world of material objects, for example, permits detailed examination in terms of physical measures of light and shade, intensity, color, sound, shape, and so on. Native classifications of those objects which exist in a materially defined space may conceivably be so described. Much of the cultural material that must be included in descriptions, however, does not exist in an easily searchable perceptual space.[1] Furthermore, it is not certain

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[1]Frake observes (1961: 124) "The discovery of what cue discriminations informants are making when contrasting one disease with another is exceedingly difficult. Many apparently pertinent cues, such as the ones that enable a Subanun patient to distinguish 'headache' (messit gulu) from 'migraine' (tampiak) are known only by verbal descriptions. A disease 'entity' such as 'headache' is not something that can be pointed to, nor can exemplars of diseases ordinarily be brought together for visual comparison and contrast as can, say, two plants. Moreover, situational features other than stimulus attributes of the illness bear on the final diagnostic decision. The same degree of pain, if objectively measured, could probably lead to a diagnosis of either 'headache' or 'migraine' depending on current social or ecological role demands on the patient. Nevertheless, very few diagnostic decisions are made by the Subanun without some apparent appeal to stimulus properties of illness; and in the majority of diagnoses these are the overriding considerations."

121 that the attribute space relevant to material objects is going to be easily searchable.[1]

(3) Most theories that individuals have about causal relationships in the real world are documented by events which have already taken place. They are of the type: X is true because Y has happened; or, alternatively, since Y, then X. Garfinkel has called this the documentary method (Garfinkel n.d.). It is characteristic of the documentary method that there is hardly ever a set of past events which deny some set of infer-
121 753 ences the documentary method provides.[2] Thus, in Aguacatenango, an epidemic stops because the witch who was causing it has been killed; if, on the other hand, the epidemic does not stop with the killing of a witch, then another witch must be responsible. Again, a sick person gets well because a curing ceremony has been performed; if he does not get well after the ceremony, then his illness must be witchcraft and the witch more powerful than
121 the curer. The documentary method is never wrong. This may be

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[1]See Conklin (1955).

[2]This characteristic of the documentary method is explicated in an experiment by Garfinkel (op. cit.). Subjects were told that they should report by phone to counselors serious problems they were experiencing. Whenever the subject thought of a question to which the counselor could answer yes or no, he was instructed to ask the question. The counselor then answered each question yes or no. The subjects were required to interpret the counselor's response. In every case the subjects were able to "make sense" out of the counselor's response. The counselors' responses were drawn from a table of random numbers.

121 one reason most "primitive" belief systems require so much pressure before they can be brought under our documentary rules.

The beginnings of a theory of illness for Aguacatenango

In order to develop a theory of illness, one must have a way for directing the informant's attention to this domain or focus; or, alternatively, the ethnographer must be able to detect in the set of observables he has available to him, those which are, to some extent, conditioned by the salience of illness in one or another of its forms to the performers. In the present case we depend upon verbal contexts to establish relevance from the informant's point of view, and we use verbal contexts to test non-simulated performances in order to determine the salience of illness in the record of any situation we may be examining. One general measure of relevance is expressed in the Tzeltal question: /TUT LA SPAS/ "What happened to him" literally "What was he doing?" A further probe such as: /TUT+A CAMELIL YA YA*I*/ "What illness does he feel?" if it can be made relevant, is fairly likely to put the observer into the domain of illness as it is being experienced by some participant. If the illness is a non-simulated performance, further eliciting will produce further reports of states relevant in that domain. If the illness is a simulated performance, further well controlled eliciting will produce further relevant responses to

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753 the initial simulated performance. Such material, in conjunction with texts, constitutes the basis for the following survey of beliefs about illness.

753 The conditions which precede the onset of illness are many and varied. While some of them are known to be antecedent to illness in the sense that if an individual experiences one of these conditions the probability is increased that he will become ill, there are nonetheless many conditions which become diagnostic of the illness only after the individual defines himself and is defined as being ill. Types of experiences which lead the individual to anticipate illness include either becoming angry or being an object of anger; experiencing extreme fright, as when one has had dreams, or has seen the image of some malevolent non-human force (i.e., a ladino dressed in black riding a tall horse); and drinking aguardiente. These and similar experiences carry permanent associations with illness; the individual expects to become ill and often does so. Conditions which are used to explain illness only after-the-fact tend to be more properly theoretical in that they explain at once the necessary and sufficient conditions for some non-hypothetical occurrence of some disease process.

Among the after-the-fact explanations one finds statements such as, "the patient is suffering from soul loss, his soul presently residing in the Owner of the Cave's soul pool."

753 Or, "the man is suffering from malaria which he got in hot country the last time he went to the fincas." Or, "the man's spirit is being eaten by a witch, Mr. X, who is angry with him because he did not pay back the money he owed." Every after-the-fact description of antecedent conditions implies a cause and effect relation such that the cause can be manipulated so as the patient will recover from the illness. After-the-fact descriptions of the sources of disease processes are never final since they are always dependent on (a) the further development of the disease process in the patient and (b) the confirmation in the identification of the source of illness by a successful attempt to reduce the effect of the source. If manipulation of the hypothesized source reduces the illness, the diagnosis of source is concluded to be correct; if not, further source potentials are searched for.

There is relatively little explicit procedural apparatus for adding to the inventory of after-the-fact explanations, and there are relatively few devices for modifying the modes of identification of the cause of the disease process. If a change capability is built into this theory of illness in Aguacatenango, it is not easy to detect wherein it lies.[1]

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[1]The modes of change that we have observed in Aguacatenangueros' response to illness have involved shifts from known medical practitioners to others, where the theory remains relatively unexplicated and the results of the medical practitioner's

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753 Informants report experiencing a variety of sensed states as a disease process begins. Among these are depression (mental), cough, dry throat, diarrhea, fever, vomiting, stomach ache, loss

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75 177 178 progress are used to judge the probability of opting some particular medical practitioner for a cure rather than some other. Response to illness involves the principle of exhaustion of resources. In severe illness, the family of the patient may exhaust all known medical practitioners who are thought to have sufficient knowledge and skill and also may exhaust all means for motivating curers to come and perform the cure. With the diminution of resources and exhaustion of the most proper curers, the family of the patient explores curing sources whose potential for curing may be lower, but still appreciable. Successful curing under such circumstances raises the probability that this family will use some newly successful medical practitioner sooner in the next onset of illness, that is, he will be called upon before they have exhausted their resources. The introduction of INI medical practice into Aguacatenango has been in these terms, namely, that patients and their families have turned to INI medical personnel upon the exhaustion of their resources. INI procedures have maintained a ratio of successes over failures in these curing circumstances such that they have continued to be called upon, in some cases under less extreme conditions. The ratio of successes over failures has not been so great, however, that INI is seen to be a totally satisfactory replacement for the more well established practitioners. Furthermore, INI treats only a small proportion of the total range of "illnesses" that occur in the community. INI will increase the proportion of cases it treats as it modifies the Aguacatenangueros' perception of the success'failure ratio and as it increases the classes of illness that it deals with. It may be the case that INI has at present a maximal investment in time and resources in maintaining its present range and success proportion, so future severe changes may not be expected from them. There is, however, some generalization to other INI type of curers--namely, doctors in San Cristobal. The generalization here may increase the use of doctors over curers. There is the further possibility that curers are incorporating into their theories some of the simpler strategies used by doctors. This is done so crudely that it hardly involves change of beliefs at any detailed level, but rather involves a simple increase of the inventories of medicine by means of which the curer implements his theory.

753 of appetite, swelling, headache. At this stage in the disease process, no one, least of all the patient, knows what developments of successive units of time will be like. That is, the patient may have a headache and it will disappear (that is, no longer be reported) in some successive unit of time. On the other hand, the headache may be compounded with a stomach ache in some successive unit of time, resulting in a redefinition of the disease process. Generally speaking, sensed states which occur early in the disease process and which are not divisible into other sensed states are equivalent to symptoms, whereas sensed states which occur later in the disease process and which are a sum of other sensed states may be equivalent to illnesses. Illnesses are unit characterizations of the disease process which are sufficiently contrastive with each other so that alternative strategies for reducing the illness (as a basis of inference and action) are pursued, depending upon which (identified) illness is present in any particular case.

It is at present still unclear to what degree well-defined illnesses such as /SAK *OBAL/ "tuberculosis" are defined strictly in terms of combinations of symptoms appearing through the disease process rather than in combination with the manner in which the disease process responds to the sequential curing segments, and the ultimate explanations assigned to the disease process (e.g., witchcraft). It is probably that a more adequate

753 statement would be that the names of illnesses are reflexes of all these pressures.

757 Curing strategies more or less line up with this symptom-illness distinction. The early stages of a disease process are handled by medicine, the appropriate form of which and access to which, most adults in Aguacatenango control. For example: for stomach gas, give bicarbonate soda with lime (to drink); for a cough, give boiled brown sugar (to drink); for nausea and headache give té limon. As the combination of "symptoms" increases in the later stages of a disease process, most adults lose control over knowledge of the proper array of medicines and rituals. These in turn become combinatorially more complex. It is at these later stages of the disease process that curers and doctors are called in.

756 759 Curers and doctors differ most obviously in that doctors are ladinos and curers tend to be Indians (although ladino curers are known). In addition, they deal with illnesses in sufficiently contrastive ways so that two role identifying labels must be 75 maintained. They are both recognized to be able to reduce illness (as a basis for further inference and action) by prescribing medicines that can be purchased in the pharmacy. These may be taken orally, injected, or applied as a salve. The doctor further prescribes and may himself perform some minor surgery, X-ray examinations, and other traditional Western-European

75 strategies for diagnosing and reducing illness. The curer does not engage in surgery, nor does he prescribe any of the more complex testing procedures whose results he does not imagine himself to be able to interpret. Instead, he recommends additional substances be purchased from the pharmacy such as tallow, wines, herbs in aguardientes as well as substances which are sometimes found in domesticated state, and more often found wild in the general vicinity of Aguacatenango. These include some kinds of flowers, bark, leaves, roots, stems, flesh of animals and fishes, animal waste products, eggs and so on. These substances are variously taken orally, applied externally, or inhaled as steam. Unlike doctors, curers practice bleeding and cupping; they also administer some medications in the form of steam while the patient is seated on a platform over a fire. They incorporate adornment of the sick-bed into curing ritual. The ritual may also include prayer. Most important, perhaps, the curers undertake to examine the recent life history of the individual who is ill, in terms of the possibility that the individual has encountered some disease producing entity which can explain, in his particular case, the onset of the disease process. There is no illness for which the curer does not have an explanation together with a set of strategies for dealing with it. At present, at least one curer, when confronted with very serious cases, will refer his patient to a doctor, but this does

75 not yet appear to be a popular alternative. Generally, the doctor is the last of all medical practitioners referred to in exhausting the curing options in Aguacatenango, though individuals who have had a successful relationship with the doctor are more
756 likely to pursue that option sooner. The only other major class of medical practitioner is the talking saint. Talking saints are more or less representational images of saints who, in conjunction with their "owners" can actively consult with human beings about their trials and tribulations in the world. The most powerful of this class, San Miguel of Soyaló, is about an eight hour trip and a 200 peso fee from Aguacatenango. Talking saints share more features with the curers than they do with doctors. They, like the curers, are predestined by God to their role,
[755] but they more directly represent God's omniscience. The cure of the talking saint is more powerful as can be measured by the greater expenditure of funds for such a cure, or as can be measured by his greater ability to divine in the life history of the patient the principal sources of illness.

128 Admitting then, that illness has general characteristics as described above, we turn our attention to the multiple relations between illness and the drinking of aguardiente.

273* 753 **The role of drinking performances in the onset of illness**

Informants report that drinking may result in illness. One can distinguish, in the case of consequent illness two rather distinct constellations of features which lead to illness. The first involves the enchanting of the aguardiente by some bad-intentioned person, a substance being inserted in the aguardiente which causes severe illness or death to the person who drinks it. The second state involves interpretation of the supposed results of drunkenness, the universal result of the consumption of aguardiente in substantial amounts.

273* 753 539 An example of the first condition appears in a text fragment of Ausencio Espinoza, as follows:

NAL PRIMERA LIHKE YU*N LOK' TA PAXEAL HUN *AHK'BAL SOK SOTAK.

This began when he went out to party with his friends.

BAYAL XK'OKIL BA STOHIK SK'INIK SLOK'ESLAN SBILIK TA BOSINA.

There were several of them who paid for their music and they announced their names on the loud speaker.

PERO SUNUL *AHK'BAL PAXYAHIK.

They partied all night.

TA XCE'BAL K'AHAL LIHK YA'Y K'UX TA SBE YIK' MA*K SNA* STOHOL TUT *AY TE K'UX E.

The next day he began to feel a pain in his throat and he didn't understand what it was from.

BAHT TA *A*TEL.

He went to work.

273* TE TA YA*TEL E MA LA X HU* YA YA*Y I TONC LA YA YA*Y TE
753 MA*YUK SPERSE.
539

He went to work and he was not able to do it, for he felt very weak.

XCE*BAL K'AHAL HA* NAX HIC.

The next day he felt the same.

YOXEBAL K'AHAL HA* NAX HIC.

On the third day he felt the same.

TE*BEHTIK *UNINOT TONC HA* K'UX LI* TA SBE YIK' I.

Little by little the illness dominated him, what gave him pain was his throat.

MA SPAS XWE* SOYOK MA SPAS X KO HNUXUK SBAL XC'UHT TONC YAKB YU*UN TE ZK'UXUL SNUK' E.

He was not able to eat, and he began to grow thin for the pain in his throat.

HA* HIC LIHK XCAMEL ABI.

In this way his illness began.

TONC LIHK Z'IN PURA YA*AL TI*IL LIHK MALMUNEL HONA.

Afterwards he was spitting a lot of phlegm.

MA X MAHK LIHK *IPAHUK LEK.

It didn't stop, it got worse.

*OC TA POXTAYEL WEHT YAH*UL LA XPOXTA PURO MANBILIL POX LA YA*BE.

They began to cure him. The curer used only medicines that were purchased.

PERO MA* TOHOL CAMELUK HA* SAK *OBAL I.

But it was not a simple illness, it was tuberculosis.

273* X*OBEINAHE MA X LOK' HAL *OBAL I.
753
539 When he coughed the phlegm did not come up.

HA* HIC CAM HAL KEREM BONIPASY I.

In this manner Bonifacio died.

X K'OK TA POXTAYEL TA MUK'UL *AKIL PERO MA HNA* MAC'A TE POXTAWANEH MA* TOHUB YU*N YAHCAMEL E.

He went to Pinola to cure himself. I don't know who it was that tried to cure him, but he failed.

*A LA PERSA CAM K'ALAL CAM E, BAYAL X K'OK SMUKEL.

Inevitably, he died. Many went to his funeral.

HA* Z'IN ABI YA YAL SPISIL MAC'ATIK XK'OK TA MUKAHEL I, CIKAN *AY MA*C'A LAH HAK' HOL CAMEL I, PERO MA SPAS TA HALEL MAC'A LA YAK', TA REPENTA ME LA YA*BOTIK *EHK E.

And afterward, all those who went to the funeral said, "We know who caused the illness, but we can't say who did it, for he might quickly make us ill also."

273* So, Bonifacio is reported to have been carousing with
753 his friends for the course of an evening. The specific behaviors which are mentioned include: (a) making a party (in a bar) for one night. The specific features of the party-making include: (1) paying the barkeeper to play music over the loudspeaker system; and (2) announcing their names over this same loudspeaker system. While drinking is not mentioned in the text, it is none the less the case well confirmed by informants that it is unlikely that drinking did not go on in this setting.

The next day Bonifacio went to work. In a matter of weeks Bonifacio died of tuberculosis, an illness whose etiology

273* 753 carries a strong witchcraft component. The conclusion apparent in the text is that Bonifacio was subject to this witchcraft contamination the night of the party, a point which informants confirm.

The party context, then, is one which may make the individual particularly susceptible to witchcraft. One reason for this may be that the party-goer becomes drunk and is thus less well aware of potentially threatening performances around him. A second is that he is ingesting substances (like aguardiente) the precise character of which he does not know; they being brought to the party by his companions or bought at the bar. It is a standing belief that a witch can cause trago to accept poisonous material which will kill the man who drinks it. Thus Bonifacio was killed at the party, the method being unknown (but not unlikely by using aguardiente as a medium), the killer being unknown but probably a member of the party group.

273* 753 539 A further example from text picks up a few more of the features of the drinking situation which is likely to be associated with witchcraft.

M. HINC*A, CAWAH TA HOL.

Yeah, I'm crazy in my head.

C. HAL LA STIH TRAWO *EHK I.

The trago brought that on.

273* M. HA* MA* KA*YTIK BA* YA KUC'TIK TUT'IL *ULEMOTIK I.
753
539

We lose track of where we are drinking when we are good and drunk.

YU*N HO*N MA* KA*YIX K'OP *A, HA*WAN LA HTAIX *A HATE YU*N KUXEBAL E.

It's because I didn't obey; perhaps I got it during Holy Week.

*E LA KAK'HBA TA *ILEL TA *ORA, MANIX KAK' TA MUK' *EHK *ABI.

I tried to cure myself right away but it didn't do any good.

TONC YUN C'ABAL YA KA*Y TONC STUBI YUN LEK *AN YA KA*Y TU*L NIX *AYINON *A.

I hear a lot of silence, and nothing is well with me as I have always been.

LIHK KA*BE XAN Z'IN HAL YUN K'IN E, HUNYO E.

I began to drink again in the fiesta in June.

YUN TE LA SAPUYONIK XAN *A TE MAC'A NIX YA YIL BIHINON *A E.

He bewitched me again, the same guy who had bothered me before.

TE LA POHOL HIL HXANAB *A, TE POHOL HIL HPOKO *A, PERE MA*Y XC'ULEL HNUXUK.

I left my sandals lying there, my flashlight lying there, I just didn't remember a thing.

MA* BA C'IN HPAS HA*IC.

This has never happened to me before.

*OCON K'OL TA HNA Z'IN TONC BOLBOLTIKIX HBA Z'IN *A, TONC YANATIK TUTA KALIX *A TO *OCON K'OL E.

I arrived in my house afterwards half crazy. I saw things wildly strange when I got there.

273* 753 This informant relates the kind of association between his mental disturbance and the drinking of aguardiente. In this case, the disease did not stem directly from the aguardiente but from the experience he had while drinking the trago; namely that someone bewitched him. Having had the illness cured he began to drink again, which was a mistake since the witch knowing of his drunken condition, was able to cast the same spell on him again. Under this spell, his loss of consciousness was more penetrating than anything he had ever experienced as the result of drinking.

This informant reports that his ability to resist the witchcraft attack was greatly reduced while he was drinking. We speculate that such a loss of control involves the individual's loss of ability to control the alters with whom he associates, the locations he moves into, and the substances he drinks.

273* 753 539 A more specific example of the introduction of witchcraft substances into the aguardiente can be found in the text fragment of Josefa Lopez, the relevant parts of which appear in the citation below.

NAL PRIMERE LA* HTIKUN KAL TA RESAL.

It began when I sent him to Rosary.

LA KALBE BAN TA RESAL TATA, BAN *AK'A AC'IN LIMXNA ZUNA AC'IN KANTELA XKUT.

I told him, "Go to Rosary, my son, take a little candle as an offering."

273* KO XCI, BAHT Z'IN.
753
539 "All right," he said, then he went.

LAH RESAL Z'IN LA STA SBA SOK XC'IN HOTAK BAHTIK TA IL K'IN.

After the Rosary, he chanced on some of his friends and they went to watch the fiesta.

YUN SK'IN ME*TIK PASKO BA YILIK BA* *AN C'IN NINO TYOS TA SNA MIGUEL MENTES.

It was the fiesta of Christ's birth and they went to see the Christ-child at the house of Miguel Mendez.

BA YILIK HU* *AHK'OT *I TE LA *ABOTIK C'IN HPIS TRAWO *A XCOLET LA TAL TE HP'IS TRAWE.

They went to watch the dance, and there my son was given a shot of aguardiente along with all of the men as the drink pourer moved around the group.

*ABOT LA Z'IN *EHUK PERO MALA KOK YU*UN TA *UC'EL.

They gave him another but he was not able to drink it.

LI* LA MAHK HIL LI*TA SNUK I.

It got stuck here in his throat.

HUN LA TA C'INIK BAK *IXIM K'ATAL HIL TA SNUK I.

It seemed as though little grains of corn were stuck in his throat.

LAH LA YO*BENTA MALA XLOK.

He coughed but it did not go away.

HA* Z'INABI K'OT YALBON *ORA *ILI LA HTAIX CAMEL.

He came home and told me that he had just got sick.

MAHNA* TY*N BON TA RESAL I LA SMONONIK TA *IL K'IN HOL HOTAK I.

"I don't know why, I went to Rosary and my friends invited me to watch the fiesta."

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* PERO LA YA*BONIK KUC' HPIS TRAWO PERO MA* KO XCI HULEL TA HNA.
753
539 "But they gave me a shot of trago and it didn't go down," he said upon arriving home.

MATO *AK K'AHAL Z'IN *A TUHXA TA CAMEL *ABOT K'AHK'.

Not many days afterwards he fell sick with fever.

E HA Z'INABI K'AX HAL K'AHK' I, TONC MA* HAHC LIHK K'UXUBUK SNUHKLEL.

After the fever passed, he was unable to get up, his body began to ache.

LIHK YA*Y XTI*LAHAN SNUHKLEL X HUN LA TA STI*AW XANIC MALA XU* YAN LA HA YA*I.

He began to feel pain in his body as though ants were biting him and this was very depressing.

LIHK NIKOTUK TA SIK, MA*YUK SPERSA YA YA*I, TONC *IPA HONA.

He began to tremble with cold; he felt weak; he got very much worse.

BA HK'AN PAWOR SOK HME*HTATIK.

I went to ask assistance of the curers.

LA KAK'TA PIKEL XC'IC'EL LA YAL Z'IN LA YU*C' TRAWO TA BA* XK'OK TA *IL K'INE.

I let them pulse him, and afterward [the curer] said, "He drank aguardiente where he went to the fiesta."

*ABOT HPIS TRAWO YU*C' XC'IN MAHTAN, PERO *AY MA* C'A *ILOWAN LA SPAS *IL *OTAN O LA SPAS PUKUHIL.

"They gave him a shot of aguardiente as a gift, but there was someone who looked evil or who did the evil thing."

HA*HIC LA STA CAMEL C'IN KEREM I XCI.

"That is how the boy became sick," he said.

273* HA* C'OHBIL CAMEL I LOM TULAN *AY MAXU* TA HTUL YAH*UL YA
753 SK'AN CA*TUL YAH*UL HA* HIC SPAS TA POXTAYEL *A XCI HAL
539 H*UL I.

"This witchcraft is very strong, he won't get well with only one curer. He needs two curers to get well," he said.

*OC TA POXTAYEL Z'IN PERO MA*YUK HTAKIN *A.

The curer began to cure him, but I didn't have any money.

HAWAL NUHUL LO'ON TA MAHAN TA*K'IN YUN POX.

I hurried to borrow money in order to buy the medicine.

LAH TA POXTAYEL Z'IN, C'IN KALKALTIK TE*K HIL.

After the cure was over, he was a little better.

PERO HA* NAX CE* *OXE* K'AHAL I LIHK LA KUXUBUK A YA*Y LI*TA SBE YI*K I.

But only for two or three days, and then began to feel the pain in his throat.

MALA SPAS YA SBIK' YA*L STI*, MA SPAS XKO SWE*EL KUXLAHA YA*Y HONA.

He couldn't swallow his saliva, he couldn't swallow his food, it hurt so much.

MAHNATIK TU*LA XBAHT, ME XCOHP *O ME MA XCOHP.

We don't know whether he is going to get well or not.

*A YAK'WIL TA TYOS TU*LA X BAHT E.

We'll see what God says.

273* Many other informants relate having narrowly escaped
753 witchcraft by avoiding drinking from some particular bottle of trago. If the man who is drinking is very much alive to this possibility, he will be able to observe swirling hair-like ma-

273* 753 terial in the bottom of the bottle or glass. In a recent instance of this, a bottle with this alleged character was broken and the man who offered it to be drunk was beaten up.

I have not been able to determine any other substance orally ingested by means of which illness can be sent to the drinker. This may be associated with the fact that the membership of the drinking group in Aguacatenango is least well defined and hence the one where enemies are most likely to be encountered. Likewise it is the one in which aggressive performances are most likely to occur.[1]

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[1] This interpretation would have it that aguardiente becomes a physical medium by means of which the anger of the witch is transmitted to his target. Most aguardiente I have drunk has swirling hair in it; so foreign substance is not uncommon and thus available for potential interpretation. To restate the matter slightly, we may say: there is a language of aguardiente which depends upon the visual cues in examining the liquid. It is a one information bit language. The bit reads: If the aguardiente is clear when one is offered a drink, drink it and thank the drinker. If the aguardiente is "swirling-hairful," and one is offered a drink, break the glass or bottle and beat the offerer up. One general performance the drink pourer engages in on most occasions I have observed is as follows: He pours the drink into the shot glass, then examines the liquid to see if it is clean or not. If it is not clean, he will attempt to clean it by picking out the foreign substance (sticks, leaves, hair, dirt, etc.). This cleaing response may be conditioned in part by the one bit language mentioned above. (See drinking performance of ayuntamiento where this has been mentioned before.)

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* 753 **Circumstances under which the drinking of aguardiente can directly cause illness**

Not only does aguardiente in some contexts serve as medium by means of which witchcraft can be communicated, but also it has a certain disease producing potential of its own when it is taken in certain amounts within a certain time period. (The ceremonial drinking plus one or more adjacent informal drinking units.) We will now review a few of the disease processes which are interpreted as beginning immediately

273* 164 adjacent to drinking performances. The most common illness that results from drinking is a state that may be glossed as a "hangover" /GOMA, XCAMEL YU*UN TRAWO/. This is a minor illness which involves the symptoms of "headache, loss of appetite, dehydration, vomiting, diarrhea, trembling," the response to

273* 757 461 which is selected from the following alternative set. The condition of GOMA is nearly exclusive with the ability to engage in routine agricultural performances. This means that the day after a ceremonial drinking plus informal drinking segment, a man does not work. He has the choice, then, of staying around the house or leaving the house to perform some minor tasks such as gathering poles to support chayote vines, looking at his cattle, or any other task that takes him out of the household setting. This is an important distinction since if a man stays around the house he increases the probability that he will con-

273 757 tinue drinking by some considerable degree. The confusion of setting with cure for GOMA is further reduced if we consider the specific remedies which are employed. Aguardiente is a "hot" substance. This "heat" causes the illness, and the illness can be reduced by drinking remedies which are "cool" or "cold." Coca cola is such a remedy. A man may stay around the house and drink coca cola by way of reducing the GOMA. A second remedy for reducing a hangover is to drink as much as one-half a pint of aguardiente. This is the Tzeltal equivalent to the "hair of the dog" response. Drinking a small amount of aguardiente and staying around the house are the two conditions which make it most likely that the man will continue drinking that day. Drinking coca cola and staying around the house make it slightly less likely that a man will drink on that day. Finally, drinking either aguardiente or coca cola and leaving the house to perform some minor task makes it less and less probable that a man will go on drinking that day. These observations are relevant to an interpretation of the cure for a hangover since they clearly include alternative plans for furth action which either produce further hangovers or do not. In other words, if one wishes to cure a hangover and go on drinkin he drinks aguardiente and stays in his house where his previous day's drinking companions will be sure to find him. If, on the

273 *other hand, one wishes to stop drinking, he will drink coca cola
757 and leave the house.

Normally, a cure for a hangover, if it is not followed by more drinking, is successful in a one day time period. The length of a drinking performance can be computed as ceremonial
273 *drinking plus informal drinking plus one day. If some symptons
753 of the hangover continue on successive days, or if the hangover
757 has unusual symptoms, individuals are alerted to the fact that the drinking performance is about to cause more serious conse-
*273 quences. There follow some text fragments in which the more
753 serious consequences are displayed and discussed by informants.
757
539

M. HA* YA HK'AN HTAMTIK RASON TY*L LIHK HATE X.HAL *IK TA SBAKEL HTATA I.

I want to ask the reason why my uncle's backache began.

D. *AX TA YOXEBAL HA*WIL, ME TA XCANEBAL HA*WIL HONC HATE LA STA E.

It began about three or four years ago.

PERE HUN TA TE ...TA K'AXIX ... TA XK'AXEL KUXEBAL YU*N *IP LEK YAKUB HONAX.

It seems that . . . a while ago . . . it was just after Holy Week, because he drank so much.

TONC BAZ'IL LAH YAK' HONC HATE HUN *U MA* BEN E.

For one month he couldn't walk, he really had it.

HÚN LAH TA YU*N XIHIL TE* A YA*Y STUK TA YOK I.

It was as though there was a splinter in his foot.

273* YA YAK' HONC HU*N K'AS YU*N TONC YU'N HIC XKOTLAHAN YA X
753 LOK' E.
757
539 It hurt a lot. He had to crawl to go out.

YU*NEN TA TRAWO LA HTA XCI.

Perhaps I got it from the trago," he said.

YU*NEN POX YA SK'AN HONC YU*N AK' TAK'IN E XCI.

"Perhaps it needs medicine, if only there were some money," he said.

X TAL AWA*Y Z'IN E, LI* LA XBAHT TA SBAKEL I.

The next thing he knew, it was here in his back.

WOKOL STUK *IL TAT TONAX YU*N SZ'IKOHONC HEHK STUK TU*L TA *A*TEL I.

It's not a little that he suffers, especially as he is now a mayordomo.

M. MA*YUK YA YAK' SBAH TA POXTAYEL.

Isn't he being cured?

HA*YUN MA*K XCOHP.

That's why it's not getting better.

273* 753 In this particular case, the illness being referred to had already lasted three or four years, according to the text. The association of drinking with the onset of this illness was strong enough, then, to be remembered by the sick man's wife after a period of years.

273* 753 539 In the following text fragment, we see another example of this reasoning about the relationship between illness and drinking.

273* M. HA* YA HLE HCAMEL YU*N *EHK YAKBEL I.
753
539 I looked for my illness in a big drunk.

LA KA*BE LEK.

I drank a lot.

YAN SOK MA*K WAN XLIHK HIC MA*K KUC'.

It's bad, and it wouldn't begin if I didn't drink.

HA* HATE YU*N MA* HUNUK NAX K'AHAL YA KUC' *EHK E.

It's because I don't drink for only one day.

YA YAC' HUN SEMNA HA* YUN TONC TE....

I drink for a week, and that's the reason. . . .

MA*K XWE*ON SOK TAK HA* YUN ... TRAWO KUXULOH *A.

I don't eat with it, that's way . . . I live on trago.

HA* YU*N TE STIH HCAMEL Z'IN *A.

It's for this reason that the illness begins.

273* In this example, not only do we see evidence for asso-
753 ciating drinking with illness, but we also observe the particu-lar type of drinking which caused the illness, namely drinking which goes on for a week. An associated feature of the drinking that caused Mariano to become sick, and that in general is perceived to cause illness, is that drinking and eating are usually mutually exclusive.

In the following remarks of Cirilo Hernandez we see further evidence of the association of illness with drinking.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273*
953 HIC MO TAXL K'AHAL E, TEMA* LAHIX HMA TAT E.
539 A few days ago, my father barely escaped dying.

*E K'UX C'UHTUL.

It was stomach ache.

HA BA YIC' TA K'OLAL YUN LA YUC' TRAWI.

He got sick because he drank aguardiente.

HUN *U LA YUC'.

He drank for a month.

TONAX YUN HA* *AN *EHK SME*L *INAM I, TONAX HUN *U SMIL SBA YUN TRAWO LI*I.

His wife left him and he killed himself drinking for a whole month.

TEMA* LAH.

He nearly died.

E SLA YO*TAN WAN.

It was from bitter anger and shame.

*AHTAL *O*TAN H*OLIL I, TEY YIHIX *ILI, TEY TRAWO NAX TAK LOM NAHT' LA YA*BE TRAWI.

On the one hand, it was from sadness; besides, he's already an old man, and he drank for a very long time.

K'AHAL *AHK'BAL, TONC *AY TA STI* HAL TRAWI XAHC TA SAK K'INAL YUC' XAHC TA SAK K'INAL YUC'.

Night and day, all that went into his mouth was trago; he started drinking as soon as he got up.

LA STOH LEK HONAX, K'O YA*Y HONC KUX HONC Z'IN I.

He paid plenty for it, he felt the effects a lot, he suffered a lot afterward.

273 KALBAT MA XAWUC'IX *A K'A KA*Y AKOMEL, HA* SNAEL TUT KAPAS
753 *ILI, XCUT.
539 I told him, "Don't go on drinking so much, you feel so bad because of your drinking," I said.

Again, in a text fragment of Juan Mendez:

J. LA *IL HA YUN K'IN I, KUC' KA*AL.

And then I drank during the fiesta.

K'AXAN K'IN NAXTAK I, HAL KA*BE XAN HUN TA KA* XAN HUN TA CE* XAN K'AHAL KA*BE XAN K'A XAN K'IN NAXTAK I, YUN MAYUNUK TRAWO STIHBON TAL MA *IK' Z'IN I.

After the fiesta, it seems to me that I drank for two days more. Don't you suppose that this rheumatism began because of the trago?

M. YUN *AY LOM K'UN HNUHKLELTIK *A HAYUN *ORA X TASWAN K'AHK' I.

Sometimes our body gets very weak and then we are taken with fever.

HTE* NAX TE*K MA *AY BA* HMAH HBAHTIK TA *IK', K'IXNAHEM HNUHKLELTIK *A E.

If our body is just a little hot, rheumatism will hit us. [Note: Aguardiente is believed to "heat" the body.]

273* 539 Extended drinking can cause fantastically frightening experiences. Jose Mendez describes one as follows:

J. HATE LIHK HONC *A TAT *ILI, LA HKUC' HC'IN KA*AL YU*N SK'IN SANTO.

It all began because I drank aguardiente on All Souls' Day.

KUC' HC'IN KA*AL *AY KA*TEL TA SNARYOS *A YU*N SLAHIB *ATEL *ABI TAT.

I drank because I was mayordomo--my last cargo.

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273* 539 HA*NIX *ABI YU*N YOC SK'IN SANTO HA* Z'IN HO*N E *AME TONC, *AME TONC *A HO*A LEK K'AHAL LA KUC', SWAKEBAL K'AHAL Z'IN BEN SAB HONC Z'IN, MA* TEK WAN TA HNA E, TE WAN TA SNA HKUMPRE, STAT PEYRO HROK E.

After All Souls' Day, I drank for five days. On the sixth day, I got up early. I wasn't sleeping in my own house but in the house of my compadre, the father of Pedro Rogaciano.

LA YA*BON XA N HUN KWARTA Z'IN, *E TOH X*OC BON Z'IN *OCON K'OL TA HNA Z'IN SAK' INAL I.

He gave me another quarter of a liter, and it went down well. Then I went home, as it was getting light, to my own house.

J. HUL YA*BON Z'IN XC'IN KAHPE Z'IN I, NA*TAK ABI TAT TUT'A TE MOH TA HOL E, TONC LA LA KA* XMU HC'IN Z'IN KAHPEN I, KA* XMU HC'IN HIL Z'IN.

When I arrived my wife offered me some coffee. I don't know what got into me, but I threw the coffee at her, I threw it in her face.

HA* NAX LOK'ON Z'IN ABI BOON--HA* NAX LA MA* TU KA*YEHIX LOK'EL.

Then I just left without taking anything.

HIC C'IN MUK'UL K'AHAL Z'IN TO ME HNA * BA TONC C 'AN K'OL TA *UK'UMALTIK Z'IN LI* K'AL TA SBELAL YANC'EN TAKIN *UK'UM Z'IN E.

Late that day, I don't know where I lost myself by the river on the trail to San Bartolo, near the Rio Seco.

E MAK HNA TY *ORA K'AHAL Z'IN *OCON K'OL TAT, ME TUP'IX K'AHAL *ABI ME TU *ORA K'AHAL Z'IN *A.

I don't know what time it was, whether or not the sun had gone down.

TONC MAY HPIXOL MAY XANAB HIC LOK'ON, K"AL TO TAT, TONC LIHKON TAT, TONC MAY PIXOL E, MAY XANAB E, HIX PE TO LO'L KOK HK'AB TO.

273* 539 I didn't have my hat or my sandals. I went out without my hat or my sandals, with my arms folded.

HA* NAX LA XI* LO*L HONC HATE YU*N KAK' TEK X'IN KAHPEH E, BON Z'IN, *E PERE *E TONC TE TONC TE KUX LO*L KO*TAN Z'IN *A.

As I recovered my memory, I was afraid, for I threw coffee in my wife's face.

HA* TE LIHK Z'IN ABI, TONC HUN TA YU*N HOWIYEL MA HNA* TUT'A TE LA HPAS LOK'EL E.

That's the way it began, it was like madness, that's why I don't know what I set out to do.

M. *A HOWIYEL.

It's madness.

J. *E YU*NIX BAHTALUK *A TAT, *E TONC TA TRAWO LOK'ON TIK E.

It might be, sir. It's because of the trago that I went out.

273* 158 Up to the point in the fragment where José returned to his home that sixth morning, everything was going normally. He'd drunk some aguardiente to kill the hangover, which is customary, and it sounds as though he planned to stop drinking. The craziness expressed itself in his throwing coffee in his wife's face. (He may have done this in response to his wife's complaining about his drinking so long.) He furthermore left the town with no purpose and lost himself several hours' walk from town. Finally, he left his house without the proper traveling equipment--hat and sandals.

This is an experience which, by Aguacatenango standards,

273* 158 is frightening. The normal range of responses to heavy drinking includes a variety of unpleasant symptoms. It is not unusual for men to "black out" for periods of time during the later stages of the drinking performance. But loss of memory and the physical disabling features take place in paths and places within the limits of the settlement. It is an unusually strong disorganizing force that will drive a man outside of the settlement into fields and mountains, into settings in which the level of threats to persons are greater than the in-town settings.

Following this condition of loss of memory, José became physically ill, the illness lasting for more than a year. The first craziness and then the succeeding illness are traced back to the drinking context. While no mention is made of witchcraft in this text, and I could not elicit this information, this type of illness response to drinking is reaching a pitch where informants would be likely to suggest a witchcraft component in the etiology.

273* 539 The following text fragment is a little longer, but as it illustrates multiple points, it seems worthwhile to include:

M. HA* YA HK'ANTIK PAWOR MA SPAS XAWALBOTIK C'IN CA* PALUK TUT'IL TAOT TA CAMEL HKUMPRE KUX TA YAKBEL E.

Could you tell us how my compadre got sick when he got over the big drunk?

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*E TUT'IL KUMPRE, *E TONAX, TONAX LIHK TAL TA SYAKBEL WA*.

Well, compadre, it began with the drunk, ay, dios.

*ILE--HATE HUN TA K'AHALIL E, LOK' K'ABEL, LA TONC WOKOL *AY *AH*UNEL HONC ABI.

We went out one day complaining of a terrible hangover.

YAK *AH*UNEL, YAK *AH*UNEL, *E K'UXIX YU*N HA* MA*K STAIX *AWO*TAN HAL TRAWI, AKUT.

"Yes, your're complaining, it's because your heart can't stand the aguardiente any longer," I told him.

*ILA *E HIC PE, YU*N YA TO SK'AN HONA XCI, *A XCUT, LA LOK' XAN K'AEL, BALOTA *UTEL YU*N TATA* I.

"Maybe," he said, "but it still wants more." "All right," I said. Then he went out again. His father scolded him.

LOK' XAN K'AL Z'IN, LA *ILI STAH TAL HIC *ORA Z'IN KUMPRE--KILTIK E NUN TA *AY NUN TA HEHC E.

He went out again, then he came about this time of day, compadre--we saw him over there, over on the other side of town.

HA* Z'IN TATA* XTU*L *AY TA KABILTA Z'IN I, LAME *AXTAK STAT CIK I XCI, MA*YUK XKUT, HAL LI* BAHTIX TA HEHCTIK I XCI, *A *E YU*NEN MA*K XTALIX *ABI XKUT.

When his father came home from the cabildo, he said, "Was Francisca's father come?" I said, "No." He said, "Perhaps he's not coming, then."

YU*NIX MA XTALIX *A TE--TE TA BAHT *A E XCUT, *AA XCI, LA *IL *AK'A ME C'AY *EHK HA*T ABI YA ME XBOTIK TA TUC'CENEK XCI.

"He's probably not coming if he's gone over there," he said. "Yes," I said. "Then hurry up, we'll go and harvest beans," he said.

273* 539 LA HA* YA KILTIK Z'IN KOEL TALIX Z'IN *A I.

Next we saw him coming down the hill.

KOEL TALIX *A SOY TAL *IL MA TATIK *AWSTIN RAMIRES.

He was coming down with old mister Augustin Ramirez [who lives up there].

LA *IL, LA *OC KIC' HC'IN COLTIK KUMPRE, HA* Z'IN C'IN *AC'IX NAXTAK YU*N HKUMPRE, BAN *ILA HTATA* I, TUM PE YU*N BOLUBEN XCI.

When we went in to begin our work, compadre, my comadre's little girl came up and said, "Come and see my uncle, he's gone crazy."

TU*N TU LA SPAS XKUT, HUHU TONC YAK WOLWUNEL TA SORAL XK'OK--XK'OKIX TA *AK'EL HILEL *ILI LOK' I, X K'AL NAXTAK XCI, *AA XKUT, XK'O KAK' HIL Z'IN HSAKO KUMPRE, TAL--LOK'ON TAL Z'IN TAL KIL.

"Why?" I said, "what happened?" "I don't know," she said, "but he is running around in the street." "All right," I said. I went to leave my bean sack and went to see.

*E LOK'IX K'AL NAXTAK *A LI* WUZUL HIL Z'IN TE YAK'EL E.

Well, he had gone out again, and the man who brought him home was sitting here.

LA TUN TU LA APAS KUMPRE TU*N TUT'IL *ILE ME MAXAKUX TE*K *AWO*TAN X*UTOT, HU*U YU*N XBONIX TA HNA, YU*N XBONIX TA HNA XCI.

They said to him, "What's the matter, compadre, why don't you sober up?" "No, I'm going to my house," he said, "I'm going to my house now."

TU*N XK'OKATIX TA HNATIK I, TUT'A TONC MOEM TA AHOL HONC I, BAN TA*LANIX X*UTOT, HICUK ABI XCI, LA * ILI MA SK'AN HONC *EHK HATE YU*N YA KIK'TIK TAL NAXTAK E.

"You've already left our house," they told him, "why are you all mixed up in your head? Go and lie down." "All right," he said, but then he didn't want us to bring him back again.

273* 539 TONC YA X*AN LO*EL.

He just went rushing out.

LA *OC HZ'USTIK Z'IN NA I, HA* Z'IN HKUMRE SME* CIK I, *OC SPAS HSEHT XAN Z'IN LIMON SOK SAKAL *ASKAL I, YA*BE Z'IN.

Then we got him inside the house and closed the door, and my comadre, Francisca's mother, came to make some more lemon and sugar and gave it to him right away.

SNITBE Z'IN LI* TA SOL I, TIK'IL YA*BE TAL, LA YUC' TAL Z'IN, *E *IK'A LA K'AEL, HA* Z'IN TATA* I, KUNIK TUT*A HIC KAPAS AMETO X*UTOT, KOH XCI, TAL Z'IN XC'UNBE TAL Z'IN TATA* I.

Then she rubbed it in here on his head, she gave it all to him. He came drunk, they say he was carried. Then his father came and said, "Come on, why are you behaving like this?" "All right," he said. Then he obeyed his father and came.

HAYUN TE TAL TA*LUK Z'IN, *E TONC--TONC XWOLETA XLOK' TONC LI* YA XBAHT LI* TA YUT K'ALTIK I, X*OC TAL *ABI XTAL, XWOLET YA XLOK' YA LA XBAHT XAN.

He came in and lay down, and then--then he rushed out there in the back yard, then came in, then rushed out, going away again.

YA LA X*AN LO*EL, TAL Z'IN HKUMPRE STAT CIK I, TAL Z'IN HAL *IL HKUMPRE STAT HWAN LI* I, TAL SKANANTAIK Z'IN.

He rushed out again. Then my compadre, Francisca's father, came, and then my compadre, Juan's father, here. They came to take care of him.

MA*K XLOK'AT, X*UTOT, *E MA*K YUC'IX Z'IN *A TRAWI SOK TOXANIX METI YU*N MOEM TA SOL *A.

"Don't leave," they told him. "He hasn't been drinking just now, he's just crazy in the head."

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273* 539 MA* ME YU*N LAH TO KAWUC' HAL TRAWI YA X*UTOT, MA* KUC'IX *A TO XANIX XPAXYAHON *A XCI.

"I don't know if you were still drinking trago," they said to him. "I wasn't drinking, I was just walking around," he said.

YA KA*Y HONC HATE LI* YA XLIHK TA KO*TAN I XCI.

"I feel something that begins here around my heart," he said.

TONC XLILUN HON KO*TAN I, *E TA*LAN ABI X*UTOT, ME K'AN TA*LUK KUMPRE TONC YA X*ANLO*EL, OC HZ'AHBETIK HA TE SOL E.

"My heart is beating irregularly," he said. "Lie down," they told him. Do you think he wanted to lie down, compadre? He rushed out again. We went and threw water on his head.

TONAX MA SK'AN HATE YU*N HZ'AHBETIK SOL E, H* Z'IN TATA* Z'IN I, BA SK'OPON TAL Z'IN HKUMPRE STAT KANTLARYA NUN TA *AHK'OL E.

He didn't like it that we threw water on his head. Then his father went to speak to my compadre, Candelaria's father, who lives up above.

XK'O SK'OPON TAL Z'IN ABI, TAL, TU*N TYLA PAS KUMPRE X*UTOT, MA*YUK *E YA TONC MA HNA* TY*TAY TONC HA* YAN HONC HOL I XCI, SOK KO*TAN XCI.

He came and said, "What happened to you, compadre?" "Nothing, I don't know, but my head is very bad," he said, "and so is my heart," he said.

TU*N TULAPA XUT--TU*N TEME YU*N *AY HAL *IL LIMON I, ME *AY HAL *IL SAKAL *ASKAL I, *AK'A TAL SEHTUK NALUK XCI, KO X*OC HPASTIK Z'IN.

"What happened to you?" he said. "If there is a little lemon and some sugar, give him some, then we will fix him up," he said.

LAH YUC' ABI KUMPRE, *ABA ME *AY AWU*N BAK' MELON, ME *AY AWU*N *ILI SAKAL *IXIM E, ZAHAL *IXIM E SPAS HIL *EHK KUMPRE, *OC YAK' HUC'TIK Z'IN.

273 539 He drank it, compadre. "If you have a melon seed, if you have some white corn and some red corn, give them to me," he said. "We have them," they said. "With these, I will fix up my compadre," he said, and he gave us these things to grind.

*OC SBALI Z'IN.

Then he went in to sweep him [or fan him].

*E TUT LA K'AN *UHTUK KUMPRE TONC YILEL.

Well, compadre, how could that cure him? He was just the same.

*OC HZ'USTIK Z'IN NA *ILI, TONC MA* KA*TIK LOK'UK Z'IN.

After that we shut the house and wouldn't let him out.

TAL Z'IN HKUMPRE STAT CIK I, *E TAL SKANTAIK Z'IN, *E BAK'IN *IL TY KAPASIK *ILI BAN--TU MAK XBA K'OPONBON TAL HPAYRINO NUN TA HEHC E XCI.

Then my compadre, the father of Francisca, came to take care of him and saw what he was doing and he said, "Why don't you go and speak with my padrino over on the other side?"

*ABA TAK ABI, ME YUN KAK'AN XCI, YAK YA XLAHONIX, PE YU*N HA* YA SIHT' HONC YO*TAN KUMPRE.

"Go and get him, do you want to?" he said. "Yes, I'm dying," he said. His heart was swelling, compadre.

*ILI BAHT Z'IN *EHK TATA* I, BA SK'AN TAL PAWOR Z'IN HTAZNARYOS NUN TA HEHC E.

So his father went then to ask the favor of my padrino over on the other side.

TAL Z'IN *EHK ABI, *ILI, TEME HIC ABI YATO XBA KIC' TAL C'IN HLOHTUK C'IN KIXIM HIL TA K'ALTIK KU*UN, K'AHBILIX HILEL BAN--YA XTAL KIL PERE BAN PASBONIX *A HAL *ILI NI* KAXAN LEA BA* XAWIC' TA *ORA, HUC'A HUNUK POKET XCILA.

My padrino came, and he said, "I'm going to get a little of my corn that I left in the field, it's already cut. I'll come and see, but go meanwhile and get me some cattail tips and grind them into a ball."

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273* 539 ... TAL Z'IN *EHK HAL *IL HTAZNARYOS ABI, LA *OC TA MAKLEYEL Z'IN.

My padrino came then and went in to pulse him.

*E YU*N HA* MA*K STA HAL TRAWI, TONC, TONC HA* K'EHEL *AY HATE XC'ULEL E, TONC HA* XMOIX LO*L TA SOL YU*N YIK' TRAWI XCI.

"The aguardiente does not sit well with him," he said. "His spirit has left him, and he is crazy in the head. His spirit has left him because of the odor of the aguardiente," he said.

HA* XMOIX LO*L TA SOL ABI, HAYUN TONC HA* K'EHEL *AY HATE XC'ULEL E, TEME YU*N--YU*N YAK YA*BE XAN HUNUK K'AHAL, CE*UK K'AHAL E, YU*N MA* YKIX WOKOL XMILOT *A XCI.

"It has gone to his head, so his spirit has left him. If this goes on another day or two, it could easily kill him."

YAK'WIL TU*L YA XBAHT E, *E KANANTAIK M XCI, HICUK ABI XCI--*E TONAX MA XTEHK *A HONC KUMPRE TONC XWOLETA XAHC.

"Well, we'll see how he does. Take good care of him," he said. "All right," I said. But he didn't stop, compadre, he just jumped up.

HATE YU*N XWOLETA XAHC E, Z'IN NAX YA STEN KOEL, TA*LAN TUM PE *IBA *AYON X*UTOT Z'IN.

And when he jumped up, they held him down. "Lie down, I'm here," they told him.

*A YU*N XBON TA HNA, XBON TA HNA, TUM PE TA ANAIX *AYAT BA* TO XBAT *ILI X*UT--

"I'm going home, I'm going home," he said. "But you are in your house, where are you going now?" they said.

*E YU*N *AY MAC'A XTAL *A, Z'AM MA MAC'A *AY HTUKELTIK NAX TA*LAN TONC KAWAK'ALANON TA WOKOL *O*L HBA *EHUK X*T--LA X*OC TA*LUK, TY WOKOL HONC XNEL *AHK'BAL Z'N KUMPRE.

273* 539 "Someone is coming," he said. "No, there's nobody coming, we're here by ourselves. Lie down, you're making me suffer, I feel weak also," they said to him. Then he lay down, but what suffering we went through that night, compadre.

YU*N TE YAL TE*K Z'IN YO*TAN I, *E *OC KA*BETIK XAN YA*L SAKAL *ASKAL SOK LIMON I, *A YUC' XAN TE*K TEME YOU*N *AY TO SK'AHAL TRAWI XCI, HICUK XCUT, LA LEK HA* YA YUC' XAN Z'IN *A KUMPRE XCE*BAL K'AHAL Z'IN YOXEBAL K'AHAL Z'IN, TAL XAN Z'IN *EHK HAL HOSE *ERNANTES NUN E.

As the swelling of his heart went down, we went in to give him more sugar water with lemon. "He should drink more of this, for the heat of the trago is still there," he said. "All right," I said. He drank this then, compadre. Two or three days later, Jose Hernandez came here.

HA* *IL TU*UN XBAH SAK' TAL SZEK *ALAL I, YA--KAN TA HIL *A TAT I XKUT *EHK HC'IN *AC'IX I, *E HICUK ABI XCI.

"That one--why?--I'm going to wash the baby's diapers, you stay here and take care of your father," I said to the little girl. "All right," she said.

LEK WUZUL K'AL TA TI*NAIL *A, *AY XCUHKIL SOL, TONC *O*L SBA HONAX.

At the moment he was sitting in front of the house with a handkerchief around his head, he was very sad.

HA* Z'IN *EHK HOSE BI PERSA LA K'AX YIK'.

Then that Jose came by and insisted on taking him along.

HATE TAL HULUKON TAL E, HA* AKIL HA* NITBILIX TAL YU*N *A HKUMRE SME* CIK I, YA LA XLOK'IX NAXTAK *A.

When I got back, I saw my comadre, Francisca's mother, pulling him to keep him from leaving again.

HA* Z'IN HOSE I, TU*N MA XAWIK'BON LO*L TAT MA* XIK'BON MA* KAWIL HWOKOTIK TE MA K'AN LA HUKIX *A METO TY WOKOL KUX AMETO LA *IK'EL XAN LO*EL, TE YU*NUK YAK XBON E, WOKOL *AY HA ZAM E.

273* 539 And then to Jose, "Don't take him away, sir, don't take him. Don't you see how we have suffered? He was going to die. He got better with great difficulty, after many efforts. He's not well."

HE* *AYIL ABI TUME C'IN TO *EHUK YU*N TONC MA XC'UN TUT'A KALBETIK I, KAWAY HATE XMALAWANIX HAL TRAWI LA XLOK'AT XAN, HAMAL YU*N MA*K AWA*Y TUT'A HALBOTAT HIL E, HA* KAK'AN XCAMATA TRAW, PERE YU*N MA XU* HONA XCI.

Ay, dios, why should I worry? He's not a little boy. He just doesn't do what we tell him. "You know that the trago is killing you, but you go out again as if you didn't know what they told you. You just want to die of trago." "But I can't stand it, I feel so bad," he said.

273* 757 In order to avoid consequences of drinking as severe as those detailed above, some men procure medicine designed to reduce the probability of their drinking when the occasion arises. We have already cited a text fragment in which such a "cure" is discussed. There, some doubt was expressed as to the medicine's effectiveness, but Candelario, who had just taken it, was not willing to risk dying by drinking while it was in effect. In another text fragment, more evidence in favor of the "cure" is offered as follows:

273* 539 I. HA* PERSA XPOXIL I PE MA HNA* ME *AY WAN XPOXIL TAT *E MA*YUK *E PE XCIIK HONAX.

Some medicine is necessary, but I don't know if there is one, sir. Many people say there isn't.

M. *AY NIX *A YUN TOL STOHOL.

There is, but it's expensive.

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273* 539 I. TOYOL *E HA* NAX A HNALI HKUMPRE STAT PEYRO LI* TA SPAT HNA HUN HU O HUN TA TRENTA KWARENTA TU*L A STOHO XPOX E.

Expensive, yes. My compadre, Pedro's father, here behind my house--I don't know, it seems that he paid thirty or forty [pesos] for the medicine.

TE*MA* CAM SOK.

He almost died of it.

V. MA HNA* BA* LA YIC' TAL WA*.

I don't know where he got it, ay, dios.

I. YU*C'O LEK HONC *A YUC' Z'IN XPOX E.

He was really drunk when he took the medicine.

TYO CAMEN NEL *AHK'BAL

After that, he was stunned the whole day.

V. SAMEL TAL XENEL YA*TIK.

He was vomiting at the same time.

I. *OC *ORASYON LA LIHK XENEL E, LA SYETE LA *OCO LA MANYANA MA*K X LAMA.

About the time of the oración [evening] he began to vomit; at seven or eight in the morning he hadn't settled down yet.

E HAHCON CE BELTA X K'O KIL ... HKUY TA TONC A XEEN X LAH, *E HUHU KUMRE YUN YU*C'OH SMA POX YA TO X LAMA XCIO.

I got up twice and went over to see him . . . I thought he was just vomiting and would die, but he said, "I don't know, comadre, it's just that I took the medicine, it's going to go away soon."

PERE--*E PERE MA* BA YUC'.

But he hasn't drunk since.

273* 539 M. *A MA* BA YUC', HA* XANIX TEME YUN A SMAK TE*K E.

Ah, he hasn't drunk since. It's good if it stops him for a while.

I. *E HAYUN HIC A KAL, TEME SPAS TE*K POX TU*L A YUC' TATIK SEKRETARYI.

That's what I mean, if it works like the remedy the Secretary took.

*IPAL HA*WIL TE*K MA*K YUC' HAL A YUC'BE XPOXIL *ILE.

He hasn't drunk for many years, he took medicine.

M. HIC STUK *ILE HUH*U.

You're right about him.

HA* TONIX PERSA STUK C'IN POX LEHTIK (YUC'E)

Those of us who drink are very much interested in such a medicine.

273* 757 The general characteristics of the medicine for reducing the strength and number of one's drinking performances, as perceived by Aguacatenangueros, are the physical effects if one continues to drink after taking it. Illness and even death may be expected, as has been suggested in the texts cited. The medicine thus overrides all social and psychological "reasons" for drinking. One can tell whether or not the medicine is effective by attempting to continue to drink. If one wishes to drink and feels no unusually bad effects therefrom, it is clear that the medicine is not working.

273* 753 Aguardiente is illness-producing either directly because of its substance, or symbolically because it is one of the media

273 753 by means of which a witch causes his victim to ingest poisonous substances. In turn, the drinking of aguardiente is interpreted as a disease process to the extent that individuals take "medicine" to reduce the number of occasions upon which they drink. The text citations which have been inserted above are suggestive of these points. By way of summing up this section, I would like to offer a less easily verifiable interpretation which provides still further context in terms of which the reader can think about the drinking performances in Aguacatenango.

273 183 [562] The first simple set of observations is as follows: Men drink and women don't. Some men drink more than others but all men must drink some. Some men would prefer to drink less than they do. Drinking settings for some men, especially under the informal drinking rules, are settings in which some considerable hostility is expressed. Suppose we take the case of the man who wishes to drink less. He can achieve this end in the short run by either drinking more or not drinking at all. He knows that he will not be able to completely terminate his drinking performances (the ceremonial drinking performances) until he is an old man. Ceremonial drinking performances are required of all men. He can, however, reduce the number of informal drinking performances. If a man wants to reduce the number of informal drinking performances, then, he can do so by increasing the average length of any particular informal drinking performance.

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273* 183 [753] Increasing the length of an informal drinking performance increases the probability that the individual will become ill (as well as exhaust all his resources, anger the members of his household, and so on). Upon the next occasion when some individual invites him to start an informal drinking performance, he can respond by saying, "I am afraid to start an informal drinking performance with you since my style of informal drinking performance results for me in severe illness, alienates my family, causes economic catastrophe to my household." The person inviting must allow that this is true, in view of the fact that he observed ego engaging in such extended performances within the past year, say. On the other hand, an individual can stop engaging in informal drinking performances by reporting that he has taken medicine for drinking, which medicine will cause his death if he drinks. It is not unusual for a man to take medicine and then become very sick by way of telling the community that it was real medicine with strong disease producing effects. If a man goes on drinking in the informal drinking after he has taken the medicine, it is proof that the medicine did not have the desired effect. The common feature of either response to the desire to reduce amount of drinking: increasing the length of the informal drinking performances or taking medicine puts the individual in that context which allows him to say,

273* "If I drink I will die." We believe that it is only by citing
183 such severe effects as this that an individual can, over the long run, control his response to the invitation to drink.[1]

Some men prefer to drink more in the informal drinking performances than do most men. These men can increase number and length of informal drinking performances by seeking out the existing informal drinking groups on any particular day. The rule is that anyone may join any informal drinking group at the beginning of an informal drinking performance if, and only if, he can contribute a proportional amount of the aguardiente which is being drunk. It is the case that as an informal drinking group approaches deep drunkenness, it becomes easier for any man to join the informal drinking group without paying his proportional share of the drinking expenses.

273* It appears to be the case, then, that individuals must
753 get sick in order to reduce their number of informal drinking performances. Individuals also may get sick as the result of drinking under any circumstances. Long informal drinking performances allow individuals to behave as though they were ex-

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[1]In the short run, a man can avoid any particular, highly probable informal drinking performance by leaving the field, as was suggested above. That is, by knowing which days informal drinking performances are more likely to occur on than other days (the ten day time zone around some major fiesta, or Sundays, for example), he can arrange to be "away on business."

273* 753 periencing strong aversive physical effects. It is likely that individuals who wish to reduce the number of informal drinking performances manipulate the informal drinking segment length, because of standing beliefs about the relationship between drinking and illness. The only way a man can get out of his social obligations is to place himself in the special condition of being particularly prone to illness. Procedures for inducing illness are then likely to become strategies in controlling participation in informal drinking performances.

Aguardiente and curing

273* 755 There is considerable variation in the use of aguardiente in the curing ceremonies in Aguacatenango. Two classes of use may be distinguished. The first of these may be called medicinal use. The second class involves drinking by the participants of the curing ceremony other than the patient himself. These two classes of use may be relatively easily distinguished as follows: aguardiente as it is administered to the patient is generally mixed with other substances, although occasionally the curer will give the patient a straight draught of aguardiente. The participants (male, married drink deeply; all others drink an intermittent, non-intoxicating amount) on the other hand drink in the ceremonial drinking pattern. In violation of the cere-

273* 755 monial drinking pattern, the curer, no matter what his age relative to the age of others present, is served first.[1]

273* 539 Drinking by participants in the curing ceremony appears in several text fragments as follows:

MAC'ATIK X*ULAH NAL YA HUC' TRAWO X*OC SPAS POX YU*N HIC *AY SPERSA *A.

Those who cure drink trago first before they go in to cure in order to increase their strength.

SPISIL YO*TAN X*OC TA POSTAWANEH.

So that they will be confident when they go in to cure.

HA* LA YAK' BALOR HAL TRAWI.

It's the aguardiente that gives strength.

PERO *AY H*OLIL MA*K YUC'IK TRAWO HIC NAX YA SPAS POSTO, HA* HIC YA SPASIK POX H*ULELTIK *ABI.

But there are some who don't drink trago before they cure, that's the way they are.

Also:

M. TU*L LIHK YU*C'K.

How did they begin to drink?

C. *E HA* XK'O YILIK HAL XC'IN YAHTAL YO*TAN HKUMRE SME* HOSEPA NUN E.

They went to attend the delivery of my comadre, Josefa's mother, over there.

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[1] From this relative positioning of drinking we conclude [756] [554] that the role of curer in the curing situation has more status than the role of old man. In most situations, as has been previously noted, the oldest man present is generally served first.

273* 539 HA* XK'O--TE NEL *AHK'BALTIK KU*NTIK *A HAL *AHK'ABEI

They went over there--we spent the night there last night.

HNUX MA*LAH KIMPRE.

She almost died, compadre.

CAMEN HULEL, LOM LA YAK' SWOKOL.

(The baby) was born dead, she suffered for nothing.

J. ... HA* Z'INABI *E SUNUL *AHK'BAL, MA*A LAHUK *OXE*BUK LITRO I SUNUL *AHK'BAL I.

During the night we drank about three liters, the whole night.

M. *E HAYEBEX *ABI.

And how many of you were there?

J. *E HAYEBOTIK, *E CANE(BOTIK *A SOK CENCO NUN TA HEMEL E, SOK CANTUL *ANZTIK--

How many? Four of us, with Ausencio from over in the valley, and four women.

*E *ULIK STUKEL T'UXAHIK LEK, HA*Z'IN HO*NE MA*BA LOM T'UXAHON LEK ... XLOK' K'AHAL LOK'ONTAL I.

They all got so drunk they fell down. I didn't fall down myself . . . I left as the sun was coming up.

755 The curing ceremony is a public performance, the audience of which is constituted of the sick person's near consanguineals, 273* 755 affinals, ritual kin and neighbors. The males in this audience--which varies in size depending on the estimated severity of the illness--pace their drinking with that of the curer. He in turn is dependent on the host who initially arranged with him to make the cure for the supply of aguardiente. It is characteristic

273 755 that the curer and the adult males will drink sufficient trago through the night (this being the normal length of a single curing segment) so that at least some of the men will continue drinking the next day in other than the curing setting. (The minimal drinking unit equals ceremonial drinking plus informal drinking).

As is indicated in the first text fragment, drinking on the part of the curer is seen to be a mode of fitting himself for the difficult task he has to perform. "Difficult" means in this context that curing an individual is not necessarily likely to result in the patient getting well and the responses of the family members to a cure that failed may include hostility directed towards the curer.

In the case where the sick person appears to be dying the collected relatives and neighbors continue to accompany him as do one or more curers. They remain until he appears to have recovered from the crisis or until he dies. Drinking continues, though on a somewhat more intermittent basis, across this whole period of time, which may be as long as several days.

Quite often other curers will be called in and the pulsing-curing sequence repeated with the resultant increase again in the consumption of aguardiente. When and if the patient dies, a funeral sequence is initiated which will be described below.

273* 755 [757] The administration of trago directly to the patient in the course of the curing ceremony is unusual, though it may be mixed with other ingredients (raw eggs, essence of rosemary, the curer's saliva and/or chicken blood) and a cup or bowl of this mixture given to the patient to drink. Alternatively it may be applied to the body of the patient, the curer blowing it on him a mouthful at a time. Aguardiente is occasionally used to drug chickens which are used in the course of the ceremony. We have seen chickens so drugged placed on the patient's head where they calmly remain for a period of a half hour or more.

273* 764 Drinking during the funeral ceremony

The burial of a dead person takes place within a period of twenty-four hours after he is declared to be dead. The time lag depends primarily on how soon a casket can be bought, the primary source of caskets being carpenter shops in Pinola--a six hour round of walking. The morning after the death, neighbors and bilateral male relatives walk out to the cemetery to dig the grave. They take a liter of trago with them which they drink while they are digging the grave. Others of this group stay at the house of the dead person where a ceremonial is being prepared, where the cadaver is being washed and dressed and wailed over by women who are closely related to the dead person.

The return of the grave diggers to the house signals the

273 769 serving of a meal to them and others who are present. Up to this point drinking is light, this being associated with the fact that a number of tasks are being completed which require sobriety. After the midday meal is served, the rezadora comes and prays with the women over the body. The body is then placed in the casket, the lid is nailed down, and it is carried off to the cemetery, about two kilometers distant. Once the casket is placed in the grave, and the grave begun to be filled, the intensity of drinking sharply increases, both men and the near women relatives (wife, mother, daughter) of the deceased, drinking. This increased rate of drinking continues as the funeral party returns to the house of the deceased and there continues to drink through most of the night.

273 539 769 M. LA TU *ORA BA MUHUK Z'IN ... HATE *ALAL E.

When did you go to bury the child?

J. TU *ORA *AHK'BALTIKIX *A LOK'OKOTIK K'AL, SAPET K'INAL I.

We went as night was coming, about seven at night.

WOKOL CIKNAH TAL HOMA.

It was difficult to find our way back on the trail.

M. WUC'IK TAL HUHUNUX ABI.

Everybody was a little drunk coming back.

J. HAYUN LA HKA*BETIK C'IN HUHUNUX Z'IN.

We gave everybody a little bit.

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LA HT'UXAH Z'IN YAN I.

The rest of them fell down afterward.

HAYUN LA HT'UXAH Z'IN, HUN TA Z'IN KUMPRETIK Z'IN STAT *ANTON I, *E *ULEM HONC SAK'INAL Z'IN I.

They fell down afterward, and it seems that our compadre, Antonio's father, was good and drunk by morning.

Many of the males at the funeral fiesta continue to drink on the following day, though in other settings, and the near male relatives of the deceased will continue to drink for as long as a week after the burial--to calm the sadness of their hearts, as they say. The aguardiente for the funeral fiesta is provided by the members of the household in which the dead person lived and/or by the lineal descending relatives. On succeeding days, the men who continue to drink secure their aguardiente under the normal rule of laissez faire drinking (informal drinking).

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CHAPTER V

SUMMING THE MATTER UP

273* 554 There are basically two patterns of drinking among the Aguacatenangueros. The first of these we may define as the internally complex unit ± ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking (but at least one of these). The second of these we will define as intermittent non-cumulative drinking--that is, drinking performances which do not lead to deep drunkenness. These two patterns of drinking performances are associated with large classes of the population. The ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking pattern is expressed by married males. The intermittent non-cumulative drinking pattern is expressed by all other persons (unmarried males and all females).[1] When individuals drink, they are constrained to express one pattern or the other as is congruent with their role. By drinking in a particular way, an individual certifies his membership in a particular role class.

273* 571 885 Adult males (equivalent to males married at least once) drink within the limitations of the ceremonial drinking ± in-

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[184] [171] [1]This particular contrast is not general to all Tzeltal-Tzotzil speakers in the Chiapas highlands.

273 formal drinking pattern. These limits may be expressed in terms
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[885] of the necessity to drink under those circumstances when one is a member of a group which is engaging in a ceremonial drinking sequence. Every male is a member of several such groups. Under most conditions the ceremonial drinking segment leads to deep drunkenness. Under most conditions the ceremonial drinking segment is followed by an informal drinking segment. Informal drinking segments also lead to deep drunkenness. Following the participation in such segments, a man probably recuperates for a day before he returns to his regular daily routines. Hence a typical drinking performance may be expressed as ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking + recuperating period.

273 The ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking pattern is,
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622 as we have seen, an essential component of many recurring per-
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755 formances in Aguacatenango. We have described the role of drinking in the celebration of family and community holidays, the certification of civil authority, the resolution of conflict, and the etiology as well as the treatment of illness. The indispensability of drinking to such performances is suggested in the following exchange between the ayuntamiento which is retiring and the ayuntamiento which is entering office (as reported by Juan Perez).

273* 539 Speaker for the old ayuntamiento: YA NAX HIC YA XLOK'ON K'AL TO, MA WAN TOHUK NAX YA XHAHCON L*EL.

Today, mother-father [i.e., respected] New Authorities, Authorities who are entering office, it is not possible simply to leave, it's not correct simply to get up and leave.

*AY WAN HBAL HMAY, *AY WAN HBAL HSIGARRO, BA* WAN K'AN KA*BAT HIL TA *AWO*TAN, BA* WAN K'AN HMELBAT HIL TA *AWAHC'ALEL, PORKE SYEMPRE *AY XCAMELAL C'IN UN POKO KUMPIRAL LA HPASTIK YU*N *OCAT.

Perhaps I have some tobacco, perhaps I have a cigarette which I can leave in your heart, which I can leave in your body, since we still feel the hangover from the exchange of gifts which we made because you entered [to take your cargos].

HICON *EHUK, YU*N LOK'ON, HIC KOSTUMBRF YU*N TEHKLUM, HIC KOSTUMBRE YU*N HME*TIK HTATIK.

I, too, am leaving office. It's the custom of the town. It's the custom of our ancestors.

AX TYEMPO, AX *ORA, MA HO*KOTIK NAX LA HLIHKESTIK TAL, SINOKE *AX TYEMPO, *AX *ORA, KIC 'OHTIK TAL KOSTUMBRE YU*N HNAL HC'IEL, HNAL HLOK'EL.

It's been a long time, a long time, we did't invent [these customs], rather we have had these customs for a long time, since those who were first born, since those who first came out.

CAMIX WAN, LAHIX WAN, PERO HO*TIK E, MA*K XC'AY TE KOSTUMBRE KU*NTIK E.

Perhaps they died, perhaps they are finished, but we don't lose our customs.

BA* WAN K'AN *AXIC'BON C'IN HPISUK, C'IN HUNUK KOPA KA*BAT HIL TA *AWO*TAN, KA*BAT HIL TA *AWAHC'ALEL, PARAKE HIC XK'IXNAH AWO*TAN, XK'IXNAH AC'IC'EL, *ABAK'ETAL, PARAKE YU*N KONTENTA XLOK'ON BAEL, KONTENTA XBON.

Where it is possible to receive it, a small measure, a shot glass, I am going to give your heart, so that it will warm your body, so that it will warm your heart, warm your blood and your flesh, so that I can leave contented, go contented.

273 539 YAL, MA*YAL HIL TA *AWO*TAN, TY YIPAL LA HTAH TAL SOK HZO*BLEHAL, HYOMLEHAL, TAL KAK' HIL TE *ERRAMYENTA.

Either it goes down or it doesn't go down, that which I have procured. With all of my group I came to leave the tools [i.e., the town equipment for road construction which is entrusted to the ayuntamiento].

HA* XC'IN KUMPIRALIL, *AY WAN HBAL HMAY, *AY WAN HBAL HSIGARRO, KA*BAT HNUXUK, HTE*BUK.

This is my little gift, a bit of tobacco, a cigarette, I give you a little.

ME YAL, MA* YAL TA *AWOTAN, HIC XTOHUB KO*TAN *EHK *A, HIC HMELZA*AN HBAHTIK *A, HICON *EHUK, YU*N ME XLOK'ONIX BAEL, YA ME XBONIX, HA* ME YU*N HIC YA KALBAT HME* HTAT *AWKTORIDA.

Whether it goes down well or it does not go down well in your heart, I am complying also. Thus we arrange things. I, too, am going, now I'm going, that's why I am telling you this, respected Authorities.

In response to this speech, the spokesman for the new ayuntamiento replies: BA* ME LA *AWIC' HME* HTAT, MA ME *AK TUTA HK'AN, MA ME *AK TUTA YA HK'ANBAT, MA ME *AK TUT'I LA *AHAM *AWO*TAN, TUTA LA *AHAM *ATI*.

Where did you get it, mother-father? I'm not asking for anything, I don't have anything to give you, there is nothing. You opened your heart, you opened your lips.

*AY LAH HBAL *AMAY *AY LA HBAL *ASIGARRO YUN LAH KAMELBON TA KO*TAN YUN LAH KAMELBON TA KAHC'ALEL TUYIPAL ZO*BOLON, YOMOLON LI* TA C'UL KABILTA LI* TA C'UL HUSGADO; YA KIC'BAT *ENTREGAL.

You have tobacco, you have a cigarette to give to my heart, to give to my body, as we are gathered here in the sacred town hall, in the sacred courthouse. I am going to receive what you are giving me.

HOKOL *AWAL YA WAN HZ'UN KAHREHIDOR *A SPIS *A YAK' TU YIPAL WUSTO *AWUN E, TU YIPAL *ATAH TAL.

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539 Thank you very much. Perhaps I will name my regidor to measure the aguardiente, the amount which is your pleasure, the amount which you procured.

PERO MA ME YAK HK'AN, BA ME LA *AWIC'IX *A, BA ME TALIX *AWUN *A, STOHOL ME TAK'IN STOHOL ME SENTABO, WOKOL ME HTATIK WOKOL ME *A KIC'TIK TALEL, MA ME STOHUB C'UL TRAWO, TOYOL TE*K STOHOL, PURO SK'OP TAK'IN.

But I'm not asking for anything. Where did you get it? Where did you bring it from? This requires money, this requires pennies. It costs us to get it, it costs us to bring it. We can't pay for the trago. It's very expensive. One gets it only with money.

PERO KOMO LA *AHAM, LA *AHAM *ATI* LA *AHAM *AWO*TAN HOKOL *AWAL.

But since you opened your mouth, you opened your heart, thank you very much.

YA HZAKBAT, HA*YUN *IBAY, *IL CA* TUL PERSONA, YUN YA SPIS, YUN YA YA*BUKOTIK TA KO*TANTIK, YA*BOTIK TA KAC'LELTIK.

I'm going to receive it. Here are the two persons who will measure it, so that it can be given to our hearts, so that it can be given to our bodies.

HOKOL *AWAL HME* HTAT *AWTORIDA SOK SALYENTE, YA ME KIC' *ENTREGAL, COTLANIK HZ'INUK.

Thank you very much, respected Authorities who are leaving. I'm going to receive what you bring, sit down for a while.

MA WAN HO*KON NAX K'AN KAK' TA KO*TAN PAHAL YAH TUNTESTIK PAHAL YA HMEL TA KO*TANTIK YUN WAN HIC XXUXLEH KO*TANTIK *A, YUN HIC X *AK'BIL LAH KO*TANTIK *A.

Perhaps I won't just put it in my own heart. Equally let us drink, equally drink a round for our hearts, in order to sober our hearts, in order to make our hearts happy.

HOKOL *AWAL HME* HTAT YA ME HZAK, YA ME KIC', *AK'A PERSONETIK, HMELA TA KO*TANTIK MAHTANTIK YUN HMETIK HTATIK YUN LOK'IX, NELIX HUN HA*WIL K'INAL HOKOL *AWAL HME* HTAT YA HZAK YA KIC' LEK *AY.

273 539 Thank you, respected ones, I am going to take it, I am going to have it. Give it to the persons, a round for our hearts, the gift of the respected ones who are leaving, their year is finished. Thank you, respected ones, I will receive it. Good.

Ceremonial drinking is seen to have side effects which are as clearly patterned and recurrent as the central performances themselves. As drinking "warms the heart," it relaxes control over interpersonal behavior. Warning against this side effect is given in the following text fragments:

The counsel of an elder to the new members of the ayuntamiento:

MA ME *AWUC' *IPAL TRAWO PORKE *AY ME MAHEL CUKEL YA ME XTAL TA TOYOL, YA ME XTAL TA YALEL.

Don't drink too much. For there are crimes to be settled, great ones, or lesser ones may come.

ME LAK AWUC' TRAWO PORKE MALYEL ME ASK'AN, YA ME STAL HUN *ORDEN YA ME XTAL HUN KARTA XTAL HUN *OFISIO.

It's not good to drink trago, because you must wait, an order might come, a letter might come, a duty might come.

*AY ME TOYOL XTAL, *AY ME YALEL YA XTAL.

Much work or little work may come.

HA* ME YUN KUXA *AWO*TAN, MA ME MILABA TA YAKBEL PARA KE HIC ZAM KAWIL TE HUSGADO ZAM KAWIL TE *AWUNTIKIL.

For this reason, stay sober. Don't kill yourselves drinking. Thus you can contentedly care for the town, contentedly watch over your children.

Again, in the counsel of an elder to the wives of new members of the ayuntamiento:

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273* HICAT *EHK *ANZETIK, *ABA ME SMAZ', *ABA ME YOT, PARAKE YU*N
539 YU*N MA XWI*NAH XC'UHT.

And you, wives, give him his pozole, give him his tortilla, so that he won't be hungry.

ME XYAKUB MA ME HAK'BE SK'OP, *ATA*LUK XCEBAL K'AHAL XTAL YIL SKABILTA.

If he gets drunk, don't provoke him, the next day he will come back to the cabildo.

PERO TEME HA*T PUKUHAT *ANZETIK, TEME HA*T K'AHK'AT, ENTONSE TE X*ILIN TE WINIK, REPENTA SMAHAT, REPENTA XYUTAT, KOMO *CEM TA TRAWO, REPENTA ME XK'AHK'UB SOL TE *AMAMILAL, TE SENYOR *AHENTE, TE SENYOR HWES.

But if you women are bad, if you are mean, then the man gets angry and he may well strike you, he may well scold you, since he is drunk, he may well get hot-headed, your husband the president, or the judge.

Once again, the counsel of an elder to the community at large:

MA ME XAPASIK PLET, ZAM XK'OPOHEX, KOMO *ERMANO, KOMPAGRE, KOMAGRE.

Don't fight, converse in the manner of brothers, compadres, comadres.

YA KAWUC'IK TRAWO K'AYEHINAN, YAKUBAN PASA KONTENTO SOK *ATRAWO.

If you drink aguardiente, sing, get drunk, make yourselves happy with the aguardiente.

*ANSIKE LA LAH SZAKAT TRAWO, *ABA YAK'AT HIL TE MAC'A LAH YA*Y SOL TA TRAWO.

When once you are drunk, go and take home the one whose trago has gone to his head.

*ABA YA*BAT TA SNA, HA* MERO *ERMANO BI.

Take him to his house, like a true brother.

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539 MA*YU*NUK LAH YIL TE XYAKUBAT, SMAHAT ENTONSE MULILME, MA ME HK'AN.

It's not right when you see that he is drunk to hit him, that's a crime, I don't like it.

Other side effects of drinking, these latter associated with prolonged informal drinking, are also negatively evaluated. In one text fragment we find the following exchange:

C. MA*Y K'AHAL STUK--K'IN E, XTA TAK STOHOL KA*ALTIK.

There's a fiesta coming up. I'll have to get some money for aguardiente.

M. PERSA, *A HA* NAX STOHOL *A STUK HAL YA XLIHK *OCEL *A*TEL I.

There isn't any choice, we have to look for work to raise money for trago.

C. PERO MA*YUK AWUC' HA* TE MA *AY.

But you haven't been drinking?

M. YA KA*BE *EHUK.

I've been drinking.

C. YAK PE COPOLIX MA* HA*CUK XTUL*L NAME TAL E.

Yeah, but you haven't been drinking like you used to.

M. MAY LAH TO NAX KA*BE EHK *ABI.

It's not been long since I had a good drunk.

PIM YA YUC' HAL TRAWI.

I drink a lot.

MA TO BA* YA KUC'IX *A STUK *ORA ILI.

I haven't drunk yet in this fiesta.

MAYUK, YA STI CAMEL TRAWI.

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The trago is making me ill.

C. YAK, *IK *IXANWAN *EHUK.

That's right, it's bad for you.

HO*N E, *AX K'AHAL MA* BA KA*BE *EHUK, HUN TA HA*TO LA KA*BE YU*N TO *ENERO TAL E.

I haven't drunk for days, not since January.

*IX YAK' BETIL TONC, *E SOK TONC MA*K XLOK' TA NA*EL KA*TELTIK YU*N MAXTAK.

We got into debt and forget our work.

MA* ZAMUKIX *A.

It's not good.

M. PURA CAMELIX YUKUKOTIK *A.

We just get sick.

C. HA* NAX ZAM *A TE *OCEM TRAWO *A E.

But it's beautiful when the trago is in us.

M. YIP *AK'BIL KO*TANTIK SOK *ABI.

It's the only time we're really happy.

C. YA X*AWUNAT HONC *A STUBI.

You shout a lot when you are drunk.

M. XLOK' AZE*EH YUN STUBI.

You laugh when you are drunk.

PERE HA* Z'IN TEME KUX K'AL Z'IN E, *E YUN HA HAL HUHUNUXANIX MA*K XLAHOTIK YU*N Z'IN I.

But afterwards when we are getting over a big drunk, we come close to dying.

273* The preceding text fragment shows very clearly the essential ambivalence of Aguacatenango men toward drinking--their perception of necessity, the rewards, and the punishing side effects. M. first observes that the advent of a fiesta changes the pattern of work for the men. They shift their labor from the production of goods they will be consuming in the household, to the search for wage labor which will give them money that can be spent during the fiesta. After this opening gambit, C. establishes that M. has continued to drink as he did in past years and M. establishes that C. has not drunk seriously for the past seven months.

Having both agreed that they drink a lot, they list the reasons why it is a bad kind of performance to engage in. First there is associated as a consequence the advent of illness, a reflex which they both agree is serious and certain. Then comes the feature that one inevitably goes into debt. Associated with the debt factor is the consideration that drinking causes one to lose work days. At some times of the year, such a loss may require that one hire others in order to finish weeding, say, or in order to get the harvest in.

However, these two men go on to recall that they do both drink and they agree that life is only beautiful when one is drunk. C. tells M. that he shouts a lot when he is drunk and M. replies by observing that C. laughs a lot. M. soberly

273* concludes by observing that the after-effects of drinking are inevitably bad.

Thus while the drinking performances themselves are highly satisfying experiences, the consequences of drinking may be illness, economic loss, and possible death. Such consequences of any next drinking performance do not, however, appear to prevent that drinking performance from taking place; even though the consequences are the public knowledge of all the men in Aguacatenango.

273* 562 593 The woman's view of the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking sequences is long-suffering (but not necessarily uncomplaining). Women are constrained to complain relatively little as their husbands become ill or abusive and their household resources dwindle. The woman who berates or strikes or abandons her drunken husband is criticized, and desertion of a husband by a wife is never attributed either to his drinking per se nor to his drunken abuse.

273* 539 In the following excerpts from text, a wife complains and her husband belittles or laughs off her concern time after time.

I. MA* LO*ILUK IX A X YAKUB HONC *A ATATAI, *E YES YA*TEL.
Your uncle gets drunk a lot, it's his occupation.

V. HE HE HE.
Ha, Ha, ha!

273* 539 I. TUT'A C'IN ZAM A HTAHTIK, *E TONC SNA* MA*K SNA* A STI*, *AY WI*NAL A X CAM *A, *E LA BA* LA X BA HTAHTIK TAL *EHUK, MA X KILTIK BA* C'IKIL, TOH XAMIX TE POHOL *A YA LA IX CAMIX TA WI*NAL WA* KERE*.

The good things that we find for him, sometimes he remembers to eat and sometimes he doesn't, sometimes he's dying of hunger and then how are we going to find him, we don't know where he is. There he is lying there alone, dying of hunger, ay, dios.

V. HE HE!

Ha, ha!

I. ZAM XC'IN K'U* XC'IN PAK' X LOK'BAEL, BOTOX TA *AHC'AL A.

He goes out with a nice shirt and comes back all muddy.

... K'AX Z'IN SK'IN HALME*TIK I ... TONC LA *ULEM TA WAYEL XHOL TA TE* HC'IX STUK YOK E, NUN KA*Z'AL TA TE* NUN TA TI* MAK TE* E.

. . . After the fiesta of the Virgin of the Nativity . . . he was dead drunk, asleep with his foot caught in the fence, there he was hung on the fence.

V. HE HE HE, MA*Y YAHC'ALEL STUK ABI HI.

Ha, ha, ha! There wasn't any mud there!

I. ... HATE X TAL KUXUK YO*TAN TAT, YUN YAUBEN, YAUBEN.

. . . When he sobers up, sir, he's very thin and weak.

V. *E YUN MA*K XWE*OTIK WA*.

It's because I don't eat, ay, dios.

I. X BAHT TA LE *A*TEL E MA X U*IX YU*UN *O*L SBA.

He goes to work and he can't do it any more, poor thing.

HUN K'AHAL CE* K'AHAL YUC' E HA* NAX TE*K ABI, PERE *ILI WAXKE* K'AHAL, BALNE* K'AHAL, HUK* K'AHAL.

273*
539 If he would only drink for just one or two days--but he drinks eight, nine, seven days at a time.

TIHIHTIK *AY KUX YO*TAN CE* K'AHAL *A *CXE* K'AHAL *A X TAL AWA*I X YAKUB IX A X LOK' TAL TA KABILTA *A.

And he drinks often. He'll be sober for two or three days, and the first thing I know he comes home from the Cabildo drunk again.

HA* TE X LIHKESOK I.

It's there that he begins [to drink].

M. HA* X TU*L BA*Y PARTA I.

If there is a case to be settled, for example.

I. ... LOM MA SNA* TU*L X K'OPOH *EHK TA YAKBEL I MA SNA* TU X YAL, *E KE TAL ME XC'UNIK E, *AY XC'UNIK IX LEK--K'AN SMILON IX TA *AHTAL *O*TAN E--

. . . And also, he doesn't know how he should talk, when he's drunk he doesn't know what he's saying, and what if they believe him? Some people believe him--I'm nearly dying with worry.

*E YUN LA YIC', YUN LA X BA SMILIK IX, P'EXEL *AY NUN X BA YAWTIK TA KABILTE.

[They say] that they're going to kill him, that it's clear, that they're going to shout it in the Cabildo [i.e., that he has threatened witchcraft].

V. *EHE--MA CIKO WASKIS STUBI, *E YOBRA NIX *A *ILE TONC PUKUHIK WA*

Oh--that old Francisco Vasquez, he's always like that, they're bad, ay, dios.

I. X BAHT TA MUK' YU*NIK, LAPE HAYUN TONC HA*C ME X LIHK YAK'ON TA *AHTAL *O*TAN, HAYUN HUN TA TONC HA* X K'UB *AHTAL *OTAN HAYUN TONC A X *IPAH Z'IN HCAMEL I.

Those people really believe it. That's why I'm beginning to worry so, that's why the pain is getting worse, that's why my illness is getting worse.

273* 539 I. ... PE *ILI LA STA HUNUK KWARTA, LA STA *OLILUK, HUNUK LITRO SOK SHOTAK E YUN TY*P' IX *ABI YUN C'AY IX SHOL *ABI.

. . . But if he gets a quarter of a liter, a half-liter, a liter with his friends, with that he is stunned, he loses his senses.

V. SOK MA*YUK IX LEK SOLOL KY*N HO*N E, *OLIL XANIX LA X YAKUBON.

I don't have a good head any more, I get drunk on only a half-liter.

MA HNA* TU*UN YAMEL I XAYUB HC'I*C'ELTIK, MA HA*CUK NANE HAYEBUK X KU*C' *A.

I don't know why, my blood is getting less, it wasn't that way before, I could drink a lot more.

PERE *ORA *ILI YU*N LA--YUN *ORA XANIX A X YAKUBON.

But now--I get drunk very quickly.

... *E *O*L HBAHTIK Z'IN--*E TONC A KIXANTIK *EHK HC'I *C'TELTIK I.

. . . We're sad afterward--and it's bad for our blood.

I. LEK ME TEHK'AH MA* TEHK'AH YUN A XEHTA LO*EL.

Whether he stops or not, he's torn up with vomiting.

V. WA HA HA WA HA HA.

Ay, dios, ha, ha, ha!

TONC A HLE HCAMEL *A SNALYE, PE MA X KA*Y K'OP HICUK *UC WAHA*.

I'm just looking for the damned illness, but I don't obey, just like a tlacuache [small wild animal], ay, dios.

I. HA* *AHTAL *OTANTIK SBA YAKBEL I.

Drunkenness causes a lot of suffering.

273 Ceremonial drinking-informal drinking performances are deeply imbedded in Aguacatenango life. Another measure of this imbeddedness is the degree to which the performances in drinking operate under a special, well-defined, contrastive set of rules, as compared with performances that are entertainable while individuals are sober. The behavior of drunken individuals requires special interpretation by others and is rarely used as a basis for character judgment.

Ceremonial drinking and informal drinking performances are actively called for in situations of high ritual or ceremonial salience. Under these circumstances all adult males who are present are expected to drink in well measured amounts to a degree that leads to deep drunkenness. Individuals who engage [554] in these performances minimally share the features of being married males. These are required performances, namely performances which no man can either opt to do or not to do. Options occur in informal drinking performances only in the sense that some men extend the informal drinking beyond what counts as a minimal unit.

In the case of required performances, individuals who do not participate in them are told that they will occur. In the case of drinking performances, for example, women are told that the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking pattern will be acted out. They are further told of the known side effects of these performances.

273* 571 these performances. Ceremonial drinking-informal drinking performances involve the careful pacing of drinking so that every member of the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking group is in an equivalent state of drunkenness (insofar as this can be controlled by controlling the distribution of aguardiente). When members of such a group relate to people who are outside it--who have not been drinking--the probability of hostility and [593] violence increases. Women are warned that their husbands, as a result of having participated in a ceremonial drinking performance, will be more "temperamental" in interaction; will be more likely to curse them and strike them for any minor irritation. Proper, relaxed, behavior is possible between individuals who are fellow ceremonial drinking or informal drinking members, or between individuals who are sober, but are more difficult to express between individuals one of whom is drunk and the other of whom is sober.

Ceremonial drinking-informal drinking performances result in side effects which participants would prefer not to accept as the basis for further inference and action. Blows or harsh words, that might be exchanged if these were used to define the quality of interpersonal relations, would exclude other possible transactions such as loaning money or goods, asking favors for curing, exchanging labor and so on. Under such circumstances in Aguacatenango, there is developed a "theory" of

273* 571 ceremonial drinking-informal drinking performances which specifically precludes using drunken behavior as a basis for further inference and action. The detectable intent of a drunken man's behavior is irrelevant to one's relationship with him when he is sober. The normal character evaluation procedures which individuals use to form estimates of the behavior potential of others is stopped. This, like all conditions, however, is only proximate as is indicated in a number of texts in which drunken behavior is used as a basis for character evaluation. Nonetheless, such evaluations tend to count for less when some man's character is being summed up.

273* The non-optional character of drinking performances over broad classes of social roles precludes the easy diagnosis of specific "reasons" why any particular individual drinks. Required and customary behavior patterns do not permit a facile explanation as to the intent of a particular individual in engaging in them. In turn, the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking pattern is so general and so recurring across settings and circumstances that it is difficult to conclude the "individuals drink to reduce anxiety" (p. 3 of this thesis) or that "drinking serves a predominantly integrative role" (ibid.) or that drinking is related to "variables indicating a personal rather than a corporate organization" (ibid.). An anthropologist, in the face of conclusions such as these, must point out that

273* proper interpretations of drinking behavior can only proceed as rapidly as careful descriptions of drinking behavior are formulated. Drinking performances anywhere in the world occur in more or less well defined contexts which are subject to well ordered descriptions. One cannot judge any individual's drinking performances until and unless he has discovered the contextual rules in terms of which this individual is operating. It has [121] been the intent of this thesis to point to some of these kinds of contextual rules.

273* 554 In Aguacatenango drinking performances reflect important principles of social organization which are elsewhere attested in other performances which are not drinking performances. In drinking performances there is a simultaneous mapping of differences in social status and role as there is a statement of how the wealth in the community should be divided. In any drinking [561] performance, men of senior age and generation drink first, their juniors drinking later. Women and children drink separately and in small amounts. While the relative order of drinking marks the relative status of the men present, all men drink the same amount. Not only does this clearly delineate men's and women's roles but it also expresses the condition that across time, every man can expect to occupy a status position senior to the one he presently has. Such changes in status are not dependent [556] upon the achievement of great wealth since everyone should have

273 this in equal amounts (as mapped by the equal amounts of aguardient
554
556 they receive). In fact, as we have earlier observed, drinking performances are regularly scheduled, explicitly verbalized events in which differences in real wealth are leveled.

121 The ethnographic aims of this thesis may be summed up more or less as follows. It is clear, now, that it is possible to describe systems within culture in terms relevant and significant to those who are participants in that culture. This thesis has aimed to formulate such a description of drinking behavior in Aguacatenango. The procedures we have discussed in the earlier chapters are general in the sense that they are, it now appears to us, applicable to any culture, and to most foci or domains therein. One should not be surprised, however, if some varieties of learned behavior are not directly access'ble to study in this fashion.

000 Though some notions from structural linguistics seem relevant, the immediate relevance of linguistic data is as an aid in discovering and relating other cultural patterns. McQuown's reading of Whorf's (1941) statement regarding "fashions of speaking" seems relevant here: "This approach [Whorf's] would seem to de-emphasize the role of linguistic patterns as such and to stress the function of language as a medium for the manifestation of other cultural patterns, in which precise formal characteristics of the medium were merely limiting and not determining

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000 factors" (McQuown 1956). Precise formal characteristics of the language involved are primarily useful in directing otherwise unstructured stages of the search for patterning.

121 In actuality, we have proceeded in our investigations with a definition in mind, namely that culture consists of what it is the members know or believe in order to behave in the way they do (to paraphrase Goodenough 1957). Acceptability of behavior implies a relation of appropriateness or congruence between behavior and the circumstances in which it occurs. Circumstances operate to restrict to a greater or lesser degree the number of behaviors appropriate thereto, as an effective substitution frame in grammatical analysis leads to the definition of form classes by operating to restrict the number of forms which are substitutable therein. In fact the thesis has been an attempt to locate such environments, such constraining conditions.

We have used verbal environments as a primary source of data, not only because of ease of record-making, as well as the obvious convenience of dealing in this mediated way with things and situations not immediately at hand or impossible to bring to hand; but also because verbal behavior appears to bear some investigable relation to things non-linguistic, and provides the best available tool for the discrimination of meaningful units therein.

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[For the role of "talking saints" in Tzeltal medical practices, see also category 756.]

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[For detailed information on various aspects of drinking performance in Aguacatenango, see category 116, pp. 1-4, 10, 44-47, 49-99, 102-113, and 125-183.]

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IN THE EYES OF THE ANCESTORS

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IN THE EYES OF THE ANCESTORS

Belief and Behavior in a Maya Community

by June Nash

New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1970

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To my parents ooo

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Acknowledgments

My study of the people of Tzo'ontahal was made in four field sessions, the first in 1957 with return trips in 1958, 1964, and 1965, for a total of eighteen months. Brief visits were made in 1966 and 1967. With each returning visit it was possible to penetrate more deeply into the lives and experiences of the villagers, most of whom were highly resistant to an outsider on the first contact. I began writing the book in 1966, and some of the predictions I made came true before I finished it in 1968. These included the demise of the ceremonial leadership of the *alfereces*—the officials in charge of religious celebrations—the waning of the community status of curers, and the killing of one of my principal informants who had taken a leadership role before acquiring the traditional validation of age and experience in office. The transformations over the period of my study in this community created difficulties in recording and organizing my material. I owe whatever clarification has emerged to the efforts of Jane Olson and Gale Griffin of Yale University Press.

I am indebted to the National Institutes of Mental Health, which made possible the research for this study. I owe an intellectual debt to Sol Tax, who introduced me to the problems and potentialities of the area as a locus for field study, to Norman McQuown, who gave me the first instruction in Tzeltal and provided a grammar which facilitated learning the language, and to Manning Nash, who provided some of the earlier formulations of the culture from which I have borrowed. I am grateful to Duane Metzger and Gerald Williams, who generously provided equipment and facilities for work with informants in San Cristóbal Las Casas in the summer of 1964. Alfonso Villa Rojas, who was director of the Instituto Nacional Indígenista, was of great assistance in the first summer's field trip, introducing me to leaders within the town and in the Instituto's headquarters in Las Casas.

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000 ters in Las Casas. His encouragement and support of investigations by for-
114 eign students set an example in international cooperation. I am personally
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producing the book.

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Preface

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And so we shall be able to do what our mothers
did and what our fathers did here where our
Holy Father sees us and our Holy Mother sees us.

From the prayer said at the time of taking offices in the civil hierarchy

In all societies, some of the ideology and behavior of the past persists after their relevance to current problems has ended. How much this continuity eases the absorption of change by providing meaning and motivation and how much it hinders the ability to deal with current issues and to plan for the future is a long-standing social problem. It is of special relevance to developing nations undergoing changes that transform all social institutions. Developing nations have focused their planning on economic change in the hope that other institutions will respond automatically. This hope has not been justified. 000

Mexico has shown a growing awareness of the strength to be drawn from its rich cultural heritage in the five decades of development since the revolution. The changes that were transforming the cities a generation ago are now drawing enclaves of Indian populations into the mainstream of national development. In the 1930s government policy was directed toward transforming Indians into modern nationals. Since the 1950s there has been an increasing effort to incorporate Indians without suppressing their distinctive customs and languages. The old melting pot policy has given way to a new policy of selective adaptation. M
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For the Indians, adhering to the ways of the ancestors is the means of surviving as a people. Their sense of cultural survival is threatened by the T
177
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177 very adjustments and adaptations that make economic survival possible.
178 Cut off from other Indian communities around them since the Conquest, when their ceremonial centers were destroyed and the political hierarchy which drew them into a single polity was replaced, the Indians were able to retain a sense of cultural independence within the corporate communi-
[621] ties (Wolf 1957b). Each community developed a distinctive style of life in which the old pre-Conquest beliefs and customs were reworked with the colonial Spanish introductions. Validation of their behavior lay in the be-
[769] lief that they were doing as the ancestors did, and that they were living "in the eyes of our ancestors."

[769] This social fiction is now threatened by a growing disbelief in the presence of these supernatural figures. The crisis caused by the disjunction between belief and behavior is forcing the Indians to reassess their present condition. Awareness of the contradictions between what they do and what they think they ought to do is forced upon them by events over which they have no control.

121 This study of a Maya Indian community in the state of Chiapas, Mexico, deals with the problem of the relation between belief and behavior in a changing world. It is a problem that we have failed to solve in our own society, if the labels of our time—The Age of Anxiety, The Society of Alienation—have meaning. I have studied this small Indian society not in search of a solution but as a way of phrasing the problem in the widest possible context.

I selected Tzoʔontahal because the people seemed to have retained a traditional Indian culture even though the community is on the Pan-American Highway linking them with the departmental and national capitals. The question of what changes had affected their lives and how they had responded to them was relevant to my interest in the effects of national changes on local groups. In the last year of my study my interest broadened from an enquiry into responses to external changes to a study of the meanings assigned to both internal and external changes.

621 Like many other predominantly Mayan communities of the Chiapas highlands, the community is the context of all meaningful social relations. Endogamy and a belief that the people who live in the center and the nearby barrios are descended from the same ancestors give a sense of eth-

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nic unity extending back to the beginning of time. The people set boundaries by such external symbols as a locally specified costume for men and women, a distinctive dialect of Tzeltal, and specialization in the production of pottery. Implicit boundaries are established by socialization processes that inhibit response to the outside world and that define a code of behavior understandable only in its own context. The completely socialized member of the community is not expected to seek recognition, nor could he find prestige, outside these boundaries. The community comprises the moral universe: cooperation and reciprocity are limited to members of the community, as are most cases of homicide and theft. Lacking concrete evidence, people assume misdeeds to have been committed by someone from the community.

The boundaries that separate these Indians from other Indian communities as well as from non-Indian, or *Ladino*,[1] communities are social artifacts that give a sense of security to members of the in-group. They call themselves "the true men" (*b'atz'il winik*), and their world is defined in "the true word" (*b'atz'il k'op*). The latter is their term for the Tzeltal dialect of Maya which is the language of the house and of the street, the courthouse, and the church in the absence of the Spanish-speaking priest. Tzeltal names differ from Spanish names for most of the surrounding towns, the earth, the heavens, and the cosmological bodies. Catholic saints are incorporated under a Tzeltal name or a Tzeltal version of their Spanish name. All of the members of the community have a Tzeltal patronym in addition to the Spanish surname with which they are baptized. The given name is that of a Spanish saint but is shortened and pronounced with Tzeltal phonemes, and female names have the feminine prefix *I*. Their world is labeled in their own language.

The people assume that their expectations will be met and their projec-

1. The term Ladino has a range of usage throughout Middle America. In Mexico City, people define Ladino as any person who abuses his superior skills to take advantage of others. In Oaxaca, a Zapotec Indian defined Ladino as "an Indian who knows Spanish, has adopted western-style clothing, and takes advantage of other Indians because of his knowledge of the language and ways of life of the non-Indian society. He is like a fox." In Chiapas, the term is applied to any non-Indian without derogatory connotation, and the same is true in Guatemala. In the metalanguage of anthropological monographs, it is used in this latter sense.

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186 tions of self will find a responsive audience only within these linguistic and physical boundaries. The sense of insulation is a denial of regional and national political institutions in which they interact with the other Indians and Ladinos who are part of their present world and share their his-
175 tory. The town itself is a product of the Spanish colonial *congregación,*
361 which drew together diverse Indian populations that had been scattered in
162 small settlements. The outlying barrios are occupied by Indians who have
829 moved out from the center, as well as foreign Indians who had worked in the *fincas,* or large plantations, within the township. These latter people are referred to by a derisive term, *Kurik,* meaning roughly "country hick." Beyond these, and still within the municipal limits, there are a series of *colonias,* settlements populated by Indians who have moved here from other towns and by *mestizos,* or acculturated Indians. These settlers acquired land in the time of Juarez or later in the Cardenas period. Ladino men are called *Kaštan* and women *Šinlan;* foreigners who do not appear to be of the country are called *Alemán,* the Spanish term for German.

121 The focus of this book is on the lives and thoughts of people living within the center. The people of Tzoʾontahal live in a square world, sur-
772 rounded by a round universe. From the square hole, cut in the earth at the center post of their square house to receive the sacrifice of a live chicken when the house is built, stretches a square village (it appears as a rectangle on the map, but they draw it as a square).[2] The fields are measured in
[804] squares of twenty-five arms' breadths, with five handspans measuring the
[78] square between each plant. Within this square world, they have elaborated techniques for dealing with spiritual and human co-residents in curing ri-
105 tuals, offerings for crops, burial practices, and baptism rites. Their present
177 cultural stock reveals a selective absorption of Spanish colonial features
178 along with twentieth-century innovations. They have techniques for planting and harvesting milpa, marketing the pottery manufactured in all the households, curing an eclipse of the moon, divining causes of illness and curing the maladjusted social relations which cause it, manufacturing and

[171] 2. This view of the world as square is shared by Tzeltal and Tzotzil neighbors in Larráinzar (Holland 1963:69), San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:254), and Pinola (Hermitte 1964). The four-direction concept of the village and world noted by Landa (Tozzer 1941:135) suggests a square-space concept.

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marketing contraband liquor, minimizing discord and settling disputes locally, and preserving continuity in a town administration marked by the annual rotation of officials. 105 177 178

These are the techniques acquired for dealing with the world in which they were born. For the world into which they are being propelled, they are combining new skills with old, creating a semblance of continuity but with a recombination of elements. Fitting this square community into the round post-Columbian world is a task consciously undertaken by the Mexican government. Within the town, strategies are being developed to meet the new demands made on the community as economic and political horizons widen.

The problem focus on the relation between belief and behavior in a changing social environment can be restated by asking how behavior is conditioned by custom and how it responds to cues from the environment. The first class of responses is adjustive, fitting the behavior of the individual to a given environment, and the second is adaptive, changing the external environment (Kluckhohn 1962:46). I shall use the distinction Mowrer and Kluckhohn (1944:258) have made between adaptation, "which develops and changes inherited ways of behaving," and adjustment, "which develops and changes habits," with the former referring to socially acquired responses and the latter to individual responses. A moving equilibrium is found when changes in adjustive and adaptive responses fit a persisting framework of understandings and explanations. Both adjustive and adaptive responses follow rules. These rules enable social groups to generate consistent, understandable, and appropriate behavior in response to a variety of settings. The "rules of the game" set the parameters for adjustive behavior; the "rules of strategy" generate behavior adaptive to change. The rules of the game are validated by the belief system of the society; the rules of strategy can be justified on the same premises, but if they are so fundamental as to challenge existing values, they require a new ideology. 121

The model of change which takes into account the techniques of adaptation and adjustment occurring within small-scale societies is that of moving equilibrium. Wallace (1962:142) has stated the dimensions of this model:

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121 A culture, under certain conditions, during a period of time can be said to be an open system in a state of stable but moving equilibrium: that is to say, it maintains a boundary, accepts inputs and produces outputs at approximately equal rates, and changes continuously but gradually in internal structure.

The concept of equilibrium is one way to talk about the constraints which make behavior congruent with beliefs. Given a constantly changing ecological setting due to an expanding population and a changing man-land ratio, the stability of the system depends on the adequacy of existing institutions to handle conflict and of shared understandings to explain events. Movement stems from the tension between individual and social goals and the adaptations to bring them into closer harmony. The basic condition for the kind of change characteristic of a moving equilibrium is that conflict is contained within the community.

128 I have organized the data to clarify features maintaining equilibrium and to show the direction in which the society is moving. First I describe formal, prescribed behavior for each institutional complex and relate it to the beliefs that underlie it. Following each of these chapters I analyze strategies formulated in response to changes coming from within or outside the community. The formal behavior providing a framework for continuity is related to place spirits in Chapter 1, to economic activities in Chapter 2, to customs and rituals in the family and neighborhood in Chapters 4 and 5, to civil and religious government in Chapters 7 and 8. Changing strategies are related to economic activities in Chapter 3, to social relations as revealed in curing practices in Chapter 6, and to political relations in Chapter 9.

177 178 [241] [323] Implicit in the organization is an ordering of institutions from most static to most dynamic. In the economy, agricultural technology has been stabilized at the colonial level of adaptation at which the wooden plow, hoe, and machete were added to, but did not displace, the digging stick, while in pottery manufacture, both techniques and products have remained unchanged. The organization of work groups remains limited to [592] [476] the household except for the introduction of cooperatives in recent years. [361] In domestic institutions there has been an adaptation to living in a compact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group.

pact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group. The authority of the elders in settling conflicts in the family and the community is weakened, although the hierarchy remains intact. In religious institutions, the personnel has remained the same, but the authority of the religious officials has weakened and the belief in the deities and ancestral figures has been undermined.

Political leadership is the most dynamic area of change. The power of the *principales* had already been taken over by young civil officials when I first went to the town in 1957. The curers, who retained the power derived from belief in their control over the supernatural, were the core of resistance to change in the decade that I knew the community. But this control was being challenged by civil officials and factional leaders, who were aware of its repressive effect. The dynamic aspect of the political sector is linked to the fact that the new leaders saw the necessity of seizing power from those who were privileged in the traditional society. They were reworking the social structure to pave the way for the acceptance of development opportunities being offered by the national government.

In Chapters 10, 11, and 12 I have summarized the structuring of behavior in roles, place, and time and described how these patterns have been affected by change. The following questions are raised in the summary chapters:

1. The role system: How are people recruited into roles? How are roles coordinated? How are performances evaluated? The matrix of roles provides the patterned expectations of what others will do in a given situation. Some of the decisions made in assigning people to roles allow little room for choice. In other cases, new functions, such as those imposed upon governing officials, have replaced traditional bases for making decisions and in turn upset the balance of power between elders, curers, and leaders in civil office. (Continuity and change in the role structure are analyzed in Chapter 10.)

2. The setting: How is appropriate behavior defined for each institutional setting? What kinds of behavior are replicated in each setting? How are changes in role relations reflected in positions assumed in each setting? Observations of behavior in the church and the

128 school included in Appendix 3 provide the data for an inductive analysis of conventions established by place. (These are compared and analyzed in Chapter 11.)

3. Timing of behavior: How does time enter into the consciousness of people's planning of activities? Time is a resource the use of which indicates the values assigned to activities and the relative power of people in bargaining positions. As such, it is a sensitive index to changes in strategies for allocating effort. (The sense of time is examined in reference to the scheduling of performances and interpreting the behavior of others in Chapter 12.)

The summary chapters provide the basis for testing the following hypotheses in the final chapter:

1. The stability of the society varies directly with:
   a. the degree of control over time and place
   b. the efficiency of its procedures for adjusting conflict
   c. the ability to validate behavioral innovations in terms of existing values
   d. the effectiveness of the techniques for transforming old power positions whose functions contradict changed social conditions into ceremonial posts
2. The lability of the society varies directly with:
   a. the gap between expectations and experience
   b. the degree of dissonance between traditional explanations and current interpretations of events

177 178 During the period I worked in Tzoʔontaḥal, the fundamental propositions on which behavior was predicated were being challenged. When old beliefs are waning, the question is whether the techniques developed to maintain the old conditions for equilibrium will persist in the future.

121 Fortes (1959:25) has pointed out that the "serious defect . . . of generalized enthnographic descriptions" is that they do not show "how ritual or belief is actually used by men and women to regulate their lives." My purpose is to indicate not only how belief and ritual serve the ends of regulation but also how beliefs are transformed in the process of performing ri-

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tuals and everyday tasks. The dialectic of change lies in the interpretations people make of new experience. 121

My method of study in the field was that of participant-observation combined with extensive eliciting. The assumption implicit in participant-observation that "seeing is believing" denies not only the symbolic significance of the acts one sees, but the relevant social features which are part of their definition of the situation. Rather than impose my own perceptions on the simplest field description, I relied on informants' statements about where, when, what, to whom, and how things were happening. In the case of formally programmed events, I elicited in advance in Tzeltal from two or more informants the sequence of activities as they expected them to transpire. I asked informants to segment the experience they were recounting in as minimal units as they had the descriptive vocabulary to do. This was done for instrumental activities—agriculture and pottery production—as well as ceremonial events in the life cycle and in religious and economic institutions. Implicit in the informants' segmentation of experience is the concept of "molar acts"—purposive and cognitive behavior.[3] The informant says for example that he "eats," not that he raises food to his mouth and chews it. The importance of eliciting descriptions in the performers' own language is indicated in the different way in which experience is lumped or split in Tzeltal. For example, when a curer takes a pulse he both "feels" and "hears" (*ʔawai*) the messages communicated by the blood. On the other hand, the verb "to eat" has several terms depending on what is being eaten (Berlin 1967). Their translations into Spanish do not make the same distinctions. 12 [196] [755]

Observation of events in process provided not only a check for validity and completeness of the informants' accounts, but also a means of analyzing the process of change. The attempt to analyze divergence in actual behavior from normative statements in terms of Murdock's ideal-real dichotomy or Kroeber's value-culture and reality-culture is based on an assumption that there is a single perception of the way things ought to be done in

3. Psychologists such as Lewin (1951:72) and Tolman (1961:89) who have studied animal behavior have emphasized that the minimal unit of significant behavior is both purposive and cognitive. Most of my descriptions of behavior are limited to molar behavior, and the analysis of gesture systems is confined to those which have symbolic significance in a ceremonial context.

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12 a given culture, and that real behavior is a not always successful attempt to approximate those ideals. This formulation has proved inadequate because the actors have a number of ideas as to what appropriate behavior is, and the permissible range of behavior varies in each setting. In questioning informants about the divergences between the account I elicited prior to an event and the acts I observed, I was able to sort out these kinds of variation from those which indicate adaptation or social change.

121 Past events in the history of the community, selected, described, and interpreted by the participants in those events, provide a framework for analyzing structural and social change. Deviation from the norms is not in itself an index to social change, as Faron (1964:202ff.) and others have pointed out. The impetus to social change depends upon awareness of dissonance between the way things are done and social goals. Past events are assigned significance according to this awareness of changing social conditions. Lies about the past and guesses about the future are as important sources of data as history. When people lie about what they do or have done or will do, they lie in terms of the norms, and when they guess, they guess in terms of patterned expectations. These data are of significance in exploring the patterns underlying both formal and dynamic behavior.

829 171 121 Communities such as Tzo?ontahal represent a paradox in Latin America since the Indians pretend to be the same when they are changing, while non-Indians exaggerate the changes which have occurred. In Indian communities, the old cultural forms persist even while the community responds to the changing cues in the environment. The Indians are aware that the corporate community is an important resource base in easing their transition into regional and national networks, not on the bottom rung of the Ladino social ladder as when individuals leave the community, but in a competitively favorable position. Their insistence that they are following the customs of the ancestors is a means of keeping their boundaries intact and protecting themselves against external encroachment.

Chapter 1

Spirits and Places

Social space is the cognitive pattern of relationships imposed upon any terrain. In Amatenango del Valle[1] there are two superimposed patterns. One is defined by the nation for the purposes of political administration. This follows the pattern of colonial administration of *municipios,* or townships, with a *cabecera,* or administrative center, containing the church, town hall, and school house, and serving a number of colonias and *rancherias,* local hamlets or nuclei of populations. The other pattern is defined by the inhabitants using Tzeltal terminology or a Tzeltal rendition of a Spanish name. In this pattern, domains of good and bad spirits are defined, and behavior appropriate to each place is specified in myths and rituals. Persistence of this pattern has had profound implications for continuity of pre-Conquest culture. It provides a ground plan for the system of social control and security exercised by the old gods and their human intermediaries.

In the following section, I will discuss first territorial divisions defined by national law and modified by indigenous categories, and then the interaction between the spirits of persons and places.

The Territorial Divisions

The township of Amatenango del Valle is located at 92°30′ longitude and 16°30′ latitude in the highland zone of the state of Chiapas. The town center is located no more than fifty yards from the Pan-American Highway twenty-five miles southeast of the departmental capital of San Cristóbal.

1. I use the national designation derived from Nahuatl, Amatenango del Valle, to refer to the township, and the Tzeltal term Tzo'ontahal to refer to the center.

000 133 423 632 183 tóbal. The altitude above sea level varies from 2,000 meters in the hilly periphery to 1,720 meters in the valley where the town center is located. Ejido lands acquired in the 1930s have extended the boundaries of the township to lower lands at 1,500 meters altitude.

172 361 Pre-Conquest settlement patterns in the Chiapas highlands were characterized by independent communities occupying the headlands around flat-bottomed valleys (R. M. Adams 1961:341). The choice of sites seems to have been based on defense against invading Toltec or other conquest groups (Calnek 1962:25). The sites investigated by Adams and Culbert (R. M. Adams 1961:347) in Amatenango belong to the late-Classic and early post-Classic period. They were marginal to the centers of Maya civilization in the Yucatán peninsula and Guatemala. Test excavations in the modern town indicate that it was occupied only after colonial times.

175 361 161 162 The town of Amatenango del Valle is first mentioned in the year 1528 when it was included in tribute lists with both the Nahuatl name, Amatenango, and the Tzeltal name, Tzobontaghal (Calnek n.d.). The tribute lists of 1761 include 33 families in the *parcialidad*, or Spanish political unit based on an indigenous settlement, of Zacatepec in Amatenango and 75 families in the parcialidad of Amatenango (Trens 1957 I:217). The first census done in 1778 shows a total population of 576, with 374 men and 202 women. The racial breakdown is listed as 8 white, 2 negro and mestizo, and 560 Indians (Trens 1957:221). By 1824, the population had increased to 1,620. The present population of 3,179 represents natural growth as well as inclusion of additional outlying settlements added in the latter part of the nineteenth century and during the 1930s with the enactment of the land reform act. The population changes indicate steady but not great increases. The capacity of the town to incorporate additional population has probably passed its peak. The present trend is for out-migration to newly opened ejido lands.

161 632 [423]

128 632 The subdivisions of the town, which provide the framework for administration by the national government, are included in Table 1.

361 [563] *The center.* The center of Tzo'ontahal is called the "center [or navel] of the world." The residents of the center, with the exception of the schoolteacher's family, are all Indian. Although the town center forms

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5]

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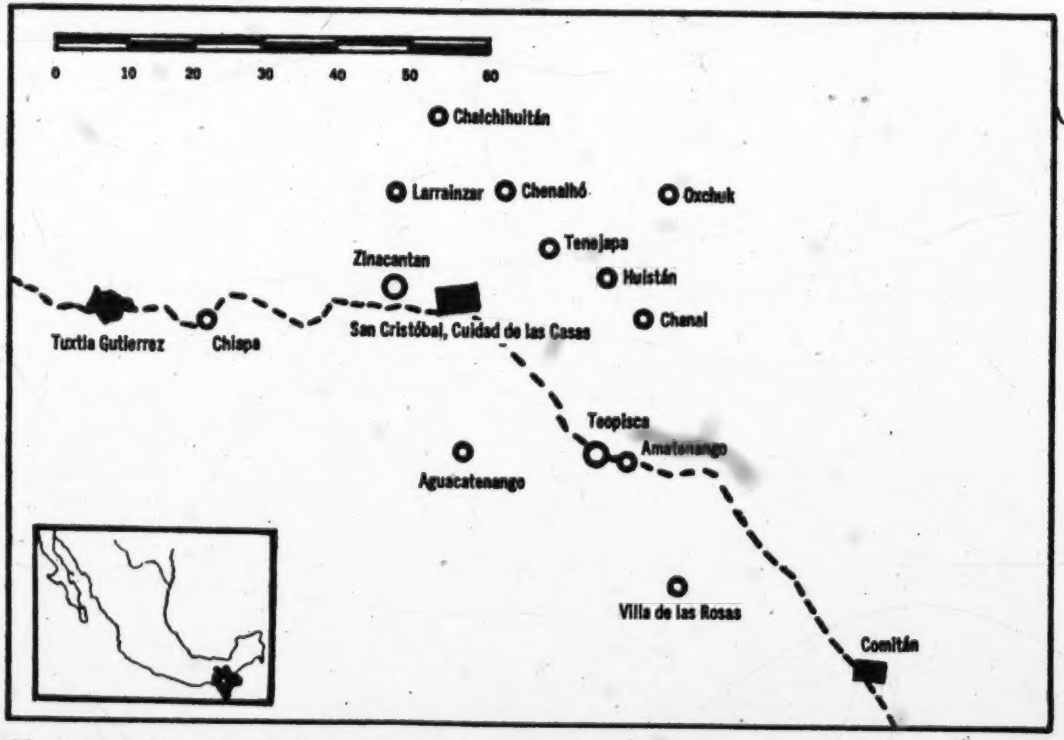
TABLE 1. Population of Political Subdivisions of the Township of Amatenango del Valle

Name of subdivision	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Center			
Tzoʔontahal	938	894	1,832
Colonias			
Boč̌ibal	109	113	222
Teʔtikil	81	91	172
Pathuitz	36	30	66
San Caralampio	50	46	96
San Vicente	46	48	94
Ranchos and rancherias			
Buena Vista	1	5	6
Candelaria	5	3	8
Carmen	8	9	17
Carmen las Delicias	6	7	13
Cruz Quemada	5	10	15
El Porvenir	12	13	25
El Rabinal	11	9	20
El Rosario	12	17	29
La Esperanza	3	6	9
La Libertad	3	4	7
La Merced Buena Vista	4	5	9
Llano Grande	11	16	27
Porvenir	2	6	8
Rosario Tulanca	3	2	5
San Agustín	11	9	20
San Antonio Buena Vista (a)	63	76	139
San Antonio Buena Vista (b)	12	7	19
San Caralampio	8	9	17
San José Cruz Quemada	14	14	28
San José La Reforma	10	10	20
San José Yujulum	10	8	18
San Pedro Soledad	12	10	22
San Ramon Buena Vista	4	5	9
San Salvador	12	11	23
San Sebastian	1	1	2
Santa Anita	6	3	9
Santiago Buena Vista	11	10	21
Tulanca	5	6	11
Fincas			
San Nicolás	26	28	54
Tejonera	8	5	13
Total	1,559	1,546	3,105

SOURCE: 1960 census.

[P 4]



The State of Chiapas, showing the capital, Tuxtla; the two principal cities, San Cristóbal and Comitán; several surrounding Indian towns; and the Pan-American Highway (dashed line).

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Although the town center forms a rough rectangle on Map 1, the people think of it as being a square.[2] This conforms to the cultural ideal of a square applied in house, milpa, village, and probably world, although when anyone is asked about the last, he cautiously answers, "I have heard that it is round." The center is the unit that the people think of when they say *hteklum*, my land or my village. House lots are not sold to outsiders, particularly Ladinos, but the prohibition applies as well to other Indians living within the limits of the township.

The residents of the center identify themselves with the former residents of the two pre-Conquest sites occupying the hill of Amawitz[3] northwest of the center, and the hill of San Nicolás (called Lelem in Tzeltal) to the southeast. The following account is given of the founding of the present town in the valley:

Our ancestors lived in Amawitz. There wasn't enough water there, but there was a great deal that passed here in the valley. The ancestors came out of their cave to look at where the people should move. They told the people where they should go. The people "thought in common." They cut the trees here; then, when it was dry, they burned it with fire as they do for milpa. When it was cleared, they began to build their houses. Others saw this and came to build their houses. When they finished building their houses, everyone began to think of building a church. The first church was built in Alannantik [the low side] for San Pedro the Martyr. This was torn down because the witches used to come to get the permission of San Pedro to do witchcraft. When the new church was built, there was a division of the town into the upper and lower sections.

It is significant that the people attribute the initiative in the resettlement to the mythical ancestors, although archaeological evidence indicates that the present center was settled after the Conquest. The Conquest is not a part of their mythico-historic past. The ancestors are given credit for establishing everything.

2. The pre-Conquest term for local center was Tzamgholal (Calnek 1962:25), signifying "square head." "Head" town was possibly a ceremonial center.

3. Hermitte (1964:48) notes that in Pinola the "police" of the spiritual government are sent to outposts in Amawitz and Me'wakal in Amatenango. This suggests that it may be considered the ancestral home of other Indians of the area.

621 A territorial distinction not recognized by the federal government is the
361 division of the town center into two sections, or sides, by the street running in front of the church. The two sides of the division are called
[192] Ahk'olnantik, upper side, and Alannantik, lower side. The upper side is in the direction of higher lands in the southwest called Ahk'olk'inal, and the lower side is in the direction of lower lands to the northeast, called Alank'inal. The emphasis on relative altitude implicit in place nomenclature is a central fact in the Indians' ecological adjustment. Marriage is en-
[582] dogamous within each division by explicit rule, and in fact 87 percent of
[183] all marriages conform to the rule, according to a census I took in 1958. A
[125] man who marries a girl on the opposite side is forced to make a payment
[583] of eighteen liters of liquor to the bachelors of the opposite division. In addition to regulating competition for marriage partners, the dual division is the basis for allocating civil and religious offices.

174 Whether the dual division was an indigenous trait or not is a moot
621 point. The pattern for dual organizations existed in both Spanish and indigenous societies (Foster 1951:5). There is some speculation that the dual divisions are a product of the Spanish colonial policy of the congregación, when populations of different origins were drawn together. However, local historical accounts indicate that several ethnic groups were intro-
175 duced at various periods. After the initial congregación, foreign Indians
621 were incorporated in the sixteenth century, in the latter part of the nine-
563 teenth century (Secretaría de Gobierno Constitucional, October 26, 1893), and as late as the 1930s in response to the land reform program. As each ethnic group entered the region, it was either incorporated into one of the existing divisions or was isolated. The persistence of polarization must be
621 explained on other grounds. The widespread distribution in the Chiapas
[174] highlands of dual divisions defined by territory and descent in communities of both dispersed and nucleated settlement patterns suggests the indigenous origins of the division. A dual division of upper and lower sections based on endogamy and equal representation is found in San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:64), Chanal (Eva Hunt, NSF II report), Ozchuk (Villa Rojas 1946:424), and Cancuk (Siverts 1964). The Nahuatl term *calpul* is applied in some cases to these divisions. The towns where calpulles are found are *paraje*, or vacant center, types (Tax 1937) which

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were not affected by the congregación. The fact that there is no mention 621
in the post-Conquest documents of the introduction of dual divisions sug- [174]
gests that the model was indigenous to the area.

The Indians of Tzo'ontahal state that the dividing line of the division 173
was established in its present position when a new church, replacing the 621
first one which was burned, was built on the present site. Judging from a date carved in a beam of the church, this must have been about the year 1746. The endogamous restriction on marriage has not led to a sense of ra- 582
cial distinction between the two populations. Both groups feel that they 621
are descendants of the same ancestor figures and under their guardianship. The same Tzeltal patronyms are distributed on both sides of the division, 551
although there is a clustering of some of them on one or another side. 621
Table 2 shows the distribution of patronyms of 714 male and female adults; 88 percent of the patronyms are found in both divisions.[4]

The functions of the division in organizing social groupings have been 178
eroded, but some survive. Equal representation by civil officials from the 62
upper and lower sections, when there are two or more posts at the same rank, is still in effect. The principle of alternation of the single posts of president and *síndico,* his administrative assistant, so that one term the incumbent is chosen from Ahk'olnantik and the following term from Alannantik has not been a decisive factor since the 1930s, when Indian communities were being drawn into more active participation in national programs of change (Chapter 9).

Residential expansion within the center has been almost entirely in 621
Ahk'olnantik because of the addition of ejido lands formerly belonging to 178
the finca of San Nicolás on this side of town. This one-sided increase in 161
population finally resulted, in 1965, in a breakdown of the principle of 794
equal representation in the ceremonial posts involving high expenses, [423]
those of the four *alfereces.* Although attempts were made to find candidates in Alannantik, there were no men with sufficient funds who had not

4. Carrasco (n.d.:5) quotes a document in the *Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla, Guatemala* 16 indicating that Spanish patronyms were given to the heads of calpules and that these were to be extended to all members of the calpul. The present distribution of name groups in the dual divisions cannot support this, nor can it refute the possibility that Spanish patronyms were related to some larger kin or territorial grouping more than three hundred years ago.

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held that post formerly, and all four alfereces were for the first time taken from one side.

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TABLE 2. Patronyms in the Dual Division

Patronym	*Alannantik only*	*Ahk'olnantik only*	*Alannantik and Ahk'olnantik*
Alvarez			37
Arguella Jimenez	1		
Bautista		1	
Bautista Čail			52
Bautista Čo		5	
Bautista Ko'ton			14
Bautista Sa'ben			20
Cepeda			1
Cepeda Čilol			29
Cruz Mendez	1		
Diaz			6
Diaz Čamo			5
Diaz Ton			8
Diaz Uz			42
Gomez		2	
Gomez Bot			39
Gomez Kompaš			73
Gomez Kut			49
Gomez Waris	1		
Gonzalez	1		
Gonzalez Ikob		3	
Guitierrez	1		
Hernandez	1		
Hernandez Čela	1		
Hernandez Tenan	4	1	
Jimenez		2	
Leon		2	
Leon Či			21
Leon Čulik			14
Leon Malatz	2		
Lopez			1
Lopez Lab'	1		
Lopez Lin			31
Lopez Mai	11		
Lopez Pokoš		13	
Lopez Tapiya		5	
Lopez Šunton		18	

Spirits and Places 9

Patronym	*Alannantik only*	*Ahk'olnantik only*	*Alannantik and Ahk'olnantik*
Lopez Tz'uʔu			12
Lopez Wolto			50
Lopez Yutz			16
Perez			9
Perez Huhan			4
Perez Kam			11
Perez Kantiron			23
Perez Os			17
Perez Otol			16
Perez Tut			18
Perez Ventura			11
Sanchez		3	
Santis Peč	1		
Vasquez		3	
Total	26	58	629

The curing hierarchy was organized on the basis of the dual division until the 1940s. There were two leader curers, one on each side, who were in charge of guarding their own side against intrusion of evil spirits. During the 1940s a breakdown in the hierarchial principle led to some lessening of the power of the group and a collapse of the leadership. People now patronize curers from either section, but there is some feeling that it is safer for the curers if they cure only on their own side.

The dual division persists as a basis of economic organization only in the case of the cattle owner's associations. Pasturage on communal lands is allocated according to residence in the upper or lower division. Since cattle raising for beef has increased the size of herds the cattle owners on each side have formed an association to clear the waterholes and celebrate fiestas at the major waterhole on the Day of the Cross. None of the other new enterprises in town organize on the basis of the territorial division.

In the etiquette of social interaction, the dual division is still taken into account. When a resident of one side walks in the streets of the other side, he is not expected to greet passersby or people in their houses with the usual *b'onme wiš* or *b'onme tat* (I go, elder sister or father, or whatever the appropriate extension of kin terms may be). Such street greetings are mandatory on one's own side of the town. It is considered much safer to

It is considered much safer to drink in a bar on one's own side, but those men who pride themselves on being widely respected brag that they can drink on either side without becoming involved in a fight. When people must pass to the other side of town, they prefer walking on the Pan-American Highway, a socially neutral network, to passing through the streets of the opposite division, where their presence arouses curiosity and comments, such as "He must be looking for a lover!"

The colonias. The six colonias (Table 1) are populations of Indians who have moved from the center to take advantage of the lands granted under the ejido program of 1937 and "foreign Indians" who were formerly workers on the expropriated plantations. The Indians distinguish the close-lying settlements, or *barrios,* of Yetawitz, Pathuitz, B'očib'al, and Te?tikil from the remaining colonias listed in the census (Table 1). The populations of the barrios are more closely identified with the center since they are closer to it and there is a higher proportion of migrants from the parent group. They are linked to the side of the dual division to which they are most closely situated. Marriages can be contracted between members of the two settlements, and house lots can be acquired by residents of the town in the barrio with which they are associated. An exception was made to the association on the basis of proximity in the case of Te?tikil, which lies nearer to Alannantik but was linked with Ahk'olnantik in order to balance the population ratios at the time of its settlement. Police are appointed from these colonias and serve in the local *cabildo,* or town hall, along with other police from the center. The colonias of San Vicente and San Caralampio are farther away, and the rural judge and police appointed to these populations appear only once a week and during ceremonies in the local cabildo. The foreign Indians of San Vicente, who migrated from Chanal, and of Yetawitz, who came from Huistán to work in the finca of San Nicolás before acquiring ejido lands, are discriminated against in the local political organization. Their representatives never reach the high positions of president and first or second judge.

Ranchos and rancherías. The populations of these small settlements have only the most formal kind of social, economic, and political

ties to the center. They register births and deaths in the township center, 632
but they do not have any representation in the cabildo. The populations 621
have no identification with Indian subgroups, speak Spanish, and are oriented to the regional rather than the local economic center. The plantations remaining in the area, classified as *ranchos* in the national census, employ Indians from the center. Their only relationship to the central au- [464]
thority is to get help in recruiting additional laborers. Recruitment of [241]
labor is no longer coercive as it was prior to the 1930s when the low wage rate could not attract the help needed. Announcements of the need for workers are made by the president on the loudspeaker system of the town, and men voluntarily go to the plantations.

Spirit Domains

The link between people and place is through the media of the spirits 776
(*E'uleletik*) of persons and of locale. The relationship is maintained 778
through a set of rules governing the behavior among spirits of people and of places. These rules derive from myths and stories of encounters which define the character of the spirits in each of the domains. Danger is localized in a series of caves which are avoided. Benevolent, or guardian, spirits inhabit a different set of sites, where ceremonies are conducted that maintain the well-being of the individual and of the community. By locating [182]
and circumscribing places of danger and guardianship, the members of the community can supplicate helpful spirits and avoid evil; they are delivered from fear of the unknown and provided with a rationale for dealing with fear of the known.

The places where spirits meet are outlined in Table 3. The first group [128]
includes spirits which are supplicated, the second, dangerous spirits which are avoided or approached only by powerful persons.

The house spirits. The spirits of inhabitants and of the house 776
meet at the center post at the rear wall of the house. The spirit of the 342
house lives in this post. Those who claim to have seen the house spirit say he is a small Ladino child. He is capricious, and if he is not happy, he
may admit the evil spirits who will eat the souls of the inmates. His appe- [753]

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342 tite must be satisfied when the house is first occupied and when the chil-
776 dren of the house fall ill from a sickness diagnosed by a curer as a result of
753 their souls being eaten. The souls of the inmates of the house hover near the center post when they are not in the body. The soul calling ceremony
342 is held near this center post. If someone is cured in a house not his own,
755 he must not sit near this post because his soul will be confused with those of the inmates of the house. The curing arch is erected directly before the center post, over the square hole in which the ceremonial offering of a sheep's head is buried when the house is built. A live chicken is buried in this spot if the illness is severe.

776
778 TABLE 3. Spirits and Places
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Place	*Place spirit*	*Person spirit*
Loci of spirits to be supplicated		
House	Spirit of the house (*sᵖulel na*)	Spirits of children (*sᵖuleletik yuntikil*)
Spring of San Nicolás	Little Ladino (*ʔin kailan*)	Spirits of male patients (*sᵖuleletik yuʔun keremetik*)
Spring of Pahaltón	Little Ladina (*ʔin linlan*)	Spirits of female patients (*sᵖuleletik yuʔun ʔaᵖiletik*)
Cave of Ancestors	Lopez brothers (*Šuntonetik*)	Spirits of townspeople (*sᵖuleletik spinil teklum*)
Loci of spirits to be avoided		
Cave of Don David	Ladino moneylender (*Klabil*)	Petitioners for wealth
Cave of the Black Man	Devil, or black man (*ʔihk'al winik*)	Witches
Cave of Juan Santos	Deceased recipient of wealth from Cave Hwan Santil	Petitioners for wealth
Stone Cave	Owner of cave (*Yahwal sᵖen*)	Petitioners for wealth
Cave of Elotes	Owner of cave (*Yahwal sᵖen*)	Petitioners for wealth
Cave of the Star	Owner of star (*Yahwal ʔek'*)	Curers and witches

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The four sides of the square house are protected by palm crosses which were nailed to each of the four corner posts during the ceremony of the initiation of the house. These crosses prevent the entry of evil. A fifth cross on the door post, replaced each year on the Day of the Cross, ensures the guardianship of San Pedro the Martyr, the Lord of Lightning.[5] 342 789 [776]

The idea of the similarity in substance between a house and its inmates originates in the notions about soil (*lum*) and mud (*ʔaḵ'al*). An origin myth concerning the creation of man indicates that God created man out of soil and this mythical identification is reiterated in prayers when the fleshy part of the body is referred to as *hlumeletik*, our soil, and *ḵaḵ'aletik*, our mud. Whatever soil man comes into contact with—in his house, in the backyard, or in his travels, may contain some of his soul. This belief is demonstrated in the following practices: When a person's soul is lost because of a fright, such as falling or "seeing a spirit," the soil where the incident occurred is scraped into a shirt or skirt belonging to him and deposited in the soil below the head of his bed. Some older informants say that the soil from beneath the bed is scraped up and deposited in the coffin of a deceased inmate of the house, but I have never seen this done. This intimate relation between soul and soil was best illustrated to us when our landlord refused to let us put a cement floor in the interior of his house since it would interfere with the practices described above and other customs in the house ceremonies mentioned below. 342 773 774 [123]

The house is constructed in two stages. The completion of each stage requires a ceremony linking the spirits of the inmates to that of the dwelling. The first stage is the erection of the house posts and the wooden frame. When the roof is covered with wood shingles, thatch, or tile, the family may set up temporary walls of boards. They wait until the rainy season to complete the second stage of building up the walls with mud. The first ceremony, called "fiesta for the house," is for "the spirit which resides in the posts," and the second, called "meal for the house," is to feed "the spirit of the house earth." People believe that the mud walls, like their fleshy counterpart, the human body, require nourishment. 342 774 [527]

5. San Pedro Martyr is referred to by the Indians as *Tatik Martil* and is identified with the pre-Conquest deity Lord of Lightning, or *Tatik Čaʔuk*. [776]

342 527 789 *First house fiesta.* In preparation for the fiesta to inaugurate the wooden frame of the house, the older men of the household and the curers make palm crosses called *Tatik Martil,* another reference to San Pedro Martyr. Older men are chosen to do this task because their procreative powers will not be endangered by handling this powerful symbol. Branches of the bushes growing near the springwater of San Nicolás are cut by the younger men of the household to be arranged in an arch, while the women make incense burners and clay candle holders. The protective symbols used in the fiesta—the arch of branches and flowers, the candles, liquor, handrolled cigarettes, palm crosses, and springwater in a gourd—are arranged before the center post of the back wall of the house.

Fig. 1. Relatives Present at House Fiesta

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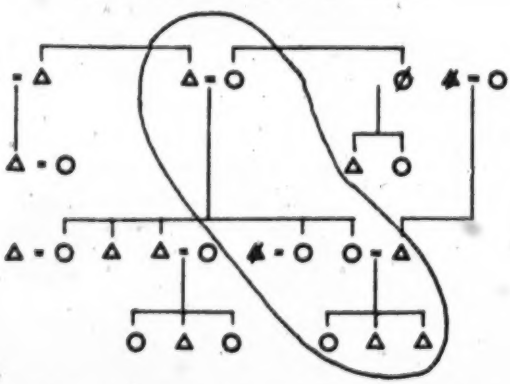

Encircled group will live in house.

342 527 The activities of a house fiesta observed in 1966 are described below.

756 788 *The future occupants of the house sat in a row facing the curing arch. Two curers officiated, the elder a resident of the side of the dual division in which the houseowner lives and the second from the barrio in which his son-in-law, Santiago, was born. The elder curer lit the candles at the center post of the back wall, while the younger curer lit those at the center post in the middle wall. The mother of Santiago lit the incense and placed*

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it before he arch. The younger curer then took a bunch of the branches of spring bushes and brushed each person over the head, shoulders, back, arms, and legs. Liquor was passed around to the visitors and participants. The elder curer took the bunch of branches, prayed, and brushed the future occupants. The younger curer followed him with another brushing.

The elder curer put some powder in the springwater. He then took a rattle, stuck it it in a bunch of the leaves from the spring, gave it a couple of shakes as though testing it, and handed it to one of the b'alnial *(young male assistants). He then stood before the candles at the back center post, bowed to it, turned, and bowed to the opposite center post. He poured the springwater in a gourd and gave it to Juliana, the houseowner's daughter, who passed it to each member of the household. The curer then took out four cigarettes and put them on either side of the candles. He greeted everyone present and delivered the following prayer:* [082] [639]

> *May no witchcraft enter.*
> *May all the children be cared for.*
> *I can see and hear who enters.*
> *Of one heart are the women, of one heart are the men.*

Santiago began to play the guitar as his wife, Alberta, brought in the coffee and rolls. She handed the first cup to the elder curer. This was followed with a serving of rice and tomatoes. Before he began to eat, the curer said, "good afternoon" to all present.

After the meal, the elder curer led the household members outside. He held one of the palm crosses at the corner post of the house and prayed; then Santiago pounded in a nail to hold it. Each member of the household, including the small children of Alberta, went up and kissed the cross in turn. They went on to the other main posts of the exterior of the house where they did the same thing. They entered the house and continued drinking the rest of the afternoon. Cigarettes were passed around, and the men began to joke. Drinking is compulsory: everyone who attends must drink equal amounts of the liquor served. [273]

Each of the ritual items is introduced because it contains a powerful soul. The branches and the springwater contain souls associated with the

342 527 774 788 spring. The gourd is used as a container for the springwater because, like all growing plants and unlike metal or glass containers, it has a soul. The soul of the tobacco plant is considered particularly strong. The smoke of the candles and incense are the media through which prayers to the spirit [782] of the house are transmitted.

342 527 788 776 533 The house fiesta serves three functions: (1) introducing the spirit of the house inmates to the house spirit, (2) creating a harmonious setting for spiritual interaction of the members of the household and the house spirit, (3) protecting the house against the intrusion of evil. The introduction is achieved by brushing the household members with the branches from the spring, and the harmony is brought about by drinking liquor, playing the guitar, and dancing. The music of the seed gourd, the guitar, and sometimes a radio or phonograph makes the residents, their guests, and the house spirit happy, or "of one heart." Protection is insured by [789] nailing the palm crosses representing the Lord of the Lightning to the house posts.

342 527 782 756 *Second house fiesta* ("meal for the house"). When a meal is given to the spirit of the house earth, the house is arranged as for the house fiesta with curing arches set in front of the center posts at the back and middle walls. The same guests are invited as for the first fiesta. The family buys a sheep and slaughters it in the morning by stringing it up to the center post by it paws and slashing its jugular vein. When the blood has drained into the square hole opened at the base of the center post, the curer removes the head and buries it in the hole. Some curers bury the four paws as well, while others prefer to add an offering of five pieces of bread in a new pottery jar, twenty measures of chocolate, thirteen cigarettes, and a bottle of liquor covered with a new cloth. The head of the sheep is placed so that the eyes look up to watch over the inhabitants. Some refer to it as the *me?iltatil,* identifying it with the curers (who are called me?iltatil in the context of guardianship) and thus with the ancestor guardians.

During the house fiesta I observed in July 1967, an old curer who had officiated at the first ceremony served again. A neighbor, who was not related to the houseowners but who was skilled in butchering, slaughtered

the animal. The curer received from him the severed head and paws which he placed in a large gourd. Then the curer served a potion of herbs in springwater to all of the members of the household. The final ritual act was for the curer to smoke an article of clothing belonging to each member of the household over the incense burning in front of the center arch at the back wall. Liquor was served continaully throughout the ceremony, the first drink always being given to the curer followed by one to the elder houseowner. The first drink was served immediately after the cutting of the jugular vein of the sheep. Flowing blood, water, and liquor are spirit media symbolically linked in ritual behavior. Between each of the major ritual acts—the slaughtering of the sheep, the burial of the head, the serving of the springwater and herbs, and the smoking of the clothing with incense—the curer prayed, but his prayers were so mumbled that I could not hear or record them. Informants said that it was a variation of the prayer given at the first house fiesta. After the rituals, a stew made with the sheep meat was served with tortillas to all the visitors. The music of guitar and gourd rattle, played during the ritual by young male relatives continued after the meal, and the guests remained in the house drinking and dancing for the rest of the afternoon.

342 527 782 756 [788] [273] [533]

Elements of these house fiestas are repeated when any of the children of the household is ill. A severe illness, diagnosed as being caused by the devil eating the soul of the patient, requires offering a meal to the house spirit. The square hole is reopened, and a live black chicken, male if the patient is a boy and female if it is a girl, is placed inside. A food offering of one-fourth liter of liquor, one peso's worth of bread, and 50 cents' worth of chocolate is placed inside with the chicken, and a square board is fitted on top of the hole "to keep the chicken alive for eight days so that the house spirit will hear his cries." When the curing arch is removed, the hole is filled in with dirt over the chicken, now dead, which provides a meal for the spirit house earth. 755

When the houseowner is sick, an appeal for health is made to the spirit in the house post. The members of the household kiss the post, a splinter is removed and burned in an incense burner with *pom*, the resin of pine. This odor is pleasing to the house spirit. [776]

When a serious illness caused by witchcraft has been cured, the patient 000

18 When a serious illness In the Eyes of the Ancestors caused by witchcraft has been cured, the patient
789 must be protected against reentry of the evil by a gift of medicine to the house. Palm crosses are made for the corner posts and the entry, and a medicine consisting of a mixture of garlic and creosote, the seeds of mustard, and *poščan,* a "hot" herb, is mixed. As the crosses are nailed on the posts, the curer marks a cross with the medicine over the palm cross. This "covers the eyes of the evil spirit" so that it will not enter the house.

776 The relationship between house spirit and the spirits of the residents is
342 an uneasy one. Fear is associated with this capricious spirit, who might make an alliance with evil spirits, and whose power is evident only in sickness and in death, never in good deeds. A sense of alienation is conveyed in the fact that the house spirit and the spirits of the spring are conceived of as Ladinos. Spirits of the house and of the landscape are exacting landlords from whom the tenants expect nothing in return for their offerings
[782] but freedom from harm. Acceptance of the offerings seals a contract between spiritual occupants that must continually be renewed in order to maintain the balance of security expressed in the phrase "to be of one heart." The payment of a "tribute" in the form of food, liquor, and enter-
[557] tainment is part of a larger strategy by which these Indians ensure their
[571] survival by appeasement of overlords, demanding government officials,
[782] and the very rats which live in their houses and feed on the corn they store in the eaves.

778 *The springs.* Other meeting grounds for the spirits of people and
312 places are the springs. The major spring, San Nicolás, is located on the southwestern periphery of the town. It provides drinking water and water for irrigating the cultivated lands. A second spring, called Pahaltón, lies closer to the village and provides a smaller stream of water directed into the canals irrigating the fields of the center. Some say the spirit of San Ni-
[776] colás is a small Ladino boy; others say he is a man. The spirit of Pahaltón is a female non-Indian, or *Ladina.* The spirits of these waters are able to ef-
778 fect miraculous cures for patients who have lost their souls or those who
312 are of two hearts because of upset social relations in the home. Male pa-
755 tients are brought to San Nicolás and female patients are brought to Pahaltón to seek a miracle. In the curing ceremony an arch of flowers entwined in pine boughs is constructed as closely as possible to the spring

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waters. The curer brushes the patients with branches of the cooling bushes 778
and herbs growing near the spring, the same ones used in the fiesta of in- 312
auguration and the curing ceremonies conducted in the house. The strat- 755
egy of making the house spirit happy by providing music, dancing, and drinking is repeated at the spring to make the water spirit happy. Some of the family of the patient must remain in the house as "waiters" (*maliwanehetik*) to receive the spirit if it should arrive before its owner. The maliwanehetik must drink as much liquor as the participants at the spring.

The Cave of the Ancestors. The ancestors, the *me?tiktatik*, were 773
believed to have lived in a cave in the hills lying on the peripheries of the 778
township. In the myth that follows, they are given a historical identity as 769
two brothers, the Shuntonetik. Shunton is one of the Tzeltal patronyms of [551]
families still living in the town, and in fact the narrator of this version of the myth is Mariano Shunton, whom people consider a descendant of the ancestors.[6]

Formerly a priest asked for a document to be delivered to Antigua in 773
Guatemala. Two messengers were sent with it, but they did not return. 778
Another messenger went and did not return. Four or five more messen- 539
gers were sent out and did not come back. Finally they sent a man from 769
the cabildo with his younger brother. They left early in the morning, and the elder brother said as he left the other town officials, "If I succeed, I want a fiesta. Look for my sign of four arches [rainbow]."

The two brothers first went to a hill. There they called upon their swayohelik [*animal spirits*]. *First the animal spirit of the elder brother spoke. He said, "I am a stone." Then the animal spirit of the younger brother said, "I am a stick. Moreover, I am a snake and a maguey plant." The elder brother said, "Then we are well off. Let us go."*

[551]

6. The same identification of a lineage patronym with the most important sacred hill [613]
is found in other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities (Holland 1963, Hermitte [171]
1964). The pattern may have originated in a period of pre-Conquest expansion when the [174]
dominant lineage was assiged a custodial leadership over the new settlement, with their spirits remaining as guardians of the community. Members of the contemporary communities who bear the same patronym do not have any privileged position. These associations of past and contemporary belief are, as Vogt (1964:216) cautions, still hypothetical.

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773 *As the two brothers were walking, the elder brother said, "Do you see*
778 *what that man is doing?" He was referring to a black man lying near the*
539 *road. "He is sleeping," said the younger. The elder said, "Let us go on."*
769 *They approached closer to the sleeping man. The elder brother said, "Let us pass." Just as they were passing, the black man said, "Where are you going? Come back! Come, enter here."*

They entered a cave. The black man said, "Here you are going to die."

"So be it," said the elder.

"Put your head here," said the black man. He went to get his machete, but instead of hitting the head with it, he drove it into the great stone which was the elder brother's swayohel. "Ah, the devil, who are you?" he asked. Turning to the younger brother, he said, "Now it is your turn!"

The younger brother came, and the black man struck him with his machete. The machete broke.

"Now it is your turn, black man!" said the younger brother. The devil began to cry, "Go along, I will not trouble you." "Yes, you will always trouble us," said the elder brother. "I shall give you money," said the black man. "No, I have money," said the elder brother. "Then I shall carry you," said the black man. "I do not want that. You must die!" said the elder brother. "Come, boy [to his younger brother], cut a stick and make two points on each side. Stick it there and a wind will carry him aloft."

Then a snake came and settled right there where the stick was planted. The black man fell, and the stick entered his anus. It came out of his mouth and he died. The brothers cut off his head and brought it to Guatemala. They delivered the paper to the priest, who was very frightened.

"Which way have you come?" asked the priest. "We came along the road," answered the brothers.

"But didn't you see anyone?" asked the priest. "No one," answered the brothers. "But where did you really go?" asked the priest.

"Since you force us to answer, we did meet someone," answered the brothers, "covering the road where we passed midway. We brought him here."

"I want to see him," said the priest. The elder brother said, "Look, I brought him in this box. I cut off his head."

The priest looked, and when he saw the head, he cried. He ordered the

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soldiers to come and throw the Shunton brothers in jail. He ordered a meal brought to prison with a servant. 703 708

"I do not want it," said the elder brother and returned it with the servant. "Tell him [the priest] that I do not want it but thank him." 539 769

The servant told the priest that the brothers did not want the good meal.

"Good," said the priest. "If they don't eat in a little while they will be dead. Go leave them liquor so that they will not feel how they die."

"Good," said the servant. She went to the jail and said, "My master wants to know if you want to drink."

"I don't want any. I have some too. I brought a liter of trago." There they were drinking inside the prison.

At ten in the morning, they came to tie a blindfold on the brothers. They shot at them, but the bullet did not hit. They shot again, but it did not hit. "Who are these people?" asked the priest. "Send out another soldier!" The other began to fire, but the bullets did not hit the brothers. Many soldiers came out and fired, but the bullets did not hit them.

"Then," said the soldier, "you know what we shall do? We shall burn them in this hide."

"Good, go look for the hide. When the hide comes we will prepare it," said the priest.

They began to sew the hide. When they finished sewing, they began to throw wood and lit a fire. They waited until the fire started. They came to see the brothers. They were very drunk.

"Bring them here." said the priest. "Not yet. They are still drinking." But the priest answered, "They have drunk enough. Go bring them and we shall burn them."

On their second return, the fire began to burn the pueblo. The people began to cry. Half the pueblo was burned when the Lord of Lightning and Rain came. A shower hit the fire.

"Good," said the elder brother. "We have won. Now the fire is out and we shall go. Let us see if they are waiting for us in our town. If not, I know where we can find some pretty women in Chiapa."

"Good. Let us rest a little," said the younger brother.

"Good, I am thirsty. Let us go where there is water," said the elder.

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773 *"Good."*
778 *They waited a while and the water came. "Are you going to drink?"*
539 *They drank, and then they made the sign of the rainbow. The president*
769 *sent his síndico to meet them. The síndico got drunk on the way. He sat down halfway in the road. The brothers met him there. They were angry that a fiesta was not prepared for them. And for this they left town, and went to live in Chiapas.*

773 This tale is known to everyone in town, and there is no doubt as to its au-
778 thenticity expressed by those who have given versions of it. When I took
769 some of the Indians on a trip to Guatemala, they pointed out the rocks
723 where the brothers encountered the devil. When they arrived in Guatemala and saw a bus marked Antigua they expressed amazement that the town was still in existence.

769 Some people claim to have seen the ancestors, whom they describe as
778 wearing the old style costume—a long shirt with the hat now worn by the alfereces. The ancestors are believed to have watched over the village from a mound rising abruptly before the mouth of the cave, called Nol Shan, or Head of Palm, because of the trees growing on it (Plate 1). From this eminence they could watch the streets of the village and see whether anyone was trying to bring in evil (Plate 2). They were able to discern the power of evil in the souls of the newborn and could snatch the soul before its possessor grew up to cause evil. Their human agents in guarding the town
[756] against evil were the curers (*ʔuʔuletik*), who in the context of guardianship were called *meʔiltatil*.[7]

796 Each year on the Day of the Cross, May 3d in the Catholic calendar,[8] a
769 fiesta is held in honor of the ancestors. It refers back to the fiesta which
62 ought to have been held for the returning Shuntonetik, and is performed in the interest of the whole community as a means of ensuring good relations with the ancestors.

[756] Formerly the curers were responsible for conducting this fiesta. An informant recalled the ritual:

7. The guardianship role of the curers is related to the functions of pre-Conquest officials, called *ghcunalum*, "caretakers of the soil" (Calnek 1962:25).

[178] 8. The date of the Day of the Cross was changed by the Vatican in 1964. When the local priest tried to reschedule the fiesta in the community, he encountered strong opposition. The Indians continue to celebrate the Day of the Cross on May 3d.

The curers used to go up to the cave with the alfereces, the mayordomos [*religious officials*], *the prayer reciters, and the people of the village. When they arrived there, the mayordomos played the guitar and gourd rattle. They lit candles and incense, and the leading curers would go inside the cave. All the people contributed money for the liquor and candles which was collected by the officials. They said that they spoke to the ancestors inside, where there was a lake and a beautiful field. They asked for rain and good crops. They would come out and tell the people waiting outside what the ancestors had said.* 796 769 [794] [178] [756]

Then one year [*in 1957*] *during the fiesta of the cave, the curers went into the cave. The people said to the curers, "We want to see the owners." The curers said they would come out, but they didn't. The people waited and waited. A boy went inside with the curers. They tried to prevent him, saying, "Won't you be afraid?" He said, "No, let's go in." They entered twenty feet inside the door. The curers said, "Let us stay here." The boy asked them where was the river, the lake, and the milpa that were supposed to be inside. The curer replied, "It is all a lie. Now you know; don't tell the people." But when he came out, the boy told the people it was all a deception.* 796 769 756 781 178

Since the late 1950s the ritual has changed. The curers no longer officiate, nor do they enter the cave and speak to the ancestors as they did formerly. The *fiscal*, or assistant to the priest, leads the mayordomos, alfereces, and prayer-reciters to the cave on the Day of the Cross and simply replace the palm cross at the entrance to the cave just as they do with the palm crosses fixed to the wooden crosses marking the roads leading into the town. The curers have attempted to revive the belief in the presence of the ancestors by saying that their nephew is in residence now, but no one I ever spoke to believes this. Most people agree that the ancestors live permanently in Chiapa de Corso.[9] [794]

The hill and cave owners. While people try to maintain a good relationship with the spirits of the house, of the springs, and of the Cave of the Ancestors, they avoid the dangerous spirits of the hills and caves 776

9. A similar myth concerning the departure of the ancestors to go live in Chiapa de Corzo exists in Pinola (Hermitte 1964). [773] [171]

7: Nash E-5 (1967-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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776 which have the power to mislead, give illness, or capture people to work
[756] for them. Only the most powerful curers and witches, and the very greedy
[754] approach these spirits for they are reputed to be very "live" and mali-
[825] ciously clever. Snakes are the offspring of the hill and do the bidding of the hill owners.

556 Wealth in the form of livestock, corn, or gold can be gained from some
756 of the cave owners upon request, but there is danger in receiving these
778 gifts since they must be reciprocated. Among the cave owners who give
787 gifts is Don Klabil, a deceased moneylender of the neighboring town. After his death in the 1940s, his spirit went to live in the hill bordering the two towns. People say that when he was alive he used to get money from the true owner of the cave. Those who have been inside the cave say it is filled with animals—cattle, horses, rabbits—which drink at a large interior lake. The appropriate approach for requesting wealth is to go on Thurs-
[782] day, "when the earth is open," and burn candles and incense. When the request is granted, the recipient must light candles at the cave every Thursday, and after his death he must work forever for the cave owner. It is said that at his death his wealth dies with him—usually all has been spent, and in fact children are left poor. Some say the spirit of the firstborn child of the recipient must be given to the owner to work for him. For this reason, there is no envy felt by neighbors when they see the increasing wealth of a man who has visited the caves and received such gains and he is doubly protected because no one can hurt an "enchanted man" (one who has entered the cave) with witchcraft.

756 Ladinos' belief in the cave owners gives support to the Indians' credence
776 in their power. Ladinos inquire of Indians where they can find treasures.
778 Once the request to the hill owners is made, it is essential to follow
[829] through correctly. Everyone in town knows the story of Martin Bautista, a curer who went to speak to the true owner of the hill in which Don Klabil lives.

[539] *He knew how to talk to the owner. The owner told him that at midnight on the following day, he would give him what he wanted. At midnight Maria, his wife, was alone in the house. She heard a noise and the sound of* "Andale, burro!" *Then there was a knock at the door. When the*

woman opened the door, she said, "Ay, Dios!" *The owner of the cave did not like this, and at that moment, he disappeared. Her husband returned the next morning. He beat her when he heard of the arrival of the hill owner and his disappearance when she invoked the name of the Lord. From that day on, he lost his luck and remained a poor man.* 756 776 778 539

The personalities of the cave owners are more fully defined than those of the spirits which reside in the forests. These tree spirits are able to talk to people, or they may sing, "as a mother sings to her child." They sometimes play tricks, misdirecting those who are lost in the woods. A man who intends to kill his enemy may go to talk to the tree spirits to gain their advice. Some plant spirits, such as tobacco, are stronger than others. Indians sometimes address the tobacco plant as "our grandfather" when they approach it, asking leave to pass. Some say that if you chew the tobacco plant you will have strength to overcome evil spirits when you walk in the woods. 776 [824]

An especially fearful group of spirits called *bohwaletik* roam the wooded hills in the late afternoons. These spirits, who look like Ladinos, are feared because they cut off people's heads to feed to the church bell in a neighboring town or to give to the spirits of major construction projects, such as dams. Suspicions are immediately aroused when a solitary Ladino is seen on the outskirts of the town near evening, and if several Indians sight him, they may even kill him. [829]

Persistence of belief and rituals related to the old gods and demons that were part of the Maya pantheon is directly related to the fact that the Indians continue to live in the same place surrounded by the hills and caves that were the habitations of both good and bad spirits. The landscape serves as a mnemonic device, keeping alive the myths of the past. Everyone accepts the knowledge that the spirits once lived here; the only doubt is whether they continue to inhabit their appropriate places, particularly in the case of the ancestors who were responsible for crops and security. This is not a crisis of loss in belief, but a phasing into history of the mythological past. Since there is no longer acceptance of the curers' claim to communication with the spirits, the Indians believe they may have gone elsewhere. It is characteristic of these Indians that they do not 776 778 [081] 829

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

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829 reject their past as they appraise their present conditions, but rather fit it into a historic continuum. It is the core of their self-awareness that makes possible the kind of change which I have characterized as a moving equilibrium.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

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Chapter 2

Traditional Economic Activities

The traditional occupation of every adult man is working in the milpa and of every adult woman, making pottery. The fiction is maintained that they do this work, even if they are actually engaged fulltime in some other activity. In response to the census question, "What is the work of the man or woman?" men answered universally that they were agriculturalists and women that they were potters. Men who work outside the community, in the fincas or in the sawmills, consider this a temporary means of gaining cash income and do not define themselves as sawyers or laborers for others. They work outside the community only when they do not have sufficient land to provide themselves with corn to eat and a surplus to sell, or when they must pay debts incurred by bethrothal or assumption of religious posts. Many women who do not make pottery for extended periods of time, or make it only for a special fiesta, still consider themselves pottery producers. 462 [241] [323] [464] [323]

Persistence of the same occupations and the daily effort to make a living strengthen the link between generations and to tradition. The primary emphasis in child training is teaching both boys and girls to work efficiently and industriously in these traditional occupations. The techniques for codifying and perpetuating a given way of doing things, particularly evident in pottery production, provide clues to the way in which other kinds of behavior are schematized. 462 868

Agricultural Production

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Agricultural production involves two areas of decision making: what to grow and when to schedule each activity related to production. Decisions in both these areas are based upon custom and time-proved results. I shall

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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241 indicate these bases and assess the efficiency of the agriculturalists in allocating resources of labor, land, and seeds.

423 311 [175] *Land use*. The historical factor of the greatest significance in establishing the present economic position of the town was the act of possession of ejido lands in 1937. The first grant included 4,873.53 *hectares*[1] of land of the following categories:

irrigated flat land	139.77
non-irrigated plots	1,018.37
pasture	1,659.65
hill land	2,055.74

The high hill land with its cover of pine and scrub oak was set aside for use of all members of the community for hunting and gathering firewood. The pasture lands are similarly controlled by the civil authority for common use. The cultivable lands passed into the hands of 385 ejidatarios, each of whom received one-half hectare. A further grant in 1954 provided an increase of 2,578 hectares, including:

low mountain land	2,277.60
pasture land	300.40

423 178 The possession of land by individual small-plot cultivators reversed the trend toward large-scale commercial agriculture begun in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The land of the Indians that had been expropriated in the latter part of the nineteenth century by forced sales was to be held in the possession of the townspeople, "benefiting all with its products and uses" (Act of possession, 1937, Town Archives).

423 241 311 178 With the increase in ejido lands acquired in 1954, the share of each ejidatario has been increased to one hectare. This is usually split between low land in San Caralampio and high land in San Isidro and Tulancá, giving two growing seasons. The advantages of different growing seasons are that there is a more balanced work schedule and that there are two harvests, one in November and one in July. The ejido land grant has stabilized subsistence crop cultivation in the economy of the town and in-

1. A hectare is equal to 2.46 acres.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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creased the economic independence of the Indians. The present total of 613 ejidatarios in 1965 has increased 59 percent since the original grant. The dependence of the town's economy on the ejido land can be assessed in the fact that 63 percent of the pasture land is held in ejido grants. The use of land resources in the township is summarized in Table 4.

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TABLE 4. Agricultural Productivity by Size of Landholding

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Size of landholding (hectares)	*Weight of produce (kilograms)*	*Value of produce (pesos)*	*Land used (percentage)*
Less than 5 hectares			
Corn	200,000	120,000	83.
Wheat	29,000	27,550	16.8
Fruit	3,000	9,000	.2
1 hectare of ejido land			
Corn	319,688	223,781	49.
Corn (with beans)	30,320	21,324	6.
Beans (with corn)	14,000	17,360	
Wheat	185,580	181,580	28.
Beans	84,322	104,322	17.
More than 5 hectares			
Corn	67,388	45,117	34.
Corn (with beans)	96,550	68,108	51.
Beans (with corn)	42,985	56,740	
Alfalfa	350,000	42,000	4.6
Fruit	14,508	9,720	4.4
Other			6.

SOURCE: 1960 census, Mexico.

According to the 1960 census figures on productivity per hectare, privately owned plots under five hectares yield the highest return in corn (1,097 kgs. per hectare), privately owned plots over five hectares the next highest return (925 kgs. per hectare), and ejido plots of one hectare the least (810 kgs. per hectare). In the census evaluation of wheat and corn production on privately owned plots of less than five hectares, wheat apparently yields a higher return (807 pesos per hectare of wheat compared with 658 pesos per hectare of corn). This relative return is nearly the same for the corn produced on ejido lands (820 pesos per hectare return on wheat compared with 603 pesos for corn). However, this is figured at the maximum market price for wheat of 124 pesos per 100 kgs.

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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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000 maximum market price for wheat of 124 pesos per 100 kgs. The Indians
435 usually sell their wheat at 90 pesos per 100 kgs. to Teopisca truckers, or at
442 best gain 110 pesos per 100 kgs. by bringing it to the mills themselves.
241 From their perspective corn is the more valuable crop, not only from the point of view of subsistence, but also for sale since if they hold it in storage they can sell it at double the price at which the values are calculated in the census (.60 peso per kg.). They do not have facilities to store wheat in order to take maximum advantage of price changes.

125 The census I made in 1964 of land ownership and use by the 304 fami-
423 lies living in the center of the township (Table 5) shows that 47 percent
161 of the households have no land other than the ejido grant of one hectare. Because of the growing population, the land per household has decreased. A comparison with the 1958 census of land ownership of 280 households in the center indicates that 89 families now have less land than they had at that date, 72 have the same amount, and 44 have more land; 99 unknown cases include new families which have been created since the earlier date, families which were no longer in existence in 1964, and households in which there is a lack of data on the question of landholding.

423 The strong sentiment against the sale of one's own land, well docu-
432 mented in the monographic literature,[2] is expressed here:

If a man sells his land without sickness, people say he is lazy. The best thing to buy if you have money is land. Unlike cattle, it does not die, it does not get lost, and it does not need watching. It is not the same with a horse. When you buy one, you have to watch it and care for it and when it dies, all is over. You lose all your money. But with land, in two years you have the land paid for and it remains as a gift. It gives us what we eat.

423 Land is rarely sold to outsiders. If a man needs money and has a buyer
432 from out of town, the civil authorities raise the money and buy the plot,
609 selling it in pieces as they find buyers. Only one small plot of land has
621 been sold to an outsider in my knowledge of the community. This plot

2. See Tax (1957), Wagley (1941). Oscar Lewis (1963:125 indicates that in Tepotzlan the breakdown of the resistance to selling land was associated with a growing awareness of profits to be made in the regional and national economy.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 32]

[p.31]

TABLE 5. Land Ownership and Crops Grown by Households, 1964

Crops	Owners of ejido land (2 tablones*)	Owners of ejido and inherited land No. of tablones 1	2	3	4	5	Owners of ejido and bought land No. of tablones 1	2	3	4	5 and over	Owners of ejido, bought, and inherited land No. of tablones 1	2	3	4	5	Total
Corn	45	6	2				1		1								55
Corn and wheat	92	25	13	1	2		2	3	2	2	2	1	6	5	2	3	161
							8	11	1	2			3		3	2	78
Corn and beans	3	23	16	4	2			2						1			5
							11	16	3	5	2	1	9	6	5	5	299
Unknown	2																
Total	142	54	31	5	4												

* A tablón is equal to 25 square meters roughly figured; there are 4 tablones in one hectare.

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423 was in a low gully where crops would not grow, and no one within the
438 community would buy it.
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Land is frequently pawned by farmers as security on a loan. The title to
423 the land is left with the lender, who can foreclose on the debt if the inter-
426 est payments of five percent per month are not paid. Often the land pawned may be worth far more than the loan. Loans in town are rarely backed with security, and if something is pawned, it is usually clothing or household items.

178 With the growing significance of ejido lands and land sale, inheritance
423 of land is of less importance in the economic expectations of each succes-
428 sive generation. The rules controlling inheritance are theoretically simple:
593 equal inheritance for all children regardless of sex. The parents usually give some land when the child establishes a separate household; the remainder is then given at the death of the parent or when old age makes it impossible for the parent to work any more. The youngest child remaining at home works his father's land, or if he is living with his wife's family, his father-in-law's land, until the latter's death. His family inherits the house site as well as an equal share of the privately held lands. Complications arise because of modifications of the basic rule of equal inheritance by provisions for care and maintenance of the aged parents. Frequent dis-
[692] putes over inheritance are settled in local courts or passed on to the De-
[647] partment of Indian Affairs in San Cristóbal.

The selection of which crop to grow is related to the kind and amount
241 of land a farmer owns. The most important crops are corn, beans, and wheat. Some squash and sugarcane are grown in the lower ejido lands of San Caralampio. Cabbage is grown by one Indian who possesses fertile irrigated lands in the center. Most Indians, however, are unwilling to undertake the risk of raising a cash crop since there is greater chance of the crop being stolen and they cannot afford a bad market price when they harvest.

241 Relating the size of holding to the crop grown, according to figures in
423 the Mexican census of 1960[3] (Table 4) one can see that in privately
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[659] 3. The census figures are based on estimates received from town officials, who submit them monthly to the census bureau. The officials of the town question the household heads as they see them in the streets or in their houses about how much seed they planted. They then estimate what the yield per almud for good and bad land is, from their own crops.

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owned plots of less than five hectares, corn is clearly the major crop, with 83 percent of the land devoted to its production. In the ejido lands, it is cultivated on less than 50 percent of the land, with wheat and beans sharing the remaining lands. Included in the category of ownership of five hectares or more are three large fincas where cattle fodder is grown. These fincas employ eighty-three laborers, some of whom live in the town center.

Since the Mexican census figures do not take into account the total land holdings of the household, I shall refer to the data on land use from my own census in 1964 (Table 5). Beans are grown (except in three cases) only if the household has more than the one hectare of ejido land grant. Corn and beans are grown together only on irrigated lands, both in high lands and in low country. Most farmers with ejido land grow wheat in addition to corn only when the land is in continual production, since it is believed that wheat gives "heat" to the land and improves the soil. This belief is supported by the real value of crop rotation.

Decisions concerning what crops to plant where are based on two sets of criteria: topology and soil characteristics. These criteria, furthermore, are the basis for determining what kinds of seed should be planted and what techniques of cultivation should be utilized.

Topological criteria. Because of the relative wealth of land resources, the steep hills are left uncultivated. All of the steep hills are communally owned, and the second growth of pine and scrub oak provides firewood. Tall pine growing in the higher lands of the colonia of San Vicente is sold by the community to private lumber companies.

The "belly of the land," the mound-like hillocks at the bottom of the hills, are sometimes cultivated or used for pasturage. On hilly lands farmers put rocks in the banks or curve the rows of corn to avoid erosion. The very low lands of the valley floor must be drained by digging ditches.

The flat irrigated lands of the valley floor are the most desirable lands for cultivation. The Indians are reluctant to sell these lands, and hold on to them until they are forced to sell.

When the officials reach concensus on what the mean yield (or *medio calculo* as they call it) is, they multiply this by the known amount of seed planted. Every six years a house-to-house census of what was planted is made.

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242 *Soil characteristics.* The potential productivity of flat irrigated lands is evaluated on the basis of two criteria: color of the soil and consistency of the soil. The preferred land for cultivation is the black loam mixed with some sand, (*ʔihk'al hiʔiletik lum*). The better, quicker growing corn seed is planted here. These very productive soils are called "hot" [822] lands (*k'ilin lum*). (Heat is associated with fertility in both lands and [843] people: a pregnant woman and her husband are considered to be in a state [842] of heat, and the contrast state of being cold is attributed to someone who is sterile.) The red (*tzab'alum*) yellow (*k'analum*), and white soils (*sak lum*) are poorer soils and the slower seed is planted here. These soils are considered "cold" (*sik*) and are thought to be "tired."

The loss of soil productivity is attributed either to the loss of the soul of [774] the crop or to the fact that the soil gets "tired." Farmers have noticed that in the first five years of planting in Tulanca, the ejido land grant, the soil was "hot" and gave good crops. When this productivity was lost, people said the soul of the crop left. It is considered dangerous to start crops in the lower lands of hot country because when the location of crops is changed, the soul leaves its original residence. The notion of crop soul loss does not conflict with the awareness of natural causes of soil productivity. Fields are left fallow for four or five years when productivity diminishes and the soil is "tired." The irrigated lands are in continuous use because there is some replenishment of fertility with the overflow of the ditch waters. Cattle fertilizers are used sporadically. Those who have many head of [233] cattle construct corrals into which they herd the cattle each night. The location of the corral is changed yearly. Corn and beans are then planted in the old corral with superior results. The dozen or so corrals in the town [596] are owned and worked cooperatively by extended families and are referred [476] to by the Indian patronyms—for example, *skoral Linetik* (corral of the [551] Lins) or *skoral Čailetik* (corral of the Čailes). The one attempt to use [177] commercial fertilizers provided by the Ejido Bank proved a technical success but an administrative failure (chapter 3). Indians noted the increased yields, but none have attempted to purchase fertilizers.

Soil consistency is evaluated on the basis of how easy it is to work. Wet, sticky, or clayey soil (*łučilum*) and stony soil (*kełilum*) are least desirable. Sandy soil is easier to work, but soil productivity depends on a loam

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base, so the farmers prefer to plant the better, quicker-growing corn seed 242
in a mixed sand and loam soil.

The final evaluation of land is based on results at harvest. The range of 242
variation is large: from 48 liters of yield per liter of seed to 80 litters of 433
yield per liter of seed. Township officials say that the average harvest is
five *fanegas* (1 fanega equals 12 liters) or 60 liters per liter of seed. Market [435]
prices are of less importance in deciding what crops will be planted than
are considerations of what the soil "wants" and what labor is involved.
Corn is grown on all kinds of land, whereas beans and special crops such
as cabbages can be grown only on the more fertile soil. Wheat can be
grown only where there is irrigation. One farmer raised cabbage in coop- [434]
eration with a Ladino and earned 1,000 pesos, four times the amount he
earned with his wheat crop the previous year. Despite the greater return
for cabbage, the farmer did not plant it the next year when the Ladino,
who had supported the first venture, withdrew his support. The reason he
gave for this was the fact that there was more work involved and he could
not accomplish it alone: first the crop had to be planted, then transplanted,
then irrigated every three days in the early growing period, and cultivated
two or three times; every eight days he had to get rid of worms. He esti- [461]
mated that growing cabbage involved well over four times the amount of
work necessary for growing corn.

Labor. Most agricultural work is performed by members of 592
households with exchange or hired labor. There is no specialization of 241
labor when the work force includes two or more men since the men 476
cooperate in doing each task. Communal labor is restricted to the mainte- 464
nance of the main irrigation ditches. Each year the ditches are dug out 241
where the sides have eroded and cleaned of brush and leaves. The presi- 621
dent and judges unite to decide on a time for this work and announce it 476
on a loudspeaker of one of the cantinas. This usually occurs around the
twenty-fifth of December. Formerly, all the men of the community helped
in this work whether or not they owned irrigated fields. In 1958 those who [178]
did not own such land "got smart" and refused to work. [423]

In 1962 the civil officials decided that a cement canal should be installed 653
near the source of the spring. They tried to finance it with contributions 621
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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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653 621 241 423 from all men of the township, but again they were refused by the farmers who did not own irrigated land. The officials then sold trees in the communally owned lands to support the project, which cost 2,000 pesos. The farmers without irrigated lands still bore the cost although indirectly since community resources were expended in subsidizing the work.

241 The scheduling of agricultural activities follows an annual cycle for the three major crops, corn, wheat, and beans.

243 242 *Corn*. In corn production, the greatest discrimination comes in the selection of seed.[4] Seed is chosen from cobs which have the most grain. The farmer must look carefully to see that none of it is rotten, since if one grain is bad, the entire five grains put into each hillock will rot. There are two major kinds of corn: a quick-growing variety and a slow-growing variety. The first is preferred, but not all soils "want" it. The bitter soil "wants" the slow corn which must be planted about the first of February. [177] A new corn seed introduced by some developmental engineers in 1957 yielded more grain, but it was not as flinty as the old variety and rotted quickly.

243 The soil is prepared by cross-plowing the land three times in one direction and two times in the other. Those who do not own their own oxen team do it just once because of the additional expense. In planting, the farmer is careful to measure rows evenly, five handspans between rows, and five handspans between each hillock, forming a square which permits the maximum growth of each plant. Five seeds are placed in each hillock. In hot country, the land has not been worked over as well, and as a result it cannot be measured as accurately because of rocks and trees. This upsets the agriculturalist's sense of symmetry and beauty.

Once the corn has been planted, the scheduling of activities is based on the maturation of the plant rather than on a calendrical sequence. The scheduling of activities in corn production is shown in Table 6. The starges of growth in the corn plant and the activities related to them are listed in Table 7.

Cultivation is performed twice, to kill the weeds and to pile up earth at

4. The botanist Anderson (quoted in Lévi-Strauss 1966:73) points out that the careful separation of seed planted in each plot distinguished Indian from non-Indian agriculturalists in other Middle American communities.

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the roots of each plant so that it will be protected. One farmer commented on this process: "The face of the earth remains loose. Thus the corn remains of one heart. Nothing dies because the soil is moved, and the tender shoots begin to grow. When the second hoeing is finished, God looks at it to see that the corn matures." In the second hoeing, any corn which has grown between hillocks is pulled out so it will not deprive the main stalks of strength. 243

When the corn has matured, the stalks are doubled over to hasten the drying process. The mature cobs are left on the doubled-over stalks for about two weeks to ensure the maximum drying of the kernels before har-

TABLE 6. Schedule of Activities in Corn Production 243 221 412 407

Activity	*Month*	*No. of days necessary for task*	*Helpers*	*Tools*
Clear irrigation ditches	Oct.	6		Machete, forked stick
Fence fields	Nov.	4		Machete, ax
Cut stalks of last year's crop; burn leaves and weeds	Dec.	4		Machete, forked stick
Plow land 3 times	Jan.	3	Oxen	Plow
Clear irrigation ditches	Feb.	2		Machete, forked stick
Irrigate land and leave 6 days	Feb.	2		
Select seed and put in water, leaving overnight	Mar.	1	Wife	
Measure rows and distance between hills so there will be 5 handspans between each hillock; plant corn	Mar.	1		Digging stick, string, net bag
Irrigate planted corn	Mar.	1		
First hoeing	Apr.	4	2 or 3 men	Hoe
Second hoeing	May	3	2 or 3 men	Hoe
Fix irrigated ditches	June	1		Machete
Outside employment	July–Aug.			
Double over corn and leave 15 days	Sept.	4		
Pick corn; put in net bag and degrain cobs with few kernels; carry home harvest.	Oct.	5	Wife, horse	Net bags, sticks,

SOURCE: Information from a farmer possessing ½ hectare of irrigated land in center. He has no sons and one married daughter, whose husband works in sawmill. [115]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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243 vest. Harvesting is done by all the members of the household, sometimes
[592] with the assistance of exchange or hired labor. Women help by going to
464 the fields and degraining the cobs with few kernels of corn so that there
[462] will not be an unnecessary burden to carry to the houses.

243 A small fiesta for the corn is made following the harvest. The purpose
796 of the fiesta is to reciprocate the spiritual owner of the corn by giving him
782 a "gift." Two candles are lit and set on top of the piles of corncobs. Two other candles are placed near the heaps of corn grains gathered by the

243 192 TABLE 7. Stages of Corn Growth and Agricultural Activities

Stages of growth	*Activity*	*Time (after planting)*
Šlihk sčital (begins to grow)	First hoeing	8 days
Čištal lik ?išim (well-grown; about 4 feet)	Second hoeing	1 month
Čištal stekan sni? (begins to form husk)		2 months
B'al tzuto (begins to bud)		
Lok'iš tzutohal (flower comes out)		3 months
Yihiš sk'ab'enal (begins to mature)		4 months
Lok'iš yihkatz (cobs fill out)		
Sčam hol (its head dies)	Pick cobs to eat fresh	5 months
Yihištal sk'anubiš (now more yellow)	Double over stalks	6 months
Yihubiš (more yellow)		
Tahkiniš (dry)		
Sk'ahik lok'el (harvest time)	Pick dried corn	7 months

243 women. The candles cause the spirit of the corn to rise and give its "gift to
796 the world" in the following harvest. Failure to make a fiesta would mean
782 an end to all corn harvests.

243 Corn is brought to the house and stored in the rafters, since there are no
251 corn cribs or separate storage facilities of any kind in the village. Most of
136 the houses are infested with rats as a consequence. When the harvest is brought in, there is an attempt to rid the rafters of these "thieves." The
[411] men and boys armed with slingshots stand posted in the yard as the children rustle around in the rafters chasing the rats out. Although they are remarkably good shots since they use this tool from early childhood, the houses are never completely free of rats, and the inhabitants learn to put up with them.

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Wheat. In selecting the seed, the farmers choose those heads with the most kernels—there may be from thirty to eighty on each head. The same kind of seed must be used in planting each plot of land or the soil "does not give well." A new wheat seed was introduced by an American agronomist in the 1950s. The following reaction by an informant reveals why most of the farmers decided not to use it:

There is a quick-growing wheat, called foreign wheat because a foreigner brought it and planted it in the soil. Those who wanted to try it were given some. It was difficult to harvest because it was very dry and broke easily. Most of the grain was left behind on the ground. When it got to the threshing floor, most of it was broken. Therefore the town did not want it. So we continue planting the common wheat and it doesn't break.

The inefficient harvesting techniques force the people to consider loss of grains in deciding what wheat they will seed. However, a few of the farmers continue to grow the new wheat.

The scheduling of wheat production is shown in Table 8. The *arada* plow, introduced by the Spaniards (Foster 1951) and made locally by farmers for their own use, is commonly used to prepare the land. A few farmers borrow the plow of a relative, or sometimes a metal plowshare is bought in the departmental capital.

The harvest is the most arduous work in wheat production, but because it is done with the assistance of four or five helpers, usually brothers or compadres, it is a gay occasion. There are about a dozen threshing shelters which are individually owned and rented for 5 pesos a day. At the height of the harvesting season, the farmers have to wait for their turn to use the shelter. After the threshing, a fiesta is held in the house of the owner of the wheat at which liquor and a meal of beef stew is served. Since the labor involved is based on exchange rather than payment, the owner will take part in the harvest and celebration of those whom he has helped.

Beans. The choice of locale and the time of planting vary more radically for beans than for other crops because of the greater differences in type of seed. The two major types of beans are (1) ground beans, of

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244 which there is a black variety and a colored variety, and (2) climbing beans, of which there are four subclasses: "painted," white, yellow, and black. Beans must be grown only in irrigated lands of highest productiv-

TABLE 8. Schedule of Activities in Wheat Production

Activity	Winter wheat	Summer wheat	No. of days necessary for task: Winter wheat	Summer wheat	Helpers	Tools
243 464 461 Clear land	Dec. 7	May 12	5	2	2 paid workers	Machete, forked stick
412 Irrigate land; leave soaking	Dec. 7	May 15	1	1		
407 Plow	Dec. 15	May 23	1	2	Oxen team	Plow
221 Sow seed broadcast; cover, crossing over twice	Dec. 16	May 24	1	1	Oxen team	Plow
Cut wheat	May 1	Oct. 5	2	2	2 or 3 unpaid workers	Scythe
Thresh						
Carry wheat to shelter	May 3	Oct. 7				Net bags
Horses trample wheat	May 4	Oct. 8				
Shake stalks	May 5	Oct. 9	3	3	4 or 5 unpaid workers, 5 horses	Forked stick
Scoop grains into wooden box and sift to get rid of chaff						Box with wire mesh
Put grain in burlap bags; carry to houses on horseback						Burlap bags

[115] SOURCE: Information from two informants, one who grows winter wheat and the other who grows summer wheat, both cultivating ½ hectare of irrigated land.

244 ity. The land in the center, except for the fertilized corral areas, has lately yielded a very poor harvest. People say that the soul of the bean departed when they introduced the crop to their ejido plots in hot country. The scheduling of bean production is shown in Table 9.

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Guarding the crops. The crops must be guarded against intruders. The farmers sometimes sleep in the fields when they expect animals to steal the ripening corn. They observe the habits of these intruders and develop belief systems which help them organize opposition: 241 825

The raccoon steals maize seeds. He pushes down cornstalks when they are in elote and steals the cob. He is very smart. He can tell whether the owner is sleeping or not by putting his hand on his own anus. If his anus is cold, the owner is awake; if it is hot the owner is asleep and he enters.

Some men who live below in Alannantik have good dogs. They planted their milpa, and the next night wanted to hunt. "You stay with one dog,"

TABLE 9. Schedule of Activities in Bean Production

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461
464
412

Activity	*Date*	*No. of days necessary for task*	*Helpers*	*Tools*
Cleaning and preparation of soil is same as for corn (Table 6)				
Ground beans				
Plant between rows of corn	Mar. 1	2	3 exchange workers	Digging stick
Cultivate	Apr. 19	3	2 exchange workers	Hoe
Harvest, pulling up entire plants and putting them in burlap bags	July 10	2		
Store in eaves of house				Burlap bags
When pods are very dry, beat bag with stick to depod beans	Sept. 1	2	women of household	Stick
Pole beans				
Plant, following the second hoeing of corn, setting seeds near each hillock of corn	May 2	1		Digging stick
Wind the vines up on corn stalk; tie	June	1		
Cut pods and store in burlap bags in eaves of house	Nov.	1		Burlap bags
Shell beans as they are used				

SOURCE: Same as for Table 6.

[115]

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241 825 *they said to me, "while we go over with the other two." I fell asleep. Then the raccoon entered. And so I believe the raccoon is very bright.*

Also there is the wild pig, who is less bright than the raccoon.

Another "thief" of the milpa is a small black insect which eats beans. These are eliminated in the following way:

[291] *When we plant beans, the women go with us wearing a new skirt and a new shawl. They walk near the plants, waving the shawl. The animals die. It has to be a new skirt. My mother proved it. She went with an old skirt, and she saw that they did not die. They just fled to the mountain out of shame. It is the smell of the old skirt that scared them away.*

241 825 782 788 If many animals are eating the crops, Indians buy three twenty-cent candles. They take them to the fields and light them, praying in Tzeltal: "God, holy world, please look at me and speak to the little animals. God, holy rock, holy forest, please look at me, hear me, speak to the animals."

The candles are media through which communication is made with the gods as well as gifts which seal the contract with the gods ensuring their protection and guardianship over the crops.

241 776 784 Guarding the crops also involves avoidance of certain kinds of behavior by the farmer and his wife. Farmers must always avoid irritating the spirits of the heaven who control the elements which make the growth of the crop possible. One informant explained:

One should not have sexual relations with anyone in the milpa because the Father Sun [Tatik K'ak'al] *gets angry or "ends his heart." He will not give crops. He gets very hot. One time, many women in town were looking for lovers. They would have sexual relations with boys in the daytime. The Father Sun got angry and caused the crops to burn. There was very little corn. The price went up to twenty cents a liter. People bought bread and mixed it with the nixtamal.*

It is different if a man is married to a woman in the church. The Tatik K'ak'al does not get angry. The Tatik K'ak'al does not have a woman of his own, and so he gets jealous if he sees people having sexual relations in the milpa in the daytime.

But if you have relations at night with a man in the milpa, Our grand-

mother the Moon gets angry. This might cause an eclipse of the moon, and the crops will suffer because there will be no sun. 241 776 784

There is no prohibition, however, against having sexual relations prior to planting or at other crucial stages, as there are for other Maya Indians (Wagley 1941:34). [171]

During the growing season, candles are lit in the milpa as protection against wind as well as robbers, who "lose their luck" when this is done. 241 788

The spirits' care of the crops. The crops have souls, given by the spirits, which will be lost if they are not cared for. The spirits "watch over the crops as parents watch over their children." The term for seed (*yal*) is a metaphorical extension of the term for "child of a woman." 241 774 776

The following myths give different, occasionally contradictory versions of the origin of crops. This central truth emerges in all of them: The spirits have given us our crops and will continue to do so as long as we offer thanks in the form of ceremonies and gifts to them. [782]

Santo Tomás [the patron saint of Oxchuk] had intercourse with Santa Lucía. She wanted [asked for] *the soul of corn, and he gave her the seed of corn. Then there came forth beans, corn, and wheat. But then all the saints of San Bartolo and San Miguel [neighboring towns] asked for the soul of corn. Then the soul of beans left us and went to hot country. Now it does not grow well in the pueblo. Also, the avocado has gone to Comitán. The matasano and ground beans went to Oxchuk when Santa Lucía fought with Santo Tomás.* [539]

The myth of the origin of crops overlays an older myth which has parallels in other groups of Maya-speaking Indians (Castro 1965, Wagley 1941:20). 773 241 171

Formerly, during a famine, there was hunger. The tzisim, *an insect of Ariola, came to take the corn from underground. Thus the ancestors got their first seed. For this reason, people say that corn was born underground, brought up by the tzisim. But I believe God sent us corn.* [539]

Another version has synthesized the role of the saints and that of the animal agent. 241 776 825 539

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241 776 825 539 *The ant* [alielo] *brings corn out of the house. They say that a saint passed on horseback. The ant came to the saint, bringing a grain of corn. He stood before the saint, and the saint said, "Where are you going with the corn?" The ant replied, "To the storeroom." The saint inquired, "Which one?" The ant went to show the saint a stone as large as a church into which he entered to take out corn. There was white, yellow, and red corn.*

The saint returned to heaven and spoke to San Bartolo. San Bartolo asked, "Where is it?" The saint replied, "I will show you."

San Bartolo went with Santo Tomás to see the stone. Santo Tomás said, "Good, let us figure out how to destroy this stone." San Bartolo said, "Let us go talk to a carpenter." At this moment, a carpenter came. They asked him to cut the stone. "Good," said the carpenter, "I will do it."

But the carpenter could not open the stone. They went to another carpenter—there were three in this mountain. The first couldn't, nor could the second. The third carpenter said, "Let us talk to the tunselek [*woodpecker*]. *He is a good carpenter."*

The first two birds had broken their beaks, and the saints warned the woodpecker that he should be careful or he would fail with the stone. The woodpecker broke open the stone, and all the corn seed—yellow, red, and white—fell out. People should not kill these birds because they broke open the rock where the seeds were kept.

241 776 The necessity for showing respect to crops because of their relationship to the saints is expressed in the following account:

[539] *Corn must be treated with respect, since it is the body of the Virgin. You cannot step on anything which is for eating—beans, corn, or wheat—or the Virgin will become angry. Particular care has to be taken at the harvest to avoid offending the saints.*

Some of the saints serve man by helping to spread the cultivation of crops, as in the case of San Isidro, the patron saint of milpas.

[539] *The Padre told us that San Isidro helps the farmers. Formerly there was only milpa here where there is irrigated land. San Isidro went up to the*

hilltop with a digging stick. He knelt and prayed, asking for rain. At that very moment, the rain came. He put the seeds in the holes he made, and from then on people have been planting in the hills.

Other saints are charged with providing rainfall. The saint of greatest importance in this respect is Santo Tomás, the patron saint of Oxchuk. Some Indians have gone to the church there to light a candle and ask for rain, and on their return the rains came. During an extended drought in August 1967, over one hundred people walked to Oxchuk to pray for rain. The people of Tzoʔontahal are somewhat bitter about the Oxchuqueños' neglect of Santo Tomás since over half of the town has converted to Protestantism. Whenever there is a drought, they blame it on the failure of the people of Oxchuk to take care of Santo Tomás.

In addition to the Catholic saints, the ancestor spirits help man to watch over the land. They are responsible for giving the rains in the planting period and early growing season. The fiesta on the Day of the Cross (Chapter 1) is primarily a plea for rain. Until the 1950s, the curers would hold a celebration at the Cave of the Ancestors to ask for rain during a drought. The waning belief in the presence of the ancestor spirits in the town has meant that there is less attention given to such fiestas. Some go to seek the ancestors in Chiapa de Corzo in the cave in which they are supposed to reside, as the following story illustrates:

One time my three brothers-in-law went to Chiapas to ask the ancestors for better crops. When they arrived there, nobody knew where the cave was. They said only a certain mayordomo there could find it.

Another time, two of the prayer-reciters went to the cave. They talked to the guard of the cave, saying, "May we speak to our ancestors?" The guard said, "Are you prepared? Did you bring two liters of trago? The ancestors like to drink."

The prayer-reciters went to get two liters of trago and all three drank it. While they were drinking, they saw a cow and chickens appear. The guardian said that if they came back in May with "food" for the ancestors —candles, incense, and firecrackers—they would get rich crops. I think the prayer-reciters succeeded because now they have a cow and chickens and a horse. They are afraid of the envy of their neighbors.

628 People with lands in hot country recount that during droughts the In-
796 dians from the neighboring town of Chamula have held rainmaking fies-
782 tas for which they solicit contributions from other Indians.

821 *The Chamulteco came to us and said, "Let all of us who have milpas*
731 *contribute five pesos for a fiesta." He brought the candles. In the little hill there the people brought drums and flute. We ate chickens and drank liquor. For eleven hours he prayed, and in the afternoon it rained.*

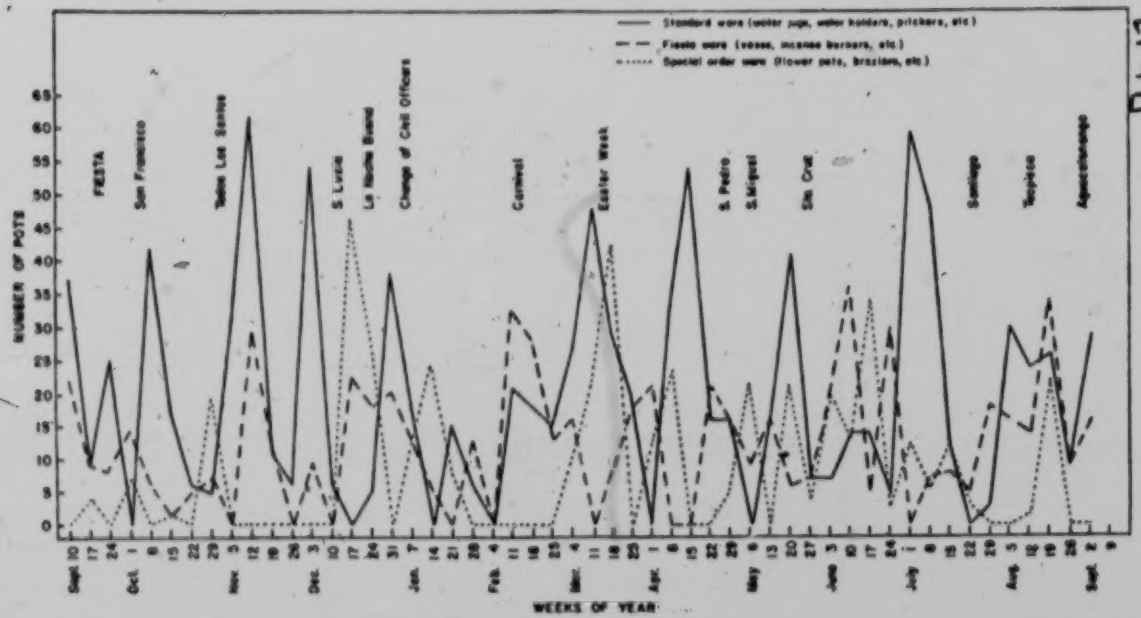
628 The *kuriketik*, rural inhabitants of the colonia of San Vicente who
241 migrated to Amatenango from Chanal, have no irrigated lands and de-
789 pend directly on rainfall throughout the growing season. Indians of the center know of their practice of sticking their digging sticks into the ground with the points toward the sky "to puncture the clouds" when they have planted their milpa, but they do not imitate this practice. Control over the supply of water in the irrigated lands has apparently led to the neglect of supernatural appeals even where the canals do not supply water. Under pressure of extended drought, they will resort to spiritual intercession through Chamula or Oxchuk practitioners in whom they have some faith.

241 Acquiring the protection of the gods does not obviate the practical activ-
796 ities necessary in the cultivation of crops. Fiestas for the saints are a repay-
782 ment for services rendered in watching over the milpa. The sponsorship of
796 fiestas for the saints by the community ensures the protection for all of the crops, and general crop failure due to drought or high winds is explained as a result of mismanagement of these community-wide fiestas. The offering of candles to the spiritual owner of one's own milpa is a kind of individual insurance policy for future crops as well as a repayment for the gift of the corn harvest. The peasant notion of surplus value is implicit in this reciprocal relation: the payment, or gift, of two candles to the milpa spirit is far less than the value of the harvest. But the account is balanced by the expenditure of this surplus in communal fiestas.

Pottery Production

323 Making pottery has been a speciality of the town since pre-Conquest
178 days. The old site of the town contains sherds of pottery which is remarka-
172 bly similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now.

Fig. 2. Pottery Production in the Household and Its Correlation with the Ceremonial Cycle



Source: The above was printed in *Man* (219:186–91) in an article by Manning Nash entitled "The Social Context of Economic Choice in a Small Society."

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000 bly similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now. Just as a
323 man defines himself as an agriculturalist, a woman defines herself as a pot-
462 ter. Men complain if their wives do not produce pottery, and I know of
[593] two cases of separation on the grounds that the woman was not fulfilling
[586] one of her functions as housewife by helping the family budget with pot-
[461] tery production. Most women like to make pottery: it helps them to pass the day, and they say they would be bored without it. Some of the women who have gone with their husbands for extended stays in hot country have tried to make pottery out of clays available there, but because of its inferior quality, they have not had much success. Unlike women of neighboring towns, the women of Tzoʔontahal usually do not accompany their husbands to the fincas "because they have their work at home."

323 *Making pottery.* The women make a wide variety of household
178 and ceremonial objects, but the item which has the widest market distribution is the water storage jar (See Plate 7). They introduce new items in response to local needs, such as the funnel used in channeling liquor into large containers from the retort of the still. One vessel which is disappearing from production is the large ceremonial cooking pot. The only woman who knew how to do this (or who admitted to knowing, since it is unpaid work) died in the 60s, and no one has replaced her. One woman who had a reputation for eccentricity, introduced several elaborate vases and ashtrays. Her creative imagination was best exemplified in a combined ashtray and vase which featured four frogs poised on the lip of the tray, presumably drinking from a fountain. Reina (1962–1963) has pointed out
[171] that women of the Guatemalan community of Chinautla who wish to be
[156] accepted in the community must limit themselves to conventional forms, and the same restriction seems to apply in Tzoʔontahal.

317 The women of a household work as a group in collecting clay and in
592 firing pottery. Clay is free since it is found in the communally owned hills
[323] on the perimeter of the town. It is collected preferably during the rainy
[423] season when it is easier to gather from the open gorges in which it is found, but if the supply runs out, other trips are made. All of the women of the household go, sometimes with neighbors or relatives in groups of five or six. They collect large clay balls weighing from forty to fifty
[482] pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline.

1/2 (see plates following p.198..Analyst

pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline. The 317
sand which is mixed with the clay is found nearby. In preparing it for use, 323
the clay has to be chopped with a hatchet and soaked. A temper for cooking pots is made of ground sandstone, called *baš*. This is found near the [438]
border of the neighboring town of Aguacatenango, and sometimes Indians of that town bring pieces which they exchange for a soup bowl or other small pottery item.

Variation in the color of the clay—it may be white, white mixed with yellow, true yellow, black, or blue-green—provides the basis for discerning its quality. The white clay is thought to be best since it doesn't break as much in firing. The preferred clay is very soft, and the women test deposits by feeling them with their hands.

The rhythm of work is regular. Children under three years of age climb 323
on their mother's back or lap or sometimes stand by her side nursing. The 461
women do not interrupt their work when this happens, although they may [855]
shift their body to accommodate the child. In the organization of work, there is no discussion of what is to be done or who will do it. Orders are given only to the young children. When the women are working, all mo- [857]
tions which would require a break in activity are assigned to children who bring unfinished pots to be worked on and shoo away chickens or dogs. The standardization of production rhythm is evidenced in the uniformity in time required for each operation. Timing one potter's production of 10 *apastes* (soup bowls) on two different days, I found that she spent one hour and 10 minutes for each set, an average of 11 minutes per pot. Another woman made a *comal* (platter) in 26 minutes and a second one in 28 minutes. A pair of larger bowls produced by another woman took 15 minutes each.

The continuity in tradition of pottery production stems from a tightly 323
organized behavioral schema with defined units of motion and stages of [178]
production. I follow Piaget in his definition of behavioral schema which Flavell (1963:54) has summarized as follows:

> Thus, an action sequence, if it is to constitute a schema, must have a 121
> certain cohesiveness and must maintain its identity as a quasi-stable, repeatable unit. It must possess component actions which are tightly

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121 interconnected and governed by a core meaning. However elementary the schema, it is a schema, precisely by virtue of the fact that the behavior components which it sets into motion form a strong whole, a recurrent and identifiable figure against a background of less tightly organized behavior.

Piaget (1952:244) has stated:

> It is due to the fact that schemata present this kind of structure that mental assimilation is possible and any object whatever can be incorporated or serve as aliment to a given schema.

This has significant implications for the continuity of tradition. The persistence of behavior depends on control in the organization of the work and in the training of new producers. As yet we do not have a means to measure the degree of organization or transfer of cognitive maps so that we can make comparisons across behavioral domains. The best source of data lies in the language which provides the cognitive mapping of the behavior. Table 10 provides a preliminary breakdown of the major stages 128 and the distinct but similar action sequences which they include. Individual motions are replicated, in combination with other elements in the action sequence, to make up the component actions of different stages of production. The classification of actions implied in the Tzeltal verbs is shown in Table 11.

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TABLE 10. Schedule of Activities in Pottery Production

Time	*Step*	*Activity*
1st day	1.	Yah tzes yaʔbi yaʔlel (Moisten; give water to clay and leave one day)
2d day	2.	Ya swotz lum sok hiʔ (Mix clay with sand)
	2.1	Yah ščičin hiʔ (Sift sand)
	2.2	Yah lihk swotz (Begin to mix)
	2.3	Sah sk'ap sok hiʔ yuʔun ben pikil (Add sand until grainy)
	2.4	Yakto parte ma to yaiyehuk hiʔ (Put aside some that doesn't have enough sand)
	2.5	Yaʔbe ʔaʔ mel sk'ut * sok hiʔ (Give 2 passes, kneading with sand)
	2.6	Ya tzob ya swol (Collect it and make a ball)
	2.7	Ya sba snaʔan ta suhk ʔ'ute (Go set it on a board)

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Time	*Step*	*Activity*
3d day	3.	Ya slihkesbe hit' (Begin to make the base)
	3.1	Ya swol (Make a ball)
	3.2	Ya sčob (Work into it)
	3.3	Ya snakan te čuhte (Set it on a board)
	3.4	Ya skubeyit (Poke it)
	3.5	Ya slihk sbis moʔel (Begin to press it to rise)
	3.6	Ya snit mo'el (Pull it up [a process of pressing clay from inside pot against palm of hand and forcing clay upward])
	3.7	Ya snuisbe stiʔil (Level; cut off edge)
	3.8	Ya sč'ewanbael (Lay it out)
	3.9	Ya sk'ehilel swai (Keep it while one sleeps)
4th day	4.	Yaʔbe stalbilum (Stick on clay on the base)
	4.1	Ya sbʔal te lum yuʔun ya tzak (Make a tube to stick on)
	4.2	Ya smakbe ʔa (Cover over where it is stuck on)
	4.3	Ya ilič mo"el (Let it up)
	4.4	Ya sč'ulmoel (Make it rise by rubbing against hand on outside)
	4.5	Ya snuisbe stiʔil (Cut off edge [evens it])
	4.6	Ya stalhilel hil swai (Let it stick overnight [some leave it for only 2 hours])
5th day	5.	Ya iyubmoʔel (Raise the sides)
	5.1	Ya yaʔbe bʔal lum (Give it a tube of clay)
	5.2	Ya tzak iyubmoʔel (Stick it on sides making it rise)
	5.3	Ya yaʔbe sčuht (Make the belly [round out side walls])
	5.4	Sb'isbetal yutil (Smooth inside)
	5.5	Ma snuksba ya yaʔbe ian č'inuk (If it doesn't meet, make another piece)
	5.6	Tzak ian yuʔun sčube stiʔil (Stick on more to make it close at the mouth)
	5.7	Ya yaʔi baʔa te haʔ yei ya yaʔbe slumil yuʔun pahal sila spimile (Feel where it is thin and give it more clay so it is same remains double)
	5.8	Lah iyubmoʔel sk'ahilel iwai (After raising side leave overnight)
6th day	6.	Ya yaʔbe snuk' (Make the neck)
	6.1	Ya yaʔbe yaʔlel stiʔil yuʔun skunubai tenai ʔa ta yaʔbe slam yit (Scrape pot with knife; put water on mouth to make it soft and more clay at edge)
	6.2	Yah sb'albe slumil snuk' (Form roll of clay for neck)
	6.3	Yah tz'akbe stiʔil (Stick it on the mouth)
	6.4	Yah ilihk sb'isbe te yutil (Begin to smooth it inside)
	6.5	Yah ilihk snuisbe stiʔil (Even the edge)

(cont.)

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Time	*Step*	*Activity*
	6.6	Yah lihk sb'is ta snukul (Smooth the edge)
	6.7	Yah lihk spusko?el sok nukul (Double over the edge with leather piece)
	6.8	Ya sb?albeko?el (Roll down lip of jug)
	6.9	Ya sibetal yutil (Spread it out inside)
	6.10	Ya ya?be sbelbel lumil (Put little pieces on edge where the neck is stuck on)
7th day	7.	Yah ya?be sčikin (Make the handles [ears])
	7.1	Ya sb'albe slumil (Roll the clay)
	7.2	Ya sp'is ?oleb (Measure out three pieces)
	7.3	Ya tzakbe sčikin (Stick on ears)
	7.4	Ya sku?be sčikin (Press on ears)
	7.5	Ya spusbe (Double over)
	7.6	Ya sb'isb'e sčikin sok yal sk'ab (Smooth with little finger [child of the hand])
	7.7	Ya sb'isbe sčikin sok sme?ak'ab (Smooth with thumb [mother of hand])
	7.8	Ya sčulbe lek sok sme? sk'ab (Spread it out with thumb [mother of hand])
8th day	8.	Yah smes ta k'ib' sok ?ul (Wash the pot with corn grind)
9th day	9.	Yah tz'ibawe kib' (Design pots)
10th day	10.	Čik'omahel (Fire pottery)
	10.1	Ya ya?be sčute?al ?a k'ib'e yu?un mak swok'a (Put down boards and accompany pottery in order that it does not break)
	10.2	Stos' si?wok (Chop wood)
	10.3	Ya šlihk sk'ak'al (Light fire)
	10.4	Ya holtik si? (Take off wood)
	10.5	Yah ta sik'ub ya him lok'el (Cool and take off wood)

* Same term used for grinding corn; motion similar.

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The segmentation of activities shows that in a major schema such as pottery-making, similar motions are found at different levels, modified by direction in which motion occurs (up or down) or by the part of the pot being worked on. The classification of such motions simplifies teaching. Some of the motions included in Table 11 are classified with behavior in other contexts. For example. kneading the sand and clay (2.5 *sk'u*) is expressed by the same verb used for grinding corn, and a very similar motion is involved. *Tz'ib'ayel,* or painting the designs, also refers to writing.

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The word for the act by which a tube of clay is formed, *ya sb'al*, has the connotation of creativity. In the *pat?o?tan*, a prayer form with many variations which introduces ceremonials, informants explain the terms *sb'al lum* and *sb'al ?at'al* as a reference to the creation of man's body formed out of soil and mud by the ancestors. Sometimes the verb *sb'al* is used instead of the usual word for planted, *tz'un*, to refer to the seeding of crops. 323 192

The parts of pottery are metaphorically equated to those of the body; the belly of the pot and the neck, ears, and mouth all have parallels in English metaphors. But among the Indians, pottery also has a soul. Metal or enamel containers do not have souls as do gourds and handmade pottery. [074]

TABLE 11. Classification of Motions in Pottery Production

Motion *	*Step* †	*Context*
Sb'is + (smooth +)		
-mo?el (raise)	3.5	Pressing walls of base with curved index finger inside pot against flattened fingers outside, working clay upward
te yutil (inside)	6.4	Smoothing interior of vessel
ta snukel (its neck)	6.6	Smoothing neck with piece of leather
-b'e sčikin sok yal sk'ab (its ears with "child finger")	7.6	Smoothing handles on inside with little finger
-b'e sčikin sok sme? (its ears with "mother finger")	7.7	Smoothing handles on outside with thumb
Šyub' + (shape +)		
-mo?el (raise)	5, 5.2, 5.8	Shape and raise pot upward
Tzak + (stick +)		
yah tzak (stick on)	4.1	Stick on tube of clay to hardened base
-šyubmo?el (shape and raise)	5.2	Stick on another tube of clay to side, shape it upward
šan (another)	5.6	Add another tube of clay to side
-b'e sti?il (mouth)	6.3	Add roll of clay to hardened mouth
-b'e sčikin (ears)	7.3	Add measured, flattened tube of clay to walls of pot for handles
Swol + (make a ball +)		

(*cont.*)

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Motion *	*Step* †	*Context*
yah swol (make a ball)	2.6, 3.1	In mixing sand with clay, finish by making oval ball; also preliminary to making base, form ball
Spus + (roll +)		
yah lihk spusko?el (begins to roll down)	6.7	Turn down lip of neck
yah spusb'e sčikin (doubles over ears)	7.5	Curve tube of clay over to form handle
Stuis + (cut +)		
-b'e stu?il (edge)	3.7	Push clay with thumb; even edge by removing higher levels of clay at upper edge of base
" " "	4.5	Same, but edge is top of half-formed pot
" " "	6.5	Same, but edge is top of opening of jug
B'al + (make a tube +)		
ya sb'al te (make a tube of clay)	4.1	Build up sides with coils of clay
ya ya?b'e b'al lum (give a roll of clay)	5.1	Continue building up sides with coils of clay
yah sb'alb'eko?el (roll down)	6.8	Roll the tube of clay fitting on neck of pot to form a lip.

* Additives preceded by a hyphen form a single word with the verb stem; others are separate words in a phrase with the verb.
† Numbers refer to step numbers in Table 10.

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[433]

The nine stages of production provide a basis for the organization of the work in five-day intervals. The usual output is in lots of one dozen water jugs or ten bowls. This staging of production indicates an incipient rationalization of production that maximizes efficiency for the individual producer: a woman repeats the same limited sequence of motions for the lot. Leaving the item overnight permits drying and hardening so that in building up the pot there is greater stability. The staging of production also provides a basis for the division of labor in households with more than one producer. Certain stages require greater skill and/or discrimination: mixing the clay with sand requires the greatest discrimination to achieve the consistency which allows both maximum manipulability and strength and durability; building up and shaping the walls of the pot requires the maximum skill and dexterity. These tasks are performed by the more ex-

perienced potter in the household, sometimes with the help of a trainee. 323
Older women prefer doing the lighter tasks, such as putting on the han- 461
dles and mouth or applying the slip of watered clay, to raising the sides which requires greater force and exertion of the back muscles. A second basis for the division of labor is the kind of item produced: older women for example, make bowls in preference to large water jugs and containers.

Learning to make pottery. A girl begins to make pottery about 323
the age of eleven. First she makes small replicas of the articles her mother 868
produces. Then, under her mother's direction, she learns to prepare the clay. The mother feels the clay with her fingers, telling her daughter to add more sand if this is lacking. She is taught to knead the clay three times. In making the pot, the most difficult phases are mixing the clay, forming the base, and rounding out the walls of the vessel as it is raised. The child is expected to learn slowly and is encouraged gently to improve each step. While the child works on her first pot, the mother makes a similar one; three or four times they exchange vessels, and the mother shapes her daughter's pot into a better form.

About two generations ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve 582
were the rule. Since most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques 178
begins at that age, pottery was taught to the bride by her mother-in-law if 323
she resided in her husband's house (Blom and La Farge 1927). Most mar- [606]
riages now are contracted for girls from fourteen to seventeen years of age.
By this time they are already proficient potters and accustomed to working [593]
with their mothers. Therefore there is greater stress on their remaining in [591]
or near the parental home after marriage.

The pottery is fired in the streets of the town outside the house, usually 323
after the women have made four or five dozen items. The pots are set on planks forming a rough square around the fire in the center. Charcoal is added to the fire as the brush or corn husks set between the pots begin to burn. The women tend the pots, turning them every five minutes until the surface is well dried and hardened. Wood is added to the fire, and then the jugs are stacked in a pyramid, each one protected from the one it touches with a broken piece of pottery. The stacking is crucial to permit even firing and must be done carefully so that none are broken. Once the

323 pyramid is complete, wood is laid against the pots in a tepee formation. [313] When the sawmill in the vicinity was in operation, flat boards—scraps of [372] cut lengths—were used, but now only logs are available. Corn husks or [462] dry straw are stuffed between the planks or logs. When a large number of pots are being fired, the men usually help at the final stages to remove the [476] charred planks with poles. If men are not available, the women of the household often call upon their neighbors for help. In this operation, the [292] women wear sandals and hats for protection from the heat. When the pots are cooled, the women, sometimes with the help of the men, stack them in net bags, six to a net with straw protecting the pots.

647 About fifteen year ago, a kiln was introduced by the government in the 177 interest of conserving wood. Those who tried it claim that the pottery did 323 not fire well and that many of the pots were broken. I.N.I. (the Instituto 372 Nacional Indigenista) planned to introduce an improved kiln, and while most of the people we questioned expressed a willingness to try it, the proposal was never put into action.

462 The men do most of the marketing of pottery. Loads of one or two 442 dozen may be taken by bus or truck to San Cristóbal or to Comitán. 443 When there is large-scale production throughout the community, as occurs 494 just before major fiestas, truckers come from the neighboring town of Teopisca to contract for delivery.

592 The amount of pottery produced in households varies with the follow- 323 ing factors:
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1. Household composition: (a) Number of women in the family. [464] If there is only one woman, very little or no pottery is produced because of the demands of domestic duties. Households with two or more women are able to sustain the ideal output of at least a dozen water jugs a week (I use "ideal" here to suggest their notion of what they produce when asked to guess. As Fig. 2 indicates, this varies considerably during the [887] year.) (b) Age of women and ages of children. Older women over sixty do not independently undertake pottery production. They may assist in washing pots with corn gruel or making the neck, mouth, and handles, but they are unable to endure the harder task of collecting clay. A woman with infants under two years of age makes little pottery if

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there is no other woman in the house. (c) Number of men in the family. If there are productively employed men, women of the household tend to make less pottery, since they are busy cooking and washing and have their basic subsistence needs supplied. Pottery is then produced to supply cash for fiestas only. Widows make a great deal of pottery since they must either hire men to work in the milpa or buy corn.

2. Wealth of the family: Relatively wealthy families make almost no pottery. In other cases, the scheduling of production is related to consumption needs. Figure 2 charts the pottery production by type of item produced for a family which included two unmarried women, their mother, father, and grandmother. The peaks in production occur just before the major fiestas when the family wants additional money to buy meat, fruit, and clothing. Although this family produced more pottery than the majority of households because of the presence of four women, its production typifies the high periods of activity relating to the fiestas. Production is also related to the seasonal changes: during the rainy season (from June to October) many households curtail production, except to earn money for the fiesta of Santiago (July 25), because of the difficulty of firing without closed kilns.

Variation in production means that an overall estimate of income from pottery cannot be made. It ranges from none to nearly 90 percent of family income in the case of widows without land or male helpers. I would guess that an average family might earn 200 pesos a year, about 10 to 15 percent of the money value of crops. One family of two widows and five children who work constantly throughout the year averages an income of about 600 pesos, or about one-half what an agriculturist can make on one-half hectare of land.

The Motivation to Produce

The motivation to work is tied directly to consumption needs of the household. Failure to meet expenditures with income from agriculture and pottery is met by men hiring out as agricultural workers or as laborers in the sawmill. This alternative is chosen over that of increasing the size

434 of the farm by renting additional land, as European peasants typically
464 did,[5] since there is very little land available for rent and the returns are
427 not immediate. Farmers will try to avoid this by acquiring land grants to
241 increase subsistence agriculture.

125 Expenditures and earnings were studied in six families over varying pe-
434 riods of time from ten days to one year. The data are summarized below.

434 Family No. 1, consisting of a husband, his wife, and their married
592 daughter separated from her husband and child, is able to meet all of their
[241] need for corn and brown sugar and most of their need for beans by the crops they raise on one-half hectare of ejido land in hot country, one-half hectare of ejido land in the township, and three-quarters hectare of privately owned, irrigated land in the township. On their irrigated land, they grow one-half hectare of wheat and one-quarter hectare of corn. In hot country they grow corn, beans, and sugar cane on the margins of the field. The cane is ground in a cooperatively owned mill, and their crop in 1965 produced 144 *tapas,* or measures of one kilogram worth 5 pesos. In addition to 200 pesos earned for the wheat crop, 100 pesos for the bean crop, 298 pesos for corn, this farmer earned 808 pesos for outside work. His high
[464] [465] wage income is due to his working for an American at twice the usual
[435] daily pay. The farmer buys coffee by the twenty-five-pound bag costing 62 pesos in hot country, a saving of about one-half the retail price of coffee in the town, where it is sold at 5 or 7 pesos at pound. In twelve months of recorded expenditures, the family spent 609.50 pesos or 83 percent of their budget on food, 40 pesos or 5 percent of their budget on clothing and 82 pesos or 11 percent of their budget on medicine.

The high expenditures in the case of family No. 2, consisting of a man,
[583] his wife, and two mature sons, was due to the fact that one of the boys was carrying on a betrothal suit. The bride-price had been fixed at 500 pesos, toward which the family was contributing whatever excess of income over
[464] expenditures it had. The son who was seeking a wife worked fifty-six days
[465] in the sawmill at a wage of 15 pesos per day during the six-month period recorded, earning 255 pesos. In addition, he and his brother earned 160 pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village.

5. Chayanov (1966:7) demonstrated that Russian peasant families expanded the size of their farms when the subjective needs of the family increased, not as a response to market prices for crops or rents.

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pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village. The expenditures of this family on meat, brown sugar, and liquor were required for the house celebrations carried out almost every Sunday. Like family No. 1 they spent 83 percent of their budget on food, a total of 714.80 pesos, and a larger percentage on clothing, 138 pesos. They sold their surplus corn for 292 pesos and their beans for 247 pesos. These crops were produced on one hectare of privately owned, irrigated land, one hectare of privately owned, non-irrigated land and one hectare of ejido land.

Family No. 3 consists of a widow and her widowed daughter-in-law who had five children. The oldest son, aged sixteen, worked their one-half hectare of ejido land and one-half hectare of irrigated land with some hired help during harvest. During the three weeks recorded, there were no returns from their crops, which include wheat and corn, and the family relied entirely on returns from pottery. This household produces more pottery than any of the others recorded, earning 61 pesos in the three weeks, because there are no adult male producers. They spent 63 percent of their budget on food, a total of 42 pesos, and 34 percent or 23 pesos on clothing.

Family No. 4 consists of a married couple with three children seven years of age and under. The husband works occasionally in the sawmill, but since he drinks a great deal, he does not contribute much of his 70-peso weekly wage to the family. He grows wheat on one-half hectare of irrigated land and corn on one-half hectare of ejido land. In the ten days recorded, no money was gained on harvest, but the woman earned 19 pesos from pottery. The family spent 77 percent, or 17.20 pesos of their budget on food and another 22 percent, or 5 pesos such as soap, kerosene, etc.

Family No. 5 consists of a married couple, their married son and daughter-in-law, and three grandchildren. They own one and one-half hectare of irrigated land, on which they grow wheat and corn, and one-half hectare of ejido land. The husband and his son supplement their earning from farming by distilling liquor, earning 108 pesos in the ten days recorded. In addition, the women of the household earned 54 pesos from pottery they made. They spent 143 pesos, or 97 percent of their budget on food and 3 pesos, or 2 percent of their budget, on clothing.

Family No. 6 consists of a young couple with two children. The husband owns one-half hectare of irrigated land, and one-half hectare of non-

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434 592 irrigated land in addition to their one-half hectare of ejido land. He supplements his income with work in the sawmill for some periods of the year, at a wage of 90 pesos a week, making a total of 165 pesos in the ten days recorded. The family spent 81 percent or 36 pesos of the budget on food, 13 percent or 6 pesos on clothing 2.3 percent or 1 peso on household supplies, and 3 percent or 1.20 pesos on medicines.

[241] [423] [464]

434 592 241 262 These family budgets show that most of the corn and beans can be supplied by subsistence agriculture. Garden crops of chile, chayote (a green vegetable which produces a fruit and an edible root), and fruit trees, including lime and anone, are raised in the house yard. Tomatoes, fruit, and cabbages are bought in neighboring market towns.

434 592 171 In comparison with household consumption expenditures in the United States and other foreign countries, these budgets show a much higher proportion of cash income spent on food. The percentages of food expenditures range from 63.2 to 97.0 in the families studied, whereas in the United States the average percentage is only 26.3, in Argentina 59.2, and in Zambia 66.5 (Conference Board Economic Almanac 1967). This reflects the fact that the people of Tzoʾontahal have no expenses for house rental, that wood for fuel and light is available in communally owned forests, and that most of the household utensils such as jars, jugs, and bowls, are locally produced. However, failure to report items must also be noted—no one reported purchasing matches although everyone uses them, and only half of the families reported use of soap, although this is universally purchased.

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433 241 A gross estimate of the land necessary to fulfill consumption needs of corn for a family of two adults and four children would be approximately one and a half to two hectares. The yearly average consumption of corn for such a family is about 2,000 kilograms. One hectare produces from 1,200 to 2,000 kilograms in addition to 80 kilograms of beans. Of the 299 families whose land ownership is given in Table 5, 142 have only one hectare of ejido land and 85 more have only one-half additional hectare of privately owned land. This means that 227 households, or 61 percent do not have enough land to meet their subsistence needs. 160 household heads

423 433

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have recently sought additional lands in the ejido of Brindis to meet these minimal requirements. This preference for expanding subsistence agriculture to hiring out as laborers is the best index to the persistence of traditional economic pursuits. 423 433 178 241 464

Farmers who do not have a cash crop in wheat may be forced to sell corn even when there is no surplus. Because they usually need the cash as soon as they harvest their crop, they must sell when the prices are low. Thus their consumption needs exacerbate the disadvantage they face in the market. 434 435

Clothing, whether traditional or modern in style, requires cash outlays. Women have kept the traditional costume while men are modifying their clothing. Even when they go to hot country, older women wear the heavy cotton skirt bound with a thick sash and topped by an embroidered blouse; some younger women have adopted the long cotton dirndl skirt and peasant blouse. A white cotton shawl is added for ceremonial events or for warmth in the evening. All of their clothing is either bought or made of materials woven on looms in Comitán or San Bartolomé. The navy blue skirt, which they say is black, and the red and yellow sash are sold for 40 to 50 pesos by Ladina vendors who come to town. The blouse is made from two meters of heavy white cotton sold in the local stores or in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. Most prefer the more expensive cotton woven on bed looms in San Bartolomé, but it is not always available. They embroider the wide bands of yellow and red around the neckline with embroidery floss sold in the local store. The fringed shawl from Comitán is also sold locally, but is often purchased during the annual fiestas in the town. These items are replaced every two or three years, depending on the wealth of the family. The newer clothing is worn on ceremonial occasions, and the older clothing is worn every day. Women wear sandals and hats for protection only when they are firing pottery. For jewelry they wear bead necklaces, sometimes with crosses attached. Their hair is braided with ribbons for fiestas, or simply left hanging when they work. 434 291 178 [439] [435] [294] [292] [751] [301] [302]

Men buy a woolen jacket called *kotonču,* which is brought illegally from the Department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala, where it is made, 434 291 439

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and sold in Comitán. It is the same as the costume worn by the Indians of that area. A similar garment is made in Comitán but is considered inferior to the contraband product. Shirts and wrapped trousers made of coarse cotton are stitched and sold in Teopisca. The trousers are bound with a red woven sash. These items make up the modified costume worn by most of the boys and men. Men over sixty wear a long, coarsely woven shirt with a slashed neck made in San Bartolomé. This is caught at the waist with a woven band and worn over short trousers. In the evening or during ceremonies the kotonču is always worn. The older men wear high-backed sandals attached to rubber-tire soles with thongs, while younger men wear the *huarache* of crossed leather bands secured to a rubber-tire sole found in many parts of Mexico. Increasingly men are taking on the western clothing worn by Ladinos—the belted cotton trousers, shirt, and underclothing sold in the local store and in the neighboring towns. In 1957, only a half-dozen men, all of them former students in the boarding school established in Cárdenas' term of office, wore this dress, but today over twenty middle-aged men and dozens of youths in their teens wear it. Those who wear modern clothing have substituted a zippered "air-force" jacket for the kotonču. All men wear factory-made straw hats, under which, on ceremonial occasions, they wear a red bandanna bound over the forehead and tied at the nape of the neck. A high-crowned palm hat with black designs, ordered by the alfereces when they enter office, used to be woven by a few specialists; now only one man can make them.

The changing styles in men's clothing reflect three stages of acculturation. The older style worn by elders is said to be the costume worn by the ancestors who live in the cave. Since all of the items are and have for some time been purchased from outside the town, the changing pattern of consumption—the change from modified peasant to ladino-style clothing—has not affected local production.

Girl's wear a machine-embroidered peasant blouse and a mid-calf gathered skirt made of cotton or rayon and purchased in the neighboring towns. They change to the woman's costume when they reach their teens. Boys wear the same clothing as their fathers, except for the old costume. Table 12 shows the cost for these items.

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Houses are built of materials locally produced or gathered from communal resources, but new construction materials, such as tiles, require cash outlay. The average house area is thirty-six square meters divided into two main rooms. Building is usually done in February or March. After the

TABLE 12. Clothing Expenditure and Origin

	Price (pesos)	*Place of origin*
Men's clothing		
Kotonču from Guatemala	60	Huehuetenango
Kotonču from Mexico	40	Comitán
Shirt worn by elders	60	San Bartolomé
Underpants	15	San Bartolomé
High-backed sandals	25	San Cristóbal
Wrapped pants	25	Teopisca
Tailored shirt	30	Teopisca
Factory-made shirt	7	San Cristóbal and Comitán
Straw hats	10	Teopisca and San Cristóbal
Factory-made pants	15	Teopisca and San Cristóbal
Belt	5	Teopisca, San Cristóbal, and Comitán
Sash	7	Comitán
Huaraches	20	San Cristóbal
Women's clothing		
Wrapped skirt	40–60	Comitán
Huipile, factory-made cloth	50	San Cristóbal
Huipile, hand-loomed cloth	60	San Bartolomé
Reboza	12–16	Comitán
Apron	5	San Cristóbal
Children's clothing		
Girl's skirt	7	Teopisca
Girl's blouse	5	Teopisca
Boy's shirt	3.5	Teopisca
Boy's hat	3–4	Teopisca, San Cristóbal
Boy's pants	5	Teopisca

materials have been collected, the construction of the house frame takes about eight days' work with the cooperation of five or six men. Filling in the walls with mud takes another three days. Table 13 gives the cost of materials and transportation for one house built during my stay.

The biggest change in housing has been in the roofs. The old type of

342 construction used thatch or palm leaves carried from hot country. These
177 cost only the price of renting a horse, if it was necessary, for transporta-
435 tion. Roofs made of these materials have to be replaced every seven or
[492] eight years. Each rethatching requires three days' work with four or five helpers, and the houseowner must provide a meal for them and their families. He spends about 25 pesos for meat and uses two or three liters of corn; the total cost is about 75 pesos. Another kind of roof is made of wooden shingles bought in the neighboring town. These are fixed to the housetops with wooden pegs, and the total cost is about 200 pesos. This lasts ten or twelve years with replacement of individual shingles. Tile roofs have the highest initial cost, 800 pesos, but the lowest maintenance in labor.

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TABLE 13. Construction Costs for House, 1965

	Cost (pesos)
Supplies	
Roof tiles (1,000)	800
Posts and poles	*
Planks	40
Door	100
Window frame	30
Services	
Transportation of tiles	30
Transportation of posts and poles	206
Carpenter	50
Food for helpers	75
TOTAL	1,331

* Obtained free from communal woods.

342 House walls are preferably made of mud mixed with lime poured into an interlacing of cane poles set between the house posts and tied with a handmade fiber rope. Another temporary type of construction, which does not offer as good insulation, is made of board planks. Sweatbaths are
343 made by digging out a floor about 2.5 meters square, raising stones in an
[514] oval shape over this, and plastering them with mud. The I.N.I. tried to in-
[647] troduce latrines, but no more than a half dozen of the cement toilet seats
[177] they gave away as demonstrators were put into use. Latrines are consid-
[231] ered to be dirty since the pigs and dogs cannot scavenge the feces.

ered to be dirty since the pigs and dogs cannot scavenge the feces. Mothers train their children to have bowel movements in the evening when darkness offers them privacy in the houseyard.

Changes in house types in the seven-year period from my first census in 1958 to the second in 1964 are tabulated in Table 14. There has been a general improvement in the standards: tile roofs have increased from 1 to 20.1 percent. The increase has been at the expense of both wood shingle (declined 8.3 percent) and of thatch and palm leaf (declined 9.8 percent).

TABLE 14. Types of House Construction

	1958 *		1964 †	
	Number of houses	*Percent of all houses*	*Number of houses*	*Percent of all houses*
Roofs				
Tile	1	1	58	20
Shingle	27	23	41	14
Thatch or palm	87	76	190	66
Walls				
Board plank	17	15	66	23
Wattle and daub	98	85	223	77
Sweatbath				
Have	60	52	120	42
Have not	54	47	169	58
Unknown	1	1		

* Based on sample of 115 houses.
† Based on total survey of houses in center with 22 unspecified.

The numbers of houses with wood plank walls has increased from 14.8 percent to 22.8 percent. This is a temporary arrangement, and the planks are usually replaced with wattle and daub, so the increase may simply reflect new construction. The percentage of houses having sweatbaths has declined from 52.1 to 41.5. No new sweatbaths have been made for the last ten years or so, and many of those recorded are not in use.

The changes in housing type reflect the greater prosperity of the town as well as the increasing receptivity to outside influence. The increase in tile roofs means a greater dependency on external markets. Ten years before the final census, a man who put on a tile roof feared the consequences of witchcraft.

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342 177 178 434 of witchcraft. Today probably 95 percent of the new roofs are made of tile. Often the old roofs cannot be replaced with tile because the rafters were not built to support them. One result of the change has been the dependence on a carpenter to construct the gables, since they have to be lined up more accurately than they do with thatch or palm roofs. [335]

361 351 434 House lots in the town center are preferred to those on the margins. As residents of house sites on the ejido lands at the margins of the town acquire wealth, one of the first things they try to do is acquire a house closer to the plaza. These lots are smaller, averaging about 500 square meters, while those farther out average 900 square meters. In a sample measurement of 100 house lots, the size ranged from 180 to 1,440 square meters, and the average size was 77 square meters. Considering the advantages of a large lot in growing chile fruits and corn, the preference for smaller central lots reveals the strong prestige factor influencing choice. [554]

352 435 House furnishings include both purchased and homemade items. Sleeping accommodations consist of wooden bedboards, either nailed on a frame or simply laid on blocks and covered with a straw mat. Woolen blankets from Comitán are sold locally at a price of 24 pesos or for 20 pesos in San Cristóbal and 18 pesos in Comitán. Most households own two or three wooden benches which line the walls of the porch and are made locally. Small chairs are purchased from Chamula carpenters at a cost of 2 to 4 pesos, as well as a small table costing about 4. A higher table is provided for the saints' pictures and candle holders, incense burner, and flower vases or tin cans. Hooks are fashioned from the crotch of trees and suspended on the house posts. Wooden boxes are bought from Ladino carpenters in San Cristóbal at a cost of 10 to 20 pesos depending on size and workmanship and are used to store clothing. In addition to the homemade water holders, water carriers, comales, strainers, and bowls, handmade glazed ware from San Cristóbal, factory-made porcelain dishes, metal cooking pots, knives, and spoons are purchased. Gourds provide serving ware for ceremonial occasions. Stone grinding platforms and rollers are purchased in San Cristóbal for about 10 pesos. Two new items have become increasingly popular in the past five years: a metal grinding machine for corn, hand operated and costing from 40 to 60 pesos depending on the size and quality, and a hinged press for tortillas, costing 15 pesos if made [513] [778] [322] 415 435 439 [412] 435 415 177

of metal and 10 pesos if made of wood. These are lined with waxed paper which the local storekeeper cuts from cracker-box wrappers and sells for 5 cents each. 435 415 177

Electricity, first used in the cooperative store and later in the liquor shops, is now being installed in houses. 83 families had electricity installed in their homes by 1967. Street lights have been in operation since 1966, although the first attempt to install them was blocked by residents on the streets to be lighted who did not want to pay the tax of 1 peso per month per household to meet the cost to the community of 75 pesos a month. Most people have a flashlight, and lighting in the house is provided by pitch pine or by small kerosene lamps. Candles are used only in ceremonies. 365 [651] 354 [416]

The inventory of items sold in the cooperative store in town includes the most frequently purchased items of consumption. Hardward includes buckets, hoes, kerosene lamps, batteries, Gillette blades, shotgun bullets, canned goods such as sardines, chiles, and powdered milk. Packaged foods include rice, sugar, salt, oatmeal, cornstarch, flour, coffee, biscuits, cookies, gum, and candy. Beer is sold along with soft drinks and cigarettes. Household supplies include candles, soap, D.D.T. powder, thread, matches, and kerosene. Medicines dispensed most frequently include sulphur pills, aralin, Desenfriol, Alka-Seltzer, and Sonrisal. Yard goods for shawls, children's wraps, and men's clothing are sold along with manufactured shirts, blouses for girls, and rubber capes. Eggs as well as money are taken in payment and then sold. Except for one can of Chocomilk, which sat on the shelves for a year, all of the items are in constant demand, and provide an index to the level of living and dependency on external markets. 444 [436]

The preferences in changing consumption are limited by communal standards of what is appropriate. I once asked a man who was acquiring more than the usual income by brokerage activities what he would buy with more money. He replied, "I would get more land and cattle." I interrupted to ask what he would do to improve his standard of living. "I wouldn't get better clothing—what would I need that for? I would get a house built with good materials like this [the government-built clinic] with a cement floor. But I couldn't get it now because of envy. When my children grow up, they [the neighbors] will see them working and maybe 434 178 177 [156]

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434 178 177 I can get one then. Last year I bought a transistor radio for nine hundred and ninety pesos. My wife said she would leave me if I got it because all [153] the children would get sick. But I got it anyway and no one was sick. I am stronger than my enemies."

Innovation on the consumption level is adding a stimulus to innovation in economic activities. The successful innovator must invent a rationale for his improved standards of living and then prove that he can survive the possible evil consequences of envy. The process of adoption is one of a shift in the incidence of choices made in the direction of improving levels of living. The new is often incorporated with the old rather than replacing it. For example, after the rough preparation has been done with the mill, [252] grinding stones are used for the final grinding of corn to get the dough [415] into the preferred consistency for making tortillas. Tin plates are used along with crockery and gourds. Some items are linked in change: for ex- [291] ample, tailored pants are worn only with buttoned shirts and belts and [196] with zippered jackets. The old forms are continued in a ceremonial con- [415] text: kotonču is preferred when a man undertakes an official role, and gourds are preferred to any other container for ceremonial foods. The technology of production lags behind the changes in consumption that have increased the need for greater income—agricultural tools have not been modified since the colonial period when the wooden plow, metal hoe, machete, and plow used with draft animals were added. Changes in consumption needs rather than in productive technology are expanding the economic horizons of the Indians.

Choices and Strategies in Agricultural Production

241 In agricultural and pottery production, decision-making concerning the use of land and labor resources is controlled not only by a traditional technology but more importantly by a given state of cognitive orientations that determines, in Goodenough's words (1966:54), "what states of affairs they have learned to discern, what they believe to be the relations between them, and what they understand to be the processes by which one state can be transformed into another." Agriculturalists have a fine perception

of what seeds grow best in which soils. Good, fast-growing seed is not 241
sowed indiscriminately but is limited to use on more fertile irrigated 242
lands. The size of a family's holdings is the primary factor in deciding
what proportion of the three major crops—corn, beans, and wheat—they [423]
will grow. Where they grow each of these crops depends upon the quality of the soil categorized by topological criteria, consistency, color, and proved fertility. Decline in productivity is attributed to wearing out of soil fertility because of overuse as well as to loss of the soul of crops. The first explanation leads to adaptive behavior, in which the land is "rested" or turned over to cattle grazing, and to crop rotation, alternating wheat and corn crops. The second explanation leads to adjustive behavior in which the agriculturalist takes care of ceremonial obligations to the saints and to the "owner of the milpa."

The scheduling of activities is determined by the knowledge of time re- 241
quired for maturing of the crop and by expectations concerning seasonal fluctuations as they affect rainfall. Although the farmers have some control
over water supply through irrigation, dependence on rainfall for the non- [182]
irrigated fields means that sporadic appeals to the ancestors or saints are [176]
made to ensure rain in the growing period. These rituals are not as inte- [169]
grated in the agricultural production cycle as they are in the neighboring [171]
towns of Chamula and Oxchuk or in the colonia of San Vicente where irrigation facilities are lacking.

Traditional techniques of pottery production are maintained by a tightly 323
organized schema of procedures which allows for little variation in technique or form. Learning of productive techniques is facilitated by a fine segmentation of tasks. Knowledge of local clays and tempering has been stabilized for at least five hundred years of occupation in this area. Women's work is entirely lacking in rituals to ensure the success of their efforts.

These given sets of cognitive orientations in economic activities do not 241
exclude the possibility of considering new ways or means of doing things. 177
Agriculturalists have tried the new seed introduced by agronomists, but 178
have found them wanting in their resistance to mold, in the case of corn, and in their portability, in the case of wheat. Fertilizers have been tried, but the credit costs proved too high for the agriculturalists to continue.
Women were willing to try a kiln in place of open firing, but either the 177
model introduced was faulty or they were not 323
taught to use it properly.

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model introduced was faulty or they were not taught to use it properly. Notions about the supernatural relation between souls of crops, man, and the saints do not interfere with experimentation or adaptation at the instrumental level. Obligations with respect to them are carried on as a supplement to other practical measures.

The organization of men's work in agriculture contrasts with that of women's work in pottery. Men's work, when performed cooperatively by two or more of an extended household or exchange labor team, is mechanically organized, in Durkheim's terminology. Each of the men does the same task, working closely in the rows of the milpa. Women's work groups are organically organized since segmentation of the pottery production in the stages described above makes possible specialization within a domestic production group including two or more women. Preferences and special abilities can be taken into account. The potters with more experience do the jobs which require more judgement and skill, such as mixing the clay or making the bases, and then the work is passed on to less proficient workers. Or an older woman can leave the more strenuous tasks, such as mixing clay or building up the sides of the larger pots, to younger women and perform the lighter tasks, such as putting on the neck and handles.

These differences in the organization of male and female work tasks suggest the need for a reformulation of the classification of whole societies as organically or mechanically integrated. In assessing the potential for change, internal variations in the organization of production might provide the clues for implementing development programs.

The division of labor according to sex is nearly absolute: women do not learn to work in the milpa nor do men learn to make pottery or perform household tasks. However, women will gather firewood, and men will transport clay (although they do not collect the clay deposits in balls) and help in firing pottery. Women can live without men in the household economy of the town, but men cannot live without women. This is because male labor is a market commodity while female labor in household activities is not. A widow can hire a man to work her fields, but a man cannot hire a cook. If he is widowed, he must remarry, move into his

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mother's house, find a wife for a grown son, or find an unattached female relative to live with him. 736 562

Traditional agricultural and pottery production contained within household units has limited specialization and the formation of classes. Whatever exceeded consumption needs was absorbed in a ceremonial fund that served to maintain existing standards. The aim of production was to maintain a given level of "poverty and suffering" as they said in prayers of thanksgiving. These old standards are no longer adequate. Family budgets reflect a range of alternatives requiring an increasing amount of cash expenditure on goods made outside of the community. Because of land limitations, these new preferences are met by wage labor rather than increases in the size of the farm. The new enterprises discussed in the following chapter provide the income streams which are disrupting the present distribution of wealth and the social system based on it. 434 177 464

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Chapter 3

New Economic Activities

43 The role of the Indian in the regional and national economy is being
44 shaped more and more by supralocal institutions in public and private en-
177 terprises. The Indians of Tzo?ontahal have mobilized their own resources
178 to incorporate these opportunities. In this they reveal a selective perception of the economic and social advantages of innovation and a tendency to translate form and function into a local idiom. The success of planning at national or regional levels depends upon incorporation of projects at local levels, while the survival of the local group depends upon acceptance of
178 the new opportunities to absorb rising populations.

177 The major institutional settings in which innovation is occurring are
423 (1) the ejido program, (2) employment in agricultural and nonagricul-
464 tural enterprises outside of the community, and (3) economic enterprises
43 originating within the community. My discussion of the economic potential of the local community to adapt to change will be organized in terms of these settings.

The Economic Potential of the Ejido

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Mexico's ejido program, as one of the oldest and most extensive attempts at land reform in the hemisphere, provides a basis for assessing the economic potential of such programs. Here I shall consider only the effects of ejido administration in the community and what this case illustrates of the potential for development in the future.

Manuel Giraul (quoted in de la Peña 1951:327) summarizes the negative effects of the ejido program:

> In Mexico, the ejido system constitutes an institutionalized block to the reform of the social and economic structure; it corresponds to a

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highly stratified primitive society, which remains static: it lacks the flexibility and mobility that exists in modern societies. 423

The history of the ejido program in Tzo'ontahal in the first few years after it was organized in 1937 seemed to confirm this conclusion. Its immediate effect was to block the flow of labor and goods in the regional and national markets. The ejidatarios were no longer forced to sell their labor at the prevailing rate of 25 cents a day, a wage which was not enough to supply the needs of even one man much less those of a household. Children and women formerly had to work with their husbands in the coffee fincas in order to meet their most immediate consumption needs. The independence that the ejido tract gave meant that men could withhold their own labor and that of the subordinate members of the family from such exploitation. The second harvests coming from the ejido plots in low country freed the Indians from having to buy corn in July, August, and September at the inflated market prices which took advantage of the scarcity of this basic necessity. 175 423 182 464 [465] [241] [435]

The political effect of the ejido in the early days was to fortify the corporate community against the shocks of the outside world. The first lands acquired were primarily allotments of corporate lands alienated by the laws of 1856 and 1876. Populations remained in situ, whether they were foreign Indians working on the expropriated estates, or residential communities created in the sixteenth century as crown towns. 175 423 621

The township of Amatenango acquired its first ejido land grant in 1937. One of the early promoters of the ejido, a *revestido* Indian (one who has adopted western clothing) from Huistán who had been a laborer on one of the fincas within the township limits, threatened to become a rural *cacique,* or local boss, comparable to those who emerged from the agrarian revolt in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962). This leader was elected president, but during his term of office he was expelled because of his attempt to secure house plots in the center for himself and other Huistecan Indians residing in the barrio of Yetawitz (Chapter 9). [177]

The stabilizing effects of the ejido in its earlier phase have been upset in recent years. As the population of the center expanded, new families migrated to the nearby barrios contiguous to the town center. These new set- 423 621 166

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423 tlements were assigned to one of the two sections of the division in the
621 center with an attempt being made to maintain a demographic balance.
166 Incorporation of the new settlements was more effective in the case of the barrios than in the case of the colonias, which were farther away from the town center and included Indians of diverse communities. The process of
175 breaking away from the old community is illustrated by the 1961 move for
423 independence made by the original settlers of the colonia of Caralampio.
621 The following account was given by a man who was then secretary of the
661 ejido:
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> *The first settlers of San Caralampio, José, Pablo, Luciano, and Santos were self-appointed* principales, *or head men, of the colony. Santos and Luciano were from the town center, and José and Pablo had worked on the ranch when it was privately owned. The colony was well populated and the people lived well—there were no fights nor any problems. In 1956 the four principales decided that they should separate from the center. They told the people that if each person would contribute twenty-five pesos, they would raise the issue of the division in the* Departamento Agraria Mixta. *José invited Mateo, a man who knew how to read and write, to help them.*
>
> *"Let's divide from the town so that we alone will run the colony," he told them.*
>
> *The principales took the money contributed and went to Tuxtla. There, in the* Liga de Communidad Agraria *they asked for the separation, and were referred to the* Departamento Agraria Mixta. *When they arrived there with their request, the commissioner said that he would have to communicate with the chief in Mexico.*
>
> *After this, Pablo came one day to the center. He spoke to the ejido commission: "Look here, José, Luciano and Mateo went to Tuxtla."*
>
> *"What for?" asked the ejido president.*
>
> *"They asked for a division from the town."*
>
> "Que pendejo!" *said the president. "What happened?"*
>
> *"What do you think?" asked Pablo.*
>
> *"We are against it. If it was a new center, we would support you. But*

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we are against division," said the president. "How much did you have to contribute?" he asked Pablo.

"Twenty-five pesos. They told us if we do not give money, we will be thrown out of the colonia."

We advised him that it would be better not to continue giving money to the principales. "You can't make this division," we told him.

One Sunday all the pueblo united in a mass meeting. Everyone was present. People asked about the affair of San Caralampio, and the Ejido Commission explained to them what had happened. The people said, "Let's get rid of them [the four principales of San Caralampio]."

When the three principales returned to San Caralampio from Tuxtla they asked each household head to contribute fifty pesos in order to send them to Mexico to talk personally with the Chief of the Ejido Division. Pablo came the next day to talk to the president in the center and advised them that the principales had gone out. There was another meeting. The president's decision was to get a contribution of one peso from each person in the center so that they would have six hundred pesos to prevent the division. They feared that if this occurred the people of the center couldn't work down there.

When the leaders of the central Ejido Commission had received the money, they went to the departmental capital to explain to the chief of the ejido zone what had happened. They said that the leaders of the colonia had gone to Mexico.

"Let's to go work!" said the chief. "Did you bring the money?"

"Yes, we have six hundred pesos."

"Go to the bank and change it into one-hundred-peso bills," said the chief. "Let us send two hundred pesos to the chief of the division in Mexico so that he will prevent the division."

We sent the money airmail. Before the principales of San Caralampio had arrived, we had their way blocked. Our money went to work for us. In five days, the chief in Las Casas said the money had been well received, and the leaders of San Caralampio had not been received.

A week later, Pablo came to see how the affair had proceeded. We asked Pablo if he had contributed money. He said no. We told him,

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"Don't give any more money. The Ejido Commission won't let the division happen since we are the same pueblo."

The four principales returned from Mexico. They said that they had a paper and that an engineer would come. They asked for another contribution of 25 pesos. They said that those who wouldn't pay would be thrown out. Pablo came and told us. We told him not to be afraid. The principales now knew that Pablo was with us. He had two brothers, Pancho and Ignacio, whom he advised not to go along with the principales since he knew that they would not win the case. When the principales returned to ask for more money for their trips to Tuxtla, both brothers refused.

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Since these three brothers did not cooperate, the principales got angry and decided to kill Pablo. One day, when Pablo was on his way to Teopisca, he was shot in the back. He continued riding 76 meters. The horse returned to his house. His wife ran to tell his two brothers that the horse had come home without a rider. The brothers ran out and found Pablo dead. The civil authorities of the town went. A few days passed. The brothers never asked for justice. But since they knew who did it, one of them took Pablo's 16-centimeter rifle. Pablo's wife had been thinking of selling it to pay for the expenses of the funeral. Pancho [Pablo's brother] said, "No wait. I will buy it as soon as I have money."

He borrowed it for several years. One Sunday there was an order for all of the people of San Caralampio to go to the pueblo. They got up early and wakened all the others with a horn. Pancho got up with his rifle. He went to Juan's house and shot him. Luciano had Pancho jailed in the department capitol. He declared his crime, and said that he had killed Juan because the latter had shot his brother. He made a good statement. For this reason, he got out very cheaply—1500 pesos—which he paid with his crop of beans and corn. He was in prison in San Caralampio three months. Now he lives in Teopisca. His sons go to work there, but he doesn't. One day, Pancho was shot in the back—I don't know how many centimeters the bullet penetrated, but he did not die. The brothers of Juan and José have all left the colonia.

José was the one who caused all of the trouble. His wife was the younger sister of Pablo and she left him. Now José is going around begging for food to eat.

The action of the Ejido Commission of the town reveals the knowledge of how to manipulate political and economic power. By sending the 200-peso bribe, they were able to block the independence movement before the leadership had arrived. The extreme tactics used by the independence leaders in killing their opponents approximates the kind of political homicide characteristic of the central plateau (Friedrich 1962). The Indians of the center have been able to maintain their ejido grants intact. However, the political discrimination against residents of both colonias and barrios—no resident of either (except for the Huistecan mentioned above) has been elected president, and they never serve in any post higher than that of assistant judge—will undoubtedly lead to further unrest as the populations expand.

Bureaucratic inefficiency and corruption minimize the potential effectiveness of the ejido organization at local, state, and national levels. Projects undertaken by the national government lose their effectiveness when they are promoted by fraudulent claims, taking advantage of the presumed illiteracy and ignorance of the peasantry. The following case illustrates both the tactics of the ejido agents and the countertactics of the local Indians, resulting in a stalemate in the development projects planned and projected at the national level.

In August, two years ago, the Ejido Bank agents came to town with an offer to lend money on crops. We didn't want to borrow it, but Francisco, carbrón! [*then president of the town*], *said we should do it. "Good," we said. We accepted their terms. They said, "We will give fertilizer. It won't cost you a cent. We have tried it. It will give a good crop. We will give you money every six months, and you will pay the interest of nine percent. We will pay for all the costs. It won't cost you anything for the fertilizer."*

In six months, when the bank agents came to get the interest, they charged us six hundred pesos for the fertilizer. We did not want to receive the second load of fertilizer. We presented our case to the Jefe *and told him, "Why did you say it would not cost anything?" He replied, "No,* muchacho [*boy*], *I told you* [*using the familiar form* te dije] *that the fertilizer is going to cost."*

We used seven bags of fertilizer on each hectare for which they charged

T 661 652 621 571 241 *us 65 pesos per bag. It was the first time we had used it and we had very good crops. We got together and decided not to pay for the fertilizer. We called the bank agents and requested that we be relieved of the charge because the crops had failed. We showed him a milpa which is a low plot that is too wet for a good crop. We just throw the seed there, but don't work on it because it isn't worth the trouble.*

T [693] *We went to a lawyer in Tuxtla. He told us the bank would have to pay for the fertilizer since they had promised it. The lawyer is the helper of* the campesinos [*poor farmers*].

T 178 66 88 62 57 [426] [693] Several points of significance can be noted in this case: (1) the Indians are reluctant to take credit risks because of unfortunate experiences in the past; (2) they react to deception with their own deceptions, showing the engineer the land which had not only not been fertilized but had never been weeded or cared for; and (3) they seek professional legal aid in dealing with government agents in order to equalize the contest in which they feel disadvantaged. These first two behavioral syndromes are culturally conditioned responses; the third represents an innovation. By seeking professional aid for which they pay a fee, the Indians are breaking the monopoly of power held by the caciques to whom they were formerly bound in a network of personal obligations incurred in such transactions.

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M 423 361 Recent colonization of national lands since the 1950s has introduced a new kind of ejido settlement. Since most of the lands contiguous to settled towns were absorbed in the early days of the ejido grant, movement has been into lands outside the domain of established centers. This spontaneous colonization of unexploited land has followed the penetration of new highways in Quintana Roo, Campeche, Chiapas, Tabasco, and Vera Cruz (de la Peña 1951:348). In defense of their rights to the new lands, the colonists, often of diverse origins, develop a political consciousness. Mestizos and Indians of different towns work together in securing official ejido status for their lands. Acculturation to the national language and ways of life is much greater in these mixed centers than in the settled populations that were part of the original ejido tracts. Consciousness of their rights under national law and independence from traditional loyalties means that these new settlements may be the basis for welding Indians into the na-

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tional economy and polity at a more rapid pace than has ever occurred in the past. Typical of this new movement is the recently established ejido of Brindis, formed by a core of landless Indians from the town working with acculturated Indians from Teopisca. Whether the political unity which has developed in the course of establishing their claim to the land will continue to provide a base for community development will depend on the encouragement and support by national institutions.

Within Indian communities of highland Chiapas, the ejido program has weakened age-authority principles in the family and in the civil hierarchy (Day n.d., Edel n.d.). Sons are no longer primarily dependent on their fathers for acquiring economic independence. Ejido Commission leaders have broken the monopoly of power by a gerontocracy of principales. Outside of the community, however, the political and economic potential of the ejido has not yet been fully realized. As the new ejidos such as Brindis develop, they may break the old community boundaries that contained and limited the power of the ejidatarios. With rising literacy, many Indians now read the *Codigo Agraria* sold in neighboring markets, and they are increasingly conscious of their rights. If unity across township boundaries could be achieved, the new ejidos might become an effective political force in regional and national spheres.

Wage Labor and Occupational Specialties

The agriculturalists of the community do work as both exchange and paid laborers in the following forms: reciprocal exchange, part time labor and part-time independent agricultural work, and forestry.[1] Wage work is considered only a supplement to independent self-employment for all but twenty agricultural employees who work full-time on a finca within the township.

Payments for agricultural labor within the community are lower than the prevailing rate outside of the town and are higher in the fincas of hot country than in the highlands. When men work on the fincas of landowners in the neighboring township, they prefer payment by the task (*tarea*) rather than by the day, since they can usually complete two tareas by

1. See Richard N. Adams (1964:48) for a discussion of the forms of rural labor.

465 working long hours. Thus they receive 12 pesos for about one and a half times as many hours as is worked locally for the prevailing wage of 6 pesos (ten hours in comparison with the usual day's work of six to seven hours in the town). For this reason they maximize the effort expended in getting to fields outside of their own township. The lower payment in [476] town entails an obligation on the owner's part to reciprocate the labor, but the payment relieves him of an immediate demand on his time. Exchange 476 labor without payment requires reciprocity within the same activity schedule: thus if a man assists someone else during harvesting, he expects that person to assist him during the same harvest period. If, however, he will be unable to reciprocate immediately, the payment of 6 pesos terminates [465] an immediate obligation, but he will be expected to respond when he can if other requests should be made by this same farmer. Exchange labor without payment is contracted between relatives, compadres, and neighbors, using the network of established social ties to reinforce the obligation to reciprocate.

464 Agricultural work in the fincas in hot country is undertaken only when [434] there is extreme need for supplementary income, or when a man is escap- [754] ing the threat of being killed as a witch. In the 1920s, when the Indians had limited land resources and prevailing wages were low, some were forced to go to the fincas of the Argentino and Aregovia near Tapachula. [626] Despite the economic necessity for their undertaking this work, the social pressure was so strong against it that they would leave early in the morning to avoid being jeered as they passed in the street. The women rarely [462] accompanied them because they could produce pottery at home and supplement earnings. The prevailing rate now is 15 to 18 pesos per tarea, a [465] half-day's work, but Indians work in the finca only when urgently pressed.

Nonagricultural labor in the sawmills is a source of employment for twenty-two Indians of the town. Lumber companies operating in the forested areas of Montebello Lake have employed Indians of the town for [465] the past year. The wage offered, from 15 to 18 pesos a day, exceeds the 12-peso wage paid to agricultural laborers in the immediate area, but corresponds to that paid in hot country. The men must live at the sawmill, and supplies of tortillas made by their families are brought in on Wednesdays

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by the company truck to replenish supplies they bring with them. Most of the workers are young men in their twenties and thirties. They return Saturday evening in a truck supplied by the company and go back to work on Monday morning. Weekly wage payments have upset the usual controls over budget management. Money earned from crops is handled by women. The sawmill workers have resisted passing over their paychecks to their wives or mothers, and several court cases have been precipitated as a result (Appendix 2b).

All of the work in which men are engaged outside of the community is voluntarily undertaken for cash compensation. Formerly, forced labor of two kinds was frequently demanded of the Indians: communal labor in the neighboring ladino town when Tzoʔontahal was an *agente municipal* of that town, and work in neighboring fincas for wages of 50 cents a day. Forced communal work came to an end when the town became an independent municipio in 1931, and the labor roundups at substandard wages were ended when Indians became conscious of their rights guaranteed in the *Ley Federal del Trabajo* in the late 30s. Copies of the *Colección Jurídica Ley Federal del Trabajo* are sold in the departmental marketplace along with the *Codigo Agraria*. Awareness of their rights as workers is concomitant with increasing entry into wage labor employment outside of the local community. As yet, Indians do not have any organized labor interest groups to champion their rights. The Commissioner of Indian affairs in the departmental capital is an intermediary in individual cases that arise. But wage levels and conditions of work are set in a free market in which the Indian's only control is to refuse to work.

The few special occupations in the town, such as butchering, caponizing, weaving bags, carpentry, and midwifery, have never developed into full-time professions.[2] The failure of the development of specialization is related to the tradition of ritual offerings of gifts of liquor and consumables and to the lack of a marketplace in the town.

Most of the livestock raised in the town is sold to butchers of the neighboring town because of lack of storage or of market facilities for the meat. Pigs and bulls are slaughtered in town only on the occasion of a celebra-

2. Curing is treated in a separate chapter since it is an exceptional case of specialization related to social control.

231 tion or when the animal is sick. For ceremonial occasions, the assistant of
796 one of the mayordomos is expected to kill the bull which will provide the
[194] meat for a common meal. On other occasions, someone who is known to have a hand which gives flavor to the meat is asked to do it. The owner of
[465] the animal gives the butcher a half-liter of liquor.

232 Caponizing is a skill learned by some men with a few head of cattle by watching someone who knows how to perform the operation. If a man's
[843] wife is pregnant, he cannot perform the operation himself or even approach the bull, since his glance is very hot and will cause the bull to die. The procedure for making the request and for performing the operation is described below:

The owner goes to speak to one who knows how to caponize. When he arrives at the house of the caponizer, he says, "Are you in, Mam Gomez?" "I am," he replies if he is in. "Come in and sit down," he says.

"Pardon me, I have come to speak to you. Please, for the sake of the Virgin and for the sake of God, will you do nothing more than take out the little scrotum of my bull tomorrow?"

"Yes," replies the caponizer. "Do not worry, I shall take it out tomorrow."

"Good," replies the owner. "I shall wait for you in the house."

The next morning, the caponizer comes. The owner gives him some coffee to drink with a little bread. After they drink, they go to the hills to find the bull. They bring him to a wooded place and tie him by his hind legs to a branch of a tree. They then cast the body on the ground and tie the forelegs to the hind legs with a leather strap. They tie a string around the scrotum and sever the testes. After this, they drink a little. The owner's family joins them. The men blow up the scrotum to make a ball and the children play with it. They cut up the testes and broil them in a pan on the fire. After this is cooked, they pass it out to all of the people present with a tortilla and salt. Two liters of liquor are served. After the common meal, everyone goes to the house of the owner, and there they have a meal of chicken soup with two more liters of liquor. Those who do not drink liquor are served soda.

Very early the next day, the owner goes to see if his bull has died. If he

dies, the owner announces on the loudspeaker of the local bars that he will sell meat at 5 pesos a portion. He preserves the hide to make saddle packs and tumplines. But the loss is great because he will not be able to buy a new bull with what he earns. If the bull lives, he will be better in three weeks and can carry loads. It is a very dangerous operation since the scrotum of a bull is very large. It is easier with a horse. 232

Surrounding the event with a ceremonial complex minimizes the development of commercialized relations between the caponizer and the owner. Most men who acquire several head of cattle or horses eventually learn to do the task themselves.

Handicrafts performed by men include rope-making from the tails of horses or from plant fibers, and weaving net bags. Most of the men who are assigned to the civil hierarchy spend their spare time in the cabildo making these items. 462 283 286

Carpentry is a skill now being practiced by two Indians of the town who "just learned by watching." They are called upon to help people in constructing the house frame, for which they receive 50 pesos in wages. A Ladino living on the margin of the town is a full-time specialist with his own shop. In addition to supervising house construction, he makes furniture and caskets to order. 322 [465]

New Economic Enterprises

In the operation of the new enterprises, which include cattle raising, cooperative ownership of a store, bars, and trucks, and liquor distilling, several patterns of organization have emerged. Some of these are based on preexisting social groupings, while others represent innovations. The social resources of management, credit operations, and the development of new skills within these local enterprises are of significance in preparing Indians for new occupations in the wider society. 43 44

Cattle raising. The most traditional organization is found in the case of cattle raising. Cattle have been in the town at least as far back as the 1915 revolutionary period when informants indicate that most of the 231 233

231 cattle was seized by bandits or soldiers. It is "new" only in the size of the
233 holdings, which have expanded from ownership of one or two head per household, primarily useful as draft animals, to a herd as large as two hundred head belonging to the wealthiest man in town. Cattle rearing is now a capital investment for resale as well as for draft animals in plow agriculture.

233 The increasing herds have stimulated competition for community re-
311 sources. The control of communal grazing and waterhole rights is exer-
312 cised through the traditional dual division of the town, with rights to pas-
621 ture allocated on the basis of residence in the upper or lower barrio of the
575 center. An association of cattle owners has developed in each of the sections, and the leaders of each association call together all members to clean the water holes and repair the troughs. A recent project of the cattle association of the upper section has been the erection of a large cross at the
[789] water hole. The water had dried up the year before, and the installation of the cross was an attempt to ensure a continuous supply of water in the fu-
[796] ture. The priest blessed the cross in the dedication, and the fiscal and prayer-reciters adorn it each year on May 3, the Day of the Cross in the old Catholic calendar, along with other crosses of the village.

233 Cattle grazing is the source of much of the conflict in the town. The cat-
621 tle roam freely in the woods and communal pasture lands, and many are
578 lost or stolen. The cattle association has not fenced in the pasture in order
575 to control it. Their tactics have been punitive; they have raised funds from
627 among members to hire men to kill suspected cattle thieves. In the last twenty years, six men have been killed as cattle thieves, and at least three of those were known to be killed by men hired by the association, which then paid the court fines to set the killers free. The leader of one of the cattle associations was killed after an incident in which he fined a man who had failed to assist in cleaning the water holes. The fine of 2 pesos per head of cattle represented a large fee for the man, who had sixty head. He refused to pay more than half, since he said he had not been notified.
[754] When his daughter later died of illness, he blamed her death on witchcraft exercised by the cattle association leader, and later killed him.

231 Cattle are only minimally exploited as a resource. The cattle are not
434 butchered locally since there is not a large enough market, but are sold to

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Ladino butchers in the neighboring town. The cows are not milked either for local consumption or sale. Fertilizers are for the most part wasted since the cattle roam freely in the communal pasture lands except in the case of a few corrals owned by families. Hides are cured rather crudely and are used for saddle packs or protective aprons by the men, but none are sold.

The cooperatives. The notion of a cooperative to mobilize capital had been introduced by the I.N.I. in 1957 with the inauguration of a store owned by over one hundred members of the community. In the first years of its existence, the cooperative had some difficulties, primarily in convincing the Indians that when the returns on shares were lower in any year from prior levels, it did not indicate that the agents were stealing the money.

The cooperative store was bought by the Indians of the town from the I.N.I. in 1964 after the members had some trouble receiving returns on their shares. There are now one hundred and twenty-two members. The profits of 1965 were reinvested in the purchase of the corn-grinding mill. Current profits at the store are lent at 5 percent per month interest. The store grosses 80 to 100 pesos in sales daily, and the mill grossess 100 pesos. The wages paid to the storekeeper are 300 pesos and to the miller 250 per month.

Now that the cooperative is independent of the government, one of the stated policies is not to sell a single share to a Ladino or member of another community. "We do not want to give gifts to the Ladinos," the secretary of the cooperative told me. He added, "There was a Ladino in Teopisca who wanted to join with 5,000 pesos, but we wouldn't let him in. If you let them in, they would come to dominate the pueblo." The cooperative store does not share profits with the consumers but gives dividends. The 11,380-peso assets in the year 1965 were reinvested in stock and in the purchase of corn at harvest which was then sold at one and a half or two times the sale price.

The Indians developed their first independent cooperative in the ownership of a *marimba,* a musical instrument like a xylophone, operated by eight men of the community. This enterprise failed because the players never developed sufficient skill to be commissioned to play outside of town.

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town. However, other cooperatives have been successfully organized to finance small-scale oeprations. Five record players with loudspeakers have been installed in the houses of members who sell liquor. Once the initial investment is made, the operating costs are low: 27 pesos for electricity, 25 pesos for a liquor license, 30 pesos for *hacienda* or state tax, and 10 pesos for the township tax. Liquor bought at 60 pesos for an 18-liter jug is resold at 72 pesos. The total monthly cost of 92 pesos yields a net profit of about 300 pesos. The cost of the installation, 5,000 pesos, was low enough for some of the richer members of the community to finance individually, but as one of the operators told me, it was too risky—that is, too profitable. The envy the neighbors would feel on seeing the profits made would never result in witchcraft against all of the members, whereas an individual owner could expect that he himself or a member of his household would become ill or die as the victim of witchcraft. These early entrepreneurs recognize the value of the cooperative in overcoming the force of envy which has effectively inhibited acquisition or display in these corporate Indian communities. Instead of socializing losses, one of its functions in modern capital organizations, the cooperative in Tzoʔontahal serves to socialize gains.

The most enterprising action of the new cooperatives has been the purchase of a truck, initiated by the entrepreneur, Santos. The purchase of the truck was inspired by the example of the Ladino secretary, who with his wife and son had a monopoly on the transportation of pottery, people, and wheat out of the village. Furthermore, in the neighboring town of Zinacantan the Indians were successfully operating two trucks. Santos went with his brother to the director of the I.N.I. in Las Casas to ask for a co-signer on the installment purchase of a Chevrolet truck, since without a Ladino sponsor Indians could not get credit with the company. According to one informant, I.N.I. officials advised them that they would not be able to profit from this venture and that they should buy a tractor with their money. The brothers persisted and went to the Dodge company in the state capital. The company agreed to sell to the Indians without Ladino co-signers on the basis of a down payment of 10,000 pesos. The initial payment was raised with thirty Indians putting up the money. Some gave no more than 150 pesos, but as the instigators of the purchase remarked, "The more members we have, the more power it gives us."

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The truck is the focus of the desire for self-improvement, for fighting the Ladino monopoly of the road, for the antagonisms and factional strife and conflict within the community. When they bought the truck, the Indians hired a Ladino in the neighboring town as chauffeur. One of the conditions of his employment was that he would teach his Indian assistant to drive. The Ladino tried to avoid doing this since he knew it would be the end of his job. But the Indian assistant learned by observation and is now operating the truck with an Indian assistant.

Accounts of the cost and profit of the truck operation indicated a running loss. A new tarpaulin cost 1,200 pesos; there were repairs and bribes to the highway patrol. But the truck was kept in operation because the major shareholders were impressed with the power it gave them. "They [their enemies, the members of the other co-operative owned by the Ladino along with twenty members of the community] are afraid of us because of the truck," one said, and added that it was better than having a *swayohel,* the animal spirit that gives power to the curers. At the time of my last visit in 1967 the truck was making a profit. The owners were thinking of selling it and replacing it with a five-ton model.

Structural realignment has been most marked in the organization of the truck-owning cooperatives. Membership cuts across the dual division for both of the truck-owning cooperatives. The cooperative is the most important factor in local political elections (Chapter 9). The truck has become both the symbol of power and the basis for the contest for power between the factions within the community.

Contraband liquor. The number of distillers has grown in the last ten years from five to forty. The distillation process was learned by Indians from Ladinos in neighboring towns fifteen years ago. There has been no local innovation in the basic process, but a new item, used in distillation, has been introduced into pottery production, a funnel decorated in the traditional manner of the water jars and other vessels. The capital investment in the equipment for operating the still is put up by individuals or partnerships of relatives. The still is rented to people who have charge of the celebration for a saint's day, or who are involved in courtship.

Private enterprise is the favored form of organization of the distillers be-

273 472 cause of the limited capital involved and the fear of discovery with the expansion of the enterprise. A loose syndicate of distillers provides an insur-
273 ance protection by raising fines for members who are apprehended by fed-
548 eral agents. Security measures are taken to avoid discovery, and the pres-
661 ence of a federal agent is announced in Tzeltal on the loudspeaker system of one of the bars. One federal agent is on the payroll of the four operating bar owners, who give him 5 pesos a week to avoid legal action on the sale of contraband liquor. Individual distillers pay the tariff of 10 pesos or two liters of liquor a year to the civil officials and to the ejido commission, a tariff justified by the fact that they use wood from communally owned land to cook the sugar. The syndicate is a community-wide organization, mobilized in emergencies only.

The New Social Resources

177 In the course of operating the new enterprises, knowledge of and experi-
178 ence with supralocal institutions and agents are developing social re-
43 sources in (1) entrepreneurship, (2) management of capital and credit,
44 (3) knowledge of markets, and (4) dealing with government agencies. In
621 entering into these new economic activities, the Indians have not lost a
156 sense of belonging to the local community. Self-identification as poor, indigenous farmers is both a screen of protection and a means of ensuring continuity with local control systems.

472 *Entrepreneurship*. Local entrepreneurs explain their motivation in
621 a rhetoric which emphasizes their interest in community welfare. This val-
156 idates entering into nontraditional activities, but retaining their position in local society inhibits the expansions of their activities. The case of Santos,
159 the promoter of the trucking cooperative is instructive. Santos had picked
472 up some accounting techniques while he served in the army in Mi-
621 choacán. He returned to the village because his father walked from Chia-
45 pas to Michoacán to tell him he should come back and get married. When he returned, he kept careful account of his costs and returns from the milpa. He realized soon that it wasn't "worth his work" (the Indian has not as yet learned the idiom or the value system which goes into the

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phrase "worth my time"). He therefore persuaded a Ladino of Teopisca to lend him 5,000 pesos. He went down to hot country and bought corn when it was scarce in the village, brought it up the hill, sold a little to pay for his needs, but held the rest until the price went up in the next three months. In a two year period of buying and selling with his 5,000 peso investment, he grossed 400,000 pesos. Afterwards he began to hire men to work in his milpa. At a meeting of the cooperative association in 1966, Santos defended his investments of the association's funds by showing his carefully kept accounts. He held up his pencil saying proudly, "This is my machete! This is my hoe!" The phrasing is an imitation of Ladino rhetoric of the provinces. 159 472 621 45

Santos served as treasurer of the ejido commission and of the town. In 1965 he was made a *nic'nal martoma,* or junior religious official in charge of caring for the saints. His appointment was an attempt made by the former president, a member of the Ladino-owned trucking concern, to cut down Santo's operations in passenger traffic on Sunday by keeping him occupied in religious activities. While in office, Santos began an enquiry into the use of the funds collected in donations to the saints. The priest had gained control over these funds, and had not subjected the collection to the public review and accounting procedures by which funds had been handled by the civil administration. Santos demanded an explanation by the priest, who refused to make a statement. The issue was raised in a general assembly of the men of the community which occurs sporadically on Sundays. Meanwhile Santos was taking advantage of the money associated with each of the major saints. In the cargo system for the care of saints, a fund of money is passed over in the installation ceremony from the outgoing mayordomos to the incoming mayordomo. This fund has always been passed over to the incoming officials with an increment of about 10 pesos. Santos requested the use of these funds to "make them grow," and he thus gained uncontested access to low interest funds which he used in his brokerage activities. In addition to the interest, he gave a gift of clothing to the saint to maintain good credit relations. 159 472 621 794 45 [623]

Santos' administration of funds in his public capacity as town treasurer, storekeeper, and treasurer of both the ejido commission and the truck cooperative won him a reputation of honesty and reliability. His knowl- 159 472 621 45

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159 edge not only of how to manage money, but also of how to *manejarlo,* or
472 drive it, and to "make it grow" indicated an insight into capital operations
621 which made him a leader in local enterprises. In his post as shopkeeper, he
45 invested the store's capital in corn bought at harvest.

159 Santos' career as an entrepreneur was ended when a bullet was fired
472 into his back in 1966. He had relaxed his observation of the rules which permit survival for those who challenge traditional ways: no drinking, no trips to the mountain alone, and no boasting of gains. As yet, he has had no parallel in the community, but the truck drivers are becoming aware of the possibilites for profit in trade and commercial deals.

426 *Capital and credit.* The Indians' knowledge of capital and credit
609 operations has been acquired in the role of debtor, not creditor. In the leg-
538 ends concerning money the creditor is an outsider, a *pukuh* or devil, usually a Ladino. I had accepted a story about a Don Klabil, owner of a mountain in the town adjacent to the neighboring Ladino town Teopisca, as being of ancient origin. It fit with the many stories collected in Mesoamerica of owners of the hills who give out money on request to those who come knocking at the entrances to their caves. After their death, the recipients spend their spirit life in the mountain, working off the debt. Don Klabil was said to be responsible for the wealth of one of the outstandingly wealthy men in town who had gone to his hill and asked for cattle and money. Once while riding in a bus from Tzoʔontahal to Las Casas, I was engaged in conversation with a woman of Teopisca, who was dressed in widow's weeds. I commented on the story of Don Klabil as we passed the hill, and she said, "Oh, yes. That was Don David, my husband. He used to lend money to the Indians." When he died, the Indians say he went to live in the cave from which he got money when he was alive.

The Indians feel at a disadvantage to Ladinos when they enter into capital and credit operations. They tell a story of how, many years ago, when all the Indians of Tzoʔontahal were rich, the mayordomos got drunk on *Paswamal,* the day of gathering flowers and greens to decorate the church. When the true day of the fiesta came, they looked about them and realized that the church was undecorated, so they strewed green peso notes on the floor of the church. The Ladinos from Teopisca came for the fiesta as

usual, and seeing the pesos, picked them up. The "spirit of the money" left the village forever. The story reveals not only the sense of deprivation Indians feel in losing wealth to Ladinos (historically land the Indians had lost through fraud or legal trickery during the Porfirio Diaz period), but also their realization of their own responsibility for letting their assets slip out of their control. 426 609 538

Payment of interest on money borrowed is justified in the calculations of the Indians for loans made within as well as outside of the community. Interest, called *shol tak'in*, or "head" of money, makes it possible for the borrower to work, and thus to earn, so the "owner" has the right to charge for the use. The rate on loans made within the pueblo has risen from 2 or 3 pesos a month for 100 pesos to 5 pesos, thus equalizing the rate with that charged in the neighboring Ladino town. The same rate is applied between relatives as nonkin. The advantage of intracommunity borrowing is that the lender does not demand an immediate return, or as high security. Ladinos of the neighboring town tend to demand items of greater value than the debt held as security—one Ladino held title to land worth 1,000 pesos for a 50-peso debt, and threatened to foreclose. Within the pueblo, security of about the same value as the loan is asked except in the case of neighbors and relatives who can be reminded every day of the debt. And they are. 426 621 602 [571]

Markets. In marketing, the Indians of Tzoʔontahal have neither extended nor gained control over the selling and buying operations that have been pursued since before the opening of the Pan-American Highway in 1955. The pottery which is produced locally was formerly carried on horseback to the smaller towns within a radius of fifty miles. The pottery was marketed directly by the men of the household which produced it, with no specialization in trading by commercial travelers, as had happened in the Zapotec and other areas of Mexico. Since the penetration of the Pan-American Highway, the men take the pottery produced in their households by bus or on the trucks to either San Cristóbal or Comitán. This tends to polarize trading operations and dry up the traffic into small towns not connected by the highway. As a result, the wholesale trade in San Cristóbal and Comitán has increased in the past decade, with dealers 442 443 178 323 442 443 [492] [462] [494]

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323
178 coming from the smaller towns to buy. The Indians still bring pottery to
442 sell retail in towns that they visit during a fiesta. One of these is the barrio
443 of Lok'ibal in the município of Villa Carranza, where people go on the third Friday of Lent to get holy water from the spring.

The Indians have not taken advantage of the truck to buy pottery wholesale and market it directly in the smaller towns, selling from the truck in the plaza as some of the wholesale fruit truckers do. Another operation which they have failed to profit from is buying the wheat harvest and selling to government warehouses, as some of the Ladino truckers do.

44 Lack of capital is the major reason for failure to exploit these opportuni-
471 ties. In marketing the contraband liquor, which is the most flourishing of
273 the new enterprises, the Indians have not yet entered into the external
443 markets except in the case of one young unmarried mother. Wholesale
434 purchases are made by Ladinos, primarily women, from other towns who resell the liquor in Comitán and on the coast. There is however, a well-de-
[675] veloped home market since all contracts are sealed with the offering of liq-
[681] uor, the "gift of the gods," all court fines are paid in liquor, and the main
[583] gift in betrothal is liquor. The cantinas with phonograph players opened
[275] by the cooperatives operate very successfully on Saturday night and during
[216] fiestas. The internal market for liquor is controlled by a syndicate of the
[548] forty-two independent liquor distillers. The price is set at 4 pesos per liter
[435] for all buyers, with the buyer providing the bottle.

Agricultural production is not geared to a market, and Indians do not
241 take advantage of fluctuations in price. Wheat yields a lower return per
442 unit of land than corn, but it is grown for two reasons: the Indians believe
443 that crop rotation of corn and wheat prevents depletion of the soil, and wheat requires less work since no cultivation is needed. Wheat is a cash crop and none of it is milled or consumed directly in town. Poor families sell their wheat "standing" to Teopisca truckers. The price given the
[435] grower is usually about 90 pesos per hundred kilograms, and it is resold at 110 or 120 pesos in Tuxtla or to the government storehouses. Wheat is sometimes brought directly to San Cristóbal millers who give 120 per hundred kilograms. Corn is primarily a subsistence crop when grown in the center. Corn grown in hot country ejido land is now sold in Teopisca and
[489] San Cristóbal. The local truck cooperative has a special permit which gives

members entry to the ejido colony, an area where traffic was formerly excluded because of the monopoly by the large trucking companies. Both the fruit and root of chayote are sold in August by some families who have a supply over consumption needs. It is brought along with pottery to the market of San Cristóbal where it is sold to *regatones,* retail sellers who have stalls.

Decisions as to what crops to plant are not responsive to market fluctuation. With the major emphasis on subsistence crops, the farmers have little margin of land on which to experiment with profitable but risky ventures. They have little knowledge or experience. There are no full-time specialists in market operations, although the truck drivers may gradually assume a greater role in this respect.

Very few Indians of the region, and none of those in Tzoʔontahal sell corn to the National Warehouses (Almacenes Nacionales de Deposito), although the warehouses offer prices higher than the going market price for corn. (940 pesos per ton in comparison to 500 to 600 pesos at harvest or 800 pesos offered a few months later by wholesalers who come to town). The reason for their failure to take advantage of the higher market price is that they do not have sufficiently large crops to pay the transportation costs of 28.75 pesos or the "tip" to ensure that their crops will not be declared substandard because of impurities, rotten kernels, insects, or excessive water content. In addition to that, they must spend time at the warehouses and in traveling. The alternative to the sale of crops to national warehouses is sale to wholesalers.

Dealing with external agencies. Entering into competitive areas where they were formerly excluded, the Indians are encountering opposition from competitors and are the prey of departmental and state government agents. The reduplication of bureaucracies at the state and departmental level means that they will be subject to the double "bite" or *mordida* if they pursue their enterprises. Operating on minimal capital, they are not able to fulfill all the requirements, or buy all the necessary permits and licenses. Because of monopolization of certain traffic by the larger syndicates of truck owners, they proceed without permits and are often caught.

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474 The strategies the cooperative members have developed in their frequent
648 tangles with state police illustrate the combination of custom and innova-
661 tion. When caught red-handed, they may respond by playing the stereotype Indian role. "We don't know anything. We are just poor Indians. How do you expect us to do what the law says?" This is hard for the Ladino authorities to resist, since it feeds their own sense of superiority. But it does not always work, and so the Indians have devised secondary resources. They put the departmental police at each terminal of their usual route between Las Casas and Comitán on a regular monthly mordida pay-
[693] roll of 50 pesos each. When trying to extend their operations, they hire a lawyer. A recent coup has been the acquisition of a permit to truck corn from Villa las Rosas and other ejido settlements that have been recently colonized. The appeal was made on the basis that they are a nonprofit cooperative of ejidatarios. With the permit, they now undercut the price of their own competitors in the town as well as of the large companies. Law-
474 yers are beginning to advertise themselves in newspapers as "Friends of
693 the Indians" and are in some cases specializing in this new patronage, which they receive from other communities as well as Tzoʔontahal. The professional relationship bypasses personal ties which formerly limited the development of Indian leadership.

177 The self-development occurring in Tzoʔontahal may appear paradoxical
178 if we do not understand the internal dynamics by which change is con-
474 tained within an existing equilibrium. The cooperative association has
621 been adopted as a technique for socializing the risk of making a profit.
648 The truck, although currently used in an uneconomic operation, is a sym-
[493] bol of power in the struggle for a position in the regional markets and in the intracommunity factional strifes. The usual patron-client system is being reversed as the Indian puts the Ladino on his payroll to secure evasion from the law. In the changes which are occuring, the defensive structure of the corporate community is a means by which the Indians are entering into national life not on the lowest rung of the social ladder, but on terms they are setting for themselves. In the new enterprises, the Indians combine old ploys with new strategies. Confronted with legal threats from the outside world, they play the colonial game of defensive ignorance.

When this fails, they turn to the professional help of lawyers rather than to the old caciques with whom they had formerly maintained patron-client relations. The traditional structural alignment of upper and lower barrios is retained as the basis for organizing the growing cattle herds, but the cooperative provides flexibility and power for developing new enterprises.

The minimal changes in the material environment and the technology of the peasantry are countered by the development of social resources which should facilitate Indian integration in the wider society. In operating the new enterprises independently of Ladino control, they are developing entrepreneurial skills and an awareness of the relationship between capital and profit. The restriction of their operations to nonproductive use of capital for profit, such as buying crops at harvest and reselling as the price rises, reveals the limited dynamics of intracommunal development. The town will look to the regional and national networks for fundamental changes in its economy.

The fear of exciting envy acts as a brake on productive activity and the enjoyment of improved consumption resulting from wealth. Santos' death is a symbolic warning to others who would follow in his footsteps. An earlier case occurred when the ejido land grants were made in the 30s:

The brothers Ča?iletik became "very rich" as a result of careful operation of their ejido and privately owned land. They owned ten pair of oxen and about fifty horses. When they brought in their crops on horseback, it looked like a line of ants. They built a good house in Alkob', and a good threshing shelter. The people of the town began to talk about getting them off the land. The ejido commissioner took their land away and turned it over to others in the town. Until this day, the brothers Ča?iletik are without land. Now they do no more than work like other men. They live poorly. All their cattle and horses are sold.

The organization of the cooperatives is one means of diverting envy directed against individuals and permitting some increase in productive efforts, but the society still lacks the means of validating higher consumption standards. The richest man in town eats better than his neighbors,

556 626 but his style of living is indistinguishable from theirs. The only difference [23] is the larger number of dogs he[1] keeps to guard his wealth stored in the form of surplus crops in the eaves of his house.

177 178 433 434 621 323 The kind of economic change occurring in Tzo'ontahal fits the model of a moving equilibrium. Tightly controlled behavioral schema preserve the traditional productive activities in pottery and agriculture. They provide the framework into which the new enterprises are fit. Increasing dependence of cosumption choices on external markets is slowly transforming the content but not the pattern of community life. This kind of change is limited to societies that form a distinct corporate group. In an open society where many alternatives are available, the painful process of accommodation of the new to a customary pattern would probably not be undertaken given the tendency for social change to follow the course of least resistence. The absorption of economic innovation in Tzo'ontahal illustrates the ability of closed corporate communities to participate in commercial undertakings and reformulate them to fit their own pattern.

[1] [i.e., the richest man in town. - Analyst]

Chapter 4

Family Authority and Community Control

All residents of the center consider themselves to be "true men" descended from the ancestors who lived in the cave. In Murdock's terminology (1965:63), the Indian community constitutes a *deme,* or local group of genealogically related residents who cannot trace the exact kinship tie. This sense of kinship sustains a model of paternal authority for assigning positions of power and prestige in the wider community. The key to persistence of the Indians as a culturally distinct population lies in these age-ordered hierarchies sanctioned by the ancestors and the elders who act as their intermediaries. The reward for remaining within the social control system is security and the right to their guardianship; the sanction against violating the norms is exile or exposure to the evil spirits they hold at bay.

The bilateral extension of age-relative collateral terms to all members of the same side of the dual division is a successful adaptation of the kinship model to the government of a compact nucleated community. The system of terminology is similar to that of the neighboring nucleated settlement of Aguacatenango which shares many of the same features of behavior (Hunt n.d., Metzger in Romney 1967:231). These systems are closer to those of the Coatlan Mixe (Merrifield and Hoogshagen 1961) and the Chinantec of Palantla (Merrifield 1959) than they are to the nearby Tzeltal-speaking communities of Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes 1947) and Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947). In the case of the Mixe and Chinantec, the strong emphasis on relative age is correlated with age-graded positions in the political-religious hierarchy (Merrifield 1959, Merrifield and Hoogshagen 1961:225).[1] The lineage-clan pattern found in the vacant center, or *paraje,*

1. In the Coatlán, Oxaca case of Mixe Indians cited by Merrifield and Hoogshagen (1961) they state that the classificatory terms utilizing the criteria of age relative to ego

613 614 621 171 601 type of communitives such as Oxchuk and Cancuc depends on communal land holding and contiguity in residence of the agnatic kin. The corporate identity of these groups is breaking down with the fragmentation of land holdings and movement of men from the paraje of their fathers (Guiteras Holmes 1947, Villa Rojas 1946).

601 602 Symmetrical bilateral extension of kinship terms can be seen in Figure 3. Relative age modifies generation in terms for collaterals. In ego's generation, older brother and sister are distinguished from younger siblings. In parents' generation, siblings of father younger than father are referred to and called elder brother or sister, and those older than father are called father or mother. In grandparent's generation, siblings older than grandparent are called grandfather or grandmother, and those younger than grandparent are called father and mother. If the grandparent should die, leaving only a younger sibling, the term grandparent is used referentially and vocatively. There is no sex distinction made between siblings or collaterals [193] younger than ego in the referential terminology. Referential terminology for lineals younger than ego does not make sex distinctions, but the distinction may be made with one's own children by using the possessive form of the vocative term, such as "my little man" (*htatil*) or "my little woman" (*ḳantzil*). Women refer to their children with the term *ʔalal*. The stem *ʔal* signifies the verb to give birth. Men refer to their children as *niẽ'an*. The collective term for children of both parents combines the two terms in a possessive form, *ḳalniẽ'an*, our children.

The bilateral system of Amatenango is not in conformity with the Spanish model. Along with similar systems mentioned for Aguacatenango, Coatlan, and Palantla, it differs from the Spanish model in that collaterals in ascending generations are classified with lineal relatives, and age rela- [174] tive to ego modifies generational separation. These systems appear to be an

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obscures that of generation. Just as in Tzoʔontahal, all members of the community address [601] others they meet on the street with the term indicating age relationship to ego, and grand- [171] father and grandmother terms are reserved for the very old. The authors conclude that this terminological behavior reflects the rigid age-grading found in social groups throughout the community. I would venture a generalization that requires further research to the effect that age-grading provides a pattern for appropriate behavior among members of endogamous, closely settled communities whereby conflict is reduced by channeling competition for prestigeful positions.

174
adaptation to conditions imposed by nucleated compact settlement which 601
may have been prehispanic. 602

Terminology for affinals differs according to the sex of speaker and the 601
age and generation of referent. Men refer to brother's wife, wife's brother's

Fig. 3. Kinship Terms for Consanguineal Relatives

Generation	Collateral Male	Lineal Male	Lineal Female	Collateral Female
Older than grandparent	Mam	Mam	Me'č̌	Me'č̌
Younger than grandparent	Tat			Me'
+2				
Older than parent	Tat	Tat	Me'	Me'
Younger than parent	Bankil (Š'lel)			Wil
+1				
Older than ego	Bankil (Š'lel)	EGO		Wil
Younger than ego	Kihtz'in			Kihtz'in
−1				
	Kihtz'in	Nič'an (Alal)		Kihtz'in
−2				
	Kihtz'in	Mam nič'an		Kihtz'in

Terms in parentheses are female spoken terms.

601 wife, and wife's sister with the term *mu?*. This same term is used by women to refer to sister's husband, and to husband's brother. Men refer to sister's husband, wife's brother and wife's parents' brothers as *b'al,* while women refer to brother's wife and husband's sister as *ha?wan*. The rule is that siblings-in-law of opposite sex of speaker are classified as mu? and siblings-in-law of same sex as speaker are differentiated by sex of speaker so that men classify them as b'al and women classify them as ha?wan. Parents-in-law are referred to as *tat ni?al* and *me? ni?al* and called father and mother. Wives of sons and brothers' sons are referred to as *kalib'* by men.

Fig. 4. Kinship Terms for Affinal Relatives

	Collateral	Lineal		Collateral
+1		Nial Tat	Nial Me?	
−1	Bal	(Hmamlal) Kinam		Mu?
	Kihtz'in			

Underlined term is vocative.

Affinal terminology is not applied to spouses of parents' siblings; the terms for father and mother or elder sister and elder brother, depending on their age relative to ego, are extended to them (Fig. 4).

601 The term for assistant in a ceremony, *b'alni?al,* using the combined
796 terms for ego's generation and parental generation in-laws, may indicate
794 that this group formerly served in household ceremonies. They are still
174 called upon for assistance, but nonrelated neighbors and compadres or
592 godchildren may also assist and the same term is applied to all.

571 Significant reference groups are designated by the Spanish derived terms
197 *yermanotak, kumparetak,* and *bersinatak*. The yermanotak is comprised
192 of siblings, their spouses, and siblings of parents; the term is derived from the Spanish *hermanos;* kumparetak, meaning the ritual co-parents, is a

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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term derived from compadres; and bersinatak, meaning the neighbors, is derived from *vecinos*. When informants are asked to summarize who participates in rituals, these three groups are always mentioned. They are not exclusive groupings; neighbors or siblings may be chosen as compadres, in which case the reference and vocative terms for compadres are preferred to any previous terminology. Activation of any of these ties depends on choice and convenience. Proximity of residence is of greater importance in day-to-day exchanges of assistance or visiting than closeness of genealogical tie. Interaction rates have been quantified in an earlier study of the community (J. Nash 1960; 1964).

Another way of referring to the yermanotak is with the plural form of the Indian patronym. Members of the Shunton family would, for example, be called the Shuntonetik. Several Indian surnames are linked to a Spanish patronym. For example, the Shunton, along with Lin, Mai, and Wolto? are linked to the name Lopez. In other Tzeltal and Tzotzil-speaking communities, these Indian surname groups have a greater cohesiveness, and in the recent past held corporate lands which they worked in common, as in Larraínzar (Holland 1963), Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947, Siverts 1960) and San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961). In these towns, the Spanish patronym designated a clan marked by exogamy and responsibility of the elders for maintaining social control. In Tzo?ontahal, the tie of descent has given way to an emphasis on collateral links. Exogamy of the Indian name group is the only surviving function of the lineage, and when this has been violated, there are only minor repercussions.

While the Spanish-derived collective terms are restricted to domestic groupings, the Tzeltal collective term for elders, me?iltatil, refers to the three central groups responsible for social control in the community. Derived from the terms for mother, *me?*, and father, *tat*, it is metaphorically extended to include the sponsors in household ceremonies, the curers acting as guardians of their side of the dual division, and the civil officials. Each of the groups is vested with a different level of authority in the community. This is summarized briefly below.

1. Household sponsors: The Spanish institution of ritual godparenthood has been fused with the indigenous system of sponsorship by me?iltatil. When a child is baptized, his god-parents are included as

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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608 members of the me?iltatil along with relatives and sometimes neigh-
571 bors. They are his sponsors at subsequent life crises—rituals of betrothal, marriage, and death. All of these people become co-parents to each other and to the child's parents. This relationship lasts throughout his and their lifetime. If the marriage bond is threatened, the me?iltatil gather to hear the complaints and try to resolve the problems. When a person dies, his me?iltatil go to his wake to watch over his spirit. He in turn is expected to help in the household of his me?iltatil when they have a ceremony by bringing wood or serving food and drink to guests.

624 2. Civil officials: The civil officials as a group may also be called
561 the me?iltatil; the term has special reference to the judges who represent the ancestors in their judgment of wrongdoers. In their passage through office from lower to higher positions, they are ranked in age-graded sets of junior officials (policemen), senior officials (regidores), and elder officials (judges), with the highest respect in ceremonial occasions accorded to the principales, two men, one from each side of the dual division, selected from those who have served in all offices. Drinking order, marching order, and seating order reflect the age-ordered rank in all ceremonial occasions.

[192] The link between the me?iltatil of the household and the me?iltatil
of the civil authority is provided by a group of officials called the *naka-*
571 *wanehetik*. These men are chosen from among bilaterally related
621 relatives, ritual co-parents, and neighbors who have served in office in
602 the church or the town hall and know the prayers. They direct cere-
794 monies in the house at times of baptism, betrothal, death, and when
608 the household head enters a community office. They are the ones who know how the ancestors did things and "watch and see" that all is done in accord with custom. They instruct the new official in the prayers he
[574] must memorize. Their wives direct the preparation of food by the younger women, and one of them may serve as chief woman speaker greeting guests.

621 3. Curers: Curers are similarly ranked according to age and years
756 in practice. The elder curer on each side of the dual division is charged
561 with guarding his side against the intrusion of evil spirits in the form of his own animal spirit. It is in this function of guardianship that the curers are referred to as me?iltatil.

The me?iltatil is the core institution preserving cultural continuity in the community. The exercise of authority and social control depended on a system of checks and balances in which the ancestors watched over the community, the judges watched over the curers to see that they did not abuse their power, and the curers watched over their side of the dual division to see that no witches or evil spirits caused harm. The validation of power is based on the kinship model of age-authority. The recruitment and functions of each of the three manifestations of this ancestral authority will be discussed in the following chapters on life crisis rituals, curing, and civil government.

The Household and Family

The household unit is a crystallization at a given point in time of consanguineously and affinally related people within a wider kinship matrix. It is the most important structural unit providing for economic cooperation, socialization of the young, and care and sustenance of the aged. It provides the setting and the personnel for the transmission of traditional prayers and ritual procedures of the civil and religious hierarchy. The composition of the unit is constantly changing due to internal changes in the life cycles of its members as well as changes in the wider kinship matrix. The decisions made in response to these changes reveal both traditionally established adjustments to life crises and adaptations to social changes originating outside the family. The kinds of choices made in residence after marriage as well as in inheritance and succession to leadership in the household do not always conform to the cultural formulae for handling them. The exigencies of space, time, economic, and social considerations may outweigh the ideological considerations of what ought to be done.

The formula for the developmental cycle of the household is the following: when a man marries, he lives with his bride's family for one year, working in her father's fields. He then returns to his father's household to live and work with him until his father is too old to manage the work in the field. The father then gives equal shares of his land and animals to each of his children, both male and female. The youngest child, or the last one to get married, remains in the parental house, taking care of the aged

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

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593 parents. This role is institutionalized and the youngest child is referred to
[192] as *k'oł*, the last one.

591 The choice of residence after marriage is influenced by the following
593 factors:
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1. The couple live with whatever family has less pressure from immature siblings remaining in the household. If there is no other child in one family, there is a strong likelihood that the new family will remain in that household.

591 2. If there is any wealth difference, the couple tends to live with the
182 richer family. "Wealthy" families prefer to have their children live
434 near them and will make an effort to build a house within their compound or nearby.

Table 15. Trends in Household Composition, 1958–1964

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Family type	*Alamantik* No. of families	*Alamantik* Percent of total families	*Ahk'olnantik* No. of families	*Ahk'olnantik* Percent of total families	*Total* No. of families	*Total* Percent of total families
Remained the same						
Nuclear	49	76	38	57	87	67
Virilocal	7	11	11	16	18	14
Uxorilocal	4	6	7	11	11	9
Joint sib	1	2	1	2	2	1
Grandparent-grandchild	1	2	2	3	3	2
Incomplete	2	3	7	11	9	7
Total	64	100	66	100	130	100
Percent of all families		44		34		39
New families created						
Nuclear	16	89	48	88	64	88
Uxorilocal	1	5.5	1	2	2	3
Incomplete	1	5.5	6	10	7	9
Total	18	100	55	100	73	100
Percent of all families		12		28		21
Families which changed *	64	44	74	38	138	40
Total number of families	146	100	195	100	341	100

* Direction of change indicated in Table 16.

71 Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Changes in the household composition in the period from 1958 to 1964 between the two censuses I made in the field indicate some of the trends toward nuclear family units or bilaterally-rather than predominantly patrilineally-extended units (Tables 15 and 16). Comparisons are made between the same household in each period. Comparison of family forms in the six-year period indicates a high rate of change, with 39 percent remaining the same and 40 percent changing. The remaining 21 percent are the newly created families. The direction of change favors nuclear families (40 cases or 29 percent of changes) and virilocal forms (27 cases or 20 percent of changes). Nuclear families were the most stable, with 62 remaining the same and 62 changing to another form. This contrasts with uxorilocal households which are the least stable, with 11 cases remaining the same and 23 changing, and virilocal households which follow a similar pattern with 14 cases remaining the same and 25 changing. Nuclear families account for 88 percent of the new families created by marriage in the period studied. The trend is toward a greater proportion of nuclear families, as measured by the various indices.

TABLE 16. Direction of Change in Household Composition, 1958–1964

	Alannantik		*Ahk'olnantik*		*Total*	
Family type	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*
Change to nuclear from						
Virilocal	14	22	4	5	18	13
Uxorilocal	5	8	9	12	14	10
Joint sib			1	1	1	1
Grandparent-Grandchild			1	1	1	1
Incomplete	1	2	3	4	4	3
Unknown			2	3	2	1
Total	20	32	20	26	40	29
Change to virilocal from						
Nuclear	8	12	10	14	18	13
Uxorilocal	2	3	1	1	3	2
Joint sib			1	1	1	1
Incomplete	1	2	4	5	5	4
Total	11	17	16	21	27	20

(*cont.*)

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Family type	Alannantik No. of families	Alannantik Percent of total families	Ahk'olnantik No. of families	Ahk'olnantik Percent of total families	Total No. of families	Total Percent of total families
Change to uxorilocal from						
Nuclear	4	6	4	5	8	6
Virilocal	1	2	1	1.5	2	1
Joint sib			1	1.5	1	.7
Grandparent-grandchild			1	1.5	1	.7
Incomplete			1	1.5	1	.7
Unknown			1	1.5	1	.7
Total	5	8	9	12.5	14	10
Change to joint sib from						
Nuclear	1	2			1	.7
Virilocal			1	1.5	1	.7
Uxorilocal			1	1.5	1	.7
Total	1	2	2	3	3	2
Change to grandparent-grandchild from						
Nuclear			1	1.5	1	.7
Total			1	1.5	1	1
Change to incomplete from						
Nuclear	8	12	4	5	12	9
Virilocal	1	2	1	1.5	2	1.4
Uxorilocal	2	3	1	1.5	3	2
Joint sib	1	2			1	1
Unknown			2	3	2	1.4
Total	12	19	8	11	20	15
Change to disintegrated from						
Nuclear	11	17	10	14	21	15
Virilocal	2	3			2	1.4
Uxorilocal			2	3	2	1.4
Grandparent-grandchild			2	3	2	1.4
Incomplete	1	2	4	5	5	4
Total	14	22	18	25	32	23
Change to avunculocal from						
Nuclear	1	2			1	1
Total	64	100	74	100	138	100

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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TABLE 17. Choice Made in Response to Changes in Constitution of Family

Individuals with change in status	*Lives with parents*	*Lives with children in same house*	*Lives with in-laws*	*Lives with married child*	*Lives alone*	*Children of first marriage live with him/her*	*Children live with his/her parents*	*Moved to barrio*	*Moved to another town*	*Total*
Woman separated	6						1			7
Man separated	2									2
Widowed woman	1	14	3	2	1			4	1	26
Widowed man		3		1					1	5
Man remarried	1		1			1		1		4
Woman remarried	1	1				4	1		2	9
Total	11	18	4	3	1	5	2	5	4	53

592 The household into which an individual is born remains a resource base
59 throughout his life. In nine cases noted in Table 17 in which separations
586 occurred, the spouse returned to his or her natal home. In most cases in-
592 volving the death of a spouse, the widow or widower stays in the house-
736 hold established during the marriage. If the children are too young to be economically useful, the surviving parent may return to the parental household with his or her children, or they may move in with married siblings. If the family was living with the parents of one of the spouses, the surviving members usually remain there even if the elder couple are not the parents of the widow or widower. A young widow living alone is the prey of drunken men during fiestas and requires a protector.

586 The stability of marriage can be seen in the statistics on changes in con-
587 jugal status in the period from the first census in 1958 to the second census
[125] in 1964 (Table 18). Of 264 marriages formed at the time of the first census, only 15, or 5 percent, were voluntarily dissolved; 16 percent were broken by the death of one or both spouses, and another 1 percent by the death of both partners. 10 widowers and 4 widows remarried, an index both to the greater availability of women for remarriage as well as to the necessity for a man to have a woman in the house.

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TABLE 18. Changes in Conjugal Status, 1958–1964

Conjugal status	*Alannantik*	*Ahk'olnantik*	*Total*
Same	92	89	181
Separated	3	11	14
First marriage	28	65	93
Widowed	13	26	39
Two wives		1	1
Remarried			
Widower	6	4	10
Widow	2	2	4
Both died	3	1	4
Returned to wife	3	1	4
Unknown	3	21	24
Total	153	221	374

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Behavior Defined in the Family

Socialization in the family provides the individual with the idiom for behaving in the wider community. The basic principles ordering behavior are respect and obedience toward those who are older, and care for those who are younger. Obedience, expressed by the verb *ʔun* which means both to believe (or to be gullible) and to obey, is instilled by cultivating a sense of fear and shame. Fear is communicated by the parent to the child by invoking evil spirits and by the threat or use of punishment, especially whipping with a leather strap. Shame is aroused by ridicule, jeering, and chastising. A good child is a quiet child; questioning is discouraged either by refusing to answer the child or by telling him to keep quiet. The negative aspect of good behavior is stressed. Significantly, the phrase "Behave yourself!" is translated into Spanish as "Don't do anything!" Good behavior is not rewarded either by praise or by gifts. The only public demonstration of affection toward children I have seen is by grandparents toward grandchildren: an elder might give his sweet roll at a ceremony to his grandchild and even fondle him. Parents show affection to youngsters under three years of age, although the last child may be coddled somewhat longer. Mothers and young children show intimacy and affection in delousing each other or combing each others' hair. Kissing is not a sign of intimacy but of formal respect in ceremonies.

Beliefs concerning conception show awareness of both the male and the female contribution to the fetus. The man's sperm (*snal*) enters the womb, *yoʔtan*, (also the word for heart) and mixes with the woman's flow, to bring about conception. The blood of a child is believed to come from its mother and the skin, bones, and brains from the father. During pregnancy, the father must have intercourse with his wife because his sperm nourishes the fetus. This continues right up to the birth of the child. Men too are believed to have wombs, and some men have trouble with "dropped wombs" caused by lifting heavy burdens.

The only people in attendance at the birth of a child are the women of the immediate household, the mother of the woman giving birth if she is not a part of the houshold, and the midwife. Children are kept out of the

844 house, and the men usually leave the scene. Women are ashamed of their husbands seeing the afterbirth because they joke about it with other men. [522] [833] (I do not know what the joking is about—possibly it is related to the frequency of sexual intercourse during pregnancy, since the placenta is believed to be increased by male sperm.)

There is no ceremony attending childbirth. Although some women are assisted by one female relative, most call in a midwife, who is referred to as "grandmother of the child" and who comes when the birth pangs begin. [759] There is only one recognized midwife in Tzoʔontahal; she is the sister of one of the practicing curers and a niece of one of the former leading curers of Alannantik. She has patients on both sides of the dual division. On rare occasions, caused by witchcraft the Indians believe, a woman [845] [756] fails to give birth after two or three days of labor, and then a curer is called in.

The child is delivered with the mother kneeling on the floor. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord with a knife, and the child's navel is tied with a cord. The child is wrapped in cloths which have been smoked over incense, and then a woman's sash is wrapped around him from shoulders to feet, firmly binding the arms and legs so that they cannot move. It is felt that if this is not done, the child will snatch at everything and eventually 846 become a thief. The body remains bound in this way for fifteen days. The umbilical cord and placenta are buried in the houseyard. Some say that a boy's umbilical cord may be tied in a tree "so that when the child grows, he can climb trees and cut fruit." The mother is given a drink of coffee, and the midwife binds her stomach with a band. Three days later the woman enters the sweatbath to cleanse herself. The midwife goes in with her and rubs her with branches of orange leaves and massages her stomach. If the child is born away from his own house, he is brought to it with great care so that his soul will not be dislodged from his body. The midwife makes a pad with branches of bushes growing near the springs, and the father sprays the child's body with springwater from his mouth.

[753] In the first "twenty days or one month" of life, the child's contacts with the world are limited to the immediate family in order to guard against soul-loss and illness from "hot" glances of outsiders. When anyone not of the household approaches the house in which there is a newborn child, he

must announce his arrival at the gate so that the mother can cover the 846
child from view. In this period, the mother sleeps with the child apart [513]
from her husband.

Infants remain swaddled in wrapped skirt pieces—the woman's sash is 854
not used after the first fifteen days—throughout the first year of life. Their arms are bound to their sides by kerchiefs crossed over the chest and drawn around the back with the ends tucked in; this makes it easier to carry the child on the back, wrapped in a large carrying cloth. Mothers sometimes lay sleeping infants on their bed when they are working in the house, but much of the time they carry them on their backs.

The child is given corn gruel to supplement nursing during his third or 853
fourth month. Weaning may be consciously done after the child reaches 862
the age of one and a half or two years. If the child persists in trying to nurse, the mother may put chile sauce or draw a face on her breasts to discourage him.

Much of the care of children from two to four years of age is done by 855
elder siblings. Both girls and boys of from seven to ten years of age carry 857
younger siblings in a carrying cloth on their backs, even when playing very active games. They pacify the child by holding a flower or twig for him to chew or grasp, and they usually share with him any cookies or scraps of food they are given.

School is commonly considered the most joyful time of a person's life. 871
There the children, especially boys, make friendships which last through- 857
out life. School recess is a time for unrestrained running, shouting, and laughter such as I have rarely seen in the houseyards when children play together.

In teaching their children how to work, parents are expected to incul- 867
cate not only competence but also a sense of the value of work, for industry is one of the most esteemed traits in both boys and girls. Small girls do errands for their mothers from the age of about four years. When a woman is occupied with pottery, she rarely disturbs herself to get needed items, but calls upon her children to fetch a pot which is out of reach or to bring water for the painting. She gives these orders in a quiet undertone, and I have never seen any need to prompt or cajole the child into fulfilling the errand. By the age of ten or eleven, girls begin to make small pots like 857
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868 857 the larger ones their mothers make, but their products are usually not [323] commercially saleable until they reach the age of marriage. Their responsi- [312] bility in preadolescence is to bring water from the faucets installed in every other block of the town, and to degrain corn, tend the fire as the *nixtamal,* or corn dough mixed with lime, cooks, and help their mother grind it. The careful assessment of the child's capacity to perform tasks is exemplified by the gradations of water-carrying jars given to each child: the older the child, the larger the jar, with minute variations in scale. The [592] close, usually wordless cooperation between women in a household comes [462] from years of working together and knowing their part in cooperative tasks.

Boys accompany their fathers to the fields after they reach the age of six and when they are not attending school. They do not participate in the work of the milpa until they are eight or older, but they pick up twigs for the fire or gather the wild berries or plants which supplement the diet of [411] the family. They usually carry slingshots with which they kill field rats [262] and birds, which they bring home to cook and eat. Teaching a boy the 868 tasks involved in agriculture is consciously undertaken by older brothers 241 or the father when the child reaches the age of twelve or thirteen. The following reminiscence of this training is given by a man who had been brought up by his widowed mother and brother.

159 *I went to the field with my brother who is eighteen years older than I,*
868 *when I was thirteen years old. My brother brought me to clean the milpa,*
241 *saying, "Let us go and you will learn how to work. See what I do and you do the same. You will learn what I do and you can do the same."*

One day I finished six rows. My brother said when he saw my work, "Good, just give a little more soil at the foot of the corn because the little corn must have a little soil. Now you do it well." "Yes," I said. He saw it was good, and he told me, "You have learned your work. You are going to forget it when you enter school. When you come out of school, go do two or three rows of work. When you hear the bell strike, go back to school."

He told my mother that I had learned to work, and he said, "Good you know how to cultivate." I learned to do my work better by going along with my elder brother in his work so that I would not forget.

The relationship of respect and obedience between parents and children 593
is expected to last throughout life. When a boy reaches the age of eight- 582
teen, his parents are expected to provide him with a wife. Wealthier fami- 434
lies tend to fulfill this obligation at an earlier age than do poorer families, 583
in which the boy may have to work in the fincas or in the sawmills to acquire the money for his own marriage.

Instruction in sexual behavior and reproduction is not characterized by 864
continuity, as is instruction about work tasks. Children are given no information about sex prior to marriage, and girls remain entirely innocent. They may be pregnant several months before they are aware of what is happening. The complete sexual segregation in work tasks and play during adolescence makes the relationship between sexes strained.

Even after marriage, the parents are concerned with maintaining their 593
child's marital situation, or, if they judge their child's spouse to be incorri- [586]
gible, to help him get rid of his partner. In the case of women, in particu- [736]
lar, parents continue to provide a refuge in case a daughter's husband should die, be sent to prison, or prove incompatible. Parents usually accompany their children if they are called into court, and failure to attend is tantamount to admitting the guilt of the child.

In successful marriages, the parents-in-law are equivalent to parents and 593
are called "mother" and "father." The parents of both spouses attend the 606
life crisis ceremonies of their children and grandchildren. Grandparents 603
provide support and care for grandchildren if their parents should die or remarry.

When parents reach the age of about sixty-five, they are no longer ex- 593
pected to work actively. A man will then distribute all of his land and ani- 888
mals among his children. He will expect to be taken care of by all of his
children, but special responsibility falls on the youngest who will inherit [428]
the house. Sometimes aged parents move from one of their children's [591]
houses to another, spending a few months or years with each. Children are [755]
expected to pay for any curing ceremonies necessary in their parents' old [764]
age and to provide a good funeral appropriate to their wealth. Failure to [626]
do this incurs loss of respect with the neighbors and collateral relatives of
the deceased. If the parents die after they have distributed their posses- 593
sions, the crisis following the death is minimal. At the funeral, mature 764
children of a deceased parent exhibit to the community their filial respect.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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602 Kinship is one of several bases for recruiting reciprocal or cooperative
476 labor. Table 19 compares kinship with nonkinship-defined work groups
626 in terms of the kinds of exchanges, the type of work done, the time span permitted for reciprocity, and the sanctions against failure to reciprocate.

TABLE 19. Labor Exchanges of Kinship- and Nonkinship-Defined Groups

Conditions	*Within household*	*Beyond household, within community*	
		With kin (ritual, compadre, affinal and consanguineal)	*With nonkin*
Interchange	"Cooperation"—reciprocity based on implicit understandings	Reciprocity—explicit, defined by traditional expectations	Reciprocity—explicit, often defined by contract as well as tradition
Sanctions	Authority of elder member, male in men's work group, female in women's work group	Authority of elders of bilaterally-extended kin group; Recourse to cabildo if no strong elder	Informal—fear of gossip of neighbors; formal—reliance on local judges and president or recourse to district courts
Time Span	Extended, indefinite	Extended, usually some defined limit on repeated tasks (harvest); no limit for nonrepeated tasks (housebuilding)	Immediate return expected, or explicitly stated time allowance
Kind of Task	Pottery-making, milpa agriculture, care of cattle, preparation of food	Ploughing, cultivating, harvesting, firing pottery, housebuilding	Same.

593 Fathers and sons, or sons-in-laws may work together on family-owned
476 property. Because all men can acquire ejido land after marriage, and since
423 47 percent of the households claim to have only this land, the cooperative
621 tie between fathers and sons is not based on inheritance. If they work well
[606] together, they may continue to cooperate after the son has become independent. Father and sons, brothers and brothers-in-law are expected to
476 cooperate with each other in building a house, rethatching a roof, and
342 threshing wheat. In the case of house-building or maintenance, they must
607 pay for a substitute if they are unable to fulfill the obligation.
593
241

Compadres, or ritual kin, are the next most important pool from which to draw assistance. The same restrictions on exchanges between actual kin apply to those between ritual kin. The one task which is confined to brothers and not extended to compadres is that of house-building.

Relationships between members of the household are defined by daily work tasks, commensality, sharing a living space, and participation in the same ceremonial events. The same rules which govern behavior in the family are extended to the wider community. The extension of the terms elder brother and elder sister, father and mother, and younger sibling to all of the people in one's own side of the dual division implies a pattern of behavior similar to that of the family. The fundamental equation in social relations is age-respect-deference-prestige.

The bilaterally extended kinship group provides the pattern structuring relations throughout the community. It is a framework allowing wide choice in selecting individuals with whom ceremonial and work relations are contracted. Relative age has superseded generation and descent as the principle governing relationships of authority and respect from the nuclear family to the hierarchy or community officials. These patterns will be traced in other institutions in following chapters.

Chapter 5

Rituals of Life Crisis

571 608 602 The ceremonial occasions marking baptism, betrothal, and death define the network of bilateral relatives, neighbors, and compadres who will guide and help a person throughout his life. These people make up the group called me?iltatil. The constitute a corporate group, but one which is tied to a single transaction. The sense of corporate identity is strengthened by the same group being called upon to act in subsequent household celebrations. But for each set of me?iltatil there is almost always a different membership since the participants are selected for a particular event. The behavior during these ceremonials is marked by formality and replication of a limited number of ceremonial acts. Through this replication, the rituals dramatize continuity with the past and foster a sense of changelessness. [192] The symbolic act establishing the bond is the embrace, called *sme?ispetb'ak*. Within the ritual setting, the child learns whom he can turn to for help and what he is expected to do in his home and community.

Baptism

852 774 After a month of seclusion when the child is hidden from public view, the soul is expected to have found its place in the child's body. A ceremony called *ki'n ha?* (water ceremony) [192] then takes place with the mother and grandmother in attendance. The three enter the sweatbath, and the mother and child are bathed in hot water and then cold.

If the child cries frequently, it is suspected that his soul is still not firmly lodged and has been wandering in the streets where it encounters animal spirits that frighten him. This requires a soul-calling ceremony performed

in the house in which he lives. The midwife, the only person present besides the mother, performs the ritual. She puts cold water in the child's mouth and then goes to the door, saying, "Enter if you arrive, little boy [or little girl]." Then she brushes the child with pine branches dipped in springwater, and smokes with incense of pitch pine the clothing which is then put on the child. The incense "makes a path for the soul to find the body of the child." As she does this, she says, "May your heart be one now that you are in the house." This ceremony is always performed when the child is born outside his parents' residence is order to guide his soul to its proper locale. Three days later, a ceremony called *sti? mut* (eat the chicken) takes place. Only women attend this meal. In one case I observed, the child's mother, her three sisters, mother, and husband's cousin attended. Each woman brings a peso's worth of bread, some chocolate, and ten tortillas. Two hens are cooked in boiling water, and the food is eaten by the women.

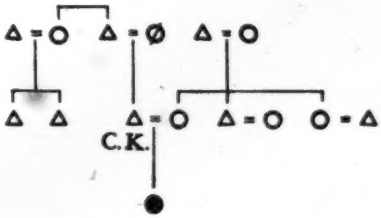
Baptism, called "throw the water" (*?ič ha?*) occurs as soon as possible after the new-born child's twentieth day of life. If the parents of the child live with either the mother's or the father's family, the grandparents will choose the godparent, or *padrino*. The actual decisions recorded for four families in Table 20 can be compared with statements of preference as to who should be godparents. People say they prefer nonrelatives ("We are not deceived by them"), people of the same section of the dual division ("We like to greet them in the street") and finally people of good reputation. The individual or couple chosen as godparent becomes *compadre* or co-parent to the parents of the child.

People seem to be successful in realizing the preferences they state. 81 percent of compadres are chosen from their own side of the dual division, and only 4 percent are chosen from out of town. 71 percent of compadres are chosen from among nonrelatives. A significant factor in the choice of compadres is maintaining good neighbor relations. Most families surround themselves with a ring of compadres which neutralizes both the fear of being the object of witchcraft and of being accused of witchcraft. Factors of wealth, prestige, and status positions—particularly that of fiscal—are also taken into consideration in choosing a compadre. Most of the padrinos of baptism are chosen from among older members of the community,

but on other occasions they are as likely to be chosen from among peers of the parents.

The occasions on which the first informant in Table 20 acquired compadres are spelled out in the following diagrams to show the growth of the network of compadrazgo relations in the course of a lifetime.

Compadres of C. K., sixty-five-year-old man. C. K. chose as compadres on the occasion of the baptism of his first child an older man who lived in the same section of town. The diagram shows the composition of the baptismal party. The darkened symbol in this and the following diagrams represents the child baptized.



C. K. addresses all of the guests by the term "compadre" and refers to the group as "kumparetak." The second child has the same padrino, and the same group of relatives attended the ceremony. For the third child, C. K. chose a Ladino shopkeeper from the neighboring town. He chose him because, "I sold wheat to him, and I saw he was honorable." C. K. had a house fiesta to which the shopkeeper came with his wife. This is somewhat unusual and occurred because the compadre was from another town. C. K. chose as the padrino of his fourth child another Ladino he knew in the same town, but the padrino did not attend the house fiesta to which only his sister, her husband, and her husband's brother came. A woman prayer-reciter of the same section was chosen as *madrina* of his fifth and sixth child when C. K. was fiscal. A younger man of the same section was chosen as the padrino of the seventh child. C. K. helped his son select the padrino of a grandson born in his house, a man from the same section.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 120]

TABLE 20. Relationship of Individual to Compadres

Informant's family status	Occasion	Residence of compadre: Same section	Opposite section	Other barrio	Neighboring town	Total	Relationship: Relative	Non-relative	Total
65-year-old man, wife, 5 grown children	Baptism of godchild	13	5			18		18	18
	Wedding	31				31	12	19	31
	Baptism of own child	3			2	5		5	5
	Total	47	5		2	54	12	42	54
42-year-old man, wife, adopted daughter	Baptism of godchild	12	1			13	2	11	13
	Wedding	13	3	5		21	6	15	21
	Confirmation		2			2		2	2
	Blessing of loudspeaker	2			2	4		2	2
	Total	27	6	5	2	40	8	30	38
35-year-old man, wife, 5 children	Baptism of godchild	7				7	4	3	7
	Baptism of own child	4			1	5		5	5
	Wedding	4				4		4	4
	House saint	2				2	1	1	2
	Total	17			1	18	5	13	18
34-year-old widow	Baptism of godchild	17	1	1		19	15	4	19
	Wedding	7	3			10	2	8	10
	House saint	2	1		1	4	1	3	4
	Confirmation	1				1	1		1
	Total	27	5	1	1	34	19	15	34
	TOTAL	118	16	6	6	146	44	100	144

[P. 119]

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608 section. Attending this house fiesta was the group of relatives represented
571 in the diagram.
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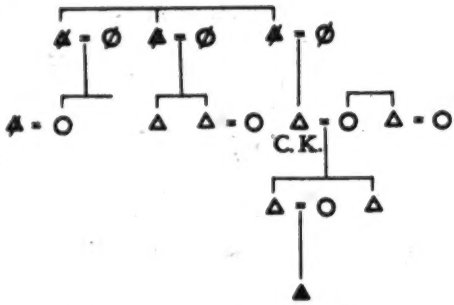
[601]



The relatives assembled are essentially the same as those who attended the birth of C. K.'s first child. They are the core of the me'iltatil for his family, a core which expands to include additional compadres and neighbors for special house rituals. The second and third grandchildren had as padrino a man from the opposite section.

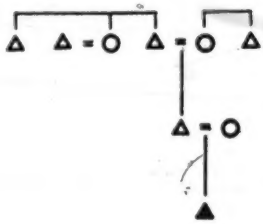
In summary, C. K. has chosen four Indian compadres and two Ladino compadres for the baptisms of his own children. Other members of the me'iltatil who became compadres on these occasions include five men and three women who are bilateral and affinal relatives.

608 C. K. has been asked to be padrino of baptism by four persons:
852
571

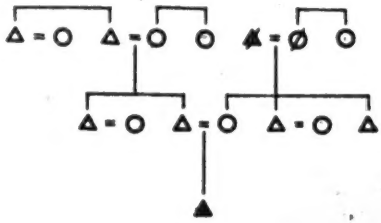
1. A neighbor asked him to be padrino of his child. At a small fiesta, he became compadre of the father and godfather of the child.

2. A man from the opposite section asked him to be padrino of his son's child, and he acquired the group of compadres shown in the diagram.

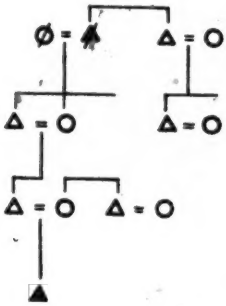
[601]



3. A man of the same section asked him to be padrino, and he acquired 6 compadres and 7 comadres. 608 571 852 601

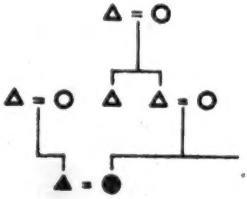


4. A man of same section asked him to be padrino, and he acquired 5 compadres and 5 comadres.



He has been asked to be padrino of marriage ceremonies, also by four parties. The darkneed symbols represent the individuals married. 608 571 585

1. A man of the same section.



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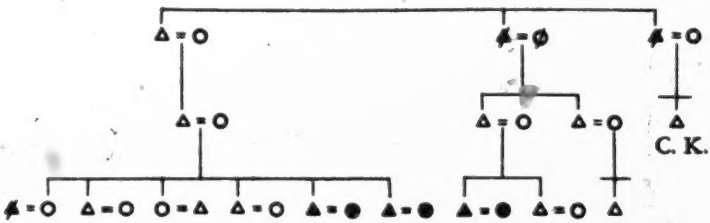
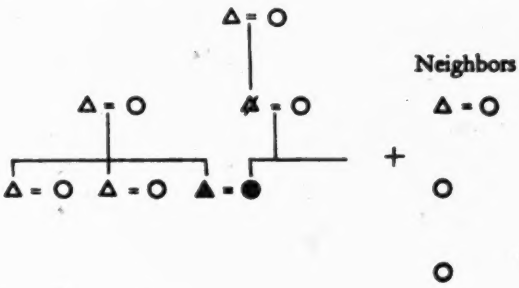
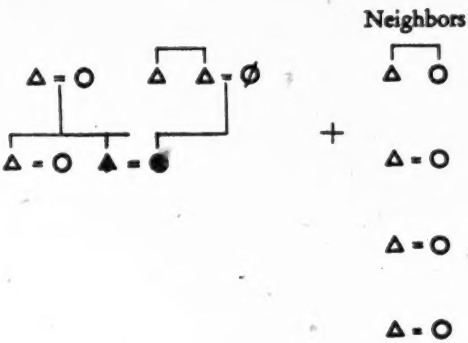
2. The sons of his brother's son.



3. A neighbor's son.



4. A man of the same section.



7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

In becoming a padrino of baptism and marriage, C. K. has acquired 33 compadres, 31 comadres, 4 godchildren of baptism, and 7 godchildren of marriage, 4 of which are his nephews. Adding to the 6 compadres of baptism for his own children, he has 39 compadres and 37 comadres, a total of 76. Most people by the time they have reached 60 have acquired well over 50 compadres.

The relationship between compadres is one of respect, and the referential and vocative terms, *kumpare* and *kumare*, or compadre and comrade in Spanish, take precedence over any other relationship term. The godchild is expected to bring a load of wood to his padrino's house when the latter has a household ceremonial, and when the godchild is old enough, he will serve as b'alnial, or assistant. All the people who attend the household ceremony following the church baptism become compadres and constitute the kumparetak. Compadres attend each other's household ceremonials, acting as nakawanehetik (attendants who are present at all household ceremonials) or b'alnialetik. Compadrazgo is patterned on a pre-Conquest institution establishing ties between attendants in household rituals called maliwanehetik.

The relationship of protection and guidance that is to characterize the tie between co-parents, godchildren and their godparents for the rest of their lives is symbolized in the behavior formally prescribed in the baptism ceremony. On the day of baptism, the child is dressed in clothing given by his godparents. The parents and grandparents of the child go together with the godparent to the church. While the child is being baptized by the priest, he is held by his godfather if he is a boy, or by her godmother if a girl. The priest throws water and salt on the child and prays over him, baptizing him in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. After the ceremony the participants embrace the child and each other in front of the church, symbolizing the status they now occupy in respect to the child, his grandparents, and parents. Without this performance, the ritual terms of comadre, compadre, or padrino cannot be used.[1]

1. This behavioral definition of the ritual kinship tie in the sme?ispetb'ak is illustrated in the following incident: The wife of a man who had been asked to be a child's godparent was absent when the priest arrived for the ceremony. Her husband went to the church with the parents and grandparents of the child and embraced them at the church steps. Although

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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852 608 571 788 The church ceremony is followed by another ceremony in the house of the child's parents. As the group returning from the church enters the house, they are greeted with the pat'o'tan by the maliwanehetik who are waiting for them in the house. As they enter, each of the returning party says, "You go forward, kumpare." They embrace all of the waiting party, an act which establishes their relationship as compadres with the entire company. When the padrinos leave, the grandparents and parents of the [273] child go to a spot before the eaves outside the house; there the father of [593] the child serves liquor to the padrinos and the grandparents of the child. [603] The drink is called "the finale as the compadres leave." The group must finish the entire liter "since it is a gift," and if there are only one or two grandparents, they may get fairly drunk. As the compadres leave, the grandpaernts say, "Over the soil, over the mud where you take your holy godchild, your holy flower, your holy candle." The child, referred to meta- [778] phorically as holy flower, holy candle, is identified with the most sacred symbols of the culture.[2]

608 571 171 The emphasis on the group relationship in Tzo'ontahal contrasts with the form of compadrazgo found in the central plateau of Mexico where the dyadic tie between two compadres provides flexibility in achieving instrumental ends in political or economic life.[3] Some of the new leaders in economic enterprises are beginning to emphasize the dyadic contract in their compadrazgo relationships to achieve political support, but its greatest importance is still based on creating or reinforcing group solidarity.

796 177

Betrothal and Marriage

The Indians of Tzo'onthal are initiated into the community of the living and depart from it with ceremonies deriving from the Spanish colonial 584 585 culture. The courtship and marriage ceremonies continue indigenous re-

[852] she later attended the household ceremony, she was never called kumare because of the [571] omission of this act. [608]

2. See Laughlin (1962) on the symbolism of the candle and flower in Zinacantan.

[171] 3. In regard to the occasions and the kind of respect relation established, compadrazgo in Tzo'ontahal is similar to the institution in other parts of Mexico (Foster 1963, Nader 1964, Wolf and Mintz 1950). The difference lies in the elaboration of the number of ties acquired through compadrazgo at each event.

tual practices and are carried on in the home. Sometimes a church and/or civil marriage is held in addition, but the union is not consumated until the traditional home marriage has taken place. 584 585

The betrothal, or *č'om,* is an extended series of negotiations in which the boy's representatives plead with the girl's family to accept the suit. Anytime in a boy's late teens or early twenties, he may initiate the suit by speaking to his father, or the father may undertake to find a wife for his son. The parents of the boy then request an older woman who has some skill in speaking the formal speeches to serve as the me? *Č'om,* mother of the betrothal, and an older man to serve as the *statal č'om,* or leader of the betrothal (sometimes he is called mam č'om or grandfather of the betrothal). These intermediaries may or may not be related to the family initiating the request. Nonkin are usually chosen from among compadres or a neighborhood group. When the father requests that they act as intermediaries, he brings a gift of liquor, chocolate, and bread. 584 [192]

Before any negotiations are begun with the girl's family, the boy's family calls together the representatives. These include his grandparents, uncles, and aunts, his padrino of baptism and confirmation, and possibly neighbors or nearby compadres of his parents. The gathering then questions the boy to learn whether his interest in the girl is sincere and exclusive of any other infatuation. In this session, called the *?ič' yo?tan* or "taking of the heart," the boy goes to each of his representatives and kneels before them as they question him, asking him if he wants that girl and only that girl. He is told that marriage is an important relationship, not to be treated "as a toy"; the boy should be interested in only this girl, and if he should cause them to have to go to the cabildo "the day after tomorrow," it would cause embarrassment to the entire company. [602] [608] [571] [192] [581]

At the final gathering, called the *?ič' rason* or "taking of the understanding," the assembled me?iltatil of both the boy and the girl give the couple further advice. The boy is told what is expected of him in the marriage. It is a minimal statement: he should not leave her tomorrow, he should not beat her, he should bring home corn and beans, and all will be well. The girl is told that she should prepare her husband's meals and be waiting for him in the house when he comes home from work. Respect, called "hearing" and "feeling" (both combined in the verb *I?awayi*), is [192] 581 584

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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584 [581] stressed for both. The boy is again warned not to bring the me?iltatil embarrassment by causing them to go to the cabildo.

During the six months to a year between the first and the last gatherings, the boy's representatives make up to a dozen visits to the girl's house. The patterning of behavior during these visits reveals cyclical and progressive tendencies of which the participants are consciously aware. These progressions involve time, the number of people involved, and the size of the gift.

584 Time progression affects two aspects of the courtship: the hour of the visit of the boy's mam č'om and me? č'om, which becomes later, and the length of the visit—it is longer each time. The first visit is a tactical maneuver involving the early-bird ploy. The me? č'om, having stayed awake after the all-night ceremony of the "taking of the heart," arrives at the girl's house at the "dawning dusk of the world." She stays only long enough to leave the gift and announce her intention of continuing the suit indefinitely. The timing of the last visit when the "taking of the understanding" occurs contrasts with this in that the members of the boy's wedding party arrive late in the evening and do not leave until four or five in the morning. The time of arrival and departure is plotted for each visit in Figure 5. The progressively later arrival time indicates increasing security on the part of the members of the betrothal party that the girl's family will be there to receive them, while the extended staying time indicates growing confidence and the breaking down of the barriers of reserve. Even up to the last visit, however, the members of the betrothal party take two quick parting shots of liquor as they leave the boy's house to "rid themselves of their embarrassment."

584 431 The increase in the number of members of the betrothal party who go to the girl's house is tied to the increase in the amount of the gift. The role terms of the members of the betrothal party indicate their association to the gift, as shown on Table 21.

Finally, the progression in the value of the gift is the cultural item most commented upon by the people, both within the village and in comparing customs with other Indian towns. This permissible variation indicates the relative wealth of the boy's family and the relative resistence of the girl's family. While the quantities vary from one č'om to another, in all cases

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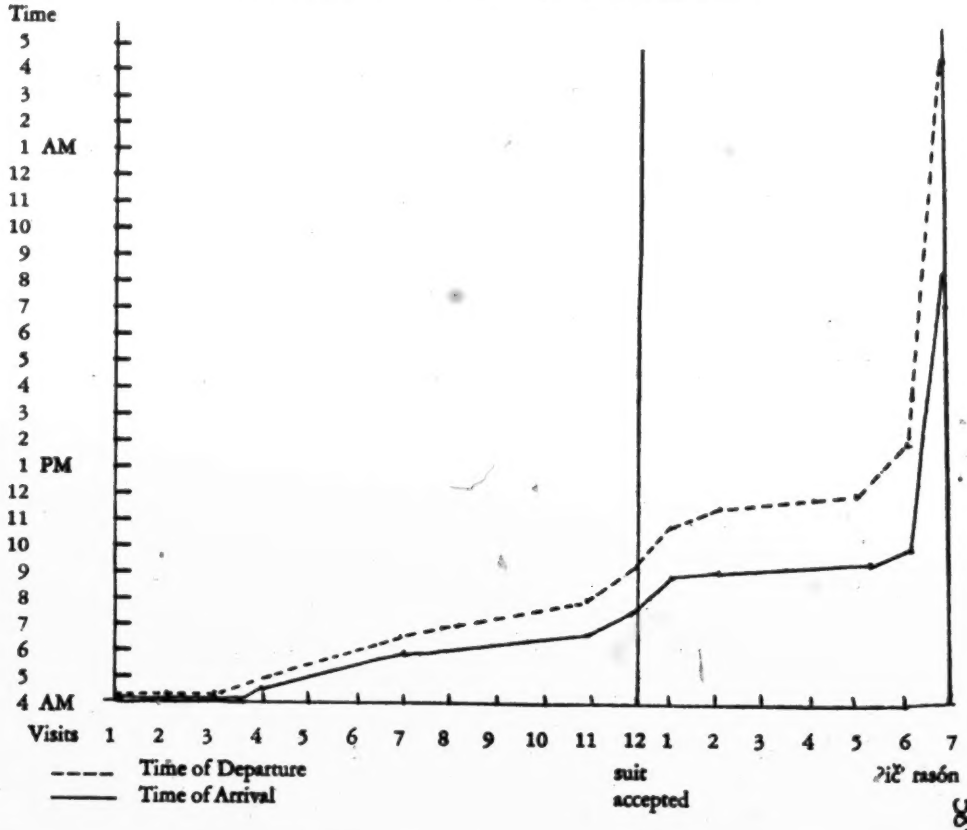
[P. 127]

Fig. 5. Timing of Arrival and Departure in C'om Visits



7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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584 there is an increase with each trip. Except for the transfer of money in the
431 last trip, the gift is completely in consumables—chickens, bread, liquor, chocolate, and sugar. With many of the older men becoming teetotalers, soda has become an established part of the gift exchange as well. Two elements of the gift exchange are stable in all marriages—the four chickens each cooked and wrapped in fifteen tortillas with a chile placed inside, and the chocolate. In a traditional exchange system, the quantities of some items of exchange are fixed while those of other items fluctuate; gifts of bread, liquor, and money, for example, are of varying quantity in Tzoʔontahal. The fixed quantities of chicken, chocolate, and tortillas establish conformity to community standards while the fluctuating ones indicate the relative prestige of the family.

TABLE 21. Relation of Members of Betrothal Party to Gifts

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Member of the betrothal party	*Time of participation*	*Function*
608 571 Mother of the betrothal (Meʔ Ĉ'om)	Initiates action	At first, carries the gift of bread, chocolate, and brown sugar. Burden lightens as others take over these gifts, so that at end she carries only corn gruel and one large piece of bread
Elder of the betrothal (Mam Ĉ'om)	On fourth visit, accompanies mother of the betrothal	Carries liquor until Measurer of liquor takes over, then carries only sweetened liquor served to women
Measurer of liquor (P' is haʔ)	About seventh visit, accompanies mother and elder of the betrothal when suit is accepted	Carries white liquor served to men and that given as gift
Basket carrier (La smoĉ, usually wife of P'is haʔ)	Accompanies mother and elder of the betrothal and Measurer of liquor when suit is accepted	Carries bread throughout final visits before "taking of the understanding"
Carrier of brown sugar (Ĉ'up ʔaskah)	On last visit before "taking of the understanding," accompanies mother, elder, measurer, and basket carrier	Carries sweet liquor and soda for last visit and for "taking of the understanding"

The links between members of the me?iltatil of a couple united in marriage are reinforced if another marriage occurs between the two households. While this does not provide a basis for prescribed or preferred mating, those who have such exchanges say they prefer it because the negotiations in the č'om proceed more amicably, especially in the earlier stage. 571 58 608

Solidarity of the group is reinforced when the me?iltatil are called upon to help settle conflicts that arise in the marriage. The household review of marital conflict requires a formal gathering of all the members of the betrothal party who represented both the husband and the wife. Parents of the couple state the evidence and recite the events which led up to the conflict. The husband or wife may interject, speaking in their own defense. The elders suggest how the person judged guilty (usually the man) ought to behave and what his reponsibilities are. A transcription of one such case is included in Appendix 1A. This concerns a couple who had separated two years after the marriage. The following statement of the padrino of the wedding ceremony, speaking in lieu of the leader of the č'om who could not be present, shows the techniques they use to adjust relations: 593 578 608 571 621

Now he [the husband] wants to change for the better. You [speaking to the husband] ought not to drink. It is better to eat meat and vegetables and find corn and beans for your wife and child. Now we have arranged it, and you can take your wife and child to your house.

A successful outcome depends on all people in the dispute accepting the judgment of the elders. If this cannot be achieved, the abused partner seeks redress in the courts. Women are most frequently the plaintiffs. The plaintiff is supported by her parents who appear with her in court and help argue her case. The defendant may appear with his parents, it they support him, but very often they feel shame and do not. 593 578 608 571 692

In court cases, two judges hear the evidence and they, along with the president and other civil officials deliver the verdict. The quality of interpersonal relations does not differ much from that which one finds in the household review, as can be seen in comparing the court review included in Appendix 1B with the household review. In the former case, the woman's wrath had been aroused by her husband occasionally returning to his first wife, and by his failure to give her money for expenses. Since he

593 worked in the sawmill, he was not as willing to hand over his wages to
578 his wife as is the farmer, who according to established custom gives the
608 proceeds from the sale of his crop to his wife. The judges advise the man
571 to stay sober, adding, "If you want a woman, you ought to support her.
692 You shouldn't fight." They entreat the wife to return to her husband's house "and make a fire there." They refuse to release the marriage license, and the woman's father reluctantly agrees. He has the last word, warning the husband: "The day after tomorrow, don't come back here with a couple more children and say, 'I don't want you; go back to your mother's house.' You are lucky to have a wife. If you don't have a wife, you go get drunk every day. But with a wife, life is good. She will give you coffee and corn to eat. Don't go on fighting whether drunk or sober. Both my compadres [referring to the judges] have advised you."

755 The curing ceremony as a means of adjusting interpersonal conflict is
608 discussed at greater length in the following chapter. Padrinos of baptism,
571 compadres, and other members of the patient's me?iltatil attend, both to
578 see that the curer is performing his duties properly and to lend spiritual
182 support. Like the household and court review of conflict, it permits the open airing of grievances and relies on the authority of elders. Drinking
[273] liquor is a means of restoring good feelings, either as a follow-up to the review of court cases or as a continuous measure of goodwill in curing.

182 The responsibility of the me?iltatil for repairing personal relationships
571 in the family underwrites the importance of this institution in the commu-
608 nity. In these institutionalized means of settling conflict the society recog-
578 nizes the inevitability of friction in intimate relations and draws upon the resources of personnel and techniques developed in the life crisis rituals.

182 The me?iltatil are the guardians of individuals. The security that they
156 provide depends upon the individual conforming to the group norms.
608 They are a personal reference group maintaining customary ways of be-
571 having. I shall show in the following chapters how they are linked as the inner core to a system of guardianship provided by curers within each side of the dual division and by civil authorities at the community-wide level.

182 These are the agents who, by providing models of how the progenitors
608 behaved and by channeling responses to social change, maintain the sense
571 of equilibrium and the illusion of changelessness. The sense of continuity

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The sense of continuity with the past is preserved in the ceremonials in which these officials act, but nonceremonial activities no longer reinforce the values symbolized in ritual. 182 608 571 796

Death and Burial

When a person dies, his soul is believed to go out from his tongue. The family is responsible for finding a resting place which will be satisfactory to the soul. If the dead person has died of a "good" (not caused by witchcraft) illness, the soul lingers for eight days and then goes to heaven. If the dead person has been killed, his soul stays in the village for "a month or twenty days." The reason given for this is that "the gods did not choose the hour of death, and the soul doesn't know where to go." During this waiting period the dead person "finishes his heart," or ends his emotional ties with friends and relatives. 763 764 775 [593]

Following the death, a sister of the parents of a child or some other adult woman washes the body and puts a wrap over it. The body is always laid out with the feet toward the door; the eyes are shut, and the jaw is wrapped with a kerchief to hold the mouth closed. Two candles are placed at the head and two at the feet. Flowers and a bowl to collect offerings of 2 pesos from each visitor are placed at the head of the body. The contribution given at the burial assures the giver of a hearing with Christ: 764 764 431

Everyone gives a contribution of 50 cents or a peso. Each one considers how much he can give and gives it. God listens to and speaks to those who give gifts. Those who give a candle or a little contribution of corn or flowers give an account of the dead man's life. If he had no crime on his conscience or only one crime, whoever killed him by violence or by witchcraft bears the guilt. Christ listens to the account of those who have given good contributions. Thus the help is given so that Christ will see that he did a favor to one who is poor and who has nothing to bury himself, not corn, or money, or anything to sell, not land, or cattle, or wheat. Therefore everyone who is a relative or a compadre or a neighbor brings one-fourth [bottle of liquor], a half measure of brown sugar, fifteen or twenty corncobs and one or two candles. And all men who arrive at the grave and

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764 [43] *give five or ten pesos are helped by God. Those who give nothing end at their burial with nothing.*

If the death occurs in the night, the body will be buried on the following day. During the wake, called "watching over the dead," relatives of the father, mother, and spouse of the deceased, as well as compadres and neighbors, watch over the body so that the devil cannot enter and steal the [608] soul. If the dead person's padrino is alive, he serves as first *nakawane* and [273] greets the guests. Liquor is served constantly. The women serve coffee and [574] tamales or tortillas to the visitors at midnight.

At midnight the woman who is closest of kin cries for the dead. This is a stylized crying in which the mourner speaks of how the dead man passed his life. If she is his widow, she weeps for the misery she will face. [539] Mourning for herself, she repeats:

How can I eat now with my children?
You will not see how I shall live.
You are of one heart in the ground.
But you do not see how I shall eat with the children.

If the death has been a violent one, the widow may express her sentiments about the blamelessness of her husband, or she may suggest that accusations that he was a witch are true by saying she knew nothing of what he did at night. In any case, people listen carefully to what she sings because it may give some basis for speculating whether there will be an attempt to avenge his death.

On the day of the burial, the coffin is lined with a new straw mat, and all the dead man's used clothing except for his kotonču is placed inside. A gourd drinking cup with *posol,* a spiced corn gruel, is placed near the dead man's mouth along with a tortilla. A metal cup cannot be used to hold water in the coffin because it does not have a soul as does the gourd vessel, which comes from a living plant. If the deceased is a man or boy, his hat is placed next to his head and his sandals are set beside his feet. A cross made of palm is put in the coffin to ward off the devil. If the deceased is a child, his head is adorned witha wreath of paper flowers set on a kerchief which is bound around his head.

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The funeral procession leaves for the cemetery about three in the afternoon. Attending the body are the padrinos, parents, aunts, and uncles. If the deceased is a child under two years of age, he is carried by his madrina. One of the former fiscales or someone who knows how to pray goes along. Smaller siblings or children of the dead are left at home with the maliwanehetik, who in this case are chosen from among the more distant relatives, compadres, and neighbors not attending the funeral. As they walk, the women cry and the "owner of the dead," the woman closest of kin, wails constantly in the stylized mourning cry. She stops wailing only when the company stops to pray at the cross at the exit of the town and just before entering the graveyard. At each resting point, the fiscal, who holds a rosary, reads the prayer book, while a neighbor or compadre uses a geranium to sprinkle holy water on the spot. An older male relative holds a palm cross.

When the party arrives at the opened grave, the godmother sits down near the coffin to make the final arrangements. The grave has been opened prior to the arrival of the party, but sometimes the men widen the hole. If they come across a bone, the fiscal shakes holy water over it with the geranium. When a nursing child is buried, the mother leans over the coffin and puts her breast in the child's mouth just before he is lowered into the grave. This is done so that the child's spirit will not think any longer of returning. The godparent or some other attendant dips the geranium in water and shakes it over the body. Handfuls of dirt are then thrown into the coffin. It is at this point that the assembled group, including the men, breaks into loud wails. The wails of the funeral party, though they do not lack feeling, are most important as a controlled communication, uttered when it is appropriate and by particular persons who are expected to cry before a select audience.

As the neighbors who have come to help the bereaved relatives shovel dirt on the grave, the padrino of the deceased approaches the fiscal and recites the pat'o'tan of blessing for the gift of liquor. The liquor is measured in a shot glass and passed around to the company. The women leave soon, and the men remain drinking. At this point a kind of trial is held to see who is responsible for the death. Since almost all sickness is believed to be caused by witchcraft, it is important to decide who the guilty person

761 might be. The father or closest male kin of the dead person is careful to
627 recount all the consultations he has had with curers, both to absolve him-
753 self of the guilt of neglect or unconscious witchcraft and to search for the true culprit.

764 A proper burial with holy water, flowers, grave offerings, and prayers as-
775 sures the survivors that the soul of the deceased will rest and his bones will lie in peace. Lacking any of these features, the dead will disturb the living, as is recounted below:

> *During the revolution, many were buried without a funeral or without blessed water. On Thursday, the bones burn and cry. You can still see a blue flame rising above the old graveyard on Thursday. You can find money that the ancestors left there, but you have to go at night to dig it up.*

An important safeguard to ensure that the soul will lie in peace is burial among people with whom the deceased lived. When a married adult dies,
[593] he is buried with his dead spouse. If he had two dead spouses, he is buried with the first spouse on the right hand and the second on the left. A child
[603] is buried with the grandparents of the household in which he lived—that is, if he lived with his mother's parents he is buried with them, and if with the father's parents, then with them. When people know that they
[763] are going to die, they express their preference as to where they wish to be
[593] buried. Usually they will elect to be buried between their dead parents, but
[608] if they were unhappy with their parents, they might choose a padrino or
[604] uncle. If dissatisfied in its resting place, a soul, even when properly buried, cannot find peace and wanders back to the house. Fearing this, relatives try to comply with the wishes of the dead.

> *My grandfather used to say that he wanted to be buried between his mother and father. But when he was about to die, he said, "I don't want to be buried there because my father beat me. He will continue beating my soul. I want to go on the side [of the cemetery]. Please don't bury me near my parents." My father said, "All right, we will put you on the side."*

764 The funeral must meet the expectations of the community as well as
554 those of the deceased and his relatives. The mature children of a man who
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dies are expected to give a funeral appropriate to his station in life and his wealth, as is expressed in the following account:

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When my father got sick, he told his wife not to put him in a black box. He had heard a story that when the dead man is in a black box, his spirit cannot see. He wanted to be in a white box. He told this to his brother. But his brother wanted to get a black box. He bought one black box for three hundred pesos when my father died, because it is the custom of the pueblo to bury adults in a black box. The people would talk if we did not buy a good box because they knew he had animals. We spent six hundred pesos for the funeral. We presented the body in church for a mass. We had a singing mass for thirty pesos, and the box cost three hundred pesos. We had a common meal of beef in the house, and we spent two hundred and sixteen pesos for three garrafones of liquor. Each of his sons contributed sixty pesos for that. If we hadn't given him a good funeral, people would have said, "His children are very lax not to buy a good box to bury their father."

The padre says that all bodies should be presented in the church. He says if you don't have money, you don't have to pay for the mass. But we are ashamed if we don't pay because he does work for us. He charged only twenty-five pesos because he said my father worked hard for the town. We took a collection from all the people who were there, and it amounted to one hundred and thirty pesos. We paid the padre for the mass and gave a contribution. All the people in whose houses he had passed when he was alive came to see him. They said, "Ah, his children gave a very nice box for their father."

If all of the family is poor, no one talks if the funeral is not a good one. But if there is anything that can be sold, it will have to be to make a good funeral. When my father died, he had eighteen horses. We had to sell one, and each of the children gave one hundred pesos. [432]

Some say the souls play the harp and drink liquor when they arrive in heaven. On All Soul's Day they visit the village where they had lived and where they are known. For each member of the household who had died, a specific portion of food is laid out. Special likes are catered to: a bottle of liquor will be set on the table for a deceased father, soda pop for children

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769 who have died, or candy and gum. Luxury foods, particularly fruits, meat, and sausage are prepared. Only those dead relatives who were known to the present residents of the house are honored. The celebration of All Souls' Day is not a celebration for the ancestors as a general group.

In addition to the feast given in the house, food and drink are carried up to the graves of the relatives. The cemetery duplicates the residential pattern. When people have relatives buried on the side opposite to where they live, because of a marriage violating the rule of endogamy within sections, they "have shame" to go light a candle at the graves, and they return hastily to the relatives on their own side. The women cry for the recently dead in the stylized wail for the dead. While souls are honored relatives on this one day, if they appear at any other time there is great fear of them.

Chapter 6

Curing and the Curers

Sickness is a sign of upset relations between the spirits or people and those of relatives, neighbors, or places. In the curing ritual, the curers not only treat the disease, but also try to bring about spiritual readjustment by dramatizing the ill effects of animosity. Because they claim to be able to counteract witchcraft, the curers exercise a great deal of power. This power is limited by institutional requirements controlling entry into the profession and exercise of their skill and knowledge. The breakdown in the authority of elder curers during my study of the community, and their attempts to reinstate themselves, made explicit some of the structural principles of the institution.

The Curing Hierarchy

Recruitment into the hierarchy. Until the 1950s, each side of the dual division had an age-ranked order of curers and recognized the leadership of a single elder, called *statal ?u?ul.* The older, more experienced curers, called the *b'ankilal,* or elder brothers, had authority over the novice curers, called the *?ihtz'inal,* or younger brothers. With the breakdown of the hierarchy during my stay, this distinction was becoming less clear. In 1964 there were seven curers in Alannantik and six in Ahk'olnantik; on a return visit I made in 1967, their numbers had been reduced by homicide and exile to five in Alannantik and five in Ahk'olnantik.

Entry into the profession occurs during an epidemic when the civil authority calls upon the curers to gather in the town hall to determine who is bringing the "heat" that causes death from disease. The curers decide whether there are any promising young men who have the third soul, swayohel, which gives them the ability to cure. If a young man is deemed

suitable, the president and judges give permission to the curers to allow him to enter the profession at this time. The novice provides three liters of liquor which are drunk "in common" by the curers and the civil officials.

There is some evidence that, formerly, novice curers were asked to yield the soul of one of their children:

My dead husband was given permission by Julian Gomex, the leader of the curers of Ahk'olnantik, to enter the curing profession. When my husband told me he wanted to cure, he said that Julian had asked him for a child "for the ancestors to eat." My husband was going to give a child of his brother since we didn't have any, but I said it would be a pity. Then he said he would give trago. This he did. I forget how many liters.

When the contagion came, the curers went to take out the heat. A policeman called my dead husband, and he went. The policeman said the leading curer had called him. The judges told him, "It is better for you to enter in common with the other curers."

He began to cure. The curers then asked what offering we were going to give.

"We have no children," said my husband. "We will give you liquor. I cannot give my brother's child or my sister's children."

He must have brought them about ten or twelve liters of trago and two packs of cigarettes.

The third soul, swayohel, may be acquired, or one may be born with it. Those who acquire the third soul by capture of the soul of a dead person within twenty days after the death are considered to be potentially dangerous. They are more likely to use the soul for evil than those who have acquired it from the ancestors at birth. Swayoheles can be acquired from a saint named ʔAhau in the neighboring town of Oxchuk.[1] The following account illustrates how one asks this saint for a swayohel:

If you go to the saint with a black face named ʔAhau with two candles of twenty cents you can ask for a swayohel. You say, "I want one E'ulel that is very strong. I have an enemy. I need one." You sleep there, and wake

1. Lombardo Otero (1944:73) says that in Oxchuk, Mukulajau, or Chulajau, is identified with Trinidad, and is associated with the pigeon, which is the animal spirit of powerful curers.

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up with a swayohel. One man near San Vicente said his friend went there to ask for one. Next day, the enemy died. One man who went there said when he woke up he was sure he had gained a swayohel. He had dreamed of two animals. "Are they my swayoheles?" he asked. They were jaguars.

When he got to his house, the same two animals came. They thought about how to get his enemies. But when the jaguars had killed his enemies, they were not content. Then they went on to kill many people. Finally the man was shot. The spirits of all those who die as a result of a swayohel received from ?Ahau go to him after their death.

Curers are classified as potentially good or dangerous on the basis of what kind of swayohel they have. Good curers have swayoheles of animals which eat leaves or grass—horses, sheep, bulls, or other herbivorous animals. Potentially dangerous curers have the souls of carnivorous animals—vultures, dogs, cats, mountain lions, coyote, and others. They may not use these swayoheles for evil, but possession of such a soul is a basis for suspicion. Usually the curers keep secret the nature of their swayohel, but sometimes when they are drunk they brag about its power. Good swayoheles fly or walk straight down the main roads of the town, while evil swayoheles lurk at the outskirts of the settled area.

Only one woman has a swayohel and practices curing. She is reputed to have acquired her swayohel in the following manner:

There was a woman named Andrea Ča?il and another named Fernanda Ča?il. They were not sisters, but they were of the Ča?iletik. Fernanda died. She was a true elder woman, a very strong woman. She lived in Madronal and Andrea lived in the center.

One day Andrea said, "Let us go collect wood," to two girls.

"Let's go," said the girls. "Where shall we get the wood?"

"Let's go in the woods behind Madronal," replied Andrea. "Let's go."

The women arrived in the mountain to cut wood. When they had the wood, Andrea said she saw a mulberry bush. "Let us eat some berries," she said.

Andrea went to the mulberry bush. She saw a white ball of Čišol *under the bush. "What kind of an animal is that?" she asked.*

The girls looked at it and said, "We don't know."

756 159 562 *Andrea told them to go and eat the mulberries and she would see what kind of an animal it was. The animal said, "Come here." But when they got there, there was no animal.*

In two or four days, people asked them, "What kind of an animal did you see?"

"It was a dog that we saw. Not a real dog, but the soul of the dead Fernanda. Andrea caught it," the girls said.

"Did you truly see where it was?" the people asked.

"I caught it," said Andrea.

"Why did you catch it," the girls asked.

"I caught it because it is a pity it died. Since there is no one to take it, I grabbed it because it made me sad that she [Fernanda] died."

Now Andrea is a me? u?ul [woman curer]. She fights sickness because she has this extra soul.

756 Ordinarily, soul-catching is dangerous since it is sezure of power which has not been granted at birth by the me?iltatil. Andrea, however, has never been accused of doing harm, and people emphasize that she did it out of sympathy for her dead kinswoman.

756 578 There is some sentiment that curers should not enter too young into the curing profession. If they do, they should be extremely deferential to the elder curers, and not claim greater powers. The informant quoted above [754] concerning the initiation of her husband into the curing profession maintains that the older curers did not support her husband when he was accused as a witch because of jealousy of his youth.

159 756 578 683 *My husband was very young when he entered curing. He had gone to cure in the house of a man living near Domingo [his enemy]. Domingo saw him come out drunk. He had a companion, Lorenzo. About eight people gathered. They put a nail in his jaws. He lived three nights. He told me who did it. I went to the cabildo with my father. They got many witnesses to deny they had been near. It was during the fiesta of Carnival.*

My father and I spoke with the authorities in Las Casas. But nothing was done. I did not know how to speak well in Spanish; I went and spoke to Domingo. He told me, "It was your husband's own fault."

"What crime did he have?" I asked.

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"He looked for trouble!" Domingo replied.
I said, "You killed my husband!"
He said, "It was not I! It was not I!"
It doesn't serve to enter curing early. People will kill you right away. Another young man wanted to enter. The curers did not permit him since they said he was a witch. People heard he was a witch, and they killed him. He was the same age as my husband [*about twenty-seven*].

The curers who have survived to an old age were introduced into the profession by an elder relative. They choose their clients carefully, refusing to cure a man who is on the point of death, and remaining within their own section of the dual division. These rules of survival are ignored by some of the younger men who wish to impress their elders with their powers.

The changing image of the curers. The curers of today are unfavorably compared with those of the past who used their power for good. The prototype of the old curer was the fearful Tatik Čaʔuk, Lord of the Lightning, possibly a local manifestation of the Maya god Chac.[2] The dialectic of power is exemplified in his control over beneficial and destructive forces. His beneficence is demonstrated in his ability to bring rain to crops, while his vengeance is revealed in lightning bolts which can kill people and destroy houses. Anyone who is struck by lightning is believed to have had some sin for which the Tatik Čaʔuk has punished him. His destructive force is equated with a rifle—called "the elder brother of the Lord of Lightning"—and with the "heat" which brings death in illnesses. His habitation is believed to be the Cave of the Star where the heat which causes epidemics is found.

The curers were intermediaries for the Tatik Čaʔuk in their control over both destructive and beneficial forces. Formerly, the swayohel of the curers patrolled the streets of the town to prevent the entry of evildoers bringing heat. It is in this role that they are referred to as me'iltatil. If an epidemic occurred, the two leading curers from each side of the town con-

2. In other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities, the god Čaʔuk is named as the chief figure from pre-Conquest theology (Hermitte 1964, Holland 1963:93).

756 sulted with each other to determine who was bringing in the heat. They
731 privately disposed of the evil by causing the evildoer to die of an illness.
[827] At the time of my stay, suspicion of the curers meant that a public hearing was held in the town hall to determine who the guilty person was; usually one of the curers themselves was suspected (Chapter 9).

756 The curers formerly demonstrated their beneficial power by bringing
796 rain during a fiesta held in the cave of the ancestors. This is described by
778 an informant:
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[794] *When the pueblo lacked rain in the growing season of corn in May and June, the leading curers went with the other curers, the fiscal, the alfereces, the mayordomos, and the women prayer-reciters to the cave. All the women carried candles of a peso or fifty-cent size and incense burners. They drank a great deal of liquor at the mouth of the cave and then entered to dance. The mayordomos played the guitar, the drum, and flute as the women danced and the curers prayed to the me?tiktatik. There used to be a spring in this cave, people say, and the ancestors granted water from it when they were given a fiesta.*

The last fiesta for rain occurred about 1950. The whole town contributed two pesos for the liquor and candles. The leading curer then was Juliano, a man recognized for his powers in curing and in bringing rain. He told the people that he spoke to the me?tiktatik who, he said, were dressed in the old style [a shirt worn over short cotton pants still used by older men of the town, and the handwoven hat worn by alfereces today]. The curers told the people that it would rain, and the afternoon of the fiesta, it came down hard.

178 There is no longer faith that the ancestors live in the cave, nor that the
769 present curers could speak to them if they did.
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The growing discontent with the curers, the suspicion that they are re-
756 sponsible for much of the witchcraft, is reflected in the account of an older
754 informant.
[178]

[774] *The curer O. K. told me that the curers ate the spirits of sick people who were going to die. The sick people would come to ask the curers for*

medicine. But why should they ask for medicine if the curers were going to eat their souls as he told me? I asked him, "How do you eat their souls?" He said that the five or six curers would make a common meal. They looked for a frying pan, and when it was well cooked, they would call all the curers and say, "Come, let us eat in common." When people came to ask for medicine, they would say, "Please, give us medicine." The curers would give the medicine, but the sick ones did not get well. The curers were only deceiving them. How could they get well if they wanted to eat their souls? They only wasted their money. 756 754 774

It is this that O. K. said to me. He told me himself that he had eaten the souls. Then I felt that he was bad because of what he himself had told me. To this day, I believe that he himself did the evil to his patients.

The personality of the curer. In view of the hazards of entering the curing profession and the low material rewards, the question of what motivates a curer to practice is of some interest. The older curers claim that God spoke to them in a dream and made known His desire that they cure. They conceive of it as a responsibility to the people, and maintain that their power comes from God. This contradicts parallel statements made by the same curers that their power comes from their swayohel. The younger curers say that the curers of their side selected them because they saw that they had a swayohel. 756

Direct questioning yields only limited understanding of what motivates these extraordinary people. The behavior of some of the curers reveals facets of the role which could not be elicited from them in questioning. Curers are able to defy tenets of the moral code of the community which stress softness and slowness, a moderation which is fundamentally based on fear of the world of spirits and of men. When drunk, the curers brag about their strength and fearlessness. They try to avoid the usual negative sanctions to such behavior by asserting the strength of their swayoheles and their imperviousness to harm. 756 152 [183] 756 152 776

My elder brother Albino was drinking with the dead Nicolás, leader of the curers of Alannantik. When both were half drunk, my elder brother asked Niholás what swayohel he had. 159 756

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159 756 *"You won't be afraid if I show it?" Nicolás asked. He then flipped his kotonču four times and a black bull appeared. It disappeared, and they drank some more. Nicolás made the bull appear again.*

Nicolás was ejido commissioner when I was president. We began to talk one day in the cabildo. "Who is the strongest of all the curers?" we asked. One said that now it was the elder brother Nicolás.

Čiko turned to Nico and said, "Tell us who is the strongest of all who know curing." Nico replied, "Ah, you want to hear. There is no one who is strong as the dead Mamal Komesil [elder Gomez] and I." Čiko said, "Mam D. is good."

"Less so," said Nico. "One time we tested it. I took out a sheep and a black dog. He [D.] took out a goat and a pig, and we ordered the animals to run. And I saw that the swayohel of D. could not run. Mine ran well, and his couldn't arrive before mine. It was then that I saw he was not as strong."

541 756 Formerly, when bullfights were held in the town as a feature of the fiesta of Santiago, curers took the great risk of riding the backs of the bulls to demonstrate their bravery. The fight became a symbolic defiance of culturally instilled fears. The fights are organized in this fashion: one man mounts the bull which has no saddle, bridle, or grip of any kind. His feet are tied under the belly of the bull, which increases the hazard if he is thrown since he can easily be dragged under the hooves of the bull. A man stands with a cape before the bull, trying to unseat his opponent. The curer Minko regularly entered the fights as a rider. He drank copiously before mounting the bull. He himself would try to goad the bull into jumping by leaning backward and biting its tail or kicking its sides. People rated even more highly than Minko's performance that of another curer, Bon, who, they said, never even shook when he climbed onto the bull as did Minko. They realized that Minko needed the liquor to face the threat of being crushed by the hooves of the bull, but that Bon was beyond fear. In these displays of fearlessness, some of the curers enjoy a sense of power and freedom from the inhibitions conditioning the behavior of ordinary men.

756 178 578 Competition and the assertion of power among the younger curers is

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symptomatic of the present breakdown in the hierarchical controls which formerly maintained the authority of elder curers. Informants say that in the old days there was no such competition, and the leadership of the elder curers was unchallenged.

Another clue to the personality of the curer can be seen in the statement of a young curer, who expressed in a kind of stream-of-consciousness style the fears and worries that plague him. After responding to the questioning about what he did when he cured, he proceeded to talk of his own concerns as he cured patients:

And when I arrive at Pahaltón [curing spring], I set aside my hat and blanket so that they do not get burned. If a dog should come and chew my sandals or if I should leave them outside the house where I am curing and a house rat chews them, then it will cost me thirty pesos to buy a new pair. When I come out late at night, a cat spirit sometimes appears on the road, and I throw a stone at it so it will not carry off my spirit; or a dog comes and I must beat him with my hand because I have no machete with me, or I must throw a broken bottle at the devil. When I get home, I take off my jacket and hat and go to sleep. My woman must tie up the sandals with a string on the rafters so that the rat will not eat them. Then it is the woman's fault if the devil dog gets them.

Late at night the spirits of the curers come to play and go at cock's crow. And at two o'clock the spirit of a sheep comes out with the devil, and these spirits do not go to sleep in their house until dawn. And if they [the curers' spirits] arrive in bed drunk and take off their huaraches and bother their wife she will put them in prison and then they have to pay a fine of two liters of the "gift" [liquor] and one handful of cigarettes. If their woman leaves the curers and they come out of prison, then if they do the same thing again, they send then to Santo Domingo. In prison they make net bags and if they have a wife, she goes and gives them tortillas and coffee. If their wife or father and mother help and give money, then they can pay for a lawyer and get out. Or if they have a daughter, then they receive the gift of a suitor and eat the bread.[3] *Later there will come the chicken and sweet liquor and trago, and then she will marry. Later*

3. "Eating the bread" signifies that the betrothal negotiations are accepted.

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756 156 *they will go to the church wedding. The parents of the couple embrace the godparents. They go dance in the house.*

The paranoic fantasies of this young curer, a man in his early thirties, characterize the world of fears, both real and demonic, which the curers sometimes manipulate and by which they are sometimes victimized. The 756 young curers in their thirties and forties tend to have more domestic dis- 156 putes than most men in town. Emilio, a man in his forties who has been 593 trying to assert his stature as leading curer of Alannantik since his prede- 578 cessor was killed for witchcraft, was deserted by his wife. She fled to a neighbor's house. In a drunken rage, he tried to burn it to the ground. When his attempt failed, he threatened to bring "heat" from the Cave of the Star to cause an epidemic after which, he said, he would "eat the souls 756 of the children by the dozen." In the line of duty, curers are often re- 273 quired to get drunk, and drunkenness loosens the cautions which control 156 behavior. Gloating in the power of their swayoheles, there seems to be no limit to the threats or acts they commit. While drinking has probably al- [154] ways been part of curing ceremonies, the behavior noted in the cases described seems to be a response to the growing insecurity on the part of the curers about their status.

756 The curer reveals in his speech and acts the motivation of power. In 156 Tzoʔontahal, power means freedom from one's own fears as well as from the human and supernatural sanctions imposed on those who ignore the norms governing behavior. The proof of his power lies in the ability to inspire fear in others. For this reason, the curer brags of the evil deeds he has committed or is capable of doing, even though this may bring about his own destruction.

Curing Behavior

756 In their role as "doctors" for the individual patient, curers are referred [192] to as *ʔuʔul* and are addressed with the honorific title *tatin*. Despite the de- [554] clining belief in their guardianship function, there has been a retention of [178] belief in their power to overcome witchcraft. Only the curer, because he possesses a swayohel, can deal with illness caused by witchcraft. Even if

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the curer is a potentially dangerous witch, he can be persuaded to fight the evil power of another. One of the most dangerous and powerful witches, until he was killed five years ago, was a man who boasted as he was curing a patient, "The evil [pukuh] in me will win over that of the witch!" 756

Curing behavior is classified in Tzeltal according to five major schema: (1) pulsing (*pikel č'ič*), (2) drawing out the evil (*slok'es ?ak'čamel*), (3) calling the soul (*tamohel*), (4) medicating the illness (*poštawane camel*, and (5) medicating the house (*poštawane na*). Each behavioral schema represents the highest level of a behavioral taxonomy which includes discrete actions described below. 755 [757]

Pulsing. The course of the cure for all illnesses is set in motion by the diagnosis through pulsing Throughout the cure, pulsing is performed to gauge the effectiveness of each step. The curer is chosen on the basis of his ability to pulse; when anyone is asked why a curer was chosen, the consistent answer is, "He knows how to pulse." The significance of the curer's ability to pulse is related to the fact that the first level of contrast establishing a taxonomy of diseases is that between "evil" and "good" determined by pulsing. The essence of the pulsing is a diagnosis of the patient's social relationships. It is a kind of exploratory "sociopsy" comparable to the stage of biopsy in modern medicine, resting on a notion that the witch "leaves his signature in the blood." and the curer "hears/feels" it. He does this by placing his thumb over the pulse at the wrist, inner elbow, and sometimes the inner knee joint and temples. The logic is that the blood passes from the heart and "talks" at the pulse points, revealing the condition and needs of the heart. The blood of the curer enters into communication with that of the patient when he holds his own thumb pulse against the patient's pulse. He does not look for the physiological symptoms on which modern medicine bases diagnosis, but for what the blood tells about the patient's relations with people in his social environment and for what the heart needs. Disease symptomology, such as fever and locus of pain, provides the basis for assigning medicines at a later stage in the cure. [756]

Some curers use thirteen candles set before the curing arch to corroborate diagnoses made in the pulsing: if, for example, the candles bend in-

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755 ward, the illness is interpreted as a result of trouble within the family. But the use of candles is often interpreted as showing the curer's lack of ability to pulse properly.

755 757 *Taking out the evil.* The evil is drawn out by bleeding or by sucking. Bleeding is diagnostic, curative, and preventative in function. Confirmation of the preliminary diagnosis made in pulsing comes in the bleeding: "clinical" examination by pulsing is reviewed by the "laboratory" findings of the blood analysis. Bleeding is used in cases of surface pains to draw out the evil which is causing the pain. The patient enters the sweatbath so that the heat will stimulate the flow of blood and lessen the pain. The curer makes scratches with broken glass near the source of the pain. Cupping, called *la ventosa,* is done by placing hot water, a piece of pitch pine, and thirteen handmade cigarettes in the gourd. These are very "hot" items, not in the sense of caloric content but of soul power. When these hot items have heated the gourd, they are thrown out and liquor is poured in and burned. When all the liquor is burned, the gourd is slapped onto the cut, so that it "grabs" the flesh, and the blood flows into
755 the vacuum. The diagnosis comes in burning the blood. The curer takes the gourd into the yard so that the odors containing the evil will not linger in the house when the blood is burned. He is accompanied by the guests while the patient remains in the house with an attendant. He gives an account of what the witch has put in the blood. Some of the items I have seen discovered were a wood splinter, explained as evidence of the envy the witch felt because the patient's husband was making a fence; lard, evidence that the witch coveted a pig of the patient; grain of corn or bean, evidence that the witch envied them their harvest. These items are probably inserted by the curer in some slight of hand trick.

The curer prevents the recurrence of the disease by sealing the cuts with garlic and liquor, elements which the devil does not like. The power of the curer is exhibited when he draws out the evil. At this moment he is confronting the enemy directly, fighting the animal spirit of whoever is causing the witchcraft.

The items found in the blood are always attributed to the envy of the witch who is causing the illness. Envy can be countered by the curing rit-

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uals. The resources expended in the process of curing counterbalance the 755
patient's greater wealth which provoked the envy initially. The witch starts the sickness by going to one of the caves in the hills where he burns a candle, drinks a liter of liquor, and prays that the object of his envy fall ill. The essential element in the fight against the witch is the act of drink- [273]
ing by all those present at the curing. In consuming their own liquor, often paid for by the sale of cattle or crops, they mitigate the envy of the witch. If the witch persists, he must continue to spend money on the liquor necessary to initiate the witchcraft after each ceremonial cure. Part of the tactic of a rapid series of cures is to demonstrate willingness to use all of the family's resources if necessary to counteract the rituals of the witch. The statement that they drink "in order to finish with the money" takes on significance in this strategy of limiting envy by expending resources.

Medicating the illness. The cure of the disease comes in the bath- 755
ing or heating of the patient and the application or ingestion of medicines, 757
usually a combination of patent medicines purchased in the nearby Ladino town. The specific cures called for depend on the secondary classification of the disease: if it is a "cold disease," hot medicines are applied; if it is a "hot disease," cold medicines are used.

Two kinds of bathing are performed, one a kind of steam bath, called "rise over the fire," for cold illnesses, and another a cold bath for hot illnesses. Chills and fever require both treatments. In the first case, a large charcoal fire is made inside the main room of the patient's house. When the fire is strong, two thick green logs are placed on it to create smoke. The patient mounts on a stool over the fire, and a straw mat is held over him to capture the steam. When he is sweating a great deal, the curer gives him a drink of cold medicines.

The cold bath is given with thirteen branches from bushes which grown near the spring.[4] Patent medicines dissolved in Spring water include syrup of *isidro*, cloves, vapor rub, epsom salts, aspirin, and other cold herbs or juices such as lemon, grapefruit, *cintula*, and *tok'o*. If the trouble is chills and fever, hot herbs such as *inájo*, *lumahiya*, and apple may be added to restore the body's hot-cold balance. A bad curer may reverse the medicines,

4. These include plants called *ishiliha?*, *yokmut*, *tsitsil hiʔ*, *ʔelwamal* and *yetalbalha?*. [824]

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755 giving hot medicines for hot diseases. If this is discovered, he will be sub-
757 ject to accusations of witchcraft. The relatives of the patient are present as witnesses "to see what medicines are given."

757 In the case of infections, the curer cauterizes the wound, a process called "take out the odor." First he smells the wound, checking on the severity of the infection. He mixes chile and hot charcoal and puts them on the wound to "cause the evil to rise to the surface." He then sucks on the wound, and spits out a "worm" which indicates the kind of evil caused by witchcraft. He covers the wound with mentholated cream and binds it. The patient is kept covered.

755 *Calling the soul.* The major effort in soul-calling (tamohel) is
[192] concentrated on preparing the patient and the house for the return of his soul. This is done for illnesses caused by fear and resulting in soul-loss. Here a knowledge of the setting is crucial to understand each act. An arch of pine boughs is set at the center post because it is here that the souls of the inmates of the house cluster (over the square hole at the foot of the post where the sheep's head is buried during the inauguration of the house). Thirteen candles, including a large, 50-cent one in the center and twelve 20-cent ones, are set before the arch. If the patient is being cured in the house of the curer, which happens when he goes to another town for a cure, the arch is put near the door in order that his soul not mingle with the souls of the curer's household. The patient is laid out on a mat in front of the curing arch, or if he is a small child, he is held in the arms of his mother. The curing is scheduled so that the arrival of the soul occurs when it will not be seen by people passing in the street. This would cause it embarrassment, and it would not enter the house. The patient continues to sleep under the arch each night until it is removed nine days later. As he sleeps, his soul enters in a dream and is reunited with the body. A gui-
[534] tar and seed rattle are played continuously during the ceremony to make the spirits of guests, patient, and house "of one heart." Many rounds of liq-
[273] uor are served in order to "finish with our money" and thus reduce the envy of the one who caused the witchcraft.

The soul-calling is combined with a cold bath to cure the illness. The patient is disrobed, and the curer brushes him with branches of plants

from the spring and a live black chicken which draws the heat from the 755
patient, taking it into its own body. The branches are dipped in a mixture of raw cocoa, pieces of melon mixed in water, and other "cold" items. A new set of clothing, smoked over an incense burner in which pitch pine is burned, is put on the patient. A common meal of chicken or beef stew is served with tortillas to all the guests.

In the case of more persistent illnesses, the bathing may take place at the springs. Male patient go to the large spring of San Nicolás and female patients to Pahaltón. A curing arch is erected near the spring. The curer [776]
calls upon the spirit of the spring to perform a miracle. Some members of the family stay behind at the house so that if the spirit of the patient should return before he does, it will be welcomed. The people waiting in [273]
the house, called maliwanehetik, must drink as much liquor as do those at the spring.

Sometimes the soul of a child is called at the place where fear caused it to be lost. The cure is started at the house, and then part of the group goes to the place which the curer has designated as the location of the fright. Soil is gathered in a kerchief or item of the patient's clothing and is placed at the head of his bed. As the group returns to the house, one of the child's relatives plays the guitar at the gate, and the curer sweeps a path for the soul with branches he has taken from the spring. Inside the house, the soul is again called while the curer brushes the child with spring branches. The mother embraces the child as incense is smoked over him and all his clothing. The child is then pulsed to determine whether the soul has returned.

Medicating the house. The strategy of medicating the house is 755
tied to an understanding of the interaction of the spirit of the house and 776
those of the inmates. When the evil sent out by the witch enters the house, 342
it first asks permission of the house posts to enter the soil of the house. The house is adorned with pine branches and flowers to make the house-soul happy. Old men make palm crosses for the center post and corner posts of the yard. One large 50-cent candle is lit at the center post with small 20-cent candles on each side. When these candles are lighted they "blind the eye of evil spirits who can see only in the dark." A black chicken is buried alive in the square hole where the offering of the sheep

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755 has been made at the time of the house inauguration. Food for the chick-
776 en—bread, chocolate, tortilla, and liquor—is put in the hole so it will stay
342 alive for eight days.

The logic of the meal is that the house needs nourishment and for this reason has been fighting with the inmates and causing their illness. After the guests have been fed, the curer marks a cross with a mixture of garlic, creosote, seeds of mustard, and a "hot" herb called poščan, on the center post inside the house and on the corner posts. Like the candles, the cross serves to "blind the eye" of the evil spirits so that they will not reenter the house and talk the spirit of the house into causing harm.

This ceremony replicates that of the house meal at the time of the inauguration (Chapter 1). The music of the guitar and gourd rattle is intended to make both the soul of the house and the souls of the inmates content. Why the curing of the house is always done on Thursday, when "the holy earth is open," is not fully understood by the curers I have questioned; they say, "We have forgotten how to talk to the earth." Chamula curers are reputed to be able to talk to the earth, and consultations may be sought with them if the illness continues.

755 *Prayer*. The curers talk with the soul of the thirteen ancestors of
776 the world,[5] to the "spirits of the heaven and of the church," and to saints
782 of neighboring towns, asking for a good cure. The following prayer is one
[539] given by the oldest and most honored of the curers:

Sacred earth, sacred world
Thirteen holy world, holy flowers
In the center of another holy world

Look mother, its clay
I am a child, its clay.
Holy heaven, Jesus Christ
Holy herbs give the spirit

[801] 5. The number 13 has significance in the Maya cosmology in the 13 levels of heaven (Thompson 1964:125). The 13 candles set before the curing arch symbolize the 13 holy worlds. The meal for the house spirit includes 13 cigarettes.

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776
782
[539]

The companions of the patient
are gathered here with his father
In the center of this other holy
earth
Holy earth, take out the fever.

The curer then calls upon each of the saints of the surrounding towns, asking for help in bringing about a miracle. First he calls upon the major saints of the pueblo (Santa Lucía, San Francisco, Santiago, San Pedro the Martyr, and the Virgen de Rosario), then those of Teopisca (San Augustín and the Virgen de Mercedes), of San Cristóbal (San Cristóbal and Justo Juez), of Villa Carranza (Señor del Pozo and San Bartolo), of Socoltenango (the Virgen de Candelaria), of Villa las Rosas (San Miguel and San José), of Comitán (Santo Domingo, San Caralampio, and the Virgen de Santa Teresa), and finally Señor Esquipulas of Tulanca. Thus he defines the meaningful spiritual universe of the village, building a kind of hegemony of defense and protection.

At any point throughout the cure the patient may consult the doctor sent by the I.N.I., the priest, or the schoolteacher, all of whom compete with each other in gaining clients by dispensing medicines. This does not undermine the role of the curer since curing the disease is considered a separate issue from stopping the witchcraft which is causing it. The disease may be cured, but the persistence of the witchcraft will eventually cause death through spiritual malaise unless treated by the curer. 755 757

All the people of the village know the common herbs and the sicknesses for which they should be used. The basis for the curer's power thus is not specialized knowledge of medicines, but the strength of his swayohel in fighting that of the enemy, and his esoteric knowledge of pulsing. [756 776]

Formerly curers received minimal pay for practicing. The family of the patient offered about 20 pesos or worked in the fields of the curer. Curers refused larger payments because they said their skill came from God, and it would be a sin to accept money for it. This practice is continued today by one old curer for patients within the community. However, he receives from 100 to 200 pesos from out-of-town patients. A Ladina from the neigh- 756

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 156]

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[P.154]

TABLE 22. Types of Diseases, Medication, and Curing Agents

Category of disease	*Etiology*	*Cure*	*Medication*	*Curing*
Bad illnesses	Witchcraft	"Taking out the evil"	Cold medicines and bathing with cold herbs	Curer doctor, and/or druggist
Hot illnesses				
madness	Caused from start by witchcraft	tamohel (soul calling)		
headache, dysentery	May start as "good disease," and become entry for witchcraft			
diarrhea, yellow				
fever				
Cold illnesses				
swelling	Caused from start by witchcraft	tamohel		
diarrhea, white	May begin as "good disease" and become entry for witchcraft	tamohel and bleeding		
rheumatism				
Hot and cold illnesses				
chills and fever	May start as "good disease" and become entry for witchcraft	tamohel	Alternating hot and cold liquids	
Good illnesses				
Hot illnesses				
toothache			Apply cold leaves, remove tooth	I.N.I. nurse

[P.155]

"embarrassment"	Any embarrassing incident will later result in swelling of limbs or surface cuts	bathing in springwater		
Cold illnesses				
broken bones		pull, tie with splint		Bone-setter
"two hearts"	Spiritual depression and malaise resulting in illness	tamohel		Curer
"soul fear"	Fearful incident, fall, may result in fear of soul or loss of soul	tamohel		Curer
Illnesses of God				
Hot illnesses				
contagious diseases: measles, whooping cough, influenza	Given by God	Formerly required tamohel. Now only a few call in curer	Patent medicines: aspirin penicillin	I.N.I. doctor, and curer
epidemic illnesses	Given by God, but when many begin to die, suspect witchcraft	Gathering of curers to "take out evil"	Patent medicines: aspirin penicillin	Curer

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756 boring community who is reputed to practice both witchcraft and curing receives fees of 200 to 300 pesos regularly. She has been accused of killing more than one patient in giving injections.

753 Since most diseases are not static conditions, a master classification must take into account physiological process. The only absolutely evil diseases are those which are found to be incurable. When diseases which start out as apparently "good," or not caused by evil intent, fail to respond to patent medicines, the patient or his family begin to suspect witchcraft. They then turn to the curer who will diagnose this. Category 1 of Table 22 includes those diseases which, depending on duration and intensity, indicate the presence of evil.

In the case of the illnesses of God, Category 3 of Table 22, an additional complication enters. As in the case of Category 1 diseases, they may begin as "good" diseases, but the introduction of evil by a witch means that the illness can cause death to many people. This category includes the contagious diseases, the most common ones being measles, whooping cough, and heat, which may refer to typhoid, grippe, or to an increase in the virulence of other contagious diseases.

[177] The designation "sickness of God" is one inspired by the priest. He has been active in trying to discourage witch-killing and has insisted that the contagious diseases are sent by God. The villagers have accepted this as far as the origin of the disease is concerned, but as the deaths mount, people begin to suspect witchcraft.

753 761 Sudden attacks causing almost immediate death are classified as judgments of the ancestors rather than as illness. These include "seizure, because the very cold leg and arm of the ancestors touch the body [of the victim]" and "ancestors grab the soul." Asphyxiation and heart attack may be some of the modern classifications for such diseases. If a child should die suddenly, the logic applied in Tzoʔontahal is that the *meʔiltatil ḳanatay lum,* the mother-father ancestors who care for earth, see a potential danger in the soul of the child and seize it so that he will not develop into a witch. These are the only deaths I know of which are not attributed to witchcraft.

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The Logic of Curing

Diagnosis of illness in Tzoʔontahal is a kind of checklisting against a 755
native taxonomic hierarchy of disease (Frake 1963). The curer is concerned 753
primarily with establishing whether the illness is evil or good, secondarily whether cold or hot, and his prestige depends upon his ability to classify the disease at these highest levels of contrast.

In questioning the meaning of each act, I encountered no hesitation in giving answers, as I have in investigating other performances. Each act is understood in terms of the part its plays in the diagnosis and curing of the patient, and is in turn tied into a cognitive reference scheme which takes into account the patient's relations with kin and neighbors, environmental conditions, and the state of the patient's constitution. The notion of process underlying the classification of diseases explains some apparent contradictions in behavior. Good illness may so weaken the patient that he is vulnerable to the invasion of evil, and the tactic must shift to counter witchcraft. The alternation of chills and fever means that cold medicines must be administered followed by hot. The curer maintains communication with the blood in frequent pulsing to check whether he has overcome the evil and to ascertain what the blood wants.

The logical premises underlying diagnosis can be summarized as follows: Social relationships are primary causes of illness, while the conditions of the environment, such as cold wind or rain in which the patient gets drenched, provide conditions favorable to the entry of the disease. The effect of the evil projected depends upon the condition of the patient. Thus a mature adult may have the internal resistance to reject disease, while children, the aged, or women after childbirth are more vulnerable. Accidental wounds may render the victim more vulnerable to witchcraft [754]
as well as to "sickness of God." The malefactor achieves his goal if any member of the household or even a chicken or cow of the person against whom he has a grudge falls ill.

The emphasis on the origin of illness means that the study of symptoms is of little significance. People involved in some conflict may define themselves as patients or be defined as such by their intimate social group even without having any apparent physical illness. Sometimes a colicky baby

755 Sometimes a colicky baby
753 may become the focus of a curing ceremony designed to "cure" the conflict
593 between husband and wife. In one case, the parents of a healthy young
182 wife separated from her husband staged a curing ceremony to dramatize
578 her marital plight to the in-laws.

178 The breakdown of the curing hierarchy and the recruitment procedures
756 which were maintained by the elder leaders (see Chapter 10) has led to a
608 reevaluation of the role of the curers in the community. They have lost
754 their position as me?iltatil representing the ancestors who guard over the
[627] community. Curers are increasingly being accused of sorcery, and over ten of them have been killed in the past decade as witches (Nash, J. 1967). Paradoxically, it is the belief in their evil power which leads to their persisting role in the society. Clients feel that the more evil the curer is, the more able he is to combat evil. In a community dominated by belief in witchcraft, they are both feared and valued for their ability to control it. From a position as arbiters of morality, they have become the chief targets as deviants from the moral code. Despite the loss of confidence in curers as guardians, they are still called upon to fight the evil of witchcraft, and nearly every day a ritual is performed. The regimen of the curing ritual has not been upset by the undermining of the curers' position. Tied to a
[755] diagnostic system emphasizing the state of the patient's social relations, the
[278] same procedures are carried out even when modern medicines are used.

753 In curing practices, the Indian sees himself as the key figure in the
156 drama of his own self-victimization. His illnesses come from within his own world, usually from within his family or close neighborhood. They are a mark of guilt for having excited the envy or hatred of associates. While the Indian is often portrayed in the role of passive victim to outside domination, in his own self-projection he sees himself dominated by powers within the community. Greater participation and equality in the wider society may in the future release him from these fear-provoking figures in his own environment.

Chapter 7

The Formal Organization of Local Government

The formal organization of civil and religious offices in Tzoʔontahal is based on the pattern of a locally independent, democratically elected officialdom introduced by the Spaniards. Variations in the pattern from that of other towns of the highlands have resulted from differences of interpretation of the functions, the range of power, and the course of succession of offices. This flexibility has preserved structural continuity as organizational adjustments are made. The Indians have transformed an alien governing mechanism into one that meets their changing needs and contributes to their independence in the modern world. 621 177 178

The independence of the local township has a base in the pre-Conquest social organization of Chiapas. Robert Adams (1961:347) has noted the absence of architectural or other features indicative of functional specialization that would arise in a politically integrated region. At the time of the Conquest, Chiapas was divided into warring principalities, revealing the extreme political fragmentation of the area (Calnek 1962:8). Each town was divided from the neighboring town by *mojones,* hilled-up boundaries (ibid:36). A minimum of political unity was achieved by holding certain towns subject to the dominance of others (ibid:27); local autonomy persisted, however, in the administration of landholding as a community enterprise. 632 178 175 632 628 131 621 423

During the colonial period the Spanish Crown established the independence of towns directly under their control and provided them with a civil-religious hierarchy which has persisted as the form of government to the present (Carrasco 1961: Wolf 1957b). 175 632 177 621

Comparative studies of the civil-religious hierarchy indicate the range of 171 621

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variation on the Spanish colonial model (Camara 1952; Cancian 1963, 1965; Carrasco 1961; Siverts 1964; Tax 1964). In the many community studies of the highland Maya, we have reports of the roles and functions of the hierarchy as they are played out in a specific context (Adams 1957; Bunzel 1952; Guiteras Holmes 1961; La Farge 1947; La Farge and Byers 1931; MacArthur 1961; M. Nash 1955; Siverts 1960, 1964; Valladares 1957;

Fig. 6. Civil and Religious Officials *

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Officials in the town hall
- President
- Secretary
- Síndico

Officials in the church
- Fiscal
- Women Prayer-reciters

Principales (Krinsipaletik)
- Second Principal
- First Principal

Judges (Alkaletik)
- First Judge, Alannantik
- Second Judge, Ahk'olnantik
- Assistant Judge, La Grandeza
- Assistant Judge, Madronal

Regidores (Rehiroletik)
- First Regidor
- Second Regidor
- Third Regidor
- Fourth Regidor

Policemen (Mayoletik)
- 2 First Police
- 2 Second Police
- 2 Third Police
- 2 Fourth Police
- 2 Last Police

Cofrades (Kobrarietik)
- Cofrade of Sacramento
- Cofrade of Santa Lucía
- Cofrade of San Pedro the Martyr
- Cofrade of San Francisco

Mayordomos (Martomaetik)
- Mayordomo of Christ of Ascension
- Mayordomo of San Antonio
- Mayordomo of Virgin Rosario
- Mayordomo of San José
- Mayordomo of Santiago

Alfereces † (Alperesetik)
- First Past Alférez
- Remains Past Alférez
- Second Past Alférez
- New Alférez

Assistants to cofrades (alib'aletik)
- Assistant to Sacramento
- Assistant to Virgin Santa Lucía

Assistants to elders for lesser saints (Nič'aniletik)

* Boxed-in terms refer to age-graded hierarchies. Other posts are outside of this "ladder" as explained in text.

† Alfereces may be chosen after taking higher posts in the religious hierarchy, but cannot become first or second regidor before serving in this post.

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Vogt 1965; Wagley 1949; Wisdom 1940; Zabala 1961). Comparison of the structure and functioning of the hierarchy reveals differing applications of the same principles of allocating roles (age, sex, territorial identification, and previous service) and differing assignments of the same tasks (administrative, judgment, and maintenance). 621 171

In this chapter, I shall analyze the civil-religious hierarchy in Tzoʔontahal as a formally prescribed system of roles and behavior. The data on which the analysis is based are: (1) the system of roles and the principles of allocation, (2) careers in office of household heads, (3) instrumental behavior prescribed for officials, and (4) ritual behavior. The following chapter will be concerned with the exercise of power within the limits set by the formal organization of offices. 128 621 794

The Matrix of Roles

Civil officials. Civil offices in Tzoʔontahal are a segmented, ranked set of posts, each of which has an internally age-graded ranking. Outside of these segments are two leadership positions, those of president and his assistant, *síndico,* which are not controlled by the same criteria of entry—service in lower posts of the civil and religious hierarchies and age. Multiple posts at the same level have equal representation of officials from the upper and lower divisions of the center, Ahk'olnantik and Alannantik, and single posts are held alternately by residents of each side. Theoretically, the post of president should alternate as well, but in fact the scarcity of qualified candidates limits consideration of this condition. Since 1948, of the twelve presidents, only four were from Ahk'olnantik. 621 561

The four ranked segments (Fig. 6) from higher to lower are *krinsipaletik,* or principales, *alkaletik,* or judges, *rehiroletik,* or regidores, and *mayoletik,* or policemen. The relative rank of the post is expressed in terms of its power, and the relative rank of the post-holder in terms of age (the term used to describe an older office holder, *mas mamalil,* has the extended meaning of greater power [1]). Age-ranking of officials complements [693]

1. Siverts (1965) points out that in Cancuk the term *mamal,* or elder, was applied to a young man who held a post of high authority because of his skills in literacy and language. By terminological reference, he was graduated into the senior age group.

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621 561 the household principles of authority in which seniority gives one the right to command. This principle is violated in the case of an older man who has served as regidor and sometimes even judge and returns to the lower post of ceremonial leader of the policemen. Some of the officials say that this is an "ugly" custom because it means that the hierarchy "is not a straight road." Due to obstacles in the individual's career in the hierarchy, within any segment there may be older men in the lower posts than in the higher. However, except for the barrio judges, posts within each segment are occupied by men of roughly the same decade in age (Table 23).

[693] A complement of age-grading in the designation of officials is the principle of residence. In the upper two ranks of judges, one is chosen from the upper division, Ahk'olnantik, and one from the lower division, Alannantik. The remaining two judges are chosen from the outlying barrios of Madronal and Bočib'al. Judges representing the colonias of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Cruz Quemada do not regularly attend the town

TABLE 23. Rank and Age of Civil Officials

Post	*Division*	*Age*
Judges (Alkaletik)		
First Judge	Alannantik	75
Second Judge	Ahk'olnantik	52
Barrio Judge	Madronal	42
Barrio Judge	Bočibal	50
Regidores (Rehiroletik)		
First Regidor	Ahk'olnantik	43
Second Regidor	Alannantik	44
Third Regidor	Alannantik	43
Fourth Regidor	Ahk'olnantik	48
Police (Mayoletik)		
First Police	Ahk'olnantik	27
First Police	Alannantik	28
Second Police	Ahk'olnantik	25
Second Police	Alannantik	30
Third Police	Ahk'olnantik	32
Third Police	Alannantik	30
Fourth Police	Madronal	25
Fourth Police	Bočibal	35
Martomorey	Ahk'olnantik	48
Martomorey	Alannantik	48

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hall, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of the new officials. Residents of the barrios and colonias can never rise to any position above that of assistant judge, but once they have served in this post they may become principales in their own localities. One week the first regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the third regidor from Alannantik, and the next week the second regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the fourth regidor from Alannantik. The ten police are ranked in five levels with representatives from each side at every level in the series except for the fourth level, which is occupied by police from the barrios.

These civil officials, called as a group the *hu?eletik*, those who are "able" (in control), constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. To reach a high post, an official must first pass through each of the lower positions in the hierarchy. Outside of this ranked hierarchy, the posts of president and síndico are occupied by young men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy was, until the present generation, limited to a few men in their thirties. With increasing literacy, the competition for these posts is growing.[2] Men who have such skills are called upon as signers of official documents and are called *firmanetik*.

Also existing outside of the traditional hierarchy is the post of secretary which had, until 1965, been occupied by a Ladino. This was the only post which was paid; it also provided opportunity for earning extra income by preparing "acts," or official documents, and fines from court cases. The present incumbent is an Indian of Alannantik.

Because Tzo?ontahal's hierarchy is still a linked series of civil and religious posts, the structure of the civil hierarchy cannot be considered independently from that of the religious hierarchy. The major segments of the religious hierarchy are the *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces or captains of the fiestas. The internal ranking of the sixteen mayordomos depends on the number of religious posts the incumbent has filled and on the rank order of the saints he serves.

The alfereces, or captains of the fiestas, provide a ceremonial link be-

2. Julio de la Fuente (1964:30) has summarized the effect of literacy in breaking the homogeneity of the community since the literate Indians have received greater privileges and release from communal work. When the entire community is educated, the monopoly of literacy is broken.

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794 tween civil and religious authorities. They are in charge of the fiestas for the saints whom they represent: San Francisco, San Pedro the Martyr, Santa Lucía, and Sacramento. The internal ranking of this set of officials is based on time of entry. This varies in the annual cycle since the new alférez enters just before the fiesta for which he will be responsible. He will be expected to give deference to the three who have preceded him during [192] the year. The terms applied to this fluctuating ranking system in order of highest to lowest are *hilon ta pasaro* (remains as past), *pasaro* (past official), *stebal ʔal' ʔalperes* (second new alférez), and *ʔal' ʔalperes* (new alférez).

794 562 Outside of the traditional religious hierarchy are roles performed by functionaries on the basis of specific skills. These include the fiscal, assistant to the priest, and the *meʔeletik*, women who serve as prayer-reciters. The fiscal takes orders from the priest when the latter is in town, and in the absence of the priest he directs the activities of the mayordomos within the church. He is chosen on the basis of his knowledge of Spanish and willingness to perform the priests' bidding. He remains in office as long as he wishes, or until he is forcibly retired by the priest or by the mayordomos. When retired, he has an ex officio role saying prayers at funerals, and is often called upon for house ceremonies and as godfather in baptisms. The retired fiscales attend mass more often than the rest of the townspeople and sit in the front near the altar. The prayer-reciters are usually widowed or single women of the town whom the lay sisters have organized as support in responding to the catechism.

621 794 The officials who have served in five posts in the civil hierarchy and six posts in the religious hierarchy become *pasaroetik*, the Tzeltal rendering [192] of *pasados* or former officials. Any one of these men may be eligible to serve as one of two principales, one chosen from Alannantik and one from Ahk'olnantik. They remain in office until they are too old to serve or until death. Each of the outlying barrios has two principales chosen from among men who have served in office.

Entry Into and Exit from Office

621 The constitution assures local autonomy in the election of civil officials.
666 The officials of Tzoʔontahal, including the two principales, president,

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síndico, four regidores, ten policemen, four judges, and the "signers" meet in the town hall on the twentieth of November. Except for the post of president, which is now a contested position, each incumbent names his own successor. The president opens the meeting with an address to the principales, saying, "Now, *Mamal* Principales, whom will we name to leave in power in the town hall to pass the year?" The principales reply with the question to each officer: "Whom have you thought of naming?" 621 666

Each officer gives a name, which is written down by the secretary. When the officials have heard who will be the new officials, the first judge speaks with the principales and the "signers" using the formal speech of the pat'o'tan to ask permission to serve the "gift" of trago. Eight days later an assembly of all the male household heads takes place. The president announces the names of the nominated officials in Tzeltal and the secretary announces them in Spanish. The president asks for a show of hands of all those who support the nominations. If the man who is named does not want to take the office, he may request withdrawal of his name. The president accepts refusal by all nominees for civil posts if there is adequate excuse.

The great majority of men begin their careers between the ages of twenty-two and thirty. Only seventeen men, or 5 percent of the 311 household heads censused (Table 24), had reached the age of thirty without serving in any office. Among men fifty and over, only two men had not filled any religious post (Table 25), and all had served in some civil post. 621 561

There are two major channels of mobility in the civil hierarchy. The more common course is for a young married man to enter as a policeman, either at the third or fourth level. Next, he will again be named as policeman, or possibly third or fourth regidor, if he is a poor man and has little hope of rising to the higher posts. If the man or his father is well off, he will be asked to serve as alférez. The appointment may be made with or without prior service in the civil or religious hierarchy, and the main prerequisite is having sufficient money to pay for the expenses. Once he fills this post, he will be eligible for first or second regidor since he will have learned the major speeches required in ritual gatherings. Formerly he took on at this point the post of assistant judge. These positions are now assigned to incumbents from the outlying barrios, and the number of posts a man in the center must fill in order to become a pasado has been reduced 621 794

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

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TABLE 24. Civil and Religious Careers of Household Heads

(*Civil*)

Age of household head	*No office*	*Police (1 term)*	*Police (2 terms)*	*Síndico*	*Síndico, police*	*Police, regidor*	*Police, regidor, judge*	*Police, regidor, judge (2 terms)*	*Police, síndico, president*	*Síndico, president*	*President*	*Unknown*
19	2											
20	20	3										
21	6											
22	11	1										
23	1	2										
24	7											
25	19	2										
26	6	1										
27	1	2										
28	11	5										
29	1	2										
30	6	6		2								
31	2											
32	5	1		2								
33		2										
34		2		1								
35	6	9	2		1	1						
36	1	5			1	3						

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TABLE 24. Civil and Religious Careers of Household Heads

(*Religious*)

Age of household head	*No office*	*Niʔnal (1 term)*	*Niʔnal (2 terms)*	*Aliʔbal, niʔnal*	*Niʔnal, tatil*	*Niʔnal, aliʔbal, tatil*	*Niʔnal, aliʔbal, tatil (2 terms)*	*Niʔnal, aliʔbal, tatil (2 terms), kobraria*	*Niʔnal, aliʔbal, tatil (2 terms), kobraria (2 terms)*	*Fiscal*	*Unknown*
19	2										
20	18	5									
21	6										
22	11	1									
23	1	11	1								
24	5	2									
25	11	10									
26	3	3		1							
27	1	2									
28	16	9	1								
29	2	1									
30	2	9	1	1	1						
31	2										
32	2	5		1							
33				1	1						
34		3									
35	3	11	2	1	1	1					
36	1	4		3	1	1					

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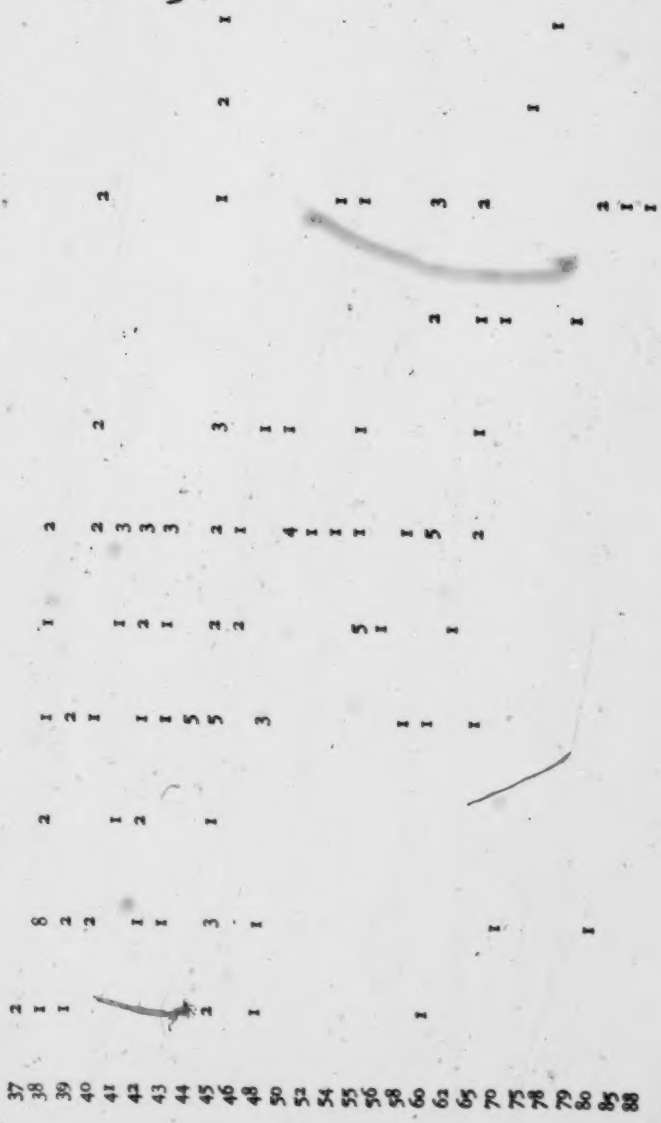

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TABLE 25. Number of Civil and Religious Offices of Household Heads over 50 Years of Age as Related to Wealth

Age of household head	*Wealth* *Land in hectares*	*Head of cattle*	*No. of civil offices*	*No. of religious offices*
54	3	4	5	3
55	3	8	2	3
65	3	11	6	2
50	2½	2	4	4
75	2½	4	6	6
55	2	8	2	4
55	2		4	3
60	2	2	2	4
65	2		6	6
75	2	7	4	3
78	2	6	2	1
50	2½	2	3	4
50	1½	2	6	5
55	1½	6	2	6
58	1½		1	2
60	1½		6	6
60	1½	4	4	4
60	1½	8	4	5
80	1½		4	5
88	1½	7	6	6
50	1	10	2	3
50	1	1	3	3
54	1	4	6	6
54	1	4	6	6
55	1	6	2	3
56	1	4	3	3
58	1		5	4
60	1	1	5	6
60	1	2	5	6
60	1	2	4	6
65	1	2	3	
65	1		6	6
65	1		3	3
70	1		1	1
75	1		5	5
79	1		5	5
80	1	2	3	
80	1	22	3	1
85	1	6	6	6

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Age of household head	Wealth: Land in hectares	Wealth: Head of cattle	No. of civil offices	No. of religious offices
55	½		2	2
55	½		2	2
55	½	2	2	3
60	½		2	3
60	½		1	3
60	½		4	3
62	½	1	2	3
65	½		2	3
65	½	4	4	6
65	½		6	5
75	½		5	6
87	½		4	4

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from six to five. The reason given for this is that there are more people now than formerly. 621 794

The second course of civil careers is to serve as síndico and go on to president, bypassing the intermediate and lower posts of the hierarchy and never filling the higher traditional posts. Of seven who have served as president, two served as síndico, two had no previous office, and three had been both policeman and síndico (Table 25). None of the former presidents served in any civil post after being president. Two served as fiscal in their religious careers and had had no other religious service. This is the course pursued by literate men who speak Spanish well. An alternative course is to enter the ejido commission as secretary, treasurer, or president and then serve as síndico, or even directly as president. The president elected in 1964 had served only on the ejido commission. This caused some discontent, but not enough to prevent his election. [212] [91] [423]

The household head enters religious office first as *nic'nal* or junior mayordomo, then serves as *ʔaliʔbal,* or assistant, next as *tatil,* or elder mayordomo of a lesser saint. The fourth position is tatil of San Pedro, after which comes *kobraria,* or cofrade, first of San Francisco, then of Santa Lucía or Sacramento. Following his appointment as tatil of San Pedro, the incumbent holds the first gathering of mayordomos in his house. When he completes his term in this office, he may be called upon by neighbors, relatives, and compadres to serve as nakawane in household ceremonials. He 794 [192]

794 may at any time in his career be called upon as alférez. This may occur
[625] even before he has served as a junior mayordomo or policeman since the
[556] post depends on his own or his father's wealth.

The normal career of an official in the traditional hierarchy involves a
621 balance of civil and religious posts. A man enters these posts according to
794 convenience, not in a rigid alternation between civil and religious wings.
561 The rough balancing of posts can be seen in the careers of men over fifty in Table 25. According to informants, a man should start and end his career in the religious wing. By the age of thirty, forty-three men had filled at least one post in the religious hierarchy, and only twenty-four men had served in the civil hierarchy (Table 24). The religious posts are considered less onerous than the civil posts since the incumbents are in attendance only one day a week instead of every day, and their terms in office last only six months.

621 Wealth level, except in cases of extreme poverty, does not limit a man's
794 participation in the traditional hierarchy. Of fourteen men over seventy,
556 eight had completed their civil posts and seven their religious posts. Three who had not followed the traditional career lines had served as president. The town is small enough so that career lines have not followed any polarization of the upper levels of the hierarchy as occurs in towns of larger size (Bunzel 1952, Camara 1952, Cancian 1965). Discrimination is based on residence rather than wealth—those Indians who reside in barrios and colonias cannot reach any post higher than that of assistant judge. Wealth level is a factor, however, in the time span of the individual's career, since at some time before becoming second or first regidor he must have filled the expensive post of alférez. Table 25 lists the careers of men fifty years of age and over in order of wealth. It is possible to finish a career in office by the age of fifty, but if a man has less than one hectare of land, it is unlikely that he will finish before he is sixty-five. The Indians of Tzoʔontahal do not however maximize the importance of passing through the hi-
[554] erarchy. It is a duty not a goal, and the reward in prestige is minimal.

794 The only post in which wealth has been crucial was that of alférez. The
556 incumbent and the household of which he was a member spent 3,000 pesos
796 to carry out the fiestas with which he was charged in his year in office.
666 The president, the four judges, and the four regidores chose the alférez

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shortly before the fiesta of the saint's day with which he was charged. When the nomination was made, the president sent out the first policeman with the chief policeman to bring the man chosen to the town hall. They expected, and were always confronted with, resistance to the nomination. In order to gain acceptance they got the nominee drunk in a drinking session at the town hall. Liquor was measured out, and all the officials drank only a half cup at each round, but the new alférez was required to drink a full cup. The rounds continued until the new alférez was drunk. If he did not accept at this session, he was put in jail to think it over. Another drinking session took place the following day.

Nomination to the post of alférez was the only situation in which the jail penalty has been brought into effect, since refusal by nominees to other posts simply means that the officials "look for someone else." The reason given for invoking the punishment was "we know he has the wealth and therefore he should serve." Until 1965 the town had always succeeded in recruiting two of the alfereces from Ahk'olnantik and two from Alannantik. Since the upper division of Ahk'olnantik has grown at a more rapid rate than the lower division, candidates were found only in Ahk'olnantik. This unbalancing of the population ratios undermined the institution of alférez, which had always been the most unpopular position. When I returned to the field in 1967, it had been eliminated.

The Functions of Civil Officials

An analysis of the formally prescribed functions of the civil officials must take into account three sources of data: the functions as prescribed by state legislation, the functions as understood by local officials, and the observed activities of the officials. Table 26 compares the functions of officials as stated in the constitution of the state of Chiapas (Secretaría del Gobierno Departmental de Chiapas, 1828: Decreto 52, Nov. 30, 1825) [3] to statements of informants and to my observations of the carrying out of their official obligations.

3. I have chosen this constitution as the first post-independence statement of the status of local civil administrators.

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TABLE 26. The Functions of Civil Officials

Constitution of Chiapas, 1825 *	*Interpretation of functions by villagers*	*Actual functions, as observed*
642 622 President:		
To open and close the sessions at the hour designated in the ruling.	To order the judges.	Sits in on court cases; assigns fines.
To raise the order of the discussion, yielding the floor for or against individuals who solicit it.	To pass the banners in the town-hall.	Orders the police to bring in criminals, assigns tasks for them.
To designate the affairs which ought to be discussed, giving preference to those of greater importance and interest.	To go to the house of the alférez to pass the banners.	Announces government edicts on loudspeaker of cantinas (formerly police played drum and announced these at street corners).
To decree to the appropriate commissions the means or projects which are initiated by the members of the corporation or by individuals, in the cases that the law determines.		In sale of land, goes with síndico and police to plots of land to measure them.
To maintain decorum in the discussions, calling those who disrupt or use harsh expressions in which they lack respect and consideration owed, without loosing the moderate liberty which they ought to have in discussions.		Draws up official acts concerning cases of homicide, sale of communal land, etc.
To call extraordinary sessions when he judges it convenient or when some circumstances make it necessary.		Receives government officials.
To care for the present ruling; to impose fines of 4 reales up to 2 pesos to those individuals who without permission or motive do not attend sessions or do not arrive at the fixed hour, to those who commit some faults in them, or are remiss or lacking in diligence in fulfilling their obligations.		Signs birth and death certificates; consults calendar to name child.
		Initiates communal projects such as building the kiosk.
		Signs acts of matrimony and, recently, divorce.
		Orders police to bring in debtors.
To handle official correspon-		Consults with department officials in matters pertaining to community resources such as forest and irrigation canal.

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Constitution of Chiapas, 1825 *	*Interpretation of functions by villagers*	*Actual functions, as observed*
dence and to sign the communications that the corporation makes.		
To sign along with other members of the civil officials all the acts of the sessions that are included in the book.		
To read orders of payment against the funds of the town, previously agreed upon by the civil authority in which they will specify the quantity and the object of its destination.		
To watch that the police assigned to the civil authority care for the papers of the archive and keep them in the best order possible, not allowing omissions in the correspondence.		
To demand fines of those who break these orders, previously agreed by the civil authority in the cases that are necessary, and to deposit receipts in the treasury of the town.		
Síndico:		
The síndico will have a voice and vote in the civil authority. His duties are:	To sit at the table.	Attends president in all above functions.
To raise his voice in the sessions.	To accompany the president when he calls upon him.	Notes contributions made in communal fiestas by each household head.
To ask and promote before the civil authority what is agreeable to the rights of the people.	To wait until there is a fight to arrange it.	Helps fiscal and treasurer count funds collected.
To intervene and censure whatever touches on the good administration and investment of municipal funds.		Succeeds president if latter cannot fulfill term of office.
To examine the accounts which the treasurer ought to present annually, to the effect that they		

(*cont.*)

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Constitution of Chiapas, 1825 *	*Interpretation of functions by villagers*	*Actual functions, as observed*
should fulfill all the specifications following the statement of the respective commission.		
To promote the prompt dispatch of such duties which affect immediately the interest of the public.		
To represent the civil authority in all those judgements which promote the welfare or in which there is some demand.		
To watch over all the objects that are under the inspection of the civil authority, denouncing to them the omissions and faults of fulfillment which are noted.		
The síndico should be heard in all the serious affairs and when there is a plea for permission to invest municipal funds which is greater than that covered in the plans. In the naming of the commissions he will have the consideration of the síndico, in attention to the importance and extension of the objects which are under his inspection and care.		
Alcaldes:		
Exercise the office of conciliators.	Greet the principales with the patʔoʔtan.	Initiate proceedings in courtroom, delivers verdict.
Handle civil cases which do not exceed 100 pesos, and criminal cases on injuries and light misdeeds which require only slight punishment and verbal judgement.	Hear trials.	Greet the principales with the patʔoʔtan during ceremonies.
Bring culprits to justice. Advise judges.		Sign official documents involving court cases.
Set fines up to 100 pesos and labor payment up to 15 days in public works.		Hear court cases.

Constitution of Chiapas, 1825 *	*Interpretation of functions by villagers*	*Actual functions, as observed*	642 693
Have the responsibility of publishing the laws and edicts of the government. Announce to the townspeople the days for electoral meetings.			
Regidores: †	Sit on the benches inside the town hall. If there is no judge, regidores order police. Arrange dispute cases with the president and judges.	Bring in officials nominated by the civil authority. Greet them in their houses with the pat?o?tan. Transmit orders of the president to the policemen. Pour liquor in the town hall for the other civil officials. Sit in on court cases.	642 624
Police: Care for the streets, markets, and public plazas, hospitals and other public places. Inspect the quality of foods of all kinds in the interest of the public and the sellers. Care for the drainage of swampy places and free standing and unhealthy waters. Name a permanent commission charged with maintaining the health of the place. Ensure that the public fountains are well kept up and have abundant water. Ensure the punctual attendance of the children in school. See that the equipment distributed by the army is done with equality. Help the alcaldes tend to the execution of the laws, rulings, and agreements of the civil officials.	Sit on the benches, outside the town hall. Summon children absent from school. Maintain public buildings and streets. Distribute portions of bull slaughtered for a fiesta to those who have paid 20 pesos.	Maintain town hall, plaza, road from highway to town. Adorn town hall for fiestas. Cook common meal for civil officials following court cases when fines have been collected. Collect money for fiestas from each household. Buy liquor for use in town hall. Round up truant school children. Bring in criminals.	642 625

(*cont.*)

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Constitution of Chiapas, 1825 *	*Interpretation of functions by villagers*	*Actual functions, as observed*
Secretary:		
In each civil administration they should have a secretary who will earn an annual salary of 144 pesos.	If there is a major task for the pueblo, the secretary does it.	Writes all official documents. Attends president and síndico in most official trips out of town.
To attend the office on non-holidays.	Call the secretary to write the act.	Writes official documents such as birth and marriage certificates.
To be present all the time that the sessions last.	Arrange things if there is a homicide.	
To take notes in order to draw up acts and minutes.	Take a culprit to San Cristóbal if there is no settlement in court.	
To set in a book the acts after approved and signed by all the individuals of the civil administration that are persent at each session.		
To pass on to the respective commissions the affairs with which the civil authority gives accounts, setting down the understanding in the corresponding book, and taking care to note in the margin when it is undertaken.		
To give account of all the negotiations that occur in the following order: (1) the acts of the former meeting, (2) the official communications that they receive, (3) the proposals that the members of the civil authority make, (4) the representatives that say the particulars, (5) the dictations of the commission.		
To sign in union with the president all the official communications, arranging them in order to form them in the points agreed to by the civil authority.		
To put in the best possible		

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Constitution of Chiapas, 1825 *	*Interpretation of functions by villagers*	*Actual functions, as observed*
arrangement and with an exact inventory all the books, acts, and papers of the archive, not permitting that anyone take them without express permission of the municipality and leaving the corresponding understanding in order to know where it was stopped and to take it up in the appropriate time.		
To present each month a list of the affairs that have passed in the commissions, of those that have been dispatched and those that are hanging.		
To pass each month to the municipal president a list of the individuals who had failed to meet in the sessions without legitimate cause in order that they can exact the fine corresponding, arranging for that in the acts.		
To meet in the extraordinary sessions when called by the president.		
When the secretaries fail in some of their obligations, mentioned in the former articles, they can be fined by the civil authority 2 to 10 pesos without prejudice from the remaining punishments to which they make credits.		
As to the election and replacement of the secretaries they will be covered in article 162 of the law of the 20th of March, 1837.		

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* Translation and paraphrasing of Constitution of Chiapas, 1825.
† Not given in this constitution, perhaps because of the ceremonial nature of the post.

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642 The statement of functions of the civil officials as codified in the state
621 constitution contrasts with that of local informants first of all in the brev-
626 ity of the latter. This indicates the lack of functional specificity in the role
554 as conceived by Indians in contrast to its Spanish-derived model. The latitude of acceptable performance in the role is best indicated by the statements concerning why a man is relieved of office. A man might be dismissed because he "fights a lot," because he "gets drunk and fights," or because he "steals a lot." The qualification "a lot" suggests the difficulty of actually ridding the town of an incumbent who has caused difficulties while in office. There are only two posts in which deposition actually has occurred: those of president and fiscal. Both these posts represent mediating roles between local and national interest groups. The deposition of the president Augustín recounted in Chapter 9 indicates the kind of community action which can be mobilized. Significantly, failure to perform prescribed duties is not mentioned.

621 Second, it is the presence of the officials, not their specific obligations,
554 which is of significance in the local context. "Sitting" therefore is a central and active duty. Each morning at about seven o'clock the officials gather to sit on the benches on the porch of the town hall. The president and síndico sit inside at the table. They return at six in the evening to sit again. The line-up of the civil authorities at their appointed places each morning and evening is a statement of social control. Their presence gives evidence of an authority ready to act against offenders.

A third feature of contrast is that the local statement of functions includes many of the ceremonial activities of the civil officials. Thus the president has the significant duties of seeing that the banners pass into the town hall at the time of a fiesta, and of going to the house of the alférez when the banners are moved in procession. The holiness of office is associated with the holy symbol of the banners. For the police, collecting the 20-peso portions of meat when a bull is butchered for ceremonial meals is as significant as apprehending criminals.

Ritual Behavior

In ritual behavior, the status of officials is projected in role performance. Relative position in each ceremonial setting is an index to rank.

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Priorities in service and salutations validate the prestige of the incumbent. 621 554
Rituals also provide the occasion for noting social change. Divergencies between expected and enacted sequences are a clue to shifts in authority and prestige. Conflict between competing interests often comes to the surface when structural features are made explicit in ritual performances. This is [273] particularly true in these Indian villages where drinking liquor releases inhibitions. The inaugurations of officials in the civil and religious hierarchies are analyzed below to show how they reflect both continuity and change.

Inauguration of civil officials. Legal provision for the installation 642
of the civil officials is minimally stated in the constitution of the state of 621
Chiapas (Secretaría del Gobierno Departamental de Chiapas, 1841:4):

1. The judges and regidores elected will present on the 30th of December their credentials to the Secretary of the civil branch in order that he will put an account of them in a book.
2. Having verified this, he will give an account to them on the following day in the town hall, for which he will name a commission of three people who will identify the people named.
3. On the 1st of January of each year the first judge will meet in the meeting room and present the oath before the civil officials, chaired by the Prefect or Subprefect along with the remaining members of the group, as is stated in article 164 of the law of the 20th of March, 1837. The form of the oath will be the following:

   "I swear to God to preserve and to have others preserve the constitutional laws decreed and sanctioned by the National Congress in the year of 1836". To which the response will be, "Yes, I swear."

   Concluding the oath, they will take their seats. The outgoing officials will cease their functions, and they will be withdrawn from the place of the meetings.

The elaboration of ritual beyond the requirements of the law in house- 621
hold settings as well as in the town hall reveals the significance of ceremonial acts in these small, endogamous communities. The inauguration is a

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621 crucial ceremony for the following reasons: (1) Most of the officials are changed simultaneously, so that, since there is neither carryover in a civil service nor tenure officials, the act of transferring authority carries a greater burden in preserving continuity; (2) The official is integrated in a prior set of kinship and other social relations such that he cannot act anonymously in his official capacity as judge or policeman. Thus one of the functions of the inauguration is a disengagement from the preexisting network of obligations and a priority commitment to the obligations of the office (Parsons, 1951:80–84; Gluckman 1962:34; Cancian 1963); (3) The household ceremony preceding the inauguration provides a setting in which the individual who is about to assume the office learns what is expected of him (Fortes 1959:82).

The inauguration is patterned on a series of acts which symbolically communicate to performers and villagers who participate as observers the desired social goals. The settings in which the change of civil officials is carried out are (1) the house of the incoming official, (2) the town hall, (3) the plaza, and (4) the church. In each arena, the validation and support of the new officials is publicly defined before overlapping sets of participants and observers.

The activities of the inauguration observed in 1965 are recorded below:

621 *On New Year's eve, household celebrations are held in the house of*
527 *each new official. The houses are decorated with pine needles on the floor*
574 *and juniper boughs on the porch. The visitors arrive about eight in the evening bearing pitch pine and wood to light the house and provide fuel for cooking. The helpers and guests who attend the evening celebration in the house of the president include relatives, compadres, and neighbors who will support him in his term of office. Primary support is given by the official's wife, without whom he would not be serving in the hierarchy. His advisors and councilors in the household are the nakawanehetik, or household officials. These are men who have passed through at least four religious offices and who are somehow related to the new official. A second group of supporters in the household setting are the* b'alnialetik, *young men who are either brothers, brothers-n-law, sons, compadres, godchildren, or neighbors of the houseowner, and who serve*

as errand boys and assistants. A third group are the Ikoltawanehetik, *the female helpers, usually wives of the b'alnialetik or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors,* yulatak, *who come to congratulate the new official. [The visitors at the house of the first judge are shown in Figure 7.]* 621 527 [574]

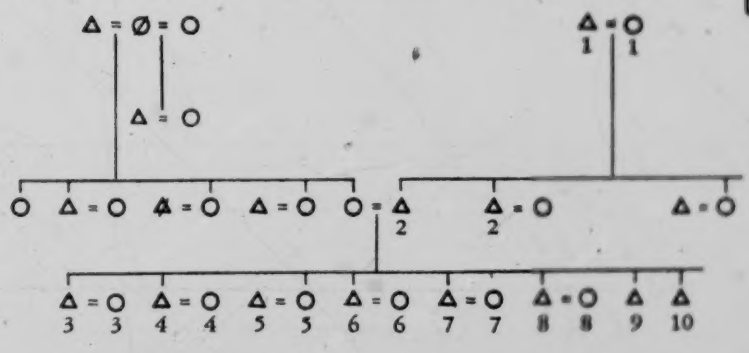
The new official addresses the first nakawane with the following speech: 621 537 527

Official: "Holy evening, Mamtat, to your health."

Nakawane: "Holy evening, Mamtat, to your health."

Official: "Lord, how are you, Mamtat? You are alive, word of God, this holy evening. There is no illness behind your heart."

Fig. 7. Relatives at House of First Judge on Eve of Inauguration [601]



Nakawane: "I live. I feel no illness."

Official: "Lord Mamtat, give pardon with God, with the Virgin Mother. Give holy pardon your mothers, your fathers, with God.

"Give pardon, Lord, give pardon. Virgin mother. Here we are gathered before you where we are seated, our soil, our mud.

"How are we going to succeed in what we will have to do in this holy new year for our patron Lord? Here again in the dawning of the holy hour, let us look into our heart, there where we are going to receive the holy oath inside the holy cold house, the cold hall, where we go receive the work and suffering of the holy staff, the holy wand this holy day, this

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527 *holy year. And so we shall be able to do what our mothers and what our*
[537] *fathers did here where the holy Father sees us and the holy Mother sees us."*

[782] *The formal prayer, using elements of all the addresses of pat?o?tan, presages the events which will take place and announces the continuity with the past in following out the work the ancestors have done. The civil authorities, like the religious authorities, assert that they are taking on a holy responsibility. There is, in the words of the pat?o?tan, no distinction between profane and sacred obligations toward the village.*

[273] *Following the drinking and prayers, liquor is served. Drinking order always follows the elder to younger pattern which, in household settings, is always coincident with prestige ranking. At midnight, coffee, bread, and bean-filled tamales are served.*

621 *The second series of household gatherings takes place on the morning of*
527 *New Year's Day in the houses of the new president, the first judge, and*
574 *the first policeman. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the other three regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house and are served coffee and liquor. They then proceed to the house of the president. As the judges and regidores arrive there, the visiting group greets all of the assembled guests at the president's house with a prescribed greeting, the* sak'inaltat *and the hand-kissing, called* ʾutzk'aab. *The first judge exchanges an extended pat?o?tan with the first nakawane of the president and then liquor is served to all those gathered. The assembled group next stands and "turns toward the rising sun." This is said to be a "defense against the entry of the devil."*

While the higher officials meet in the house of the president, the policemen join togther in the houses of the first policeman on each side of the dual division. Just as in the house of the president, the ceremony consists in serving liquor and coffee. They await the sound of the firecrackers set off in the yard of the president's house before setting out for the town hall. With this announcement of the departure, the officials at the president's house and at the two first policemen's houses set out for the town hall.

621 *Gathered in the town hall are the old officials along with the alfereces*
527 *and the principals. The new officials enter two by two, the president and*

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síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges of the barrios, the regidores, the judges of the colonias, the two first police, followed by the rest of the police in pairs. As they enter, they kneel and make the sign of the cross, or "measure their noses" (sp'is sniʔik), *an act which shows respect to the holy banners that the alfereces have delivered from the church and laid on the table in the town hall. On this same table are strewn orange blossoms and leaves of laurel with the newly peeled canes of the police and the old staffs of office of the higher officials. The new officials put on their rosaries as they prepare to receive their staffs.* [788]

The principales, fairly inebriated from drinking all morning as they awaited the arrival of the new officials, pass out the staffs assisted by the old president, who helps direct them as they wander in a daze from the table to the line of waiting officials. The second principal picks the staff from the table and hands it to the first principal who passes it on to the recipient. The act of passing over the staffs is a significant index to their role in the hierarchy. They are the only "permanent" officials—permanent so long as they are in good health and not impoverished. They are the link between the outgoing and incoming officials.

The oath of office was given in Spanish by the Ladino schoolteacher the year I observed the ceremony. Formerly, this was performed by the Ladino secretary, but a contest of power in the community resulted in this shift in role performers [*Chapter* 9]. *The inventory of the town's possessions is read by the "old" president*[4] *and each item is inspected as it is passed on to the "new" president.*

After the ceremony in the town hall, all the old officials scatter to their homes and the new officials, wearing their rosaries, go to the church. The principales wait in the town hall for their return.

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[794]
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The new officials follow the alfereces out of the town hall in a procession. The four alfereces, holding their banners, line up before the town hall and dip their banners toward the town hall and then toward the church. They lead the procession of new officials two times around the plaza, stopping in front of the church to dip the banners toward it and the town hall. The order of the procession indicates the rank order of the offi-

4. The officials who have completed their year in office are referred to as "old," and the incoming officials are referred to as "new" at this event.

621 527 [788] [554] *cials, from the last policeman to the first and second judges. The procession makes two turns "to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] who the new officials to remain in office are."*

[794] [782] *Awaiting the arrival of the new officials in the church are all of the mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see who they are." The new officials enter two by two and proceed to the altar rail where they "speak to God," asking for health so that they can fulfill their obligation to the town. They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father cabildo."*

621 527 273 *The first order of the new president is to ask the fourth regidor to buy two liters of the "gift of the ancestors," contraband liquor. When the liquor arrives, the first judge rises and goes to the principales. Standing before them while they remain seated, he asks permission of God to "receive the gift," or drink the liquor, saying, "Give pardon, Mamal Krinsipal; let a little enter and warm your body."*

The policemen, after leaving the church, enter the kitchen shack attached to the town hall. The first new policeman orders the fourth policeman to bring a little trago, and when he returns with the liquor, the first policeman orders one of the policemen of the colonias to measure the drinks. They drink one liter, after which the first policeman of the lower division addresses the first policeman of the upper division in the pat?o-?tan. After the spatbeyo?tan, *or formal address, the first policeman wonders "whether they can endure a little more. Can they drink more liquor without getting drunk?" It is his responsibility to receive any orders from the president, and he wonders, "What should happen if we get drunk? We won't know if there is an errand for the mamal judge and we cannot help. Better rest a while, and if there is an errand we can help a little. If there is no errand, let us drink a little more until midday." At twelve noon both groups retire to their homes to rest their hearts.*

794 527 *Inauguration of religious officials.* The change of the mayordomos occurs twice annually, once on January 6 and a second time on the Day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29. San Pedro is associated with

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the functions of the caretakers of the church because, one informant said, 794
his image shows him holding the keys to the gates of heaven. 527

The ritual of the inauguration begins on June 29, a day called Pas Kantelero, *prepare the candle holders. The old mayordomos who have served for the past six months scrape the candle sticks, while two of the group play the drum and blow the flute. Others sweep the church and clean the interior. Then the fiscal and the mayordomos gather outside the church. A table is brought out, and the money that has been collected from each mayordomo by the two cofrades to be used for the purchase of candles is counted. When the money has been counted, two mayordomos ring the bells in the bell tower. Two servings of contraband liquor are* [273] *passed out, one called "arrival of our food," before the meal, and the other called "wash down the meal," afterwards. Formerly a meal, consisting of a* [262] *male turkey, or beef soup if the mayordomos could not afford a turkey, with tortillas and chile, was prepared and served in the church yard. This is now eaten in the home of the cofrade because the priest objected to the preliminary drinking session.*

On the second day of the fiesta, called Wišpereš, *the mayordomos* [533] *"make a fiesta" which consists of beating the drums, playing the flute, and drinking trago. Early in the morning the priest gives a mass for San Pedro and San Pablo attended by the old and new officials and the women.*

A series of house celebrations takes place in the houses of the cofrades. The new mayordomos go first to the house of the cofrade of Santa Lucía. There they are offered the mouthwash, a bowl of cold water with which [273] *they rinse their mouths, followed by a round of two drinks each. The Cofrade of Santa Lucía then speaks to the Tatil of San Pedro the Martyr:*

Cofrade of Santa Lucía: "Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal? Thanks that you are alive, word of God, at daybreak. What will we do? What have we done? We have to speak of what is in our heart, our soil, our mud. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials, where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our judge San Pedro and

794 527 *San Pablo? So it is that we are here and that we are united in front of the house. Pardon us, if it is not much, you elders. Where we are gathered together there is nothing flavorful nor is there much. It is only a little to warm your body, the water that washed his body, his hand our old saint San Pedro and San Pablo [reference to liquor]. God thank mother and father, mam-kobraria."*

As the mayordomos prepare to leave the house, the following exchange takes place:

Tatil of San Pedro the Martyr: "What are we thinking? How shall we rise to enter the house of the Kobraria Sakramentu? Why is it he does not want us to drink too much? It is good, we would not remember. It is enough. If you will remember, you will say little, mayordomos. Are we not ready with our rosaries and with our kerchiefs and our candles? Is there anything you want to say?"

Cofrade of Santa Lucia: "It is good. I am going to ask you all if you are ready with your rosary and with your cloth to take the holy candles."

Mayordomos: "Yes, good, we are ready, thank you."

Cofrade of Santa Lucia: "Only one more thing do I have to say. Do not drink too much trago. I do not want you to walk like a mad man. I do not want anyone to say that the kobraria did not say anything to advise you."

Mayordomos: "Yes, thanks. It is good. Let us go now. Let us raise our mud, our soil [reference to body]."

The group goes on to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento who is awaiting them with his nakawanehetik, his b'alnialetik, and the female assistants in the house. They enter saying "Good day, Mamal," greeting first the b'alnialetik, then the third nakawane, then the second nakawane, and finally the first nakawane. The Cofrade of Santa Lucia stands before the first nakawane and recites the spatbeyoʔtan. Then he goes on to speak to the meʔil k'op, *or woman speaker, who is referred to in this instance as the* meʔc'ukuŝaʔil, *"woman who nursed us."*

The women of the kobraria's kindred, the sisters and first cousins and wives of his brothers, remain inside the house as the men sit on the benches on the porch. The nakawane orders the b'alnialetik to serve the [272] [262] *mouthwash which is followed by coffee and tortillas. After another*

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After another
mouthwash, the b'alnialetik lay a cloth on a small table which is put in the center of the porch, and two liters of trago and a measuring glass are laid on this. The Cofrade of Santa Lucía rises and asks permission of the women, the mayordomos, and all the b'alnialetik to drink the liquor, saying: "God, mother who nurses us, give permission to us so that the water of his body, the water of his hand, the gift will pass in our bodies, that which is the gift of the me?tiktatik. God speaks, tat nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik. Give us permission to hand the gift that will pass in your body from the me?tiktatik. God, Jesus, Mary, only one commander God is three persons. Bless what we eat and what we drink and bless in the name of God the father. God, take the gift, me?eštateš."

The mayordomos, b'alnialetik, and nakawanehetik then make the sign of the cross. The Cofrade of the Virgin Santa Lucía blesses the liquor, saying, "In God's name, God the father, name of God, God the son, Holy Spirit. Yes, I can endure doing what they did, what our mother and what our father did, with my hand which has sinned and my feet which have sinned. Yes, we are changing office on this holy day, this holy year the holy saint, with the holy oath and in the name of God the Father."

The mayordomos drink four measures of liquor, then raise the rest of the drinks to their lips without drinking and take the glass over to one of the nakawanehetik. In this way they show the restraint to which they have been urged in the speeches. At eleven o'clock they leave for the church, putting their red kerchiefs around their necks along with the rosaries. As they set out, the elder nakawane says so the new mayordomos: "May you all get up and go to the church. May you all enter inside the church. May you take the oath inside the church before the face of the fiscal. After you take the oath, make the sign of the cross before the face of the Tatik Jesus Christ. After you have made the sign of the cross, when you enter inside the door of the church, the mamal new kobraria will give the account to the mamal old kobraria."

Sitting within the church are the old mayordomos and the fiscal who have remained there after the mass. They are awaiting the new mayordomos. Two of them play the drum and the flute. The new mayordomos enter, the elder and junior mayordomo of each saint walking together, and kneel before the image of Tatik Jesus Christ. The church has been ar-

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794 527 *ranged with a large table in the center, the candles allotted to each mayordomo laid out in bundles of nine. On the table is a little cross of the crucified Christ. The priest blesses the new mayordomos and the old mayordomos. Then the fiscal gives nine candles wrapped in a napkin to each mayordomo. The niẽ'nal, junior mayordomo, of each saint first takes the candles allotted to the tatil to the latter's house, and then takes his own to his house. After the oath, the new mayordomos return to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento where they drink until prayer time in the evening.*

[788] [273]

On the sk'ak'alel Sk'in, *the true day of the fiesta, the new mayordomos go to hear the mass along with women prayer-reciters at seven in the morning. They then go to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento, leaving three junior mayordomos to play the drums and flute at the door of the church. In the house of the cofrade, they count the money of the Virgin and of San Pedro the Martyr. This fund of money is passed over from the outgoing officials to the incoming officials along with interest. It is now being loaned out to local entrepreneurs. The Virgin has a fund of 228 pesos, and San Pedro the Martyr has 40 pesos. The fiscal supervises the counting of the money, and records the sum, after which the pat?o?tan is recited and drinks are served.*

[533] [454]

621 554 In the behavioral sequences of the inauguration, several features of the structure and functioning of the hierarchy can be noted. First, one can see in the actions of the officials that the hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth step ladder but a segmented order. The categories of officials, the alkaletik, rehiroletik, and mayoletik, act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same area in all the settings. Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth (and in the case of the mayoletik, from first to fifth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They command their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge orders the fourth regidor to get liquor, and the first policeman orders the police from the rural colonia to get liquor. By these behavioral indices one can see the ordering and grouping by age, skill in praying, and territorial identification within the segments of the civil-religious hierarchy. These principles apply, however,

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only to ordering between segments; because of the uneven civil careers of the incumbents, a man in the lower ranks within a segment may be older than another in the same rank because he started his career later. 621 554

A second significant feature of the inauguration behavior is the sacred quality of the acts, indicated by the words of the pat'o'tan—"holy office," "holy cold house," "holy staff, holy wand," "holy day and holy hour." The presence of the alfereces, the observation of the new civil officials by the religious officials, the movement from the town hall to the church and back to the town hall are the behavioral links between "our holy mother church and our holy father cabildo." 621 794 527

The behavioral elements in the inauguration of the religious officials parallel those in the inauguration of the civil officials. As in the case of the latter, the ritual takes place in both domestic and public settings—the house of the new officials and the church. In both inaugurations, the same feature of "raising" (rounding up for gatherings) the officials occurs: those of lower rank gather in the houses of successively higher officials, finally entering the house of the highest official. In each setting, the same ritual acts are performed—the formal greeting, the serving of coffee and bread followed by bean tamales, the request for permission to drink, and the serving of the "gift" of liquor. In the household setting for both civil and religious officials the same role performers—nakawanehetik, b'alnialetik and školtawanetik—lend their support.

In the religious hierarchy the symbolic "tools" of office of the mayordomos are candles while those in the civil hierarchy are canes. In the case of the inauguration of the religious officials, the inventory involves counting the money collected for each saint rather than accounting for the possessions owned by the town. An inventory of the saints' clothing is not made as in other towns, possibly because the lay sisters living in the town maintain this stock of equipment.

The formalized speech of the pat'o'tan is an important social tool in both public and private ceremonials. Characteristic of the speech are the elaboration of simile and metaphor (*me'ba'al, wokol:* poverty and trouble in reference to one's house; *lumiltik kač'aletik:* clay and mud in reference to bodies; *snuk shoy:* his joined one, his companion in reference to one's wife; *sapil yok' sapil sk'aab k'a santuetik k'a peroltik:* the washings [192]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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621 794 527 of the legs and arms of our patron lord, Jesus, in reference to liquor). The prayer-like intonation, together with repeated invocation of the gods, gives [192] a sacred quality to the words.

[273] Liquor, referred to as "the gift of God" or "gift of the ancestors," is of crucial significance in both civil and religious ritual. Receiving an offering of liquor is tantamount to accepting part of the spiritual essence of the donor. Drinking in each of the domains—the house, the town hall, and the church—serves to tie together different sets of participants in the obligation system of service to the community. In Mauss' terms (1954:11) receiving the gift defines "a pattern of spiritual bonds between things which are to some extent parts of persons, and persons and groups, that behave in some measure as if they were things."

[273] In both inaugurations an attempt is made to control the intake of liquor so that the officials can function in the ritual. This is shown in the civil inauguration when the first policeman thinks about whether the police can take another drink and still carry out their duties. It is more explicit in the religious inaugurations when the cofrades warn the mayordomos that they should not drink so much that they "walk like madmen." The mayordomos then pass on the drinks served to them to the nakawanehetik who drink them and fall into a stupor.

621 794 527 793 875 In noting the difference between elicited and performed ritual, minimal changes in behavior provided clues to structural change. The change of custom as to where the meal of the mayordomos takes place (it now is given at the house of the cofrade rather than in the courtyard of the church) indicates a significant shift in the relation between the priest and the local religious leadership. The priest has gained control over the church since he has taken up residence in the parish house. The incident in which the confrontation took place is described in Chapter 9. Divergence of the performed from the expected ritual in the inauguration of the civil authority occurred when the schoolteacher delivered the oath instead of the former Ladino secretary. This revealed the schoolteacher's increasing power in his competition with the former cacique.

621 794 527 The rituals of both civil and religious inaugurations reveal the sense of the sacred obligation to the ancestors. Although both the roles and the scheduling of events are derived from outside the culture, the necessity for

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undertaking the burden of office is still phrased as a means of maintaining the internal system of security. Tying the new official to personal supporters in the household setting is a significant means of integrating the Spanish governmental system with the preexisting authority systems. 621 794 527

The emphasis on continuity is evident in the prescribed pattern of behavior stressing repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetition of behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expectations which links the present with the past.[5] The nakawanehetik, who are the repositories of knowledge of the customs of the ancestors, are stage directors of acts performed in the house. Behavioral replication is reinforced by verbal references in the patʔoʔtan to performing "that which our mothers, that which our fathers did." When any act has lost the wider context of belief in which it must at one time have been embedded, the reason given for the performance is simply "so was the custom of our ancestors." As an example of this, the officials in the president's house on the day of the inauguration stand and bow in the direction of the rising sun. A few informants have heard of the God of the East, Santo Ariyó, the saint in charge of household gods who gave to the people corn, wheat, beans, and cattle, and they say that it is in recognition of him that people turn to the East and bow their heads in all household performances. They further state that in this act they defend the house against the entry of the devil. But the mythological context which might explain the logic of this association is lost. These behavioral sherds, when cut off from the belief system which they dramatized, survive in perpetuating the customs of the ancestors. 621 794 527 177 178

The link with the past is also seen in the presence of both new and old officials in the town hall, providing a setting in which the succession of the new officials is acknowledged by the old. The role of the principales is of the greatest importance in establishing continuity, significantly emphasized in the fact that it is they who hand over the symbol of authority, the 621 794 527 178

5. Bunzel (1952:251) has pointed to this familiarity of ritual sets in a variety of ceremonials as providing ties with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango, and Vogt (1966) has shown the significance of replication in the ceremonials of Zinacantan. Another function served by behavorial replication is that which Leach (1967:2) pointed out for verbal replication in myths and prayers: it overcomes the "static" of less significant background interference. [171]

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621 794 527 178 newly cut pine canes of the police and the old carved and painted staffs of the higher officials.

621 794 527 273 Order and measure, respect and deference are the social effect achieved in the ritual performance of the inaugurations. In the act of drinking, these principles become behaviorally explicit. The drink is carefully measured out and passed to the first principal, who asks permission to drink it of each set of officials in order of their ranked positions in the hierarchy. Each official must receive the drink, whether he is a teetotaler or not. He will then perform the action of drinking, which is sufficient to express his good will as part of the group. The symbolic act of pretending to drink—receiving the "gift" and raising it to one's lips without imbibing—reveals the importance of acts *as such* in social interaction. This is expressed in the [192] Tzeltal loan term *ʔaksion,* from the Spanish *acción,* the pretended act, which demonstrates in this case one's good will in joining in the communal act. We have a tendency in our culture to downgrade the act, stressing motive specific to the immediate goal of the act. If performance is motivated by other goals, we express it in phrases such as "He is only acting," or "It was all a big act." In Tzoʔontahal, the play is the thing, and everything can be justified by reference to traditional expectations.

621 794 561 177 178 Before describing some of the organizational changes which are affecting the civil-religious hierarchy, I shall at this point assess its viability on the basis of structural criteria. These criteria include the effectiveness of the system in (1) coordinating roles such that conflict is minimized in carrying out tasks, (2) motivating people to enter into office and fulfill obligations, (3) absorbing changes without structural modification.

The primary devices for coordinating roles in the hierarchy are those of relative age and residence in the dual division. The major challenge to the age-respect pattern has been the introduction of young leadership in the roles of president and síndico. This shock to the system has been somewhat overcome by the retention of the ceremonial primacy of the principales. The president and síndico are considered outside the traditional hierarchy. This conceptual isolation of the roles becomes obvious when one asks informants to list the civil officials, for they never include the president and síndico in the first response. They are mentioned in response to repeated enquiries as to whether there are other officials.

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The principle of balancing posts according to residence in the dual division is maintained in the traditional civil posts but fails to be effective again in the case of the president. Increasing population in the upper division meant that the expensive post of alférez had to be filled primarily from the side with the highest population. This unbalancing of the sharing of these burdensome posts eventually led to revolt and the post was abolished. Since it was the key post in learning prayers, its loss may mean the end of the traditional rituals in the home.

794 561 177 178

The hierarchy fails to provide sufficient prestige or power to motivate people voluntarily to undertake some posts. The most vulnerable post was that of alférez. In fulfilling obligations to the saints, alfereces used to spend over 3,000 pesos, twice the normal income of a man in one year. They were assisted by members of their immediate households either in loans or in the sale of pottery to help pay for the house fiestas. The show of wealth at these fiestas, when up to one hundred guests were fed, excited the envy of neighbors, often among the invited guests. It was felt that this provoked witchcraft, and every former alférez I knew maintained that he suffered some catastrophe following his year in office. In the last few years before its demise in 1966 the post was accepted only under duress, and all those who had been nominated at first chose to go to jail. The reason that it survived as long as it did was the insistence of those officials who served in this post that it was essentail to maintaining good fiestas. The resolution of the contradictions by abolishing the post contrast with that of Zinacantan, where men sought the prestige-conferring posts that involved large expenditures of money as a validation of wealth (Cancian 1965).

794 554 434 796 754 178 [556]

Another contradition which minimizes the motivation to undertake the traditional posts is that the highest post in the ladder, that of principal, is one associated with embarrassment and shame rather than prestige. Shorn of his roles in decision-making and in guarding public funds, the principal is reduced to holding the plate in which donations for the major fiestas are placed. The ceremonial role of the principales will probably survive, however, since the old men of the community who have retired from active work in the fields enjoy the drinking sessions in the cabildo sufficiently to compensate for the shame associated with the role.

621 554 178 [273]

The internal structural contradictions have to be considered in the con-

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text of strong sentiments supporting an independent civil authority. The adaptations which have been made within the existing structure are a tribute to the strength of the sentiments associating survival of tradition with office-holding in the civil-religious hierarchy. Chapter 9 will deal with the capacity of the structure to absorb change.

Chapter 8

Taking Care of the Lord Spirits

Religious behavior is concerned with two major goals: maintaining a given state of prosperity and protecting the community against disaster. In the words of one informant: "All of the goods which we enjoy—the corn, beans, and wheat that we eat, the animals which work for us and give us food—are the gifts of the Lord spirits." The technique for maintaining the flow of goods of the world is the annual cycle of fiestas for the saints. The strategy for protecting the community against disaster is through avoidance of offense and special offerings to the gods identified with pre-hispanic deities and spirits. Responsibility for the ceremonial cycle is assigned to officials who represent the community, but everyone is responsible for the avoidance of disaster, since any transgression of moral behavior by an individual can cause their wrath and bring destruction of crops and animals. The protective rituals involve beliefs continuous from pre-hispanic times; maintenance depends on Catholic saints.

Kinds of Lord Spirits

Religious behavior is based on an understanding of the personality and rank of each deity in a hierarchy of power. The people distinguish two major categories of gods: the lord spirits of the heaven, *č'ultatik ta č'ulčan,* and the lord spirits of the church, *č'ultatik ta č'ulna.* The prefix *č'ul* in all of these terms can be translated as spirit. All growing things—people, plants, and animals—have a spirit. *Tatik* can be translated as our lords, elders, or fathers. The categories of spirits discussed here differ from the č'uleletik (Chapter 1) since these are spirits possessed by the place in which they dwell, as indicated by the possessive form of the noun with the prefix *s.*

776 177 The two groups of spirits differ in their traditional characteristics and functions. The spirits of the heaven "look to see where everyone is going," "look and listen to all that people say," "are very alive," and "are of the world." In contrast to them, the spirits of the church "are not alive," "do not speak," "do not do anything," "are only of the pueblo." Thus the spirits of the heaven are universal; those of the church are particular. The saints' images which are kept in the church of the town are not considered to represent the same person as these same images in other towns. This [171] conception of saints as local and distinct personalities is found in other Maya Indian towns and differs from that of orthodox Catholicism.

The lord spirits of the heaven. The spirits of the heaven are God the Father, *Tios Tatil,* God the Son, *Tios Nič'anil,* and the Holy Spirit, *Spiritusantú.* Table 27 indicates the identification made between these major figures and pre-hispanic spiritual entities.

[192] TABLE 27. Pre- and Post-Hispanic Equivalents of the Lord Spirits of the Heavens

Post-Hispanic spirits		*Pre-Hispanic spirits*
Tios Tatil (God the Father)	=	B'alamilal (The World)
		B'ankilal (Elder Brother)
Tios Nič'anil (God the Son, Jesus Christ)	=	Sčeb'al B'ankilal (Second Brother)
Spiritusantú (Holy Spirit)	=	Tatik K'ahk'al (The Lord Sun)
		K'oš (referential, Last Child)
		Šut (vocative, proper name)
		ʔihtz'in (Younger Brother)
Meʔ Santú (Virgin Mary)	=	Meʔtikčič ʔu (Our Grandmother the Moon)

776 539 177 The "mystery" of the Trinity is "explained" in the following story in which pre-hispanic deities are identified with the Christian deities.

Many years ago, the Lord Sun [Tatik K'ak'al] *did not walk as now. He was only hanging in the heavens. Our Grandmother the Moon* [Meʔtik Čič ʔu] *bore three sons named God the Father* [Tios Tatil], the Elder *Brother; God the Son, Second Brother; and a third named K'oš, or Last One. The first brother did not turn out bright nor did the second brother. It was the youngest brother, K'oš, who was the brightest. When the Elder*

7: Nash E-5 (1967-1967) 1970

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[P. 198-A]

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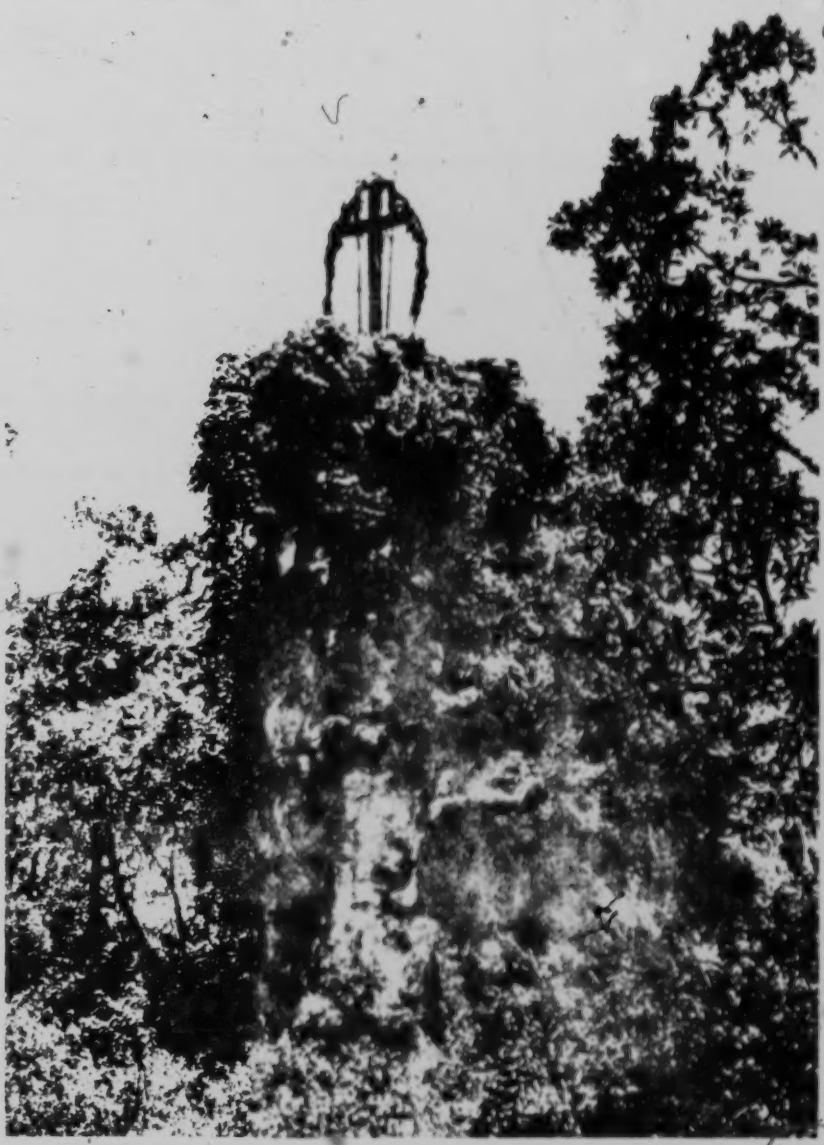

Plate 1. Head of Palm where the ancestors stand and watch over the town. The cross, standing about twelve feet high and adorned with an arch of pine boughs and flowers, tops a jutting rock about thirty feet high. Behind the rock is the hill with the cave in which the ancestors were reputed to live.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

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[P 198-B]

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491

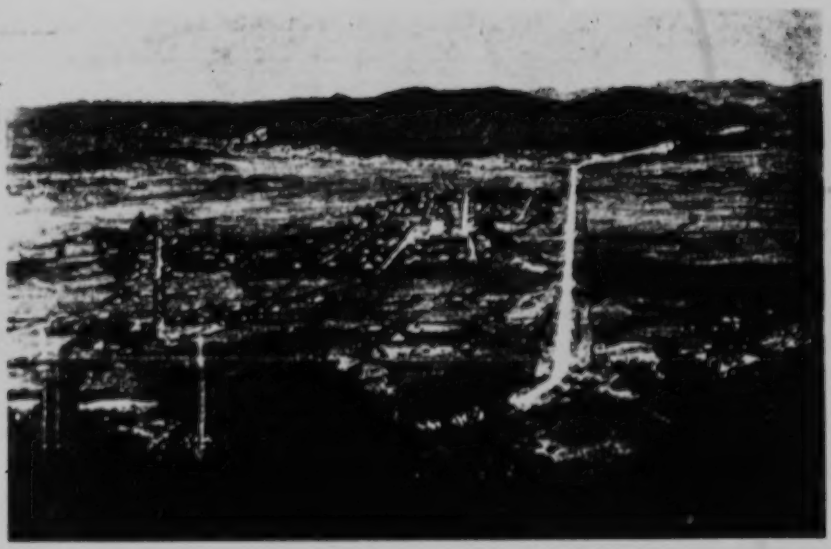

Plate 2. The view the ancestors had of the town from the Head of Palm shows the proximity of the village center to the Pan-American Highway just to the right of center. The church, which can be discerned in the center of the major settlement, is the dividing marker for the dual division. The barrio of Yetawitz is shown just to the left of the major settlement. The barrios of Madronal and La Grandeza are found at the mid-level of the hill in the far left, on the other side of the road which goes to Pinola and "hot country." The Ladino town of Teopisca lies just beyond the hills to the right along the Pan-American Highway. From this site, the ancestors were able to see clearly all of the thoroughfares within the town and guard against the entry of evil.

[P.198-C]

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231
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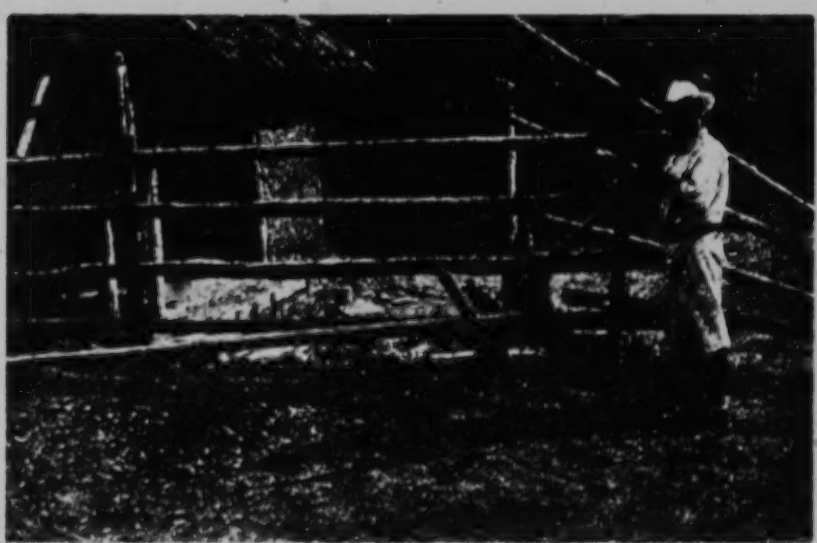
482
491

Plate 3. A father and his two sons, walking in order of age, leave the village to go to their milpa. The father, walking in front, is wearing the old-style costume with a wrapped overshirt concealing short undertrousers. His sons wear western clothing. All of the men carry net bags on a tumpline, with their backs protected from their burdens by a sheepskin. They all carry machetes, and the boys have rifles.



407
417
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Plate 4. Farmer showing the arada plow. He is holding the handle, and the shaft, made of a long tree post, is propped on the ground.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

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[P. 198-D]

323
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417

Plate 5. Men assisting the women of their household in the firing of canteros, or water jugs. They have just removed the still-smoldering logs which were propped on the outer perimeter of the pyramid of jugs.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

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[P.198-E]

142
323
302
291
516
415

Plate 6. Woman scraping a cantero that has been sun-dried in the porch of her home. Behind her is an altar with pictures of the saints. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.[1]

1 (correction, this should read "photograph by Marcey Jacobson"..Analyst)

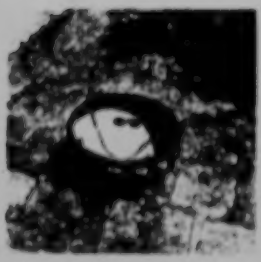
[P. 198-F]

Plate 7. Types of pottery produced:

323
531
532
415

a decorated water pitcher

b water storage jar



c bowl

d water-carrying jar

e toy: man astride donkey

f flower holder shaped in form of duck

g candle holder

h vase on an ashtray, pedestal with three frogs

Photographs by Jean Simmons.

[R198G]

252
291
412
516

Plate 8. Women of a household and their helpers grinding corn and making tortillas with a press in preparation for a house ceremony. They are all dressed in the traditional costume. Most of such food preparation is done inside the house except at the time of large festivals. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

291
415
516
756
778

Plate 9. Curer sitting next to the center post where he has just arranged the candles and branches of spring bushes in preparation for the house fiesta. The basket contains the protective crosses, bound with palm fronds, which he will nail on the house posts. The basin contains springwater, and the gourd in the foreground contains the powdered medicines which will be added to the water and drunk. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

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[P 198-H]

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824

Plate 10. Future members of the household line up with the branches of spring bushes with which the curer will brush them. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

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Brother was in heaven, there never was night. He never rested from his work.

One day K'oš said to his brother, "Let us go for a walk. We will get honey and eat it. I know where there is a tree." He told his mother to make tortillas to take with them. She made many tortillas for K'oš to eat, and in addition made two small tortillas.

His mother asked K'oš, "Why do you want to go out walking?"

He replied, "I am going to find honey. Wait for me to return."

K'oš and his two older brothers walked until they arrived at the tree with the honey. The Elder Brother said, "I shall climb very high."

K'oš said, "I too will climb."

The Elder Brother said, "Do not climb. Wait and I shall throw the honey down. You cannot climb the tree, Šut" [*for this is what they called K'oš*].

K'oš just waited for his brother to throw down the honey. K'oš got very angry because the Elder Brother just threw down beeswax.[1] *An animal entered the trunk of the tree and started eating the root. The tree shook, frightening the two brothers. They called out, "What are you doing, Šut?"*

"Nothing. I am not doing anything. Why don't you give me good honey?"

"Go on and drink it," the older brothers said.

"I don't like it. It isn't any good," replied K'oš.

He did nothing for a while. Then the tree fell. K'oš saw the tree fall. He went and got the two small tortillas his mother had packed in his lunch, and he put one on the Elder Brother's nose. His brother turned into a pig. He tried to put the other tortilla on the Second Brother's nose, but he could not seize him. The Second Brother turned into a wild boar, and fled into the forest. He brought the Elder Brother to his house. When he arrived at his house with his little pig, he said to his mother, "Mother, I have brought a little pig to raise."

"Where did you find it?" his mother asked.

"I just brought it," replied K'oš.

1. In recounting this passage, the narrator laughed, and when I asked why, said that the word for beeswax is also the word for excrement. She commented that K'oš was very bright because he would not tolerate this.

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"Is there food for it?" asked his mother.

"I am going to plant a milpa to feed the little pig. You stay here and watch the little pig and I will go."

"Yes, I will care for it," said his mother.

K'oł went to plant his milpa. As he was leaving, he said to his mother, "I will return in the afternoon."

His mother said, "I shall await you in the afternoon."

When K'oł returned, his mother asked, "How is your milpa?"

He replied, "It isn't ready. Tomorrow I am going to burn it because it is just a forest."

The next day, K'oł returned to his milpa. Everything he had cut had grown back in his milpa. He asked himself, "How did it spring up? I am going to wait and see who is causing the trouble." He waited and saw a bird entering the milpa. The bird said, "I don't want to have the woods burned!"

K'oł said, "I am going to start the fire."

He started the fire, and then he said, "I am going to where the day meets the heaven." He picked up the fire of his milpa, saying, "My brother does not know how to walk. I am going to walk around and return."

Now the day walks in front and the night walks behind.[2]

The story has an aftermath which describes the continuing relationship between the Lord Sun, K'oš, and his mother, Our Grandmother the Moon.

The Lord Sun sees all of our sins and puts them in a book. If anyone has sexual relations in the milpa, he puts it down. When he sees this, he gets angry because he walks alone. He wants to end the world since he does not endure our sins. But Our Grandmother the Moon does not want

[184] 2. There are other versions of this story in neighboring Tzeltal-speaking communities. Castro (1959:24–31) gives an Oxchuk version in which the identification of the three brothers with the Christian Trinity is not made. Šut, the vocative term used in the Tzoʔ-ontahal version, is given as the name of the youngest brother, who succeeded in giving a new sun to the world. But in outwitting his brothers with the honey, Šut killed them rather than turning them into pigs. A Chol version (Whittaker and Warkentin 1965) is closer to that of Oxchuk. [171]

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the sun to kill people. She is afraid that if all the people die, other people will come who have just one hand and one foot. They will not be able to work. Our Grandmother the Moon wants things as they are. So she fights the Sun, and then there is an eclipse. For this reason, people say that she bears our sins.

The tales occasionally try to bring the old gods into focus with the Christian gods and to explain certain cosmological events, for example the eclipse and the movement in the heavens of the sun and the moon. The synthesis is incomplete. First of all, the small part Jesus (Second Brother) plays in the first myth, in which he finally disappears into the forest, shows a failure to fit the three gods into the pre-hispanic format which included only two main characters. Secondly, the myths fail to synthesize the codes of morality stemming from Maya and Christian sources. In Christian mythology, the deities are conceived of as perfect. They are not identified with the sun, but are the power of creation which brought forth the sun and made it move. Destructive forces come from the evil power of the Devil. The deities of the Indians incorporate both good and evil. Cosmological forces are the gods acting directly either to promote or destroy man's work. Even the Grandmother Moon, who shows compassion for her grandchildren, can be piqued into destroying their crops.

In another tale the personification of good and evil in separate characters shows greater influence from Catholicism. Jesus emerges as the hero who, with the collaboration of the Virgin Mary, outwits the Devil.

After Jesus was crucified, the King of the Jews[3] *called upon people to sow a staff to prove who moves the world. Jesus planted the seed, but the Jews did not let them grow. He did it again, and only one leg came out and one hand came out. Therefore the plant did not stand because the "King of Evil" was watching.*

Jesus and his mother had an idea. He spoke to her, saying, "What do you think, Mother?" She replied, "The only thing I can say is, what can we think of?"

The Lord Christ replied, "Our children and offspring [the milpa] do

3. The Devil is alternately called King of the Jews [Statal Jurio], King of Evil [Statal Pukuh], and the Devil in the story.

776 539 177 *not stand. Only one stands—he who does not respect us." The Virgin Mother said, "Yes, I saw another one who walks well watching our children." Jesus asked, "Did you get a good look where he walks?" His mother replied, "Yes, indeed, I saw him." Christ asked, "If you know, what are we going to do there where he walks?" "I do not know what we shall do," said his mother.*

Then, after a pause, Christ said, "Now I know what we will do! Do you know what hour he passes?" The Virgin answered, "Yes, I do."

"Good. I am going to make a little house and put a Victrola, an accordion, and also a violin in it. I will put a marimba, a guitar, and a harp on each side of the road. And I shall also put trago and beer, everything that is good to drink. When you see him coming, we will begin to play the marimba and guitar and all the music on both sides of the road. When you see the King of Evil, we will begin the dance and drink trago—everything there is—and he will look at what we drink."

The Virgin said, "I will invite him to dance a little." "Yes, you remain here dancing, and I shall go for a moment to see his children [corn plants]. Continue dancing while I go out to look," said Christ. The Virgin answered, "Good. Good."

And so the Devil passed by. When Christ left, the Virgin began to dance with the Devil. They drank more liquor to make him "lose his heart" [get drunk]. The Virgin did not see that the Devil put his tail in half of the bottle. It is because of this that the people say liquor is one-half Devil and one-half God.

Meanwhile, Jesus arrived where the children of the Devil were. He made no more than the sign of the cross, and all the children of the Devil died. It is after the Children of the Devil died that Christ seized control of the world.

And so it is true that we are his children who came out of Jesus Christ.

In this tale, evil is personified in the enemy of the Catholic Church, the King of the Jews who is also the pre-hispanic "King of Evil." The Virgin Mother is concerned with preventing the world from reverting to the situation in which people were born helpless, with just one arm and one leg, as it was when the Devil was in control. To prevent this, when the moon is "sick" or in eclipse, the people must call her back to life. The strategy is

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to make a great deal of noise by striking hoes, firing rifles, blowing the horns of bulls, and striking gourds. The logic of this behavior can be understood from the following statement of an informant: "The sickness of the moon is a result of the conflict of the sun with the moon. The noise we made frightens the father sun so that he will stop fighting the moon. If he were to win, the people would die, and new people would be born with only one leg and one arm."[4]

We have in this story what appears to be an overlay of post-hispanic mythology, in which the Devil personifies evil forces, superimposed on a prehispanic mythological identification of the powers of both good and evil in single cosmological deities. Whereas in the previous myth it is the Devil, the King of the Jews, who caused all of the children of Jesus to die and to be reborn with only one arm and one leg, in this statement it is the sun who can effect the same reversal of nature. The sun, Tatik K'alik, has the power to cause the milpa to grow, but by staying out too long, it can burn the crop. Similarly lightning, Tatik Ča'uk, may bring rain, but can destroy the milpa with the winds that precede the rain or kill man and destroy his house. Man is responsible for determining how the force of the gods will be directed.

The guardianship of the sun and the moon over the people of the world serves to control or at least restrain the behavior of people. Since both of them "walk alone," without companionship, they become jealous if they see sexual relations performed by people in the milpa. Since all legal sexual relations are carried out in the relative privacy of the house, it is only those who seek illicit relationships who retreat to the milpa, and so this restraint has a prohibitive effect on unsanctioned sexual behavior. If the moon sees someone in the milpa at night, she refuses to retire and stays out, not letting her son the sun rise. Similarly, when the sun sees someone in the milpa in the daytime, he refuses to retire, burning the milpa with his hot rays.

The lord spirits of the east. There is another category of spirits which is ill defined and not many people know. These are the spirits of

4. The same behavior, that of making noise during an eclipse, is found in the Maya Indian community of Cantel, Guatemala, but there it is interpreted as a means of calling the sick grandmother back to life by showing that her grandchildren care about her.

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776 the east. Each of these is responsible for giving something to men: one gave corn, one wheat, one bulls, one horses, and one pigs. These spirits are recognized in the context of the household only: at the end of each household ceremony, the assembled guests stand and look to the East where the gods reside in a place called Santo Arió, somewhere in Guatemala. Since their gifts to mankind are products which are produced and consumed by the household, and since they are recognized in the context of the house, there is some basis for thinking of them as old household gods. Calnek (1962:61) has pointed out that among the ancient Maya, household gods were part of "a hierarchically ordered series of deities, worship or propitiation of which progressively links him not with other individuals conceived particularistically, but to all larger social units of which he is a member."

776 539 177 The only case I know in which an identification is made between these household gods and the saints concerns Santa Teresa:

Once long ago the owners began to harvest their milpas, and they put the corn in a pile. When the harvest was finished, they began to beat the corn from the cob. When they carried off the corn, some of the seed [sb'ak'] *remained.*

A man passed by and heard a saint talking. He asked what she said, and she replied, "Nothing. I said that you should tell the Padre to pick me up and put my body (also sb'ak') in a church. I want a church for myself, and I shall wait here until you come to carry me inside the church. I do not want any companion. I don't want you to throw away the corn seeds, nor do I want you to burn the seeds because they are my bones. Make a good fiesta and bring me into the church with firecrackers and with prayers. Raise me high on a pedestal because I do not want to be kissed, I only want my feet to be kissed."

And now there is a church for Santa Teresa standing in a milpa outside of Comitán, in which she lives alone since there is no companion for her.

776 177 *The lord spirits of the church.* Among the sixteen saints of the church, four "big saints"—Sacramento, San Pedro the Martyr, Santa Lucía, and San Francisco—are distinguished from the others. All four are considered by the Indians to be patron saints of the pueblo, although the

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priest lists only one, San Francisco. Only these top four are hierarchically ordered. The big saints are supposed to be able to make miracles, but there are stories only for San Pedro and Santa Lucía. San Pedro Martyr, *Tatik Martil,* is the only saint possessing a soul. The image of San Pedro shows him with a hatchet in his head, blood dripping over his face. According to legend, San Pedro was the first patron saint of the town. The following story recounts his transformation:

Tatik Martil was of a very foreign kind of heart. He gave-permission to the witches to bring sickness. Only those who knew how to make illness spoke with him. They went and asked permission to make the illness continue. People heard he was very evil, and they threw him out of church. They cut off his head, saying, "You only give evil. You do not give any miracles. You have given the old ones permission to give evil."

San Pedro received a new head in Pinola. Now he is good and is of one heart with the Virgin Santa Lucía, with Sacramento, and with San Francisco.

The logic by which San Pedro is cast as leader of the witches is implicit in judgments concerning guilt in cases of homicide. Any man who is killed is referred to as the guilty person, since protecting the village from witchcraft is the main motivation for homicide. When an early priest set up an image of San Pedro in the church, this must have inspired fear and foreboding. He was transmogrified by the people into the leader of the witches, and they burned the church to the ground. (Its foundations are still visible in Alannantik.) Whether the priest at that time (around 1746) convinced the people that, with a new head purchased in Pinola, San Pedro was transformed, or whether the people invented the story, we do not know. Despite his reformation, San Pedro still inspires fear. He is identified with the Lord of Lightning, Tatik Čaʔuk. The following is a typical account of his power:

This power comes from his possession of an animal spirit. Whenever the lightning strikes, people know that some sin has been committed. The old people say that he asked a son-in-law to put down a lightning flash. The son-in-law couldn't do it—I don't know why he couldn't do his work—

776 821 539 177 *and so he returned and the Lord of Lightning gave him another job—that of making lightning flashes.*

San Pedro now gives protection to the people from the power he wields. 776 During his fiesta, palm crosses are distributed to everyone who attends 177 mass; if a man walks with a cross tucked in his hat or a woman wears one 789 strung on her neck, he or she will not be struck by lightning. The houses are similarly protected with palm crosses.

776 Santa Lucía is the only other saint in the local roster who is described as 177 being "very powerful." She is supposed to be able to cure diseases of the eyes. The image of her in the church shows her holding two eyes reflected in a small mirror in the palm of her hand. The story which explains why 776 she holds them was told me with an expression of complete belief, and 177 other informants vouch for its authenticity:

539 821 *Formerly, Santa Lucía used to "talk with" [a euphemism for "had an affair with"] Santo Tomás of Oxchuk. Santo Tomás loved her because she was pretty. Santa Lucía was so in love with Santo Tomás that she gave him a gift of her eyes. He did not want them—he was frightened by the gift—and he returned them. From then on, she did not speak to him. Now, when a child has sickness of his eyes, his mother buys medicine and takes it to Santa Lucía who gives her blessing, and the child gets well.*

They say the lightning struck the church in Oxchuk, and it was the fault of Santa Lucía. But then a few years ago it struck our church. And that was the fault of Santo Tomás. He is very strong.

"I am going to see how she will pay for that!" said Santo Tomás.

And in ten years a storm came and broke the tower of our church. There was a meeting of the principales. They said, "Let's sell the cattle of Santa Lucía so that we can build a new church." The tower was struck another time. All the married men had to contribute forty pesos each. We made it out of metal this time, because Santo Tomás is very strong.

821 776 On a conscious level, most people know that the earth is round, and that the sun revolves around it, but the motivating power behind natural phenomena is still conceived in personalized terms. One informant, when asked why the sun rises and sets, ventured cautiously, "I have heard that our Father, the Sun, revolves and that he goes down below the earth. But

I do not know if it is so. I just heard that in a story told." He then referred back to the story of K'oš, the younger brother who took over the task of carrying the sun from his elder brother, to explain how the sun's movement started. 821 776

Misfortunes caused by lightning, winds, and drought are explained as failures in social relations among people of the community or between the members of the community and the spirits. Restraint in their own conduct, fulfillment of their ceremonial obligations, and show of respect to the spirits are the only safeguards against such casualties.

Caring for the Lord Spirits of the Church

The relationships established with the spirits of the church contrast to those with the spirits of the heaven in the following ways: First, the upkeep and maintenance of the spirits of the church is delegated to appointed representatives, the mayordomos, who carry the burden for the community; "all the people of the world," on the other hand, are responsible at all times for avoiding behavior which would incur the wrath of the sun and moon. Second, the obligations to the spirits of the church are standardized, while those to the spirits of heaven are ill-defined and involve avoidance of offense rather than positive expectations. Third, duties toward the church spirits are performed in repetitive events following the calendrical cycle of fiestas, while obligations to the spirits of the heaven are fulfilled sporadically, as during an eclipse of the moon or a drought. 776 794 796 821 177

The major strategy in dealing with the spirits of the church is to give them a fiesta. Big fiestas are associated with the big four saints. These fiestas have been the responsibility of the top mayordomos, called kobraria, and until 1966, of the alfereces. Big fiestas also occur on the Day of the Dead, the Day of Santiago, the Day of San Pedro and San Pablo, the Day of the Kings, and during Easter Week. The pattern of fiestas will be described first, followed by a detailed description of the inauguration of the alfereces, witnessed in 1965 before the institution was abolished the following year, and the fiestas of Santiago and Easter Week. 776 794 796 177

Religious fiestas occur in an annual cycle of ceremonies based on the Catholic calendar. In Tzo'ontahal the Maya calendar no longer exists, even in the twenty-day cycle that constituted a month found in the neighboring towns of Oxchuk, Larraínzar, and Chenalhó. 796 [805] [178] [171]

796 boring towns of Oxchuk, Larraínzar, and Chenalhó. The ceremonial calendar is given in Table 28.

TABLE 28. Ceremonial Calendar

Big fiestas		*Small fiestas*	
Date	*Fiesta*	*Date*	*Fiesta*
Mar. or Apr.	Tatik Kušibal	Jan. 20	Tatik San Karalampio
Apr. 29	Tatik Martil	May 6	Tatik San Migel
July 25	Tatik Santiagú	May 15	Tatik San Isigre
Aug. 29	Tatik San Pransiskú	May 26	Tatik Spiritu Santú
Nov. 29	Santu?	June 11	Tatik San Antonió
Dec. 13	Me?tik Santa Lucía	June 29	San Pegro-San Pablú
		July 15	Tatik Korasón
		July 20	Tatik San Huan
		Oct. 2	Me?tik Rosario
		Nov. 12	Me?tik Guadalupe
		Dec. 12	Tatik Santo Tomás
		Dec. 25	Me?tik Paskú, Tatik Ninyo

533 In every fiesta drums and flutes are played, liquor is drunk, candles
788 burned, and church bells rung. During a big fiesta, which continues for
794 three days rather than for a single day, these additional activities are
273 added: contributions of 5 pesos per household are collected, the church is adorned with flowers and greens, mass is held (this may occur in minor fiestas as well if the priest happens to be present), a common meal is prepared for the mayordomos, and the people celebrate with firecrackers, saints' processions, dancing, house fiestas in the homes of the alfereces when they were still being installed, and a fiesta in the houses of the kobraria with a bull slaughtered for the meal.

273 During fiestas, time is measured in liters of liquor consumed and in cig-
276 arettes. The liquor, or "gift of the gods," is the basic element of all fiestas and assures the participants that the celebration will be successful. Safe-
794 guards were built into the management of the fiesta in the role of *alisiles,* who used to act as attendants to the alfereces and who watched to see that the alfereces and the guitarists did not get so drunk that they could not perform.

796 The following story about the origin of liquor illustrates its great impor-
273 tance to the fiesta.
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Well, hear now how liquor first appeared. They were looking and looking for a bullfighter. But there was none to be found. There was no one drunk enough to make a fiesta. With no one to make a fiesta, there was no fiesta. Therefore Santa Lucía and Santiago wanted to make a fiesta. Santa Lucía said, "There is no one to make a fiesta. I better go take a bath. When the water comes to wash me, then we can have a fiesta. It is because now you are very frightened. You cannot mount on horseback. No one will fight the bull because there is no liquor. You are not prepared because you have to have a liter of trago."

"Good," said Santiago. After Santa Lucía and Santiago spoke they took the water from Santa Lucía's bath and took out of it one liter of trago. They distributed one liter to all and we changed. They built a beautiful corral and everyone in the town gathered.

Well, when they had arrived, they gave a little liquid in the little cup. After drinking a little, it gave strength. Well, everyone changed greatly. Those who drank the trago found strength with each drink. But since many drank, no one got drunk. They finished one liter and then another, but no one got drunk. "Better get another," said someone. They got one more liter, and with this they began the fiesta. One after another mounted on horseback, and fought the bull. Thus they fought, one horse tied to another. How they fought that fiesta! Thus they went on, getting more and more drunk, until the women hid it.

It is thus that liquor appeared by the grace of our patron God. It is for this reason that we say in the patʔoʔtan "the washings of his legs and of his arms our saint and leader Jesus Christ, the great master holy Jesus Christ, Santiago, Santa Lucía. So we gather at the door, our clay, our mud." We speak these words because of the liquor, because God gave the trago only by washing himself, only by his powerful urine. There was no trago for the old forefathers because the washings were given to their offspring. So it is that liquor appeared according to this story. Later it was related in the patʔoʔtan. Now it is the custom for everyone.

This story is somewhat confused since it is Santa Lucía who took the bath and Jesus Christ who is given the credit. Others have told me that the first liquor appeared when Jesus was taken from the cross and his

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796 body was washed. The confusion may come not from error, but from an
539 identification of the patron saints with Jesus. The importance of the story
273 is that liquor, as the gift of the gods, is the medium for releasing people from their fears.

796 The small fiestas are the responsibility of only the two mayordomos, the
794 elder and the junior, who are assigned to the saint. They ring the church bells, light the candles, and play the drum and flute until noon. In the large fiestas all the mayordomos are active, as well as the fiscal and the priest, the prayer-reciters, and formerly the alfereces. The entire pueblo participates in the mass given at the large fiestas and assembles to "see the saints" when they emerge in the procession.

The proceedings of the fiesta take place in the church and the church yard, the house of the cofrade of the major saint whose fiesta it is, the plaza, and formerly, the house of the alférez of that saint. In each of these domains different sets of actors are tied together by acts performed in carrying out responsibilities to the saints. The chain of command is established in each setting: in the church the mayordomos are directed by the fiscal; in the household the eldest nakawane orders the b'alnial and re-
[562] ceives the visitors with the pat'o'tan. He is the master of ceremonies, as in all household gatherings, and his female counterpart is the woman speaker. She orders the women helpers in the preparation of the food, which is then served by the b'alnialetik. Religious officials hold ceremonies in their houses only after they have served five times in office.

796 In the household, religious ceremonies replicate civil ceremonies. A mouthwash is served, followed by coffee and bean tamales, another round of mouthwash, an offering of thanks for the liquor by the nakawane, and
[534] a serving of liquor. Musical instruments played in the household differ from those of the church yard: a guitar and gourd rattle provide the accompaniment to the drinking episode here. Fiestas held in the household of the alfereces were terminated with a dance.

Choosing and Installing the Alférez

794 Formerly the alfereces were the chief figures in maintaining the fiesta
178 cycle. During my stay in 1964 and 1965 the officials were experiencing

more and more resistance from those named to undertake the post. Finally, in 1966 the officials were able to recruit only from the growing division of Ahk'olnantik. There had always been two representatives from each side in the past, and the role was a symbol of the division and of its unity in ceremonial occasions. I predicted at that time that the institution would not survive because the imbalance in representation destroyed the structural premises of the role. When I returned for a brief visit in 1967 I was told that indeed 1966 was the last year the alfereces were inaugurated and that the institution had died. I would expect this to further weaken the structural opposition of the dual division. This case of structural breakdown is a good example of the behavioral feedback one can analyze with an equilibrium model of change. The following description of the fiesta is based on an inauguration I witnessed in 1965.

Formerly, the role of alférez involved both civil and religious functions. At the time that I observed the institution in action, it provided the ceremonial link between the civil and the religious hierarchies, but the duties of the alfereces were only ceremonial. In the words of one informant, their function was "to put on a good fiesta, to drink, and to dance, and to bear the sacred banners in processions."

The alférez was chosen by the four judges and the four regidores with the help of the president and the síndico. About two months before the installation of a new alférez, which occurred during the fiesta for the one of the four saints with which he was associated, the civil officers sent out the first policeman and the martomorey, or elder policeman, to bring in the appointed alférez. The martomorey greeted the alférez with the pat?o-?tan, and the appointment was made known. The standard response of the chosen alférez was, "I don't want it. I have no money. I cannot bear it [the post]." The martomorey and first policeman said, "Good, we shall return another day." On their return, if the nominee still refused to accept the post, they brought him to the jail, where they left him for two or three days before bringing him before the civil officials. There they "took his heart" to see if he would accept. A fairly standardized conversation ensued:

Nominee: "I do not want it; I cannot bear it."

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794 796 *Judge: "By force you must receive it. You do not have to give as much. You only have to receive the sacred banner."*

Nominee: "But if I don't give a fiesta, the pueblo will speak badly of me."

Judge: "It is not important what the pueblo says. Pardon us, let us drink a little trago."

[273] [*All the officers drank, contributing jointly to buy the liquor. Each officer took one sip from the measure, but the nominee drank the entire measure on each round. When he became intoxicated, he yielded to the persuasions of the officials and agreed.*]

Nominee: "Good. I am going to see how it goes."

[*The two regidores carried the new alférez to his house.*]

794 796 The activities of the alférez in preparation for the fiesta during which he was installed in his post are summarized below.

434 462 323 Making pottery. *The new alférez prepared for the fiesta by organizing his household to make the pottery that was to be sold to cover the expenses. His brothers and brothers-in-law went on horseback bringing fifteen or twenty loads of clay. The women got the sand, carrying it back with the tumpline. The men went on horseback again to collect the limestone temper, which the women would grind and mix with the clay for cooking pots. The next week, the alférez went with a gift of 2 pesos' worth of bread and one liter of liquor to ask the woman who knew how to make large ollas, pots in which the festal foods are cooked, to help him. The sisters and sisters-in-law of both the alférez and his wife joined together to grind the temper and mix the clay. In addition to the special large pots, the women made bowls, soup plates, and water jugs to sell.*

When the pottery was ready to be fired, the men brought the wood and the women tended to the firing. After the pots were fired, the men sold them in the markets of San Cristóbal or Comitán. They usually made about 26 pesos per dozen, which netted them about 500 pesos.

794 782 Learning the patʔoʔtan. *Each evening, an elder of the family of the alférez who knew the patʔoʔtan, or prayer, came to teach him. This*

might have been his father, an uncle, or a godparent who had already served as alférez. 794 782

Buying festal foods. *The following items were purchased in the neighboring Ladino town of Himšol: 120 pesos' worth of bread; one-half a slaughtered bull for 600 pesos; 6 almudes of beans; 10 kilos of coffee; and 5 pesos' worth of brown sugar. If the alférez owned a bull, he slaughtered it and sold one half.* 794 796 [43]

Preparing liquor. *The alférez rented a still and, with the help of his father and brothers, distilled 7 garafones (126 liters) of liquor, using brown cane sugar.* [273] [429]

Preparing special clothing. *The following items were purchased or bought: jacket for 50 pesos; shirt for 55 pesos; hat for 30 pesos; pair of boots for 32 pesos; red waistband for 16 pesos; and red kerchief for 9 pesos.* 794 796 43 [291]

The hat was made by a man in the town. When the alférez went to ask him to do him the favor of making a hat, he brought 1 peso's worth of bread, 1 liter of trago, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. The alférez borrowed black leather leggings and a black towel. To each of those who lent him clothing, he gave 1 liter of trago, 1 peso's worth of bread, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. When he returned the clothing, he gave the same gifts. [426]

The installation of the new alférez. *During the four days of the fiesta of the saint with which he was charged, the new alférez was initiated into his duties in office. In taking on each of the functions assigned to him, that "dialectical connection between the actor and his part, the person and his roles or status or office," was effected (Fortes 1959:57).* 794 796

The first day (Paswamal). *On the first day of every large fiesta,* Paswamal (*literally, "to make the boughs or decorations"*), *the women of the household and the sisters and sisters-in-law of the new alférez and his wife gathered in his house to cook the food. The men slaughtered the* [252] [262]

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794 796 [252] [242]

bull, and the women prepared beef stew and made tortillas and coffee. The floor of the house was strewn with pine needles.

At noon, two alfereces led the procession of police, judges, síndico, and principales as they collected money for the fiesta. The alfereces held the banners with an embroidered cloth. The movements of the procession were initiated with church bells ringing and rockets set off by two junior mayordomos as they left the church and as they arrived at and left each of the seven "stands," locations marked by crosses at the intersections of the major streets of the village. When they arrived at each stand, the alfereces stood holding the banners and the other civil and religious officials sat on the side of the road, smoking and drinking. The five police scattered, going to collect 5 pesos from each household. When they returned, the síndico noted the amount received and the principales held the money in a tin tray.

When the group arrived back at the church at two-thirty, the alfereces put the banners in the rear corner of the church. They went to the altar rail, knelt and prayed, crossed themselves and kissed first the image of Santiago, then all the other images. The music of drum and flute was played in the church courtyard, and firecrackers were set off. A table was set up to the right of the door of the church, and there the money was counted. As the officials came out of the church, they made the rounds of the seated officials, greeting them with the pat?o?tan. The officials arranged themselves in the traditional pattern: The fiscal and town treasurer stood at the table counting the money before the assembled officials. The principales and judges, stood immediately before the table watching the fiscal and treasurer; their position indicated their guardian role. Bills of the same denomination were set in piles under stones to prevent their blowing away, and then tied into bundles with palm fronds. When all the money had been counted, the principales put it in a manila folder, and the treasurer wrapped this in a red kerchief. The striking of the church bells announced the end of the counting.

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All the relatives—the yermanotak, or "brotherhood" group, including bilaterally-extended brothers and brothers-in-law and their wives, compadres, and neighbors—were invited to partake of the meal in the afternoon at the houses of the alfereces. The nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik, rela-

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tives whose positions in this household fiesta are established on the basis of their age and experience in office, took up the established positions for these roles in the house of the new alférez. The first nakawane blessed the liquor; two bottles were measured into shot glasses and served to the guests. After this the meal was served.

The second day (Wilpereł). *All the nakawanehetik appointed for the new alférez gathered in his house at nine o'clock in the morning to drink. The first and second nakawanehetik went to the cabildo to ask the judge and president when the new alférez must take out the holy banner. The president replied that it would be in two days. The question was rhetorical: everyone knew that the ceremony of taking out the banners occurred on the fourth day of the fiesta, and the day itself was named* Šlok' Krus, *taking out of the cross (the banner has a cross adorning the staff). What was being communicated to the civil officials by the question was the recognition of responsibility to the new alférez by the nakawanehetik. In the afternoon of this day, another meal of beef stew and tortillas was served to the same guests assembled on the previous day.*

The third day (Sk'ak'halel Sk'in). *At cock's crow the parents of the new alférez awakened him. Gathered in the house were the woman speaker, the guitarist, and the nakawanehetik. Under the direction of the woman speaker, the alférez' wife helped him put on his clothing, and the guitarist accompanied this procedure with music. When he was dressed, the new alférez danced a turn before the assembled guests to show his new clothing, and reviewed the pat?o?tan with the nakawanehetik who had taught him. He then went with his guitarist to raise his companions. First he went to the third alférez and awakened him. He greeted the nakawane of the third alférez with the pat?o?tan, and was invited to sit down; he was served coffee and bread, followed by a mouthwash. The third alférez dressed, and after the two were served liquor they danced a turn. In this same fashion, the new alférez raised all of his companions. The assembled group went to the cabildo.*

The nakawanehetik and the b'alnialetik, after drinking coffee and eating bean tortillas, went to collect the things needed to receive official

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794 796 *guests. They borrowed benches from neighbors; they cut juniper and prepared the resting place for the sacred banner; they borrowed seed-gourd rattles and two tables, and they adorned the house with pine branches and fruit. In the afternoon, all the relatives, the compadres, and the neighbors were invited. Two alisiles were appointed (this term is probably a Tzeltal rendition of* alguacil, *in Spanish an office corresponding to high bailiff or peace officer). The alisiles were charged with watching to see that neither the new alférez nor either of his two guitarists got too drunk to carry out his functions.*

794 796 535 562 [626] [154] *The two alisiles called out the women to dance, first asking permission of the woman speaker. The dance was the most important act in the set of performances on the third day, which was sometimes referred to as the "afternoon of the big dance." The dance was a highly charged event because the women were for the first time cast in a public role. Fear and shame, the two conditioning mechanisms of socialization in Tzo?ontahal, had to be overcome when the women became involved in the dance. Special precautions were taken: the alisil formally requested the woman speaker to take the women out:*

[539] *Lord, women who nursed us, give pardon with God, the Virgin Mother. Give holy pardon mother and father with God and with the Virgin Mother. We have gathered here, collected together your child, your offspring, where it is not very pretty, not very flavorful, at the door of your holy poverty, holy suffering, for the holy office, the holy prayer. Again our clay, our mud comes to speak here to the mothers who nursed, who give us fear and embarrassment.*

Then the alfereces took off their hats and kerchiefs and brought them to the women. This act was described by an informant: "The women cover their heads with the kerchief and put on the hat. The girls want the handkerchief and the hat of their husbands in order not to be ashamed to be seen by a boy. They want the kerchief to hide their faces. If they do not want the hat, it is when they are mature women and do not have shame. The wives of the alfereces do not have shame because it is their job." The use of the kerchief which was draped over their head, partially covering

their eyes, the posture of dance in which they clasped their hands at their stomach-band—all of these manifested the shame that they were overcoming. Whether they really felt the shame or not was irrelevant since they were being judged in terms of their behavior. The wives circled around with a two-step, their eyes downcast and their hands clasped over their stomach-bands, while their husbands stepped up and down in place in a ring around them, shaking the gourd rattle and joking. 794 796 535 562

When the dancing was terminated, a joking session was initiated by the nakawane. The signal for this was the lighting of the first round of cigarettes. Smoking, like drinking, was required of everyone and was rarely indulged in privately. The women sometimes put aside the cigarettes, but they had to accept them. At midnight a meal of bean tortillas and coffee was served. 794 796 [522] [276] [562] [262]

The fourth day (Šlok' Krus). *The four regidores arrived early in the morning to raise the alférez and take him to the cabildo to receive the oath. In this function the regidores were referred to as* personaetik *or "persons." The Spanish term* persona *signifies the exterior appearance by which men of merit were distinguished, and in its Latin derivation persona is the mask by which role is indicated. I think it is in the sense of assuming a new identity that the Indians incorporated the term as a reference for specific roles assumed by the regidores at this time. The alcaldes, or judges, were on this day referred to as* koronaetik, *or colonels. This reference term evoked the military ranking system, as did also the term alférez or captain, and established the relative ranking of the two sets of officials in the cabildo on the day of receiving the banners. The alfereces were given titles to indicate the order of their entry into office. The seating order of the four in the cabildo followed the succession pattern, with the first to take office sitting nearest to the door.*

The new alférez, with two of his four escorts on either side, sat on the visitor's bench along with the higher officials, themselves once alfereces. The first regidor, or persona, addressed the first judge with the pat?o?tan. The fourth regidor distributed a liter of trago to the assembled officials, first to the judges, then the president and síndico, the alfereces, the person-

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794 796 *aetik, and finally the new alférez. The first judge spoke with each set of officials, saying, "God, we have finished the gift of your ancestors"; and the departing alférez said, "So it is, elders."*

The new alférez took his banner from the table and went outside with the four personaetik, followed by the other alfereces carrying their banners, and by the president, the síndico, and the koronaetik, who carried their staffs of office. They went in a procession to the home of the outgoing alférez; at the fence of his house, they lined up their banners in the stand provided. The wife of the outgoing alférez, with the nakawane, brought burning incense from the house and placed it before the banners. The first nakawane exchanged the pat?o?tan with the first judge. In a column of paired officials, they approached the house and seated themselves on the porch. The judges went to the first nakawane and greeted him with the pat?o?tan; then, standing at the door of the interior of the house, the first judge repeated the greeting with the woman speaker.

[273] *The nakawane ordered the b'alnialetik to bring the fermented corn gruel. After it was served, the b'alnial put a small table in the middle of the porch, covered it with the embroidered cloth, and set two liters of liquor on it. The nakawane rose and gave the pat?o?tan to the first judge. He asked permission of the woman speaker to drink, and when this was granted, the b'alnialetik measured out and served the trago.*

[535] *After the two bottles of trago had been consumed, the alisil took the wife of the outgoing alférez, and the dance began, following the same*
[788] *pattern described above. The dancing was followed by a procession to the church in which the new alférez carried the banner, thereby asserting his succession to the office. The old alférez remained in his house with his assembled guests.*

[788] *In the movement of the banners by the alfereces, one could see the symbolic military behavior: the procession to the house was a mock column of march; the military titles of the alfereces and the "colonels" were carried out in vocative and referential titles in the prayers. The handling of the banners was always done with show of sacred respect: cloths were used to handle them, and they were always set carefully in appointed places so the pole never touched the ground; incense was set nearby when they were unattended. In the cermonial movment from the houses of the al-*

fereces to the cabildo, back to the house of the former alférez, and finally to the church, the old alférez was divested of his post and the new alférez took it on. The theme of continuity and change were exemplified by the rotation of this office just as in the case of the other ceremonial offices. The dialectic of role identification could be seen in the final act of relinquishing the role: the old alférez wept at the altar as he thanked the gods for permitting him to carry through the task. In serving in this office, it was said that the alférez "learns some understanding and speaks with understanding." He became eligible to be nakawane in the household celebrations of others; he learned the commitments to office, the fiesta needs in terms of liquor, wood, and money for food. This office, more than any other, was a rite de passage for acquiring the skills and becoming eligible for higher ceremonial office in the household, church, and cabildo settings. Those who had served in office became aware of its significance, and, despite the resistance and finally outright refusal of young men to accept the post, they were convinced of its importance in the comunal life. 794 796

An attenuated version of the post of alférez was retained in the barrio of Madronal for the fiesta of San Antonio. Those who had passed in the office in the center referred slightingly to the post in the barrio, pointing out that the alfereces there did not spend as much money, that their clothing was not as elaborate, their pat?o?tan shorter, and the meal given at the house less adequate since they did not kill a bull and then did not have as many nakewanehetik. All these components combined to give the office the prestige it still possessed in the eyes of the villagers. The value of the office was clearly measured in the costs involved; the very factor (money) which made it hard to get recruits gave luster to the post. Scaling down the costs in an attempt to make the post more attractive to those nominated, would probably have diminished its significance and led to a quicker demise. [554]

Other Fiestas

The acts described for the inauguration of the alfereces are carried out for each of the major fiestas: those in honor of Sacramento, Virgin Lucía, San Pedro the Martyr, and San Francisco. The only exceptional acts occur

794 during the fiesta of Santiago and Easter Week. These are described briefly
796 below.

Fiesta of Santiago. *On the third day of the fiesta the new alférez went to "raise" his three companions. First he went to the house of the alférez who had recently served. There he greeted the nakawanehetik with the pat?o?tan, drank a measure of liquor, and went with the third alférez to the house of the second alférez. The same greeting was exchanged with the nakawanehetik, and the two drank another measure of liquor. They went to the house of the first past alférez, and there they exchanged a greeting with the nakawanehetik in which they comment on the "flowery and flavorful" fiesta for "our old saint and commander, the great angel man Señor Santiago." From there they mounted their horses and began the races.*

[276] [273] *Each of the horseback riders was given a quarter-liter of liquor and a cigarette. Three liters of liquor were distributed at the holy cross (site of a cross no longer standing). The four alfereces stood at the cross, removed their hats, which they stacked one on top of the other, and put them nearby. The four took turns kissing and bowing before the others. They said, "Holy good afternoon," and gave two holy thanks for the gift (the liquor), embracing each other. After the four alfereces greeted each other and the three alisiles, the leader of the races gave the pat?o?tan with the past alférez:*

794 796 539

> *And good day. What do you see, Mam compadre? You are alive, word of God this holy afternoon. You have not heard of any sickness behind our heart this holy afternoon, Mam compadre? There is no fear, shame, Mam compadre. Give another pardon Lord with Virgin. Give me holy pardon, Mam compadre. See us gathered before you seated our bodies, our clay, our mud, Mam compadre. What can we do, what can we make here where we have arrived again? Speak, raise godchild, afternoon of holy fiesta godchild afternoon of holy child's fiesta of him our saint, our commander. What can we do, what can we make when we have found this holy hour, this holy day of our lord Santiago Calixtro, for our patron god? Where now is the water of her legs, the water of her hand* [liquor], *our saint, virgin*

mother? There is nothing but holy suffering, holy penitence here before our sinful clay, our sinful mud. Again we gather here where others have gathered before in the company of our ancestors, the holy alisiles with the liquor bearers. It is your burden the four of you, the holy work, your holy office for his godchildren again give his godchild at the gate of the door of the church our saint, our keeper, the great father Señor Santiago Calixtro for our patron God, again we gather before this doorway our bodies, our clay, our mud with the holy alisil with our costume. Only give a little liquor, the gift of your mothers, your fathers, mam compadre. 794 796 539 [273]

The two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik received one liter of liquor, and the same quota was given to the two alfereces of Alannantik. They drank some and poured off most of the measured shots into the bottles carried by the liquor bearers; then they smoked a cigarette. When they finished this, they raised their banners and entered the plaza on horseback. The bell of the church struck as they entered. About four o'clock, two columns of horsemen formed, one behind the two alfereces of Alannantik and one behind the two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik. One year I observed thirty-eight horsemen from Ahk'olnantik and fifteen from Alannantik. The imbalance in representation for the two sides of the dual division grew sharper each year as the population increased in Ahk'olnantik. Before starting the race, the four alfereces crossed themselves, facing first the church, then the cabildo. As the race began, the mayordomos played the drums and flute in the church yard and the nakawanehetik sat in front of the church wall. 794 796 [273] 794 796 526 [621] [533]

When the racers made four passes across the plaza, they came to drink another trago and smoke two cigarettes in front of the church. At the end of the race, they again drank and smoked the same measured quantities as the pat?o?tan was recited by the leader of the races. [273] [276]

On Sk'ak'halel Sk'in, *the same procedures occurred as on the previous day. The final act of the fiesta took place when, after the races, the alfereces dismounted and the nakawanehetik went to them and drank one liter of liquor before the leader of the races. The two most recently appointed alfereces entered the cabildo, where the banners were laid out on the table among orange and lemon leaves. The president, síndico, two judges, and* [273]

794 *the regidores were seated in their customary places; the alfereces sat on the*
796 *visitors' bench. The two former alfereces went before the two newly ap-*
526 *pointed alfereces and gave an account of what was going to take place, instructing them on "how they should make a fiesta."*

When the two former alfereces entered, they went to the president, saying, "How does the Lord see you alive on this holy afternoon?" They then went to the síndico and the regidores and ended with the judges, exchanging a pat?o?tan.

The alfereces went out, mounted their horses, and were handed the banners by the regidores. The two old alfereces received their banners first. All four made the sign of the cross, first facing the cabildo, then the
[788] *church, and then rode in procession, preceded by the flutist, two drum players, and a guitarist, and followed by the other horsemen. They stopped before the church, dipping their flags, first toward the church and then the cabildo. The president, síndico, and first judge walked across the*
[533] *plaza to the church as the church bells were rung, and all the musical instruments played—the marimba, bell, drums, and flute. The alfereces dismounted and put their banners in the church.*

[426] *The final day, called* Lahinbahel Sk'in, *was spent sobering up, putting things back in order, and returning borrowed items.*

178 Although Santiago is not one of the major saints, a major celebration is
231 given in his honor because of the high value placed on horsemanship in
526 this community. Before the construction of the Pan-American Highway in
796 1953 everyone in town had horses which were used to carry the pottery to
[492] market. Riding skills were developed in the free-swinging *macho* (manly) style of northern Mexico's cowboys. Even today when horses are not as economically useful the horse culture has survived. The running of the horses in the fiesta is not competitive. Each rider does his best to tear at high speed across the plaza, but there is no specific goal. Since the
[273] drunken riders often fall and are injured, some of the excitement is based on the potential danger.

128 The behavioral data on which the analysis of rituals depends are included because they provide a basis for comparison with neighboring

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towns and explain small-scale change over short periods of time. The con- 128
textual description of behavioral details may eventually overcome the lack of replicable events available to laboratory science. By specifying all the conditions of the ritual, it is possible to separate the unique from the patterned components. At one level, the analysis consists in indicating the repetitive patterns and the continuity of beliefs which these exemplify. At another level, rituals can be analyzed as psychodramas in which the individual adopts a social role. The dialectical connection between the new official and his role is established in the obligations he carries out.

When people are asked "why" something is done, they continually shift 796
between the social and psychological levels. "We do this because it was the 829
custom of our ancestors," they will frequently say. When pressed further, they reduce their level of response to the individual, saying, "The women don their husband's ceremonial hat because they wish to hide their face because of embarrassment." Both answers are true interpretations, differing only in the level of social complexity at which the enquiry is directed. One can go farther in elaborating the latent significance of the ritual acts. To 796
continue with the same example, the dance drawing the wife into a public 829
performance was performed because, as one informant said, "she too has 562
done work for the fiesta" (she made pottery to raise the money). The dance gains the favor of the saints, as is demonstrated in the Virgin's tactics with the Devil, and in the curing rituals with the spirits of the house and of the springs. Dancing establishes a relationship to the group: the women dancing in the center of the circle formed by their husbands revolving around them are incorporated as an integral part of a sacred social unit.

Rituals provide a key to the psychic dynamics of the group since they 796
deal with these explicitly. The ritual acts are predicated on expected indi- 154
vidual responses. For example, since liquor overcomes embarrassment,[5] it 273

5. Bennett and Zingg (1937) have stated the even more dramatic social significance of liquor among the Tarahumara. Social intercourse in this mountain tribe is impossible without liquor. Conditioned as they are in isolated nuclear family groups to retreat at the sign of an outsider, the Tarahumara need something to relax their embarrassment and fear in large gatherings. Landa (Tozzer 1941) has commented at length on the compulsory drinking at ceremonials of the Yucatecan Maya. [171]

796 is served when the expectations are that the individual will feel embarrass-
154 ment. These occasions formerly occurred when the company arrived at the
[273] house of the alférez before the dance and when the alfereces mounted
[276] their horses. Cigarettes signal relaxation, and when the first round of ciga-
[522] rettes is served in the house setting, the company abandons formal re-
straints and, led by the chief nakawane, indulges in joking.

541 *Carnival and Easter Week*. Carnival has changed over time more
522 than any other religious ceremonial in the town. Until five years ago, a
177 group of masked jokers visited the houses of the captains of the fiestas.
178 They wore Ladino clothing, including vest, pants, and shoes, and they hid their faces behind masks or painted them black. They danced a "Ladino dance" (paired couples), first in the church and then in the houses of the alfereces. While dancing, they made sexual allusions about unmarried women. Their joking emphasized their strangeness to the villagers; for example one of the jokers might say, "You do not know what type of person I am. An airplane made me." They carried small stuffed animals which they made "cry." Pretending they were the husband of a woman, they would go to her and tell her to take care of her "baby." The woman speaker would sometimes respond to their jokes, saying, "Who are you? You are not good looking, you little black boy. You must be from Germany or from the other side of the water. Maybe you are from Patwitz or Yetawitz, and your father is kurik." People say the custom was discontinued because it was too expensive to give liquor to the jokers.

541 Another carnival custom which has been lost is the "common meal" of
262 squash on the five Fridays of Lent. Formerly the wives of the four kobra-
794 ria brought squash from hot country, cooked it, and brought two gourds
177 each to the church. The assistant divided it, giving two pieces to each of
178 the mayordomos. This custom was stopped during the typhoid epidemic
[131] of 1928 and has never been resumed because, it is said, the people did not want to lose work time. These changes may be a response to the priest's attempts to modify some of the excesses of carnival. Whether or not this is so, the people prefer to attribute change to their own decisions.

796 The events of Easter Week as recounted by an informant are outlined below.

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Monday: Nothing
Tuesday: Nothing
Wednesday: All the mayordomos gather at the church. Some go to carry wood for the cross while others look for flowers to make a "bed" for Jesus, Tatik Eskipulas, *to lay Him on after he has been crucified. The mayordomos arrange the table on which he will lie very beautifully. They tie boughs of evergreen on all four sides. Some of the flowers [a small variety of orchid which was possibly of some importance in pre-Catholic rituals] are very fragrant. When all is arranged well, they take out a box so that Tatik Eskipulas can lie where the flowers and branches are. They put this table at the foot of the cross. After the mayordomos have "planted" the cross, they adorn it with pine boughs. They put flowers on each arm of the holy cross. Then they drape it with the holy cloth* [the purple banner]. *At eleven o'clock some of the mayordomos begin to play the coronet, matraka, flute, and drum. Tatik Eskipulas arrives at the cross with the male and female prayer-maker.* [824] [533]

Thursday: Half of us finish making the cross, and the other half arrange the "prison" inside the church where Tatik Eskipulas will spend the night. After we make the prison, we make the Jew. We look for his pants and shoes, his hat and his tie, his mask, his gourd, his bag, his shirt, his cigarette. After we arrange him, we raise him with a rope in front of the church, and leave him hanging for the pueblo to see who killed Christ. Meanwhile, others put Tatik Eskipulas in prison. When night time arrives, four men with rifles watch Tatik Eskipulas to guard Him as the holy evening passes. The mayordomos gather at the church and play the sad flute and the old coronet. They play the matraka. At midnight they play the drum and coronet. [533]

Friday: Very early in the morning of Friday, the four guards of God are changed as the dawn enters. All day, the guards will watch the Lord. They will see Him rise on the cross and descend from the cross. Then the four go to their house to drink a little liquor. At eleven o'clock in the morning the mayordomos will give a sign on the elder coronet, the elder matrake, and the sad flute and the drum. They will play three times to summon the townspeople instead of sounding the bell. When all the women and men arrive, they hear the prayer announcing that Tatik Eski- [533] [202]

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796 *pulas has risen on the cross. After they have seen Him rise, all the pueblo*
[533] *will go out. At two o'clock in the afternoon, they will again play the sad flute, the drum, the coronet, and the matrake. All the pueblo will collect and will make another prayer to see the Tatik Eskipulas lowered from the*
[188] *cross. When He is lowered, they take Him out on a procession with the priest, the prayer-makers, and all the men and women of the pueblo who will hold candles, and the four guards with rifles. The first mayordomo*
[533] *knows how to blow the old coronet, and another mayordomo knows how to blow the sad flute, and anther plays the drum, and another plays the old matraka. After the procession goes in the plaza, it returns to the*
[273] *church and leaves Tatik Eskipulas in the middle of the church. The mayordomos sit outside the church and drink a liter of trago, and then go to their homes.*

Saturday of glory: Very early in the morning of Saturday, they give a prayer with the sad flute and drum, with the old trumpet and with the
[202] *matraka. Three times it is sounded for the pueblo to gather and hear mass. After the mass, the judge goes to speak to the police to look for a horse to mount the Jew. When the horse arrives, they take the figure of the Jew down from the church and tie him on top of the horse. A mayordomo leads him by the bridle, and he goes out in the pueblo with the flute and drum to ask for contributions. Those who know fiesta [the curers] give fifty or twenty cents or if there is nothing, they give an egg. Afterward, they return to the church and the Jew is taken from the horse. The people set fire to his straw body. When they finish burning this, they check to see how much money they collected. All the mayordomos count the money in common. If there are twenty or thirty pesos, the mayordomos make a fiesta with drum and flute.*

[533] *Sunday of Resurrection: Mayordomos gather and sweep church. After*
[273] *sweeping they play the music to open the mouth of the bell. After the mass, they go drink fermented atol with bean tortilla. They eat a hen or*
[262] *rooster to make a fiesta for our Holy Lord because he is resurrected and because all the town is happy. They give the mayordomos fermented atol to drink. Then they return to the church and take out the lord cross, take out the jail, and the bed where the Father Eskipulas slept.*

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The informant failed to mention the following actions which I observed: 796

1. In raising the figure of Christ on the cross, the four regidores, in this context called *apustol* (probably from apostles), entered the church. Two of them stood at the head of the cross to receive the image raised from below by the other two. [624]

2. The image was always handled with cloths so that no one's hand would be in contact with the surface.

3. The priest, standing behind a cloth screen, guided the figure up on the cross. 796 793

4. The priest gave a sermon about the significance of Easter and the life and death of Christ. He spoke of the crime of the Jews in killing Christ.[6]

In comparing the elicited and observed accounts, one can see clearly the censoring of the priest's role in the perception of the people. Even while the ceremony is in process, they ignore his appeals. For example, as the body of Christ was lowered from the cross, the priest exhorted the congregation to cry and give vent freely to their emotions in this most holy moment. There was no response from the audience, even after he waited several moments, pleading with them again not to feel embarrassment at their show of emotion, and becoming visibly annoyed at their impassivity. Finally, a woman dressed in Ladina clothing, rewarded him with the stylized wail of mourning.

Observation of the ceremony reveals evidence of attitude and belief coded in the staging, the costuming, the postures and gestures of respect or derision which cannot be elicited. Each element is an interpretative comment by those who direct and act the play. We are told that the Jew is the anti-Christ, but we learn that he is also a Ladino through his clothing, the cigarette, and the horseback ride. The Indians do not state that they castrate him in hoisting him upon the church, but their comments and ac- 796 182 829

6. Despite the fact that the Vatican had exonerated the Jews of the guilt for the murder of Christ the year before (1965), the priest spoke of the crime of the Jews. This time lag in communicating doctrine to the hinterlands would be an interesting problem to investigate. [779]

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796 tions betray the intent. As he is hauled up by ropes and hung from the
182 bell tower "to show the world that he killed Christ," the mayordomos on
829 the ground who are assisting those up in the bell tower jab him with long poles. In this horseplay they symbolically castrate him: I heard one mayordomo say, *"Me?čunun,"* (transvestite) as one well-directed blow struck Judas. On Saturday, he is let down and given a ride on horseback around town. Formerly riding a horse was the prerogative only of Ladinos in the department of San Cristóbal Las Casas (Colby and Van den Berghe 1961). Placing Judas on a horse possibly has a symbolic value in identifying him as one of the hated dominant group who asserted this privilege.
[794] As he rides around town, the mayordomos solicit gifts from the people.
[756] Everyone gives fruits except the curers, who donate money. This transac-
[754] tion may indicate an obligation they feel toward Judas as one source of their power over witchcraft-derived illnesses. The money is used to buy liquor, called the "washing of the arms and legs of our Lord Eskipulas." The drinking is mandatory for all the mayordomos who have participated in the hanging of Judas.

The Judas figure, which was the church's symbol of the hated Semite, is made to appear as the enemy of the Indians, the Ladino. He symbolizes the sexual license of Ladinos with Indian women, the oppression of Indians by Ladinos, and the killer of Christ. In retaliation, the Indian symbolically castrate and hang him, and finally burn his body, thus dramati-
[793] cally vanquishing the alien in their midst. So far as I know, the priest is unaware of the identification Indians make between the Jew and the Ladino. He prevented the ride from taking place the year I witnessed the Easter Week ceremonial on grounds that it was a pagan ritual; when he left town on Sunday, the mayordomos took Judas on his customary rounds.

796 The attitude toward Jesus, as the hero of the morality play, is ambiva-
776 lent. Martyrdom is not the way to win in Indian society. The feeling is
182 that power goes to the one who makes the sacrifice, and since Jesus was a
829 Ladino sacrifice, they have more power than the Indians. During the
[181] Caste War in Chiapas in 1868, the Indians crucified an Indian youth in
[782] the hope that they would find a savior as powerful as Jesus. To this day,
[175] Indians of To?ontahal seem not to identify Jesus as one of themselves,

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and they show little personal concern with his fate in the reenactment of the Passion.

The ceremonies by which the Indians care for the spirits are Spanish introductions, but within these forms they have found a means of containing the powers of the spirits and making them work for the benefit of Indians. In the reenactment of the Passion they caricature and symbolically kill their own enemy, the Ladino, without his being aware of it. Through reformulation of introduced ideas and practices, the Indians have preserved a sense of the past in an idiom meaningful to themselves.

Chapter 9

The Competition for Power

829 178 177 Changes in the organization of the civil and religious hierarchies since the constitution of 1927 can be traced in a series of events remembered by members of the community. Their selection of significant events and the interpretation they make of them give the best clues to their response to change. In the remembrance of things past people structure their world and project expectations for the future. Behavior in these events lacks the controls operating in the formal rituals of the officials—age-graded authority, hierarchy, and a code of behavior which conceals the open show of power. The strategies employed in these organizational changes reveal other rules or transformation of the old rules characterizing social interaction.

554 621 794 578 177 178 The structure of roles in the civil and religious hierarchies has remained intact. What has changed are the bases for according prestige and authority and allocating roles. The pivotal positions in which change is occurring are the mediating roles between local and national power structures, specifically those of president and secretary in the civil authority and of fiscal and priest in the religious authority.

[212] [191] [756] The contest for power and "control of the town" has centered in five blocks of competition: (1) the opposition of new young leaders with skills in speaking Spanish, literacy, and knowledge of the idiom of behavior in the national culture to the established succession of an age-dominated authority system; (2) the challenge by the civil authority to the control of the curers who rely on power derived from possession of an animal spirit; (3) the struggle for political power among factions based on new economic enterprises; (4) the contest among local caciques for domination; and (5) the conflict among religious functionaries. The series of events in which these contests have crystallized and brought about a reorganization

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of political relations is summarized for each of these conflict areas. Most of the events recorded below are transcriptions of informants' statements given in Tzeltal. I have chosen this method to show how the people interpret incidents and how this leads to cognitive restructuring.

The Conflict among Civil Officials

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In the period of consolidation since the revolution, the crucial issue in determining the allocation of power among local civil authorities has been that of incorporating men who have special abilities to deal with external authority without upsetting an age-ranked system. Prior to the 1950s these skills were rare—in 1920 only four young men could sign their names and read. The civil careers of two men, Ceferino, a native of the town, and Augustín, a revistido Indian from Huistán, illustrate the different courses taken by this new leadership in the post-revolutionary period of the 1930s. Ceferino was included in the given structure of power while Augustín used his skills in dealing with Ladinos to gain personal power. Ceferino was one of the first four men of the town to learn to read and write. The civil authorities recognized his potential usefulness in the town hall, and succeeded in incorporating him in an honorific but powerless position as scribe. He described his introduction into local government:

159 212 621

After I got out of school, the town saw that I knew how to write. Formerly there was no one who knew how to write. In the town hall the judges and president needed someone to write down the contributions and the payment for the government agents. Therefore, when the civil authority changed in the new year, they talked to my mother. As was the custom then, four regidores came to "raise" me, bringing a bottle of trago as a gift for my mother. She did not drink it alone. Together with the regidores we finished the trago. After finishing the trago, the first regidor began to speak to my mother in the pat?o?tan, saying, "I am going to bring one of your children, one of your offspring to the place where we look and where we see [reference to town hall]. We ask this favor because he knows how to write. Therefore the judges and the president ordered me to come and raise him and take out his soil, his mud, for this duty for this obligation.

[624] [273]

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212 *We shall go with your child, your offspring to pass the holy day, the holy*
621 *year. Thank you, thanks to your heart that you permit your child, your offspring to go. Now we go to receive the holy post with all the elders. The spirit of your child, your offspring shall learn."*

When the fourth regidor finished the pat?o?tan, my mother spoke: "Thank you, Take care of him. I do not want him to return to me drunk. He hasn't yet learned to drink."

I went out with two of the regidores on my right side and the other two on the left. When we arrived, the first judge spoke to us in the pat?o?tan: "You have brought before us our writer. It is well that you arrived with him. Enter and sit down."

I sat down in the middle of the regidores. When we sat down, the first judge and the president began to speak. All were gathered in the town hall. [*Ceferino then listed all the civil officials by name, a feat of memory which I shall not repeat here.*]

[273] *We sat down and they brought in two liters of trago. They began the pat?o?tan, and after the pat?o?tan the third regidor came to measure the trago. He gave the first measure to the president, the second to the first judge, the third to the second judge, the fourth to me, the writer. And I was not accustomed much to drink liquor. I took the trago and I drank it. It was killing me. It came out my nose. The judges and regidores saw my suffering when it came out my nose. They patted my back, and with some difficulty the trago went down. Thus with suffering and with trouble, I learned to drink trago. But then I got drunk. I felt drunk, and I told the judge and regidores that I was going to die. The first judge ordered the regidor to go with me to my house.*

He said, "Go leave him in his house because his mother said that I should return him to his house. See that you hand over her poor son to his mother."

[593] *Since I did not have a wife—I was a bachelor—they gave me to my mother. My mother said, "Thank you." They ordered my mother to send me the next day because we had to see how another day passed.*

When I left in 1925, I didn't return to the town hall until 1936 when the pueblo asked me to stay as president.

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In the strategy of incorporating new leadership, these tactics are employed. 621

1. The four regidores are assigned the task of bringing the novice scribe to the town authorities. They are the official recruiters for civil and religious office. [624]

2. The request is made to the parent of the appointed scribe in the formal speech of the patʔoʔtan. The appeal is cast in terms of the sacred nature of the task with reference to the "holy" nature of the post to be undertaken on this "holy hour, holy day and holy year."

3. The contractual relationship is initiated as always with a drinking session. The scribe is introduced into the drinking order as fourth in rank. The officials show solicitude as he is taught to drink "the gift of the gods and the ancestors." Once the gift of liquor has been accepted, the recipient has no recourse except to fulfill the obligation. [203]

These tactics, used also in other contractual arrangements, were inadequate to the task of inducting foreign Indians living in the township into the traditional hierarchy. In 1929, a Huistecan Indian, Augustín, who had worked as a laborer in a finca within the township, became president. Although he could not read, he was able to speak Spanish fluently. He succeeded in getting the first ejido grant under the land reform act of 1927. 621 609 622 191 423

During his term of office, Augustín was accused of abusing his authority on several occasions, as the following account shows:

When I was very young, my father told me about this land case. Augustín was president then. He tried to get land from my uncle's father-in-law, Juan. My uncle, Bartolo, defended his father-in-law's right to the land because he had good friends in Tuxtla. Augustín spoke Spanish very well, but he did not know how to read. Since my uncle knew how to read well, he gained the case. Augustín was angry. He invited all the curers to the town hall and ordered the police to bring in my uncle. My uncle was given something in a cup of liquor, and in three days he died. 159 622 661

Even if this story is untrue, or distorted because of the family relationship of the narrator and the victim, it reveals the sense of being exploited 622 661 609

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622 or abused by leaders from outside the community. Stories by other infor-
661 mants indicate that Augustín took advantage of his power as president.
609 He was accused of charging high fines in court and pocketing the money. Finally a case against him was brought to the Ministerio Publico in the departmental capital. The denunciation is recounted by Ceferino, the scribe, who replaced him as president:

159 *The court's decision was that Augustín had to return the three hundred*
622 *and fifty pesos that he had forced out of Juan in the land case. Augustín*
661 *claimed that it was difficult for him to pay the fine. He said he would pay*
609 *it in installments. Juan wanted it right away. After a month, the money*
[692] *still was not handed over. I spoke to the Ministerio Publico who told Augustín to sell his cattle. The pueblo wanted to seize the cattle. Augustín got frightened, and said he would sell his cattle. He sold them. After this he never returned to work in the pueblo.*

There were no killings in this affair. Eight days after he gave the money, Augustín came to the town hall with a pistol. I noticed it and said, "Better come in an register this pistol." He ignored this and spoke to the judge for a while.

I told a policeman, "Go get the pistol and register it." The policeman was afraid. I asked him, "Why are you afraid?" He said, "I am afraid." I said, "You have turned into a woman."

The policeman seized Augustín's arms. I went behind and took the pistol out of his hand. Augustín said, "Why are you taking my pistol? I have committed no crime."

I replied, "You came to bother the people here." I took away the pistol.

Augustín also knew how to wear a watch. His son bought it from a thief for one hundred and twenty-five pesos. We also took his watch because it was stolen. I told him, "Go look for work and earn money. The Ministerio Publico has given orders that you cannot continue working here. You cannot rob here any more."

He went away for two months, and then came back to get his things and moved to Teopisca.

621 Despite this successful denunciation, Augustín's son, Juan, tried to "get
609 control of the town." He and the other Huistecans of the barrio of Yeta-
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witz had formed a small *cacicazgo* (supporters of a cacique) of armed men. Because of their influence with departmental officials since the land grant, they had secured an order to reassign lots in the center, putting one family from Yetawitz in each block. The reaction of the townspeople to this "invasion" of barrio Indians was immediate and conclusive, as Ceferino's account reveals:

The owners of the house lots here objected to having their lots seized. They went to a lawyer in San Cristóbal, and they also had the help of the professor here. He was a good professor. We walked with the professor. The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles. The people from Yetawitz went to another lawyer in San Cristóbal. They got an order that the people of the pueblo would have to admit the people of Yetawitz. We returned to the lawyer. He asked where these people were from. We said they were from Huistán. They were well armed. Because of this, we went to take over their arms.

When we arrived at their house, Juan asked, "What are you here for?"

We answered, "We came to get your rifles."

They refused to give them up, but we seized their property. We tied up the men and carried them up to the pueblo. We dragged them like dogs up to the jail and put them in.

They asked, "Why are you putting us in jail?" and we answered, "Tomorrow we will arrange the case."

Four police stayed there. The next morning I came to see them. They had planned to go to Las Casas, but we ordered the saddles taken off the horses that were in readiness. We tried them, and they no longer bothered the pueblo.

The Huistecan's attempt to seize power reveals several significant factors in the genesis of cummunity political institutions. In the 1930s in Chiapas, the land reform act of 1927 was taking effect. Translation of law into reality in the local community required the drive and leadership of the Indians themselves. Literacy and Spanish-speaking skills were of even greater importance than before. The Indians of the center who had not been forced to work in the fincas and who had sufficient resources to resist contact with the outside economy were not in a position to take a leader-

621 423 178 177 [609] ship role in the new political setting. As a result, it was the marginal Indians, outsiders who had come as did Augustín to work as *baldios* (laborers) on the finca near the town, that were the drivng force behind the demand for land. This was the basis for the new leadership in the early days of land reform. The ejido program, conceived of by Cárdenas as a basis for political development of the campesinos, (Brandenburg 1964) gave these marginal Indians the opportunity to rise to positions of influence in local government. The reluctance of the townspeople to take action [754] against Augustín derived in part from fear, since he reputedly backed his use of force with witchcraft—the imported kind of witchcraft in which poisons are used instead of spiritual force.

622 554 177 178 [191] [464] Ceferino, the man who finally deposed Augustín, was a member of the traditional community, but because he had been impoverished by burying four members of his family in the typhoid epidemic of 1928, he had been forced to work in the fincas. There he had learned Spanish and some of the ways of the dominant society. His leadership potential had developed in the role of *caporal,* or gang leader of the pickers in the coffee finca, and he had been a leader in the trek of recruited laborers down to the fincas in Soconusco. Under the old authority structure, in which all officials including the president were recruited through the hierarchy, he would never have reached a prestigious position. But in this crisis, he was the only man willing to confront the incumbent and take over the operation of civil affairs.

622 554 Ceferino did not take advantage of the situation to emerge as a cacique himself. As he explained in his narrative, "The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles." The way in which he had been introduced into the cabildo as scribe had successfully neutralized his own ambitions to attain power, if he had any. He accepted the ideal of a united pueblo, recognizing the authority of the principales.

621 177 178 The increasing scope and frequency of relationships between the nation and the locality since the revolution has emphasized the roles of president and síndico at the expense of the authority and control exercised by the principales. The ceremonial significance of the principales in rituals is retained as a symbol of continuity in the change of officials, but their func-

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tions have decreased. Their major responsibility is to hold the plate in which the contributions for the fiestas are deposited by the police. Formerly, the fact that the principales also held the money until it was spent lent dignity and prestige to this function. Now that the money is turned over to the treasurer, who also keeps the accounts, passing the plate gives them a sense of shame. When I asked why the principales lost authority, the first response was cast in terms of behavior: my informant, a former president, pointed out that it was because they did not attend the town hall every day. When I asked why they did not appear, the reply was reformulated in functional terms: they did not come because the laws and acts that are raised and interpreted in the town hall are written in Spanish, and the principales could not read or write. As a consequence, the balance of power has shifted to the posts of president and síndico, while the framework in which the officials act has remained.

Challenge by the Civil Officials of the Power of the Curers

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The autonomy of the highland Indian corporate community has rested on the retention of social control by local leaders. This local leadership, which has survived over four hundred years of domination by Spanish colonial and national rule, is based on power derived from two sources: (1) control over life and death by men who claim to possess an animal spirit and/or (2) ability to devine or predict the future, such as the calendar priests have (Nuñez de la Vega 1702:19).[1] The belief in power derived 000

1. Bishop Nuñez de la Vega repeatedly inveighs against the "maestros Nahualistas." This is summarized in an excerpt, which I have translated, from his book (1702:19): [754] [171]

> Almost two hundred years after the light of evangelism dawned, the Indians in most of the Kingdom of New Spain and Guatemala are found full of their primitive errors, superstitions, and misdeeds such that there is hardly a single pueblo where each year there are not deaths brought about by witches, and houses and families known to have, as an inheritance acquired from father to son, evil powers so abominable that they are viewed with great fear by the rest of the Indians. With only a glance and certain words, with which they invoke the Devil, they can end life or cause their victim to go mad with great pains and stupendous illnesses, and the result is that they inflict their rivals for very slight pretexts. We exile them and other spiritual performers from the church, and when the ministers and judges try to verify what happened to the sick ones, all

776 174 The belief in power derived from animal spirits was probably influenced by the Toltec belief in nahualism, or transformation of people after death into animals (Calnek 1962:22). The Toltec belief originated in the period of Mexican influence but had many local indigenous manifestations (Foster 1944). The integration of the two systems of power was brought about by calendar priests controlling the distribution of animal spirits (Calnek 1962:19). The degree of retention of calendrical knowledge and of belief in witchcraft gives us one of the best indices of acculturation in the area.[2] In Tzoʔontahal there is no remnant of calendar divination for ceremonial or predictive use. However, witchcraft based on belief in animal spirits continues to be an important factor in the contest for power. The technique of secrecy, of presenting a united front in the face of attempts by the outside Ladinos to tamper with the local social control system, persists to this day in the town.

793 787 754 177 178 776 [621] [609]

621 626 754 769 756 177 178 An endemic problem in communities dominated by belief in witchcraft is control over the evil power of witches. The traditional control system in Tzoʔontahal operated through the guardianship of three sets of powerholders who checked up on each other: the ancestors, the curers, and the judges. The guardianship of the ancestors consisted in preventing any child possessed of a swayohel from the devil from growing up to abuse his power and in keeping any evil spirits from entering the town. The curers,

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[754] [171] the Indians, whether out of cowardice or deceit, withdraw their accusation or claims, so that it is impossible to convict the evildoers for punishment; and for lack of sufficient proof they cannot be punished, or if there is enough basis to put them in prison, they sometimes disappear and flee to another jurisdiction and hide, denying their place of origin or changing their name.

2. In Oxchuk, calendar experts with the ability to divine the future still set the days for carrying out Catholic fiestas according to the twenty-day Maya ceremonial cycle. Each of the spirits symbolizing the twenty days wielded the power of good or evil. This provided the basis for predicting. When Villa Rojas studied the town in the 1940s, elders of patrilineal lineages controlled the behavior of members by causing sickness brought by their *lab*, or animal spirit (Villa Rojas 1947). In San Pedro Chenalhó, the principales exercise power through their *wayhel*, or animal spirit (Guiteras Holmes 1961). Nahuales of leaders of the patrilineages and principales are feared and respected in Larraínzar, although there is a growing discontent with their oppressive control (Holland 1963). Men believed to have thirteen nahuales figure as guardians and avengers for individuals in Pinola society, although the Indians of this community no longer have a hierarchy of civil offices through which their prestige can be publicly validated (Hermitte 1964).

as the direct agents of the ancestors, guarded the streets of their own side of the dual division. The judges, with the supervision of the principales, were responsible for guarding against the abuse of power by the curers or others possessing a swayohel in their review of witchcraft cases in the town hall. The three sets of functionaries—ancestors, curers, and judges—are classified in a lexicon of role function in the stem *me? . . tat . . ,* common to the terms applied to them, me?tiktatik, me?iltatil, and me?eštateš.[3]

The system of control over the use of power has been in a state of uneasy tension. In a series of incidents recounted below, the growing suspicion that the judges and the principales were not countering the witches because of their fear of falling victim to them, and that the curers themselves were exercising the witchcraft becomes apparent.

In the following case, the system of checks and balances was upset by the entry into the presidency in 1940 of Mam Nicolás, the leading curer of Allannantik. Nicolás combined the skills of operating in the traditional culture with those of dealing with the Ladino world. Despite the fact that he was a graduate of the boarding school operating in the town in the 1930s, which had far more extensive effects in acculturation as well as formal education than any prior school, he practiced curing. The case is recounted by Ceferino, the scribe:

Formerly the dead president Mam Nicolás left at midday from the town hall and went to his house where he ate a meal. A neighbor, Francisco, came to talk to him. They drank a half a liter of trago, and then began to drink a second and got drunk. They began to say goodbye, and Francisco left Nicolás' house. When Nicolás saw that Francisco went out, he grabbed his shotgun. He saw that Francisco was now far away, and he fired many shots. One got him right in his back. When Francisco felt it, he shouted. The police heard him and went to get the judges who came to see also. His [Francisco's] wife came. She raised his head and cried when she saw he was dead. An elder sister brought a new mat to carry him.

3. The suffixes *-el,* and *-tik* refer to pronominal forms, as in "you judges" and "our ancestors." *-il* is an article, as in "the curers." In prayer, the ancestors may be addressed in the second person, or the judges may be referred to with the first-person-plural possessive, but these forms are rare in those contexts.

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159 *carry him. When the new mat arrived, the judge ordered that he be*
621 *brought to his house. The judges saw that the shot had entered well.*
754 *They ordered the police to seize Nicolás and put him in prison. They saw*
682 *that Francisco died.*

The night entered, and the judges ordered the police to guard the killer throughout the night. At dawn he remained in prison and stayed there the entire day. On the third day, they "took his heart" [questioned him] to see what his crime was. He said that Francisco had blamed him for giving witchcraft and that it was not his fault, that he was not a witch. He got angry and shot Francisco. The judge heard the case and raised an act. They sent him to San Cristóbal and the síndico, Simón, took over the presidency. He remained in power in the pueblo.

People heard that the new president could not arrange things in the town hall. Illness entered the pueblo. Word was left that Juan, Ebaristo, and Antonio had brought in the illness. All those who "knew how to make fiestas" [reference to curers functioning in curing ritual] gathered together in the town hall. The two leading curers came with a garrafón of liquor. The curers drank until nighttime.

The president remained in prison. When the night had entered well, he slept. And although he had heard many rumors about what was going to happen, he slept well. At dawn, the president was "of one heart" [content]. A policeman arrived and said that Antonio had been brought to jail.

"Why?" asked the president. "For what crime has he been put in prison?"

The policeman said that it was for witchcraft, and that they had gone out to get the other witch Juan, but he had escaped into the Cave of the Star. Although there were fifteen men after him, they couldn't seize him. They had also gone to catch Ebaristo, but he was not in his house, and they did not find him. The crime of the three was that they had brought in the illness.

Meanwhile, everyone was saying that Nicolás was also responsible for letting the illness in the town. People said that he had vowed that if the authorities seized him, he would let in the illness. The townspeople got drunk.

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Eight men of Alannantik wanted the interim president, Simón to remain as president. But the people of Ahk'olnantik did not want him to remain as president. The townspeople began to talk, saying, "Why should he remain as president since he stole twenty bulls? We don't want him. Let us get another president. We shall walk with Ceferino." 159 621 754 682

They wanted me for president since I was first regidor. It is for this reason that I entered as president, but I didn't think that I would be able to stay on as president. Simón received an order from the [state] government that he should return as president. He came with soldiers, and when they took me out of office, the lieutenant said to Simón, "Now you enter."

And so I gave over the archives and seals and everything in the presidency to Simón, and I left the presidency. And the people saw that it was the order of the government, and they did not say anything. The town remained silent.

The incident is given as it was related to me in Tzeltal. I have sorted out the steps in which the conflict developed in order to clarify its meaning.

1. The traditional checks and balance system of the civil authority over the curers was initially upset by the entry of a leading curer into the post of president.

2. When he committed a murder while in office, the judges seized control and had him put in prison. [682] [692]

3. His replacement by the síndico who was from the same side of the dual division, aroused the opposition of the people of the opposite side, Ahk'olmantik, who believed that the epidemic, which followed the president's removal from power, was caused by the curers of Alannantik under the direction of the president who was in jail. [624] [731] [754]

4. The leaders of the revolt in Ahk'olnantik chose as their replacement the first regidor, Ceferino, who was from their side. [624]

5. Leaders from Alannantik rejected this replacement and were able to get official backing from the state government to replace their representative.

The process illustrates the way in which a conflict, precipitated by a clash between civil authorities and the curers, was cast into the idiom of struc- 621 756 578

621 tural opposition between the two sides of the dual division. In this case,
756 resolution came with the intercession of federal troops.
578
[648] When curing was a controlled profession, with a hierarchy legitimizing
756 entry and exit, the power of the curers was directed toward guarding the
178 village against evil as well as curing. In the 1940s, the loss of one leader by death and the other's jail sentence meant loss of control over entry into
[754] the profession. A growing suspicion and discontent with the curers as a group, laying upon them the responsibility of much of the witchcraft, is reflected in the account of another older informant:

> *Formerly when the curers J. C., A. A., S. K., and J. D. were alive, they walked in common. The people were in accord with the curers because they watched over the peublo. They knew about medicine, and so people of Alannantik went to ask them favors to cure them and also the people of Ahk'olnantik went to ask them favors.*
>
> *But then, after they died [about 1940], the principales did not dare fight the curers because they had animal spirits, and the principales themselves didn't—they were just honorable people.*

621 The doubt about the civil authority's control over the curers has in-
756 creased since young leaders have taken the leadership in the town. One in-
178 formant said, "When there are young people in the cabildo, they can't keep control of the curers, but the old people in the cabildo can." With the relaxation of restrictions on entry into the curing profession, following the loss of leadership and the ranked hierarchy, curers were no longer re-
[273] strained by professional standards. When drunk, they bragged of their
[754] power to do evil as well as to do good. The first killing of a curer accused
683 of being a witch occurred in 1937. He was working in Pinola when he
621 was shot. The dead curer's widow wanted to bring his body back to be
[178] buried in the town cemetery, but the request was refused by the judges. This suggests that the town authorities agreed with the accusation, since it is the custom to return the dead to the town for burial. Other assassinations by individuals occurred in 1943 and in 1950. During this period, the civil officials sanctioned the assassinations of persons accused and convicted of witchcraft. When someone wished to kill a man suspected of witchcraft, they would go to the town hall and ask for permission. After a re-

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view of the case by the judges and the other civil authorities, the president would have the suspected witch locked up in the local jail and then give the key to his enemy. The following story illustrates this procedure: 683 621

When we were still part of the township of Teopisca [sometime before 1931] F. went and asked permission of the authorities to kill his enemy, a curer, whom he thought was bewitching his brother-in-law. The president arrived at the house of the suspected witch with the order to imprison him. He said that they were going to Teopisca to put him in jail. The group of authorities set off with the suspected witch. On the way another group met them and asked them where they were going. The President replied, "To Teopisca." The group which had encountered them asked them if they would like a drink to "heat their body." They gave one cup and then another. They then cut up the suspected witch with a machete and put his body in the cave of me?tiktatik that goes to Chiapa de Corzo. When the widow enquired the next day where her husband was, the president said that the man must have gone to the finca.

After telling this story, my informant concluded, "Therefore, little by little, the pueblo is getting better because we scared the curers with the permission of the president to kill them." He felt that this was the point at which the power of the curers, who were more and more frequently being accused as witches, was broken. [829]

While the usual course of action, once a man was accused of witchcraft, was to kill him so that there would be no danger of revenge, the following case illustrates punishment by beating. 756 627 [683]

The time was 1935. There was a very bad curer who stole much cattle. One man who heard that he had stolen his cattle wanted to kill him, but the curer met the man and killed him in an old house. The town authorities seized the curer and forced him to pay one thousand pesos for the bull. The principales punished him by tying him to a tree and beating him five or six times. They beat him well for the town. After they beat him they brought him to prison in San Cristóbal and gave him over to the Ministerio Publico to arrange the case. He did not return to the pueblo but went to another place. In five years he returned to his pueblo.

756 627 *When he arrived here, he did not hear any word that they would kill him. He persisted in his custom of stealing. And the pueblo seized him and put him in prison. The whole town seized him although he had heard no word.*

They tied him to a tree and said to him, "You do not have shame. You are a curer, father of the pueblo, [respect term for curer], and yet you behaved badly and truly stole. The town sees you are a bad man, Emilio. They call you their father, but now I am going to tell you that you ought not to be called father. You're a bad one."

He wanted to be called father, but he was only a bad one. He returned again to San Cristóbal because of two crimes. He did not hear the words. He remained in prison, and when he came out someone else came and killed him.

756 682 178 Since 1938, nine of the thirty-seven homicide cases on which I collected data (Table 29) were killings of curers. The increasing frequency of such killings reveals the loss of faith in the guardianship role of the curers, but along with this, retention of belief in their power to work evil.

731 756 754 627 621 In the series of successful confrontations, the civil authority has gained strength and overcome some of the fear of the people. In May 1964, during a severe contagion of measles, a rumor started that the disease was being spread because of witchcraft. The president called together the curers. The consensus of this gathering was that a certain curer of Alannantik had buried the "heat" which was causing the deaths in the milpa of his enemy. The people of Alannantik gathered with the curers and the civil officials in the milpa of the "enemy" to dig it out. The curers dug out a charcoal brazier which is the sign of illness and threw it in the Cave of the Star. [683] That evening the suspected witch was killed, presumably by his neighbors.

756 621 627 754 In the most recent confrontation between the civil authorities and an individual curer, in March 1966, the civil authorities showed a united front in denouncing the use of witchcraft to threaten any official. The entire group of practicing curers from both sides of the dual division were called to witness the denunciation before the assembled civil officials in the town hall. The only one absent was the curer accused of attempting to cut short the life of the president because of envy of his position. The assembled

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 248]

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[P.245]

TABLE 29. Time, Victim, Suspects, Crime, and Outcome in Selected Homicide Cases, 1938–1965

	Victim				
	Curer or other	*Age*	*Killer*	*Suspected crime of victim*	*Outcome*
1938 *	Other	50	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one apprehended
1945	Other	65	Drinking companions	Drunken quarrel	Two companions went to jail
1946	Curer	48	Brothers: 1 elder, 2 younger	Witchcraft	One brother went to jail for five years
1946 *	Other	38	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one complained to authorities
1946	Curer	45	Unknown	Witchcraft	No punishment; no suspect apprehended
1946	Curer	50	Unknown	Witchcraft	Wife of victim complained, but no witness would testify
1958	Curer	27	Father of boy who had died of witchcraft	Witchcraft	Before dying, dead man revealed name of killer. Wife reported it to authorities, but no action taken
1960 *	Other	60	Son-in-law	Witchcraft	Son-in-law fled town
1960	Other	24	Cattle owners' paid killer	Stole cattle	Released killer on bail
1960	Curer	60	Brother-in-law	Witchcraft	No one apprehended
1961	Curer	70	Neighbors	Witchcraft	Neighbors, who felt he was responsible for contagion, were not apprehended
1961 *	Other	30	Wife's brother	Very abusive, fought when drunk	Suspect fled town

(*cont.*)

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	Victim: Curer or other	Victim: Age	Killer	Suspected crime of victim	Outcome
1961 *	Other	45	Neighbors	Witchcraft	No one apprehended
1961 *	Other	37	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one apprehended; wife agreed he was a witch
1962	Other	18	Rival for girl	Fought over girl	No one accused
1962	Other	20	Cattle owners' paid killer	Stole cattle	Went to jail but released on bail
1962	Other	35	Brother-in-law	Revenge for death of brother; political conflict	Killer declared he had killed, paid fine and was released
1962 *	Other	20	Rival for girl	Fought over girl	No one accused
1962 *	Other	50	Leader of cattle association	Stole cattle	Unknown
1963 *	Curer	36	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one apprehended, but victim's brother tried to find killer
1963	Curer	45	Indian of neighboring town whom victim had accused of witchcraft	False accusation	No action taken
1963 *	Other	Unknown	Drinking companions	Barroom brawl	One of assailants went to jail, and other two bailed out
1963	Other	70	Sons of a man whom he was accused of having killed	Witchcraft	No action taken
1964 *	Other	30	Killer paid by victim's brothers	Stole cattle	Brother fled town but jailed when he returned
1964 *	Other	34	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one accused
1964	Other	30	Ladino liquor distiller of another town	Denounced distiller to authorities	No action taken

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	Victim: Curer or other	Victim: Age	Killer	Suspected crime of victim	Outcome
1964	Other	30	Brothers	Witchcraft	One brother fled; other put in jail but he claimed first brother did it
1964	Curer	65	Neighbors	Witchcraft in contagion	No action taken
1964	Other	22	Close friend of victim, hired by cattle owners	Stole cattle	Killer freed on bail
1965	Other	45	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one accused
1965 *	Other	45	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one apprehended
1965	Other	42	Unknown	Unknown	No one accused
1965	Other	27	Brother-in-law	Had relations with 14-year-old sister-in-law	Brother-in-law tried but not sufficient evidence
1965 *	Other	35	Unknown	Stole cattle and corn	No action taken
1965	Other	42	Son by first marriage	Failed to provide dowery; also witchcraft	Widow spread rumors against step-son, but insufficient evidence
1965	Other	20	Rival for brother's girl	Mistaken identity—brother's rival took him for competitor	Unknown

* Occurred during a fiesta.

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group walked to the hill where the curer had been reported practicing his witchcraft. There they collected the evidence: fourteen candles of all colors, crosses of wire placed on a photograph, and a gourd. The curers present lifted the evidence and threw it in the river to get rid of the evil. A transcription of the proceedings in the town hall is given below:

President: "We are gathered together here because something which is not good has happened. See here, Tatinel [*to the leading curer*], *we do not know if it is witchcraft or not."*

First Curer Feliciano, of Yetawitz: "The old men [*elder curers*] *have pulsed our children. All the pueblo has helped. We have just brought in the candles. He is a very bad witch. We walked out there and we found it. For this we have gathered together, but if there is an owner of the witchcraft, we have not heard."*

Second Curer Emilio, of Alannantik: "But this owner is not good. Thus spoke my compadre. This is not good. So my compadre and Mam Pelise [*Feliciano, first curer to speak*] *have spoken. Whoever did it has not advised us. The ancestors did not want this. Now who wants it? Who speaks with the holy word? You do not announce whether it is a curer or whether it is or not. We do not know where it is or what it is that he did. But when someone does give an illness, it is a good custom to see where this comes from. This we do not know. It is for this we went to the cave to know where he found it."*

President: "Therefore we had to look for it and see who did it; whether it is someone who knows how to do both witchcraft and curing. But he will pay here in the presidency for what he did, because we are going to announce it, we are going to reveal the crime. Now your hearts are content and truly you cannot do it. Now we know a little, compadre. Truly we have seen and know where it [*the magic*] *was kept."*

Feliciano: "Now you speak a little to God who gave his little child. And what if tomorrow you should come? Now is the time we speak to God, we speak to the Virgin Mother. Don't kill and don't give suffering. Better not do anything. Please don't do anything at night; please do nothing as I have told you. Thus your children [*the younger curers*] *have*

heard our hearts. The people will hear that we didn't do anything. The true curers looked. We came to the place and we found it." 756 621

The curers left the town hall, one by one, saying the pat?o?tan to the judges as they left. The judges remained. 627 754

President: "We have heard clearly what we waited here to hear. They have brought back a little soda."

Judge: "So it is for your work [referring to the soda], what you went to do there [in the hills]."

President: "It is good what you did, but you are afraid because of that." Judges laugh.

The curers in public performances nominally recognize as leading curers the two major speakers for the group, Feliciano of Yetawitz and Emilio of Alannantik. However, these men are not recognized as true leaders. Feliciano lives in the despised barrio of Yetawitz and is associated with the kuriketik, (the inhabitants of the colonia of San Vicente), while Emilio himself has been accused of witchcraft. But the situation required someone to represent the group from each side, and so there was compliance with this temporary role. 756 621

In the public gathering, the curers refrained from accusing anyone, and denied that they had knowledge of the witch. The older curer (not recognized as leader but serving in the place of an elder) warned the group not to kill anyone as a result of the meeting. That evening, the president and his brother announced on the loudspeaker of the cantina that they did know who was trying to murder the president, that it was the curer who was absent, and that he should desist. The curer responded by announcing on another cantina loudspeaker that he was innocent. On the following day, the accused appeared in the town hall with two family-sized bottles of beer. He said that he did not want the president to continue accusing him, since he was not guilty and had truly been sick. (He had consulted the I.N.I. clinic nurse rather than one of his colleagues and had received treatment for a headache. This was commented upon by his opponents, who interpreted it as showing his lack of faith in traditional curing practices.) 756 754 621 627 [156]

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756 754 621 627 The open confrontation by the civil authorities with the suspected witch, in which they warned him to stop before violence resulted, represents a new strategy in the contest between officials and curers. Formerly even when there was strong suspicion against a man, the principales and judges kept quiet. If they acted, it was to kill the suspect without forewarning. The new strategy reveals the position of strength from which they now operate. That the president could joke in the town hall about the fear of the judges in dealing with the accused curer (see his final remark above) is indicative of a changed attitude. Incidents such as that of the curer consulting the clinic nurse instead of his fellow curers, which was noted and commented upon by the brother of the president, may further serve to undermine the townspeople's belief in the power of the curers.

In the weeks following the incident, the president and his brother discussed the incident, pointing out their fearlessness in openly confronting the witch. The curers clearly tried to deny any responsibility as a group with the remark: "Whoever did it did not advise us." They expressed the feeling that it is against professional ethics: "Whoever did it is a very bad witch"; but they refuse to name him or admit knowledge of who did it. "We do not know where it is or what it is that he did." The behavior of the curers in this incident is clearly defensive and stems from their loss of control and initiative.

Political Parties and Factions

665 621 In 1950 the first contest for the post of president was started by two brothers who had secured the backing of the Partido Acción Nacional (PAN). Never before had anyone initiated his own candidacy outside the traditional nomination procedure through the old officials in the town hall. The brothers lived in the new barrio of Yut Hok, the ejido land grant of Ahk'olnantik. The candidacy disturbed the customary alternation of posts between Ahk'olnantik and Alannantik. Threatened by the imbalance, the leaders of Alannantik secured the backing of the Partido Revolucionario Institutionalizado (PRI) for their candidate. The PAN candidate won the election. However, he was never able to consolidate political sup-

port. At his death, he had no successor, and "the town remained in peace." 665

In this first political contest, the conflict was interpreted as opposition 621 between the dual divisions. Factional disputes and the sense of political re- [829] sponsibility and control were contained within these parameters, and any [578] conflict was conceived of as a threat to territorial balancing mechanisms.

The new factions that have developed since 1963 are tied to economic 621 rather than territorial competition. In 1960 the first truck-owning coopera- 474 tive was organized under the leadership of the former Ladino secretary. 471 The twenty shareholders of the town had only a small amount of capital 177 in the truck, and the controlling interest was in the hands of the secre- 178 tary's wife. The cooperative was merely a device to gain business in car- 494 rying pottery and wheat from the town to the market centers. In 1963 a new truck-owning cooperative was organized by local Indians. The two brothers, Santiago and José, secured capital to buy the truck from thirty residents of the town without any assistance from outside. The shareholders of the new cooperative came from both sides of the dual division, and from the outlying barrios.

When the leaders of the new cooperative tried to get permits and certifi- 474 cates to license the car and the operator, they were refused by the town 621 president who was a shareholder of the first cooperative. The Indians then 666 hired a Ladino truck driver from the neighboring town, and the son of one of the shareholders served as assistant. They realized that it was necessary to get control of the local political positions in order to extend their operations. With the help of the schoolteacher, they got eighty-one signatures on the petition for the PRI candicacy of one of the brothers, José, in the presidential nomination of 1964. He was opposed by a ladinoized Indian living in one of the barrios who was backed by the Ladino secretary who was leader of the competing trucking cooperative. The opponent did not have a chance of winning, as the leaders of the new cooperative pointed out, because of two strikes against him: he was not a resident of the center and he had only PAN backing. The Indians are aware that nothing can be gained politically by a PAN-backed president since PRI is now the party in control of regional and national offices.

After José's election, the Indian truck driver was able to get a driving li- 621 cense. With the help of the schoolmaster, the cooperative was able to get 474 493

621 474 493 permission to extend operations to hot country where the Indians of the town held ejido land. This territory had been controlled by the state-wide trucking sindicate whose monopoly was protected by government permits. On the basis that they were poor, nonprofit-making ejidatarios, the Indians were granted the right to truck corn from the ejido colonies to the highlands. Whenever the cooperative leaders planned to go to the departmental capital to make their appeals, the schoolmaster counseled them to wear their Indian costume—the white shirt and pants with red sash, sandals, and woolen kotonču—in order to play the role of simple campesinos more convincingly. He was aware of the effectiveness of this pose in pro-Indian governmental circles. [291]

665 The PRI leadership in the department capital is neither aware of nor interested in the local factions which seek their support. Their concern is only that the vote is solidly behind regional and national candidates of the party, and they support the group that can mobilize the largest number of votes. A policy of favoritism toward Indians, based on an ideology of *indigenismo,* pro-Indianism, is coupled with a policy of permitting local autonomy. The national committee's program for promoting literacy has never reached this community nor any that I know of in the area. The party's promotion of Indian welfare consists of supporting demands made by Indian constituents and bringing them to the attention of civil service officials assigned to these functions. Party officials thus act as intermediaries between the voters and the bureaucracy of the government, channeling complaints and demands.

62 177 178 181 In the development of factions around new economic interests, the Indians have shifted from an ideology in which the dialectic of conflict was cast in traditional dual-division opposition to one in which the conflict is seen as Indian versus Ladino domination of enterprises. Since these interests cut across the territorial divisions, the economic factions have not crystallized along territorial lines. It is this shift in perspective which makes for the "qualitative" change in local political organization. [665]

Competition between Caciques

622 563 There are several dimensions to the role of cacique in Tzoʔontahal. First, it is a role created by outside interests and occupied by someone mar-

ginal to the community, either a foreign Indian, as in the case of Augustín, or a Ladino, as in the cases of the secretary and schoolmaster described below. The only indigenous candidate for the role was recently killed. It provokes too much envy for someone socialized in the community; fear of being accused and even killed as a witch or a power-seeker is justified by several such precedents. Those with the skills to become caciques have until recently been effectively incorporated in the existing hierarchy as firmanetik.

Second, the cacique is a gatekeeper, channeling information, goods, and services from the outside to the members of the community. In this capacity, he prefers to pose as a benefactor when he may actually be no more than the distributor of government welfare goods and services.[4]

Third, the role of cacique is one in which the incumbent operates in a local sphere, but depends upon a network of compadrazgo and professional ties outside of the community to assure his position in the community. He must be sufficiently aware of the local idiom in order to avoid making enemies.

Finally, the role is monopolistic. This results in part from the fact that the outside world prefers to deal with a single representative for reasons of expediency. However, new governmental agents are more and more dealing directly with Indians, a factor which has shaken the position of the cacique. The monopolistic quality of the position also stems from the fact that the profit to be gleaned from the community is small. A Ladino from a neighboring town commented that it was worth the time of only one man to exploit an Indian community of the size of Tzo'ontahal. The extractable profit is diminishing as the Indians become more aware of their rights.

The change in character and range of activities of local caciques is illustrated by the recent careers of two residents of Tzo'ontahal. In the 1950s and until 1964, the Ladino secretary, Don Ramon, had filled the role of cacique. He took advantage of this role not only by collecting a salary and a percentage of court fees, but also by earning money for using his influence in Ladino official circles outside the community. He lent money for interest and subsidized some enterprises such as growing cabbages with Indian partners.

4. Goldrich (1965) points to this tactic of politicians who distribute government goods as though they were their own gifts.

159 622 177 178 [454] [754] [756] partners. He sold a few shares of a truck he and his family owned to Indians, but he retained the controlling interest. His wife was reputed to be a witch, and was an active curer, combining old and new treatments of illnesses.

His position was challenged in the 1960s by the Ladino schoolmaster, 159 875 177 178 563 578 [312] [756] who had been remarkably unsuccessful from his arrival in 1953 until that time in gaining personal power and influence. His intercession in a local homicide case involving a father's murder of his son outraged the townspeople, some of whom threatened to kill him. His attempts to have water installed aroused the curers against him since they were accustomed to bathing their patients at the source of the spring from which they were debarred when the plumbing was installed. His demands that children [871] [582] within the legal age limit should not only attend school but should be prohibited from marrying until they had completed their schooling caused the anger of parents who wanted to give their daughters in an early and profitable marriage.

159 875 177 178 563 559 [608] [546] [278] [431] Gradually, however, the schoolmaster extended his own base of support. He minimized his attack on local customs, adhering only to those laws affecting the school population, over which he had a great deal of control. Some of his support came from the orthodox Catholic members of the community; he extended his control through compadre relationships with over eighty members of the community. He showed movies which he acquired from the United Nations and other educational film sources and gave away medicines acquired from the health officials in the state capitol who were his friends. From one of these sources of philanthropy he acquired wool shawls which he gave to every woman in the town.

The professor demanded no return from the townspeople other than their respect and admiration; he was a person who enjoyed commanding others and needed an arena in which to project his own personality. In his early years in the town, he had to satisfy this need by capturing stray tourists and plying them with soda pop or coffee. His first opportunity to gain [494] leadership in the local sphere came in 1963, when he supported the new truck-owning cooperative. He used the influence of contacts in the state capital, including compadres, friends, and relatives of his wife's family. He promoted the cooperative's attempt to gain the presidency. One of the first

acts of the new officials was to fire the Ladino secretary and install an Indian for the first time. The schoolmaster had won his battle for recognition. In every legal dispute in which the town became involved, the schoolmaster accompanied the town officials as they went to visit departmental and state leaders, acting as their spokesman. He never accepted even expenses for these trips. His satisfaction was in giving advice to the officials on all matters, in being the man whom outsiders consulted before anything could be accomplished, and in finding an audience.

The schoolmaster consolidated his position by drawing together all his supporters in a parent-teachers association, which served as a captive audience for his extended monologues. I was called upon as a witness to the installation of the members, and I took advantage of the occasion to record some of the schoolmaster's rhetoric as he addressed the "parents." In attendance were the president, his brother, four members of their truck-owning cooperative, and about ten other representatives. The teacher told me that they were the best people in town—not one of them had killed anyone! The excerpt below is not complete, but there was sufficient repetition in the schoolmaster's discourse so that nothing is lost.

Schoolmaster: "I don't fight with anyone. We do not come to fight. A schoolmaster is a guide to teach respect. I have thirty-three years teaching in pueblos of campesinos, poor people like you. I am your brother. I am your teacher. The ignorant people do not want to send their children to school. This is a good school, and there are those of you who have succeeded by learning. Ramon Leon was a boarding school student for two years. He and seven others have received scholarships. They accuse me of not working, but they do not know what is happening in the school. Those who know give congratulations to the school. The children of this school won the competition at the conference of teachers. It is neither a poor school with poor students, nor a rich school with rich students, but all are together. They say we do not teach. Compadre" (to president), "is this so? They say we only dance, but at the conference our students won the prize.

"This school is yours. It is better organized than any other. The flag which we had we gave to Villa Las Rosas because they are campesinos;

159 *they are my friends. I prefer to send it there than to Teopisca, because*
875 *they are campesinos.*
871 *"I have proved to you I am a friend of campesinos and of the poor. I*
563 *don't have to say anything if I see that some are killing, that some are dis-*
177 *tilling liquor. This is an affair of the civil authorities, not of me. If some*
178 *come to tell me that so and so has killed someone, I close my ears.*
557 *"What is more important in life is what is in your head, not your cloth-ing. Do you understand me?"*

All reply, "Yes, maestro."

"If we are going to win over Teopisca and Villa Las Rosas, our children have to work hard. I had the luck of receiving a medal because I am one of the principal teachers and know the preparation of teachers. The Jefe of Operation put a medal on my breast and gave me an abrazo. *Here is the picture taken two years ago—Lupe get the rag!" Schoolmaster dusts photograph with rag. "Here you see me with the medal on my breast.*

"Who is more important—the one who accuses me and has to put his finger to sign the declaration, or those of you who can write?

"Now the schoolmaster does not give permission to let the children stay away from school. We do not have authority to release the children except for illness. Those children who go most often to school are those who get ahead. They speak idioma [*native language*] *when they play, but when they enter the school they speak* Castellano [*Spanish*].

"Now you know everything. I am happy with you. If there are some who are not happy that I am here, then I shall go happily. There are schools where schoolmasters hit the children. There is a school where the Indian teacher hit a child three times. This is a crime!

"I know where all this talk comes from. Don Ramon [*Ladino secretary who supported opposing candidate mentioned above*] *has a truck—he and Doña Juana. They buy wheat and corn at half price. If the Indians do not pay off, they get double the return at the next harvest. My compadres have come and told me. Those who are with him are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by him. They have two trucks in Teopisca. They come and ask people to sign a paper supporting their candidate. People sign because they are afraid she* [*Juana*] *will use witchcraft."*

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President: "Ramon left her, but then he went back to her because of witchcraft." 159 875

Schoolmaster "This is the group which is against me and is against the pueblo." 871 563

Schoolmaster's wife: "You see how happy the pueblo is." She waves her hand to plaza where marimba is playing for the fiesta. "Everything is well organized. Not as it was formerly when Don Ramon was in town." 177 178 557

President: "You see how the pueblo is learning. The children are learning to knit. Everyone knits."

Schoolmaster, giving oath of office to parents: "In the name of the Secretary of Public Education, I ask you to serve with faithfulness to the pueblo. The school is the defense of the country. It is preparing you for tomorrow. The society of parents of the school represents you. Your children represent the future of the country in the sign of the three colors, and you have the obligation to defend the country. The country will become great when all the children know how to write. When Mexico has need of its children, the children will be prepared to die for the country. You should see that schools prepare the children. See Mexico is a country united.

"I have been here since 1953. It is not now as it was then. We have water, a highway. You are not in the state you were then.

"Today we see a kiosk." He waves hand to plaza. "Tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory. It will be a grand pueblo, a civilized pueblo. There was a schoolmaster here who worked two days a week. I have worked every day since 1953. I secured eight scholarships for the children. If there are some who didn't go, it is because their father does not send them. If there are those who say the school does not function, they are traitors to the pueblo. Honorable Society of Fathers of Families, I am the schoolmaster. I shall explain. Give an applause." Applause.

The schoolmaster's discourse reveals several aspects of his position in the town. He indicates the lesson he has learned in avoiding interference in the town's social control system ("I don't have to say anything if I see that some are killing, that some are taking out trago. This is an affair of the 159 875 563 177 178

159 civil officials, not of me"). He identifies himself with the Indians in the
875 fight against the competitive trucking cooperative ("Those who are with
563 him [Don Ramon] are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by
177 him"). While he does not accuse Ramon's wife directly of witchcraft he
178 implies this in saying that people sign their candidate's nomination peti-
[754] tion for president because they are afraid Juana will use witchcraft. This is
[626] a characteristic mode of attacking one's enemies in the town. He claims credit for all of the innovations in the town which have won public approval—the highway, the water supply, electricity, and so forth.

622 The profit motive is inadequate to explain why Ladinos want to play
875 the role of cacique in these corporate Indian communities. One must seek
563 for an explanation instead in the social status they gain. While their jobs
177 are limited and usually frustrating and they can never be completely inte-
178 grated into the community, political activities offer them a larger arena in which they can derive personal satisfaction. The contrast between the schoolmaster's position in Tzoʔontahal before he became a political leader and his position after finding local supporters illustrates this. In the early days of his residence in town, when he built a chicken coop which extended a few feet beyond the grounds allotted to the schoolhouse, some Indians threatened to kill him. In 1957, I saw him trying to summon a policeman from the town hall, which was adjacent to the schoolhouse, to remove a boulder from the path so that a visiting friend could pass in his automobile. No one heeded his urgent shouts or the whistle he used to call children to school, although they were well aware of what he wanted. But by 1965 there was not a single important transaction which did not require consultation with the schoolteacher. Campesinos from as far as Villa Las Rosas came to request his advice and his help in approaching government agents. In projecting his political role, he gained support for projects which were of interest to him. When he had succeeded in getting the gov-
[653] ernment to install water pipes and electricity, he talked the civil authori-
[312] ties into building a kiosk, or bandstand, in the plaza. This was a fulfill-
[365] ment of his ambition to make the town over in the image of a colonial
[345] Spanish pueblo. His final statement in the speech quoted above, "Today we see a kiosk, tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory!" reveals the symbolic significance it had for him.

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Conflict among Religious Functionaries

Conflict in the religious domain stems from the opposition of the traditional religious hierarchy and more recently that of the young leadership in the civil authority to the increasing power of the priest. In this conflict the fiscal is a middleman who often gets knocked by both sides. 578 794

The priest. The priest visits thirty other Indian communities of the department of San Cristóbal Las Casas in addition to Tzoʔontahal. In the fifteen years he has been working regularly in this town, he has gained increasing authority over the cofrades. He is assisted by two lay sisters who maintain the church and lead the evening prayers in his absence. He admits that, without them, his own work in the town would be more difficult because of the sexual jealousy of the townsmen. His relationship to the group of about forty *resadoras,* or female prayer-makers, who attend the evening prayers regularly and are the most vocal respondents in the mass, would be suspect without the presence of the lay sisters. 793 [794]

The priest tries to play the role of parish leader as well as spiritual leader. When medicine is available from missionary sources, he gives it to the sick. In his sermons, he advises people to use injections, which he makes available, against contagious diseases. He attempts to counsel the people, advising them not to kill, to steal, or to have illegal sexual affairs. In his role as pastor, the priest is influenced by missionary efforts of American Catholic organizations which have sent supplies to the area. [797] [278] [751] [797]

In recent years, the priest has challenged the authority of the head cofrade in activities occurring within and at the door of the church. The following incident, recounted by the son of the elder cofrade, marked a shift in control in these domains: 578 793 794 273

In 1961 the elder cofrade of Sacramento was drinking with the other mayordomos at the door of the church. The priest came out and demanded that they stop because this was the house of God. The elder replied that it was the custom of the pueblo, and he and the other men refused to leave. The priest went back into the church and returned with a gun in his hand. The mayordomos seized wood which they had gathered

578 *to cook their meal in the yard of the church. They threatened to beat the*
793 *priest with the wood, and he retreated into the church. He later an-*
794 *nounced that he would not give mass, or weddings, or baptism. We did*
273 *not mind that he did not give the mass or would not give weddings, but the people were frightened if he would not give baptism. The mayordomos had a meeting, and they agreed to give up drinking in the church if the priest would continue to give baptism, but they would no longer care for the pigs or bring wood for him without payment. We pay him fifteen*
[465] *pesos for an ordinary mass and forty pesos for a singing mass, so he should pay us for help. The priest was in agreement with the mayordomos.*

[264] As a result of this edict, the drinking has stopped and the mayordomos no longer eat the common meal in the church yard. Drinking was an act linked to eating, since the round of liquor served before the meal was "to prepare the stomach," and the drink after the meal was "to wash down the food." The shift to the house of the cofrade was a ready alternative in this community where the household is a recognized ritual domain.

793 The priest's control over the church has extended to control over the do-
794 nation boxes and the saints' images. He now receives the money donated
178 to the saints and does not permit a public accounting of the funds. Because of this, the civil officials accuse him of stealing some of the money.
793 A recent incident recounted below by one of the prayer-reciters led to even
776 more severe censure:

626 *The bishop visited our church, and when he looked under the silk robes*
578 *of the Virgin Santa Lucía he found a wooden dress covered with gold*
178 *paint. He told the priest to have the cloth dress removed. The people were very upset by this since they are very proud of the dresses bought for the Virgin. One of the prayer-reciters dreamed that the Virgin appeared before her in tears, saying she did not want to appear nude in public. We [the group of prayer-reciters] went to see the bishop to demand that the Virgin should wear her dress in church and that the priest be sent out of the town. The bishop refused. He said the Virgin did not feel cold because she was just a statue. Ha! How could she not feel cold?*

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The issue of the Virgin's clothing has increased the attacks on the priest. These have been aired in public meetings which take place on Sunday. Opposition to the priest has shifted from the old cofrades to the young leadership of the pueblo, men who wish to extend internal control over the church as well as the town hall. They tried to enlist the fiscal's help in getting rid of the priest, but he refused to cooperate. The president's brother, who serves as town treasurer, recounts the following exchange he had with the priest:

I saw Padre Juan take money from the box when I was mayordomo in the church. All of us mayordomos went to talk with him. I asked him how much money was turned in during the fiesta.

"The madres [*lay sisters*] *know," he said, "I don't."*

He called them, and they said, "We haven't counted the money. Come tomorrow."

The priest was very angry that we asked for an account. Pablo [*the fiscal*] *was too afraid to talk with him. When we left the church, I told Pablo, "You are in charge of the church. Why didn't you demand an account of the money in front of the church? We never got an account."*

Then we began to fight. Padre Juan doesn't want to leave the town. He has it too good here. He has a good yard with many fruit trees and a nice house. The Ladinos in Teopisca don't let him stay in their convento overnight. They are sharp, those damned Ladinos! We pay the padre thirty pesos every Sunday. Before he lived here, we used to have good music and more firecrackers for fiestas. Now he wants to stop all this. He was the one who ordered that all the money be collected. We wanted to go buy a gross of firecrackers. He said, "Why do you want firecrackers? It is the mass that has value. The saints don't want firecrackers or music."

He is very smart, the padre. He wants to keep the money for himself. Now we just get two firecrackers each morning of the fiesta and two in the evening. In Teopisca, they fire dozens of firecrackers. Here what is left over from the contributions for the fiesta remains in the box, and he takes it.

I went to get new clothing for the saint. In Comitán they wanted two

793 794 [578] *hundred and fifty pesos for a dress. The padre said I couldn't buy it there. He told me to send for one in Mexico that cost five hundred and fifty pesos. He wanted to make the profit.*

The fiscal. As an intermediary between the traditional religious officials and the priest, the fiscal is the target for both sides of the religious controversy. The priest selects the fiscal, but his retention of the post depends on his being accepted by the mayordomos. The tendency in the past [212] [191] fifteen years since a regular priest has been assigned to the community is to choose a man who speaks Spanish and can read and write, but who can 794 be dominated by the priest. The following statement by a man who served in this post in 1929 defines the functions of the fiscal as the Indians see them:

> *When I served as fiscal, I knew how to sell* [*the Indians use the verb* to sell *in reference to any propaganda—whether commercial, political, or religious*] *the catechism. After the prayer, I cleaned the patio. I held the key to the church. I saw* [*in the sense of watch over*] *all the mayordomos. I bought the candles and incense for the saints. At midday the mayordomos and I left the church and went home. There was no padre living here then, and the padre from San Cristóbal came only on the days of San Francisco, Virgin Santa Lucía, San Pedro the Martyr, and Santiago. Each Sunday, the ten mayordomos and I entered the church and prayed in the true language.*

[782] [191] Prayers are now given in Spanish by the fiscal and the prayer-reciters under the guidance of the lay sisters, who remain most of the time in the convento. The fiscal, as a consequence, is no longer selected on the basis of [554] his ability to recite the pat'o'tan. Since one of the main tasks of the fiscal is to take care of the church, several recent incumbents have been jeered as being like women, cleaning house and responding to the bidding of the priests. Some have suggested that one was a homosexual. They blame the fiscales for letting control over the domain of the church fall into the hands of the priest.

[782] A man who had filled the post himself, described the careers of several former fiscales:

In 1912, Bernardo was fiscal. He knew how to pray well. About nine in the morning, the girls [prayer-reciters] gathered in the church and heard prayer in common. Then he borrowed money from the church and did not return it. He left for the finca with his father and three men. His wife went with her children. He fled because he didn't have the money, and he never returned. He sold his house in town to buy food. He died there in the finca. The girls remembered him because he was a friend, and they bought a candle for twenty cents. 794 782

Another fiscal, Antonio, began to give prayers to the same girls who accompanied him. He knew how to pray very well, and he prayed each Sunday. Then he died.

Then Carlos passed as fiscal. He knew how to pray from memory. The same girls learned, and all sang the prayer. Then that fiscal sold the tablecloths; he sold the candle holders; he sold everything. Therefore the cofrades did not want him. They said, "Go away because you are not good." God was going to punish him because he sold everything in the church.

In 1929 the pueblo named Ceferino [the informant, who refers to himself in the third person]. He served until he was made president in 1937.

In 1938, Antonio was chosen by the pueblo, but soon they did not want him because he was always ordering the pueblo to do work. He charged a lot for the fiestas, but he did not buy firecrackers or clothing for the saints. In a mass meeting they asked him to leave.

In 1939 Miguel put himself in office. The pueblo did not choose him. He did not know how to pray. He knew a little by memory because he heard what Antonio had said in his prayers, but he did not know the catechism. He didn't want to leave the church, but the pueblo spoke much against him.

The padre was against Miguel because he had begun to take advantage of the trips with the priest to sell the contraband liquor that he distilled. Some maintain that it was during his period as fiscal that the power shifted from the cofrades to the priest. He was accused of stealing the money donated to the saint, a sum of about 300 pesos. Although the money was returned, he is still considered guilty. 794 [193] [685]

Miguel's successor, the present incumbent Pablo, served as president while he was fiscal. [622]

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while he was fiscal. He let control over the key to the church and the donation boxes slip into the hands of the priest. His opponents accused him of weakness and failure to act in the interest of the town. The careers of these fiscales illustrate the pitfalls for those filling the post. First, there is the temptation for personal gain, since the fiscal has access to the money of the saints: in the past three fiscales have been charged with robbery. Second, there is the problem that the fiscal serves two masters, the priest and the head cofrade, each of whom has different standards of conduct for the role: when the selection of the fiscal was in the hands of the cofrades, they chose a man who knew the pat'o'tan and who was to deal directly with the curers in rituals at the cave of the ancestors and in the homes of the cofrades; now he is chosen by the priest who prefers a young, literate man. If the fiscal follows the commands of the priest, he runs into problems with the cofrades. This was the difficulty with Antonio, who was put out of office by the cofrades because he yielded to the priest's demands to improve the convento and the church. As long as the conflict in interests between the priest and the traditional authorities exist, there is no successful position for the fiscal to take.

Conflict and Social Change

In the contest for leadership which has and is occurring, the following observations can be made on the basis of the events described.

1. The community has successfully incorporated the young, literate men into the framework of the traditional hierarchy. This has been accomplished by expanding the scope of activities of the president and síndico and by relieving them of serving in the lower posts of the hierarchy.

2. The ceremonial role of the principales serves as a symbol of continuity in government both in the tie they have with the past and in the annual changeover of officials.

3. The threat of foreign Indians in the township misusing their skills in dealing with the outside world has been overcome by removing them from office and preventing them from filling high posts.

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 621 177 178

4. In a series of confrontations, the civil officials have challenged the social control functions of the curers. Witch-killings in which many of the victims have been curers have minimized but not overcome the power of these men. [756]

5. The priest has succeeded in establishing control over the church, but the Indians may yet succeed in deposing him, a plan they were putting into effect when I left town. [193]

The Indians are now aware of their rights to limit—or eliminate if necessary—the self-appointed caciques. The new cacique promotes the community welfare not only in his rhetoric but in the services he performs for the officials. His involvement in political affairs is tolerated, not encouraged, and the officials are ready to turn to alternative sources of aid in their activities. 641 622 177 178

The involvement of the PRI in local elections has not introduced a new center of power in the political arena. Political factions are based on economic interests contained within the town, and the autonomy of the town has in no way been affected by leadership from party headquarters in the state capitol. The community and the party use each other for their own ends in almost complete ignorance of what is occurring in the domain of the other. 665 621 178

The system of beliefs and understandings has changed along with these organizational changes. The most significant change has been the waning belief in the guardianship of the ancestors. The absence of the curers at the fiesta of the caves means that they no longer have this ritual occasion to validate their claims by communicating with the ancestors. The loss of leadership and of a hierarchy of prestige within the ranks of curers has removed internal controls over the profession and further undermined their position. The diminishing respect with which they are treated in the town hall and the increasing number of murders of curers accused of witchcraft is directly related to the loss of belief in their power as guardians. Since they were not an integral part of the civil-religious hierarchy, as the curers were in Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947), this has not upset the hierarchy, but it has changed the balance of power in the wider community. 769 756 178 [683]

The diminishing significance of the leadership of the principales is tied 621 756 178

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621 to the loss of belief in the curers. The principales were formerly conceived
756 to be overseers of the curers, men who, because of their advanced age,
178 could determine whether the curers were acting in the interest of the town. With the loss of this social control function, along with the loss of other functions such as holding public funds and helping the judges to interpret the law, they have declined to the level of ceremonial figures dissociated from political action.

621 The forms of political organization remain the same, but there has been
178 a shift in the balance of power from leaders whose authority rested on guardianship linked with the ancestors to leaders who can deal with the external power structure. The emergent forms of political organization can be partially assessed in the meaning participants assign to the events which precipitated this process of change. To paraphrase George Herbert Mead (1938:liii) it is the "organization of perspectives" concerning the past events and the present conditions which will effect the emergent
829 forms. The analytical problem can be phrased with the questions, "In
578 what dialectical terms is the conflict cast?" and "What changes do the
794 members of the community perceive as an outcome of the struggle?"
621 Whereas in the colonial period the conflict between the Indians and their
177 Spanish conquerors was seen as a struggle for control between Catholicism
178 and traditional religion, today the conflict is phrased as one of opposed economic interests. In the civil sphere, factional opponents seek the sup-
[193] port of extra-communal power holders to gain their ends. In the religious sphere, the Indians see the conflict as one in which their control over the church and the income derived from it is opposed to the priest's growing influence.

829 In this reorganization of perspectives, the Indians share some of the
62 goals of the dominant society, but they continue to oppose themselves to
182 the Ladino world. For this reason they are willing to preserve the form of the civil-religious hierarchy as a means of asserting their independence from the dominant society. They see the community not only as a defensive screen against the outside world, but as a springboard for entry into the national economic and political life. They are now consciously taking advantage of pro-Indian sentiment to secure a preferred position in this society. Their awareness of their advantage over the deculturated Indian is

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made explicit in the contrasts they make between their conditions and those of the migratory mestizo laborers who work in the sawmills and fincas in the area. They comment on the fact that these workers have no political representation and that they and their children are illiterate and do not attend school. The significant factor is that the Indians of the corporate communities not only have advantages over the mestizo worker, but they perceive these advantages and are acting in terms of them. The preservation of community traditions is seen as a means of retaining community-owned assets and of maintaining a sense of self which is threatened or destroyed when the individual Indian enters into the national society.

The rules of strategy for moving in the direction of change are a transformation of the rules of the game that the Indians hve played in the four and a half centuries since the Conquest. The overall strategy is still defensive and aimed at preserving local independence, but their tactics include new skills acquired from Ladinos. In opposing the old power elite of the curing hierarchy, the present leadership uses the same tactics of the witch-hunt that their opponents used in the past to punish deviates, but they are beginning to confront them openly when sorcery is suspected. Leaders of the new cooperatives state that their aim is to increase opportunities for the whole community, not to make individual profit.

Because the conflict has been contained within community boundaries, the statement of goals remains the same. These goals include the retention of control by local leaders over judgment of guilt or innocence, in ceremonial affairs, and by all townspeople over land. This retention of local control is the key feature of a moving equilibrium in a model of change that puts the emphasis on continuous adjustments and adaptations. In the usual models for discussing modernization, the confrontation is conceived as one between the indigenous society and the outsider representing western influence. In Tzo'ontahal, young leaders within the community have confronted old in the stated interest of preserving tradition. Occasionally they may make alliances with the old leaders as in the conflict with the priest.

These "shifts in the focus of political power within a given system" (Leach 1964:9) are the prelude to structural change. Tzo'ontahal as a case

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621 example demonstrates the large input of local energies in bringing about
177 change, both the changes that lead to internal restructuring of the distribu-
178 tion of power as well as those necessary in the introduction of new technology and organization of economic activity. It defeats the notion of the non-western segment of the world as a passive recipient of the gifts of the West.

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Chapter 10

Roles, Persons, and the Evaluation of Performance

Categories of roles, time, and place structure the expectations of social groups. The following three chapters summarize the preceding data according to these cognitive modes. Role behavior and system, which will be analyzed in the present chapter, provide only a partial explanation of social interaction. It is the "proliferation of behavior beyond roles" (Linn 1967) that is of greater interest for the study of change. Consideration of place and time helps to make role categories explicit and to structure behavior that exceeds role expectations. Changes in the use of space and time can reveal adjustments in role relations before change occurs. Space and time perspectives will therefore be analyzed in the following two chapters.

Cooperation is possible when actors not only take into account the responses of others but also anticipate those responses. Anticipations are based in part upon understanding of conventional roles, but the rights, duties, and obligations invested in roles do not encompass all of the relevant expectations which make coordinated social interaction possible. Individual repetitive behavior in role play gives an image of what kind of person each actor is, and the groups of individuals are further categorized as "kinds of people." As an example of the first kind of classification, we have persons characterized as bright, dull, honest, crafty, etc. The second set of categories puts different personalities in socioeconomic classes such as rich and poor, or in political classes such as radical and conservative. Tzoʔontahal, along with other small societies, emphasizes personality categories since it lacks well-defined socioeconomic or sociopolitical classes.

Social continuity depends upon events which call for the participation of groups defined by roles as well as on socialization processes that under-

121 write beliefs that give coherence to these roles. Whether these events continue to be scheduled, and in the process of being presented "prove" the postulates upon which structural relationships are based, depends upon acceptance of the belief system.

183 A fundamental understanding governing behavior in Tzoʔontahal is that people ought to do as the ancestors did. Both "knowing" and "re-
[192] membering" are expressed by the same verb, *ya sna,* while "learning" and "memorizing" are expressed by the verb *ya snop*. The behavioral corollary of this association between knowing and remembering is that one should accept the word of the ancestors as a guide to behavior. The importance of obeying one's elders as the intermediaries in the transfer of ways of behaving from one generation to another is stressed in child training and is restated in the prayers uttered at ritual performances enacting the ways of the ancestors.

128 In this chapter I shall consider the integration of behavior based on roles, personality, codes of morality and etiquette, and the ideological and behavorial changes which are disturbing this system.

The Role System

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621 Coherence of the role system in Tzoʔontahal depends upon (1) similar
182 premises for role recruitment and continuity in transition from one role to another; (2) alternation in office and linkage of separate domains by special offices; and (3) standardized etiquette of role interaction. Uniform standards of evaluation of performance provide a sanctioning system ensuring social integration.

561 *Recruitment and transition*. Relative and chronological age com-
554 bined with consideration of sex are the fundamental principles for assign-
562 ing role categories. The age principle categorizes the entire town in role pairs of respect and deference. Sex differentiation is not made in children until after infancy. An infant of either sex is called *ʔunin,* also a term for
[192] the new moon, until the age of eight months. The sex of parent rather
[601] than that of the child is designated: a woman calls her offspring *ʔalal* whether boy or girl, and a man calls his offspring *nit'an*. Sex distinction is

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made in speaking of toddlers: boys are called *htatil* and girls *ḳantzil*. After five years of age, a boy is referred to as *č'in ḳerem*, "little boy" and a girl as *č'in ʔačiš*, "little girl." The term for younger sibling, *ḳihtz'in*, which is extended to all of the people younger than oneself on one's own side of the dual division, is not sex marked, but the terms for all people older than oneself are. Sexual segregation begins at the age of five in sleeping arrangements as well as in public gatherings, when little boys stand with their fathers. The modifier "č'in" is dropped after the age of nine, and the terms "kerem" and "ačiš" are used until marriage. At the age of fifteen, a girl is referred to as *ʔantz wištal*, "just arriving at womanhood," and when she is married she is classified as an *ʔantz*, or woman. A boy is referred to as a kerem until he is married, when he is called *ač' winiḳ* or "new man." A woman with children is referred to as *meʔeliš*, and is a full-fledged member of her sex, the *meʔil*. A man's reference term does not change with paternity. When a young unmarried man dies, people say with sorrow that it was a pity "he did not try out life," and that "he did not try out a woman."

In her youth a woman's role is tied to the reproductive cycle, but after menopause she is released from the restrictions of childbearing women. She need not appear as modest in public, and can drink and dance at fiestas. A noticeable personality change can be seen as women move out of the chrysalis of their reproductive cycle. Some older women begin to take a keen interest in sex, and widows in particular may have sexual relations with young unmarried men. It is after menopause that a woman takes her first role in ceremonials as a woman speaker.

In the man's life cycle, leadership roles are related to age. Paternal roles are the prototype for both familial and public authority positions. Thus the term for father, *tat* is the stem for the term for leader, *statal*.

In the relationship between the sexes, women are considered to be under the control of a male protector, either their father or husband. However, there is a kind of equality between the sexes which is not found in Ladino society. Usually there is only a small age difference between husband and wife, even in second marriages, and parents resist giving a young unmarried girl to an older previously married man. Mutual respect is stressed in the advice given by elders at marriage. There is no double standard for ex-

There is no double standard for ex-
593 562 [837] tramarital sexual relations, although men abuse the prohibition more often than women, judging from court cases. The ability the women has to assert herself rests on her economic contribution in pottery-making and on the fact that female household help is not part of the labor market.

562 831 Female sexuality has the connotation of negative power over male sexuality. A woman should not step over a man's feet or his clothing since she could affect his virility. This negative power emanates from the odors of a [827] woman's body, and is captured by anything in contact with it. A woman's [825] skirt cast over the head of a bull can tame him, and the water used by a [755] woman to wash her body, particularly the vagina if she has had children, [752] is drunk to cure snake bites because it is very "cold."

[412] Sexuality is seldom extended beyond persons to material objects. There is some feeling that a man's tools, especially the machete and hoe, are male [241] and that a woman's tools, especially the grinding stone, are female. Corn is a crop of men, while beans are a woman's crop, identified with the Virgin. But I could not get much farther with such distinctions.

593 597 861 [603] The accidents of birth determine the recruitment of successive generations into the family of orientation. There is no outright adoption, but a child may be "lent" to a childless couple, usually by a sibling of one of the spouses, or a grandchild may take up residence in the house of a grandparent when all the children have moved to separate residences. Parents discipline a badly behaved child with the threat, "I am going to sell you to care for someone's house," but I have never known of a case of outright sale of a child.

581 582 The selection of a spouse is a decision based on both universalistic as well as particularistic considerations. Both the boy and the girl should be hardworking, sober, and dutiful residents of the same section of the dual division. It is considered to be of greater importance that the boy feel af- [562] fection toward the girl than vice versa. The "taking of the heart" is a test of the strength and exclusiveness of the boy's interest in his chosen mate, and there is no counterpart for the girl. Although there is no term for romantic love, the closest approximation being "want" or "ask for" a woman, there is an awareness of the importance of a warm, affectionate basis if a marriage relationship is to last "at least until the day after tomorrow." A suitor is accepted if he is known to be a hard worker and if he

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does not drink or have a record of fighting. Character traits are given more significance than wealth, since the minimal differences which distinguish rich from poor can be lost within a few months if a man drinks heavily or does not work. The close identification among siblings means that in accepting a suit the girl's parents will take into consideration not only the boy's reputation, but those of his brothers. If they are considered to be disobedient, lazy, or frequently drunk, their brother may have difficulty finding a woman. 581 582 [593]

Positions of ceremonial importance in the household celebrations are filled by any of the elders who have acquired knowledge of the prayers. The nakawanehetik are chosen from among any of the bilaterally-extended relatives, compadres, or padrinos who have served five times in religious office. They are selected not only on the basis of how well they know the prayers, but also on their behavior when required to drink. A man who can hold his liquor and still speak well or who quietly goes to sleep rather than fighting when drunk is preferred. The me?il k'op is selected from among the female complements of these male relatives. She acquires her knowledge of the prayers in familial settings. The b'alnialetik are chosen from the kihtz'inal (younger siblings and cousins), or from among compadres or members of neighboring households. The rank order between the two sets of roles—the nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik—depends on relative age; thus the older nakawanehetik have greater authority. 794 592 782 555 561 [273]

Familial roles provide both a pattern and a springboard for other roles in the community. The father-son role pair is extended to the relationships between senior and junior officials in both the religious hierarchy and the curing hierarchy. For each saint, the elder mayordomo is called "father" (*Tatil Martoma*), and the younger is called "son" (*Nic'nal Martoma*). A man must fill the junior post at least two times before taking on the senior post. For each side of the dual division, the elder curer (when there was a recognized leader) was called "father" (*Tatil ?u?ul*), and the younger was called "son" (*Nic'nal ?u?ul*) or sometimes "youth" (*Ektal ?u?ul*). The term *me?il* (woman who has borne a child) is used in the reference to ceremonial roles played by women in the household, as in the case of me?il k'op (woman speaker) and me?il c'om (mother of the betrothal). 621 593 561 794 192 [756] 621 592 562

621 593 581 794 Familial role requirements must be fulfilled in order for public roles to be undertaken. A man must be married in order to enter into even the lowest posts in the civil and religious hierarchies.

794 556 434 554 Only in the case of the alfereces has wealth ever been a criterion for recruitment. These four officials had to be able to spend 3,000 pesos during their year in office. The heavy expenditures failed to give prestige to the official, and the display of wealth excited envy rather than respect. The result was that people called upon to accept the post had to be imprisoned before they would accept.

554 756 Recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on innate qualities; special skills and knowledge are attributes acquired in office or other role positions rather than requirements for undertaking roles. Curers are recruited because they are recognized as having an animal spirit; they learn whatever skills are required after they have been initiated into the profession. The curers' special position in the society rests more on esoteric powers than on esoteric knowledge. Everyone in the com- [278] munity knows the herbs and medicines which are prescribed, and most men can give as comprehensive a taxonomy of illnesses as any practicing curer.

868 241 [857] [883] Economic roles, though largely undifferentiated for each sex, are consciously learned and transmitted. Boys accompany their fathers or elder brothers to the field at about the age of eight and continue working with them until they reach independence. Observation of behavior alone would seem to indicate an unconscious absorption of the role of agricultural worker, but informants recount episodes in which training in field work was explicitly transmitted by their fathers or brothers, and formal approval of their ability to do the tasks announced to their mothers. Parents [871] express fear that school attendance not only interferes with working in the milpa, but that it will cause the child to forget what he has learned in the field. Regardless of what other tasks a man performs, he thinks of himself as a farmer.

868 323 Becoming a potter requires an even more explicit training procedure. The fine linguistic segmentation of each act and movement in the schedule of pottery-making is a clue to the explicit transmission of tasks by the

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mother to her daughter. Informants are able to recount the succession of 868
learning of the tasks, the relative difficulty of each task, and the mistakes 323
they made and how their mother corrected them. Being a potter in Tzo'ontahal is as much a part of being a woman as the role of agriculturalist is of being a man.

Special tasks become crystallized as roles only when few people perform 463
them. Jobs such as caponizing, butchering, net and rope weaving, and 554
wood cutting which are done by almost every man do not have role terms. Bonesetting and curing of certain "good" illnesses, such as swelling caused by embarrassment, are semispecialized activities performed by a few women who have "cold" hands. Midwifery is a fully specialized role per- [759]
formed by two women who are referred to as "the grandmothers of the newborn child."

A new occupational role has been created with the purchase of a truck 463
by Indians of the community. There are now two Indian truck drivers. 554
Recruitment of these particular young men was a result of their fathers' 177
importance in the truck-owning cooperatives, and their skill was acquired [493]
in apprenticeship with a Ladino truck driver hired when the truck was first in operation. Both of them are acculturated in clothing and speech. Since they have acquired skills in dealing with the Ladino world, they often act as intermediaries for Indians of the town in their negotiations in the market or the courts of the departmental capital.

The continuity in occupational adjustment from early childhood to 864
adulthood contrasts with the discontinuities in assuming roles in the life cycle. Girls are not advised about menstruation until they see the first signs of it; they describe their reaction to it as one of fear and surprise. Often they have been pregnant several months before they are aware of the condition or its cause, and they have no preparation for the experience
of childbirth before it is upon them. Boys are not considered men until 885
they are married, but in order to arrive at this status, they must enter into 584
the "fight to get a wife," as the betrothal is often called. 585

Since recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on 554
qualities of the person rather than acquired skills, failure to recognize the prerequisite conditions of age and experience undermines the validity of

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554 the status. Community integration is achieved at the expense of limiting the range of roles through restricted recruitment and validating mechanisms.

621 794 [182] *Alternation and linkage in office-holding.* The principle of alternation between civil and religious posts serves to integrate these officers in a single functioning system and prevents the development of segmented groups. The alternation of offices between sides of the dual divisions helps to integrate the village by pairing or alternating them in the same office. Some roles served as links between the institutional domaines. Principales are the primary symbolic leaders of both hierarchies since they are chosen from among men who have completed service in both hierarchies. The alfereces formerly symbolized the unity of the civil and religious branches in the transfer of banners from the cabildo to the church and in other ceremonial duties.

621 624 794 [692] [84] The regidores and judges have remained identified with the civil authority in Tzoʔontahal, although in other towns in the area they have become almost exclusively identified with the religious hierarchy (Cancian 1965). The regidores were formerly involved in religious affairs during the household celebration for the installation of the new alférez. At this time they were called personaetik from the Spanish term persona, or personage.

731 756 178 621 Events requiring community action reveal some of the links which unite officials who play roles in different institutional settings. On the occasion of an epidemic, curers are called before the civil authority to "give an account" of who is causing the witchcraft. Formerly the curers were linked to the civil hierarchy by a system of social control in which the principales, as elders, reviewed their actions in guarding the safety and health of the community. This system of checks and balance has been broken by the shift in power from the principales to the president.

794 621 182 The nakawanehetik provide the links between the household and the civil and religious hierarchies. They transmit the knowledge of ritual prayer and acts and officiate at the inauguration of officials. They serve as stage directors in maintaining the traditional household rituals and in ensuring continuity in public ceremonials.

Etiquette of role interaction. The complex system of stereotyped behavior contained in codes of etiquette depends upon role relations. The primary rule of etiquette is to greet people appropriately. In street greetings, one demonstrates that one knows how to "take into account," or show respect to, elders and minors. To elders of the first ascending generation or above, one says, "Good morning, father (or mother)." Those of one's own generation are greeted as elder brother or sister, or younger brother or sister, depending on their relative age. If the encounter is with a compadre, the terms kumpare or kumare take precedence over any other relation. A respected curer is addressed as *tatinal*. Officials are greeted by their titles, preceded by *mam* if they are older. Such greetings are restricted to people who live in the same division of the village. When one enters the other division, it is necessary to greet only compadres or relatives who have passed over after marriage. When younger persons approach elders of prestige, they remove their hats and incline their heads to be touched.

Service of food and drink is strictly ordered by age and sex. At mealtime, small children are fed separately, before or after their elders depending on the child's needs. When they reach the age of reason, about twelve, they are expected to await their turn. The father is served first, followed by his sons in order of age. The mother eats later with the girls.

The etiquette of ceremonial behavior is an extension and elaboration of the everyday forms. Service and greetings are made in order of age and rank, a procedure simplified by the fact that seating arrangements are made in the same order. In house ceremonials, the eldest man sits facing inward, to the right of the door. The rest of the company sits in clockwise order from eldest to youngest on benches lining the porch. Within the house, the seating of women by age begins with the eldest woman sitting at the center post and others sitting in clockwise order.

Preferred modes of behavior in all settings for all roles are "slowness and softness, expressed by a single term, *k'unk'untik*. Deference and respect—"hearing and feeling," *ʔawai*—should be shown in all encounters, marked by behavior such as downcast eyes, shawl held over the mouth, avoidance of direct eye contact, as well as verbal signs of agreement and

576 support of whatever is said—repeating the final phrase of the person con-
[535] versing or injecting supportive statements such as "indeed, indeed," or "so it is." In the dance of the alfereces' wives, for example, women were the model of deference, moving in a self-contained pattern before the assembled guests, with slow, tiny steps, eyes downcast, a shawl covering their heads on which they wore their husbands' ceremonial hats.

621 Through recruitment procedures, alternation and linkage in official
182 roles, and leadership validated by age and service in lower positions—principles applying to role relations in all institutions—Tzo'ontahal has remained an integrated community. There is a high degree of stereotyping in behavior from one institution to another, and norms of behavior are the
[682] same for public as for private roles. However, a remarkably high homicide
[578] rate and open conflict in all of the institutional settings indicate basic sources of disruption.

682 Since 1960 the rate of homicide in town has increased from an average
593 of 1 every 2 years to an average of 5 or 6 per year. Table 29 indicates the
607 role relationships of killer to victim in 37 of over 70 homicides occurring
428 between 1937 and 1964. The highest incidence of homicide (7 cases) oc-
578 curred between brothers and brothers-in-law. Male siblings comprise the closest cooperating group. Brothers work together in the milpa until the father dies or divides his property among his children during his lifetime. Bilateral inheritance with equal division of land and houses among female as well as male offspring means that brothers-in-law are potential competitors for the same limited resources. Friction arising among brothers and brothers-in-law does not come from the principle of equal inheritance, but rather because of the fact of differing responsibilities and expenses within the family. For example, the child who has remained with the parents and
[888] thus assumes the burden of care for them in their declining years often feels that he should inherit a greater share. The disputes arise in the decisions concerning how much this disadvantage should be weighted. The
682 suppression of overt competition may in part explain the homicidal acts.
683 Although the tensions in fact stem from suppressed economic competition,
[154] they are translated into witchcraft accusations as soon as anyone in the
[626] family becomes ill. Violence against a witch is condoned by the community and provides a channel for latent hostility. Once the accusation has

1 (see pp.245-247..Analyst)

been made, there is no recourse but to kill the man since he may retaliate by killing his accuser (this occurred in two of the cases noted in Table 29).

Conflict between generations in the role sets father/son and father/son-in-law stems from delay in carrying out role responsibilities. Fathers are expected to provide the money for the costs of betrothal, and to give their children shares of the patrimony including both land and livestock. The scheduling of when this should occur is often a matter of dispute, resulting in at least two cases of homicide in the period analyzed.

New economic enterprises have exacerbated the tensions rising from envy. Foster (1965) has suggested that envy stems from the notion of the "limited good," requiring the strategy of a "zero sum game" (Bennet 1966). The fact that the new wealth is evidence of new opportunities, not a subtraction from a given resource supply, has not entered the cognitive awareness of the people. The prospering leaders of these enterprises feel themselves to be particularly vulnerable to the envy of others and thus to the charge of witchcraft. There have been several open attacks on new leaders accused as witches; the leader of the truck cooperative, for example, was murdered in 1966. Six men have been killed as cattle thieves in the past ten years.

The economic roles created with the introduction of new enterprises have not been integrated in the traditional pattern of recruitment and control. In the association of cattle breeders, leadership tends to be based on the size of the herd; in the case of the truck cooperative, amount of capital invested and entrepreneurial skills have determined the leadership of the enterprise, while driving skill and ability to get along in the Ladino world has been the basis for choice of drivers. Such achievement principles as the basis for recruitment into these envied positions are not accepted in the same way that age and passage through a hierarchy of posts validated higher positions in the old hierarchies. The conspicuous expenditure of wealth in the more expensive posts in the religious hierarchy has also failed to lessen hostility aroused by the increasing disparity in wealth, and in fact those who have served as alférez have been even more subject to witchcraft aroused by envy.

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Evaluations of Behavior

121 The evaluation of individual behavior is related to role categories, but is not circumscribed by them. Some behavior is universally prescribed, and judgments include all categories of people. This is particularly notable in behavior related to the moral code. Etiquette requires an ability to respond appropriately not only to individual "others" in a setting, but to a plurality of "others" categorized in special roles. This ability to respond to others in a setting and to anticipate what their responses will be has been characterized as "complex syntactic behavior" by Hebb and Thompson (1954). Analysis of complex syntactic behavior must go beyond the summation of dyadic interaction within role sets to exploring the shared values and norms on which judgments are made and expectations predicated.

Judgments of behavior are cast in terms of (1) morality, or the acceptance of prescribed behavior, (2) etiquette, or the acceptance of preferred actions, and (3) competence, or the effectiveness of performance. In gossip, in court cases, in allocating roles of responsibility, in judging professional competence, the assessment of a person is made with reference to his action in past incidents. A person is what he does, and the evaluation [192] of a person's repetitive acts (called *yobra* incorporating the Spanish loan [193] word *obra* and the Tzeltal possessive form *y*) encompasses a personal history.

196 *Morality.* Judgments concerning the moral value of a person are 577 summarized in terms of states of the heart. A person who behaves well is said to be of "very good heart" in contrast to someone of "another heart." A good man is "one-hearted" if he takes other people into account. The description may be put in the negative, as "one who does not know how to seek disputes." The expression "two-hearted" is comparable to what English speakers mean by "two-faced."

577 Violations of the moral code are differentiated from violations of the 626 code of convention or etiquette in that the former are said to indicate lack of fear and the latter are said to indicate lack of shame. These two definitions of social transgression point to the major socializing technique of the community: promoting a sense of shame and fear.

The following list of moral transgressions is roughly ordered in terms of the egregiousness of the crime: witchcraft, theft of cattle, theft of corn, "talking with" a woman (this is a euphemism for having an affair), having more than one wife, killing, and disrespect to parents. There is a fair amount of consistency in the rank order given by different informants. Of five people questioned, all ranked witchcraft first, and theft, without qualification as to what was stolen, second. Subjects questioned differentiated the crime of "talking with" a woman according to the status of the woman —it was worse to have relations with a married woman than with an unmarried girl or with a widow. Killing was listed late or not at all by some because it is assumed that the killer has cause unless the contrary is proved. The dead man is referred to as the guilty one. It is considered worse to kill a consanguineous relative than an affinal relative or a nonrelative. One man remarking on an incident in which a person lost his bull said: "It was a punishment of God for killing his father. If it had been his stepfather, it would be different." Wanton killing is said to be absent in the pueblo, and something that the kurik of the colonias do. The three murders in the past ten years resulting from barroom brawls between "friends" have not dispelled this notion.

Disrespect shown to parents is considered a serious violation of morality. A boy who refuses to listen to his father cannot expect to receive the protection and support of his parents, usually offered a child throughout their lifetime, or of the community. If the son abuses his father verbally or physically in public, the father is supported in whatever action he takes. One father, whose son kicked him in one of the local bars, drew applause when he made the sign of the cross in two deep gashes with his machete on his son's forehead. To beat one's father or mother is a great sin, but to beat one's wife is tolerated, particularly if it is done in drunkenness. If a man other than the husband beats a woman for any cause, she may reciprocate by beating him in court "before the eyes of the judges." One woman who was awarded this privilege when her husband's brother beat her said, "If he were my own husband, it would be all right for him to beat me."

The good man is "of one heart" and reveals it by his humility ("very soft heart"). The rules for demonstrating this are given by an old man who is frequently asked to be a nakawane in his section of the dual divi-

577 887 sion: "I pay respect to my elders. I greet my brothers and my children [extension of kinship terms]. To all I give respect. Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick."

577 [574] [196] [576] A good man is a generous host, expressed in the phrase, "he gives many tortillas." He serves his community in public office but avoids the appearance of seeking power or self-aggrandizement. When he gives orders, it is in a soft, low tone, supplicating rather than ordering with the phrase, "If you would please lend a hand." He gives thanks readily for any service rendered both to God and to his fellow man. He avoids any show of [578] anger, and is always careful to show consideration of others. Those who are of "another heart" or "two-hearted" are the opposite, seeking disputes, "thinking small," "being miserly," and of a "very black soul."

[754] The heightened awareness of the state of the heart of others comes from the ever-present fear of witchcraft. Since the people feel their survival depends upon perception of evil heart before it strikes, they develop an acute sense of the behavioral clues that indicate its presence.

829 183 [192] [828] *Conformity and deviance.* Conventional or preferred behavior is characterized as "reasonable." The phrase "ʔič' rason," to take reason or understanding, is applied to a child who is expected to have reason at the age of twelve years or so, as well as to the arrival at agreement of competing parties, as in the case of betrothal.

Reasonable behavior is any behavior conforming to socially accepted understandings of what the world is. These include what a person of non-Indian culture might characterize as beliefs based on faith. They "know" [776] that there are hill spirits, wood spirits who cut off people's heads, and men who transform themselves into animals. Occasionally they subject given 813 understandings to empirical tests: one woman tested the belief that a [241] woman could rid the milpa of insect pests only by walking through a [825] planted field wearing a new skirt; she walked through the field wearing a worn skirt and her belief was confirmed when she found that the insect pests were not killed but just fled and returned later. Empiricism is not lacking; the difference between the content of their category of what is rational or reasonable and ours is based on the premises, not the process of reasoning.

People who fail to conform to the customs of the town are said to lack "reason." This category includes those who do not attend to the advice of their elders. People from outside of town who do not behave in conventional patterns are said to be "of another sort."

Institutionalized patterns of behavior differ as to the degree of explicitness of the association between action and reason. Curing practices are most directly attached to an understanding of why they are performed. Ritual practices in the cult of the spirits are tied to a more general explanatory system in which something should be done "because it was the custom of our ancestors."

Competency. Judgments concerning the intelligence of a person and his ability to adjust to his social and physical environment complement the criteria of morality and reasonableness. Alertness, or intelligence is associated with the possession of more than one soul: a person may have from one to a dozen additional souls. Curers and witches, by virtue of their possession of an animal spirit, are by definition very intelligent. Evaluations of alertness are often made in discussing the personalities of others. In the myth concerning the three brothers and the honey (Chapter 8) God, the Elder Brother, was described as "not very bright," Jesus Christ, the Second Brother, as "a little brighter," and the Holy Ghost, the Youngest Brother as "the brightest." Alertness is usually associated with manipulation for one's own advantage, but is not necessarily antithetical to having a good heart. In the myth mentioned above, the youngest brother outwits his two older brothers to his own advantage, and coincidentally that of the world.

The word *b'ol* is used figuratively to express the opposite of alertness, stupidity. Literally it means one who is mute; the connection is significant. A child born mute is said to have had its soul stolen at birth so that he must exist without speech. The power of speech is highly valued and the prestigeful roles are accorded to those who can speak well in both formal and informal exchanges. It is a dangerous skill, since the ability to talk to the gods gives an advantage to the speaker over the general population. The ability to speak to the earth, a talent which people say the ancestors possessed and which curers in the neighboring town of Chamula still

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787 claim, has been lost, as has been more recently that of speaking with the ancestors. But the curers can still enter into communication with the spirit world and in this lies their power.

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183 Industry is valued along with competency. A man is described as industrious with the words, "he carries much wood well," and a woman with the words, "she carries much sand well." These expressions are a kind of
[196] synechdoche for general industriousness, since the tasks serve as the measure of willingness to perform one's sexually defined roles.

[476] Judgments made in the choice of working "partners" in the exchange
[602] labor system are based on competence in working as well as on considera-
[608] tions of kin and compadrazgo relationship. Women make judgments of
[323] others' skill in pottery-making on the basis of both the appearance of the pot and its durability proved in use and transportation without breakage to market. Both men and women known to be hard workers are admired
[154] and envied. They may consequently become the objects of witchcraft.

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157 Conceptions of personality are one end product of evaluations of performances and condition people's expectations of individuals in their social environment. For the Indians, personality traits tend to imply other traits.
125 In order to derive a sense of these implications for Tzoʔontahal, I drew up
157 a checklist to identify some of these associations. Informants were asked to
828 state whether each of the traits listed on the top line in Table 30 was correlated positively, negatively, or not at all with each of the same traits listed vertically. A plus (+) sign indicates positive correlation, a minus (—) sign indicates negative correlation, and an equal (=) sign indicates that
157 there was no correlation. Thus being bright is positively correlated with
828 being beautiful and negatively correlated with being evil, fearful, lazy, foolish, gullible, braggardly, gossipy, and miserly. There is no connection between being bright and being of good heart, aggressive, or honorable. This suggests that the heart and the mind are independent loci for a set of traits that stem from them. Metaphors such as bitter, acid, and straight, when used to describe personality, are similar in connotation to those used in English. As in English, immediate sensory experiences of taste and vision provide by extension a means of talking about character.

157 In studying these personality traits, I sensed that "being" was "doing"
551 things in certain repetitive ways. This impression is corroborated by the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 286]

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TABLE 30. Personality Traits and Their Implications *

	Bright	*Beautiful*	*Good heart*	*Soft heart*	*Aggressive*	*Evil*	*Industrious*	*Fearful*	*Lazy*	*Foolish*	*Gullible*	*Gossipy*	*Miserly*	*Upright*	*Braggardly*
Bright		+	=	=	−	−	=	−	−	−	−	=	−	=	−
Beautiful	+		=	=	−	−	=	=	−	−	=	−	−	=	−
Good heart	=	+		+	−	−	=	=	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Soft heart	=	=	+		−	−	=	=	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Aggressive	=	=	=	−		+	=	−	+	=	=	−	=	−	=
Evil	−	−	−	−	+		=	−	−	−	−	=	+	−	=
Industrious	=	=	=	=	=	=		=	−	−	=	=	=	=	=
Fearful	−	=	=	=	−	−	=		=	=	=	=	=	=	=
Lazy	−	−	−	−	=	=	−	=		=	=	−	−	−	+
Foolish	−	−	−	−	=	=	−	=	−		−	−	−	−	−
Gullible	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	=	=	−		+	+	−	−
Gossipy	−	−	−	−	=	+	−	−	=	=	+		+	−	=
Miserly	−	−	−	−	=	+	=	=	−	−	+	+		−	+
Upright	=	=	+	+	−	−	=	=	−	−	−	−	−		−
Braggardly	=	−	−	−	=	=	−	−	=	=	=	+	+	−	

* Response of one informant.
+ Positive corelation
= No corelation
− Negative corelation

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system of giving nicknames, which is based on behavior typical for an individual but considered unusual by the community (Table 31). Many of these names are acquired in drinking sessions, or they may be passed down from father to son. Women of the community do not have nicknames, perhaps because they do not often drink in groups until they are

TABLE 31. Nicknames

Nickname	*Reason given for nickname*
Mono (Monkey)	He acts like a fool.
Nulkačo (Horn of bull)	He once ate the horn of a bull.
Purga (Purgative)	When he was young, he had a great deal of diarrhea. As he grew older, people asked him how he grew and he said, *"pura purga."*
Soltero (Soldier)	He was once in the army.
Obiskú (Bishop)	When he was young, he made a hat which looked like a bishop's.
Chanal (Town of Chanal)	Formerly he had given lodging to Chanaleños who passed through town.
Mam tiʔel mut (Man bitten by a chicken)	He had a chicken who bit him.
Mam čok (Beggar)	He was always borrowing things and not returning them.
Hwečol (Meal of sausage)	When he was president, he used to collect fines and ask his companions what they wanted to eat. They always replied "sausage," and so they had many a meal of sausage.
Mam sel pat (Torn shoulder)	He always wore an old, torn kotonču because he was afraid someone would steal it if he wore a new one when he was drunk.
Lo čiol (Tomatoes)	He ate a lot of tomatoes.
Heowa (Jehovah)	When he was drunk, he used to say to his companions, "You do not know of God, but his name is Jehovah."
Yakan tz'iʔ (Longbone of dog)	He was an orphan, but he grew quickly like a dog.
Tz'a yok (Short-legged)	He was short.
Rečo (Right [side])	When he was drunk he used to say that others didn't know what the revolution was like, but he did because he was in it. He used to shout, *"Flanko, recho"* (to the right flank).

old and do not have as much opportunity to project their personalities in larger than life terms. Ladinas of the neighboring towns are given nicknames: Me? Sobol for example, was named for her habit of saying when she was drunk, "No soy bola" (I am not drunk); Me? Č'ič'el, meaning Mother Blood, was applied to a woman who sold blood of slaughtered animals. 157 551

Behavior is not believed to be totally dependent on innate traits, and the Indians emphasize the socialization processes. A badly behaved youth was said in court to "behave as though he did not have a mother," and to lack fear of his parents. The sense of shame and fear begin at home, and the community relies on the family to instill these controlling influences on behavior. 861 [828]

Notions of Justice and Compensation

Notions of immanent justice, whether acquired from the priest or indigenous beliefs, are peripheral to the morality system. Crimes should be paid for not in suffering, guilt, or remorse, but in fines exacted by the communal authority. Every crime has its price, and most people agree that it is good to be able to pay in money and be exonerated. The scale of values assigned in the fines for crimes is some index to the relative weight given them: 577 681 685

Stealing a bull: 500 to 1,200 pesos, depending on value of bull.
Stealing a turkey: 40 to 70 pesos, depending on value of turkey.
Stealing a horse: 300 to 500 pesos, depending on value of horse.

The range of fines for each act of theft indicates that justice is exacted on the basis of market value of the item stolen. The fine for murder is 1,600 to 3,000 pesos or two to eight years in prison when a killer is captured by the federal authorities. Local authorities rarely try to find the killer. In the thirty-seven cases of homicide analyzed in the period from 1938 to 1965 (Table 29)[1] only two resulted in federal action. 682

People express doubt about the priest's warning that those who do evil will reap the wages of sin in this life or the next regardless of whether they are found guilty. The pragmatic basis for this conclusion is revealed 577 [682]

1 (see pp.245-247..Analyst)

577 682 in the following statement by a man who admitted to me that he had killed two men:

> *The padre said that those who kill will get killed. The one who kills also receives all the guilt of his victim and will have to pay for it in the after-world. But my father said that when he was a policeman, there was a man in Tejonero who killed for nothing when he got drunk. He always carried a knife and would kill anyone around. However, he lived until he was very old. Therefore I do not believe the padre.*

577 775 Concern about the afterworld does not act as a deterrent to action in this world.

783 794 Most men ignore the priest's attempts to persuade them to go to confession. Women, especially the prayer-reciters, confess and take communion. Their confessions, according to the priest, are a recitation of the sins of their husbands or their neighbors.

273 577 Drinking is often given as a defense for failing to meet standards of behavior. While this serves to excuse minor infractions, a man is supposed to be responsible for his actions even when drunk. When one policeman started a fight in public, an elder judge commented to my informant:

> *Look at that, younger brother! I drink liquor when I am very drunk, but I do not fight either my elders or minors. When I passed as president formerly, I used to enter the cabildo, and I spoke well to the judges even if I was drunk. One time I came to your house very drunk and you were half drunk, but you did not say anything to me, nor did I. You did not fight. Thus I walk well. I never fight, nor have I gone to prison; and it is because I give respect to my elders and to my juniors.*

Reflecting on this advice, my informant added:

> *And so it is with me also. I have drunk a great deal in Ahk'olnantik [the opposite section from where he lives] both at day and at night. Whoever speaks to me tells me to go drink with them a little liquor, and sometimes I give them a drink or I take them where they sell liquor and we drink. But I never fight, and I am able to drink wherever I like.*

626 273 431 The community has developed techniques for compensating failure to meet behavioral norms. The most frequently used is an offering of the

626
"gift of the gods," liquor, to the party whose interests have been slighted. 273
This is done in the case of a suitor who is asking for a woman of the 431
other side of the dual division; he gives the bachelors of that side a gar- [584]
rafón of liquor in compensation for the loss of a potential mate. Liquor [621]
has become a substitute for the sacrifice of a child by a man being initiated [756]
into the curing profession. Informal offerings of liquor may be made be- [782]
tween neighbors or relatives who have been fighting with each other. Liq- [627]
uor is a kind of universal social solvent in disputes, and figures impor- [692]
tantly in court cases which are always terminated in a drinking session. [578]

Another technique is simply a payment in money to compensate for 626
damages. In some homicide cases, the payment of "blood money" has com- 682
pensated the family of the victim to avoid legal action. This is never done, [754]
however, if the community agrees that the victim was a witch. Payment of fines in court is another such form of compensation. These payments or offerings minimize the bloodshed or personal involvement in conflictual relations. Payment by the man judged guilty will ensure his reincorporation into his customary place in the community without stigma.

While it is impossible to elicit from informants a theory of roles, 554
it is possible to formulate the principles underlying roles. These are 12
deduced from behavioral observations and from evaluations made of
the performances of others. They can be summarized in the following 554
propositions: 156

1. There is a clear separation between role and role-bearer. This is seen most clearly in the passage through civil and religious offices with a minimum of "halo" effect. It is also found in the situation of household officials whose authority in directing affairs within a household ceases when the ceremony in which they officiate is over. The separation [62]
ensures flexibility in a closed social system, enabling people to shift from [182]
one role to another. It also permits continuity in a system which requires an almost complete turnover of personnel each year.

2. Function performed is separate from role in which it is per- 554
formed. This applies even in those roles which are designated on the basis of the most important function required of the performer, for example woman speaker, liquor measurer, and basket carrier. All of

554 these role-bearers have other functions to perform, but the term specifies the most significant of these. Other people may unofficially perform these acts but only the officially appointed person has the other prerequisites for and duties of the role.

3. Recruitment into roles depends on age and sex qualifications. Validation of the role emphasizes, in addition to these ascribed characteristics, innate capacity rather than acquired ability. For example, the curers who are respected are assumed to have been born with an animal spirit, while those who are believed to have acquired it are suspected of being witches. Similarly, high civil officials are expected to be innately clever, not just trained for office.

828 4. Evaluation of performance emphasizes the state of the heart and qualifies judgments of the person according to characteristics of the mind and of the soul. The heart governs emotions such as contentment or inner turmoil and determines the moral relations a person has with others. The mind enables a man to deal effectively in his instrumental activities so that he can speak and work well. Possession of a [774] second soul means that one is clever and capable, but it is the third soul which gives power over the life and death of others. The exchange of [754] evaluations about others is a crucial area of concern in the tense atmosphere dominated by fear of whichcraft. In the belief that their very sur- [156] vival depends upon knowledge of the intent of others before it is expressed in witchcraft, the people constantly consult with relatives, compadres, neighbors, or the curers, in order to anticipate changes in their relations with others.

681 5. Sanctions against behavior that fails to meet role expectations depend on the seriousness of the crime rather than on the attitude of the criminal. This means that compensation relieves the wrong-doer of any guilt burden. Most compensation, even for homicide, can be translated into cash payment.

156 6. Ceremonial behavior in everyday interaction as well as in [554] ritual serves to limit the personal involvement in the encounter and to emphasize the role category. This is particularly emphasized in the [273] initial stage of the encounter. Liquor and cigarettes introduce a more [276] informal behavior in which the etiquette of reserve can be relaxed.

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Unorthodox behavior after drinking is less subject to censure than that indulged in without this stimulus.

The social changes affecting the community have not changed the categories of roles. What has happened is a shift in the power and authority associated with civil roles: the president's role for example has assumed importance over that of the principales. A full account of the changes in the role system requires a discussion of the settings in which they are enacted, the timing which gives them coherence, and the beliefs which give them meaning. Summary statements on role coordination will be given in the final chapter.

Chapter 11

Ordering Behavior by Places

121 554 People act out roles in a space and time matrix that provides the cues for appropriate behavior. Place is a means of patterning three structural dimensions of role: sex, age, and relative prestige. In societies characterized by multiplex relationships, Gluckman (1962:35-36n.) has emphasized the importance of the setting in establishing what role the individual is playing. One's selection of a particular role from the many possible relationships tying people together is supported by observation of official terms of address and reference in these settings. In Tzoʔontahal, the use of place as 554 a designation of role is even more specific since each person occupying a role is given a special place within the setting.

554 342 368 517 The social domains, or fields of activity where major systems of roles are defined in Tzoʔontahal, include the house, the cabildo, the church, and the school. Segmentary role relations are limited to the clinic, the corn-grinding mill, and the store. The house has retained its importance as a ceremonial locus not only for life crisis rituals but also for initiating new officials into the civil and religious hierarchies. The institutional buildings [361] grouped around the plaza—the church, the cabildo, the schoolhouse, the clinic, the mill, and the cooperative store—are the meeting ground for outside representatives of national or supra-local agents and townspeople. These provide the settings in which behavioral adjustments to internal changes and to external standards can be viewed.

The Concept of Space

772 361 Relevant social space is conceived of as a square. The square shape of houses, of the offering hole for the house sacrifice, of the corn field, and of the planting pattern for corn conforms to a notion of the world as a

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square. Although this conception is contradicted by knowledge learned in 772
school, the two concepts are not brought into direct opposition. The town 361
still defines the outer limit of most meaningful social relations, and most people are not forced by the circumstances of their lives to deal with an understanding of the world as round. It is enough that the four "sides" of their village be protected by crosses at the points of entry. The important orientation points are the east, referred to as the "coming out of the sun," and the west, referred to as "the sleeping place of the sun." North and south are referred to as lowland and highland because of the topography. Compass orientation is important behaviorally only at death. The body of [764]
the deceased is laid out in the cemetery with the head to the east. Indians [829]
comment that the Ladinos lay the body out with the head to the west, but Indians of other towns, such as Zinacantan, also do so. The cemetery is located on the western side of the town.

The House

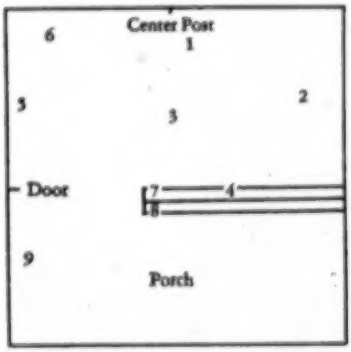
The reference to the house in prayer as "the entry to suffering, inside 342
the poverty" suggests the "cult of poverty" which Wolf (1955:459) points [782]
out as characteristic of closed corporate Indian communities. Most people conform to a standard house size of five square meters subdivided into an interior sleeping and living area and a porch (Fig. 8). The walls are made of mud strengthened with lime packed in a framework of poles supported on nine main posts. The roofs are pitched with four sheds rising steeply to a truncated ridge. Tiles are used in most new houses to cover the roof, but there are still many thatched palm or wooden shingle roofs. Corn and [251]
beans are stored in the rafters under the eaves of the house.

Inside the house, beds line the two side walls. If there is no cooking [352]
shack separate from the house, the hearth is placed in the center of the in- [354]
terior room. The grinding stone, raised on three posts, is placed to the left [412]
of the center post.

The porch is the area for ceremonial gatherings and for making and storing pottery. A table with the pictures of household saints set against [353]
the inside wall, is adorned with flowers and candles. During house fiestas, [796]
men sit on the benches lining the four walls of the porch, while the [562]
women sit inside in a semicircle.

342 women sit inside in a semicircle. A house without a closed-in porch is re-
[196] ferred to as a "cattle house" since it is considered inadequate for entertain-
[621] ing guests at ceremonial affairs. Townspeople prefer to choose as higher
[574] officials those who have houses with porches to accommodate visitors.

Fig. 8. Interior of a House



1. Seat of honor for women
2. Bed area for women of house
3. Hearth
4. Bench area for relatives of house
5. Bench area for visiting men
6. Mats or wooden board for visiting women
7. Honor seat for men (when inside house)
8. Honor seat for men outside house
9. Resting areas for male helpers

592 Each member of the household has his place for sleeping, eating, and sit-
[513] ting. The youngest child sleeps with his parents, and older children sleep with siblings of the same sex or with their grandparents. Newly married couples living with their parents prefer to sleep in the cook shack if there
[264] is a separate structure. At mealtime, men and boys sit on small wooden
[352] chairs at a miniature table placed against the wall separating the interior from the porch, while women and girls kneel on straw mats near the hearth.

342 Reference points inside the house (Fig. 8) are the center post where the
352
562
574
796

meal for the house is buried in the inauguration ceremony (Chapter 1) and the door. Left and right are orientation points viewed from inside facing the door. Women of the house sit on mats near the center post. Female visitors occupy the mats to the left of the post and male visitors sit on benches lining the right wall and the interior wall. If it is a large ceremony for the ritual of inauguration or a celebration by the captain of a fiesta, only women enter the house, and the men sit on borrowed benches lining the walls of the porch. 342 352 562 574 796

Relative age is indicated by position in the seating arrangement. For women the seat of honor, occupied by the oldest woman present, is at the center post; other women of the household sit on a straw mat or board in order of descending age clockwise around the room. This order is modified by the presence of the grandmother who, if not a woman speaker, retires to the left (facing door from inside) corner. Visiting women sit to the right of the center post with the oldest immediately next to the post and those decreasing in age and stature to her right. For men, the seat on the bench nearest the door to the interior is called the "head of the bench"; this is the seat of the leading nakawane. The rest of the nakawanehetik sit along this bench in order of age. On the bench facing them sits the house owner, with his brothers and other visitors to his right in an age-ranked order. The b'alnialetik sit on the right wall bench. 342 352 561 562 574

Since prestigeful roles are usually a concomitant of age, especially in the house ceremonies, there is seldom conflict between age and role status. When conflict does occur, it is only seen at the top level; thus, the grandmother if not active because of age, retires to the corner while the woman speaker, who must order the women in the kitchen and receive visiting dignitaries, takes over this position. I have seen the leader of the ɛ'om take precedence over the leader waiter who was older, because of the important role of the former. 342 561 554 [574]

When the family is carrying out a ritual, it is felt that the house should never be left vacant. The role of the "waiters" (maliwanehetik) is specifically that of remaining in the house while others of the celebrants are involved in ritual acts outside of the house. When the members of the betrothal party go to the girl's house, for example, the waiters are left behind; or when the patient leaves with the curer and some of the curing 342 796 [584] [755]

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342 party to go to the spring, at least one relative remains in the house to
796 greet the soul if it should precede the curing party.
[584]
[755] Behavior in household rituals is described in Chapters 1, 5, and 8.
[128]

The Cabildo

344 The cabildo, called by the people of the town the "cold house,"[1] was
[196] built following the revolution of 1915, when Piñeda's revolutionary soldiers
[195] destroyed the original colonial structure. The tiles of the roof were confiscated from a finca which the Indians invaded in 1941 in an unsuccessful attempt to gain additional lands. When they were unable to maintain their hold on the land, they burned the owner's house and took the tiles to the town center where they remain as a symbol of their defiant action. They refer to this event with pride. The cabildo houses the jail, equipped with a barred wooden door, in one of its wings, and the Ejido Commission office in the other.

344 Within the cabildo, each official has his established place. The cabildo is
352 furnished with a table at which the president and síndico sit on wooden
621 chairs made in the Indian town of Chamula. Four benches lining the
554 walls on either side of the entry provide seating for the civil officials. On
576 the right side (looking out at the plaza) sit the judges in order of rank;
[693] the regidores, in similar sequence follow them. The principales, and formerly the alfereces, sit on the left side when they appear for ceremonial occasions. This spatial allocation establishes drinking and greeting order as well. Visitors can go directly from one to another in the formal greeting of a handclasp and murmured "good morning, father," or "good afternoon, father," without violating age-respect patterns.

344 During court cases, the claimant and his supporters sit on the bench to
352 the left of the door; on other occasions the bench is occupied by visitors or
695 petitioners. The police sit on one of the two benches lining the outside
[625] wall, or retire to the kitchen, a wooden slat lean-to on the left wing of the

[171] 1. Bunzel (1952) notes that in prayers, the cabildo in Chichicastenango is referred to as "the cold house, the icy house." Although the Quiché term is not given in her manuscript, one can see a similarity in the rhyming couplets and metaphorical allusions in the prayers of the towns.

building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office.

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist.

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first.

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient portable typewriter. Since typing is a new skill for him, he makes many errors, and his retrials are accepted with patience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

695 minimum of explicit rules. Very little is ruled out of order, and almost
[693] nothing introduced is considered irrelevant. The dialogue is primarily between the judge and claimant and secondarily between judge and defendant. The rural judges join with the regidores, who act as court clerks when a case is heard, in a kind of Greek chorus when consensus is reached regarding statements made by defendant or claimant. The judges indicate clearly their approval or disapproval of the statements being made, and throughout the case, consensual verdicts are made in an apparently spontaneous manner. No one pretends to be impartial. Personal knowledge of the defendant or claimant is introduced into the case.

Courtroom behavior falls into three major acts: (1) the declaration by the claimant, (2) the questioning of the defendant (literally the "taking of the heart"), and (3) the paying of the fine. The judge introduces the first act by asking the claimant to "come and speak" so that they can "listen
[576] and hear." This ends formally with the claimant saying, "Good day, Elder Brother." The judge introduces the second act when he turns to the defendant, who stands before the civil officials, and says, "Speak and we shall listen, boy. What goes with you?" The defendant sums up his defense in the questioning period. The president introduces the final act, telling the defendant, "When you give a little fine you will be free."

[641] Both claimant and defendant pay court fees, an acknowledgment of the
[273] feeling that both are guilty because they are involved in a dispute. Before
[178] the term of the incumbent president began, this was paid in two liters of illegally distilled liquor, a kind of symbolic defiance of federal law. Now, since the president drinks only beer, it is paid in two family-sized bottles of beer. The etiquette of courtroom drinking is prescribed: the bottle, referred to as *smahtan,* or gift, is passed to the judge, who goes to the president and presents it to him with a few words of the pat?o?tan giving thanks for the gift. The fourth regidor then measures out the liquor, giving the first shot to the president, the next to the first judge and so on
[264] around the room. If a large fine is paid by the defendant, the president orders the police to buy meat, and a "common meal" is prepared and eaten.

693 In this society, there are neither veniremen nor specialized advocates.
695 Civil officials other than the first judge act as jurors, announcing their sentiments in unison. The judge, rather than handing down a decision, sums up the consensus of the group. Kinsmen of the claimant and defendant act

as lawyers. The defendant is sometimes accompanied by supporters who 693
feel that he has a case. The failure of parents to accompany a defendant, 695
regardless of his age, is attributed to their shame over their child's misbe- [593]
havior and their own failure to train him properly. The judge does not limit himself to passing judgment but also counsels the defendant as to how he should behave.

The town hall is usually shut and locked at noon unless some business 621
requires more time. In the evening about six, the officials return to take [344]
their same posts. They sit with their arms drawn inside their woolen jack- [516]
ets for warmth. After a half an hour they drift home. People rely on the [626]
presence of officials rather than particular actions to maintain social control, and it is their appearance at regular hours that assures the villagers that the town is being well run.

Local autonomy depends primarily on retaining social control functions. 621
Civil officials try to settle disputes locally and avoid the entry of Ladino of- 692
ficials from the departmental capital, although the judges and president 631
will threaten the defendant with taking the case to the department if they cannot get compliance. The number of cases referred to the capital has been increasing since 1950 as Table 32 shows. In 1951 the federal government began to fine local officials who failed to report homicide cases and accidental death. The local officials complied, but departmental courts were unable to bring action in over half the cases. No action was taken in 72 cases, or 54 percent, in comparison with 62 cases, or 46 percent, in which action was taken. Domestic cases, except for one of adultery, are adequately handled in local courts and do not appear in the departmental records. The trend shows an increasing number of cases of crimes against [674]
persons in comparison to crimes against property, an index to the break- [182]
down in social control processes.

The Church

346
The church has been built and on two occasions rebuilt—when the [794]
tower was struck by lightning—with funds collected locally from house- [821]
hold heads. Damage to the church was attributed to the patron saint of [976]
the neighboring town of Oxchuk who, the people say, was fighting with their patroness, Santa Lucía. The townspeople feel that they own the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 301]

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674
692
631

[P.300]

TABLE 32. Cases Brought to Departmental Court

	Complaint									Action			
	Homicide	*Rape*	*Robbery*	*Property damage*	*Assault*	*Adultery*	*Liquor distilling*	*Accident*	*Misc.*	*yes*	*no*	*unre-solved*	*Total*
1950													
1951	2	1	1							3	1		4
1952	4	1		1						3	3		6
1953	1		1	1	4	1				6	2		8
1954	3		3	1	1		2			6	3	1	10
1955	2		3		2				5	8	1	3	12
1956	3		3	1	2					7	1	1	9
1957	5				3				2	4	3	3	10
1958	4		3		3				2	5	4	3	12
1959	1				4		1	1	1	2	2	4	8
1960	2	2			2		1	2	1	5	2	3	10
1961	4				1			2		1	2	4	7
1962	5				2				1	5	1	2	8
1963	6				3					3	1	5	9
1964	5			1	4					4	2	4	10
1965	9								2		2	9	11
TOTAL	56	4	14	5	31	1	4	5	14	62	30	42	134

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The townspeople feel that they own the church, and many resent the intrusion of the priest who resides sometimes two or three days a week in the adjoining rectory. In the past five years, however, the priest has succeeded in asserting more control over the church: he has forbidden drinking in the church or in the courtyard, a prohibition that resulted in an open confrontation with the leading cofrade (Chapter 9); and he now controls the keys to the church and to the money boxes, formerly the responsibility of the fiscal. The two lay sisters who are in residence during the week hold the keys and are in charge of the upkeep of the church. 346 793 794 177 178

People always show respect for the church by removing their hats as they pass the entrance, even when they are at a distance. As they enter the church, they always kneel and cross themselves. They may spit on the floor of the church, for this is not a sign of disrespect. 346 575 788 [514]

The complementarity of church and cabildo is still formally recognized in ceremonial events: participants bow to the church and then to the cabildo during processions. The transfer of sacred symbols from one locale to the other at the time of the inauguration of civil and religious officials ceremonially signifies the integration of civil and religious authority, despite the growing separation in day-to-day functions in each of the domains. 621 794 182

The church serves as a staging platform for the images and symbolic offerings to them in the annual cycle of ceremonies. During the nine days of ceremony accorded to the major saints, their images are moved to the center of the altar or to the center of the nave. The staging effects are particularly notable during the fiesta of Holy Week, when the reenactment of the crucifixion is performed in the nave. The mayordomos, under the direction of the fiscal and the lay sisters, move the saints about and prepare adornments of flowers and pine needles. 346 796 [794]

The church is the locus for the weekly mass given by the priest. The men stand on the left side of the church (facing the altar), while the women kneel or sit on the floor to the right. A few benches near the altar are occupied by the Ladinos of the area who attend the mass. The lay sisters indicate to the congregation when they should kneel and rise in response to the cues of the sermon or mass. [562] [563] [794]

In addition to these scheduled events, the church serves as a locus where 346 776 782

346 776 782 individuals can visit the saints on their own personal missions. Appendix 3A records the visits of groups and individuals on an ordinary Sunday. Their actions in the church are part of the standardized behavior incumbent upon all those who enter the building.

Communication with the saints is ensured either by touching and kissing their images or, if the images are enclosed in glass cases, by tapping the gl. with offerings of money. It is believed that one gains an audience [562] by pay..g for it. When groups larger than individual clusters of visitors enter the church, sexual segregation is observed (for example, when a male child enters with his mother on the occasion of a mass, he remains with her until more people arrive, then leaves her to stand on the male [788] side of the nave). Ritualized wailing is done by women only. After such a [152] demonstration the women show normal composure, since wailing is a standardized mode of communication, not an outburst of uncontrolled emotion. It is private and concerns the individual wailer and the saint to which she appeals; none of the other visitors in the church indicates any sign of response to these displays. Unless there is a focused activity going [794] on, such as a mass or series of baptisms, each visiting group is an autonomous unit, carrying out its own mission.

794 People visit the church most commonly in pairs of two. They congre- 571 gate for mass in a pattern in which women and children enter first, and 562 men, who linger in the plaza until the church is partially filled, enter in clusters and take their places on the male side of the nave. The religious and civil officials enter last, and the mayordomos, whose attendance is one of the obligations of their post, move toward the altar at the front. Men attend church less frequently than do women.

The School

346 Unlike the church, the school is regarded as an alien structure. Assist- 621 ance in reconstruction and maintenance is given under pressure rather 875 than voluntarily. Until fairly recently, schoolteachers too remained unin- [177] grated in the community. In the early years of the school's existence, there [178] was a rapid turnover of teachers. The employment of a schoolmaster with a wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The school has be-

come the domain of the schoolmaster, who represents federal influence in the local community. He has rebuilt parts of the structure in the thirteen years he and his family have lived and worked in this building; it was his fortress when the Indians threatened to kill him for building a chicken coop obtruding into the street, and again when he interceded in a case of homicide. He has a small arsenal stored in his bedroom in preparation for any reversal of his position in the community. The school is his platform, the area he controls and from which he shouts to his compadres—the storekeeper, the fiscal, and the president—to come speak with him. 346 621 875

The long building is subdivided into four classrooms and the living quarters of the schoolmaster's family. The classrooms are furnished with crude benches and tables; blackboards and charts of birds, animals, and the alphabet decorate the walls. The back porch, converted to classrooms to accommodate the three hundred and fifty children, overflows with benches. The students' own materials—a notebook, pencil, and erasers—are provided by their parents. When a notebook is filled, the students industriously erase all the marks and reuse the book until it falls apart. 346 352 353 872

When I was in the village, the schoolmaster often encouraged visitors to share a Coca-Cola with him in his office. Here, surrounded by his books, his collection of artifacts of both genuine and spurious origin, a picture of the district inspector of federal schools pinning a medal on his chest, the flag of the Mexican republic, he could speak freely of the personal attacks and frustrations and of the rare satisfactions he encountered "in bringing civilization to the town." As he began to build up his political power in the community, the president and síndico often consulted with him on town affairs. Agents of the federal or departmental offices who came to town frequently communicated with him directly before going to the cabildo. The school became the arena for working out political programs and strategies. The schoolmaster prided himself on being the primary channel of communication between the outside world and the village. 621 875 [346] [353]

The conflict of interest between the schoolmaster and the parents of the children over attendance in school has been ameliorated in recent years with the acceptance by some of the parents of education as an advantage. In the early years of compulsory education, physical force was used to round up the children. The traumatic experience of his first day in school 872 875 578 177 178 872 177

304 The traumatic experience of his first day in school In the Eyes of the Ancestors is recounted by a man now sixty-eight years of age. He was thirteen in 1918, the first year that compulsory education was introduced into the town.

872 179 115

159 177 872

I was in my house when I heard the civil authorities call the children to school. The police came to tell me to go to school. I did not go because my mother wanted me to accompany her on the road to Teopisca. On our way to Teopisca, the inspector saw me and asked me why I didn't go to school. My mother replied, "I am a widow. He came with me because I seek for what we eat. Therefore he must go with me."

The inspector did not hear her words. Since he was mounted on horseback, he said to me as I was walking, "Come here, boy. Don't walk on foot, climb up on the horse." I was embarrassed to climb up on the horse, and I had some fear because I had never ridden on horseback. I began to cry. "Don't cry," he said. "You are only going to school. The schoolmaster will not beat you." It is then that my mother said, "Señor, don't take him. See that there is no one else to accompany me on the road. When I come home, there will be no one to do errands."

But the inspector feared nothing. His heart was hot, hot. A man came by and told the inspector that I did not know how to ride and that I was afraid. The inspector said, "If he doesn't know how to ride, then you take him." But the man replied, "But I don't want to. It is better that I go get wood. You take him by force if you can, Señor. I go before your face" [*a way of excusing himself*].

I didn't want to go, and I just cried because I didn't want to. The inspector seized me, and put me on horseback. I was afraid to get up, and I cried and cried from fear. He said, "Stop it! Let us go!"

And so he led the horse with me on it. My mother cried when she saw the inspector take me off on horseback. She remained very sad as I left, since she no longer had a companion. I went on to school, and the inspector handed me over to the schoolmaster.

The schoolmaster gave me a paper with my name, which I didn't know. I did not hear what was said in that large school because I did not know Spanish. The schoolteacher asked me, "What are you called, little boy?" I cried a great deal because I felt sad for my mother whom I had left in

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Teopisca. The schoolmaster said, "Don't cry, Ceferino. I am not going to beat you because you will learn to write. It is good to know how to write. You will speak Spanish because you will hear it, and you will look at the letters because the letters are the same as they are spoken in Spanish. Sit down now, and come tomorrow." 159 177 872

Then I told my mother to look for a slate and chalk because every morning and afternoon I wrote. She was of one heart and did not cry when she heard how I entered in the school.

For the most part, the teachers rely on authority in their program of instruction rather than encouraging the active involvement of students. In the early years of the school, there was a rapid turnover of teachers, but the employment of a schoolmaster with his wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The children respond with respect and fear to the schoolmaster, and occasionally with interest and enthusiasm. The following reminiscences by the informant, Ceferino, reflect the fear, tempered by some pleasure and interest, which he experienced: 875 876 159 212

The first schoolteacher I had when I entered school was called Chaya. She taught me to write with chalk on a blackboard. Every time I wrote badly, she told me to erase the letters and write another. After I finished, I went to my house at three in the afternoon. The next day I would go back to school. I would write on the blackboard. Writing was another kind of thing. The chalk did not stick well on the blackboard. Afterward, we started to use ink, and I began to learn well. But for a long time, I did not learn how to read. For one year, I couldn't speak Spanish, but I continued writing letters. This schoolteacher left and another came, Mista Munda Gordi. He asked me what my name was, and I told him. He saw that I didn't write the letters well. He was interested. He told me how to do it. Then I began to improve, and my name came out well. He said that the letters were better. He saw that now it was good. "Now you can make capital letters." 875 876

Mista Munda used to beat us if we did not make good letters, but I did not know how to make capitals. He told me he would beat me, so I began to do the capitals well. He saw that it was better. When he saw the letters, he gave me a book. In the first year, I finished the book, and he gave me

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159 212 875 876 *another book that added to the letters I knew. He saw that I was doing well. I began to read out loud, and he listened to see if I read well. Then he heard that I did well, and he gave me another letter to learn. Then he gave me another book, to take to my house.*

[*"Was he a good teacher?" I asked.*]

He beat us if we didn't do the letters well. He would pull my ear and he scolded very much. I began to make the letters better, and I was writing when the schoolmaster left.

A third schoolmaster came and taught in the pueblo. He was named Carmen Urban. We received him. I learned a little more writing. Now when he asked me a letter, I could reply. He saw that I knew all the letters, and he gave me another notebook. I began to write with a pen. With the pen my writing came out well. He saw that it was good and gave me another book. After I finished all that was in the book, he took another writing book out. He told me that I read all the letters well. He gave me a fourth book and a piece of paper. It was a very fine book! But this schoolmaster stayed only three months. Then he left. I did not continue in school since my mother said I should continue to learn only until I know all the letters.

She said, "You are an orphan since you don't have a father. You eat by my strength only. Now that you know your letters well, I want to see how well you can help me because I alone am buying corn and you are only eating it. Now that you know everything, you don't have to go to school because you must accompany me in looking for corn."

She saw that I was too big to stay in the school. She went to talk with the schoolmaster to tell him that I could not return. She told the schoolmaster, "See before your eyes that Ceferino has no father. It is for this that I want him to accompany me looking for corn." The schoolmaster said that I could not go out because I was now learning well. But my mother began to cry before the eyes of the schoolmaster and the president. He lowered his heart and said, "Well, take him then."

I left then. My mother heard and went happily because her boy had come out. When I came out I said "Thank you" to the schoolmaster. He said, "Now you know and go. Don't forget your letters. Take this book, and go on reading in order not to forget." I began to copy all the letters in the book so that I would learn some.

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Despite the beating and the scolding, Ceferino recognized that the schoolteachers cared, and this inspired him to learn. He learned to write without any knowledge of the meaning of the words in his first year of schooling, but this did not discourage him. He was among the first four literate Indians in the community. 159 212 875 876

The program of education for primary schools today is scheduled by the Secretary of Public Education in Mexico City. The teachers conform to this as best they can in the overcrowded, understaffed conditions. The first-year program, according to the book, includes, in addition to reading and math, health studies—basic knowledge of nutrition, social and personal hygiene, the study of the healthful environment, the prevention of diseases and accidents, and first aid. The second-year course includes the study of nature—the sky, earth, seasons, the various changes in the moon, and conservation of natural resources. In the third year of their training the children learn about social life—the child in the home, school, community, and nation. The fourth year includes creative activities—games and artistic expression through learning to play musical instruments and the formation of orchestras, for example. The fifth year teaches practical activities—the construction of toys, work in gardens and other agricultural projects, and the economics of the home; and the program during the sixth year stresses the study of the national language, arithmetic, and geometry. Each of these six sections has a list of the knowledge, habits, abilities, and attitudes the teacher should have formed in the children by the time they have finished the year. The lists become more detailed with each passing year. The amount of material the teacher is expected to cover is impressive. 872 [875]

Mary Marshall's observation of classroom behavior (Appendix 3B) suggests some of the complexities of communicating this standard program in a class of first-year pupils. Inside the schoolroom almost all behavior is initiated and controlled by the teacher. All communication within the school is in Spanish—the teacher ignores responses other than those in Spanish—although most of the children understand no Spanish when they enter school. The regular pattern of question and response is sometimes broken up by demonstration of objects. The children's response is greater when the teacher reverses the pupil-schoolteacher role and lets them ask the questions she tells them. The scarcity of materials imposes a greater bur- 876

876 den on the teacher already laboring with the barrier in communication. Despite these difficulties, the children manage to learn the basics of reading, writing, arithmetic, and Spanish in four years of schooling. The [875] teachers are devoted and spend at least seven hours in the classroom each day.

872 During the recess period the children play individual competitive games 524 except when organized games are introduced by one of the teachers. There is a tendency toward ganging up on weaker individuals in fights, that occur, but I have never seen signs of marked brutality. Since the Ladino children are a small minority in the school (there are no more than a [563] half a dozen among the three hundred and twenty-four students) the Indian children do not face the discrimination found in schools with a greater proportion of Ladinos (cf. Romney and Romney 1966).

876 Discipline is no longer as strict as it was in the early years of public education. The teacher allows someone who has been hit to hit the aggressor but does not herself intercede. Threat of punishment may be made by the teacher, but I have never seen it carried out, and it is never suggested as a solution to failure to learn.

571 In comparing the domestic, civil, and religious domains of activi-
561 ties, the following features emerge:

554 1. In each domain, a hierarchy of power is present. In the house, [592] males take precedence over females, and older members over younger. [562] In the cabildo, the power hierarchy takes the form of a rank order co- [621] ordinate with age in most of the offices, while in the schoolhouse, power is polarized with all authority vested in the schoolteacher. In the church, [875] the conflict between the priest and the cofrades (Chapter 9) has not [794] been resolved. Within the ranks of the mayordomos, relationships between the elder and junior mayordomo establish a graded ranking system (Chapter 8).

571 2. Behavior in each domain is standardized. Relative rank is re-
554 flected in seating order, greeting order, and drinking order. Autonomous
576 behavior is most marked in the domain of the church. Focused interaction is predominant in the school, where order and control are based on absorbing the attention of the child in a learning task.

3. Categories of role-bearers sit and act together in all the domains. 571
In the home the me?eletik, the nakawanchetik, and the b'alnialetik have 554
established seats and act in concert. Similarly in the cabildo, four ranks 576
of officials, the principales, judges, regidores, and police, move and act together. In the church, elder and younger mayordomos move in pairs of two.

4. Sexual segregation is present in the home, the church, and the 562
cabildo, but is lacking in the school. This rejection of the community 871
standard for a group situation was the basis for some parents holding 177
their children out of school until coerced by the federal authorities 178
backed by the local officials.

5. Attendance in all domains involves coercion as well as voluntary action. Coercion is most marked in the school, but resistance by the parents to forced attendance and mixing of the sexes is fast wearing down in this domain. In the cabildo, the defendant is required to attend the court hearing and may even be jailed if he does not pay the fines charged against him. Coercion is covert in the home; the lack of alternative housing arrangements makes residence in the household of orientation or of procreation mandatory.

6. Sacred symbols are present in all the domains. The symbols of the cabildo and of the school relate the community to the nation with the national flags and the portraits of the president. The canes of [293]
office which are assumed as each official acquires office are symbols of local authority. The universalistic symbols of the church—the saints im- 778
ages, portraits, and banners—are acquired from Catholic orthodoxy, but 177
have been encapsulated with local sentiments and beliefs. Sacred symbols 178
are treated with respect and avoidance, both in the church and the home. 788
The "holy cross" or banners are touched only with sacred embroidered cloths binding the hands of those who carry them. Saints' images are kissed, but as a mark of respect; not intimacy. The Mexican flag, with 186
which less awe is associated, is saluted.

Each of the domains provides a setting for the recognition and valida- 621
tion of authority figures in the community. Values which are communally 177
shared or imposed from outside are formally instilled in these settings. Ex- 178

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621 tra-institutional supports are still lacking for the school, which is not yet
177 fully incorporated into the community framework.
178

Replication of behavior in all of the institutional domains except the
621 school provides a measure of social integration in the community. Pat-
571 terned behavior, such as the set speeches of the pat'o'tan, the formalized
177 drinking procedure including the blessing of the drink and the serving of
182 it in accordance with age and authority ranking of the participants, the eti-
554 quette of greeting and leave-taking, the embrace signifying ritual guardianship, occurs in the home, the town hall, and the church. These sets of stereotyped behavior, specified according to roles, simplify the movement from one institutional setting to another and contribute to continuity in role performance by the individual. The new patterns of behavior introduced in the school—desegregation of the sexes, competition in performance, grading of achievement—are not modes of behavior which have spread. However, as the skills acquired in school assume greater importance in the community, it is likely that the socializing procedures with which they were transmitted may spread to the home.

Chapter 12

Ordering Behavior by Time

The structuring of social acts depends upon shared understandings about how others use time as well as space. Scheduling of activities in the daily and annual cycles minimizes decision-making by individuals and provides a set of expectations that facilitates cooperation. 121

The Sense of Time

The abstract noun for time, *k'alal,* is derived from the word for day, *k'al.* Time began when k'oš, the youngest son of Our Grandmother the Moon, took the sun from his elder brother and carried it around the world so that there was a succession of day and night (Chapter 8). Time past, (*name?iš*), is a general state of being in which the ancestors lived. The future is at best a recapitulation of the past. 805 [192] [196] [173] 822

People judge time by the position of the sun during the day, and by that of the moon or the stars at night. In winter, the appearance of the group of stars called "the sandal" and in summer of the "seven stars" indicates two o'clock in the morning. The appearance of Venus, called "the big star," announces the arrival of dawn. 805 821

In addition to these natural indicators, there are three timepieces in the town—in the school, the parish house, and the store. In the morning the policemen check the time with the lay sisters or the schoolmaster before mounting the tower of the church to strike the bell at eight o'clock, the time for rounding up the schoolchildren, at noon, the time for closing the town hall and the church, and at five in the afternoon, the time for evening prayers. 805

Despite bells and nature, however, people are not very accurate in calcu-

805 lating the time of day; when I questioned them as to the hour, they were often as much as an hour off, usually behind.

Most activities are ordered with reference to the Gregorian calendar, but the twenty-day Maya calendrical month, defined as "twenty days or a month" is used in much the same way that we use "a fortnight." The In-
805 dians consider the moon to be an uncertain indicator of time, since "she
821 does not walk well." But the moon is important in the culture: people note its different phases and are especially aware of the phase under which a child is born—an important sign for the newborn's future. If a baby is
[856] born at the full moon, he is expected to mature more readily. The full
[787] moon also signifies a propitious time for undertaking certain activities, such as cutting wood for the main posts of a house and cutting palm for the roof.

The Daily Schedule

512 Daily activities are organized by traditional economic pursuits. The
462 woman is the first one to rise in the morning. She gets up at dawn, lights
[252] the fire, and sets a jar of water to boil for coffee. She grinds the nixtamal cooked the night before on the stone grinding board, or takes it to the mill
[412] in the center. She then makes tortillas either by hand or with a press; a re-
[177] cent innovation made of two hinged pieces of wood in which the ball of
[178] dough is set between pieces of plastic paper.

The men of the household are served first, followed by the boys; the
[264] women and girls eat last. As soon as they have eaten, the men and boys who have finished the required three years of schooling go out to the
[481] fields to work. They walk single file even in the streets of the town, the fa-
[482] ther preceding his sons. Each carries a machete, net bag, tumpline, and sheepskin back-protector if he plans to carry any loads. Many bring shot-
[411] guns as well in order to hunt for field rats, raccoon, or the burrowing ani-
[224] mals they find in the fields.

After the men leave, the women go to the porch and "seize their work."
[857] The children go to school, which begins at eight-thirty in the morning
[872] and continues until five o'clock in the evening. They return home for
[264] lunch, a meal of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans or chayote when it is in season.

Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

175 632 466 communal projects for the neighboring town as there had been formerly. The peasant is master of his own time.

125 221 512 Tables 33 and 34 summarize the number of days and percentage of time accorded to various activities for men of two households. The first family consists of a man forty-three years of age and his wife. All of their own children died in infancy, and an adopted daughter recently left home to live with her husband and child in a new ejido plot. The second family consists of a man, his wife, two adult sons, and an unmarried daughter. In this family, the father of sixty-five is retired and his two sons perform all of the agricultural work. Table 34 includes only the activities of the sons. 125 221 The two schedules provide some contrasts:

461 462 561 1. The forty-three-year-old man has many more ceremonial obligations than the youths. This is a factor related to the life cycle in which men over thirty-five years of age are involved in more familial and community celebrations. During the year this schedule was taken, the man was serving as a mayordomo.

2. The older man has fewer productively employed days than the youths (only 54 percent of his time is spent in productive activities) in contrast to 76 percent and 79 percent for the youths). The difference is accounted for by wage employment the youths have undertaken. In order to pay for the cost of betrothal, the elder son worked 56 days (37 percent of the time accounted for) in a neighboring sawmill.

3. The youths were not involved in any exchange labor arrangements; until they become independent heads of households working their own fields, the men do not contract reciprocal exchanges.

221 461 462 796 The fact that men spend only 54 to 79 percent of their time (using these tables to provide minimal and maximal limits) on productive activities means that there is a great deal of flexibility in the use of time for ceremonial responsibilities. Everyone takes an average of twenty days off for celebrating fiestas in addition to fifty-two Sundays.

241 461 [796] The high proportion of time spent in family or communal ceremonials suggests the high value placed on them. The preference for leisure to pursue these activities is proved in cases such as that in which the additional profit in cultivating cabbages was not sufficient to motivate one agricultur-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 316]

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TABLE 33. Activity Schedule for September 1 to June 29 of Man Owning 1 Hectare of Land and 2 Ejido Plots of ½ Hectare Each

Activity	*Days spent*	*Percent of total time*
Agriculture		46
Preparing land		
Clearing irrigation ditches	12	
Repairing and mending fences	11½	
Clearing land by cutting and burning brush	11	
Irrigating land	8	
Plowing	11	
Planting	6	
Cultivating crops	21	
Guarding crops against animals and birds	3	
Harvesting	34	
Milling sugarcane	8	
Exchange labor	13	
Walking to hot country	4	
Hunting for and tending animals	25½	9
Collecting firewood	13	5
Religious activities		23
Performing duties as mayordomo	26	
Attending Sunday mass and cleaning church	24	
Fiestas, attending mass, participating in playing drum, flute, etc.	21	
Kinship and social obligations		6
Attending funerals	7	
Attending curing ceremonials	3	
Attending betrothal ceremonials	5	
Helping in house-building	1	
Marketing		3
Buying	9	
Selling	1	
Communal labor		2
Cleaning irrigation ditches	1	
Repairing threshing shelter	4	
Business affairs of cooperative	4	1
Assisting town officials	4	1
Outside work	12	4
TOTAL	303	100

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241 461 ist to continue growing this labor-intensive crop (Chapter 2). The low propensity to consume, maintained by community-shared standards which inhibit the display of wealth, further reduces the incentives to expand production (Schultz 1964:27). The major reward for hard work is land which, in his middle years, the agriculturalist can turn over to be worked by his sons, thus relieving him of daily toil.

221 461 462 512

TABLE 34. Activity Schedule for September 1 to February 28 for Two Unmarried Youths

Activity	Younger brother Days spent	Younger brother Percent of total time	Elder brother Days spent	Elder brother Percent of total time
Agriculture		41		25
Preparing land				
Clearing land by cutting and burning brush	26		6	
Irrigating land	3		3	
Plowing land	1		1	
Planting	1		1	
Harvesting crop	11		7	
Doubling over stalks	4		4	
Working in hot country	16		16	
Collecting firewood	6	4	2	1
House maintenance		12		6
Plastering house walls	13		6	
Bringing lumber	2		2	
Making pigpen	3		2	
Pottery		1		1
Bringing clay	2		2	
Agricultural work for others		8		8
Harvesting and carrying corn	3		3	
Plowing	2		2	
Planting	6		7	
Nonagricultural work in sawmill	16	11	56	37
Religious activities		18		21
Attending fiestas	3		3	
Attending mass and relaxing on Sundays	25		28	
Sickness	8	5		
TOTAL	151	100	151	100

The assumption that leisure is a concept unique to highly civilized societies is denied by peasant behavior in this community and many others like it in which the members are masters of the greater part of their time. What differentiates their scheduling of leisure-time activities from that of most western societies is that theirs is based on community decisions rather than individual predilections and that it is set in the frame of sacred rather than secular performances. Community standards are most notable in the way people dress for fiestas: women wear their newest embroidered blouses; their hair is neatly braided with ribbons. Men wear a kotonču with their cleanest shirt and pants. The children, except for the youngest, wear clothes like the adults'. Villagers "care for" the celebration by sitting on their porches, greeting neighbors, smoking and talking. When a public performance is held in the church or plaza, they participate as observers. Arduous work of any kind is proscribed. Special foods are prepared and served at regular mealtimes. A special mark of all days of fiesta is the serving of fermented corn beverage. Meat or chicken is more likely to be served on Sundays and holidays than on other days.

Timing as a Strategy in Interpersonal Relations

The preferred mode of action is "slow and soft." This applies to motion, especially in rituals, as well as to the scheduling of actions in a series of negotiations. The people are sensitive to the use of time in bargaining as an index to the relative resources of the negotiators. Withholding power in the market gives a marked price advantage in the sale of crops. Sale in advance of harvest means a loss of one-quarter to one-half of the price which could be gained if the crop was sold after it was cut, and corn sometimes doubles in value if withheld for six months or more. Interest as a time payment for the use of money is accepted on the basis that the borrower could put it to work. There is no feeling against the evil of usury, although the rates are relatively high in town—five percent per month.

This understanding of time as an indicator of relative strength extends to social functions. Time serves as an interval to build confidence on the part of both parties entering into contractual arrangement. In the betrothal, both parties are prepared for a long series of visits before the suit

571 is accepted. Precipitous action on either side reveals a weakness of which
805 the other party might take advantage, or which might even stop pro-
[584] cedures.

Timing of activities is so specific that it can be read as an equation of social relations: People who come to the house after nightfall are either intimate members of the family, or are members of the circle of me?tiktatik invited for a special household celebration—night is the time when spirits wander, not a time for casual visiting. Arrival of the betrothal party at the
[584] house of the girl's parents after ten o'clock in the morning indicates that the suit has been accepted.

571 Sequential timing expresses relative prestige and a sense of priority. In
805 "raising" the officials for the official ceremonies, the lowest ranks of
554 officials rise first to go to the house and awaken each of their companions
562 in order of rank. The sequence in serving order has already been discussed with respect to rank and prestige. Another principle of sequence operates at a more subtle level: women go before men when there is expectation of a fight since their presence evokes less hostility. This is evident in the be-
[584] trothal: the me? c'om precedes the mam c'om in the initial proceedings
[579] when strong resistance and hostility is anticipated. When drunken fights start during house ceremonies, women intercede with calming effect.

641 Time always is on the side of the Indians when they wish to resist na-
829 tional orders. Verbal agreements to pay fines imposed or to assist federal
805 agents in the capture of criminals are frequently followed by deliberate negligence in carrying out the orders. Usually the order is forgotten or in-
[647] terest wanes at a higher level. Government agencies such as the INI learned to bide their time much as the Indians did. Expecting opposition to any proposed change, they waited for the initial reaction to die down, and then proceeded as support from those who benefited overcame internal resistence.

461 When called upon to perform jobs that require regular appointments,
464 the Indians respond easily to the daily scheduling. Resistance comes
512 against scheduled requirements that involve long spans of time and inter-
805 fere with communal and familial ceremonies. Work away from home is undertaken only on the premise that it will be of limited duration. This
[181] control over their own time is a value which Indians will not easily yield.

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These time and space patterns provide the individual with a cognitive structure which enables him to function appropriately in a given setting and to plan his future actions. Having one piece of information, people can derive the other understandings necessary to adjust their own behavior to the expectations of others.

Time as a measure of value has been affected by changes occurring in the past two decades. Men are less willing to expend time in ceremonial activities than formerly. The first ceremony given up was Carnival, which has not been celebrated for over a decade. Most recently, young men have refused to become alfereces, and their resistance on the basis of loss of time and money was formally recognized in 1966 when the institution was abolished. The resistance parents used to show to their children spending, or wasting their time in school has given way as some of the more modernized parents have seen the advantages of education.

The tempo of life has accelerated with the increasing importance of bus and truck transportation to market. Women's time has always figured as importantly as that of the men because of their pottery production, and they have quickly accepted time-saving innovations such as the tortilla press and the corn-grinding mill. They have not shown any inclination to adopt time-saving technology, such as the potter's wheel, in pottery-making since they have no knowledge of it, and using it would require relearning basic tasks.

The ceremonial cycle still provides the major consideration in programming other activities in the community. The Indian as an agriculturalist remains master of his own time, and he plans his work so that he can fulfill his ceremonial obligations.

Chapter 13

Belief and Behavior in a Changing Society

181 177 178 Continuity is the theme stressed in the rules of the game that apply to living in the square world of the community. The framework of continuity is the landscape itself with the ancestral hills and devils' caves reminding people of the moral order of the past. Repetitive behavior in rituals symbolically projects the past into the future, and behavioral schema in pottery and agricultural production reinforce the belief that all remains the same. The conditions making for change stem from the very attempts to preserve the existing equilibrium. A rising population on a limited land base using colonial techniques of cultivation is bringing about an increasing reliance on outside markets for the sale of labor and the purchase of goods. [423] [621] The ejido program which has perpetuated the system of subsistence cultivation has at the same time increased the dependency on external political influence and undermined dependency on parents. Some of the rules of strategy that have developed in response to changes coming from outside the community can no longer be justified by the beliefs that govern behavior within its boundaries. The community is now in crisis: people are losing faith in the old beliefs and have not yet developed a meaningful ideology for new strategies.

[241] [323] [464] [871] The crisis does not affect all institutions equally. It is absent in the traditional economic activities of milpa cultivation and pottery production. It is incipient in the households, especially where there are wage-workers in nonagricultural jobs. It is more apparent in the civil than in the religious sphere, and it is most manifest in the new economic activities. The school, as an externally imposed institution, generates awareness of the conflict between old beliefs and the ideology of nationalism, but until recently receptivity to these ideas has been limited. The behavior described for each in-

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The behavior described for each institution in earlier chapters will be summarized as a mode of adjustment or adaptation in relation to the beliefs that give it meaning and purpose. 128

Economic Activities

868 241 323

Learning agricultural tasks and pottery-making in the household is part of adjusting to membership in the community. Parents are responsible for teaching the value of industriousness and are held accountable throughout the life of the child. Agricultural tasks are scheduled in a yearly cycle that provides sufficient flexibility for a man to carry out community and familial ceremonial responsibilities. In milpa agriculture, there is no specialization of tasks. Small-plot agricultural production with a simple technology has been reinforced by the land reform program. Since the lands incorporated under the Ejido Commission in the 1930s were attached to the community, agriculturalists were not forced to adjust to new ecological conditions. Politicalization was minimal since the local commission operated within the old civil hierarchy. In the recent expansion of ejido colonies in hot country, Indians from the community have developed alliances with non-Indians in asserting claims to the land. Without any preexisting civil hierarchy, these ejidatarios have not had to adjust their activities to a given structure of authority, but have developed independent political organizations as an adaptation to their new environment. 241 177 178 423 621

Women's work in pottery is less subject to changes in techniques and organization than is men's. The schema of production in simple tasks in a fixed sequence makes it easier to teach girls each process and reinforces a given pottery tradition. My guess would be that if wheel production were introduced, it would liberate the creativity of each potter by freeing her of established routines. 323 177 178

Pottery production is not surrounded, as is agricultural production, by ceremonials. There is no god to whom one lights candles or gives offerings to ensure success, although there are hazards in production, particularly at the time of firing. Agricultural productivity, on the other hand, is thought to depend on the proper relation between the spirits of the heaven and of the church with the spirits of crops. 323 241 776 [196]

In the new economic activities, the Indians have shown both adjustive 177 178 233 312 476 621

233
177 and adaptive responses. With the expansion of cattle raising, Indians have
178 organized associations adjusted to the traditional dual division. The asso-
621 ciation for each side of the dual division mobilizes labor for maintaining
476 the watering holes. The failure to organize communal corrals means that
312 inefficient herding techniques, damage to the milpa, and frequent loss or
[685] theft of cattle persist. The association reacts to the last problem by hiring killers to get rid of those suspected of theft, but this adaptive response is limited to dealing with particular incidents and has not solved the problem.

548 The manufacturers of contraband liquor have succeeded in organizing a
273 syndicate strong enough to maintain a monopoly price for both the inter-
177 nal and external markets, and to provide security for themselves against
178 federal agents. The syndicate mobilizes for specific actions, such as raising
[435] the bail bond for imprisoned members or punishing informers. As a com-
694 munity-wide organization ignoring the dual division and age-ranked sen-
[681] iority, it represents an adaptation in response to extra-community pres-
621 sures.
[561]

The cooperatives that have been organized to manage the local store
474 and the trucks provide permanent managerial operations that are an adap-
177 tition to growing interaction in extra-community economic activities.
178 Cooperative owners are able to raise the capital to maintain and expand these operations. It is within these structures that entrepreneurial skills are being developed. The organizers gain the advantage not only of socializing the risk of loss but also of making a profit in a community where belief in witchcraft, fostered by envy, is rampant.

474 Activities in the new economic enterprises are not supported by any su-
472 pernatural belief. In order to gain acceptance for the new enterprises, the
177 entrepreneur Santos, who had organized the trucking cooperative, recog-
178 nized the need for an ideology. His rhetoric drew upon the sense of deprivation Indians feel in their relations with Ladinos. He justified his own ends as an attempt to gain for all the community the profits that only Ladinos had been able to gain through trucking and crops resales in the regional markets. The ideology he had begun to formulate stressed economic and political independence from both the Ladino entrepreneurs of neighboring towns and government agents who tried to promote welfare

programs in the interest of "civilizing" the Indians. This formulation involved a basic contradiction between the goal of moving into regional and national networks and that of keeping the old autonomy and independence of the corporate community. He never had to face that contradiction. Unable to gain adherents other than the small group of profit-sharers in the cooperative he organized, he was killed by opponents within the community.

The Family and Household

The core of the traditional culture lay in the local power hierarchies patterned on the familial model of age-ordered paternal authority institutionalized in the me?iltatil. The me?iltatil of the household have provided a flexible institution for adjusting conflict within the kin group. Their role in directing ritual performances preserves a sense of continuity in life cycle changes.

The institutionalized authority of the elders has not been upset by the trend toward residence based on nuclear families, which is an adjustment to the pressure of limited space in the town center. Kinship ties are continually reinforced by rituals that draw together the me?iltalil as sponsors of ceremonies marking baptism, marriage, and death. This group of sponsoring relatives has absorbed the institution of compadrazgo, adding compadres to the network of affinally-and bilaterally-related kin. The procedures for adjusting conflict among members of the household and extended family networks reinforce the authority of the elders. When adjustive processes in the house and court "arrangements" and in curing ceremonies fail, the only recourse is for one of the disputants to leave the community or commit homicide.

Ceremonies within the household provide a model for the rules of the game that apply to adjustive behavior in the community. The household officials introduce new officials into their role, teaching them the prayers and directing the proceedings. Their authority depends upon age and prestige acquired in office. The me?iltatil, as the elders of the family, are the direct link with the ancestors. They and the nakawane provide the strongest force for preserving the ways of the ancestors.

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Religious Behavior

869 776 Socialization of the child includes teaching him how to adjust to spirits of the house and of the surrounding hills and springs as well as to people in his social environment. He learns the obligations he owes to these spirits in the rituals of house inauguration and curing. Place spirits are given an ethnic identity. The ancestor figures who live in the cave are Indians from whom all the people originate. The Ladino spirits residing in the houses and springs are a mythological projection of a conquered people who have learned to coexist with their conquerors by paying tribute of candles, food, liquor, and entertainment. If the spirits are not won over, they will admit the evil spirits who bring sickness and death. Their presence is known only by the trouble they permit rather than by good occurences; the miracles they perform are an undoing of the harm they have permitted.

776 782 789 The belief in the potentially dangerous nature of these spirits when their envy or appetite is aroused is linked to an understanding that men and gods alike are jealous and vindictive. It generates behavior that is in conformity with that of the ancestors. A sense of security is reinforced by the protective symbols of incense, the cross of palm hung on the entrance posts of the yard and house, candles which "blind the eye of the devil," and garlic mixed with hot herbs which exude an odor that evil spirits dislike. When the uneasy contract between spiritual and human coresidents [755] is upset, a curing ritual is performed to make everyone "of one heart." Behavior with respect to both spirits and people stems from a policy of ap- [571] [273] peasement through entertainment and liquor provided in household ceremonials.

776 177 178 Behavior differs in regard to the category of saints called "spirits in the heaven" and those called "spirits in the church." Spirits of the heavens have incorporated pre-Conquest deities with those introduced by the missions. They are a more powerful force influencing human moral behavior. [834] Illicit sexual relations carried out in the milpa by day are believed to [784] arouse the envy of "Our Father the Sun" who will cause the milpa to burn by refusing to give way to rain. Similarly "Our Grandmother the

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Moon" will not give way to the sun if her envy is aroused by seeing such things. These spirits of the heavens have greater control over natural forces than the spirits of the church, or saints. The saints have only limited influence over the souls of particular crops and chickens; people say "they are just of the pueblo."

The distinction between the "big saints of the church" and the lesser saints is recognized in the rituals accorded each group. Four of the saints are given big fiestas which are longer, require more expenditures, and involve more people than the fiestas for the lesser saints. Few distinctions are made between the personalities of the big saints and those of the lesser saints. They are big because their fiestas are big. The fact that the townspeople have selected four from the rostrum of saints given them suggests a link with the four guardian gods of the pre-Conquest pantheon, but except for San Pedro the Martyr's identification with Chac, or Cha'uk in Tzeltal, I could not make any other associations.

To say that there is a system of beliefs does not rule out inconsistencies. Some contradictions can coexist without giving rise to tension. Awareness of incongruence either between beliefs, or between beliefs and behavior associated with them, arises in specific events in which the conflict becomes apparent—that is, when the participants must make choices between alternatives that affect their interests.

The people do not recognize any division between pre- and post-Conquest spiritual entities. Sometimes two personalities from Catholic sources may be equated with one of pre-Conquest origin in order to fit a story format, as in the case of Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost, with K'oš (Chapter 8). The priests, who had a special dispensation to make whatever cultural translations were necessary in teaching the doctrines of the church (Doctrina Cristiana Lima 1584 III, 3, Recopilación de Leyes, Ley 22 lib. cited in Lamb 1956:531), are responsible for some of the reworking of the two traditions. But local elaborations reveal indigenous cognitive patterning.

Contradictions in myths concerning the origin of crops show some gaps in the union of pre-and post-Conquest legends. The gift of corn is attributed in one myth to the patroness, Santa Lucía, who received it from the patron saint of the neighboring town of Oxchuk. Another myth gives

773 credit to insects who carried it from the hills. Still another myth synthe-
179 sizes both pre-Conquest and Catholic agents: San Antonio, seeing an in-
178 sect bearing a kernel of corn, persuaded a woodpecker to break open the rock which blocked the entrance to the hill where the corn was stored and then organized the insects to bring forth the corn. The contradictions in these myths do not motivate the people to bring the several versions into line with one another because the rituals associated with beliefs concerning crops provide an overall insurance rather than a specific contract. The In-
776 dians do not trust their security to any one saint or even group of deities.
782 The two candles lit in the milpa following the harvest are an offering to
177 the "owner of the earth"; along with this, offerings of corncobs are made
178 to the saints in the church and to the house saint. Even the birds are left
[825] an offering of corn kernels in the fields after the harvest so that they will not be jealous of the farmer.

773 These myths fail to provide specific charters for action. What they do
771 provide is a set of dispositions to behave in certain ways. The underlying
182 disposition is that of self-imposed guilt and recrimination. The ancestors left their cave because the people failed to give them a fiesta; the spirit of money left the town because the religious officials in the past failed to adorn the church and improvidently strewed the floor with green peso notes in place of pine needles. Sickness and poverty are attributed to their own failures.

771 Another disposition is that of appeasement through ceremonial enter-
796 tainment. This is carried out in the fiestas for the spirits of the church and
731 the spirits of the heaven just as for the spirits of the house, caves, springs,
182 and hills surrounding the town. Community-wide disaster is interpreted as a direct result of failure to perform rituals establishing reciprocity with the spirits. When individuals face crop loss, they review their own ritual obligations to see what went wrong. The curing ceremony is an-
[755] other effort to appease the devil whom the witch has persuaded to give illness to his victim.

771 A third such disposition is to project human conflict into the superna-
776 tural sphere. The conflict between Santa Lucía and the patron saint of Ox-
821 chuk, Santo Tomás was taken to be the reason for the church tower being
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struck by lightning on two occasions. The solution was to rebuild the tower of metal so that Santo Tomás could not demolish it if he struck again, a defensive reaction which is typical of the Indians in their extra-community relations. When an eclipse of "Our Grandmother the Moon" occurred during my stay in town, everyone went to her assistance, banging metal tools and pots, in what was believed to be a fight with the sun.

The emphasis on self-recrimination and guilt in explaining failure minimizes the build-up of protest. Economic hardship attributed to a man's own improvidence in relation to his fellow man and God are accepted as his lot in life. The drama of the curing ritual projects the Indians' sense of their own guilt for the suffering and poverty they endure.

Political Behavior

The structure of the civil hierarchy has been maintained but organizational changes have occurred which have weakened the basis for it. The alternation of offices between church and civil positions survives in the lower levels, but the new leaders in civil affairs now begin in the Ejido Commission, and few of those who pass as president take on posts in the religious hierarchy. The appearance of continuity has been maintained in communal rituals in which the principales provide the link with the past and the alfereces, until 1966, were the link between civil and religious wings; but in the day-to-day running of the town, the officials do not act on these premises. The balance between officials from each side of the dual division has been upset by the population increase on one side. The abolition of the institution of alfereces gives public recognition to the growing awareness of imbalance. Moreover, the factions based on the new trucking cooperatives that cut across the dual division reduce the effectiveness of the dual division in channeling conflict.

Behavioral deviation from the norms is present in all societies and is not in itself an index to structural change. This comes about when new interpretations are given to events that undermine confidence in existing institutions and leaders. Political conflicts in the past were interpreted as a contest between members of the sides of the dual division and hostility

621 578 177 178 was channeled along existing lines of competition. During my stay in the community from 1964 to 1966, most conflicts were attributed to economic competition between the two trucking cooperatives. Along with this, the [114] [474] [182] waning of the position of the principales has undermined the confidence of the people in the system of checks and balances in which the principales watched over the judges, the judges watched over the curers, the curers watched over the people to see that no one brought in evil, and the ancestors watched over everyone. Curers are more and more often accused of [756] witchcraft and are frequent victims of homicide. The sense that they are the guardians of the pueblo and the agents of the ancestors is nearly dead. They are consulted only because the people feel that, because of the evil in them, they can fight the evil caused by others.

621 756 177 178 The shift in power from the old leaders to the new has not been accompanied by a shift in ideological allegiance. The new leaders cannot offer the security the people felt when they were living in the eyes of the ancestors. The curers remain as a powerful group because of their claims of being able to fight evil, but there is no longer a legitimate authority controlling their use of destructive forces.

561 554 177 178 A system of authority based on rule by elders is a structural correlative of a behavior pattern in which people act out the ways of the ancestors. This applies to the schematized behavior contained in rituals and in traditional productive activities. The ideology of a seniority-based prestige system persists at the explicit level at the same time that behavioral changes in contradiction to this are occurring.

626 177 178 Social control in a system of behavior based on what was done in the past depends upon the belief that people are carrying out their lives "in the eyes of the ancestors." Ritual behavior in Tzoʔontahal seems to confirm this, but in view of the waning belief in the presence of the ancestors and the loss of confidence in their agents, the curers, this behavior is a kind of social lie designed to perpetuate the old code of morality. In their everyday behavior, people no longer act on the same premises. The social lie is perpetuated because the people who enjoyed power in the old social system—the curers and the elders—do not wish to relinquish it. It will last only so long as they can find successors, and with the abolition of the recruitment through alfereces, this should not be for long.

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Summary and Conclusions

The preceding generalizations anticipate conclusions that will be stated in terms of the hypotheses raised in the Preface. 181 105 182

1. *The stability of the society varies directly with the efficiency of its procedures for adjusting conflict.* The rising homicide rate is a behavioral index to the breakdown in procedures for adjusting conflict. The elders and cures still officiate in rituals to settle conflict, but their judgments are no longer as effective in overcoming fear and suspicion. The principle of age-based authority on which their authority rests has been undermined by ejido lands giving married sons earlier independence from their fathers and by young leaders assuming positions of power in the civil authority. More dispute cases have been referred to the departmental courts in the 60s than in the 50s.

2. *The stability of the society varies directly with the ability to validate behavioral innovations in terms of existing values.* Leaders in the new economic enterprises and the political factions based on them have tried to justify their efforts by stressing the goal of increasing their independence from the Ladinos. Their attempt to develop an ideology emphasizing the need for cooperation to overcome the dominance of the Ladinos is handicapped by the rampant suspicions about other members of the community and pessimism about the chances of the cooperative to succeed in the wider world. The conflict in the individual between desire for improvement of his welfare and fear of exciting envy is exacerbated by each innovation that raises the level of living. The leader who was most explicit in formulating an ideology for adapting to the new, the entrepreneur Santos, was a victim of the conflict he tried to interpret. There is no expression of pan-Indianism that could support the goal of cultural separatism of Indians from Ladinos. Indigenismo is the ideology of national leaders who have left behind the cultural heritage they extol. The Indians of Tzoʔontahal are as suspicious of neighboring Indians as they are of Ladinos. The retreat into separate communities which has ensured their survival in the four and a half centuries of colonial rule and independence makes it difficult to mobilize

181 support for cultural independence as economic interdependence grows.

105 3. *The stability of the society varies directly with the effectiveness*
182 *of its procedures for transforming old power positions into ceremonial posts.* The community demonstrated the effectiveness of its technique of cooling off old power-holders as new leader usurped the authority of the principales. The struggle going on between the curers and the new civil leadership had not been resolved in ceremonial absorption of the curers' power when I left the community. The community was ridding itself of these fear-provoking agents of the supernatural by resorting to homicide. The loss of the institution of the alférez marked the waning of these old techniques of ceremonially incorporating leadership into a traditional hierarchy and linking civil office with religious obligations.

4. *The lability of the society varies directly with the gap between expectations and experience.* The Indians condition themselves to expect the worst and so are not disappointed by it. They pray only that they may maintain a given level of suffering and poverty. They are not caught up in that revolution of rising expectations that makes for discontent when experience does not match them. The Indians know they
[175] are better off than they were, and they contrast their present prosperity
[731] with the famine of 1915 when revolution and banditry depleted their crops and cattle, and with the typhoid epidemic of 1928 when hundreds died and the rest did not have the money to bury them properly. An attitude of pessimism about the future limits the problem of adjusting to it or of making adaptations to improve it. One could predict neither revolution nor moral collapse.

5. *The lability of the society varies directly with the degree of dissonance between traditional and contemporary interpretations of events.* The old explanations are still applied to current events. Disaster is blamed on individual or communal failure to carry out ceremonials. Sickness and death are attributed to witchcraft motivated by envy or malice. The paranoic theories of human nature are confirmed by every illness or death that occurs. Even the gods are characterized as envious and vindictive. Containment of blame for misfortune within the community minimizes the political involvement of Indians in the wider society and limits the changes that might affect them.

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The material conditions making for equilibrium are breaking down 105
within the community, but the failure for protest to develop means that 177
old beliefs are not challenged by new ideologies. Adaptations and adjust- 178
ments made in response to changes are still forced into this framework of 181
understandings and expectations. But without any stated changes in belief, 182
Indians are themselves transforming the internal structure of the society by undermining the old gerontocracy and shifting the locus of power to the innovating young men. A binary model of change that poses a transformation from traditional to modern might ignore these internal changes that maintain a given equilibrium intact but that provide a reordering of power making possible a successful adaptation to larger social orders. Tzo?ontahal is a case in point proving that the external conditions are not sufficient to explain fundamental restructuring of the society. People continue to act out a faith in the ways of the ancestors at the same time that adjustments and adaptations are made in response to increasing interdependence in regional and national institutions. The same framework of government is retained as shifts of power give scope to a new kind of leadership. Continuity in forms has the positive effect of preserving a sense of security. The social costs are a slowing down of adaptive responses and a high investment in the "ceremonial fund" (Wolf 1966). The benefits can only be measured by comparison with cultures that have lost these controls.

The universal problem which this community is in the process of working out has been stated by G. H. Mead (1938:22): "How is a society to find a method for changing its own institutions and still preserve the security of those institutions?" The present phrasing of the problem in the community is: "How can we preserve the solutions of the past and apply them to the present?" So long as the problem is phrased in this way, the solution is to exile or kill the deviants or innovators who attempt fundamental change. The threat of witchcraft continues to maintain conformity, and fear subverts the search for an ideology to phrase behavioral adjustments and adaptations in such a way that they will be congruent with future goals. Such an ideology cannot be imposed. Only the people themselves can work out the ways in which meaning and understanding are given to technological and social change.

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Appendix I

Settlement of Domestic Cases

A. House Arrangement of Separation

The following transcription of a tape recording concerns the house arrangement of a domestic dispute involving Alberta, the niece and adopted daughter of Mariano. She left her husband and returned to Mariano's home with her one-year-old child because of her husband's abusive treatment. Mariano invited all of the members of the betrothal party, as well as the maliwanehetik who had assisted in the marriage negotiations and Victorio, Alberta's husband. The leader of the betrothal negotiations was unable to attend because he had been drinking all day at another betrothal party. The arrangement proceeded with the padrino of the wedding, Pablo, and Alvino, Victorio's uncle and another elder in the betrothal negotiations, leading the discussion. I asked Mariano to tape the session so that my presence would not be an interference. In the joking session, the tape recorder became a target for the men's humor when, trying to replay it, they found that one section had not recorded clearly.

Pablo opened the discussion by asking the errant husband's elder representative, Feliciano, if the family wanted to take the girl back. Feliciano agreed that that was their purpose in coming, and that they must hear what happened to cause the dispute between the couple. Maria, the foster mother of Alberta, summarized their complaints against Victorio and his family.

Maria: *It is almost as though the child [Alberta's year-old daughter] has no father. We have been feeding her because we have had to support both of them. When the child became sick with diarrhea the father did nothing to help.*
Pablo: *Yes, we have to think of that. The child was frightened by her father and became ill.*
Maria: *When he came to our house, he fought Alberta, and the child was ill. Alberta went to the courthouse to complain about his behavior.*
Pablo: *It couldn't be arranged in the courthouse. It is better to settle the dispute here in the house.*

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C27 Maria: *Whenever he came to see her, he was drunk and came in fighting.*
593 Victorio: *It is a lie. I came, but I was not only fighting. I wasn't always very*
578 *drunk. I came there sober to speak to you. I asked about how my wife was.*
126 *Then I went to see my uncle in Grandeza. He told me that if he couldn't order*
586 *her to come, then I better come here to hear what is said. When I went there, I was sober. I brought two bottles of beer. He said, "Ah, it is you," when I arrived at his house. "Come in and sit down." I sat down. I took off the cap of the beer and measured it out. "What have you come to say?" he asked me. "I am unhappy, father," I said. "What has happened to you?" he said. "I went to see Alberta," I said. He asked me if I had beaten her, and I said, "No, we only spoke a few words."*

Santia: *But if you hadn't hit her, why would she have come back to her father's house?"*

Victorio: *I only wanted to come to an understanding with her.*

Alvino: *So it is, you came to speak to me.*

Victorio: *It was in order to arrive at an understanding as you had told me. But I didn't succeed then.*

Alvino: *You didn't succeed in what you wanted?*

Victorio: *No, nothing.*

Alvino: *Well, when nothing happened, you could have gone later to ask with good words.*

Victorio: *I returned late in the afternoon. I had been drinking a little beer, and I was a little drunk. My father-in-law came with me. He had a fourth of liquor inside his shirt. We arrived at prayertime. My father-in-law was in the church since he was mayordomo at the time. We came in good faith to hear what was wrong.*

Mariano: *But then he came another time. I had gone to hot country to work. He came to the house and wanted to break it. He pulled out two of the tiles in the gate and entered. That was his crime.*

Victorio's father: *That wasn't good. You shouldn't go drunk when you can't understand anything.*

Maria: *We are not at fault. We spoke to him with good words. We told him he could take his wife.*

Elder woman of Victorio's family: *We told him he ought not to come when he was drunk.*

Pablo: *But now he wants to change for the better. You ought not to drink. It is better to eat meat and vegetables, and find corn and beans for your wife and child. Now we have arranged it, and you can take your wife and child to your house.*

Mariano took out cigarettes, and the group relaxed as all lit up the cigarettes and smoked. They discussed my tape recorder as they listened to the tape replayed. When they came to the section that did not record well, they decided that they should take it out and urinate on it. One man suggested that they should put it in prison, and another said that they should shoot it. This provoked general laughter. They went on to discuss the smoking habits of Ladinos. Pablo remarked that Ladino lawyers do nothing but sit in their offices and talk and smoke. Mariano and Victorio's father joked a great deal, the latter maintaining that Pablo had threatened to castrate him. This was picked up by Pablo who said that then Mariano would be a madrina to his godmother, Martina (the woman speaker in the betrothal negotiations). This provoked a great deal of laughter among the women. They then joked with Mariano about Pablo's other madrina, a Ladina from the neighboring town who sells the blood of slaughtered bulls. They refer to her as *me? Skitaoo*, the fat one. Mariano remarked to the women that Victorio's father must be a witch, and someone would try to kill him on the road. The conversation turned from the danger of going alone in the woods to a discussion of hunting. Feliciano bragged that he had an excellent hunting dog which he bought from a Ladino and which he referred to as "the Ladino dog." Mariano asked what Ladino they bought it from, but Feliciano denied knowledge of who the man was. They suggested it was nothing but a Huistecan Indian who changed his clothing. The joking and drinking continued until midnight, when the assembled company finally broke up. The next day Alberta went to live with her husband in the new house he had built.

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B. Court Arrangement of Separation

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Persons present:

Judge
Father of Plaintiff
Mother of Plaintiff
Plaintiff
Husband of Plaintiff
Regidor
President

This case concerns a husband who had been separated from his wife and wished a settlement so that she would return to him. The man had been married before, and he occasionally returned to his first wife. When he got drunk,

695 he announced on the loudspeaker of the cantina that he was a poor man who
593 had to maintain two wives. This caused embarrassment to his second wife,
578 who asked for the hearing in order to separate from him. He was working in
586 the sawmill and had not provided for her support. The text is a translation of the transcription of a tape recording in Tzeltal.

695 Judge [to father of Plaintiff]: *Come, Mam compadre, and give evidence of what*
593 *has happened.*
578 Father: *This isn't the first time he has left his wife. It would be different, Mam*
586 *compadre, if he had only left her once, but he has left her several times.*
126 Judge: *Why do you keep on leaving her and coming back? It would be better to get her out of your system once and for all.*
Mother: *He goes to his mother's house but then comes back just to fight.*
Judge: *You ought to stop your fighting when you go to your wife.*
Father: *So it is, Mam judge. If it had just been a few words or one visit, but he is always coming here to fight. Even if you drink, you should speak well when you come to our house.*
Plaintiff: *He said he had nothing to eat but dry tortillas. I said to him, 'Go heat your tortillas. You're going to have to live like a woman if you get rid of your wife. Who is going to watch for you at the gate since I no longer intend to? There is nothing to eat in the house because there isn't any money."*
Judge: *She says this because she is angry.*
Mother: *She speaks because she isn't a fool. He can't answer that.*
Judge: *They are still young, but they will learn. Also, he ought not to continue drinking.*
Mother: *He doesn't obey me. Eight days later, and he repeats the same abuse.*
Judge [to husband]: *Why do you want to do this?*
Husband: *I want a woman who takes good care of me.*
Father: *Does his wife have a lover, that she leaves the house uncared for?*
Husband: *We're fighting because she is always going off to my mother-in-law's house.*
Plaintiff: *Every time he gets drunk, he comes shouting. Why shouldn't I leave so that the child doesn't see us fighting?*
Husband: *I get drunk because of the fighting. If there wasn't any fighting I would just want a soda.*
Plaintiff: *Who wants that? There wouldn't be any fighting if you didn't come.*
Mother: *God can say that we don't want the embarrassment. I said, "Stop fighting. It isn't good. She doesn't give you tortillas or atole because you are always*

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fighting. You ought to speak in sobriety. Why do you always want to fight and argue?"

Plaintiff: *At first it was the fault of a little board. For the crime of giving my mother a little piece of wood I had to come here the first time* [*refers to dispute arising over some wood which plaintiff had lent or given to her mother, and for which Husband wanted money*].

Mother: *I am supporting the children he comes and "asks for"* [*refers to the fact that husband impregnates wife, and then does not support the family*]. *The child cried a great deal when we were inside the cabildo. It was I who had to feed him. Why would I want this, my compadre judges? A husband who leaves you . . .*

Father: *How is the child going to grow up? And he keeps asking for another one.*

Mother: *You treat your wife like a mule, like a horse when you go to work. When I asked him to get some wood, he said, "Have I turned into your husband? Don't tell me what to do."*

Plaintiff: *If he gave something it would be good, but he never has supported me or even pays anything when he comes here.*

Mother: *He is never coming back to our house. We have spoken to the Ladino* [*Ramon, the former secretary who wrote out the marriage act*]. *We went to San Cristóbal to see what they would say.* [*Speaking to huband*] *But you don't listen to what he told you. You don't pay any attention because you are a devil. What good is it for us to go up to San Cristóbal?*

Father: *You should go, but you go on fighting as you started.*

Judge: [to husband]: *You should stay sober.*

Mother: *If he came to me sober, I would give him atole or sodas, Mam compadre. I returned the little board he had lent me, but he broke it.*

Plaintiff: *I gave him money for some soap, but he never gave account of that.*

Judge: *Now are you going to go with him?*

Plaintiff: *I am never going to go with him, elder brother. Even if he says he wants to take me back to his house, because I am not in his heart.*

Judge: *Ah, no. Let us explain.*

Mother: *Do you want to hear worse? No one is going to stay just to cook tortillas.*

Father: *It would be good, compadre, if she split with him.*

Judge: *They cannot split up because they are married.*

Father: *Well, compadre, if they* [*husband's family*] *take her back, then I am not going to return here. I am going to have to go to San Cristóbal.*

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695 Regidor: *What has been arranged isn't good. There are small children, and he*
593 *cannot support them.*
578 Judge: *But what else can they do, compadre? Better go to the man's house and*
586 *make a fire there [a metaphorical allusion to acting as a wife in keeping the*
126 *home fires burning].*

Plaintiff: *Although you speak to him, he doesn't listen. He never listened to his father.*

Husband: *What do you want to bring up my dead father for? He never ordered me, nor has any other person.*

Plaintiff: *I am not a fool. You gave me a wound, you broke my tooth. We want to stop all this and finish with the trouble you cause.*

Mother: *Let's come to some understanding. If it is only the trouble with the board, then I will give him the money and see if it is what he says.*

Judge: *This is not good, my compadre. It isn't going to content your heart.*

Mother: *I want to return and take out the marriage paper. It was Don Ramon who married them.*

Judge: *It isn't good for you to go do that. We are trying to arrange things here. The president has charge of the archives.*

Plaintiff: *He told me he was angry. I said, "Why do you want to sell the boards?" [This refers to the wood she had lent her mother.] He said, "I am going to bring more." I asked him again why he wanted to sell the boards. He said he had received money for them. He asked me where the boards were, and I said I had lent them to my mother. "Go get them if you want them," I said. He never gave me back the payment for the soap that I gave him. He spent it for liquor. I said to him, "Where is the soap?" and he said, "I spent it on liquor." When he gets drunk, he begins to fight me. He doesn't want me to talk back, but what does he expect? He said he was going to get another wife, that I was very lazy and very slack. I told him, "Why don't you go out and cut some wood?" He said, "Where do you think I am going to get some wood?" I was ashamed to go before my brother-in-law with my child and ask him. He never wanted to cut wood or ocote.*

Judge: *It is not good what he did. He should do what is necessary in the house.*

Plaintiff: *It is for this reason that I don't want to go with him, Mam Judge. He is always saying that his first wife was a very good worker. If I didn't have a husband or if there were no children, I would bring the wood, but I am not going to do it while he is around.*

Judge: *What would you say if he brought you back to his house?*

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Plaintiff: *But I don't want it. What does he want me for? You heard him say I am a whore. He said I was a bitch. He said, "You are an old shit!" I don't want to have anything to do with him. What does he want me for if I am an old whore as he says? He said she [first wife] was a better woman than I.* 695 593 578 586 126

Father: *The judge told him before, "Go give your wife some support." We had three settlements before this. Mam Ramon said he was sick of seeing the woman in court so often.*

Judge: *First we will try to settle things here, and if he doesn't go in accord with custom, then you can go up to San Cristóbal.*

Father: *Here me, Mam judges, everyone fights occasionally, maybe makes two or three trips to court. But every time he gets drunk, he looks for a fight. I told him to stop fighting, but he doesn't listen. If I let my daughter go with him, he just takes her and produces more children. I have always had to support her then. He doesn't come around either drunk or sober. If he had come and told me what her fault was, then it would be good. When I had asked him what sins she had committed, he didn't say anything.*

Husband: *She just told me, "Leave me here and you go with your mother. I shall go back to my house."*

Plaintiff: *I left word with him that I was finished because of all the fighting. I don't want to go with a drunkard. [To husband] Even if you drink, you shouldn't beat me.*

Judge: *If you want a woman, you ought to support her. You shouldn't fight.*

Husband: *She told me, "You aren't the only man in the world. There are plenty of men who would want me."*

Plaintiff: *I never said that! You're looking for a fight!*

Husband: *What do you mean you didn't say that? My mother heard it.*

Plaintiff: *Go bring your mother. She didn't want to come because she is ashamed. It isn't the first time we are settling things in court.*

Judge: *You ought to go with him this time, but if it happens again, we will split you up. What else can we do if you don't obey our advice?*

Father: *When he goes to work, Mam compadre, he ought to look and see how much pay he is getting and how it will stretch to support his wife. Then she will make his tortillas for him contentedly, and there won't be any fighting.*

Judge: *We say that when he comes home from work he should ask his wife what she wants to spend for coffee or salt and all the things she will have to buy.*

Plaintiff: *He doesn't give any account of his little pay.*

Husband: *I don't want to say how much there is because there are still debts*

695 *from when I was asking for her* [*refers to betrothal expenses*]. *When the debt*
593 *is paid off, then I can.*
578 Judge [to wife]: *You heard that he will have to pay off the debt. Now go*
586 *with your husband in one heart.* [*To husband*] *Go with your wife. If you have*
126 *enough money, ask your wife if she needs some coffee or if she needs salt and wants the payment of it. You have to give some money in order to live contentedly.*

Father: *So it is, Mam compadre. It is good to be content and see the fire in the hearth. One time he came to my house and I said, "Come in. Let's take a look at what money you have earned." I told him to go save his money, give it to his wife to keep it for him. That is what I said to him.*

Regidor: *And it wasn't to deceive him. It would be good if he would believe* [*obey*] *this advice. They have been paying him double because he is a labor agent.*

Judge [to father]: *So it is, Mam compadre. Let it rest there.*

Regidor [to husband]: *The day after tomorrow, don't come back here with a couple more children and say you don't want her. Go back to your mother's house. You are lucky to have a wife. If you don't have a wife, you go get drunk every day. But with a wife life is good. She will give you coffee and corn to eat. Don't go on fighting when drunk or sober. Both my compadres have advised you* [*refers to judges*].

Mother: *So it is, Mam compadre. I am going now, Mam compadre.* [*Rises and leaves*].

Judge: *Go then, my compadre.*

The father and the husband give money for the fourth regidor to buy beer, and the group of men sit and drink the two family-size bottles which are purchased.

Appendix 2

Bloodletting in a Witchcraft Case

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The following conversation is from a transcription of a tape recorded in Tzeltal at the home of the curer during a curing ceremony for a man whose illness was diagnosed as caused by witchcraft. The patient arrived at eight-thirty in the morning. Present are the patient, his wife, the curer, his two sons, their wives, his wife's father, and the interviewer who helped me collect the data. The curer's family helped in the bloodletting because his hands shook so badly with palsy that he could not control them.

Curer's Wife: *How did it begin, compadre?*
Patient: *It began in the month of April when I brought my horse to the threshing mill at six o'clock in the morning. As the other horses entered, one pushed his hoof into my stomach. My body was frightened, and I could not bear the pain.*
Patient's Wife: *He couldn't do anything but cry when he came out.*
Interviewer: *Where did the pain begin?*
Patient: *It began in my leg. My whole body and my leg ached a great deal. It was so numb I couldn't feel anything. My child stayed in the threshing shelter three days. A little later I went to hot country and stayed there. My son asked if I was going down to hot country, and I said, "Yes. I am going to look at my horse. I will return soon." I was of one heart until yesterday, and then I lost my heart. A man told me that he wanted another horse. It was Emilio Čilol who told me, "Boy, I want another horse." "It is good. I will get it," I said. "Yes, I will get it." I went to get it yesterday with another horse. I caught him and handed him over along with his companion. Then the pain began. I felt I couldn't bear it. It is for this reason that I came to you.*
Patient's Wife: *Take the gift, father.* [*Hands liquor to curer.*] *It is for this that I came. His illness is much stronger today.*
Patient: *Truly I could not endure it when I arrived home yesterday. I felt I should come to the elder to be cured and hear what he says. It is for this that I came asking for a favor.*

755 Patient's Wife: *There he was lying down for the day.*
126 Patient: *It is the first day I have stepped foot on soil.*
Patient's Wife: *It is today.*
Patient: *I have endured it for days. So I wanted to go get help from your work. He [Emilio] told me, "Go get the horse to work in the wheat." "Good, I am going to get it. Afterward I am going to leave him in the threshing shelter." When I returned in the afternoon, I could not bear walking.*
Patient's Wife: *I told him, "Better not go yet to caponize your horse."*
Patient: *We had another little horse we were thinking of caponizing this year. But now I couldn't think of it. You have heard how it is with me. Let us see what God says.*
Curer's Wife: *Yes, give another [speaking to liquor pourer who was passing out liquor] to the women.*
[273] [554] *[All the company were given drinks. Drinking order was: father of curer's wife, curer, his two sons, wife of curer, interviewer, patient, his wife, wife of curer's two sons.]*
Curer: *Do you want a little more?*
Patient: *No, it is good.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *With your permission. [Drinks his liquor.]*
Curer [to Father-in-law]: *Enter! [Meaning, "Drink the liquor."]*
[The curer began to bleed the patient. He had eight gourds which he applied three times. He took the basin into which he poured the blood out to the yard and buried it, saying, "We cannot burn it inside because it was witchcraft."]
Curer [to patient]: *Can you endure it again?*
Patient: *I can endure it.*
Patient's Wife: *Please, father.*
Curer: *It is good. You don't have to endure it again.*
[Drinking continues.]
Curer's Father-in-law *[pouring blood into a saucer]: Look, it is black.*
Curer's Younger Son [to elder brother]: *It is not good, elder brother. [He had noted that the last gourd did not have much blood.]*
Curer's Father-in-law [to interviewer]: *Ah, God, it is not now as it was before. There is much witchcraft.*
Patient's Wife: *Let us see what came out.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *It is black because the witchcraft is well lodged in his body.*
[Curer points to his son where to make another scratch.]
Curer's Elder Son: *Where truly?*

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Curer: *There truly.*
Curer's Elder Son: *It is the same* [*meaning, the gourds are yielding the same kind of blood*]. *Please, Čiko, help a little.*
Curer's Younger Son: *Yes, I will help a little.*
Patient's Father-in-law: *Is there a little water?* [*He wanted to know if there was a little more water to dip his flower, the* čiliwet, *to sprinkle water on the patient.*]
Patient: *It pains a lot, man!*
Curer's Younger Son: *Yes, it does.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *It is coming out very well with this larger gourd.*
Patient: *I can stand it.*
Curer's Wife: *Whoever comes, he* [*her husband*] *can bleed.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *The women are tired now.*
Patient: *Because they are beginning to feel drunk.*
Women: *No, we only smelled the cup!* [*Laughter; drinking continues.*]
Patient: *Oh, I am tired.*
Women: *It* [*the bleeding gourd*] *is very big.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *Do you have another gourd? There is one over there.*
Curer's Wife: *Where? Me? Angela lost it.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *Did you find it?*
Curer's Wife: *No, it stayed there. Look, look well. I will put it here. My sister wanted a bloodletting, and she did not endure it. She got drunk.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *He endured well.*
Curer's Wife: *Why didn't you bring back a little liquor? You are deceiving us.*
Liquor Pourer: *No, because you did not drink it. I am going to bring another.*
Patient [to Curer's Wife]: *Did you drink liquor at the other bloodletting?*
Curer's Wife: *No. We only ate what they gave us.*
Curer: *I don't drink. I used to drink when I was well. When I bled Manuel, I did not get drunk for that.*
Curer's Wife: *When the curer went to see Manuel, one of his arms did not work.*
Curer: *That man endured curing very well. We have to endure. What can you do?*
Patient: *Yes, it is the same sickness he had. There is much air in your hand. It* [*gourd*] *is not sucking any more.*
Patient's Wife: *Your blood is afraid. So it is.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *When there is much air in the hand of the curer, you have to take wax and glass.*

755 [*Curer's Wife passes cloth to wipe blood.*]
126 Curer: *Another pull.*
Patient: *Please, favor of God!*
Curer: *Formerly I did everything. I pricked the skin, I put on the gourd. I did everything when I was well. Now I cannot do it. My illness has lasted a long time.*
Curer's Wife: *He cannot even get up well. He doesn't eat. When he takes coffee in his hand, he cannot drink well.*
Curer: *I cannot eat beans or beef.*
Curer's Wife: *He can only drink coffee.*
[*The curing is over. The patient and his wife leave shortly.*]

Appendix 3

Observation of Behavior in Public Places

A. Observation in Church

Sunday morning, August 1

5:40 The mayordomos are sitting on stone benches in front of the church. They are quiet. 78 126

6:10 Two men go up and ring the bells.

6:23 A man kneels in front of the altar and prays.

6:35 Two men come down from the bell tower. The mayordomos have now moved to the opposite side in the front of the church and are standing around talking.

6:45 Two men go up to the bell tower, ring the bells for three minutes, then repeatedly with no intervals.

7:05 Two women and a boy in Ladino dress kneel in front of Santa Lucía.

7:15 Two women and two girls (five and seven years of age perhaps) kneel in front of Santa Lucía. One of the women has two candles; she lights one. The other women with fresh flowers places them in front of Santiago, touches her candle to him, and then places it in one of the glasses on the altar that is near his statue.

7:23 Two women and a little boy carrying two candles come in and kneel in front of Santa Lucía. A boy of about twelve or thirteen who came in with the first two women had been sitting in front of Santa Lucía but now that quite a few women are here, he has moved over to the men's side.

7:30 One man comes down from the bell tower. All mayordomos come in and light the candles in front of their saints, then leave church.

7:35 Two men genuflect in front of the baptistry (facing baptistry), make the sign of the cross, and then kneel facing the main altar. (Genuflection is a sign of adoration officially and is only supposed to be done facing the Blessed Sacrament.)

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7:45 Miguel, the former fiscal, enters, goes to the left side of the altar, prays a few minutes, goes to a stool in front, and sits there. (He is the only Indian who uses stool to kneel on.) A man with a little girl goes to Santiago, kisses his statue, then kneels and prays in front of him.

7:50 One remaining mayordomo (the rest went home) enters and speaks to the women. Some are leaving now. They kiss altars on the way out, sometimes making the sign of the cross before they kiss the altar. Two women come to me to tell me, "There is no mass."

8:00 Two of the women take out the old flowers in the vases and add the new ones.

8:10 Another woman tells me, "There is no mass." All the women except one have left. The two who fixed the flowers are carrying the old flowers out with them. The woman who stayed is praying out loud now in front of Santa Lucía.

8:20 Two men enter, face the door, make the sign of the cross, and then go up to the front of the church, kneeling now and praying out loud. A man, barefoot, in Ladino dress and carrying a bulging leather bag, enters and kneels in front of the main altar to pray.

8:40 One woman is still wailing (about one-half hour now). A man enters, kneels for one minute in front of the side altar facing the main altar. He goes to Santa Lucía, kisses the altar, goes to all the other altars except one in the front left, and then leaves. The woman stops wailing. She picks three daisies from the vase, touches them four times to the glass front of Santa Lucía's case, kisses them, and leaves them lying on the altar. She kisses each statue on the way out except the statue to the left front.

8:45 Of the mayordomos who are now coming back, five enter the church. One takes Santiago and puts him in the baptistry, then leaves. Two more make the rounds of the statues, pausing a moment in front of each one, then kissing it and moving on. One of them puts money in the coffin-case slot for offerings. They all leave within five minutes. One of the men takes two of the drums with him.

9:15 Men are talking and laughing outside. Once in a while it is quiet. Some begin to play the drum and flute. This lasts for three minutes.

9:20 Another piece is begun, lasting four minutes. One man comes in, kneels facing the front side altar, and after two minutes leaves.

9:45 Two mayordomos begin to play music but don't continue.

10:45 The mayordomos are drinking the liquor left from Santiago's fiesta.

11:00 Some mayordomos are playing the drum and flute.

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11:30 The mayordomos ring the bells again. A man says it is twelve o'clock.

12:00 They go home, leaving the door open and the church empty.

B. Observation in the School

Morning

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The schoolrooms are exceedingly crowded with three hundred and fifty children in four rooms and an open porch. The babble of the children's voices reciting their lessons drowns out the voice of the teacher, who has to shout to draw their attention to a new lesson.

All the teaching is done in Spanish. On one occasion, when no one in the class understood what was said, the teacher asked a little boy to translate for her. When she talks, usually about only half or three-quarters of the class pays attention. When the children are singing, all but two or three students participate. [191]

In taking roll, the teacher calls the boys' names first. This order is reversed when the children leave the classroom, with the girls going first. Seating order on the long benches set before tables is not segregated by sex, although there is some clustering.

In teaching the children to read, the teacher writes the vowels on the blackboard in alphabetical order. The children are asked to repeat them after her. She does this seven or eight times. She has a number of the children come up and use the pointer to indicate certain vowels while the rest of the children repeat their names. She leads them in singing the song she has taught them before about the vowels. She mixes up the order of the vowels, pointing to them and asking the children to name them. She asks how many there are and writes a number under each vowel. She drills the class in the names of the vowels and the corresponding numbers for about five minutes more. Using sticks (the majority of the children have five sticks which they carry in their bags, and those who don't use their fingers) she leads them in practicing their numbers up to ten. She asks for volunteers to count from one to ten. When a child falters, she repeats the numbers with him.

The teacher uses a doll to teach the children parts of the body, giving the name in Spanish first, and afterward asking, "What do you call this?" She takes the doll to small groups of children sitting at their desks and lets them handle it. They show much interest, crowding around the doll. She then shows

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126 them a mirror, tells them what it is called, and lets the children look at themselves in it. About one-fourth of the class responds. She pastes a picture on the blackboard of a man carrying a valise accompanied by a dog and a boy. She asks what each object is called in Spanish and practices the name of the object with the whole class. Visual aids are pictures cut from coloring books or magazines, things she draws on the board, as well as articles from a box stored in her desk including a comb, mirror, glass, flag, color wheel, cut-outs of a boy, girl, chair, table, bear, soldier, flower, and leaf. After practicing the names of each, she stands in the back of the room and tells different children to bring the various objects to her. After drawing two ducks on the board and getting no reaction from the children when she asks them the name, she tells them and then leads them in practicing it.

She asks them the name of the town, of the school director, of the school, and when they fail to respond, she tells them and has them repeat the words over and over.

She leads the class in about five different songs she has taught them. The number of children who know the songs varies from one-fourth to three-fourths, with about one-fifth never singing. Some attempt a word every once in a while. She sings the elephant song, which most of them know and which utilizes their knowledge of numbers from one to five. Twice, when a few children begin to sing on their own initiative, she tells them to be quiet. She asks them, "Do you like to sing?" and all respond, "Yes, teacher."

The teacher seldom smiles at the children. As they leave the room in single file, she rebukes any who attempt to run out or pair with another.

[257] *Recess.* Two boys are fighting and three others join with one of them. The one who has been ganged up on finally gets away, and they do not chase him. Boys around ten years old play keep-away with a ball on their own initiative. There isn't much teamwork. Often one boy will get the ball and run with it, the other boys after him. Finally he will throw it to someone or someone will take it away from him. The girls sit in groups, sometimes embroidering or knitting. Some boys just stand by watching those who are playing.

In the classroom after recess. The teacher shows the color wheel and asks the names of the colors to which she points. A couple of girls put their hands in their ears while the class is reciting. When the teacher asks for a volunteer to hold the color wheel in the demonstration, approximately twenty out of the fifty-four children raise their hands. One little boy in the back pays

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no attention; he was one who had sat by himself on the bandstand at recess. 126 876

They practice counting from one to five. The teacher then writes the numbers on the blackboard with A E I O U written above them. They practice these for about five minutes. She says them first; they repeat. She then picks a child to point to them, and the class repeats after the child. More children pay attention when the child is directing the class. She has ten volunteers for this job. They use sticks when counting to ten, passing them from one hand to the other. A few are doing it right. Although some count correctly, they do not have the right number of sticks correlated with the number spoken. They proceed to copy pictures the teacher has drawn on the board. The teacher asks one girl why she isn't drawing. The girl says she has no pencil. The teacher says nothing and goes on down the aisle.

The children are dismissed from class and line up, each grade together, in front of the school; the teacher tells them to be sure to come that afternoon or she will punish them tomorrow.

Afternoon

The teacher comes in to say a few words to the children (for my benefit, I suppose). She calls up one little girl and reprimands her in front of the group for coming to school with her hair uncombed and with dirty clothes. The child is frightened and hesitant about coming forward, and the teacher shows more impatience. The child's head is cast down all the time her teacher speaks to her. [123]

Vowel practice is resumed. The children are told to erase the vowels they have written in their books and write them over. The teacher has each of the aisles recite the vowels in turn. She asks which of the aisles is best. There is no response from the children; she never says which is best.

Two little boys are writing numbers in their books while some of the others are reciting. The teacher takes the pencils out of their hands and puts them on the table. They pick them up when she is no longer looking and continue writing. A little girl begins to cry. She says, when the teacher asks why she is crying, that the boy in front of her hit her. The teacher tells her to hit him back, which she proceeds to do. The boy shows no reaction at all.

They drill about twenty minutes. A few leaders answer while the rest chime in. "Take out pencil and notebook," the teacher orders. About two-thirds respond. She asks them what things there are in the plaza. One little boys replies, "C'ulna" (Tzetal for church). She ignores him and names in Spanish the

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buildings in the plaza. She then draws two men and three pieces of fruit. She stands and watches as the children draw the figures in their notebooks. Many of them show each other what they have drawn. One little boy draws a bus, with seats inside and people sitting in them.

She shows them a cut-out of a chair. The first time she asks them what it is, a few answer "bear," a word they had been practicing before. She asks one child who responds correctly. They practice the word "chair." They practice the difference between *niño* and *niña* (boy and girl). She uses cut-outs of a boy and girl in western dress. Two make mistakes when she asks them to state which is niña and which niño; four get it correctly after they have practiced. She shows a picture of a boy with a train. "What is he doing?" she asks. *"Juganding"* (playing) replies one. The teacher teaches them *"está jugando."*

Some are writing, some looking out the door; others talk in small groups. The majority are watching the teacher as she talks and demonstrates different objects and says their names. They know door and window when she points to these and asks them to name them. She now puts all the visual-aid objects on the table and tells various individuals to bring them to her when she asks for a specific object. "Chair, niño, niña," "Bear," "Soldier," "What thing is lacking yet?" The children answer, "A table." The teacher sends a child to get it. They seem to like this game. There are volunteers to go and get things. They know the objects and so are sure they can bring the correct ones.

The children tend to kneel on the benches, which are high for the smaller ones. The teacher is continually telling them to sit down. A couple of little girls begin to sing. She reproves them and when they continue, she says to them, "Do you remember the animals?" "Yes, teacher," they chorus. "What animal would you like me to draw on the board?" Finally, one boy says, "Chicken." After she has drawn the chicken, the students copy it. She goes around the class and puts a line through the drawing if she approves of it. She finds all of them satisfactory.

The teacher next shows the students a flag, which they are to draw in their notebooks. A bigger girl helps a small boy. The Teacher then asks who knows the recitation about the flag. Three students raise their hands, and sing a song about the flag. Three girls in the back are still drawing in their notebooks. They spend a lot of time erasing so they can use their notebooks over again.

One little girl helps a little boy who has no pencil draw his picture. Another little boy does not draw for the same reason, but when he tells the teacher his problem she does not respond.

She draws pictures around vowels and doesn't explain them to the children,

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simply telling them to copy the drawings in their notebooks. Their drawings seem to show that they have not seen the connection with the vowels.

She then sings a song that has accompanying gestures (points to stars, hands covering face, hands under head as when sleeping, and so on). A few students seem to know when to do what and understand the words; most of the others copy them.

At four-thirty the classroom teacher tells the children to line up in single file, girls first. She shouts, "No!" as some attempt to run out together. As they line up, each grade together in front of the school, the schoolteacher tells them to be sure to come the next day or she will punish them.

Glossary

104 *?ahc'al* mud; body (in religious metaphorical usage)
alférez captain of religious fiesta, pl. *alfereces; ?lperés, ?alperesetik* (Sp.)
?ali?b'al assistant to religious official
?alisil attendant to alférez
?alkal judge, pl. *?alkaletik; alcade* (Sp.)
?apulsol apostles
b'alnial male in-laws; applied to assistants in household ceremonies
b'atz'il genuine; *b'atz'il k'op* genuine language (i.e. Tzeltal); *b'atz'il winik* genuine man (i.e. member of the community)
bersinatak neighbors
cabildo town hall
cacique local leader; *cacicazgo* supporter of a cacique
č'om betrothal
compadre co-parent in godparenthood relationship
firmanetik signers; literate men who sign documents in the town hall
fiscal assistant to the priest
h-me?tikčič'u Our Grandmother the Moon
hu?el official, pl. *hu?eletik*
?ič' ha? baptism
?ič' rason taking of understanding
?ič' yo?tan taking of heart
kallan person of European culture; non-Indian male; *castellano* (Sp.)
kobraria brotherhood; head of brotherhood in religious hierarchy; *cofradía* (Sp.)
koronaetik judges during the installing of the alférez
k'ol the last one; youngest child
kotončuh jacket or tunic of indigenous man's costume
krinsipal elder leader who has served in office, pl. *krinsipaletik; principal* (Sp.)

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kumare co-mother in godparenthood relationship; *comadre* (Sp.)
kumpare co-father in godparenthood relationship; *compadre* (Sp.)
kurik country hick, pl. *kuriketik* Indians not of the center
Ladino male non-Indian
Lahinbahel sk'in last day of a fiesta
la ventosa cupping
lum soil; *hlumiltik* our flesh
maliwanehetik people who "sit and wait" in household ceremonies
martomaetik caretakers of the saints; *mayordomos* (Sp.)
mayoletik policemen; *mayores* (Sp.)
me?č'om mother of the betrothal
me?eletik women prayer-reciters
me?eltatel ancestors, when applied to judges
me?iltatil ancestors, when applied to curers as guardians and guardians in household ceremonies
me?tiktatik ancestors
nakawane household officials, pl. *nakawanehetik*
nič'an child, what a man calls his offspring
nič'nal lowest post in the religious hierarchy
nič'nal martoma junior mayordomo
padrino godparent
pasaró man who has served in office, pl. *pasaroetik; pasado* (Sp.)
Paswamal Decoration Day; first day of all big fiestas
pat?o?tan prayer form
personaetik persons; used in reference to regidores during the installing of the alférez
pukuh evil, devil
síndico assistant to president
sme?ispetb'ak ceremonial embrace
spatbeyo?tan prayer form of speech
Spiritunsantú Holy Spirit
statal ?u?ul leader curer
tamohel soul calling
ta sit me?tik tatik in the eyes/presence of the ancestors
tat father; elder
Tatik K'ak'al Lord Sun
Tatik Martil St. Peter the Martyr
Tatil Martoma Lord Mayordomo

104 *Tios Nit'anil* Jesus
Tios Tatil God the Father
?u?uletik curers
wayohel animal spirit; *swayohel* his animal spirit
Wilperel Vespers; eve of a fiesta
yermanotak his siblings
yol balamilal center of the world; navel

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/For information on the acquisition of the third soul or swayohel by curers, see category 756./

/For general information on the office of the alcaldes in the community see also category 624./

/For specific information on the judicial role of the alcaldes, who frequently function as a justice of the peace, bailiff, or constable or sheriff, see also category 693./

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/For information on the "cacique", a role created by outside interests and occupied by someone marginal to the community -- a foreign Indian or Ladino -- see category 622./

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE DYNAMICS OF THE DOMESTIC GROUP IN TWO TZELTAL VILLAGES: A CONTRASTIVE COMPARISON

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
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BY
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

121 The aim of this study is two-fold. First, it attempts to offer an analytical description of the process of development of the household unit in two Tzeltal villages; second, it explores the internal factors which, in two societies with the same cultural background, are associated with differences in certain features of this same institution.

121 Most studies of Middle American communities explain varia-
177 tion among societies which are historically related as a result of acculturation pressures since conquest times, which have altered or destroyed the native institutions to the point of nullifying the traditional loyalties of the society and its system of reciprocal obligations. That is, these studies deal with variation which emerges from the external system (i.e., the society at large to which the village community is a part, this being the local Ladino society, the municipio, the nation, etc.) rather than with differences which emerge from variation in the internal system (i.e., structural pressures which originate from within the social
121 milieu of the community). In this study, we have selected two communities which stand in essentially the same relation to

121 the external system, with the aim of investigating internal causation.

[177] The two communites are equally acculturated, measured according to the number of material traits of western introduction, the influence of Catholicism, the degree of Spanish borrowing in the native tongue, the attitudes towards the outside world and the type of relations with this world. Both communities share the same historical past, the language, and the same cultural traditions. Both communities are good examples of Wolf's ideal type of "corporate peasant communities," and both are located in compactly settled villages, under the same ecological conditions.

128 The data to support this treatment of the problem is presented in chapter ii. The third chapter deals mainly with the common aspects of the over-all social structure of the two villages, that is, the larger social frame in which domestic groups or households function as units.

Chapter iv discusses the differences and similarities in the organization of production of the two villages, compares the immediate social effects of the differences, and prepares the ground for the later evaluation of these economic factors in terms of their effects in the developmental cycle of the domestic group.

[592] The organization of production is shown to be tied up with the domestic group directly, in the sense that the two major means of production, land and labor, are controlled by the household. Thus, the aspects of the organization of production which are treated throughout this work are: (1) sex and age composition and size of work groups, and (2) rights to land, animals, houses and objects

128 used in production, both in terms of holding and of transmitting such rights. Objects used in production are not dealt with extensively, because the capital investment in them is small, and they are easily replaceable, that is, the technological equipment is simple and reduced.

Chapter v presents a schematic description of the kinship system with the purpose of mapping those social relations which are classified in the terminological system based on consanguinity and affinity, and its extensions.

Chapter vi is the core of the study. In this section is presented a description of the developmental cycle of the domestic unit in the two villages. Several aspects of the organization of the household are highlighted: (1) membership, and its concomitant of residence rules; (2) the rights and duties of individuals as members of a domestic unit; (3) the effects of the system of production in the reorganization, through time, of a given domestic unit; and (4) the affective and psychological concomitants present in the particular role behavior of household members.

At the beginning of the write-up of this study, I set forth a series of correlations which I expected to test while analyzing the materials. Not all of them are fully explored in the final work, due in part to gaps in the body of data available. This by no means implies that the field work was inadequate per se, but rather shows the difficulties of searching for evidence on one problem from data collected mainly with other aims in mind.

The analytical frame which I used consists of correlations between economic factors, mainly the organization of production,

128 and the organization of the domestic units. While analyzing the evidence I did not expect to explain variation in terms of only one domain of social activity, thus, the economic frame became a reference point to handle data rather than the axis or core of
121 the description. Specific hypotheses for points of comparison
128 which I expected to explore are found under the following headings:

1. Patterned choices of residence and residence sponsor for all productive individuals:
   a) If only men were important producers, and rights in the property followed an agnatic line, then residence was expected to be patri-virilocal and residence sponsors to be only males.
   b) If women were as important producers as men, and rights over property followed a bilateral pattern, then residence was expected to be bi-local and residence sponsors to be both males and females.
2. Choice of marriage partner and the characteristics of the marriage transaction and relationship:
   a) The bride-price would have more importance in the patri-virilocal setting than in the bi-local one, but the importance of women as producers in the bi-local setting was expected to increase the value of the bride-price in the case in which the chosen residence for a particular couple was patri-virilocal.

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b) The relationship of the wife to the husband was hypothesized to be one of equality and interdependence in the community in which women shared the economic burden of the household, and one of inequality and dependency in the community in which only men were producers or "bread-winners."

c) A bilateral system of holding and inheriting property was expected to be more likely to correlate with equal status (i.e., equivalent rights) of the sexes in other aspects of the social life, while a unilateral system of holding and transmitting property was expected to correlate with a differential status for the sexes in other aspects of the social life.

3. Variation in the productive role of men and women was expected to be reflected in the socialization of children of different sexes, and also in the affective content of the roles of siblings, in-laws, parents and other members of the domestic group.

4. The distribution of rights and duties within the domestic group with special reference to the distribution of status and jural authority along age and sex lines:

a) Producers who held rights to the means of production were expected to have more authority than producers who were dependent laborers.

b) Producers were expected to hold a higher status than non-producers or less efficient producers.

121 128 5. The spatial propinquity of kinship-linked households.

a) If cooperative work groups and reciprocal obligations of labor outside the domestic unit were organized along male lines, then it was expected that propinquity between agnatically related households would have been the result.

b) If cooperative work groups and reciprocal obligations of labor outside the domestic unit were organized along both male and female lines, then it was expected that agnatically linked households and matrilineally linked households would have had equal degree of territorial proximity.

6. The social propinquity (i.e., relative frequencies and intensity of interaction) of kinship linked households.

a) When the community work groups were composed of male kinsmen and when residence was based on patrivirolocal proximity and inheritance followed an agnatic line, then higher interaction between agnatically linked households would have been the concomitant.

b) When community work groups were composed of both male and female kinsmen, and when inheritance was bilateral and residence bi-local, then interaction with linked related households would have followed a bilateral pattern.

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Statement on Method and Objectives

I do not attempt to set a correlation which is going to be valid for the world at large, but only for the historical, ecological and cultural conditions fulfilled by these two communities as well as by similar villages in the Chiapas Highlands. I do not reject the possibility that under similar conditions, some other society in the world may show similar patterns of variation, but this is considered to be an empirical question. Obviously, my set of hypotheses would generate only local correlations which require further testing, before they can be held as generalizations of more universal nature.

000 Restricted generalizations are, in my view, one of the lacks in the field of anthropology. We have derived "laws" about Society (with capital letters) from very scanty evidence collected from ethnographic publications which we cannot be sure are comparable. The laws which we have derived from such works have become, sometimes, axioms which bias our whole way of thinking, and which we transmit from one generation of anthropologists to another as "folk" transmit their belief system and their traditions.

There are several ways of breaking through this barrier (and I suggest it has to be done before anthropology becomes a serious comparative discipline). One necessary step is to specify our techniques and the evidence available in support of our statements for each particular instance. Another step is to unify our methodology and our taxonomies, or if not possible, state as clearly as possible the ones we do use. A third step would be to

000 identify in every case the social units which are being dealt with, a fourth to delimit the socio-cultural "cells" which can be treated as discrete units for comparison, and finally, and perhaps most important of all, we should try to specify the range of our generalizations. Our science is at the historical point in which it would be more important to attest the differences between human societies than to claim the universality of their similarities.

Radcliffe-Brown (1948) dedicated a whole book to the discussion of these same problems, and some of his students (Eggan, for example), have insistently taught this to their students in class and to other anthropologists in print. It is unfortunate, however, that so very few anthropologists are willing to deal with small scale generalizations, and prefer to present their findings as statements on the nature of society rather than as statements on the nature of particular societies.

128 The methods and techniques employed for the preparation of data for presentation, analyzing the results, and comparing the two communities, are specified in the respective sections of the text. The general methodological frame for the study is that of a controlled comparison (Eggan, 1954) at the intra-cultural level.

Definitions

121 The definitions of the social units compared will be extensively given in the corresponding sections of the text. The same will be true for the taxonomic terms employed.

By the economic system I mean the subsistence pattern of the society: the system of production and the rules for the allocation of the goods produced; the rights of individuals, particular social groups or classes within a society, over the acquisition, monopoly, distribution, or consumption of goods and services, these being means of production, scarce goods or luxuries; rights over receiving hospitality; work exchange; and others.

The definition of the economic system includes, therefore, the system of holding and transmitting property (land, animals, or other commodities), the division of labor by the sexes, by age or by any other criteria, including the control of the labor of individuals or groups, and the market system and rules of economic exchange, if any, of the society studied.

By jural authority I mean "legitimate or constituted authority." "A person holds jural authority over others when, according to the stated norms of his group, he has the right to give them orders and they have the duty to obey" (Homans and Schneider, 1955:21).

Power and authority are defined as a relationship of super- and sub-ordination in which the superordinate member can originate activity for the subordinate member, who in turn cannot originate activity for him, except as an asymetrical response. As different from jural authority, it is measured not in terms of the "stated norms or laws of the group," but in terms of the extent to which the superordinate person can effectively carry out his wishes, and to the extent that the subordinate person carries into

[2] practice the suggestions, orders or activity originated by the superordinate one.

Sanction as utilized as Radcliffe-Brown is, "a reaction on the part of the society or of a considerable number of its members to a mode of behavior which is thereby approved (positive sanctions) or disapproved (negative sanctions)" (1952:205). By supernatural sanction, I mean sanctions that according to the society have a metaphysical origin (although they are experienced as physical or social in nature), explained and accepted within the traditional ideological system of such society.

In my use of the concepts of status and role I have followed, as far as my understanding allows it, Nadel's definitions (Nadel, 1957, chapter ii).

By pattern I mean "an orderly distribution of relationships exclusively on the grounds of their similarity and dissimilarity." Such patterns are abstracted from distributions of particular relationships (Nadel, 1957:15).

I do not distinguish between social structure and social organization. I define the social structure as being an elegant and parsimonious synthesis of both the models which the carriers of a culture have about their own system of relationships, and the patterns of relationships which the anthropologist can elicit from the actual behavior, but are not verbalized as norms by the members of the society. Social structure, then, I treat as a conceptual tool to handle: (1) the static normative relationships; (2) the dynamic process of actual interaction; and (3) the relational features of both as far as they are performed by the society

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121 and can be empirically described by the observer in the form of a model.

I do not pretend these to be always the best possible definitions of any of these concepts. I find that in the course of my training as a social anthropologist, I came to think of these concepts in such terms, and in working my problems they became the most comfortable conceptual frame. I do feel, however, that in explicitly defining my use, I solve the main problem of communication between author and reader.

Sources of Data

114
122 The area in which the communities selected for this study are located have been under intensive multi-disciplinary study for more than ten years. Mexican anthropologists of the National Museum and the National Indian Institute have done surveys and community descriptions on their own and under the direction of Robert Redfield and Sol Tax, of the University of Chicago. (See bibliography.) The University of Chicago Chiapas Project, now in its second stage and seven years old, has covered the area with a fine-tooth comb, and prepared a three-volume report which contains information on geography (soils, rain distribution, physical character, water supply, etc.), botany, linguistics, social anthropology, archeology, ethnohistory and other related fields (see McQuown et al., 1959).

There is a wealth of primary sources for the area, but, unfortunately, there has never been up to the present a careful analysis of their content, although they have been extensively quoted by modern authors with different purposes in mind.

114 The previous mentioned sources of information will be
128 utilized for background of the study.

The actual data pertaining to the two communities under scrutiny is derived from the following sources: (1) Aguacatenango field-notes, prepared by Duane and Barbara Metzger in the year 1956; (2) Aguacatenango field-notes prepared by the Metzgers and myself during 1958, summer session; (3) my Master's paper on Residence Patterns in Aguacatenango (Verbitsky, 1959b); (4) Amatenango reports prepared by June and Manning Nash, with the assistance of Joan Ablon during 1958-59; (5) the subsequent writings of the Nashes and Metzgers, published, and unpublished but available in mimeographed form for consultation.

125 Whenever it was possible, the data were collected quanti-
124 tatively. The section on residence was based on a formal questionnaire, checked for reliability with informal interviews with the same and other informants. This questionnaire was applied by the Nashes to 280 households in Amatenango and by myself to 68 in Aguacatenango. The residence analysis of Amatenango was prepared by June Nash (1959) with methods comparable to those utilized by me in my Master's paper. (Both used comparable analytical procedures.)

124 Other data were collected by direct questioning about particular subjects and analyzed and contrasted with case histories on the same topic.

Complete genealogies of the two villages were utilized for placing individual histories in the context of the family and other social relations.

124 In both villages, several households were visited regularly and interaction observed in detail. From this, and the informants own impressions, we obtained data on the activity schedules, the affective content of relationships between household members, the allocation of authority within the unit, and the relations of the household members with individuals belonging to other domestic groups.

126 To define degrees of territorial propinquity between households and household members, each household genealogy was placed on a map of the village.

128 The present analysis of data, unless otherwise stated in the text, is only mine. Any mistakes of interpretation are my sole responsibility.

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Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER II

THE GENERAL BACKGROUND FOR A CONTROLLED COMPARISON

Geography and Ecology

101
131 The communities selected for this study are located in the southwest quarter of the state of Chiapas, which is the southernmost state of the Republic of Mexico. This is a mountainous area [133] belonging to the Sierra Madre Occidental, and a part of the state's Central Plateau. The Plateau Summit of the area is to the north northwest of the villages, and contains the city of San Cristobal las Casas, ex-capital of the state (the present capital, Tuxtla, is in the lowlands).

The villages themselves are situated in the terraced margins of the plateau, which extend to the South into the Grijalva River Depression, and to the north and east into the Lacandon Jungle.

133
487 The slightly inclined terraces are criss-crossed by sev-
491 eral small streams tributary to the Blanco River, and by a complex network of paths, trails, and roads, including a section of the Pan American Highway which connects Mexico City with Guatemala and which is being constructed.

131
361 The villages of Aguacatenango and Amatenango are in two contiguous valleys (see Fig. 1) near to the section of the Pan

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 16]

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Amatenango
Aguacatenango

Fig. 1.--Physiographic Sketch of the Valleys of Amatenango, Aguacatenango and Adjacent Towns.

131 American Highway which connects San Cristobal de las Casas with
361 Comitan. They are 50 and 44 kilometers, respectively, from San
[491] Cristobal. Aguacatenango is closer to the branch road that continues south from the Highway to Venustiano Carranza, in the lowlands.

361 Both villages are 2,000 meters above sea level, placed in
133 a slightly raised terrain in the valley floor.

137 The vegetation climaxes surrounding the settlements are the same: woodlands of pine and oak, the second predominating, grasslands which for the most part are secondary growths in abandoned agricultural plots, and thorny bushes which the inhabitants of the valleys utilize for building fences.

241 The range of cultivated plants is the same in the two vil-
137 lages, including several varieties of corn and beans, squash and a few greens, while other edible plants grow wild in the edges of streams and rocky places unsuited for cultivation (Kaplan in McQuown et al., 1959, Part II, Section 6).

134 The soils are mainly limestone base, calçareous clay loam
132 and loam transported, both territories receiving the same amount
133 of rain. Surface water is drained internally within the basin of
136 the Rio Blanco, and in the edges of the village of Aguacatenango, forms, during the rainy season, a small lagoon, where a variety of small fish thrive (Wagner, in McQuown et al., 1959, Part II, Section 5).

136 The fauna include small deer, ocelots, snakes (poisonous and non-poisonous), domestic and field rats, and other small animals.

000 animals. The domesticated animals include dogs, horses, burros,
231 cattle,[1] hogs and chickens.

311 To summarize, the villages are located in the same ecological zone. In addition to this, both villages have extended their cultivated lands into the lowlands, down to about 1,500 meters above sea level, where semi-tropical and tropical products are grown (Kaplan, 1956-57, 1958; Wagner, 1959, Part II, Section 5).

Archeology

172 Although the Chiapas Highlands seem to have been occupied from the late Pre Classic, Local Phase Sak (Adams, R.; 1961:342) the first evidence of occupation within the valleys belongs to the Late Classic and Early Post Classic. A few archeological sites of this period are located on the tops of small hills and ridges around the flat-bottomed areas in which today's towns are located.

Adams (1961) interprets the sites as having been independent communities, characterized architecturally by a lack of attention to ceremonial structures, conspicuous absence of sculpture, and a certain emphasis on fortifications and defensive positions, indications of some sort of warfare. Surrounding the sites there is evidence of small hamlets and of agricultural terracing, but

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[1] Cattle were introduced in the area a long time ago, but
[231] were not adopted by the Indians of Amatenango and Aguacatenango
177 until very recently. They are more and more of a problem for the
648 milpa agriculturalist, because with the system of open range grazing, the cattle constantly invade the milpas, and are a continuous threat for the villager, plus a source of friction between Indian and Ladinos, especially cattle ranch owners.

172 the density of occupational refuse suggests to him that the populations were concentrated on the hill sites themselves.

During the Post Classic period the valleys of Amatenango and Aguacatenango were apparently unoccupied. This correlates with a shift in the total settlement pattern of the area, from small well defended valleys to large, more strategic positions such as the ones on the Plateau Summit of San Cristobal de las Casas.

Ethnohistory

175 Historical documents tend to confirm that the valleys of Amatenango and Aguacatenango were not occupied by any large nucleated settlements upon the arrival of the Spaniards. They do not appear in the first accounts of the Conquistadores. The earliest reference to Amatenango is 1586 and to Aguacatenango 1605, perhaps indicating that the former inhabitants were reducidos (concentrated in villages by the Spaniards) somewhat earlier. These first references occur in connection with grants of encomienda (i.e., they were tributaries of a Spanish lord, or Encomendero) (Simpson, L., 1929:1950).

175 361 621 648 Both communities were formed, as far as we can tell from the scanty evidence in the primary sources, by the Spaniards, in agreement with the policy of reducciones (concentration of population in villages) of the encomiendas initiated in the sixteenth century (Calnek, 1961, Appendix III). Each one of these settlements was formed of two separate pueblos, one incorporated within the other, which later appear in other documents as parcialidades.

175 361 621 648 Thus, the village of Aguacatenango was created by joining the parcialidades of Aguacatenango and Quesaltepec, while Amatenango was composed of the parcialidades of Amatenango and Sacatepec. It is not possible at present to identify more closely the social groups that the Spaniards called parcialidades.

[797] It is probable that each parcialidad was composed of several lineages and clans, but up to the present time no one has done a comparative study of name distributions on available censuses or other similar materials, nor has any record been found, which explains the procedures used by the Dominican Friars (who controlled the reducciones in the area) when they reorganized 175 the populations of the territory.[1] In central Mexico the term 171 parcialidad refers, in the primary sources, to the four divisions 621 of Tenochtitlan, the Aztec Capital, but they also refer to the 175 barrios or calpuls (Caso, A., 1959). In Chiapas it is normally 621 used to mean the sub-divisions of pueblos reducidos. It is known, 648 however, that the parcialidades were originally separate groups of people which were independent social units. Even after the reducciones they kept important elements of their organization separate, including their political officers, who were responsible for complying with demands made by the Spaniards for tribute and labor. Some of the separate political functions have been re- 174 tained up to the present. It is also safe to assume that each one 621 of the parcialidades was an endogamous group; both Aguacatenango

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[1]The new documents are still unavailable. They have been reported by Edward Calnek in the National Archives in Guatemala, and by Dr. Vicenta Cortez in the Madrid Archives, Spain.

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621 and Amatenango are at present divided into two endogamous barrios, remnants of these parcialidades.

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101 The origin myth of Aguacatenango seems to agree with the historical evidence, both indicating that the Amatenango settlement was founded somewhat earlier. According to the people of Aguacatenango their ancestors came from a place named "Bahuitz," close to the region of Oxchuc. The elders of the group chose a place about 1,000 feet lower than the present location of the town. They had to move from this place (which now is the colonia of El Puerto, where Aguacatenango owns land for cultivation) because "they were bitten by insects and disliked the climate."

They arrived at the site of their present location, and asked for permission to occupy it from the people of Amatenango, from whom they obtained the land. While they were clearing the land for their houses, some men from Amatenango arrived to ask what they were doing. "We are cutting down the trees," they answered, and thus "Ćeté," which means "cutting down," became their name. When they finished their work they sent some men to visit the Amatenango men and they found them gathering firewood. They asked again "What are you doing?" "Hćob'tah," "gathering" the other responded, and that became their name. Both villages today call themselves and each other by these names.

Linguistics

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197 The legend summarized above seems to imply that the two villages were populated by people who could speak to each other in the same language. This is confirmed by linguistic evidence.

197 The inhabitants of both villages speak closely related dialects of the Tzeltal language, one of the two groups forming the Tzeltal-Tzotzil, which split linguistically from the parent stock of the Mayan Family around the beginning of the Classic Period of Maya Civilization (McQuown , 1959).

Lexicostatistical counts and isoglosses show that the two communities cluster together, in dialect cores of less than 500 years of separation, as against several others in the study area of the Chiapas Project of the University of Chicago. Several indices were used for the count, including degree of Spanish borrowing (McQuown, 1956; 1959). They indicate the same degree of linguistic acculturation.

191 At present Tzeltal-Spanish bilingualism is common, perhaps with the exception of elder women, although the Spanish spoken is mainly "market-Spanish" and reduced in vocabulary.

Demography

175 During the Colonial Period and the Independence both
621 villages remained stable, being endogamous, economically self-
166 sufficient communities with fairly restricted ranges of territorial movement; this is in contrast with the present day situation in which settlements tend to split into separate communities through local migrations (McQuown et al., 1959, Section 2, Part I, page 6).

175 A comparison of censuses available for the eighteenth and
161 nineteenth centuries suggests a high degree of demographic continuity with a slow, steady increase in population, although there is some evidence of population declines which took place in the

175 161 area as a result of recurring epidemics. It has taken 180 years for the villages to double their population while Mexico as a whole has tripled it in 144 years, from 1793 to 1937 (Simpson, W., 1937: 149).

TABLE 1

DEMOGRAPHY: POPULATION INCREASE

Year	Amatenango	Aguacatenango
1778	576	568
1958	1,337	1,034

621 166 More recently both communities have sent out some of their population to form colonias (small dependent settlements) in their rural periphery. Amatenango has formed four separate rural barrios (La Grandeza, Madronal, Yetahwitz and Patzhwitz) situated within view of the town, and two colonias (San Vicente and San Caralampio). Aguacatenango now has one colonia, called El Puerto. Most of its inhabitants are related to those of Aguacatanango; they moved down to El Puerto in the last thirty years, after the community lands had been expanded in that direction.

Political History

175 648 During Colonial times and the Independence period both villages shared the same types of relations with the outside world; these were mainly the payment of tribute in kind and services to the Spanish and Ladino (Local Mexican) authorities.

When first mentioned, the villages appear to have been

175 648 under the administrative jurisdiction of the Provincia de los Llanos.[1] They were, and still are, part of the same Curato of [993] the local Catholic Church, which was under secular clergy, as opposed to most villages in the area which were under Dominican jurisdiction. Up until 1854 they were subjected to the same changes with respect to the administrative districts of the State of Chiapas (districts which were rearranged practically every time 175 there was a change of government). In 1854, however, the local 621 648 631 districts were reorganized into Municipalidades (the closest English equivalent being a county); Amatenango became attached to Teopisca, the nearest Ladino-Indian town, as a part of the ninth Municipio, while Aguacatenango became dependent upon the fourth Municipio of Comitan, together with the towns of San Bartolomé (also a mixed Ladino-Indian town), Totolapa and Concordia (Trens, 1942).

631 621 At the present time Amatenango is an independent Municipio, having been separated from Teopisca in 1937, while Aguacatenango is an Agencia of the Municipio of Venustiano Carranza. Both com- [692] munities are, however, attached to the equivalent ladino towns in [651] similar ways because of their economic dependence, because such disputes as are not solved within the confines of the village are sent to the juzados of the towns, and because the offices of the Tax Collectors and Ejidos are situated in these ladino towns.

175 669 621 631 Neither of the two communities became directly involved in the Indian Uprisings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,

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[1] San Bartolome de los Llanos; today known as Venustiano Carranza.

175 called by the historians the Wars of the Castes (Pineda, 1888;
669 Molina, C., 1934; Kline, H., 1960), and both of them voted to join
621 Mexico when the State of Chiapas was contemplating annexation to
631 either Mexico or Guatemala (Trens, 1942:274).

TABLE 2

175 AMATENANGO AND AGUATENANGO: POLITICAL AND
631 ADMINISTRATIVE JURISDICTIONS
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Time	Amatenango	Aguacatenango
1600 to 1778	Obispado de Ciudad Real Provincia de los Llanos	
1829	Departamento del Sur Partido de los Llanos	
1844	Distrito del Centro Partido de Las Casas o San Cristobal	
1854	Municipio de San Cristobal 9th Municipio	Distrito de Comitan 4th Municipio
1937-1958	Municipio de Amatenango	Municipio de V. Carranza

175 In the end of the eighteenth century (1792) the Bishop
177 Francisco Gabriel de Olivares y Benito tried to specialize
286 Amatenango, Teopisca and Aguacatenango as small textile centers (cotton) by giving the weaving materials to widows and young female children to process and sell. A school for the training of weavers
[874] was established in the same year, but the project ended unsuccessfully in the beginning of the nineteenth century (Trens, 1942: 175-6).

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Relations with the Outside World

Amatenango and Aguacatenango can be considered independent societies for the purposes of describing them, in terms of their internal features. Each one can be analyzed in terms of "the entities that compose it and their interrelationships" (Redfield, 1955:19). They have their own ecological adaptations and a set of cultural norms that preserve their style of life and justify it at the ideological level. They have their own "personality" and "life history." In a sense, they are those unique wholes which Redfield defined in "The Little Community" (1955): "a small settlement of people self-contained and distinct from all other" (Redfield, 1955:113). But because this is so, a description of their general outlines of life would not be complete without indicating their place in the larger society of which they form a part.

The Indian villages of Chiapas, such as Amatenango and Aguacatenango and many others, form part of a world larger than themselves, an extremely complex one, both socially and culturally.

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On the one hand, the Indian villages live within a local society which also contains settlements of Ladinos, local Mexicans who have a separate cultural tradition and social organization. On the other hand, although the Indian villages and the Ladinos' settlements are two quite distinct social types, one cannot be understood without the other.

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Mexico is a multiple society, characterized by two distinct cultural traditions, each significantly different in the extent of integration. Only part of the population of the country

563 represents the national culture, has control over resources and communication on a nationwide basis, and is vested with political control and the responsibility for economic planning and decisions of more than local impact. The part of the population which controls national life is composed of people belonging to the Mestizo culture, which in Chiapas is represented, in its local variety, by the Ladino.

565 The total structure of Mexico is a hierarchical one,
563 divided into socio-cultural classes, and with marked differences
369 between the urban and rural areas (Mendizabal, O., 1959 [?]). Within this structure, there are some sub-groups which can be distinguished from the dominant group because of differences in custom, language, economic function, behavioral patterns, genetic composition and other factors, including various combinations of them. Such groups are regarded as inherently different and not belonging to the dominant group, and are excluded from full participation in the life of the nation.

The different sub-groups thus distinguished form a class system, a pyramidal structure, with the Indian and folk communities at the bottom, partially excluded from interaction with the rest of the class-system, and having only local connections with it (Tax, 1952; Wolf, 1955). The base of the pyramid is the bulk of the population which forms the rural proletariat: e.g., farmer of central Mexico and Veracruz, northern cotton ejidatarios, mine and oil workers scattered throughout the country, and the craftsmen in small towns. In the cities, the base of the structure is made

565 up of wage-laborers, domestics, self-employed craftsmen and
[563 peddlers of certain goods such as tortillas and lottery tickets.
369]

At the top of the pyramid, there is a small section of the population which forms the upper classes. One could distinguish, traditionally, between a middle and upper class, but the distinction is an artificial one, due to (1) the small size of the middle class; (2) the small cultural difference between both; and (3) the constant mobility of individuals upwards and downwards in terms of economic power (Palerm, 1952). The distinction is valid, however, in terms of occupation. The whole group, including both "classes," is characterized by a higher economic status within a money economy, non-manual occupations, literacy, modern housing, a value system whose original source is Western Europe and recently the U.S.A. (de la Fuente, J., 1948), formal catholicism, and sophisticated standards of consumption which include minor things such as going to the theater and patronizing certain restaurants in the cities.

565 The upper class in the rural areas is formed by the landed
369 gentry (the finqueros), the local professionals, businessmen, and the politicians.

In the cities, the upper class is made up of absentee landlords, the aristocratic families with recorded Spanish genealogies, and the new bourgeoisie, which is the product of the 1910 revolution. This bourgeoisie is formed by businessmen, administrators, government officials in high positions, and some technicians in charge of national programs (Mosk, S., 1950).

Bureaucrats, teachers, people employed in services and intellectual workers form the lower echelons of the upper segment.

565 Within this pyramidal structure there are some enclaves
563 which do not form segments of the class continuum. In the cities
369 of Mexico, some national minorities such as the Jews (Verbitsky, 1960), form enclaves of this sort in the upper classes; they are corporate blocks with an internal government, and whose members are representative of the corporation vis-à-vis the Mexican world.

In the rural areas, the most characteristic corporate units are the Indian minorities which form enclaves in the rural
[621] lower class. Each Indian village forms a society, with its own norms, beliefs, internal economy, government, etc. But they are, in a sense, only a part-society because they could not exist outside the context of the nation, in the same manner that a caste in India is only a part-society.

56 Some of the mechanisms which apply to the preservation of
369 the Indian castes as corporate groups (such as occupational specialization and endogamy), are equally efficient in the Mexican context. As national minorities they are not, however, a caste in the strict sense, as Tumin suggested for Guatemala (1952), because they function in a society which is not organized in equivalent segments (other castes) but into culturally and economically defined social classes whose population is highly mobile.

563 The interdependency of the Indian villages (part-societies)
628 with the Ladinos (local Mexicans) which form part of the national class-system is multiple.

621 The Indian village is not now (if it ever was) a self-
563 sufficient economic unit. Many items which are standard for the
438 Indian and are produced for the national and international market

621 563 438 reach the Indian only through the local markets and stores run by the Ladinos. In these stores the Indian sells his surplus corn, his marginal cash crops and other small products (eggs, hens, [426] woven blankets, etc.). The Indian village also depends on the Ladino world to obtain credit for such large investments of capital (from the Indian point of view) as buying a cow for butchering, or a parcel of land. On the other hand, the local Ladino depends on the Indian to sell his craft-goods and to acquire the agricultural commodities which are only produced by the Indians.

621 632 563 [647] Second, the Indian village depends on the Ladino town, which is the local link between the Indian and the State government. The Ladino towns contain the Ejido Commission, the Department of Indian Affairs, Bienes Comunales (an agency which handles the administration of communal lands at the national level), the Instituto Nacional Indigenista (National Indian Institute, an agency created to promote the integration of the Indian into the national life, economically, politically and culturally) and the PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional) the party which controls national politics. The Indian village cannot survive without a [641] continuation of peaceful relations with the outside world. Its rights to land, economic aid, and the status of its members as Mexican citizens depends on keeping the channels of communication with the outside Ladino world open.

The carriers of this responsibility are the members of the Ayuntamiento, through its Presidente and Secretario, who are middle-men, usually bilingual and literate.

563 The social relations with the Ladino population are impersonal ones, in political and economic settings, or in the context of the Catholic Church, through the local priest.

[571] Between individual Indians and particular Ladinos, there are some institutionalized formal relationships, of a semi-permanent nature.

563 571 576 In the posada relation, an Indian arranges with a Ladino to obtain sleeping quarters in his house while he is in town, and reciprocates with presents of eggs, fruits and the like, and by giving the Ladino the option of buying from him the products which [608] he came to sell in the town. Caseros (people who give or receive posada) many times become compadres.

563 571 608 [851] The compadre relation involves the ceremony of baptisms of Indian children, and creates a special treatment of respect and mutual reliability between the father and the godfather of the child. To establish compadrazgo with a Ladino is an advantage for the Indian, who sees the compadrazgo as implying reciprocal obligations, and puts the Ladino compadre in the position of being a source of cash for emergencies in the Indian family.[1]

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[1] Compadrazgo has been discussed elsewhere (Verbitsky, 1959a; Reeves, 1960) and will not be dealt with here to any great extent. Compadrazgo is a Catholic institution, but displays several local adaptations which are different from the formal church's conceptions. Ritual kinship, or formalized friendship (a name which reflects its real character) is acquired for several rites de passage: baptism, confirmation, first communion, marriage (native, [852] or Church) and other of lesser importance such as evangelio (bless- [585] ing of a child at fiesta times). Of these, marriage occurs only between Indians, and involves the families of both spouses, except unmarried relatives or those who do not participate in the wedding party; its main function then is to establish formal affinal ties which are expressed as compadrazgo between two extended bilateral families.

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441 Another relation is the Fiador.[1] In this relation, an
563 older and responsible Indian villager (who already has established
554 relations with a Ladino through compadrazgo or by being a regular customer of his store), becomes a guarantor for a number of men in

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563 families. Baptism, the most important form of compadrazgo ritual
571 in the eyes of the Church, can involve indians or ladinos in the
608 role of padrino (Godfather); theoretically, it could include
[851] Indians as Godparents for Ladinos, but Ladinos do not ask Indians to play this role.

The compadre relationship functions in several dimensions. Mostly it reinforces kinship ties: "from a sample of eighteen informants (in Aguacatenango), eleven have established ritual kin ties with living siblings and siblings-in-law. Another six have established ties with relatives who are in most cases cousins, or, for the older generation, nieces or nephews" (Reeves, Peggy, 1960).
[602] Second, when relatives have been exhausted, or for other reasons, neighbors and friends are chosen. Third, Ladinos are chosen, because the Indian expects to derive some benefit from having a compadre among Ladinos, especially economic help in case of need.

Compadres are expected to respect each other highly, to lend each other a hand in milpa work, lend money to each other, drink together if they are men, get small presents of food, be invited to each other's saint's fiestas, etc. Choosing compadres among those who are not relatives, or with outsiders of the village, serves to extend personal relations and reciprocal obligations outside the kinship group.

426 [1]The position of Fiador provides one way in which an Indian
441 can obtain leadership in his village outside the hierarchical
563 system. A fiador derives his power from the economic control of
554 the villagers as a middle-man. Many Ladinos will refuse to get involved in transactions with villagers if they do not select the particular Indian fiador with whom they are used to deal. Therefore, such fiador can control a lot of the maneuvering of economic transactions of the villagers. For example, J. P., one of Aguacatenango's principales, derives part of his prestige from being the fiador preferred by Ladinos. In any big transaction, such as the buying of barrio lands, the Ladino will insist in having him to be fiador, and without him, the Indians cannot carry on their purchases. If the Indians refuse him certain special privileges, he can easily blackmail them by refusing to play the fiador role for them. Of course, he cannot carry his demands too far, without endangering his authority or even his person. In 1958, he decided to
[499] open a new entrance road to the village, and it cost him a lot of pains to convince the Ayuntamiento, through bribing and pressing particular individuals, before any household head showed up to work in the digging. Even then, his idea was carried on because all villagers agreed that a new road was a "good thing" for all, since the old one was too long and inconvenient as a way to reach the carretera.

M 426 441 563 554 his community, who desire to buy something in credit from the Ladino (land, cattle, fireworks, etc.). The Indian Fiador carries the accounts of the debt, counting with corn grains, and is responsible for collecting the money from his fellow villagers and for paying the debt to the Ladino. Finally, the Patrón relation M 464 563 is one in which the Ladino becomes a temporary employer of the Indian who desires to work for wages.

M 563 369 T 369 829 Indian knowledge of the Ladino town and the frequency of the relationships with the town decrease as the distance of the village to the town increases, so for Amatenango and Aguacatenango, San Cristobal is a place to which one goes but few times in a year while the Capital of Mexico is a place where one is "likely to be eaten by cannibals."

M 563 875 Within the villages themselves the only Ladino residents are the school teachers, who are looked upon with suspicion and resentment, there being a tradition that local school teachers attempt to increase their meager salaries by monopolizing Indian produce, or interfere with Indian political affairs, at times even with the good will of "civilizing" them. A frequent Ladino visitor is the priest (the same for Aguacatenango and Amatenango M 563 793 796 and thirty-one other villages), a necessity if one is to keep on performing the Church ceremonies connected with the village religious holidays, which were established as part of the calendar of festivities early in Colonial times, and now are an important part of community ritual.

M 563 621 649 Other Ladinos who live in the surrounding territories do not participate in any way in the life of the communities, with the exception of peddlers and the infrequent visits of the

M 563 621 647 T 621 743 647 doctors and officers of the National Indian Institute (INI) who arrive to the villages at irregular intervals. In Amatenango, the INI has established a "clinic" in which a native nurse provides some medical services, such as vaccinations, the selling of aspirin, etc., while in Aguacatenango the native INI nurse provides services in his home.

T 621 647 474 In both the villages the INI has established a cooperative store which sells staples which are not produced in the community, but such stores are in no sense agents of cultural change, selling only commodities which the Indians habitually buy elsewhere. (A reason for the lack of success of such stores is that the Indians have not understood the "cooperative" principle, very few men have joined, and they are disillusioned with the marginal profit obtained through them.) In 1958, Amatenango had water T 621 647 312 114 piped into the village, a project completed by the INI in 1957; while after the author left Aguacatenango in 1958, water pipes were installed there.

M 563 692 Political relations with the Ladinos of a more formal nature occur through the courts of justice and national government offices, and they are characterized by the covert (and at times open) hostility and misunderstanding on the part of both Indians and Ladinos (see D. Metzger, 1956 and Fuente, Julio de la, 1958).

T 628 438 571 608 582 Relations with other Indian villages are common both for Amatenango and Aguacatenango. They trade with the communities located in different ecological zones the products that do not grow in their territory (ocote from the highlands, sugar cane from the lowlands, etc.) in exchange for their own products and they

628 438 571 608 582 628 166 602 establish with them the relations of posada and compadrazgo, mentioned above, as well as (in the infrequent cases of inter-community marriage), some affinal kinship ties. In the few recorded cases of emigration from the village, some members of the community keep communication with a few consanguineal relatives living in other Indian villages, although social exchanges and the memory of such relatives tend to die out after a generation or two.

105 With the other Indian communities in the area, Amatenango and Aguacatenango share a common material culture and belief system, derived from a Highland Maya cultural tradition, the same linguistic background, and a subsistence pattern based on agriculture. They are peasant, in the sense that they are rural villages which depend, for survival, not only on agricultural work, but on economic exchange with other semi-urban and urban centers (Redfield, 1956:25-28).

438 [273] Aguacatenango buys pottery and chayotes from Amatenango, whose women come periodically to sell them, and trago (drinking alcohol) which some Amatenangueros produce illegally. Amatenango buys from Aguacatenango surplus corn.

628 [311] [312] 628 776 The two towns have amicable relations, thinking of each other as neighbors, and sharing the same pasture lands, and source of water for irrigation. The two communities share the same cultural hero, called Juan Lopez in Aguacatenango and Lopez Shuntón in Amatenango, connected with the corn and with the "lightening who lives in a cave." For Aguacatenangueros this personage is the builder of the roads, responsible for the eradication of "cannibalism," the conversion of man-hunting animals

628 776 into mild forest beasts, the peace made with the "kings of Guatemala" and the opening of trade with Comitán. He is also in both communities a powerful nahual (supernatural being controlled by the witches or a witch himself), and in Amatenango everyone prays to him on the day of the Santa Cruz (May 3). Both communities agree that he was "an Amatenanguero, born somewhere in the direction of Chiapa de Corzo." There are no compadre relations established between the two villages, but two cases of intermarriage [608] [582] and two of posada relations have been reported (Verbitsky, 1959a).

Both towns criticize the other for its "costumbres," criticisms which are related directly, as will be shown later, to some differences in social structure which will be discussed in this work. Amatenango women criticize Aguacatenango women as being lazy but mistreated by their husbands who make them gather their own firewood, and because they run away from their husbands seeking work in San Cristobal. Aguacatenango men criticize Amatenangueros for being lazy and not seeking work in the fincas, preferring to hunt rats in the cornfields, and their women for being dirty and authoritarian.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AT THE VILLAGE LEVEL

Introduction

128 For the purpose of describing the social structure of the two communities compared on this paper, they will be treated at two levels. The level of the macro-structure contains the total community and the community territorial divisions (the barrios); the micro-structural level contains the household, the descent groups, and the informal territorial groupings or neighborhoods.

[621] [184] The main justification for this division of the material is that the macro-structure of the two communities is extremely similar, and there will be very few axes of contrasting comparisons to be found at this level, while the micro-structure is the level at which the most important differences between the two communities discussed in this paper are found.

A second justification is that the definition of roles at one level is separated from the definition of roles at the other level.

128 571 The roles at the macro-structure level are role dyads which include, on the one hand, the individual in the role of a community member, and on the other, any person representing the community at large. The roles at the micro-structure level are

128 pairs of individual roles, highly intense in interaction and
571 performed by people who are tied to each other by many clearly defined and extensive rights and duties. (D. Metzger [1960] defines them as highly relational versus lowly relational roles.) The roles at the micro-structural level form one net, and the quality of the joint performance of the individual, of all the roles which belong to him within this net define him as a good or bad person; the roles at the macro-structural level form a separate independent net which defines the individual as a good or bad community member.

128 For example, a man can spend his household money in long
156 drinking sessions, and while drunk fight with his brother or beat
571 his wife, which will make him a bad brother and husband. But if he shares the liquor he drinks with other men in his barrio (town division), the same activity will define him as a good neighbor, who is neither selfish nor a miser, but willing to share his
[626] profits with other men. On the other hand, a man may refuse to pay his limosna to the Church, risk the community gossip and threats of witchcraft, but this would not make him a less respected father, nor influence the relationship with his wife.

361 The Physical Setting of the Villages

The towns are geographically compact, nucleated communities, as opposed to the vacant-town (and ceremonial center) described first by Tax (1937). The town streets form a grid pattern, more symmetrical in the center than at the edges where streets tend to curve following the accidents of the terrain.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

361 The central plaza contains the Church, the local government offices
[366] the school and the National Indian Institute (INI) cooperative
[368] store (see below), in Amatenango this list being increased by the INI clinic. Around these plazas (open squares) the houses are relatively concentrated, the population density is high and the size of the sitio (a household plot) small. (There are about seven or eight sitios in a block one hectare in size.) Toward the margins of the town the houses thin out, being surrounded by milpas. Well established family groups live toward the center, while newcomers, poorer families and deviants live toward the
[076] periphery. Sitios within the center are highly valued in both communities, the outskirts of the town being closer to the unknown dangers of the monte (hill and forest) with its malevolent spirits (animal souls of witches in the search of victims, owners of the caves, etc.).

361 Surrounding the villages one finds the communal grass
311 lands for pasture and the irrigated milpas. The grass lands and
312 the water source for the milpas de regadío (irrigated corn fields)
423 are shared by both villages, although Amatenango makes use of the water first, since the stream flows through Amatenango before it reaches the Aguacatenango lands.

311 Towards the hill slopes the milpas de temporal (corn fields depending on seasonal rain) are planted in scattered small groups, fenced together against the invasion of cattle;[1] and alternating with forested patches.

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[1] See footnote 1, p. 17.

The Social Setting of the Villages

Introduction

621
121 The villages of Aguacatenango and Amatenango can best be described as corporate peasant communities, following Eric Wolf (1955: 452-71).

First of all, the villages are small, independent social systems, with clearly defined geographic and social boundaries, "in relation to both outsiders and insiders" (Wolf, 1955:456).

The Land

621
423 In the spatial dimension, the main characteristic of the villages is that they lay claim to a territory, a land base over which they hold exclusive rights of usufruct, and which has clearly demarked geographical dimensions. The rights over this territory are communal rights, every villager being a co-owner of the community territory, in the sense that membership in the village gives to a man the rights of usufruct of land within the village boundaries.

175
179 We do not know what the characteristic features of the
423 pre-hispanic land tenure system of the Tzeltal-Tzotzils were. At
[174] the beginning of the Spanish occupation of the area, the Indians were relocated in villages and assigned to a particular encomendero and encomienda. (The encomienda was an institution by which a Spanish lord was assigned a number of villagers from whom he had the right to collect services and tribute.) At the same time, the villages were allotted land of two kinds: municipal, administered by the town officials and used to pay taxes and tribute to

T 175 179 423 the encomendero and the Church; and communal, which contained the woodland, pasture, and the site of the village itself.

> T 423 179 M 175 648 Several considerations may have promoted [the Spanish] Crown policy toward [the creation of] such communities. First, the corporate community performing joint labor services for an overlord was a widespread characteristic of European economic feudalism. In trying to curtail the political power of a potential new landholding class in the Spanish colonies the Crown took over management of Indian communities in order to deny the conquerors direct managerial control over labor. The Crown attempted to act as a go-between and labor contractor for both peasant community and landowner. Second, the corporate community fitted well into the political structure of the Spanish dynastic state, which attempted to incorporate each sub-cultural group and to define its radius of activity by law. This enables the Crown to marshal the resources of such a group as an organized unit, and to impose its economic, social and religious controls by a type of indirect rule. Third, the corporate structure of the peasant communities permitted the imposition of communal as well as individual burdens of forced labor and taxation. (Wolf, 1955:457.)

M 621 178 179 Independent Mexico inherited from the Spanish Empire these communities, and although at some time or other modifications of the over-all political structure have been proposed, the communities have persisted through the last century with basically the same makeup, and without having changed much in terms of their social structure or their cultural content.

In other areas of Mexico where urbanization and a more industrial society has developed, or where it was possible to mechanize agriculture, the corporate community quickly gave way M [184] to new forms of social organization. But in Chiapas, especially in the highlands, a definitely marginal area in terms of national development, very few large scale changes have been introduced, and most of them have been rapidly assimilated into the local structure, rather than transforming it.

000 The rights over land given to the villages by the Spaniards

T M 175 423 621 The rights over land given to the villages by the Spaniards were not contested by the Mexican Government, but during the last century there have been some redistributions of the boundaries to better fit changes in the size of the population of the different villages in the area. Besides, although it was not legally approved, large chunks of the territory of the communities were taken away by the local ranchers who had the backing of the state politicians. As a result of the land invasion by the ranchers, the villages of Amatenango and Aguacatenango controlled, until recently in this century, very little land, mostly temporal, the better land being in the hands of the local ladino ranchers. After the Mexican Revolution of the twenties, the fincas (ranches) were expropriated by the national government, according to new policies of agrarian reform, and under the presidential regime of Avila Camacho were returned to the villages as Ejidos (cooperatively owned land).

M [661] T 175 423 621 661 523 T 175 423 M 669 423

The territory of the villages is divided today, by use, into land for agriculture (?ulabal [irrigated], pomultik [hot-country] and temporal), land for residential sites, and land for lumbering and pasture. Within the communities the over-all authority that controls land is the Ayuntamiento, the body which forms the civil branch of the civil-religious government that is the ultimate authority in village affairs. The Ayuntamiento controls both the communal lands and the Ejido lands.

T 621 423 311 T 621 423

The Ejidos function very much like the communal lands, in that they are "owned" by the community. Every household head is a member of the ejido cooperative, and has rights to cultivate a parcel within the ejido. According to the Mexican Agrarian Code,

T 423 621

423 621 the Ejido should be administered by a Commission, the head of which is the Comisario Ejidal. In Amatenango and Aguacatenango, however, there is no distinction between the administration of the communal lands and the ejido parcels. Although there is a Comisario Ejidal, he is usually a young man whose word can be overruled by the Ayuntamiento with whom he must work in agreement, and although the position of Comisario does not count in the escalafón of the civil-religious hierarchy for seniority rights, the post has been informally assimilated into the Ayuntamiento officerships.

Through the legal assignment of a limited territory for each village, the size of the land owned by the community has been, at the moment, frozen. The community lands can neither be expanded, nor alienated from it, except under very special circumstances defined by law.

[642] Under the Mexican Agrarian Code only the State can reclaim land from the community, and only under special conditions: need to establish urban centers, means of communication, and the constructions of hydraulic works for public benefit. Of these, only the second is likely to occur at the present time in this rural, marginal area, which has no modern urban center, little water supply, and a scarcity of good land, so that the construction of a dam is not worth undertaking.

On the other hand, community lands can be expanded for cultivation in three ways:

1) Buying land from nearby fincas, which now cannot be expropriated because they are within the size limits of inalienable property (propiedad inafectable) set up by the government.

423
621 2) Extending the rights of usufruct in the already available communal lands which are still covered with timber.

3) Petitioning the Ejido Commission if there are more than twenty individuals without parcels. In this case, the Ejido Commission is responsible for providing land by seeking further expropriation of large latifundios. This, again, is not likely to occur, because the size of the surrounding private properties is smaller, now, than the maximum size permitted by law, and cannot be reclaimed. Many finqueros, in other areas, have large properties which they have managed to keep untouched by registering the land in the name of several family members with separate ownership titles, so each one is smaller than the size permitted by law (Montagu, 1960). If necessary, the government could claim that this practice is illegal. But in the valleys of Aguacatenango and Amatenango this type of finca does not exist, being common only in the more fertile lowland territories such as the area of Ocosingo.

423
628 Some communities in the Chiapas highlands have been expanding their territories by invading the lands of bordering villages, the best example of this being the Chamulas into Huistec land, north of San Cristóbal de las Casas (Pozas, 1959). But in Amatenango and Aguacatenango, although from time to time they have had conflict over the exact boundaries of their territories with other neighboring villages (Pinola, for example), this type of
423 expansion has not occurred. The demands for parcels by the vil-
621 lagers can be met from the already available land because of the

423 recent grants of land, and also because the whole region of
621 Amatenango and Aguacatenango has less population pressure than the overpopulated Chamula area.

Membership

621 In the social dimension, one of the basic features of the corporate communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is their criteria for membership: to become a member of Amatenango of Aguacatenango one has to be born in the village, or marry a village member.

Contractual membership, although rare, may occur, and has, but only for Indians, and with concensual acceptance by the whole
[166] community. When the nearby fincas were closed after the Mexican
[175] Revolution, some of the Indian peones attached to them asked for and obtained land from Amatenango and Aguacatenango and became full members of these communities with the same rights and duties as any other community member. Although people can indicate who is a member of a new or old family, this distinction tends to be forgotten, even by the families themselves, after the next generation has been born and married into the village.

628 A man from another Indian community may receive an agri-
621 cultural plot if he makes a petition to the Ayuntamiento, is willing
423 to pay the ejido taxes and the limosna (tax levied against the
[651] household heads to support the expenses of celebration of village holidays) and a small payment to the Ayuntamiento (20 pesos) for handling his case. Even then, he has to bring witnesses to testify

628 621 423 to his good conduct, plus demonstrate that he is not able to culti-
vate within the confines of his own village lands.

621 423 166 Membership in the community requires residence within its territorial boundaries. If a person moves away from the village he loses the attached rights of membership, although at his return he can claim such rights back.

621 Maintenance of membership involves clearly specified duties (e.g., paying communal taxes), and the general obligation of living and acting in agreement with the cultural norms.

Government

All the male members of the community, ideally, and most of them in practice, participate (at some time in their lives) in the government machinery of the village.

621 794 Amatenango and Aguacatenango each have two governmental bodies, the Ayuntamiento (or civil body) and the Mayordomias (or religious body). (The distinction between civil and religious is not a sharp one drawn by the community members themselves. It is an analytical device to label the different functions of these two bodies which are clearly separate and require different skills on the part of the incumbents.)

621 The Ayuntamiento deals with secular matters: it administers the land, the relations with the outside world and the village taxations, and is in charge of the maintenance of social control through the application of the native system of justice (as against, and separate from, National or State Mexican law; see Metzger, D., 1956). Among its duties are those of keeping vital statistics for

621 Among its duties are those of keeping vital statistics for
[659] the National Population Bureau which are sent to the state office,
[691] solving cases of adultery and theft, collecting the fiesta and
[351] Ejido taxes, keeping the streets clean, building and repairing
[348] roads and public buildings, and also taking charge of the local
[491] jail. Ayuntamiento officers are also called in to prevent or solve
[344] witchcraft cases and give advice and reprimands to misbehaving
[754] wives, sons and other relatives when the household or the responsible
[626] relatives cannot deal with the case on their own.

621 The Ayuntamiento also keeps its own corn field, worked by
423 communal labor, whose crop is sold to collect funds for its own
432 expenses.
434

794 The Mayordomia, or religious body, performs the formal activities on the religious holidays, is the custodian of the sacred objects (rockets, church keys, bells) connected with the Church, and the authority which carries out the tasks required by all of man's peaceful relations with the supernatural on the village level.

They are responsible as a group for the upkeep of the Church building and saint images, and the preparations for and the performance of Church Fiestas, regular church meetings, etc. Among their duties are those of providing meals for the priest while he is in town, helping during mass, contracting musicians and collecting the Church limosna during mass.

621 This structural level lacks monopoly of either of these functions in relation to other less inclusive social units. Social control and religious activity are carried on at the level of the barrio, the extended family, and within the household, and religious activity can be carried on by individuals.

621
627 Many cases of adultery never go outside the fences of the sitio, and many witchcraft cases come to the Ayuntamiento only after a murder has been committed in "revenge," in which case the Ayuntamiento is only called in to re-establish order and calm down the relatives of the deceased, trying to avoid further revenge and bloodshed.

794
776 The Mayordomos, on the other hand, have no control over the household Saints which are "owned" by each family and kept in the house in a special altar, nor do they relate directly, within the Church organization, to the many supernatural beings which populate the belief system of the villagers. The "owners of the hills," spirits which inhabit the caves, rivers and wells, the mythological creatures such as the Sombrerón (frightening ghost which appears to tempt people in isolated spots) or Juan Lopez (the local culture hero), and the evil and powerful souls of witches
794 are in a separate domain. These can be controlled only by the
624
774 curanderos, who have powerful souls, or by the principales. This
776 last group (principales) is also "in charge" of taking care of the health of the village, and do so by having their own souls patrol the boundaries of the community at night and by forbidding entrance to sickness and plagues. The men capable of such supernatural performances "own" animal spirits (nahuales) which help them in their task. Mayordomos, on the contrary, can be men without such powers, and do not need to belong to the select group which deals with the supernatural outside the realms specified by the Catholic Church.

000 The communal offices of the Ayuntamiento and Mayordomías

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

621 The communal offices of the Ayuntamiento and Mayordomías
623 form a hierarchical age-grade system, with a partially compulsory
794 sequence of cargos (literally burdens, although it can best be
561 translated as offices) which end in the cargo of Principal, who is a member of the community council of elders.

561 The age-grade system does not have corporate groups of the age-set type common in East Africa. The system only places the individual in relation to others who are higher or lower than him in the hierarchy. People belonging to the same level of the hierarchy do not act as a group, nor do they develop special relations with each other.

184 The name and number of officerships differ everywhere in
621 the Chiapas highlands from village to village. Larger towns have
794 a larger number of governmental posts within the hierarchy; in some towns the Church organization is more elaborate (perhaps because it was originally a curato head town, or had a convento in the village), the Mayordomías and Cofradías (religious brotherhoods which carry on some fiesta celebrations) have a larger membership, a more elaborate ritual and carry on a larger number of fiestas, while in other villages the Mayordomías have a secondary role with respect to the civil government. This is not the place to discuss the historical and functional reasons for this extensive variation, which would take a study in its own right, but the important thing is that although the form varies, the basic system of hierarchically graded officerships stays the same in all the Chiapas highlands, including Amatenango and Aguacatenango (see Zabala, 1961 and Figs. 2 and 3).

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

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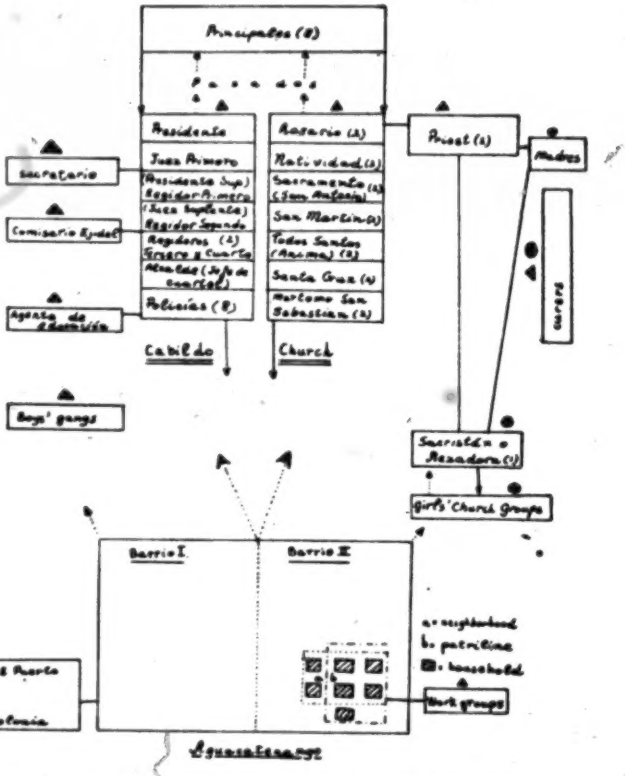

Fig. 2.--Hierarchy Structure in Aguacatenango

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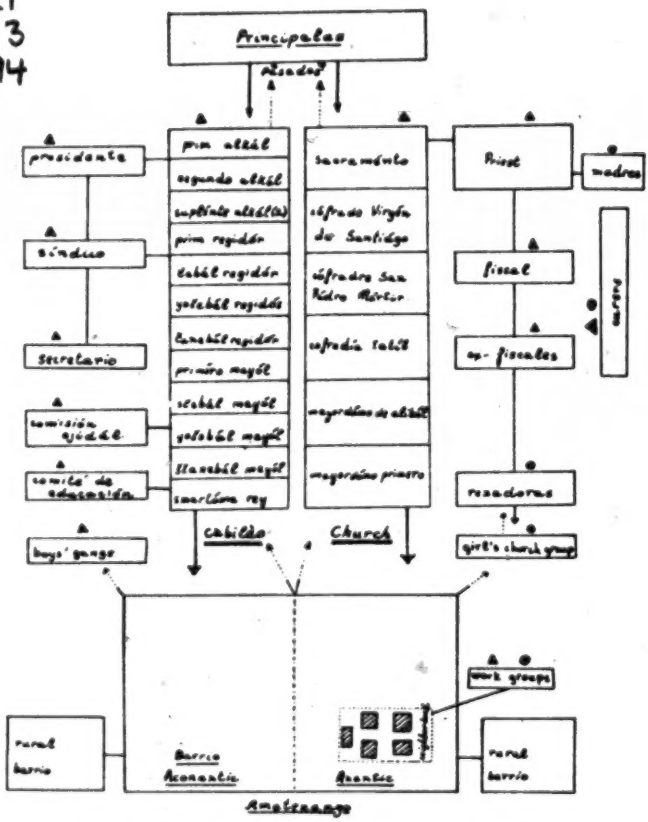

Fig. 3.--Hierarchy Structure in Amatenango

621 The government in the communities of Aguacatenango and Amatenango is highly "democratic," meaning by this term two things: (1) The decisions of the governing officials have to be in agreement with the community desires, and it cannot take steps which contradict the written code of rules (norms) or force villagers to spend money, goods or labor outside the areas of maintenance of outside the community. In ultimate instance, the community can overrule the Ayuntamiento, replace particular officers or deny rights to the total body to carry out certain decisions which are against the will of the majority of house heads. Before any important decision is passed, the officers investigate its possible acceptance among the village men, and they would not take steps until there is a margin of security that their word or orders will be taken by them in good will. The officers' concern [627] with the justice of their performance is quite important for them personally, because although a man enjoys immunity while he holds a cargo, he can be threatened with death at the end of his year of service. These threats are delivered by anonymous messages left at the Cabildo (House of the Ayuntamiento) door, specifying the reasons for discontent. Many a presidente municipal has been murdered for trying to introduce into his village some innovation [954] to which the villagers were opposed. Besides direct threats, there is also the "possibility" of being bewitched while not in office.

[565] (2) The second reason why the community government can [602] be called democratic is that there is no ruling class, as in most Mexican-Ladino towns, nor any special kinship group in charge of the town affairs. A man cannot transmit his political power to

621 his children, nor can he keep control of village affairs after his year of service has been fulfilled. Even a man occupying a post of high responsibility and prestige, a juez (judge) for example, becomes just an ordinary citizen after he leaves the office. All the men in the village theoretically, and most of them in practice, become village officers at some time in their life.

An individual starts at the bottom of the hierarchical ladder in the cargo of policía (also called mayor, topil or comisariado), which is a messenger or cleaning and errand boy for both the Mayordomos and Cabildo members. (He is the hands and feet [581] of the government.) The only requirement for this job is to be married. After this position has been "passed," a man is ready to start climbing the ladder to higher officerships, if he fulfills [581] the other requirements. He must have a child, a wife, and the [356] money which he is compelled to spend as part of the job: new clothes, liquor, and perhaps money to pay other men to help him with the agricultural work to which he cannot, being an officer, dedicate his full time.

During his life time, a man is required to pass a certain number of positions in the government, alternating Church and Ayuntamiento posts with rest periods of between one and three 62 years. After he passes the required number of officerships, and 887 by then he would be an old man, he becomes, automatically, a 888 pasado (a man that has passed his service), and can retire to private life, or become a principal, a member of the Elders' Council, a "father of the town." The Principales are the elder men in the village, highly respected for their wisdom and sought

62 887 888 after for advice in many different events, such as helping to decide the divisions of an inheritance among brothers, giving advice to a drunkard husband, etc. They also have important political functions: they are called in by the Ayuntamiento to help solve the difficult witchcraft cases, and they have to approve the nominations of officers before they are presented to the community as candidates.

621 554 In selecting new officers, age, marital status, seniority rights and previous experience are considered important. The higher a position in the hierarchy, the more respected it is and the more authority and responsibility it carries. While the lower positions can be filled by any man, the higher ones require certain personal skills that not everybody possesses, so it becomes more difficult to find the right man for the job. Some men fail in commanding the respect of their fellow citizens (because they drink, or they fight with their neighbors, or similar breaches of behavior for which they are not selected for cargo), or they become senile, or die before they become pasados, so not every man arrives at the ideal and most reputable role of Principal, which is the top role a man can achieve at the community level.

621 624 554 To be a principal a man has to be able to get along with his kinsmen and neighbors, he should not be suspected of witchcraft, he should be able to deal with outsiders to the community avoiding conflict with them, he should be fast in judging the behavior of others and solving problems, and his word has to be precise and carry the necessary weight to convince others that his opinions are sound (un hombre que "sabe hablar"). Moreover, he can more easily

621 Moreover, he can more easily 54
624 fulfill these requisites if he had been able in his lifetime to
554 become the jural head of a large and united extended family, be-
596 cause, given the fact that he should be able to control the opinions and actions of many villagers, it is his personal power with other individuals which supports his position as principal, and not the reverse.

621 Town officials, although they are selected by the previous
[623] officers and approved by the principales, have to be ratified in their positions by all the household heads in a public meeting. The different qualifications of some men for the higher posts creates some disparity in the number of cargos held by a particular individual, but the differences are never enough to say that political power is differentially distributed. The following table and figure show the distribution of officerships by age group, in a random sample of married men in Aguacatenango, and it confirms the idea that the villagers themselves have about their access to political officership: any normal, married man with more than one child is capable of achieving, in a hierarchical order, several political posts.[1]

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[184] [1]This system is in contrast with other villages in the area. In the very large communities with paraje type settlements (a nucleated village which functions as a ceremonial and political center surrounded by dispersed hamlets) such as Tenejapa or Zinacantan, although the number of offices is tremendously increased, the population is so large that only a few men from each paraje pass the cargos, and the ideal of every man participating in the hierarchy of power is never attained. In those cases, only the richer obtain office, and the "democratic" aspects of the system are less noticeable. It could be that an egalitarian political organization can only be maintained when the population size is limited, and that a large social group with a centralized organization "needs" differential power distribution, or, rather, cannot avoid the differential distribution of political power among the population groups.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958/1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

TABLE 3

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561

AGUACATENANGO: DISTRIBUTION OF CARGOS
HELD BY MEN IN EACH AGE GROUP

Age Group	Number of Cargos Held									Statistics	
	-	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	$\bar{x}$	s
20-30	8	4	6	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	0.9	0.901
31-40	1	. .	17	5	1	. .	. .	. .	. .	2.2	0.228
41-50	. .	. .	1	4	3	1	1	. .	1	4.1	1.700
51-60	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	2	. .	1	2	6.6	1.517
60 and up	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	1	. .	2	1	6.8	1.260
Sample: 62	9	4	24	9	4	4	1	3	4		

621

Mechanisms to Preserve Community
"Corporateness"

One can say then, that in broad terms, political power is distributed among the households of the village in an egalitarian fashion. The tendency towards internal egalitarianism is also present in the total economic organization of the two communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango. Egalitarianism in the economic and political realms, united with the fact that community norms are to be kept by every village member without discrimination, tends to make the community as a whole an egalitarian, homogeneous society. Homogeneity is preserved by the villagers themselves, who are very interested in keeping the status quo, because the interdependence of the villagers, the lack of specific powers given to individuals to create economic differentiation and/or political factions keeps the village united as a corporation with respect to

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 57

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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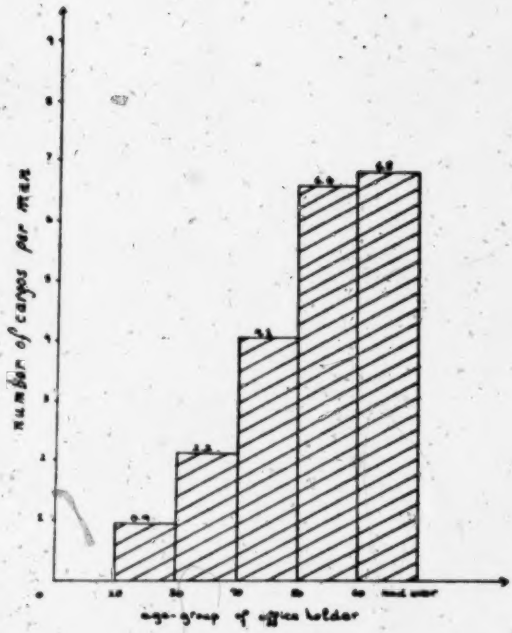

Fig. 4.--Aguacatenango: Distribution of Cargos by Age Group (Arithmetic Means).

621 the outside world, from which, from the community point of view, come the threats to the individual Indian, his family and to the village as a unit.

The mechanisms employed for the preservation of the village as an Indian corporate community are the wealth leveling devices and the sanctioning system described below.

556 Economic Mechanisms

The villagers aim at a better subsistence level, but not at capital reinvestment, and wealth does not command prestige in [433] itself. Extreme wealth differences are not likely to occur because, on the one hand, the marginality of land limits the productive power of the villager, and the low level technology: machete, digging stick, and wooden plow (the last only used in the 621 flat bottom land) limits production and also capital increase. On 423 the other hand, accumulation of land is limited by the Ayuntamiento having control of the ultimate disposal of free land within the community. Therefore, although there is some variation in the amount or variety of land held by a family, for the community as a whole there is a clear tendency toward an equalitarian distribution of parcels, so that in gross terms every household head controls agricultural plots of similar size and quality to every other agriculturalist. (Each household controls land both in cold and hot country, both irrigated and temporal and of equivalent quality.) 423 It is difficult to ascertain the size of each 433 particular holding because the people do not think in terms of the size of the parcel itself, but in terms of the amount of grain

423 necessary to plant it. In some land more seed is necessary, so a
433 tablón, a measure of how much seed is planted in a parcel, tends to be about a hectare, but can also be irregular in shape or somewhat larger or smaller.

434 Ideological and Sanctioning Mechanisms

Even if a domestic group manages to accumulate profits from the extra work of its members, the forced assumption of fiesta obligations and cargos (Officerships) inhibits capital accumulation and redistributes the profits back into the community in the form of consumable goods: food, alcohol, cohetes, etc.
621 The assumption of the cargos requires a certain amount of capital
556 to spend on the expenses attached to the post, so it is likely that a household head who has managed to save some extra money is going to be called to perform his duties as an officer rather than the other men with less wealth and equal qualifications.

621 In terms of economic and political bases for differentiation, then, the communities are egalitarian. Villagers insist that everybody is just like everybody else: "we are all equal, we all follow the customs, we are all poor, we are all agriculturalists,
621 we are all Indians, just the same," they say. Nevertheless, they
183 would also admit that some people are good and some "have bad hearts," and therefore would not follow the customs, or would try to become richer by getting involved in economic enterprises which are not Indian (such as buying or selling for high profit, or lending money, or becoming store clerks). They would imitate the Ladinos in their speech, dress or their house layout, become "alzados"

621 183 (prideful and authoritarian with equals) and commit other misdemeanors against the village norms.

621 156 Individuals as well as families can be accused of having a "bad heart" or "small heart." In a sense, any social deviant (even a person who possesses peculiar physical characteristics) can be accused of having a "small heart," and, therefore, of being a witch if he abuses his political power while in office, or gets involved in deals with Ladinos, or refuses to spend his capital in community enterprises (not only by refusing cargos, but even if he insists on not paying a limosna).

627 754 If an individual is considered a witch, the villagers can try to get rid of him by bewitching him in exchange, and this failing (witches, they think, are difficult to attack because they have powerful souls), can be "condemned" to death. Murders which are witchcraft "revenge" cases occur regularly in the communities. Vengeance against witchcraft is a community affair. If a man develops a reputation as a witch, he knows he cannot count on the support of anybody. Fear and hatred isolate him and his family. He knows that he can be killed, and has to do everything possible to counter-attack the slow but certain build-up of village antagonism which will end in his death, at the most propitious occasion.

The usual procedure in eliminating a witch is for several men, usually those who for particular reasons (such as several recent deaths in their households) feel that they have been personally attacked by the witch, to agree on killing him. This is done in secret, but even then they try to insure, by subtle

627 754 questioning of other men, that after the murder the community would take their side. If a man is killed, and community understanding accepts that he was a witch, no individual is identified publicly as the instrument of communal revenge. Solid community [593] silence accepts the verdict. Even the family of the deceased has to make a public rejection of the dead witch, or else they risk being forced to leave town, having their house burned, or similar misfortunes. That is to say, they have to publicly establish their innocence by expressing their lack of identification with the witch. Of course, not all conflict is always expressed in witchcraft terms. Witchcraft is, in a sense, the ultimate recourse for the explanation or settlement of disputes when all other means have failed to accomplish the re-establishment of social harmony. 578 If one man fights with another in a drunken brawl, for example, 627 he will try, when sober, to make peace with him, rather than let [754] the other man's antagonism become a reason for witchcraft against him. He can try to settle the conflict personally, or the kinsmen of both parties can do it; the case can be taken up by the Ayuntamiento where the man found guilty would pay a fine, and both 627 parties would be lectured on the dangers of quarrelling. Metzger 578 and Kauffman (1961) transcribed and reported one informant's speech which states the case very neatly:

[625] Thus, the mayores, the police, are appointed by the town. You should not quarrel; it is not for the fun of it that they [the town authorities] will come and get you if you look for trouble. They have the commandment of the agente municipal. They have the commandment of the juez municipal, because you have looked for trouble. You will go to jail for one or two days. Then your head and heart will calm down if you did it because of liquor. In clearheadedness you will enter into judgement. If the misdeed is small, the punishment will be

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578 small; you will leave having paid five or ten pesos. You will forgive each other. If the misdeed is large, then you will give twenty-five or thirty pesos as your fine, so that we can give something to him who has been injured by you. We will cure him, so that he gets well, so that he may not die. Then he also will give pardon. But if we do not cure him, if we do not give medicine to the one you have hit, then you will quarrel, then his heart will be angered. Because here we have two kinds of misdeeds. He who is evil will do
[754] witchcraft. He who does not know witchcraft will give pardon. But he who is evil if he sends sickness to you, then if you get sick, if you die, it is because you did not obey the commandment.

I say this because I am a principal, I am a father [of the town]. I advise you so that the town will go forth in happiness, and in happiness we will increase in our gatherings in the town. But if you are evil, we will not increase, our children will not grow, because there are evil people, there is sickness, there is death from him who knows witchcraft. He who does not know it uses bullets and will kill you that way. Why? Because you sent sickness. So I speak to you thus. Happy, in peace, do not quarrel. It is better.

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[754] The important aspect of witchcraft as a sanctioning procedure is in relation to the distribution of wealth in the community.

A man can accumulate a certain amount of money as long as
[454] he is willing to share it with others and spend it in culturally accepted ways, such as buying cohetes for a fiesta, giving a house party for the Saint in the house altar and inviting many
[186] villagers, etc. But he cannot simply save it without being accused of miserliness; spend it all in building too large or too different a house without being accused of being embarrassed of his Indianess (of which he should be proud); nor can he invest in businesses which are not the traditional economic activities of the Indian without the fierce criticism of his fellow villagers. There is, then, a top limit to the accumulation of wealth imposed not only by the environmental and technological factors, but by

626 556 the few economic alternatives offered to an Indian who wants to live an Indian life among other Indians, in peace. In this sense, Amatenangueros and Aguacatecos are no "penny capitalists" of the type described by Sol Tax (1953). But it is also true that, like the Panajachel Indians, they desire to have more for themselves and their children: money for security against sickness, death, [146] bad crops and other misfortunes. They also want better clothing, more meat in their diet (the amount of animal protein in their diet is extremely small by western standards) and small extra luxuries which have been introduced into their culture, little by little, by the local Ladino merchants: flashlights, mirrors, etc.

627 556 754 [731] Nevertheless, a wealthy man brings upon himself the antagonism of the other villagers, who, in search of a scapegoat during times of stress (such as a village epidemic) would not hesitate to accuse the rich man of being responsible for bringint the misfortune to the town because of his evil spirit, nor hesitate to kill him. Even if people find a man has a good crop, somebody can assume that, because his own crop failed, the other man has "stolen" the soul of his corn or if a man receives a large inheritance, somebody could accuse him of having killed (by witchcraft) the relative from who he inherited it. It takes a good deal of diplomatic skill and a strong control of the sources of gossip to manage to [753] keep oneself clear of such accusations. On the other hand, villagers are afraid of showing excessive wealth (according to community standards) unless they bring upon themselves the other face of witchcraft: supernatural sickness produced by envy. Even

627 556 754 a man in good standing, if he has too many goods or money, may fear witchcraft because he "knows" that he is a good target for the envy of those who, possessing powerful and evil souls (nahuales), decide to bewitch him and make him sick or kill his children or ruin his next crop.

626 754 Thus, the belief in witchcraft operates at two levels: on the one hand the individual lives according to community norms so that he won't be accused of being a witch. On the other hand he lives according to community norms so that he cannot be bewitched.

754 Because witches attack supernaturally, sending out their animal souls while their human body is asleep, it is not possible to know, for certain, the originator of the sickness nor to protect oneself or others from its powers. There are no sorcery spells to counteract it, but people "know" that witches can, sometimes, put "bad medicines" into drinks while a man is drunk or leave little sticks on the road for the victim to step on and acquire the disease which has been sent because of envy. Everybody denies knowing how to bewitch, but everybody suspects others of being able to do it.

[753] One result of this set of beliefs is that the etiology of disease is thought of as being supernatural. Other misfortunes are also explained in metaphysical terms. Sickness is always present in the village, misfortunes do occur which cannot be predicted, and the villager "experiences," then, the effects of witchcraft in everyday life. Therefore, the threat of supernatural

626 754 784 Therefore, the threat of supernatural[64] sanction is powerful as a communal weapon against social deviation.

621 We can see, then, that the structural dynamics of village life are composed of opposing forces. On the one hand, there is a tendency toward egalitarianism which is express ! in the formal organization of political power and the economic life of the village as a unit. On the other hand, there is a tendency toward deviation from the economic norms which is repressed and expressed in the belief system and the sanctioning of deviants. (Obviously, if people would not tend to deviate from the egalitarian norm, witchcraft "specialization" would not be necessary!)

121 There is no society in the world which does not possess criteria for social differentiation. Some criteria are, by nature, universal: the basic biological differences between persons (age, sex) or psychological skills (intelligence, mental deficiency). Some other criteria are culturally determined (age-grade, class, wealth and so on). Even among societies in which the life conditions preclude social stratification, such as the Sirionó, some few cultural criteria of individual social differentiation are always present. When I suggest that Amatenango and 621 571 Aguacatenango tend to be communities which reinforce homogeneity at the economic, political, and cultural levels, I am far from [576] indicating that individuals are not evaluated differentially. In every social situation, even meeting on the street, Amatenangueros and Aguacatecos make social distinctions and determine their relative position with respect to each other: one would call a

621
571 man bankil (respect term, "elder brother") the other would be his
576 kiht'zin ("younger brother").

621 Older men are socially superior to younger ones. A man
561 who has passed many cargos has more authority than one who has not
554 served in the community government. A man with many children in a united family commands more respect than a man whose children are embarrassed of him because he is a trouble-maker. A good
562 talker is better thought of than a boring drunkard. The same dif-
561 ferentiation scale, although using some other criteria, also func-
626 tions for women. Elder ladies have enough social status to be permitted to laugh in public while young married wives are expected to keep quiet. A woman known as a "good mother-in-law" collects the rewards of praise of other women. A wife who keeps her husband clean and well fed can visit around and be well received, while a lazy housekeeper would not be welcomed in other women's houses who fear of being judged "by the company they keep."

554 A constellation of factors, therefore, places the indi-
555 vidual in a very particular status position, and his personal
156 skill can increase his prestige or destroy it. Moreover, the
621 total performance of an individual in the totality of his roles
571 can not only increase his general status and gain the approval of his fellow men, but would be an important factor in saving him from witchcraft accusations. A man can try to control as much labor and capital as possible in order to maximize profits from his work and minimize its consumption, as long as he does not create enemies, and insures his prestige in as many dimensions as possible: he can give advice to conflicting parties rather than

156 621 571 [426] [755] [476] [431] [608]

getting involved in the fight. He can help relatives in distress pay a debt or give a curing ceremony for a sick child. He can be a "hard worker, ready to offer a hand to a neighbor in need of extra labor" (hel-K'abal). He can send his wife with small presents of food to other households. He can make many compadres among those whom he suspects of possibly being against him, thereby assuring their friendship and respect. In sum, he can create around himself a long chain of loyal villagers who are bound to him by many different obligations. Then, because he is a 'leKil winiK' (one that behaves well with the people), he can "afford" to become rich by local standards without the immediate fear of punishment.

Every household head manipulates his environment in these terms. People try to accumulate riches and protect their paths in other ways. They also try to avoid distributing their accumulated wealth outside their household and to prevent the envy or gossip of those not so bound by loyalty, by hiding from others the knowledge of their possessions.

The result of the contradiction between the egalitarian values on the one hand, and the individual aspirations and behavior on the other, is expressed in gossip, "witchcraft talk" and a constant realignment of loyalties among villagers. Every man suspects another of being better off than one is led to believe, while at the same time he himself tries to keep others from suspecting him, and would not voluntarily give information on how many horses he owns or how much corn he has grown.

The picture of life in Amatenango and Aguacatenango is

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

156 The picture of life in Amatenango[67] and Aguacatenango is
62 not, however, from the ideological point of view of the community
754 members, spread only into sanctions of negative dimensions. There
777 are some justifications for wealth or success which are as intimate a part of the world view of the villagers as witchcraft is, because witchcraft has a positive counterpart: suerte (luck).

777 Suerte, as witchcraft power, is also a supernatural power given to the particular individual without the person's will having control over its possession. Some people are born with good suerte, some people with bad suerte. Some people can be "given" a particular suerte by a supernatural being[1] at some time in their life to keep until his death or for some period of time. Of course, a man cannot give his suerte away or transmit it to his children. The suerte is not a general power, but has specific dimensions. For example, a man has suerte to raise cattle, which would, then, grow and reproduce tremendously in his lifetime. But, he may very well have bad bean crops. His children, at his death,

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[776] [1]The suerte can be given by many different supernatural beings. Some informants say it is Dios (God), or the Virgin Mary, some say it is the Sombrerón, or owner of the deer and caves, to whom one has to promise to give one's soul at death, some others indicate that it is written in one's destiny at birth to have a particular type of suerte. The variations in the belief are many, and in a system of ideology without a Church body to create, and control the diffusion of dogma, this is to be expected.

[779] The only organized dogma available to the villager is the
[538] local Catholic Church, but this dogma leaves out a series of beliefs such as suerte and brujeria as unacceptable. Therefore, these beliefs are only transmitted informally, together with folk-tales, myths and the like. Because dreams are of great importance in re-
[787] lation to these beliefs, each individual can contribute, through his personal dream experiences, to the general pool of ideology of
[771] the community. Therefore, tales and myth, dream experiences, the "true" stories that people are told in the evening by particular relatives or friends, all tend to produce a mushrooming of alternative versions of the same or similar sets of beliefs.

777 would inherit the cattle, but there is no assurance that the animals would not rapidly die: the children may not have the father's suerte to raise cattle, but one of them may have it to grow beans.

Good suerte is a concept attached also to certain skills: if a man has that special suerte, he can have a mano fría (cold hand) which is necessary to castrate or brand animals without having their wounds get infected. In addition, a woman can become a midwife because she has the suerte to deliver babies. On the contrary, a person with bad suerte can have a mano caliente (hot hand), and be unable to carry on such tasks.[1]

156 754 777 Then, ideologically, people belong to two opposite categories. On the one hand, there are those with "small hearts" and witchcraft powers. On the other hand, there are good people with suerte. If a man is well thought of, the villagers say he has suerte. If they dislike him, they say he is a witch.

Every villager has to gamble carefully and weigh his odds, balancing his behavior in such a way as to avoid the "misjudgement" of his fellow villagers. The better they know and like him, the more likely it is that they would think that he has suerte. The more he creates enemies, the higher his probability of being

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[463] [934] [1]There are many part-time specialists in the village who do their work for neighbors and relatives at irregular intervals, never as a life specialization, except in a few cases such as midwives. Women may castrate chickens, or be called in as cooks at fiesta time. Men may be good at branding horses, roofing, etc. None of these jobs contributes substantially to the household income, except for the roles of carpenter, midwife and curer. Curers, however, are a separate category altogether, being ritual specialists "known" to have metaphysical powers.

156 accused of having an evil supernatural spirit. (A consequence of
754 this is that recent immigrants to the village, not well known by
[609] the community at large, or solitary characters that keep to themselves, are more likely to be thought of as witches even if they do not break community norms.)

621 The Macro-Structure: Barrios

Amatenango and Aguacatenango are both divided into two barrios which are territorial divisions separated by an imaginary line that cuts across the villages through their central plazas. The barrios of Amatenango are called Acohantik and Anantik (Upper and Lower) while the Aguacatenango barrios have Saint's names.

[171] This dual barrio division is common to many Indian settlements in the Tzeltal-Tzotzil region of the highlands of Chiapas, as opposed to the multiple barrio system of the mixed Indian and Ladino towns.

In the community of Oxchuc, the barrios (kalpuletik) function, according to Siverts (1960), as non-exogamous moieties with important political and ritual functions. In the opinion of this author, these barrios are just pseudo-moieties (Murdock, 1949; 47) not being based on rules of descent, but cutting across the lineage, sib and phratry units to which Oxchuqueros belong (Guiteras Holmes, C. 1952; Villa Rojas, 1945). This definition as pseudo-moieties holds true for the barrios of both Amatenango and Aguacatenango. They are not directly connected with any descent groups, but are territorial units with functions similar to those of real moieties.

621 Although the barrio lines are imaginary, they are effective limits for interaction between the inhabitants of the two sections.

621 The barrios are ideally, and in practice, endogamous.
582 (Eighty-three per cent of marriages contracted in Amatenango are barrio endogamous marriages, and 86 per cent of Aguacatenango couples have spouses from the same barrio.) The distribution of Inter- and Intra-Barrio marriages is shown in the following table:

TABLE 4

INTER- AND INTRA-BARRIO MARRIAGES

	Amatenango %	Aguacatenango %
Spouse from the same barrio	83	86
Spouse from other barrio	7.5	8
Spouse from other rural settlements	9.5	6

Given the fact that barrios originated from the parcialidades, which were at the time of the reducciones independent communities, it is possible to assume that the endogamy rules are as old as the establishment of the villages.

621 The latent hostility between the barrios becomes evident
578 when the endogamy rules are broken. Young men trying to flirt
582 with girls of the opposite barrio are reported to be beaten up,
[114] and although most informants insist that this custom is a "thing of the past," the Metzgers' field notes (Metzger, 1956-58) on Aguacatenango recorded two contemporary cases. Sometimes an offering of liquor to the single men of the opposite barrio will help

them to "overlook" the trespasser, but not many young men are willing to risk the ire of the other barrio bachelors, nor the gossip and sanctions applied to them by their own barrio mates.[1]

Each barrio plays a role in the political and religious organization of the village by sending an approximately equal number of officers to the Ayuntamiento and the Mayordomías. Although in some years there are more delegates from one barrio, they attempt to correct the imbalance in the succeeding years. The Principales (council of elders) have also equal representation.

Escuadrilla groups (adolescent boys' gangs) and unmarried women's Church groups are formed among barrio mates. Women, with few exceptions, used the water wells or pipe lines in their barrio of residence (the exceptions include women who originally came from the other barrio) and who do their washing at places in the river on their barrio side. Men who work together at such tasks as buying and butchering a cow, building a path or clearing an irrigation ditch belong to the same barrio. House parties organized to buy candles for the Church before a special Saint's day are barrio affairs, and no resident of the other barrio (with the exception of the anthropologist) is invited. In the past, there were, in Aguacatenango, religious sororities sponsored by the Catholic Church, and each barrio had a separate one. There

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[1] A man that has married once is considered to have had his share of the available women of the barrio. Second marriages, especially with girls who have never married before, are not well thought of. It is common, then, that second marriages occur across barrio lines. A man finds it easier to cope with the antagonism of the other barrio men (who are expected, in any case, to be antagonistic) than with the bachelors and neighbors in his own barrio, where he has to face the antagonism in every day interaction.

621 [575] were the Daughters of Holy Mary and the Daughters of Guadalupe.

[574] Visits to households in the other barrio are rare, and when they do occur they are due to unusual circumstances and are accompanied by formal etiquette. A long discussion was observed in Aguacatenango when the members of a household were debating the "correctness" of going to a house in the other barrio to buy milk for a very sick man. Two days later, the anthropologist was present in the house of the cow owners when the wife of the sick man arrived and asked to buy the milk. The senior woman of the house denied that her cow had any. When the visitor left, it was explained that "milk is money, the Ladino schoolteacher pays better for it, and besides . . . the woman came from the other barrio. . . ." When the Ayuntamiento authorities call the household heads to contribute with communal labor and/or discuss village affairs, it is usual that one barrio will send many and the other barrio relatively fewer delegates, depending on which one is more affected by the outcome of the activities involved.

621 423 The only important difference between the barrio organizations of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is their relation with the land tenure system. In Amatenango, the barrio lands are not separate. In Aguacatenango, although the barrios are not land-holding units in the strict sense of possessing separate titles of ownership, rights of usufruct of the village communal and irrigated lands are held separately by the two barrios, the people of

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each barrio prolonging their cornfields towards "their side." Aguacatenango irrigated land is divided and allocated so that men from one barrio have their plots separate from men from the other barrio, the barrio plots being watered by separate canals.

The same way that the community as a whole holds exclusive titles of ownership and rights of usufruct against other communities, the barrio has a monopoly of certain town lands, over which it holds, if not ownership titles, rights to plant their crops, gather palms for the roofs of the houses and espino for the fences.

In 1956, a group of men from one barrio bought land from a nearby finca (ranch). A month later, the other barrio bought land from another finca owner. The meetings which planned the purchases were closed and maintained in semi-secrecy. There was some conflict over the rights of the "other barrio" to use the pastures included in the new lands of the other, and gossip on the subject lasted almost two years, revealing, once more, the traditional separation between the two village factions.

That the barrio as a land-holding unit is more significant in Aguacatenango should not be a surprise: Aguacatenango is much more dependent on land for its subsistence, since agriculture is the only large-scale productive enterprise of the community. Therefore, conflict and competition for land tends to acquire greater proportions than in Amatenango where people have other important sources of income. One of the ways in which possible conflicts between village factions over land and its products is handled, is by delimiting the territorial rights held by the people who belong to such factions.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER IV

THE ORGANIZATION OF PRODUCTION

128

Introduction

Up to this page we have been describing the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango, emphasizing the similarities between these two social universes. There is, however, a set of differences between the two which requires separate treatment. It is important to do so because a detailed analysis of the patterned variation in the two villages can show us how, within a very similar social and cultural background, two societies can develop alternative forms of behavior which place the relations between individuals in two contrasting social structures.

Aguacatenango

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[621]

Aguacatenango is purely an agricultural village. The whole community is organized into independent domestic groups which are, in a sense, small family farms administered by the males.

Men cultivate the field crops--corn, beans and squash--do other planting and agricultural work, and care for the large livestock with the help of the sons who live under the same roof. Each household has a male head who is the bread-winner; he is responsible for the welfare of those who live in the same sitio.

241 Each man tries to cultivate enough food to make his household
572 462 self-sufficient the whole year around.

241 The younger males of a household are initiated into the
868 agricultural work by their fathers and elder brothers who work with the household head in the same fields. Around the age of ten, they are expected to leave grammar school and the children's playground, and to start learning their life trade: the tech-
[582] niques of cultivation. No young male is capable of marrying if he is not capable of bearing on his shoulders the economic burden of supporting a household with his labor in the fields.

241 In addition to producing enough corn for the consumption
433 of his homestead, a man is expected to cultivate some surplus
434 which the household can exchange in the local markets and stores for the manufactured goods and staples which they need: machetes, candles, needles, coffee and various other commodities. Moreover,
[464] if the household is in need of extra cash to pay for the expenses of a burial, a wedding, or any other emergency expenditure, he is expected to earn it by selling his labor to other men in the village for wages, or by working for short periods of time in the sugar cane plantation of Pujiltic. (Usually between one and two weeks of wage work will cover such emergencies. See Fig. 5.)

562 The women of Aguacatenango are economically dependent on their male relatives: father, husband, siblings and adult male
462 children. The women have many responsibilities; they are in charge of cooking and cleaning, sewing the family clothes, gathering
[231] firewood for the hearth, and educating the young. They are also
[241] in charge of feeding the small livestock which is kept in the

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77

Sample: 68 Households

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	Men	Per Cent
A:		
Never	12	17
Pujiltic (sugar cane plantation)	49	71
Fincas	5	3
Carretera Construction: (1 month)	2	7
Napite (school teacher for the INI): (2 1/2 years)	1	1
Yerba Santa	1	1
Total	70	100
B: Period of work in Pujiltik:		
1 week	29	
2 weeks	15	
3 weeks	2	
1 month	1	
Unknown	2	
C: Period of work in Fincas:		
1 month	2	
2 months	1	
5 months	1	
3 years	1	
D: Status:		
Household Head	41	
Son of household head	15	
Da. Son of household head	2	
Total	58	

II. A:	Women
San Cristobal	12
Teopisca	2

B: Period of Work:

From 3 weeks to 3 years.
Average: 12 months.

C: Status:	
Widow	2
Divorcee	1
Single	11

Fig. 5.--Migratory Labor in Aguacatenango

462 [231] [241] sitio (household territory): pigs and chickens, and the cultivation of the rudimentary gardens within the back patios. These gardens do not have great economic importance. Women plant chiles, cilantro, chayotes, té limón, mostaza, and sometimes even beans and a small milpa for elote (tender corn), but gardening is not a serious occupation: most women only plant two of three varieties of plants, a little bush of flavor herbs for the beans, some medicinal plant, or some flowers to ornament the house altar. Many backyards just grow wild, and the collection of its products is mainly "gathering in one's backyard" rather than harvesting (see Fig. 6).

[434] By selling the products of the small garden, some eggs, or fruits, a woman can contribute to the household cash income, but this money is considered somewhat of a luxury. The extra cash can be used to buy some clothes before a fiesta, or a new pot, or a similar item, but women are not expected to support their families: this is the basic responsibility of the family men.

166 462 467 Women have very few cultural alternatives for transforming their labor into a substantial income. Young single girls whose parents are too poor to support them, or who are alocadas (lightheaded) and desire to break away from home, can leave town to go to work as servants in Ladino towns. Wives running away from a mother-in-law who is too strict, or from a drunkard husband, or widows, would occasionally take up this kind of work. This, of course, isolates a woman from the village, and is a form of self-imposed exile. Working for Ladinos is a somewhat awe inspiring [29] idea. Women "know" or suspect that Ladino men violate Indian

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 79]

241 Number of fruit-tree varieties: 7

Number of vegetable varieties: 16

Number of flower varieties: 7

Total 30

Fruit Trees:

Name	Number of Houses	Number of Trees	Average per House Which Has Them	Average per Total Sample
Anona	25	72	2.9	1
Naranja	17	26	1.5	0.3
Lima	47	131	2.8	1.9
Durazno	40	117	2.9	1.7
Guayaba	1	1	1	0.01
Guineo	7	14	2	0.2
Matasano	4	7	1.7	0.1

Average number of varieties planted in each garden: 3.4

Mode of varieties per household: 4

Fig. 6.--Aguacatenango Garden Produce

166 462 464 [829] women and that Ladino women mistreat their servants. Working in towns is remembered, by those who have done it, as a strange mixture of carefree economic independence and innumerable small humilitations and suffering. Its lack of attractiveness is well reflected in the fact that, from a random sample of sixty-eight households, only fourteen women have worked outside their homes (see Fig. 5).

562 462 434 [464] [275] The only women who are the bread-winners or heads of their homes are forced to do so because they have no male relatives to provide for them. In this case, they have few alternatives open to them, the two most common being: 1) acting as a servant (already discussed above); or 2) selling liquor in their houses to the [558] men of the village. This second occupation is not very well thought of by the villagers, trago sellers being gossiped about as being bold women, "sexy" females who enjoy the company of drunks and men married to other women.

Amatenango

462 323 438 [241] [434] In Amatenango, the division of labor presents a very different picture. The whole village of Amatenango is a pottery factory because, in addition to the household income derived from the agricultural work of the village men, each Amatenango woman is a pottery producer.

Pottery that is made for selling is neither a choice, nor a part-time job, nor an individual specialization, but a town specialty. All women in Amatenango are expected to know how to make pots, and to make them. The women of each household

462 distribute their work so that while one takes care of the regular
323 home tasks: cooking, caring for the young, cleaning, etc., the
438 other can occupy herself in gathering clay, coiling or modeling. Most steps in the production of pots are arranged in an "assembly line" style, with the women distributing their individual work according to the needs of the stage of the productive activity. Some of these steps, such as firing, require their close and alert cooperation to be carried on successfully. Pottery production
[434] represents about half of the income of each independent household, with some slight variation, because households richer in land produce less pots than poorer ones.

Comparison

433 Pottery production in the hands of the women shapes the
184 economic landscape of Amatenango very differently than the one of
241 Aguacatenango. In the first place, agriculture is a business where
433 the risks are high and the profits unstable. The agricultural production of the villages depends on many uncontrollable factors. Too little rain or too much, too early rain or too late, worm pests or wild animals, can ruin the year's crop. The villagers try to insure the risks of a bad year by planting in as many different types of fields as they can. They plant in the hot country where the crops mature fast, and in the high, cold country where the maturation process is slow but the corn, of a hardier variety, is more resistant to weather conditions. They plant irrigated land to insure water if rain is missing, and in <u>temporal</u> to insure against the drying up of the sources of irrigated water. But even

241 433 then, each season is a question mark, an equally unpredictable year of plenty or a lean year.

184 323 241 433 434 In Amatenango, when the crop fails or is poor, the income of the villagers can be compensated by producing more pottery. This is obviously not so in Aguacatenango. If hunger threatens the families, the result is a higher migration rate or an increase 184 166 464 731 in the number of men leaving town to work part-time in the fincas. The result of having an alternative form of income within the 184 434 621 homestead in Amatenango is that the village keeps its income more balanced year after year, and that the village as a whole has a reputation of being richer than the other communities.

184 434 462 562 In Aguacatenango, the women are an economic burden. The men are very aware that they themselves "do all the work." Women have long and leisurely afternoons which are spent sitting on their porches grooming, chatting, or visiting. Men complain of this, saying "Women cannot realize how hard a man has to work. They complain of not having this or that, but they do not know. . . ." In Amatenango, on the contrary, women are important producers, men and women sharing, equally, the responsibility of supporting their families.

Thus, in the one case, Aguacatenango, the work of women has a marginal, undeterminate value in an economic milieu in which they have no cultural alternatives to convert their labor into goods or subsistence necessities; in the other case, Amatenango, the labor input of women represents about half of the total productive efforts of the villagers.

184 562 462 434 This contrasting economic picture has many effects in the structuring of social relations because it places the women of the two villages in very different positions with respect to their male relatives, and at crucial points in the life of an individual, determines, to a large extent, his choice of alternative behavior.

It is important to make clear that I am not suggesting that economic factors are the determinant of all social life. The specialization of Amatenango in pottery making is not only an economic, but a social and historical phenomenon as well. The basic economic organization of the villages of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is treated here as a given cultural factor. There is nothing in the ecology of Aguacatenango or Amatenango, or in the economic system itself, that "requires" that the women of the one village should be marginal producers while the women in the other are not.[1] This is a given fact. The factors that determined the present division of labor in the villages are not known to me, and I do not pretend that it is due to some primary economic cause.

128 But, if I take the division of labor and the economic structure of the village as given variables, then I can ask myself to what extent it is followed by adjustments in other cultural norms. It is here where my problem lies.

I am going to attempt to describe, in the rest of this work, how, and under what circumstances, certain social choices which have become normative are related to the economic life of

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[1]Some of the clay deposits are located in Aguacatenango territory. But, Aguacatecos do not exploit them.

[317]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

128 the communities, to their different division of labor and to the control of productive activities and means of production by the sexes.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER V

KINSHIP AND LIFE CYCLE

128 ### The Kinship Terminology

The comparison of the kinship terminology utilized by the two communities will be presented within the methodological frame of componential analysis.

121 This body of analysis derives from (1) Kroeber's initial discussion in 1909, where he set forth the eight linguistic categories which make up for the distinctions in the different kinship system (Lowie did some rearrangement of these categories in his article on Relationship Terms for the 14th Edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica [1929], and Murdock [1949] re-classified them into major and minor, biological and social. In Eggan's revision of Lowie's article the same position of 1929 is maintained [Lowie and Eggan, 1961]); and (2) the analysis of paradigms in linguistics, especially Jacobson (1936) and Harris (1948).

The method has been utilized successfully, although somewhat differently, by several anthropologists, and in some cases was the result of "independent invention." Davis and Warner (1937) employed it in a theoretical statement about seven societies: Erse, English, Kariera, Chinese, Roman, Arunta and Hawaiian. Leach (1945) used a similar analysis in deriving Jinghpaw kin

121 terminology from seven axioms. Goodenough (1951, 1956a, 1957) worked out a theoretical frame and its application to Trukese data and Pehrson's Lapp kinship data. Lounsbury (1956) analyzed Morgan's Pawnees schedule mainly as a linguistic exercise in the semantic aspects of the method. Romney (1957), Romney and Metzger (1957) and Romney and Epling (1958) discussed some of the relationships between operational principles, and presented a substantive analysis of data utilizing this frame, on the Zuni and Kariera. In Europe, a close approximation to the componential analysis method was applied by Meeussen and LeCoste (1955) on the Ngwana, and Vansina (1957) on the Bushoong.

121 128 In this paper the method is utilized only briefly, mainly because the presentation of the kinship terminology in a paradigmatic form simplifies the comparison between Amatenango and Aguacatenango (see Figs. 7 and 8). I do not claim, as have some of the previous authors, that the method generates an analysis of denotative semantics, nor that it is a truer picture of the whole kinship system.

128 601 I discuss the consanguineal address terminology because it is the only one used regularly by the villagers, and does not differ, except for the exclusion of two or three affinal terms, from the reference terminology.

121 The universe of kinship is a discrete unit only for the anthropologist. In some societies in the world, the number of individuals who receive the treatment of kinsmen is arbitrarily limited with some criteria other than the two basic biological elements of copulation and birth, and the social concomitants

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 88]

601

generation	male referent	female referent			seniority
2+	nuk'ul tát	nuk'ul mó'	k'in nanú	k'in tatú	older than ego's father
1+	tatú (tat)	nanú (mo')			younger than ego's father and older than ego
> ego ⊕	bankíl (m.s) filél (f.s)	w i g		ebankíl (m.s) efilél (f.s)	
<	téta ←	néna (kilgín)	→	téta	younger than ego
1-	w i k'ín (m.s) k'ál (f.s)				
2-	mamaik'ín (m.s) k'ik'ál (f.s)				
	lineal (or direct)		collaterals and non-kinsmen		

(s) term repeated
(m.s) male speaker
(f.s) female speaker

Fig. 7.--Aguacatenango Kinship Paradigm

601

generation	male referent	female referent		seniority
2+	mam	me'ĉĉ	a mam	older than ego's father
2+	tat	me'	a tat	younger than ego's father
> ego (0)	bankil (m.s) / ŝiĉĉ (f.s)	w i ŝ	a bankil (m.s) / a ŝiĉĉ (f.s)	older than ego
<	(tata) ←	(nana) Kinsfin	→ (tata)	younger than ego
1-	n i ĉ'ĉ n			
1-	mam ni ĉ'ĉn (m.s) / ni'ĉĉ (f.s)			
	lineals or direct	collaterals and non-kinsmen		

(0) term repeated
(m.s) male speaker
(f.s) female speaker

Fig. 8.--Amatenango Kinship Paradigm

121 descent and affinal relations derived therefrom. But for some other societies, the number of persons and the distance (biological or social) between people to which kinship terms can be applied is infinite. Furthermore, some societies do not distinguish between the criteria of kinship and territoriality in defining group relationships, or the application of kinship terms. Among the Nuer, for example, an individual thinks of distance between lineages in terms of both descent links and territorial propinquity. Among the Chamula of Chiapas, the word for kinsman (meaning my family) and the word for co-villagers (other Chamulas) is the same. Homonyms do not necessarily imply that the people connect the two concepts expressed in the same word, nor that there is a single concept to cover both, but in the Nuer as well as the Chamula case, this is so.

601 The way in which the kinship terminology is applied in Amatenango and Aguacatenango suggests an infinite extension of the kinship terminology into the universe of non-kinsmen. For this reason, we will indicate how each kinship term is applied by the natives for "real kinsmen" (that is, to those recognized by the natives as such, and genealogically connected through birth and/or marriage) and to other villagers by extension or analogy. This becomes an important distinction because the kinship terminology is not, as anthropologists assume for most other cases, a terminological system to isolate, on the basis of linguistics, the kinsmen from the non-kinsmen. In Amatenango and Aguacatenango, the so-called kinship terminology is both kinship terminology and a terminological system to indicate social

601 differentiation based on some other criteria which are not descent or affinity.

[114] The "kinship terms" of Amatenango and Aguacatenango form a Hawaiian type (Murdock, 1949) system, and do not suggest, as Murdock indicated for the Tzeltal as a whole, the characteristics of a Normal Omaha (Murdock, 1955:228-31).

The main emphasis on classifying others from the point of view of Ego are relative age (seniority and generation) and sex. All discriminations made in the addressing of individuals are of a bilateral nature. More contrasts are made for the older than for the younger generation of Ego. This gives the impression that the societies face "upwards," which is confirmed by the behavior of the villagers in many dimensions of their social action, by being consistent with the terminological usages within and outside the kin group.

The classificatory principles which underlie the uses of terms are, for the society at large: seniority, generation relative to Ego, and sex, both of addressee and speaker.

When the terms are restricted to "real kinmen," the number of terminological distinctions is expanded, so some other principles are used. The principles are:

1. Seniority
   a) Younger than Ego
   b) Older than Ego, younger than Ego's father
   c) Older than Ego, older than Ego's father
2. Sex of the addressee
3. Lineal versus collateral

601

4. Generation

5. Sex of the speaker

Seniority combines in Aguacatenango with generation and linearity to separate Ego's own parents, Ego's own grandparents, Ego's own children and grandchildren from collaterals of the same relative ages and from non-kinsmen, but brothers and sisters are not distinguished from cousins or from other kinsmen or non-kinsmen of the same relative age and generation.

In Amatenango, only Ego's own children and grandchildren are distinguished from collaterals or others, which merges the core of the conjugal family (father and mother) and the domestic group with the rest of the kinsmen.

The most important distinction, among those lineals of Ego's own generation and collaterals, is the relative order of birth with respect to Ego and Ego's father. The sex of both the speaker and the addressee is added to relative age.

The extension of the kinship terms to non-kinsmen (i.e., those who are not included in the particular kinship group recognized by Ego) is on a society-wide basis. People are addressed by "kin terms" for a multitude of purposes: (1) to show respect in greeting; (2) to suggest that the person addressed with the kin term is expected to behave somewhat like the kinsmen who, according to genealogical placement, is called by the term; (3) to indicate social distance to juniors, and the expected deference and obedience from them, etc. It is common, for example, to salute an elderly woman with the term <u>cinnaná</u>, or to call a man from whom one is asking a favor by the term <u>bankil</u>.

601 In Aguacatenango, where the distinction between collaterals and lineals is implicit in the terminology, non-kinsmen are usually addressed by the collateral terms, thus indicating distance between lineal relatives and others.

The terminological system is so widely applied that there is no possibility of separating the range of kinsmen from non-kinsmen by observing only terminological usages. The only way to make the distinction is: (1) to observe the particular behavior of Ego towards others; (2) to ask each particular Ego whom, among those which he addresses with kin terms, he considers genealogically connected with him. This any Ego is able to do. So therefore, although the terminology used suggests that kinship is not the main differentiation, in terms of other behavior the distinction is clearly specified.

The use of affinal terms is presently restricted to parents and children-in-law, and the others are merged with the consanguineal terms. Even then, if the relationship between in-laws is affectionate and they live in the same household or in close proximity, they address each other with the consanguineal terms.

184 601 Although the terminology in the two villages is practically identical, the Amatenango kinship usages suggest a more emphatic bilateral-generation systematization of kinship terms for both kin and non-kin. I can suggest that the relationships established in the household (core of the kin group) in Amatenango, are consistent with more emphasis in bilaterality, while in Aguacatenango, where the basic kinship relations of the individual are lineal

184 ones, the terminology consistently emphasizes the distinction
60 between direct and collateral relatives. In that sense, and only in that sense, the terminology usage reflects the consistency between the linguistic realm and the non-linguistic behavior realms, a consistency which has been assumed by many anthropologists to be axiomatic.

561 The Ordering of Social Relations

562 In both communities relative age and sex are important in the structuring of social relations within the household and throughout the community. The exact chronological age of an individual is often unknown, but his relative age, with respect to siblings, cousins, relatives and other people who live close by, is always known. Any two individuals can always place each other in terms of seniority or order of birth.

561 Children are classified as those who are still at the mother's breast and cannot walk (husul 'it), small walking children (kosh kerem), pre-adolescents (hc' iel), and adolescents of marriageable age (tek' el). Married men are distinguished by whether they have children, by whether they have or do not have an independent household, and by the number of cargos they have passed in the government. Mature men are classified as still being active in the civil-religious hierarchy or as being pasados. Pasados are separated into those who are just old (mamal) and those who are principales.

858 Little babies and small children are not always counted as part of the household because they die so easily. They can have their souls "stolen" by other children who are still in their

858 mother's womb, and they compete for survival with other small
854 babies who live close by (one of the two is likely to die). They
854 are extremely susceptible to the mal de ojo (evil eye)[1] because their souls are tender, and they are, for the same reason, easy victims of witchcraft exercised against their parents. During the first few months of life, they are protected and cared for with innumerable precautions: they are covered up when strangers enter the house, attended at the slightest sign of distress, and
[513] rarely taken out of the sitio. Until another child is born, they sleep with the parents on the same petate (mat) or bed.

855 When a mother is ready to have a new baby, the younger
862 one is given to an elder sister or grandmother with whom it can sleep. The baby is also weaned at this time. The separation of the child from the mother is an open traumatic experience, and parents admit that children get sick and even die as a result of "jealousy." Nevertheless, no direct attempt is made to smooth the emotional disturbances or the developing sibling rivalry in

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[1]The evil eye has been described innumerable times for
[826] Middle America. In the Chiapas Highlands it is a sickness caused
[843] by a person with strong or "hot" eyes, who looks at the victim.
[841] Evil eye "carriers" are not necessarily aware of their power, but some individuals are consciously included in this category: pregnant women, menstruating women, and people with glasses or light eyes, or with very deep set eyes. To avoid giving "mal de ojo," the producer has to touch the person who can be a victim. If a menstruating woman distractedly looks at a small baby, she will immediately put her hand on the baby's forehead, to retrieve from him her power, and not make him sick.

The same procedure of touching the person is done if the other person feels that he is unwillingly "envying" the first one, and can be an unconscious witchcraft mediator. For example, if a married woman without babies sees another woman's baby, she will touch him to show that she is not "envying" the mother, and therefore, there is no danger that she will "steal" the baby's soul or make him sick with her envy.

855 the elder child, except that they allow the child some freedom
862 to run around the sitio, or go outside the sitio with other adults
883 in order to go visiting.[1]

The adolescent children, especially those going to school, have complete freedom of movement within the community. They are sent to visit their grandmothers, to deliver little presents, or they are sent to ask for borrowed things. They also bring news and gossip back and forth between households. Their role as [585] messengers is sometimes formalized, as during weddings when children are sent ahead to announce the arrival of the bride, and her family, to the groom's household.

857 Pre-adolescent girls have the responsibility of caring for
868 their younger siblings, and are initiated into the woman's work
562 at an early age. They are trained by their mothers in making tortillas, carrying water, sweeping and sewing. They can go visiting on their own, and play outside the home with other girls before and after school, if they are regular school goers.

882 After the first menstruation (and sometimes a little before
562 if they show signs of maturity), they change from the light cotton
[291] skirt into the traditional dark blue pagua (tubular skirt) and red faja (sash), and are considered marriageable (solteritas or tek' el). At this point, they are expected to stay within the homestead grounds, except if they are told to bring water or if they go with compañía (company) to the afternoon rezo (praying

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[1] In extreme cases, when the elder child shows extreme signs of distress (crying long hours and refusing to eat anything), it will be given to a woman relative living in other household, usually the paternal grandmother or a married sister without children. This, however, is extremely rare.

882 562 session in Church). Water carrying is associated with courting, 584 and the bachelors stay around the paths that connect the houses of their sweethearts with the well to which they go to fetch water, expecting to receive some indication of acceptance on their part, and if they are literate, to hand them a love letter. Girls on these occasions, are expected to behave modestly and to be embarrassed. If not, they are usually judged as alocades (light-headed) and not fit for marriage.

156 571 The concept of tener su compañía runs throughout all activity, at all ages. Having company means protection from the supernatural on a long trip, help around the house, harmonious social relations with age mates and kinsmen, and insurance against loneliness. Older women who are left alone in a house for several days will "borrow" a younger girl, a son's daughter for example, to keep them company, and a young wife going to market or to get firewood is usually expected to find company to do so. If not, [053] she can well meet a strange man on the road, and get sick from verguenza (sickness assumed to originate from shame at being placed in an anomalous or embarrassing social situation) or espanto (fear and soul loss).

882 562 Boys (kerem and tek' el) do not have as many restrictions of behavior or of movement as girls after puberty, but they are [368] also expected to have their company. They start working with their fathers around the age of ten, depending on their physical strength, but in the beginning, it is not a serious occupation. 883 As soon as they become regular workers, they spend their free 562 573 time with other bachelors and form a compañía or escuadrilla

883 (gang), containing males from the age of about twelve to the time
562 they marry. They usually sleep together in one of the escuadrilla
573 member's house corridor, and spend long nights playing the harmonica, having corn eating competitions or serenading.

562 A man is not considered a full-fledged community member
885 until he marries and has a child (the word for man and father
851 have the same root: tat), which allows him to take the lower
601 post in the government (policía). The government itself is an
621 age-graded organization in which the kinship terms of elder and
621 younger brother are used reciprocally, and by extension, by of-
561 ficers in lower and higher posts.
601

562 With the passing of time, both men and women increase their
593 status by raising a family and by passing to higher positions in
621 the civil-religious hierarchy. Although women do not participate
794 directly in the government, they have some duties as officer's wives (e.g., ironing the Saint's clothes if their husbands are mayordomos), and they are called by their husband's titles. A man may resign from office if his wife dies and there is no other adult woman in the household who can take care of her part of the officer's performance.

184 The first noticeable difference in the ordering of social
562 relations in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women
592 in the domestic group.

184 In Aguacatenango, the eldest male is the head of the
562 household. He controls the land which the men of the household
462 work, the cattle, the labor of the household members and most of
592 the money obtained through the sale of surplus corn (which is

184 used as a cash crop) or livestock. He decides when and where to
562 plant what, who should buy or sell any household property, when
462 to go to market, etc. If a son is living with his father, he
592 can talk about "our cow," but he is usually referring to his
592 father's animal. In the same way, when a woman who is single
593 talks about "our maize," she is referring to the maize cultivated
562 by her father and brothers and stored by her mother. If she is
married, she means the maize produced by her father-in-law and
husband, and controlled by her mother-in-law.

592 The eldest woman in the household has authority over the
593 younger females residing within it, including the daughter-in-
562 law, because during the period in which a married man resides with
[606] his parents, the wife, being the younger, is under the direct
[251] authority of her husband's mother. The elder woman controls the
food given to her by her husband and son, and she keeps it stored
in the tapanco (roof granary). She selects the food for the
meals, and sets up the housekeeping schedule for the younger
women in the homestead.

592 Women "keep" the money that their husbands earn at home.
593 They are supposed to save it, and not spend any of it without the
434 husband's permission. They do control small amounts of cash
562 which they can obtain by selling eggs, fruits or some vegetables
that they grow in the garden. They are allowed to spend it on
some luxuries: new clothes for a fiesta, a new pot, or something
similar, but they are not expected to take care of themselves.
59 Before marriage, a woman is supported by her father and brothers,
562 and lives under her father's roof. After marriage, she is

59 supported by her husband and father-in-law, and lives under their
562 roof. If the husband dies, she is supposed to go back to live
[606] with her parents as she did when she was single or live with a mature son who becomes responsible for her welfare and has some authority over her, as can be seen in the following example.

159 A woman had two sons by her first husband, the elder of
593 which, at the time of the events related here, was married. The
587 first husband died, and the woman married another man with whom
586 she had another son. After a period of common residence, the second marriage broke up. The woman bought some land for a house, saving money for it by working in San Cristóbal and selling trago. She lived in this house with her married son and his wife.

The father of the last child (second marriage) offered to give the boy some new clothes. Before the woman accepted them, she asked her elder son's permission. The clothes were accepted because the woman's son said: "He is his father, and he should give clothes to his son."

592 The bases for the structure of the social relations within
561 the household are relative age, sex, kinship proximity to the
562 household head, and economic responsibility for the upkeep of the
602 unit. Elder men have more authority than younger men; elder women more than younger ones. Men have more authority than women (perhaps, on some occasions, with the exception of the mother), and finally, agnatic kin of the household head have more authority
592 than affinals. The result of this ordering of power within the
606 household is that a daughter-in-law is at the bottom of the

592 606 hierarchical order of authority. The following example illustrates this social ordering:

159 591 592 Maria was the daughter-in-law of Margarita, a woman married to Juan Perez, one of the village elders. The sons of Juan Perez and all the daughters had left the compound after marriage, with the exception of Felix, the last son, who was Maria's husband. [428] The couple had decided to stay in the parental house until the death of Felix's parents, and they were promised the inheritance of the sitio as a recompense for their willingness to support Juan and Margarita in their old age (see Fig. 9).

159 592 437 602 Maria had been fattening a pig, which Juan had decided to sell, and he had been talking about it with a Ladino merchant who was anxious to buy it, but who wanted to pay a lower price for it than Juan was willing to accept.

One afternoon, while the men were in the fields and Margarita was outside the compound gathering firewood, Maria was visited by a Ladino merchant who insisted on taking the pig with him. He offered to pay a price which Maria was not sure was already arranged between the merchant and her father-in-law. She discussed it with him, refusing to give up the animal, until her sister-in-law, Felix's elder sister, arrived to visit her mother.

When Felix's sister arrived, Maria retired from the discussion, and left the elder woman to carry the burden of the interaction.

After a while, Margarita came back with her load of firewood, and she took up the discussion while both her daughter and daughter-in-law conversed among themselves after Crecencia

159 indicated that "she did not live in the house, nor was the boss
592 there." Margarita knew the price at which to sell, but she told
437 off the merchant, in quite a rude manner, and even refused to
602 let him see the animal "because she was sure that the man was going to give it the evil eye and get it sick."

[601]

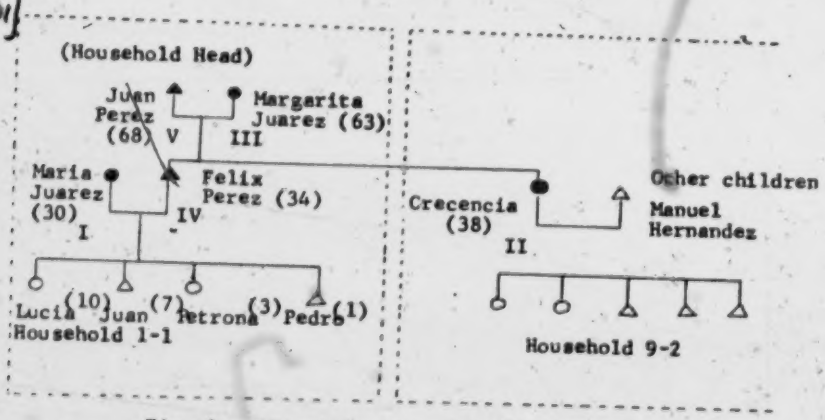

Fig. 9.--Genealogy of Household of Juan Perez

The Ladino merchant utilized every policy of charm and threat, trying to get them to sell the animal, but he began to relize that it was getting him nowhere. None of the women, not even the female head of the household, felt that she could take the responsibility for the business transaction.

When the merchant was ready to leave, Felix arrived. At this point, Felix took up the bargaining. When he could not get the price his father wanted, he resolved that the merchant should

159 come back when the father was home because not even he could sell
592 the pig without his consent. The Ladino was then forced to give up.
437
602 A few days later, Juan sold the pig according to his own plans. He kept the money, except for a small amount that he gave to his wife and daughter-in-law, in spite of the fact that Maria had fattened the pig, and that it had been previously said that the pig was the young couple's animal.[1]

592 A woman living with her husband in a separate household
593 has some autonomy within it, but she is still subordinate to her
562 husband. She owns little property. A woman may be given a cow
421 when she marries, but her father is not obliged to do so. It is
[431] simply a regalo (present). She does not own agricultural implements. She can not own land or inherit from her husband, except in cases where she is, in effect, keeping the house in trust for her male children, and it has not been claimed by her husband's father or brothers who have primacy rights over such property.

[561] As she grows older, and with the birth of children, her
[851] position becomes somewhat less dependent. She has more prestige in the eyes of her husband's family and other people, and if her marital relation has developed into a strong emotional bond, her interaction with her husband is less subordinate. He would consult

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[1]The animals are usually said to "belong" to one particular
[231] woman in the household. However, this does not mean that she has
[421] property rights over it; it only means that she is the person in
[562] charge of feeding it. Thus, the expression el cochi de María (María's pig) means the pig which María has the responsibility to feed every day, and it does not assume that she can sell it, kill it for meat, or do anything about it without the consent of the head of the household.

592
593
562 her before making important decisions, and allow her to handle
421 some of the household property, such as the selling of pigs.

562 But even under the best conditions, the position of a
593 woman is de facto lower than the position of men. If her husband gets drunk and beats her up, she is not supposed to complain, but accept it as part of her role. One of our informants said that once she scolded her husband for drinking, and he said: "I am not
593 asking you for the money." If he is unfaithful, she has no real
586 way of controlling his behavior except by leaving his house, run-
837 ning away to San Cristóbal to work for a few days as a servant or breaking up the marriage.

184 In Amatenango, the pottery making village, the situation
562 is quite different. First, women are economically independent,
434 being able to make a living without a male in the household.
592 Second, they control the profits made by the household from the
421 sale of pottery and from the sale of cash crops such as chayotes which they plant in their gardens. In many cases, they own the house in which they live with their husband and children. They contribute as much as their male siblings to the support of the whole domestic group while they were living in their family's home, and it is possible for them to inherit both land and cattle, a fact which reinforces the equivalent standing between women and their male siblings.

184 Adultery in Amatenango has strong reactive sanctions for
593 both men and women, and a "wife is considered within her rights to
[837] order an erring husband out of the house." "Women do not tolerate

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

184 "Women do not tolerate
593 beating by their husbands, and they frequently seek justice in
592 the local court if this occurs" (Nash, J., 1960:34).

184 In sum, Aguacatenango women have a dependent role all of
562 their lives, while Amatenango women enjoy a freer and more autonomous life. The people of Aguacatenango say that la mujer se debe a su marido y sus criaturas (a woman is indebted, or bound to obey, her husband and her children), while in Amatenango people believe that, women are la fuerza en la casa (the authority or power in the home) (Nash, J., 1960:29). This set of contrasting statements sums up, from their own point of view, the different conceptions of the woman's role and position in the domestic group.

184 The second difference between Amatenango and Aguacatenango
592 is the criteria employed in both places for the recruitment of household personnel. Membership in a household implies both (1) a kinship connection with a sponsor who lives in the unit, and (2) economic interdependency.

Membership in a household changes for the individual at crucial times in his life, and changes in age and marital status give a person the right to attach himself or herself to a particular domestic group. An analysis of residence patterns of the two villages shows how, during the developmental cycle of the household, it changes membership and how particular individuals, according to their age, sex, marital status, kinship connection and economic role, are recruited into the unit.

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CHAPTER VI

THE HOUSEHOLD

Definition

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571 The life of the people of Amatenango and Aguacatenango can be seen as extending in overlapping circles which have a social as well as spatial dimension.

592 The most important of these circles is the domestic group. The domestic group, or independent household, is the basic unit of the social organization, and is the core of the economic, political, and moral life of the villager.

The households are economically independent units, the basic unit that controls production and consumption for the village, and therefore, the primary unit for the recruitment of labor. It is within the household that young community members are socialized. It is the place where adults find the primary focus of social activity and interaction, their most enduring and important emotional ties, and the center of their cultural values. As a child, a person learns work from the other people of the same sex who live in his domestic unit. As an adult, he shares with them his labor, his wealth, his worries and his moments of pleasure. In a sense, all that is important for the individual in his lifetime is centered in his household. There, most of his

592 decisions are made, most of his life conflicts created and solved. Basically, it is as a member of a particular household that a person relates to people living outside his home. There is no more unhappy position for a person than being an "orphan," a person without relatives who can give him a home.

Moreover, the household functions as a political unit, being the unit of recruitment of personnel for the larger institutions of the village, such as the local government.

Physical Setting

351 592 The domestic territory is the sitio: the land and buildings of a single household. The boundaries of this residential site are delimited by a low fence and a gate facing one street. The fence is made of pickets tied with maguey rope or of thorny branches. The sitio entrance from the street is a tranca, a gate made of two large, sliding, horizontal poles attached to a short, vertical column on each side.

The fences and gates are important social symbols, delimiting the territory of the domestic group which resides in it. When a household splits into two separate domestic groups, but keeps on sharing the same original sitio, a new fence is built between them. Occasionally, this fence will not be built for a period of time, but the two domestic groups will build separate living quarters and separate cook-houses. Even then, the households will have their territory within the sitio clearly delimited, if not fenced. In any case, a new gate is opened, symbolizing the independence of the families living within the sitio.

351 592 571 When the people in two adjacent sitios have close social ties, they open an interior gate in the common fence, connecting the two yards. June Nash has noticed that if any disagreement [578] occurs between the people residing in the two contiguous sitios, the interior gates are barricaded even more strongly than the remainder of the fence, symbolically severing social communication (Nash, J: 1959).

351 592 Inside the sitios, there are several areas of activity (see Fig. 10): the front yard (ti?naie) where animals are tied [343] [342] when brought to the sitio, where corn is put to dry, etc., and where there are buildings (hna) such as the cook-house and others [241] which serve as sleeping quarters. The back yard is the place where things are stored and where a small garden is cultivated. [415] There are other spots, such as the place for the water jugs, the [252] place for washing the mixtamal (corn mesh used for making tortillas), [393] the sweat bath, etc.

342 The buildings themselves are mainly wattle and daub with thatch or palm roofs in the traditional Mayan pattern. There is, nevertheless, some variation in the use of cane, shingles and planks for walls, or tile roofs, which indicates a desire to imitate ladino ways rather than the wealth of the household. The houses have small porches which serve as "living room," places for receiving visitors, grooming, cleaning corn, or enjoying the twilight after a good day's work (see Figs. 10 and 11).

House Ritual

342 592 The building of a new house is an important social event

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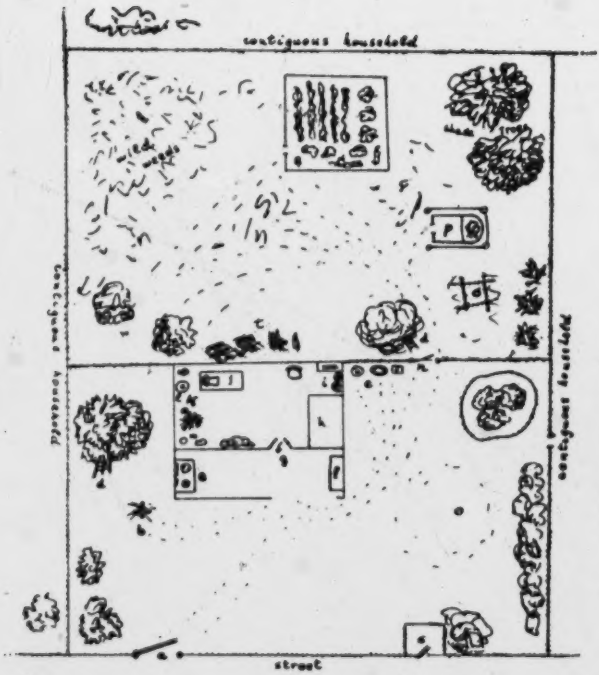

Fig. 10.--Model of a Standard Household

a--entrance gate
b--nixtamal washing-pot
c--water pots
d--chicken coop in a tree
e--Saint's altar in the corridor
f--bench for receiving visitors
g--double door
h--wooden bed
i--petates (mats) chest and chair
j--table for making tortillas (with the grinding stone or metate)
k--molino and fire place
l--water pot inside the house
m--little stools for seating during meals and stored bags
n--gate to back yard
o--raised pig-pen
p--temascal (steam bath)
q--garden with chillis, and "tomatoes"
r--peach trees
s--pig-pen with gate to the street
t--fire-wood drying

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Fig. 11.--House Viewed from the Street Gate

342 which usually indicates the emergence of a new domestic group.
592 Its social importance is related to several factors.

342 When the young couple build their first separate house,
591 this symbolizes their right to become a separate domestic group.
592 It means that they have lived together long enough to raise one or more children past the age of weaning, and that they have become economically and jurally independent of their parents.

342 (See later discussion on residence.) The building itself is a
156 material display of a man's good social relations. Although
571 house size does not correlate with the number of people living in it, the villagers think that a house "talks" about its owners. A very small house tells the villagers that it is a "drunk-man house" because his owner spends all his money on liquor and cannot buy materials for building a better place. The house also tells of the amount of industrious effort that a man and his family are able to put into its construction, and it tells about how much his relatives and neighbors are willing to "loan hands" to him (help for house building is not paid for in money, but in
[177] reciprocal labor). A house is also a good indicator of how much "ladino influence" its owner has assimilated. Houses with ladino influence would have internal divisions in the rooms, windows, painted walls and/or tile roofs. (This type of house is not common, as can be seen in Fig. 12 and Table 5.)

342 The building of a house is followed by a "house warming"
[527] ceremony, in which offerings to the Mother-Earth or Saintly Earth
[782] and the house are buried under the floor. The ritual preparation of a new home is part of a complex ideological identification between people and their homestead.

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	Number - Per Cent
Walls made of mud	93-77
wood planks (teiamanil)	11-9
palm	9-7
mud and wood	3-2.5
cane and palm	1-1.1
cane	2-2.3
mud and palm	1-1.1

Steam bath--20.
Of 121 buildings, 25 were painted white.

Building with corridor	65-80
Building without corridor	16-20
Kitchen with corridor	7-23
Kitchen without corridor	24-77

Households with more than two buildings distributed as follows: 15-22

unfinished new houses	4
granaries	6
saint's houses	2
storage room for pots	1
bedroom	1
empty	1

Roofs made of material other than palm (tile)--4
Pig pens--in all houses in sample
Chicken coops--46
Forty-five per cent of households have the kitchen built separate from the main building

Fig. 12.--House types in Aguacatenango

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TABLE 5

HOUSE TYPES IN AMATENANGO[a]

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Type	Cases	Per Cent
Roof		
Tile	1	1
Shingle	28	24
Thatch	87	75
Wall		
Wattle-and-daub	97	84
Rough Boards	19	16

[a]After Nash, J.: 1959.

342 Houses are a part of the family. They are considered as being alive (they grow old, just as people do) and watching the behavior of humans, toward whom they are somewhat unfriendly. If they are displeased with the behavior of the inhabitants, they can bring nightmares to the adults, death to the children and other misfortunes. Calixta Guiteras-Holmes (1960) has suggested that houses are ideologically connected with the earth, whom one has to please if crops are going to grow steadily, and to the monte (forested hills), where the wood for its construction is gathered. [1412] Thus, because the monte is the residence of the evil spirits, enemies of mankind, the house is a projection of this malevolent world.

342 Even more significant is the house ritual connected with
753 the sickness of a person who lives in it. It is significant
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342 because sickness is considered a supernatural expression of dis-
753 turbed social relations, and this is considered disruptive, not
571 only for the people who inhabit a single dwelling, but also for
578 the building which symbolizes their common residence and interests. As long as the relations of people living in a house are harmonious, the house is kept contented. But if this is not so, both the people
342 and the building have to be ritually cleaned. For example, if a
753 daughter disobeys her mother, she is considered to be suffering
578 from bilis or cólico, and in need of curing. During the curing
783 ceremony, the sick misbehaver has to be instructed about her
782 duties as a good daughter, and is given a speech apropos the misdemeanor. The curing ceremony is not completed if the house is not ritually cured, too. This is done by a curer offering the building some trago, the local brew, asking it to be contented. This offering is then symbolic of both the re-establishment of normal social relations between the individuals living in the house, and between the individuals and their material projection, their house.

592 The people living in a household are in charge of per-
708 forming some other rituals which are expected to insure the welfare of the whole group.

A small altar, usually made of a pine table, is kept in the house. It is covered with Catholic Saints' images and printed religious calendars. The table also contains all kinds of other things: petty cash (which is kept there for small purchases), double corncobs (which are "lucky pieces") or unusually colored maize, and any other oddity found by the household members, such

592 778 as archeological pieces ("things of the people of before"). This altar is usually located in the house corridor. The altar is cleaned regularly and adorned with flowers by the women, and a candle or two is lighted on propitious days of the week, or to ask the house Saints for protection against witchcraft.

592 778 769 342 On the first of November, "day of all the dead" according to the Catholic calendar, a ceremonial offering of food to the spirits of the deceased is placed on this altar. It is in memory of the spirits who lived in the house in the immediate past, and who are supposed to come to enjoy the food and the fact that they are being remembered by the household. The ritual is performed only for the immediate generations. It is not the worshipping of one's ancestors, for it is for people who are not necessarily related by kinship, but for those who resided in the house. (Second wives, for example, are expected to offer food to the deceased first wife of their husbands if they lived in the same dwelling.)

592 769 Afterwards, the food is distributed among the living relatives, compadres and neighbors, and all members of the household go to the cemetery.

[794] At the cemetery, the tombs are cleaned, repaired, adorned with marigolds, fruit and other food, and the family pays for the performance of a responso, funeral oration, read by a part-time specialist in such matters.

592 769 342 If these rituals are not performed, the dead come back to their life stage, the house, and wander aimlessly among the living, scaring people, giving them bad dreams, or taking the lives of children.

592 764 People are buried in the cemetery according to the place in which they resided in life. The burial grounds are a small spatial replica of the town itself, the clusters of tombs representing clusters of households of the living.

592 241 184 The agricultural ritual, which in other villages in Chiapas is performed by specialists (rain makers, principales and cabildos de milpa), is in both Amatenango and Aguacatenango, a household affair. It consists of a small ceremony performed in the milpa at planting and harvesting time by the men who have worked the land together, and consists of the lighting of candles and the burning of incense.

592 The household is the stage where the drama of an individual's life is performed, and therefore where a person lives is very crucial.

Household Membership

The placement of a person in a particular homestead is determined by two factors: (1) the domestic unit is composed of a kinship group and (2) it is the basic unit of production, and of the recruitment of labor. Thus, each individual is placed in a particular household both as a kinsman and as a producer. The two factors are not seen as separate by the villager. The role of a person as a kinsman and the role of a person as a producer are intimately related, but one can express a choice as belonging to the kinship and economic domains, simultaneously, or as belonging alternately to one or the other.

In Amatenango and Aguacatenango, there are two types of households which represent different stages in the development of

592 independent domestic groups: nuclear and compound households. The nuclear household is composed of a nuclear family: a man, his wife and their unmarried children. The compound household is made up of two or more nuclear families, or one nuclear family and the remnants of other nuclear households.

184 592 The characteristic type of residential unit in both communities is the nuclear household because it is the most frequent residential arrangement in terms of total frequencies (70 per cent in Aguacatenango and 72 per cent in Amatenango; the difference in percentage between the two communities is not statistically significant).

121 591 The Method for the Analysis of Residence

Murdock's book, Social Structure (1949), opened a new road for students interested in the problem of residence taxonomy because, although it was an outstanding contribution to the field, the work obviously suffered from the ambiguity of the residence data presented in the anthropological reports on which it was based. The classification of residence types, as utilized in the past, was shown to be defective for the purposes of modern research. The terminology of the field was too all-embracing, ambiguous in meaning, and diffuse in application. Murdock himself was well aware of this problem, and suggested a preliminary revision of the terminology (Murdock, 1949:16-18), but the subject of residence types came under suspicion.

As a result of the controversies aroused by the subject, Murdock (1955) wrote an article wherein he pointed out the

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121 591 necessity for a new typology of residence, and suggested two criteria to be utilized in future research: (1) the usefulness of considering the individual's life cycle and the variations of residence that accompany it; (2) the need for understanding the individual's goals in making residential choices.

Among the British social anthropologists concerned with methods for the analysis of social structure, Meyer Fortes (1949) independently of Murdock, approached the same problem of residential analysis in a different fashion. He felt that co-variations in residence choices in time and space were measurable and were susceptible to statistical analysis. Only through such quantitative analysis, Fortes suggested, could one construct the socio-structural abstraction from the "concrete reality" of everyday social life.

Fortes applied his ideas in the specific description of two cases of residence variation among the Ashanti, and his results prove useful not only for the analysis of residence and types of residence groupings, but also for understanding the development of the small social units (e.g., the domestic groups) of a community, and for an approach to problems arising from the study of diversified social groups which are undergoing change. Goody and others, using Fortes' methodology and techniques (Goody, ed.: 1958) with admirable skill, have developed Fortes' initial idea and have tested it with field data from several societies in the world.

Among the American anthropologists, the Goodenough (1956b)-Fischer (1950, 1958) controversy has been highly fruitful in calling the attention of anthropologists to the need for a new

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591 frame for the analysis of residence. The articles of Goodenough and Fischer showed how two investigators can arrive at totally discrepant conclusions about the frequency of different "types" of residence in the same community with the same census methods but with ambiguous definitions of residence patterns.

Fortes (1958) considered this controversy the result of overlooking the time factor in the census analysis, and he thought that "the source of the apparent discrepancies is the neglect by both investigators of the developmental dimension" (Fortes 1958: 3) of which he spoke years before (1949).

The result of the Goodenough-Fischer controversy is the publication of Fischer's new typology, a typology which will avoid the ambiguities of the old one, by offering a different set of criteria for classification.

Four main propositions are given by Fischer (1958), as follows:

1. To define marital residence in terms of individuals rather than couples.
2. To report residence for all individuals in a community, not just married ones.
3. To define a person's residence in terms of the composition of the household or other residential reference group at the time of his entry rather than in terms of its current composition.
4. To specify the level of social integration of the residential reference group: household, sub-community or community.

The first proposal is concerned with two sets of terms current in anthropological literature and used interchangeably in most cases: (a) patrilocal and virilocal; (b) matrilocal and uxorilocal.

In the new typology (see Fig. 13), matrilocal and patrilocal refer to residence with the individual's parental generation, while

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Typology of individual residence in terms of immediate sponsor

Type	Kin Sponsor
I. Neolocal	Self
II. Consanguineolocal	Any consanguineal relative
a. Patrilocal	Father or male patrilineal relative of ascending generation
b. Matrilocal	Mother or female matrilineal relative of ascending generation
c. Avunculocal	Mother's brother or male matrilineal relative of ascending generation
d. Amitalocal	Father's sister or female patrilineal relative of ascending generation
e. Fratilocal	Brother or male parallel cousin of own generation
f. Sororilocal	Sister or female parallel cousin of own generation
g. Filiolocal	Son or son's son
h. Filialocal	Daughter or daughter's daughter
i. Nepotilocal	Sister's son or other male matrilineal relative of descending generation
j. Heterolocal	Any other consanguineal relative (the number of cases will normally be small, and the exact relative could be specified)
III. Affinolocal	Any affinal relative (almost invariably spouse)
a. Virilocal (women only)	Husband
b. Uxorilocal (men only)	Wife

(When children live with their parents, a sponsor cannot be ranked in importance. Such a situation is classified as parentilocal.)

Fig. 13.--Fischer's Residence Typology

121 591 uxorilocal and virilocal refer to residence with the spouse of either sex, i.e., residence with affinal relatives of Ego's own generation.

The second proposal emphasizes the already established need for statistical analysis of relevant census materials, as Murdock and Fortes had recommended in their previous statements. Marriage is certainly a crucial element in determining choices of residence. The reason is clear: marriage leads to an actual or incipient split in one or both of the spouses' natal families and households. But there are other social factors such as, for example, place of birth or the economic role of the individual, which are equally important in making residential choices, and it is a matter of considerable interest to understand the rules that organize residential settings for unmarried--as well as for married--people in a community.

The fourth proposal brings out the importance of the size of the residential reference group. Sociologists interested in the study of small groups have indicated the importance of size of the group for variations in social interaction.[1] Anthropologists usually deal with communities which fit perfectly the sociological definition of "small groups." These communities are units of social activity characterized by face-to-face interaction, a common set of norms controlling the behavior of all individual members, group solidarity, and a particular system of

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[1] Articles dealing with the subject are, among others, Simmel (1950), Bales and Borgatta (1955), Hare et al. (1957), Mills (1954).

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121 internal status differentiation.[1] Residential groups, conse-
591 quently, are "small groups"; moreover, they are reference groups of the membership type (Merton, 1949). It is obvious, therefore, that the alignment of kinsmen residing in such a small reference group as the household, will clearly lead to differences in type and frequency of social interaction compared with the interaction of individuals residentially spread over a neighborhood or a whole community.

Fischer's set of procedures provides a frame for studying such variations, by describing residential alignments in terms of "at least three levels of social interaction": the household, the sub-community and the community. The definition of residence including group size enables us to understand clearly the dependency of other social variables on the spatial arrangements of individuals, and it permits us to pinpoint the correlations, attaching them to the corresponding levels to which they belong.

Fischer proposed then in classifying a person's residence that we should utilize the concept of "sponsorship." Sponsor is a relative "who lives in a given residence group and who possesses a special responsibility for the person's residence there" (Fischer, 1958:512).

Raulet (1959) has made on valid criticism of Fischer's typology, by pointing out that one of the problems attached to the concept of "sponsorship" is that sometimes a whole residence group can be a sponsor for a particular individual.

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[1]For the definition of "small groups" see Strodbeck (1954) and Homans (1950).

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591 Another principal criticism of Fischer's typology attaches to his third proposal, which, as Fortes has made clear, disregards the developmental cycle of the households in which individuals reside.

The two approaches, the "developmental" approach and the "sponsorship" approach, are not contradictory but complementary to each other. Each offers a useful framework for a satisfactory analysis. The differences are merely differences in emphasis.

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591 In the analysis of residence in this paper, a combination of both types of analysis are utilized with some modifications which will allow me to describe the results in terms of the norms of residence and the real patterns or distributions, and to elicit the rules that govern residence choices for individuals. The section deals, therefore, both with techniques and method of analysis, and with particular hypotheses.

Aguacatenango Residence

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The Norms

The people of Aguacatenango believe that a newly married couple should live with the boy's parents until they have proved to be successful in procreating and raising, through the weaning period, one or more children. While the young couple lives within the parental compound of the husband, he should work under the direction of his father, under whose direct authority he should act, and every one of whose decisions he should obey because his father lo está manteniendo (is supporting him), and the son está brio su poder (is under the father's power).

593 583 584 The boy obtains a wife with his father's help. He has usually selected the girl himself, but his father makes the arrangements with the girl's parents and pays the bride-price. The bride-price, called the bocado (mouthful), is paid to the household of the future bride and has a fixed value, 300 pesos, given in the form of consumable goods: chocolate, sugar, bread, coffee, cigarettes and trago (the local brew).[1]

585 183 593 606 At the marriage ceremony, the new wife and husband are instructed in the rights and duties of their new role. The young wife is told, in a formal speech given by an elder man of the

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[1]The regular marriage negotiations include several visits to the girl's parents called the pedidas (requests), which can be spread over a period of six months to a year. The last pedida is [585] considered the engagement ceremony, and after that comes the entrega de la muchacha (the giving away of the bride) which is the ceremony referred to here as the marriage ceremony. This ceremony follows the native custom. There are two other marriage ceremonies which can be performed, and are optative. One is the civil marriage at the Ayuntamiento, selected by very few because it is considered an unnecessary expense, although it gives some prestige. The other is a Church wedding, performed by the Catholic priest. This wedding ceremony does not occur until the couple have been married several years and have children. Church weddings are considered to be strong bonds, which are very difficult to break up. In many cases, if a couple is fighting a lot and the wife threatens to leave the homestead, the husband will try to marry her in the Church to force her to stay in the household. Because of its high prestige value, if a boy is rejected by the family of his sweetheart at the pedida, the suitor's family will offer as an extra attraction a Church wedding immediately after the entrega de la muchacha.

In some cases, when the suitor is rejected by the parents of the girl, or if he cannot afford the bride-price but the girl is willing to live with him, the marriage ceremony is not performed. In these cases, the institution of the robo (the stealing of the girl) is common practice. The suitor arranges with his girl-friend to run away together at night, and go to his home. Therefore, robos or huidas occur with the consent of the groom's parents, who have to accept the girl into the home. The robo is [621] common in inter-barrio marriages, where the pedidas ritual is socially impossible to carry on, because the limitations put upon barrio interaction and the rules of barrio endogamy.

585 family, that she starts a new life. She now has a new family and
183 a new home where she should learn new ways of doing things from
593 her mother-in-law, and forget the old ones she learned from her
606 mother. Among her duties as a good wife and daughter-in-law she should keep her husband well fed and clean, obey her mother-in-law for whom she should work hard, and respect the head of the household (her father-in-law). She should not visit her family too often, and she should gather firewood with her mother-in-law instead of with her mother.[1] The ceremony indicates two things:
[581] (1) the transfer of the wife's reproductive and labor power from her natal home to her husband's; (2) the boundaries of her new role. In a sense, the people of Aguacatenango define the role of a wife in terms of her performance as a worker and as a daughter-in-law, and in terms of her relations with all the members of the household rather than only in terms of her relation to her husband.

593 On the other hand, a new husband's performance is under
825 trial. He has to demonstrate that he can get along with his wife,
[851] and become a father, before his role as a dependent child is replaced by his role as a married man. At the time of acquiring a wife, a man is regarded by the community as a "child," being both economically and jurally dependent upon his father, who has complete authority over his actions, and is directly responsible for his son's misdeeds.[2]

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[583] [1]One of my informants tells me that although she was robada by her husband (she lived in the other barrio) the night she arrived at her husband's household, her father-in-law gave her a shortened version of the wedding speech. I do not know if this is a common practice.

[592] [2]If a young man commits a crime while living under his
[612] father's roof, the father is responsible for his defense and for paying the fines to the Ayuntamiento.

593 885 During the first few years of marriage, he slowly becomes a tat (man). He establishes his own nuclear family, and he is able to take up the first officership in the local government, acquiring thus the rights to political ascension in the civil-religious hierarchy. We could say that the period of patri/virilocal residence has the function of smoothing the transition between bachelorhood and the responsibilities of married life.

581 591 Aguacatecos believe that a marriage has proved stable once children are produced and the man is capable of carrying on the economic burden of a family of his own. At this time, the couple should move to a house of their own, and form an independent household. A father, then, has to provide his son with a house site, in addition to a parcel to grow milpa.

591 [582] Soon, a younger brother (ideally, children marry in order of seniority) will marry and bring his wife into the parental home, starting a new cycle. The last of the sons (the po'h) [593] should stay with the parents until their death, and he and his [428] wife will inherit the parental house. It is preferable to have 591 606 only one daughter-in-law at a time living in the household. One informant suggested that the reason is that the mother-in-law is bound to prefer one of the two women, and this creates jealousy between them and fights.[1]

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[592] [1]When a second son marries, if the first son and his wife stay in the sitio they set up a separate kitchen, and eat their meals separately. In this case, the first daughter-in-law becomes independent of the mother-in-law, and works by herself, no longer under her mother-in-law's direct power. Except for the close spatial proximity, this arrangement functions as if the couple has set up a separate homestead, and the couple forms a separate domestic group within the same sitio (lot). The separate kitchen, or rather,

593 156 62 [583] Aguacatecos expect a man to take the responsibility of setting up his son in "business" as a community member. He pays for his son's bride, teaches him the skills for tilling the soil in order to earn a living, and provides him, at a prudential time, with the means of production: a parcel of land, and perhaps a few animals, and a house where he can live with his wife and children.

593 888 At the same time, a son is expected to take care of his parents when they are old and the father retires from agricultural work because he is too old, sick or weak to do, by himself, all the work necessary for the maintenance of his household as an economically independent unit. The people say that a son should provide for his aged parents because: "Did we not give them everything?"

The primary responsibility for the care of aged parents is usually given to one son in particular, preferably the last one (po'h). The villagers explain that this is his duty, because "if [428] he stays with us when all our other sons marry, get their land and leave, this house will be for him, he will inherit this place." Thus, the villager visualizes his dependency on the last son as an economic exchange between kinsmen: he receives from his son food and shelter, he gives him a house lot and house. The duties of a son toward his parents are expressed both in the kinship idiom

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[592] the separate cooking fire, is the symbol of the unity of one [591] single domestic group. When two couples live within the sitio [606] without dividing it, people are very careful to explain if they still cook together or not, and if they cultivate the land separately or not.

593 888 (e.g., the filial piety which is a basic component of the role of son), and in terms of economic rewards.

592 [183] The ideal pattern is one of reciprocal obligations: an established domestic group "launches into the world" the new domestic groups formed by the male offspring of the household couple, and a well established domestic group is responsible for the welfare of the domestic group from which it originated. Thus, [602] agnatically related domestic groups are expected to perform certain duties with respect to both the domestic group which originate them, and the domestic groups which they originate.

593 888 The concept of mantener (support), meaning to provide for a person's food, shelter and company, is a very important one for the villager. There is no sadder man than the one who has given everything to his sons, who has supported them for many years, and whose sons then refuse the reciprocal duty of caring for him in his old age. Parents who are unsuccessful in keeping one of [626] their married sons living with them are indeed very unhappy. People gossip about them as being "bad people" who did wrong to their children-in-law and mistreated their own. They gossip about the children themselves, accusing them of having a "small [936] heart" and of being envious and selfish. Aguacatecos pity widows (meba' al) and orphans (meba') because "they have nobody to support them." There is nothing as threatening to a couple as not having children, and if this happens, the community looks upon them with commiseration and says: "Poor little people, who is going to support them when they grow old?. . ."

592 593 Thus, the membership of a household changes through time,

592 but it is always built around a core of agnatically related men:
593 a father and his sons, united in their common interest in the patrimonial land and the fruits of their joint cooperative labor. To this core of men are attached their children and their wives, all of whom are dependent on them for their food supply, shelter, and the satisfaction of most other needs.

When a couple moves outside the parental home, the house
621 site that they are given should be contiguous if possible, or as
591 close as there is a place available, to the husband's father's
592 homestead. Thus, ideally, the town should be settled by clusters
602 of domestic groups forming localized agnatic lines, each containing a man, his parents, his brothers and his married male sons. At the same time, one would find out that women, because they follow their husbands, live much further apart from their agnatic relatives than men do.

593 After a man moves from his father's household, he is not
591 expected to work the same parcels with his father, but they do
476 share some work in common. Usually (I don't have the exact num-
241 ber of cases, but enough information to suggest that this is the
417 mode), a man and his sons have contiguous milpas that are fenced together. The fences, which are laboriously built and repaired, are the communal job of all the men, and save them the time and effort of building interior separations between the plots, because the purpose of fencing is to keep cattle from invading the parcels and without fences it is useless to risk planting.

423 This does not mean that the land is held jointly. Each man
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423 241 417 knows his own parcel and its boundaries, which are sometimes marked with a few stones or a less elaborate fence of a few poles.

241 476 The men that fence the land together cooperate with each other in some other agricultural tasks which require more than two hands (e.g., clearing and burning before planting, cleaning irrigation ditches).

183 591 Stating the norms of residence in anthropological language, we can say that the generalized residence pattern, if it reflects the practice of the norms, should be patrilocal for single and married men, patrilocal for single women, virilocal for married women and parentilocal for children (see Fig. 13, Fischer's Typology).

The Residence Patterns

125 To find out how the ideal rules are carried into practice, we analyzed a sample of sixty-eight households containing an average of five people per unit, and a total of 384 individuals. This sample was gathered by the author in the field, in 1958, and covers half of the village in a chess board pattern of blocks (see charts). The data on the sample is complemented by a previous total census of the village, prepared by the Metzgers and the school teacher in 1956, which covered the whole population of the community, but contained less detailed information on some aspects of residence. Both will be augmented by a sample of life histories contained in the field notes.

128 The data will be presented in tables, and in the text, both in number of cases and in relative percentages. When possible,

128 the postulated correlations between residence and some other factor are tested with simple statistical procedures: Chi Square (applying Yate's correction) with the level of significance. The unit of the population is indicated in each table, together with the sample size.

128 The norms for residence that we call the generalized pat-
59 tern are shown to be carried out in practice, by the analysis of
183 census materials. This analysis allows us to display some of the complexities of an elaborate set of residence rules offering certain forms of "first choice of residence," but in addition shows how the norms also offer numerous alternatives for specific cases and particular individual goals and problems.

128 This technique of analysis also permits us to control the
121 normative statements about the "customs" and the "ways" of the people, which are provided by the informants. Such statements reflect the ideal patterns, which any member of the community can verbalize. One of the tasks of the anthropologist is to discover those patterns of behavior which are practiced by a society, but not consciously expressed, because they reveal some of the real dynamics of the social group, in a way that formal statements of an ideal nature cannot, when described in isolation. But the anthropologist is also responsible, as Bohannan has pointed out, for presenting his data in such a fashion as to not do violence to the visualization that the carriers of a culture have about their own life models. A presentation of a social model that would be both parsimonious and elegant from a scientific point of view, and close to the ethno-model, is a necessity in a field in

128 which epistemological discussions have been, up to the present
121 time, if not totally avoided, dismissed for lack of a single frame of reference within which they could be tackled.

591 Residence Patterns of Newly Married Individuals
[183] in Compound Households

The stated norm of residence for a newly married couple is shown to be followed in practice.

In 1956, there was a total of fifty-six compounds in the community, and forty-eight contained newly married couples. The emphasis on patriwirilocality was strong.

TABLE 6

AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: NEWLY MARRIED COUPLES IN COMPOUNDS, 1956

Residence	Number of Couples	Number of Households	Per Cent
Patri-virilocal	47	36	78
Patri-uxorilocal	13	12	22
Total	60	48	100

These compounds represented 27 per cent of the total number of households in the community. Between the censuses of 1956 and 1958, a large number of compound households became nuclear, changed composition or disappeared, and during the same period of two years, other nuclear households became compound. In spite of the movement in individual households, the percentages of residence did not vary significantly.

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TABLE 7

AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: NEWLY MARRIED COUPLES IN COMPOUNDS, 1958

Residence	Cases	Per Cent
Viri-patrilocal	13	72
Uxor-patrilocal	4	23
Neolocal (Borrowing house)	1	5
Total	18	100

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Aguacatenango: Residence Patterns of Old Marriages, Nuclear Households

The composition of nuclear households shows that people live according to their own ideas about who should live separate from their parents. Nuclear households with no children in them represents 7 per cent of the total. Nuclear households with only one child also represent 7 per cent of the cases. Nuclear households with two or more children represent 86 per cent.

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Paternal sponsorship after a couple has moved out of the husband's parental compound was measured by (1) degree of proximity between the two households of a man and his son, and (2) father-son transmission of a house site.

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The fact that the town is closely settled, especially in the center, makes it increasingly difficult to maintain strict contiguous patrilocal proximity between father and son, so at first glance, many a man seems to be living in a neolocal setting according to Fischer's typology. The problem of applying the concept

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114 of sponsorship is that Fischer indicates that the residence sponsor
591 is a person living in the same household, while in Aguacatenango
593 patrilocal sponsorship is expressed by giving the sons a house site, even if it is not contiguous with the parental one. Therefore, to determine patrilocality of men, the couples in the sample were located (1) territorially, in terms of proximity to the husband's and wife's parents; (2) and in terms of who owned the house site, and from whom it had been obtained.

183 The results of this analysis indicate a statistically sig-
591 nificant emphasis on patrilocal proximity, and a strong bias
[428] towards inheriting the house in the male line.

TABLE 8

AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: PROXIMITY TO PARENTAL HOME.
MARRIED INDIVIDUALS IN NUCLEAR HOUSEHOLDS

	Man				Woman			
	Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent		Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent	
Same block	10	56	84	100	3	14	38	76
Adjacent block	5	28			5	24		
Same barrio	3	16	16		8	38	38	
Different barrio	. . .	. . .	. . .		3	14	24	
Other town	. . .	. . .			2	10		
Total Sample	18	100			21	100		

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591 The preceding figures, when combined with the figures of compounds, show that the patrilocal norms are followed in practice in 95 per cent of all cases (see Tables 8 and 9), while only 64 per cent of the women live with the same degree of proximity to their parents.

The difference in proximity for men and women is not accidental, but statistically significant at the 0.001 level of con-
621 fidence. This also shows that the community, as expected, is
592 divided into localized clusters of households of agnatically re-
602 lated men. Even the 64 per cent is an inflated figure, since a
[582] man tends to marry a woman who lives close to his parental home, following the proverbial adage of "marrying the girl next door."

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591 Alternative Norms of Uxorilocal Residence

The percentage of men who do not conform to the patrilocal norm are not exceptions to a rule, but illustrate alternatives available under a flexible pattern. The instances of uxorilocal residence do not depend on arbitrary individual choice, but are socially sanctioned and few in number.

591 A man will go to live with his wife's parents, or live in a house given to him by her father, for the following reasons which everybody in the village knows:

1. When a man is an orphan, that is, when his parents are dead and there is nobody in his family to replace the father as economic mentor and jural authority, a man does not have a household to bring his wife to live in nor a relative to work with and who will give him a house lot. In this case, a man, upon marrying,
[606] will move to his wife's parent's compound. He will then work the

591 606 land with his father-in-law, and, at the time that the couple is ready to live separately, his father-in-law will provide a house for him and his wife.

TABLE 9

621 591 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: PROXIMITY TO PARENTAL HOME.
ALL MARRIED INDIVIDUALS

	Living In	Man				Woman			
		Cases	Per Cent	Accumulative Per Cent		Cases	Per Cent	Accumulative Per Cent	
I	Same or adjacent compound	40	69	95	100	15	42	64	86
II	Same block	10	17			3	8		
III	Adjacent block	5	9			5	14		
IV	Same town division	3	5	5		8	22	22	
V	Different division	. .	. .	. .		3	8	14	
VI	Other town	. .	. .			2	6		
	Total Sample	58	100			36	100	100	

	+	-
Men	55	3
Women	23	13

$x^2 = 12.6, > 10.827$ significance level at 0.001

I to III = Patrilocal Proximity
I to IV = Barrio Endogamy
I to V = Town Endogamy
VI = Town Exogamy

591 2. When a couple have no male children, they try to keep a married daughter living with them, as a replacement for the unachieved son. They will also attempt to do this in a case where all the male children have refused to stay with the parents after the initial years of married life.

593 888 [626] Parents who are unsuccessful in keeping a married son living with them when they are old have very little prestige in the community because it usually means that there is some conflict between them, and they are easy targets for village gossip. It also means that they have no "insurance for the aged," that is, no child to support them when they grow too old to work.

591 583 Therefore, a couple with a single daughter still at home will be eager to keep her after marriage, to replace the sons who have gone away. To obtain this, the parents will request, during the pedidas (the visits to arrange a marriage, called "asking visits"), that the groom should "come to the house as a yerno (son-in-law) of theirs, and stay there indefinitely. Only if the groom agrees to this condition do they give him the daughter as a spouse.

591 These arrangements are very unstable. A man usually agrees to stay with his wife's parents, but after the marriage has been consummated, he will insist on moving away, being anxious to occupy his place as a dutiful son, living and working with his [606] father whose heir he may be. Women look forward to this kind of arrangement, the same way that they look forward to marrying a man whose mother is dead, because these are ways of avoiding the heavy burden of "becoming nueras" (daughter-in-law) or "suffering

59 in the house of a mother-in-law" as one informant expressed it.
[606] If they did not try to avoid this, they would have unquestioningly to obey their affinal relatives (especially the mother-in-law), live in a place in which they have practically no power to make decisions, and where, for a long time (even after the birth of a first child), they would be considered outsiders. But because the refusal to follow the husband means the end of the marriage, most husbands are successful in changing the place of residence, and few couples remain long in a uxorilocal setting.

59 757 606 3. The third reason for living in the wife's parent's house is a temporary one.

When a woman is living in her husband's parent's house, the household head should take the responsibility for curing if she gets mildly ill, paying the necessary expenses of medicine and curer (or doctors) because she is, by the fact of her residence within the compound, dependent on them.

If a sickness becomes a prolonged or a seriously expensive case, she becomes a burden to the household, without being an economic asset. Both her reproductive and her labor powers become annulled, and her husband's father can refuse to pay for her curing. In this case, she is transferred from her husband's group to her natal household, which becomes responsible for her curing. Usually her husband will move with her, but keep on working the land with his father.

59 602 757 These changes of residence create a certain amount of tension between the parents of the young couple because the woman's parents insist that it is not their duty to care for the daughter,

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602 since she is married and living away from them, while the father
757 believes that he did not make a good choice for his son, selecting a bride who is so much of a problem. While a woman is sick, both pairs of parents will bargain endlessly over whose duty it is to pay for the curing. Sometimes, both sets of parents agree on paying half of the cost, and then the woman stays in her husband's compound. But if this is not possible, the shift in responsibility for the woman is symbolically expressed in the shift in residence.

592 Other reasons, of a psychological nature, bring forth
562 this residential change. The whole system of emotional ties which a woman has created in her lifetime before marriage is broken at the time she changes households to get married. She is thrown into the midst of a group of people, including her husband, whom she hardly knows, and during the first years of marriage she is an outsider in her husband's household. She must work for a woman
592 she did not know previously, her mother-in-law, and obey her with-
562 out delay. Although previously she worked for her mother, the
606 role of a mother and of a mother-in-law are not equivalent, especially in their affective content.

606 An interesting triadic relationship develops between a
593 woman, her husband and her mother-in-law, in which she is the one with the smallest amount of social power (see Caplow [1956], Mills [1954], for a discussion on the dynamics of triad coalitions). In spite of the large amount of interaction between the two women, the relationship is not one of friendly collaboration.

592 Command and sanctions are in the hands of the mother-in-
593 law. Obedience is expected from the younger woman. There is a
606

592 clear social differentiation in the allocation of authority, and
593 the relationship is somewhat antagonistic. Many a man finds him-
606 self between a mother complaining bitterly of the laziness of his wife, and a wife of the hardness of his mother. This antagonistic relation is attenuated by the presence of other women in the household (which makes for an easy schedule in the allocation of every day work) and by the personalities of the individuals involved.

606 The relation of a woman and her father-in-law is characterized by a very mild form of avoidance. Verbal interaction is
[264] initiated usually by the father-in-law, and is formal. At meal times the social distance between the two is expressed in the seating arrangements, the young wife sitting at the edge of the eating space, the farthest apart from her husband's father.

593 Together with the pressures brought about by the structure of these relationships, a woman must go through a process of adjustment with the husband, whom she knew only slightly before marriage.

Given this situation, when she is sick, her natal household offers to her certain emotional attractions that her hus-
591 band's household does not. The change of residence at the time
757 of sickness provides a simple example of what Malinowski called the functional solutions offered by a society for the satisfaction of physical as well as emotional needs of the individual. Three cases of residential change for this reason occurred during the summer of 1958.

000 Independently of the analysis of geographical distribution

593 423 Independently of the analysis of geographical distribution 139 of individuals, in most cases a couple depends on the family of the husband for obtaining a house site of their own. Looking at the available data in household transactions, regular sponsorship in the male line appears as the statistical mode, the most frequently followed pattern. To explain the 16 per cent of sponsorship in the female line, we refer the reader to the section 1 of the reasons for uxorilocal residence, p. 133.

TABLE 10

423 AGUACATENANGO: HOUSE TRANSACTIONS AND INHERITANCE

	Cases	Percentage
House-land bought	22	32
House-land obtained through the husband's relatives	33	49
House-land obtained through the wife's relatives	11	16
Family borrowing the house	2	3
Total number of households for which information was available	68	100

423 432 593 [183] The norms for house sponsorship are not always followed, for other reasons: land within the town, houseplots, is one of the forms of land which has a monetary value in Aguacatenango. Lots are bought and sold for money, and are used constantly as a resource of income when one is in need of a large amount of cash. Ideally, most parents think that they will give contiguous [428] houses to their male sons, and that their house will be inherited by the last male son who stays in the house until his parents' 423 432 death.[1] In practice, many times the house has to be sold before

[1] Other property is expected to be inherited in equal shares by all sons.

423
432 this time arrives. The main reason for selling a house is to
[464] pay for the burial of a family member. Most widows, if the house
[428] is not reclaimed by the husband's agnatic kin (who have rights over the property if there are no mature sons left by the deceased), will sell the sitio to pay for the husband's burial, and will move to their natal households with their children. Some sons will sell the house to pay for the burial of a father. The selling of the house is also a solution for cases of conflicting inheritance rights. For example, if two brothers claim rights to it, and if they both agree about it, they will sell it and the money obtained would be divided among them.

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591 The fission of the compound household into nuclear house-
578 holds is accepted by the villagers as a traditional pattern of behavior, but residential changes are always expressed in terms of on-going conflict between the couples residing in the compound.

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592 A father tries to keep his son living with him for as
464 long as possible because he is an emotional as well as an economic
562 asset to him. While a man has his son living with him, he has an unpaid agricultural worker bound to him by emotional and jural ties and by his economic dependence, and this allows him to maximize the labor force of the household and, therefore, increase production notably. At the same time, he is able to control a relatively larger amount of land for cultivation. If the son leaves the compound, he is forced to divide the land holdings under cultivation and to give him a parcel, a paternal duty which, in spite of the fact that it is expected of them, they try to avoid as long as possible. When the son leaves, the household

593 loses his labor and some of its land holdings, while if a daughter
592 leaves, the loss of labor is marginal, there is no loss of land,
464 and her removal is not a drain on the resources of the household,
562 nor does it upset its basic economy.
423

591 The multiple bonds between a father and a son over the
593 patrimonial land of the family, the products of their joint ef-
182 fort, and their common responsibility for setting up the standard of living for the homestead, all foster patrilocality.

423 A young man could, today, obtain land without his father's
425 direct help. He cannot obtain irrigated land (because it is ex-
592 tremely scarce, and privately "owned" by the household heads),
621 but he could obtain land in the communal lands of the village.
[593] This, of course, is not the better land, being <u>temporal</u> and far away from the village. Although the <u>temporal</u> land close to town is not privately owned, it is "earmarked" for use by the heads of each household. That is, the communal lands are distributed to households, not by titles of ownership, but by usufruct rights. Even if he decides to take such a step, he needs (1) the approval of the <u>Ayuntamiento</u> which oversees the distribution of usufruct rights for the community as a whole, and (2) the recruitment of other men to help him clean and fence the parcel.

621 Neither of the two alternatives is easy to carry out in
593 practice. First, if the <u>Ayuntamiento</u> grants land to a man against
423 his father's will, this creates a problem of jurisdiction between
425 the jural rights of the household head and the administrative
578 rights of the <u>Ayuntamiento</u>. We could not predict what consequences such a case would have, because we have no evidence that it has ever occurred (of course, this is based on the case

593 histories collected during the field work season, and it well
578 could be that a case was missed). Second, if he wants to obtain
[621] help from other men, they risk antagonizing, with their willing-
[423] ness to cooperate, the head of the household in which the young
[476] man is residing, and they also risk the concomitant sanctions.

423 The young man could also obtain land without his father's
425 help by leaving the community to work for wages and saving enough
464 money to buy land. Although the selling of parcels is not a
166 common practice in Aguacatenango, the idea of land being a com-
[593] modity that can be bought and sold has been introduced, and some few household heads, in cases of emergency, are willing to sell. Of course, leaving the community to work for wages means voluntary exile for a man and alienation from relatives, friends and the cultural milieu. Also, men insist that it is profitable to work for wages only if one does it for short periods of time and keeps milpa simultaneously. Wage work alone is not enough to buy corn and the other necessities to meet the requirements of the customary standard of living.

593 On the other hand, a man breaking away from his home and
62 refusing to accept his father's authority becomes a deviant, and
156 antagonizes not only his family, but the community.

Although it is possible, theoretically, to become eco-
593 nomically independent of one's father against his will, in fact
592 a man can only set up his own household in compliance with the
156 ethical principles and moral conventions of his culture. Therefore, he is only permitted to form his own domestic group when he has demonstrated that he has reached the stage of social maturity which allows him to do so.

593 592 885 621 But a man wants to become independent of his father. While he is living within his parent's compound he is considered by the community to be "a child." He is bound to work his father's land and cannot control the produce of his own labor. Until he sets up his own separate domestic group, and becomes economically independent, he does not have full rights to participation in the political life of the community because (1) he is bound to make political decisions following his father's, and he has no voice in most community affairs which are the concern of household heads, and because (2) he cannot materially afford to take up the expenses of officership.

562 592 885 606 Women are also usually anxious to set up their own separate domestic group and independent housekeeping because this gives them some autonomy which they cannot achieve otherwise. The bond between a daughter-in-law and a mother-in-law is not expected to be a strong one. We have already discussed how the two women are assumed to be somewhat antagonistic, and their common work of housekeeping is unequally distributed.

While women live in the same compound with their mother-in-law, they have no power to make decisions of their own about their working schedule, their housekeeping, or the food stored by the elder because this is under the control of the elder woman.

[594] A woman cannot freely take time to visit her mother because she is expected to keep her social life within the boundaries of [313] her husband's domestic unit. She cannot even go to gather firewood, which is an activity highly enjoyed by women. Except for getting water from the well or pipes in the street or gathering firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound.

000 firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound.
462 Going to gather wood is a very nice break in the routine, and women
313 usually go in the company of other women with whom they chat, ex-
606 changing news and gossip. A young wife usually stays home cooking
592 while her mother-in-law leaves the house to gather the fuel for the hearth. Even if a woman does go out to gather wood, she is expected to do so with her mother-in-law, rather than with the
[626] women of her own natal family. A woman talking about a bad daughter-in-law will say, "She does not even want to gather firewood with me, she always runs to her mother's."

562 Women look upon having their own homestead as the only so-
592 lution for gaining independence. It is true that, even then, they
885 are under their husband's authority, but they control the food brought by the husband to the home, and they can make their own
[574] decisions about the work schedule. They can also take time to
[572] visit their own female relatives and childhood girl friends, a
[606] habit which is disliked by their mothers-in-law as being a threat to their own position.

592 We can see, then, that there are several factors which
578 provoke structural tensions in the compound home; some are economic, others are related to the ordering of social relations in the kinship domain, and still others depend on the aspirations of the individuals.

In the course of time, the structural tensions accumulate to the point that they precipitate the fission of the household. The triad of a woman, her son and her son's wife, and the dyadic conflict between a father and son dissolves the compound into two

592 578 nuclear households. The dynamics of social conflict, are, however, controlled by the traditional patterns of behavior and by the negative sanctions applied to the deviant. Only in exceptional situations does a couple leave the husband's parents' house before the birth of a child. Even then, the residential [626] change is expressed by the people in terms of on-going conflict between the women. People say that they moved "because the two women had a fight" and this or similar gossip follows every case of household fission.

593 The break between a father and son is only precipitated by open conflict. Part of this conflict is expressed in tensions between the men. Fathers insist that their sons should stay with them, sons insist that their fathers are selfish and unwilling to help them. But the bond between father and son is, in spite of the standard tensions, a crucial social relation for the society. A man is not judged with sympathy if he does not respect his father and keeps up a "good front" of harmonic relations with him vis-à-vis the community at large.

592 593 578 606 Then, it is not strange that the change of residence is expressed through pointing out the tensions between the women rather than the tensions between father and son. A woman and her daughter-in-law are not members of the same consanguineal group residing in the household, the <u>hoy ta yutil hna</u> (of the same blood who live in the same house), and their antagonism is not viewed by the society as threatening to the unity of the kinship group, while the father-son relation is crucial in this domain. At the same time, the women are the expressive leaders of their

592 respective nuclear families (see Parsons and Bales, Ed., 1955),
593 and in case of conflict it is through their roles that the tensions
578 between the families are verbalized, even if the source of conflict
606 is outside their relationship.

TABLE 11

591 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: UNMARRIED INDIVIDUALS

Living in Type	Number of Cases	Percentage
Patrilocal	8	4.0
Matrilocal	11	5.5
Fratrilocal	3	1.5
Parentilocal	179	89.0
Total	201	100.0

591 Residence Patterns for Unmarried People
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Children usually reside with their parents wherever the parents live. Sponsorship has been defined here in terms of both parents and the household in which the parents reside. Parentilocal residence is represented by 89 per cent of a sample of 201 unmarried individuals, but other cases are due to a variety of reasons, most often to situations in which one of the parents is dead or separated from the other definitively. Matrilocal sponsorship is met in the cases when the unmarried person is living with the mother on her natal compound or with the mother and a stepfather. Patrilocal sponsorship corresponds to the following cases: one in which the father is the sponsor, living in a nuclear house with his second wife who is the child's stepmother; cases of

591 children living in the father's parents' compounds without the
593 father who lives separately; one case of a boy living in his father's brother's compound, without his father who is remarried and lives in another household (mother is dead).. Fratrilocal sponsorship (three cases) is due to the death of both parents at a late age in the unmarried individual's life. Adult "orphans" frequently reside with an elder married brother, who in terms of his jural authority and as economic head of the household, replaces the father.

Using Fischer's typology here becomes a real problem. Classifying children as parentilocal or fratrilocal biases the interpretation of the general patterns of residence. In practically all cases, children are sponsored by both parents, but the household in which they reside is a viri-patrilocal homestead. One could as well argue that the children are sponsored not by individual kin, but by a patrilocal household. In this case, patrilocal households will include nearly all of the unmarried population. On the other hand, when a child lives with an elder brother, this man is performing for him the role of father, and fratrilocal sponsorship is not a different type of residence choice, but the incidental effect of an individual's replacement of another man's role.

591 Residence Patterns for Ex-married People
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The case of nepotilocal residence is an interesting one. In terms of Fischer's typology, we have a man living in his mother's sister's son's house. But from the point of view of this

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man in Aguacatenango, he is living with his brother, because the mother's sister's son is relatively of the same age, and terminologically he is classified as such. From the point of view of Aguacatenangueros, therefore, this man is living in a fratrilocal setting, although not according to the preferential choice of selecting an agnatic kin (i.e., agnatic grandparents or his own elder brother), if the person's own parents are dead and thus are not available.

TABLE 12

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AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: EX-MARRIED INDIVIDUALS[a]

Living in Type	Cases	Percentage
Filiolocal	6	60
Filialocal	2	20
Fratrilocal	1	10
Nepotilocal	1	10
Total	10	100

[a]E.g., widows, widowers and divorced cases.

Widows should go back to their natal households except when their male children are old enough to support the economic demands of the family, that is, when the sons can cultivate enough corn for the year's supply. In such cases, the woman holds the property rights of the house, until her children marry, at which time she becomes a widow living in her child's household (filiocal residence).

Filiolocality is no exception to the previously stated rules, but the complementary form in widowhood, of primary male

591 patrilocality at a young age, just as filialocality is the complementary form of female matrilocality. If we compare the percentages of distribution of both forms, we can observe that the complementarity is expressed in similar distributions.

736

	Per cent		Per cent
Patrilocal	72	Filiolocal	60
Matrilocal	23	Filialocal	20
Other	5	Other	20

This distribution of filiolocality occurs because the norm is to reside with the son to whom one has given the house, but also because in making a choice between relatives with whom to live, it is preferred to choose a male and not a female line. In some cases, consequently, it is preferred to live with a brother rather than with a daughter.

[586] [592] Children of divorced mothers become members of the household where the mother resides after the divorce. If the mother dies while she is still married to the children's father, the 587 children become members of the father's parents' household. When 591 a man remarries, he usually does not bring his children from [183] previous marriages to his wife. We have only one case of a child living with the father after the father's second marriage. The reasons for this anomalous case are individual ones. The child's father's mother is the only other relative alive, besides the father, and she resides in the same household. The fact that the paternal grandmother and not the father is the sponsor of the [601] child, is clear from the information attached to the case. The child, a girl, sleeps with the grandmother and calls her mother.

591 587 [601] [183] The stepmother refers to her as "my husband's child," and she did not count her, when giving census information, among the children of her household, but as a child living with "my husband's mother." Another characteristic that makes this case [848] anomalous is that this stepchild was born of an extra-marital relation between the father and another woman, while the father was already married to the stepmother.

593 591 587 [428] The rationale given by the people when asked the reasons why a father does not keep his children with him, is that "stepmothers are no good." It is possible that one of the main forces operating behind this arrangement is the possibility of conflict over inheritance rights of stepchildren. By assigning rights and duties towards stepchildren only to stepfathers, it is implied that a man marrying a woman with children takes not only a wife, but the economic and jural responsibilities of being a father, including the duty of making them his heirs. We do not have, at the moment, sufficient information to support this point, and it is only given here as a suggestion for future inquiry.

591 592 423 426 These alternative rules of residence explain the composition of the compound households made up of the remnants of two or more original nuclear families, except for the cases in which people are living in borrowed houses. In one of the two cases in our sample, a house was "borrowed" from a brother of the husband's father. The family living in this compound is a very large one, twelve members, with only two males who are of working age, and very poor by Aguacatenango standards. The male head is an orphan who lived before marriage with his mother's mother and

591 has not inherited land. The other family living in a borrowed
592 home is a young couple that married without their parents' ap-
423 proval. They eloped and established themselves on the edge of
426 town, in an empty old hut, whose owner does not demand payment.
"Borrowings" are temporary arrangements, and as a form of resi-
[583] dence, very unstable. Young couples who decide to elope leave
town to reside at Colonia del Puerto. We know of two cases which
followed this custom. But if they do not leave town, they try
to move to a house on the edge of town. From these two cases, we
can assume that borrowing is due to economic reasons (poverty of
a family who cannot afford to buy a house), or as a consequence
of deviant behavior (in the case we have, the husband was an
orphan and parental sponsorship by the wife's parents was denied
because they disapproved of the marriage).

361 The edge of town is a refuge area for people who in one
156 way or another "do not belong" to the community. Social deviants,
167 like the young couple mentioned above, tend to move to the town
boundaries. Recent migrants from other villages also live on the
edges. Two complete blocks on the southern boundary of town are
inhabited by a large extended patrilocal family which originated
from a Chamula Indian who was a peon on a nearby finca until the
agrarian revolution. After he became free, he migrated to the
village and married a local Indian woman.

125 The above discussion covers all the cases for which we
had sample data. We have, however, information on other cases
which could not be counted in the statistics because they were
part of life histories or concerned individuals who do not live in

125 the village any more. These cases seem to illustrate common alternatives, and we must mention them briefly.

591 We know of three cases in which a newly married couple
593 moved to the husband's brother's compound. In those cases, the
183 brother was an elder who jurally replaced the father, and it seems that he took the responsibility of paying the bride-price for his
591 brother's wife. We also had four cases of men who, at the time
603 of their marriage, were living with the mother's mother. It
183 seems that this was the result of the parents being dead, and the fact that no other relative was left in the original compound.

Amatenango Residence

591 Residence of Married Couples
183 In Amatenango, unlike Aguacatenango, there is no "indication of a single general form of residence pattern" which the villagers would verbalize as normative. "At any stage in the developmental cycle alternative choices in residence with the man's or the woman's relatives depends not on the lineal tie, but on economic factors" (Nash, 1960:41).

591 Married couples live with the parents of one of the spouses
592 for a year or two after they marry. During these years, the young
583 husband is expected to give some labor to the wife's father by
606 working with him in his fields, helping him to carry wood to make the hearth in which women burn pottery, and by performing other small services. The couple live only temporarily with the parents. The stability of the compound households depends on several factors. If there are other marriageable children, offspring of

591 the head of the household, it is likely that the younger couple
592 will move to another house after the temporary service period. If a couple has a married daughter or son living in the house, they will not insist, when a second child marries, that the first couple remain in the unit. Apparently, the most efficient work group is a dyad, both for agricultural work and pottery making
[428] (see below). The last child whether male or female will stay in the home and inherit it after the parents' death. It is unlike
[184] Aguacatenango where the rule is that only a male child inherits the house.

591 The choice of which parents' household should be the residence of a new couple requires a separate decision for each particular case. The factors that determine the choice are (1) the economic condition of the parents of each spouse; (2) the presence or absence of other children in each spouse's family of orientation; and (3) the age of the couple.

[556] "A new couple will take up residence quarters with the parents who are economically better off, with more land and cattle"
[693] (Nash, J., 1960:45). The second factor is related to the fact that
[592] if a couple has married children living in the house who can help with the agricultural work and the making of pottery, they are not as anxious to keep their other children as members of the household labor force. The third factor is a personal, rather than a
[582] standard, choice, because if a bride is very young at the time of marriage, "her mother may prevail upon the couple to stay in her home until later, even if the boy is working with his father and is to inherit his homestead" (Nash, J., 1960:45).

591
592 The distribution of couples living in compounds shows that the primary sponsorship by the parents of the man or the woman are perfectly balanced choices for the community as a whole, each one accounting for 50 per cent of the total number of cases. (See Table 13.)

TABLE 13

AMATENANGO RESIDENCE: UXORILOCALITY VERSUS VIRILOCALITY IN COMPOUND HOUSEHOLDS[a]

	Virilocal		Uxorilocal	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Only child living with parents, other siblings married and apart	20	18	18	16
Other immature children living with parents	20	18	15	13
Other married siblings living in the same *sitio*	7	6	9	8
Lives in own house in compound *sitio* with parents	10	8	15	13
Total	57	50	57	50

[a]After Nash, J., 1960.

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593
361 After a couple has moved out of the parental compound in which they were residing, sponsorship by the parents, measured by the degree of residential proximity to the progenitors of each spouse and by the pattern of house-inheritance, also shows a similar distribution, but there is a statistically significant difference between a woman's proximity to her family of orientation after marriage and a man's: 64 per cent of the men in the community live within a block's distance from their parents, while

591 593 361 only 49 per cent of the women do so (see Table 14). This indicates that patrilocal, patrilineal emphasis is stronger, and the difference needs to be explained.

174 591 It is very possible that the community of Amatenango had, in the near past, patrilocal residence norms, as does Aguacatenango and most communities in the Chiapas Highlands. The patrilocal norms would have been in agreement with the presence of agnatic descent lines of which the only remnant, today, in Amatenango, is the agnatic inheritance of Indian names attached to the Spanish surname of the villagers. If this were so, we could explain the persistence of a patrilocal emphasis in these terms. This is a dangerous enterprise because to accept this explanation is to dismiss the importance of the case by arbitrarily attributing the phenomenon to an historical survival, an intellectual misdemeanor which modern anthropology has seriously questioned. But we do not need to utilize this explanation. In the first place, although 591 428 423 inheritance is bilateral, the inheritance of the house site shows that patrilineal house sponsorship still is stronger than matrilineal.

> In the inheritance of the house site, women received the land in 30 per cent of the cases, men in 34 per cent. Patrilineal inheritance was more frequent in the parental generation. If we take the figures indicating which parent gave the land to the child, mothers passed on the land in 15 per cent of cases known, and fathers passed on the land in 26 per cent of the known 68 cases. (Nash, J., 1960:51).

If the place of residence is inherited from the male line more often than from the female, it is to be expected that viri-patrilocal proximity would be stronger. This offers a reasonable explanation for the higher incidence of patrilocal proximity. The

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 157]

TABLE 14

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AMATENANGO RESIDENCE: PROXIMITY TO THE PARENTAL HOME, ALL MARRIED INDIVIDUALS

Living in	Men			Women		
	Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent	Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent
I Same house	49	33	64	39	23	49
II Same Compound	10	7		15	9	
III Next door	15	10		17	10	
IV Same block	21	14		10	7	
V Same town division	35	24	24	60	35	35
VI Other division	9	11	11	10	16	16
VII Outlying barrios	4			12		
VIII Other town	6			5		
Total	149			178		

	+	-
Men	94.5	54.5
Women	81.5	86.5

$x^2 = 7.11 > 6.635$ Significance level at 0.01

I to IV: Patrilocal Proximity
I to V : Barrio Endogamy
I to VI: Village Endogamy
VII to VIII: Village Exogamy

TABLE 15

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AMATENANGO: HOUSE TRANSACTIONS AND INHERITANCE

	Number	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent
Inherited from the wife's relatives	78	30	30
Inherited from the husband's relatives	79	34	34
Bought	50	19	
Received from Ejido	27	10	30.5
Borrowing	4	1.5	
Inherited from husband	12	4.5	
Inherited from wife	1	.5	5.5
Unmarried orphan, inherited from parents	1	.5	
Total	262	100.0	100.0

591 The
428 fact that this pattern of house sponsorship directly affects the
423 emphasis on patrilocality is compensated for by some recent changes
433 in the economic conditions of the village. In Amatenango, the
593 cooperative bonds between father and son in agricultural work, united with the emphasis on patrilineal inheritance of house sites, foster patrilocality, but, at the same time, the bonds between father and son have entered in competition with the cooperative relation developed between a woman and her daughter in making pottery. If a woman lives close to her mother-in-law, she will assist her more often than her own mother in the firing of pottery--"If a man lives with his wife's family, he will assist his father-in-law in the fields more than he will work with his own father" (Nash, J., 1960:49).

423 593 The reasons for keeping a son are not as pressing as the [432] reasons for keeping a daughter. Amatenango land holdings are [184] somewhat smaller than Aguacatenango, and the buying and selling of agricultural parcels, as long as it does not involve outsiders to the village, is a common practice which accounts for approximately 16 per cent of land transactions. The

423 241 592 464 limited land holding units in Amatenango require minimal cooperation in agriculture. Because of fractured land holdings, fewer than one-half of the households have two tablones . . . of land. Therefore, fewer than one-half the households can keep more than one man actively employed. Even in those households with from two to five tablones, a man and his adult son are sufficient labor for most activities except harvest. 592 323 434 868 Women's pottery production, however, requires frequent cooperation. Two tendencies are reinforcing the cooperation of women, especially of mothers and daughters: (1) with increasing need for cash income to buy products which are not longer produced in the home, or which have been introduced, money [582] [178] is constantly needed. Pottery offers an easy means of acquiring cash with almost immediate returns, and (2) marriages are currently contracted at a later age for girls than formerly. Before, about a generation ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve were the rule. Most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques begins at that age. Consequently, pottery was taught to the daughter by the mother-in-law if the girl was married and resided in the husband's house. (See Frans [114] Blom and Oliver LaFarge [1927] who commented that all pottery was taught by the mother-in-law.) Most marriages now are contracted for girls from 14 to 17 years of age. At this time they are already proficient potters, and accustomed to working with their mother. Therefore, there is a greater stress put on their remaining in or near their parental home after marriage (Nash, J., 1960:47).[1]

592 868 323 The people of Amatenango recognize that during the period in which a woman learns to make pottery, she establishes particular habits of cooperation and a strong solidarity bond with the woman from whom she learns and with whom she works. "Parents say that there is an advantage in early marriages, in that the girl would be more willing to learn the ways of her mother-in-law if she

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[161] [1]It is also important to notice that with the increase in population over the area, the market has increased.

592 takes up residence in her husband's house" (Nash, J., 1960:28)
868
323 at an age in which she is not fully trained in pottery production.
[582] At the same time, "mothers prefer to keep their daughters at home at least until the age of fourteen if there is no economic necessity in the family" (Nash, J., 1960:28).

592 Pottery production as a source of income is not equally
434 important for all households. (1) Households with more children
433
323 produce less pottery, because "child care compete with pottery making for a woman's time." (2) Households with more women produce more pottery because the different tasks of the woman: pottery making, child care, and house maintenance, can be best distributed among them during the day. (3) The motivation to work at pottery production is stronger in poorer households, "because alternative sources of income are less, and more of the family subsistence must come from pottery making." (4) Households with more men and land produce less pottery. First, land needs men to work it, and a single man cannot work much, or lay claim to government Eiido land of any considerable size. "In richer households (in terms of land and cattle) there is sufficient milpa raised that corn need not be bought, and the need for continuous cash income is not so pressing. This has also a circular effect: richer households tend to be able to keep more children alive; with more children to care for, women devote less time to pottery." "Conversely, poorer households depend upon pottery income, have fewer children, and less experience with prolonged periods of little or no pottery production" (Nash, M., 1961:188).

900 If the woman's work in pottery is a crucial factor in

591 If the woman's work in pottery is a crucial factor in
592 making residence choices, then poorer households, which depend
323 more on pottery sales as an important source of income, should
434 also show more emphasis on having the daughters stay at home
361 after marriage, and therefore, the incidence of uxorilocal residence and matrilocal proximity of women should be higher.

361 Within Amatenango "there are clusters of bilaterally re-
602 lated kin which form neighborhood groups. Two of these neighborhoods are spatially set apart from other houses of the barrio
361 and are named" (Nash, J., 1960:52). One of them, the neighbor-
591 hood of Santa Cruz, is composed of households which show greater
434 poverty in comparison with the rest of the village. As it was hypothesized, Santa Cruz also shows a greater incidence of matrilocal proximity. The correlation between lack of household wealth (which increases the importance of woman's pottery making) and residential proximity of a woman to her maternal home is statistically significant at the .001 level (see Table 16).

361 On the other hand, one should also expect the married men
591 to live further apart from their own parents because (1) those who
16 stay at home would reside and work with their wife's relatives,
434 and (2) it is said that some of the men of the neighborhood are
464 forced by their poverty to migrate to the lowlands seeking work in the ranches, and may stay there permanently. This hypotheses is confirmed; the correlation is significant at the .05 level of confidence (see Table 16).

361 The result of poverty in this neighborhood is that while
591 for the community as a whole 49 per cent of the women live in the
434 same neighborhood as their parents, in Santa Cruz 67 per cent of

[Text continued on p. 162]

TABLE 16

AMATENANGO RESIDENCE: PARENTS AND CHILDREN PROXIMITY IN SANTA CRUZ[a]

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Proximity	Live in:	Men Number	Men Per Cent	Women Number	Women Per Cent
Same Neighborhood	Same house	3	40	7	67
	Next door	2		6	
	Same block	1		1	
	Santa Cruz	5		4	
Different Neighborhood	Same barrio	13	60	7	33
	Other barrio	3		1	
	Other town	1		2	
Total		28	100	28	100

Women

	+	-
Village	81.5	86.5
Santa Cruz	17.5	10.5

$x^2 = 18.786$ 10.827 significance level at .001

Men

	+	-
Village	94.5	54.5
Santa Cruz	11.5	16.5

$x^2 = 4.902$ 3.841 significance level at .05

[a]After Nash, J., 1960.

361 591 434 the women do so, and while 63 per cent of the men in the village live in close patrilocal proximity, only 40 per cent of the men in Santa Cruz live near their parents (see Table 16).

184 589 591 Residence of Widows

Another striking contrast between Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women, in the latter, as household heads, and their residence after they become widows.

562 589 434 [423] [768] First, because in many cases a woman owns the house in which she lives with her husband and children, she is not obliged to move out of the site if her husband dies, as she is in Aguacatenango. Second, she does not need an adult man in the household to be able to support herself and the children because she is able to meet the economic demands of the domestic groups from her own labor in pottery production. The result of women's economic independence is that many of them are the heads of their own households. Out of 280 households, 39 have female heads, and 25 do not contain any adult men (the others contain younger sons-in-law). This also means that all corn is bought; there is no income derived from agriculture, but only from pottery sales. In Aguacatenango, where all income derives directly or indirectly from agriculture, this situation is inconceivable: there are no households without men, nor households in which a female is the absolute head of the unit.

592 562 434 184

583 584 The Marriage Transactions and the Household

In Aguacatenango, a man selects his future spouse and his father arranges the marriage for him. At the ceremonial visits

583 584 which are exchanged between future parents-in-law, the bride-price or bocado is paid. The bocado is fixed: 300 pesos in goods.

582 184 434 Parents try to marry off their daughters within their own economic level to provide a similar standard of living for them. They will strongly refuse to give them to a poorer household if they are not very poor themselves. If the household is very poor, the first solution is to marry off the daughters, since they are consumers who do not contribute to the household income. If a poor household cannot find a husband for a daughter within the village, they will even give her to an outsider, for example, to a man from La Palizada. This is viewed as an unfortunate, but inevitable, choice. La Palizada is a settlement in the high, cold [595] country. It is very poor. A woman marrying into it is viewed with pity because La Palizada men are polygamous and their wives work in the cornfields with them. Of two cases of marriages with La Palizada which we know about (one in the past and another that is contemporary), the only reason given for the marriage was the poverty of the households.

582 If a young man in town insists on marrying the daughter of a couple richer than his own household, they will refuse because 583 "the girl is not used to the hardships." If the girl decides on her own that she likes the man, the usual procedure is elopement at night to the boy's house. In this case, a poor man can get a richer bride without the bride-price, but he does not get any of the economic advantages shared by her family. The girl is cut-off from any social interaction with her family of orientation. Later, if the marriage proves stable, the young deviant couple can attempt

583 to reconcile themselves with the wife's parents by paying the agradecimiento (thankfulness payment), half of the established bride-price. In those cases, it is considered that the full bride-price is not necessary "because the couple was already
[591] living together." It follows that elopement cases are always patri-virilocal in residence.

592 In Amatenango, where women are important laborers, the
562 household considers them an economic asset. They will not marry
582 them off early except in case of extreme need, and they will use
434 their marriage to form economic alliances with households at other levels of wealth. If they are not interested in keeping her because there is another married child in the household but they do not have immediate economic need, they will wait and try to marry her into a richer household. If they are interested in keep-
591 ing her in the unit as a producer, they will marry her to a poorer
583 man and ask him to come and reside uxorilocally. When the residence choice at the time of the marriage is patri-virilocal, the bride-price is much higher than in Aguacatenango: 1,000 pesos rather than 300. Unfortunately, we do not know what the amount of the bride-price is, if it is anything at all, when residence after marriage is matri-uxorilocal.

582 The contrast between the marriage transactions in Aguaca-
171 tenango and Amatenango is not unique to these two villages, but seems to be a recurrent structural pattern when there are differences in the labor market for women. Tax (1953) reports a similar contrast for Guatemala. In Panajachel, where women's labor has a high value, "marriages tend to cross wealth lines, with a man of a

582 richer family marrying a woman of a poorer family" (Tax, 1953:
171 202). "In only 13 of the 36 cases [reported by Tax] were the two families nearly at the same economic level" (Tax, 1953:203). Also, "exceptional but not uncommon" is that a rich man will marry his daughter to a poorer man and rather than loosing a worker, he gains another. In contrast with Panajachel is the case of Chichicastenango (a neighbor to the north) in that, "the time of women in Chichicastenango has until recently not had cash value. (Increased weaving for the tourist trade may change this.) Therefore, in Chichicastenango as opposed to Panajachel there is encouragement to marry within the same wealth class" (Tax, 1953: 206).

128 Affective Relations Within the Household

We have shown how some of the relationships within the domestic group are affected by the patterns of economic activity. In this section, we will discuss them in a different context; rather than in terms of interaction, we shall discuss them in terms of sentiment (Homans, 1950).

121 Homans (1950) has shown how intimacy and affection increase with increased association and interaction, but he also indicated that a relationship of formal respect and asymmetrical authority discourages confidence and affective ties (1950:247) or "at any rate, the fact of authority seems to turn the relationship into an ambiguous, or as the psychoanalyst would say, an ambivalent one" (1950:244).

121 In both Amatenango and Aguacatenango, this type of ambiva-
593 lence is present in the father-son relation, as we indicated in

121 previous pages. Homans points out that this ambiguity is neither
593 accidental, nor "natural," but "tends to reappear in societies all over the world in which the family is an important productive unit and the father is the boss" (Homans, 1950:245).

593 The relation son-mother, however, ought to be different
[184] in the two communities. In Aguacatenango, a mother has less and less authority over a son the older he grows. While a man is a child, she controls him without discussion, but as he becomes more and more mature, his role as a man, a superior, makes for conflicting social power. On the one hand the mother is older, and therefore has more authority. Yet on the other hand, she is a female, and therefore the son (a male) has more authority. The balancing of authority between the two cancels it out. A son can, if he wishes, completely alienate himself from his mother. She has not much power to punish or sanction him, no property she can withdraw from him. If he misbehaves, she can only try to advise him or complain to her husband. On the other hand, the absence of authority between the two makes the relationship highly affectionate. If a son stays at home or close-by after marriage, the interaction mother-son is frequent and friendly. In many cases the mother will make a coalition with the son against her husband, defending the younger man. Mothers tend to be very partial towards the judgement of their sons' behavior, and sons obtain what they want from the fathers through their mothers.

In Amatenango, the mother has more economic power over the
[434] son. She can give him cash for extra needs, and he can inherit
[428] land or a house from her, as well as from his father.

128 593 One would expect, then, that the affective distance between mother and son in Amatenango would be larger. It is unfortunate that this hypothesis cannot be tested at the moment. This author does not have available the relevant information to make the comparison reliable.

593 184 There is evidence, nonetheless, that the sibling bond is different.

In Aguacatenango, the important sibling bond after marriage is only between the siblings who have cooperative tasks to carry out in common: brothers. The relationships of brothers with [607] sisters is respectful and distant, and brothers-in-law are not equated, in behavioral terms, with brothers. Sisters, after marriage, have little chance to see each other, except at fiestas, and they become quite alien to each other.

In Amatenango, on the contrary, the sibling bond is multilateral. Sisters and sisters collaborate with each other, brothers with brothers, and siblings of different sex also do so. Moreover, [607] siblings-in-law are equated with siblings, and they form a complex generational set of group relations.

606 184 A final difference in the affective content of role relations within the domestic group is the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law relations.

606 593 184 In Aguacatenango, there is a striking contrast between the relation mother-daughter and the relation daughter-in-law-mother-in-law. We have discussed extensively how antagonistic and asymmetrical it is. Although the mother has authority over the daughter, she plays (has played) a nurturant role for her, which

606 a mother-in-law does not. The affective ties which develop with
184 the nurturant figure are extremely durable, even though they
[593] seldom see each other after the daughter marries.

[868] In Amatenango, perhaps because of early marriages which increase the nurturant aspect of the mother-in-law role (she certainly takes part in the socialization of the daughter-in-law by teaching her how to make pottery), and because of the establishment of a relationship before the younger woman had many chances to establish adult affective ties with any woman other than her own mother, the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond is less tense. The women create a strong solidarity bond in their active cooperation in pottery making, and their association is both intense and constant. The result is that "a successful relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is not an authoritarian one, but is rather characterized by mutual cooperation" (Nash, J., 1960:
184 29, 62-67). We can also observe that the residence pattern
591 grants, in Aguacatenango, unconditional power to the mother-in-law,
606 while in Amatenango, where a woman after marriage can reside with
578 her own parents if she dislikes her in-laws, a mother-in-law is made to be more careful about her own behavior towards the younger woman. If she is too harsh, she can find herself with no female help in the house, and losing a son at the same time, which means that the household loses two laborers.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VII

CORPORATE GROUPS WITHIN THE VILLAGE

Historical Perspective

174 611 591 601 583 423 428 It is probable that the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango had, at some time in their past, a patrilineal organization based on agnatic descent, patri-virilocality, a kinship terminology of the Normal Omaha type, and other associated features such as bride-price, groom service, patrilineal control of the rights to land usufruct, and patrilineal inheritance.

174 613 614 621 626 Each agnatic descent group formed segments of a corporate lineage, and several segments formed a sib. Lineages were localized, and they had important social functions. The heads of linear segments formed the local government and had the responsibility of controlling conflict and sanctioning individual behavior through the supernatural. They were believed to "own" powerful animal counterparts of their souls, which patrolled the village during sleep, and punished the misdemeanors of those men belonging to their line of descent. It is also probable that the lineage was [582] an exogamous unit, and there is some scanty evidence which points to the practice of cross-cousin marriage.

127 The evidence to support this hypothetical statement is of two types. On the one hand, there is some historical documentation in published, as well as manuscript, form. On the other hand,

127 there is contemporary evidence of this structure in the present day organization of other similar Tzeltal-Tzotzil villages (see bibliography).

Landa (1928:98-99) suggested that the Mayans had a unilateral social organization based on the presence of name groups, exogamy, and patrilineal inheritance. Eggan (1934) indicated the possibility that the Mayans had cross-cousin marriage from his work with kinship terminology. Miles, working with the evidence about sixteenth century Pokom-Maya, reconstructed the kinship system as being strongly classificatory, with linearity receiving "scant but important attention in the terminology" (1957: 756), and he also reports the presence of patrilineages. Calixta Guiteras-Holmes (1952) reported that the Tzotzil of Chenalho and Chalchihuitan, and the Tzeltal of Cancuc and Oxchuc had a Bifurcate Merging type terminology, with "one term for sibling and parallel cousin, another term for cross-cousin, with overriding of generations." Murdock, on the basis of this and other evidence, suggested that the Mayans had a patrilineal social organization and that "although the fact appears to have escaped general attention, both ancient and modern sources clearly attest the presence of exogamous patrilineages everywhere in the lowlands (of the Mayan area) with the single possible exception of the Chorti, and true exogamous patri-sibs have survived among such highland tribes as the Cakchiquel, Mam, Quiche and Tzeltal." "The Tzeltal evolved Omaha terminology and, thus, acquired a social system of the most fully developed patrilineal sort" (Murdock, 1955:95).

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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127 014 Although Murdock's statement takes a position which is not fully supported by the historical evidence, all information, however incomplete, points in the same direction.

127 611 Baroco (1959b), working with the Register of Civil Marriages of the state of Chiapas from 1880 for Chanal, and the censuses of the same village for 1957, noticed that several patrilineal inherited Indian names were attached to a single Spanish surname. The Indian name functioned in regulating marriages. Moreover, through some of the realignments (in time depth) of name groups, he pointed out that the fusion and fission of the lineal segments could be traced historically, not only for one village, but for several villages sharing the same lineage names and suspected clans (represented by the Spanish name groups).

In another unpublished article, Baroco (1959a) indicated that according to the sixteenth and eighteenth century documents, including a book of baptisms, patrilineal name groups were associated with the naming of children with calendrical personal names, that is, names of the Mayan calendar, a custom reported in all early Mayan sources (see Barrera Vazguez, Ed. 1948; Recinos, A., Ed. 1950; Ximenez, Ed. 1857).

Contemporary evidence shows that several communities in the Chiapas highlands still preserve a strong patrilineal bent. Localized agnatic lineages and clans have been reported for Oxchuc (Villa Rojas, 1945; Siverts, H., 1960) where they have both ritual political and land-tenure regulatory functions, and Cancuc (Guiteras-Holmes, 1952). Patrilineally inherited name groups with restricted corporate functions are present in practically

127 every Chiapas Highland community, including some highly accul-
611 turated towns such as Venustiano Carranza (McQuown et al., 1959).

128 Amatenango and Aguacatenango both have patrilineally in-
611 herited name groups and other slight indications of the previously hypothesized patrilineal "bent" (e.g., bride-price). Our problem, however, is not to reconstruct a hypothetical past, nor to assess the possibility of a change from patrilineal to something else. In this study, the discussion of the name groups will be carried on in the context of their functions, if any, at the present time.

Functions

If the theory of functional correlations between residence, kinship terminology, marriage customs, exogamy, etc., has any validity, we would suspect that Amatenango, with a domestic group organized along bilateral lines and matri-uxorilocal and viri-patrilocal residence having equal incidence, would not have unilineal descent groups, while Aguacatenango, with patri-virilocal residence and a domestic group organized around a core of agnatically related males would have preserved or have now (if it ever had, a fact which at the present we cannot emphatically support), an organization based on agnatic lineages, or it will show some aspects of a lineal organization outside the realm of the domestic unit.

571 In Amatenango, as suspected, the name groups "are not now
[613] functioning units in the social organization, neither on marriage, inheritance or social control" (Nash, J., 1960:5). Work activities, rituals, participation in community-wide sodality groups or festivities, compadrazgo ties, etc., are carried on by the household

571 and outside the household by the bilateral group of kinsmen of each particular Ego and his or her spouse, which because of the residence pattern, live localized within a neighborhood.

602 In Aguacatenango, on the contrary, most important activi-
592 ties are carried on mainly by agnatically related kin. This, of
562 course, does not mean that matri-kin or affinals are absolutely excluded. But in making decisions for giving or receiving help in work, for example, agnatic kin are preferred, especially for men, because women tend to collaborate mostly with the agnatic kin of their husbands. The reason for this is that activities for women are not determined in terms of the kinship lines, but in terms of household membership: they collaborate with the closest kin of the household in which they reside, and not their own closest kin. A household contributes labor and interacts more often with agnatically linked households than any other.

361 The reason for this difference in emphasis could be said
602 to be a result of the fact that one collaborates more with the
592 people who live the closest. After all, the neighborhood in Aguacatenango tends to be a cluster of agnatically related house-
[114] holds. Nash felt that in Amatenango, "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relations are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130). We disagree with this statement.

323 In Amatenango, pottery making and corn agriculture are the
241 two principal productive enterprises which affect the organization
433 of the domestic group, including the residence choices, so it is
182 not strange that the neighborhood group (or residence clusters
591 within the <u>barrio</u>), made up according to the criteria of selecting
592
621

323 producers for the particular domestic groups, seems to be the
241
433 originator of bilateral increase in interaction, while it could
182 be equally well said that the bilaterally settled neighborhood in
591
592 Amatenango is a result of the selection of household personnel
621 along both males' and females' kinsmen lines.

114 J. Nash (1960) interpreted the bilaterality of Amatenango
602 as being a result of the residence pattern. Nash assumes that
182
361 kinship and territoriality are two mutually exclusive principles of association, while in reality they are not so. On the one hand, if territoriality (or the spatial placement of the individual in the household) is determined by kinship alignments, both would tend to be symmetrical; on the other hand, even if they are not mutually inclusive (which in this case they are), both are emphasized simultaneously in the same set of choices, so that the principles of spatial proximity and kinship proximity, although independent variables, are concomitant in their effects. Moreover, Nash found out that activities which did not involve immediate reciprocity followed the kinship line exclusively without reference to territorial propinquity.

121 The danger of assuming that "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relationships are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130) becomes evident in a larger theoretical context. If residential propinquity tends to set up interaction along bilateral lines, the opposite, residential dispersion, would tend to emphasize interaction among unilineal relatives. Then, all linearly organized societies ought to be organized in exogamous settlements, or in a dispersed hamlet pattern, and all large concentrations of

121 population, such as an endogamous village, ought to be bilateral societies. This is obviously not so. Even if we assume that our statement is a reductio ad absurdum of Nash's point, there is evidence in the immediate vicinity of Amatenango that other villages, equally concentrated in population, with the same physical set-
114 ting, are not bilateral. J. Nash (1960) compared Amatenango and
361 Aguacatenango in a few paragraphs, and she felt that the evidence
602 supported her theory. However, the data available to her was
592 very unreliable. She quoted a preliminary report of Metzger
591 written before the residence analysis of the community was carried to completion, which contained only impressionistic observations, and gave the impression that residence was neolocal and that agnatically related households were widely spread within the community, which we have shown in chapter vi not to be true.

602 Moreover, Aguacatenango not only has patri-virilocality,
613 but corporate patrilines. The name-groups in Aguacatenango form
592 localized agnatic descent groups (which we above called the
551 localized clusters of agnatically linked households). The people
621 belonging to a name-group are recognized as relatives or, in Tzeltal, "those who are my family on my father's side." Those individuals have one last name (Indian surname) in common with
174 Ego. Within the Spanish surname, some people are considered in
613 the descent group and some are considered sparte (separate),
551 but a man of the Spanish name Perez, would say that all those Perezetik who are not sparte belong to his family, and any Perez is "closer" to another Perez than to a man of another Spanish name. The reason for the segmentation of the Spanish name-group is lost in the past. When the lineage system was composed of

174 segments of different breadth of inclusion, it is possible that
613 the Indian last name was a smaller lineage segment than the
551 Spanish last name, or, as it occurs in other Chiapas villages, that the Indian name was the lineage name and the Spanish name the clan name, but that clans have disappeared in Aguacatenango. The result is that there are more Indian than Spanish names, and sometimes a Spanish name, such as Hernandez, has within it the patrilines Waval, Obispo and Chaltá, while Perez has the patrilines Ich, Tuluk and Chauk.

613 At the present time, the patriline is very shallow. Connections are lost frequently after the second ascending generation and the localized agnatic line includes only three, or at best four, adjacent generations, when the linking relative in the higher generation is still alive or recently deceased and still remembered.

613 The Indian name, which indicates the patriline, is not
551 known by many people in the younger generation, and older people are reluctant to mention the subject. With the influence of the
[829] Mexican system of naming (which includes both the Spanish last name of the father and the mother), the older villagers are becoming aware that westerners do not have the same descent name system, and are embarrassed to discuss this subject with non-villagers, although in Tzeltal conversations among themselves they identify people through them.

126 We did collect some patriline names (which are Tzeltal
613 words for animals and natural phenomena), but unfortunately the
551 limited field-work season did not allow for more detailed
602

126

613 551 602 investigation, so that we could not pin down all patriline names to the respective genealogies.

174 613 551 582 We do have evidence, however, that the patriline is (or was) exogamous. In the first place, the villagers are very insistent that "people of the same name should not marry," and at the present time, this rule seems to be influencing the choice of marriage partners even in the Spanish name group; on the other hand, we have one case which explicitly indicates so: one of the village women, Ceveriana, reported that when her present husband asked her to marry, she was very worried that her marriage was going to be "sinful" because both she and her future husband had the same Spanish last names: Hernendez. Not knowing what to do, they consulted a village elder, who asked them for their Indian last names. When he found out that their Indian surnames were different (Waval and Chalté), he reassured them that it was permitted for them to marry "because they did not have the same Indian name." (See genealogy, Fig. 14.)

613 551 582 Patriline exogamy, however, does not seem to be associated with preferential marriage. In other villages in the highlands of Chiapas, the informants state that it is preferred to marry a woman of one's mother's name group. In Aguacatenango, however, out of 161 marriages in which all the relevant names were known, only twenty-three men had married women of their mother's name group. Even in the case in which preferential marriages would be the ideal choice (and they never have been stated as such), the practice does not follow it.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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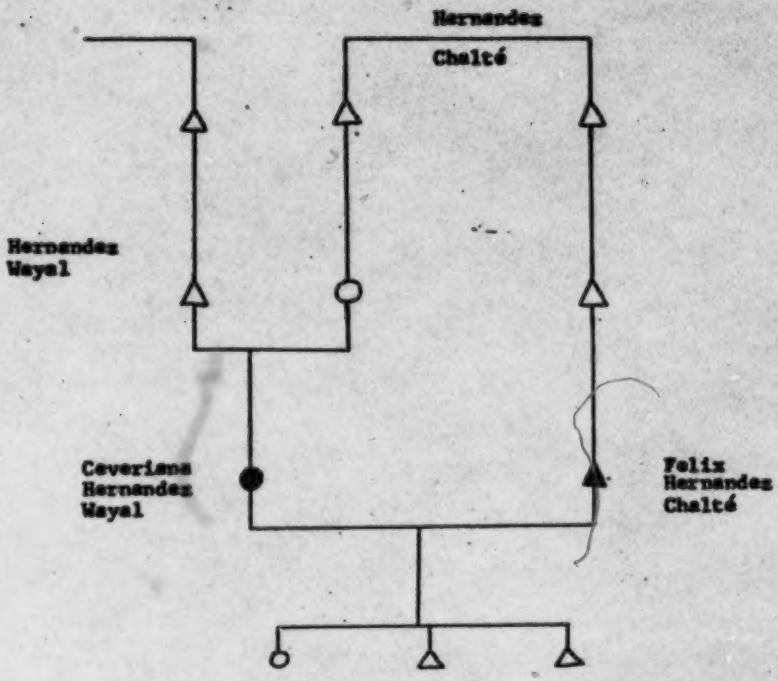

Fig. 14.--Genealogy of Hernandez

613 476 [602] The patrilines function in several dimensions. Work groups, although invariably containing some bilateral and affinal relatives, recruit members mainly among agnatic kinsmen. Men fence their fields with the help of their brothers, father and sons; when villagers get together to buy a cow for a town fiesta celebration, each cow is bought by a group which contains agnatically related men. In one case, seventeen men who bought a cow together belonged to four patrilines which were neighbors among themselves. In another case, in which several men got together to build a house, nine were agnatic kinsmen, three were affinals (the son's wife's brother, the daughter's husband and the wife's brother), three were compadres and one a neighbor from across the street. The women who prepared the meal for the housewarming were: nine agnatically related to the household head; two agnatically related to the wife of the household head; three affinals of the household head; two affinals of the wife; and two neighbors. In another case, a man and his two sons, one of whom was living in a separate domestic group, helped in the construction, and several other men were contracted to help with the payment, although the daughter's husband, who was a carpenter, was called in to give advice and help.

613 476 626 627 Individuals, in time of trouble, seek advice from the elders of the patriline, which is the largest unit in which kinship solidarity functions as a controlling social force outside the domestic group. The patriline also exercises control in the form of moral pressure: gossip, accusations of witchcraft, and responsibility for vengeance when a patriline member has been

613 476 626 627 613 736 613 837 428 613 423

murdered. Informants declare that "all the Mendeztik will get together against the Perezetik if a Perez kills a Mendez." We have witnessed cases of "talk of revenge," but never any case of the lineal solidarity functioning in this way in practice. In a case where the father of a man dies, it is within the agnatic line that a man finds a sponsor to live with, to pay his bride-price, and to work the land with. If there is conflict over an adulterous wife, or over the distribution of an inheritance among brothers, it is the duty of the elder members of the agnatic line to give advice, witness the distribution of the property, etc.

The patriline is not a land holding unit, in the sense that there is no land that is said to belong to the line as a corporation, but the group of agnatically related men have control over the distribution of it, and its inheritance. If a man dies without adult sons, the closest agnatic kin (father, brother, or in some cases a father's brother if the other two are dead or have enough land) will take over the cultivated fields that he has left. According to the Mexican Agrarian Code, Eiido land can only be transmitted to people that live in the same domestic unit, and communal land cannot be transmitted at all: at the death of the person who held usufruct rights over a parcel, the land should revert to the Ayuntamiento, which has the power to re-distribute it as it considers convenient. In practice, in Aguacatenango, if the household fails to provide heirs, the parcels (both eiido and communal) are re-allocated among agnatic kin. Therefore, although the patriline does not "own" land, some land is allocated through linearity.

726 linearity. The widow is expected to give back to them the house
613 site and house in which they lived, and go to live in her own
423 parental home. In one case, a woman who had kept the house in trust for her sons, asked permission to sell the lot (which originally had been given to her dead husband) from a living male sibling of the deceased.

613 There are no ritual functions which have to be performed
592 by the patriline. Aguacatenango rituals are carried on by the
796 household, by the part-time ritual specialists (curanderos), or
794 by officially appointed town officers (the Mayordomos).

121 This type of "lineage" seems to fit Homan's definition of
613 "weak" lineage, because he considers the following characteristics as defining a weak lineage: (1) few (less than four) generations in depth; (2) narrow spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) locality limited to a few people; and (4) incest rules pulled towards the smaller local units and mainly restricted to the nuclear family. The characteristics of a strong lineage, in contrast, are: (1) many (more than four) generations in depth; (2) wide spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) maximal localization of residence and maximal sharing of activities within the lineage; and (4) incest rules pushed away from the local units, to embrace all relatives within a lineage (lecture in the Oriental Institute, April 22, 1959, unpublished). However, I prefer to call them patrilines to distinguish them from the more elaborate agnatic descent groups common in Africa, from which they are distinguished by (1) the lack of genealogical depth; (2) the absence of the use of genealogical

121 manipulations for political purposes; and (3) their restricted
613 functions.

174 Why is the patriline this weak? There are reasons of
613 an historical nature, as well as functional reasons. First, with the centralization of political power created by the Spanish colony, in which each household head, independently of lineage affiliation, became a tributario (tax payer) and had rights of participation in the political structure, the political functions or the lineage
613 became debilitated. At the present time, it is only through the
624 principales that the patriline as a unit has political representation. The principales are usually the elders of the largest patrilines in the community. To make decisions, they have to have the backing of the men they represent. Belonging to a larger line indicates that a man is capable of controlling a larger number of household heads and, therefore, has stronger political support. That being the head of a large patriline gives a man authority in village affairs is shown not only by the fact that principales are thus supported, but also by the fact that patriline elders, even if they are not officially principales, on occasions can act as such, and they are sought after for advice in making Ayuntamiento decisions, by their own people and by other villagers.

174 Second, with the relocation of the lineages at the time
423 that the village was reducido, and the control of the lands by the
613 Encomienda and the Spanish crown and later by the fincas, some of the lineage control over its lands was lost. It is possible, however, that before the agrarian reform, when the village lands were scarcer, the land holding rights of the patriline were more precisely stated.

000 precisely stated. Today, with the total increase in land holdings,
423 the influence of the Ejido Commission (however minimal) and the
621 introduction of a money economy in which land is becoming more
592 and more of a commodity that can be bought and sold, in terms of
178 contract transactions, land tends to be thought of as individual
household property. There have been several cases in which
[593] brothers have bought land from each other, although they are the
people from which a line member can expect to obtain land, or in
the absence of it, the necessary help to clear and fence a new
parcel in forested communal territory.

178 Other reasons for the constant breaking of linearity,
613 which reduced the patriline to a very shallow group, are inherent
593 in the system itself. First, the antagonism between brothers over
423 property rights tends to make the sibling group weak, and agnatic
lines split in each generation.

593 Insofar as siblings occupy an equivalent position with
[592] respect to the elders in the household, their sentiments towards
one another are easy and affectionate, but insofar as the elder
sibling has jural authority over the younger ones, the relationship
is marked by constraint, respect and a certain ambivalence.

Thus, siblings are expected to love each other, to give each other company, to help when necessary, and to share, in some aspects of their life, a common position with respect to the community at large, or what Homans calls the external system (1950: 90-94).

The equivalence of siblings, especially those of the same sex, is evident in many observations. A man whose brother is

593 A man whose brother is
[626] accused of witchcraft is very likely to share the same accusation; if a man beats his wife, he can be blamed by his younger brother because the first one's reputation hinders the chances of the second for getting himself a wife. If a woman is lazy, people will assume that her sister is also lazy, and so on. Paradoxically, at the same time that siblings are equivalent for certain purposes, they are not in relation to each other. An elder sibling has, from early in life, power to scold, punish or control his younger siblings. The older they grow, the more the age difference becomes important. While one could be already working with the father in the fields, the other is still a playing child. While one gets married and becomes a man, the other is still under his father's authority.

The elder brother is always a possible jural replacement
[736] for the father. If the father dies and a man is a bachelor with a married brother, his elder brother replaces the father in terms of jural authority over him, is in charge of supporting him, working with him in the field, paying for his bride-price, etc.

[476] On the one hand, the relationship of brothers is one of
[578] collaboration, intense association for work and mutual dependency; on the other, the differential distribution of authority creates a certain amount of antagonism between the two.

593 This antagonism between brothers is symbolically expressed
578 in myths, legends and tales, many of which contain both a younger
538 and elder brother who spend their time trying to kill each other, being alternately successful until the younger sibling is the final victor.

593 578 538 The folk tales reflect, undoubtedly, the pattern of ultimogeniture and, perhaps, a switch from primogeniture to ultimogeniture. The meaning of the folk tales becomes obvious because of other elements which enter in the conflict.

428 592 593 If a younger son is married at the time of his father's death, he inherits his house, and replaces his father as head of the domestic group, following the norm of agnatic ultimogeniture. But if a younger son is single at the time of his father's death, his elder brother replaces the father and inherits from him. In this last case, it is his duty to provide for his younger brother's support, and at the time that he marries, split the paternal inheritance with him, giving the younger son his share of land, cattle or whatever was left for them.

183 428 592 593 [591] [583] The "rules of the game"[1] are, in the second case, not as explicit as in the normative pattern. Many alternative forms of behavior occur. In some cases, the elder son will move out of the paternal home when his younger brother marries and brings his wife to the homestead. In other cases, he will expect to be compensated for his brother's bride-price and for having supported him and his mother. He would probably reclaim part of the property, or force his younger brother to sell the house and share the money obtained with him.

In still other cases, he will even refuse to give the younger son his share, or move out of the compound.

593 578 It is obvious that not all men are alike in temperament

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[1]That is, the adjustment between authority rights and succession rights.

593 578 nor in brotherly love. At times, the transmission of property and authority is smooth; at times it reaches open conflict and extreme hostility.

[754] In several case histories from Aguacatenango, this antagonism between brothers has been expressed by the informants in the "witchcraft" idiom.

593 578 759 428 In one case, for example, a man, while drunk, threatened his younger brother with witchcraft, because their father had not given him a house (the man lived in a house given to him by his wife's relatives), but the younger brother was known to everybody to have been promised his father's sitio. In another case, a man, Miguel, gave his brother, Juan, part of his father's inheritance. Juan divided it among his own sons without consulting Miguel. After a while, one of Juan's sons died, and the people said that it was Miguel, angered by the distribution of property which he considered his own, who had bewitched Juan's son, his own agnatic nephew, in revenge.

593 578 585 The antagonism between brothers reaches aspects other than inheritance itself, such as the rights of sons over father's economic assistance. Church weddings, for example, are considered to be more binding than the traditional local ceremony or civil marriages. In most cases, there is a second marriage ceremony performed after the birth of a child, when the marriage has proved stable and the couple needs to have proof of a religious wedding to get the child baptized.

In one of our case histories from Aguacatenango, the rivalry of two brothers became evident over the matter of a church

593 578 585 wedding. One son had married and already lived outside his father's compound. His younger brother was married, but stayed with the father. The younger brother obtained from his father a church wedding and the fiesta which accompanies it. The elder felt cheated. He was older, but he had not been given a church wedding, which he felt he should have had first. The father insisted that the elder son did not deserve it. First, he had not stayed in the house long enough after his marriage because "his wife was a bad daughter-in-law and insisted on moving out taking him away." Second, he was living outside his sitio and, being economically independent, he should have been able to pay for his own church wedding.

[526] The opinions of the villagers were divided. On the one hand, it was clear that only the child who is being supported had the right to get the father's direct economic assistance. On the other hand, the elder son had seniority rights.

593 578 428 We do not know the outcome of this particular case, but the evidence is strong enough to suggest that the relationship between brothers, especially in terms of each one's position as an heir with respect to their father, is not clearly resolved by the society, and is (1) a likely place of conflict in the social structure, and (2) a point of fission in the patriline genealogical continuity and depth. Second, the alternative pattern of patri-uxorilocal residence, and the concomitant fact that a man works the land with his affinals and inherits from them, and that a woman can inherit a house site, breaks in some cases the exclusive rights of inheritance within the patriline.

562 The inheritance rights of women are highly controversial.
428 All the cases of conflict over the inheritance or rights of usu-
598 fruct of land, that we know about, involved a woman in the line
[183] of transmission. But however controversial, they are an estab-
lished pattern. This is shown in the following cases.

Case 1

159 Delfina is about twenty-four years old, and still single.
592 She was raised by her godmother in San Cristóbal, and her aspira-
595 tions are to become a Ladina. She has consistently refused to
562 marry any Indian man, and lives with her parents in a large com-
557 pound. She is economically self-sufficient (perhaps the only
428 woman in the village which is in the same position), because she
434 works for the INI as a sewing teacher, and her status in the household is quite high due to the fact that she draws a large salary and that her parents are close to senility and dependent on her. Until recently, her married brother lived in the compound with his parents. He insisted that at his parents death he should inherit everything: land, house and animals. Delfina and his father were of the opposite opinion: the house should be for Delfina, since she was supporting them and, as she expressed it: "she did not get married." Faced with the brother's insistence about his traditional rights, the father ordered him out of the household, and he and his wife left town and went to live in
[626] Amatenango. Most villagers, however, think that Delfina is in the wrong. They say that she is alzada (prideful) and loose in her relations with Ladino men (the employees of the INI that come to the village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

159 156 Delfina is an unusual woman by village standards, and the anthropologist quickly notices her deviant, from the rest of Aguacatenango women, personal characteristics: domineering, moody and pretentious. But even in other cases, the rights of women to 562 428 578 inherit or transmit property are contested often, as the following example will also show.

Case 2

159 428 562 578 Chilola has a son from a marriage previous to her present one. This son is about twenty years old. He is working the land with his stepfather, but wants to have his own milpa. When Chilola's first husband died, they were very poor. Nobody claimed rights on her husband's milpa, so she held it, although her son was not old enough to cultivate it. She tried to sell it to pay for the burial, but nobody wanted to pay her price, so she kept it. At the time, her mother-in-law, an old woman, was living with [592] [606] [587] her and being supported by Chilola, but "although she was already old, went out and looked for her man" (aunque estaba viejita se fué a buscar su hombre), and remarried. Because Chilola's son's milpa was fallow, the second husband of Chilola's mother-in-law took over its cultivation.

From the mother-in-law's late marriage, a daughter was born. This daughter married and her husband took over the milpa.

Now, Chilola's son wants to get his part of it because he is the direct heir of the father, who was the man who originally had the rights over the parcel. At the same time, the man who is

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 191]

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Household 24-7

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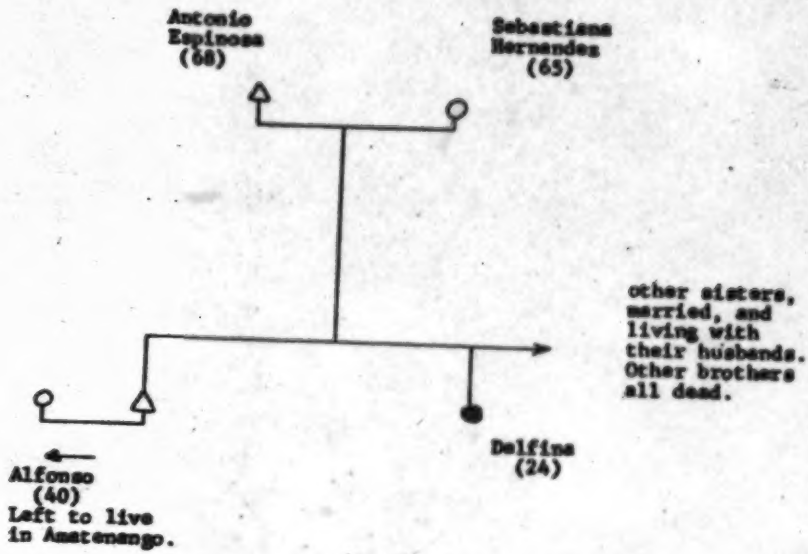

Fig. 15.--Genealogy of Delfina Espinosa

159 now cultivating it, and has been doing so for a long time, refuses
428 to return it, even if he is paid half of the value of the land, or
562 only asked to give half of it to Chilola's son.
578

The reason for the inheritance rights of the people concerned not being clear is that twice, in the sequence of transmission, women have passed on the property, and as a result, it has left the hands of the original lineage.

Chilola's feelings are quite strong: the land belonged to
[606] her husband. Even if her mother-in-law had rights over the prop-
[736] erty at Chilola's husband's death, she was being supported by Chilola, and certainly, neither her mother-in-law's second husband nor their daughter has primacy rights against her son. (See Genealogy, Fig. 16.)

[423] The case is obviously complicated by the fact that the property rights are defined not only in terms of inheritance rights, but in terms of usufruct (in a sense, they do not have land tenure, but milpa tenure), and the other men had been taking care of the parcel for a long time, which makes them feel that it is theirs.

159 This type of conflict carries over to other property, such
422 as livestock, as exemplified in the next case.
593
578

Case 3

When Candelario Aguilar married, Juana, his wife received
[431] a regalo from her father: a bull. Candelario sold the bull and bought a cow, which had a calf.

Candelario left town and gave the cow and calf to his father Francisco, so that they would take care of it in his absence.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 193]

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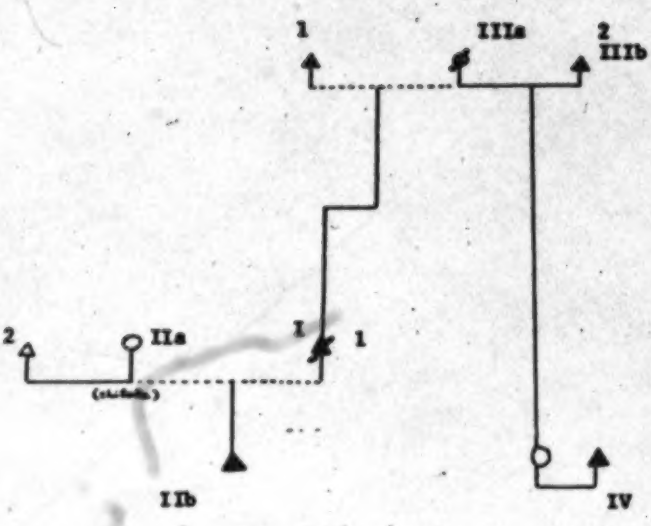

= men that claimed rights over the land.

I to IV indicate the order in which the land has been transmitted. The two men in the youngest generation are the ones contesting each other's rights.

Fig. 16.--Genealogy of Chilola M.

159 During the branding of animals in the village, Francisco received
422 a letter from Candelario asking him to brand the cow and calf for
593 him. Francisco and his son, Epifanio, did so.
578

This started the conflict. Jose Mendez, Juana's brother, felt that the cow and calf did not rightfully belong to Candelario, nor to Francisco or Epifanio, but to him. Epifanio had a fight with Jose, and the latter, insisting on his rights, which were not very clear, stated that Candelario had sold him the cow (which was not true), when they were working in the lowlands together. Casimira, Juana and Jose's mother, supported Jose's claims over the animals, because it was the money obtained from Juana's bull that had paid for the cow that had the calf. The relatives of her daughter's husband had less right over the animal than Juana's brother.

It is possible that Jose felt that the cow and calf had been purchased with the money obtained from selling a bull which was originally his father's, not his sister's. Even if it was his sister's, he felt he had more right to use it than the sister's husband's brother and father. If owner of the bull or the cow had been a brother rather than a sister, the conflict would not have arisen. (For genealogy see Fig. 17.)

177 Third, with the introduction of Catholicism, although the
178 native belief system has preserved many of its early features,
754 it is now, without doubt, a new syncretic elaboration. The per-
796 vasive witchcraft powers are, for example, attributed now to
613 Catholic saints, but the concept that the lineage heads of <u>principales</u> have witchcraft power to punish deviants within their

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

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Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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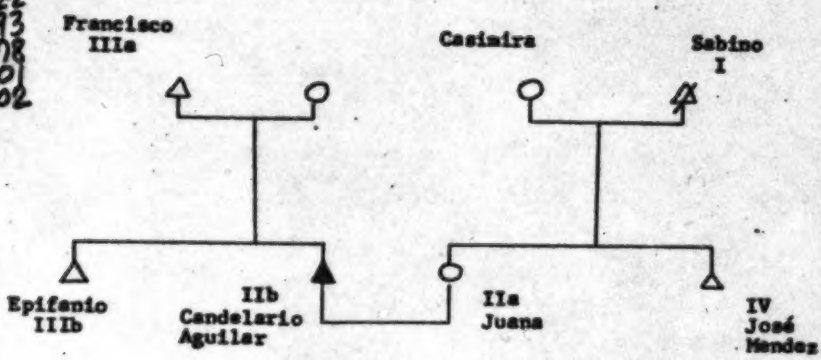

I to IIb indicate the order in which the bull was transmitted.

IIb-IIIb indicate the order in which cow and calf were transmitted.

IV is the man that pretends to have rights over the animals, with his mother's support.

Fig. 17.--Genealogy of Candelario Aguilar

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178 lineage (which exists today in many other communities such as
754 Oxchuc), has disappeared. Without the basic belief in the super-
776 natural controlling powers of the lineage heads, the ritual ac-
613 tivities performed by the lineage as a corporation became mean-
ingless, and fell out of use.

592 Finally, from an economic point of view, the large patriline
613 household-compound, as a productive unit, is unfunctional, and the
434 characteristic form of the domestic group is now the nuclear house-
421 hold, which also contributes to the weakening of patriline strength.
578 Within the nuclear household, it is difficult for its members to discriminate between the part of the household income that is derived from the household head in his capacity as a worker and that which is from his unmarried sons; between those profits which are derived from the household head as a capitalist who has provided tools and implements, and finally those which come from his capacity as "owner" of land. In a larger household, differences in labor in-put, rivalry between the women about the food controlled by themselves and belonging to their husbands, or between the men about the property rights of the produce derived from their common effort, tend to create conflict and disunity. In the
592 nuclear household, the division of labor is explicit, the role ex-
594 actly and minimally distributed, and conflict, in the case of its
578 occurrence, is likely to be more quickly solved because the fission of the nuclear domestic group is equivalent to the disappearance of the household itself.

178 The functions before performed by the lineage are now
613 performed by the household, the community, or by the neighborhood
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group, composed in Amatenango of bilateral relatives, and in Aguacatenango, mainly of agnatic kinsmen, but also including some affinals and non-related people, because contiguous household-to-household localization is an ideal not always realized (we have discussed previously how in some few cases a son lives in a house given to him by his father, but one block distant from his father's own compound).

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The result of this complex set of variables is that the lineage has lost, in Aguacatenango, some of its characteristic functions. The Amatenango case, to extend the example, shows how, even when (1) patri-virilocality disappears (as a consequence of the women participating actively in the economy), and (2) the status of the sexes with regard to inheritance and rights over property becomes equal, the lineage disappears leaving only small traces of its previous presence: name groups without meaning or function.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango .
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

42 43 182 571 We can safely arrive at the conclusion that some aspects of the economic system play a very important part in the structuring of social relations in the Chiapas communities. The economic 184 241 323 434 factors which are indicated by the natives themselves and have been assessed by us as being crucial correlates of certain patterns of social behavior are:

(1) The unspecialized agricultural system of one village (Aguacatenango) versus the system of agriculture plus pottery production in the other makes the second one a "richer" town with less wealth fluctuation from year to year.

184 182 462 592 562 434 (2) The relative importance of women as bread-winners and producers in the traditional division of labor in one village (Amatenango), results in the fact that labor of women is crucial for the continuity of the domestic group, whereas in Aguacatenango, it is not. This does not mean that Aguacatenango women do not work. It just means that women's work in Aguacatenango, however exhausting, does not have a market in which it can be sold, and it cannot be transformed into subsistence goods or into money, i.e., it has an undeterminate marginal value. This gives the women in one village (Amatenango) economic independence and a higher status

184 vis-à-vis their husbands and male kinsmen, while in Aguacatenango,
182 it makes them economically dependent, and subordinates from a jural
462 point of view. In one case females inherit as men do, in the
182 other, inheritance follows a male line. In one case, they control
592 the same property as men do, in the other, they control only
512 marginal property.
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[428]
[421]

(3) The relative importance of a man is labor versus a
184 woman's labor within the domestic unit affects residence. In
182 Aguacatenango, where all important productive activities are in
462 the hands of men, residence is patri-virilocal, and only males are
434 residence sponsors regularly. In Amatenango, where productive ac-
591 tivities are in the hands of both males and females, residence is alternately matri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal, and both males and females can become residence sponsors. In Amatenango, households that depend more on the women's labor in pottery making are uxorilocal, while households in which the largest part of the domestic group income is derived from agriculture have post-marital patri-virilocal residence of their members.
[323]
[241]

184 In Aguacatenango, where all household income is derived
182 from agriculture and residence is patri-virilocal, matri-uxorilo-
434 cality occurs sporadically due to some other economic and non-
591 economic factors: (a) the inheritance of some land in the female
593 line when a daughter structurally replaces a son; (b) the coopera-
428 tive work between father-in-law-son-in-law when they replace the
562 position of father and son for each other; (c) the payment of
602 curing ceremonies and medicines for a sick married woman by her
606 own kin rather than her husband's.
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184 182 428 593 (4) The reciprocal financial obligations between parents and children in Amatenango, and between parents and sons in Aguacatenango, to support each other at different stages of the developmental cycle of their respective domestic groups affect the rule of ultimogeniture.

184 182 582 591 556 (5) The relative wealth of the natal domestic group of the spouse, measured by the amount of land controlled by the unit affects (a) the choice of marriage partner, and (b) the residence of the newly married couple. In Aguacatenango, where residence is normatively patri-virilocal, parents try to marry their daughters within the same economic level of their own households. In Amatenango, marriages occur across wealth lines, and the couple reside with the parents of the spouse who are better off.

184 182 462 476 593 (6) The relative importance of men versus female cooperative work groups, and/or the difference in structuring of work groups affects (a) the sibling bond; (b) the mother-daughter bond; and (c) the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond.

[606] In Aguacatenango, where only men form cooperative work groups, the brother-brother bond is stronger than the sister-sister bond or the brother-sister bond.

In Amatenango, where both males and females form cooperative [607] work groups, the multilateral sibling bond is reinforced to the point of including siblings-in-law.

184 593 578 591 In Aguacatenango, economic rivalry between siblings tends to disrupt the brother bond with constant conflict. Thus, relationships are more vertically oriented which is consistent with the [613] presence of agnatic descent lines (in Amatenango, generational

184 solidarity is stronger than cross-generational solidarity), but
593 generational conflict tends to disrupt the collateral extension
578 of patriline growth, making every patriline segment a shallow
591 descent group containing few generations in depth, and only few
613 collaterals.

184 (7) Territorial propinquity between households in each
361 village follows the social propinquity established in terms of eco-
592 nomic reciprocity and work interaction. Thus, in Amatenango resi-
476 dence for individuals, interaction between households and the settlement of a neighborhood follow a bilateral pattern, while in Aguacatenango the three follow the male and agnatic line. The type of economic organization, based on the domestic group, correlates with the type of domestic group formed thereof.

184 The domestic group in Aguacatenango, with an internal
59 economy based on the cooperative work of father and son and the
428 transmission of property in the male line, is a kinship unit built
562 around a core of agnatically related males with patri-virilocal residence. Among the Aguacatecos, at least one son of the nuclear family remains in the parents' household after marriage. All other children marry and move out, the sons staying close to the father. In this way, the family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of agnatic order, which extends itself in space as a patrilocally localized agnatic line, and perpetuates itself, in time, through the principle of agnatic ultimogeniture.

The domestic group in Amatenango, with an internal economy based on the cooperative work of both a father and son, a mother

184 59 428 562 and daughter, and the transmission of property in a bilateral fashion, is a kinship unit of the utrolateral type (Goody, 1958: 26) with alternate patri-uxorilocal and patri-virilocal residence.

184 59 592 562 Among the people of Amatenango, at least one child of the nuclear family stays at home after marriage, sons or daughter being equally good choices for the perpetuation of the domestic group. In this way, the Amatenango family continues through time, [428] from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of bilateral order, which extends itself territorially in a bilateral fashion, and perpetuates itself through the principle of ultrolateral ultimogeniture..

184 182 591 592 The structuring of the domestic groups as corporate units of a clearly different order is intimately connected with the rules by which residence sponsors are chosen.

184 59 562 1. In Aguacatenango, male sponsors are always preferred over females, independently of the sex, age, or marital status of the individual, while in Amatenango, where women are economically capable of being residence sponsors, they are selected as such as often as males.

184 59 562 602 2. In Aguacatenango, consanguineal sponsors are preferred over affinals or self (neolocality), except for married women, while in Amatenango, married men prefer affinals as much as married women do, under certain conditions.

184 59 602 3. In both villages, residence with a kinsman is preferred to neolocality, usually a kinsman from whom certain economic rights can be claimed (land, house, etc.).

184 591 602 4. In both villages, among consanguineal sponsors, lineal relatives who have immediate economic duties are preferred as sponsors over collaterals.

5. In Aguacatenango, among consanguineal sponsors, agnatically linked relatives are preferred over non-agnatic relatives, while in Amatenango, any consanguineal relative, a matri- or patrilineal one, is an equally likely choice.

184 591 561 6. In both villages, economic dependency is usually assigned within the parental and the children's generation, rather than within the same generation, the result being that residence sponsors are preferred to be from alternate rather than the same generation, and within the same generation, sponsors are selected in terms of seniority over Ego.

184 591 562 434 7. In both villages, spouses reside together. In Aguacatenango, the residence sponsor is the husband, while in Amatenango, either husband or wife can be sponsors. Males are the only sponsors when they are the only household members responsible for the support of the unit. Women and men are sponsors where both share the economic burden of supporting the household. Women are sponsors when they are the only ones responsible for the economic demands of the domestic group, and when their husbands work with their fathers.

184 591 586 602 8. Unmarried children reside with both parents, and work with the parent of the same sex. If the parents are separated when the children are small, they stay with the mother. In Aguacatenango, if the mother is dead, a patrilineal sponsor other than

184 591 586 602 the father is preferred, while in Amatenango, both paternal and maternal relatives are equally good choices.

184 736 591 434 9. In Aguacatenango, where widows are incapable of supporting the economic demands of the household by themselves, they choose to reside with a male sponsor in another household, while in Amatenango, they can be self-sponsors and the heads of their own domestic groups.

184 621 582 591 10. In both villages, residence within one's barrio is preferred over residence in any other territorial division. In Amatenango, cross-barrio marriages are accompanied by matri-uxorilocal residence as well as patri-virilocal residence, which results in both men and women residing in a barrio other than their own (11 per cent and 16 per cent respectively). This results in Aguacatenango barrios being related only through the circulation of women between them, while in Amatenango, both men and women are transmitted between families across barrio lines, in both directions.

184 621 602 [592] [613] [562] The structuring of economic and residential sponsorship produces two different types of neighborhoods in the two villages. In Aguacatenango, the neighborhood tends to be a cluster of agnatically linked households, while in Amatenango, it is composed of a set of kindred. The barrio in Aguacatenango, then, is a territorial division containing neighborhoods which are localized agnatic groups, which I call localized patrilines, with few non-relatives and bilateral kinsmen enclaved throughout the blocks; a man does not separate from his territory or barrio, nor from his neighborhood, while a woman circulates within neighborhoods after marriage and even within barrios. In Amatenango, both men and

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184 621 591 women tend to stay within the neighborhood in which they are born, or, equally, cross territorial lines at marriage.

121 591 To be able to derive these simple rules of residence, we had to take into account some aspects of sponsorship which Fischer did not include in his typology. First, Fischer makes the error of assuming that people make residence choices mainly in terms of kinship, and within kinship, in terms of lineage and lineage sponsors.

We have shown that people make residence choices in terms of both kinship links and economic interdependence, and that among kinsmen, unilinearity is not necessarily the basic criterion for 121 choice. Although Fischer's typology can be very useful in analyzing 128 602 groups in which linearity is strong, such as Aguacatenango, it tends to obscure the analysis of more bilateral groups such as Amatenango.

128 602 591 To make up for this bias in the taxonomy, we had to add three separate criteria for sponsorship: (1) the sex of the 562 561 sponsor, independently of his lineage affiliation; (2) the generation 571 of the sponsor; (3) the economic role of the sponsor, independently of his or her sex, and independently of his or her kinship connection with the person being sponsored.

184 591 592 At any given time, an individual in Aguacatenango or Amatenango resides in one and only one household, and derives his rights of membership in the unit through kinship or marriage, depending on the importance of his position as a laborer. While in Aguacatenango men derive their membership, as a rule, through descent and women after marriage only through affinality, in

184 Amatenango both men and women derive their rights to reside in
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592 particular homesteads through both marriage or birth, as alternate choices.

592 The economic system in itself is not an independent vari-
591 able. Given its present shape, decisions about where to live,
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181 changes in the composition of the domestic group at crucial points
602 in its development, and the strength of emotional ties between individuals are influenced by it. Most choices which concern the structuring of internal relations within the domestic unit are expressed by the cultural carriers as economic and kinship choices simultaneously, or in other words, as economic choices made within the framework offered by the kinship structure of the domestic unit.

Other factors, however, seem to perform no less important functions. Among these other factors, we have mentioned the following in separate parts of the previous text: (1) the position of the person within the kinship group which forms the core of the household; (2) the number of men and women residing in the unit; (3) the age of the household membership; (4) the temperament and attitudes of the household members with respect to each other; (5) the aspirations of the individual, in terms of the achievement of status, the insurance of positive affection and the need for psychological rewards; and (6) the laws of group interaction.

571 In order of intensity, the economic domain affects (1) the
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621 individual's status within the family; (2) the membership and organization of the domestic group, both in terms of residence choices and the distribution of authority within the unit; (3) the

571 592 [821] developmental cycle of the domestic group; (4) the relations of households within a neighborhood and within the more inclusive kinship groups; (5) the relative strength of the patriline versus the bilateral group; (6) the functions of the larger territorial endogamous divisions or barrios; and (7) the total community.

[184] Except for the importance of barrio land tenure in Aguacatenango, and general higher wealth of Amatenango as a whole, the system of production does not seem to affect the structuring of relationships at a level higher than the household and the particular type of rights and duties of members of the extended family of each village.

184 562 The position of women for the village at large is very similar in the two communities. Except for the fact that Amatenango women have the economic power and the legal right to take cases to the Ayuntamiento on their own, neither the women of Aguacatenango nor of Amatenango has rights to political officership, nor to roles outside the domestic domain, which, once more, confirms the anthropological truth that whatever the descent system, or the economic organization, jural authority is ultimately vested in the hands of the males of a society.

182 571 602 Economic factors are not the only factors affecting the interpersonal relations of the villagers. The economic structure is a given historical and cultural fact. Many choices of behavior, which are economic choices in their immediate context, are not so in terms of the long range view of the system. First, the kinship system seems to limit the range of economic alternatives for the individual, independently of the fact that choices

182 571 based on non-kinship terms would maximize profit or material
(602) benefits, which the kinship frame limits considerably. Second,
182 the cultural norms imposed on the villager about the types of work
183 which he is allowed to perform, about the maximum wealth which he
461 556 is able to control, and about the distribution of this wealth,
are, from a purely financial point of view, "anti-economical."
156 177 But an Indian living in a Ladino town, undoubtedly having the
choice of improving his life from an economic point of view,
156 626 556 alienates himself from everything which is dear to him. An Indian
attempting to live up to his aspirations of wealth within the com-
munity, alienates himself even more, and risks the dangers of
witchcraft and social ostracism.

121 The phrase, "man does not live by bread alone," is very
much of a truism here. If the primary factor in determining be-
havior were economical, the villager would have no need to live
within the customary standards of living of his community nor
would the corporate community persist. Each Indian could become
a laborer of some sort, and integrate himself into the national
society of Mexico.

But people make choices not only because they are finan-
cially advantageous, but because they preserve their standing
within their kinship group, they provide satisfaction for their
need of the psychological rewards of prestige and positive affec-
tion and for their need for "belonging" to a group of similar
human beings with similar culture and aspirations.

We have to admit, then, that it is as impossible to analyze
social dynamics, only taking into account economic variables, as

121 it is impossible to do it taking into account any other variable in isolation. Social structures are built up around several simultaneously activated domains of phenomena. Kinship (or the biological facts of birth and copulation and the concomitant social facts of descent and affinality) is one domain. Economics (or the system for the production and allocation of rights over material goods and services) is another domain. Territorial allegiances, based on spatial proximity or distance, is another. The domain of the psychological (the inherent needs of human beings for sociality, positive affection, the sharing of moral values with other men [and perhaps the need for controlling others]), is still another domain.

122 796 If we take ritual as a projective system of the importance of social domains, we can see that it involves, in every case, several of them.

[571] [527] [764] [602] [241] For example, in Aguacatenango and Amatenango, ritual practices are oriented towards: (1) expressing tensions between individuals among whom harmonic relations are re-established through the curing ceremony; (2) expressing the territorial attachments of people, such as the ceremonies for housewarmings and the fact that in the cemetery people are buried according to the place in which they resided (the cemetery is a small replica of the village); (3) expressing kinship bonds, such as the marriage ceremony, the baptisms and compadrazgos, the food given to the ancestors on Todos Santos, etc.; (4) expressing economic needs, such as the rituals performed to insure the success of the harvest.

000 Within the same cultural frame, two social groups can

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango .
Aguacatenango

184 Within the same cultural frame, two social groups can show many structural diversities which originate from delicate adjustments to internal pressures, even in the case in which, apparently, the variation seems to be the result of influences coming from the external system.

794 754 [177] One example, perhaps, summarizes, by its simplicity, the core of this problem. The post of Alferez, as it functions in the highlands of Chiapas, is an institution that tends to disappear in the more acculturated towns (i.e., those villages more affected by the external system). Although it is a religious post, it does not form part of the Ayuntamiento or Cofradias organization, nor is it part of the hierarchical ladder. A person can become an Alferez independently of his previous service in the government, as long as he can afford the burden financially or "expenses" of the fiesta for which he is selected. "However, in undertaking the post, he is subject to witchcraft exercised by neighbors envious of the wealth he displays in fulfilling his obligation" (Nash, J., 1960:94). Nash reports three informants who considered themselves bewitched as a result of having been 178 Alferezes in Amatenango. In Aguacatenango, the post has not been 794 occupied for the last twenty-five years. People refuse to take 754 the position on the grounds that they cannot afford it, and refuse to "help the pueblo" for fear of witchcraft. One can see that the same internal pressure, the pressure for economic homogeneity, has resulted in the same supernatural rationalization: fear of witchcraft. One of the villages has arrived at the point where the conflict eradicated itself through the disappearance of the post which originates it, while in the other town, Amatenango,

178 it is still functioning in the context of the witchcraft conflict.
794 754 So, although the fact that the Alferez has disappeared as a post
[177] can be taken as a sign of acculturation, it is also a reflection of differential adjustment to internal conflict.

000 Witchcraft itself is a complex phenomenon. It reflects the economic domain, in the sense that witchcraft accusations are important sanctions applied to people who try to deviate from the economic standards of the community. It reflects the kinship domain, insofar as relational roles existing within the kinship frame, in which conflict is likely to occur, are likely targets for witchcraft talk and mutual accusations. It is a territorial domain phenomenon because spatial relations between people affect their social relations and the appearance of conflict: it is common, we have mentioned, that people living on the edges of town tend to be accused of witchcraft more often, and neighbors of the household are expected to be more prone to bewitch household members than people living further away. Finally, it is a psychological phenomenon, insofar as it reflects individual personalities and/or mental distress. Some people show extreme fear of it, and some people doubt its existence (there are agnostics in every society). Some curers, who are individuals with very unstable personalities, are even willing to denounce themselves as witches with the purpose of having others fear them or respect them.
[754] People whom we, in our culture, would consider mentally ill, are
[828] classified as witches in Aguacatenango and Amatenango.

On the one hand, it can be said that witchcraft is a residual category for the explanation of otherwise unexplainable

000 phenomenon (it has been said of religion in general more than once), and therefore, it is likely to be a phenomenon in which all social domains will find expression. But on the other hand, it seems that any social phenomenon always functions in a multiple domain frame.

The family (or the nuclear family), which functions primarily, perhaps, as a socialization agent, must also "make provision for the distribution of goods and services" (Levy and Fallers, 1959:648), that is, in every society the family has economic functions. Descent groups, and/or residence units, moreover, are never purely specialized in one domain of social action, nor can they be understood in reference purely to the kinship or any other domain.

It cannot be said that the household is mainly a kinship institution, nor that it is an economic one, nor purely a territorial arrangement. It is all at the same time; people make choices in this context with reference to all domains, and in many cases they are aware of the multiple dimensions of their choice.

The household is both the focus of the relational aspects of kinship, and an economic unit of the membership type, and cannot be understood except studying simultaneously at the two levels. Most studies of the family in the U.S.A. tend to study the relational aspects of the family, rather than studying families as membership units, with few exceptions. Parsons and Bales (1955) have applied the membership unit approach in their study of the family, but this apparently general treatment is the result of extending generalizations about the American family to the rest of the world. It is not clear that their generalization holds

000 true for more than the specific case studied by them, and it only discusses one set of domains of the family: socialization and its concomitant psychological variables.

It well could be that some societies seem to emphasize structural arrangements in one domain over the others. The more difficult it is for a society to procure the basic biological needs for food, the more the economic domain can be a primary determinant of organization. The more complex a descent system and the more functions it performs in the political and ritual domains (such as the Hopi), the more kinship would tend to be emphasized by the structural arrangements as viewed by the natives themselves. That does not mean that the anthropologists cannot and should not be able to see the concomitant effects of the other domains. A study of any social group has to be, if it is going to contribute anything to our knowledge of human activity and motivations, a multi-variable analysis. A neat analysis based on a single focus of observation may well be an elegant piece of research, and simultaneously, a biased account of human life.

128 184 I think that my study of two Chiapas villages contributes somewhat to the clarification of several problems which were set forth in the Introduction. (1) It shows, I think conclusively, that social variations in Middle American Indian communities are not only the result of acculturation, but also the result of the delicate internal adjustments of their institutions. (2) It shows 128 591 that residence is a system of social coalitions to express both 571 602 kinship and economic interdependency. From the point of view of any one individual and from the point of view of a small group,

128 residence changes through time, in a developmental cycle which is
591 the result of the developmental cycle of the domestic group, both
[57] as a kinship unit and as economic centers of village life. (3) It
[602] tries to contribute to the study of residence by showing how a combined methodology, utilizing both Fischer's residence typology and Fortes' developmental cycle analysis, can render more fruitful
128 descriptions than either of the two methods in isolation. (4) It
592 shows how a single institution, the household, is affected by the multiple pressures of several alternate social domains, and how its functioning is adjusted and organized in reference to the multivariable social world.

128 I am aware that the study has suffered at times for lack of depth in the analysis of particular data. I have been unable to discuss carefully the implications of the functions of bride-price in the two communities, because I lack sufficiently objective data to support my ideas or disprove them. The same is true for a more careful analysis of the social dynamics of coalitions between siblings and between individuals living outside each domestic
128 unit. Although June Nash's dissertation offers several complete
114 examples of sibling interaction, and Metzger's field notes have
129 invaluable information in certain kinship roles, I lacked the equivalent materials from the two communities to make a more than superficial comparison.

000 I do not expect, however, this study to be the end of my inquiry into the subject. I propose to continue working in the same area of the world in the future (perhaps in the same

communities) and expand it later to a cross-cultural comparison which will allow me to elicit generalizations of a more than local order.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzéltal NV9

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[For information on "suerte", a supernatural power associated with good or bad luck or fortune in carrying out various economic enterprises, see category 777.]

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887

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[Information on the role of the "principales" in Tzeltal society has been filed in categories 624 and/or 794.]

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Tzo'ontahal

The Change of Officials in Tzo?ontahal, Chiapas, Mexico

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An Analysis of Behavior as a Key to Structure and Process

June Nash

Issued in 1970

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[Title Page]

Introduction

BEHAVIORAL REGULARITIES in ritual or informal interaction are usually considered the raw material for making structural-functional statements. The descriptive data are used illustratively or may never be included with published material. This monograph describes ritual activity, both elicited and observed. The object is (1) to state the behavioral dimensions of a structural-functional model and (2) to show where social changes are putting stress on that structure. 121

Ritual events are good occasions for such study because both communally prescribed and individually preferred behavior can be recorded. The expected behavior can be sorted out from the chance since the rules are more explicit than in ordinary interaction. Ceremonial behavior projects in a public performance a given set of status relationships. In doing things as they were done in the past, a theme repeated in prayers and in explanations for actions, people assert continuity of tradition. But just because of this, ceremonies are an occasion for dramatizing social change (Geertz, 1957). Competition between groups and tensions deriving from contradictions which are not apparent in everyday life may be expressed during the ceremony.

I have chosen the rituals of the inauguration of civil and religious officials in the community of Tzoʔontahal, Chiapas, Mexico, because in these performances people act out their techniques for maintaining continuity at the time of change.[1] The inauguration is a rite of passage designed to gain social acceptance of new personnel in a given set of roles. However, as in all ceremonies in this community, the occasion provides the backdrop for the release of latent hostilities. The formal ceremony requires drinking a great deal of the locally distilled liquor, "the gift of the ancestors" that makes fiestas possible.[2] Liquor rids the participants of embarrassment 121 182 796 121 796 273

[1] Field research was supported by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health which made possible my stay from May to September, 1964, and again in December, 1964. I am grateful to Duane Metzger for providing facilities for working in San Cristobal de las Casas with my informants. Comments by Harold Conklin, Constance Sutton, and David Hunter have helped improve earlier versions. [122] [114] [128]

[2] In a myth concerning the origin of liquor, it is said that the town had no fiestas until Santiago gave the gift of liquor.

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and, in fostering social intercourse, it frees them of other constraints. With the usual inhibitions removed, the social interaction following the ceremony allows the investigator to see below the surface. 121 796 273

We have many structural-functional descriptions of the civil-religious hierarchy of highland Maya Indian communities (Adams, 1957; Cámara Barbachano, 1952; Cancian, 1964; McArthur, 1961; Siverts, 1960, 1964; Tax, 1964; Vogt, 1965; Zabala Cubillos, 1961). The roles and functions of the hierarchy are at least minimally described in the many community studies of the area (Bunzel, 1952; Guiteras Holmes, 1961; LaFarge, 1947; LaFarge and Byers, 1931; M. Nash, 1955; Tax, 1947a,b; Valladares, 1957; Wagley, 1949; Wisdom, 1940). We have, as well, historical summaries of the colonial and independence developments (Aguirre Beltrán, 1953; Carrasco, 1952, 1961; Chávez Orozco, 1943). In previous summaries of the structure and functioning of the hierarchies, however, systematic descriptive data on performances are mostly lacking. Vogt (1965, p. 42) has indicated the value of observing behavior as a "reliable operational measure for determining rank" in Zinacantan. Cross-community comparison of institutions would be facilitated by such behavioral data. For example, the recurrent descriptive phrase "closely integrated civil-religious hierarchy" covers a spectrum of behavioral and ideological components which ranges from one in which officials of both ladders are linked by a series of sacred acts, functions and personnel, to one in which there is independent and exclusive participation. These generalizations can be broken down to a series of acts in which they are expressed. If comparison over time or between communities is to be meaningful, we must look to the descriptive detail which went into such generalizations. 121 114 121

For any scheduled event such as a ritual, three sources of data are available: the expectations of what will happen, the case histories of similar events in the past, and the observation of the event. In tapping the first of these, I have used the technique developed by Metzger and Williams (1963) in formal ethnographic analysis.[8] In this approach, the informant co- 121 124

[8] I am indebted to Duane Metzger for training in these methods, and to discussions with him, Brent Berlin, and Paul Kay which helped me in working out the observation schedule. [114]

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operates with the ethnologist in framing questions in his own language. Within a chronological framework, questions of who is doing what, when, where, how, and why are asked for each activity. The same set of questions can be asked of several informants in this phase of the investigation. This method yields understanding of the cultural models of behavior, the expectation patterns which are the charters for action. But because it restricts the stimuli in order to provoke predictable responses, the investigator runs the risk of getting only stereotyped responses, and the informants often become acculturated to the questioner's categories. We can elicit imitative or predictive behavior, but learning about innovating behavior, the "techniques," or "what to do when" (Wallace, 1964, p. 19), requires that the informant have a chance to express himself freely. Unsolicited comments and anecdotes provided by the informants as they grew bored in the formal analysis were recorded along with the responses to questions posed. These data are fed into the model. 121 124

The second source of data—concrete cases which the informant has experienced in the past—indicates the range of variation in performance, the sources of innovation, and the development of strategies. This kind of information is supplemented by observation of the event. At this phase of the investigation, particularly if one is prepared by eliciting prior to the event, the ethnologist can see in the enactment of roles the nuances of gesture and pose which indicate affect. The emotional attitudes toward things, people, and activities, which often cannot be verbalized, become apparent in the performance.

If we accept the fact that there is not a single "homemade model" of the society (Levi-Strauss, 1962, p. 324) but several, we are prepared to probe the several levels of awareness present in the actors' mode of orienting to the world. At one level cultural understandings may be explicitly formulated, at another they may be implicit in language categories, and finally they may be derived only from nonverbal patterns of behavior. The informant's statements are inadequate insofar as they may stem from (1) ideological lag such that new behavior has not been assimilated in a cognitive frame, (2) inadequate generalization such that connections between related systems of thought and action are omitted, and (3) failure by the anthropologist to interpret what the informant was telling him. The anthropologist's model of behavior is a synthesis and elaboration of the in-

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formants' conscious understandings as well as of their subconscious patterns of behavior. [121] [024]

Description of behavior requires a theoretical approach to the problems of segmenting activity streams, selecting events, and ordering them. Too large chunks of behavior are not useful in comparisons made over time in the same society or between societies. However, because human (as well as animal) behavior is characterized by motivation and cognition (Tolman, 1961) we cannot expect to isolate minimal units which are invariant from one context to another. Verbs, as French (1954, p. 162) points out, are one-act plays in which a change of dramatis personae creates entirely new meaning. Furthermore, the symbolic weight of a single act varies; it can encompass the history of an institution, such as crossing oneself, or it can establish identification with a social movement, such as raising a clenched fist. However, for any behavioral schema, which I define, following Piaget, as component acts structured in an organized totality (Flavell, 1963, p. 54), it is possible to segment acts and assess their significance. In the major schema of the inauguration of officials in Tzo'ontahal, place, time, and roles are the bases for structuring related sets of activities.

Segmenting human behavior has been treated as either an actor-oriented or an observer-oriented problem. Pike (1954) and Adams (1962) rely on informants' advice to isolate the "behavioreme," whereas Harris (1964, p. 367 ff.) rejects the actor's statement of goals in favor of the investigator's own definitions of action units. If the "basic unit of action in the human body is purposive motion" (Burke, 1962, p. 61), then we must consider the meaning of action at the first stage of an analysis.[4] The anthropological observer's segmentation at this point injects cultural bias which stems from his point of view (Hymes, 1964, p. 14; Spier and Sapir, 1930, p. 217). Since our [114] [124]

[4] Most verbs used by informants in describing action patterns imply purpose. The informant says that he "eats," not that he raises food to his mouth and masticates it. The coding of motives and goals in the verbs underlines the importance of eliciting in the performer's own language. For example, when one observes the Indians as they enter the townhall, one sees them kneel and do what could be interpreted as crossing themselves. Asked what they do, the informants reply, "We measure our noses (*sp'is sni'ik*)." Measuring water (*sp'is ha'*) is another important ceremonial act. This suggests the possible ceremonial significance of measure in ceremonial performances. To assume knowledge of the act because of its similarity to Catholic forms might rule out suggestions requiring deeper probing. Cf. Adams' (1962) distinction between the reported and the observed act, and Barker (1963). [121] [124] [193] [788] [804] [114]

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CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

informants cannot, fortunately, be relegated to the role of rats in the maze of their own cultural settings, I prefer the actor's to the investigator's statement of significantly contrasting units. I have found it useful, however, to retain both modes of analysis. Observation corrects for the shorthand statements of the informant, for his lapses of memory, or for inadequate knowledge. Even if some of these inadequacies are corrected by other informants, there remains the problem as to what is an individual understanding and what is socially shared knowledge. In addition, observation provides cues to the dynamic variables which enter into all social processes. 121 124

It is impossible, if not irrelevant, to recount all the behavior occurring in an event. Some of the selection will be fortuitous: we will record what aspects we observe. But not all of this need be included. For example, one would exclude the trips to the back of the patio to urinate by participants in a household ritual, but what might well be recorded is the etiquette with which they undertake these trips. In Tzo'ontahal, people carefully excuse themselves, saying, "I go before your face," specifying that they must urinate. Discretion requires explicitness rather than reticence in reference to such urges, perhaps because of the paranoic fears, particularly during curing ritual, that the one who is departing may be using counter-healing magic when he leaves the group. 121 121 514 [196] [152] [154]

There is no absolute rule to guide one in selection. In my own field notes, I note what is significant in terms of my own comprehension of goals being pursued. Having been cued into most of the activity in sessions with the informants prior to the event, I have 121 124

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some basis for perceiving actions significant to them. 121

Selection in the eliciting session is only partly controlled by the interviewer. The problem is not only to prod the informant for greater specificity, but to structure the recall by such devices as having him draw maps of person-place relations or kinship diagrams so that details will not be lost. As informants gain a sense of the problems being posed, they tend to become self-stimulating in providing information. 124

Finally, the problem of ordering a description of behavior is usually handled most efficiently in a chronological sequence. Simultaneous events can be described in terms of a sequence of activities occurring in different settings. This facilitates the analysis of time and space as designates of role relationships. 121

The analysis in Section 1 deals with the cognitive frame of reference concerning roles and relationships in the civil and religious hierarchies as elicited from informants using the method of formal analysis. Section 2 concerns the behavior in the ritual inaugurations of civil and religious officials in which these role structures are both exemplified and modified. Data are derived from the three sources defined above, i.e., expectations as to what will happen, performances in the past, and observation of the event in process. In Section 3 divergences between elicited and observed schedules (Appendices 1 and 2) are analyzed in terms of their significance for social change. Data derived from "informal" analysis, or unstructured interviewing of informants, are fed into the model. Finally, the behavioral data are summarized in terms of structural functional explanations and in terms of their implications for change. 121 128

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CHART 1 — CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS OFFICIALS

Officials in the Townhall	*Officials Who Link Townhall and Church*	*Officials in the Church*
Principales *(Krinaipaletik)* First Principal *(Ilha Krinaipal)* Second Principal *(Slebal Krinaipal)* President *(Presiente)* Secretary *(Secretarió)* Sindico *(Sintikó)*		Fiscal *(Pilkal)*
Judges *(Alkaletik)* First Judge, Alanzantik *(Slha Alkal ar Primeró Alkal)* Second Judge, Akh'alnantik *(Slebal Alkal)* Assistant Judge, La Grandeza *(Alkal Suplente Bolibal)* Assistant Judge, Madronal *(Alkal Suplente Magronal)*		Mayordomos *(Martomaetik)* Cofrades or Brothers *(Kobrarietik)* Cofrade of Sacramento *(Kobraria Sakyamenti)* Cofrade of Sta. Lucía *(Kobraria Halal He'tik)* Cofrade of San Pedro Martyr *(Kobraria Tatik Martil)* Cofrade of San Francisco *(Kobraria Sanfranzisko)* Elders *(Tatik)* Elder of Santiago *(Tatik Santiago)* Elder of San Antonio *(Tatil Tatik Santantonió)* Elder of Virgin Rosario *(Tatil Me'tik Rosario)* Elder of San José *(Tatil Tatik Sanhosé)* Assistants to Cofrades *(Ali'bal Kobrarietik)* Assistant to Sacramento *(Ali'bal Sakyamenti)* Assistant to Virgin Santa Lucia *(Ali'bal Halal Me'tik)* Junior Mayordomos *(Nil'nal Martomaetik)* Junior of San Pedro Martyr *(Nil'nal Tatik Martil)* Junior of San Francisco *(Nil'nal Sanfranzisko)* Junior of Santiago *(Nil'nal Santiago)* Junior of San Antonio *(Nil'nal Tatik Santantonió)* Junior of Santiago *(Nil'nal Tatik Santiago)* Junior of Rosario *(Nil'nal Me'tik Rosario)*
Regidores *(Rehiroletik)* First Regidor *(Primeró Rehiral)* Second Regidor *(Slebal Rehiral)* Third Regidor *(Yalebal Rehiral)* Fourth Regidor *(Slunebal Rehiral)*		
Policemen *(Mayoletik)* 2 First Police *(Primeró Mayal)** 2 Second Police *(Slebal Mayal)* 2 Third Police *(Yalebal Mayal)* 2 Fourth Police *(Slunebal Mayal)* 2 Last Police *(Spoil Mayal)*	Alferezes *(Alperezetik)* Elder Past *(Tat Pasaró)* Remains Past *(Šil Pasaró)* Second Past *(Slebal Pasaró)* New Alférez *(AF Alperis)*	

*Also called Maromamay.

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My eliciting procedures are described to make explicit the steps in constructing the informant's cognitive model. The first responses given by an informant are most often those which have the greatest significance within a structured system of priorities or of dominance. For example, informants in Tzoʔontahal invariably listed the officials in order of primacy. Another clue to the structuring of social relations is the omission of data in the first interview. This can mean either repression of information or lack of significance for the informant as an individual or for the society. These factors can be sorted out in subsequent interviews. 121 124

When asked, "What are all the kinds of offices in Tzoʔontahal," informants replied, "offices in the *kabiltu*, or townhall, and offices in the *čʼulna*, holy house or church. The question, "What are the kinds of officials in the townhall?" elicited the following three categories: *alkaletik*, alcaldes or judges; *rehiroletik*, regidores; and *mayoletik*, mayores or policemen. These categories are ranked relative to each other; for example, *alkaletik* is of greater prestige (*mas mamalis*, senior), *rehiroletik* next, and *mayoletik* least. Thus there are in the *alkaletik* category: *primero alkal*, first judge; *sčebal alkal*, second judge; *čeb suplente alkal*, two assistant judges. In the *rehiroletik* category there are: *primero rehirol*, first regidor; *sčebal rehirol*, second regidor; *yoĭebal rehirol*, third regidor; *čanebal rehirol*, fourth regidor. In the *mayoletik* category there are: *primero mayol*, first policeman; *sčebal mayol*, second policeman; *yoĭebal mayol*, third policeman; *sčanebal mayol*, fourth policeman; and *spoil mayol*, last policeman. 124 621* 693 [694] 554 621* 693 554 624 554 625

Cutting across this ranked hierarchy of officials are two geographical divisions; these align officials according to the side of the dual division in which they reside and which they represent. There is one judge from the upper division, *ahkʼolnantik*, and one from the lower division, *alannantik*. The first judge is chosen in alternate years from one or the other of the two divisions, and so on for each rank of judges and regidores. There are two sets of five police, one from each side of the dual division serving in alternating weeks. The two assistant judges are chosen from the barrios Magronal and Bočibal. They never attain the first two positions. In addition to this regular ladder 621* 693 [625] [554]

[P 213-A]

In addition to this regular ladder of officials representing the center and its close-lying barrios are judges representing the *colonias*, or rural settlements, of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Crus Quemada. They do not regularly attend the townhall sessions, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of new officials. Only after I had elicited officials from two informants was I able to get from the third the three judges of the colonias with the question, "Are there any other officials in the cabildo?" 621* 693 632

These civil officials constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. The positions of president and *siniku* (in Spanish *síndico*), not included in the offices of the townhall as a category by informants, were elicited in response to the question stated above. These posts are occupied by younger men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy, until the present generation, was limited to those in the 30-year age bracket. Those with such skills passed immediately into the *comisario ejidal*, commission for land grants, where they assisted in the control and redistribution of land granted under the ejido program, or went directly into the post of *síndico*. Thus they were able to avoid the onerous and time-consuming functions of the traditional posts and enter into the remunerative post of president, where their authority was recognized at an early age. With improved literacy, the competition for such posts is increasing. Although informants say that the post of president alternates for the two sides of the dual division, case materials do not bear this out. 622 624 [024] [191] [212] [423] [178] [212] 622 621* 114

The only Ladino in the hierarchy is the secretary. For the first time this year (1964) the post of secretary has been taken by an Indian of the town. This is part of the power play described below. 563 624 178

Naming of civil officials is done in November, first in a closed session in the townhall at which each official names his successor, followed by a mass meeting *(Komun K'op)* at which the names are read to the assembled household heads in the plaza. To the question, "What are all the kinds of offices in the church?" the response was given: *martomachik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces (or captains, the Spanish term *alferecés* comes from the Arabic). There are 16 mayordomos. Role terms for the mayordomos indicated that each saint was repre- 666 621* 794 [776]

[P 213-B]

sented by an elder *tatil martoma* and a junior *niĉʔanil martoma*, and that the 15 mayordomos were further ranked in terms of the four major saints, the *mas manalil* or more senior, whose mayordomos are referred to as *ḳobrwia*, cofradías or brotherhoods, and the remaining 12 mayordomos. The four *ḳobrwias* were ranked in terms of the importance and expense of the saint whom they support. The order for Tzoʔontahal is Sacramento *(Sakramentu)*, Virgin Santa

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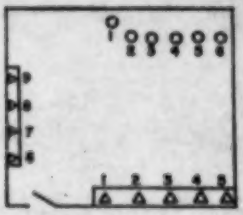

CHART 2 — EVENING, DECEMBER 31, HOUSE OF NEW JUDGE (ELICITED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Meʔil K'op)*
2 Wife of president *(Yinam Presirute)*
3-6 Wives of juniors *(Yinam Nilʔanil)*

MEN (triangles):
1 Leading house official *(Santal Nakawase)*
2 New judge *(Alʔ Alkal)*
3-5 Assistants, sons of judge *(Balnialetik)*
6-9 Woodgatherers *(Akaʔetik)*

Lucia *(Halal Meʔtik Santalunia)*, San Pedro Martyr *(Tatik Martil)*, and San Francisco *(Tatik Sanpranisku)*. There was complete agreement among the three informants questioned regarding this rank order, but for rank order of the 12 remaining mayordomos in charge of the 19 lesser saints there was no agreement between informants, and even the same informant was inconsistent in different eliciting sessions.

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[124]

Outside the traditional hierarchy is the *piḳal* (in Spanish *fiscal*), who is the direct assistant of the priest and serves in an advisory capacity in charge of the church activities of the brotherhoods and mayordomos in the absence of the priest. This role was not elicited, but in my questioning about fiestas he was mentioned as performing a certain role. The incumbent in the past three years was serving as president for the third time, showing the scarcity of men with the needed literary skills. The fiscal is usually relieved of other posts while serving in office. Another set of roles external to the hierarchy are the *meʔeletik* (or *rezadoras*, the Spanish term for female prayer-makers). These are usually widowed or single wo-

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[622]
[212]

[P 214-A]

men whom the lay sisters assisting the priest have 794
organized to help carry out the Mass and other
church rituals.

Another pair of officials, the *krinsipaletik* or princi- 624
pales, were not mentioned in the category "officials in 554
the townhall" or in that of "officials in the church,"
until I questioned, "Who names the officials?" The
response was, "Principales with the president." In
order to arrive at the higher honorific posts of princi-
pal, one must serve five times in the civil and six
times in the religious posts in the traditional hier-
archy. The principales provide continuity in the [182]
transfer of authority, remaining in the townhall
when the old officials depart to their homes, and pas-
sing over the staffs to the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28,
31). It is a position without power in the day-to-day
administration of affairs. Although the incumbents 624
occupy prestigeful positions and carry out ceremonial 554
acts, many men avoid the office because of the loss of 794
status in carrying out one of their most important
acts, the collection of contributions for the major
fiestas. The two principales must hold the plate into
which the money is turned over by the police, and
this causes "embarrassment." Formerly they were [453]
also bankers, holding the money until it was spent.
This responsibility gave prestige to the act of receiv-
ing the money, now redefined as a sort of begging
operation.

A ceremonial link between the civil and religious 794
wings is the group of officers known as the *alperese-*
tik, alfereces. They are associated with the four major [776]
saints, who are also represented by the *kobrarias* of
Sacramento, Santa Lucia, San Pedro Martyr, and San
Francisco. Their rank order is determined not by the 794
importance of the saint but by the order of entry into 554
office. These are named: *tat pasaro*, the past "father";
lil pasaro, remains past; *sk'ebal pasaro*, second past;
and *?al' alperes*, new alferez. They sit, move, and are
served in this order wherever they appear. Although 794
tied to a *k'ultat*, spirit father or saint, they function in 554
the townhall in bearing the banners there from the 62 *
church for civil affairs (App. 1, Q. 27), and they pro- 537
vide the post which is crucial for learning the set
speeches useful in all formal occasions, called the
pat?ot'an, 'behind the heart.' Because of the crucial [624]
nature of this speechmaking, no man can progress
into the post of first or second regidor without having
passed through that of alferez. This post is the most 794
difficult to fill because of the high outlay (3000 pesos 434
in one year of average expenditures, about half the 681

[P. 214-B]

average annual earnings of a man in this town); failure to accept the post when it is offered brings a jail sentence. On the following day, during a drinking session in the townhall with the assembled civil officials, the reluctant nominee usually accepts. 794 [434] [681] [273]

The civil career of an individual would be one in which he passed (*sk'as*, which I gloss as 'pass'; it is the same verb as Spanish *pasar*) first as police, then as third or fourth regidor. If he has passed as alferez, he will enter as first or second regidor at this stage, and then go on to second judge and finally become first judge. If not, he will stop as third or fourth regidor. After reaching the peak of his career as first judge, he may return to the police group as *martomorey*. Present leaders of the town consider this an "ugly" custom and say they hope to change it because it puts men of major age in a position of minor importance. Formerly men had to fulfill six turns in civil office, twice as regidor and twice as judge, to be considered free of further obligation. But now, because of increasing population (according to informants), this has been lowered to five required turns. The post which has been eliminated is that of assistant judge, which is now filled by a representative of one of the two barrios. 156 621* 554 693 [794] [829] 624 693 178 156

Throughout his career in office, a household head is expected to alternate between the civil and religious posts. Religious posts are considered less onerous since they require only six months of service, from the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo at the end of June until January 6, and the men are on duty only Sundays and holidays. A balanced number of six turns in each of the branches of the hierarchy was expected, prior to the reduction of the number of civil posts to five, to bring one to the end of one's career. In a census of 311 household heads made in 1964, passage in office shows a balance between posts undertaken in each wing of the hierarchy. Of 13 men over 70 years of age, five had completed service in civil and religious office. Three who had passed as president had served only once or twice in each wing of the hierarchy. The remaining five had a balanced but incomplete career. 621* 156 794 [125]

In the religious hierarchy, a man passes first as *nit'anil kuč ha'*, 'minor who brings liquor.' Then he will pass as *'ali'bal*, the assistant to the *kobraria*, particularly charged with the slaughter of the bull for the large fiestas. These "servants" were not distinguished from other mayordomos in the initial listing of officers, but were mentioned in the description of fiesta 794 554 156

[P. 215-A]

activities. Following this, he then serves as *tatil* of any 794
saint of minor rank, then as *tatil* of San Pedro Martyr 554
or San Francisco, followed by a turn as *tatil* of the 156
k̓obraria Virgin Santa Lucia, and finally as *tatil* of the
k̓obraria Sacramento.

The Tzeltal role terms in both the civil and reli- 621*
gious hierarchies reveal the preconquest age-ranking 554
system. This is evident in the use of elder and junior 794
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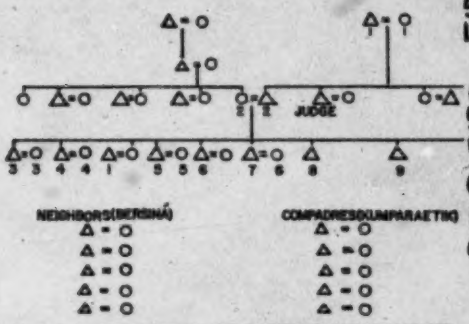

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CHART 3 — ASSISTANTS AND PARTICIPANTS IN HOUSE FIESTA OF JUDGE (ELICITED)

Circles indicate women; triangles indicate men. For role term applying to number, see Chart 4.

titles for mayordomos (*tatil* and *niʔ anil martoma*) 621*
and in the use of *mas mamalil* (more senior) for 554
higher rank offices. 794
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The informant's understanding of the hierarchy is
that of a core of officeholders in three ranked seg- 124
ments (Chart 1). This is coded in the group terms for
officials. Roles peripheral to the major categories such 621*
as those of rural judges, fiscal and women prayer- 794
makers, are elicited only with repeated questioning 554
or with reference to some event in which they func-
tion. These roles differ from those mentioned first in that they are either of little significance to the individual informant (this would explain the consistent omission of the rural judge by the people of the center) or are not part of the required posts incumbent upon every male household head to undertake (this might explain the omission of the president, síndico, principales and fiscales in the first eliciting session). Structural principles made explicit by the informants are (1) hierarchical rank, (2) progression from lower to higher posts, and (3) territorial balance in representation of the dual division. An implicit corollary of passage through offices beginning with lower ranks is the age grading of officeholders. Other structural aspects emerged in the description of behavior, described below.

[P 215-B]

INFORMANTS' SEGMENTATION of behavior in the inauguration of civil and religious officials is based on responses to questions in Appendices 1 and 2. The description of the activities is organized in 128 [124]

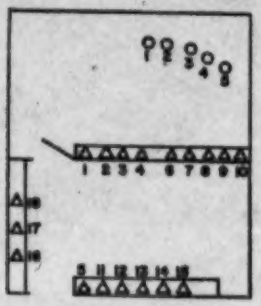

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CHART 4 — MORNING, NEW YEAR'S DAY, HOUSE OF FIRST JUDGE (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Me'il K'op)*
2 Second woman *(Slebal sme')*
3 Third woman *(Yolebal sme')*
4, 5 Women *(Me'elenik)*

MEN (triangles):
1-4 Nakawane
5 First judge *(Mam primeró Alkal)*
6 Second judge *(Alkal Slebal)*
7 Assistant judge of La Grandeza *(Hawes Suplente Bolibal)*
8 Assistant judge of Madronal *(Hawes Suplente Magronal)*
9 Assistant judge of San Caralampio *(Hawes Suplente Sankarulampio)*
10 Assistant judge of San Vicente *(Hawes Suplente San Bisente)*
11 First regidor *(Rehirol Primero)*
12 Second regidor *(Rihirol Slebal)*
13 Síndico *(Sintika)*
14 Third regidor *(Rehirol Yolebal)*
15 Fourth regidor *(Rehirol Slucebal)*
16 *Ralnial*
17 Liquor pourer *(P'is He')*
18 *Ralnial*

terms of settings and roles. For each segment of behavior an attempt will be made to analyze how the structural relations and values are spelled out in spatial location, mode of address, and activity. 128

The settings in which the change of civil officials is carried out are (1) the houses of the incoming officials, (2) the townhall, (3) the plaza, and (4) the church. In each arena, the validation and support of 621*

[P.216-A]

the new officials are publicly defined before overlapping sets of participants and observers. Within each setting, the multiple sets of relationships which determine the individual's selection for a role are indicated in Appendix 3. 621* [571] [602]

It has often been stated of Guatemalan and Mexican highland Maya communities that public office is an undertaking of the household. The precise dimensions of this support have yet to be defined in an activity context. Visitors and helpers in the household celebration provide one such context in which the parameters of the aid can be defined (Charts 2, 3, 4). Primary support is given by the official's wife, without whom he would not be serving in the hierarchy.[6] She serves him by waiting for him in the house, taking care of the money he might have to guard as a civil official, and watching him while he is drunk from the bouts in the townhall so that he will not harm himself by falling in the fire or be harmed by his enemies. His advisors and councilors in the household are the *nakawanehetik*.[6] These are men who have passed through some of the civil offices —at least those of *alferez* and first regidor—and who are somehow related to the new official.[7] A second group of supporters in the household serve as errand boys and assistants, the *balnialetik*. They are chosen from among brothers, brothers-in-law,[8] sons, *compadres* (ritual co-parents), godchildren, and neighbors. A third group are the *ik̓oltawanehetik*, the fe- 621* 592 [574] [593] [602]

[6] Innumerable instances attest to the significance of the wife in officeholding. For example, at the final ceremony in a betrothal, the boy is advised by his elders that now he will be called to serve the pueblo. Or, in the court case of a judge whose wife wished to leave him because he had beaten her, the other judges counseled her to wait until he had completed his term of office.

[6] The term *nakawanehetik* may be derived from the honorific prefix *nak*, found in other Maya languages (LaFarge, 1947). Another possibility is that it may be the stem *na*, 'house,' plus *kawanehetik*, tentatively glossed as 'officials.' [193]

[7] In the case of the president (in the observed sequence) his father, who had passed through all the offices up to the first judge and had fulfilled his turns in the religious hierarchy as well, was the first *nakawane*.

[8] The term *bal* is generic for brother-in-law, *nial* for father-in-law, but whether this formerly had significance in the selection of assistance I do not know. At present, brothers-in-law are chosen along with others, such as godchildren or neighbors. [601]

[P. 216-B]

Change of Officials

male helpers who are usually wives of the *balnialetik*, or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors who come to congratulate the new official. Particularly conspicuous because of their Ladino or non-Indian clothing in the house of the president (Chart 6) were the visitors from the outlying rancherías and colonias of Tzoʔontahal. 621* [592] [574]

Validation in the household setting takes place in two scenes. The first occurs on the eve of New Year. Each new official entertains in his house the men he has chosen as his *nakawanehetik* and as his *balnialetik*. Only those *balnialetik* who are immediately related come to this gathering. The *meʔil k'op*, 'woman speaker,' is present along with the wives of the *balnialetik* (Chart 2). The house is decorated with pine needles and juniper boughs in the afternoon. The visitors arrive with wood and pitchpine to light the house at about eight in the evening and stay until the liquor is finished. Drinking order is from elder to younger, which coincides with the prestige ranking. The *nakawanehetik* are served, then the *nil'anil*. 621* 574 592 [602] [353] [273] [554]

The second household gathering takes place on the morning of the New Year. Major settings for such gatherings are the house of the first judge and the house of the new president. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the three other regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house. They join the president at his house and then proceed to the townhall. The group of five police from *ahk'olnantik* meet separately in the house of the first police of that side, and those of *alannantik* meet in the house of their first police. 621* 574 693 [592]

The assembled officials proceed to the townhall, announcing with rockets to the policemen that they have left. Gathered in the townhall, referred to in the formal address or *patʔot'an* as the *sik na*, 'cold house,'[9] are the 'old officials' *(k'a hu'eletik)* along with the alfereces and the principales. They enter two by two, the president and síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges, and the judges of the barrios and colonias. They kneel and 'measure their noses' *(sp'is snisʔik,)* as they enter, showing respect to the holy banners which the alfereces have delivered from the church. 621* 693 [202] [794] [554] [788] [794]

[9] Bunzel (1952, p. 377) translates a formal speech in which the townhall of Chichicastenango is referred to as that "cold house, the icy house," but the Quiche word is not included. The pattern of double synonyms for nouns is present in these Quiche formal texts as in the Tzeltal. [197]

[P 217-A]

reces have delivered from the church. The presence of the alfereces with their banners proclaims the link between civil and religious office. 621* 794 182

The principales, now fairly inebriated after their long wait for the arrival of the new officials, pass out the staffs, assisted by the old president who helps direct them as they wander in a daze from the table to the new officials. The intoxicated state of the principales is never mentioned in elicited statements. The act of passing over the staffs is a significant index to their role in the hierarchy. As the only "permanent" 621* 624 [273]

621* 554 693

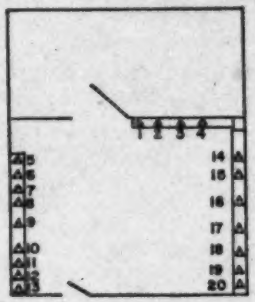

CHART 5 — MORNING, HOUSE OF PRESIDENT, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS (all men):

1 Nakawane
2 President
3, 4 Nakawane
5 First judge
6 Second judge
7 Síndico
8, 9 Assistant judges
10 First regidor
11 Second regidor
12 Third regidor
13 Fourth regidor
14-20 *Balnisletsik*

incumbents—permanent so long as they are alive, healthy, and not impoverished—they are the link between the outgoing and incoming officials. When all the old officials have retired to their homes following the ceremony, and the new officials have gone on to the church, the principales wait in the townhall for the new officials to return for the afternoon drinking session in which they will join, as they had done in the morning with the old officials. 621* 624 [273]

Wearing their rosaries, the new officials follow the alfereces out of the townhall in a procession. Holding the holy banners, the alfereces line up before the townhall, dip their banners, and proceed to the 621* 794 788

[P. 217-B]

church where the same reverence is accorded to the church. The order of the procession following them indicates the rank order of the officials, from the *spoil mayol*, the last policeman, to the first and second judge (Chart 9). The precedence of the first two

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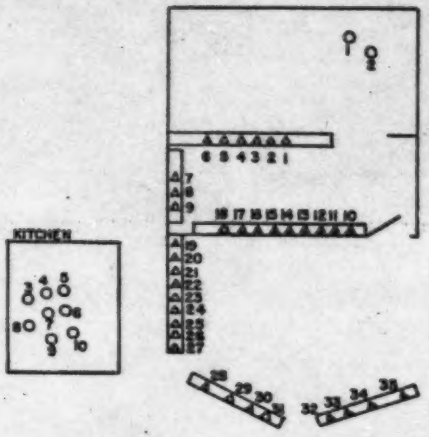

CHART 6 — MORNING, NEW YEAR'S DAY, HOUSE OF NEW PRESIDENT (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):

1 Woman speaker *(Meʔil k'op)*, comadre president
2 Second woman, neighbor
3-10 *Wanehetik*

MEN (triangles):

1 First Nakawane
2 Second Nakawane
3 Third Nakawane, brother of president
4 President
5, 6 Visitors from Colonias
7-9 *Balnieletik*
10 First judge
11 Second judge
12 First regidor
13 Second regidor
14 Third regidor
15 Fourth regidor
16 Assistant judge of Madronal
17 Assistant judge of La Grandeza
18 Assistant judge of San Caralampio
19-35 Visitors

judges over the president and síndico reverses that which was taken as they enter the church. There may be some permissible variation here, since the elicited version of the former president indicates that they should enter last. Possibly the threat of assassination (p. 223) caused them to enter before the judges as a security measure. The procession makes two turns

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[P. 218-A]

621* 788 554 693

"to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] who the new officials to remain in office are."

Awaiting the new officials in the church are all the mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see who they are" (App. 1, Q. 48, 49). The new officials "speak to God," asking for health so that they can complete their obligation to the town. They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father townhall." There they spend the remainder of the afternoon.

621* 794 [782] [788]

The mayordomos go to the kitchen attached to the townhall. The first policeman directs the purchase of liquor and the measuring out of drinks for the ten policemen from the two sides of the dual division and the two rural commissioners. In the townhall the new president's first orders are to the fourth regidor to ask him to buy two liters of "the gift," liquor. The pardon to the ancestors, and the offering of the gift to the principales, is in the hands of the first judge, who knows the *pas⁹ot'an*, and can do the honors. The president is served following the principales in the round of drinking.

621* 273 [794] [625] [693] [782] [431] [537]

The change of religious officials takes place on the fiesta day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29, and on the day of the three Kings, January 6. This provides a six-month term of office. The new officials gather in the homes of the *kobraria* of Halal me⁹tik and Sakramentu, and in the church. Thus two settings, home and church, come into play with the change of civil officials, but the townhall, significantly, is not part of this act nor are the alferetes called into action.

794 796

The ceremony lasts three days: first day is *pas kantelero*, 'to make candles,' when the candles are cleaned, and the old mayordomos eat a "common meal" *(komun we⁹el)*; second day is *wiiperes*, when the oath is taken; final day is *sk'ahk'alel*, when the new mayordomos play the drums or flute.

The first gathering, which took place the year I observed it in the house of the *kobraria* of Halal Me⁹tik Santalusia, was cut short because the *kobraria* did not have a porch, and it had begun raining. By local standards, a house without a porch is considered inadequate, and is called 'cow house' *(wakaĩ na⁹)* since the owner cannot accommodate guests on such occasions. The group therefore lingered longer in the house of the *kobraria* of Sakramentu.

[362]

The speech of the *nakawane* to the "elder new mayordomos" *(mamal ⁹aĩ martomartik)* (App. 2,

[537]

[P. 218-B]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

Q. 68) is a review of the major activities in which they will take part in the church. The phrase 'before the face of,' *ta sit*, is the orientation he indicates to the new mayordomos to perform these acts. 794 796 [537]

The ceremony in the church when the mayordomos receive their candles is limited to the few words of advice spoken to them by the fiscal and the passing over of the candles. There is no representation by the civil authorities in the ceremonial aspect of installation, although the fiscal, in his dual office as assistant to the priest and as president, indirectly takes this role. The alfereces, who provide the link on other occasions for the civil officers' inauguration, are not active during this changing of the religious officers. Following the ceremony inside the church, the town treasurer and síndico help the fiscal count the money passed over with each *kobraria*. Thus the "integration" of the hierarchy is asymmetrical, providing for a church representation in civil affairs, but only in a limited sense is there the reverse. [621]* [624]

The mayordomos return to the house of the *kobraria* Sakramentu. The *nakawanehetik* have lost their place of honor at the *hol wanku*, 'head of the bench,' and are sleeping under the bench or in the corner. Their presence is no longer socially marked, and it is not a point which was elicited.

The behavior during the inauguration of civil officials showed the following structural features. The hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth stepladder but a segmented order. The categories elicited in the first session with the informant—*alkaletik*, *rehiroletik*, and *mayoletik*—act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same areas in all the settings (App. 1, Q. 14, 15, 51, 64–74). Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They order their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge issues an order to the fourth regidor to get liquor (App. 1, Q. 55) and the first police orders the commissioner from the rural colonias to get liquor for their group (App. 1, Q. 79). In these behavioral indices one can see the segmentation of the civil hierarchy, ordered by age, skill acquired in the expensive office of alferez, and territorial identification. Age grading is absolute only between the segments, and is roughly applicable within each segment. 621* 571 554 156 [561]

In the inauguration of the religious officials, elder and younger officials associated with each saint act 794 561 156

[P 219-A] TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 220-A

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontahal

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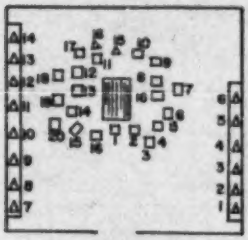


CHART 7 — TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING OATH OF OFFICE (ELICITED)

OLD OFFICIALS (triangles):

1 First principal
2 Second principal
3 Elder past alférez
4 Remaining past alférez
5 Third past alférez
6 Junior alférez
7 First judge
8 Second judge
9 Third judge
10 Fourth judge
11 First regidor
12 Second regidor
13 Third regidor
14 Fourth regidor
15 President
16 Síndico

NEW OFFICIALS (squares):

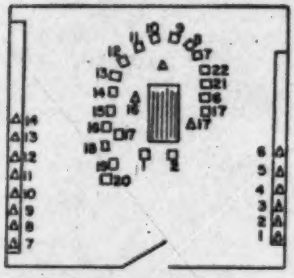
1 President
2 Síndico
3 First judge
4 Second judge
5 Third judge
6 Fourth judge
7 First regidor
8 Second regidor
9 Third regidor
10 Fourth regidor
11 First police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
12 Second police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
13 Third police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
14 Fourth police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
15 Last police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
16 First police *(Alannantik)*
17 Second police *(Alannantik)*
18 Third police *(Alannantik)*
19 Fourth police *(Alannantik)*
20 Fifth police *(Alannantik)*

NOTE: Canes of office are on table near center of room.

[P. 219-B]

as a team. Thus the junior *(nit'anil)* and senior *(tatil)* officials walk and sit in pairs. The senior officials order the junior. Just as in the case of the civil officials, some junior mayordomos may be younger than others who are in lower positions, because they have passed in the lower offices at an earlier age, but all senior mayordomos are older than their paired juniors. 794 561 156

Another important structural feature that became apparent in the behavioral schedules is the household base establishing the officeholders' position in both hierarchies. The new official learns his role obligations from the *nakawanehetik*, the group of elders 621* 156 794 592 [867]



621* 554 693 293

CHART 8 — INSIDE THE TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING THE OATH (OBSERVED)

Old officials are indicated by triangles, new officials by squares. Numbers refer to list on Chart 7. Three officials—the old secretary (17) and two new rural judges (21 and 22)—were not listed in the elicited session, Chart 7. Canes of office are on the table near the center of the room. Numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7.

who assemble in his house and who will assist him in his period in office. The ceremony in the house establishes this as a significant domain in public affairs. Relatives, neighbors, and compadres make up the interlocking network of supporters in the setting of the household. Both husband's and wife's relatives are symmetrically represented (Chart 3; see also J. Nash, 1964b, report on alferez assistants). Because of the expenses and the commitment of time during the period of office, the officials must have this backing to fulfill their obligations. A man with many compadres and godchildren has a firmer base to support his career in office. In the case of the new president, this was mentioned as an important asset by the president's brother. The guest list (Charts 3, 4) reveals the multiple references which establish the individual's role during any event. 621* 156 794 592 [867] 621* 794 592 602 156 [608]

[P. 220-A]

Change of Officials

The degree of integration of the civil and religious wings of the hierarchy can be described behaviorally. The following acts (App. 1) indicate this structural feature. 621* 794 182

Q. 24. The civil officials kneel and "measure their noses" as they enter the townhall in deference to the banners. [788]

Q. 27. Sacred objects, such as the holy banners of the *kobrarias*, are present on the table in the townhall as the officers take the oath of office. Officials carry rosaries as they accept oath and wear them in the procession to the church. [778]

Q. 28. The alfereces are present in the townhall to witness the ceremony. As bearers of the four major saints of the town, their role is primarily defined in a religious context.

Q. 41. Officials go to the church immediately following their procession in the plaza to pray for health to carry out their responsibilities. [782]

Q. 48. The religious officials are present in church on New Year's day to witness the arrival of new officials of the civil wing.

The alfereces link the two wings of the hierarchy in the following acts: 794 182

Q. 36. They carry the sacred banners to the townhall on the day of the inauguration.

Chart 9. They lead the parade of new officials of the civil wing.

Q. 28. They witness ("look at") the inauguration of the civil officials in the townhall.

Q. 36. In emerging from the townhall, they bow and incline their banners first before the townhall, then before the church. [788]

In the inauguration of the religious officials the only act uniting officials of the two wings of the hierarchies is that of counting the money (App. 2, Q. 90) when the town treasurer and síndico assist the church officials. The integration of the civil and religious wings in Tzo?ontahal is asymmetrical. The church officials as a group are involved in the civil inauguration, but the civil officials are only peripherally involved in the religious inauguration. 621* 794 182 [624]

Another behavioral basis for stating the dimensions of the civil and religious integration is found in the replication of symbols and acts in each inauguration. In taking the oath, the term *yiť huramentu* is used in both settings. The staff as symbol of civil office has its counterpart in the candles handed over to the mayordomos. In both ceremonies, officials of the townhall and of the church wear red kerchiefs and carry rosaries when receiving the oath of office. 621* 794 182 782 788 [641] [292] [293]

Replication of behavior in both civil and religious 000

[P. 220—B]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS Replication of behavior in both civil and religious inauguration is also seen in the house ceremonies. Prior to setting out to the townhall or to the church, the new officials acquire a sense of the sacred obligations they are about to undertake from the words of the *nakawanehetik*. 621* 794 796 182

The major behavioral schema are established in the settings in which activities occur. In each setting, the actors assert status in a social arrangement by their position in a physical arrangement: seating order clockwise from the door indicates rank order in all settings. The same act has a different significance in each setting. For example, drinking in the townhall differs from drinking in the house because it ties together different sets of actors.[10] As the actors move from one setting to the next, they are accompanied by some of the members linking them to the prior setting, as when the *nakawanehetik* accompany the president to the townhall. 621* 794 156 182 571 554 [273]

The significance of setting in allocating roles is evident in the Tzeltal terms for categories of officials: religious officials are called "officials in the church" (*ʔaʔteletik te ta Ɛulna*) and civil officials are called "officials in the townhall" (*ʔaʔteletik te ta Ɛulna*). If my guess concerning the derivation of the term *nakawane* from house officials is correct (note 6), then this category derives its name from the locus in which authority is recognized. 621* 794 182 192 156

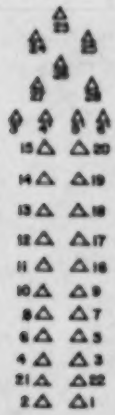
The analysis of behavior, or roles in action, corroborates some of the understandings gained from eliciting the structure, but requires some modification. The segmentary character of the hierarchy is evidenced in the domain, action, and the timing of action. However, qualifications of the elicited model must be made on the basis of the behavioral data. First, the asymmetry of the links between civil and religious officials in the church setting as compared with the townhall setting requires a qualification of the meaning of the integration for the two wings. 621* 794 182 156

[10] This adds a further caveat to the "behaviorist fallacies" pointed out by Lewin (1951, p. 79) when the psychological setting is ignored in the description of the physical dimension of an act. [114]

[P. 221-A]

Second, the house ceremonials require the addition of this segment to complement the civil and religious structures so that we have a triadic set of officials—civil, religious and household—rather than a dyadic set as is usually described for Mesoamerican communities. 621* 794 182 156

Agent, place, time, and acts, both verbal and motor, 121



621*
794
788
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554

CHART 9 — PROCESSION, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS:

3'-6' Alferecs
23 Guitarist *(alpulterro)*
24, 25 Firecracker lighters *(tomest ti'bak)*
26 Flautist *(yamai)*
27, 28 Drummers *(tihik sk'ayobik)*

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7, in addition to 21 and 22, rural judges listed in Chart 8.

carefully described, are the pegs on which comparative analysis can be hung. What we lose in literary value in ethnographic accounts, we may gain in making explicit the inductive bases of structural functional analyses. Once we understand the principles involved in the assignment of position or action in any setting, variations from the elicited and observed pattern provide clues to social change within small time periods. 121

[P. 221-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo'ontahal

MOST ETHNOGRAPHIC REPORTS on the civil-religious hierarchy emphasize status and the functional goal of community integration. What we have failed to impart is the dynamic aspect of status, role. In the divergences between expected and enacted patterns of behavior in those occasions when the individual

621*
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621*
794
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533

CHART 10 — NEW YEAR'S DAY PROCESSION OF NEW OFFICIALS (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:
29, 30, 31 Comisarios of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Cruz Quemada

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Charts 7 and 9.

"puts into effect the rights and duties which constitute the status" (Linton, 1936, p. 114), we have micrometers to the measurement of change. The details of change may be small—for example, a shift in the lineup of officials in a procession—but it may be a clue to important organizational changes. The behavioral changes in details of this sort provide cues to eliciting information that will explain the divergences. An important supplement to these cues are the unsolicited comments of informants. Sometimes

621*
121
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178
621*
124
178

[P. 222-A]

these apparently irrelevant comments reveal the 621*
power play going on behind the scene of the ritual. 178

The observed schedule for the civil inauguration 124
(App. 1, column 4) differed from the elicited in four details. The first of these was an item omitted by both informants: after liquor was served in the house of the president, the entire company stood up and "turned toward the wall" (App. 1, Q. 20). When I questioned my informant, he corrected the orientation "toward the wall" and said that they were turning toward the east in deference to the leader of all the saints of the east, led by Santo Açio. He said that it was done in all household celebrations in order "to be sure that the devil does not enter." Belief concern- [776]
ing these saints is fragmentary, and perhaps because of this, behavior relating to them is not easily recalled. These behavioral sherds, when cut off from the belief system they once dramatized, survive in "perpetuating the custom of the ancestors" *(kiš sluwar hiš likem meʔtikstik)*.

Another detail not mentioned by informants was 124
the presence in the house of the president of the rural 632
colonia inhabitants (Chart 6). This omission is typi- 622
cal of the neglect in reporting the activity or presence 574
of anyone other than residents of the center. When I asked what they were doing there, I was told they came "to know the president."

Finally, an important divergence from expected 621*
behavior occurred when the schoolteacher, instead of 875
the secretary, delivered the oath of office. This change 178
was evidence of the schoolteacher's success in a fac- 578
tional struggle developing around new economic enterprises in the town. The former Ladino secretary 621*
was in close alliance with the former president and 578
had supporters in the group of 20 co-owners, In- 474
dians from the village, of the truck when he had 875
purchased. When the incoming president with his 494
brother bought a truck with the assistance of 30 members of a truck-owning cooperative, a new focus for factional strife appeared in the town. The new cooperative was supported by the schoolteacher in his own bid for power. When the truck owners ran into any difficulty with the highway patrol, carrying wood or passengers without permit, the driver would refer them to the schoolteacher, who would then claim it

[P. 222-B]

was done at his order for the school.[11] The new co- 621*
operative was harassed by the old group, since the 578
president did everything in his power to cut down 474
their competition. As fiscal, his other role, he maneu- 494
vered the appointment of the chief business agent of [875]
the new truck cooperative and three other members [622]
as *niʔanil martomaetik*, junior caretakers of the [794]
saints. This meant that their Sundays were occupied
in church affairs and cut into their taxiing of passen-
gers from Tzoʔontahal to Himšol, the neighboring
Ladino town.

The nomination of the president was effected by 621*
winning the support of the Partido Revolucionario 665
Institucional (PRI). Supporters of the nominee se- 666
cured over 85 signatures from townspeople; the op- 622
position candidate failed to get more than 28. Once 578
PRI support was obtained, the election on November
20 was assured since one-party rule prevails here as
in the capital. This is the first election which has been
contested in 10 years. The last contest came when
some members of the barrio of Yut' hok became
members of the minor party, Partido Acción Na-
cional (PAN). Because this group and their presi-
dential candidate all came from one side of the dual
division, Alannantik, those from the other side said
that they should have a party representative. They
drew up a plan to run a candidate on PRI. The PAN
candidate won. The present contest was drawn on [474]
the basis of membership in the truck-owning coopera-
tives which cut across the dual division.

The present nominee did not want to run for office. 666
Early in the running there were verbal threats on his 622
life. He had never passed in any office other than that 578
of president of the ejido commission, and although
the office of president is not a rung in the ladder to
office, it is expected that the incumbent would at least
have experience as síndico. Three sources of oppositi- 666
tion to his candidacy developed. First in importance 622
was the original trucking cooperative, which objected 578
to the competition of the president and his faction 474
in the new cooperative. Second, these members 548
spread the rumor that the new president would bring
in federal agents to break up the liquor traffic, which
was becoming one of Tzoʔontahal's most important
economic self-development projects. Thus all the dis-
tillers were apprehensive of their future under his
term of office. Third, there was opposition on the

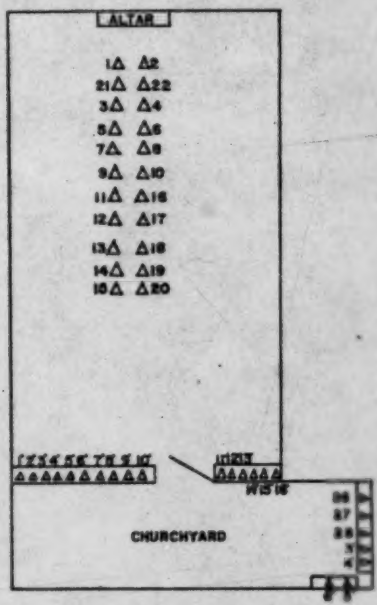
[11] Siverts (1964) describes Ladinos' "competition for each others' Indians in Cancuc."

[P. 223-A]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

Third, there was opposition on the score that the president had never passed in any other public office. The only incident revealing the discontent was the firing of eight shots at (or above) the president's brother following the house festival on the eve of the inauguration. 666 578 622

The principales, who "formerly were the ones who ruled," no longer have a part in the power struggle 624 178



621 794 554 346

CHART 11 — NEW OFFICIALS INSIDE CHURCH, NEW YEAR'S DAY

OFFICIALS:
1'-16' Mayordomos
Remaining numbers refer to officials listed in Charts 7-9.

which centers on party membership and economic competition. Their ceremonial role in rituals is preserved as a link with the past as well as a sign of continuity between old and new officials. 624 178 [794]

In the inauguration of the religious officials, divergence in the elicited and the observed event (App. 2, column 4) occurred first of all in the shift of locale for the common meal from the churchyard to the house of the *?ali?bal* instead of in the churchyard (App. 2, Q. 19). This was a clue to the power struggle going on in the church. When I questioned my informant about the disparity, he told me the following story: 794 178 578 [264] [793] [273]

[P. 223-B]

Three years before [in 1961] my father was the *tatik* of Sacramento. One day he and the other mayordomos were drinking at the door of the church. The priest came out and demanded that they stop because this was the house of God. The *tatik* replied that it was the custom of the pueblo, and he and the other men refused to leave. The priest went back into the church and returned with a gun in his hand. The mayordomos seized wood which they had gathered in the yard of the church. They threatened the priest with this and he went back into the church. He announced that he would not give Mass, or perform wedding or baptismal ceremonies. We did not mind if he did not give the Mass or would not give weddings, but the people were frightened if he would not give baptism. The mayordomos had a meeting and they agreed to give up drinking in the church if the priest would continue to give baptism, but they

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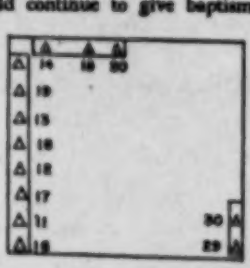


CHART 12 — KITCHEN OF POLICE, AFTER CHURCH (ELICITED)

Numbers refer to role terms listed in Charts 7 and 10.

would no longer care for the pigs or bring wood for the priest without payment. We pay him 15 pesos for an ordinary Mass and 40 pesos for a sung Mass, so he should pay us for help. The priest was in agreement with the mayordomos.

My informant had not realized that the ban affected eating in the yard of the church, but it was implied because liquor is served before the meal "to prepare the stomach" *(ya ital skoip we'eletik)* and after the meal "to wash down the food" *(ya'lel we'elil)*. [124]

The statement on who defines what performances, and in what setting, provides an index to the locus of power. The priest is gaining more control over the building, maintenance, and developments around the church. The mayordomos give at least a half-day's labor to the priest's projects each Sunday. When they cannot work, they must pay the elder *kobraria* two pesos for a half-day's work missed, or 4 pesos for a full day. The proceeds are used to buy liquor, which the mayordomos drink. Thus the social control is ex- 000

[P. 224-A]

Thus the social control is exerted through the traditional hierarchy, but the benefits of the labor go toward the priest's projects. The priest speaks with some satisfaction of the increasing control the "church" (he) has over the people. He maintains that this is because the people are more "civilized." For him, the indices to civilization are the facts that there is no drinking in the church, there is greater attendance at Mass, and more people are wearing Ladino clothing. 794 793 178 [626]

The second divergence in the elicited and observed accounts for the religious inauguration occurred when the civil officials, including the town secretary and síndico, assisted the religious officials in counting the money collected for the fiesta. 621* 794 182

An important supplement to the behavorial data were the unsolicited comments of informants. Their anecdotes often gave me clues to their involvement in the gamesmanship of operating within culturally defined patterns. Although the informant focuses on the formal question, his growing boredom with the sequence (Who sat next to him? What did they do next? Who was there?) leads him to muse about the associated ideas and images which did interest him, often self-damaging or negative aspects of the culture which he might want to hide if questioned directly. The technique resembles that of the astronomer instructing the novice stargazer: "If you want to see the Pleiades, look at Jupiter, and out of the corner of your eye the nebulous cluster of stars of the Pleiades becomes visible." 124

The following illustrates how this free association emerged in the formal eliciting procedure: 124 598 682

Informant 2 constantly reiterated the danger his brother would encounter in undertaking the post of president as we discussed inauguration procedures. For example, when he gave me a list of participants at the Judge's house when his father took on that post, he mentioned the name of a widow, Cika, and provided the unsolicited information that her husband had been shot on December 16, 1963, the fiesta of Halal Meʔtik Santalusia. Informant's statement: "He did not know he had an enemy, and so he walked alone that night. Each fiesta someone is killed. During the fiesta of San Francisco this year, another man in Bočibal was killed. No one knows why. He was knifed with a machete. I never go out alone at night because of the fights with the cooperative. They [the members of the opposing cooperative] are very hard *(haʔ ben bolik)*. They claim they will kill us."

What prompted the next revelation was my com- 124

[P. 224-B]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

ment, engrossed as I was in the task of eliciting the formal sequence of events, "Quiet, S.; let's get on with the fiesta." He persisted in what interested him. 124

Eleven years ago they [who? enemies?] tried to get me. I had a piece of land in hot country. My house here was not ready, but the wood was ready. M. C. a neighbor was jealous [*šil yo'tan*, 'saw his heart']. He had caused another neighbor's illness. He was my wife's *mu'* [literally 'brother-in-law,' in this case the informant's wife's ta's sis's husband]. He didn't have corn or beans. He was jealous because of my crops and the big house I was going to build. 124 578 [754] [601] [602]

By now I was asking questions and taking notes. I interposed, "How did you know?" 124 578

I knew because when I got sick, the curer (who was the dead husband of the widow who came to the judges' house) told me. The *cabron* (goat) witches leave their signature in the blood (*yak hilel firma ta šil'*). Then I went to a curer in Chamula who confirmed it. 754 756

"How did he speak to you?" 124

In Tzotzil. Then I went to Las Casas. Another curer, also a Chamulteco, said, "Here is his signature in your blood. He is working alone." On January 7 I fell in bed. All month from January to the 19th of April I was very sick. I went to Cruz Quemada (colonia of Tzo'ontahal) where F. G. cured me. He burned candles at the curing arch and prayed. 578 755 756 [782]

"Whom did he pray to?"

The hills, the holy land. Then I got well, but I was very tired. My Swana [wife, Juana] told me "He is going to kill you." I had a rifle. I filled it and went out, but then I returned. Another day I took two measures of trago, took my rifle and went to his house. He was sleeping with his wife close to him in bed, the way we sleep here. I fired four times. The bullets went in his back and came out front. One entered the arm of his wife. Now people say of me I am a killer. I went to the townhall for the enquiry. The man's wife said the door [of the house] was open. She said she did not see me. Afterward I got well. If I hadn't killed him, I never would have lived. Now I am having more trouble first because of the cooperative, then because of my brother being president, and then the comisario. Let us see what will happen this year. If God lends us our life, there are going to be protests. We will walk with our pistols. Spet [wife of Ladino owner of opposing cooperative] gave 1000 pesos to a man from Magronal to kill me. 124 578 682

"How do you know?"

My compadre came and told me. Who knows how many deaths there will be!

[R 225-A]

"Why don't you call in the civil guard?" 124

They will say we are women, that we are afraid. My brother wants to, however. 578 682

He communicated several things in this deviation from the eliciting schedule:

Many assassinations are committed regularly in Tzoʔontahal.
They usually occur at fiestas.
The only recourse is to kill one's enemy.
I am a killer, therefore I am prepared to protect myself.
Everyone knows I am a killer.
When I killed, it wasn't a murder but an execution.

796 794 608 554

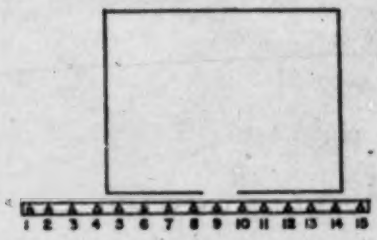


CHART 13 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF THE VIRGIN SANTA LUCIA, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:

1 Cofrade of Virgin Santa Lucia *(Kobraria Halal Meʔtik)*
2 Elder of San Pedro Martyr *(Tatil Yuʔun Martil)*
3 Assistant junior for Sacramento *(Aliʔbal Niʔnal yuʔun Sakramentó)*
4 Assistant junior for Virgin Santa Lucia *(Aliʔbal Niʔnal yuʔun Halal Meʔnik)*
5 Elder for the Christ of the Ascension *(Tatil yuʔun Tatik Sanpranzisko)*
6 Elder for San Antonio *(Tatil yuʔun Sanantonió)*
7 Elder for Virgin Rosario *(Tatil Halal Meʔtik Rosario)*
8 Elder for Santiago *(Tatil yuʔun Santiagó)*
9 Elder for San Jose *(Tatil yuʔun Sanhosé)*
10 Junior for San Antonio *(Niʔnal yuʔun Sanantonió)*
11 Junior for Santiago *(Niʔnal yuʔun Santiagó)*
12 Junior for San Pedro Martyr *(Niʔnal yuʔun Martil)*
13 Junior for Virgin Rosario *(Niʔnal yuʔun Meʔtik Rosario)*
14 Junior for San Jose *(Niʔnal yuʔun Sanhosé)*
15 Junior for Christ of the Ascension *(Niʔnal yuʔun Sanpranzisko)*

Since the informant expected that there might be an attempt made on his life in the approaching inaugural ceremony, he was advertising his own strength and willingness to defend himself even if it meant killing his enemy. I was an audience for him to try on poses of self-assertion. 124 578 [123]

[p. 225-B]

This kind of information, crucial to understanding 124
the play in action, is not a controlled response. The stimulus which provoked it is unscientific, i.e., non-replicable and unpredictive (in this case it was "Be quiet").[12] The struggle for political office within the ooo

[12] It can be contrasted with Skinner's control of behavior in evoking the response "pencil," in which first the request is made to the subject, "Please say pencil." If there is no response, one first makes sure that no pencil or writing instrument is available, then hands the subject a pad of paper appropriate to pencil sketching and offers him a handsome reward for a recognizable picture of, say, a cat. He is then forced to ask for a pencil. (Chomsky, 1959, p. 32.)

[P. 226-A]

9tNash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo'ontahal

The struggle CHANGE OF OFFICIALS
for political office within the
community is a response to regional and national 621*
power centers. Behavior in this struggle is alien to 178
responses controlled in ritual or structured perform- 156
ances. The strategies developed in these situations fit [682]
the pattern of political homicide more typical of the [171]
Indian towns of the central plateau (Friedrich, 1964)
than of the highland Chiapas area.

[P 226-B]

I SUMMARIZE the evidence offered in the inaugural acts first in terms of a functional analysis of the ceremonial behavior and second in terms of structural and organizational changes revealed in the strategies of interaction. The following goals are attained in the rituals of inauguration: 621* 105 794 178 18 [128]

1. *Preservation of continuity.* In the highland Maya Indian communities the problem of maintaining continuity is crucial because most of the offices

796 794 608 554 533

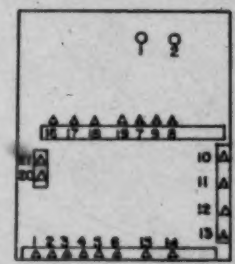


CHART 14 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF SACRAMENTO, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 *Me'il K'op*
2 *Sčebal sme'*

MEN (triangles):
16 Cofrade of Sacramento *(Kobraris Sakramentó)*
17 First Nakawane *(Sba Nakawane)*
18 Second Nakawane *(Sčebal Nakawane)*
19 Third Nakawane *(Yolebal Nakawane)*
20, 21 Guitarist *(Bálnial Alpultero)*

Remaining numerals refer to role terms listed in Chart 13.

are changed simultaneously. The emphasis on continuity is evident, first of all, in the repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetitive behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expectation which assures participants in a performance of a link with the past. Bunzel (1952, p. 251) has shown that this familiarity of ritual "sets" in a variety of ceremonials provides linkage with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango. Repetition in behavior is reinforced by verbal references to perform- 621* 105 794 178 18

[p. 227 - A]

ing "what our mothers and fathers did" (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 64). Second, continuity can be seen in the presence of both old and new officials in the townhall. In this setting, the old officials acknowledge acceptance of the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28). Finally, of greatest importance in establishing continuity are the principales, who await the arrival of the new officials with the old officials (App. 1, Q. 28) who pass over the symbol of authority (App. 1, Q. 31), and who remain alone in the townhall for the return of the new officials, when they have gone to church. 621* 105 794 178 18 [624]

2. *Role commitment.* The officials are members of closed corporate communities, integrated in a prior set of kinship and other social relations. They cannot rely on anonymity when acting in their official capacity as judge or policeman. Thus one of the functions of the inauguration as a rite of passage is a disengagement from the preexisting network of obligations and a commitment to the obligations of the office (cf. Parsons, 1951, pp. 80–84; Gluckman, 1962, p. 34; Cancian, 1964). Behaviorally, this function is indicated in the unfailing use of the term *Mam* (elder respect term) in both address and reference. The reference to the holy nature of their task (App. 1, Q. 19) and of the symbol of their authority, the "holy" staff (App. 1, Q. 30) which they always carry when discharging an official errand, establishes the supernatural authority on which the role is based. The effectiveness of these symbolic role identities in neutralizing prior affective commitments can partially be judged in that most dispute cases are brought before the local courts rather than referred to higher courts, suggesting that the complainant expects fair treatment. 621* 105 794 178 18 156 554 [506] [293] [691]

3. *Role learning.* The inauguration provides a setting in which the individual who is about to assume office learns what is expected of him (cf. Fortes, 1962, p. 82). The instruction of the novice officeholder is acquired most importantly in the home from the speeches of the *nakuwanchetik* and cofrades (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 38, Q. 64) and in the directions he may be given in the ceremonial setting (App. 2, Q. 39, observation). 621*

4. *Introduction of new officeholders to the villagers.* The new status of the officeholders is made 105 794 178 18 788

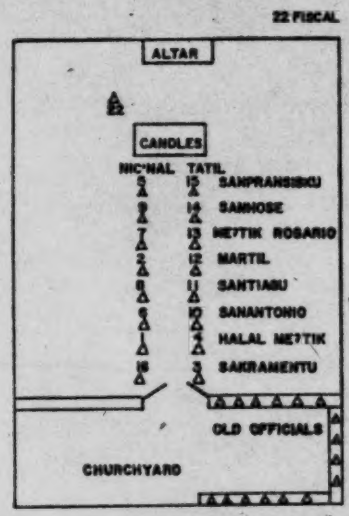
[P. 227-B]

public in the procession around the plaza (App. 1, Q. 39). The mayordomos gather in the church specifically to view the new incumbents (App. 1, Q. 50). There is less public display of new officeholders in the case of the religious officials than in the case of civil officials.

621* 105 794 178 18 [788]

The morphological description of the structure of a society is inadequate unless it includes role behavior as well as status positions. The behavioral data pro-

105 121 182 554 571



794 796 554 346

CHART 15 — NEW MAYORDOMOS INSIDE CHURCH, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

vide the basis for describing the physiology of a culture, or how actors and social groups interrelate in carrying out tasks. In the inaugurations, the household emerged in the behavioral descriptions as an important ritual domain supporting the civil and religious hierarchy. Similarly, the asymmetrical relation between the role of religious officials in the civil inauguration and that of civil officials in the religious

105 121 182 554 571 621* 105 182 794 [592] [571] [554]

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621*
inauguration is deduced from both elicited and ob- 105
served behavior. These data complement the elicited 182
material on structure in rounding out the ethno- 794
graphic model of social reality. 554
571

Specification of the behavioral data on which struc- 121
tural and functional statements are made should pro-
vide the basis for more precise comparisons over time
and between communities. I turn to the observed in- [571]
teraction to summarize the evidence for microchange [178]
within the community.

Outside of the formally prescribed behavior sched- 621*
uled in the inauguration, a struggle for power is 105
going on which is leading to important organiza- 178
tional changes in the town. This was suggested in the 578
substitution of the schoolteacher for the former La-
dino secretary in the act of giving the oath. Factional
struggle of the leaders of the new enterprises was
revealed in this substitution. Further evidence of
change is seen in the redefinition of the president's
position in relation to that of the principales. The
potential power which the post offers to the incum-
bent and those who back him is now recognized. The
risks are higher as the competition for the post
increases.

In the religious sphere the priest's increasing con- 105
trol over the domain of the church is seen in the shift 793
of setting for the common meal from the churchyard 178
to the *?ali?bal's* house. This evoked the story of the 794
open confrontation of the priest and cofrades a few 578
years before. Public counting of funds by civil officials
suggests an attempt by the new leadership to thwart
the priest's dominance over the cofrades.

In the emergent struggle for power within the com- 621*
munity, we see not just a defensive reaction to La- 105
dinos by Indians of a corporate community, but a 178
play for stakes in the same world. This suggests that 829
the corporate community, now and in the future,
serves not so much as an insulation from the outside
world as in the past but as a springboard for the entry
of the Indians into fuller participation in the national
society.

[P 228-B]

Appendix 1 — CHANGE OF OFFICIALS IN THE TOWNHALL

	Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: Entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
*621 124 796	1. When do they change the officials?	On January 1, *?al ha?bil* (New Year)	First of January	I observed the preparations for the New Year change of office fiesta in the houses of the president and of the new first policeman on December 31, 1964, and January 1, 1965
	2. What do they do first on the fiesta of changing of officials?	They arrange the house of each official	The wife of the first judge puts the bean tortillas on the fire	
[252]	3. When do they do this?	In the afternoon of December 31	In the morning of the last day of December	The women spend most of the morning and afternoon making the bean tortillas
[353]	4. How do they arrange the house?	They get juniper boughs and needles and put them in the house		Around 8 P.M. the visitors arrive. The house is decorated with pine needles on the floor and in the yard, and there are branches of juniper nailed to the posts of the house entry, just as it is done at the entry to the townhall. I was not present at the gathering
[602]	5. Who helps her?		All her relatives (*kyrmano-tak*) with neighbors (see Chart 1)	
	6. What do they do in the afternoon?		The women eat	
*621 124 796	7. What time do the guests gather in the house of the new officials?	On December 31 at 7 P.M.		
514	8. What do they bring?	They arrive with wood and pinchpine	They bring wood or pinchpine	
[272] [242]	9. What do the visitors do?	They drink coffee with bread and bean tortillas	They say greetings. They drink coffee and eat bean tortillas	
[273]	10. What do they do when they finish the coffee?	They drink liquor	They take out liquor, and the judge recites the benediction	
*621 124 796 [693]	11. Who is present in the house of the new official?		*statal nakawom*, his leading house official, Baltol Kantiron. The new judge, Santos Kantiron, *kabnial*, assistants to pass gruel, sons of the new officials *?ak ?i?sik*: wood bringers (see Chart 2)	
[628]	12. What do they do first on New Year's day?	The fourth regidor calls everyone together	The fourth regidor raises all the new officials	

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APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
#621 124 796 624	13. What time does he begin to raise the officials?		He gets up early about 6 A.M.	
	14. How does the fourth regidor raise the other officials?	First he goes to get the third regidor. Then they go to the second. The three go to collect the first. After all are together, the four go to the house of the first judge	The fourth regidor goes to the house of the third regidor. They leave and go to the house of the second regidor, then to the house of the first regidor. Then they go to the síndico's house. Leave and go to the house of the judge	
#621 124 796 693	15. How do the judges join together?	First the two assistant judges call on the second judge. Then the three go to the house of the first judge	The assistant judge for Ahk'olnantik goes to raise assistant for Alannantik. The two go to the house of the second judge. Then they go to the house of the first judge	I arrived at 9:30 at the house of the first alcalde. Present were the following (see Chart 3)
[272]	16. What do the judges do in the house of the first judge?	They drink liquor. They await the arrival of the four regidores	They drink liquor	Before serving liquor the first judge gave the benediction for the liquor (*pat'ot'an yil smahtanil*) with the first *nakawane*. His godchild *ahijudo shalal nupunę*, of marriage, and his brother-in-law Lucian Kut poured liquor. He served cigarettes. Two liters of liquor were drunk here before going to house of president
[292] [576]	17. What do they do then?	They go to the house of the president (see Chart 4)	Go to the house of the president	Assembled company prepared to leave at 10:10. The first judge puts on his plain red kerchief. The assistant judges put on flowered red kerchiefs. First judge said goodbye to the *nakawane*. This formal adieu, the *spat lok'yo'i'an*. Regidores stood up and came out. Then the assistant judge arrived at the house of President 10:30. (Chart 6)
#621 124 796 693 576	18. What do they do when they enter the house of the president?	The first judge gives the *spat yo'i'an* with the first nakawane	The first regidor gives the *pat'ot'an*	First judge speaks with *me'il k'op* who stood at door of inner room. The *nakawanchetik* bowed and kissed hands with the first and second alcaldes
[538] [539]	19. How do they give the *spat yo'i'anik* at his house the president?	They sing what they will do for the year	Holy evening, mamtat, your health. God how does He see you, mamtat. You are alive speak God holy evening. Behind your heart so illness I hear this holy evening.	(See Chart 6 for seating at house of president)

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Change of Officials

#621
124
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693
576
539

(Judge) I live. There is no illness. Lord mamtat give pardon with God with the Virgin Mother (*Tios sok Halal me?tik*). Enter holy pardon lord, give pardon Virgin M'ther

Here we we gathered before you where is seated "our soil our mud" (our bodies). What are we going to do to make arrive to fall to happen holy New Year our patron of heaven (*kob-walnik*) God. Here in a little dawns the holy hour. Let us go look before our heart where we are going to receive the holy oath inside of the holy cold house the cold hall where we go to receive our suffering our work holy staff, holy wand. It is going to change, holy day, holy year. Thus we do as did in the past our mother our father

20. What do they do after the greeting?

They drink coffee

#621
124
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264
292
262
693

They drink coffee

At 10:45 served bread set on bowl of coffee and bean tortilla in a cloth wrapping. First served *nakawanchetik* then president, then first and second judge, then first and second regidor, then assistant judge, then visitors. At 10:55 *nakawane* got up and stood before first judge and spoke the *spalan mot* (account of the gruel). Then the first judge spoke the *spalan mot* to second judge. The first two regidores of the past year came in to ask if the new officials were now ready "to raise the change"

(*K'a s'ábbal yak helel*). They said *pat'o'an* before the *nakawane*. Then bowed and kissed hand (*kuf' ibale*) with all men in left interior. Went to door and spoke with *me?il k'op, kuf' ibale* with her.

At 11:15 *balnialetik* took out the table, laid embroidered cloth on it, put 3 liters of trago and 2 quarts of beer. The first *nakawane* did the *spalanbe mahtan me'il tail* with the first judge standing before him. Then the first

#621
124
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[273]

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Tzo'ontahal

APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
#62 124 796 693 576 [788]				judge got up and stood before the second judge and did the *spalanbe soltak twsipal ʼin makstsnil* (account to company for the little gift. He then went to the first *nakowane* with the *sakʼinal* (good day greeting). Then all the assembled company stood up and turn to wall and gave the benediction to the gift of the ancestors
	21. Why do they stand and turn to the wall?	Not asked—preceded observation	Not asked	So that the devil does not enter
#62 124 796 [273] [693] [202] [625]	22. What do they do after they drink coffee?	They drink liquor seated, resting their heart, in the entry of the house of the president	Drink liquor to await the hour they go to the cabildo	Two beers and 2 liters liquor were laid to rest. At 11:35 women came in to get liters of liquor. Put it under a kerchief and took it out to women in kitchen. Judges and regidores put on red kerchiefs. At 12 noon two judges got up and said goodbye, first to the *balsiel* then the first judge went to the *nakowane* while the second judge and two regidores followed behind him. Then together the four said goodbye to the *nakowane* and to the *meʔil kʼop*. Firecrackers were set off to advise police that the group was setting out on their way to the town hall. Police were to meet them at the townhall and had to be advised so that they would arrive at the same time. Two past regidores came to the *meʔil kʼop* and said goodbye. The group set out together
	[23. Omitted.]			
#62 124 788 796 [693]	24. How do they enter the townhall?	They enter two by two. They kneel and cross themselves at the door of the cabildo	They enter two by two, kneel at the door. They rise, enter, arrive, kneel before the *tatik* table	Pair by pair they entered and touched cross of banner with their rosaries. First the president and síndico then first and second judges followed by judges from Madronal, La Grandeza, San Vicente, and Cruz Quemada
	25. Why do they cross themselves?	Because they show respect to the holy cross		

*62 124 796 [198]	26. What do they do in the townhall?	They take the oath		
	27. How is the townhall arranged?	The four holy crosses brought by the alferecos and the holy staffs are on the *tatik* table		On the table were 4 banners, new staffs, key of cabildo laid on orange leaves sprinkled about on table.
	28. Who is in the townhall?	There are gathered the old officials *(mamal k'a ku'eletik)* and the two principales *(mamal krinsipaletik)* and the four alferecos *(alperesil)*. (See Chart 7)	It is the old officials	(See Chart 8)
	29. What are the old officials doing?	They are seated conversing		
*62 124 796 64 [182]	30. How do they take the oath?	They take from the *tatik* table what they give the oath for—the four holy crosses and the four staffs.	Standing, the new officials call the name of God. They form a line before the banners	New president ordered new officials to form a circle around table. Then the martomoreys prayed holding rosary in hand
[273]	31. Who passes the staffs *(sbaratik me'nikatatik)*?	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials.	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials. They encircle hand with rosary and take their staff	Two principales handed out staffs first to president, then first judge, second judge, assistant judge, regidores and police. The second principal was very drunk and had to be directed by former president
*62 124 796 641 875 539	32. Who gave the oath?		The secretary	The schoolteacher
	32a. What does the schoolteacher say when he gives the oath?			Gentlemen, by the will of the pueblo, the government of the state leaves us in charge of the officers before us. The president is in charge of the pueblo during the three years from this one on, 1965, -66, -67. This pueblo has the obligation of helping him in the organization of all his works. It has the obligation of respecting his command, and the authorities that are going to work with him also have the obligation of respecting him because he is the first authority. All of us who belong to the pueblo and all the societies have the obligation of respecting him just as the assistant authorities fulfill his orders because he is the primary authority. Raise the right hand, repeat after me: In the name of the government of the state with the honor that characterizes them I swear to fulfill with honor

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APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
#62 124 796 64 [875]				and enthusiasm what the constitution commands us. I want in this moment, under the oath, to designate the position of municipal president of the pueblo
[530]	33. How did new officials respond to oath?			Officials raised hands with rosary in it. Then they put rosary on their necks
#62 124 796	34. What do they do after the oath?		Pass over the papers with the acts, with all the things	Take inventory of communal possessions—5 chairs in bad estate, 2 *cadiga viejo*, etc.
	35. Who takes inventory?			The past president
#62 124 794 796 [533] [788]	36. What do they do after they take their staffs the new officials?	The four alferezes go out with their banners	The alferezes go out in a procession with the banners	First alferez came to table, crossed himself, kissed banner with kerchief bound on handle, unfurled banner. He followed with second, third, and fourth alferezes. Flute and drum began as alferezes came out. They turned and faced the townhall. Inclining banners the police went out, knelt, crossed selves at door. Then the regidores, then president, then *sindico* and judges
#62 124 796 788	37. What time did the procession begin?			1:05
	38. What did the procession look like?	(Chart 9)		(Chart 10)
	39. How many turns do they take?		They take two turns where the fruit is sold (reference to pieces during a ceremony)	Two turns (started behind school house but old *sakpasser* redirected them)
	40. What did the alferezes do?			At door of the townhall, drew up horses facing it, dipped banners. Same at church
	41. Where does the procession go?	To the church	They go to the church	They enter the church
#62 124 796 [624]	42. Who remains at the townhall?		The officials come out, leaving all the townhall silent except for the two principales who will await the new officials	The two principales remain within
[782] [794]	43. What do they do in the church?	All the officials speak to God (Chart 11)	They speak to God. They kiss all the saints	They pray at the altar, then kiss the saints as they leave. The alferezes leave their banners in the church

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CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

#62 124 796	44. Where do the old officials go?	To the house of the old president or to the house of the former first judge		
	45. What do they do there?	They go to say goodbye		
	46. What do their hearts say?	Their hearts are very sad		
	47. Why do they kiss all the people present?		Because they want a miracle in order that there be no illness to pass in office	
#62 124 794 796	48. Who is in the church?	The mayordomos are in the church		The mayordomos sit at the bench in back of the church
	49. What are the mayordomos doing?	They are seated at the door of the church. They watch the new officials enter the church		
	50. Why are they seated in the church?	In order to know who will be the new officials to see *(yu ʼiʼil)* in the townhall		
#62 124 796	51. Where do the new officials go when they come out of the church?	The new police enter inside the kitchen (Chart 12). The president enters inside the townhall	Leave church and pass to the townhall	The police go to the kitchen attached to the townhall and the rest of the officials go into the townhall
(539) (693)	52. What does the president say to the two principales inside the cabildo?	"Where are you, *Mamal principal*?"	First judge gives *patbeyoʼYan* with the two principales. "Good day, tat. How does God see you, tat. Now you have taken your heart, has spoken your heart. Now you have been before the face of the motherfather. Where you take the holy oath inside the holy cold house, holy cold abode. You saw the procession in the plaza before the temple and inside the holy mother church for the commander lord. There is no fear, no embarrassment. That is all. Go rest your heart	[I was not present for these sessions]
	53. What does the principal reply?	"Enter, Mr. new president *(mamal ʼalʼ presiventir)* and enter, Mr. New judges *(mamal ʼalʼ alkalesik)*"		
#62 124	54. What do they do then?	They sit a little each in his own chair	They sit down. They begin to drink liquor	
293 796 693	55. What do they do after they have rested their heart a little?	The first judge and the president order the fourth regidor to go get a liter of rum		
	56. For whom do they get the liter of the gift?	For the new officials		
	57. What do they do with the gift when the regidor arrives?	They put it in the middle *(ta yoliʼ kowan)*		

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APPENDIX I—*continued*

	Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: Entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1963
#621 184 796 539	58. What do the principales say to the first judge in the cabildo on the New Year?	They give the *cpatbeyo?Ican*		
693 273	59. What does the judge say when he gives the gift to the principales?	"Give pardon, *mamal kriniipal*. Let a little enter to give warmth to your body"		
	60. What do the principales say?	"Thank you, *tuvo mamal alkal, mamal preirente, mamal sinikin*"		
	61. What does the judge say?	"Pardon and let a little drink warm your body"		
	62. What does the judge say to the regidor?	"Lend me your hand, *mamal rehiral slamebal* (second regidor). Look, pour the gift of the ancestors (*me?tikpanik*) for the *mamal kriniipalnik*"		
	63. What does the fourth regidor say as he pours the gift for the principal?	"With your permission, *mamal kriniipal, mamal ?alkalnik*, I look and give the gift"		
#621 184 796 693 273	64. Who drinks first on New Year in the townhall?	The two principales		
	65. Second?	President		
	66. Third?	Sindico		
	67. Fourth?	First judge		
	68. Fifth?	Second judge		
	69. Sixth?	Third judge		
	70. Seventh?	Fourth judge		
	71. Eighth?	First regidor		
	72. Ninth?	Second regidor		
	73. Tenth?	Third regidor		
	74. Eleventh?	Fourth regidor		
	75. What do they do after the first round of drinks?	They continue drinking until they get a little drunk		
	76. What happens at noon?	They close the doors of the townhall		
	77. What do the police do in the kitchen?	They enter and sit on a bench		
	78. Where do they sit?	(Chart 11)		
	79. What is the first order that he gives the first new police?	He sends the fourth police to bring a little liquor		
	80. What do they do when the fourth returns?	He orders a police of the cofrade to "measure" the liquor		

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CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

*62 124 796 213 81. What do they do after the commissioner of the colonis measures the drink?	The first police of Alannantik gets up and speaks a little with the first police of Ab-k'olnantik	
82. What does he say?	He gives the *spatbe yo?t'an*	
83. What time do they finish the celebration of New Year's?	12 o'clock noon	
84. What does he say after the *spatbe yo?t'an*?	He asks if they can endure a little more	
85. What do the police think?	They ask whether they can endure a little more without getting drunk. "What happens if we get drunk? We won't know if there is an errand for the *mamal ?alkulesik* and we might not be able to help. Better to rest the heart a little. If there is an errand we can help a little and so it is. If there is no errand, let us stay till noon."	
86. What do they do then?	They finish a little more. Then after a little all go out because it is midday. Each one goes to his house to rest the heart and until tomorrow	Drinking continued until sundown

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Appendix 2—CHANGE OF OFFICIALS IN THE HOLY HOUSE

	Question	Informant 3	Observation
794	1. What is the first day of the fiesta called?	*Pas Kantelero*, 'Making the candles'	
796 124	2. What do the mayordomos do first on Paswamal of the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	They scrape the candles	At 9 A.M. the mayordomos were gathered at the door of the church, scraping the candles. The wax was carefully gathered. It will be melted down to make more candles, but not for ceremonial purposes.
[533]	3. What else do they do in the morning of Paswamal?	Two mayordomos beat the drum and one blows the flute	Music was provided by two mayordomos beating drum and one blowing flute
	4. Where do they scrape the candles?	Inside the church	In the courtyard of the church
	5. Where do they blow the flute?	At the door of the church	On the benches near the door of the church
	6. What else is done on the morning of Paswamal?	They sweep out the church	They sweep the church
[824]	7. What else is done on the morning of Paswamal?	Nothing. Formerly they bought juniper needles to put on the floor inside the church but now they do not	
	8. Why don't they bring pine needles now?	Because *now* the floor of the church is well finished with pure cement	
	9. What do they do after they finish scraping the candles?	They count the money	The fiscal spent the morning sitting on the benches outside the church with the elder mayordomos watching the counting of money
	10. What day do they collect the money?	On Sunday, eight days before the fiesta of San Pedro	
	11. Who collects the money?	Two kobrarias	
	12. How much do they collect from each mayordomo?	Two pesos each	
	13. Why do they collect the money?	For the price of the candles	
	14. Who counts the money to buy the candles?	Two kobrarias with the fiscal	
794 796	15. What do they do at noon?	They ring the bells. They all begin to drink liquor *(ya'alik)*	They ring the bells. Then they go to the house of the *'ali'hal*
293 124	16. What do they call the first drink at midday?	One measure to make the food go down *(sko'ip ave'elstik)*	
	17. What do they call the drink after the meal?	Water for the meal *(ya'lel ave'alil)*	
	18. How many liters of liquor do the mayordomos drink on Paswamal?	Two liters	

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794 796	19. Where do they drink it?	Behind the church	In the house of the ʔalʔbal
124	20. Where do the old mayordomos eat the common meal?	In the church	In the house of the ʔalʔbal
[273]	21. What do they eat?	Male turkey (*mam kuu*). Beef soup with tortillas and chile	
[264]			
262	22. How do they prepare turkey?	With chile, *yerba buena* and salt	
263	23. Who prepares the meal for the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	The ʔalʔbal. The wife of the Bikʔal (minor) mayordomo of San Pedro and San Pablo	
[258]			
	24. What do they do after the common meal?	They go to their homes	They go home
	25. What do they call the second day of the fiesta?	Wilperel	
	26. What do the old mayordomos do first?	They make a fiesta. They beat the drums. They play the flute. They drink trago	They ring the bells three times. The people gather in the church
	27. What time do they begin the fiesta?	Early	At 7 o'clock
	28. What do they do in the church?		The padre gives a Mass for San Pedro and San Pablo
	29. Who collects for the Mass?		The old officials and the new officials and the women
[533]	30. Where do the mayordomos blow the flute and beat the drum?	At the door of the church	In front of the church
	31. Where do the new mayordomos gather first?	At the house of the kobrario Santa Lucia	At the house of the kobrario of Santa Lucia
	32. What do they do first?	They take out the mouthwash	They serve the mouthwash
[273]	33. What do they do then?	They take out a liter to drink	They serve coffee and corn gruel. Then they serve liquor
[272]			
[262]	34. How much do the new mayordomos drink?	Two drinks each	After two rounds are served, drink is served to the mayordomos who go to the nahawmchyoʔ and offer their drinks. This is done so that the new officials will not be drunk in church
[273]			
	35. How many of the new mayordomos don't drink liquor?	Three	
[272]	36. What do they drink?	Cold water (soda)	
124 794 796 539	37. What does the kobraria of Santa Lucia say to the kobraria of San Pedro Martyr at his house when they begin to drink?	Good day, Mamal Tat, Thank you. How do you look, Mamal. Thanks you are alive, his word God, at daybreak. We want to see no illness at daybreak. What we will do what we have done. We have to say what our heart says, our soul, our mind. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our Judge Sanpegro sanpablu? So it is that we	

APPENDIX 2—*continued*

QUESTION	INFORMANT 3	OBSERVATION
794 796 124 539	are here and that we are united in front of the house. Pardon us, it is not much, *me'el totel*. Where we are gathered together there is nothing *favorful* nor is there much. It is only a little to warm your body, of the water to wash his body his hand our old saint San Pedro and San Pablo. God thank mother and father (*me'a to tat'a*) mean *hermano*	
38. What does the hermano of Santa Lucia say to the Tzeltal Sangrero *Martil* and the mayordomos when they all go out?	What are we thinking? How shall we rise to enter the house of hermano Sakramento? How is it he wants us not to drink? It is good we would not remember. It is enough. If you will remember you will say little, mayordomos. Are we not ready with our rosaries, with our kerchiefs, for candles? Is there anything you want to say?	
39. What does the hermano of San Pedro Martyr say?	It is good, I am going to say. Now I am going to say to all if you are ready with your rosary with your cloth to take the holy candles	The mayordomos put on their rosaries and red kerchiefs
40. What do the mayordomos reply?	Yes, good, we are ready thank you. It is only this more I say to you	
41. What does the hermano say then?	Do not drink much trago. I do not want you to walk like a mad man (*lek 'ahel likkel*). I do not want you to say the hermano said nothing	
42. What do the mayordomos reply?	Yes, thanks. It is good. Let us go now. Let us raise our mind our will	
43. Where do they go then?	To the house of the hermano of Sacramento	To the house of the hermano of Sacramento
44. What do they say there?	"Good day *mamal*," each one	Good day, *mamal tat*
45. What time do they go to the house of the hermano of Sacramento?	At 8 o'clock	9 A.M.
794 796 124 46. In what order do they speak to the people at his house the hermano of Sacramento?		First to the two *hermanos*. Then to the third *nakawane*. Then to the second *nakawane*. Then to the first *nakawane*
47. What do they say after the *nak'tzal*?		The hermano of *Halal me'tzik* gives the *spat yo'b'an* with the first *nakawane*
48. What (does he say) after *spat yo'b'an*?		He goes to give account to the old woman who cured us (*me'b'nakanil*) who is the *me'il k'op* in the house

794 796 124 49. Who is the woman speaker? — She is the first older sister of the mother of the mam kobraria. She has the same mother and father as the father the mam kobraria

50. Who are the women inside the house of the kobraria of Sacramento? — Two or three sisters of the kobraria

51. What do his sisters (*yermanonik*) do inside his house? — They sit on the bench on the porch

52. What do the mayordomos do after the account with the *me'Pakalaletik*? — They sit on the bench on the porch

53. What does the *nakawamar* do? — He tells the *balnial* to take out the mouthwash

54. What do they give after the mouthwash? — First the coffee with the bean tortillas

55. What do they give after the coffee? — They give another mouthwash

56. What do the *balnialetik* do after the mouthwash? — They take out the table with the cloth

[273] 57. What do they do then? — They take out 2 or 3 liters of trago with the measure and a little cold water

58. Who orders the women inside? — *Me'Pakalal*

59. What do they do before they begin to drink? — The kobraria of the Virgin of Santa Lucia gives the *spatic yo'tan* He rises to ask permission before the *me'Pakalaletik*, all the mayordomos and all the *balnialetik*

[539] 60. What does the kobraria of the Virgin of Santa Lucia say then? — God, mother who nurses us, give permission to us. The water of his body the water of his hand, the gift will pass in your body that which is the mothers' fathers' (*me'nikatik*). God speaks, *tat nakawanchetik* and *balnialetik*. Give us permission to hand the gift that will pass in your body from the *me'nikatik*. God, Jesus, Mary, only one commander god is three persons. Bless what we eat and what we drink and bless in the name of god the father. God take the gift, *me'el tatel*

61. What do they do then? — The mayordomos, *balnialetik* and *nakawantik* measure their noses.

62. What does the *me'Pakalal* say? — God thank Mamal Tat

63. Then what does the kobraria of the Virgin Santa Lucia say? — He gives the benediction to the liquor

[539] 64. What is the benediction? — In God's name, God father, name of God, God son, Holy spirit. Yes, I can endure to do what they did, that which the mother, which the father

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APPENDIX 2—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3	OBSERVATION
794 796 124 [539]			did with the hand which has sinned, the feet which have sinned. Yes, I am changing holy day holy year, holy saint holy oath and the name of the god the father
[273]	65. How much do the mayordomos drink?		They drink four measures. After four measures they do not finish and give the rest to *mamal nakawomchetik*
	66. Why do they do this?		Because it is said they may get drunk at the hour to go to church
	67. What time do they go to the church?	At 10 o'clock	At 11 left for church. Put on red kerchiefs, rosaries
[539]	68. What does the *nakawomo* say to the new mayordomos as they leave to go to church?		May you all get up and go to the church. May you all enter inside the church. May you take the oath inside the church before the face of the fiscal. After you take the oath you measure the nose in the face of the *tatik* Jesus Christ. After you have measured the noses, when you enter inside the door of the church the mamal new kobraria speaks the *palanchetik* to the mamal old kobraria
	69. Who is at the church?	The old mayordomos	The old mayordomos are seated at the door of the church
[538]	70. What are they doing?	They are awaiting the new mayordomos	They play the drum and the flute
	71. How do they take the Aawomento (oath)?		They enter and kneel each pair, *tatil* and *nit'atil* in front of *tatik* Jesus Christ.
	72. How do they stand?		(Chart 15)
	73. How is the church arranged?		There is a large table with the candles lined up. In the middle of the table stands a little holy Jesus hung on the cross
	74. Who is inside the church?		The priest, the fiscal, the old mayordomos
	75. What does the priest do?		He gives the Mass. He blesses the new and the old mayordomos
	76. What do they do after the blessing?		The fiscal gives the candles wrapped in a napkin
	77. How many candles does he give to each mayordomo?		Nine candles
	78. What are the candles for?		To light for the saints
	79. What does he do with the candles?		Goes and puts them in the elder officeholder's house. Returns and gets his own to bring to his house
	80. Where do they go after the oath?		To the house of the kobraria of Sacramento

794	81. What do they do?		They drink
796	82. What time do they leave his house?		Prayer time *(oración)*
124 [293]	83. Where do they go?		To their house
	84. What do they do first on *sk'ak'alel?*		Go to hear Mass
	85. Who is in the church to hear Mass?		All the new mayordomos, the women, the prayer leaders
	86. What time is the Mass?		At 7 o'clock
	87. What do they do when they come out of Mass?		Go to the house of the kobraria of Sacramento
	88. How many go?		Thirteen
	89. What do the rest do?		Three juniors *(sil'anil)* remain play drum at door of church
	90. What do they do at the house of the kobraria of Sacramento?		Count the money of the Virgin and San Pedro Martyr
[426]	91. What do they do with the money?		They want to lend it in order to get interest because they want to increase it *(ya sk'an smakonik yu'un ya'he sol yu'un sk'an solin hilel)*
	92. How much money is there for the virgin?		Two hundred twenty-eight pesos
[624]	93. Who counts it?	Fiscal with two kobraria	The town treasurer, the sindico and secretary assisted the fiscal in the accounting of funds. The principales sat on the bench to observe proceedings
	94. How much money is there for San Pedro?	Forty pesos	
[624] [539]	95. What do they do after they count the money?	Begins the *pat'at'an* with the kobraria of Sacramento	The principales recite the *pat'o'tan* with the kobraria of Sacramento
[293]	96. What do they do afterward?	They drink liquor	They drink liquor

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APPENDIX 3A—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN CIVIL INAUGURATION

	Setting	Role (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	Relationship	Behavior
#621 105 192 554 5.3 [574]	House, evening of inauguration	*ʔAČAʔTEL*, new officials	Ego	Receives guests, sits next to leader *nakawanar*
		NAKAWANEHETIK, house officials	Father of new official or elder of neighborhood who has passed in higher offices (first regidor and elder mayordomo)	Initiates greetings; sits in head seat
		BALNIALETIK, assistants	Sons of new officials, husbands of daughters or of sisters	Serve food, measure drinks
[608]		*ʔAKʔSIETIK*, wood gatherers	Neighbors, compadres, brothers	Bring wood, eat, drink
		MEʔELETIK, Meʔil K'op, woman speaker Yinam, wife	Mother, or elder relative	Responds to *nakawanar's* greetings
		SKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers		Serves food. Cook food, dish out food, eat
#621 105 192 554 [593]	House, morning of inauguration	*NAKAWANEHETIK*, house officials	Father and/or elder neighbors	Initiates greetings, addresses blessing to liquor
		AʔTELETIK ALKALETIK REHIROLETIK, judges, regidores	Men of village	Receive food and liquor
[602] [608]		*BALNIALETIK*, assistants	Brothers-in-law, godsons, compadres, fa's sis's sons, brother, comadre's son, neighbors	Serve food, measure drink
[594]		*YULATAK*, visitors	Men from rural colonies	Give *abrazo*, embrace, to new president; eat, drink
		MEʔELETIK, women Meʔil k'op Slebal Smeʔ Yolebal Smeʔ	Mother or elder relative ? ? ?	Responds to *nakawanar's* and *alkal's* greeting. Orders women in serving of food
		SKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	(See Chart 3)	Cooks food, dishes out food
	Townhall, morning session, civil inauguration	*KʔAʔTELETIK*, old officials	Men of village	Drink; wait for new officials second
[594]		*ʔALPERESETIK*, alferezes	Men of village	Bring banners from church, drink wait for new officials

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#621 105 192 554	*KRINSIPALETIK*, principales	Two men who have passed through five offices in civil and six in religious hierarchy	Address greetings to old first judge; drink, greet new officials pass over staffs
	ʔAČʔAʔTELETIK, new officials	Men of village	Receive oath
	Professor		Gives oath
Plaza, noon	*TEKLUM*, Village (people) *Spiil Meʔelenik*, all the women *Spiil Winkenik*, all the men	Men and women of village	Look to see who the new officials are
[788]	*ʔAČʔAʔTELETIK*, new officials		Make two turns in procession
[794]	*ʔALPERESETIK*, alferezes		Lead procession with banners
	BAŠNIALETIK, assistants	Two of president's assistants	Play flute and drum, light firecrackers
[794] Church, noon	*MARTOMAETIK*, mayordomos		Look to see new officials
	PIŠKAL, fiscal		Look to see new official
	ʔAČ AʔTELETIK, new officials		Speak to God
Townhall, afternoon	*ʔAČ AʔTELETIK*, new officials		Drink with *krinsipalenik*
	KRINSIPALETIK, principales		Drink with new officials

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APPENDIX 3B—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN RELIGIOUS INAUGURATION

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Setting	Role (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	Relationship	Behavior
[574] House of kobraria Sacramento, morning of inauguration	KOBRARIA SAKRAMENTU	Ego	Receives guests; sits at first seat on outside wall near door
[604] [605]	NAKAWANEHETIK	Fa's brother and fa's brother's sons	Initiates greetings, sits at head seat
[593] [608]	BALNIAŁETIK	Sons, sons of campadres, neighbors	Serve liquor, food
[602]	ME'ELETIK, women	Elder female relative	Responds to nakawane's greetings, orders helpers
[608]	Me'ilk'op, woman speaker		
	ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	Comadres, sisters, neighbors	Prepare food, coffee
	MARTOMAETIK 3 KOBRARIA TATILETIK NIČ'ANILETIK		Eat and drink. Listen to advice of nakawanehetik
Church, morning of inauguration	PIŠKAL, fiscal KURA, priest ?AČ'MARTOMAETIK, new mayordomos K'A MARTOMAETIK, old mayordomos		Advises mayordomos of duties. Divides up candles brought by mayordomos; hands them to new mayordomos

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[For the function of various socio-political officials in civil inauguration ceremonies in Tzo?ontahal, see category 116, pp. 213-223, 224-B, 226-B, 227-237, and 244-245.]

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[For details on the inauguration of various civil and religious officials, see categories 621 and 794 respectively.]

124 126 other party than when he did not; the proportion of the total number of words which was spoken by the other party was greater when that person was older than the informant then when he was the same age, and younger persons spoke, relatively, even less. The frequent use of various terms of respect and ritual kinship between the informant and the other speaker also suggests that their other behavior in the recording situation takes these relationships into account.

12 [191] Our bilingual informant, Mariano Juarez, was trained in the field by N. A. McQuown in the phonemic transcription of Tzeltal. When he had completed the transcription of the tapes, I instructed hi to produce a translation in which the translation equivalents were to be forced into the Tzeltal frame of reference insofar as possible, using the vernacular Spanish as he knew it. The examples of text which appear herein should be understood to be Mr. Juarez' work. The fact that a native speaker of Tzeltal, who knew the general and idiosyncratic contexts in which the Tzeltal material appeared, did the translating guarantees as accurate a translation as possible. The always knotty problem of English glosses involves not only the depth of my understanding of the vernacular Spanish and its relation to the Tzeltal, but also the more general point, made recently by Conklin (1963), that the structure of English domains stands in no necessary relationship to the structure of domains of any other language. Frake (1961),

12 in his discussion of Subanun medical beliefs, speaks of English "glosses" for the Subanun structure of things--the glosses being understood to be proximate devices to give the reader a sense of the familiar. The major part of Frake's language of description lies in his use of hierarchically ordered, mutally exclusive classes as they are found in the native language. The following description of drinking performances in Aguacatenango, though loosely organized in comparison, is a first step in this direction. It is an approach to an "inside" view of drinking in Aguacatenango in that it makes extensive use of Tzeltal propositions and statements of relationship, drawn from the texts and verified or elucidated by eliciting procedures, in the construction of generalizations. The use of such statements in this account may make it easier for the reader to check my interpretations or for another ethnographer to verify, amplify, or revise my description.

128 In the chapters to follow, I shall deal with the relationships between drinking performances and the inventory of social roles (Chapter II), the role of drinking in conflict and its resolution (Chapter III), and in illness and curing (Chapter IV). In summary (Chapter V), I shall review the common elements of these instances of drinking in an attempt to show some aspects of the "meaning" of drinking performances in Aguacatenango.

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tuals and everyday tasks. The dialectic of change lies in the interpretations people make of new experience. 121

My method of study in the field was that of participant-observation combined with extensive eliciting. The assumption implicit in participant-observation that "seeing is believing" denies not only the symbolic significance of the acts one sees, but the relevant social features which are part of their definition of the situation. Rather than impose my own perceptions on the simplest field description, I relied on informants' statements about where, when, what, to whom, and how things were happening. In the case of formally programmed events, I elicited in advance in Tzeltal from two or more informants the sequence of activities as they expected them to transpire. I asked informants to segment the experience they were recounting in as minimal units as they had the descriptive vocabulary to do. This was done for instrumental activities—agriculture and pottery production—as well as ceremonial events in the life cycle and in religious and economic institutions. Implicit in the informants' segmentation of experience is the concept of "molar acts"—purposive and cognitive behavior.[3] The informant says for example that he "eats," not that he raises food to his mouth and chews it. The importance of eliciting descriptions in the performers' own language is indicated in the different way in which experience is lumped or split in Tzeltal. For example, when a curer takes a pulse he both "feels" and "hears" (*l?awai*) the messages communicated by the blood. On the other hand, the verb "to eat" has several terms depending on what is being eaten (Berlin 1967). Their translations into Spanish do not make the same distinctions. [196] [755]

Observation of events in process provided not only a check for validity and completeness of the informants' accounts, but also a means of analyzing the process of change. The attempt to analyze divergence in actual behavior from normative statements in terms of Murdock's ideal-real dichotomy or Kroeber's value-culture and reality-culture is based on an assumption that there is a single perception of the way things ought to be done in

3. Psychologists such as Lewin (1951:72) and Tolman (1961:89) who have studied animal behavior have emphasized that the minimal unit of significant behavior is both purposive and cognitive. Most of my descriptions of behavior are limited to molar behavior, and the analysis of gesture systems is confined to those which have symbolic significance in a ceremonial context.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

12 a given culture, and that real behavior is a not always successful attempt to approximate those ideals. This formulation has proved inadequate because the actors have a number of ideas as to what appropriate behavior is, and the permissible range of behavior varies in each setting. In questioning informants about the divergences between the account I elicited prior to an event and the acts I observed, I was able to sort out these kinds of variation from those which indicate adaptation or social change.

121 Past events in the history of the community, selected, described, and interpreted by the participants in those events, provide a framework for analyzing structural and social change. Deviation from the norms is not in itself an index to social change, as Faron (1964:202ff.) and others have pointed out. The impetus to social change depends upon awareness of dissonance between the way things are done and social goals. Past events are assigned significance according to this awareness of changing social conditions. Lies about the past and guesses about the future are as important sources of data as history. When people lie about what they do or have done or will do, they lie in terms of the norms, and when they guess, they guess in terms of patterned expectations. These data are of significance in exploring the patterns underlying both formal and dynamic behavior.

829 171 121 Communities such as Tzoʔontahal represent a paradox in Latin America since the Indians pretend to be the same when they are changing, while non-Indians exaggerate the changes which have occurred. In Indian communities, the old cultural forms persist even while the community responds to the changing cues in the environment. The Indians are aware that the corporate community is an important resource base in easing their transition into regional and national networks, not on the bottom rung of the Ladino social ladder as when individuals leave the community, but in a competitively favorable position. Their insistence that they are following the customs of the ancestors is a means of keeping their boundaries intact and protecting themselves against external encroachment.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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"gift of the gods," liquor, to the party whose interests have been slighted. This is done in the case of a suitor who is asking for a woman of the other side of the dual division; he gives the bachelors of that side a garrafón of liquor in compensation for the loss of a potential mate. Liquor has become a substitute for the sacrifice of a child by a man being initiated into the curing profession. Informal offerings of liquor may be made between neighbors or relatives who have been fighting with each other. Liquor is a kind of universal social solvent in disputes, and figures importantly in court cases which are always terminated in a drinking session.

Another technique is simply a payment in money to compensate for damages. In some homicide cases, the payment of "blood money" has compensated the family of the victim to avoid legal action. This is never done, however, if the community agrees that the victim was a witch. Payment of fines in court is another such form of compensation. These payments or offerings minimize the bloodshed or personal involvement in conflictual relations. Payment by the man judged guilty will ensure his reincorporation into his customary place in the community without stigma.

While it is impossible to elicit from informants a theory of roles, it is possible to formulate the principles underlying roles. These are deduced from behavioral observations and from evaluations made of the performances of others. They can be summarized in the following propositions:

1. There is a clear separation between role and role-bearer. This is seen most clearly in the passage through civil and religious offices with a minimum of "halo" effect. It is also found in the situation of household officials whose authority in directing affairs within a household ceases when the ceremony in which they officiate is over. The separation ensures flexibility in a closed social system, enabling people to shift from one role to another. It also permits continuity in a system which requires an almost complete turnover of personnel each year.

2. Function performed is separate from role in which it is performed. This applies even in those roles which are designated on the basis of the most important function required of the performer, for example woman speaker, liquor measurer, and basket carrier. All of

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 NY9 Tzeltal NY9
[p.455-A] Teklum

Death as a Way of Life: The Increasing Resort to Homicide in a Maya Indian Community[1]

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The breaking-down of a social-control system based on belief in the guardianship of the spiritual ancestors and their temporal agents, the curers, is reflected in a rising homicide rate as people turn to traditional sanctions when threatened. The acts of homicide differ in their social significance according to who is killed, the context, the agency, and the motivation of the killer. Thirty-seven homicides between 1930 and 1965, analyzed in terms of these component variables, reflect the conflicts arising from competition in new economic enterprises, the rising suspicion of curers' abuse of their supernatural power, and the loss of belief in the guardianship of the ancestors.

121 682 [762] THE social impact of homicide has caused some analysts[2] to treat it and its supposed inverted complement, suicide, as one kind of behavior with a single meaning, ignoring Durkheim's caveat that behavioral rubrics categorize diverse phenomena. Here I shall [101] analyze the variety of strategies involved in killing in a Mexican community, which I shall call Teklum (the Tzeltal term for village), and endeavor to show how rules of behavior are expressed in killing and in attempts to avoid being killed. Further, I shall endeavor to point out what these indicate about structural and organizational changes both within the community and in its relations with the wider society. Since suicide is absent, except for a [762] single case of a madman, I have restricted my enquiry to homicide.

161 162 [101] 621 Teklum is a predominantly Indian township of Mexico. The population of the town center—about 1,900—includes only one Ladino, or non-Indian, family, that of the schoolteacher. The sense of community is limited to people living in the center and in the four nearby hamlets (*barrios*).

621 632 The town center is divided physically and socially into two endogamous sections, called "upper" and "lower." The outlying hamlets are linked to the nearest section by social and economic ties. The civil and religious posts of 621 632 the town are, in local theory, apportioned evenly between the sections. This was in fact 178 true until the 1950's; for each of the ranked posts had a paired complement, so that both sides of the dual division were represented, and the single posts of president and *síndico* (the president's administrative assistant) were al-

3:Bmsh B-5 (1964-1965)1967
BV9 Tzeltal BV9
[P. 456-A) Teklum

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It is in the context of these structural divisions that social change and its behavioral indices must be analyzed.

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Homicide—an act viewed as a delict in national Mexican law—has in the past two decades become an accepted strategy in social interaction. It is part of the expectations of the society upon which members predicate their own code of behavior and in terms of which they react to others. Gossip not only fails to suppress homicide, but serves to create a consensual base for condoning it. The corpse is referred to as "the one who had the guilt," *'a stakel xmul*, and even when knowledge of the particular act is lacking, certain assumptions are made: the killer was someone in the community; the victim provoked the killer. In listing crimes, informants sometimes failed to mention killing, or they included it after witchcraft, theft, or adultery. Homicide is considered a reaction to crime, not a crime in itself.

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[521]
[764]

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[124]

The rate is phenomenally high—up to 251.2 per 100,000 (when adjusted to bring the whole township's population of a little over 3,000 to the base for measuring international rates)—and it is increasing. This compares with national rates of 4.8 for the United States, 31.9 for Mexico (United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1964), and 46.2 for a nearby town (Favre 1964).

The following tabulation summarizes the homicides by decades since 1915, the earliest date for which records are available.

1915–1924	4
1925–1934	5
1935–1944	19
1945–1954	9
1955–1964	35

[114]

Figures prior to 1930 are not apt to be accurate, for only since that time have there been adequate reporting and checking of township records. In the following tabulation, the marked increase in the annual number of homicides since 1960 represents a real increase.

1950	1	1958	1
1951	0	1959	1
1952	1	1960	4
1953	1	1961	7
1954	1	1962	6
1955	0	1963	7
1956	1	1964	4
1957	4	1965	9

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In order to assess the meaning of its remarkable increase during the 1960's, I have pro-

3:Bash B-5 (1964-1965) 1967
BV9 Tzeltal BV9
[P.456-B] Teklum

682 ceeded along two lines of enquiry. First, I have
694 analysed the circumstances surrounding the
• 121 deaths in as many cases as my informants could remember. Variations in the components of homicidal acts—the setting, agents, purpose, and outcome—suggested the different assumptions underlying each case. Secondly, I have correlated the different kinds of homicide with structural and organizational changes in
682 the community. The analysis of cases in Sec-
694 tion I summarizes the patterned components
128 of behavior. The social environment providing the cues to the actors is explored in Section II.

682 I. THE PATTERNED COMPONENTS OF
165 37 HOMICIDE CASES

[128] The following tabulations and discussion are based on the 37 cases presented in Table 1.

Who Is Killed

Sex:	all male	
Age:	18–22	5
	27–30	7
	34–38	7
	42–48	8
	50	3
	60	2
	65	2
	70	2
	[illegible]	1
[463] Occupation:	curer	8
	political leader	1
	farmer	28

One-half the total number of killings occurred to those between the ages of 34 to 50. However, as the six victims aged 60 and over indicate, survival to a late age does not ensure that one will die a nonviolent death. The age of the victim may be correlated with motive, insofar as some events leading to conflict occur
68 only at certain times in the life cycle. Thus,
[578] betrothal conflicts involved only young men, while victims accused of witchcraft were older: 27 was the age of the youngest, and 16 out of the 18 men killed as witches were over 34. Cattle theft, on the other hand, occurred throughout the age range.

682 Eight of the victims—more than one-fifth of
165 them—were curers, a much higher proportion
756 than their share in the total population, for there are only about a dozen now living in the town center of 1,900.

682 There is a personality type recognized by the
156 community as distinctive of those who "get

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P 464-B] Teklum

682 539 183 Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick.

682 156 828 A good man is of one heart, and he shows it by his humility, *ben k'un yo?tan*, or "very soft heart." He can drink with friends on either side of the dual division of the town, and he is called upon in many household fiestas to greet the guests of the house-owner.

But the man who is "very strong of heart," *ben toyol yo?tan*, who "fails to take people into account," *ma ?awa ta cuenta*, who "abuses people," *me vo wuu*, has means of survival despite the many threats to his life. He surrounds himself with a circle of *compadres*, or godparents; he especially picks out curers, both to mitigate the use of their power against him, and for them to serve as intermediaries if he should have enemies with animal spirits. When a threat becomes imminent, he may stay within his house or limit his range of activities to a very circumscribed area, always taking a weapon when he does go out. He will usually try to limit his drinking, or give it up entirely. These short-range rules of avoidance are clearly indicated by the circumstances in which killings occur: in the hills or at night, when the victim is under the influence of liquor.

[608] [756] [273]

682 These 37 cases of homicide reveal a regularity in the kinds of people and situations involved. The victims are most often men who assert power, principally curers, or men who violate standards of behavior by abusiveness or theft. Their killers are often linked to them by kinship or neighborhood, the bonds in which tensions are greatest. The regularity of time and place of homicide suggests the precautions that can be taken to avoid being killed if one has an enemy. The general failure of the community social-control agents to bring negative sanctions against a killer indicates that homicide is an accepted solution for interpersonal conflict. The structural setting that validates this behavior is discussed below.

[578] 682 626

II. STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

682 178 121 626 Case analysis, useful for discerning certain patterns, is inadequate for understanding the interrelationships among a variety of social changes in the community. An increasing rate of homicide of this magnitude indicates fundamental changes in the social matrix in which individual decisions are made; it suggests not

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P 465-A]

682 only a rise in the tensions that provoke con-
178 flict, but an undermining of the social-control
•121 mechanisms for channeling them. The percep-
626 tion of these changes by the members of the society makes for shifts in the individual calculi, grossly measured in changes in the rate of
[128] behavior. In order to understand the interrelated problems of the sources of the increasing tensions and the reasons homicide is chosen as a means of resolving them, I have reconstructed the course of social change in the period from 1935 to 1965.

178 *Increasing Social Tensions*

556 New economic enterprises have increased wealth differences in the community. The best measure of this is in the increase in cattle-holding, which is a socially approved way of spending money. Twenty-five years ago, there were only a half-dozen men with cattle, and they had only one or two head each. Today,
178 one of the herders in the community has 200
233 head of cattle, and 75 percent of the households
556 have one or more each.

Cattle-herding is a "new" industry in the sense that instead of just having a team of oxen to help with agricultural labor, men are
233 breeding cattle for profit. Because the cattle
685 roam freely, there is much loss, and this leads to accusations of theft. I have never heard such accusations directed against anyone outside the community; crime as well as positive moral relationships is confined within the
682 boundaries of this corporate community. Sus-
685 pected cattle thieves are killed by the cattle-
[474] owner or by a killer hired by the cooperative of cattle-owners. Such killings account for six of the 37 cases analyzed above (Table 1).

178 The illicit distilling of liquor has also added
274 to the town's prosperity. The liquor industry was introduced about 15 years ago, but the number of distillers has increased from 5 to 40
[438] in the last five years. From an enterprise formerly meeting only local market needs,
[439] contraband liquor is now sold as far away as the coastal area and across the border in
274 Guatemala. A cooperative of distillers has re-
474 duced the frictions that immediately followed the introduction of liquor-distilling. The cooperative pays the fines of any member caught distilling, and in addition threatens to use group action against informers, who were formerly tempted to earn the 200 pesos offered
[578] by federal agents. But the envy aroused by the sight of those who profit from this enterprise,

3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P.469-B]

leaders, both in the civil authority and in the curing profession. The transition from the old hierarchy of control to the new leadership structure is still in process. In the most recent confrontation of the civil authority and curers, the fact that neither side resorted to violence suggests the transitional nature of homicide as a solution in intracommunal conflict.

This study of homicide indicates that the changing rate of behavior points to structural change, but does not in itself indicate what kind of change occurs or from what motives it stems. Qualitative case analysis related to structural changes within the recall of informants is essential for understanding social process.

NOTES

[1] Field work is based on two periods of residence in the community in 1964 and 1965; it was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health. I am grateful for comments by Paul Friedrich, Richard Henderson, Harold Scheffler, and Peter Wilson, who have improved the original version read at the 1965 meetings of the American Anthropological Association. I remain responsible for the contents of the paper.

[2] Henry and Short (1954:18) analyze both suicide and homicide as undifferentiated aggressive reactions to frustration, the rates of which vary—in the first case inversely and in the second case directly—with the strength of the external control system over behavior. Their assumption that homicide is motivationally a single phenomenon, and not an expression of a variety of motives, stems from the assumption that all cases of aggressive acts are the result of frustration. Straus and Straus (1964:587) apply a similar correlational analysis of homicide and suicide rates with structural features of society in Ceylon, but come to opposite conclusions. They maintain that one would expect greater evidence of homicide in a "loosely structured society," by which they mean one with considerable sanctioning of variation in individual behavior. These studies contradict each other in the conclusions that they reach by similar analytical processes, but they are attempts to move away from such psychoanalytic reasoning as the death wish theory.

[3] Bohannan's (1960) survey of homicide and suicide in African societies represents a useful model for comparing the total pattern of homicide cross-culturally. In presenting the case material here, I have used a similar format, adding to it the circumstances surrounding the killing. In the analysis of these materials, I have diverged from Bohannan's model in trying to demonstrate the linkage among the components—the ratios, to use Burke's (1945) terminology of scene-setting-actor/agent.

[4] The term "witch" is a translation of the Tzeltal term *ʔak'-čamal*, literally "giver of sickness." The term "curer" is a translation of *ʔuʔul*. The power to cure and to give sickness stems from the possession of a *ruyokal*, or animal spirit.

[5] For a discussion of the tactics of gaining consensus in witch-killings, see Manning Nash (1960).

[6] Political homicide by agrarian leaders, which is so frequent in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962), is a relatively recent phenomenon in the retreat zones of Indian population. The cases analyzed by Friedrich are a strategy of political power stemming from a revolutionary background, and the cultural assumptions to which he points contrast with those underlying witch-killings. My only comparable case is significantly found outside the traditional center, in the new ejido colony.

[7] Jules Henry (1936) sees the formula of fear and anger as the

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

• 121 This thesis is an introduction to the ethnography of drinking in Aguacatenango, a Mayan-speaking community in Chiapas. It displays in some detail the roles and the circumstances of drinking performances there, and it examines some of the ways in which drinking performances reflect the more general beliefs and habitual actions of the people of the community.

*273 183 The drinking of beverage alcohol is a highly frequent, well-patterned part of life in most of the Chiapas highland Indian communities, the only known exceptions being some of the *273 184 protestant enclaves in Oxchuk and environs (Slocum 1956). While [114] detailed references to drinking performances are scarce, it has been determined that variations on the patterns to be described for Aguacatenango are likely to be found at least in Amatenango (Nash 1960); Cancuc (Guiteras-Holmes 1946); Chamula (Bunzel 1940, Pozas 1959); Chenalhó (Guiteras-Holmes 1961); Huistan (Miller 1958); Oxchuc (Castro 1959, 1962; Siverts 1960; Slocum 1956; Villa-Rojas 1946); Tenejapa (Metzger and Williams 1963);

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* 184 Tzinacantan (Laughlin 1962). Many more of the Indian communities could be added to this list.

273* 171 In a more general way, the drinking patterns found in Chiapas highlands are observed throughout much of the aboriginal new world. Thus Cooper (1946: 544) says:

> In some regions, particularly the Andean and parts of the forested lowlands, fermented beverages are drunk as a common everyday beverage. Most of the drinking, however, throughout the great brewing area of the West Indies, Middle America and continental South America is in connection with drinking sprees, of a social and/or magicoreligious nature in which groups participate. These drinking bouts are main or attendant features of gatherings of all kinds, especially in connection with hunting, fishing, harvesting, and other food-getting activities, with visiting and hospitality to guests, with war, victory, and peacetime councils, with births, naming, initiations, weddings, and funerals, and with magico-religious festivals, rites, and celebrations--the specific occasions differing from tribe to tribe and from area to area. The sprees may last from a few hours up to many days, usually until all the available liquid is exhausted. The participants imbibe until they reach various stages of intoxication, from mild tipsiness to complete alcoholic coma. Among nearly all people on whom we have information, the bouts are accompanied by and end in the airing of grudges and hurling of insults, which lead to quarrels and fighting, more or less violent and not uncommonly fatal. Sex intrigues and orgies are equally common accompaniments.

121 273* While some of the general characteristics of drinking are known for the New World, detailed ethnographic descriptions are rather rare, causing Cooper (1946), Heath (1962), Simmons (1962), and Washburne (1961), among others, to suggest that more attention needs to be paid to this type of study. The descriptions of drinking performances which have been published on the aboriginal populations of the New World are perceptive if overly brief.

121 273 They tend to aim at understanding drinking as a pathological phenomena and thus dysfunctional (cf. Bunzel 1940) or, alternatively, as an anxiety reducing mechanism (Horton 1943), dysfunctional only in those societies which have not successfully integrated drinking performances into the set of legitimate and even necessary social performances. On the other hand, drinking has been viewed as functional and integrative by Mangin (1957), Heath (1962), and Simmons (1962). Most recently, a cross-cultural study done by Field (1962) has suggested that heavy drinking is related to "variables indicating a personal (or informal) rather than a corporate (formal) organization, but is substantially unrelated to the level of anxiety in the society."

The paucity and the inadequacy of description reported in these cross-cultural studies indicate that performances have been primarily of interest to students of alcoholism and have been of only peripheral interest to anthropologists. To the extent that drinking has been of interest to anthropologists, it has been interpreted with a view to throwing light on the consumption of beverage alcohol in the United States. The point has been well made that alcoholism as it is known in the United States is but one of a variety of forms of drinking performances and that students of alcoholism may wish to examine other forms before constructing a general set of statements about the consumption of beverage alcohol by human beings. Whether the use

121 273* of beverage alcohol is functional or dysfunctional depends on socio-cultural contexts which need to be uncovered in every next case in which such use is investigated. A description of the relation of drinking patterns to their socio-cultural context, then, contributes to a steadily growing but still inadequate ethnographic literature without which further cross-cultural perspective will be lacking.

121 The present investigation is devoted to a detailed statement of how alcohol is used in Aguacatenango. The bulk of the 123 data herein reported came as the result of participant observa- 124 tion for extended periods in Aguacatenango. Some material on the drinking patterns of individuals was gathered in interviews conducted by transcribing informants. These interviews were special Tzeltal conversations in which Pedro Juárez and Mariano Juárez separately read off or otherwise repeated questions directing the respondent to report some aspect of his experience with drinking.

124 Of all the questions which could be asked, we selected 125 seven which are reported by our informants to occur frequently in conversation about drinking and which men answer about themselves if they are asked. Our two transcribing informants then asked these questions of seventy-six men in town. The procedure was simply to ask each person a question, listen to his response, and then write down in Tzeltal a "synopis" of the response. The

125 time they spend and the perceived consequences of the behavior. The evidence is inferential; it does not express actual times spent at drinking, actual payments for drinking, nor actual [124] quantities of alcohol consumed. Since the questions and responses were Tzeltal, the reports are at least appropriate in local terms.

126 In addition to the above data, a great deal of material on social roles and their relation to drinking and on the general beliefs and patterns of action in drinking performances has been extracted from native language texts. The text constitute a number of conversations between individuals in Aguacatenango, recorded on tape and then transcribed and translated into Spanish 124 by a bilingual informant. The conversations were at first unfocused; later, I instructed the informant who initiated all of the conversations to elicit a description of a recent illness in [121] the household of the other party. Drinking was not at that time my major interest, but its frequency and its close association with illness brought up the subject in over half of the conver- 126 sations. The taped records were made in a variety of settings 124 and under a range of constraining conditions; my general strategy was to go from house to house with my informant and to record his conversation with whoever was present and willing to talk. The best of the records share the feature that at least two Aguacatenangeros were present in the recording setting and knew

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER II

DRINKING PERFORMANCES AND SOCIAL ROLES

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554 The scheduling of drinking in Aguacatenango and the internal structure of individual drinking performances can be considered as a code in which information about the roles and statuses of individuals is communicated. A brief look at the inventory of social roles will provide essential background for the description of this code.

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561
562 The composition of the Aguacatenango household, in terms of age and sex of members, is patterned as follows: Persons in the household under twenty years of age may be of either sex and any age. The ages of members of this group, relative to each other, are minimally two years apart. Persons over twenty years of age stand in a special age relationship: There is approximately a fifteen-year minimum age difference between individuals of the same sex. Age differences between individuals of opposite sex are such that they will either be the same age or the age rule for same sex members will hold. Finally, there will be no more than one individual of each sex in any of these age slots in any household. An age-sex distribution of a house, then, looks like the following diagram.

Restrictions on the characteristics of acceptable data in the study of illness

• /2/ In attempting to study illness in Aguacatenango, procedural difficulties led me to the following observations.

(1) It is not possible to duplicate the sense experience of a member of another culture. Even knowing, now, some of the rules in terms of which inferences are made from sense experience, I believe it to be unlikely that we will be able to write ethnographic descriptions on the basis of similarity of sense experience (between ethnographer and informant). Hence, the hope of making ethnographic descriptions by "learning through internalization of the culture" seems to be explicitly excluded as a basis for making cultural descriptions.

The perception of events, objects, processes by even the most sophisticated ethnographer must inevitably suffer contamination from his own cultural experience. Even should it be the case that the ethnographer can properly learn the native culture in the sense that he can always make the proper deductions, the time consumed makes it impractical, the investigator hence being constrained to the learning of one, or at most two, cultures besides his own in the course of his professional life.

(2) Even if it were possible to duplicate the sense experience of the native, it would still be the case that much of native communication is based on non-shared sense experience.

© 12/ This is clear in the case of illness as it is reported by individuals in Aguacatenango. While I had no trouble in establishing an inventory of states of illness, as informants reported them, I could not establish a basis for measuring the informant's sense experience independent of his report.

There may be cultural dimensions where the investigator is able independently to establish stimulus values. The world of material objects, for example, permits detailed examination in terms of physical measures of light and shade, intensity, color, sound, shape, and so on. Native classifications of those objects which exist in a materially defined space may conceivably be so described. Much of the cultural material that must be included in descriptions, however, does not exist in an easily searchable perceptual space.[1] Furthermore, it is not certain

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[1] Frake observes (1961: 124) "The discovery of what cue discriminations informants are making when contrasting one disease with another is exceedingly difficult. Many apparently pertinent cues, such as the ones that enable a Subanun patient to distinguish 'headache' (mesait gulu) from 'migraine' (tampiak) are known only by verbal descriptions. A disease 'entity' such as 'headache' is not something that can be pointed to, nor can exemplars of diseases ordinarily be brought together for visual comparison and contrast as can, say, two plants. Moreover, situational features other than stimulus attributes of the illness bear on the final diagnostic decision. The same degree of pain, if objectively measured, could probably lead to a diagnosis of either 'headache' or 'migraine' depending on current social or ecological role demands on the patient. Nevertheless, very few diagnostic decisions are made by the Subanun without some apparent appeal to stimulus properties of illness; and in the majority of diagnoses these are the overriding considerations."

121 that the attribute space relevant to material objects is going to be easily searchable.[1]

(3) Most theories that individuals have about causal relationships in the real world are documented by events which have already taken place. They are of the type: X is true because Y has happened; or, alternatively, since Y, then X. Garfinkel has called this the documentary method (Garfinkel n.d.). It is characteristic of the documentary method that there is hardly ever a set of past events which deny some set of infer-
121 753 ences the documentary method provides.[2] Thus, in Aguacatenango, an epidemic stops because the witch who was causing it has been killed; if, on the other hand, the epidemic does not stop with the killing of a witch, then another witch must be responsible. Again, a sick person gets well because a curing ceremony has been performed; if he does not get well after the ceremony, then his illness must be witchcraft and the witch more powerful than
121 the curer. The documentary method is never wrong. This may be

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[1]See Conklin (1955).

[2]This characteristic of the documentary method is explicated in an experiment by Garfinkel (op. cit.). Subjects were told that they should report by phone to counselors serious problems they were experiencing. Whenever the subject thought of a question to which the counselor could answer yes or no, he was instructed to ask the question. The counselor then answered each question yes or no. The subjects were required to interpret the counselor's response. In every case the subjects were able to "make sense" out of the counselor's response. The counselors' responses were drawn from a table of random numbers.

121 one reason most "primitive" belief systems require so much pressure before they can be brought under our documentary rules.

The beginnings of a theory of illness for Aguacatenango

In order to develop a theory of illness, one must have a way for directing the informant's attention to this domain or focus; or, alternatively, the ethnographer must be able to detect in the set of observables he has available to him, those which are, to some extent, conditioned by the salience of illness in one or another of its forms to the performers. In the present case we depend upon verbal contexts to establish relevance from the informant's point of view, and we use verbal contexts to test non-simulated performances in order to determine the salience of illness in the record of any situation we may be examining. One general measure of relevance is expressed in the Tzeltal question: /TUT LA SPAS/ "What happened to him" literally "What was he doing?" A further probe such as: /TUT+A CAMELIL YA YA*I*/ "What illness does he feel?" if it can be made relevant, is fairly likely to put the observer into the domain of illness as it is being experienced by some participant. If the illness is a non-simulated performance, further eliciting will produce further reports of states relevant in that domain. If the illness is a simulated performance, further well controlled eliciting will produce further relevant responses to

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753 the initial simulated performance. Such material, in conjunction with texts, constitutes the basis for the following survey of beliefs about illness.

753 The conditions which precede the onset of illness are many and varied. While some of them are known to be antecedent to illness in the sense that if an individual experiences one of these conditions the probability is increased that he will become ill, there are nonetheless many conditions which become diagnostic of the illness only after the individual defines himself and is defined as being ill. Types of experiences which lead the individual to anticipate illness include either becoming angry or being an object of anger; experiencing extreme fright, as when one has had dreams, or has seen the image of some malevolent non-human force (i.e., a ladino dressed in black riding a tall horse); and drinking aguardiente. These and similar experiences carry permanent associations with illness; the individual expects to become ill and often does so. Conditions which are used to explain illness only after-the-fact tend to be more properly theoretical in that they explain at once the necessary and sufficient conditions for some non-hypothetical occurrence of some disease process.

Among the after-the-fact explanations one finds statements such as, "the patient is suffering from soul loss, his soul presently residing in the Owner of the Cave's soul pool."

273* proper interpretations of drinking behavior can only proceed as rapidly as careful descriptions of drinking behavior are formulated. Drinking performances anywhere in the world occur in more or less well defined contexts which are subject to well ordered descriptions. One cannot judge any individual's drinking performances until and unless he has discovered the contextual rules in terms of which this individual is operating. It has [121] been the intent of this thesis to point to some of these kinds of contextual rules.

273* 554 In Aguacatenango drinking performances reflect important principles of social organization which are elsewhere attested in other performances which are not drinking performances. In drinking performances there is a simultaneous mapping of differences in social status and role as there is a statement of how the wealth in the community should be divided. In any drinking [561] performance, men of senior age and generation drink first, their juniors drinking later. Women and children drink separately and in small amounts. While the relative order of drinking marks the relative status of the men present, all men drink the same amount. Not only does this clearly delineate men's and women's roles but it also expresses the condition that across time, every man can expect to occupy a status position senior to the one he presently has. Such changes in status are not dependent [556] upon the achievement of great wealth since everyone should have

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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273 554 556 this in equal amounts (as mapped by the equal amounts of aguardiente they receive). In fact, as we have earlier observed, drinking performances are regularly scheduled, explicitly verbalized events in which differences in real wealth are leveled.

121 The ethnographic aims of this thesis may be summed up more or less as follows. It is clear, now, that it is possible to describe systems within culture in terms relevant and significant to those who are participants in that culture. This thesis has aimed to formulate such a description of drinking behavior in Aguacatenango. The procedures we have discussed in the earlier chapters are general in the sense that they are, it now appears to us, applicable to any culture, and to most foci or domains therein. One should not be surprised, however, if some varieties of learned behavior are not directly accessible to study in this fashion.

000 Though some notions from structural linguistics seem relevant, the immediate relevance of linguistic data is as an aid in discovering and relating other cultural patterns. McQuown's reading of Whorf's (1941) statement regarding "fashions of speaking" seems relevant here: "This approach [Whorf's] would seem to de-emphasize the role of linguistic patterns as such and to stress the function of language as a medium for the manifestation of other cultural patterns, in which precise formal characteristics of the medium were merely limiting and not determining

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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000 factors" (McQuown 1956). Precise formal characteristics of the language involved are primarily useful in directing otherwise unstructured stages of the search for patterning.

121 In actuality, we have proceeded in our investigations with a definition in mind, namely that culture consists of what it is the members know or believe in order to behave in the way they do (to paraphrase Goodenough 1957). Acceptability of behavior implies a relation of appropriateness or congruence between behavior and the circumstances in which it occurs. Circumstances operate to restrict to a greater or lesser degree the number of behaviors appropriate thereto, as an effective substitution frame in grammatical analysis leads to the definition of form classes by operating to restrict the number of forms which are substitutable therein. In fact the thesis has been an attempt to locate such environments, such constraining conditions.

We have used verbal environments as a primary source of data, not only because of ease of record-making, as well as the obvious convenience of dealing in this mediated way with things and situations not immediately at hand or impossible to bring to hand; but also because verbal behavior appears to bear some investigable relation to things non-linguistic, and provides the best available tool for the discrimination of meaningful units therein.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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177 very adjustments and adaptations that make economic survival possible.
178 Cut off from other Indian communities around them since the Conquest, when their ceremonial centers were destroyed and the political hierarchy which drew them into a single polity was replaced, the Indians were able to retain a sense of cultural independence within the corporate communi-
[621] ties (Wolf 1957b). Each community developed a distinctive style of life in which the old pre-Conquest beliefs and customs were reworked with the colonial Spanish introductions. Validation of their behavior lay in the be-
[769] lief that they were doing as the ancestors did, and that they were living "in the eyes of our ancestors."

[769] This social fiction is now threatened by a growing disbelief in the presence of these supernatural figures. The crisis caused by the disjunction between belief and behavior is forcing the Indians to reassess their present condition. Awareness of the contradictions between what they do and what they think they ought to do is forced upon them by events over which they have no control.

121 This study of a Maya Indian community in the state of Chiapas, Mexico, deals with the problem of the relation between belief and behavior in a changing world. It is a problem that we have failed to solve in our own society, if the labels of our time—The Age of Anxiety, The Society of Alienation—have meaning. I have studied this small Indian society not in search of a solution but as a way of phrasing the problem in the widest possible context.

I selected Tzo'ontahal because the people seemed to have retained a traditional Indian culture even though the community is on the Pan-American Highway linking them with the departmental and national capitals. The question of what changes had affected their lives and how they had responded to them was relevant to my interest in the effects of national changes on local groups. In the last year of my study my interest broadened from an enquiry into responses to external changes to a study of the meanings assigned to both internal and external changes.

621 Like many other predominantly Mayan communities of the Chiapas highlands, the community is the context of all meaningful social relations. Endogamy and a belief that the people who live in the center and the nearby barrios are descended from the same ancestors give a sense of eth-

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tions of self will find a responsive audience only within these linguistic and physical boundaries. The sense of insulation is a denial of regional and national political institutions in which they interact with the other Indians and Ladinos who are part of their present world and share their history. The town itself is a product of the Spanish colonial *congregación,* which drew together diverse Indian populations that had been scattered in small settlements. The outlying barrios are occupied by Indians who have moved out from the center, as well as foreign Indians who had worked in the *fincas,* or large plantations, within the township. These latter people are referred to by a derisive term, *Kurik,* meaning roughly "country hick." Beyond these, and still within the municipal limits, there are a series of *colonias,* settlements populated by Indians who have moved here from other towns and by *mestizos,* or acculturated Indians. These settlers acquired land in the time of Juarez or later in the Cardenas period. Ladino men are called *Kašlan* and women *Šinlan;* foreigners who do not appear to be of the country are called *Alemán,* the Spanish term for German.

The focus of this book is on the lives and thoughts of people living within the center. The people of Tzoʾontahal live in a square world, surrounded by a round universe. From the square hole, cut in the earth at the center post of their square house to receive the sacrifice of a live chicken when the house is built, stretches a square village (it appears as a rectangle on the map, but they draw it as a square).[2] The fields are measured in squares of twenty-five arms' breadths, with five handspans measuring the square between each plant. Within this square world, they have elaborated techniques for dealing with spiritual and human co-residents in curing rituals, offerings for crops, burial practices, and baptism rites. Their present cultural stock reveals a selective absorption of Spanish colonial features along with twentieth-century innovations. They have techniques for planting and harvesting milpa, marketing the pottery manufactured in all the households, curing an eclipse of the moon, divining causes of illness and curing the maladjusted social relations which cause it, manufacturing and

2. This view of the world as square is shared by Tzeltal and Tzotzil neighbors in Larraínzar (Holland 1963:69), San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:254), and Pinola (Hermitte 1964). The four-direction concept of the village and world noted by Landa (Tozzer 1941:135) suggests a square-space concept.

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marketing contraband liquor, minimizing discord and settling disputes locally, and preserving continuity in a town administration marked by the annual rotation of officials. 105 177 178

These are the techniques acquired for dealing with the world in which they were born. For the world into which they are being propelled, they are combining new skills with old, creating a semblance of continuity but with a recombination of elements. Fitting this square community into the round post-Columbian world is a task consciously undertaken by the Mexican government. Within the town, strategies are being developed to meet the new demands made on the community as economic and political horizons widen.

The problem focus on the relation between belief and behavior in a changing social environment can be restated by asking how behavior is conditioned by custom and how it responds to cues from the environment. The first class of responses is adjustive, fitting the behavior of the individual to a given environment, and the second is adaptive, changing the external environment (Kluckhohn 1962:46). I shall use the distinction Mowrer and Kluckhohn (1944:258) have made between adaptation, "which develops and changes inherited ways of behaving," and adjustment, "which develops and changes habits," with the former referring to socially acquired responses and the latter to individual responses. A moving equilibrium is found when changes in adjustive and adaptive responses fit a persisting framework of understandings and explanations. Both adjustive and adaptive responses follow rules. These rules enable social groups to generate consistent, understandable, and appropriate behavior in response to a variety of settings. The "rules of the game" set the parameters for adjustive behavior; the "rules of strategy" generate behavior adaptive to change. The rules of the game are validated by the belief system of the society; the rules of strategy can be justified on the same premises, but if they are so fundamental as to challenge existing values, they require a new ideology. 121

The model of change which takes into account the techniques of adaptation and adjustment occurring within small-scale societies is that of moving equilibrium. Wallace (1962:142) has stated the dimensions of this model:

121 A culture, under certain conditions, during a period of time can be said to be an open system in a state of stable but moving equilibrium: that is to say, it maintains a boundary, accepts inputs and produces outputs at approximately equal rates, and changes continuously but gradually in internal structure.

The concept of equilibrium is one way to talk about the constraints which make behavior congruent with beliefs. Given a constantly changing ecological setting due to an expanding population and a changing man-land ratio, the stability of the system depends on the adequacy of existing institutions to handle conflict and of shared understandings to explain events. Movement stems from the tension between individual and social goals and the adaptations to bring them into closer harmony. The basic condition for the kind of change characteristic of a moving equilibrium is that conflict is contained within the community.

128 I have organized the data to clarify features maintaining equilibrium and to show the direction in which the society is moving. First I describe formal, prescribed behavior for each institutional complex and relate it to the beliefs that underlie it. Following each of these chapters I analyze strategies formulated in response to changes coming from within or outside the community. The formal behavior providing a framework for continuity is related to place spirits in Chapter 1, to economic activities in Chapter 2, to customs and rituals in the family and neighborhood in Chapters 4 and 5, to civil and religious government in Chapters 7 and 8. Changing strategies are related to economic activities in Chapter 3, to social relations as revealed in curing practices in Chapter 6, and to political relations in Chapter 9.

177 178 Implicit in the organization is an ordering of institutions from most static to most dynamic. In the economy, agricultural technology has been stabilized at the colonial level of adaptation at which the wooden plow, [241] [323] hoe, and machete were added to, but did not displace, the digging stick, while in pottery manufacture, both techniques and products have remained unchanged. The organization of work groups remains limited to [592] [476] the household except for the introduction of cooperatives in recent years. [361] In domestic institutions there has been an adaptation to living in a compact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group.

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128 school included in Appendix 3 provide the data for an inductive analysis of conventions established by place. (These are compared and analyzed in Chapter 11.)

3. Timing of behavior: How does time enter into the consciousness of people's planning of activities? Time is a resource the use of which indicates the values assigned to activities and the relative power of people in bargaining positions. As such, it is a sensitive index to changes in strategies for allocating effort. (The sense of time is examined in reference to the scheduling of performances and interpreting the behavior of others in Chapter 12.)

The summary chapters provide the basis for testing the following hypotheses in the final chapter:

1. The stability of the society varies directly with:
   a. the degree of control over time and place
   b. the efficiency of its procedures for adjusting conflict
   c. the ability to validate behavioral innovations in terms of existing values
   d. the effectiveness of the techniques for transforming old power positions whose functions contradict changed social conditions into ceremonial posts
2. The lability of the society varies directly with:
   a. the gap between expectations and experience
   b. the degree of dissonance between traditional explanations and current interpretations of events

177 178 During the period I worked in Tzoʔontahal, the fundamental propositions on which behavior was predicated were being challenged. When old beliefs are waning, the question is whether the techniques developed to maintain the old conditions for equilibrium will persist in the future.

121 Fortes (1959:25) has pointed out that the "serious defect . . . of generalized enthnographic descriptions" is that they do not show "how ritual or belief is actually used by men and women to regulate their lives." My purpose is to indicate not only how belief and ritual serve the ends of regulation but also how beliefs are transformed in the process of performing ri-

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tuals and everyday tasks. The dialectic of change lies in the interpretations people make of new experience.

My method of study in the field was that of participant-observation combined with extensive eliciting. The assumption implicit in participant-observation that "seeing is believing" denies not only the symbolic significance of the acts one sees, but the relevant social features which are part of their definition of the situation. Rather than impose my own perceptions on the simplest field description, I relied on informants' statements about where, when, what, to whom, and how things were happening. In the case of formally programmed events, I elicited in advance in Tzeltal from two or more informants the sequence of activities as they expected them to transpire. I asked informants to segment the experience they were recounting in as minimal units as they had the descriptive vocabulary to do. This was done for instrumental activities—agriculture and pottery production—as well as ceremonial events in the life cycle and in religious and economic institutions. Implicit in the informants' segmentation of experience is the concept of "molar acts"—purposive and cognitive behavior.[3] The informant says for example that he "eats," not that he raises food to his mouth and chews it. The importance of eliciting descriptions in the performers' own language is indicated in the different way in which experience is lumped or split in Tzeltal. For example, when a curer takes a pulse he both "feels" and "hears" (*ʃʔawai*) the messages communicated by the blood. On the other hand, the verb "to eat" has several terms depending on what is being eaten (Berlin 1967). Their translations into Spanish do not make the same distinctions.

Observation of events in process provided not only a check for validity and completeness of the informants' accounts, but also a means of analyzing the process of change. The attempt to analyze divergence in actual behavior from normative statements in terms of Murdock's ideal-real dichotomy or Kroeber's value-culture and reality-culture is based on an assumption that there is a single perception of the way things ought to be done in

3. Psychologists such as Lewin (1951:72) and Tolman (1961:89) who have studied animal behavior have emphasized that the minimal unit of significant behavior is both purposive and cognitive. Most of my descriptions of behavior are limited to molar behavior, and the analysis of gesture systems is confined to those which have symbolic significance in a ceremonial context.

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12 a given culture, and that real behavior is a not always successful attempt to approximate those ideals. This formulation has proved inadequate because the actors have a number of ideas as to what appropriate behavior is, and the permissible range of behavior varies in each setting. In questioning informants about the divergences between the account I elicited prior to an event and the acts I observed, I was able to sort out these kinds of variation from those which indicate adaptation or social change.

121 Past events in the history of the community, selected, described, and interpreted by the participants in those events, provide a framework for analyzing structural and social change. Deviation from the norms is not in itself an index to social change, as Faron (1964:202ff.) and others have pointed out. The impetus to social change depends upon awareness of dissonance between the way things are done and social goals. Past events are assigned significance according to this awareness of changing social conditions. Lies about the past and guesses about the future are as important sources of data as history. When people lie about what they do or have done or will do, they lie in terms of the norms, and when they guess, they guess in terms of patterned expectations. These data are of significance in exploring the patterns underlying both formal and dynamic behavior.

829 171 121 Communities such as Tzoʔontahal represent a paradox in Latin America since the Indians pretend to be the same when they are changing, while non-Indians exaggerate the changes which have occurred. In Indian communities, the old cultural forms persist even while the community responds to the changing cues in the environment. The Indians are aware that the corporate community is an important resource base in easing their transition into regional and national networks, not on the bottom rung of the Ladino social ladder as when individuals leave the community, but in a competitively favorable position. Their insistence that they are following the customs of the ancestors is a means of keeping their boundaries intact and protecting themselves against external encroachment.

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pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline. The sand which is mixed with the clay is found nearby. In preparing it for use, the clay has to be chopped with a hatchet and soaked. A temper for cooking pots is made of ground sandstone, called *baš*. This is found near the border of the neighboring town of Aguacatenango, and sometimes Indians of that town bring pieces which they exchange for a soup bowl or other small pottery item. 317 323 [438]

Variation in the color of the clay—it may be white, white mixed with yellow, true yellow, black, or blue-green—provides the basis for discerning its quality. The white clay is thought to be best since it doesn't break as much in firing. The preferred clay is very soft, and the women test deposits by feeling them with their hands.

The rhythm of work is regular. Children under three years of age climb on their mother's back or lap or sometimes stand by her side nursing. The women do not interrupt their work when this happens, although they may shift their body to accommodate the child. In the organization of work, there is no discussion of what is to be done or who will do it. Orders are given only to the young children. When the women are working, all motions which would require a break in activity are assigned to children who bring unfinished pots to be worked on and shoo away chickens or dogs. The standardization of production rhythm is evidenced in the uniformity in time required for each operation. Timing one potter's production of 10 *apastes* (soup bowls) on two different days, I found that she spent one hour and 10 minutes for each set, an average of 11 minutes per pot. Another woman made a *comal* (platter) in 26 minutes and a second one in 28 minutes. A pair of larger bowls produced by another woman took 15 minutes each. 323 461 [855] [857]

The continuity in tradition of pottery production stems from a tightly organized behavioral schema with defined units of motion and stages of production. I follow Piaget in his definition of behavioral schema which Flavell (1963:54) has summarized as follows: 323 [178]

> Thus, an action sequence, if it is to constitute a schema, must have a certain cohesiveness and must maintain its identity as a quasi-stable, repeatable unit. It must possess component actions which are tightly 121

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121 interconnected and governed by a core meaning. However elementary the schema, it is a schema, precisely by virtue of the fact that the behavior components which it sets into motion form a strong whole, a recurrent and identifiable figure against a background of less tightly organized behavior.

Piaget (1952:244) has stated:

> It is due to the fact that schemata present this kind of structure that mental assimilation is possible and any object whatever can be incorporated or serve as aliment to a given schema.

This has significant implications for the continuity of tradition. The persistence of behavior depends on control in the organization of the work and in the training of new producers. As yet we do not have a means to measure the degree of organization or transfer of cognitive maps so that we can make comparisons across behavioral domains. The best source of data lies in the language which provides the cognitive mapping of the behavior. Table 10 provides a preliminary breakdown of the major stages 128 and the distinct but similar action sequences which they include. Individual motions are replicated, in combination with other elements in the action sequence, to make up the component actions of different stages of production. The classification of actions implied in the Tzeltal verbs is shown in Table 11.

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TABLE 10. Schedule of Activities in Pottery Production

Time	*Step*	*Activity*
1st day	1.	Yah tzes yaʔbi yaʔlel (Moisten; give water to clay and leave one day)
2d day	2.	Ya swotz lum sok hiʔ (Mix clay with sand)
	2.1	Yah sčičin hiʔ (Sift sand)
	2.2	Yah lihk swotz (Begin to mix)
	2.3	Sah sk'ap sok hiʔ yuʔun ben pikil (Add sand until grainy)
	2.4	Yakto parte ma to yaiyehuk hiʔ (Put aside some that doesn't have enough sand)
	2.5	Yaʔbe čaʔ mel sk'ut • sok hiʔ (Give 2 passes, kneading with sand)
	2.6	Ya tzob ya swol (Collect it and make a ball)
	2.7	Ya sba snaʔan ta suhk sč'ute (Go set it on a board)

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Chapter 10

Roles, Persons, and the Evaluation of Performance

Categories of roles, time, and place structure the expectations of social groups. The following three chapters summarize the preceding data according to these cognitive modes. Role behavior and system, which will be analyzed in the present chapter, provide only a partial explanation of social interaction. It is the "proliferation of behavior beyond roles" (Linn 1967) that is of greater interest for the study of change. Consideration of place and time helps to make role categories explicit and to structure behavior that exceeds role expectations. Changes in the use of space and time can reveal adjustments in role relations before change occurs. Space and time perspectives will therefore be analyzed in the following two chapters.

Cooperation is possible when actors not only take into account the responses of others but also anticipate those responses. Anticipations are based in part upon understanding of conventional roles, but the rights, duties, and obligations invested in roles do not encompass all of the relevant expectations which make coordinated social interaction possible. Individual repetitive behavior in role play gives an image of what kind of person each actor is, and the groups of individuals are further categorized as "kinds of people." As an example of the first kind of classification, we have persons characterized as bright, dull, honest, crafty, etc. The second set of categories puts different personalities in socioeconomic classes such as rich and poor, or in political classes such as radical and conservative. Tzoʔontahal, along with other small societies, emphasizes personality categories since it lacks well-defined socioeconomic or sociopolitical classes.

Social continuity depends upon events which call for the participation of groups defined by roles as well as on socialization processes that under-

121 write beliefs that give coherence to these roles. Whether these events continue to be scheduled, and in the process of being presented "prove" the postulates upon which structural relationships are based, depends upon acceptance of the belief system.

183 A fundamental understanding governing behavior in Tzoʔontahal is that people ought to do as the ancestors did. Both "knowing" and "re-
[192] membering" are expressed by the same verb, *ya sna,* while "learning" and "memorizing" are expressed by the verb *ya snop*. The behavioral corollary of this association between knowing and remembering is that one should accept the word of the ancestors as a guide to behavior. The importance of obeying one's elders as the intermediaries in the transfer of ways of behaving from one generation to another is stressed in child training and is restated in the prayers uttered at ritual performances enacting the ways of the ancestors.

128 In this chapter I shall consider the integration of behavior based on roles, personality, codes of morality and etiquette, and the ideological and behavorial changes which are disturbing this system.

The Role System

554 621 182 Coherence of the role system in Tzoʔontahal depends upon (1) similar premises for role recruitment and continuity in transition from one role to another; (2) alternation in office and linkage of separate domains by special offices; and (3) standardized etiquette of role interaction. Uniform standards of evaluation of performance provide a sanctioning system ensuring social integration.

561 554 562 *Recruitment and transition*. Relative and chronological age combined with consideration of sex are the fundamental principles for assigning role categories. The age principle categorizes the entire town in role pairs of respect and deference. Sex differentiation is not made in children until after infancy. An infant of either sex is called *ʔunin,* also a term for
[192] the new moon, until the age of eight months. The sex of parent rather
[601] than that of the child is designated: a woman calls her offspring *ʔalal* whether boy or girl, and a man calls his offspring *nicʼan*. Sex distinction is

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Evaluations of Behavior

121 The evaluation of individual behavior is related to role categories, but is not circumscribed by them. Some behavior is universally prescribed, and judgments include all categories of people. This is particularly notable in behavior related to the moral code. Etiquette requires an ability to respond appropriately not only to individual "others" in a setting, but to a plurality of "others" categorized in special roles. This ability to respond to others in a setting and to anticipate what their responses will be has been characterized as "complex syntactic behavior" by Hebb and Thompson (1954). Analysis of complex syntactic behavior must go beyond the summation of dyadic interaction within role sets to exploring the shared values and norms on which judgments are made and expectations predicated.

Judgments of behavior are cast in terms of (1) morality, or the acceptance of prescribed behavior, (2) etiquette, or the acceptance of preferred actions, and (3) competence, or the effectiveness of performance. In gossip, in court cases, in allocating roles of responsibility, in judging professional competence, the assessment of a person is made with reference to his action in past incidents. A person is what he does, and the evaluation [192] of a person's repetitive acts (called *yobra* incorporating the Spanish loan [193] word *obra* and the Tzeltal possessive form *y*) encompasses a personal history.

196 577 *Morality*. Judgments concerning the moral value of a person are summarized in terms of states of the heart. A person who behaves well is said to be of "very good heart" in contrast to someone of "another heart." A good man is "one-hearted" if he takes other people into account. The description may be put in the negative, as "one who does not know how to seek disputes." The expression "two-hearted" is comparable to what English speakers mean by "two-faced."

577 626 Violations of the moral code are differentiated from violations of the code of convention or etiquette in that the former are said to indicate lack of fear and the latter are said to indicate lack of shame. These two definitions of social transgression point to the major socializing technique of the community: promoting a sense of shame and fear.

Chapter 11

Ordering Behavior by Places

121 554 People act out roles in a space and time matrix that provides the cues for appropriate behavior. Place is a means of patterning three structural dimensions of role: sex, age, and relative prestige. In societies characterized by multiplex relationships, Gluckman (1962:35-36n.) has emphasized the importance of the setting in establishing what role the individual is playing. One's selection of a particular role from the many possible relationships tying people together is supported by observation of official terms of address and reference in these settings. In Tzoʔontahal, the use of place as 554 a designation of role is even more specific since each person occupying a role is given a special place within the setting.

554 342 368 519 The social domains, or fields of activity where major systems of roles are defined in Tzoʔontahal, include the house, the cabildo, the church, and the school. Segmentary role relations are limited to the clinic, the corn-grinding mill, and the store. The house has retained its importance as a ceremonial locus not only for life crisis rituals but also for initiating new officials into the civil and religious hierarchies. The institutional buildings [361] grouped around the plaza—the church, the cabildo, the schoolhouse, the clinic, the mill, and the cooperative store—are the meeting ground for outside representatives of national or supra-local agents and townspeople. These provide the settings in which behavioral adjustments to internal changes and to external standards can be viewed.

The Concept of Space

772 361 Relevant social space is conceived of as a square. The square shape of houses, of the offering hole for the house sacrifice, of the corn field, and of the planting pattern for corn conforms to a notion of the world as a

Chapter 12

Ordering Behavior by Time

The structuring of social acts depends upon shared understandings about how others use time as well as space. Scheduling of activities in the daily and annual cycles minimizes decision-making by individuals and provides a set of expectations that facilitates cooperation.

The Sense of Time

The abstract noun for time, *k'alal,* is derived from the word for day, *k'al.* Time began when k'oł, the youngest son of Our Grandmother the Moon, took the sun from his elder brother and carried it around the world so that there was a succession of day and night (Chapter 8). Time past, (*name?iš*), is a general state of being in which the ancestors lived. The future is at best a recapitulation of the past.

People judge time by the position of the sun during the day, and by that of the moon or the stars at night. In winter, the appearance of the group of stars called "the sandal" and in summer of the "seven stars" indicates two o'clock in the morning. The appearance of Venus, called "the big star," announces the arrival of dawn.

In addition to these natural indicators, there are three timepieces in the town—in the school, the parish house, and the store. In the morning the policemen check the time with the lay sisters or the schoolmaster before mounting the tower of the church to strike the bell at eight o'clock, the time for rounding up the schoolchildren, at noon, the time for closing the town hall and the church, and at five in the afternoon, the time for evening prayers.

Despite bells and nature, however, people are not very accurate in calcu-

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

121 The aim of this study is two-fold. First, it attempts to offer an analytical description of the process of development of the household unit in two Tzeltal villages; second, it explores the internal factors which, in two societies with the same cultural background, are associated with differences in certain features of this same institution.

121 177 Most studies of Middle American communities explain variation among societies which are historically related as a result of acculturation pressures since conquest times, which have altered or destroyed the native institutions to the point of nullifying the traditional loyalties of the society and its system of reciprocal obligations. That is, these studies deal with variation which emerges from the external system (i.e., the society at large to which the village community is a part, this being the local Ladino society, the municipio, the nation, etc.) rather than with differences which emerge from variation in the internal system (i.e., structural pressures which originate from within the social 121 milieu of the community). In this study, we have selected two communities which stand in essentially the same relation to

121 the external system, with the aim of investigating internal causation.

[177] The two communites are equally acculturated, measured according to the number of material traits of western introduction, the influence of Catholicism, the degree of Spanish borrowing in the native tongue, the attitudes towards the outside world and the type of relations with this world. Both communities share the same historical past, the language, and the same cultural traditions. Both communities are good examples of Wolf's ideal type of "corporate peasant communities," and both are located in compactly settled villages, under the same ecological conditions.

128 The data to support this treatment of the problem is presented in chapter ii. The third chapter deals mainly with the common aspects of the over-all social structure of the two villages, that is, the larger social frame in which domestic groups or households function as units.

Chapter iv discusses the differences and similarities in the organization of production of the two villages, compares the immediate social effects of the differences, and prepares the ground for the later evaluation of these economic factors in terms of their effects in the developmental cycle of the domestic group.

[592] The organization of production is shown to be tied up with the domestic group directly, in the sense that the two major means of production, land and labor, are controlled by the household. Thus, the aspects of the organization of production which are treated throughout this work are: (1) sex and age composition and size of work groups, and (2) rights to land, animals, houses and objects

128 and the organization of the domestic units. While analyzing the evidence I did not expect to explain variation in terms of only one domain of social activity, thus, the economic frame became a reference point to handle data rather than the axis or core of
121 the description. Specific hypotheses for points of comparison
128 which I expected to explore are found under the following headings:

1. Patterned choices of residence and residence sponsor for all productive individuals:
   a) If only men were important producers, and rights in the property followed an agnatic line, then residence was expected to be patri-virilocal and residence sponsors to be only males.
   b) If women were as important producers as men, and rights over property followed a bilateral pattern, then residence was expected to be bi-local and residence sponsors to be both males and females.
2. Choice of marriage partner and the characteristics of the marriage transaction and relationship:
   a) The bride-price would have more importance in the patri-virilocal setting than in the bi-local one, but the importance of women as producers in the bi-local setting was expected to increase the value of the bride-price in the case in which the chosen residence for a particular couple was patri-virilocal.

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b) The relationship of the wife to the husband was hypothesized to be one of equality and interdependence in the community in which women shared the economic burden of the household, and one of inequality and dependency in the community in which only men were producers or "bread-winners."

c) A bilateral system of holding and inheriting property was expected to be more likely to correlate with equal status (i.e., equivalent rights) of the sexes in other aspects of the social life, while a unilateral system of holding and transmitting property was expected to correlate with a differential status for the sexes in other aspects of the social life.

3. Variation in the productive role of men and women was expected to be reflected in the socialization of children of different sexes, and also in the affective content of the roles of siblings, in-laws, parents and other members of the domestic group.

4. The distribution of rights and duties within the domestic group with special reference to the distribution of status and jural authority along age and sex lines:

a) Producers who held rights to the means of production were expected to have more authority than producers who were dependent laborers.

b) Producers were expected to hold a higher status than non-producers or less efficient producers.

121 128 5. The spatial propinquity of kinship-linked households.

a) If cooperative work groups and reciprocal obligations of labor outside the domestic unit were organized along male lines, then it was expected that propinquity between agnatically related households would have been the result.

b) If cooperative work groups and reciprocal obligations of labor outside the domestic unit were organized along both male and female lines, then it was expected that agnatically linked households and matrilineally linked households would have had equal degree of territorial proximity.

6. The social propinquity (i.e., relative frequencies and intensity of interaction) of kinship linked households.

a) When the community work groups were composed of male kinsmen and when residence was based on patrivirolocal proximity and inheritance followed an agnatic line, then higher interaction between agnatically linked households would have been the concomitant.

b) When community work groups were composed of both male and female kinsmen, and when inheritance was bilateral and residence bi-local, then interaction with linked related households would have followed a bilateral pattern.

Statement on Method and Objectives

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I do not attempt to set a correlation which is going to be valid for the world at large, but only for the historical, ecological and cultural conditions fulfilled by these two communities as well as by similar villages in the Chiapas Highlands. I do not reject the possibility that under similar conditions, some other society in the world may show similar patterns of variation, but this is considered to be an empirical question. Obviously, my set of hypotheses would generate only local correlations which require further testing, before they can be held as generalizations of more universal nature.

000 Restricted generalizations are, in my view, one of the lacks in the field of anthropology. We have derived "laws" about Society (with capital letters) from very scanty evidence collected from ethnographic publications which we cannot be sure are comparable. The laws which we have derived from such works have become, sometimes, axioms which bias our whole way of thinking, and which we transmit from one generation of anthropologists to another as "folk" transmit their belief system and their traditions.

There are several ways of breaking through this barrier (and I suggest it has to be done before anthropology becomes a serious comparative discipline). One necessary step is to specify our techniques and the evidence available in support of our statements for each particular instance. Another step is to unify our methodology and our taxonomies, or if not possible, state as clearly as possible the ones we do use. A third step would be to

600 identify in every case the social units which are being dealt with, a fourth to delimit the socio-cultural "cells" which can be treated as discrete units for comparison, and finally, and perhaps most important of all, we should try to specify the range of our generalizations. Our science is at the historical point in which it would be more important to attest the differences between human societies than to claim the universality of their similarities.

Radcliffe-Brown (1948) dedicated a whole book to the discussion of these same problems, and some of his students (Eggan, for example), have insistently taught this to their students in class and to other anthropologists in print. It is unfortunate, however, that so very few anthropologists are willing to deal with small scale generalizations, and prefer to present their findings as statements on the nature of society rather than as statements on the nature of particular societies.

128 The methods and techniques employed for the preparation of data for presentation, analyzing the results, and comparing the two communities, are specified in the respective sections of the text. The general methodological frame for the study is that of a controlled comparison (Eggan, 1954) at the intra-cultural level.

Definitions

121 The definitions of the social units compared will be extensively given in the corresponding sections of the text. The same will be true for the taxonomic terms employed.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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By the economic system I mean the subsistence pattern of the society: the system of production and the rules for the allocation of the goods produced; the rights of individuals, particular social groups or classes within a society, over the acquisition, monopoly, distribution, or consumption of goods and services, these being means of production, scarce goods or luxuries; rights over receiving hospitality; work exchange; and others.

The definition of the economic system includes, therefore, the system of holding and transmitting property (land, animals, or other commodities), the division of labor by the sexes, by age or by any other criteria, including the control of the labor of individuals or groups, and the market system and rules of economic exchange, if any, of the society studied.

By jural authority I mean "legitimate or constituted authority." "A person holds jural authority over others when, according to the stated norms of his group, he has the right to give them orders and they have the duty to obey" (Homans and Schneider, 1955:21).

Power and authority are defined as a relationship of super- and sub-ordination in which the superordinate member can originate activity for the subordinate member, who in turn cannot originate activity for him, except as an asymetrical response. As different from jural authority, it is measured not in terms of the "stated norms or laws of the group," but in terms of the extent to which the superordinate person can effectively carry out his wishes, and to the extent that the subordinate person carries into

#12 practice the suggestions, orders or activity originated by the superordinate one.

Sanction as utilized as Radcliffe-Brown is, "a reaction on the part of the society or of a considerable number of its members to a mode of behavior which is thereby approved (positive sanctions) or disapproved (negative sanctions)" (1952:205). By supernatural sanction, I mean sanctions that according to the society have a metaphysical origin (although they are experienced as physical or social in nature), explained and accepted within the traditional ideological system of such society.

In my use of the concepts of status and role I have followed, as far as my understanding allows it, Nadel's definitions (Nadel, 1957, chapter ii).

By pattern I mean "an orderly distribution of relationships exclusively on the grounds of their similarity and dissimilarity." Such patterns are abstracted from distributions of particular relationships (Nadel, 1957:15).

I do not distinguish between social structure and social organization. I define the social structure as being an elegant and parsimonious synthesis of both the models which the carriers of a culture have about their own system of relationships, and the patterns of relationships which the anthropologist can elicit from the actual behavior, but are not verbalized as norms by the members of the society. Social structure, then, I treat as a conceptual tool to handle: (1) the static normative relationships; (2) the dynamic process of actual interaction; and (3) the relational features of both as far as they are performed by the society

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

121 and can be empirically described by the observer in the form of a model.

I do not pretend these to be always the best possible definitions of any of these concepts. I find that in the course of my training as a social anthropologist, I came to think of these concepts in such terms, and in working my problems they became the most comfortable conceptual frame. I do feel, however, that in explicitly defining my use, I solve the main problem of communication between author and reader.

Sources of Data

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122 The area in which the communities selected for this study are located have been under intensive multi-disciplinary study for more than ten years. Mexican anthropologists of the National Museum and the National Indian Institute have done surveys and community descriptions on their own and under the direction of Robert Redfield and Sol Tax, of the University of Chicago. (See bibliography.) The University of Chicago Chiapas Project, now in its second stage and seven years old, has covered the area with a fine-tooth comb, and prepared a three-volume report which contains information on geography (soils, rain distribution, physical character, water supply, etc.), botany, linguistics, social anthropology, archeology, ethnohistory and other related fields (see McQuown et al., 1959).

There is a wealth of primary sources for the area, but, unfortunately, there has never been up to the present a careful analysis of their content, although they have been extensively quoted by modern authors with different purposes in mind.

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Relations with the Outside World

Amatenango and Aguacatenango can be considered independent societies for the purposes of describing them, in terms of their internal features. Each one can be analyzed in terms of "the entities that compose it and their interrelationships" (Redfield, 1955:19). They have their own ecological adaptations and a set of cultural norms that preserve their style of life and justify it at the ideological level. They have their own "personality" and "life history." In a sense, they are those unique wholes which Redfield defined in "The Little Community" (1955): "a small settlement of people self-contained and distinct from all other" (Redfield, 1955:113). But because this is so, a description of their general outlines of life would not be complete without indicating their place in the larger society of which they form a part.

The Indian villages of Chiapas, such as Amatenango and Aguacatenango and many others, form part of a world larger than themselves, an extremely complex one, both socially and culturally.

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On the one hand, the Indian villages live within a local society which also contains settlements of Ladinos, local Mexicans who have a separate cultural tradition and social organization. On the other hand, although the Indian villages and the Ladinos' settlements are two quite distinct social types, one cannot be understood without the other.

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Mexico is a multiple society, characterized by two distinct cultural traditions, each significantly different in the extent of integration. Only part of the population of the country

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

The Social Setting of the Villages

Introduction

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121 The villages of Aguacatenango and Amatenango can best be described as corporate peasant communities, following Eric Wolf (1955: 452-71).

First of all, the villages are small, independent social systems, with clearly defined geographic and social boundaries, "in relation to both outsiders and insiders" (Wolf, 1955:456).

The Land

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423 In the spatial dimension, the main characteristic of the villages is that they lay claim to a territory, a land base over which they hold exclusive rights of usufruct, and which has clearly demarked geographical dimensions. The rights over this territory are communal rights, every villager being a co-owner of the community territory, in the sense that membership in the village gives to a man the rights of usufruct of land within the village boundaries.

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122 We do not know what the characteristic features of the
423 pre-hispanic land tenure system of the Tzeltal-Tzotzils were. At
[174] the beginning of the Spanish occupation of the area, the Indians were relocated in villages and assigned to a particular encomendero and encomienda. (The encomienda was an institution by which a Spanish lord was assigned a number of villagers from whom he had the right to collect services and tribute.) At the same time, the villages were allotted land of two kinds: municipal, administered by the town officials and used to pay taxes and tribute to

646 754 784 Therefore, the threat of supernatural sanction is powerful as a communal weapon against social deviation.

621 We can see, then, that the structural dynamics of village life are composed of opposing forces. On the one hand, there is a tendency toward egalitarianism which is express ' in the formal organization of political power and the economic life of the village as a unit. On the other hand, there is a tendency toward deviation from the economic norms which is repressed and expressed in the belief system and the sanctioning of deviants. (Obviously, if people would not tend to deviate from the egalitarian norm, witchcraft "specialization" would not be necessary!)

121 There is no society in the world which does not possess criteria for social differentiation. Some criteria are, by nature, universal: the basic biological differences between persons (age, sex) or psychological skills (intelligence, mental deficiency). Some other criteria are culturally determined (age-grade, class, wealth and so on). Even among societies in which the life conditions preclude social stratification, such as the Siriono, some few cultural criteria of individual social differentiation are always present. When I suggest that Amatenango and 621 571 Aguacatenango tend to be communities which reinforce homogeneity at the economic, political, and cultural levels, I am far from [576] indicating that individuals are not evaluated differentially. In every social situation, even meeting on the street, Amatenangueros and Aguacatecos make social distinctions and determine their relative position with respect to each other: one would call a

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER V

KINSHIP AND LIFE CYCLE

128 ### The Kinship Terminology

The comparison of the kinship terminology utilized by the two communities will be presented within the methodological frame of componential analysis.

121 This body of analysis derives from (1) Kroeber's initial discussion in 1909, where he set forth the eight linguistic categories which make up for the distinctions in the different kinship system (Lowie did some rearrangement of these categories in his article on Relationship Terms for the 14th Edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica [1929], and Murdock [1949] re-classified them into major and minor, biological and social. In Eggan's revision of Lowie's article the same position of 1929 is maintained [Lowie and Eggan, 1961]); and (2) the analysis of paradigms in linguistics, especially Jacobson (1936) and Harris (1948).

The method has been utilized successfully, although somewhat differently, by several anthropologists, and in some cases was the result of "independent invention." Davis and Warner (1937) employed it in a theoretical statement about seven societies: Erse, English, Kariera, Chinese, Roman, Arunta and Hawaiian. Leach (1945) used a similar analysis in deriving Jinghpaw kin

121 terminology from seven axioms. Goodenough (1951, 1956a, 1957) worked out a theoretical frame and its application to Trukese data and Pehrson's Lapp kinship data. Lounsbury (1956) analyzed Morgan's Pawnees schedule mainly as a linguistic exercise in the semantic aspects of the method. Romney (1957), Romney and Metzger (1957) and Romney and Epling (1958) discussed some of the relationships between operational principles, and presented a substantive analysis of data utilizing this frame, on the Zuni and Kariera. In Europe, a close approximation to the componential analysis method was applied by Meeussen and LeCoste (1955) on the Ngwana, and Vansina (1957) on the Bushoong.

121 128 In this paper the method is utilized only briefly, mainly because the presentation of the kinship terminology in a paradigmatic form simplifies the comparison between Amatenango and Aguacatenango (see Figs. 7 and 8). I do not claim, as have some of the previous authors, that the method generates an analysis of denotative semantics, nor that it is a truer picture of the whole kinship system.

128 601 I discuss the consanguineal address terminology because it is the only one used regularly by the villagers, and does not differ, except for the exclusion of two or three affinal terms, from the reference terminology.

121 The universe of kinship is a discrete unit only for the anthropologist. In some societies in the world, the number of individuals who receive the treatment of kinsmen is arbitrarily limited with some criteria other than the two basic biological elements of copulation and birth, and the social concomitants

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 88

121 descent and affinal relations derived therefrom. But for some other societies, the number of persons and the distance (biological or social) between people to which kinship terms can be applied is infinite. Furthermore, some societies do not distinguish between the criteria of kinship and territoriality in defining group relationships, or the application of kinship terms. Among the Nuer, for example, an individual thinks of distance between lineages in terms of both descent links and territorial propinquity. Among the Chamula of Chiapas, the word for kinsman (meaning my family) and the word for co-villagers (other Chamulas) is the same. Homonyms do not necessarily imply that the people connect the two concepts expressed in the same word, nor that there is a single concept to cover both, but in the Nuer as well as the Chamula case, this is so.

601 The way in which the kinship terminology is applied in Amatenango and Aguacatenango suggests an infinite extension of the kinship terminology into the universe of non-kinsmen. For this reason, we will indicate how each kinship term is applied by the natives for "real kinsmen" (that is, to those recognized by the natives as such, and genealogically connected through birth and/or marriage) and to other villagers by extension or analogy. This becomes an important distinction because the kinship terminology is not, as anthropologists assume for most other cases, a terminological system to isolate, on the basis of linguistics, the kinsmen from the non-kinsmen. In Amatenango and Aguacatenango, the so-called kinship terminology is both kinship terminology and a terminological system to indicate social

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

592 independent domestic groups: nuclear and compound households. The nuclear household is composed of a nuclear family: a man, his wife and their unmarried children. The compound household is made up of two or more nuclear families, or one nuclear family and the remnants of other nuclear households.

184 592 The characteristic type of residential unit in both communities is the nuclear household because it is the most frequent residential arrangement in terms of total frequencies (70 per cent in Aguacatenango and 72 per cent in Amatenango; the difference in percentage between the two communities is not statistically significant).

• 121 591 The Method for the Analysis of Residence

Murdock's book, Social Structure (1949), opened a new road for students interested in the problem of residence taxonomy because, although it was an outstanding contribution to the field, the work obviously suffered from the ambiguity of the residence data presented in the anthropological reports on which it was based. The classification of residence types, as utilized in the past, was shown to be defective for the purposes of modern research. The terminology of the field was too all-embracing, ambiguous in meaning, and diffuse in application. Murdock himself was well aware of this problem, and suggested a preliminary revision of the terminology (Murdock, 1949:16-18), but the subject of residence types came under suspicion.

As a result of the controversies aroused by the subject, Murdock (1955) wrote an article wherein he pointed out the

•121 591 necessity for a new typology of residence, and suggested two criteria to be utilized in future research: (1) the usefulness of considering the individual's life cycle and the variations of residence that accompany it; (2) the need for understanding the individual's goals in making residential choices.

Among the British social anthropologists concerned with methods for the analysis of social structure, Meyer Fortes (1949) independently of Murdock, approached the same problem of residential analysis in a different fashion. He felt that co-variations in residence choices in time and space were measurable and were susceptible to statistical analysis. Only through such quantitative analysis, Fortes suggested, could one construct the socio-structural abstraction from the "concrete reality" of everyday social life.

Fortes applied his ideas in the specific description of two cases of residence variation among the Ashanti, and his results prove useful not only for the analysis of residence and types of residence groupings, but also for understanding the development of the small social units (e.g., the domestic groups) of a community, and for an approach to problems arising from the study of diversified social groups which are undergoing change. Goody and others, using Fortes' methodology and techniques (Goody, ed.: 1958) with admirable skill, have developed Fortes' initial idea and have tested it with field data from several societies in the world.

Among the American anthropologists, the Goodenough (1956b)-Fischer (1950, 1958) controversy has been highly fruitful in calling the attention of anthropologists to the need for a new

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frame for the analysis of residence. The articles of Goodenough and Fischer showed how two investigators can arrive at totally discrepant conclusions about the frequency of different "types" of residence in the same community with the same census methods but with ambiguous definitions of residence patterns.

Fortes (1958) considered this controversy the result of overlooking the time factor in the census analysis, and he thought that "the source of the apparent discrepancies is the neglect by both investigators of the developmental dimension" (Fortes 1958: 3) of which he spoke years before (1949).

The result of the Goodenough-Fischer controversy is the publication of Fischer's new typology, a typology which will avoid the ambiguities of the old one, by offering a different set of criteria for classification.

Four main propositions are given by Fischer (1958), as follows:

1. To define marital residence in terms of individuals rather than couples.
2. To report residence for all individuals in a community, not just married ones.
3. To define a person's residence in terms of the composition of the household or other residential reference group at the time of his entry rather than in terms of its current composition.
4. To specify the level of social integration of the residential reference group: household, sub-community or community.

The first proposal is concerned with two sets of terms current in anthropological literature and used interchangeably in most cases: (a) patrilocal and virilocal; (b) matrilocal and uxorilocal.

In the new typology (see Fig. 13), matrilocal and patrilocal refer to residence with the individual's parental generation, while

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 119]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Typology of individual residence in terms of immediate sponsor

Type	Kin Sponsor
I. Neolocal	Self
II. Consanguineolocal	Any consanguineal relative
a. Patrilocal	Father or male patrilineal relative of ascending generation
b. Matrilocal	Mother or female matrilineal relative of ascending generation
c. Avunculocal	Mother's brother or male matrilineal relative of ascending generation
d. Amitalocal	Father's sister or female patrilineal relative of ascending generation
e. Fratilocal	Brother or male parallel cousin of own generation
f. Sororilocal	Sister or female parallel cousin of own generation
g. Filiolocal	Son or son's son
h. Filialocal	Daughter or daughter's daughter
i. Nepotilocal	Sister's son or other male matrilineal relative of descending generation
j. Heterolocal	Any other consanguineal relative (the number of cases will normally be small, and the exact relative could be specified)
III. Affinolocal	Any affinal relative (almost invariably spouse)
a. Virilocal (women only)	Husband
b. Uxorilocal (men only)	Wife

(When children live with their parents, a sponsor cannot be ranked in importance. Such a situation is classified as parentilocal.)

Fig. 13.--Fischer's Residence Typology

121 591 uxorilocal and virilocal refer to residence with the spouse of either sex, i.e., residence with affinal relatives of Ego's own generation.

The second proposal emphasizes the already established need for statistical analysis of relevant census materials, as Murdock and Fortes had recommended in their previous statements. Marriage is certainly a crucial element in determining choices of residence. The reason is clear: marriage leads to an actual or incipient split in one or both of the spouses' natal families and households. But there are other social factors such as, for example, place of birth or the economic role of the individual, which are equally important in making residential choices, and it is a matter of considerable interest to understand the rules that organize residential settings for unmarried--as well as for married--people in a community.

The fourth proposal brings out the importance of the size of the residential reference group. Sociologists interested in the study of small groups have indicated the importance of size of the group for variations in social interaction.[1] Anthropologists usually deal with communities which fit perfectly the sociological definition of "small groups." These communities are units of social activity characterized by face-to-face interaction, a common set of norms controlling the behavior of all individual members, group solidarity, and a particular system of

[1]Articles dealing with the subject are, among others, Simmel (1950), Bales and Borgatta (1955), Hare et al.(1957), Mills (1954).

121 internal status differentiation.[1] Residential groups, conse-
591 quently, are "small groups"; moreover, they are reference groups of the membership type (Merton, 1949). It is obvious, therefore, that the alignment of kinsmen residing in such a small reference group as the household, will clearly lead to differences in type and frequency of social interaction compared with the interaction of individuals residentially spread over a neighborhood or a whole community.

Fischer's set of procedures provides a frame for studying such variations, by describing residential alignments in terms of "at least three levels of social interaction": the household, the sub-community and the community. The definition of residence including group size enables us to understand clearly the dependency of other social variables on the spatial arrangements of individuals, and it permits us to pinpoint the correlations, attaching them to the corresponding levels to which they belong.

Fischer proposed then in classifying a person's residence that we should utilize the concept of "sponsorship." Sponsor is a relative "who lives in a given residence group and who possesses a special responsibility for the person's residence there" (Fischer, 1958:512).

Raulet (1959) has made on valid criticism of Fischer's typology, by pointing out that one of the problems attached to the concept of "sponsorship" is that sometimes a whole residence group can be a sponsor for a particular individual.

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[1]For the definition of "small groups" see Strodbeck (1954) and Homans (1950).

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591 Another principal criticism of Fischer's typology attaches to his third proposal, which, as Fortes has made clear, disregards the developmental cycle of the households in which individuals reside.

The two approaches, the "developmental" approach and the "sponsorship" approach, are not contradictory but complementary to each other. Each offers a useful framework for a satisfactory analysis. The differences are merely differences in emphasis.

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591 In the analysis of residence in this paper, a combination of both types of analysis are utilized with some modifications which will allow me to describe the results in terms of the norms of residence and the real patterns or distributions, and to elicit the rules that govern residence choices for individuals. The section deals, therefore, both with techniques and method of analysis, and with particular hypotheses.

Aguacatenango Residence

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The Norms

The people of Aguacatenango believe that a newly married couple should live with the boy's parents until they have proved to be successful in procreating and raising, through the weaning period, one or more children. While the young couple lives within the parental compound of the husband, he should work under the direction of his father, under whose direct authority he should act, and every one of whose decisions he should obey because his father lo está manteniendo (is supporting him), and the son está brjo su poder (is under the father's power).

128 the postulated correlations between residence and some other factor are tested with simple statistical procedures: Chi Square (applying Yate's correction) with the level of significance. The unit of the population is indicated in each table, together with the sample size.

128 The norms for residence that we call the generalized pat-
59 tern are shown to be carried out in practice, by the analysis of
183 census materials. This analysis allows us to display some of the complexities of an elaborate set of residence rules offering certain forms of "first choice of residence," but in addition shows how the norms also offer numerous alternatives for specific cases and particular individual goals and problems.

128 This technique of analysis also permits us to control the
121 normative statements about the "customs" and the "ways" of the people, which are provided by the informants. Such statements reflect the ideal patterns, which any member of the community can verbalize. One of the tasks of the anthropologist is to discover those patterns of behavior which are practiced by a society, but not consciously expressed, because they reveal some of the real dynamics of the social group, in a way that formal statements of an ideal nature cannot, when described in isolation. But the anthropologist is also responsible, as Bohannan has pointed out, for presenting his data in such a fashion as to not do violence to the visualization that the carriers of a culture have about their own life models. A presentation of a social model that would be both parsimonious and elegant from a scientific point of view, and close to the ethno-model, is a necessity in a field in

128 which epistemological discussions have been, up to the present
•121 time, if not totally avoided, dismissed for lack of a single frame of reference within which they could be tackled.

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Residence Patterns of Newly Married Individuals in Compound Households

The stated norm of residence for a newly married couple is shown to be followed in practice.

In 1956, there was a total of fifty-six compounds in the community, and forty-eight contained newly married couples. The emphasis on patriwirilocality was strong.

TABLE 6

AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: NEWLY MARRIED COUPLES IN COMPOUNDS, 1956

Residence	Number of Couples	Number of Households	Per Cent
Patri-virilocal	47	36	78
Patri-uxorilocal	13	12	22
Total	60	48	100

These compounds represented 27 per cent of the total number of households in the community. Between the censuses of 1956 and 1958, a large number of compound households became nuclear, changed composition or disappeared, and during the same period of two years, other nuclear households became compound. In spite of the movement in individual households, the percentages of residence did not vary significantly.

582 richer family marrying a woman of a poorer family" (Tax, 1953:
171 202). "In only 13 of the 36 cases [reported by Tax] were the two families nearly at the same economic level" (Tax, 1953:203). Also, "exceptional but not uncommon" is that a rich man will marry his daughter to a poorer man and rather than loosing a worker, he gains another. In contrast with Panajachel is the case of Chichicastenango (a neighbor to the north) in that, "the time of women in Chichicastenango has until recently not had cash value. (Increased weaving for the tourist trade may change this.) Therefore, in Chichicastenango as opposed to Panajachel there is encouragement to marry within the same wealth class" (Tax, 1953: 206).

128 Affective Relations Within the Household

We have shown how some of the relationships within the domestic group are affected by the patterns of economic activity. In this section, we will discuss them in a different context; rather than in terms of interaction, we shall discuss them in terms of sentiment (Homans, 1950).

•121 Homans (1950) has shown how intimacy and affection increase with increased association and interaction, but he also indicated that a relationship of formal respect and asymmetrical authority discourages confidence and affective ties (1950:247) or "at any rate, the fact of authority seems to turn the relationship into an ambiguous, or as the psychoanalyst would say, an ambivalent one" (1950:244).

121 In both Amatenango and Aguacatenango, this type of ambiva-
593 lence is present in the father-son relation, as we indicated in

121 593 previous pages. Homans points out that this ambiguity is neither accidental, nor "natural," but "tends to reappear in societies all over the world in which the family is an important productive unit and the father is the boss" (Homans, 1950:245).

593 [184] The relation son-mother, however, ought to be different in the two communities. In Aguacatenango, a mother has less and less authority over a son the older he grows. While a man is a child, she controls him without discussion, but as he becomes more and more mature, his role as a man, a superior, makes for conflicting social power. On the one hand the mother is older, and therefore has more authority. Yet on the other hand, she is a female, and therefore the son (a male) has more authority. The balancing of authority between the two cancels it out. A son can, if he wishes, completely alienate himself from his mother. She has not much power to punish or sanction him, no property she can withdraw from him. If he misbehaves, she can only try to advise him or complain to her husband. On the other hand, the absence of authority between the two makes the relationship highly affectionate. If a son stays at home or close-by after marriage, the interaction mother-son is frequent and friendly. In many cases the mother will make a coalition with the son against her husband, defending the younger man. Mothers tend to be very partial towards the judgement of their sons' behavior, and sons obtain what they want from the fathers through their mothers.

In Amatenango, the mother has more economic power over the son. She can give him cash for extra needs, and he can inherit land or a house from her, as well as from his father. [434] [428]

323 producers for the particular domestic groups, seems to be the
241
433 originator of bilateral increase in interaction, while it could
182 be equally well said that the bilaterally settled neighborhood in
591
592 Amatenango is a result of the selection of household personnel
621 along both males' and females' kinsmen lines.

114 J. Nash (1960) interpreted the bilaterality of Amatenango
602 as being a result of the residence pattern. Nash assumes that
182 kinship and territoriality are two mutually exclusive principles
361 of association, while in reality they are not so. On the one hand, if territoriality (or the spatial placement of the individual in the household) is determined by kinship alignments, both would tend to be symmetrical; on the other hand, even if they are not mutually inclusive (which in this case they are), both are emphasized simultaneously in the same set of choices, so that the principles of spatial proximity and kinship proximity, although independent variables, are concomitant in their effects. Moreover, Nash found out that activities which did not involve immediate reciprocity followed the kinship line exclusively without reference to territorial propinquity.

•121 The danger of assuming that "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relationships are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130) becomes evident in a larger theoretical context. If residential propinquity tends to set up interaction along bilateral lines, the opposite, residential dispersion, would tend to emphasize interaction among unilineal relatives. Then, all lineally organized societies ought to be organized in exogamous settlements, or in a dispersed hamlet pattern, and all large concentrations of

121 population, such as an endogamous village, ought to be bilateral societies. This is obviously not so. Even if we assume that our statement is a reductio ad absurdum of Nash's point, there is evidence in the immediate vicinity of Amatenango that other villages, equally concentrated in population, with the same physical setting, are not bilateral. J. Nash (1960) compared Amatenango and Aguacatenango in a few paragraphs, and she felt that the evidence supported her theory. However, the data available to her was very unreliable. She quoted a preliminary report of Metzger written before the residence analysis of the community was carried to completion, which contained only impressionistic observations, and gave the impression that residence was neolocal and that agnatically related households were widely spread within the community, which we have shown in chapter vi not to be true.

114 36 602 592 591

602 613 592 551 621

Moreover, Aguacatenango not only has patri-virilocality, but corporate patrilines. The name-groups in Aguacatenango form localized agnatic descent groups (which we above called the localized clusters of agnatically linked households). The people belonging to a name-group are recognized as relatives or, in Tzeltal, "those who are my family on my father's side." Those individuals have one last name (Indian surname) in common with Ego. Within the Spanish surname, some people are considered in the descent group and some are considered aparte (separate), but a man of the Spanish name Perez, would say that all those Perezetik who are not aparte belong to his family, and any Perez is "closer" to another Perez than to a man of another Spanish name. The reason for the segmentation of the Spanish name-group is lost in the past. When the lineage system was composed of

174 613 551

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

736 linearity. The widow is expected to give back to them the house
613 site and house in which they lived, and go to live in her own
423 parental home. In one case, a woman who had kept the house in trust for her sons, asked permission to sell the lot (which originally had been given to her dead husband) from a living male sibling of the deceased.

613 There are no ritual functions which have to be performed
592 by the patriline. Aguacatenango rituals are carried on by the
796 household, by the part-time ritual specialists (curanderos), or
794 by officially appointed town officers (the Mayordomos).

121 This type of "lineage" seems to fit Homan's definition of
613 "weak" lineage, because he considers the following characteristics as defining a weak lineage: (1) few (less than four) generations in depth; (2) narrow spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) locality limited to a few people; and (4) incest rules pulled towards the smaller local units and mainly restricted to the nuclear family. The characteristics of a strong lineage, in contrast, are: (1) many (more than four) generations in depth; (2) wide spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) maximal localization of residence and maximal sharing of activities within the lineage; and (4) incest rules pushed away from the local units, to embrace all relatives within a lineage (lecture in the Oriental Institute, April 22, 1959, unpublished). However, I prefer to call them patrilines to distinguish them from the more elaborate agnatic descent groups common in Africa, from which they are distinguished by (1) the lack of genealogical depth; (2) the absence of the use of genealogical

121 manipulations for political purposes; and (3) their restricted
613 functions.

174 Why is the patriline this weak? There are reasons of
613 an historical nature, as well as functional reasons. First, with the centralization of political power created by the Spanish colony, in which each household head, independently of lineage affiliation, became a tributario (tax payer) and had rights of participation in the political structure, the political functions or the lineage
613 became debilitated. At the present time, it is only through the
624 principales that the patriline as a unit has political representation. The principles are usually the elders of the largest patrilines in the community. To make decisions, they have to have the backing of the men they represent. Belonging to a larger line indicates that a man is capable of controlling a larger number of household heads and, therefore, has stronger political support. That being the head of a large patriline gives a man authority in village affairs is shown not only by the fact that principales are thus supported, but also by the fact that patriline elders, even if they are not officially principales, on occasions can act as such, and they are sought after for advice in making Ayuntamiento decisions, by their own people and by other villagers.

174 Second, with the relocation of the lineages at the time
423 that the village was reducido, and the control of the lands by the
613 Encomienda and the Spanish crown and later by the fincas, some of the lineage control over its lands was lost. It is possible, however, that before the agrarian reform, when the village lands were scarcer, the land holding rights of the patriline were more precisely stated.

184
621 women tend to stay within the neighborhood in which they are born,
591 or, equally, cross territorial lines at marriage.

•121 To be able to derive these simple rules of residence, we
591 had to take into account some aspects of sponsorship which Fischer did not include in his typology. First, Fischer makes the error of assuming that people make residence choices mainly in terms of kinship, and within kinship, in terms of lineage and lineage sponsors.

We have shown that people make residence choices in terms of both kinship links and economic interdependence, and that among kinsmen, unilinearity is not necessarily the basic criterion for
121 choice. Although Fischer's typology can be very useful in analyzing
128 groups in which linearity is strong, such as Aguacatenango, it
602 tends to obscure the analysis of more bilateral groups such as Amatenango.

128
602 To make up for this bias in the taxonomy, we had to add
591 three separate criteria for sponsorship: (1) the sex of the
562 sponsor, independently of his lineage affiliation; (2) the generation
561 of the sponsor; (3) the economic role of the sponsor, independently
571 of his or her sex, and independently of his or her kinship connection with the person being sponsored.

184 At any given time, an individual in Aguacatenango or
591 Amatenango resides in one and only one household, and derives his
592 rights of membership in the unit through kinship or marriage, depending on the importance of his position as a laborer. While in Aguacatenango men derive their membership, as a rule, through descent and women after marriage only through affinality, in

based on non-kinship terms would maximize profit or material benefits, which the kinship frame limits considerably. Second, the cultural norms imposed on the villager about the types of work which he is allowed to perform, about the maximum wealth which he is able to control, and about the distribution of this wealth, are, from a purely financial point of view, "anti-economical." But an Indian living in a Ladino town, undoubtedly having the choice of improving his life from an economic point of view, alienates himself from everything which is dear to him. An Indian attempting to live up to his aspirations of wealth within the community, alienates himself even more, and risks the dangers of witchcraft and social ostracism.

The phrase, "man does not live by bread alone," is very much of a truism here. If the primary factor in determining behavior were economical, the villager would have no need to live within the customary standards of living of his community nor would the corporate community persist. Each Indian could become a laborer of some sort, and integrate himself into the national society of Mexico.

But people make choices not only because they are financially advantageous, but because they preserve their standing within their kinship group, they provide satisfaction for their need of the psychological rewards of prestige and positive affection and for their need for "belonging" to a group of similar human beings with similar culture and aspirations.

We have to admit, then, that it is as impossible to analyze social dynamics, only taking into account economic variables, as

121 it is impossible to do it taking into account any other variable in isolation. Social structures are built up around several simultaneously activated domains of phenomena. Kinship (or the biological facts of birth and copulation and the concomitant social facts of descent and affinality) is one domain. Economics (or the system for the production and allocation of rights over material goods and services) is another domain. Territorial allegiances, based on spatial proximity or distance, is another. The domain of the psychological (the inherent needs of human beings for sociality, positive affection, the sharing of moral values with other men [and perhaps the need for controlling others]), is still another domain.

182 796 If we take ritual as a projective system of the importance of social domains, we can see that it involves, in every case, several of them.

[571] [527] [764] [602] [241] For example, in Aguacatenango and Amatenango, ritual practices are oriented towards: (1) expressing tensions between individuals among whom harmonic relations are re-established through the curing ceremony; (2) expressing the territorial attachments of people, such as the ceremonies for housewarmings and the fact that in the cemetery people are buried according to the place in which they resided (the cemetery is a small replica of the village); (3) expressing kinship bonds, such as the marriage ceremony, the baptisms and compadrazgos, the food given to the ancestors on Todos Santos, etc.; (4) expressing economic needs, such as the rituals performed to insure the success of the harvest.

000 Within the same cultural frame, two social groups can

Introduction

BEHAVIORAL REGULARITIES in ritual or informal interaction are usually considered the raw material for making structural-functional statements. The descriptive data are used illustratively or may never be included with published material. This monograph describes ritual activity, both elicited and observed. The object is (1) to state the behavioral dimensions of a structural-functional model and (2) to show where social changes are putting stress on that structure. 121

Ritual events are good occasions for such study because both communally prescribed and individually preferred behavior can be recorded. The expected behavior can be sorted out from the chance since the rules are more explicit than in ordinary interaction. Ceremonial behavior projects in a public performance a given set of status relationships. In doing things as they were done in the past, a theme repeated in prayers and in explanations for actions, people assert continuity of tradition. But just because of this, ceremonies are an occasion for dramatizing social change (Geertz, 1957). Competition between groups and tensions deriving from contradictions which are not apparent in everyday life may be expressed during the ceremony.

I have chosen the rituals of the inauguration of civil and religious officials in the community of Tzoʔontahal, Chiapas, Mexico, because in these performances people act out their techniques for maintaining continuity at the time of change.[1] The inauguration is a rite of passage designed to gain social acceptance of new personnel in a given set of roles. However, as in all ceremonies in this community, the occasion provides the backdrop for the release of latent hostilities. The formal ceremony requires drinking a great deal of the locally distilled liquor, "the gift of the ancestors" that makes fiestas possible.[2] Liquor rids the participants of embarrassment 121 182 796 121 796 273

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[1] Field research was supported by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health which made possible my stay from May to September, 1964, and again in December, 1964. I am grateful to Duane Metzger for providing facilities for working in San Cristobal de las Casas with my informants. Comments by Harold Conklin, Constance Sutton, and David Hunter have helped improve earlier versions. [122] [114] [128]

[2] In a myth concerning the origin of liquor, it is said that the town had no fiestas until Santiago gave the gift of liquor.

[P. 209-A]

and, in fostering social intercourse, it frees them of other constraints. With the usual inhibitions removed, the social interaction following the ceremony allows the investigator to see below the surface. 121 796 273

We have many structural-functional descriptions of the civil-religious hierarchy of highland Maya Indian communities (Adams, 1957; Cámara Barbachano, 1952; Cancian, 1964; McArthur, 1961; Siverts, 1960, 1964; Tax, 1964; Vogt, 1965; Zabala Cubillos, 1961). The roles and functions of the hierarchy are at least minimally described in the many community studies of the area (Bunzel, 1952; Guiteras Holmes, 1961; LaFarge, 1947; LaFarge and Byers, 1931; M. Nash, 1955; Tax, 1947a,b; Valladares, 1957; Wagley, 1949; Wisdom, 1940). We have, as well, historical summaries of the colonial and independence developments (Aguirre Beltrán, 1953; Carrasco, 1952, 1961; Chávez Orozco, 1943). In previous summaries of the structure and functioning of the hierarchies, however, systematic descriptive data on performances are mostly lacking. Vogt (1965, p. 42) has indicated the value of observing behavior as a "reliable operational measure for determining rank" in Zinacantan. Cross-community comparison of institutions would be facilitated by such behavioral data. For example, the recurrent descriptive phrase "closely integrated civil-religious hierarchy" covers a spectrum of behavioral and ideological components which ranges from one in which officials of both ladders are linked by a series of sacred acts, functions and personnel, to one in which there is independent and exclusive participation. These generalizations can be broken down to a series of acts in which they are expressed. If comparison over time or between communities is to be meaningful, we must look to the descriptive detail which went into such generalizations. 121 121 114 121

For any scheduled event such as a ritual, three sources of data are available: the expectations of what will happen, the case histories of similar events in the past, and the observation of the event. In tapping the first of these, I have used the technique developed by Metzger and Williams (1963) in formal ethnographic analysis.[3] In this approach, the informant co- 121 124

[3] I am indebted to Duane Metzger for training in these methods, and to discussions with him, Brent Berlin, and Paul Kay which helped me in working out the observation schedule. [114]

[P. 209-B]

operates with the ethnologist in framing questions in his own language. Within a chronological framework, questions of who is doing what, when, where, how, and why are asked for each activity. The same set of questions can be asked of several informants in this phase of the investigation. This method yields understanding of the cultural models of behavior, the expectation patterns which are the charters for action. But because it restricts the stimuli in order to provoke predictable responses, the investigator runs the risk of getting only stereotyped responses, and the informants often become acculturated to the questioner's categories. We can elicit imitative or predictive behavior, but learning about innovating behavior, the "techniques," or "what to do when" (Wallace, 1964, p. 19), requires that the informant have a chance to express himself freely. Unsolicited comments and anecdotes provided by the informants as they grew bored in the formal analysis were recorded along with the responses to questions posed. These data are fed into the model. 121 124

The second source of data—concrete cases which the informant has experienced in the past—indicates the range of variation in performance, the sources of innovation, and the development of strategies. This kind of information is supplemented by observation of the event. At this phase of the investigation, particularly if one is prepared by eliciting prior to the event, the ethnologist can see in the enactment of roles the nuances of gesture and pose which indicate affect. The emotional attitudes towards things, people, and activities, which often cannot be verbalized, become apparent in the performance.

If we accept the fact that there is not a single "homemade model" of the society (Levi-Strauss, 1962, p. 324) but several, we are prepared to probe the several levels of awareness present in the actors' mode of orienting to the world. At one level cultural understandings may be explicitly formulated, at another they may be implicit in language categories, and finally they may be derived only from nonverbal patterns of behavior. The informant's statements are inadequate insofar as they may stem from (1) ideological lag such that new behavior has not been assimilated in a cognitive frame, (2) inadequate generalization such that connections between related systems of thought and action are omitted, and (3) failure by the anthropologist to interpret what the informant was telling him. The anthropologist's model of behavior is a synthesis and elaboration of the in-

[p. 210-A]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

formants' conscious understandings as well as of their subconscious patterns of behavior. [121] [124]

Description of behavior requires a theoretical approach to the problems of segmenting activity streams, selecting events, and ordering them. Too large chunks of behavior are not useful in comparisons made over time in the same society or between societies. However, because human (as well as animal) behavior is characterized by motivation and cognition (Tolman, 1961) we cannot expect to isolate minimal units which are invariant from one context to another. Verbs, as French (1954, p. 162) points out, are one-act plays in which a change of dramatis personae creates entirely new meaning. Furthermore, the symbolic weight of a single act varies; it can encompass the history of an institution, such as crossing oneself, or it can establish identification with a social movement, such as raising a clenched fist. However, for any behavioral schema, which I define, following Piaget, as component acts structured in an organized totality (Flavell, 1963, p. 54), it is possible to segment acts and assess their significance. In the major schema of the inauguration of officials in Tzo?ontahal, place, time, and roles are the bases for structuring related sets of activities.

Segmenting human behavior has been treated as either an actor-oriented or an observer-oriented problem. Pike (1954) and Adams (1962) rely on informants' advice to isolate the "behavioreme," whereas Harris (1964, p. 367 ff.) rejects the actor's statement of goals in favor of the investigator's own definitions of action units. If the "basic unit of action in the human body is purposive motion" (Burke, 1962, p. 61), then we must consider the meaning of action at the first stage of an analysis.[4] The anthropological observer's segmentation at this point injects cultural bias which stems from his point of view (Hymes, 1964, p. 14; Spier and Sapir, 1930, p. 217). Since our [114] [124]

[4] Most verbs used by informants in describing action patterns imply purpose. The informant says that he "eats," not that he raises food to his mouth and masticates it. The coding of motives and goals in the verbs underlines the importance of eliciting in the performer's own language. For example, when one observes the Indians as they enter the townhall, one sees them kneel and do what could be interpreted as crossing themselves. Asked what they do, the informants reply, "We measure our noses (*sp'is smi?ik*)." Measuring water (*sp'is ha?*) is another important ceremonial act. This suggests the possible ceremonial significance of measure in ceremonial performances. To assume knowledge of the act because of its similarity to Catholic forms might rule out suggestions requiring deeper probing. Cf. Adams' (1962) distinction between the reported and the observed act, and Barker (1963). [121] [124] [193] [788] [804] [114]

[p. 210-B]

informants cannot, fortunately, be relegated to the 121
role of rats in the maze of their own cultural settings, 124
I prefer the actor's to the investigator's statement of significantly contrasting units. I have found it useful, however, to retain both modes of analysis. Observation corrects for the shorthand statements of the informant, for his lapses of memory, or for inadequate knowledge. Even if some of these inadequacies are corrected by other informants, there remains the problem as to what is an individual understanding and what is socially shared knowledge. In addition, observation provides cues to the dynamic variables which enter into all social processes.

It is impossible, if not irrelevant, to recount all the 121
behavior occurring in an event. Some of the selection will be fortuitous: we will record what aspects we observe. But not all of this need be included. For example, one would exclude the trips to the back of the 121 514
patio to urinate by participants in a household ritual, but what might well be recorded is the etiquette with which they undertake these trips. In Tzo?ontahal, [196]
people carefully excuse themselves, saying, "I go before your face," specifying that they must urinate. Discretion requires explicitness rather than reticence [152]
in reference to such urges, perhaps because of the [754]
paranoic fears, particularly during curing ritual, that the one who is departing may be using counter-healing magic when he leaves the group.

There is no absolute rule to guide one in selection. 121
In my own field notes, I note what is significant in 124
terms of my own comprehension of goals being pursued. Having been cued into most of the activity in sessions with the informants prior to the event, I have

[P. 211-A]

some basis for perceiving actions significant to them. 121

Selection in the eliciting session is only partly controlled by the interviewer. The problem is not only to prod the informant for greater specificity, but to structure the recall by such devices as having him draw maps of person-place relations or kinship diagrams so that details will not be lost. As informants gain a sense of the problems being posed, they tend to become self-stimulating in providing information. 124

Finally, the problem of ordering a description of behavior is usually handled most efficiently in a chronological sequence. Simultaneous events can be described in terms of a sequence of activities occurring in different settings. This facilitates the analysis of time and space as designates of role relationships. 121

The analysis in Section 1 deals with the cognitive frame of reference concerning roles and relationships in the civil and religious hierarchies as elicited from informants using the method of formal analysis. Section 2 concerns the behavior in the ritual inaugurations of civil and religious officials in which these role structures are both exemplified and modified. Data are derived from the three sources defined above, i.e., expectations as to what will happen, performances in the past, and observation of the event in process. In Section 3 divergences between elicited and observed schedules (Appendices 1 and 2) are analyzed in terms of their significance for social change. Data derived from "informal" analysis, or unstructured interviewing of informants, are fed into the model. Finally, the behavioral data are summarized in terms of structural functional explanations and in terms of their implications for change. 121 128

[P. 211-B]

My eliciting procedures are described to make explicit the steps in constructing the informant's cognitive model. The first responses given by an informant are most often those which have the greatest significance within a structured system of priorities or of dominance. For example, informants in Tzoʔontahal invariably listed the officials in order of primacy. Another clue to the structuring of social relations is the omission of data in the first interview. This can mean either repression of information or lack of significance for the informant as an individual or for the society. These factors can be sorted out in subsequent interviews. 121 • 124

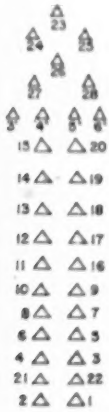
When asked, "What are all the kinds of offices in Tzoʔontahal," informants replied, "offices in the *kabiltu*, or townhall, and offices in the *čʼulna*, holy house or church. The question, "What are the kinds of officials in the townhall?" elicited the following three categories: *alkaletik*, alcaldes or judges; *rehiroletik*, regidores; and *mayoletik*, mayores or policemen. These categories are ranked relative to each other; for example, *alkaletik* is of greater prestige (*mas mamalis*, senior), *rehiroletik* next, and *mayoletik* least. Thus there are in the *alkaletik* category: *primero alkal*, first judge; *sčebal alkal*, second judge; *čeb suplente alkal*, two assistant judges. In the *rehiroletik* category there are: *primero rehirol*, first regidor; *sčebal rehirol*, second regidor; *yošebal rehirol*, third regidor; *čanebal rehirol*, fourth regidor. In the *mayoletik* category there are: *primero mayol*, first policeman; *sčebal mayol*, second policeman; *yošebal mayol*, third policeman; *sčanebal mayol*, fourth policeman; and *spoil mayol*, last policeman. 124 621* 693 [794] 554 621* 693 554 624 554 625

Cutting across this ranked hierarchy of officials are two geographical divisions; these align officials according to the side of the dual division in which they reside and which they represent. There is one judge from the upper division, *ahkʼolnantik*, and one from the lower division, *alannantik*. The first judge is chosen in alternate years from one or the other of the two divisions, and so on for each rank of judges and regidores. There are two sets of five police, one from each side of the dual division serving in alternating weeks. The two assistant judges are chosen from the barrios Magronal and Bočibal. They never attain the first two positions. In addition to this regular ladder 621* 693 [625] [554]

[P 213-A]

Second, the house ceremonials require the addition of this segment to complement the civil and religious structures so that we have a triadic set of officials—civil, religious and household—rather than a dyadic set as is usually described for Mesoamerican communities. 621* 794 182 156

Agent, place, time, and acts, both verbal and motor, 121 •



621*
794
788
533
554

CHART 9 — PROCESSION, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS:

3-6 Alfereces
23 Guitarist *(alpultero)*
24, 25 Firecracker lighters *(tomese si?bak)*
26 Flautist *(yamai)*
27, 28 Drummers *(stihik sk'ayobik)*

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7, in addition to 21 and 22, rural judges listed in Chart 8.

carefully described, are the pegs on which comparative analysis can be hung. What we lose in literary value in ethnographic accounts, we may gain in making explicit the inductive bases of structural functional analyses. Once we understand the principles involved in the assignment of position or action in any setting, variations from the elicited and observed pattern provide clues to social change within small time periods. 121

[P. 221-B]

MOST ETHNOGRAPHIC REPORTS on the civil-religious hierarchy emphasize status and the functional goal of community integration. What we have failed to impart is the dynamic aspect of status, role. In the divergences between expected and enacted patterns of behavior in those occasions when the individual

CHART 10 — NEW YEAR'S DAY PROCESSION OF NEW OFFICIALS (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:
29, 30, 31 Comisarios of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Cruz Quemada

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Charts 7 and 9.

"puts into effect the rights and duties which constitute the status" (Linton, 1936, p. 114), we have micrometers to the measurement of change. The details of change may be small—for example, a shift in the lineup of officials in a procession—but it may be a clue to important organizational changes. The behavioral changes in details of this sort provide cues to eliciting information that will explain the divergences. An important supplement to these cues are the unsolicited comments of informants. Sometimes

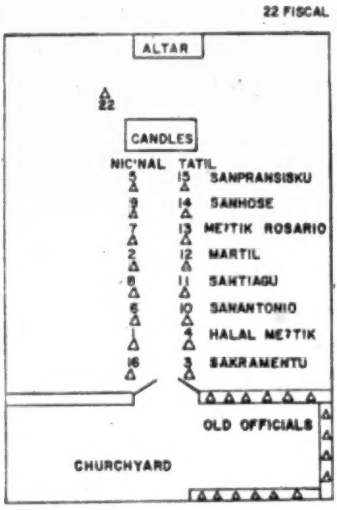
[P 222-A]

public in the procession around the plaza (App. 1, Q. 39). The mayordomos gather in the church specifically to view the new incumbents (App. 1, Q. 50). There is less public display of new officeholders in the case of the religious officials than in the case of civil officials.

621* 105 794 178 18 [788]

The morphological description of the structure of a society is inadequate unless it includes role behavior as well as status positions. The behavioral data pro-

105 121 182 554 571



794 796 554 346

CHART 15 — NEW MAYORDOMOS INSIDE CHURCH, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

vide the basis for describing the physiology of a culture, or how actors and social groups interrelate in carrying out tasks. In the inaugurations, the household emerged in the behavioral descriptions as an important ritual domain supporting the civil and religious hierarchy. Similarly, the asymmetrical relation between the role of religious officials in the civil inauguration and that of civil officials in the religious

105 121 182 554 571 621* 105 182 794 [592] [571] [554]

[P. 228-A)

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inauguration is deduced from both elicited and observed behavior. These data complement the elicited material on structure in rounding out the ethnographic model of social reality.

121

Specification of the behavioral data on which structural and functional statements are made should provide the basis for more precise comparisons over time and between communities. I turn to the observed interaction to summarize the evidence for microchange within the community.

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[178]

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Outside of the formally prescribed behavior scheduled in the inauguration, a struggle for power is going on which is leading to important organizational changes in the town. This was suggested in the substitution of the schoolteacher for the former Ladino secretary in the act of giving the oath. Factional struggle of the leaders of the new enterprises was revealed in this substitution. Further evidence of change is seen in the redefinition of the president's position in relation to that of the principales. The potential power which the post offers to the incumbent and those who back him is now recognized. The risks are higher as the competition for the post increases.

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In the religious sphere the priest's increasing control over the domain of the church is seen in the shift of setting for the common meal from the churchyard to the *?ali?bal's* house. This evoked the story of the open confrontation of the priest and cofrades a few years before. Public counting of funds by civil officials suggests an attempt by the new leadership to thwart the priest's dominance over the cofrades.

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In the emergent struggle for power within the community, we see not just a defensive reaction to Ladinos by Indians of a corporate community, but a play for stakes in the same world. This suggests that the corporate community, now and in the future, serves not so much as an insulation from the outside world as in the past but as a springboard for the entry of the Indians into fuller participation in the national society.

[A 228-B]

/16 cont./

614 595 two women belonged to the same clan, and in the other two they were women from two different clans. The levirate and sororate 587 exist, but do not constitute a custom practiced /17/ by many; [174] formerly it must have been more frequent, as is proved by the fact of designating the stepfather and stepmother by the same terms used for the father's brother and mother's sister, respectively, 583 and the stepchildren as nephews and nieces. There are several 614 cases of marriage between brother and sister of one clan and sister and brother of another clan. Marriage between cross-cousins is 582 frequent, especially that of a man with the daughter of the mother's brother. Husband and wife always belong to the same generation.

591 Residence is patrilocal, with temporary matrilocal residence for a year after marriage.

593 There still prevails the custom that those who intercede in a 614 direct manner in the preparation of the cadaver and in the in- 764 humation must be members of a different clan. If a married woman who has not had children dies, she is buried with her relatives, without the intervention of her husband.

614 The members of one and the same clan co-operate among themselves and lend each other mutual aid; the younger people obey and respect their elders in the same way that a younger brother respects and obeys his older brother. And we have stressed [626] how "sorcery" is practiced only within the limits of the clan as a [754] means of social control.

Mexico City,
Mexico

101 Note: The materials for the present study were collected 114 during two seasons of field work: May-June, 1945, and June, 1946, 122 financed by the University of Chicago, Instituto Nacional de Antropología de México, and Government of the State of Chiapas.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV; Tzeltal NV;

NOTES ON THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF TZELTAL COMMUNITIES OF CHIAPAS

In February and March of 1938, Alfonso Villa Rojas made an ethnological reconnaissance of Tzeltal settlements in northeastern Chiapas, Mexico. The work was done under the auspices of Carnegie Institution of Washington as a guide to the planning of more intensive field work. San Cristobal de las Casas, where Mr. Villa arrived on the first of February, served naturally as a base. A short trip was taken to Teopizca and Amatenango, and a second to visit the ruins of San Gregorio and the village of Chanal. On the fourteenth of that month, Mr. Villa started northward from Las Casas, visiting fifteen Tzeltal settlements, and then entered Chol country at Tila and left Chiapas by airplane from Salto de Agua. 101 114 [122]

In Mexico City Mr. Villa was provided with a letter of introduction from Ing. Ignacio Marquina, head of the Department of Prehistoric Monuments, of the Secretariat of Public Education. In Tuxtla Gutierrez the Governor of Chiapas, Ing. Efrain Gutierrez, received Mr. Villa and heard from him explanation of Mr. Villa's interests and purposes. Mr. Frans Blom had given Mr. Villa a letter of introduction, but the person addressed was not in Las Casas when Mr. Villa arrived. In Las Casas Mr. Villa received great help from Don José Villanueva. To all these persons who extended kindness and help, grateful acknowledgment is made. Dr. Ruth Bunzel kindly wrote information on the region to Mr. Villa before he began his journey. 122

The Tzeltal communities, given in the order in which they were visited and with indication of the length of time spent in each, were as follows: Amatenango (2 days), Chanal (2 days), Tenejapa (3 days), Cancuc (1 day), Oxchuc (5 days), San Martin (1 day), Tenango (2 days), Sivaca (1 day), Ococingo (6 days), Bachajón (2 days), Citalá (2 days), Guaquitepec (2½ days), Chilón (2 days), Yajalon (2 days), Petalcingo (½ day). 114 103

These villages have been the locus of a number of Indian uprisings,[1] and disturbances have occurred recently, in 1914, 1917, and 1930. Therefore the inhabitants of Spanish culture (Ladinos) are not infrequently uneasy. In Cancuc and Oxchuc Mr. Villa's work was impeded by a revival of this uneasiness, the Ladinos fearing that the celebrations of the carnival season might lead the Indians to acts of violence. With this exception, however, Mr. Villa found the Indians accessible and conditions of work favorable. The information reported herein was obtained in almost every instance from Indians, not Ladinos. Mr. Villa used an interpreter in cases where the Indians did not speak Spanish; although he has a command of Yucatec, and has done ethnological work in Yucatan,[2] he does not speak Tzeltal. 114 669 114 [124] [122]

The notes Starr[3] collected on the Tzeltal in 1901 were apparently[4] obtained

[1] For a short description of these ruins see Schuman, 1936, pp. 236–238.
[2] Vicente Pineda, 1888.
[3] Redfield and Villa, 1934.
[4] Starr, 1902.
[5] Ibid., pp. 69–72.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P.469-B]

leaders, both in the civil authority and in the curing profession. The transition from the old hierarchy of control to the new leadership structure is still in process. In the most recent confrontation of the civil authority and curers, the fact that neither side resorted to violence suggests the transitional nature of homicide as a solution in intracommunal conflict.

This study of homicide indicates that the changing rate of behavior points to structural change, but does not in itself indicate what kind of change occurs or from what motives it stems. Qualitative case analysis related to structural changes within the recall of informants is essential for understanding social process.

NOTES

[1] Field work is based on two periods of residence in the community in 1964 and 1965; it was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health. I am grateful for comments by Paul Friedrich, Richard Henderson, Harold Scheffler, and Peter Wilson, who have improved the original version read at the 1965 meetings of the American Anthropological Association. I remain responsible for the contents of the paper.

[2] Henry and Short (1954:18) analyse both suicide and homicide as undifferentiated aggressive reactions to frustration, the rates of which vary—in the first case inversely and in the second case directly—with the strength of the external control system over behavior. Their assumption that homicide is motivationally a single phenomenon, and not an expression of a variety of motives, stems from the assumption that all cases of aggressive acts are the result of frustration. Straus and Straus (1964:587) apply a similar correlational analysis of homicide and suicide rates with structural features of society in Ceylon, but come to opposite conclusions. They maintain that one would expect greater evidence of homicide in a "loosely structured society," by which they mean one with considerable sanctioning of variation in individual behavior. These studies contradict each other in the conclusions that they reach by similar analytical processes, but they are attempts to move away from such psychoanalytic reasoning as the death-wish theory.

[3] Bohannan's (1960) survey of homicide and suicide in African societies represents a useful model for comparing the total pattern of homicide cross-culturally. In presenting the case material here, I have used a similar format, adding to it the circumstances surrounding the killing. In the analysis of these materials, I have diverged from Bohannan's model in trying to demonstrate the linkage among the components—the ratios, to use Burke's (1945) terminology of scene/setting/actor/agent.

[4] The term "witch" is a translation of the Tzeltal term *Pab'-ŻomaŻ*, literally "giver of sickness." The term "curer" is a translation of *PaPal*. The power to cure and to give sickness stems from the possession of a *xwayehel*, or animal spirit.

[5] For a discussion of the tactics of gaining consensus in witch-killings, see Manning Nash (1960).

[6] Political homicide by agrarian leaders, which is so frequent in the central plateau (Friedrich 1967), is a relatively recent phenomenon in the retreat zones of Indian population. The cases analysed by Friedrich are a strategy of political power stemming from a revolutionary background, and the cultural assumptions to which he points contrast with those underlying witch-killings. My only comparable case is, significantly, found outside the traditional center, in the new ejido colony.

[7] Jules Henry (1936) sees the formula of fear and anger as the

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

114 27) but without touching on social organization.

[101] Study of social organization began in
[122] 1938 when I made my first trip through the region under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington (Redfield and Villa Rojas, 1939, pp. 107–19). In 1942–44 we spent several periods among the Tzeltal of Oxchuc, establishing camp at Yochib, and published the results soon thereafter (Villa Rojas, 1946, 1947).

Since 1957 various investigations by the universities of Chicago, Harvard, and Stanford have been headed by the anthropologists Sol Tax, Norman A. McQuown, Evon Z. Vogt, Julian Pitt-Rivers, and A. Kimball Romney.

221 SUBSISTENCE PATTERNS AND FOOD HABITS
241 *The Milpa*

Nothing is of greater importance to the Indian than to have a good *milpa*. Three classes of milpas are cultivated: *sijomal*, planted in mid-January and harvested three months later; *nal-aual* or "March milpa" planted in mid-March and harvested toward the end of August; the main milpa, *jabil-caltic* or "milpa of the year," sown between April and May and harvested between November and December. The first two types are most often cultivated in the lower zone of Tierra Caliente, where humidity is favorable.

241 Among the Tzeltal of Oxchuc (Villa
804 Rojas, 1946, pp. 510–39), milpa work begins in February with the measuring of the plot. The measuring rod (*jaubtic*), which presumably corresponds to a *brazada* (the distance between the arms extended), is equivalent to 1.98 m. The area 8 brazadas square takes the name of *tarea* (about 256 sq. m.). The area of the milpa is also computed according to the number of ears of corn needed for seeding: 60 ears of corn are required to fill 1.5 hectares, the average in milpas that we observed.

241 Since the bush is short, only a hatchet
412 (*eche*) is necessary to cut it down. The

[P.199-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

137 Change in soil is
134 probably the reason for change in vegetation. The tropical forest grows on black humus soil and the pine country is underlain by a red sandstone which weathers into a heavy red clay. The contact of this sandstone with the limestone country on which leaf trees grow lies about an hour's ride north of the village of Bachajon.

[133] The pine country is very hilly, the trees are scattered over a carpet of vivid green grass cut by the strong red line of the soil of the trail like a scar (fig. 195).

114 It was like riding through a magnificent park, up and down the hills and across small streams. Our poor animals had a hard ~~time~~ on the slippery trail. La Farge's horse gave out, and he had to change his saddle to a spare animal.

361 The Bachajon Indian village came in sight, lying on a hill in the
342 middle of the valley. It was well after noon when we reached the
346 dilapidated, grass-roofed and mud-walled huts clustered around the huge ruin of an old Spanish stone church. The Indians use a new church which they have built of the same material as their houses.

• 122 The house of the Government agent lies in the middle of the
344 village and here we were quartered in a room, the floor of which had just been covered with a carpet of fresh pine needles.

123 The Bachajon Indians are reputed to be unfriendly to all travellers, so we were not surprised when the Indian chief of the village told us that he could not furnish fodder for our animals or men to carry some of our cargo. To all our questions he answered "Mayuk," or in English, "Ain't got none." But when the chief, a little later, heard from our Encanto men that we had been friendly to them, and that furthermore, we were friends of the big father President in Mexico City, he changed his attitude.

648 The Government agent is sent to the Indian village by the civil
[651] authorities of the neighbouring Mexican town of Ocosingo. He is supposed to collect certain taxes, raise labourers for public works
[653] in the Mexican town, and help the Indians with their affairs. He is highly unpopular among the Indians, who counteract his orders through a remarkable system of passive resistance. They say "yes" to everything and do nothing. The only reason the Indians tolerate
[273] him is because he keeps a small store and sells liquor. The Indian is very fond of sugar-cane rum, and every Saturday and Sunday all the villagers generally get drunk. The agent complained bit-
[123] terly that the Indians were not selling him any food supplies and was astonished when they sold us chickens and eggs.

361 Most of the Bachajon Indians live hidden away in the bush. Only the families of the chief and the village officials live around the old church ruins.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Revolutions have since destroyed the herds, and the town now has only a small local trade in sugar and rum. 233

All goods are transported on mule-back over bad trails. Main trails run to Yajalon, San Cristóbal las Casas, and Comitan. Minor trails connect with Tenosique in Tabasco, a ride of five or six days through uninhabited forests. Other small trails lead into the heart of the forests along the Usumacinta river, where there are a few mahogany camps, fourteen days distance on a good mule. 492 491 [313]

The Spanish Conquerors had quickly discovered the richness of the soil and taken possession of it. Therefore, we find but a few Indians around Ocosingo, save at the small town of Sivacá, entirely inhabited by Tzeltal-speaking Indians. From there we secured our labourers, who were summoned by the municipal president and worked for us at the regulation pay of 50 centavos per day. Ocosingo holds sway over the native towns of Sivacá, Tenango, Oschuc, San Martín, and Bachajon. The municipality commands the Indians for all kinds of work, and in many ways lives on what can be pressed from them. As a consequence, the good people of Ocosingo are anything but popular among the Indians, though it appears that the man then in charge, Señor Simon León, was quite friendly towards them, and therefore well liked. 175 134 563 [114] 661 829

Geologically, the Ocosingo Valley is a syncline, the valley bottom and the interior mountain ranges being of a coarse red sandstone, and the exterior ranges of limestone. The axis of the valley runs approximately N-80-W to S-80-E, and Ocosingo town is located at an altitude of 900 meters above sea level. 133 [135]

As we rode into the village, La Farge discovered a stone block, carved with hieroglyphs, set in the pavement of the sidewalk, an excellent reception for archaeologists. 172

Our first concern was to find quarters, which we located in a house on the corner of a street leading into the Plaza. Soon our equipment was unloaded, and while we unpacked, the Ladino guide we had acquired in Bachajon went to his house to order food for us. 114 [122]

The restaurant and meal were a surprise, though not pleasant. In a room with a rotten board floor, the plaster falling off the walls, and a huge box full of saints, we were served fried eggs and black beans by an old woman with a large goitre. Though nothing in the house appeared to be either particularly exclusive or clean, the Ladino family seemed to resent that we sat down at the table with our chief guide, the trusty old Indian, Lázaro, now called "Tata" by us.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

172 114 man, Dr. Schmeling, was a stone with rows of hieroglyphs somewhat similar to the one first discovered. Behind the church, in a combination back yard and pig sty, we located three large stone figures, two of them with inscriptions. Then we heard of a stone said to be partly buried in the ground on an old site. When we arrived at this place, the owner of the lot appeared, very drunk, and insisted that we pay him $25.00 for permission to see and draw the stone. He was very noisy so we retired, and the next morning returned with an order from the municipal president giving us authority to do what we wanted to with the stone, as it was government property (see figs. 197-198). The laws of Mexico state that all ancient buildings and monuments belong to the nation. Monuments cannot be excavated or removed from the country without government permission. The Tulane Expedition had permits to explore, and due to these permits we received much help from all officials. All objects we discovered were drawn to scale and photographed, but nothing was removed.

[122] → [126] →

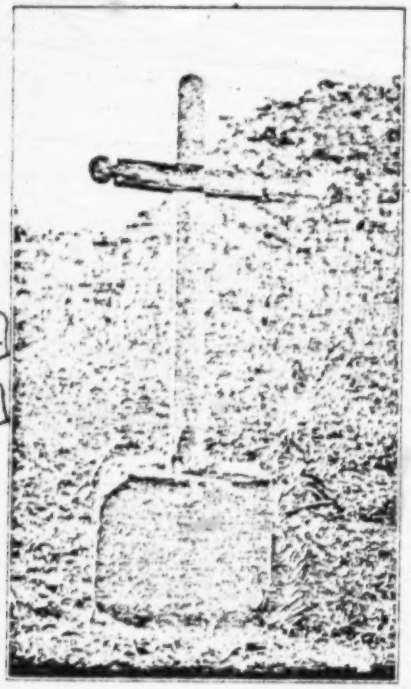

Fig. 198—Ubala Ranch, Chis. Upper half of Monument T-8 with modern cross.

Outside the village there was said to be a large stone with carvings. La Farge went out in search of it led by our somewhat imbecile local guide. For some time they wandered around without finding anything, but finally the guide led him to what he said was another stone, a large square block with a circular hole in the center, in which was stuck a huge wooden cross (fig. 199). The stone had been dragged to its present position by our guide's family, and used as a base for the cross of his grandmother's grave. His family did not wish us to find the monument, as they feared we would excavate it; but our imbecile thought he had to produce something for his pay, so he took La Farge to the stone.

[126] La Farge made a sketch of the principal inscription, which showed that it began with one of the so-called Initial Series, most

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

353 Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail
[231] hung in the eaves so that the dogs might see them, to prevent their
[415] going away or losing heart. A swizzle stick, *mahas*, about 40 centi-
meters long, was used for stirring cocoa. It is made by cutting a
[224] twig above a joint with four branches. Two rat traps, *yakul*, just
outside the hut, were exact models of the larger deadfalls used for
jaguars (see fig. 308).

[291] Add to this the clothes on the inhabitants backs, and the man's
[411] machete, and you will have a complete list of the worldly possessions,
large and small, of a Bachajon family—altogether some forty-four
different kinds of things. We assembled as many together as pos-
[126] sible, arranging them as for a feast, and placed in the middle the
small son of the house, and a
little monkey of a boy, Miguel,
who accompanied us to run
errands (fig. 292).

342

[516]
[291]
[415]

[123]
[122]

Fig. 292—Bachajon boy guests.

If mud-plastered walls are
added to this description, you
have a typical Ocosingo Valley
house. Change the grass roof
to palm, it is the kind to be seen
in the jungle country.

At Muxculja (*muckul ha*, "Covered Water"), in the jungle, our Indians built us a trail shelter or hut of the type called in Spanish *champa*, and in Tzeltal *tutna'*, "small house." This enabled us to note the manner of building the frame-work and laying on the roof. The kind of *champa* built for us, with an A-roof and gable ends, is called *gwakac na'*, "cow house"; the more common type built by the Indians when alone, a simple lean-to, is called *lestce-pat* (should be *lestce-pahk?*) "only one wall."

Our shelter being more than usually pretentious, we could observe most of the steps in building a true house, although, of course, the form here was different and the construction much lighter (figs. 293-294). It was three meters, fifty-one centimeters long by three meters wide, two meters high at the ridge-pole, one at the eaves.
[461] It had no walls. From the construction of the outline of the frame to the completed thatching it took fifty minutes for four men, later only two, working without haste.

126 that they were present. I took no active part in the recording,
124
[122] since I could not speak Tzeltal and did not know the appropriate range of responses that the communication called up in the participants. None of the records are expressions of communication that would have taken place had I not chosen to make records. That is, the sessions were always initiated by me with the express intent of making records. This is reflected in the records by discussion of the tape recorder, of my performances associated with it, and so on. In addition, the content of some of the records is focused, as I have mentioned, on recent illnesses in the household. By and large, however, to some unmeasured and thus unknown degree, the communications in the records are reflexes of pressures on the speakers that endure far longer than the recording session, that are structured by the variable modes of linguistic expression, by the internal coherence of the domains of "content" that became the subject of the conversation, by recent experiences which are structured by the content of the domains, and by the previously well-defined social relationships existing between the speakers. Some evidence that the relationship between the informant and the other party to the conversation helped to structure the recorded communications is presented in a report to the National Science Foundation (Metzger 1961). Briefly the length of the conversation--i.e., the total number of words--was greater when the informant knew and/or liked the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Acknowledgments

My study of the people of Tzo'ontahal was made in four field sessions, the first in 1957 with return trips in 1958, 1964, and 1965, for a total of eighteen months. Brief visits were made in 1966 and 1967. With each returning visit it was possible to penetrate more deeply into the lives and experiences of the villagers, most of whom were highly resistant to an outsider on the first contact. I began writing the book in 1966, and some of the predictions I made came true before I finished it in 1968. These included the demise of the ceremonial leadership of the *alfereces*—the officials in charge of religious celebrations—the waning of the community status of curers, and the killing of one of my principal informants who had taken a leadership role before acquiring the traditional validation of age and experience in office. The transformations over the period of my study in this community created difficulties in recording and organizing my material. I owe whatever clarification has emerged to the efforts of Jane Olson and Gale Griffin of Yale University Press.

I am indebted to the National Institutes of Mental Health, which made possible the research for this study. I owe an intellectual debt to Sol Tax, who introduced me to the problems and potentialities of the area as a locus for field study, to Norman McQuown, who gave me the first instruction in Tzeltal and provided a grammar which facilitated learning the language, and to Manning Nash, who provided some of the earlier formulations of the culture from which I have borrowed. I am grateful to Duane Metzger and Gerald Williams, who generously provided equipment and facilities for work with informants in San Cristóbal Las Casas in the summer of 1964. Alfonso Villa Rojas, who was director of the Instituto Nacional Indígenista, was of great assistance in the first summer's field trip, introducing me to leaders within the town and in the Instituto's headquarters in Las Casas.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

ters in Las Casas. His encouragement and support of investigations by foreign students set an example in international cooperation. I am personally indebted to Mary Marshall for the companionship and assistance she offered during our summer of residence in the public bathhouse of the town; she is responsible for the observations in Appendix 3A and 3B. Terrence Kaufman checked the Tzeltal words appearing in the glossary. I am grateful for the hospitality and friendship of the family of the schoolmaster, Louis Tavernier. Without the patience, the insight, and the friendship of Juliana Lopez Shunton, Mariano Lopez Lin, Simón Perez Kantirón, and their families, the book would never have been written. Vera Deutsch provided encouragement and assistance in the final typing of the manuscript. My children, Eric and Laura, shared the hardships of fieldwork and of producing the book.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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122 I wish to thank first of all Duane Metzger, who made my field work possible with a personal grant. For financial assistance in the writing of this manuscript I wish to thank the kind offices of Professor Norman A. McQuown of the University of Chicago.

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Barbara and Duane Metzger and June and Manning Nash were most generous with their field notes and unpublished materials.

The staff of the Chiapas Project of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago made available to me their field notes, their unpublished data and their minds, and for the many hours of fruitful discussion I am most grateful.

For typing assistance for this manuscript I wish to thank Miss Lois Bisek. For painstaking editorial work I wish to thank John Hotchkiss, and my husband, Robert C. Hunt.

And finally, to the men and women of Aguacatenango and Amatenango for the various direct and subtle manners by which they taught me their way of life, I owe a profound debt.

121 and can be empirically described by the observer in the form of a model.

I do not pretend these to be always the best possible definitions of any of these concepts. I find that in the course of my training as a social anthropologist, I came to think of these concepts in such terms, and in working my problems they became the most comfortable conceptual frame. I do feel, however, that in explicitly defining my use, I solve the main problem of communication between author and reader.

Sources of Data

114 122 The area in which the communities selected for this study are located have been under intensive multi-disciplinary study for more than ten years. Mexican anthropologists of the National Museum and the National Indian Institute have done surveys and community descriptions on their own and under the direction of Robert Redfield and Sol Tax, of the University of Chicago. (See bibliography.) The University of Chicago Chiapas Project, now in its second stage and seven years old, has covered the area with a fine-tooth comb, and prepared a three-volume report which contains information on geography (soils, rain distribution, physical character, water supply, etc.), botany, linguistics, social anthropology, archeology, ethnohistory and other related fields (see McQuown et al., 1959).

There is a wealth of primary sources for the area, but, unfortunately, there has never been up to the present a careful analysis of their content, although they have been extensively quoted by modern authors with different purposes in mind.

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontahal

Introduction

BEHAVIORAL REGULARITIES in ritual or informal interaction are usually considered the raw material for making structural-functional statements. The descriptive data are used illustratively or may never be included with published material. This monograph describes ritual activity, both elicited and observed. The object is (1) to state the behavioral dimensions of a structural-functional model and (2) to show where social changes are putting stress on that structure. 121

Ritual events are good occasions for such study because both communally prescribed and individually preferred behavior can be recorded. The expected behavior can be sorted out from the chance since the rules are more explicit than in ordinary interaction. Ceremonial behavior projects in a public performance a given set of status relationships. In doing things as they were done in the past, a theme repeated in prayers and in explanations for actions, people assert continuity of tradition. But just because of this, ceremonies are an occasion for dramatizing social change (Geertz, 1957). Competition between groups and tensions deriving from contradictions which are not apparent in everyday life may be expressed during the ceremony.

I have chosen the rituals of the inauguration of civil and religious officials in the community of Tzoʔontahal, Chiapas, Mexico, because in these performances people act out their techniques for maintaining continuity at the time of change.[1] The inauguration is a rite of passage designed to gain social acceptance of new personnel in a given set of roles. However, as in all ceremonies in this community, the occasion provides the backdrop for the release of latent hostilities. The formal ceremony requires drinking a great deal of the locally distilled liquor, "the gift of the ancestors" that makes fiestas possible.[2] Liquor rids the participants of embarrassment 121 182 796 121 796 273

[1] Field research was supported by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health which made possible my stay from May to September, 1964, and again in December, 1964. I am grateful to Duane Metzger for providing facilities for working in San Cristobal de las Casas with my informants. Comments by Harold Conklin, Constance Sutton, and David Hunter have helped improve earlier versions. [122] [114] [128]

[2] In a myth concerning the origin of liquor, it is said that the town had no fiestas until Santiago gave the gift of liquor.

[P. 209-A]

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

and four *chuycales*, who are in charge of sacred matters. Certain shamans, called *dzunubiles*, also participate in calpul government.

In Cancuc, Villa did not inquire into the matter, but in Oxchuc and i. Bachajón the calpules have separate patron saints and are known, in the case of Bachajón, by the names of San Sebastian and San Geronimo, in the case of Oxchuc, Santo Tomas and La Trinidad. In the church at Bachajón the santos belonging to the north calpul, San Sebastian and two others, stand on the left side of the church, while San Geronimo, San Manuel, and the Virgin, representing the south calpul, stand at the right side. It appears, however, at least in the case of Oxchuc, that the festivals of these saints are maintained by the people of both calpules jointly.

The antagonism between the calpules of Cancuc has expressed itself from time to time in violence. During Villa's stay it was rumored that the people of the southern half were about to attack those of the northern half, and indeed, shots were fired. Blom and LaFarge reported "a dragging feud" in this village.[28] Apparently marriages may and do take place between the calpules; there is no indication, however, that they are exogamous.

In Oxchuc a principal annual ceremony attends the transfer from one calpul to the other of a certain sacred book. This greatly venerated object was, after some reluctance, shown to Villa. He was requested to deliver to its custodians a dozen rockets, some candles, and some incense; he was then allowed to examine it in the presence of the chiefs and the chuycales of both calpules. It is a notebook of twelve paper sheets, 40 by 20 cm. in size; it has a deerskin cover. Of the twelve pages, nine bear writing, all but one on both sides. The text appears to be a series of orders set down by the Spanish authorities in the year 1674. The book is kept in a black wooden box; before and after removing it the chuycales prayed, kneeling, while incense was burned and the rockets were discharged.

The book is called *cahualtic* "Our Master." The ceremony of transfer of this sacred object takes place during the thirteen days beginning December 31. The principal members of the government of both calpules, numbering thirteen, assemble in the cabildo. The book is placed on a table with thirteen candles, thirteen rosaries, thirteen calabashes of lime mixed with tobacco, and thirteen vessels of atole. During the thirteen days the men remain segregated in the cabildo without contact with their homes or with women. Many prayers are uttered. At the conclusion of the period the box containing the book is escorted in solemn procession to the place it occupies during the rest of the year—not in the church, but in a special hut on the outskirts of the calpul of La Trinidad.

Information which Villa received from Indians of Chanal on the customs attending marriage differs in a number of respects from the account given by Blom and LaFarge,[29] or supplements that account, and therefore may be summarized here. There are no professional marriage negotiators. The boy's parents pay, ordinarily, four visits to the girl's parents to complete the agreement. On each visit they bring bread, eggs, fruit, and especially rum. The boy is expected

[28] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:387.

[29] *Ibid.*, 2:358–359.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

saw houses and fields, lying away from the trail, and at a bend before us in the distance a perpendicular wall of yellow and red rock, about 400 meters high, framed in green foliage. A vertical, shining white band, the waterfall "Chegua," cut the center of the red cliff.

Toward evening we made camp by a small stream not far below the rim of the valley, 980 meters above sea level, and rolled ourselves in our blankets just as a downpour started to drum on our tent-fly.

Early in the morning a few Bachajon Indians came stealthily out of the bush to look at our strange outfit. They talked with our Indian carriers, and evidently found out that we were not bad people, as they soon came near to our camp to talk with us.

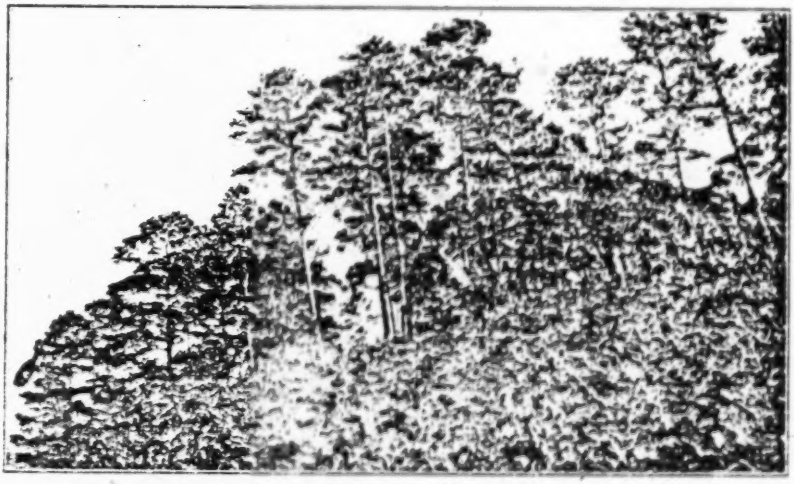

FIG. 123—Bachajon, Chis. Pine Forest.

It was a cool morning and the bottom of the valley was hidden under great soft banks of white mists with the mountains appearing above in sharp silhouette against the morning sky. Soon we reached the rim of the valley and looking back towards the north, saw the many mountain ranges we had crossed and also the Don Juan mountain along the foot of which we rode towards Palenque.

The vegetation changed to low oak-like bush over ground covered with fern-like moss and pretty wild iris. As we rode downward to the next valley new mountain ranges appeared before us and we could see the pine country at a distance. There is no transition from tropical vegetation to pine forest. Change in soil is

137 Change in soil is
134 probably the reason for change in vegetation. The tropical forest grows on black humus soil and the pine country is underlain by a red sandstone which weathers into a heavy red clay. The contact of this sandstone with the limestone country on which leaf trees grow lies about an hour's ride north of the village of Bachajon.

[133] The pine country is very hilly, the trees are scattered over a carpet of vivid green grass cut by the strong red line of the soil of the trail like a scar (fig. 195).

114 It was like riding through a magnificent park, up and down the hills and across small streams. Our poor animals had a hard time on the slippery trail. La Farge's horse gave out, and he had to change his saddle to a spare animal.

361 The Bachajon Indian village came in sight, lying on a hill in the
342 middle of the valley. It was well after noon when we reached the
346 dilapidated, grass-roofed and mud-walled huts clustered around the huge ruin of an old Spanish stone church. The Indians use a new church which they have built of the same material as their houses.

122 The house of the Government agent lies in the middle of the
344 village and here we were quartered in a room, the floor of which had just been covered with a carpet of fresh pine needles.

123 The Bachajon Indians are reputed to be unfriendly to all travellers, so we were not surprised when the Indian chief of the village told us that he could not furnish fodder for our animals or men to carry some of our cargo. To all our questions he answered "Mayuk," or in English, "Ain't got none." But when the chief, a little later, heard from our Encanto men that we had been friendly to them, and that furthermore, we were friends of the big father President in Mexico City, he changed his attitude.

648 The Government agent is sent to the Indian village by the civil
[651] authorities of the neighbouring Mexican town of Ocosingo. He is supposed to collect certain taxes, raise labourers for public works
[653] in the Mexican town, and help the Indians with their affairs. He is highly unpopular among the Indians, who counteract his orders through a remarkable system of passive resistance. They say "yes" to everything and do nothing. The only reason the Indians tolerate
[273] him is because he keeps a small store and sells liquor. The Indian is very fond of sugar-cane rum, and every Saturday and Sunday
[123] all the villagers generally get drunk. The agent complained bitterly that the Indians were not selling him any food supplies and was astonished when they sold us chickens and eggs.

361 Most of the Bachajon Indians live hidden away in the bush. Only the families of the chief and the village officials live around the old church ruins.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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the old church ruins. The chief and the officials all spoke Spanish, 191 but the only one who knew how to read and write was the town sec- 212 retary, a 15-year old boy.

After dark the Indians gathered in front of the municipal house 123 and presently some of the elders made signs that they wanted to talk 648 to us. We followed them into the dark out of earshot of the agent, where the Indians told us of all their sorrows and difficulties, asking if we could not help them. They said that the agent tried to raise unjust taxes, that they were forced to do much work for the Municipal President of Ocosingo and did not have time to look after their own corn fields, and also that they were molested by the managers of the neighbouring properties. They asked us to bring their complaints before the Central Government, which we have done.

From there our route followed the main trail, or Camino Real, 114 between Chilon and Ocosingo. A few hours ride through pine forest 133 brought us to the top of a pass from where we had a magnificent 361 view over the Ocosingo Valley. We could see the Indian village of Sivaca, and the white walled, red tiled houses of the Mexican town Ocosingo, lying on a green carpet of extensive grazing land. Down over the mountain side we scrambled towards the valley bottom, and by noon the hoofs of our animals clattered against the cobbled stones of Ocosingo's streets.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

important in Maya Chronology. The writer went to draw the monument, but could not finish it the same afternoon as it began to get dark. The following morning the work was continued and we found that a part of the monument was missing. While working, the owner of the land arrived and told us that there was another stone nearby. This turned out to be the missing fragment, and when the two parts were placed together they carried the Initial Series date 9-12-10-0-0 9 Ahau 13 Zotz, or 422 A. D., after our reckoning. 172 [126]

This was an important discovery, and we persuaded the owner of the Ubala ranch, where we found the monument, to bring the two stones together. His intention was to use the lower part of the monument, which had a large hole in its centre, as a rim to a water tank.

We found a total of nine carved stones of different sizes in and around Ocosingo. All were of the typical yellow sandstone common to Toniná monuments, and there is little doubt but that they all come from these ruins.

Our stay in Ocosingo was very delightful. The children of the village eagerly hunted monuments for us, and our arrival made a boom in the local market. Usually the inhabitants spend their time passing a few pennies from one to the other. One day A makes bread and sells it to B, and the next day B sells bread to A. Now we added a few cents to the city capital. 123

On the day of Corpus Christi the women, with their heads wrapped in black shawls, went to church many times; the men did less work than usual; and the children played baseball on the Plaza. A quaint phraseology, a mixture of American baseball words and Spanish swearing, cheered the play.

While drawing one of the monuments behind the church, we heard an organ playing inside. Suddenly the music swung into some cheerful opera tune, later to return to serious religious music. We had the feeling that whoever was playing suddenly felt gay and happy and decided that the good people of Ocosingo did not know what the music was anyway, but thought anything coming from a church organ was religious, so why not be happy for a short moment?

Indians went back and forth over the Plaza, often filling the door of our room to watch the strangers. Ladinos would come to pay their respects and offer help, and both the Padre and the school teacher often came in for a chat. There was an extraordinary feeling of peace in the little town, a silence which became more notice-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

123 able when broken by the clattering of horses hoofs against the paving stones.

172 From the Plaza one can see a great part of the valley and sur-
114 rounding mountains. When the sun in the morning falls on the San Martín mountain, one's attention is attracted by a spur on this mountain which strongly resembles a pyramid. We asked about this and were told that it actually was an ancient mound. Therefore, one morning, we rode to the foot of the San Martín.

Reaching a small ranch, we left our horses behind and ascended on foot. A spur of the mountain had in ancient times been levelled and shaped to the form of an immense truncated pyramid, rising in terraces.

778 We had heard that there were caves in the mountainside, and
114 that every year, on the 3rd of May, the Indians come here to worship the god of the mountain. Soon we reached a small cave, or rock shelter, and upon entering saw that a tunnel led into the dark. This we followed, with lighted candles, into a small cave, and there on the floor we found signs of a small altar.*

We took great pains not to disturb anything on the altar, returning to the mouth of the cave, and emerged into the glaring sunlight. We then climbed to the top of the pyramid, and found a large level area in the center of which stood a small mound. On top of the mound Indians had erected a wooden cross and at its foot we found bunches of pine needles, also remnants of burnt copal incense. Evidently this also was a place of Indian worship.

114 Sitting on top of the mound we had the whole Ocosingo valley
133 at our feet. The red roofs of the town lay 500 meters below us.
172 The top of the pyramid, called Chacalchib, is 1,440 meters above
361 sea level. Far away we could see two other hilltops that likewise had been turned into pyramids. On the northern edge of the valley lay Campomtik, and further away on the same side we could distinguish the ruins of Toniná. On the southern side of the valley was the mountain-pyramid called Cololté. All these places were later visited.

133 The valley floor spread out before us. Here and there lay small
137 ranches, and patches of pine forest. Several groups of mounds were
361 easily distinguished, as those of Santa Teresa just outside Ocosingo
172 on the trail to Bachajon. At the head of the valley lay Sivacá, the Indian village.

172 On the level top of the pyramid were rows of stones, indicating
114 old house foundations, but though we made a careful search, we found no monuments.

*For Description, see Chapter XV.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

We have divided Maya history in two groups, the Old Empire 175
and the New Empire. Of the history of the New Empire we know 174
a considerable amount, but our knowledge of the Old Empire history is scant. We know the area in which it flourished as a whole, like knowing Greece without being aware of Sparta, Athens, and Corinth. Here in front of me lay one of the first hints of the subdivisions of the Old Empire. Knowledge will advance, and soon we shall be able to tell about the rise and decline of states and cities, to revive the history of the foremost people of ancient America.

Nearly due north across the valley lies the Campomtik pyramid. 172
La Farge visited it while we worked at Toniná. It, too, is a re- 133
modeled mountain top, and as it is covered with grass, it stands out 178
sharply against the forest-clad hills. It consists of a series of terraces with a depression which has stone-faced terraces and floor. From the valley bottom the hill rises 280 meters, of which 105 meters (325 feet) have been terraced. Broken pottery is found in various places on the hillside, and on the top now stands two wooden crosses, set there by the Indians. The name Campomtik means [103]
"much yellow incense." Incense was burned on the hilltop until [182]
quite recently. At such times they burned great fires, and shot off [196]
many rockets bought in Ocosingo. Finally the celebrations got too [177]
fervent for the Catholic Father, and he had the Indians driven away [178]
by the town officials. Generally, though, the Padres let the Indians alone when they celebrate in honour of the ancient gods (fig. 201).

Outside Ocosingo, where the trail divides, one going to Bachajon, 172
the other to Sivacá, lies a group of mounds called Santa Teresa. Rumors that Indains had buried church treasures here after an uprising, led the townspeople to make a large excavation. According to some people in Ocosingo, they found a small wooden sanctuary, and a beautiful clay bowl with a fish on its lid. This bowl later was bought by Seler.*

It is remarkable how persistent are rumors of buried treasures. 123
Every Ladino expects to find "dinero," money, in any mound, and 172
they are usually sadly disappointed. Also, most of these people believe that we find money, else why should we dedicate so much time to our explorations? We had a case where one man offered to go fifty-fifty with us if we would explore a mound on his lands. The whole mound at Santa Teresa has been dug through, and it is told in Ocosingo that the excavators found, not money, but a small wooden sanctuary with a saint inside. We hear every day, when among the Ladinos and Mexicans, stories of church bells of solid gold, and cocks that crow at midnight on top of the mounds.

*Seler, E., 1901. Fig. 278.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

is negative. Among the Bachajon, face hair was very slight, or 142
negative, even on men of past middle age. At Sivacá the Alcalde, an elderly man, had a small beard. This is more commonly found among the Indians further in the Highlands. A slightly taller and more heavily boned type here also suggests the Highland influence (figs. 279-280-281-282-283).

Temperamentally, the Bachajon were by far the least pleasant 152
Indians with whom we had to deal. They are drunken, revengeful, and murderous. The murders, usually the sudden outburst of a long-nursed feud, are sometimes so appallingly brutal that one would think them committed by an abnormal or degenerate people.

291

FIG. 279—Huixmachital, Chis. Bachajon men.

Yet, at the same time, these were the most independent Indians we 648
met, controlling their own lives and way of living, and are left very much alone by the neighbouring Ladinos.

All the Indians are outwardly restrained, at least in the presence 609
of strangers, although an accident, such as a narrow escape, shows 152
them to be volatile and ready to express emotion. At home, they are cheerful, and laugh willingly. In bursts of feeling, as during an uprising, or one of the murders mentioned above, capable of any outrage, ordinarily they are not a cruel people. They showed them- 123
selves always responsive to friendly advances on our part.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

648 mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

829 The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We received many small favours and [123] acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

FIG. 993—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

241 In their culture these people [181] belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend [433] primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the [291] staple crop. Calabashes, melons, [301] beans, tobacco, bananas, and cotton are raised. The farming is [302] carried on by the same wasteful "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old [178] Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment [166] of many cities. In the case of the Bachajon, it has already become one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn 262 boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates 252 which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and 411 weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but al- 412 ways made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most 124 amazing industries in the world. 170

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

123 648 Visiting such a house is not a mere, simple social affair. Here, on a steep-sided and slippery natural hill, lived a family belonging to a notoriously exclusive people. Our hostess seemed suspicious of the visit at first, although one visitor was a "Melicano," one of the pair who had already acquired a good reputation with the Indians, and his guide, Señor Aguilar, was known to be a friend. Men in felt hats and boots seldom visited those houses for good purposes; at the best, they might be expected to make off with a quantity of eggs and tortillas without paying their value—at the worst, the head of the house might be haled away for forced labour, or there might be a fight, the pigs killed, and the little hut set afire. The family consisted of a married couple their small son, and two grown girls. On our first visit the wife alone was there. She was at first sullen and a little frightened, but becoming reassured by degrees, showed herself to be a placid, dignified woman, pleasant, neat, and in many ways an ideal type of the traditional housewife. After we had given medicine to one of the girls for cold, and to the husband for mild fever, with a gaudy chromo of a saint to decorate the family altar, they came [342] to take us for granted, and allowed us to see unfolding the harmonious, dignified family life, with its feeling of unvoiced yet real affection that is so typical of the American Indian where European contact has been slight. The 342 little house, only half walled, and small—about 15 x 13½ feet—was [353] always neat, its dirt floor swept clean, each small posession in its [356] place. There was a faint smell of wood-smoke and earth, with the scent of the rich jungle drifting in, the sound of low-voiced talk, wind in grass, or the grind and thump of the metates, now and then laughter.

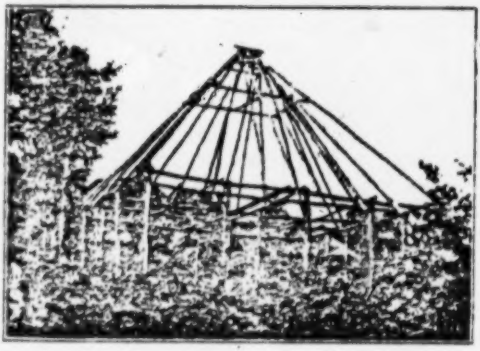


FIG. 287—Cancuc, Chis. Frame of house, illustrating type used in whole area.

The house was a rectangle, 4.90 x 4.20 meters (figs. 288-289), the front of the house being on a short side. The back and slightly less than half of the sides were walled with close-planted, upright [352] poles, without plastering. To wooden beds, *waixyivel*, like low tables, were built into the corners thus framed. Four corner-posts,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

353 Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail
[231] hung in the eaves so that the dogs might see them, to prevent their
[415] going away or losing heart. A swizzle stick, *mahas,* about 40 centi-
[224] meters long, was used for stirring cocoa. It is made by cutting a twig above a joint with four branches. Two rat traps, *yakul,* just outside the hut, were exact models of the larger deadfalls used for jaguars (see fig. 308).

[291] Add to this the clothes on the inhabitants backs, and the man's
[411] machete, and you will have a complete list of the worldly possessions, large and small, of a Bachajon family—altogether some forty-four different kinds of things. We assembled as many together as pos-
[126] sible, arranging them as for a feast, and placed in the middle the small son of the house, and a little monkey of a boy, Miguel, who accompanied us to run errands (fig. 292).

342

Fig. 292—Bachajon boy guests.

[516]
[291]
[415]

[123]
[122]

If mud-plastered walls are added to this description, you have a typical Ocosingo Valley house. Change the grass roof to palm, it is the kind to be seen in the jungle country.

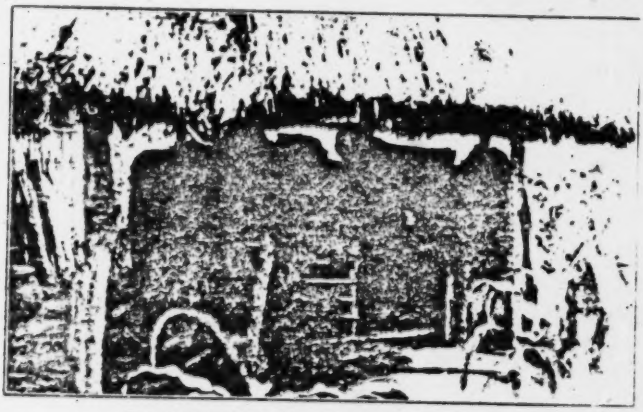
At Muxculja (*muckul ha,* "Covered Water"), in the jungle, our Indians built us a trail shelter or hut of the type called in Spanish *champa,* and in Tzeltal *tutna',* "small house." This enabled us to note the manner of building the frame-work and laying on the roof. The kind of *champa* built for us, with an A-roof and gable ends, is called *gwakac na',* "cow house"; the more common type built by the Indians when alone, a simple lean-to, is called *lestce-pat* (should be *lestce-pahk?*) "only one wall."

Our shelter being more than usually pretentious, we could observe most of the steps in building a true house, although, of course, the form here was different and the construction much lighter (figs. 293-294). It was three meters, fifty-one centimeters long by three meters wide, two meters high at the ridge-pole, one at the eaves.
[46] It had no walls. From the construction of the outline of the frame to the completed thatching it took fifty minutes for four men, later only two, working without haste.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajon
Tenango
Sivacá

dark gray in colour, with a considerable admixture of fine limestone gravel. As far as could be ascertained, the mixture is worked without other preparation than that of dampening it to a good consistency. 323

The actual pottery making, *hutsul ya pas ŏcom*, ("I am making a cooking pot"), which is done by the women, was observed at Sivacá. Some of the men of the village had worked for us at Toniná, and they, particularly the heavy set one on the extreme right of the picture (fig. 297), a cheerful and very thirsty fellow, remembered me as a friend. A few poor jokes and a handful of cigarettes won the men over, so that the visit became less an investigation than a triumphal tour, escorted by the whole male population, the Alcalde leading, in and out through the village. It really was very good fun. We wound our way among the huts, seeking the 323 123



343

FIG. 298—Tenango, Chis. Close-up of Sweat House.

shade wherever possible, scuffling up a good deal of dust, now and then tripping over a pig or a dog. Whenever we came to an orange tree, someone would climb it, to come down with a handful of little, green fruits, so poisonous to look at, and so very sweet and refreshing to eat. They dragged out specimens of all their pottery, and at last lead me with some pomp to a house in which a woman was at work. The good wife did not in the least understand this visit, and was not at all sure that she liked it. All the men clamoured at her at once, telling her to come out and be photographed. Finally she brought her clay and unbaked pots, setting all in the sun, still a little bit afraid that this meant some new Ladino imposition. She set to work as though finding some relief from her embarrassment in the occupation. 323 123 [245] [126]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

286 126 123 Our Indian hostess at the Encanto house was commissioned to make us a sash; after observing and photographing the process (fig. 300), we bought the loom with the unfinished piece on it. At Sivacá the army of guides produced a woman who was weaving cloth, and another who was just preparing the thread for the loom (fig. 301). The former was very bored and matter-of-fact about the whole pro-

323

FIG. 299—Sivacá, Chis. Pottery Forms.

A. Ocom. B. Pok'et. C. Tsameta. D. Hor'mo. E. Hutstahibe. F. Tseta. G. Awalike. H. Tcistcinaih.

286 126 123 ceeding, but the latter, a younger one, was at first frightened. At the first sight of me, she put away all her work. As she spoke no Spanish, I fell back upon a corps of seven or eight interpreters, who all spoke together while I looked as harmless as possible. Then she thought that the Mayor of Ocosingo, or the President of Mexico, or some one had sent for her, and packed her things to travel. At last she understood, and then balked. The men explained to me, with some amusement, that she was ashamed—*"dice que tiene verguenza"*—but finally she consented to pose. The result was a picture worth the while; she herself was a good type of young Indian woman, on her back was slung a pretty though somewhat grimy baby, while an underfed puppy and very small chicken completed the family group. The picture also shows a good example of the squatting-seat mentioned when listing the contents of the Encanto house (see fig. 301).

[284] 291 [142] [302] [516]

FIG. 300—El Encanto, Chis. Woman Weaving.

283 The spindle, *pětět*, is a stick 35 centimeters long, at the foot of which is a clay whorl, for which no name was given. It is spun with the weighted end resting in a gourd bowl, the upper end held against

789 away, leaving it alone, an ear of yellow corn is left with it, that its soul may not be stolen. There is an interesting parallel here with [171] the ear of corn as a "ceremonial mother" in the Southwestern United States. If somebody expresses too strong admiration of a child, fire must be passed near it, or spittle rubbed over its forehead; otherwise the baby will become ill. Infants are particularly susceptible to the evil eye. To cure one that has been thus cursed, a female shaman is summoned, who passes a whole egg all over the baby's body. This is then opened, and the evil eye will be seen (by the shaman) in the yolk of the egg. They throw the egg into the river, or bury it in a secret place. Almost this same belief was found in Chontal of Tabasco. (Customs of San Fernando, Chapter VI, Volume I).

868 Children's education is simple and direct. As soon as a boy is old enough to work at all—at about five years of age—he is given a worn-down machete and set to cutting and hauling wood. From then on, following his father, he learns the man's duties. Girls are started with a miniature metate, grinding corn.

872 The Government maintains some public schools, such as at Bachajon Village, in which a few children learn to read and write, but in general great difficulty is found in obtaining scholars. As soon as they are old enough to study, they are strong enough to be of material help in the house and the farm; the parents do not like to relinquish what represents the interest on the investment of the price paid by the father for marriage, and the expense of the children's early years. Under the present administration, however, efforts to educate the Indians are being pushed as never before.

881 Puberty is attended by no observances of any kind. Marriage,
582 which comes fairly early, has been previously described.

764 At death the ceremonial side is greatly emphasized. The funeral rites combine the idea of mourning with a general belief that the soul of the departed lingers for a brief time about his former domicile. When possible, the house of the deceased is abandoned for a short time, during which period, if any small animal is observed about the house, particularly at night, it is supposed to be his soul. No particular powers are ascribed to the soul, as far as could be found out, but it is considered poor company.

As it happened, a man was killed while we were at the Finca Encanto, whose funeral rites we could observe. His wife began mourning for him almost immediately—this being in the middle of the afternoon. His body was taken to another house, neighbour to his own. The true ceremonies began after nightfall. Accompanied [123] by Lazaro and Señor Aguilar, the writer went up with a gift of

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

candles for the wife; we had previously sent flowers. The family, being poor, were very glad of our contribution. When we arrived the scene was lighted by one tall candle and the glow of a low fire, mostly coals, with a few weak flames flickering across it. The body was laid out, wrapped in all its clothes and then in a mat bound with cords, forming a bundle more or less resembling a mummy. At its head was a cross, on top of which flickered the solitary candle. The family and neighbours were crowded into the house, the women sitting on the floor about the body, their heads covered with black shawls; behind them the men made themselves as comfortable as possible. They brought such musical instruments as they possessed. The family provided rum. At the dead man's feet squatted his wife, her face almost completely covered by the black shawl. 764 [123]

The wife rocked to and fro, from a squatting to a kneeling position, alternately laying her clasped hands on the pall, and holding them to her eyes, keening. She gasped out a few broken words, half choked with sobs, then let her speech rise higher and higher, crescendo, to a wail that broke off with a half-sob, half-gasp. Thus she went on, falling into a chanting rhythm, which the other women joined spasmodically. The men talked in low tones, and played faintly on their instruments, more or less in time with her. The packed place was very warm, and had the acrid, smoky smell of many Indians.

Later, drinking went on, and the visitors danced, as at any ceremonial. The keening was maintained all night.

When we brought our candles, the woman stopped her mourning long enough to hustle the men, who were slow in setting them on the cross, then she took up again.

The body may be interred the following day in a burying-ground, or in the floor of the house. The former custom, observed at El Encanto, is probably due to outside influence. In that case, the body was carried on a plank by four men. A few more men came along to help, and the wife and three or four women followed. The men wore clean clothes, and had left their machetes behind. Only the wife wore a black shawl, which must have been hot in the sun at high noon, when the procession took place. She continued her keening, and carried a lighted candle. Whenever the pall-bearers laid the body down to rest, she fanned flies away with the dead man's hat. [177]

The grave was well dug, about five feet deep, without regard for orientation. After being lowered into it, the ropes binding the body were cut, that the dead man might rise freely on judgment day. Lumps of dirt and rocks were laid on to hold the mat in place.

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778 paper, brightened with colour added by a cigarette package, a label from a tin of beets in a deep red, a joke in German about the fall of the mark, of which the prevailing tone was pure viridian, and a page of advertising from the Saturday Evening Post. We gave [123] this family a chromo of a saint, which was immediately framed with a sort of wooden box, and set up beside the cross. The table below was used for laying odds and ends on, such as the spindle and a couple of empty aguardiente bottles.

782 Incense, *pom*, and candles, both extensively used by the Indians 788 today, had a place in the old Maya ritual similar to that of the 177 Catholic Church.
178

The Priest is an important figure to the Indians. They come to 793 him with respect to tell him their troubles, and receive him into their villages with rejoicing. At the same time, there is no doubt that they deliberately hoodwink him as to the orthodoxy of their faith.

796 Although it includes several non-Christian elements, a description of the fiesta observed at Tecojá will give a fair idea of the Tzeltal's church observances. Tecojá ranch has a village of about [241] twenty houses attached to it. The fiesta was held on the twenty- [648] second and twenty-third of June. By custom, the ranch had to allow the Indians this time off, as well as accepting the lowered efficiency on the following "cold grey dawn of the morning after." The owners had, moreover, to provide the rum for the whole celebration, in this case, two demi-johns.

The ranch chapel was thrown open and decorated with fir [794] branches and streamers. The proceedings were in charge of two older men, called *caporales*, who were distinguished by a cross-belting of red handkerchiefs. One house was set aside for the celebrations, in front of which was a table and three triangular, crimson banners with gold edges. By these drumming and flute-playing went on irregularly. Here was the official dispensary for rum, which was given out by the *caporales*. Inside the house, a palm-thatched one with stick walls, about fifteen feet square, some thirty [534] Indians, men and women, were squatting against the walls. There was an orchestra of a guitar and a mouth-organ, occasionally augmented by the piper, who would wander in from outside. This individual, although most amazingly drunk, managed to maintain his [533] musical ability until he fell asleep. The tune they played was like a rather wistful jig, but the time was lively. To this four couples [535] danced, the men facing the women, with a shuffling step not unlike waltzing. They kept very much in one place, but occasionally changed sides. The dancing was evidently a serious affair. This type is called in Spanish *zapatea*, in Tzeltal, *ahk'Out*.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

796 178 However, much hinges on the difficult question of whether or not they still possess the old calendar, without which the divination would be impossible. This will be spoken of again. On the whole, the Tzeltal do not show anything like the robust survivals of old religion that are found in Guatemala; in this respect, also, they have retained only a degenerated form.

776 756 Concerning the attitude of the Indian towards his *nagual,* two stories may be told that have a certain interest. The first is an incident which occurred to us at Cacate-el, the ranch of Señor Tovilla in the Bachajon country. A Bachajon came in to complain that another Indian was casting spells on his fields and chickens. The other had taken a piece of dirt from his cornfield, so as "to gain consent of the guardian" (see above). He was making the corn wither and the chickens die. His power lay in his *nagual,* a *leon colorado* (*saxal-tcoq*), the most powerful that one can have. The Indian who complained had some much weaker familiar. We gave him a brilliant chromo of Saint Jerome with his lion; not only because St. Jerome is the patron of the Bachajon, but also because of the lion, obviously to him the Saint's *nagual,* which anyone could see was larger and more powerful than any known to the Indians. With this picture set up in his house, he felt that he could rest in safety. [123]

Señor Tovilla also passed on to us a story told him for true by an educated and trustworthy upper-class Mexican, an *abogado* (somewhat corresponding to the English solicitor). It is interesting for showing what is commonly believed even by the European people, although somewhat hard to accept. This man stopped at a Bachajon house, wherein he saw two old men sitting with their backs to each other, and two dogs fighting furiously on the floor. When he asked why they did not stop the fight, one of them answered:

"Our *naguales* are in those dogs, and my friend (*sic*) and I are fighting."

He went on to relate that, after the dogs gave up from exhaustion, both the men's faces were covered with black and blue marks.

[829] The Indians and their medicine men have succeeded to a remarkable degree in impressing the Ladinos with the reality and power of their magic, although it seems to be generally felt that it can only be used against themselves. Several very extraordinary stories were told to us by trustworthy people of more than the usual intelligence, and we were occasionally surprised at the reluctance of educated Ladinos to give information concerning native shamanism.

Because of the close relationship, the Indians try to keep secret their *nagual* lest an enemy should start hunting for it. Moreover,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

774 fire and then hung up to destroy the impression and prevent leaving
[513] behind with it a portion of the soul, on which magic could be worked. Our own observation was that this precaution was carelessly observed.

789 Although magic may be worked on impressions on leaves, bits of
• 123 hair, earth from fields, etc., the Indians showed no objection at all to being photographed beyond a certain embarrassment, and very little to being drawn. Often they asked to be photographed, and at some villages posed readily for sketches.

756 Although, according to Nuñez de la Vega,* there were originally several classes of shamans among these tribes, at present they seem to have narrowed down to one medicine-man type. Primarily these are doctors, but in their practice they preserve certain priestly char-
756 acteristics. They have a real pharmacopeia, and Ladinos and oc-
757 casional foreigners who have tried their skill testify to the effectiveness of the medicines.† All their knowledge, however, is kept in greatest secrecy. Just enough medicine is administered at once for a dose, the shaman watching to see that it is consumed, and none held out for identification. Of these we were able to find out virtually nothing. Serpent fat, *junto-tcan,* is in common use as a rub for colds. Head-aches and extreme drunkenness are treated by cutting the forehead with a bit of sharp glass, and bleeding is resorted to in some other cases. The use of the tourniquet in cases of snake-bite is widely known.

All applications of medicine are accompanied by prayers recited in such a way as to be unintelligible to lay hearers. The prayers are an essential part of the treatment.

756 Shamans are trained from early infancy, being selected probably by the older practitioners. One of them takes the student in hand and teaches him prayers and medicines proper to his particular specialty. With this goes a certain amount of plain magic. Whether a man may then study under others and continue learning is not known; however, they vary in reputation both for their ability at curing, and for clairvoyance, casting spells, etc. Casting spells is a sort of reverse function of doctoring, the man who can cure disease being, obviously, able also to cause it.

[273] One of the two words given for a shaman, *poci',* shows an interesting resemblance to the Tzeltal for rum, *poc.* This similarity gains importance in view of the real connection between curing and drinking. A shaman definitely will not perform unless he is more

*Op. Cit.
†Cf. Sapper, 1925.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

114 mule Borrachito, took him ahead, planning to get into Tenango early and arrange for food and lodging. They went along briskly enough for a while, leaving the pack train well behind. Then the pony stopped, lowered his nose to the ground, blew a moment, and keeled over. There was nothing for it but to unpack him and wait
114 for help. By and by an Indian turned up. Blom hailed him in
• 123 Tzeltal, *"La!"*—"come here!" He took cover and disappeared. Two more came along the trail, stopped at a distance to look him over, and also disappeared. After a while an Indian's head popped up for an instant behind a stone. All this was rather disconcerting, here in the Indian country, and he had noted that one of the Indians carried a thing that looked like a cleaver on the end of a long pole. He moved over to the mule, hiding his revolver side so that the Indians should not notice that he carried no fire-arms, and put himself in reach of his machete. A head stuck out again from behind a tree. Then two more Indians came down the trail, whom he hailed, asking them to carry the pack boxes into town. At first they refused, but after looking for a long time at his mule, they accepted the job. So he continued peacefully towards Tenango. He came into the open valley just before dusk, with the shadow of the further mountains just on the village, and the mountains themselves dark blue and black under tremendous thunder-clouds. The men and women were all trailing in from their cornfields, with their hoes and machetes over their shoulders. Some stopped a moment to stare at him, then went on, moving with slow steps over the cultivated land.

When La Farge and Lazaro came out into the cleared land, the valley was deep in purple shadow. They reached the Cabildo after dark, too tired to take notice of anything.

Early the next morning, while wisps of cold, silver and pink mist still lay in the valley, the village elders gathered to welcome us, bringing two chickens as presents. They said that they had heard of us already, and would show us through the village. In return for all this, we were to report to the *Tata Presidente* in Mexico that they needed more land, and were hard put to it to find food throughout the year for the 135 families of the village. At first we were escorted by the whole group, from the Village President down to the Secretary, who was illiterate and spoke little or no Spanish. Later, most of the elders lost interest and trailed off, but we always had enough of a delegation to ensure us good service. It was Sunday, so no one was working in the fields, yet we saw remarkably few people, the women, especially, keeping within their houses most of the time.

133 As has been said, Tenango lies in the eastern part of a wide valley that slopes down from the eastern ridge until it meets an abrupt.

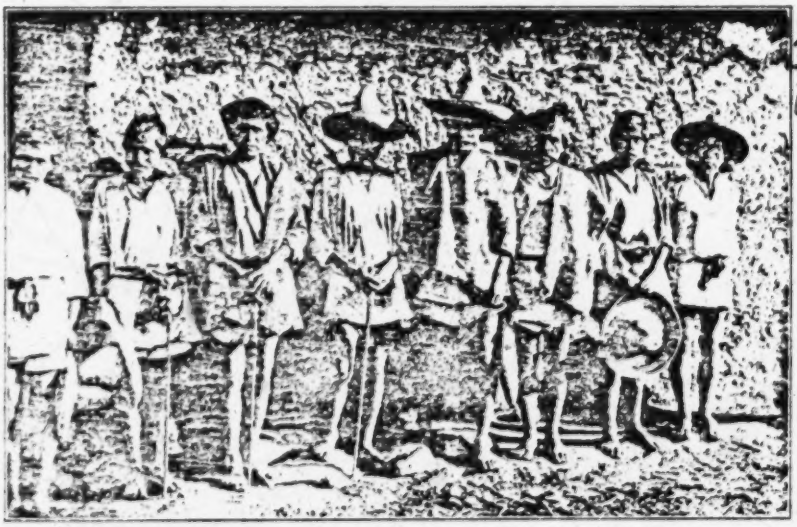
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 380]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

Physically, the people are taller and somewhat heavier boned than the Bachajon. The older men have small beards, close to their chins, of sparse, wiry black hair. Moustaches are faint. The men wear their hair longer on the backs of their necks and over the tops of their ears (fig. 313). 142 302

The men's costume is like that of Ocosingo Valley, a long, V-necked tunic without buttons, coming down nearly to their knees, but the trousers are usually rolled up until almost hidden. A plain red sash is worn knotted in front with ends hanging. 291

We had great difficulty in getting a look at any of the women until finally the officials arranged for a few of them to come and 126 123



142 291 302 623

FIG. 313—Tenango, Chis. The Village Elders.

be photographed with their husbands (fig. 314). Nothing could have brought them alone. They were very strange and stiff about the whole thing, and showed more genuine fear of the camera than we saw anywhere else. The women of marriageable age draw their hair together at the back of the head. Around it a long, red, woolen ribbon, about three centimeters wide, is wrapped until it forms a disk standing out like a halo, the exact size being a matter of coquetry. The hair is then turned back and laid along the edge of the disk and wrapped in the last few rounds of ribbon. The result is that it comes out from the head through the center of the disk in a thick mass, then forms a flat elbow where it is doubled back to the 126 123 302 [301]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

286 and often have no fringe. We were told that it was impossible to
123 see a woman weaving at that time, but by persistent stalking the
126 writer finally managed to locate a girl at work, whom he observed
286 and sketched from behind a bush. The women here were so consistently shy that no doubt she would have rolled up her loom, which was of just the same type as the one seen at Sivacá, and fled into the house had she known she was observed. Our procession through this very pretty village, too, was a serious affair—distinguished strangers being shown around town by the mayor—and had none of the cheerful joking and general *bonhommie* that produced such friendliness and good results at Sivacá.

241 Something more should be said about the agriculture here. Ordinarily, Indians go out to choose their own land in the bush and

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516
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FIG. 319—Tenango, Chis. La Farge drawing pottery.

241 plant it with little cultivation, placing the corn close together. Here each family has its land assigned to it by the council. As the same field must be planted year after year, the hills of corn are widely spaced, and the ground is turned over as deeply as possible by means
[417] of heavy hoes, *ak'en*, purchased in San Cristóbal. As was said, everything is fenced as much as possible. When some of our pack animals got loose in a field, the excitement was intense. In the yards of the houses they raise corn, beans, and a plant related to tobacco. This
824 plant grows nearly as tall as a man. The leaf is rubbed on their legs to cure fatigue. It is carried with lime in a small gourd and offered and accepted for chewing with much the same bowing and formalities as obtained among our ancestors when offering snuff.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

We had a better chance here than anywhere else to look over 621
the village government. It being Sunday, all were present, the 624
Presidente Municipal, the *Secretario,* and council of *Regidores,* elderly men, grave of mien, with small, black goatees. The ordinary villagers treated them with the greatest respect. Each official carried a silver-headed cane with a red ribbon tied to it and the name of his office inscribed on the head. They are appointed to their offices by the government with the ratification of the village. The Maestro works entirely through them, and their orders are ab- 624
solutely obeyed. Indeed, owing to the independent nature of the 648
Tenangeros, the Maestro is rather like the ambassador of a powerful foreign nation persuading the local government, through tact and very gentle pressure, to behave.

We finished our survey about noon, the Indians appearing un- 126
willing to have us enter their houses. For the rest of that day we 123
spent our time working up our notes into good shape, then teaching the gift chickens to do tricks until Lazaro claimed them for the pot, and in dodging the local officials who, having got themselves slightly tipsy in honour of the Sabbath, came importuning us to give them cigarettes, of which we ourselves were short.

Both that night and the night before, traveling traders built 443
their little pine fires on the mud verandah of the Cabildo. In one case it was a Mexican and an Indian, in the other two Mexicans, to be distinguished from Indians only by the cut of their trousers and a donkey. They travelled with their big packs on a tump-line, long staff in hand, for all the world like a living re-incarnation of the traders shown in the pre-Columbian drawings of the codices (fig. 320). In old times they traded parrots, macaws, obsidian, textiles, jade, and later, gold and copper. Now it is a business of cheap 443
watches, gaudy cloths, and ten-cent jewelry, bringing Connecticut. 439
Hamburg, and Orizaba down to a fiesta in Bachajon village, following the old trade-route along which we were going, in the other direction, to San Cristóbal. Very few of the present Indian tribes

FIG. 320—Travelling Aztec Merchant. Drawing after the Codex Laud.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

boulders with care. It still is broad in most places, and has reasonable grades. We climbed to a rather desolate upland of wind-swept grass with a few crooked trees. There was some traffic on the road. We passed a group of Tenejapeños going down to the hot country to carry sugar. The men were ragged and woolly, like those we had seen at Salto de Agua, and their women, in short blue skirts and white blouses gorgeously ornamented with gold and crimson silk, were remarkable for their very pink cheeks showing through dark brown colouring.

The town of Cancuc (*kank'uk*) lies on the rounded shoulder of a long ridge that juts up above the high moors commanding a tremendous view North, West, and South over a jumbled mass of mountain ranges, like a herd of great elephants shouldering away to the horizon. A wind blows day and night, the trees are small and stunted, and the general effect is one of bleakness and height. At an altitude of 1,440 meters, with the unresting wind, it is always cold. The highroad climbs from a ravine up into the village where a small plaza is laid out on a level place. On our left was the big, white church, still well preserved. Opposite it, the Cabildo surprised us, a neat building with tile roof and white columned portico, built in President Diaz' time. Round about were some tumbling and ruined huts, and behind, the village rose on rough terraces crudely faced with stone.

Cancuc has a stormy history. It was the center of the famous rebellion of 1712, the subject of Brinton's "Maria Candelaria."* According to Starr (1904) who passed through here, there is a tradition that the men's long hair, covering their ears, is so worn in memory of the clipped ears which their ancestors received at that time. Recently, there has been political dissension in the form of a dragging feud, and a series of small fights and murders has resulted in those left of the defeated party abandoning the village and setting up their houses in the bush. It is from this that one sees so many huts deserted and beginning to disintegrate, adding to the general cheerless aspect of the place.

We were well received at the Cabildo, where the village officials with their silver-headed canes turned up shortly to look us over. They were younger men than most of the officials we had met previously, and a pretty tough looking crew, much what one would expect of a group that had attained office largely by means of the machete. The people on the whole rather resemble the Bachajon physically, being of a small-limbed type with an average height for men of about 160 centimeters, and nearly beardless. The men wear tunics cut as at Tenango, but decorated with red and yellow em-

*Brinton, 1897; Pineda, 1888.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

291 broidery along all the seams, at the cuffs, and over what would be a pocket in a European shirt. Trousers are either very short "shorts," or replaced by a cotton breech-clout. Hats are seldom worn. Most men carry woolen blankets woven by the Chamula Indians. The red sashes are knotted in front (fig. 322).

The women's dress is the same as at Tenango, but without any 302 decoration, and with a shorter skirt. Their hair is worn in two braids, or done up in a knot over the forehead, forward of where the tump-line is placed.

FIG. 323—Cancuc, Chis. Men on the Cabildo porch.

771 These people, for all their turbulence, are very devout, although, like many who are more civilized, they leave most of the expression 794 to the women. The church is swept out daily by women appointed for the purpose. Along about five o'clock in the afternoon all the women drift in, singly or in small groups, pray for awhile, 346 and come out. Looking in the door one sees the large interior almost pitch dark, cut here and there with [291] tiny, yellow candle-flames, and hears a monotonous sing-song drone of chanted 796 prayers. Their festivals center about the church. In this connection they have a very curious custom. [417] There are two scaffolds by the plaza (fig. 328) very small platforms on four rickety poles about four meters high, surrounded by an insufficient railing, arched over with palm branches, [273] and reached by a frail-looking ladder. The drinking which, as was explained in the last chapter, is an essential part of any ceremony, must all take place on top of these scaffolds. It is indeed a miracle that every fiesta does not cause a score of broken necks.

123 While wandering around to see what he could see, the writer was hailed by an elderly woman who gave him to understand by signs

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

that he was invited into her house, presumably to take shelter from the evening rain that was beginning to fall. The house, of which he sketched a hurried plan (fig. 324) was more rectangular than is usual, the prevailing type being square with a pyramidal roof. He entered through a low doorway, closed with a wooden door on leather hinges. Although the ridge of the roof was high, the many cross poles reaching from the top of one wall to the other made it necessary to stoop. The writer squatted by the door, facing the fire, which smoked merrily in the closed room. The old woman immediately set to shaping a pile of tortillas for baking. Along either wall was a well-made bench, decorated with notches along the top and geometric designs on the back, similar to the benches on the Cabildo porch (fig. 325). These and a sturdy table that was stored on top of the stringers were said to be purely local products. By the door stood a big jar, a full meter in height, crude and undecorated (fig. 326). There was the usual collection of ollas and gourds, and one other new form, an open-mouthed pot about eight centimeters high and as many in diameter, flat bottomed, with a handle on one side, called *hätc* (fig. 327). In the thick smoke, it was hard to see anything. I was interested to note that my hostess' eyes watered nearly as much as my own. In the darker end of the house I could make out corn stacked neatly along one wall, and a partition that presumably hid the beds. For a while the woman answered the few questions that I could make her understand by means of signs, my half-a-dozen words of Tzeltal,

Fig. 324—Cancuc, Chis. Drinking scaffold.

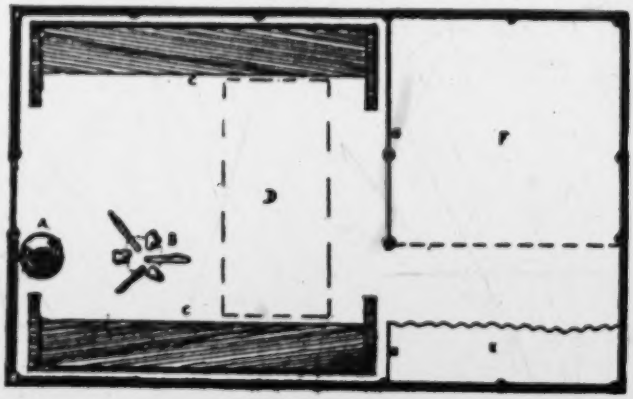

Fig. 324—Cancuc, Chis. Plan of House.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

124 and her three words of Spanish. Then she grew hostile, answering
123 everything with a plaintive *"Ma snaa,"* "I don't know." This went on for two or three minutes, then suddenly she flung open the door and waved me out with no uncertain gesture, saying something about the "Presidente Municipal," and the "Secretario." By this time it was pouring cats and dogs, but there was nothing to do save run for it.

284 Cancuc is not noted for any product. There are about the same
322 arts and industries as at other towns, but the only ones that amount to anything like a specialty are netmaking and whittling combs. The combs are better and more neatly made than those of the Bachajon, and with a selection of the wood for grain that often produces very pretty combinations. The nets are made by the men, who

[352]
[531]
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Fig. 325—Cancuc. Chis. Bench.

Fig. 327. Cancuc. Chis. Pottery. Hilte. (8 c.m. high).

Fig. 326—Cancuc. Chis. Tall Jar. (1 m. high).

go about rolling the twine or knitting as they walk. The process was described in the last chapter.

485 Being on the main highway, the government maintains a long shed, like a wagon-shed, thatched with leaves and grass, which is at the disposal of travelers. This relieves the Maestro of duties of entertainment. Towards nightfall, various groups came into camp here, a family of Mexicans, with a big fire, and goods piled high, two traders with their packs, some Chamulas, fine-looking men dressed in white wool tunics, with flowing cotton kerchiefs round their heads, and a couple of Tenejapeños with nets full of apples. The Chamulas, who are remarkably progressive Indians, had come in with a string of mules. After dark, the line of fires in the divisions of the shed, the talk, the fire-lit figures in their varied costumes, with the Church and houses rising on the terraced hill behind made as picturesque and charming a scene as one could possibly imagine.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

133 shadow, another wall far behind. A Mexican told us that Tene-
133 japa lay in the valley thus enclosed. With the cool evening air our
114 animals picked up, taking us along at a good trot. We swung around a green dell, up under one cliff into the opening, over the threshold of a ridge. Some Indians sitting there waved to us. Beyond was a tiny, lush meadow and a brook where some Mexicans were making clay tiles. There was another rocky hillock, around which we swung to find ourselves trotting down a well-cobbled street lined with little white cottages, white-walled gardens, and
361 roses. To us, looking for something yet wilder than the villages we had seen, the neat houses and candle-lit casement windows, the doors of tiny shops, the flowers, and the shingled roofs were an utter surprise. In the streets was a sprinkling of touselled-headed Indians

[346]

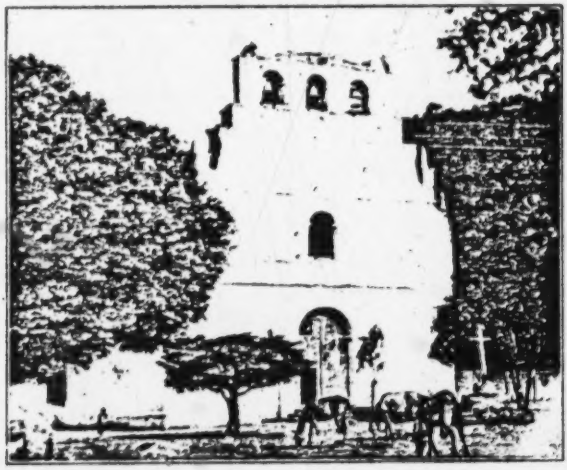

FIG. 328—Tenejapa, Chis. Church and Plaza.

and Ladino people of much fairer complexion than the typical, Lowland Mexicans. We rode past a gaunt, high-shouldered stone church into the plaza, a field of about two acres planted with a few trees, and with a fine town fountain of icy water in the middle (fig.
344 328). Along one side ran the Cabildo, a long, one-storied building
531 with a very deep veranda, gorgeously painted in cubist fashion, red,
123 yellow, green and blue. Here we halted to unpack and present our credentials to the *Presidente Municipal*.

361 Tenejapa is really two towns in one. There is the Ladino town,
563 around which lie the houses of some eight thousand Indians, by local

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

estimate, with their own, regular Indian administration under the control of the Ladino government. The *Presidente Municipal*, a most obliging man, got the Indian *Presidente* for us, whom we photographed by the last light of the day (fig. 329). Through this chief, men were sent out to bring in grass; they returned with enormous, green bundles as big as themselves.

The Indian houses outside the town differ from those previously described in the possession of a sort of porch, or part under the roof in front screened with boards, introductory to the house itself.

The Tenejapeños are strongly built, thickset, and short, with enormously powerful calves. In fact the chief industry of the tribe is acting as porters. They go in large bands to places at a considerable distance to take or bring back loads, competing successfully with the Chamula pack-trains. In this the women are as proficient as the men. Their colour is dark, a rich brown, more red than golden, with distinctly pink cheeks showing through in the case of the children and old people. The men are almost beardless. Faces are rather broad and round* (fig. 330).

FIG. 329—Tenejapa, Chis. The chief of the Tenejapeños.

The essential parts of a man's costume are a pair of shorts and a brown and white striped Chamula Indian blanket, worn as a poncho. Two of these blankets may be comfortably worn in that climate. Hats, when used, are also of Chamula make, of straw with a flat brim, and round, close-fitting crown pointed at the top. Usually they are decorated with ribbons. A sash of white material may be worn, the ends of which, hanging down in front, are elaborately embroidered (fig. 331). The

*Starr (1902) made some measurements upon these people, the most important of which are summarized here. They show an interesting variability.

STATURE IN MILLIMETERS

Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range	Below 1600	1600—1650	1650—1700	Above 1700	Total
1,557	1,722	1,402	320	75	18	6	1	100

	Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range
CEPHALIC INDEX	78.5	86.4	68.0	18.3
FACIAL INDEX	81.6	94.5	65.0	29.5
NASAL INDEX	80.0	102.2	64.1	38.1

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

291 shorts are also usually embroidered in red and yellow. The chief had such a pair, very fine and gaudy, which we asked to see. He took [123] them off to show us, but when we tried to buy them from him he [293] became furiously angry and abusive. Sandals, when worn, are of the ordinary type. Most of the Indians carry a staff of some kind.

The women wear the typical blue skirt, but the blouse, cut like [531] a poncho, is usually tucked inside and heavily embroidered about the neck and shoulders. This work takes a long time, and the finished blouses are valued very highly. When worn outside they nearly cover the skirts, which are just knee length. Red sashes with a yellow stripe from Tapachula, of the kind worn also around Ocosingo, bind the skirts at the waist. Hair is done in two braids with dark red ribbon, or tied up in a knot over the forehead as at Cancuc.

[342] [231] [854] ← 302 → 301 → 621 563 → [293] →

695 344 FIG. 88—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians in the street.

Men and women alike wear cheap, gay-coloured necklaces, usually rosaries.

The Indians move with great freedom through the town and lounge in company with the Ladinos on the broad porch of the Town Hall. The officials are distinguished by silver-headed canes with black tassels. In lieu of a Maestro, they are directly under the Ladino *Presidente Municipal,* and their disputes are tried by the local judge. Their lawsuits have a mediaeval air, carried on publicly with great clamor on the Town Hall porch, and all concerned speaking with the utmost freedom. A breach of promise case was observed in the course of trial. It went on for at least two hours with never less than two Indians, usually women, speaking at once. One could not but admire the patience of the rather bored and indifferent judge.

114 The cargadores from Cancuc arrived shortly after dark, still lively despite the long day and steep climb. More remarkable still,

121 of beverage alcohol is functional or dysfunctional depends on
273* socio-cultural contexts which need to be uncovered in every next case in which such use is investigated. A description of the relation of drinking patterns to their socio-cultural context, then, contributes to a steadily growing but still inadequate ethnographic literature without which further cross-cultural perspective will be lacking.

121 The present investigation is devoted to a detailed statement of how alcohol is used in Aguacatenango. The bulk of the
• 123 data herein reported came as the result of participant observa-
124 tion for extended periods in Aguacatenango. Some material on the drinking patterns of individuals was gathered in interviews conducted by transcribing informants. These interviews were special Tzeltal conversations in which Pedro Juárez and Mariano Juárez separately read off or otherwise repeated questions directing the respondent to report some aspect of his experience with drinking.

124 Of all the questions which could be asked, we selected
125 seven which are reported by our informants to occur frequently in conversation about drinking and which men answer about themselves if they are asked. Our two transcribing informants then asked these questions of seventy-six men in town. The procedure was simply to ask each person a question, listen to his response, and then write down in Tzeltal a "synopis" of the response. The

Acknowledgments

My study of the people of Tzo'ontahal was made in four field sessions, the first in 1957 with return trips in 1958, 1964, and 1965, for a total of eighteen months. Brief visits were made in 1966 and 1967. With each returning visit it was possible to penetrate more deeply into the lives and experiences of the villagers, most of whom were highly resistant to an outsider on the first contact. I began writing the book in 1966, and some of the predictions I made came true before I finished it in 1968. These included the demise of the ceremonial leadership of the *alfereces*—the officials in charge of religious celebrations—the waning of the community status of curers, and the killing of one of my principal informants who had taken a leadership role before acquiring the traditional validation of age and experience in office. The transformations over the period of my study in this community created difficulties in recording and organizing my material. I owe whatever clarification has emerged to the efforts of Jane Olson and Gale Griffin of Yale University Press.

I am indebted to the National Institutes of Mental Health, which made possible the research for this study. I owe an intellectual debt to Sol Tax, who introduced me to the problems and potentialities of the area as a locus for field study, to Norman McQuown, who gave me the first instruction in Tzeltal and provided a grammar which facilitated learning the language, and to Manning Nash, who provided some of the earlier formulations of the culture from which I have borrowed. I am grateful to Duane Metzger and Gerald Williams, who generously provided equipment and facilities for work with informants in San Cristóbal Las Casas in the summer of 1964. Alfonso Villa Rojas, who was director of the Instituto Nacional Indígenista, was of great assistance in the first summer's field trip, introducing me to leaders within the town and in the Instituto's headquarters in Las Casas.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The four sides of the square house are protected by palm crosses which were nailed to each of the four corner posts during the ceremony of the initiation of the house. These crosses prevent the entry of evil. A fifth cross on the door post, replaced each year on the Day of the Cross, ensures the guardianship of San Pedro the Martyr, the Lord of Lightning.[5]

The idea of the similarity in substance between a house and its inmates originates in the notions about soil (*lum*) and mud (*ʔač'al*). An origin myth concerning the creation of man indicates that God created man out of soil and this mythical identification is reiterated in prayers when the fleshy part of the body is referred to as *hlumeletik*, our soil, and *kač'aletik*, our mud. Whatever soil man comes into contact with—in his house, in the backyard, or in his travels, may contain some of his soul. This belief is demonstrated in the following practices: When a person's soil is lost because of a fright, such as falling or "seeing a spirit," the soil where the incident occurred is scraped into a shirt or skirt belonging to him and deposited in the soil below the head of his bed. Some older informants say that the soil from beneath the bed is scraped up and deposited in the coffin of a deceased inmate of the house, but I have never seen this done. This intimate relation between soul and soil was best illustrated to us when our landlord refused to let us put a cement floor in the interior of his house since it would interfere with the practices described above and other customs in the house ceremonies mentioned below.

The house is constructed in two stages. The completion of each stage requires a ceremony linking the spirits of the inmates to that of the dwelling. The first stage is the erection of the house posts and the wooden frame. When the roof is covered with wood shingles, thatch, or tile, the family may set up temporary walls of boards. They wait until the rainy season to complete the second stage of building up the walls with mud. The first ceremony, called "fiesta for the house," is for "the spirit which resides in the posts," and the second, called "meal for the house," is to feed "the spirit of the house earth." People believe that the mud walls, like their fleshy counterpart, the human body, require nourishment.

5. San Pedro Martyr is referred to by the Indians as *Tatik Martil* and is identified with the pre-Conquest deity Lord of Lightning, or *Tatik Čaʔuk*.

773 *"Good."*
778 *They waited a while and the water came. "Are you going to drink?"*
539 *They drank, and then they made the sign of the rainbow. The president*
769 *sent his síndico to meet them. The síndico got drunk on the way. He sat down halfway in the road. The brothers met him there. They were angry that a fiesta was not prepared for them. And for this they left town, and went to live in Chiapas.*

773 This tale is known to everyone in town, and there is no doubt as to its au-
778 thenticity expressed by those who have given versions of it. When I took
769 some of the Indians on a trip to Guatemala, they pointed out the rocks
123 where the brothers encountered the devil. When they arrived in Guatemala and saw a bus marked Antigua they expressed amazement that the town was still in existence.

769 Some people claim to have seen the ancestors, whom they describe as
778 wearing the old style costume—a long shirt with the hat now worn by the alfereces. The ancestors are believed to have watched over the village from a mound rising abruptly before the mouth of the cave, called Hol Shan, or Head of Palm, because of the trees growing on it (Plate 1). From this eminence they could watch the streets of the village and see whether anyone was trying to bring in evil (Plate 2). They were able to discern the power of evil in the souls of the newborn and could snatch the soul before its possessor grew up to cause evil. Their human agents in guarding the town
[756] against evil were the curers (*ʔuʔuletik*), who in the context of guardianship were called *meʔiltatil*.[7]

796 Each year on the Day of the Cross, May 3d in the Catholic calendar,[8] a
769 fiesta is held in honor of the ancestors. It refers back to the fiesta which
621 ought to have been held for the returning Shuntonetik, and is performed in the interest of the whole community as a means of ensuring good relations with the ancestors.

[756] Formerly the curers were responsible for conducting this fiesta. An informant recalled the ritual:

7. The guardianship role of the curers is related to the functions of pre-Conquest officials, called *ghcanalum*, "caretakers of the soil" (Calnek 1962:25).

8. The date of the Day of the Cross was changed by the Vatican in 1964. When the
[778] local priest tried to reschedule the fiesta in the community, he encountered strong opposition. The Indians continue to celebrate the Day of the Cross on May 3d.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

acts of the new officials was to fire the Ladino secretary and install an Indian for the first time. The schoolmaster had won his battle for recognition. In every legal dispute in which the town became involved, the schoolmaster accompanied the town officials as they went to visit departmental and state leaders, acting as their spokesman. He never accepted even expenses for these trips. His satisfaction was in giving advice to the officials on all matters, in being the man whom outsiders consulted before anything could be accomplished, and in finding an audience.

The schoolmaster consolidated his position by drawing together all his supporters in a parent-teachers association, which served as a captive audience for his extended monologues. I was called upon as a witness to the installation of the members, and I took advantage of the occasion to record some of the schoolmaster's rhetoric as he addressed the "parents." In attendance were the president, his brother, four members of their truck-owning cooperative, and about ten other representatives. The teacher told me that they were the best people in town—not one of them had killed anyone! The excerpt below is not complete, but there was sufficient repetition in the schoolmaster's discourse so that nothing is lost.

Schoolmaster: "I don't fight with anyone. We do not come to fight. A schoolmaster is a guide to teach respect. I have thirty-three years teaching in pueblos of campesinos, poor people like you. I am your brother. I am your teacher. The ignorant people do not want to send their children to school. This is a good school, and there are those of you who have succeeded by learning. Ramon Leon was a boarding school student for two years. He and seven others have received scholarships. They accuse me of not working, but they do not know what is happening in the school. Those who know give congratulations to the school. The children of this school won the competition at the conference of teachers. It is neither a poor school with poor students, nor a rich school with rich students, but all are together. They say we do not teach. Compadre" (to president), "is this so? They say we only dance, but at the conference our students won the prize.

"This school is yours. It is better organized than any other. The flag which we had we gave to Villa Las Rosas because they are campesinos;

building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office.

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist.

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first.

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient portable typewriter. Since typing is a new skill for him, he makes many errors, and his retrials are accepted with patience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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no attention; he was one who had sat by himself on the bandstand at recess.

They practice counting from one to five. The teacher then writes the numbers on the blackboard with A E I O U written above them. They practice these for about five minutes. She says them first; they repeat. She then picks a child to point to them, and the class repeats after the child. More children pay attention when the child is directing the class. She has ten volunteers for this job. They use sticks when counting to ten, passing them from one hand to the other. A few are doing it right. Although some count correctly, they do not have the right number of sticks correlated with the number spoken. They proceed to copy pictures the teacher has drawn on the board. The teacher asks one girl why she isn't drawing. The girl says she has no pencil. The teacher says nothing and goes on down the aisle.

The children are dismissed from class and line up, each grade together, in front of the school; the teacher tells them to be sure to come that afternoon or she will punish them tomorrow.

Afternoon

The teacher comes in to say a few words to the children (for my benefit, I suppose). She calls up one little girl and reprimands her in front of the group for coming to school with her hair uncombed and with dirty clothes. The child is frightened and hesitant about coming forward, and the teacher shows more impatience. The child's head is cast down all the time her teacher speaks to her. [123]

Vowel practice is resumed. The children are told to erase the vowels they have written in their books and write them over. The teacher has each of the aisles recite the vowels in turn. She asks which of the aisles is best. There is no response from the children; she never says which is best.

Two little boys are writing numbers in their books while some of the others are reciting. The teacher takes the pencils out of their hands and puts them on the table. They pick them up when she is no longer looking and continue writing. A little girl begins to cry. She says, when the teacher asks why she is crying, that the boy in front of her hit her. The teacher tells her to hit him back, which she proceeds to do. The boy shows no reaction at all.

They drill about twenty minutes. A few leaders answer while the rest chime in. "Take out pencil and notebook," the teacher orders. About two-thirds respond. She asks them what things there are in the plaza. One little boys replies, "C'ulna" (Tzetal for church). She ignores him and names in Spanish the

621 578 582 them to "overlook" the trespasser, but not many young men are willing to risk the ire of the other barrio bachelors, nor the gossip and sanctions applied to them by their own barrio mates.[1]

621 794 Each barrio plays a role in the political and religious organization of the village by sending an approximately equal number of officers to the Ayuntamiento and the Mayordomías. Although in some years there are more delegates from one barrio, they attempt to correct the imbalance in the succeeding years. [623] The Principales (council of elders) have also equal representation.

621 [573] [575] [312] Escuadrilla groups (adolescent boys' gangs) and unmarried women's Church groups are formed among barrio mates. Women, with few exceptions, used the water wells or pipe lines in their barrio of residence (the exceptions include women who originally came from the other barrio) and who do their washing at places in [496] the river on their barrio side. Men who work together at such tasks as buying and butchering a cow, building a path or clearing an irrigation ditch belong to the same barrio. House parties [527] [123] organized to buy candles for the Church before a special Saint's day are barrio affairs, and no resident of the other barrio (with [575] the exception of the anthropologist) is invited. In the past, there were, in Aguacatenango, religious sororities sponsored by the Catholic Church, and each barrio had a separate one. There

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[581] [587] [1]A man that has married once is considered to have had his share of the available women of the barrio. Second marriages, especially with girls who have never married before, are not well thought of. It is common, then, that second marriages occur across barrio lines. A man finds it easier to cope with the antagonism of the other barrio men (who are expected, in any case, to be antagonistic) than with the bachelors and neighbors in his own barrio, where he has to face the antagonism in every day interaction.

"Why don't you call in the civil guard?" 124

They will say we are women, that we are afraid. My brother wants to, however. 578 682

He communicated several things in this deviation from the eliciting schedule:

Many assassinations are committed regularly in Tzoʔontahal.
They usually occur at fiestas.
The only recourse is to kill one's enemy.
I am a killer, therefore I am prepared to protect myself.
Everyone knows I am a killer.
When I killed, it wasn't a murder but an execution.

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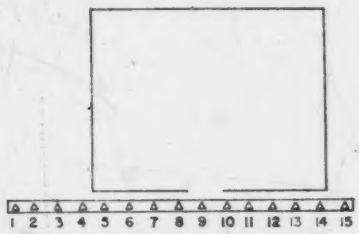

CHART 13 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF THE VIRGIN SANTA LUCIA, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:

1 Cofrade of Virgin Santa Lucia *(Kobraria Halal Meʔtik)*
2 Elder of San Pedro Martyr *(Tatil Yuʔun Martil)*
3 Assistant junior for Sacramento *(Aliʔbal Nič'nal yuʔun Sakramentú)*
4 Assistant junior for Virgin Santa Lucia *(Aliʔbal Nič'nal yuʔun Halal Meʔtik)*
5 Elder for the Christ of the Ascension *(Tatil yuʔun Tatik Sanpransiskú)*
6 Elder for San Antonio *(Tatil yuʔun Sanantonió)*
7 Elder for Virgin Rosario *(Tatil Halal Meʔtik Rosario)*
8 Elder for Santiago *(Tatil yuʔun Santiagú)*
9 Elder for San Jose *(Tatil yuʔun Sanhosé)*
10 Junior for San Antonio *(Nič'nal yuʔun Sanantonió)*
11 Junior for Santiago *(Nič'nal yuʔun Santiagú)*
12 Junior for San Pedro Martyr *(Nič'nal yuʔun Martil)*
13 Junior for Virgin Rosario *(Nič'nal yuʔun Meʔtik Rosario)*
14 Junior for San Jose *(Nič'nal yuʔun Sanhosé)*
15 Junior for Christ of the Ascension *(Nič'nal yuʔun Sanpransiskú)*

Since the informant expected that there might be an attempt made on his life in the approaching inaugural ceremony, he was advertising his own strength and willingness to defend himself even if it meant killing his enemy. I was an audience for him to try on poses of self-assertion. 124 578 [123]

[p. 225-B]

614 /1/ Cancuc is a Tzeltal town of Chiapas, Mexico, whose
[101] social organization is based on exogamous patrilineal clans.
[176] These clans are intimately related to: 1) the nagual or guardian
[551] spirit, which is given the name of lab among the Indians of this
[613] region; 2) the native surnames that constitute the lineages within
[621] the clans; 3) the "barrios," as the Spanish chroniclers called the endogamous tribal subdivisions (called calpulli among the Aztecs and culibal in Cancuc); 4) the kinship system; and 5) the behavior.

614 All the individuals belonging to a clan consider themselves
601 "legitimate siblings" /Sp. "hermanos legítimos"/, using the terms that designate this class of relatives. This theoretical consanguineous kinship is expressed by means of the word chapomal -- a Cancuquero /a person from Cancuc/ calls another "brother" be-
614 cause he is his chapomal. This form of usage is indicative of
601 common ancestry, something that we were not able to clarify, as
124 our questions on this point only received answers that showed that
829 they had lost any notion of a real or mythical ancestor. Our informants invariably explained this situation with the expressions: "it is the custom," "San Juan /Saint John/ (Patron Saint of Cancuc) ordered it so," or "it was ordered by Manuel (God)." What does constitute a clear concept in the minds of all is that "formerly" each clan lived in a cave, from which its members went out in the form of human beings to populate the earth and in which lived the naguales, or lab, that bound them to their place of origin.
[775] The soul came back to this cave after death. There are as many caves as the number of clans.

614 The children belonged to the paternal clan. A woman who marries does not become a member of the clan of her husband.

/2/ Exogamy is strictly respected; persons belonging to the same clan never marry each other.

[591] The clans are not local, as their members live in all of the places and rancherías.

[178] At present the clans lack chiefs, this institution having dis-
[669] appeared about 30 years ago, according to all our information, when the zone that we are studying underwent a chaotic period due to political revolts.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NVS Tzeltal NVS

NOTES ON THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF TZELTAL COMMUNITIES OF CHIAPAS

In February and March of 1938, Alfonso Villa Rojas made an ethnological reconnaissance of Tzeltal settlements in northeastern Chiapas, Mexico. The work was done under the auspices of Carnegie Institution of Washington as a guide to the planning of more intensive field work. San Cristobal de las Casas, where Mr. Villa arrived on the first of February, served naturally as a base. A short trip was taken to Teopizca and Amatenango, and a second to visit the ruins of San Gregorio[1] and the village of Chanal. On the fourteenth of that month, Mr. Villa started northward from Las Casas, visiting fifteen Tzeltal settlements, and then entered Chol country at Tila and left Chiapas by airplane from Salto de Agua. 101 114 [122]

In Mexico City Mr. Villa was provided with a letter of introduction from Ing. Ignacio Marquina, head of the Department of Prehistoric Monuments, of the Secretariat of Public Education. In Tuxtla Gutierrez the Governor of Chiapas, Ing. Efrain Gutierrez, received Mr. Villa and heard from him explanation of Mr. Villa's interests and purposes. Mr. Frans Blom had given Mr. Villa a letter of introduction, but the person addressed was not in Las Casas when Mr. Villa arrived. In Las Casas Mr. Villa received great help from Don José Villanueva. To all these persons who extended kindness and help, grateful acknowledgment is made. Dr. Ruth Bunzel kindly wrote information on the region to Mr. Villa before he began his journey. 122

The Tzeltal communities, given in the order in which they were visited and with indication of the length of time spent in each, were as follows: Amatenango (2 days), Chanal (2 days), Tenejapa (3 days), Cancuc (1 day), Oxchuc (5 days), San Martin (1 day), Tenango (2 days), Sivacá (1 day), Ococingo (6 days), Bachajon (2 days), Citalá (2 days), Guaquitepec (2½ days), Chilón (2 days), Yajalon (2 days), Petalcingo (½ day). 114 103

These villages have been the locus of a number of Indian uprisings,[2] and disturbances have occurred recently, in 1914, 1917, and 1930. Therefore the inhabitants of Spanish culture (Ladinos) are not infrequently uneasy. In Cancuc and Oxchuc Mr. Villa's work was impeded by a revival of this uneasiness, the Ladinos fearing that the celebrations of the carnival season might lead the Indians to acts of violence. With this exception, however, Mr. Villa found the Indians accessible and conditions of work favorable. The information reported herein was obtained in almost every instance from Indians, not Ladinos. Mr. Villa used an interpreter in cases where the Indians did not speak Spanish; although he has a command of Yucatec, and has done ethnological work in Yucatan,[3] he does not speak Tzeltal. 114 669 114 [124] [122]

The notes Starr[4] collected on the Tzeltal in 1901 were apparently[5] obtained

[1] For a short description of these ruins, see Schuman, 1936, pp. 296–298.
[2] Vicente Pineda, 1888.
[3] Redfield and Villa Rojas, [illegible]
[4] Starr, 1902.
[5] [illegible], pp. 69–72.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 456-A)

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It is in the context of these structural divisions that social change and its behavioral indices must be analyzed.

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Homicide—an act viewed as a delict in national Mexican law—has in the past two decades become an accepted strategy in social interaction. It is part of the expectations of the society upon which members predicate their own code of behavior and in terms of which they react to others. Gossip not only fails to suppress homicide, but serves to create a consensual base for condoning it. The corpse is referred to as "the one who had the guilt," *?a stukel smul*, and even when knowledge of the particular act is lacking, certain assumptions are made: the killer was someone in the community; the victim provoked the killer. In listing crimes, informants sometimes failed to mention killing, or they included it after witchcraft, theft, or adultery. Homicide is considered a *reaction* to crime, not a crime in itself.

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[521]
[764]
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[124]

The rate is phenomenally high—up to 251.2 per 100,000 (when adjusted to bring the whole township's population of a little over 3,000 to the base for measuring international rates)—and it is increasing. This compares with national rates of 4.8 for the United States, 31.9 for Mexico (United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1964), and 36.2 for a nearby town (Favre 1964).

The following tabulation summarizes the homicides by decades since 1915, the earliest date for which records are available.

1915–1924	4
1925–1934	5
1935–1944	19
1945–1954	9
1955–1964	35

[114]

Figures prior to 1950 are not apt to be accurate, for only since that time have there been adequate reporting and checking of township records. In the following tabulation, the marked increase in the annual number of homicides since 1960 represents a real increase.

1950	1	1958	1
1951	0	1959	1
1952	1	1960	4
1953	1	1961	7
1954	1	1962	6
1955	0	1963	7
1956	1	1964	4
1957	4	1965	9

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In order to assess the meaning of its remarkable increase during the 1960's, I have pro-

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3:Mah E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 NY9 Tzeltal NY9
[P.458] Tekium

TABLE 1. CASE ANALYSIS OF HOMICIDES OCCURRING FROM 1938 TO 1965
(AS RECALLED FROM MEMORY BY THREE INFORMANTS)*

CASE No.	DATE	AGE	WEAPON	WOUNDS	PLACE	TIME	SUSPECTS	MOTIVE	OUTCOME
1	1938—fiesta in neighboring town	50	pistol, machete	head cut off	in houseyard of borrowed house in neighboring town	afternoon	?	Accused of witchcraft	No one apprehended.
2	1945	65	pistol	shot between eyes	in street	night	two drinking companions (relatives of victim)	Drunken quarrel	Two companions went to jail. While in jail, with help of witch from neighboring town, set fire to four houses in pueblo.
3	1946	48	machete (brothers disarmed him of shotgun)	?	road at outskirts of town, at cross	dawn (5 A.M.)	brothers: 1 elder, 2 younger	Curer, suspected of being witch.	One brother went to jail for five years.
4	1946	45	machete	well chopped up	neighboring hamlet	?	?	"I don't know what crime he had. He was a curer."	No one went to jail.
5	1946—fiesta San Francisco	38	machete and gun	well cut up, head and neck	in woods	?	?	Accused of witchcraft.	No one complained.
6	1946	50	shotgun	?	in street	night, after curing ceremony, very drunk	?	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	Wife complained, but no witness.
7	1958	27	nail	in throat	in street	night, after curing ceremony	father of boy who died of witchcraft	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	Before dying, victim revealed name of killer, but local authorities would not arrest him. Case went to higher court, but no witnesses.
8	1960—11/28	60	machete	cut off head	in street	night, after curing ceremony	son-in-law	Accused of witchcraft by curer at ceremony for daughter.	Son-in-law fled town.
9	1960—12/18 fiesta, Sta. Lucia	28	knife, machete	heart, throat, stomach	?	?	killer paid by cattle owners	Stole cattle.	Released killer on bail of 2,500 pesos paid by cattle owners.

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3:Noah E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 MY9 Tzeltal MY9
Teklum

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10	1960—12/18 fiesta, Sta. Lucia	60	shotgun	shot in back—bullet entered lung	houseyard, two feet from house	7 P.M., after curing ceremony	brother-in-law	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	No one apprehended.
11	1961—6/16	70	machete	many wounds	near highway	9 P.M., after gathering of curers	neighbors	Curer, accused by other curers of being witch causing epidemic.	Neighbors were not identified.
12	1961	35	shotgun	shot in back	highway	?	leader of political independence movement (wife's brother)	Refused to pay tribute to independence leaders.	Killer's wife (victim's sister) left husband. No one jailed. Later, killer killed by victim's brother (case 18).
13	1961—7/26 fiesta in neighboring hamlet	30	?	?	street, near cantina	late at night	wife's brother	Very abusive, fought drunks.	Wife's brother fled town.
14	1961—10/24 fiesta in neighboring hamlet	45	knife	many wounds	?	?	neighbors	Accused of being witch by neighbors.	No one apprehended.
15	1961—12/15 fiesta, Sta. Lucia	37	gun	?	cantina	late at night	?	Accused of witchcraft.	Wife agreed he was witch.
16	1962—9/25	18	?	?	?	?	rival for girl	Fought over girl.	No one accused.
17	1962—9/25	20	knife	stabs	in street	night (1 A.M.)	cattle owners	Accused of stealing cattle.	Went to jail, but released on bail put up by cattle owners.
18	1962—9/26	35	gun	shot in heart	highway	(4 P.M.)	brother-in-law's brother	Revenge—victim had killed his own brother-in-law (case 12).	Killer declared he had killed. Paid fine and went free.
19	1962—11/15 fiesta, All Saints	20	knife, gun	stabbed in heart and shot	drinking in cantina	late at night	rival for girl	Fought over girl.	No one accused.
20	1962—12/24 fiesta, Christmas Eve	50	gun	shot between eyes	road outside town	dawn (6 A.M.)	leader of cattle association	Accused of stealing cattle.	?
21	1963—4/4	36	hatchet	head	in woods, given drink by killers	5 P.M.	?	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	No one apprehended. Brother did some investigating.
22	1963—7/24	45	?	?	in bed	night, after curing ceremony	Curer from neighboring town	Victim had accused suspect of being a witch when curing a patient.	Nothing.

* Two more homicides were recalled for 1964 than official records show. They must probably occurred in a previous year.

3:Mob E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 MY9 Tzeltal MY9
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TABLE 1 (*Cont.*)

CASE No.	DATE	AGE	WEAPON	WOUNDS	PLACE	TIME	SUSPECTS	MOTIVE	OUTCOME
23	1963—8/28 fiesta, San Augustin	?	sandals	kicked to death	in cantina	afternoon	drinking companions	Barroom brawl	One of two assailants arrested, bailed out.
24	1963—9/25	70	shotgun	forehead	on field	late afternoon	sons of man whom he was accused of having killed by witchcraft	Accused by curers in neighboring towns of having caused sickness	Nothing.
25	1964—1/2 fiesta, New Years	30	machete, gun	?	street outside house of new president	night (11 P.M.)	killer paid by brothers	Accused of stealing cattle	Brother fled, but was jailed when he returned.
26	1964—3/5 Carnival	34	gun, machete	chopped up with machete	street, one block from house	night (11 P.M.)	?	Accused of witchcraft by neighbors.	No one accused.
27	1964—5/11	30	gun	forehead	highway	afternoon	Ladino liquor distiller, not of community	Victim had denounced distiller to federal authorities.	No one accused.
28	1964—9/1	30	gun	?	milpa, after his brothers gave him drink	afternoon	his brothers	Accused of witchcraft.	One brother fled. The other was jailed but claimed the first one did it.
29	1964—9/14	65	knives	many knife wounds	street, three blocks from house	late at night, after gathering of curers	curers	Curer, accused by other curers of being witch causing epidemic.	No one accused.
30	1964	22	?	?	eight meters from his house	night (1 A.M.)	close friend, hired by cattle owners, brothers of killer	Accused of stealing cattle.	Freed on bail.
31	1965—2/14	42	machete	head cut off	road to neighboring hamlet	night (3 A.M.)	?—at first thought it was wood spirit, until they found head	?	No one accused.
32	1965—2/22	45	knife, stone	stabbed in heart, head bashed	street near house	night	?	Accused of witchcraft by neighbors.	No one accused.
33	1965—4/21 Carnival	45	shotgun	?	street	night	?	Accused of witchcraft.	No one apprehended.

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34	1965 4/24	27	gun	?	found in woods, body dragged there from town	night (1 a.m.)	brother-in-law	He had relations with 14 year-old sister in-law. When he tried reconciliation, became drunk, abusive	No witness, no blood found in in laws' house.
35	1965 5/30 fiesta, just before San Francisco	35	shotgun	three shots entered back	road	afternoon	?	Stole cattle, corn.	Killers left note saying old man did it, but no one believed it.
36	1965 8/13	42	machete	head severed, side wounds	road to milpa	6 p.m.	son by first marriage	Failed to help son get a wife; accused by dying wife of causing her death by witch craft.	Widow spread rumors that it was his son, but refused to testify.
37	1965 10/?	20	shotgun	back	in houseyard	6 p.m.	rival for girl	Accident—killer mistook him for his brother, who was challenging killer's suit for a girl.	?

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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625 The "police force", made up of ten
626 Indians of the town who served without pay for a year, acted as errand boys more than as guardians of public safety. The townspeople conformed to the cultural code of behavior because of a sense that their welfare was being cared for.

626 More recently, the breakdown of certain
178 structural features and competition between
new and old leaders have undermined non-
175 violent methods for the maintenance of social
[128] control. These changes will be discussed in terms of (1) the organization of the curing profession, (2) conflict between the curers and the civil authority, and (3) how both the curing profession and the civil authority are affected by the breakdown of the old dual division of the town.

[124] (*1*) *Organization of the curing profession.* Perception of structural changes in the curing profession and their effect on attitudes are indicated in the following statement by an informant:

> Formerly there were not many curers. Only two—one in the low side and the other in the high side. They alone spoke together. They walked every night, looking and watching over the pueblo to see that no illness was brought in, checking to see who was bringing it and to see if there was any illness of God [reference to contagious diseases]. They saw which of the children had a soul
> [174] [reference to the third soul, the swayobel or animal spirit, which gives the power to cure and to do evil].
>
> If anyone wanted to be cured, they bathed them, cured them, and in a little while people got better because there was good illness only. If later on it turned into a disease of the devil, with their animal spirit they seized the force of the illness.
>
> When there was a contagious disease, and a witch "brought heat," and the children began to die, the two curers alone consulted and waited to see who had brought the evil and where they lived. One of them went to the town hall and gave an account of the fact that they had taken care of the evil and gotten rid of it. It was not necessary to gather together the pueblo—only the two knew what was the matter and how to care for it.
>
> The [two] leader curers of each [illegible]on [*statal ʔuʔulatik*] alone ordered other curers. No one else could enter curing until permitted by the leaders. They continued in power until they died, and then one of the younger curers took over.
>
> Beginning in 1940, more curers started to enter on their own accord. The elder curer had died, and his successor was not recognized. People saw that someone could pulse, and so they would ask him to cure.
>
> Now when there is an epidemic, the president

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

539 Lacandone prayer in Tozzer's "Comparative Study of the Maya and Lacandones," page 169. As *tsar*, which a Ladino would probably give as *tsak*, means "red" in Tzeltal, the two words may be taken to be the same. *bak* means "bone," and *tci* means "blood." Many of these translations are doubtful, and all of them together do not suffice to explain the text.

II.

hun ahau bitskilim gravilan yokivin-wits yevakinok . . .

This also begins with Hun Ahau. *wits* means "hill." Beyond that no translation could be obtained.

• 124 The whole material on medicine and shamans is very slight and unsatisfactory. Indeed it is doubtful whether anything could be learned save after a long stay and much patient work, so secretive are the Indians on this subject, and so suspicious of inquiries. What we have is presented here in the hope that it may prove useful for comparative purposes, and offer suggestions to any worker going into this field.

796 According to Nuñez de la Vega, the old calendar was still cur-
178 rent in his time. Starr* quotes a Zotzil Calendar of eighteen months, and Pineda* gives a Tzeltal calendar of both months and days. We asked in the different villages what names were given
124 to the days, and were told always the Spanish names, as also for
796 the months. This may well have been from unwillingness to impart
179 ceremonial information, but consistent replies, plus the statement of
178 various Ladinos who knew the Indians well, incline me to believe that if the old calendar is known at all, it is known only to a very few of the most learned shamans. Feasts, as far as could be made out, are controlled entirely by the cycle of Christian saint's days. However, the Maya year might well have been by now adjusted to the Gregorian, and a time-count actually kept in the old style be stated for public purposes in the terms of the new. Pineda's calendar is adapted from one published by his father† some forty years earlier, but he speaks of it as being still current.

114 Seler also doubts the modernity of Pineda's calendar. In his
178 article "Der Festkalender der Tzeltal und der Maya von Yucatan"
796 (1898), he brings together various interesting statements. Of them, one may be applied to this survey. Emeterio Pineda he quotes as saying that the sixth month, Olalte, is the time of planting. This would be in April of our year, or the end of April and early May,

*Starr, 1903—Pineda, Vicente, 1888.
†Pineda, Emeterio, 1845.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

that he was invited into her house, presumably to take shelter from the evening rain that was beginning to fall. The house, of which he sketched a hurried plan (fig. 324) was more rectangular than is usual, the prevailing type being square with a pyramidal roof. He entered through a low doorway, closed with a wooden door on leather hinges. Although the ridge of the roof was high, the many cross poles reaching from the top of one wall to the other made it necessary to stoop. The writer squatted by the door, facing the fire, which smoked merrily in the closed room. The old woman immediately set to shaping a pile of tortillas for baking. Along either wall was a well-made bench, decorated with notches along the top and geometric designs on the back, similar to the benches on the Cabildo porch (fig. 325). These and a sturdy table that was stored on top of the stringers were said to be purely local products. By the door stood a big jar, a full meter in height, crude and undecorated (fig. 326). There was the usual collection of ollas and gourds, and one other new form, an open-mouthed pot about eight centimeters high and as many in diameter, flat bottomed, with a handle on one side, called *hütc* (fig. 327). In the thick smoke, it was hard to see anything. I was interested to note that my hostess' eyes watered nearly as much as my own. In the darker end of the house I could make out corn stacked neatly along one wall, and a partition that presumably hid the beds. For a while the woman answered the few questions that I could make her understand by means of signs, my half-a-dozen words of Tzeltal,

Fig. 323—Cancuc, Chis. Drinking scaffold.

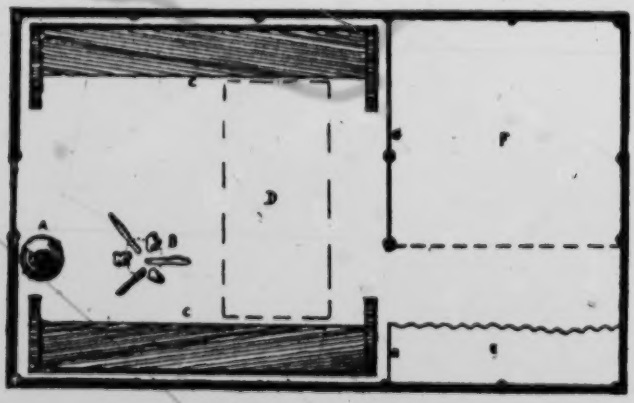

Fig. 324—Cancuc, Chis. Plan of House.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

124 and her three words of Spanish. Then she grew hostile, answering
123 everything with a plaintive "*Ma snaa,*" "I don't know." This went on for two or three minutes, then suddenly she flung open the door and waved me out with no uncertain gesture, saying something about the "Presidente Municipal," and the "Secretario." By this time it was pouring cats and dogs, but there was nothing to do save run for it.

284 Cancuc is not noted for any product. There are about the same
322 arts and industries as at other towns, but the only ones that amount to anything like a specialty are netmaking and whittling combs. The combs are better and more neatly made than those of the Bachajon, and with a selection of the wood for grain that often produces very pretty combinations. The nets are made by the men, who

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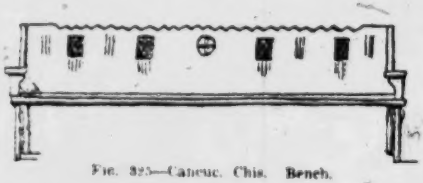

Fig. 325—Cancuc. Chis. Bench.

Fig. 327. Cancuc. Chis. Pottery. Hlitc. (8 c.m. high).

Fig. 326—Cancuc. Chis. Tall Jar. (1 m. high).

go about rolling the twine or knitting as they walk. The process was described in the last chapter.

485 Being on the main highway, the government maintains a long shed, like a wagon-shed, thatched with leaves and grass, which is at the disposal of travelers. This relieves the Maestro of duties of entertainment. Towards nightfall, various groups came into camp here, a family of Mexicans, with a big fire, and goods piled high, two traders with their packs, some Chamulas, fine-looking men dressed in white wool tunics, with flowing cotton kerchiefs round their heads, and a couple of Tenejapeños with nets full of apples. The Chamulas, who are remarkably progressive Indians, had come in with a string of mules. After dark, the line of fires in the divisions of the shed, the talk, the fire-lit figures in their varied costumes, with the Church and houses rising on the terraced hill behind made as picturesque and charming a scene as one could possibly imagine.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

194
193 This *r* I have heard and recorded in the same word in different lists, particularly among the Tzeltal; e. g., *kere* (boy). It is rare, occasionally confused with *l*, but quite forcible when present. It has a short, hard trill, not unlike the Japanese, made with the forward part of the tongue against the roof of the palate.

	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Nasal	Lateral	Trill
Velar	—	q	—	—	—	—	—
Palatal	—	k	k'	H	—	—	—
Alveolar	—	t	t'	s	n	l	—
Dorsal	g	—	—	x	ñ	—	r
Nasal	—	—	—	—	n	—	—
Dental	—	ts tc	ts' tc'	j c	—	—	—
Labial	b	p	p'	v	m	—	—
Glottal	'	—	—	—	—	—	—

Breath, *h*. Semi-vowels, w and *y*.

q, the velar *k*, is formed between the back of the tongue and the soft palate. Palatal *k* is as in English. The fortis, *k'*, is made as the *k*, followed by a strong explosion of breath. The various fortis sounds may be similarly described in relation to their respective surds.

H is an intensified *h* sound, resembling the Mexican pronunciation of *x* in "Mexico," or *g* in "gente."

The dorsal *x* resembles *ch* in German "ach," but with less aspiration.

g is rather faint, as in Spanish "agua."

ñ is the *ng* in English "ring."

tc is the *ch* in English "child."

c is the *sh* in English "shoot."

The lateral *l* is accompanied by a slight breathing, giving it a thick sound.

j is pronounced as in French "jamais."

VOWELS. On comparing the vowel sounds listed here with those of other writers, it seems possible that I have made too fine distinctions. However, the new vowels were found to occur with great regularity, and in several cases I was corrected by my informants for changing them to the nearest approximate standard form, as, in pronouncing Yocotan *kE-* as *kü*, or the sound I have represented by *O* as *o*. Unmarked vowels have their Spanish sounds, *a* as in "pan," *e* as in "me" (not as in "metate"), *i* as in "bonita," *o* as in "lodo," but *u* is pronounced as *oo* in English "good." In addition there is a long *a* (*ā*) as in English "father," short *e* (*ĕ*) as in Eng-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

194
193 lish "met," short *i* (*ĭ*) as in English "mix," long *u* (*ū*) as *oo* in English "boot," and short *u* (*ŭ*) as in English "hut." *E* represents a sound between *ŭ* and English *er* in "water." *O* is a sound like English "or" said while holding the mouth for *u*. Diphthongs are *ai, oi* and *au*.

Double vowels are always to be pronounced separately, the second having a slightly shorter quantity than the first.

Accent is indicated by ′ in those words in which the stress does not fall on the last syllable.

000 INFORMANTS. The Chontal List was taken down by Mr. William Gates from two pure-blooded Indians of Tecoluta, Tabasco. It was made at Comalcalco. Mr. Gates' spelling has been revised to accord with the other lists, as far as possible.

Two Yocotan lists were made, the first, from José Hernandez, a young Indian of San Fernando, Tabasco, at Macuspana. The second was given, together with the ethnographic information, by Lázaro Hernandez Guillermo, a man of forty or forty-five, also of San Fernando; he had a little Ladino blood on his mother's side. This man, although illiterate, was remarkably intelligent, and was by all odds the best informant that we had in the course of the trip. The list was made at leisure on board the steamer, and he was by that time thoroughly at home with us, and acquainted with our methods and wishes. He showed some, limited, ability to analyze his own grammatical forms.

124 The first Tzeltal list was given by Sebastiano Guzman, a Bacha-
126 jon shaman, at El Encanto in Chiapas. It was supervised by Don
115 Arturo Tovilla, who was thoroughly conversant with the language. The second was given, also at El Encanto, by Fidencio Morales, a Ladino house-boy from Ocosingo, who was not satisfactory. The third was taken down from Don Ciriaco Aguilar at Bachajon. Señor Aguilar had been assisting in Ethnological work for over two weeks, and spoke Tzeltal fluently. He was assisted by a volunteer committee of Indians and Ladinos.

000 The Chaneabal list was compiled at El Puente, near Comitan, from an Indian estimated at thirty-five years of age, called Casimiro Gomez. He was moderately satisfactory.

Two Jacalteca lists were made. The first, at Jacaltenango in Guatemala, was given by Santiago Hernandez, a middle-aged Indian of doubtful purity, with occasional help from other Indians. He was literate, fairly intelligent, and enthusiastically coöperative. The second was hastily taken down at Concepción. It was begun by Alonzo Rafael Alvebal, pure-blood, about thirty years old, who

121 of beverage alcohol is functional or dysfunctional depends on
273* socio-cultural contexts which need to be uncovered in every next case in which such use is investigated. A description of the relation of drinking patterns to their socio-cultural context, then, contributes to a steadily growing but still inadequate ethnographic literature without which further cross-cultural perspective will be lacking.

121 The present investigation is devoted to a detailed statement of how alcohol is used in Aguacatenango. The bulk of the
123 data herein reported came as the result of participant observa-
124 tion for extended periods in Aguacatenango. Some material on the drinking patterns of individuals was gathered in interviews conducted by transcribing informants. These interviews were special Tzeltal conversations in which Pedro Juárez and Mariano Juárez separately read off or otherwise repeated questions directing the respondent to report some aspect of his experience with drinking.

124 Of all the questions which could be asked, we selected
125 seven which are reported by our informants to occur frequently in conversation about drinking and which men answer about themselves if they are asked. Our two transcribing informants then asked these questions of seventy-six men in town. The procedure was simply to ask each person a question, listen to his response, and then write down in Tzeltal a "synopis" of the response. The

124 Tzeltal and nearest English equivalents are listed below:
125

1. HAY C'OH KAWUC' TRÁWO TA HUN *U? TU *ORA HATE LA *AWUC' IXE?

   How many times a month do you drink? When did you last drink?

2. HAYE* K'AHAL KAWUC' HUHUN YAKBELE?

   How many days do you drink on each drunk?

3. TUT'IL X LIHK *AWUC'.

   How did you begin to drink?

4. ME ZAM YA XNEL AWU*UN YA XYAK'UBATE, ME MA*YUK TA PLETO, ME MA*YUK YA*BAT CAMEL?

   Do you drink contentedly? Do you fight? Do you get sick?

5. ME YA SOL AWUN *IP, ME TENEX YUZIL KAWUC' *A.

   Do you drink in excess, or do you drink a proper amount?

6. ME YA YA*BAT CAMEL?

   Do you get sick?

7. TUT'A CAMELIL LA YA*BAT?

   What illness did you get?

125 Such a set of question frames as the above could obviously be expanded to include a wider variety of behavior related to drinking. The present set was used simply to provide evidence for the observation that drinking patterns are "important" in Aguacatenango--importance being measured in terms of the reports of the number of persons engaging in this behavior, the amount of

125 time they spend and the perceived consequences of the behavior. The evidence is inferential; it does not express actual times spent at drinking, actual payments for drinking, nor actual [124] quantities of alcohol consumed. Since the questions and responses were Tzeltal, the reports are at least appropriate in local terms.

126 In addition to the above data, a great deal of material on social roles and their relation to drinking and on the general beliefs and patterns of action in drinking performances has been extracted from native language texts. The text constitute a number of conversations between individuals in Aguacatenango, recorded on tape and then transcribed and translated into Spanish 124 by a bilingual informant. The conversations were at first unfocused; later, I instructed the informant who initiated all of the conversations to elicit a description of a recent illness in [121] the household of the other party. Drinking was not at that time my major interest, but its frequency and its close association with illness brought up the subject in over half of the conver- 126 sations. The taped records were made in a variety of settings 124 and under a range of constraining conditions; my general strategy was to go from house to house with my informant and to record his conversation with whoever was present and willing to talk. The best of the records share the feature that at least two Aguacatenangeros were present in the recording setting and knew

126 that they were present: I took no active part in the recording,
• 124 since I could not speak Tzeltal and did not know the appropriate
[122] range of responses that the communication called up in the participants. None of the records are expressions of communication that would have taken place had I not chosen to make records. That is, the sessions were always initiated by me with the express intent of making records. This is reflected in the records by discussion of the tape recorder, of my performances associated with it, and so on. In addition, the content of some of the records is focused, as I have mentioned, on recent illnesses in the household. By and large, however, to some unmeasured and thus unknown degree, the communications in the records are reflexes of pressures on the speakers that endure far longer than the recording session, that are structured by the variable modes of linguistic expression, by the internal coherence of the domains of "content" that became the subject of the conversation, by recent experiences which are structured by the content of the domains, and by the previously well-defined social relationships existing between the speakers. Some evidence that the relationship between the informant and the other party to the conversation helped to structure the recorded communications is presented in a report to the National Science Foundation (Metzger 1961). Briefly the length of the conversation--i.e., the total number of words--was greater when the informant knew and/or liked the

124 126 other party than when he did not; the proportion of the total number of words which was spoken by the other party was greater when that person was older than the informant than when he was the same age, and younger persons spoke, relatively, even less. The frequent use of various terms of respect and ritual kinship between the informant and the other speaker also suggests that their other behavior in the recording situation takes these relationships into account.

12 [191] Our bilingual informant, Mariano Juarez, was trained in the field by N. A. McQuown in the phonemic transcription of Tzeltal. When he had completed the transcription of the tapes, I instructed him to produce a translation in which the translation equivalents were to be forced into the Tzeltal frame of reference insofar as possible, using the vernacular Spanish as he knew it. The examples of text which appear herein should be understood to be Mr. Juarez' work. The fact that a native speaker of Tzeltal, who knew the general and idiosyncratic contexts in which the Tzeltal material appeared, did the translating guarantees as accurate a translation as possible. The always knotty problem of English glosses involves not only the depth of my understanding of the vernacular Spanish and its relation to the Tzeltal, but also the more general point, made recently by Conklin (1963), that the structure of English domains stands in no necessary relationship to the structure of domains of any other language. Frake (1961),

273* 539 571 HA* Z'INABI; *OC KUC' SOK, Z'INABI.

Then I entered into drinking with him.

LAH Z'IN TE HUN KWARTA Z'IN HC'IN-KA*ALTIK Z'INE.

We finished a cuarto of aguardiente.

HK'AN HUN XAN KWARTA KU*N *EHUK.

I ordered another cuarto for my part.

KUC' SOK Z'INABI.

I drank this with him.

KON SOK Z'INABI YUKUBEL XAN, TAL XAN YAN WINIKETIK.

With that the drunk began, other men came.

LIHK HZOB HBAHTIK XAN...

We began to gather together again . . .

MUK'UBIX LO*L *ABI.

(The drinking situation) began to come out bigger.

Solitary drinking is rare. Speaking of one Antonio who has come repeatedly to his friend's house, already drunk, and has finally gone off alone, Carmen Espinoza laughs:

*E MA*Y SHOY XC'IN-TUKEL, HE-HE-HE-HE-!

And he doesn't have a companion, he's all by himself! Ha, ha, ha.

273* 571 [124] The most frequent response to the question, "How do you begin to drink?" was "when someone invites me." The invitation may come from brothers, compadres, "friends" or "companions" (these classes, as I have noted, tend to intersect in the same

273* 539 C. HA* HAL ME*L HLO*LIWANEH XINAN HAL YA X BEN LI* I.

That's that lying ladina who comes up here.

M. *E *AWA* MA* BA TUTA SPAS HNUXUK.

And he says that it didn't help him at all.

C. *E TEY *A YUN SZ'IHK TE*K YUN C'IN HUNUK HA*WIL *A E, *IL C'IN CE* OXE*K'AHAL HONC TAK.

It should at least keep him from drinking for a year, and he only lasted two or three days.

M. *E YUN TONC *ANC TA *AWO*TAN LA *AZ'IK *EHK *ABI, XKUT, *E YU*NIX *A XCI.

"Well, you only stop if you want to," I told him. "Yes," he said.

HINX *A MA YUNUK LA YILA LA STUK YO*TAN I, YUN TONC LA SZ'IK.

"Yes, my heart didn't reject the aguardiente, I willed not to drink."

273* One of the reasons why men may avoid drinking on succeeding days is economic. As drinking continues, there is a tendency to water the aguardiente, prolonging the drinking cycle by reducing the per person unit cost. Nevertheless, men go into debt to buy aguardiente and must often seek work outside the community in order to pay what they owe. [426]

273* 124 Other reasons are suggested by the questions and responses of the survey. Fifty-four men reported that they became ill as a result of drinking--and illness following drinking appears very frequently in the texts. Eleven men reported that, at least occasionally, they are involved in fights while drinking. Fifty-two

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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273* of the seventy-six men reported that they drink "in excess" rather
124 than "a proper amount." This contrast seems to be based not primarily on moral principles, but rather on a belief that the state of deep drunkenness which most men reach when they drink in-
128 volves hazards to life and well-being. In the two chapters which follow, I shall describe some of these hazards--conflict and illness--along with the ways of dealing with them, in more detail.

121 one reason most "primitive" belief systems require so much pressure before they can be brought under our documentary rules.

The beginnings of a theory of illness for Aguacatenango

In order to develop a theory of illness, one must have a way for directing the informant's attention to this domain or focus; or, alternatively, the ethnographer must be able to detect in the set of observables he has available to him, those which are, to some extent, conditioned by the salience of illness in one or another of its forms to the performers. In the present case we depend upon verbal contexts to establish relevance from the informant's point of view, and we use verbal contexts to test non-simulated performances in order to determine the salience of illness in the record of any situation we may be examining. One general measure of relevance is expressed in the Tzeltal question: /TUT LA SPAS/ "What happened to him" literally "What was he doing?" A further probe such as: /TUT+A CAMELIL YA YA*I*/ "What illness does he feel?" if it can be made relevant, is fairly likely to put the observer into the domain of illness as it is being experienced by some participant. If the illness is a non-simulated performance, further eliciting will produce further reports of states relevant in that domain. If the illness is a simulated performance, further well controlled eliciting will produce further relevant responses to

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124 the initial simulated performance. Such material, in conjunc-
753 tion with texts, constitutes the basis for the following survey of beliefs about illness.

753 The conditions which precede the onset of illness are many and varied. While some of them are known to be antecedent to illness in the sense that if an individual experiences one of these conditions the probability is increased that he will become ill, there are nonetheless many conditions which become diagnostic of the illness only after the individual defines himself and is defined as being ill. Types of experiences which lead the individual to anticipate illness include either becoming angry or being an object of anger; experiencing extreme fright, as when one has had dreams, or has seen the image of some malevolent non-human force (i.e., a ladino dressed in black riding a tall horse); and drinking aguardiente. These and similar experiences carry permanent associations with illness; the individual expects to become ill and often does so. Conditions which are used to explain illness only after-the-fact tend to be more properly theoretical in that they explain at once the necessary and sufficient conditions for some non-hypothetical occurrence of some disease process.

Among the after-the-fact explanations one finds statements such as, "the patient is suffering from soul loss, his soul presently residing in the Owner of the Cave's soul pool."

The following list of moral transgressions is roughly ordered in terms of 674
the egregiousness of the crime: witchcraft, theft of cattle, theft of corn,
"talking with" a woman (this is a euphemism for having an affair), hav-
ing more than one wife, killing, and disrespect to parents. There is a fair
amount of consistency in the rank order given by different informants. Of [124]
five people questioned, all ranked witchcraft first, and theft, without quali- [754]
fication as to what was stolen, second. Subjects questioned differentiated [837]
the crime of "talking with" a woman according to the status of the woman [836]
—it was worse to have relations with a married woman than with an
unmarried girl or with a widow. Killing was listed late or not at all by [682]
some because it is assumed that the killer has cause unless the contrary is
proved. The dead man is referred to as the guilty one. It is considered [602]
worse to kill a consanguineous relative than an affinal relative or a nonrel-
ative. One man remarking on an incident in which a person lost his bull
said: "It was a punishment of God for killing his father. If it had been his
stepfather, it would be different." Wanton killing is said to be absent in
the pueblo, and something that the kurik of the colonias do. The three
murders in the past ten years resulting from barroom brawls between
"friends" have not dispelled this notion.

Disrespect shown to parents is considered a serious violation of morality. 593
A boy who refuses to listen to his father cannot expect to receive the pro- 577
tection and support of his parents, usually offered a child throughout their
lifetime, or of the community. If the son abuses his father verbally or phys- [626]
ically in public, the father is supported in whatever action he takes. One
father, whose son kicked him in one of the local bars, drew applause when
he made the sign of the cross in two deep gashes with his machete on his
son's forehead. To beat one's father or mother is a great sin, but to beat
one's wife is tolerated, particularly if it is done in drunkenness. If a man 683
other than the husband beats a woman for any cause, she may reciprocate
by beating him in court "before the eyes of the judges." One woman who [607]
was awarded this privilege when her husband's brother beat her said, "If [593]
he were my own husband, it would be all right for him to beat me." [577]

The good man is "of one heart" and reveals it by his humility ("very 577
soft heart"). The rules for demonstrating this are given by an old man 887
who is frequently asked to be a nakawane in his section of the dual divi-

114 The previous mentioned sources of information will be
128 utilized for background of the study.

The actual data pertaining to the two communities under scrutiny is derived from the following sources: (1) Aguacatenango field-notes, prepared by Duane and Barbara Metzger in the year 1956; (2) Aguacatenango field-notes prepared by the Metzgers and myself during 1958, summer session; (3) my Master's paper on Residence Patterns in Aguacatenango (Verbitsky, 1959b); (4) Amatenango reports prepared by June and Manning Nash, with the assistance of Joan Ablon during 1958-59; (5) the subsequent writings of the Nashes and Metzgers, published, and unpublished but available in mimeographed form for consultation.

125 Whenever it was possible, the data were collected quanti-
124 tatively. The section on residence was based on a formal questionnaire, checked for reliability with informal interviews with the same and other informants. This questionnaire was applied by the Nashes to 280 households in Amatenango and by myself to 68 in Aguacatenango. The residence analysis of Amatenango was prepared by June Nash (1959) with methods comparable to those utilized by me in my Master's paper. (Both used comparable analytical procedures.)

124 Other data were collected by direct questioning about particular subjects and analyzed and contrasted with case histories on the same topic.

Complete genealogies of the two villages were utilized for placing individual histories in the context of the family and other social relations.

124 In both villages, several households were visited regularly and interaction observed in detail. From this, and the informants own impressions, we obtained data on the activity schedules, the affective content of relationships between household members, the allocation of authority within the unit, and the relations of the household members with individuals belonging to other domestic groups.

126 To define degrees of territorial propinquity between households and household members, each household genealogy was placed on a map of the village.

128 The present analysis of data, unless otherwise stated in the text, is only mine. Any mistakes of interpretation are my sole responsibility.

and, in fostering social intercourse, it frees them of other constraints. With the usual inhibitions removed, the social interaction following the ceremony allows the investigator to see below the surface. 121 796 273

We have many structural-functional descriptions of the civil-religious hierarchy of highland Maya Indian communities (Adams, 1957; Cámara Barbachano, 1952; Cancian, 1964; McArthur, 1961; Siverts, 1960, 1964; Tax, 1964; Vogt, 1965; Zabala Cubillos, 1961). The roles and functions of the hierarchy are at least minimally described in the many community studies of the area (Bunzel, 1952; Guiteras Holmes, 1961; LaFarge, 1947; LaFarge and Byers, 1931; M. Nash, 1955; Tax, 1947a,b; Valladares, 1957; Wagley, 1949; Wisdom, 1940). We have, as well, historical summaries of the colonial and independence developments (Aguirre Beltrán, 1953; Carrasco, 1952, 1961; Chávez Orozco, 1943). In previous summaries of the structure and functioning of the hierarchies, however, systematic descriptive data on performances are mostly lacking. Vogt (1965, p. 42) has indicated the value of observing behavior as a "reliable operational measure for determining rank" in Zinacantan. Cross-community comparison of institutions would be facilitated by such behavioral data. For example, the recurrent descriptive phrase "closely integrated civil-religious hierarchy" covers a spectrum of behavioral and ideological components which ranges from one in which officials of both ladders are linked by a series of sacred acts, functions and personnel, to one in which there is independent and exclusive participation. These generalizations can be broken down to a series of acts in which they are expressed. If comparison over time or between communities is to be meaningful, we must look to the descriptive detail which went into such generalizations. 121 114 121

For any scheduled event such as a ritual, three sources of data are available: the expectations of what will happen, the case histories of similar events in the past, and the observation of the event. In tapping the first of these, I have used the technique developed by Metzger and Williams (1963) in formal ethnographic analysis.[8] In this approach the informant co- 121 124

[8] I am indebted to Duane Metzger for training in these methods, and to discussions with him, Brent Berlin, and Paul Kay which helped me in working out the observation schedule. [114]

[P. 209-B]

operates with the ethnologist in framing questions in his own language. Within a chronological framework, questions of who is doing what, when, where, how, and why are asked for each activity. The same set of questions can be asked of several informants in this phase of the investigation. This method yields understanding of the cultural models of behavior, the expectation patterns which are the charters for action. But because it restricts the stimuli in order to provoke predictable responses, the investigator runs the risk of getting only stereotyped responses, and the informants often become acculturated to the questioner's categories. We can elicit imitative or predictive behavior, but learning about innovating behavior, the "techniques," or "what to do when" (Wallace, 1964, p. 19), requires that the informant have a chance to express himself freely. Unsolicited comments and anecdotes provided by the informants as they grew bored in the formal analysis were recorded along with the responses to questions posed. These data are fed into the model.

The second source of data—concrete cases which the informant has experienced in the past—indicates the range of variation in performance, the sources of innovation, and the development of strategies. This kind of information is supplemented by observation of the event. At this phase of the investigation, particularly if one is prepared by eliciting prior to the event, the ethnologist can see in the enactment of roles the nuances of gesture and pose which indicate affect. The emotional attitudes towards things, people, and activities, which often cannot be verbalized, become apparent in the performance.

If we accept the fact that there is not a single "homemade model" of the society (Lévi-Strauss, 1962, p. 324) but several, we are prepared to probe the several levels of awareness present in the actors' mode of orienting to the world. At one level cultural understandings may be explicitly formulated, at another they may be implicit in language categories, and finally they may be derived only from nonverbal patterns of behavior. The informant's statements are inadequate insofar as they may stem from (1) ideological lag such that new behavior has not been assimilated in a cognitive frame, (2) inadequate generalization such that connections between related systems of thought and action are omitted, and (3) failure by the anthropologist to interpret what the informant was telling him. The anthropologist's model of behavior is a synthesis and elaboration of the in-

[p. 210-A]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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formants' conscious understandings as well as of their subconscious patterns of behavior. [121] [024]

Description of behavior requires a theoretical approach to the problems of segmenting activity streams, selecting events, and ordering them. Too large chunks of behavior are not useful in comparisons made over time in the same society or between societies. However, because human (as well as animal) behavior is characterized by motivation and cognition (Tolman, 1961) we cannot expect to isolate minimal units which are invariant from one context to another. Verbs, as French (1954, p. 162) points out, are one-act plays in which a change of dramatis personae creates entirely new meaning. Furthermore, the symbolic weight of a single act varies; it can encompass the history of an institution, such as crossing oneself, or it can establish identification with a social movement, such as raising a clenched fist. However, for any behavioral schema, which I define, following Piaget, as component acts structured in an organized totality (Flavell, 1963, p. 54), it is possible to segment acts and assess their significance. In the major schema of the inauguration of officials in Tzo?ontahal, place, time, and roles are the bases for structuring related sets of activities.

Segmenting human behavior has been treated as either an actor-oriented or an observer-oriented problem. Pike (1954) and Adams (1962) rely on informants' advice to isolate the "behavioreme," whereas [114] Harris (1964, p. 367 ff.) rejects the actor's statement of goals in favor of the investigator's own definitions of action units. If the "basic unit of action in the human body is purposive motion" (Burke, 1962, p. 61), then we must consider the meaning of action at the first stage of an analysis.[4] The anthropological observer's segmentation at this point injects cultural bias which stems from his point of view (Hymes, 1964, p. 14; Spier and Sapir, 1930, p. 217). Since our [124]

[4] Most verbs used by informants in describing action patterns imply purpose. The informant says that he "eats," not that he raises food to his mouth and masticates it. The coding of motives and goals in the verbs underlines the importance of eliciting in the performer's own language. For example, when one observes the Indians as they enter the townhall, one sees them kneel and do what could be interpreted as crossing themselves. Asked what they do, the informants reply, "We measure our noses (*sp'is sni?ik*)." Measuring water (*sp'is ha?*) is another important ceremonial act. This suggests the possible ceremonial significance of measure in ceremonial performances. To assume knowledge of the act because of its similarity to Catholic forms might rule out suggestions requiring deeper probing. Cf. Adams' (1962) distinction between the reported and the observed act, and Barker (1963). [121] [124] [193] [788] [804] [114]

[p. 210-B]

informants cannot, fortunately, be relegated to the role of rats in the maze of their own cultural settings. I prefer the actor's to the investigator's statement of significantly contrasting units. I have found it useful, however, to retain both modes of analysis. Observation corrects for the shorthand statements of the informant, for his lapses of memory, or for inadequate knowledge. Even if some of these inadequacies are corrected by other informants, there remains the problem as to what is an individual understanding and what is socially shared knowledge. In addition, observation provides cues to the dynamic variables which enter into all social processes. 121 124

It is impossible, if not irrelevant, to recount all the behavior occurring in an event. Some of the selection will be fortuitous: we will record what aspects we observe. But not all of this need be included. For example, one would exclude the trips to the back of the patio to urinate by participants in a household ritual, but what might well be recorded is the etiquette with which they undertake these trips. In Tzoʔontahal, people carefully excuse themselves, saying, "I go before your face," specifying that they must urinate. Discretion requires explicitness rather than reticence in reference to such urges, perhaps because of the paranoic fears, particularly during curing ritual, that the one who is departing may be using counter-healing magic when he leaves the group. 121 121 514 [196] [152] [754]

There is no absolute rule to guide one in selection. In my own field notes, I note what is significant in terms of my own comprehension of goals being pursued. Having been cued into most of the activity in sessions with the informants prior to the event, I have 121 124

[P. 211-A]

some basis for perceiving actions significant to them. 121

Selection in the eliciting session is only partly controlled by the interviewer. The problem is not only to prod the informant for greater specificity, but to structure the recall by such devices as having him draw maps of person-place relations or kinship diagrams so that details will not be lost. As informants gain a sense of the problems being posed, they tend to become self-stimulating in providing information. 124

Finally, the problem of ordering a description of behavior is usually handled most efficiently in a chronological sequence. Simultaneous events can be described in terms of a sequence of activities occurring in different settings. This facilitates the analysis of time and space as designates of role relationships. 121

The analysis in Section 1 deals with the cognitive frame of reference concerning roles and relationships in the civil and religious hierarchies as elicited from informants using the method of formal analysis. Section 2 concerns the behavior in the ritual inaugurations of civil and religious officials in which these role structures are both exemplified and modified. Data are derived from the three sources defined above, i.e., expectations as to what will happen, performances in the past, and observation of the event in process. In Section 3 divergences between elicited and observed schedules (Appendices 1 and 2) are analyzed in terms of their significance for social change. Data derived from "informal" analysis, or unstructured interviewing of informants, are fed into the model. Finally, the behavioral data are summarized in terms of structural functional explanations and in terms of their implications for change. 121 128

[P. 211-B]

My eliciting procedures are described to make explicit the steps in constructing the informant's cognitive model. The first responses given by an informant are most often those which have the greatest significance within a structured system of priorities or of dominance. For example, informants in Tzoʔontahal invariably listed the officials in order of primacy. Another clue to the structuring of social relations is the omission of data in the first interview. This can mean either repression of information or lack of significance for the informant as an individual or for the society. These factors can be sorted out in subsequent interviews. 121 124 •

When asked, "What are all the kinds of offices in Tzoʔontahal," informants replied, "offices in the *kabiltu*, or townhall, and offices in the *ĉ'ulna*, holy house or church. The question, "What are the kinds of officials in the townhall?" elicited the following three categories: *alkaletik*, alcaldes or judges; *rehiroletik*, regidores; and *mayoletik*, mayores or policemen. These categories are ranked relative to each other; for example, *alkaletik* is of greater prestige (*mas mamališ*, senior), *rehiroletik* next, and *mayoletik* least. Thus there are in the *alkaletik* category: *primero alkal*, first judge; *sčebal alkal*, second judge; *čeb suplente alkal*, two assistant judges. In the *rehiroletik* category there are: *primero rehirol*, first regidor; *sčebal rehirol*, second regidor; *yošebal rehirol*, third regidor; *čanebal rehirol*, fourth regidor. In the *mayoletik* category there are: *primero mayol*, first policeman; *sčebal mayol*, second policeman; *yošebal mayol*, third policeman; *sčanebal mayol*, fourth policeman; and *spoil mayol*, last policeman. 124 621* 693 [194] 554 621* 693 554 624 554 625

Cutting across this ranked hierarchy of officials are two geographical divisions; these align officials according to the side of the dual division in which they reside and which they represent. There is one judge from the upper division, *ahk'olnantik*, and one from the lower division, *alannantik*. The first judge is chosen in alternate years from one or the other of the two divisions, and so on for each rank of judges and regidores. There are two sets of five police, one from each side of the dual division serving in alternating weeks. The two assistant judges are chosen from the barrios Magronal and Bočibal. They never attain the first two positions. In addition to this regular ladder 621* 693 [625] [554]

[P. 213-A]

In addition to this regular ladder of officials representing the center and its close-lying barrios are judges representing the *colonias*, or rural settlements, of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Crus Quemada. They do not regularly attend the townhall sessions, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of new officials. Only after I had elicited officials from two informants was I able to get from the third the three judges of the colonias with the question, "Are there any other officials in the cabildo?" 621* 693 632

These civil officials constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. The positions of president and *sintiku* (in Spanish *síndico*), not included in the offices of the townhall as a category by informants, were elicited in response to the question stated above. These posts are occupied by younger men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy, until the present generation, was limited to those in the 30-year age bracket. Those with such skills passed immediately into the *comisario ejidal*, commission for land grants, where they assisted in the control and redistribution of land granted under the ejido program, or went directly into the post of *síndico*. Thus they were able to avoid the onerous and time-consuming functions of the traditional posts and enter into the remunerative post of president, where their authority was recognized at an early age. With improved literacy, the competition for such posts is increasing. Although informants say that the post of president alternates for the two sides of the dual division, case materials do not bear this out. 622 624 [124] [191] [212] [423] [178] [212] 622 621* 114

The only Ladino in the hierarchy is the secretary. For the first time this year (1964) the post of secretary has been taken by an Indian of the town. This is part of the power play described below. 563 624 178

Naming of civil officials is done in November, first in a closed session in the townhall at which each official names his successor, followed by a mass meeting *(Komun K'op)* at which the names are read to the assembled household heads in the plaza. To the question, "What are all the kinds of offices in the church?" the response was given: *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alferéces (or captains, the Spanish term *alferece* comes from the Arabic). There are 16 mayordomos. Role terms for the mayordomos indicated that each saint was repre- 666 621* 794 [776]

[P 213-B]

sented by an elder *tatil martoma* and a junior *nicʔanil martoma*, and that the 15 mayordomos were further ranked in terms of the four major saints, the *mas mamališ* or more senior, whose mayordomos are referred to as *kobraria*, cofradías or brotherhoods, and the remaining as mayordomos. The four *kobrarias* were ranked in terms of the importance and expense of the saint whom they support. The order for Tzoʔontahal is Sacramento *(Sakramentu)*, Virgin Santa

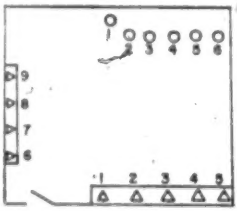


CHART 2 – EVENING, DECEMBER 31, HOUSE OF NEW JUDGE (ELICITED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Meʔil K'op)*
2 Wife of president *(Yinam Presirente)*
3-6 Wives of juniors *(Yinam Nilʔanil)*

MEN (triangles):
1 Leading house official *(Statal Nakawane)*
2 New judge *(Alʔ Alkal)*
3-5 Assistants, sons of judge *(Balnialetik)*
6-9 Woodgatherers *(Akriʔetik)*

Lucia *(Halal Meʔtik Santalusia)*, San Pedro Martyr *(Tatik Martil)*, and San Francisco *(Tatik Sanpransisku)*. There was complete agreement among the three informants questioned regarding this rank order, but for rank order of the 12 remaining mayordomos in charge of the 19 lesser saints there was no agreement between informants, and even the same informant was inconsistent in different eliciting sessions.

Outside the traditional hierarchy is the *piškal* (in Spanish *fiscal*), who is the direct assistant of the priest and serves in an advisory capacity in charge of the church activities of the brotherhoods and mayordomos in the absence of the priest. This role was not elicited, but in my questioning about fiestas he was mentioned as performing a certain role. The incumbent in the past three years was serving as president for the third time, showing the scarcity of men with the needed literary skills. The fiscal is usually relieved of other posts while serving in office. Another set of roles external to the hierarchy are the *meʔeletik* (or *resadoras*, the Spanish term for female prayer-makers). These are usually widowed or single wo-

activities. Following this, he then serves as *tatil* of any 794
saint of minor rank, then as *tatil* of San Pedro Martyr 554
or San Francisco, followed by a turn as *tatil* of the 156
kobraria Virgin Santa Lucia, and finally as *tatil* of the
kobraria Sacramento.

The Tzeltal role terms in both the civil and religious hierarchies reveal the preconquest age-ranking system. This is evident in the use of elder and junior 621* 554 794 561 178

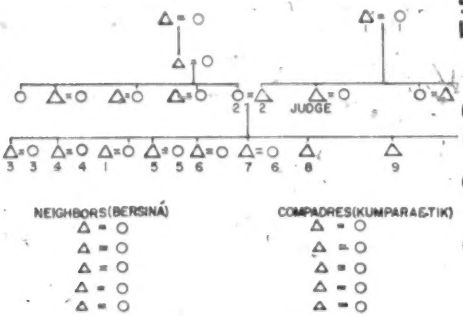


CHART 3 — ASSISTANTS AND PARTICIPANTS IN HOUSE FIESTA OF JUDGE (ELICITED)

Circles indicate women; triangles indicate men. For role term applying to number, see Chart 4.

601 574 796 621* 608 693

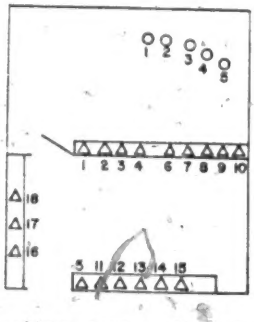
titles for mayordomos (*tatil* and *nit' anil martoma*) 621* 554
and in the use of *mas mamalil* (more senior) for 794
higher rank offices. 561

The informant's understanding of the hierarchy is 178
that of a core of officeholders in three ranked segments (Chart 1). This is coded in the group terms for 124
officials. Roles peripheral to the major categories such 621*
as those of rural judges, fiscal and women prayer-makers, are elicited only with repeated questioning 794
or with reference to some event in which they function. 554
These roles differ from those mentioned first in that they are either of little significance to the individual informant (this would explain the consistent omission of the rural judge by the people of the center) or are not part of the required posts incumbent upon every male household head to undertake (this might explain the omission of the president, síndico, principales and fiscales in the first eliciting session). Structural principles made explicit by the informants are (1) hierarchical rank, (2) progression from lower to higher posts, and (3) territorial balance in representation of the dual division. An implicit corollary of passage through offices beginning with lower ranks is the age grading of officeholders. Other structural aspects emerged in the description of behavior, described below.

[P.215-B]

INFORMANTS' SEGMENTATION of behavior in the inauguration of civil and religious officials is based on responses to questions in Appendices 1 and 2. The description of the activities is organized in

128
[124]



621*
554
574
693

CHART 4 — MORNING, NEW YEAR'S DAY, HOUSE OF FIRST JUDGE (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Meʔil K'op)*
2 Second woman *(Sčebal smeʔ)*
3 Third woman *(Yolebal smeʔ)*
4, 5 Women *(Meʔeletik)*

MEN (triangles):
1-4 Nakawane
5 First judge *(Mam primeró Alkal)*
6 Second judge *(Alkal Sčebal)*
7 Assistant judge of La Grandeza *(Hwes Suplente Bočibal)*
8 Assistant judge of Madronal *(Hwes Suplente Magronal)*
9 Assistant judge of San Caralampio *(Hwes Suplente Sankaralampio)*
10 Assistant judge of San Vicente *(Hwes Suplente San Bisente)*
11 First regidor *(Rehirol Primero)*
12 Second regidor *(Rihirol Sčebal)*
13 Síndico *(Sintiků)*
14 Third regidor *(Rehirol Yolebal)*
15 Fourth regidor *(Rehirol Sčanebal)*
16 *Balnial*
17 Liquor pourer *(P'is Haʔ)*
18 *Balnial*

terms of settings and roles. For each segment of behavior an attempt will be made to analyze how the structural relations and values are spelled out in spatial location, mode of address, and activity. 128

The settings in which the change of civil officials is carried out are (1) the houses of the incoming officials, (2) the townhall, (3) the plaza, and (4) the church. In each arena, the validation and support of 621*

[P-216-A]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontahal

MOST ETHNOGRAPHIC REPORTS on the civil-religious hierarchy emphasize status and the functional goal of community integration. What we have failed to impart is the dynamic aspect of status, role. In the divergences between expected and enacted patterns of behavior in those occasions when the individual

621* 121 794 554 178

621* 794 554 788 533

CHART 10 — NEW YEAR'S DAY PROCESSION OF NEW OFFICIALS (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:
29, 30, 31 Comisarios of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Cruz Quemada

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Charts 7 and 9.

"puts into effect the rights and duties which constitute the status" (Linton, 1936, p. 114), we have micrometers to the measurement of change. The details of change may be small—for example, a shift in the lineup of officials in a procession—but it may be a clue to important organizational changes. The behavioral changes in details of this sort provide cues to eliciting information that will explain the divergences. An important supplement to these cues are the unsolicited comments of informants. Sometimes

621* 121 794 554 178

621* 124 178

[P 222-A]

these apparently irrelevant comments reveal the power play going on behind the scene of the ritual. 621* 178

The observed schedule for the civil inauguration (App. 1, column 4) differed from the elicited in four details. The first of these was an item omitted by both informants: after liquor was served in the house of the president, the entire company stood up and "turned toward the wall" (App. 1, Q. 20). When I questioned my informant, he corrected the orientation "toward the wall" and said that they were turning toward the east in deference to the leader of all the saints of the east, led by Santo Ajio. He said that it was done in all household celebrations in order "to be sure that the devil does not enter." Belief concerning these saints is fragmentary, and perhaps because of this, behavior relating to them is not easily recalled. These behavioral sherds, when cut off from the belief system they once dramatized, survive in "perpetuating the custom of the ancestors" *(hič sluwar hič likem me?tiktatik)*. 124 [776]

Another detail not mentioned by informants was the presence in the house of the president of the rural colonia inhabitants (Chart 6). This omission is typical of the neglect in reporting the activity or presence of anyone other than residents of the center. When I asked what they were doing there, I was told they came "to know the president." 124 632 622 574

Finally, an important divergence from expected behavior occurred when the schoolteacher, instead of the secretary, delivered the oath of office. This change was evidence of the schoolteacher's success in a factional struggle developing around new economic enterprises in the town. The former Ladino secretary was in close alliance with the former president and had supporters in the group of 20 co-owners, Indians from the village, of the truck when he had purchased. When the incoming president with his brother bought a truck with the assistance of 30 members of a truck-owning cooperative, a new focus for factional strife appeared in the town. The new cooperative was supported by the schoolteacher in his own bid for power. When the truck owners ran into any difficulty with the highway patrol, carrying wood or passengers without permit, the driver would refer them to the schoolteacher, who would then claim it 621* 875 178 578 621* 578 494 875 494

[P. 222-B]

Three years before [in 1961] my father was the *tatik* of Sacramento. One day he and the other mayordomos were drinking at the door of the church. The priest came out and demanded that they stop because this was the house of God. The *tatik* replied that it was the custom of the pueblo, and he and the other men refused to leave. The priest went back into the church and returned with a gun in his hand. The mayordomos seized wood which they had gathered in the yard of the church. They threatened the priest with this and he went back into the church. He announced that he would not give Mass, or perform wedding or baptismal ceremonies. We did not mind if he did not give the Mass or would not give weddings, but the people were frightened if he would not give baptism. The mayordomos had a meeting and they agreed to give up drinking in the church if the priest would continue to give baptism, but they

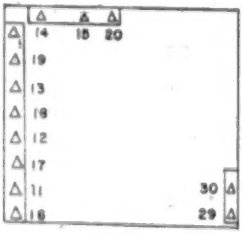


CHART 12 — KITCHEN OF POLICE, AFTER CHURCH (ELICITED)

Numbers refer to role terms listed in Charts 7 and 10.

would no longer care for the pigs or bring wood for the priest without payment. We pay him 15 pesos for an ordinary Mass and 40 pesos for a sung Mass, so he should pay us for help. The priest was in agreement with the mayordomos.

My informant had not realized that the ban affected eating in the yard of the church, but it was implied because liquor is served before the meal "to prepare the stomach" *(ya ital skoip we?eletik)* and after the meal "to wash down the food" *(ya?lel we?elil)*.

The statement on who defines what performances, and in what setting, provides an index to the locus of power. The priest is gaining more control over the building, maintenance, and developments around the church. The mayordomos give at least a half-day's labor to the priest's projects each Sunday. When they cannot work, they must pay the elder *kobraria* two pesos for a half-day's work missed, or 4 pesos for a full day. The proceeds are used to buy liquor, which the mayordomos drink. Thus the social control is ex-

Thus the social control is exerted through the traditional hierarchy, but the benefits of the labor go toward the priest's projects. The priest speaks with some satisfaction of the increasing control the "church" (he) has over the people. He maintains that this is because the people are more "civilized." For him, the indices to civilization are the facts that there is no drinking in the church, there is greater attendance at Mass, and more people are wearing Ladino clothing. 794 793 178 [626]

The second divergence in the elicited and observed accounts for the religious inauguration occurred when the civil officials, including the town secretary and síndico, assisted the religious officials in counting the money collected for the fiesta. 621 794 182

An important supplement to the behavorial data were the unsolicited comments of informants. Their anecdotes often gave me clues to their involvement in the gamesmanship of operating within culturally defined patterns. Although the informant focuses on the formal question, his growing boredom with the sequence (Who sat next to him? What did they do next? Who was there?) leads him to muse about the associated ideas and images which did interest him, often self-damaging or negative aspects of the culture which he might want to hide if questioned directly. The technique resembles that of the astronomer instructing the novice stargazer: "If you want to see the Pleiades, look at Jupiter, and out of the corner of your eye the nebulous cluster of stars of the Pleiades becomes visible." 124

The following illustrates how this free association emerged in the formal eliciting procedure: 124 578 682

Informant 2 constantly reiterated the danger his brother would encounter in undertaking the post of president as we discussed inauguration procedures. For example, when he gave me a list of participants at the Judge's house when his father took on that post, he mentioned the name of a widow, Cika, and provided the unsolicited information that her husband had been shot on December 16, 1963, the fiesta of Halal Meʔtik Santalusia. Informant's statement: "He did not know he had an enemy, and so he walked alone that night. Each fiesta someone is killed. During the fiesta of San Francisco this year, another man in Bočibal was killed. No one knows why. He was knifed with a machete. I never go out alone at night because of the fights with the cooperative. They [the members of the opposing cooperative] are very hard *(haʔ ben bolik)*. They claim they will kill us."

What prompted the next revelation was my com- 124

[P. 224-B]

ment, engrossed as I was in the task of eliciting the formal sequence of events, "Quiet, S.; let's get on with the fiesta." He persisted in what interested him. 124

Eleven years ago they [who? enemies?] tried to get me. I had a piece of land in hot country. My house here was not ready, but the wood was ready. M. C.'s neighbor was jealous [*šil yo?tan*, 'saw his heart']. He had caused another neighbor's illness. He was my wife's *mu?* [literally 'brother-in-law,' in this case the informant's wife's ta's sis's husband]. He didn't have corn or beans. He was jealous because of my crops and the big house I was going to build. 124 578 754 [601] [602]

By now I was asking questions and taking notes. I interposed, "How did you know?" 124 578

I knew because when I got sick, the curer (who was the dead husband of the widow who came to the judges' house) told me. The *cabron* (goat) witches leave their signature in the blood *(yak hilel firma ta čiʼ?)*. Then I went to a curer in Chamula who confirmed it. 754 756

"How did he speak to you?"

In Tzotzil. Then I went to Las Casas. Another curer, also a Chamulteco, said, "Here is his signature in your blood. He is working alone." On January 7 I fell in bed. All month from January to the 19th of April I was very sick. I went to Cruz Quemada (colonia of Tzo?ontahal) where F. G. cured me. He burned candles at the curing arch and prayed. 124 578 755 756 [782]

"Whom did he pray to?"

The hills, the holy land. Then I got well, but I was very tired. My Šwana [wife, Juana] told me "He is going to kill you." I had a rifle. I filled it and went out, but then I returned. Another day I took two measures of trago, took my rifle and went to his house. He was sleeping with his wife close to him in bed, the way we sleep here. I fired four times. The bullets went in his back and came out front. One entered the arm of his wife. Now people say of me I am a killer. I went to the townhall for the enquiry. The man's wife said the door [of the house] was open. She said she did not see me. Afterward I got well. If I hadn't killed him, I never would have lived. Now I am having more trouble first because of the cooperative, then because of my brother being president, and then the comisario. Let us see what will happen this year. If God lends us our life, there are going to be protests. We will walk with our pistols. Špet [wife of Ladino owner of opposing cooperative] gave 1000 pesos to a man from Magronal to kill me. 124 578 682

"How do you know?"

My compadre came and told me. Who knows how many deaths there will be!

[P 225-A]

"Why don't you call in the civil guard?" 124

They will say we are women, that we are afraid. My brother wants to, however. 578 682

He communicated several things in this deviation from the eliciting schedule:

Many assassinations are committed regularly in Tzoʔontahal.
They usually occur at fiestas.
The only recourse is to kill one's enemy.
I am a killer, therefore I am prepared to protect myself.
Everyone knows I am a killer.
When I killed, it wasn't a murder but an execution.

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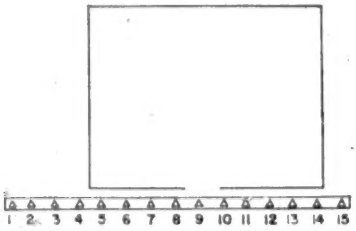

CHART 13 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF THE VIRGIN SANTA LUCIA, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:

1 Cofrade of Virgin Santa Lucia *(Kobraria Halal Meʔtik)*
2 Elder of San Pedro Martyr *(Tatil Yuʔun Martil)*
3 Assistant junior for Sacramento *(Aliʔbal Nič'nal yuʔun Sakramentú)*
4 Assistant junior for Virgin Santa Lucia *(Aliʔbal Nič'nal yuʔun Halal Meʔtik)*
5 Elder for the Christ of the Ascension *(Tatil yuʔun Tatik Sanpransiskú)*
6 Elder for San Antonio *(Tatil yuʔun Sanantonió)*
7 Elder for Virgin Rosario *(Tatil Halal Meʔtik Rosario)*
8 Elder for Santiago *(Tatil yuʔun Santiagú)*
9 Elder for San Jose *(Tatil yuʔun Sanhosé)*
10 Junior for San Antonio *(Nič'nal yuʔun Sanantonió)*
11 Junior for Santiago *(Nič'nal yuʔun Santiagú)*
12 Junior for San Pedro Martyr *(Nič'nal yuʔun Martil)*
13 Junior for Virgin Rosario *(Nič'nal yuʔun Meʔtik Rosario)*
14 Junior for San Jose *(Nič'nal yuʔun Sanhosé)*
15 Junior for Christ of the Ascension *(Nič'nal yuʔun Sanpransiskú)*

Since the informant expected that there might be an attempt made on his life in the approaching inaugural ceremony, he was advertising his own strength and willingness to defend himself even if it meant killing his enemy. I was an audience for him to try on poses of self-assertion. 124 578 [123]

[p. 225-B]

This kind of information, crucial to understanding the play in action, is not a controlled response. The stimulus which provoked it is unscientific, i.e., non-replicable and unpredictive (in this case it was "Be quiet").[12] The struggle for political office within the

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[12] It can be contrasted with Skinner's control of behavior in evoking the response "pencil," in which first the request is made to the subject, "Please say pencil." If there is no response, one first makes sure that no pencil or writing instrument is available, then hands the subject a pad of paper appropriate to pencil sketching and offers him a handsome reward for a recognizable picture of, say, a cat. He is then forced to ask for a pencil. (Chomsky, 1959, p. 32.)

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Appendix 1 — CHANGE OF OFFICIALS IN THE TOWNHALL

	Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case?: Entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
*621 124 796	1. When do they change the officials?	On January 1, *?ač ha?bil* (New Year)	First of January	I observed the preparations for the New Year change of office fiesta in the houses of the president and of the new first policeman on December 31, 1964, and January 1, 1965
	2. What do they do first on the fiesta of changing of officials?	They arrange the house of each official	The wife of the first judge puts the bean tortillas on the fire	
[252]	3. When do they do this?	In the afternoon of December 31	In the morning of the last day of December	The women spend most of the morning and afternoon making the bean tortillas
[353]	4. How do they arrange the house?	They get juniper boughs and needles and put them in the house		Around 3 P.M. the visitors arrive. The house is decorated with pine needles on the floor and in the yard, and there are branches of juniper nailed to the posts of the house entry, just as it is done at the entry to the townhall. I was not present at the gathering
[602]	5. Who helps her?		All her relatives (*kermanotak*) with neighbors (see Chart 1)	
	6. What do they do in the afternoon?		The women eat	
*621 124 796	7. What time do the guests gather in the house of the new officials?	On December 31 at 7 P.M.		
574	8. What do they bring?	They arrive with wood and pitchpine	They bring wood or pitchpine	
[272] [242]	9. What do the visitors do?	They drink coffee with bread and bean tortillas	They say greetings. They drink coffee and eat bean tortillas	
[273]	10. What do they do when they finish the coffee?	They drink liquor	They take out liquor, and the judge recites the benediction	
*621 124 796 (693)	11. Who is present in the house of the new official?		*statal makawene*, his leading house official, Baltol Kantiron. The new judge, Santos Kantiron, *bakwal*, assistants to pass gruel, sons of the new officials *?ak ?ič?etak*: wood bringers (see Chart 2)	
[624]	12. What do they do first on New Year's day?	The fourth regidor calls everyone together	The fourth regidor raises all the new officials	

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APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
#62 124	13. What time does he begin to raise the officials?		He gets up early about 6 A.M.	
796 624	14. How does the fourth regidor raise the other officials?	First he goes to get the third regidor. Then they go to the second. The three go to collect the first. After all are together, the four go to the house of the first judge	The fourth regidor goes to the house of the third regidor. They leave and go to the house of the second regidor, then to the house of the first regidor. Then they go to the síndico's house. Leave and go to the house of the judge	
#62 124 796 693	15. How do the judges join together?	First the two assistant judges call on the second judge. Then the three go to the house of the first judge	The assistant judge for Ahk'olnantik goes to raise assistant for Alannantik. The two go to the house of the second judge. Then they go to the house of the first judge	I arrived at 9:30 at the house of the first alcalde. Present were the following (see Chart 3)
[293]	16. What do the judges do in the house of the first judge?	They drink liquor. They await the arrival of the four regidores	They drink liquor	Before serving liquor the first judge gave the benediction for the liquor *(pat?ot'an yil rmahtanil)* with the first *nakawane*. His godchild *ahi-jado shalal nupune*, of marriage, and his brother-in-law Lucian Kut poured liquor. He served cigarettes. Two liters of liquor were drunk here before going to house of president
[292]	17. What do they do then?	They go to the house of the president (see Chart 4)	Go to the house of the president	Assembled company prepared to leave at 10:10. The first judge puts on his plain red kerchief. The assistant judges put on flowered red kerchiefs. First judge said goodbye to the *nakawane*. This formal adieu, the *spat lok'yo?t'an*. Regidores stood up and came out. Then the assistant judge arrived at the house of President 10:30. (Chart 6)
[576]				
#62 124 796 693 576	18. What do they do when they enter the house of the president?	The first judge gives the *spat yo?t'an* with the first nakawane	The first regidor gives the *pat?ot'an*	First judge speaks with *me?il k'op* who stood at door of inner room. The *nakawanchetik* bowed and kissed hands with the first and second alcaldes
[523] [539]	19. How do they give the *spat yo?t'anik* at his house the president?	They sing what they will do for the year	Holy evening, mamtat, your health. God how does He see you, mamtat. You are alive speak God holy evening. Behind your heart no illness I hear this holy evening.	(See Chart 6 for seating at house of president)

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CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

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(Judge) I live. There is no illness. Lord mamtat give pardon with God with the Virgin Mother (*Tioi sok Halal me?tik*). Enter holy pardon lord, give pardon Virgin Mother

Here we are gathered before you where is seated "our soil our mud" (our bodies). What are we going to do to make arrive to fall to happen holy New Year our patron of heaven (*kak-waltik*) God. Here in a little dawns the holy hour. Let us go look before our heart where we are going to receive the holy oath inside of the holy cold house the cold hall where we go to receive our suffering our work holy staff, holy wand. It is going to change, holy day, holy year. Thus we do as did in the past our mother our father

20. What do they do after the greeting?

They drink coffee

They drink coffee

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At 10:45 served bread set on bowl of coffee and bean tortilla in a cloth wrapping. First served *nakawanchetik* then president, then first and second judge, then first and second regidor, then assistant judge, then visitors. At 10:55 *nakawane* got up and stood before first judge and spoke the *spalan mae* (account of the gruel). Then the first judge spoke the *spalan mae* to second judge. The first two regidores of the past year came in to ask if the new officials were now ready "to raise the change"

*621
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[273]

(*K'a s?ebal yak helol*). They said *pat?ot'an* before the *nakawane*. Then bowed and kissed hand (*kue' ibale*) with all men in left interior. Went to door and spoke with *me?il k'op*, *kue' ibale* with her.

At 11:15 *balnialelik* took out the table, laid embroidered cloth on it, put 3 liters of trago and 2 quarts of beer. The first *nakawane* did the *spalanbe mahtan me'il tatil* with the first judge standing before him. Then the first

APPENDIX 1—*continued*

QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
*62 124 796 693 576 [788]			judge got up and stood before the second judge and did the *spalanbe soltak tuyipal č'in mahtanil* (account to company for the little gift. He then went to the first *nakawane* with the *sak'inal* (good day greeting). Then all the assembled company stood up and turn to wall and gave the benediction to the gift of the ancestors
21. Why do they stand and turn to the wall?	Not asked—preceded observation	Not asked	So that the devil does not enter
*62 124 796 [273] [693]	22. What do they do after they drink coffee?	They drink liquor seated, resting their heart, in the entry of the house of the president	Drink liquor to await the hour they go to the cabildo
[202] [625]			Two beers and 2 liters liquor were laid to rest. At 11:55 women came in to get liters of liquor. Put it under a kerchief and took it out to women in kitshen. Judges and regidores put on red kerchiefs. At 12 noon two judges got up and said goodbye, first to the *balnial* then the first judge went to the *nakawane* while the second judge and two regidores followed behind him. Then together the four said goodbye to the *nakawane* and to the *me?il k'op*. Firecrackers were set off to advise police that the group was setting out on their way to the town hall. Police were to meet them at the townhall and had to be advised so that they would arrive at the same time. Two past regidores came to the *me?il k'op* and said goodbye. The group set out together
[23. Omitted.]			
*62 124 788 796 [693]	24. How do they enter the townhall?	They enter two by two. They kneel and cross themselves at the door of the cabildo	They enter two by two, kneel at the door. They rise, enter, arrive, kneel before the *tatik* table
			Pair by pair they entered and touched cross of banner with their rosaries. First the president and síndico then first and second judges followed by judges from Madronal, La Grandeza, San Vicente, and Cruz Quemada
25. Why do they cross themselves?	Because they show respect to the holy cross		

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*621 124 796	26. What do they do in the townhall?	They take the oath		
[798]	27. How is the townhall arranged?	The four holy crosses brought by the alfereses and the holy staffs are on the *tatik* table		On the table were 4 banners, new staffs, key of cabildo laid on orange leaves sprinkled about on table.
	28. Who is in the townhall?	There are gathered the old officials *(mamal k'a huʔčletik)* and the two principales *(mamal krinspaletik)* and the four alfereces *(alperesil)*. (See Chart 7)	It is the old officials	(See Chart 8)
	29. What are the old officials doing?	They are seated conversing		
*621 124 796 641 [782]	30. How do they take the oath?	They take from the *tatik* table what they give the oath for—the four holy crosses and the four staffs.	Standing, the new officials call the name of God. They form a line before the banners	New president ordered new officials to form a circle around table. Then the martomoreys prayed holding rosary in hand
[273]	31. Who passes the staffs *(sbaratik meʔtiktatik)*?	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials. They encircle hand with rosary and take their staff	Two principales handed out staffs first to president, then first judge, second judge, assistant judge, regidores and police. The second principal was very drunk and had to be directed by former president
*621 124 796 641 875 539	32. Who gave the oath?		The secretary	The schoolteacher
	32a. What does the schoolteacher say when he gives the oath?			Gentlemen, by the will of the pueblo, the government of the state leaves us in charge of the officers before us. The president is in charge of the pueblo during the three years from this one on, 1965, –66, –67. This pueblo has the obligation of helping him in the organization of all his works. It has the obligation of respecting his command, and the authorities that are going to work with him also have the obligation of respecting him because he is the first authority. All of us who belong to the pueblo and all the societies have the obligation of respecting him just as the assistant authorities fulfill his orders because he is the primary authority. Raise the right hand, repeat after me: In the name of the government of the state with the honor that characterizes them I swear to fulfill with honor

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APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
#621 124 796 641 [875]				and enthusiasm what the constitution commands us. I want in this moment, under the oath, to designate the position of municipal president of the pueblo
[539]	33. How did new officials respond to oath?			Officials raised hands with rosary in it. Then they put rosary on their necks
#621 124 796	34. What do they do after the oath?		Pass over the papers, with the acts, with all the things	Take inventory of communal possessions—5 chairs in bad estate, 2 *codigo viejo*, etc.
	35. Who takes inventory?			The past president
#621 124 794 796 [533] [788]	36. What do they do after they take their staffs the new officials?	The four alfereces go out with their banners	The alfereces go out in a procession with the banners	First alferez came to table, crossed himself, kissed banner with kerchief bound on handle, unfurled banner. He followed with second, third, and fourth alfereces. Flute and drum began as alfereces came out. They turned and faced the townhall. Inclining banners the police went out, knelt, crossed selves at door. Then the regidores, then president, then síndico and judges
#621 124 796 788	37. What time did the procession begin?			1:05
	38. What did the procession look like?	(Chart 9)		(Chart 10)
	39. How many turns do they take?		They take two turns where the fruit is sold (reference to plaza during a ceremony)	Two turns (started behind school house but old *nakawane* redirected them)
	40. What did the alfereces do?			At door of the townhall, drew up horses facing it, dipped banners. Same at church
	41. Where does the procession go?	To the church	They go to the church	They enter the church
#621 124 796 [624]	42. Who remains at the townhall?		The officials come out, leaving all the townhall silent except for the two principales who will await the new officials	The two principales remain within
[782] [794]	43. What do they do in the church?	All the officials speak to God (Chart 11)	They speak to God. They kiss all the saints	They pray at the altar, then kiss the saints as they leave. The alfereces leave their banners in the church

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CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

*621 124 796	44. Where do the old officials go?	To the house of the old president or to the house of the former first judge		
	45. What do they do there?	They go to say goodbye		
	46. What do their hearts say?	Their hearts are very sad		
	47. Why do they kiss all the people present?		Because they want a miracle in order that there be no illness to pass in office	
*621 124	48. Who is in the church?	The mayordomos are in the church		The mayordomos sit at the bench in back of the church
794 796	49. What are the mayordomos doing?	They are seated at the door of the church. They watch the new officials enter the church		
	50. Why are they seated in the church?	In order to know who will be the new officials to see *(ya i?il)* in the townhall		
*621 124 796	51. Where do the new officials go when they come out of the church?	The new police enter inside the kitchen (Chart 12). The president enters inside the townhall	Leave church and pass to the townhall	The police go to the kitchen attached to the townhall and the rest of the officials go into the townhall
[539] [693]	52. What does the president say to the two principales inside the cabildo?	"Where are you, *Mamal principal?*"	First judge gives *patbeyo?t'an* with the two principales. "Good day, tat. How does God see you, tat. Now you have taken your heart, has spoken your heart. Now you have been before the face of the motherfather. Where you take the holy oath inside the holy cold house, holy cold abode. You saw the procession in the plaza before the temple and inside the holy mother church for the commander lord. There is no fear, no embarrassment. That is all. Go rest your heart	[I was not present for these sessions]
	53. What does the principal reply?	"Enter, Mr. new president *(mamal ?al' presirente)* and enter, Mr. New judges *(mamal ?al' alkaletik)*"		
*621 124	54. What do they do then?	They sit a little each in his own chair	They sit down. They begin to drink liquor	
273 796 693	55. What do they do after they have rested their heart a little?	The first judge and the president order the fourth regidor to go get a liter of trago		
	56. For whom do they get the liter of the gift?	For the new officials		
	57. What do they do with the gift when the regidor arrives?	They put it in the middle *(ta yolil komun)*		

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX I—*continued*

	Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: Entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
*621 124 796 539 693 273	58. What do the principales say to the first judge in the cabildo on the New Year?	They give the *spatbeyo?t'an*		
	59. What does the judge say when he gives the gift to the principales?	"Give pardon, mamal *krinsipal*. Let a little enter to give warmth to your body"		
	60. What do the principales say?	"Thank you, *two mamal alkal, mamal presirente, mamal sintiku*"		
	61. What does the judge say?	"Pardon and let a little drink warm your body"		
	62. What does the judge say to the regidor?	"Lend me your hand, *mamal rehirol skanebal* (second regidor). Look, pour the gift of the ancestors *(me?tiktatik)* for the *mamal krinsipaletik*"		
	63. What does the fourth regidor say as he pours the gift for the principal?	"With your permission, *mamal krinsipal, mamal ?alkaletik*, I look and give the gift"		
*621 124	64. Who drinks first on New Year in the townhall?	The two principales		
796	65. Second?	President		
693	66. Third?	Síndico		
273	67. Fourth?	First judge		
	68. Fifth?	Second judge		
	69. Sixth?	Third judge		
	70. Seventh?	Fourth judge		
	71. Eighth?	First regidor		
	72. Ninth?	Second regidor		
	73. Tenth?	Third regidor		
	74. Eleventh?	Fourth regidor		
	75. What do they do after the first round of drinks?	They continue drinking until they get a little drunk		
	76. What happens at noon?	They close the doors of the townhall		
	77. What do the police do in the kitchen?	They enter and sit on a bench		
	78. Where do they sit?	(Chart 11)		
	79. What is the first order that he gives the first new police?	He sends the fourth police to bring a little liquor		
	80. What do they do when the fourth returns?	He orders a police of the colonia to "measure" the liquor		

[P. 237]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

*62 124 796 273 81. What do they do after the commissioner of the colonia measures the drink?	The first police of Alannantik gets up and speaks a little with the first police of Ah-k'olnantik	
82. What does he say?	He gives the *spatbe yo?t'an*	
83. What time do they finish the celebration of New Year's?	12 o'clock noon	
84. What does he say after the *spatbe yo?t'an?*	He asks if they can endure a little more	
85. What do the police think?	They ask whether they can endure a little more without getting drunk. "What happens if we get drunk? We won't know if there is an errand for the *mamal ?alkalenik* and we might not be able to help. Better to rest the heart a little. If there is an errand we can help a little and so it is. If there is no errand, let us stay till noon"	
86. What do they do then?	They finish a little more. Then after a little all go out because it is midday. Each one goes to his house to rest the heart and until tomorrow	Drinking continued until sundown

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

Appendix 2—CHANGE OF OFFICIALS IN THE HOLY HOUSE

	Question	Informant 3	Observation
794 796	1. What is the first day of the fiesta called?	*Pas Kantelero*, 'Making the candles'	
124	2. What do the mayordomos do first on Paswamal of the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	They scrape the candles	At 9 A.M. the mayordomos were gathered at the door of the church, scraping the candles. The wax was carefully gathered. It will be melted down to make more candles, but not for ceremonial purposes.
[533]	3. What else do they do in the morning of Paswamal?	Two mayordomos beat the drum and one blows the flute	Music was provided by two mayordomos beating drum and one blowing flute
	4. Where do they scrape the candles?	Inside the church	In the courtyard of the church
	5. Where do they blow the flute?	At the door of the church	On the benches near the door of the church
	6. What else is done on the morning of Paswamal?	They sweep out the church	They sweep the church
[824]	7. What else is done on the morning of Paswamal?	Nothing. Formerly they bought juniper needles to put on the floor inside the church but now they do not	
	8. Why don't they bring pine needles now?	Because now the floor of the church is well finished with pure cement	
	9. What do they do after they finish scraping the candles?	They count the money	The fiscal spent the morning sitting on the benches outside the church with the elder mayordomos watching the counting of money
	10. What day do they collect the money?	On Sunday, eight days before the fiesta of San Pedro	
	11. Who collects the money?	Two kobrarias	
	12. How much do they collect from each mayordomo?	Two pesos each	
	13. Why do they collect the money?	For the price of the candles	
	14. Who counts the money to buy the candles?	Two kobrarias with the fiscal	
794 796	15. What do they do at noon?	They ring the bells. They all begin to drink liquor *(ya?alik)*	They ring the bells. Then they go to the house of the *?ali?bal*
273	16. What do they call the first drink at midday?	One measure to make the food go down *(sko?ip we?eletik)*	
124	17. What do they call the drink after the meal?	Water for the meal *(ya?lel we?elil)*	
	18. How many liters of liquor do the mayordomos drink on Paswamal?	Two liters	

794 796	19. Where do they drink it?	Behind the church	In the house of the *?ali?bal*
124	20. Where do the old mayordomos eat the common meal?	In the church	In the house of the *?ali?bal*
[273]	21. What do they eat?	Male turkey (*mam kox*). Beef soup with tortillas and chile	
[264] [262]	22. How do they prepare turkey?	With chile, *yerba buena* and salt	
[263] [252]	23. Who prepares the meal for the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	The *?ali?bal*. The wife of the *Biktal* (minor) mayordomo of San Pedro and San Pablo	
	24. What do they do after the common meal?	They go to their homes	They go home
	25. What do they call the second day of the fiesta?	Wiiperel	
	26. What do the old mayordomos do first?	They make a fiesta. They beat the drums. They play the flute. They drink trago.	They ring the bells three times. The people gather in the church
	27. What time do they begin the fiesta?	Early	At 7 o'clock
	28. What do they do in the church?		The padre gives a Mass for San Pedro and San Pablo
	29. Who collects for the Mass?		The old officials and the new officials and the women
[533]	30. Where do the mayordomos blow the flute and beat the drum?	At the door of the church	In front of the church
	31. Where do the new mayordomos gather first?	At the house of the kobraria Santa Lucia	At the house of the kobraria of Santa Lucia
	32. What do they do first?	They take out the mouthwash	They serve the mouthwash
[273]	33. What do they do then?	They take out a liter to drink	They serve coffee and corn gruel. Then they serve liquor
[272] [262] [273]	34. How much do the new mayordomos drink?	Two drinks each	After two rounds are served, drink is served to the mayordomos who go to the *nakawanektik* and offer their drinks. This is done so that the new officials will not be drunk in church
	35. How many of the new mayordomos don't drink liquor?	Three	
[272]	36. What do they drink?	Cold water (soda)	
124 794 796 539	37. What does the kobraria of Santa Lucia say to the kobraria of San Pedro Martyr at his house when they begin to drink?	Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal. Thanks you are alive, his word God, at daybreak. We want to see no illness at daybreak. What we will do what we have done. We have to say what our heart says, our soil, our mud. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our Judge Sanpegro sanpablu? So it is that we	

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX 2—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3	OBSERVATION
794 796 124 539		are here and that we are united in front of the house. Pardon us, it is not much, *me?el tatei*. Where we are gathered together there is nothing flavorful nor is there much. It is only a little to warm your body, of the water to wash his body his hand our old saint San Pedro and San Pablo. God thank mother and father *(me?a ta tat'?a)* mam kobraria	
	38. What does the kobraria of Santa Lucia say to the Tatil Sanpegro Martil and the mayordomos when they all go out?	What are we thinking? How shall we rise to enter the house of kobraria Sakramentu? How is it he wants us not to drink? It is good we would not remember. It is enough. If you will remember you will say little, mayordomos. Are we not ready with our rosaries, with our kerchiefs, for candles? Is there anything you want to say?	
	39. What does the kobraria of San Pedro Martyr say?	It is good, I am going to say. Now I am going to say to all if you are ready with your rosary with your cloth to take the holy candles	The mayordomos put on their rosarios and red kerchiefs
	40. What do the mayordomos reply?	Yes, good, we are ready thank you. It is only this more I say to you	
	41. What does the kobraria say then?	Do not drink much trago. I do not want you to walk like a mad man *(tak ?alei lihkel)*. I do not want you to say the kobraria said nothing	
	42. What do the mayordomos reply?	Yes, thanks. It is good. Let us go now. Let us raise our mud our soil	
	43. Where do they go then?	To the house of the kobraria of Sacramento	To the house of the kobraria of Sacramento
	44. What do they say there?	"Good day *mamal*," each one	Good day, *mamal tat*
	45. What time do they go to the house of the kobraria of Sacramento?	At 8 o'clock	9 A.M.
794 796 124	46. In what order do they speak to the people at his house the kobraria of Sacramento?		First to the two *balnials*. Then to the third *nakawane*. Then to the second *nakawane*. Then to the first *nakawane*
	47. What do they say after the *sak'inal*?		The kobraria of *Halal me?etik* gives the *spat yo?t'an* with the first *nakawane*
	48. What (does he say) after *spat yo?t'an*?		He goes to give account to the old woman who nursed us *(me?E'ukasail)* who is the *me?il k'op* in the house

794 796 124

49. Who is the woman speaker? — She is the first elder sister of the mother of the mam kobraria. She has the same mother and father as the father the mam kobraria

50. Who are the women inside the house of the kobraria of Sacramento? — Two or three sisters of the kobraria

51. What do his sisters *(yermanotak)* do inside his house? — They sit on the bench on the porch

52. What do the mayordomos do after the account with the *meʔĒukalailetik?* — They sit on the bench on the porch

53. What does the *nakawane* do? — He tells the *balnial* to take out the mouthwash

54. What do they give after the mouthwash? — First the coffee with the bean tortillas

55. What do they give after the coffee? — They give another mouthwash

56. What do the *balnialetik* do after the mouthwash? — They take out the table with the cloth

[273] 57. What do they do then? — They take out 2 or 3 liters of trago with the measure and a little cold water

58. Who orders the women inside? — *MeʔĒukalail*

59. What do they do before they begin to drink? — The kobraria of the Virgin of Santa Lucia gives the *spatbe yoʔtan* He rises to ask permission before the *meʔĒukalailetik*, all the mayordomos and all the *balnialetik*

[539] 60. What does the kobraria of the Virgin of Santa Lucia say then? — God, mother who nurses us, give permission to us. The water of his body the water of his hand, the gift will pass in your body that which is the mothers' fathers' *(meʔtiktatik)*. God speaks, *tat nakawanehetik* and *balnialetik*. Give us permission to hand the gift that will pass in your body from the *meʔtiktatik*. God, Jesus, Mary, only one commander god is three persons. Bless what we eat and what we drink and bless in the name of god the father. God take the gift, *meʔel tatel*

61. What do they do then? — The mayordomos, *balnialetik* and *nakawanetik* measure their noses.

62. What does the *meʔĒukalail* say? — God thank Mamal Tat

63. Then what does the kobraria of the Virgin Santa Lucia say? — He gives the benediction to the liquor

[539] 64. What is the benediction? — In God's name, God father, name of God, God son, Holy spirit. Yes, I can endure to do what they did, that which the mother, which the father

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX 2—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3	OBSERVATION
794 796 124 [539]			did with the hand which has sinned, the feet which have sinned. Yes, I am changing holy day holy year, holy saint holy oath and the name of the god the father
[213]	65. How much do the mayordomos drink?		They drink four measures. After four measures they do not finish and give the rest to *mamal nakawanchetik*
	66. Why do they do this?		Because it is said they may get drunk at the hour to go to church
	67. What time do they go to the church?	At 10 o'clock	At 11 left for church. Put on red kerchiefs, rosaries
[539]	68. What does the *nakawane* say to the new mayordomos as they leave to go to church?		May you all get up and go to the church. May you all enter inside the church. May you take the oath inside the church before the face of the fiscal. After you take the oath you measure the nose in the face of the *tatik* Jesus Christ. After you have measured the noses, when you enter inside the door of the church the mamal new kobraria speaks the *palanbetik* to the mamal old kobraria
	69. Who is at the church?	The old mayordomos	The old mayordomos are seated at the door of the church
[533]	70. What are they doing?	They are awaiting the new mayordomos	They play the drum and the flute
	71. How do they take the *huramentu* (oath)?		They enter and kneel each pair, *tatil* and *nič'anil* in front of *tatik* Jesus Christ.
	72. How do they stand?		(Chart 15)
	73. How is the church arranged?		There is a large table with the candles lined up. In the middle of the table stands a little holy Jesus hung on the cross
	74. Who is inside the church?		The priest, the fiscal, the old mayordomos
	75. What does the priest do?		He gives the Mass. He blesses the new and the old mayordomos
	76. What do they do after the blessing?		The fiscal gives the candles wrapped in a napkin
	77. How many candles does he give to each mayordomo?		Nine candles
	78. What are the candles for?		To light for the saints
	79. What does he do with the candles?		Goes and puts them in the elder officeholder's house. Returns and gets his own to bring to his house
	80. Where do they go after the oath?		To the house of the kobraria of Sacramento

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzoʔontahal

794	81. What do they do?		They drink
796	82. What time do they leave his house?		Prayer time *(oración)*
124 [273]	83. Where do they go?		To their house
	84. What do they do first on *sk'ahk'alel?*		Go to hear Mass
	85. Who is in the church to hear Mass?		All the new mayordomos, the women, the prayer leaders
	86. What time is the Mass?		At 7 o'clock
	87. What do they do when they come out of Mass?		Go to the house of the kobraria of Sacramento
	88. How many go?		Thirteen
	89. What do the rest do?		Three juniors *(niḉ'anil)* remain play drum at door of church
	90. What do they do at the house of the kobraria of Sacramento?		Count the money of the Virgin and San Pedro Martyr
[426]	91. What do they do with the money?		They want to lend it in order to get interest because they want to increase it *(ya sk'an smahanik yuʔun yaʔbe sol yuʔun sk'an solin hilel)*
	92. How much money is there for the virgin?		Two hundred twenty-eight pesos
[624]	93. Who counts it?	Fiscal with two kobraria	The town treasurer, the síndico and secretary assisted the fiscal in the accounting of funds. The principales sat on the bench to observe proceedings
	94. How much money is there for San Pedro?	Forty pesos	
[624] [537]	95. What do they do after they count the money?	Begins the *pátʔot'an* with the kobraria of Sacramento	The principales recite the *patʔoʔtan* with the kobraria of Sacramento
[273]	96. What do they do afterward?	They drink liquor	They drink liquor

/3/

178 584 614 There are informants who remember the time when there were chuneles, and the younger ones know about it because their fathers have told them. The social conflict brought about by the disappearance of this institution seems to have its most intense point in what concerns marriage. It was the chunel of the clan of a girl to whom the parents of a boy would go to ask for her in marriage. He received gifts and gave his consent in case he thought it advantageous, and, accompanied by the boy and his parents, he went to the house of her parents, to whom he presented the pleas of the young man. No one could oppose the decision of the chunel. An informant adds: "If the woman does not [586] love her husband and leaves him and flees, the man advises the chunel and the chunel eats the woman." She dies if she does not respect the wishes of the oldest man of her clan. Now that there [578] are no chuneles, a boy, with his parents or without them, is accompanied by any member of the clan to which the girl belongs; generally the parents are opposed, the girl is not willing, and the use of force, which serves instead of the traditional fear and reverence, only gives rise to conflicts, bringing irreconcilable hatreds.

614 Formerly the clans of Cancuc were four: Chik, Chejeb, Ijká, and Boj. At present only the first three exist, the members of the Boj clan having been incorporated into the Ijká clan. This fusion of two clans took place a short time before the political revolts to • [125] which we have referred. While taking the census of the town, we found marriages between individuals belonging to these two clans, concluded before the fusion. Since that date "the Boj know that they are now Ijká," and clan exogamy has prevented these unions; "If a Boj marries an Ijká now, the two will die," say my informants, "because they are chapomales."

614 539 776 To an inquiry about the reason for the fusion and the manner of accomplishing it, our informants gave the following explanations, which show undeniably the close relationship existing between clan and nagual:

/6 cont./

551
621
614

Ajkol-culibal	Alán-culibal
19 Chik	14 Chik
13 Chejeb	18 Chejeb
22 Ijká	6 Ijká

/7/ Among the Spanish surnames we have 6 that belong exclusively to Alán- and 6 to Ajkol-culibal (not counting the case in which a native surname of the Chik clan is joined to two different Spanish surnames that are found in both culibales). The remaining 14 Spanish surnames are combined with surnames from the two culibales.

621 Today the culibal is not endogamous, but we believe it
582 possible that it was in former times (as we have found in recent
178 investigations of the Tzotzil group of San Pablo Chalchihuitán of
174 this region). The present possibility of changing residence and
551 the incorporation of native surnames originating from a culibal (or perhaps two) that have disappeared within the boundaries of the two remaining make the reconstruction of the pre-Hispanic
621 culibal impossible in this case. According to the data obtained
582 in our census, 62.5 o/o of the marriages were concluded between
551 persons whose native surnames originated from the same culibal.
[125] In spite of the low percentage, nevertheless the custom of mar-
[166] riage between people of the same culibal predominates (we should
[613] not forget the mobility permitted in recent times, because of which residents of one culibal are persons whose lineages originate from the other), although cases of marriage between persons belonging
[614] to the two different culibales also abound. It is almost always preferred to look for a wife among the women of the same place or rancheria, but at present we can say that clan exogamy is the only thing that regulates marriage.

621 Each culibal has its own chiefs, elected from and by those
622 members who have filled political-religious positions in the
[631] Chakel or Ayuntamiento /municipal government/. The clans are
[614] taken into account in this election, rigorously taking turns. The
[651] culibal chiefs assign the communal lands, organize the collective tasks for the benefit of the community, pray for the health and

121 273* of beverage alcohol is functional or dysfunctional depends on socio-cultural contexts which need to be uncovered in every next case in which such use is investigated. A description of the relation of drinking patterns to their socio-cultural context, then, contributes to a steadily growing but still inadequate ethnographic literature without which further cross-cultural perspective will be lacking.

121 The present investigation is devoted to a detailed statement of how alcohol is used in Aguacatenango. The bulk of the 123 data herein reported came as the result of participant observa- 124 tion for extended periods in Aguacatenango. Some material on the drinking patterns of individuals was gathered in interviews conducted by transcribing informants. These interviews were special Tzeltal conversations in which Pedro Juárez and Mariano Juárez separately read off or otherwise repeated questions directing the respondent to report some aspect of his experience with drinking.

124 Of all the questions which could be asked, we selected • 125 seven which are reported by our informants to occur frequently in conversation about drinking and which men answer about themselves if they are asked. Our two transcribing informants then asked these questions of seventy-six men in town. The procedure was simply to ask each person a question, listen to his response, and then write down in Tzeltal a "synopis" of the response. The

124 Tzeltal and nearest English equivalents are listed below:

125

1. HAY C'OH KAWUC' TRAWO TA HUN *U? TU *ORA HATE LA *AWUC' IXE?

   How many times a month do you drink? When did you last drink?

2. HAYE* K'AHAL KAWUC' HUHUN YAKBELE?

   How many days do you drink on each drunk?

3. TUT'IL X LIHK *AWUC'.

   How did you begin to drink?

4. ME ZAM YA XNEL AWU*UN YA XYAK'UBATE, ME MA*YUK TA PLETO, ME MA*YUK YA*BAT CAMEL?

   Do you drink contentedly? Do you fight? Do you get sick?

5. ME YA SOL AWUN *IP, ME TENEX YUZIL KAWUC' *A.

   Do you drink in excess, or do you drink a proper amount?

6. ME YA YA*BAT CAMEL?

   Do you get sick?

7. TUT'A CAMELIL LA YA*BAT?

   What illness did you get?

125 Such a set of question frames as the above could obviously be expanded to include a wider variety of behavior related to drinking. The present set was used simply to provide evidence for the observation that drinking patterns are "important" in Aguacatenango--importance being measured in terms of the reports of the number of persons engaging in this behavior, the amount of

125 time they spend and the perceived consequences of the behavior. The evidence is inferential; it does not express actual times spent at drinking, actual payments for drinking, nor actual [124] quantities of alcohol consumed. Since the questions and responses were Tzeltal, the reports are at least appropriate in local terms.

126 In addition to the above data, a great deal of material on social roles and their relation to drinking and on the general beliefs and patterns of action in drinking performances has been extracted from native language texts. The text constitute a number of conversations between individuals in Aguacatenango, recorded on tape and then transcribed and translated into Spanish 124 by a bilingual informant. The conversations were at first unfocused; later, I instructed the informant who initiated all of the conversations to elicit a description of a recent illness in [121] the household of the other party. Drinking was not at that time my major interest, but its frequency and its close association with illness brought up the subject in over half of the conver- 126 sations. The taped records were made in a variety of settings 124 and under a range of constraining conditions; my general strategy was to go from house to house with my informant and to record his conversation with whoever was present and willing to talk. The best of the records share the feature that at least two Aguacatenangeros were present in the recording setting and knew

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Amatenango del Valle

621 A territorial distinction not recognized by the federal government is the
361 division of the town center into two sections, or sides, by the street running in front of the church. The two sides of the division are called
[192] Ahk'olnantik, upper side, and Alannantik, lower side. The upper side is in the direction of higher lands in the southwest called Ahk'olk'inal, and the lower side is in the direction of lower lands to the northeast, called Alank'inal. The emphasis on relative altitude implicit in place nomenclature is a central fact in the Indians' ecological adjustment. Marriage is en-
[582] dogamous within each division by explicit rule, and in fact 87 percent of
[183] all marriages conform to the rule, according to a census I took in 1958. A
[125] man who marries a girl on the opposite side is forced to make a payment
[583] of eighteen liters of liquor to the bachelors of the opposite division. In addition to regulating competition for marriage partners, the dual division is the basis for allocating civil and religious offices.

174 Whether the dual division was an indigenous trait or not is a moot
621 point. The pattern for dual organizations existed in both Spanish and indigenous societies (Foster 1951:5). There is some speculation that the dual divisions are a product of the Spanish colonial policy of the congregación, when populations of different origins were drawn together. However, local historical accounts indicate that several ethnic groups were intro-
175 duced at various periods. After the initial congregación, foreign Indians
621 were incorporated in the sixteenth century, in the latter part of the nine-
563 teenth century (Secretaría de Gobierno Constitucional, October 26, 1893), and as late as the 1930s in response to the land reform program. As each ethnic group entered the region, it was either incorporated into one of the existing divisions or was isolated. The persistence of polarization must be
621 explained on other grounds. The widespread distribution in the Chiapas
[174] highlands of dual divisions defined by territory and descent in communities of both dispersed and nucleated settlement patterns suggests the indigenous origins of the division. A dual division of upper and lower sections based on endogamy and equal representation is found in San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:64), Chanal (Eva Hunt, NSF II report), Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1946:424), and Cancuk (Siverts 1964). The Nahuatl term *calpul* is applied in some cases to these divisions. The towns where calpulles are found are *paraje*, or vacant center, types (Tax 1937) which

000 maximum market price for wheat of 124 pesos per 100 kgs. The Indians
435 usually sell their wheat at 90 pesos per 100 kgs. to Teopisca truckers, or at
442 best gain 110 pesos per 100 kgs. by bringing it to the mills themselves.
241 From their perspective corn is the more valuable crop, not only from the point of view of subsistence, but also for sale since if they hold it in storage they can sell it at double the price at which the values are calculated in the census (.60 peso per kg.). They do not have facilities to store wheat in order to take maximum advantage of price changes.

125 The census I made in 1964 of land ownership and use by the 304 fami-
423 lies living in the center of the township (Table 5) shows that 47 percent
161 of the households have no land other than the ejido grant of one hectare. Because of the growing population, the land per household has decreased. A comparison with the 1958 census of land ownership of 280 households in the center indicates that 89 families now have less land than they had at that date, 72 have the same amount, and 44 have more land; 99 unknown cases include new families which have been created since the earlier date, families which were no longer in existence in 1964, and households in which there is a lack of data on the question of landholding.

423 The strong sentiment against the sale of one's own land, well docu-
432 mented in the monographic literature,[2] is expressed here:

If a man sells his land without sickness, people say he is lazy. The best thing to buy if you have money is land. Unlike cattle, it does not die, it does not get lost, and it does not need watching. It is not the same with a horse. When you buy one, you have to watch it and care for it and when it dies, all is over. You lose all your money. But with land, in two years you have the land paid for and it remains as a gift. It gives us what we eat.

423 Land is rarely sold to outsiders. If a man needs money and has a buyer
432 from out of town, the civil authorities raise the money and buy the plot,
609 selling it in pieces as they find buyers. Only one small plot of land has
621 been sold to an outsider in my knowledge of the community. This plot

2. See Tax (1957), Wagley (1941). Oscar Lewis (1963:125 indicates that in Tepotzlan the breakdown of the resistance to selling land was associated with a growing awareness of profits to be made in the regional and national economy.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 32]

owned plots of less than five hectares, corn is clearly the major crop, with 83 percent of the land devoted to its production. In the ejido lands, it is cultivated on less than 50 percent of the land, with wheat and beans sharing the remaining lands. Included in the category of ownership of five hectares or more are three large fincas where cattle fodder is grown. These fincas employ eighty-three laborers, some of whom live in the town center.

Since the Mexican census figures do not take into account the total land holdings of the household, I shall refer to the data on land use from my own census in 1964 (Table 5). Beans are grown (except in three cases) only if the household has more than the one hectare of ejido land grant. Corn and beans are grown together only on irrigated lands, both in high lands and in low country. Most farmers with ejido land grow wheat in addition to corn only when the land is in continual production, since it is believed that wheat gives "heat" to the land and improves the soil. This belief is supported by the real value of crop rotation.

Decisions concerning what crops to plant where are based on two sets of criteria: topology and soil characteristics. These criteria, furthermore, are the basis for determining what kinds of seed should be planted and what techniques of cultivation should be utilized.

Topological criteria. Because of the relative wealth of land resources, the steep hills are left uncultivated. All of the steep hills are communally owned, and the second growth of pine and scrub oak provides firewood. Tall pine growing in the higher lands of the colonia of San Vicente is sold by the community to private lumber companies.

The "belly of the land," the mound-like hillocks at the bottom of the hills, are sometimes cultivated or used for pasturage. On hilly lands farmers put rocks in the banks or curve the rows of corn to avoid erosion. The very low lands of the valley floor must be drained by digging ditches.

The flat irrigated lands of the valley floor are the most desirable lands for cultivation. The Indians are reluctant to sell these lands, and hold on to them until they are forced to sell.

When the officials reach concensus on what the mean yield (or *medio calculo* as they call it) is, they multiply this by the known amount of seed planted. Every six-years a house-to-house census of what was planted is made.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

434 of the farm by renting additional land, as European peasants typically
464 did,[5] since there is very little land available for rent and the returns are
427 not immediate. Farmers will try to avoid this by acquiring land grants to
241 increase subsistence agriculture.

125 Expenditures and earnings were studied in six families over varying pe-
434 riods of time from ten days to one year. The data are summarized below.

434 Family No. 1, consisting of a husband, his wife, and their married
592 daughter separated from her husband and child, is able to meet all of their
[241] need for corn and brown sugar and most of their need for beans by the crops they raise on one-half hectare of ejido land in hot country, one-half hectare of ejido land in the township, and three-quarters hectare of privately owned, irrigated land in the township. On their irrigated land, they grow one-half hectare of wheat and one-quarter hectare of corn. In hot country they grow corn, beans, and sugar cane on the margins of the field. The cane is ground in a cooperatively owned mill, and their crop in 1965 produced 144 *tapas*, or measures of one kilogram worth 5 pesos. In addition to 200 pesos earned for the wheat crop, 100 pesos for the bean crop, 298 pesos for corn, this farmer earned 808 pesos for outside work. His high
[464] wage income is due to his working for an American at twice the usual
[465] daily pay. The farmer buys coffee by the twenty-five-pound bag costing 62
[435] pesos in hot country, a saving of about one-half the retail price of coffee in the town, where it is sold at 5 or 7 pesos at pound. In twelve months of recorded expenditures, the family spent 609.50 pesos or 83 percent of their budget on food, 40 pesos or 5 percent of their budget on clothing and 82 pesos or 11 percent of their budget on medicine.

The high expenditures in the case of family No. 2, consisting of a man,
[583] his wife, and two mature sons, was due to the fact that one of the boys was carrying on a betrothal suit. The bride-price had been fixed at 500 pesos, toward which the family was contributing whatever excess of income over
[464] expenditures it had. The son who was seeking a wife worked fifty-six days
[465] in the sawmill at a wage of 15 pesos per day during the six-month period recorded, earning 255 pesos. In addition, he and his brother earned 160 pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village.

5. Chayanov (1966:7) demonstrated that Russian peasant families expanded the size of their farms when the subjective needs of the family increased, not as a response to market prices for crops or rents.

434 592 [241 423 464] irrigated land in addition to their one-half hectare of ejido land. He supplements his income with work in the sawmill for some periods of the year, at a wage of 90 pesos a week, making a total of 165 pesos in the ten days recorded. The family spent 81 percent or 36 pesos of the budget on food, 13 percent or 6 pesos on clothing 2.3 percent or 1 peso on household supplies, and 3 percent or 1.20 pesos on medicines.

434 592 241 262 These family budgets show that most of the corn and beans can be supplied by subsistence agriculture. Garden crops of chile, chayote (a green vegetable which produces a fruit and an edible root), and fruit trees, including lime and anone, are raised in the house yard. Tomatoes, fruit, and cabbages are bought in neighboring market towns.

434 592 171 In comparison with household consumption expenditures in the United States and other foreign countries, these budgets show a much higher proportion of cash income spent on food. The percentages of food expenditures range from 63.2 to 97.0 in the families studied, whereas in the United States the average percentage is only 26.3, in Argentina 59.2, and in Zambia 66.5 (Conference Board Economic Almanac 1967). This reflects the fact that the people of Tzoʔontahal have no expenses for house rental, that wood for fuel and light is available in communally owned forests, and that most of the household utensils such as jars, jugs, and bowls, are locally produced. However, failure to report items must also be noted—no [125] one reported purchasing matches although everyone uses them, and only half of the families reported use of soap, although this is universally purchased.

433 241 A gross estimate of the land necessary to fulfill consumption needs of corn for a family of two adults and four children would be approximately one and a half to two hectares. The yearly average consumption of corn for such a family is about 2,000 kilograms. One hectare produces from 1,200 to 2,000 kilograms in addition to 80 kilograms of beans. Of the 299 families whose land ownership is given in Table 5, 142 have only one hectare of ejido land and 85 more have only one-half additional hectare of privately owned land. This means that 227 households, or 61 percent do not 423 433 have enough land to meet their subsistence needs. 160 household heads

ered to be dirty since the pigs and dogs cannot scavenge the feces. Mothers train their children to have bowel movements in the evening when darkness offers them privacy in the houseyard. 000 863

Changes in house types in the seven-year period from my first census in 1958 to the second in 1964 are tabulated in Table 14. There has been a general improvement in the standards: tile roofs have increased from 1 to 20.1 percent. The increase has been at the expense of both wood shingle (declined 8.3 percent) and of thatch and palm leaf (declined 9.8 percent). 342 177 178 [125]

TABLE 14. Types of House Construction

	1958 *		1964 †	
	Number of houses	*Percent of all houses*	*Number of houses*	*Percent of all houses*
Roofs				
Tile	1	1	58	20
Shingle	27	23	41	14
Thatch or palm	87	76	190	66
Walls				
Board plank	17	15	66	23
Wattle and daub	98	85	223	77
Sweatbath				
Have	60	52	120	42
Have not	54	47	169	58
Unknown	1	1		

* Based on sample of 115 houses.
† Based on total survey of houses in center with 22 unspecified.

[343]

The numbers of houses with wood plank walls has increased from 14.8 percent to 22.8 percent. This is a temporary arrangement, and the planks are usually replaced with wattle and daub, so the increase may simply reflect new construction. The percentage of houses having sweatbaths has declined from 52.1 to 41.5. No new sweatbaths have been made for the last ten years or so, and many of those recorded are not in use. 343 178

The changes in housing type reflect the greater prosperity of the town as well as the increasing receptivity to outside influence. The increase in tile roofs means a greater dependency on external markets. Ten years before the final census, a man who put on a tile roof feared the consequences of witchcraft. 342 177 178 434 754

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Changes in the household composition in the period from 1958 to 1964 between the two censuses I made in the field indicate some of the trends toward nuclear family units or bilaterally-rather than predominantly patrilineally-extended units (Tables 15 and 16). Comparisons are made between the same household in each period. Comparison of family forms in the six-year period indicates a high rate of change, with 39 percent remaining the same and 40 percent changing. The remaining 21 percent are the newly created families. The direction of change favors nuclear families (40 cases or 29 percent of changes) and virilocal forms (27 cases or 20 percent of changes). Nuclear families were the most stable, with 62 remaining the same and 62 changing to another form. This contrasts with uxorilocal households which are the least stable, with 11 cases remaining the same and 23 changing, and virilocal households which follow a similar pattern with 14 cases remaining the same and 25 changing. Nuclear families account for 88 percent of the new families created by marriage in the period studied. The trend is toward a greater proportion of nuclear families, as measured by the various indices.

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Table 16. Direction of Change in Household Composition, 1958–1964

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	Alannantik		*Ahk'olnantik*		*Total*	
Family type	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*
Change to nuclear from						
Virilocal	14	22	4	5	18	13
Uxorilocal	5	8	9	12	14	10
Joint sib			1	1	1	1
Grandparent-Grandchild			1	1	1	1
Incomplete	1	2	3	4	4	3
Unknown			2	3	2	1
Total	20	32	20	26	40	29
Change to virilocal from						
Nuclear	8	12	10	14	18	13
Uxorilocal	2	3	1	1	3	2
Joint sib			1	1	1	1
Incomplete	1	2	4	5	5	4
Total	11	17	16	21	27	20

(*cont.*)

592 The household into which an individual is born remains a resource base
591 throughout his life. In nine cases noted in Table 17 in which separations
586 occurred, the spouse returned to his or her natal home. In most cases in-
592 volving the death of a spouse, the widow or widower stays in the house-
736 hold established during the marriage. If the children are too young to be economically useful, the surviving parent may return to the parental household with his or her children, or they may move in with married siblings. If the family was living with the parents of one of the spouses, the surviving members usually remain there even if the elder couple are not the parents of the widow or widower. A young widow living alone is the prey of drunken men during fiestas and requires a protector.

586 The stability of marriage can be seen in the statistics on changes in con-
587 jugal status in the period from the first census in 1958 to the second census
[125] in 1964 (Table 18). Of 264 marriages formed at the time of the first census, only 15, or 5 percent, were voluntarily dissolved; 16 percent were broken by the death of one or both spouses, and another 1 percent by the death of both partners. 10 widowers and 4 widows remarried, an index both to the greater availability of women for remarriage as well as to the necessity for a man to have a woman in the house.

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TABLE 18. Changes in Conjugal Status, 1958–1964

Conjugal status	*Alannantik*	*Ahk'olnantik*	*Total*
Same	92	89	181
Separated	3	11	14
First marriage	28	65	93
Widowed	13	26	39
Two wives		1	1
Remarried			
Widower	6	4	10
Widow	2	2	4
Both died	3	1	4
Returned to wife	3	1	4
Unknown	3	21	24
Total	153	221	374

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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787 claim, has been lost, as has been more recently that of speaking with the ancestors. But the curers can still enter into communication with the spirit world and in this lies their power.

461 Industry is valued along with competency. A man is described as indus-
183 trious with the words, "he carries much wood well," and a woman with the words, "she carries much sand well." These expressions are a kind of
[196] synechdoche for general industriousness, since the tasks serve as the measure of willingness to perform one's sexually defined roles.

[476] Judgments made in the choice of working "partners" in the exchange
[602] labor system are based on competence in working as well as on considera-
[608] tions of kin and compadrazgo relationship. Women make judgments of
[323] others' skill in pottery-making on the basis of both the appearance of the pot and its durability proved in use and transportation without breakage to market. Both men and women known to be hard workers are admired
[154] and envied. They may consequently become the objects of witchcraft.

828 Conceptions of personality are one end product of evaluations of per-
157 formances and condition people's expectations of individuals in their social environment. For the Indians, personality traits tend to imply other traits.
125 In order to derive a sense of these implications for Tzoʔontahal, I drew up
157 a checklist to identify some of these associations. Informants were asked to
828 state whether each of the traits listed on the top line in Table 30 was correlated positively, negatively, or not at all with each of the same traits listed vertically. A plus (+) sign indicates positive correlation, a minus (—) sign indicates negative correlation, and an equal (=) sign indicates that
157 there was no correlation. Thus being bright is positively correlated with
828 being beautiful and negatively correlated with being evil, fearful, lazy, foolish, gullible, braggardly, gossipy, and miserly. There is no connection between being bright and being of good heart, aggressive, or honorable. This suggests that the heart and the mind are independent loci for a set of traits that stem from them. Metaphors such as bitter, acid, and straight, when used to describe personality, are similar in connotation to those used in English. As in English, immediate sensory experiences of taste and vision provide by extension a means of talking about character.

157 In studying these personality traits, I sensed that "being" was "doing"
551 things in certain repetitive ways. This impression is corroborated by the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 286]

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TABLE 30. Personality Traits and Their Implications *

	Bright	*Beautiful*	*Good heart*	*Soft heart*	*Aggressive*	*Evil*	*Industrious*	*Fearful*	*Lazy*	*Foolish*	*Gullible*	*Gossipy*	*Miserly*	*Upright*	*Braggardly*
Bright		+	=	=	−	−	=	−	−	−	−	=	−	=	−
Beautiful	+		=	=	−	−	=	=	−	−	=	−	−	=	−
Good heart	=	+		+	−	−	=	=	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Soft heart	=	=	+		−	−	=	=	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Aggressive	=	=	=	−		+	=	−	+	=	=	−	=	−	=
Evil	−	−	−	−	+		=	−	−	−	−	=	+	−	=
Industrious	=	=	=	=	=	=		=	−	−	=	=	=	=	=
Fearful	−	=	=	=	−	−	=		=	=	=	=	=	=	=
Lazy	−	−	−	−	=	=	−	=		=	=	−	−	−	+
Foolish	−	−	−	−	=	=	−	=	−		−	−	−	−	−
Gullible	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	=	=	−		+	+	−	−
Gossipy	−	−	−	−	=	+	−	−	=	=	+		+	−	=
Miserly	−	−	−	−	=	+	=	=	−	−	+	+		−	+
Upright	=	=	+	+	−	−	=	=	−	−	−	−	−		−
Braggardly	=	−	−	−	=	=	−	−	=	=	=	+	+	−	

* Response of one informant.
+ Positive corelation
= No corelation
− Negative corelation

175 632 466 communal projects for the neighboring town as there had been formerly. The peasant is master of his own time.

125 221 512 Tables 33 and 34 summarize the number of days and percentage of time accorded to various activities for men of two households. The first family consists of a man forty-three years of age and his wife. All of their own children died in infancy, and an adopted daughter recently left home to live with her husband and child in a new ejido plot. The second family consists of a man, his wife, two adult sons, and an unmarried daughter. In this family, the father of sixty-five is retired and his two sons perform all of the agricultural work. Table 34 includes only the activities of the sons. 125 221 The two schedules provide some contrasts:

461 462 561 1. The forty-three-year-old man has many more ceremonial obligations than the youths. This is a factor related to the life cycle in which men over thirty-five years of age are involved in more familial and community celebrations. During the year this schedule was taken, the man was serving as a mayordomo.

2. The older man has fewer productively employed days than the youths (only 54 percent of his time is spent in productive activities) in contrast to 76 percent and 79 percent for the youths). The difference is accounted for by wage employment the youths have undertaken. In order to pay for the cost of betrothal, the elder son worked 56 days (37 percent of the time accounted for) in a neighboring sawmill.

3. The youths were not involved in any exchange labor arrangements; until they become independent heads of households working their own fields, the men do not contract reciprocal exchanges.

221 461 462 796 The fact that men spend only 54 to 79 percent of their time (using these tables to provide minimal and maximal limits) on productive activities means that there is a great deal of flexibility in the use of time for ceremonial responsibilities. Everyone takes an average of twenty days off for celebrating fiestas in addition to fifty-two Sundays.

241 461 [796] The high proportion of time spent in family or communal ceremonials suggests the high value placed on them. The preference for leisure to pursue these activities is proved in cases such as that in which the additional profit in cultivating cabbages was not sufficient to motivate one agricultur-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 316]

114 The previous mentioned sources of information will be
128 utilized for background of the study.

The actual data pertaining to the two communities under scrutiny is derived from the following sources: (1) Aguacatenango field-notes, prepared by Duane and Barbara Metzger in the year 1956; (2) Aguacatenango field-notes prepared by the Metzgers and myself during 1958, summer session; (3) my Master's paper on Residence Patterns in Aguacatenango (Verbitsky, 1959b); (4) Amatenango reports prepared by June and Manning Nash, with the assistance of Joan Ablon during 1958-59; (5) the subsequent writings of the Nashes and Metzgers, published, and unpublished but available in mimeographed form for consultation.

125 Whenever it was possible, the data were collected quanti-
124 tatively. The section on residence was based on a formal questionnaire, checked for reliability with informal interviews with the same and other informants. This questionnaire was applied by the Nashes to 280 households in Amatenango and by myself to 68 in Aguacatenango. The residence analysis of Amatenango was prepared by June Nash (1959) with methods comparable to those utilized by me in my Master's paper. (Both used comparable analytical procedures.)

124 Other data were collected by direct questioning about particular subjects and analyzed and contrasted with case histories on the same topic.

Complete genealogies of the two villages were utilized for placing individual histories in the context of the family and other social relations.

423 241 417 knows his own parcel and its boundaries, which are sometimes marked with a few stones or a less elaborate fence of a few poles.

241 476 The men that fence the land together cooperate with each other in some other agricultural tasks which require more than two hands (e.g., clearing and burning before planting, cleaning irrigation ditches).

183 591 Stating the norms of residence in anthropological language, we can say that the generalized residence pattern, if it reflects the practice of the norms, should be patrilocal for single and married men, patrilocal for single women, virilocal for married women and parentilocal for children (see Fig. 13, Fischer's Typology).

The Residence Patterns

125 To find out how the ideal rules are carried into practice, we analyzed a sample of sixty-eight households containing an average of five people per unit, and a total of 384 individuals. This sample was gathered by the author in the field, in 1958, and covers half of the village in a chess board pattern of blocks (see charts). The data on the sample is complemented by a previous total census of the village, prepared by the Metzgers and the school teacher in 1956, which covered the whole population of the community, but contained less detailed information on some aspects of residence. Both will be augmented by a sample of life histories contained in the field notes.

128 The data will be presented in tables, and in the text, both in number of cases and in relative percentages. When possible,

TABLE 7

591 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: NEWLY MARRIED COUPLES IN COMPOUNDS, 1958

Residence	Cases	Per Cent
Viri-patrilocal	13	72
Uxor-patrilocal	4	23
Neolocal (Borrowing house)	1	5
Total	18	100

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183 Aguacatenango: Residence Patterns of Old Marriages, Nuclear Households

The composition of nuclear households shows that people live according to their own ideas about who should live separate from their parents. Nuclear households with no children in them represents 7 per cent of the total. Nuclear households with only one child also represent 7 per cent of the cases. Nuclear households with two or more children represent 86 per cent.

•125 Paternal sponsorship after a couple has moved out of the
591 husband's parental compound was measured by (1) degree of proximity
593 between the two households of a man and his son, and (2) father-son transmission of a house site.

361 The fact that the town is closely settled, especially in
591 the center, makes it increasingly difficult to maintain strict
593 contiguous patrilocal proximity between father and son, so at first glance, many a man seems to be living in a neolocal setting according to Fischer's typology. The problem of applying the concept

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591 592 423 426 has not inherited land. The other family living in a borrowed home is a young couple that married without their parents' approval. They eloped and established themselves on the edge of town, in an empty old hut, whose owner does not demand payment. "Borrowings" are temporary arrangements, and as a form of residence, very unstable. Young couples who decide to elope leave town to reside at Colonia del Puerto. We know of two cases which followed this custom. But if they do not leave town, they try to move to a house on the edge of town. From these two cases, we can assume that borrowing is due to economic reasons (poverty of a family who cannot afford to buy a house), or as a consequence of deviant behavior (in the case we have, the husband was an orphan and parental sponsorship by the wife's parents was denied because they disapproved of the marriage).

[583]

361 156 167 The edge of town is a refuge area for people who in one way or another "do not belong" to the community. Social deviants, like the young couple mentioned above, tend to move to the town boundaries. Recent migrants from other villages also live on the edges. Two complete blocks on the southern boundary of town are inhabited by a large extended patrilocal family which originated from a Chamula Indian who was a peon on a nearby finca until the agrarian revolution. After he became free, he migrated to the village and married a local Indian woman.

125 The above discussion covers all the cases for which we had sample data. We have, however, information on other cases which could not be counted in the statistics because they were part of life histories or concerned individuals who do not live in

125 the village any more. These cases seem to illustrate common alternatives, and we must mention them briefly.

591 We know of three cases in which a newly married couple
593 moved to the husband's brother's compound. In those cases, the
183 brother was an elder who jurally replaced the father, and it seems that he took the responsibility of paying the bride-price for his
591 brother's wife. We also had four cases of men who, at the time
603 of their marriage, were living with the mother's mother. It
183 seems that this was the result of the parents being dead, and the fact that no other relative was left in the original compound.

Amatenango Residence

Residence of Married Couples

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183 In Amatenango, unlike Aguacatenango, there is no "indication of a single general form of residence pattern" which the villagers would verbalize as normative. "At any stage in the developmental cycle alternative choices in residence with the man's or the woman's relatives depends not on the lineal tie, but on economic factors" (Nash, 1960:41).

591 Married couples live with the parents of one of the spouses
592 for a year or two after they marry. During these years, the young
583 husband is expected to give some labor to the wife's father by
606 working with him in his fields, helping him to carry wood to make the hearth in which women burn pottery, and by performing other small services. The couple live only temporarily with the parents. The stability of the compound households depends on several factors. If there are other marriageable children, offspring of

average annual earnings of a man in this town); failure to accept the post when it is offered brings a jail sentence. On the following day, during a drinking session in the townhall with the assembled civil officials, the reluctant nominee usually accepts. 794 [434] [681] [273]

The civil career of an individual would be one in which he passed (*sk'as*, which I gloss as 'páss'; it is the same verb as Spanish *pasar*) first as police, then as third or fourth regidor. If he has passed as alferez, he will enter as first or second regidor at this stage, and then go on to second judge and finally become first judge. If not, he will stop as third or fourth regidor. After reaching the peak of his career as first judge, he may return to the police group as *martomorey*. Present leaders of the town consider this an "ugly" custom and say they hope to change it because it puts men of major age in a position of minor importance. Formerly men had to fulfill six turns in civil office, twice as regidor and twice as judge, to be considered free of further obligation. But now, because of increasing population (according to informants), this has been lowered to five required turns. The post which has been eliminated is that of assistant judge, which is now filled by a representative of one of the two barrios. 156 621* 554 693 [794] [829] 624 693 178 156

Throughout his career in office, a household head is expected to alternate between the civil and religious posts. Religious posts are considered less onerous since they require only six months of service, from the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo at the end of June until January 6, and the men are on duty only Sundays and holidays. A balanced number of six turns in each of the branches of the hierarchy was expected, prior to the reduction of the number of civil posts to five, to bring one to the end of one's career. In a census of 311 household heads made in 1964, passage in office shows a balance between posts undertaken in each wing of the hierarchy. Of 13 men over 70 years of age, five had completed service in civil and religious office. Three who had passed as president had served only once or twice in each wing of the hierarchy. The remaining five had a balanced but incomplete career. 621* 156 794 [125] •

In the religious hierarchy, a man passes first as *nič'anil kuč haʔ*, 'minor who brings liquor.' Then he will pass as *ʔalīʔbal*, the assistant to the *kobraria*, particularly charged with the slaughter of the bull for the large fiestas. These "servants" were not distinguished from other mayordomos in the initial listing of officers, but were mentioned in the description of fiesta 794 554 156

[P. 215-A)

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The Municipal President was visited, and as soon as he saw our credentials, arranged for labourers to be furnished from Sivacá, and sent to the ruins of Toniná nearby, to clear the bush for our work. Then we drew the stone discovered by La Farge (see figs. 214-215).

During the evening we talked with many of the inhabitants, and were told of several more carved stones to be found in other parts

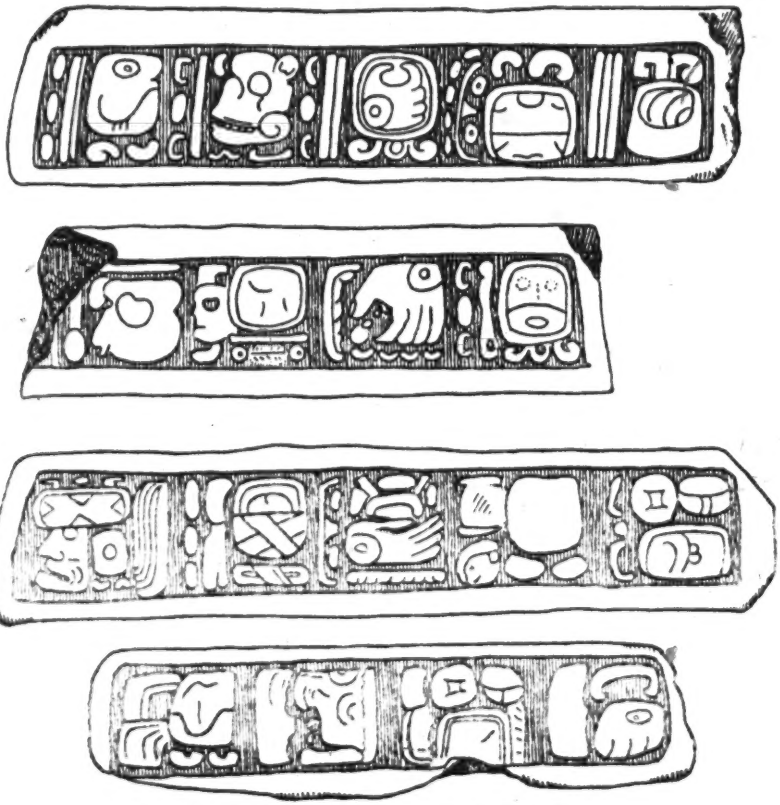


FIG. 198—Toniná, Chis. Drawing of Monument T-7.

of town. Previous Municipal Presidents had paved the streets with cut stones from the Toniná ruins. As a matter fact, it appears, that from the very founding of the Spanish town of Ocosingo, the inhabitants have occupied themselves mainly with hauling rocks from the ruins to the village.

Our search for carved monuments led us into strange places, and amusing situations. In the corner of a house belonging to the Ger-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

172 114 man, Dr. Schmeling, was a stone with rows of hieroglyphs somewhat similar to the one first discovered. Behind the church, in a combination back yard and pig sty, we located three large stone figures, two of them with inscriptions. Then we heard of a stone said to be partly buried in the ground on an old site. When we arrived at this place, the owner of the lot appeared, very drunk, and insisted that we pay him $25.00 for permission to see and draw the stone. He was very noisy so we retired, and the next morning returned with an order from the municipal president giving us authority to do what we wanted to with the stone, as it was government property (see figs. 197-198). The laws of Mexico state that all ancient buildings and monuments belong to the nation. Monuments cannot be excavated or removed from the country without government permission. The Tulane Expedition had permits to explore, and due to these permits we received much help from all officials. All objects we discovered were drawn to scale and photographed, but nothing was removed.

[122] [126]

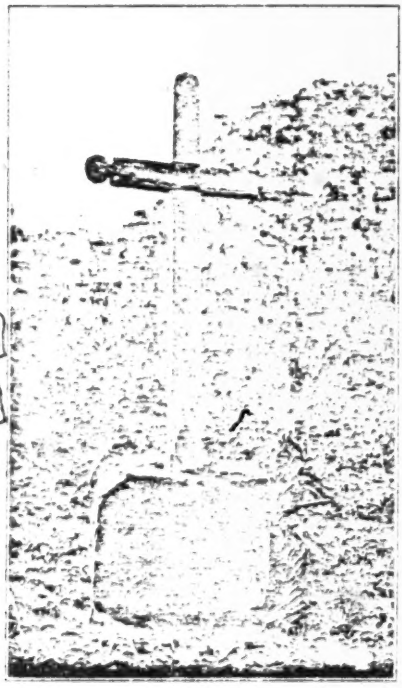


Fig. 199—Ubala Ranch, Chis. Upper half of Monument T-8 with modern cross.

Outside the village there was said to be a large stone with carvings. La Farge went out in search of it led by our somewhat imbecile local guide. For some time they wandered around without finding anything, but finally the guide led him to what he said was another stone, a large square block with a circular hole in the center, in which was stuck a huge wooden cross (fig. 199). The stone had been dragged to its present position by our guide's family, and used as a base for the cross of his grandmother's grave. His family did not wish us to find the monument, as they feared we would excavate it; but our imbecile thought he had to produce something for his pay, so he took La Farge to the stone.

[126] La Farge made a sketch of the principal inscription, which showed that it began with one of the so-called Initial Series, most

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

important in Maya Chronology. The writer went to draw the monument, but could not finish it the same afternoon as it began to get dark. The following morning the work was continued and we found that a part of the monument was missing. While working, the owner of the land arrived and told us that there was another stone nearby. This turned out to be the missing fragment, and when the two parts were placed together they carried the Initial Series date 9-12-10-0-0 9 Ahau 13 Zotz, or 422 A. D., after our reckoning. 172 [126]

This was an important discovery, and we persuaded the owner of the Ubala ranch, where we found the monument, to bring the two stones together. His intention was to use the lower part of the monument, which had a large hole in its centre, as a rim to a water tank.

We found a total of nine carved stones of different sizes in and around Ocosingo. All were of the typical yellow sandstone common to Toniná monuments, and there is little doubt but that they all come from these ruins.

Our stay in Ocosingo was very delightful. The children of the village eagerly hunted monuments for us, and our arrival made a boom in the local market. Usually the inhabitants spend their time passing a few pennies from one to the other. One day A makes bread and sells it to B, and the next day B sells bread to A. Now we added a few cents to the city capital. 123

On the day of Corpus Christi the women, with their heads wrapped in black shawls, went to church many times; the men did less work than usual; and the children played baseball on the Plaza. A quaint phraseology, a mixture of American baseball words and Spanish swearing, cheered the play.

While drawing one of the monuments behind the church, we heard an organ playing inside. Suddenly the music swung into some cheerful opera tune, later to return to serious religious music. We had the feeling that whoever was playing suddenly felt gay and happy and decided that the good people of Ocosingo did not know what the music was anyway, but thought anything coming from a church organ was religious, so why not be happy for a short moment?

Indians went back and forth over the Plaza, often filling the door of our room to watch the strangers. Ladinos would come to pay their respects and offer help, and both the Padre and the school teacher often came in for a chat. There was an extraordinary feeling of peace in the little town, a silence which became more notice-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Slowly we descended towards the valley, enjoying the magnificent view. The country we were to work in for the following weeks lay before us like a map. About half-way down we encountered another cave, in which we also found an Indian altar. This time the offerings were placed before a small cross, crudely made of wood.

La Farge, as usual, was busy collecting data on the Indians' life and customs, and while he paid a visit to the village Sivacá, the writer set out to explore the Cololté pyramid, sometimes called Hocuchupac, which was said to have a stone idol on it. We also heard that the good inhabitants of Ocosingo were afraid to go to the mountain top, not knowing what the Indians might do.

FIG. 296—Cololté, Chis. Altar on top of the Cololté Pyramid.

Our local guide was eventually persuaded to take me to the ranch of a Ladino boy, by name Cenón, on whose property the pyramid was located.

From Ocosingo we rode along the Rio Grande de la Virgen until it joined the Jataté River, which we crossed and soon came to the ranch of Cenón, who was in the field, but came out when we called. Though the pyramid, as stated, was on his property, he was not eager to take me to it, and when he finally agreed, he first armed himself with an old 30-30 Winchester.

Following long, narrow, pine ridges we approached the pyramid. It was beautiful country with scattered pine and grass below.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

CHAPTER XV

THE NORTHERN TZELTAL TRIBES

114 Ever since leaving Zona Sala, we had been working in the coun-
101 try of the Tzeltal-speaking tribes who form an outpost of the High-land Indians. The Bachajon, of the Finca Encanto and Bachajon village, and the Indians of Ocosingo and the neighbouring valleys, living as they do, cut off from the outside world, strong in number, and of a rather independent disposition, gave us the first evidences of how little the Indian of the Chiapas Highlands has changed since the days before Columbus. The kings and priests are dead, the temples have been replaced by churches and Christian forms, but the Indians and labourers of today in many respects live the life that their humble forebears did five hundred years ago.

114 At this point, before describing our trip up into the true moun-tain country, it seems opportune to tell something of these people, their manners and customs. We did not have time to make an ex-haustive study of any of them, but they were constantly with us as guides and labourers, and we passed through many of their villages.
115 At El Encanto we had a chance to visit and examine the settlement
126 of the finca's workmen, with the kind help of Señor Ciriaco Aguilar, who acted as interpreter and supplied us with invaluable informa-tion. Señor Arturo Tovilla helped us with the Linguistic Lists (see Appendix III), as well as describing many of the customs recorded in this chapter. Señor Aureo Cruz of Toniná dictated a Tzeltal Prayer and Conversation, which was analyzed with the help of Señor Manuel Bulnes of El Real. (See Appendix VI). In general it may be said that all the Spanish-speaking people with whom we dealt helped us in every way possible.*

101 The Bachajon (*Batcahon*) and Ocosingo Valley Indians are, as
197 has been said, an outlying part of a large group living in the moun-tain country. They speak the Tzeltal language, belonging to that branch of the great Mayance stock more closely related to Maya.
131 In the pine country of Chiapas they hold the largest share of land,
101 occupying an irregular area running southeast from Simojovel to

[175] *The written sources bearing directly on the ethnology of these people are very meager. Nuñez de la Vega (1702) gives the best account of the early religion; his section on Nagualism has been reprinted by Paniagua (1908) along with an important selection of other early sources. Licenciado Vicente Pineda (1888) in his account of the Indian uprisings, gives some information, together with the most complete linguistic material. He gives a native calendar, probably based on one published by Emeterio Pineda (1845). Of modern scientific works, Starr (1901 and 1902) has ethnographic material, and pub-lishes the only physical measurements (1902). Seler (1898) goes into the calendar in detail. For com-parative material Tozzer (1907) and Sapper (1925) have been our chief reliance. Sapper's "Nordliche Mittelamerika" (1897) was in constant use in the field for information on all subjects. Particular references are given as they occur. Prof. Rudolph Schuller kindly allowed me access to his manuscript material.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

353 Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail
[231] hung in the eaves so that the dogs might see them, to prevent their
going away or losing heart. A swizzle stick, *mahas*, about 40 centi-
[415] meters long, was used for stirring cocoa. It is made by cutting a
twig above a joint with four branches. Two rat traps, *yakul*, just
[224] outside the hut, were exact models of the larger deadfalls used for
jaguars (see fig. 308).

[291] Add to this the clothes on the inhabitants backs, and the man's
[411] machete, and you will have a complete list of the worldly possessions,
large and small, of a Bachajon family—altogether some forty-four
different kinds of things. We assembled as many together as pos-
[126] sible, arranging them as for a feast, and placed in the middle the
small son of the house, and a
little monkey of a boy, Miguel,
who accompanied us to run
errands (fig. 292).

342 →

[516]
[291]
[415]
←

[123]
[122]
→

Fig. 292—Bachajon boy guests.

If mud-plastered walls are
added to this description, you
have a typical Ocosingo Valley
house. Change the grass roof
to palm, it is the kind to be seen
in the jungle country.

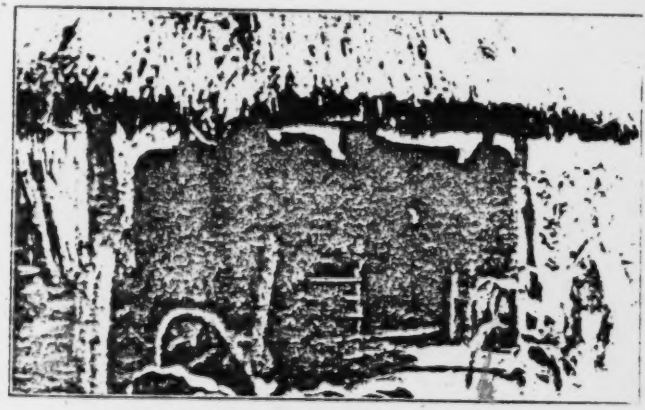
At Muxculja (*muckul ha*,
"Covered Water"), in the
jungle, our Indians built us a
trail shelter or hut of the type
called in Spanish *champa*, and
in Tzeltal *tutna'*, "small house."
This enabled us to note the man-
ner of building the frame-work
and laying on the roof. The
kind of *champa* built for us,
with an A-roof and gable ends,
is called *gwakac na'*, "cow house"; the more common type built by
the Indians when alone, a simple lean-to, is called *lestce-pat* (should
be *lestce-pahk?*) "only one wall."

Our shelter being more than usually pretentious, we could ob-
serve most of the steps in building a true house, although, of course,
the form here was different and the construction much lighter (figs.
293-294). It was three meters, fifty-one centimeters long by three
meters wide, two meters high at the ridge-pole, one at the eaves.
[461] It had no walls. From the construction of the outline of the frame
to the completed thatching it took fifty minutes for four men, later
only two, working without haste.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajon
Tenango
Sivacá

dark gray in colour, with a considerable admixture of fine limestone gravel. As far as could be ascertained, the mixture is worked without other preparation than that of dampening it to a good consistency. 323

The actual pottery making, *hutsul ya pas ŏcom*, ("I am making a cooking pot"), which is done by the women, was observed at Sivacá. Some of the men of the village had worked for us at Toniná, and they, particularly the heavy set one on the extreme right of the picture (fig. 297), a cheerful and very thirsty fellow, remembered me as a friend. A few poor jokes and a handful of cigarettes won the men over, so that the visit became less an investigation than a triumphal tour, escorted by the whole male population, the Alcalde leading, in and out through the village. It really was very good fun. We wound our way among the huts, seeking the 323 123



343

Fig. 296—Tenango, Chis. Close-up of Sweat House.

shade wherever possible, scuffling up a good deal of dust, now and then tripping over a pig or a dog. Whenever we came to an orange tree, someone would climb it, to come down with a handful of little, green fruits, so poisonous to look at, and so very sweet and refreshing to eat. They dragged out specimens of all their pottery, and at last lead me with some pomp to a house in which a woman was at work. The good wife did not in the least understand this visit, and was not at all sure that she liked it. All the men clamoured at her at once, telling her to come out and be photographed. Finally she brought her clay and unbaked pots, setting all in the sun, still a little bit afraid that this meant some new Ladino imposition. She set to work as though finding some relief from her embarrassment in the occupation. 323 123 [245] [126]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

286 126 123 Our Indian hostess at the Encanto house was commissioned to make us a sash; after observing and photographing the process (fig. 300), we bought the loom with the unfinished piece on it. At Sivacá the army of guides produced a woman who was weaving cloth, and another who was just preparing the thread for the loom (fig. 301). The former was very bored and matter-of-fact about the whole pro-

323

Fig. 299—Sivacá, Chis. Pottery Forms.

A. Ocom. B. Pŏk et. C. Tsametz. D. Hor'mo. E. Hutstahibe. F. Tsets. G. Awalko. H. Teistcinahx.

286 126 123 ceeding, but the latter, a younger one, was at first frightened. At *the first sight of me, she put away all her work. As she spoke no* Spanish, I fell back upon a corps of seven or eight interpreters, who all spoke together while I looked as harmless as possible. Then she thought that the Mayor of Ocosingo, or the President of Mexico, or some one had sent for her, and packed her things to travel. At last she understood, and then balked. The men explained to me, with some amusement, that she was ashamed—*"dice que tiene verguenza"* — but finally she consented to pose. The result was a picture worth the while; she herself was a good type of young Indian woman, on her back was slung a pretty though somewhat grimy baby, while an underfed puppy and very small chicken completed the family group. The picture also shows a good example of the squatting-seat mentioned when listing the contents of the Encanto house (see fig. 301).

[286] [291] [142] [302] [516] ←

Fig. 300—El Encanto, Chis. Woman Weaving.

283 The spindle, *pĕtĕt*, is a stick 85 centimeters long, at the foot of which is a clay whorl, for which no name was given. It is spun with the weighted end resting in a gourd bowl, the upper end held against

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

he is whipped by the girl's father for a thief. The girl is stripped to 584
the waist and whipped by her mother. With this the marriage is 585
legalized. As the first act of their true married life, the girl makes posole and offers it to her parents. The boy is under obligation to bring presents of bread, chocolate, aguardiente, etc., to his parents-in-law.

There are no formal restrictions of marriage, but the Church 582
exercises a general influence against wedding brother and sister, 177
cousins, or other relatives forbidden by Christian doctrine. In this, 178
owing to the disposition of the Indians, and to the purely tribal character of marriage, which is not regarded by them as a religious or governmental matter, the Church is only partially successful. In- 588
formal unions actually do occur between brother and sister, apparently without any ceremony, the pair merely continuing to live together, their family relationship slowly changing into that of a married couple. That such a wife's status has some regularity in their eyes is shown by the fact that she has the same position in funeral rites as an ordinary wife.

It is probably due to the negative influence of the Church that 115
the various important crises in the life of an individual, ordinarily 126
marked by such colourful ceremonies among primitive people, here are distinguished by very little of ritualistic observance. For description of the main events in the life course, we were again dependent on Señor Tovilla, whose information, given with little change below, checked entirely with the result of other inquiries. The funeral ceremonies were observed at first hand, after the fight described at El Encanto; for them, accordingly, I have used my own notes.

When a woman is about to give birth to a child, a midwife—an 844
older woman with some knowledge of herbs—is summoned. A few days before parturition, the woman is carefully tended by the midwife, well fed with choice food, and provided with a little rum. At the moment of giving birth, the midwife prays that the child may be brought forth happily. The mother kneels, and the midwife prepares to receive the child with a new cloth. Meantime the father is told to stay outside the house, or may be allowed to help in minor matters.

It is said that at Tenejapa the women go out into the woods to give birth untended, coming back with the child.

The baby is given Christian baptism. 852

A child's soul is considered to be particularly delicate, and there- 789
fore liable to magic influence. If the people of the house must go [774]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The performance continued until late that night and began again the next morning. Later in the day the banners were carried to the chapel in procession, with music, and deposited by the altar. The *caporales* led in prayer. The fiesta went on again in the evening. 796 [794]

Christian forms are applied to or mixed with non-Christian rites and ideas to some extent, a confusion resembling the appeal to both saints and native gods in prayer among tribes of Guatemala* and British Honduras.† Much of Christianity is adapted to conform to old, fundamental native concepts. 771 172 178 171

In the church at Bachajon Village there are fourteen saints beside the tribal patron, St. Jerome. These others each have a special care, as the cornfield, hunting, the rivers, etc., and are prayed to for help in their particular provinces. They are given gifts of cloth, usually red or blue, which is draped about them. Many of them duplicate the functions of non-Christian "guardians," to be described below. 776

In this connection it may be mentioned that the Zotzil-speaking Indians of Huistan are accustomed to beat their saint (St. Martin) when they have a bad year, and to caress him and anoint him with oil when things go well. We were told that he had lost his nose and both ears due to this practice. [171]

One prayer was dictated to us by Señor Cruz at Toniná, the full text of which is given in Appendix VI, Text I. It is primarily meant for a poor man when making his offering in the cornfield, a use which is indicated by the phrase "health of the earth," but it may also be used in church. The phrase "blood of my flesh" suggests a remniscence of the ancient Maya offerings of blood from the ear, tongue, etc. A free translation is given here. 126 782 196

PRAYER OF A POOR MAN WHO HAS NOT MUCH TO OFFER.

"Do Thou accept, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, what I have gained, and what I have not gained. Do Thou forgive, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, blood of our flesh; our hearts are open, our lips are open. Give health of the earth; protect thy son kneeling here." [539]

Of primary interest to us were the survivals of the old worship. At the time of the Conquest the Spaniards put forth their utmost efforts to suppress the native religion, and the process has gone on 771 178 177

*Sapper, 1925.
†Gann, 1918.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

or less inebriated, not from greediness, but because it is a ceremonial necessity for him to be in that condition when dealing with the sacred things. Drunkness was a requisite of certain functions among the old Maya, and with the present-day Lacandones,* the Chontal shamans similarly will not perform unless drunk.

Sebastiano Guzman, a Bachajon at El Encanto, a specialist on snake-bite cases, would not treat a friend for snake-bite, although he carried him on his back for two hours to get treatment from us, because the friend could not buy him any rum. It probably would be considered very dangerous to deal with the supernatural healing powers when sober.

When a group of Indians are drinking at any time, the shamans, as soon as they are drunk, go off together to one side and proceed to exchange prayers and prescriptions which they will not discuss when sober. They make a curious spectacle thus; a group of elderly men sitting in a corner passing a bottle about, plainly drunk, and gravely intoning prayers that are obviously to all of them matters of weighty importance.

Of their prayers two, or parts of two, were obtained. The first was copied by a Ladino secretary at El Encanto from the recital of an intoxicated shaman. The shaman became a general object of ridicule to all his people, lay or initiate, for having let out one of his secrets to an outsider. The second was recited by Señor Aguilar of El Encanto, who had overheard it. No one was able to give us any but the most fragmentary and unsatisfactory translations for these prayers; undoubtedly the text is in part archaic, and may contain some gibberish. The manner in which they were acquired, moreover, prevents accurate transcription. They are given here, rather than with the Tzeltal Texts in Appendix V, because of this failure to translate them, and their primarily ethnological value.

I.

hun ahau ilic tunic baken pusti-lum tal kowit' tal keke manic tunic inic kilan kun in ahau keke tunic hun tsak-unti-bak tsak-unti-tci.

Hun Ahau, the Guardian of the Mountains, has been discussed already. *ilic* was said to mean "drove out the sickness," and *tunic*, "placed the sickness." *pusti-lum* contains the stem *lum*, "earth." *tal* may be the stem of the verb *tal-el*, "to come." *kilan* is a lizard used in medicine. *keke tunic* was explained as meaning that the sickness was placed by means of *ajo* fruit. *tsak-unti* is remarkably similar to the Lacandone *tsakuntik*, "to redden," occurring in a

*Tozzer, 1907.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

Physically, the people are taller and somewhat heavier boned than the Bachajon. The older men have small beards, close to their chins, of sparse, wiry black hair. Moustaches are faint. The men wear their hair longer on the backs of their necks and over the tops of their ears (fig. 313). 142 302

The men's costume is like that of Ocosingo Valley, a long, V-necked tunic without buttons, coming down nearly to their knees, but the trousers are usually rolled up until almost hidden. A plain red sash is worn knotted in front with ends hanging. 291

We had great difficulty in getting a look at any of the women until finally the officials arranged for a few of them to come and 126 123

142 291 302 623

FIG. 313—Tenango, Chis. The Village Elders.

be photographed with their husbands (fig. 314). Nothing could have brought them alone. They were very strange and stiff about the whole thing, and showed more genuine fear of the camera than we saw anywhere else. The women of marriageable age draw their hair together at the back of the head. Around it a long, red, woolen ribbon, about three centimeters wide, is wrapped until it forms a disk standing out like a halo, the exact size being a matter of coquetry. The hair is then turned back and laid along the edge of the disk and wrapped in the last few rounds of ribbon. The result is that it comes out from the head through the center of the disk in a thick mass, then forms a flat elbow where it is doubled back to the 126 123 302 [301]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

286 and often have no fringe. We were told that it was impossible to
123 see a woman weaving at that time, but by persistent stalking the
126 writer finally managed to locate a girl at work, whom he observed
286 and sketched from behind a bush. The women here were so consistently shy that no doubt she would have rolled up her loom, which was of just the same type as the one seen at Sivacá, and fled into the house had she known she was observed. Our procession through this very pretty village, too, was a serious affair—distinguished strangers being shown around town by the mayor—and had none of the cheerful joking and general *bonhommie* that produced such friendliness and good results at Sivacá.

241 Something more should be said about the agriculture here. Ordinarily, Indians go out to choose their own land in the bush and

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291
516
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Fig. 319—Tenango, Chis. La Farge drawing pottery.

241 plant it with little cultivation, placing the corn close together. Here each family has its land assigned to it by the council. As the same field must be planted year after year, the hills of corn are widely spaced, and the ground is turned over as deeply as possible by means
[417] of heavy hoes, *ak'en*, purchased in San Cristóbal. As was said, everything is fenced as much as possible. When some of our pack animals got loose in a field, the excitement was intense. In the yards of the houses they raise corn, beans, and a plant related to tobacco. This
824] plant grows nearly as tall as a man. The leaf is rubbed on their legs to cure fatigue. It is carried with lime in a small gourd and offered and accepted for chewing with much the same bowing and formalities as obtained among our ancestors when offering snuff.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

We had a better chance here than anywhere else to look over 621
the village government. It being Sunday, all were present, the 624
Presidente Municipal, the *Secretario,* and council of *Regidores,* elderly men, grave of mien, with small, black goatees. The ordinary villagers treated them with the greatest respect. Each official carried a silver-headed cane with a red ribbon tied to it and the name of his office inscribed on the head. They are appointed to their offices by the government with the ratification of the village. The Maestro works entirely through them, and their orders are ab- 624
solutely obeyed. Indeed, owing to the independent nature of the 648
Tenangeros, the Maestro is rather like the ambassador of a powerful foreign nation persuading the local government, through tact and very gentle pressure, to behave.

We finished our survey about noon, the Indians appearing un- 126
willing to have us enter their houses. For the rest of that day we 123
spent our time working up our notes into good shape, then teaching the gift chickens to do tricks until Lazaro claimed them for the pot, and in dodging the local officials who, having got themselves slightly tipsy in honour of the Sabbath, came importuning us to give them cigarettes, of which we ourselves were short.

Both that night and the night before, traveling traders built 443
their little pine fires on the mud verandah of the Cabildo. In one case it was a Mexican and an Indian, in the other two Mexicans, to be distinguished from Indians only by the cut of their trousers and a donkey. They travelled with their big packs on a tump-line, long staff in hand, for all the world like a living re-incarnation of the traders shown in the pre-Columbian drawings of the codices (fig. 320). In old times they traded parrots, macaws, obsidian, textiles,

FIG. 320—Travelling Aztec Merchant. Drawing after the Codex Laud.

jade, and later, gold and copper. Now it is a business of cheap 443
watches, gaudy cloths, and ten-cent jewelry, bringing Connecticut, 439
Hamburg, and Orizaba down to a fiesta in Bachajon village, following the old trade-route along which we were going, in the other direction, to San Cristóbal. Very few of the present Indian tribes

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5, (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

that he was invited into her house, presumably to take shelter from the evening rain that was beginning to fall. The house, of which he sketched a hurried plan (fig. 324) was more rectangular than is usual, the prevailing type being square with a pyramidal roof. He entered through a low doorway, closed with a wooden door on leather hinges. Although the ridge of the roof was high, the many cross poles reaching from the top of one wall to the other made it necessary to stoop. The writer squatted by the door, facing the fire, which smoked merrily in the closed room. The old woman immediately set to shaping a pile of tortillas for baking. Along either wall was a well-made bench, decorated with notches along the top and geometric designs on the back, similar to the benches on the Cabildo porch (fig. 325). These and a sturdy table that was stored on top of the stringers were said to be purely local products. By the door stood a big jar, a full meter in height, crude and undecorated (fig. 326). There was the usual collection of ollas and gourds, and one other new form, an open-mouthed pot about eight centimeters high and as many in diameter, flat bottomed, with a handle on one side, called *hütc* (fig. 327). In the thick smoke, it was hard to see anything. I was interested to note that my hostess' eyes watered nearly as much as my own. In the darker end of the house I could make out corn stacked neatly along one wall, and a partition that presumably hid the beds. For a while the woman answered the few questions that I could make her understand by means of signs, my half-a-dozen words of Tzeltal,

Fig. 323—Cancuc, Chis. Drinking scaffold.

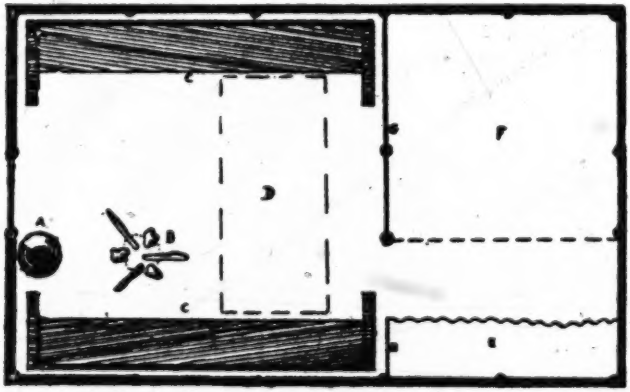

Fig. 324—Cancuc, Chis. Plan of House.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

estimate, with their own, regular Indian administration under the control of the Ladino government. The *Presidente Municipal*, a most obliging man, got the Indian *Presidente* for us, whom we photographed by the last light of the day (fig. 329). Through this chief, men were sent out to bring in grass; they returned with enormous, green bundles as big as themselves.

The Indian houses outside the town differ from those previously described in the possession of a sort of porch, or part under the roof in front screened with boards, introductory to the house itself.

The Tenejapeños are strongly built, thickset, and short, with enormously powerful calves. In fact the chief industry of the tribe is acting as porters. They go in large bands to places at a considerable distance to take or bring back loads, competing successfully with the Chamula pack-trains. In this the women are as proficient as the men. Their colour is dark, a rich brown, more red than golden, with distinctly pink cheeks showing through in the case of the children and old people. The men are almost beardless. Faces are rather broad and round* (fig. 330).

FIG. 329—Tenejapa, Chis. The chief of the Tenejapeños.

The essential parts of a man's costume are a pair of shorts and a brown and white striped Chamula Indian blanket, worn as a poncho. Two of these blankets may be comfortably worn in that climate. Hats, when used, are also of Chamula make, of straw with a flat brim, and round, close-fitting crown pointed at the top. Usually they are decorated with ribbons. A sash of white material may be worn, the ends of which, hanging down in front, are elaborately embroidered (fig. 331). The

*Starr (1902) made some measurements upon these people, the most important of which are summarized here. They show an interesting variability.

STATURE IN MILLIMETERS

Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range	Below 1600	1600—1650	1650—1700	Above 1700	Total
1,587	1,722	1,492	230	75	18	6	1	100

	Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range
CEPHALIC INDEX	76.5	86.4	66.0	18.5
FACIAL INDEX	81.6	94.5	65.6	29.0
NASAL INDEX	92.8	102.2	64.1	38.2

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

194
193 This *r* I have heard and recorded in the same word in different lists, particularly among the Tzeltal; e. g., *kere* (boy). It is rare, occasionally confused with *l*, but quite forcible when present. It has a short, hard trill, not unlike the Japanese, made with the forward part of the tongue against the roof of the palate.

	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Nasal	Lateral	Trill
Velar	—	q	—	—	—	—	—
Palatal	—	k	k'	H	—	—	—
Alveolar	—	t	t'	s	n	l	—
Dorsal	g	—	—	x	ñ	—	r
Nasal	—	—	—	—	n	—	—
Dental	—	ts tc	ts' tc'	j c	—	—	—
Labial	b	p	p'	v	m	—	—
Glottal	'	—	—	—	—	—	—

Breath, *h*. Semi-vowels, *w* and *y*.

q, the velar *k*, is formed between the back of the tongue and the soft palate. Palatal *k* is as in English. The fortis, *k'*, is made as the *k*, followed by a strong explosion of breath. The various fortis sounds may be similarly described in relation to their respective surds.

H is an intensified *h* sound, resembling the Mexican pronunciation of *x* in "Mexico," or *g* in "gente."

The dorsal *x* resembles *ch* in German "ach," but with less aspiration.

g is rather faint, as in Spanish "agua."
ñ is the *ng* in English "ring."
tc is the *ch* in English "child."
c is the *sh* in English "shoot."

The lateral *l* is accompanied by a slight breathing, giving it a thick sound.

j is pronounced as in French "jamais."

Vowels. On comparing the vowel sounds listed here with those of other writers, it seems possible that I have made too fine distinc-
[124] tions. However, the new vowels were found to occur with great
[126] regularity, and in several cases I was corrected by my informants for changing them to the nearest approximate standard form, as, in pronouncing Yocotan *kE-* as *kĕ*, or the sound I have represented by *O* as *o*. Unmarked vowels have their Spanish sounds, *a* as in "pan," *e* as in "me" (not as in "metate"), *i* as in "bonita," *o* as in "lodo," but *u* is pronounced as *oo* in English "good." In addition there is a long *a* (*ā*) as in English "father," short *e* (*ĕ*) as in Eng-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

194
193 lish "met," short *i* (*ĭ*) as in English "mix," long *u* (*ŭ*) as *oo* in English "boot," and short *u* (*ŭ*) as in English "hut." *E* represents a sound between *ŭ* and English *er* in "water." *O* is a sound like English "or" said while holding the mouth for *u*. Diphthongs are *ai, oi* and *au*.

Double vowels are always to be pronounced separately, the second having a slightly shorter quantity than the first.

Accent is indicated by ′ in those words in which the stress does not fall on the last syllable.

000 INFORMANTS. The Chontal List was taken down by Mr. William Gates from two pure-blooded Indians of Tecoluta, Tabasco. It was made at Comalcalco. Mr. Gates' spelling has been revised to accord with the other lists, as far as possible.

Two Yocotan lists were made, the first, from José Hernandez, a young Indian of San Fernando, Tabasco, at Macuspana. The second was given, together with the ethnographic information, by Lázaro Hernandez Guillermo, a man of forty or forty-five, also of San Fernando; he had a little Ladino blood on his mother's side. This man, although illiterate, was remarkably intelligent, and was by all odds the best informant that we had in the course of the trip. The list was made at leisure on board the steamer, and he was by that time thoroughly at home with us, and acquainted with our methods and wishes. He showed some, limited, ability to analyze his own grammatical forms.

124 The first Tzeltal list was given by Sebastiano Guzman, a Bacha-
• 126 jon shaman, at El Encanto in Chiapas. It was supervised by Don
115 Arturo Tovilla, who was thoroughly conversant with the language. The second was given, also at El Encanto, by Fidencio Morales, a Ladino house-boy from Ocosingo, who was not satisfactory. The third was taken down from Don Ciriaco Aguilar at Bachajon. Señor Aguilar had been assisting in Ethnological work for over two weeks, and spoke Tzeltal fluently. He was assisted by a volunteer committee of Indians and Ladinos.

000 The Chaneabal list was compiled at El Puente, near Comitan, from an Indian estimated at thirty-five years of age, called Casimiro Gomez. He was moderately satisfactory.

Two Jacalteca lists were made. The first, at Jacaltenango in Guatemala, was given by Santiago Hernandez, a middle-aged Indian of doubtful purity, with occasional help from other Indians. He was literate, fairly intelligent, and enthusiastically coöperative. The second was hastily taken down at Concepción. It was begun by Alonzo Rafael Alvebal, pure-blood, about thirty years old, who

125 time they spend and the perceived consequences of the behavior. The evidence is inferential; it does not express actual times spent at drinking, actual payments for drinking, nor actual [124] quantities of alcohol consumed. Since the questions and responses were Tzeltal, the reports are at least appropriate in local terms.

126 In addition to the above data, a great deal of material on social roles and their relation to drinking and on the general beliefs and patterns of action in drinking performances has been extracted from native language texts. The text constitute a number of conversations between individuals in Aguacatenango, recorded on tape and then transcribed and translated into Spanish 124 by a bilingual informant. The conversations were at first unfocused; later, I instructed the informant who initiated all of the conversations to elicit a description of a recent illness in [121] the household of the other party. Drinking was not at that time my major interest, but its frequency and its close association with illness brought up the subject in over half of the conver- 126 sations. The taped records were made in a variety of settings 124 and under a range of constraining conditions; my general strategy was to go from house to house with my informant and to record his conversation with whoever was present and willing to talk. The best of the records share the feature that at least two Aguacatenangeros were present in the recording setting and knew

126 124 [122] that they were present. I took no active part in the recording, since I could not speak Tzeltal and did not know the appropriate range of responses that the communication called up in the participants. None of the records are expressions of communication that would have taken place had I not chosen to make records. That is, the sessions were always initiated by me with the express intent of making records. This is reflected in the records by discussion of the tape recorder, of my performances associated with it, and so on. In addition, the content of some of the records is focused, as I have mentioned, on recent illnesses in the household. By and large, however, to some unmeasured and thus unknown degree, the communications in the records are reflexes of pressures on the speakers that endure far longer than the recording session, that are structured by the variable modes of linguistic expression, by the internal coherence of the domains of "content" that became the subject of the conversation, by recent experiences which are structured by the content of the domains, and by the previously well-defined social relationships existing between the speakers. Some evidence that the relationship between the informant and the other party to the conversation helped to structure the recorded communications is presented in a report to the National Science Foundation (Metzger 1961). Briefly the length of the conversation--i.e., the total number of words--was greater when the informant knew and/or liked the

124 126 other party than when he did not; the proportion of the total number of words which was spoken by the other party was greater when that person was older than the informant than when he was the same age, and younger persons spoke, relatively, even less. The frequent use of various terms of respect and ritual kinship between the informant and the other speaker also suggests that their other behavior in the recording situation takes these relationships into account.

12 [191] Our bilingual informant, Mariano Juarez, was trained in the field by N. A. McQuown in the phonemic transcription of Tzeltal. When he had completed the transcription of the tapes, I instructed him to produce a translation in which the translation equivalents were to be forced into the Tzeltal frame of reference insofar as possible, using the vernacular Spanish as he knew it. The examples of text which appear herein should be understood to be Mr. Juarez' work. The fact that a native speaker of Tzeltal, who knew the general and idiosyncratic contexts in which the Tzeltal material appeared, did the translating guarantees as accurate a translation as possible. The always knotty problem of English glosses involves not only the depth of my understanding of the vernacular Spanish and its relation to the Tzeltal, but also the more general point, made recently by Conklin (1963), that the structure of English domains stands in no necessary relationship to the structure of domains of any other language. Frake (1961),

acts of the new officials was to fire the Ladino secretary and install an Indian for the first time. The schoolmaster had won his battle for recognition. In every legal dispute in which the town became involved, the schoolmaster accompanied the town officials as they went to visit departmental and state leaders, acting as their spokesman. He never accepted even expenses for these trips. His satisfaction was in giving advice to the officials on all matters, in being the man whom outsiders consulted before anything could be accomplished, and in finding an audience.

The schoolmaster consolidated his position by drawing together all his supporters in a parent-teachers association, which served as a captive audience for his extended monologues. I was called upon as a witness to the installation of the members, and I took advantage of the occasion to record some of the schoolmaster's rhetoric as he addressed the "parents." In attendance were the president, his brother, four members of their truck-owning cooperative, and about ten other representatives. The teacher told me that they were the best people in town—not one of them had killed anyone! The excerpt below is not complete, but there was sufficient repetition in the schoolmaster's discourse so that nothing is lost.

Schoolmaster: "I don't fight with anyone. We do not come to fight. A schoolmaster is a guide to teach respect. I have thirty-three years teaching in pueblos of campesinos, poor people like you. I am your brother. I am your teacher. The ignorant people do not want to send their children to school. This is a good school, and there are those of you who have succeeded by learning. Ramon Leon was a boarding school student for two years. He and seven others have received scholarships. They accuse me of not working, but they do not know what is happening in the school. Those who know give congratulations to the school. The children of this school won the competition at the conference of teachers. It is neither a poor school with poor students, nor a rich school with rich students, but all are together. They say we do not teach. Compadre" (to president), "is this so? They say we only dance, but at the conference our students won the prize.

"This school is yours. It is better organized than any other. The flag which we had we gave to Villa Las Rosas because they are campesinos;

Appendix 1

Settlement of Domestic Cases

A. House Arrangement of Separation

The following transcription of a tape recording concerns the house arrangement of a domestic dispute involving Alberta, the niece and adopted daughter of Mariano. She left her husband and returned to Mariano's home with her one-year-old child because of her husband's abusive treatment. Mariano invited all of the members of the betrothal party, as well as the maliwanehetik who had assisted in the marriage negotiations and Victorio, Alberta's husband. The leader of the betrothal negotiations was unable to attend because he had been drinking all day at another betrothal party. The arrangement proceeded with the padrino of the wedding, Pablo, and Alvino, Victorio's uncle and another elder in the betrothal negotiations, leading the discussion. I asked Mariano to tape the session so that my presence would not be an interference. In the joking session, the tape recorder became a target for the men's humor when, trying to replay it, they found that one section had not recorded clearly.

Pablo opened the discussion by asking the errant husband's elder representative, Feliciano, if the family wanted to take the girl back. Feliciano agreed that that was their purpose in coming, and that they must hear what happened to cause the dispute between the couple. Maria, the foster mother of Alberta, summarized their complaints against Victorio and his family.

Maria: *It is almost as though the child [Alberta's year-old daughter] has no father. We have been feeding her because we have had to support both of them. When the child became sick with diarrhea the father did nothing to help.*
Pablo: *Yes, we have to think of that. The child was frightened by her father and became ill.*
Maria: *When he came to our house, he fought Alberta, and the child was ill. Alberta went to the courthouse to complain about his behavior.*
Pablo: *It couldn't be arranged in the courthouse. It is better to settle the dispute here in the house.*

629 Maria: *Whenever he came to see her, he was drunk and came in fighting.*
593 Victorio: *It is a lie. I came, but I was not only fighting. I wasn't always very*
578 *drunk. I came there sober to speak to you. I asked about how my wife was.*
126 *Then I went to see my uncle in Grandeza. He told me that if he couldn't order*
586 *her to come, then I better come here to hear what is said. When I went there, I was sober. I brought two bottles of beer. He said, "Ah, it is you," when I arrived at his house. "Come in and sit down." I sat down. I took off the cap of the beer and measured it out. "What have you come to say?" he asked me. "I am unhappy, father," I said. "What has happened to you?" he said. "I went to see Alberta," I said. He asked me if I had beaten her, and I said, "No, we only spoke a few words."*

Santia: *But if you hadn't hit her, why would she have come back to her father's house?"*

Victorio: *I only wanted to come to an understanding with her.*

Alvino: *So it is, you came to speak to me.*

Victorio: *It was in order to arrive at an understanding as you had told me. But I didn't succeed then.*

Alvino: *You didn't succeed in what you wanted?*

Victorio: *No, nothing.*

Alvino: *Well, when nothing happened, you could have gone later to ask with good words.*

Victorio: *I returned late in the afternoon. I had been drinking a little beer, and I was a little drunk. My father-in-law came with me. He had a fourth of liquor inside his shirt. We arrived at prayertime. My father-in-law was in the church since he was mayordomo at the time. We came in good faith to hear what was wrong.*

Mariano: *But then he came another time. I had gone to hot country to work. He came to the house and wanted to break it. He pulled out two of the tiles in the gate and entered. That was his crime.*

Victorio's father: *That wasn't good. You shouldn't go drunk when you can't understand anything.*

Maria: *We are not at fault. We spoke to him with good words. We told him he could take his wife.*

Elder woman of Victorio's family: *We told him he ought not to come when he was drunk.*

Pablo: *But now he wants to change for the better. You ought not to drink. It is better to eat meat and vegetables, and find corn and beans for your wife and child. Now we have arranged it, and you can take your wife and child to your house.*

695 he announced on the loudspeaker of the cantina that he was a poor man who
593 had to maintain two wives. This caused embarrassment to his second wife,
578 who asked for the hearing in order to separate from him. He was working in
586 the sawmill and had not provided for her support. The text is a translation of the transcription of a tape recording in Tzeltal.

695
593 Judge [to father of Plaintiff]: *Come, Mam compadre, and give evidence of what*
578 *has happened.*
586 Father: *This isn't the first time he has left his wife. It would be different, Mam*
126 *compadre, if he had only left her once, but he has left her several times.*
Judge: *Why do you keep on leaving her and coming back? It would be better to get her out of your system once and for all.*
Mother: *He goes to his mother's house but then comes back just to fight.*
Judge: *You ought to stop your fighting when you go to your wife.*
Father: *So it is, Mam judge. If it had just been a few words or one visit, but he is always coming here to fight. Even if you drink, you should speak well when you come to our house.*
Plaintiff: *He said he had nothing to eat but dry tortillas. I said to him, 'Go heat your tortillas. You're going to have to live like a woman if you get rid of your wife. Who is going to watch for you at the gate since I no longer intend to? There is nothing to eat in the house because there isn't any money."*
Judge: *She says this because she is angry.*
Mother: *She speaks because she isn't a fool. He can't answer that.*
Judge: *They are still young, but they will learn. Also, he ought not to continue drinking.*
Mother: *He doesn't obey me. Eight days later, and he repeats the same abuse.*
Judge [to husband]: *Why do you want to do this?*
Husband: *I want a woman who takes good care of me.*
Father: *Does his wife have a lover, that she leaves the house uncared for?*
Husband: *We're fighting because she is always going off to my mother-in-law's house.*
Plaintiff: *Every time he gets drunk, he comes shouting. Why shouldn't I leave so that the child doesn't see us fighting?*
Husband: *I get drunk because of the fighting. If there wasn't any fighting I would just want a soda.*
Plaintiff: *Who wants that? There wouldn't be any fighting if you didn't come.*
Mother: *God can say that we don't want the embarrassment. I said, "Stop fighting. It isn't good. She doesn't give you tortillas or atole because you are always*

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fighting. You ought to speak in sobriety. Why do you always want to fight and argue?" 695 593

Plaintiff: *At first it was the fault of a little board. For the crime of giving my mother a little piece of wood I had to come here the first time [refers to dispute arising over some wood which plaintiff had lent or given to her mother, and for which Husband wanted money].* 578 586 126

Mother: *I am supporting the children he comes and "asks for" [refers to the fact that husband impregnates wife, and then does not support the family]. The child cried a great deal when we were inside the cabildo. It was I who had to feed him. Why would I want this, my compadre judges? A husband who leaves you . . .*

Father: *How is the child going to grow up? And he keeps asking for another one.*

Mother: *You treat your wife like a mule, like a horse when you go to work. When I asked him to get some wood, he said, "Have I turned into your husband? Don't tell me what to do."*

Plaintiff: *If he gave something it would be good, but he never has supported me or even pays anything when he comes here.*

Mother: *He is never coming back to our house. We have spoken to the Ladino [Ramon, the former secretary who wrote out the marriage act]. We went to San Cristóbal to see what they would say. [Speaking to huband] But you don't listen to what he told you. You don't pay any attention because you are a devil. What good is it for us to go up to San Cristóbal?*

Father: *You should go, but you go on fighting as you started.*

Judge: [to husband]: *You should stay sober.*

Mother: *If he came to me sober, I would give him atole or sodas, Mam compadre. I returned the little board he had lent me, but he broke it.*

Plaintiff: *I gave him money for some soap, but he never gave account of that.*

Judge: *Now are you going to go with him?*

Plaintiff: *I am never going to go with him, elder brother. Even if he says he wants to take me back to his house, because I am not in his heart.*

Judge: *Ah, no. Let us explain.*

Mother: *Do you want to hear worse? No one is going to stay just to cook tortillas.*

Father: *It would be good, compadre, if she split with him.*

Judge: *They cannot split up because they are married.*

Father: *Well, compadre, if they [husband's family] take her back, then I am not going to return here. I am going to have to go to San Cristóbal.*

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695 Regidor: *What has been arranged isn't good. There are small children, and he*
593 *cannot support them.*
578 Judge: *But what else can they do, compadre? Better go to the man's house and*
586 *make a fire there [a metaphorical allusion to acting as a wife in keeping the*
• 126 *home fires burning].*

Plaintiff: *Although you speak to him, he doesn't listen. He never listened to his father.*

Husband: *What do you want to bring up my dead father for? He never ordered me, nor has any other person.*

Plaintiff: *I am not a fool. You gave me a wound, you broke my tooth. We want to stop all this and finish with the trouble you cause.*

Mother: *Let's come to some understanding. If it is only the trouble with the board, then I will give him the money and see if it is what he says.*

Judge: *This is not good, my compadre. It isn't going to content your heart.*

Mother: *I want to return and take out the marriage paper. It was Don Ramon who married them.*

Judge: *It isn't good for you to go do that. We are trying to arrange things here. The president has charge of the archives.*

Plaintiff: *He told me he was angry. I said, "Why do you want to sell the boards?" [This refers to the wood she had lent her mother.] He said, "I am going to bring more." I asked him again why he wanted to sell the boards. He said he had received money for them. He asked me where the boards were, and I said I had lent them to my mother. "Go get them if you want them," I said. He never gave me back the payment for the soap that I gave him. He spent it for liquor. I said to him, "Where is the soap?" and he said, "I spent it on liquor." When he gets drunk, he begins to fight me. He doesn't want me to talk back, but what does he expect? He said he was going to get another wife, that I was very lazy and very slack. I told him, "Why don't you go out and cut some wood?" He said, "Where do you think I am going to get some wood?" I was ashamed to go before my brother-in-law with my child and ask him. He never wanted to cut wood or ocote.*

Judge: *It is not good what he did. He should do what is necessary in the house.*

Plaintiff: *It is for this reason that I don't want to go with him, Mam Judge. He is always saying that his first wife was a very good worker. If I didn't have a husband or if there were no children, I would bring the wood, but I am not going to do it while he is around.*

Judge: *What would you say if he brought you back to his house?*

Plaintiff: *But I don't want it. What does he want me for? You heard him say I am a whore. He said I was a bitch. He said, "You are an old shit!" I don't want to have anything to do with him. What does he want me for if I am an old whore as he says? He said she [first wife] was a better woman than I.* 695 593 578 586

Father: *The judge told him before, "Go give your wife some support." We had three settlements before this. Mam Ramon said he was sick of seeing the woman in court so often.* 122

Judge: *First we will try to settle things here, and if he doesn't go in accord with custom, then you can go up to San Cristóbal.*

Father: *Here me, Mam judges, everyone fights occasionally, maybe makes two or three trips to court. But every time he gets drunk, he looks for a fight. I told him to stop fighting, but he doesn't listen. If I let my daughter go with him, he just takes her and produces more children. I have always had to support her then. He doesn't come around either drunk or sober. If he had come and told me what her fault was, then it would be good. When I had asked him what sins she had committed, he didn't say anything.*

Husband: *She just told me, "Leave me here and you go with your mother. I shall go back to my house."*

Plaintiff: *I left word with him that I was finished because of all the fighting. I don't want to go with a drunkard. [To husband] Even if you drink, you shouldn't beat me.*

Judge: *If you want a woman, you ought to support her. You shouldn't fight.*

Husband: *She told me, "You aren't the only man in the world. There are plenty of men who would want me."*

Plaintiff: *I never said that! You're looking for a fight!*

Husband: *What do you mean you didn't say that? My mother heard it.*

Plaintiff: *Go bring your mother. She didn't want to come because she is ashamed. It isn't the first time we are settling things in court.*

Judge: *You ought to go with him this time, but if it happens again, we will split you up. What else can we do if you don't obey our advice?*

Father: *When he goes to work, Mam compadre, he ought to look and see how much pay he is getting and how it will stretch to support his wife. Then she will make his tortillas for him contentedly, and there won't be any fighting.*

Judge: *We say that when he comes home from work he should ask his wife what she wants to spend for coffee or salt and all the things she will have to buy.*

Plaintiff: *He doesn't give any account of his little pay.*

Husband: *I don't want to say how much there is because there are still debts*

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from when I was asking for her [refers to betrothal expenses]. When the debt is paid off, then I can.

Judge [to wife]: *You heard that he will have to pay off the debt. Now go with your husband in one heart. [To husband] Go with your wife. If you have enough money, ask your wife if she needs some coffee or if she needs salt and wants the payment of it. You have to give some money in order to live contentedly.*

Father: *So it is, Mam compadre. It is good to be content and see the fire in the hearth. One time he came to my house and I said, "Come in. Let's take a look at what money you have earned." I told him to go save his money, give it to his wife to keep it for him. That is what I said to him.*

Regidor: *And it wasn't to deceive him. It would be good if he would believe [obey] this advice. They have been paying him double because he is a labor agent.*

Judge [to father]: *So it is, Mam compadre. Let it rest there.*

Regidor [to husband]: *The day after tomorrow, don't come back here with a couple more children and say you don't want her. Go back to your mother's house. You are lucky to have a wife. If you don't have a wife, you go get drunk every day. But with a wife life is good. She will give you coffee and corn to eat. Don't go on fighting when drunk or sober. Both my compadres have advised you [refers to judges].*

Mother: *So it is, Mam compadre. I am going now, Mam compadre. [Rises and leaves].*

Judge: *Go then, my compadre.*

The father and the husband give money for the fourth regidor to buy beer, and the group of men sit and drink the two family-size bottles which are purchased.

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Appendix 2

Bloodletting in a Witchcraft Case

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The following conversation is from a transcription of a tape recorded in Tzeltal at the home of the curer during a curing ceremony for a man whose illness was diagnosed as caused by witchcraft. The patient arrived at eight-thirty in the morning. Present are the patient, his wife, the curer, his two sons, their wives, his wife's father, and the interviewer who helped me collect the data. The curer's family helped in the bloodletting because his hands shook so badly with palsy that he could not control them.

Curer's Wife: *How did it begin, compadre?*
Patient: *It began in the month of April when I brought my horse to the threshing mill at six o'clock in the morning. As the other horses entered, one pushed his hoof into my stomach. My body was frightened, and I could not bear the pain.*
Patient's Wife: *He couldn't do anything but cry when he came out.*
Interviewer: *Where did the pain begin?*
Patient: *It began in my leg. My whole body and my leg ached a great deal. It was so numb I couldn't feel anything. My child stayed in the threshing shelter three days. A little later I went to hot country and stayed there. My son asked if I was going down to hot country, and I said, "Yes. I am going to look at my horse. I will return soon." I was of one heart until yesterday, and then I lost my heart. A man told me that he wanted another horse. It was Emilio Čilol who told me, "Boy, I want another horse." "It is good. I will get it," I said. "Yes, I will get it." I went to get it yesterday with another horse. I caught him and handed him over along with his companion. Then the pain began. I felt I couldn't bear it. It is for this reason that I came to you.*
Patient's Wife: *Take the gift, father.* [*Hands liquor to curer.*] *It is for this that I came. His illness is much stronger today.*
Patient: *Truly I could not endure it when I arrived home yesterday. I felt I should come to the elder to be cured and hear what he says. It is for this that I came asking for a favor.*

755 Patient's Wife: *There he was lying down for the day.*
• 126 Patient: *It is the first day I have stepped foot on soil.*
Patient's Wife: *It is today.*
Patient: *I have endured it for days. So I wanted to go get help from your work. He* [*Emilio*] *told me, "Go get the horse to work in the wheat." "Good, I am going to get it. Afterward I am going to leave him in the threshing shelter." When I returned in the afternoon, I could not bear walking.*
Patient's Wife: *I told him, "Better not go yet to caponize your horse."*
Patient: *We had another little horse we were thinking of caponizing this year. But now I couldn't think of it. You have heard how it is with me. Let us see what God says.*
Curer's Wife: *Yes, give another* [*speaking to liquor pourer who was passing out liquor*] *to the women.*
[273] [554] [*All the company were given drinks. Drinking order was: father of curer's wife, curer, his two sons, wife of curer, interviewer, patient, his wife, wife of curer's two sons.*]
Curer: *Do you want a little more?*
Patient: *No, it is good.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *With your permission.* [*Drinks his liquor.*]
Curer [to Father-in-law]: *Enter!* [*Meaning, "Drink the liquor."*]
[*The curer began to bleed the patient. He had eight gourds which he applied three times. He took the basin into which he poured the blood out to the yard and buried it, saying, "We cannot burn it inside because it was witchcraft."*]
Curer [to patient]: *Can you endure it again?*
Patient: *I can endure it.*
Patient's Wife: *Please, father.*
Curer: *It is good. You don't have to endure it again.*
[*Drinking continues.*]
Curer's Father-in-law [*pouring blood into a saucer*]: *Look, it is black.*
Curer's Younger Son [to elder brother]: *It is not good, elder brother.* [*He had noted that the last gourd did not have much blood.*]
Curer's Father-in-law [to interviewer]: *Ah, God, it is not now as it was before. There is much witchcraft.*
Patient's Wife: *Let us see what came out.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *It is black because the witchcraft is well lodged in his body.*
[*Curer points to his son where to make another scratch.*]
Curer's Elder Son: *Where truly?*

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Curer: *There truly.*
Curer's Elder Son: *It is the same [meaning, the gourds are yielding the same kind of blood]. Please, Čiko, help a little.*
Curer's Younger Son: *Yes, I will help a little.*
Patient's Father-in-law: *Is there a little water? [He wanted to know if there was a little more water to dip his flower, the* čiliwet, *to sprinkle water on the patient.]*
Patient: *It pains a lot, man!*
Curer's Younger Son: *Yes, it does.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *It is coming out very well with this larger gourd.*
Patient: *I can stand it.*
Curer's Wife: *Whoever comes, he [her husband] can bleed.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *The women are tired now.*
Patient: *Because they are beginning to feel drunk.*
Women: *No, we only smelled the cup! [Laughter; drinking continues.]*
Patient: *Oh, I am tired.*
Women: *It [the bleeding gourd] is very big.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *Do you have another gourd? There is one over there.*
Curer's Wife: *Where? Me? Angela lost it.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *Did you find it?*
Curer's Wife: *No, it stayed there. Look, look well. I will put it here. My sister wanted a bloodletting, and she did not endure it. She got drunk.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *He endured well.*
Curer's Wife: *Why didn't you bring back a little liquor? You are deceiving us.*
Liquor Pourer: *No, because you did not drink it. I am going to bring another.*
Patient [to Curer's Wife]: *Did you drink liquor at the other bloodletting?*
Curer's Wife: *No. We only ate what they gave us.*
Curer: *I don't drink. I used to drink when I was well. When I bled Manuel, I did not get drunk for that.*
Curer's Wife: *When the curer went to see Manuel, one of his arms did not work.*
Curer: *That man endured curing very well. We have to endure. What can you do?*
Patient: *Yes, it is the same sickness he had. There is much air in your hand. It [gourd] is not sucking any more.*
Patient's Wife: *Your blood is afraid. So it is.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *When there is much air in the hand of the curer, you have to take wax and glass.*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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755 [*Curer's Wife passes cloth to wipe blood.*]
• 126 Curer: *Another pull.*
Patient: *Please, favor of God!*
Curer: *Formerly I did everything. I pricked the skin, I put on the gourd. I did everything when I was well. Now I cannot do it. My illness has lasted a long time.*
Curer's Wife: *He cannot even get up well. He doesn't eat. When he takes coffee in his hand, he cannot drink well.*
Curer: *I cannot eat beans or beef.*
Curer's Wife: *He can only drink coffee.*
[*The curing is over. The patient and his wife leave shortly.*]

Appendix 3

Observation of Behavior in Public Places

A. Observation in Church

Sunday morning, August 1

5:40 The mayordomos are sitting on stone benches in front of the church. They are quiet. 78 126

6:10 Two men go up and ring the bells.

6:23 A man kneels in front of the altar and prays.

6:35 Two men come down from the bell tower. The mayordomos have now moved to the opposite side in the front of the church and are standing around talking.

6:45 Two men go up to the bell tower, ring the bells for three minutes, then repeatedly with no intervals.

7:05 Two women and a boy in Ladino dress kneel in front of Santa Lucía.

7:15 Two women and two girls (five and seven years of age perhaps) kneel in front of Santa Lucía. One of the women has two candles; she lights one. The other women with fresh flowers places them in front of Santiago, touches her candle to him, and then places it in one of the glasses on the altar that is near his statue.

7:23 Two women and a little boy carrying two candles come in and kneel in front of Santa Lucía. A boy of about twelve or thirteen who came in with the first two women had been sitting in front of Santa Lucía but now that quite a few women are here, he has moved over to the men's side.

7:30 One man comes down from the bell tower. All mayordomos come in and light the candles in front of their saints, then leave church.

7:35 Two men genuflect in front of the baptistry (facing baptistry), make the sign of the cross, and then kneel facing the main altar. (Genuflection is a sign of adoration officially and is only supposed to be done facing the Blessed Sacrament.)

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7:45 Miguel, the former fiscal, enters, goes to the left side of the altar, prays a few minutes, goes to a stool in front, and sits there. (He is the only Indian who uses stool to kneel on.) A man with a little girl goes to Santiago, kisses his statue, then kneels and prays in front of him.

7:50 One remaining mayordomo (the rest went home) enters and speaks to the women. Some are leaving now. They kiss altars on the way out, sometimes making the sign of the cross before they kiss the altar. Two women come to me to tell me, "There is no mass."

8:00 Two of the women take out the old flowers in the vases and add the new ones.

8:10 Another woman tells me, "There is no mass." All the women except one have left. The two who fixed the flowers are carrying the old flowers out with them. The woman who stayed is praying out loud now in front of Santa Lucía.

8:20 Two men enter, face the door, make the sign of the cross, and then go up to the front of the church, kneeling now and praying out loud. A man, barefoot, in Ladino dress and carrying a bulging leather bag, enters and kneels in front of the main altar to pray.

8:40 One woman is still wailing (about one-half hour now). A man enters, kneels for one minute in front of the side altar facing the main altar. He goes to Santa Lucía, kisses the altar, goes to all the other altars except one in the front left, and then leaves. The woman stops wailing. She picks three daisies from the vase, touches them four times to the glass front of Santa Lucía's case, kisses them, and leaves them lying on the altar. She kisses each statue on the way out except the statue to the left front.

8:45 Of the mayordomos who are now coming back, five enter the church. One takes Santiago and puts him in the baptistry, then leaves. Two more make the rounds of the statues, pausing a moment in front of each one, then kissing it and moving on. One of them puts money in the coffin-case slot for offerings. They all leave within five minutes. One of the men takes two of the drums with him.

9:15 Men are talking and laughing outside. Once in a while it is quiet. Some begin to play the drum and flute. This lasts for three minutes.

9:20 Another piece is begun, lasting four minutes. One man comes in, kneels facing the front side altar, and after two minutes leaves.

9:45 Two mayordomos begin to play music but don't continue.

10:45 The mayordomos are drinking the liquor left from Santiago's fiesta.

11:00 Some mayordomos are playing the drum and flute.

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11:30 The mayordomos ring the bells again. A man says it is twelve o'clock.

12:00 They go home, leaving the door open and the church empty.

B. Observation in the School

Morning

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The schoolrooms are exceedingly crowded with three hundred and fifty children in four rooms and an open porch. The babble of the children's voices reciting their lessons drowns out the voice of the teacher, who has to shout to draw their attention to a new lesson.

[191]

All the teaching is done in Spanish. On one occasion, when no one in the class understood what was said, the teacher asked a little boy to translate for her. When she talks, usually about only half or three-quarters of the class pays attention. When the children are singing, all but two or three students participate.

In taking roll, the teacher calls the boys' names first. This order is reversed when the children leave the classroom, with the girls going first. Seating order on the long benches set before tables is not segregated by x, although there is some clustering.

In teaching the children to read, the teacher writes the vowels on the blackboard in alphabetical order. The children are asked to repeat them after her. She does this seven or eight times. She has a number of the children come up and use the pointer to indicate certain vowels while the rest of the children repeat their names. She leads them in singing the song she has taught them before about the vowels. She mixes up the order of the vowels, pointing to them and asking the children to name them. She asks how many there are and writes a number under each vowel. She drills the class in the names of the vowels and the corresponding numbers for about five minutes more. Using sticks (the majority of the children have five sticks which they carry in their bags, and those who don't use their fingers) she leads them in practicing their numbers up to ten. She asks for volunteers to count from one to ten. When a child falters, she repeats the numbers with him.

The teacher uses a doll to teach the children parts of the body, giving the name in Spanish first, and afterward asking, "What do you call this?" She takes the doll to small groups of children sitting at their desks and lets them handle it. They show much interest, crowding around the doll. She then shows

876 126 them a mirror, tells them what it is called, and lets the children look at themselves in it. About one-fourth of the class responds. She pastes a picture on the blackboard of a man carrying a valise accompanied by a dog and a boy. She asks what each object is called in Spanish and practices the name of the object with the whole class. Visual aids are pictures cut from coloring books or magazines, things she draws on the board, as well as articles from a box stored in her desk including a comb, mirror, glass, flag, color wheel, cut-outs of a boy, girl, chair, table, bear, soldier, flower, and leaf. After practicing the names of each, she stands in the back of the room and tells different children to bring the various objects to her. After drawing two ducks on the board and getting no reaction from the children when she asks them the name, she tells them and then leads them in practicing it.

She asks them the name of the town, of the school director, of the school, and when they fail to respond, she tells them and has them repeat the words over and over.

She leads the class in about five different songs she has taught them. The number of children who know the songs varies from one-fourth to three-fourths, with about one-fifth never singing. Some attempt a word every once in a while. She sings the elephant song, which most of them know and which utilizes their knowledge of numbers from one to five. Twice, when a few children begin to sing on their own initiative, she tells them to be quiet. She asks them, "Do you like to sing?" and all respond, "Yes, teacher."

The teacher seldom smiles at the children. As they leave the room in single file, she rebukes any who attempt to run out or pair with another.

[857] *Recess.* Two boys are fighting and three others join with one of them. The one who has been ganged up on finally gets away, and they do not chase him. Boys around ten years old play keep-away with a ball on their own initiative. There isn't much teamwork. Often one boy will get the ball and run with it, the other boys after him. Finally he will throw it to someone or someone will take it away from him. The girls sit in groups, sometimes embroidering or knitting. Some boys just stand by watching those who are playing.

In the classroom after recess. The teacher shows the color wheel and asks the names of the colors to which she points. A couple of girls put their hands in their ears while the class is reciting. When the teacher asks for a volunteer to hold the color wheel in the demonstration, approximately twenty out of the fifty-four children raise their hands. One little boy in the back pays

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no attention; he was one who had sat by himself on the bandstand at recess. 126 876

They practice counting from one to five. The teacher then writes the numbers on the blackboard with A E I O U written above them. They practice these for about five minutes. She says them first; they repeat. She then picks a child to point to them, and the class repeats after the child. More children pay attention when the child is directing the class. She has ten volunteers for this job. They use sticks when counting to ten, passing them from one hand to the other. A few are doing it right. Although some count correctly, they do not have the right number of sticks correlated with the number spoken. They proceed to copy pictures the teacher has drawn on the board. The teacher asks one girl why she isn't drawing. The girl says she has no pencil. The teacher says nothing and goes on down the aisle.

The children are dismissed from class and line up, each grade together, in front of the school; the teacher tells them to be sure to come that afternoon or she will punish them tomorrow.

Afternoon

The teacher comes in to say a few words to the children (for my benefit, I suppose). She calls up one little girl and reprimands her in front of the group for coming to school with her hair uncombed and with dirty clothes. The child is frightened and hesitant about coming forward, and the teacher shows more impatience. The child's head is cast down all the time her teacher speaks to her. [123]

Vowel practice is resumed. The children are told to erase the vowels they have written in their books and write them over. The teacher has each of the aisles recite the vowels in turn. She asks which of the aisles is best. There is no response from the children; she never says which is best.

Two little boys are writing numbers in their books while some of the others are reciting. The teacher takes the pencils out of their hands and puts them on the table. They pick them up when she is no longer looking and continue writing. A little girl begins to cry. She says, when the teacher asks why she is crying, that the boy in front of her hit her. The teacher tells her to hit him back, which she proceeds to do. The boy shows no reaction at all.

They drill about twenty minutes. A few leaders answer while the rest chime in. "Take out pencil and notebook," the teacher orders. About two-thirds respond. She asks them what things there are in the plaza. One little boys replies, "Č'ulna" (Tzetal for church). She ignores him and names in Spanish the

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buildings in the plaza. She then draws two men and three pieces of fruit. She stands and watches as the children draw the figures in their notebooks. Many of them show each other what they have drawn. One little boy draws a bus, with seats inside and people sitting in them.

She shows them a cut-out of a chair. The first time she asks them what it is, a few answer "bear," a word they had been practicing before. She asks one child who responds correctly. They practice the word "chair." They practice the difference between *niño* and *niña* (boy and girl). She uses cut-outs of a boy and girl in western dress. Two make mistakes when she asks them to state which is niña and which niño; four get it correctly after they have practiced. She shows a picture of a boy with a train. "What is he doing?" she asks. *"Jugandinq"* (playing) replies one. The teacher teaches them *"está jugando."*

Some are writing, some looking out the door; others talk in small groups. The majority are watching the teacher as she talks and demonstrates different objects and says their names. They know door and window when she points to these and asks them to name them. She now puts all the visual-aid objects on the table and tells various individuals to bring them to her when she asks for a specific object. "Chair, niño, niña," "Bear," "Soldier," "What thing is lacking yet?" The children answer, "A table." The teacher sends a child to get it. They seem to like this game. There are volunteers to go and get things. They know the objects and so are sure they can bring the correct ones.

The children tend to kneel on the benches, which are high for the smaller ones. The teacher is continually telling them to sit down. A couple of little girls begin to sing. She reproves them and when they continue, she says to them, "Do you remember the animals?" "Yes, teacher," they chorus. "What animal would you like me to draw on the board?" Finally, one boy says, "Chicken." After she has drawn the chicken, the students copy it. She goes around the class and puts a line through the drawing if she approves of it. She finds all of them satisfactory.

The teacher next shows the students a flag, which they are to draw in their notebooks. A bigger girl helps a small boy. The Teacher then asks who knows the recitation about the flag. Three students raise their hands, and sing a song about the flag. Three girls in the back are still drawing in their notebooks. They spend a lot of time erasing so they can use their notebooks over again.

One little girl helps a little boy who has no pencil draw his picture. Another little boy does not draw for the same reason, but when he tells the teacher his problem she does not respond.

She draws pictures around vowels and doesn't explain them to the children,

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simply telling them to copy the drawings in their notebooks. Their drawings seem to show that they have not seen the connection with the vowels.

She then sings a song that has accompanying gestures (points to stars, hands covering face, hands under head as when sleeping, and so on). A few students seem to know when to do what and understand the words; most of the others copy them.

At four-thirty the classroom teacher tells the children to line up in single file, girls first. She shouts, "No!" as some attempt to run out together. As they line up, each grade together in front of the school, the schoolteacher tells them to be sure to come the next day or she will punish them.

124 In both villages, several households were visited regularly and interaction observed in detail. From this, and the informants own impressions, we obtained data on the activity schedules, the affective content of relationships between household members, the allocation of authority within the unit, and the relations of the household members with individuals belonging to other domestic groups.

126 To define degrees of territorial propinquity between households and household members, each household genealogy was placed on a map of the village.

128 The present analysis of data, unless otherwise stated in the text, is only mine. Any mistakes of interpretation are my sole responsibility.

174 segments of different breadth of inclusion, it is possible that
613 the Indian last name was a smaller lineage segment than the
551 Spanish last name, or, as it occurs in other Chiapas villages, that the Indian name was the lineage name and the Spanish name the clan name, but that clans have disappeared in Aguacatenango. The result is that there are more Indian than Spanish names, and sometimes a Spanish name, such as Hernandez, has within it the patrilines Wayal, Obispo and Chalté, while Perez has the patrilines Ich, Tuluk and Chauk.

613 At the present time, the patriline is very shallow. Connections are lost frequently after the second ascending generation and the localized agnatic line includes only three, or at best four, adjacent generations, when the linking relative in the higher generation is still alive or recently deceased and still remembered.

613 The Indian name, which indicates the patriline, is not
551 known by many people in the younger generation, and older people are reluctant to mention the subject. With the influence of the
[829] Mexican system of naming (which includes both the Spanish last name of the father and the mother), the older villagers are becoming aware that westerners do not have the same descent name system, and are embarrassed to discuss this subject with non-villagers, although in Tzeltal conversations among themselves they identify people through them.

•126 We did collect some patriline names (which are Tzeltal
613 words for animals and natural phenomena), but unfortunately the
551 limited field-work season did not allow for more detailed
602

613 551 602 investigation, so that we could not pin down all patriline names to the respective genealogies.

174 613 551 582 We do have evidence, however, that the patriline is (or was) exogamous. In the first place, the villagers are very insistent that "people of the same name should not marry," and at the present time, this rule seems to be influencing the choice of marriage partners even in the Spanish name group; on the other hand, we have one case which explicitly indicates so: one of the village women, Ceveriana, reported that when her present husband asked her to marry, she was very worried that her marriage was going to be "sinful" because both she and her future husband had the same Spanish last names: Hernandez. Not knowing what to do, they consulted a village elder, who asked them for their Indian last names. When he found out that their Indian surnames were different (Wayal and Chalté), he reassured them that it was permitted for them to marry "because they did not have the same Indian name." (See genealogy, Fig. 14.)

613 551 582 Patriline exogamy, however, does not seem to be associated with preferential marriage. In other villages in the highlands of Chiapas, the informants state that it is preferred to marry a woman of one's mother's name group. In Aguacatenango, however, out of 161 marriages in which all the relevant names were known, only twenty-three men had married women of their mother's name group. Even in the case in which preferential marriages would be the ideal choice (and they never have been stated as such), the practice does not follow it.

/6 cont./

621 The native surnames are regarded as belonging to a definite
[551] barrio, two of which exist at present. (In an old document, which
[127] we cannot now locate, reference is made to four barrios of Cancuc. Our informants do not remember this fact and emphatically deny it, but they do refer to a third one, which became incorporated into the two remaining ones a very long time ago.) These two barrios formerly bore the names of Chejeb and Chiklajum, by which they are still known, but today they are preferably called Ajkol-culibal, or "upper barrio," and Alán-culibal, or "lower barrio," respectively. Some informants say "calpul" in referring to the barrios, but not so others, who recognize the word calpul as the one used by other native groups -- "here there is no calpul, only Alán- and Ajkol-culibal," several Cancuqueros explain to us. One informant tells us that formerly there were three culibales, the third being called Alal-bikit-culbal. The dividing line of the barrios passes through the center of the town, located on the crest of a hill, drawn from east to west, the lands of the north belonging to Alán- and those of the south to Ajkol-culibal. The
[361] third one, which has now disappeared, included all the land
[368] to the west of the town, as the dividing line terminated at the point where the building of the Cabildo /town hall/ is located -- to the east of the great plaza, having in front the Iglesia /church/ and the ruins of the ancient "convento." When Alal-bikit-culibal was incorporated into the other two, the line that divided them was extended, separating its lands into two parts: those that remained south of the line being transferred so as to belong to the "upper" culibal, and those of the north to the "lower" one.

621 Even though at present there are persons from one culibal
551 living in the other, they always consider themselves bound to the one from which their surname comes (for this purpose our informants never took into account the third barrio to which we have referred). According to our list of native surnames, we can say
[614] that 54 belong to Ajkol-culibal, and 38 to Alán-culibal. According to the division into three clans, we have the following distribution:

463 241 handle the milpa. It is rare to find an Indian who does not have a milpa since this is the work that ensures his existence.

Property Rights

423 613 [170] [181] This is a matter that varies according to the degree of acculturation reached by the community. In the most conservative groups (Oxchuc, Cancuc, Tenejapa, Tenango) there are still family property rights, but they seem to depend on lineage rather than on the immediate family (Villa Rojas, 562 428 1947, ch. 19). As these lineages are patrilineal, a woman does not count when inheritance is involved. She can own her parcel of land only when she has saved the money to buy it, but this is not frequent. Any man can claim lands that previously belonged to his lineage; it is enough to give back the money paid for them two or three generations ago. Of course, he has to prove by witnesses or documents that those lands were the property of his lineage.

127 423 613 614 According to a document dated 1861, which I found in the possession of the Gómez Ichiloks (they belong to the Gómez clan and to the Ichilok lineage), residents of the paraje of Tzajalchen of the municipio of Oxchuc, this property system seems to be very ancient. The document is of special interest.

000 DOCUMENTO DE TIERRAS DE LOS GÓMEZ ICHILOK A

Por pedimento de los ciudadanos Domingo Gómez Ichilok, Tomás Gomez Ichilok, otro Tomás Gómez Ichilok, Miguel Gómez Ichilok, Diego Gómez Ichilok, otre, Domingo Gómez Ichilok, otro Diego Gómez Ichilok y su hijo Diego Gómez Ichilok y por último su hijo menor Manuel Gómez Ichilok, y como antiguamente se acostumbra en este pueblo que segun los hermanos de una propria familia, se les demarca un retazo de terreno de ejido para que en lo sucesivo no haya pleitos con los vecinos como suele suceder, nosotros los Gobernadores, Auxiliares, Justicias, Escribanos y Testigos, pasamos al paraje denominado Tzajalchén a

[P. 211-A]

A /For a translation by H.R.A.F. of this document, see category 116, p. 225-C--Analyst/

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
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000 throughout the region. There are also com-
596 pound families in which other members, married or widowed, from the same patrilineal nucleus, plus their children, share the same house or the same kitchen.

[127] Table 3, taken from J. Nash (1959, p. 2), was compiled from data gathered in Oxchuc parajes, where we had our headquarters.

Of the 16 extended families, 13 are formed by married sons living in the parents' house; the married daughters living with their parents derive from the custom that the son-in-law spends a period of service in his father-in-law's house during the first months of marriage.

592 These types of family composition continue even in acculturated communities like Aguacatenango. According to B. Metzger (1959, p. 84), of the 174 homes that constitute this village, 121 are nuclear and 53 are extended families; of the latter, 15 are formed by parents living with their married sons and 10 are formed by widows living with an unmarried son. There are only two instances of parents who live in an unmarried daughter's house. Married brothers very seldom live in the same house.

000 Though the nuclear family predominates,
[P 216-C]

•127
423
613
614

/Document of Lands of the Gómez Ichilok

On account of the petition of the citizens Domingo Gómez Ichilok, Tomás Gómez Ichilok, another Tomás Gómez Ichilok, Miguel Gómez Ichilok, Diego Gómez Ichilok, another Domingo Gómez Ichilok, another Diego Gómez Ichilok and his son Diego Gómez Ichilok, and lastly his minor son, Manuel Gómez Ichilok, and as formerly was the custom in this town that, according to the brothers of one family, a piece of common land is marked off for them so that in the future there will be no disputes with the neighbors as is usually the case, we the Governors, Auxiliaries, Justices, Scribes and Witnesses, give the paraje /place/ called Tzajalchén for them to put their landmarks on and to give them the possession that corresponds to them according to their number.

"Where began to stand the first landmark Busulton Pacton which is on the road to the right; 2nd landmark Oxloton which is on the road; 3rd landmark Tzovilton; 4th landmark Tequelton, landmark with Pedro Moreno; 5th landmark Yolilnelej Lomchen; 6th landmark in accord with Juan Gómez Bet and Martin Sanchez Chelap is called the line Teguel Cante which is also the line with Manuel Chinbak; 7th landmark Tequelton only line with Marcos Hernandez López and Diego Lopez and Diego Giron Vásquez; 8th and last landmark Basulton Pacton.

"Having left all the bordering neighbors content, offering both that in the future they will not have the least disagreement, as they are natives of their own town, under the judgment that if anyone is guilty in upsetting the order in which it has been left, the injured party will put in the cognizance of the Judge to investigate it and to apply the punishment that it deserves, for whose security the witnesses are Lorenzo Ichilok, Martin Solel, Miguel Gómez Ichilok and Governors Diego Méndez Chizna and Nicolas Jiménez Acux. For the witnesses and Governors who do not know how to sign their names. April 12 of 1861 and as witness and scribe Alonso Santis./

[P. 225-c]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VII

CORPORATE GROUPS WITHIN THE VILLAGE

Historical Perspective

174 611 591 601 583 423 428 It is probable that the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango had, at some time in their past, a patrilineal organization based on agnatic descent, patri-virilocality, a kinship terminology of the Normal Omaha type, and other associated features such as bride-price, groom service, patrilineal control of the rights to land usufruct, and patrilineal inheritance.

174 613 614 621 626 Each agnatic descent group formed segments of a corporate lineage, and several segments formed a sib. Lineages were localized, and they had important social functions. The heads of linear segments formed the local government and had the responsibility of controlling conflict and sanctioning individual behavior through the supernatural. They were believed to "own" powerful animal counterparts of their souls, which patrolled the village during sleep, and punished the misdemeanors of those men belonging to their line of descent. It is also probable that the lineage was [582] an exogamous unit, and there is some scanty evidence which points to the practice of cross-cousin marriage.

•127 The evidence to support this hypothetical statement is of two types. On the one hand, there is some historical documentation in published, as well as manuscript, form. On the other hand,

127 there is contemporary evidence of this structure in the present day organization of other similar Tzeltal-Tzotzil villages (see bibliography).

Landa (1928:98-99) suggested that the Mayans had a unilateral social organization based on the presence of name groups, exogamy, and patrilineal inheritance. Eggan (1934) indicated the possibility that the Mayans had cross-cousin marriage from his work with kinship terminology. Miles, working with the evidence about sixteenth century Pokom-Maya, reconstructed the kinship system as being strongly classificatory, with linearity receiving "scant but important attention in the terminology" (1957: 756), and he also reports the presence of patrilineages. Calixta Guiteras-Holmes (1952) reported that the Tzotzil of Chenalho and Chalchihuitan, and the Tzeltal of Cancuc and Oxchuc had a Bifurcate Merging type terminology, with "one term for sibling and parallel cousin, another term for cross-cousin, with overriding of generations." Murdock, on the basis of this and other evidence, suggested that the Mayans had a patrilineal social organization and that "although the fact appears to have escaped general attention, both ancient and modern sources clearly attest the presence of exogamous patrilineages everywhere in the lowlands (of the Mayan area) with the single possible exception of the Chorti, and true exogamous patri-sibs have survived among such highland tribes as the Cakchiquel, Mam, Quiche and Tzeltal." "The Tzeltal evolved Omaha terminology and, thus, acquired a social system of the most fully developed patrilineal sort" (Murdock, 1955:95).

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

•127 (014) Although Murdock's statement takes a position which is not fully supported by the historical evidence, all information, however incomplete, points in the same direction.

127 611 Baroco (1959b), working with the Register of Civil Marriages of the state of Chiapas from 1880 for Chanal, and the censuses of the same village for 1957, noticed that several patrilineal inherited Indian names were attached to a single Spanish surname. The Indian name functioned in regulating marriages. Moreover, through some of the realignments (in time depth) of name groups, he pointed out that the fusion and fission of the lineal segments could be traced historically, not only for one village, but for several villages sharing the same lineage names and suspected clans (represented by the Spanish name groups).

In another unpublished article, Baroco (1959a) indicated that according to the sixteenth and eighteenth century documents, including a book of baptisms, patrilineal name groups were associated with the naming of children with calendrical personal names, that is, names of the Mayan calendar, a custom reported in all early Mayan sources (see Barrera Vazguez, Ed. 1948; Recinos, A., Ed. 1950; Ximenez, Ed. 1857).

Contemporary evidence shows that several communities in the Chiapas highlands still preserve a strong patrilineal bent. Localized agnatic lineages and clans have been reported for Oxchuc (Villa Rojas, 1945; Siverts, H., 1960) where they have both ritual political and land-tenure regulatory functions, and Cancuc (Guiteras-Holmes, 1952). Patrilineally inherited name groups with restricted corporate functions are present in practically

127 every Chiapas Highland community, including some highly accul-
611 turated towns such as Venustiano Carranza (McQuown et al., 1959).
128 Amatenango and Aguacatenango both have patrilineally in-
611 herited name groups and other slight indications of the previously hypothesized patrilineal "bent" (e.g., bride-price). Our problem, however, is not to reconstruct a hypothetical past, nor to assess the possibility of a change from patrilineal to something else. In this study, the discussion of the name groups will be carried on in the context of their functions, if any, at the present time.

Functions

If the theory of functional correlations between residence, kinship terminology, marriage customs, exogamy, etc., has any validity, we would suspect that Amatenango, with a domestic group organized along bilateral lines and matri-uxorilocal and viri-patrilocal residence having equal incidence, would not have unilineal descent groups, while Aguacatenango, with patri-virilocal residence and a domestic group organized around a core of agnatically related males would have preserved or have now (if it ever had, a fact which at the present we cannot emphatically support), an organization based on agnatic lineages, or it will show some aspects of a lineal organization outside the realm of the domestic unit.

571 In Amatenango, as suspected, the name groups "are not now
[613] functioning units in the social organization, neither on marriage, inheritance or social control" (Nash, J., 1960:5). Work activities, rituals, participation in community-wide sodality groups or festivities, compadrazgo ties, etc., are carried on by the household

128 residence changes through time, in a developmental cycle which is
591 the result of the developmental cycle of the domestic group, both
[57] [602] as a kinship unit and as economic centers of village life. (3) It tries to contribute to the study of residence by showing how a combined methodology, utilizing both Fischer's residence typology and Fortes' developmental cycle analysis, can render more fruitful
128 descriptions than either of the two methods in isolation. (4) It
592 shows how a single institution, the household, is affected by the multiple pressures of several alternate social domains, and how its functioning is adjusted and organized in reference to the multivariable social world.

128 I am aware that the study has suffered at times for lack of depth in the analysis of particular data. I have been unable to discuss carefully the implications of the functions of bride-price in the two communities, because I lack sufficiently objective data to support my ideas or disprove them. The same is true for a more careful analysis of the social dynamics of coalitions between siblings and between individuals living outside each domestic unit. Although June Nash's dissertation offers several complete
128 examples of sibling interaction, and Metzger's field notes have
114 invaluable information in certain kinship roles, I lacked the
127 equivalent materials from the two communities to make a more than superficial comparison.

000 I do not expect, however, this study to be the end of my inquiry into the subject. I propose to continue working in the same area of the world in the future (perhaps in the same

/7 cont./

621 the harvests of all on the appointed days, and collect the taxes
622 on the lands of the culibal, which they take to the seat of the
[651] municipality of Ocosingo, from which Cancuc depends in the capacity of municipal agency. An order given by a chief is obeyed without discussion by all the members of the correspond-
[614] ing culibal. The men of each culibal participate in the local government in equal number and category, just as also in the filling of religious positions, the clans always taking turns.

/8/ Kinship System

601 Below we shall see the kinship system, intimately related to the social organization based on exogamous patrilineal clans.

601 •128 Kinship Terms of Cancuc*

*This list presents the kinship terms with their significant primaries /Sp. primarios/. Some have the possessive prefix of the first person, but we have preferred to retain this form because this is how they are obtained in the genealogies and how they are heard in the common language in the forms of usage and because we use the charts of EGO, which are the ones of more common use. Due to the lack of printing types representing the phonemic signs, we have chosen the Spanish orthography.

601

bankil	a man's older brother
xibel	a woman's older brother
uix	older sister; father's sister
kitsín	younger siblings of both sexes
tat	father
me	mother
nichán	a man's children
kaal	a woman's children

3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.456-B] Teklum

682 ceeded along two lines of enquiry. First, I have
674 analyzed the circumstances surrounding the
121 deaths in as many cases as my informants could remember. Variations in the components of homicidal acts—the setting, agents, purpose, and outcome—suggested the different assumptions underlying each case. Secondly, I have correlated the different kinds of homicide with structural and organizational changes in
682 the community. The analysis of cases in Sec-
674 tion I summarizes the patterned components
●128 of behavior. The social environment providing the cues to the actors is explored in Section II.

I. THE PATTERNED COMPONENTS OF 37 HOMICIDE CASES[9]

682
165
[128] The following tabulations and discussion are based on the 37 cases presented in Table 1.

Who Is Killed

Sex:	all male	
Age:	18–22	5
	27–30	7
	34–38	7
	42–48	8
	50	3
	60	2
	65	2
	70	2
	??	1
[463] Occupation:	curer	8
	political leader	1
	farmer	28

One-half the total number of killings occurred to those between the ages of 34 to 50. However, as the six victims aged 60 and over indicate, survival to a late age does not ensure that one will die a nonviolent death. The age of the victim may be correlated with motive, insofar as some events leading to conflict occur
68 only at certain times in the life cycle. Thus,
[578] betrothal conflicts involved only young men, while victims accused of witchcraft were older: 27 was the age of the youngest, and 16 out of the 18 men killed as witches were over 34. Cattle theft, on the other hand, occurred throughout the age range.

682 Eight of the victims—more than one-fifth of
165 them—were curers, a much higher proportion
756 than their share in the total population, for there are only about a dozen now living in the town center of 1,900.

682 There is a personality type recognized by the
156 community as distinctive of those who "get

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 463-A]

Teklum

000 cept the verdict or to avenge the killing.

682 674 128 In selecting a single motive in categorizing the killer and the reason for his act, I have distorted reality more than in the other tabulations. Motivations include both the instrumental reason and the rationalization for the act. The complexity of motivation is rrelated with the multiplicity of social ties existing between any two people. For example, when a man shoots his father for failure to provide him with his bride price, but feels justified and expects social approval because his mother on her deathbed accused the father of having provoked her illness by witchcraft (case 36, Table 1), it is impossible to assign a single primary cause. However, in order to correlate the factors of agent and motive, I have been forced to select only a single feature in categorizing them.

682 674 75 In one-half of all the cases reported, the motive attributed for homicide is suspicion of witchcraft. (Whether or not witchcraft is ever practiced here is irrelevant since men act in terms of their interpretation of an event, not of the event itself.) Almost all sickness in the community is believed to be caused by witchcraft (the term for witch and witchcraft, *?ak'čamel*, means "giver of sickness"). The family of a sick person consults the local curers, who pulse the patient. The witch "has left his signature in the blood" of the patient, and by pulsing him the curer can "hear and feel" who the witch is. His procedure is to ask the patient to tell what troubles he has had with his neighbors and relatives, and as the patient recites the names of the people with whom he has had conflict, the pulse jumps. As in the use of the lie detector, this indicates where there is high affect; in Teklum it is interpreted as positive indicator of the guilty person, the witch. If the curer gets drunk enough, he may reveal the name of the witch, but he usually prefers not to—I know of at least three cases, one of which is reported here, in which the man who announced the name of the witch was killed by the person he accused. The family may then check the consultation with curers in neighboring towns or even in the departmental capital. Since these distant curers are not inhibited by fear of the witch, they name the guilty one. The family, or the patient, may broadcast their suspicions, even announcing the consultation over the loudspeakers in the local liquor shops. If the patient dies, a member of the family may act on

3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.465-A] Teklum

682 178 121 626 only a rise in the tensions that provoke conflict, but an undermining of the social-control mechanisms for channeling them. The perception of these changes by the members of the society makes for shifts in the individual calculi, grossly measured in changes in the rate of behavior. In order to understand the interrelated problems of the sources of the increasing [128] tensions and the reasons homicide is chosen as a means of resolving them, I have reconstructed the course of social change in the period from 1935 to 1965.

178 556 *Increasing Social Tensions*

New economic enterprises have increased wealth differences in the community. The best measure of this is in the increase in cattle-holding, which is a socially approved way of spending money. Twenty-five years ago, there were only a half-dozen men with cattle, and they had only one or two head each. Today, 178 233 one of the herders in the community has 200 head of cattle, and 75 percent of the households 556 have one or more each.

Cattle-herding is a "new" industry in the sense that instead of just having a team of oxen to help with agricultural labor, men are 233 breeding cattle for profit. Because the cattle 685 roam freely, there is much loss, and this leads to accusations of theft. I have never heard such accusations directed against anyone outside the community; crime as well as positive moral relationships is confined within the 682 boundaries of this corporate community. Sus- 685 pected cattle thieves are killed by the cattle- [474] owner or by a killer hired by the cooperative of cattle-owners. Such killings account for six of the 37 cases analyzed above (Table 1).

178 274 The illicit distilling of liquor has also added to the town's prosperity. The liquor industry was introduced about 15 years ago, but the number of distillers has increased from 5 to 40 [438] in the last five years. From an enterprise formerly meeting only local market needs, [439] contraband liquor is now sold as far away as the coastal area and across the border in 274 Guatemala. A cooperative of distillers has re- 474 duced the frictions that immediately followed the introduction of liquor-distilling. The cooperative pays the fines of any member caught distilling, and in addition threatens to use group action against informers, who were formerly tempted to earn the 200 pesos offered [578] by federal agents. But the envy aroused by the sight of those who profit from this enterprise,

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P. 466-A]

625 The "police force", made up of ten
626 Indians of the town who served without pay for a year, acted as errand boys more than as guardians of public safety. The townspeople conformed to the cultural code of behavior because of a sense that their welfare was being cared for.

626 More recently, the breakdown of certain
178 structural features and competition between
75 new and old leaders have undermined non-violent methods for the maintenance of social control. These changes will be discussed in
[128] terms of (1) the organization of the curing profession, (2) conflict between the curers and the civil authority, and (3) how both the curing profession and the civil authority are affected by the breakdown of the old dual division of the town.

(1) *Organization of the curing profession.*
[124] Perception of structural changes in the curing profession and their effect on attitudes are indicated in the following statement by an informant:

> Formerly there were not many curers. Only two—one in the low side and the other in the high side. They alone spoke together. They walked every night, looking and watching over the pueblo to see that no illness was brought in, checking to see who was bringing it and to see if there was any illness of God [reference to contagious diseases]. They saw which of the children had a soul
> [174] [reference to the third soul, the swayohel or animal spirit, which gives the power to cure and to do evil].
>
> If anyone wanted to be cured, they bathed them, cured them, and in a little while people got better because there was good illness only. If later on it turned into a disease of the devil, with their animal spirit they seized the force of the illness.
>
> When there was a contagious disease, and a witch "brought heat," and the children began to die, the two curers alone consulted and waited to see who had brought the evil and where they lived. One of them went to the town hall and gave an account of the fact that they had taken care of the evil and gotten rid of it. It was not necessary to gather together the pueblo—only the two knew what was the matter and how to care for it.
>
> The [two] leader curers of each section [*statal ʔuʔuletik*] alone ordered other curers. No one else could enter curing until permitted by the leaders. They continued in power until they died, and then one of the younger curers took over.
>
> Beginning in 1940, more curers started to enter on their own accord. The elder curer had died, and his successor was not recognized. People saw that someone could pulse, and so they would ask him to cure.
>
> Now when there is an epidemic, the president

3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P.469-B]

leaders, both in the civil authority and in the curing profession. The transition from the old hierarchy of control to the new leadership structure is still in process. In the most recent confrontation of the civil authority and curers, the fact that neither side resorted to violence suggests the transitional nature of homicide as a solution in intracommunal conflict.

This study of homicide indicates that the changing rate of behavior points to structural change, but does not in itself indicate what kind of change occurs or from what motives it stems. Qualitative case analysis related to structural changes within the recall of informants is essential for understanding social process.

NOTES

[1] Field work is based on two periods of residence in the community in 1964 and 1965; it was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health. I am grateful for comments by Paul Friedrich, Richard Henderson, Harold Scheffler, and Peter Wilson, who have improved the original version read at the 1965 meetings of the American Anthropological Association. I remain responsible for the contents of the paper.

[2] Henry and Short (1954:18) analyze both suicide and homicide as undifferentiated aggressive reactions to frustration, the rates of which vary—in the first case inversely and in the second case directly—with the strength of the external control system over behavior. Their assumption that homicide is motivationally a single phenomenon, and not an expression of a variety of motives, stems from the assumption that all cases of aggressive acts are the result of frustration. Straus and Straus (1964:587) apply a similar correlational analysis of homicide and suicide rates with structural features of society in Ceylon, but come to opposite conclusions. They maintain that one would expect greater evidence of homicide in a "loosely structured society," by which they mean one with considerable sanctioning of variation in individual behavior. These studies contradict each other in the conclusions that they reach by similar analytical processes, but they are attempts to move away from such psychoanalytic reasoning as the death-wish theory.

[3] Bohannan's (1960) survey of homicide and suicide in African societies represents a useful model for comparing the total pattern of homicide cross-culturally. In presenting the case material here, I have used a similar format, adding to it the circumstances surrounding the killing. In the analysis of these materials, I have diverged from Bohannan's model in trying to demonstrate the linkage among the components—the ration, to use Burke's (1945) terminology of scene-setting-actor-agent.

[4] The term "witch" is a translation of the Tzeltal term *Pak'-Zamal*, literally "giver of sickness." The term "curer" is a translation of *Pa'Pal*. The power to cure and to give sickness stems from the possession of a *muyuhel*, or animal spirit.

[5] For a discussion of the tactics of gaining consensus in witch-killings, see Manning Nash (1960).

[6] Political homicide by agrarian leaders, which is so frequent in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962), is a relatively recent phenomenon in the retreat zones of Indian population. The cases analyzed by Friedrich are a strategy of political power stemming from a revolutionary background, and the cultural assumptions to which he points contrast with those underlying witch-killings. My only comparable case is, significantly, found outside the traditional center, in the new ejido colony.

[7] Jules Henry (1936) sees the formula of fear and anger as the

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

9. The Tzeltal

ALFONSO VILLA ROJAS

133 flows through the eastern part of the region, the latter through the western, both draining large basins.

161 162 According to the census of 1950, the population of the zone totals 76,617 individuals, distributed over 15,970 sq. km. Of these 49,053 persons are Indian, 27,564 are Ladino. This population is distributed according to Table 1.

[128] San Cristobal de las Casas is omitted from the table because its population is predominantly Ladino (19,758 individuals) and because the Indians who live there (3,296) are of the Tzotzil tongue. Socoltenango and Nicolas Ruiz are also omitted because they no longer have an Indian-speaking population.

161 631 The central region has the municipalities of the highest density of population: Oxchuc with 129 inhabitants per sq. km., and Tenejapa with 115. The northern part has an [134] area seven times as large with only twice as much population; the municipality of Ocosingo has hardly one inhabitant per sq. km. in spite of the fact that its lands are the most fertile of the entire region. Although it

[p. 195-B] TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 196-B

Although it
161 has an average of 19 inhabitants per sq. km.,
[241] the southern zone has lands that are suitable
[631] for agriculture and for irrigation, such as in
[128] Amatenango. Later I shall discuss the influence of these factors on the uneven economic and social development of the three zones.

161 The figures on Indians are based exclu-
162 sively on use of the Indian language and
197 so include both monolinguals and bilin-
191 guals. To differentiate each group, however, I have made corrections based on field work as shown in Table 2.

141 The average height of these Indians ranges from 1.55 to 1.60 m. Referring to

[P. 196 - B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

did not like it and ran away. His place was taken by a younger man, Nicholas Cardon Niqol (the third names appear to be nicknames), but too much time had been lost to accomplish a great deal.

In the printed lists, preference has been given to the first-named informant in each dialect, although when the variation is considerable, both versions are set down.

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
Abeja	tcanal-tcap tcap-tcul-tat-tik	yūm -tcap mu-yum olokte	tcupim
abuela	tcutcux tcutcun-el	kE-mim pan'ocip	ka-mam
abuelo	tat-mam-al (father-old-the)	kE-mop	ka-mam
agrio	bax	amuh-ba'*	pa
agua	ha'	ha'	ha
aguacero	tulan-ha-al (strong water)	no-ha (big water)	
alacrán	tsek	sina'	sina'
aliento			ik
alma	lap	pican	
alto	toyol	diski	iski
amarillo	k'an	kun	k'an
amo		yum	
andar	be-el	cuma'a ya-kE-te†	te camba
animal	tcam-ba'lam	Eluk'i	tcitam
año	hun hab-il hab sin-il	hun hap (future) hun habi (past)	
aqui	liil	nida^{n}	
araña	äm	t'oi	ah-toi‡
árbol	te	te	hun tsit-te
arcilla	tcav-ek lum (beeswax-earth)		
arco	timal-te yalab	wun-te	
cuerda del arco	ahci'al		
ardilla	tcutc	tcutc	ictcutc
arroyo	ukum	sañi-ha'	
asiento		tcumlip	tcunlip
áspero		ketscn	
atole		mats	mats
aya		nant'i	

*amuh, amo-, or amos-, appearing in various adjectives, means very.
†In many verbs the informants gave the first person singular, present form. This may be detected by the pronominal kE. See Appendix III.
‡ah = the definite article.

12 in his discussion of Subanun medical beliefs, speaks of English "glosses" for the Subanun structure of things--the glosses being understood to be proximate devices to give the reader a sense of the familiar. The major part of Frake's language of description lies in his use of hierarchically ordered, mutally exclusive classes as they are found in the native language. The following description of drinking performances in Aguacatenango, though loosely organized in comparison, is a first step in this direction. It is an approach to an "inside" view of drinking in Aguacatenango in that it makes extensive use of Tzeltal propositions and statements of relationship, drawn from the texts and verified or elucidated by eliciting procedures, in the construction of generalizations. The use of such statements in this account may make it easier for the reader to check my interpretations or for another ethnographer to verify, amplify, or revise my description.

128 In the chapters to follow, I shall deal with the relationships between drinking performances and the inventory of social roles (Chapter II), the role of drinking in conflict and its resolution (Chapter III), and in illness and curing (Chapter IV). In summary (Chapter V), I shall review the common elements of these instances of drinking in an attempt to show some aspects of the "meaning" of drinking performances in Aguacatenango.

273* of the seventy-six men reported that they drink "in excess" rather
124 than "a proper amount." This contrast seems to be based not primarily on moral principles, but rather on a belief that the state of deep drunkenness which most men reach when they drink in-
128 volves hazards to life and well-being. In the two chapters which follow, I shall describe some of these hazards--conflict and illness--along with the ways of dealing with them, in more detail.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER IV

DRINKING PATTERNS ASSOCIATED WITH GETTING SICK AND DYING

75 Illness is probably the least well-controlled variable in Aguacatenango planning. As such, it is a recurrent event in the lives of Aguacatenangueros, and its implications are serious.

The household, the most complex and long-enduring organizational effort of Aguacatenangueros, may be destroyed by the death of one of its adult members. Extreme illness may cause a family to close up its house and leave town altogether. Any illness is potentially a severe strain on family resources. 273* 753 [1164] Drinking is intimately associated with illness: it figures in the etiology of illness; it is central in the procedures used to reduce illness as a basis for inference and action; and finally, it is an important instrument of expression of mourning should the ill individual die. [128] After a brief description of the "theory of illness" in Aguacatenango, we will show how drinking is related to this theory and to its behavioral expression.

75 not yet appear to be a popular alternative. Generally, the doc-
tor is the last of all medical practitioners referred to in ex-
hausting the curing options in Aguacatenango, though individuals
who have had a successful relationship with the doctor are more
756 likely to pursue that option sooner. The only other major class
of medical practitioner is the talking saint. Talking saints are
more or less representational images of saints who, in conjunc-
tion with their "owners" can actively consult with human beings
about their trials and tribulations in the world. The most
powerful of this class, San Miguel of Soyaló, is about an eight
hour trip and a 200 peso fee from Aguacatenango. Talking saints
share more features with the curers than they do with doctors.
They, like the curers, are predestined by God to their role,
[755] but they more directly represent God's omniscience. The cure
of the talking saint is more powerful as can be measured by the
greater expenditure of funds for such a cure, or as can be
measured by his greater ability to divine in the life history
of the patient the principal sources of illness.

128 Admitting then, that illness has general characteristics
as described above, we turn our attention to the multiple rela-
tions between illness and the drinking of aguardiente.

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Acknowledgments

My study of the people of Tzoʔontahal was made in four field sessions, the first in 1957 with return trips in 1958, 1964, and 1965, for a total of eighteen months. Brief visits were made in 1966 and 1967. With each returning visit it was possible to penetrate more deeply into the lives and experiences of the villagers, most of whom were highly resistant to an outsider on the first contact. I began writing the book in 1966, and some of the predictions I made came true before I finished it in 1968. These included the demise of the ceremonial leadership of the *alfereces*—the officials in charge of religious celebrations—the waning of the community status of curers, and the killing of one of my principal informants who had taken a leadership role before acquiring the traditional validation of age and experience in office. The transformations over the period of my study in this community created difficulties in recording and organizing my material. I owe whatever clarification has emerged to the efforts of Jane Olson and Gale Griffin of Yale University Press.

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ters in Las Casas. His encouragement and support of investigations by foreign students set an example in international cooperation. I am personally indebted to Mary Marshall for the companionship and assistance she offered during our summer of residence in the public bathhouse of the town; she is responsible for the observations in Appendix 3A and 3B. Terrence Kaufman checked the Tzeltal words appearing in the glossary. I am grateful for the hospitality and friendship of the family of the schoolmaster, Louis Tavernier. Without the patience, the insight, and the friendship of Juliana Lopez Shunton, Mariano Lopez Lin, Simón Perez Kantirón, and their families, the book would never have been written. Vera Deutsch provided encouragement and assistance in the final typing of the manuscript. My children, Eric and Laura, shared the hardships of fieldwork and of producing the book.

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121 A culture, under certain conditions, during a period of time can be said to be an open system in a state of stable but moving equilibrium: that is to say, it maintains a boundary, accepts inputs and produces outputs at approximately equal rates, and changes continuously but gradually in internal structure.

The concept of equilibrium is one way to talk about the constraints which make behavior congruent with beliefs. Given a constantly changing ecological setting due to an expanding population and a changing man-land ratio, the stability of the system depends on the adequacy of existing institutions to handle conflict and of shared understandings to explain events. Movement stems from the tension between individual and social goals and the adaptations to bring them into closer harmony. The basic condition for the kind of change characteristic of a moving equilibrium is that conflict is contained within the community.

128 I have organized the data to clarify features maintaining equilibrium and to show the direction in which the society is moving. First I describe formal, prescribed behavior for each institutional complex and relate it to the beliefs that underlie it. Following each of these chapters I analyze strategies formulated in response to changes coming from within or outside the community. The formal behavior providing a framework for continuity is related to place spirits in Chapter 1, to economic activities in Chapter 2, to customs and rituals in the family and neighborhood in Chapters 4 and 5, to civil and religious government in Chapters 7 and 8. Changing strategies are related to economic activities in Chapter 3, to social relations as revealed in curing practices in Chapter 6, and to political relations in Chapter 9.

177 178 [241] [323] Implicit in the organization is an ordering of institutions from most static to most dynamic. In the economy, agricultural technology has been stabilized at the colonial level of adaptation at which the wooden plow, hoe, and machete were added to, but did not displace, the digging stick, while in pottery manufacture, both techniques and products have remained unchanged. The organization of work groups remains limited to the household except for the introduction of cooperatives in recent years. In domestic institutions there has been an adaptation to living in a compact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group.

[592] [476] [361]

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pact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group. The au- 177
thority of the elders in settling conflicts in the family and the community 178
is weakened, although the hierarchy remains intact. In religious institu- [627]
tions, the personnel has remained the same, but the authority of the reli- [794]
gious officials has weakened and the belief in the deities and ancestral [776]
figures has been undermined. [769]

Political leadership is the most dynamic area of change. The power of [623]
the *principales* had already been taken over by young civil officials when I [756]
first went to the town in 1957. The curers, who retained the power derived from belief in their control over the supernatural, were the core of resistance to change in the decade that I knew the community. But this control was being challenged by civil officials and factional leaders, who were aware of its repressive effect. The dynamic aspect of the political sector is linked to the fact that the new leaders saw the necessity of seizing power from those who were privileged in the traditional society. They were reworking the social structure to pave the way for the acceptance of development opportunities being offered by the national government.

In Chapters 10, 11, and 12 I have summarized the structuring of behav- 128 •
ior in roles, place, and time and described how these patterns have been affected by change. The following questions are raised in the summary chapters:

1. The role system: How are people recruited into roles? How are roles coordinated? How are performances evaluated? The matrix of roles provides the patterned expectations of what others will do in a given situation. Some of the decisions made in assigning people to roles allow little room for choice. In other cases, new functions, such as those imposed upon governing officials, have replaced traditional bases for making decisions and in turn upset the balance of power between elders, curers, and leaders in civil office. (Continuity and change in the role structure are analyzed in Chapter 10.)

2. The setting: How is appropriate behavior defined for each institutional setting? What kinds of behavior are replicated in each setting? How are changes in role relations reflected in positions assumed in each setting? Observations of behavior in the church and the

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128 school included in Appendix 3 provide the data for an inductive analysis of conventions established by place. (These are compared and analyzed in Chapter 11.)

3. Timing of behavior: How does time enter into the consciousness of people's planning of activities? Time is a resource the use of which indicates the values assigned to activities and the relative power of people in bargaining positions. As such, it is a sensitive index to changes in strategies for allocating effort. (The sense of time is examined in reference to the scheduling of performances and interpreting the behavior of others in Chapter 12.)

The summary chapters provide the basis for testing the following hypotheses in the final chapter:

1. The stability of the society varies directly with:
   a. the degree of control over time and place
   b. the efficiency of its procedures for adjusting conflict
   c. the ability to validate behavioral innovations in terms of existing values
   d. the effectiveness of the techniques for transforming old power positions whose functions contradict changed social conditions into ceremonial posts
2. The lability of the society varies directly with:
   a. the gap between expectations and experience
   b. the degree of dissonance between traditional explanations and current interpretations of events

177 178 During the period I worked in Tzoʔontahal, the fundamental propositions on which behavior was predicated were being challenged. When old beliefs are waning, the question is whether the techniques developed to maintain the old conditions for equilibrium will persist in the future.

121 Fortes (1959:25) has pointed out that the "serious defect . . . of generalized enthnographic descriptions" is that they do not show "how ritual or belief is actually used by men and women to regulate their lives." My purpose is to indicate not only how belief and ritual serve the ends of regulation but also how beliefs are transformed in the process of performing ri-

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Chapter 1

Spirits and Places

Social space is the cognitive pattern of relationships imposed upon any terrain. In Amatenango del Valle [1] there are two superimposed patterns. One is defined by the nation for the purposes of political administration. This follows the pattern of colonial administration of *municipios*, or townships, with a *cabecera*, or administrative center, containing the church, town hall, and school house, and serving a number of colonias and *rancherias*, local hamlets or nuclei of populations. The other pattern is defined by the inhabitants using Tzeltal terminology or a Tzeltal rendition of a Spanish name. In this pattern, domains of good and bad spirits are defined, and behavior appropriate to each place is specified in myths and rituals. Persistence of this pattern has had profound implications for continuity of pre-Conquest culture. It provides a ground plan for the system of social control and security exercised by the old gods and their human intermediaries.

In the following section, I will discuss first territorial divisions defined by national law and modified by indigenous categories, and then the interaction between the spirits of persons and places.

The Territorial Divisions

The township of Amatenango del Valle is located at 92°30′ longitude and 16°30′ latitude in the highland zone of the state of Chiapas. The town center is located no more than fifty yards from the Pan-American Highway twenty-five miles southeast of the departmental capital of San Cristóbal.

1. I use the national designation derived from Nahuatl, Amatenango del Valle, to refer to the township, and the Tzeltal term Tzo'ontahal to refer to the center.

000 133 tóbal. The altitude above sea level varies from 2,000 meters in the hilly periphery to 1,720 meters in the valley where the town center is located. Ejido 423 632 lands acquired in the 1930s have extended the boundaries of the township to lower lands at 1,500 meters altitude.

133 Pre-Conquest settlement patterns in the Chiapas highlands were characterized by independent communities occupying the headlands around flat- 172 361 bottomed valleys (R. M. Adams 1961:341). The choice of sites seems to have been based on defense against invading Toltec or other conquest groups (Calnek 1962:25). The sites investigated by Adams and Culbert (R. M. Adams 1961:347) in Amatenango belong to the late-Classic and early post-Classic period. They were marginal to the centers of Maya civilization in the Yucatán peninsula and Guatemala. Test excavations in the modern town indicate that it was occupied only after colonial times.

175 361 The town of Amatenango del Valle is first mentioned in the year 1528 when it was included in tribute lists with both the Nahuatl name, Ama- 161 tenango, and the Tzeltal name, Tzobontaghal (Calnek n.d.). The tribute 162 lists of 1761 include 33 families in the *parcialidad*, or Spanish political unit based on an indigenous settlement, of Zacatepec in Amatenango and 75 families in the parcialidad of Amatenango (Trens 1957 I:217). The first census done in 1778 shows a total population of 576, with 374 men and 202 women. The racial breakdown is listed as 8 white, 2 negro and mestizo, and 560 Indians (Trens 1957:221). By 1824, the population had increased 161 to 1,620. The present population of 3,179 represents natural growth as well 632 as inclusion of additional outlying settlements added in the latter part of [423] the nineteenth century and during the 1930s with the enactment of the land reform act. The population changes indicate steady but not great increases. The capacity of the town to incorporate additional population has probably passed its peak. The present trend is for out-migration to newly opened ejido lands.

128 632 The subdivisions of the town, which provide the framework for administration by the national government, are included in Table 1.

361 [563] *The center.* The center of Tzoʔontahal is called the "center [or navel] of the world." The residents of the center, with the exception of the schoolteacher's family, are all Indian. Although the town center forms

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5]

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ties to the center. They register births and deaths in the township center, 632
but they do not have any representation in the cabildo. The populations 621
have no identification with Indian subgroups, speak Spanish, and are oriented to the regional rather than the local economic center. The plantations remaining in the area, classified as *ranchos* in the national census, employ Indians from the center. Their only relationship to the central au- [464]
thority is to get help in recruiting additional laborers. Recruitment of [241]
labor is no longer coercive as it was prior to the 1930s when the low wage rate could not attract the help needed. Announcements of the need for workers are made by the president on the loudspeaker system of the town, and men voluntarily go to the plantations.

Spirit Domains

The link between people and place is through the media of the spirits 776
(*E'uleletik*) of persons and of locale. The relationship is maintained 778
through a set of rules governing the behavior among spirits of people and of places. These rules derive from myths and stories of encounters which define the character of the spirits in each of the domains. Danger is localized in a series of caves which are avoided. Benevolent, or guardian, spirits inhabit a different set of sites, where ceremonies are conducted that maintain the well-being of the individual and of the community. By locating [182]
and circumscribing places of danger and guardianship, the members of the community can supplicate helpful spirits and avoid evil; they are delivered from fear of the unknown and provided with a rationale for dealing with fear of the known.

The places where spirits meet are outlined in Table 3. The first group [128]
includes spirits which are supplicated, the second, dangerous spirits which are avoided or approached only by powerful persons.

The house spirits. The spirits of inhabitants and of the house 776
meet at the center post at the rear wall of the house. The spirit of the 342
house lives in this post. Those who claim to have seen the house spirit say he is a small Ladino child. He is capricious, and if he is not happy, he may admit the evil spirits who will eat the souls of the inmates. His appe- [753]

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121 interconnected and governed by a core meaning. However elementary the schema, it is a schema, precisely by virtue of the fact that the behavior components which it sets into motion form a strong whole, a recurrent and identifiable figure against a background of less tightly organized behavior.

Piaget (1952:244) has stated:

> It is due to the fact that schemata present this kind of structure that mental assimilation is possible and any object whatever can be incorporated or serve as aliment to a given schema.

This has significant implications for the continuity of tradition. The persistence of behavior depends on control in the organization of the work and in the training of new producers. As yet we do not have a means to measure the degree of organization or transfer of cognitive maps so that we can make comparisons across behavioral domains. The best source of data lies in the language which provides the cognitive mapping of the behavior. Table 10 provides a preliminary breakdown of the major stages 128 and the distinct but similar action sequences which they include. Individual motions are replicated, in combination with other elements in the action sequence, to make up the component actions of different stages of production. The classification of actions implied in the Tzeltal verbs is shown in Table 11.[16]

323
461
192

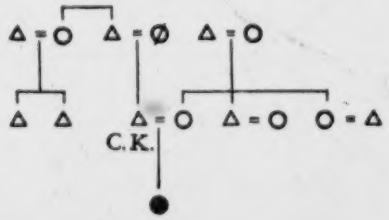
Table 10. Schedule of Activities in Pottery Production

Time	*Step*	*Activity*
1st day	1.	Yah tzes yaʔbi yaʔlel (Moisten; give water to clay and leave one day)
2d day	2.	Ya swotz lum sok hiʔ (Mix clay with sand)
	2.1	Yah sčičin hiʔ (Sift sand)
	2.2	Yah lihk swotz (Begin to mix)
	2.3	Sah sk'ap sok hiʔ yuʔun ben pikiš (Add sand until grainy)
	2.4	Yakto parte ma to yaiyehuk hiʔ (Put aside some that doesn't have enough sand)
	2.5	Yaʔbe čaʔ mel sk'ut * sok hiʔ (Give 2 passes, kneading with sand)
	2.6	Ya tzob ya swol (Collect it and make a ball)
	2.7	Ya sba snaʔan ta suhk sč'ute (Go set it on a board)

852 608 but on other occasions they are as likely to be chosen from among peers of the parents.

608 The occasions on which the first informant in Table 20 acquired compa-
571 dres are spelled out in the following diagrams to show the growth of the
[128] network of compadrazgo relations in the course of a lifetime.

608 *Compadres of C. K., sixty-five-year-old man.* C. K. chose as com-
571 padres on the occasion of the baptism of his first child an older man who
852 lived in the same section of town. The diagram shows the composition of
608 the baptismal party. The darkened symbol in this and the following dia-
[601] grams represents the child baptized.



C. K. addresses all of the guests by the term "compadre" and refers to the group as "kumparetak." The second child has the same padrino, and the same group of relatives attended the ceremony. For the third child, C. K. chose a Ladino shopkeeper from the neighboring town. He chose him because, "I sold wheat to him, and I saw he was honorable." C. K. had a house fiesta to which the shopkeeper came with his wife. This is somewhat unusual and occurred because the compadre was from another town. C. K. chose as the padrino of his fourth child another Ladino he knew in the same town, but the padrino did not attend the house fiesta to which only his sister, her husband, and her husband's brother came. A woman prayer-reciter of the same section was chosen as *madrina* of his fifth and sixth child when C. K. was fiscal. A younger man of the same section was chosen as the padrino of the seventh child. C. K. helped his son select the padrino of a grandson born in his house, a man from the same section. [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 120]

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Vogt 1965; Wagley 1949; Wisdom 1940; Zabala 1961). Comparison of the structure and functioning of the hierarchy reveals differing applications of the same principles of allocating roles (age, sex, territorial identification, and previous service) and differing assignments of the same tasks (administrative, judgment, and maintenance). 621 171

In this chapter, I shall analyze the civil-religious hierarchy in Tzo'ontahal as a formally prescribed system of roles and behavior. The data on which the analysis is based are: (1) the system of roles and the principles of allocation, (2) careers in office of household heads, (3) instrumental behavior prescribed for officials, and (4) ritual behavior. The following chapter will be concerned with the exercise of power within the limits set by the formal organization of offices. 128 621 794

The Matrix of Roles

Civil officials. Civil offices in Tzo'ontahal are a segmented, ranked set of posts, each of which has an internally age-graded ranking. Outside of these segments are two leadership positions, those of president and his assistant, *síndico,* which are not controlled by the same criteria of entry—service in lower posts of the civil and religious hierarchies and age. Multiple posts at the same level have equal representation of officials from the upper and lower divisions of the center, Ahk'olnantik and Alannantik, and single posts are held alternately by residents of each side. Theoretically, the post of president should alternate as well, but in fact the scarcity of qualified candidates limits consideration of this condition. Since 1948, of the twelve presidents, only four were from Ahk'olnantik. 621 561

The four ranked segments (Fig. 6) from higher to lower are *krinsipaletik,* or principales, *alkaletik,* or judges, *rehiroletik,* or regidores, and *mayoletik,* or policemen. The relative rank of the post is expressed in terms of its power, and the relative rank of the post-holder in terms of age (the term used to describe an older office holder, *mas mamalil,* has the extended meaning of greater power [1]). Age-ranking of officials complements [693]

1. Siverts (1965) points out that in Cancuk the term *mamal,* or elder, was applied to a young man who held a post of high authority because of his skills in literacy and language. By terminological reference, he was graduated into the senior age group.

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shortly before the fiesta of the saint's day with which he was charged. When the nomination was made, the president sent out the first policeman with the chief policeman to bring the man chosen to the town hall. They expected, and were always confronted with, resistance to the nomination. In order to gain acceptance they got the nominee drunk in a drinking session at the town hall. Liquor was measured out, and all the officials drank only a half cup at each round, but the new alférez was required to drink a full cup. The rounds continued until the new alférez was drunk. If he did not accept at this session, he was put in jail to think it over. Another drinking session took place the following day.

Nomination to the post of alférez was the only situation in which the jail penalty has been brought into effect, since refusal by nominees to other posts simply means that the officials "look for someone else." The reason given for invoking the punishment was "we know he has the wealth and therefore he should serve." Until 1965 the town had always succeeded in recruiting two of the alfereces from Ahk'olnantik and two from Alannantik. Since the upper division of Ahk'olnantik has grown at a more rapid rate than the lower division, candidates were found only in Ahk'olnantik. This unbalancing of the population ratios undermined the institution of alférez, which had always been the most unpopular position. When I returned to the field in 1967, it had been eliminated.

The Functions of Civil Officials

An analysis of the formally prescribed functions of the civil officials must take into account three sources of data: the functions as prescribed by state legislation, the functions as understood by local officials, and the observed activities of the officials. Table 26 compares the functions of officials as stated in the constitution of the state of Chiapas (Secretaría del Gobierno Departmental de Chiapas, 1828: Decreto 52, Nov. 30, 1825) [3] to statements of informants and to my observations of the carrying out of their official obligations.

3. I have chosen this constitution as the first post-independence statement of the status of local civil administrators.

794 *the regidores were seated in their customary places; the alfereces sat on the*
796 *visitors' bench. The two former alfereces went before the two newly ap-*
526 *pointed alfereces and gave an account of what was going to take place, instructing them on "how they should make a fiesta."*

When the two former alfereces entered, they went to the president, saying, "How does the Lord see you alive on this holy afternoon?" They then went to the síndico and the regidores and ended with the judges, exchanging a pat?o?tan.

The alfereces went out, mounted their horses, and were handed the banners by the regidores. The two old alfereces received their banners first. All four made the sign of the cross, first facing the cabildo, then the [788] *church, and then rode in procession, preceded by the flutist, two drum players, and a guitarist, and followed by the other horsemen. They stopped before the church, dipping their flags, first toward the church and then the cabildo. The president, síndico, and first judge walked across the* [533] *plaza to the church as the church bells were rung, and all the musical instruments played—the marimba, bell, drums, and flute. The alfereces dismounted and put their banners in the church.*

[426] *The final day, called* Lahinbahel Sk'in, *was spent sobering up, putting things back in order, and returning borrowed items.*

178 Although Santiago is not one of the major saints, a major celebration is
231 given in his honor because of the high value placed on horsemanship in
526 this community. Before the construction of the Pan-American Highway in
[796] 1953 everyone in town had horses which were used to carry the pottery to
[492] market. Riding skills were developed in the free-swinging *macho* (manly) style of northern Mexico's cowboys. Even today when horses are not as economically useful the horse culture has survived. The running of the horses in the fiesta is not competitive. Each rider does his best to tear at high speed across the plaza, but there is no specific goal. Since the
[273] drunken riders often fall and are injured, some of the excitement is based on the potential danger.

128 The behavioral data on which the analysis of rituals depends are included because they provide a basis for comparison with neighboring

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towns and explain small-scale change over short periods of time. The con- 128
textual description of behavioral details may eventually overcome the lack of replicable events available to laboratory science. By specifying all the conditions of the ritual, it is possible to separate the unique from the patterned components. At one level, the analysis consists in indicating the repetitive patterns and the continuity of beliefs which these exemplify. At another level, rituals can be analyzed as psychodramas in which the individual adopts a social role. The dialectical connection between the new official and his role is established in the obligations he carries out.

When people are asked "why" something is done, they continually shift 796
between the social and psychological levels. "We do this because it was the 829
custom of our ancestors," they will frequently say. When pressed further, they reduce their level of response to the individual, saying, "The women don their husband's ceremonial hat because they wish to hide their face because of embarrassment." Both answers are true interpretations, differing only in the level of social complexity at which the enquiry is directed. One can go farther in elaborating the latent significance of the ritual acts. To 796
continue with the same example, the dance drawing the wife into a public 829
performance was performed because, as one informant said, "she too has 562
done work for the fiesta" (she made pottery to raise the money). The dance gains the favor of the saints, as is demonstrated in the Virgin's tactics with the Devil, and in the curing rituals with the spirits of the house and of the springs. Dancing establishes a relationship to the group: the women dancing in the center of the circle formed by their husbands revolving around them are incorporated as an integral part of a sacred social unit.

Rituals provide a key to the psychic dynamics of the group since they 796
deal with these explicitly. The ritual acts are predicated on expected indi- 154
vidual responses. For example, since liquor overcomes embarrassment,[5] it 273

5. Bennett and Zingg (1937) have stated the even more dramatic social significance of liquor among the Tarahumara. Social intercourse in this mountain tribe is impossible without liquor. Conditioned as they are in isolated nuclear family groups to retreat at the sign of an outsider, the Tarahumara need something to relax their embarrassment and fear in large gatherings. Landa (Tozzer 1941) has commented at length on the compulsory drinking at ceremonials of the Yucatecan Maya. [171]

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554 621 794 578 177 178 [128]

of political relations is summarized for each of these conflict areas. Most of the events recorded below are transcriptions of informants' statements given in Tzeltal. I have chosen this method to show how the people interpret incidents and how this leads to cognitive restructuring.

The Conflict among Civil Officials

621 555 212 177 178

In the period of consolidation since the revolution, the crucial issue in determining the allocation of power among local civil authorities has been that of incorporating men who have special abilities to deal with external authority without upsetting an age-ranked system. Prior to the 1950s these skills were rare—in 1920 only four young men could sign their names and read. The civil careers of two men, Ceferino, a native of the town, and Augustín, a revistido Indian from Huistán, illustrate the different courses taken by this new leadership in the post-revolutionary period of the 1930s. Ceferino was included in the given structure of power while Augustín used his skills in dealing with Ladinos to gain personal power. Ceferino was one of the first four men of the town to learn to read and write. The civil authorities recognized his potential usefulness in the town hall, and succeeded in incorporating him in an honorific but powerless position as scribe. He described his introduction into local government:

159 212 621

After I got out of school, the town saw that I knew how to write. Formerly there was no one who knew how to write. In the town hall the judges and president needed someone to write down the contributions and the payment for the government agents. Therefore, when the civil authority changed in the new year, they talked to my mother. As was the custom then, four regidores came to "raise" me, bringing a bottle of trago as a gift for my mother. She did not drink it alone. Together with the regidores we finished the trago. After finishing the trago, the first regidor began to speak to my mother in the pat?o?tan, saying, "I am going to bring one of your children, one of your offspring to the place where we look and where we see [reference to town hall]. We ask this favor because he knows how to write. Therefore the judges and the president ordered me to come and raise him and take out his soil, his mud, for this duty for this obligation.

[624] [273]

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Chapter 10

Roles, Persons, and the Evaluation of Performance

Categories of roles, time, and place structure the expectations of social groups. The following three chapters summarize the preceding data according to these cognitive modes. Role behavior and system, which will be analyzed in the present chapter, provide only a partial explanation of social interaction. It is the "proliferation of behavior beyond roles" (Linn 1967) that is of greater interest for the study of change. Consideration of place and time helps to make role categories explicit and to structure behavior that exceeds role expectations. Changes in the use of space and time can reveal adjustments in role relations before change occurs. Space and time perspectives will therefore be analyzed in the following two chapters.

Cooperation is possible when actors not only take into account the responses of others but also anticipate those responses. Anticipations are based in part upon understanding of conventional roles, but the rights, duties, and obligations invested in roles do not encompass all of the relevant expectations which make coordinated social interaction possible. Individual repetitive behavior in role play gives an image of what kind of person each actor is, and the groups of individuals are further categorized as "kinds of people." As an example of the first kind of classification, we have persons characterized as bright, dull, honest, crafty, etc. The second set of categories puts different personalities in socioeconomic classes such as rich and poor, or in political classes such as radical and conservative. Tzo?ontahal, along with other small societies, emphasizes personality categories since it lacks well-defined socioeconomic or sociopolitical classes.

Social continuity depends upon events which call for the participation of groups defined by roles as well as on socialization processes that under-

121 write beliefs that give coherence to these roles. Whether these events continue to be scheduled, and in the process of being presented "prove" the postulates upon which structural relationships are based, depends upon acceptance of the belief system.

183 A fundamental understanding governing behavior in Tzoʔontahal is that people ought to do as the ancestors did. Both "knowing" and "re-
[192] membering" are expressed by the same verb, *ya sna,* while "learning" and "memorizing" are expressed by the verb *ya snop*. The behavioral corollary of this association between knowing and remembering is that one should accept the word of the ancestors as a guide to behavior. The importance of obeying one's elders as the intermediaries in the transfer of ways of behaving from one generation to another is stressed in child training and is restated in the prayers uttered at ritual performances enacting the ways of the ancestors.

128 In this chapter I shall consider the integration of behavior based on roles, personality, codes of morality and etiquette, and the ideological and behavorial changes which are disturbing this system.

The Role System

554 Coherence of the role system in Tzoʔontahal depends upon (1) similar
621 premises for role recruitment and continuity in transition from one role to
182 another; (2) alternation in office and linkage of separate domains by special offices; and (3) standardized etiquette of role interaction. Uniform standards of evaluation of performance provide a sanctioning system ensuring social integration.

561 *Recruitment and transition*. Relative and chronological age com-
554 bined with consideration of sex are the fundamental principles for assign-
562 ing role categories. The age principle categorizes the entire town in role pairs of respect and deference. Sex differentiation is not made in children until after infancy. An infant of either sex is called *ʔunin,* also a term for
[192] the new moon, until the age of eight months. The sex of parent rather
[601] than that of the child is designated: a woman calls her offspring *ʔalal* whether boy or girl, and a man calls his offspring *nic'an*. Sex distinction is

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

342 party to go to the spring, at least one relative remains in the house to
796 greet the soul if it should precede the curing party.
[584]
[755] Behavior in household rituals is described in Chapters 1, 5, and 8.
[128]

The Cabildo

344 The cabildo, called by the people of the town the "cold house,"[1] was
[196] built following the revolution of 1915, when Piñeda's revolutionary soldiers
[175] destroyed the original colonial structure. The tiles of the roof were confiscated from a finca which the Indians invaded in 1941 in an unsuccessful attempt to gain additional lands. When they were unable to maintain their hold on the land, they burned the owner's house and took the tiles to the town center where they remain as a symbol of their defiant action. They refer to this event with pride. The cabildo houses the jail, equipped with a barred wooden door, in one of its wings, and the Ejido Commission office in the other.

344 Within the cabildo, each official has his established place. The cabildo is
352 furnished with a table at which the president and síndico sit on wooden
621 chairs made in the Indian town of Chamula. Four benches lining the
554 walls on either side of the entry provide seating for the civil officials. On
576 the right side (looking out at the plaza) sit the judges in order of rank;
[693] the regidores, in similar sequence follow them. The principales, and formerly the alfereces, sit on the left side when they appear for ceremonial occasions. This spatial allocation establishes drinking and greeting order as well. Visitors can go directly from one to another in the formal greeting of a handclasp and murmured "good morning, father," or "good afternoon, father," without violating age-respect patterns.

344 During court cases, the claimant and his supporters sit on the bench to
352 the left of the door; on other occasions the bench is occupied by visitors or
695 petitioners. The police sit on one of the two benches lining the outside
[625] wall, or retire to the kitchen, a wooden slat lean-to on the left wing of the

[171] 1. Bunzel (1952) notes that in prayers, the cabildo in Chichicastenango is referred to as "the cold house, the icy house." Although the Quiché term is not given in her manuscript, one can see a similarity in the rhyming couplets and metaphorical allusions in the prayers of the towns.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amstenango del Valle

The behavior described for each institution in earlier chapters will be summarized as a mode of adjustment or adaptation in relation to the beliefs that give it meaning and purpose. 128

Economic Activities

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Learning agricultural tasks and pottery-making in the household is part of adjusting to membership in the community. Parents are responsible for teaching the value of industriousness and are held accountable throughout the life of the child. Agricultural tasks are scheduled in a yearly cycle that provides sufficient flexibility for a man to carry out community and familial ceremonial responsibilities. In milpa agriculture, there is no specialization of tasks. Small-plot agricultural production with a simple technology has been reinforced by the land reform program. Since the lands incorporated under the Ejido Commission in the 1930s were attached to the community, agriculturalists were not forced to adjust to new ecological conditions. Politicalization was minimal since the local commission operated within the old civil hierarchy. In the recent expansion of ejido colonies in hot country, Indians from the community have developed alliances with non-Indians in asserting claims to the land. Without any preexisting civil hierarchy, these ejidatarios have not had to adjust their activities to a given structure of authority, but have developed independent political organizations as an adaptation to their new environment. 241 323 241 177 178 423 621

Women's work in pottery is less subject to changes in techniques and organization than is men's. The schema of production in simple tasks in a fixed sequence makes it easier to teach girls each process and reinforces a given pottery tradition. My guess would be that if wheel production were introduced, it would liberate the creativity of each potter by freeing her of established routines. 323 177 178

Pottery production is not surrounded, as is agricultural production, by ceremonials. There is no god to whom one lights candles or gives offerings to ensure success, although there are hazards in production, particularly at the time of firing. Agricultural productivity, on the other hand, is thought to depend on the proper relation between the spirits of the heaven and of the church with the spirits of crops. 323 241 776 [796]

In the new economic activities, the Indians have shown both adjustive 177 178 233 312 476 621

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

121 the external system, with the aim of investigating internal causation.

[177] The two communites are equally acculturated, measured according to the number of material traits of western introduction, the influence of Catholicism, the degree of Spanish borrowing in the native tongue, the attitudes towards the outside world and the type of relations with this world. Both communities share the same historical past, the language, and the same cultural traditions. Both communities are good examples of Wolf's ideal type of "corporate peasant communities," and both are located in compactly settled villages, under the same ecological conditions.

•128 The data to support this treatment of the problem is presented in chapter ii. The third chapter deals mainly with the common aspects of the over-all social structure of the two villages, that is, the larger social frame in which domestic groups or households function as units.

Chapter iv discusses the differences and similarities in the organization of production of the two villages, compares the immediate social effects of the differences, and prepares the ground for the later evaluation of these economic factors in terms of their effects in the developmental cycle of the domestic group.

[592] The organization of production is shown to be tied up with the domestic group directly, in the sense that the two major means of production, land and labor, are controlled by the household. Thus, the aspects of the organization of production which are treated throughout this work are: (1) sex and age composition and size of work groups, and (2) rights to land, animals, houses and objects

128 used in production, both in terms of holding and of transmitting such rights. Objects used in production are not dealt with extensively, because the capital investment in them is small, and they are easily replaceable, that is, the technological equipment is simple and reduced.

Chapter v presents a schematic description of the kinship system with the purpose of mapping those social relations which are classified in the terminological system based on consanguinity and affinity, and its extensions.

Chapter vi is the core of the study. In this section is presented a description of the developmental cycle of the domestic unit in the two villages. Several aspects of the organization of the household are highlighted: (1) membership, and its concomitant of residence rules; (2) the rights and duties of individuals as members of a domestic unit; (3) the effects of the system of production in the reorganization, through time, of a given domestic unit; and (4) the affective and psychological concomitants present in the particular role behavior of household members.

At the beginning of the write-up of this study, I set forth a series of correlations which I expected to test while analyzing the materials. Not all of them are fully explored in the final work, due in part to gaps in the body of data available. This by no means implies that the field work was inadequate per se, but rather shows the difficulties of searching for evidence on one problem from data collected mainly with other aims in mind.

The analytical frame which I used consists of correlations between economic factors, mainly the organization of production,

128 and the organization of the domestic units. While analyzing the evidence I did not expect to explain variation in terms of only one domain of social activity, thus, the economic frame became a reference point to handle data rather than the axis or core of the description. Specific hypotheses for points of comparison which I expected to explore are found under the following headings:

1. Patterned choices of residence and residence sponsor for all productive individuals:
   a) If only men were important producers, and rights in the property followed an agnatic line, then residence was expected to be patri-virilocal and residence sponsors to be only males.
   b) If women were as important producers as men, and rights over property followed a bilateral pattern, then residence was expected to be bi-local and residence sponsors to be both males and females.
2. Choice of marriage partner and the characteristics of the marriage transaction and relationship:
   a) The bride-price would have more importance in the patri-virilocal setting than in the bi-local one, but the importance of women as producers in the bi-local setting was expected to increase the value of the bride-price in the case in which the chosen residence for a particular couple was patri-virilocal.

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.128

b) The relationship of the wife to the husband was hypothesized to be one of equality and interdependence in the community in which women shared the economic burden of the household, and one of inequality and dependency in the community in which only men were producers or "bread-winners."

c) A bilateral system of holding and inheriting property was expected to be more likely to correlate with equal status (i.e., equivalent rights) of the sexes in other aspects of the social life, while a unilateral system of holding and transmitting property was expected to correlate with a differential status for the sexes in other aspects of the social life.

3. Variation in the productive role of men and women was expected to be reflected in the socialization of children of different sexes, and also in the affective content of the roles of siblings, in-laws, parents and other members of the domestic group.

4. The distribution of rights and duties within the domestic group with special reference to the distribution of status and jural authority along age and sex lines:

a) Producers who held rights to the means of production were expected to have more authority than producers who were dependent laborers.

b) Producers were expected to hold a higher status than non-producers or less efficient producers.

121 5. The spatial propinquity of kinship-linked households.
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a) If cooperative work groups and reciprocal obligations of labor outside the domestic unit were organized along male lines, then it was expected that propinquity between agnatically related households would have been the result.

b) If cooperative work groups and reciprocal obligations of labor outside the domestic unit were organized along both male and female lines, then it was expected that agnatically linked households and matrilineally linked households would have had equal degree of territorial proximity.

6. The social propinquity (i.e., relative frequencies and intensity of interaction) of kinship linked households.

a) When the community work groups were composed of male kinsmen and when residence was based on patrivirolocal proximity and inheritance followed an agnatic line, then higher interaction between agnatically linked households would have been the concomitant.

b) When community work groups were composed of both male and female kinsmen, and when inheritance was bilateral and residence bi-local, then interaction with linked related households would have followed a bilateral pattern.

Statement on Method and Objectives

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128 I do not attempt to set a correlation which is going to be valid for the world at large, but only for the historical, ecological and cultural conditions fulfilled by these two communities as well as by similar villages in the Chiapas Highlands. I do not reject the possibility that under similar conditions, some other society in the world may show similar patterns of variation, but this is considered to be an empirical question. Obviously, my set of hypotheses would generate only local correlations which require further testing, before they can be held as generalizations of more universal nature.

000 Restricted generalizations are, in my view, one of the lacks in the field of anthropology. We have derived "laws" about Society (with capital letters) from very scanty evidence collected from ethnographic publications which we cannot be sure are comparable. The laws which we have derived from such works have become, sometimes, axioms which bias our whole way of thinking, and which we transmit from one generation of anthropologists to another as "folk" transmit their belief system and their traditions.

There are several ways of breaking through this barrier (and I suggest it has to be done before anthropology becomes a serious comparative discipline). One necessary step is to specify our techniques and the evidence available in support of our statements for each particular instance. Another step is to unify our methodology and our taxonomies, or if not possible, state as clearly as possible the ones we do use. A third step would be to

000 identify in every case the social units which are being dealt with, a fourth to delimit the socio-cultural "cells" which can be treated as discrete units for comparison, and finally, and perhaps most important of all, we should try to specify the range of our generalizations. Our science is at the historical point in which it would be more important to attest the differences between human societies than to claim the universality of their similarities.

Radcliffe-Brown (1948) dedicated a whole book to the discussion of these same problems, and some of his students (Eggan, for example), have insistently taught this to their students in class and to other anthropologists in print. It is unfortunate, however, that so very few anthropologists are willing to deal with small scale generalizations, and prefer to present their findings as statements on the nature of society rather than as statements on the nature of particular societies.

128 The methods and techniques employed for the preparation of data for presentation, analyzing the results, and comparing the two communities, are specified in the respective sections of the text. The general methodological frame for the study is that of a controlled comparison (Eggan, 1954) at the intra-cultural level.

Definitions

121 The definitions of the social units compared will be extensively given in the corresponding sections of the text. The same will be true for the taxonomic terms employed.

114 The previous mentioned sources of information will be
128 utilized for background of the study.

The actual data pertaining to the two communities under scrutiny is derived from the following sources: (1) Aguacatenango field-notes, prepared by Duane and Barbara Metzger in the year 1956; (2) Aguacatenango field-notes prepared by the Metzgers and myself during 1958, summer session; (3) my Master's paper on Residence Patterns in Aguacatenango (Verbitsky, 1959b); (4) Amatenango reports prepared by June and Manning Nash, with the assistance of Joan Ablon during 1958-59; (5) the subsequent writings of the Nashes and Metzgers, published, and unpublished but available in mimeographed form for consultation.

125 Whenever it was possible, the data were collected quanti-
124 tatively. The section on residence was based on a formal questionnaire, checked for reliability with informal interviews with the same and other informants. This questionnaire was applied by the Nashes to 280 households in Amatenango and by myself to 68 in Aguacatenango. The residence analysis of Amatenango was prepared by June Nash (1959) with methods comparable to those utilized by me in my Master's paper. (Both used comparable analytical procedures.)

124 Other data were collected by direct questioning about particular subjects and analyzed and contrasted with case histories on the same topic.

Complete genealogies of the two villages were utilized for placing individual histories in the context of the family and other social relations.

124 In both villages, several households were visited regularly and interaction observed in detail. From this, and the informants own impressions, we obtained data on the activity schedules, the affective content of relationships between household members, the allocation of authority within the unit, and the relations of the household members with individuals belonging to other domestic groups.

126 To define degrees of territorial propinquity between households and household members, each household genealogy was placed on a map of the village.

128 The present analysis of data, unless otherwise stated in the text, is only mine. Any mistakes of interpretation are my sole responsibility.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AT THE VILLAGE LEVEL

Introduction

128 For the purpose of describing the social structure of the two communities compared on this paper, they will be treated at two levels. The level of the macro-structure contains the total community and the community territorial divisions (the barrios); the micro-structural level contains the household, the descent groups, and the informal territorial groupings or neighborhoods.

[621] [184] The main justification for this division of the material is that the macro-structure of the two communities is extremely similar, and there will be very few axes of contrasting comparisons to be found at this level, while the micro-structure is the level at which the most important differences between the two communities discussed in this paper are found.

A second justification is that the definition of roles at one level is separated from the definition of roles at the other level.

128 571 The roles at the macro-structure level are role dyads which include, on the one hand, the individual in the role of a community member, and on the other, any person representing the community at large. The roles at the micro-structure level are

128 pairs of individual roles, highly intense in interaction and
571 performed by people who are tied to each other by many clearly defined and extensive rights and duties. (D. Metzger [1960] defines them as highly relational versus lowly relational roles.) The roles at the micro-structural level form one net, and the quality of the joint performance of the individual, of all the roles which belong to him within this net define him as a good or bad person; the roles at the macro-structural level form a separate independent net which defines the individual as a good or bad community member.

128 For example, a man can spend his household money in long
156 drinking sessions, and while drunk fight with his brother or beat
571 his wife, which will make him a bad brother and husband. But if he shares the liquor he drinks with other men in his barrio (town division), the same activity will define him as a good neighbor, who is neither selfish nor a miser, but willing to share his
[626] profits with other men. On the other hand, a man may refuse to pay his limosna to the Church, risk the community gossip and threats of witchcraft, but this would not make him a less respected father, nor influence the relationship with his wife.

361 The Physical Setting of the Villages

The towns are geographically compact, nucleated communities, as opposed to the vacant-town (and ceremonial center) described first by Tax (1937). The town streets form a grid pattern, more symmetrical in the center than at the edges where streets tend to curve following the accidents of the terrain.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER IV

THE ORGANIZATION OF PRODUCTION

Introduction

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Up to this page we have been describing the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango, emphasizing the similarities between these two social universes. There is, however, a set of differences between the two which requires separate treatment. It is important to do so because a detailed analysis of the patterned variation in the two villages can show us how, within a very similar social and cultural background, two societies can develop alternative forms of behavior which place the relations between individuals in two contrasting social structures.

Aguacatenango

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(621)

Aguacatenango is purely an agricultural village. The whole community is organized into independent domestic groups which are, in a sense, small family farms administered by the males.

Men cultivate the field crops--corn, beans and squash--do other planting and agricultural work, and care for the large livestock with the help of the sons who live under the same roof. Each household has a male head who is the bread-winner; he is responsible for the welfare of those who live in the same *sitio*.

184 562 462 434 This contrasting economic picture has many effects in the structuring of social relations because it places the women of the two villages in very different positions with respect to their male relatives, and at crucial points in the life of an individual, determines, to a large extent, his choice of alternative behavior.

It is important to make clear that I am not suggesting that economic factors are the determinant of all social life. The specialization of Amatenango in pottery making is not only an economic, but a social and historical phenomenon as well. The basic economic organization of the villages of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is treated here as a given cultural factor. There is nothing in the ecology of Aguacatenango or Amatenango, or in the economic system itself, that "requires" that the women of the one village should be marginal producers while the women in the other are not.[1] This is a given fact. The factors that determined the present division of labor in the villages are not known to me, and I do not pretend that it is due to some primary economic cause.

128 But, if I take the division of labor and the economic structure of the village as given variables, then I can ask myself to what extent it is followed by adjustments in other cultural norms. It is here where my problem lies.

I am going to attempt to describe, in the rest of this work, how, and under what circumstances, certain social choices which have become normative are related to the economic life of

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[1]Some of the clay deposits are located in Aguacatenango territory. But, Aguacatecos do not exploit them.

[317]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

128 the communities, to their different division of labor and to the control of productive activities and means of production by the sexes.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER V

KINSHIP AND LIFE CYCLE

128 ### The Kinship Terminology

The comparison of the kinship terminology utilized by the two communities will be presented within the methodological frame of componential analysis.

121 This body of analysis derives from (1) Kroeber's initial discussion in 1909, where he set forth the eight linguistic categories which make up for the distinctions in the different kinship system (Lowie did some rearrangement of these categories in his article on Relationship Terms for the 14th Edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica [1929], and Murdock [1949] re-classified them into major and minor, biological and social. In Eggan's revision of Lowie's article the same position of 1929 is maintained [Lowie and Eggan, 1961]); and (2) the analysis of paradigms in linguistics, especially Jacobson (1936) and Harris (1948).

The method has been utilized successfully, although somewhat differently, by several anthropologists, and in some cases was the result of "independent invention." Davis and Warner (1937) employed it in a theoretical statement about seven societies: Erse, English, Karíera, Chinese, Roman, Arunta and Hawaiian. Leach (1945) used a similar analysis in deriving Jinghpaw kin

121 terminology from seven axioms. Goodenough (1951, 1956a, 1957) worked out a theoretical frame and its application to Trukese data and Pehrson's Lapp kinship data. Lounsbury (1956) analyzed Morgan's Pawnees schedule mainly as a linguistic exercise in the semantic aspects of the method. Romney (1957), Romney and Metzger (1957) and Romney and Epling (1958) discussed some of the relationships between operational principles, and presented a substantive analysis of data utilizing this frame, on the Zuni and Kariera. In Europe, a close approximation to the componential analysis method was applied by Meeussen and LeCoste (1955) on the Ngwana, and Vansina (1957) on the Bushoong.

121 In this paper the method is utilized only briefly, mainly
128 because the presentation of the kinship terminology in a paradigmatic form simplifies the comparison between Amatenango and Aguacatenango (see Figs. 7 and 8). I do not claim, as have some of the previous authors, that the method generates an analysis of denotative semantics, nor that it is a truer picture of the whole kinship system.

128 I discuss the consanguineal address terminology because
601 it is the only one used regularly by the villagers, and does not differ, except for the exclusion of two or three affinal terms, from the reference terminology.

121 The universe of kinship is a discrete unit only for the anthropologist. In some societies in the world, the number of individuals who receive the treatment of kinsmen is arbitrarily limited with some criteria other than the two basic biological elements of copulation and birth, and the social concomitants

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 86

121
591 Another principal criticism of Fischer's typology attaches to his third proposal, which, as Fortes has made clear, disregards the developmental cycle of the households in which individuals reside.

The two approaches, the "developmental" approach and the "sponsorship" approach, are not contradictory but complementary to each other. Each offers a useful framework for a satisfactory analysis. The differences are merely differences in emphasis.

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591 In the analysis of residence in this paper, a combination of both types of analysis are utilized with some modifications which will allow me to describe the results in terms of the norms of residence and the real patterns or distributions, and to elicit the rules that govern residence choices for individuals. The section deals, therefore, both with techniques and method of analysis, and with particular hypotheses.

Aguacatenango Residence

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The Norms

The people of Aguacatenango believe that a newly married couple should live with the boy's parents until they have proved to be successful in procreating and raising, through the weaning period, one or more children. While the young couple lives within the parental compound of the husband, he should work under the direction of his father, under whose direct authority he should act, and every one of whose decisions he should obey because his father lo está manteniendo (is supporting him), and the son está bajo su poder (is under the father's power).

423 241 417 knows his own parcel and its boundaries, which are sometimes marked with a few stones or a less elaborate fence of a few poles.

241 496 The men that fence the land together cooperate with each other in some other agricultural tasks which require more than two hands (e.g., clearing and burning before planting, cleaning irrigation ditches).

183 591 Stating the norms of residence in anthropological language, we can say that the generalized residence pattern, if it reflects the practice of the norms, should be patrilocal for single and married men, patrilocal for single women, virilocal for married women and parentilocal for children (see Fig. 13, Fischer's Typology).

The Residence Patterns

125 To find out how the ideal rules are carried into practice, we analyzed a sample of sixty-eight households containing an average of five people per unit, and a total of 384 individuals. This sample was gathered by the author in the field, in 1958, and covers half of the village in a chess board pattern of blocks (see charts). The data on the sample is complemented by a previous total census of the village, prepared by the Metzgers and the school teacher in 1956, which covered the whole population of the community, but contained less detailed information on some aspects of residence. Both will be augmented by a sample of life histories contained in the field notes.

128 The data will be presented in tables, and in the text, both in number of cases and in relative percentages. When possible,

128 the postulated correlations between residence and some other factor are tested with simple statistical procedures: Chi Square (applying Yate's correction) with the level of significance. The unit of the population is indicated in each table, together with the sample size.

128 The norms for residence that we call the generalized pat-
59 tern are shown to be carried out in practice, by the analysis of
183 census materials. This analysis allows us to display some of the complexities of an elaborate set of residence rules offering certain forms of "first choice of residence," but in addition shows how the norms also offer numerous alternatives for specific cases and particular individual goals and problems.

128 This technique of analysis also permits us to control the
121 normative statements about the "customs" and the "ways" of the people, which are provided by the informants. Such statements reflect the ideal patterns, which any member of the community can verbalize. One of the tasks of the anthropologist is to discover those patterns of behavior which are practiced by a society, but not consciously expressed, because they reveal some of the real dynamics of the social group, in a way that formal statements of an ideal nature cannot, when described in isolation. But the anthropologist is also responsible, as Bohannan has pointed out, for presenting his data in such a fashion as to not do violence to the visualization that the carriers of a culture have about their own life models. A presentation of a social model that would be both parsimonious and elegant from a scientific point of view, and close to the ethno-model, is a necessity in a field in

128 121 which epistemological discussions have been, up to the present time, if not totally avoided, dismissed for lack of a single frame of reference within which they could be tackled.

591 [183] Residence Patterns of Newly Married Individuals in Compound Households

The stated norm of residence for a newly married couple is shown to be followed in practice.

In 1956, there was a total of fifty-six compounds in the community, and forty-eight contained newly married couples. The emphasis on patrivirilocality was strong.

TABLE 6

AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: NEWLY MARRIED COUPLES IN COMPOUNDS, 1956

Residence	Number of Couples	Number of Households	Per Cent
Patri-virilocal	47	36	78
Patri-uxorilocal	13	12	22
Total	60	48	100

These compounds represented 27 per cent of the total number of households in the community. Between the censuses of 1956 and 1958, a large number of compound households became nuclear, changed composition or disappeared, and during the same period of two years, other nuclear households became compound. In spite of the movement in individual households, the percentages of residence did not vary significantly.

582 richer family marrying a woman of a poorer family" (Tax, 1953:
171 202). "In only 13 of the 36 cases [reported by Tax] were the two families nearly at the same economic level" (Tax, 1953:203). Also, "exceptional but not uncommon" is that a rich man will marry his daughter to a poorer man and rather than loosing a worker, he gains another. In contrast with Panajachel is the case of Chichicastenango (a neighbor to the north) in that, "the time of women in Chichicastenango has until recently not had cash value. (Increased weaving for the tourist trade may change this.) Therefore, in Chichicastenango as opposed to Panajachel there is encouragement to marry within the same wealth class" (Tax, 1953: 206).

•128 Affective Relations Within the Household

We have shown how some of the relationships within the domestic group are affected by the patterns of economic activity. In this section, we will discuss them in a different context; rather than in terms of interaction, we shall discuss them in terms of sentiment (Homans, 1950).

121 Homans (1950) has shown how intimacy and affection increase with increased association and interaction, but he also indicated that a relationship of formal respect and asymmetrical authority discourages confidence and affective ties (1950:247) or "at any rate, the fact of authority seems to turn the relationship into an ambiguous, or as the psychoanalyst would say, an ambivalent one" (1950:244).

121 In both Amatenango and Aguacatenango, this type of ambiva-
593 lence is present in the father-son relation, as we indicated in

128 593 One would expect, then, that the affective distance between mother and son in Amatenango would be larger. It is unfortunate that this hypothesis cannot be tested at the moment. This author does not have available the relevant information to make the comparison reliable.

593 184 There is evidence, nonetheless, that the sibling bond is different.

In Aguacatenango, the important sibling bond after marriage is only between the siblings who have cooperative tasks to carry out in common: brothers. The relationships of brothers with [607] sisters is respectful and distant, and brothers-in-law are not equated, in behavioral terms, with brothers. Sisters, after marriage, have little chance to see each other, except at fiestas, and they become quite alien to each other.

In Amatenango, on the contrary, the sibling bond is multilateral. Sisters and sisters collaborate with each other, brothers with brothers, and siblings of different sex also do so. Moreover, [607] siblings-in-law are equated with siblings, and they form a complex generational set of group relations.

606 184 A final difference in the affective content of role relations within the domestic group is the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law relations.

606 593 184 In Aguacatenango, there is a striking contrast between the relation mother-daughter and the relation daughter-in-law-mother-in-law. We have discussed extensively how antagonistic and asymmetrical it is. Although the mother has authority over the daughter, she plays (has played) a nurturant role for her, which

127 every Chiapas Highland community, including some highly acculturated towns such as Venustiano Carranza (McQuown et al., 1959).
611

128 Amatenango and Aguacatenango both have patrilineally inherited name groups and other slight indications of the previously hypothesized patrilineal "bent" (e.g., bride-price). Our problem, however, is not to reconstruct a hypothetical past, nor to assess the possibility of a change from patrilineal to something else. In this study, the discussion of the name groups will be carried on in the context of their functions, if any, at the present time.
611

Functions

If the theory of functional correlations between residence, kinship terminology, marriage customs, exogamy, etc., has any validity, we would suspect that Amatenango, with a domestic group organized along bilateral lines and matri-uxorilocal and viri-patrilocal residence having equal incidence, would not have unilineal descent groups, while Aguacatenango, with patri-virilocal residence and a domestic group organized around a core of agnatically related males would have preserved or have now (if it ever had, a fact which at the present we cannot emphatically support), an organization based on agnatic lineages, or it will show some aspects of a lineal organization outside the realm of the domestic unit.

571 In Amatenango, as suspected, the name groups "are not now
[612] functioning units in the social organization, neither on marriage, inheritance or social control" (Nash, J., 1960:5). Work activities, rituals, participation in community-wide sodality groups or festivities, compadrazgo ties, etc., are carried on by the household

184
621 women tend to stay within the neighborhood in which they are born,
591 or, equally, cross territorial lines at marriage.

121 To be able to derive these simple rules of residence, we
591 had to take into account some aspects of sponsorship which Fischer did not include in his typology. First, Fischer makes the error of assuming that people make residence choices mainly in terms of kinship, and within kinship, in terms of lineage and lineage sponsors.

We have shown that people make residence choices in terms of both kinship links and economic interdependence, and that among kinsmen, unilinearity is not necessarily the basic criterion for
121 choice. Although Fischer's typology can be very useful in analyzing
128 groups in which linearity is strong, such as Aguacatenango, it
602 tends to obscure the analysis of more bilateral groups such as Amatenango.

128
602 To make up for this bias in the taxonomy, we had to add
591 three separate criteria for sponsorship: (1) the sex of the
562 sponsor, independently of his lineage affiliation; (2) the generation
561 of the sponsor; (3) the economic role of the sponsor, independently
571 of his or her sex, and independently of his or her kinship connection with the person being sponsored.

184 At any given time, an individual in Aguacatenango or
591 Amatenango resides in one and only one household, and derives his
592 rights of membership in the unit through kinship or marriage, depending on the importance of his position as a laborer. While in Aguacatenango men derive their membership, as a rule, through descent and women after marriage only through affinality, in

000 true for more than the specific case studied by them, and it only discusses one set of domains of the family: socialization and its concomitant psychological variables.

It well could be that some societies seem to emphasize structural arrangements in one domain over the others. The more difficult it is for a society to procure the basic biological needs for food, the more the economic domain can be a primary determinant of organization. The more complex a descent system and the more functions it performs in the political and ritual domains (such as the Hopi), the more kinship would tend to be emphasized by the structural arrangements as viewed by the natives themselves. That does not mean that the anthropologists cannot and should not be able to see the concomitant effects of the other domains. A study of any social group has to be, if it is going to contribute anything to our knowledge of human activity and motivations, a multi-variable analysis. A neat analysis based on a single focus of observation may well be an elegant piece of research, and simultaneously, a biased account of human life.

128 184 I think that my study of two Chiapas villages contributes somewhat to the clarification of several problems which were set forth in the Introduction. (1) It shows, I think conclusively, that social variations in Middle American Indian communities are not only the result of acculturation, but also the result of the delicate internal adjustments of their institutions. (2) It shows 128 591 571 602 that residence is a system of social coalitions to express both kinship and economic interdependency. From the point of view of any one individual and from the point of view of a small group,

128 residence changes through time, in a developmental cycle which is
591 the result of the developmental cycle of the domestic group, both
[57] [602] as a kinship unit and as economic centers of village life. (3) It tries to contribute to the study of residence by showing how a combined methodology, utilizing both Fischer's residence typology and Fortes' developmental cycle analysis, can render more fruitful
128 descriptions than either of the two methods in isolation. (4) It
592 shows how a single institution, the household, is affected by the multiple pressures of several alternate social domains, and how its functioning is adjusted and organized in reference to the multivariable social world.

128 I am aware that the study has suffered at times for lack of depth in the analysis of particular data. I have been unable to discuss carefully the implications of the functions of bride-price in the two communities, because I lack sufficiently objective data to support my ideas or disprove them. The same is true for a more careful analysis of the social dynamics of coalitions between siblings and between individuals living outside each domestic
128 unit. Although June Nash's dissertation offers several complete
114 examples of sibling interaction, and Metzger's field notes have
127 invaluable information in certain kinship roles, I lacked the equivalent materials from the two communities to make a more than superficial comparison.

000 I do not expect, however, this study to be the end of my inquiry into the subject. I propose to continue working in the same area of the world in the future (perhaps in the same

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontahal

Introduction

BEHAVIORAL REGULARITIES in ritual or informal interaction are usually considered the raw material for making structural-functional statements. The descriptive data are used illustratively or may never be included with published material. This monograph describes ritual activity, both elicited and observed. The object is (1) to state the behavioral dimensions of a structural-functional model and (2) to show where social changes are putting stress on that structure. 121

Ritual events are good occasions for such study because both communally prescribed and individually preferred behavior can be recorded. The expected behavior can be sorted out from the chance since the rules are more explicit than in ordinary interaction. Ceremonial behavior projects in a public performance a given set of status relationships. In doing things as they were done in the past, a theme repeated in prayers and in explanations for actions, people assert continuity of tradition. But just because of this, ceremonies are an occasion for dramatizing social change (Geertz, 1957). Competition between groups and tensions deriving from contradictions which are not apparent in everyday life may be expressed during the ceremony.

I have chosen the rituals of the inauguration of civil and religious officials in the community of Tzoʔontahal, Chiapas, Mexico, because in these performances people act out their techniques for maintaining continuity at the time of change.[1] The inauguration is a rite of passage designed to gain social acceptance of new personnel in a given set of roles. However, as in all ceremonies in this community, the occasion provides the backdrop for the release of latent hostilities. The formal ceremony requires drinking a great deal of the locally distilled liquor, "the gift of the ancestors" that makes fiestas possible.[2] Liquor rids the participants of embarrassment 121 182 796 121 796 273

[1] Field research was supported by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health which made possible my stay from May to September, 1964, and again in December, 1964. I am grateful to Duane Metzger for providing facilities for working in San Cristobal de las Casas with my informants. Comments by Harold Conklin, Constance Sutton, and David Hunter have helped improve earlier versions. [122] [114] [128]

[2] In a myth concerning the origin of liquor, it is said that the town had no fiestas until Santiago gave the gift of liquor.

[P. 209-A]

some basis for perceiving actions significant to them. 121

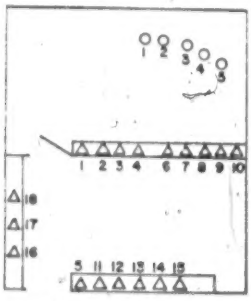
Selection in the eliciting session is only partly controlled by the interviewer. The problem is not only to prod the informant for greater specificity, but to structure the recall by such devices as having him draw maps of person-place relations or kinship diagrams so that details will not be lost. As informants gain a sense of the problems being posed, they tend to become self-stimulating in providing information. 124

Finally, the problem of ordering a description of behavior is usually handled most efficiently in a chronological sequence. Simultaneous events can be described in terms of a sequence of activities occurring in different settings. This facilitates the analysis of time and space as designates of role relationships. 121

The analysis in Section 1 deals with the cognitive frame of reference concerning roles and relationships in the civil and religious hierarchies as elicited from informants using the method of formal analysis. Section 2 concerns the behavior in the ritual inaugurations of civil and religious officials in which these role structures are both exemplified and modified. Data are derived from the three sources defined above, i.e., expectations as to what will happen, performances in the past, and observation of the event in process. In Section 3 divergences between elicited and observed schedules (Appendices 1 and 2) are analyzed in terms of their significance for social change. Data derived from "informal" analysis, or unstructured interviewing of informants, are fed into the model. Finally, the behavioral data are summarized in terms of structural functional explanations and in terms of their implications for change. 121 128

[P. 211-B]

INFORMANTS' SEGMENTATION of behavior in the inauguration of civil and religious officials is based on responses to questions in Appendices 1 and 2. The description of the activities is organized in 128 [124]



621* 554 574 693

CHART 4 — MORNING, NEW YEAR'S DAY, HOUSE OF FIRST JUDGE (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Me?il K'op)*
2 Second woman *(Sčebal sme?)*
3 Third woman *(Yolebal sme?)*
4, 5 Women *(Me?eletik)*

MEN (triangles):
1-4 Nakawane
5 First judge *(Mam primeró Alkal)*
6 Second judge *(Alkal Sčebal)*
7 Assistant judge of La Grandeza *(Hwes Suplente Bočibal)*
8 Assistant judge of Madronal *(Hwes Suplente Magronal)*
9 Assistant judge of San Caralampio *(Hwes Suplente Sankaralampio)*
10 Assistant judge of San Vicente *(Hwes Suplente San Bisente)*
11 First regidor *(Rehirol Primero)*
12 Second regidor *(Rihirol Sčebal)*
13 Síndico *(Sintikú)*
14 Third regidor *(Rehirol Yolebal)*
15 Fourth regidor *(Réhirol Sčanebal)*
16 *Balnial*
17 Liquor pourer *(P'is Ha?)*
18 *Balnial*

terms of settings and roles. For each segment of behavior an attempt will be made to analyze how the structural relations and values are spelled out in spatial location, mode of address, and activity. 128

The settings in which the change of civil officials is carried out are (1) the houses of the incoming officials, (2) the townhall, (3) the plaza, and (4) the church. In each arena, the validation and support of 621*

[P-216-A]

I SUMMARIZE the evidence offered in the inaugural acts first in terms of a functional analysis of the ceremonial behavior and second in terms of structural and organizational changes revealed in the strategies of interaction. The following goals are attained in the rituals of inauguration:

1. *Preservation of continuity.* In the highland Maya Indian communities the problem of maintaining continuity is crucial because most of the offices

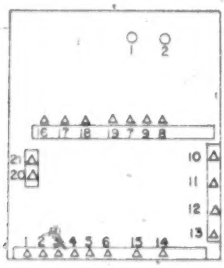


CHART 14 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF SACRAMENTO, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 *Me?il K'op*
2 *Stebal sme?*

MEN (triangles):
16 Cofrade of Sacramento (*Kobraria Sakramentu*)
17 First Nakawane (*Sba Nakawane*)
18 Second Nakawane (*Stebal Nakawane*)
19 Third Nakawane (*Yolebal Nakawane*)
20, 21 Guitarist (*Balnul Alpultero*)

Remaining numerals refer to role terms listed in Chart 13.

are changed simultaneously. The emphasis on continuity is evident, first of all, in the repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetitive behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expectation which assures participants in a performance of a link with the past. Bunzel (1952, p. 251) has shown that this familiarity of ritual "sets" in a variety of ceremonials provides linkage with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango: Repetition in behavior is reinforced by verbal references to perform-

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

9. The Tzeltal

ALFONSO VILLA ROJAS

131 OCCUPYING A REGION east of the Tzotzil, the Tzeltal live in the central part of the state of Chia-
133 pas, Mexico. Three natural zones divide this land: gentle slopes and plains in the south (Amatenango del Valle, Aguacatenango, Pinola, Soyatitan, and Socoltenango), high peaks and irregular terrain in the central part (Chanal, Oxchuc, Tenejapa, Cancuc, Abasolo, and Tenango); lower peaks toward the north.

GEOGRAPHY AND DEMOGRAPHY

• 13 Vegetation varies with climate and altitude. In the temperate or cold lands, evergreen oaks and pines predominate; in the lower and warm areas are high evergreen forests, alternating with savannas and subdeciduous forest (F. Miranda, 1952, vol. 1, ch. 3). In
[245] the temperate and the warm zones coffee and a great variety of fruit trees—orange, annona, peach—are cultivated.

133 Few rivers of any volume cross the moun-
[487] tainous terrain. None are navigable. The hydrographic system is delimited by the Usmacinta and Grijalva rivers; the former

[P 195-A]

4 Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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[P. 195-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

161
162
103
131
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TABLE 1—DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY MUNICIPALITIES
(Census of 1950)

Municipalities	Area in sq. km.	Tzeltal-speakers	Spanish-speakers	Total Population
North Zone:				
Sitala	550	5,435	1,385	6,821
Yajálon	145	6,026	4,010	10,036
Chilon	462	9,049	2,070	11,118
Ocosingo	12,143	9,170	3,770	12,940
Subtotal	13,300	29,680	11,235	40,915
Central Zone:				
Chanal	192	2,328	553	2,881
Oxchuc	42	4,074	1,338	5,412
Tenejapa	67	6,215	1,535	7,750
Altamirano	1,559	2,945	1,810	4,655
Subtotal	1,860	15,462	5,236	20,698
South Zone:				
Teopisca	270	754	4,601	5,355
Amatenango	355	1,773	756	2,529
Pinola	185	1,384	5,736	7,120
Subtotal	810	3,911	11,093	15,004
GRAND TOTAL	15,970	49,053	27,564	76,617

162
191
631

TABLE 2—SPEAKERS OF TZELTAL
(Distribution by Zones)

Zones	Monolingual	Bilingual	Total
North Zone	23,429	8,251	31,680
Central Zone	11,291	4,171	15,462
South Zone	328	3,588	3,911
TOTAL	35,043	16,010	51,053

[P. 196-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

Chapter XV

THE NORTHERN TZELTAL TRIBES

114 Ever since leaving Zona Sala, we had been working in the coun-
101 try of the Tzeltal-speaking tribes who form an outpost of the Highland Indians. The Bachajon, of the Finca Encanto and Bachajon village, and the Indians of Ocosingo and the neighbouring valleys, living as they do, cut off from the outside world, strong in number, and of a rather independent disposition, gave us the first evidences of how little the Indian of the Chiapas Highlands has changed since the days before Columbus. The kings and priests are dead, the temples have been replaced by churches and Christian forms, but the Indians and labourers of today in many respects live the life that their humble forebears did five hundred years ago.

114 At this point, before describing our trip up into the true mountain country, it seems opportune to tell something of these people, their manners and customs. We did not have time to make an exhaustive study of any of them, but they were constantly with us as guides and labourers, and we passed through many of their villages.
115 At El Encanto we had a chance to visit and examine the settlement
126 of the finca's workmen, with the kind help of Señor Ciriaco Aguilar, who acted as interpreter and supplied us with invaluable information. Señor Arturo Tovilla helped us with the Linguistic Lists (see Appendix III), as well as describing many of the customs recorded in this chapter. Señor Aureo Cruz of Toniná dictated a Tzeltal Prayer and Conversation, which was analyzed with the help of Señor Manuel Bulnes of El Real. (See Appendix VI). In general it may be said that all the Spanish-speaking people with whom we dealt helped us in every way possible.*

101 The Bachajon (*Batcahon*) and Ocosingo Valley Indians are, as
197 has been said, an outlying part of a large group living in the mountain country. They speak the Tzeltal language, belonging to that branch of the great Mayance stock more closely related to Maya.
131 In the pine country of Chiapas they hold the largest share of land,
101 occupying an irregular area running southeast from Simojovel to

[175] *The written sources bearing directly on the ethnology of these people are very meager. Nuñez de la Vega (1702) gives the best account of the early religion; his section on Nagualism has been reprinted by Paniagua (1908) along with an important selection of other early sources. Licenciado Vicente Pineda (1888) in his account of the Indian uprisings, gives some information, together with the most complete linguistic material. He gives a native calendar, probably based on one published by Emeterio Pineda (1845). Of modern scientific works, Starr (1901 and 1903) has ethnographic material, and publishes the only physical measurements (1902). Seler (1898) goes into the calendar in detail. For comparative material Tozzer (1907) and Sapper (1923) have been our chief reliance. Sapper's "Nordliche Mittelamerika" (1897) was in constant use in the field for information on all subjects. Particular references are given as they occur. Prof. Rudolph Schuller kindly allowed me access to his manuscript material.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

131 101 the Guatemala border, which it overlaps at Gracias á Dios. They do not reach the highest part of the mountains. For the most part, they live in isolated tribal groups, although in some places, notably in Ocosingo Valley, they are attached to *haciendas* and *fincas*. Much of the easternmost country marked in the maps as belonging to them and the Chol is actually uninhabited wilderness, or, if occupied at all, is Lacandone territory.

101 197 Their immediate neighbours of the Highlands are the Zotzil and Chaneabal. The former speak a language differentiated from Tzeltal only by a shift of *a, e,* and *b* to Zotzil *o, i,* and *m,* respectively.* Chaneabal is spoken by a small group near Comitan. The people of that place say that the language is simply Tzeltal influenced by Mames contact. The list given in Appendix III, seems to bear this out. To the north, and around Tumbalá, are the Chol Indians, whose language is quite distinct, but, of all the other Mayance tongues, probably the nearest to the Highland group.

197 The language itself has been variously named Cendal, Tzendal, Cendales, Tzental, and Tzeltal. I have taken the latter form, as it most nearly represents the Indians' own form, *ts'eltal,* varied in careless speech to *tceltal.* The villages are spoken of as tribes, because each one forms a separate, self-governing unit. There is no evidence of cohesion within the language-group as a whole save during certain periods of uprisings. Individual villages may resemble tribes of another speech more closely than they do those of their own. The Mexican spelling of Tzeltal names is given first, followed by the phonetic spelling (See Appendix III), and the translation, if known.

197 628 [104]

101 The Bachajon live on the threshold of the pine country. Their farms may be found hidden away in the thick jungle land of mahogany and palms, through which their little hidden trails lead to houses tucked away out of sight of alien travelers. Altogether, they are estimated at five thousand families, but it is doubtful whether evidences of more than fifty farms could be seen by one passing along the trail through the heart of their country. The capital, Bachajon Village, is among the pines. There, periodically, the Spaniards used to round them up, that they might be more easily policed, and for the benefit of the church established there. Once there was a fine, stone church and a neat Cabildo with white walls, colonnade, and tiled roof. Both have been wrecked by the Indians, apparently because they did not like to be reminded of alien domination, for from the wreckage of the old church, they took tiles to roof their new one, and they have a straw-thatched Cabildo for the Maestro, or government agent.

[131] [137] [161] [648] [346] [344]

*Starr (1903) quoting Sanchez (1890).

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle.

Chapter 1

Spirits and Places

Social space is the cognitive pattern of relationships imposed upon any terrain. In Amatenango del Valle[1] there are two superimposed patterns. One is defined by the nation for the purposes of political administration. This follows the pattern of colonial administration of *municipios*, or townships, with a *cabecera*, or administrative center, containing the church, town hall, and school house, and serving a number of colonias and *rancherias*, local hamlets or nuclei of populations. The other pattern is defined by the inhabitants using Tzeltal terminology or a Tzeltal rendition of a Spanish name. In this pattern, domains of good and bad spirits are defined, and behavior appropriate to each place is specified in myths and rituals. Persistence of this pattern has had profound implications for continuity of pre-Conquest culture. It provides a ground plan for the system of social control and security exercised by the old gods and their human intermediaries.

In the following section, I will discuss first territorial divisions defined by national law and modified by indigenous categories, and then the interaction between the spirits of persons and places.

The Territorial Divisions

The township of Amatenango del Valle is located at 92°30′ longitude and 16°30′ latitude in the highland zone of the state of Chiapas. The town center is located no more than fifty yards from the Pan-American Highway twenty-five miles southeast of the departmental capital of San Cristóbal.

1. I use the national designation derived from Nahuatl, Amatenango del Valle, to refer to the township, and the Tzeltal term Tzoʔontahal to refer to the center.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Chapter 7

The Formal Organization of Local Government

The formal organization of civil and religious offices in Tzo'ontahal is based on the pattern of a locally independent, democratically elected officialdom introduced by the Spaniards. Variations in the pattern from that of other towns of the highlands have resulted from differences of interpretation of the functions, the range of power, and the course of succession of offices. This flexibility has preserved structural continuity as organizational adjustments are made. The Indians have transformed an alien governing mechanism into one that meets their changing needs and contributes to their independence in the modern world.

The independence of the local township has a base in the pre-Conquest social organization of Chiapas. Robert Adams (1961:347) has noted the absence of architectural or other features indicative of functional specialization that would arise in a politically integrated region. At the time of the Conquest, Chiapas was divided into warring principalities, revealing the extreme political fragmentation of the area (Calnek 1962:8). Each town was divided from the neighboring town by *mojones,* hilled-up boundaries (ibid:36). A minimum of political unity was achieved by holding certain towns subject to the dominance of others (ibid:27); local autonomy persisted, however, in the administration of landholding as a community enterprise.

During the colonial period the Spanish Crown established the independence of towns directly under their control and provided them with a civil-religious hierarchy which has persisted as the form of government to the present (Carrasco 1961: Wolf 1957b).

Comparative studies of the civil-religious hierarchy indicate the range of

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER II

THE GENERAL BACKGROUND FOR A CONTROLLED COMPARISON

Geography and Ecology

101
131 The communities selected for this study are located in the southwest quarter of the state of Chiapas, which is the southernmost state of the Republic of Mexico. This is a mountainous area [133] belonging to the Sierra Madre Occidental, and a part of the state's Central Plateau. The Plateau Summit of the area is to the north northwest of the villages, and contains the city of San Cristobal las Casas, ex-capital of the state (the present capital, Tuxtla, is in the lowlands).

The villages themselves are situated in the terraced margins of the plateau, which extend to the South into the Grijalva River Depression, and to the north and east into the Lacandon Jungle.

133 The slightly inclined terraces are criss-crossed by sev-
487 eral small streams tributary to the Blanco River, and by a complex
491 network of paths, trails, and roads, including a section of the Pan American Highway which connects Mexico City with Guatemala and which is being constructed.

131 The villages of Aguacatenango and Amatenango are in two
36 contiguous valleys (see Fig. 1) near to the section of the Pan

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 16]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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131
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Fig. 1.--Physiographic Sketch of the Valleys of Amatenango, Aguacatenango and Adjacent Towns.

131 American Highway which connects San Cristobal de las Casas with
361 Comitan. They are 50 and 44 kilometers, respectively, from San
[491] Cristobal. Aguacatenango is closer to the branch road that continues south from the Highway to Venustiano Carranza, in the lowlands.

361 Both villages are 2,000 meters above sea level, placed in
133 a slightly raised terrain in the valley floor.

137 The vegetation climaxes surrounding the settlements are the same: woodlands of pine and oak, the second predominating, grasslands which for the most part are secondary growths in abandoned agricultural plots, and thorny bushes which the inhabitants of the valleys utilize for building fences.

241 The range of cultivated plants is the same in the two vil-
137 lages, including several varieties of corn and beans, squash and a few greens, while other edible plants grow wild in the edges of streams and rocky places unsuited for cultivation (Kaplan in McQuown et al., 1959, Part II, Section 6).

134 The soils are mainly limestone base, calcareous clay loam
132 and loam transported, both territories receiving the same amount
133 of rain. Surface water is drained internally within the basin of
135 the Rio Blanco, and in the edges of the village of Aguacatenango, forms, during the rainy season, a small lagoon, where a variety of small fish thrive (Wagner, in McQuown et al., 1959, Part II, Section 5).

136 The fauna include small deer, ocelots, snakes (poisonous and non-poisonous), domestic and field rats, and other small animals.

: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

114 chiefly at Tenejapa and Cancuc. In 1925 Blom and LaFarge[7] entered the Tzeltal country from the north, visiting Bachajón, Sivaca, Tenango, Cancuc, Tenejapa, and Amatenango. These authors have published a short general account[8] of the culture of these people. In 1928 the John Geddings Gray Memorial Expedition of the Tulane University of Louisiana passed through the villages of Ococingo and Sivaca, and visited the hacienda "El Real." At this last place Carlos Basauri, a member of the expedition, collected notes on the Tzeltals.[9] Marcos E. Becerra, who was for ten years head of the Department of Public Education of Chiapas, assembled information on the languages, ethnography, and history of the Indians of the highlands and of other parts of the state.[10] Dr. Ruth Bunzel has spent some time recently in the region; her materials are unpublished.

101 361 The Tzeltal-speaking communities may be divided into those situated in the highlands (Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Cancuc, Oxchuc, San Martin, and Tenango) and those situated at less than 1000 m. above sea level and that consequently enjoy a warmer climate (Sivaca, Ococingo, Bachajon, Citala, Guaquitepec, Chilon, Yajalón, and Petalcingo).

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•132 [823] As is natural, the climates of these two zones present marked differences which have given rise to the expressions "tierra fria" and "tierra caliente" by which the natives distinguish them. The former refers to the higher region where, according to Amram, "The temperature rarely falls below freezing, though in November, 1935, it dropped as low as 24° F. During the long dry period, when for weeks at a time no rain falls, the temperature in the shade occasionally rises above 75°, and the temperature in the sun may reach well over 100°. The relative humidity is low, and there are great differences between shade and sun temperatures. The nights are cool."[14]

The region of the tierra caliente begins in the Valley of Ococingo and the temperature rises as one goes northward. At Salto de Agua, 73 m. above sea level, one experiences tropical heat.

[7] Blom and LaFarge, 1927.
[8] Ibid., 2: 324-400.
[9] Basauri, 1931.
[10] Becerra, 1932 and 1933.
[11] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 20. See also Waibel, 1935, pp. 69-77.
Santibañez, 1911, p. 7.
[12] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 26.
[13] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 618.
[14] Ibid., 2: 37[illegible].
[15] Amram, 1937, p. 52.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

saw houses and fields, lying away from the trail, and at a bend before us in the distance a perpendicular wall of yellow and red rock, about 400 meters high, framed in green foliage. A vertical, shining white band, the waterfall "Chegua," cut the center of the red cliff.

Toward evening we made camp by a small stream not far below the rim of the valley, 980 meters above sea level, and rolled ourselves in our blankets just as a downpour started to drum on our tent-fly.

Early in the morning a few Bachajon Indians came stealthily out of the bush to look at our strange outfit. They talked with our Indian carriers, and evidently found out that we were not bad people, as they soon came near to our camp to talk with us.

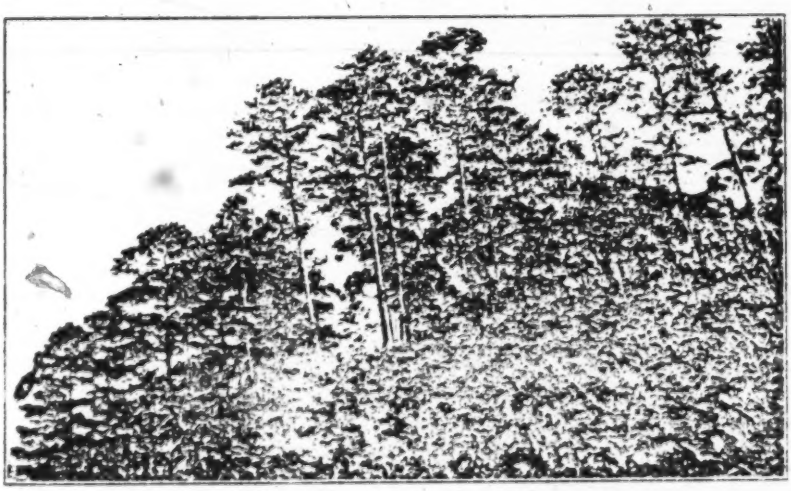

FIG. 195—Bachajon, Chis. Pine Forest.

It was a cool morning and the bottom of the valley was hidden under great soft banks of white mists with the mountains appearing above in sharp silhouette against the morning sky. Soon we reached the rim of the valley and looking back towards the north, saw the many mountain ranges we had crossed and also the Don Juan mountain along the foot of which we rode towards Palenque.

The vegetation changed to low oak-like bush over ground covered with fern-like moss and pretty wild iris. As we rode downward to the next valley new mountain ranges appeared before us and we could see the pine country at a distance. There is no transition from tropical vegetation to pine forest. Change in soil is

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

boulders with care. It still is broad in most places, and has reasonable grades. We climbed to a rather desolate upland of wind-swept grass with a few crooked trees. There was some traffic on the road. We passed a group of Tenejapeños going down to the hot country to carry sugar. The men were ragged and woolly, like those we had seen at Salto de Agua, and their women, in short blue skirts and white blouses gorgeously ornamented with gold and crimson silk, were remarkable for their very pink cheeks showing through dark brown colouring.

The town of Cancuc (*kank'uk*) lies on the rounded shoulder of a long ridge that juts up above the high moors commanding a tremendous view North, West, and South over a jumbled mass of mountain ranges, like a herd of great elephants shouldering away to the horizon. A wind blows day and night, the trees are small and stunted, and the general effect is one of bleakness and height. At an altitude of 1,440 meters, with the unresting wind, it is always cold. The highroad climbs from a ravine up into the village where a small plaza is laid out on a level place. On our left was the big, white church, still well preserved. Opposite it, the Cabildo surprised us, a neat building with tile roof and white columned portico, built in President Diaz' time. Round about were some tumbling and ruined huts, and behind, the village rose on rough terraces crudely faced with stone.

Cancuc has a stormy history. It was the center of the famous rebellion of 1712, the subject of Brinton's "Maria Candelaria."* According to Starr (1904) who passed through here, there is a tradition that the men's long hair, covering their ears, is so worn in memory of the clipped ears which their ancestors received at that time. Recently, there has been political dissension in the form of a dragging feud, and a series of small fights and murders has resulted in those left of the defeated party abandoning the village and setting up their houses in the bush. It is from this that one sees so many huts deserted and beginning to disintegrate, adding to the general cheerless aspect of the place.

We were well received at the Cabildo, where the village officials with their silver-headed canes turned up shortly to look us over. They were younger men than most of the officials we had met previously, and a pretty tough looking crew, much what one would expect of a group that had attained office largely by means of the machete. The people on the whole rather resemble the Bachajon physically, being of a small-limbed type with an average height for men of about 160 centimeters, and nearly beardless. The men wear tunics cut as at Tenango, but decorated with red and yellow em-

*Brinton, 1897; Pineda, 1888.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

there is no other woman in the house. (c) Number of men in the family. If there are productively employed men, women of the household tend to make less pottery, since they are busy cooking and washing and have their basic subsistence needs supplied. Pottery is then produced to supply cash for fiestas only. Widows make a great deal of pottery since they must either hire men to work in the milpa or buy corn. 592 323 433 [434] [136]

2. Wealth of the family: Relatively wealthy families make almost no pottery. In other cases, the scheduling of production is related to consumption needs. Figure 2 charts the pottery production by type of item produced for a family which included two unmarried women, their mother, father, and grandmother. The peaks in production occur just before the major fiestas when the family wants additional money to buy meat, fruits, and clothing. Although this family produced more pottery than the majority of households because of the presence of four women, its production typifies the high periods of activity relating to the fiestas. Production is also related to the seasonal changes: during the rainy season (from June to October) many households curtail production, except to earn money for the fiesta of Santiago (July 25), because of the difficulty of firing without closed kilns. [434] [196] [132]

Variation in production means that an overall estimate of income from pottery cannot be made. It ranges from none to nearly 90 percent of family income in the case of widows without land or male helpers. I would guess that an average family might earn 200 pesos a year, about 10 to 15 percent of the money value of crops. One family of two widows and five children who work constantly throughout the year averages an income of about 600 pesos, or about one-half what an agriculturist can make on one-half hectare of land. 323 433 434 184

The Motivation to Produce

461 434 182

The motivation to work is tied directly to consumption needs of the household. Failure to meet expenditures with income from agriculture and pottery is met by men hiring out as agricultural workers or as laborers in the sawmill. This alternative is chosen over that of increasing the size [464] 434 434 427 24

131 American Highway which connects San Cristobal de las Casas with
361 Comitan. They are 50 and 44 kilometers, respectively, from San
[491] Cristobal. Aguacatenango is closer to the branch road that continues south from the Highway to Venustiano Carranza, in the lowlands.

361 Both villages are 2,000 meters above sea level, placed in
133 a slightly raised terrain in the valley floor.

137 The vegetation climaxes surrounding the settlements are the same: woodlands of pine and oak, the second predominating, grasslands which for the most part are secondary growths in abandoned agricultural plots, and thorny bushes which the inhabitants of the valleys utilize for building fences.

241 The range of cultivated plants is the same in the two vil-
137 lages, including several varieties of corn and beans, squash and a few greens, while other edible plants grow wild in the edges of streams and rocky places unsuited for cultivation (Kaplan in McQuown et al., 1959, Part II, Section 6).

134 The soils are mainly limestone base, calcareous clay loam
•132 and loam transported, both territories receiving the same amount
133 of rain. Surface water is drained internally within the basin of
136 the Rio Blanco, and in the edges of the village of Aguacatenango, forms, during the rainy season, a small lagoon, where a variety of small fish thrive (Wagner, in McQuown et al., 1959, Part II, Section 5).

136 The fauna include small deer, ocelots, snakes (poisonous and non-poisonous), domestic and field rats, and other small animals.

: Redfield & Villa Rojas E--,5 (2635) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

114 chiefly at Tenejapa and Cancuc. In 1925 Blom and LaFarge[1] entered the Tzeltal country from the north, visiting Bachajón, Sivaca, Tenango, Cancuc, Tenejapa, and Amatenango. These authors have published a short general account[2] of the culture of these people. In 1928 the John Geddings Gray Memorial Expedition of the Tulane University of Louisiana passed through the villages of Ococingo and Sivaca, and visited the hacienda "El Real." At this last place Carlos Basauri, a member of the expedition, collected notes on the Tzeltals.[3] Marcos E. Becerra, who was for ten years head of the Department of Public Education of Chiapas, assembled information on the languages, ethnography, and history of the Indians of the highlands and of other parts of the state.[4] Dr. Ruth Bunzel has spent some time recently in the region; her materials are unpublished.

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[1] Blom and LaFarge, 1927.
[2] *Ibid.*, 2: 376–400.
[3] Basauri, 1931.
[4] Becerra, 1932 and 1933.
[5] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 26. See also Waibel, 1935, pp. 69–77.
[6] Santiabañez, 1911, p. 7.
[7] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 26.
[8] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 398.
[9] *Ibid.*, 2: 397.
[10] Amram, 1937, p. 52.

756 539 [682] [swayobel]." "What one?" asked his friend. "You won't be afraid?" asked J. And then he put his shirt and hat on the floor, spoke three words (my friend didn't say what), and raised his hat and shirt, and a horse appeared. He did this again and a bull appeared. He was a great *?ak'čamel* [witch]. He stole a great deal. He was killed by five bullets.

756 [152] Such stories of curers "who walk on both sides" (*šbe?en ta ča mehč*) are favorites in the drinking sessions of Teklum. The power of curers inspires fear, so much so that some of the town presidents have been afraid of putting them in prison.

756 776 [133] [769] The open competition between curers serves to undermine the faith of the people in their guardianship function. This function was believed to have been acquired by the leaders from the *me?tiktatik*, the ancestors, who were said to live in a cave in a hill near the town, from which came the progenitors of the present townspeople. To carry out this guardianship function, the animal spirits of the two leading curers roamed the streets at night, when the evil spirits were out, each one remaining within the limits of his own side of the dual division. In this role, the two major curers were called the *me?iltatiletik*, a term derived from the one referring to the ancestors.

178 776 756 769 [796] 796 776 756 178 769 [794] [793] 178 756 769 The loss of faith in the guardianship function of the curers was coincident with the loss of belief in the presence of the me?tiktatik. Some deny that the me?tiktatik live in the cave anymore, and others say they just appear on the day of their fiesta, the Day of the Cross in the Catholic calendar. This fiesta formerly was an important event in establishing the guardian power of the leader curers, since they were the only ones who dared enter the cave and talk to the ancestors. But this fear and this belief have gone. In 1960 one young man of the pueblo entered the cave on the day of the fiesta, when the curers were "deceiving the people" in claiming that they were talking to the ancestors, the fact that he dared enter the cave indicates an ambient distrust (in part resulting from verbal attacks by the priest, who at that time was gaining more power in the town). By now, on the Day of the Cross the church and civil officials, the women prayermakers, and an assistant of the priest, the *fiscal*, go to the cave, but the curers are no longer present, even as bystanders. The curers have tried to buttress belief in the guardianship of the ancestors by claiming that a nephew of the ancestors is now in residence in

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

9. The Tzeltal

ALFONSO VILLA ROJAS

131 OCCUPYING A REGION east of the Tzotzil, the Tzeltal live in the central part of the state of Chia-
133 pas, Mexico. Three natural zones divide this land: gentle slopes and plains in the south (Amatenango del Valle, Aguacatenango, Pinola, Soyatitan, and Socoltenango); high peaks and irregular terrain in the central part (Chanal, Oxchuc, Tenejapa, Cancuc, Abasolo, and Tenango); lower peaks toward the north.

GEOGRAPHY AND DEMOGRAPHY

13 Vegetation varies with climate and altitude. In the temperate or cold lands, evergreen oaks and pines predominate; in the lower and warm areas are high evergreen forests, alternating with savannas and subdeciduous forest (F. Miranda, 1952, vol. 1, ch. 3). In
[245] the temperate and the warm zones coffee and a great variety of fruit trees—orange, annona, peach—are cultivated.

133 Few rivers of any volume cross the moun-
[487] tainous terrain. None are navigable. The hydrographic system is delimited by the Usmacinta and Grijalva rivers; the former

[P. 195-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

9. The Tzeltal

ALFONSO VILLA ROJAS

133 flows through the eastern part of the region, the latter through the western, both draining large basins.

161 162 According to the census of 1950 the population of the zone totals 76,617 individuals, distributed over 15,970 sq. km. Of these 49,053 persons are Indian, 27,564 are Ladino. This population is distributed according to Table 1.

[128] San Cristobal de las Casas is omitted from the table because its population is predominantly Ladino (19,758 individuals) and because the Indians who live there (3,296) are of the Tzotzil tongue. Socoltenango and Nicolas Ruiz are also omitted because they no longer have an Indian-speaking population.

161 631 The central region has the municipalities of the highest density of population: Oxchuc with 129 inhabitants per sq. km., and Tenejapa with 115. [134] The northern part has an area seven times as large with only twice as much population; the municipality of Ocosingo has hardly one inhabitant per sq. km. in spite of the fact that its lands are the most fertile of the entire region. Although it

[p. 195-B]
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 196-B]

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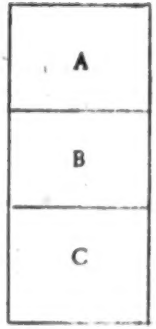

Chart of Positions of Map
Facing p. 239

[facing p. 239]

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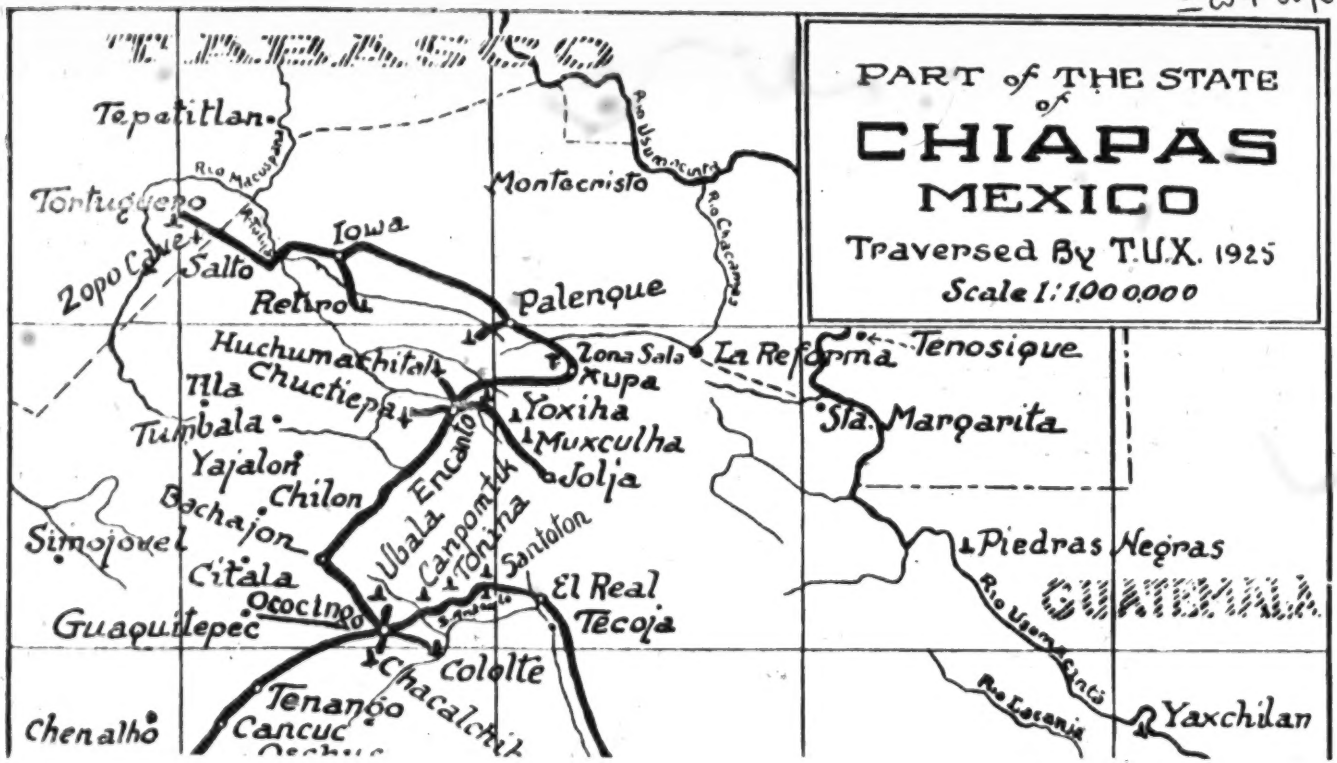

[facing p. 239a]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

[facing p. 239, B]

[Facing p. 230, C]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

5: Blom & LaFarge A.E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Prehistoric Yucatan NV3

PY 172 by the great forest. New cities, one after the other, sprang up in
174 the new country. Several tribes stayed behind, but the leaders and
131 chiefs must have gone north. The tribes still living in the southern
167 area are descendants of those who remained.
361

PY Several explanations have been advanced for this migration,
174 among which are disease, war, and change of climatic conditions.
167 Probably there are many reasons for the exodus, of which the ex-
24 haustion of the soil is one of the principal.

PY The Maya could have gone south. There they would have
131 found igneous mountains. We find Maya-speaking tribes in the
167 highlands of Guatemala, but rarely find great buildings in that
174 area. To the north, on the peninsula of Yucatan, the migrants
135 found a limestone country, much like that which they had left.
24 Limestone played a principal role in their whole culture. Lime was necessary for making their principal food, the corn cake (now called tortilla by the Spaniards). Limestone was easy to cut and carve with stone tools, and burnt lime was essential in their temple building. Moreover, the agricultural conditions were similar to those to which they were accustomed. Therefore, after two centuries of moving around, searching for a suitable place, they settled in Yucatan. There they built more great cities, and blossomed out in a magnificent renaissance, finally to reach the climax and then came the downfall of their entire culture.

T Now and then we met a few Indians, but only when we reached
361 the high points of the trail did we see their houses in places of vantage on the hills, away from the trail, so that the inhabitants could look out for strangers.

T Reaching a steep climb, we dismounted and drove our animals
114 along, urging them with Indian cries. The pack animals laboured under their burden, frequently stopping to get their wind, then driven forward again by the yells and whistling of the boys.

T The trail went straight over the ridge, from the top of which we
• 133 had a magnificent view of the valley of the Bachilá and Bolontichná
137 rivers. Below we heard the roar of the rivers, and in front lay the
114 nearly vertical wall of the southern side of the valley, an enormous geological fault. Along the backbone of a long narrow ridge we could see our trail winding up to the edge of the wall miles ahead. Nowhere in the huge valley at our feet did we see big forest; all was second growth and patches of grass.

T Shortly after noon we had crossed the two rivers, and continued
133 the gradual climb towards the southern rim. As we ascended we
114
[361]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

saw houses and fields, lying away from the trail, and at a bend before us in the distance a perpendicular wall of yellow and red rock, about 400 meters high, framed in green foliage. A vertical, shining white band, the waterfall "Chegua," cut the center of the red cliff.

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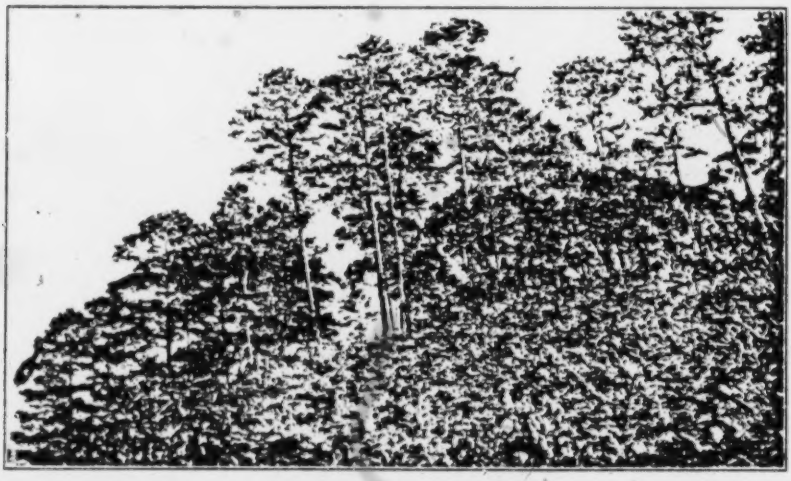

Fig. 193—Bachajon, Chis. Pine Forest.

It was a cool morning and the bottom of the valley was hidden under great soft banks of white mists with the mountains appearing above in sharp silhouette against the morning sky. Soon we reached the rim of the valley and looking back towards the north, saw the many mountain ranges we had crossed and also the Don Juan mountain along the foot of which we rode towards Palenque.

The vegetation changed to low oak-like bush over ground covered with fern-like moss and pretty wild iris. As we rode downward to the next valley new mountain ranges appeared before us and we could see the pine country at a distance. There is no transition from tropical vegetation to pine forest. Change in soil is

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

137 Change in soil is
134 probably the reason for change in vegetation. The tropical forest grows on black humus soil and the pine country is underlain by a red sandstone which weathers into a heavy red clay. The contact of this sandstone with the limestone country on which leaf trees grow lies about an hour's ride north of the village of Bachajon.

• [133] The pine country is very hilly, the trees are scattered over a carpet of vivid green grass cut by the strong red line of the soil of the trail like a scar (fig. 195).

114 It was like riding through a magnificent park, up and down the hills and across small streams. Our poor animals had a hard time on the slippery trail. La Farge's horse gave out, and he had to change his saddle to a spare animal.

361 The Bachajon Indian village came in sight, lying on a hill in the
342 middle of the valley. It was well after noon when we reached the
346 dilapidated, grass-roofed and mud-walled huts clustered around the huge ruin of an old Spanish stone church. The Indians use a new church which they have built of the same material as their houses.

122 The house of the Government agent lies in the middle of the
344 village and here we were quartered in a room, the floor of which had just been covered with a carpet of fresh pine needles.

123 The Bachajon Indians are reputed to be unfriendly to all travellers, so we were not surprised when the Indian chief of the village told us that he could not furnish fodder for our animals or men to carry some of our cargo. To all our questions he answered "Mayuk," or in English, "Ain't got none." But when the chief, a little later, heard from our Encanto men that we had been friendly to them, and that furthermore, we were friends of the big father President in Mexico City, he changed his attitude.

648 The Government agent is sent to the Indian village by the civil
[651] authorities of the neighbouring Mexican town of Ocosingo. He is supposed to collect certain taxes, raise labourers for public works
[653] in the Mexican town, and help the Indians with their affairs. He is highly unpopular among the Indians, who counteract his orders through a remarkable system of passive resistance. They say "yes" to everything and do nothing. The only reason the Indians tolerate
[273] him is because he keeps a small store and sells liquor. The Indian is very fond of sugar-cane rum, and every Saturday and Sunday all the villagers generally get drunk. The agent complained bit-
[123] terly that the Indians were not selling him any food supplies and was astonished when they sold us chickens and eggs.

361 Most of the Bachajon Indians live hidden away in the bush. Only the families of the chief and the village officials live around the old church ruins.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

000

the old church ruins. The chief and the officials all spoke Spanish, but the only one who knew how to read and write was the town secretary, a 15-year old boy.

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After dark the Indians gathered in front of the municipal house and presently some of the elders made signs that they wanted to talk to us. We followed them into the dark out of earshot of the agent, where the Indians told us of all their sorrows and difficulties, asking if we could not help them. They said that the agent tried to raise unjust taxes, that they were forced to do much work for the Municipal President of Ocosingo and did not have time to look after their own corn fields, and also that they were molested by the managers of the neighbouring properties. They asked us to bring their complaints before the Central Government, which we have done.

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From there our route followed the main trail, or Camino Real, between Chilon and Ocosingo. A few hours ride through pine forest brought us to the top of a pass from where we had a magnificent view over the Ocosingo Valley. We could see the Indian village of Sivacá, and the white walled, red tiled houses of the Mexican town Ocosingo, lying on a green carpet of extensive grazing land. Down over the mountain side we scrambled towards the valley bottom, and by noon the hoofs of our animals clattered against the cobbled stones of Ocosingo's streets.

114
133
361

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Chapter XII

THE OCOSINGO VALLEY

The name Ocosingo is Aztec, signifying the "Place of Pines," a name well chosen, for the valley is enclosed in pine-clad hills. When one stands at the southwestern end of the valley it stretches out in front like a huge natural stadium with the high San Martín mountain lying at the back. The northern and southern sides of the valley consist of two parallel rows of mountains, the inner rows being lower than the outer. The interior ranges slope towards the valley and turn nearly vertical cliff walls towards the very narrow valleys that separate them from the exterior mountains (fig. 196).

The interior ranges are broken up in many points, and this the Maya took advantage of, selecting the highest points for pyramids.

The floor of the valley is grass covered, with scattered groups of pine trees. Here and there lie ranches, mostly inhabited by Mexicans, called Ladinos here. The Ladino is, strictly speaking, a man of mixed Indian and Spanish blood, but the Indians use the term to indicate any Mexican or Spaniard who lives in a town or owns a larger ranch. With the name generally goes a certain amount of education, and the ability to read and write.

Ocosingo town now contains only about 500 inhabitants, living in whitewashed brick houses with red tiled roofs. In the center of the town is a Plaza, at one end of which lies the Palacio Municipal, and at the other end a huge Spanish Colonial church. In front of the church is the public fountain; the water and news supply of the town. All day long girls come here to fill large clay jugs with cool water, led down from the San Martín mountain through an underground canal.

Half of the Plaza is planted with trees, which surround a dilapidated music pavilion, without which no self-respecting Mexican village could exist.

The houses that face the Plaza all have colonnades where one may walk in the shade, and where families bring their rocking chairs in the evenings to sit and watch the crowds of as many as twenty-five men and women who walk around the pavilion, or to look at the horses and cows that feed on the grass growing exuberantly between the paving stones of the Plaza.

The Ocosingo Valley and many smaller valleys adjoining formerly supported large herds of cattle and had considerable trade.

[Text continues on p. 247]

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133
361
172

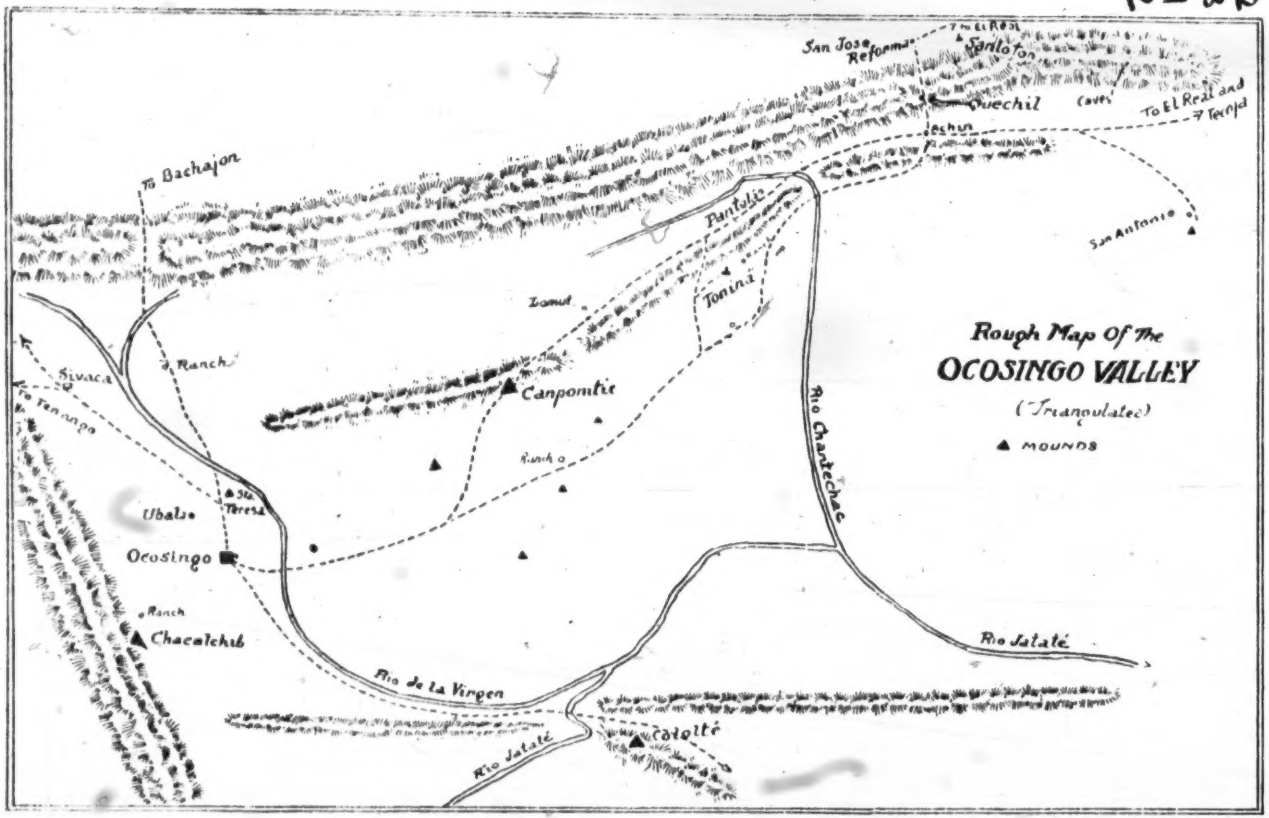

FIG. 196—Ocosingo Valley. (Triangulation). Scale 1:85,000.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Revolutions have since destroyed the herds, and the town now has only a small local trade in sugar and rum. 233

All goods are transported on mule-back over bad trails. Main trails run to Yajalon, San Cristóbal las Casas, and Comitan. Minor trails connect with Tenosique in Tabasco, a ride of five or six days through uninhabited forests. Other small trails lead into the heart of the forests along the Usumacinta river, where there are a few mahogany camps, fourteen days distance on a good mule. 492 491 [313]

The Spanish Conquerors had quickly discovered the richness of the soil and taken possession of it. Therefore, we find but a few Indians around Ocosingo, save at the small town of Sivacá, entirely inhabited by Tzeltal-speaking Indians. From there we secured our labourers, who were summoned by the municipal president and worked for us at the regulation pay of 50 centavos per day. Ocosingo holds sway over the native towns of Sivacá, Tenango, Oschuc, San Martín, and Bachajon. The municipality commands the Indians for all kinds of work, and in many ways lives on what can be pressed from them. As a consequence, the good people of Ocosingo are anything but popular among the Indians, though it appears that the man then in charge, Señor Simon Leon, was quite friendly towards them, and therefore well liked. 175 134 563 [114] 661 829

Geologically, the Ocosingo Valley is a syncline, the valley bottom and the interior mountain ranges being of a coarse red sandstone, and the exterior ranges of limestone. The axis of the valley runs approximately N-80-W to S-80-E, and Ocosingo town is located at an altitude of 900 meters above sea level. 133 [135]

As we rode into the village, La Farge discovered a stone block, carved with hieroglyphs, set in the pavement of the sidewalk, an excellent reception for archaeologists. 172

Our first concern was to find quarters, which we located in a house on the corner of a street leading into the Plaza. Soon our equipment was unloaded, and while we unpacked, the Ladino guide we had acquired in Bachajon went to his house to order food for us. 114 [122]

The restaurant and meal were a surprise, though not pleasant. In a room with a rotten board floor, the plaster falling off the walls, and a huge box full of saints, we were served fried eggs and black beans by an old woman with a large goitre. Though nothing in the house appeared to be either particularly exclusive or clean, the Ladino family seemed to resent that we sat down at the table with our chief guide, the trusty old Indian, Lázaro, now called "Tata" by us.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

123 able when broken by the clattering of horses hoofs against the paving stones.

172 From the Plaza one can see a great part of the valley and sur-
114 rounding mountains. When the sun in the morning falls on the San Martín mountain, one's attention is attracted by a spur on this mountain which strongly resembles a pyramid. We asked about this and were told that it actually was an ancient mound. Therefore, one morning, we rode to the foot of the San Martín.

Reaching a small ranch, we left our horses behind and ascended on foot. A spur of the mountain had in ancient times been levelled and shaped to the form of an immense truncated pyramid, rising in terraces.

778 We had heard that there were caves in the mountainside, and
114 that every year, on the 3rd of May, the Indians come here to worship the god of the mountain. Soon we reached a small cave, or rock shelter, and upon entering saw that a tunnel led into the dark. This we followed, with lighted candles, into a small cave, and there on the floor we found signs of a small altar.*

We took great pains not to disturb anything on the altar, returning to the mouth of the cave, and emerged into the glaring sunlight. We then climbed to the top of the pyramid, and found a large level area in the center of which stood a small mound. On top of the mound Indians had erected a wooden cross and at its foot we found bunches of pine needles, also remnants of burnt copal incense. Evidently this also was a place of Indian worship.

114 Sitting on top of the mound we had the whole Ocosingo valley
133 at our feet. The red roofs of the town lay 500 meters below us.
172 The top of the pyramid, called Chacalchib, is 1,440 meters above sea level. Far away we could see two other hilltops that likewise
361 had been turned into pyramids. On the northern edge of the valley lay Campomtik, and further away on the same side we could distinguish the ruins of Toniná. On the southern side of the valley was the mountain-pyramid called Cololté. All these places were later visited.

133 The valley floor spread out before us. Here and there lay small
137 ranches, and patches of pine forest. Several groups of mounds were
361 easily distinguished, as those of Santa Teresa just outside Ocosingo on the trail to Bachajon. At the head of the valley lay Sivacá, the
172 Indian village.

172 On the level top of the pyramid were rows of stones, indicating
114 old house foundations, but though we made a careful search, we found no monuments.

*For Description, see Chapter XV.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Slowly we descended towards the valley, enjoying the magnificent view. The country we were to work in for the following weeks lay before us like a map. About half-way down we encountered another cave, in which we also found an Indian altar. This time the offerings were placed before a small cross, crudely made of wood.

La Farge, as usual, was busy collecting data on the Indians' life and customs, and while he paid a visit to the village Sivacá, the writer set out to explore the Cololté pyramid, sometimes called Hocuchupac, which was said to have a stone idol on it. We also heard that the good inhabitants of Ocosingo were afraid to go to the mountain top, not knowing what the Indians might do.

FIG. 200—Cololté, Chis. Altar on top of the Cololté Pyramid.

Our local guide was eventually persuaded to take me to the ranch of a Ladino boy, by name Cenón, on whose property the pyramid was located.

From Ocosingo we rode along the Rio Grande de la Virgen until it joined the Jatate River, which we crossed and soon came to the ranch of Cenón, who was in the field, but came out when we called. Though the pyramid, as stated, was on his property, he was not eager to take me to it, and when he finally agreed, he first armed himself with an old 30-30 Winchester.

Following long, narrow, pine ridges we approached the pyramid. It was beautiful country with scattered pine and grass below.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

133 Finally we reached the foot of a steep hill, on top of which the idol
778 was supposed to be. This hill sloped gradually towards the north
172 and the valley. Its southern side was a vertical cliff wall. It was difficult to climb to the top as the ground was slippery underfoot from its carpet of pine needles, but it was well worth the trouble. We reached the top, and there before us stood a small altar, built of rough stones (fig. 200). On the centre of the altar stood the idol, a small figure, 64 cm. high, carved out of yellow sandstone, and of the same type as those idols we had already seen, and knew to come from Toniná. The idol was badly weathered—only its sandaled feet were distinguishable. It was without a head, and had no carved hieroglyphs. Before it stood crude clay bowls in which were the charred remains of copal incense; rows of crude candlesticks were planted between the stones; and offerings of coloured strips of paper and small bunches of pine needles lay scattered around.

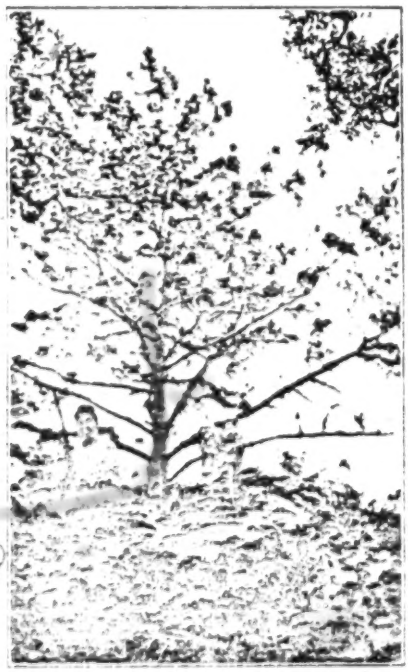

Fig. 200—Cololté, Chis. Altar on top of the Cololté Pyramid.

Four hundred years of Spanish rule, four hundred of Catholic missionizing, had not been able to stamp out the worship of the ancient gods in the ancient way. Here I stood, the first white man to behold this altar, a white man with a deep interest in the ancient history of this country. I could not help feeling that the ancient gods were still living, and that I was nearer to the ancient times at that moment than I had ever
172 been before. As I turned and saw just across the valley the mighty pyramids of Campomtik, and Toniná, the powerful city that once ruled over the valley, I realized that before me lay buried the ruins of a small State within the huge Maya area—a State born of Maya culture, using Maya hieroglyphs, speaking a Maya dialect, but at the same time expressing itself through its art in a way distinct from any other part of the Maya area.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

We have divided Maya history in two groups, the Old Empire 175
and the New Empire. Of the history of the New Empire we know 174
a considerable amount, but our knowledge of the Old Empire history is scant. We know the area in which it flourished as a whole, like knowing Greece without being aware of Sparta, Athens, and Corinth. Here in front of me lay one of the first hints of the subdivisions of the Old Empire. Knowledge will advance, and soon we shall be able to tell about the rise and decline of states and cities, to revive the history of the foremost people of ancient America.

Nearly due north across the valley lies the Campomtik pyramid. 172
La Farge visited it while we worked at Toniná. It, too, is a re- 133
modeled mountain top, and as it is covered with grass, it stands out 778
sharply against the forest-clad hills. It consists of a series of terraces with a depression which has stone-faced terraces and floor. From the valley bottom the hill rises 280 meters, of which 105 meters (325 feet) have been terraced. Broken pottery is found in various places on the hillside, and on the top now stands two wooden crosses, set there by the Indians. The name Campomtik means [103]
"much yellow incense." Incense was burned on the hilltop until [782]
quite recently. At such times they burned great fires, and shot off [796]
many rockets bought in Ocosingo. Finally the celebrations got too [177]
fervent for the Catholic Father, and he had the Indians driven away [178]
by the town officials. Generally, though, the Padres let the Indians alone when they celebrate in honour of the ancient gods (fig. 201).

Outside Ocosingo, where the trail divides, one going to Bachajon, 172
the other to Sivacá, lies a group of mounds called Santa Teresa. Rumors that Indains had buried church treasures here after an uprising, led the townspeople to make a large excavation. According to some people in Ocosingo, they found a small wooden sanctuary, and a beautiful clay bowl with a fish on its lid. This bowl later was bought by Seler.*

It is remarkable how persistent are rumors of buried treasures. 123
Every Ladino expects to find "dinero," money, in any mound, and 172
they are usually sadly disappointed. Also, most of these people believe that we find money, else why should we dedicate so much time to our explorations? We had a case where one man offered to go fifty-fifty with us if we would explore a mound on his lands. The whole mound at Santa Teresa has been dug through, and it is told in Ocosingo that the excavators found, not money, but a small wooden sanctuary with a saint inside. We hear every day, when among the Ladinos and Mexicans, stories of church bells of solid gold, and cocks that crow at midnight on top of the mounds.

*Seler, E., 1901. Fig. 279.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

The country near the village has been farmed out long ago; now the fields lie at a distance in the jungle. After every concentration, the Indians drift away again like blown smoke. Today most of the houses are rotten, sagging, with gaping doors. The paths are grown up with weeds, huge, old moss-covered crosses lean at crazy angles by the main trails. Over all broods the frame of the sacked church, huge stone walls with rank vegetation around them, and a twisted, unhealthy oak-tree on one side, like a composition by Piranesi.

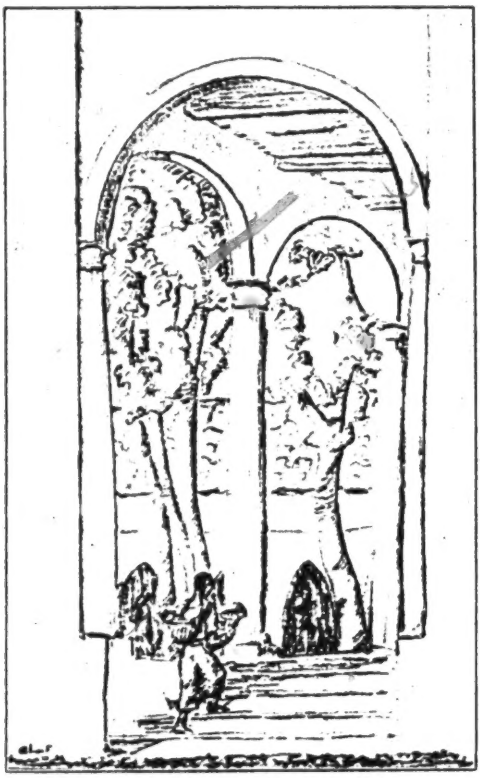

Fig. 277—Ocosingo, Chia. Colonnade on the Plaza.

Ocosingo Valley and its neighbours furnish a transition towards the real highlands. The valleys are fertile and green, ringed in with ranges of steep, rich hills. The soil in the lower parts is light; here palms and pines grow together, with a luxuriance of rich grass that makes an ideal grazing country. Through the valleys are large and small ranches of Ladinos and old Spanish families. The bigger ones, such as San Antonio, Quechil, and Achin in the Ocosingo Valley, San José Reforma and El Real beyond the San José Pass, and Tecojá in its own valley, each has a village of Indian labourers attached to them. The natives' houses are rather better that the average, and often tile-roofed (fig. 278). The Indians of each ranch function more or less as a tribe, governed by the owner of the ranch, conducting their own worship at its chapel. A few Indians own scattered, independent farms. Sivacá (*sivak ha'*, "Gunpowder Water"), near Ocosingo on the trail to Tenango, is a true village, self-governing, with its own *alcalde*, under the supervision of a Ladino *maestro*. All these groups come together at

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Chapter XVI

THE HIGHLAND TZELTAL

On the Fourth of July we left Ocosingo for the last stretch in to this fabled city of San Cristóbal, about which we had so long been hearing, up into the real mountains, the country of the highland tribes. We thought to spend the day in quiet travel, without fireworks, but our animals had other ideas. El Viejito, the old, white horse, led off by giving out under his pack right at the start. Then the bay mare cut loose, distributing her load over several acres. 114

The celebration finally being calmed, we reached Sivacá, at the foot of the long climb. The men who knew us were away in the fields. A few frightened women misdirected us as best they could, the animals got loose again among the orange trees and winding paths, and it was another half hour before, to the accompanying enthusiastic squeals of the local pigs, we finally got them rounded up and on the right way.

Right behind Sivacá the trail stands up on end to climb the first of the series of ramparts that lie like a defense about the highland country. It was very much like trying to ride up a gutter on the side of a house. The narrow trail was also the bed of a feeble brook. It was worn so deep that the packs rubbed along the sides. We pushed and pulled and tugged. There was the usual repetition of fallen horses and packs to be put on again. Thus for two hours, slipping and scrambling, until at last we came to a level place where an old wooden cross, decorated with offerings of flowers marked the top of the pass—1,660 meters, 600 meters (about 1,900 feet) above Ocosingo. From there on, as our trail dipped and rose along the uneven plateau, we had occasional glimpses through the tall fir trees back to the ranges behind Ocosingo Valley, and far over the hills of the Tzendales and the Lacandone country, looking very cool and blue. The trees were fine, and widely spaced; below were good grass, patches of pine-needles, and scars of red earth. We followed a succession of ridges, not very notable in themselves, but tiring to the animals after their long climb and earlier celebrations. In the late afternoon it grew cooler, and stimulated by that, and the beauty of the country, we did not know that we were weary. 114 133 137

One of the pack animals, a game little sandy-coloured pony with a Roman nose, who drew his neck back like a camel's when he traveled, was making better time than the rest. So Blom, on his 114

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

114 mule Borrachito, took him ahead, planning to get into Tenango early and arrange for food and lodging. They went along briskly enough for a while, leaving the pack train well behind. Then the pony stopped, lowered his nose to the ground, blew a moment, and keeled over. There was nothing for it but to unpack him and wait
114 for help. By and by an Indian turned up. Blom hailed him in
123 Tzeltal, "*La!*"—"come here!" He took cover and disappeared. Two more came along the trail, stopped at a distance to look him over, and also disappeared. After a while an Indian's head popped up for an instant behind a stone. All this was rather disconcerting, here in the Indian country, and he had noted that one of the Indians carried a thing that looked like a cleaver on the end of a long pole. He moved over to the mule, hiding his revolver side so that the Indians should not notice that he carried no fire-arms, and put himself in reach of his machete. A head stuck out again from behind a tree. Then two more Indians came down the trail, whom he hailed, asking them to carry the pack boxes into town. At first they refused, but after looking for a long time at his mule, they accepted the job. So he continued peacefully towards Tenango. He came into the open valley just before dusk, with the shadow of the further mountains just on the village, and the mountains themselves dark blue and black under tremendous thunder-clouds. The men and women were all trailing in from their cornfields, with their hoes and machetes over their shoulders. Some stopped a moment to stare at him, then went on, moving with slow steps over the cultivated land.

When La Farge and Lazaro came out into the cleared land, the valley was deep in purple shadow. They reached the Cabildo after dark, too tired to take notice of anything.

Early the next morning, while wisps of cold, silver and pink mist still lay in the valley, the village elders gathered to welcome us, bringing two chickens as presents. They said that they had heard of us already, and would show us through the village. In return for all this, we were to report to the *Tata Presidente* in Mexico that they needed more land, and were hard put to it to find food throughout the year for the 135 families of the village. At first we were escorted by the whole group, from the Village President down to the Secretary, who was illiterate and spoke little or no Spanish. Later, most of the elders lost interest and trailed off, but we always had enough of a delegation to ensure us good service. It was Sunday, so no one was working in the fields, yet we saw remarkably few people, the women, especially, keeping within their houses most of the time.

133 As has been said, Tenango lies in the eastern part of a wide valley that slopes down from the eastern ridge until it meets an abrupt.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 380]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

133 green wall away to the westward. Midway, there is a break in the slope, with a dramatic splash of deep red cliffs, in violent contrast
241 to the fertile grass and soft tones of the limestone outcrops. Only the upper end of this valley belongs to Tenango, so little, in fact that the inhabitants cannot practice the usual, sprawling milpa sys-
[35] tem of agriculture. The very yards are planted, and the fields
[417] start almost in the village, radiating from it in a close patchwork as in Europe. Everything is fenced with roughly split planks set on end, and fences line the road into Tenango where it passes
361 through the cornfields. The houses with their yards lie close about an open plaza in which are the grey bones of a ruined church, a

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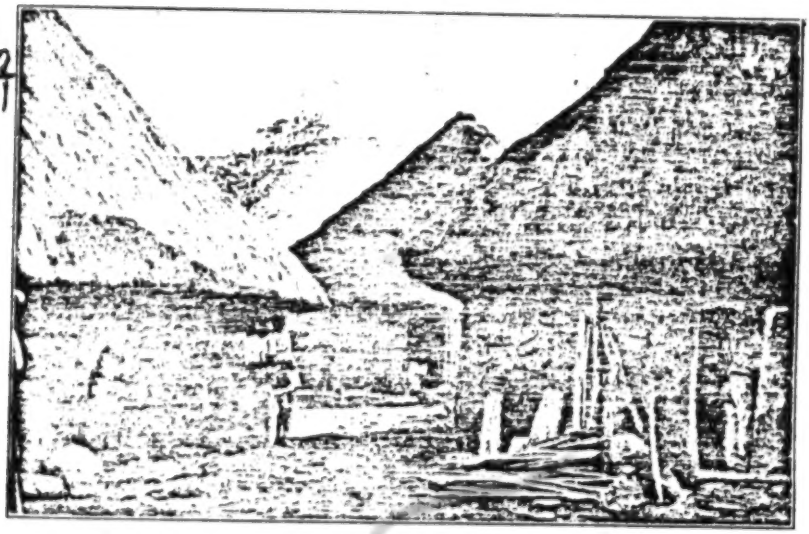

FIG. 313—Tenango, Chis. Houses.

361
whitewashed, palm-roofed native one, and the shack of a Cabildo for
245 the Maestro. The streets are lined with useful trees, oranges, gourds,
363 and a few bananas, which do poorly at this altitude.

342 The houses are square and well-made with walls of broad, split planks covered with mud (figs. 311-312). The roofs are steeply thatched and pyramidal, or have a short ridge along which broken pots are laid after the manner of tiles. The frame-work differs from that described in the last chapter in having cross-pieces laid between
[354] the plates. There are no chimneys, the smoke is allowed to seep through the thatch, keeping out vermin and making the roofs steam like a clam-bake.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

boulders with care. It still is broad in most places, and has reasonable grades. We climbed to a rather desolate upland of wind-swept grass with a few crooked trees. There was some traffic on the road. We passed a group of Tenejapeños going down to the hot country to carry sugar. The men were ragged and woolly, like those we had seen at Salto de Agua, and their women, in short blue skirts and white blouses gorgeously ornamented with gold and crimson silk, were remarkable for their very pink cheeks showing through dark brown colouring.

The town of Cancuc (*kank'uk*) lies on the rounded shoulder of a long ridge that juts up above the high moors commanding a tremendous view North, West, and South over a jumbled mass of mountain ranges, like a herd of great elephants shouldering away to the horizon. A wind blows day and night, the trees are small and stunted, and the general effect is one of bleakness and height. At an altitude of 1,440 meters, with the unresting wind, it is always cold. The highroad climbs from a ravine up into the village where a small plaza is laid out on a level place. On our left was the big, white church, still well preserved. Opposite it, the Cabildo surprised us, a neat building with tile roof and white columned portico, built in President Diaz' time. Round about were some tumbling and ruined huts, and behind, the village rose on rough terraces crudely faced with stone.

Cancuc has a stormy history. It was the center of the famous rebellion of 1712, the subject of Brinton's "Maria Candelaria."* According to Starr (1904) who passed through here, there is a tradition that the men's long hair, covering their ears, is so worn in memory of the clipped ears which their ancestors received at that time. Recently, there has been political dissension in the form of a dragging feud, and a series of small fights and murders has resulted in those left of the defeated party abandoning the village and setting up their houses in the bush. It is from this that one sees so many huts deserted and beginning to disintegrate, adding to the general cheerless aspect of the place.

We were well received at the Cabildo, where the village officials with their silver-headed canes turned up shortly to look us over. They were younger men than most of the officials we had met previously, and a pretty tough looking crew, much what one would expect of a group that had attained office largely by means of the machete. The people on the whole rather resemble the Bachajon physically, being of a small-limbed type with an average height for men of about 160 centimeters, and nearly beardless. The men wear tunics cut as at Tenango, but decorated with red and yellow em-

*Brinton, 1897; Pineda, 1888.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc
Tenejapa

From Cancuc the road falls slowly away, then it climbs to the 133
steep side of the ridge and at last dips percipitously to a covered 114
bridge over a narrow ravine. All along on both sides little corn- [241]
fields alternate with second growth. Ahead, the same great palisade that we saw from Tenango rises in a green wall, patched with fields and broken here and there by outcrops of cliffs and hanging valleys. We passed a dribbling of traffic, Indians on foot, and at the bridge met a family of Mexicans noisily eating a picnic lunch. The ravine was deep, rock-walled, with a roaring stream in the shadows of the bottom. From the other side of it the palisade rose immediately, looking almost perpendicular and indefinitely high to us as we contemplated it. The road assumed a stiff grade, rising in a series of [491]
zig-zags that gained painfully to the top. Straight up, almost like [480]
a ruled line, lay the Indian trail, taking no account of the twists and turns of the road. Our carriers from Cancuc, who took on the cargo that the Tenango men had carried the day before, had gone up that fearsome climb. We tried it, but the horses slid and fell back on their haunches, and we ourselves could barely keep our footing. So we continued along the road, turning and turning, seeming never to gain, and fearing that our animals would never make it. The heat of the sun was thrown back by the hillside and the road.

We toiled on. Low growth and brush on the side of the road 137
gave no shade. The dust rose high. The air, for all the heat, began 114
to have a pleasant crispness that reminded us of high altitudes in other countries. Then we smelt a familiar smell which we ignored until its persistent recurrence forced us to look, see, and believe—that blackberries grow wild in Chiapas! The event of the next hours amused Lazaro greatly, for here in Mexico we found ourselves among familiar northern flowers and wild fruits, buttercups, dandelions, wild roses, blackberries, strawberries, all strange to him. We passed an Indian farm, stuck into a tiny hanging valley, where 245
peach trees and alligator pears were growing together in the cornfield.

At the top of the pass in a shallow V-shaped cut, the barometer 133
read 2,100 meters, a climb of 600 meters—about 1,900 feet—in two [114]
hours.

The country changed beyond here to steep ravines, high cliffs, rushing, cold brooks, and tall, dark fir trees clothing the rocks. The tilled fields disappeared, the scattered houses, and stick fences. It was a wild, shaggy country—a perfect setting, we thought, for the home of the rough Tenejapeños that we had seen along the road.

Near evening, a road forked off to the right, leading to a split in a wall of high cliffs through which we could see, already dark with

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

133 shadow, another wall far behind. A Mexican told us that Tene-
133 japa lay in the valley thus enclosed. With the cool evening air our
114 animals picked up, taking us along at a good trot. We swung around a green dell, up under one cliff into the opening, over the threshold of a ridge. Some Indians sitting there waved to us. Beyond was a tiny, lush meadow and a brook where some Mexicans were making clay tiles. There was another rocky hillock, around which we swung to find ourselves trotting down a well-cobbled street lined with little white cottages, white-walled gardens, and
361 roses. To us, looking for something yet wilder than the villages we had seen, the neat houses and candle-lit casement windows, the doors of tiny shops, the flowers, and the shingled roofs were an utter surprise. In the streets was a sprinkling of touselled-headed Indians

[346]

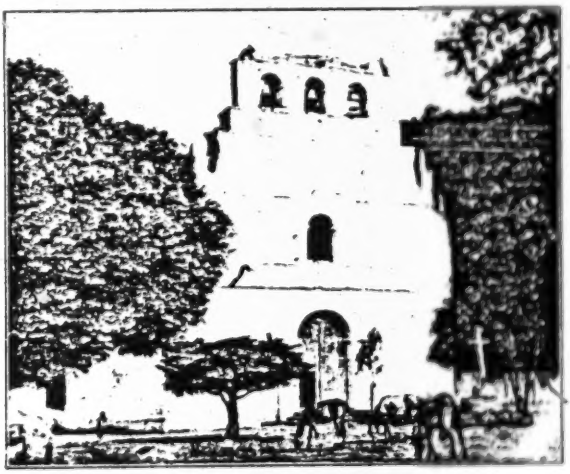

FIG. 328—Tenejapa, Chis. Church and Plaza.

and Ladino people of much fairer complexion than the typical, Lowland Mexicans. We rode past a gaunt, high-shouldered stone church into the plaza, a field of about two acres planted with a few trees, and with a fine town fountain of icy water in the middle (fig.
344 328). Along one side ran the Cabildo, a long, one-storied building
531 with a very deep veranda, gorgeously painted in cubist fashion, red,
123 yellow, green and blue. Here we halted to unpack and present our credentials to the *Presidente Municipal*.

361 Tenejapa is really two towns in one. There is the Ladino town,
563 around which lie the houses of some eight thousand Indians, by local

000 133 tóbal. The altitude above sea level varies from 2,000 meters in the hilly periphery to 1,720 meters in the valley where the town center is located. Ejido 423 632 lands acquired in the 1930s have extended the boundaries of the township 133 to lower lands at 1,500 meters altitude.

Pre-Conquest settlement patterns in the Chiapas highlands were characterized by independent communities occupying the headlands around flat-172 361 bottomed valleys (R. M. Adams 1961:341). The choice of sites seems to have been based on defense against invading Toltec or other conquest groups (Calnek 1962:25). The sites investigated by Adams and Culbert (R. M. Adams 1961:347) in Amatenango belong to the late-Classic and early post-Classic period. They were marginal to the centers of Maya civilization in the Yucatán peninsula and Guatemala. Test excavations in the modern town indicate that it was occupied only after colonial times.

175 361 The town of Amatenango del Valle is first mentioned in the year 1528 when it was included in tribute lists with both the Nahuatl name, Ama-161 tenango, and the Tzeltal name, Tzobontaghal (Calnek n.d.). The tribute 162 lists of 1761 include 33 families in the *parcialidad*, or Spanish political unit based on an indigenous settlement, of Zacatepec in Amatenango and 75 families in the parcialidad of Amatenango (Trens 1957 I:217). The first census done in 1778 shows a total population of 576, with 374 men and 202 women. The racial breakdown is listed as 8 white, 2 negro and mestizo, and 560 Indians (Trens 1957:221). By 1824, the population had increased 161 to 1,620. The present population of 3,179 represents natural growth as well 632 as inclusion of additional outlying settlements added in the latter part of [423] the nineteenth century and during the 1930s with the enactment of the land reform act. The population changes indicate steady but not great increases. The capacity of the town to incorporate additional population has probably passed its peak. The present trend is for out-migration to newly opened ejido lands.

128 632 The subdivisions of the town, which provide the framework for administration by the national government, are included in Table 1.

361 *The center.* The center of Tzo'ontahal is called the "center [or [563] navel] of the world." The residents of the center, with the exception of the schoolteacher's family, are all Indian. Although the town center forms

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5]

[P.198-A]

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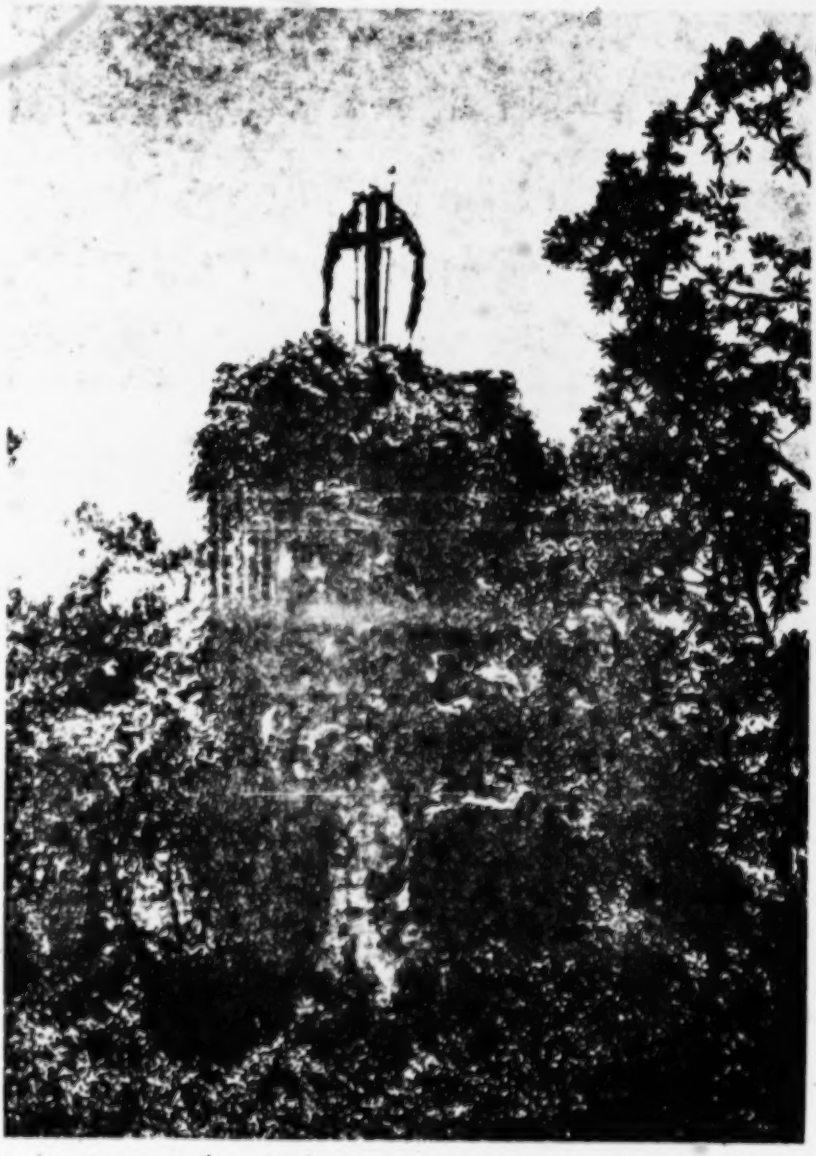

Plate 1. Head of Palm where the ancestors stand and watch over the town. The cross, standing about twelve feet high and adorned with an arch of pine boughs and flowers, tops a jutting rock about thirty feet high. Behind the rock is the hill with the cave in which the ancestors were reputed to live.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

[P 198-B]

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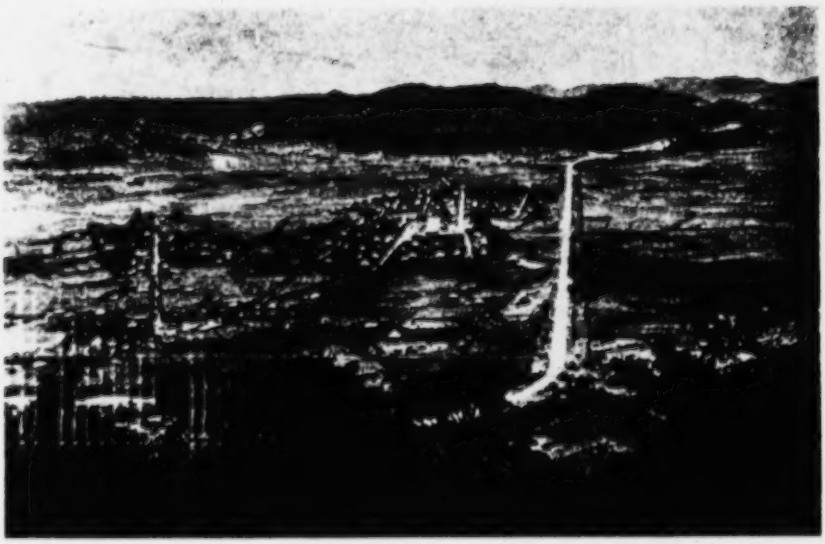

Plate 2. The view the ancestors had of the town from the Head of Palm shows the proximity of the village center to the Pan-American Highway just to the right of center. The church, which can be discerned in the center of the major settlement, is the dividing marker for the dual division. The barrio of Yetawitz is shown just to the left of the major settlement. The barrios of Madronal and La Grandeza are found at the mid-level of the hill in the far left, on the other side of the road which goes to Pinola and "hot country." The Ladino town of Teopisca lies just beyond the hills to the right along the Pan-American Highway. From this site, the ancestors were able to see clearly all of the thoroughfares within the town and guard against the entry of evil.

[P.198-C]

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Plate 3. A father and his two sons, walking in order of age, leave the village to go to their milpa. The father, walking in front, is wearing the old-style costume with a wrapped overshirt concealing short undertrousers. His sons wear western clothing. All of the men carry net bags on a tumpline, with their backs protected from their burdens by a sheepskin. They all carry machetes, and the boys have rifles.

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417
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Plate 4. Farmer showing the arada plow. He is holding the handle, and the shaft, made of a long tree post, is propped on the ground.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER II

THE GENERAL BACKGROUND FOR A CONTROLLED COMPARISON

Geography and Ecology

101
131 The communities selected for this study are located in the southwest quarter of the state of Chiapas, which is the southernmost state of the Republic of Mexico. This is a mountainous area [133] belonging to the Sierra Madre Occidental, and a part of the state's Central Plateau. The Plateau Summit of the area is to the north northwest of the villages, and contains the city of San Cristobal las Casas, ex-capital of the state (the present capital, Tuxtla, is in the lowlands).

The villages themselves are situated in the terraced margins of the plateau, which extend to the South into the Grijalva River Depression, and to the north and east into the Lacandon Jungle.

133
487 The slightly inclined terraces are criss-crossed by sev-
491 eral small streams tributary to the Blanco River, and by a complex network of paths, trails, and roads, including a section of the Pan American Highway which connects Mexico City with Guatemala and which is being constructed.

131
36 The villages of Aguacatenango and Amatenango are in two contiguous valleys (see Fig. 1) near to the section of the Pan

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 16]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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Fig. 1.--Physiographic Sketch of the Valleys of Amatenango, Aguacatenango and Adjacent Towns.

131 American Highway which connects San Cristobal de las Casas with
361 Comitan. They are 50 and 44 kilometers, respectively, from San
[491] Cristobal. Aguacatenango is closer to the branch road that continues south from the Highway to Venustiano Carranza, in the lowlands.

361 Both villages are 2,000 meters above sea level, placed in
133 a slightly raised terrain in the valley floor.

137 The vegetation climaxes surrounding the settlements are the same: woodlands of pine and oak, the second predominating, grasslands which for the most part are secondary growths in abandoned agricultural plots, and thorny bushes which the inhabitants of the valleys utilize for building fences.

241 The range of cultivated plants is the same in the two vil-
137 lages, including several varieties of corn and beans, squash and a few greens, while other edible plants grow wild in the edges of streams and rocky places unsuited for cultivation (Kaplan in McQuown et al., 1959, Part II, Section 6).

134 The soils are mainly limestone base, calcareous clay loam
132 and loam transported, both territories receiving the same amount
132 of rain. Surface water is drained internally within the basin of
132 the Rio Blanco, and in the edges of the village of Aguacatenango, forms, during the rainy season, a small lagoon, where a variety of small fish thrive (Wagner, in McQuown et al., 1959, Part II, Section 5).

136 The fauna include small deer, ocelots, snakes (poisonous and non-poisonous), domestic and field rats, and other small animals.

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

9. The Tzeltal

ALFONSO VILLA ROJAS

133 flows through the eastern part of the region, the latter through the western, both draining large basins.

161 162 According to the census of 1950, the population of the zone totals 76,617 individuals, distributed over 15,970 sq. km. Of these 49,053 persons are Indian, 27,564 are Ladino. This population is distributed according to Table 1.

[128] San Cristobal de las Casas is omitted from the table because its population is predominantly Ladino (19,758 individuals) and because the Indians who live there (3,296) are of the Tzotzil tongue. Socoltenango and Nicolas Ruiz are also omitted because they no longer have an Indian-speaking population.

161 631 The central region has the municipalities of the highest density of population: Oxchuc with 129 inhabitants per sq. km., and Tenejapa with 115. The northern part has an [134] area seven times as large with only twice as much population; the municipality of Ocosingo has hardly one inhabitant per sq. km. in spite of the fact that its lands are the most fertile of the entire region. Although it

[P. 195-B]
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 196-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

137 Change in soil is
• 134 probably the reason for change in vegetation. The tropical forest grows on black humus soil and the pine country is underlain by a red sandstone which weathers into a heavy red clay. The contact of this sandstone with the limestone country on which leaf trees grow lies about an hour's ride north of the village of Bachajon.

[133] The pine country is very hilly, the trees are scattered over a carpet of vivid green grass cut by the strong red line of the soil of the trail like a scar (fig. 195).

114 It was like riding through a magnificent park, up and down the hills and across small streams. Our poor animals had a hard time on the slippery trail. La Farge's horse gave out, and he had to change his saddle to a spare animal.

361 The Bachajon Indian village came in sight, lying on a hill in the
342 middle of the valley. It was well after noon when we reached the
346 dilapidated, grass-roofed and mud-walled huts clustered around the huge ruin of an old Spanish stone church. The Indians use a new church which they have built of the same material as their houses.

122 The house of the Government agent lies in the middle of the
344 village and here we were quartered in a room, the floor of which had just been covered with a carpet of fresh pine needles.

123 The Bachajon Indians are reputed to be unfriendly to all travellers, so we were not surprised when the Indian chief of the village told us that he could not furnish fodder for our animals or men to carry some of our cargo. To all our questions he answered "Mayuk," or in English, "Ain't got none." But when the chief, a little later, heard from our Encanto men that we had been friendly to them, and that furthermore, we were friends of the big father President in Mexico City, he changed his attitude.

648 The Government agent is sent to the Indian village by the civil
[651] authorities of the neighbouring Mexican town of Ocosingo. He is supposed to collect certain taxes, raise labourers for public works
[653] in the Mexican town, and help the Indians with their affairs. He is highly unpopular among the Indians, who counteract his orders through a remarkable system of passive resistance. They say "yes" to everything and do nothing. The only reason the Indians tolerate
[273] him is because he keeps a small store and sells liquor. The Indian is very fond of sugar-cane rum, and every Saturday and Sunday all the villagers generally get drunk. The agent complained bit-
[123] terly that the Indians were not selling him any food supplies and was astonished when they sold us chickens and eggs.

361 Most of the Bachajon Indians live hidden away in the bush. Only the families of the chief and the village officials live around the old church ruins.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Revolutions have since destroyed the herds, and the town now has only a small local trade in sugar and rum. 233

All goods are transported on mule-back over bad trails. Main trails run to Yajalon, San Cristóbal las Casas, and Comitan. Minor trails connect with Tenosique in Tabasco, a ride of five or six days through uninhabited forests. Other small trails lead into the heart of the forests along the Usumacinta river, where there are a few mahogany camps, fourteen days distance on a good mule. 492 491 [313]

The Spanish Conquerors had quickly discovered the richness of the soil and taken possession of it. Therefore, we find but a few Indians around Ocosingo, save at the small town of Sivacá, entirely inhabited by Tzeltal-speaking Indians. From there we secured our labourers, who were summoned by the municipal president and worked for us at the regulation pay of 50 centavos per day. Ocosingo holds sway over the native towns of Sivacá, Tenango, Oschuc, San Martín, and Bachajon. The municipality commands the Indians for all kinds of work, and in many ways lives on what can be pressed from them. As a consequence, the good people of Ocosingo are anything but popular among the Indians, though it appears that the man then in charge, Señor Simon Leon, was quite friendly towards them, and therefore well liked. 175 134 563 [114] 661 829

Geologically, the Ocosingo Valley is a syncline, the valley bottom and the interior mountain ranges being of a coarse red sandstone, and the exterior ranges of limestone. The axis of the valley runs approximately N-80-W to S-80-E, and Ocosingo town is located at an altitude of 900 meters above sea level. 133 [135]

As we rode into the village, La Farge discovered a stone block, carved with hieroglyphs, set in the pavement of the sidewalk, an excellent reception for archaeologists. 172

Our first concern was to find quarters, which we located in a house on the corner of a street leading into the Plaza. Soon our equipment was unloaded, and while we unpacked, the Ladino guide we had acquired in Bachajon went to his house to order food for us. 114 [122]

The restaurant and meal were a surprise, though not pleasant. In a room with a rotten board floor, the plaster falling off the walls, and a huge box full of saints, we were served fried eggs and black beans by an old woman with a large goitre. Though nothing in the house appeared to be either particularly exclusive or clean, the Ladino family seemed to resent that we sat down at the table with our chief guide, the trusty old Indian, Lázaro, now called "Tata" by us.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

The country near the village has been farmed out long ago; now 361
the fields lie at a distance in the jungle. After every concentration, 311
the Indians drift away again like blown smoke. Today most of the [241]
houses are rotten, sagging, with gaping doors. The paths are grown up with weeds, huge, old moss-covered crosses lean at crazy angles by the main trails. Over all broods the frame of the sacked church, huge stone walls with rank vegetation around them, and a twisted, unhealthy oak-tree on one side, like a composition by Piranesi.

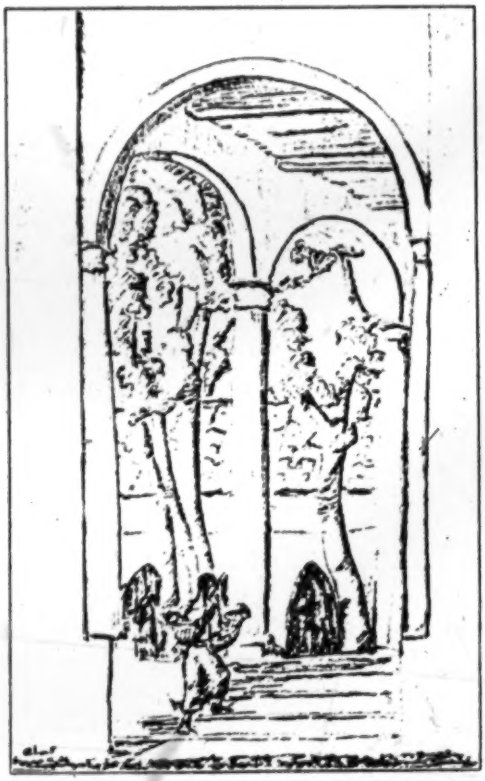

Fig. 277—Ocosingo, Chia. Colonnade on the Plaza.

Ocosingo Valley and 133
its neighbours furnish a transition towards the real highlands. The valleys are fertile and green, ringed in with ranges of steep, rich hills. The soil 134
in the lower parts is 137
light; here palms and pines grow together, with a luxuriance of rich grass that makes an ideal grazing country. Through 361
the valleys are large and small ranches of Ladinos and old Spanish families. The bigger ones, such as San Antonio, Quechil, and Achin in the Ocosingo Valley, San José Reforma and El Real beyond the San José Pass, and Tecojá in its own valley, each has a village of Indian labourers attached to them. The 342
natives' houses are rather better that the average, and often tile-roofed (fig. 278). The In- 241
dians of each ranch function more or less as a tribe, governed by 648
the owner of the ranch, conducting their own worship at its chapel. A few Indians own scattered, independent farms. Sivacá (*sivak* 361
ha', "Gunpowder Water"), near Ocosingo on the trail to Tenango, 621
is a true village, self-governing, with its own *alcalde*, under the su- 622
pervision of a Ladino *maestro*. All these groups come together at 628
796

131 American Highway which connects San Cristobal de las Casas with
361 Comitan. They are 50 and 44 kilometers, respectively, from San
[491] Cristobal. Aguacatenango is closer to the branch road that continues south from the Highway to Venustiano Carranza, in the lowlands.

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5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajon
Tenango
Sivacá

342 The thatching was done by one man on the roof and another, who stood on a slanting stick tied to one of the center uprights, to help the first pass the liana around.

The angle of the long side not being steep enough, the roof leaked. Two men held the eaves-pole on their shoulders while the rest drove the corner posts in deeper, thus making the angle sharper and improving the shed.

[356] Repairs in thatch are made by laying new bundles of leaves directly over the old, the stems being stitched into the thatch with a liana, and a wooden needle made on the spot.

343 In all the larger settlements sweat-baths, *pus*, are located (figs. 295-296). The essential element is a cube of wattle thickly plastered

[291]

FIG. 295—Tenango, Chis. Sweat House of same type used in Ocosingo Valley.

with mud, about a meter to a meter and a half in all measurements, with a small doorway in one end. The door is of the same construction, or of boards. At Sivacá there were thatched roofs above the baths, but entirely separate from them. Water poured on hot stones is used in them. The purpose appears to be medicinal rather than ceremonial.

323 All the Highland Indians make vessels of clay, with the possible exception of the Tenejapeños. Among the Bachajon and at Sivacá, the art is not very well developed, only the most common forms being made, without decoration. Their clay, *tcawek lum*, ("beeswax earth"), is found in the banks of many small streams. It is a [135]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

243 vest. Harvesting is done by all the members of the household, sometimes
[592] with the assistance of exchange or hired labor. Women help by going to
[464] the fields and degraining the cobs with few kernels of corn so that there
[462] will not be an unnecessary burden to carry to the houses.

A small fiesta for the corn is made following the harvest. The purpose
243 of the fiesta is to reciprocate the spiritual owner of the corn by giving him
796 a "gift." Two candles are lit and set on top of the piles of corncobs. Two
782 other candles are placed near the heaps of corn grains gathered by the

243
192

TABLE 7. Stages of Corn Growth and Agricultural Activities

Stages of growth	*Activity*	*Time (after planting)*
Šlihk sčital (begins to grow)	First hoeing	8 days
Čištal lik ʔišim (well-grown; about 4 feet)	Second hoeing	1 month
Čištal stekan sniʔ (begins to form husk)		2 months
B'al tzuto (begins to bud)		
Lok'iš tzutohal (flower comes out)		3 months
Yihiš sk'ab'enal (begins to mature)		4 months
Lok'iš yihkatz (cobs fill out)		
Sčam hol (its head dies)	Pick cobs to eat fresh	5 months
Yihištal sk'anubiš (now more yellow)	Double over stalks	6 months
Yihubiš (more yellow)		
Tahkiniš (dry)		
Sk'ahik lok'el (harvest time)	Pick dried corn	7 months

243 women. The candles cause the spirit of the corn to rise and give its "gift to
796 the world" in the following harvest. Failure to make a fiesta would mean
782 an end to all corn harvests.

Corn is brought to the house and stored in the rafters, since there are no
243 corn cribs or separate storage facilities of any kind in the village. Most of
251 the houses are infested with rats as a consequence. When the harvest is
136 brought in, there is an attempt to rid the rafters of these "thieves." The
[41] men and boys armed with slingshots stand posted in the yard as the children rustle around in the rafters chasing the rats out. Although they are remarkably good shots since they use this tool from early childhood, the houses are never completely free of rats, and the inhabitants learn to put up with them.

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361 Comitan. They are 50 and 44 kilometers, respectively, from San
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5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Prehistoric Yucatan NV3

Chapter XI

PINES

T 137 Our trail wound through low bush and second growth. Here and there on hills were islands of high forest, but the level ground formerly under cultivation was now covered with an impenetrable network of low bushes and thorny brambles.

T 241 Indian agriculture is very simple. Towards the end of the dry season the Indian selects a place in the forest for his corn field, and makes an extensive clearing. All trees and branches are cut in small pieces, and left to dry in the baking sun. When thoroughly dry they set fire to them, and in a short while the ground is clear, leaving it as clean as a floor.

Then the Indian plants his corn in holes made with a wooden digging stick. He sows just before the rainy season sets in and waters his field, and thereafter he has nothing to do until it is time to harvest. The ground is never broken, and no fertilizer is used.

This method is very wasteful. Three to four plantings can be made in the same clearing, after which the soil is burnt out and exhausted. Then a new place must be found for the field.

T 161 PY 174 166 241 PY [721] In this way great tracts gradually become waste land. Today the population is scarce, and the damage is therefore comparatively small; but before the Conquest the population must have been much greater, judging by the many and large ruined cities. In those days the Maya undoubtedly first cultivated the lands near his town, and as the soil became exhausted, moved farther away. Then one fine day the distance from field to town became so great, the labour of cultivating the distant field and transporting the crops so excessive, that he was forced to look for new country. Very likely the inhabitants of one city would invade the territory of a neighbouring city in their search for cultivable land and this would result in war.

PY 172 174 131 167 361 Dates inscribed on monuments show us that the Maya for some reason abandoned the southern part of their country around the year 600 A. D. After 630 A. D., we find no more dates in this, the Old Empire area, as it has been called; but about the same time dated monuments appear in northern Yucatan.

A general exodus from the southern area must have started at this time, and little by little, tribe after tribe went north, leaving their magnificent cities to a few stragglers—eventually to be claimed

PY 172 by the great forest. New cities, one after the other, sprang up in
194 the new country. Several tribes stayed behind, but the leaders and
131 chiefs must have gone north. The tribes still living in the southern
167 area are descendants of those who remained.
361

PY Several explanations have been advanced for this migration,
174 among which are disease, war, and change of climatic conditions.
167 Probably there are many reasons for the exodus, of which the ex-
24 haustion of the soil is one of the principal.

PY The Maya could have gone south. There they would have
13 found igneous mountains. We find Maya speaking tribes in the
167 highlands of Guatemala, but rarely find great buildings in that
194 area. To the north, on the peninsula of Yucatan, the migrants
135 found a limestone country, much like that which they had left.
24 Limestone played a principal role in their whole culture. Lime was necessary for making their principal food, the corn cake (now called tortilla by the Spaniards). Limestone was easy to cut and carve with stone tools, and burnt lime was essential in their temple building. Moreover, the agricultural conditions were similar to those to which they were accustomed. Therefore, after two centuries of moving around, searching for a suitable place, they settled in Yucatan. There they built more great cities, and blossomed out in a magnificent renaissance, finally to reach the climax and then came the downfall of their entire culture.

T
361 Now and then we met a few Indians, but only when we reached the high points of the trail did we see their houses in places of vantage on the hills, away from the trail, so that the inhabitants could look out for strangers.

T Reaching a steep climb, we dismounted and drove our animals
114 along, urging them with Indian cries. The pack animals laboured under their burden, frequently stopping to get their wind, then driven forward again by the yells and whistling of the boys.

T The trail went straight over the ridge, from the top of which we
133 had a magnificent view of the valley of the Bachilá and Bolontichná
137 rivers. Below we heard the roar of the rivers, and in front lay the
114 nearly vertical wall of the southern side of the valley, an enormous geological fault. Along the backbone of a long narrow ridge we could see our trail winding up to the edge of the wall miles ahead. Nowhere in the huge valley at our feet did we see big forest; all was second growth and patches of grass.

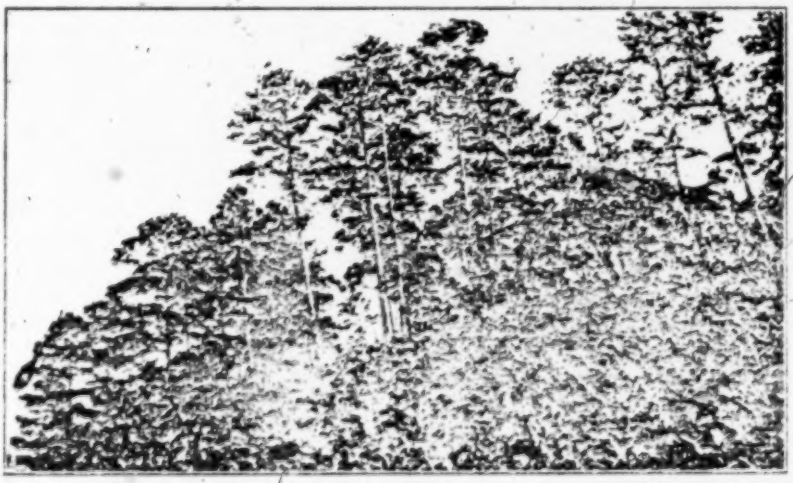
T Shortly after noon we had crossed the two rivers, and continued
133 the gradual climb towards the southern rim. As we ascended we
114
[361]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

saw houses and fields, lying away from the trail, and at a bend before us in the distance a perpendicular wall of yellow and red rock, about 400 meters high, framed in green foliage. A vertical, shining white band, the waterfall "Chegua," cut the center of the red cliff. 133 114 361

Toward evening we made camp by a small stream not far below the rim of the valley, 980 meters above sea level, and rolled ourselves in our blankets just as a downpour started to drum on our tent-fly. 114 133

Early in the morning a few Bachajon Indians came stealthily out of the bush to look at our strange outfit. They talked with our Indian carriers, and evidently found out that we were not bad people, as they soon came near to our camp to talk with us. 123



137

Fig. 188—Bachajon, Chis. Pine Forest.

It was a cool morning and the bottom of the valley was hidden under great soft banks of white mists with the mountains appearing above in sharp silhouette against the morning sky. Soon we reached the rim of the valley and looking back towards the north, saw the many mountain ranges we had crossed and also the Don Juan mountain along the foot of which we rode towards Palenque. 114 132 133

The vegetation changed to low oak-like bush over ground covered with fern-like moss and pretty wild iris. As we rode downward to the next valley new mountain ranges appeared before us and we could see the pine country at a distance. There is no transition from tropical vegetation to pine forest. Change in soil is 137

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

137 Change in soil is
134 probably the reason for change in vegetation. The tropical forest grows on black humus soil and the pine country is underlain by a red sandstone which weathers into a heavy red clay. The contact of this sandstone with the limestone country on which leaf trees grow lies about an hour's ride north of the village of Bachajon.

[133] The pine country is very hilly, the trees are scattered over a carpet of vivid green grass cut by the strong red line of the soil of the trail like a scar (fig. 195).

114 It was like riding through a magnificent park, up and down the hills and across small streams. Our poor animals had a hard time on the slippery trail. La Farge's horse gave out, and he had to change his saddle to a spare animal.

361 The Bachajon Indian village came in sight, lying on a hill in the
342 middle of the valley. It was well after noon when we reached the
346 dilapidated, grass-roofed and mud-walled huts clustered around the huge ruin of an old Spanish stone church. The Indians use a new church which they have built of the same material as their houses.

122 The house of the Government agent lies in the middle of the
344 village and here we were quartered in a room, the floor of which had just been covered with a carpet of fresh pine needles.

123 The Bachajon Indians are reputed to be unfriendly to all travellers, so we were not surprised when the Indian chief of the village told us that he could not furnish fodder for our animals or men to carry some of our cargo. To all our questions he answered "Mayuk," or in English, "Ain't got none." But when the chief, a little later, heard from our Encanto men that we had been friendly to them, and that furthermore, we were friends of the big father President in Mexico City, he changed his attitude.

648 The Government agent is sent to the Indian village by the civil
[651] authorities of the neighbouring Mexican town of Ocosingo. He is supposed to collect certain taxes, raise labourers for public works
[653] in the Mexican town, and help the Indians with their affairs. He is highly unpopular among the Indians, who counteract his orders through a remarkable system of passive resistance. They say "yes" to everything and do nothing. The only reason the Indians tolerate
[273] him is because he keeps a small store and sells liquor. The Indian is very fond of sugar-cane rum, and every Saturday and Sunday
[123] all the villagers generally get drunk. The agent complained bitterly that the Indians were not selling him any food supplies and was astonished when they sold us chickens and eggs.

361 Most of the Bachajon Indians live hidden away in the bush. Only the families of the chief and the village officials live around the old church ruins.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Chapter XII

THE OCOSINGO VALLEY

The name Ocosingo is Aztec, signifying the "Place of Pines," a name well chosen, for the valley is enclosed in pine-clad hills. When one stands at the southwestern end of the valley it stretches out in front like a huge natural stadium with the high San Martín mountain lying at the back. The northern and southern sides of the valley consist of two parallel rows of mountains, the inner rows being lower than the outer. The interior ranges slope towards the valley and turn nearly vertical cliff walls towards the very narrow valleys that separate them from the exterior mountains (fig. 196).

The interior ranges are broken up in many points, and this the Maya took advantage of, selecting the highest points for pyramids.

The floor of the valley is grass covered, with scattered groups of pine trees. Here and there lie ranches, mostly inhabited by Mexicans, called Ladinos here. The Ladino is, strictly speaking, a man of mixed Indian and Spanish blood, but the Indians use the term to indicate any Mexican or Spaniard who lives in a town or owns a larger ranch. With the name generally goes a certain amount of education, and the ability to read and write.

Ocosingo town now contains only about 500 inhabitants, living in whitewashed brick houses with red tiled roofs. In the center of the town is a Plaza, at one end of which lies the Palacio Municipal, and at the other end a huge Spanish Colonial church. In front of the church is the public fountain; the water and news supply of the town. All day long girls come here to fill large clay jugs with cool water, led down from the San Martín mountain through an underground canal.

Half of the Plaza is planted with trees, which surround a dilapidated music pavilion, without which no self-respecting Mexican village could exist.

The houses that face the Plaza all have colonnades where one may walk in the shade, and where families bring their rocking chairs in the evenings to sit and watch the crowds of as many as twenty-five men and women who walk around the pavilion, or to look at the horses and cows that feed on the grass growing exuberantly between the paving stones of the Plaza.

The Ocosingo Valley and many smaller valleys adjoining formerly supported large herds of cattle and had considerable trade.

[Text continues on p. 247]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

123 able when broken by the clattering of horses hoofs against the paving stones.

172 114 From the Plaza one can see a great part of the valley and surrounding mountains. When the sun in the morning falls on the San Martín mountain, one's attention is attracted by a spur on this mountain which strongly resembles a pyramid. We asked about this and were told that it actually was an ancient mound. Therefore, one morning, we rode to the foot of the San Martín.

Reaching a small ranch, we left our horses behind and ascended on foot. A spur of the mountain had in ancient times been levelled and shaped to the form of an immense truncated pyramid, rising in terraces.

778 114 We had heard that there were caves in the mountainside, and that every year, on the 3rd of May, the Indians come here to worship the god of the mountain. Soon we reached a small cave, or rock shelter, and upon entering saw that a tunnel led into the dark. This we followed, with lighted candles, into a small cave, and there on the floor we found signs of a small altar.*

We took great pains not to disturb anything on the altar, returning to the mouth of the cave, and emerged into the glaring sunlight. We then climbed to the top of the pyramid, and found a large level area in the center of which stood a small mound. On top of the mound Indians had erected a wooden cross and at its foot we found bunches of pine needles, also remnants of burnt copal incense. Evidently this also was a place of Indian worship.

114 133 172 361 Sitting on top of the mound we had the whole Ocosingo valley at our feet. The red roofs of the town lay 500 meters below us. The top of the pyramid, called Chacalchib, is 1,440 meters above sea level. Far away we could see two other hilltops that likewise had been turned into pyramids. On the northern edge of the valley lay Campomtík, and further away on the same side we could distinguish the ruins of Toniná. On the southern side of the valley was the mountain-pyramid called Cololté. All these places were later visited.

133 137 361 172 The valley floor spread out before us. Here and there lay small ranches, and patches of pine forest. Several groups of mounds were easily distinguished, as those of Santa Teresa just outside Ocosingo on the trail to Bachajon. At the head of the valley lay Sivacá, the Indian village.

172 114 On the level top of the pyramid were rows of stones, indicating old house foundations, but though we made a careful search, we found no monuments.

*For Description, see Chapter XV.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Slowly we descended towards the valley, enjoying the magnificent view. The country we were to work in for the following weeks lay before us like a map. About half-way down we encountered another cave, in which we also found an Indian altar. This time the offerings were placed before a small cross, crudely made of wood.

La Farge, as usual, was busy collecting data on the Indians' life and customs, and while he paid a visit to the village Sivacá, the writer set out to explore the Cololté pyramid, sometimes called Hocuchupac, which was said to have a stone idol on it. We also heard that the good inhabitants of Ocosingo were afraid to go to the mountain top, not knowing what the Indians might do.

FIG. 250—Cololté, Chis. Altar on top of the Cololté Pyramid.

Our local guide was eventually persuaded to take me to the ranch of a Ladino boy, by name Cenón, on whose property the pyramid was located.

From Ocosingo we rode along the Rio Grande de la Virgen until it joined the Jataté River, which we crossed and soon came to the ranch of Cenón, who was in the field, but came out when we called. Though the pyramid, as stated, was on his property, he was not eager to take me to it, and when he finally agreed, he first armed himself with an old 30-30 Winchester.

Following long, narrow, pine ridges we approached the pyramid. It was beautiful country with scattered pine and grass below.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

172 114 At last we had drawn all the carved stones in Ocosingo, so, preceded by a gang of Tzeltal-speaking Indians from Sivacá, we rode out to the ruins of Toniná. The road led through the centre of the valley, crossing the Rio Grande de la Virgen over a bridge which had recently been reconstructed after the rebels of the last revolution [137] had destroyed it. We were riding through rolling grass-covered country with clusters of pine trees and small groups of mounds scattered here and there. The Campomtik pyramid stood out sharply against the surrounding dark pine forest. We turned off from the main trail to the north and soon came in sight of the ruins, which Stephens, eighty-five years before, had come over the same trail to visit. Several explorers had been before him, but none had

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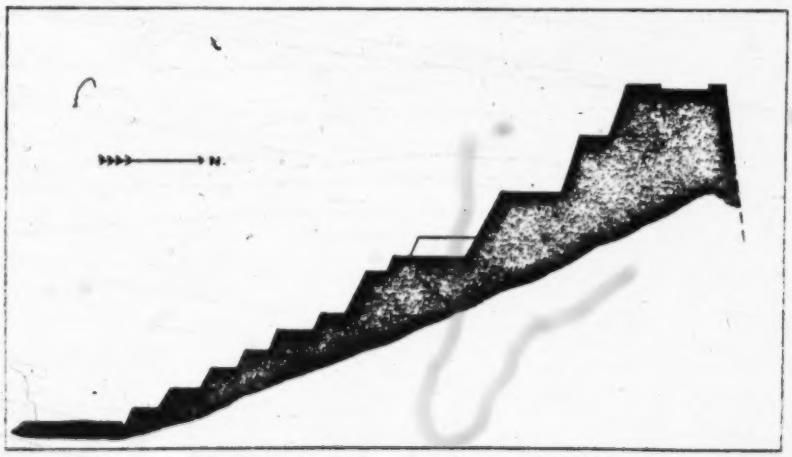

Fig. 201—Campomtik, Chis. Cross Section of Pyramid.

172 114 given such a vivid description of the ruined city we were now to explore.

Following the northern mountain range, we came to the Plaza at the foot of the ruins, and rode up to the first terrace as Stephens had done. There we tied our horses and proceeded on foot. Don Aureo Cruz, owner of the land on which the ruins lie, guided us through a part of the ruins that had never been recorded. We reached the Temple of the Wooden Lintel, saw the "winged globe" drawn by Catherwood, then entered the sanctuary. Before us was the wooden lintel which has been lying over the door for nearly 1500 years, and which made Stephens marvel. Then and there we drank a small tumbler of the local cane wine in memory of John Lloyd Stephens and F. Catherwood, among the first to break the trails we

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

the Guatemala border, which it overlaps at Gracias á Dios. They do not reach the highest part of the mountains. For the most part, they live in isolated tribal groups, although in some places, notably in Ocosingo Valley, they are attached to *haciendas* and *fincas*. Much of the easternmost country marked in the maps as belonging to them and the Chol is actually uninhabited wilderness, or, if occupied at all, is Lacandone territory.

Their immediate neighbours of the Highlands are the Zotzil and Chaneabal. The former speak a language differentiated from Tzeltal only by a shift of *a, e,* and *b* to Zotzil *o, i,* and *m,* respectively.* Chaneabal is spoken by a small group near Comitan. The people of that place say that the language is simply Tzeltal influenced by Mames contact. The list given in Appendix III, seems to bear this out. To the north, and around Tumbalá, are the Chol Indians, whose language is quite distinct, but, of all the other Mayance tongues, probably the nearest to the Highland group.

The language itself has been variously named Cendal, Tzendal, Cendales, Tzental, and Tzeltal. I have taken the latter form, as it most nearly represents the Indians' own form, *ts'eltal,* varied in careless speech to *tceltal.* The villages are spoken of as tribes, because each one forms a separate, self-governing unit. There is no evidence of cohesion within the language-group as a whole save during certain periods of uprisings. Individual villages may resemble tribes of another speech more closely than they do those of their own. The Mexican spelling of Tzeltal names is given first, followed by the phonetic spelling (See Appendix III), and the translation, if known.

The Bachajon live on the threshold of the pine country. Their farms may be found hidden away in the thick jungle land of mahogany and palms, through which their little hidden trails lead to houses tucked away out of sight of alien travelers. Altogether, they are estimated at five thousand families, but it is doubtful whether evidences of more than fifty farms could be seen by one passing along the trail through the heart of their country. The capital, Bachajon Village, is among the pines. There, periodically, the Spaniards used to round them up, that they might be more easily policed, and for the benefit of the church established there. Once there was a fine, stone church and a neat Cabildo with white walls, colonnade, and tiled roof. Both have been wrecked by the Indians, apparently because they did not like to be reminded of alien domination, for from the wreckage of the old church, they took tiles to roof their new one, and they have a straw-thatched Cabildo for the Maestro, or government agent.

*Starr (1903) quoting Sanchez (1890).

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

The country near the village has been farmed out long ago; now 361
the fields lie at a distance in the jungle. After every concentration, 311
the Indians drift away again like blown smoke. Today most of the [241]
houses are rotten, sagging, with gaping doors. The paths are grown up with weeds, huge, old moss-covered crosses lean at crazy angles by the main trails. Over all broods the frame of the sacked church, huge stone walls with rank vegetation around them, and a twisted, unhealthy oak-tree on one side, like a composition by Piranesi.

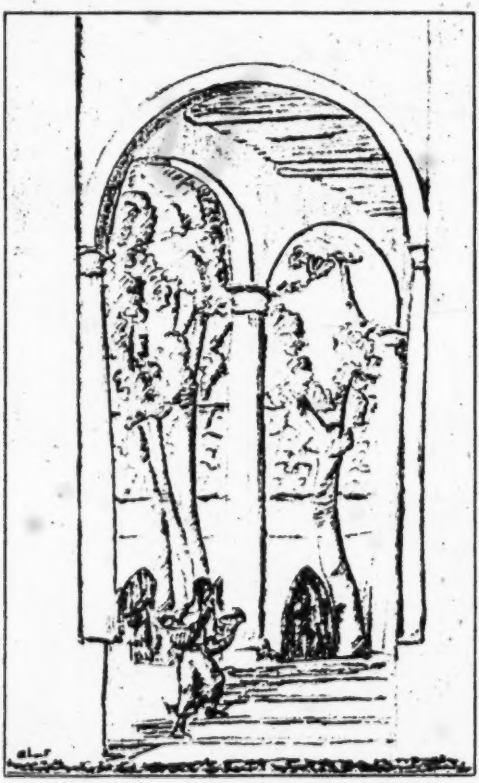

FIG. 277—Ocosingo, Chia. Colonnade on the Plaza.

Ocosingo Valley and 133
its neighbours furnish a transition towards the real highlands. The valleys are fertile and green, ringed in with ranges of steep, rich hills. The soil 134
in the lower parts is 137
light; here palms and pines grow together, with a luxuriance of rich grass that makes an ideal grazing country. Through 361
the valleys are large and small ranches of Ladinos and old Spanish families. The bigger ones, such as San Antonio, Quechil, and Achin in the Ocosingo Valley, San José Reforma and El Real beyond the San José Pass, and Tecojá in its own valley, each has a village of Indian labourers attached to them. The 342
natives' houses are rather better that the average, and often tile-roofed (fig. 278). The In- 241
dians of each ranch function more or less as a tribe, governed by 648
the owner of the ranch, conducting their own worship at its chapel. A few Indians own scattered, independent farms. Sivacá (*sivak* 361
ha', "Gunpowder Water"), near Ocosingo on the trail to Tenango, 621
is a true village, self-governing, with its own *alcalde*, under the su- 622
pervision of a Ladino *maestro*. All these groups come together at 628
796

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Chapter XVI

THE HIGHLAND TZELTAL

On the Fourth of July we left Ocosingo for the last stretch in 114
to this fabled city of San Cristóbal, about which we had so long been hearing, up into the real mountains, the country of the highland tribes. We thought to spend the day in quiet travel, without fireworks, but our animals had other ideas. El Viejito, the old, white horse, led off by giving out under his pack right at the start. Then the bay mare cut loose, distributing her load over several acres.

The celebration finally being calmed, we reached Sivacá, at the foot of the long climb. The men who knew us were away in the fields. A few frightened women misdirected us as best they could, the animals got loose again among the orange trees and winding paths, and it was another half hour before, to the accompanying enthusiastic squeals of the local pigs, we finally got them rounded up and on the right way.

Right behind Sivacá the trail stands up on end to climb the first of the series of ramparts that lie like a defense about the highland country. It was very much like trying to ride up a gutter on the side of a house. The narrow trail was also the bed of a feeble brook. It was worn so deep that the packs rubbed along the sides. We pushed and pulled and tugged. There was the usual repetition of fallen horses and packs to be put on again. Thus for two hours, slipping 114
and scrambling, until at last we came to a level place where an old 133
wooden cross, decorated with offerings of flowers marked the top of 137
the pass—1,660 meters, 600 meters (about 1,900 feet) above Ocosingo. From there on, as our trail dipped and rose along the uneven plateau, we had occasional glimpses through the tall fir trees back to the ranges behind Ocosingo Valley, and far over the hills of the Tzendales and the Lacandone country, looking very cool and blue. The trees were fine, and widely spaced; below were good grass, patches of pine-needles, and scars of red earth. We followed a succession of ridges, not very notable in themselves, but tiring to the animals after their long climb and earlier celebrations. In the late afternoon it grew cooler, and stimulated by that, and the beauty of the country, we did not know that we were weary.

One of the pack animals, a game little sandy-coloured pony with 114
a Roman nose, who drew his neck back like a camel's when he traveled, was making better time than the rest. So Blom, on his

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

361
342
137
231
417
415

FIG. 311—Tenango, Chis. Street Scene.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

boulders with care. It still is broad in most places, and has reasonable grades. We climbed to a rather desolate upland of wind-swept grass with a few crooked trees. There was some traffic on the road. We passed a group of Tenejapeños going down to the hot country to carry sugar. The men were ragged and woolly, like those we had seen at Salto de Agua, and their women, in short blue skirts and white blouses gorgeously ornamented with gold and crimson silk, were remarkable for their very pink cheeks showing through dark brown colouring.

The town of Cancuc (*kank'uk*) lies on the rounded shoulder of a long ridge that juts up above the high moors commanding a tremendous view North, West, and South over a jumbled mass of mountain ranges, like a herd of great elephants shouldering away to the horizon. A wind blows day and night, the trees are small and stunted, and the general effect is one of bleakness and height. At an altitude of 1,440 meters, with the unresting wind, it is always cold. The highroad climbs from a ravine up into the village where a small plaza is laid out on a level place. On our left was the big, white church, still well preserved. Opposite it, the Cabildo surprised us, a neat building with tile roof and white columned portico, built in President Diaz' time. Round about were some tumbling and ruined huts, and behind, the village rose on rough terraces crudely faced with stone.

Cancuc has a stormy history. It was the center of the famous rebellion of 1712, the subject of Brinton's "Maria Candelaria."* According to Starr (1904) who passed through here, there is a tradition that the men's long hair, covering their ears, is so worn in memory of the clipped ears which their ancestors received at that time. Recently, there has been political dissension in the form of a dragging feud, and a series of small fights and murders has resulted in those left of the defeated party abandoning the village and setting up their houses in the bush. It is from this that one sees so many huts deserted and beginning to disintegrate, adding to the general cheerless aspect of the place.

We were well received at the Cabildo, where the village officials with their silver-headed canes turned up shortly to look us over. They were younger men than most of the officials we had met previously, and a pretty tough looking crew, much what one would expect of a group that had attained office largely by means of the machete. The people on the whole rather resemble the Bachajon physically, being of a small-limbed type with an average height for men of about 160 centimeters, and nearly beardless. The men wear tunics cut as at Tenango, but decorated with red and yellow em-

*Brinton, 1887; Pineda, 1888.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc
Tenejapa

From Cancuc the road falls slowly away, then it climbs to the steep side of the ridge and at last dips percipitously to a covered bridge over a narrow ravine. All along on both sides little cornfields alternate with second growth. Ahead, the same great palisade that we saw from Tenango rises in a green wall, patched with fields and broken here and there by outcrops of cliffs and hanging valleys. We passed a dribbling of traffic, Indians on foot, and at the bridge met a family of Mexicans noisily eating a picnic lunch. The ravine was deep, rock-walled, with a roaring stream in the shadows of the bottom. From the other side of it the palisade rose immediately, looking almost perpendicular and indefinitely high to us as we contemplated it. The road assumed a stiff grade, rising in a series of zig-zags that gained painfully to the top. Straight up, almost like a ruled line, lay the Indian trail, taking no account of the twists and turns of the road. Our carriers from Cancuc, who took on the cargo that the Tenango men had carried the day before, had gone up that fearsome climb. We tried it, but the horses slid and fell back on their haunches, and we ourselves could barely keep our footing. So we continued along the road, turning and turning, seeming never to gain, and fearing that our animals would never make it. The heat of the sun was thrown back by the hillside and the road.

We toiled on. Low growth and brush on the side of the road gave no shade. The dust rose high. The air, for all the heat, began to have a pleasant crispness that reminded us of high altitudes in other countries. Then we smelt a familiar smell which we ignored until its persistent recurrence forced us to look, see, and believe—that blackberries grow wild in Chiapas! The event of the next hours amused Lazaro greatly, for here in Mexico we found ourselves among familiar northern flowers and wild fruits, buttercups, dandelions, wild roses, blackberries, strawberries, all strange to him. We passed an Indian farm, stuck into a tiny hanging valley, where peach trees and alligator pears were growing together in the cornfield.

At the top of the pass in a shallow V-shaped cut, the barometer read 2,100 meters, a climb of 600 meters—about 1,900 feet—in two hours.

The country changed beyond here to steep ravines, high cliffs, rushing, cold brooks, and tall, dark fir trees clothing the rocks. The tilled fields disappeared, the scattered houses, and stick fences. It was a wild, shaggy country—a perfect setting, we thought, for the home of the rough Tenejapeños that we had seen along the road.

Near evening, a road forked off to the right, leading to a split in a wall of high cliffs through which we could see, already dark with

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

[P.198-A]

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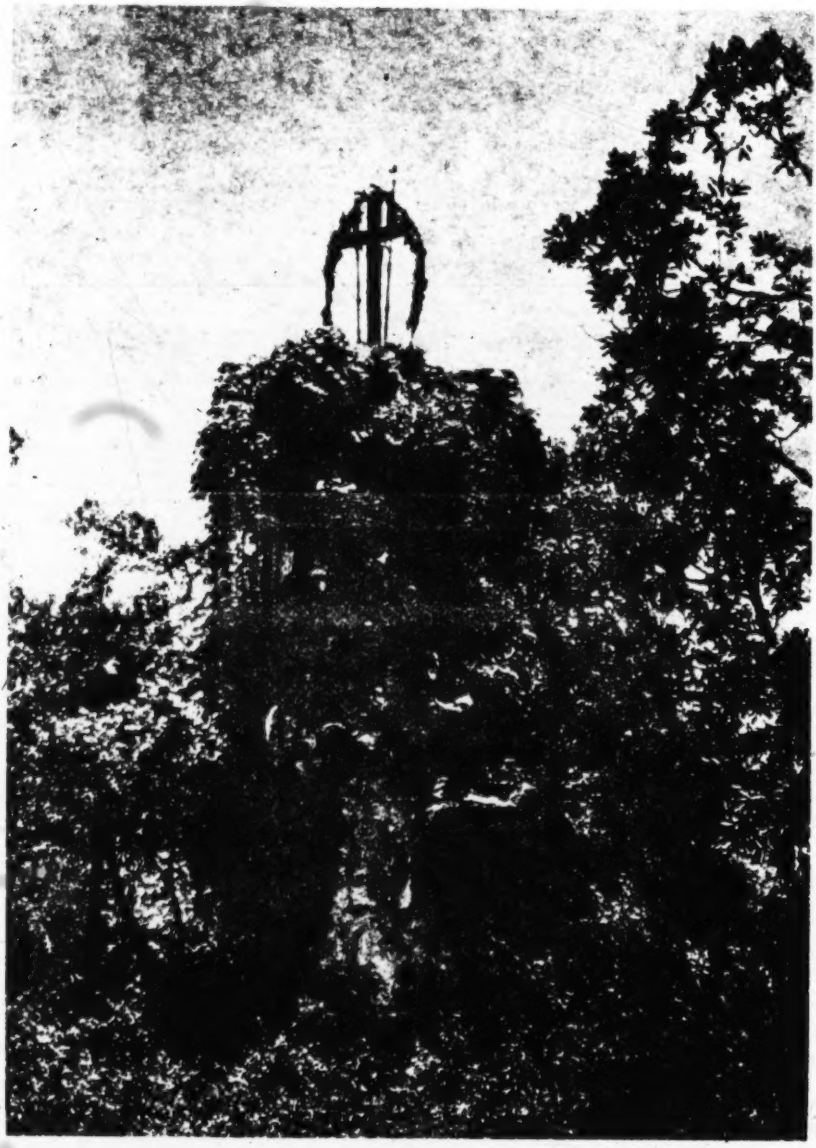

Plate 1. Head of Palm where the ancestors stand and watch over the town. The cross, standing about twelve feet high and adorned with an arch of pine boughs and flowers, tops a jutting rock about thirty feet high. Behind the rock is the hill with the cave in which the ancestors were reputed to live.

131 American Highway which connects San Cristobal de las Casas with
361 Comitan. They are 50 and 44 kilometers, respectively, from San
[491] Cristobal. Aguacatenango is closer to the branch road that continues south from the Highway to Venustiano Carranza, in the lowlands.

361 Both villages are 2,000 meters above sea level, placed in
133 a slightly raised terrain in the valley floor.

137 The vegetation climaxes surrounding the settlements are the same: woodlands of pine and oak, the second predominating, grasslands which for the most part are secondary growths in abandoned agricultural plots, and thorny bushes which the inhabitants of the valleys utilize for building fences.

241 The range of cultivated plants is the same in the two vil-
137 lages, including several varieties of corn and beans, squash and a few greens, while other edible plants grow wild in the edges of streams and rocky places unsuited for cultivation (Kaplan in McQuown et al., 1959, Part II, Section 6).

134 The soils are mainly limestone base, calcareous clay loam
132 and loam transported, both territories receiving the same amount
133 of rain. Surface water is drained internally within the basin of
136 the Rio Blanco, and in the edges of the village of Aguacatenango, forms, during the rainy season, a small lagoon, where a variety of small fish thrive (Wagner, in McQuown et al., 1959, Part II, Section 5).

136 The fauna include small deer, ocelots, snakes (poisonous and non-poisonous), domestic and field rats, and other small animals.

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Although it
161 has an average of 19 inhabitants per sq. km.,
[241] the southern zone has lands that are suitable
[631] for agriculture and for irrigation, such as in
[128] Amatenango. Later I shall discuss the influence of these factors on the uneven economic and social development of the three zones.

161 The figures on Indians are based exclu-
162 sively on use of the Indian language and
197 so include both monolinguals and bilin-
191 guals. To differentiate each group, however, I have made corrections based on field work as shown in Table 2.

141 The average height of these Indians ranges from 1.55 to 1.60 m. Referring to

[P. 196 - B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

141 the Tzeltal of Tenejapa, F. Starr (1902a) gives measurements of 1.557.1 of height for men and 1.438.4 for women. Local variations exist between municipalities and between zones of different climate and altitude. Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:328–29) describe the Tzeltal of the lower area of Bachajon:

> Physically, the Tzeltal, like all the Mayance Indians, are short, averaging probably about 160 centimeters (5 feet, 4 inches) for the men,
> 142 and slightly less for the women. Their build is slender, with stringy muscles, except for a good development of the calves. Hands and feet are small and well formed. Their slender-

[P.196-C]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

688 796 certain times of the year for ceremonies, such as those at Chakalchib, and formerly at Campomtik, to be mentioned later. The Bachajon hold their own ceremonies at their village.

141 Physically, the Tzeltal, like all the Mayance Indians, are short, averaging probably about 160 centimeters (5 feet, 4 inches) for the 142 men, and slightly less for the women. Their build is slender, with stringy muscles, except for a good development of the calves. Hands and feet are small and well-formed. Their slenderness is 147 deceptive, for their great strength lies in their legs, back, and neck, seen in their ability to carry loads of 45 kilograms (100 lbs.) and upwards, all day up and down hill without undue fatigue. Taking in a tump-line a load under which they cannot rise from the floor

342 241 648

FIG. 278—Finca Tecojá, Chis. Houses of Indians attached to the Finca.

147 without help, they will carry it with ease. The lifting power of their arms is less than that of Americans or Ladinos. Their headform is 142 meso- to brachycephalic, and the cranium is small. Deformation in [304] the shape of a marked depression just above the juncture of the hair-line and the forehead, due to the use of a tump-line from early infancy, may be responsible for the conical appearance of the top of the skull. Noses are, on the whole, mesorrhine and small, with little appearance of the famous "Maya Nose," and then in a narrow form, lacking the width of nostril seen in pre-historic figures. Prognathism is slight, alveolar proganthism being the more common, particularly in children. Hair form is straight, coarse, and black. Gray hair or baldness are very unusual. Body hair, as far as could be observed,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

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FIG. 329—Tenejapa, Chia. The chief of the Tenejapeños.

The essential parts of a man's costume are a pair of shorts and a brown and white striped Chamula Indian blanket, worn as a poncho. Two of these blankets may be comfortably worn in that climate. Hats, when used, are also of Chamula make, of straw with a flat brim, and round, close-fitting crown pointed at the top. Usually they are decorated with ribbons. A sash of white material may be worn, the ends of which, hanging down in front, are elaborately embroidered (fig. 331). The

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STATURE IN MILLIMETERS

Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range	Below 1600	1600—1650	1650—1700	Above 1700	Total
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	Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range
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FACIAL INDEX	81.6	94.5	65.6	29.6
NASAL INDEX	89.9	102.2	64.1	38.3

4: Villa Rojas E-4.5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

141 the Tzeltal of Tenejapa. F. Starr (1902a) gives measurements of 1.557.1 of height for men and 1.438.4 for women. Local variations exist between municipalities and between zones of different climate and altitude. Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:328–29) describe the Tzeltal of the lower area of Bachajon:

> Physically, the Tzeltal, like all the Mayance Indians, are short, averaging probably about 160 centimeters (5 feet, 4 inches) for the men,
> 142 and slightly less for the women. Their build is slender, with stringy muscles, except for a good development of the calves. Hands and feet are small and well formed. Their slender-

[P.196-C]

Their slender-
147 ness is deceptive, for their great strength lies
[482] in their legs, back, and neck, seen in their ability to carry loads of 45 kilograms (100 lbs.) and upwards, all day up and down hill without
142 undue fatigue . . . Hair form is straight, coarse, and black. Gray hair or baldness are very unusual. Body hair, as far as could be observed, is negative.

143 As many as 99.56 per cent of Tzeltal belong to blood type O, which is one of the highest frequencies registered in the Ma-
143 yance area. According to Matson and Swan-
144 son (1959, p. 50), "In general the more isolated peoples such as the Lacandon, Tzeltal, Tzotzil and Cakchiquel show the highest frequency of the O gene." This condition is attributed to the absence of racial mixture.

CULTURAL CONFIGURATION

621 Like the Indians in the highlands of Gua-
[171] temala (Tax, 1937), the Tzeltal group themselves in communities which are distinct social and cultural units, as is characteristic
621 of the tribe. Each community has its well-
184 defined lands, its own dialect forms, wearing apparel, kinship system, politico-religious organization, economic resources, crafts, and other cultural features. Any native of the region finds it easy to identify the origin of other Indians by noting their speech, wearing apparel, or the goods they
621 sell. Solidarity between the members of each community is strong and becomes manifest in times of conflict with outside groups or in their way of gathering according to their "nationality" on fiestas or market days when people of other communities attend. On the other hand, no ethnic solidar-
[628] ity whatsoever exists. Each community restricts itself to its own affairs and nothing else; whatever happens to the other Tzeltal communities is something altogether apart.
621 The territorial limits of these communi-
632 ties do not always coincide with those of
[171] the municipalities, as in Guatemala. Various well-defined communities exist (in the terms described above) which belong to

[P. 197-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4.5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Tenejapa

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FIG. 2—TENEJAPA WOMAN AND CHILD. (Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 204]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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FIG. 3—INDIAN GIRL, FINCA EL REAL.
(Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 209-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Aguacatenango

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302

FIG. 4—WOMEN FROM AGUACATENANGO (Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 210-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Tenejapa

142
291
415
302
342

FIG. 5—TENEJAPA GROUP WITH VESSELS CONTAINING CHICHA. (Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P 214-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E 4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

628 796 certain times of the year for ceremonies, such as those at Chakalchib, and formerly at Campomtik, to be mentioned later. The Bachajon hold their own ceremonies at their village.

141 Physically, the Tzeltal, like all the Mayance Indians, are short, averaging probably about 160 centimeters (5 feet, 4 inches) for the
• 142 men, and slightly less for the women. Their build is slender, with stringy muscles, except for a good development of the calves. Hands and feet are small and well-formed. Their slenderness is
147 deceptive, for their great strength lies in their legs, back, and neck, seen in their ability to carry loads of 45 kilograms (100 lbs.) and upwards, all day up and down hill without undue fatigue. Taking in a tump-line a load under which they cannot rise from the floor.

342 241 648

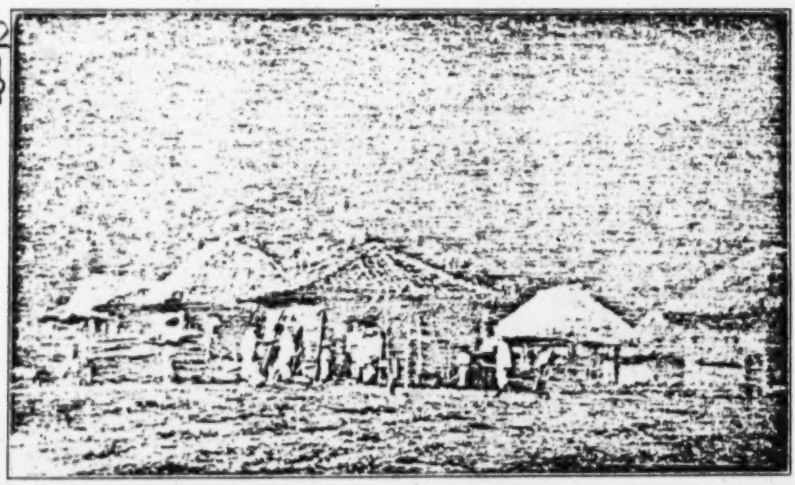

FIG. 278—Finca Tecojá, Chis. Houses of Indians attached to the Finca.

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5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

is negative. Among the Bachajon, face hair was very slight, or 142
negative, even on men of past middle age. At Sivacá the Alcalde, an elderly man, had a small beard. This is more commonly found among the Indians further in the Highlands. A slightly taller and more heavily boned type here also suggests the Highland influence (figs. 279-280-281-282-283).

Temperamentally, the Bachajon were by far the least pleasant 152
Indians with whom we had to deal. They are drunken, revengeful, and murderous. The murders, usually the sudden outburst of a long-nursed feud, are sometimes so appallingly brutal that one would think them committed by an abnormal or degenerate people.

291

FIG. 279—Huxumachital, Chis. Bachajon men.

Yet, at the same time, these were the most independent Indians we 648
met, controlling their own lives and way of living, and are left very much alone by the neighbouring Ladinos.

All the Indians are outwardly restrained, at least in the presence 609
of strangers, although an accident, such as a narrow escape, shows 152
them to be volatile and ready to express emotion. At home, they are cheerful, and laugh willingly. In bursts of feeling, as during an uprising, or one of the murders mentioned above, capable of any outrage, ordinarily they are not a cruel people. They showed them- 123
selves always responsive to friendly advances on our part.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

000 An excellent discussion of the character of the neighbouring Indians of Guatemala, which applies well to these, by one who has lived long among them, is found in Sapper's "Der Charakter der Mittelamerikanisch Indianer."

Fig. 280—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon girls.

648 771 793 Before passing on to the native culture, a little must be said of the outside influences that do so much to mould it — the Church, the Government, and the Hacienda. The first of these occupies a very curious position indeed. While the Indians are ostensibly Christian, as will be shown later, in many ways they are still unconverted. It may be said, briefly, that they acknowledge two antagonistic worships. Of these, the Christian has publicly the upper hand. The Priests, accordingly, wield a tremendous influence among them, and did even more so in the past, when supported by the State. Our experience on this trip was that, on the whole, this influence was intelligently and beneficially used. To the Priests the Indians confide their troubles, to them they accord the greatest honour on the occasions of their visits to the villages. Yet, at the same time, the Indians conceal from them one-half of their worship, knowing them to be sworn to stamp it out.

[142] [291] [301] [302] → [142] [291] [302] →

Fig. 281—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon man and boy.

648 241 361 466 The Hacienda system has caused the formation of many small villages, as has been said above. In other cases, as with the Bachajon on the Encanto property, the Indians living at large on the distant lands of the

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

red-gold colour. The baking observed at Amatenango, which is described in the following chapter, was quite different. 323

The forms made at Sivacá are: (Fig. 299) a tub, *pok'et;* cooking pots or *ollas, ŏcom;* form for making cooking pots, *hutstahibe;* bowl, *tsets;* stand for bowl, *awaliko;* form for making sugar, with a hole in the bottom, *hor'mo;* tortilla griddle, *tsamets;* and a perforated olla for washing corn, *tcistcinaix.*

The Bachajon make most of these also, but the tub and clay *tsets* are rare, a gourd often serving for the latter. The surfaces are less well smoothed. In no case was any attempt at decoration observed. It should be noted in this respect, however, that almost all of these would eventually be quite blackened with smoke.

[142] [291] [302] [516] [342]

FIG. 298—Sivacá, Chis. Woman making pottery.

Among the forms shown in the figures, it will be noticed that there is no piece with a markedly contracted neck; such work seems to be beyond their abilities. All through this district the big *cantaras* or water jars are imported from Tenango, and will be discussed in the next chapter.

In general throughout Ocosingo Valley white cloth for men's clothes and women's blouses, made of native cotton, *na'*, as well as the men's sashes, are of local manufacture. Among the Bachajon, cloth is compartively little woven, but sashes are always home made. The coloured thread is usually bought in stores. Weaving is entirely done by the women. 286 [291]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

286 126 123 Our Indian hostess at the Encanto house was commissioned to make us a sash; after observing and photographing the process (fig. 300), we bought the loom with the unfinished piece on it. At Sivacá the army of guides produced a woman who was weaving cloth, and another who was just preparing the thread for the loom (fig. 301). The former was very bored and matter-of-fact about the whole pro-

323

Fig. 299—Sivacá, Chia. Pottery Forms.

A. Ocom. B. Pok'et. C. Tsameta. D. Hor'mo. E. Hutstahibe. F. Tseta. G. Awaliko. H. Tcistcinaix.

286 126 123 ceeding, but the latter, a younger one, was at first frightened. At the first sight of me, she put away all her work. As she spoke no Spanish, I fell back upon a corps of seven or eight interpreters, who all spoke together while I looked as harmless as possible. Then she thought that the Mayor of Ocosingo, or the President of Mexico, or some one had sent for her, and packed her things to travel. At last she understood, and then balked. The men explained to me, with some amusement, that she was ashamed—*"dice que tiene verguenza"* — but finally she consented to pose. The result was a picture worth the while; she herself was a good type of young Indian woman, on her back was slung a pretty though somewhat grimy baby, while an underfed puppy and very small chicken completed the family group. The picture also shows a good example of the squatting-seat mentioned when listing the contents of the Encanto house (see fig. 301).

[286] [291] [142] [302] [516] ←

Fig. 300—El Encanto, Chia. Woman Weaving.

283 The spindle, *pĕtĕt*, is a stick 35 centimeters long, at the foot of which is a clay whorl, for which no name was given. It is spun with the weighted end resting in a gourd bowl, the upper end held against

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

the thigh. The spinning is done with the left hand, the right holding and drawing out the thread, *tsahalna'* (fig. 302-d). 283

The thread is then arranged for the warp on a form called *kumen* (fig. 302-c). This is a pole 1.40 meters long, notched at intervals on one side, and with a groove in one end joining two unnotched sides. In one of the notches, according to the length of thread desired, is placed a cross stick, *tumin-te,* (equals *kumen-te?*), 45 centimeters long. The thread is laid from one end of this cross stick, through the groove, around to the other end of the cross stick, and so, back and forth, until the required number of woof-strands are prepared. The loops around one half of the cross stick are then transferred to the head-stick of the loom, those around the other to the foot-stick, and the woof is ready. At the head end, the loops are braided for the selvage. 286 342 284 142 516 854 302 291 231

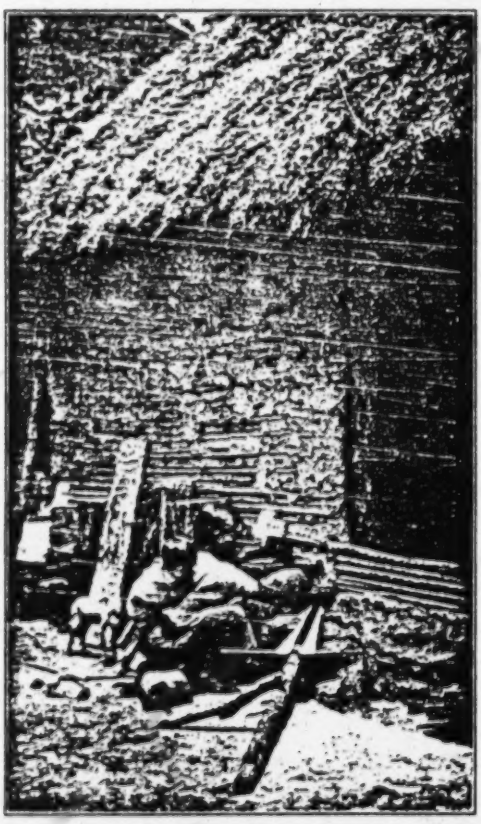


FIG. 301—Sivacá, Chis. Woman Winding Thread.

The loom, *holēl,** has no rigid frame. The woof is stretched over the head and foot-sticks, *wolol-te.* The head-stick is fastened to a beam in the house or to a branch, usually more than a meter above the ground. Before this the weaver sits, with the foot-stick strapped to her by a broad leather strap, *ku'epat,* thus holding the set-up taut (fig. 303). At a little distance below the head-stick, the woof-strands are crossed, those underneath being carried on top, and held in place

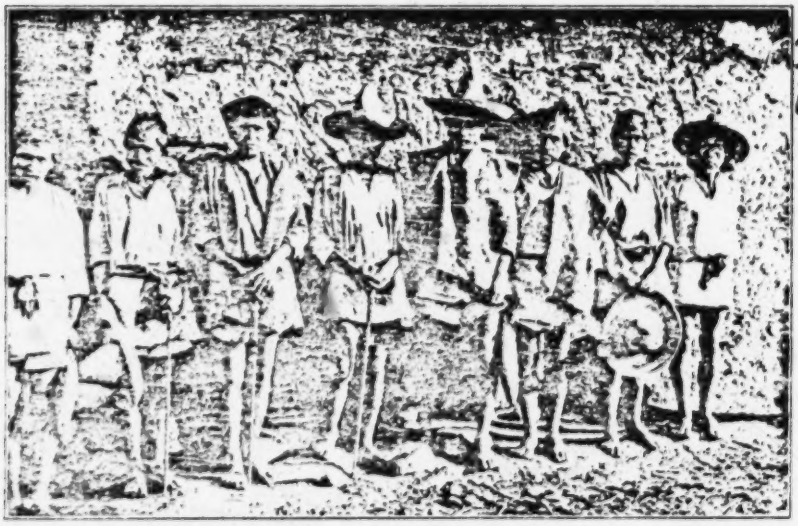
*Holēl is one of a large class of words ending in *-el, -ēl,* or *-il,* which are at once verbal nouns and infinitives; e. g. *tal-ēl,* to come, or the act of coming, corresponding to the Latin venire and veniendo. *Hol-ēl* primarily means to weave, here it is also applied to the loom. [193]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

Physically, the people are taller and somewhat heavier boned than the Bachajon. The older men have small beards, close to their chins, of sparse, wiry black hair. Moustaches are faint. The men wear their hair longer on the backs of their necks and over the tops of their ears (fig. 313). 142 302

The men's costume is like that of Ocosingo Valley, a long, V-necked tunic without buttons, coming down nearly to their knees, but the trousers are usually rolled up until almost hidden. A plain red sash is worn knotted in front with ends hanging. 291

We had great difficulty in getting a look at any of the women until finally the officials arranged for a few of them to come and 126 123



142 291 302 623

FIG. 313—Tenango, Chis. The Village Elders.

be photographed with their husbands (fig. 314). Nothing could have brought them alone. They were very strange and stiff about the whole thing, and showed more genuine fear of the camera than we saw anywhere else. The women of marriageable age draw their hair together at the back of the head. Around it a long, red, woolen ribbon, about three centimeters wide, is wrapped until it forms a disk standing out like a halo, the exact size being a matter of coquetry. The hair is then turned back and laid along the edge of the disk and wrapped in the last few rounds of ribbon. The result is that it comes out from the head through the center of the disk in a thick mass, then forms a flat elbow where it is doubled back to the 126 123 302 [301]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

302 edge (fig. 315). Married women use the same head-dress, but with a smaller disk. Girls not yet marriageable do their hair in a pig-tail.

291 The women's blouse is of the old *huipil* type, a long sack of a garment, hanging to the knees, with the shoulders broad enough to come to the elbow, or else with short sleeves sewn on. The seams, cuffs, and neck are picked out with red stitching. The skirt is dark blue, and comes about half-way between knee and ankle.

323 It is an interesting point, and one which archaeologists should note, that Tenango makes the only decorated pottery in the district and has a monopoly also on the big, three-handled water-jars. The

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Fig. 314—Tenango, Chis. Married Couples.

323 Indians explain that they go in for pottery-making because they need the money to supplement the products of their insufficient fields. We were there during the farming season when no work is done on pottery so we were not able to see the processes of manufacture. However, one of our guides took us to the house of a woman who had some reputation for skill, and all types were brought out for us. Besides the forms described in the last chapter, and the big water-jars (fig. 316), they make a goblet-shaped salt-cellar, *yoc-xcal-ats' a'* (*atsam*—"salt"), a *tseis* bowl of

[302]

Fig. 315—Tenango, Chis. Woman's head-dress.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

boulders with care. It still is broad in most places, and has reasonable grades. We climbed to a rather desolate upland of wind-swept grass with a few crooked trees. There was some traffic on the road. We passed a group of Tenejapeños going down to the hot country to carry sugar. The men were ragged and woolly, like those we had seen at Salto de Agua, and their women, in short blue skirts and white blouses gorgeously ornamented with gold and crimson silk, were remarkable for their very pink cheeks showing through dark brown colouring.

The town of Cancuc (*kank'uk*) lies on the rounded shoulder of a long ridge that juts up above the high moors commanding a tremendous view North, West, and South over a jumbled mass of mountain ranges, like a herd of great elephants shouldering away to the horizon. A wind blows day and night, the trees are small and stunted, and the general effect is one of bleakness and height. At an altitude of 1,440 meters, with the unresting wind, it is always cold. The highroad climbs from a ravine up into the village where a small plaza is laid out on a level place. On our left was the big, white church, still well preserved. Opposite it, the Cabildo surprised us, a neat building with tile roof and white columned portico, built in President Diaz' time. Round about were some tumbling and ruined huts, and behind, the village rose on rough terraces crudely faced with stone.

Cancuc has a stormy history. It was the center of the famous rebellion of 1712, the subject of Brinton's "Maria Candelaria."* According to Starr (1904) who passed through here, there is a tradition that the men's long hair, covering their ears, is so worn in memory of the clipped ears which their ancestors received at that time. Recently, there has been political dissension in the form of a dragging feud, and a series of small fights and murders has resulted in those left of the defeated party abandoning the village and setting up their houses in the bush. It is from this that one sees so many huts deserted and beginning to disintegrate, adding to the general cheerless aspect of the place.

We were well received at the Cabildo, where the village officials with their silver-headed canes turned up shortly to look us over. They were younger men than most of the officials we had met previously, and a pretty tough looking crew, much what one would expect of a group that had attained office largely by means of the machete. The people on the whole rather resemble the Bachajon physically, being of a small-limbed type with an average height for men of about 160 centimeters, and nearly beardless. The men wear tunics cut as at Tenango, but decorated with red and yellow em-

*Brinton, 1897; Pineda, 1888.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

estimate, with their own, regular Indian administration under the control of the Ladino government. The *Presidente Municipal*, a most obliging man, got the Indian *Presidente* for us, whom we photographed by the last light of the day (fig. 329). Through this chief, men were sent out to bring in grass; they returned with enormous, green bundles as big as themselves.

The Indian houses outside the town differ from those previously described in the possession of a sort of porch, or part under the roof in front screened with boards, introductory to the house itself.

The Tenejapeños are strongly built, thickset, and short, with enormously powerful calves. In fact the chief industry of the tribe is acting as porters. They go in large bands to places at a considerable distance to take or bring back loads, competing successfully with the Chamula packtrains. In this the women are as proficient as the men. Their colour is dark, a rich brown, more red than golden, with distinctly pink cheeks showing through in the case of the children and old people. The men are almost beardless. Faces are rather broad and round* (fig. 330).

FIG. 329—Tenejapa, Chis. The chief of the Tenejapeños.

The essential parts of a man's costume are a pair of shorts and a brown and white striped Chamula Indian blanket, worn as a poncho. Two of these blankets may be comfortably worn in that climate. Hats, when used, are also of Chamula make, of straw with a flat brim, and round, close-fitting crown pointed at the top. Usually they are decorated with ribbons. A sash of white material may be worn, the ends of which, hanging down in front, are elaborately embroidered (fig. 331). The

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5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Tzotzil NV11

Tze 142 Tze 291

The men are tallish and the majority of them have sparse, black beards. They wear plain, white cotton tunics and short trousers, sashes, and hats of the sombrero type. The women wear the usual short, blue skirts. Their blouses are cut with a square neck, around which are embroidered three bands, each about two centimeters wide, of red, yellow and red. At the corners, little imitation tassels are embroidered in the same colours.

Tze 62 623 Tze [115]

We were told, by an unreliable informant, that this village was remarkable for its independence. Its officials are chosen by the natives alone, and run through a regularly prescribed *cursus honorum* from secretary up to president, and then on to the council of elders. Government laws and orders sent to the village are debated by this council and are not published unless approved by them.

Tze 323

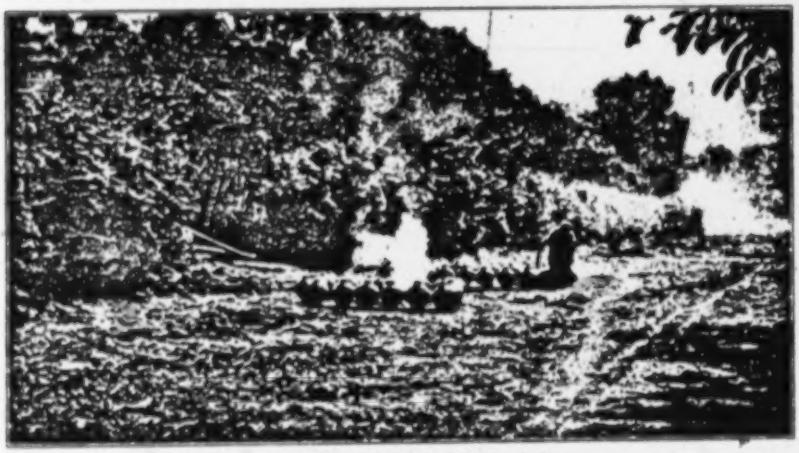

FIG. 333—Amatenango, Chis. Pottery baking.

Tze 584 323 606

We were also told that in case of marriage each party works for his or her prospective in-laws, and that the girl at that time learns pottery making, taking over the mother-in-law's specialty.

Tze 648 434 171

While there was no way of checking up on this information, it is true that there is no Maestro at Amatenango, and that the Indians seem to be an unusually self-respecting and self-reliant lot. Of all the Tzeltal people observed, they were the only ones who seemed to compare with the Zotzil-speaking Chamulas in energy and prosperity.

Tzo 114 137

Returning to ourselves and our trip. We left Tenejapa on the following morning by a winding, broad road climbing to a pass in

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

[P.198-E]

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Plate 6. Woman scraping a cantero that has been sun-dried in the porch of her home. Behind her is an altar with pictures of the saints. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

(correction, this should read "photograph by Marcey Jacobson"..Analyst)

[P 198-H]

142
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Plate 10. Future members of the household line up with the branches of spring bushes with which the curer will brush them. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

Their slender-
147 ness is deceptive, for their great strength lies
[482] in their legs, back, and neck, seen in their ability to carry loads of 45 kilograms (100 lbs.) and upwards, all day up and down hill without
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Cultural Configuration

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184 defined lands, its own dialect forms, wearing apparel, kinship system, politico-religious organization, economic resources, crafts, and other cultural features. Any native of the region finds it easy to identify the origin of other Indians by noting their speech, wearing apparel, or the goods they
621 sell. Solidarity between the members of each community is strong and becomes manifest in times of conflict with outside groups or in their way of gathering according to their "nationality" on fiestas or market days when people of other communities attend. On the other hand, no ethnic solidar-
[628] ity whatsoever exists. Each community restricts itself to its own affairs and nothing else; whatever happens to the other Tzeltal communities is something altogether apart.

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[P. 197-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4.5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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142 undue fatigue . . . Hair form is straight, coarse, and black. Gray hair or baldness are very unusual. Body hair, as far as could be observed, is negative.

143 As many as 99.56 per cent of Tzeltal belong to blood type O, which is one of the highest frequencies registered in the Ma-
143 yance area. According to Matson and Swan-
144 son (1959, p. 50), "In general the more isolated peoples such as the Lacandon, Tzeltal, Tzotzil and Cakchiquel show the highest frequency of the O gene." This condition is attributed to the absence of racial mixture.

CULTURAL CONFIGURATION

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626 556 the few economic alternatives offered to an Indian who wants to live an Indian life among other Indians, in peace. In this sense, Amatenangueros and Aguacatecos are no "penny capitalists" of the type described by Sol Tax (1953). But it is also true that, like the Panajachel Indians, they desire to have more for themselves and their children: money for security against sickness, death, [146] bad crops and other misfortunes. They also want better clothing, more meat in their diet (the amount of animal protein in their diet is extremely small by western standards) and small extra luxuries which have been introduced into their culture, little by little, by the local Ladino merchants: flashlights, mirrors, etc.

627 556 754 [731] Nevertheless, a wealthy man brings upon himself the antagonism of the other villagers, who, in search of a scapegoat during times of stress (such as a village epidemic) would not hesitate to accuse the rich man of being responsible for bringint the misfortune to the town because of his evil spirit, nor hesitate to kill him. Even if people find a man has a good crop, somebody can assume that, because his own crop failed, the other man has "stolen" the soul of his corn or if a man receives a large inheritance, somebody could accuse him of having killed (by witchcraft) the relative from who he inherited it. It takes a good deal of diplomatic skill and a strong control of the sources of gossip to manage to [753] keep oneself clear of such accusations. On the other hand, villagers are afraid of showing excessive wealth (according to community standards) unless they bring upon themselves the other face of witchcraft: supernatural sickness produced by envy. Even

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4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

291 a typical outfit with special characteristics.
184 For instance, the men of Tenejapa wear a hat of broad brim and pointed round crown, trimmed with thin ribbons of different colors. They also wear a dark chamarra or poncho with thin white stripes. The characteristic clothes of Cancuc are short, tight pants and a long shirt trimmed with red wool yarn. In Tierra Caliente the wool chamarra is not used nor is the variation in outfit so well defined.

Transportation

482 Men and pack animals are the principal
[484] carriers in the Tzeltal region, which is
[487] crossed in all directions by narrow trails.
[492] Men carrying loads of 40–50 kg. usually
482 walk, in one day, as far as 8 leguas
147 (leagues). According to Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:386), the Tzeltal of the highlands are so strong "que ponen en verguenza a una mula." In 1944 I observed Indians
[565] passing by my Yochib camp, carrying chairs on their shoulders, in which a lady or a child of upper-class Ladinos from Ocosingo
492 and Yajalon would be sitting. Pack animals are now becoming common among the Tzeltal, some of whom also have saddle horses.
491 Part of the Tzeltal-Tzotzil region is crossed by the Pan-American Highway joining Guatemala and Mexico City. In recent years, roads called "brechas de penetración" for motor vehicles are being constructed.
474 The natives of some communities (Oxchuc
493 and Chanal) have organized cooperatives and purchased their own trucks.

804 *Units of Measure*

The system of measures still retains aboriginal characteristics. The main units are:

Nab: Distance between the end of the thumb and the middle finger extended.

Chutub: Distance between the end of the thumb and the index finger extended. It is equivalent to the jeme. The Indians do not use the cuarta (distance between the thumb and little finger extended).

[P 208-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

628 796 certain times of the year for ceremonies, such as those at Chakalchib, and formerly at Campomtik, to be mentioned later. The Bachajon hold their own ceremonies at their village.

141 Physically, the Tzeltal, like all the Mayance Indians, are short, averaging probably about 160 centimeters (5 feet, 4 inches) for the 142 men, and slightly less for the women. Their build is slender, with stringy muscles, except for a good development of the calves. Hands and feet are small and well-formed. Their slenderness is 147 deceptive, for their great strength lies in their legs, back, and neck, seen in their ability to carry loads of 45 kilograms (100 lbs.) and upwards, all day up and down hill without undue fatigue. Taking in a tump-line a load under which they cannot rise from the floor

342 241 648

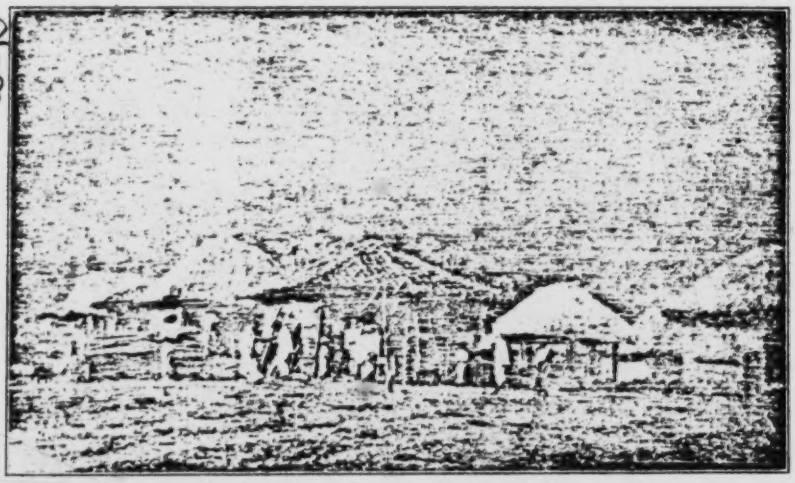

FIG. 276—Finca Tecojá, Chis. Houses of Indians attached to the Finca.

147 without help, they will carry it with ease. The lifting power of their arms is less than that of Americans or Ladinos. Their headform is 142 meso- to brachycephalic, and the cranium is small. Deformation in [304] the shape of a marked depression just above the juncture of the hair-line and the forehead, due to the use of a tump-line from early infancy, may be responsible for the conical appearance of the top of the skull. Noses are, on the whole, mesorrhine and small, with little appearance of the famous "Maya Nose," and then in a narrow form, lacking the width of nostril seen in pre-historic figures. Prognathism is slight, alveolar proganthism being the more common, particularly in children. Hair form is straight, coarse, and black. Gray hair or baldness are very unusual. Body hair, as far as could be observed,

3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[p.457-B] Teklum

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machete	6
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nail	1
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The variety of weapons reduces the question of any technological determinism to a minimum. The actual weapon used seems to be a matter of convenience. When more than one is used, it is usually evidence that the assailant had helpers. The nail is unusual. It was hammered into the jaws of a man who had entered the curing profession at an age considered too
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774 seems related to the power of speech and to the
756 [text continues on p. 461-B]

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[p.461-B]

682 704 756 location of the soul, *sč'ulel*, in the tongue, *yal*, wherein lies the particular power of the curer. This possibly suggested the mode of attack.

682 411 412 [223] [224] The instruments used to kill are carried by the farmers of this area most of the time. The men go to their milpa with a machete strapped to their side, a shotgun slung over their shoulder, and sometimes even a knife stuck in their waistband. They frequently interrupt work to hunt birds, rabbits, and deer. The shotgun does not excite suspicion or comment when it is seen. The men of Teklum are technologically prepared to kill in the course of an ordinary day's work.

682 [152] [683] The number of wounds and the thoroughness with which the job is done (see Table 1) suggest not so much the fury of the assailants as the fear motivating their act. In a witch-killing, it appears to be thought necessary to hack up the victim completely so that his power is effectively ended: one witch was cut into 32 pieces; another had 166 wounds.

682 674 656 The death acts drawn up in the local courthouse have been increasingly specific in their statements as to the wounds inflicted ever since the government's intervention in the case of an accidental death in 1950. The local authorities were threatened with a fine of 600 pesos if the details were not properly recorded. The careful measurement of the body in relation to the road and to neighboring milpas and the measurement of the size and depth of the wounds provide the screen of complicity that wards off further investigation by federal authorities and preserves local independence. There is never any questioning of suspects or attempt to solve the crime by officials. The success of the ploy is illustrated in the following account:

> Pedro had animals at the spring and had gone out early with ropes in his bag to lasso them. He was found with a rope tied around his neck hung from a *čibinib* tree. We went out and measured the length and thickness of the rope and how many centimeters it penetrated his neck. We put all these facts in the report, which gave the cause of death as suicide.
>
> At that time we had a schoolteacher in town who asked the dead man's wife why the town didn't investigate who killed him because someone must have done it. He went with the widow to the Ministerio Publico in the capital. Well, when they came out, there were all the facts in the death act. [Informant laughed heartily as he recalled this success.] He saw that we had discovered the body at 3 P.M., that the rope was 15 meters

682 683 627 to who did it. The consultations with curers prior to the death of the supposed victims of a witch will be introduced as evidence. (Some degree of consensus may have been built up beforehand, in witch-killings, by the public broadcast of accusations noted above.[2]) The focus of the discussion is not so much on who killed the dead man, but whether he was indeed a witch. This kind of mock trial occurs after every funeral, since it must be decided who caused the sickness. Emotions run very high as the liquor is passed around, and accusations are made, sometimes against those present. It was after a funeral that one man killed his son (not included in Table 1) for accusing him of having caused the death of the son's child, who was being buried.

[953] [152] [273]

682 [521] In the weeks following a homicide, it is discussed at all the drinking sessions in the homes or in the town hall. Eventually an authoritative version begins to emerge. Those who have defended the victim then keep silent, and the affair "rests in peace." Avenging the death of a man judged to have been a witch, so far as I know, has never been done. In one case (no. 36, Table 1) the widow of a man killed as a witch vigorously denied the legitimacy of the act and built up a case against the killer. She spread word that it was without doubt the dead man's son by a prior marriage. When the son was killed shortly after (case 37, Table 1), everyone assumed that he had been killed by the widow's son by *her* prior marriage. However, the authoritative version concerning the second killing was that it was an accident: he had been mistaken for his brother, whom the killer was after because of rivalry over a girl.

682 683 [627]

Rules for Surviving

682 183 The patterning of the selection of victims and the circumstances of homicide provide the basis for formulating a set of rules that can ensure survival. The long-range rules of survival, in the words of an elder at the occasion of the death of his godchild, are:

682 539 183

lekon kak'o ta kwenta me?lat
I pay respect to my elders.

hun ku kihtz'in kalnižan
I greet my younger brothers and my children (classificatory extension of kinship terms).

[601]

spisil kak' ta kwenta
To all I give respect.

ha? hil lekotik. Ma taltik milel ma taltik čomel

756 539 [swayohel]." "What one?" asked his friend. "You won't be afraid?" asked J. And then he put his shirt and hat on the floor, spoke three words (my friend didn't say what), and raised his hat and shirt, and a horse appeared. He did this again and a bull appeared. He was a great *?ak'ʒamel* [witch]. [682] He stole a great deal. He was killed by five bullets.

756 Such stories of curers "who walk on both sides" (*ʒbe?en ta ʒa mehč*) are favorites in the [152] drinking sessions of Teklum. The power of curers inspires fear, so much so that some of the town presidents have been afraid of putting them in prison.

The open competition between curers serves 756 to undermine the faith of the people in their 776 guardianship function. This function was believed to have been acquired by the leaders [133] from the *me?tiktatik*, the ancestors, who were said to live in a cave in a hill near the town, [769] from which came the progenitors of the present townspeople. To carry out this guardianship function, the animal spirits of the two leading curers roamed the streets at night, when the evil spirits were out, each one remaining within the limits of his own side of the dual division. In this role, the two major curers were called the *me?iltatiletik*, a term derived from the one referring to the ancestors.

178 The loss of faith in the guardianship func- 776 tion of the curers was coincident with the loss 756 of belief in the presence of the me?tiktatik. Some deny that the me?tiktatik live in the cave 769 anymore, and others say they just appear on [796] the day of their fiesta, the Day of the Cross in the Catholic calendar. This fiesta formerly was 796 an important event in establishing the guard- 776 ian power of the leader curers, since they were 756 the only ones who dared enter the cave and 178 talk to the ancestors. But this fear and this 769 belief have gone. In 1960 one young man of the pueblo entered the cave on the day of the fiesta, when the curers were "deceiving the people" in claiming that they were talking to the ancestors; the fact that he dared enter the cave indicates an ambient distrust (in part resulting from verbal attacks by the priest, who at that time was gaining more power in [794] the town). By now, on the Day of the Cross [793] the church and civil officials, the women prayermakers, and an assistant of the priest, the *fiscal*, go to the cave, but the curers are no 178 longer present, even as bystanders. The 756 curers have tried to buttress belief in the 769 guardianship of the ancestors by claiming that a nephew of the ancestors is now in residence in

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

is negative. Among the Bachajon, face hair was very slight, or 142
negative, even on men of past middle age. At Sivacá the Alcalde, an elderly man, had a small beard. This is more commonly found among the Indians further in the Highlands. A slightly taller and more heavily boned type here also suggests the Highland influence (figs. 279-280-281-282-283).

Temperamentally, the Bachajon were by far the least pleasant 152
Indians with whom we had to deal. They are drunken, revengeful, and murderous. The murders, usually the sudden outburst of a long-nursed feud, are sometimes so appallingly brutal that one would think them committed by an abnormal or degenerate people.

291

FIG. 279—Huxumachital, Chis. Bachajon men.

Yet, at the same time, these were the most independent Indians we 648
met, controlling their own lives and way of living, and are left very much alone by the neighbouring Ladinos.

All the Indians are outwardly restrained, at least in the presence 609
of strangers, although an accident, such as a narrow escape, shows 152
them to be volatile and ready to express emotion. At home, they are cheerful, and laugh willingly. In bursts of feeling, as during an uprising, or one of the murders mentioned above, capable of any outrage, ordinarily they are not a cruel people. They showed them- 123
selves always responsive to friendly advances on our part.

been made, there is no recourse but to kill the man since he may retaliate by killing his accuser (this occurred in two of the cases noted in Table 29).

Conflict between generations in the role sets father/son and father/son-in-law stems from delay in carrying out role responsibilities. Fathers are expected to provide the money for the costs of betrothal, and to give their children shares of the patrimony including both land and livestock. The scheduling of when this should occur is often a matter of dispute, resulting in at least two cases of homicide in the period analyzed.

New economic enterprises have exacerbated the tensions rising from envy. Foster (1965) has suggested that envy stems from the notion of the "limited good," requiring the strategy of a "zero sum game" (Bennet 1966). The fact that the new wealth is evidence of new opportunities, not a subtraction from a given resource supply, has not entered the cognitive awareness of the people. The prospering leaders of these enterprises feel themselves to be particularly vulnerable to the envy of others and thus to the charge of witchcraft. There have been several open attacks on new leaders accused as witches; the leader of the truck cooperative, for example, was murdered in 1966. Six men have been killed as cattle thieves in the past ten years.

The economic roles created with the introduction of new enterprises have not been integrated in the traditional pattern of recruitment and control. In the association of cattle breeders, leadership tends to be based on the size of the herd; in the case of the truck cooperative, amount of capital invested and entrepreneurial skills have determined the leadership of the enterprise, while driving skill and ability to get along in the Ladino world has been the basis for choice of drivers. Such achievement principles as the basis for recruitment into these envied positions are not accepted in the same way that age and passage through a hierarchy of posts validated higher positions in the old hierarchies. The conspicuous expenditure of wealth in the more expensive posts in the religious hierarchy has also failed to lessen hostility aroused by the increasing disparity in wealth, and in fact those who have served as alférez have been even more subject to witchcraft aroused by envy.

346 776 782 individuals can visit the saints on their own personal missions. Appendix 3A records the visits of groups and individuals on an ordinary Sunday. Their actions in the church are part of the standardized behavior incumbent upon all those who enter the building.

Communication with the saints is ensured either by touching and kissing their images or, if the images are enclosed in glass cases, by tapping the gl. with offerings of money. It is believed that one gains an audience [562] by pay.ng for it. When groups larger than individual clusters of visitors enter the church, sexual segregation is observed (for example, when a male child enters with his mother on the occasion of a mass, he remains with her until more people arrive, then leaves her to stand on the male [788] side of the nave). Ritualized wailing is done by women only. After such a [152] demonstration the women show normal composure, since wailing is a standardized mode of communication, not an outburst of uncontrolled emotion. It is private and concerns the individual wailer and the saint to which she appeals; none of the other visitors in the church indicates any sign of response to these displays. Unless there is a focused activity going on, such as a mass or series of baptisms, each visiting group is an autonomous unit, carrying out its own mission. [794]

794 571 562 People visit the church most commonly in pairs of two. They congregate for mass in a pattern in which women and children enter first, and men, who linger in the plaza until the church is partially filled, enter in clusters and take their places on the male side of the nave. The religious and civil officials enter last, and the mayordomos, whose attendance is one of the obligations of their post, move toward the altar at the front. Men attend church less frequently than do women.

The School

346 621 875 [177] [178] Unlike the church, the school is regarded as an alien structure. Assistance in reconstruction and maintenance is given under pressure rather than voluntarily. Until fairly recently, schoolteachers too remained unintegrated in the community. In the early years of the school's existence, there was a rapid turnover of teachers. The employment of a schoolmaster with a wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The school has be-

informants cannot, fortunately, be relegated to the role of rats in the maze of their own cultural settings. I prefer the actor's to the investigator's statement of significantly contrasting units. I have found it useful, however, to retain both modes of analysis. Observation corrects for the shorthand statements of the informant, for his lapses of memory, or for inadequate knowledge. Even if some of these inadequacies are corrected by other informants, there remains the problem as to what is an individual understanding and what is socially shared knowledge. In addition, observation provides cues to the dynamic variables which enter into all social processes. 121 124

It is impossible, if not irrelevant, to recount all the behavior occurring in an event. Some of the selection will be fortuitous: we will record what aspects we observe. But not all of this need be included. For example, one would exclude the trips to the back of the patio to urinate by participants in a household ritual, but what might well be recorded is the etiquette with which they undertake these trips. In Tzo?ontahal, people carefully excuse themselves, saying, "I go before your face," specifying that they must urinate. Discretion requires explicitness rather than reticence in reference to such urges, perhaps because of the paranoic fears, particularly during curing ritual, that the one who is departing may be using counter-healing magic when he leaves the group. 121 121 514 [196] [152] [754]

There is no absolute rule to guide one in selection. In my own field notes, I note what is significant in terms of my own comprehension of goals being pursued. Having been cued into most of the activity in sessions with the informants prior to the event, I have 121 124

[P. 211-A]

3:Naah /E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.457-B] Teklum

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774 seems related to the power of speech and to the
756 [text continues on p. 461-B]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

they will go to the church wedding. The parents of the couple embrace the godparents. They go dance in the house.

The paranoic fantasies of this young curer, a man in his early thirties, characterize the world of fears, both real and demonic, which the curers sometimes manipulate and by which they are sometimes victimized. The young curers in their thirties and forties tend to have more domestic disputes than most men in town. Emilio, a man in his forties who has been trying to assert his stature as leading curer of Alannantik since his predecessor was killed for witchcraft, was deserted by his wife. She fled to a neighbor's house. In a drunken rage, he tried to burn it to the ground. When his attempt failed, he threatened to bring "heat" from the Cave of the Star to cause an epidemic after which, he said, he would "eat the souls of the children by the dozen." In the line of duty, curers are often required to get drunk, and drunkenness loosens the cautions which control behavior. Gloating in the power of their swayoheles, there seems to be no limit to the threats or acts they commit. While drinking has probably always been part of curing ceremonies, the behavior noted in the cases described seems to be a response to the growing insecurity on the part of the curers about their status.

The curer reveals in his speech and acts the motivation of power. In Tzoʔontahal, power means freedom from one's own fears as well as from the human and supernatural sanctions imposed on those who ignore the norms governing behavior. The proof of his power lies in the ability to inspire fear in others. For this reason, the curer brags of the evil deeds he has committed or is capable of doing, even though this may bring about his own destruction.

Curing Behavior

In their role as "doctors" for the individual patient, curers are referred to as *ʔuʔul* and are addressed with the honorific title *tatin*. Despite the declining belief in their guardianship function, there has been a retention of belief in their power to overcome witchcraft. Only the curer, because he possesses a swayohel, can deal with illness caused by witchcraft. Even if

794 796 *guests. They borrowed benches from neighbors; they cut juniper and prepared the resting place for the sacred banner; they borrowed seed-gourd rattles and two tables, and they adorned the house with pine branches and fruit. In the afternoon, all the relatives, the compadres, and the neighbors were invited. Two alisiles were appointed (this term is probably a Tzeltal rendition of* alguacil, *in Spanish an office corresponding to high bailiff or peace officer). The alisiles were charged with watching to see that neither the new alférez nor either of his two guitarists got too drunk to carry out his functions.*

794 796 535 562 *The two alisiles called out the women to dance, first asking permission of the woman speaker. The dance was the most important act in the set of performances on the third day, which was sometimes referred to as the "afternoon of the big dance." The dance was a highly charged event because the women were for the first time cast in a public role. Fear and* [626] [154] *shame, the two conditioning mechanisms of socialization in Tzo?ontahal, had to be overcome when the women became involved in the dance. Special precautions were taken: the alisil formally requested the woman speaker to take the women out:*

[539] *Lord, women who nursed us, give pardon with God, the Virgin Mother. Give holy pardon mother and father with God and with the Virgin Mother. We have gathered here, collected together your child, your offspring, where it is not very pretty, not very flavorful, at the door of your holy poverty, holy suffering, for the holy office, the holy prayer. Again our clay, our mud comes to speak here to the mothers who nursed, who give us fear and embarrassment.*

Then the alfereces took off their hats and kerchiefs and brought them to the women. This act was described by an informant: "The women cover their heads with the kerchief and put on the hat. The girls want the handkerchief and the hat of their husbands in order not to be ashamed to be seen by a boy. They want the kerchief to hide their faces. If they do not want the hat, it is when they are mature women and do not have shame. The wives of the alfereces do not have shame because it is their job." The use of the kerchief which was draped over their head, partially covering

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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towns and explain small-scale change over short periods of time. The contextual description of behavioral details may eventually overcome the lack of replicable events available to laboratory science. By specifying all the conditions of the ritual, it is possible to separate the unique from the patterned components. At one level, the analysis consists in indicating the repetitive patterns and the continuity of beliefs which these exemplify. At another level, rituals can be analyzed as psychodramas in which the individual adopts a social role. The dialectical connection between the new official and his role is established in the obligations he carries out. 128

When people are asked "why" something is done, they continually shift between the social and psychological levels. "We do this because it was the custom of our ancestors," they will frequently say. When pressed further, they reduce their level of response to the individual, saying, "The women don their husband's ceremonial hat because they wish to hide their face because of embarrassment." Both answers are true interpretations, differing only in the level of social complexity at which the enquiry is directed. One can go farther in elaborating the latent significance of the ritual acts. To continue with the same example, the dance drawing the wife into a public performance was performed because, as one informant said, "she too has done work for the fiesta" (she made pottery to raise the money). The dance gains the favor of the saints, as is demonstrated in the Virgin's tactics with the Devil, and in the curing rituals with the spirits of the house and of the springs. Dancing establishes a relationship to the group: the women dancing in the center of the circle formed by their husbands revolving around them are incorporated as an integral part of a sacred social unit. 796 829 796 829 562

Rituals provide a key to the psychic dynamics of the group since they deal with these explicitly. The ritual acts are predicated on expected individual responses. For example, since liquor overcomes embarrassment,[5] it 796 154 273

5. Bennett and Zingg (1937) have stated the even more dramatic social significance of liquor among the Tarahumara. Social intercourse in this mountain tribe is impossible without liquor. Conditioned as they are in isolated nuclear family groups to retreat at the sign of an outsider, the Tarahumara need something to relax their embarrassment and fear in large gatherings. Landa (Tozzer 1941) has commented at length on the compulsory drinking at ceremonials of the Yucatecan Mays. [171]

796 is served when the expectations are that the individual will feel embarrass-
154 ment. These occasions formerly occurred when the company arrived at the
[273] house of the alférez before the dance and when the alfereces mounted
[276] their horses. Cigarettes signal relaxation, and when the first round of ciga-
[522] rettes is served in the house setting, the company abandons formal re-
straints and, led by the chief nakawane, indulges in joking.

541 *Carnival and Easter Week*. Carnival has changed over time more
522 than any other religious ceremonial in the town. Until five years ago, a
177 group of masked jokers visited the houses of the captains of the fiestas.
178 They wore Ladino clothing, including vest, pants, and shoes, and they hid their faces behind masks or painted them black. They danced a "Ladino dance" (paired couples), first in the church and then in the houses of the alfereces. While dancing, they made sexual allusions about unmarried women. Their joking emphasized their strangeness to the villagers; for example one of the jokers might say, "You do not know what type of person I am. An airplane made me." They carried small stuffed animals which they made "cry." Pretending they were the husband of a woman, they would go to her and tell her to take care of her "baby." The woman speaker would sometimes respond to their jokes, saying, "Who are you? You are not good looking, you little black boy. You must be from Germany or from the other side of the water. Maybe you are from Patwitz or Yetawitz, and your father is kurik." People say the custom was discontinued because it was too expensive to give liquor to the jokers.

541 Another carnival custom which has been lost is the "common meal" of
262 squash on the five Fridays of Lent. Formerly the wives of the four kobra-
794 ria brought squash from hot country, cooked it, and brought two gourds
177 each to the church. The assistant divided it, giving two pieces to each of
178 the mayordomos. This custom was stopped during the typhoid epidemic
[731] of 1928 and has never been resumed because, it is said, the people did not want to lose work time. These changes may be a response to the priest's attempts to modify some of the excesses of carnival. Whether or not this is so, the people prefer to attribute change to their own decisions.

796 The events of Easter Week as recounted by an informant are outlined below.

576 support of whatever is said—repeating the final phrase of the person con-
versing or injecting supportive statements such as "indeed, indeed," or "so
[535] it is." In the dance of the alfereces' wives, for example, women were the
model of deference, moving in a self-contained pattern before the assem-
bled guests, with slow, tiny steps, eyes downcast, a shawl covering their
heads on which they wore their husbands' ceremonial hats.

621 Through recruitment procedures, alternation and linkage in official
182 roles, and leadership validated by age and service in lower positions—prin-
ciples applying to role relations in all institutions—Tzo'ontahal has re-
mained an integrated community. There is a high degree of stereotyping
in behavior from one institution to another, and norms of behavior are the
[682] same for public as for private roles. However, a remarkably high homicide
[578] rate and open conflict in all of the institutional settings indicate basic
sources of disruption.

682 Since 1960 the rate of homicide in town has increased from an average
593 of 1 every 2 years to an average of 5 or 6 per year. Table 29 indicates the
607 role relationships of killer to victim in 37 of over 70 homicides occurring
428 between 1937 and 1964. The highest incidence of homicide (7 cases) oc-
578 curred between brothers and brothers-in-law. Male siblings comprise the
closest cooperating group. Brothers work together in the milpa until the
father dies or divides his property among his children during his lifetime.
Bilateral inheritance with equal division of land and houses among female
as well as male offspring means that brothers-in-law are potential competi-
tors for the same limited resources. Friction arising among brothers and
brothers-in-law does not come from the principle of equal inheritance, but
rather because of the fact of differing responsibilities and expenses within
the family. For example, the child who has remained with the parents and
[888] thus assumes the burden of care for them in their declining years often
feels that he should inherit a greater share. The disputes arise in the deci-
sions concerning how much this disadvantage should be weighted. The
682 suppression of overt competition may in part explain the homicidal acts.
683 Although the tensions in fact stem from suppressed economic competition,
[154] they are translated into witchcraft accusations as soon as anyone in the
[626] family becomes ill. Violence against a witch is condoned by the commu-
nity and provides a channel for latent hostility. Once the accusation has

1 (see pp.245-247..Analyst)

/2 cont./

614 The chieftaincy of each clan was filled by the oldest man,
887 who was called chunel. (It seems to have the same meaning as
•156 the word catinab, but some informants recognized the latter as
the one used in the adjacent municipality of Oxchuc.) The office
was not hereditary, and upon the death of a chunel the oldest man
156 of the clan was venerated as such. The chief of the clan was re-
614 spected and feared, because he was recognized as endowed with
888 supernatural power which, through his lab, he exercised over all
776 the members of the clan. Two informants of advanced age de-
554 fined the chunel as "the oldest one and the greatest sorcerer."
The lab feeds on souls, and a person who has "done wrong" is
776 "eaten" by the lab of the one offended and dies. In this way
761 social control was exercised on and among the members of the
[784] clan, never going beyond the limits of this. The life of the in-
[626] dividual is intimately bound to the life of the lab, or guardian
776 spirit: the death of one brings with it the death of the other. All
the Cancuqueros have their lab, but they hide it and sometimes
[756] deny it. The curer knows which is the lab of the sick person be-
[827] cause "he hears it in the pulse." The lab reveals itself in dreams
[787] to "its owner," with whom it speaks because "it is his own com-
pany." One person discovers the lab of another "because he sees
it." The lab takes care of its owner, defends him, and is the in-
178 strument of revenge for an injury unjustly received. Today this
614 concept is intimately bound up with the omniscience of the patron
626 saint; only with the permission of San Juan can a lab "eat" the
776 soul of a chapomal, or "clan brother," and this permission is
granted only in the case when the saint is unfavorably impressed
by the conduct of the individual. In any case the lab never
wreaks its vengeance except for a bad act that would fully justify
614 it according to the social morality. As can be seen, social con-
626 trol was not only rooted in the chief of the clan, but this function
extended to the whole group, as happens at present.

3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.456-B] Teklum

682 ceeded along two lines of enquiry. First, I have
674 analyzed the circumstances surrounding the
12 deaths in as many cases as my informants could remember. Variations in the components of homicidal acts—the setting, agents, purpose, and outcome—suggested the different assumptions underlying each case. Secondly, I have correlated the different kinds of homicide with structural and organizational changes in
682 the community. The analysis of cases in Sec-
674 tion I summarizes the patterned components
128 of behavior. The social environment providing the cues to the actors is explored in Section II.

I. THE PATTERNED COMPONENTS OF 37 HOMICIDE CASES[3]

682 165 [128] The following tabulations and discussion are based on the 37 cases presented in Table 1.

Who Is Killed

Sex:	all male	
Age:	18–22	5
	27–30	7
	34–38	7
	42–48	8
	50	3
	60	2
	65	2
	70	2
	99	1
[463] Occupation:	curer	8
	political leader	1
	farmer	28

One-half the total number of killings occurred to those between the ages of 34 to 50. However, as the six victims aged 60 and over indicate, survival to a late age does not ensure that one will die a nonviolent death. The age of the victim may be correlated with motive, insofar as some events leading to conflict occur
68 only at certain times in the life cycle. Thus,
[578] betrothal conflicts involved only young men, while victims accused of witchcraft were older: 27 was the age of the youngest, and 16 out of the 18 men killed as witches were over 34. Cattle theft, on the other hand, occurred throughout the age range.

682 Eight of the victims—more than one-fifth of
165 them—were curers, a much higher proportion
756 than their share in the total population, for there are only about a dozen now living in the town center of 1,900.

682 There is a personality type recognized by the
156 community as distinctive of those who "get

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[p. 457-A] Teklum

682 •156 themselves killed." When they see a man who is abusive while drunk, who brags of his power and of that of his animal spirit, they will remark: "That man is going to wake up dead" (*sakubk'inal čamel*). When such a man is killed, no one complains, even among his immediate relatives (cases 5, 10, 14, 16, 19, 22, 24, 26, 27, 29, 31, and 32 are of this type). When I asked [562] why women do not get killed, the response was, "They don't look for trouble" (*ma sleik smul*).

682 *Setting*

	Total	*Dawn*	*Afternoon*	*Evening*	*Night*	??
Streets of town	11				11	
Milpa, woods, road out of town	10	2	3	2	2	1
Highway	4		1	1	1	1
In cantina	3		1		2	
In houseyard	3			1	2	
In bed	1				1	
Neighboring hamlets & towns	2		1			1
??	3					3
Total	37	2	6	4	19	6

Where the killing takes place and its timing in the diurnal cycle are directly linked. All of the homicides in the streets of the town were committed at night, while those in the roads out of town near the milpa occurred in the late afternoon or evening. In providing privacy and security from discovery, the darkness of night is functionally equivalent to distance from the town center during the daytime. When I suggested that the killings might be reduced if the 682 114 town would connect the lights that had been installed in the streets, the response was that when they had been in use, killings had increased. The lights helped the killer find his victim, perhaps lying out in the road after a drinking session. He would shoot out the light and then kill his victim.

682 579 The only killings in which considerations of space or time were ignored were those in the cantina during a drunken brawl, for in contrast to the usual killing their onset was unpremeditated.

682 The timing of homicide is related also to the annual cycle: 14 homicides occurred during the [527] fiestas in the town or in a neighboring town. [579] The drunkenness of the fiestas provides an appropriate occasion for killing an enemy, although a drunken brawl is in itself rarely a [755] sufficient motive (two cases). Other opportune [273] times are after a curing ceremony (six cases) and after the gathering of curers during an

3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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[P. 464-B] Teklum

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Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick.

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A good man is of one heart, and he shows it by his humility, *ben k'un yo?tan* or "very soft heart." He can drink with friends on either side of the dual division of the town, and he is called upon in many household fiestas to greet the guests of the house owner.

But the man who is "very strong of heart," *ben toyol yo?tan*, who "fails to take people into account," *ma ʔpawa ta kwenta*, who "abuses people," *me ya wīu*, has means of survival despite the many threats to his life. He surrounds himself with a circle of *compadres*, or godparents; he especially picks out curers, both to mitigate the use of their power against him, and for them to serve as intermediaries if he should have enemies with animal spirits. When a threat becomes imminent, he may stay within his house or limit his range of activities to a very circumscribed area, always taking a weapon when he does go out. He will usually try to limit his drinking, or give it up entirely. These short-range rules of avoidance are clearly indicated by the circumstances in which killings occur: in the hills or at night, when the victim is under the influence of liquor.

[608]
[756]
[273]

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These 37 cases of homicide reveal a regularity in the kinds of people and situations involved. The victims are most often men who assert power, principally curers, or men who violate standards of behavior by abusiveness or theft. Their killers are often linked to them by kinship or neighborhood, the bonds in which tensions are greatest. The regularity of time and place of homicide suggests the precautions that can be taken to avoid being killed if one has an enemy. The general failure of the community social-control agents to bring negative sanctions against a killer indicates that homicide is an accepted solution for interpersonal conflict. The structural setting that validates this behavior is discussed below.

[578]
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II. STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Case analysis, useful for discerning certain patterns, is inadequate for understanding the interrelationships among a variety of social changes in the community. An increasing rate of homicide of this magnitude indicates fundamental changes in the social matrix in which individual decisions are made: it suggests not

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

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nic unity extending back to the beginning of time. The people set boundaries by such external symbols as a locally specified costume for men and women, a distinctive dialect of Tzeltal, and specialization in the production of pottery. Implicit boundaries are established by socialization processes that inhibit response to the outside world and that define a code of behavior understandable only in its own context. The completely socialized member of the community is not expected to seek recognition, nor could he find prestige, outside these boundaries. The community comprises the moral universe: cooperation and reciprocity are limited to members of the community, as are most cases of homicide and theft. Lacking concrete evidence, people assume misdeeds to have been committed by someone from the community.

The boundaries that separate these Indians from other Indian communities as well as from non-Indian, or *Ladino*,[1] communities are social artifacts that give a sense of security to members of the in-group. They call themselves "the true men" (*b'atz'il winik*), and their world is defined in "the true word" (*b'atz'il k'op*). The latter is their term for the Tzeltal dialect of Maya which is the language of the house and of the street, the courthouse, and the church in the absence of the Spanish-speaking priest. Tzeltal names differ from Spanish names for most of the surrounding towns, the earth, the heavens, and the cosmological bodies. Catholic saints are incorporated under a Tzeltal name or a Tzeltal version of their Spanish name. All of the members of the community have a Tzeltal patronym in addition to the Spanish surname with which they are baptized. The given name is that of a Spanish saint but is shortened and pronounced with Tzeltal phonemes, and female names have the feminine prefix *s*. Their world is labeled in their own language.

The people assume that their expectations will be met and their projec-

1. The term Ladino has a range of usage throughout Middle America. In Mexico City, people define Ladino as any person who abuses his superior skills to take advantage of others. In Oaxaca, a Zapotec Indian defined Ladino as "an Indian who knows Spanish, has adopted western-style clothing, and takes advantage of other Indians because of his knowledge of the language and ways of life of the non-Indian society. He is like a fox." In Chiapas, the term is applied to any non-Indian without derogatory connotation, and the same is true in Guatemala. In the metalanguage of anthropological monographs, it is used in this latter sense.

000 bly similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now. Just as a
323 man defines himself as an agriculturalist, a woman defines herself as a pot-
462 ter. Men complain if their wives do not produce pottery, and I know of
[593] two cases of separation on the grounds that the woman was not fulfilling
[586] one of her functions as housewife by helping the family budget with pot-
[461] tery production. Most women like to make pottery: it helps them to pass the day, and they say they would be bored without it. Some of the women who have gone with their husbands for extended stays in hot country have tried to make pottery out of clays available there, but because of its inferior quality, they have not had much success. Unlike women of neighboring towns, the women of Tzoʔontahal usually do not accompany their husbands to the fincas "because they have their work at home."

323 *Making pottery.* The women make a wide variety of household
178 and ceremonial objects, but the item which has the widest market distribution is the water storage jar (See Plate 7). They introduce new items in response to local needs, such as the funnel used in channeling liquor into large containers from the retort of the still. One vessel which is disappearing from production is the large ceremonial cooking pot. The only woman who knew how to do this (or who admitted to knowing, since it is unpaid work) died in the 60s, and no one has replaced her. One woman who had a reputation for eccentricity, introduced several elaborate vases and ashtrays. Her creative imagination was best exemplified in a combined ashtray and vase which featured four frogs poised on the lip of the tray, presumably drinking from a fountain. Reina (1962–1963) has pointed out
[171] that women of the Guatemalan community of Chinautla who wish to be
[156] accepted in the community must limit themselves to conventional forms, and the same restriction seems to apply in Tzoʔontahal.

317 The women of a household work as a group in collecting clay and in
592 firing pottery. Clay is free since it is found in the communally owned hills
[323] on the perimeter of the town. It is collected preferably during the rainy
[423] season when it is easier to gather from the open gorges in which it is found, but if the supply runs out, other trips are made. All of the women of the household go, sometimes with neighbors or relatives in groups of
[482] five or six. They collect large clay balls weighing from forty to fifty pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline.

(see plates following p.198..Analyst)

of metal and 10 pesos if made of wood. These are lined with waxed paper which the local storekeeper cuts from cracker-box wrappers and sells for 5 cents each. 435 415 177

Electricity, first used in the cooperative store and later in the liquor shops, is now being installed in houses. 83 families had electricity installed in their homes by 1967. Street lights have been in operation since 1966, although the first attempt to install them was blocked by residents on the streets to be lighted who did not want to pay the tax of 1 peso per month per household to meet the cost to the community of 75 pesos a month. Most people have a flashlight, and lighting in the house is provided by pitch pine or by small kerosene lamps. Candles are used only in ceremonies. 365 [651] 354 [416]

The inventory of items sold in the cooperative store in town includes the most frequently purchased items of consumption. Hardward includes buckets, hoes, kerosene lamps, batteries, Gillette blades, shotgun bullets, canned goods such as sardines, chiles, and powdered milk. Packaged foods include rice, sugar, salt, oatmeal, cornstarch, flour, coffee, biscuits, cookies, gum, and candy. Beer is sold along with soft drinks and cigarettes. Household supplies include candles, soap, D.D.T. powder, thread, matches, and kerosene. Medicines dispensed most frequently include sulphur pills, aralin, Desenfriol, Alka-Seltzer, and Sonrisal. Yard goods for shawls, children's wraps, and men's clothing are sold along with manufactured shirts, blouses for girls, and rubber capes. Eggs as well as money are taken in payment and then sold. Except for one can of Chocomilk, which sat on the shelves for a year, all of the items are in constant demand, and provide an index to the level of living and dependency on external markets. 444 [436]

The preferences in changing consumption are limited by communal standards of what is appropriate. I once asked a man who was acquiring more than the usual income by brokerage activities what he would buy with more money. He replied, "I would get more land and cattle." I interrupted to ask what he would do to improve his standard of living. "I wouldn't get better clothing—what would I need that for? I would get a house built with good materials like this [the government-built clinic] with a cement floor. But I couldn't get it now because of envy. When my children grow up, they [the neighbors] will see them working and maybe 434 178 177 [156]

293 472 cause of the limited capital involved and the fear of discovery with the expansion of the enterprise. A loose syndicate of distillers provides an insur-
273 ance protection by raising fines for members who are apprehended by fed-
548 eral agents. Security measures are taken to avoid discovery, and the pres-
661 ence of a federal agent is announced in Tzeltal on the loudspeaker system of one of the bars. One federal agent is on the payroll of the four operating bar owners, who give him 5 pesos a week to avoid legal action on the sale of contraband liquor. Individual distillers pay the tariff of 10 pesos or two liters of liquor a year to the civil officials and to the ejido commission, a tariff justified by the fact that they use wood from communally owned land to cook the sugar. The syndicate is a community-wide organization, mobilized in emergencies only.

The New Social Resources

177 In the course of operating the new enterprises, knowledge of and experi-
178 ence with supralocal institutions and agents are developing social re-
43 sources in (1) entrepreneurship, (2) management of capital and credit,
44 (3) knowledge of markets, and (4) dealing with government agencies. In
621 entering into these new economic activities, the Indians have not lost a
156 sense of belonging to the local community. Self-identification as poor, indigenous farmers is both a screen of protection and a means of ensuring continuity with local control systems.

472 *Entrepreneurship.* Local entrepreneurs explain their motivation in
621 a rhetoric which emphasizes their interest in community welfare. This val-
156 idates entering into nontraditional activities, but retaining their position in local society inhibits the expansions of their activities. The case of Santos,
159 the promoter of the trucking cooperative is instructive. Santos had picked
472 up some accounting techniques while he served in the army in Mi-
621 choacán. He returned to the village because his father walked from Chia-
45 pas to Michoacán to tell him he should come back and get married. When he returned, he kept careful account of his costs and returns from the milpa. He realized soon that it wasn't "worth his work" (the Indian has not as yet learned the idiom or the value system which goes into the

593 worked in the sawmill, he was not as willing to hand over his wages to
578 his wife as is the farmer, who according to established custom gives the
608 proceeds from the sale of his crop to his wife. The judges advise the man
571 to stay sober, adding, "If you want a woman, you ought to support her.
692 You shouldn't fight." They entreat the wife to return to her husband's house "and make a fire there." They refuse to release the marriage license, and the woman's father reluctantly agrees. He has the last word, warning the husband: "The day after tomorrow, don't come back here with a couple more children and say, 'I don't want you; go back to your mother's house.' You are lucky to have a wife. If you don't have a wife, you go get drunk every day. But with a wife, life is good. She will give you coffee and corn to eat. Don't go on fighting whether drunk or sober. Both my compadres [referring to the judges] have advised you."

755 The curing ceremony as a means of adjusting interpersonal conflict is
608 discussed at greater length in the following chapter. Padrinos of baptism,
571 compadres, and other members of the patient's me?iltatil attend, both to
578 see that the curer is performing his duties properly and to lend spiritual
182 support. Like the household and court review of conflict, it permits the open airing of grievances and relies on the authority of elders. Drinking
[273] liquor is a means of restoring good feelings, either as a follow-up to the review of court cases or as a continuous measure of goodwill in curing.

182 The responsibility of the me?iltatil for repairing personal relationships
571 in the family underwrites the importance of this institution in the commu-
608 nity. In these institutionalized means of settling conflict the society recog-
578 nizes the inevitability of friction in intimate relations and draws upon the resources of personnel and techniques developed in the life crisis rituals.

182 The me?iltatil are the guardians of individuals. The security that they
156 provide depends upon the individual conforming to the group norms.
608 They are a personal reference group maintaining customary ways of be-
571 having. I shall show in the following chapters how they are linked as the inner core to a system of guardianship provided by curers within each side of the dual division and by civil authorities at the community-wide level.
182 These are the agents who, by providing models of how the progenitors
608 behaved and by channeling responses to social change, maintain the sense
571 of equilibrium and the illusion of changelessness. The sense of continuity

medicine. But why should they ask for medicine if the curers were going to eat their souls as he told me? I asked him, "How do you eat their souls?" He said that the five or six curers would make a common meal. They looked for a frying pan, and when it was well cooked, they would call all the curers and say, "Come, let us eat in common." When people came to ask for medicine, they would say, "Please, give us medicine." The curers would give the medicine, but the sick ones did not get well. The curers were only deceiving them. How could they get well if they wanted to eat their souls? They only wasted their money.

It is this that O. K. said to me. He told me himself that he had eaten the souls. Then I felt that he was bad because of what he himself had told me. To this day, I believe that he himself did the evil to his patients.

The personality of the curer. In view of the hazards of entering the curing profession and the low material rewards, the question of what motivates a curer to practice is of some interest. The older curers claim that God spoke to them in a dream and made known His desire that they cure. They conceive of it as a responsibility to the people, and maintain that their power comes from God. This contradicts parallel statements made by the same curers that their power comes from their swayohel. The younger curers say that the curers of their side selected them because they saw that they had a swayohel.

Direct questioning yields only limited understanding of what motivates these extraordinary people. The behavior of some of the curers reveals facets of the role which could not be elicited from them in questioning. Curers are able to defy tenets of the moral code of the community which stress softness and slowness, a moderation which is fundamentally based on fear of the world of spirits and of men. When drunk, the curers brag about their strength and fearlessness. They try to avoid the usual negative sanctions to such behavior by asserting the strength of their swayoheles and their imperviousness to harm.

My elder brother Albino was drinking with the dead Nicolás, leader of the curers of Alannantik. When both were half drunk, my elder brother asked Niholás what swayohel he had.

symptomatic of the present breakdown in the hierarchical controls which formerly maintained the authority of elder curers. Informants say that in the old days there was no such competition, and the leadership of the elder curers was unchallenged.

Another clue to the personality of the curer can be seen in the statement of a young curer, who expressed in a kind of stream-of-consciousness style the fears and worries that plague him. After responding to the questioning about what he did when he cured, he proceeded to talk of his own concerns as he cured patients:

And when I arrive at Pahalton [curing spring], I set aside my hat and blanket so that they do not get burned. If a dog should come and chew my sandals or if I should leave them outside the house where I am curing and a house rat chews them, then it will cost me thirty pesos to buy a new pair. When I come out late at night, a cat spirit sometimes appears on the road, and I throw a stone at it so it will not carry off my spirit; or a dog comes and I must beat him with my hand because I have no machete with me, or I must throw a broken bottle at the devil. When I get home, I take off my jacket and hat and go to sleep. My woman must tie up the sandals with a string on the rafters so that the rat will not eat them. Then it is the woman's fault if the devil dog gets them.

Late at night the spirits of the curers come to play and go at cock's crow. And at two o'clock the spirit of a sheep comes out with the devil, and these spirits do not go to sleep in their house until dawn. And if they [the curers' spirits] arrive in bed drunk and take off their huaraches and bother their wife she will put them in prison and then they have to pay a fine of two liters of the "gift" [liquor] and one handful of cigarettes. If their woman leaves the curers and they come out of prison, then if they do the same thing again, they send then to Santo Domingo. In prison they make net bags and if they have a wife, she goes and gives them tortillas and coffee. If their wife or father and mother help and give money, then they can pay for a lawyer and get out. Or if they have a daughter, then they receive the gift of a suitor and eat the bread.[3] *Later there will come the chicken and sweet liquor and trago, and then she will marry. Later*

3. "Eating the bread" signifies that the betrothal negotiations are accepted.

756 156 *they will go to the church wedding. The parents of the couple embrace the godparents. They go dance in the house.*

The paranoic fantasies of this young curer, a man in his early thirties, characterize the world of fears, both real and demonic, which the curers sometimes manipulate and by which they are sometimes victimized. The 756 young curers in their thirties and forties tend to have more domestic dis- 156 putes than most men in town. Emilio, a man in his forties who has been 593 trying to assert his stature as leading curer of Alannantik since his prede- 578 cessor was killed for witchcraft, was deserted by his wife. She fled to a neighbor's house. In a drunken rage, he tried to burn it to the ground. When his attempt failed, he threatened to bring "heat" from the Cave of the Star to cause an epidemic after which, he said, he would "eat the souls 756 of the children by the dozen." In the line of duty, curers are often re- 273 quired to get drunk, and drunkenness loosens the cautions which control 156 behavior. Gloating in the power of their swayoheles, there seems to be no limit to the threats or acts they commit. While drinking has probably al- [154] ways been part of curing ceremonies, the behavior noted in the cases described seems to be a response to the growing insecurity on the part of the curers about their status.

756 The curer reveals in his speech and acts the motivation of power. In 156 Tzoʔontahal, power means freedom from one's own fears as well as from the human and supernatural sanctions imposed on those who ignore the norms governing behavior. The proof of his power lies in the ability to inspire fear in others. For this reason, the curer brags of the evil deeds he has committed or is capable of doing, even though this may bring about his own destruction.

Curing Behavior

756 In their role as "doctors" for the individual patient, curers are referred [192] to as *ʔuʔul* and are addressed with the honorific title *tatin*. Despite the de- [594] clining belief in their guardianship function, there has been a retention of [178] belief in their power to overcome witchcraft. Only the curer, because he possesses a swayohel, can deal with illness caused by witchcraft. Even if

755 Sometimes a colicky baby
753 may become the focus of a curing ceremony designed to "cure" the conflict
593 between husband and wife. In one case, the parents of a healthy young
182 wife separated from her husband staged a curing ceremony to dramatize
578 her marital plight to the in-laws.

178 The breakdown of the curing hierarchy and the recruitment procedures
756 which were maintained by the elder leaders (see Chapter 10) has led to a
608 reevaluation of the role of the curers in the community. They have lost
754 their position as me'iltatil representing the ancestors who guard over the
[627] community. Curers are increasingly being accused of sorcery, and over ten of them have been killed in the past decade as witches (Nash, J. 1967). Paradoxically, it is the belief in their evil power which leads to their persisting role in the society. Clients feel that the more evil the curer is, the more able he is to combat evil. In a community dominated by belief in witchcraft, they are both feared and valued for their ability to control it. From a position as arbiters of morality, they have become the chief targets as deviants from the moral code. Despite the loss of confidence in curers as guardians, they are still called upon to fight the evil of witchcraft, and nearly every day a ritual is performed. The regimen of the curing ritual has not been upset by the undermining of the curers' position. Tied to a
[755] diagnostic system emphasizing the state of the patient's social relations, the
[608] same procedures are carried out even when modern medicines are used.

753 In curing practices, the Indian sees himself as the key figure in the
156 drama of his own self-victimization. His illnesses come from within his own world, usually from within his family or close neighborhood. They are a mark of guilt for having excited the envy or hatred of associates. While the Indian is often portrayed in the role of passive victim to outside domination, in his own self-projection he sees himself dominated by powers within the community. Greater participation and equality in the wider society may in the future release him from these fear-provoking figures in his own environment.

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heard our hearts. The people will hear that we didn't do anything. The true curers looked. We came to the place and we found it." 756 621

The curers left the town hall, one by one, saying the pat?o?tan to the judges as they left. The judges remained. 627 754

President: "We have heard clearly what we waited here to hear. They have brought back a little soda."

Judge: "So it is for your work [referring to the soda], what you went to do there [in the hills]."

President: "It is good what you did, but you are afraid because of that." Judges laugh.

The curers in public performances nominally recognize as leading curers the two major speakers for the group, Feliciano of Yetawitz and Emilio of Alannantik. However, these men are not recognized as true leaders. Feliciano lives in the despised barrio of Yetawitz and is associated with the kuriketik, (the inhabitants of the colonia of San Vicente), while Emilio himself has been accused of witchcraft. But the situation required someone to represent the group from each side, and so there was compliance with this temporary role. 756 621

In the public gathering, the curers refrained from accusing anyone, and denied that they had knowledge of the witch. The older curer (not recognized as leader but serving in the place of an elder) warned the group not to kill anyone as a result of the meeting. That evening, the president and his brother announced on the loudspeaker of the cantina that they did know who was trying to murder the president, that it was the curer who was absent, and that he should desist. The curer responded by announcing on another cantina loudspeaker that he was innocent. On the following day, the accused appeared in the town hall with two family-sized bottles of beer. He said that he did not want the president to continue accusing him, since he was not guilty and had truly been sick. (He had consulted the I.N.I. clinic nurse rather than one of his colleagues and had received treatment for a headache. This was commented upon by his opponents, who interpreted it as showing his lack of faith in traditional curing practices.) 756 754 621 627 [756].

made explicit in the contrasts they make between their conditions and those of the migratory mestizo laborers who work in the sawmills and fincas in the area. They comment on the fact that these workers have no political representation and that they and their children are illiterate and do not attend school. The significant factor is that the Indians of the corporate communities not only have advantages over the mestizo worker, but they perceive these advantages and are acting in terms of them. The preservation of community traditions is seen as a means of retaining community-owned assets and of maintaining a sense of self which is threatened or destroyed when the individual Indian enters into the national society.

The rules of strategy for moving in the direction of change are a transformation of the rules of the game that the Indians hve played in the four and a half centuries since the Conquest. The overall strategy is still defensive and aimed at preserving local independence, but their tactics include new skills acquired from Ladinos. In opposing the old power elite of the curing hierarchy, the present leadership uses the same tactics of the witch-hunt that their opponents used in the past to punish deviates, but they are beginning to confront them openly when sorcery is suspected. Leaders of the new cooperatives state that their aim is to increase opportunities for the whole community, not to make individual profit.

Because the conflict has been contained within community boundaries, the statement of goals remains the same. These goals include the retention of control by local leaders over judgment of guilt or innocence, in ceremonial affairs, and by all townspeople over land. This retention of local control is the key feature of a moving equilibrium in a model of change that puts the emphasis on continuous adjustments and adaptations. In the usual models for discussing modernization, the confrontation is conceived as one between the indigenous society and the outsider representing western influence. In Tzoʔontahal, young leaders within the community have confronted old in the stated interest of preserving tradition. Occasionally they may make alliances with the old leaders as in the conflict with the priest.

These "shifts in the focus of political power within a given system" (Leach 1964:9) are the prelude to structural change. Tzoʔontahal as a case

Chapter 10

Roles, Persons, and the Evaluation of Performance

Categories of roles, time, and place structure the expectations of social groups. The following three chapters summarize the preceding data according to these cognitive modes. Role behavior and system, which will be analyzed in the present chapter, provide only a partial explanation of social interaction. It is the "proliferation of behavior beyond roles" (Linn 1967) that is of greater interest for the study of change. Consideration of place and time helps to make role categories explicit and to structure behavior that exceeds role expectations. Changes in the use of space and time can reveal adjustments in role relations before change occurs. Space and time perspectives will therefore be analyzed in the following two chapters.

Cooperation is possible when actors not only take into account the responses of others but also anticipate those responses. Anticipations are based in part upon understanding of conventional roles, but the rights, duties, and obligations invested in roles do not encompass all of the relevant expectations which make coordinated social interaction possible. Individual repetitive behavior in role play gives an image of what kind of person each actor is, and the groups of individuals are further categorized as "kinds of people." As an example of the first kind of classification, we have persons characterized as bright, dull, honest, crafty, etc. The second set of categories puts different personalities in socioeconomic classes such as rich and poor, or in political classes such as radical and conservative. Tzo?ontahal, along with other small societies, emphasizes personality categories since it lacks well-defined socioeconomic or sociopolitical classes.

Social continuity depends upon events which call for the participation of groups defined by roles as well as on socialization processes that under-

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been made, there is no recourse but to kill the man since he may retaliate by killing his accuser (this occurred in two of the cases noted in Table 29).

Conflict between generations in the role sets father/son and father/son-in-law stems from delay in carrying out role responsibilities. Fathers are expected to provide the money for the costs of betrothal, and to give their children shares of the patrimony including both land and livestock. The scheduling of when this should occur is often a matter of dispute, resulting in at least two cases of homicide in the period analyzed.

New economic enterprises have exacerbated the tensions rising from envy. Foster (1965) has suggested that envy stems from the notion of the "limited good," requiring the strategy of a "zero sum game" (Bennet 1966). The fact that the new wealth is evidence of new opportunities, not a subtraction from a given resource supply, has not entered the cognitive awareness of the people. The prospering leaders of these enterprises feel themselves to be particularly vulnerable to the envy of others and thus to the charge of witchcraft. There have been several open attacks on new leaders accused as witches; the leader of the truck cooperative, for example, was murdered in 1966. Six men have been killed as cattle thieves in the past ten years.

The economic roles created with the introduction of new enterprises have not been integrated in the traditional pattern of recruitment and control. In the association of cattle breeders, leadership tends to be based on the size of the herd; in the case of the truck cooperative, amount of capital invested and entrepreneurial skills have determined the leadership of the enterprise, while driving skill and ability to get along in the Ladino world has been the basis for choice of drivers. Such achievement principles as the basis for recruitment into these envied positions are not accepted in the same way that age and passage through a hierarchy of posts validated higher positions in the old hierarchies. The conspicuous expenditure of wealth in the more expensive posts in the religious hierarchy has also failed to lessen hostility aroused by the increasing disparity in wealth, and in fact those who have served as alférez have been even more subject to witchcraft aroused by envy.

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"gift of the gods," liquor, to the party whose interests have been slighted. This is done in the case of a suitor who is asking for a woman of the other side of the dual division; he gives the bachelors of that side a garrafón of liquor in compensation for the loss of a potential mate. Liquor has become a substitute for the sacrifice of a child by a man being initiated into the curing profession. Informal offerings of liquor may be made between neighbors or relatives who have been fighting with each other. Liquor is a kind of universal social solvent in disputes, and figures importantly in court cases which are always terminated in a drinking session.

Another technique is simply a payment in money to compensate for damages. In some homicide cases, the payment of "blood money" has compensated the family of the victim to avoid legal action. This is never done, however, if the community agrees that the victim was a witch. Payment of fines in court is another such form of compensation. These payments or offerings minimize the bloodshed or personal involvement in conflictual relations. Payment by the man judged guilty will ensure his reincorporation into his customary place in the community without stigma.

While it is impossible to elicit from informants a theory of roles, it is possible to formulate the principles underlying roles. These are deduced from behavioral observations and from evaluations made of the performances of others. They can be summarized in the following propositions:

1. There is a clear separation between role and role-bearer. This is seen most clearly in the passage through civil and religious offices with a minimum of "halo" effect. It is also found in the situation of household officials whose authority in directing affairs within a household ceases when the ceremony in which they officiate is over. The separation ensures flexibility in a closed social system, enabling people to shift from one role to another. It also permits continuity in a system which requires an almost complete turnover of personnel each year.

2. Function performed is separate from role in which it is performed. This applies even in those roles which are designated on the basis of the most important function required of the performer, for example woman speaker, liquor measurer, and basket carrier. All of

554 these role-bearers have other functions to perform, but the term specifies the most significant of these. Other people may unofficially perform these acts but only the officially appointed person has the other prerequisites for and duties of the role.

3. Recruitment into roles depends on age and sex qualifications. Validation of the role emphasizes, in addition to these ascribed characteristics, innate capacity rather than acquired ability. For example, the curers who are respected are assumed to have been born with an animal spirit, while those who are believed to have acquired it are suspected of being witches. Similarly, high civil officials are expected to be innately clever, not just trained for office.

828 4. Evaluation of performance emphasizes the state of the heart and qualifies judgments of the person according to characteristics of the mind and of the soul. The heart governs emotions such as contentment or inner turmoil and determines the moral relations a person has with others. The mind enables a man to deal effectively in his instrumental activities so that he can speak and work well. Possession of a [774] second soul means that one is clever and capable, but it is the third soul which gives power over the life and death of others. The exchange of [764] evaluations about others is a crucial area of concern in the tense atmosphere dominated by fear of whichcraft. In the belief that their very sur- [156] vival depends upon knowledge of the intent of others before it is expressed in witchcraft, the people constantly consult with relatives, compadres, neighbors, or the curers, in order to anticipate changes in their relations with others.

681 5. Sanctions against behavior that fails to meet role expectations depend on the seriousness of the crime rather than on the attitude of the criminal. This means that compensation relieves the wrong-doer of any guilt burden. Most compensation, even for homicide, can be translated into cash payment.

156 6. Ceremonial behavior in everyday interaction as well as in [554] ritual serves to limit the personal involvement in the encounter and to emphasize the role category. This is particularly emphasized in the [273] initial stage of the encounter. Liquor and cigarettes introduce a more [276] informal behavior in which the etiquette of reserve can be relaxed.

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Unorthodox behavior after drinking is less subject to censure than that indulged in without this stimulus.

The social changes affecting the community have not changed the categories of roles. What has happened is a shift in the power and authority associated with civil roles: the president's role for example has assumed importance over that of the principales. A full account of the changes in the role system requires a discussion of the settings in which they are enacted, the timing which gives them coherence, and the beliefs which give them meaning. Summary statements on role coordination will be given in the final chapter.

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struck by lightning on two occasions. The solution was to rebuild the tower of metal so that Santo Tomás could not demolish it if he struck again, a defensive reaction which is typical of the Indians in their extra-community relations. When an eclipse of "Our Grandmother the Moon" occurred during my stay in town, everyone went to her assistance, banging metal tools and pots, in what was believed to be a fight with the sun.

The emphasis on self-recrimination and guilt in explaining failure minimizes the build-up of protest. Economic hardship attributed to a man's own improvidence in relation to his fellow man and God are accepted as his lot in life. The drama of the curing ritual projects the Indians' sense of their own guilt for the suffering and poverty they endure.

Political Behavior

The structure of the civil hierarchy has been maintained but organizational changes have occurred which have weakened the basis for it. The alternation of offices between church and civil positions survives in the lower levels, but the new leaders in civil affairs now begin in the Ejido Commission, and few of those who pass as president take on posts in the religious hierarchy. The appearance of continuity has been maintained in communal rituals in which the principales provide the link with the past and the alfereces, until 1966, were the link between civil and religious wings; but in the day-to-day running of the town, the officials do not act on these premises. The balance between officials from each side of the dual division has been upset by the population increase on one side. The abolition of the institution of alfereces gives public recognition to the growing awareness of imbalance. Moreover, the factions based on the new trucking cooperatives that cut across the dual division reduce the effectiveness of the dual division in channeling conflict.

Behavioral deviation from the norms is present in all societies and is not in itself an index to structural change. This comes about when new interpretations are given to events that undermine confidence in existing institutions and leaders. Political conflicts in the past were interpreted as a contest between members of the sides of the dual division and hostility

128 pairs of individual roles, highly intense in interaction and
571 performed by people who are tied to each other by many clearly defined and extensive rights and duties. (D. Metzger [1960] defines them as highly relational versus lowly relational roles.) The roles at the micro-structural level form one net, and the quality of the joint performance of the individual, of all the roles which belong to him within this net define him as a good or bad person; the roles at the macro-structural level form a separate independent net which defines the individual as a good or bad community member.

128 For example, a man can spend his household money in long
•156 drinking sessions, and while drunk fight with his brother or beat
571 his wife, which will make him a bad brother and husband. But if he shares the liquor he drinks with other men in his barrio (town division), the same activity will define him as a good neighbor, who is neither selfish nor a miser, but willing to share his
[626] profits with other men. On the other hand, a man may refuse to pay his limosna to the Church, risk the community gossip and threats of witchcraft, but this would not make him a less respected father, nor influence the relationship with his wife.

361 The Physical Setting of the Villages

The towns are geographically compact, nucleated communities, as opposed to the vacant-town (and ceremonial center) described first by Tax (1937). The town streets form a grid pattern, more symmetrical in the center than at the edges where streets tend to curve following the accidents of the terrain.

621 183 (prideful and authoritarian with equals) and commit other misdemeanors against the village norms.

621 156 Individuals as well as families can be accused of having a "bad heart" or "small heart." In a sense, any social deviant (even a person who possesses peculiar physical characteristics) can be accused of having a "small heart," and, therefore, of being a witch if he abuses his political power while in office, or gets involved in deals with Ladinos, or refuses to spend his capital in community enterprises (not only by refusing cargos, but even if he insists on not paying a limosna).

627 754 If an individual is considered a witch, the villagers can try to get rid of him by bewitching him in exchange, and this failing (witches, they think, are difficult to attack because they have powerful souls), can be "condemned" to death. Murders which are witchcraft "revenge" cases occur regularly in the communities. Vengeance against witchcraft is a community affair. If a man develops a reputation as a witch, he knows he cannot count on the support of anybody. Fear and hatred isolate him and his family. He knows that he can be killed, and has to do everything possible to counter-attack the slow but certain build-up of village antagonism which will end in his death, at the most propitious occasion.

The usual procedure in eliminating a witch is for several men, usually those who for particular reasons (such as several recent deaths in their households) feel that they have been personally attacked by the witch, to agree on killing him. This is done in secret, but even then they try to insure, by subtle

621 571 man bankil (respect term, "elder brother") the other would be his 576 kiht'zin ("younger brother").

621 56 554 Older men are socially superior to younger ones. A man who has passed many cargos has more authority than one who has not served in the community government. A man with many children in a united family commands more respect than a man whose children are embarrassed of him because he is a trouble-maker. A good 562 561 626 talker is better thought of than a boring drunkard. The same differentiation scale, although using some other criteria, also functions for women. Elder ladies have enough social status to be permitted to laugh in public while young married wives are expected to keep quiet. A woman known as a "good mother-in-law" collects the rewards of praise of other women. A wife who keeps her husband clean and well fed can visit around and be well received, while a lazy housekeeper would not be welcomed in other women's houses who fear of being judged "by the company they keep."

554 555 156 621 571 A constellation of factors, therefore, places the individual in a very particular status position, and his personal skill can increase his prestige or destroy it. Moreover, the total performance of an individual in the totality of his roles can not only increase his general status and gain the approval of his fellow men, but would be an important factor in saving him from witchcraft accusations. A man can try to control as much labor and capital as possible in order to maximize profits from his work and minimize its consumption, as long as he does not create enemies, and insures his prestige in as many dimensions as possible: he can give advice to conflicting parties rather than

156 621 571 426 755 476 431 608 getting involved in the fight. He can help relatives in distress pay a debt or give a curing ceremony for a sick child. He can be a "hard worker, ready to offer a hand to a neighbor in need of extra labor" (hel-K'abal). He can send his wife with small presents of food to other households. He can make many compadres among those whom he suspects of possibly being against him, thereby assuring their friendship and respect. In sum, he can create around himself a long chain of loyal villagers who are bound to him by many different obligations. Then, because he is a 'leKil winiK' (one that behaves well with the people), he can "afford" to become rich by local standards without the immediate fear of punishment.

Every household head manipulates his environment in these terms. People try to accumulate riches and protect their paths in other ways. They also try to avoid distributing their accumulated wealth outside their household and to prevent the envy or gossip of those not so bound by loyalty, by hiding from others the knowledge of their possessions.

The result of the contradiction between the egalitarian values on the one hand, and the individual aspirations and behavior on the other, is expressed in gossip, "witchcraft talk" and a constant realignment of loyalties among villagers. Every man suspects another of being better off than one is led to believe, while at the same time he himself tries to keep others from suspecting him, and would not voluntarily give information on how many horses he owns or how much corn he has grown.

The picture of life in Amatenango and Aguacatenango is

156 62 754 779 The picture of life in Amatenango and Aguacatenango is not, however, from the ideological point of view of the community members, spread only into sanctions of negative dimensions. There are some justifications for wealth or success which are as intimate a part of the world view of the villagers as witchcraft is, because witchcraft has a positive counterpart: suerte (luck).

779 Suerte, as witchcraft power, is also a supernatural power given to the particular individual without the person's will having control over its possession. Some people are born with good suerte, some people with bad suerte. Some people can be "given" a particular suerte by a supernatural being[1] at some time in their life to keep until his death or for some period of time. Of course, a man cannot give his suerte away or transmit it to his children. The suerte is not a general power, but has specific dimensions. For example, a man has suerte to raise cattle, which would, then, grow and reproduce tremendously in his lifetime. But, he may very well have bad bean crops. His children, at his death,

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[1]The suerte can be given by many different supernatural [776] beings. Some informants say it is Dios (God), or the Virgin Mary, some say it is the Sombrerón, or owner of the deer and caves, to whom one has to promise to give one's soul at death, some others indicate that it is written in one's destiny at birth to have a particular type of suerte. The variations in the belief are many, and in a system of ideology without a Church body to create, and control the diffusion of dogma, this is to be expected.

[779] The only organized dogma available to the villager is the local Catholic Church, but this dogma leaves out a series of beliefs [538] such as suerte and brujeria as unacceptable. Therefore, these beliefs are only transmitted informally, together with folk-tales, myths and the like. Because dreams are of great importance in relation to these beliefs, each individual can contribute, through [787] his personal dream experiences, to the general pool of ideology of [771] the community. Therefore, tales and myth, dream experiences, the "true" stories that people are told in the evening by particular relatives or friends, all tend to produce a mushrooming of alternative versions of the same or similar sets of beliefs.

would inherit the cattle, but there is no assurance that the animals would not rapidly die: the children may not have the father's suerte to raise cattle, but one of them may have it to grow beans.

Good suerte is a concept attached also to certain skills: if a man has that special suerte, he can have a mano fría (cold hand) which is necessary to castrate or brand animals without having their wounds get infected. In addition, a woman can become a midwife because she has the suerte to deliver babies. On the contrary, a person with bad suerte can have a mano caliente (hot hand), and be unable to carry on such tasks.[1]

Then, ideologically, people belong to two opposite categories. On the one hand, there are those with "small hearts" and witchcraft powers. On the other hand, there are good people with suerte. If a man is well thought of, the villagers say he has suerte. If they dislike him, they say he is a witch.

Every villager has to gamble carefully and weigh his odds, balancing his behavior in such a way as to avoid the "misjudgement" of his fellow villagers. The better they know and like him, the more likely it is that they would think that he has suerte. The more he creates enemies, the higher his probability of being

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[1]There are many part-time specialists in the village who do their work for neighbors and relatives at irregular intervals, never as a life specialization, except in a few cases such as midwives. Women may castrate chickens, or be called in as cooks at fiesta time. Men may be good at branding horses, roofing, etc. None of these jobs contributes substantially to the household income, except for the roles of carpenter, midwife and curer. Curers, however, are a separate category altogether, being ritual specialists "known" to have metaphysical powers.

156 accused of having an evil supernatural spirit. (A consequence of
754 this is that recent immigrants to the village, not well known by
770 [609] the community at large, or solitary characters that keep to themselves, are more likely to be thought of as witches even if they do not break community norms.)

621 The Macro-Structure: Barrios

Amatenango and Aguacatenango are both divided into two barrios which are territorial divisions separated by an imaginary line that cuts across the villages through their central plazas. The barrios of Amatenango are called Aconantik and Anantik (Upper and Lower) while the Aguacatenango barrios have Saint's names.

[171] This dual barrio division is common to many Indian settlements in the Tzeltal-Tzotzil region of the highlands of Chiapas, as opposed to the multiple barrio system of the mixed Indian and Ladino towns.

In the community of Oxchuc, the barrios (kalpuletik) function, according to Siverts (1960), as non-exogamous moieties with important political and ritual functions. In the opinion of this author, these barrios are just pseudo-moieties (Murdock, 1949; 47) not being based on rules of descent, but cutting across the lineage, sib and phratry units to which Oxchuqueros belong (Guiteras Holmes, C. 1952; Villa Rojas, 1945). This definition as pseudo-moieties holds true for the barrios of both Amatenango and Aguacatenango. They are not directly connected with any descent groups, but are territorial units with functions similar to those of real moieties.

882 562 584 session in Church). Water carrying is associated with courting, and the bachelors stay around the paths that connect the houses of their sweethearts with the well to which they go to fetch water, expecting to receive some indication of acceptance on their part, and if they are literate, to hand them a love letter. Girls, on these occasions, are expected to behave modestly and to be embarrassed. If not, they are usually judged as alocades (light-headed) and not fit for marriage.

•156 571 The concept of tener su compañía runs throughout all activity, at all ages. Having company means protection from the supernatural on a long trip, help around the house, harmonious social relations with age mates and kinsmen, and insurance against loneliness. Older women who are left alone in a house for several days will "borrow" a younger girl, a son's daughter for example, to keep them company, and a young wife going to market or to get firewood is usually expected to find company to do so. If not, [1053] she can well meet a strange man on the road, and get sick from verguenza (sickness assumed to originate from shame at being placed in an anomalous or embarrassing social situation) or espanto (fear and soul loss).

882 562 Boys (kerem and tek' el) do not have as many restrictions of behavior or of movement as girls after puberty, but they are [868] also expected to have their company. They start working with their fathers around the age of ten, depending on their physical strength, but in the beginning, it is not a serious occupation.

883 562 573 As soon as they become regular workers, they spend their free time with other bachelors and form a compañía or escuadrilla

342 which usually indicates the emergence of a new domestic group.
592 Its social importance is related to several factors.

342 When the young couple build their first separate house,
591 this symbolizes their right to become a separate domestic group.
592 It means that they have lived together long enough to raise one or more children past the age of weaning, and that they have become economically and jurally independent of their parents.

342 (See later discussion on residence.) The building itself is a
156 material display of a man's good social relations. Although
571 house size does not correlate with the number of people living in it, the villagers think that a house "talks" about its owners. A very small house tells the villagers that it is a "drunk-man house" because his owner spends all his money on liquor and cannot buy materials for building a better place. The house also tells of the amount of industrious effort that a man and his family are able to put into its construction, and it tells about how much his relatives and neighbors are willing to "loan hands" to him (help for house building is not paid for in money, but in
[177] reciprocal labor). A house is also a good indicator of how much "ladino influence" its owner has assimilated. Houses with ladino influence would have internal divisions in the rooms, windows, painted walls and/or tile roofs. (This type of house is not common, as can be seen in Fig. 12 and Table 5.)

342 The building of a house is followed by a "house warming"
[527] ceremony, in which offerings to the Mother-Earth or Saintly Earth
[782] and the house are buried under the floor. The ritual preparation of a new home is part of a complex ideological identification between people and their homestead.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 111]

593 Aguacatecos expect a man to take the responsibility of
•156 setting up his son in "business" as a community member. He pays
62 for his son's bride, teaches him the skills for tilling the soil
[583] in order to earn a living, and provides him, at a prudential time, with the means of production: a parcel of land, and perhaps a few animals, and a house where he can live with his wife and children.

593 At the same time, a son is expected to take care of his
888 parents when they are old and the father retires from agricultural work because he is too old, sick or weak to do, by himself, all the work necessary for the maintenance of his household as an economically independent unit. The people say that a son should provide for his aged parents because: "Did we not give them everything?"

The primary responsibility for the care of aged parents is usually given to one son in particular, preferably the last one (po'h). The villagers explain that this is his duty, because "if
[428] he stays with us when all our other sons marry, get their land and leave, this house will be for him, he will inherit this place." Thus, the villager visualizes his dependency on the last son as an economic exchange between kinsmen: he receives from his son food and shelter, he gives him a house lot and house. The duties of a son toward his parents are expressed both in the kinship idiom

---

[592] the separate cooking fire, is the symbol of the unity of one
[591] single domestic group. When two couples live within the sitio
[606] without dividing it, people are very careful to explain if they still cook together or not, and if they cultivate the land separately or not.

593 578 histories collected during the field work season, and it well [621] could be that a case was missed). Second, if he wants to obtain [423] help from other men, they risk antagonizing, with their willing- [476] ness to cooperate, the head of the household in which the young man is residing, and they also risk the concommitant sanctions.

423 The young man could also obtain land without his father's 425 help by leaving the community to work for wages and saving enough 464 money to buy land. Although the selling of parcels is not a 166 [593] common practice in Aguacatenango, the idea of land being a commodity that can be bought and sold has been introduced, and some few household heads, in cases of emergency, are willing to sell. Of course, leaving the community to work for wages means voluntary exile for a man and alienation from relatives, friends and the cultural milieu. Also, men insist that it is profitable to work for wages only if one does it for short periods of time and keeps milpa simultaneously. Wage work alone is not enough to buy corn and the other necessities to meet the requirements of the customary standard of living.

593 On the other hand, a man breaking away from his home and 62 refusing to accept his father's authority becomes a deviant, and 156 antagonizes not only his family, but the community.

Although it is possible, theoretically, to become eco- 593 nomically independent of one's father against his will, in fact 592 a man can only set up his own household in compliance with the 156 ethical principles and moral conventions of his culture. Therefore, he is only permitted to form his own domestic group when he has demonstrated that he has reached the stage of social maturity which allows him to do so.

591 has not inherited land. The other family living in a borrowed
592 home is a young couple that married without their parents' ap-
423 proval. They eloped and established themselve on the edge of
426 town, in an empty old hut, whose owner does not demand payment.
"Borrowings" are temporary arrangements, and as a form of resi-
[583] dence, very unstable. Young couples who decide to elope leave town to reside at Colonia del Puerto. We know of two cases which followed this custom. But if they do not leave town, they try to move to a house on the edge of town. From these two cases, we can assume that borrowing is due to economic reasons (poverty of a family who cannot afford to buy a house), or as a consequence of deviant behavior (in the case we have, the husband was an orphan and parental sponsorship by the wife's parents was denied because they disapproved of the marriage).

361 The edge of town is a refuge area for people who in one
•156 way or another "do not belong" to the community. Social deviants,
167 like the young couple mentioned above, tend to move to the town boundaries. Recent migrants from other villages also live on the edges. Two complete blocks on the southern boundary of town are inhabited by a large extended patrilocal family which originated from a Chamula Indian who was a peon on a nearby finca until the agrarian revolution. After he became free, he migrated to the village and married a local Indian woman.

125 The above discussion covers all the cases for which we had sample data. We have, however, information on other cases which could not be counted in the statistics because they were part of life histories or concerned individuals who do not live in

village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

159 Delfina is an unusual woman by village standards, and
156 the anthropologist quickly notices her deviant, from the rest of Aguacatenango women, personal characteristics: domineering, moody
562 and pretentious. But even in other cases, the rights of women to
428 inherit or transmit property are contested often, as the following
578 example will also show.

Case 2

159
428 Chilola has a son from a marriage previous to her present
562 one. This son is about twenty years old. He is working the land
578 with his stepfather, but wants to have his own milpa. When Chilola's first husband died, they were very poor. Nobody claimed rights on her husband's milpa, so she held it, although her son was not old enough to cultivate it. She tried to sell it to pay for the burial, but nobody wanted to pay her price, so she kept
[592] it. At the time, her mother-in-law, an old woman, was living with
[606] her and being supported by Chilola, but "although she was already
[587] old, went out and looked for her man" (aunque estaba viejita se fué a buscar su hombre), and remarried. Because Chilola's son's milpa was fallow, the second husband of Chilola's mother-in-law took over its cultivation.

From the mother-in-law's late marriage, a daughter was born. This daughter married and her husband took over the milpa.

Now, Chilola's son wants to get his part of it because he is the direct heir of the father, who was the man who originally had the rights over the parcel. At the same time, the man who is

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 191]

based on non-kinship terms would maximize profit or material benefits, which the kinship frame limits considerably. Second, the cultural norms imposed on the villager about the types of work which he is allowed to perform, about the maximum wealth which he is able to control, and about the distribution of this wealth, are, from a purely financial point of view, "anti-economical." But an Indian living in a Ladino town, undoubtedly having the choice of improving his life from an economic point of view, alienates himself from everything which is dear to him. An Indian attempting to live up to his aspirations of wealth within the community, alienates himself even more, and risks the dangers of witchcraft and social ostracism.

The phrase, "man does not live by bread alone," is very much of a truism here. If the primary factor in determining behavior were economical, the villager would have no need to live within the customary standards of living of his community nor would the corporate community persist. Each Indian could become a laborer of some sort, and integrate himself into the national society of Mexico.

But people make choices not only because they are financially advantageous, but because they preserve their standing within their kinship group, they provide satisfaction for their need of the psychological rewards of prestige and positive affection and for their need for "belonging" to a group of similar human beings with similar culture and aspirations.

We have to admit, then, that it is as impossible to analyze social dynamics, only taking into account economic variables, as

average annual earnings of a man in this town); failure to accept the post when it is offered brings a jail sentence. On the following day, during a drinking session in the townhall with the assembled civil officials, the reluctant nominee usually accepts. 794 [434] [681] [273]

The civil career of an individual would be one in which he passed (*sk'as*, which I gloss as 'pass'; it is the same verb as Spanish *pasar*) first as police, then as third or fourth regidor. If he has passed as alferez, he will enter as first or second regidor at this stage, and then go on to second judge and finally become first judge. If not, he will stop as third or fourth regidor. After reaching the peak of his career as first judge, he may return to the police group as *martomorey*. Present leaders of the town consider this an "ugly" custom and say they hope to change it because it puts men of major age in a position of minor importance. Formerly men had to fulfill six turns in civil office, twice as regidor and twice as judge, to be considered free of further obligation. But now, because of increasing population (according to informants), this has been lowered to five required turns. The post which has been eliminated is that of assistant judge, which is now filled by a representative of one of the two barrios. 156 621* 554 693 [794] [829] 624 693 178 156

Throughout his career in office, a household head is expected to alternate between the civil and religious posts. Religious posts are considered less onerous since they require only six months of service, from the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo at the end of June until January 6, and the men are on duty only Sundays and holidays. A balanced number of six turns in each of the branches of the hierarchy was expected, prior to the reduction of the number of civil posts to five, to bring one to the end of one's career. In a census of 311 household heads made in 1964, passage in office shows a balance between posts undertaken in each wing of the hierarchy. Of 13 men over 70 years of age, five had completed service in civil and religious office. Three who had passed as president had served only once or twice in each wing of the hierarchy. The remaining five had a balanced but incomplete career. 621* 156 794 [125]

In the religious hierarchy, a man passes first as *nit'anil kuk haʔ*, 'minor who brings liquor.' Then he will pass as *ʔaliʔbal*, the assistant to the *kobraria*, particularly charged with the slaughter of the bull for the large fiestas. These "servants" were not distinguished from other mayordomos in the initial listing of officers, but were mentioned in the description of fiesta 794 554 156

[P. 215-A]

activities. Following this, he then serves as *tatil* of any saint of minor rank, then as *tatil* of San Pedro Martyr or San Francisco, followed by a turn as *tatil* of the *kobraria* Virgin Santa Lucia, and finally as *tatil* of the *kobraria* Sacramento.

The Tzeltal role terms in both the civil and religious hierarchies reveal the preconquest age-ranking system. This is evident in the use of elder and junior

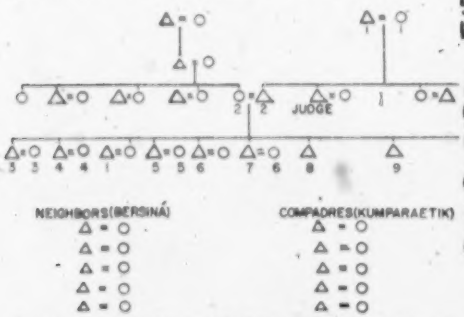


CHART 3 — ASSISTANTS AND PARTICIPANTS IN HOUSE FIESTA OF JUDGE (ELICITED)

Circles indicate women; triangles indicate men. For role term applying to number, see Chart 4.

titles for mayordomos (*tatil* and *nič' anil martoma*) and in the use of *mas mamalil* (more senior) for higher rank offices.

The informant's understanding of the hierarchy is that of a core of officeholders in three ranked segments (Chart 1). This is coded in the group terms for officials. Roles peripheral to the major categories such as those of rural judges, fiscal and women prayer-makers, are elicited only with repeated questioning of with reference to some event in which they function. These roles differ from those mentioned first in that they are either of little significance to the individual informant (this would explain the consistent omission of the rural judge by the people of the center) or are not part of the required posts incumbent upon every male household head to undertake (this might explain the omission of the president, síndico, principales and fiscales in the first eliciting session). Structural principles made explicit by the informants are (1) hierarchical rank, (2) progression from lower to higher posts, and (3) territorial balance in representation of the dual division. An implicit corollary of passage through offices beginning with lower ranks is the age grading of officeholders. Other structural aspects emerged in the description of behavior, described below.

[P 215-B]

Q. 68) is a review of the major activities in which they will take part in the church. The phrase 'before the face of,' *ta sit*, is the orientation he indicates to the new mayordomos to perform these acts. 794 796 [537]

The ceremony in the church when the mayordomos receive their candles is limited to the few words of advice spoken to them by the fiscal and the passing over of the candles. There is no representation by the civil authorities in the ceremonial aspect of installation, although the fiscal, in his dual office as assistant to the priest and as president, indirectly takes this role. The alfereces, who provide the link on other occasions for the civil officers' inauguration, are not active during this changing of the religious officers. Following the ceremony inside the church, the town treasurer and síndico help the fiscal count the money passed over with each *kobraria*. Thus the "integration" of the hierarchy is asymmetrical, providing for a church representation in civil affairs, but only in a limited sense is there the reverse. [621]* [624]

The mayordomos return to the house of the *kobraria* Sakramentu. The *nakawanehetik* have lost their place of honor at the *hol wanku*, 'head of the bench,' and are sleeping under the bench or in the corner. Their presence is no longer socially marked, and it is not a point which was elicited.

The behavior during the inauguration of civil officials showed the following structural features. The hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth stepladder but a segmented order. The categories elicited in the first session with the informant—*alkaletik*, *rehiroletik*, and *mayoletik*—act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same areas in all the settings (App. 1, Q. 14, 15, 51, 64–74). Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They order their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge issues an order to the fourth regidor to get liquor (App. 1, Q. 55) and the first police orders the commissioner from the rural colonias to get liquor for their group (App. 1, Q. 79). In these behavioral indices one can see the segmentation of the civil hierarchy, ordered by age, skill acquired in the expensive office of alferez, and territorial identification. Age grading is absolute only between the segments, and is roughly applicable within each segment. 621* 571 554 156 [561]

In the inauguration of the religious officials, elder and younger officials associated with each saint act 794 581 156

[P 219-A] TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 220

as a team. Thus the junior *(nicʔanil)* and senior *(tatil)* officials walk and sit in pairs. The senior officials order the junior. Just as in the case of the civil officials, some junior mayordomos may be younger than others who are in lower positions, because they have passed in the lower offices at an earlier age, but all senior mayordomos are older than their paired juniors.

Another important structural feature that became apparent in the behavioral schedules is the household base establishing the officeholders' position in both hierarchies. The new official learns his role obligations from the *nakawanehetik*, the group of elders

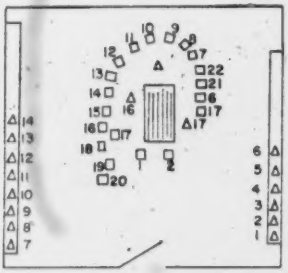


CHART 8 — INSIDE THE TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING THE OATH (OBSERVED)

Old officials are indicated by triangles, new officials by squares. Numbers refer to list on Chart 7. Three officials—the old secretary (17) and two new rural judges (21 and 22)—were not listed in the elicited session, Chart 7. Canes of office are on the table near the center of the room. Numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7.

who assemble in his house and who will assist him in his period in office. The ceremony in the house establishes this as a significant domain in public affairs. Relatives, neighbors, and compadres make up the interlocking network of supporters in the setting of the household. Both husband's and wife's relatives are symmetrically represented (Chart 3; see also J. Nash, 1964b, report on alferez assistants). Because of the expenses and the commitment of time during the period of office, the officials must have this backing to fulfill their obligations. A man with many compadres and godchildren has a firmer base to support his career in office. In the case of the new president, this was mentioned as an important asset by the president's brother. The guest list (Charts 3, 4) reveals the multiple references which establish the individual's role during any event.

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS Replication of behavior in both civil and religious inauguration is also seen in the house ceremonies. Prior to setting out to the townhall or to the church, the new officials acquire a sense of the sacred obligations they are about to undertake from the words of the *nakawanehetik*. 621* 794 796 182

The major behavioral schema are established in the settings in which activities occur. In each setting, the actors assert status in a social arrangement by their position in a physical arrangement: seating order clockwise from the door indicates rank order in all settings. The same act has a different significance in each setting. For example, drinking in the townhall differs from drinking in the house because it ties together different sets of actors.[10] As the actors move from one setting to the next, they are accompanied by some of the members linking them to the prior setting, as when the *nakawanehetik* accompany the president to the townhall. 621* 794 156 182 571 554 [273]

The significance of setting in allocating roles is evident in the Tzeltal terms for categories of officials: religious officials are called "officials in the church" *(ʔaʔteletik te ta čʼulna)* and civil officials are called "officials in the townhall" *(ʔaʔteletik te ta čʼulna)*. If my guess concerning the derivation of the term *nakawane* from house officials is correct (note 6), then this category derives its name from the locus in which authority is recognized. 621* 794 182 192 156

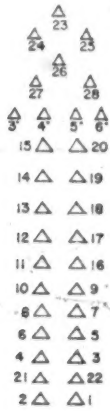
The analysis of behavior, or roles in action, corroborates some of the understandings gained from eliciting the structure, but requires some modification. The segmentary character of the hierarchy is evidenced in the domain, action, and the timing of action. However, qualifications of the elicited model must be made on the basis of the behavioral data. First, the asymmetry of the links between civil and religious officials in the church setting as compared with the townhall setting requires a qualification of the meaning of the integration for the two wings. 621* 794 182 156

[10] This adds a further caveat to the "behaviorist fallacies" pointed out by Lewin (1951, p. 79) when the psychological setting is ignored in the description of the physical dimension of an act. [114]

[P. 221 - A]

Second, the house ceremonials require the addition of this segment to complement the civil and religious strúctures so that we have a triadic set of officials—civil, religious and household—rather than a dyadic set as is usually described for Mesoamerican communities. 621* 794 182 156

Agent, place, time, and acts, both verbal and motor, 121



621* 794 788 533 554

CHART 9 — PROCESSION, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS:

3'-6' Alfereces
23 Guitarist *(alpultero)*
24, 25 Firecracker lighters *(tomese niʔbak)*
26 Flautist *(yamas)*
27, 28 Drummers *(stihik sk'ayobik)*

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7, in addition to 21 and 22, rural judges listed in Chart 8.

carefully described, are the pegs on which comparative analysis can be hung. What we lose in literary value in ethnographic accounts, we may gain in making explicit the inductive bases of structural functional analyses. Once we understand the principles involved in the assignment of position or action in any setting, variations from the elicited and observed pattern provide clues to social change within small time periods. 121

[P. 221-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontahal

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

The struggle for political office within the community is a response to regional and national power centers. Behavior in this struggle is alien to responses controlled in ritual or structured performances. The strategies developed in these situations fit the pattern of political homicide more typical of the Indian towns of the central plateau (Friedrich, 1964) than of the highland Chiapas area.

621*
178
156 •
[682]
[171]

[P 226-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

ing "what our mothers and fathers did" (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 64). Second, continuity can be seen in the presence of both old and new officials in the townhall. In this setting, the old officials acknowledge acceptance of the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28). Finally, of greatest importance in establishing continuity are the principales, who await the arrival of the new officials with the old officials (App. 1, Q. 28) who pass over the symbol of authority (App. 1, Q. 31), and who remain alone in the townhall for the return of the new officials, when they have gone to church.

621* 105 794 178 18 [624]

2. *Role commitment.* The officials are members of closed corporate communities, integrated in a prior set of kinship and other social relations. They cannot rely on anonymity when acting in their official capacity as judge or policeman. Thus one of the functions of the inauguration as a rite of passage is a disengagement from the preexisting network of obligations and a commitment to the obligations of the office (cf. Parsons, 1951, pp. 80–84; Gluckman, 1962, p. 34; Cancian, 1964). Behaviorally, this function is indicated in the unfailing use of the term *Mam* (elder respect term) in both address and reference. The reference to the holy nature of their task (App. 1, Q. 19) and of the symbol of their authority, the "holy" staff (App. 1, Q. 39) which they always carry when discharging an official errand, establishes the supernatural authority on which the role is based. The effectiveness of these symbolic role identities in neutralizing prior affective commitments can partially be judged in that most dispute cases are brought before the local courts rather than referred to higher courts, suggesting that the complainant expects fair treatment.

621* 105 794 178 18 156 554 [576] [293] [691]

3. *Role learning.* The inauguration provides a setting in which the individual who is about to assume office learns what is expected of him (cf. Fortes, 1962, p. 82). The instruction of the novice officeholder is acquired most importantly in the home from the speeches of the *nakawanehetik* and cofrades (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 38, Q. 64) and in the directions he may be given in the ceremonial setting (App. 2, Q. 39, observation).

4. *Introduction of new officeholders to the villagers.* The new status of the officeholders is made

621* 105 794 178 18 788 [P. 227-B]

827
787 claim, has been lost, as has been more recently that of speaking with the ancestors. But the curers can still enter into communication with the spirit world and in this lies their power.

461 Industry is valued along with competency. A man is described as indus-
183 trious with the words, "he carries much wood well," and a woman with the words, "she carries much sand well." These expressions are a kind of
[196] synechdoche for general industriousness, since the tasks serve as the measure of willingness to perform one's sexually defined roles.

[476] Judgments made in the choice of working "partners" in the exchange
[602] labor system are based on competence in working as well as on considera-
[608] tions of kin and compadrazgo relationship. Women make judgments of
[323] others' skill in pottery-making on the basis of both the appearance of the pot and its durability proved in use and transportation without breakage to market. Both men and women known to be hard workers are admired
[054] and envied. They may consequently become the objects of witchcraft.

828 Conceptions of personality are one end product of evaluations of per-
157 formances and condition people's expectations of individuals in their social environment. For the Indians, personality traits tend to imply other traits.
125 In order to derive a sense of these implications for Tzo?ontahal, I drew up
157 a checklist to identify some of these associations. Informants were asked to
828 state whether each of the traits listed on the top line in Table 30 was correlated positively, negatively, or not at all with each of the same traits listed vertically. A plus (+) sign indicates positive correlation, a minus (—) sign indicates negative correlation, and an equal (=) sign indicates that
157 there was no correlation. Thus being bright is positively correlated with
828 being beautiful and negatively correlated with being evil, fearful, lazy, foolish, gullible, braggardly, gossipy, and miserly. There is no connection between being bright and being of good heart, aggressive, or honorable. This suggests that the heart and the mind are independent loci for a set of traits that stem from them. Metaphors such as bitter, acid, and straight, when used to describe personality, are similar in connotation to those used in English. As in English, immediate sensory experiences of taste and vision provide by extension a means of talking about character.

157 In studying these personality traits, I sensed that "being" was "doing"
551 things in certain repetitive ways. This impression is corroborated by the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 286]

(P. 285)

TABLE 30. Personality Traits and Their Implications *

	Bright	*Beautiful*	*Good heart*	*Soft heart*	*Aggressive*	*Evil*	*Industrious*	*Fearful*	*Lazy*	*Foolish*	*Gullible*	*Gossipy*	*Miserly*	*Upright*	*Braggardly*
Bright		+	=	=	−	−	=	−	−	−	−	=	−	=	−
Beautiful	+		=	=	−	−	=	=	−	−	=	−	−	=	−
Good heart	=	+		+	−	−	=	=	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Soft heart	=	=	+		−	−	=	=	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Aggressive	=	=	=	−		+	=	−	+	=	=	−	=	−	=
Evil	−	−	−	−	+		=	−	−	−	−	=	+	−	=
Industrious	=	=	=	=	=	=		=	−	−	=	=	=	=	=
Fearful	−	=	=	=	−	−	=		=	=	=	=	=	=	=
Lazy	−	−	−	−	=	=	−	=		=	=	−	−	−	+
Foolish	−	−	−	−	=	=	−	=	−		−	−	−	−	−
Gullible	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	=	=	−		+	+	−	−
Gossipy	−	−	−	−	=	+	−	−	=	=	+		+	−	=
Miserly	−	−	−	−	=	+	=	=	−	−	+	+		−	+
Upright	=	=	+	+	−	−	=	=	−	−	−	−	−		−
Braggardly	=	−	−	−	=	=	−	−	=	=	=	+	+	−	

* Response of one informant.
+ Positive corelation
= No corelation
− Negative corelation

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system of giving nicknames, which is based on behavior typical for an individual but considered unusual by the community (Table 31). Many of these names are acquired in drinking sessions, or they may be passed down from father to son. Women of the community do not have nicknames, perhaps because they do not often drink in groups until they are

TABLE 31. Nicknames

Nickname	*Reason given for nickname*
Mono (Monkey)	He acts like a fool.
Nulkačo (Horn of bull)	He once ate the horn of a bull.
Purga (Purgative)	When he was young, he had a great deal of diarrhea. As he grew older, people asked him how he grew and he said, *"pura purga."*
Soltero (Soldier)	He was once in the army.
Obiskú (Bishop)	When he was young, he made a hat which looked like a bishop's.
Chanal (Town of Chanal)	Formerly he had given lodging to Chanaleños who passed through town.
Mam tiʔel mut (Man bitten by a chicken)	He had a chicken who bit him.
Mam čok (Beggar)	He was always borrowing things and not returning them.
Hwečol (Meal of sausage)	When he was president, he used to collect fines and ask his companions what they wanted to eat. They always replied "sausage," and so they had many a meal of sausage.
Mam sel pat (Torn shoulder)	He always wore an old, torn kotonču because he was afraid someone would steal it if he wore a new one when he was drunk.
Lo čiol (Tomatoes)	He ate a lot of tomatoes.
Heowa (Jehovah)	When he was drunk, he used to say to his companions, "You do not know of God, but his name is Jehovah."
Yakan tz'iʔ (Longbone of dog)	He was an orphan, but he grew quickly like a dog.
Tz'a yok (Short-legged)	He was short.
Rečo (Right [side])	When he was drunk he used to say that others didn't know what the revolution was like, but he did because he was in it. He used to shout, *"Flanko, recho"* (to the right flank).

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old and do not have as much opportunity to project their personalities in larger than life terms. Ladinas of the neighboring towns are given nicknames: Me? Sobol for example, was named for her habit of saying when she was drunk, "No soy bola" (I am not drunk); Me? Č'ič'el, meaning Mother Blood, was applied to a woman who sold blood of slaughtered animals.

Behavior is not believed to be totally dependent on innate traits, and the Indians emphasize the socialization processes. A badly behaved youth was said in court to "behave as though he did not have a mother," and to lack fear of his parents. The sense of shame and fear begin at home, and the community relies on the family to instill these controlling influences on behavior.

Notions of Justice and Compensation

Notions of immanent justice, whether acquired from the priest or indigenous beliefs, are peripheral to the morality system. Crimes should be paid for not in suffering, guilt, or remorse, but in fines exacted by the communal authority. Every crime has its price, and most people agree that it is good to be able to pay in money and be exonerated. The scale of values assigned in the fines for crimes is some index to the relative weight given them:

Stealing a bull: 500 to 1,200 pesos, depending on value of bull.
Stealing a turkey: 40 to 70 pesos, depending on value of turkey.
Stealing a horse: 300 to 500 pesos, depending on value of horse.

The range of fines for each act of theft indicates that justice is exacted on the basis of market value of the item stolen. The fine for murder is 1,600 to 3,000 pesos or two to eight years in prison when a killer is captured by the federal authorities. Local authorities rarely try to find the killer. In the thirty-seven cases of homicide analyzed in the period from 1938 to 1965 (Table 29)[1] only two resulted in federal action.

People express doubt about the priest's warning that those who do evil will reap the wages of sin in this life or the next regardless of whether they are found guilty. The pragmatic basis for this conclusion is revealed

1 (see pp.245-247..Analyst)

273* 539 I didn't have my hat or my sandals. I went out without my hat or my sandals, with my arms folded.

HA* NAX LA XI* LO*L HONC HATE YU*N KAK' TEX X*IN KAHPEH E, BON Z'IN, *E PERE *E TONC TE TONC TE KUX LO*L KO*TAN Z'IN *A.

As I recovered my memory, I was afraid, for I threw coffee in my wife's face.

HA* TE LIHK Z'IN ABI, TONC HUN TA YU*N HOWIYEL MA HNA* TUT'A TE LA HPAS LOK'EL E.

That's the way it began, it was like madness, that's why I don't know what I set out to do.

M. *A HOWIYEL.

It's madness.

J. *E YU*NIX BAHTALUK *A TAT, *E TONC TA TRAWO LOK'ON TIK E.

It might be, sir. It's because of the trago that I went out.

273* 158 Up to the point in the fragment where José returned to his home that sixth morning, everything was going normally. He'd drunk some aguardiente to kill the hangover, which is customary, and it sounds as though he planned to stop drinking. The craziness expressed itself in his throwing coffee in his wife's face. (He may have done this in response to his wife's complaining about his drinking so long.) He furthermore left the town with no purpose and lost himself several hours' walk from town. Finally, he left his house without the proper traveling equipment--hat and sandals.

This is an experience which, by Aguacatenango standards,

273* is frightening. The normal range of responses to heavy drinking
158 includes a variety of unpleasant symptoms. It is not unusual for men to "black out" for periods of time during the later stages of the drinking performance. But loss of memory and the physical disabling features take place in paths and places within the limits of the settlement. It is an unusually strong disorganizing force that will drive a man outside of the settlement into fields and mountains, into settings in which the level of threats to persons are greater than the in-town settings.

Following this condition of loss of memory, José became physically ill, the illness lasting for more than a year. The first craziness and then the succeeding illness are traced back to the drinking context. While no mention is made of witchcraft in this text, and I could not elicit this information, this type of illness response to drinking is reaching a pitch where informants would be likely to suggest a witchcraft component in the etiology.

273* The following text fragment is a little longer, but as
539 it illustrates multiple points, it seems worthwhile to include:

M. HA* YA HK'ANTIK PAWOR MA SPAS XAWALBOTIK C'IN CA* PALUK TUT'IL TAOT TA CAMEL HKUMPRE KUK TA YAKBEL E.

Could you tell us how my compadre got sick when he got over the big drunk?

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423 tlements were assigned to one of the two sections of the division in the
621 center with an attempt being made to maintain a demographic balance.
166 Incorporation of the new settlements was more effective in the case of the barrios than in the case of the colonias, which were farther away from the town center and included Indians of diverse communities. The process of
175 breaking away from the old community is illustrated by the 1961 move for
423 independence made by the original settlers of the colonia of Caralampio.
621 The following account was given by a man who was then secretary of the
661 ejido:
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The first settlers of San Caralampio, José, Pablo, Luciano, and Santos were self-appointed principales, *or head men, of the colony. Santos and Luciano were from the town center, and José and Pablo had worked on the ranch when it was privately owned. The colony was well populated and the people lived well—there were no fights nor any problems. In 1956 the four principales decided that they should separate from the center. They told the people that if each person would contribute twenty-five pesos, they would raise the issue of the division in the* Departamento Agraria Mixta. *José invited Mateo, a man who knew how to read and write, to help them.*

"Let's divide from the town so that we alone will run the colony," he told them.

The principales took the money contributed and went to Tuxtla. There, in the Liga de Communidad Agraria *they asked for the separation, and were referred to the* Departamento Agraria Mixta. *When they arrived there with their request, the commissioner said that he would have to communicate with the chief in Mexico.*

After this, Pablo came one day to the center. He spoke to the ejido commission: "Look here, José, Luciano and Mateo went to Tuxtla."

"What for?" asked the ejido president.

"They asked for a division from the town."

"Que pendejo!" *said the president. "What happened?"*

"What do you think?" asked Pablo.

"We are against it. If it was a new center, we would support you. But

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we are against division," said the president. "How much did you have to contribute?" he asked Pablo.

"Twenty-five pesos. They told us if we do not give money, we will be thrown out of the colonia."

We advised him that it would be better not to continue giving money to the principales. "You can't make this division," we told him.

One Sunday all the pueblo united in a mass meeting. Everyone was present. People asked about the affair of San Caralampio, and the Ejido Commission explained to them what had happened. The people said, "Let's get rid of them [the four principales of San Caralampio]."

When the three principales returned to San Caralampio from Tuxtla they asked each household head to contribute fifty pesos in order to send them to Mexico to talk personally with the Chief of the Ejido Division. Pablo came the next day to talk to the president in the center and advised them that the principales had gone out. There was another meeting. The president's decision was to get a contribution of one peso from each person in the center so that they would have six hundred pesos to prevent the division. They feared that if this occurred the people of the center couldn't work down there.

When the leaders of the central Ejido Commission had received the money, they went to the departmental capital to explain to the chief of the ejido zone what had happened. They said that the leaders of the colonia had gone to Mexico.

"Let's to go work!" said the chief. "Did you bring the money?"

"Yes, we have six hundred pesos."

"Go to the bank and change it into one-hundred-peso bills," said the chief. "Let us send two hundred pesos to the chief of the division in Mexico so that he will prevent the division."

We sent the money airmail. Before the principales of San Caralampio had arrived, we had their way blocked. Our money went to work for us. In five days, the chief in Las Casas said the money had been well received, and the leaders of San Caralampio had not been received.

A week later, Pablo came to see how the affair had proceeded. We asked Pablo if he had contributed money. He said no. We told him,

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175 423 621 661 159 *"Don't give any more money. The Ejido Commission won't let the division happen since we are the same pueblo."*

The four principales returned from Mexico. They said that they had a paper and that an engineer would come. They asked for another contribution of 25 pesos. They said that those who wouldn't pay would be thrown out. Pablo came and told us. We told him not to be afraid. The principales now knew that Pablo was with us. He had two brothers, Pancho and Ignacio, whom he advised not to go along with the principales since he knew that they would not win the case. When the principales returned to ask for more money for their trips to Tuxtla, both brothers refused.

175 423 621 661 682 159 *Since these three brothers did not cooperate, the principales got angry and decided to kill Pablo. One day, when Pablo was on his way to Teopisca, he was shot in the back. He continued riding 76 meters. The horse returned to his house. His wife ran to tell his two brothers that the horse had come home without a rider. The brothers ran out and found Pablo dead. The civil authorities of the town went. A few days passed. The brothers never asked for justice. But since they knew who did it, one of them took Pablo's 16-centimeter rifle. Pablo's wife had been thinking of selling it to pay for the expenses of the funeral. Pancho [Pablo's brother] said, "No wait. I will buy it as soon as I have money."*

He borrowed it for several years. One Sunday there was an order for all of the people of San Caralampio to go to the pueblo. They got up early and wakened all the others with a horn. Pancho got up with his rifle. He went to Juan's house and shot him. Luciano had Pancho jailed in the department capitol. He declared his crime, and said that he had killed Juan because the latter had shot his brother. He made a good statement. For this reason, he got out very cheaply—1500 pesos—which he paid with his crop of beans and corn. He was in prison in San Caralampio three months. Now he lives in Teopisca. His sons go to work there, but he doesn't. One day, Pancho was shot in the back—I don't know how many centimeters the bullet penetrated, but he did not die. The brothers of Juan and José have all left the colonia.

José was the one who caused all of the trouble. His wife was the younger sister of Pablo and she left him. Now José is going around begging for food to eat.

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273 472 cause of the limited capital involved and the fear of discovery with the expansion of the enterprise. A loose syndicate of distillers provides an insur-
273 548 661 ance protection by raising fines for members who are apprehended by federal agents. Security measures are taken to avoid discovery, and the presence of a federal agent is announced in Tzeltal on the loudspeaker system of one of the bars. One federal agent is on the payroll of the four operating bar owners, who give him 5 pesos a week to avoid legal action on the sale of contraband liquor. Individual distillers pay the tariff of 10 pesos or two liters of liquor a year to the civil officials and to the ejido commission, a tariff justified by the fact that they use wood from communally owned land to cook the sugar. The syndicate is a community-wide organization, mobilized in emergencies only.

The New Social Resources

177 178 43 44 621 156 In the course of operating the new enterprises, knowledge of and experience with supralocal institutions and agents are developing social resources in (1) entrepreneurship, (2) management of capital and credit, (3) knowledge of markets, and (4) dealing with government agencies. In entering into these new economic activities, the Indians have not lost a sense of belonging to the local community. Self-identification as poor, indigenous farmers is both a screen of protection and a means of ensuring continuity with local control systems.

472 621 156 *Entrepreneurship.* Local entrepreneurs explain their motivation in a rhetoric which emphasizes their interest in community welfare. This validates entering into nontraditional activities, but retaining their position in local society inhibits the expansions of their activities. The case of Santos,
•159 472 621 45 the promoter of the trucking cooperative is instructive. Santos had picked up some accounting techniques while he served in the army in Michoacán. He returned to the village because his father walked from Chiapas to Michoacán to tell him he should come back and get married. When he returned, he kept careful account of his costs and returns from the milpa. He realized soon that it wasn't "worth his work" (the Indian has not as yet learned the idiom or the value system which goes into the

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phrase "worth my time"). He therefore persuaded a Ladino of Teopisca to lend him 5,000 pesos. He went down to hot country and bought corn when it was scarce in the village, brought it up the hill, sold a little to pay for his needs, but held the rest until the price went up in the next three months. In a two year period of buying and selling with his 5,000 peso investment, he grossed 400,000 pesos. Afterwards he began to hire men to work in his milpa. At a meeting of the cooperative association in 1966, Santos defended his investments of the association's funds by showing his carefully kept accounts. He held up his pencil saying proudly, "This is my machete! This is my hoe!" The phrasing is an imitation of Ladino rhetoric of the provinces. 159 472 621 45

Santos served as treasurer of the ejido commission and of the town. In 1965 he was made a *nič'nal martoma,* or junior religious official in charge of caring for the saints. His appointment was an attempt made by the former president, a member of the Ladino-owned trucking concern, to cut down Santo's operations in passenger traffic on Sunday by keeping him occupied in religious activities. While in office, Santos began an enquiry into the use of the funds collected in donations to the saints. The priest had gained control over these funds, and had not subjected the collection to the public review and accounting procedures by which funds had been handled by the civil administration. Santos demanded an explanation by the priest, who refused to make a statement. The issue was raised in a general assembly of the men of the community which occurs sporadically on Sundays. Meanwhile Santos was taking advantage of the money associated with each of the major saints. In the cargo system for the care of saints, a fund of money is passed over in the installation ceremony from the outgoing mayordomos to the incoming mayordomo. This fund has always been passed over to the incoming officials with an increment of about 10 pesos. Santos requested the use of these funds to "make them grow," and he thus gained uncontested access to low interest funds which he used in his brokerage activities. In addition to the interest, he gave a gift of clothing to the saint to maintain good credit relations. 159 472 621 794 45 [623]

Santos' administration of funds in his public capacity as town treasurer, storekeeper, and treasurer of both the ejido commission and the truck cooperative won him a reputation of honesty and reliability. His knowl- 159 472 621 45

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159 edge not only of how to manage money, but also of how to *manejarlo,* or
472 drive it, and to "make it grow" indicated an insight into capital operations
621 which made him a leader in local enterprises. In his post as shopkeeper, he
45 invested the store's capital in corn bought at harvest.

159 Santos' career as an entrepreneur was ended when a bullet was fired
472 into his back in 1966. He had relaxed his observation of the rules which permit survival for those who challenge traditional ways: no drinking, no trips to the mountain alone, and no boasting of gains. As yet, he has had no parallel in the community, but the truck drivers are becoming aware of the possibilites for profit in trade and commercial deals.

426 *Capital and credit.* The Indians' knowledge of capital and credit
609 operations has been acquired in the role of debtor, not creditor. In the leg-
538 ends concerning money the creditor is an outsider, a *pukuh* or devil, usually a Ladino. I had accepted a story about a Don Klabil, owner of a mountain in the town adjacent to the neighboring Ladino town Teopisca, as being of ancient origin. It fit with the many stories collected in Mesoamerica of owners of the hills who give out money on request to those who come knocking at the entrances to their caves. After their death, the recipients spend their spirit life in the mountain, working off the debt. Don Klabil was said to be responsible for the wealth of one of the outstandingly wealthy men in town who had gone to his hill and asked for cattle and money. Once while riding in a bus from Tzoʔontahal to Las Casas, I was engaged in conversation with a woman of Teopisca, who was dressed in widow's weeds. I commented on the story of Don Klabil as we passed the hill, and she said, "Oh, yes. That was Don David, my husband. He used to lend money to the Indians." When he died, the Indians say he went to live in the cave from which he got money when he was alive.

The Indians feel at a disadvantage to Ladinos when they enter into capital and credit operations. They tell a story of how, many years ago, when all the Indians of Tzoʔontahal were rich, the mayordomos got drunk on *Paswamal,* the day of gathering flowers and greens to decorate the church. When the true day of the fiesta came, they looked about them and realized that the church was undecorated, so they strewed green peso notes on the floor of the church. The Ladinos from Teopisca came for the fiesta as

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When this fails, they turn to the professional help of lawyers rather than to the old caciques with whom they had formerly maintained patron-client relations. The traditional structural alignment of upper and lower barrios is retained as the basis for organizing the growing cattle herds, but the cooperative provides flexibility and power for developing new enterprises.

The minimal changes in the material environment and the technology of the peasantry are countered by the development of social resources which should facilitate Indian integration in the wider society. In operating the new enterprises independently of Ladino control, they are developing entrepreneurial skills and an awareness of the relationship between capital and profit. The restriction of their operations to nonproductive use of capital for profit, such as buying crops at harvest and reselling as the price rises, reveals the limited dynamics of intracommunal development. The town will look to the regional and national networks for fundamental changes in its economy.

The fear of exciting envy acts as a brake on productive activity and the enjoyment of improved consumption resulting from wealth. Santos' death is a symbolic warning to others who would follow in his footsteps. An earlier case occurred when the ejido land grants were made in the 30s:

The brothers Ča?iletik became "very rich" as a result of careful operation of their ejido and privately owned land. They owned ten pair of oxen and about fifty horses. When they brought in their crops on horseback, it looked like a line of ants. They built a good house in Alkob', and a good threshing shelter. The people of the town began to talk about getting them off the land. The ejido commissioner took their land away and turned it over to others in the town. Until this day, the brothers Ča?iletik are without land. Now they do no more than work like other men. They live poorly. All their cattle and horses are sold.

The organization of the cooperatives is one means of diverting envy directed against individuals and permitting some increase in productive efforts, but the society still lacks the means of validating higher consumption standards. The richest man in town eats better than his neighbors,

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868 857 the larger ones their mothers make, but their products are usually not [323] commercially saleable until they reach the age of marriage. Their responsi- [312] bility in preadolescence is to bring water from the faucets installed in every other block of the town, and to degrain corn, tend the fire as the *nixtamal,* or corn dough mixed with lime, cooks, and help their mother grind it. The careful assessment of the child's capacity to perform tasks is exemplified by the gradations of water-carrying jars given to each child: the older the child, the larger the jar, with minute variations in scale. The [592] close, usually wordless cooperation between women in a household comes [462] from years of working together and knowing their part in cooperative tasks.

Boys accompany their fathers to the fields after they reach the age of six and when they are not attending school. They do not participate in the work of the milpa until they are eight or older, but they pick up twigs for the fire or gather the wild berries or plants which supplement the diet of [411] the family. They usually carry slingshots with which they kill field rats [262] and birds, which they bring home to cook and eat. Teaching a boy the 868 tasks involved in agriculture is consciously undertaken by older brothers 241 or the father when the child reaches the age of twelve or thirteen. The following reminiscence of this training is given by a man who had been brought up by his widowed mother and brother.

• 159 *I went to the field with my brother who is eighteen years older than I,* 868 *when I was thirteen years old. My brother brought me to clean the milpa,* 241 *saying, "Let us go and you will learn how to work. See what I do and you do the same. You will learn what I do and you can do the same."*

One day I finished six rows. My brother said when he saw my work, "Good, just give a little more soil at the foot of the corn because the little corn must have a little soil. Now you do it well." "Yes," I said. He saw it was good, and he told me, "You have learned your work. You are going to forget it when you enter school. When you come out of school, go do two or three rows of work. When you hear the bell strike, go back to school."

He told my mother that I had learned to work, and she said, "Good you know how to cultivate." I learned to do my work better by going along with my elder brother in his work so that I would not forget.

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up with a swayohel. One man near San Vicente said his friend went there to ask for one. Next day, the enemy died. One man who went there said when he woke up he was sure he had gained a swayohel. He had dreamed of two animals. "Are they my swayoheles?" he asked. They were jaguars.

When he got to his house, the same two animals came. They thought about how to get his enemies. But when the jaguars had killed his enemies, they were not content. Then they went on to kill many people. Finally the man was shot. The spirits of all those who die as a result of a swayohel received from ?Ahau go to him after their death.

Curers are classified as potentially good or dangerous on the basis of what kind of swayohel they have. Good curers have swayoheles of animals which eat leaves or grass—horses, sheep, bulls, or other herbivorous animals. Potentially dangerous curers have the souls of carnivorous animals —vultures, dogs, cats, mountain lions, coyote, and others. They may not use these swayoheles for evil, but possession of such a soul is a basis for suspicion. Usually the curers keep secret the nature of their swayohel, but sometimes when they are drunk they brag about its power. Good swayoheles fly or walk straight down the main roads of the town, while evil swayoheles lurk at the outskirts of the settled area.

Only one woman has a swayohel and practices curing. She is reputed to have acquired her swayohel in the following manner:

There was a woman named Andrea Ča?il and another named Fernanda Ča?il. They were not sisters, but they were of the Ča?iletik. Fernanda died. She was a true elder woman, a very strong woman. She lived in Madronal and Andrea lived in the center.

One day Andrea said, "Let us go collect wood," to two girls.

"Let's go," said the girls. "Where shall we get the wood?"

"Let's go in the woods behind Madronal," replied Andrea. "Let's go."

The women arrived in the mountain to cut wood. When they had the wood, Andrea said she saw a mulberry bush. "Let us eat some berries," she said.

Andrea went to the mulberry bush. She saw a white ball of Čišol *under the bush. "What kind of an animal is that?" she asked.*

The girls looked at it and said, "We don't know."

756 *Andrea told them to go and eat the mulberries and she would see what*
• 159 *kind of an animal it was. The animal said, "Come here." But when they*
562 *got there, there was no animal.*

In two or four days, people asked them, "What kind of an animal did you see?"

"It was a dog that we saw. Not a real dog, but the soul of the dead Fernanda. Andrea caught it," the girls said.

"Did you truly see where it was?" the people asked.

"I caught it," said Andrea.

"Why did you catch it," the girls asked.

"I caught it because it is a pity it died. Since there is no one to take it, I grabbed it because it made me sad that she [Fernanda] died."

Now Andrea is a me? u?ul [woman curer]. She fights sickness because she has this extra soul.

756 Ordinarily, soul-catching is dangerous since it is sezure of power which has not been granted at birth by the me?iltatil. Andrea, however, has never been accused of doing harm, and people emphasize that she did it out of sympathy for her dead kinswoman.

756 There is some sentiment that curers should not enter too young into the
578 curing profession. If they do, they should be extremely deferential to the elder curers, and not claim greater powers. The informant quoted above
[754] concerning the initiation of her husband into the curing profession maintains that the older curers did not support her husband when he was accused as a witch because of jealousy of his youth.

159 *My husband was very young when he entered curing. He had gone to*
756 *cure in the house of a man living near Domingo [his enemy]. Domingo*
578 *saw him come out drunk. He had a companion, Lorenzo. About eight*
683 *people gathered. They put a nail in his jaws. He lived three nights. He told me who did it. I went to the cabildo with my father. They got many witnesses to deny they had been near. It was during the fiesta of Carnival.*

My father and I spoke with the authorities in Las Casas. But nothing was done. I did not know how to speak well in Spanish; I went and spoke to Domingo. He told me, "It was your husband's own fault."

"What crime did he have?" I asked.

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"He looked for trouble!" Domingo replied.
I said, "You killed my husband!"
He said, "It was not I! It was not I!"
It doesn't serve to enter curing early. People will kill you right away. Another young man wanted to enter. The curers did not permit him since they said he was a witch. People heard he was a witch, and they killed him. He was the same age as my husband [*about twenty-seven*].

The curers who have survived to an old age were introduced into the profession by an elder relative. They choose their clients carefully, refusing to cure a man who is on the point of death, and remaining within their own section of the dual division. These rules of survival are ignored by some of the younger men who wish to impress their elders with their powers.

The changing image of the curers. The curers of today are unfavorably compared with those of the past who used their power for good. The prototype of the old curer was the fearful Tatik Ča'uk, Lord of the Lightning, possibly a local manifestation of the Maya god Chac.[2] The dialectic of power is exemplified in his control over beneficial and destructive forces. His beneficence is demonstrated in his ability to bring rain to crops, while his vengeance is revealed in lightning bolts which can kill people and destroy houses. Anyone who is struck by lightning is believed to have had some sin for which the Tatik Ča'uk has punished him. His destructive force is equated with a rifle—called "the elder brother of the Lord of Lightning"—and with the "heat" which brings death in illnesses. His habitation is believed to be the Cave of the Star where the heat which causes epidemics is found.

The curers were intermediaries for the Tatik Ča'uk in their control over both destructive and beneficial forces. Formerly, the swayohel of the curers patrolled the streets of the town to prevent the entry of evildoers bringing heat. It is in this role that they are referred to as me'iltatil. If an epidemic occurred, the two leading curers from each side of the town con-

2. In other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities, the god Ča'uk is named as the chief figure from pre-Conquest theology (Hermitte 1964, Holland 1963:93).

medicine. But why should they ask for medicine if the curers were going to eat their souls as he told me? I asked him, "How do you eat their souls?" He said that the five or six curers would make a common meal. They looked for a frying pan, and when it was well cooked, they would call all the curers and say, "Come, let us eat in common." When people came to ask for medicine, they would say, "Please, give us medicine." The curers would give the medicine, but the sick ones did not get well. The curers were only deceiving them. How could they get well if they wanted to eat their souls? They only wasted their money. 756 754 774

It is this that O. K. said to me. He told me himself that he had eaten the souls. Then I felt that he was bad because of what he himself had told me. To this day, I believe that he himself did the evil to his patients.

The personality of the curer. In view of the hazards of entering the curing profession and the low material rewards, the question of what motivates a curer to practice is of some interest. The older curers claim that God spoke to them in a dream and made known His desire that they cure. They conceive of it as a responsibility to the people, and maintain that their power comes from God. This contradicts parallel statements made by the same curers that their power comes from their swayohel. The younger curers say that the curers of their side selected them because they saw that they had a swayohel. 756

Direct questioning yields only limited understanding of what motivates these extraordinary people. The behavior of some of the curers reveals facets of the role which could not be elicited from them in questioning. Curers are able to defy tenets of the moral code of the community which stress softness and slowness, a moderation which is fundamentally based on fear of the world of spirits and of men. When drunk, the curers brag about their strength and fearlessness. They try to avoid the usual negative sanctions to such behavior by asserting the strength of their swayoheles and their imperviousness to harm. 756 156 [183] 756 156 776

My elder brother Albino was drinking with the dead Nicolás, leader of the curers of Alannantik. When both were half drunk, my elder brother asked Niholás what swayohel he had. 159 756

159 756 *"You won't be afraid if I show it?" Nicolás asked. He then flipped his kotonču four times and a black bull appeared. It disappeared, and they drank some more. Nicolás made the bull appear again.*

Nicolás was ejido commissioner when I was president. We began to talk one day in the cabildo. "Who is the strongest of all the curers?" we asked. One said that now it was the elder brother Nicolás.

Čiko turned to Nico and said, "Tell us who is the strongest of all who know curing." Nico replied, "Ah, you want to hear. There is no one who is strong as the dead Mamal Komesil [elder Gomez] and I." Čiko said, "Mam D. is good."

"Less so," said Nico. "One time we tested it. I took out a sheep and a black dog. He [D.] took out a goat and a pig, and we ordered the animals to run. And I saw that the swayohel of D. could not run. Mine ran well, and his couldn't arrive before mine. It was then that I saw he was not as strong."

541 756 Formerly, when bullfights were held in the town as a feature of the fiesta of Santiago, curers took the great risk of riding the backs of the bulls to demonstrate their bravery. The fight became a symbolic defiance of culturally instilled fears. The fights are organized in this fashion: one man mounts the bull which has no saddle, bridle, or grip of any kind. His feet are tied under the belly of the bull, which increases the hazard if he is thrown since he can easily be dragged under the hooves of the bull. A man stands with a cape before the bull, trying to unseat his opponent. The curer Minko regularly entered the fights as a rider. He drank copiously before mounting the bull. He himself would try to goad the bull into jumping by leaning backward and biting its tail or kicking its sides. People rated even more highly than Minko's performance that of another curer, Bon, who, they said, never even shook when he climbed onto the bull as did Minko. They realized that Minko needed the liquor to face the threat of being crushed by the hooves of the bull, but that Bon was beyond fear. In these displays of fearlessness, some of the curers enjoy a sense of power and freedom from the inhibitions conditioning the behavior of ordinary men.

756 178 578 Competition and the assertion of power among the younger curers is

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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554 621 794 578 177 178 [128]

of political relations is summarized for each of these conflict areas. Most of the events recorded below are transcriptions of informants' statements given in Tzeltal. I have chosen this method to show how the people interpret incidents and how this leads to cognitive restructuring.

The Conflict among Civil Officials

621 555 212 177 178

In the period of consolidation since the revolution, the crucial issue in determining the allocation of power among local civil authorities has been that of incorporating men who have special abilities to deal with external authority without upsetting an age-ranked system. Prior to the 1950s these skills were rare—in 1920 only four young men could sign their names and read. The civil careers of two men, Ceferino, a native of the town, and Augustín, a revistido Indian from Huistán, illustrate the different courses taken by this new leadership in the post-revolutionary period of the 1930s. Ceferino was included in the given structure of power while Augustín used his skills in dealing with Ladinos to gain personal power. Ceferino was one of the first four men of the town to learn to read and write. The civil authorities recognized his potential usefulness in the town hall, and succeeded in incorporating him in an honorific but powerless position as scribe. He described his introduction into local government:

159 212 621

After I got out of school, the town saw that I knew how to write. Formerly there was no one who knew how to write. In the town hall the judges and president needed someone to write down the contributions and the payment for the government agents. Therefore, when the civil authority changed in the new year, they talked to my mother. As was the custom then, four regidores came to "raise" me, bringing a bottle of trago as a gift for my mother. She did not drink it alone. Together with the regidores we finished the trago. After finishing the trago, the first regidor began to speak to my mother in the pat?o?tan, saying, "I am going to bring one of your children, one of your offspring to the place where we look and where we see [reference to town hall]. We ask this favor because he knows how to write. Therefore the judges and the president ordered me to come and raise him and take out his soil, his mud, for this duty for this obligation.

[624] [273]

• 159
212 *We shall go with your child, your offspring to pass the holy day, the holy*
621 *year. Thank you, thanks to your heart that you permit your child, your offspring to go. Now we go to receive the holy post with all the elders. The spirit of your child, your offspring shall learn."*

When the fourth regidor finished the pat?o?tan, my mother spoke: "Thank you, Take care of him. I do not want him to return to me drunk. He hasn't yet learned to drink."

I went out with two of the regidores on my right side and the other two on the left. When we arrived, the first judge spoke to us in the pat?o?tan: "You have brought before us our writer. It is well that you arrived with him. Enter and sit down."

I sat down in the middle of the regidores. When we sat down, the first judge and the president began to speak. All were gathered in the town hall. [Ceferino then listed all the civil officials by name, a feat of memory which I shall not repeat here.]

[273] *We sat down and they brought in two liters of trago. They began the pat?o?tan, and after the pat?o?tan the third regidor came to measure the trago. He gave the first measure to the president, the second to the first judge, the third to the second judge, the fourth to me, the writer. And I was not accustomed much to drink liquor. I took the trago and I drank it. It was killing me. It came out my nose. The judges and regidores saw my suffering when it came out my nose. They patted my back, and with some difficulty the trago went down. Thus with suffering and with trouble, I learned to drink trago. But then I got drunk. I felt drunk, and I told the judge and regidores that I was going to die. The first judge ordered the regidor to go with me to my house.*

He said, "Go leave him in his house because his mother said that I should return him to his house. See that you hand over her poor son to his mother."

[593] *Since I did not have a wife—I was a bachelor—they gave me to my mother. My mother said, "Thank you." They ordered my mother to send me the next day because we had to see how another day passed.*

When I left in 1925, I didn't return to the town hall until 1936 when the pueblo asked me to stay as president.

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In the strategy of incorporating new leadership, these tactics are employed. 621

1. The four regidores are assigned the task of bringing the novice scribe to the town authorities. They are the official recruiters for civil and religious office. [624]

2. The request is made to the parent of the appointed scribe in the formal speech of the pat?o?tan. The appeal is cast in terms of the sacred nature of the task with reference to the "holy" nature of the post to be undertaken on this "holy hour, holy day and holy year."

3. The contractual relationship is initiated as always with a drinking session. The scribe is introduced into the drinking order as fourth in rank. The officials show solicitude as he is taught to drink "the gift of the gods and the ancestors." Once the gift of liquor has been accepted, the recipient has no recourse except to fulfill the obligation. [203]

These tactics, used also in other contractual arrangements, were inadequate to the task of inducting foreign Indians living in the township into the traditional hierarchy. In 1929, a Huistecan Indian, Augustín, who had worked as a laborer in a finca within the township, became president. Although he could not read, he was able to speak Spanish fluently. He succeeded in getting the first ejido grant under the land reform act of 1927. 621 609 622 191 423

During his term of office, Augustín was accused of abusing his authority on several occasions, as the following account shows:

When I was very young, my father told me about this land case. Augustín was president then. He tried to get land from my uncle's father-in-law, Juan. My uncle, Bartolo, defended his father-in-law's right to the land because he had good friends in Tuxtla. Augustín spoke Spanish very well, but he did not know how to read. Since my uncle knew how to read well, he gained the case. Augustín was angry. He invited all the curers to the town hall and ordered the police to bring in my uncle. My uncle was given something in a cup of liquor, and in three days he died. 159 622 661

Even if this story is untrue, or distorted because of the family relationship of the narrator and the victim, it reveals the sense of being exploited 622 661 609

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622 or abused by leaders from outside the community. Stories by other infor-
661 mants indicate that Augustín took advantage of his power as president.
609 He was accused of charging high fines in court and pocketing the money. Finally a case against him was brought to the Ministerio Publico in the departmental capital. The denunciation is recounted by Ceferino, the scribe, who replaced him as president:

159 *The court's decision was that Augustín had to return the three hundred*
622 *and fifty pesos that he had forced out of Juan in the land case. Augustín*
661 *claimed that it was difficult for him to pay the fine. He said he would pay*
609 *it in installments. Juan wanted it right away. After a month, the money*
[692] *still was not handed over. I spoke to the Ministerio Publico who told Augustín to sell his cattle. The pueblo wanted to seize the cattle. Augustín got frightened, and said he would sell his cattle. He sold them. After this he never returned to work in the pueblo.*

There were no killings in this affair. Eight days after he gave the money, Augustín came to the town hall with a pistol. I noticed it and said, "Better come in an register this pistol." He ignored this and spoke to the judge for a while.

I told a policeman, "Go get the pistol and register it." The policeman was afraid. I asked him, "Why are you afraid?" He said, "I am afraid." I said, "You have turned into a woman."

The policeman seized Augustín's arms. I went behind and took the pistol out of his hand. Augustín said, "Why are you taking my pistol? I have committed no crime."

I replied, "You came to bother the people here." I took away the pistol.

Augustín also knew how to wear a watch. His son bought it from a thief for one hundred and twenty-five pesos. We also took his watch because it was stolen. I told him, "Go look for work and earn money. The Ministerio Publico has given orders that you cannot continue working here. You cannot rob here any more."

He went away for two months, and then came back to get his things and moved to Teopisca.

621 Despite this successful denunciation, Augustín's son, Juan, tried to "get
609 control of the town." He and the other Huistecans of the barrio of Yeta-
578

as the direct agents of the ancestors, guarded the streets of their own side of the dual division. The judges, with the supervision of the principales, were responsible for guarding against the abuse of power by the curers or others possessing a swayohel in their review of witchcraft cases in the town hall. The three sets of functionaries—ancestors, curers, and judges—are classified in a lexicon of role function in the stem *me? . . tat . .*, common to the terms applied to them, me?tiktatik, me?iltatil, and me?eštateš.[3]

The system of control over the use of power has been in a state of uneasy tension. In a series of incidents recounted below, the growing suspicion that the judges and the principales were not countering the witches because of their fear of falling victim to them, and that the curers themselves were exercising the witchcraft becomes apparent.

In the following case, the system of checks and balances was upset by the entry into the presidency in 1940 of Mam Nicolás, the leading curer of Allannantik. Nicolás combined the skills of operating in the traditional culture with those of dealing with the Ladino world. Despite the fact that he was a graduate of the boarding school operating in the town in the 1930s, which had far more extensive effects in acculturation as well as formal education than any prior school, he practiced curing. The case is recounted by Ceferino, the scribe:

Formerly the dead president Mam Nicolás left at midday from the town hall and went to his house where he ate a meal. A neighbor, Francisco, came to talk to him. They drank a half a liter of trago, and then began to drink a second and got drunk. They began to say goodbye, and Francisco left Nicolás' house. When Nicolás saw that Francisco went out, he grabbed his shotgun. He saw that Francisco was now far away, and he fired many shots. One got him right in his back. When Francisco felt it, he shouted. The police heard him and went to get the judges who came to see also. His [Francisco's] wife came. She raised his head and cried when she saw he was dead. An elder sister brought a new mat to carry him.

3. The suffixes *-el*, and *-tik* refer to pronominal forms, as in "you judges" and "our ancestors." *-il* is an article, as in "the curers." In prayer, the ancestors may be addressed in the second person, or the judges may be referred to with the first-person-plural possessive, but these forms are rare in those contexts.

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• 159 621 754 682

carry him. When the new mat arrived, the judge ordered that he be brought to his house. The judges saw that the shot had entered well. They ordered the police to seize Nicolás and put him in prison. They saw that Francisco died.

The night entered, and the judges ordered the police to guard the killer throughout the night. At dawn he remained in prison and stayed there the entire day. On the third day, they "took his heart" [questioned him] to see what his crime was. He said that Francisco had blamed him for giving witchcraft and that it was not his fault, that he was not a witch. He got angry and shot Francisco. The judge heard the case and raised an act. They sent him to San Cristóbal and the síndico, Simón, took over the presidency. He remained in power in the pueblo.

People heard that the new president could not arrange things in the town hall. Illness entered the pueblo. Word was left that Juan, Ebaristo, and Antonio had brought in the illness. All those who "knew how to make fiestas" [reference to curers functioning in curing ritual] gathered together in the town hall. The two leading curers came with a garrafón of liquor. The curers drank until nighttime.

The president remained in prison. When the night had entered well, he slept. And although he had heard many rumors about what was going to happen, he slept well. At dawn, the president was "of one heart" [content]. A policeman arrived and said that Antonio had been brought to jail.

"Why?" asked the president. "For what crime has he been put in prison?"

The policeman said that it was for witchcraft, and that they had gone out to get the other witch Juan, but he had escaped into the Cave of the Star. Although there were fifteen men after him, they couldn't seize him. They had also gone to catch Ebaristo, but he was not in his house, and they did not find him. The crime of the three was that they had brought in the illness.

Meanwhile, everyone was saying that Nicolás was also responsible for letting the illness in the town. People said that he had vowed that if the authorities seized him, he would let in the illness. The townspeople got drunk.

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Eight men of Alannantik wanted the interim president, Simón to remain as president. But the people of Ahk'olnantik did not want him to remain as president. The townspeople began to talk, saying, "Why should he remain as president since he stole twenty bulls? We don't want him. Let us get another president. We shall walk with Ceferino." 159 621 754 682

They wanted me for president since I was first regidor. It is for this reason that I entered as president, but I didn't think that I would be able to stay on as president. Simón received an order from the [state] government that he should return as president. He came with soldiers, and when they took me out of office, the lieutenant said to Simón, "Now you enter."

And so I gave over the archives and seals and everything in the presidency to Simón, and I left the presidency. And the people saw that it was the order of the government, and they did not say anything. The town remained silent.

The incident is given as it was related to me in Tzeltal. I have sorted out the steps in which the conflict developed in order to clarify its meaning.

1. The traditional checks and balance system of the civil authority over the curers was initially upset by the entry of a leading curer into the post of president.

2. When he committed a murder while in office, the judges seized control and had him put in prison. [682] [692]

3. His replacement by the síndico who was from the same side of the dual division, aroused the opposition of the people of the opposite side, Ahk'olmantik, who believed that the epidemic, which followed the president's removal from power, was caused by the curers of Alannantik under the direction of the president who was in jail. [624] [731] [754]

4. The leaders of the revolt in Ahk'olnantik chose as their replacement the first regidor, Ceferino, who was from their side. [624]

5. Leaders from Alannantik rejected this replacement and were able to get official backing from the state government to replace their representative.

The process illustrates the way in which a conflict, precipitated by a clash between civil authorities and the curers, was cast into the idiom of struc- 621 756 578

ginal to the community, either a foreign Indian, as in the case of Augustín, or a Ladino, as in the cases of the secretary and schoolmaster described below. The only indigenous candidate for the role was recently killed. It provokes too much envy for someone socialized in the community; fear of being accused and even killed as a witch or a power-seeker is justified by several such precedents. Those with the skills to become caciques have until recently been effectively incorporated in the existing hierarchy as firmanetik.

Second, the cacique is a gatekeeper, channeling information, goods, and services from the outside to the members of the community. In this capacity, he prefers to pose as a benefactor when he may actually be no more than the distributor of government welfare goods and services.[4]

Third, the role of cacique is one in which the incumbent operates in a local sphere, but depends upon a network of compadrazgo and professional ties outside of the community to assure his position in the community. He must be sufficiently aware of the local idiom in order to avoid making enemies.

Finally, the role is monopolistic. This results in part from the fact that the outside world prefers to deal with a single representative for reasons of expediency. However, new governmental agents are more and more dealing directly with Indians, a factor which has shaken the position of the cacique. The monopolistic quality of the position also stems from the fact that the profit to be gleaned from the community is small. A Ladino from a neighboring town commented that it was worth the time of only one man to exploit an Indian community of the size of Tzoʔontahal. The extractable profit is diminishing as the Indians become more aware of their rights.

The change in character and range of activities of local caciques is illustrated by the recent careers of two residents of Tzoʔontahal. In the 1950s and until 1964, the Ladino secretary, Don Ramon, had filled the role of cacique. He took advantage of this role not only by collecting a salary and a percentage of court fees, but also by earning money for using his influence in Ladino official circles outside the community. He lent money for interest and subsidized some enterprises such as growing cabbages with Indian partners.

4. Goldrich (1965) points to this tactic of politicians who distribute government goods as though they were their own gifts.

159 partners. He sold a few shares of a truck he and his family owned to In-
622 dians, but he retained the controlling interest. His wife was reputed to be
177 a witch, and was an active curer, combining old and new treatments of ill-
178 nesses.

His position was challenged in the 1960s by the Ladino schoolmaster, who had been remarkably unsuccessful from his arrival in 1953 until that time in gaining personal power and influence. His intercession in a local homicide case involving a father's murder of his son outraged the townspeople, some of whom threatened to kill him. His attempts to have water installed aroused the curers against him since they were accustomed to bathing their patients at the source of the spring from which they were debarred when the plumbing was installed. His demands that children within the legal age limit should not only attend school but should be prohibited from marrying until they had completed their schooling caused the anger of parents who wanted to give their daughters in an early and profitable marriage.

159 Gradually, however, the schoolmaster extended his own base of support.
875 He minimized his attack on local customs, adhering only to those laws af-
177 fecting the school population, over which he had a great deal of control.
178 Some of his support came from the orthodox Catholic members of the
563 community; he extended his control through compadre relationships with
558 over eighty members of the community. He showed movies which he ac-
608 quired from the United Nations and other educational film sources and
546 gave away medicines acquired from the health officials in the state capitol
278 who were his friends. From one of these sources of philanthropy he ac-
431 quired wool shawls which he gave to every woman in the town.

The professor demanded no return from the townspeople other than their respect and admiration; he was a person who enjoyed commanding others and needed an arena in which to project his own personality. In his early years in the town, he had to satisfy this need by capturing stray tourists and plying them with soda pop or coffee. His first opportunity to gain leadership in the local sphere came in 1963, when he supported the new truck-owning cooperative. He used the influence of contacts in the state capital, including compadres, friends, and relatives of his wife's family. He promoted the cooperative's attempt to gain the presidency. One of the first

acts of the new officials was to fire the Ladino secretary and install an Indian for the first time. The schoolmaster had won his battle for recognition. In every legal dispute in which the town became involved, the schoolmaster accompanied the town officials as they went to visit departmental and state leaders, acting as their spokesman. He never accepted even expenses for these trips. His satisfaction was in giving advice to the officials on all matters, in being the man whom outsiders consulted before anything could be accomplished, and in finding an audience.

The schoolmaster consolidated his position by drawing together all his supporters in a parent-teachers association, which served as a captive audience for his extended monologues. I was called upon as a witness to the installation of the members, and I took advantage of the occasion to record some of the schoolmaster's rhetoric as he addressed the "parents." In attendance were the president, his brother, four members of their truck-owning cooperative, and about ten other representatives. The teacher told me that they were the best people in town—not one of them had killed anyone! The excerpt below is not complete, but there was sufficient repetition in the schoolmaster's discourse so that nothing is lost.

Schoolmaster: "I don't fight with anyone. We do not come to fight. A schoolmaster is a guide to teach respect. I have thirty-three years teaching in pueblos of campesinos, poor people like you. I am your brother. I am your teacher. The ignorant people do not want to send their children to school. This is a good school, and there are those of you who have succeeded by learning. Ramon Leon was a boarding school student for two years. He and seven others have received scholarships. They accuse me of not working, but they do not know what is happening in the school. Those who know give congratulations to the school. The children of this school won the competition at the conference of teachers. It is neither a poor school with poor students, nor a rich school with rich students, but all are together. They say we do not teach. Compadre" (to president), "is this so? They say we only dance, but at the conference our students won the prize.

"This school is yours. It is better organized than any other. The flag which we had we gave to Villa Las Rosas because they are campesinos;

159 895 871 563 177 178 557 *they are my friends. I prefer to send it there than to Teopisca, because they are campesinos.*

"I have proved to you I am a friend of campesinos and of the poor. I don't have to say anything if I see that some are killing, that some are distilling liquor. This is an affair of the civil authorities, not of me. If some come to tell me that so and so has killed someone, I close my ears.

"What is more important in life is what is in your head, not your clothing. Do you understand me?"

All reply, "Yes, maestro."

"If we are going to win over Teopisca and Villa Las Rosas, our children have to work hard. I had the luck of receiving a medal because I am one of the principal teachers and know the preparation of teachers. The Jefe of Operation put a medal on my breast and gave me an abrazo. *Here is the picture taken two years ago—Lupe get the rag!" Schoolmaster dusts photograph with rag. "Here you see me with the medal on my breast.*

"Who is more important—the one who accuses me and has to put his finger to sign the declaration, or those of you who can write?

"Now the schoolmaster does not give permission to let the children stay away from school. We do not have authority to release the children except for illness. Those children who go most often to school are those who get ahead. They speak idioma [*native language*] *when they play, but when they enter the school they speak* Castellano [*Spanish*].

"Now you know everything. I am happy with you. If there are some who are not happy that I am here, then I shall go happily. There are schools where schoolmasters hit the children. There is a school where the Indian teacher hit a child three times. This is a crime!

"I know where all this talk comes from. Don Ramon [Ladino secretary who supported opposing candidate mentioned above] has a truck—he and Doña Juana. They buy wheat and corn at half price. If the Indians do not pay off, they get double the return at the next harvest. My compadres have come and told me. Those who are with him are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by him. They have two trucks in Teopisca. They come and ask people to sign a paper supporting their candidate. People sign because they are afraid she [Juana] will use witchcraft."

President: "Ramon left her, but then he went back to her because of witchcraft." 159 875

Schoolmaster "This is the group which is against me and is against the pueblo." 871 563

Schoolmaster's wife: "You see how happy the pueblo is." She waves her hand to plaza where marimba is playing for the fiesta. "Everything is well organized. Not as it was formerly when Don Ramon was in town." 177 178 557

President: "You see how the pueblo is learning. The children are learning to knit. Everyone knits."

Schoolmaster, giving oath of office to parents: "In the name of the Secretary of Public Education, I ask you to serve with faithfulness to the pueblo. The school is the defense of the country. It is preparing you for tomorrow. The society of parents of the school represents you. Your children represent the future of the country in the sign of the three colors, and you have the obligation to defend the country. The country will become great when all the children know how to write. When Mexico has need of its children, the children will be prepared to die for the country. You should see that schools prepare the children. See Mexico is a country united.

"I have been here since 1953. It is not now as it was then. We have water, a highway. You are not in the state you were then.

"Today we see a kiosk." He waves hand to plaza. "Tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory. It will be a grand pueblo, a civilized pueblo. There was a schoolmaster here who worked two days a week. I have worked every day since 1953. I secured eight scholarships for the children. If there are some who didn't go, it is because their father does not send them. If there are those who say the school does not function, they are traitors to the pueblo. Honorable Society of Fathers of Families, I am the schoolmaster. I shall explain. Give an applause." Applause.

The schoolmaster's discourse reveals several aspects of his position in the town. He indicates the lesson he has learned in avoiding interference in the town's social control system ("I don't have to say anything if I see that some are killing, that some are taking out trago. This is an affair of the 159 875 563 177 178

159 civil officials, not of me"). He identifies himself with the Indians in the
875 fight against the competitive trucking cooperative ("Those who are with
563 him [Don Ramon] are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by
177 him"). While he does not accuse Ramon's wife directly of witchcraft he
178 implies this in saying that people sign their candidate's nomination peti-
[754] tion for president because they are afraid Juana will use witchcraft. This is
[626] a characteristic mode of attacking one's enemies in the town. He claims credit for all of the innovations in the town which have won public approval—the highway, the water supply, electricity, and so forth.

622 The profit motive is inadequate to explain why Ladinos want to play
875 the role of cacique in these corporate Indian communities. One must seek
563 for an explanation instead in the social status they gain. While their jobs
177 are limited and usually frustrating and they can never be completely inte-
178 grated into the community, political activities offer them a larger arena in which they can derive personal satisfaction. The contrast between the schoolmaster's position in Tzoʔontahal before he became a political leader and his position after finding local supporters illustrates this. In the early days of his residence in town, when he built a chicken coop which extended a few feet beyond the grounds allotted to the schoolhouse, some Indians threatened to kill him. In 1957, I saw him trying to summon a policeman from the town hall, which was adjacent to the schoolhouse, to remove a boulder from the path so that a visiting friend could pass in his automobile. No one heeded his urgent shouts or the whistle he used to call children to school, although they were well aware of what he wanted. But by 1965 there was not a single important transaction which did not require consultation with the schoolteacher. Campesinos from as far as Villa Las Rosas came to request his advice and his help in approaching government agents. In projecting his political role, he gained support for projects which were of interest to him. When he had succeeded in getting the gov-
[653] ernment to install water pipes and electricity, he talked the civil authori-
[312] ties into building a kiosk, or bandstand, in the plaza. This was a fulfill-
[365] ment of his ambition to make the town over in the image of a colonial
[345] Spanish pueblo. His final statement in the speech quoted above, "Today we see a kiosk, tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory!" reveals the symbolic significance it had for him.

304 The traumatic experience of his first day in school is recounted by a man now sixty-eight years of age. He was thirteen in 1918, the first year that compulsory education was introduced into the town. In the Eyes of the Ancestors

872 177 115

• 159 177 872

I was in my house when I heard the civil authorities call the children to school. The police came to tell me to go to school. I did not go because my mother wanted me to accompany her on the road to Teopisca. On our way to Teopisca, the inspector saw me and asked me why I didn't go to school. My mother replied, "I am a widow. He came with me because I seek for what we eat. Therefore he must go with me."

The inspector did not hear her words. Since he was mounted on horseback, he said to me as I was walking, "Come here, boy. Don't walk on foot, climb up on the horse." I was embarrassed to climb up on the horse, and I had some fear because I had never ridden on horseback. I began to cry. "Don't cry," he said. "You are only going to school. The schoolmaster will not beat you." It is then that my mother said, "Señor, don't take him. See that there is no one else to accompany me on the road. When I come home, there will be no one to do errands."

But the inspector feared nothing. His heart was hot, hot. A man came by and told the inspector that I did not know how to ride and that I was afraid. The inspector said, "If he doesn't know how to ride, then you take him." But the man replied, "But I don't want to. It is better that I go get wood. You take him by force if you can, Señor. I go before your face" [*a way of excusing himself*].

I didn't want to go, and I just cried because I didn't want to. The inspector seized me, and put me on horseback. I was afraid to get up, and I cried and cried from fear. He said, "Stop it! Let us go!"

And so he led the horse with me on it. My mother cried when she saw the inspector take me off on horseback. She remained very sad as I left, since she no longer had a companion. I went on to school, and the inspector handed me over to the schoolmaster.

The schoolmaster gave me a paper with my name, which I didn't know. I did not hear what was said in that large school because I did not know Spanish. The schoolteacher asked me, "What are you called, little boy?" I cried a great deal because I felt sad for my mother whom I had left in

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Teopisca. The schoolmaster said, "Don't cry, Ceferino. I am not going to beat you because you will learn to write. It is good to know how to write. You will speak Spanish because you will hear it, and you will look at the letters because the letters are the same as they are spoken in Spanish. Sit down now, and come tomorrow." 159 177 872

Then I told my mother to look for a slate and chalk because every morning and afternoon I wrote. She was of one heart and did not cry when she heard how I entered in the school.

For the most part, the teachers rely on authority in their program of instruction rather than encouraging the active involvement of students. In the early years of the school, there was a rapid turnover of teachers, but the employment of a schoolmaster with his wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The children respond with respect and fear to the schoolmaster, and occasionally with interest and enthusiasm. The following reminiscences by the informant, Ceferino, reflect the fear, tempered by some pleasure and interest, which he experienced: 875 876 159 212 875 876

The first schoolteacher I had when I entered school was called Chaya. She taught me to write with chalk on a blackboard. Every time I wrote badly, she told me to erase the letters and write another. After I finished, I went to my house at three in the afternoon. The next day I would go back to school. I would write on the blackboard. Writing was another kind of thing. The chalk did not stick well on the blackboard. Afterward, we started to use ink, and I began to learn well. But for a long time, I did not learn how to read. For one year, I couldn't speak Spanish, but I continued writing letters. This schoolteacher left and another came, Mista Munda Gordi. He asked me what my name was, and I told him. He saw that I didn't write the letters well. He was interested. He told me how to do it. Then I began to improve, and my name came out well. He said that the letters were better. He saw that now it was good. "Now you can make capital letters."

Mista Munda used to beat us if we did not make good letters, but I did not know how to make capitals. He told me he would beat me, so I began to do the capitals well. He saw that it was better. When he saw the letters, he gave me a book. In the first year, I finished the book, and he gave me

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

159 212 875 876 *another book that added to the letters I knew. He saw that I was doing well. I began to read out loud, and he listened to see if I read well. Then he heard that I did well, and he gave me another letter to learn. Then he gave me another book, to take to my house.*

[*"Was he a good teacher?" I asked.*]

He beat us if we didn't do the letters well. He would pull my ear and he scolded very much. I began to make the letters better, and I was writing when the schoolmaster left.

A third schoolmaster came and taught in the pueblo. He was named Carmen Urban. We received him. I learned a little more writing. Now when he asked me a letter, I could reply. He saw that I knew all the letters, and he gave me another notebook. I began to write with a pen. With the pen my writing came out well. He saw that it was good and gave me another book. After I finished all that was in the book, he took another writing book out. He told me that I read all the letters well. He gave me a fourth book and a piece of paper. It was a very fine book! But this schoolmaster stayed only three months. Then he left. I did not continue in school since my mother said I should continue to learn only until I know all the letters.

She said, "You are an orphan since you don't have a father. You eat by my strength only. Now that you know your letters well, I want to see how well you can help me because I alone am buying corn and you are only eating it. Now that you know everything, you don't have to go to school because you must accompany me in looking for corn."

She saw that I was too big to stay in the school. She went to talk with the schoolmaster to tell him that I could not return. She told the schoolmaster, "See before your eyes that Ceferino has no father. It is for this that I want him to accompany me looking for corn." The schoolmaster said that I could not go out because I was now learning well. But my mother began to cry before the eyes of the schoolmaster and the president. He lowered his heart and said, "Well, take him then."

I left then. My mother heard and went happily because her boy had come out. When I came out I said "Thank you" to the schoolmaster. He said, "Now you know and go. Don't forget your letters. Take this book, and go on reading in order not to forget." I began to copy all the letters in the book so that I would learn some.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Despite the beating and the scolding, Ceferino recognized that the schoolteachers cared, and this inspired him to learn. He learned to write without any knowledge of the meaning of the words in his first year of schooling, but this did not discourage him. He was among the first four literate Indians in the community. 159 212 875 876

The program of education for primary schools today is scheduled by the Secretary of Public Education in Mexico City. The teachers conform to this as best they can in the overcrowded, understaffed conditions. The first-year program, according to the book, includes, in addition to reading and math, health studies—basic knowledge of nutrition, social and personal hygiene, the study of the healthful environment, the prevention of diseases and accidents, and first aid. The second-year course includes the study of nature—the sky, earth, seasons, the various changes in the moon, and conservation of natural resources. In the third year of their training the children learn about social life—the child in the home, school, community, and nation. The fourth year includes creative activities—games and artistic expression through learning to play musical instruments and the formation of orchestras, for example. The fifth year teaches practical activities—the construction of toys, work in gardens and other agricultural projects, and the economics of the home; and the program during the sixth year stresses the study of the national language, arithmetic, and geometry. Each of these six sections has a list of the knowledge, habits, abilities, and attitudes the teacher should have formed in the children by the time they have finished the year. The lists become more detailed with each passing year. The amount of material the teacher is expected to cover is impressive. 872 [875]

Mary Marshall's observation of classroom behavior (Appendix 3B) suggests some of the complexities of communicating this standard program in a class of first-year pupils. Inside the schoolroom almost all behavior is initiated and controlled by the teacher. All communication within the school is in Spanish—the teacher ignores responses other than those in Spanish—although most of the children understand no Spanish when they enter school. The regular pattern of question and response is sometimes broken up by demonstration of objects. The children's response is greater when the teacher reverses the pupil-schoolteacher role and lets them ask the questions she tells them. The scarcity of materials imposes a greater bur- 876

59 supported by her husband and father-in-law, and lives under their
562 roof. If the husband dies, she is supposed to go back to live
[606] with her parents as she did when she was single or live with a mature son who becomes responsible for her welfare and has some authority over her, as can be seen in the following example.

159 A woman had two sons by her first husband, the elder of
593 which, at the time of the events related here, was married. The
580 first husband died, and the woman married another man with whom
586 she had another son. After a period of common residence, the second marriage broke up. The woman bought some land for a house, saving money for it by working in San Cristóbal and selling trago. She lived in this house with her married son and his wife.

The father of the last child (second marriage) offered to give the boy some new clothes. Before the woman accepted them, she asked her elder son's permission. The clothes were accepted because the woman's son said: "He is his father, and he should give clothes to his son."

592 The bases for the structure of the social relations within
561 the household are relative age, sex, kinship proximity to the
562 household head, and economic responsibility for the upkeep of the
602 unit. Elder men have more authority than younger men; elder women more than younger ones. Men have more authority than women (perhaps, on some occasions, with the exception of the mother), and finally, agnatic kin of the household head have more authority
592 than affinals. The result of this ordering of power within the
606 household is that a daughter-in-law is at the bottom of the

592 606 hierarchical order of authority. The following example illustrates this social ordering:

• 159 591 592 Maria was the daughter-in-law of Margarita, a woman married to Juan Perez, one of the village elders. The sons of Juan Perez and all the daughters had left the compound after marriage, with the exception of Felix, the last son, who was Maria's hus-

[428] band. The couple had decided to stay in the parental house until the death of Felix's parents, and they were promised the inheritance of the sitio as a recompense for their willingness to support Juan and Margarita in their old age (see Fig. 9).

159 592 437 602 Maria had been fattening a pig, which Juan had decided to sell, and he had been talking about it with a Ladino merchant who was anxious to buy it, but who wanted to pay a lower price for it than Juan was willing to accept.

One afternoon, while the men were in the fields and Margarita was outside the compound gathering firewood, Maria was visited by a Ladino merchant who insisted on taking the pig with him. He offered to pay a price which Maria was not sure was already arranged between the merchant and her father-in-law. She discussed it with him, refusing to give up the animal, until her sister-in-law, Felix's elder sister, arrived to visit her mother.

When Felix's sister arrived, Maria retired from the discussion, and left the elder woman to carry the burden of the interaction.

After a while, Margarita came back with her load of firewood, and she took up the discussion while both her daughter and daughter-in-law conversed among themselves after Crecencia

159 592 437 602 indicated that "she did not live in the house, nor was the boss there." Margarita knew the price at which to sell, but she told off the merchant, in quite a rude manner, and even refused to let him see the animal "because she was sure that the man was going to give it the evil eye and get it sick."

[601]

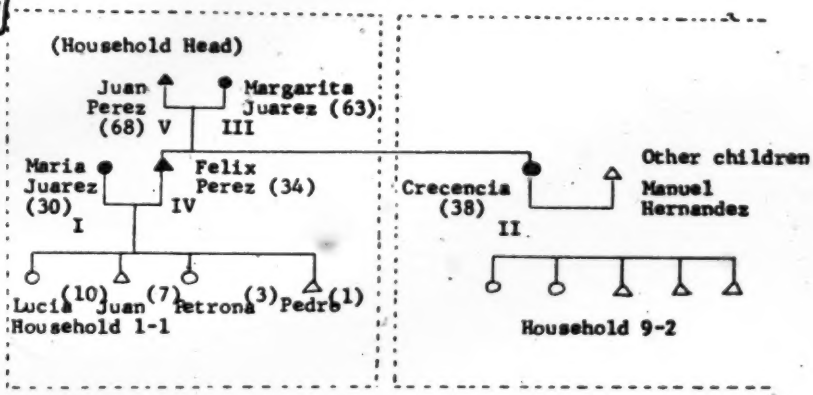

Fig. 9.--Genealogy of Household of Juan Perez

The Ladino merchant utilized every policy of charm and threat, trying to get them to sell the animal, but he began to relize that it was getting him nowhere. None of the women, not even the female head of the household, felt that she could take the responsibility for the business transaction.

When the merchant was ready to leave, Felix arrived. At this point, Felix took up the bargaining. When he could not get the price his father wanted, he resolved that the merchant should

159 come back when the father was home because not even he could sell
592 the pig without his consent. The Ladino was then forced to give up.
437
602 A few days later, Juan sold the pig according to his own plans. He kept the money, except for a small amount that he gave to his wife and daughter-in-law, in spite of the fact that Maria had fattened the pig, and that it had been previously said that the pig was the young couple's animal.[1]

592 A woman living with her husband in a separate household
593 has some autonomy within it, but she is still subordinate to her
562 husband. She owns little property. A woman may be given a cow
421 when she marries, but her father is not obliged to do so. It is
[431] simply a regalo (present). She does not own agricultural implements. She can not own land or inherit from her husband, except in cases where she is, in effect, keeping the house in trust for her male children, and it has not been claimed by her husband's father or brothers who have primacy rights over such property.

[561] As she grows older, and with the birth of children, her
[851] position becomes somewhat less dependent. She has more prestige in the eyes of her husband's family and other people, and if her marital relation has developed into a strong emotional bond, her interaction with her husband is less subordinate. He would consult

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[1] The animals are usually said to "belong" to one particular
[231] woman in the household. However, this does not mean that she has
[421] property rights over it; it only means that she is the person in
[562] charge of feeding it. Thus, the expression "el cochi de María" (María's pig) means the pig which María has the responsibility to feed every day, and it does not assume that she can sell it, kill it for meat, or do anything about it without the consent of the head of the household.

562 428 598 The inheritance rights of women are highly controversial. All the cases of conflict over the inheritance or rights of usufruct of land, that we know about, involved a woman in the line [183] of transmission. But however controversial, they are an established pattern. This is shown in the following cases.

Case 1

159 592 593 562 554 428 434 Delfina is about twenty-four years old, and still single. She was raised by her godmother in San Cristóbal, and her aspirations are to become a Ladina. She has consistently refused to marry any Indian man, and lives with her parents in a large compound. She is economically self-sufficient (perhaps the only woman in the village which is in the same position), because she works for the INI as a sewing teacher, and her status in the household is quite high due to the fact that she draws a large salary and that her parents are close to senility and dependent on her. Until recently, her married brother lived in the compound with his parents. He insisted that at his parents death he should inherit everything: land, house and animals. Delfina and his father were of the opposite opinion: the house should be for Delfina, since she was supporting them and, as she expressed it: "she did not get married." Faced with the brother's insistence about his traditional rights, the father ordered him out of the household, and he and his wife left town and went to live in [626] Amatenango. Most villagers, however, think that Delfina is in the wrong. They say that she is alzada (prideful) and loose in her relations with Ladino men (the employees of the INI that come to the village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

159 156 Delfina is an unusual woman by village standards, and the anthropologist quickly notices her deviant, from the rest of Aguacatenango women, personal characteristics: domineering, moody and pretentious. But even in other cases, the rights of women to 562 428 578 inherit or transmit property are contested often, as the following example will also show.

Case 2

159 428 562 578 Chilola has a son from a marriage previous to her present one. This son is about twenty years old. He is working the land with his stepfather, but wants to have his own milpa. When Chilola's first husband died, they were very poor. Nobody claimed rights on her husband's milpa, so she held it, although her son was not old enough to cultivate it. She tried to sell it to pay for the burial, but nobody wanted to pay her price, so she kept it. At the time, her mother-in-law, an old woman, was living with [592] [606] [587] her and being supported by Chilola, but "although she was already old, went out and looked for her man" (aunque estaba viejita se fué a buscar su hombre), and remarried. Because Chilola's son's milpa was fallow, the second husband of Chilola's mother-in-law took over its cultivation.

From the mother-in-law's late marriage, a daughter was born. This daughter married and her husband took over the milpa.

Now, Chilola's son wants to get his part of it because he is the direct heir of the father, who was the man who originally had the rights over the parcel. At the same time, the man who is

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 191]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

Household 24-7

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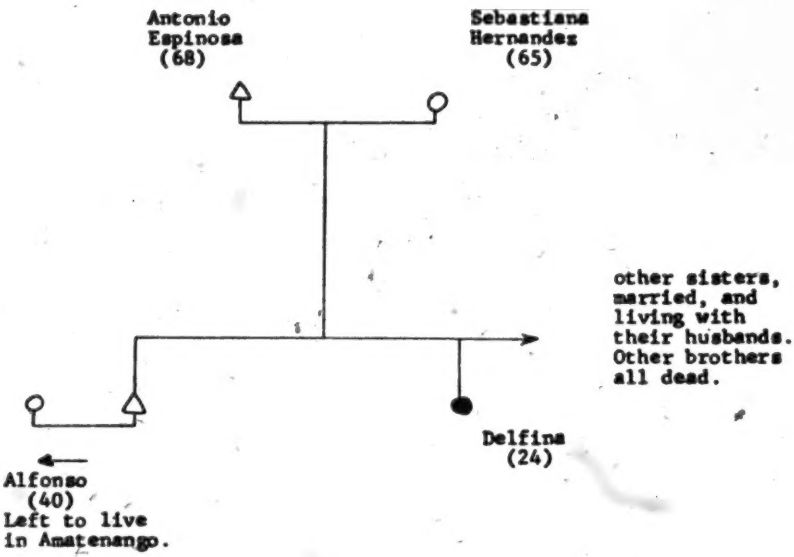

Fig. 15.--Genealogy of Delfina Espinosa

159 now cultivating it, and has been doing so for a long time, refuses
428
562 to return it, even if he is paid half of the value of the land, or
578 only asked to give half of it to Chilola's son.

The reason for the inheritance rights of the people concerned not being clear is that twice, in the sequence of transmission, women have passed on the property, and as a result, it has left the hands of the original lineage.

Chilola's feelings are quite strong: the land belonged to
[606] her husband. Even if her mother-in-law had rights over the prop-
[736] erty at Chilola's husband's death, she was being supported by Chilola, and certainly, neither her mother-in-law's second husband nor their daughter has primacy rights against her son. (See Genealogy, Fig. 16.)

The case is obviously complicated by the fact that the
[423] property rights are defined not only in terms of inheritance rights, but in terms of usufruct (in a sense, they do not have land tenure, but milpa tenure), and the other men had been taking care of the parcel for a long time, which makes them feel that it is theirs.

159
422 This type of conflict carries over to other property, such
593 as livestock, as exemplified in the next case.
578

Case 3

When Candelario Aguilar married, Juana, his wife received
[413] a regalo from her father: a bull. Candelario sold the bull and bought a cow, which had a calf.

Candelario left town and gave the cow and calf to his father Francisco, so that they would take care of it in his absence.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 193]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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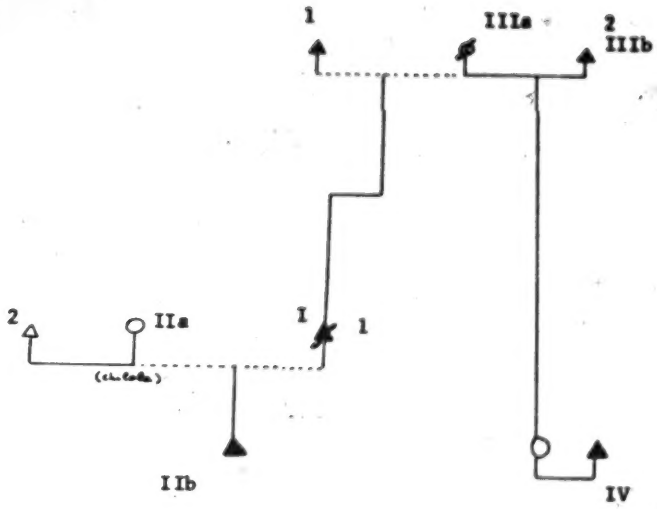

= men that claimed rights over the land.

I to IV indicate the order in which the land has been transmitted. The two men in the youngest generation are the ones contesting each other's rights.

Fig. 16.--Genealogy of Chilola M.

159 During the branding of animals in the village, Francisco received
422 a letter from Candelario asking him to brand the cow and calf for
593 him. Francisco and his son, Epifanio, did so.
578

This started the conflict. Jose Mendez, Juana's brother, felt that the cow and calf did not rightfully belong to Candelario, nor to Francisco or Epifanio, but to him. Epifanio had a fight with Jose, and the latter, insisting on his rights, which were not very clear, stated that Candelario had sold him the cow (which was not true), when they were working in the lowlands together. Casimira, Juana and Jose's mother, supported Jose's claims over the animals, because it was the money obtained from Juana's bull that had paid for the cow that had the calf. The relatives of her daughter's husband had less right over the animal than Juana's brother.

It is possible that Jose felt that the cow and calf had been purchased with the money obtained from selling a bull which was originally his father's, not his sister's. Even if it was his sister's, he felt he had more right to use it than the sister's husband's brother and father. If owner of the bull or the cow had been a brother rather than a sister, the conflict would not have arisen. (For genealogy see Fig. 17.)

177 Third, with the introduction of Catholicism, although the
178 native belief system has preserved many of its early features,
754 it is now, without doubt, a new syncretic elaboration. The per-
776 vasive witchcraft powers are, for example, attributed now to
613 Catholic saints, but the concept that the lineage heads of principales have witchcraft power to punish deviants within their

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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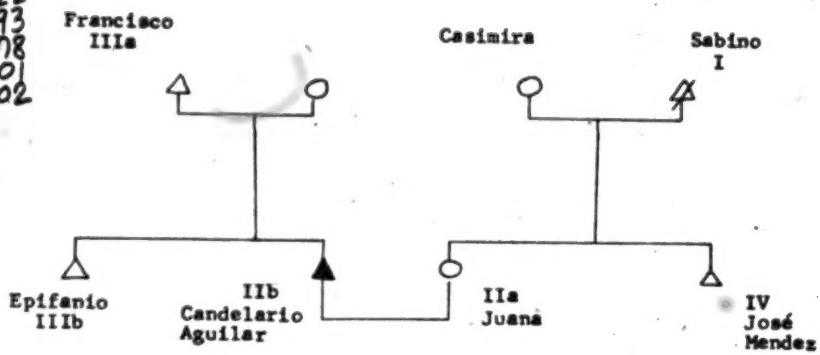

I to IIb indicate the order in which the bull was transmitted.

IIb-IIIb indicate the order in which cow and calf were transmitted.

IV is the man that pretends to have rights over the animals, with his mother's support.

Fig. 17.--Genealogy of Candelario Aguilar

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[p.455-A]

Death as a Way of Life: The Increasing Resort to Homicide in a Maya Indian Community[1]

JUNE NASH
Yale University

105

The breaking down of a social-control system based on belief in the guardianship of the spiritual ancestors and their temporal agents, the curers, is reflected in a rising homicide rate as people turn to individual sanctions when threatened. The acts of homicide differ in their social significance according to who is killed, the context, the agency, and the motivation of the killer. Thirty-seven homicides between 1938 and 1965, analyzed in terms of these component variables, reflect the conflicts arising from competition in new economic enterprises, the rising suspicion of curers' abuse of their supernatural power, and the loss of belief in the guardianship of the ancestors.

121 682 [762] THE social impact of homicide has caused some analysts[2] to treat it and its supposed inverted complement, suicide, as one kind of behavior with a single meaning, ignoring Durkheim's caveat that behavioral rubrics categorize diverse phenomena. Here I shall [101] analyze the variety of strategies involved in killing in a Mexican community, which I shall call Teklum (the Tzeltal term for village), and endeavor to show how rules of behavior are expressed in killing and in attempts to avoid being killed. Further, I shall endeavor to point out what these indicate about structural and organizational changes both within the community and in its relations with the wider society. Since suicide is absent, except for a [762] single case of a madman, I have restricted my enquiry to homicide.

161 162 [101] 621 Teklum is a predominantly Indian township of Mexico. The population of the town center—about 1,900—includes only one Ladino, or non-Indian, family, that of the schoolteacher. The sense of community is limited to people living in the center and in the four nearby hamlets (*barrios*).

621 632 The town center is divided physically and socially into two endogamous sections, called "upper" and "lower." The outlying hamlets are linked to the nearest section by social and economic ties. The civil and religious posts of 621 632 the town are, in local theory, apportioned evenly between the sections. This was in fact 178 true until the 1950's; for each of the ranked posts had a paired complement, so that both sides of the dual division were represented, and the single posts of president and *síndico* (the president's administrative assistant) were al-

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

9. The Tzeltal

ALFONSO VILLA ROJAS

133 flows through the eastern part of the region, the latter through the western, both draining large basins.

161 162 According to the census of 1950, the population of the zone totals 76,617 individuals, distributed over 15,970 sq. km. Of these 49,053 persons are Indian, 27,564 are Ladino. This population is distributed according to Table 1.

[128] San Cristobal de las Casas is omitted from the table because its population is predominantly Ladino (19,758 individuals) and because the Indians who live there (3,296) are of the Tzotzil tongue. Socoltenango and Nicolas Ruiz are also omitted because they no longer have an Indian-speaking population.

161 631 The central region has the municipalities of the highest density of population: Oxchuc with 129 inhabitants per sq. km., and Tenejapa with 115. [134] The northern part has an area seven times as large with only twice as much population; the municipality of Ocosingo has hardly one inhabitant per sq. km. in spite of the fact that its lands are the most fertile of the entire region. Although it

[p. 195-B]
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 196-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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TABLE 1—DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY MUNICIPALITIES
(Census of 1950)

Municipalities	Area in sq. km.	Tzeltal-speakers	Spanish-speakers	Total Population
North Zone:				
Sitala	550	5,435	1,385	6,821
Yajalon	145	6,026	4,010	10,036
Chilon	462	9,049	2,070	11,118
Ocosingo	12,143	9,170	3,770	12,940
Subtotal	13,300	29,680	11,235	40,915
Central Zone:				
Chanal	192	2,328	553	2,881
Oxchuc	42	4,074	1,338	5,412
Tenejapa	67	6,215	1,535	7,750
Altamirano	1,559	2,945	1,810	4,655
Subtotal	1,860	15,462	5,236	20,698
South Zone:				
Teopisca	270	754	4,601	5,355
Amatenango	355	1,773	756	2,529
Pinola	185	1,384	5,736	7,120
Subtotal	810	3,911	11,093	15,004
GRAND TOTAL	15,970	49,053	27,564	76,617

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TABLE 2—SPEAKERS OF TZELTAL
(Distribution by Zones)

Zones	Monolingual	Bilingual	Total
North Zone	23,429	8,251	31,680
Central Zone	11,291	4,171	15,462
South Zone	323	3,588	3,911
TOTAL	35,043	16,010	51,053

[P. 196-A]

Although it
161 has an average of 19 inhabitants per sq. km.
[241] the southern zone has lands that are suitable
[631] for agriculture and for irrigation, such as in
[128] Amatenango. Later I shall discuss the influence of these factors on the uneven economic and social development of the three zones.

161 The figures on Indians are based exclu-
162 sively on use of the Indian language and
197 so include both monolinguals and bilin-
191 guals. To differentiate each group, however, I have made corrections based on field work as shown in Table 2.

141 The average height of these Indians ranges from 1.55 to 1.60 m. Referring to

[P. 196 - B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Prehistoric Yucatan NV3

Chapter XI

PINES

T 137 Our trail wound through low bush and second growth. Here and there on hills were islands of high forest, but the level ground formerly under cultivation was now covered with an impenetrable network of low bushes and thorny brambles.

T 241 Indian agriculture is very simple. Towards the end of the dry season the Indian selects a place in the forest for his corn field, and makes an extensive clearing. All trees and branches are cut in small pieces, and left to dry in the baking sun. When thoroughly dry they set fire to them, and in a short while the ground is clear, leaving it as clean as a floor.

Then the Indian plants his corn in holes made with a wooden digging stick. He sows just before the rainy season sets in and waters his field, and thereafter he has nothing to do until it is time to harvest. The ground is never broken, and no fertilizer is used.

This method is very wasteful. Three to four plantings can be made in the same clearing, after which the soil is burnt out and exhausted. Then a new place must be found for the field.

T 161 PY 174 166 241 PY [72] In this way great tracts gradually become waste land. Today the population is scarce, and the damage is therefore comparatively small; but before the Conquest the population must have been much greater, judging by the many and large ruined cities. In those days the Maya undoubtedly first cultivated the lands near his town, and as the soil became exhausted, moved farther away. Then one fine day the distance from field to town became so great, the labour of cultivating the distant field and transporting the crops so excessive, that he was forced to look for new country. Very likely the inhabitants of one city would invade the territory of a neighbouring city in their search for cultivable land and this would result in war.

PY 172 174 131 167 361 Dates inscribed on monuments show us that the Maya for some reason abandoned the southern part of their country around the year 600 A. D. After 630 A. D., we find no more dates in this, the Old Empire area, as it has been called; but about the same time dated monuments appear in northern Yucatan.

A general exodus from the southern area must have started at this time, and little by little, tribe after tribe went north, leaving their magnificent cities to a few stragglers—eventually to be claimed

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

131 the Guatemala border, which it overlaps at Gracias á Dios. They
101 do not reach the highest part of the mountains. For the most part, they live in isolated tribal groups, although in some places, notably in Ocosingo Valley, they are attached to *haciendas* and *fincas*. Much of the easternmost country marked in the maps as belonging to them and the Chol is actually uninhabited wilderness, or, if occupied at all, is Lacandone territory.

101 Their immediate neighbours of the Highlands are the Zotzil and
197 Chaneabal. The former speak a language differentiated from Tzeltal only by a shift of *a, e,* and *b* to Zotzil *o, i,* and *m,* respectively.* Chaneabal is spoken by a small group near Comitan. The people of that place say that the language is simply Tzeltal influenced by Mames contact. The list given in Appendix III, seems to bear this out. To the north, and around Tumbalá, are the Chol Indians, whose language is quite distinct, but, of all the other Mayance tongues, probably the nearest to the Highland group.

197 The language itself has been variously named Cendal, Tzendal, Cendales, Tzental, and Tzeltal. I have taken the latter form, as it most nearly represents the Indians' own form, *ts'eltal,* varied in careless speech to *tceltal.* The villages are spoken of as tribes, because each one forms a separate, self-governing unit. There is no
197 evidence of cohesion within the language-group as a whole save
628 during certain periods of uprisings. Individual villages may resemble tribes of another speech more closely than they do those of
[104] their own. The Mexican spelling of Tzeltal names is given first, followed by the phonetic spelling (See Appendix III), and the translation, if known.

101 The Bachajon live on the threshold of the pine country. Their
[131] farms may be found hidden away in the thick jungle land of ma-
[137] hogany and palms, through which their little hidden trails lead to houses tucked away out of sight of alien travelers. Altogether, they
[161] are estimated at five thousand families, but it is doubtful whether evidences of more than fifty farms could be seen by one passing along the trail through the heart of their country. The capital, Bachajon Village, is among the pines. There, periodically, the
[648] Spaniards used to round them up, that they might be more easily policed, and for the benefit of the church established there. Once
[346] there was a fine, stone church and a neat Cabildo with white walls,
[344] colonnade, and tiled roof. Both have been wrecked by the Indians, apparently because they did not like to be reminded of alien domination, for from the wreckage of the old church, they took tiles to roof their new one, and they have a straw-thatched Cabildo for the Maestro, or government agent.

*Starr (1903) quoting Sanchez (1890).

000 133 423 632 133 tóbal. The altitude above sea level varies from 2,000 meters in the hilly periphery to 1,720 meters in the valley where the town center is located. Ejido lands acquired in the 1930s have extended the boundaries of the township to lower lands at 1,500 meters altitude.

172 361 Pre-Conquest settlement patterns in the Chiapas highlands were characterized by independent communities occupying the headlands around flat-bottomed valleys (R. M. Adams 1961:341). The choice of sites seems to have been based on defense against invading Toltec or other conquest groups (Calnek 1962:25). The sites investigated by Adams and Culbert (R. M. Adams 1961:347) in Amatenango belong to the late-Classic and early post-Classic period. They were marginal to the centers of Maya civilization in the Yucatán peninsula and Guatemala. Test excavations in the modern town indicate that it was occupied only after colonial times.

175 361 16 162 The town of Amatenango del Valle is first mentioned in the year 1528 when it was included in tribute lists with both the Nahuatl name, Amatenango, and the Tzeltal name, Tzobontaghal (Calnek n.d.). The tribute lists of 1761 include 33 families in the *parcialidad,* or Spanish political unit based on an indigenous settlement, of Zacatepec in Amatenango and 75 families in the parcialidad of Amatenango (Trens 1957 I:217). The first census done in 1778 shows a total population of 576, with 374 men and 202 women. The racial breakdown is listed as 8 white, 2 negro and mestizo, and 560 Indians (Trens 1957:221). By 1824, the population had increased to 1,620. The present population of 3,179 represents natural growth as well as inclusion of additional outlying settlements added in the latter part of the nineteenth century and during the 1930s with the enactment of the land reform act. The population changes indicate steady but not great increases. The capacity of the town to incorporate additional population has probably passed its peak. The present trend is for out-migration to newly opened ejido lands.

161 632 [423]

128 632 The subdivisions of the town, which provide the framework for administration by the national government, are included in Table 1.

361 [563] *The center.* The center of Tzoʾontahal is called the "center [or navel] of the world." The residents of the center, with the exception of the schoolteacher's family, are all Indian. Although the town center forms

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

TABLE 1. Population of Political Subdivisions of the Township of Amatenango del Valle

Name of subdivision	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Center			
Tzoʔontahal	938	894	1,832
Colonias			
Bočibal	109	113	222
Teʔtikil	81	91	172
Pathuitz	36	30	66
San Caralampio	50	46	96
San Vicente	46	48	94
Ranchos and rancherias			
Buena Vista	1	5	6
Candelaria	5	3	8
Carmen	8	9	17
Carmen las Delicias	6	7	13
Cruz Quemada	5	10	15
El Porvenir	12	13	25
El Rabinal	11	9	20
El Rosario	12	17	29
La Esperanza	3	6	9
La Libertad	3	4	7
La Merced Buena Vista	4	5	9
Llano Grande	11	16	27
Porvenir	2	6	8
Rosario Tulanca	3	2	5
San Agustín	11	9	20
San Antonio Buena Vista (a)	63	76	139
San Antonio Buena Vista (b)	12	7	19
San Caralampio	8	9	17
San José Cruz Quemada	14	14	28
San José La Reforma	10	10	20
San José Yujulum	10	8	18
San Pedro Soledad	12	10	22
San Ramon Buena Vista	4	5	9
San Salvador	12	11	23
San Sebastian	1	1	2
Santa Anita	6	3	9
Santiago Buena Vista	11	10	21
Tulanca	5	6	11
Fincas			
San Nicolás	26	28	54
Tejonera	8	5	13
Total	1,559	1,546	3,105

SOURCE: 1960 census.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

were not affected by the congregación. The fact that there is no mention in the post-Conquest documents of the introduction of dual divisions suggests that the model was indigenous to the area.

The Indians of Tzo'ontahal state that the dividing line of the division was established in its present position when a new church, replacing the first one which was burned, was built on the present site. Judging from a date carved in a beam of the church, this must have been about the year 1746. The endogamous restriction on marriage has not led to a sense of racial distinction between the two populations. Both groups feel that they are descendants of the same ancestor figures and under their guardianship. The same Tzeltal patronyms are distributed on both sides of the division, although there is a clustering of some of them on one or another side. Table 2 shows the distribution of patronyms of 714 male and female adults; 88 percent of the patronyms are found in both divisions.[4]

The functions of the division in organizing social groupings have been eroded, but some survive. Equal representation by civil officials from the upper and lower sections, when there are two or more posts at the same rank, is still in effect. The principle of alternation of the single posts of president and *síndico*, his administrative assistant, so that one term the incumbent is chosen from Ahk'olnantik and the following term from Alannantik has not been a decisive factor since the 1930s, when Indian communities were being drawn into more active participation in national programs of change (Chapter 9).

Residential expansion within the center has been almost entirely in Ahk'olnantik because of the addition of ejido lands formerly belonging to the finca of San Nicolás on this side of town. This one-sided increase in population finally resulted, in 1965, in a breakdown of the principle of equal representation in the ceremonial posts involving high expenses, those of the four *alfereces*. Although attempts were made to find candidates in Alannantik, there were no men with sufficient funds who had not

4. Carrasco (n.d.:5) quotes a document in the *Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla, Guatemala* 16 indicating that Spanish patronyms were given to the heads of calpules and that these were to be extended to all members of the calpul. The present distribution of name groups in the dual divisions cannot support this, nor can it refute the possibility that Spanish patronyms were related to some larger kin or territorial grouping more than three hundred years ago.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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held that post formerly, and all four alfereces were for the first time taken from one side.

621
551

TABLE 2. Patronyms in the Dual Division

Patronym	*Alannantik only*	*Ahk'olnantik only*	*Alannantik and Ahk'olnantik*
Alvarez			37
Arguella Jimenez	1		
Bautista		1	
Bautista Čail			52
Bautista Čo		5	
Bautista Ko?ton			14
Bautista Sa?ben			20
Cepeda			1
Cepeda Čilol			29
Cruz Mendez	1		
Diaz			6
Diaz Čamo			5
Diaz Ton			8
Diaz Uz			42
Gomez		2	
Gomez Bot			39
Gomez Kompaš			73
Gomez Kut			49
Gomez Waris	1		
Gonzalez	1		
Gonzalez Ikob		3	
Guitierrez	1		
Hernandez	1		
Hernandez Čela	1		
Hernandez Tenan	4	1	
Jimenez		2	
Leon		2	
Leon Či			21
Leon Čulik			14
Leon Malatz	2		
Lopez			1
Lopez Lab'	1		
Lopez Lin			31
Lopez Mai	11		
Lopez Pokoš		13	
Lopez Tapiya		5	
Lopez Šunton		18	

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

maximum market price for wheat of 124 pesos per 100 kgs. The Indians usually sell their wheat at 90 pesos per 100 kgs. to Teopisca truckers, or at best gain 110 pesos per 100 kgs. by bringing it to the mills themselves. From their perspective corn is the more valuable crop, not only from the point of view of subsistence, but also for sale since if they hold it in storage they can sell it at double the price at which the values are calculated in the census (.60 peso per kg.). They do not have facilities to store wheat in order to take maximum advantage of price changes.

The census I made in 1964 of land ownership and use by the 304 families living in the center of the township (Table 5) shows that 47 percent of the households have no land other than the ejido grant of one hectare. Because of the growing population, the land per household has decreased. A comparison with the 1958 census of land ownership of 280 households in the center indicates that 89 families now have less land than they had at that date, 72 have the same amount, and 44 have more land; 99 unknown cases include new families which have been created since the earlier date, families which were no longer in existence in 1964, and households in which there is a lack of data on the question of landholding.

The strong sentiment against the sale of one's own land, well documented in the monographic literature,[2] is expressed here:

If a man sells his land without sickness, people say he is lazy. The best thing to buy if you have money is land. Unlike cattle, it does not die, it does not get lost, and it does not need watching. It is not the same with a horse. When you buy one, you have to watch it and care for it and when it dies, all is over. You lose all your money. But with land, in two years you have the land paid for and it remains as a gift. It gives us what we eat.

Land is rarely sold to outsiders. If a man needs money and has a buyer from out of town, the civil authorities raise the money and buy the plot, selling it in pieces as they find buyers. Only one small plot of land has been sold to an outsider in my knowledge of the community. This plot

2. See Tax (1957), Wagley (1941). Oscar Lewis (1963:125 indicates that in Tepotzlan the breakdown of the resistance to selling land was associated with a growing awareness of profits to be made in the regional and national economy.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 32]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

197 The inhabitants of both villages speak closely related dialects of the Tzeltal language, one of the two groups forming the Tzeltal-Tzotzil, which split linguistically from the parent stock of the Mayan Family around the beginning of the Classic Period of Maya Civilization (McQuown , 1959).

Lexicostatistical counts and isoglosses show that the two communities cluster together, in dialect cores of less than 500 years of separation, as against several others in the study area of the Chiapas Project of the University of Chicago. Several indices were used for the count, including degree of Spanish borrowing (McQuown, 1956; 1959). They indicate the same degree of linguistic acculturation.

191 At present Tzeltal-Spanish bilingualism is common, perhaps with the exception of elder women, although the Spanish spoken is mainly "market-Spanish" and reduced in vocabulary.

Demography

175 621 166 During the Colonial Period and the Independence both villages remained stable, being endogamous, economically self-sufficient communities with fairly restricted ranges of territorial movement; this is in contrast with the present day situation in which settlements tend to split into separate communities through local migrations (McQuown et al., 1959, Section 2, Part I, page 6).

175 161 A comparison of censuses available for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries suggests a high degree of demographic continuity with a slow, steady increase in population, although there is some evidence of population declines which took place in the

175 area as a result of recurring epidemics. It has taken 180 years
161 for the villages to double their population while Mexico as a whole has tripled it in 144 years, from 1793 to 1937 (Simpson, W., 1937: 149).

TABLE 1

DEMOGRAPHY: POPULATION INCREASE

Year	Amatenango	Aguacatenango
1778	576	568
1958	1,337	1,034

621
166 More recently both communities have sent out some of their population to form colonias (small dependent settlements) in their rural periphery. Amatenango has formed four separate rural barrios (La Grandeza, Madronal, Yetahwitz and Patzhwitz) situated within view of the town, and two colonias (San Vicente and San Caralampio). Aguacatenango now has one colonia, called El Puerto. Most of its inhabitants are related to those of Aguacatanango; they moved down to El Puerto in the last thirty years, after the community lands had been expanded in that direction.

Political History

175
648 During Colonial times and the Independence period both villages shared the same types of relations with the outside world; these were mainly the payment of tribute in kind and services to the Spanish and Ladino (Local Mexican) authorities.

When first mentioned, the villages appear to have been

423 593 The reasons for keeping a son are not as pressing as the [432] reasons for keeping a daughter. Amatenango land holdings are [184] somewhat smaller than Aguacatenango, and the buying and selling of agricultural parcels, as long as it does not involve outsiders to the village, is a common practice which accounts for approximately 16 per cent of land transactions. The

423 241 592 464 limited land holding units in Amatenango require minimal cooperation in agriculture. Because of fractured land holdings, fewer than one-half of the households have two tablones . . . of land. Therefore, fewer than one-half the households can keep more than one man actively employed. Even in those households with from two to five tablones, a man and his adult son are sufficient labor for most activities except harvest. 592 323 434 868 Women's pottery production, however, requires frequent cooperation. Two tendencies are reinforcing the cooperation of women, especially of mothers and daughters: (1) with increasing need for cash income to buy products which are not longer produced in the home, or which have been introduced, money [582] is constantly needed. Pottery offers an easy means of acquiring cash with almost immediate returns, and (2) marriages are [178] currently contracted at a later age for girls than formerly. Before, about a generation ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve were the rule. Most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques begins at that age. Consequently, pottery was taught to the daughter by the mother-in-law if the girl was married and resided in the husband's house. (See Frans [114] Blom and Oliver LaFarge [1927] who commented that all pottery was taught by the mother-in-law.) Most marriages now are contracted for girls from 14 to 17 years of age. At this time they are already proficient potters, and accustomed to working with their mother. Therefore, there is a greater stress put on their remaining in or near their parental home after marriage (Nash, J., 1960:47).[1]

592 868 323 The people of Amatenango recognize that during the period in which a woman learns to make pottery, she establishes particular habits of cooperation and a strong solidarity bond with the woman from whom she learns and with whom she works. "Parents say that there is an advantage in early marriages, in that the girl would be more willing to learn the ways of her mother-in-law if she

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[1] It is also important to notice that with the increase in [161] population over the area, the market has increased.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[p.455-A]

Death as a Way of Life: The Increasing Resort to Homicide in a Maya Indian Community[1]

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105

The breaking-down of a social-control system based on belief in the guardianship of the spiritual ancestors and their temporal agents, the curers, is reflected in a rising homicide rate as people turn to individual sanctions when threatened. The acts of homicide differ in their social significance according to who is killed, the context, the agency, and the motivation of the killer. Thirty-seven homicides between 1938 and 1965, analyzed in terms of these component variables, reflect the conflicts arising from competition in new economic enterprises, the rising suspicion of curers' abuse of their supernatural power, and the loss of belief in the guardianship of the ancestors.

121 682 [762] THE social impact of homicide has caused some analysts[2] to treat it and its supposed inverted complement, suicide, as one kind of behavior with a single meaning, ignoring Durkheim's caveat that behavioral rubrics categorize diverse phenomena. Here I shall [101] analyze the variety of strategies involved in killing in a Mexican community, which I shall call Teklum (the Tzeltal term for village), and endeavor to show how rules of behavior are expressed in killing and in attempts to avoid being killed. Further, I shall endeavor to point out what these indicate about structural and organizational changes both within the community and in its relations with the wider society. Since suicide is absent, except for a [762] single case of a madman, I have restricted my enquiry to homicide.

161 162 [101] 621 Teklum is a predominantly Indian township of Mexico. The population of the town center about 1,900—includes only one Ladino, or non-Indian, family, that of the schoolteacher. The sense of community is limited to people living in the center and in the four nearby hamlets (*barrios*).

621 632 The town center is divided physically and socially into two endogamous sections, called "upper" and "lower." The outlying hamlets are linked to the nearest section by social and economic ties. The civil and religious posts of 621 632 the town are, in local theory, apportioned evenly between the sections. This was in fact 178 true until the 1950's; for each of the ranked posts had a paired complement, so that both sides of the dual division were represented, and the single posts of president and *síndico* (the president's administrative assistant) were al-

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

9. The Tzeltal

ALFONSO VILLA ROJAS

133 flows through the eastern part of the region, the latter through the western, both draining large basins.

161 According to the census of 1950, the population of the zone totals 76,617 individuals, 162 distributed over 15,970 sq. km. Of these 49,053 persons are Indian, 27,564 are Ladino. This population is distributed according to Table 1.

[128] San Cristobal de las Casas is omitted from the table because its population is predominantly Ladino (19,758 individuals) and because the Indians who live there (3,296) are of the Tzotzil tongue. Socoltenango and Nicolas Ruiz are also omitted because they no longer have an Indian-speaking population.

161 The central region has the municipalities 631 of the highest density of population: Oxchuc with 129 inhabitants per sq. km.; and Tenejapa with 115. The northern part has an [134] area seven times as large with only twice as much population, the municipality of Ocosingo has hardly one inhabitant per sq. km. in spite of the fact that its lands are the most fertile of the entire region. Although it

[p. 195-B]
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 196-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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TABLE 1—DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY MUNICIPALITIES
(Census of 1950)

Municipalities	Area in sq. km	Tzeltal-speakers	Spanish-speakers	Total Population
North Zone:				
Sitala	550	5,435	1,385	6,821
Yajalon	145	6,026	4,010	10,036
Chilon	462	9,049	2,070	11,118
Ocosingo	12,143	9,170	3,770	12,940
Subtotal	13,300	29,680	11,235	40,915
Central Zone:				
Chanal	192	2,328	553	2,881
Oxchuc	42	4,074	1,338	5,412
Tenejapa	67	6,215	1,535	7,750
Altamirano	1,559	2,945	1,810	4,655
Subtotal	1,860	15,462	5,236	20,698
South Zone:				
Teopisca	270	754	4,601	5,355
Amatenango	355	1,773	756	2,529
Pinola	185	1,384	5,736	7,120
Subtotal	810	3,911	11,093	15,004
GRAND TOTAL	15,970	49,053	27,564	76,617

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TABLE 2—SPEAKERS OF TZELTAL
(Distribution by Zones)

Zones	Monolingual	Bilingual	Total
North Zone	23,429	8,251	31,680
Central Zone	11,291	4,171	15,462
South Zone	323	3,588	3,911
TOTAL	35,043	16,010	51,053

[P. 196-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Although it
161 has an average of 19 inhabitants per sq. km.,
[241] the southern zone has lands that are suitable
[631] for agriculture and for irrigation, such as in
[128] Amatenango. Later I shall discuss the influence of these factors on the uneven economic and social development of the three zones.

161 The figures on Indians are based exclu-
162 sively on use of the Indian language and
197 so include both monolinguals and bilin-
191 guals. To differentiate each group, however, I have made corrections based on field work as shown in Table 2.

141 The average height of these Indians ranges from 1.55 to 1.60 m. Referring to

[P. 196-B]

177 262 ious meats, and canned foods such as salmon, sardines, and sausages.

231 [222] The keeping of bees is not widespread. The Indians instead take advantage of the wild honey, which is commonly gathered during certain parts of the year. Tenango was the only town where I observed beehives next to the huts. The bees, large and yellow, are called *aja-chab* and are brought from the woods. When a tree is found with one of these beehives, the section containing the hive is cut off and is taken to town; the ends of this section are covered with jícaras, which are stuck on with clay.

Settlement Patterns

Town and Parajes

632 621 361 All the communities consist of a town center and a number of settlements, called parajes, which are scattered over the municipio. The town is the political, religious, and commercial center of the entire community; there the municipal authorities have their offices, [563] and the church and shops are located. In general, the Ladinos reside in the center, their houses arranged in aligned streets, but some communities (Chanal, Amatenango, Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Bachajon) refuse to accept Ladinos in the town permanently. The Indians prefer the parajes, where the huts are dispersed irregularly.

• 162 As observed by Sol Tax for the highlands of Guatemala (1937), the proportion of Indians who reside in the town center varies. In some communities (Chanal, Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Tenango) nearly all the people live in the capital. In Chanal, with a population of 2,881 persons, 2,386 reside in the center and so it is a "nucleated town," according to Tax's terminology. In contrast, the most common community is the "vacant town." Tenejapa, for example, has only 517 inhabitants of a total 7,750 residing in the center. The least frequent is an intermediate type, where some live in the center and some in the parajes, as typified by

[P. 203-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 205-A]

162 Amatenango del Valle, a community of 2,529 inhabitants, of which 1,470 reside in the town center.

621 The town centers are divided into two sections, called barrios by Ladinos and calpules by Indians (Oxchuc and Cancuc). The imaginary line which separates one barrio from another passes through the center of the town, sometimes east-west, sometimes north-south, with no fixed orientation.

[776] Each barrio has its own local authorities and sometimes its own patron saint (Oxchuc and Bachajon). The principal function of the barrios was not only political or religious but also social, in regulating mar-

[178] riage. Endogamy was common to all barrios, but today that rule is losing its rigidity. In Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1960, p. 8) tells us that, "The rule of barrio endogamy, which is viable in 86% of the known marriages, contributes to the localization of related families limiting the geographical range of marriage choice." A similar situation obtains in Amatenango (J. Nash, 1959, p. 3), Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes, 1947, p. 7), and Bachajon (Guiteras Holmes, 1961c, p. 167).

[178] In Bachajon, Guiteras Holmes states that: "In the old days there was no marriage be-

[578] tween the *barrios*. If a boy from San Sebastian took a walk through San Geronimo, he was beaten; they would give him a '*maciza*,' as they say. If a boy from a *barrio* approached the waterholes to court a girl, he fared very badly." The calpules of Oxchuc, although they have politico-religious significance, have no influence at all in the selection of wives.

621 The parajes have a few scattered huts

778 among the cultivated fields. Each paraje is

[361] bound by religious ties to a given cave where a cross, the supreme sacred symbol, is kept. The name of the paraje is generally

778 taken from the name of the cave. Sacred

821 caves of secondary importance also exist.

823 This mystical regard for caves is based in the belief that they are the place from which issues the lightning to punish the

[P. 205-A]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

186 tions of self will find a responsive audience only within these linguistic and physical boundaries. The sense of insulation is a denial of regional and national political institutions in which they interact with the other Indians and Ladinos who are part of their present world and share their his-
175 tory. The town itself is a product of the Spanish colonial *congregación,*
361 which drew together diverse Indian populations that had been scattered in
162 small settlements. The outlying barrios are occupied by Indians who have
829 moved out from the center, as well as foreign Indians who had worked in the *fincas,* or large plantations, within the township. These latter people are referred to by a derisive term, *Kurik,* meaning roughly "country hick." Beyond these, and still within the municipal limits, there are a series of *colonias,* settlements populated by Indians who have moved here from other towns and by *mestizos,* or acculturated Indians. These settlers acquired land in the time of Juarez or later in the Cardenas period. Ladino men are called *Kašlan* and women *Šinlan;* foreigners who do not appear to be of the country are called *Alemán,* the Spanish term for German.

121 The focus of this book is on the lives and thoughts of people living within the center. The people of Tzoʾontahal live in a square world, sur-
772 rounded by a round universe. From the square hole, cut in the earth at the center post of their square house to receive the sacrifice of a live chicken when the house is built, stretches a square village (it appears as a rectangle on the map, but they draw it as a square).[2] The fields are measured in
[804] squares of twenty-five arms' breadths, with five handspans measuring the
[78] square between each plant. Within this square world, they have elaborated techniques for dealing with spiritual and human co-residents in curing ri-
105 tuals, offerings for crops, burial practices, and baptism rites. Their present
177 cultural stock reveals a selective absorption of Spanish colonial features
178 along with twentieth-century innovations. They have techniques for planting and harvesting milpa, marketing the pottery manufactured in all the households, curing an eclipse of the moon, divining causes of illness and curing the maladjusted social relations which cause it, manufacturing and

[171] 2. This view of the world as square is shared by Tzeltal and Tzotzil neighbors in Larraínzar (Holland 1963:69), San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:254), and Pinola (Hermitte 1964). The four-direction concept of the village and world noted by Landa (Tozzer 1941:135) suggests a square-space concept.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

000 133 423 632 133 tóbal. The altitude above sea level varies from 2,000 meters in the hilly periphery to 1,720 meters in the valley where the town center is located. Ejido lands acquired in the 1930s have extended the boundaries of the township to lower lands at 1,500 meters altitude.

172 361 Pre-Conquest settlement patterns in the Chiapas highlands were characterized by independent communities occupying the headlands around flat-bottomed valleys (R. M. Adams 1961:341). The choice of sites seems to have been based on defense against invading Toltec or other conquest groups (Calnek 1962:25). The sites investigated by Adams and Culbert (R. M. Adams 1961:347) in Amatenango belong to the late-Classic and early post-Classic period. They were marginal to the centers of Maya civilization in the Yucatán peninsula and Guatemala. Test excavations in the modern town indicate that it was occupied only after colonial times.

175 361 161 162 The town of Amatenango del Valle is first mentioned in the year 1528 when it was included in tribute lists with both the Nahuátl name, Amatenango, and the Tzeltal name, Tzobontaghal (Calnek n.d.). The tribute lists of 1761 include 33 families in the *parcialidad*, or Spanish political unit based on an indigenous settlement, of Zacatepec in Amatenango and 75 families in the parcialidad of Amatenango (Trens 1957 I:217). The first census done in 1778 shows a total population of 576, with 374 men and 202 women. The racial breakdown is listed as 8 white, 2 negro and mestizo, and 560 Indians (Trens 1957:221). By 1824, the population had increased to 1,620. The present population of 3,179 represents natural growth as well as inclusion of additional outlying settlements added in the latter part of the nineteenth century and during the 1930s with the enactment of the land reform act. The population changes indicate steady but not great increases. The capacity of the town to incorporate additional population has probably passed its peak. The present trend is for out-migration to newly opened ejido lands.

161 632 [423]

128 632 The subdivisions of the town, which provide the framework for administration by the national government, are included in Table 1.

361 [563] *The center.* The center of Tzo'ontahal is called the "center [or navel] of the world." The residents of the center, with the exception of the schoolteacher's family, are all Indian. Although the town center forms

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

TABLE 1. Population of Political Subdivisions of the Township of Amatenango del Valle

Name of subdivision	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Center			
Tzo?ontahal	938	894	1,832
Colonias			
Bočibal	109	113	222
Te?tikil	81	91	172
Pathuitz	36	30	66
San Caralampio	50	46	96
San Vicente	46	48	94
Ranchos and rancherías			
Buena Vista	1	5	6
Candelaria	5	3	8
Carmen	8	9	17
Carmen las Delicias	6	7	13
Cruz Quemada	5	10	15
El Porvenir	12	13	25
El Rabinal	11	9	20
El Rosario	12	17	29
La Esperanza	3	6	9
La Libertad	3	4	7
La Merced Buena Vista	4	5	9
Llano Grande	11	16	27
Porvenir	2	6	8
Rosario Tulanca	3	2	5
San Agustín	11	9	20
San Antonio Buena Vista (a)	63	76	139
San Antonio Buena Vista (b)	12	7	19
San Caralampio	8	9	17
San José Cruz Quemada	14	14	28
San José La Reforma	10	10	20
San José Yujulum	10	8	18
San Pedro Soledad	12	10	22
San Ramon Buena Vista	4	5	9
San Salvador	12	11	23
San Sebastian	1	1	2
Santa Anita	6	3	9
Santiago Buena Vista	11	10	21
Tulanca	5	6	11
Fincas			
San Nicolás	26	28	54
Tejonera	8	5	13
Total	1,559	1,546	3,105

SOURCE: 1960 census.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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593 parents. This role is institutionalized and the youngest child is referred to
[192] as *k'ol*, the last one.

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182 The choice of residence after marriage is influenced by the following factors:

1. The couple live with whatever family has less pressure from immature siblings remaining in the household. If there is no other child in one family, there is a strong likelihood that the new family will remain in that household.

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434 2. If there is any wealth difference, the couple tends to live with the richer family. "Wealthy" families prefer to have their children live near them and will make an effort to build a house within their compound or nearby.

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Table 15. Trends in Household Composition, 1958–1964

Family type	*Alannantik* No. of families	*Alannantik* Percent of total families	*Ahk'olnantik* No. of families	*Ahk'olnantik* Percent of total families	*Total* No. of families	*Total* Percent of total families
Remained the same						
Nuclear	49	76	38	57	87	67
Virilocal	7	11	11	16	18	14
Uxorilocal	4	6	7	11	11	9
Joint sib	1	2	1	2	2	1
Grandparent-grandchild	1	2	2	3	3	2
Incomplete	2	3	7	11	9	7
Total	64	100	66	100	130	100
Percent of all families		44		34		39
New families created						
Nuclear	16	89	48	88	64	88
Uxorilocal	1	5.5	1	2	2	3
Incomplete	1	5.5	6	10	7	9
Total	18	100	55	100	73	100
Percent of all families		12		28		21
Families which changed *	64	44	74	38	138	40
Total number of families	146	100	195	100	341	100

* Direction of change indicated in Table 16.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Changes in the household composition in the period from 1958 to 1964 between the two censuses I made in the field indicate some of the trends toward nuclear family units or bilaterally-rather than predominantly patrilineally-extended units (Tables 15 and 16). Comparisons are made between the same household in each period. Comparison of family forms in the six-year period indicates a high rate of change, with 39 percent remaining the same and 40 percent changing. The remaining 21 percent are the newly created families. The direction of change favors nuclear families (40 cases or 29 percent of changes) and virilocal forms (27 cases or 20 percent of changes). Nuclear families were the most stable, with 62 remaining the same and 62 changing to another form. This contrasts with uxorilocal households which are the least stable, with 11 cases remaining the same and 23 changing, and virilocal households which follow a similar pattern with 14 cases remaining the same and 25 changing. Nuclear families account for 88 percent of the new families created by marriage in the period studied. The trend is toward a greater proportion of nuclear families, as measured by the various indices.

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TABLE 16. Direction of Change in Household Composition, 1958–1964

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	Alannantik		*Ahk'olnantik*		*Total*	
Family type	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*
Change to nuclear from						
Virilocal	14	22	4	5	18	13
Uxorilocal	5	8	9	12	14	10
Joint sib			1	1	1	1
Grandparent-Grandchild			1	1	1	1
Incomplete	1	2	3	4	4	3
Unknown			2	3	2	1
Total	20	32	20	26	40	29
Change to virilocal from						
Nuclear	8	12	10	14	18	13
Uxorilocal	2	3	1	1	3	2
Joint sib			1	1	1	1
Incomplete	1	2	4	5	5	4
Total	11	17	16	21	27	20

(*cont.*)

[P.106]

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Family type	Alannantik No. of families	Alannantik Percent of total families	Ahk'olnantik No. of families	Ahk'olnantik Percent of total families	Total No. of families	Total Percent of total families
Change to uxorilocal from						
Nuclear	4	6	4	5	8	6
Virilocal	1	2	1	1.5	2	1
Joint sib			1	1.5	1	.7
Grandparent-grandchild			1	1.5	1	.7
Incomplete			1	1.5	1	.7
Unknown			1	1.5	1	.7
Total	5	8	9	12.5	14	10
Change to joint sib from						
Nuclear	1	2			1	.7
Virilocal			1	1.5	1	.7
Uxorilocal			1	1.5	1	.7
Total	1	2	2	3	3	2
Change to grandparent-grandchild from						
Nuclear			1	1.5	1	.7
Total			1	1.5	1	1
Change to incomplete from						
Nuclear	8	12	4	5	12	9
Virilocal	1	2	1	1.5	2	1.4
Uxorilocal	2	3	1	1.5	3	2
Joint sib	1	2			1	1
Unknown			2	3	2	1.4
Total	12	19	8	11	20	15
Change to disintegrated from						
Nuclear	11	17	10	14	21	15
Virilocal	2	3			2	1.4
Uxorilocal			2	3	2	1.4
Grandparent-grandchild			2	3	2	1.4
Incomplete	1	2	4	5	5	4
Total	14	22	18	25	32	23
Change to avunculocal from						
Nuclear	1	2			1	1
Total	64	100	74	100	138	100

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

592 The household into which an individual is born remains a resource base
591 throughout his life. In nine cases noted in Table 17 in which separations
586 occurred, the spouse returned to his or her natal home. In most cases in-
592 volving the death of a spouse, the widow or widower stays in the house-
736 hold established during the marriage. If the children are too young to be economically useful, the surviving parent may return to the parental household with his or her children, or they may move in with married siblings. If the family was living with the parents of one of the spouses, the surviving members usually remain there even if the elder couple are not the parents of the widow or widower. A young widow living alone is the prey of drunken men during fiestas and requires a protector.

586 The stability of marriage can be seen in the statistics on changes in con-
587 jugal status in the period from the first census in 1958 to the second census
[125] in 1964 (Table 18). Of 264 marriages formed at the time of the first census, only 15, or 5 percent, were voluntarily dissolved; 16 percent were broken by the death of one or both spouses, and another 1 percent by the death of both partners. 10 widowers and 4 widows remarried, an index both to the greater availability of women for remarriage as well as to the necessity for a man to have a woman in the house.

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TABLE 18. Changes in Conjugal Status, 1958–1964

Conjugal status	*Alannantik*	*Ahk'olnantik*	*Total*
Same	92	89	181
Separated	3	11	14
First marriage	28	65	93
Widowed	13	26	39
Two wives		1	1
Remarried			
Widower	6	4	10
Widow	2	2	4
Both died	3	1	4
Returned to wife	3	1	4
Unknown	3	21	24
Total	153	221	374

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* 753 **Circumstances under which the drinking of aguardiente can directly cause illness**

Not only does aguardiente in some contexts serve as medium by means of which witchcraft can be communicated, but also it has a certain disease producing potential of its own when it is taken in certain amounts within a certain time period. (The ceremonial drinking plus one or more adjacent informal drinking units.) We will now review a few of the disease processes which are interpreted as beginning immediately

273* 164 adjacent to drinking performances. The most common illness that results from drinking is a state that may be glossed as a "hangover" /GOMA, XCAMEL YU*UN TRAWO/. This is a minor illness which involves the symptoms of "headache, loss of appetite, dehydration, vomiting, diarrhea, trembling," the response to

273* 757 461 which is selected from the following alternative set. The condition of GOMA is nearly exclusive with the ability to engage in routine agricultural performances. This means that the day after a ceremonial drinking plus informal drinking segment, a man does not work. He has the choice, then, of staying around the house or leaving the house to perform some minor tasks such as gathering poles to support chayote vines, looking at his cattle, or any other task that takes him out of the household setting. This is an important distinction since if a man stays around the house he increases the probability that he will con-

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.456-B] Teklum

682 ceeded along two lines of enquiry. First, I have
674 analyzed the circumstances surrounding the
121 deaths in as many cases as my informants could remember. Variations in the components of homicidal acts—the setting, agents, purpose, and outcome—suggested the different assumptions underlying each case. Secondly, I have correlated the different kinds of homicide with structural and organizational changes in
682 the community. The analysis of cases in Sec-
674 tion I summarizes the patterned components
128 of behavior. The social environment providing the cues to the actors is explored in Section II.

682 I. THE PATTERNED COMPONENTS OF
165 37 HOMICIDE CASES[1]

[128] The following tabulations and discussion are based on the 37 cases presented in Table 1.

Who Is Killed

Sex:	all male	
Age:	18–22	5
	27–30	7
	34–38	7
	42–48	8
	50	3
	60	2
	65	2
	70	2
	??	1
[463] Occupation:	curer	8
	political leader	1
	farmer	28

One-half the total number of killings occurred to those between the ages of 34 to 50. However, as the six victims aged 60 and over indicate, survival to a late age does not ensure that one will die a nonviolent death. The age of the victim may be correlated with motive, insofar as some events leading to conflict occur
68 only at certain times in the life cycle. Thus,
[578] betrothal conflicts involved only young men, while victims accused of witchcraft were older: 27 was the age of the youngest, and 16 out of the 18 men killed as witches were over 34. Cattle theft, on the other hand, occurred throughout the age range.

682 Eight of the victims—more than one-fifth of
165 them—were curers, a much higher proportion
756 than their share in the total population, for there are only about a dozen now living in the town center of 1,900.

682 There is a personality type recognized by the
156 community as distinctive of those who "get

/5 cont./

551 614 The great majority of the native surnames could not be translated by our informants, who asserted that they did not signify anything in the Tzeltal language. Those for which we could obtain the meaning are: Chan ... snake, of the Ijká clan; Chij ... deer, of the Chik clan; Uax ... wildcat, of the Boj clan; Chikin ... ear, of the Chik clan; and Lot ... lie /Sp. mentira, lie, story, error/, of the Ijká clan.

428 424 551 613 614 The surnames are inherited through the paternal line and constitute the lineages within each clan. The lands formerly belonged to the lineage and could not be alienated. This custom is tending to disappear in recent times, but even today we have found several cases in which only an individual belonging to the lineage can occupy land that has been left without an owner when one has died without leaving male descendants.

166 551 553 614 A native from another municipality or group who comes to Cancuc with the aim of settling down in it must be incorporated into one of the clans, for which it is necessary to change his native surname for a Cancuc one. (The different native groups of this central region of the State of Chiapas have surnames that differ among themselves, and it is through them that their place of origin is shown.) Generally he keeps the Spanish surname and takes a native surname that in Cancuc corresponds to that. One Gómez Tzima from Oxchuc became Gómez Uotán of the Chejeb clan of Cancuc. One Aguilar belongs to the Chik clan, like all the Aguilar of Cancuc. One Santis Kujul, the small son of an Oxchuquero and a woman from Cancuc, gave up his surname from Oxchuc when his father died and his mother's family incorporated him into the Ijká clan, changing the native surname Kujul for that of Lul, "so that he will be from here, and have his chapomales here, and marry here," his maternal aunt of the Chik clan explained to us. These cases are rare. We could not find out before whom these incorporations are carried out. One informant, born [829] in Cancuc, whose paternal grandfather /6/ had come from the municipality of Tenejapa, told us that he had heard his father say that "in the old times the old people arranged that."

/6 cont./

551 621 614

Ajkol-culibal	Alán-culibal
19 Chik	14 Chik
13 Chejeb	18 Chejeb
22 Ijká	6 Ijká

/7/ Among the Spanish surnames we have 6 that belong exclusively to Alán- and 6 to Ajkol-culibal (not counting the case in which a native surname of the Chik clan is joined to two different Spanish surnames that are found in both culibales). The remaining 14 Spanish surnames are combined with surnames from the two culibales.

621 582 178 174 551 Today the culibal is not endogamous, but we believe it possible that it was in former times (as we have found in recent investigations of the Tzotzil group of San Pablo Chalchihuitán of this region). The present possibility of changing residence and the incorporation of native surnames originating from a culibal (or perhaps two) that have disappeared within the boundaries of the two remaining make the reconstruction of the pre-Hispanic 621 582 551 culibal impossible in this case. According to the data obtained in our census, 62.5 o/o of the marriages were concluded between persons whose native surnames originated from the same culibal. [125] [166] [613] In spite of the low percentage, nevertheless the custom of marriage between people of the same culibal predominates (we should not forget the mobility permitted in recent times, because of which residents of one culibal are persons whose lineages originate from the other), although cases of marriage between persons belonging [614] to the two different culibales also abound. It is almost always preferred to look for a wife among the women of the same place or rancheria, but at present we can say that clan exogamy is the only thing that regulates marriage.

621 622 [631] [614] [651] Each culibal has its own chiefs, elected from and by those members who have filled political-religious positions in the Chakel or Ayuntamiento /municipal government/. The clans are taken into account in this election, rigorously taking turns. The culibal chiefs assign the communal lands, organize the collective tasks for the benefit of the community, pray for the health and

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

175 *dation of the Spanish dominance* lasted from
177 1545 (when Fray Bartolomé de las Casas
648 arrived with 17 Dominican friars) until
[166] 1600. During this period a vast movement of population took place characterized by changes in location of some towns, reductions, and congregations.

During the entire 17th and early 18th centuries, the *period of slavery and royal land grants*, Indians were subjected to heavy tributes and to forced labor on the plantations and in transporation systems of the encomenderos, as *tememes* or carriers. Great caravans of 300–400 Indians, at the command of 10 or 12 Spaniards, transported goods the 1000 km. from San Cristobal de las Casas to Veracruz. Many died from excessive loads and lack of food (B. Metzger, 1960, p. 19).

175 From about 1720 to about 1850 may be
177 considered the *period of resurgence and*
648 *autonomy of the Indian community*, when
797 the system of royal land grants was suppressed, the Order of Dominicans was weakened, and Spanish authority became relaxed and even indifferent. Bishop Polanco sent a report in 1781 to the Royal Court of Justice of Guatemala, complaining of the abandonment of the Indians (Trens, 1942, p. 200).

> It is wondrous that in the town of Chamula, contiguous to Ciudad Real, Indians have need of interpreter to defend themselves or to beg for what they desire. So that they are as they were twenty years after their conquest; in such a state of blindness and ignorance they find themselves. In the town of San Andres, next to Chamula, there are many saints, old and indecent, whom I thought of burying; I did not do it because those evil souls say that they make them see clearly and alleviate their needs. I suspected a riot without having assistance . . . Oh, my Lord, their audacity and shamelessness are such that they even come to command in the church, without respect for the priest. They hold to the idea that the third person of the Holy Trinity is the Sun, because, they say, it was thus taught to them by the old fathers.

[P. 198-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

648 mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

829 The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We received many small favours and [123] acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

FIG. 283—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

241 In their culture these people [181] belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend [433] primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the [291] staple crop. Calabashes, melons, [301] beans, tobacco, bananas, and cotton are raised. The farming is [302] carried on by the same wasteful "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old [178] Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment [166] of many cities. In the case of the Bachajon, it has already become one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn 262 boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates 252 which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and 411 weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but al- 412 ways made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most 184 amazing industries in the world. 177

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

highly stratified primitive society, which remains static: it lacks the flexibility and mobility that exists in modern societies. 423

The history of the ejido program in Tzo'ontahal in the first few years after it was organized in 1937 seemed to confirm this conclusion. Its immediate effect was to block the flow of labor and goods in the regional and national markets. The ejidatarios were no longer forced to sell their labor at the prevailing rate of 25 cents a day, a wage which was not enough to supply the needs of even one man much less those of a household. Children and women formerly had to work with their husbands in the coffee fincas in order to meet their most immediate consumption needs. The independence that the ejido tract gave meant that men could withhold their own labor and that of the subordinate members of the family from such exploitation. The second harvests coming from the ejido plots in low country freed the Indians from having to buy corn in July, August, and September at the inflated market prices which took advantage of the scarcity of this basic necessity. 175 423 182 464 [465] [247] [435]

The political effect of the ejido in the early days was to fortify the corporate community against the shocks of the outside world. The first lands acquired were primarily allotments of corporate lands alienated by the laws of 1856 and 1876. Populations remained in situ, whether they were foreign Indians working on the expropriated estates, or residential communities created in the sixteenth century as crown towns. 175 423 621

The township of Amatenango acquired its first ejido land grant in 1937. One of the early promoters of the ejido, a *revestido* Indian (one who has adopted western clothing) from Huistán who had been a laborer on one of the fincas within the township limits, threatened to become a rural *cacique*, or local boss, comparable to those who emerged from the agrarian revolt in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962). This leader was elected president, but during his term of office he was expelled because of his attempt to secure house plots in the center for himself and other Huistecan Indians residing in the barrio of Yetawitz (Chapter 9). [177]

The stabilizing effects of the ejido in its earlier phase have been upset in recent years. As the population of the center expanded, new families migrated to the nearby barrios contiguous to the town center. These new set- 423 621 166

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

423 tlements were assigned to one of the two sections of the division in the
621 center with an attempt being made to maintain a demographic balance.
166 Incorporation of the new settlements was more effective in the case of the barrios than in the case of the colonias, which were farther away from the town center and included Indians of diverse communities. The process of
175 breaking away from the old community is illustrated by the 1961 move for
423 independence made by the original settlers of the colonia of Caralampio.
621 The following account was given by a man who was then secretary of the
661 ejido:
159

The first settlers of San Caralampio, José, Pablo, Luciano, and Santos were self-appointed principales, *or head men, of the colony. Santos and Luciano were from the town center, and José and Pablo had worked on the ranch when it was privately owned. The colony was well populated and the people lived well—there were no fights nor any problems. In 1956 the four principales decided that they should separate from the center. They told the people that if each person would contribute twenty-five pesos, they would raise the issue of the division in the* Departamento Agraria Mixta. *José invited Mateo, a man who knew how to read and write, to help them.*

"Let's divide from the town so that we alone will run the colony," he told them.

The principales took the money contributed and went to Tuxtla. There, in the Liga de Communidad Agraria *they asked for the separation, and were referred to the* Departamento Agraria Mixta. *When they arrived there with their request, the commissioner said that he would have to communicate with the chief in Mexico.*

After this, Pablo came one day to the center. He spoke to the ejido commission: "Look here, José, Luciano and Mateo went to Tuxtla."

"What for?" asked the ejido president.

"They asked for a division from the town."

"Que pendejo!" *said the president. "What happened?"*

"What do you think?" asked Pablo.

"We are against it. If it was a new center, we would support you. But

7: Nash, E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

[P.107]

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TABLE 17. Choice Made in Response to Changes in Constitution of Family

Individuals with change in status	*Lives with parents*	*Lives with children in same house*	*Lives with in-laws*	*Lives with married child*	*Lives alone*	*Children of first marriage live with him/her*	*Children live with his/her parents*	*Moved to barrio*	*Moved to another town*	*Total*
Woman separated	6						1			7
Man separated	2									2
Widowed woman	1	14	3	2	1			4	1	26
Widowed man		3		1					1	5
Man remarried	1		1			1		1		4
Woman remarried	1	1				4	1		2	9
Total	11	18	4	3	1	5	2	5	4	53

197 The inhabitants of both villages speak closely related dialects of the Tzeltal language, one of the two groups forming the Tzeltal-Tzotzil, which split linguistically from the parent stock of the Mayan Family around the beginning of the Classic Period of Maya Civilization (McQuown , 1959).

Lexicostatistical counts and isoglosses show that the two communities cluster together, in dialect cores of less than 500 years of separation, as against several others in the study area of the Chiapas Project of the University of Chicago. Several indices were used for the count, including degree of Spanish borrowing (McQuown, 1956; 1959). They indicate the same degree of linguistic acculturation.

191 At present Tzeltal-Spanish bilingualism is common, perhaps with the exception of elder women, although the Spanish spoken is mainly "market-Spanish" and reduced in vocabulary.

Demography

175 621 166 During the Colonial Period and the Independence both villages remained stable, being endogamous, economically self-sufficient communities with fairly restricted ranges of territorial movement; this is in contrast with the present day situation in which settlements tend to split into separate communities through local migrations (McQuown et al., 1959, Section 2, Part I, page 6).

175 161 A comparison of censuses available for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries suggests a high degree of demographic continuity with a slow, steady increase in population, although there is some evidence of population declines which took place in the

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

175 area as a result of recurring epidemics. It has taken 180 years
161 for the villages to double their population while Mexico as a whole has tripled it in 144 years, from 1793 to 1937 (Simpson, W., 1937: 149).

TABLE 1

DEMOGRAPHY: POPULATION INCREASE

Year	Amatenango	Aguacatenango
1778	576	568
1958	1,337	1,034

621
166 More recently both communities have sent out some of their population to form colonias (small dependent settlements) in their rural periphery. Amatenango has formed four separate rural barrios (La Grandeza, Madronal, Yetahwitz and Patzhwitz) situated within view of the town, and two colonias (San Vicente and San Caralampio). Aguacatenango now has one colonia, called El Puerto. Most of its inhabitants are related to those of Aguacatanango; they moved down to El Puerto in the last thirty years, after the community lands had been expanded in that direction.

Political History

175
648 During Colonial times and the Independence period both villages shared the same types of relations with the outside world; these were mainly the payment of tribute in kind and services to the Spanish and Ladino (Local Mexican) authorities.

When first mentioned, the villages appear to have been

628 establish with them the relations of posada and compadrazgo, men-
438 tioned above, as well as (in the infrequent cases of inter-com-
571 munity marriage), some affinal kinship ties. In the few recorded
608 cases of emigration from the village, some members of the com-
582 munity keep communication with a few consanguineal relatives living
628 in other Indian villages, although social exchanges and the memory
166 of such relatives tend to die out after a generation or two.
602

105 With the other Indian communities in the area, Amatenango and Aguacatenango share a common material culture and belief system, derived from a Highland Maya cultural tradition, the same linguistic background, and a subsistence pattern based on agriculture. They are peasant, in the sense that they are rural villages which depend, for survival, not only on agricultural work, but on economic exchange with other semi-urban and urban centers (Redfield, 1956:25-28).

438 Aguacatenango buys pottery and chayotes from Amatenango,
[273] whose women come periodically to sell them, and trago (drinking alcohol) which some Amatenangueros produce illegally. Amatenango buys from Aguacatenango surplus corn.

628 The two towns have amicable relations, thinking of each
[311] other as neighbors, and sharing the same pasture lands, and
312 source of water for irrigation. The two communities share the
628 same cultural hero, called Juan Lopez in Aguacatenango and Lopez
776 Shuntón in Amatenango, connected with the corn and with the "lightening who lives in a cave." For Aguacatenangueros this personage is the builder of the roads, responsible for the eradication of "cannibalism," the conversion of man-hunting animals

423 recent grants of land, and also because the whole region of
621 Amatenango and Aguacatenango has less population pressure than the overpopulated Chamula area.

Membership

621 In the social dimension, one of the basic features of the corporate communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is their criteria for membership: to become a member of Amatenango of Aguacatenango one has to be born in the village, or marry a village member.

Contractual membership, although rare, may occur, and has, but only for Indians, and with concensual acceptance by the whole
• [166] community. When the nearby fincas were closed after the Mexican
[195] Revolution, some of the Indian peones attached to them asked for and obtained land from Amatenango and Aguacatenango and became full members of these communities with the same rights and duties as any other community member. Although people can indicate who is a member of a new or old family, this distinction tends to be forgotten, even by the families themselves, after the next generation has been born and married into the village.

628 A man from another Indian community may receive an agri-
621 cultural plot if he makes a petition to the Ayuntamiento, is willing
423 to pay the ejido taxes and the limosna (tax levied against the
[651] household heads to support the expenses of celebration of village holidays) and a small payment to the Ayuntamiento (20 pesos) for handling his case. Even then, he has to bring witnesses to testify

628 621 423 to his good conduct, plus demonstrate that he is not able to cultivate within the confines of his own village lands.

621 423 Membership in the community requires residence within its territorial boundaries. If a person moves away from the village 166 he loses the attached rights of membership, although at his return he can claim such rights back.

621 Maintenance of membership involves clearly specified duties (e.g., paying communal taxes), and the general obligation of living and acting in agreement with the cultural norms.

Government

All the male members of the community, ideally, and most of them in practice, participate (at some time in their lives) in the government machinery of the village.

621 794 Amatenango and Aguacatenango each have two governmental bodies, the Ayuntamiento (or civil body) and the Mayordomias (or religious body). (The distinction between civil and religious is not a sharp one drawn by the community members themselves. It is an analytical device to label the different functions of these two bodies which are clearly separate and require different skills on the part of the incumbents.)

621 The Ayuntamiento deals with secular matters: it administers the land, the relations with the outside world and the village taxations, and is in charge of the maintenance of social control through the application of the native system of justice (as against, and separate from, National or State Mexican law; see Metzger, D., 1956). Among its duties are those of keeping vital statistics for

Sample: 68 Households

592
464
166

	Men	Per Cent
A:		
Never	12	17
Pujiltic (sugar cane plantation)	49	71
Fincas	5	3
Carretera Construction: (1 month)	2	7
Napite (school teacher for the INI): (2 1/2 years)	1	1
Yerba Santa	1	1
Total	70	100
B: Period of work in Pujiltik:		
1 week	29	
2 weeks	15	
3 weeks	2	
1 month	1	
Unknown	2	
C: Period of work in Fincas:		
1 month	2	
2 months	1	
5 months	1	
3 years	1	
D: Status:		
Household Head	41	
Son of household head	15	
Da. Son of household head	2	
Total	58	

II. A:	Women
San Cristobal	12
Teopisca	2

B: Period of Work:

From 3 weeks to 3 years.
Average: 12 months.

C: Status:	
Widow	2
Divorcee	1
Single	11

Fig. 5.--Migratory Labor in Aguacatenango

462 [23] [24] sitio (household territory): pigs and chickens, and the cultivation of the rudimentary gardens within the back patios. These gardens do not have great economic importance. Women plant chiles, cilantro, chayotes, té limón, mostaza, and sometimes even beans and a small milpa for elote (tender corn), but gardening is not a serious occupation: most women only plant two of three varieties of plants, a little bush of flavor herbs for the beans, some medicinal plant, or some flowers to ornament the house altar. Many backyards just grow wild, and the collection of its products is mainly "gathering in one's backyard" rather than harvesting (see Fig. 6).

[434] By selling the products of the small garden, some eggs, or fruits, a woman can contribute to the household cash income, but this money is considered somewhat of a luxury. The extra cash can be used to buy some clothes before a fiesta, or a new pot, or a similar item, but women are not expected to support their families: this is the basic responsibility of the family men.

166 462 464 Women have very few cultural alternatives for transforming their labor into a substantial income. Young single girls whose parents are too poor to support them, or who are alocadas (lightheaded) and desire to break away from home, can leave town to go to work as servants in Ladino towns. Wives running away from a mother-in-law who is too strict, or from a drunkard husband, or widows, would occasionally take up this kind of work. This, of course, isolates a woman from the village, and is a form of self-imposed exile. Working for Ladinos is a somewhat awe inspiring [817] idea. Women "know" or suspect that Ladino men violate Indian

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 79]

166 462 464 [829] women and that Ladino women mistreat their servants. Working in towns is remembered, by those who have done it, as a strange mixture of carefree economic independence and innumerable small humilitations and suffering. Its lack of attractiveness is well reflected in the fact that, from a random sample of sixty-eight households, only fourteen women have worked outside their homes (see Fig. 5).

562 462 434 [464] [205] The only women who are the bread-winners or heads of their homes are forced to do so because they have no male relatives to provide for them. In this case, they have few alternatives open to them, the two most common being: 1) acting as a servant (already discussed above), or 2) selling liquor in their houses to the men of the village. This second occupation is not very well [552] thought of by the villagers, trago sellers being gossiped about as being bold women, "sexy" females who enjoy the company of drunks and men married to other women.

Amatenango

462 323 438 [241] [434] In Amatenango, the division of labor presents a very different picture. The whole village of Amatenango is a pottery factory because, in addition to the household income derived from the agricultural work of the village men, each Amatenango woman is a pottery producer.

Pottery that is made for selling is neither a choice, nor a part-time job, nor an individual specialization, but a town specialty. All women in Amatenango are expected to know how to make pots, and to make them. The women of each household

241 433 then, each season is a question mark, an equally unpredictable year of plenty or a lean year.

184 323 241 433 434 184 156 464 731 184 434 621 In Amatenango, when the crop fails or is poor, the income of the villagers can be compensated by producing more pottery. This is obviously not so in Aguacatenango. If hunger threatens the families, the result is a higher migration rate or an increase in the number of men leaving town to work part-time in the fincas. The result of having an alternative form of income within the homestead in Amatenango is that the village keeps its income more balanced year after year, and that the village as a whole has a reputation of being richer than the other communities.

184 434 462 562 In Aguacatenango, the women are an economic burden. The men are very aware that they themselves "do all the work." Women have long and leisurely afternoons which are spent sitting on their porches grooming, chatting, or visiting. Men complain of this, saying "Women cannot realize how hard a man has to work. They complain of not having this or that, but they do not know. . . ." In Amatenango, on the contrary, women are important producers, men and women sharing, equally, the responsibility of supporting their families.

Thus, in the one case, Aguacatenango, the work of women has a marginal, undeterminate value in an economic milieu in which they have no cultural alternatives to convert their labor into goods or subsistence necessities; in the other case, Amatenango, the labor input of women represents about half of the total productive efforts of the villagers.

593 578 histories collected during the field work season, and it well [621] could be that a case was missed). Second, if he wants to obtain [423] help from other men, they risk antagonizing, with their willing- [476] ness to cooperate, the head of the household in which the young man is residing, and they also risk the concommitant sanctions.

423 The young man could also obtain land without his father's 425 help by leaving the community to work for wages and saving enough 464 money to buy land. Although the selling of parcels is not a 166 [593] common practice in Aguacatenango, the idea of land being a commodity that can be bought and sold has been introduced, and some few household heads, in cases of emergency, are willing to sell. Of course, leaving the community to work for wages means voluntary exile for a man and alienation from relatives, friends and the cultural milieu. Also, men insist that it is profitable to work for wages only if one does it for short periods of time and keeps milpa simultaneously. Wage work alone is not enough to buy corn and the other necessities to meet the requirements of the customary standard of living.

593 On the other hand, a man breaking away from his home and 62 refusing to accept his father's authority becomes a deviant, and 156 antagonizes not only his family, but the community.

Although it is possible, theoretically, to become eco- 593 nomically independent of one's father against his will, in fact 592 a man can only set up his own household in compliance with the 156 ethical principles and moral conventions of his culture. Therefore, he is only permitted to form his own domestic group when he has demonstrated that he has reached the stage of social maturity which allows him to do so.

591 If the woman's work in pottery is a crucial factor in
592 making residence choices, then poorer households, which depend
323 more on pottery sales as an important source of income, should
434
361 also show more emphasis on having the daughters stay at home after marriage, and therefore, the incidence of uxorilocal residence and matrilocal proximity of women should be higher.

361 Within Amatenango "there are clusters of bilaterally re-
602 lated kin which form neighborhood groups. Two of these neighborhoods are spatially set apart from other houses of the barrio
361 and are named" (Nash, J., 1960:52). One of them, the neighbor-
591 hood of Santa Cruz, is composed of households which show greater
434 poverty in comparison with the rest of the village. As it was hypothesized, Santa Cruz also shows a greater incidence of matrilocal proximity. The correlation between lack of household wealth (which increases the importance of woman's pottery making) and residential proximity of a woman to her maternal home is statistically significant at the .001 level (see Table 16).

361 On the other hand, one should also expect the married men
591 to live further apart from their own parents because (1) those who
166 stay at home would reside and work with their wife's relatives,
434 and (2) it is said that some of the men of the neighborhood are
464 forced by their poverty to migrate to the lowlands seeking work in the ranches, and may stay there permanently. This hypotheses is confirmed; the correlation is significant at the .05 level of confidence (see Table 16).

361 The result of poverty in this neighborhood is that while
591 for the community as a whole 49 per cent of the women live in the
434 same neighborhood as their parents, in Santa Cruz 67 per cent of

[Text continued on p. 162]

It is considered much safer to drink in a bar on one's own side, but those men who pride themselves on being widely respected brag that they can drink on either side without becoming involved in a fight. When people must pass to the other side of town, they prefer walking on the Pan-American Highway, a socially neutral network, to passing through the streets of the opposite division, where their presence arouses curiosity and comments, such as "He must be looking for a lover!"

The colonias. The six colonias (Table 1) are populations of Indians who have moved from the center to take advantage of the lands granted under the ejido program of 1937 and "foreign Indians" who were formerly workers on the expropriated plantations. The Indians distinguish the close-lying settlements, or *barrios,* of Yetawitz, Pathuitz, B'očib'al, and Te'tikil from the remaining colonias listed in the census (Table 1). The populations of the barrios are more closely identified with the center since they are closer to it and there is a higher proportion of migrants from the parent group. They are linked to the side of the dual division to which they are most closely situated. Marriages can be contracted between members of the two settlements, and house lots can be acquired by residents of the town in the barrio with which they are associated. An exception was made to the association on the basis of proximity in the case of Te'tikil, which lies nearer to Alannantik but was linked with Ahk'olnantik in order to balance the population ratios at the time of its settlement. Police are appointed from these colonias and serve in the local *cabildo,* or town hall, along with other police from the center. The colonias of San Vicente and San Caralampio are farther away, and the rural judge and police appointed to these populations appear only once a week and during ceremonies in the local cabildo. The foreign Indians of San Vicente, who migrated from Chanal, and of Yetawitz, who came from Huistán to work in the finca of San Nicolás before acquiring ejido lands, are discriminated against in the local political organization. Their representatives never reach the high positions of president and first or second judge.

Ranchos and rancherías. The populations of these small settlements have only the most formal kind of social, economic, and political

591 592 423 426 has not inherited land. The other family living in a borrowed home is a young couple that married without their parents' approval. They eloped and established themselves on the edge of town, in an empty old hut, whose owner does not demand payment. "Borrowings" are temporary arrangements, and as a form of residence, very unstable. Young couples who decide to elope leave town to reside at Colonia del Puerto. We know of two cases which followed this custom. But if they do not leave town, they try to move to a house on the edge of town. From these two cases, we can assume that borrowing is due to economic reasons (poverty of a family who cannot afford to buy a house), or as a consequence of deviant behavior (in the case we have, the husband was an orphan and parental sponsorship by the wife's parents was denied because they disapproved of the marriage).

361 156 167 The edge of town is a refuge area for people who in one way or another "do not belong" to the community. Social deviants, like the young couple mentioned above, tend to move to the town boundaries. Recent migrants from other villages also live on the edges. Two complete blocks on the southern boundary of town are inhabited by a large extended patrilocal family which originated from a Chamula Indian who was a peon on a nearby finca until the agrarian revolution. After he became free, he migrated to the village and married a local Indian woman.

125 The above discussion covers all the cases for which we had sample data. We have, however, information on other cases which could not be counted in the statistics because they were part of life histories or concerned individuals who do not live in

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

As is the case in the highlands of Guatemala, the outstanding social unit, corresponding to a tribe, is the population of several hundred or several thousand Indians whose activities center in one leading settlement from which the community gets its name. As in Guatemala, these communities vary greatly with respect to the proportion of Indians living permanently in this central settlement. Dr. Tax[14] uses the phrase "town nucleus type" for Guatemalan Indian communities in which all or a large majority of the Indians live in the principal settlement, and the phrase "vacant town type" for those in which most of the Indians live in scattered rural habitations, coming to the town center occasionally for commercial, governmental, or festal reasons. Among the Tzeltals the town-nucleus type is less atypical than it is in Guatemala, and the town-nucleus communities are suffering from a scarcity of land. The following communities may be regarded as of this type: Amatenango, San Martin, Tenango, Sivacá, Petalcingo, and probably also Chanal and Citala, although at least in the case of the last two, there are also considerable numbers of Indians dwelling in the countryside. The vacant-town type of community is represented by Cancuc, Oxchuc, Bachajón, and Chilón. It will be seen that both types are represented in both highlands and lowlands. With respect to this classification Tenejapa, Guaquitepec, and Yajalon are intermediate, and illustrate Tax's "Type III" in that many of the people live in the town and work their fields closely surrounding it, while many live on their farms and only occasionally come to town.

As in the highlands of Guatemala, the ethnic distinction between Indian and Ladino is marked, here also the Ladinos are much outnumbered by the Indians, and here too the Ladinos are very predominately town-dwellers. In Chilón and Yajalón the permanent town-dwellers are chiefly Ladinos; the permanent population of Oxchuc consists of about seventy Ladino families; the several thousand Indians live about the town and in the country. In other towns (Tenejapa,[15] Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Petalcingo) a considerable number of Ladino families have become established, although in these communities there are more Indians even among the inhabitants of the town itself, than there are Ladinos. A general disposition to exclude Ladinos from permanent settlement in Indian communities is most marked in Cancuc, the site of the uprising of 1712,[16] and where in 1935 some Ladino merchants were slain by the Indians. No Ladinos reside there now. In Amatenango, Chanal, Bachajón, San Martin, Tenango, and Sivacá the Indians are also unfavorable to settlement by Ladinos; in each of the three last-named villages the only Ladino residents are the school-teacher and the government-imposed municipal agent. Recently a few Ladino tradespeople have settled in Bachajón, and a "Center of Native Education" has been established there (as also at Amatenango) by the Mexican national government. In the lowland towns of

[14] Tax, 1937, pp. 221–244.

[15] It is interesting that in Tenejapa, where both Indians and Ladinos live in town, the two groups recognize different patron saints and there are separate schools for Indians and for Ladinos, whereas in Oxchuc, where all the Indians live outside the town, the same santos are worshipped by both groups, but the Ladinos maintain their own celebration on the day of the festival.

[16] Vicente Pineda, 1888.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

a marriage was incestuous in the same sense as marriage between close relations. These surnames are transmitted patrilineally. Of ten informants in Chanal, nine gave their Indian surnames; the tenth said he had none. Furthermore, in cases where potential spouses have the same Spanish surname but different Indian surnames—and such cases occur—marriage between such persons is similarly discouraged. And in San Martin, Tenango, Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo, where apparently the Indian surnames do not exist, Villa received information to the effect that marriage between persons of the same Spanish surname is disapproved.[27]

Indian surnames noted by Villa, with translations offered him, follow:

CHANAL: Yemuc (large mouth), Xampil, Tiib, Calabal, Chicó, Cories, Comistal.
TENEJAPA: Tzurin (sowing?), Hovilrzil (mad dog), Uacax (cow), Chacax (?), Mee-mut (mother hen), Lobal (banana), Ton (stone).
CANCUC: Oxom, Sav, Chig-yax, Coreta, Caxlan-pucú, Hokob-canela.
OXCHUC: Chinbac (small bone), Aquilan (from Aquilar), Chichol (tomato), Barsen (*pinto*), Nimail (squash-tip), Holchi (deer head).

In all the highland villages information was given to the effect that each *pueblo* (town, with its rural population, if any) is endogamous; in most instances the endogamy was represented as absolute. As some of the communities include only a few score of households, the matter requires further investigation.

The communities of Cancuc, Oxchuc, and Bachajón (and apparently only these) are divided into antagonistic sub-communities called *calpules*. (Neither Starr nor Blom and LaFarge give information on this point.) In each case an imaginary east-west line across the plaza divides the northern lands of the one calpul from the southern lands of the other. In Cancuc (at least) the lands of the north are considered "hot," those of the south "cold," with corresponding favorable and unfavorable connotations as to their fertility. In Cancuc the northern calpul is called either *muhul calpul* 'large calpul' or else *alankuluhibal*; the southern is called *bikit calpul* 'small calpul' or else *kalankuluhibal*. Each calpul (*barrio* to the Ladinos) had its own government, established by the members of each calpul independently of the formal local government, which, recognized by the state and national authorities, acts for both calpules in matters that must be taken to the outside authorities. In Oxchuc the calpul officers are one *presidente*, two *alcaldes* or *cantakines*, two *gobernadores*, two *catinab* 'very respected chiefs,'

[27] Among the Lacandone there are patrilineal, totemically named kinships grouped into two exogamous phratries (Soustelle, 1935); it is likely that among the ancient Maya of Yucatan there was surname exogamy. Landa says (Section XXIV), "... the Indians consider all of the same name related, and treat them accordingly. ... Thus also no man or woman marries another of the same name, because this was for them a great infamy" (Gates, 1937, p. 40). Landa also says (Section XXV), "... nor did they ever marry one bearing their own name on the father's side, for this was considered a very bad thing." On the subject of Maya names, Roys says, "The Maya family name, which was perpetuated in the male line, survived the Conquest, but the old pagan pre-names were abolished and replaced by Spanish Christian names when the Indians were baptized. Two varieties of pre-names are well known: one indicating a man's profession or office, and the other, derived from his mother and preceded by the prefix Na-. The Maya called the latter the 'nat' and there were also two other classes of pre-names, which they called the 'boy-name' and the 'jesting name.' Many of the 'boy-names' are referable to fauna-names, especially those of birds, while some of the 'jesting names' appear to be descriptive. It seems to have been possible for a single person to have borne all four names" (Roys, 1934, p. 106).

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The boy is expected to live for a year with the girl's parents; then he makes his own home, usually near that of his father. If the boy's parents are sufficiently powerful, they may pay the girl's parents twelve pesos in lieu of the year's service. Villa was informed that a woman unable to pay a debt or a fine may be taken as a secondary wife by any married man who will pay the debt or fine; that a woman who loses her virginity may be bought similarly of her parents for a little rum; and that in the case of any of these polygynous marriages, a single household is maintained. No such household was observed.

No information was obtained on birth customs,[30] or on customs in connection with death.[31]

Blom and LaFarge describe a church festival held at Tecojá ranch on June 22 and 23.[32] When Villa visited the highland villages the carnival was being celebrated. In Tenejapa on February 20 he witnessed the "Festival of the Flags" (*tahimalkin*). The (annually elected) leaders of the festival, the *alfereces*, assembled in the morning at the church. Each man conveyed a red banner with green edges, fastened to a pole, and each held in his mouth a short hook on which an orange was impaled. Nothing was learned as to the significance of these objects. The alfereces remained for a time inside the church drinking rum and singing. They then went by fours to pray in turn before each of the crosses set up in the village. The rest of the day they spent visiting the house of each one of them in turn; in each house they sang the same song sung in the church; in each the host offered rum, so that by nightfall all were drunk. These acts were to be twice repeated during the days following. They had for their stated purpose the announcement of the days of carnival. On the following Thursday the carnival became generally celebrated, and many natives went out costumed and masked.

The alfereces were accompanied by musicians, and also by three personages carrying the dried bodies of, respectively, a wild cat, a rodent called *saben*, and an iguana. Villa was informed that these animals are used in a later festal pantomime in which the alfereces enact a sowing, and in which these animals are represented as performing their characteristic mischief.

Villa observed other elements of the carnival ritual in Oxchuc. On Thursday, February 24, Indians of the calpul of Santo Tomás assembled in the church where they prayed for a time before the large altar, and then danced and drank rum in the nave. The dance was performed alternately by men and by women, and was accompanied by music from a harp, a guitar, and a rattle made of a calabash and a deer's hoof. On the following day these acts were performed by Indians of the other calpul; on this occasion the music was furnished by two drums and a flute, and the leader (*capitán*) was dressed in red. On this latter day natives of the calpul of Santo Tomás moved in procession through the streets; four individuals bore each a large pole to which were fastened ribbons of various colors; a fifth carried a red banner.

[30] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359.

[31] *Ibid.*, 2:360–362.

[32] *Ibid.*, 2:364–365.

[33] The frequent association, in Middle America, of small animals, especially furred animals, with festivals, in connection with ideas of fertility and of festal buffoonery, has been noted. See Redfield, 1936, pp. 251–243.

Their slender-
147 ness is deceptive, for their great strength lies
[482] in their legs, back, and neck, seen in their ability to carry loads of 45 kilograms (100 lbs.) and upwards, all day up and down hill without
142 undue fatigue . . . Hair form is straight, coarse, and black. Gray hair or baldness are very unusual. Body hair, as far as could be observed, is negative.

143 As many as 99.56 per cent of Tzeltal belong to blood type O, which is one of the highest frequencies registered in the Ma-
143 yance area. According to Matson and Swan-
144 son (1959, p. 50), "In general the more isolated peoples such as the Lacandon, Tzeltal, Tzotzil and Cakchiquel show the highest frequency of the O gene." This condition is attributed to the absence of racial mixture.

CULTURAL CONFIGURATION

621 Like the Indians in the highlands of Gua-
[171] temala (Tax, 1937), the Tzeltal group themselves in communities which are distinct social and cultural units, as is characteristic
621 of the tribe. Each community has its well-
184 defined lands, its own dialect forms, wearing apparel, kinship system, politico-religious organization, economic resources, crafts, and other cultural features. Any native of the region finds it easy to identify the origin of other Indians by noting their speech, wearing apparel, or the goods they
621 sell. Solidarity between the members of each community is strong and becomes manifest in times of conflict with outside groups or in their way of gathering according to their "nationality" on fiestas or market days when people of other communities attend. On the other hand, no ethnic solidar-
[628] ity whatsoever exists. Each community restricts itself to its own affairs and nothing else; whatever happens to the other Tzeltal communities is something altogether apart.

621 The territorial limits of these communi-
632 ties do not always coincide with those of
[171] the municipalities, as in Guatemala. Various well-defined communities exist (in the terms described above) which belong to

[P. 197-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

789 away, leaving it alone, an ear of yellow corn is left with it, that its soul may not be stolen. There is an interesting parallel here with [171] the ear of corn as a "ceremonial mother" in the Southwestern United States. If somebody expresses too strong admiration of a child, fire must be passed near it, or spittle rubbed over its forehead; otherwise the baby will become ill. Infants are particularly susceptible to the evil eye. To cure one that has been thus cursed, a female shaman is summoned, who passes a whole egg all over the baby's body. This is then opened, and the evil eye will be seen (by the shaman) in the yolk of the egg. They throw the egg into the river, or bury it in a secret place. Almost this same belief was found in Chontal of Tabasco. (Customs of San Fernando, Chapter VI, Volume I).

868 Children's education is simple and direct. As soon as a boy is old enough to work at all—at about five years of age—he is given a worn-down machete and set to cutting and hauling wood. From then on, following his father, he learns the man's duties. Girls are started with a miniature metate, grinding corn.

872 The Government maintains some public schools, such as at Bachajon Village, in which a few children learn to read and write, but in general great difficulty is found in obtaining scholars. As soon as they are old enough to study, they are strong enough to be of material help in the house and the farm; the parents do not like to relinquish what represents the interest on the investment of the price paid by the father for marriage, and the expense of the children's early years. Under the present administration, however, efforts to educate the Indians are being pushed as never before.

881 Puberty is attended by no observances of any kind. Marriage,
582 which comes fairly early, has been previously described.

764 At death the ceremonial side is greatly emphasized. The funeral rites combine the idea of mourning with a general belief that the soul of the departed lingers for a brief time about his former domicile. When possible, the house of the deceased is abandoned for a short time, during which period, if any small animal is observed about the house, particularly at night, it is supposed to be his soul. No particular powers are ascribed to the soul, as far as could be found out, but it is considered poor company.

As it happened, a man was killed while we were at the Finca Encanto, whose funeral rites we could observe. His wife began mourning for him almost immediately—this being in the middle of the afternoon. His body was taken to another house, neighbour to his own. The true ceremonies began after nightfall. Accompanied [123] by Lazaro and Señor Aguilar, the writer went up with a gift of

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The performance continued until late that night and began again the next morning. Later in the day the banners were carried to the chapel in procession, with music, and deposited by the altar. The *caporales* led in prayer. The fiesta went on again in the evening. 796 [794]

Christian forms are applied to or mixed with non-Christian rites and ideas to some extent, a confusion resembling the appeal to both saints and native gods in prayer among tribes of Guatemala* and British Honduras.† Much of Christianity is adapted to conform to old, fundamental native concepts. 771 172 178 171

In the church at Bachajon Village there are fourteen saints beside the tribal patron, St. Jerome. These others each have a special care, as the cornfield, hunting, the rivers, etc., and are prayed to for help in their particular provinces. They are given gifts of cloth, usually red or blue, which is draped about them. Many of them duplicate the functions of non-Christian "guardians," to be described below. 776

In this connection it may be mentioned that the Zotzil-speaking Indians of Huistan are accustomed to beat their saint (St. Martin) when they have a bad year, and to caress him and anoint him with oil when things go well. We were told that he had lost his nose and both ears due to this practice. [171]

One prayer was dictated to us by Señor Cruz at Toniná, the full text of which is given in Appendix VI, Text I. It is primarily meant for a poor man when making his offering in the cornfield, a use which is indicated by the phrase "health of the earth," but it may also be used in church. The phrase "blood of my flesh" suggests a remniscence of the ancient Maya offerings of blood from the ear, tongue, etc. A free translation is given here. 126 782 196

PRAYER OF A POOR MAN WHO HAS NOT MUCH TO OFFER.

"Do Thou accept, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, what I have gained, and what I have not gained. Do Thou forgive, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, blood of our flesh; our hearts are open, our lips are open. Give health of the earth; protect thy son kneeling here." [539]

Of primary interest to us were the survivals of the old worship. At the time of the Conquest the Spaniards put forth their utmost efforts to suppress the native religion, and the process has gone on 771 178 179

*Sapper, 1925.
†Gann, 1918.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

fragments of prayers to him will be given when discussing medicine. 776
Distinct from the guardian of the cornfields, he is known only by name to the ordinary Indians, and mention of him appeared to alarm them a good deal.

Drunkenness still retains some of its old, ceremonial significance, 273
in its association with fiestas, funeral rites, and particularly with medicine, under which head it will be more fully taken up.

There are a number of beliefs and practices, no matter what their 789
origin, which, as they exist today, must be considered as superstitions rather than religion. Of such a type is the belief mentioned 771 822
when speaking of hunting, that painting the bullet red would make it go further. This is of interest in the study of survivals, in view of the importance of the colour red in pre-Christian times. It may be equally well argued, however, that the red in this case represents the blood of the animal to be slain. Most of the superstitions are 774
concerned with the *nagual* or the soul. 776

The set of ideas that constitute Nagualism is derived from ancient and important beliefs. The *nagual*, *tcul-el* (*tcul*, "holy," *-el* "the, the one"), is a companion-spirit to a man, taking the form of some animal. The stronger the *nagual*, the stronger the man, thus one with a jaguar for a familiar could work any kind of magic or other harm on one with a rabbit. We were told both that the *nagual* was assigned by popular consent, due to people's opinion of a man, and that it was seen in a dream. A man who has a quarrel with another will deliberately shoot animals of the species of the other's *nagual*, hoping to hit the particular one associated with his enemy. If that one dies, the man dies, and vice versa. Thus, it is plain that there is no idea of association with a whole class of animals, but only with one individual of a class.

According to Nuñez de la Vega,* in the seventeenth century the 776
nagual was assigned by a shaman, who took it from the name of the 756
day on which the individual was born. The child was later caused 774
to see his *nagual* . . . *"se abrazan cariñosamente con su nagual, que por arte diabólica se le apparece muy doméstica y supersticiosamente cariñosa, aunque sea una bestia muy feroz, como leon, tigre, etc."*† [171]
According to Sapper (1925) exactly the same practices obtain in Guatemala today, the animal being caused to appear by means of hypnotism.

It is possible that further investigation would show a similar 774
manner of choosing the *nagual* among the modern Tzeltal. How- 776

*Nuñez de la Vega, 1702, loc. cit.
†Extract in Paniagua, 1908, Page 37.

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5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Tzotzil NV11

Tze 142 Tze 291

The men are tallish and the majority of them have sparse, black beards. They wear plain, white cotton tunics and short trousers, sashes, and hats of the sombrero type. The women wear the usual short, blue skirts. Their blouses are cut with a square neck, around which are embroidered three bands, each about two centimeters wide, of red, yellow and red. At the corners, little imitation tassels are embroidered in the same colours.

Tze 62 623 Tze [115]

We were told, by an unreliable informant, that this village was remarkable for its independence. Its officials are chosen by the natives alone, and run through a regularly prescribed *cursus honorum* from secretary up to president, and then on to the council of elders. Government laws and orders sent to the village are debated by this council and are not published unless approved by them.

Tze 323

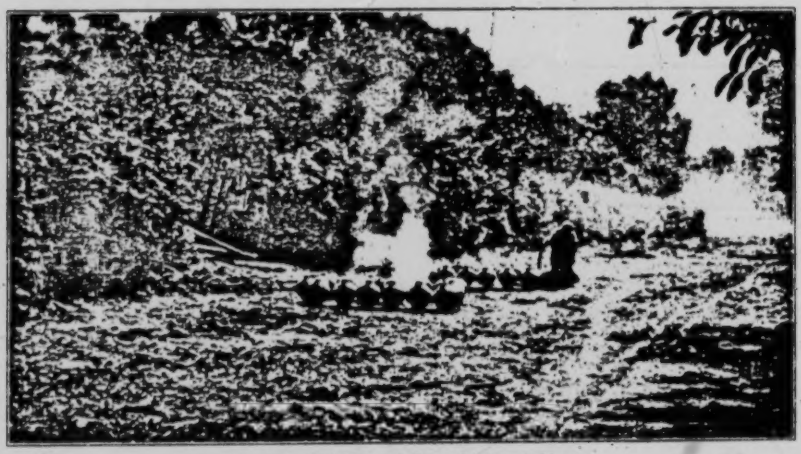

FIG. 333—Amatenango, Chis. Pottery baking.

Tze 584 323 606

We were also told that in case of marriage each party works for his or her prospective in-laws, and that the girl at that time learns pottery making, taking over the mother-in-law's specialty.

Tze 648 434 171

While there was no way of checking up on this information, it is true that there is no Maestro at Amatenango, and that the Indians seem to be an unusually self-respecting and self-reliant lot. Of all the Tzeltal people observed, they were the only ones who seemed to compare with the Zotzil-speaking Chamulas in energy and prosperity.

Tzo 114 137

Returning to ourselves and our trip. We left Tenejapa on the following morning by a winding, broad road climbing to a pass in

273* 184 Tzinacantan (Laughlin 1962). Many more of the Indian communities could be added to this list.

273* 171 In a more general way, the drinking patterns found in Chiapas highlands are observed throughout much of the aboriginal new world. Thus Cooper (1946: 544) says:

> In some regions, particularly the Andean and parts of the forested lowlands, fermented beverages are drunk as a common everyday beverage. Most of the drinking, however, throughout the great brewing area of the West Indies, Middle America and continental South America is in connection with drinking sprees, of a social and/or magicoreligious nature in which groups participate. These drinking bouts are main or attendant features of gatherings of all kinds, especially in connection with hunting, fishing, harvesting, and other food-getting activities, with visiting and hospitality to guests, with war, victory, and peacetime councils, with births, naming, initiations, weddings, and funerals, and with magico-religious festivals, rites, and celebrations--the specific occasions differing from tribe to tribe and from area to area. The sprees may last from a few hours up to many days, usually until all the available liquid is exhausted. The participants imbibe until they reach various stages of intoxication, from mild tipsiness to complete alcoholic coma. Among nearly all people on whom we have information, the bouts are accompanied by and end in the airing of grudges and hurling of insults, which lead to quarrels and fighting, more or less violent and not uncommonly fatal. Sex intrigues and orgies are equally common accompaniments.

121 273* While some of the general characteristics of drinking are known for the New World, detailed ethnographic descriptions are rather rare, causing Cooper (1946), Heath (1962), Simmons (1962), and Washburne (1961), among others, to suggest that more attention needs to be paid to this type of study. The descriptions of drinking performances which have been published on the aboriginal populations of the New World are perceptive if overly brief.

275 216 191 he paid twenty centavos and in return for which payment his name was announced over the loud speaker as well as the name of a person to whom he might wish to "dedicate" the piece.

275 216 191 178 In 1959, there occurred a set of circumstances which permitted the Aguacatenangueros to gain control of the elements of the cantina complex, and in this year cantinas were established permanently in Aguacatenango. As the result of some difficulties in Pinola, the cantineros there were required by the town government to sell or otherwise get rid of their tocadiscos. [432] And three or four of them sold their tocadiscos to the men in Aguacatenango. These gas generator-driven units were set up in various yards in the community, the loudspeakers were mounted on tall poles as is the custom in the neighboring towns, and men came to these door yards when they were drinking to request [171] pieces be played with appropriate dedicatory remarks. The cantineros in Aguacatenango then simply filled out the rest of the cantina complex as they had seen it in the plaza.

442 275 432 439 They began to buy aguardiente by the garafón, most of it from clandestine distillers in the neighboring towns who deliver it to the buyers, and also beer and other distilled beverages, these being delivered by San Cristóbal distributors or bought and transported there by cantineros.

275 Thus the retailers of alcohol drunk by Aguacatenangueros are no longer ladinos and local widows, but local men. Some of

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER V

SUMMING THE MATTER UP

273* 554 There are basically two patterns of drinking among the Aguacatenangueros. The first of these we may define as the internally complex unit ± ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking (but at least one of these). The second of these we will define as intermittent non-cumulative drinking--that is, drinking performances which do not lead to deep drunkenness. These two patterns of drinking performances are associated with large classes of the population. The ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking pattern is expressed by married males. The intermittent non-cumulative drinking pattern is expressed by all other persons (unmarried males and all females).[1] When individuals drink, they are constrained to express one pattern or the other as is congruent with their role. By drinking in a particular way, an individual certifies his membership in a particular role class.

273* 571 885 Adult males (equivalent to males married at least once) drink within the limitations of the ceremonial drinking ± in-

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[184] [171] [1]This particular contrast is not general to all Tzeltal-Tzotzil speakers in the Chiapas highlands.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

186 tions of self will find a responsive audience only within these linguistic and physical boundaries. The sense of insulation is a denial of regional and national political institutions in which they interact with the other Indians and Ladinos who are part of their present world and share their his-
175 tory. The town itself is a product of the Spanish colonial *congregación,*
361 which drew together diverse Indian populations that had been scattered in
162 small settlements. The outlying barrios are occupied by Indians who have
829 moved out from the center, as well as foreign Indians who had worked in the *fincas,* or large plantations, within the township. These latter people are referred to by a derisive term, *Kurik,* meaning roughly "country hick." Beyond these, and still within the municipal limits, there are a series of *colonias,* settlements populated by Indians who have moved here from other towns and by *mestizos,* or acculturated Indians. These settlers acquired land in the time of Juarez or later in the Cardenas period. Ladino men are called *Kaštan* and women *Šinlan;* foreigners who do not appear to be of the country are called *Alemán,* the Spanish term for German.

121 The focus of this book is on the lives and thoughts of people living within the center. The people of Tzoʾontahal live in a square world, sur-
792 rounded by a round universe. From the square hole, cut in the earth at the center post of their square house to receive the sacrifice of a live chicken when the house is built, stretches a square village (it appears as a rectangle on the map, but they draw it as a square).[2] The fields are measured in
[804] squares of twenty-five arms' breadths, with five handspans measuring the
[78] square between each plant. Within this square world, they have elaborated techniques for dealing with spiritual and human co-residents in curing ri-
105 tuals, offerings for crops, burial practices, and baptism rites. Their present
177 cultural stock reveals a selective absorption of Spanish colonial features
178 along with twentieth-century innovations. They have techniques for planting and harvesting milpa, marketing the pottery manufactured in all the households, curing an eclipse of the moon, divining causes of illness and curing the maladjusted social relations which cause it, manufacturing and

[171] 2. This view of the world as square is shared by Tzeltal and Tzotzil neighbors in Larráinzar (Holland 1963:69), San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:254), and Pinola (Hermitte 1964). The four-direction concept of the village and world noted by Landa (Tozzer 1941:135) suggests a square-space concept.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

12 a given culture, and that real behavior is a not always successful attempt to approximate those ideals. This formulation has proved inadequate because the actors have a number of ideas as to what appropriate behavior is, and the permissible range of behavior varies in each setting. In questioning informants about the divergences between the account I elicited prior to an event and the acts I observed, I was able to sort out these kinds of variation from those which indicate adaptation or social change.

121 Past events in the history of the community, selected, described, and interpreted by the participants in those events, provide a framework for analyzing structural and social change. Deviation from the norms is not in itself an index to social change, as Faron (1964:202ff.) and others have pointed out. The impetus to social change depends upon awareness of dissonance between the way things are done and social goals. Past events are assigned significance according to this awareness of changing social conditions. Lies about the past and guesses about the future are as important sources of data as history. When people lie about what they do or have done or will do, they lie in terms of the norms, and when they guess, they guess in terms of patterned expectations. These data are of significance in exploring the patterns underlying both formal and dynamic behavior.

829 171 121 Communities such as Tzoʔontahal represent a paradox in Latin America since the Indians pretend to be the same when they are changing, while non-Indians exaggerate the changes which have occurred. In Indian communities, the old cultural forms persist even while the community responds to the changing cues in the environment. The Indians are aware that the corporate community is an important resource base in easing their transition into regional and national networks, not on the bottom rung of the Ladino social ladder as when individuals leave the community, but in a competitively favorable position. Their insistence that they are following the customs of the ancestors is a means of keeping their boundaries intact and protecting themselves against external encroachment.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

waters. The curer brushes the patients with branches of the cooling bushes and herbs growing near the spring, the same ones used in the fiesta of inauguration and the curing ceremonies conducted in the house. The strategy of making the house spirit happy by providing music, dancing, and drinking is repeated at the spring to make the water spirit happy. Some of the family of the patient must remain in the house as "waiters" (*maliwanehetik*) to receive the spirit if it should arrive before its owner. The maliwanehetik must drink as much liquor as the participants at the spring.

The Cave of the Ancestors. The ancestors, the *me?tiktatik*, were believed to have lived in a cave in the hills lying on the peripheries of the township. In the myth that follows, they are given a historical identity as two brothers, the Shuntonetik. Shunton is one of the Tzeltal patronyms of families still living in the town, and in fact the narrator of this version of the myth is Mariano Shunton, whom people consider a descendant of the ancestors.[6]

Formerly a priest asked for a document to be delivered to Antigua in Guatemala. Two messengers were sent with it, but they did not return. Another messenger went and did not return. Four or five more messengers were sent out and did not come back. Finally they sent a man from the cabildo with his younger brother. They left early in the morning, and the elder brother said as he left the other town officials, "If I succeed, I want a fiesta. Look for my sign of four arches [rainbow]."

The two brothers first went to a hill. There they called upon their swayohelik [*animal spirits*]. *First the animal spirit of the elder brother spoke. He said, "I am a stone." Then the animal spirit of the younger brother said, "I am a stick. Moreover, I am a snake and a maguey plant." The elder brother said, "Then we are well off. Let us go."*

6. The same identification of a lineage patronym with the most important sacred hill is found in other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities (Holland 1963, Hermitte 1964). The pattern may have originated in a period of pre-Conquest expansion when the dominant lineage was assiged a custodial leadership over the new settlement, with their spirits remaining as guardians of the community. Members of the contemporary communities who bear the same patronym do not have any privileged position. These associations of past and contemporary belief are, as Vogt (1964:216) cautions, still hypothetical.

The curers used to go up to the cave with the alfereces, the mayordomos *[religious officials], the prayer reciters, and the people of the village. When they arrived there, the mayordomos played the guitar and gourd rattle. They lit candles and incense, and the leading curers would go inside the cave. All the people contributed money for the liquor and candles which was collected by the officials. They said that they spoke to the ancestors inside, where there was a lake and a beautiful field. They asked for rain and good crops. They would come out and tell the people waiting outside what the ancestors had said.* 796 769 [794] [778] [756]

Then one year [in 1957] during the fiesta of the cave, the curers went into the cave. The people said to the curers, "We want to see the owners." The curers said they would come out, but they didn't. The people waited and waited. A boy went inside with the curers. They tried to prevent him, saying, "Won't you be afraid?" He said, "No, let's go in." They entered twenty feet inside the door. The curers said, "Let us stay here." The boy asked them where was the river, the lake, and the milpa that were supposed to be inside. The curer replied, "It is all a lie. Now you know; don't tell the people." But when he came out, the boy told the people it was all a deception. 796 769 756 781 178

Since the late 1950s the ritual has changed. The curers no longer officiate, nor do they enter the cave and speak to the ancestors as they did formerly. The *fiscal*, or assistant to the priest, leads the mayordomos, alfereces, and prayer-reciters to the cave on the Day of the Cross and simply replace the palm cross at the entrance to the cave just as they do with the palm crosses fixed to the wooden crosses marking the roads leading into the town. The curers have attempted to revive the belief in the presence of the ancestors by saying that their nephew is in residence now, but no one I ever spoke to believes this. Most people agree that the ancestors live permanently in Chiapa de Corso.[9] [794]

The hill and cave owners. While people try to maintain a good relationship with the spirits of the house, of the springs, and of the Cave of the Ancestors, they avoid the dangerous spirits of the hills and caves 776

9. A similar myth concerning the departure of the ancestors to go live in Chiapa de Corzo exists in Pinola (Hermitte 1964). [773] [771]

mother the Moon gets angry. This might cause an eclipse of the moon, and the crops will suffer because there will be no sun. 241 776 784

There is no prohibition, however, against having sexual relations prior to planting or at other crucial stages, as there are for other Maya Indians (Wagley 1941:34). [171]

During the growing season, candles are lit in the milpa as protection against wind as well as robbers, who "lose their luck" when this is done. 241 788

The spirits' care of the crops. The crops have souls, given by the spirits, which will be lost if they are not cared for. The spirits "watch over the crops as parents watch over their children." The term for seed (*yal*) is a metaphorical extension of the term for "child of a woman." 241 774 776

The following myths give different, occasionally contradictory versions of the origin of crops. This central truth emerges in all of them: The spirits have given us our crops and will continue to do so as long as we offer thanks in the form of ceremonies and gifts to them. [782]

Santo Tomás [*the patron saint of Oxchuk*] *had intercourse with Santa Lucía. She wanted* [asked for] *the soul of corn, and he gave her the seed of corn. Then there came forth beans, corn, and wheat. But then all the saints of San Bartolo and San Miguel* [*neighboring towns*] *asked for the soul of corn. Then the soul of beans left us and went to hot country. Now it does not grow well in the pueblo. Also, the avocado has gone to Comitán. The matasano and ground beans went to Oxchuk when Santa Lucía fought with Santo Tomás.* [539]

The myth of the origin of crops overlays an older myth which has parallels in other groups of Maya-speaking Indians (Castro 1965, Wagley 1941:20). 773 241 171

Formerly, during a famine, there was hunger. The tzisim, *an insect of Ariola, came to take the corn from underground. Thus the ancestors got their first seed. For this reason, people say that corn was born underground, brought up by the tzisim. But I believe God sent us corn.* [539]

Another version has synthesized the role of the saints and that of the animal agent. 241 776 825 539

000 bly similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now. Just as a
323 man defines himself as an agriculturalist, a woman defines herself as a pot-
462 ter. Men complain if their wives do not produce pottery, and I know of
[593] two cases of separation on the grounds that the woman was not fulfilling
[586] one of her functions as housewife by helping the family budget with pot-
[461] tery production. Most women like to make pottery: it helps them to pass the day, and they say they would be bored without it. Some of the women who have gone with their husbands for extended stays in hot country have tried to make pottery out of clays available there, but because of its inferior quality, they have not had much success. Unlike women of neighboring towns, the women of Tzoʔontahal usually do not accompany their husbands to the fincas "because they have their work at home."

323 *Making pottery.* The women make a wide variety of household
178 and ceremonial objects, but the item which has the widest market distribution is the water storage jar (See Plate 7). They introduce new items in response to local needs, such as the funnel used in channeling liquor into large containers from the retort of the still. One vessel which is disappearing from production is the large ceremonial cooking pot. The only woman who knew how to do this (or who admitted to knowing, since it is unpaid work) died in the 60s, and no one has replaced her. One woman who had a reputation for eccentricity introduced several elaborate vases and ashtrays. Her creative imagination was best exemplified in a combined ashtray and vase which featured four frogs poised on the lip of the tray, presumably drinking from a fountain. Reina (1962–1963) has pointed out
[171] that women of the Guatemalan community of Chinautla who wish to be
[156] accepted in the community must limit themselves to conventional forms, and the same restriction seems to apply in Tzoʔontahal.

317 The women of a household work as a group in collecting clay and in
592 firing pottery. Clay is free since it is found in the communally owned hills
[323] on the perimeter of the town. It is collected preferably during the rainy
[423] season when it is easier to gather from the open gorges in which it is found, but if the supply runs out, other trips are made. All of the women of the household go, sometimes with neighbors or relatives in groups of
[482] five or six. They collect large clay balls weighing from forty to fifty pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline.

(see plates following p.198..Analyst)

434 592 [241] [423] [464] irrigated land in addition to their one-half hectare of ejido land. He supplements his income with work in the sawmill for some periods of the year, at a wage of 90 pesos a week, making a total of 165 pesos in the ten days recorded. The family spent 81 percent or 36 pesos of the budget on food, 13 percent or 6 pesos on clothing 2.3 percent or 1 peso on household supplies, and 3 percent or 1.20 pesos on medicines.

434 592 241 262 These family budgets show that most of the corn and beans can be supplied by subsistence agriculture. Garden crops of chile, chayote (a green vegetable which produces a fruit and an edible root), and fruit trees, including lime and anone, are raised in the house yard. Tomatoes, fruit, and cabbages are bought in neighboring market towns.

434 592 171 In comparison with household consumption expenditures in the United States and other foreign countries, these budgets show a much higher proportion of cash income spent on food. The percentages of food expenditures range from 63.2 to 97.0 in the families studied, whereas in the United States the average percentage is only 26.3, in Argentina 59.2, and in Zambia 66.5 (Conference Board Economic Almanac 1967). This reflects the fact that the people of Tzoʔontahal have no expenses for house rental, that wood for fuel and light is available in communally owned forests, and that most of the household utensils such as jars, jugs, and bowls, are locally produced. However, failure to report items must also be noted—no [125] one reported purchasing matches although everyone uses them, and only half of the families reported use of soap, although this is universally purchased.

433 241 A gross estimate of the land necessary to fulfill consumption needs of corn for a family of two adults and four children would be approximately one and a half to two hectares. The yearly average consumption of corn for such a family is about 2,000 kilograms. One hectare produces from 1,200 to 2,000 kilograms in addition to 80 kilograms of beans. Of the 299 families whose land ownership is given in Table 5, 142 have only one hectare of ejido land and 85 more have only one-half additional hectare of privately owned land. This means that 227 households, or 61 percent do not 423 433 have enough land to meet their subsistence needs. 160 household heads

of what seeds grow best in which soils. Good, fast-growing seed is not 241
sowed indiscriminately but is limited to use on more fertile irrigated 242
lands. The size of a family's holdings is the primary factor in deciding [423]
what proportion of the three major crops—corn, beans, and wheat—they
will grow. Where they grow each of these crops depends upon the quality
of the soil categorized by topological criteria, consistency, color, and
proved fertility. Decline in productivity is attributed to wearing out of soil
fertility because of overuse as well as to loss of the soul of crops. The first
explanation leads to adaptive behavior, in which the land is "rested" or
turned over to cattle grazing, and to crop rotation, alternating wheat and
corn crops. The second explanation leads to adjustive behavior in which
the agriculturalist takes care of ceremonial obligations to the saints and to
the "owner of the milpa."

The scheduling of activities is determined by the knowledge of time re- 241
quired for maturing of the crop and by expectations concerning seasonal
fluctuations as they affect rainfall. Although the farmers have some control
over water supply through irrigation, dependence on rainfall for the non- [782]
irrigated fields means that sporadic appeals to the ancestors or saints are [776]
made to ensure rain in the growing period. These rituals are not as inte- [769]
grated in the agricultural production cycle as they are in the neighboring [171]
towns of Chamula and Oxchuk or in the colonia of San Vicente where
irrigation facilities are lacking.

Traditional techniques of pottery production are maintained by a tightly 323
organized schema of procedures which allows for little variation in tech-
nique or form. Learning of productive techniques is facilitated by a fine
segmentation of tasks. Knowledge of local clays and tempering has been
stabilized for at least five hundred years of occupation in this area. Wom-
en's work is entirely lacking in rituals to ensure the success of their efforts.

These given sets of cognitive orientations in economic activities do not 241
exclude the possibility of considering new ways or means of doing things. 177
Agriculturalists have tried the new seed introduced by agronomists, but 178
have found them wanting in their resistance to mold, in the case of corn,
and in their portability, in the case of wheat. Fertilizers have been tried,
but the credit costs proved too high for the agriculturalists to continue.
Women were willing to try a kiln in place of open firing, but either the 177
model introduced was faulty or they were not 323
taught to use it properly.

Chapter 4

Family Authority and Community Control

All residents of the center consider themselves to be "true men" descended 186
from the ancestors who lived in the cave. In Murdock's terminology 621
(1965:63), the Indian community constitutes a *deme*, or local group of ge- 626
nealogically related residents who cannot trace the exact kinship tie. This [614]
sense of kinship sustains a model of paternal authority for assigning positions of power and prestige in the wider community. The key to persistence of the Indians as a culturally distinct population lies in these age-ordered hierarchies sanctioned by the ancestors and the elders who act as their intermediaries. The reward for remaining within the social control system is security and the right to their guardianship; the sanction against violating the norms is exile or exposure to the evil spirits they hold at bay.

The bilateral extension of age-relative collateral terms to all members of 621
the same side of the dual division is a successful adaptation of the kinship 601
model to the government of a compact nucleated community. The system of terminology is similar to that of the neighboring nucleated settlement of Aguacatenango which shares many of the same features of behavior (Hunt n.d., Metzger in Romney 1967:231). These systems are closer to 621
those of the Coatlan Mixe (Merrifield and Hoogshagen 1961) and the 60
Chinantec of Palantla (Merrifield 1959) than they are to the nearby Tzel- 17
tal-speaking communities of Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes 1947) and Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947). In the case of the Mixe and Chinantec, the strong emphasis on relative age is correlated with age-graded positions in the political-religious hierarchy (Merrifield 1959, Merrifield and Hoogshagen [613]
1961:225).[1] The lineage-clan pattern found in the vacant center, or *paraje*, [614]

1. In the Coatlán, Oaxaca case of Mixe Indians cited by Merrifield and Hoogshagen [601]
(1961) they state that the classificatory terms utilizing the criteria of age relative to ego [171]

613 614 621 171 601 type of communitives such as Oxchuk and Cancuc depends on communal land holding and contiguity in residence of the agnatic kin. The corporate identity of these groups is breaking down with the fragmentation of land holdings and movement of men from the paraje of their fathers (Guiteras Holmes 1947, Villa Rojas 1946).

601 602 Symmetrical bilateral extension of kinship terms can be seen in Figure 3. Relative age modifies generation in terms for collaterals. In ego's generation, older brother and sister are distinguished from younger siblings. In parents' generation, siblings of father younger than father are referred to and called elder brother or sister, and those older than father are called father or mother. In grandparent's generation, siblings older than grandparent are called grandfather or grandmother, and those younger than grandparent are called father and mother. If the grandparent should die, leaving only a younger sibling, the term grandparent is used referentially and vocatively. There is no sex distinction made between siblings or collaterals younger than ego in the referential terminology. Referential terminology [193] for lineals younger than ego does not make sex distinctions, but the distinction may be made with one's own children by using the possessive form of the vocative term, such as "my little man" (*htatil*) or "my little woman" (*ḳantzil*). Women refer to their children with the term *ʔalal*. The stem *ʔal* signifies the verb to give birth. Men refer to their children as *nič'an*. The collective term for children of both parents combines the two terms in a possessive form, *ḳalnič'an*, our children.

The bilateral system of Amatenango is not in conformity with the Spanish model. Along with similar systems mentioned for Aguacatenango, Coatlan, and Palantla, it differs from the Spanish model in that collaterals in ascending generations are classified with lineal relatives, and age relative to ego modifies generational separation. These systems appear to be an [174]

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obscures that of generation. Just as in Tzoʔontahal, all members of the community address others they meet on the street with the term indicating age relationship to ego, and grandfather and grandmother terms are reserved for the very old. The authors conclude that this terminological behavior reflects the rigid age-grading found in social groups throughout the community. I would venture a generalization that requires further research to the effect that age-grading provides a pattern for appropriate behavior among members of endogamous, closely settled communities whereby conflict is reduced by channeling competition for prestigeful positions. [601] [171]

852 608 571 788 The church ceremony is followed by another ceremony in the house of the child's parents. As the group returning from the church enters the house, they are greeted with the pat'o'tan by the maliwanehetik who are waiting for them in the house. As they enter, each of the returning party says, "You go forward, kumpare." They embrace all of the waiting party, an act which establishes their relationship as compadres with the entire company. When the padrinos leave, the grandparents and parents of the [273] child go to a spot before the eaves outside the house; there the father of [593] the child serves liquor to the padrinos and the grandparents of the child. [603] The drink is called "the finale as the compadres leave." The group must finish the entire liter "since it is a gift," and if there are only one or two grandparents, they may get fairly drunk. As the compadres leave, the grandpaernts say, "Over the soil, over the mud where you take your holy godchild, your holy flower, your holy candle." [778] The child, referred to metaphorically as holy flower, holy candle, is identified with the most sacred symbols of the culture.[2]

608 571 171 The emphasis on the group relationship in Tzo'ontahal contrasts with the form of compadrazgo found in the central plateau of Mexico where the dyadic tie between two compadres provides flexibility in achieving instrumental ends in political or economic life.[3] Some of the new leaders in economic enterprises are beginning to emphasize the dyadic contract in their compadrazgo relationships to achieve political support, but its greatest importance is still based on creating or reinforcing group solidarity.

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Betrothal and Marriage

The Indians of Tzo'onthal are initiated into the community of the living and depart from it with ceremonies deriving from the Spanish colonial 584 585 culture. The courtship and marriage ceremonies continue indigenous re-

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[852] she later attended the household ceremony, she was never called kumare because of the [571] omission of this act.

[608] 2. See Laughlin (1962) on the symbolism of the candle and flower in Zinacantan.

[171] 3. In regard to the occasions and the kind of respect relation established, compadrazgo in Tzo'ontahal is similar to the institution in other parts of Mexico (Foster 1963, Nader 1964, Wolf and Mintz 1950). The difference lies in the elaboration of the number of ties acquired through compadrazgo at each event.

756 suitable, the president and judges give permission to the curers to allow
731 him to enter the profession at this time. The novice provides three liters of liquor which are drunk "in common" by the curers and the civil officials.

174 There is some evidence that, formerly, novice curers were asked to yield
756 the soul of one of their children:

[774] *My dead husband was given permission by Julian Gomez, the leader of the curers of Ahk'olnantik, to enter the curing profession. When my husband told me he wanted to cure, he said that Julian had asked him for a child "for the ancestors to eat." My husband was going to give a child of his brother since we didn't have any, but I said it would be a pity. Then he said he would give trago. This he did. I forget how many liters.*

When the contagion came, the curers went to take out the heat. A policeman called my dead husband, and he went. The policeman said the leading curer had called him. The judges told him, "It is better for you to enter in common with the other curers."

He began to cure. The curers then asked what offering we were going to give.

"We have no children," said my husband. "We will give you liquor. I cannot give my brother's child or my sister's children."

He must have brought them about ten or twelve liters of trago and two packs of cigarettes.

756 The third soul, swayohel, may be acquired, or one may be born with it.
[775] Those who acquire the third soul by capture of the soul of a dead person within twenty days after the death are considered to be potentially dangerous. They are more likely to use the soul for evil than those who have acquired it from the ancestors at birth. Swayoheles can be acquired from a
756 saint named ʔAhau in the neighboring town of Oxchuk.[1] The following
776 account illustrates how one asks this saint for a swayohel:

If you go to the saint with a black face named ʔAhau with two candles of twenty cents you can ask for a swayohel. You say, "I want one ʼulel that is very strong. I have an enemy. I need one." You sleep there; and wake

[171] [776] 1. Lombardo Otero (1944:73) says that in Oxchuk, Mukulajau, or Chulajau, is identified with Trinidad, and is associated with the pigeon, which is the animal spirit of powerful curers.

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"He looked for trouble!" Domingo replied.
I said, "You killed my husband!"
He said, "It was not I! It was not I!"
It doesn't serve to enter curing early. People will kill you right away. Another young man wanted to enter. The curers did not permit him since they said he was a witch. People heard he was a witch, and they killed him. He was the same age as my husband [*about twenty-seven*].

The curers who have survived to an old age were introduced into the profession by an elder relative. They choose their clients carefully, refusing to cure a man who is on the point of death, and remaining within their own section of the dual division. These rules of survival are ignored by some of the younger men who wish to impress their elders with their powers.

The changing image of the curers. The curers of today are unfavorably compared with those of the past who used their power for good. The prototype of the old curer was the fearful Tatik Čaʔuk, Lord of the Lightning, possibly a local manifestation of the Maya god Chac.[2] The dialectic of power is exemplified in his control over beneficial and destructive forces. His beneficence is demonstrated in his ability to bring rain to crops, while his vengeance is revealed in lightning bolts which can kill people and destroy houses. Anyone who is struck by lightning is believed to have had some sin for which the Tatik Čaʔuk has punished him. His destructive force is equated with a rifle—called "the elder brother of the Lord of Lightning"—and with the "heat" which brings death in illnesses. His habitation is believed to be the Cave of the Star where the heat which causes epidemics is found.

The curers were intermediaries for the Tatik Čaʔuk in their control over both destructive and beneficial forces. Formerly, the swayohel of the curers patrolled the streets of the town to prevent the entry of evildoers bringing heat. It is in this role that they are referred to as me'iltatil. If an epidemic occurred, the two leading curers from each side of the town con-

2. In other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities, the god Čaʔuk is named as the chief figure from pre-Conquest theology (Hermitte 1964, Holland 1963:93).

Chapter 7

The Formal Organization of Local Government

The formal organization of civil and religious offices in Tzo'ontahal is based on the pattern of a locally independent, democratically elected officialdom introduced by the Spaniards. Variations in the pattern from that of other towns of the highlands have resulted from differences of interpretation of the functions, the range of power, and the course of succession of offices. This flexibility has preserved structural continuity as organizational adjustments are made. The Indians have transformed an alien governing mechanism into one that meets their changing needs and contributes to their independence in the modern world.

The independence of the local township has a base in the pre-Conquest social organization of Chiapas. Robert Adams (1961:347) has noted the absence of architectural or other features indicative of functional specialization that would arise in a politically integrated region. At the time of the Conquest, Chiapas was divided into warring principalities, revealing the extreme political fragmentation of the area (Calnek 1962:8). Each town was divided from the neighboring town by *mojones*, hilled-up boundaries (ibid:36). A minimum of political unity was achieved by holding certain towns subject to the dominance of others (ibid:27); local autonomy persisted, however, in the administration of landholding as a community enterprise.

During the colonial period the Spanish Crown established the independence of towns directly under their control and provided them with a civil-religious hierarchy which has persisted as the form of government to the present (Carrasco 1961: Wolf 1957b).

Comparative studies of the civil-religious hierarchy indicate the range of

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variation on the Spanish colonial model (Camara 1952; Cancian 1963, 1965; Carrasco 1961; Siverts 1964; Tax 1964). In the many community studies of the highland Maya, we have reports of the roles and functions of the hierarchy as they are played out in a specific context (Adams 1957; Bunzel 1952; Guiteras Holmes 1961; La Farge 1947; La Farge and Byers 1931; MacArthur 1961; M. Nash 1955; Siverts 1960, 1964; Valladares 1957;

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Fig. 6. Civil and Religious Officials *

Officials in the town hall
- President
- Secretary
- Síndico

Officials in the church
- Fiscal
- Women Prayer-reciters

Principales (Krinsipaletik)
- Second Principal
- First Principal

Judges (Alkaletik)	Cofrades (Kobrarietik)
First Judge, Alannantik	Cofrade of Sacramento
Second Judge, Ahk'olnantik	Cofrade of Santa Lucía
Assistant Judge, La Grandeza	Cofrade of San Pedro the Martyr
Assistant Judge, Madronal	Cofrade of San Francisco
Regidores (Rehiroletik)	Mayordomos (Martomaetik)
First Regidor	Mayordomo of Christ of Ascension
Second Regidor	Mayordomo of San Antonio
Third Regidor	Mayordomo of Virgin Rosario
Fourth Regidor	Mayordomo of San José
Policemen (Mayoletik)	Mayordomo of Santiago
2 First Police	Alfereces † (Alperesetik)
2 Second Police	First Past Alférez
2 Third Police	Remains Past Alférez
2 Fourth Police	Second Past Alférez
2 Last Police	New Alférez
	Assistants to cofrades (alib'aletik)
	Assistant to Sacramento
	Assistant to Virgin Santa Lucía
	Assistants to elders for lesser saints (Nič'aniletik)

* Boxed-in terms refer to age-graded hierarchies. Other posts are outside of this "ladder" as explained in text.

† Alfereces may be chosen after taking higher posts in the religious hierarchy, but cannot become first or second regidor before serving in this post.

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Vogt 1965; Wagley 1949; Wisdom 1940; Zabala 1961). Comparison of the structure and functioning of the hierarchy reveals differing applications of the same principles of allocating roles (age, sex, territorial identification, and previous service) and differing assignments of the same tasks (administrative, judgment, and maintenance). 621 171

In this chapter, I shall analyze the civil-religious hierarchy in Tzoʾontahal as a formally prescribed system of roles and behavior. The data on which the analysis is based are: (1) the system of roles and the principles of allocation, (2) careers in office of household heads, (3) instrumental behavior prescribed for officials, and (4) ritual behavior. The following chapter will be concerned with the exercise of power within the limits set by the formal organization of offices. 128 621 794

The Matrix of Roles

Civil officials. Civil offices in Tzoʾontahal are a segmented, ranked set of posts, each of which has an internally age-graded ranking. Outside of these segments are two leadership positions, those of president and his assistant, *síndico,* which are not controlled by the same criteria of entry—service in lower posts of the civil and religious hierarchies and age. Multiple posts at the same level have equal representation of officials from the upper and lower divisions of the center, Ahk'olnantik and Alannantik, and single posts are held alternately by residents of each side. Theoretically, the post of president should alternate as well, but in fact the scarcity of qualified candidates limits consideration of this condition. Since 1948, of the twelve presidents, only four were from Ahk'olnantik. 621 561

The four ranked segments (Fig. 6) from higher to lower are *krinsipaletik,* or principales, *alkaletik,* or judges, *rehiroletik,* or regidores, and *mayoletik,* or policemen. The relative rank of the post is expressed in terms of its power, and the relative rank of the post-holder in terms of age (the term used to describe an older office holder, *mas mamalił,* has the extended meaning of greater power [1]). Age-ranking of officials complements [693]

1. Siverts (1965) points out that in Cancuk the term *mamal,* or elder, was applied to a young man who held a post of high authority because of his skills in literacy and language. By terminological reference, he was graduated into the senior age group.

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undertaking the burden of office is still phrased as a means of maintaining the internal system of security. Tying the new official to personal supporters in the household setting is a significant means of integrating the Spanish governmental system with the preexisting authority systems. 621 794 527

The emphasis on continuity is evident in the prescribed pattern of behavior stressing repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetition of behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expectations which links the present with the past.[5] The nakawanehetik, who are the repositories of knowledge of the customs of the ancestors, are stage directors of acts performed in the house. Behavioral replication is reinforced by verbal references in the pat?o?tan to performing "that which our mothers, that which our fathers did." When any act has lost the wider context of belief in which it must at one time have been embedded, the reason given for the performance is simply "so was the custom of our ancestors." As an example of this, the officials in the president's house on the day of the inauguration stand and bow in the direction of the rising sun. A few informants have heard of the God of the East, Santo Ariyó, the saint in charge of household gods who gave to the people corn, wheat, beans, and cattle, and they say that it is in recognition of him that people turn to the East and bow their heads in all household performances. They further state that in this act they defend the house against the entry of the devil. But the mythological context which might explain the logic of this association is lost. These behavioral sherds, when cut off from the belief system which they dramatized, survive in perpetuating the customs of the ancestors. 621 794 527 177 178

The link with the past is also seen in the presence of both new and old officials in the town hall, providing a setting in which the succession of the new officials is acknowledged by the old. The role of the principales is of the greatest importance in establishing continuity, significantly emphasized in the fact that it is they who hand over the symbol of authority, the 621 794 527 178

5. Bunzel (1952:251) has pointed to this familiarity of ritual sets in a variety of ceremonials as providing ties with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango, and Vogt (1966) has shown the significance of replication in the ceremonials of Zinacantan. Another function served by behavorial replication is that which Leach (1967:2) pointed out for verbal replication in myths and prayers: it overcomes the "static" of less significant background interference. [171]

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776 177 The two groups of spirits differ in their traditional characteristics and functions. The spirits of the heaven "look to see where everyone is going," "look and listen to all that people say," "are very alive," and "are of the world." In contrast to them, the spirits of the church "are not alive," "do not speak," "do not do anything," "are only of the pueblo." Thus the spirits of the heaven are universal; those of the church are particular. The saints' images which are kept in the church of the town are not considered to represent the same person as these same images in other towns. This [171] conception of saints as local and distinct personalities is found in other Maya Indian towns and differs from that of orthodox Catholicism.

The lord spirits of the heaven. The spirits of the heaven are God the Father, *Tios Tatil,* God the Son, *Tios Nič'anil,* and the Holy Spirit, *Spiritusantú.* Table 27 indicates the identification made between these major figures and pre-hispanic spiritual entities.

[192] TABLE 27. Pre- and Post-Hispanic Equivalents of the Lord Spirits of the Heavens

Post-Hispanic spirits		*Pre-Hispanic spirits*
Tios Tatil (God the Father)	=	B'alamilal (The World) B'ankilal (Elder Brother)
Tios Nič'anil (God the Son, Jesus Christ)	=	Sčeb'al B'ankilal (Second Brother)
Spiritusantú (Holy Spirit)	=	Tatik K'ahk'al (The Lord Sun) K'oš (referential, Last Child) Šut (vocative, proper name) ʔihtz'in (Younger Brother)
Meʔ Santú (Virgin Mary)	=	Meʔtikčič ʔu (Our Grandmother the Moon)

776 539 177 The "mystery" of the Trinity is "explained" in the following story in which pre-hispanic deities are identified with the Christian deities.

Many years ago, the Lord Sun [Tatik K'ak'al] *did not walk as now. He was only hanging in the heavens. Our Grandmother the Moon* [Meʔtik Čič ʔu] *bore three sons named God the Father* [Tios Tatil], the Elder *Brother; God the Son, Second Brother; and a third named K'oš, or Last One. The first brother did not turn out bright nor did the second brother. It was the youngest brother, K'oš, who was the brightest. When the Elder*

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776 539 177 *"Is there food for it?" asked his mother.*

"I am going to plant a milpa to feed the little pig. You stay here and watch the little pig and I will go."

"Yes, I will care for it," said his mother.

K'oš went to plant his milpa. As he was leaving, he said to his mother, "I will return in the afternoon."

His mother said, "I shall await you in the afternoon."

When K'oš returned, his mother asked, "How is your milpa?"

He replied, "It isn't ready. Tomorrow I am going to burn it because it is just a forest."

The next day, K'oš returned to his milpa. Everything he had cut had grown back in his milpa. He asked himself, "How did it spring up? I am going to wait and see who is causing the trouble." He waited and saw a bird entering the milpa. The bird said, "I don't want to have the woods burned!"

K'oš said, "I am going to start the fire."

He started the fire, and then he said, "I am going to where the day meets the heaven." He picked up the fire of his milpa, saying, "My brother does not know how to walk. I am going to walk around and return."

Now the day walks in front and the night walks behind.[2]

The story has an aftermath which describes the continuing relationship between the Lord Sun, K'oš, and his mother, Our Grandmother the Moon.

The Lord Sun sees all of our sins and puts them in a book. If anyone has sexual relations in the milpa, he puts it down. When he sees this, he gets angry because he walks alone. He wants to end the world since he does not endure our sins. But Our Grandmother the Moon does not want

[184] 2. There are other versions of this story in neighboring Tseltal-speaking communities. Castro (1959:24–31) gives an Oxchuk version in which the identification of the three brothers with the Christian Trinity is not made. But, the vocative term used in the Tzo⁹-ontahal version, is given as the name of the youngest brother, who succeeded in giving a new sun to the world. But in outwitting his brothers with the honey, ⁹ut killed them rather than turning them into pigs. A Chol version (Whitaker and Warkentin 1965) is closer to that of Oxchuk. [171]

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to make a great deal of noise by striking hoes, firing rifles, blowing the horns of bulls, and striking gourds. The logic of this behavior can be understood from the following statement of an informant: "The sickness of the moon is a result of the conflict of the sun with the moon. The noise we made frightens the father sun so that he will stop fighting the moon. If he were to win, the people would die, and new people would be born with only one leg and one arm."[4]

We have in this story what appears to be an overlay of post-hispanic mythology, in which the Devil personifies evil forces, superimposed on a prehispanic mythological identification of the powers of both good and evil in single cosmological deities. Whereas in the previous myth it is the Devil, the King of the Jews, who caused all of the children of Jesus to die and to be reborn with only one arm and one leg, in this statement it is the sun who can effect the same reversal of nature. The sun, Tatik K'alik, has the power to cause the milpa to grow, but by staying out too long, it can burn the crop. Similarly lightning, Tatik Ča'uk, may bring rain, but can destroy the milpa with the winds that precede the rain or kill man and destroy his house. Man is responsible for determining how the force of the gods will be directed.

The guardianship of the sun and the moon over the people of the world serves to control or at least restrain the behavior of people. Since both of them "walk alone," without companionship, they become jealous if they see sexual relations performed by people in the milpa. Since all legal sexual relations are carried out in the relative privacy of the house, it is only those who seek illicit relationships who retreat to the milpa, and so this restraint has a prohibitive effect on unsanctioned sexual behavior. If the moon sees someone in the milpa at night, she refuses to retire and stays out, not letting her son the sun rise. Similarly, when the sun sees someone in the milpa in the daytime, he refuses to retire, burning the milpa with his hot rays.

The lord spirits of the east. There is another category of spirits which is ill defined and not many people know. These are the spirits of

4. The same behavior, that of making noise during an eclipse, is found in the Maya Indian community of Cantel, Guatemala, but there it is interpreted as a means of calling the sick grandmother back to life by showing that her grandchildren care about her.

I do not know if it is so. I just heard that in a story told." He then referred back to the story of K'oł, the younger brother who took over the task of carrying the sun from his elder brother, to explain how the sun's movement started. 821 776

Misfortunes caused by lightning, winds, and drought are explained as failures in social relations among people of the community or between the members of the community and the spirits. Restraint in their own conduct, fulfillment of their ceremonial obligations, and show of respect to the spirits are the only safeguards against such casualties.

Caring for the Lord Spirits of the Church

The relationships established with the spirits of the church contrast to those with the spirits of the heaven in the following ways: First, the upkeep and maintenance of the spirits of the church is delegated to appointed representatives, the mayordomos, who carry the burden for the community; "all the people of the world," on the other hand, are responsible at all times for avoiding behavior which would incur the wrath of the sun and moon. Second, the obligations to the spirits of the church are standardized, while those to the spirits of heaven are ill-defined and involve avoidance of offense rather than positive expectations. Third, duties toward the church spirits are performed in repetitive events following the calendrical cycle of fiestas, while obligations to the spirits of the heaven are fulfilled sporadically, as during an eclipse of the moon or a drought. 776 794 796 821 177

The major strategy in dealing with the spirits of the church is to give them a fiesta. Big fiestas are associated with the big four saints. These fiestas have been the responsibility of the top mayordomos, called kobraria, and until 1966, of the alfereces. Big fiestas also occur on the Day of the Dead, the Day of Santiago, the Day of San Pedro and San Pablo, the Day of the Kings, and during Easter Week. The pattern of fiestas will be described first, followed by a detailed description of the inauguration of the alfereces, witnessed in 1965 before the institution was abolished the following year, and the fiestas of Santiago and Easter Week. 776 794 796 177

Religious fiestas occur in an annual cycle of ceremonies based on the Catholic calendar. In Tzo'ontahal the Maya calendar no longer exists, even in the twenty-day cycle that constituted a month found in the neighboring towns of Oxchuk, Larraínzar, and Chenalhó. 796 [805] [178] [171]

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towns and explain small-scale change over short periods of time. The contextual description of behavioral details may eventually overcome the lack of replicable events available to laboratory science. By specifying all the conditions of the ritual, it is possible to separate the unique from the patterned components. At one level, the analysis consists in indicating the repetitive patterns and the continuity of beliefs which these exemplify. At another level, rituals can be analyzed as psychodramas in which the individual adopts a social role. The dialectical connection between the new official and his role is established in the obligations he carries out.

When people are asked "why" something is done, they continually shift between the social and psychological levels. "We do this because it was the custom of our ancestors," they will frequently say. When pressed further, they reduce their level of response to the individual, saying, "The women don their husband's ceremonial hat because they wish to hide their face because of embarrassment." Both answers are true interpretations, differing only in the level of social complexity at which the enquiry is directed. One can go farther in elaborating the latent significance of the ritual acts. To continue with the same example, the dance drawing the wife into a public performance was performed because, as one informant said, "she too has done work for the fiesta" (she made pottery to raise the money). The dance gains the favor of the saints, as is demonstrated in the Virgin's tactics with the Devil, and in the curing rituals with the spirits of the house and of the springs. Dancing establishes a relationship to the group: the women dancing in the center of the circle formed by their husbands revolving around them are incorporated as an integral part of a sacred social unit.

Rituals provide a key to the psychic dynamics of the group since they deal with these explicitly. The ritual acts are predicated on expected individual responses. For example, since liquor overcomes embarrassment,[5] it

5. Bennett and Zingg (1937) have stated the even more dramatic social significance of liquor among the Tarahumara. Social intercourse in this mountain tribe is impossible without liquor. Conditioned as they are in isolated nuclear family groups to retreat at the sign of an outsider, the Tarahumara need something to relax their embarrassment and fear in large gatherings. Landa (Tozzer 1941) has commented at length on the compulsory drinking at ceremonials of the Yucatecan Maya.

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tions have decreased. Their major responsibility is to hold the plate in which the contributions for the fiestas are deposited by the police. Formerly, the fact that the principales also held the money until it was spent lent dignity and prestige to this function. Now that the money is turned over to the treasurer, who also keeps the accounts, passing the plate gives them a sense of shame. When I asked why the principales lost authority, the first response was cast in terms of behavior: my informant, a former president, pointed out that it was because they did not attend the town hall every day. When I asked why they did not appear, the reply was reformulated in functional terms: they did not come because the laws and acts that are raised and interpreted in the town hall are written in Spanish, and the principales could not read or write. As a consequence, the balance of power has shifted to the posts of president and síndico, while the framework in which the officials act has remained.

Challenge by the Civil Officials of the Power of the Curers

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The autonomy of the highland Indian corporate community has rested on the retention of social control by local leaders. This local leadership, which has survived over four hundred years of domination by Spanish colonial and national rule, is based on power derived from two sources: (1) control over life and death by men who claim to possess an animal spirit and/or (2) ability to devine or predict the future, such as the calendar priests have (Nuñez de la Vega 1702:19).[1] The belief in power derived 000

1. Bishop Nuñez de la Vega repeatedly inveighs against the "maestros Nahualistas." This is summarized in an excerpt, which I have translated, from his book (1702:19): [754] [171]

> Almost two hundred years after the light of evangelism dawned, the Indians in most of the Kingdom of New Spain and Guatemala are found full of their primitive errors, superstitions, and misdeeds such that there is hardly a single pueblo where each year there are not deaths brought about by witches, and houses and families known to have, as an inheritance acquired from father to son, evil powers so abominable that they are viewed with great fear by the rest of the Indians. With only a glance and certain words, with which they invoke the Devil, they can end life or cause their victim to go mad with great pains and stupendous illnesses, and the result is that they inflict their rivals for very slight pretexts. We exile them and other spiritual performers from the church, and when the ministers and judges try to verify what happened to the sick ones, all

776 The belief in power derived
174 from animal spirits was probably influenced by the Toltec belief in nahualism, or transformation of people after death into animals (Calnek 1962:22). The Toltec belief originated in the period of Mexican influence but had many local indigenous manifestations (Foster 1944). The integra-
793 tion of the two systems of power was brought about by calendar priests
787 controlling the distribution of animal spirits (Calnek 1962:19). The degree
754 of retention of calendrical knowledge and of belief in witchcraft gives us
177 one of the best indices of acculturation in the area.[2] In Tzoʔontahal there
178 is no remnant of calendar divination for ceremonial or predictive use.
776 However, witchcraft based on belief in animal spirits continues to be an important factor in the contest for power. The technique of secrecy, of pre-
[621] senting a united front in the face of attempts by the outside Ladinos to
[609] tamper with the local social control system, persists to this day in the town.

621 An endemic problem in communities dominated by belief in witchcraft
626 is control over the evil power of witches. The traditional control system in
754 Tzoʔontahal operated through the guardianship of three sets of power-
769 holders who checked up on each other: the ancestors, the curers, and the
756 judges. The guardianship of the ancestors consisted in preventing any
177 child possessed of a swayohel from the devil from growing up to abuse his
178 power and in keeping any evil spirits from entering the town. The curers,

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[754] the Indians, whether out of cowardice or deceit, withdraw their accusation or claims,
[171] so that it is impossible to convict the evildoers for punishment; and for lack of sufficient proof they cannot be punished, or if there is enough basis to put them in prison, they sometimes disappear and flee to another jurisdiction and hide, denying their place of origin or changing their name.

2. In Oxchuk, calendar experts with the ability to divine the future still set the days for carrying out Catholic fiestas according to the twenty-day Maya ceremonial cycle. Each of the spirits symbolizing the twenty days wielded the power of good or evil. This provided the basis for predicting. When Villa Rojas studied the town in the 1940s, elders of patrilineal lineages controlled the behavior of members by causing sickness brought by their *lab*, or animal spirit (Villa Rojas 1947). In San Pedro Chenalhó, the principales exercise power through their *wayhel*, or animal spirit (Guiteras Holmes 1961). Nahuales of leaders of the patrilineages and principales are feared and respected in Larraínzar, although there is a growing discontent with their oppressive control (Holland 1963). Men believed to have thirteen nahuales figure as guardians and avengers for individuals in Pinola society, although the Indians of this community no longer have a hierarchy of civil offices through which their prestige can be publicly validated (Hermitte 1964).

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

342 party to go to the spring, at least one relative remains in the house to
796 greet the soul if it should precede the curing party.
[584]
[755] Behavior in household rituals is described in Chapters 1, 5, and 8.
[128]

The Cabildo

344 The cabildo, called by the people of the town the "cold house,"[1] was
[196] built following the revolution of 1915, when Piñeda's revolutionary soldiers
[175] destroyed the original colonial structure. The tiles of the roof were confiscated from a finca which the Indians invaded in 1941 in an unsuccessful attempt to gain additional lands. When they were unable to maintain their hold on the land, they burned the owner's house and took the tiles to the town center where they remain as a symbol of their defiant action. They refer to this event with pride. The cabildo houses the jail, equipped with a barred wooden door, in one of its wings, and the Ejido Commission office in the other.

344 Within the cabildo, each official has his established place. The cabildo is
352 furnished with a table at which the president and síndico sit on wooden
621 chairs made in the Indian town of Chamula. Four benches lining the
554 walls on either side of the entry provide seating for the civil officials. On
576 the right side (looking out at the plaza) sit the judges in order of rank;
[693] the regidores, in similar sequence follow them. The principales, and formerly the alfereces, sit on the left side when they appear for ceremonial occasions. This spatial allocation establishes drinking and greeting order as well. Visitors can go directly from one to another in the formal greeting of a handclasp and murmured "good morning, father," or "good afternoon, father," without violating age-respect patterns.

344 During court cases, the claimant and his supporters sit on the bench to
352 the left of the door; on other occasions the bench is occupied by visitors or
695 petitioners. The police sit on one of the two benches lining the outside
[625] wall, or retire to the kitchen, a wooden slat lean-to on the left wing of the

[171] 1. Bunzel (1952) notes that in prayers, the cabildo in Chichicastenango is referred to as "the cold house, the icy house." Although the Quiché term is not given in her manuscript, one can see a similarity in the rhyming couplets and metaphorical allusions in the prayers of the towns.

175 361 621 648 Thus, the village of Aguacatenango was created by joining the parcialidades of Aguacatenango and Quesaltepec, while Amatenango was composed of the parcialidades of Amatenango and Sacatepec. It is not possible at present to identify more closely the social groups that the Spaniards called parcialidades.

[797] It is probable that each parcialidad was composed of several lineages and clans, but up to the present time no one has done a comparative study of name distributions on available censuses or other similar materials, nor has any record been found, which explains the procedures used by the Dominican Friars (who controlled the reducciones in the area) when they reorganized 175 the populations of the territory.[1] In central Mexico the term • 171 621 parcialidad refers, in the primary sources, to the four divisions of Tenochtitlan, the Aztec Capital, but they also refer to the 175 barrios or calpuls (Caso, A., 1959). In Chiapas it is normally 621 648 used to mean the sub-divisions of pueblos reducidos. It is known, however, that the parcialidades were originally separate groups of people which were independent social units. Even after the reducciones they kept important elements of their organization separate, including their political officers, who were responsible for complying with demands made by the Spaniards for tribute and labor. Some of the separate political functions have been re- 174 621 tained up to the present. It is also safe to assume that each one of the parcialidades was an endogamous group; both Aguacatenango

[1]The new documents are still unavailable. They have been reported by Edward Calnek in the National Archives in Guatemala, and by Dr. Vicenta Cortez in the Madrid Archives, Spain.

156 accused of having an evil supernatural spirit. (A consequence of
754 this is that recent immigrants to the village, not well known by
777 the community at large, or solitary characters that keep to
[609] themselves, are more likely to be thought of as witches even if they do not break community norms.)

621 The Macro-Structure: Barrios

Amatenango and Aguacatenango are both divided into two barrios which are territorial divisions separated by an imaginary line that cuts across the villages through their central plazas. The barrios of Amatenango are called Acohantik and Anantik (Upper and Lower) while the Aguacatenango barrios have Saint's names.

[191] This dual barrio division is common to many Indian settlements in the Tzeltal-Tzotzil region of the highlands of Chiapas, as opposed to the multiple barrio system of the mixed Indian and Ladino towns.

In the community of Oxchuc, the barrios (kalpuletik) function, according to Siverts (1960), as non-exogamous moieties with important political and ritual functions. In the opinion of this author, these barrios are just pseudo-moieties (Murdock, 1949; 47) not being based on rules of descent, but cutting across the lineage, sib and phratry units to which Oxchuqueros belong (Guiteras Holmes, C. 1952; Villa Rojas, 1945). This definition as pseudo-moieties holds true for the barrios of both Amatenango and Aguacatenango. They are not directly connected with any descent groups, but are territorial units with functions similar to those of real moieties.

583 to reconcile themselves with the wife's parents by paying the agradecimiento (thankfulness payment), half of the established bride-pride. In those cases, it is considered that the full bride-price is not necessary "because the couple was already [591] living together." It follows that elopement cases are always patri-virilocal in residence.

592 562 582 434 In Amatenango, where women are important laborers, the household considers them an economic asset. They will not marry them off early except in case of extreme need, and they will use their marriage to form economic alliances with households at other levels of wealth. If they are not interested in keeping her because there is another married child in the household but they do not have immediate economic need, they will wait and try to marry her into a richer household. If they are interested in keeping her in the unit as a producer, they will marry her to a poorer man and ask him to come and reside uxorilocally. When the residence choice at the time of the marriage is patri-virilocal, the bride-price is much higher than in Aguacatenango: 1,000 pesos rather than 300. Unfortunately, we do not know what the amount of the bride-price is, if it is anything at all, when residence after marriage is matri-uxorilocal.

591 583

582 191 The contrast between the marriage transactions in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is not unique to these two villages, but seems to be a recurrent structural pattern when there are differences in the labor market for women. Tax (1953) reports a similar contrast for Guatemala. In Panajachel, where women's labor has a high value, "marriages tend to cross wealth lines, with a man of a

582 richer family marrying a woman of a poorer family" (Tax, 1953:
171 202). "In only 13 of the 36 cases [reported by Tax] were the two families nearly at the same economic level" (Tax, 1953:203). Also, "exceptional but not uncommon" is that a rich man will marry his daughter to a poorer man and rather than loosing a worker, he gains another. In contrast with Panajachel is the case of Chichicastenango (a neighbor to the north) in that, "the time of women in Chichicastenango has until recently not had cash value. (Increased weaving for the tourist trade may change this.) Therefore, in Chichicastenango as opposed to Panajachel there is encouragement to marry within the same wealth class" (Tax, 1953: 206).

128 Affective Relations Within the Household

We have shown how some of the relationships within the domestic group are affected by the patterns of economic activity. In this section, we will discuss them in a different context; rather than in terms of interaction, we shall discuss them in terms of sentiment (Homans, 1950).

121 Homans (1950) has shown how intimacy and affection increase with increased association and interaction, but he also indicated that a relationship of formal respect and asymmetrical authority discourages confidence and affective ties (1950:247) or "at any rate, the fact of authority seems to turn the relationship into an ambiguous, or as the psychoanalyst would say, an ambivalent one" (1950:244).

121 In both Amatenango and Aguacatenango, this type of ambiva-
593 lence is present in the father-son relation, as we indicated in

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

The struggle for political office within the community is a response to regional and national power centers. Behavior in this struggle is alien to responses controlled in ritual or structured performances. The strategies developed in these situations fit the pattern of political homicide more typical of the Indian towns of the central plateau (Friedrich, 1964) than of the highland Chiapas area.

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

621*
178
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[682]
[171]

[P. 226-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Chapter XII

THE OCOSINGO VALLEY

The name Ocosingo is Aztec, signifying the "Place of Pines," 103
a name well chosen, for the valley is enclosed in pine-clad hills. 137
When one stands at the southwestern end of the valley it stretches 133
out in front like a huge natural stadium with the high San Martín mountain lying at the back. The northern and southern sides of the valley consist of two parallel rows of mountains, the inner rows being lower than the outer. The interior ranges slope towards the valley and turn nearly vertical cliff walls towards the very narrow valleys that separate them from the exterior mountains (fig. 196).

The interior ranges are broken up in many points, and this the 133
Maya took advantage of, selecting the highest points for pyramids. [172]

The floor of the valley is grass covered, with scattered groups of [137]
pine trees. Here and there lie ranches, mostly inhabited by Mex- [361]
icans, called Ladinos here. The Ladino is, strictly speaking, a man 829
of mixed Indian and Spanish blood, but the Indians use the term to indicate any Mexican or Spaniard who lives in a town or owns a larger ranch. With the name generally goes a certain amount of education, and the ability to read and write.

Ocosingo town now contains only about 500 inhabitants, living ooo
in whitewashed brick houses with red tiled roofs. In the center of the town is a Plaza, at one end of which lies the Palacio Municipal, and at the other end a huge Spanish Colonial church. In front of the church is the public fountain; the water and news supply of the town. All day long girls come here to fill large clay jugs with cool water, led down from the San Martín mountain through an underground canal.

Half of the Plaza is planted with trees, which surround a dilapidated music pavilion, without which no self-respecting Mexican village could exist.

The houses that face the Plaza all have colonnades where one may walk in the shade, and where families bring their rocking chairs in the evenings to sit and watch the crowds of as many as twenty-five men and women who walk around the pavilion, or to look at the horses and cows that feed on the grass growing exuberantly between the paving stones of the Plaza.

The Ocosingo Valley and many smaller valleys adjoining for- 233
merly supported large herds of cattle and had considerable trade. 4-3

[Text continues on p. 247]

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• 192

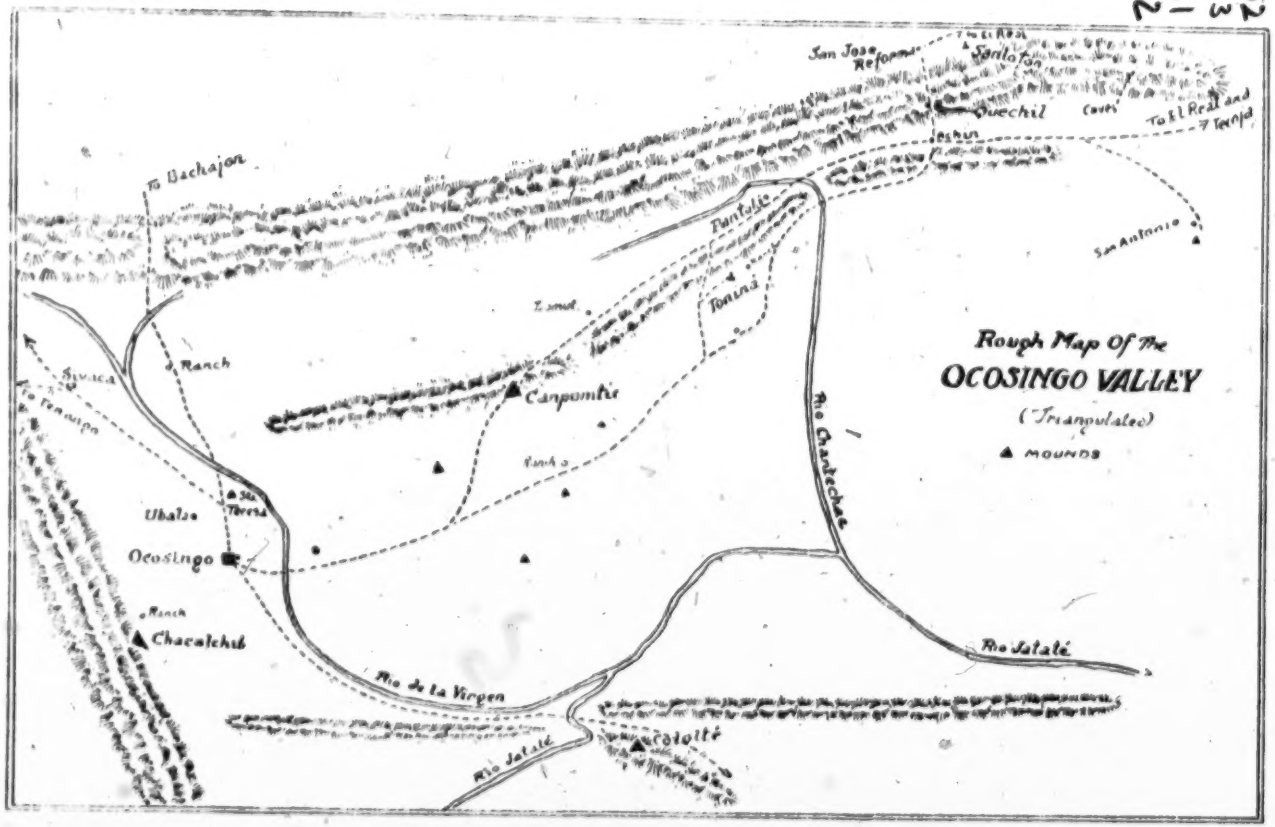

FIG. 198—Ocosingo Valley. (Triangulation). Scale 1:83,000.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Revolutions have since destroyed the herds, and the town now has only a small local trade in sugar and rum. 233

All goods are transported on mule-back over bad trails. Main trails run to Yajalon, San Cristóbal las Casas, and Comitan. Minor trails connect with Tenosique in Tabasco, a ride of five or six days through uninhabited forests. Other small trails lead into the heart of the forests along the Usumacinta river, where there are a few mahogany camps, fourteen days distance on a good mule. 492 491 [313]

The Spanish Conquerors had quickly discovered the richness of the soil and taken possession of it. Therefore, we find but a few Indians around Ocosingo, save at the small town of Sivacá, entirely inhabited by Tzeltal-speaking Indians. From there we secured our labourers, who were summoned by the municipal president and worked for us at the regulation pay of 50 centavos per day. Ocosingo holds sway over the native towns of Sivacá, Tenango, Oschuc, San Martín, and Bachajon. The municipality commands the Indians for all kinds of work, and in many ways lives on what can be pressed from them. As a consequence, the good people of Ocosingo are anything but popular among the Indians, though it appears that the man then in charge, Señor Simon Leon, was quite friendly towards them, and therefore well liked. 175 134 563 [114] 661 829

Geologically, the Ocosingo Valley is a syncline, the valley bottom and the interior mountain ranges being of a coarse red sandstone, and the exterior ranges of limestone. The axis of the valley runs approximately N-80-W to S-80-E, and Ocosingo town is located at an altitude of 900 meters above sea level. 133 [135]

As we rode into the village, La Farge discovered a stone block, carved with hieroglyphs, set in the pavement of the sidewalk, an excellent reception for archaeologists. 172

Our first concern was to find quarters, which we located in a house on the corner of a street leading into the Plaza. Soon our equipment was unloaded, and while we unpacked, the Ladino guide we had acquired in Bachajon went to his house to order food for us. 114 [122]

The restaurant and meal were a surprise, though not pleasant. In a room with a rotten board floor, the plaster falling off the walls, and a huge box full of saints, we were served fried eggs and black beans by an old woman with a large goitre. Though nothing in the house appeared to be either particularly exclusive or clean, the Ladino family seemed to resent that we sat down at the table with our chief guide, the trusty old Indian, Lázaro, now called "Tata" by us.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

114 [192] [554]

"Tata" means something like father, and the Indians use the word as a remark of respect to old men. Our old Lázaro had by now become a part of our outfit, always working, looking after the welfare of our animals and ourselves. We had come to regard him as a friend, and the name "Tata" grew out of nowhere, as the natural thing to call him.

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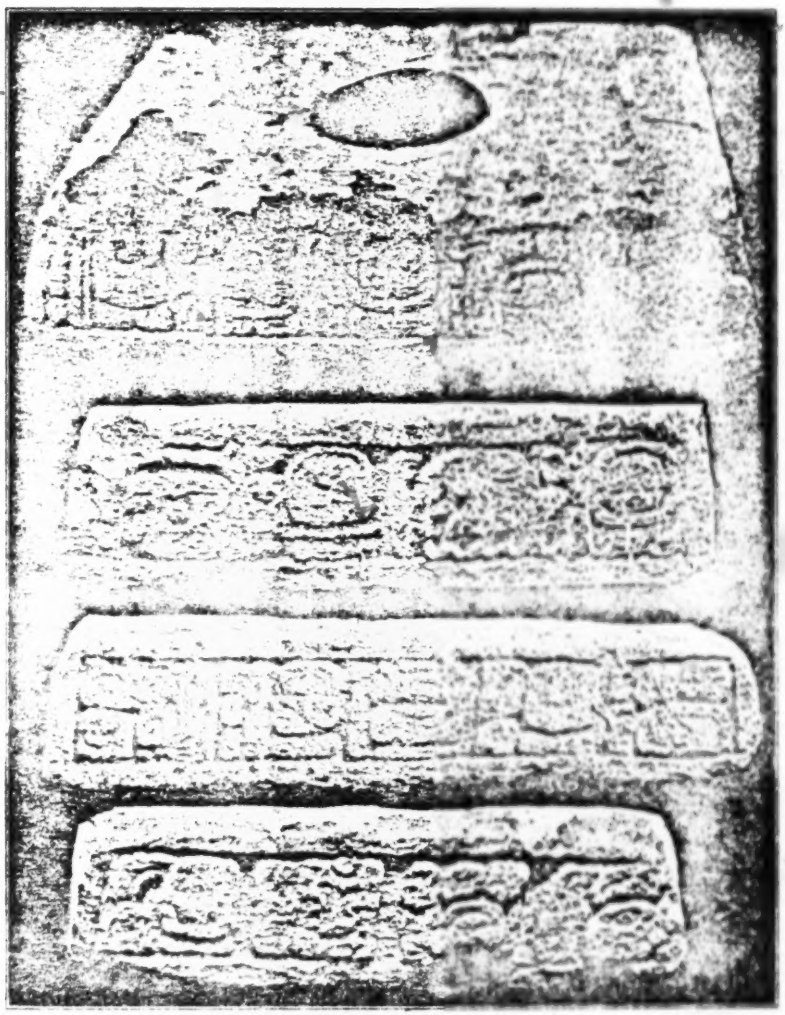

FIG. 197.—Toniná, Chis. Monument T-7.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The Municipal President was visited, and as soon as he saw our credentials, arranged for labourers to be furnished from Sivacá, and sent to the ruins of Toniná nearby, to clear the bush for our work. Then we drew the stone discovered by La Farge (see figs. 214-215).

During the evening we talked with many of the inhabitants, and were told of several more carved stones to be found in other parts

FIG. 198—Toniná, Chis. Drawing of Monument T-7.

of town. Previous Municipal Presidents had paved the streets with cut stones from the Toniná ruins. As a matter fact, it appears, that from the very founding of the Spanish town of Ocosingo, the inhabitants have occupied themselves mainly with hauling rocks from the ruins to the village.

Our search for carved monuments led us into strange places, and amusing situations. In the corner of a house belonging to the Ger-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

172 114 man, Dr. Schmeling, was a stone with rows of hieroglyphs somewhat similar to the one first discovered. Behind the church, in a combination back yard and pig sty, we located three large stone figures, two of them with inscriptions. Then we heard of a stone said to be partly buried in the ground on an old site. When we arrived at this place, the owner of the lot appeared, very drunk, and insisted that we pay him $25.00 for permission to see and draw the stone. He was very noisy so we retired, and the next morning returned with an order from the municipal president giving us authority to do what we wanted to with the stone, as it was government property (see figs. 197-198). The laws of Mexico state that all ancient buildings and monuments belong to the nation. Monuments cannot be excavated or removed from the country without government permission. The Tulane Expedition had permits to explore, and due to these permits we received much help from all officials. All objects we discovered were drawn to scale and photographed, but nothing was removed.

[122] → [126] →

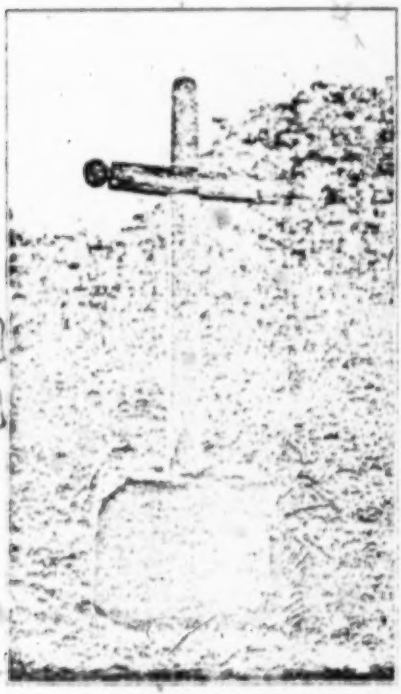

FIG. 198—Ubala Ranch, Chis. Upper half of Monument T-8 with modern cross.

Outside the village there was said to be a large stone with carvings. La Farge went out in search of it led by our somewhat imbecile local guide. For some time they wandered around without finding anything, but finally the guide led him to what he said was another stone, a large square block with a circular hole in the center, in which was stuck a huge wooden cross (fig. 199). The stone had been dragged to its present position by our guide's family, and used as a base for the cross of his grandmother's grave. His family did not wish us to find the monument, as they feared we would excavate it; but our imbecile thought he had to produce something for his pay, so he took La Farge to the stone.

[126] La Farge made a sketch of the principal inscription, which showed that it began with one of the so-called Initial Series, most

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

important in Maya Chronology. The writer went to draw the monument, but could not finish it the same afternoon as it began to get dark. The following morning the work was continued and we found that a part of the monument was missing. While working, the owner of the land arrived and told us that there was another stone nearby. This turned out to be the missing fragment, and when the two parts were placed together they carried the Initial Series date 9-12-10-0-0 9 Ahau 13 Zotz, or 422 A. D., after our reckoning. 172 [126]

This was an important discovery, and we persuaded the owner of the Ubala ranch, where we found the monument, to bring the two stones together. His intention was to use the lower part of the monument, which had a large hole in its centre, as a rim to a water tank.

We found a total of nine carved stones of different sizes in and around Ocosingo. All were of the typical yellow sandstone common to Toniná monuments, and there is little doubt but that they all come from these ruins.

Our stay in Ocosingo was very delightful. The children of the village eagerly hunted monuments for us, and our arrival made a boom in the local market. Usually the inhabitants spend their time passing a few pennies from one to the other. One day A makes bread and sells it to B, and the next day B sells bread to A. Now we added a few cents to the city capital. 123

On the day of Corpus Christi the women, with their heads wrapped in black shawls, went to church many times; the men did less work than usual; and the children played baseball on the Plaza. A quaint phraseology, a mixture of American baseball words and Spanish swearing, cheered the play.

While drawing one of the monuments behind the church, we heard an organ playing inside. Suddenly the music swung into some cheerful opera tune, later to return to serious religious music. We had the feeling that whoever was playing suddenly felt gay and happy and decided that the good people of Ocosingo did not know what the music was anyway, but thought anything coming from a church organ was religious, so why not be happy for a short moment?

Indians went back and forth over the Plaza, often filling the door of our room to watch the strangers. Ladinos would come to pay their respects and offer help, and both the Padre and the school teacher often came in for a chat. There was an extraordinary feeling of peace in the little town, a silence which became more notice-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

123 able when broken by the clattering of horses hoofs against the paving stones.

172 From the Plaza one can see a great part of the valley and sur-
114 rounding mountains. When the sun in the morning falls on the San Martín mountain, one's attention is attracted by a spur on this mountain which strongly resembles a pyramid. We asked about this and were told that it actually was an ancient mound. Therefore, one morning, we rode to the foot of the San Martín.

Reaching a small ranch, we left our horses behind and ascended on foot. A spur of the mountain had in ancient times been levelled and shaped to the form of an immense truncated pyramid, rising in terraces.

778 We had heard that there were caves in the mountainside, and
114 that every year, on the 3rd of May, the Indians come here to worship the god of the mountain. Soon we reached a small cave, or rock shelter, and upon entering saw that a tunnel led into the dark. This we followed, with lighted candles, into a small cave, and there on the floor we found signs of a small altar.*

We took great pains not to disturb anything on the altar, returning to the mouth of the cave, and emerged into the glaring sunlight. We then climbed to the top of the pyramid, and found a large level area in the center of which stood a small mound. On top of the mound Indians had erected a wooden cross and at its foot we found bunches of pine needles, also remnants of burnt copal incense. Evidently this also was a place of Indian worship.

114 Sitting on top of the mound we had the whole Ocosingo valley
133 at our feet. The red roofs of the town lay 500 meters below us.
172 The top of the pyramid, called Chacalchib, is 1,440 meters above
361 sea level. Far away we could see two other hilltops that likewise had been turned into pyramids. On the northern edge of the valley lay Campomtik, and further away on the same side we could distinguish the ruins of Toniná. On the southern side of the valley was the mountain-pyramid called Cololté. All these places were later visited.

133 The valley floor spread out before us. Here and there lay small
137 ranches, and patches of pine forest. Several groups of mounds were
361 easily distinguished, as those of Santa Teresa just outside Ocosingo
172 on the trail to Bachajon. At the head of the valley lay Sivacá, the Indian village.

172 On the level top of the pyramid were rows of stones, indicating
114 old house foundations, but though we made a careful search, we found no monuments.

*For Description, see Chapter XV.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Slowly we descended towards the valley, enjoying the magnificent view. The country we were to work in for the following weeks lay before us like a map. About half-way down we encountered another cave, in which we also found an Indian altar. This time the offerings were placed before a small cross, crudely made of wood.

La Farge, as usual, was busy collecting data on the Indians' life and customs, and while he paid a visit to the village Sivacá, the writer set out to explore the Cololté pyramid, sometimes called Hocuchupac, which was said to have a stone idol on it. We also heard that the good inhabitants of Ocosingo were afraid to go to the mountain top, not knowing what the Indians might do.

Fig. 200—Cololté, Chis. Altar on top of the Cololté Pyramid.

Our local guide was eventually persuaded to take me to the ranch of a Ladino boy, by name Cenón, on whose property the pyramid was located.

From Ocosingo we rode along the Rio Grande de la Virgen until it joined the Jatate River, which we crossed and soon came to the ranch of Cenón, who was in the field, but came out when we called. Though the pyramid, as stated, was on his property, he was not eager to take me to it, and when he finally agreed, he first armed himself with an old 30-30 Winchester.

Following long, narrow, pine ridges we approached the pyramid. It was beautiful country with scattered pine and grass below.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

133 Finally we reached the foot of a steep hill, on top of which the idol
77 8 was supposed to be. This hill sloped gradually towards the north
172 and the valley. Its southern side was a vertical cliff wall. It was difficult to climb to the top as the ground was slippery underfoot from its carpet of pine needles, but it was well worth the trouble. We reached the top, and there before us stood a small altar, built of rough stones (fig. 200). On the centre of the altar stood the idol, a small figure, 64 cm. high, carved out of yellow sandstone, and of the same type as those idols we had already seen, and knew to come from Toniná. The idol was badly weathered—only its sandaled feet were distinguishable. It was without a head, and had no carved hieroglyphs. Before it stood crude clay bowls in which were the charred remains of copal incense; rows of crude candlesticks were planted between the stones; and offerings of coloured strips of paper and small bunches of pine needles lay scattered around.

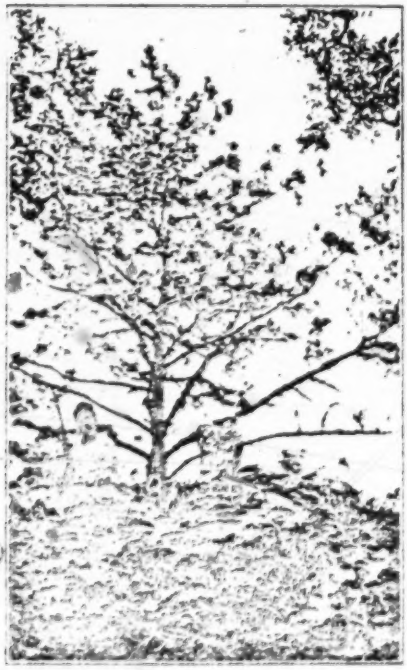

Fig. 200—Cololté, Chis. Altar on top of the Cololté Pyramid.

Four hundred years of Spanish rule, four hundred of Catholic missionizing, had not been able to stamp out the worship of the ancient gods in the ancient way. Here I stood, the first white man to behold this altar, a white man with a deep interest in the ancient history of this country. I could not help feeling that the ancient gods were still living, and that I was nearer to the ancient times at that moment than I had ever
172 been before. As I turned and saw just across the valley the mighty pyramids of Campomtik, and Toniná, the powerful city that once ruled over the valley, I realized that before me lay buried the ruins of a small State within the huge Maya area—a State born of Maya culture, using Maya hieroglyphs, speaking a Maya dialect, but at the same time expressing itself through its art in a way distinct from any other part of the Maya area.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

We have divided Maya history in two groups, the Old Empire and the New Empire. Of the history of the New Empire we know a considerable amount, but our knowledge of the Old Empire history is scant. We know the area in which it flourished as a whole, like knowing Greece without being aware of Sparta, Athens, and Corinth. Here in front of me lay one of the first hints of the subdivisions of the Old Empire. Knowledge will advance, and soon we shall be able to tell about the rise and decline of states and cities, to revive the history of the foremost people of ancient America.

Nearly due north across the valley lies the Campomtik pyramid. La Farge visited it while we worked at Toniná. It, too, is a remodeled mountain top, and as it is covered with grass, it stands out sharply against the forest-clad hills. It consists of a series of terraces with a depression which has stone-faced terraces and floor. From the valley bottom the hill rises 280 meters, of which 105 meters (325 feet) have been terraced. Broken pottery is found in various places on the hillside, and on the top now stands two wooden crosses, set there by the Indians. The name Campomtik means "much yellow incense." Incense was burned on the hilltop until quite recently. At such times they burned great fires, and shot off many rockets bought in Ocosingo. Finally the celebrations got too fervent for the Catholic Father, and he had the Indians driven away by the town officials. Generally, though, the Padres let the Indians alone when they celebrate in honour of the ancient gods (fig. 201).

Outside Ocosingo, where the trail divides, one going to Bachajon, the other to Sivacá, lies a group of mounds called Santa Teresa. Rumors that Indains had buried church treasures here after an uprising, led the townspeople to make a large excavation. According to some people in Ocosingo, they found a small wooden sanctuary, and a beautiful clay bowl with a fish on its lid. This bowl later was bought by Seler.*

It is remarkable how persistent are rumors of buried treasures. Every Ladino expects to find "dinero," money, in any mound, and they are usually sadly disappointed. Also, most of these people believe that we find money, else why should we dedicate so much time to our explorations? We had a case where one man offered to go fifty-fifty with us if we would explore a mound on his lands. The whole mound at Santa Teresa has been dug through, and it is told in Ocosingo that the excavators found, not money, but a small wooden sanctuary with a saint inside. We hear every day, when among the Ladinos and Mexicans, stories of church bells of solid gold, and cocks that crow at midnight on top of the mounds.

*Seler, E., 1901. Fig. 279.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

172 114 At last we had drawn all the carved stones in Ocosingo, so, preceded by a gang of Tzeltal-speaking Indians from Sivacá, we rode out to the ruins of Toniná. The road led through the centre of the valley, crossing the Rio Grande de la Virgen over a bridge which had recently been reconstructed after the rebels of the last revolution [137] had destroyed it. We were riding through rolling grass-covered country with clusters of pine trees and small groups of mounds scattered here and there. The Campomtik pyramid stood out sharply against the surrounding dark pine forest. We turned off from the main trail to the north and soon came in sight of the ruins, which Stephens, eighty-five years before, had come over the same trail to visit. Several explorers had been before him, but none had

172

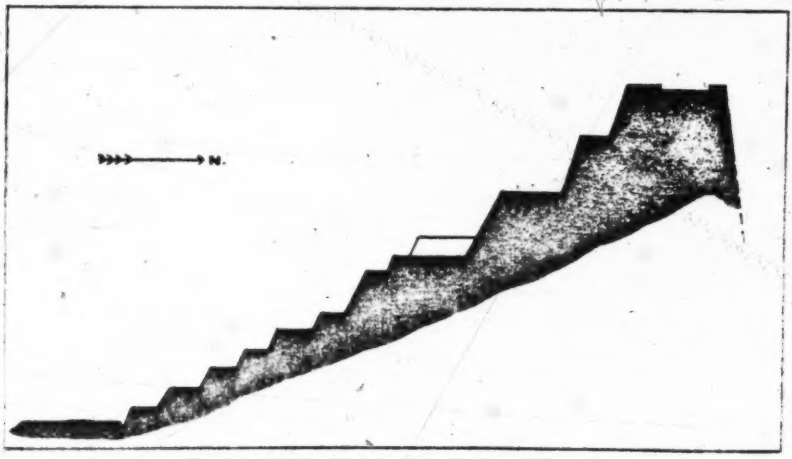

FIG. 201—Campomtik, Chis. Cross Section of Pyramid.

172 114 given such a vivid description of the ruined city we were now to explore.

Following the northern mountain range, we came to the Plaza at the foot of the ruins, and rode up to the first terrace as Stephens had done. There we tied our horses and proceeded on foot. Don Aureo Cruz, owner of the land on which the ruins lie, guided us through a part of the ruins that had never been recorded. We reached the Temple of the Wooden Lintel, saw the "winged globe" drawn by Catherwood, then entered the sanctuary. Before us was the wooden lintel which has been lying over the door for nearly 1500 years, and which made Stephens marvel. Then and there we drank a small tumbler of the local cane wine in memory of John Lloyd Stephens and F. Catherwood, among the first to break the trails we

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

are now following in our search for the history of the ancient Maya.

After crossing a small stream, we rode up to the ranch of Don Aureo Cruz. The ranch consisted of a two-room, palm-thatched house with adobe walls, and a dilapidated hut which served as kitchen, across a small courtyard. We had spent our days and nights in so many strange places that we hardly noticed this, and the more time we spent with Don Aureo and his family, the better we liked it. One could not have found a more kind and courteous family. What they possessed was ours. Don Aureo kept watch over our workmen, and helped us in our investigations from early to late. His wife and daughters were constantly preparing special dishes and cakes for us.

While we were getting off our animals, we saw the extremely pretty eldest daughter of the house, a beauty of about 17 years with long black hair and fiery dark eyes, strewing the floor of the main room with fragrant fresh pine needles. We were ushered into this room and were at once offered fresh milk and several handfuls of small clay idols by Don Aureo. In one corner of the room was a table and benches, in the opposite corner an altar to San Antonio of Toniná. A few days before our arrival a fiesta had been celebrated in honour of this saint, and the altar was still decorated with garlands of coloured paper, and a paper band with gilt letters saying "Viva San Antonio, 1925."

Our stay at Don Aureo's house will not soon be forgotten. The evenings we shall especially remember, when we sat outside the hut and listened to Don Aureo's tales of the Indians, while his pretty daughters were busy flirting with our guides, and with us too. A pine stick fire lit up the walls of the houses and flickered over the brown faces of our hosts and our Indian labourers, who sat just back of us, chatting in their own strange language and enjoying the local cigars we had given them. Out in the dark our animals could be heard grazing, and now and then a pig or a dog would approach the fire, to be driven away with shouts and sticks.

[pp. 258-324 not processed]

000 133 tóbal. The altitude above sea level varies from 2,000 meters in the hilly per-
423 632 iphery to 1,720 meters in the valley where the town center is located. Ejido
133 lands acquired in the 1930s have extended the boundaries of the township
to lower lands at 1,500 meters altitude.

Pre-Conquest settlement patterns in the Chiapas highlands were charac-
172 361 terized by independent communities occupying the headlands around flat-
bottomed valleys (R. M. Adams 1961:341). The choice of sites seems to have
been based on defense against invading Toltec or other conquest groups
(Calnek 1962:25). The sites investigated by Adams and Culbert (R. M.
Adams 1961:347) in Amatenango belong to the late-Classic and early
post-Classic period. They were marginal to the centers of Maya civiliza-
tion in the Yucatán peninsula and Guatemala. Test excavations in the
modern town indicate that it was occupied only after colonial times.

175 361 The town of Amatenango del Valle is first mentioned in the year 1528
when it was included in tribute lists with both the Nahuatl name, Ama-
161 162 tenango, and the Tzeltal name, Tzobontaghal (Calnek n.d.). The tribute
lists of 1761 include 33 families in the *parcialidad,* or Spanish political unit
based on an indigenous settlement, of Zacatepec in Amatenango and 75
families in the parcialidad of Amatenango (Trens 1957 I:217). The first
census done in 1778 shows a total population of 576, with 374 men and 202
women. The racial breakdown is listed as 8 white, 2 negro and mestizo,
and 560 Indians (Trens 1957:221). By 1824, the population had increased
161 632 to 1,620. The present population of 3,179 represents natural growth as well
as inclusion of additional outlying settlements added in the latter part of
[423] the nineteenth century and during the 1930s with the enactment of the
land reform act. The population changes indicate steady but not great in-
creases. The capacity of the town to incorporate additional population has
probably passed its peak. The present trend is for out-migration to newly
opened ejido lands.

128 632 The subdivisions of the town, which provide the framework for admin-
istration by the national government, are included in Table 1.

361 [563] *The center.* The center of Tzoʔontahal is called the "center [or
navel] of the world." The residents of the center, with the exception of
the schoolteacher's family, are all Indian. Although the town center forms

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5]

628 People with lands in hot country recount that during droughts the In-
796 dians from the neighboring town of Chamula have held rainmaking fies-
782 tas for which they solicit contributions from other Indians.

821 *The Chamulteco came to us and said, "Let all of us who have milpas*
731 *contribute five pesos for a fiesta." He brought the candles. In the little hill there the people brought drums and flute. We ate chickens and drank liquor. For eleven hours he prayed, and in the afternoon it rained.*

628 The *kuriketik*, rural inhabitants of the colonia of San Vicente who
241 migrated to Amatenango from Chanal, have no irrigated lands and de-
789 pend directly on rainfall throughout the growing season. Indians of the center know of their practice of sticking their digging sticks into the ground with the points toward the sky "to puncture the clouds" when they have planted their milpa, but they do not imitate this practice. Control over the supply of water in the irrigated lands has apparently led to the neglect of supernatural appeals even where the canals do not supply water. Under pressure of extended drought, they will resort to spiritual intercession through Chamula or Oxchuk practitioners in whom they have some faith.

241 Acquiring the protection of the gods does not obviate the practical activ-
796 ities necessary in the cultivation of crops. Fiestas for the saints are a repay-
782 ment for services rendered in watching over the milpa. The sponsorship of
796 fiestas for the saints by the community ensures the protection for all of the crops, and general crop failure due to drought or high winds is explained as a result of mismanagement of these community-wide fiestas. The offering of candles to the spiritual owner of one's own milpa is a kind of individual insurance policy for future crops as well as a repayment for the gift of the corn harvest. The peasant notion of surplus value is implicit in this reciprocal relation: the payment, or gift, of two candles to the milpa spirit is far less than the value of the harvest. But the account is balanced by the expenditure of this surplus in communal fiestas.

Pottery Production

323
178 Making pottery has been a speciality of the town since pre-Conquest
• 172 days. The old site of the town contains sherds of pottery which is remarkably similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now.

000 animals. The domesticated animals include dogs, horses, burros,
231 cattle,[1] hogs and chickens.

311 To summarize, the villages are located in the same ecological zone. In addition to this, both villages have extended their cultivated lands into the lowlands, down to about 1,500 meters above sea level, where semi-tropical and tropical products are grown (Kaplan, 1956-57, 1958; Wagner, 1959, Part II, Section 5).

Archeology

• 172 Although the Chiapas Highlands seem to have been occupied from the late Pre Classic, Local Phase Sak (Adams, R.; 1961:342) the first evidence of occupation within the valleys belongs to the Late Classic and Early Post Classic. A few archeological sites of this period are located on the tops of small hills and ridges around the flat-bottomed areas in which today's towns are located.

Adams (1961) interprets the sites as having been independent communities, characterized architecturally by a lack of attention to ceremonial structures, conspicuous absence of sculpture, and a certain emphasis on fortifications and defensive positions, indications of some sort of warfare. Surrounding the sites there is evidence of small hamlets and of agricultural terracing, but

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[231] [1]Cattle were introduced in the area a long time ago, but
[177] were not adopted by the Indians of Amatenango and Aguacatenango
[648] until very recently. They are more and more of a problem for the milpa agriculturalist, because with the system of open range grazing, the cattle constantly invade the milpas, and are a continuous threat for the villager, plus a source of friction between Indian and Ladinos, especially cattle ranch owners.

172 the density of occupational refuse suggests to him that the populations were concentrated on the hill sites themselves.

During the Post Classic period the valleys of Amatenango and Aguacatenango were apparently unoccupied. This correlates with a shift in the total settlement pattern of the area, from small well defended valleys to large, more strategic positions such as the ones on the Plateau Summit of San Cristobal de las Casas.

Ethnohistory

175 Historical documents tend to confirm that the valleys of Amatenango and Aguacatenango were not occupied by any large nucleated settlements upon the arrival of the Spaniards. They do not appear in the first accounts of the Conquistadores. The earliest reference to Amatenango is 1586 and to Aguacatenango 1605, perhaps indicating that the former inhabitants were reducidos (concentrated in villages by the Spaniards) somewhat earlier. These first references occur in connection with grants of encomienda (i.e., they were tributaries of a Spanish lord, or Encomendero) (Simpson, L., 1929:1950).

175 361 621 648 Both communities were formed, as far as we can tell from the scanty evidence in the primary sources, by the Spaniards, in agreement with the policy of reducciones (concentration of population in villages) of the encomiendas initiated in the sixteenth century (Calnek, 1961, Appendix III). Each one of these settlements was formed of two separate pueblos, one incorporated within the other, which later appear in other documents as parcialidades.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Although the town center forms a rough rectangle on Map 1, the people think of it as being a square.[2] This conforms to the cultural ideal of a square applied in house, milpa, village, and probably world, although when anyone is asked about the last, he cautiously answers, "I have heard that it is round." The center is the unit that the people think of when they say *hteklum*, my land or my village. House lots are not sold to outsiders, particularly Ladinos, but the prohibition applies as well to other Indians living within the limits of the township.

The residents of the center identify themselves with the former residents of the two pre-Conquest sites occupying the hill of Amawitz[3] northwest of the center, and the hill of San Nicolás (called Lelem in Tzeltal) to the southeast. The following account is given of the founding of the present town in the valley:

Our ancestors lived in Amawitz. There wasn't enough water there, but there was a great deal that passed here in the valley. The ancestors came out of their cave to look at where the people should move. They told the people where they should go. The people "thought in common." They cut the trees here; then, when it was dry, they burned it with fire as they do for milpa. When it was cleared, they began to build their houses. Others saw this and came to build their houses. When they finished building their houses, everyone began to think of building a church. The first church was built in Alannantik [the low side] for San Pedro the Martyr. This was torn down because the witches used to come to get the permission of San Pedro to do witchcraft. When the new church was built, there was a division of the town into the upper and lower sections.

It is significant that the people attribute the initiative in the resettlement to the mythical ancestors, although archaeological evidence indicates that the present center was settled after the Conquest. The Conquest is not a part of their mythico-historic past. The ancestors are given credit for establishing everything.

2. The pre-Conquest term for local center was Tzamgholal (Calnek 1962:25), signifying "square head." "Head" town was possibly a ceremonial center.

3. Hermitte (1964:48) notes that in Pinola the "police" of the spiritual government are sent to outposts in Amawitz and Me?wakal in Amatenango. This suggests that it may be considered the ancestral home of other Indians of the area.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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were not affected by the congregación. The fact that there is no mention in the post-Conquest documents of the introduction of dual divisions suggests that the model was indigenous to the area.

The Indians of Tzo'ontahal state that the dividing line of the division was established in its present position when a new church, replacing the first one which was burned, was built on the present site. Judging from a date carved in a beam of the church, this must have been about the year 1746. The endogamous restriction on marriage has not led to a sense of racial distinction between the two populations. Both groups feel that they are descendants of the same ancestor figures and under their guardianship. The same Tzeltal patronyms are distributed on both sides of the division, although there is a clustering of some of them on one or another side. Table 2 shows the distribution of patronyms of 714 male and female adults; 88 percent of the patronyms are found in both divisions.[4]

The functions of the division in organizing social groupings have been eroded, but some survive. Equal representation by civil officials from the upper and lower sections, when there are two or more posts at the same rank, is still in effect. The principle of alternation of the single posts of president and *síndico,* his administrative assistant, so that one term the incumbent is chosen from Ahk'olnantik and the following term from Alannantik has not been a decisive factor since the 1930s, when Indian communities were being drawn into more active participation in national programs of change (Chapter 9).

Residential expansion within the center has been almost entirely in Ahk'olnantik because of the addition of ejido lands formerly belonging to the finca of San Nicolás on this side of town. This one-sided increase in population finally resulted, in 1965, in a breakdown of the principle of equal representation in the ceremonial posts involving high expenses, those of the four *alfereces.* Although attempts were made to find candidates in Alannantik, there were no men with sufficient funds who had not

4. Carrasco (n.d.:5) quotes a document in the *Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla, Guatemala* 16 indicating that Spanish patronyms were given to the heads of calpules and that these were to be extended to all members of the calpul. The present distribution of name groups in the dual divisions cannot support this, nor can it refute the possibility that Spanish patronyms were related to some larger kin or territorial grouping more than three hundred years ago.

174
624 and Amatenango are at present divided into two endogamous barrios, remnants of these parcialidades.

173
101 The origin myth of Aguacatenango seems to agree with the historical evidence, both indicating that the Amatenango settlement was founded somewhat earlier. According to the people of Aguacatenango their ancestors came from a place named "Bahuitz," close to the region of Oxchuc. The elders of the group chose a place about 1,000 feet lower than the present location of the town. They had to move from this place (which now is the colonia of El Puerto, where Aguacatenango owns land for cultivation) because "they were bitten by insects and disliked the climate."

They arrived at the site of their present location, and asked for permission to occupy it from the people of Amatenango, from whom they obtained the land. While they were clearing the land for their houses, some men from Amatenango arrived to ask what they were doing. "We are cutting down the trees," they answered, and thus "Keté," which means "cutting down," became their name. When they finished their work they sent some men to visit the Amatenango men and they found them gathering firewood. They asked again "What are you doing?" "Hóob'tah," "gathering" the other responded, and that became their name. Both villages today call themselves and each other by these names.

Linguistics

174
197 The legend summarized above seems to imply that the two villages were populated by people who could speak to each other in the same language. This is confirmed by linguistic evidence.

/6 cont./

551 621 614

Ajkol-culibal	Alán-culibal
19 Chik	14 Chik
13 Chejeb	18 Chejeb
22 Ijká	6 Ijká

/7/ Among the Spanish surnames we have 6 that belong exclusively to Alán- and 6 to Ajkol-culibal (not counting the case in which a native surname of the Chik clan is joined to two different Spanish surnames that are found in both culibales). The remaining 14 Spanish surnames are combined with surnames from the two culibales.

621 582 178 174 551 Today the culibal is not endogamous, but we believe it possible that it was in former times (as we have found in recent investigations of the Tzotzil group of San Pablo Chalchihuitán of this region). The present possibility of changing residence and the incorporation of native surnames originating from a culibal (or perhaps two) that have disappeared within the boundaries of the two remaining make the reconstruction of the pre-Hispanic 621 582 551 culibal impossible in this case. According to the data obtained in our census, 62.5 o/o of the marriages were concluded between persons whose native surnames originated from the same culibal. [125] [166] [613] In spite of the low percentage, nevertheless the custom of marriage between people of the same culibal predominates (we should not forget the mobility permitted in recent times, because of which residents of one culibal are persons whose lineages originate from the other), although cases of marriage between persons belonging [614] to the two different culibales also abound. It is almost always preferred to look for a wife among the women of the same place or rancheria, but at present we can say that clan exogamy is the only thing that regulates marriage.

621 622 [631] [614] [65] Each culibal has its own chiefs, elected from and by those members who have filled political-religious positions in the Chakel or Ayuntamiento /municipal government/. The clans are taken into account in this election, rigorously taking turns. The culibal chiefs assign the communal lands, organize the collective tasks for the benefit of the community, pray for the health and

/16 cont./

614 two women belonged to the same clan, and in the other two they
595 were women from two different clans. The levirate and sororate
587 exist, but do not constitute a custom practiced /17/ by many;
[174] formerly it must have been more frequent, as is proved by the fact of designating the stepfather and stepmother by the same terms used for the father's brother and mother's sister, respectively,
583 and the stepchildren as nephews and nieces. There are several
614 cases of marriage between brother and sister of one clan and sister and brother of another clan. Marriage between cross-cousins is
582 frequent, especially that of a man with the daughter of the mother's brother. Husband and wife always belong to the same generation.

591 Residence is patrilocal, with temporary matrilocal residence for a year after marriage.

593 There still prevails the custom that those who intercede in a
614 direct manner in the preparation of the cadaver and in the in-
764 humation must be members of a different clan. If a married woman who has not had children dies, she is buried with her relatives, without the intervention of her husband.

614 The members of one and the same clan co-operate among themselves and lend each other mutual aid; the younger people obey and respect their elders in the same way that a younger brother respects and obeys his older brother. And we have stressed
[626] how "sorcery" is practiced only within the limits of the clan as a
[754] means of social control.

Mexico City,
Mexico

101 Note: The materials for the present study were collected
114 during two seasons of field work: May-June, 1945, and June, 1946,
122 financed by the University of Chicago, Instituto Nacional de Antropología de México, and Government of the State of Chiapas.

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*Seler, E., 1901. Fig. 279.

9: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621 A territorial distinction not recognized by the federal government is the
361 division of the town center into two sections, or sides, by the street running in front of the church. The two sides of the division are called
[192] Ahk'olnantik, upper side, and Alannantik, lower side. The upper side is in the direction of higher lands in the southwest called Ahk'olk'inal, and the lower side is in the direction of lower lands to the northeast, called Alank'inal. The emphasis on relative altitude implicit in place nomenclature is a central fact in the Indians' ecological adjustment. Marriage is en-
[582] dogamous within each division by explicit rule, and in fact 87 percent of
[83] all marriages conform to the rule, according to a census I took in 1958. A
[125] man who marries a girl on the opposite side is forced to make a payment
[583] of eighteen liters of liquor to the bachelors of the opposite division. In addition to regulating competition for marriage partners, the dual division is the basis for allocating civil and religious offices.

174 Whether the dual division was an indigenous trait or not is a moot
621 point. The pattern for dual organizations existed in both Spanish and indigenous societies (Foster 1951:5). There is some speculation that the dual divisions are a product of the Spanish colonial policy of the congregación, when populations of different origins were drawn together. However, local historical accounts indicate that several ethnic groups were introduced at various periods. After the initial congregación, foreign Indians
175 were incorporated in the sixteenth century, in the latter part of the nine-
621 teenth century (Secretaría de Gobierno Constitucional, October 26, 1893),
563 and as late as the 1930s in response to the land reform program. As each ethnic group entered the region, it was either incorporated into one of the existing divisions or was isolated. The persistence of polarization must be
621 explained on other grounds. The widespread distribution in the Chiapas
[174] highlands of dual divisions defined by territory and descent in communities of both dispersed and nucleated settlement patterns suggests the indigenous origins of the division. A dual division of upper and lower sections based on endogamy and equal representation is found in San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:64), Chanal (Eva Hunt, NSF II report), Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1946:424), and Cancuk (Siverts 1964). The Nahuatl term *calpul* is applied in some cases to these divisions. The towns where calpulles are found are *paraje*, or vacant center, types (Tax 1937) which

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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

waters. The curer brushes the patients with branches of the cooling bushes and herbs growing near the spring, the same ones used in the fiesta of inauguration and the curing ceremonies conducted in the house. The strategy of making the house spirit happy by providing music, dancing, and drinking is repeated at the spring to make the water spirit happy. Some of the family of the patient must remain in the house as "waiters" (*maliwanehetik*) to receive the spirit if it should arrive before its owner. The maliwanehetik must drink as much liquor as the participants at the spring.

The Cave of the Ancestors. The ancestors, the *me?tiktatik*, were believed to have lived in a cave in the hills lying on the peripheries of the township. In the myth that follows, they are given a historical identity as two brothers, the Shuntonetik. Shunton is one of the Tzeltal patronyms of families still living in the town, and in fact the narrator of this version of the myth is Mariano Shunton, whom people consider a descendant of the ancestors.[6]

Formerly a priest asked for a document to be delivered to Antigua in Guatemala. Two messengers were sent with it, but they did not return. Another messenger went and did not return. Four or five more messengers were sent out and did not come back. Finally they sent a man from the cabildo with his younger brother. They left early in the morning, and the elder brother said as he left the other town officials, "If I succeed, I want a fiesta. Look for my sign of four arches [*rainbow*]*."*

The two brothers first went to a hill. There they called upon their swayohelik [*animal spirits*]. *First the animal spirit of the elder brother spoke. He said, "I am a stone." Then the animal spirit of the younger brother said, "I am a stick. Moreover, I am a snake and a maguey plant." The elder brother said, "Then we are well off. Let us go."*

6. The same identification of a lineage patronym with the most important sacred hill is found in other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities (Holland 1963, Hermitte 1964). The pattern may have originated in a period of pre-Conquest expansion when the dominant lineage was assiged a custodial leadership over the new settlement, with their spirits remaining as guardians of the community. Members of the contemporary communities who bear the same patronym do not have any privileged position. These associations of past and contemporary belief are, as Vogt (1964:216) cautions, still hypothetical.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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613 614 621 171 601 type of communitives such as Oxchuk and Cancuc depends on communal land holding and contiguity in residence of the agnatic kin. The corporate identity of these groups is breaking down with the fragmentation of land holdings and movement of men from the paraje of their fathers (Guiteras Holmes 1947, Villa Rojas 1946).

601 602 Symmetrical bilateral extension of kinship terms can be seen in Figure 3. Relative age modifies generation in terms for collaterals. In ego's generation, older brother and sister are distinguished from younger siblings. In parents' generation, siblings of father younger than father are referred to and called elder brother or sister, and those older than father are called father or mother. In grandparent's generation, siblings older than grandparent are called grandfather or grandmother, and those younger than grandparent are called father and mother. If the grandparent should die, leaving only a younger sibling, the term grandparent is used referentially and vocatively. There is no sex distinction made between siblings or collaterals younger than ego in the referential terminology. Referential terminology [193] for lineals younger than ego does not make sex distinctions, but the distinction may be made with one's own children by using the possessive form of the vocative term, such as "my little man" (*htatil*) or "my little woman" (*ḳantzil*). Women refer to their children with the term *ʔalal*. The stem *ʔal* signifies the verb to give birth. Men refer to their children as *niẽ'an*. The collective term for children of both parents combines the two terms in a possessive form, *ḳalniẽ'an*, our children.

The bilateral system of Amatenango is not in conformity with the Spanish model. Along with similar systems mentioned for Aguacatenango, Coatlan, and Palantla, it differs from the Spanish model in that collaterals in ascending generations are classified with lineal relatives, and age relative to ego modifies generational separation. [174] These systems appear to be an

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obscures that of generation. Just as in Tzoʔontahal, all members of the community address others they meet on the street with the term indicating age relationship to ego, and grandfather and grandmother terms are reserved for the very old. The authors conclude that this terminological behavior reflects the rigid age-grading found in social groups throughout the community. I would venture a generalization that requires further research to the effect that age-grading provides a pattern for appropriate behavior among members of endogamous, closely settled communities whereby conflict is reduced by channeling competition for prestigeful positions. [601] [171]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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adaptation to conditions imposed by nucleated compact settlement which may have been prehispanic.

Terminology for affinals differs according to the sex of speaker and the age and generation of referent. Men refer to brother's wife, wife's brother's

Fig. 3. Kinship Terms for Consanguineal Relatives

Generation	Collateral Male	Lineal Male	Lineal Female	Collateral Female
Older than grandparent	Mam	Mam	Me?čič	Me?čič
Younger than grandparent	Tat			Me?
+2				
Older than parent	Tat	Tat	Me?	Me?
Younger than parent	Bankil (Ši?lel)			Wiš
+1				
Older than ego	Bankil (Ši?lel)	EGO		Wiš
Younger than ego	Kihtz'in			Kihtz'in
−1				
	Kihtz'in	Nič'an (Alal)		Kihtz'in
−2				
	Kihtz'in	Mam nič'an		Kihtz'in

Terms in parentheses are female spoken terms.

601 wife, and wife's sister with the term *muʔ*. This same term is used by women to refer to sister's husband, and to husband's brother. Men refer to sister's husband, wife's brother and wife's parents' brothers as *b'al*, while women refer to brother's wife and husband's sister as *haʔwan*. The rule is that siblings-in-law of opposite sex of speaker are classified as muʔ and siblings-in-law of same sex as speaker are differentiated by sex of speaker so that men classify them as b'al and women classify them as haʔwan. Parents-in-law are referred to as *tat niʔal* and *meʔ niʔal* and called father and mother. Wives of sons and brothers' sons are referred to as *kalib'* by men.

Fig. 4. Kinship Terms for Affinal Relatives

	Collateral	Lineal		Collateral
+1		Nial Tat	Nial Meʔ	
−1	Bal	(Hmamlal) ~~Xinam~~		Muʔ
	Kihtz'in			

Underlined term is vocative.

Affinal terminology is not applied to spouses of parents' siblings; the terms for father and mother or elder sister and elder brother, depending on their age relative to ego, are extended to them (Fig. 4).

601 The term for assistant in a ceremony, *b'alniʔal*, using the combined
796 terms for ego's generation and parental generation in-laws, may indicate
794 that this group formerly served in household ceremonies. They are still
174 called upon for assistance, but nonrelated neighbors and compadres or
592 godchildren may also assist and the same term is applied to all.

571 Significant reference groups are designated by the Spanish derived terms
197 *yermanotak*, *kumparetak*, and *bersinatak*. The yermanotak is comprised
192 of siblings, their spouses, and siblings of parents; the term is derived from the Spanish *hermanos;* kumparetak, meaning the ritual co-parents, is a

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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suitable, the president and judges give permission to the curers to allow him to enter the profession at this time. The novice provides three liters of liquor which are drunk "in common" by the curers and the civil officials.

There is some evidence that, formerly, novice curers were asked to yield the soul of one of their children:

My dead husband was given permission by Julian Gomex, the leader of the curers of Ahk'olnantik, to enter the curing profession. When my husband told me he wanted to cure, he said that Julian had asked him for a child "for the ancestors to eat." My husband was going to give a child of his brother since we didn't have any, but I said it would be a pity. Then he said he would give trago. This he did. I forget how many liters.

When the contagion came, the curers went to take out the heat. A policeman called my dead husband, and he went. The policeman said the leading curer had called him. The judges told him, "It is better for you to enter in common with the other curers."

He began to cure. The curers then asked what offering we were going to give.

"We have no children," said my husband. "We will give you liquor. I cannot give my brother's child or my sister's children."

He must have brought them about ten or twelve liters of trago and two packs of cigarettes.

The third soul, swayohel, may be acquired, or one may be born with it. Those who acquire the third soul by capture of the soul of a dead person within twenty days after the death are considered to be potentially dangerous. They are more likely to use the soul for evil than those who have acquired it from the ancestors at birth. Swayoheles can be acquired from a saint named ʔAhau in the neighboring town of Oxchuk.[1] The following account illustrates how one asks this saint for a swayohel:

If you go to the saint with a black face named ʔAhau with two candles of twenty cents you can ask for a swayohel. You say, "I want one ɛ'ulel that is very strong. I have ar enemy. I need one." You sleep there, and wake

1. Lombardo Otero (1944:73) says that in Oxchuk, Mukulajau, or Chulajau, is identified with Trinidad, and is associated with the pigeon, which is the animal spirit of powerful curers.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

priest lists only one, San Francisco. Only these top four are hierarchically ordered. The big saints are supposed to be able to make miracles, but there are stories only for San Pedro and Santa Lucía. San Pedro Martyr, *Tatik Martil,* is the only saint possessing a soul. The image of San Pedro shows him with a hatchet in his head, blood dripping over his face. According to legend, San Pedro was the first patron saint of the town. The following story recounts his transformation: 776 177 776 754 539 177

Tatik Martil was of a very foreign kind of heart. He gave permission to the witches to bring sickness. Only those who knew how to make illness spoke with him. They went and asked permission to make the illness continue. People heard he was very evil, and they threw him out of church. They cut off his head, saying, "You only give evil. You do not give any miracles. You have given the old ones permission to give evil."

San Pedro received a new head in Pinola. Now he is good and is of one heart with the Virgin Santa Lucía, with Sacramento, and with San Francisco.

The logic by which San Pedro is cast as leader of the witches is implicit in judgments concerning guilt in cases of homicide. Any man who is killed is referred to as the guilty person, since protecting the village from witchcraft is the main motivation for homicide. When an early priest set up an image of San Pedro in the church, this must have inspired fear and foreboding. He was transmogrified by the people into the leader of the witches, and they burned the church to the ground. (Its foundations are still visible in Alannantik.) Whether the priest at that time (around 1746) convinced the people that, with a new head purchased in Pinola, San Pedro was transformed, or whether the people invented the story, we do not know. Despite his reformation, San Pedro still inspires fear. He is identified with the Lord of Lightning, Tatik Čaʾuk. The following is a typical account of his power: 776 754 177 174 [674] 776 821 539 177

This power comes from his possession of an animal spirit. Whenever the lightning strikes, people know that some sin has been committed. The old people say that he asked a son-in-law to put down a lightning flash. The son-in-law couldn't do it—I don't know why he couldn't do his work—

776 The belief in power derived
• 174 from animal spirits was probably influenced by the Toltec belief in nahualism, or transformation of people after death into animals (Calnek 1962:22). The Toltec belief originated in the period of Mexican influence but had many local indigenous manifestations (Foster 1944). The integra-
793 tion of the two systems of power was brought about by calendar priests
787 controlling the distribution of animal spirits (Calnek 1962:19). The degree
754 of retention of calendrical knowledge and of belief in witchcraft gives us
177 one of the best indices of acculturation in the area.[2] In Tzoʔontahal there
178 is no remnant of calendar divination for ceremonial or predictive use.
776 However, witchcraft based on belief in animal spirits continues to be an important factor in the contest for power. The technique of secrecy, of pre-
[621] senting a united front in the face of attempts by the outside Ladinos to
[609] tamper with the local social control system, persists to this day in the town.

621 An endemic problem in communities dominated by belief in witchcraft
626 is control over the evil power of witches. The traditional control system in
754 Tzoʔontahal operated through the guardianship of three sets of power-
769 holders who checked up on each other: the ancestors, the curers, and the
756 judges. The guardianship of the ancestors consisted in preventing any
177 child possessed of a swayohel from the devil from growing up to abuse his
178 power and in keeping any evil spirits from entering the town. The curers,

[754] the Indians, whether out of cowardice or deceit, withdraw their accusation or claims,
[171] so that it is impossible to convict the evildoers for punishment; and for lack of sufficient proof they cannot be punished, or if there is enough basis to put them in prison, they sometimes disappear and flee to another jurisdiction and hide, denying their place of origin or changing their name.

2. In Oxchuk, calendar experts with the ability to divine the future still set the days for carrying out Catholic fiestas according to the twenty-day Maya ceremonial cycle. Each of the spirits symbolizing the twenty days wielded the power of good or evil. This provided the basis for predicting. When Villa Rojas studied the town in the 1940s, elders of patrilineal lineages controlled the behavior of members by causing sickness brought by their *lab*, or animal spirit (Villa Rojas 1947). In San Pedro Chenalhó, the principales exercise power through their *wayhel*, or animal spirit (Guiteras Holmes 1961). Nahuales of leaders of the patrilineages and principales are feared and respected in Larraínzar, although there is a growing discontent with their oppressive control (Holland 1963). Men believed to have thirteen nahuales figure as guardians and avengers for individuals in Pinola society, although the Indians of this community no longer have a hierarchy of civil offices through which their prestige can be publicly validated (Hermitte 1964).

175 361 621 648 Thus, the village of Aguacatenango was created by joining the parcialidades of Aguacatenango and Quesaltepec, while Amatenango was composed of the parcialidades of Amatenango and Sacatepec. It is not possible at present to identify more closely the social groups that the Spaniards called parcialidades.

[797] It is probable that each parcialidad was composed of several lineages and clans, but up to the present time no one has done a comparative study of name distributions on available censuses or other similar materials, nor has any record been found, which explains the procedures used by the Dominican Friars (who controlled the reducciones in the area) when they reorganized 175 the populations of the territory.[1] In central Mexico the term 171 621 parcialidad refers, in the primary sources, to the four divisions of Tenochtitlan, the Aztec Capital, but they also refer to the 175 barrios or calpuls (Caso, A., 1959). In Chiapas it is normally 621 648 used to mean the sub-divisions of pueblos reducidos. It is known, however, that the parcialidades were originally separate groups of people which were independent social units. Even after the reducciones they kept important elements of their organization separate, including their political officers, who were responsible for complying with demands made by the Spaniards for tribute and labor. Some of the separate political functions have been re- 174 621 tained up to the present. It is also safe to assume that each one of the parcialidades was an endogamous group; both Aguacatenango

[1]The new documents are still unavailable. They have been reported by Edward Calnek in the National Archives in Guatemala, and by Dr. Vicenta Cortez in the Madrid Archives, Spain.

174 621 and Amatenango are at present divided into two endogamous barrios, remnants of these parcialidades.

173 101 The origin myth of Aguacatenango seems to agree with the historical evidence, both indicating that the Amatenango settlement was founded somewhat earlier. According to the people of Aguacatenango their ancestors came from a place named "Bahuitz," close to the region of Oxchuc. The elders of the group chose a place about 1,000 feet lower than the present location of the town. They had to move from this place (which now is the colonia of El Puerto, where Aguacatenango owns land for cultivation) because "they were bitten by insects and disliked the climate."

They arrived at the site of their present location, and asked for permission to occupy it from the people of Amatenango, from whom they obtained the land. While they were clearing the land for their houses, some men from Amatenango arrived to ask what they were doing. "We are cutting down the trees," they answered, and thus "Keté," which means "cutting down," became their name. When they finished their work they sent some men to visit the Amatenango men and they found them gathering firewood. They asked again "What are you doing?" "Hcob'tah," "gathering" the other responded, and that became their name. Both villages today call themselves and each other by these names.

Linguistics

174 197 The legend summarized above seems to imply that the two villages were populated by people who could speak to each other in the same language. This is confirmed by linguistic evidence.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

The Social Setting of the Villages

Introduction

621
121 The villages of Aguacatenango and Amatenango can best be described as corporate peasant communities, following Eric Wolf (1955: 452-71).

First of all, the villages are small, independent social systems, with clearly defined geographic and social boundaries, "in relation to both outsiders and insiders" (Wolf, 1955:456).

The Land

621
423 In the spatial dimension, the main characteristic of the villages is that they lay claim to a territory, a land base over which they hold exclusive rights of usufruct, and which has clearly demarked geographical dimensions. The rights over this territory are communal rights, every villager being a co-owner of the community territory, in the sense that membership in the village gives to a man the rights of usufruct of land within the village boundaries.

175
179 We do not know what the characteristic features of the
423 pre-hispanic land tenure system of the Tzeltal-Tzotzils were. At
[174] the beginning of the Spanish occupation of the area, the Indians were relocated in villages and assigned to a particular encomendero and encomienda. (The encomienda was an institution by which a Spanish lord was assigned a number of villagers from whom he had the right to collect services and tribute.) At the same time, the villages were allotted land of two kinds: municipal, administered by the town officials and used to pay taxes and tribute to

591 only 49 per cent of the women do so (see Table 14). This indi-
593 cates that patrilocal, patrilineal emphasis is stronger, and the
361 difference needs to be explained.

•174 It is very possible that the community of Amatenango had,
591 in the near past, patrilocal residence norms, as does Aguacatenango and most communities in the Chiapas Highlands. The patrilocal norms would have been in agreement with the presence of agnatic descent lines of which the only remnant, today, in Amatenango, is the agnatic inheritance of Indian names attached to the Spanish surname of the villagers. If this were so, we could explain the persistence of a patrilocal emphasis in these terms. This is a dangerous enterprise because to accept this explanation is to dismiss the importance of the case by arbitrarily attributing the phenomenon to an historical survival, an intellectual misdemeanor which modern anthropology has seriously questioned. But we do
591 not need to utilize this explanation. In the first place, although
428 inheritance is bilateral, the inheritance of the house site shows
423 that patrilineal house sponsorship still is stronger than matrilineal.

> In the inheritance of the house site, women received the land in 30 per cent of the cases, men in 34 per cent. Patrilineal inheritance was more frequent in the parental generation. If we take the figures indicating which parent gave the land to the child, mothers passed on the land in 15 per cent of cases known, and fathers passed on the land in 26 per cent of the known 68 cases. (Nash, J., 1960:51).

If the place of residence is inherited from the male line more often than from the female, it is to be expected that viri-patrilocal proximity would be stronger. This offers a reasonable explanation for the higher incidence of patrilocal proximity. The

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 157]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VII

CORPORATE GROUPS WITHIN THE VILLAGE

Historical Perspective

174 611 591 601 583 423 428 It is probable that the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango had, at some time in their past, a patrilineal organization based on agnatic descent, patri-virilocality, a kinship terminology of the Normal Omaha type, and other associated features such as bride-price, groom service, patrilineal control of the rights to land usufruct, and patrilineal inheritance.

174 613 614 621 626 Each agnatic descent group formed segments of a corporate lineage, and several segments formed a sib. Lineages were localized, and they had important social functions. The heads of linear segments formed the local government and had the responsibility of controlling conflict and sanctioning individual behavior through the supernatural. They were believed to "own" powerful animal counterparts of their souls, which patrolled the village during sleep, and punished the misdemeanors of those men belonging to their line of descent. It is also probable that the lineage was [582] an exogamous unit, and there is some scanty evidence which points to the practice of cross-cousin marriage.

127 The evidence to support this hypothetical statement is of two types. On the one hand, there is some historical documentation in published, as well as manuscript, form. On the other hand,

121 population, such as an endogamous village, ought to be bilateral societies. This is obviously not so. Even if we assume that our statement is a reductio ad absurdum of Nash's point, there is evidence in the immediate vicinity of Amatenango that other villages, equally concentrated in population, with the same physical setting, are not bilateral. J. Nash (1960) compared Amatenango and Aguacatenango in a few paragraphs, and she felt that the evidence supported her theory. However, the data available to her was very unreliable. She quoted a preliminary report of Metzger written before the residence analysis of the community was carried to completion, which contained only impressionistic observations, and gave the impression that residence was neolocal and that agnatically related households were widely spread within the community, which we have shown in chapter vi not to be true.

114 361 602 592 591

602 613 592 551 621

Moreover, Aguacatenango not only has patri-virilocality, but corporate patrilines. The name-groups in Aguacatenango form localized agnatic descent groups (which we above called the localized clusters of agnatically linked households). The people belonging to a name-group are recognized as relatives or, in Tzeltal, "those who are my family on my father's side." Those individuals have one last name (Indian surname) in common with Ego. Within the Spanish surname, some people are considered in the descent group and some are considered aparte (separate), but a man of the Spanish name Perez, would say that all those Perezetik who are not aparte belong to his family, and any Perez is "closer" to another Perez than to a man of another Spanish name. The reason for the segmentation of the Spanish name-group is lost in the past. When the lineage system was composed of

174 613 551

174 segments of different breadth of inclusion, it is possible that
613 the Indian last name was a smaller lineage segment than the
551 Spanish last name, or, as it occurs in other Chiapas villages, that the Indian name was the lineage name and the Spanish name the clan name, but that clans have disappeared in Aguacatenango. The result is that there are more Indian than Spanish names, and sometimes a Spanish name, such as Hernandez, has within it the patrilines Waval, Obispo and Chalté, while Perez has the patrilines Ich, Tuluk and Chauk.

613 At the present time, the patriline is very shallow. Connections are lost frequently after the second ascending generation and the localized agnatic line includes only three, or at best four, adjacent generations, when the linking relative in the higher generation is still alive or recently deceased and still remembered.

613 The Indian name, which indicates the patriline, is not
551 known by many people in the younger generation, and older people are reluctant to mention the subject. With the influence of the
[829] Mexican system of naming (which includes both the Spanish last name of the father and the mother), the older villagers are becoming aware that westerners do not have the same descent name system, and are embarrassed to discuss this subject with non-villagers, although in Tzeltal conversations among themselves they identify people through them.

126 We did collect some patriline names (which are Tzeltal
613 words for animals and natural phenomena), but unfortunately the
551 limited field-work season did not allow for more detailed
602

613 551 602 investigation, so that we could not pin down all patriline names to the respective genealogies.

174 613 551 582 We do have evidence, however, that the patriline is (or was) exogamous. In the first place, the villagers are very insistent that "people of the same name should not marry," and at the present time, this rule seems to be influencing the choice of marriage partners even in the Spanish name group; on the other hand, we have one case which explicitly indicates so: one of the village women, Ceveriana, reported that when her present husband asked her to marry, she was very worried that her marriage was going to be "sinful" because both she and her future husband had the same Spanish last names: Hernandez. Not knowing what to do, they consulted a village elder, who asked them for their Indian last names. When he found out that their Indian surnames were different (Wayal and Chalté), he reassured them that it was permitted for them to marry "because they did not have the same Indian name." (See genealogy, Fig. 14.)

613 551 582 Patriline exogamy, however, does not seem to be associated with preferential marriage. In other villages in the highlands of Chiapas, the informants state that it is preferred to marry a woman of one's mother's name group. In Aguacatenango, however, out of 161 marriages in which all the relevant names were known, only twenty-three men had married women of their mother's name group. Even in the case in which preferential marriages would be the ideal choice (and they never have been stated as such), the practice does not follow it.

121 manipulations for political purposes; and (3) their restricted
613 functions.

174 Why is the patriline this weak? There are reasons of
613 an historical nature, as well as functional reasons. First, with the centralization of political power created by the Spanish colony, in which each household head, independently of lineage affiliation, became a tributario (tax payer) and had rights of participation in the political structure, the political functions or the lineage
613 became debilitated. At the present time, it is only through the
624 principales that the patriline as a unit has political representation. The principles are usually the elders of the largest patrilines in the community. To make decisions, they have to have the backing of the men they represent. Belonging to a larger line indicates that a man is capable of controlling a larger number of household heads and, therefore, has stronger political support. That being the head of a large patriline gives a man authority in village affairs is shown not only by the fact that principales are thus supported, but also by the fact that patriline elders, even if they are not officially principales, on occasions can act as such, and they are sought after for advice in making Ayuntamiento decisions, by their own people and by other villagers.

174 Second, with the relocation of the lineages at the time
423 that the village was reducido, and the control of the lands by the
613 Encomienda and the Spanish crown and later by the fincas, some of the lineage control over its lands was lost. It is possible, however, that before the agrarian reform, when the village lands were scarcer, the land holding rights of the patriline were more precisely stated.

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

621 other municipalities (Aguacatenango, Can-
632 cuc, Tenango, San Martin, Sivaca, Guaquitepec, and Bachajon). Petalcingo belongs to the municipality of Tila, where Chol is spoken. The reason for these heterogeneous municipalities is that, within the political constitution of the state, only communities containing a sufficient number of inhabitants may achieve the status of municipality; the rest are considered merely as agencies of the municipality to which they have been assigned.

18 Another cultural variation stems from its
177 ecological location. Communities of the
191 southern zone, which have good lands,
361 roads, mechanized transportation, and therefore greater contacts with the outside world, occupy a more advanced place in the process of acculturation, which is revealed by the scant number of monolingual Indian residents and by their better economic condition. Communities of the central zone, of irregular landscape and high demographic pressure, isolated, and without economic opportunities, are the poorest, most conservative, and most untrusting of the entire region. The northern zone has a high index of Indianness because of the number of those who do not know Spanish, but their economic condition is better than that of the central zone, because there is more opportunity to cultivate coffee and work on the plantations.

Historical Antecedents

175 I shall mention only the periods of greatest
177 social significance in the past four centuries.
648 The dates are approximate.

The period of the conquest, from 1524 to 1545, saw the most violent encounters and occasional skirmishes between Indians and Spaniards. The fortress of Chamula was taken by Captain Luis Marín in 1524, and four years later Ciudad Real (now San Cristobal de las Casas), destined to be the politico-religious center of the region, was founded.

The period of catechization and consoli-

[P. 197-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4.5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

175 177 648 [166] *dation of the Spanish dominance* lasted from 1545 (when Fray Bartolomé de las Casas arrived with 17 Dominican friars) until 1600. During this period a vast movement of population took place characterized by changes in location of some towns, reductions, and congregations.

During the entire 17th and early 18th centuries, the *period of slavery and royal land grants*, Indians were subjected to heavy tributes and to forced labor on the plantations and in transporation systems of the encomenderos, as *tememes* or carriers. Great caravans of 300–400 Indians at the command of 10 or 12 Spaniards, transported goods the 1000 km. from San Cristobal de las Casas to Veracruz. Many died from excessive loads and lack of food (B. Metzger, 1960, p. 19).

175 177 648 797 From about 1720 to about 1850 may be considered the *period of resurgence and autonomy of the Indian community*, when the system of royal land grants was suppressed, the Order of Dominicans was weakened, and Spanish authority became relaxed and even indifferent. Bishop Polanco sent a report in 1781 to the Royal Court of Justice of Guatemala, complaining of the abandonment of the Indians (Trens, 1942, p. 200).

> It is wondrous that in the town of Chamula, contiguous to Ciudad Real, Indians have need of interpreter to defend themselves or to beg for what they desire. So that they are as they were twenty years after their conquest, in such a state of blindness and ignorance they find themselves. In the town of San Andres, next to Chamula, there are many saints, old and indecent, whom I thought of burying: I did not do it because those evil souls say that they make them see clearly and alleviate their needs. I suspected a riot without having assistance. . . . Oh, my Lord, their audacity and shamelessness are such that they even come to command in the church, without respect for the priest. They hold to the idea that the third person of the Holy Trinity is the Sun, because, they say, it was thus taught to them by the old fathers.

[P. 198-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

175 177 648 797 The mistakes, lack of attention and pretensions of the Indians in regard to the Christian doctrine, who they say they know, and the ones instructed best in them, say as many heretic words as Christian, is consequence or necessary sequel of the lack of care in the secular and ecclesiastical government.

This situation became more and more acute owing largely to the political unrest which absorbed the attention of the authorities, unrest which culminated in the separation of Chiapas from Guatemala and in 1824 its incorporation with Mexico.

175 177 648 The next period, *invasion of lands by Ladinos*, extends from about 1850 to 1911, when the first sparks of the Mexican Revolution reached Chiapas. In this period Ladinos began to invade lands of the Indian communities by bribery or by force. Toward 1856 the Indians complained against the invasion of lands in San Martin, San Miguel Mitontic, San Pedro Chenalo, Cuncuc, and Tenejapa, but failed to halt Ladino inroads (Trens, 1942, pp. 274–75).

The history of recent times, from 1920 on, is marked by increasing support from federal authorities throughout the entire [178] republic. In the Tzeltal area progress has been slow but constantly improving (see LaFarge, 1940; Beals, 1951).

Ethnographic Studies of the Region

114 [101] In his first trip through the Mayance area in 1839 and 1840, Stephens (1841) visited the northern zone of the Tzeltal, from Ocosingo to Yajalon, going through Bachajon and Chilon.

Traveling the same route two decades later in the opposite direction, the French explorer Désiré Charnay recorded his impressions in a small book (1863).

In 1901 Frederick Starr (1902), from the University of Chicago, made a short visit to the region.

In 1925 Blom and LaFarge traversed from north to south a large part of Tzeltal territory, publishing their data in three chapters of their *Tribes and Temples* (1926–

[P. 198-B]

423 592 [184] In the most acculturated communities (Aguacatenango and Amatenango) individually held property is more general. The head of the house is the owner of the parcel and he can manage it as he pleases. Referring to Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1960, p. 11) states that:

> In general, land is "owned"—that is, controlled—by the household; as long as the son lives with the father, he may speak of "his land," but in fact he works the land with his father, planting what and when his father decides. The son who lives apart is usually given a piece of land by his father, and he acquires new land which he, in turn, will pass on to his sons at his death or, if he chooses, before [428]

[613] [593] At this level the lineage concept has disappeared, and the only recognized connection is the father-son relationship.

423 Irrigated lands ("tierras irrigables"), however, in Aguacatenango and in Amatenango contain parcels belonging to private owners and parcels used in common, which are administered or given by the local authorities to be cultivated. Metzger (*ibid.*) informs us that: "Recently, land has been bought on the edges of the town by each of the two barrios for the exclusive use of their members, while in the irrigable area the holdings of members of the two barrios are separate and watered by separate canals."

[175] Ejido lands exist in almost all the region, distributed according to the Programa Agrario de la Revolución Mexicana since 1914 but in some communities not put into practice until after 1930. These lands are administered by the "comite ejidal" of each municipio, which gives to any individual who needs land the permission to cultivate it. These lands cannot be sold or transferred in any way, because they are considered common property.

421 586 Family land as well as the house and its equipment belong to the man. When a marriage is dissolved, the woman goes back to her parents without taking anything but

[P 212-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Revolutions have since destroyed the herds, and the town now has only a small local trade in sugar and rum. 233

All goods are transported on mule-back over bad trails. Main trails run to Yajalon, San Cristóbal las Casas, and Comitan. Minor trails connect with Tenosique in Tabasco, a ride of five or six days through uninhabited forests. Other small trails lead into the heart of the forests along the Usumacinta river, where there are a few mahogany camps, fourteen days distance on a good mule. 492 491 [313]

The Spanish Conquerors had quickly discovered the richness of the soil and taken possession of it. Therefore, we find but a few Indians around Ocosingo, save at the small town of Sivacá, entirely inhabited by Tzeltal-speaking Indians. From there we secured our labourers, who were summoned by the municipal president and worked for us at the regulation pay of 50 centavos per day. Ocosingo holds sway over the native towns of Sivacá, Tenango, Oschuc, San Martín, and Bachajon. The municipality commands the Indians for all kinds of work, and in many ways lives on what can be pressed from them. As a consequence, the good people of Ocosingo are anything but popular among the Indians, though it appears that the man then in charge, Señor Simon Leon, was quite friendly towards them, and therefore well liked. 175 134 563 [114] 661 829

Geologically, the Ocosingo Valley is a syncline, the valley bottom and the interior mountain ranges being of a coarse red sandstone, and the exterior ranges of limestone. The axis of the valley runs approximately N-80-W to S-80-E, and Ocosingo town is located at an altitude of 900 meters above sea level. 133 [135]

As we rode into the village, La Farge discovered a stone block, carved with hieroglyphs, set in the pavement of the sidewalk, an excellent reception for archaeologists. 172

Our first concern was to find quarters, which we located in a house on the corner of a street leading into the Plaza. Soon our equipment was unloaded, and while we unpacked, the Ladino guide we had acquired in Bachajon went to his house to order food for us. 114 [122]

The restaurant and meal were a surprise, though not pleasant. In a room with a rotten board floor, the plaster falling off the walls, and a huge box full of saints, we were served fried eggs and black beans by an old woman with a large goitre. Though nothing in the house appeared to be either particularly exclusive or clean, the Ladino family seemed to resent that we sat down at the table with our chief guide, the trusty old Indian, Lázaro, now called "Tata" by us.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

We have divided Maya history in two groups, the Old Empire and the New Empire. Of the history of the New Empire we know a considerable amount, but our knowledge of the Old Empire history is scant. We know the area in which it flourished as a whole, like knowing Greece without being aware of Sparta, Athens, and Corinth. Here in front of me lay one of the first hints of the subdivisions of the Old Empire. Knowledge will advance, and soon we shall be able to tell about the rise and decline of states and cities, to revive the history of the foremost people of ancient America.

Nearly due north across the valley lies the Campomtik pyramid. La Farge visited it while we worked at Toniná. It, too, is a remodeled mountain top, and as it is covered with grass, it stands out sharply against the forest-clad hills. It consists of a series of terraces with a depression which has stone-faced terraces and floor. From the valley bottom the hill rises 280 meters, of which 105 meters (325 feet) have been terraced. Broken pottery is found in various places on the hillside, and on the top now stands two wooden crosses, set there by the Indians. The name Campomtik means "much yellow incense." Incense was burned on the hilltop until quite recently. At such times they burned great fires, and shot off many rockets bought in Ocosingo. Finally the celebrations got too fervent for the Catholic Father, and he had the Indians driven away by the town officials. Generally, though, the Padres let the Indians alone when they celebrate in honour of the ancient gods (fig. 201).

Outside Ocosingo, where the trail divides, one going to Bachajon, the other to Sivacá, lies a group of mounds called Santa Teresa. Rumors that Indains had buried church treasures here after an uprising, led the townspeople to make a large excavation. According to some people in Ocosingo, they found a small wooden sanctuary, and a beautiful clay bowl with a fish on its lid. This bowl later was bought by Seler.*

It is remarkable how persistent are rumors of buried treasures. Every Ladino expects to find "dinero," money, in any mound, and they are usually sadly disappointed. Also, most of these people believe that we find money, else why should we dedicate so much time to our explorations? We had a case where one man offered to go fifty-fifty with us if we would explore a mound on his lands. The whole mound at Santa Teresa has been dug through, and it is told in Ocosingo that the excavators found, not money, but a small wooden sanctuary with a saint inside. We hear every day, when among the Ladinos and Mexicans, stories of church bells of solid gold, and cocks that crow at midnight on top of the mounds.

*Seler, E., 1901. Fig. 279.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

CHAPTER XV

THE NORTHERN TZELTAL TRIBES

114 Ever since leaving Zona Sala, we had been working in the coun-
101 try of the Tzeltal-speaking tribes who form an outpost of the High-land Indians. The Bachajon, of the Finca Encanto and Bachajon village, and the Indians of Ocosingo and the neighbouring valleys, living as they do, cut off from the outside world, strong in number, and of a rather independent disposition, gave us the first evidences of how little the Indian of the Chiapas Highlands has changed since the days before Columbus. The kings and priests are dead, the temples have been replaced by churches and Christian forms, but the Indians and labourers of today in many respects live the life that their humble forebears did five hundred years ago.

114 At this point, before describing our trip up into the true mountain country, it seems opportune to tell something of these people, their manners and customs. We did not have time to make an exhaustive study of any of them, but they were constantly with us as guides and labourers, and we passed through many of their villages.
115 At El Encanto we had a chance to visit and examine the settlement
126 of the finca's workmen, with the kind help of Señor Ciriaco Aguilar, who acted as interpreter and supplied us with invaluable information. Señor Arturo Tovilla helped us with the Linguistic Lists (see Appendix III), as well as describing many of the customs recorded in this chapter. Señor Aureo Cruz of Toniná dictated a Tzeltal Prayer and Conversation, which was analyzed with the help of Señor Manuel Bulnes of El Real. (See Appendix VI). In general it may be said that all the Spanish-speaking people with whom we dealt helped us in every way possible.*

101 The Bachajon (*Batcahon*) and Ocosingo Valley Indians are, as
197 has been said, an outlying part of a large group living in the mountain country. They speak the Tzeltal language, belonging to that branch of the great Mayance stock more closely related to Maya.
131 In the pine country of Chiapas they hold the largest share of land,
101 occupying an irregular area running southeast from Simojovel to

[175]

*The written sources bearing directly on the ethnology of these people are very meager. Nuñez de la Vega (1702) gives the best account of the early religion; his section on Nagualism has been reprinted by Paniagua (1908) along with an important selection of other early sources. Licenciado Vicente Pineda (1888) in his account of the Indian uprisings, gives some information, together with the most complete linguistic material. He gives a native calendar, probably based on one published by Emeterio Pineda (1845). Of modern scientific works, Starr (1901 and 1903) has ethnographic material, and publishes the only physical measurements (1902). Seler (1898) goes into the calendar in detail. For comparative material Tozzer (1907) and Sapper (1923) have been our chief reliance. Sapper's "Nordliche Mittelamerika" (1897) was in constant use in the field for information on all subjects. Particular references are given as they occur. Prof. Rudolph Schuller kindly allowed me access to his manuscript material.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

boulders with care. It still is broad in most places, and has reasonable grades. We climbed to a rather desolate upland of wind-swept grass with a few crooked trees. There was some traffic on the road. We passed a group of Tenejapeños going down to the hot country to carry sugar. The men were ragged and woolly, like those we had seen at Salto de Agua, and their women, in short blue skirts and white blouses gorgeously ornamented with gold and crimson silk, were remarkable for their very pink cheeks showing through dark brown colouring.

The town of Cancuc (*kank'uk*) lies on the rounded shoulder of a long ridge that juts up above the high moors commanding a tremendous view North, West, and South over a jumbled mass of mountain ranges, like a herd of great elephants shouldering away to the horizon. A wind blows day and night, the trees are small and stunted, and the general effect is one of bleakness and height. At an altitude of 1,440 meters, with the unresting wind, it is always cold. The highroad climbs from a ravine up into the village where a small plaza is laid out on a level place. On our left was the big, white church, still well preserved. Opposite it, the Cabildo surprised us, a neat building with tile roof and white columned portico, built in President Diaz' time. Round about were some tumbling and ruined huts, and behind, the village rose on rough terraces crudely faced with stone.

Cancuc has a stormy history. It was the center of the famous rebellion of 1712, the subject of Brinton's "Maria Candelaria."* According to Starr (1904) who passed through here, there is a tradition that the men's long hair, covering their ears, is so worn in memory of the clipped ears which their ancestors received at that time. Recently, there has been political dissension in the form of a dragging feud, and a series of small fights and murders has resulted in those left of the defeated party abandoning the village and setting up their houses in the bush. It is from this that one sees so many huts deserted and beginning to disintegrate, adding to the general cheerless aspect of the place.

We were well received at the Cabildo, where the village officials with their silver-headed canes turned up shortly to look us over. They were younger men than most of the officials we had met previously, and a pretty tough looking crew, much what one would expect of a group that had attained office largely by means of the machete. The people on the whole rather resemble the Bachajon physically, being of a small-limbed type with an average height for men of about 160 centimeters, and nearly beardless. The men wear tunics cut as at Tenango, but decorated with red and yellow em-

*Brinton, 1897; Pineda, 1888.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

tions of self will find a responsive audience only within these linguistic and physical boundaries. The sense of insulation is a denial of regional and national political institutions in which they interact with the other Indians and Ladinos who are part of their present world and share their history. The town itself is a product of the Spanish colonial *congregación,* which drew together diverse Indian populations that had been scattered in small settlements. The outlying barrios are occupied by Indians who have moved out from the center, as well as foreign Indians who had worked in the *fincas,* or large plantations, within the township. These latter people are referred to by a derisive term, *Kurik,* meaning roughly "country hick." Beyond these, and still within the municipal limits, there are a series of *colonias,* settlements populated by Indians who have moved here from other towns and by *mestizos,* or acculturated Indians. These settlers acquired land in the time of Juarez or later in the Cardenas period. Ladino men are called *Kaštan* and women *Šinlan;* foreigners who do not appear to be of the country are called *Alemán,* the Spanish term for German.

The focus of this book is on the lives and thoughts of people living within the center. The people of Tzoʾontahal live in a square world, surrounded by a round universe. From the square hole, cut in the earth at the center post of their square house to receive the sacrifice of a live chicken when the house is built, stretches a square village (it appears as a rectangle on the map, but they draw it as a square).[2] The fields are measured in squares of twenty-five arms' breadths, with five handspans measuring the square between each plant. Within this square world, they have elaborated techniques for dealing with spiritual and human co-residents in curing rituals, offerings for crops, burial practices, and baptism rites. Their present cultural stock reveals a selective absorption of Spanish colonial features along with twentieth-century innovations. They have techniques for planting and harvesting milpa, marketing the pottery manufactured in all the households, curing an eclipse of the moon, divining causes of illness and curing the maladjusted social relations which cause it, manufacturing and

2. This view of the world as square is shared by Tzeltal and Tzotzil neighbors in Larráinzar (Holland 1963:69), San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:254), and Pinola (Hermitte 1964). The four-direction concept of the village and world noted by Landa (Tozzer 1941:135) suggests a square-space concept.

000 133 tóbal. The altitude above sea level varies from 2,000 meters in the hilly periphery to 1,720 meters in the valley where the town center is located. Ejido 423 632 183 lands acquired in the 1930s have extended the boundaries of the township to lower lands at 1,500 meters altitude.

172 361 Pre-Conquest settlement patterns in the Chiapas highlands were characterized by independent communities occupying the headlands around flat-bottomed valleys (R. M. Adams 1961:341). The choice of sites seems to have been based on defense against invading Toltec or other conquest groups (Calnek 1962:25). The sites investigated by Adams and Culbert (R. M. Adams 1961:347) in Amatenango belong to the late-Classic and early post-Classic period. They were marginal to the centers of Maya civilization in the Yucatán peninsula and Guatemala. Test excavations in the modern town indicate that it was occupied only after colonial times.

• 175 361 16 162 The town of Amatenango del Valle is first mentioned in the year 1528 when it was included in tribute lists with both the Nahuatl name, Amatenango, and the Tzeltal name, Tzobontaghal (Calnek n.d.). The tribute lists of 1761 include 33 families in the *parcialidad*, or Spanish political unit based on an indigenous settlement, of Zacatepec in Amatenango and 75 families in the parcialidad of Amatenango (Trens 1957 I:217). The first census done in 1778 shows a total population of 576, with 374 men and 202 women. The racial breakdown is listed as 8 white, 2 negro and mestizo, and 560 Indians (Trens 1957:221). By 1824, the population had increased 161 632 [423] to 1,620. The present population of 3,179 represents natural growth as well as inclusion of additional outlying settlements added in the latter part of the nineteenth century and during the 1930s with the enactment of the land reform act. The population changes indicate steady but not great increases. The capacity of the town to incorporate additional population has probably passed its peak. The present trend is for out-migration to newly opened ejido lands.

128 632 The subdivisions of the town, which provide the framework for administration by the national government, are included in Table 1.

361 [563] *The center.* The center of Tzoʾontahal is called the "center [or navel] of the world." The residents of the center, with the exception of the schoolteacher's family, are all Indian. Although the town center forms

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621 A territorial distinction not recognized by the federal government is the
361 division of the town center into two sections, or sides, by the street running in front of the church. The two sides of the division are called
[192] Ahk'olnantik, upper side, and Alannantik, lower side. The upper side is in the direction of higher lands in the southwest called Ahk'olk'inal, and the lower side is in the direction of lower lands to the northeast, called Alank'inal. The emphasis on relative altitude implicit in place nomenclature is a central fact in the Indians' ecological adjustment. Marriage is en-
[582] dogamous within each division by explicit rule, and in fact 87 percent of
[83] all marriages conform to the rule, according to a census I took in 1958. A
[125] man who marries a girl on the opposite side is forced to make a payment
[583] of eighteen liters of liquor to the bachelors of the opposite division. In addition to regulating competition for marriage partners, the dual division is the basis for allocating civil and religious offices.

174 Whether the dual division was an indigenous trait or not is a moot
621 point. The pattern for dual organizations existed in both Spanish and indigenous societies (Foster 1951:5). There is some speculation that the dual divisions are a product of the Spanish colonial policy of the congregación, when populations of different origins were drawn together. However, local historical accounts indicate that several ethnic groups were introduced at various periods. After the initial congregación, foreign Indians
175 were incorporated in the sixteenth century, in the latter part of the nine-
621 teenth century (Secretaría de Gobierno Constitucional, October 26, 1893),
563 and as late as the 1930s in response to the land reform program. As each ethnic group entered the region, it was either incorporated into one of the existing divisions or was isolated. The persistence of polarization must be
621 explained on other grounds. The widespread distribution in the Chiapas
[174] highlands of dual divisions defined by territory and descent in communities of both dispersed and nucleated settlement patterns suggests the indigenous origins of the division. A dual division of upper and lower sections based on endogamy and equal representation is found in San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:64), Chanal (Eva Hunt, NSF II report), Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1946:424), and Cancuk (Siverts 1964). The Nahuatl term *calpul* is applied in some cases to these divisions. The towns where calpulles are found are *paraje,* or vacant center, types (Tax 1937) which

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

241 indicate these bases and assess the efficiency of the agriculturalists in allocating resources of labor, land, and seeds.

423 311 [175] *Land use*. The historical factor of the greatest significance in establishing the present economic position of the town was the act of possession of ejido lands in 1937. The first grant included 4,873.53 *hectares*[1] of land of the following categories:

irrigated flat land	139.77
non-irrigated plots	1,018.37
pasture	1,659.65
hill land	2,055.74

The high hill land with its cover of pine and scrub oak was set aside for use of all members of the community for hunting and gathering firewood. The pasture lands are similarly controlled by the civil authority for common use. The cultivable lands passed into the hands of 385 ejidatarios, each of whom received one-half hectare. A further grant in 1954 provided an increase of 2,578 hectares, including:

low mountain land	2,277.60
pasture land	300.40

423 178 The possession of land by individual small-plot cultivators reversed the trend toward large-scale commercial agriculture begun in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The land of the Indians that had been expropriated in the latter part of the nineteenth century by forced sales was to be held in the possession of the townspeople, "benefiting all with its products and uses" (Act of possession, 1937, Town Archives).

423 241 311 178 With the increase in ejido lands acquired in 1954, the share of each ejidatario has been increased to one hectare. This is usually split between low land in San Caralampio and high land in San Isidro and Tulancá, giving two growing seasons. The advantages of different growing seasons are that there is a more balanced work schedule and that there are two harvests, one in November and one in July. The ejido land grant has stabilized subsistence crop cultivation in the economy of the town and in-

1. A hectare is equal to 2.46 acres.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

highly stratified primitive society, which remains static: it lacks the 423
flexibility and mobility that exists in modern societies.

The history of the ejido program in Tzo'ontahal in the first few years 175
after it was organized in 1937 seemed to confirm this conclusion. Its 423
immediate effect was to block the flow of labor and goods in the regional 182
and national markets. The ejidatarios were no longer forced to sell their 464
labor at the prevailing rate of 25 cents a day, a wage which was not [465]
enough to supply the needs of even one man much less those of a household. Children and women formerly had to work with their husbands in the coffee fincas in order to meet their most immediate consumption needs. The independence that the ejido tract gave meant that men could withhold their own labor and that of the subordinate members of the family from such exploitation. The second harvests coming from the ejido [241]
plots in low country freed the Indians from having to buy corn in July, [435]
August, and September at the inflated market prices which took advantage of the scarcity of this basic necessity.

The political effect of the ejido in the early days was to fortify the corpo- 175
rate community against the shocks of the outside world. The first lands ac- 423
quired were primarily allotments of corporate lands alienated by the laws 621
of 1856 and 1876. Populations remained in situ, whether they were foreign Indians working on the expropriated estates, or residential communities created in the sixteenth century as crown towns.

The township of Amatenango acquired its first ejido land grant in 1937.
One of the early promoters of the ejido, a *revestido* Indian (one who has [177]
adopted western clothing) from Huistán who had been a laborer on one of the fincas within the township limits, threatened to become a rural *cacique,* or local boss, comparable to those who emerged from the agrarian revolt in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962). This leader was elected president, but during his term of office he was expelled because of his attempt to secure house plots in the center for himself and other Huistecan Indians residing in the barrio of Yetawitz (Chapter 9).

The stabilizing effects of the ejido in its earlier phase have been upset in 423
recent years. As the population of the center expanded, new families mi- 621
grated to the nearby barrios contiguous to the town center. These new set- 166

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

423 tlements were assigned to one of the two sections of the division in the
621 center with an attempt being made to maintain a demographic balance.
166 Incorporation of the new settlements was more effective in the case of the barrios than in the case of the colonias, which were farther away from the town center and included Indians of diverse communities. The process of
• 175 breaking away from the old community is illustrated by the 1961 move for
423 independence made by the original settlers of the colonia of Caralampio.
621 The following account was given by a man who was then secretary of the
661 ejido:
159

> *The first settlers of San Caralampio, José, Pablo, Luciano, and Santos were self-appointed* principales, *or head men, of the colony. Santos and Luciano were from the town center, and José and Pablo had worked on the ranch when it was privately owned. The colony was well populated and the people lived well—there were no fights nor any problems. In 1956 the four principales decided that they should separate from the center. They told the people that if each person would contribute twenty-five pesos, they would raise the issue of the division in the* Departamento Agraria Mixta. *José invited Mateo, a man who knew how to read and write, to help them.*
>
> *"Let's divide from the town so that we alone will run the colony," he told them.*
>
> *The principales took the money contributed and went to Tuxtla. There, in the* Liga de Communidad Agraria *they asked for the separation, and were referred to the* Departamento Agraria Mixta. *When they arrived there with their request, the commissioner said that he would have to communicate with the chief in Mexico.*
>
> *After this, Pablo came one day to the center. He spoke to the ejido commission: "Look here, José, Luciano and Mateo went to Tuxtla."*
>
> *"What for?" asked the ejido president.*
>
> *"They asked for a division from the town."*
>
> "Que pendejo!" *said the president. "What happened?"*
>
> *"What do you think?" asked Pablo.*
>
> *"We are against it. If it was a new center, we would support you. But*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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we are against division," said the president. "How much did you have to contribute?" he asked Pablo.

"Twenty-five pesos. They told us if we do not give money, we will be thrown out of the colonia."

We advised him that it would be better not to continue giving money to the principales. "You can't make this division," we told him.

One Sunday all the pueblo united in a mass meeting. Everyone was present. People asked about the affair of San Caralampio, and the Ejido Commission explained to them what had happened. The people said, "Let's get rid of them [the four principales of San Caralampio]."

When the three principales returned to San Caralampio from Tuxtla they asked each household head to contribute fifty pesos in order to send them to Mexico to talk personally with the Chief of the Ejido Division. Pablo came the next day to talk to the president in the center and advised them that the principales had gone out. There was another meeting. The president's decision was to get a contribution of one peso from each person in the center so that they would have six hundred pesos to prevent the division. They feared that if this occurred the people of the center couldn't work down there.

When the leaders of the central Ejido Commission had received the money, they went to the departmental capital to explain to the chief of the ejido zone what had happened. They said that the leaders of the colonia had gone to Mexico.

"Let's to go work!" said the chief. "Did you bring the money?"

"Yes, we have six hundred pesos."

"Go to the bank and change it into one-hundred-peso bills," said the chief. "Let us send two hundred pesos to the chief of the division in Mexico so that he will prevent the division."

We sent the money airmail. Before the principales of San Caralampio had arrived, we had their way blocked. Our money went to work for us. In five days, the chief in Las Casas said the money had been well received, and the leaders of San Caralampio had not been received.

A week later, Pablo came to see how the affair had proceeded. We asked Pablo if he had contributed money. He said no. We told him,

175 423 621 661 159 *"Don't give any more money. The Ejido Commission won't let the division happen since we are the same pueblo."*

The four principales returned from Mexico. They said that they had a paper and that an engineer would come. They asked for another contribution of 25 pesos. They said that those who wouldn't pay would be thrown out. Pablo came and told us. We told him not to be afraid. The principales now knew that Pablo was with us. He had two brothers, Pancho and Ignacio, whom he advised not to go along with the principales since he knew that they would not win the case. When the principales returned to ask for more money for their trips to Tuxtla, both brothers refused.

175 423 621 661 682 159 *Since these three brothers did not cooperate, the principales got angry and decided to kill Pablo. One day, when Pablo was on his way to Teopisca, he was shot in the back. He continued riding 76 meters. The horse returned to his house. His wife ran to tell his two brothers that the horse had come home without a rider. The brothers ran out and found Pablo dead. The civil authorities of the town went. A few days passed. The brothers never asked for justice. But since they knew who did it, one of them took Pablo's 16-centimeter rifle. Pablo's wife had been thinking of selling it to pay for the expenses of the funeral. Pancho [Pablo's brother] said, "No wait. I will buy it as soon as I have money."*

He borrowed it for several years. One Sunday there was an order for all of the people of San Caralampio to go to the pueblo. They got up early and wakened all the others with a horn. Pancho got up with his rifle. He went to Juan's house and shot him. Luciano had Pancho jailed in the department capitol. He declared his crime, and said that he had killed Juan because the latter had shot his brother. He made a good statement. For this reason, he got out very cheaply—1500 pesos—which he paid with his crop of beans and corn. He was in prison in San Caralampio three months. Now he lives in Teopisca. His sons go to work there, but he doesn't. One day, Pancho was shot in the back—I don't know how many centimeters the bullet penetrated, but he did not die. The brothers of Juan and José have all left the colonia.

José was the one who caused all of the trouble. His wife was the younger sister of Pablo and she left him. Now José is going around begging for food to eat.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

by the company truck to replenish supplies they bring with them. Most of the workers are young men in their twenties and thirties. They return Saturday evening in a truck supplied by the company and go back to work on Monday morning. Weekly wage payments have upset the usual controls over budget management. Money earned from crops is handled by women. The sawmill workers have resisted passing over their paychecks to their wives or mothers, and several court cases have been precipitated as a result (Appendix 2b).

All of the work in which men are engaged outside of the community is voluntarily undertaken for cash compensation. Formerly, forced labor of two kinds was frequently demanded of the Indians: communal labor in the neighboring ladino town when Tzoʔontahal was an *agente municipal* of that town, and work in neighboring fincas for wages of 50 cents a day. Forced communal work came to an end when the town became an independent municipio in 1931, and the labor roundups at substandard wages were ended when Indians became conscious of their rights guaranteed in the *Ley Federal del Trabajo* in the late 30s. Copies of the *Colección Jurídica Ley Federal del Trabajo* are sold in the departmental marketplace along with the *Codigo Agraria*. Awareness of their rights as workers is concomitant with increasing entry into wage labor employment outside of the local community. As yet, Indians do not have any organized labor interest groups to champion their rights. The Commissioner of Indian affairs in the departmental capital is an intermediary in individual cases that arise. But wage levels and conditions of work are set in a free market in which the Indian's only control is to refuse to work.

The few special occupations in the town, such as butchering, caponizing, weaving bags, carpentry, and midwifery, have never developed into full-time professions.[2] The failure of the development of specialization is related to the tradition of ritual offerings of gifts of liquor and consumables and to the lack of a marketplace in the town.

Most of the livestock raised in the town is sold to butchers of the neighboring town because of lack of storage or of market facilities for the meat. Pigs and bulls are slaughtered in town only on the occasion of a celebra-

2. Curing is treated in a separate chapter since it is an exceptional case of specialization related to social control.

Chapter 7

The Formal Organization of Local Government

The formal organization of civil and religious offices in Tzo'ontahal is based on the pattern of a locally independent, democratically elected officialdom introduced by the Spaniards. Variations in the pattern from that of other towns of the highlands have resulted from differences of interpretation of the functions, the range of power, and the course of succession of offices. This flexibility has preserved structural continuity as organizational adjustments are made. The Indians have transformed an alien governing mechanism into one that meets their changing needs and contributes to their independence in the modern world.

The independence of the local township has a base in the pre-Conquest social organization of Chiapas. Robert Adams (1961:347) has noted the absence of architectural or other features indicative of functional specialization that would arise in a politically integrated region. At the time of the Conquest, Chiapas was divided into warring principalities, revealing the extreme political fragmentation of the area (Calnek 1962:8). Each town was divided from the neighboring town by *mojones,* hilled-up boundaries (ibid:36). A minimum of political unity was achieved by holding certain towns subject to the dominance of others (ibid:27); local autonomy persisted, however, in the administration of landholding as a community enterprise.

During the colonial period the Spanish Crown established the independence of towns directly under their control and provided them with a civil-religious hierarchy which has persisted as the form of government to the present (Carrasco 1961: Wolf 1957b).

Comparative studies of the civil-religious hierarchy indicate the range of

796 tions betray the intent. As he is hauled up by ropes and hung from the
182 bell tower "to show the world that he killed Christ," the mayordomos on
829 the ground who are assisting those up in the bell tower jab him with long poles. In this horseplay they symbolically castrate him: I heard one mayordomo say, *"Me?čunun,"* (transvestite) as one well-directed blow struck Judas. On Saturday, he is let down and given a ride on horseback around town. Formerly riding a horse was the prerogative only of Ladinos in the department of San Cristóbal Las Casas (Colby and Van den Berghe 1961). Placing Judas on a horse possibly has a symbolic value in identifying him as one of the hated dominant group who asserted this privilege.
[794] As he rides around town, the mayordomos solicit gifts from the people.
[756] Everyone gives fruits except the curers, who donate money. This transac-
[754] tion may indicate an obligation they feel toward Judas as one source of their power over witchcraft-derived illnesses. The money is used to buy liquor, called the "washing of the arms and legs of our Lord Eskipulas." The drinking is mandatory for all the mayordomos who have participated in the hanging of Judas.

The Judas figure, which was the church's symbol of the hated Semite, is made to appear as the enemy of the Indians, the Ladino. He symbolizes the sexual license of Ladinos with Indian women, the oppression of Indians by Ladinos, and the killer of Christ. In retaliation, the Indian symbolically castrate and hang him, and finally burn his body, thus dramatically vanquishing the alien in their midst. So far as I know, the priest is
[793] unaware of the identification Indians make between the Jew and the Ladino. He prevented the ride from taking place the year I witnessed the Easter Week ceremonial on grounds that it was a pagan ritual; when he left town on Sunday, the mayordomos took Judas on his customary rounds.

796 The attitude toward Jesus, as the hero of the morality play, is ambiva-
776 lent. Martyrdom is not the way to win in Indian society. The feeling is
182 that power goes to the one who makes the sacrifice, and since Jesus was a
829 Ladino sacrifice, they have more power than the Indians. During the
[181] Caste War in Chiapas in 1868, the Indians crucified an Indian youth in
[782] the hope that they would find a savior as powerful as Jesus. To this day,
[175] Indians of To?ontahal seem not to identify Jesus as one of themselves,

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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342 796 [584] [755] [128] party to go to the spring, at least one relative remains in the house to greet the soul if it should precede the curing party.

Behavior in household rituals is described in Chapters 1, 5, and 8.

The Cabildo

344 [196] [175] The cabildo, called by the people of the town the "cold house,"[1] was built following the revolution of 1915, when Piñeda's revolutionary soldiers destroyed the original colonial structure. The tiles of the roof were confiscated from a finca which the Indians invaded in 1941 in an unsuccessful attempt to gain additional lands. When they were unable to maintain their hold on the land, they burned the owner's house and took the tiles to the town center where they remain as a symbol of their defiant action. They refer to this event with pride. The cabildo houses the jail, equipped with a barred wooden door, in one of its wings, and the Ejido Commission office in the other.

344 352 621 554 576 [693] Within the cabildo, each official has his established place. The cabildo is furnished with a table at which the president and síndico sit on wooden chairs made in the Indian town of Chamula. Four benches lining the walls on either side of the entry provide seating for the civil officials. On the right side (looking out at the plaza) sit the judges in order of rank; the regidores, in similar sequence follow them. The principales, and formerly the alfereces, sit on the left side when they appear for ceremonial occasions. This spatial allocation establishes drinking and greeting order as well. Visitors can go directly from one to another in the formal greeting of a handclasp and murmured "good morning, father," or "good afternoon, father," without violating age-respect patterns.

344 352 695 [625] During court cases, the claimant and his supporters sit on the bench to the left of the door; on other occasions the bench is occupied by visitors or petitioners. The police sit on one of the two benches lining the outside wall, or retire to the kitchen, a wooden slat lean-to on the left wing of the

[171] 1. Bunzel (1952) notes that in prayers, the cabildo in Chichicastenango is referred to as "the cold house, the icy house." Although the Quiché term is not given in her manuscript, one can see a similarity in the rhyming couplets and metaphorical allusions in the prayers of the towns.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery. 512 462 323 857 312 252

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock. 241 264 313 576 857 461 252 513

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest. 796 177 178 512

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat. 796 512 782 262

The Annual Cycle

221 796

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on 175 466 632

175 632 466 communal projects for the neighboring town as there had been formerly. The peasant is master of his own time.

125 221 512 Tables 33 and 34 summarize the number of days and percentage of time accorded to various activities for men of two households. The first family consists of a man forty-three years of age and his wife. All of their own children died in infancy, and an adopted daughter recently left home to live with her husband and child in a new ejido plot. The second family consists of a man, his wife, two adult sons, and an unmarried daughter. In this family, the father of sixty-five is retired and his two sons perform all of the agricultural work. Table 34 includes only the activities of the sons. 125 221 The two schedules provide some contrasts:

461 462 561 1. The forty-three-year-old man has many more ceremonial obligations than the youths. This is a factor related to the life cycle in which men over thirty-five years of age are involved in more familial and community celebrations. During the year this schedule was taken, the man was serving as a mayordomo.

2. The older man has fewer productively employed days than the youths (only 54 percent of his time is spent in productive activities) in contrast to 76 percent and 79 percent for the youths). The difference is accounted for by wage employment the youths have undertaken. In order to pay for the cost of betrothal, the elder son worked 56 days (37 percent of the time accounted for) in a neighboring sawmill.

3. The youths were not involved in any exchange labor arrangements; until they become independent heads of households working their own fields, the men do not contract reciprocal exchanges.

221 461 462 796 The fact that men spend only 54 to 79 percent of their time (using these tables to provide minimal and maximal limits) on productive activities means that there is a great deal of flexibility in the use of time for ceremonial responsibilities. Everyone takes an average of twenty days off for celebrating fiestas in addition to fifty-two Sundays.

241 461 [796] The high proportion of time spent in family or communal ceremonials suggests the high value placed on them. The preference for leisure to pursue these activities is proved in cases such as that in which the additional profit in cultivating cabbages was not sufficient to motivate one agricultur-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 316]

181 support for cultural independence as economic interdependence grows.

105 3. *The stability of the society varies directly with the effectiveness*
182 *of its procedures for transforming old power positions into ceremonial posts.* The community demonstrated the effectiveness of its technique of cooling off old power-holders as new leader usurped the authority of the principales. The struggle going on between the curers and the new civil leadership had not been resolved in ceremonial absorption of the curers' power when I left the community. The community was ridding itself of these fear-provoking agents of the supernatural by resorting to homicide. The loss of the institution of the alférez marked the waning of these old techniques of ceremonially incorporating leadership into a traditional hierarchy and linking civil office with religious obligations.

4. *The lability of the society varies directly with the gap between expectations and experience.* The Indians condition themselves to expect the worst and so are not disappointed by it. They pray only that they may maintain a given level of suffering and poverty. They are not caught up in that revolution of rising expectations that makes for discontent when experience does not match them. The Indians know they
[175] are better off than they were, and they contrast their present prosperity
[731] with the famine of 1915 when revolution and banditry depleted their crops and cattle, and with the typhoid epidemic of 1928 when hundreds died and the rest did not have the money to bury them properly. An attitude of pessimism about the future limits the problem of adjusting to it or of making adaptations to improve it. One could predict neither revolution nor moral collapse.

5. *The lability of the society varies directly with the degree of dissonance between traditional and contemporary interpretations of events.* The old explanations are still applied to current events. Disaster is blamed on individual or communal failure to carry out ceremonials. Sickness and death are attributed to witchcraft motivated by envy or malice. The paranoic theories of human nature are confirmed by every illness or death that occurs. Even the gods are characterized as envious and vindictive. Containment of blame for misfortune within the community minimizes the political involvement of Indians in the wider society and limits the changes that might affect them.

172 the density of occupational refuse suggests to him that the populations were concentrated on the hill sites themselves.

During the Post Classic period the valleys of Amatenango and Aguacatenango were apparently unoccupied. This correlates with a shift in the total settlement pattern of the area, from small well defended valleys to large, more strategic positions such as the ones on the Plateau Summit of San Cristobal de las Casas.

Ethnohistory

175 Historical documents tend to confirm that the valleys of Amatenango and Aguacatenango were not occupied by any large nucleated settlements upon the arrival of the Spaniards. They do not appear in the first accounts of the Conquistadores. The earliest reference to Amatenango is 1586 and to Aguacatenango 1605, perhaps indicating that the former inhabitants were reducidos (concentrated in villages by the Spaniards) somewhat earlier. These first references occur in connection with grants of encomienda (i.e., they were tributaries of a Spanish lord, or Encomendero) (Simpson, L., 1929:1950).

175 361 621 648 Both communities were formed, as far as we can tell from the scanty evidence in the primary sources, by the Spaniards, in agreement with the policy of reducciones (concentration of population in villages) of the encomiendas initiated in the sixteenth century (Calnek, 1961, Appendix III). Each one of these settlements was formed of two separate pueblos, one incorporated within the other, which later appear in other documents as parcialidades.

175 Thus, the village of Aguacatenango was created by joining the
361 parcialidades of Aguacatenango and Quesaltepec, while Amatenango
621
648 was composed of the parcialidades of Amatenango and Sacatepec. It is not possible at present to identify more closely the social groups that the Spaniards called parcialidades.

[797] It is probable that each parcialidad was composed of several lineages and clans, but up to the present time no one has done a comparative study of name distributions on available censuses or other similar materials, nor has any record been found, which explains the procedures used by the Dominican Friars (who controlled the reducciones in the area) when they reorganized
175 the populations of the territory.[1] In central Mexico the term
171 parcialidad refers, in the primary sources, to the four divisions
621 of Tenochtitlan, the Aztec Capital, but they also refer to the
175 barrios or calpuls (Caso, A., 1959). In Chiapas it is normally
621 used to mean the sub-divisions of pueblos reducidos. It is known,
648 however, that the parcialidades were originally separate groups of people which were independent social units. Even after the reducciones they kept important elements of their organization separate, including their political officers, who were responsible for complying with demands made by the Spaniards for tribute and labor. Some of the separate political functions have been re-
174 tained up to the present. It is also safe to assume that each one
621 of the parcialidades was an endogamous group; both Aguacatenango

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[1]The new documents are still unavailable. They have been reported by Edward Calnek in the National Archives in Guatemala, and by Dr. Vicenta Cortez in the Madrid Archives, Spain.

197 The inhabitants of both villages speak closely related dialects of the Tzeltal language, one of the two groups forming the Tzeltal-Tzotzil, which split linguistically from the parent stock of the Mayan Family around the beginning of the Classic Period of Maya Civilization (McQuown , 1959).

Lexicostatistical counts and isoglosses show that the two communities cluster together, in dialect cores of less than 500 years of separation, as against several others in the study area of the Chiapas Project of the University of Chicago. Several indices were used for the count, including degree of Spanish borrowing (McQuown, 1956; 1959). They indicate the same degree of linguistic acculturation.

191 At present Tzeltal-Spanish bilingualism is common, perhaps with the exception of elder women, although the Spanish spoken is mainly "market-Spanish" and reduced in vocabulary.

Demography

•175 621 166 During the Colonial Period and the Independence both villages remained stable, being endogamous, economically self-sufficient communities with fairly restricted ranges of territorial movement; this is in contrast with the present day situation in which settlements tend to split into separate communities through local migrations (McQuown et al., 1959, Section 2, Part I, page 6).

175 161 A comparison of censuses available for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries suggests a high degree of demographic continuity with a slow, steady increase in population, although there is some evidence of population declines which took place in the

175 161 area as a result of recurring epidemics. It has taken 180 years for the villages to double their population while Mexico as a whole has tripled it in 144 years, from 1793 to 1937 (Simpson, W., 1937: 149).

TABLE 1

DEMOGRAPHY: POPULATION INCREASE

Year	Amatenango	Aguacatenango
1778	576	568
1958	1,337	1,034

621 166 More recently both communities have sent out some of their population to form colonias (small dependent settlements) in their rural periphery. Amatenango has formed four separate rural barrios (La Grandeza, Madronal, Yetahwitz and Patzhwitz) situated within view of the town, and two colonias (San Vicente and San Caralampio). Aguacatenango now has one colonia, called El Puerto. Most of its inhabitants are related to those of Aguacatanango; they moved down to El Puerto in the last thirty years, after the community lands had been expanded in that direction.

Political History

175 648 During Colonial times and the Independence period both villages shared the same types of relations with the outside world; these were mainly the payment of tribute in kind and services to the Spanish and Ladino (Local Mexican) authorities.

When first mentioned, the villages appear to have been

175 648 under the administrative jurisdiction of the Provincia de los Llanos.[1] They were, and still are, part of the same Curato of [793] the local Catholic Church, which was under secular clergy, as opposed to most villages in the area which were under Dominican jurisdiction. Up until 1854 they were subjected to the same changes with respect to the administrative districts of the State of Chiapas (districts which were rearranged practically every time 175 there was a change of government). In 1854, however, the local 621 648 631 districts were reorganized into Municipalidades (the closest English equivalent being a county); Amatenango became attached to Teopisca, the nearest Ladino-Indian town, as a part of the ninth Municipio, while Aguacatenango became dependent upon the fourth Municipio of Comitan, together with the towns of San Bartolomé (also a mixed Ladino-Indian town), Totolapa and Concordia (Trens, 1942).

631 621 At the present time Amatenango is an independent Municipio, having been separated from Teopisca in 1937, while Aguacatenango is an Agencia of the Municipio of Venustiano Carranza. Both com- [692] munities are, however, attached to the equivalent ladino towns in [651] similar ways because of their economic dependence, because such disputes as are not solved within the confines of the village are sent to the juzados of the towns, and because the offices of the Tax Collectors and Ejidos are situated in these ladino towns.

175 669 621 631 Neither of the two communities became directly involved in the Indian Uprisings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,

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[1] San Bartolome de los Llanos; today known as Venustiano Carranza.

175 669 621 631 called by the historians the Wars of the Castes (Pineda, 1888; Molina, C., 1934; Kline, H., 1960), and both of them voted to join Mexico when the State of Chiapas was contemplating annexation to either Mexico or Guatemala (Trens, 1942:274).

TABLE 2

175 631 621 AMATENANGO AND AGUATENANGO: POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE JURISDICTIONS

Time	Amatenango	Aguacatenango
1600 to 1778	Obispado de Ciudad Real Provincia de los Llanos	
1829	Departamento del Sur Partido de los Llanos	
1844	Distrito del Centro Partido de Las Casas o San Cristobal	
1854	Municipio de San Cristobal 9th Municipio	Distrito de Comitan 4th Municipio
1937-1958	Municipio de Amatenango	Municipio de V. Carranza

175 177 286 In the end of the eighteenth century (1792) the Bishop Francisco Gabriel de Olivares y Benito tried to specialize Amatenango, Teopisca and Aguacatenango as small textile centers (cotton) by giving the weaving materials to widows and young female children to process and sell. A school for the training of weavers [874] was established in the same year, but the project ended unsuccessfully in the beginning of the nineteenth century (Trens, 1942: 175-6).

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

The Social Setting of the Villages

Introduction

621
121 The villages of Aguacatenango and Amatenango can best be described as corporate peasant communities, following Eric Wolf (1955: 452-71).

First of all, the villages are small, independent social systems, with clearly defined geographic and social boundaries, "in relation to both outsiders and insiders" (Wolf, 1955:456).

The Land

621
423 In the spatial dimension, the main characteristic of the villages is that they lay claim to a territory, a land base over which they hold exclusive rights of usufruct, and which has clearly demarked geographical dimensions. The rights over this territory are communal rights, every villager being a co-owner of the community territory, in the sense that membership in the village gives to a man the rights of usufruct of land within the village boundaries.

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423
[174] We do not know what the characteristic features of the pre-hispanic land tenure system of the Tzeltal-Tzotzils were. At the beginning of the Spanish occupation of the area, the Indians were relocated in villages and assigned to a particular encomendero and encomienda. (The encomienda was an institution by which a Spanish lord was assigned a number of villagers from whom he had the right to collect services and tribute.) At the same time, the villages were allotted land of two kinds: municipal, administered by the town officials and used to pay taxes and tribute to

T 175 the encomendero and the Church; and communal, which contained the
177 423 woodland, pasture, and the site of the village itself.

T 423 177 M 175 648 Several considerations may have promoted [the Spanish] Crown policy toward [the creation of] such communities. First, the corporate community performing joint labor services for an overlord was a widespread characteristic of European economic feudalism. In trying to curtail the political power of a potential new landholding class in the Spanish colonies the Crown took over management of Indian communities in order to deny the conquerors direct managerial control over labor. The Crown attempted to act as a go-between and labor contractor for both peasant community and landowner. Second, the corporate community fitted well into the political structure of the Spanish dynastic state, which attempted to incorporate each sub-cultural group and to define its radius of activity by law. This enables the Crown to marshal the resources of such a group as an organized unit, and to impose its economic, social and religious controls by a type of indirect rule. Third, the corporate structure of the peasant communities permitted the imposition of communal as well as individual burdens of forced labor and taxation. (Wolf, 1955:457.)

M 621 178 177 Independent Mexico inherited from the Spanish Empire these communities, and although at some time or other modifications of the over-all political structure have been proposed, the communities have persisted through the last century with basically the same makeup, and without having changed much in terms of their social structure or their cultural content.

In other areas of Mexico where urbanization and a more industrial society has developed, or where it was possible to mechanize agriculture, the corporate community quickly gave way M [184] to new forms of social organization. But in Chiapas, especially in the highlands, a definitely marginal area in terms of national development, very few large scale changes have been introduced, and most of them have been rapidly assimilated into the local structure, rather than transforming it.

000 The rights over land given to the villages by the Spaniards

T M 175 423 621 The rights over land given to the villages by the Spaniards were not contested by the Mexican Government, but during the last century there have been some redistributions of the boundaries to better fit changes in the size of the population of the different villages in the area. Besides, although it was not legally approved, large chunks of the territory of the communities were taken away by the local ranchers who had the backing of the state politicians. As a result of the land invasion by the ranchers, the villages of Amatenango and Aguacatenango controlled, until recently in this century, very little land, mostly temporal, the better land being in the hands of the local ladino ranchers.

M [661]

T 175 423 621 661 523

After the Mexican Revolution of the twenties, the fincas (ranches) were expropriated by the national government, according to new policies of agrarian reform, and under the presidential regime of Avila Camacho were returned to the villages as Ejidos (cooperatively owned land).

T 175 423 M 669 423

The territory of the villages is divided today, by use, into land for agriculture (?ulabal [irrigated], pomultik [hot-country] and temporal), land for residential sites, and land for lumbering and pasture. Within the communities the over-all authority that controls land is the Ayuntamiento, the body which forms the civil branch of the civil-religious government that is the ultimate authority in village affairs. The Ayuntamiento controls both the communal lands and the Ejido lands.

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T 621 423

The Ejidos function very much like the communal lands, in that they are "owned" by the community. Every household head is a member of the ejido cooperative, and has rights to cultivate a parcel within the ejido. According to the Mexican Agrarian Code,

T 423 621

423 recent grants of land, and also because the whole region of
621 Amatenango and Aguacatenango has less population pressure than the overpopulated Chamula area.

Membership

621 In the social dimension, one of the basic features of the corporate communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is their criteria for membership: to become a member of Amatenango of Aguacatenango one has to be born in the village, or marry a village member.

Contractual membership, although rare, may occur, and has, but only for Indians, and with concensual acceptance by the whole
[166] community. When the nearby fincas were closed after the Mexican
[175] Revolution, some of the Indian peones attached to them asked for and obtained land from Amatenango and Aguacatenango and became full members of these communities with the same rights and duties as any other community member. Although people can indicate who is a member of a new or old family, this distinction tends to be forgotten, even by the families themselves, after the next generation has been born and married into the village.

628 A man from another Indian community may receive an agri-
621 cultural plot if he makes a petition to the Ayuntamiento, is willing
423 to pay the ejido taxes and the limosna (tax levied against the
[651] household heads to support the expenses of celebration of village holidays) and a small payment to the Ayuntamiento (20 pesos) for handling his case. Even then, he has to bring witnesses to testify

/4 cont./

614 Juan Jiménez Chan, of the Ijká clan:
539 It was arranged in the times of the old chuneles, when the
776 lab talked it over, there where they live. The chuneles later heard about it through their lab, and they were in agreement.

Tomás Vásquez Coreta, of the Chik clan:
Ants went into the home of the Boj, and the latter went to the home of the Ijká, where they were very well received, and "all are happy." Only the lab spoke, but the chuneles knew and told it to their chapomales.

Domingo López Uax, of the Boj clan; now of the Ijká:
The lab of the Boj and of the Ijká spoke and all was arranged. "Now they are chapomales and cannot marry."

614 The surnames in Cancuc determine the clan to which an
551 individual belongs. There are two of them: a native one which
177 is preceded by a Spanish one (except in various exceptional cases in which there is only a Spanish surname). All the Cancuqueros know their native surname, but most of them do not know the Spanish surname with which it is combined. Upon the uttering of a native surname, all know to which clan it belongs, which does not happen with the Spanish one, because these can be placed before native surnames belonging to one, two, or three clans. Therefore we can say that there is exogamy of the native surname, but not /5/ of the Spanish one, which does not seem to have any function with respect to the clans.

551 In the lists of surnames that we were able to obtain and which
614 in no way pretend to be exhaustive, we find 20 Spanish surnames and 92 native surnames. These last are distributed among the four clans in the following way: 33 of the Chik clan, 31 of the Chejeb, 21 of the Ijká, and 7 of the Boj (now incorporated into the Ijká clan).

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

563 Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo relations between Indians and Ladinos are more friendly, and the Indians are regarded as milder and more tractable.

181 Of the strongly Indian towns, Cancuc is the most conservative, Chanal the most progressive.

In respect to official political organization, these villages are divided according
631 to their importance and the number of their inhabitants, into free municipalities
563 (*municipios libres*) and dependent municipalities (*agencias municipales*). The former are those which have the right to choose their own government, upon which formal administration depends. To this category belong Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Ococingo, Chilón, and Bachajón. Until a short time ago the municipal governments of these settlements were composed of Ladinos in the principal posts and of Indians in the subordinate positions. At the present time the government is seeking to reverse this situation so that the Indians have the greater authority; it is for this reason that the governments of the four villages first mentioned are now headed by Indians. This change has brought about marked
[177] alterations in certain places in the social equilibrium that before existed between the two ethnic elements which compose the population.

Villages of the latter category are those which depend, in administrative matters, on a free municipality. In these cases authority is represented in the first place by the *agente municipal*, who is named by the central municipal government. This post is always discharged by a Ladino. In most instances the municipal agent compensates for the meagerness of his salary by controlling the sale of rum in the village which he administers. The other members of the municipal government are chosen almost always from the Indian group.

184 In several of the highland communities, notably Amatenango, Chanal, and,
243 to a much less extent, Tenejapa, the Indian grows (in addition to the universal
439 maize) a certain amount of wheat for export; the Ladinos of Oxchuc cultivate this crop, but in Cancuc, where there are no Ladinos, wheat is not grown. (Wheat is
433 also grown in the Tzotzil towns of Chamula and Huistán.) Other money crops
241 of the highlands are chickpeas, peas, oranges, and other fruit. Some coffee is grown in San Martín; it is the principal export from Yajalón and Petalcingo. In Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Chilón a principal produce is brown sugar, made locally from sugar cane locally raised. Cancuc is the only village that cultivates cotton commercially; the production in the other communities is insignificant. The local
[186] manufacture of loom-woven clothing is rapidly disappearing. Most Tzeltal com-
[178] munities are without beehives, but there is considerable apiculture in Sivacá, and
231 a little beekeeping is also practised in Tenango, Bachajón, and Yajalón. Apparently
184 the bees kept are wild colonies brought to the villages in the sections of hollow log they are made to inhabit. The raising of hogs and poultry is a principal economic
233 recourse in all the Indian settlements. The beef cattle industry has always been in the hands of Ladinos; however, recently the Government, acting through the
[654] Centers of Native Education, has sought to stimulate the industry among the Indians.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The Indians manufacture and consume *chicha*, an alcoholic beverage fermented from sugar cane or maize. They drink larger quantities of rum prepared in Ladino-owned distilleries. *Pilico*, a combination of lime and tobacco, is chewed frequently, especially in Oxchuc, Tenejapa, and Cancuc.[19] 273 276 184

Tenejapa is the only Tzeltal town that enjoys importance as a market center. Here a market is held every Sunday. 443

Pottery is made for sale outside the local community in Amatenango and in Tenango. In almost all the other communities the industry is practised in a rudimentary form merely to supply local needs. Blom and LaFarge observed and reported the techniques of pottery manufacture at Sivaca;[20] Villa limits his data to mentioning the industry there. Blom and LaFarge report, on hearsay, the method of making large, egg-shaped, three-handled water jars at Tenango; Villa observed and reported this industry. The former authors report that the clay used is "a light greenish brown colour."[21] Villa says that two kinds of clay, "white earth" and "red earth," are combined to form the paste. Villa also noted the tempering with a ground sandy limestone (*hi*); and the painting with a paint made from a soft stone from the river (*knxu-tzaik*). The pots and griddles are made from one kind of clay tempered with a different sandstone called *bax*. The method of firing described for Sivaca by Blom and LaFarge from hearsay, involving the preparation of "an A-roof, forming a long tunnel," was observed and photographed by Villa in Tenango. Villa was told that vessels after firing are filled with *pozaiz* in water to reduce the porosity. 323 [438]

In Tenejapa metates are made for export, and in Oxchuc halters, lead-ropes, nets and bags. The methods of weaving, net making and basketry, reported by Blom and LaFarge for Bachajon,[22] were not reported by Villa. 439 114 285 286

The type of habitation is the same throughout the whole region, although there are small variations from village to village. The houses are rectangular in form with four-sided roofs, thatched with grass, and with sides made of poles and clay. Only the houses of Chanal form an exception. The walls of these structures are in most cases of wood. The houses of Tenango present another exception in that they are the only ones where the roofs do not terminate in a ridge, but in a point; it is usual to cover this with an inverted pot. Houses are throughout divided into two rooms, one of which serves as living room and kitchen and the other as sleeping room. In some cases the kitchen is placed in the latter section. There is a single door in front; only in certain settlements to the north, as Chilón and Yajalon, where the influence of the white man has been greater, are houses to be seen with two doors and even some with small windows. The floor is always of packed earth. 342 184 [177]

The furnishings of the living room are limited in general to beds, improvised of boards placed on the ground or on logs, and covered with mats. The hammock is little used; it is generally reserved for children. The furnishings and domestic 352

[19] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:342–345.
[20] *Ibid.*, 2:181.
[21] *Ibid.*, 2:344.
[22] *Ibid.*, 2:345–349.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

352 utensils pertaining to the other room include three tables of varying form and size. One of these, about 60 cm. high, is called *akhintel*,[23] and serves as a support for the metate (*chá*). Another smaller table (*matzamalté*) has three legs and is circular in form; it is used in making tortillas. The third table (*ucbalté*), also small but quadrangular, is used in serving food. Three benches of hollow logs
415 (*tzantel*) and small chairs (*taburetes*) serve as seats. Deep baskers and gasoline
251 boxes are used for holding clothes. Hanging from the roof is always to be seen a disk made of vines (*likin-nab*). This is used to keep comestibles from the rats. The other implements are the griddle, pots, and other vessels of clay, and calabashes and gourds in various forms and dimensions.

343 Besides the fowl pen (*na-mut*) and the pigpen (*na-chitán*) it is common to
[417] see near the house the temazcal, or steam bath (*pus*). It is made of clay and irregularly shaped stones; it is rectangular with a small door in front and a ventilator in the rear. It is usual to cover it with a small shelter of straw. The use of the temazcal
[184] is common in the highlands. It is almost not to be found from Ococingo northward.

29 Each village has its own costume; however, local variations conform to a
184 certain pattern which changes according to the altitudes and climate. Thus, in the region of Los Altos the usual pattern of dress is the following: for men, short cotton trousers (*uex*)[24] and cotton shirt (*kú*) reaching to the knees, a sash (*chukichut*) of wool or cotton and in most cases red in color, a poncho (*tzotz*) made of wool and in most cases dark grey in color, a handkerchief (*chukkil*), a straw hat (*pixol*), and leather sandals (*xanab*); women wear a white blouse (*kú*) and a blue shirt (*tzequel*), both made either of wool or of cotton, and a red woolen sash (*chukichut*). Some women in going out-of-doors add a woolen *rebozo*. Women use also a cotton cloth (*zitz-cal*) to carry small children. They wear no footgear.

In the tierra caliente the dress of the women is almost the same except that it is cleaner. On the other hand that of the men, although equally clean, presents marked differences: the trousers are longer and the shirt shorter, coming to resemble an open blouse or *guayabera*. The sash and the poncho cease to be indispensable
[177] garments. It is in this region that there is most use of trousers and shirt in European style.

551 In Tenejapa, Starr found that the Indians had Tzeltal surnames. He says,
582 "We feel sure that these are *not* nicknames, but the old family names still preserved."[25] He does not give examples, and says nothing about any relation between
114 these name-groups and marriage. Blom and LaFarge make no note of such names, and say, "there are no formal restrictions on marriage."[26]

582 Villa found Indian surnames present in Chanal, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc,
551 and was told that marriage is not allowed, or is at least strongly discouraged, between persons of the same Indian surname. In Chanal an informant indicated that such

[184] [23] The names of these objects vary from one village to another; those which are described here were obtained in Chanal.

[24] The names of some of these garments vary likewise from one village to another, here Villa gives names used in Chanal.

[25] Starr, 1902, p. 73

[26] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1936) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

a marriage was incestuous in the same sense as marriage between close relations. These surnames are transmitted patrilineally. Of ten informants in Chanal, nine gave their Indian surnames; the tenth said he had none. Furthermore, in cases where potential spouses have the same Spanish surname but different Indian surnames—and such cases occur—marriage between such persons is similarly discouraged. And in San Martin, Tenango, Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo, where apparently the Indian surnames do not exist, Villa received information to the effect that marriage between persons of the same Spanish surname is disapproved.[21]

Indian surnames noted by Villa, with translations offered him, follow:

CHANAL: Yemuc (large mouth), Xampil, Tiib, Calabal, Chicb, Cories, Comistal.
TENEJAPA: Tzurin (sowing?), Hoviltzil (mad dog), Uacax (cow), Chacax (?), Mee-mut (mother hen), Lobal (banana), Ton (stone).
CANCUC: Oxom, Say, Chig-yax, Coreta, Caxlan-pucú, Hokob-canela.
OXCHUC: Chinbac (small bone), Aquilan (from Aquilar), Chichol (tomato), Barsen (*pinto*), Nimail (squash-tip), Holchi (deer head).

In all the highland villages information was given to the effect that each *pueblo* (town, with its rural population, if any) is endogamous; in most instances the endogamy was represented as absolute. As some of the communities include only a few score of households, the matter requires further investigation.

The communities of Cancuc, Oxchuc, and Bachajón (and apparently only these) are divided into antagonistic sub-communities called *calpules*. (Neither Starr nor Blom and LaFarge give information on this point.) In each case an imaginary east-west line across the plaza divides the northern lands of the one calpul from the southern lands of the other. In Cancuc (at least) the lands of the north are considered "hot," those of the south "cold," with corresponding favorable and unfavorable connotations as to their fertility. In Cancuc the northern calpul is called either *muhul calpul* 'large calpul' or else *alankuluhibal;* the southern is called *bikit calpul* 'small calpul' or else *kalankuluhibal*. Each calpul (*barrio* to the Ladinos) had its own government, established by the members of each calpul independently of the formal local government, which, recognized by the state and national authorities, acts for both calpules in matters that must be taken to the outside authorities. In Oxchuc the calpul officers are one *presidente*, two *alcaldes* or *cantakines*, two *gobernadores*, two *catinab* 'very respected chiefs,'

[21] Among the Lacandons there are patrilineal, totemically named kinships grouped into two exogamous phratries (Soustelle, 1935); it is likely that among the ancient Maya of Yucatan there was surname exogamy. Landa says (Section XXIV), "... the Indians consider all of the same name related, and treat them accordingly. ... Thus also no man or woman marries another of the same name, because this was for them a great infamy" (Gates, 1937, p. 40). Landa also says (Section XXV), "... nor did they ever marry one bearing their own name on the father's side, for this was considered a very bad thing." On the subject of Maya names, Roys says, "The Maya family name, which was perpetuated in the male line, survived the Conquest, but the old pagan pre-names were abolished and replaced by Spanish Christian names when the Indians were baptized. Two varieties of pre-names are well known: one indicating a man's profession or office, and the other, derived from his mother and preceded by the prefix Na-. The Maya called the latter the 'soul,' and there were also two other classes of pre-names, which they called the 'boy-name' and the 'jesting name.' Many of the 'boy-names' are referable to fauna-names, especially those of birds, while some of the 'jesting names' appear to be descriptive. It seems to have been possible for a single person to have borne all four names" (Roys, 1934, p. 106).

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

796 carried a red banner. At the church the four men performed a dance. Divided into
535 pairs facing each other at a distance of 6 m., they first shook the ribbons on their poles while giving loud cries, varied by putting the hand over the mouth, and running to meet one another. Then they made a slight inclination of the head, turned half around, and returned to their original places. After repeating this thrice, the pairs exchanged places and performed new figures. At the conclusion they surrounded the flag-bearer, shouting and waving the ribbons.

796 Although harp and guitars were here used in an apparently religious dance,
534 in several of the communities it appears that the stringed instruments of European
184 origin (guitar, violin, and harp) are used only for secular purposes, the religious musical instruments (which are often kept in the church) consisting of cane flute
[197] (*ahmay*) and drums. In Chanal two drums are used, a large drum (*kayob*) and a small one (*chin kayob*). In Tenejapa the single drum is called *anteel* and is accompanied by a sort of cornet.

778 Some minor observances having to do with the cult of the saints may be
776 mentioned. In the highland villages it is usual for each important saint to be repre-
184 sented by two images of which one, the genuine santo, is too sacred to be taken from the church; the other, called *debo* (for *doble*) substitutes for the true santo
[194] in religious processions.[36] In Bachajón the care of the church is alternated weekly between the two calpules; on Christmas Eve each church-caretaker (*priora*) must contribute to the decoration of the altar ten little figures of clay, of which five are in the form of a bull, and five in the form of a horse and rider. The church at Citalá contains many santos of which two (San Mateo and San Gabriel) are painted black and enjoy special prestige. In this church a straw mat, yellow in color with red ribbons interwoven, is used to kneel upon before the principal saints;
778 it is kept with extraordinary care. At Citalá a principal annual event is the ritual
776 washing of the saints' clothing. This occurs two weeks after Holy Week. The
796 "Great Washing," when the clothing of the principal saints is washed, is performed at a spring where the water is thought to be of absolute purity. The "Small Washing" of the clothes of the lesser saints may be done in the river. The Great Washing is reported as involving the consumption of eight hogs and a great quantity of rum.

78 Although it is evident that the religion of the Tzeltals contains many pagan
[114] elements, some of which have been reported by Blom and LaFarge,[37] Villa's notes do not add a great deal on this point. The use of hilltop shrines was noted at
778 Oxchuc, where one of these is called Ikal Ahau, apparently after an ancient deity.[38]
782 The teacher at Amatenango reports that the Indians there make offerings for
776 rain at a rock marked with a zigzag thought to represent the lightning. No
114 information was obtained on the beliefs as to *nahuales*; this subject is discussed by Blom and LaFarge.[37]

[36] This usage corresponds precisely with that of the pairs of crosses used by the Quintana Roo Maya, of which one, the cruz *madre*, is moved about in ritual.

[37] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:362–374.

[38] Núñez de la Vega (1702, p. 9) says, "Los de Ochchuc y de otros pueblos de los Llanos veneran mucho al ídolo que llaman Icalahau, que quiere decir negro principal, o señor de negros," as quoted in Becerra, 1932, p. 244.

37. Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:369-371.

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
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621 other municipalities (Aguacatenango, Can-
632 cuc, Tenango, San Martin, Sivaca, Guaqui-
tepec, and Bachajon). Petalcingo belongs to the municipality of Tila, where Chol is spoken. The reason for these heterogeneous municipalities is that, within the political constitution of the state, only communities containing a sufficient number of inhabitants may achieve the status of municipality; the rest are considered merely as agencies of the municipality to which they have been assigned.

18 Another cultural variation stems from its
177 ecological location. Communities of the
191 southern zone, which have good lands,
361 roads, mechanized transportation, and therefore greater contacts with the outside world, occupy a more advanced place in the process of acculturation, which is revealed by the scant number of monolingual Indian residents and by their better economic condition. Communities of the central zone, of irregular landscape and high demographic pressure, isolated, and without economic opportunities, are the poorest, most conservative, and most untrusting of the entire region. The northern zone has a high index of Indianness because of the number of those who do not know Spanish, but their economic condition is better than that of the central zone, because there is more opportunity to cultivate coffee and work on the plantations.

Historical Antecedents

175 I shall mention only the periods of greatest
177 social significance in the past four centuries.
648 The dates are approximate.

The period of the conquest, from 1524 to 1545, saw the most violent encounters and occasional skirmishes between Indians and Spaniards. The fortress of Chamula was taken by Captain Luis Marín in 1524, and four years later Ciudad Real (now San Cristobal de las Casas), destined to be the politico-religious center of the region, was founded.

The period of catechization and consoli-

[P. 197-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4.5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

175 177 648 [166]

dation of the Spanish dominance lasted from 1545 (when Fray Bartolomé de las Casas arrived with 17 Dominican friars) until 1600. During this period a vast movement of population took place characterized by changes in lòcation of some towns, reductions, and congregations.

During the entire 17th and early 18th centuries, the *period of slavery and royal land grants*, Indians were subjected to heavy tributes and to forced labor on the plantations and in transporation systems of the encomenderos, as *tememes* or carriers. Great caravans of 300–400 Indians, at the command of 10 or 12 Spaniards, transported goods the 1000 km. from San Cristobal de las Casas to Veracruz. Many died from excessive loads and lack of food (B. Metzger, 1960, p. 19).

175 177 648 797

From about 1720 to about 1850 may be considered the *period of resurgence and autonomy of the Indian community*, when the system of royal land grants was suppressed, the Order of Dominicans was weakened, and Spanish authority became relaxed and even indifferent. Bishop Polanco sent a report in 1781 to the Royal Court of Justice of Guatemala, complaining of the abandonment of the Indians (Trens, 1942, p. 200).

> It is wondrous that in the town of Chamula, contiguous to Ciudad Real, Indians have need of interpreter to defend themselves or to beg for what they desire. So that they are as they were twenty years after their conquest; in such a state of blindness and ignorance they find themselves. In the town of San Andres, next to Chamula, there are many saints, old and indecent, whom I thought of burying; I did not do it because those evil souls say that they make them see clearly and alleviate their needs. I suspected a riot without having assistance.
>
> Oh, my Lord, their audacity and shamelessness are such that they even come to command in the church, without respect for the priest. They hold to the idea that the third person of the Holy Trinity is the Sun, because, they say, it was thus taught to them by the old fathers.

[P. 198-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969
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175 The mistakes, lack of attention and preten-
• 177 sions of the Indians in regard to the Christian
648 doctrine, who they say they know, and the
797 ones instructed best in them, say as many heretic words as Christian, is consequence or necessary sequel of the lack of care in the secular and ecclesiastical government.

This situation became more and more acute owing largely to the political unrest which absorbed the attention of the authorities, unrest which culminated in the separation of Chiapas from Guatemala and in 1824 its incorporation with Mexico.

175 The next period, *invasion of lands by*
177 *Ladinos*, extends from about 1850 to 1911,
648 when the first sparks of the Mexican Revolution reached Chiapas. In this period Ladinos began to invade lands of the Indian communities by bribery or by force. Toward 1856 the Indians complained against the invasion of lands in San Martin, San Miguel Mitontic, San Pedro Chenalo, Cuncuc, and Tenejapa, but failed to halt Ladino inroads (Trens, 1942, pp. 274–75).

The history of recent times, from 1920 on, is marked by increasing support from federal authorities throughout the entire
[178] republic. In the Tzeltal area progress has been slow but constantly improving (see LaFarge, 1940; Beals, 1951).

Ethnographic Studies of the Region

114 In his first trip through the Mayance area
[101] in 1839 and 1840, Stephens (1841) visited the northern zone of the Tzeltal, from Ocosingo to Yajalon, going through Bachajon and Chilon.

Traveling the same route two decades later in the opposite direction, the French explorer Désiré Charnay recorded his impressions in a small book (1863).

In 1901 Frederick Starr (1902), from the University of Chicago, made a short visit to the region.

In 1925 Blom and LaFarge traversed from north to south a large part of Tzeltal territory, publishing their data in three chapters of their *Tribes and Temples* (1926–

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241 paraje perform before the altar of the
782 church in the ceremonial center. All prayers
796 are said in Tzeltal; some are Christian in
[778] origin, others entirely pagan. This prayer
[177] I recorded in 1944:

241
796 Here we come to bring you your food, to
782 light your candles, to play the harp, to play the
539 guitar. Here we come to perform your fiesta,
[534] so you may be happy, so you will not abandon us.

We have already planted the milpas; the seed is already in the soil. Father, do not forsake us; let the rains come properly; let them not be abundant nor deficient. Let there be a little sunshine and a few clouds. Let the soil be happy.

Father, let no hail come; let no wind come; let no locust come; let no harmful animals come; let no robbers come, lest they steal from us and leave us in poverty.

Father, let the year come well; let the corn turn out well; let the beans turn out well. Let there be no sickness; let there be no sorrow. Father, the mouthful has already entered; the word had already entered.

The word "mouthful" refers to all the gifts, "word" to all the prayer.

796 A similar ceremony is the *mukul mixa*
[621] ('great Mass'), organized by members of
[776] each calpul. Each calpul has its own patron
[622] saint and its own chiefs. For this ceremony
[534] many more people gather, for representatives and musicians (flute, drum, harp, and guitar) come from all places. The candles offered as "mouthfuls" are greater in number and size.

778 Household ceremonies follow as the head
78 of the household, in private, prepares the small home altar, where the cross which
[834] protects the home is always found. He adorns it with *juncia* and five candles; he says appropriate prayers at 6 o'clock in the morning or at midday, as he observes fasting and sexual abstinence. These family prayers may be repeated occasionally, depending on the condition of the milpa.

241 At the beginning of the month called
782 [P. 202-A]

262 they visit the regional market. Only during
235 illness or fiesta are both chickens and eggs
[437] eaten.

231 In towns like Tenejapa and Cancuc, In-
439 dians buy small pigs from the Ladinos of the center, fatten them for 8 or 10 months, then sell them to the Ladinos, who slaughter them and sell the meat to the Indians. As may be supposed, in this sort of symbiosis the greatest profit accrues to the La-
[454] dinos. However, the Indians more often keep the money from selling pigs to meet emergencies or expenses of clothing, tools, and fiestas.

262 *Food Habits*

Corn, beans, chile, and squash are the core of Indian diet, supplemented by ma-
262 nioc, sweetpotato, potato, and chayote. One
263 or more chayote trees next to the house are common; every part of the chayote is used—fruit, tender leaves, and root—usually boiled with salt. Wild herbs are eaten raw or cooked. Among the raw ones are *culix-uamal*, *xhix-uamal*, and *alauanex*, the last a wild radish which Ladinos call "the Indian's radish." Herbs that are cooked include *tzul* and *tuxac*. Some herbs are eaten both raw or cooked: *verdolaga* or *chic-zecul*, *muem* (*hierba mora*), *maj-tas*, *tzuy*, and *San Sibro Uamal*. The last is a small grass with long
[276] thin leaves which the Indians grind and add to give a better taste to the *pilico* or wild tobacco. This is called *poxil-may*, which is like saying "medicinal pilico." Ladinos use its leaves in tea sweetened with panela.

262 There are three main meals during the
264 course of the day: breakfast (*ue-el sab*), which consists of atole or pozole, beans, chile, and tortillas; lunch (*ue-el olical*) of the same foods plus a vegetable such as squash or chayote; and supper (*ue-el x-malcal*), with atole, tortillas, beans, and chile. In Tenejapa rabbit meat is frequently
• 177 on the table. In Amatenango, Aguacate-
262 nango, and Pinola, greater contact with Ladinos has added coffee, wheat bread, var-
[P.203-A]

179 262 ious meats, and canned foods such as salmon, sardines, and sausages.

231 [222] The keeping of bees is not widespread. The Indians instead take advantage of the wild honey, which is commonly gathered during certain parts of the year. Tenango was the only town where I observed beehives next to the huts. The bees, large and yellow, are called *aja-chab* and are brought from the woods. When a tree is found with one of these beehives, the section containing the hive is cut off and is taken to town; the ends of this section are covered with jícaras, which are stuck on with clay.

Settlement Patterns

Town and Parajes

632 621 361 All the communities consist of a town center and a number of settlements, called parajes, which are scattered over the municipio. The town is the political, religious, and commercial center of the entire community; there the municipal authorities have their offices, [563] and the church and shops are located. In general, the Ladinos reside in the center, their houses arranged in aligned streets, but some communities (Chanal, Amatenango, Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Bachajon) refuse to accept Ladinos in the town permanently. The Indians prefer the parajes, where the huts are dispersed irregularly.

162 As observed by Sol Tax for the highlands of Guatemala (1937), the proportion of Indians who reside in the town center varies. In some communities (Chanal, Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Tenango) nearly all the people live in the capital. In Chanal, with a population of 2,881 persons, 2,386 reside in the center and so it is a "nucleated town," according to Tax's terminology. In contrast, the most common community is the "vacant town." Tenejapa, for example, has only 517 inhabitants of a total 7,750 residing in the center. The least frequent is an intermediate type, where some live in the center and some in the parajes, as typified by

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 205-A]

283 the ground. This disc has two hooks to
413 which the fiber is knotted; when the disc is turned by a crank, it braids the fibers into rope. A thick board, smoothed by a metal knife (manufactured by the Indians from iron pieces bought in the city), is used to scrape the pita and remove the fiber.

407 The most complex machine that the Tzel-
[177] tal own and build is the wooden cane press, which was imported by the Spaniards to grind sugarcane (fig. 6). This machine is operated by two men, who move the rollers by a handle (*kabal-té*) at each end of the
[415] machine. The juice pressed out by the rollers drops into fluted containers made of pieces
273 of banana tree, and finally into a pot. This juice is used in the preparation of an alcoholic beverage, *chicha* (*chi-ja*, 'sweet wa-
[415] ter'), and for panela. Chicha is prepared by fermenting this juice by bran, corn, or wheat, in a special container (*canoja*) made from a fluted tree trunk. The bran or other fermenting agent is *smé-chi-já* ('mother of
[184] the chicha'). Some communities (Tenejapa, Cancuc, Oxchuc) have greater preference for this beverage than other Tzeltal groups.

224 A gun has become very common in hunt-
411 ing. Sometimes (Oxchuc and Tenejapa)
[412] rabbits are taken by striking them with a coa, after cornering them with the aid of dogs. Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:352) state that the Tzeltal of the lowlands usually hunt wild boar with long wooden spears with fire-hardened or metal points. Traps protect the milpa as well as snaring game.

41 Cooking utensils are mainly indigenous. The usual set consists of clay containers of varying size and shape, jícaras, baskets, wooden spoons, a comal, a metate, hooks, and wooden tripods for hanging items over
177 the fire. In the last few years metal pots,
404 dishes, frying pans, boiling pans, and espe-
415 cially handy *nixtamal* mills (which are gradually displacing the grinding stone)
177 have been introduced. Other items that
207 come from the city are flashlights, small
405 kerosene lamps, watches, scissors, and (in-
412 frequently) battery radios.
416
[P 206-B]

463 241 handle the milpa. It is rare to find an Indian who does not have a milpa since this is the work that ensures his existence.

Property Rights

423 613 This is a matter that varies according to the degree of acculturation reached by the community. In the most conservative groups [177] [181] (Oxchuc, Cancuc, Tenejapa, Tenango) there are still family property rights, but they seem to depend on lineage rather than on the immediate family (Villa Rojas, 562 1947, ch. 19). As these lineages are patri- 428 lineal, a woman does not count when inheritance is involved. She can own her parcel of land only when she has saved the money to buy it, but this is not frequent. Any man can claim lands that previously belonged to his lineage; it is enough to give back the money paid for them two or three generations ago. Of course, he has to prove by witnesses or documents that those lands were the property of his lineage.

127 According to a document dated 1861, 423 which I found in the possession of the 613 Gómez Ichiloks (they belong to the Gómez 614 clan and to the Ichilok lineage), residents of the paraje of Tzajalchen of the municipio of Oxchuc, this property system seems to be very ancient. The document is of special interest.

000 DOCUMENTO DE TIERRAS DE LOS GÓMEZ ICHILOK A

Por pedimento de los ciudadanos Domingo Gómez Ichilok, Tomás Gomez Ichilok, otro Tomás Gómez Ichilok, Miguel Gómez Ichilok, Diego Gómez Ichilok, otre. Domingo Gómez Ichilok, otro Diego Gómez Ichilok y su hijo Diego Gómez Ichilok y por último su hijo menor Manuel Gómez Ichilok, y como antiguamente se acostumbra en este pueblo que segun los hermanos de una propria familia, se les demarca un retazo de terreno de ejido para que en lo sucesivo no haya pleitos con los vecinos como suele suceder, nosotros los Gobernadores, Auxiliares, Justicias, Escribanos y Testigos, pasamos al paraje denominado Tzajalchén a

[P. 211-A]

A /For a translation by H.R.A.F. of this document, see category 116, p. 225-C--Analyst/

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal/NV9

556 829 183 know, with the aid of the *naguales* (supernatural spirits), about the wealth each member of the group has; those who have more than necessary must pay for the expenses of fiestas, etc.

Social Organization

Kinship

614 613 The basic elements of the clan system of the ancient Maya can still be found in the most conservative groups. At the present time, the kinship system is divided into patrilineal clans, which are divided into patrilineages. In some cases, the name of [177] the clan is of Spanish origin; the name of the lineage, of indigenous origin. In Oxchuc there are six clans whose names are: Gómez, Santis, López, Méndez, Encines, and Rodríguez. The first two clans are the largest, since the Gómez clan has 37 lineages, the Santis 39. The last two are almost disappearing as they have only one or two lineages. Among the indigenous names for lineages are: Ichilok, Nimail, Akux, Cojton, Chic, Molox, Nich, Antun, Chisná, Tib, and Mulesh. These designate names of animals, plants, or objects.

A man whose name is Juan Gómez Nich, for example, belongs to the Gómez clan and to the Nich lineage. Generally, the name of the lineage is enough to show to which clan somebody belongs: if his name is Juan Nich, it is immediately known that he is from the Gómez clan. This special characteristic of the indigenous name is designated by the word *Jol s'bij*, which means 'head of the name.'

[184] In Cancuc (a community next to Oxchuc) clans have special names, such as Chik, Chejeb, Ijká, and Boj. If the indigenous name is known, the clan name is self-evident. The Spanish name has lost its specific function, and, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, pp. 4–5), there are Indians who do not even remember it. However, the Spanish surname designates exogamic units of a patrilineal type throughout the region; without

[P. 213-B]

[Text continues on p. 214-B]

581 end, the husband gives a big meal sometime
574 (even 30 years later) which must be attended by the important members of the wife's
[753] clan. Many illnesses in a family are attributed to the fact that the man did not fulfill this third requirement of a food gift (*oshevuelto-uaj-matz*, 'third delivery of food').

584 Another custom, known as *yajk makte achish* ('cover or secure the girl'), is practiced when the chosen girl is too young (10–12 years) to get married. To secure her in the future, the boy's parents make arrangements with those of the girl, offering them liquor that other members of the girl's clan also share. When she grows older, they proceed with the wedding arrangements and the customary formal ceremonies.

583 Another form of marriage, existing among very traditional groups, begins with the capture of the girl. This happens when she has no father or important man representing the house. The boy and his parents must obtain cooperation from one of the male members of the girl's clan. With this accomplice the men go to the girl's house at midnight, take her, and bring her to the boy's parents either by persuading her mother with liquor or by force. Days later, they try to calm the anger of the important people of her clan, bringing further bottles of liquor. Usually the union becomes formally recognized after this, and the couple settle in their own home with the neighbors' approval. It is thus a sort of institutionalized capture.

581 Among the less conservative communities,
177 these forms of marriage are being replaced
585 by Ladino forms, which regard marriage not as a contract between two lineages or families but as an agreement between two individuals. Furthermore, the Catholic ceremony
583 is considered very important. Premarital sex-
836 ual relations and elopement are frequent. Metzger states that, "in Aguacatenango, to
584 a considerable extent, the marriage choice
[836] is made by the boy and the girl after sexual experimentation and a period of 'going steady.' The boy tells his family about it and they proceed to make the arrangements

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584 with the family of the girl. If the boy is accepted, the gifts are received and the marriage takes place.

585 184 [177] In Aguacatenango and Amatenango, the Catholic ceremony is sometimes delayed for several years after the informal marriage, because of the belief that the latter really consolidated the union. On the other hand, in places where the Ladino population is larger (Pinola and San Bartolo) the religious ceremony is considered by the Indians as a very important part of the customs.

184 177 608 The compadrazgo relationship is stressed among these communities where Ladinos have great influence. There are baptism, confirmation, and wedding padrinos. The rights and duties established through this relationship are still respected, especially 608 the compadre relationship. It is the duty of the child's parents to give occasional gifts [736] to the godparents. If the child's parents die, the godparents must take care of him, except when there are closer relatives to the father.

585 608 It is the main duty of the wedding godparents to help the couple maintain a good understanding and to dissolve, by advice, any disagreement. They always receive great respect and affection from their *ahijados*.

608 [851] Among conservative groups, the compadrazgo relationship arises only from the baptism of a child. Sometimes this relationship is established in a very informal way; perhaps during fiesta at the ceremonial center they may take advantage of the priest's presence to ask a very close friend to "embrace" the child. The padrino is then invited 574 608 to have aguardiente. At other times the arrangement is made formally; the parents of the child go to the house of their future [431] compadres to ask them that favor. Exchanges of gifts and dinner invitations are frequent, the child's parents feeling the greater obligation. These meals can be really banquets where many "platillos" and 184 much aguardiente are consumed. Among 608 some groups, padrinos neither give a gift to 43 736 [P. 219-A]

794 the calpul must have a powerful nagual, through which they can learn about the private lives of their subordinates. This is usually the way they know who has enough money to pay for a feast, who can occupy special jobs, and which sinners deserve punishment.

Religious Life

The Catholic Cult

• 177 The beliefs and religious practices intro-
797 duced by Catholic missionaries in the 16th
795 century have been adapted to the aborigi-
795 nal culture. The largest and most important
778 building of the village is the church, situ-
[346] ated on the east side of the ceremonial cen-
[361] ter. In it are the image of the patron saint
[776] of the group, the holy cross, and lesser
[796] saints. The most profound ceremonies take
[794] place before the altar of these saints, who are looked upon as mediators between God and men, and are performed by the cabildos de misa, dzunubiles, and other elderly men of high rank who know both Catholic and Indian ritual.

346 During the ceremonies the altar is deco-
796 rated with flowers and with paper and rib-
795 bons of different colors. The floor is covered with pine needles, which give off an agree-
[782] able fragrance. Candles and copal are part of every prayer and ceremony, the copal having been used since pre-Hispanic times.

795 Common prayers of people who visit the
782 center also have a place. These people have to enter the church and make an offering of candles to the patron saint. The prayers follow a formal pattern but vary in content according to the need and mood of the suppliant. Each individual talks intimately to the saint, specifying the help he needs, much as he would to a relative or a friend in whom he has absolute confidence. The two most frequent matters of petition are health and food; as the latter depends almost entirely on the condition of the cornfield, people pray that "it may not be damaged by the wind, or by cold, sun, birds, or plagues."

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795 In most of the prayers, Dios Tatik Jesu-
782 cristo and the 13 *fiadores* who are in heaven are mentioned. These 13 fiadores are God's immediate helpers and correspond to the
[778] Christian saints. The cross is venerated as a representation of God wherever a prayer is said and so appears on the family altar, on mountaintops, in caves, at fountains, at entrances to the town, at the four corners of the plaza, and in front of the church.

795 The local character of Catholicism is seen
778 in the Masses offered to the mountain called
776 Ikal Ajau, near the ceremonial center of
177 Oxchuc. The Indians say that it is a "living mountain" and give it great reverence, for Ikal Ajau was the name of the idol venerated by Oxchuc people in pre-Hispanic
795 times. In almost all the municipios the
184 saints are dressed as Indians. Towns with a
776 large Ladino population have different saints for the Ladinos, who are dressed as Ladinos and to whom the Indians are completely indifferent, even to forgetting the names of them.

Fiesta for the Patron Saint

796
794 One of the major events in the religious life of the Indians is the annual fiesta in honor of the patron saint and the other saints kept in the church. The capitán principal and some of his immediate assistants are in charge of the organization and expenses of these fiestas. The length and cost
[435] of the fiesta correspond to the importance of the saint and range from one day and 100 pesos to four days and several thousand pesos, like the one for the patron saint. To become a capitán principal a man must go through all the ranks and be able to afford the expenses of any fiesta, from a small one to the very large ones of the patrons.

796 The fiesta of the patron of each village is similar to that for any other saint but larger. There are Masses and other religious observances in the church, processions with the image of the saint along the main streets, large meals at the house of the cargoholders, and, above all, constant drink-

[P 221-B]

[Text continues on p. 222-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

776 This substitute is called *gelol*, the same im-
796 age but smaller, which is kept next the original one.

[788] During the procession the saint is carried
[782] in a litter. Incense is burned before him,
[533] while music with drums and flutes is played.

Traditional Ceremonies

796 There are other ceremonies held in the
[177] parajes which, although based on Christian
[178] ritual (including some of the prayers, presence of the cross, candles, etc.), still manifest ancient aboriginal traditions. Among
[776] these ceremonies is the one made before the house altar to Chulmetic (the earth goddess), to God, to Tatik Jesucristo and the 13 Fiadores del Cielo, for the soul of one newborn, to guard against sicknesses or bad influences of any kind. This ceremony is

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796 "sembrar el alma del niño" and must be performed by the dzunubiles and the cabildos de misa. A similar devotion is made to Uch, [796] the supernatural being connected with the growth of the cornfield mentioned earlier.

782 778 Also important are the prayers said by families before the cross of the ancestors, in the sacred caves.

Finally, certain prayers and offerings are made to particular lakes considered sacred because they are inhabited by virgins who look after the well-being of the people. The best known of these lakes is Banabil in Tenejapa. Some day during the year, a small box containing a woman's dress and all its ornaments is thrown into the water. The dress must be made by a virgin or an old woman.

787 *Talking Saints*

776 Another religious form where Indian tra- [177] dition is manifested through Christian formulae is the veneration of the talking saints, a widespread cult among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil. These saints are always private property and are usually kept in a small case on the house altar. The believers go to the house of those who own a talking saint and ask him about any secret problem that might require a special knowledge to be solved. Although any saint can be asked, the most popular one is San Miguelito. In order to consult him, people have to tell his owner their problems. The owner, who supposedly is the only one who can understand his saint, talks to him behind a curtain so that no one can see him. Often the owner of a talking saint succeeds in creating a cult out of the saint's box, making a special altar for him and asking the believers for frequent offerings and prayers. Sometimes there is no box, so the effigy is placed on an altar and concealed by a curtain when the private dialogue takes place.

There have been cases, however, in which the talking saints exceed their function as oracles and advise people on political matters. This is why some talking saints have

[P. 223-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

We have divided Maya history in two groups, the Old Empire 175
and the New Empire. Of the history of the New Empire we know 174
a considerable amount, but our knowledge of the Old Empire history is scant. We know the area in which it flourished as a whole, like knowing Greece without being aware of Sparta, Athens, and Corinth. Here in front of me lay one of the first hints of the subdivisions of the Old Empire. Knowledge will advance, and soon we shall be able to tell about the rise and decline of states and cities, to revive the history of the foremost people of ancient America.

Nearly due north across the valley lies the Campomtik pyramid. 172
La Farge visited it while we worked at Toniná. It, too, is a re- 133
modeled mountain top, and as it is covered with grass, it stands out 178
sharply against the forest-clad hills. It consists of a series of terraces with a depression which has stone-faced terraces and floor. From the valley bottom the hill rises 280 meters, of which 105 meters (325 feet) have been terraced. Broken pottery is found in various places on the hillside, and on the top now stands two wooden crosses, set there by the Indians. The name Campomtik means [103]
"much yellow incense." Incense was burned on the hilltop until [182]
quite recently. At such times they burned great fires, and shot off [196]
many rockets bought in Ocosingo. Finally the celebrations got too [177]
fervent for the Catholic Father, and he had the Indians driven away [178]
by the town officials. Generally, though, the Padres let the Indians alone when they celebrate in honour of the ancient gods (fig. 201).

Outside Ocosingo, where the trail divides, one going to Bachajon, 172
the other to Sivacá, lies a group of mounds called Santa Teresa. Rumors that Indains had buried church treasures here after an uprising, led the townspeople to make a large excavation. According to some people in Ocosingo, they found a small wooden sanctuary, and a beautiful clay bowl with a fish on its lid. This bowl later was bought by Seler.*

It is remarkable how persistent are rumors of buried treasures. 123
Every Ladino expects to find "dinero," money, in any mound, and 172
they are usually sadly disappointed. Also, most of these people believe that we find money, else why should we dedicate so much time to our explorations? We had a case where one man offered to go fifty-fifty with us if we would explore a mound on his lands. The whole mound at Santa Teresa has been dug through, and it is told in Ocosingo that the excavators found, not money, but a small wooden sanctuary with a saint inside. We hear every day, when among the Ladinos and Mexicans, stories of church bells of solid gold, and cocks that crow at midnight on top of the mounds.

*Seler, E., 1901. Fig. 279.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

648 mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

829 The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We received many small favours and [123] acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

FIG. 223—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

241 In their culture these people [181] belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend [433] primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the [291] staple crop. Calabashes, melons, [301] beans, tobacco, bananas, and cotton are raised. The farming is [302] carried on by the same wasteful "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old [178] Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment of many cities. In the case of the Bachajon, it has already become [166] one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn 262 boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates 252 which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and 411 weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but al- 412 ways made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most 184 amazing industries in the world. 177

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

291 Their hats are a smaller-brimmed version of the Mexican sombrero, plaited by the men out of straw. The long plait is stitched in a spiral with *ixtle* fibre or hennequen. They may be decorated with coloured ribbons.

302 Hair is worn short, and banged across the forehead.

291 The Bachajon women get themselves up a little more gaily, in a dark blue skirt and prettily embroidered blouse. Both are made of materials purchased in the stores. The skirt, *tsekel,* made of the blue cotton from San Cristóbal, is in the form of a cylinder, decorated along the seams, with parti-coloured stitching, red, white, green, and yellow. Naturally, it is a great deal too full at the waist; this fullness is taken up with a twist, which is then tucked in, holding the skirt in position without disaster.

The blouse, *kuul,* is of white cotton, the neck open from shoulder to shoulder, with a short sleeve coming half-way to the elbow. Embroidery of [294] red and blue thread, or an appliqué of stamped tape bought in the stores, outlines the neck and shoulder seams, the edge of the sleeves, and the upper part of the front of the blouse. The bottom is tucked in under the skirt.

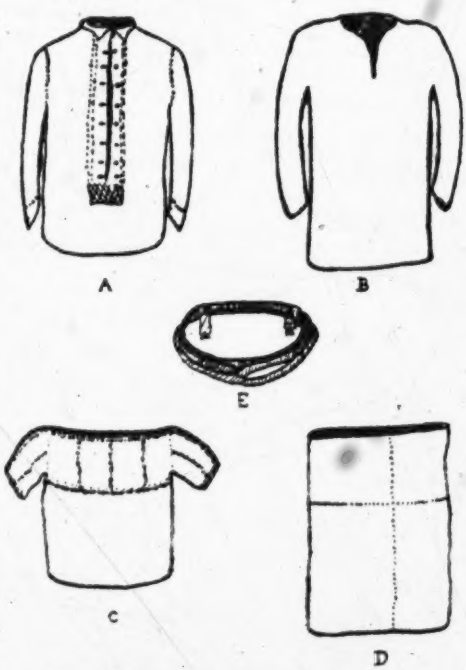

FIG. 285—Costumes, Bachajon and Ocosingo Valley.

A. Skirt, Bachajon.
B. Meh's shirt, Ocosingo Valley.
C. Woman's blouse, Bachajon.
D. Woman's skirt, Bachajon and Ocosingo Valley.
E. Sash.

302 The women do their hair in one or two braids, which may be decorated with red or yellow ribbon. Ordinarily it is very neatly combed and parted down the middle. Sometimes it is allowed to hang unbraided, but gathered with a pin or ribbon just behind the head.

291 177 Curiously enough, the Indians in Ocosingo Valley, although more in contact with the Ladino people, have a less European costume.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

tume. The men's shirt is more of a tunic, home woven, without cuffs, collar, or buttons, with a V-neck, and much longer. It may be tucked in under the trousers or worn outside, with the sash over all. Their trousers are sometimes wrapped at the ankles with tape. On the haciendas, a great deal of ordinary European clothing, bought at the local stores, is worn. 291 [177]

The women's dress does not differ from the Bachajon, save for a coarse red sash with yellow stripes, which comes from Comitan.

Houses, *na'*, are of two kinds, the normal, highland type found in Ocosingo Valley and in Bachajon Village itself, and a palm-roofed variant, not unlike the houses of the lowlands, found among the Bachajon in the jungle region (fig. 287). 342 [184]

FIG. 286—El Encanto, Chis. Bark Sandals.

The roof of the normal type, made of a grass thatch laid on in overlapping bundles to a thickness of about twenty centimeters, is called *winikak*. It stands independently of the walls, being supported on cross-beams laid from the main uprights, *kuk'up*. A hip roof is always used for a true dwelling. Often the building is under-cut at one end, so that a small porch is made, on which the door opens. [29]

The walls, *p'ahk*, are of upright sticks stuck in the ground and lashed with lianas, standing without support, separate from the frame. Usually they are thinly plastered with mud. The manner of building the frame itself is described below.

Those of the Bachajon living in the close jungle, where grass is not available, thatch their roofs with palm, when they are called *can*. The leaves are usually of the *chiapai*, *tcyapai*, or *chichon*, *ak'te*. Banana leaves are sometimes used for temporary structures, but fray too readily. Owing to the warmer climate, the walls are not plastered, and often part of the house is un-walled. Usually the porch is omitted. A careful study was made of a house of this type about half a mile from the Finca Encanto, which was a good example save that, being in an open space where grass was plentiful, it was grass thatched.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

tied by a string carried down to an arched stick, H, stuck in the 224
ground. This string, by holding down the far ends, counterbalances the weight of the fall at the other ends. At the end of the string the cross-stick, D, holds it against the arch; it, in turn, is held by the trigger, C, one end of which braces against it, the other end against the far side of the trap, passing under the deadfall. A circular fence of sticks prevents an animal from getting at the outer part of the trap. A straight fence on the other side of the fall necessitates its entering through the entrance, AA, to get at the bait, B, on the trigger. The animal dislodges the trigger, releasing D and with it the string. The outer ends of the sticks fly up, and the weighted log falls. In the rat trap, the log and stones came to at least three kilograms, arranged to fall through a space of about ten centimeters, other traps being in proportion.

When hunting with a gun, a red fruit called *ahoon* is frequently [824]
rubbed on the shot, and *palma bendita, tcul-tĕc-wil can,* the palm used in church decorations, is used for the wad. This prevents the bullet "from getting tired" before it reaches its mark.

Meat obtained while hunting, if it cannot be carried immediately 251
to the house, is dried on a rack, *tcar.*

The primary method of carrying goods of all kinds is by the 482
tump-line, for which, as has been said in the discussion of physical and other characteristics, these people are very well adapted. The tump-line, *pak,* is a broad strip of inner bark, or of cow-hide. For their ordinary uses, this is a single strip, the ends being attached to a net (q. v.) of their own manufacture. When a package too bulky for the net is carried, a long strap is used with the ends tied together. This is looped through itself, around the package, so that it hangs in two slings. Additional straps may be attached to the line where it passes over the ears, to wrap around the sides of the burden. A flat piece of cowhide, *tcokHar,* is worn against the back, to protect the carrier from the chafing of his load. Both men and women use the tump-line, the carrying of objects on the head being unusual.

Formerly the Indians of this district are said to have owned a 492
good many mules and horses for packing, which they lost during [978]
the recent political disturbances. Many of them know something about packing. At present, however, few if any own cattle of any kind.

The highland rivers do not, on the whole, lend themselves to 487
water travel, although the Bachajon territory reaches to the Bascan, Tulija, and other more amenable water-ways. Canoes are known only 581
as introductions of German or Ladino ranchers. The natives use a [977]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

he is whipped by the girl's father for a thief. The girl is stripped to 584
the waist and whipped by her mother. With this the marriage is 585
legalized. As the first act of their true married life, the girl makes posole and offers it to her parents. The boy is under obligation to bring presents of bread, chocolate, aguardiente, etc., to his parents-in-law.

There are no formal restrictions of marriage, but the Church 582
exercises a general influence against wedding brother and sister, 177
cousins, or other relatives forbidden by Christian doctrine. In this, 178
owing to the disposition of the Indians, and to the purely tribal character of marriage, which is not regarded by them as a religious or governmental matter, the Church is only partially successful. In- 588
formal unions actually do occur between brother and sister, apparently without any ceremony, the pair merely continuing to live together, their family relationship slowly changing into that of a married couple. That such a wife's status has some regularity in their eyes is shown by the fact that she has the same position in funeral rites as an ordinary wife.

It is probably due to the negative influence of the Church that 115
the various important crises in the life of an individual, ordinarily 126
marked by such colourful ceremonies among primitive people, here are distinguished by very little of ritualistic observance. For description of the main events in the life course, we were again dependent on Señor Tovilla, whose information, given with little change below, checked entirely with the result of other inquiries. The funeral ceremonies were observed at first hand, after the fight described at El Encanto; for them, accordingly, I have used my own notes.

When a woman is about to give birth to a child, a midwife—an 844
older woman with some knowledge of herbs—is summoned. A few days before parturition, the woman is carefully tended by the midwife, well fed with choice food, and provided with a little rum. At the moment of giving birth, the midwife prays that the child may be brought forth happily. The mother kneels, and the midwife prepares to receive the child with a new cloth. Meantime the father is told to stay outside the house, or may be allowed to help in minor matters.

It is said that at Tenejapa the women go out into the woods to give birth untended, coming back with the child.

The baby is given Christian baptism. 852

A child's soul is considered to be particularly delicate, and there- 789
fore liable to magic influence. If the people of the house must go [774]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

candles for the wife; we had previously sent flowers. The family, being poor, were very glad of our contribution. When we arrived the scene was lighted by one tall candle and the glow of a low fire, mostly coals, with a few weak flames flickering across it. The body was laid out, wrapped in all its clothes and then in a mat bound with cords, forming a bundle more or less resembling a mummy. At its head was a cross, on top of which flickered the solitary candle. The family and neighbours were crowded into the house, the women sitting on the floor about the body, their heads covered with black shawls; behind them the men made themselves as comfortable as possible. They brought such musical instruments as they possessed. The family provided rum. At the dead man's feet squatted his wife, her face almost completely covered by the black shawl. [764 [123]

The wife rocked to and fro, from a squatting to a kneeling position, alternately laying her clasped hands on the pall, and holding them to her eyes, keening. She gasped out a few broken words, half choked with sobs, then let her speech rise higher and higher, crescendo, to a wail that broke off with a half-sob, half-gasp. Thus she went on, falling into a chanting rhythm, which the other women joined spasmodically. The men talked in low tones, and played faintly on their instruments, more or less in time with her. The packed place was very warm, and had the acrid, smoky smell of many Indians.

Later, drinking went on, and the visitors danced, as at any ceremonial. The keening was maintained all night.

When we brought our candles, the woman stopped her mourning long enough to hustle the men, who were slow in setting them on the cross, then she took up again.

The body may be interred the following day in a burying-ground, or in the floor of the house. The former custom, observed at El Encanto, is probably due to outside influence. In that case, the body was carried on a plank by four men. A few more men came along to help, and the wife and three or four women followed. The men wore clean clothes, and had left their machetes behind. Only the wife wore a black shawl, which must have been hot in the sun at high noon, when the procession took place. She continued her keening, and carried a lighted candle. Whenever the pall-bearers laid the body down to rest, she fanned flies away with the dead man's hat. [177]

The grave was well dug, about five feet deep, without regard for orientation. After being lowered into it, the ropes binding the body were cut, that the dead man might rise freely on judgment day. Lumps of dirt and rocks were laid on to hold the mat in place.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

764 While this went on, all the women joined with the wife in keening, forming a sort of harmony. A cross was placed at the head. After the grave had been filled in, the party returned to the house where the mourning was carried on in all respects as on the previous night.

The wake is called *kanantaiy-el tca-vinik,* "to watch over (the) dead man." For the second ceremony, the only name obtained was *van-tik pas yan k'in,* "let us go to make another ceremony."

It should be noted that in the case observed, the wife maintained her keening, without apparent cease, from before sunset of one day, through the next day and until the morning following. She was audible, on her high notes, at least five hundred yards away; this was no mean feat of endurance.

On the trail to Bachajon Village, several ruined houses were observed with burials in the floor. The graves were outlined by planks set into the ground vertically. We were told that the dead were buried under their beds, and that a house was abandoned after the number of burials came to be "too much for them." This latter statement is borne out by the frequent occurrence of as many as three graves in one house, occupying most of the floor.

771 In common with most of the Indians of Middle America, the 177 religion of the Tzeltal is a mixture of Catholic Christianity with considerable emphasis on saint-worship, and of their old cults. The surface presents fairly pure Christianity, but further examination shows that the deeper religious current is of an older form, altered by Christian contact. The Indians' attitude towards the newer religion is interestingly stated by Sapper (1925) who says:

"The relation of the Christian God to the remaining pagan gods may briefly be explained by the fact that the Christian God has a higher rank, but, as a foreigner, he cares less for the Indians and does not understand their petty troubles and intimate affairs. This is why the Indian turns to his old gods first in matters of everyday life, as for example when the maize is sown, and at harvest time . . ."

000 The same idea was brought out in the Zotzil uprising of 1868, when a boy was crucified to provide the Indians with a saviour of their own race, who would help them.*

796 Each village or ranch-settlement has and observes its Saint's Day, the celebration centering around the church, and whenever possible a Priest attends and gives Mass. Other fiestas are held on minor Saint's Days, or events such as the coming of a Priest to the

*Pineda, 1888, Page 77.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

village. In common with all ceremonial celebrations, these fiestas are called *k'in,* the old Maya word for "sun." Even non-Christian elements appear in the fiestas. The Bachajon call their chief fiesta, St. Jerome's Day, May 13th, *kan-k'in,* "yellow sun," an old Maya month name.

On many points one cannot say whether the ritual be Christian or not; the use of the cross is such a point. The Mayas had a cross,* the worship of which was encouraged by the early Padres, while teaching the Indians to associate with it Christian ideas. Certain it is that crosses now play a greater part in Indian than in Ladino religion. They are maintained on the roads at partings of the way and crests of hills, and they are used in ceremonies that have little or nothing to do with the Church. Crosses by the road are usually covered with offerings of flowers and pine tips; in the houses they are decorated with any bits of bright paper, flowers, or pictures that can be obtained. The house-altars seem to be more truly Christian, as is indicated by the names, *altar, tcun tat-ik,* "altar of our Holy Father," and *cruz tcun tat-ik,* "cross of our Holy Father," in both of which the most important word is Spanish. At the house by El Encanto we had a chance to observe one such altar at leisure (fig. 309). It consisted of a neatly made cross, 75 centimeters high, standing above a small and rickety table. About the cross were fir branches, brought down from the highlands, and it was hung with cacao beans and small yellow gourds. A revenue stamp pasted across it gave a touch of more vivid green. The wall behind was entirely covered by a sheet of an old news-

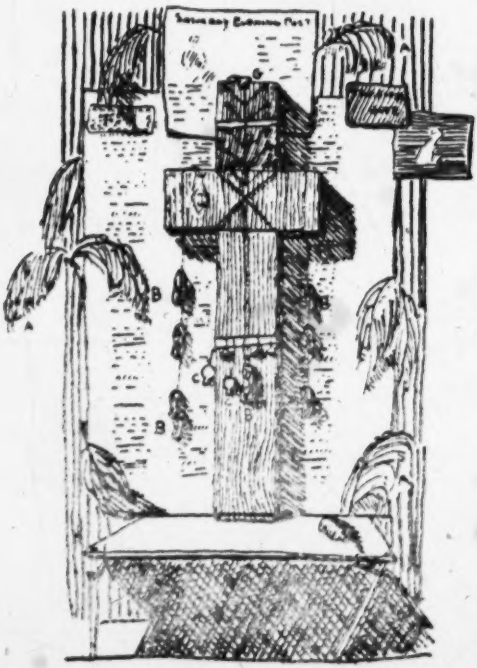

Fig. 309—El Encanto, Chis. Altar in House.

*Cf. Tozzer, 1907, Page 151 ff.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

778 paper, brightened with colour added by a cigarette package, a label from a tin of beets in a deep red, a joke in German about the fall of the mark, of which the prevailing tone was pure viridian, and a page of advertising from the Saturday Evening Post. We gave [123] this family a chromo of a saint, which was immediately framed with a sort of wooden box, and set up beside the cross. The table below was used for laying odds and ends on, such as the spindle and a couple of empty aguardiente bottles.

782 788 177 178 Incense, *pom,* and candles, both extensively used by the Indians today, had a place in the old Maya ritual similar to that of the Catholic Church.

The Priest is an important figure to the Indians. They come to 793 him with respect to tell him their troubles, and receive him into their villages with rejoicing. At the same time, there is no doubt that they deliberately hoodwink him as to the orthodoxy of their faith.

796 Although it includes several non-Christian elements, a description of the fiesta observed at Tecojá will give a fair idea of the Tzeltal's church observances. Tecojá ranch has a village of about [241] twenty houses attached to it. The fiesta was held on the twenty- [648] second and twenty-third of June. By custom, the ranch had to allow the Indians this time off, as well as accepting the lowered efficiency on the following "cold grey dawn of the morning after." The owners had, moreover, to provide the rum for the whole celebration, in this case, two demi-johns.

The ranch chapel was thrown open and decorated with fir branches and streamers. The proceedings were in charge of two [794] older men, called *caporales,* who were distinguished by a cross-belting of red handkerchiefs. One house was set aside for the celebrations, in front of which was a table and three triangular, crimson banners with gold edges. By these drumming and flute-playing went on irregularly. Here was the official dispensary for rum, which was given out by the *caporales.* Inside the house, a palm-thatched one with stick walls, about fifteen feet square, some thirty [534] Indians, men and women, were squatting against the walls. There was an orchestra of a guitar and a mouth-organ, occasionally augmented by the piper, who would wander in from outside. This individual, although most amazingly drunk, managed to maintain his [533] musical ability until he fell asleep. The tune they played was like a rather wistful jig, but the time was lively. To this four couples [535] danced, the men facing the women, with a shuffling step not unlike waltzing. They kept very much in one place, but occasionally changed sides. The dancing was evidently a serious affair. This type is called in Spanish *zapatea,* in Tzeltal, *ahk'Out.*

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The performance continued until late that night and began again the next morning. Later in the day the banners were carried to the chapel in procession, with music, and deposited by the altar. The *caporales* led in prayer. The fiesta went on again in the evening. 796 [794]

Christian forms are applied to or mixed with non-Christian rites and ideas to some extent, a confusion resembling the appeal to both saints and native gods in prayer among tribes of Guatemala* and British Honduras.† Much of Christianity is adapted to conform to old, fundamental native concepts. 771 172 178 171

In the church at Bachajon Village there are fourteen saints beside the tribal patron, St. Jerome. These others each have a special care, as the cornfield, hunting, the rivers, etc., and are prayed to for help in their particular provinces. They are given gifts of cloth, usually red or blue, which is draped about them. Many of them duplicate the functions of non-Christian "guardians," to be described below. 776

In this connection it may be mentioned that the Zotzil-speaking Indians of Huistan are accustomed to beat their saint (St. Martin) when they have a bad year, and to caress him and anoint him with oil when things go well. We were told that he had lost his nose and both ears due to this practice. [171]

One prayer was dictated to us by Señor Cruz at Toniná, the full text of which is given in Appendix VI, Text I. It is primarily meant for a poor man when making his offering in the cornfield, a use which is indicated by the phrase "health of the earth," but it may also be used in church. The phrase "blood of my flesh" suggests a remniscence of the ancient Maya offerings of blood from the ear, tongue, etc. A free translation is given here. 126 782 196

PRAYER OF A POOR MAN WHO HAS NOT MUCH TO OFFER.

"Do Thou accept, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, what I have gained, and what I have not gained. Do Thou forgive, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, blood of our flesh; our hearts are open, our lips are open. Give health of the earth; protect thy son kneeling here." [539]

Of primary interest to us were the survivals of the old worship. At the time of the Conquest the Spaniards put forth their utmost efforts to suppress the native religion, and the process has gone on 771 178 177

*Sapper, 1925.
†Gann, 1918.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

771 178 177 spasmodically ever since. The temples and idols were overthrown, the theocracy, that knew the lore and could read the books, was killed off or reduced to the common level. The books themselves have vanished. At the same time, churches were built, and Christianity preached with a fine enthusiasm. Later, idols whenever discovered were destroyed, and all forms of heathenism vigourously opposed. This process has continued for some four hundred years. In other places less than half that time has sufficed to wipe out every vestige of an old cult, but here, not only had the Padres to deal with a race at least semi-civilized, supporting a sophisticated religion, but a people of remarkable, tenacious conservatism, and who, moreover, at all times have outnumbered their conquerors.

It must be borne in mind that the highly evolved, elaborate old-time religion could only be maintained in its purity by an educated people, men who could philosophize, study history, and read the stars with scientific accuracy. Obviously, what survives can only be in a simplified and debased form.

778 178 Most directly religious are certain places of worship retained by the Indians. The old Mayas are known to have used, of course, caves as well as their mounds and temples. Nuñez de la Vega* tells of such worship going on in his time, and according to Sapper† it continues in Guatemala today.

In Ocosingo Valley, the pyramids of Cololté (*kolol-te*, a kind of tree), Chakalchib (*cakaltcip'*, translation not known), and Campomtik (*kan*, "yellow," *pom*, "incense," *-ĕtik*, "much"), have been mentioned in the last chapter. They are all prehistoric places of worship. Their use by the Indians has been continued into modern times.

On top of Cololté the almost completely disfigured idol has already been described. It is decked with fir branches, and fir tips have been laid about its base. Before it in an arc stand wooden sticks to hold candles. The Indians do not come here at set periods as is usual elsewhere, but only when there is great need of rain.

Campomtik, across from Cololté, was used annually until a short time ago. Their celebrations made so much uproar that finally a local Priest had them driven away, and the worship there has been discontinued. There is still a big, rotting cross set up on top, but there are no offerings or candlesticks.

Behind Ocosingo, Chakalchib is still a place of worship, where fiestas are held annually without benefit of clergy. A large pile of stone in the center of the platform supports one cross about the

*Nuñez de la Vega, 1702.
†Sapper, 1925.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

539 Lacandone prayer in Tozzer's "Comparative Study of the Maya and Lacandones," page 169. As *tsax*, which a Ladino would probably give as *tsak*, means "red" in Tzeltal, the two words may be taken to be the same. *bak* means "bone," and *tci* means "blood." Many of these translations are doubtful, and all of them together do not suffice to explain the text.

II.

hun ahau bitskilim gravilan yokivin-wits yevakinok . . .

This also begins with Hun Ahau. *wits* means "hill." Beyond that no translation could be obtained.

124 The whole material on medicine and shamans is very slight and unsatisfactory. Indeed it is doubtful whether anything could be learned save after a long stay and much patient work, so secretive are the Indians on this subject, and so suspicious of inquiries. What we have is presented here in the hope that it may prove useful for comparative purposes, and offer suggestions to any worker going into this field.

796 According to Nuñez de la Vega, the old calendar was still cur-
178 rent in his time. Starr* quotes a Zotzil Calendar of eighteen months, and Pineda* gives a Tzeltal calendar of both months and days. We asked in the different villages what names were given
124 to the days, and were told always the Spanish names, as also for
796 the months. This may well have been from unwillingness to impart
177 ceremonial information, but consistent replies, plus the statement of
178 various Ladinos who knew the Indians well, incline me to believe that if the old calendar is known at all, it is known only to a very few of the most learned shamans. Feasts, as far as could be made out, are controlled entirely by the cycle of Christian saint's days. However, the Maya year might well have been by now adjusted to the Gregorian, and a time-count actually kept in the old style be stated for public purposes in the terms of the new. Pineda's calendar is adapted from one published by his father† some forty years earlier, but he speaks of it as being still current.

114 Seler also doubts the modernity of Pineda's calendar. In his
178 article "Der Festkalender der Tzeltal und der Maya von Yucatan"
796 (1898), he brings together various interesting statements. Of them, one may be applied to this survey. Emeterio Pineda he quotes as saying that the sixth month, Olalte, is the time of planting. This would be in April of our year, or the end of April and early May,

*Starr, 1903—Pineda, Vicente, 1888.
†Pineda, Emeterio, 1845.

753 Or, "the man is suffering from malaria which he got in hot country the last time he went to the fincas." Or, "the man's spirit is being eaten by a witch, Mr. X, who is angry with him because he did not pay back the money he owed." Every after-the-fact description of antecedent conditions implies a cause and effect relation such that the cause can be manipulated so as the patient will recover from the illness. After-the-fact descriptions of the sources of disease processes are never final since they are always dependent on (a) the further development of the disease process in the patient and (b) the confirmation in the identification of the source of illness by a successful attempt to reduce the effect of the source. If manipulation of the hypothesized source reduces the illness, the diagnosis of source is concluded to be correct; if not, further source potentials are searched for.

There is relatively little explicit procedural apparatus for adding to the inventory of after-the-fact explanations, and there are relatively few devices for modifying the modes of identification of the cause of the disease process. If a change capability is built into this theory of illness in Aguacatenango, it is not easy to detect wherein it lies.[1]

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[1]The modes of change that we have observed in Aguacatenangueros' response to illness have involved shifts from known medical practitioners to others, where the theory remains relatively unexplicated and the results of the medical practitioner's

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

753 Informants report experiencing a variety of sensed states as a disease process begins. Among these are depression (mental), cough, dry throat, diarrhea, fever, vomiting, stomach ache, loss

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75 progress are used to judge the probability of opting some par-
177 ticular medical practitioner for a cure rather than some other.
178 Response to illness involves the principle of exhaustion of resources. In severe illness, the family of the patient may exhaust all known medical practitioners who are thought to have sufficient knowledge and skill and also may exhaust all means for motivating curers to come and perform the cure. With the diminution of resources and exhaustion of the most proper curers, the family of the patient explores curing sources whose potential for curing may be lower, but still appreciable. Successful curing under such circumstances raises the probability that this family will use some newly successful medical practitioner sooner in the next onset of illness, that is, he will be called upon before they have exhausted their resources. The introduction of INI medical practice into Aguacatenango has been in these terms, namely, that patients and their families have turned to INI medical personnel upon the exhaustion of their resources. INI procedures have maintained a ratio of successes over failures in these curing circumstances such that they have continued to be called upon, in some cases under less extreme conditions. The ratio of successes over failures has not been so great, however, that INI is seen to be a totally satisfactory replacement for the more well established practitioners. Furthermore, INI treats only a small proportion of the total range of "illnesses" that occur in the community. INI will increase the proportion of cases it treats as it modifies the Aguacatenangueros' perception of the success'failure ratio and as it increases the classes of illness that it deals with. It may be the case that INI has at present a maximal investment in time and resources in maintaining its present range and success proportion, so future severe changes may not be expected from them. There is, however, some generalization to other INI type of curers--namely, doctors in San Cristobal. The generalization here may increase the use of doctors over curers. There is the further possibility that curers are incorporating into their theories some of the simpler strategies used by doctors. This is done so crudely that it hardly involves change of beliefs at any detailed level, but rather involves a simple increase of the inventories of medicine by means of which the curer implements his theory.

7: Nash

NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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/For information on the "cacique", a role created by outside interests and occupied by someone marginal to the community -- a foreign Indian or Ladino -- see category 622./

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

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Mexico NU1

Preface

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And so we shall be able to do what our mothers
did and what our fathers did here where our
Holy Father sees us and our Holy Mother sees us.

From the prayer said at the
time of taking offices in
the civil hierarchy

In all societies, some of the ideology and behavior of the past persists after their relevance to current problems has ended. How much this continuity eases the absorption of change by providing meaning and motivation and how much it hinders the ability to deal with current issues and to plan for the future is a long-standing social problem. It is of special relevance to developing nations undergoing changes that transform all social institutions. Developing nations have focused their planning on economic change in the hope that other institutions will respond automatically. This hope has not been justified.

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Mexico has shown a growing awareness of the strength to be drawn from its rich cultural heritage in the five decades of development since the revolution. The changes that were transforming the cities a generation ago are now drawing enclaves of Indian populations into the mainstream of national development. In the 1930s government policy was directed toward transforming Indians into modern nationals. Since the 1950s there has been an increasing effort to incorporate Indians without suppressing their distinctive customs and languages. The old melting pot policy has given way to a new policy of selective adaptation.

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For the Indians, adhering to the ways of the ancestors is the means of surviving as a people. Their sense of cultural survival is threatened by the

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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

177 very adjustments and adaptations that make economic survival possible.
178 Cut off from other Indian communities around them since the Conquest, when their ceremonial centers were destroyed and the political hierarchy which drew them into a single polity was replaced, the Indians were able to retain a sense of cultural independence within the corporate communi-
[621] ties (Wolf 1957b). Each community developed a distinctive style of life in which the old pre-Conquest beliefs and customs were reworked with the colonial Spanish introductions. Validation of their behavior lay in the be-
[769] lief that they were doing as the ancestors did, and that they were living "in the eyes of our ancestors."

[769] This social fiction is now threatened by a growing disbelief in the presence of these supernatural figures. The crisis caused by the disjunction between belief and behavior is forcing the Indians to reassess their present condition. Awareness of the contradictions between what they do and what they think they ought to do is forced upon them by events over which they have no control.

121 This study of a Maya Indian community in the state of Chiapas, Mexico, deals with the problem of the relation between belief and behavior in a changing world. It is a problem that we have failed to solve in our own society, if the labels of our time—The Age of Anxiety, The Society of Alienation—have meaning. I have studied this small Indian society not in search of a solution but as a way of phrasing the problem in the widest possible context.

I selected Tzoʔontahal because the people seemed to have retained a traditional Indian culture even though the community is on the Pan-American Highway linking them with the departmental and national capitals. The question of what changes had affected their lives and how they had responded to them was relevant to my interest in the effects of national changes on local groups. In the last year of my study my interest broadened from an enquiry into responses to external changes to a study of the meanings assigned to both internal and external changes.

621 Like many other predominantly Mayan communities of the Chiapas highlands, the community is the context of all meaningful social relations. Endogamy and a belief that the people who live in the center and the nearby barrios are descended from the same ancestors give a sense of eth-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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186 tions of self will find a responsive audience only within these linguistic and physical boundaries. The sense of insulation is a denial of regional and national political institutions in which they interact with the other Indians and Ladinos who are part of their present world and share their his-
175 tory. The town itself is a product of the Spanish colonial *congregación,*
361 which drew together diverse Indian populations that had been scattered in
162 small settlements. The outlying barrios are occupied by Indians who have
829 moved out from the center, as well as foreign Indians who had worked in the *fincas,* or large plantations, within the township. These latter people are referred to by a derisive term, *Kurik,* meaning roughly "country hick." Beyond these, and still within the municipal limits, there are a series of *colonias,* settlements populated by Indians who have moved here from other towns and by *mestizos,* or acculturated Indians. These settlers acquired land in the time of Juarez or later in the Cardenas period. Ladino men are called *Kašlan* and women *Šinlan;* foreigners who do not appear to be of the country are called *Alemán,* the Spanish term for German.

121 The focus of this book is on the lives and thoughts of people living within the center. The people of Tzoʾontahal live in a square world, sur-
772 rounded by a round universe. From the square hole, cut in the earth at the center post of their square house to receive the sacrifice of a live chicken when the house is built, stretches a square village (it appears as a rectangle on the map, but they draw it as a square).[2] The fields are measured in
[804] squares of twenty-five arms' breadths, with five handspans measuring the
[78] square between each plant. Within this square world, they have elaborated techniques for dealing with spiritual and human co-residents in curing ri-
105 tuals, offerings for crops, burial practices, and baptism rites. Their present
177 cultural stock reveals a selective absorption of Spanish colonial features
178 along with twentieth-century innovations. They have techniques for planting and harvesting milpa, marketing the pottery manufactured in all the households, curing an eclipse of the moon, divining causes of illness and curing the maladjusted social relations which cause it, manufacturing and

[171] 2. This view of the world as square is shared by Tzeltal and Tzotzil neighbors in Larraínzar (Holland 1963:69), San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:254), and Pinola (Hermitte 1964). The four-direction concept of the village and world noted by Landa (Tozzer 1941:135) suggests a square-space concept.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

marketing contraband liquor, minimizing discord and settling disputes locally, and preserving continuity in a town administration marked by the annual rotation of officials. 105 177 178

These are the techniques acquired for dealing with the world in which they were born. For the world into which they are being propelled, they are combining new skills with old, creating a semblance of continuity but with a recombination of elements. Fitting this square community into the round post-Columbian world is a task consciously undertaken by the Mexican government. Within the town, strategies are being developed to meet the new demands made on the community as economic and political horizons widen.

The problem focus on the relation between belief and behavior in a changing social environment can be restated by asking how behavior is conditioned by custom and how it responds to cues from the environment. The first class of responses is adjustive, fitting the behavior of the individual to a given environment, and the second is adaptive, changing the external environment (Kluckhohn 1962:46). I shall use the distinction Mowrer and Kluckhohn (1944:258) have made between adaptation, "which develops and changes inherited ways of behaving," and adjustment, "which develops and changes habits," with the former referring to socially acquired responses and the latter to individual responses. A moving equilibrium is found when changes in adjustive and adaptive responses fit a persisting framework of understandings and explanations. Both adjustive and adaptive responses follow rules. These rules enable social groups to generate consistent, understandable, and appropriate behavior in response to a variety of settings. The "rules of the game" set the parameters for adjustive behavior; the "rules of strategy" generate behavior adaptive to change. The rules of the game are validated by the belief system of the society; the rules of strategy can be justified on the same premises, but if they are so fundamental as to challenge existing values, they require a new ideology. 121

The model of change which takes into account the techniques of adaptation and adjustment occurring within small-scale societies is that of moving equilibrium. Wallace (1962:142) has stated the dimensions of this model:

121 A culture, under certain conditions, during a period of time can be said to be an open system in a state of stable but moving equilibrium: that is to say, it maintains a boundary, accepts inputs and produces outputs at approximately equal rates, and changes continuously but gradually in internal structure.

The concept of equilibrium is one way to talk about the constraints which make behavior congruent with beliefs. Given a constantly changing ecological setting due to an expanding population and a changing man-land ratio, the stability of the system depends on the adequacy of existing institutions to handle conflict and of shared understandings to explain events. Movement stems from the tension between individual and social goals and the adaptations to bring them into closer harmony. The basic condition for the kind of change characteristic of a moving equilibrium is that conflict is contained within the community.

128 I have organized the data to clarify features maintaining equilibrium and to show the direction in which the society is moving. First I describe formal, prescribed behavior for each institutional complex and relate it to the beliefs that underlie it. Following each of these chapters I analyze strategies formulated in response to changes coming from within or outside the community. The formal behavior providing a framework for continuity is related to place spirits in Chapter 1, to economic activities in Chapter 2, to customs and rituals in the family and neighborhood in Chapters 4 and 5, to civil and religious government in Chapters 7 and 8. Changing strategies are related to economic activities in Chapter 3, to social relations as revealed in curing practices in Chapter 6, and to political relations in Chapter 9.

177 178 [241] [323] Implicit in the organization is an ordering of institutions from most static to most dynamic. In the economy, agricultural technology has been stabilized at the colonial level of adaptation at which the wooden plow, hoe, and machete were added to, but did not displace, the digging stick, while in pottery manufacture, both techniques and products have remained unchanged. [592] [476] The organization of work groups remains limited to the household except for the introduction of cooperatives in recent years. [361] In domestic institutions there has been an adaptation to living in a compact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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pact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group. The authority of the elders in settling conflicts in the family and the community is weakened, although the hierarchy remains intact. In religious institutions, the personnel has remained the same, but the authority of the religious officials has weakened and the belief in the deities and ancestral figures has been undermined.

Political leadership is the most dynamic area of change. The power of the *principales* had already been taken over by young civil officials when I first went to the town in 1957. The curers, who retained the power derived from belief in their control over the supernatural, were the core of resistance to change in the decade that I knew the community. But this control was being challenged by civil officials and factional leaders, who were aware of its repressive effect. The dynamic aspect of the political sector is linked to the fact that the new leaders saw the necessity of seizing power from those who were privileged in the traditional society. They were reworking the social structure to pave the way for the acceptance of development opportunities being offered by the national government.

In Chapters 10, 11, and 12 I have summarized the structuring of behavior in roles, place, and time and described how these patterns have been affected by change. The following questions are raised in the summary chapters:

1. The role system: How are people recruited into roles? How are roles coordinated? How are performances evaluated? The matrix of roles provides the patterned expectations of what others will do in a given situation. Some of the decisions made in assigning people to roles allow little room for choice. In other cases, new functions, such as those imposed upon governing officials, have replaced traditional bases for making decisions and in turn upset the balance of power between elders, curers, and leaders in civil office. (Continuity and change in the role structure are analyzed in Chapter 10.)

2. The setting: How is appropriate behavior defined for each institutional setting? What kinds of behavior are replicated in each setting? How are changes in role relations reflected in positions assumed in each setting? Observations of behavior in the church and the

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128 school included in Appendix 3 provide the data for an inductive analysis of conventions established by place. (These are compared and analyzed in Chapter 11.)

3. Timing of behavior: How does time enter into the consciousness of people's planning of activities? Time is a resource the use of which indicates the values assigned to activities and the relative power of people in bargaining positions. As such, it is a sensitive index to changes in strategies for allocating effort. (The sense of time is examined in reference to the scheduling of performances and interpreting the behavior of others in Chapter 12.)

The summary chapters provide the basis for testing the following hypotheses in the final chapter:

1. The stability of the society varies directly with:
   a. the degree of control over time and place
   b. the efficiency of its procedures for adjusting conflict
   c. the ability to validate behavioral innovations in terms of existing values
   d. the effectiveness of the techniques for transforming old power positions whose functions contradict changed social conditions into ceremonial posts
2. The lability of the society varies directly with:
   a. the gap between expectations and experience
   b. the degree of dissonance between traditional explanations and current interpretations of events

177 178 During the period I worked in Tzoʔontahal, the fundamental propositions on which behavior was predicated were being challenged. When old beliefs are waning, the question is whether the techniques developed to maintain the old conditions for equilibrium will persist in the future.

121 Fortes (1959:25) has pointed out that the "serious defect . . . of generalized enthnographic descriptions" is that they do not show "how ritual or belief is actually used by men and women to regulate their lives." My purpose is to indicate not only how belief and ritual serve the ends of regulation but also how beliefs are transformed in the process of performing ri-

242 *Soil characteristics.* The potential productivity of flat irrigated lands is evaluated on the basis of two criteria: color of the soil and consistency of the soil. The preferred land for cultivation is the black loam mixed with some sand, (*ʔihk'al hiʔiletik lum*). The better, quicker growing corn seed is planted here. These very productive soils are called "hot" [822] lands (*k'išin lum*). (Heat is associated with fertility in both lands and [843] people: a pregnant woman and her husband are considered to be in a state [842] of heat, and the contrast state of being cold is attributed to someone who is sterile.) The red (*tzab'alum*) yellow (*k'analum*), and white soils (*sak lum*) are poorer soils and the slower seed is planted here. These soils are considered "cold" (*sik*) and are thought to be "tired."

The loss of soil productivity is attributed either to the loss of the soul of [774] the crop or to the fact that the soil gets "tired." Farmers have noticed that in the first five years of planting in Tulanca, the ejido land grant, the soil was "hot" and gave good crops. When this productivity was lost, people said the soul of the crop left. It is considered dangerous to start crops in the lower lands of hot country because when the location of crops is changed, the soul leaves its original residence. The notion of crop soul loss does not conflict with the awareness of natural causes of soil productivity. Fields are left fallow for four or five years when productivity diminishes and the soil is "tired." The irrigated lands are in continuous use because there is some replenishment of fertility with the overflow of the ditch waters. Cattle fertilizers are used sporadically. Those who have many head of [233] cattle construct corrals into which they herd the cattle each night. The location of the corral is changed yearly. Corn and beans are then planted in [596] the old corral with superior results. The dozen or so corrals in the town [476] are owned and worked cooperatively by extended families and are referred [551] to by the Indian patronyms—for example, *skoral Linetik* (corral of the Lins) or *skoral Čailetik* (corral of the Čailes). The one attempt to use [177] commercial fertilizers provided by the Ejido Bank proved a technical success but an administrative failure (chapter 3). Indians noted the increased yields, but none have attempted to purchase fertilizers.

Soil consistency is evaluated on the basis of how easy it is to work. Wet, sticky, or clayey soil (*łučilium*) and stony soil (*kešilum*) are least desirable. Sandy soil is easier to work, but soil productivity depends on a loam

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653 621 241 423 from all men of the township, but again they were refused by the farmers who did not own irrigated land. The officials then sold trees in the communally owned lands to support the project, which cost 2,000 pesos. The farmers without irrigated lands still bore the cost although indirectly since community resources were expended in subsidizing the work.

241 The scheduling of agricultural activities follows an annual cycle for the three major crops, corn, wheat, and beans.

243 242 *Corn*. In corn production, the greatest discrimination comes in the selection of seed.[4] Seed is chosen from cobs which have the most grain. The farmer must look carefully to see that none of it is rotten, since if one grain is bad, the entire five grains put into each hillock will rot. There are two major kinds of corn: a quick-growing variety and a slow-growing variety. The first is preferred, but not all soils "want" it. The bitter soil "wants" the slow corn which must be planted about the first of February. [177] A new corn seed introduced by some developmental engineers in 1957 yielded more grain, but it was not as flinty as the old variety and rotted quickly.

243 The soil is prepared by cross-plowing the land three times in one direction and two times in the other. Those who do not own their own oxen team do it just once because of the additional expense. In planting, the farmer is careful to measure rows evenly, five handspans between rows, and five handspans between each hillock, forming a square which permits the maximum growth of each plant. Five seeds are placed in each hillock. In hot country, the land has not been worked over as well, and as a result it cannot be measured as accurately because of rocks and trees. This upsets the agriculturalist's sense of symmetry and beauty.

Once the corn has been planted, the scheduling of activities is based on the maturation of the plant rather than on a calendrical sequence. The scheduling of activities in corn production is shown in Table 6. The starges of growth in the corn plant and the activities related to them are listed in Table 7.

Cultivation is performed twice, to kill the weeds and to pile up earth at

4. The botanist Anderson (quoted in Lévi-Strauss 1966:73) points out that the careful separation of seed planted in each plot distinguished Indian from non-Indian agriculturalists in other Middle American communities.

Wheat. In selecting the seed, the farmers choose those heads with the most kernels—there may be from thirty to eighty on each head. The same kind of seed must be used in planting each plot of land or the soil "does not give well." A new wheat seed was introduced by an American agronomist in the 1950s. The following reaction by an informant reveals why most of the farmers decided not to use it:

There is a quick-growing wheat, called foreign wheat because a foreigner brought it and planted it in the soil. Those who wanted to try it were given some. It was difficult to harvest because it was very dry and broke easily. Most of the grain was left behind on the ground. When it got to the threshing floor, most of it was broken. Therefore the town did not want it. So we continue planting the common wheat and it doesn't break.

The inefficient harvesting techniques force the people to consider loss of grains in deciding what wheat they will seed. However, a few of the farmers continue to grow the new wheat.

The scheduling of wheat production is shown in Table 8. The *arada* plow, introduced by the Spaniards (Foster 1951) and made locally by farmers for their own use, is commonly used to prepare the land. A few farmers borrow the plow of a relative, or sometimes a metal plowshare is bought in the departmental capital.

The harvest is the most arduous work in wheat production, but because it is done with the assistance of four or five helpers, usually brothers or compadres, it is a gay occasion. There are about a dozen threshing shelters which are individually owned and rented for 5 pesos a day. At the height of the harvesting season, the farmers have to wait for their turn to use the shelter. After the threshing, a fiesta is held in the house of the owner of the wheat at which liquor and a meal of beef stew is served. Since the labor involved is based on exchange rather than payment, the owner will take part in the harvest and celebration of those whom he has helped.

Beans. The choice of locale and the time of planting vary more radically for beans than for other crops because of the greater differences in type of seed. The two major types of beans are (1) ground beans, of

323 pyramid is complete, wood is laid against the pots in a tepee formation. [313] When the sawmill in the vicinity was in operation, flat boards—scraps of [372] cut lengths—were used, but now only logs are available. Corn husks or [462] dry straw are stuffed between the planks or logs. When a large number of pots are being fired, the men usually help at the final stages to remove the [476] charred planks with poles. If men are not available, the women of the household often call upon their neighbors for help. In this operation, the [292] women wear sandals and hats for protection from the heat. When the pots are cooled, the women, sometimes with the help of the men, stack them in net bags, six to a net with straw protecting the pots.

647 About fifteen year ago, a kiln was introduced by the government in the 177 interest of conserving wood. Those who tried it claim that the pottery did 323 not fire well and that many of the pots were broken. I.N.I. (the Instituto 372 Nacional Indigenista) planned to introduce an improved kiln, and while most of the people we questioned expressed a willingness to try it, the proposal was never put into action.

462 The men do most of the marketing of pottery. Loads of one or two 442 dozen may be taken by bus or truck to San Cristóbal or to Comitán. 443 When there is large-scale production throughout the community, as occurs 494 just before major fiestas, truckers come from the neighboring town of Teopisca to contract for delivery.

592 The amount of pottery produced in households varies with the follow- 323 ing factors:
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1. Household composition: (a) Number of women in the family. [464] If there is only one woman, very little or no pottery is produced because of the demands of domestic duties. Households with two or more women are able to sustain the ideal output of at least a dozen water jugs a week (I use "ideal" here to suggest their notion of what they produce when asked to guess. As Fig. 2 indicates, this varies considerably during the [887] year.) (b) Age of women and ages of children. Older women over sixty do not independently undertake pottery production. They may assist in washing pots with corn gruel or making the neck, mouth, and handles, but they are unable to endure the harder task of collecting clay. A woman with infants under two years of age makes little pottery if

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and sold in Comitán. It is the same as the costume worn by the Indians of that area. A similar garment is made in Comitán but is considered inferior to the contraband product. Shirts and wrapped trousers made of coarse cotton are stitched and sold in Teopisca. The trousers are bound with a red woven sash. These items make up the modified costume worn by most of the boys and men. Men over sixty wear a long, coarsely woven shirt with a slashed neck made in San Bartolomé. This is caught at the waist with a woven band and worn over short trousers. In the evening or during ceremonies the kotonču is always worn. The older men wear high-backed sandals attached to rubber-tire soles with thongs, while younger men wear the *huarache* of crossed leather bands secured to a rubber-tire sole found in many parts of Mexico. Increasingly men are taking on the western clothing worn by Ladinos—the belted cotton trousers, shirt, and underclothing sold in the local store and in the neighboring towns. In 1957, only a half-dozen men, all of them former students in the boarding school established in Cárdenas' term of office, wore this dress, but today over twenty middle-aged men and dozens of youths in their teens wear it. Those who wear modern clothing have substituted a zippered "air-force" jacket for the kotonču. All men wear factory-made straw hats, under which, on ceremonial occasions, they wear a red bandanna bound over the forehead and tied at the nape of the neck. A high-crowned palm hat with black designs, ordered by the alfereces when they enter office, used to be woven by a few specialists; now only one man can make them.

The changing styles in men's clothing reflect three stages of acculturation. The older style worn by elders is said to be the costume worn by the ancestors who live in the cave. Since all of the items are and have for some time been purchased from outside the town, the changing pattern of consumption—the change from modified peasant to ladino-style clothing—has not affected local production.

Girl's wear a machine-embroidered peasant blouse and a mid-calf gathered skirt made of cotton or rayon and purchased in the neighboring towns. They change to the woman's costume when they reach their teens. Boys wear the same clothing as their fathers, except for the old costume. Table 12 shows the cost for these items.

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Houses are built of materials locally produced or gathered from communal resources, but new construction materials, such as tiles, require cash outlay. The average house area is thirty-six square meters divided into two main rooms. Building is usually done in February or March. After the 342

TABLE 12. Clothing Expenditure and Origin

	Price (pesos)	*Place of origin*
Men's clothing		
Kotonču from Guatemala	60	Huehuetenango
Kotonču from Mexico	40	Comitán
Shirt worn by elders	60	San Bartolomé
Underpants	15	San Bartolomé
High-backed sandals	25	San Cristóbal
Wrapped pants	25	Teopisca
Tailored shirt	30	Teopisca
Factory-made shirt	7	San Cristóbal and Comitán
Straw hats	10	Teopisca and San Cristóbal
Factory-made pants	15	Teopisca and San Cristóbal
Belt	5	Teopisca, San Cristóbal, and Comitán
Sash	7	Comitán
Huaraches	20	San Cristóbal
Women's clothing		
Wrapped skirt	40–60	Comitán
Huipile, factory-made cloth	50	San Cristóbal
Huipile, hand-loomed cloth	60	San Bartolomé
Reboza	12–16	Comitán
Apron	5	San Cristóbal
Children's clothing		
Girl's skirt	7	Teopisca
Girl's blouse	5	Teopisca
Boy's shirt	3.5	Teopisca
Boy's hat	3–4	Teopisca, San Cristóbal
Boy's pants	5	Teopisca

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materials have been collected, the construction of the house frame takes about eight days' work with the cooperation of five or six men. Filling in the walls with mud takes another three days. Table 13 gives the cost of materials and transportation for one house built during my stay. 342

The biggest change in housing has been in the roofs. The old type of 177 342 435

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342 construction used thatch or palm leaves carried from hot country. These
• 177 cost only the price of renting a horse, if it was necessary, for transporta-
435 tion. Roofs made of these materials have to be replaced every seven or
[492] eight years. Each rethatching requires three days' work with four or five helpers, and the houseowner must provide a meal for them and their families. He spends about 25 pesos for meat and uses two or three liters of corn; the total cost is about 75 pesos. Another kind of roof is made of wooden shingles bought in the neighboring town. These are fixed to the housetops with wooden pegs, and the total cost is about 200 pesos. This lasts ten or twelve years with replacement of individual shingles. Tile roofs have the highest initial cost, 800 pesos, but the lowest maintenance in labor.

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TABLE 13. Construction Costs for House, 1965

	Cost (pesos)
Supplies	
Roof tiles (1,000)	800
Posts and poles	*
Planks	40
Door	100
Window frame	30
Services	
Transportation of tiles	30
Transportation of posts and poles	206
Carpenter	50
Food for helpers	75
TOTAL	1,331

* Obtained free from communal woods.

342 House walls are preferably made of mud mixed with lime poured into an interlacing of cane poles set between the house posts and tied with a handmade fiber rope. Another temporary type of construction, which does not offer as good insulation, is made of board planks. Sweatbaths are
343 made by digging out a floor about 2.5 meters square, raising stones in an
[514] oval shape over this, and plastering them with mud. The I.N.I. tried to in-
[647] troduce latrines, but no more than a half dozen of the cement toilet seats
[177] they gave away as demonstrators were put into use. Latrines are consid-
[231] ered to be dirty since the pigs and dogs cannot scavenge the feces.

ered to be dirty since the pigs and dogs cannot scavenge the feces. Mothers train their children to have bowel movements in the evening when darkness offers them privacy in the houseyard.

Changes in house types in the seven-year period from my first census in 1958 to the second in 1964 are tabulated in Table 14. There has been a general improvement in the standards: tile roofs have increased from 1 to 20.1 percent. The increase has been at the expense of both wood shingle (declined 8.3 percent) and of thatch and palm leaf (declined 9.8 percent).

TABLE 14. Types of House Construction

	1958*		1964†	
	Number of houses	*Percent of all houses*	*Number of houses*	*Percent of all houses*
Roofs				
Tile	1	1	58	20
Shingle	27	23	41	14
Thatch or palm	87	76	190	66
Walls				
Board plank	17	15	66	23
Wattle and daub	98	85	223	77
Sweatbath				
Have	60	52	120	42
Have not	54	47	169	58
Unknown	1	1		

* Based on sample of 115 houses.
† Based on total survey of houses in center with 22 unspecified.

The numbers of houses with wood plank walls has increased from 14.8 percent to 22.8 percent. This is a temporary arrangement, and the planks are usually replaced with wattle and daub, so the increase may simply reflect new construction. The percentage of houses having sweatbaths has declined from 52.1 to 41.5. No new sweatbaths have been made for the last ten years or so, and many of those recorded are not in use.

The changes in housing type reflect the greater prosperity of the town as well as the increasing receptivity to outside influence. The increase in tile roofs means a greater dependency on external markets. Ten years before the final census, a man who put on a tile roof feared the consequences of witchcraft.

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342 177 178 434 of witchcraft. Today probably 95 percent of the new roofs are made of tile. Often the old roofs cannot be replaced with tile because the rafters were not built to support them. One result of the change has been the dependence on a carpenter to construct the gables, since they have to be lined up more accurately than they do with thatch or palm roofs. [335]

361 351 434 House lots in the town center are preferred to those on the margins. As residents of house sites on the ejido lands at the margins of the town acquire wealth, one of the first things they try to do is acquire a house closer to the plaza. These lots are smaller, averaging about 500 square meters, while those farther out average 900 square meters. In a sample measurement of 100 house lots, the size ranged from 180 to 1,440 square meters, and the average size was 77 square meters. Considering the advantages of a large lot in growing chile fruits and corn, the preference for smaller central lots reveals the strong prestige factor influencing choice. [554]

352 435 House furnishings include both purchased and homemade items. Sleeping accommodations consist of wooden bedboards, either nailed on a frame or simply laid on blocks and covered with a straw mat. Woolen blankets from Comitán are sold locally at a price of 24 pesos or for 20 pesos in San Cristóbal and 18 pesos in Comitán. Most households own two or three wooden benches which line the walls of the porch and are made locally. Small chairs are purchased from Chamula carpenters at a cost of 2 to 4 pesos, as well as a small table costing about 4. A higher table is provided for the saints' pictures and candle holders, incense burner, and flower vases or tin cans. Hooks are fashioned from the crotch of trees and suspended on the house posts. Wooden boxes are bought from Ladino carpenters in San Cristóbal at a cost of 10 to 20 pesos depending on size and workmanship and are used to store clothing. In addition to the homemade water holders, water carriers, comales, strainers, and bowls, handmade glazed ware from San Cristóbal, factory-made porcelain dishes, metal cooking pots, knives, and spoons are purchased. Gourds provide serving ware for ceremonial occasions. Stone grinding platforms and rollers are purchased in San Cristóbal for about 10 pesos. Two new items have become increasingly popular in the past five years: a metal grinding machine for corn, hand operated and costing from 40 to 60 pesos depending on the size and quality, and a hinged press for tortillas, costing 15 pesos if made [513] [778] [322] 415 435 439 [412] 435 415 177

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of metal and 10 pesos if made of wood. These are lined with waxed paper which the local storekeeper cuts from cracker-box wrappers and sells for 5 cents each. 435 415 177

Electricity, first used in the cooperative store and later in the liquor shops, is now being installed in houses. 83 families had electricity installed in their homes by 1967. Street lights have been in operation since 1966, although the first attempt to install them was blocked by residents on the streets to be lighted who did not want to pay the tax of 1 peso per month per household to meet the cost to the community of 75 pesos a month. Most people have a flashlight, and lighting in the house is provided by pitch pine or by small kerosene lamps. Candles are used only in ceremonies. 365 [651] 354 [416]

The inventory of items sold in the cooperative store in town includes the most frequently purchased items of consumption. Hardward includes buckets, hoes, kerosene lamps, batteries, Gillette blades, shotgun bullets, canned goods such as sardines, chiles, and powdered milk. Packaged foods include rice, sugar, salt, oatmeal, cornstarch, flour, coffee, biscuits, cookies, gum, and candy. Beer is sold along with soft drinks and cigarettes. Household supplies include candles, soap, D.D.T. powder, thread, matches, and kerosene. Medicines dispensed most frequently include sulphur pills, aralin, Desenfriol, Alka-Seltzer, and Sonrisal. Yard goods for shawls, children's wraps, and men's clothing are sold along with manufactured shirts, blouses for girls, and rubber capes. Eggs as well as money are taken in payment and then sold. Except for one can of Chocomilk, which sat on the shelves for a year, all of the items are in constant demand, and provide an index to the level of living and dependency on external markets. 444 [436]

The preferences in changing consumption are limited by communal standards of what is appropriate. I once asked a man who was acquiring more than the usual income by brokerage activities what he would buy with more money. He replied, "I would get more land and cattle." I interrupted to ask what he would do to improve his standard of living. "I wouldn't get better clothing—what would I need that for? I would get a house built with good materials like this [the government-built clinic] with a cement floor. But I couldn't get it now because of envy. When my children grow up, they [the neighbors] will see them working and maybe 434 178 177 [156]

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[953]

I can get one then. Last year I bought a transistor radio for nine hundred and ninety pesos. My wife said she would leave me if I got it because all the children would get sick. But I got it anyway and no one was sick. I am stronger than my enemies."

Innovation on the consumption level is adding a stimulus to innovation in economic activities. The successful innovator must invent a rationale for his improved standards of living and then prove that he can survive the possible evil consequences of envy. The process of adoption is one of a shift in the incidence of choices made in the direction of improving levels of living. The new is often incorporated with the old rather than replacing it. For example, after the rough preparation has been done with the mill, grinding stones are used for the final grinding of corn to get the dough into the preferred consistency for making tortillas. Tin plates are used along with crockery and gourds. Some items are linked in change: for example, tailored pants are worn only with buttoned shirts and belts and with zippered jackets. The old forms are continued in a ceremonial context: kotonču is preferred when a man undertakes an official role, and gourds are preferred to any other container for ceremonial foods. The technology of production lags behind the changes in consumption that have increased the need for greater income—agricultural tools have not been modified since the colonial period when the wooden plow, metal hoe, machete, and plow used with draft animals were added. Changes in consumption needs rather than in productive technology are expanding the economic horizons of the Indians.

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Choices and Strategies in Agricultural Production

241 In agricultural and pottery production, decision-making concerning the use of land and labor resources is controlled not only by a traditional technology but more importantly by a given state of cognitive orientations that determines, in Goodenough's words (1966:54), "what states of affairs they have learned to discern, what they believe to be the relations between them, and what they understand to be the processes by which one state can be transformed into another." Agriculturalists have a fine perception

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of what seeds grow best in which soils. Good, fast-growing seed is not 241
sowed indiscriminately but is limited to use on more fertile irrigated 242
lands. The size of a family's holdings is the primary factor in deciding
what proportion of the three major crops—corn, beans, and wheat—they [423]
will grow. Where they grow each of these crops depends upon the quality of the soil categorized by topological criteria, consistency, color, and proved fertility. Decline in productivity is attributed to wearing out of soil fertility because of overuse as well as to loss of the soul of crops. The first explanation leads to adaptive behavior, in which the land is "rested" or turned over to cattle grazing, and to crop rotation, alternating wheat and corn crops. The second explanation leads to adjustive behavior in which the agriculturalist takes care of ceremonial obligations to the saints and to the "owner of the milpa."

The scheduling of activities is determined by the knowledge of time re- 241
quired for maturing of the crop and by expectations concerning seasonal fluctuations as they affect rainfall. Although the farmers have some control
over water supply through irrigation, dependence on rainfall for the non- [082]
irrigated fields means that sporadic appeals to the ancestors or saints are [076]
made to ensure rain in the growing period. These rituals are not as inte- [069]
grated in the agricultural production cycle as they are in the neighboring [171]
towns of Chamula and Oxchuk or in the colonia of San Vicente where irrigation facilities are lacking.

Traditional techniques of pottery production are maintained by a tightly 323
organized schema of procedures which allows for little variation in technique or form. Learning of productive techniques is facilitated by a fine segmentation of tasks. Knowledge of local clays and tempering has been stabilized for at least five hundred years of occupation in this area. Women's work is entirely lacking in rituals to ensure the success of their efforts.

These given sets of cognitive orientations in economic activities do not 241
exclude the possibility of considering new ways or means of doing things. 177
Agriculturalists have tried the new seed introduced by agronomists, but 178
have found them wanting in their resistance to mold, in the case of corn, and in their portability, in the case of wheat. Fertilizers have been tried, but the credit costs proved too high for the agriculturalists to continue.
Women were willing to try a kiln in place of open firing, but either the 177
model introduced was faulty or they were not 323
taught to use it properly.

mother's house, find a wife for a grown son, or find an unattached female relative to live with him. 736 562

Traditional agricultural and pottery production contained within household units has limited specialization and the formation of classes. Whatever exceeded consumption needs was absorbed in a ceremonial fund that served to maintain existing standards. The aim of production was to maintain a given level of "poverty and suffering" as they said in prayers of thanksgiving. These old standards are no longer adequate. Family budgets reflect a range of alternatives requiring an increasing amount of cash expenditure on goods made outside of the community. Because of land limitations, these new preferences are met by wage labor rather than increases in the size of the farm. The new enterprises discussed in the following chapter provide the income streams which are disrupting the present distribution of wealth and the social system based on it. 434 177 464

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Chapter 3

New Economic Activities

43 The role of the Indian in the regional and national economy is being
44 shaped more and more by supralocal institutions in public and private en-
177 terprises. The Indians of Tzo?ontahal have mobilized their own resources
178 to incorporate these opportunities. In this they reveal a selective perception of the economic and social advantages of innovation and a tendency to translate form and function into a local idiom. The success of planning at national or regional levels depends upon incorporation of projects at local levels, while the survival of the local group depends upon acceptance of
178 the new opportunities to absorb rising populations.

177 The major institutional settings in which innovation is occurring are
423 (1) the ejido program, (2) employment in agricultural and nonagricul-
464 tural enterprises outside of the community, and (3) economic enterprises
43 originating within the community. My discussion of the economic potential of the local community to adapt to change will be organized in terms of these settings.

The Economic Potential of the Ejido

423

Mexico's ejido program, as one of the oldest and most extensive attempts at land reform in the hemisphere, provides a basis for assessing the economic potential of such programs. Here I shall consider only the effects of ejido administration in the community and what this case illustrates of the potential for development in the future.

Manuel Giraul (quoted in de la Peña 1951:327) summarizes the negative effects of the ejido program:

> In Mexico, the ejido system constitutes an institutionalized block to the reform of the social and economic structure; it corresponds to a

highly stratified primitive society, which remains static: it lacks the 423
flexibility and mobility that exists in modern societies.

The history of the ejido program in Tzoʔontahal in the first few years 175
after it was organized in 1937 seemed to confirm this conclusion. Its 423
immediate effect was to block the flow of labor and goods in the regional 182
and national markets. The ejidatarios were no longer forced to sell their 464
labor at the prevailing rate of 25 cents a day, a wage which was not [465]
enough to supply the needs of even one man much less those of a household. Children and women formerly had to work with their husbands in the coffee fincas in order to meet their most immediate consumption needs. The independence that the ejido tract gave meant that men could withhold their own labor and that of the subordinate members of the family from such exploitation. The second harvests coming from the ejido [241]
plots in low country freed the Indians from having to buy corn in July, [435]
August, and September at the inflated market prices which took advantage of the scarcity of this basic necessity.

The political effect of the ejido in the early days was to fortify the corpo- 175
rate community against the shocks of the outside world. The first lands ac- 423
quired were primarily allotments of corporate lands alienated by the laws 621
of 1856 and 1876. Population remained in situ, whether they were foreign Indians working on the expropriated estates, or residential communities created in the sixteenth century as crown towns.

The township of Amatenango acquired its first ejido land grant in 1937. One of the early promoters of the ejido, a *revestido* Indian (one who has [177]
adopted western clothing) from Huistán who had been a laborer on one of the fincas within the township limits, threatened to become a rural *cacique,* or local boss, comparable to those who emerged from the agrarian revolt in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962). This leader was elected president, but during his term of office he was expelled because of his attempt to secure house plots in the center for himself and other Huistecan Indians residing in the barrio of Yetawitz (Chapter 9).

The stabilizing effects of the ejido in its earlier phase have been upset in 423
recent years. As the population of the center expanded, new families mi- 621
grated to the nearby barrios contiguous to the town center. These new set- 166

T
661 *us 65 pesos per bag. It was the first time we had used it and we had very*
652 *good crops. We got together and decided not to pay for the fertilizer. We*
621 *called the bank agents and requested that we be relieved of the charge be-*
571 *cause the crops had failed. We showed him a milpa which is a low plot*
241 *that is too wet for a good crop. We just throw the seed there, but don't*
T *work on it because it isn't worth the trouble.*
[693] *We went to a lawyer in Tuxtla. He told us the bank would have to pay for the fertilizer since they had promised it. The lawyer is the helper of* the campesinos [*poor farmers*].

T
178 Several points of significance can be noted in this case: (1) the Indians
661 are reluctant to take credit risks because of unfortunate experiences in the
621 past; (2) they react to deception with their own deceptions, showing the
571 engineer the land which had not only not been fertilized but had never
[426] been weeded or cared for; and (3) they seek professional legal aid in deal-
[693] ing with government agents in order to equalize the contest in which they
T feel disadvantaged. These first two behavioral syndromes are culturally
[177] conditioned responses; the third represents an innovation. By seeking
[178] professional aid for which they pay a fee, the Indians are breaking the mo-
nopoly of power held by the caciques to whom they were formerly bound in a network of personal obligations incurred in such transactions.

M Recent colonization of national lands since the 1950s has introduced a
423 new kind of ejido settlement. Since most of the lands contiguous to settled
361 towns were absorbed in the early days of the ejido grant, movement has
been into lands outside the domain of established centers. This sponta-
M neous colonization of unexploited land has followed the penetration of
[491] new highways in Quintana Roo, Campeche, Chiapas, Tabasco, and Vera
Cruz (de la Peña 1951:348). In defense of their rights to the new lands, the
M colonists, often of diverse origins, develop a political consciousness. Mesti-
423 zos and Indians of different towns work together in securing official ejido
621 status for their lands. Acculturation to the national language and ways of
563 life is much greater in these mixed centers than in the settled populations
[197] that were part of the original ejido tracts. Consciousness of their rights
M under national law and independence from traditional loyalties means that
641 these new settlements may be the basis for welding Indians into the na-
563

Ladino butchers in the neighboring town. The cows are not milked either for local consumption or sale. Fertilizers are for the most part wasted since the cattle roam freely in the communal pasture lands except in the case of a few corrals owned by families. Hides are cured rather crudely and are used for saddle packs or protective aprons by the men, but none are sold.

The cooperatives. The notion of a cooperative to mobilize capital had been introduced by the I.N.I. in 1957 with the inauguration of a store owned by over one hundred members of the community. In the first years of its existence, the cooperative had some difficulties, primarily in convincing the Indians that when the returns on shares were lower in any year from prior levels, it did not indicate that the agents were stealing the money.

The cooperative store was bought by the Indians of the town from the I.N.I. in 1964 after the members had some trouble receiving returns on their shares. There are now one hundred and twenty-two members. The profits of 1965 were reinvested in the purchase of the corn-grinding mill. Current profits at the store are lent at 5 percent per month interest. The store grosses 80 to 100 pesos in sales daily, and the mill grossess 100 pesos. The wages paid to the storekeeper are 300 pesos and to the miller 250 per month.

Now that the cooperative is independent of the government, one of the stated policies is not to sell a single share to a Ladino or member of another community. "We do not want to give gifts to the Ladinos," the secretary of the cooperative told me. He added, "There was a Ladino in Teopisca who wanted to join with 5,000 pesos, but we wouldn't let him in. If you let them in, they would come to dominate the pueblo." The cooperative store does not share profits with the consumers but gives dividends. The 11,380-peso assets in the year 1965 were reinvested in stock and in the purchase of corn at harvest which was then sold at one and a half or two times the sale price.

The Indians developed their first independent cooperative in the ownership of a *marimba,* a musical instrument like a xylophone, operated by eight men of the community. This enterprise failed because the players never developed sufficient skill to be commissioned to play outside of town.

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The truck is the focus of the desire for self-improvement, for fighting the Ladino monopoly of the road, for the antagonisms and factional strife and conflict within the community. When they bought the truck, the Indians hired a Ladino in the neighboring town as chauffeur. One of the conditions of his employment was that he would teach his Indian assistant to drive. The Ladino tried to avoid doing this since he knew it would be the end of his job. But the Indian assistant learned by observation and is now operating the truck with an Indian assistant.

Accounts of the cost and profit of the truck operation indicated a running loss. A new tarpaulin cost 1,200 pesos; there were repairs and bribes to the highway patrol. But the truck was kept in operation because the major shareholders were impressed with the power it gave them. "They [their enemies, the members of the other co-operative owned by the Ladino along with twenty members of the community] are afraid of us because of the truck," one said, and added that it was better than having a *swayohel,* the animal spirit that gives power to the curers. At the time of my last visit in 1967 the truck was making a profit. The owners were thinking of selling it and replacing it with a five-ton model.

Structural realignment has been most marked in the organization of the truck-owning cooperatives. Membership cuts across the dual division for both of the truck-owning cooperatives. The cooperative is the most important factor in local political elections (Chapter 9). The truck has become both the symbol of power and the basis for the contest for power between the factions within the community.

Contraband liquor. The number of distillers has grown in the last ten years from five to forty. The distillation process was learned by Indians from Ladinos in neighboring towns fifteen years ago. There has been no local innovation in the basic process, but a new item, used in distillation, has been introduced into pottery production, a funnel decorated in the traditional manner of the water jars and other vessels. The capital investment in the equipment for operating the still is put up by individuals or partnerships of relatives. The still is rented to people who have charge of the celebration for a saint's day, or who are involved in courtship.

Private enterprise is the favored form of organization of the distillers be-

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cause of the limited capital involved and the fear of discovery with the expansion of the enterprise. A loose syndicate of distillers provides an insurance protection by raising fines for members who are apprehended by federal agents. Security measures are taken to avoid discovery, and the presence of a federal agent is announced in Tzeltal on the loudspeaker system of one of the bars. One federal agent is on the payroll of the four operating bar owners, who give him 5 pesos a week to avoid legal action on the sale of contraband liquor. Individual distillers pay the tariff of 10 pesos or two liters of liquor a year to the civil officials and to the ejido commission, a tariff justified by the fact that they use wood from communally owned land to cook the sugar. The syndicate is a community-wide organization, mobilized in emergencies only.

The New Social Resources

In the course of operating the new enterprises, knowledge of and experience with supralocal institutions and agents are developing social resources in (1) entrepreneurship, (2) management of capital and credit, (3) knowledge of markets, and (4) dealing with government agencies. In entering into these new economic activities, the Indians have not lost a sense of belonging to the local community. Self-identification as poor, indigenous farmers is both a screen of protection and a means of ensuring continuity with local control systems.

Entrepreneurship. Local entrepreneurs explain their motivation in a rhetoric which emphasizes their interest in community welfare. This validates entering into nontraditional activities, but retaining their position in local society inhibits the expansions of their activities. The case of Santos, the promoter of the trucking cooperative is instructive. Santos had picked up some accounting techniques while he served in the army in Michoacán. He returned to the village because his father walked from Chiapas to Michoacán to tell him he should come back and get married. When he returned, he kept careful account of his costs and returns from the milpa. He realized soon that it wasn't "worth his work" (the Indian has not as yet learned the idiom or the value system which goes into the

474 The strategies the cooperative members have developed in their frequent
648 tangles with state police illustrate the combination of custom and innova-
661 tion. When caught red-handed, they may respond by playing the stereotype Indian role. "We don't know anything. We are just poor Indians. How do you expect us to do what the law says?" This is hard for the Ladino authorities to resist, since it feeds their own sense of superiority. But it does not always work, and so the Indians have devised secondary resources. They put the departmental police at each terminal of their usual route between Las Casas and Comitán on a regular monthly mordida pay-
[693] roll of 50 pesos each. When trying to extend their operations, they hire a lawyer. A recent coup has been the acquisition of a permit to truck corn from Villa las Rosas and other ejido settlements that have been recently colonized. The appeal was made on the basis that they are a nonprofit cooperative of ejidatarios. With the permit, they now undercut the price of their own competitors in the town as well as of the large companies. Law-
474 yers are beginning to advertise themselves in newspapers as "Friends of
693 the Indians" and are in some cases specializing in this new patronage, which they receive from other communities as well as Tzoʔontahal. The professional relationship bypasses personal ties which formerly limited the development of Indian leadership.

177 The self-development occurring in Tzoʔontahal may appear paradoxical
178 if we do not understand the internal dynamics by which change is con-
474 tained within an existing equilibrium. The cooperative association has
621 been adopted as a technique for socializing the risk of making a profit.
648 The truck, although currently used in an uneconomic operation, is a sym-
[493] bol of power in the struggle for a position in the regional markets and in the intracommunity factional strifes. The usual patron-client system is being reversed as the Indian puts the Ladino on his payroll to secure evasion from the law. In the changes which are occuring, the defensive structure of the corporate community is a means by which the Indians are entering into national life not on the lowest rung of the social ladder, but on terms they are setting for themselves. In the new enterprises, the Indians combine old ploys with new strategies. Confronted with legal threats from the outside world, they play the colonial game of defensive ignorance.

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When this fails, they turn to the professional help of lawyers rather than to the old caciques with whom they had formerly maintained patron-client relations. The traditional structural alignment of upper and lower barrios is retained as the basis for organizing the growing cattle herds, but the cooperative provides flexibility and power for developing new enterprises.

The minimal changes in the material environment and the technology of the peasantry are countered by the development of social resources which should facilitate Indian integration in the wider society. In operating the new enterprises independently of Ladino control, they are developing entrepreneurial skills and an awareness of the relationship between capital and profit. The restriction of their operations to nonproductive use of capital for profit, such as buying crops at harvest and reselling as the price rises, reveals the limited dynamics of intracommunal development. The town will look to the regional and national networks for fundamental changes in its economy.

The fear of exciting envy acts as a brake on productive activity and the enjoyment of improved consumption resulting from wealth. Santos' death is a symbolic warning to others who would follow in his footsteps. An earlier case occurred when the ejido land grants were made in the 30s:

The brothers Ča?iletik became "very rich" as a result of careful operation of their ejido and privately owned land. They owned ten pair of oxen and about fifty horses. When they brought in their crops on horseback, it looked like a line of ants. They built a good house in Alkob', and a good threshing shelter. The people of the town began to talk about getting them off the land. The ejido commissioner took their land away and turned it over to others in the town. Until this day, the brothers Ča?iletik are without land. Now they do no more than work like other men. They live poorly. All their cattle and horses are sold.

The organization of the cooperatives is one means of diverting envy directed against individuals and permitting some increase in productive efforts, but the society still lacks the means of validating higher consumption standards. The richest man in town eats better than his neighbors,

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but his style of living is indistinguishable from theirs. The only difference is the larger number of dogs he[1] keeps to guard his wealth stored in the form of surplus crops in the eaves of his house.

The kind of economic change occurring in Tzo'ontahal fits the model of a moving equilibrium. Tightly controlled behavioral schema preserve the traditional productive activities in pottery and agriculture. They provide the framework into which the new enterprises are fit. Increasing dependence of cosumption choices on external markets is slowly transforming the content but not the pattern of community life. This kind of change is limited to societies that form a distinct corporate group. In an open society where many alternatives are available, the painful process of accommodation of the new to a customary pattern would probably not be undertaken given the tendency for social change to follow the course of least resistence. The absorption of economic innovation in Tzo'ontahal illustrates the ability of closed corporate communities to participate in commercial undertakings and reformulate them to fit their own pattern.

[1] [i.e., the richest man in town. - Analyst]

852 608 571 788 The church ceremony is followed by another ceremony in the house of the child's parents. As the group returning from the church enters the house, they are greeted with the pat'o'tan by the maliwanehetik who are waiting for them in the house. As they enter, each of the returning party says, "You go forward, kumpare." They embrace all of the waiting party, an act which establishes their relationship as compadres with the entire company. When the padrinos leave, the grandparents and parents of the [273] child go to a spot before the eaves outside the house; there the father of [593] the child serves liquor to the padrinos and the grandparents of the child. [603] The drink is called "the finale as the compadres leave." The group must finish the entire liter "since it is a gift," and if there are only one or two grandparents, they may get fairly drunk. As the compadres leave, the grandpaernts say, "Over the soil, over the mud where you take your holy godchild, your holy flower, your holy candle." The child, referred to meta- [778] phorically as holy flower, holy candle, is identified with the most sacred symbols of the culture.[2]

608 571 171 The emphasis on the group relationship in Tzo'ontahal contrasts with the form of compadrazgo found in the central plateau of Mexico where the dyadic tie between two compadres provides flexibility in achieving instrumental ends in political or economic life.[3] Some of the new leaders in economic enterprises are beginning to emphasize the dyadic contract in their compadrazgo relationships to achieve political support, but its greatest importance is still based on creating or reinforcing group solidarity.

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Betrothal and Marriage

The Indians of Tzo'onthal are initiated into the community of the living and depart from it with ceremonies deriving from the Spanish colonial 584 585 culture. The courtship and marriage ceremonies continue indigenous re-

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[852] she later attended the household ceremony, she was never called kumare because of the [571] omission of this act.

[608] 2. See Laughlin (1962) on the symbolism of the candle and flower in Zinacantan.

[171] 3. In regard to the occasions and the kind of respect relation established, compadrazgo in Tzo'ontahal is similar to the institution in other parts of Mexico (Foster 1963, Nader 1964, Wolf and Mintz 1956). The difference lies in the elaboration of the number of ties acquired through compadrazgo at each event.

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756 boring community who is reputed to practice both witchcraft and curing receives fees of 200 to 300 pesos regularly. She has been accused of killing more than one patient in giving injections.

753 Since most diseases are not static conditions, a master classification must take into account physiological process. The only absolutely evil diseases are those which are found to be incurable. When diseases which start out as apparently "good," or not caused by evil intent, fail to respond to patent medicines, the patient or his family begin to suspect witchcraft. They then turn to the curer who will diagnose this. Category 1 of Table 22 includes those diseases which, depending on duration and intensity, indicate the presence of evil.

In the case of the illnesses of God, Category 3 of Table 22, an additional complication enters. As in the case of Category 1 diseases, they may begin as "good" diseases, but the introduction of evil by a witch means that the illness can cause death to many people. This category includes the contagious diseases, the most common ones being measles, whooping cough, and heat, which may refer to typhoid, grippe, or to an increase in the virulence of other contagious diseases.

[177] The designation "sickness of God" is one inspired by the priest. He has been active in trying to discourage witch-killing and has insisted that the contagious diseases are sent by God. The villagers have accepted this as far as the origin of the disease is concerned, but as the deaths mount, people begin to suspect witchcraft.

753 761 Sudden attacks causing almost immediate death are classified as judgments of the ancestors rather than as illness. These include "seizure, because the very cold leg and arm of the ancestors touch the body [of the victim]" and "ancestors grab the soul." Asphyxiation and heart attack may be some of the modern classifications for such diseases. If a child should die suddenly, the logic applied in Tzoʔontahal is that the *meʔiltatil kananatay lum,* the mother-father ancestors who care for earth, see a potential danger in the soul of the child and seize it so that he will not develop into a witch. These are the only deaths I know of which are not attributed to witchcraft.

Chapter 7

The Formal Organization of Local Government

The formal organization of civil and religious offices in Tzoʔontahal is based on the pattern of a locally independent, democratically elected officialdom introduced by the Spaniards. Variations in the pattern from that of other towns of the highlands have resulted from differences of interpretation of the functions, the range of power, and the course of succession of offices. This flexibility has preserved structural continuity as organizational adjustments are made. The Indians have transformed an alien governing mechanism into one that meets their changing needs and contributes to their independence in the modern world. 621 177 178

The independence of the local township has a base in the pre-Conquest social organization of Chiapas. Robert Adams (1961:347) has noted the absence of architectural or other features indicative of functional specialization that would arise in a politically integrated region. At the time of the Conquest, Chiapas was divided into warring principalities, revealing the extreme political fragmentation of the area (Calnek 1962:8). Each town was divided from the neighboring town by *mojones,* hilled-up boundaries (ibid:36). A minimum of political unity was achieved by holding certain towns subject to the dominance of others (ibid:27); local autonomy persisted, however, in the administration of landholding as a community enterprise. 632 178 175 632 628 131 621 428

During the colonial period the Spanish Crown established the independence of towns directly under their control and provided them with a civil-religious hierarchy which has persisted as the form of government to the present (Carrasco 1961: Wolf 1957b). 175 632 177 621

Comparative studies of the civil-religious hierarchy indicate the range of 171 621

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hall, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of the new officials. Residents of the barrios and colonias can never rise to any position above that of assistant judge, but once they have served in this post they may become principales in their own localities. One week the first regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the third regidor from Alannantik, and the next week the second regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the fourth regidor from Alannantik. The ten police are ranked in five levels with representatives from each side at every level in the series except for the fourth level, which is occupied by police from the barrios.

These civil officials, called as a group the *hu?eletik*, those who are "able" (in control), constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. To reach a high post, an official must first pass through each of the lower positions in the hierarchy. Outside of this ranked hierarchy, the posts of president and síndico are occupied by young men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy was, until the present generation, limited to a few men in their thirties. With increasing literacy, the competition for these posts is growing.[2] Men who have such skills are called upon as signers of official documents and are called *firmanetik*.

Also existing outside of the traditional hierarchy is the post of secretary which had, until 1965, been occupied by a Ladino. This was the only post which was paid; it also provided opportunity for earning extra income by preparing "acts," or official documents, and fines from court cases. The present incumbent is an Indian of Alannantik.

Because Tzo?ontahal's hierarchy is still a linked series of civil and religious posts, the structure of the civil hierarchy cannot be considered independently from that of the religious hierarchy. The major segments of the religious hierarchy are the *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces or captains of the fiestas. The internal ranking of the sixteen mayordomos depends on the number of religious posts the incumbent has filled and on the rank order of the saints he serves.

The alfereces, or captains of the fiestas, provide a ceremonial link be-

2. Julio de la Fuente (1964:30) has summarized the effect of literacy in breaking the homogeneity of the community since the literate Indians have received greater privileges and release from communal work. When the entire community is educated, the monopoly of literacy is broken.

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undertaking the burden of office is still phrased as a means of maintaining the internal system of security. Tying the new official to personal supporters in the household setting is a significant means of integrating the Spanish governmental system with the preexisting authority systems. 621 794 527

The emphasis on continuity is evident in the prescribed pattern of behavior stressing repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetition of behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expectations which links the present with the past.[5] The nakawanehetik, who are the repositories of knowledge of the customs of the ancestors, are stage directors of acts performed in the house. Behavioral replication is reinforced by verbal references in the pat?o?tan to performing "that which our mothers, that which our fathers did." When any act has lost the wider context of belief in which it must at one time have been embedded, the reason given for the performance is simply "so was the custom of our ancestors." As an example of this, the officials in the president's house on the day of the inauguration stand and bow in the direction of the rising sun. A few informants have heard of the God of the East, Santo Ariyó, the saint in charge of household gods who gave to the people corn, wheat, beans, and cattle, and they say that it is in recognition of him that people turn to the East and bow their heads in all household performances. They further state that in this act they defend the house against the entry of the devil. But the mythological context which might explain the logic of this association is lost. These behavioral sherds, when cut off from the belief system which they dramatized, survive in perpetuating the customs of the ancestors. 621 794 527 177 178

The link with the past is also seen in the presence of both new and old officials in the town hall, providing a setting in which the succession of the new officials is acknowledged by the old. The role of the principales is of the greatest importance in establishing continuity, significantly emphasized in the fact that it is they who hand over the symbol of authority, the 621 794 527 178

5. Bunzel (1952:251) has pointed to this familiarity of ritual sets in a variety of ceremonials as providing ties with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango, and Vogt (1966) has shown the significance of replication in the ceremonials of Zinacantan. Another function served by behavorial replication is that which Leach (1967:2) pointed out for verbal replication in myths and prayers: it overcomes the "static" of less significant background interference. [171]

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621 794 527 178 newly cut pine canes of the police and the old carved and painted staffs of the higher officials.

621 794 527 273 Order and measure, respect and deference are the social effect achieved in the ritual performance of the inaugurations. In the act of drinking, these principles become behaviorally explicit. The drink is carefully measured out and passed to the first principal, who asks permission to drink it of each set of officials in order of their ranked positions in the hierarchy. Each official must receive the drink, whether he is a teetotaler or not. He will then perform the action of drinking, which is sufficient to express his good will as part of the group. The symbolic act of pretending to drink—receiving the "gift" and raising it to one's lips without imbibing—reveals the importance of acts *as such* in social interaction. This is expressed in the [192] Tzeltal loan term *ʔaksion,* from the Spanish *acción,* the pretended act, which demonstrates in this case one's good will in joining in the communal act. We have a tendency in our culture to downgrade the act, stressing motive specific to the immediate goal of the act. If performance is motivated by other goals, we express it in phrases such as "He is only acting," or "It was all a big act." In Tzoʔontahal, the play is the thing, and everything can be justified by reference to traditional expectations.

621 794 561 177 178 Before describing some of the organizational changes which are affecting the civil-religious hierarchy, I shall at this point assess its viability on the basis of structural criteria. These criteria include the effectiveness of the system in (1) coordinating roles such that conflict is minimized in carrying out tasks, (2) motivating people to enter into office and fulfill obligations, (3) absorbing changes without structural modification.

The primary devices for coordinating roles in the hierarchy are those of relative age and residence in the dual division. The major challenge to the age-respect pattern has been the introduction of young leadership in the roles of president and síndico. This shock to the system has been somewhat overcome by the retention of the ceremonial primacy of the principales. The president and síndico are considered outside the traditional hierarchy. This conceptual isolation of the roles becomes obvious when one asks informants to list the civil officials, for they never include the president and síndico in the first response. They are mentioned in response to repeated enquiries as to whether there are other officials.

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The principle of balancing posts according to residence in the dual division is maintained in the traditional civil posts but fails to be effective again in the case of the president. Increasing population in the upper division meant that the expensive post of alférez had to be filled primarily from the side with the highest population. This unbalancing of the sharing of these burdensome posts eventually led to revolt and the post was abolished. Since it was the key post in learning prayers, its loss may mean the end of the traditional rituals in the home.

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The hierarchy fails to provide sufficient prestige or power to motivate people voluntarily to undertake some posts. The most vulnerable post was that of alférez. In fulfilling obligations to the saints, alfereces used to spend over 3,000 pesos, twice the normal income of a man in one year. They were assisted by members of their immediate households either in loans or in the sale of pottery to help pay for the house fiestas. The show of wealth at these fiestas, when up to one hundred guests were fed, excited the envy of neighbors, often among the invited guests. It was felt that this provoked witchcraft, and every former alférez I knew maintained that he suffered some catastrophe following his year in office. In the last few years before its demise in 1966 the post was accepted only under duress, and all those who had been nominated at first chose to go to jail. The reason that it survived as long as it did was the insistence of those officials who served in this post that it was essentail to maintaining good fiestas. The resolution of the contradictions by abolishing the post contrast with that of Zinacantan, where men sought the prestige-conferring posts that involved large expenditures of money as a validation of wealth (Cancian 1965).

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[273]

Another contradition which minimizes the motivation to undertake the traditional posts is that the highest post in the ladder, that of principal, is one associated with embarrassment and shame rather than prestige. Shorn of his roles in decision-making and in guarding public funds, the principal is reduced to holding the plate in which donations for the major fiestas are placed. The ceremonial role of the principales will probably survive, however, since the old men of the community who have retired from active work in the fields enjoy the drinking sessions in the cabildo sufficiently to compensate for the shame associated with the role.

The internal structural contradictions have to be considered in the con-

776 The two groups of spirits differ in their traditional characteristics and
• 177 functions. The spirits of the heaven "look to see where everyone is going," "look and listen to all that people say," "are very alive," and "are of the world." In contrast to them, the spirits of the church "are not alive," "do not speak," "do not do anything," "are only of the pueblo." Thus the spirits of the heaven are universal; those of the church are particular. The saints' images which are kept in the church of the town are not considered to represent the same person as these same images in other towns. This
[171] conception of saints as local and distinct personalities is found in other Maya Indian towns and differs from that of orthodox Catholicism.

The lord spirits of the heaven. The spirits of the heaven are God the Father, *Tios Tatil,* God the Son, *Tios Niĉ'anil,* and the Holy Spirit, *Spiritusantú.* Table 27 indicates the identification made between these major figures and pre-hispanic spiritual entities.

[192] TABLE 27. Pre- and Post-Hispanic Equivalents of the Lord Spirits of the Heavens

Post-Hispanic spirits		*Pre-Hispanic spirits*
Tios Tatil (God the Father)	=	B'alamilal (The World) B'ankilal (Elder Brother)
Tios Niĉ'anil (God the Son, Jesus Christ)	=	Sčeb'al B'ankilal (Second Brother)
Spiritusantú (Holy Spirit)	=	Tatik K'ahk'al (The Lord Sun) K'oł (referential, Last Child) Šut (vocative, proper name) ʔihtz'in (Younger Brother)
Meʔ Santú (Virgin Mary)	=	Meʔtikčič ʔu (Our Grandmother the Moon)

776 The "mystery" of the Trinity is "explained" in the following
539 story in which pre-hispanic deities are identified with the Christian deities.
177 *Many years ago, the Lord Sun* [Tatik K'ak'al] *did not walk as now. He was only hanging in the heavens. Our Grandmother the Moon* [Meʔtik Čič ʔu] *bore three sons named God the Father* [Tios Tatil], the Elder *Brother; God the Son, Second Brother; and a third named K'oł, or Last One. The first brother did not turn out bright nor did the second brother. It was the youngest brother, K'oł, who was the brightest. When the Elder*

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Brother was in heaven, there never was night. He never rested from his work.

One day K'oš said to his brother, "Let us go for a walk. We will get honey and eat it. I know where there is a tree." He told his mother to make tortillas to take with them. She made many tortillas for K'oš to eat, and in addition made two small tortillas.

His mother asked K'oš, "Why do you want to go out walking?"

He replied, "I am going to find honey. Wait for me to return."

K'oš and his two older brothers walked until they arrived at the tree with the honey. The Elder Brother said, "I shall climb very high."

K'oš said, "I too will climb."

The Elder Brother said, "Do not climb. Wait and I shall throw the honey down. You cannot climb the tree, Šut" [*for this is what they called K'oš*].

K'oš just waited for his brother to throw down the honey. K'oš got very angry because the Elder Brother just threw down beeswax.[1] *An animal entered the trunk of the tree and started eating the root. The tree shook, frightening the two brothers. They called out, "What are you doing, Šut?"*

"Nothing. I am not doing anything. Why don't you give me good honey?"

"Go on and drink it," the older brothers said.

"I don't like it. It isn't any good," replied K'oš.

He did nothing for a while. Then the tree fell. K'oš saw the tree fall. He went and got the two small tortillas his mother had packed in his lunch, and he put one on the Elder Brother's nose. His brother turned into a pig. He tried to put the other tortilla on the Second Brother's nose, but he could not seize him. The Second Brother turned into a wild boar, and fled into the forest. He brought the Elder Brother to his house. When he arrived at his house with his little pig, he said to his mother, "Mother, I have brought a little pig to raise."

"Where did you find it?" his mother asked.

"I just brought it," replied K'oš.

1. In recounting this passage, the narrator laughed, and when I asked why, said that the word for beeswax is also the word for excrement. She commented that K'oš was very bright because he would not tolerate this.

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776 *"Is there food for it?" asked his mother.*
539 *"I am going to plant a milpa to feed the little pig. You stay here and*
177 *watch the little pig and I will go."*

"Yes, I will care for it," said his mother.

K'oš went to plant his milpa. As he was leaving, he said to his mother, "I will return in the afternoon."

His mother said, "I shall await you in the afternoon."

When K'oš returned, his mother asked, "How is your milpa?"

He replied, "It isn't ready. Tomorrow I am going to burn it because it is just a forest."

The next day, K'oš returned to his milpa. Everything he had cut had grown back in his milpa. He asked himself, "How did it spring up? I am going to wait and see who is causing the trouble." He waited and saw a bird entering the milpa. The bird said, "I don't want to have the woods burned!"

K'oš said, "I am going to start the fire."

He started the fire, and then he said, "I am going to where the day meets the heaven." He picked up the fire of his milpa, saying, "My brother does not know how to walk. I am going to walk around and return."

Now the day walks in front and the night walks behind.[2]

The story has an aftermath which describes the continuing relationship between the Lord Sun, K'oš, and his mother, Our Grandmother the Moon.

The Lord Sun sees all of our sins and puts them in a book. If anyone has sexual relations in the milpa, he puts it down. When he sees this, he gets angry because he walks alone. He wants to end the world since he does not endure our sins. But Our Grandmother the Moon does not want

[184] 2. There are other versions of this story in neighboring Tzeltal-speaking communities. Castro (1959:24–31) gives an Oxchuk version in which the identification of the three brothers with the Christian Trinity is not made. Šut, the vocative term used in the Tzoʔontahal version, is given as the name of the youngest brother, who succeeded in giving a new sun to the world. But in outwitting his brothers with the honey, Šut killed them rather than turning them into pigs. A Chol version (Whittaker and Warkentin 1965) is closer to that of Oxchuk.
[171]

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the sun to kill people. She is afraid that if all the people die, other people will come who have just one hand and one foot. They will not be able to work. Our Grandmother the Moon wants things as they are. So she fights the Sun, and then there is an eclipse. For this reason, people say that she bears our sins.

The tales occasionally try to bring the old gods into focus with the Christian gods and to explain certain cosmological events, for example the eclipse and the movement in the heavens of the sun and the moon. The synthesis is incomplete. First of all, the small part Jesus (Second Brother) plays in the first myth, in which he finally disappears into the forest, shows a failure to fit the three gods into the pre-hispanic format which included only two main characters. Secondly, the myths fail to synthesize the codes of morality stemming from Maya and Christian sources. In Christian mythology, the deities are conceived of as perfect. They are not identified with the sun, but are the power of creation which brought forth the sun and made it move. Destructive forces come from the evil power of the Devil. The deities of the Indians incorporate both good and evil. Cosmological forces are the gods acting directly either to promote or destroy man's work. Even the Grandmother Moon, who shows compassion for her grandchildren, can be piqued into destroying their crops.

In another tale the personification of good and evil in separate characters shows greater influence from Catholicism. Jesus emerges as the hero who, with the collaboration of the Virgin Mary, outwits the Devil.

After Jesus was crucified, the King of the Jews[3] *called upon people to sow a staff to prove who moves the world. Jesus planted the seed, but the Jews did not let them grow. He did it again, and only one leg came out and one hand came out. Therefore the plant did not stand because the "King of Evil" was watching.*

Jesus and his mother had an idea. He spoke to her, saying, "What do you think, Mother?" She replied, "The only thing I can say is, what can we think of?"

The Lord Christ replied, "Our children and offspring [the milpa] do

3. The Devil is alternately called King of the Jews [Statal Jurio], King of Evil [Statal Pukuh], and the Devil in the story.

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776 539 177 *not stand. Only one stands—he who does not respect us." The Virgin Mother said, "Yes, I saw another one who walks well watching our children." Jesus asked, "Did you get a good look where he walks?" His mother replied, "Yes, indeed, I saw him." Christ asked, "If you know, what are we going to do there where he walks?" "I do not know what we shall do," said his mother.*

Then, after a pause, Christ said, "Now I know what we will do! Do you know what hour he passes?" The Virgin answered, "Yes, I do."

"Good. I am going to make a little house and put a Victrola, an accordion, and also a violin in it. I will put a marimba, a guitar, and a harp on each side of the road. And I shall also put trago and beer, everything that is good to drink. When you see him coming, we will begin to play the marimba and guitar and all the music on both sides of the road. When you see the King of Evil, we will begin the dance and drink trago—everything there is—and he will look at what we drink."

The Virgin said, "I will invite him to dance a little." "Yes, you remain here dancing, and I shall go for a moment to see his children [corn plants]. Continue dancing while I go out to look," said Christ. The Virgin answered, "Good. Good."

And so the Devil passed by. When Christ left, the Virgin began to dance with the Devil. They drank more liquor to make him "lose his heart" [get drunk]. The Virgin did not see that the Devil put his tail in half of the bottle. It is because of this that the people say liquor is one-half Devil and one-half God.

Meanwhile, Jesus arrived where the children of the Devil were. He made no more than the sign of the cross, and all the children of the Devil died. It is after the Children of the Devil died that Christ seized control of the world.

And so it is true that we are his children who came out of Jesus Christ.

In this tale, evil is personified in the enemy of the Catholic Church, the King of the Jews who is also the pre-hispanic "King of Evil." The Virgin Mother is concerned with preventing the world from reverting to the situation in which people were born helpless, with just one arm and one leg, as it was when the Devil was in control. To prevent this, when the moon is "sick" or in eclipse, the people must call her back to life. The strategy is

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to make a great deal of noise by striking hoes, firing rifles, blowing the horns of bulls, and striking gourds. The logic of this behavior can be understood from the following statement of an informant: "The sickness of the moon is a result of the conflict of the sun with the moon. The noise we made frightens the father sun so that he will stop fighting the moon. If he were to win, the people would die, and new people would be born with only one leg and one arm."[4]

We have in this story what appears to be an overlay of post-hispanic mythology, in which the Devil personifies evil forces, superimposed on a prehispanic mythological identification of the powers of both good and evil in single cosmological deities. Whereas in the previous myth it is the Devil, the King of the Jews, who caused all of the children of Jesus to die and to be reborn with only one arm and one leg, in this statement it is the sun who can effect the same reversal of nature. The sun, Tatik K'alik, has the power to cause the milpa to grow, but by staying out too long, it can burn the crop. Similarly lightning, Tatik Ča?uk, may bring rain, but can destroy the milpa with the winds that precede the rain or kill man and destroy his house. Man is responsible for determining how the force of the gods will be directed.

The guardianship of the sun and the moon over the people of the world serves to control or at least restrain the behavior of people. Since both of them "walk alone," without companionship, they become jealous if they see sexual relations performed by people in the milpa. Since all l-gal sexual relations are carried out in the relative privacy of the house, it is only those who seek illicit relationships who retreat to the milpa, and so this restraint has a prohibitive effect on unsanctioned sexual behavior. If the moon sees someone in the milpa at night, she refuses to retire and stays out, not letting her son the sun rise. Similarly, when the sun sees someone in the milpa in the daytime, he refuses to retire, burning the milpa with his hot rays.

The lord spirits of the east. There is another category of spirits which is ill defined and not many people know. These are the spirits of

4. The same behavior, that of making noise during an eclipse, is found in the Maya Indian community of Cantel, Guatemala, but there it is interpreted as a means of calling the sick grandmother back to life by showing that her grandchildren care about her.

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776 the east. Each of these is responsible for giving something to men: one gave corn, one wheat, one bulls, one horses, and one pigs. These spirits are recognized in the context of the household only: at the end of each household ceremony, the assembled guests stand and look to the East where the gods reside in a place called Santo Arió, somewhere in Guatemala. Since their gifts to mankind are products which are produced and consumed by the household, and since they are recognized in the context of the house, there is some basis for thinking of them as old household gods. Calnek (1962:61) has pointed out that among the ancient Maya, household gods were part of "a hierarchically ordered series of deities, worship or propitiation of which progressively links him not with other individuals conceived particularistically, but to all larger social units of which he is a member."

776 539 177 The only case I know in which an identification is made between these household gods and the saints concerns Santa Teresa:

Once long ago the owners began to harvest their milpas, and they put the corn in a pile. When the harvest was finished, they began to beat the corn from the cob. When they carried off the corn, some of the seed [sb'ak'] *remained.*

A man passed by and heard a saint talking. He asked what she said, and she replied, "Nothing. I said that you should tell the Padre to pick me up and put my body (also sb'ak') in a church. I want a church for myself, and I shall wait here until you come to carry me inside the church. I do not want any companion. I don't want you to throw away the corn seeds, nor do I want you to burn the seeds because they are my bones. Make a good fiesta and bring me into the church with firecrackers and with prayers. Raise me high on a pedestal because I do not want to be kissed, I only want my feet to be kissed."

And now there is a church for Santa Teresa standing in a milpa outside of Comitán, in which she lives alone since there is no companion for her.

776 177 *The lord spirits of the church.* Among the sixteen saints of the church, four "big saints"—Sacramento, San Pedro the Martyr, Santa Lucía, and San Francisco—are distinguished from the others. All four are considered by the Indians to be patron saints of the pueblo, although the

priest lists only one, San Francisco. Only these top four are hierarchically ordered. The big saints are supposed to be able to make miracles, but there are stories only for San Pedro and Santa Lucía. San Pedro Martyr, *Tatik Martil,* is the only saint possessing a soul. The image of San Pedro shows him with a hatchet in his head, blood dripping over his face. According to legend, San Pedro was the first patron saint of the town. The following story recounts his transformation:

Tatik Martil was of a very foreign kind of heart. He gave permission to the witches to bring sickness. Only those who knew how to make illness spoke with him. They went and asked permission to make the illness continue. People heard he was very evil, and they threw him out of church. They cut off his head, saying, "You only give evil. You do not give any miracles. You have given the old ones permission to give evil."

San Pedro received a new head in Pinola. Now he is good and is of one heart with the Virgin Santa Lucía, with Sacramento, and with San Francisco.

The logic by which San Pedro is cast as leader of the witches is implicit in judgments concerning guilt in cases of homicide. Any man who is killed is referred to as the guilty person, since protecting the village from witchcraft is the main motivation for homicide. When an early priest set up an image of San Pedro in the church, this must have inspired fear and foreboding. He was transmogrified by the people into the leader of the witches, and they burned the church to the ground. (Its foundations are still visible in Alannantik.) Whether the priest at that time (around 1746) convinced the people that, with a new head purchased in Pinola, San Pedro was transformed, or whether the people invented the story, we do not know. Despite his reformation, San Pedro still inspires fear. He is identified with the Lord of Lightning, Tatik Čaʔuk. The following is a typical account of his power:

This power comes from his possession of an animal spirit. Whenever the lightning strikes, people know that some sin has been committed. The old people say that he asked a son-in-law to put down a lightning flash. The son-in-law couldn't do it—I don't know why he couldn't do his work—

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776 821 539 177 *and so he returned and the Lord of Lightning gave him another job—that of making lightning flashes.*

San Pedro now gives protection to the people from the power he wields. 776 177 789 During his fiesta, palm crosses are distributed to everyone who attends mass; if a man walks with a cross tucked in his hat or a woman wears one strung on her neck, he or she will not be struck by lightning. The houses are similarly protected with palm crosses.

776 177 Santa Lucía is the only other saint in the local roster who is described as being "very powerful." She is supposed to be able to cure diseases of the eyes. The image of her in the church shows her holding two eyes reflected in a small mirror in the palm of her hand. The story which explains why 776 177 539 821 she holds them was told me with an expression of complete belief, and other informants vouch for its authenticity:

Formerly, Santa Lucía used to "talk with" [a euphemism for "had an affair with"] Santo Tomás of Oxchuk. Santo Tomás loved her because she was pretty. Santa Lucía was so in love with Santo Tomás that she gave him a gift of her eyes. He did not want them—he was frightened by the gift—and he returned them. From then on, she did not speak to him. Now, when a child has sickness of his eyes, his mother buys medicine and takes it to Santa Lucía who gives her blessing, and the child gets well.

They say the lightning struck the church in Oxchuk, and it was the fault of Santa Lucía. But then a few years ago it struck our church. And that was the fault of Santo Tomás. He is very strong.

"I am going to see how she will pay for that!" said Santo Tomás.

And in ten years a storm came and broke the tower of our church. There was a meeting of the principales. They said, "Let's sell the cattle of Santa Lucía so that we can build a new church." The tower was struck another time. All the married men had to contribute forty pesos each. We made it out of metal this time, because Santo Tomás is very strong.

821 776 On a conscious level, most people know that the earth is round, and that the sun revolves around it, but the motivating power behind natural phenomena is still conceived in personalized terms. One informant, when asked why the sun rises and sets, ventured cautiously, "I have heard that our Father, the Sun, revolves and that he goes down below the earth. But

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I do not know if it is so. I just heard that in a story told." He then referred back to the story of K'oš, the younger brother who took over the task of carrying the sun from his elder brother, to explain how the sun's movement started. 821 776

Misfortunes caused by lightning, winds, and drought are explained as failures in social relations among people of the community or between the members of the community and the spirits. Restraint in their own conduct, fulfillment of their ceremonial obligations, and show of respect to the spirits are the only safeguards against such casualties.

Caring for the Lord Spirits of the Church

The relationships established with the spirits of the church contrast to those with the spirits of the heaven in the following ways: First, the upkeep and maintenance of the spirits of the church is delegated to appointed representatives, the mayordomos, who carry the burden for the community; "all the people of the world," on the other hand, are responsible at all times for avoiding behavior which would incur the wrath of the sun and moon. Second, the obligations to the spirits of the church are standardized, while those to the spirits of heaven are ill-defined and involve avoidance of offense rather than positive expectations. Third, duties toward the church spirits are performed in repetitive events following the calendrical cycle of fiestas, while obligations to the spirits of the heaven are fulfilled sporadically, as during an eclipse of the moon or a drought. 776 794 796 821 177

The major strategy in dealing with the spirits of the church is to give them a fiesta. Big fiestas are associated with the big four saints. These fiestas have been the responsibility of the top mayordomos, called kobraria, and until 1966, of the alfereces. Big fiestas also occur on the Day of the Dead, the Day of Santiago, the Day of San Pedro and San Pablo, the Day of the Kings, and during Easter Week. The pattern of fiestas will be described first, followed by a detailed description of the inauguration of the alfereces, witnessed in 1965 before the institution was abolished the following year, and the fiestas of Santiago and Easter Week. 776 794 796 177

Religious fiestas occur in an annual cycle of ceremonies based on the Catholic calendar. In Tzoʔontaʔal the Maya calendar no longer exists, even in the twenty-day cycle that constituted a month found in the neighboring towns of Oxchuk, Larraínzar, and Chenalhó. 796 [805] [178] [171]

796 is served when the expectations are that the individual will feel embarrass-
154 ment. These occasions formerly occurred when the company arrived at the
house of the alférez before the dance and when the alfereces mounted
[273] their horses. Cigarettes signal relaxation, and when the first round of ciga-
[276] rettes is served in the house setting, the company abandons formal re-
[522] straints and, led by the chief nakawane, indulges in joking.

541 *Carnival and Easter Week*. Carnival has changed over time more
522 than any other religious ceremonial in the town. Until five years ago, a
177 group of masked jokers visited the houses of the captains of the fiestas.
178 They wore Ladino clothing, including vest, pants, and shoes, and they hid their faces behind masks or painted them black. They danced a "Ladino dance" (paired couples), first in the church and then in the houses of the alfereces. While dancing, they made sexual allusions about unmarried women. Their joking emphasized their strangeness to the villagers; for example one of the jokers might say, "You do not know what type of person I am. An airplane made me." They carried small stuffed animals which they made "cry." Pretending they were the husband of a woman, they would go to her and tell her to take care of her "baby." The woman speaker would sometimes respond to their jokes, saying, "Who are you? You are not good looking, you little black boy. You must be from Germany or from the other side of the water. Maybe you are from Patwitz or Yetawitz, and your father is kurik." People say the custom was discontinued because it was too expensive to give liquor to the jokers.

541 Another carnival custom which has been lost is the "common meal" of
262 squash on the five Fridays of Lent. Formerly the wives of the four kobra-
794 ria brought squash from hot country, cooked it, and brought two gourds
177 each to the church. The assistant divided it, giving two pieces to each of
178 the mayordomos. This custom was stopped during the typhoid epidemic
[131] of 1928 and has never been resumed because, it is said, the people did not want to lose work time. These changes may be a response to the priest's attempts to modify some of the excesses of carnival. Whether or not this is so, the people prefer to attribute change to their own decisions.

796 The events of Easter Week as recounted by an informant are outlined below.

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and they show little personal concern with his fate in the reenactment of the Passion.

The ceremonies by which the Indians care for the spirits are Spanish introductions, but within these forms they have found a means of containing the powers of the spirits and making them work for the benefit of Indians. In the reenactment of the Passion they caricature and symbolically kill their own enemy, the Ladino, without his being aware of it. Through reformulation of introduced ideas and practices, the Indians have preserved a sense of the past in an idiom meaningful to themselves.

Chapter 9

The Competition for Power

829 Changes in the organization of the civil and religious hierarchies since the
178 constitution of 1927 can be traced in a series of events remembered by
177 members of the community. Their selection of significant events and the interpretation they make of them give the best clues to their response to change. In the remembrance of things past people structure their world and project expectations for the future. Behavior in these events lacks the controls operating in the formal rituals of the officials—age-graded authority, hierarchy, and a code of behavior which conceals the open show of power. The strategies employed in these organizational changes reveal other rules or transformation of the old rules characterizing social interaction.

554 The structure of roles in the civil and religious hierarchies has remained
621 intact. What has changed are the bases for according prestige and author-
794 ity and allocating roles. The pivotal positions in which change is occurring
578 are the mediating roles between local and national power structures, spe-
177 cifically those of president and secretary in the civil authority and of fiscal
178 and priest in the religious authority.

The contest for power and "control of the town" has centered in five
[212] blocks of competition: (1) the opposition of new young leaders with skills
[191] in speaking Spanish, literacy, and knowledge of the idiom of behavior in
[756] the national culture to the established succession of an age-dominated authority system; (2) the challenge by the civil authority to the control of the curers who rely on power derived from possession of an animal spirit; (3) the struggle for political power among factions based on new economic enterprises; (4) the contest among local caciques for domination; and (5) the conflict among religious functionaries. The series of events in which these contests have crystallized and brought about a reorganization

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of political relations is summarized for each of these conflict areas. Most of the events recorded below are transcriptions of informants' statements given in Tzeltal. I have chosen this method to show how the people interpret incidents and how this leads to cognitive restructuring.

The Conflict among Civil Officials

621 555 212 177 178

In the period of consolidation since the revolution, the crucial issue in determining the allocation of power among local civil authorities has been that of incorporating men who have special abilities to deal with external authority without upsetting an age-ranked system. Prior to the 1950s these skills were rare—in 1920 only four young men could sign their names and read. The civil careers of two men, Ceferino, a native of the town, and Augustín, a revistido Indian from Huistán, illustrate the different courses taken by this new leadership in the post-revolutionary period of the 1930s. Ceferino was included in the given structure of power while Augustín used his skills in dealing with Ladinos to gain personal power. Ceferino was one of the first four men of the town to learn to read and write. The civil authorities recognized his potential usefulness in the town hall, and succeeded in incorporating him in an honorific but powerless position as scribe. He described his introduction into local government:

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After I got out of school, the town saw that I knew how to write. Formerly there was no one who knew how to write. In the town hall the judges and president needed someone to write down the contributions and the payment for the government agents. Therefore, when the civil authority changed in the new year, they talked to my mother. As was the custom then, four regidores came to "raise" me, bringing a bottle of trago as a gift for my mother. She did not drink it alone. Together with the regidores we finished the trago. After finishing the trago, the first regidor began to speak to my mother in the pat?o?tan, saying, "I am going to bring one of your children, one of your offspring to the place where we look and where we see [reference to town hall]. We ask this favor because he knows how to write. Therefore the judges and the president ordered me to come and raise him and take out his soil, his mud, for this duty for this obligation.

[624] [873]

witz had formed a small *cacicazgo* (supporters of a cacique) of armed men. Because of their influence with departmental officials since the land grant, they had secured an order to reassign lots in the center, putting one family from Yetawitz in each block. The reaction of the townspeople to this "invasion" of barrio Indians was immediate and conclusive, as Ceferino's account reveals:

The owners of the house lots here objected to having their lots seized. They went to a lawyer in San Cristóbal, and they also had the help of the professor here. He was a good professor. We walked with the professor. The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles. The people from Yetawitz went to another lawyer in San Cristóbal. They got an order that the people of the pueblo would have to admit the people of Yetawitz. We returned to the lawyer. He asked where these people were from. We said they were from Huistán. They were well armed. Because of this, we went to take over their arms.

When we arrived at their house, Juan asked, "What are you here for?" We answered, "We came to get your rifles."

They refused to give them up, but we seized their property. We tied up the men and carried them up to the pueblo. We dragged them like dogs up to the jail and put them in.

They asked, "Why are you putting us in jail?" and we answered, "Tomorrow we will arrange the case."

Four police stayed there. The next morning I came to see them. They had planned to go to Las Casas, but we ordered the saddles taken off the horses that were in readiness. We tried them, and they no longer bothered the pueblo.

The Huistecan's attempt to seize power reveals several significant factors in the genesis of cummunity political institutions. In the 1930s in Chiapas, the land reform act of 1927 was taking effect. Translation of law into reality in the local community required the drive and leadership of the Indians themselves. Literacy and Spanish-speaking skills were of even greater importance than before. The Indians of the center who had not been forced to work in the fincas and who had sufficient resources to resist contact with the outside economy were not in a position to take a leader-

621 423 178 177 [609] ship role in the new political setting. As a result, it was the marginal Indians, outsiders who had come as did Augustín to work as *baldios* (laborers) on the finca near the town, that were the drivng force behind the demand for land. This was the basis for the new leadership in the early days of land reform. The ejido program, conceived of by Cárdenas as a basis for political development of the campesinos, (Brandenburg 1964) gave these marginal Indians the opportunity to rise to positions of influence in local government. The reluctance of the townspeople to take action [154] against Augustín derived in part from fear, since he reputedly backed his use of force with witchcraft—the imported kind of witchcraft in which poisons are used instead of spiritual force.

622 554 177 178 [191] [464] Ceferino, the man who finally deposed Augustín, was a member of the traditional community, but because he had been impoverished by burying four members of his family in the typhoid epidemic of 1928, he had been forced to work in the fincas. There he had learned Spanish and some of the ways of the dominant society. His leadership potential had developed in the role of *caporal,* or gang leader of the pickers in the coffee finca, and he had been a leader in the trek of recruited laborers down to the fincas in Soconusco. Under the old authority structure, in which all officials including the president were recruited through the hierarchy, he would never have reached a prestigious position. But in this crisis, he was the only man willing to confront the incumbent and take over the operation of civil affairs.

622 554 Ceferino did not take advantage of the situation to emerge as a cacique himself. As he explained in his narrative, "The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles." The way in which he had been introduced into the cabildo as scribe had successfully neutralized his own ambitions to attain power, if he had any. He accepted the ideal of a united pueblo, recognizing the authority of the principales.

621 177 178 The increasing scope and frequency of relationships between the nation and the locality since the revolution has emphasized the roles of president and síndico at the expense of the authority and control exercised by the principales. The ceremonial significance of the principales in rituals is retained as a symbol of continuity in the change of officials, but their func-

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tions have decreased. Their major responsibility is to hold the plate in which the contributions for the fiestas are deposited by the police. Formerly, the fact that the principales also held the money until it was spent lent dignity and prestige to this function. Now that the money is turned over to the treasurer, who also keeps the accounts, passing the plate gives them a sense of shame. When I asked why the principales lost authority, the first response was cast in terms of behavior: my informant, a former president, pointed out that it was because they did not attend the town hall every day. When I asked why they did not appear, the reply was reformulated in functional terms: they did not come because the laws and acts that are raised and interpreted in the town hall are written in Spanish, and the principales could not read or write. As a consequence, the balance of power has shifted to the posts of president and síndico, while the framework in which the officials act has remained.

Challenge by the Civil Officials of the Power of the Curers

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The autonomy of the highland Indian corporate community has rested on the retention of social control by local leaders. This local leadership, which has survived over four hundred years of domination by Spanish colonial and national rule, is based on power derived from two sources: (1) control over life and death by men who claim to possess an animal spirit and/or (2) ability to devine or predict the future, such as the calendar priests have (Nuñez de la Vega 1702:19).[1] The belief in power derived 000

1. Bishop Núñez de la Vega repeatedly inveighs against the "maestros Nahualistas." This is summarized in an excerpt, which I have translated, from his book (1702:19): [754] [171]

> Almost two hundred years after the light of evangelism dawned, the Indians in most of the Kingdom of New Spain and Guatemala are found full of their primitive errors, superstitions, and misdeeds such that there is hardly a single pueblo where each year there are not deaths brought about by witches, and houses and families known to have, as an inheritance acquired from father to son, evil powers so abominable that they are viewed with great fear by the rest of the Indians. With only a glance and certain words, with which they invoke the Devil, they can end life or cause their victim to go mad with great pains and stupendous illnesses, and the result is that they inflict their rivals for very slight pretexts. We exile them and other spiritual performers from the church, and when the ministers and judges try to verify what happened to the sick ones, all

776 The belief in power derived
174 from animal spirits was probably influenced by the Toltec belief in nahualism, or transformation of people after death into animals (Calnek 1962:22). The Toltec belief originated in the period of Mexican influence but had many local indigenous manifestations (Foster 1944). The integra-
793 tion of the two systems of power was brought about by calendar priests
787 controlling the distribution of animal spirits (Calnek 1962:19). The degree
754 of retention of calendrical knowledge and of belief in witchcraft gives us
• 177 one of the best indices of acculturation in the area.[2] In Tzoʔontahal there
178 is no remnant of calendar divination for ceremonial or predictive use.
776 However, witchcraft based on belief in animal spirits continues to be an important factor in the contest for power. The technique of secrecy, of pre-
[621] senting a united front in the face of attempts by the outside Ladinos to
[609] tamper with the local social control system, persists to this day in the town.

621 An endemic problem in communities dominated by belief in witchcraft
626 is control over the evil power of witches. The traditional control system in
754 Tzoʔontahal operated through the guardianship of three sets of power-
769 holders who checked up on each other: the ancestors, the curers, and the
756 judges. The guardianship of the ancestors consisted in preventing any
177 child possessed of a swayohel from the devil from growing up to abuse his
178 power and in keeping any evil spirits from entering the town. The curers,

[754] the Indians, whether out of cowardice or deceit, withdraw their accusation or claims,
[171] so that it is impossible to convict the evildoers for punishment; and for lack of sufficient proof they cannot be punished, or if there is enough basis to put them in prison, they sometimes disappear and flee to another jurisdiction and hide, denying their place of origin or changing their name.

2. In Oxchuk, calendar experts with the ability to divine the future still set the days for carrying out Catholic fiestas according to the twenty-day Maya ceremonial cycle. Each of the spirits symbolizing the twenty days wielded the power of good or evil. This provided the basis for predicting. When Villa Rojas studied the town in the 1940s, elders of patrilineal lineages controlled the behavior of members by causing sickness brought by their *lab*, or animal spirit (Villa Rojas 1947). In San Pedro Chenalhó, the principales exercise power through their *wayhel*, or animal spirit (Guiteras Holmes 1961). Nahuales of leaders of the patrilineages and principales are feared and respected in Larraínzar, although there is a growing discontent with their oppressive control (Holland 1963). Men believed to have thirteen nahuales figure as guardians and avengers for individuals in Pinola society, although the Indians of this community no longer have a hierarchy of civil offices through which their prestige can be publicly validated (Hermitte 1964).

as the direct agents of the ancestors, guarded the streets of their own side of the dual division. The judges, with the supervision of the principales, were responsible for guarding against the abuse of power by the curers or others possessing a swayohel in their review of witchcraft cases in the town hall. The three sets of functionaries—ancestors, curers, and judges—are classified in a lexicon of role function in the stem *me? . . tat . . ,* common to the terms applied to them, me?tiktatik, me?iltatil, and me?eštatel.[3]

The system of control over the use of power has been in a state of uneasy tension. In a series of incidents recounted below, the growing suspicion that the judges and the principales were not countering the witches because of their fear of falling victim to them, and that the curers themselves were exercising the witchcraft becomes apparent.

In the following case, the system of checks and balances was upset by the entry into the presidency in 1940 of Mam Nicolás, the leading curer of Allannantik. Nicolás combined the skills of operating in the traditional culture with those of dealing with the Ladino world. Despite the fact that he was a graduate of the boarding school operating in the town in the 1930s, which had far more extensive effects in acculturation as well as formal education than any prior school, he practiced curing. The case is recounted by Ceferino, the scribe:

Formerly the dead president Mam Nicolás left at midday from the town hall and went to his house where he ate a meal. A neighbor, Francisco, came to talk to him. They drank a half a liter of trago, and then began to drink a second and got drunk. They began to say goodbye, and Francisco left Nicolás' house. When Nicolás saw that Francisco went out, he grabbed his shotgun. He saw that Francisco was now far away, and he fired many shots. One got him right in his back. When Francisco felt it, he shouted. The police heard him and went to get the judges who came to see also. His [Francisco's] wife came. She raised his head and cried when she saw he was dead. An elder sister brought a new mat to carry him.

3. The suffixes *-el,* and *-tik* refer to pronominal forms, as in "you judges" and "our ancestors." *-il* is an article, as in "the curers." In prayer, the ancestors may be addressed in the second person, or the judges may be referred to with the first-person-plural possessive, but these forms are rare in those contexts.

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TABLE 29. Time, Victim, Suspects, Crime, and Outcome in Selected Homicide Cases, 1938–1965

	Victim				
	Curer or other	*Age*	*Killer*	*Suspected crime of victim*	*Outcome*
1938 *	Other	50	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one apprehended
1945	Other	65	Drinking companions	Drunken quarrel	Two companions went to jail
1946	Curer	48	Brothers: 1 elder, 2 younger	Witchcraft	One brother went to jail for five years
1946 *	Other	38	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one complained to authorities
1946	Curer	45	Unknown	Witchcraft	No punishment; no suspect apprehended
1946	Curer	50	Unknown	Witchcraft	Wife of victim complained, but no witness would testify
1958	Curer	27	Father of boy who had died of witchcraft	Witchcraft	Before dying, dead man revealed name of killer. Wife reported it to authorities, but no action taken
1960 *	Other	60	Son-in-law	Witchcraft	Son-in-law fled town
1960	Other	24	Cattle owners' paid killer	Stole cattle	Released killer on bail
1960	Curer	60	Brother-in-law	Witchcraft	No one apprehended
1961	Curer	70	Neighbors	Witchcraft	Neighbors, who felt he was responsible for contagion, were not apprehended
1961 *	Other	30	Wife's brother	Very abusive, fought when drunk	Suspect fled town

(*cont.*)

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	Victim: Curer or other	Victim: Age	Killer	Suspected crime of victim	Outcome
1961 *	Other	45	Neighbors	Witchcraft	No one apprehended
1961 *	Other	37	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one apprehended; wife agreed he was a witch
1962	Other	18	Rival for girl	Fought over girl	No one accused
1962	Other	20	Cattle owners' paid killer	Stole cattle	Went to jail but released on bail
1962	Other	35	Brother-in-law	Revenge for death of brother; political conflict	Killer declared he had killed, paid fine and was released
1962 *	Other	20	Rival for girl	Fought over girl	No one accused
1962 *	Other	50	Leader of cattle association	Stole cattle	Unknown
1963 *	Curer	36	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one apprehended, but victim's brother tried to find killer
1963	Curer	45	Indian of neighboring town whom victim had accused of witchcraft	False accusation	No action taken
1963 *	Other	Unknown	Drinking companions	Barroom brawl	One of assailants went to jail, and other two bailed out
1963	Other	70	Sons of a man whom he was accused of having killed	Witchcraft	No action taken
1964 *	Other	30	Killer paid by victim's brothers	Stole cattle	Brother fled town but jailed when he returned
1964 *	Other	34	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one accused
1964	Other	30	Ladino liquor distiller of another town	Denounced distiller to authorities	No action taken

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	Victim				
	Curer or other	*Age*	*Killer*	*Suspected crime of victim*	*Outcome*
1964	Other	30	Brothers	Witchcraft	One brother fled; other put in jail but he claimed first brother did it
1964	Curer	65	Neighbors	Witchcraft in contagion	No action taken
1964	Other	22	Close friend of victim, hired by cattle owners	Stole cattle	Killer freed on bail
1965	Other	45	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one accused
1965 *	Other	45	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one apprehended
1965	Other	42	Unknown	Unknown	No one accused
1965	Other	27	Brother-in-law	Had relations with 14-year-old sister-in-law	Brother-in-law tried but not sufficient evidence
1965 *	Other	35	Unknown	Stole cattle and corn	No action taken
1965	Other	42	Son by first marriage	Failed to provide dowery; also witchcraft	Widow spread rumors against step-son, but insufficient evidence
1965	Other	20	Rival for brother's girl	Mistaken identity—brother's rival took him for competitor	Unknown

* Occurred during a fiesta.

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port. At his death, he had no successor, and "the town remained in peace." 665

In this first political contest, the conflict was interpreted as opposition 621 between the dual divisions. Factional disputes and the sense of political responsibility and control were contained within these parameters, and any conflict was conceived of as a threat to territorial balancing mechanisms. [829] [578]

The new factions that have developed since 1963 are tied to economic 621 rather than territorial competition. In 1960 the first truck-owning cooperative was organized under the leadership of the former Ladino secretary. 474 The twenty shareholders of the town had only a small amount of capital 471 in the truck, and the controlling interest was in the hands of the secretary's wife. The cooperative was merely a device to gain business in carrying pottery and wheat from the town to the market centers. In 1963 a new truck-owning cooperative was organized by local Indians. The two brothers, Santiago and José, secured capital to buy the truck from thirty residents of the town without any assistance from outside. The shareholders of the new cooperative came from both sides of the dual division, and from the outlying barrios. 177 178 494

When the leaders of the new cooperative tried to get permits and certificates to license the car and the operator, they were refused by the town 621 president who was a shareholder of the first cooperative. The Indians then 666 hired a Ladino truck driver from the neighboring town, and the son of one of the shareholders served as assistant. They realized that it was necessary to get control of the local political positions in order to extend their operations. With the help of the schoolteacher, they got eighty-one signatures on the petition for the PRI candicacy of one of the brothers, José, in the presidential nomination of 1964. He was opposed by a ladinoized Indian living in one of the barrios who was backed by the Ladino secretary who was leader of the competing trucking cooperative. The opponent did not have a chance of winning, as the leaders of the new cooperative pointed out, because of two strikes against him: he was not a resident of the center and he had only PAN backing. The Indians are aware that nothing can be gained politically by a PAN-backed president since PRI is now the party in control of regional and national offices. 474

After José's election, the Indian truck driver was able to get a driving license. With the help of the schoolmaster, the cooperative was able to get 621 474 493

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621 474 493 permission to extend operations to hot country where the Indians of the town held ejido land. This territory had been controlled by the state-wide trucking sindicate whose monopoly was protected by government permits. On the basis that they were poor, nonprofit-making ejidatarios, the Indians were granted the right to truck corn from the ejido colonies to the highlands. Whenever the cooperative leaders planned to go to the depart- [291] mental capital to make their appeals, the schoolmaster counseled them to wear their Indian costume—the white shirt and pants with red sash, sandals, and woolen kotonču—in order to play the role of simple campesinos more convincingly. He was aware of the effectiveness of this pose in pro-Indian governmental circles.

665 The PRI leadership in the department capital is neither aware of nor interested in the local factions which seek their support. Their concern is only that the vote is solidly behind regional and national candidates of the party, and they support the group that can mobilize the largest number of votes. A policy of favoritism toward Indians, based on an ideology of *indigenismo,* pro-Indianism, is coupled with a policy of permitting local autonomy. The national committee's program for promoting literacy has never reached this community nor any that I know of in the area. The party's promotion of Indian welfare consists of supporting demands made by Indian constituents and bringing them to the attention of civil service officials assigned to these functions. Party officials thus act as intermediaries between the voters and the bureaucracy of the government, channeling complaints and demands.

62 177 178 181 In the development of factions around new economic interests, the Indians have shifted from an ideology in which the dialectic of conflict was cast in traditional dual-division opposition to one in which the conflict is seen as Indian versus Ladino domination of enterprises. Since these interests cut across the territorial divisions, the economic factions have not crystallized along territorial lines. It is this shift in perspective which makes [665] for the "qualitative" change in local political organization.

Competition between Caciques

622 563 There are several dimensions to the role of cacique in Tzoʔontahal. First, it is a role created by outside interests and occupied by someone mar-

ginal to the community, either a foreign Indian, as in the case of Augustín, or a Ladino, as in the cases of the secretary and schoolmaster described below. The only indigenous candidate for the role was recently killed. It provokes too much envy for someone socialized in the community; fear of being accused and even killed as a witch or a power-seeker is justified by several such precedents. Those with the skills to become caciques have until recently been effectively incorporated in the existing hierarchy as firmanetik.

Second, the cacique is a gatekeeper, channeling information, goods, and services from the outside to the members of the community. In this capacity, he prefers to pose as a benefactor when he may actually be no more than the distributor of government welfare goods and services.[4]

Third, the role of cacique is one in which the incumbent operates in a local sphere, but depends upon a network of compadrazgo and professional ties outside of the community to assure his position in the community. He must be sufficiently aware of the local idiom in order to avoid making enemies.

Finally, the role is monopolistic. This results in part from the fact that the outside world prefers to deal with a single representative for reasons of expediency. However, new governmental agents are more and more dealing directly with Indians, a factor which has shaken the position of the cacique. The monopolistic quality of the position also stems from the fact that the profit to be gleaned from the community is small. A Ladino from a neighboring town commented that it was worth the time of only one man to exploit an Indian community of the size of Tzoʔontahal. The extractable profit is diminishing as the Indians become more aware of their rights.

The change in character and range of activities of local caciques is illustrated by the recent careers of two residents of Tzoʔontahal. In the 1950s and until 1964, the Ladino secretary, Don Ramon, had filled the role of cacique. He took advantage of this role not only by collecting a salary and a percentage of court fees, but also by earning money for using his influence in Ladino official circles outside the community. He lent money for interest and subsidized some enterprises such as growing cabbages with Indian partners.

4. Goldrich (1965) points to this tactic of politicians who distribute government goods as though they were their own gifts.

159 622 177 178 partners. He sold a few shares of a truck he and his family owned to Indians, but he retained the controlling interest. His wife was reputed to be [454] a witch, and was an active curer, combining old and new treatments of ill- [754] nesses. [756]

His position was challenged in the 1960s by the Ladino schoolmaster, 159 who had been remarkably unsuccessful from his arrival in 1953 until that 875 time in gaining personal power and influence. His intercession in a local 177 homicide case involving a father's murder of his son outraged the towns- 178 people, some of whom threatened to kill him. His attempts to have water 563 578 installed aroused the curers against him since they were accustomed to [312] bathing their patients at the source of the spring from which they were de- [756] barred when the plumbing was installed. His demands that children [871] within the legal age limit should not only attend school but should be pro- [582] hibited from marrying until they had completed their schooling caused the anger of parents who wanted to give their daughters in an early and profitable marriage.

159 Gradually, however, the schoolmaster extended his own base of support. 875 He minimized his attack on local customs, adhering only to those laws af- 177 fecting the school population, over which he had a great deal of control. 178 Some of his support came from the orthodox Catholic members of the 563 community; he extended his control through compadre relationships with 557 over eighty members of the community. He showed movies which he ac- [608] quired from the United Nations and other educational film sources and [546] gave away medicines acquired from the health officials in the state capitol [278] who were his friends. From one of these sources of philanthropy he ac- [431] quired wool shawls which he gave to every woman in the town.

The professor demanded no return from the townspeople other than their respect and admiration; he was a person who enjoyed commanding others and needed an arena in which to project his own personality. In his early years in the town, he had to satisfy this need by capturing stray tourists and plying them with soda pop or coffee. His first opportunity to gain [474] leadership in the local sphere came in 1963, when he supported the new truck-owning cooperative. He used the influence of contacts in the state capital, including compadres, friends, and relatives of his wife's family. He promoted the cooperative's attempt to gain the presidency. One of the first

acts of the new officials was to fire the Ladino secretary and install an Indian for the first time. The schoolmaster had won his battle for recognition. In every legal dispute in which the town became involved, the schoolmaster accompanied the town officials as they went to visit departmental and state leaders, acting as their spokesman. He never accepted even expenses for these trips. His satisfaction was in giving advice to the officials on all matters, in being the man whom outsiders consulted before anything could be accomplished, and in finding an audience.

The schoolmaster consolidated his position by drawing together all his supporters in a parent-teachers association, which served as a captive audience for his extended monologues. I was called upon as a witness to the installation of the members, and I took advantage of the occasion to record some of the schoolmaster's rhetoric as he addressed the "parents." In attendance were the president, his brother, four members of their truck-owning cooperative, and about ten other representatives. The teacher told me that they were the best people in town—not one of them had killed anyone! The excerpt below is not complete, but there was sufficient repetition in the schoolmaster's discourse so that nothing is lost.

Schoolmaster: "I don't fight with anyone. We do not come to fight. A schoolmaster is a guide to teach respect. I have thirty-three years teaching in pueblos of campesinos, poor people like you. I am your brother. I am your teacher. The ignorant people do not want to send their children to school. This is a good school, and there are those of you who have succeeded by learning. Ramon Leon was a boarding school student for two years. He and seven others have received scholarships. They accuse me of not working, but they do not know what is happening in the school. Those who know give congratulations to the school. The children of this school won the competition at the conference of teachers. It is neither a poor school with poor students, nor a rich school with rich students, but all are together. They say we do not teach. Compadre" (to president), "is this so? They say we only dance, but at the conference our students won the prize.

"This school is yours. It is better organized than any other. The flag which we had we gave to Villa Las Rosas because they are campesinos;

159 *they are my friends. I prefer to send it there than to Teopisca, because*
875 *they are campesinos.*
871 *"I have proved to you I am a friend of campesinos and of the poor. I*
563 *don't have to say anything if I see that some are killing, that some are dis-*
177 *tilling liquor. This is an affair of the civil authorities, not of me. If some*
178 *come to tell me that so and so has killed someone, I close my ears.*
557 *"What is more important in life is what is in your head, not your clothing. Do you understand me?"*

All reply, "Yes, maestro."

"If we are going to win over Teopisca and Villa Las Rosas, our children have to work hard. I had the luck of receiving a medal because I am one of the principal teachers and know the preparation of teachers. The Jefe of Operation put a medal on my breast and gave me an abrazo. *Here is the picture taken two years ago—Lupe get the rag!" Schoolmaster dusts photograph with rag. "Here you see me with the medal on my breast.*

"Who is more important—the one who accuses me and has to put his finger to sign the declaration, or those of you who can write?

"Now the schoolmaster does not give permission to let the children stay away from school. We do not have authority to release the children except for illness. Those children who go most often to school are those who get ahead. They speak idioma [*native language*] *when they play, but when they enter the school they speak* Castellano [*Spanish*].

"Now you know everything. I am happy with you. If there are some who are not happy that I am here, then I shall go happily. There are schools where schoolmasters hit the children. There is a school where the Indian teacher hit a child three times. This is a crime!

"I know where all this talk comes from. Don Ramon [Ladino secretary who supported opposing candidate mentioned above] has a truck—he and Doña Juana. They buy wheat and corn at half price. If the Indians do not pay off, they get double the return at the next harvest. My compadres have come and told me. Those who are with him are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by him. They have two trucks in Teopisca. They come and ask people to sign a paper supporting their candidate. People sign because they are afraid she [Juana] will use witchcraft."

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President: "Ramon left her, but then he went back to her because of witchcraft." 159 875

Schoolmaster "This is the group which is against me and is against the pueblo." 871 563

Schoolmaster's wife: "You see how happy the pueblo is." She waves her hand to plaza where marimba is playing for the fiesta. "Everything is well organized. Not as it was formerly when Don Ramon was in town." 177 178 557

President: "You see how the pueblo is learning. The children are learning to knit. Everyone knits."

Schoolmaster, giving oath of office to parents: "In the name of the Secretary of Public Education, I ask you to serve with faithfulness to the pueblo. The school is the defense of the country. It is preparing you for tomorrow. The society of parents of the school represents you. Your children represent the future of the country in the sign of the three colors, and you have the obligation to defend the country. The country will become great when all the children know how to write. When Mexico has need of its children, the children will be prepared to die for the country. You should see that schools prepare the children. See Mexico is a country united.

"I have been here since 1953. It is not now as it was then. We have water, a highway. You are not in the state you were then.

"Today we see a kiosk." He waves hand to plaza. "Tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory. It will be a grand pueblo, a civilized pueblo. There was a schoolmaster here who worked two days a week. I have worked every day since 1953. I secured eight scholarships for the children. If there are some who didn't go, it is because their father does not send them. If there are those who say the school does not function, they are traitors to the pueblo. Honorable Society of Fathers of Families, I am the schoolmaster. I shall explain. Give an applause." Applause.

The schoolmaster's discourse reveals several aspects of his position in the town. He indicates the lesson he has learned in avoiding interference in the town's social control system ("I don't have to say anything if I see that some are killing, that some are taking out trago. This is an affair of the 159 875 563 177 178

159 civil officials, not of me"). He identifies himself with the Indians in the
875 fight against the competitive trucking cooperative ("Those who are with
563 him [Don Ramon] are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by
177 him"). While he does not accuse Ramon's wife directly of witchcraft he
178 implies this in saying that people sign their candidate's nomination peti-
[754] tion for president because they are afraid Juana will use witchcraft. This is
[626] a characteristic mode of attacking one's enemies in the town. He claims credit for all of the innovations in the town which have won public approval—the highway, the water supply, electricity, and so forth.

622 The profit motive is inadequate to explain why Ladinos want to play
875 the role of cacique in these corporate Indian communities. One must seek
563 for an explanation instead in the social status they gain. While their jobs
177 are limited and usually frustrating and they can never be completely inte-
178 grated into the community, political activities offer them a larger arena in which they can derive personal satisfaction. The contrast between the schoolmaster's position in Tzoʔontahal before he became a political leader and his position after finding local supporters illustrates this. In the early days of his residence in town, when he built a chicken coop which extended a few feet beyond the grounds allotted to the schoolhouse, some Indians threatened to kill him. In 1957, I saw him trying to summon a policeman from the town hall, which was adjacent to the schoolhouse, to remove a boulder from the path so that a visiting friend could pass in his automobile. No one heeded his urgent shouts or the whistle he used to call children to school, although they were well aware of what he wanted. But by 1965 there was not a single important transaction which did not require consultation with the schoolteacher. Campesinos from as far as Villa Las Rosas came to request his advice and his help in approaching government agents. In projecting his political role, he gained support for projects
[653] which were of interest to him. When he had succeeded in getting the gov-
[312] ernment to install water pipes and electricity, he talked the civil authori-
[365] ties into building a kiosk, or bandstand, in the plaza. This was a fulfill-
[345] ment of his ambition to make the town over in the image of a colonial Spanish pueblo. His final statement in the speech quoted above, "Today we see a kiosk, tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory!" reveals the symbolic significance it had for him.

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while he was fiscal. He let control over the key to the church and the donation boxes slip into the hands of the priest. His opponents accused him of weakness and failure to act in the interest of the town. The careers of these fiscales illustrate the pitfalls for those filling the post. First, there is the temptation for personal gain, since the fiscal has access to the money of the saints: in the past three fiscales have been charged with robbery. Second, there is the problem that the fiscal serves two masters, the priest and the head cofrade, each of whom has different standards of conduct for the role: when the selection of the fiscal was in the hands of the cofrades, they chose a man who knew the pat'o'tan and who was to deal directly with the curers in rituals at the cave of the ancestors and in the homes of the cofrades; now he is chosen by the priest who prefers a young, literate man. If the fiscal follows the commands of the priest, he runs into problems with the cofrades. This was the difficulty with Antonio, who was put out of office by the cofrades because he yielded to the priest's demands to improve the convento and the church. As long as the conflict in interests between the priest and the traditional authorities exist, there is no successful position for the fiscal to take.

Conflict and Social Change

In the contest for leadership which has and is occurring, the following observations can be made on the basis of the events described.

1. The community has successfully incorporated the young, literate men into the framework of the traditional hierarchy. This has been accomplished by expanding the scope of activities of the president and síndico and by relieving them of serving in the lower posts of the hierarchy.

2. The ceremonial role of the principales serves as a symbol of continuity in government both in the tie they have with the past and in the annual changeover of officials.

3. The threat of foreign Indians in the township misusing their skills in dealing with the outside world has been overcome by removing them from office and preventing them from filling high posts.

4. In a series of confrontations, the civil officials have challenged the social control functions of the curers. Witch-killings in which many of the victims have been curers have minimized but not overcome the power of these men.

5. The priest has succeeded in establishing control over the church, but the Indians may yet succeed in deposing him, a plan they were putting into effect when I left town.

The Indians are now aware of their rights to limit—or eliminate if necessary—the self-appointed caciques. The new cacique promotes the community welfare not only in his rhetoric but in the services he performs for the officials. His involvement in political affairs is tolerated, not encouraged, and the officials are ready to turn to alternative sources of aid in their activities.

The involvement of the PRI in local elections has not introduced a new center of power in the political arena. Political factions are based on economic interests contained within the town, and the autonomy of the town has in no way been affected by leadership from party headquarters in the state capitol. The community and the party use each other for their own ends in almost complete ignorance of what is occurring in the domain of the other.

The system of beliefs and understandings has changed along with these organizational changes. The most significant change has been the waning belief in the guardianship of the ancestors. The absence of the curers at the fiesta of the caves means that they no longer have this ritual occasion to validate their claims by communicating with the ancestors. The loss of leadership and of a hierarchy of prestige within the ranks of curers has removed internal controls over the profession and further undermined their position. The diminishing respect with which they are treated in the town hall and the increasing number of murders of curers accused of witchcraft is directly related to the loss of belief in their power as guardians. Since they were not an integral part of the civil-religious hierarchy, as the curers were in Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947), this has not upset the hierarchy, but it has changed the balance of power in the wider community.

The diminishing significance of the leadership of the principales is tied

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621 756 178 to the loss of belief in the curers. The principales were formerly conceived to be overseers of the curers, men who, because of their advanced age, could determine whether the curers were acting in the interest of the town. With the loss of this social control function, along with the loss of other functions such as holding public funds and helping the judges to interpret the law, they have declined to the level of ceremonial figures dissociated from political action.

621 178 The forms of political organization remain the same, but there has been a shift in the balance of power from leaders whose authority rested on guardianship linked with the ancestors to leaders who can deal with the external power structure. The emergent forms of political organization can be partially assessed in the meaning participants assign to the events which precipitated this process of change. To paraphrase George Herbert Mead (1938:liii) it is the "organization of perspectives" concerning the past events and the present conditions which will effect the emergent forms. The analytical problem can be phrased with the questions, "In what dialectical terms is the conflict cast?" and "What changes do the members of the community perceive as an outcome of the struggle?" Whereas in the colonial period the conflict between the Indians and their Spanish conquerers was seen as a struggle for control between Catholicism and traditional religion, today the conflict is phrased as one of opposed economic interests. In the civil sphere, factional opponents seek the support of extra-communal power holders to gain their ends. In the religious sphere, the Indians see the conflict as one in which their control over the church and the income derived from it is opposed to the priest's growing influence.

829 578 794 621 177 178 [193]

829 621 182 In this reorganization of perspectives, the Indians share some of the goals of the dominant society, but they continue to oppose themselves to the Ladino world. For this reason they are willing to preserve the form of the civil-religious hierarchy as a means of asserting their independence from the dominant society. They see the community not only as a defensive screen against the outside world, but as a springboard for entry into the national economic and political life. They are now consciously taking advantage of pro-Indian sentiment to secure a preferred position in this society. Their awareness of their advantage over the deculturated Indian is

made explicit in the contrasts they make between their conditions and those of the migratory mestizo laborers who work in the sawmills and fincas in the area. They comment on the fact that these workers have no political representation and that they and their children are illiterate and do not attend school. The significant factor is that the Indians of the corporate communities not only have advantages over the mestizo worker, but they perceive these advantages and are acting in terms of them. The preservation of community traditions is seen as a means of retaining community-owned assets and of maintaining a sense of self which is threatened or destroyed when the individual Indian enters into the national society.

The rules of strategy for moving in the direction of change are a transformation of the rules of the game that the Indians hve played in the four and a half centuries since the Conquest. The overall strategy is still defensive and aimed at preserving local independence, but their tactics include new skills acquired from Ladinos. In opposing the old power elite of the curing hierarchy, the present leadership uses the same tactics of the witch-hunt that their opponents used in the past to punish deviates, but they are beginning to confront them openly when sorcery is suspected. Leaders of the new cooperatives state that their aim is to increase opportunities for the whole community, not to make individual profit.

Because the conflict has been contained within community boundaries, the statement of goals remains the same. These goals include the retention of control by local leaders over judgment of guilt or innocence, in ceremonial affairs, and by all townspeople over land. This retention of local control is the key feature of a moving equilibrium in a model of change that puts the emphasis on continuous adjustments and adaptations. In the usual models for discussing modernization, the confrontation is conceived as one between the indigenous society and the outsider representing western influence. In Tzoʔontahal, young leaders within the community have confronted old in the stated interest of preserving tradition. Occasionally they may make alliances with the old leaders as in the conflict with the priest.

These "shifts in the focus of political power within a given system" (Leach 1964:9) are the prelude to structural change. Tzoʔontahal as a case

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621 example demonstrates the large input of local energies in bringing about
177 change, both the changes that lead to internal restructuring of the distribu-
178 tion of power as well as those necessary in the introduction of new technology and organization of economic activity. It defeats the notion of the non-western segment of the world as a passive recipient of the gifts of the West.

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mother to her daughter. Informants are able to recount the succession of 868
learning of the tasks, the relative difficulty of each task, and the mistakes 323
they made and how their mother corrected them. Being a potter in Tzoʔontahal is as much a part of being a woman as the role of agriculturalist is of being a man.

Special tasks become crystallized as roles only when few people perform 463
them. Jobs such as caponizing, butchering, net and rope weaving, and 554
wood cutting which are done by almost every man do not have role terms. Bonesetting and curing of certain "good" illnesses, such as swelling caused by embarrassment, are semispecialized activities performed by a few women who have "cold" hands. Midwifery is a fully specialized role per- [759]
formed by two women who are referred to as "the grandmothers of the newborn child."

A new occupational role has been created with the purchase of a truck 463
by Indians of the community. There are now two Indian truck drivers. 554
Recruitment of these particular young men was a result of their fathers' 177
importance in the truck-owning cooperatives, and their skill was acquired [493]
in apprenticeship with a Ladino truck driver hired when the truck was first in operation. Both of them are acculturated in clothing and speech. Since they have acquired skills in dealing with the Ladino world, they often act as intermediaries for Indians of the town in their negotiations in the market or the courts of the departmental capital.

The continuity in occupational adjustment from early childhood to 864
adulthood contrasts with the discontinuities in assuming roles in the life cycle. Girls are not advised about menstruation until they see the first signs of it; they describe their reaction to it as one of fear and surprise. Often they have been pregnant several months before they are aware of the condition or its cause, and they have no preparation for the experience
of childbirth before it is upon them. Boys are not considered men until 885
they are married, but in order to arrive at this status, they must enter into 584
the "fight to get a wife," as the betrothal is often called. 585

Since recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on 554
qualities of the person rather than acquired skills, failure to recognize the prerequisite conditions of age and experience undermines the validity of

been made, there is no recourse but to kill the man since he may retaliate by killing his accuser (this occurred in two of the cases noted in Table 29).

Conflict between generations in the role sets father/son and father/son-in-law stems from delay in carrying out role responsibilities. Fathers are expected to provide the money for the costs of betrothal, and to give their children shares of the patrimony including both land and livestock. The scheduling of when this should occur is often a matter of dispute, resulting in at least two cases of homicide in the period analyzed.

New economic enterprises have exacerbated the tensions rising from envy. Foster (1965) has suggested that envy stems from the notion of the "limited good," requiring the strategy of a "zero sum game" (Bennet 1966). The fact that the new wealth is evidence of new opportunities, not a subtraction from a given resource supply, has not entered the cognitive awareness of the people. The prospering leaders of these enterprises feel themselves to be particularly vulnerable to the envy of others and thus to the charge of witchcraft. There have been several open attacks on new leaders accused as witches; the leader of the truck cooperative, for example, was murdered in 1966. Six men have been killed as cattle thieves in the past ten years.

The economic roles created with the introduction of new enterprises have not been integrated in the traditional pattern of recruitment and control. In the association of cattle breeders, leadership tends to be based on the size of the herd; in the case of the truck cooperative, amount of capital invested and entrepreneurial skills have determined the leadership of the enterprise, while driving skill and ability to get along in the Ladino world has been the basis for choice of drivers. Such achievement principles as the basis for recruitment into these envied positions are not accepted in the same way that age and passage through a hierarchy of posts validated higher positions in the old hierarchies. The conspicuous expenditure of wealth in the more expensive posts in the religious hierarchy has also failed to lessen hostility aroused by the increasing disparity in wealth, and in fact those who have served as alférez have been even more subject to witchcraft aroused by envy.

building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office.

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist.

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first.

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient portable typewriter. Since typing is a new skill for him, he makes many errors, and his retrials are accepted with patience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

The townspeople feel that they own the church, and many resent the intrusion of the priest who resides sometimes two or three days a week in the adjoining rectory. In the past five years, however, the priest has succeeded in asserting more control over the church: he has forbidden drinking in the church or in the courtyard, a prohibition that resulted in an open confrontation with the leading cofrade (Chapter 9); and he now controls the keys to the church and to the money boxes, formerly the responsibility of the fiscal. The two lay sisters who are in residence during the week hold the keys and are in charge of the upkeep of the church. 346 793 794 177 178

People always show respect for the church by removing their hats as they pass the entrance, even when they are at a distance. As they enter the church, they always kneel and cross themselves. They may spit on the floor of the church, for this is not a sign of disrespect. 346 576 788 [514]

The complementarity of church and cabildo is still formally recognized in ceremonial events: participants bow to the church and then to the cabildo during processions. The transfer of sacred symbols from one locale to the other at the time of the inauguration of civil and religious officials ceremonially signifies the integration of civil and religious authority, despite the growing separation in day-to-day functions in each of the domains. 621 794 182

The church serves as a staging platform for the images and symbolic offerings to them in the annual cycle of ceremonies. During the nine days of ceremony accorded to the major saints, their images are moved to the center of the altar or to the center of the nave. The staging effects are particularly notable during the fiesta of Holy Week, when the reenactment of the crucifixion is performed in the nave. The mayordomos, under the direction of the fiscal and the lay sisters, move the saints about and prepare adornments of flowers and pine needles. 346 796 [794]

The church is the locus for the weekly mass given by the priest. The men stand on the left side of the church (facing the altar), while the women kneel or sit on the floor to the right. A few benches near the altar are occupied by the Ladinos of the area who attend the mass. The lay sisters indicate to the congregation when they should kneel and rise in response to the cues of the sermon or mass. [562] [563] [794]

In addition to these scheduled events, the church serves as a locus where 346 776 782

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346 776 782 individuals can visit the saints on their own personal missions. Appendix 3A records the visits of groups and individuals on an ordinary Sunday. Their actions in the church are part of the standardized behavior incumbent upon all those who enter the building.

Communication with the saints is ensured either by touching and kissing their images or, if the images are enclosed in glass cases, by tapping the gl. with offerings of money. It is believed that one gains an audience [562] by pay..ng for it. When groups larger than individual clusters of visitors enter the church, sexual segregation is observed (for example, when a male child enters with his mother on the occasion of a mass, he remains with her until more people arrive, then leaves her to stand on the male [788] side of the nave). Ritualized wailing is done by women only. After such a [152] demonstration the women show normal composure, since wailing is a standardized mode of communication, not an outburst of uncontrolled emotion. It is private and concerns the individual wailer and the saint to which she appeals; none of the other visitors in the church indicates any sign of response to these displays. Unless there is a focused activity going [794] on, such as a mass or series of baptisms, each visiting group is an autonomous unit, carrying out its own mission.

794 People visit the church most commonly in pairs of two. They congre- 571 gate for mass in a pattern in which women and children enter first, and 562 men, who linger in the plaza until the church is partially filled, enter in clusters and take their places on the male side of the nave. The religious and civil officials enter last, and the mayordomos, whose attendance is one of the obligations of their post, move toward the altar at the front. Men attend church less frequently than do women.

The School

346 Unlike the church, the school is regarded as an alien structure. Assist- 621 ance in reconstruction and maintenance is given under pressure rather 875 than voluntarily. Until fairly recently, schoolteachers too remained unin- [177] grated in the community. In the early years of the school's existence, there [178] was a rapid turnover of teachers. The employment of a schoolmaster with a wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The school has be-

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come the domain of the schoolmaster, who represents federal influence in the local community. He has rebuilt parts of the structure in the thirteen years he and his family have lived and worked in this building; it was his fortress when the Indians threatened to kill him for building a chicken coop obtruding into the street, and again when he interceded in a case of homicide. He has a small arsenal stored in his bedroom in preparation for any reversal of his position in the community. The school is his platform, the area he controls and from which he shouts to his compadres—the storekeeper, the fiscal, and the president—to come speak with him. 346 621 875

The long building is subdivided into four classrooms and the living quarters of the schoolmaster's family. The classrooms are furnished with crude benches and tables; blackboards and charts of birds, animals, and the alphabet decorate the walls. The back porch, converted to classrooms to accommodate the three hundred and fifty children, overflows with benches. The students' own materials—a notebook, pencil, and erasers—are provided by their parents. When a notebook is filled, the students industriously erase all the marks and reuse the book until it falls apart. 346 352 353 872

When I was in the village, the schoolmaster often encouraged visitors to share a Coca-Cola with him in his office. Here, surrounded by his books, his collection of artifacts of both genuine and spurious origin, a picture of the district inspector of federal schools pinning a medal on his chest, the flag of the Mexican republic, he could speak freely of the personal attacks and frustrations and of the rare satisfactions he encountered "in bringing civilization to the town." As he began to build up his political power in the community, the president and síndico often consulted with him on town affairs. Agents of the federal or departmental offices who came to town frequently communicated with him directly before going to the cabildo. The school became the arena for working out political programs and strategies. The schoolmaster prided himself on being the primary channel of communication between the outside world and the village. 621 875 [346] [353]

The conflict of interest between the schoolmaster and the parents of the children over attendance in school has been ameliorated in recent years with the acceptance by some of the parents of education as an advantage. In the early years of compulsory education, physical force was used to round up the children. The traumatic experience of his first day in school 872 875 578 177 178 872 177

304 The traumatic experience of his first day in school In the Eyes of the Ancestors

872 177 115 is recounted by a man now sixty-eight years of age. He was thirteen in 1918, the first year that compulsory education was introduced into the town.

159 177 872 *I was in my house when I heard the civil authorities call the children to school. The police came to tell me to go to school. I did not go because my mother wanted me to accompany her on the road to Teopisca. On our way to Teopisca, the inspector saw me and asked me why I didn't go to school. My mother replied, "I am a widow. He came with me because I seek for what we eat. Therefore he must go with me."*

The inspector did not hear her words. Since he was mounted on horseback, he said to me as I was walking, "Come here, boy. Don't walk on foot, climb up on the horse." I was embarrassed to climb up on the horse, and I had some fear because I had never ridden on horseback. I began to cry. "Don't cry," he said. "You are only going to school. The schoolmaster will not beat you." It is then that my mother said, "Señor, don't take him. See that there is no one else to accompany me on the road. When I come home, there will be no one to do errands."

But the inspector feared nothing. His heart was hot, hot. A man came by and told the inspector that I did not know how to ride and that I was afraid. The inspector said, "If he doesn't know how to ride, then you take him." But the man replied, "But I don't want to. It is better that I go get wood. You take him by force if you can, Señor. I go before your face" [*a way of excusing himself*].

I didn't want to go, and I just cried because I didn't want to. The inspector seized me, and put me on horseback. I was afraid to get up, and I cried and cried from fear. He said, "Stop it! Let us go!"

And so he led the horse with me on it. My mother cried when she saw the inspector take me off on horseback. She remained very sad as I left, since she no longer had a companion. I went on to school, and the inspector handed me over to the schoolmaster.

The schoolmaster gave me a paper with my name, which I didn't know. I did not hear what was said in that large school because I did not know Spanish. The schoolteacher asked me, "What are you called, little boy?" I cried a great deal because I felt sad for my mother whom I had left in

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Teopisca. The schoolmaster said, "Don't cry, Ceferino. I am not going to beat you because you will learn to write. It is good to know how to write. You will speak Spanish because you will hear it, and you will look at the letters because the letters are the same as they are spoken in Spanish. Sit down now, and come tomorrow." 159 177 872

Then I told my mother to look for a slate and chalk because every morning and afternoon I wrote. She was of one heart and did not cry when she heard how I entered in the school.

For the most part, the teachers rely on authority in their program of instruction rather than encouraging the active involvement of students. In the early years of the school, there was a rapid turnover of teachers, but the employment of a schoolmaster with his wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The children respond with respect and fear to the schoolmaster, and occasionally with interest and enthusiasm. The following reminiscences by the informant, Ceferino, reflect the fear, tempered by some pleasure and interest, which he experienced: 875 876 159 212 875 876

The first schoolteacher I had when I entered school was called Chaya. She taught me to write with chalk on a blackboard. Every time I wrote badly, she told me to erase the letters and write another. After I finished, I went to my house at three in the afternoon. The next day I would go back to school. I would write on the blackboard. Writing was another kind of thing. The chalk did not stick well on the blackboard. Afterward, we started to use ink, and I began to learn well. But for a long time, I did not learn how to read. For one year, I couldn't speak Spanish, but I continued writing letters. This schoolteacher left and another came, Mista Munda Gordi. He asked me what my name was, and I told him. He saw that I didn't write the letters well. He was interested. He told me how to do it. Then I began to improve, and my name came out well. He said that the letters were better. He saw that now it was good. "Now you can make capital letters."

Mista Munda used to beat us if we did not make good letters, but I did not know how to make capitals. He told me he would beat me, so I began to do the capitals well. He saw that it was better. When he saw the letters, he gave me a book. In the first year, I finished the book, and he gave me

3. Categories of role-bearers sit and act together in all the domains. In the home the me?eletik, the nakawanehetik, and the b'alnialetik have established seats and act in concert. Similarly in the cabildo, four ranks of officials, the principales, judges, regidores, and police, move and act together. In the church, elder and younger mayordomos move in pairs of two. 571 554 576

4. Sexual segregation is present in the home, the church, and the cabildo, but is lacking in the school. This rejection of the community standard for a group situation was the basis for some parents holding their children out of school until coerced by the federal authorities backed by the local officials. 562 871 177 178

5. Attendance in all domains involves coercion as well as voluntary action. Coercion is most marked in the school, but resistance by the parents to forced attendance and mixing of the sexes is fast wearing down in this domain. In the cabildo, the defendant is required to attend the court hearing and may even be jailed if he does not pay the fines charged against him. Coercion is covert in the home; the lack of alternative housing arrangements makes residence in the household of orientation or of procreation mandatory.

6. Sacred symbols are present in all the domains. The symbols of the cabildo and of the school relate the community to the nation with the national flags and the portraits of the president. The canes of office which are assumed as each official acquires office are symbols of local authority. The universalistic symbols of the church—the saints images, portraits, and banners—are acquired from Catholic orthodoxy, but have been encapsulated with local sentiments and beliefs. Sacred symbols are treated with respect and avoidance, both in the church and the home. The "holy cross" or banners are touched only with sacred embroidered cloths binding the hands of those who carry them. Saints' images are kissed, but as a mark of respect, not intimacy. The Mexican flag, with which less awe is associated, is saluted. [293] 778 177 178 788 186

Each of the domains provides a setting for the recognition and validation of authority figures in the community. Values which are communally shared or imposed from outside are formally instilled in these settings. Ex- 621 177 178

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621 177 178 tra-institutional supports are still lacking for the school, which is not yet fully incorporated into the community framework.

621 501 177 182 554 Replication of behavior in all of the institutional domains except the school provides a measure of social integration in the community. Patterned behavior, such as the set speeches of the pat ʔo ʔtan, the formalized drinking procedure including the blessing of the drink and the serving of it in accordance with age and authority ranking of the participants, the etiquette of greeting and leave-taking, the embrace signifying ritual guardianship, occurs in the home, the town hall, and the church. These sets of stereotyped behavior, specified according to roles, simplify the movement from one institutional setting to another and contribute to continuity in role performance by the individual. The new patterns of behavior introduced in the school—desegregation of the sexes, competition in performance, grading of achievement—are not modes of behavior which have spread. However, as the skills acquired in school assume greater importance in the community, it is likely that the socializing procedures with which they were transmitted may spread to the home.

805 lating the time of day; when I questioned them as to the hour, they were often as much as an hour off, usually behind.

Most activities are ordered with reference to the Gregorian calendar, but the twenty-day Maya calendrical month, defined as "twenty days or a month" is used in much the same way that we use "a fortnight." The In-
805 dians consider the moon to be an uncertain indicator of time, since "she
821 does not walk well." But the moon is important in the culture: people note its different phases and are especially aware of the phase under which a child is born—an important sign for the newborn's future. If a baby is
[856] born at the full moon, he is expected to mature more readily. The full
[787] moon also signifies a propitious time for undertaking certain activities, such as cutting wood for the main posts of a house and cutting palm for the roof.

The Daily Schedule

512 Daily activities are organized by traditional economic pursuits. The
462 woman is the first one to rise in the morning. She gets up at dawn, lights
[252] the fire, and sets a jar of water to boil for coffee. She grinds the nixtamal cooked the night before on the stone grinding board, or takes it to the mill
[412] in the center. She then makes tortillas either by hand or with a press; a re-
[177] cent innovation made of two hinged pieces of wood in which the ball of
[178] dough is set between pieces of plastic paper.

The men of the household are served first, followed by the boys; the
[264] women and girls eat last. As soon as they have eaten, the men and boys who have finished the required three years of schooling go out to the
[481] fields to work. They walk single file even in the streets of the town, the fa-
[482] ther preceding his sons. Each carries a machete, net bag, tumpline, and sheepskin back-protector if he plans to carry any loads. Many bring shot-
[411] guns as well in order to hunt for field rats, raccoon, or the burrowing ani-
[224] mals they find in the fields.

After the men leave, the women go to the porch and "seize their work."
[857] The children go to school, which begins at eight-thirty in the morning
[872] and continues until five o'clock in the evening. They return home for
[264] lunch, a meal of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans or chayote when it is in season.

Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

These time and space patterns provide the individual with a cognitive structure which enables him to function appropriately in a given setting and to plan his future actions. Having one piece of information, people can derive the other understandings necessary to adjust their own behavior to the expectations of others.

Time as a measure of value has been affected by changes occurring in the past two decades. Men are less willing to expend time in ceremonial activities than formerly. The first ceremony given up was Carnival, which has not been celebrated for over a decade. Most recently, young men have refused to become alfereces, and their resistance on the basis of loss of time and money was formally recognized in 1966 when the institution was abolished. The resistance parents used to show to their children spending, or wasting their time in school has given way as some of the more modernized parents have seen the advantages of education.

The tempo of life has accelerated with the increasing importance of bus and truck transportation to market. Women's time has always figured as importantly as that of the men because of their pottery production, and they have quickly accepted time-saving innovations such as the tortilla press and the corn-grinding mill. They have not shown any inclination to adopt time-saving technology, such as the potter's wheel, in pottery-making since they have no knowledge of it, and using it would require relearning basic tasks.

The ceremonial cycle still provides the major consideration in programming other activities in the community. The Indian as an agriculturalist remains master of his own time, and he plans his work so that he can fulfill his ceremonial obligations.

Chapter 13

Belief and Behavior in a Changing Society

Continuity is the theme stressed in the rules of the game that apply to living in the square world of the community. The framework of continuity is the landscape itself with the ancestral hills and devils' caves reminding people of the moral order of the past. Repetitive behavior in rituals symbolically projects the past into the future, and behavioral schema in pottery and agricultural production reinforce the belief that all remains the same. The conditions making for change stem from the very attempts to preserve the existing equilibrium. A rising population on a limited land base using colonial techniques of cultivation is bringing about an increasing reliance on outside markets for the sale of labor and the purchase of goods. The ejido program which has perpetuated the system of subsistence cultivation has at the same time increased the dependency on external political influence and undermined dependency on parents. Some of the rules of strategy that have developed in response to changes coming from outside the community can no longer be justified by the beliefs that govern behavior within its boundaries. The community is now in crisis: people are losing faith in the old beliefs and have not yet developed a meaningful ideology for new strategies.

The crisis does not affect all institutions equally. It is absent in the traditional economic activities of milpa cultivation and pottery production. It is incipient in the households, especially where there are wage-workers in nonagricultural jobs. It is more apparent in the civil than in the religious sphere, and it is most manifest in the new economic activities. The school, as an externally imposed institution, generates awareness of the conflict between old beliefs and the ideology of nationalism, but until recently receptivity to these ideas has been limited. The behavior described for each in-

The behavior described for each institution in earlier chapters will be summarized as a mode of adjustment or adaptation in relation to the beliefs that give it meaning and purpose. 128

Economic Activities

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Learning agricultural tasks and pottery-making in the household is part of adjusting to membership in the community. Parents are responsible for teaching the value of industriousness and are held accountable throughout the life of the child. Agricultural tasks are scheduled in a yearly cycle that provides sufficient flexibility for a man to carry out community and familial ceremonial responsibilities. In milpa agriculture, there is no specialization of tasks. Small-plot agricultural production with a simple technology has been reinforced by the land reform program. Since the lands incorporated under the Ejido Commission in the 1930s were attached to the community, agriculturalists were not forced to adjust to new ecological conditions. Politicalization was minimal since the local commission operated within the old civil hierarchy. In the recent expansion of ejido colonies in hot country, Indians from the community have developed alliances with non-Indians in asserting claims to the land. Without any preexisting civil hierarchy, these ejidatarios have not had to adjust their activities to a given structure of authority, but have developed independent political organizations as an adaptation to their new environment. 241 177 178 423 621

Women's work in pottery is less subject to changes in techniques and organization than is men's. The schema of production in simple tasks in a fixed sequence makes it easier to teach girls each process and reinforces a given pottery tradition. My guess would be that if wheel production were introduced, it would liberate the creativity of each potter by freeing her of established routines. 323 177 178

Pottery production is not surrounded, as is agricultural production, by ceremonials. There is no god to whom one lights candles or gives offerings to ensure success, although there are hazards in production, particularly at the time of firing. Agricultural productivity, on the other hand, is thought to depend on the proper relation between the spirits of the heaven and of the church with the spirits of crops. 323 241 906 [796]

In the new economic activities, the Indians have shown both adjustive 177 178 233 312 476 621

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177 and adaptive responses. With the expansion of cattle raising, Indians have
178 organized associations adjusted to the traditional dual division. The asso-
621 ciation for each side of the dual division mobilizes labor for maintaining
476 the watering holes. The failure to organize communal corrals means that
312 inefficient herding techniques, damage to the milpa, and frequent loss or
[685] theft of cattle persist. The association reacts to the last problem by hiring killers to get rid of those suspected of theft, but this adaptive response is limited to dealing with particular incidents and has not solved the problem.

548 The manufacturers of contraband liquor have succeeded in organizing a
273 syndicate strong enough to maintain a monopoly price for both the inter-
177 nal and external markets and to provide security for themselves against
178 federal agents. The syndicate mobilizes for specific actions, such as raising
[435] the bail bond for imprisoned members or punishing informers. As a com-
894 munity-wide organization ignoring the dual division and age-ranked sen-
[681] iority, it represents an adaptation in response to extra-community pres-
[621] sures.
[561]

The cooperatives that have been organized to manage the local store
474 and the trucks provide permanent managerial operations that are an adap-
177 tition to growing interaction in extra-community economic activities.
178 Cooperative owners are able to raise the capital to maintain and expand these operations. It is within these structures that entrepreneurial skills are being developed. The organizers gain the advantage not only of socializing the risk of loss but also of making a profit in a community where belief in witchcraft, fostered by envy, is rampant.

474 Activities in the new economic enterprises are not supported by any su-
472 pernatural belief. In order to gain acceptance for the new enterprises, the
177 entrepreneur Santos, who had organized the trucking cooperative, recog-
178 nized the need for an ideology. His rhetoric drew upon the sense of deprivation Indians feel in their relations with Ladinos. He justified his own ends as an attempt to gain for all the community the profits that only Ladinos had been able to gain through trucking and crops resales in the regional markets. The ideology he had begun to formulate stressed economic and political independence from both the Ladino entrepreneurs of neighboring towns and government agents who tried to promote welfare

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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programs in the interest of "civilizing" the Indians. This formulation involved a basic contradiction between the goal of moving into regional and national networks and that of keeping the old autonomy and independence of the corporate community. He never had to face that contradiction. Unable to gain adherents other than the small group of profit-sharers in the cooperative he organized, he was killed by opponents within the community. 474 472 177 178 [682]

The Family and Household

The core of the traditional culture lay in the local power hierarchies patterned on the familial model of age-ordered paternal authority institutionalized in the me?iltatil. The me?iltatil of the household have provided a flexible institution for adjusting conflict within the kin group. Their role in directing ritual performances preserves a sense of continuity in life cycle changes. 608 571 578 182

The institutionalized authority of the elders has not been upset by the trend toward residence based on nuclear families, which is an adjustment to the pressure of limited space in the town center. Kinship ties are continually reinforced by rituals that draw together the me?iltalil as sponsors of ceremonies marking baptism, marriage, and death. This group of sponsoring relatives has absorbed the institution of compadrazgo, adding compadres to the network of affinally-and bilaterally-related kin. The procedures for adjusting conflict among members of the household and extended family networks reinforce the authority of the elders. When adjustive processes in the house and court "arrangements" and in curing ceremonies fail, the only recourse is for one of the disputants to leave the community or commit homicide. 561 182 602 608 591 686 621 578 [681] [762]

Ceremonies within the household provide a model for the rules of the game that apply to adjustive behavior in the community. The household officials introduce new officials into their role, teaching them the prayers and directing the proceedings. Their authority depends upon age and prestige acquired in office. The me?iltatil, as the elders of the family, are the direct link with the ancestors. They and the nakawane provide the strongest force for preserving the ways of the ancestors. 561 182 [769]

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Religious Behavior

Socialization of the child includes teaching him how to adjust to spirits of the house and of the surrounding hills and springs as well as to people in his social environment. He learns the obligations he owes to these spirits in the rituals of house inauguration and curing. Place spirits are given an ethnic identity. The ancestor figures who live in the cave are Indians from whom all the people originate. The Ladino spirits residing in the houses and springs are a mythological projection of a conquered people who have learned to coexist with their conquerors by paying tribute of candles, food, liquor, and entertainment. If the spirits are not won over, they will admit the evil spirits who bring sickness and death. Their presence is known only by the trouble they permit rather than by good occurences; the miracles they perform are an undoing of the harm they have permitted.

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The belief in the potentially dangerous nature of these spirits when their envy or appetite is aroused is linked to an understanding that men and gods alike are jealous and vindictive. It generates behavior that is in conformity with that of the ancestors. A sense of security is reinforced by the protective symbols of incense, the cross of palm hung on the entrance posts of the yard and house, candles which "blind the eye of the devil," and garlic mixed with hot herbs which exude an odor that evil spirits dislike. When the uneasy contract between spiritual and human coresidents is upset, a curing ritual is performed to make everyone "of one heart." Behavior with respect to both spirits and people stems from a policy of appeasement through entertainment and liquor provided in household ceremonials.

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Behavior differs in regard to the category of saints called "spirits in the heaven" and those called "spirits in the church." Spirits of the heavens have incorporated pre-Conquest deities with those introduced by the missions. They are a more powerful force influencing human moral behavior. Illicit sexual relations carried out in the milpa by day are believed to arouse the envy of "Our Father the Sun" who will cause the milpa to burn by refusing to give way to rain. Similarly "Our Grandmother the

[834]
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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Moon" will not give way to the sun if her envy is aroused by seeing such things. These spirits of the heavens have greater control over natural forces than the spirits of the church, or saints. The saints have only limited influence over the souls of particular crops and chickens; people say "they are just of the pueblo."

The distinction between the "big saints of the church" and the lesser saints is recognized in the rituals accorded each group. Four of the saints are given big fiestas which are longer, require more expenditures, and involve more people than the fiestas for the lesser saints. Few distinctions are made between the personalities of the big saints and those of the lesser saints. They are big because their fiestas are big. The fact that the townspeople have selected four from the rostrum of saints given them suggests a link with the four guardian gods of the pre-Conquest pantheon, but except for San Pedro the Martyr's identification with Chac, or Cha'uk in Tzeltal, I could not make any other associations.

To say that there is a system of beliefs does not rule out inconsistencies. Some contradictions can coexist without giving rise to tension. Awareness of incongruence either between beliefs, or between beliefs and behavior associated with them, arises in specific events in which the conflict becomes apparent—that is, when the participants must make choices between alternatives that affect their interests.

The people do not recognize any division between pre- and post-Conquest spiritual entities. Sometimes two personalities from Catholic sources may be equated with one of pre-Conquest origin in order to fit a story format, as in the case of Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost, with K'oš (Chapter 8). The priests, who had a special dispensation to make whatever cultural translations were necessary in teaching the doctrines of the church (Doctrina Cristiana Lima 1584 III, 3, Recopilación de Leyes, Ley 22 lib. cited in Lamb 1956:531), are responsible for some of the reworking of the two traditions. But local elaborations reveal indigenous cognitive patterning.

Contradictions in myths concerning the origin of crops show some gaps in the union of pre-and post-Conquest legends. The gift of corn is attributed in one myth to the patroness, Santa Lucía, who received it from the patron saint of the neighboring town of Oxchuk. Another myth gives

credit to insects who carried it from the hills. Still another myth synthesizes both pre-Conquest and Catholic agents: San Antonio, seeing an insect bearing a kernel of corn, persuaded a woodpecker to break open the rock which blocked the entrance to the hill where the corn was stored and then organized the insects to bring forth the corn. The contradictions in these myths do not motivate the people to bring the several versions into line with one another because the rituals associated with beliefs concerning crops provide an overall insurance rather than a specific contract. The Indians do not trust their security to any one saint or even group of deities. The two candles lit in the milpa following the harvest are an offering to the "owner of the earth"; along with this, offerings of corncobs are made to the saints in the church and to the house saint. Even the birds are left an offering of corn kernels in the fields after the harvest so that they will not be jealous of the farmer.

These myths fail to provide specific charters for action. What they do provide is a set of dispositions to behave in certain ways. The underlying disposition is that of self-imposed guilt and recrimination. The ancestors left their cave because the people failed to give them a fiesta; the spirit of money left the town because the religious officials in the past failed to adorn the church and improvidently strewed the floor with green peso notes in place of pine needles. Sickness and poverty are attributed to their own failures.

Another disposition is that of appeasement through ceremonial entertainment. This is carried out in the fiestas for the spirits of the church and the spirits of the heaven just as for the spirits of the house, caves, springs, and hills surrounding the town. Community-wide disaster is interpreted as a direct result of failure to perform rituals establishing reciprocity with the spirits. When individuals face crop loss, they review their own ritual obligations to see what went wrong. The curing ceremony is another effort to appease the devil whom the witch has persuaded to give illness to his victim.

A third such disposition is to project human conflict into the supernatural sphere. The conflict between Santa Lucía and the patron saint of Oxchuk, Santo Tomás was taken to be the reason for the church tower being

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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struck by lightning on two occasions. The solution was to rebuild the tower of metal so that Santo Tomás could not demolish it if he struck again, a defensive reaction which is typical of the Indians in their extra-community relations. When an eclipse of "Our Grandmother the Moon" occurred during my stay in town, everyone went to her assistance, banging metal tools and pots, in what was believed to be a fight with the sun.

The emphasis on self-recrimination and guilt in explaining failure minimizes the build-up of protest. Economic hardship attributed to a man's own improvidence in relation to his fellow man and God are accepted as his lot in life. The drama of the curing ritual projects the Indians' sense of their own guilt for the suffering and poverty they endure.

Political Behavior

The structure of the civil hierarchy has been maintained but organizational changes have occurred which have weakened the basis for it. The alternation of offices between church and civil positions survives in the lower levels, but the new leaders in civil affairs now begin in the Ejido Commission, and few of those who pass as president take on posts in the religious hierarchy. The appearance of continuity has been maintained in communal rituals in which the principales provide the link with the past and the alfereces, until 1966, were the link between civil and religious wings; but in the day-to-day running of the town, the officials do not act on these premises. The balance between officials from each side of the dual division has been upset by the population increase on one side. The abolition of the institution of alfereces gives public recognition to the growing awareness of imbalance. Moreover, the factions based on the new trucking cooperatives that cut across the dual division reduce the effectiveness of the dual division in channeling conflict.

Behavioral deviation from the norms is present in all societies and is not in itself an index to structural change. This comes about when new interpretations are given to events that undermine confidence in existing institutions and leaders. Political conflicts in the past were interpreted as a contest between members of the sides of the dual division and hostility

621 578 177 178 [114] [474] [182] was channeled along existing lines of competition. During my stay in the community from 1964 to 1966, most conflicts were attributed to economic competition between the two trucking cooperatives. Along with this, the waning of the position of the principales has undermined the confidence of the people in the system of checks and balances in which the principales watched over the judges, the judges watched over the curers, the curers watched over the people to see that no one brought in evil, and the ancestors watched over everyone. Curers are more and more often accused of witchcraft and are frequent victims of homicide. The sense that they are the guardians of the pueblo and the agents of the ancestors is nearly dead. They are consulted only because the people feel that, because of the evil in them, they can fight the evil caused by others.

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621 756 177 178 The shift in power from the old leaders to the new has not been accompanied by a shift in ideological allegiance. The new leaders cannot offer the security the people felt when they were living in the eyes of the ancestors. The curers remain as a powerful group because of their claims of being able to fight evil, but there is no longer a legitimate authority controlling their use of destructive forces.

561 554 177 178 A system of authority based on rule by elders is a structural correlative of a behavior pattern in which people act out the ways of the ancestors. This applies to the schematized behavior contained in rituals and in traditional productive activities. The ideology of a seniority-based prestige system persists at the explicit level at the same time that behavioral changes in contradiction to this are occurring.

626 177 178 Social control in a system of behavior based on what was done in the past depends upon the belief that people are carrying out their lives "in the eyes of the ancestors." Ritual behavior in Tzoʔontahal seems to confirm this, but in view of the waning belief in the presence of the ancestors and the loss of confidence in their agents, the curers, this behavior is a kind of social lie designed to perpetuate the old code of morality. In their everyday behavior, people no longer act on the same premises. The social lie is perpetuated because the people who enjoyed power in the old social system—the curers and the elders—do not wish to relinquish it. It will last only so long as they can find successors, and with the abolition of the recruitment through alfereces, this should not be for long.

The material conditions making for equilibrium are breaking down within the community, but the failure for protest to develop means that old beliefs are not challenged by new ideologies. Adaptations and adjustments made in response to changes are still forced into this framework of understandings and expectations. But without any stated changes in belief, Indians are themselves transforming the internal structure of the society by undermining the old gerontocracy and shifting the locus of power to the innovating young men. A binary model of change that poses a transformation from traditional to modern might ignore these internal changes that maintain a given equilibrium intact but that provide a reordering of power making possible a successful adaptation to larger social orders. Tzo?ontahal is a case in point proving that the external conditions are not sufficient to explain fundamental restructuring of the society. People continue to act out a faith in the ways of the ancestors at the same time that adjustments and adaptations are made in response to increasing interdependence in regional and national institutions. The same framework of government is retained as shifts of power give scope to a new kind of leadership. Continuity in forms has the positive effect of preserving a sense of security. The social costs are a slowing down of adaptive responses and a high investment in the "ceremonial fund" (Wolf 1966). The benefits can only be measured by comparison with cultures that have lost these controls.

The universal problem which this community is in the process of working out has been stated by G. H. Mead (1938:22): "How is a society to find a method for changing its own institutions and still preserve the security of those institutions?" The present phrasing of the problem in the community is: "How can we preserve the solutions of the past and apply them to the present?" So long as the problem is phrased in this way, the solution is to exile or kill the deviants or innovators who attempt fundamental change. The threat of witchcraft continues to maintain conformity, and fear subverts the search for an ideology to phrase behavioral adjustments and adaptations in such a way that they will be congruent with future goals. Such an ideology cannot be imposed. Only the people themselves can work out the ways in which meaning and understanding are given to technological and social change.

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8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

121 The aim of this study is two-fold. First, it attempts to offer an analytical description of the process of development of the household unit in two Tzeltal villages; second, it explores the internal factors which, in two societies with the same cultural background, are associated with differences in certain features of this same institution.

121 Most studies of Middle American communities explain variation among societies which are historically related as a result of acculturation pressures since conquest times, which have altered or destroyed the native institutions to the point of nullifying the traditional loyalties of the society and its system of reciprocal obligations. That is, these studies deal with variation which emerges from the external system (i.e., the society at large to which the village community is a part, this being the local Ladino society, the municipio, the nation, etc.) rather than with differences which emerge from variation in the internal system (i.e., structural pressures which originate from within the social 121 milieu of the community). In this study, we have selected two communities which stand in essentially the same relation to

121 the external system, with the aim of investigating internal causation.

[177] The two communites are equally acculturated, measured according to the number of material traits of western introduction, the influence of Catholicism, the degree of Spanish borrowing in the native tongue, the attitudes towards the outside world and the type of relations with this world. Both communities share the same historical past, the language, and the same cultural traditions. Both communities are good examples of Wolf's ideal type of "corporate peasant communities," and both are located in compactly settled villages, under the same ecological conditions.

128 The data to support this treatment of the problem is presented in chapter ii. The third chapter deals mainly with the common aspects of the over-all social structure of the two villages, that is, the larger social frame in which domestic groups or households function as units.

Chapter iv discusses the differences and similarities in the organization of production of the two villages, compares the immediate social effects of the differences, and prepares the ground for the later evaluation of these economic factors in terms of their effects in the developmental cycle of the domestic group. [592] The organization of production is shown to be tied up with the domestic group directly, in the sense that the two major means of production, land and labor, are controlled by the household. Thus, the aspects of the organization of production which are treated throughout this work are: (1) sex and age composition and size of work groups, and (2) rights to land, animals, houses and objects

000 animals. The domesticated animals include dogs, horses, burros,
231 cattle,[1] hogs and chickens.

311 To summarize, the villages are located in the same ecological zone. In addition to this, both villages have extended their cultivated lands into the lowlands, down to about 1,500 meters above sea level, where semi-tropical and tropical products are grown (Kaplan, 1956-57, 1958; Wagner, 1959, Part II, Section 5).

Archeology

172 Although the Chiapas Highlands seem to have been occupied from the late Pre Classic, Local Phase Sak (Adams, R.; 1961:342) the first evidence of occupation within the valleys belongs to the Late Classic and Early Post Classic. A few archeological sites of this period are located on the tops of small hills and ridges around the flat-bottomed areas in which today's towns are located.

Adams (1961) interprets the sites as having been independent communities, characterized architecturally by a lack of attention to ceremonial structures, conspicuous absence of sculpture, and a certain emphasis on fortifications and defensive positions, indications of some sort of warfare. Surrounding the sites there is evidence of small hamlets and of agricultural terracing, but

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[231] [177] [648] [1]Cattle were introduced in the area a long time ago, but were not adopted by the Indians of Amatenango and Aguacatenango until very recently. They are more and more of a problem for the milpa agriculturalist, because with the system of open range grazing, the cattle constantly invade the milpas, and are a continuous threat for the villager, plus a source of friction between Indian and Ladinos, especially cattle ranch owners.

175 609 621 631 called by the historians the Wars of the Castes (Pineda, 1888; Molina, C., 1934; Kline, H., 1960), and both of them voted to join Mexico when the State of Chiapas was contemplating annexation to either Mexico or Guatemala (Trens, 1942:274).

TABLE 2

175 631 621 AMATENANGO AND AGUATENANGO: POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE JURISDICTIONS

Time	Amatenango	Aguacatenango
1600 to 1778	Obispado de Ciudad Real Provincia de los Llanos	
1829	Departamento del Sur Partido de los Llanos	
1844	Distrito del Centro Partido de Las Casas o San Cristobal	
1854	Municipio de San Cristobal 9th Municipio	Distrito de Comitan 4th Municipio
1937-1958	Municipio de Amatenango	Municipio de V. Carranza

175 177 286 In the end of the eighteenth century (1792) the Bishop Francisco Gabriel de Olivares y Benito tried to specialize Amatenango, Teopisca and Aguacatenango as small textile centers (cotton) by giving the weaving materials to widows and young female children to process and sell. A school for the training of weavers [874] was established in the same year, but the project ended unsuccessfully in the beginning of the nineteenth century (Trens, 1942: 175-6).

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

The Social Setting of the Villages

Introduction

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The villages of Aguacatenango and Amatenango can best be described as corporate peasant communities, following Eric Wolf (1955: 452-71).

First of all, the villages are small, independent social systems, with clearly defined geographic and social boundaries, "in relation to both outsiders and insiders" (Wolf, 1955:456).

The Land

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In the spatial dimension, the main characteristic of the villages is that they lay claim to a territory, a land base over which they hold exclusive rights of usufruct, and which has clearly demarked geographical dimensions. The rights over this territory are communal rights, every villager being a co-owner of the community territory, in the sense that membership in the village gives to a man the rights of usufruct of land within the village boundaries.

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We do not know what the characteristic features of the pre-hispanic land tenure system of the Tzeltal-Tzotzils were. At the beginning of the Spanish occupation of the area, the Indians were relocated in villages and assigned to a particular encomendero and encomienda. (The encomienda was an institution by which a Spanish lord was assigned a number of villagers from whom he had the right to collect services and tribute.) At the same time, the villages were allotted land of two kinds: municipal, administered by the town officials and used to pay taxes and tribute to

T 175 the encomendero and the Church; and communal, which contained the
•177 423 woodland, pasture, and the site of the village itself.

T 423 177 M 175 648 Several considerations may have promoted [the Spanish] Crown policy toward [the creation of] such communities. First, the corporate community performing joint labor services for an overlord was a widespread characteristic of European economic feudalism. In trying to curtail the political power of a potential new landholding class in the Spanish colonies the Crown took over management of Indian communities in order to deny the conquerors direct managerial control over labor. The Crown attempted to act as a go-between and labor contractor for both peasant community and landowner. Second, the corporate community fitted well into the political structure of the Spanish dynastic state, which attempted to incorporate each sub-cultural group and to define its radius of activity by law. This enables the Crown to marshal the resources of such a group as an organized unit, and to impose its economic, social and religious controls by a type of indirect rule. Third, the corporate structure of the peasant communities permitted the imposition of communal as well as individual burdens of forced labor and taxation. (Wolf, 1955:457.)

M 621 178 177 Independent Mexico inherited from the Spanish Empire these communities, and although at some time or other modifications of the over-all political structure have been proposed, the communities have persisted through the last century with basically the same makeup, and without having changed much in terms of their social structure or their cultural content.

In other areas of Mexico where urbanization and a more industrial society has developed, or where it was possible to mechanize agriculture, the corporate community quickly gave way M [184] to new forms of social organization. But in Chiapas, especially in the highlands, a definitely marginal area in terms of national development, very few large scale changes have been introduced, and most of them have been rapidly assimilated into the local structure, rather than transforming it.

000 The rights over land given to the villages by the Spaniards

342 which usually indicates the emergence of a new domestic group.
592 Its social importance is related to several factors.

342 When the young couple build their first separate house,
591 this symbolizes their right to become a separate domestic group.
592 It means that they have lived together long enough to raise one or more children past the age of weaning, and that they have become economically and jurally independent of their parents.

342 (See later discussion on residence.) The building itself is a
156 material display of a man's good social relations. Although
571 house size does not correlate with the number of people living in it, the villagers think that a house "talks" about its owners. A very small house tells the villagers that it is a "drunk-man house" because his owner spends all his money on liquor and cannot buy materials for building a better place. The house also tells of the amount of industrious effort that a man and his family are able to put into its construction, and it tells about how much his relatives and neighbors are willing to "loan hands" to him (help for house building is not paid for in money, but in reciprocal labor). A house is also a good indicator of how much [177] "ladino influence" its owner has assimilated. Houses with ladino influence would have internal divisions in the rooms, windows, painted walls and/or tile roofs. (This type of house is not common, as can be seen in Fig. 12 and Table 5.)

342 The building of a house is followed by a "house warming"
[527] ceremony, in which offerings to the Mother-Earth or Saintly Earth
[782] and the house are buried under the floor. The ritual preparation of a new home is part of a complex ideological identification between people and their homestead.

[NEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 111]

159 During the branding of animals in the village, Francisco received
422 a letter from Candelario asking him to brand the cow and calf for
593 him. Francisco and his son, Epifanio, did so.
578

This started the conflict. Jose Mendez, Juana's brother, felt that the cow and calf did not rightfully belong to Candelario, nor to Francisco or Epifanio, but to him. Epifanio had a fight with Jose, and the latter, insisting on his rights, which were not very clear, stated that Candelario had sold him the cow (which was not true), when they were working in the lowlands together. Casimira, Juana and Jose's mother, supported Jose's claims over the animals, because it was the money obtained from Juana's bull that had paid for the cow that had the calf. The relatives of her daughter's husband had less right over the animal than Juana's brother.

It is possible that Jose felt that the cow and calf had been purchased with the money obtained from selling a bull which was originally his father's, not his sister's. Even if it was his sister's, he felt he had more right to use it than the sister's husband's brother and father. If owner of the bull or the cow had been a brother rather than a sister, the conflict would not have arisen. (For genealogy see Fig. 17.)

• 177 Third, with the introduction of Catholicism, although the
178 native belief system has preserved many of its early features,
754 it is now, without doubt, a new syncretic elaboration. The per-
776 vasive witchcraft powers are, for example, attributed now to
613 Catholic saints, but the concept that the lineage heads of <u>principales</u> have witchcraft power to punish deviants within their

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

•177 178 lineage (which exists today in many other communities such as 754 oxchuc), has disappeared. Without the basic belief in the super- 776 613 natural controlling powers of the lineage heads, the ritual activities performed by the lineage as a corporation became meaningless, and fell out of use.

592 613 434 421 578 Finally, from an economic point of view, the large patriline household-compound, as a productive unit, is unfunctional, and the characteristic form of the domestic group is now the nuclear household, which also contributes to the weakening of patriline strength. Within the nuclear household, it is difficult for its members to discriminate between the part of the household income that is derived from the household head in his capacity as a worker and that which is from his unmarried sons; between those profits which are derived from the household head as a capitalist who has provided tools and implements, and finally those which come from his capacity as "owner" of land. In a larger household, differences in labor in-put, rivalry between the women about the food controlled by themselves and belonging to their husbands, or between the men about the property rights of the produce derived from their common effort, tend to create conflict and disunity. In the 592 594 578 nuclear household, the division of labor is explicit, the role exactly and minimally distributed, and conflict, in the case of its occurrence, is likely to be more quickly solved because the fission of the nuclear domestic group is equivalent to the disappearance of the household itself.

178 613 592 621 591 184 The functions before performed by the lineage are now performed by the household, the community, or by the neighborhood

182 based on non-kinship terms would maximize profit or material
571 benefits, which the kinship frame limits considerably. Second,
(602) the cultural norms imposed on the villager about the types of work
182 which he is allowed to perform, about the maximum wealth which he
183 is able to control, and about the distribution of this wealth,
461 are, from a purely financial point of view, "anti-economical."
556 But an Indian living in a Ladino town, undoubtedly having the
156 choice of improving his life from an economic point of view,
177 alienates himself from everything which is dear to him. An Indian
156 attempting to live up to his aspirations of wealth within the com-
626 munity, alienates himself even more, and risks the dangers of
556 witchcraft and social ostracism.

121 The phrase, "man does not live by bread alone," is very much of a truism here. If the primary factor in determining behavior were economical, the villager would have no need to live within the customary standards of living of his community nor would the corporate community persist. Each Indian could become a laborer of some sort, and integrate himself into the national society of Mexico.

But people make choices not only because they are financially advantageous, but because they preserve their standing within their kinship group, they provide satisfaction for their need of the psychological rewards of prestige and positive affection and for their need for "belonging" to a group of similar human beings with similar culture and aspirations.

We have to admit, then, that it is as impossible to analyze social dynamics, only taking into account economic variables, as

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

184 Within the same cultural frame, two social groups can show many structural diversities which originate from delicate adjustments to internal pressures, even in the case in which, apparently, the variation seems to be the result of influences coming from the external system.

794 754 [177] One example, perhaps, summarizes, by its simplicity, the core of this problem. The post of Alferez, as it functions in the highlands of Chiapas, is an institution that tends to disappear in the more acculturated towns (i.e., those villages more affected by the external system). Although it is a religious post, it does not form part of the Ayuntamiento or Cofradias organization, nor is it part of the hierarchical ladder. A person can become an Alferez independently of his previous service in the government, as long as he can afford the burden financially or "expenses" of the fiesta for which he is selected. "However, in undertaking the post, he is subject to witchcraft exercised by neighbors envious of the wealth he displays in fulfilling his obligation" (Nash, J., 1960:94). Nash reports three informants who considered themselves bewitched as a result of having been 178 Alfereces in Amatenango. In Aguacatenango, the post has not been 794 occupied for the last twenty-five years. People refuse to take 754 the position on the grounds that they cannot afford it, and refuse to "help the pueblo" for fear of witchcraft. One can see that the same internal pressure, the pressure for economic homogeneity, has resulted in the same supernatural rationalization: fear of witchcraft. One of the villages has arrived at the point where the conflict eradicated itself through the disappearance of the post which originates it, while in the other town, Amatenango,

178 it is still functioning in the context of the witchcraft conflict.
794
754 So, although the fact that the Alferez has disappeared as a post
[177] can be taken as a sign of acculturation, it is also a reflection of differential adjustment to internal conflict.

000 Witchcraft itself is a complex phenomenon. It reflects the economic domain, in the sense that witchcraft accusations are important sanctions applied to people who try to deviate from the economic standards of the community. It reflects the kinship domain, insofar as relational roles existing within the kinship frame, in which conflict is likely to occur, are likely targets for witchcraft talk and mutual accusations. It is a territorial domain phenomenon because spatial relations between people affect their social relations and the appearance of conflict: it is common, we have mentioned, that people living on the edges of town tend to be accused of witchcraft more often, and neighbors of the household are expected to be more prone to bewitch household members than people living further away. Finally, it is a psychological phenomenon, insofar as it reflects individual personalities and/or mental distress. Some people show extreme fear of it, and some people doubt its existence (there are agnostics in every society). Some curers, who are individuals with very unstable personalities, are even willing to denounce themselves as witches with the purpose of having others fear them or respect them.
[754] People whom we, in our culture, would consider mentally ill, are
[828] classified as witches in Aguacatenango and Amatenango.

On the one hand, it can be said that witchcraft is a residual category for the explanation of otherwise unexplainable

614 /1/ Cancuc is a Tzeltal town of Chiapas, Mexico, whose
[101] social organization is based on exogamous patrilineal clans.
[776] These clans are intimately related to: 1) the nagual or guardian
[551] spirit, which is given the name of lab among the Indians of this
[613] region; 2) the native surnames that constitute the lineages within
[621] the clans; 3) the "barrios," as the Spanish chroniclers called the endogamous tribal subdivisions (called calpulli among the Aztecs and culibal in Cancuc); 4) the kinship system; and 5) the behavior.

614 All the individuals belonging to a clan consider themselves
601 "legitimate siblings" /Sp. "hermanos legítimos"/, using the terms that designate this class of relatives. This theoretical consanguineous kinship is expressed by means of the word chapomal -- a Cancuquero /a person from Cancuc/ calls another "brother" be-
614 cause he is his chapomal. This form of usage is indicative of
601 common ancestry, something that we were not able to clarify, as
124 our questions on this point only received answers that showed that
829 they had lost any notion of a real or mythical ancestor. Our informants invariably explained this situation with the expressions: "it is the custom," "San Juan /Saint John/ (Patron Saint of Cancuc) ordered it so," or "it was ordered by Manuel (God)." What does constitute a clear concept in the minds of all is that "formerly" each clan lived in a cave, from which its members went out in the form of human beings to populate the earth and in which lived the naguales, or lab, that bound them to their place of origin.
[775] The soul came back to this cave after death. There are as many caves as the number of clans.

614 The children belonged to the paternal clan. A woman who marries does not become a member of the clan of her husband.

/2/ Exogamy is strictly respected; persons belonging to the same clan never marry each other.

[591] The clans are not local, as their members live in all of the places and rancherías.

[178] At present the clans lack chiefs, this institution having dis-
[669] appeared about 30 years ago, according to all our information, when the zone that we are studying underwent a chaotic period due to political revolts.

/2 cont./

614 887 156 The chieftaincy of each clan was filled by the oldest man, who was called chunel. (It seems to have the same meaning as the word catinab, but some informants recognized the latter as the one used in the adjacent municipality of Oxchuc.) The office was not hereditary, and upon the death of a chunel the oldest man 156 of the clan was venerated as such. The chief of the clan was re- 614 spected and feared, because he was recognized as endowed with 888 supernatural power which, through his lab, he exercised over all 776 the members of the clan. Two informants of advanced age de- 554 fined the chunel as "the oldest one and the greatest sorcerer." The lab feeds on souls, and a person who has "done wrong" is 776 "eaten" by the lab of the one offended and dies. In this way 761 social control was exercised on and among the members of the [784] clan, never going beyond the limits of this. The life of the in- [626] dividual is intimately bound to the life of the lab, or guardian 776 spirit: the death of one brings with it the death of the other. All the Cancuqueros have their lab, but they hide it and sometimes [756] deny it. The curer knows which is the lab of the sick person be- [827] cause "he hears it in the pulse." The lab reveals itself in dreams [787] to "its owner," with whom it speaks because "it is his own company." One person discovers the lab of another "because he sees it." The lab takes care of its owner, defends him, and is the in- 178 strument of revenge for an injury unjustly received. Today this 614 concept is intimately bound up with the omniscience of the patron 626 saint; only with the permission of San Juan can a lab "eat" the 776 soul of a chapomal, or "clan brother," and this permission is granted only in the case when the saint is unfavorably impressed by the conduct of the individual. In any case the lab never wreaks its vengeance except for a bad act that would fully justify 614 it according to the social morality. As can be seen, social con- 626 trol was not only rooted in the chief of the clan, but this function extended to the whole group, as happens at present.

/3/

178 584 614 There are informants who remember the time when there were chuneles, and the younger ones know about it because their fathers have told them. The social conflict brought about by the disappearance of this institution seems to have its most intense point in what concerns marriage. It was the chunel of the clan of a girl to whom the parents of a boy would go to ask for her in marriage. He received gifts and gave his consent in case he thought it advantageous, and, accompanied by the boy and his parents, he went to the house of her parents, to whom he presented the pleas of the young man. No one could oppose the decision of the chunel. An informant adds: "If the woman does not [586] love her husband and leaves him and flees, the man advises the chunel and the chunel eats the woman." She dies if she does not respect the wishes of the oldest man of her clan. Now that there [578] are no chuneles, a boy, with his parents or without them, is accompanied by any member of the clan to which the girl belongs; generally the parents are opposed, the girl is not willing, and the use of force, which serves instead of the traditional fear and reverence, only gives rise to conflicts, bringing irreconcilable hatreds.

614 Formerly the clans of Cancuc were four: Chik, Chejeb, Ijká, and Boj. At present only the first three exist, the members of the Boj clan having been incorporated into the Ijká clan. This fusion of two clans took place a short time before the political revolts to [125] which we have referred. While taking the census of the town, we found marriages between individuals belonging to these two clans, concluded before the fusion. Since that date "the Boj know that they are now Ijká," and clan exogamy has prevented these unions; "If a Boj marries an Ijká now, the two will die," say my informants, "because they are chapomales."

614 539 776 To an inquiry about the reason for the fusion and the manner of accomplishing it, our informants gave the following explanations, which show undeniably the close relationship existing between clan and nagual:

/6 cont./

551 621 614

Ajkol-culibal	Alán-culibal
19 Chik	14 Chik
13 Chejeb	18 Chejeb
22 Ijká	6 Ijká

/7/ Among the Spanish surnames we have 6 that belong exclusively to Alán- and 6 to Ajkol-culibal (not counting the case in which a native surname of the Chik clan is joined to two different Spanish surnames that are found in both culibales). The remaining 14 Spanish surnames are combined with surnames from the two culibales.

621 582 178 174 551 Today the culibal is not endogamous, but we believe it possible that it was in former times (as we have found in recent investigations of the Tzotzil group of San Pablo Chalchihuitán of this region). The present possibility of changing residence and the incorporation of native surnames originating from a culibal (or perhaps two) that have disappeared within the boundaries of the two remaining make the reconstruction of the pre-Hispanic 621 582 551 culibal impossible in this case. According to the data obtained in our census, 62.5 o/o of the marriages were concluded between persons whose native surnames originated from the same culibal. [125] [166] [613] In spite of the low percentage, nevertheless the custom of marriage between people of the same culibal predominates (we should not forget the mobility permitted in recent times, because of which residents of one culibal are persons whose lineages originate from the other), although cases of marriage between persons belonging [614] to the two different culibales also abound. It is almost always preferred to look for a wife among the women of the same place or rancheria, but at present we can say that clan exogamy is the only thing that regulates marriage.

621 622 [631] [614] [651] Each culibal has its own chiefs, elected from and by those members who have filled political-religious positions in the Chakel or Ayuntamiento /municipal government/. The clans are taken into account in this election, rigorously taking turns. The culibal chiefs assign the communal lands, organize the collective tasks for the benefit of the community, pray for the health and

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) '1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

563 Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo relations between Indians and Ladinos are more friendly, and the Indians are regarded as milder and more tractable.

181 Of the strongly Indian towns, Cancuc is the most conservative, Chanal the most progressive.

631 563 In respect to official political organization, these villages are divided according to their importance and the number of their inhabitants, into free municipalities (*municipios libres*) and dependent municipalities (*agencias municipales*). The former are those which have the right to choose their own government, upon which formal administration depends. To this category belong Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Ococingo, Chilón, and Bachajón. Until a short time ago the municipal governments of these settlements were composed of Ladinos in the principal posts and of Indians in the subordinate positions. At the present time the government is seeking to reverse this situation so that the Indians have the greater authority; it is for this reason that the governments of the four villages first mentioned are now headed by Indians. This change has brought about marked [177] alterations in certain places in the social equilibrium that before existed between the two ethnic elements which compose the population.

Villages of the latter category are those which depend, in administrative matters, on a free municipality. In these cases authority is represented in the first place by the *agente municipal*, who is named by the central municipal government. This post is always discharged by a Ladino. In most instances the municipal agent compensates for the meagerness of his salary by controlling the sale of rum in the village which he administers. The other members of the municipal government are chosen almost always from the Indian group.

184 243 439 433 241 In several of the highland communities, notably Amatenango, Chanal, and, to a much less extent, Tenejapa, the Indian grows (in addition to the universal maize) a certain amount of wheat for export; the Ladinos of Oxchuc cultivate this crop, but in Cancuc, where there are no Ladinos, wheat is not grown. (Wheat is also grown in the Tzotzil towns of Chamula and Huistan.) Other money crops of the highlands are chickpeas, peas, oranges, and other fruit. Some coffee is grown in San Martín, it is the principal export from Yajalón and Petalcingo. In Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Chilón a principal produce is brown sugar, made locally from sugar cane locally raised. Cancuc is the only village that cultivates cotton commercially; the production in the other communities is insignificant. The local [286] manufacture of loom-woven clothing is rapidly disappearing. Most Tzeltal com- [178] munities are without beehives, but there is considerable apiculture in Sivacá, and 231 184 a little beekeeping is also practised in Tenango, Bachajón, and Yajalón. Apparently the bees kept are wild colonies brought to the villages in the sections of hollow log they are made to inhabit. The raising of hogs and poultry is a principal economic 233 recourse in all the Indian settlements. The beef cattle industry has always been [654] in the hands of Ladinos; however, recently the Government, acting through the Centers of Native Education, has sought to stimulate the industry among the Indians.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967
[P.455-A]

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum

Death as a Way of Life: The Increasing Resort to Homicide in a Maya Indian Community[1]

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105 *The breaking-down of a social-control system based on belief in the guardianship of the spiritual ancestors and their temporal agents, the curers, is reflected in a rising homicide rate as people turn to individual sanctions when threatened. The acts of homicide differ in their social significance according to who is killed, the context, the agency, and the motivation of the killer. Thirty-seven homicides between 1938 and 1965, analyzed in terms of these component variables, reflect the conflicts arising from competition in new economic enterprises, the rising suspicion of curers' abuse of their supernatural power, and the loss of belief in the guardianship of the ancestors.*

121 682 [762] THE social impact of homicide has caused some analysts[2] to treat it and its supposed inverted complement, suicide, as one kind of behavior with a single meaning, ignoring Durkheim's caveat that behavioral rubrics categorize diverse phenomena. Here I shall analyze the variety of strategies involved in [101] killing in a Mexican community, which I shall call Teklum (the Tzeltal term for village), and endeavor to show how rules of behavior are expressed in killing and in attempts to avoid being killed. Further, I shall endeavor to point out what these indicate about structural and organizational changes both within the community and in its relations with the wider society. Since suicide is absent, except for a [762] single case of a madman, I have restricted my enquiry to homicide.

161 162 [101] 621 Teklum is a predominantly Indian township of Mexico. The population of the town center—about 1,900—includes only one Ladino, or non-Indian, family, that of the schoolteacher. The sense of community is limited to people living in the center and in the four nearby hamlets (*barrios*).

621 632 The town center is divided physically and socially into two endogamous sections, called "upper" and "lower." The outlying hamlets are linked to the nearest section by social and economic ties. The civil and religious posts of 621 632 the town are, in local theory, apportioned evenly between the sections. This was in fact true until the 1950's; for each of the ranked 178 posts had a paired complement, so that both sides of the dual division were represented, and the single posts of president and *síndico* (the president's administrative assistant) were al-

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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[P. 455-B]

621
632 ternated for each three-year term between the
178 upper and lower sections.

But with the recent increase in dealings
621 between the national and regional administra-
632 tive centers and the local communities, re-
178 cruitment into office as president and síndico
554 has come to depend upon the candidates' possessing a knowledge of Spanish, literacy, and familiarity with the ways of Ladino society. Because of the relative scarcity of such skills, selection of these two officials has tended to ignore the former residence requirements
[887] relating to the dual division. Along with this change in the criteria for selecting these officials has come a decrease in the power and the authority exercised by the *principales*—elders from each side of the dual division who rose to their position by passing through all of the lower offices in the hierarchy—and a corresponding increase in the importance of the presidency.

621 This dual division also affected the structure
632 of the curing profession. The curers are men
754 who can overcome sickness caused by witch-
756 craft because of their possession of an animal spirit (*swayohel*) and their knowledge of ritual. In each of the two sections of the town was a leading curer (*statal ʔuʔul*) who, by virtue of his age, experience, and recognized authority, was able to control entry into the profession. Their function was to prevent as well as cure, for the leading curers were also charged with guarding their section against the entry of
621 witchcraft. In the last two decades, leadership
632 by recognized elder curers from each side of the
756 dual division has been lost, and along with it
178 control over limiting the practicing of curing.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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[P. 464-B] Teklum

682
539
783 Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick.

682 A good man is of one heart, and he shows it by
156 his humility, *ben k'un yo'tan* or "very soft
828 heart." He can drink with friends on either side of the dual division of the town, and he is called upon in many household fiestas to greet the guests of the house-owner.

But the man who is "very strong of heart," *ben toyol yo'tan*, who "fails to take people into account," *ma i'awa ta kwenta*, who "abuses people," *me ya wul*, has means of survival
[608] despite the many threats to his life. He sur-
[756] rounds himself with a circle of *compadres*, or godparents; he especially picks out curers, both to mitigate the use of their power against him, and for them to serve as intermediaries if he should have enemies with animal spirits. When a threat becomes imminent, he may stay within his house or limit his range of activities to a very circumscribed area, always taking a weapon when he does go out. He will usually
[293] try to limit his drinking, or give it up entirely. These short-range rules of avoidance are clearly indicated by the circumstances in which killings occur: in the hills or at night, when the victim is under the influence of liquor.

682 These 37 cases of homicide reveal a regularity in the kinds of people and situations involved. The victims are most often men who
[578] assert power, principally curers, or men who violate standards of behavior by abusiveness or theft. Their killers are often linked to them by kinship or neighborhood, the bonds in which tensions are greatest. The regularity of time and place of homicide suggests the precautions that can be taken to avoid being
682 killed if one has an enemy. The general failure
626 of the community social-control agents to bring negative sanctions against a killer indicates that homicide is an accepted solution for interpersonal conflict. The structural setting that validates this behavior is discussed below.

682 ## II. STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

178
121 Case analysis, useful for discerning certain
626 patterns, is inadequate for understanding the interrelationships among a variety of social changes in the community. An increasing rate of homicide of this magnitude indicates fundamental changes in the social matrix in which individual decisions are made: it suggests not

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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[P.465-A] Teklum

682 only a rise in the tensions that provoke con-
178 flict, but an undermining of the social-control
121 mechanisms for channeling them. The percep-
626 tion of these changes by the members of the
society makes for shifts in the individual cal-
culi, grossly measured in changes in the rate of
[128] behavior. In order to understand the interre-
lated problems of the sources of the increasing
tensions and the reasons homicide is chosen as
a means of resolving them, I have recon-
structed the course of social change in the
period from 1935 to 1965.

178 *Increasing Social Tensions*

556 New economic enterprises have increased
wealth differences in the community. The best
measure of this is in the increase in cattle-
holding, which is a socially approved way of
spending money. Twenty-five years ago, there
were only a half-dozen men with cattle, and
178 they had only one or two head each. Today,
233 one of the herders in the community has 200
556 head of cattle, and 75 percent of the households
have one or more each.

Cattle-herding is a "new" industry in the
sense that instead of just having a team of
oxen to help with agricultural labor, men are
233 breeding cattle for profit. Because the cattle
685 roam freely, there is much loss, and this leads
to accusations of theft. I have never heard
such accusations directed against anyone out-
side the community; crime as well as positive
moral relationships is confined within the
682 boundaries of this corporate community. Sus-
685 pected cattle thieves are killed by the cattle-
[474] owner or by a killer hired by the cooperative of
cattle-owners. Such killings account for six of
the 37 cases analyzed above (Table 1).

178 The illicit distilling of liquor has also added
274 to the town's prosperity. The liquor industry
was introduced about 15 years ago, but the
number of distillers has increased from 5 to 40
[438] in the last five years. From an enterprise
[439] formerly meeting only local market needs,
contraband liquor is now sold as far away as
the coastal area and across the border in
274 Guatemala. A cooperative of distillers has re-
474 duced the frictions that immediately followed
the introduction of liquor-distilling. The
cooperative pays the fines of any member
caught distilling, and in addition threatens to
use group action against informers, who were
formerly tempted to earn the 200 pesos offered
[578] by federal agents. But the envy aroused by the
sight of those who profit from this enterprise,

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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[P. 465-B] Teklum

274 as with the cattle industry, is a covert cause
474 for personal attacks on other grounds.
578

A third enterprise, trucking, has caused a
494 realignment of political interests in factions
474 associated with two truck-owning cooperatives.
578 Membership in one of the cooperatives, or patronage of one of the two trucks, arouses the enmity of members of the other cooperative. Several threats have been made on the lives of the owners and the operators, but the only damage done has been to tires.

682 The tensions resulting from the introduction
578 of these new enterprises cannot be fully measured by the deaths attributed to direct economic conflict. Wealth differences resulting
682 from the new enterprises excite envy, and with
578 it come accusations of witchcraft. In this com-
556 munity, witchcraft killing does not perform
754 the normative function of reducing wealth differentiation that Kluckhohn saw operating
[114] among the Navaho (1944), since it is the poor man who is killed as a witch, not the rich man.
[683] The slaying of the envious witch exacerbates the economic differentiation that provides the seedbed for conflict.

578 Another new source of tension is found in the
423 growing demand for political leadership or even independence from the township by the
668 *ejido* colonies formed since land reform went into effect in 1937. The inept maneuvers of two
[682] founders of the ejido colonies in hot country resulted in two homicides (cases 12 and 18 in
[178] Table 1).[8] The increasing strength of these hamlets will mean that more attempts will be made in the future to gain political equality and/or independence. Whether this will result in increasing homicides will depend on social-control agencies external to the Indian communities.

682 Homicide occurring as a direct result of
578 economic and political competition represents a new strategy in the community. The decision
[626] to kill rather than to use other negative sanctions is related to the social-control mechanisms discussed below.

Changing Mechanisms of Social Control

626 A system of social control rests not only on
182 the exercise of negative sanctions, but on the sense of personal security derived from confi-
[756] dence in the institutions of control. In Teklum, the maintenance of control was formerly
[769] centered in the guardianship against malevolent spirits held by the ancestor spirits and
000 the curers. The "police force," made up of ten

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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625 The "police force", made up of ten
626 Indians of the town who served without pay for a year, acted as errand boys more than as guardians of public safety. The townspeople conformed to the cultural code of behavior because of a sense that their welfare was being cared for.

626 More recently, the breakdown of certain
178 structural features and competition between
756 new and old leaders have undermined non-violent methods for the maintenance of social
[128] control. These changes will be discussed in terms of (1) the organization of the curing profession, (2) conflict between the curers and the civil authority, and (3) how both the curing profession and the civil authority are affected by the breakdown of the old dual division of the town.

(*1*) *Organization of the curing profession.*
[124] Perception of structural changes in the curing profession and their effect on attitudes are indicated in the following statement by an informant:

> Formerly there were not many curers. Only two—one in the low side and the other in the high side. They alone spoke together. They walked every night, looking and watching over the pueblo to see that no illness was brought in, checking to see who was bringing it and to see if there was any illness of God [reference to contagious diseases]. They saw which of the children had a soul
> [174] [reference to the third soul, the swayohel or animal spirit, which gives the power to cure and to do evil].
>
> If anyone wanted to be cured, they bathed them, cured them, and in a little while people got better because there was good illness only. If later on it turned into a disease of the devil, with their animal spirit they seized the force of the illness.
>
> When there was a contagious disease, and a witch "brought heat," and the children began to die, the two curers alone consulted and waited to see who had brought the evil and where they lived. One of them went to the town hall and gave an account of the fact that they had taken care of the evil and gotten rid of it. It was not necessary to gather together the pueblo—only the two knew what was the matter and how to care for it.
>
> The [two] leader curers of each section [*stalal ʔuʔuletik*] alone ordered other curers. No one else could enter curing until permitted by the leaders. They continued in power until they died, and then one of the younger curers took over.
>
> Beginning in 1940, more curers started to enter on their own accord. The elder curer had died, and his successor was not recognized. People saw that someone could pulse, and so they would ask him to cure.
>
> Now when there is an epidemic, the president

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 466-B] Teklum

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> orders the curers to gather together. The curers look for the man who has "brought the heat." And then they kill him. Formerly it was not so.

The statement points to two interacting features of change within the curing profession: (1) the loss of leadership and of control over entry into the profession and (2) the loss of faith in the guardianship function of the curers. The effect of these changes has been to reduce security and the maintenance of social control.

756
178
[621]

Formerly the recognized leader of the curers in each section of the dual division legitimized entry of new curers and expelled those who abused their power. When these curers died, there was no one of sufficient power to replace them. In listing curers who are active today, there is no agreement as to who the leading curers are or even as to whether there are leaders.

756

Loss of leadership in the curing profession has led to competition among the curers. There is discussion such as the following concerning who is the strongest:

> When N (a former curer, killed as a witch) was alive, he was land-control officer. When we were half drunk one day, the president asked him: "Tell me who is the strongest of all you who know curing." N replied, "Ah, you want to hear. There is no one who is very strong, only the dead Mamal K and myself." The president said, "But Mam D is good." N said, "Less so. I know because one time we proved it, at a meeting of the curers. I arrived as a sheep, and 'took out' [literal translation of *ilok'*] one black dog. He took out a sheep and a pig and ordered them to run. And I saw that they could not run. After my animals ran a little with his, mine arrived first. It is thus that I saw his were less strong."

[541]

The present competition among the curers to assert their power by telling such stories or by displaying fearlessness in the bullfights held in community fiestas is symptomatic of the disruption caused by the breakdown in the hierarchy of the profession. When curing was a controlled profession, abusive conduct by the curers was minimized, but the new curers are reputed to use their power for their own gain. The following story is typical:

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> J, born in Tetikil, went to live in hot country. A friend invited him to drink. J, who was reputed to be a curer, said to his friend when they were half drunk, "Do you want to 'take out' a girl?" His friend said, "No, how can you?" "*Pendejo!*" J replied, "I can because I have an animal

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.467-A]

Teklum

756 539 [swayohel]." "What one?" asked his friend. "You won't be afraid?" asked J. And then he put his shirt and hat on the floor, spoke three words (my friend didn't say what), and raised his hat and shirt, and a horse appeared. He did this again and a bull appeared. He was a great *?ak'čamal* [witch]. [682] He stole a great deal. He was killed by five bullets.

756 [152] Such stories of curers "who walk on both sides" (*ɨbe?en ta ča mehč*) are favorites in the drinking sessions of Teklum. The power of curers inspires fear, so much so that some of the town presidents have been afraid of putting them in prison.

756 776 [133] [769] The open competition between curers serves to undermine the faith of the people in their guardianship function. This function was believed to have been acquired by the leaders from the *me?tiktatik*, the ancestors, who were said to live in a cave in a hill near the town, from which came the progenitors of the present townspeople. To carry out this guardianship function, the animal spirits of the two leading curers roamed the streets at night, when the evil spirits were out, each one remaining within the limits of his own side of the dual division. In this role, the two major curers were called the *me?iltatiletik*, a term derived from the one referring to the ancestors.

178 776 756 769 [796] 796 776 756 178 769 The loss of faith in the guardianship function of the curers was coincident with the loss of belief in the presence of the me?tiktatik. Some deny that the me?tiktatik live in the cave anymore, and others say they just appear on the day of their fiesta, the Day of the Cross in the Catholic calendar. This fiesta formerly was an important event in establishing the guardian power of the leader curers, since they were the only ones who dared enter the cave and talk to the ancestors. But this fear and this belief have gone. In 1960 one young man of the pueblo entered the cave on the day of the fiesta, when the curers were "deceiving the people" in claiming that they were talking to the ancestors; the fact that he dared enter the cave indicates an ambient distrust (in part resulting from verbal attacks by the priest, who at that time was gaining more power in the town). By now, on the Day of the Cross the church and civil officials, the women prayermakers, and an assistant of the priest, the *fiscal*, go to the cave, but the curers are no longer present, even as bystanders. The curers have tried to buttress belief in the guardianship of the ancestors by claiming that a nephew of the ancestors is now in residence in

[794] [793] 178 756 769

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P 467-B] Teklum

178 the cave and that they are in communication
756 with him. But these claims are met with ex-
769 pressions of disbelief by the people. Almost everyone is convinced not only that the curers do not now talk with the ancestors, but that the ancestors no longer look over them from the watchout hill outside their cave.

756 The loss of control by the curers is drama-
178 tized in the long passage quoted above con-
731 trasting the past and present treatment of epidemics. Formerly the two leaders of the curers consulted together and announced to the president that they had rid the town of evil. Now the curers as a group are ordered to come before the civil authority. There, in a
[273] long examination called *ʔit yoʔtan*—"taking the heart"—in which 18 liters of liquor are consumed, the assembled curers and civil authorities decide who among them is responsible for bringing in the witchcraft that is causing the epidemic. Later in the evening,
[682] one of the curers is usually killed (cases 11 and 29, Table 1).

756 (2) *Conflict between the curers and the civil*
578 *authority*. The competition between the curers and the civil authority can be traced in a series of incidents beginning in the '30's and culminating in an open confrontation in the spring of 1966.

756 The first incident occurred in 1932, when
578 the town was still part of the neighboring
682 Ladino township:

683 F went and asked permission of the authorities to
[632] kill his enemy, a curer, who he thought was bewitching his brother-in-law. The president went to the house of the suspected witch with the order to imprison him. He said they were going to take him to the neighboring township center to put him in jail. The group of authorities set off with the suspected witch. On the way, another group met them and asked them where they were going. The president replied, "To H." The group that had encountered them asked if they would like a drink to heat their body. They gave one cup, and then another. Then they cut up the suspected witch with a machete and put his body in the cave of the ancestors. When the widow enquired the next day where her husband was, the president said that the man must have gone to the finca.

The ambush by the killers was prearranged in the town court, and the president covered their deed when questions were asked.

[622] In 1940, the leading curer of the lower section was president. When he killed a man who

3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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682 accused him of being a witch, he was put in
683 the local jail by the judge and then removed to
756 the departmental capital. During his term of
754 imprisonment an epidemic broke out in the
682 town; it was attributed to witchcraft sup-
683 posedly practiced by him and by two other
578 curers who remained in town. These two were then imprisoned. After they were set free, all three men were killed in different episodes involving accusations of witchcraft. Permission to act as executioners was granted by the civil authority.

178 In the past, the public review of a case before
682 a killing probably served to minimize homi-
754 cide, since permission was not always granted.
627 Since 1953, when a large highway first linked the town to the departmental capital and
[491] communication between this center of justice and the local township increased, the civil authority has not given permission, and prior review of witchcraft cases occurs only with epidemics.

756 The final incident in which the civil author-
754 ity confronted the curers occurred in the spring
578 of 1966. The president accused one of the
627 curers of cutting short his life by lighting candles in the mountains. The curers were called together to hear the threat and to go to the hill to look at the evidence. The accused curer remained at home pleading that he was sick. He was warned not to pursue his witchcraft, and as yet there has been no use of
[178] violence on either side. This open confronta-
[622] tion without the use of violence may indicate a change in the strategy of conflict with the growing power of the president.

756 (3) *Breakdown of the dual division.* The loss
178 of internal controls in the curing profession
578 and the conflict for power and control by the
621 civil officials and the curers are related to a more fundamental change in the social struc-
626 ture of the community. Formerly the division of the town into two sections provided a channel for opposition as well as cooperation. Recruitment into leadership positions in both the civil hierarchy and the curing hierarchy was based upon residence. The system provided checks and balances in the exercise of power, for the two principales—one from each section of the dual division—were supposed to act as watchdogs over the curers. The shift in the locus of social control from the principales to the president has been marked by the open confrontation with the curers.

OOO The authority of the president, however,

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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[P 469-A]

682 wider ranges of expression than are usually
183 permitted in the community prompt men to assert the strength of their swayohel, to run rāces with the animal spirits of others in the assertion of pre-eminence, to boast of their material goods, and to "wake up dead."

682 The increasing rate of homicide is related to
674 the following changes in the community:

178 (1) Increasing friction resulting both from the
578 introduction of new economic enterprises and from political competition by the recently settled land-reform colonies has introduced a new kind of homicide, in which an opponent is killed either by the person whose interests are threatened or
[754] by hired killers. It has also stimulated accusations of witchcraft stemming from envy.

558
682 (2) The curers' loss of leadership and of con-
674 trol over entry into the curing profession
178 has led to competition among them and to
578 a loss of respect for their ability to over-
756 come witchcraft. Curers have become the most frequent suspects of being witches.

754 (3) Loss of faith in the guardian ancestors and
682 in the guardianship functions acquired
674 from them by the curers has further under-
178 mined the position of the curers as agents
769 of social control. This has aggravated the
776 sense of insecurity and fear, which pro-
626 vokes the uncontrolled use of individual violence.

(4) The shift of power from the principales to
682 the town president has led to a breakdown
674 in the system of checks and balances
178 exerted by the principales over the curers,
621 and to a direct confrontation of the curers
626 by civil officials.

756 (5) In the confrontations of the civil authori-
682 ties and the curers in the '40's and early
674 '50's, the fact that a witchcraft case was
756 officially reviewed and the killing of the
178 witch sanctioned may have served as a
626 brake on the number of such homicides.
683 Since 1953, when this practice was aban-
doned, those who have felt themselves or
their families to be the victims of witch-
craft have been left to their own recourse.

178 The organizational changes summarized
578 here are provoked by structural changes
682 affecting recruitment into the positions of
power and the validation of leadership in the
[621] exercise of power. The dual division of the
[632] town provided an accepted basis for recruiting
[756]

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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178 leaders, both in the civil authority and in the
578 curing profession. The transition from the old
682 hierarchy of control to the new leadership
621 structure is still in process. In the most recent
632 confrontation of the civil authority and curers,
756 the fact that neither side resorted to violence suggests the transitional nature of homicide as a solution in intracommunal conflict.

178 This study of homicide indicates that the
682 changing rate of behavior points to structural change, but does not in itself indicate what kind of change occurs or from what motives
[121] it stems. Qualitative case analysis related to structural changes within the recall of informants is essential for understanding social process.

NOTES

114 [1] Field work is based on two periods of residence in the com-
122 munity in 1964 and 1965; it was supported by the National In-
128 stitute of Mental Health. I am grateful for comments by Paul Friedrich, Richard Henderson, Harold Scheffler, and Peter Wilson, who have improved the original version read at the 1965 meetings of the American Anthropological Association. I remain responsible for the contents of the paper.

114 [2] Henry and Short (1954:18) analyze both suicide and homi-
682 cide as undifferentiated aggressive reactions to frustration, the rates of which vary—in the first case inversely and in the second
762 case directly—with the strength of the external control system over behavior. Their assumption that homicide is motivationally a single phenomenon, and not an expression of a variety of motives, stems from the assumption that all cases of aggressive acts are the result of frustration. Straus and Straus (1964:587) apply a similar correlational analysis of homicide and suicide rates with structural features of society in Ceylon, but come to opposite conclusions. They maintain that one would expect greater evidence of homicide in a "loosely structured society," by which they mean one with considerable sanctioning of variation in individual behavior. These studies contradict each other in the conclusions that they reach by similar analytical processes, but they are attempts to move away from such psychoanalytic reasoning as the death-wish theory.

128 [3] Bohannan's (1960) survey of homicide and suicide in African
682 societies represents a useful model for comparing the total pattern of homicide cross-culturally. In presenting the case material here, I have used a similar format, adding to it the circumstances surrounding the killing. In the analysis of these materials, I have diverged from Bohannan's model in trying to demonstrate the linkage among the components—the ratios, to use Burke's (1945) terminology of scene/setting/actor/agent.

192 [4] The term "witch" is a translation of the Tzeltal term *ʔaʔ-*
754 *ʔamel*, literally "giver of sickness." The term "curer" is a trans-
756 lation of *ʔuʔul*. The power to cure and to give sickness stems from the possession of a *muyuhel*, or animal spirit.

000 [5] For a discussion of the tactics of gaining consensus in witch-killings, see Manning Nash (1960).

578 [6] Political homicide by agrarian leaders, which is so frequent in
423 the central plateau (Friedrich 1962), is a relatively recent phe-
668 nomenon in the retreat zones of Indian population. The cases
682 analyzed by Friedrich are a strategy of political power stemming from a revolutionary background, and the cultural assumptions to which he points contrast with those underlying witch-killings. My only comparable case is, significantly, found outside the traditional center, in the *nuevejido* colony.

000 [7] Jules Henry (1936) sees the formula of fear and anger as the

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

175 The mistakes, lack of attention and preten-
177 sions of the Indians in regard to the Christian
648 doctrine, who they say they know, and the
797 ones instructed best in them, say as many heretic words as Christian, is consequence or necessary sequel of the lack of care in the secular and ecclesiastical government.

This situation became more and more acute owing largely to the political unrest which absorbed the attention of the authorities, unrest which culminated in the separation of Chiapas from Guatemala and in 1824 its incorporation with Mexico.

175 The next period, *invasion of lands by*
177 *Ladinos*, extends from about 1850 to 1911,
648 when the first sparks of the Mexican Revolution reached Chiapas. In this period Ladinos began to invade lands of the Indian communities by bribery or by force. Toward 1856 the Indians complained against the invasion of lands in San Martin, San Miguel Mitontic, San Pedro Chenalo, Cuncuc, and Tenejapa, but failed to halt Ladino inroads (Trens, 1942, pp. 274–75).

The history of recent times, from 1920 on, is marked by increasing support from federal authorities throughout the entire
[178] republic. In the Tzeltal area progress has been slow but constantly improving (see LaFarge, 1940; Beals, 1951).

Ethnographic Studies of the Region

114 In his first trip through the Mayance area
[101] in 1839 and 1840, Stephens (1841) visited the northern zone of the Tzeltal, from Ocosingo to Yajalon, going through Bachajon and Chilon.

Traveling the same route two decades later in the opposite direction, the French explorer Désiré Charnay recorded his impressions in a small book (1863).

In 1901 Frederick Starr (1902), from the University of Chicago, made a short visit to the region.

In 1925 Blom and LaFarge traversed from north to south a large part of Tzeltal territory, publishing their data in three chapters of their *Tribes and Temples* (1926–

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162 Amatenango del Valle, a community of 2,529 inhabitants, of which 1,470 reside in the town center.

621 The town centers are divided into two sections, called barrios by Ladinos and calpules by Indians (Oxchuc and Cancuc). The imaginary line which separates one barrio from another passes through the center of the town, sometimes east-west, sometimes north-south, with no fixed orientation.

[776] Each barrio has its own local authorities and sometimes its own patron saint (Oxchuc and Bachajon). The principal function of the barrios was not only political or religious but also social, in regulating mar-
[178] riage. Endogamy was common to all barrios, but today that rule is losing its rigidity. In Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1960, p. 8) tells us that, "The rule of barrio endogamy, which is viable in 86% of the known marriages, contributes to the localization of related families limiting the geographical range of marriage choice." A similar situation obtains in Amatenango (J. Nash, 1959, p. 3), Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes, 1947, p. 7), and Bachajon (Guiteras Holmes, 1961c, p. 167).

[178] In Bachajon, Guiteras Holmes states that: "In the old days there was no marriage be-
[578] tween the *barrios*. If a boy from San Sebastian took a walk through San Geronimo, he was beaten; they would give him a '*maciza*,' as they say. If a boy from a *barrio* approached the waterholes to court a girl, he fared very badly." The calpules of Oxchuc, although they have politico-religious significance, have no influence at all in the selection of wives.

621 The parajes have a few scattered huts
778 among the cultivated fields. Each paraje is
[361] bound by religious ties to a given cave where a cross, the supreme sacred symbol, is kept. The name of the paraje is generally
778 taken from the name of the cave. Sacred
821 caves of secondary importance also exist.
823 This mystical regard for caves is based in the belief that they are the place from which issues the lightning to punish the

[P 205-A]

000 ponerles sus mojones y a darles al posesión que les corresponde segun el número de ellos.

"Donde principió parar primer mojón *Busulton Pacton* que está en el camino derecho; 2° mojón *Oxlofon* que está en el camino; 3er. mojón *Tzovilton*; 4° mojón *Tequelton*, mojón con Pedro Moreno; 5° mojón *Yolilnelej Lomchen*; 6° mojón de acuerdo con Juan Gómez Bet y Martin Sanchez Chelap se llama la raya *Teguel Canté* que es también la raya con Manuel Chimbak; 7° mojón *Tequelton* raya única con Marcos Hernandez López y Diego López y Diego Giron Vázquez; 8° mojón y último *Basulton Pacton*.

"Habiendo quedado todos los vecinos colindantes contentos, ofreciendo ambos que en lo sucesive no tendrán el menor disgusto, pues, son nativos de su propio pueblo, bajo el concepto que si alguno delinquiese en trastornar el orden en que han quedado, el agraviado lo pondrá en conocimiento del Juez para aberiguarlo y aplicarle la pena que merezca, para acuya seguridad son testigos Lorenzo Ichilok, Martin Solel, Miguel Gómez Ichilok y Gobernadores Diego Méndez Chizna y Nicolas Jiménez Acux. Por los testigos y Gobernadores que no saben firmar. Abril 12 de 1861 y como testigo y escribano Alonso Santis.

423 613 614 The descendants of the Gómez Ichiloks still live in the same paraje of Tzajalchen and share the same parcel. In other lineages the original parcel was subdivided on agreement between the interested parties. In this way single individuals now own pieces of land, a type of property ownership that is becoming more general as the old social organization based on clans and lineages gradually breaks up. [178]

423 427 The parcels can be rented to people of other lineages and of other communities. Often the Tzeltal of Oxchuc rent their parcels to natives from Tenejapa or Cancuc who are their immediate neighbors. Payment, made with food, chicha, and money, must be shared by the most important members of the same clan other than the ones of the same lineage (Villa Rojas, 1947, ch. 19). [613] [614]

[P 211-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

614 exception, both names (lineage and clan)
613 are inherited from the father.

[178] In the more acculturated communities the
[612] clan and lineage system tends to disappear and to be replaced by the bilateral system,
[582] characteristic of Ladino society. In Aguacatenango, despite the belief that there is a relationship between people of the same
613 Spanish name, they may marry. Moreover, they are starting to be ashamed of using the indigenous name, differentiating the lineages. B. Metzger states (1959, p. 18):

[551] Lineage names appear to be used as surnames within the community—as we have discovered
[P 214-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

776 This substitute is called *gelol*, the same im-
796 age but smaller, which is kept next the original one.

[788] During the procession the saint is carried
[782] in a litter. Incense is burned before him,
[533] while music with drums and flutes is played.

Traditional Ceremonies

796 There are other ceremonies held in the
[177] parajes which, although based on Christian
[178] ritual (including some of the prayers, presence of the cross, candles, etc.), still manifest ancient aboriginal traditions. Among
[776] these ceremonies is the one made before the house altar to Chulmetic (the earth goddess), to God, to Tatik Jesucristo and the 13 Fiadores del Cielo, for the soul of one newborn, to guard against sicknesses or bad influences of any kind. This ceremony is

[P. 222-C]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

We have divided Maya history in two groups, the Old Empire 175
and the New Empire. Of the history of the New Empire we know 174
a considerable amount, but our knowledge of the Old Empire history is scant. We know the area in which it flourished as a whole, like knowing Greece without being aware of Sparta, Athens, and Corinth. Here in front of me lay one of the first hints of the subdivisions of the Old Empire. Knowledge will advance, and soon we shall be able to tell about the rise and decline of states and cities, to revive the history of the foremost people of ancient America.

Nearly due north across the valley lies the Campomtik pyramid. 172
La Farge visited it while we worked at Toniná. It, too, is a re- 133
modeled mountain top, and as it is covered with grass, it stands out 778
sharply against the forest-clad hills. It consists of a series of terraces with a depression which has stone-faced terraces and floor. From the valley bottom the hill rises 280 meters, of which 105 meters (325 feet) have been terraced. Broken pottery is found in various places on the hillside, and on the top now stands two wooden crosses, set there by the Indians. The name Campomtik means [103]
"much yellow incense." Incense was burned on the hilltop until [782]
quite recently. At such times they burned great fires, and shot off [796]
many rockets bought in Ocosingo. Finally the celebrations got too [177]
fervent for the Catholic Father, and he had the Indians driven away [178]
by the town officials. Generally, though, the Padres let the Indians alone when they celebrate in honour of the ancient gods (fig. 201).

Outside Ocosingo, where the trail divides, one going to Bachajon, 172
the other to Sivacá, lies a group of mounds called Santa Teresa. Rumors that Indains had buried church treasures here after an uprising, led the townspeople to make a large excavation. According to some people in Ocosingo, they found a small wooden sanctuary, and a beautiful clay bowl with a fish on its lid. This bowl later was bought by Seler.*

It is remarkable how persistent are rumors of buried treasures. 123
Every Ladino expects to find "dinero," money, in any mound, and 172
they are usually sadly disappointed. Also, most of these people believe that we find money, else why should we dedicate so much time to our explorations? We had a case where one man offered to go fifty-fifty with us if we would explore a mound on his lands. The whole mound at Santa Teresa has been dug through, and it is told in Ocosingo that the excavators found, not money, but a small wooden sanctuary with a saint inside. We hear every day, when among the Ladinos and Mexicans, stories of church bells of solid gold, and cocks that crow at midnight on top of the mounds.

*Seler, E., 1901. Fig. 279.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

648 mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

829 The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We received many small favours and [123] acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

FIG. 203—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

241 In their culture these people [181] belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend [433] primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the [291] staple crop. Calabashes, melons, [301] beans, tobacco, bananas, and cot- [302] ton are raised. The farming is carried on by the same wasteful "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old [178] Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment [166] of many cities. In the case of the Bachajon, it has already become one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn 262 boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates 252 which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and 411 weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but al- 412 ways made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most 184 amazing industries in the world. 177

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

tied by a string carried down to an arched stick, H, stuck in the 224
ground. This string, by holding down the far ends, counterbalances the weight of the fall at the other ends. At the end of the string the cross-stick, D, holds it against the arch; it, in turn, is held by the trigger, C, one end of which braces against it, the other end against the far side of the trap, passing under the deadfall. A circular fence of sticks prevents an animal from getting at the outer part of the trap. A straight fence on the other side of the fall necessitates its entering through the entrance, AA, to get at the bait, B, on the trigger. The animal dislodges the trigger, releasing D and with it the string. The outer ends of the sticks fly up, and the weighted log falls. In the rat trap, the log and stones came to at least three kilograms, arranged to fall through a space of about ten centimeters, other traps being in proportion.

When hunting with a gun, a red fruit called *ahoon* is frequently [824]
rubbed on the shot, and *palma bendita, tcul-tĕc-wil can,* the palm used in church decorations, is used for the wad. This prevents the bullet "from getting tired" before it reaches its mark.

Meat obtained while hunting, if it cannot be carried immediately 251
to the house, is dried on a rack, *tcax.*

The primary method of carrying goods of all kinds is by the 482
tump-line, for which, as has been said in the discussion of physical and other characteristics, these people are very well adapted. The tump-line, *pak,* is a broad strip of inner bark, or of cow-hide. For their ordinary uses, this is a single strip, the ends being attached to a net (q. v.) of their own manufacture. When a package too bulky for the net is carried, a long strap is used with the ends tied together. This is looped through itself, around the package, so that it hangs in two slings. Additional straps may be attached to the line where it passes over the ears, to wrap around the sides of the burden. A flat piece of cowhide, *tcokHax,* is worn against the back, to protect the carrier from the chafing of his load. Both men and women use the tump-line, the carrying of objects on the head being unusual.

Formerly the Indians of this district are said to have owned a 492
good many mules and horses for packing, which they lost during [978]
the recent political disturbances. Many of them know something about packing. At present, however, few if any own cattle of any kind.

The highland rivers do not, on the whole, lend themselves to 487
water travel, although the Bachajon territory reaches to the Bascan, Tulija, and other more amenable water-ways. Canoes are known only 581
as introductions of German or Ladino ranchers. The natives use a [977]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

he is whipped by the girl's father for a thief. The girl is stripped to 584
the waist and whipped by her mother. With this the marriage is 585
legalized. As the first act of their true married life, the girl makes posole and offers it to her parents. The boy is under obligation to bring presents of bread, chocolate, aguardiente, etc., to his parents-in-law.

There are no formal restrictions of marriage, but the Church 582
exercises a general influence against wedding brother and sister, 177
cousins, or other relatives forbidden by Christian doctrine. In this, 178
owing to the disposition of the Indians, and to the purely tribal character of marriage, which is not regarded by them as a religious or governmental matter, the Church is only partially successful. In- 588
formal unions actually do occur between brother and sister, apparently without any ceremony, the pair merely continuing to live together, their family relationship slowly changing into that of a married couple. That such a wife's status has some regularity in their eyes is shown by the fact that she has the same position in funeral rites as an ordinary wife.

It is probably due to the negative influence of the Church that 115
the various important crises in the life of an individual, ordinarily 126
marked by such colourful ceremonies among primitive people, here are distinguished by very little of ritualistic observance. For description of the main events in the life course, we were again dependent on Señor Tovilla, whose information, given with little change below, checked entirely with the result of other inquiries. The funeral ceremonies were observed at first hand, after the fight described at El Encanto; for them, accordingly, I have used my own notes.

When a woman is about to give birth to a child, a midwife—an 844
older woman with some knowledge of herbs—is summoned. A few days before parturition, the woman is carefully tended by the midwife, well fed with choice food, and provided with a little rum. At the moment of giving birth, the midwife prays that the child may be brought forth happily. The mother kneels, and the midwife prepares to receive the child with a new cloth. Meantime the father is told to stay outside the house, or may be allowed to help in minor matters.

It is said that at Tenejapa the women go out into the woods to give birth untended, coming back with the child.

The baby is given Christian baptism. 852

A child's soul is considered to be particularly delicate, and there- 789
fore liable to magic influence. If the people of the house must go [774]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

village. In common with all ceremonial celebrations, these fiestas are called *k'in*, the old Maya word for "sun." Even non-Christian elements appear in the fiestas. The Bachajon call their chief fiesta, St. Jerome's Day, May 13th, *kan-k'in*, "yellow sun," an old Maya month name.

On many points one cannot say whether the ritual be Christian or not; the use of the cross is such a point. The Mayas had a cross,* the worship of which was encouraged by the early Padres, while teaching the Indians to associate with it Christian ideas. Certain it is that crosses now play a greater part in Indian than in Ladino religion. They are maintained on the roads at partings of the way and crests of hills, and they are used in ceremonies that have little or nothing to do with the Church. Crosses by the road are usually covered with offerings of flowers and pine tips; in the houses they are decorated with any bits of bright paper, flowers, or pictures that can be obtained. The house-altars seem to be more truly Christian, as is indicated by the names, *altar*, *tcun tat-ik*, "altar of our Holy Father," and *cruz tcun tat-ik*, "cross of our Holy Father," in both of which the most important word is Spanish. At the house by El Encanto we had a chance to observe one such altar at leisure (fig. 309). It consisted of a neatly made cross, 75 centimeters high, standing above a small and rickety table. About the cross were fir branches, brought down from the highlands, and it was hung with cacao beans and small yellow gourds. A revenue stamp pasted across it gave a touch of more vivid green. The wall behind was entirely covered by a sheet of an old news-

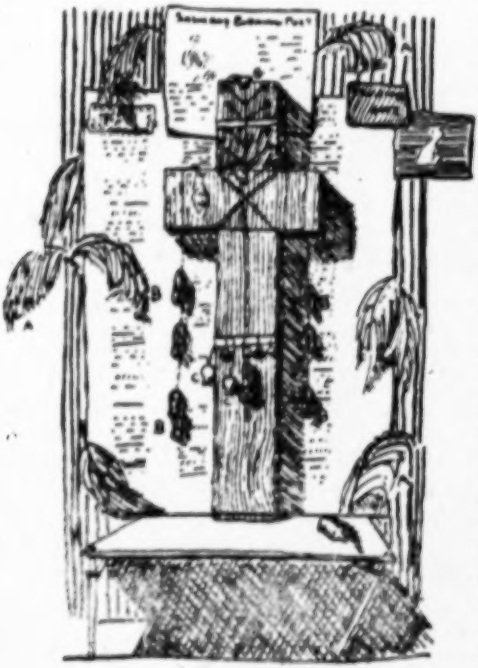

FIG. 309—El Encanto, Chis. Altar in House.

*Cf. Tozzer, 1907, Page 131 ff.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

778 paper, brightened with colour added by a cigarette package, a label from a tin of beets in a deep red, a joke in German about the fall of the mark, of which the prevailing tone was pure viridian, and a page of advertising from the Saturday Evening Post. We gave [123] this family a chromo of a saint, which was immediately framed with a sort of wooden box, and set up beside the cross. The table below was used for laying odds and ends on, such as the spindle and a couple of empty aguardiente bottles.

782 788 177 178 Incense, *pom*, and candles, both extensively used by the Indians today, had a place in the old Maya ritual similar to that of the Catholic Church.

The Priest is an important figure to the Indians. They come to 793 him with respect to tell him their troubles, and receive him into their villages with rejoicing. At the same time, there is no doubt that they deliberately hoodwink him as to the orthodoxy of their faith.

796 Although it includes several non-Christian elements, a description of the fiesta observed at Tecojá will give a fair idea of the Tzeltal's church observances. Tecojá ranch has a village of about [241] twenty houses attached to it. The fiesta was held on the twenty- [648] second and twenty-third of June. By custom, the ranch had to allow the Indians this time off, as well as accepting the lowered efficiency on the following "cold grey dawn of the morning after." The owners had, moreover, to provide the rum for the whole celebration, in this case, two demi-johns.

The ranch chapel was thrown open and decorated with fir [794] branches and streamers. The proceedings were in charge of two older men, called *caporales*, who were distinguished by a cross-belting of red handkerchiefs. One house was set aside for the celebrations, in front of which was a table and three triangular, crimson banners with gold edges. By these drumming and flute-playing went on irregularly. Here was the official dispensary for rum, which was given out by the *caporales*. Inside the house, a palm-thatched one with stick walls, about fifteen feet square, some thirty [534] Indians, men and women, were squatting against the walls. There was an orchestra of a guitar and a mouth-organ, occasionally augmented by the piper, who would wander in from outside. This individual, although most amazingly drunk, managed to maintain his [533] musical ability until he fell asleep. The tune they played was like a rather wistful jig, but the time was lively. To this four couples [535] danced, the men facing the women, with a shuffling step not unlike waltzing. They kept very much in one place, but occasionally changed sides. The dancing was evidently a serious affair. This type is called in Spanish *zapatea*, in Tzeltal, *ahk'Out*.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The performance continued until late that night and began again the next morning. Later in the day the banners were carried to the chapel in procession, with music, and deposited by the altar. The *caporales* led in prayer. The fiesta went on again in the evening. 796 [794]

Christian forms are applied to or mixed with non-Christian rites and ideas to some extent, a confusion resembling the appeal to both saints and native gods in prayer among tribes of Guatemala* and British Honduras.† Much of Christianity is adapted to conform to old, fundamental native concepts. 771 172 178 171

In the church at Bachajon Village there are fourteen saints beside the tribal patron, St. Jerome. These others each have a special care, as the cornfield, hunting, the rivers, etc., and are prayed to for help in their particular provinces. They are given gifts of cloth, usually red or blue, which is draped about them. Many of them duplicate the functions of non-Christian "guardians," to be described below. 776

In this connection it may be mentioned that the Zotzil-speaking Indians of Huistan are accustomed to beat their saint (St. Martin) when they have a bad year, and to caress him and anoint him with oil when things go well. We were told that he had lost his nose and both ears due to this practice. [171]

One prayer was dictated to us by Señor Cruz at Toniná, the full text of which is given in Appendix VI, Text I. It is primarily meant for a poor man when making his offering in the cornfield, a use which is indicated by the phrase "health of the earth," but it may also be used in church. The phrase "blood of my flesh" suggests a remniscence of the ancient Maya offerings of blood from the ear, tongue, etc. A free translation is given here. 126 782 196

PRAYER OF A POOR MAN WHO HAS NOT MUCH TO OFFER.

"Do Thou accept, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, what I have gained, and what I have not gained. Do Thou forgive, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, blood of our flesh; our hearts are open, our lips are open. Give health of the earth; protect thy son kneeling here." [539]

Of primary interest to us were the survivals of the old worship. At the time of the Conquest the Spaniards put forth their utmost efforts to suppress the native religion, and the process has gone on 771 178 177

*Sapper, 1925.
†Gann, 1918.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

771 178 177

spasmodically ever since. The temples and idols were overthrown, the theocracy, that knew the lore and could read the books, was killed off or reduced to the common level. The books themselves have vanished. At the same time, churches were built, and Christianity preached with a fine enthusiasm. Later, idols whenever discovered were destroyed, and all forms of heathenism vigourously opposed. This process has continued for some four hundred years. In other places less than half that time has sufficed to wipe out every vestige of an old cult, but here, not only had the Padres to deal with a race at least semi-civilized, supporting a sophisticated religion, but a people of remarkable, tenacious conservatism, and who, moreover, at all times have outnumbered their conquerors.

It must be borne in mind that the highly evolved, elaborate old-time religion could only be maintained in its purity by an educated people, men who could philosophize, study history, and read the stars with scientific accuracy. Obviously, what survives can only be in a simplified and debased form.

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Most directly religious are certain places of worship retained by the Indians. The old Mayas are known to have used, of course, caves as well as their mounds and temples. Nuñez de la Vega* tells of such worship going on in his time, and according to Sapper† it continues in Guatemala today.

In Ocosingo Valley, the pyramids of Cololté (*kolol-te,* a kind of tree), Chakalchib (*cakaltcip',* translation not known), and Campomtik (*kan,* "yellow," *pom,* "incense," *-ětik,* "much"), have been mentioned in the last chapter. They are all prehistoric places of worship. Their use by the Indians has been continued into modern times.

On top of Cololté the almost completely disfigured idol has already been described. It is decked with fir branches, and fir tips have been laid about its base. Before it in an arc stand wooden sticks to hold candles. The Indians do not come here at set periods as is usual elsewhere, but only when there is great need of rain.

Campomtik, across from Cololté, was used annually until a short time ago. Their celebrations made so much uproar that finally a local Priest had them driven away, and the worship there has been discontinued. There is still a big, rotting cross set up on top, but there are no offerings or candlesticks.

Behind Ocosingo, Chakalchib is still a place of worship, where fiestas are held annually without benefit of clergy. A large pile of stone in the center of the platform supports one cross about the

*Nuñez de la Vega, 1702.
†Sapper, 1925.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

height of a man, and several other smaller ones in more or less dis- 778
repair. On the northeast side is a fireplace. There are a few candle- 178
sticks, some with traces of wax in them. Fir branches and tips, mostly withered, were piled so deeply as to indicate several years' deposits. According to description, Indians come here from far and near, to dance and drink as at any ceremony.

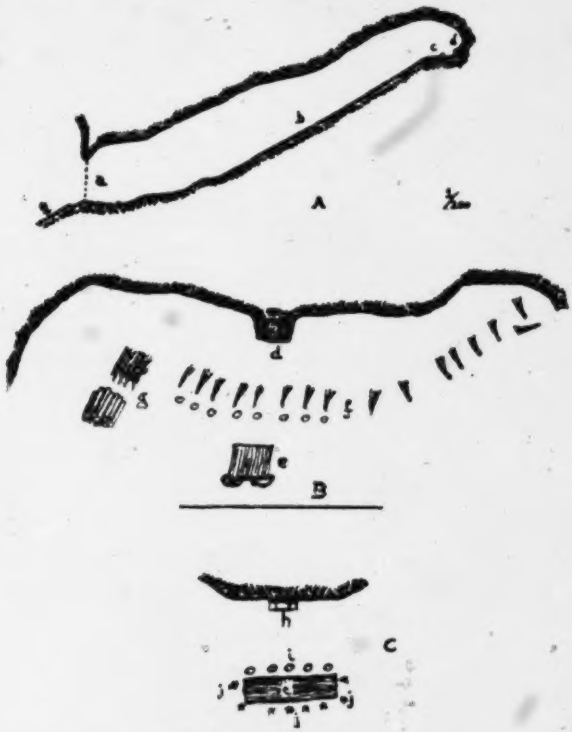

FIG. 310—Chacalchib, Chis. Altars.

A. Section of cave.
a. Sleeping place.
b. Ascent.
c. Level place.
d. Projection of rock.
B. Plan of Altar.
e. Board for incense.
f. Pine tips and candle sticks.
g. Reserve pile of pine tips and candle sticks.
C. Plan of Second Altar.
h. Cross.
i. Candle sticks.
j. Pine tips set on end.

More interesting than the top of the mound were two caves in its side, formed by the natural hollowing out of limestone outcrops near its base. The first of these had a small entrance, not high enough to stand up in, and just about large enough to give room for the grass bed and fire of which we found traces (fig. 310 a, b). From there the cave went up a few meters, and divided. The

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

778 178 left-hand fork ended shortly. The right-hand one went on to a small level place, on which about four people could squat at once. The roof was too low to stand. In the end wall a block of rock about half a meter high and twenty centimeters broad stuck out. In front of it were eight small candlesticks in a row, a neat bundle of fir tips laid before each. More of these extended in an arc to the right, and there was a pile of spare tips and candlesticks at one side. Behind this was a square of bark resting on two stones, which showed signs of having had incense burned on it.

The second cave was more open, more of a room, high, and broken with pillars of limestone and dirt. It was caused partly by hollowing out limestone through the action of water, and partly by washing out the soil. In a quite open situation a small, square cross was leant against a rock. There was a flat board for incense, with five candlesticks on the side of the cross, and fir tips around the other three sides (see fig. 310 c).

These two caves, whether or not they were used in pre-Conquest days, do definitely represent the survival of a purely non-Christian manner of worship.

The general attitude of the Indians towards all the carvings of the Old People is not without interest. While they appear to attach no particular significance to the temples, they call all idols by the generic term of "santo." Thus the fine bas-relief found near San José Reforma, told of in the last chapter, was known to the natives as *Santo Ton*, "Saint Stone," or "Holy Stone."

782 Distinct from worship at these archaeological sites are the offerings made to the "guardian," *yaHwal*, of the cornfields, a pure old Maya rite carried on in the modern fields. This is purely family matter, at which the head of the family officiates. A cross is set up, *atole* or *cocopoxole* (*posole* with cocoa and sugar) and rum are offered in bowls, candles and incense are burned, and a chicken killed. The prayer quoted on page 365 is recited at this time. The offerings are only made at the time of planting the *milpa* in the spring, and suffice also for the fall *tonamil*. As nearly as we could find out, each field has its particular guardian, an idea which was shown by the case, to be described later when speaking of magic, of a man who took steps to gain the consent of a field's guardian before putting a curse on it.

796 [323] There is a guardian of the river, *yabahen*, and of the mountains, *hun ahau*. This last is of particular interest, correponding as it does with the old Maya day-name signifying chief. Hun Ahau is mentioned in Landa, page 200, edition of 1864, as ruler of Mitamnal or hell. As Hunahpu he may be referred to in the Popol Vuh. Two

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

796 178 How-ever, much hinges on the difficult question of whether or not they still possess the old calendar, without which the divination would be impossible. This will be spoken of again. On the whole, the Tzeltal do not show anything like the robust survivals of old religion that are found in Guatemala; in this respect, also, they have retained only a degenerated form.

776 756 Concerning the attitude of the Indian towards his *nagual,* two stories may be told that have a certain interest. The first is an incident which occurred to us at Cacate-el, the ranch of Señor Tovilla in the Bachajon country. A Bachajon came in to complain that another Indian was casting spells on his fields and chickens. The other had taken a piece of dirt from his cornfield, so as "to gain consent of the guardian" (see above). He was making the corn wither and the chickens die. His power lay in his *nagual,* a *leon colorado* (*saxal-tcoq*), the most powerful that one can have. The Indian who complained had some much weaker familiar. We gave him a brilliant chromo of Saint Jerome with his lion; not only because St. Jerome is the patron of the Bachajon, but also because of the lion, obviously to him the Saint's *nagual,* which anyone could see was larger and more powerful than any known to the Indians. With this picture set up in his house, he felt that he could rest in safety. [123]

Señor Tovilla also passed on to us a story told him for true by an educated and trustworthy upper-class Mexican, an *abogado* (somewhat corresponding to the English solicitor). It is interesting for showing what is commonly believed even by the European people, although somewhat hard to accept. This man stopped at a Bachajon house, wherein he saw two old men sitting with their backs to each other, and two dogs fighting furiously on the floor. When he asked why they did not stop the fight, one of them answered:

"Our *naguales* are in those dogs, and my friend (*sic*) and I are fighting."

He went on to relate that, after the dogs gave up from exhaustion, both the men's faces were covered with black and blue marks.

[829] The Indians and their medicine men have succeeded to a remarkable degree in impressing the Ladinos with the reality and power of their magic, although it seems to be generally felt that it can only be used against themselves. Several very extraordinary stories were told to us by trustworthy people of more than the usual intelligence, and we were occasionally surprised at the reluctance of educated Ladinos to give information concerning native shamanism.

Because of the close relationship, the Indians try to keep secret their *nagual* lest an enemy should start hunting for it. Moreover,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

539 Lacandone prayer in Tozzer's "Comparative Study of the Maya and Lacandones," page 169. As *tsar,* which a Ladino would probably give as *tsak,* means "red" in Tzeltal, the two words may be taken to be the same. *bak* means "bone," and *tci* means "blood." Many of these translations are doubtful, and all of them together do not suffice to explain the text.

II.

hun ahau bitskilim gravilan yokivin-wits yevakinok . . .

This also begins with Hun Ahau. *wits* means "hill." Beyond that no translation could be obtained.

124 The whole material on medicine and shamans is very slight and unsatisfactory. Indeed it is doubtful whether anything could be learned save after a long stay and much patient work, so secretive are the Indians on this subject, and so suspicious of inquiries. What we have is presented here in the hope that it may prove useful for comparative purposes, and offer suggestions to any worker going into this field.

796 According to Nuñez de la Vega, the old calendar was still cur-
178 rent in his time. Starr* quotes a Zotzil Calendar of eighteen months, and Pineda* gives a Tzeltal calendar of both months and days. We asked in the different villages what names were given
124 to the days, and were told always the Spanish names, as also for
796 the months. This may well have been from unwillingness to impart
177 ceremonial information, but consistent replies, plus the statement of
178 various Ladinos who knew the Indians well, incline me to believe that if the old calendar is known at all, it is known only to a very few of the most learned shamans. Feasts, as far as could be made out, are controlled entirely by the cycle of Christian saint's days. However, the Maya year might well have been by now adjusted to the Gregorian, and a time-count actually kept in the old style be stated for public purposes in the terms of the new. Pineda's calendar is adapted from one published by his father† some forty years earlier, but he speaks of it as being still current.

114 Seler also doubts the modernity of Pineda's calendar. In his
178 article "Der Festkalender der Tzeltal und der Maya von Yucatan"
796 (1898), he brings together various interesting statements. Of them, one may be applied to this survey. Emeterio Pineda he quotes as saying that the sixth month, Olalte, is the time of planting. This would be in April of our year, or the end of April and early May,

*Starr, 1903—Pineda, Vicente, 1888.
†Pineda, Emeterio, 1845.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

as is also shown by his placing of Yaxkin, the first month, in the end of December. The seventh month, Ulol, is co-ordinated with Kankin of the Maya calendar. Now, according to Sebastiano Guzman, the Bachajon shaman, the big fiesta at Bachajon on May 13th is called *Kank'in*. Is this a coincidence, or a true calendar name, and if the latter, what is a Yucatan calendar name doing among the Bachajon, when we should expect the Tzeltal Ulol? In the present state of our knowledge, no more can be done than to state the facts.

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571 tions of community members. We now propose to display some of the ways in which further sets of performances, among them drinking, are associated with those already described.

Roles and the procurement of alcohol

273* 571 178 The procurement of alcohol for drinking involves social relationships which have undergone a change within the period of study. Traditionally, Aguacatenangueros have obtained 273* 439 aguardiente--a distilled sugar cane alcohol--by purchase. For many years aguardiente was manufactured by ladinos in San Cristobal and in Comitan principally for sale to the Indians. Before 1940, one ladino family established a liquor monopoly throughout the highlands and with the aid of government liquor inspectors was able to close down all competitors, which meant that production in Comitan and San Cristobal was completely stopped save for the factories of this family. In the first part of this period, then, Aguacatenangueros bought all their aguardiente from Comitan, and it was and still is known as 273* 548 comiteco by Indians and ladinos throughout the area. With the closing down of the several factories that produced aguardiente, Indians--principally Chamulas--began to manufacture the aguardiente in clandestine stills in mountain areas that were apparently difficult to patrol. [435] The monopoly determined price of about 90 pesos a garafón (18 liters) was cut nearly in half by these clandestine operators.

548 687 distilling aguardiente. Distillation of aguardiente continued for a relatively short time (perhaps as long as three to four years) because satisfactory arrangements could not be worked out within the community so that the distillers would not be denounced to the authorities by their neighbors. Unlike Amatenango, where the clandestine distillation of aguardiente continues to the present time, inspectors were able to discover and destroy the four or five stills operated by the men of Aguacatenango. The punishments meted out to the owners were relatively severe, some having to spend as long as a year in jail and having to pay as much as 1000 pesos to secure their release.

273* [178] The pattern of procurement of aguardiente has changed substantially in Aguacatenango since the time we began doing [432] field work there. In 1957, when we were first there, the buying of aguardiente was both situation-and-family-specific. Most of the aguardiente was being bought in Pinola and later in Teopisca and had to be carried on one's back to Aguacatenango. In an- [796] ticipation of each fiesta or other occasion where it was known drinking would take place, each family would bring in three or four liters for that occasion. Beyond this family supply, there was relatively little aguardiente in the community. It was not at all unusual, after a fiesta, to see men inquiring all over town about the possibility of buying, or borrowing, a liter of

275 216 191 he paid twenty centavos and in return for which payment his name was announced over the loud speaker as well as the name of a person to whom he might wish to "dedicate" the piece.

275 216 191 178 In 1959, there occurred a set of circumstances which permitted the Aguacatenangueros to gain control of the elements of the cantina complex, and in this year cantinas were established permanently in Aguacatenango. As the result of some difficulties in Pinola, the cantineros there were required by the town government to sell or otherwise get rid of their tocadiscos. [432] And three or four of them sold their tocadiscos to the men in Aguacatenango. These gas generator-driven units were set up in various yards in the community, the loudspeakers were mounted on tall poles as is the custom in the neighboring towns, and men came to these door yards when they were drinking to request [171] pieces be played with appropriate dedicatory remarks. The cantineros in Aguacatenango then simply filled out the rest of the cantina complex as they had seen it in the plaza.

442 275 432 439 They began to buy aguardiente by the garafón, most of it from clandestine distillers in the neighboring towns who deliver it to the buyers, and also beer and other distilled beverages, these being delivered by San Cristóbal distributors or bought and transported there by cantineros.

275 Thus the retailers of alcohol drunk by Aguacatenangueros are no longer ladinos and local widows, but local men. Some of

275 Some of
178 the effects of this change can be seen in the growing wealth of
434 cantineros, observable in changes in house construction, and a
736 shift to the raising of small livestock (always an alternative strategy) by women who must support themselves. With regard to
*273 drinking performances, the effect of the change in retailers seems
178 to have been an increase in the number of drinking performances--especially for boys and young men, whose limited ceremonial responsibilities have made them relatively infrequent drinkers in the past. In turn, the increase in the number of drinking situations has required slight modification in the timing of the drinking--men seem to drink for shorter periods of time. Thus, for example, drinking on Sunday is becoming more common, but the continuation of drinking on a second day (Monday) has decreased. These matters will be spelled out in more detail in later sections.

*273 Age-sex distribution of drinking

[434] Aguardiente is bought by men who have control of money,
[562] and it is drunk almost exclusively by them. Women drink rarely,
[858] and it is considered inappropriate for them to do so. Children
[883] do not drink at all; boys begin to drink on festive occasions at fifteen or sixteen, and it is probably relevant that by this time they are old enough to work for wages and usually have some money
000 of their own. Old men often give up drinking except when, as of-

753 Or, "the man is suffering from malaria which he got in hot country the last time he went to the fincas." Or, "the man's spirit is being eaten by a witch, Mr. X, who is angry with him because he did not pay back the money he owed." Every after-the-fact description of antecedent conditions implies a cause and effect relation such that the cause can be manipulated so as the patient will recover from the illness. After-the-fact descriptions of the sources of disease processes are never final since they are always dependent on (a) the further development of the disease process in the patient and (b) the confirmation in the identification of the source of illness by a successful attempt to reduce the effect of the source. If manipulation of the hypothesized source reduces the illness, the diagnosis of source is concluded to be correct; if not, further source potentials are searched for.

There is relatively little explicit procedural apparatus for adding to the inventory of after-the-fact explanations, and there are relatively few devices for modifying the modes of identification of the cause of the disease process. If a change capability is built into this theory of illness in Aguacatenango, it is not easy to detect wherein it lies.[1]

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[1]The modes of change that we have observed in Aguacatenangueros' response to illness have involved shifts from known medical practitioners to others, where the theory remains relatively unexplicated and the results of the medical practitioner's

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

753 Informants report experiencing a variety of sensed states as a disease process begins. Among these are depression (mental), cough, dry throat, diarrhea, fever, vomiting, stomach ache, loss

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75 progress are used to judge the probability of opting some par-
77.7 ticular medical practitioner for a cure rather than some other.
• 178 Response to illness involves the principle of exhaustion of resources. In severe illness, the family of the patient may exhaust all known medical practitioners who are thought to have sufficient knowledge and skill and also may exhaust all means for motivating curers to come and perform the cure. With the diminution of resources and exhaustion of the most proper curers, the family of the patient explores curing sources whose potential for curing may be lower, but still appreciable. Successful curing under such circumstances raises the probability that this family will use some newly successful medical practitioner sooner in the next onset of illness, that is, he will be called upon before they have exhausted their resources. The introduction of INI medical practice into Aguacatenango has been in these terms, namely, that patients and their families have turned to INI medical personnel upon the exhaustion of their resources. INI procedures have maintained a ratio of successes over failures in these curing circumstances such that they have continued to be called upon, in some cases under less extreme conditions. The ratio of successes over failures has not been so great, however, that INI is seen to be a totally satisfactory replacement for the more well established practitioners. Furthermore, INI treats only a small proportion of the total range of "illnesses" that occur in the community. INI will increase the proportion of cases it treats as it modifies the Aguacatenangueros' perception of the success'failure ratio and as it increases the classes of illness that it deals with. It may be the case that INI has at present a maximal investment in time and resources in maintaining its present range and success proportion, so future severe changes may not be expected from them. There is, however, some generalization to other INI type of curers--namely, doctors in San Cristobal. The generalization here may increase the use of doctors over curers. There is the further possibility that curers are incorporating into their theories some of the simpler strategies used by doctors. This is done so crudely that it hardly involves change of beliefs at any detailed level, but rather involves a simple increase of the inventories of medicine by means of which the curer implements his theory.

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Acknowledgments

My study of the people of Tzo'ontahal was made in four field sessions, the first in 1957 with return trips in 1958, 1964, and 1965, for a total of eighteen months. Brief visits were made in 1966 and 1967. With each returning visit it was possible to penetrate more deeply into the lives and experiences of the villagers, most of whom were highly resistant to an outsider on the first contact. I began writing the book in 1966, and some of the predictions I made came true before I finished it in 1968. These included the demise of the ceremonial leadership of the *alfereces*—the officials in charge of religious celebrations—the waning of the community status of curers, and the killing of one of my principal informants who had taken a leadership role before acquiring the traditional validation of age and experience in office. The transformations over the period of my study in this community created difficulties in recording and organizing my material. I owe whatever clarification has emerged to the efforts of Jane Olson and Gale Griffin of Yale University Press.

I am indebted to the National Institutes of Mental Health, which made possible the research for this study. I owe an intellectual debt to Sol Tax, who introduced me to the problems and potentialities of the area as a locus for field study, to Norman McQuown, who gave me the first instruction in Tzeltal and provided a grammar which facilitated learning the language, and to Manning Nash, who provided some of the earlier formulations of the culture from which I have borrowed. I am grateful to Duane Metzger and Gerald Williams, who generously provided equipment and facilities for work with informants in San Cristóbal Las Casas in the summer of 1964. Alfonso Villa Rojas, who was director of the Instituto Nacional Indígenista, was of great assistance in the first summer's field trip, introducing me to leaders within the town and in the Instituto's headquarters in Las Casas.

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Preface

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And so we shall be able to do what our mothers
did and what our fathers did here where our
Holy Father sees us and our Holy Mother sees us.

From the prayer said at the time of taking offices in the civil hierarchy

In all societies, some of the ideology and behavior of the past persists after their relevance to current problems has ended. How much this continuity eases the absorption of change by providing meaning and motivation and how much it hinders the ability to deal with current issues and to plan for the future is a long-standing social problem. It is of special relevance to developing nations undergoing changes that transform all social institutions. Developing nations have focused their planning on economic change in the hope that other institutions will respond automatically. This hope has not been justified. 000

Mexico has shown a growing awareness of the strength to be drawn from its rich cultural heritage in the five decades of development since the revolution. The changes that were transforming the cities a generation ago are now drawing enclaves of Indian populations into the mainstream of national development. In the 1930s government policy was directed toward transforming Indians into modern nationals. Since the 1950s there has been an increasing effort to incorporate Indians without suppressing their distinctive customs and languages. The old melting pot policy has given way to a new policy of selective adaptation. M
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For the Indians, adhering to the ways of the ancestors is the means of surviving as a people. Their sense of cultural survival is threatened by the T
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very adjustments and adaptations that make economic survival possible. Cut off from other Indian communities around them since the Conquest, when their ceremonial centers were destroyed and the political hierarchy which drew them into a single polity was replaced, the Indians were able to retain a sense of cultural independence within the corporate communities (Wolf 1957b). Each community developed a distinctive style of life in which the old pre-Conquest beliefs and customs were reworked with the colonial Spanish introductions. Validation of their behavior lay in the belief that they were doing as the ancestors did, and that they were living "in the eyes of our ancestors."

This social fiction is now threatened by a growing disbelief in the presence of these supernatural figures. The crisis caused by the disjunction between belief and behavior is forcing the Indians to reassess their present condition. Awareness of the contradictions between what they do and what they think they ought to do is forced upon them by events over which they have no control.

This study of a Maya Indian community in the state of Chiapas, Mexico, deals with the problem of the relation between belief and behavior in a changing world. It is a problem that we have failed to solve in our own society, if the labels of our time—The Age of Anxiety, The Society of Alienation—have meaning. I have studied this small Indian society not in search of a solution but as a way of phrasing the problem in the widest possible context.

I selected Tzo'ontahal because the people seemed to have retained a traditional Indian culture even though the community is on the Pan-American Highway linking them with the departmental and national capitals. The question of what changes had affected their lives and how they had responded to them was relevant to my interest in the effects of national changes on local groups. In the last year of my study my interest broadened from an enquiry into responses to external changes to a study of the meanings assigned to both internal and external changes.

Like many other predominantly Mayan communities of the Chiapas highlands, the community is the context of all meaningful social relations. Endogamy and a belief that the people who live in the center and the nearby barrios are descended from the same ancestors give a sense of eth-

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186 tions of self will find a responsive audience only within these linguistic and physical boundaries. The sense of insulation is a denial of regional and national political institutions in which they interact with the other Indians and Ladinos who are part of their present world and share their his-
175 tory. The town itself is a product of the Spanish colonial *congregación,*
361 which drew together diverse Indian populations that had been scattered in
162 small settlements. The outlying barrios are occupied by Indians who have
829 moved out from the center, as well as foreign Indians who had worked in the *fincas,* or large plantations, within the township. These latter people are referred to by a derisive term, *Kurik,* meaning roughly "country hick." Beyond these, and still within the municipal limits, there are a series of *colonias,* settlements populated by Indians who have moved here from other towns and by *mestizos,* or acculturated Indians. These settlers acquired land in the time of Juarez or later in the Cardenas period. Ladino men are called *Kaštan* and women *Šinlan;* foreigners who do not appear to be of the country are called *Alemán,* the Spanish term for German.

121 The focus of this book is on the lives and thoughts of people living within the center. The people of Tzoʾontahal live in a square world, sur-
702 rounded by a round universe. From the square hole, cut in the earth at the center post of their square house to receive the sacrifice of a live chicken when the house is built, stretches a square village (it appears as a rectangle on the map, but they draw it as a square).[2] The fields are measured in
[804] squares of twenty-five arms' breadths, with five handspans measuring the
[78] square between each plant. Within this square world, they have elaborated techniques for dealing with spiritual and human co-residents in curing ri-
105 tuals, offerings for crops, burial practices, and baptism rites. Their present
177 cultural stock reveals a selective absorption of Spanish colonial features
178 along with twentieth-century innovations. They have techniques for planting and harvesting milpa, marketing the pottery manufactured in all the households, curing an eclipse of the moon, divining causes of illness and curing the maladjusted social relations which cause it, manufacturing and

[171] 2. This view of the world as square is shared by Tzeltal and Tzotzil neighbors in Larraínzar (Holland 1963:69), San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:254), and Pinola (Hermitte 1964). The four-direction concept of the village and world noted by Landa (Tozzer 1941:135) suggests a square-space concept.

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marketing contraband liquor, minimizing discord and settling disputes locally, and preserving continuity in a town administration marked by the annual rotation of officials. 105 177 178

These are the techniques acquired for dealing with the world in which they were born. For the world into which they are being propelled, they are combining new skills with old, creating a semblance of continuity but with a recombination of elements. Fitting this square community into the round post-Columbian world is a task consciously undertaken by the Mexican government. Within the town, strategies are being developed to meet the new demands made on the community as economic and political horizons widen.

The problem focus on the relation between belief and behavior in a changing social environment can be restated by asking how behavior is conditioned by custom and how it responds to cues from the environment. The first class of responses is adjustive, fitting the behavior of the individual to a given environment, and the second is adaptive, changing the external environment (Kluckhohn 1962:46). I shall use the distinction Mowrer and Kluckhohn (1944:258) have made between adaptation, "which develops and changes inherited ways of behaving," and adjustment, "which develops and changes habits," with the former referring to socially acquired responses and the latter to individual responses. A moving equilibrium is found when changes in adjustive and adaptive responses fit a persisting framework of understandings and explanations. Both adjustive and adaptive responses follow rules. These rules enable social groups to generate consistent, understandable, and appropriate behavior in response to a variety of settings. The "rules of the game" set the parameters for adjustive behavior; the "rules of strategy" generate behavior adaptive to change. The rules of the game are validated by the belief system of the society; the rules of strategy can be justified on the same premises, but if they are so fundamental as to challenge existing values, they require a new ideology. 121

The model of change which takes into account the techniques of adaptation and adjustment occurring within small-scale societies is that of moving equilibrium. Wallace (1962:142) has stated the dimensions of this model:

121 A culture, under certain conditions, during a period of time can be said to be an open system in a state of stable but moving equilibrium: that is to say, it maintains a boundary, accepts inputs and produces outputs at approximately equal rates, and changes continuously but gradually in internal structure.

The concept of equilibrium is one way to talk about the constraints which make behavior congruent with beliefs. Given a constantly changing ecological setting due to an expanding population and a changing man-land ratio, the stability of the system depends on the adequacy of existing institutions to handle conflict and of shared understandings to explain events. Movement stems from the tension between individual and social goals and the adaptations to bring them into closer harmony. The basic condition for the kind of change characteristic of a moving equilibrium is that conflict is contained within the community.

128 I have organized the data to clarify features maintaining equilibrium and to show the direction in which the society is moving. First I describe formal, prescribed behavior for each institutional complex and relate it to the beliefs that underlie it. Following each of these chapters I analyze strategies formulated in response to changes coming from within or outside the community. The formal behavior providing a framework for continuity is related to place spirits in Chapter 1, to economic activities in Chapter 2, to customs and rituals in the family and neighborhood in Chapters 4 and 5, to civil and religious government in Chapters 7 and 8. Changing strategies are related to economic activities in Chapter 3, to social relations as revealed in curing practices in Chapter 6, and to political relations in Chapter 9.

177 178 [241] [323] Implicit in the organization is an ordering of institutions from most static to most dynamic. In the economy, agricultural technology has been stabilized at the colonial level of adaptation at which the wooden plow, hoe, and machete were added to, but did not displace, the digging stick, while in pottery manufacture, both techniques and products have remained unchanged. The organization of work groups remains limited to [592] [476] the household except for the introduction of cooperatives in recent years. [361] In domestic institutions there has been an adaptation to living in a compact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group.

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pact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group. The authority of the elders in settling conflicts in the family and the community is weakened, although the hierarchy remains intact. In religious institutions, the personnel has remained the same, but the authority of the religious officials has weakened and the belief in the deities and ancestral figures has been undermined.

Political leadership is the most dynamic area of change. The power of the *principales* had already been taken over by young civil officials when I first went to the town in 1957. The curers, who retained the power derived from belief in their control over the supernatural, were the core of resistance to change in the decade that I knew the community. But this control was being challenged by civil officials and factional leaders, who were aware of its repressive effect. The dynamic aspect of the political sector is linked to the fact that the new leaders saw the necessity of seizing power from those who were privileged in the traditional society. They were reworking the social structure to pave the way for the acceptance of development opportunities being offered by the national government.

In Chapters 10, 11, and 12 I have summarized the structuring of behavior in roles, place, and time and described how these patterns have been affected by change. The following questions are raised in the summary chapters:

1. The role system: How are people recruited into roles? How are roles coordinated? How are performances evaluated? The matrix of roles provides the patterned expectations of what others will do in a given situation. Some of the decisions made in assigning people to roles allow little room for choice. In other cases, new functions, such as those imposed upon governing officials, have replaced traditional bases for making decisions and in turn upset the balance of power between elders, curers, and leaders in civil office. (Continuity and change in the role structure are analyzed in Chapter 10.)

2. The setting: How is appropriate behavior defined for each institutional setting? What kinds of behavior are replicated in each setting? How are changes in role relations reflected in positions assumed in each setting? Observations of behavior in the church and the

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128 school included in Appendix 3 provide the data for an inductive analysis of conventions established by place. (These are compared and analyzed in Chapter 11.)

3. Timing of behavior: How does time enter into the consciousness of people's planning of activities? Time is a resource the use of which indicates the values assigned to activities and the relative power of people in bargaining positions. As such, it is a sensitive index to changes in strategies for allocating effort. (The sense of time is examined in reference to the scheduling of performances and interpreting the behavior of others in Chapter 12.)

The summary chapters provide the basis for testing the following hypotheses in the final chapter:

1. The stability of the society varies directly with:
   a. the degree of control over time and place
   b. the efficiency of its procedures for adjusting conflict
   c. the ability to validate behavioral innovations in terms of existing values
   d. the effectiveness of the techniques for transforming old power positions whose functions contradict changed social conditions into ceremonial posts
2. The lability of the society varies directly with:
   a. the gap between expectations and experience
   b. the degree of dissonance between traditional explanations and current interpretations of events

177 178 During the period I worked in Tzoʔontahal, the fundamental propositions on which behavior was predicated were being challenged. When old beliefs are waning, the question is whether the techniques developed to maintain the old conditions for equilibrium will persist in the future.

121 Fortes (1959:25) has pointed out that the "serious defect . . . of generalized enthnographic descriptions" is that they do not show "how ritual or belief is actually used by men and women to regulate their lives." My purpose is to indicate not only how belief and ritual serve the ends of regulation but also how beliefs are transformed in the process of performing ri-

Chapter 1

Spirits and Places

Social space is the cognitive pattern of relationships imposed upon any terrain. In Amatenango del Valle[1] there are two superimposed patterns. One is defined by the nation for the purposes of political administration. This follows the pattern of colonial administration of *municipios*, or townships, with a *cabecera*, or administrative center, containing the church, town hall, and school house, and serving a number of colonias and *rancherias*, local hamlets or nuclei of populations. The other pattern is defined by the inhabitants using Tzeltal terminology or a Tzeltal rendition of a Spanish name. In this pattern, domains of good and bad spirits are defined, and behavior appropriate to each place is specified in myths and rituals. Persistence of this pattern has had profound implications for continuity of pre-Conquest culture. It provides a ground plan for the system of social control and security exercised by the old gods and their human intermediaries.

In the following section, I will discuss first territorial divisions defined by national law and modified by indigenous categories, and then the interaction between the spirits of persons and places.

The Territorial Divisions

The township of Amatenango del Valle is located at 92°30′ longitude and 16°30′ latitude in the highland zone of the state of Chiapas. The town center is located no more than fifty yards from the Pan-American Highway twenty-five miles southeast of the departmental capital of San Cristóbal.

1. I use the national designation derived from Nahuatl, Amatenango del Valle, to refer to the township, and the Tzeltal term Tzo'ontahal to refer to the center.

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were not affected by the congregación. The fact that there is no mention in the post-Conquest documents of the introduction of dual divisions suggests that the model was indigenous to the area.

The Indians of Tzo'ontahal state that the dividing line of the division was established in its present position when a new church, replacing the first one which was burned, was built on the present site. Judging from a date carved in a beam of the church, this must have been about the year 1746. The endogamous restriction on marriage has not led to a sense of racial distinction between the two populations. Both groups feel that they are descendants of the same ancestor figures and under their guardianship. The same Tzeltal patronyms are distributed on both sides of the division, although there is a clustering of some of them on one or another side. Table 2 shows the distribution of patronyms of 714 male and female adults; 88 percent of the patronyms are found in both divisions.[4]

The functions of the division in organizing social groupings have been eroded, but some survive. Equal representation by civil officials from the upper and lower sections, when there are two or more posts at the same rank, is still in effect. The principle of alternation of the single posts of president and *síndico,* his administrative assistant, so that one term the incumbent is chosen from Ahk'olnantik and the following term from Alannantik has not been a decisive factor since the 1930s, when Indian communities were being drawn into more active participation in national programs of change (Chapter 9).

Residential expansion within the center has been almost entirely in Ahk'olnantik because of the addition of ejido lands formerly belonging to the finca of San Nicolás on this side of town. This one-sided increase in population finally resulted, in 1965, in a breakdown of the principle of equal representation in the ceremonial posts involving high expenses, those of the four *alfereces.* Although attempts were made to find candidates in Alannantik, there were no men with sufficient funds who had not

4. Carrasco (n.d.:5) quotes a document in the *Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla, Guatemala* 16 indicating that Spanish patronyms were given to the heads of calpules and that these were to be extended to all members of the calpul. The present distribution of name groups in the dual divisions cannot support this, nor can it refute the possibility that Spanish patronyms were related to some larger kin or territorial grouping more than three hundred years ago.

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held that post formerly, and all four alfereces were for the first time taken from one side.

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TABLE 2. Patronyms in the Dual Division

Patronym	*Alannantik only*	*Ahk'olnantik only*	*Alannantik and Ahk'olnantik*
Alvarez			37
Arguella Jimenez	1		
Bautista		1	
Bautista Čail			52
Bautista Čo		5	
Bautista Koʔton			14
Bautista Saʔben			20
Cepeda			1
Cepeda Čilol			29
Cruz Mendez	1		
Diaz			6
Diaz Čamo			5
Diaz Ton			8
Diaz Uz			42
Gomez		2	
Gomez Bot			39
Gomez Kompaš			73
Gomez Kut			49
Gomez Waris	1		
Gonzalez	1		
Gonzalez Ikob		3	
Guitierrez	1		
Hernandez	1		
Hernandez Čela	1		
Hernandez Tenan	4	1	
Jimenez		2	
Leon		2	
Leon Či			21
Leon Čulik			14
Leon Malatz	2		
Lopez			1
Lopez Lab'	1		
Lopez Lin			31
Lopez Mai	11		
Lopez Pokoš		13	
Lopez Tapiya		5	
Lopez Šunton		18	

773 *"Good."*
778 *They waited a while and the water came. "Are you going to drink?"*
539 *They drank, and then they made the sign of the rainbow. The president*
769 *sent his síndico to meet them. The síndico got drunk on the way. He sat down halfway in the road. The brothers met him there. They were angry that a fiesta was not prepared for them. And for this they left town, and went to live in Chiapas.*

773 This tale is known to everyone in town, and there is no doubt as to its au-
778 thenticity expressed by those who have given versions of it. When I took
769 some of the Indians on a trip to Guatemala, they pointed out the rocks
123 where the brothers encountered the devil. When they arrived in Guatemala and saw a bus marked Antigua they expressed amazement that the town was still in existence.

769 Some people claim to have seen the ancestors, whom they describe as
778 wearing the old style costume—a long shirt with the hat now worn by the alfereces. The ancestors are believed to have watched over the village from a mound rising abruptly before the mouth of the cave, called Hol Shan, or Head of Palm, because of the trees growing on it (Plate 1). From this eminence they could watch the streets of the village and see whether anyone was trying to bring in evil (Plate 2). They were able to discern the power of evil in the souls of the newborn and could snatch the soul before its possessor grew up to cause evil. Their human agents in guarding the town
[756] against evil were the curers (*?u?uletik*), who in the context of guardianship were called *me?iltatil*.[7]

796 Each year on the Day of the Cross, May 3d in the Catholic calendar,[8] a
769 fiesta is held in honor of the ancestors. It refers back to the fiesta which
62 ought to have been held for the returning Shuntonetik, and is performed in the interest of the whole community as a means of ensuring good relations with the ancestors.

[756] Formerly the curers were responsible for conducting this fiesta. An informant recalled the ritual:

7. The guardianship role of the curers is related to the functions of pre-Conquest officials, called *ghcanalum*, "caretakers of the soil" (Calnek 1962:25).

[778] 8. The date of the Day of the Cross was changed by the Vatican in 1964. When the local priest tried to reschedule the fiesta in the community, he encountered strong opposition. The Indians continue to celebrate the Day of the Cross on May 3d.

The curers used to go up to the cave with the alfereces, the mayordomos *[religious officials], the prayer reciters, and the people of the village. When they arrived there, the mayordomos played the guitar and gourd rattle. They lit candles and incense, and the leading curers would go inside the cave. All the people contributed money for the liquor and candles which was collected by the officials. They said that they spoke to the ancestors inside, where there was a lake and a beautiful field. They asked for rain and good crops. They would come out and tell the people waiting outside what the ancestors had said.*

Then one year [in 1957] during the fiesta of the cave, the curers went into the cave. The people said to the curers, "We want to see the owners." The curers said they would come out, but they didn't. The people waited and waited. A boy went inside with the curers. They tried to prevent him, saying, "Won't you be afraid?" He said, "No, let's go in." They entered twenty feet inside the door. The curers said, "Let us stay here." The boy asked them where was the river, the lake, and the milpa that were supposed to be inside. The curer replied, "It is all a lie. Now you know; don't tell the people." But when he came out, the boy told the people it was all a deception.

Since the late 1950s the ritual has changed. The curers no longer officiate, nor do they enter the cave and speak to the ancestors as they did formerly. The *fiscal,* or assistant to the priest, leads the mayordomos, alfereces, and prayer-reciters to the cave on the Day of the Cross and simply replace the palm cross at the entrance to the cave just as they do with the palm crosses fixed to the wooden crosses marking the roads leading into the town. The curers have attempted to revive the belief in the presence of the ancestors by saying that their nephew is in residence now, but no one I ever spoke to believes this. Most people agree that the ancestors live permanently in Chiapa de Corso.[9]

The hill and cave owners. While people try to maintain a good relationship with the spirits of the house, of the springs, and of the Cave of the Ancestors, they avoid the dangerous spirits of the hills and caves

9. A similar myth concerning the departure of the ancestors to go live in Chiapa de Corzo exists in Pinola (Hermitte 1964).

woman opened the door, she said, "Ay, Dios!" *The owner of the cave did not like this, and at that moment, he disappeared. Her husband returned the next morning. He beat her when he heard of the arrival of the hill owner and his disappearance when she invoked the name of the Lord. From that day on, he lost his luck and remained a poor man.* 756 776 778 539

The personalities of the cave owners are more fully defined than those of the spirits which reside in the forests. These tree spirits are able to talk to people, or they may sing, "as a mother sings to her child." They sometimes play tricks, misdirecting those who are lost in the woods. A man who intends to kill his enemy may go to talk to the tree spirits to gain their advice. Some plant spirits, such as tobacco, are stronger than others. Indians sometimes address the tobacco plant as "our grandfather" when they approach it, asking leave to pass. Some say that if you chew the tobacco plant you will have strength to overcome evil spirits when you walk in the woods. 776 [824]

An especially fearful group of spirits called *bohwaletik* roam the wooded hills in the late afternoons. These spirits, who look like Ladinos, are feared because they cut off people's heads to feed to the church bell in a neighboring town or to give to the spirits of major construction projects, such as dams. Suspicions are immediately aroused when a solitary Ladino is seen on the outskirts of the town near evening, and if several Indians sight him, they may even kill him. [829]

Persistence of belief and rituals related to the old gods and demons that were part of the Maya pantheon is directly related to the fact that the Indians continue to live in the same place surrounded by the hills and caves that were the habitations of both good and bad spirits. The landscape serves as a mnemonic device, keeping alive the myths of the past. Everyone accepts the knowledge that the spirits once lived here; the only doubt is whether they continue to inhabit their appropriate places, particularly in the case of the ancestors who were responsible for crops and security. This is not a crisis of loss in belief, but a phasing into history of the mythological past. Since there is no longer acceptance of the curers' claim to communication with the spirits, the Indians believe they may have gone elsewhere. It is characteristic of these Indians that they do not 776 778 [081] 829

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241 indicate these bases and assess the efficiency of the agriculturalists in allocating resources of labor, land, and seeds.

423 311 [175] *Land use.* The historical factor of the greatest significance in establishing the present economic position of the town was the act of possession of ejido lands in 1937. The first grant included 4,873.53 *hectares*[1] of land of the following categories:

irrigated flat land	139.77
non-irrigated plots	1,018.37
pasture	1,659.65
hill land	2,055.74

The high hill land with its cover of pine and scrub oak was set aside for use of all members of the community for hunting and gathering firewood. The pasture lands are similarly controlled by the civil authority for common use. The cultivable lands passed into the hands of 385 ejidatarios, each of whom received one-half hectare. A further grant in 1954 provided an increase of 2,578 hectares, including:

low mountain land	2,277.60
pasture land	300.40

423 178 The possession of land by individual small-plot cultivators reversed the trend toward large-scale commercial agriculture begun in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The land of the Indians that had been expropriated in the latter part of the nineteenth century by forced sales was to be held in the possession of the townspeople, "benefiting all with its products and uses" (Act of possession, 1937, Town Archives).

423 241 311 178 With the increase in ejido lands acquired in 1954, the share of each ejidatario has been increased to one hectare. This is usually split between low land in San Caralampio and high land in San Isidro and Tulancá, giving two growing seasons. The advantages of different growing seasons are that there is a more balanced work schedule and that there are two harvests, one in November and one in July. The ejido land grant has stabilized subsistence crop cultivation in the economy of the town and in-

1. A hectare is equal to 2.46 acres.

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creased the economic independence of the Indians. The present total of 613 ejidatarios in 1965 has increased 59 percent since the original grant. The dependence of the town's economy on the ejido land can be assessed in the fact that 63 percent of the pasture land is held in ejido grants. The use of land resources in the township is summarized in Table 4.

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TABLE 4. Agricultural Productivity by Size of Landholding

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Size of landholding (hectares)	*Weight of produce (kilograms)*	*Value of produce (pesos)*	*Land used (percentage)*
Less than 5 hectares			
Corn	200,000	120,000	83.
Wheat	29,000	27,550	16.8
Fruit	3,000	9,000	.2
1 hectare of ejido land			
Corn	319,688	223,781	49.
Corn (with beans)	30,320	21,224	6.
Beans (with corn)	14,000	17,360	
Wheat	185,580	181,580	28.
Beans	84,322	104,322	17.
More than 5 hectares			
Corn	67,388	45,117	34.
Corn (with beans)	96,550	68,108	51.
Beans (with corn)	42,985	56,740	
Alfalfa	350,000	42,000	4.6
Fruit	14,508	9,720	4.4
Other			6.

SOURCE: 1960 census, Mexico.

According to the 1960 census figures on productivity per hectare, privately owned plots under five hectares yield the highest return in corn (1,097 kgs. per hectare), privately owned plots over five hectares the next highest return (925 kgs. per hectare), and ejido plots of one hectare the least (810 kgs. per hectare). In the census evaluation of wheat and corn production on privately owned plots of less than five hectares, wheat apparently yields a higher return (807 pesos per hectare of wheat compared with 658 pesos per hectare of corn). This relative return is nearly the same for the corn produced on ejido lands (820 pesos per hectare return on wheat compared with 603 pesos for corn). However, this is figured at the maximum market price for wheat of 124 pesos per 100 kgs.

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432 was in a low gully where crops would not grow, and no one within the
609 community would buy it.
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Land is frequently pawned by farmers as security on a loan. The title to
423 the land is left with the lender, who can foreclose on the debt if the inter-
426 est payments of five percent per month are not paid. Often the land pawned may be worth far more than the loan. Loans in town are rarely backed with security, and if something is pawned, it is usually clothing or household items.

178 With the growing significance of ejido lands and land sale, inheritance
423 of land is of less importance in the economic expectations of each succes-
428 sive generation. The rules controlling inheritance are theoretically simple:
593 equal inheritance for all children regardless of sex. The parents usually give some land when the child establishes a separate household; the remainder is then given at the death of the parent or when old age makes it impossible for the parent to work any more. The youngest child remaining at home works his father's land, or if he is living with his wife's family, his father-in-law's land, until the latter's death. His family inherits the house site as well as an equal share of the privately held lands. Complications arise because of modifications of the basic rule of equal inheritance by provisions for care and maintenance of the aged parents. Frequent dis-
[692] putes over inheritance are settled in local courts or passed on to the De-
[647] partment of Indian Affairs in San Cristóbal.

The selection of which crop to grow is related to the kind and amount
241 of land a farmer owns. The most important crops are corn, beans, and wheat. Some squash and sugarcane are grown in the lower ejido lands of San Caralampio. Cabbage is grown by one Indian who possesses fertile irrigated lands in the center. Most Indians, however, are unwilling to undertake the risk of raising a cash crop since there is greater chance of the crop being stolen and they cannot afford a bad market price when they harvest.

241 Relating the size of holding to the crop grown, according to figures in
423 the Mexican census of 1960[3] (Table 4) one can see that in privately
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[659] 3. The census figures are based on estimates received from town officials, who submit them monthly to the census bureau. The officials of the town question the household heads as they see them in the streets or in their houses about how much seed they planted. They then estimate what the yield per almud for good and bad land is, from their own crops.

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base, so the farmers prefer to plant the better, quicker-growing corn seed 242
in a mixed sand and loam soil.

The final evaluation of land is based on results at harvest. The range of 242
variation is large: from 48 liters of yield per liter of seed to 80 litters of 433
yield per liter of seed. Township officials say that the average harvest is
five *fanegas* (1 fanega equals 12 liters) or 60 liters per liter of seed. Market [435]
prices are of less importance in deciding what crops will be planted than
are considerations of what the soil "wants" and what labor is involved.
Corn is grown on all kinds of land, whereas beans and special crops such
as cabbages can be grown only on the more fertile soil. Wheat can be
grown only where there is irrigation. One farmer raised cabbage in coop- [434]
eration with a Ladino and earned 1,000 pesos, four times the amount he
earned with his wheat crop the previous year. Despite the greater return
for cabbage, the farmer did not plant it the next year when the Ladino,
who had supported the first venture, withdrew his support. The reason he
gave for this was the fact that there was more work involved and he could
not accomplish it alone: first the crop had to be planted, then transplanted,
then irrigated every three days in the early growing period, and cultivated
two or three times; every eight days he had to get rid of worms. He esti- [461]
mated that growing cabbage involved well over four times the amount of
work necessary for growing corn.

Labor. Most agricultural work is performed by members of 592
households with exchange or hired labor. There is no specialization of 241
labor when the work force includes two or more men since the men 476
cooperate in doing each task. Communal labor is restricted to the mainte- 464
nance of the main irrigation ditches. Each year the ditches are dug out 241
where the sides have eroded and cleaned of brush and leaves. The presi- 621
dent and judges unite to decide on a time for this work and announce it 476
on a loudspeaker of one of the cantinas. This usually occurs around the
twenty-fifth of December. Formerly, all the men of the community helped
in this work whether or not they owned irrigated fields. In 1958 those who [178] [423]
did not own such land "got smart" and refused to work.

In 1962 the civil officials decided that a cement canal should be installed 653
near the source of the spring. They tried to finance it with contributions 621
423
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628 People with lands in hot country recount that during droughts the In-
796 dians from the neighboring town of Chamula have held rainmaking fies-
782 tas for which they solicit contributions from other Indians.

821 *The Chamulteco came to us and said, "Let all of us who have milpas*
731 *contribute five pesos for a fiesta." He brought the candles. In the little hill there the people brought drums and flute. We ate chickens and drank liquor. For eleven hours he prayed, and in the afternoon it rained.*

628 The *kuriketik*, rural inhabitants of the colonia of San Vicente who
241 migrated to Amatenango from Chanal, have no irrigated lands and de-
789 pend directly on rainfall throughout the growing season. Indians of the center know of their practice of sticking their digging sticks into the ground with the points toward the sky "to puncture the clouds" when they have planted their milpa, but they do not imitate this practice. Control over the supply of water in the irrigated lands has apparently led to the neglect of supernatural appeals even where the canals do not supply water. Under pressure of extended drought, they will resort to spiritual intercession through Chamula or Oxchuk practitioners in whom they have some faith.

241 Acquiring the protection of the gods does not obviate the practical activ-
796 ities necessary in the cultivation of crops. Fiestas for the saints are a repay-
782 ment for services rendered in watching over the milpa. The sponsorship of
796 fiestas for the saints by the community ensures the protection for all of the crops, and general crop failure due to drought or high winds is explained as a result of mismanagement of these community-wide fiestas. The offering of candles to the spiritual owner of one's own milpa is a kind of individual insurance policy for future crops as well as a repayment for the gift of the corn harvest. The peasant notion of surplus value is implicit in this reciprocal relation: the payment, or gift, of two candles to the milpa spirit is far less than the value of the harvest. But the account is balanced by the expenditure of this surplus in communal fiestas.

Pottery Production

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178 Making pottery has been a speciality of the town since pre-Conquest
172 days. The old site of the town contains sherds of pottery which is remarkably similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now.

000 bly similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now. Just as a
323 man defines himself as an agriculturalist, a woman defines herself as a pot-
462 ter. Men complain if their wives do not produce pottery, and I know of
[593] two cases of separation on the grounds that the woman was not fulfilling
[586] one of her functions as housewife by helping the family budget with pot-
[461] tery production. Most women like to make pottery: it helps them to pass the day, and they say they would be bored without it. Some of the women who have gone with their husbands for extended stays in hot country have tried to make pottery out of clays available there, but because of its inferior quality, they have not had much success. Unlike women of neighboring towns, the women of Tzoʔontahal usually do not accompany their husbands to the fincas "because they have their work at home."

323 *Making pottery.* The women make a wide variety of household
•178 and ceremonial objects, but the item which has the widest market distribution is the water storage jar (See Plate 7).[1] They introduce new items in response to local needs, such as the funnel used in channeling liquor into large containers from the retort of the still. One vessel which is disappearing from production is the large ceremonial cooking pot. The only woman who knew how to do this (or who admitted to knowing, since it is unpaid work) died in the 60s, and no one has replaced her. One woman who had a reputation for eccentricity, introduced several elaborate vases and ashtrays. Her creative imagination was best exemplified in a combined ashtray and vase which featured four frogs poised on the lip of the tray, presumably drinking from a fountain. Reina (1962–1963) has pointed out
[171] that women of the Guatemalan community of Chinautla who wish to be
[156] accepted in the community must limit themselves to conventional forms, and the same restriction seems to apply in Tzoʔontahal.

317 The women of a household work as a group in collecting clay and in
592 firing pottery. Clay is free since it is found in the communally owned hills
[323] on the perimeter of the town. It is collected preferably during the rainy
[423] season when it is easier to gather from the open gorges in which it is found, but if the supply runs out, other trips are made. All of the women of the household go, sometimes with neighbors or relatives in groups of
[482] five or six. They collect large clay balls weighing from forty to fifty pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline.

1 (see plates following p.198..Analyst)

pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline. The sand which is mixed with the clay is found nearby. In preparing it for use, the clay has to be chopped with a hatchet and soaked. A temper for cooking pots is made of ground sandstone, called *baš*. This is found near the border of the neighboring town of Aguacatenango, and sometimes Indians of that town bring pieces which they exchange for a soup bowl or other small pottery item. 317 323 [438]

Variation in the color of the clay—it may be white, white mixed with yellow, true yellow, black, or blue-green—provides the basis for discerning its quality. The white clay is thought to be best since it doesn't break as much in firing. The preferred clay is very soft, and the women test deposits by feeling them with their hands.

The rhythm of work is regular. Children under three years of age climb on their mother's back or lap or sometimes stand by her side nursing. The women do not interrupt their work when this happens, although they may shift their body to accommodate the child. In the organization of work, there is no discussion of what is to be done or who will do it. Orders are given only to the young children. When the women are working, all motions which would require a break in activity are assigned to children who bring unfinished pots to be worked on and shoo away chickens or dogs. The standardization of production rhythm is evidenced in the uniformity in time required for each operation. Timing one potter's production of 10 *apastes* (soup bowls) on two different days, I found that she spent one hour and 10 minutes for each set, an average of 11 minutes per pot. Another woman made a *comal* (platter) in 26 minutes and a second one in 28 minutes. A pair of larger bowls produced by another woman took 15 minutes each. 323 461 [855] [857]

The continuity in tradition of pottery production stems from a tightly organized behavioral schema with defined units of motion and stages of production. I follow Piaget in his definition of behavioral schema which Flavell (1963:54) has summarized as follows: 323 [178]

> Thus, an action sequence, if it is to constitute a schema, must have a certain cohesiveness and must maintain its identity as a quasi-stable, repeatable unit. It must possess component actions which are tightly 121

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perienced potter in the household, sometimes with the help of a trainee. 323
Older women prefer doing the lighter tasks, such as putting on the han- 461
dles and mouth or applying the slip of watered clay, to raising the sides which requires greater force and exertion of the back muscles. A second basis for the division of labor is the kind of item produced: older women for example, make bowls in preference to large water jugs and containers.

Learning to make pottery. A girl begins to make pottery about 323
the age of eleven. First she makes small replicas of the articles her mother 868
produces. Then, under her mother's direction, she learns to prepare the clay. The mother feels the clay with her fingers, telling her daughter to add more sand if this is lacking. She is taught to knead the clay three times. In making the pot, the most difficult phases are mixing the clay, forming the base, and rounding out the walls of the vessel as it is raised. The child is expected to learn slowly and is encouraged gently to improve each step. While the child works on her first pot, the mother makes a similar one; three or four times they exchange vessels, and the mother shapes her daughter's pot into a better form.

About two generations ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve 582
were the rule. Since most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques 178
begins at that age, pottery was taught to the bride by her mother-in-law if 323
she resided in her husband's house (Blom and La Farge 1927). Most mar- [606]
riages now are contracted for girls from fourteen to seventeen years of age.
By this time they are already proficient potters and accustomed to working [593]
with their mothers. Therefore there is greater stress on their remaining in [591]
or near the parental home after marriage.

The pottery is fired in the streets of the town outside the house, usually 323
after the women have made four or five dozen items. The pots are set on planks forming a rough square around the fire in the center. Charcoal is added to the fire as the brush or corn husks set between the pots begin to burn. The women tend the pots, turning them every five minutes until the surface is well dried and hardened. Wood is added to the fire, and then the jugs are stacked in a pyramid, each one protected from the one it touches with a broken piece of pottery. The stacking is crucial to permit even firing and must be done carefully so that none are broken. Once the

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have recently sought additional lands in the ejido of Brindis to meet these minimal requirements. This preference for expanding subsistence agriculture to hiring out as laborers is the best index to the persistence of traditional economic pursuits. 423 433 178 241 464

Farmers who do not have a cash crop in wheat may be forced to sell corn even when there is no surplus. Because they usually need the cash as soon as they harvest their crop, they must sell when the prices are low. Thus their consumption needs exacerbate the disadvantage they face in the market. 434 435

Clothing, whether traditional or modern in style, requires cash outlays. Women have kept the traditional costume while men are modifying their clothing. Even when they go to hot country, older women wear the heavy cotton skirt bound with a thick sash and topped by an embroidered blouse; some younger women have adopted the long cotton dirndl skirt and peasant blouse. A white cotton shawl is added for ceremonial events or for warmth in the evening. All of their clothing is either bought or made of materials woven on looms in Comitán or San Bartolomé. The navy blue skirt, which they say is black, and the red and yellow sash are sold for 40 to 50 pesos by Ladina vendors who come to town. The blouse is made from two meters of heavy white cotton sold in the local stores or in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. Most prefer the more expensive cotton woven on bed looms in San Bartolomé, but it is not always available. They embroider the wide bands of yellow and red around the neckline with embroidery floss sold in the local store. The fringed shawl from Comitán is also sold locally, but is often purchased during the annual fiestas in the town. These items are replaced every two or three years, depending on the wealth of the family. The newer clothing is worn on ceremonial occasions, and the older clothing is worn every day. Women wear sandals and hats for protection only when they are firing pottery. For jewelry they wear bead necklaces, sometimes with crosses attached. Their hair is braided with ribbons for fiestas, or simply left hanging when they work. 434 291 178 [439] [435] [294] [292] [051] [301] [302]

Men buy a woolen jacket called *ḳotonču*, which is brought illegally from the Department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala, where it is made, 434 291 439

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434 and sold in Comitán. It is the same as the costume worn by the Indians of
291 that area. A similar garment is made in Comitán but is considered infe-
[439] rior to the contraband product. Shirts and wrapped trousers made of
coarse cotton are stitched and sold in Teopisca. The trousers are bound
291 with a red woven sash. These items make up the modified costume worn
by most of the boys and men. Men over sixty wear a long, coarsely woven
shirt with a slashed neck made in San Bartolomé. This is caught at the
waist with a woven band and worn over short trousers. In the evening or
during ceremonies the kotonču is always worn. The older men wear
high-backed sandals attached to rubber-tire soles with thongs, while
younger men wear the *huarache* of crossed leather bands secured to a rub-
ber-tire sole found in many parts of Mexico. Increasingly men are taking
[177] on the western clothing worn by Ladinos—the belted cotton trousers,
shirt, and underclothing sold in the local store and in the neighboring
towns. In 1957, only a half-dozen men, all of them former students in the
boarding school established in Cárdenas' term of office, wore this dress,
but today over twenty middle-aged men and dozens of youths in their
[177] teens wear it. Those who wear modern clothing have substituted a zip-
pered "air-force" jacket for the kotonču. All men wear factory-made straw
[292] hats, under which, on ceremonial occasions, they wear a red bandanna
bound over the forehead and tied at the nape of the neck. A high-crowned
[194] palm hat with black designs, ordered by the alfereces when they enter of-
[292] fice, used to be woven by a few specialists; now only one man can make
[178] them.

291 The changing styles in men's clothing reflect three stages of acculturation.
177 The older style worn by elders is said to be the costume worn by the
ancestors who live in the cave. Since all of the items are and have for some
time been purchased from outside the town, the changing pattern of con-
sumption—the change from modified peasant to ladino-style clothing—has
not affected local production.

Girl's wear a machine-embroidered peasant blouse and a mid-calf gathered skirt made of cotton or rayon and purchased in the neighboring towns. They change to the woman's costume when they reach their teens. Boys wear the same clothing as their fathers, except for the old costume. Table 12 shows the cost for these items.

ered to be dirty since the pigs and dogs cannot scavenge the feces. Mothers train their children to have bowel movements in the evening when darkness offers them privacy in the houseyard.

Changes in house types in the seven-year period from my first census in 1958 to the second in 1964 are tabulated in Table 14. There has been a general improvement in the standards: tile roofs have increased from 1 to 20.1 percent. The increase has been at the expense of both wood shingle (declined 8.3 percent) and of thatch and palm leaf (declined 9.8 percent).

TABLE 14. Types of House Construction

	1958 *		1964 †	
	Number of houses	*Percent of all houses*	*Number of houses*	*Percent of all houses*
Roofs				
Tile	1	1	58	20
Shingle	27	23	41	14
Thatch or palm	87	76	190	66
Walls				
Board plank	17	15	66	23
Wattle and daub	98	85	223	77
Sweatbath				
Have	60	52	120	42
Have not	54	47	169	58
Unknown	1	1		

* Based on sample of 115 houses.
† Based on total survey of houses in center with 22 unspecified.

The numbers of houses with wood plank walls has increased from 14.8 percent to 22.8 percent. This is a temporary arrangement, and the planks are usually replaced with wattle and daub, so the increase may simply reflect new construction. The percentage of houses having sweatbaths has declined from 52.1 to 41.5. No new sweatbaths have been made for the last ten years or so, and many of those recorded are not in use.

The changes in housing type reflect the greater prosperity of the town as well as the increasing receptivity to outside influence. The increase in tile roofs means a greater dependency on external markets. Ten years before the final census, a man who put on a tile roof feared the consequences of witchcraft.

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342 177 178 434 of witchcraft. Today probably 95 percent of the new roofs are made of tile. Often the old roofs cannot be replaced with tile because the rafters were not built to support them. One result of the change has been the dependence on a carpenter to construct the gables, since they have to be lined up more accurately than they do with thatch or palm roofs. [335]

361 351 434 House lots in the town center are preferred to those on the margins. As residents of house sites on the ejido lands at the margins of the town acquire wealth, one of the first things they try to do is acquire a house closer to the plaza. These lots are smaller, averaging about 500 square meters, while those farther out average 900 square meters. In a sample measurement of 100 house lots, the size ranged from 180 to 1,440 square meters, and the average size was 77 square meters. Considering the advantages of a large lot in growing chile fruits and corn, the preference for smaller central lots reveals the strong prestige factor influencing choice. [554]

352 435 House furnishings include both purchased and homemade items. Sleeping accommodations consist of wooden bedboards, either nailed on a frame or simply laid on blocks and covered with a straw mat. Woolen blankets from Comitán are sold locally at a price of 24 pesos or for 20 pesos in San Cristóbal and 18 pesos in Comitán. Most households own two or three wooden benches which line the walls of the porch and are made locally. Small chairs are purchased from Chamula carpenters at a cost of 2 to 4 pesos, as well as a small table costing about 4. A higher table is provided for the saints' pictures and candle holders, incense burner, and flower vases or tin cans. Hooks are fashioned from the crotch of trees and suspended on the house posts. Wooden boxes are bought from Ladino carpenters in San Cristóbal at a cost of 10 to 20 pesos depending on size and workmanship and are used to store clothing. In addition to the homemade water holders, water carriers, comales, strainers, and bowls, handmade glazed ware from San Cristóbal, factory-made porcelain dishes, metal cooking pots, knives, and spoons are purchased. Gourds provide serving ware for ceremonial occasions. Stone grinding platforms and rollers are purchased in San Cristóbal for about 10 pesos. Two new items have become increasingly popular in the past five years: a metal grinding machine for corn, hand operated and costing from 40 to 60 pesos depending on the size and quality, and a hinged press for tortillas, costing 15 pesos if made [513] [778] [322] 415 435 439 [412] 435 415 177

of metal and 10 pesos if made of wood. These are lined with waxed paper, which the local storekeeper cuts from cracker-box wrappers and sells for 5 cents each. 435 415 177

Electricity, first used in the cooperative store and later in the liquor shops, is now being installed in houses. 83 families had electricity installed in their homes by 1967. Street lights have been in operation since 1966, although the first attempt to install them was blocked by residents on the streets to be lighted who did not want to pay the tax of 1 peso per month per household to meet the cost to the community of 75 pesos a month. Most people have a flashlight, and lighting in the house is provided by pitch pine or by small kerosene lamps. Candles are used only in ceremonies. 365 [651] 354 [416]

The inventory of items sold in the cooperative store in town includes the most frequently purchased items of consumption. Hardward includes buckets, hoes, kerosene lamps, batteries, Gillette blades, shotgun bullets, canned goods such as sardines, chiles, and powdered milk. Packaged foods include rice, sugar, salt, oatmeal, cornstarch, flour, coffee, biscuits, cookies, gum, and candy. Beer is sold along with soft drinks and cigarettes. Household supplies include candles, soap, D.D.T. powder, thread, matches, and kerosene. Medicines dispensed most frequently include sulphur pills, aralin, Desenfriol, Alka-Seltzer, and Sonrisal. Yard goods for shawls, children's wraps, and men's clothing are sold along with manufactured shirts, blouses for girls, and rubber capes. Eggs as well as money are taken in payment and then sold. Except for one can of Chocomilk, which sat on the shelves for a year, all of the items are in constant demand, and provide an index to the level of living and dependency on external markets. 444 [436]

The preferences in changing consumption are limited by communal standards of what is appropriate. I once asked a man who was acquiring more than the usual income by brokerage activities what he would buy with more money. He replied, "I would get more land and cattle." I interrupted to ask what he would do to improve his standard of living. "I wouldn't get better clothing—what would I need that for? I would get a house built with good materials like this [the government-built clinic] with a cement floor. But I couldn't get it now because of envy. When my children grow up, they [the neighbors] will see them working and maybe 434 178 177 [156]

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434 178 177 I can get one then. Last year I bought a transistor radio for nine hundred and ninety pesos. My wife said she would leave me if I got it because all [053] the children would get sick. But I got it anyway and no one was sick. I am stronger than my enemies."

Innovation on the consumption level is adding a stimulus to innovation in economic activities. The successful innovator must invent a rationale for his improved standards of living and then prove that he can survive the possible evil consequences of envy. The process of adoption is one of a shift in the incidence of choices made in the direction of improving levels of living. The new is often incorporated with the old rather than replacing it. For example, after the rough preparation has been done with the mill, [252] grinding stones are used for the final grinding of corn to get the dough [415] into the preferred consistency for making tortillas. Tin plates are used along with crockery and gourds. Some items are linked in change: for ex- [291] ample, tailored pants are worn only with buttoned shirts and belts and [096] with zippered jackets. The old forms are continued in a ceremonial con- [415] text: kotonču is preferred when a man undertakes an official role, and gourds are preferred to any other container for ceremonial foods. The technology of production lags behind the changes in consumption that have increased the need for greater income—agricultural tools have not been modified since the colonial period when the wooden plow, metal hoe, machete, and plow used with draft animals were added. Changes in consumption needs rather than in productive technology are expanding the economic horizons of the Indians.

Choices and Strategies in Agricultural Production

241 In agricultural and pottery production, decision-making concerning the use of land and labor resources is controlled not only by a traditional technology but more importantly by a given state of cognitive orientations that determines, in Goodenough's words (1966:54), "what states of affairs they have learned to discern, what they believe to be the relations between them, and what they understand to be the processes by which one state can be transformed into another." Agriculturalists have a fine perception

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of what seeds grow best in which soils. Good, fast-growing seed is not 241
sowed indiscriminately but is limited to use on more fertile irrigated 242
lands. The size of a family's holdings is the primary factor in deciding
what proportion of the three major crops—corn, beans, and wheat—they [423]
will grow. Where they grow each of these crops depends upon the quality of the soil categorized by topological criteria, consistency, color, and proved fertility. Decline in productivity is attributed to wearing out of soil fertility because of overuse as well as to loss of the soul of crops. The first explanation leads to adaptive behavior, in which the land is "rested" or turned over to cattle grazing, and to crop rotation, alternating wheat and corn crops. The second explanation leads to adjustive behavior in which the agriculturalist takes care of ceremonial obligations to the saints and to the "owner of the milpa."

The scheduling of activities is determined by the knowledge of time re- 241
quired for maturing of the crop and by expectations concerning seasonal fluctuations as they affect rainfall. Although the farmers have some control
over water supply through irrigation, dependence on rainfall for the non- [182]
irrigated fields means that sporadic appeals to the ancestors or saints are [176]
made to ensure rain in the growing period. These rituals are not as inte- [169]
grated in the agricultural production cycle as they are in the neighboring [171]
towns of Chamula and Oxchuk or in the colonia of San Vicente where irrigation facilities are lacking.

Traditional techniques of pottery production are maintained by a tightly 323
organized schema of procedures which allows for little variation in technique or form. Learning of productive techniques is facilitated by a fine segmentation of tasks. Knowledge of local clays and tempering has been stabilized for at least five hundred years of occupation in this area. Women's work is entirely lacking in rituals to ensure the success of their efforts.

These given sets of cognitive orientations in economic activities do not 241
exclude the possibility of considering new ways or means of doing things. 177
Agriculturalists have tried the new seed introduced by agronomists, but 178
have found them wanting in their resistance to mold, in the case of corn, and in their portability, in the case of wheat. Fertilizers have been tried, but the credit costs proved too high for the agriculturalists to continue.
Women were willing to try a kiln in place of open firing, but either the 177
model introduced was faulty or they were not 323
taught to use it properly.

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model introduced was faulty or they were not taught to use it properly. Notions about the supernatural relation between souls of crops, man, and the saints do not interfere with experimentation or adaptation at the instrumental level. Obligations with respect to them are carried on as a supplement to other practical measures.

The organization of men's work in agriculture contrasts with that of women's work in pottery. Men's work, when performed cooperatively by two or more of an extended household or exchange labor team, is mechanically organized, in Durkheim's terminology. Each of the men does the same task, working closely in the rows of the milpa. Women's work groups are organically organized since segmentation of the pottery production in the stages described above makes possible specialization within a domestic production group including two or more women. Preferences and special abilities can be taken into account. The potters with more experience do the jobs which require more judgement and skill, such as mixing the clay or making the bases, and then the work is passed on to less proficient workers. Or an older woman can leave the more strenuous tasks, such as mixing clay or building up the sides of the larger pots, to younger women and perform the lighter tasks, such as putting on the neck and handles.

These differences in the organization of male and female work tasks suggest the need for a reformulation of the classification of whole societies as organically or mechanically integrated. In assessing the potential for change, internal variations in the organization of production might provide the clues for implementing development programs.

The division of labor according to sex is nearly absolute: women do not learn to work in the milpa nor do men learn to make pottery or perform household tasks. However, women will gather firewood, and men will transport clay (although they do not collect the clay deposits in balls) and help in firing pottery. Women can live without men in the household economy of the town, but men cannot live without women. This is because male labor is a market commodity while female labor in household activities is not. A widow can hire a man to work her fields, but a man cannot hire a cook. If he is widowed, he must remarry, move into his

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Chapter 3

New Economic Activities

43 The role of the Indian in the regional and national economy is being
44 shaped more and more by supralocal institutions in public and private en-
177 terprises. The Indians of Tzoʔontahal have mobilized their own resources
178 to incorporate these opportunities. In this they reveal a selective perception of the economic and social advantages of innovation and a tendency to translate form and function into a local idiom. The success of planning at national or regional levels depends upon incorporation of projects at local levels, while the survival of the local group depends upon acceptance of
178 the new opportunities to absorb rising populations.

177 The major institutional settings in which innovation is occurring are
423 (1) the ejido program, (2) employment in agricultural and nonagricul-
464 tural enterprises outside of the community, and (3) economic enterprises
43 originating within the community. My discussion of the economic potential of the local community to adapt to change will be organized in terms of these settings.

The Economic Potential of the Ejido

423

Mexico's ejido program, as one of the oldest and most extensive attempts at land reform in the hemisphere, provides a basis for assessing the economic potential of such programs. Here I shall consider only the effects of ejido administration in the community and what this case illustrates of the potential for development in the future.

Manuel Giraul (quoted in de la Peña 1951:327) summarizes the negative effects of the ejido program:

> In Mexico, the ejido system constitutes an institutionalized block to the reform of the social and economic structure; it corresponds to a

T
661 *us 65 pesos per bag. It was the first time we had used it and we had very*
652 *good crops. We got together and decided not to pay for the fertilizer. We*
621 *called the bank agents and requested that we be relieved of the charge be-*
571 *cause the crops had failed. We showed him a milpa which is a low plot*
241 *that is too wet for a good crop. We just throw the seed there, but don't work on it because it isn't worth the trouble.*

T
[693] *We went to a lawyer in Tuxtla. He told us the bank would have to pay for the fertilizer since they had promised it. The lawyer is the helper of* the campesinos [*poor farmers*].

T
178 Several points of significance can be noted in this case: (1) the Indians
661 are reluctant to take credit risks because of unfortunate experiences in the
621 past; (2) they react to deception with their own deceptions, showing the
571 engineer the land which had not only not been fertilized but had never
[426] been weeded or cared for; and (3) they seek professional legal aid in deal-
[693] ing with government agents in order to equalize the contest in which they feel disadvantaged. These first two behavioral syndromes are culturally

T
[177] conditioned responses; the third represents an innovation. By seeking
[178] professional aid for which they pay a fee, the Indians are breaking the monopoly of power held by the caciques to whom they were formerly bound in a network of personal obligations incurred in such transactions.

M
423 Recent colonization of national lands since the 1950s has introduced a
361 new kind of ejido settlement. Since most of the lands contiguous to settled towns were absorbed in the early days of the ejido grant, movement has been into lands outside the domain of established centers. This spontaneous colonization of unexploited land has followed the penetration of

M
[491] new highways in Quintana Roo, Campeche, Chiapas, Tabasco, and Vera Cruz (de la Peña 1951:348). In defense of their rights to the new lands, the

M
423 colonists, often of diverse origins, develop a political consciousness. Mesti-
621 zos and Indians of different towns work together in securing official ejido
563 status for their lands. Acculturation to the national language and ways of
[197] life is much greater in these mixed centers than in the settled populations that were part of the original ejido tracts. Consciousness of their rights

M
641 under national law and independence from traditional loyalties means that
563 these new settlements may be the basis for welding Indians into the na-

273 472 cause of the limited capital involved and the fear of discovery with the expansion of the enterprise. A loose syndicate of distillers provides an insur-
273 548 661 ance protection by raising fines for members who are apprehended by federal agents. Security measures are taken to avoid discovery, and the presence of a federal agent is announced in Tzeltal on the loudspeaker system of one of the bars. One federal agent is on the payroll of the four operating bar owners, who give him 5 pesos a week to avoid legal action on the sale of contraband liquor. Individual distillers pay the tariff of 10 pesos or two liters of liquor a year to the civil officials and to the ejido commission, a tariff justified by the fact that they use wood from communally owned land to cook the sugar. The syndicate is a community-wide organization, mobilized in emergencies only.

The New Social Resources

177 178 43 44 621 156 In the course of operating the new enterprises, knowledge of and experience with supralocal institutions and agents are developing social resources in (1) entrepreneurship, (2) management of capital and credit, (3) knowledge of markets, and (4) dealing with government agencies. In entering into these new economic activities, the Indians have not lost a sense of belonging to the local community. Self-identification as poor, indigenous farmers is both a screen of protection and a means of ensuring continuity with local control systems.

472 621 156 *Entrepreneurship.* Local entrepreneurs explain their motivation in a rhetoric which emphasizes their interest in community welfare. This validates entering into nontraditional activities, but retaining their position in local society inhibits the expansions of their activities. The case of Santos,
159 472 621 45 the promoter of the trucking cooperative is instructive. Santos had picked up some accounting techniques while he served in the army in Michoacán. He returned to the village because his father walked from Chiapas to Michoacán to tell him he should come back and get married. When he returned, he kept careful account of his costs and returns from the milpa. He realized soon that it wasn't "worth his work" (the Indian has not as yet learned the idiom or the value system which goes into the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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usual, and seeing the pesos, picked them up. The "spirit of the money" left the village forever. The story reveals not only the sense of deprivation Indians feel in losing wealth to Ladinos (historically land the Indians had lost through fraud or legal trickery during the Porfirio Diaz period), but also their realization of their own responsibility for letting their assets slip out of their control.

Payment of interest on money borrowed is justified in the calculations of the Indians for loans made within as well as outside of the community. Interest, called *shol tak'in,* or "head" of money, makes it possible for the borrower to work, and thus to earn, so the "owner" has the right to charge for the use. The rate on loans made within the pueblo has risen from 2 or 3 pesos a month for 100 pesos to 5 pesos, thus equalizing the rate with that charged in the neighboring Ladino town. The same rate is applied between relatives as nonkin. The advantage of intracommunity borrowing is that the lender does not demand an immediate return, or as high security. Ladinos of the neighboring town tend to demand items of greater value than the debt held as security—one Ladino held title to land worth 1,000 pesos for a 50-peso debt, and threatened to foreclose. Within the pueblo, security of about the same value as the loan is asked except in the case of neighbors and relatives who can be reminded every day of the debt. And they are.

Markets. In marketing, the Indians of Tzo'ontahal have neither extended nor gained control over the selling and buying operations that have been pursued since before the opening of the Pan-American Highway in 1955. The pottery which is produced locally was formerly carried on horseback to the smaller towns within a radius of fifty miles. The pottery was marketed directly by the men of the household which produced it, with no specialization in trading by commercial travelers, as had happened in the Zapotec and other areas of Mexico. Since the penetration of the Pan-American Highway, the men take the pottery produced in their households by bus or on the trucks to either San Cristóbal or Comitán. This tends to polarize trading operations and dry up the traffic into small towns not connected by the highway. As a result, the wholesale trade in San Cristóbal and Comitán has increased in the past decade, with dealers

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178 coming from the smaller towns to buy. The Indians still bring pottery to
442 sell retail in towns that they visit during a fiesta. One of these is the barrio
443 of Lok'ibal in the município of Villa Carranza, where people go on the third Friday of Lent to get holy water from the spring.

The Indians have not taken advantage of the truck to buy pottery wholesale and market it directly in the smaller towns, selling from the truck in the plaza as some of the wholesale fruit truckers do. Another operation which they have failed to profit from is buying the wheat harvest and selling to government warehouses, as some of the Ladino truckers do.

44 Lack of capital is the major reason for failure to exploit these opportuni-
471 ties. In marketing the contraband liquor, which is the most flourishing of
273 the new enterprises, the Indians have not yet entered into the external
443 markets except in the case of one young unmarried mother. Wholesale
434 purchases are made by Ladinos, primarily women, from other towns who resell the liquor in Comitán and on the coast. There is however, a well-de-
[675] veloped home market since all contracts are sealed with the offering of liq-
[681] uor, the "gift of the gods," all court fines are paid in liquor, and the main
[583] gift in betrothal is liquor. The cantinas with phonograph players opened
[275] by the cooperatives operate very successfully on Saturday night and during
[216] fiestas. The internal market for liquor is controlled by a syndicate of the
[548] forty-two independent liquor distillers. The price is set at 4 pesos per liter
[435] for all buyers, with the buyer providing the bottle.

Agricultural production is not geared to a market, and Indians do not
241 take advantage of fluctuations in price. Wheat yields a lower return per
442 unit of land than corn, but it is grown for two reasons: the Indians believe
443 that crop rotation of corn and wheat prevents depletion of the soil, and wheat requires less work since no cultivation is needed. Wheat is a cash crop and none of it is milled or consumed directly in town. Poor families sell their wheat "standing" to Teopisca truckers. The price given the
[435] grower is usually about 90 pesos per hundred kilograms, and it is resold at 110 or 120 pesos in Tuxtla or to the government storehouses. Wheat is sometimes brought directly to San Cristóbal millers who give 120 per hundred kilograms. Corn is primarily a subsistence crop when grown in the center. Corn grown in hot country ejido land is now sold in Teopisca and
[489] San Cristóbal. The local truck cooperative has a special permit which gives

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474 The strategies the cooperative members have developed in their frequent
648 tangles with state police illustrate the combination of custom and innova-
661 tion. When caught red-handed, they may respond by playing the stereotype Indian role. "We don't know anything. We are just poor Indians. How do you expect us to do what the law says?" This is hard for the Ladino authorities to resist, since it feeds their own sense of superiority. But it does not always work, and so the Indians have devised secondary resources. They put the departmental police at each terminal of their usual route between Las Casas and Comitán on a regular monthly mordida pay-
[693] roll of 50 pesos each. When trying to extend their operations, they hire a lawyer. A recent coup has been the acquisition of a permit to truck corn from Villa las Rosas and other ejido settlements that have been recently colonized. The appeal was made on the basis that they are a nonprofit cooperative of ejidatarios. With the permit, they now undercut the price of their own competitors in the town as well as of the large companies. Law-
474 yers are beginning to advertise themselves in newspapers as "Friends of
693 the Indians" and are in some cases specializing in this new patronage, which they receive from other communities as well as Tzoʔontahal. The professional relationship bypasses personal ties which formerly limited the development of Indian leadership.

177 The self-development occurring in Tzoʔontahal may appear paradoxical
178 if we do not understand the internal dynamics by which change is con-
474 tained within an existing equilibrium. The cooperative association has
621 been adopted as a technique for socializing the risk of making a profit.
648 The truck, although currently used in an uneconomic operation, is a sym-
[493] bol of power in the struggle for a position in the regional markets and in the intracommunity factional strifes. The usual patron-client system is being reversed as the Indian puts the Ladino on his payroll to secure evasion from the law. In the changes which are occuring, the defensive structure of the corporate community is a means by which the Indians are entering into national life not on the lowest rung of the social ladder, but on terms they are setting for themselves. In the new enterprises, the Indians combine old ploys with new strategies. Confronted with legal threats from the outside world, they play the colonial game of defensive ignorance.

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When this fails, they turn to the professional help of lawyers rather than to the old caciques with whom they had formerly maintained patron-client relations. The traditional structural alignment of upper and lower barrios is retained as the basis for organizing the growing cattle herds, but the cooperative provides flexibility and power for developing new enterprises.

The minimal changes in the material environment and the technology of the peasantry are countered by the development of social resources which should facilitate Indian integration in the wider society. In operating the new enterprises independently of Ladino control, they are developing entrepreneurial skills and an awareness of the relationship between capital and profit. The restriction of their operations to nonproductive use of capital for profit, such as buying crops at harvest and reselling as the price rises, reveals the limited dynamics of intracommunal development. The town will look to the regional and national networks for fundamental changes in its economy.

The fear of exciting envy acts as a brake on productive activity and the enjoyment of improved consumption resulting from wealth. Santos' death is a symbolic warning to others who would follow in his footsteps. An earlier case occurred when the ejido land grants were made in the 30s:

The brothers Ča?iletik became "very rich" as a result of careful operation of their ejido and privately owned land. They owned ten pair of oxen and about fifty horses. When they brought in their crops on horseback, it looked like a line of ants. They built a good house in Alkob', and a good threshing shelter. The people of the town began to talk about getting them off the land. The ejido commissioner took their land away and turned it over to others in the town. Until this day, the brothers Ča?iletik are without land. Now they do no more than work like other men. They live poorly. All their cattle and horses are sold.

The organization of the cooperatives is one means of diverting envy directed against individuals and permitting some increase in productive efforts, but the society still lacks the means of validating higher consumption standards. The richest man in town eats better than his neighbors,

but his style of living is indistinguishable from theirs. The only difference is the larger number of dogs he[1] keeps to guard his wealth stored in the form of surplus crops in the eaves of his house.

The kind of economic change occurring in Tzo'ontahal fits the model of a moving equilibrium. Tightly controlled behavioral schema preserve the traditional productive activities in pottery and agriculture. They provide the framework into which the new enterprises are fit. Increasing dependence of cosumption choices on external markets is slowly transforming the content but not the pattern of community life. This kind of change is limited to societies that form a distinct corporate group. In an open society where many alternatives are available, the painful process of accommodation of the new to a customary pattern would probably not be undertaken given the tendency for social change to follow the course of least resistence. The absorption of economic innovation in Tzo'ontahal illustrates the ability of closed corporate communities to participate in commercial undertakings and reformulate them to fit their own pattern.

[1] [i.e., the richest man in town. - Analyst]

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591
593 parents. This role is institutionalized and the youngest child is referred to
[192] as *k'oJ*, the last one.

591
593 The choice of residence after marriage is influenced by the following
182 factors:

1. The couple live with whatever family has less pressure from immature siblings remaining in the household. If there is no other child in one family, there is a strong likelihood that the new family will remain in that household.

591
182 2. If there is any wealth difference, the couple tends to live with the richer family. "Wealthy" families prefer to have their children live
434 near them and will make an effort to build a house within their compound or nearby.

Table 15. Trends in Household Composition, 1958–1964

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	Alannantik		*Ahk'olnantik*		*Total*	
Family type	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*
Remained the same						
Nuclear	49	76	38	57	87	67
Virilocal	7	11	11	16	18	14
Uxorilocal	4	6	7	11	11	9
Joint sib	1	2	1	2	2	1
Grandparent-grandchild	1	2	2	3	3	2
Incomplete	2	3	7	11	9	7
Total	64	100	66	100	130	100
Percent of all families		44		34		39
New families created						
Nuclear	16	89	48	88	64	88
Uxorilocal	1	5.5	1	2	2	3
Incomplete	1	5.5	6	10	7	9
Total	18	100	55	100	73	100
Percent of all families		12		28		21
Families which changed *	64	44	74	38	138	40
Total number of families	146	100	195	100	341	100

* Direction of change indicated in Table 16.

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Changes in the household composition in the period from 1958 to 1964 between the two censuses I made in the field indicate some of the trends toward nuclear family units or bilaterally-rather than predominantly patrilineally-extended units (Tables 15 and 16). Comparisons are made between the same household in each period. Comparison of family forms in the six-year period indicates a high rate of change, with 39 percent remaining the same and 40 percent changing. The remaining 21 percent are the newly created families. The direction of change favors nuclear families (40 cases or 29 percent of changes) and virilocal forms (27 cases or 20 percent of changes). Nuclear families were the most stable, with 62 remaining the same and 62 changing to another form. This contrasts with uxorilocal households which are the least stable, with 11 cases remaining the same and 23 changing, and virilocal households which follow a similar pattern with 14 cases remaining the same and 25 changing. Nuclear families account for 88 percent of the new families created by marriage in the period studied. The trend is toward a greater proportion of nuclear families, as measured by the various indices.

TABLE 16. Direction of Change in Household Composition, 1958–1964

	Alannantik		*Ahk'olnantik*		*Total*	
Family type	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*
Change to nuclear from						
Virilocal	14	22	4	5	18	13
Uxorilocal	5	8	9	12	14	10
Joint sib			1	1	1	1
Grandparent-Grandchild			1	1	1	1
Incomplete	1	2	3	4	4	3
Unknown			2	3	2	1
Total	20	32	20	26	40	29
Change to virilocal from						
Nuclear	8	12	10	14	18	13
Uxorilocal	2	3	1	1	3	2
Joint sib			1	1	1	1
Incomplete	1	2	4	5	5	4
Total	11	17	16	21	27	20

(*cont.*)

[P.106]

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Family type	Alannantik No. of families	Alannantik Percent of total families	Ahk'olnantik No. of families	Ahk'olnantik Percent of total families	Total No. of families	Total Percent of total families
Change to uxorilocal from						
Nuclear	4	6	4	5	8	6
Virilocal	1	2	1	1.5	2	1
Joint sib			1	1.5	1	.7
Grandparent-grandchild			1	1.5	1	.7
Incomplete			1	1.5	1	.7
Unknown			1	1.5	1	.7
Total	5	8	9	12.5	14	10
Change to joint sib from						
Nuclear	1	2			1	.7
Virilocal			1	1.5	1	.7
Uxorilocal			1	1.5	1	.7
Total	1	2	2	3	3	2
Change to grandparent-grandchild from						
Nuclear			1	1.5	1	.7
Total			1	1.5	1	1
Change to incomplete from						
Nuclear	8	12	4	5	12	9
Virilocal	1	2	1	1.5	2	1.4
Uxorilocal	2	3	1	1.5	3	2
Joint sib	1	2			1	1
Unknown			2	3	2	1.4
Total	12	19	8	11	20	15
Change to disintegrated from						
Nuclear	11	17	10	14	21	15
Virilocal	2	3			2	1.4
Uxorilocal			2	3	2	1.4
Grandparent-grandchild			2	3	2	1.4
Incomplete	1	2	4	5	5	4
Total	14	22	18	25	32	23
Change to avunculocal from						
Nuclear	1	2			1	1
Total	64	100	74	100	138	100

Chapter 6

Curing and the Curers

Sickness is a sign of upset relations between the spirits or people and those of relatives, neighbors, or places. In the curing ritual, the curers not only treat the disease, but also try to bring about spiritual readjustment by dramatizing the ill effects of animosity. Because they claim to be able to counteract witchcraft, the curers exercise a great deal of power. This power is limited by institutional requirements controlling entry into the profession and exercise of their skill and knowledge. The breakdown in the authority of elder curers during my study of the community, and their attempts to reinstate themselves, made explicit some of the structural principles of the institution.

The Curing Hierarchy

Recruitment into the hierarchy. Until the 1950s, each side of the dual division had an age-ranked order of curers and recognized the leadership of a single elder, called *statal ?u?ul.* The older, more experienced curers, called the *b'ankilal,* or elder brothers, had authority over the novice curers, called the *?ihtz'inal,* or younger brothers. With the breakdown of the hierarchy during my stay, this distinction was becoming less clear. In 1964 there were seven curers in Alannantik and six in Ahk'olnantik; on a return visit I made in 1967, their numbers had been reduced by homicide and exile to five in Alannantik and five in Ahk'olnantik.

Entry into the profession occurs during an epidemic when the civil authority calls upon the curers to gather in the town hall to determine who is bringing the "heat" that causes death from disease. The curers decide whether there are any promising young men who have the third soul, swayohel, which gives them the ability to cure. If a young man is deemed

"He looked for trouble!" Domingo replied. 159
I said, "You killed my husband!" 756
He said, "It was not I! It was not I!" 578
683

It doesn't serve to enter curing early. People will kill you right away. Another young man wanted to enter. The curers did not permit him since they said he was a witch. People heard he was a witch, and they killed him. He was the same age as my husband [*about twenty-seven*].

The curers who have survived to an old age were introduced into the profession by an elder relative. They choose their clients carefully, refusing to cure a man who is on the point of death, and remaining within their own section of the dual division. These rules of survival are ignored by some of the younger men who wish to impress their elders with their powers. 756 [621]

The changing image of the curers. The curers of today are unfavorably compared with those of the past who used their power for good. The prototype of the old curer was the fearful Tatik Ča'uk, Lord of the Lightning, possibly a local manifestation of the Maya god Chac.[2] The dialectic of power is exemplified in his control over beneficial and destructive forces. His beneficence is demonstrated in his ability to bring rain to crops, while his vengeance is revealed in lightning bolts which can kill people and destroy houses. Anyone who is struck by lightning is believed to have had some sin for which the Tatik Ča'uk has punished him. His destructive force is equated with a rifle—called "the elder brother of the Lord of Lightning"—and with the "heat" which brings death in illnesses. His habitation is believed to be the Cave of the Star where the heat which causes epidemics is found. 756 776 [178]

The curers were intermediaries for the Tatik Ča'uk in their control over both destructive and beneficial forces. Formerly, the swayohel of the curers patrolled the streets of the town to prevent the entry of evildoers bringing heat. It is in this role that they are referred to as me'iltatil. If an epidemic occurred, the two leading curers from each side of the town con- 756 731

2. In other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities, the god Ča'uk is named as the chief figure from pre-Conquest theology (Hermitte 1964, Holland 1963:93). [171]

756 sulted with each other to determine who was bringing in the heat. They
731 privately disposed of the evil by causing the evildoer to die of an illness.
[527] At the time of my stay, suspicion of the curers meant that a public hearing was held in the town hall to determine who the guilty person was; usually one of the curers themselves was suspected (Chapter 9).

756 The curers formerly demonstrated their beneficial power by bringing
796 rain during a fiesta held in the cave of the ancestors. This is described by
778 an informant:
789
769

[794] *When the pueblo lacked rain in the growing season of corn in May and June, the leading curers went with the other curers, the fiscal, the alfereces, the mayordomos, and the women prayer-reciters to the cave. All the women carried candles of a peso or fifty-cent size and incense burners. They drank a great deal of liquor at the mouth of the cave and then entered to dance. The mayordomos played the guitar, the drum, and flute as the women danced and the curers prayed to the me?tiktatik. There used to be a spring in this cave, people say, and the ancestors granted water from it when they were given a fiesta.*

The last fiesta for rain occurred about 1950. The whole town contributed two pesos for the liquor and candles. The leading curer then was Juliano, a man recognized for his powers in curing and in bringing rain. He told the people that he spoke to the me?tiktatik who, he said, were dressed in the old style [a shirt worn over short cotton pants still used by older men of the town, and the handwoven hat worn by alfereces today]. The curers told the people that it would rain, and the afternoon of the fiesta, it came down hard.

178 There is no longer faith that the ancestors live in the cave, nor that the
769 present curers could speak to them if they did.
756

The growing discontent with the curers, the suspicion that they are re-
756 sponsible for much of the witchcraft, is reflected in the account of an older
754 informant.
[178]

[774] *The curer O. K. told me that the curers ate the spirits of sick people who were going to die. The sick people would come to ask the curers for*

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159 756 *"You won't be afraid if I show it?" Nicolás asked. He then flipped his kotonču four times and a black bull appeared. It disappeared, and they drank some more. Nicolás made the bull appear again.*

Nicolás was ejido commissioner when I was president. We began to talk one day in the cabildo. "Who is the strongest of all the curers?" we asked. One said that now it was the elder brother Nicolás.

Čiko turned to Nico and said, "Tell us who is the strongest of all who know curing." Nico replied, "Ah, you want to hear. There is no one who is strong as the dead Mamal Komesil [elder Gomez] and I." Čiko said, "Mam D. is good."

"Less so," said Nico. "One time we tested it. I took out a sheep and a black dog. He [D.] took out a goat and a pig, and we ordered the animals to run. And I saw that the swayohel of D. could not run. Mine ran well, and his couldn't arrive before mine. It was then that I saw he was not as strong."

541 756 Formerly, when bullfights were held in the town as a feature of the fiesta of Santiago, curers took the great risk of riding the backs of the bulls to demonstrate their bravery. The fight became a symbolic defiance of culturally instilled fears. The fights are organized in this fashion: one man mounts the bull which has no saddle, bridle, or grip of any kind. His feet are tied under the belly of the bull, which increases the hazard if he is thrown since he can easily be dragged under the hooves of the bull. A man stands with a cape before the bull, trying to unseat his opponent. The curer Minko regularly entered the fights as a rider. He drank copiously before mounting the bull. He himself would try to goad the bull into jumping by leaning backward and biting its tail or kicking its sides. People rated even more highly than Minko's performance that of another curer, Bon, who, they said, never even shook when he climbed onto the bull as did Minko. They realized that Minko needed the liquor to face the threat of being crushed by the hooves of the bull, but that Bon was beyond fear. In these displays of fearlessness, some of the curers enjoy a sense of power and freedom from the inhibitions conditioning the behavior of ordinary men.

756 178 578 Competition and the assertion of power among the younger curers is

symptomatic of the present breakdown in the hierarchical controls which formerly maintained the authority of elder curers. Informants say that in the old days there was no such competition, and the leadership of the elder curers was unchallenged.

Another clue to the personality of the curer can be seen in the statement of a young curer, who expressed in a kind of stream-of-consciousness style the fears and worries that plague him. After responding to the questioning about what he did when he cured, he proceeded to talk of his own concerns as he cured patients:

And when I arrive at Pahaltón [curing spring], I set aside my hat and blanket so that they do not get burned. If a dog should come and chew my sandals or if I should leave them outside the house where I am curing and a house rat chews them, then it will cost me thirty pesos to buy a new pair. When I come out late at night, a cat spirit sometimes appears on the road, and I throw a stone at it so it will not carry off my spirit; or a dog comes and I must beat him with my hand because I have no machete with me, or I must throw a broken bottle at the devil. When I get home, I take off my jacket and hat and go to sleep. My woman must tie up the sandals with a string on the rafters so that the rat will not eat them. Then it is the woman's fault if the devil dog gets them.

Late at night the spirits of the curers come to play and go at cock's crow. And at two o'clock the spirit of a sheep comes out with the devil, and these spirits do not go to sleep in their house until dawn. And if they [the curers' spirits] arrive in bed drunk and take off their huaraches and bother their wife she will put them in prison and then they have to pay a fine of two liters of the "gift" [liquor] and one handful of cigarettes. If their woman leaves the curers and they come out of prison, then if they do the same thing again, they send then to Santo Domingo. In prison they make net bags and if they have a wife, she goes and gives them tortillas and coffee. If their wife or father and mother help and give money, then they can pay for a lawyer and get out. Or if they have a daughter, then they receive the gift of a suitor and eat the bread.[3] *Later there will come the chicken and sweet liquor and trago, and then she will marry. Later*

3. "Eating the bread" signifies that the betrothal negotiations are accepted.

756 156 *they will go to the church wedding. The parents of the couple embrace the godparents. They go dance in the house.*

The paranoic fantasies of this young curer, a man in his early thirties, characterize the world of fears, both real and demonic, which the curers sometimes manipulate and by which they are sometimes victimized. The 756 young curers in their thirties and forties tend to have more domestic dis- 156 putes than most men in town. Emilio, a man in his forties who has been 593 trying to assert his stature as leading curer of Alannantik since his prede- 578 cessor was killed for witchcraft, was deserted by his wife. She fled to a neighbor's house. In a drunken rage, he tried to burn it to the ground. When his attempt failed, he threatened to bring "heat" from the Cave of the Star to cause an epidemic after which, he said, he would "eat the souls 756 of the children by the dozen." In the line of duty, curers are often re- 273 quired to get drunk, and drunkenness loosens the cautions which control 156 behavior. Gloating in the power of their swayoheles, there seems to be no limit to the threats or acts they commit. While drinking has probably al- [154] ways been part of curing ceremonies, the behavior noted in the cases described seems to be a response to the growing insecurity on the part of the curers about their status.

756 The curer reveals in his speech and acts the motivation of power. In 156 Tzo?ontahal, power means freedom from one's own fears as well as from the human and supernatural sanctions imposed on those who ignore the norms governing behavior. The proof of his power lies in the ability to inspire fear in others. For this reason, the curer brags of the evil deeds he has committed or is capable of doing, even though this may bring about his own destruction.

Curing Behavior

756 In their role as "doctors" for the individual patient, curers are referred [192] to as *?u?ul* and are addressed with the honorific title *tatín*. Despite the de- [594] clining belief in their guardianship function, there has been a retention of [178] belief in their power to overcome witchcraft. Only the curer, because he possesses a swayohel, can deal with illness caused by witchcraft. Even if

755 Sometimes a colicky baby
753 may become the focus of a curing ceremony designed to "cure" the conflict
593 between husband and wife. In one case, the parents of a healthy young
182 wife separated from her husband staged a curing ceremony to dramatize
578 her marital plight to the in-laws.

178 The breakdown of the curing hierarchy and the recruitment procedures
756 which were maintained by the elder leaders (see Chapter 10) has led to a
608 reevaluation of the role of the curers in the community. They have lost
754 their position as me'iltatil representing the ancestors who guard over the
[627] community. Curers are increasingly being accused of sorcery, and over ten of them have been killed in the past decade as witches (Nash, J. 1967). Paradoxically, it is the belief in their evil power which leads to their persisting role in the society. Clients feel that the more evil the curer is, the more able he is to combat evil. In a community dominated by belief in witchcraft, they are both feared and valued for their ability to control it. From a position as arbiters of morality, they have become the chief targets as deviants from the moral code. Despite the loss of confidence in curers as guardians, they are still called upon to fight the evil of witchcraft, and nearly every day a ritual is performed. The regimen of the curing ritual has not been upset by the undermining of the curers' position. Tied to a
[755] diagnostic system emphasizing the state of the patient's social relations, the
[278] same procedures are carried out even when modern medicines are used.

753 In curing practices, the Indian sees himself as the key figure in the
156 drama of his own self-victimization. His illnesses come from within his own world, usually from within his family or close neighborhood. They are a mark of guilt for having excited the envy or hatred of associates. While the Indian is often portrayed in the role of passive victim to outside domination, in his own self-projection he sees himself dominated by powers within the community. Greater participation and equality in the wider society may in the future release him from these fear-provoking figures in his own environment.

Chapter 7

The Formal Organization of Local Government

The formal organization of civil and religious offices in Tzo'ontahal is based on the pattern of a locally independent, democratically elected officialdom introduced by the Spaniards. Variations in the pattern from that of other towns of the highlands have resulted from differences of interpretation of the functions, the range of power, and the course of succession of offices. This flexibility has preserved structural continuity as organizational adjustments are made. The Indians have transformed an alien governing mechanism into one that meets their changing needs and contributes to their independence in the modern world.

The independence of the local township has a base in the pre-Conquest social organization of Chiapas. Robert Adams (1961:347) has noted the absence of architectural or other features indicative of functional specialization that would arise in a politically integrated region. At the time of the Conquest, Chiapas was divided into warring principalities, revealing the extreme political fragmentation of the area (Calnek 1962:8). Each town was divided from the neighboring town by *mojones*, hilled-up boundaries (ibid:36). A minimum of political unity was achieved by holding certain towns subject to the dominance of others (ibid:27); local autonomy persisted, however, in the administration of landholding as a community enterprise.

During the colonial period the Spanish Crown established the independence of towns directly under their control and provided them with a civil-religious hierarchy which has persisted as the form of government to the present (Carrasco 1961: Wolf 1957b).

Comparative studies of the civil-religious hierarchy indicate the range of

hall, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of the new officials. Residents of the barrios and colonias can never rise to any position above that of assistant judge, but once they have served in this post they may become principales in their own localities. One week the first regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the third regidor from Alannantik, and the next week the second regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the fourth regidor from Alannantik. The ten police are ranked in five levels with representatives from each side at every level in the series except for the fourth level, which is occupied by police from the barrios.

These civil officials, called as a group the *hu?eletik*, those who are "able" (in control), constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. To reach a high post, an official must first pass through each of the lower positions in the hierarchy. Outside of this ranked hierarchy, the posts of president and síndico are occupied by young men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy was, until the present generation, limited to a few men in their thirties. With increasing literacy, the competition for these posts is growing.[2] Men who have such skills are called upon as signers of official documents and are called *firmanetik*.

Also existing outside of the traditional hierarchy is the post of secretary which had, until 1965, been occupied by a Ladino. This was the only post which was paid; it also provided opportunity for earning extra income by preparing "acts," or official documents, and fines from court cases. The present incumbent is an Indian of Alannantik.

Because Tzo?ontahal's hierarchy is still a linked series of civil and religious posts, the structure of the civil hierarchy cannot be considered independently from that of the religious hierarchy. The major segments of the religious hierarchy are the *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces or captains of the fiestas. The internal ranking of the sixteen mayordomos depends on the number of religious posts the incumbent has filled and on the rank order of the saints he serves.

The alfereces, or captains of the fiestas, provide a ceremonial link be-

2. Julio de la Fuente (1964:30) has summarized the effect of literacy in breaking the homogeneity of the community since the literate Indians have received greater privileges and release from communal work. When the entire community is educated, the monopoly of literacy is broken.

undertaking the burden of office is still phrased as a means of maintaining the internal system of security. Tying the new official to personal supporters in the household setting is a significant means of integrating the Spanish governmental system with the preexisting authority systems. 621 794 527

The emphasis on continuity is evident in the prescribed pattern of behavior stressing repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetition of behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expectations which links the present with the past.[5] The nakawanehetik, who are the repositories of knowledge of the customs of the ancestors, are stage directors of acts performed in the house. Behavioral replication is reinforced by verbal references in the pat?o?tan to performing "that which our mothers, that which our fathers did." When any act has lost the wider context of belief in which it must at one time have been embedded, the reason given for the performance is simply "so was the custom of our ancestors." As an example of this, the officials in the president's house on the day of the inauguration stand and bow in the direction of the rising sun. A few informants have heard of the God of the East, Santo Ariyó, the saint in charge of household gods who gave to the people corn, wheat, beans, and cattle, and they say that it is in recognition of him that people turn to the East and bow their heads in all household performances. They further state that in this act they defend the house against the entry of the devil. But the mythological context which might explain the logic of this association is lost. These behavioral sherds, when cut off from the belief system which they dramatized, survive in perpetuating the customs of the ancestors. 621 794 527 177 178

The link with the past is also seen in the presence of both new and old officials in the town hall, providing a setting in which the succession of the new officials is acknowledged by the old. The role of the principales is of the greatest importance in establishing continuity, significantly emphasized in the fact that it is they who hand over the symbol of authority, the 621 794 527 178

5. Bunzel (1952:251) has pointed to this familiarity of ritual sets in a variety of ceremonials as providing ties with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango, and Vogt (1966) has shown the significance of replication in the ceremonials of Zinacantan. Another function served by behavorial replication is that which Leach (1967:2) pointed out for verbal replication in myths and prayers: it overcomes the "static" of less significant background interference. [171]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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621 794 527 newly cut pine canes of the police and the old carved and painted staffs of the higher officials.

178 Order and measure, respect and deference are the social effect achieved 621 794 527 273 in the ritual performance of the inaugurations. In the act of drinking, these principles become behaviorally explicit. The drink is carefully measured out and passed to the first principal, who asks permission to drink it of each set of officials in order of their ranked positions in the hierarchy. Each official must receive the drink, whether he is a teetotaler or not. He will then perform the action of drinking, which is sufficient to express his good will as part of the group. The symbolic act of pretending to drink—receiving the "gift" and raising it to one's lips without imbibing—reveals the importance of acts *as such* in social interaction. This is expressed in the [192] Tzeltal loan term *ʔaksion,* from the Spanish *acción,* the pretended act, which demonstrates in this case one's good will in joining in the communal act. We have a tendency in our culture to downgrade the act, stressing motive specific to the immediate goal of the act. If performance is motivated by other goals, we express it in phrases such as "He is only acting," or "It was all a big act." In Tzoʔontahal, the play is the thing, and everything can be justified by reference to traditional expectations.

621 794 561 177 178 Before describing some of the organizational changes which are affecting the civil-religious hierarchy, I shall at this point assess its viability on the basis of structural criteria. These criteria include the effectiveness of the system in (1) coordinating roles such that conflict is minimized in carrying out tasks, (2) motivating people to enter into office and fulfill obligations, (3) absorbing changes without structural modification.

The primary devices for coordinating roles in the hierarchy are those of relative age and residence in the dual division. The major challenge to the age-respect pattern has been the introduction of young leadership in the roles of president and síndico. This shock to the system has been somewhat overcome by the retention of the ceremonial primacy of the principales. The president and síndico are considered outside the traditional hierarchy. This conceptual isolation of the roles becomes obvious when one asks informants to list the civil officials, for they never include the president and síndico in the first response. They are mentioned in response to repeated enquiries as to whether there are other officials.

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The principle of balancing posts according to residence in the dual division is maintained in the traditional civil posts but fails to be effective again in the case of the president. Increasing population in the upper division meant that the expensive post of alférez had to be filled primarily from the side with the highest population. This unbalancing of the sharing of these burdensome posts eventually led to revolt and the post was abolished. Since it was the key post in learning prayers, its loss may mean the end of the traditional rituals in the home. 621 794 561 177 178

The hierarchy fails to provide sufficient prestige or power to motivate people voluntarily to undertake some posts. The most vulnerable post was that of alférez. In fulfilling obligations to the saints, alfereces used to spend over 3,000 pesos, twice the normal income of a man in one year. They were assisted by members of their immediate households either in loans or in the sale of pottery to help pay for the house fiestas. The show of wealth at these fiestas, when up to one hundred guests were fed, excited the envy of neighbors, often among the invited guests. It was felt that this provoked witchcraft, and every former alférez I knew maintained that he suffered some catastrophe following his year in office. In the last few years before its demise in 1966 the post was accepted only under duress, and all those who had been nominated at first chose to go to jail. The reason that it survived as long as it did was the insistence of those officials who served in this post that it was essentail to maintaining good fiestas. The resolution of the contradictions by abolishing the post contrast with that of Zinacantan, where men sought the prestige-conferring posts that involved large expenditures of money as a validation of wealth (Cancian 1965). 794 554 434 796 754 178 [556]

Another contradition which minimizes the motivation to undertake the traditional posts is that the highest post in the ladder, that of principal, is one associated with embarrassment and shame rather than prestige. Shorn of his roles in decision-making and in guarding public funds, the principal is reduced to holding the plate in which donations for the major fiestas are placed. The ceremonial role of the principales will probably survive, however, since the old men of the community who have retired from active work in the fields enjoy the drinking sessions in the cabildo sufficiently to compensate for the shame associated with the role. 621 554 178 [273]

The internal structural contradictions have to be considered in the con-

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text of strong sentiments supporting an independent civil authority. The adaptations which have been made within the existing structure are a tribute to the strength of the sentiments associating survival of tradition with office-holding in the civil-religious hierarchy. Chapter 9 will deal with the capacity of the structure to absorb change.

Chapter 8

Taking Care of the Lord Spirits

Religious behavior is concerned with two major goals: maintaining a given state of prosperity and protecting the community against disaster. In the words of one informant: "All of the goods which we enjoy—the corn, beans, and wheat that we eat, the animals which work for us and give us food—are the gifts of the Lord spirits." The technique for maintaining the flow of goods of the world is the annual cycle of fiestas for the saints. The strategy for protecting the community against disaster is through avoidance of offense and special offerings to the gods identified with pre-hispanic deities and spirits. Responsibility for the ceremonial cycle is assigned to officials who represent the community, but everyone is responsible for the avoidance of disaster, since any transgression of moral behavior by an individual can cause their wrath and bring destruction of crops and animals. The protective rituals involve beliefs continuous from pre-hispanic times; maintenance depends on Catholic saints.

Kinds of Lord Spirits

Religious behavior is based on an understanding of the personality and rank of each deity in a hierarchy of power. The people distinguish two major categories of gods: the lord spirits of the heaven, *č'ultatik ta č'ulčan*, and the lord spirits of the church, *č'ultatik ta č'ulna*. The prefix *č'ul* in all of these terms can be translated as spirit. All growing things—people, plants, and animals—have a spirit. *Tatik* can be translated as our lords, elders, or fathers. The categories of spirits discussed here differ from the č'uleletik (Chapter 1) since these are spirits possessed by the place in which they dwell, as indicated by the possessive form of the noun with the prefix *s*.

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the sun to kill people. She is afraid that if all the people die, other people will come who have just one hand and one foot. They will not be able to work. Our Grandmother the Moon wants things as they are. So she fights the Sun, and then there is an eclipse. For this reason, people say that she bears our sins.

The tales occasionally try to bring the old gods into focus with the Christian gods and to explain certain cosmological events, for example the eclipse and the movement in the heavens of the sun and the moon. The synthesis is incomplete. First of all, the small part Jesus (Second Brother) plays in the first myth, in which he finally disappears into the forest, shows a failure to fit the three gods into the pre-hispanic format which included only two main characters. Secondly, the myths fail to synthesize the codes of morality stemming from Maya and Christian sources. In Christian mythology, the deities are conceived of as perfect. They are not identified with the sun, but are the power of creation which brought forth the sun and made it move. Destructive forces come from the evil power of the Devil. The deities of the Indians incorporate both good and evil. Cosmological forces are the gods acting directly either to promote or destroy man's work. Even the Grandmother Moon, who shows compassion for her grandchildren, can be piqued into destroying their crops.

In another tale the personification of good and evil in separate characters shows greater influence from Catholicism. Jesus emerges as the hero who, with the collaboration of the Virgin Mary, outwits the Devil.

After Jesus was crucified, the King of the Jews[3] *called upon people to sow a staff to prove who moves the world. Jesus planted the seed, but the Jews did not let them grow. He did it again, and only one leg came out and one hand came out. Therefore the plant did not stand because the "King of Evil" was watching.*

Jesus and his mother had an idea. He spoke to her, saying, "What do you think, Mother?" She replied, "The only thing I can say is, what can we think of?"

The Lord Christ replied, "Our children and offspring [the milpa] do

3. The Devil is alternately called King of the Jews [Statal Jurio], King of Evil [Statal Pukuh], and the Devil in the story.

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I do not know if it is so. I just heard that in a story told." He then referred back to the story of K'oš, the younger brother who took over the task of carrying the sun from his elder brother, to explain how the sun's movement started. 821 776

Misfortunes caused by lightning, winds, and drought are explained as failures in social relations among people of the community or between the members of the community and the spirits. Restraint in their own conduct, fulfillment of their ceremonial obligations, and show of respect to the spirits are the only safeguards against such casualties.

Caring for the Lord Spirits of the Church

The relationships established with the spirits of the church contrast to those with the spirits of the heaven in the following ways: First, the upkeep and maintenance of the spirits of the church is delegated to appointed representatives, the mayordomos, who carry the burden for the community; "all the people of the world," on the other hand, are responsible at all times for avoiding behavior which would incur the wrath of the sun and moon. Second, the obligations to the spirits of the church are standardized, while those to the spirits of heaven are ill-defined and involve avoidance of offense rather than positive expectations. Third, duties toward the church spirits are performed in repetitive events following the calendrical cycle of fiestas, while obligations to the spirits of the heaven are fulfilled sporadically, as during an eclipse of the moon or a drought. 776 794 796 821 177

The major strategy in dealing with the spirits of the church is to give them a fiesta. Big fiestas are associated with the big four saints. These fiestas have been the responsibility of the top mayordomos, called kobraria, and until 1966, of the alfereces. Big fiestas also occur on the Day of the Dead, the Day of Santiago, the Day of San Pedro and San Pablo, the Day of the Kings, and during Easter Week. The pattern of fiestas will be described first, followed by a detailed description of the inauguration of the alfereces, witnessed in 1965 before the institution was abolished the following year, and the fiestas of Santiago and Easter Week. 776 794 796 177

Religious fiestas occur in an annual cycle of ceremonies based on the Catholic calendar. In Tzoʔontahal the Maya calendar no longer exists, even in the twenty-day cycle that constituted a month found in the neighboring towns of Oxchuk, Larraínzar, and Chenalhó. 796 [805] [178] [179]

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796 539 273 body was washed. The confusion may come not from error, but from an identification of the patron saints with Jesus. The importance of the story is that liquor, as the gift of the gods, is the medium for releasing people from their fears.

796 794 The small fiestas are the responsibility of only the two mayordomos, the elder and the junior, who are assigned to the saint. They ring the church bells, light the candles, and play the drum and flute until noon. In the large fiestas all the mayordomos are active, as well as the fiscal and the priest, the prayer-reciters, and formerly the alfereces. The entire pueblo participates in the mass given at the large fiestas and assembles to "see the saints" when they emerge in the procession.

The proceedings of the fiesta take place in the church and the church yard, the house of the cofrade of the major saint whose fiesta it is, the plaza, and formerly, the house of the alférez of that saint. In each of these domains different sets of actors are tied together by acts performed in carrying out responsibilities to the saints. The chain of command is established in each setting: in the church the mayordomos are directed by the fiscal; in the household the eldest nakawane orders the b'alnial and re-
[562] ceives the visitors with the pat'o'tan. He is the master of ceremonies, as in all household gatherings, and his female counterpart is the woman speaker. She orders the women helpers in the preparation of the food, which is then served by the b'alnialetik. Religious officials hold ceremonies in their houses only after they have served five times in office.

796 In the household, religious ceremonies replicate civil ceremonies. A mouthwash is served, followed by coffee and bean tamales, another round of mouthwash, an offering of thanks for the liquor by the nakawane, and a serving of liquor. Musical instruments played in the household differ
[534] from those of the church yard: a guitar and gourd rattle provide the accompaniment to the drinking episode here. Fiestas held in the household of the alfereces were terminated with a dance.

Choosing and Installing the Alférez

794 178 Formerly the alfereces were the chief figures in maintaining the fiesta cycle. During my stay in 1964 and 1965 the officials were experiencing

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more and more resistance from those named to undertake the post. Finally, in 1966 the officials were able to recruit only from the growing division of Ahk'olnantik. There had always been two representatives from each side in the past, and the role was a symbol of the division and of its unity in ceremonial occasions. I predicted at that time that the institution would not survive because the imbalance in representation destroyed the structural premises of the role. When I returned for a brief visit in 1967 I was told that indeed 1966 was the last year the alfereces were inaugurated and that the institution had died. I would expect this to further weaken the structural opposition of the dual division. This case of structural breakdown is a good example of the behavioral feedback one can analyze with an equilibrium model of change. The following description of the fiesta is based on an inauguration I witnessed in 1965.

Formerly, the role of alférez involved both civil and religious functions. At the time that I observed the institution in action, it provided the ceremonial link between the civil and the religious hierarchies, but the duties of the alfereces were only ceremonial. In the words of one informant, their function was "to put on a good fiesta, to drink, and to dance, and to bear the sacred banners in processions."

The alférez was chosen by the four judges and the four regidores with the help of the president and the síndico. About two months before the installation of a new alférez, which occurred during the fiesta for the one of the four saints with which he was associated, the civil officers sent out the first policeman and the martomorey, or elder policeman, to bring in the appointed alférez. The martomorey greeted the alférez with the pat?o-?tan, and the appointment was made known. The standard response of the chosen alférez was, "I don't want it. I have no money. I cannot bear it [the post]." The martomorey and first policeman said, "Good, we shall return another day." On their return, if the nominee still refused to accept the post, they brought him to the jail, where they left him for two or three days before bringing him before the civil officials. There they "took his heart" to see if he would accept. A fairly standardized conversation ensued:

Nominee: "I do not want it; I cannot bear it."

794 *the regidores were seated in their customary places; the alfereces sat on the*
796 *visitors' bench. The two former alfereces went before the two newly ap-*
526 *pointed alfereces and gave an account of what was going to take place, instructing them on "how they should make a fiesta."*

When the two former alfereces entered, they went to the president, saying, "How does the Lord see you alive on this holy afternoon?" They then went to the síndico and the regidores and ended with the judges, exchanging a pat?o?tan.

The alfereces went out, mounted their horses, and were handed the banners by the regidores. The two old alfereces received their banners first. All four made the sign of the cross, first facing the cabildo, then the
[788] *church, and then rode in procession, preceded by the flutist, two drum players, and a guitarist, and followed by the other horsemen. They stopped before the church, dipping their flags, first toward the church and then the cabildo. The president, síndico, and first judge walked across the*
[533] *plaza to the church as the church bells were rung, and all the musical instruments played—the marimba, bell, drums, and flute. The alfereces dismounted and put their banners in the church.*

[426] *The final day, called* Lahinbahel Sk'in, *was spent sobering up, putting things back in order, and returning borrowed items.*

178 Although Santiago is not one of the major saints, a major celebration is
231 given in his honor because of the high value placed on horsemanship in
526 this community. Before the construction of the Pan-American Highway in
[796] 1953 everyone in town had horses which were used to carry the pottery to
[492] market. Riding skills were developed in the free-swinging *macho* (manly) style of northern Mexico's cowboys. Even today when horses are not as economically useful the horse culture has survived. The running of the horses in the fiesta is not competitive. Each rider does his best to tear at high speed across the plaza, but there is no specific goal. Since the
[273] drunken riders often fall and are injured, some of the excitement is based on the potential danger.

128 The behavioral data on which the analysis of rituals depends are included because they provide a basis for comparison with neighboring

796 is served when the expectations are that the individual will feel embarrass-
154 ment. These occasions formerly occurred when the company arrived at the
house of the alférez before the dance and when the alfereces mounted
[273] their horses. Cigarettes signal relaxation, and when the first round of ciga-
[276] rettes is served in the house setting, the company abandons formal re-
[522] straints and, led by the chief nakawane, indulges in joking.

541 *Carnival and Easter Week*. Carnival has changed over time more
522 than any other religious ceremonial in the town. Until five years ago, a
177 group of masked jokers visited the houses of the captains of the fiestas.
178 They wore Ladino clothing, including vest, pants, and shoes, and they hid their faces behind masks or painted them black. They danced a "Ladino dance" (paired couples), first in the church and then in the houses of the alfereces. While dancing, they made sexual allusions about unmarried women. Their joking emphasized their strangeness to the villagers; for example one of the jokers might say, "You do not know what type of person I am. An airplane made me." They carried small stuffed animals which they made "cry." Pretending they were the husband of a woman, they would go to her and tell her to take care of her "baby." The woman speaker would sometimes respond to their jokes, saying, "Who are you? You are not good looking, you little black boy. You must be from Germany or from the other side of the water. Maybe you are from Patwitz or Yetawitz, and your father is kurik." People say the custom was discontinued because it was too expensive to give liquor to the jokers.

541 Another carnival custom which has been lost is the "common meal" of
262 squash on the five Fridays of Lent. Formerly the wives of the four kobra-
794 ria brought squash from hot country, cooked it, and brought two gourds
177 each to the church. The assistant divided it, giving two pieces to each of
178 the mayordomos. This custom was stopped during the typhoid epidemic
[931] of 1928 and has never been resumed because, it is said, the people did not want to lose work time. These changes may be a response to the priest's attempts to modify some of the excesses of carnival. Whether or not this is so, the people prefer to attribute change to their own decisions.

796 The events of Easter Week as recounted by an informant are outlined below.

Chapter 9

The Competition for Power

829 Changes in the organization of the civil and religious hierarchies since the
178 constitution of 1927 can be traced in a series of events remembered by
177 members of the community. Their selection of significant events and the interpretation they make of them give the best clues to their response to change. In the remembrance of things past people structure their world and project expectations for the future. Behavior in these events lacks the controls operating in the formal rituals of the officials—age-graded authority, hierarchy, and a code of behavior which conceals the open show of power. The strategies employed in these organizational changes reveal other rules or transformation of the old rules characterizing social interaction.

554 The structure of roles in the civil and religious hierarchies has remained
621 intact. What has changed are the bases for according prestige and author-
794 ity and allocating roles. The pivotal positions in which change is occurring
578 are the mediating roles between local and national power structures, spe-
177 cifically those of president and secretary in the civil authority and of fiscal
178 and priest in the religious authority.

The contest for power and "control of the town" has centered in five
[212] blocks of competition: (1) the opposition of new young leaders with skills
[191] in speaking Spanish, literacy, and knowledge of the idiom of behavior in
[756] the national culture to the established succession of an age-dominated authority system; (2) the challenge by the civil authority to the control of the curers who rely on power derived from possession of an animal spirit; (3) the struggle for political power among factions based on new economic enterprises; (4) the contest among local caciques for domination; and (5) the conflict among religious functionaries. The series of events in which these contests have crystallized and brought about a reorganization

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554 621 794 578 177 178 [128]

of political relations is summarized for each of these conflict areas. Most of the events recorded below are transcriptions of informants' statements given in Tzeltal. I have chosen this method to show how the people interpret incidents and how this leads to cognitive restructuring.

The Conflict among Civil Officials

621 555 212 177 178

In the period of consolidation since the revolution, the crucial issue in determining the allocation of power among local civil authorities has been that of incorporating men who have special abilities to deal with external authority without upsetting an age-ranked system. Prior to the 1950s these skills were rare—in 1920 only four young men could sign their names and read. The civil careers of two men, Ceferino, a native of the town, and Augustín, a revistido Indian from Huistán, illustrate the different courses taken by this new leadership in the post-revolutionary period of the 1930s. Ceferino was included in the given structure of power while Augustín used his skills in dealing with Ladinos to gain personal power. Ceferino was one of the first four men of the town to learn to read and write. The civil authorities recognized his potential usefulness in the town hall, and succeeded in incorporating him in an honorific but powerless position as scribe. He described his introduction into local government:

159 212 621

After I got out of school, the town saw that I knew how to write. Formerly there was no one who knew how to write. In the town hall the judges and president needed someone to write down the contributions and the payment for the government agents. Therefore, when the civil authority changed in the new year, they talked to my mother. As was the custom then, four regidores came to "raise" me, bringing a bottle of trago as a gift for my mother. She did not drink it alone. Together with the regidores we finished the trago. After finishing the trago, the first regidor began to speak to my mother in the pat?o?tan, saying, "I am going to bring one of your children, one of your offspring to the place where we look and where we see [reference to town hall]. We ask this favor because he knows how to write. Therefore the judges and the president ordered me to come and raise him and take out his soil, his mud, for this duty for this obligation.

[624] [273]

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witz had formed a small *cacicazgo* (supporters of a cacique) of armed men. Because of their influence with departmental officials since the land grant, they had secured an order to reassign lots in the center, putting one family from Yetawitz in each block. The reaction of the townspeople to this "invasion" of barrio Indians was immediate and conclusive, as Ceferino's account reveals:

The owners of the house lots here objected to having their lots seized. They went to a lawyer in San Cristóbal, and they also had the help of the professor here. He was a good professor. We walked with the professor. The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles. The people from Yetawitz went to another lawyer in San Cristóbal. They got an order that the people of the pueblo would have to admit the people of Yetawitz. We returned to the lawyer. He asked where these people were from. We said they were from Huistán. They were well armed. Because of this, we went to take over their arms.

When we arrived at their house, Juan asked, "What are you here for?"

We answered, "We came to get your rifles."

They refused to give them up, but we seized their property. We tied up the men and carried them up to the pueblo. We dragged them like dogs up to the jail and put them in.

They asked, "Why are you putting us in jail?" and we answered, "Tomorrow we will arrange the case."

Four police stayed there. The next morning I came to see them. They had planned to go to Las Casas, but we ordered the saddles taken off the horses that were in readiness. We tried them, and they no longer bothered the pueblo.

The Huistecan's attempt to seize power reveals several significant factors in the genesis of cummunity political institutions. In the 1930s in Chiapas, the land reform act of 1927 was taking effect. Translation of law into reality in the local community required the drive and leadership of the Indians themselves. Literacy and Spanish-speaking skills were of even greater importance than before. The Indians of the center who had not been forced to work in the fincas and who had sufficient resources to resist contact with the outside economy were not in a position to take a leader-

621 423 178 177 [609] ship role in the new political setting. As a result, it was the marginal Indians, outsiders who had come as did Augustín to work as *baldios* (laborers) on the finca near the town, that were the drivng force behind the demand for land. This was the basis for the new leadership in the early days of land reform. The ejido program, conceived of by Cárdenas as a basis for political development of the campesinos, (Brandenburg 1964) gave these marginal Indians the opportunity to rise to positions of influence in local government. The reluctance of the townspeople to take action [754] against Augustín derived in part from fear, since he reputedly backed his use of force with witchcraft—the imported kind of witchcraft in which poisons are used instead of spiritual force.

622 554 177 178 [191] [464] Ceferino, the man who finally deposed Augustín, was a member of the traditional community, but because he had been impoverished by burying four members of his family in the typhoid epidemic of 1928, he had been forced to work in the fincas. There he had learned Spanish and some of the ways of the dominant society. His leadership potential had developed in the role of *caporal,* or gang leader of the pickers in the coffee finca, and he had been a leader in the trek of recruited laborers down to the fincas in Soconusco. Under the old authority structure, in which all officials including the president were recruited through the hierarchy, he would never have reached a prestigious position. But in this crisis, he was the only man willing to confront the incumbent and take over the operation of civil affairs.

622 554 Ceferino did not take advantage of the situation to emerge as a cacique himself. As he explained in his narrative, "The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles." The way in which he had been introduced into the cabildo as scribe had successfully neutralized his own ambitions to attain power, if he had any. He accepted the ideal of a united pueblo, recognizing the authority of the principales.

621 177 178 The increasing scope and frequency of relationships between the nation and the locality since the revolution has emphasized the roles of president and síndico at the expense of the authority and control exercised by the principales. The ceremonial significance of the principales in rituals is retained as a symbol of continuity in the change of officials, but their func-

tions have decreased. Their major responsibility is to hold the plate in which the contributions for the fiestas are deposited by the police. Formerly, the fact that the principales also held the money until it was spent lent dignity and prestige to this function. Now that the money is turned over to the treasurer, who also keeps the accounts, passing the plate gives them a sense of shame. When I asked why the principales lost authority, the first response was cast in terms of behavior: my informant, a former president, pointed out that it was because they did not attend the town hall every day. When I asked why they did not appear, the reply was reformulated in functional terms: they did not come because the laws and acts that are raised and interpreted in the town hall are written in Spanish, and the principales could not read or write. As a consequence, the balance of power has shifted to the posts of president and síndico, while the framework in which the officials act has remained.

Challenge by the Civil Officials of the Power of the Curers

The autonomy of the highland Indian corporate community has rested on the retention of social control by local leaders. This local leadership, which has survived over four hundred years of domination by Spanish colonial and national rule, is based on power derived from two sources: (1) control over life and death by men who claim to possess an animal spirit and/or (2) ability to devine or predict the future, such as the calendar priests have (Nuñez de la Vega 1702:19).[1] The belief in power derived

1. Bishop Nuñez de la Vega repeatedly inveighs against the "maestros Nahualistas." This is summarized in an excerpt, which I have translated, from his book (1702:19):

> Almost two hundred years after the light of evangelism dawned, the Indians in most of the Kingdom of New Spain and Guatemala are found full of their primitive errors, superstitions, and misdeeds such that there is hardly a single pueblo where each year there are not deaths brought about by witches, and houses and families known to have, as an inheritance acquired from father to son, evil powers so abominable that they are viewed with great fear by the rest of the Indians. With only a glance and certain words, with which they invoke the Devil, they can end life or cause their victim to go mad with great pains and stupendous illnesses, and the result is that they inflict their rivals for very slight pretexts. We exile them and other spiritual performers from the church, and when the ministers and judges try to verify what happened to the sick ones, all

The belief in power derived from animal spirits was probably influenced by the Toltec belief in nahualism, or transformation of people after death into animals (Calnek 1962:22). The Toltec belief originated in the period of Mexican influence but had many local indigenous manifestations (Foster 1944). The integration of the two systems of power was brought about by calendar priests controlling the distribution of animal spirits (Calnek 1962:19). The degree of retention of calendrical knowledge and of belief in witchcraft gives us one of the best indices of acculturation in the area.[2] In Tzoʔontahal there is no remnant of calendar divination for ceremonial or predictive use. However, witchcraft based on belief in animal spirits continues to be an important factor in the contest for power. The technique of secrecy, of presenting a united front in the face of attempts by the outside Ladinos to tamper with the local social control system, persists to this day in the town.

An endemic problem in communities dominated by belief in witchcraft is control over the evil power of witches. The traditional control system in Tzoʔontahal operated through the guardianship of three sets of powerholders who checked up on each other: the ancestors, the curers, and the judges. The guardianship of the ancestors consisted in preventing any child possessed of a swayohel from the devil from growing up to abuse his power and in keeping any evil spirits from entering the town. The curers,

the Indians, whether out of cowardice or deceit, withdraw their accusation or claims, so that it is impossible to convict the evildoers for punishment; and for lack of sufficient proof they cannot be punished, or if there is enough basis to put them in prison, they sometimes disappear and flee to another jurisdiction and hide, denying their place of origin or changing their name.

2. In Oxchuk, calendar experts with the ability to divine the future still set the days for carrying out Catholic fiestas according to the twenty-day Maya ceremonial cycle. Each of the spirits symbolizing the twenty days wielded the power of good or evil. This provided the basis for predicting. When Villa Rojas studied the town in the 1940s, elders of patrilineal lineages controlled the behavior of members by causing sickness brought by their *lab*, or animal spirit (Villa Rojas 1947). In San Pedro Chenalhó, the principales exercise power through their *wayhel*, or animal spirit (Guiteras Holmes 1961). Nahuales of leaders of the patrilineages and principales are feared and respected in Larraínzar, although there is a growing discontent with their oppressive control (Holland 1963). Men believed to have thirteen nahuales figure as guardians and avengers for individuals in Pinola society, although the Indians of this community no longer have a hierarchy of civil offices through which their prestige can be publicly validated (Hermitte 1964).

as the direct agents of the ancestors, guarded the streets of their own side of the dual division. The judges, with the supervision of the principales, were responsible for guarding against the abuse of power by the curers or others possessing a swayohel in their review of witchcraft cases in the town hall. The three sets of functionaries—ancestors, curers, and judges—are classified in a lexicon of role function in the stem *me? . . tat . . ,* common to the terms applied to them, me?tiktatik, me?iltatil, and me?eštateš.[3]

The system of control over the use of power has been in a state of uneasy tension. In a series of incidents recounted below, the growing suspicion that the judges and the principales were not countering the witches because of their fear of falling victim to them, and that the curers themselves were exercising the witchcraft becomes apparent.

In the following case, the system of checks and balances was upset by the entry into the presidency in 1940 of Mam Nicolás, the leading curer of Allannantik. Nicolás combined the skills of operating in the traditional culture with those of dealing with the Ladino world. Despite the fact that he was a graduate of the boarding school operating in the town in the 1930s, which had far more extensive effects in acculturation as well as formal education than any prior school, he practiced curing. The case is recounted by Ceferinó, the scribe:

Formerly the dead president Mam Nicolás left at midday from the town hall and went to his house where he ate a meal. A neighbor, Francisco, came to talk to him. They drank a half a liter of trago, and then began to drink a second and got drunk. They began to say goodbye, and Francisco left Nicolás' house. When Nicolás saw that Francisco went out, he grabbed his shotgun. He saw that Francisco was now far away, and he fired many shots. One got him right in his back. When Francisco felt it, he shouted. The police heard him and went to get the judges who came to see also. His [Francisco's] wife came. She raised his head and cried when she saw he was dead. An elder sister brought a new mat to carry him.

3. The suffixes *-el,* and *-tik* refer to pronominal forms, as in "you judges" and "our ancestors." *-il* is an article, as in "the curers." In prayer, the ancestors may be addressed in the second person, or the judges may be referred to with the first-person-plural possessive, but these forms are rare in those contexts.

tural opposition between the two sides of the dual division. In this case, resolution came with the intercession of federal troops.

When curing was a controlled profession, with a hierarchy legitimizing entry and exit, the power of the curers was directed toward guarding the village against evil as well as curing. In the 1940s, the loss of one leader by death and the other's jail sentence meant loss of control over entry into the profession. A growing suspicion and discontent with the curers as a group, laying upon them the responsibility of much of the witchcraft, is reflected in the account of another older informant:

> *Formerly when the curers J. C., A. A., S. K., and J. D. were alive, they walked in common. The people were in accord with the curers because they watched over the peublo. They knew about medicine, and so people of Alannantik went to ask them favors to cure them and also the people of Ahk'olnantik went to ask them favors.*
>
> *But then, after they died [about 1940], the principales did not dare fight the curers because they had animal spirits, and the principales themselves didn't—they were just honorable people.*

The doubt about the civil authority's control over the curers has increased since young leaders have taken the leadership in the town. One informant said, "When there are young people in the cabildo, they can't keep control of the curers, but the old people in the cabildo can." With the relaxation of restrictions on entry into the curing profession, following the loss of leadership and the ranked hierarchy, curers were no longer restrained by professional standards. When drunk, they bragged of their power to do evil as well as to do good. The first killing of a curer accused of being a witch occurred in 1937. He was working in Pinola when he was shot. The dead curer's widow wanted to bring his body back to be buried in the town cemetery, but the request was refused by the judges. This suggests that the town authorities agreed with the accusation, since it is the custom to return the dead to the town for burial. Other assassinations by individuals occurred in 1943 and in 1950. During this period, the civil officials sanctioned the assassinations of persons accused and convicted of witchcraft. When someone wished to kill a man suspected of witchcraft, they would go to the town hall and ask for permission. After a re-

756 627 *When he arrived here, he did not hear any word that they would kill him. He persisted in his custom of stealing. And the pueblo seized him and put him in prison. The whole town seized him although he had heard no word.*

They tied him to a tree and said to him, "You do not have shame. You are a curer, father of the pueblo, [respect term for curer], and yet you behaved badly and truly stole. The town sees you are a bad man, Emilio. They call you their father, but now I am going to tell you that you ought not to be called father. You're a bad one."

He wanted to be called father, but he was only a bad one. He returned again to San Cristóbal because of two crimes. He did not hear the words. He remained in prison, and when he came out someone else came and killed him.

756 682 178 Since 1938, nine of the thirty-seven homicide cases on which I collected data (Table 29) were killings of curers. The increasing frequency of such killings reveals the loss of faith in the guardianship role of the curers, but along with this, retention of belief in their power to work evil.

731 756 754 627 621 In the series of successful confrontations, the civil authority has gained strength and overcome some of the fear of the people. In May 1964, during a severe contagion of measles, a rumor started that the disease was being spread because of witchcraft. The president called together the curers. The consensus of this gathering was that a certain curer of Alannantik had buried the "heat" which was causing the deaths in the milpa of his enemy. The people of Alannantik gathered with the curers and the civil officials in the milpa of the "enemy" to dig it out. The curers dug out a charcoal brazier which is the sign of illness and threw it in the Cave of the Star. [683] That evening the suspected witch was killed, presumably by his neighbors.

756 621 627 754 In the most recent confrontation between the civil authorities and an individual curer, in March 1966, the civil authorities showed a united front in denouncing the use of witchcraft to threaten any official. The entire group of practicing curers from both sides of the dual division were called to witness the denunciation before the assembled civil officials in the town hall. The only one absent was the curer accused of attempting to cut short the life of the president because of envy of his position. The assembled

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 248]

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TABLE 29. Time, Victim, Suspects, Crime, and Outcome in Selected Homicide Cases, 1938–1965

	Victim				
	Curer or other	*Age*	*Killer*	*Suspected crime of victim*	*Outcome*
1938 *	Other	50	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one apprehended
1945	Other	65	Drinking companions	Drunken quarrel	Two companions went to jail
1946	Curer	48	Brothers: 1 elder, 2 younger	Witchcraft	One brother went to jail for five years
1946 *	Other	38	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one complained to authorities
1946	Curer	45	Unknown	Witchcraft	No punishment; no suspect apprehended
1946	Curer	50	Unknown	Witchcraft	Wife of victim complained, but no witness would testify
1958	Curer	27	Father of boy who had died of witchcraft	Witchcraft	Before dying, dead man revealed name of killer. Wife reported it to authorities, but no action taken
1960 *	Other	60	Son-in-law	Witchcraft	Son-in-law fled town
1960	Other	24	Cattle owners' paid killer	Stole cattle	Released killer on bail
1960	Curer	60	Brother-in-law	Witchcraft	No one apprehended
1961	Curer	70	Neighbors	Witchcraft	Neighbors, who felt he was responsible for contagion, were not apprehended
1961 *	Other	30	Wife's brother	Very abusive, fought when drunk	Suspect fled town

(*cont.*)

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	Victim: Curer or other	Victim: Age	Killer	Suspected crime of victim	Outcome
1961 *	Other	45	Neighbors	Witchcraft	No one apprehended
1961 *	Other	37	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one apprehended; wife agreed he was a witch
1962	Other	18	Rival for girl	Fought over girl	No one accused
1962	Other	20	Cattle owners' paid killer	Stole cattle	Went to jail but released on bail
1962	Other	35	Brother-in-law	Revenge for death of brother; political conflict	Killer declared he had killed, paid fine and was released
1962 *	Other	20	Rival for girl	Fought over girl	No one accused
1962 *	Other	50	Leader of cattle association	Stole cattle	Unknown
1963 *	Curer	36	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one apprehended, but victim's brother tried to find killer
1963	Curer	45	Indian of neighboring town whom victim had accused of witchcraft	False accusation	No action taken
1963 *	Other	Unknown	Drinking companions	Barroom brawl	One of assailants went to jail, and other two bailed out
1963	Other	70	Sons of a man whom he was accused of having killed	Witchcraft	No action taken
1964 *	Other	30	Killer paid by victim's brothers	Stole cattle	Brother fled town but jailed when he returned
1964 *	Other	34	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one accused
1964	Other	30	Ladino liquor distiller of another town	Denounced distiller to authorities	No action taken

[P.247]

	Victim: Curer or other	Age	Killer	Suspected crime of victim	Outcome
1964	Other	30	Brothers	Witchcraft	One brother fled; other put in jail but he claimed first brother did it
1964	Curer	65	Neighbors	Witchcraft in contagion	No action taken
1964	Other	22	Close friend of victim, hired by cattle owners	Stole cattle	Killer freed on bail
1965	Other	45	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one accused
1965 *	Other	45	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one apprehended
1965	Other	42	Unknown	Unknown	No one accused
1965	Other	27	Brother-in-law	Had relations with 14-year-old sister-in-law	Brother-in-law tried but not sufficient evidence
1965 *	Other	35	Unknown	Stole cattle and corn	No action taken
1965	Other	42	Son by first marriage	Failed to provide dowery; also witchcraft	Widow spread rumors against step-son, but insufficient evidence
1965	Other	20	Rival for brother's girl	Mistaken identity—brother's rival took him for competitor	Unknown

* Occurred during a fiesta.

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port. At his death, he had no successor, and "the town remained in peace." 665

In this first political contest, the conflict was interpreted as opposition between the dual divisions. Factional disputes and the sense of political responsibility and control were contained within these parameters, and any conflict was conceived of as a threat to territorial balancing mechanisms. 621 [829] [578]

The new factions that have developed since 1963 are tied to economic rather than territorial competition. In 1960 the first truck-owning cooperative was organized under the leadership of the former Ladino secretary. The twenty shareholders of the town had only a small amount of capital in the truck, and the controlling interest was in the hands of the secretary's wife. The cooperative was merely a device to gain business in carrying pottery and wheat from the town to the market centers. In 1963 a new truck-owning cooperative was organized by local Indians. The two brothers, Santiago and José, secured capital to buy the truck from thirty residents of the town without any assistance from outside. The shareholders of the new cooperative came from both sides of the dual division, and from the outlying barrios. 621 474 471 177 178 494

When the leaders of the new cooperative tried to get permits and certificates to license the car and the operator, they were refused by the town president who was a shareholder of the first cooperative. The Indians then hired a Ladino truck driver from the neighboring town, and the son of one of the shareholders served as assistant. They realized that it was necessary to get control of the local political positions in order to extend their operations. With the help of the schoolteacher, they got eighty-one signatures on the petition for the PRI candicacy of one of the brothers, José, in the presidential nomination of 1964. He was opposed by a ladinoized Indian living in one of the barrios who was backed by the Ladino secretary who was leader of the competing trucking cooperative. The opponent did not have a chance of winning, as the leaders of the new cooperative pointed out, because of two strikes against him: he was not a resident of the center and he had only PAN backing. The Indians are aware that nothing can be gained politically by a PAN-backed president since PRI is now the party in control of regional and national offices. 474 621 666

After José's election, the Indian truck driver was able to get a driving license. With the help of the schoolmaster, the cooperative was able to get 621 474 493

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621 474 493 permission to extend operations to hot country where the Indians of the town held ejido land. This territory had been controlled by the state-wide trucking sindicate whose monopoly was protected by government permits. On the basis that they were poor, nonprofit-making ejidatarios, the Indians were granted the right to truck corn from the ejido colonies to the highlands. Whenever the cooperative leaders planned to go to the departmental capital to make their appeals, the schoolmaster counseled them to wear their Indian costume—the white shirt and pants with red sash, sandals, and woolen kotonču—in order to play the role of simple campesinos more convincingly. He was aware of the effectiveness of this pose in pro-Indian governmental circles. [291]

665 The PRI leadership in the department capital is neither aware of nor interested in the local factions which seek their support. Their concern is only that the vote is solidly behind regional and national candidates of the party, and they support the group that can mobilize the largest number of votes. A policy of favoritism toward Indians, based on an ideology of *indigenismo,* pro-Indianism, is coupled with a policy of permitting local autonomy. The national committee's program for promoting literacy has never reached this community nor any that I know of in the area. The party's promotion of Indian welfare consists of supporting demands made by Indian constituents and bringing them to the attention of civil service officials assigned to these functions. Party officials thus act as intermediaries between the voters and the bureaucracy of the government, channeling complaints and demands.

621 177 178 181 In the development of factions around new economic interests, the Indians have shifted from an ideology in which the dialectic of conflict was cast in traditional dual-division opposition to one in which the conflict is seen as Indian versus Ladino domination of enterprises. Since these interests cut across the territorial divisions, the economic factions have not crystallized along territorial lines. It is this shift in perspective which makes for the "qualitative" change in local political organization. [665]

Competition between Caciques

622 563 There are several dimensions to the role of cacique in Tzoʾontahal. First, it is a role created by outside interests and occupied by someone mar-

ginal to the community, either a foreign Indian, as in the case of Augustín, or a Ladino, as in the cases of the secretary and schoolmaster described below. The only indigenous candidate for the role was recently killed. It provokes too much envy for someone socialized in the community; fear of being accused and even killed as a witch or a power-seeker is justified by several such precedents. Those with the skills to become caciques have until recently been effectively incorporated in the existing hierarchy as firmanetik.

Second, the cacique is a gatekeeper, channeling information, goods, and services from the outside to the members of the community. In this capacity, he prefers to pose as a benefactor when he may actually be no more than the distributor of government welfare goods and services.[4]

Third, the role of cacique is one in which the incumbent operates in a local sphere, but depends upon a network of compadrazgo and professional ties outside of the community to assure his position in the community. He must be sufficiently aware of the local idiom in order to avoid making enemies.

Finally, the role is monopolistic. This results in part from the fact that the outside world prefers to deal with a single representative for reasons of expediency. However, new governmental agents are more and more dealing directly with Indians, a factor which has shaken the position of the cacique. The monopolistic quality of the position also stems from the fact that the profit to be gleaned from the community is small. A Ladino from a neighboring town commented that it was worth the time of only one man to exploit an Indian community of the size of Tzoʔontahal. The extractable profit is diminishing as the Indians become more aware of their rights.

The change in character and range of activities of local caciques is illustrated by the recent careers of two residents of Tzoʔontahal. In the 1950s and until 1964, the Ladino secretary, Don Ramon, had filled the role of cacique. He took advantage of this role not only by collecting a salary and a percentage of court fees, but also by earning money for using his influence in Ladino official circles outside the community. He lent money for interest and subsidized some enterprises such as growing cabbages with Indian partners.

4. Goldrich (1965) points to this tactic of politicians who distribute government goods as though they were their own gifts.

partners. He sold a few shares of a truck he and his family owned to Indians, but he retained the controlling interest. His wife was reputed to be a witch, and was an active curer, combining old and new treatments of illnesses.

His position was challenged in the 1960s by the Ladino schoolmaster, who had been remarkably unsuccessful from his arrival in 1953 until that time in gaining personal power and influence. His intercession in a local homicide case involving a father's murder of his son outraged the townspeople, some of whom threatened to kill him. His attempts to have water installed aroused the curers against him since they were accustomed to bathing their patients at the source of the spring from which they were debarred when the plumbing was installed. His demands that children within the legal age limit should not only attend school but should be prohibited from marrying until they had completed their schooling caused the anger of parents who wanted to give their daughters in an early and profitable marriage.

Gradually, however, the schoolmaster extended his own base of support. He minimized his attack on local customs, adhering only to those laws affecting the school population, over which he had a great deal of control. Some of his support came from the orthodox Catholic members of the community; he extended his control through compadre relationships with over eighty members of the community. He showed movies which he acquired from the United Nations and other educational film sources and gave away medicines acquired from the health officials in the state capitol who were his friends. From one of these sources of philanthropy he acquired wool shawls which he gave to every woman in the town.

The professor demanded no return from the townspeople other than their respect and admiration; he was a person who enjoyed commanding others and needed an arena in which to project his own personality. In his early years in the town, he had to satisfy this need by capturing stray tourists and plying them with soda pop or coffee. His first opportunity to gain leadership in the local sphere came in 1963, when he supported the new truck-owning cooperative. He used the influence of contacts in the state capital, including compadres, friends, and relatives of his wife's family. He promoted the cooperative's attempt to gain the presidency. One of the first

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acts of the new officials was to fire the Ladino secretary and install an Indian for the first time. The schoolmaster had won his battle for recognition. In every legal dispute in which the town became involved, the schoolmaster accompanied the town officials as they went to visit departmental and state leaders, acting as their spokesman. He never accepted even expenses for these trips. His satisfaction was in giving advice to the officials on all matters, in being the man whom outsiders consulted before anything could be accomplished, and in finding an audience.

The schoolmaster consolidated his position by drawing together all his supporters in a parent-teachers association, which served as a captive audience for his extended monologues. I was called upon as a witness to the installation of the members, and I took advantage of the occasion to record some of the schoolmaster's rhetoric as he addressed the "parents." In attendance were the president, his brother, four members of their truck-owning cooperative, and about ten other representatives. The teacher told me that they were the best people in town—not one of them had killed anyone! The excerpt below is not complete, but there was sufficient repetition in the schoolmaster's discourse so that nothing is lost.

Schoolmaster: "I don't fight with anyone. We do not come to fight. A schoolmaster is a guide to teach respect. I have thirty-three years teaching in pueblos of campesinos, poor people like you. I am your brother. I am your teacher. The ignorant people do not want to send their children to school. This is a good school, and there are those of you who have succeeded by learning. Ramon Leon was a boarding school student for two years. He and seven others have received scholarships. They accuse me of not working, but they do not know what is happening in the school. Those who know give congratulations to the school. The children of this school won the competition at the conference of teachers. It is neither a poor school with poor students, nor a rich school with rich students, but all are together. They say we do not teach. Compadre" (to president), "is this so? They say we only dance, but at the conference our students won the prize.

"This school is yours. It is better organized than any other. The flag which we had we gave to Villa Las Rosas because they are campesinos;

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159 *they are my friends. I prefer to send it there than to Teopisca, because*
875 *they are campesinos.*
871 *"I have proved to you I am a friend of campesinos and of the poor. I*
563 *don't have to say anything if I see that some are killing, that some are dis-*
177 *tilling liquor. This is an affair of the civil authorities, not of me. If some*
178 *come to tell me that so and so has killed someone, I close my ears.*
557 *"What is more important in life is what is in your head, not your cloth-ing. Do you understand me?"*

All reply, "Yes, maestro."

"If we are going to win over Teopisca and Villa Las Rosas, our children have to work hard. I had the luck of receiving a medal because I am one of the principal teachers and know the preparation of teachers. The Jefe of Operation put a medal on my breast and gave me an abrazo. *Here is the picture taken two years ago—Lupe get the rag!" Schoolmaster dusts photograph with rag. "Here you see me with the medal on my breast.*

"Who is more important—the one who accuses me and has to put his finger to sign the declaration, or those of you who can write?

"Now the schoolmaster does not give permission to let the children stay away from school. We do not have authority to release the children except for illness. Those children who go most often to school are those who get ahead. They speak idioma [*native language*] *when they play, but when they enter the school they speak* Castellano [*Spanish*].

"Now you know everything. I am happy with you. If there are some who are not happy that I am here, then I shall go happily. There are schools where schoolmasters hit the children. There is a school where the Indian teacher hit a child three times. This is a crime!

"I know where all this talk comes from. Don Ramon [Ladino secretary who supported opposing candidate mentioned above] has a truck—he and Doña Juana. They buy wheat and corn at half price. If the Indians do not pay off, they get double the return at the next harvest. My compadres have come and told me. Those who are with him are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by him. They have two trucks in Teopisca. They come and ask people to sign a paper supporting their candidate. People sign because they are afraid she [Juana] will use witchcraft."

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President: "Ramon left her, but then he went back to her because of witchcraft." 159 875

Schoolmaster "This is the group which is against me and is against the pueblo." 871 563

Schoolmaster's wife: "You see how happy the pueblo is." She waves her hand to plaza where marimba is playing for the fiesta. "Everything is well organized. Not as it was formerly when Don Ramon was in town." 177 178 557

President: "You see how the pueblo is learning. The children are learning to knit. Everyone knits."

Schoolmaster, giving oath of office to parents: "In the name of the Secretary of Public Education, I ask you to serve with faithfulness to the pueblo. The school is the defense of the country. It is preparing you for tomorrow. The society of parents of the school represents you. Your children represent the future of the country in the sign of the three colors, and you have the obligation to defend the country. The country will become great when all the children know how to write. When Mexico has need of its children, the children will be prepared to die for the country. You should see that schools prepare the children. See Mexico is a country united.

"I have been here since 1953. It is not now as it was then. We have water, a highway. You are not in the state you were then.

"Today we see a kiosk." He waves hand to plaza. "Tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory. It will be a grand pueblo, a civilized pueblo. There was a schoolmaster here who worked two days a week. I have worked every day since 1953. I secured eight scholarships for the children. If there are some who didn't go, it is because their father does not send them. If there are those who say the school does not function, they are traitors to the pueblo. Honorable Society of Fathers of Families, I am the schoolmaster. I shall explain. Give an applause." Applause.

The schoolmaster's discourse reveals several aspects of his position in the town. He indicates the lesson he has learned in avoiding interference in the town's social control system ("I don't have to say anything if I see that some are killing, that some are taking out trago. This is an affair of the 159 875 563 177 178

159 civil officials, not of me"). He identifies himself with the Indians in the
875 fight against the competitive trucking cooperative ("Those who are with
563 him [Don Ramon] are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by
177 him"). While he does not accuse Ramon's wife directly of witchcraft he
178 implies this in saying that people sign their candidate's nomination peti-
[754] tion for president because they are afraid Juana will use witchcraft. This is
[626] a characteristic mode of attacking one's enemies in the town. He claims credit for all of the innovations in the town which have won public approval—the highway, the water supply, electricity, and so forth.

622 The profit motive is inadequate to explain why Ladinos want to play
875 the role of cacique in these corporate Indian communities. One must seek
563 for an explanation instead in the social status they gain. While their jobs
177 are limited and usually frustrating and they can never be completely inte-
178 grated into the community, political activities offer them a larger arena in which they can derive personal satisfaction. The contrast between the schoolmaster's position in Tzoʔontahal before he became a political leader and his position after finding local supporters illustrates this. In the early days of his residence in town, when he built a chicken coop which extended a few feet beyond the grounds allotted to the schoolhouse, some Indians threatened to kill him. In 1957, I saw him trying to summon a policeman from the town hall, which was adjacent to the schoolhouse, to remove a boulder from the path so that a visiting friend could pass in his automobile. No one heeded his urgent shouts or the whistle he used to call children to school, although they were well aware of what he wanted. But by 1965 there was not a single important transaction which did not require consultation with the schoolteacher. Campesinos from as far as Villa Las Rosas came to request his advice and his help in approaching government agents. In projecting his political role, he gained support for projects which were of interest to him. When he had succeeded in getting the gov-
[653] ernment to install water pipes and electricity, he talked the civil authori-
[312] ties into building a kiosk, or bandstand, in the plaza. This was a fulfill-
[365] ment of his ambition to make the town over in the image of a colonial
[345] Spanish pueblo. His final statement in the speech quoted above, "Today we see a kiosk, tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory!" reveals the symbolic significance it had for him.

578 *to cook their meal in the yard of the church. They threatened to beat the*
793 *priest with the wood, and he retreated into the church. He later an-*
794 *nounced that he would not give mass, or weddings, or baptism. We did*
273 *not mind that he did not give the mass or would not give weddings, but the people were frightened if he would not give baptism. The mayordomos had a meeting, and they agreed to give up drinking in the church if the priest would continue to give baptism, but they would no longer care for the pigs or bring wood for him without payment. We pay him fifteen*
[465] *pesos for an ordinary mass and forty pesos for a singing mass, so he should pay us for help. The priest was in agreement with the mayordomos.*

[264] As a result of this edict, the drinking has stopped and the mayordomos no longer eat the common meal in the church yard. Drinking was an act linked to eating, since the round of liquor served before the meal was "to prepare the stomach," and the drink after the meal was "to wash down the food." The shift to the house of the cofrade was a ready alternative in this community where the household is a recognized ritual domain.

793 The priest's control over the church has extended to control over the do-
794 nation boxes and the saints' images. He now receives the money donated
178 to the saints and does not permit a public accounting of the funds. Because of this, the civil officials accuse him of stealing some of the money. A recent incident recounted below by one of the prayer-reciters led to even
793 more severe censure:
796

626 *The bishop visited our church, and when he looked under the silk robes*
578 *of the Virgin Santa Lucía he found a wooden dress covered with gold*
178 *paint. He told the priest to have the cloth dress removed. The people were very upset by this since they are very proud of the dresses bought for the Virgin. One of the prayer-reciters dreamed that the Virgin appeared before her in tears, saying she did not want to appear nude in public. We [the group of prayer-reciters] went to see the bishop to demand that the Virgin should wear her dress in church and that the priest be sent out of the town. The bishop refused. He said the Virgin did not feel cold because she was just a statue. Ha! How could she not feel cold?*

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The issue of the Virgin's clothing has increased the attacks on the priest. These have been aired in public meetings which take place on Sunday. Opposition to the priest has shifted from the old cofrades to the young leadership of the pueblo, men who wish to extend internal control over the church as well as the town hall. They tried to enlist the fiscal's help in getting rid of the priest, but he refused to cooperate. The president's brother, who serves as town treasurer, recounts the following exchange he had with the priest:

I saw Padre Juan take money from the box when I was mayordomo in the church. All of us mayordomos went to talk with him. I asked him how much money was turned in during the fiesta.

"The madres [*lay sisters*] *know," he said, "I don't."*

He called them, and they said, "We haven't counted the money. Come tomorrow."

The priest was very angry that we asked for an account. Pablo [*the fiscal*] *was too afraid to talk with him. When we left the church, I told Pablo, "You are in charge of the church. Why didn't you demand an account of the money in front of the church? We never got an account."*

Then we began to fight. Padre Juan doesn't want to leave the town. He has it too good here. He has a good yard with many fruit trees and a nice house. The Ladinos in Teopisca don't let him stay in their convento overnight. They are sharp, those damned Ladinos! We pay the padre thirty pesos every Sunday. Before he lived here, we used to have good music and more firecrackers for fiestas. Now he wants to stop all this. He was the one who ordered that all the money be collected. We wanted to go buy a gross of firecrackers. He said, "Why do you want firecrackers? It is the mass that has value. The saints don't want firecrackers or music."

He is very smart, the padre. He wants to keep the money for himself. Now we just get two firecrackers each morning of the fiesta and two in the evening. In Teopisca, they fire dozens of firecrackers. Here what is left over from the contributions for the fiesta remains in the box, and he takes it.

I went to get new clothing for the saint. In Comitán they wanted two

while he was fiscal. He let control over the key to the church and the donation boxes slip into the hands of the priest. His opponents accused him of weakness and failure to act in the interest of the town. The careers of these fiscales illustrate the pitfalls for those filling the post. First, there is the temptation for personal gain, since the fiscal has access to the money of the saints: in the past three fiscales have been charged with robbery. Second, there is the problem that the fiscal serves two masters, the priest and the head cofrade, each of whom has different standards of conduct for the role: when the selection of the fiscal was in the hands of the cofrades, they chose a man who knew the pat'o'tan and who was to deal directly with the curers in rituals at the cave of the ancestors and in the homes of the cofrades; now he is chosen by the priest who prefers a young, literate man. If the fiscal follows the commands of the priest, he runs into problems with the cofrades. This was the difficulty with Antonio, who was put out of office by the cofrades because he yielded to the priest's demands to improve the convento and the church. As long as the conflict in interests between the priest and the traditional authorities exist, there is no successful position for the fiscal to take.

Conflict and Social Change

In the contest for leadership which has and is occurring, the following observations can be made on the basis of the events described.

1. The community has successfully incorporated the young, literate men into the framework of the traditional hierarchy. This has been accomplished by expanding the scope of activities of the president and síndico and by relieving them of serving in the lower posts of the hierarchy.

2. The ceremonial role of the principales serves as a symbol of continuity in government both in the tie they have with the past and in the annual changeover of officials.

3. The threat of foreign Indians in the township misusing their skills in dealing with the outside world has been overcome by removing them from office and preventing them from filling high posts.

 621 177 178

4. In a series of confrontations, the civil officials have challenged the social control functions of the curers. Witch-killings in which many of the victims have been curers have minimized but not overcome the power of these men. [756]

5. The priest has succeeded in establishing control over the church, but the Indians may yet succeed in deposing him, a plan they were putting into effect when I left town. [193]

The Indians are now aware of their rights to limit—or eliminate if necessary—the self-appointed caciques. The new cacique promotes the community welfare not only in his rhetoric but in the services he performs for the officials. His involvement in political affairs is tolerated, not encouraged, and the officials are ready to turn to alternative sources of aid in their activities. 641 622 177 178

The involvement of the PRI in local elections has not introduced a new center of power in the political arena. Political factions are based on economic interests contained within the town, and the autonomy of the town has in no way been affected by leadership from party headquarters in the state capitol. The community and the party use each other for their own ends in almost complete ignorance of what is occurring in the domain of the other. 665 621 178

The system of beliefs and understandings has changed along with these organizational changes. The most significant change has been the waning belief in the guardianship of the ancestors. The absence of the curers at the fiesta of the caves means that they no longer have this ritual occasion to validate their claims by communicating with the ancestors. The loss of leadership and of a hierarchy of prestige within the ranks of curers has removed internal controls over the profession and further undermined their position. The diminishing respect with which they are treated in the town hall and the increasing number of murders of curers accused of witchcraft is directly related to the loss of belief in their power as guardians. Since they were not an integral part of the civil-religious hierarchy, as the curers were in Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947), this has not upset the hierarchy, but it has changed the balance of power in the wider community. 769 756 178 [683]

The diminishing significance of the leadership of the principales is tied 621 756 178

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621 to the loss of belief in the curers. The principales were formerly conceived
756 to be overseers of the curers, men who, because of their advanced age,
178 could determine whether the curers were acting in the interest of the town. With the loss of this social control function, along with the loss of other functions such as holding public funds and helping the judges to interpret the law, they have declined to the level of ceremonial figures dissociated from political action.

621 The forms of political organization remain the same, but there has been
178 a shift in the balance of power from leaders whose authority rested on guardianship linked with the ancestors to leaders who can deal with the external power structure. The emergent forms of political organization can be partially assessed in the meaning participants assign to the events which precipitated this process of change. To paraphrase George Herbert Mead (1938:liii) it is the "organization of perspectives" concerning the past events and the present conditions which will effect the emergent
829 forms. The analytical problem can be phrased with the questions, "In
578 what dialectical terms is the conflict cast?" and "What changes do the
794 members of the community perceive as an outcome of the struggle?"
621 Whereas in the colonial period the conflict between the Indians and their
177 Spanish conquerers was seen as a struggle for control between Catholicism
178 and traditional religion, today the conflict is phrased as one of opposed economic interests. In the civil sphere, factional opponents seek the support of extra-communal power holders to gain their ends. In the religious
[193] sphere, the Indians see the conflict as one in which their control over the church and the income derived from it is opposed to the priest's growing influence.

829 In this reorganization of perspectives, the Indians share some of the
62 goals of the dominant society, but they continue to oppose themselves to
182 the Ladino world. For this reason they are willing to preserve the form of the civil-religious hierarchy as a means of asserting their independence from the dominant society. They see the community not only as a defensive screen against the outside world, but as a springboard for entry into the national economic and political life. They are now consciously taking advantage of pro-Indian sentiment to secure a preferred position in this society. Their awareness of their advantage over the deculturated Indian is

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made explicit in the contrasts they make between their conditions and those of the migratory mestizo laborers who work in the sawmills and fincas in the area. They comment on the fact that these workers have no political representation and that they and their children are illiterate and do not attend school. The significant factor is that the Indians of the corporate communities not only have advantages over the mestizo worker, but they perceive these advantages and are acting in terms of them. The preservation of community traditions is seen as a means of retaining community-owned assets and of maintaining a sense of self which is threatened or destroyed when the individual Indian enters into the national society.

The rules of strategy for moving in the direction of change are a transformation of the rules of the game that the Indians hve played in the four and a half centuries since the Conquest. The overall strategy is still defensive and aimed at preserving local independence, but their tactics include new skills acquired from Ladinos. In opposing the old power elite of the curing hierarchy, the present leadership uses the same tactics of the witch-hunt that their opponents used in the past to punish deviates, but they are beginning to confront them openly when sorcery is suspected. Leaders of the new cooperatives state that their aim is to increase opportunities for the whole community, not to make individual profit.

Because the conflict has been contained within community boundaries, the statement of goals remains the same. These goals include the retention of control by local leaders over judgment of guilt or innocence, in ceremonial affairs, and by all townspeople over land. This retention of local control is the key feature of a moving equilibrium in a model of change that puts the emphasis on continuous adjustments and adaptations. In the usual models for discussing modernization, the confrontation is conceived as one between the indigenous society and the outsider representing western influence. In Tzoʔontahal, young leaders within the community have confronted old in the stated interest of preserving tradition. Occasionally they may make alliances with the old leaders as in the conflict with the priest.

These "shifts in the focus of political power within a given system" (Leach 1964:9) are the prelude to structural change. Tzoʔontahal as a case

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example demonstrates the large input of local energies in bringing about change, both the changes that lead to internal restructuring of the distribution of power as well as those necessary in the introduction of new technology and organization of economic activity. It defeats the notion of the non-western segment of the world as a passive recipient of the gifts of the West.

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554 the status. Community integration is achieved at the expense of limiting the range of roles through restricted recruitment and validating mechanisms.

621 794 [182] *Alternation and linkage in office-holding.* The principle of alternation between civil and religious posts serves to integrate these officers in a single functioning system and prevents the development of segmented groups. The alternation of offices between sides of the dual divisions helps to integrate the village by pairing or alternating them in the same office. Some roles served as links between the institutional domaines. Principales are the primary symbolic leaders of both hierarchies since they are chosen from among men who have completed service in both hierarchies. The alfereces formerly symbolized the unity of the civil and religious branches in the transfer of banners from the cabildo to the church and in other ceremonial duties.

621 624 794 [692] [184] The regidores and judges have remained identified with the civil authority in Tzoʔontahal, although in other towns in the area they have become almost exclusively identified with the religious hierarchy (Cancian 1965). The regidores were formerly involved in religious affairs during the household celebration for the installation of the new alférez. At this time they were called personaetik from the Spanish term persona, or personage.

731 756 178 621 Events requiring community action reveal some of the links which unite officials who play roles in different institutional settings. On the occasion of an epidemic, curers are called before the civil authority to "give an account" of who is causing the witchcraft. Formerly the curers were linked to the civil hierarchy by a system of social control in which the principales, as elders, reviewed their actions in guarding the safety and health of the community. This system of checks and balance has been broken by the shift in power from the principales to the president.

794 621 182 The nakawanehetik provide the links between the household and the civil and religious hierarchies. They transmit the knowledge of ritual prayer and acts and officiate at the inauguration of officials. They serve as stage directors in maintaining the traditional household rituals and in ensuring continuity in public ceremonials.

been made, there is no recourse but to kill the man since he may retaliate by killing his accuser (this occurred in two of the cases noted in Table 29).

Conflict between generations in the role sets father/son and father/son-in-law stems from delay in carrying out role responsibilities. Fathers are expected to provide the money for the costs of betrothal, and to give their children shares of the patrimony including both land and livestock. The scheduling of when this should occur is often a matter of dispute, resulting in at least two cases of homicide in the period analyzed.

New economic enterprises have exacerbated the tensions rising from envy. Foster (1965) has suggested that envy stems from the notion of the "limited good," requiring the strategy of a "zero sum game" (Bennet 1966). The fact that the new wealth is evidence of new opportunities, not a subtraction from a given resource supply, has not entered the cognitive awareness of the people. The prospering leaders of these enterprises feel themselves to be particularly vulnerable to the envy of others and thus to the charge of witchcraft. There have been several open attacks on new leaders accused as witches; the leader of the truck cooperative, for example, was murdered in 1966. Six men have been killed as cattle thieves in the past ten years.

The economic roles created with the introduction of new enterprises have not been integrated in the traditional pattern of recruitment and control. In the association of cattle breeders, leadership tends to be based on the size of the herd; in the case of the truck cooperative, amount of capital invested and entrepreneurial skills have determined the leadership of the enterprise, while driving skill and ability to get along in the Ladino world has been the basis for choice of drivers. Such achievement principles as the basis for recruitment into these envied positions are not accepted in the same way that age and passage through a hierarchy of posts validated higher positions in the old hierarchies. The conspicuous expenditure of wealth in the more expensive posts in the religious hierarchy has also failed to lessen hostility aroused by the increasing disparity in wealth, and in fact those who have served as alférez have been even more subject to witchcraft aroused by envy.

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Unorthodox behavior after drinking is less subject to censure than that indulged in without this stimulus.

The social changes affecting the community have not changed the categories of roles. What has happened is a shift in the power and authority associated with civil roles: the president's role for example has assumed importance over that of the principales. A full account of the changes in the role system requires a discussion of the settings in which they are enacted, the timing which gives them coherence, and the beliefs which give them meaning. Summary statements on role coordination will be given in the final chapter.

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695 minimum of explicit rules. Very little is ruled out of order, and almost
[693] nothing introduced is considered irrelevant. The dialogue is primarily between the judge and claimant and secondarily between judge and defendant. The rural judges join with the regidores, who act as court clerks when a case is heard, in a kind of Greek chorus when consensus is reached regarding statements made by defendant or claimant. The judges indicate clearly their approval or disapproval of the statements being made, and throughout the case, consensual verdicts are made in an apparently spontaneous manner. No one pretends to be impartial. Personal knowledge of the defendant or claimant is introduced into the case.

Courtroom behavior falls into three major acts: (1) the declaration by the claimant, (2) the questioning of the defendant (literally the "taking of the heart"), and (3) the paying of the fine. The judge introduces the first act by asking the claimant to "come and speak" so that they can "listen
[576] and hear." This ends formally with the claimant saying, "Good day, Elder Brother." The judge introduces the second act when he turns to the defendant, who stands before the civil officials, and says, "Speak and we shall listen, boy. What goes with you?" The defendant sums up his defense in the questioning period. The president introduces the final act, telling the defendant, "When you give a little fine you will be free."

[641] Both claimant and defendant pay court fees, an acknowledgment of the
[273] feeling that both are guilty because they are involved in a dispute. Before the term of the incumbent president began, this was paid in two liters of
[178] illegally distilled liquor, a kind of symbolic defiance of federal law. Now, since the president drinks only beer, it is paid in two family-sized bottles of beer. The etiquette of courtroom drinking is prescribed: the bottle, referred to as *smahtan,* or gift, is passed to the judge, who goes to the president and presents it to him with a few words of the pat?o?tan giving thanks for the gift. The fourth regidor then measures out the liquor, giving the first shot to the president, the next to the first judge and so on around the room. If a large fine is paid by the defendant, the president or-
[264] ders the police to buy meat, and a "common meal" is prepared and eaten.

693 In this society, there are neither veniremen nor specialized advocates.
695 Civil officials other than the first judge act as jurors, announcing their sentiments in unison. The judge, rather than handing down a decision, sums up the consensus of the group. Kinsmen of the claimant and defendant act

The townspeople feel that they own the church, and many resent the intrusion of the priest who resides sometimes two or three days a week in the adjoining rectory. In the past five years, however, the priest has succeeded in asserting more control over the church: he has forbidden drinking in the church or in the courtyard, a prohibition that resulted in an open confrontation with the leading cofrade (Chapter 9); and he now controls the keys to the church and to the money boxes, formerly the responsibility of the fiscal. The two lay sisters who are in residence during the week hold the keys and are in charge of the upkeep of the church. 346 793 794 177 178

People always show respect for the church by removing their hats as they pass the entrance, even when they are at a distance. As they enter the church, they always kneel and cross themselves. They may spit on the floor of the church, for this is not a sign of disrespect. 346 576 788 [514]

The complementarity of church and cabildo is still formally recognized in ceremonial events: participants bow to the church and then to the cabildo during processions. The transfer of sacred symbols from one locale to the other at the time of the inauguration of civil and religious officials ceremonially signifies the integration of civil and religious authority, despite the growing separation in day-to-day functions in each of the domains. 621 794 182

The church serves as a staging platform for the images and symbolic offerings to them in the annual cycle of ceremonies. During the nine days of ceremony accorded to the major saints, their images are moved to the center of the altar or to the center of the nave. The staging effects are particularly notable during the fiesta of Holy Week, when the reenactment of the crucifixion is performed in the nave. The mayordomos, under the direction of the fiscal and the lay sisters, move the saints about and prepare adornments of flowers and pine needles. 346 796 [794]

The church is the locus for the weekly mass given by the priest. The men stand on the left side of the church (facing the altar), while the women kneel or sit on the floor to the right. A few benches near the altar are occupied by the Ladinos of the area who attend the mass. The lay sisters indicate to the congregation when they should kneel and rise in response to the cues of the sermon or mass. [562] [563] [794]

In addition to these scheduled events, the church serves as a locus where 346 776 782

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346 776 782 individuals can visit the saints on their own personal missions. Appendix 3A records the visits of groups and individuals on an ordinary Sunday. Their actions in the church are part of the standardized behavior incumbent upon all those who enter the building.

Communication with the saints is ensured either by touching and kissing their images or, if the images are enclosed in glass cases, by tapping the gl. with offerings of money. It is believed that one gains an audience [562] by pay..g for it. When groups larger than individual clusters of visitors enter the church, sexual segregation is observed (for example, when a male child enters with his mother on the occasion of a mass, he remains with her until more people arrive, then leaves her to stand on the male [788] side of the nave). Ritualized wailing is done by women only. After such a [152] demonstration the women show normal composure, since wailing is a standardized mode of communication, not an outburst of uncontrolled emotion. It is private and concerns the individual wailer and the saint to which she appeals; none of the other visitors in the church indicates any sign of response to these displays. Unless there is a focused activity going [794] on, such as a mass or series of baptisms, each visiting group is an autonomous unit, carrying out its own mission.

794 571 562 People visit the church most commonly in pairs of two. They congregate for mass in a pattern in which women and children enter first, and men, who linger in the plaza until the church is partially filled, enter in clusters and take their places on the male side of the nave. The religious and civil officials enter last, and the mayordomos, whose attendance is one of the obligations of their post, move toward the altar at the front. Men attend church less frequently than do women.

The School

346 621 875 [177] [178] Unlike the church, the school is regarded as an alien structure. Assistance in reconstruction and maintenance is given under pressure rather than voluntarily. Until fairly recently, schoolteachers too remained unintegrated in the community. In the early years of the school's existence, there was a rapid turnover of teachers. The employment of a schoolmaster with a wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The school has be-

come the domain of the schoolmaster, who represents federal influence in the local community. He has rebuilt parts of the structure in the thirteen years he and his family have lived and worked in this building; it was his fortress when the Indians threatened to kill him for building a chicken coop obtruding into the street, and again when he interceded in a case of homicide. He has a small arsenal stored in his bedroom in preparation for any reversal of his position in the community. The school is his platform, the area he controls and from which he shouts to his compadres—the storekeeper, the fiscal, and the president—to come speak with him. 346 621 875

The long building is subdivided into four classrooms and the living quarters of the schoolmaster's family. The classrooms are furnished with crude benches and tables; blackboards and charts of birds, animals, and the alphabet decorate the walls. The back porch, converted to classrooms to accommodate the three hundred and fifty children, overflows with benches. The students' own materials—a notebook, pencil, and erasers—are provided by their parents. When a notebook is filled, the students industriously erase all the marks and reuse the book until it falls apart. 346 352 353 872

When I was in the village, the schoolmaster often encouraged visitors to share a Coca-Cola with him in his office. Here, surrounded by his books, his collection of artifacts of both genuine and spurious origin, a picture of the district inspector of federal schools pinning a medal on his chest, the flag of the Mexican republic, he could speak freely of the personal attacks and frustrations and of the rare satisfactions he encountered "in bringing civilization to the town." As he began to build up his political power in the community, the president and síndico often consulted with him on town affairs. Agents of the federal or departmental offices who came to town frequently communicated with him directly before going to the cabildo. The school became the arena for working out political programs and strategies. The schoolmaster prided himself on being the primary channel of communication between the outside world and the village. 621 875 [346] [353]

The conflict of interest between the schoolmaster and the parents of the children over attendance in school has been ameliorated in recent years with the acceptance by some of the parents of education as an advantage. In the early years of compulsory education, physical force was used to round up the children. The traumatic experience of his first day in school 872 875 578 177 178 872 177

3. Categories of role-bearers sit and act together in all the domains. In the home the me?eletik, the nakawanehetik, and the b'alnialetik have established seats and act in concert. Similarly in the cabildo, four ranks of officials, the principales, judges, regidores, and police, move and act together. In the church, elder and younger mayordomos move in pairs of two. 571 554 576

4. Sexual segregation is present in the home, the church, and the cabildo, but is lacking in the school. This rejection of the community standard for a group situation was the basis for some parents holding their children out of school until coerced by the federal authorities backed by the local officials. 562 871 177 178

5. Attendance in all domains involves coercion as well as voluntary action. Coercion is most marked in the school, but resistance by the parents to forced attendance and mixing of the sexes is fast wearing down in this domain. In the cabildo, the defendant is required to attend the court hearing and may even be jailed if he does not pay the fines charged against him. Coercion is covert in the home; the lack of alternative housing arrangements makes residence in the household of orientation or of procreation mandatory.

6. Sacred symbols are present in all the domains. The symbols of the cabildo and of the school relate the community to the nation with the national flags and the portraits of the president. The canes of office which are assumed as each official acquires office are symbols of local authority. The universalistic symbols of the church—the saints images, portraits, and banners—are acquired from Catholic orthodoxy, but have been encapsulated with local sentiments and beliefs. Sacred symbols are treated with respect and avoidance, both in the church and the home. The "holy cross" or banners are touched only with sacred embroidered cloths binding the hands of those who carry them. Saints' images are kissed, but as a mark of respect, not intimacy. The Mexican flag, with which less awe is associated, is saluted. [293] 778 177 178 788 186

Each of the domains provides a setting for the recognition and validation of authority figures in the community. Values which are communally shared or imposed from outside are formally instilled in these settings. Ex- 621 177 178

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621 177 178 tra-institutional supports are still lacking for the school, which is not yet fully incorporated into the community framework.

621 571 177 182 554 Replication of behavior in all of the institutional domains except the school provides a measure of social integration in the community. Patterned behavior, such as the set speeches of the pat'o'tan, the formalized drinking procedure including the blessing of the drink and the serving of it in accordance with age and authority ranking of the participants, the etiquette of greeting and leave-taking, the embrace signifying ritual guardianship, occurs in the home, the town hall, and the church. These sets of stereotyped behavior, specified according to roles, simplify the movement from one institutional setting to another and contribute to continuity in role performance by the individual. The new patterns of behavior introduced in the school—desegregation of the sexes, competition in performance, grading of achievement—are not modes of behavior which have spread. However, as the skills acquired in school assume greater importance in the community, it is likely that the socializing procedures with which they were transmitted may spread to the home.

805 lating the time of day; when I questioned them as to the hour, they were often as much as an hour off, usually behind.

Most activities are ordered with reference to the Gregorian calendar, but the twenty-day Maya calendrical month, defined as "twenty days or a month" is used in much the same way that we use "a fortnight." The In-
805 dians consider the moon to be an uncertain indicator of time, since "she
821 does not walk well." But the moon is important in the culture: people note its different phases and are especially aware of the phase under which a child is born—an important sign for the newborn's future. If a baby is
[856] born at the full moon, he is expected to mature more readily. The full
[787] moon also signifies a propitious time for undertaking certain activities, such as cutting wood for the main posts of a house and cutting palm for the roof.

The Daily Schedule

512 Daily activities are organized by traditional economic pursuits. The
462 woman is the first one to rise in the morning. She gets up at dawn, lights
[252] the fire, and sets a jar of water to boil for coffee. She grinds the nixtamal cooked the night before on the stone grinding board, or takes it to the mill
[412] in the center. She then makes tortillas either by hand or with a press; a re-
[177] cent innovation made of two hinged pieces of wood in which the ball of
[178] dough is set between pieces of plastic paper.

The men of the household are served first, followed by the boys; the
[264] women and girls eat last. As soon as they have eaten, the men and boys who have finished the required three years of schooling go out to the
[481] fields to work. They walk single file even in the streets of the town, the fa-
[482] ther preceding his sons. Each carries a machete, net bag, tumpline, and sheepskin back-protector if he plans to carry any loads. Many bring shot-
[411] guns as well in order to hunt for field rats, raccoon, or the burrowing ani-
[224] mals they find in the fields.

After the men leave, the women go to the porch and "seize their work."
[857] The children go to school, which begins at eight-thirty in the morning
[872] and continues until five o'clock in the evening. They return home for
[264] lunch, a meal of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans or chayote when it is in season.

Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

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These time and space patterns provide the individual with a cognitive structure which enables him to function appropriately in a given setting and to plan his future actions. Having one piece of information, people can derive the other understandings necessary to adjust their own behavior to the expectations of others.

Time as a measure of value has been affected by changes occurring in the past two decades. Men are less willing to expend time in ceremonial activities than formerly. The first ceremony given up was Carnival, which has not been celebrated for over a decade. Most recently, young men have refused to become alfereces, and their resistance on the basis of loss of time and money was formally recognized in 1966 when the institution was abolished. The resistance parents used to show to their children spending, or wasting their time in school has given way as some of the more modernized parents have seen the advantages of education.

The tempo of life has accelerated with the increasing importance of bus and truck transportation to market. Women's time has always figured as importantly as that of the men because of their pottery production, and they have quickly accepted time-saving innovations such as the tortilla press and the corn-grinding mill. They have not shown any inclination to adopt time-saving technology, such as the potter's wheel, in pottery-making since they have no knowledge of it, and using it would require relearning basic tasks.

The ceremonial cycle still provides the major consideration in programming other activities in the community. The Indian as an agriculturalist remains master of his own time, and he plans his work so that he can fulfill his ceremonial obligations.

Chapter 13

Belief and Behavior in a Changing Society

Continuity is the theme stressed in the rules of the game that apply to living in the square world of the community. The framework of continuity is the landscape itself with the ancestral hills and devils' caves reminding people of the moral order of the past. Repetitive behavior in rituals symbolically projects the past into the future, and behavioral schema in pottery and agricultural production reinforce the belief that all remains the same. The conditions making for change stem from the very attempts to preserve the existing equilibrium. A rising population on a limited land base using colonial techniques of cultivation is bringing about an increasing reliance on outside markets for the sale of labor and the purchase of goods. The ejido program which has perpetuated the system of subsistence cultivation has at the same time increased the dependency on external political influence and undermined dependency on parents. Some of the rules of strategy that have developed in response to changes coming from outside the community can no longer be justified by the beliefs that govern behavior within its boundaries. The community is now in crisis: people are losing faith in the old beliefs and have not yet developed a meaningful ideology for new strategies.

The crisis does not affect all institutions equally. It is absent in the traditional economic activities of milpa cultivation and pottery production. It is incipient in the households, especially where there are wage-workers in nonagricultural jobs. It is more apparent in the civil than in the religious sphere, and it is most manifest in the new economic activities. The school, as an externally imposed institution, generates awareness of the conflict between old beliefs and the ideology of nationalism, but until recently receptivity to these ideas has been limited. The behavior described for each in-

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The behavior described for each institution in earlier chapters will be summarized as a mode of adjustment or adaptation in relation to the beliefs that give it meaning and purpose. 128

Economic Activities

868 241 323

Learning agricultural tasks and pottery-making in the household is part of adjusting to membership in the community. Parents are responsible for teaching the value of industriousness and are held accountable throughout the life of the child. Agricultural tasks are scheduled in a yearly cycle that provides sufficient flexibility for a man to carry out community and familial ceremonial responsibilities. In milpa agriculture, there is no specialization of tasks. Small-plot agricultural production with a simple technology has been reinforced by the land reform program. Since the lands incorporated under the Ejido Commission in the 1930s were attached to the community, agriculturalists were not forced to adjust to new ecological conditions. Politicalization was minimal since the local commission operated within the old civil hierarchy. In the recent expansion of ejido colonies in hot country, Indians from the community have developed alliances with non-Indians in asserting claims to the land. Without any preexisting civil hierarchy, these ejidatarios have not had to adjust their activities to a given structure of authority, but have developed independent political organizations as an adaptation to their new environment. 241 177 178 423 621

Women's work in pottery is less subject to changes in techniques and organization than is men's. The schema of production in simple tasks in a fixed sequence makes it easier to teach girls each process and reinforces a given pottery tradition. My guess would be that if wheel production were introduced, it would liberate the creativity of each potter by freeing her of established routines. 323 177 178

Pottery production is not surrounded, as is agricultural production, by ceremonials. There is no god to whom one lights candles or gives offerings to ensure success, although there are hazards in production, particularly at the time of firing. Agricultural productivity, on the other hand, is thought to depend on the proper relation between the spirits of the heaven and of the church with the spirits of crops. 323 241 796 [796]

In the new economic activities, the Indians have shown both adjustive 177 178 233 312 476 621

233
177 and adaptive responses. With the expansion of cattle raising, Indians have
178 organized associations adjusted to the traditional dual division. The asso-
62 ciation for each side of the dual division mobilizes labor for maintaining
476 the watering holes. The failure to organize communal corrals means that
312 inefficient herding techniques, damage to the milpa, and frequent loss or
[685] theft of cattle persist. The association reacts to the last problem by hiring killers to get rid of those suspected of theft, but this adaptive response is limited to dealing with particular incidents and has not solved the problem.

548 The manufacturers of contraband liquor have succeeded in organizing a
273 syndicate strong enough to maintain a monopoly price for both the inter-
177 nal and external markets and to provide security for themselves against
178 federal agents. The syndicate mobilizes for specific actions, such as raising
[435] the bail bond for imprisoned members or punishing informers. As a com-
894 munity-wide organization ignoring the dual division and age-ranked sen-
[681] iority, it represents an adaptation in response to extra-community pres-
[621] sures.
[561]

The cooperatives that have been organized to manage the local store
474 and the trucks provide permanent managerial operations that are an adap-
177 tition to growing interaction in extra-community economic activities.
178 Cooperative owners are able to raise the capital to maintain and expand these operations. It is within these structures that entrepreneurial skills are being developed. The organizers gain the advantage not only of socializing the risk of loss but also of making a profit in a community where belief in witchcraft, fostered by envy, is rampant.

474 Activities in the new economic enterprises are not supported by any su-
472 pernatural belief. In order to gain acceptance for the new enterprises, the
177 entrepreneur Santos, who had organized the trucking cooperative, recog-
178 nized the need for an ideology. His rhetoric drew upon the sense of deprivation Indians feel in their relations with Ladinos. He justified his own ends as an attempt to gain for all the community the profits that only Ladinos had been able to gain through trucking and crops resales in the regional markets. The ideology he had begun to formulate stressed economic and political independence from both the Ladino entrepreneurs of neighboring towns and government agents who tried to promote welfare

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programs in the interest of "civilizing" the Indians. This formulation involved a basic contradiction between the goal of moving into regional and national networks and that of keeping the old autonomy and independence of the corporate community. He never had to face that contradiction. Unable to gain adherents other than the small group of profit-sharers in the cooperative he organized, he was killed by opponents within the community.

The Family and Household

The core of the traditional culture lay in the local power hierarchies patterned on the familial model of age-ordered paternal authority institutionalized in the me?iltatil. The me?iltatil of the household have provided a flexible institution for adjusting conflict within the kin group. Their role in directing ritual performances preserves a sense of continuity in life cycle changes.

The institutionalized authority of the elders has not been upset by the trend toward residence based on nuclear families, which is an adjustment to the pressure of limited space in the town center. Kinship ties are continually reinforced by rituals that draw together the me?iltalil as sponsors of ceremonies marking baptism, marriage, and death. This group of sponsoring relatives has absorbed the institution of compadrazgo, adding compadres to the network of affinally-and bilaterally-related kin. The procedures for adjusting conflict among members of the household and extended family networks reinforce the authority of the elders. When adjustive processes in the house and court "arrangements" and in curing ceremonies fail, the only recourse is for one of the disputants to leave the community or commit homicide.

Ceremonies within the household provide a model for the rules of the game that apply to adjustive behavior in the community. The household officials introduce new officials into their role, teaching them the prayers and directing the proceedings. Their authority depends upon age and prestige acquired in office. The me?iltatil, as the elders of the family, are the direct link with the ancestors. They and the nakawane provide the strongest force for preserving the ways of the ancestors.

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Religious Behavior

869 776 Socialization of the child includes teaching him how to adjust to spirits of the house and of the surrounding hills and springs as well as to people in his social environment. He learns the obligations he owes to these spirits in the rituals of house inauguration and curing. Place spirits are given an ethnic identity. The ancestor figures who live in the cave are Indians from whom all the people originate. The Ladino spirits residing in the houses and springs are a mythological projection of a conquered people who have learned to coexist with their conquerors by paying tribute of candles, food, liquor, and entertainment. If the spirits are not won over, they will admit the evil spirits who bring sickness and death. Their presence is known only by the trouble they permit rather than by good occurences; the miracles they perform are an undoing of the harm they have permitted.

776 782 789 The belief in the potentially dangerous nature of these spirits when their envy or appetite is aroused is linked to an understanding that men and gods alike are jealous and vindictive. It generates behavior that is in conformity with that of the ancestors. A sense of security is reinforced by the protective symbols of incense, the cross of palm hung on the entrance posts of the yard and house, candles which "blind the eye of the devil," and garlic mixed with hot herbs which exude an odor that evil spirits dislike. When the uneasy contract between spiritual and human coresidents [755] is upset, a curing ritual is performed to make everyone "of one heart." Be- [571] havior with respect to both spirits and people stems from a policy of ap- [273] peasement through entertainment and liquor provided in household ceremonials.

776 177 178 Behavior differs in regard to the category of saints called "spirits in the heaven" and those called "spirits in the church." Spirits of the heavens have incorporated pre-Conquest deities with those introduced by the missions. They are a more powerful force influencing human moral behavior. [834] Illicit sexual relations carried out in the milpa by day are believed to [784] arouse the envy of "Our Father the Sun" who will cause the milpa to burn by refusing to give way to rain. Similarly "Our Grandmother the

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Moon" will not give way to the sun if her envy is aroused by seeing such things. These spirits of the heavens have greater control over natural forces than the spirits of the church, or saints. The saints have only limited influence over the souls of particular crops and chickens; people say "they are just of the pueblo."

The distinction between the "big saints of the church" and the lesser saints is recognized in the rituals accorded each group. Four of the saints are given big fiestas which are longer, require more expenditures, and involve more people than the fiestas for the lesser saints. Few distinctions are made between the personalities of the big saints and those of the lesser saints. They are big because their fiestas are big. The fact that the townspeople have selected four from the rostrum of saints given them suggests a link with the four guardian gods of the pre-Conquest pantheon, but except for San Pedro the Martyr's identification with Chac, or Cha'uk in Tzeltal, I could not make any other associations.

To say that there is a system of beliefs does not rule out inconsistencies. Some contradictions can coexist without giving rise to tension. Awareness of incongruence either between beliefs, or between beliefs and behavior associated with them, arises in specific events in which the conflict becomes apparent—that is, when the participants must make choices between alternatives that affect their interests.

The people do not recognize any division between pre- and post-Conquest spiritual entities. Sometimes two personalities from Catholic sources may be equated with one of pre-Conquest origin in order to fit a story format, as in the case of Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost, with K'oł (Chapter 8). The priests, who had a special dispensation to make whatever cultural translations were necessary in teaching the doctrines of the church (Doctrina Cristiana Lima 1584 III, 3, Recopilación de Leyes, Ley 22 lib. cited in Lamb 1956:531), are responsible for some of the reworking of the two traditions. But local elaborations reveal indigenous cognitive patterning.

Contradictions in myths concerning the origin of crops show some gaps in the union of pre-and post-Conquest legends. The gift of corn is attributed in one myth to the patroness, Santa Lucía, who received it from the patron saint of the neighboring town of Oxchuk. Another myth gives

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credit to insects who carried it from the hills. Still another myth synthesizes both pre-Conquest and Catholic agents: San Antonio, seeing an insect bearing a kernel of corn, persuaded a woodpecker to break open the rock which blocked the entrance to the hill where the corn was stored and then organized the insects to bring forth the corn. The contradictions in these myths do not motivate the people to bring the several versions into line with one another because the rituals associated with beliefs concerning crops provide an overall insurance rather than a specific contract. The Indians do not trust their security to any one saint or even group of deities. The two candles lit in the milpa following the harvest are an offering to the "owner of the earth"; along with this, offerings of corncobs are made to the saints in the church and to the house saint. Even the birds are left an offering of corn kernels in the fields after the harvest so that they will not be jealous of the farmer.

These myths fail to provide specific charters for action. What they do provide is a set of dispositions to behave in certain ways. The underlying disposition is that of self-imposed guilt and recrimination. The ancestors left their cave because the people failed to give them a fiesta; the spirit of money left the town because the religious officials in the past failed to adorn the church and improvidently strewed the floor with green peso notes in place of pine needles. Sickness and poverty are attributed to their own failures.

Another disposition is that of appeasement through ceremonial entertainment. This is carried out in the fiestas for the spirits of the church and the spirits of the heaven just as for the spirits of the house, caves, springs, and hills surrounding the town. Community-wide disaster is interpreted as a direct result of failure to perform rituals establishing reciprocity with the spirits. When individuals face crop loss, they review their own ritual obligations to see what went wrong. The curing ceremony is another effort to appease the devil whom the witch has persuaded to give illness to his victim.

A third such disposition is to project human conflict into the supernatural sphere. The conflict between Santa Lucía and the patron saint of Oxchuk, Santo Tomás was taken to be the reason for the church tower being

struck by lightning on two occasions. The solution was to rebuild the tower of metal so that Santo Tomás could not demolish it if he struck again, a defensive reaction which is typical of the Indians in their extra-community relations. When an eclipse of "Our Grandmother the Moon" occurred during my stay in town, everyone went to her assistance, banging metal tools and pots, in what was believed to be a fight with the sun.

The emphasis on self-recrimination and guilt in explaining failure minimizes the build-up of protest. Economic hardship attributed to a man's own improvidence in relation to his fellow man and God are accepted as his lot in life. The drama of the curing ritual projects the Indians' sense of their own guilt for the suffering and poverty they endure.

Political Behavior

The structure of the civil hierarchy has been maintained but organizational changes have occurred which have weakened the basis for it. The alternation of offices between church and civil positions survives in the lower levels, but the new leaders in civil affairs now begin in the Ejido Commission, and few of those who pass as president take on posts in the religious hierarchy. The appearance of continuity has been maintained in communal rituals in which the principales provide the link with the past and the alfereces, until 1966, were the link between civil and religious wings; but in the day-to-day running of the town, the officials do not act on these premises. The balance between officials from each side of the dual division has been upset by the population increase on one side. The abolition of the institution of alfereces gives public recognition to the growing awareness of imbalance. Moreover, the factions based on the new trucking cooperatives that cut across the dual division reduce the effectiveness of the dual division in channeling conflict.

Behavioral deviation from the norms is present in all societies and is not in itself an index to structural change. This comes about when new interpretations are given to events that undermine confidence in existing institutions and leaders. Political conflicts in the past were interpreted as a contest between members of the sides of the dual division and hostility

621 578 177 178 was channeled along existing lines of competition. During my stay in the community from 1964 to 1966, most conflicts were attributed to economic competition between the two trucking cooperatives. Along with this, the [114] [474] [182] waning of the position of the principales has undermined the confidence of the people in the system of checks and balances in which the principales watched over the judges, the judges watched over the curers, the curers watched over the people to see that no one brought in evil, and the ancestors watched over everyone. [756] Curers are more and more often accused of witchcraft and are frequent victims of homicide. The sense that they are the guardians of the pueblo and the agents of the ancestors is nearly dead. They are consulted only because the people feel that, because of the evil in them, they can fight the evil caused by others.

621 756 177 178 The shift in power from the old leaders to the new has not been accompanied by a shift in ideological allegiance. The new leaders cannot offer the security the people felt when they were living in the eyes of the ancestors. The curers remain as a powerful group because of their claims of being able to fight evil; but there is no longer a legitimate authority controlling their use of destructive forces.

561 554 177 178 A system of authority based on rule by elders is a structural correlative of a behavior pattern in which people act out the ways of the ancestors. This applies to the schematized behavior contained in rituals and in traditional productive activities. The ideology of a seniority-based prestige system persists at the explicit level at the same time that behavioral changes in contradiction to this are occurring.

626 177 178 Social control in a system of behavior based on what was done in the past depends upon the belief that people are carrying out their lives "in the eyes of the ancestors." Ritual behavior in Tzoʔontahal seems to confirm this, but in view of the waning belief in the presence of the ancestors and the loss of confidence in their agents, the curers, this behavior is a kind of social lie designed to perpetuate the old code of morality. In their everyday behavior, people no longer act on the same premises. The social lie is perpetuated because the people who enjoyed power in the old social system—the curers and the elders—do not wish to relinquish it. It will last only so long as they can find successors, and with the abolition of the recruitment through alfereces, this should not be for long.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The material conditions making for equilibrium are breaking down within the community, but the failure for protest to develop means that old beliefs are not challenged by new ideologies. Adaptations and adjustments made in response to changes are still forced into this framework of understandings and expectations. But without any stated changes in belief, Indians are themselves transforming the internal structure of the society by undermining the old gerontocracy and shifting the locus of power to the innovating young men. A binary model of change that poses a transformation from traditional to modern might ignore these internal changes that maintain a given equilibrium intact but that provide a reordering of power making possible a successful adaptation to larger social orders. Tzo'ontahal is a case in point proving that the external conditions are not sufficient to explain fundamental restructuring of the society. People continue to act out a faith in the ways of the ancestors at the same time that adjustments and adaptations are made in response to increasing interdependence in regional and national institutions. The same framework of government is retained as shifts of power give scope to a new kind of leadership. Continuity in forms has the positive effect of preserving a sense of security. The social costs are a slowing down of adaptive responses and a high investment in the "ceremonial fund" (Wolf 1966). The benefits can only be measured by comparison with cultures that have lost these controls.

The universal problem which this community is in the process of working out has been stated by G. H. Mead (1938:22): "How is a society to find a method for changing its own institutions and still preserve the security of those institutions?" The present phrasing of the problem in the community is: "How can we preserve the solutions of the past and apply them to the present?" So long as the problem is phrased in this way, the solution is to exile or kill the deviants or innovators who attempt fundamental change. The threat of witchcraft continues to maintain conformity, and fear subverts the search for an ideology to phrase behavioral adjustments and adaptations in such a way that they will be congruent with future goals. Such an ideology cannot be imposed. Only the people themselves can work out the ways in which meaning and understanding are given to technological and social change.

[P 332 is blank]

423 593 The reasons for keeping a son are not as pressing as the [432] reasons for keeping a daughter. Amatenango land holdings are [184] somewhat smaller than Aguacatenango, and the buying and selling of agricultural parcels, as long as it does not involve outsiders to the village, is a common practice which accounts for approximately 16 per cent of land transactions. The

423 241 592 464 limited land holding units in Amatenango require minimal cooperation in agriculture. Because of fractured land holdings, fewer than one-half of the households have two tablones . . . of land. Therefore, fewer than one-half the households can keep more than one man actively employed. Even in those households with from two to five tablones, a man and his adult son are sufficient labor for most activities except harvest. 592 323 434 868 Women's pottery production, however, requires frequent cooperation. Two tendencies are reinforcing the cooperation of women, especially of mothers and daughters: (1) with increasing need for cash income to buy products which are not longer produced in the home, or which have been introduced, money [582] is constantly needed. Pottery offers an easy means of acquiring cash with almost immediate returns, and (2) marriages are [178] currently contracted at a later age for girls than formerly. Before, about a generation ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve were the rule. Most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques begins at that age. Consequently, pottery was taught to the daughter by the mother-in-law if the girl was married and resided in the husband's house. (See Frans [114] Blom and Oliver LaFarge [1927] who commented that all pottery was taught by the mother-in-law.) Most marriages now are contracted for girls from 14 to 17 years of age. At this time they are already proficient potters, and accustomed to working with their mother. Therefore, there is a greater stress put on their remaining in or near their parental home after marriage (Nash, J., 1960:47).[1]

592 868 323 The people of Amatenango recognize that during the period in which a woman learns to make pottery, she establishes particular habits of cooperation and a strong solidarity bond with the woman from whom she learns and with whom she works. "Parents say that there is an advantage in early marriages, in that the girl would be more willing to learn the ways of her mother-in-law if she

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[61] [1]It is also important to notice that with the increase in population over the area, the market has increased.

000 precisely stated. Today, with the total increase in land holdings,
423 the influence of the Eiido Commission (however minimal) and the
621 introduction of a money economy in which land is becoming more
592 and more of a commodity that can be bought and sold, in terms of
178 contract transactions, land tends to be thought of as individual
household property. There have been several cases in which
[593] brothers have bought land from each other, although they are the
people from which a line member can expect to obtain land, or in
the absence of it, the necessary help to clear and fence a new
parcel in forested communal territory.

178 Other reasons for the constant breaking of linearity,
613 which reduced the patriline to a very shallow group, are inherent
593 in the system itself. First, the antagonism between brothers over
423 property rights tends to make the sibling group weak, and agnatic
lines split in each generation.

593 Insofar as siblings occupy an equivalent position with
[592] respect to the elders in the household, their sentiments towards
one another are easy and affectionate, but insofar as the elder
sibling has jural authority over the younger ones, the relationship
is marked by constraint, respect and a certain ambivalence.

Thus, siblings are expected to love each other, to give each other company, to help when necessary, and to share, in some aspects of their life, a common position with respect to the community at large, or what Homans calls the external system (1950: 90-94).

The equivalence of siblings, especially those of the same sex, is evident in many observations. A man whose brother is

159 During the branding of animals in the village, Francisco received
422 a letter from Candelario asking him to brand the cow and calf for
593 him. Francisco and his son, Epifanio, did so.
578

This started the conflict. Jose Mendez, Juana's brother, felt that the cow and calf did not rightfully belong to Candelario, nor to Francisco or Epifanio, but to him. Epifanio had a fight with Jose, and the latter, insisting on his rights, which were not very clear, stated that Candelario had sold him the cow (which was not true), when they were working in the lowlands together. Casimira, Juana and Jose's mother, supported Jose's claims over the animals, because it was the money obtained from Juana's bull that had paid for the cow that had the calf. The relatives of her daughter's husband had less right over the animal than Juana's brother.

It is possible that Jose felt that the cow and calf had been purchased with the money obtained from selling a bull which was originally his father's, not his sister's. Even if it was his sister's, he felt he had more right to use it than the sister's husband's brother and father. If owner of the bull or the cow had been a brother rather than a sister, the conflict would not have arisen. (For genealogy see Fig. 17.)

177 Third, with the introduction of Catholicism, although the
178 native belief system has preserved many of its early features,
754 it is now, without doubt, a new syncretic elaboration. The per-
796 vasive witchcraft powers are, for example, attributed now to
613 Catholic saints, but the concept that the lineage heads of <u>principales</u> have witchcraft power to punish deviants within their

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

177
178 lineage (which exists today in many other communities such as
754 Oxchuc), has disappeared. Without the basic belief in the super-
776
613 natural controlling powers of the lineage heads, the ritual activities performed by the lineage as a corporation became meaningless, and fell out of use.

592
613 Finally, from an economic point of view, the large patriline
434 household-compound, as a productive unit, is unfunctional, and the
421 characteristic form of the domestic group is now the nuclear house-
578 hold, which also contributes to the weakening of patriline strength. Within the nuclear household, it is difficult for its members to discriminate between the part of the household income that is derived from the household head in his capacity as a worker and that which is from his unmarried sons; between those profits which are derived from the household head as a capitalist who has provided tools and implements, and finally those which come from his capacity as "owner" of land. In a larger household, differences in labor in-put, rivalry between the women about the food controlled by themselves and belonging to their husbands, or between the men about the property rights of the produce derived from their common effort, tend to create conflict and disunity. In the
592
594 nuclear household, the division of labor is explicit, the role ex-
578 actly and minimally distributed, and conflict, in the case of its occurrence, is likely to be more quickly solved because the fission of the nuclear domestic group is equivalent to the disappearance of the household itself.

178
613 The functions before performed by the lineage are now
592 performed by the household, the community, or by the neighborhood
621
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group, composed in Amatenango of bilateral relatives, and in Aguacatenango, mainly of agnatic kinsmen, but also including some affinals and non-related people, because contiguous household-to-household localization is an ideal not always realized (we have discussed previously how in some few cases a son lives in a house given to him by his father, but one block distant from his father's own compound).

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The result of this complex set of variables is that the lineage has lost, in Aguacatenango, some of its characteristic functions. The Amatenango case, to extend the example, shows how, even when (1) patri-virilocality disappears (as a consequence of the women participating actively in the economy), and (2) the status of the sexes with regard to inheritance and rights over property becomes equal, the lineage disappears leaving only small traces of its previous presence: name groups without meaning or function.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

184 Within the same cultural frame, two social groups can show many structural diversities which originate from delicate adjustments to internal pressures, even in the case in which, apparently, the variation seems to be the result of influences coming from the external system.

794 754 [177] One example, perhaps, summarizes, by its simplicity, the core of this problem. The post of Alferez, as it functions in the highlands of Chiapas, is an institution that tends to disappear in the more acculturated towns (i.e., those villages more affected by the external system). Although it is a religious post, it does not form part of the Ayuntamiento or Cofradias organization, nor is it part of the hierarchical ladder. A person can become an Alferez independently of his previous service in the government, as long as he can afford the burden financially or "expenses" of the fiesta for which he is selected. "However, in undertaking the post, he is subject to witchcraft exercised by neighbors envious of the wealth he displays in fulfilling his obligation" (Nash, J., 1960:94). Nash reports three informants who considered themselves bewitched as a result of having been 178 794 754 Alfereces in Amatenango. In Aguacatenango, the post has not been occupied for the last twenty-five years. People refuse to take the position on the grounds that they cannot afford it, and refuse to "help the pueblo" for fear of witchcraft. One can see that the same internal pressure, the pressure for economic homogeneity, has resulted in the same supernatural rationalization: fear of witchcraft. One of the villages has arrived at the point where the conflict eradicated itself through the disappearance of the post which originates it, while in the other town, Amatenango,

178 it is still functioning in the context of the witchcraft conflict.
794
754 So, although the fact that the Alferez has disappeared as a post
[177] can be taken as a sign of acculturation, it is also a reflection of differential adjustment to internal conflict.

000 Witchcraft itself is a complex phenomenon. It reflects the economic domain, in the sense that witchcraft accusations are important sanctions applied to people who try to deviate from the economic standards of the community. It reflects the kinship domain, insofar as relational roles existing within the kinship frame, in which conflict is likely to occur, are likely targets for witchcraft talk and mutual accusations. It is a territorial domain phenomenon because spatial relations between people affect their social relations and the appearance of conflict: it is common, we have mentioned, that people living on the edges of town tend to be accused of witchcraft more often, and neighbors of the household are expected to be more prone to bewitch household members than people living further away. Finally, it is a psychological phenomenon, insofar as it reflects individual personalities and/or mental distress. Some people show extreme fear of it, and some people doubt its existence (there are agnostics in every society). Some curers, who are individuals with very unstable personalities, are even willing to denounce themselves as witches with the purpose of having others fear them or respect them.
[754] People whom we, in our culture, would consider mentally ill, are
[828] classified as witches in Aguacatenango and Amatenango.

On the one hand, it can be said that witchcraft is a residual category for the explanation of otherwise unexplainable

In addition to this regular ladder of officials representing the center and its close-lying barrios are judges representing the *colonias*, or rural settlements, of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Crus Quemada. They do not regularly attend the townhall sessions, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of new officials. Only after I had elicited officials from two informants was I able to get from the third the three judges of the colonias with the question, "Are there any other officials in the cabildo?" 621* 693 632

These civil officials constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. The positions of president and *sintiku* (in Spanish *síndico*), not included in the offices of the townhall as a category by informants, were elicited in response to the question stated above. These posts are occupied by younger men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy, until the present generation, was limited to those in the 30-year age bracket. Those with such skills passed immediately into the *comisario ejidal*, commission for land grants, where they assisted in the control and redistribution of land granted under the ejido program, or went directly into the post of *síndico*. Thus they were able to avoid the onerous and time-consuming functions of the traditional posts and enter into the remunerative post of president, where their authority was recognized at an early age. With improved literacy, the competition for such posts is increasing. Although informants say that the post of president alternates for the two sides of the dual division, case materials do not bear this out. 622 624 [124] [191] [212] [423] [178] [212] 622 621* 114

The only Ladino in the hierarchy is the secretary. For the first time this year (1964) the post of secretary has been taken by an Indian of the town. This is part of the power play described below. 563 624 178

Naming of civil officials is done in November, first in a closed session in the townhall at which each official names his successor, followed by a mass meeting *(Komun K'op)* at which the names are read to the assembled household heads in the plaza. To the question, "What are all the kinds of offices in the church?" the response was given: *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces (or captains, the Spanish term *alfereces* comes from the Arabic). There are 16 mayordomos. Role terms for the mayordomos indicated that each saint was repre- 666 621* 794 [776]

[P 213-B]

average annual earnings of a man in this town); failure to accept the post when it is offered brings a jail sentence. On the following day, during a drinking session in the townhall with the assembled civil officials, the reluctant nominee usually accepts. 794 [434] [681] [273]

The civil career of an individual would be one in which he passed (*sk'as*, which I gloss as 'pass'; it is the same verb as Spanish *pasar*) first as police, then as third or fourth regidor. If he has passed as alferez, he will enter as first or second regidor at this stage, and then go on to second judge and finally become first judge. If not, he will stop as third or fourth regidor. After reaching the peak of his career as first judge, he may return to the police group as *martomorey*. Present leaders of the town consider this an "ugly" custom and say they hope to change it because it puts men of major age in a position of minor importance. Formerly men had to fulfill six turns in civil office, twice as regidor and twice as judge, to be considered free of further obligation. But now, because of increasing population (according to informants), this has been lowered to five required turns. The post which has been eliminated is that of assistant judge, which is now filled by a representative of one of the two barrios. 156 621* 554 693 [794] [829] 624 693 178 156

Throughout his career in office, a household head is expected to alternate between the civil and religious posts. Religious posts are considered less onerous since they require only six months of service, from the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo at the end of June until January 6, and the men are on duty only Sundays and holidays. A balanced number of six turns in each of the branches of the hierarchy was expected, prior to the reduction of the number of civil posts to five, to bring one to the end of one's career. In a census of 311 household heads made in 1964, passage in office shows a balance between posts undertaken in each wing of the hierarchy. Of 13 men over 70 years of age, five had completed service in civil and religious office. Three who had passed as president had served only once or twice in each wing of the hierarchy. The remaining five had a balanced but incomplete career. 621* 156 794 [125]

In the religious hierarchy, a man passes first as *nič'anil kuč ha?*, 'minor who brings liquor.' Then he will pass as *?ali?bal*, the assistant to the *kobraria*, particularly charged with the slaughter of the bull for the large fiestas. These "servants" were not distinguished from other mayordomos in the initial listing of officers, but were mentioned in the description of fiesta 794 554 156

[P. 215-A]

activities. Following this, he then serves as *tatil* of any 794
saint of minor rank, then as *tatil* of San Pedro Martyr 554
or San Francisco, followed by a turn as *tatil* of the 156
kobraria Virgin Santa Lucia, and finally as *tatil* of the
kobraria Sacramento.

The Tzeltal role terms in both the civil and reli- 621*
gious hierarchies reveal the preconquest age-ranking 554
system. This is evident in the use of elder and junior 794
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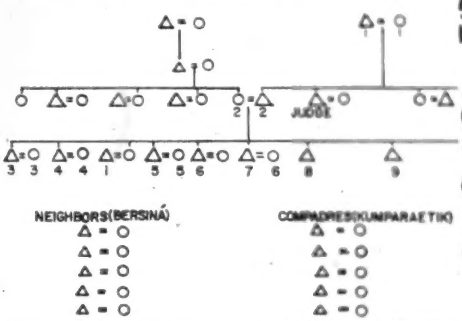

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CHART 3 — ASSISTANTS AND PARTICIPANTS IN HOUSE FIESTA OF JUDGE (ELICITED)

Circles indicate women; triangles indicate men. For role term applying to number, see Chart 4.

titles for mayordomos (*tatil* and *nicʔ anil martoma*) 621*
and in the use of *mas mamališ* (more senior) for 554
higher rank offices. 794
561
178

The informant's understanding of the hierarchy is
that of a core of officeholders in three ranked seg- 124
ments (Chart 1). This is coded in the group terms for
officials. Roles peripheral to the major categories such 621*
as those of rural judges, fiscal and women prayer- 794
makers, are elicited only with repeated questioning 554
or with reference to some event in which they func-
tion. These roles differ from those mentioned first in
that they are either of little significance to the indi-
vidual informant (this would explain the consistent
omission of the rural judge by the people of the cen-
ter) or are not part of the required posts incumbent
upon every male household head to undertake (this
might explain the omission of the president, síndico,
principales and fiscales in the first eliciting session).
Structural principles made explicit by the informants
are (1) hierarchical rank, (2) progression from
lower to higher posts, and (3) territorial balance in
representation of the dual division. An implicit corol-
lary of passage through offices beginning with lower
ranks is the age grading of officeholders. Other struc-
tural aspects emerged in the description of behavior,
described below.

[P. 215-B]

MOST ETHNOGRAPHIC REPORTS on the civil-religious hierarchy emphasize status and the functional goal of community integration. What we have failed to impart is the dynamic aspect of status, role. In the divergences between expected and enacted patterns of behavior in those occasions when the individual

CHART 10 — NEW YEAR'S DAY PROCESSION OF NEW OFFICIALS (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:
29, 30, 31 Comisarios of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Cruz Quemada

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Charts 7 and 9.

"puts into effect the rights and duties which constitute the status" (Linton, 1936, p. 114), we have micrometers to the measurement of change. The details of change may be small—for example, a shift in the lineup of officials in a procession—but it may be a clue to important organizational changes. The behavioral changes in details of this sort provide cues to eliciting information that will explain the divergences. An important supplement to these cues are the unsolicited comments of informants. Sometimes

[P 222-A]

these apparently irrelevant comments reveal the 621 *
power play going on behind the scene of the ritual. 178 •
The observed schedule for the civil inauguration 124
(App. 1, column 4) differed from the elicited in four details. The first of these was an item omitted by both informants: after liquor was served in the house of the president, the entire company stood up and "turned toward the wall" (App. 1, Q. 20). When I questioned my informant, he corrected the orientation "toward the wall" and said that they were turning toward the east in deference to the leader of all the saints of the east, led by Santo Aṭio. He said that it was done in all household celebrations in order "to be sure that the devil does not enter." Belief concerning these saints is fragmentary, and perhaps because [776] of this, behavior relating to them is not easily recalled. These behavioral sherds, when cut off from the belief system they once dramatized, survive in "perpetuating the custom of the ancestors" *(hič sluwar hič likem meʔtiktatik)*.

Another detail not mentioned by informants was 124
the presence in the house of the president of the rural 632
colonia inhabitants (Chart 6). This omission is typi- 622
cal of the neglect in reporting the activity or presence 574
of anyone other than residents of the center. When I asked what they were doing there, I was told they came "to know the president."

Finally, an important divergence from expected 621 *
behavior occurred when the schoolteacher, instead of 875
the secretary, delivered the oath of office. This change 178
was evidence of the schoolteacher's success in a fac- 578
tional struggle developing around new economic enterprises in the town. The former Ladino secretary 621 *
was in close alliance with the former president and 578
had supporters in the group of 20 co-owners, In- 474
dians from the village, of the truck when he had 875
purchased. When the incoming president with his
brother bought a truck with the assistance of 30 494
members of a truck-owning cooperative, a new focus for factional strife appeared in the town. The new cooperative was supported by the schoolteacher in his own bid for power. When the truck owners ran into any difficulty with the highway patrol, carrying wood or passengers without permit, the driver would refer them to the schoolteacher, who would then claim it

[P. 222-B]

Third, there was opposition on the score that the president had never passed in any other public office. The only incident revealing the discontent was the firing of eight shots at (or above) the president's brother following the house festival on the eve of the inauguration. 666 578 622

The principales, who "formerly were the ones who ruled," no longer have a part in the power struggle 624 178

621* 794 554 346

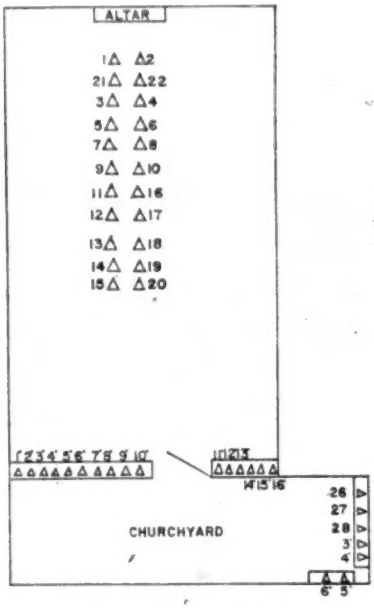

CHART 11 — NEW OFFICIALS INSIDE CHURCH, NEW YEAR'S DAY

OFFICIALS:
1'-16' Mayordomos

Remaining numbers refer to officials listed in Charts 7-9.

which centers on party membership and economic competition. Their ceremonial role in rituals is preserved as a link with the past as well as a sign of continuity between old and new officials. 624 178 [794]

In the inauguration of the religious officials, divergence in the elicited and the observed event (App. 2, column 4) occurred first of all in the shift of locale for the common meal from the churchyard to the house of the *ʔaliʔbal* instead of in the churchyard (App. 2, Q. 19). This was a clue to the power struggle going on in the church. When I questioned my informant about the disparity, he told me the following story: 794 178 578 [264] [793] [273]

[P. 223-B]

Three years before [in 1961] my father was the *tatiḳ* of Sacramento. One day he and the other mayordomos were drinking at the door of the church. The priest came out and demanded that they stop because this was the house of God. The *tatiḳ* replied that it was the custom of the pueblo, and he and the other men refused to leave. The priest went back into the church and returned with a gun in his hand. The mayordomos seized wood which they had gathered in the yard of the church. They threatened the priest with this and he went back into the church. He announced that he would not give Mass, or perform wedding or baptismal ceremonies. We did not mind if he did not give the Mass or would not give weddings, but the people were frightened if he would not give baptism. The mayordomos had a meeting and they agreed to give up drinking in the church if the priest would continue to give baptism, but they

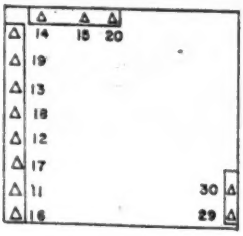

CHART 12 — KITCHEN OF POLICE, AFTER CHURCH (ELICITED)

Numbers refer to role terms listed in Charts 7 and 10.

would no longer care for the pigs or bring wood for the priest without payment. We pay him 15 pesos for an ordinary Mass and 40 pesos for a sung Mass, so he should pay us for help. The priest was in agreement with the mayordomos.

My informant had not realized that the ban affected eating in the yard of the church, but it was implied because liquor is served before the meal "to prepare the stomach" *(ya ʼital sḳoip weʔeletiḳ)* and after the meal "to wash down the food" *(yaʔlel weʔelil)*.

The statement on who defines what performances, and in what setting, provides an index to the locus of power. The priest is gaining more control over the building, maintenance, and developments around the church. The mayordomos give at least a half-day's labor to the priest's projects each Sunday. When they cannot work, they must pay the elder *ḳobraria* two pesos for a half-day's work missed, or 4 pesos for a full day. The proceeds are used to buy liquor, which the mayordomos drink. Thus the social control is ex-

Thus the social control is exerted through the traditional hierarchy, but the benefits of the labor go toward the priest's projects. The priest speaks with some satisfaction of the increasing control the "church" (he) has over the people. He maintains that this is because the people are more "civilized." For him, the indices to civilization are the facts that there is no drinking in the church, there is greater attendance at Mass, and more people are wearing Ladino clothing.

The second divergence in the elicited and observed accounts for the religious inauguration occurred when the civil officials, including the town secretary and síndico, assisted the religious officials in counting the money collected for the fiesta.

An important supplement to the behavorial data were the unsolicited comments of informants. Their anecdotes often gave me clues to their involvement in the gamesmanship of operating within culturally defined patterns. Although the informant focuses on the formal question, his growing boredom with the sequence (Who sat next to him? What did they do next? Who was there?) leads him to muse about the associated ideas and images which did interest him, often self-damaging or negative aspects of the culture which he might want to hide if questioned directly. The technique resembles that of the astronomer instructing the novice stargazer: "If you want to see the Pleiades, look at Jupiter, and out of the corner of your eye the nebulous cluster of stars of the Pleiades becomes visible."

The following illustrates how this free association emerged in the formal eliciting procedure:

Informant 2 constantly reiterated the danger his brother would encounter in undertaking the post of president as we discussed inauguration procedures. For example, when he gave me a list of participants at the Judge's house when his father took on that post, he mentioned the name of a widow, Cika, and provided the unsolicited information that her husband had been shot on December 16, 1963, the fiesta of Halal Meʔtik Santalusia. Informant's statement: "He did not know he had an enemy, and so he walked alone that night. Each fiesta someone is killed. During the fiesta of San Francisco this year, another man in Bočibal was killed. No one knows why. He was knifed with a machete. I never go out alone at night because of the fights with the cooperative. They [the members of the opposing cooperative] are very hard *(haʔ ben bolik)*. They claim they will kill us."

What prompted the next revelation was my com-

[P. 224-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo'ontahal

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

The struggle for political office within the community is a response to regional and national power centers. Behavior in this struggle is alien to responses controlled in ritual or structured performances. The strategies developed in these situations fit the pattern of political homicide more typical of the Indian towns of the central plateau (Friedrich, 1964) than of the highland Chiapas area.

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[682]
[171]

[P 226-B]

I SUMMARIZE the evidence offered in the inaugural acts first in terms of a functional analysis of the ceremonial behavior and second in terms of structural and organizational changes revealed in the strategies of interaction. The following goals are attained in the rituals of inauguration: 621* 105 794 178 18 [128]

1. *Preservation of continuity.* In the highland Maya Indian communities the problem of maintaining continuity is crucial because most of the offices 796 794 608 554 533

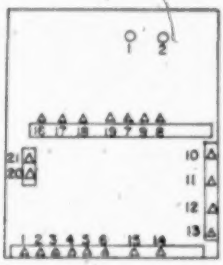

CHART 14 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF SACRAMENTO, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 *Me?il K'op*
2 *Sčebal sme?*

MEN (triangles):
16 Cofrade of Sacramento *(Kobrara Sakramentü)*
17 First Nakawane *(Sba Nakawane)*
18 Second Nakawane *(Sčebal Nakawane)*
19 Third Nakawane *(Yolebal Nakawane)*
20, 21 Guitarist *(Balnial Alpultero)*

Remaining numerals refer to role terms listed in Chart 13.

are changed simultaneously. The emphasis on continuity is evident, first of all, in the repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetitive behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expectation which assures participants in a performance of a link with the past. Bunzel (1952, p. 251) has shown that this familiarity of ritual "sets" in a variety of ceremonials provides linkage with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango. Repetition in behavior is reinforced by verbal references to perform- 621* 105 794 178 18
[P. 227 - A]

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2. *Role commitment.* The officials are members of closed corporate communities, integrated in a prior set of kinship and other social relations. They cannot rely on anonymity when acting in their official capacity as judge or policeman. Thus one of the functions of the inauguration as a rite of passage is a disengagement from the preexisting network of obligations and a commitment to the obligations of the office (cf. Parsons, 1951, pp. 80–84; Gluckman, 1962, p. 34; Cancian, 1964). Behaviorally, this function is indicated in the unfailing use of the term *Mam* (elder respect term) in both address and reference. The reference to the holy nature of their task (App. 1, Q. 19) and of the symbol of their authority, the "holy" staff (App. 1, Q. 30) which they always carry when discharging an official errand, establishes the supernatural authority on which the role is based. The effectiveness of these symbolic role identities in neutralizing prior affective commitments can partially be judged in that most dispute cases are brought before the local courts rather than referred to higher courts, suggesting that the complainant expects fair treatment. 621* 105 794 178 18 156 554 [578] [293] [691]

3. *Role learning.* The inauguration provides a setting in which the individual who is about to assume office learns what is expected of him (cf. Fortes, 1962, p. 82). The instruction of the novice officeholder is acquired most importantly in the home from the speeches of the *nakawanehetik* and cofrades (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 38, Q. 64) and in the directions he may be given in the ceremonial setting (App. 2, Q. 39, observation).

4. *Introduction of new officeholders to the villagers.* The new status of the officeholders is made 621* 105 794 178 18 788

[P:227-8]

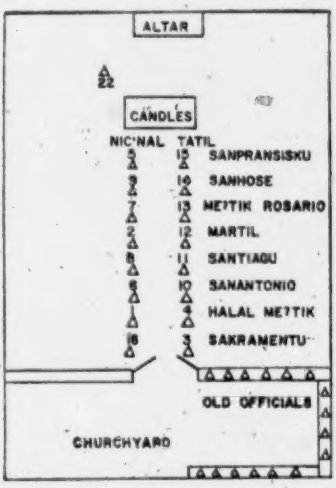
public in the procession around the plaza (App. 1, Q. 39). The mayordomos gather in the church specifically to view the new incumbents (App. 1, Q. 50). There is less public display of new officeholders in the case of the religious officials than in the case of civil officials.

621* 105 794 178 18 [788]

The morphological description of the structure of a society is inadequate unless it includes role behavior as well as status positions. The behavioral data pro-

105 121 182 554 571

22 FISCAL



794 796 554 346

CHART 15 — NEW MAYORDOMOS INSIDE CHURCH, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

vide the basis for describing the physiology of a culture, or how actors and social groups interrelate in carrying out tasks. In the inaugurations, the household emerged in the behavioral descriptions as an important ritual domain supporting the civil and religious hierarchy. Similarly, the asymmetrical relation between the role of religious officials in the civil inauguration and that of civil officials in the religious

105 121 182 554 571 621* 105 182 794 [592] [571] [554]

[P. 228-A)

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

inauguration is deduced from both elicited and observed behavior. These data complement the elicited material on structure in rounding out the ethnographic model of social reality.

Specification of the behavioral data on which structural and functional statements are made should provide the basis for more precise comparisons over time and between communities. I turn to the observed interaction to summarize the evidence for microchange within the community.

Outside of the formally prescribed behavior scheduled in the inauguration, a struggle for power is going on which is leading to important organizational changes in the town. This was suggested in the substitution of the schoolteacher for the former Ladino secretary in the act of giving the oath. Factional struggle of the leaders of the new enterprises was revealed in this substitution. Further evidence of change is seen in the redefinition of the president's position in relation to that of the principales. The potential power which the post offers to the incumbent and those who back him is now recognized. The risks are higher as the competition for the post increases.

In the religious sphere the priest's increasing control over the domain of the church is seen in the shift of setting for the common meal from the churchyard to the *?ali?bal's* house. This evoked the story of the open confrontation of the priest and cofrades a few years before. Public counting of funds by civil officials suggests an attempt by the new leadership to thwart the priest's dominance over the cofrades.

In the emergent struggle for power within the community, we see not just a defensive reaction to Ladinos by Indians of a corporate community, but a play for stakes in the same world. This suggests that the corporate community, now and in the future, serves not so much as an insulation from the outside world as in the past but as a springboard for the entry of the Indians into fuller participation in the national society.

[P 228-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4.5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

621 other municipalities (Aguacatenango, Can-
632 cuc, Tenango, San Martin, Sivaca, Guaqui-
tepec, and Bachajon). Petalcingo belongs to the municipality of Tila, where Chol is spoken. The reason for these heterogeneous municipalities is that, within the political constitution of the state, only communities containing a sufficient number of inhabitants may achieve the status of municipality; the rest are considered merely as agencies of the municipality to which they have been assigned.

18 Another cultural variation stems from its
177 ecological location. Communities of the
191 southern zone, which have good lands,
861 roads, mechanized transportation, and therefore greater contacts with the outside world, occupy a more advanced place in the process of acculturation, which is revealed by the scant number of monolingual Indian residents and by their better economic condition. Communities of the central zone, of irregular landscape and high demographic pressure, isolated, and without economic opportunities, are the poorest, most conservative, and most untrusting of the entire region. The northern zone has a high index of Indianness because of the number of those who do not know Spanish, but their economic condition is better than that of the central zone, because there is more opportunity to cultivate coffee and work on the plantations.

Historical Antecedents

175 I shall mention only the periods of greatest
177 social significance in the past four centuries.
648 The dates are approximate.

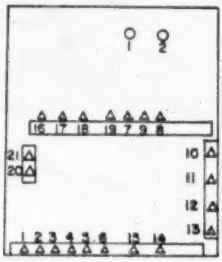
The period of the conquest, from 1524 to 1545, saw the most violent encounters and occasional skirmishes between Indians and Spaniards. The fortress of Chamula was taken by Captain Luis Marín in 1524, and four years later Ciudad Real (now San Cristobal de las Casas), destined to be the politico-religious center of the region, was founded.

The period of catechization and consoli-

[P. 197-B]

I SUMMARIZE the evidence offered in the inaugural acts first in terms of a functional analysis of the ceremonial behavior and second in terms of structural and organizational changes revealed in the strategies of interaction. The following goals are attained in the rituals of inauguration: 621* 105 794 178 18 [128]

1. *Preservation of continuity.* In the highland Maya Indian communities the problem of maintaining continuity is crucial because most of the offices



796 794 608 554 533

CHART 14 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF SACRAMENTO, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 *Meʔil K'op*
2 *Sčebal smeʔ*

MEN (triangles):
16 Cofrade of Sacramento *(Kobraria Sakramentú)*
17 First Nakawane *(Sba Nakawane)*
18 Second Nakawane *(Sčebal Nakawane)*
19 Third Nakawane *(Yalebal Nakawane)*
20, 21 Guitarist *(Balnial Alpulero)*

Remaining numerals refer to role terms listed in Chart 13.

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[p. 227 - A]

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3. *Role learning.* The inauguration provides a setting in which the individual who is about to assume office learns what is expected of him (cf. Fortes, 1962, p. 82). The instruction of the novice officeholder is acquired most importantly in the home from the speeches of the *nakawanehetik* and cofrades (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 38, Q. 64) and in the directions he may be given in the ceremonial setting (App. 2, Q. 39, observation).

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[p. 227-B]

public in the procession around the plaza (App. 1, Q. 39). The mayordomos gather in the church specifically to view the new incumbents (App. 1, Q. 50). There is less public display of new officeholders in the case of the religious officials than in the case of civil officials.

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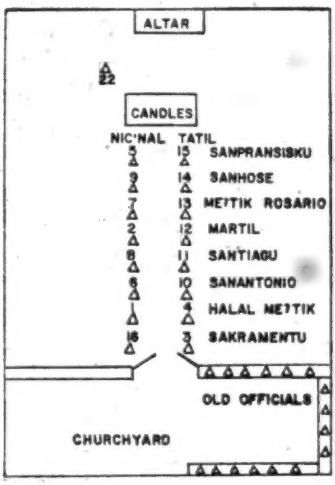

CHART 15 — NEW MAYORDOMOS INSIDE CHURCH, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

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[P. 228-A)

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

563 Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo relations between Indians and Ladinos are more friendly, and the Indians are regarded as milder and more tractable.

•181 Of the strongly Indian towns, Cancuc is the most conservative, Chanal the most progressive.

631 563 In respect to official political organization, these villages are divided according to their importance and the number of their inhabitants, into free municipalities (*municipios libres*) and dependent municipalities (*agencias municipales*). The former are those which have the right to choose their own government, upon which formal administration depends. To this category belong Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Ococingo, Chilón, and Bachajón. Until a short time ago the municipal governments of these settlements were composed of Ladinos in the principal posts and of Indians in the subordinate positions. At the present time the government is seeking to reverse this situation so that the Indians have the greater authority; it is for this reason that the governments of the four villages first mentioned are now headed by Indians. This change has brought about marked [177] alterations in certain places in the social equilibrium that before existed between the two ethnic elements which compose the population.

Villages of the latter category are those which depend, in administrative matters, on a free municipality. In these cases authority is represented in the first place by the *agente municipal*, who is named by the central municipal government. This post is always discharged by a Ladino. In most instances the municipal agent compensates for the meagerness of his salary by controlling the sale of rum in the village which he administers. The other members of the municipal government are chosen almost always from the Indian group.

184 243 439 In several of the highland communities, notably Amatenango, Chanal, and, to a much less extent, Tenejapa, the Indian grows (in addition to the universal maize) a certain amount of wheat for export; the Ladinos of Oxchuc cultivate this crop, but in Cancuc, where there are no Ladinos, wheat is not grown. (Wheat is 433 also grown in the Tzotzil towns of Chamula and Huistan.) Other money crops 241 of the highlands are chickpeas, peas, oranges, and other fruit. Some coffee is grown in San Martín, it is the principal export from Yajalón and Petalcingo. In Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Chilón a principal produce is brown sugar, made locally from sugar cane locally raised. Cancuc is the only village that cultivates cotton commercially; the production in the other communities is insignificant. The local [286] manufacture of loom-woven clothing is rapidly disappearing. Most Tzeltal com- [178] munities are without beehives, but there is considerable apiculture in Sivacá, and 231 a little beekeeping is also practised in Tenango, Bachajón, and Yajalón. Apparently 184 the bees kept are wild colonies brought to the villages in the sections of hollow log they are made to inhabit. The raising of hogs and poultry is a principal economic 233 recourse in all the Indian settlements. The beef cattle industry has always been [654] in the hands of Ladinos; however, recently the Government, acting through the Centers of Native Education, has sought to stimulate the industry among the Indians.

463 241 handle the milpa. It is rare to find an Indian who does not have a milpa since this is the work that ensures his existence.

Property Rights

423 613 This is a matter that varies according to the degree of acculturation reached by the [177] community. In the most conservative groups [181] (Oxchuc, Cancuc, Tenejapa, Tenango) there are still family property rights, but they seem to depend on lineage rather than on the immediate family (Villa Rojas, 562 1947, ch. 19). As these lineages are patri- 428 lineal, a woman does not count when inheritance is involved. She can own her parcel of land only when she has saved the money to buy it, but this is not frequent. Any man can claim lands that previously belonged to his lineage, it is enough to give back the money paid for them two or three generations ago. Of course, he has to prove by witnesses or documents that those lands were the property of his lineage.

127 According to a document dated 1861, 423 which I found in the possession of the 613 Gómez Ichiloks (they belong to the Gómez 614 clan and to the Ichilok lineage), residents of the paraje of Tzajalchen of the municipio of Oxchuc, this property system seems to be very ancient. The document is of special interest.

000 DOCUMENTO DE TIERRAS DE LOS GÓMEZ ICHILOK A

Por pedimento de los ciudadanos Domingo Gómez Ichilok, Tomás Gomez Ichilok, otro Tomás Gómez Ichilok, Miguel Gómez Ichilok, Diego Gómez Ichilok, otre, Domingo Gómez Ichilok, otro Diego Gómez Ichilok y su hijo Diego Gómez Ichilok y por último su hijo menor Manuel Gómez Ichilok, y como antiguamente se acostumbra en este pueblo que segun los hermanos de una propria familia, se les demarca un retazo de terreno de ejido para que en lo sucesivo no haya pleitos con los vecinos como suele suceder, nosotros los Gobernadores, Auxiliares, Justicias, Escribanos y Testigos, pasamos al paraje denominado Tzajalchén a

[P. 211-A]

A /For a translation by H.R.A.F. of this document, see category 116, p. 225-C--Analyst/

787 776 been taken away by the local authorities and sent to the Indians' Affairs Office in San Cristobal.

LIFE CYCLE

842 183 *Pregnancy and Childbirth*

The strongest desire of every Tzeltal couple is to create a numerous family, preferably boys. The relationship between sexual intercourse and pregnancy is well understood among the Indians. They know that pregnancy lasts nine months and they keep a good count of it. On the other hand, there are ideas about the possibility of the woman being influenced by old men or "the owners of the nagual," who can interrupt pregnancy and change the fetus from one woman to another. This is why a woman who thinks she is pregnant for three or four months suddenly realizes that she carries nothing any more, while another one, maybe her neighbor, finds herself in advanced pregnancy, giving birth a few months later. It is to be stressed, however, that these changes can take place only among married women.

843 [833] 843 789

844 [81] In conservative villages (Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Cancuc) there is no professional midwife. Children are delivered by the oldest women in the neighborhood.

[757] [237] When labor begins, the first thing is to give the mother a beverage made of powdered opossum tail dissolved in boiling water. It is very common for Indians to have a dry tail hanging next the fireplace. The woman kneels at labor, facing the midwife. The husband's belt or the woman's rebozo is tied very tightly around the upper part of the abdomen to prevent the child from "going up again." The mother can also help herself by seizing a rope tied to the roof, or taking firm hold of any post of the house. The umbilical cord is chopped with a machete or cut with scissors, supported on an ear of corn. This ear is afterwards used as seed and is considered very fertile.

[241] [824]

When labor has finished, the mother is given another hot beverage of pepper,

[757]

[P 223-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

648 mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

829 The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We received many [123] small favours and acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

Fig. 203—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

241 In their culture these people [181] belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend [433] primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the [291] staple crop. Calabashes, melons, [301] beans, tobacco, bananas, and cot- [302] ton are raised. The farming is carried on by the same wasteful "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old [178] Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment [166] of many cities. In the case of the Bachajon, it has already become one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn 262 boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates 252 which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and 411 weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but al- 412 ways made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most 184 amazing industries in the world. 170

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

796 tions betray the intent. As he is hauled up by ropes and hung from the
182 bell tower "to show the world that he killed Christ," the mayordomos on
829 the ground who are assisting those up in the bell tower jab him with long poles. In this horseplay they symbolically castrate him: I heard one mayordomo say, *"Me?čunun,"* (transvestite) as one well-directed blow struck Judas. On Saturday, he is let down and given a ride on horseback around town. Formerly riding a horse was the prerogative only of Ladinos in the department of San Cristóbal Las Casas (Colby and Van den Berghe 1961). Placing Judas on a horse possibly has a symbolic value in identifying him as one of the hated dominant group who asserted this privilege.
[994] As he rides around town, the mayordomos solicit gifts from the people.
[756] Everyone gives fruits except the curers, who donate money. This transac-
[754] tion may indicate an obligation they feel toward Judas as one source of their power over witchcraft-derived illnesses. The money is used to buy liquor, called the "washing of the arms and legs of our Lord Eskipulas." The drinking is mandatory for all the mayordomos who have participated in the hanging of Judas.

The Judas figure, which was the church's symbol of the hated Semite, is made to appear as the enemy of the Indians, the Ladino. He symbolizes the sexual license of Ladinos with Indian women, the oppression of Indians by Ladinos, and the killer of Christ. In retaliation, the Indian symbolically castrate and hang him, and finally burn his body, thus dramatically vanquishing the alien in their midst. So far as I know, the priest is
[793] unaware of the identification Indians make between the Jew and the Ladino. He prevented the ride from taking place the year I witnessed the Easter Week ceremonial on grounds that it was a pagan ritual; when he left town on Sunday, the mayordomos took Judas on his customary rounds.

796 The attitude toward Jesus, as the hero of the morality play, is ambiva-
776 lent. Martyrdom is not the way to win in Indian society. The feeling is
182 that power goes to the one who makes the sacrifice, and since Jesus was a
829 Ladino sacrifice, they have more power than the Indians. During the
[181] Caste War in Chiapas in 1868, the Indians crucified an Indian youth in
[782] the hope that they would find a savior as powerful as Jesus. To this day,
[175] Indians of To?ontahal seem not to identify Jesus as one of themselves,

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621 474 493 permission to extend operations to hot country where the Indians of the town held ejido land. This territory had been controlled by the state-wide trucking sindicate whose monopoly was protected by government permits. On the basis that they were poor, nonprofit-making ejidatarios, the Indians were granted the right to truck corn from the ejido colonies to the highlands. Whenever the cooperative leaders planned to go to the depart- [291] mental capital to make their appeals, the schoolmaster counseled them to wear their Indian costume—the white shirt and pants with red sash, sandals, and woolen kotonču—in order to play the role of simple campesinos more convincingly. He was aware of the effectiveness of this pose in pro-Indian governmental circles.

665 The PRI leadership in the department capital is neither aware of nor interested in the local factions which seek their support. Their concern is only that the vote is solidly behind regional and national candidates of the party, and they support the group that can mobilize the largest number of votes. A policy of favoritism toward Indians, based on an ideology of *indigenismo,* pro-Indianism, is coupled with a policy of permitting local autonomy. The national committee's program for promoting literacy has never reached this community nor any that I know of in the area. The party's promotion of Indian welfare consists of supporting demands made by Indian constituents and bringing them to the attention of civil service officials assigned to these functions. Party officials thus act as intermediaries between the voters and the bureaucracy of the government, channeling complaints and demands.

621 197 198 181 In the development of factions around new economic interests, the Indians have shifted from an ideology in which the dialectic of conflict was cast in traditional dual-division opposition to one in which the conflict is seen as Indian versus Ladino domination of enterprises. Since these interests cut across the territorial divisions, the economic factions have not crystallized along territorial lines. It is this shift in perspective which makes [665] for the "qualitative" change in local political organization.

Competition between Caciques

622 563 There are several dimensions to the role of cacique in Tzoʾontahal. First, it is a role created by outside interests and occupied by someone mar-

571 is accepted. Precipitous action on either side reveals a weakness of which
805 the other party might take advantage, or which might even stop pro-
[584] cedures.

Timing of activities is so specific that it can be read as an equation of social relations: People who come to the house after nightfall are either intimate members of the family, or are members of the circle of me?tiktatik invited for a special household celebration—night is the time when spirits wander, not a time for casual visiting. Arrival of the betrothal party at the
[584] house of the girl's parents after ten o'clock in the morning indicates that the suit has been accepted.

571 Sequential timing expresses relative prestige and a sense of priority. In
805 "raising" the officials for the official ceremonies, the lowest ranks of
554 officials rise first to go to the house and awaken each of their companions
562 in order of rank. The sequence in serving order has already been discussed with respect to rank and prestige. Another principle of sequence operates at a more subtle level: women go before men when there is expectation of a fight since their presence evokes less hostility. This is evident in the be-
[584] trothal: the me? č'om precedes the mam c'om in the initial proceedings
[579] when strong resistance and hostility is anticipated. When drunken fights start during house ceremonies, women intercede with calming effect.

641 Time always is on the side of the Indians when they wish to resist na-
829 tional orders. Verbal agreements to pay fines imposed or to assist federal
805 agents in the capture of criminals are frequently followed by deliberate negligence in carrying out the orders. Usually the order is forgotten or in-
[647] terest wanes at a higher level. Government agencies such as the INI learned to bide their time much as the Indians did. Expecting opposition to any proposed change, they waited for the initial reaction to die down, and then proceeded as support from those who benefited overcame internal resistence.

461 When called upon to perform jobs that require regular appointments,
464 the Indians respond easily to the daily scheduling. Resistance comes
512 against scheduled requirements that involve long spans of time and inter-
805 fere with communal and familial ceremonies. Work away from home is undertaken only on the premise that it will be of limited duration. This
[181] control over their own time is a value which Indians will not easily yield.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

These time and space patterns provide the individual with a cognitive structure which enables him to function appropriately in a given setting and to plan his future actions. Having one piece of information, people can derive the other understandings necessary to adjust their own behavior to the expectations of others.

Time as a measure of value has been affected by changes occurring in the past two decades. Men are less willing to expend time in ceremonial activities than formerly. The first ceremony given up was Carnival, which has not been celebrated for over a decade. Most recently, young men have refused to become alfereces, and their resistance on the basis of loss of time and money was formally recognized in 1966 when the institution was abolished. The resistance parents used to show to their children spending, or wasting their time in school has given way as some of the more modernized parents have seen the advantages of education.

The tempo of life has accelerated with the increasing importance of bus and truck transportation to market. Women's time has always figured as importantly as that of the men because of their pottery production, and they have quickly accepted time-saving innovations such as the tortilla press and the corn-grinding mill. They have not shown any inclination to adopt time-saving technology, such as the potter's wheel, in pottery-making since they have no knowledge of it, and using it would require relearning basic tasks.

The ceremonial cycle still provides the major consideration in programming other activities in the community. The Indian as an agriculturalist remains master of his own time, and he plans his work so that he can fulfill his ceremonial obligations.

Chapter 13

Belief and Behavior in a Changing Society

Continuity is the theme stressed in the rules of the game that apply to living in the square world of the community. The framework of continuity is the landscape itself with the ancestral hills and devils' caves reminding people of the moral order of the past. Repetitive behavior in rituals symbolically projects the past into the future, and behavioral schema in pottery and agricultural production reinforce the belief that all remains the same. The conditions making for change stem from the very attempts to preserve the existing equilibrium. A rising population on a limited land base using colonial techniques of cultivation is bringing about an increasing reliance on outside markets for the sale of labor and the purchase of goods. The ejido program which has perpetuated the system of subsistence cultivation has at the same time increased the dependency on external political influence and undermined dependency on parents. Some of the rules of strategy that have developed in response to changes coming from outside the community can no longer be justified by the beliefs that govern behavior within its boundaries. The community is now in crisis: people are losing faith in the old beliefs and have not yet developed a meaningful ideology for new strategies.

The crisis does not affect all institutions equally. It is absent in the traditional economic activities of milpa cultivation and pottery production. It is incipient in the households, especially where there are wage-workers in nonagricultural jobs. It is more apparent in the civil than in the religious sphere, and it is most manifest in the new economic activities. The school, as an externally imposed institution, generates awareness of the conflict between old beliefs and the ideology of nationalism, but until recently receptivity to these ideas has been limited. The behavior described for each in-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Summary and Conclusions

The preceding generalizations anticipate conclusions that will be stated in terms of the hypotheses raised in the Preface. 181 105 182

1. *The stability of the society varies directly with the efficiency of its procedures for adjusting conflict.* The rising homicide rate is a behavioral index to the breakdown in procedures for adjusting conflict. The elders and cures still officiate in rituals to settle conflict, but their judgments are no longer as effective in overcoming fear and suspicion. The principle of age-based authority on which their authority rests has been undermined by ejido lands giving married sons earlier independence from their fathers and by young leaders assuming positions of power in the civil authority. More dispute cases have been referred to the departmental courts in the 60s than in the 50s.

2. *The stability of the society varies directly with the ability to validate behavioral innovations in terms of existing values.* Leaders in the new economic enterprises and the political factions based on them have tried to justify their efforts by stressing the goal of increasing their independence from the Ladinos. Their attempt to develop an ideology emphasizing the need for cooperation to overcome the dominance of the Ladinos is handicapped by the rampant suspicions about other members of the community and pessimism about the chances of the cooperative to succeed in the wider world. The conflict in the individual between desire for improvement of his welfare and fear of exciting envy is exacerbated by each innovation that raises the level of living. The leader who was most explicit in formulating an ideology for adapting to the new, the entrepreneur Santos, was a victim of the conflict he tried to interpret. There is no expression of pan-Indianism that could support the goal of cultural separatism of Indians from Ladinos. Indigenismo is the ideology of national leaders who have left behind the cultural heritage they extol. The Indians of Tzoʔontahal are as suspicious of neighboring Indians as they are of Ladinos. The retreat into separate communities which has ensured their survival in the four and a half centuries of colonial rule and independence makes it difficult to mobilize

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support for cultural independence as economic interdependence grows.

3. *The stability of the society varies directly with the effectiveness of its procedures for transforming old power positions into ceremonial posts.* The community demonstrated the effectiveness of its technique of cooling off old power-holders as new leader usurped the authority of the principales. The struggle going on between the curers and the new civil leadership had not been resolved in ceremonial absorption of the curers' power when I left the community. The community was ridding itself of these fear-provoking agents of the supernatural by resorting to homicide. The loss of the institution of the alférez marked the waning of these old techniques of ceremonially incorporating leadership into a traditional hierarchy and linking civil office with religious obligations.

4. *The lability of the society varies directly with the gap between expectations and experience.* The Indians condition themselves to expect the worst and so are not disappointed by it. They pray only that they may maintain a given level of suffering and poverty. They are not caught up in that revolution of rising expectations that makes for discontent when experience does not match them. The Indians know they are better off than they were, and they contrast their present prosperity with the famine of 1915 when revolution and banditry depleted their crops and cattle, and with the typhoid epidemic of 1928 when hundreds died and the rest did not have the money to bury them properly. An attitude of pessimism about the future limits the problem of adjusting to it or of making adaptations to improve it. One could predict neither revolution nor moral collapse.

[175] [731]

5. *The lability of the society varies directly with the degree of dissonance between traditional and contemporary interpretations of events.* The old explanations are still applied to current events. Disaster is blamed on individual or communal failure to carry out ceremonials. Sickness and death are attributed to witchcraft motivated by envy or malice. The paranoic theories of human nature are confirmed by every illness or death that occurs, Even the gods are characterized as envious and vindictive. Containment of blame for misfortune within the community minimizes the political involvement of Indians in the wider society and limits the changes that might affect them.

The material conditions making for equilibrium are breaking down within the community, but the failure for protest to develop means that old beliefs are not challenged by new ideologies. Adaptations and adjustments made in response to changes are still forced into this framework of understandings and expectations. But without any stated changes in belief, Indians are themselves transforming the internal structure of the society by undermining the old gerontocracy and shifting the locus of power to the innovating young men. A binary model of change that poses a transformation from traditional to modern might ignore these internal changes that maintain a given equilibrium intact but that provide a reordering of power making possible a successful adaptation to larger social orders. Tzo'ontahal is a case in point proving that the external conditions are not sufficient to explain fundamental restructuring of the society. People continue to act out a faith in the ways of the ancestors at the same time that adjustments and adaptations are made in response to increasing interdependence in regional and national institutions. The same framework of government is retained as shifts of power give scope to a new kind of leadership. Continuity in forms has the positive effect of preserving a sense of security. The social costs are a slowing down of adaptive responses and a high investment in the "ceremonial fund" (Wolf 1966). The benefits can only be measured by comparison with cultures that have lost these controls.

The universal problem which this community is in the process of working out has been stated by G. H. Mead (1938:22): "How is a society to find a method for changing its own institutions and still preserve the security of those institutions?" The present phrasing of the problem in the community is: "How can we preserve the solutions of the past and apply them to the present?" So long as the problem is phrased in this way, the solution is to exile or kill the deviants or innovators who attempt fundamental change. The threat of witchcraft continues to maintain conformity, and fear subverts the search for an ideology to phrase behavioral adjustments and adaptations in such a way that they will be congruent with future goals. Such an ideology cannot be imposed. Only the people themselves can work out the ways in which meaning and understanding are given to technological and social change.

[P 332 is blank]

184 Amatenango both men and women derive their rights to reside in
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592 particular homesteads through both marriage or birth, as alternate choices.

592 The economic system in itself is not an independent vari-
591 able. Given its present shape, decisions about where to live,
571
181 changes in the composition of the domestic group at crucial points
602 in its development, and the strength of emotional ties between individuals are influenced by it. Most choices which concern the structuring of internal relations within the domestic unit are expressed by the cultural carriers as economic and kinship choices simultaneously, or in other words, as economic choices made within the framework offered by the kinship structure of the domestic unit.

Other factors, however, seem to perform no less important functions. Among these other factors, we have mentioned the following in separate parts of the previous text: (1) the position of the person within the kinship group which forms the core of the household; (2) the number of men and women residing in the unit; (3) the age of the household membership; (4) the temperament and attitudes of the household members with respect to each other; (5) the aspirations of the individual, in terms of the achievement of status, the insurance of positive affection and the need for psychological rewards; and (6) the laws of group interaction.

571 In order of intensity, the economic domain affects (1) the
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621 individual's status within the family; (2) the membership and organization of the domestic group, both in terms of residence choices and the distribution of authority within the unit; (3) the

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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[p. 456-A) Teklum

121
621 It is in the context of these structural divi-
632 sions that social change and its behavioral in-
dices must be analyzed.

682
182 Homicide—an act viewed as a delict in na-
tional Mexican law—has in the past two dec-
ades become an accepted strategy in social in-
teraction. It is part of the expectations of the
society upon which members predicate their
own code of behavior and in terms of which
[626] they react to others. Gossip not only fails to
[521] suppress homicide, but serves to create a con-
sensual base for condoning it. The corpse is re-
[764] ferred to as "the one who had the guilt," *ʔa*
stukel smul, and even when knowledge of the
particular act is lacking, certain assumptions
are made: the killer was someone in the com-
682 munity; the victim provoked the killer. In list-
674 ing crimes, informants sometimes failed to
[124] mention killing, or they included it after witch-
craft, theft, or adultery. Homicide is con-
sidered a *reaction* to crime, not a crime in itself.

The rate is phenomenally high—up to 251.2 per 100,000 (when adjusted to bring the whole township's population of a little over 3,000 to the base for measuring international rates)—and it is increasing. This compares with national rates of 4.8 for the United States, 31.9 for Mexico (United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1964), and 36.2 for a nearby town (Favre 1964).

The following tabulation summarizes the homicides by decades since 1915, the earliest date for which records are available.

1915–1924	4
1925–1934	5
1935–1944	19
1945–1954	9
1955–1964	35

[114] Figures prior to 1950 are not apt to be accurate, for only since that time have there been adequate reporting and checking of township records. In the following tabulation, the marked increase in the annual number of homicides since 1960 represents a real increase.

1950	1	1958	1
1951	0	1959	1
1952	1	1960	4
1953	1	1961	7
1954	1	1962	6
1955	0	1963	7
1956	1	1964	4
1957	4	1965	9

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674
121 In order to assess the meaning of its remark-
able increase during the 1960's, I have pro-

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 465-B] Teklum

as with the cattle industry, is a covert cause for personal attacks on other grounds.

A third enterprise, trucking, has caused a realignment of political interests in factions associated with two truck-owning cooperatives. Membership in one of the cooperatives, or patronage of one of the two trucks, arouses the enmity of members of the other cooperative. Several threats have been made on the lives of the owners and the operators, but the only damage done has been to tires.

The tensions resulting from the introduction of these new enterprises cannot be fully measured by the deaths attributed to direct economic conflict. Wealth differences resulting from the new enterprises excite envy, and with it come accusations of witchcraft. In this community, witchcraft killing does not perform the normative function of reducing wealth differentiation that Kluckhohn saw operating among the Navaho (1944), since it is the poor man who is killed as a witch, not the rich man. The slaying of the envious witch exacerbates the economic differentiation that provides the seedbed for conflict.

Another new source of tension is found in the growing demand for political leadership or even independence from the township by the *ejido* colonies formed since land reform went into effect in 1937. The inept maneuvers of two founders of the ejido colonies in hot country resulted in two homicides (cases 12 and 18 in Table 1).[8] The increasing strength of these hamlets will mean that more attempts will be made in the future to gain political equality and/or independence. Whether this will result in increasing homicides will depend on social-control agencies external to the Indian communities.

Homicide occurring as a direct result of economic and political competition represents a new strategy in the community. The decision to kill rather than to use other negative sanctions is related to the social-control mechanisms discussed below.

Changing Mechanisms of Social Control

A system of social control rests not only on the exercise of negative sanctions, but on the sense of personal security derived from confidence in the institutions of control. In Teklum, the maintenance of control was formerly centered in the guardianship against malevolent spirits held by the ancestor spirits and the curers. The "police force," made up of ten

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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The authority of the president, however, depends on the use of legal sanctions of prison sentences and fines imposed by extracommunity enforcement agencies in the departmental capital. The weakness of these sanctions—the fine for homicide is 1,000 to 3,000 pesos or three to five years' imprisonment—means that these threats do not have a controlling effect on people's decisions to act. Homicide, carried out by individuals who feel themselves to be threatened, is a supplementary mechanism for social control. Cast in the idiom of witch-killing, homicide is the quasi-official execution of a community threat.

The breakdown in the former structural controls has not been compensated for by the intervention of extracommunity institutions. Attempts to circumvent killing are made by the priest, who counsels against it, warning that the killer will acquire the sins of the man he kills, and by the talking saint of Ixtapa, whom the Indians consult when they are pressed and who advises them to wait—their enemy will be killed for them. This advice is not sufficient to forestall all killings. Motivated by fear, some men still seek to eliminate the object of their fear.[7] The sense of the guardianship of the ancestors and their intermediaries, the curers, is lost along with the intervention of the civil authorities. The individual reacts, using his own means and trying to get sufficient consensus to avoid reprisal.

III. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Homicide in the community of Teklum can be a statement of the fear of witchcraft, of revenge, or of quasi-official reprisal depending on the circumstances and social relationships involved. Even in this small, self-contained community, homicide does not have a single meaning, analyzable within a single framework of change.

Homicide is part of the expectation pattern of the town. The patterning of the acts of homicide in terms of time, place, and agent makes possible rules of avoidance both in long- and in short-term calculations for survival. The long-range rules require respect behavior to elders, equals, and juniors and the avoidance of abusive or boastful statements. The short-range rules are to avoid walking alone in the woods or milpas far from town, to stay home at night, and to stop drinking.

Despite the grim and expectable outcome of being killed, not all men heed these rules. The love of power and the projection of self into

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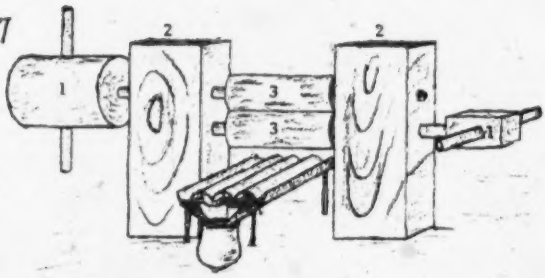

FIG. 6—SUGARCANE PRESS.
1, Kabal-té. 2, Smete-al. 3, S-kab.

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608 their godchild nor protect him if he be-
736 comes orphaned, but this is only because
431 closer members of the same lineage take
608 care of him. But the padrinos must attend
764 the wake (*kanka-almail*) and the burial when the godchild dies, as is expected from the godchild when the godparents die. In
608 these communities, compadrazgo consti-
182 tutes both an important religious obligation and a means of establishing friendship and cooperation between families.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

621 The political and religious patern is the
631 same throughout all the Tzeltal communi-
[184] ties, governed by two groups of authorities whose activities are interrelated. The first group, formed by members of the cabildo and ayuntamiento, manages political affairs of the community. The ayuntamiento maintains relationship between the local gov-
631 ernment and the national authorities. The presidente municipal and the intermediate authorities are popularly elected and then confirmed by the congress of the state.
[563] These authorities must represent both ethnic groups (Indians and Ladinos) to warrant the claim that "justice is equal for everybody." In 1936 the state government ruled that in all municipios where the indigenous population predominates, the presidente municipal should be an Indian.

Next in authority after the presidente is

[P. 219-B]

273* social distance between drinking companions increases with the
571 length of time from the original drinking situation, and one finds men who live great distances apart and even men from opposite barrios (who are afraid of each other when sober) sharing a bottle of aguardiente as the days go by.

273* Aguacatenango men drink largely within the community,
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571 and even when men drink in market towns such as Pinola or Teopisca they tend to drink with their traveling companions and not with ladinos. (The one or two reports of Aguacatenangueros drinking with ladinos involved fully bilingual individuals, and they ended with fighting or loss of property by the Aguacatenango men.)

273* Drinking in Aguacatenango is scheduled in terms of the
182 calendar of saints' days and by the occurrence of critical events in the life cycle of individuals--e.g., birth, baptism, marriage (and sometimes divorce), and death. Drinking is also an essential part of the resolution or the escalation of conflict, of illness and curing, of the branding of livestock and of the consecration of new buildings. Participation in a particular drinking cycle is largely determined by--and signifies--an individual's membership in a household group, in the civil or the religious hierarchy, or in the larger, highly relational role set including bilateral kindred, ritual kinsmen, and neighbors. Participation in drinking cycles is restricted to adult

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539 HA*YU*N MA HNA* MAC'A LAH HAK' NAL C'OHBIL CAMEL I.

For this reason, it isn't known who did the witchcraft.

273* One further reason for drinking in such a situation in-
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672 volves the belief of Aguacatenangueros that individuals who are drunk must be excused for an act they commit. Thus, the individual who is about to increase the probability that some other members of the community will come into conflict with him (i.e., the immediate family of the witch) becomes drunk, and is thus not responsible for his acts. Acts performed while drunk express less clearly the intent of the actor than similar acts performed while sober.

In the case of drinking performances associated with acts of violence, the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking contrast is not well defined. The persons who most desire that the sanctioning acts be performed supply the aguardiente. They continue to supply aguardiente until their ends have been achieved. The ceremonial drinking segment is determined temporally by the vagaries of events. It may be short or long. It is probably not followed by an informal drinking segment. In fact, it more probably is preceded by either an informal drinking segment or, for that matter, a ceremonial drinking segment. The necessities of the situation override the ceremonial aspects of the performances.

273*
182 Drinking performances are associated with risky forms of

273* •182 direct action. The men in Aguacatenango drink in the course of simplifying their search procedures for the witch. They drink to reduce the fear they have to perform highly aversive acts just as they drink to reduce the fear they have for the consequences of their acts. In drinking performances comes the truth to judge and the power to see the judgment rendered.

ties to the center. They register births and deaths in the township center, 632
but they do not have any representation in the cabildo. The populations 621
have no identification with Indian subgroups, speak Spanish, and are oriented to the regional rather than the local economic center. The plantations remaining in the area, classified as *ranchos* in the national census, employ Indians from the center. Their only relationship to the central au- [464]
thority is to get help in recruiting additional laborers. Recruitment of [241]
labor is no longer coercive as it was prior to the 1930s when the low wage rate could not attract the help needed. Announcements of the need for workers are made by the president on the loudspeaker system of the town, and men voluntarily go to the plantations.

Spirit Domains

The link between people and place is through the media of the spirits 776
(*E'uleletik*) of persons and of locale. The relationship is maintained 778
through a set of rules governing the behavior among spirits of people and of places. These rules derive from myths and stories of encounters which define the character of the spirits in each of the domains. Danger is localized in a series of caves which are avoided. Benevolent, or guardian, spirits inhabit a different set of sites, where ceremonies are conducted that maintain the well-being of the individual and of the community. By locating [182]
and circumscribing places of danger and guardianship, the members of the community can supplicate helpful spirits and avoid evil; they are delivered from fear of the unknown and provided with a rationale for dealing with fear of the known.

The places where spirits meet are outlined in Table 3. The first group [128]
includes spirits which are supplicated, the second, dangerous spirits which are avoided or approached only by powerful persons.

The house spirits. The spirits of inhabitants and of the house 776
meet at the center post at the rear wall of the house. The spirit of the 342
house lives in this post. Those who claim to have seen the house spirit say he is a small Ladino child. He is capricious, and if he is not happy, he may admit the evil spirits who will eat the souls of the inmates. His appe- [753]

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there is no other woman in the house. (c) Number of men in the family. If there are productively employed men, women of the household tend to make less pottery, since they are busy cooking and washing and have their basic subsistence needs supplied. Pottery is then produced to supply cash for fiestas only. Widows make a great deal of pottery since they must either hire men to work in the milpa or buy corn.

2. Wealth of the family: Relatively wealthy families make almost no pottery. In other cases, the scheduling of production is related to consumption needs. Figure 2 charts the pottery production by type of item produced for a family which included two unmarried women, their mother, father, and grandmother. The peaks in production occur just before the major fiestas when the family wants additional money to buy meat, fruits, and clothing. Although this family produced more pottery than the majority of households because of the presence of four women, its production typifies the high periods of activity relating to the fiestas. Production is also related to the seasonal changes: during the rainy season (from June to October) many households curtail production, except to earn money for the fiesta of Santiago (July 25), because of the difficulty of firing without closed kilns.

Variation in production means that an overall estimate of income from pottery cannot be made. It ranges from none to nearly 90 percent of family income in the case of widows without land or male helpers. I would guess that an average family might earn 200 pesos a year, about 10 to 15 percent of the money value of crops. One family of two widows and five children who work constantly throughout the year averages an income of about 600 pesos, or about one-half what an agriculturist can make on one-half hectare of land.

The Motivation to Produce

The motivation to work is tied directly to consumption needs of the household. Failure to meet expenditures with income from agriculture and pottery is met by men hiring out as agricultural workers or as laborers in the sawmill. This alternative is chosen over that of increasing the size

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highly stratified primitive society, which remains static: it lacks the 423
flexibility and mobility that exists in modern societies.

The history of the ejido program in Tzoʔontahal in the first few years 175
after it was organized in 1937 seemed to confirm this conclusion. Its 423
immediate effect was to block the flow of labor and goods in the regional 182
and national markets. The ejidatarios were no longer forced to sell their 464
labor at the prevailing rate of 25 cents a day, a wage which was not [465]
enough to supply the needs of even one man much less those of a household. Children and women formerly had to work with their husbands in the coffee fincas in order to meet their most immediate consumption needs. The independence that the ejido tract gave meant that men could withhold their own labor and that of the subordinate members of the family from such exploitation. The second harvests coming from the ejido [241]
plots in low country freed the Indians from having to buy corn in July, [435]
August, and September at the inflated market prices which took advantage of the scarcity of this basic necessity.

The political effect of the ejido in the early days was to fortify the corpo- 175
rate community against the shocks of the outside world. The first lands ac- 423
quired were primarily allotments of corporate lands alienated by the laws 621
of 1856 and 1876. Populations remained in situ, whether they were foreign Indians working on the expropriated estates, or residential communities created in the sixteenth century as crown towns.

The township of Amatenango acquired its first ejido land grant in 1937. [177]
One of the early promoters of the ejido, a *revestido* Indian (one who has adopted western clothing) from Huistán who had been a laborer on one of the fincas within the township limits, threatened to become a rural *cacique,* or local boss, comparable to those who emerged from the agrarian revolt in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962). This leader was elected president, but during his term of office he was expelled because of his attempt to secure house plots in the center for himself and other Huistecan Indians residing in the barrio of Yetawitz (Chapter 9).

The stabilizing effects of the ejido in its earlier phase have been upset in 423
recent years. As the population of the center expanded, new families mi- 621
grated to the nearby barrios contiguous to the town center. These new set- 166

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tional economy and polity at a more rapid pace than has ever occurred in the past. Typical of this new movement is the recently established ejido of Brindis, formed by a core of landless Indians from the town working with acculturated Indians from Teopisca. Whether the political unity which has developed in the course of establishing their claim to the land will continue to provide a base for community development will depend on the encouragement and support by national institutions.

Within Indian communities of highland Chiapas, the ejido program has weakened age-authority principles in the family and in the civil hierarchy (Day n.d., Edel n.d.). Sons are no longer primarily dependent on their fathers for acquiring economic independence. Ejido Commission leaders have broken the monopoly of power by a gerontocracy of principales. Outside of the community, however, the political and economic potential of the ejido has not yet been fully realized. As the new ejidos such as Brindis develop, they may break the old community boundaries that contained and limited the power of the ejidatarios. With rising literacy, many Indians now read the *Codigo Agraria* sold in neighboring markets, and they are increasingly conscious of their rights. If unity across township boundaries could be achieved, the new ejidos might become an effective political force in regional and national spheres.

Wage Labor and Occupational Specialties

The agriculturalists of the community do work as both exchange and paid laborers in the following forms: reciprocal exchange, part time labor and part-time independent agricultural work, and forestry.[1] Wage work is considered only a supplement to independent self-employment for all but twenty agricultural employees who work full-time on a finca within the township.

Payments for agricultural labor within the community are lower than the prevailing rate outside of the town and are higher in the fincas of hot country than in the highlands. When men work on the fincas of landowners in the neighboring township, they prefer payment by the task (*tarea*) rather than by the day, since they can usually complete two tareas by

1. See Richard N. Adams (1964:48) for a discussion of the forms of rural labor.

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by the company truck to replenish supplies they bring with them. Most of the workers are young men in their twenties and thirties. They return Saturday evening in a truck supplied by the company and go back to work on Monday morning. Weekly wage payments have upset the usual controls over budget management. Money earned from crops is handled by women. The sawmill workers have resisted passing over their paychecks to their wives or mothers, and several court cases have been precipitated as a result (Appendix 2b).

All of the work in which men are engaged outside of the community is voluntarily undertaken for cash compensation. Formerly, forced labor of two kinds was frequently demanded of the Indians: communal labor in the neighboring ladino town when Tzo?ontahal was an *agente municipal* of that town, and work in neighboring fincas for wages of 50 cents a day. Forced communal work came to an end when the town became an independent municipio in 1931, and the labor roundups at substandard wages were ended when Indians became conscious of their rights guaranteed in the *Ley Federal del Trabajo* in the late 30s. Copies of the *Colección Jurídica Ley Federal del Trabajo* are sold in the departmental marketplace along with the *Codigo Agraria*. Awareness of their rights as workers is concomitant with increasing entry into wage labor employment outside of the local community. As yet, Indians do not have any organized labor interest groups to champion their rights. The Commissioner of Indian affairs in the departmental capital is an intermediary in individual cases that arise. But wage levels and conditions of work are set in a free market in which the Indian's only control is to refuse to work.

The few special occupations in the town, such as butchering, caponizing, weaving bags, carpentry, and midwifery, have never developed into full-time professions.[2] The failure of the development of specialization is related to the tradition of ritual offerings of gifts of liquor and consumables and to the lack of a marketplace in the town.

Most of the livestock raised in the town is sold to butchers of the neighboring town because of lack of storage or of market facilities for the meat. Pigs and bulls are slaughtered in town only on the occasion of a celebra-

2. Curing is treated in a separate chapter since it is an exceptional case of specialization related to social control.

000 town. However, other cooperatives have been successfully organized to
474 finance small-scale oeprations. Five record players with loudspeakers have
275 been installed in the houses of members who sell liquor. Once the initial
216 investment is made, the operating costs are low: 27 pesos for electricity, 25
454 pesos for a liquor license, 30 pesos for *hacienda* or state tax, and 10 pesos
434 for the township tax. Liquor bought at 60 pesos for an 18-liter jug is resold at 72 pesos. The total monthly cost of 92 pesos yields a net profit of about 300 pesos. The cost of the installation, 5,000 pesos, was low enough for some of the richer members of the community to finance individually, but as one of the operators told me, it was too risky—that is, too profitable.
474 The envy the neighbors would feel on seeing the profits made would
434 never result in witchcraft against all of the members, whereas an individ-
626 ual owner could expect that he himself or a member of his household
754 would become ill or die as the victim of witchcraft. These early entrepreneurs recognize the value of the cooperative in overcoming the force of envy which has effectively inhibited acquisition or display in these corporate Indian communities. Instead of socializing losses, one of its functions
[182] in modern capital organizations, the cooperative in Tzoʔontahal serves to socialize gains.

474 The most enterprising action of the new cooperatives has been the pur-
493 chase of a truck, initiated by the entrepreneur, Santos. The purchase of the
452 truck was inspired by the example of the Ladino secretary, who with his wife and son had a monopoly on the transportation of pottery, people, and wheat out of the village. Furthermore, in the neighboring town of Zinacantan the Indians were successfully operating two trucks. Santos went with his brother to the director of the I.N.I. in Las Casas to ask for a co-signer on the installment purchase of a Chevrolet truck, since without a Ladino sponsor Indians could not get credit with the company. According to one informant, I.N.I. officials advised them that they would not be able to profit from this venture and that they should buy a tractor with their money. The brothers persisted and went to the Dodge company in the state capital. The company agreed to sell to the Indians without Ladino co-signers on the basis of a down payment of 10,000 pesos. The initial payment was raised with thirty Indians putting up the money. Some gave no more than 150 pesos, but as the instigators of the purchase remarked, "The more members we have, the more power it gives us."

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The truck is the focus of the desire for self-improvement, for fighting the Ladino monopoly of the road, for the antagonisms and factional strife and conflict within the community. When they bought the truck, the Indians hired a Ladino in the neighboring town as chauffeur. One of the conditions of his employment was that he would teach his Indian assistant to drive. The Ladino tried to avoid doing this since he knew it would be the end of his job. But the Indian assistant learned by observation and is now operating the truck with an Indian assistant. 474 493 [182]

Accounts of the cost and profit of the truck operation indicated a running loss. A new tarpaulin cost 1,200 pesos; there were repairs and bribes to the highway patrol. But the truck was kept in operation because the major shareholders were impressed with the power it gave them. "They [their enemies, the members of the other co-operative owned by the Ladino along with twenty members of the community] are afraid of us because of the truck," one said, and added that it was better than having a *swayohel*, the animal spirit that gives power to the curers. At the time of my last visit in 1967 the truck was making a profit. The owners were thinking of selling it and replacing it with a five-ton model. [578]

Structural realignment has been most marked in the organization of the truck-owning cooperatives. Membership cuts across the dual division for both of the truck-owning cooperatives. The cooperative is the most important factor in local political elections (Chapter 9). The truck has become both the symbol of power and the basis for the contest for power between the factions within the community. [621]

Contraband liquor. The number of distillers has grown in the last ten years from five to forty. The distillation process was learned by Indians from Ladinos in neighboring towns fifteen years ago. There has been no local innovation in the basic process, but a new item, used in distillation, has been introduced into pottery production, a funnel decorated in the traditional manner of the water jars and other vessels. The capital investment in the equipment for operating the still is put up by individuals or partnerships of relatives. The still is rented to people who have charge of the celebration for a saint's day, or who are involved in courtship. 273 [177] [415] 273 472 602

Private enterprise is the favored form of organization of the distillers be- 273 472

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When this fails, they turn to the professional help of lawyers rather than to the old caciques with whom they had formerly maintained patron-client relations. The traditional structural alignment of upper and lower barrios is retained as the basis for organizing the growing cattle herds, but the cooperative provides flexibility and power for developing new enterprises.

The minimal changes in the material environment and the technology of the peasantry are countered by the development of social resources which should facilitate Indian integration in the wider society. In operating the new enterprises independently of Ladino control, they are developing entrepreneurial skills and an awareness of the relationship between capital and profit. The restriction of their operations to nonproductive use of capital for profit, such as buying crops at harvest and reselling as the price rises, reveals the limited dynamics of intracommunal development. The town will look to the regional and national networks for fundamental changes in its economy.

The fear of exciting envy acts as a brake on productive activity and the enjoyment of improved consumption resulting from wealth. Santos' death is a symbolic warning to others who would follow in his footsteps. An earlier case occurred when the ejido land grants were made in the 30s:

The brothers Ča?iletik became "very rich" as a result of careful operation of their ejido and privately owned land. They owned ten pair of oxen and about fifty horses. When they brought in their crops on horseback, it looked like a line of ants. They built a good house in Alkob', and a good threshing shelter. The people of the town began to talk about getting them off the land. The ejido commissioner took their land away and turned it over to others in the town. Until this day, the brothers Ča?iletik are without land. Now they do no more than work like other men. They live poorly. All their cattle and horses are sold.

The organization of the cooperatives is one means of diverting envy directed against individuals and permitting some increase in productive efforts, but the society still lacks the means of validating higher consumption standards. The richest man in town eats better than his neighbors,

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The me?iltatil is the core institution preserving cultural continuity in the community. The exercise of authority and social control depended on a system of checks and balances in which the ancestors watched over the community, the judges watched over the curers to see that they did not abuse their power, and the curers watched over their side of the dual division to see that no witches or evil spirits caused harm. The validation of power is based on the kinship model of age-authority. The recruitment and functions of each of the three manifestations of this ancestral authority will be discussed in the following chapters on life crisis rituals, curing, and civil government. 182 621 602 608 571

The Household and Family 592

The household unit is a crystallization at a given point in time of consanguineously and affinally related people within a wider kinship matrix. It is the most important structural unit providing for economic cooperation, socialization of the young, and care and sustenance of the aged. It provides the setting and the personnel for the transmission of traditional prayers and ritual procedures of the civil and religious hierarchy. The composition of the unit is constantly changing due to internal changes in the life cycles of its members as well as changes in the wider kinship matrix. The decisions made in response to these changes reveal both traditionally established adjustments to life crises and adaptations to social changes originating outside the family. The kinds of choices made in residence after marriage as well as in inheritance and succession to leadership in the household do not always conform to the cultural formulae for handling them. The exigencies of space, time, economic, and social considerations may outweigh the ideological considerations of what ought to be done.

The formula for the developmental cycle of the household is the following: when a man marries, he lives with his bride's family for one year, working in her father's fields. He then returns to his father's household to live and work with him until his father is too old to manage the work in the field. The father then gives equal shares of his land and animals to each of his children, both male and female. The youngest child, or the last one to get married, remains in the parental house, taking care of the aged 591 [425] 591 593

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593 parents. This role is institutionalized and the youngest child is referred to
[192] as *k'ol*, the last one.

591 The choice of residence after marriage is influenced by the following
593 factors:

182 1. The couple live with whatever family has less pressure from immature siblings remaining in the household. If there is no other child in one family, there is a strong likelihood that the new family will remain in that household.

591 2. If there is any wealth difference, the couple tends to live with the
182 richer family. "Wealthy" families prefer to have their children live
434 near them and will make an effort to build a house within their compound or nearby.

Table 15. Trends in Household Composition, 1958–1964

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	Alannantik		*Ahk'olnantik*		*Total*	
Family type	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*
Remained the same						
Nuclear	49	76	38	57	87	67
Virilocal	7	11	11	16	18	14
Uxorilocal	4	6	7	11	11	9
Joint sib	1	2	1	2	2	1
Grandparent-grandchild	1	2	2	3	3	2
Incomplete	2	3	7	11	9	7
Total	64	100	66	100	130	100
Percent of all families		44		34		39
New families created						
Nuclear	16	89	48	88	64	88
Uxorilocal	1	5.5	1	2	2	3
Incomplete	1	5.5	6	10	7	9
Total	18	100	55	100	73	100
Percent of all families		12		28		21
Families which changed *	64	44	74	38	138	40
Total number of families	146	100	195	100	341	100

* Direction of change indicated in Table 16.

593 worked in the sawmill, he was not as willing to hand over his wages to
578 his wife as is the farmer, who according to established custom gives the
608 proceeds from the sale of his crop to his wife. The judges advise the man
571 to stay sober, adding, "If you want a woman, you ought to support her.
692 You shouldn't fight." They entreat the wife to return to her husband's house "and make a fire there." They refuse to release the marriage license, and the woman's father reluctantly agrees. He has the last word, warning the husband: "The day after tomorrow, don't come back here with a couple more children and say, 'I don't want you; go back to your mother's house.' You are lucky to have a wife. If you don't have a wife, you go get drunk every day. But with a wife, life is good. She will give you coffee and corn to eat. Don't go on fighting whether drunk or sober. Both my compadres [referring to the judges] have advised you."

755 The curing ceremony as a means of adjusting interpersonal conflict is
608 discussed at greater length in the following chapter. Padrinos of baptism,
571 compadres, and other members of the patient's me?iltatil attend, both to
578 see that the curer is performing his duties properly and to lend spiritual
182 support. Like the household and court review of conflict, it permits the open airing of grievances and relies on the authority of elders. Drinking
[273] liquor is a means of restoring good feelings, either as a follow-up to the review of court cases or as a continuous measure of goodwill in curing.

182 The responsibility of the me?iltatil for repairing personal relationships
571 in the family underwrites the importance of this institution in the commu-
608 nity. In these institutionalized means of settling conflict the society recog-
578 nizes the inevitability of friction in intimate relations and draws upon the resources of personnel and techniques developed in the life crisis rituals.

182 The me?iltatil are the guardians of individuals. The security that they
156 provide depends upon the individual conforming to the group norms.
608 They are a personal reference group maintaining customary ways of be-
571 having. I shall show in the following chapters how they are linked as the inner core to a system of guardianship provided by curers within each side of the dual division and by civil authorities at the community-wide level.
182 These are the agents who, by providing models of how the progenitors
608 behaved and by channeling responses to social change, maintain the sense
571 of equilibrium and the illusion of changelessness. The sense of continuity

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The sense of continuity with the past is preserved in the ceremonials in which these officials act, but nonceremonial activities no longer reinforce the values symbolized in ritual. 182 608 571 796

Death and Burial

When a person dies, his soul is believed to go out from his tongue. The family is responsible for finding a resting place which will be satisfactory to the soul. If the dead person has died of a "good" (not caused by witchcraft) illness, the soul lingers for eight days and then goes to heaven. If the dead person has been killed, his soul stays in the village for "a month or twenty days." The reason given for this is that "the gods did not choose the hour of death, and the soul doesn't know where to go." During this waiting period the dead person "finishes his heart," or ends his emotional ties with friends and relatives. 763 764 775 [593]

Following the death, a sister of the parents of a child or some other adult woman washes the body and puts a wrap over it. The body is always laid out with the feet toward the door; the eyes are shut, and the jaw is wrapped with a kerchief to hold the mouth closed. Two candles are placed at the head and two at the feet. Flowers and a bowl to collect offerings of 2 pesos from each visitor are placed at the head of the body. The contribution given at the burial assures the giver of a hearing with Christ: 764 764 431

Everyone gives a contribution of 50 cents or a peso. Each one considers how much he can give and gives it. God listens to and speaks to those who give gifts. Those who give a candle or a little contribution of corn or flowers give an account of the dead man's life. If he had no crime on his conscience or only one crime, whoever killed him by violence or by witchcraft bears the guilt. Christ listens to the account of those who have given good contributions. Thus the help is given so that Christ will see that he did a favor to one who is poor and who has nothing to bury himself, not corn, or money, or anything to sell, not land, or cattle, or wheat. Therefore everyone who is a relative or a compadre or a neighbor brings one-fourth [bottle of liquor], a half measure of brown sugar, fifteen or twenty corncobs and one or two candles. And all men who arrive at the grave and

Chapter 6

Curing and the Curers

Sickness is a sign of upset relations between the spirits or people and those of relatives, neighbors, or places. In the curing ritual, the curers not only treat the disease, but also try to bring about spiritual readjustment by dramatizing the ill effects of animosity. Because they claim to be able to counteract witchcraft, the curers exercise a great deal of power. This power is limited by institutional requirements controlling entry into the profession and exercise of their skill and knowledge. The breakdown in the authority of elder curers during my study of the community, and their attempts to reinstate themselves, made explicit some of the structural principles of the institution.

The Curing Hierarchy

Recruitment into the hierarchy. Until the 1950s, each side of the dual division had an age-ranked order of curers and recognized the leadership of a single elder, called *statal ʔuʔul.* The older, more experienced curers, called the *b'anḳilal,* or elder brothers, had authority over the novice curers, called the *ʔihtz'inal,* or younger brothers. With the breakdown of the hierarchy during my stay, this distinction was becoming less clear. In 1964 there were seven curers in Alannantik and six in Ahk'olnantik; on a return visit I made in 1967, their numbers had been reduced by homicide and exile to five in Alannantik and five in Ahk'olnantik.

Entry into the profession occurs during an epidemic when the civil authority calls upon the curers to gather in the town hall to determine who is bringing the "heat" that causes death from disease. The curers decide whether there are any promising young men who have the third soul, swayohel, which gives them the ability to cure. If a young man is deemed

755 Sometimes a colicky baby
753 may become the focus of a curing ceremony designed to "cure" the conflict
593 between husband and wife. In one case, the parents of a healthy young
182 wife separated from her husband staged a curing ceremony to dramatize
578 her marital plight to the in-laws.

178 The breakdown of the curing hierarchy and the recruitment procedures
756 which were maintained by the elder leaders (see Chapter 10) has led to a
608 reevaluation of the role of the curers in the community. They have lost
754 their position as me?iltatil representing the ancestors who guard over the
[627] community. Curers are increasingly being accused of sorcery, and over ten of them have been killed in the past decade as witches (Nash, J. 1967). Paradoxically, it is the belief in their evil power which leads to their persisting role in the society. Clients feel that the more evil the curer is, the more able he is to combat evil. In a community dominated by belief in witchcraft, they are both feared and valued for their ability to control it. From a position as arbiters of morality, they have become the chief targets as deviants from the moral code. Despite the loss of confidence in curers as guardians, they are still called upon to fight the evil of witchcraft, and nearly every day a ritual is performed. The regimen of the curing ritual has not been upset by the undermining of the curers' position. Tied to a
[755] diagnostic system emphasizing the state of the patient's social relations, the
[278] same procedures are carried out even when modern medicines are used.

753 In curing practices, the Indian sees himself as the key figure in the
156 drama of his own self-victimization. His illnesses come from within his own world, usually from within his family or close neighborhood. They are a mark of guilt for having excited the envy or hatred of associates. While the Indian is often portrayed in the role of passive victim to outside domination, in his own self-projection he sees himself dominated by powers within the community. Greater participation and equality in the wider society may in the future release him from these fear-provoking figures in his own environment.

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The informant failed to mention the following actions which I observed: 796

1. In raising the figure of Christ on the cross, the four regidores, in this context called *apuštol* (probably from apostles), entered the church. Two of them stood at the head of the cross to receive the image raised from below by the other two. [624]

2. The image was always handled with cloths so that no one's hand would be in contact with the surface.

3. The priest, standing behind a cloth screen, guided the figure up on the cross. 796 793

4. The priest gave a sermon about the significance of Easter and the life and death of Christ. He spoke of the crime of the Jews in killing Christ.[6]

In comparing the elicited and observed accounts, one can see clearly the censoring of the priest's role in the perception of the people. Even while the ceremony is in process, they ignore his appeals. For example, as the body of Christ was lowered from the cross, the priest exhorted the congregation to cry and give vent freely to their emotions in this most holy moment. There was no response from the audience, even after he waited several moments, pleading with them again not to feel embarrassment at their show of emotion, and becoming visibly annoyed at their impassivity. Finally, a woman dressed in Ladina clothing, rewarded him with the stylized wail of mourning.

Observation of the ceremony reveals evidence of attitude and belief coded in the staging, the costuming, the postures and gestures of respect or derision which cannot be elicited. Each element is an interpretative comment by those who direct and act the play. We are told that the Jew is the anti-Christ, but we learn that he is also a Ladino through his clothing, the cigarette, and the horseback ride. The Indians do not state that they castrate him in hoisting him upon the church, but their comments and ac- 796 182 829

6. Despite the fact that the Vatican had exonerated the Jews of the guilt for the murder of Christ the year before (1965), the priest spoke of the crime of the Jews. This time lag in communicating doctrine to the hinterlands would be an interesting problem to investigate. [779]

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796 tions betray the intent. As he is hauled up by ropes and hung from the
182 bell tower "to show the world that he killed Christ," the mayordomos on
829 the ground who are assisting those up in the bell tower jab him with long poles. In this horseplay they symbolically castrate him: I heard one mayordomo say, *"Me?čunun,"* (transvestite) as one well-directed blow struck Judas. On Saturday, he is let down and given a ride on horseback around town. Formerly riding a horse was the prerogative only of Ladinos in the department of San Cristóbal Las Casas (Colby and Van den Berghe 1961). Placing Judas on a horse possibly has a symbolic value in identifying him as one of the hated dominant group who asserted this privilege.
[794] As he rides around town, the mayordomos solicit gifts from the people.
[756] Everyone gives fruits except the curers, who donate money. This transac-
[754] tion may indicate an obligation they feel toward Judas as one source of their power over witchcraft-derived illnesses. The money is used to buy liquor, called the "washing of the arms and legs of our Lord Eskipulas." The drinking is mandatory for all the mayordomos who have participated in the hanging of Judas.

The Judas figure, which was the church's symbol of the hated Semite, is made to appear as the enemy of the Indians, the Ladino. He symbolizes the sexual license of Ladinos with Indian women, the oppression of Indians by Ladinos, and the killer of Christ. In retaliation, the Indian symbolically castrate and hang him, and finally burn his body, thus dramati-
[793] cally vanquishing the alien in their midst. So far as I know, the priest is unaware of the identification Indians make between the Jew and the Ladino. He prevented the ride from taking place the year I witnessed the Easter Week ceremonial on grounds that it was a pagan ritual; when he left town on Sunday, the mayordomos took Judas on his customary rounds.

796 The attitude toward Jesus, as the hero of the morality play, is ambiva-
776 lent. Martyrdom is not the way to win in Indian society. The feeling is
182 that power goes to the one who makes the sacrifice, and since Jesus was a
829 Ladino sacrifice, they have more power than the Indians. During the
[181] Caste War in Chiapas in 1868, the Indians crucified an Indian youth in
[782] the hope that they would find a savior as powerful as Jesus. To this day,
[175] Indians of To?ontahal seem not to identify Jesus as one of themselves,

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and they show little personal concern with his fate in the reenactment of the Passion.

The ceremonies by which the Indians care for the spirits are Spanish introductions, but within these forms they have found a means of containing the powers of the spirits and making them work for the benefit of Indians. In the reenactment of the Passion they caricature and symbolically kill their own enemy, the Ladino, without his being aware of it. Through reformulation of introduced ideas and practices, the Indians have preserved a sense of the past in an idiom meaningful to themselves.

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621 to the loss of belief in the curers. The principales were formerly conceived
756 to be overseers of the curers, men who, because of their advanced age,
178 could determine whether the curers were acting in the interest of the town. With the loss of this social control function, along with the loss of other functions such as holding public funds and helping the judges to interpret the law, they have declined to the level of ceremonial figures dissociated from political action.

621 The forms of political organization remain the same, but there has been
178 a shift in the balance of power from leaders whose authority rested on guardianship linked with the ancestors to leaders who can deal with the external power structure. The emergent forms of political organization can be partially assessed in the meaning participants assign to the events which precipitated this process of change. To paraphrase George Herbert Mead (1938:liii) it is the "organization of perspectives" concerning the past events and the present conditions which will effect the emergent
829 forms. The analytical problem can be phrased with the questions, "In
578 what dialectical terms is the conflict cast?" and "What changes do the
794 members of the community perceive as an outcome of the struggle?"
621 Whereas in the colonial period the conflict between the Indians and their
177 Spanish conquerers was seen as a struggle for control between Catholicism
178 and traditional religion, today the conflict is phrased as one of opposed economic interests. In the civil sphere, factional opponents seek the support of extra-communal power holders to gain their ends. In the religious
[793] sphere, the Indians see the conflict as one in which their control over the church and the income derived from it is opposed to the priest's growing influence.

829 In this reorganization of perspectives, the Indians share some of the
621 goals of the dominant society, but they continue to oppose themselves to
182 the Ladino world. For this reason they are willing to preserve the form of the civil-religious hierarchy as a means of asserting their independence from the dominant society. They see the community not only as a defensive screen against the outside world, but as a springboard for entry into the national economic and political life. They are now consciously taking advantage of pro-Indian sentiment to secure a preferred position in this society. Their awareness of their advantage over the deculturated Indian is

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made explicit in the contrasts they make between their conditions and those of the migratory mestizo laborers who work in the sawmills and fincas in the area. They comment on the fact that these workers have no political representation and that they and their children are illiterate and do not attend school. The significant factor is that the Indians of the corporate communities not only have advantages over the mestizo worker, but they perceive these advantages and are acting in terms of them. The preservation of community traditions is seen as a means of retaining community-owned assets and of maintaining a sense of self which is threatened or destroyed when the individual Indian enters into the national society.

The rules of strategy for moving in the direction of change are a transformation of the rules of the game that the Indians hve played in the four and a half centuries since the Conquest. The overall strategy is still defensive and aimed at preserving local independence, but their tactics include new skills acquired from Ladinos. In opposing the old power elite of the curing hierarchy, the present leadership uses the same tactics of the witch-hunt that their opponents used in the past to punish deviates, but they are beginning to confront them openly when sorcery is suspected. Leaders of the new cooperatives state that their aim is to increase opportunities for the whole community, not to make individual profit.

Because the conflict has been contained within community boundaries, the statement of goals remains the same. These goals include the retention of control by local leaders over judgment of guilt or innocence, in ceremonial affairs, and by all townspeople over land. This retention of local control is the key feature of a moving equilibrium in a model of change that puts the emphasis on continuous adjustments and adaptations. In the usual models for discussing modernization, the confrontation is conceived as one between the indigenous society and the outsider representing western influence. In Tzoʔontahal, young leaders within the community have confronted old in the stated interest of preserving tradition. Occasionally they may make alliances with the old leaders as in the conflict with the priest.

These "shifts in the focus of political power within a given system" (Leach 1964:9) are the prelude to structural change. Tzoʔontahal as a case

121 write beliefs that give coherence to these roles. Whether these events continue to be scheduled, and in the process of being presented "prove" the postulates upon which structural relationships are based, depends upon acceptance of the belief system.

183 A fundamental understanding governing behavior in Tzoʔontahal is that people ought to do as the ancestors did. Both "knowing" and "re-
[192] membering" are expressed by the same verb, *ya sna,* while "learning" and "memorizing" are expressed by the verb *ya snop*. The behavioral corollary of this association between knowing and remembering is that one should accept the word of the ancestors as a guide to behavior. The importance of obeying one's elders as the intermediaries in the transfer of ways of behaving from one generation to another is stressed in child training and is restated in the prayers uttered at ritual performances enacting the ways of the ancestors.

128 In this chapter I shall consider the integration of behavior based on roles, personality, codes of morality and etiquette, and the ideological and behavorial changes which are disturbing this system.

The Role System

554 621 182 Coherence of the role system in Tzoʔontahal depends upon (1) similar premises for role recruitment and continuity in transition from one role to another; (2) alternation in office and linkage of separate domains by special offices; and (3) standardized etiquette of role interaction. Uniform standards of evaluation of performance provide a sanctioning system ensuring social integration.

561 554 562 *Recruitment and transition*. Relative and chronological age combined with consideration of sex are the fundamental principles for assigning role categories. The age principle categorizes the entire town in role pairs of respect and deference. Sex differentiation is not made in children until after infancy. An infant of either sex is called *ʔunin,* also a term for
[192] the new moon, until the age of eight months. The sex of parent rather
[601] than that of the child is designated: a woman calls her offspring *ʔalal* whether boy or girl, and a man calls his offspring *nič'an*. Sex distinction is

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554 the status. Community integration is achieved at the expense of limiting the range of roles through restricted recruitment and validating mechanisms.

621 794 [182] *Alternation and linkage in office-holding.* The principle of alternation between civil and religious posts serves to integrate these officers in a single functioning system and prevents the development of segmented groups. The alternation of offices between sides of the dual divisions helps to integrate the village by pairing or alternating them in the same office. Some roles served as links between the institutional domaines. Principales are the primary symbolic leaders of both hierarchies since they are chosen from among men who have completed service in both hierarchies. The alfereces formerly symbolized the unity of the civil and religious branches in the transfer of banners from the cabildo to the church and in other ceremonial duties.

621 624 794 [692] [84] The regidores and judges have remained identified with the civil authority in Tzoʔontahal, although in other towns in the area they have become almost exclusively identified with the religious hierarchy (Cancian 1965). The regidores were formerly involved in religious affairs during the household celebration for the installation of the new alférez. At this time they were called personaetik from the Spanish term persona, or personage.

731 756 178 621 Events requiring community action reveal some of the links which unite officials who play roles in different institutional settings. On the occasion of an epidemic, curers are called before the civil authority to "give an account" of who is causing the witchcraft. Formerly the curers were linked to the civil hierarchy by a system of social control in which the principales, as elders, reviewed their actions in guarding the safety and health of the community. This system of checks and balance has been broken by the shift in power from the principales to the president.

794 621 182 The nakawanehetik provide the links between the household and the civil and religious hierarchies. They transmit the knowledge of ritual prayer and acts and officiate at the inauguration of officials. They serve as stage directors in maintaining the traditional household rituals and in ensuring continuity in public ceremonials.

576 support of whatever is said—repeating the final phrase of the person con-
[535] versing or injecting supportive statements such as "indeed, indeed," or "so it is." In the dance of the alfereces' wives, for example, women were the model of deference, moving in a self-contained pattern before the assembled guests, with slow, tiny steps, eyes downcast, a shawl covering their heads on which they wore their husbands' ceremonial hats.

621 Through recruitment procedures, alternation and linkage in official
182 roles, and leadership validated by age and service in lower positions—principles applying to role relations in all institutions—Tzo?ontahal has remained an integrated community. There is a high degree of stereotyping in behavior from one institution to another, and norms of behavior are the
[682] same for public as for private roles. However, a remarkably high homicide
[578] rate and open conflict in all of the institutional settings indicate basic sources of disruption.

682 Since 1960 the rate of homicide in town has increased from an average
593 of 1 every 2 years to an average of 5 or 6 per year. Table 29 indicates the
609 role relationships of killer to victim in 37 of over 70 homicides occurring
428 between 1937 and 1964. The highest incidence of homicide (7 cases) oc-
578 curred between brothers and brothers-in-law. Male siblings comprise the closest cooperating group. Brothers work together in the milpa until the father dies or divides his property among his children during his lifetime. Bilateral inheritance with equal division of land and houses among female as well as male offspring means that brothers-in-law are potential competitors for the same limited resources. Friction arising among brothers and brothers-in-law does not come from the principle of equal inheritance, but rather because of the fact of differing responsibilities and expenses within the family. For example, the child who has remained with the parents and
[888] thus assumes the burden of care for them in their declining years often feels that he should inherit a greater share. The disputes arise in the decisions concerning how much this disadvantage should be weighted. The
682 suppression of overt competition may in part explain the homicidal acts.
683 Although the tensions in fact stem from suppressed economic competition,
[154] they are translated into witchcraft accusations as soon as anyone in the
[626] family becomes ill. Violence against a witch is condoned by the community and provides a channel for latent hostility. Once the accusation has

1 (see pp.245-247..Analyst)

"gift of the gods," liquor, to the party whose interests have been slighted. This is done in the case of a suitor who is asking for a woman of the other side of the dual division; he gives the bachelors of that side a garrafón of liquor in compensation for the loss of a potential mate. Liquor has become a substitute for the sacrifice of a child by a man being initiated into the curing profession. Informal offerings of liquor may be made between neighbors or relatives who have been fighting with each other. Liquor is a kind of universal social solvent in disputes, and figures importantly in court cases which are always terminated in a drinking session.

Another technique is simply a payment in money to compensate for damages. In some homicide cases, the payment of "blood money" has compensated the family of the victim to avoid legal action. This is never done, however, if the community agrees that the victim was a witch. Payment of fines in court is another such form of compensation. These payments or offerings minimize the bloodshed or personal involvement in conflictual relations. Payment by the man judged guilty will ensure his reincorporation into his customary place in the community without stigma.

While it is impossible to elicit from informants a theory of roles, it is possible to formulate the principles underlying roles. These are deduced from behavioral observations and from evaluations made of the performances of others. They can be summarized in the following propositions:

1. There is a clear separation between role and role-bearer. This is seen most clearly in the passage through civil and religious offices with a minimum of "halo" effect. It is also found in the situation of household officials whose authority in directing affairs within a household ceases when the ceremony in which they officiate is over. The separation ensures flexibility in a closed social system, enabling people to shift from one role to another. It also permits continuity in a system which requires an almost complete turnover of personnel each year.

2. Function performed is separate from role in which it is performed. This applies even in those roles which are designated on the basis of the most important function required of the performer, for example woman speaker, liquor measurer, and basket carrier. All of

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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as lawyers. The defendant is sometimes accompanied by supporters who feel that he has a case. The failure of parents to accompany a defendant, regardless of his age, is attributed to their shame over their child's misbehavior and their own failure to train him properly. The judge does not limit himself to passing judgment but also counsels the defendant as to how he should behave.

The town hall is usually shut and locked at noon unless some business requires more time. In the evening about six, the officials return to take their same posts. They sit with their arms drawn inside their woolen jackets for warmth. After a half an hour they drift home. People rely on the presence of officials rather than particular actions to maintain social control, and it is their appearance at regular hours that assures the villagers that the town is being well run.

Local autonomy depends primarily on retaining social control functions. Civil officials try to settle disputes locally and avoid the entry of Ladino officials from the departmental capital, although the judges and president will threaten the defendant with taking the case to the department if they cannot get compliance. The number of cases referred to the capital has been increasing since 1950 as Table 32 shows. In 1951 the federal government began to fine local officials who failed to report homicide cases and accidental death. The local officials complied, but departmental courts were unable to bring action in over half the cases. No action was taken in 72 cases, or 54 percent, in comparison with 62 cases, or 46 percent, in which action was taken. Domestic cases, except for one of adultery, are adequately handled in local courts and do not appear in the departmental records. The trend shows an increasing number of cases of crimes against persons in comparison to crimes against property, an index to the breakdown in social control processes.

The Church

The church has been built and on two occasions rebuilt—when the tower was struck by lightning—with funds collected locally from household heads. Damage to the church was attributed to the patron saint of the neighboring town of Oxchuk who, the people say, was fighting with their patroness, Santa Lucía. The townspeople feel that they own the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 301]

The townspeople feel that they own the church, and many resent the intrusion of the priest who resides sometimes two or three days a week in the adjoining rectory. In the past five years, however, the priest has succeeded in asserting more control over the church: he has forbidden drinking in the church or in the courtyard, a prohibition that resulted in an open confrontation with the leading cofrade (Chapter 9); and he now controls the keys to the church and to the money boxes, formerly the responsibility of the fiscal. The two lay sisters who are in residence during the week hold the keys and are in charge of the upkeep of the church. 346 793 794 177 178

People always show respect for the church by removing their hats as they pass the entrance, even when they are at a distance. As they enter the church, they always kneel and cross themselves. They may spit on the floor of the church, for this is not a sign of disrespect. 346 575 788 [514]

The complementarity of church and cabildo is still formally recognized in ceremonial events: participants bow to the church and then to the cabildo during processions. The transfer of sacred symbols from one locale to the other at the time of the inauguration of civil and religious officials ceremonially signifies the integration of civil and religious authority, despite the growing separation in day-to-day functions in each of the domains. 621 794 182

The church serves as a staging platform for the images and symbolic offerings to them in the annual cycle of ceremonies. During the nine days of ceremony accorded to the major saints, their images are moved to the center of the altar or to the center of the nave. The staging effects are particularly notable during the fiesta of Holy Week, when the reenactment of the crucifixion is performed in the nave. The mayordomos, under the direction of the fiscal and the lay sisters, move the saints about and prepare adornments of flowers and pine needles. 346 796 [794]

The church is the locus for the weekly mass given by the priest. The men stand on the left side of the church (facing the altar), while the women kneel or sit on the floor to the right. A few benches near the altar are occupied by the Ladinos of the area who attend the mass. The lay sisters indicate to the congregation when they should kneel and rise in response to the cues of the sermon or mass. [562] [563] [794]

In addition to these scheduled events, the church serves as a locus where 346 776 782

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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tra-institutional supports are still lacking for the school, which is not yet fully incorporated into the community framework.

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Replication of behavior in all of the institutional domains except the school provides a measure of social integration in the community. Patterned behavior, such as the set speeches of the pat'o'tan, the formalized drinking procedure including the blessing of the drink and the serving of it in accordance with age and authority ranking of the participants, the etiquette of greeting and leave-taking, the embrace signifying ritual guardianship, occurs in the home, the town hall, and the church. These sets of stereotyped behavior, specified according to roles, simplify the movement from one institutional setting to another and contribute to continuity in role performance by the individual. The new patterns of behavior introduced in the school—desegregation of the sexes, competition in performance, grading of achievement—are not modes of behavior which have spread. However, as the skills acquired in school assume greater importance in the community, it is likely that the socializing procedures with which they were transmitted may spread to the home.

programs in the interest of "civilizing" the Indians. This formulation involved a basic contradiction between the goal of moving into regional and national networks and that of keeping the old autonomy and independence of the corporate community. He never had to face that contradiction. Unable to gain adherents other than the small group of profit-sharers in the cooperative he organized, he was killed by opponents within the community. 474 472 177 178 [682]

The Family and Household

The core of the traditional culture lay in the local power hierarchies patterned on the familial model of age-ordered paternal authority institutionalized in the me?iltatil. The me?iltatil of the household have provided a flexible institution for adjusting conflict within the kin group. Their role in directing ritual performances preserves a sense of continuity in life cycle changes. 608 591 578 182

The institutionalized authority of the elders has not been upset by the trend toward residence based on nuclear families, which is an adjustment to the pressure of limited space in the town center. Kinship ties are continually reinforced by rituals that draw together the me?iltalil as sponsors of ceremonies marking baptism, marriage, and death. This group of sponsoring relatives has absorbed the institution of compadrazgo, adding compadres to the network of affinally-and bilaterally-related kin. The procedures for adjusting conflict among members of the household and extended family networks reinforce the authority of the elders. When adjustive processes in the house and court "arrangements" and in curing ceremonies fail, the only recourse is for one of the disputants to leave the community or commit homicide. 561 182 602 608 591 626 621 578 [681] [762]

Ceremonies within the household provide a model for the rules of the game that apply to adjustive behavior in the community. The household officials introduce new officials into their role, teaching them the prayers and directing the proceedings. Their authority depends upon age and prestige acquired in office. The me?iltatil, as the elders of the family, are the direct link with the ancestors. They and the nakawane provide the strongest force for preserving the ways of the ancestors. 561 182 [769]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Religious Behavior

869 776 Socialization of the child includes teaching him how to adjust to spirits of the house and of the surrounding hills and springs as well as to people in his social environment. He learns the obligations he owes to these spirits in the rituals of house inauguration and curing. Place spirits are given an ethnic identity. The ancestor figures who live in the cave are Indians from whom all the people originate. The Ladino spirits residing in the houses and springs are a mythological projection of a conquered people who have learned to coexist with their conquerors by paying tribute of candles, food, liquor, and entertainment. If the spirits are not won over, they will admit the evil spirits who bring sickness and death. Their presence is known only by the trouble they permit rather than by good occurences; the miracles they perform are an undoing of the harm they have permitted.

776 782 789 The belief in the potentially dangerous nature of these spirits when their envy or appetite is aroused is linked to an understanding that men and gods alike are jealous and vindictive. It generates behavior that is in conformity with that of the ancestors. A sense of security is reinforced by the protective symbols of incense, the cross of palm hung on the entrance posts of the yard and house, candles which "blind the eye of the devil," and garlic mixed with hot herbs which exude an odor that evil spirits dislike. When the uneasy contract between spiritual and human coresidents [755] is upset, a curing ritual is performed to make everyone "of one heart." Be- [571] havior with respect to both spirits and people stems from a policy of ap- [273] peasement through entertainment and liquor provided in household ceremonials.

776 777 778 Behavior differs in regard to the category of saints called "spirits in the heaven" and those called "spirits in the church." Spirits of the heavens have incorporated pre-Conquest deities with those introduced by the missions. They are a more powerful force influencing human moral behavior. [834] Illicit sexual relations carried out in the milpa by day are believed to [784] arouse the envy of "Our Father the Sun" who will cause the milpa to burn by refusing to give way to rain. Similarly "Our Grandmother the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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773 credit to insects who carried it from the hills. Still another myth synthe-
177 sizes both pre-Conquest and Catholic agents: San Antonio, seeing an in-
178 sect bearing a kernel of corn, persuaded a woodpecker to break open the rock which blocked the entrance to the hill where the corn was stored and then organized the insects to bring forth the corn. The contradictions in these myths do not motivate the people to bring the several versions into line with one another because the rituals associated with beliefs concerning crops provide an overall insurance rather than a specific contract. The In-
776 dians do not trust their security to any one saint or even group of deities.
782 The two candles lit in the milpa following the harvest are an offering to
177 the "owner of the earth"; along with this, offerings of corncobs are made
178 to the saints in the church and to the house saint. Even the birds are left
[825] an offering of corn kernels in the fields after the harvest so that they will not be jealous of the farmer.

773 These myths fail to provide specific charters for action. What they do
771 provide is a set of dispositions to behave in certain ways. The underlying
182 disposition is that of self-imposed guilt and recrimination. The ancestors left their cave because the people failed to give them a fiesta; the spirit of money left the town because the religious officials in the past failed to adorn the church and improvidently strewed the floor with green peso notes in place of pine needles. Sickness and poverty are attributed to their own failures.

771 Another disposition is that of appeasement through ceremonial enter-
796 tainment. This is carried out in the fiestas for the spirits of the church and
731 the spirits of the heaven just as for the spirits of the house, caves, springs,
182 and hills surrounding the town. Community-wide disaster is interpreted as a direct result of failure to perform rituals establishing reciprocity with the spirits. When individuals face crop loss, they review their own ritual obligations to see what went wrong. The curing ceremony is an-
[755] other effort to appease the devil whom the witch has persuaded to give illness to his victim.

771 A third such disposition is to project human conflict into the superna-
776 tural sphere. The conflict between Santa Lucía and the patron saint of Ox-
821 chuk, Santo Tomás was taken to be the reason for the church tower being
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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

struck by lightning on two occasions. The solution was to rebuild the tower of metal so that Santo Tomás could not demolish it if he struck again, a defensive reaction which is typical of the Indians in their extra-community relations. When an eclipse of "Our Grandmother the Moon" occurred during my stay in town, everyone went to her assistance, banging metal tools and pots, in what was believed to be a fight with the sun.

The emphasis on self-recrimination and guilt in explaining failure minimizes the build-up of protest. Economic hardship attributed to a man's own improvidence in relation to his fellow man and God are accepted as his lot in life. The drama of the curing ritual projects the Indians' sense of their own guilt for the suffering and poverty they endure.

Political Behavior

The structure of the civil hierarchy has been maintained but organizational changes have occurred which have weakened the basis for it. The alternation of offices between church and civil positions survives in the lower levels, but the new leaders in civil affairs now begin in the Ejido Commission, and few of those who pass as president take on posts in the religious hierarchy. The appearance of continuity has been maintained in communal rituals in which the principales provide the link with the past and the alfereces, until 1966, were the link between civil and religious wings; but in the day-to-day running of the town, the officials do not act on these premises. The balance between officials from each side of the dual division has been upset by the population increase on one side. The abolition of the institution of alfereces gives public recognition to the growing awareness of imbalance. Moreover, the factions based on the new trucking cooperatives that cut across the dual division reduce the effectiveness of the dual division in channeling conflict.

Behavioral deviation from the norms is present in all societies and is not in itself an index to structural change. This comes about when new interpretations are given to events that undermine confidence in existing institutions and leaders. Political conflicts in the past were interpreted as a contest between members of the sides of the dual division and hostility

621 578 177 178 was channeled along existing lines of competition. During my stay in the community from 1964 to 1966, most conflicts were attributed to economic competition between the two trucking cooperatives. Along with this, the [114] [474] [182] waning of the position of the principales has undermined the confidence of the people in the system of checks and balances in which the principales watched over the judges, the judges watched over the curers, the curers watched over the people to see that no one brought in evil, and the ancestors watched over everyone. [756] Curers are more and more often accused of witchcraft and are frequent victims of homicide. The sense that they are the guardians of the pueblo and the agents of the ancestors is nearly dead. They are consulted only because the people feel that, because of the evil in them, they can fight the evil caused by others.

621 756 177 178 The shift in power from the old leaders to the new has not been accompanied by a shift in ideological allegiance. The new leaders cannot offer the security the people felt when they were living in the eyes of the ancestors. The curers remain as a powerful group because of their claims of being able to fight evil, but there is no longer a legitimate authority controlling their use of destructive forces.

561 554 177 178 A system of authority based on rule by elders is a structural correlative of a behavior pattern in which people act out the ways of the ancestors. This applies to the schematized behavior contained in rituals and in traditional productive activities. The ideology of a seniority-based prestige system persists at the explicit level at the same time that behavioral changes in contradiction to this are occurring.

626 177 178 Social control in a system of behavior based on what was done in the past depends upon the belief that people are carrying out their lives "in the eyes of the ancestors." Ritual behavior in Tzo'ontahal seems to confirm this, but in view of the waning belief in the presence of the ancestors and the loss of confidence in their agents, the curers, this behavior is a kind of social lie designed to perpetuate the old code of morality. In their everyday behavior, people no longer act on the same premises. The social lie is perpetuated because the people who enjoyed power in the old social system—the curers and the elders—do not wish to relinquish it. It will last only so long as they can find successors, and with the abolition of the recruitment through alfereces, this should not be for long.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Summary and Conclusions

The preceding generalizations anticipate conclusions that will be stated in terms of the hypotheses raised in the Preface.

1. *The stability of the society varies directly with the efficiency of its procedures for adjusting conflict.* The rising homicide rate is a behavioral index to the breakdown in procedures for adjusting conflict. The elders and cures still officiate in rituals to settle conflict, but their judgments are no longer as effective in overcoming fear and suspicion. The principle of age-based authority on which their authority rests has been undermined by ejido lands giving married sons earlier independence from their fathers and by young leaders assuming positions of power in the civil authority. More dispute cases have been referred to the departmental courts in the 60s than in the 50s.

2. *The stability of the society varies directly with the ability to validate behavioral innovations in terms of existing values.* Leaders in the new economic enterprises and the political factions based on them have tried to justify their efforts by stressing the goal of increasing their independence from the Ladinos. Their attempt to develop an ideology emphasizing the need for cooperation to overcome the dominance of the Ladinos is handicapped by the rampant suspicions about other members of the community and pessimism about the chances of the cooperative to succeed in the wider world. The conflict in the individual between desire for improvement of his welfare and fear of exciting envy is exacerbated by each innovation that raises the level of living. The leader who was most explicit in formulating an ideology for adapting to the new, the entrepreneur Santos, was a victim of the conflict he tried to interpret. There is no expression of pan-Indianism that could support the goal of cultural separatism of Indians from Ladinos. Indigenismo is the ideology of national leaders who have left behind the cultural heritage they extol. The Indians of Tzo'ontahal are as suspicious of neighboring Indians as they are of Ladinos. The retreat into separate communities which has ensured their survival in the four and a half centuries of colonial rule and independence makes it difficult to mobilize

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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181 support for cultural independence as economic interdependence grows.

105 3. *The stability of the society varies directly with the effectiveness*
182 *of its procedures for transforming old power positions into ceremonial posts.* The community demonstrated the effectiveness of its technique of cooling off old power-holders as new leader usurped the authority of the principales. The struggle going on between the curers and the new civil leadership had not been resolved in ceremonial absorption of the curers' power when I left the community. The community was ridding itself of these fear-provoking agents of the supernatural by resorting to homicide. The loss of the institution of the alférez marked the waning of these old techniques of ceremonially incorporating leadership into a traditional hierarchy and linking civil office with religious obligations.

4. *The lability of the society varies directly with the gap between expectations and experience.* The Indians condition themselves to expect the worst and so are not disappointed by it. They pray only that they may maintain a given level of suffering and poverty. They are not caught up in that revolution of rising expectations that makes for discontent when experience does not match them. The Indians know they
[175] are better off than they were, and they contrast their present prosperity
[731] with the famine of 1915 when revolution and banditry depleted their crops and cattle, and with the typhoid epidemic of 1928 when hundreds died and the rest did not have the money to bury them properly. An attitude of pessimism about the future limits the problem of adjusting to it or of making adaptations to improve it. One could predict neither revolution nor moral collapse.

5. *The lability of the society varies directly with the degree of dissonance between traditional and contemporary interpretations of events.* The old explanations are still applied to current events. Disaster is blamed on individual or communal failure to carry out ceremonials. Sickness and death are attributed to witchcraft motivated by envy or malice. The paranoic theories of human nature are confirmed by every illness or death that occurs. Even the gods are characterized as envious and vindictive. Containment of blame for misfortune within the community minimizes the political involvement of Indians in the wider society and limits the changes that might affect them.

The material conditions making for equilibrium are breaking down within the community, but the failure for protest to develop means that old beliefs are not challenged by new ideologies. Adaptations and adjustments made in response to changes are still forced into this framework of understandings and expectations. But without any stated changes in belief, Indians are themselves transforming the internal structure of the society by undermining the old gerontocracy and shifting the locus of power to the innovating young men. A binary model of change that poses a transformation from traditional to modern might ignore these internal changes that maintain a given equilibrium intact but that provide a reordering of power making possible a successful adaptation to larger social orders. Tzo'ontahal is a case in point proving that the external conditions are not sufficient to explain fundamental restructuring of the society. People continue to act out a faith in the ways of the ancestors at the same time that adjustments and adaptations are made in response to increasing interdependence in regional and national institutions. The same framework of government is retained as shifts of power give scope to a new kind of leadership. Continuity in forms has the positive effect of preserving a sense of security. The social costs are a slowing down of adaptive responses and a high investment in the "ceremonial fund" (Wolf 1966). The benefits can only be measured by comparison with cultures that have lost these controls.

The universal problem which this community is in the process of working out has been stated by G. H. Mead (1938:22): "How is a society to find a method for changing its own institutions and still preserve the security of those institutions?" The present phrasing of the problem in the community is: "How can we preserve the solutions of the past and apply them to the present?" So long as the problem is phrased in this way, the solution is to exile or kill the deviants or innovators who attempt fundamental change. The threat of witchcraft continues to maintain conformity, and fear subverts the search for an ideology to phrase behavioral adjustments and adaptations in such a way that they will be congruent with future goals. Such an ideology cannot be imposed. Only the people themselves can work out the ways in which meaning and understanding are given to technological and social change.

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593 loses his labor and some of its land holdings, while if a daughter
592 leaves, the loss of labor is marginal, there is no loss of land,
464 and her removal is not a drain on the resources of the household,
562 nor does it upset its basic economy.
423

591 The multiple bonds between a father and a son over the
593 patrimonial land of the family, the products of their joint ef-
182 fort, and their common responsibility for setting up the standard of living for the homestead, all foster patrilocality.

423 A young man could, today, obtain land without his father's
425 direct help. He cannot obtain irrigated land (because it is ex-
592 tremely scarce, and privately "owned" by the household heads),
621 but he could obtain land in the communal lands of the village.
[593] This, of course, is not the better land, being temporal and far away from the village. Although the temporal land close to town is not privately owned, it is "earmarked" for use by the heads of each household. That is, the communal lands are distributed to households, not by titles of ownership, but by usufruct rights. Even if he decides to take such a step, he needs (1) the approval of the Ayuntamiento which oversees the distribution of usufruct rights for the community as a whole, and (2) the recruitment of other men to help him clean and fence the parcel.

621 Neither of the two alternatives is easy to carry out in
593 practice. First, if the Ayuntamiento grants land to a man against
423 his father's will, this creates a problem of jurisdiction between
425 the jural rights of the household head and the administrative
578 rights of the Ayuntamiento. We could not predict what consequences such a case would have, because we have no evidence that it has ever occurred (of course, this is based on the case

571 and outside the household by the bilateral group of kinsmen of each particular Ego and his or her spouse, which because of the residence pattern, live localized within a neighborhood.

602 592 562 In Aguacatenango, on the contrary, most important activities are carried on mainly by agnatically related kin. This, of course, does not mean that matri-kin or affinals are absolutely excluded. But in making decisions for giving or receiving help in work, for example, agnatic kin are preferred, especially for men, because women tend to collaborate mostly with the agnatic kin of their husbands. The reason for this is that activities for women are not determined in terms of the kinship lines, but in terms of household membership: they collaborate with the closest kin of the household in which they reside, and not their own closest kin. A household contributes labor and interacts more often with agnatically linked households than any other.

361 602 592 The reason for this difference in emphasis could be said to be a result of the fact that one collaborates more with the people who live the closest. After all, the neighborhood in Aguacatenango tends to be a cluster of agnatically related households. Nash felt that in Amatenango, "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relations are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130). We disagree with this statement. [114]

323 241 433 182 591 592 621 In Amatenango, pottery making and corn agriculture are the two principal productive enterprises which affect the organization of the domestic group, including the residence choices, so it is not strange that the neighborhood group (or residence clusters within the barrio), made up according to the criteria of selecting

323 producers for the particular domestic groups, seems to be the
241 originator of bilateral increase in interaction, while it could
433 be equally well said that the bilaterally settled neighborhood in
182 Amatenango is a result of the selection of household personnel
591 along both males' and females' kinsmen lines.
592
621

114 J. Nash (1960) interpreted the bilaterality of Amatenango
602 as being a result of the residence pattern. Nash assumes that
182 kinship and territoriality are two mutually exclusive principles
361 of association, while in reality they are not so. On the one hand, if territoriality (or the spatial placement of the individual in the household) is determined by kinship alignments, both would tend to be symmetrical; on the other hand, even if they are not mutually inclusive (which in this case they are), both are emphasized simultaneously in the same set of choices, so that the principles of spatial proximity and kinship proximity, although independent variables, are concomitant in their effects. Moreover, Nash found out that activities which did not involve immediate reciprocity followed the kinship line exclusively without reference to territorial propinquity.

121 The danger of assuming that "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relationships are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130) becomes evident in a larger theoretical context. If residential propinquity tends to set up interaction along bilateral lines, the opposite, residential dispersion, would tend to emphasize interaction among unilineal relatives. Then, all lineally organized societies ought to be organized in exogamous settlements, or in a dispersed hamlet pattern, and all large concentrations of

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

42 43 182 571 We can safely arrive at the conclusion that some aspects of the economic system play a very important part in the structuring of social relations in the Chiapas communities. The economic 184 241 323 434 factors which are indicated by the natives themselves and have been assessed by us as being crucial correlates of certain patterns of social behavior are:

(1) The unspecialized agricultural system of one village (Aguacatenango) versus the system of agriculture plus pottery production in the other makes the second one a "richer" town with less wealth fluctuation from year to year.

184 182 462 592 562 434 (2) The relative importance of women as bread-winners and producers in the traditional division of labor in one village (Amatenango), results in the fact that labor of women is crucial for the continuity of the domestic group, whereas in Aguacatenango, it is not. This does not mean that Aguacatenango women do not work. It just means that women's work in Aguacatenango, however exhausting, does not have a market in which it can be sold, and it cannot be transformed into subsistence goods or into money, i.e., it has an undeterminate marginal value. This gives the women in one village (Amatenango) economic independence and a higher status

184 vis-à-vis their husbands and male kinsmen, while in Aguacatenango,
182 it makes them economically dependent, and subordinates from a jural
462 point of view. In one case females inherit as men do, in the
592 other, inheritance follows a male line. In one case, they control
562 the same property as men do, in the other, they control only
434 marginal property.
[428]
[421]

(3) The relative importance of a man is labor versus a
184 woman's labor within the domestic unit affects residence. In
182 Aguacatenango, where all important productive activities are in
462 the hands of men, residence is patri-virilocal, and only males are
434 residence sponsors regularly. In Amatenango, where productive activities are in the hands of both males and females, residence is alternately matri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal, and both males and females can become residence sponsors. In Amatenango, households that depend more on the women's labor in pottery making are uxorilocal, while households in which the largest part of the domestic group income is derived from agriculture have post-marital patri-virilocal residence of their members.
591
[323]
[241]

184 In Aguacatenango, where all household income is derived
182 from agriculture and residence is patri-virilocal, matri-uxorilo-
434 cality occurs sporadically due to some other economic and non-
591 economic factors: (a) the inheritance of some land in the female
593 line when a daughter structurally replaces a son; (b) the coopera-
428 tive work between father-in-law-son-in-law when they replace the
562 position of father and son for each other; (c) the payment of
602 curing ceremonies and medicines for a sick married woman by her
606 own kin rather than her husband's.
75

184 (4) The reciprocal financial obligations between parents
182 428 and children in Amatenango, and between parents and sons in Agua-
593 catenango, to support each other at different stages of the developmental cycle of their respective domestic groups affect the rule of ultimogeniture.

184 (5) The relative wealth of the natal domestic group of
182 582 the spouse, measured by the amount of land controlled by the unit
591 affects (a) the choice of marriage partner, and (b) the residence
556 of the newly married couple. In Aguacatenango, where residence is normatively patri-virilocal, parents try to marry their daughters within the same economic level of their own households. In Amatenango, marriages occur across wealth lines, and the couple reside with the parents of the spouse who are better off.

184 (6) The relative importance of men versus female co-
182 462 operative work groups, and/or the difference in structuring of
476 work groups affects (a) the sibling bond; (b) the mother-daughter
593 bond; and (c) the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond.
[606] In Aguacatenango, where only men form cooperative work groups, the brother-brother bond is stronger than the sister-sister bond or the brother-sister bond.

In Amatenango, where both males and females form cooperative
[607] work groups, the multilateral sibling bond is reinforced to the point of including siblings-in-law.

184 In Aguacatenango, economic rivalry between siblings tends
593 to disrupt the brother bond with constant conflict. Thus, relation-
578 ships are more vertically oriented which is consistent with the
571 [613] presence of agnatic descent lines (in Amatenango, generational

184 59 428 562 and daughter, and the transmission of property in a bilateral fashion, is a kinship unit of the utrolateral type (Goody, 1958: 26) with alternate patri-uxorilocal and patri-virilocal residence.

184 59 592 562 Among the people of Amatenango, at least one child of the nuclear family stays at home after marriage, sons or daughter being equally good choices for the perpetuation of the domestic group. In this way, the Amatenango family continues through time, [428] from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of bilateral order, which extends itself territorially in a bilateral fashion, and perpetuates itself through the principle of ultrolateral ultimogeniture..

184 182 591 592 The structuring of the domestic groups as corporate units of a clearly different order is intimately connected with the rules by which residence sponsors are chosen.

184 591 562 1. In Aguacatenango, male sponsors are always preferred over females, independently of the sex, age, or marital status of the individual, while in Amatenango, where women are economically capable of being residence sponsors, they are selected as such as often as males.

184 591 562 602 2. In Aguacatenango, consanguineal sponsors are preferred over affinals or self (neolocality), except for married women, while in Amatenango, married men prefer affinals as much as married women do, under certain conditions.

184 591 602 3. In both villages, residence with a kinsman is preferred to neolocality, usually a kinsman from whom certain economic rights can be claimed (land, house, etc.).

571 592 [621] developmental cycle of the domestic group; (4) the relations of households within a neighborhood and within the more inclusive kinship groups; (5) the relative strength of the patriline versus the bilateral group; (6) the functions of the larger territorial endogamous divisions or barrios; and (7) the total community.

[184] Except for the importance of barrio land tenure in Aguacatenango, and general higher wealth of Amatenango as a whole, the system of production does not seem to affect the structuring of relationships at a level higher than the household and the particular type of rights and duties of members of the extended family of each village.

184 562 The position of women for the village at large is very similar in the two communities. Except for the fact that Amatenango women have the economic power and the legal right to take cases to the Ayuntamiento on their own, neither the women of Aguacatenango nor of Amatenango has rights to political officership, nor to roles outside the domestic domain, which, once more, confirms the anthropological truth that whatever the descent system, or the economic organization, jural authority is ultimately vested in the hands of the males of a society.

• 182 571 602 Economic factors are not the only factors affecting the interpersonal relations of the villagers. The economic structure is a given historical and cultural fact. Many choices of behavior, which are economic choices in their immediate context, are not so in terms of the long range view of the system. First, the kinship system seems to limit the range of economic alternatives for the individual, independently of the fact that choices

182 based on non-kinship terms would maximize profit or material
571 (602) benefits, which the kinship frame limits considerably. Second,
182 the cultural norms imposed on the villager about the types of work
183 which he is allowed to perform, about the maximum wealth which he
461 is able to control, and about the distribution of this wealth,
556 are, from a purely financial point of view, "anti-economical."
156 But an Indian living in a Ladino town, undoubtedly having the
177 choice of improving his life from an economic point of view,
156 alienates himself from everything which is dear to him. An Indian
626 attempting to live up to his aspirations of wealth within the com-
556 munity, alienates himself even more, and risks the dangers of
witchcraft and social ostracism.

121 The phrase, "man does not live by bread alone," is very much of a truism here. If the primary factor in determining behavior were economical, the villager would have no need to live within the customary standards of living of his community nor would the corporate community persist. Each Indian could become a laborer of some sort, and integrate himself into the national society of Mexico.

But people make choices not only because they are financially advantageous, but because they preserve their standing within their kinship group, they provide satisfaction for their need of the psychological rewards of prestige and positive affection and for their need for "belonging" to a group of similar human beings with similar culture and aspirations.

We have to admit, then, that it is as impossible to analyze social dynamics, only taking into account economic variables, as

121 it is impossible to do it taking into account any other variable in isolation. Social structures are built up around several simultaneously activated domains of phenomena. Kinship (or the biological facts of birth and copulation and the concomitant social facts of descent and affinality) is one domain. Economics (or the system for the production and allocation of rights over material goods and services) is another domain. Territorial allegiances, based on spatial proximity or distance, is another. The domain of the psychological (the inherent needs of human beings for sociality, positive affection, the sharing of moral values with other men [and perhaps the need for controlling others]), is still another domain.

182 796 If we take ritual as a projective system of the importance of social domains, we can see that it involves, in every case, several of them.

[571] [527] [764] [602] [241] For example, in Aguacatenango and Amatenango, ritual practices are oriented towards: (1) expressing tensions between individuals among whom harmonic relations are re-established through the curing ceremony; (2) expressing the territorial attachments of people, such as the ceremonies for housewarmings and the fact that in the cemetery people are buried according to the place in which they resided (the cemetery is a small replica of the village); (3) expressing kinship bonds, such as the marriage ceremony, the baptisms and compadrazgos, the food given to the ancestors on Todos Santos, etc.; (4) expressing economic needs, such as the rituals performed to insure the success of the harvest.

000 Within the same cultural frame, two social groups can

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontahal

Introduction

BEHAVIORAL REGULARITIES in ritual or informal interaction are usually considered the raw material for making structural-functional statements. The descriptive data are used illustratively or may never be included with published material. This monograph describes ritual activity, both elicited and observed. The object is (1) to state the behavioral dimensions of a structural-functional model and (2) to show where social changes are putting stress on that structure. 121

Ritual events are good occasions for such study because both communally prescribed and individually preferred behavior can be recorded. The expected behavior can be sorted out from the chance since the rules are more explicit than in ordinary interaction. Ceremonial behavior projects in a public performance a given set of status relationships. In doing things as they were done in the past, a theme repeated in prayers and in explanations for actions, people assert continuity of tradition. But just because of this, ceremonies are an occasion for dramatizing social change (Geertz, 1957). Competition between groups and tensions deriving from contradictions which are not apparent in everyday life may be expressed during the ceremony.

I have chosen the rituals of the inauguration of civil and religious officials in the community of Tzoʔontahal, Chiapas, Mexico, because in these performances people act out their techniques for maintaining continuity at the time of change.[1] The inauguration is a rite of passage designed to gain social acceptance of new personnel in a given set of roles. However, as in all ceremonies in this community, the occasion provides the backdrop for the release of latent hostilities. The formal ceremony requires drinking a great deal of the locally distilled liquor, "the gift of the ancestors" that makes fiestas possible.[2] Liquor rids the participants of embarrassment 121 182 796 121 796 273

[1] Field research was supported by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health which made possible my stay from May to September, 1964, and again in December, 1964. I am grateful to Duane Metzger for providing facilities for working in San Cristobal de las Casas with my informants. Comments by Harold Conklin, Constance Sutton, and David Hunter have helped improve earlier versions. [22] [14] [28]

[2] In a myth concerning the origin of liquor, it is said that the town had no fiestas until Santiago gave the gift of liquor.

[P. 209-A]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

men whom the lay sisters assisting the priest have organized to help carry out the Mass and other church rituals. 794

Another pair of officials, the *krinsipaletik* or principales, were not mentioned in the category "officials in the townhall" or in that of "officials in the church," until I questioned, "Who names the officials?" The response was, "Principales with the president." In order to arrive at the higher honorific posts of principal, one must serve five times in the civil and six times in the religious posts in the traditional hierarchy. The principales provide continuity in the transfer of authority, remaining in the townhall when the old officials depart to their homes, and passing over the staffs to the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28, 31). It is a position without power in the day-to-day administration of affairs. Although the incumbents occupy prestigeful positions and carry out ceremonial acts, many men avoid the office because of the loss of status in carrying out one of their most important acts, the collection of contributions for the major fiestas. The two principales must hold the plate into which the money is turned over by the police, and this causes "embarrassment." Formerly they were also bankers, holding the money until it was spent. This responsibility gave prestige to the act of receiving the money, now redefined as a sort of begging operation. 624 554 [182] 624 554 794 [453]

A ceremonial link between the civil and religious wings is the group of officers known as the *alperesetik*, alfereces. They are associated with the four major saints, who are also represented by the *kobrarias* of Sacramento, Santa Lucia, San Pedro Martyr, and San Francisco. Their rank order is determined not by the importance of the saint but by the order of entry into office. These are named: *tat pasaro*, the past "father"; *šil pasaro*, remains past; *sčebal pasaro*, second past; and *?ač' alperes*, new alferez. They sit, move, and are served in this order wherever they appear. Although tied to a *č'ultát*, spirit father or saint, they function in the townhall in bearing the banners there from the church for civil affairs (App. 1, Q. 27), and they provide the post which is crucial for learning the set speeches useful in all formal occasions, called the *pat?ot'an*, 'behind the heart.' Because of the crucial nature of this speechmaking, no man can progress into the post of first or second regidor without having passed through that of alferez. This post is the most difficult to fill because of the high outlay (3000 pesos in one year of average expenditures, about half the 794 [776] 794 554 794 554 62 * 637 [624] 794 434 681

[P. 214-B]

reces have delivered from the church. The presence of the alfereces with their banners proclaims the link between civil and religious office. 621* 794 182

The principales, now fairly inebriated after their long wait for the arrival of the new officials, pass out the staffs, assisted by the old president who helps direct them as they wander in a daze from the table to the new officials. The intoxicated state of the principales is never mentioned in elicited statements. The act of passing over the staffs is a significant index to their role in the hierarchy. As the only "permanent" 621* 624 [273]

621* 554 693

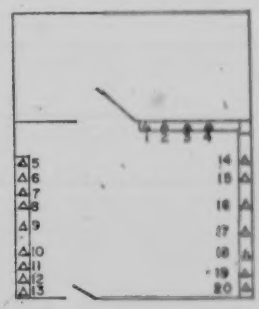


CHART 5 — MORNING, HOUSE OF PRESIDENT, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS (all men):

1 Nakawane
2 President
3, 4 Nakawane
5 First judge
6 Second judge
7 Síndico
8, 9 Assistant judges
10 First regidor
11 Second regidor
12 Third regidor
13 Fourth regidor
14-20 *Balnialetik*

incumbents—permanent so long as they are alive, healthy, and not impoverished—they are the link between the outgoing and incoming officials. When all the old officials have retired to their homes following the ceremony, and the new officials have gone on to the church, the principales wait in the townhall for the new officials to return for the afternoon drinking session in which they will join, as they had done in the morning with the old officials. 621* 624 [273]

Wearing their rosaries, the new officials follow the alfereces out of the townhall in a procession. Holding the holy banners, the alfereces line up before the townhall, dip their banners, and proceed to the 621* 794 [illegible]

[P. 217-B]

Change of Officials

The degree of integration of the civil and religious wings of the hierarchy can be described behaviorally. The following acts (App. 1) indicate this structural feature. 621* 794 182

Q. 24. The civil officials kneel and "measure their noses" as they enter the townhall in deference to the banners. [788]

Q. 27. Sacred objects, such as the holy banners of the *kobrarias*, are present on the table in the townhall as the officers take the oath of office. Officials carry rosaries as they accept oath and wear them in the procession to the church. [778]

Q. 28. The alfereces are present in the townhall to witness the ceremony. As bearers of the four major saints of the town, their role is primarily defined in a religious context.

Q. 41. Officials go to the church immediately following their procession in the plaza to pray for health to carry out their responsibilities. [782]

Q. 48. The religious officials are present in church on New Year's day to witness the arrival of new officials of the civil wing.

The alfereces link the two wings of the hierarchy in the following acts: 794 182

Q. 36. They carry the sacred banners to the townhall on the day of the inauguration.

Chart 9. They lead the parade of new officials of the civil wing.

Q. 28. They witness ("look at") the inauguration of the civil officials in the townhall.

Q. 36. In emerging from the townhall, they bow and incline their banners first before the townhall, then before the church. [788]

In the inauguration of the religious officials the only act uniting officials of the two wings of the hierarchies is that of counting the money (App. 2, Q. 90) when the town treasurer and síndico assist the church officials. The integration of the civil and religious wings in Tzo?ontahal is asymmetrical. The church officials as a group are involved in the civil inauguration, but the civil officials are only peripherally involved in the religious inauguration. 621* 794 182 [624]

Another behavioral basis for stating the dimensions of the civil and religious integration is found in the replication of symbols and acts in each inauguration. In taking the oath, the term *yil huramentu* is used in both settings. The staff as symbol of civil office has its counterpart in the candles handed over to the mayordomos. In both ceremonies, officials of the townhall and of the church wear red kerchiefs and carry rosaries when receiving the oath of office. 621* 794 182 782 788 [641] [292] [293]

Replication of behavior in both civil and religious 000

[P. 220—B]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS Replication of behavior in both civil and religious inauguration is also seen in the house ceremonies. 621* Prior to setting out to the townhall or to the church, 794 the new officials acquire a sense of the sacred obligations they are about to undertake from the words of 796 182 the *nakawanehetik*.

The major behavioral schema are established in 621* the settings in which activities occur. In each setting, 794 the actors assert status in a social arrangement by 156 their position in a physical arrangement: seating 182 order clockwise from the door indicates rank order 571 in all settings. The same act has a different significance in each setting. For example, drinking in the 554 townhall differs from drinking in the house because [273] it ties together different sets of actors.[10] As the actors move from one setting to the next, they are accompanied by some of the members linking them to the prior setting, as when the *nakawanehetik* accompany the president to the townhall.

The significance of setting in allocating roles is evi- 621* dent in the Tzeltal terms for categories of officials: 794 religious officials are called "officials in the church" 182 (*ʔaʔteletik te ta ɛ'ulna*) and civil officials are called 192 "officials in the townhall" (*ʔaʔteletik te ta ɛ'ulna*). If 156 my guess concerning the derivation of the term *nakawane* from house officials is correct (note 6), then this category derives its name from the locus in which authority is recognized.

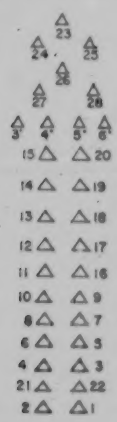
The analysis of behavior, or roles in action, corrob- 621* orates some of the understandings gained from eliciting 794 the structure, but requires some modification. 182 The segmentary character of the hierarchy is evi- 156 denced in the domain, action, and the timing of action. However, qualifications of the elicited model must be made on the basis of the behavioral data. First, the asymmetry of the links between civil and religious officials in the church setting as compared with the townhall setting requires a qualification of the meaning of the integration for the two wings.

[10] This adds a further caveat to the "behaviorist fallacies" pointed out by Lewin (1951, p. 79) when the psychological setting is ignored in the description of the physical dimension of an act. [114]

[P 221 - A]

Second, the house ceremonials require the addition of this segment to complement the civil and religious structures so that we have a triadic set of officials—civil, religious and household—rather than a dyadic set as is usually described for Mesoamerican communities. 621* 794 182 • 156

Agent, place, time, and acts, both verbal and motor, 121



621* 794 788 533 554

CHART 9 — PROCESSION, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS:
1-6 Alfereces
23 Guitarist *(alpultero)*
24, 25 Firecracker lighters *(tomese sʔbak)*
26 Flautist *(yamai)*
27, 28 Drummers *(stihik sk'ayohik)*

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7, in addition to 21 and 22, rural judges listed in Chart 8.

carefully described, are the pegs on which comparative analysis can be hung. What we lose in literary value in ethnographic accounts, we may gain in making explicit the inductive bases of structural functional analyses. Once we understand the principles involved in the assignment of position or action in any setting, variations from the elicited and observed pattern provide clues to social change within small time periods. 121

[P. 221-B)

Thus the social control is exerted through the traditional hierarchy, but the benefits of the labor go toward the priest's projects. The priest speaks with some satisfaction of the increasing control the "church" (he) has over the people. He maintains that this is because the people are more "civilized." For him, the indices to civilization are the facts that there is no drinking in the church, there is greater attendance at Mass, and more people are wearing Ladino clothing. 794 793 178 [626]

The second divergence in the elicited and observed accounts for the religious inauguration occurred when the civil officials, including the town secretary and síndico, assisted the religious officials in counting the money collected for the fiesta. 621 794 182

An important supplement to the behavorial data were the unsolicited comments of informants. Their anecdotes often gave me clues to their involvement in the gamesmanship of operating within culturally defined patterns. Although the informant focuses on the formal question, his growing boredom with the sequence (Who sat next to him? What did they do next? Who was there?) leads him to muse about the associated ideas and images which did interest him, often self-damaging or negative aspects of the culture which he might want to hide if questioned directly. The technique resembles that of the astronomer instructing the novice stargazer: "If you want to see the Pleiades, look at Jupiter, and out of the corner of your eye the nebulous cluster of stars of the Pleiades becomes visible." 124

The following illustrates how this free association emerged in the formal eliciting procedure: 124 578 682

Informant 2 constantly reiterated the danger his brother would encounter in undertaking the post of president as we discussed inauguration procedures. For example, when he gave me a list of participants at the Judge's house when his father took on that post, he mentioned the name of a widow, Cika, and provided the unsolicited information that her husband had been shot on December 16, 1963, the fiesta of Halal Meʔtik Santalusia. Informant's statement: "He did not know he had an enemy, and so he walked alone that night. Each fiesta someone is killed. During the fiesta of San Francisco this year, another man in Bočibal was killed. No one knows why. He was knifed with a machete. I never go out alone at night because of the fights with the cooperative. They [the members of the opposing cooperative] are very hard *(haʔ ben bolik)*. They claim they will kill us."

What prompted the next revelation was my com- 124

[P. 224-B]

public in the procession around the plaza (App. 1, Q. 39). The mayordomos gather in the church specifically to view the new incumbents (App. 1, Q. 50). There is less public display of new officeholders in the case of the religious officials than in the case of civil officials.

The morphological description of the structure of a society is inadequate unless it includes role behavior as well as status positions. The behavioral data pro-

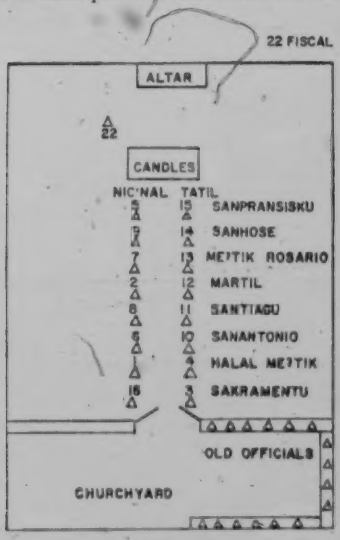


CHART 15 — NEW MAYORDOMOS INSIDE CHURCH, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

vide the basis for describing the physiology of a culture, or how actors and social groups interrelate in carrying out tasks. In the inaugurations, the household emerged in the behavioral descriptions as an important ritual domain supporting the civil and religious hierarchy. Similarly, the asymmetrical relation between the role of religious officials in the civil inauguration and that of civil officials in the religious

[P. 228-A)

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

621*
inauguration is deduced from both elicited and ob- 105
served behavior. These data complement the elicited 182
material on structure in rounding out the ethno- 794
graphic model of social reality. 554
571

Specification of the behavioral data on which struc- 121
tural and functional statements are made should pro-
vide the basis for more precise comparisons over time
and between communities. I turn to the observed in- [571]
teraction to summarize the evidence for microchange [178]
within the community.

Outside of the formally prescribed behavior sched- 621*
uled in the inauguration, a struggle for power is 105
going on which is leading to important organiza- 178
tional changes in the town. This was suggested in the 578
substitution of the schoolteacher for the former La-
dino secretary in the act of giving the oath. Factional
struggle of the leaders of the new enterprises was
revealed in this substitution. Further evidence of
change is seen in the redefinition of the president's
position in relation to that of the principales. The
potential power which the post offers to the incum-
bent and those who back him is now recognized. The
risks are higher as the competition for the post
increases.

In the religious sphere the priest's increasing con- 105
trol over the domain of the church is seen in the shift 793
of setting for the common meal from the churchyard 178
to the *?ali?bal'i* house. This evoked the story of the 794
open confrontation of the priest and cofrades a few 578
years before. Public counting of funds by civil officials
suggests an attempt by the new leadership to thwart
the priest's dominance over the cofrades.

In the emergent struggle for power within the com- 621*
munity, we see not just a defensive reaction to La- 105
dinos by Indians of a corporate community, but a 178
play for stakes in the same world. This suggests that 829
the corporate community, now and in the future,
serves not so much as an insulation from the outside
world as in the past but as a springboard for the entry
of the Indians into fuller participation in the national
society.

[P 228-B]

682 683 627 to who did it. The consultations with curers prior to the death of the supposed victims of a witch will be introduced as evidence. (Some degree of consensus may have been built up beforehand, in witch-killings, by the public broadcast of accusations noted above.[8]) The focus of the discussion is not so much on who killed the dead man, but whether he was indeed a witch. This kind of mock trial occurs after every funeral, since it must be decided [753] who caused the sickness. Emotions run very [152] high as the liquor is passed around, and accusations are made, sometimes against those pres- [273] ent. It was after a funeral that one man killed his son (not included in Table 1) for accusing him of having caused the death of the son's child, who was being buried.

682 In the weeks following a homicide, it is dis- [521] cussed at all the drinking sessions in the homes or in the town hall. Eventually an authoritative version begins to emerge. Those who have defended the victim then keep silent, and the 682 affair "rests in peace." Avenging the death of a 683 man judged to have been a witch, so far as I [627] know, has never been done. In one case (no. 36, Table 1) the widow of a man killed as a witch vigorously denied the legitimacy of the act and built up a case against the killer. She spread word that it was without doubt the dead man's son by a prior marriage. When the son was killed shortly after (case 37, Table 1), everyone assumed that he had been killed by the widow's son by *her* prior marriage. However, the authoritative version concerning the second killing was that it was an accident: he had been mistaken for his brother, whom the killer was after because of rivalry over a girl.

682 *Rules for Surviving*

183 The patterning of the selection of victims and the circumstances of homicide provide the basis for formulating a set of rules that can 682 ensure survival. The long-range rules of sur- 539 vival, in the words of an elder at the occasion of 183 the death of his godchild, are:

lekon kak'o ta kwenta me?tal
I pay respect to my elders.

hun ku kilis'in kalnilan
[601] I greet my younger brothers and my children (classificatory extension of kinship terms).

spisil kak' ta kwenta
To all I give respect.

ha? hil lekotik. Ma taltik milel ma taltik lomal

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P 464-B] Teklum

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783

Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick.

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A good man is of one heart, and he shows it by his humility, *ben k'un yo?tan* or "very soft heart." He can drink with friends on either side of the dual division of the town, and he is called upon in many household fiestas to greet the guests of the house-owner.

But the man who is "very strong of heart," *ben toyol yo?tan*, who "fails to take people into account," *ma ?awa ta kwenta*, who "abuses people," *me ya wul*, has means of survival despite the many threats to his life. He surrounds himself with a circle of *compadres*, or godparents; he especially picks out curers, both to mitigate the use of their power against him, and for them to serve as intermediaries if he should have enemies with animal spirits. When a threat becomes imminent, he may stay within his house or limit his range of activities to a very circumscribed area, always taking a weapon when he does go out. He will usually try to limit his drinking, or give it up entirely. These short-range rules of avoidance are clearly indicated by the circumstances in which killings occur: in the hills or at night, when the victim is under the influence of liquor.

[608]
[756]
[273]

682

These 37 cases of homicide reveal a regularity in the kinds of people and situations involved. The victims are most often men who assert power, principally curers, or men who violate standards of behavior by abusiveness or theft. Their killers are often linked to them by kinship or neighborhood, the bonds in which tensions are greatest. The regularity of time and place of homicide suggests the precautions that can be taken to avoid being killed if one has an enemy. The general failure of the community social-control agents to bring negative sanctions against a killer indicates that homicide is an accepted solution for interpersonal conflict. The structural setting that validates this behavior is discussed below.

[578]
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II. STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Case analysis, useful for discerning certain patterns, is inadequate for understanding the interrelationships among a variety of social changes in the community. An increasing rate of homicide of this magnitude indicates fundamental changes in the social matrix in which individual decisions are made: it suggests not

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P. 468-B]

The authority of the president, however, depends on the use of legal sanctions of prison sentences and fines imposed by extracommunity enforcement agencies in the departmental capital. The weakness of these sanctions—the fine for homicide is 1,000 to 3,000 pesos or three to five years' imprisonment—means that these threats do not have a controlling effect on people's decisions to act. Homicide, carried out by individuals who feel themselves to be threatened, is a supplementary mechanism for social control. Cast in the idiom of witch-killing, homicide is the quasi-official execution of a community threat.

The breakdown in the former structural controls has not been compensated for by the intervention of extracommunity institutions. Attempts to circumvent killing are made by the priest, who counsels against it, warning that the killer will acquire the sins of the man he kills, and by the talking saint of Ixtapa, whom the Indians consult when they are pressed and who advises them to wait—their enemy will be killed for them. This advice is not sufficient to forestall all killings. Motivated by fear, some men still seek to eliminate the object of their fear.[7] The sense of the guardianship of the ancestors and their intermediaries, the curers, is lost along with the intervention of the civil authorities. The individual reacts, using his own means and trying to get sufficient consensus to avoid reprisal.

III. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Homicide in the community of Teklum can be a statement of the fear of witchcraft, of revenge, or of quasi-official reprisal depending on the circumstances and social relationships involved. Even in this small, self-contained community, homicide does not have a single meaning, analyzable within a single framework of change.

Homicide is part of the expectation pattern of the town. The patterning of the acts of homicide in terms of time, place, and agent makes possible rules of avoidance both in long- and in short-term calculations for survival. The long-range rules require respect behavior to elders, equals, and juniors and the avoidance of abusive or boastful statements. The short-range rules are to avoid walking alone in the woods or milpas far from town, to stay home at night, and to stop drinking.

Despite the grim and expectable outcome of being killed, not all men heed these rules. The love of power and the projection of self into

682 wider ranges of expression than are usually
183 permitted in the community prompt men to assert the strength of their swayohel, to run races with the animal spirits of others in the assertion of pre-eminence, to boast of their material goods, and to "wake up dead."

682 The increasing rate of homicide is related to
674 the following changes in the community:
178
578

(1) Increasing friction resulting both from the introduction of new economic enterprises and from political competition by the recently settled land-reform colonies has introduced a new kind of homicide, in which an opponent is killed either by the person whose interests are threatened or
[754] by hired killers. It has also stimulated accusations of witchcraft stemming from envy.

558
682 (2) The curers' loss of leadership and of con-
674 trol over entry into the curing profession has led to competition among them and to
178 a loss of respect for their ability to over-
578 come witchcraft. Curers have become the
756 most frequent suspects of being witches.
754 (3) Loss of faith in the guardian ancestors and
682 in the guardianship functions acquired from them by the curers has further under-
674 mined the position of the curers as agents
178 of social control. This has aggravated the
769 sense of insecurity and fear, which pro-
776 vokes the uncontrolled use of individual
626 violence.

(4) The shift of power from the principales to
682 the town president has led to a breakdown
674 in the system of checks and balances
178 exerted by the principales over the curers,
621 and to a direct confrontation of the curers
626 by civil officials.

(5) In the confrontations of the civil authori-
756 ties and the curers in the '40's and early
682 '50's, the fact that a witchcraft case was
674 officially reviewed and the killing of the
756 witch sanctioned may have served as a
178 brake on the number of such homicides.
626 Since 1953, when this practice was aban-
683 doned, those who have felt themselves or their families to be the victims of witchcraft have been left to their own recourse.

178 The organizational changes summarized
578 here are provoked by structural changes
682 affecting recruitment into the positions of power and the validation of leadership in the
[621] exercise of power. The dual division of the
[632] town provided an accepted basis for recruiting
[756]

443 ket of Tenejapa. Other commercial centers are Ocosingo, Chilon, and Yajalon in the north. These markets are also frequented by Ladinos, but others, located far from the cabecera, are exclusively for Indians. The most important of them is the Saturday market of Yochib near Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc. It draws 300–400 natives, who arrive at dawn carrying agricultural and handcraft products. Most people come from 8 to 10 in the morning, after which they begin to depart; about 2 or 3 P.M. only those staying to drink chicha are left. Transactions
[437] are paid in trade or in money.

Wage Work

464 Because the cold climate and the rugged topography of the region produce little corn, the natives must work periodically as day laborers on the coffee plantations of the Soconusco area on the Pacific coast. About 7000 Tzeltal and a few more Tzotzil work there each year. Natives may go to the coffee plantations any time of the year but prefer to do so during the months the milpa requires less attention (either after planting or after harvest). Between Yajalon and Ocosingo are plantations where men from the neighboring villages are hired for short periods.

Use of Wealth

556 578 829 183 Because of their social organization, it is very difficult for these Indians to accumulate wealth. The worst sin an individual can commit against the community is to store up crops, domestic animals, or clothes, or simply to build a better house. Whatever
[754] raises an individual above his fellows—buying a new house, improving an old one, buying a horse—can cause in them a deep fear of being the target of witchcraft (Villa Rojas, 1947).

556 829 183 Those who, enjoying good health, are able to pile up some wealth, are obliged by the community to spend it in banquets and amusements for the community. It is believed that the old men and principales

[P. 213-A]

556 829 183 know, with the aid of the *naguales* (supernatural spirits), about the wealth each member of the group has; those who have more than necessary must pay for the expenses of fiestas, etc.

Social Organization

Kinship

614 613 The basic elements of the clan system of the ancient Maya can still be found in the most conservative groups. At the present time, the kinship system is divided into patrilineal clans, which are divided into [177] patrilineages. In some cases, the name of the clan is of Spanish origin; the name of the lineage, of indigenous origin. In Oxchuc there are six clans whose names are: Gómez, Santís, López, Méndez, Encínes, and Rodríguez. The first two clans are the largest, since the Gómez clan has 37 lineages, the Santís 39. The last two are almost disappearing as they have only one or two lineages. Among the indigenous names for lineages are: Ichilok, Nimail, Akux, Cojton, Chic, Molox, Nich, Antun, Chisná, Tib, and Mulesh. These designate names of animals, plants, or objects.

A man whose name is Juan Gómez Nich, for example, belongs to the Gómez clan and to the Nich lineage. Generally, the name of the lineage is enough to show to which clan somebody belongs; if his name is Juan Nich, it is immediately known that he is from the Gómez clan. This special characteristic of the indigenous name is designated by the word *Jol s'bij*, which means 'head of the name.'

[184] In Cancuc (a community next to Oxchuc) clans have special names, such as Chik, Chepeb, Ijká, and Boj. If the indigenous name is known, the clan name is self-evident. The Spanish name has lost its specific function, and, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, pp. 4–5), there are Indians who do not even remember it. However, the Spanish surname designates exogamic units of a patrilineal type throughout the region, without

[P. 213-B]

[Text continues on p. 214-B]

787 776 been taken away by the local authorities and sent to the Indians' Affairs Office in San Cristobal.

LIFE CYCLE

842 *Pregnancy and Childbirth*

183 The strongest desire of every Tzeltal couple is to create a numerous family, preferably boys. The relationship between sexual intercourse and pregnancy is well understood among the Indians. They know that pregnancy lasts nine months and they keep a good count of it. On the other hand, there are ideas about the possibility of the woman being influenced by old men or "the owners of the nagual," who can interrupt pregnancy and change the fetus from one woman to another. This is why a woman who thinks she is pregnant for three or four months suddenly realizes that she carries nothing any more, while another one, maybe her neighbor, finds herself in advanced pregnancy, giving birth a few months later. It is to be stressed, however, that these changes can take place only among married women.

843 [833] 843 789

844 [181] In conservative villages (Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Cancuc) there is no professional midwife. Children are delivered by the oldest women in the neighborhood.

[757] [237] When labor begins, the first thing is to give the mother a beverage made of powdered opossum tail dissolved in boiling water. It is very common for Indians to have a dry tail hanging next the fireplace. The woman kneels at labor, facing the midwife. The husband's belt or the woman's rebozo is tied very tightly around the upper part of the abdomen to prevent the child from "going up again." The mother can also help herself by seizing a rope tied to the roof, or taking firm hold of any post of the house. The umbilical cord is chopped with a machete or cut with scissors, supported on an ear of corn. This ear is afterwards used as seed and is considered very fertile.

[241] [824]

[757] When labor has finished, the mother is given another hot beverage of pepper,

[P 223-B]

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

121 This thesis is an introduction to the ethnography of drinking in Aguacatenango, a Mayan-speaking community in Chiapas. It displays in some detail the roles and the circumstances of drinking performances there, and it examines some of the ways in which drinking performances reflect the more general beliefs and habitual actions of the people of the community.

*273 183 The drinking of beverage alcohol is a highly frequent, well-patterned part of life in most of the Chiapas highland Indian communities, the only known exceptions being some of the *273 184 [14] protestant enclaves in Oxchuk and environs (Slocum 1956). While detailed references to drinking performances are scarce, it has been determined that variations on the patterns to be described for Aguacatenango are likely to be found at least in Amatenango (Nash 1960); Cancuc (Guiteras-Holmes 1946); Chamula (Bunzel 1940, Pozas 1959); Chenalhó (Guiteras-Holmes 1961); Huistan (Miller 1958); Oxchuc (Castro 1959, 1962; Siverts 1960; Slocum 1956; Villa-Rojas 1946); Tenejapa (Metzger and Williams 1963);

273* All of these performances fall within the range of acceptable,
183
[689] though perhaps imperfect, behavior for drunken men; that is, while some of them are considered deplorable and others dangerous, sanctions are usually limited to scolding and the conflict does not persist beyond the drinking situation.

On the other hand, the drunken man may be insulting or physically aggressive, and while these performances may be discounted on occasion, they often bring the individual into conflict which persists beyond the particular drinking situation. For the purposes of this description, we will define the conflict focus as that state which exists when an individual perceives his control over resources to be temporarily placed in increased jeopardy by circumstances some portion of which can be attributed to the action (or failure to take action) of some other individual; the jeopardized party must also perceive that there exists some form of action he can take (some remedy) in relation to the individual "causing" the conflict which will decrease his feeling of vulnerability.

273* Both insults and physical aggression by drunken indi-
578 viduals are verbally proscribed and often physically sanctioned. Aurelia Ramirez, speaking of the drunken insults of a relative who has been living in her house, says:

[539] PURA XC'AB YA YAL TU*L YA YAX YAKUBEL.

He talks of nothing but witchcraft when he is drunk.

273 753 by means of which a witch causes his victim to ingest poisonous substances. In turn, the drinking of aguardiente is interpreted as a disease process to the extent that individuals take "medicine" to reduce the number of occasions upon which they drink. The text citations which have been inserted above are suggestive of these points. By way of summing up this section, I would like to offer a less easily verifiable interpretation which provides still further context in terms of which the reader can think about the drinking performances in Aguacatenango.

273 183 [562] The first simple set of observations is as follows: Men drink and women don't. Some men drink more than others but all men must drink some. Some men would prefer to drink less than they do. Drinking settings for some men, especially under the informal drinking rules, are settings in which some considerable hostility is expressed. Suppose we take the case of the man who wishes to drink less. He can achieve this end in the short run by either drinking more or not drinking at all. He knows that he will not be able to completely terminate his drinking performances (the ceremonial drinking performances) until he is an old man. Ceremonial drinking performances are required of all men. He can, however, reduce the number of informal drinking performances. If a man wants to reduce the number of informal drinking performances, then, he can do so by increasing the average length of any particular informal drinking performance.

273* Increasing the length of an informal drinking performance in-
183
[153] creases the probability that the individual will become ill (as well as exhaust all his resources, anger the members of his household, and so on). Upon the next occasion when some individual invites him to start an informal drinking performance, he can respond by saying, "I am afraid to start an informal drinking performance with you since my style of informal drinking performance results for me in severe illness, alienates my family, causes economic catastrophe to my household." The person inviting must allow that this is true, in view of the fact that he observed ego engaging in such extended performances within the past year, say. On the other hand, an individual can stop engaging in informal drinking performances by reporting that he has taken medicine for drinking, which medicine will cause his death if he drinks. It is not unusual for a man to take medicine and then become very sick by way of telling the community that it was real medicine with strong disease producing effects. If a man goes on drinking in the informal drinking after he has taken the medicine, it is proof that the medicine did not have the desired effect. The common feature of either response to the desire to reduce amount of drinking: increasing the length of the informal drinking performances or taking medicine puts the individual in that context which allows him to say,

273* "If I drink I will die." We believe that it is only by citing
183 such severe effects as this that an individual can, over the long run, control his response to the invitation to drink.[1]

Some men prefer to drink more in the informal drinking performances than do most men. These men can increase number and length of informal drinking performances by seeking out the existing informal drinking groups on any particular day. The rule is that anyone may join any informal drinking group at the beginning of an informal drinking performance if, and only if, he can contribute a proportional amount of the aguardiente which is being drunk. It is the case that as an informal drinking group approaches deep drunkenness, it becomes easier for any man to join the informal drinking group without paying his proportional share of the drinking expenses.

273* It appears to be the case, then, that individuals must
753 get sick in order to reduce their number of informal drinking performances. Individuals also may get sick as the result of drinking under any circumstances. Long informal drinking performances allow individuals to behave as though they were ex-

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[1]In the short run, a man can avoid any particular, highly probable informal drinking performance by leaving the field, as was suggested above. That is, by knowing which days informal drinking performances are more likely to occur on than other days (the ten day time zone around some major fiesta, or Sundays, for example), he can arrange to be "away on business."

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621 A territorial distinction not recognized by the federal government is the
361 division of the town center into two sections, or sides, by the street running in front of the church. The two sides of the division are called
[192] Ahk'olnantik, upper side, and Alannantik, lower side. The upper side is in the direction of higher lands in the southwest called Ahk'olk'inal, and the lower side is in the direction of lower lands to the northeast, called Alank'inal. The emphasis on relative altitude implicit in place nomenclature is a central fact in the Indians' ecological adjustment. Marriage is en-
[582] dogamous within each division by explicit rule, and in fact 87 percent of
[83] all marriages conform to the rule, according to a census I took in 1958. A
[125] man who marries a girl on the opposite side is forced to make a payment
[583] of eighteen liters of liquor to the bachelors of the opposite division. In addition to regulating competition for marriage partners, the dual division is the basis for allocating civil and religious offices.

174 Whether the dual division was an indigenous trait or not is a moot
621 point. The pattern for dual organizations existed in both Spanish and indigenous societies (Foster 1951:5). There is some speculation that the dual divisions are a product of the Spanish colonial policy of the congregación, when populations of different origins were drawn together. However, local historical accounts indicate that several ethnic groups were introduced at various periods. After the initial congregación, foreign Indians
175 were incorporated in the sixteenth century, in the latter part of the nine-
621 teenth century (Secretaría de Gobierno Constitucional, October 26, 1893),
563 and as late as the 1930s in response to the land reform program. As each ethnic group entered the region, it was either incorporated into one of the existing divisions or was isolated. The persistence of polarization must be
621 explained on other grounds. The widespread distribution in the Chiapas
[174] highlands of dual divisions defined by territory and descent in communities of both dispersed and nucleated settlement patterns suggests the indigenous origins of the division. A dual division of upper and lower sections based on endogamy and equal representation is found in San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:64), Chanal (Eva Hunt, NSF II report), Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1946:424), and Cancuk (Siverts 1964). The Nahuatl term *calpul* is applied in some cases to these divisions. The towns where calpulles are found are *paraje,* or vacant center, types (Tax 1937) which

medicine. But why should they ask for medicine if the curers were going to eat their souls as he told me? I asked him, "How do you eat their souls?" He said that the five or six curers would make a common meal. They looked for a frying pan, and when it was well cooked, they would call all the curers and say, "Come, let us eat in common." When people came to ask for medicine, they would say, "Please, give us medicine." The curers would give the medicine, but the sick ones did not get well. The curers were only deceiving them. How could they get well if they wanted to eat their souls? They only wasted their money. 756 754 774

It is this that O. K. said to me. He told me himself that he had eaten the souls. Then I felt that he was bad because of what he himself had told me. To this day, I believe that he himself did the evil to his patients.

The personality of the curer. In view of the hazards of entering the curing profession and the low material rewards, the question of what motivates a curer to practice is of some interest. The older curers claim that God spoke to them in a dream and made known His desire that they cure. They conceive of it as a responsibility to the people, and maintain that their power comes from God. This contradicts parallel statements made by the same curers that their power comes from their swayohel. The younger curers say that the curers of their side selected them because they saw that they had a swayohel. 756

Direct questioning yields only limited understanding of what motivates these extraordinary people. The behavior of some of the curers reveals facets of the role which could not be elicited from them in questioning. Curers are able to defy tenets of the moral code of the community which stress softness and slowness, a moderation which is fundamentally based on fear of the world of spirits and of men. When drunk, the curers brag about their strength and fearlessness. They try to avoid the usual negative sanctions to such behavior by asserting the strength of their swayoheles and their imperviousness to harm. 756 156 [183] 756 156 776

My elder brother Albino was drinking with the dead Nicolás, leader of the curers of Alannantik. When both were half drunk, my elder brother asked Niholás what swayohel he had. 159 756

121 write beliefs that give coherence to these roles. Whether these events continue to be scheduled, and in the process of being presented "prove" the postulates upon which structural relationships are based, depends upon acceptance of the belief system.

183 A fundamental understanding governing behavior in Tzoʔontahal is [192] that people ought to do as the ancestors did. Both "knowing" and "remembering" are expressed by the same verb, *ya sna*, while "learning" and "memorizing" are expressed by the verb *ya snop*. The behavioral corollary of this association between knowing and remembering is that one should accept the word of the ancestors as a guide to behavior. The importance of obeying one's elders as the intermediaries in the transfer of ways of behaving from one generation to another is stressed in child training and is restated in the prayers uttered at ritual performances enacting the ways of the ancestors.

128 In this chapter I shall consider the integration of behavior based on roles, personality, codes of morality and etiquette, and the ideological and behavorial changes which are disturbing this system.

The Role System

554 621 182 Coherence of the role system in Tzoʔontahal depends upon (1) similar premises for role recruitment and continuity in transition from one role to another; (2) alternation in office and linkage of separate domains by special offices; and (3) standardized etiquette of role interaction. Uniform standards of evaluation of performance provide a sanctioning system ensuring social integration.

561 554 562 *Recruitment and transition*. Relative and chronological age combined with consideration of sex are the fundamental principles for assigning role categories. The age principle categorizes the entire town in role pairs of respect and deference. Sex differentiation is not made in children until after infancy. An infant of either sex is called *ʔunin*, also a term for [192] the new moon, until the age of eight months. The sex of parent rather [601] than that of the child is designated: a woman calls her offspring *ʔalal* whether boy or girl, and a man calls his offspring *niẽ'an*. Sex distinction is

577 887 sion: "I pay respect to my elders. I greet my brothers and my children [extension of kinship terms]. To all I give respect. Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick."

577 [574] [196] [576] A good man is a generous host, expressed in the phrase, "he gives many tortillas." He serves his community in public office but avoids the appearance of seeking power or self-aggrandizement. When he gives orders, it is in a soft, low tone, supplicating rather than ordering with the phrase, "If you would please lend a hand." He gives thanks readily for any service rendered both to God and to his fellow man. He avoids any show of [578] anger, and is always careful to show consideration of others. Those who are of "another heart" or "two-hearted" are the opposite, seeking disputes, "thinking small," "being miserly," and of a "very black soul."

[754] The heightened awareness of the state of the heart of others comes from the ever-present fear of witchcraft. Since the people feel their survival depends upon perception of evil heart before it strikes, they develop an acute sense of the behavioral clues that indicate its presence.

829 183 [192] [828] *Conformity and deviance.* Conventional or preferred behavior is characterized as "reasonable." The phrase "?iC' rason," to take reason or understanding, is applied to a child who is expected to have reason at the age of twelve years or so, as well as to the arrival at agreement of competing parties, as in the case of betrothal.

Reasonable behavior is any behavior conforming to socially accepted understandings of what the world is. These include what a person of non-Indian culture might characterize as beliefs based on faith. They "know" [776] that there are hill spirits, wood spirits who cut off people's heads, and men who transform themselves into animals. Occasionally they subject given 813 understandings to empirical tests: one woman tested the belief that a [241] woman could rid the milpa of insect pests only by walking through a [825] planted field wearing a new skirt; she walked through the field wearing a worn skirt and her belief was confirmed when she found that the insect pests were not killed but just fled and returned later. Empiricism is not lacking; the difference between the content of their category of what is rational or reasonable and ours is based on the premises, not the process of reasoning.

People who fail to conform to the customs of the town are said to lack "reason." This category includes those who do not attend to the advice of their elders. People from outside of town who do not behave in conventional patterns are said to be "of another sort."

Institutionalized patterns of behavior differ as to the degree of explicitness of the association between action and reason. Curing practices are most directly attached to an understanding of why they are performed. Ritual practices in the cult of the spirits are tied to a more general explanatory system in which something should be done "because it was the custom of our ancestors."

Competency. Judgments concerning the intelligence of a person and his ability to adjust to his social and physical environment complement the criteria of morality and reasonableness. Alertness, or intelligence is associated with the possession of more than one soul: a person may have from one to a dozen additional souls. Curers and witches, by virtue of their possession of an animal spirit, are by definition very intelligent. Evaluations of alertness are often made in discussing the personalities of others. In the myth concerning the three brothers and the honey (Chapter 8) God, the Elder Brother, was described as "not very bright," Jesus Christ, the Second Brother, as "a little brighter," and the Holy Ghost, the Youngest Brother as "the brightest." Alertness is usually associated with manipulation for one's own advantage, but is not necessarily antithetical to having a good heart. In the myth mentioned above, the youngest brother outwits his two older brothers to his own advantage, and coincidentally that of the world.

The word *b'ol* is used figuratively to express the opposite of alertness, stupidity. Literally it means one who is mute; the connection is significant. A child born mute is said to have had its soul stolen at birth so that he must exist without speech. The power of speech is highly valued and the prestigeful roles are accorded to those who can speak well in both formal and informal exchanges. It is a dangerous skill, since the ability to talk to the gods gives an advantage to the speaker over the general population. The ability to speak to the earth, a talent which people say the ancestors possessed and which curers in the neighboring town of Chamula still

827
787 claim, has been lost, as has been more recently that of speaking with the ancestors. But the curers can still enter into communication with the spirit world and in this lies their power.

461 Industry is valued along with competency. A man is described as indus-
183 trious with the words, "he carries much wood well," and a woman with the words, "she carries much sand well." These expressions are a kind of
[196] synechdoche for general industriousness, since the tasks serve as the measure of willingness to perform one's sexually defined roles.

[476] Judgments made in the choice of working "partners" in the exchange
[602] labor system are based on competence in working as well as on considera-
[608] tions of kin and compadrazgo relationship. Women make judgments of
[323] others' skill in pottery-making on the basis of both the appearance of the pot and its durability proved in use and transportation without breakage to market. Both men and women known to be hard workers are admired
[154] and envied. They may consequently become the objects of witchcraft.

828 Conceptions of personality are one end product of evaluations of per-
157 formances and condition people's expectations of individuals in their social environment. For the Indians, personality traits tend to imply other traits.
125 In order to derive a sense of these implications for Tzo?ontahal, I drew up
157 a checklist to identify some of these associations. Informants were asked to
828 state whether each of the traits listed on the top line in Table 30 was correlated positively, negatively, or not at all with each of the same traits listed vertically. A plus (+) sign indicates positive correlation, a minus (—) sign indicates negative correlation, and an equal (=) sign indicates that
157 there was no correlation. Thus being bright is positively correlated with
828 being beautiful and negatively correlated with being evil, fearful, lazy, foolish, gullible, braggardly, gossipy, and miserly. There is no connection between being bright and being of good heart, aggressive, or honorable. This suggests that the heart and the mind are independent loci for a set of traits that stem from them. Metaphors such as bitter, acid, and straight, when used to describe personality, are similar in connotation to those used in English. As in English, immediate sensory experiences of taste and vision provide by extension a means of talking about character.

157 In studying these personality traits, I sensed that "being" was "doing"
551 things in certain repetitive ways. This impression is corroborated by the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 286]

423 necessary to plant it. In some land more seed is necessary, so a
433 tablón, a measure of how much seed is planted in a parcel, tends to be about a hectare, but can also be irregular in shape or somewhat larger or smaller.

434 Ideological and Sanctioning Mechanisms

Even if a domestic group manages to accumulate profits from the extra work of its members, the forced assumption of fiesta obligations and cargos (Officerships) inhibits capital accumulation and redistributes the profits back into the community in the form of consumable goods: food, alcohol, cohetes, etc.
621 The assumption of the cargos requires a certain amount of capital
556 to spend on the expenses attached to the post, so it is likely that a household head who has managed to save some extra money is going to be called to perform his duties as an officer rather than the other men with less wealth and equal qualifications.

621 In terms of economic and political bases for differentiation, then, the communities are egalitarian. Villagers insist that everybody is just like everybody else: "we are all equal, we all follow the customs, we are all poor, we are all agriculturalists,
621 we are all Indians, just the same," they say. Nevertheless, they
183 would also admit that some people are good and some "have bad hearts," and therefore would not follow the customs, or would try to become richer by getting involved in economic enterprises which are not Indian (such as buying or selling for high profit, or lending money, or becoming store clerks). They would imitate the Ladinos in their speech, dress or their house layout, become "alzados"

621 (prideful and authoritarian with equals) and commit other mis-
183 demeanors against the village norms.

621 Individuals as well as families can be accused of having
156 a "bad heart" or "small heart." In a sense, any social deviant (even a person who possesses peculiar physical characteristics) can be accused of having a "small heart," and, therefore, of being a witch if he abuses his political power while in office, or gets involved in deals with Ladinos, or refuses to spend his capital in community enterprises (not only by refusing cargos, but even if he insists on not paying a limosna).

627 If an individual is considered a witch, the villagers can
754 try to get rid of him by bewitching him in exchange, and this failing (witches, they think, are difficult to attack because they have powerful souls), can be "condemned" to death. Murders which are witchcraft "revenge" cases occur regularly in the communities. Vengeance against witchcraft is a community affair. If a man develops a reputation as a witch, he knows he cannot count on the support of anybody. Fear and hatred isolate him and his family. He knows that he can be killed, and has to do everything possible to counter-attack the slow but certain build-up of village antagonism which will end in his death, at the most propitious occasion.

The usual procedure in eliminating a witch is for several men, usually those who for particular reasons (such as several recent deaths in their households) feel that they have been personally attacked by the witch, to agree on killing him. This is done in secret, but even then they try to insure, by subtle

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591 Another principal criticism of Fischer's typology attaches to his third proposal, which, as Fortes has made clear, disregards the developmental cycle of the households in which individuals reside.

The two approaches, the "developmental" approach and the "sponsorship" approach, are not contradictory but complementary to each other. Each offers a useful framework for a satisfactory analysis. The differences are merely differences in emphasis.

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591 In the analysis of residence in this paper, a combination of both types of analysis are utilized with some modifications which will allow me to describe the results in terms of the norms of residence and the real patterns or distributions, and to elicit the rules that govern residence choices for individuals. The section deals, therefore, both with techniques and method of analysis, and with particular hypotheses.

Aguacatenango Residence

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The Norms

The people of Aguacatenango believe that a newly married couple should live with the boy's parents until they have proved to be successful in procreating and raising, through the weaning period, one or more children. While the young couple lives within the parental compound of the husband, he should work under the direction of his father, under whose direct authority he should act, and every one of whose decisions he should obey because his father lo está manteniendo (is supporting him), and the son está brio su poder (is under the father's power).

593 The boy obtains a wife with his father's help. He has
583 usually selected the girl himself, but his father makes the ar-
584 rangements with the girl's parents and pays the bride-price. The bride-price, called the bocado (mouthful), is paid to the household of the future bride and has a fixed value, 300 pesos, given in the form of consumable goods: chocolate, sugar, bread, coffee, cigarettes and trago (the local brew).[1]

585 At the marriage ceremony, the new wife and husband are
183 instructed in the rights and duties of their new role. The young
593 wife is told, in a formal speech given by an elder man of the
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[1]The regular marriage negotiations include several visits to the girl's parents called the pedidas (requests), which can be spread over a period of six months to a year. The last pedida is [585] considered the engagement ceremony, and after that comes the entrega de la muchacha (the giving away of the bride) which is the ceremony referred to here as the marriage ceremony. This ceremony follows the native custom. There are two other marriage ceremonies which can be performed, and are optative. One is the civil marriage at the Ayuntamiento, selected by very few because it is considered an unnecessary expense, although it gives some prestige. The other is a Church wedding, performed by the Catholic priest. This wedding ceremony does not occur until the couple have been married several years and have children. Church weddings are considered to be strong bonds, which are very difficult to break up. In many cases, if a couple is fighting a lot and the wife threatens to leave the homestead, the husband will try to marry her in the Church to force her to stay in the household. Because of its high prestige value, if a boy is rejected by the family of his sweetheart at the pedida, the suitor's family will offer as an extra attraction a Church wedding immediately after the entrega de la muchacha.

In some cases, when the suitor is rejected by the parents of the girl, or if he cannot afford the bride-price but the girl is willing to live with him, the marriage ceremony is not performed. In these cases, the institution of the robo (the stealing of the girl) is common practice. The suitor arranges with his girl-friend to run away together at night, and go to his home. Therefore, robos or huidas occur with the consent of the groom's parents, who have to accept the girl into the home. The robo is [621] common in inter-barrio marriages, where the pedidas ritual is socially impossible to carry on, because the limitations put upon barrio interaction and the rules of barrio endogamy.

585 family, that she starts a new life. She now has a new family and
•183 a new home where she should learn new ways of doing things from
593 her mother-in-law, and forget the old ones she learned from her
606 mother. Among her duties as a good wife and daughter-in-law she should keep her husband well fed and clean, obey her mother-in-law for whom she should work hard, and respect the head of the household (her father-in-law). She should not visit her family too often, and she should gather firewood with her mother-in-law instead of with her mother.[1] The ceremony indicates two things:
[581] (1) the transfer of the wife's reproductive and labor power from her natal home to her husband's; (2) the boundaries of her new role. In a sense, the people of Aguacatenango define the role of a wife in terms of her performance as a worker and as a daughter-in-law, and in terms of her relations with all the members of the household rather than only in terms of her relation to her husband.

593 On the other hand, a new husband's performance is under
885 trial. He has to demonstrate that he can get along with his wife,
[851] and become a father, before his role as a dependent child is replaced by his role as a married man. At the time of acquiring a wife, a man is regarded by the community as a "child," being both economically and jurally dependent upon his father, who has complete authority over his actions, and is directly responsible for his son's misdeeds.[2]

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[583] [1] One of my informants tells me that although she was robada by her husband (she lived in the other barrio) the night she arrived at her husband's household, her father-in-law gave her a shortened version of the wedding speech. I do not know if this is a common practice.

[592] [2] If a young man commits a crime while living under his
[672] father's roof, the father is responsible for his defense and for paying the fines to the Ayuntamiento.

593 888 (e.g., the filial piety which is a basic component of the role of son), and in terms of economic rewards.

592 [183] The ideal pattern is one of reciprocal obligations: an established domestic group "launches into the world" the new domestic groups formed by the male offspring of the household couple, and a well established domestic group is responsible for the welfare of the domestic group from which it originated. Thus, [602] agnatically related domestic groups are expected to perform certain duties with respect to both the domestic group which originate them, and the domestic groups which they originate.

593 888 The concept of mantener (support), meaning to provide for a person's food, shelter and company, is a very important one for the villager. There is no sadder man than the one who has given everything to his sons, who has supported them for many years, and whose sons then refuse the reciprocal duty of caring for him in his old age. Parents who are unsuccessful in keeping one of [626] their married sons living with them are indeed very unhappy. People gossip about them as being "bad people" who did wrong to their children-in-law and mistreated their own. They gossip about the children themselves, accusing them of having a "small [736] heart" and of being envious and selfish. Aguacatecos pity widows (meba' al) and orphans (meba') because "they have nobody to support them." There is nothing as threatening to a couple as not having children, and if this happens, the community looks upon them with commiseration and says: "Poor little people, who is going to support them when they grow old?. . ."

592 593 Thus, the membership of a household changes through time,

423 241 417 knows his own parcel and its boundaries, which are sometimes marked with a few stones or a less elaborate fence of a few poles.

241 476 The men that fence the land together cooperate with each other in some other agricultural tasks which require more than two hands (e.g., clearing and burning before planting, cleaning irrigation ditches).

183 591 Stating the norms of residence in anthropological language, we can say that the generalized residence pattern, if it reflects the practice of the norms, should be patrilocal for single and married men, patrilocal for single women, virilocal for married women and parentilocal for children (see Fig. 13, Fischer's Typology).

The Residence Patterns

125 To find out how the ideal rules are carried into practice, we analyzed a sample of sixty-eight households containing an average of five people per unit, and a total of 384 individuals. This sample was gathered by the author in the field, in 1958, and covers half of the village in a chess board pattern of blocks (see charts). The data on the sample is complemented by a previous total census of the village, prepared by the Metzgers and the school teacher in 1956, which covered the whole population of the community, but contained less detailed information on some aspects of residence. Both will be augmented by a sample of life histories contained in the field notes.

128 The data will be presented in tables, and in the text, both in number of cases and in relative percentages. When possible,

128 the postulated correlations between residence and some other factor are tested with simple statistical procedures: Chi Square (applying Yate's correction) with the level of significance. The unit of the population is indicated in each table, together with the sample size.

128 59 183 The norms for residence that we call the generalized pattern are shown to be carried out in practice, by the analysis of census materials. This analysis allows us to display some of the complexities of an elaborate set of residence rules offering certain forms of "first choice of residence," but in addition shows how the norms also offer numerous alternatives for specific cases and particular individual goals and problems.

128 121 This technique of analysis also permits us to control the normative statements about the "customs" and the "ways" of the people, which are provided by the informants. Such statements reflect the ideal patterns, which any member of the community can verbalize. One of the tasks of the anthropologist is to discover those patterns of behavior which are practiced by a society, but not consciously expressed, because they reveal some of the real dynamics of the social group, in a way that formal statements of an ideal nature cannot, when described in isolation. But the anthropologist is also responsible, as Bohannan has pointed out, for presenting his data in such a fashion as to not do violence to the visualization that the carriers of a culture have about their own life models. A presentation of a social model that would be both parsimonious and elegant from a scientific point of view, and close to the ethno-model, is a necessity in a field in

128 which epistemological discussions have been, up to the present
121 time, if not totally avoided, dismissed for lack of a single frame of reference within which they could be tackled.

591 Residence Patterns of Newly Married Individuals in Compound Households

[183] The stated norm of residence for a newly married couple is shown to be followed in practice.

In 1956, there was a total of fifty-six compounds in the community, and forty-eight contained newly married couples. The emphasis on patriwirilocality was strong.

TABLE 6

AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: NEWLY MARRIED COUPLES IN COMPOUNDS, 1956

Residence	Number of Couples	Number of Households	Per Cent
Patri-virilocal	47	36	78
Patri-uxorilocal	13	12	22
Total	60	48	100

These compounds represented 27 per cent of the total number of households in the community. Between the censuses of 1956 and 1958, a large number of compound households became nuclear, changed composition or disappeared, and during the same period of two years, other nuclear households became compound. In spite of the movement in individual households, the percentages of residence did not vary significantly.

TABLE 7

591 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: NEWLY MARRIED COUPLES IN COMPOUNDS, 1958

Residence	Cases	Per Cent
Viri-patrilocal	13	72
Uxor-patrilocal	4	23
Neolocal (Borrowing house)	1	5
Total	18	100

592 593 183 Aguacatenango: Residence Patterns of Old Marriages, Nuclear Households

The composition of nuclear households shows that people live according to their own ideas about who should live separate from their parents. Nuclear households with no children in them represents 7 per cent of the total. Nuclear households with only one child also represent 7 per cent of the cases. Nuclear households with two or more children represent 86 per cent.

125 591 593 Paternal sponsorship after a couple has moved out of the husband's parental compound was measured by (1) degree of proximity between the two households of a man and his son, and (2) father-son transmission of a house site.

361 591 593 The fact that the town is closely settled, especially in the center, makes it increasingly difficult to maintain strict contiguous patrilocal proximity between father and son, so at first glance, many a man seems to be living in a neolocal setting according to Fischer's typology. The problem of applying the concept

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114 of sponsorship is that Fischer indicates that the residence sponsor
591 is a person living in the same household, while in Aguacatenango
593 patrilocal sponsorship is expressed by giving the sons a house site, even if it is not contiguous with the parental one. Therefore, to determine patrilocality of men, the couples in the sample were located (1) territorially, in terms of proximity to the husband's and wife's parents; (2) and in terms of who owned the house site, and from whom it had been obtained.

• 183 The results of this analysis indicate a statistically sig-
591 nificant emphasis on patrilocal proximity, and a strong bias
[428] towards inheriting the house in the male line.

TABLE 8

AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: PROXIMITY TO PARENTAL HOME.
MARRIED INDIVIDUALS IN NUCLEAR HOUSEHOLDS

	Man				Woman			
	Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent		Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent	
Same block	10	56	84	100	3	14	38	76
Adjacent block	5	28			5	24		
Same barrio	3	16	16		8	38	38	
Different barrio	. . .	. . .	. . .		3	14	24	
Other town	. . .	. . .			2	10		
Total Sample	18	100			21	100		

183 591 The preceding figures, when combined with the figures of compounds, show that the patrilocal norms are followed in practice in 95 per cent of all cases (see Tables 8 and 9), while only 64 per cent of the women live with the same degree of proximity to their parents.

The difference in proximity for men and women is not accidental, but statistically significant at the 0.001 level of con-
621 fidence. This also shows that the community, as expected, is
592 divided into localized clusters of households of agnatically re-
602 lated men. Even the 64 per cent is an inflated figure, since a
[582] man tends to marry a woman who lives close to his parental home, following the proverbial adage of "marrying the girl next door."

183 591 Alternative Norms of Uxorilocal Residence

The percentage of men who do not conform to the patrilocal norm are not exceptions to a rule, but illustrate alternatives available under a flexible pattern. The instances of uxorilocal residence do not depend on arbitrary individual choice, but are socially sanctioned and few in number.

591 A man will go to live with his wife's parents, or live in a house given to him by her father, for the following reasons which everybody in the village knows:

1. When a man is an orphan, that is, when his parents are dead and there is nobody in his family to replace the father as economic mentor and jural authority, a man does not have a household to bring his wife to live in nor a relative to work with and who will give him a house lot. In this case, a man, upon marrying,
[606] will move to his wife's parent's compound. He will then work the

593 423 Independently of the analysis of[139] geographical distribution of individuals, in most cases a couple depends on the family of the husband for obtaining a house site of their own. Looking at the available data in household transactions, regular sponsorship in the male line appears as the statistical mode, the most frequently followed pattern. To explain the 16 per cent of sponsorship in the female line, we refer the reader to the section 1 of the reasons for uxorilocal residence, p. 133.

TABLE 10

423 AGUACATENANGO: HOUSE TRANSACTIONS AND INHERITANCE

	Cases	Percentage
House-land bought	22	32
House-land obtained through the husband's relatives	33	49
House-land obtained through the wife's relatives	11	16
Family borrowing the house	2	3
Total number of households for which information was available	68	100

423 432 593 [183] [428] 423 432 The norms for house sponsorship are not always followed, for other reasons: land within the town, houseplots, is one of the forms of land which has a monetary value in Aguacatenango. Lots are bought and sold for money, and are used constantly as a resource of income when one is in need of a large amount of cash. Ideally, most parents think that they will give contiguous houses to their male sons, and that their house will be inherited by the last male son who stays in the house until his parents' death.[1] In practice, many times the house has to be sold before

[1]Other property is expected to be inherited in equal shares by all sons.

591 patrilocality at a young age, just as filialocality is the complementary form of female matrilocality. If we compare the percentages of distribution of both forms, we can observe that the complementarity is expressed in similar distributions.

	Per cent		Per cent
Patrilocal	72	Filiolocal	60
Matrilocal	23	Filialocal	20
Other	5	Other	20

This distribution of filiolocality occurs because the norm is to reside with the son to whom one has given the house, but also because in making a choice between relatives with whom to live, it is preferred to choose a male and not a female line. In some cases, consequently, it is preferred to live with a brother rather than with a daughter.

[586] [592] Children of divorced mothers become members of the household where the mother resides after the divorce. If the mother dies while she is still married to the children's father, the 587 children become members of the father's parents' household. When 591 a man remarries, he usually does not bring his children from [183] previous marriages to his wife. We have only one case of a child living with the father after the father's second marriage. The reasons for this anomalous case are individual ones. The child's father's mother is the only other relative alive, besides the father, and she resides in the same household. The fact that the paternal grandmother and not the father is the sponsor of the [601] child, is clear from the information attached to the case. The child, a girl, sleeps with the grandmother and calls her mother.

591 587 [601] [183] The stepmother refers to her as "my husband's child," and she did not count her, when giving census information, among the children of her household, but as a child living with "my husband's mother." Another characteristic that makes this case [848] anomalous is that this stepchild was born of an extra-marital relation between the father and another woman, while the father was already married to the stepmother.

593 591 587 [428] The rationale given by the people when asked the reasons why a father does not keep his children with him, is that "stepmothers are no good." It is possible that one of the main forces operating behind this arrangement is the possibility of conflict over inheritance rights of stepchildren. By assigning rights and duties towards stepchildren only to stepfathers, it is implied that a man marrying a woman with children takes not only a wife, but the economic and jural responsibilities of being a father, including the duty of making them his heirs. We do not have, at the moment, sufficient information to support this point, and it is only given here as a suggestion for future inquiry.

591 592 423 426 These alternative rules of residence explain the composition of the compound households made up of the remnants of two or more original nuclear families, except for the cases in which people are living in borrowed houses. In one of the two cases in our sample, a house was "borrowed" from a brother of the husband's father. The family living in this compound is a very large one, twelve members, with only two males who are of working age, and very poor by Aguacatenango standards. The male head is an orphan who lived before marriage with his mother's mother and

125 the village any more. These cases seem to illustrate common alternatives, and we must mention them briefly.

591 593 183 We know of three cases in which a newly married couple moved to the husband's brother's compound. In those cases, the brother was an elder who jurally replaced the father, and it seems that he took the responsibility of paying the bride-price for his

591 603 183 brother's wife. We also had four cases of men who, at the time of their marriage, were living with the mother's mother. It seems that this was the result of the parents being dead, and the fact that no other relative was left in the original compound.

Amatenango Residence

Residence of Married Couples

591 183 In Amatenango, unlike Aguacatenango, there is no "indication of a single general form of residence pattern" which the villagers would verbalize as normative. "At any stage in the developmental cycle alternative choices in residence with the man's or the woman's relatives depends not on the lineal tie, but on economic factors" (Nash, 1960:41).

591 592 583 606 Married couples live with the parents of one of the spouses for a year or two after they marry. During these years, the young husband is expected to give some labor to the wife's father by working with him in his fields, helping him to carry wood to make the hearth in which women burn pottery, and by performing other small services. The couple live only temporarily with the parents. The stability of the compound households depends on several factors. If there are other marriageable children, offspring of

593 578 538 The folk tales reflect, undoubtedly, the pattern of ultimogeniture and, perhaps, a switch from primogeniture to ultimogeniture. The meaning of the folk tales becomes obvious because of other elements which enter in the conflict.

428 592 593 If a younger son is married at the time of his father's death, he inherits his house, and replaces his father as head of the domestic group, following the norm of agnatic ultimogeniture. But if a younger son is single at the time of his father's death, his elder brother replaces the father and inherits from him. In this last case, it is his duty to provide for his younger brother's support, and at the time that he marries, split the paternal inheritance with him, giving the younger son his share of land, cattle or whatever was left for them.

183 428 592 593 [591] [583] The "rules of the game"[1] are, in the second case, not as explicit as in the normative pattern. Many alternative forms of behavior occur. In some cases, the elder son will move out of the paternal home when his younger brother marries and brings his wife to the homestead. In other cases, he will expect to be compensated for his brother's bride-price and for having supported him and his mother. He would probably reclaim part of the property, or force his younger brother to sell the house and share the money obtained with him.

In still other cases, he will even refuse to give the younger son his share, or move out of the compound.

593 578 It is obvious that not all men are alike in temperament

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[1]That is, the adjustment between authority rights and succession rights.

562 428 578 The inheritance rights of women are highly controversial. All the cases of conflict over the inheritance or rights of usufruct of land, that we know about, involved a woman in the line [183] of transmission. But however controversial, they are an established pattern. This is shown in the following cases.

Case 1

159 592 593 562 554 428 434 Delfina is about twenty-four years old, and still single. She was raised by her godmother in San Cristóbal, and her aspirations are to become a Ladina. She has consistently refused to marry any Indian man, and lives with her parents in a large compound. She is economically self-sufficient (perhaps the only woman in the village which is in the same position), because she works for the INI as a sewing teacher, and her status in the household is quite high due to the fact that she draws a large salary and that her parents are close to senility and dependent on her. Until recently, her married brother lived in the compound with his parents. He insisted that at his parents death he should inherit everything: land, house and animals. Delfina and his father were of the opposite opinion: the house should be for Delfina, since she was supporting them and, as she expressed it: "she did not get married." Faced with the brother's insistence about his traditional rights, the father ordered him out of the household, and he and his wife left town and went to live in [626] Amatenango. Most villagers, however, think that Delfina is in the wrong. They say that she is alzada (prideful) and loose in her relations with Ladino men (the employees of the INI that come to the village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

182 571 based on non-kinship terms would maximize profit or material (602) benefits, which the kinship frame limits considerably. Second, 182 the cultural norms imposed on the villager about the types of work 183 which he is allowed to perform, about the maximum wealth which he 461 556 is able to control, and about the distribution of this wealth, are, from a purely financial point of view, "anti-economical." 156 But an Indian living in a Ladino town, undoubtedly having the 177 choice of improving his life from an economic point of view, 156 alienates himself from everything which is dear to him. An Indian 626 attempting to live up to his aspirations of wealth within the com- 556 munity, alienates himself even more, and risks the dangers of witchcraft and social ostracism.

121 The phrase, "man does not live by bread alone," is very much of a truism here. If the primary factor in determining behavior were economical, the villager would have no need to live within the customary standards of living of his community nor would the corporate community persist. Each Indian could become a laborer of some sort, and integrate himself into the national society of Mexico.

But people make choices not only because they are financially advantageous, but because they preserve their standing within their kinship group, they provide satisfaction for their need of the psychological rewards of prestige and positive affection and for their need for "belonging" to a group of similar human beings with similar culture and aspirations.

We have to admit, then, that it is as impossible to analyze social dynamics, only taking into account economic variables, as

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

563 Citala, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalon, and Petalcingo relations between Indians and Ladinos are more friendly, and the Indians are regarded as milder and more tractable.

181 Of the strongly Indian towns, Cancuc is the most conservative, Chanal the most progressive.

In respect to official political organization, these villages are divided according 631 to their importance and the number of their inhabitants, into free municipalities 563 (*municipios libres*) and dependent municipalities (*agencias municipales*). The former are those which have the right to choose their own government, upon which formal administration depends. To this category belong Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Ococingo, Chilón, and Bachajon. Until a short time ago the municipal governments of these settlements were composed of Ladinos in the principal posts and of Indians in the subordinate positions. At the present time the government is seeking to reverse this situation so that the Indians have the greater authority; it is for this reason that the governments of the four villages first mentioned are now headed by Indians. This change has brought about marked [179] alterations in certain places in the social equilibrium that before existed between the two ethnic elements which compose the population.

Villages of the latter category are those which depend, in administrative matters, on a free municipality. In these cases authority is represented in the first place by the *agente municipal*, who is named by the central municipal government. This post is always discharged by a Ladino. In most instances the municipal agent compensates for the meagerness of his salary by controlling the sale of rum in the village which he administers. The other members of the municipal government are chosen almost always from the Indian group.

•184 In several of the highland communities, notably Amatenango, Chanal, and, 243 to a much less extent, Tenejapa, the Indian grows (in addition to the universal 439 maize) a certain amount of wheat for export; the Ladinos of Oxchuc cultivate this crop, but in Cancuc, where there are no Ladinos, wheat is not grown. (Wheat is 433 also grown in the Tzotzil towns of Chamula and Huistan.) Other money crops 241 of the highlands are chickpeas, peas, oranges, and other fruit. Some coffee is grown in San Martin; it is the principal export from Yajalón and Petalcingo. In Bachajón, Citala, Guaquitepec, and Chilón a principal produce is brown sugar, made locally from sugar cane locally raised. Cancuc is the only village that cultivates cotton commercially; the production in the other communities is insignificant. The local [286] manufacture of loom-woven clothing is rapidly disappearing. Most Tzeltal com- [178] munities are without beehives, but there is considerable apiculture in Sivacá, and 231 a little beekeeping is also practised in Tenango, Bachajón, and Yajalón. Apparently 184 the bees kept are wild colonies brought to the villages in the sections of hollow log they are made to inhabit. The raising of hogs and poultry is a principal economic 233 recourse in all the Indian settlements. The beef cattle industry has always been [654] in the hands of Ladinos; however, recently the Government, acting through the Centers of Native Education, has sought to stimulate the industry among the Indians.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The Indians manufacture and consume *chicha*, an alcoholic beverage fermented from sugar cane or maize. They drink larger quantities of rum prepared in Ladino-owned distilleries. *Pilico*, a combination of lime and tobacco, is chewed frequently, especially in Oxchuc, Tenejapa, and Cancuc.

Tenejapa is the only Tzeltal town that enjoys importance as a market center. Here a market is held every Sunday.

Pottery is made for sale outside the local community in Amatenango and in Tenango. In almost all the other communities the industry is practised in a rudimentary form merely to supply local needs. Blom and LaFarge observed and reported the techniques of pottery manufacture at Sivacá;[19] Villa limits his data to mentioning the industry there. Blom and LaFarge report, on hearsay, the method of making large, egg-shaped, three-handled water jars at Tenango; Villa observed and reported this industry. The former authors report that the clay used is "a light greenish brown colour."[20] Villa says that two kinds of clay, "white earth" and "red earth," are combined to form the paste. Villa also noted the tempering with a ground sandy limestone (*hi*); and the painting with a paint made from a soft stone from the river (*huxu-tzaik*). The pots and griddles are made from one kind of clay tempered with a different sandstone called *bax*. The method of firing described for Sivacá by Blom and LaFarge from hearsay, involving the preparation of "an A-roof, forming a long tunnel,"[21] was observed and photographed by Villa in Tenango. Villa was told that vessels after firing are filled with *pozole* in water to reduce the porosity.

In Tenejapa metates are made for export, and in Oxchuc halters, lead-ropes, nets, and bags. The methods of weaving, net making and basketry, reported by Blom and LaFarge for Bachajón,[22] were not reported by Villa.

The type of habitation is the same throughout the whole region, although there are small variations from village to village. The houses are rectangular in form with four-sided roofs, thatched with grass, and with sides made of poles and clay. Only the houses of Chanal form an exception. The walls of these structures are in most cases of wood. The houses of Tenango present another exception in that they are the only ones where the roofs do not terminate in a ridge, but in a point; it is usual to cover this with an inverted pot. Houses are throughout divided into two rooms, one of which serves as living room and kitchen and the other as sleeping room. In some cases the kitchen is placed in the latter section. There is a single door in front; only in certain settlements to the north, as Chilón and Yajalón, where the influence of the white man has been greater, are houses to be seen with two doors and even some with small windows. The floor is always of packed earth.

The furnishings of the living room are limited in general to beds, improvised of boards placed on the ground or on logs, and covered with mats. The hammock is little used; it is generally reserved for children. The furnishings and domestic

[19] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:343-345.
[20] *Ibid.*, 2:383.
[21] *Ibid.*, 2:344.
[22] *Ibid.*, 2:345-349.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

352 utensils pertaining to the other room include three tables of varying form and size. One of these, about 60 cm. high, is called *akhintel*,[23] and serves as a support for the metate (*chá*). Another smaller table (*matzamalté*) has three legs and is circular in form; it is used in making tortillas. The third table (*ucbalté*), also small but quadrangular, is used in serving food. Three benches of hollow logs 415 (*tzantel*) and small chairs (*taburetes*) serve as seats. Deep baskets and gasoline 251 boxes are used for holding clothes. Hanging from the roof is always to be seen a disk made of vines (*likin-nab*). This is used to keep comestibles from the rats. The other implements are the griddle, pots, and other vessels of clay, and calabashes and gourds in various forms and dimensions.

343 Besides the fowl pen (*na-mut*) and the pigpen (*na-chitán*) it is common to see near the house the temazcal, or steam bath (*pus*). It is made of clay and irregu- [417] larly shaped stones; it is rectangular with a small door in front and a ventilator in the rear. It is usual to cover it with a small shelter of straw. The use of the temazcal • [184] is common in the highlands. It is almost not to be found from Ococingo northward.

29 Each village has its own costume; however, local variations conform to a certain pattern which changes according to the altitudes and climate. Thus, in 184 the region of Los Altos the usual pattern of dress is the following: for men, short cotton trousers (*uex*)[24] and cotton shirt (*kú*) reaching to the knees, a sash (*chukichut*) of wool or cotton and in most cases red in color, a poncho (*tzotz*) made of wool and in most cases dark grey in color, a handkerchief (*chukkil*), a straw hat (*pixol*), and leather sandals (*xanab*); women wear a white blouse (*kú*) and a blue shirt (*tzequel*), both made either of wool or of cotton, and a red woolen sash (*chukichut*). Some women in going out-of-doors add a woolen *rebozo*. Women use also a cotton cloth (*zitz-cal*) to carry small children. They wear no footgear.

In the tierra caliente the dress of the women is almost the same except that it is cleaner. On the other hand that of the men, although equally clean, presents marked differences: the trousers are longer and the shirt shorter, coming to resemble an open blouse or *guayabera*. The sash and the poncho cease to be indispensable [177] garments. It is in this region that there is most use of trousers and shirt in European style.

551 In Tenejapa, Starr found that the Indians had Tzeltal surnames. He says, 582 "We feel sure that these are *not* nicknames, but the old family names still preserved."[25] He does not give examples, and says nothing about any relation between 114 these name-groups and marriage. Blom and LaFarge make no note of such names, and say, "there are no formal restrictions on marriage."[26]

582 Villa found Indian surnames present in Chanal, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc, 551 and was told that marriage is not allowed, or is at least strongly discouraged, between persons of the same Indian surname. In Chanal an informant indicated that such

[184] [23] The names of these objects vary from one village to another; those which are described here were obtained in Chanal.

[24] The names of some of these garments vary likewise from one village to another; here Villa gives names used in Chanal.

[25] Starr, 1902, p. 73.

[26] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359.

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a marriage was incestuous in the same sense as marriage between close relations. These surnames are transmitted patrilineally. Of ten informants in Chanal, nine gave their Indian surnames; the tenth said he had none. Furthermore, in cases where potential spouses have the same Spanish surname but different Indian surnames—and such cases occur—marriage between such persons is similarly discouraged. And in San Martin, Tenango, Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo, where apparently the Indian surnames do not exist, Villa received information to the effect that marriage between persons of the same Spanish surname is disapproved.[27]

Indian surnames noted by Villa, with translations offered him, follow:

CHANAL: Yemuc (large mouth), Xampil, Tiib, Calabal, Chicó, Cories, Comistal.
TENEJAPA: Tzurin (sowing?), Hoviltzil (mad dog), Uacax (cow), Chacax (?), Mee-mut (mother hen), Lobal (banana), Ton (stone).
CANCUC: Oxom, Say, Chig-yax, Coreta, Caxlan-pucú, Hokob-canela.
OXCHUC: Chinbac (small bone), Aquilan (from Aquilar), Chichol (tomato), Barsen (*pinto*), Nimail (squash-tip), Holchi (deer head).

In all the highland villages information was given to the effect that each *pueblo* (town, with its rural population, if any) is endogamous; in most instances the endogamy was represented as absolute. As some of the communities include only a few score of households, the matter requires further investigation.

The communities of Cancuc, Oxchuc, and Bachajón (and apparently only these) are divided into antagonistic sub-communities called *calpules*. (Neither Starr nor Blom and LaFarge give information on this point.) In each case an imaginary east-west line across the plaza divides the northern lands of the one calpul from the southern lands of the other. In Cancuc (at least) the lands of the north are considered "hot," those of the south "cold," with corresponding favorable and unfavorable connotations as to their fertility. In Cancuc the northern calpul is called either *muhul calpul* 'large calpul' or else *alankuluhibal;* the southern is called *bikit calpul* 'small calpul' or else *kalankuluhibal*. Each calpul (*barrio* to the Ladinos) had its own government, established by the members of each calpul independently of the formal local government, which, recognized by the state and national authorities, acts for both calpules in matters that must be taken to the outside authorities. In Oxchuc the calpul officers are one *presidente*, two *alcaldes* or *cantakines*, two *gobernadores*, two *catinab* 'very respected chiefs,'

[27] Among the Lacandons there are patrilineal, totemically named kinships grouped into two exogamous phratries (Soustelle, 1936); it is likely that among the ancient Maya of Yucatan there was surname exogamy. Landa says (Section XXIV), ". . . the Indians consider all of the same name related, and treat them accordingly. . . . Thus also no man or woman marries another of the same name, because this was for them a great infamy" (Gates, 1937, p. 46). Landa also says (Section XXV), ". . . nor did they ever marry one bearing their own name on the father's side, for this was considered a very bad thing." On the subject of Maya names, Roys says, "The Maya family name, which was perpetuated in the male line, survived the Conquest, but the old pagan pre-names were abolished and replaced by Spanish Christian names when the Indians were baptized. Two varieties of pre-names are well known: one indicating a man's profession or office, and the other, derived from his mother and preceded by the prefix Na-. The Maya called the latter the 'real,' and there were also two other classes of pre-names, which they called the 'boy-name' and the 'jesting name.' Many of the 'boy-names' are referable to fauna-names, especially those of birds, while some of the 'jesting names' appear to be descriptive. It seems to have been possible for a single person to have borne all four names" (Roys, 1934, p. 106).

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621 and four *chuycales*, who are in charge of sacred matters. Certain shamans, called
[756] *dzunubiles*, also participate in calpul government.

621 In Cancuc, Villa did not inquire into the matter, but in Oxchuc and in Bachajón
776 the calpules have separate patron saints and are known, in the case of Bachajón,
•184 by the names of San Sebastian and San Geronimo, in the case of Oxchuc, Santo Tomás and La Trinidad. In the church at Bachajón the santos belonging to the north calpul, San Sebastian and two others, stand on the left side of the church, while San Geronimo, San Manuel, and the Virgin, representing the south calpul, stand at the right side. It appears, however, at least in the case of Oxchuc, that the festivals of these saints are maintained by the people of both calpules jointly.

621 The antagonism between the calpules of Cancuc has expressed itself from time
578 to time in violence. During Villa's stay it was rumored that the people of the southern half were about to attack those of the northern half, and indeed, shots were fired. Blom and LaFarge reported "a dragging feud" in this village.[28] Ap-
[582] parently marriages may and do take place between the calpules; there is no indication, however, that they are exogamous.

778 In Oxchuc a principal annual ceremony attends the transfer from one calpul
788 to the other of a certain sacred book. This greatly venerated object was, after
123 some reluctance, shown to Villa. He was requested to deliver to its custodians a
778 dozen rockets, some candles, and some incense; he was then allowed to examine it in the presence of the chiefs and the chuycales of both calpules. It is a notebook of twelve paper sheets, 40 by 20 cm. in size; it has a deerskin cover. Of the twelve pages, nine bear writing, all but one on both sides. The text appears to be a series of orders set down by the Spanish authorities in the year 1674. The book is kept in a black wooden box; before and after removing it the chuycales prayed, kneeling, while incense was burned and the rockets were discharged.

778 The book is called *cañualtic* 'Our Master.' The ceremony of transfer of this
788 sacred object takes place during the thirteen days beginning December 31. The principal members of the government of both calpules, numbering thirteen, assemble in the cabildo. The book is placed on a table with thirteen candles, thirteen rosaries, thirteen calabashes of lime mixed with tobacco, and thirteen vessels of atole. During the thirteen days the men remain segregated in the cabildo without contact with their homes or with women. Many prayers are uttered. At the conclusion of the period the box containing the book is escorted in solemn procession to the place it occupies during the rest of the year—not in the church, but in a special hut on the outskirts of the calpul of La Trinidad.

58 Information which Villa received from Indians of Chanal on the customs
114 attending marriage differs in a number of respects from the account given by Blom and LaFarge,[29] or supplements that account, and therefore may be sum-
584 marized here. There are no professional marriage negotiators. The boy's parents
583 pay, ordinarily, four visits to the girl's parents to complete the agreement. On each visit they bring bread, eggs, fruit, and especially rum. The boy is expected
000

[28] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:387

[29] *Ibid.*, 2:358–359

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796 carried a red banner. At the church the four men performed a dance. Divided into
535 pairs facing each other at a distance of 6 m., they first shook the ribbons on their poles while giving loud cries, varied by putting the hand over the mouth, and running to meet one another. Then they made a slight inclination of the head, turned half around, and returned to their original places. After repeating this thrice, the pairs exchanged places and performed new figures. At the conclusion they surrounded the flag-bearer, shouting and waving the ribbons.

796 Although harp and guitars were here used in an apparently religious dance,
534 in several of the communities it appears that the stringed instruments of European
184 origin (guitar, violin, and harp) are used only for secular purposes, the religious
[177] musical instruments (which are often kept in the church) consisting of cane flute (*āhmay*) and drums. In Chanal two drums are used, a large drum (*kayob*) and a small one (*chin kayob*). In Tenejapa the single drum is called *anteel* and is accompanied by a sort of cornet.

778 Some minor observances having to do with the cult of the saints may be
776 mentioned. In the highland villages it is usual for each important saint to be repre-
184 sented by two images of which one, the genuine santo, is too sacred to be taken
[194] from the church; the other, called *debo* (for *doble*) substitutes for the true santo in religious processions.[34] In Bachajón the care of the church is alternated weekly between the two calpules; on Christmas Eve each church-caretaker (*priora*) must contribute to the decoration of the altar ten little figures of clay, of which five are in the form of a bull, and five in the form of a horse and rider. The church at Citalá contains many santos of which two (San Mateo and San Gabriel) are painted black and enjoy special prestige. In this church a straw mat, yellow in color with red ribbons interwoven, is used to kneel upon before the principal saints; it is kept with extraordinary care. At Citalá a principal annual event is the ritual
778 washing of the saints' clothing. This occurs two weeks after Holy Week. The
776 "Great Washing," when the clothing of the principal saints is washed, is performed
796 at a spring where the water is thought to be of absolute purity. The "Small Washing" of the clothes of the lesser saints may be done in the river. The Great Washing is reported as involving the consumption of eight hogs and a great quantity of rum.

78 Although it is evident that the religion of the Tzeltals contains many pagan
[114] elements, some of which have been reported by Blom and LaFarge,[35] Villa's notes do not add a great deal on this point. The use of hilltop shrines was noted at
778 Oxchuc, where one of these is called Ikal Ahau, apparently after an ancient deity.[36]
782 The teacher at Amatenango reports that the Indians there make offerings for
776 rain at a rock marked with a zigzag thought to represent the lightning. No
114 information was obtained on the beliefs as to *nahuales*; this subject is discussed by Blom and LaFarge.[37]

[34] This usage corresponds precisely with that of the pairs of crosses used by the Quintana Roo Maya, of which one, the *cruz madora*, is moved about in ritual.

[35] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:362–374.

[36] Nuñez de la Vega (1702, p. 9) says, "Los de Oshchuc y de otros pueblos de los Llanos veneran mucho al (idolo) que llaman Icalahau, que quiere decir negro principal, o señor de negros," as quoted in Becerra, 1932, p. 244.

37. Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:369-371.

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by Blom and LaFarge.[37] At Tenejapa and again at Guaquitepec, Villa met persons terrified by fears of witchcraft; it is apparent that the subject is important throughout the region. The word for witch is *agchamel*, and the phrase used is to the effect that the witch "eats" his victim. Villa understood this to refer to the belief that a person's soul may be lured away from his body, a notion consistent with facts reported by Blom and LaFarge.[38]

Villa's notes establish the fact that the nineteen-month pagan calendar is in current use in the highlands, at least in Chanal, Cancuc, and Oxchuc. In 1702 Nuñez de la Vega[39] published the names of twenty days of the month; these have apparently not been reported since. In 1845 Emeterio Pineda[40] gave for the first time (but for the Tzotzils) the names of the months, omitting only the name *chayquin* for the five-day period. In 1888 Vicente Pineda[41] furnished a complete list of the months for the Tzeltals. Villa was informed that the month *Yaxkin* ended in November so that the new year would begin in the second week of January. Starr[42] says that the first twenty-day period (*Tzin*) begins January 1. Becerra[43] says that the year should begin with the winter solstice. However, he gives, based on information received from the Indians themselves, a table[44] correlating the variations from village to village; thus, the month *Batzul*, first of the year, begins in Oxchuc on January 1, in Cancuc on the second and in Tenejapa on the third. Furthermore, according to this author, there is a marked difference between the correlation followed by the Tzeltals and that followed by the Tzotzils; thus the month *Olalti*[45] begins among the Tzeltals on March 27 and among the Tzotzils on April 12. The list of months Villa secured differs from both Starr's and Pineda's list, but agrees with that of Becerra.

Batzul	(Time of harvest)
Zakilab	(Clearing the milpa begins)
Agelchac	(The clearing continues)
Mac	(Time of sowing)
Olalti	(Time of sowing)
Jul-ol	(Time of sowing)
Uec-cachaquin	(No work)
Joquen-ahau	(Time of sowing in the tierra caliente)
Chin-uch	(Time of weeding)
Mucul-uch	(Time of weeding)
Juc-uinquil	(Time of resting)
Uac-uinquil	?
Jo-uinquil	?
Chan-uinquil	?
Ox-uinquil	?
Pom (Octubre)	(When the new ear forms)
Yax-kin (termina con Noviembre)	?
Mux	?
Tzun	?

[37] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:369–371.
[38] *Ibid.*, 2:371.
[39] Nuñez de la Vega, 1702.
[40] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 111.
[41] Vicente Pineda, 1888, pp. 130–131.
[42] Starr, 1902, p. 177.
[43] Becerra, 1933, p. 50.
[44] *Ibid.*, Table 8.
[45] *Ibid.*, Table 10.

Their slender-
147 ness is deceptive, for their great strength lies
[482] in their legs, back, and neck, seen in their ability to carry loads of 45 kilograms (100 lbs.) and upwards, all day up and down hill without
142 undue fatigue . . . Hair form is straight, coarse, and black. Gray hair or baldness are very unusual. Body hair, as far as could be observed, is negative.

143 As many as 99.56 per cent of Tzeltal belong to blood type O, which is one of the highest frequencies registered in the Ma-
143 yance area. According to Matson and Swan-
144 son (1959, p. 50), "In general the more isolated peoples such as the Lacandon, Tzeltal, Tzotzil and Cakchiquel show the highest frequency of the O gene." This condition is attributed to the absence of racial mixture.

Cultural Configuration

621 Like the Indians in the highlands of Gua-
[171] temala (Tax, 1937), the Tzeltal group themselves in communities which are distinct social and cultural units, as is characteristic
621 of the tribe. Each community has its well-
184 defined lands, its own dialect forms, wearing apparel, kinship system, politico-religious organization, economic resources, crafts, and other cultural features. Any native of the region finds it easy to identify the origin of other Indians by noting their speech, wearing apparel, or the goods they
621 sell. Solidarity between the members of each community is strong and becomes manifest in times of conflict with outside groups or in their way of gathering according to their "nationality" on fiestas or market days when people of other communities attend. On the other hand, no ethnic solidar-
[628] ity whatsoever exists. Each community restricts itself to its own affairs and nothing else; whatever happens to the other Tzeltal communities is something altogether apart.
621 The territorial limits of these communi-
632 ties do not always coincide with those of
[171] the municipalities, as in Guatemala. Various well-defined communities exist (in the terms described above) which belong to

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241 Between September and October, when the tender ears are ready, some are torn loose to prepare atoles and tamales.

Toward the middle of October, when the milpa has reached maturity, all hands proceed to the task of the *dobla*, folding or breaking the stem of the plant so that the ear dries and may later be put into the barn. This is an easy task, in which men, women, and children take part. [462] [857]

The harvest takes place in November and December with the participation of the whole family; it is a joyful task which compensates for all the moments of anxiety in the previous months, when subsistence was scarce. The produce from the milpa is gathered in large nets and later stored in a corner of the house or in some improvised structure nearby. The crop is measured by *zontles*, units of 400 ears, which are formed by counting the ears by fives; two ears are taken in one hand and three in the other until 400 are reached. The family of five members which manages to harvest from 15 to 20 zontles considers itself happy, since that much will last them the entire year, consuming 20 ears a day plus feeding one or two hogs and 10 or 12 chickens. [592] [251] [804] [261] [231]

The milpa also produces various squashes, manioc (*dzinté*), and peanuts, which the Indians call *caxlan-chenek* ('Ladino's bean').

243 Exceptional among the Tzeltal is the cultivation of wheat in Amatenango. There the small valley and a creek have favored its development. 184

241 796 The most important ceremonies take place immediately after planting. They entrust the germination of the seed to the care of God, of the "thirteen holders of Heaven," and of "Tatik Jesucristo." The "thirteen holders of Heaven" refer to the principal saints who are mentioned in the prayers. The ceremonies consist in offerings of prayers and incense before the crosses kept in caves belonging to each paraje, and in one *bikit mixa* ('small Mass'), which the cabildos and principales of the [178] [782]

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241 *chin-uch* (May 20–June 8), an offering is
782 made to the supernatural being which reigns over it. The natives have vague no-
[825] tions of the nature of this being. They say that *uch* is the name of a small insect which spoils the pozole and, also, of the *tlacuache* or *zarigueya* which often destroys the milpa. The offering, hung at the entrance of the hut, consists of a ball of pozole wrapped in plantain leaf, a red chile, a tortilla, an ear of corn, and a little stick like the kind used to turn the ear cooking over hot coals.
241 All objects are minute in size. When the
782 offering achieves its purpose, on the com-
787 pletion of a 20-day period, the atmosphere becomes hazy "as if there were smoke." It is explained that "the chin-uch burned its house," which forecasts a favorable sun for development of the milpa. If such a sign should not appear on the indicated date or at the end of the next month of *mukul-uch* (June 9–28), the forecast is ominous and indicates that the rains will be excessive, greatly harming the milpa.

778 Another mukul-mixa is performed in Ox-
796 chuc, in homage to the hill called Ikal-Ajau,
[184] near the ceremonial center, of which the Indians say "it is a living hill." The name of the hill is that of the ancient hill worshipped by the Oxchuequeños. Nuñez de la Vega (in Becerra, 1933, p. 293) reports: "Those of Oxchuc and other towns of Los Llanos venerate very much the idol which they call Icalajau, which means principal Negro, or
[789] lord of the Negroes." This Mass, performed the first days of June, prevents locusts and other plagues from coming.

241 Once the crop is in the granary, other
78 family prayers are said before the household cross, to give thanks for the good received and to petition the supernatural beings to protect the grain from insects and rodents.

Other Subsistence Resources

262 Other food resources include raising
235 chickens and pigs. A family averages about
[231] 10 chickens, using the eggs as money when
[437] [P. 302-B]

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283 the ground. This disc has two hooks to
413 which the fiber is knotted; when the disc is turned by a crank, it braids the fibers into rope. A thick board, smoothed by a metal knife (manufactured by the Indians from iron pieces bought in the city), is used to scrape the pita and remove the fiber.

407 The most complex machine that the Tzel-
[177] tal own and build is the wooden cane press, which was imported by the Spaniards to grind sugarcane (fig. 6). This machine is operated by two men, who move the rollers by a handle (*kabal-té*) at each end of the
[415] machine. The juice pressed out by the rollers drops into fluted containers made of pieces
273 of banana tree, and finally into a pot. This juice is used in the preparation of an alcoholic beverage, *chicha* (*chi-ja*, 'sweet wa-
[415] ter'), and for panela. Chicha is prepared by fermenting this juice by bran, corn, or wheat, in a special container (*canoja*) made from a fluted tree trunk. The bran or other fermenting agent is *smé-chi-já* ('mother of
[184] the chicha'). Some communities (Tenejapa, Cancuc, Oxchuc) have greater preference for this beverage than other Tzeltal groups.

224 A gun has become very common in hunt-
411 ing. Sometimes (Oxchuc and Tenejapa) rabbits are taken by striking them with a
[412] coa, after cornering them with the aid of dogs. Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:352) state that the Tzeltal of the lowlands usually hunt wild boar with long wooden spears with fire-hardened or metal points. Traps protect the milpa as well as snaring game.

41 Cooking utensils are mainly indigenous. The usual set consists of clay containers of varying size and shape, jícaras, baskets, wooden spoons, a comal, a metate, hooks, and wooden tripods for hanging items over
177 the fire. In the last few years metal pots,
404 dishes, frying pans, boiling pans, and espe-
415 cially handy *nixtamal* mills (which are gradually displacing the grinding stone)
177 have been introduced. Other items that
207 come from the city are flashlights, small
405 kerosene lamps, watches, scissors, and (in-
412 frequently) battery radios.
416
[P 206-B]

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Handcrafts

323 Among the few handcrafts practiced in
[462] the Tzeltal areas, ceramics, produced mainly
by women, is the most widespread. Tenango
[184] and Amatenango del Valle are the only
communities which have made a specialty
of this craft. Tenango exports its products
[439] through the northern zone, Amatenango
through the southern zone, including neigh-
323 boring Guatemalan villages. Both places use
184 a similar ceramic technique but different
shape and ornamentation. Referring to
Amatenango del Valle, Blom and LaFarge
(1926–27, 2:396) state:

> The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one shape; a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, however, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep, reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of boards, two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman in charge turns them
> [438] until they are done. These pots are carried by
> [439] the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they are redistributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala.

283 Another widespread craft is spinning and
286 weaving of fabrics for clothing. No village
in the Tzeltal area trades these products
[438] because production barely meets their fam-
ily needs. The backstrap loom of pre-
Hispanic origin is the chief tool.

[184] Pita articles—ropes, bags, and nets to
gather the harvest or carry loads—are
mainly produced in Oxchuc and Cancuc.
322 In Cancuc wooden combs are also manu-
184 factured.

342 *Houses and Furniture*

Houses, from 3 to 5 m. on a side, are
predominantly square with thatched roofs.
The walls are wattle-and-daub or plain
tree trunks tied with vines. Floors are of
[354] hardened earth. The houses only have one
door and no windows, except in some vil-
[P. 207-A]

342 lages of the lowlands where the houses have
[354] small windows, which improve ventilation
342 and illumination slightly. In places like
184 Chanal, where there is abundant lumber, the sides of the houses are built with wooden boards set vertically. The largest and best-built houses are in Tenejapa center.

Generally, the hut is divided into two rooms: the front is parlor and kitchen, the rear is bedroom. In Bachajon the rear room serves as bedroom and kitchen, the front room for sewing and grinding and the re-
[574] ception of visitors. In Amatenango del Valle the front of the house is open and
[323] used as a porch for visits. Ceramic work
[251] is also performed here. In one room of the house a bin of wood or reeds stores corn.
[343] Sometimes, small structures which serve as granaries are built inside the hut.

343 Among the auxiliary structures outside is
515 the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. Not every hut has a *pus* since one is enough to attend the needs of several neighboring families. The *pus* is a small room 1.5 m. high by 2 m. on each side, built of stones and clay. The roof is flat. Inside a hollow forms a hearth for heating stones. Water thrown on these red-hot stones produces the necessary steam. On the floor are boards on which people lie while taking the bath.
[184] Among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil the *pus* is
[757] not only for cleanliness but also for the cure
[846] of certain diseases and to strengthen women after childbirth. Sweat baths are more commonly taken in Tierra Fria than in Tierra Caliente.

417 The other structures near the hut are the chickencoop and the hogpen.

352 Furniture is limited to essential items. In the kitchen are the three hearth stones, the comal (*samet*), the grinding stone (*chá*), a bench or strong table to hold the metate (*ah-ken*), one or two small tables (*matzmalté* or *vebalté*) 25–39 cm. high and 30–40 cm. in diameter, and small benches 15–20 cm. high made of scooped-out tree trunks
415 (*tzanté*). Kitchen equipment includes earthenware (pans, pitchers, and jars) and
[P. 207-B]

415 containers made of jícara (*boch*) or teco-
352 mate (*tzu*). In the bedroom is a bed
[513] (*uaybal*) made of boards placed on four
[735] forked poles, usually with a sleeping mat
[415] on it. Only the very poor sleep on mats on the floor. Small chairs, wooden chests for clothes, baskets of all shapes and sizes, pita bags and nets, shelves made of wood ribs, and pegs for hanging clothes are scattered around the hut without order.

353 The most important article is the altar
798 with the family cross. Its construction varies in different areas: it may be a plain small table made of tree trunks or better material. The altar is generally ornamented with pine needles. Occasionally, the figure of a saint is placed by the cross.

Clothing and Ornaments

291 Each community has its own style of
● 184 clothing, which gives a sense of unity to its members and permits the observer to identify easily the groups during fiestas or market days. This variety applies only to a few items of clothing, which is basically the
291 same for the entire region. Men's costume consists of short pants (*uesh*) and a long shirt (*nátil-ku*) which reaches the knee, both made of cloth that women weave; a red sash or belt (*chuj-chut*) of cotton, 10–15 cm. wide by 1.5 m. long, a palm hat (*pishol*); and leather sandals (*shanabil*). Residents of cold areas wear a woolen chamarra which is manufactured by the Chamulas. Women's costume consists of a skirt made of wool (*tzek*) or blue thick cloth, made in one piece and wrapped around the body with two pleats in front; it is belted at the waist by a red wool sash, which the Chamulas manufacture. Occasionally, they
301 wear a wool rebozo. They tie their hair with a red woolen ribbon (*malal*) and wear earrings (*yulel-chikinil*) and glass necklaces
291 (*ual*) bought in the city. Women always go barefoot, even during long trips. When outdoors they cover their heads with a cloth or wool fabric.

[184] Each municipio has made of these clothes
[P. 208-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4.5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

291 a typical outfit with special characteristics.
184 For instance, the men of Tenejapa wear a hat of broad brim and pointed round crown, trimmed with thin ribbons of different colors. They also wear a dark chamarra or poncho with thin white stripes. The characteristic clothes of Cancuc are short, tight pants and a long shirt trimmed with red wool yarn. In Tierra Caliente the wool chamarra is not used nor is the variation in outfit so well defined.

Transportation

482 Men and pack animals are the principal
[484] carriers in the Tzeltal region, which is
[487] crossed in all directions by narrow trails.
[492] Men carrying loads of 40–50 kg. usually
482 walk, in one day, as far as 8 leguas
147 (leagues). According to Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:386), the Tzeltal of the highlands are so strong "que ponen en verguenza a una mula." In 1944 I observed Indians
[565] passing by my Yochib camp, carrying chairs on their shoulders, in which a lady or a child of upper-class Ladinos from Ocosingo
492 and Yajalon would be sitting. Pack animals are now becoming common among the Tzeltal, some of whom also have saddle horses.
491 Part of the Tzeltal-Tzotzil region is crossed by the Pan-American Highway joining Guatemala and Mexico City. In recent years, roads called "brechas de penetración" for motor vehicles are being constructed.
474 The natives of some communities (Oxchuc
493 and Chanal) have organized cooperatives and purchased their own trucks.

804 *Units of Measure*

The system of measures still retains aboriginal characteristics. The main units are:

Nab: Distance between the end of the thumb and the middle finger extended.

Chutub: Distance between the end of the thumb and the index finger extended. It is equivalent to the jeme. The Indians do not use the cuarta (distance between the thumb and little finger extended).

[P 208-B]

423 In the most acculturated communities
592 (Aguacatenango and Amatenango) individ-
[184] ually held property is more general. The head of the house is the owner of the parcel and he can manage it as he pleases. Referring to Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1990, p. 11) states that:

> In general, land is "owned"—that is, controlled—by the household; as long as the son lives with the father, he may speak of "his land," but in fact he works the land with his father, planting what and when his father de-
> [428] cides. The son who lives apart is usually given a piece of land by his father, and he acquires new land which he, in turn, will pass on to his sons at his death or, if he chooses, before.

[613] At this level the lineage concept has dis-
[593] appeared, and the only recognized connection is the father-son relationship.

423 Irrigated lands ("tierras irrigables"), however, in Aguacatenango and in Amatenango contain parcels belonging to private owners and parcels used in common, which are administered or given by the local authorities to be cultivated. Metzger (*ibid.*) informs us that: "Recently, land has been bought on the edges of the town by each of the two barrios for the exclusive use of their members, while in the irrigable area the holdings of members of the two barrios are separate and watered by separate canals."

[175] Ejido lands exist in almost all the region, distributed according to the Programa Agrario de la Revolución Mexicana since 1914 but in some communities not put into practice until after 1930. These lands are administered by the "comite ejidal" of each municipio, which gives to any individual who needs land the permission to cultivate it. These lands cannot be sold or transferred in any way, because they are considered common property.

421 Family land as well as the house and its
586 equipment belong to the man. When a marriage is dissolved, the woman goes back to her parents without taking anything but

[P 212-A]

556 829 183 know, with the aid of the *naguales* (supernatural spirits), about the wealth each member of the group has; those who have more than necessary must pay for the expenses of fiestas, etc.

Social Organization

Kinship

614 613 The basic elements of the clan system of the ancient Maya can still be found in the most conservative groups. At the present time, the kinship system is divided into patrilineal clans, which are divided into [177] patrilineages. In some cases, the name of the clan is of Spanish origin; the name of the lineage, of indigenous origin. In Oxchuc there are six clans whose names are: Gómez, Santis, López, Méndez, Encines, and Rodríguez. The first two clans are the largest, since the Gómez clan has 37 lineages, the Santis 39. The last two are almost disappearing as they have only one or two lineages. Among the indigenous names for lineages are: Ichilok, Nimail, Akux, Cojton, Chic, Molox, Nich, Antun, Chisná, Tib, and Mulesh. These designate names of animals, plants, or objects.

A man whose name is Juan Gómez Nich, for example, belongs to the Gómez clan and to the Nich lineage. Generally, the name of the lineage is enough to show to which clan somebody belongs; if his name is Juan Nich, it is immediately known that he is from the Gómez clan. This special characteristic of the indigenous name is designated by the word *Jol s'bij*, which means "head of the name."

[184] In Cancuc (a community next to Oxchuc) clans have special names, such as Chik, Chejeb, Ijká, and Boj. If the indigenous name is known, the clan name is self-evident. The Spanish name has lost its specific function, and, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, pp. 4–5), there are Indians who do not even remember it. However, the Spanish surname designates exogamic units of a patrilineal type throughout the region; without

[P. 213-B]

[Text continues on p. 214-B]

583 procedures (*trámites*) of church and civil registry. The traditional marriage is an ar-
584 rangement between two families. The young man's parents, with his agreement, select the bride and start the visits leading to the
[574] petition. The visits to the girl's house must
[273] be made at dawn, accompanied by two or three bottles of aguardiente. These visits continue for several months, because the girl's parents want to consult the old men or the most important members of the patrilineal clan.

585 The wedding itself is simple, a family ritual concerning the boy's parents, the girl's parents, and old men of the clan she belongs to. Now the boy appears for the first time, bringing articles that will "warm up" the fiesta (Villa Rojas, 1949):

1 garrafón (about 18 liters) of aguardiente
80 cooked eggs
80 tortillas
80 tamales of the *chenkul-uaj type* (corn and bean dough)
10 kilos of pozole with chile
10 kilos of pozole without chile
1 kilo of ground chile
1 almud (4 kilos) of beans

According to my informants from Oxchuc, these items represent what the girl's parents have spent for her during childhood.
[574] This marriage feast is called *beybal-ja* ('the first delivery of aguardiente').

585 These items are presented with the great-
614 est formality to the girl's clan in oral forms that symbolize the wish for everlasting friendship between both families. The oldest member of the girl's clan responds by expressing on behalf of all members their satisfaction in receiving those articles and their good wishes for a successful union. Immediately, the couple kneels on a petate and listens to the oldest member of the clan, who formally announces they are married and recites the duties and obligations of each.

584 Until recently in Cancuc the custom ob-
184 tained of making these marriage arrange-
[P 217-B]

584 ments through a special person (*chunel*)
[184] for each of the four clans, and differed from Oxchuc, where the case is presented to the nearest old man of the clan. In Cancuc, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, p. 3):

> The boy's parents dealt with the *Chunel* of the girl's clan when petitioning her. He received the gifts and gave approval; and then accompanied by the boy and his parents he went into the house of the girl's parents. There, he presented the boy's petition. Nobody could oppose the Chunel's decisions. The girl would die if she didn't obey the decisions of the elder of the clan.

583 Once a marriage feast is finished, the boy stays in his parents-in-law's house to fulfill the bride price (*stojyinam*). This service, which consists in helping the father-in-law in the milpa and in other duties, usually lasts a year, or less if arrangements are made in advance. Frequently during this period the man spends alternate periods of three weeks with his parents-in-law and with his own parents. When he has the means to do it, he builds his own house and starts the new cycle of a nuclear family.

581 After the first year of marriage, if the
585 couple get along together, the man must
574 make a present of two garrafones of aguar-
[273] diente and the same petitionary items of
[614] food, though in larger amounts. This time, more of the girl's clan are present, and so increase the importance of the event. The purpose is to celebrate the success of the couple and the union that will exist between the two families. This big *tertulia*, along with the corresponding meal, is called
[888] *mukel-ja* ('abundance of drink'). Old men of
[273] the clan who cannot attend receive at their homes the portion of aguardiente they
586 should have drunk. On the other hand, if the couple could not get along during the first year and the union is annulled because of the woman's fault, her parents must give back all they have received during the first ritual.

581 Finally, to bring all these duties to an
574 [P. 218-A]

584 with the family of the girl. If the boy is accepted, the gifts are received and the marriage takes place.

585 184 [177] In Aguacatenango and Amatenango, the Catholic ceremony is sometimes delayed for several years after the informal marriage, because of the belief that the latter really consolidated the union. On the other hand, in places where the Ladino population is larger (Pinola and San Bartolo) the religious ceremony is considered by the Indians as a very important part of the customs.

184 177 608 The compadrazgo relationship is stressed among these communities where Ladinos have great influence. There are baptism, confirmation, and wedding padrinos. The rights and duties established through this relationship are still respected, especially 608 the compadre relationship. It is the duty of the child's parents to give occasional gifts [736] to the godparents. If the child's parents die, the godparents must take care of him, except when there are closer relatives to the father.

585 608 It is the main duty of the wedding godparents to help the couple maintain a good understanding and to dissolve, by advice, any disagreement. They always receive great respect and affection from their *ahijados*.

608 [851] Among conservative groups, the compadrazgo relationship arises only from the baptism of a child. Sometimes this relationship is established in a very informal way; perhaps during fiesta at the ceremonial center they may take advantage of the priest's presence to ask a very close friend to "embrace" the child. The padrino is then invited 574 608 to have aguardiente. At other times the arrangement is made formally; the parents of the child go to the house of their future compadres to ask them that favor. Ex- [431] changes of gifts and dinner invitations are frequent, the child's parents feeling the greater obligation. These meals can be really banquets where many "platillos" and much aguardiente are consumed. Among 184 608 some groups, padrinos neither give a gift to 431 736 [P 219-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

407

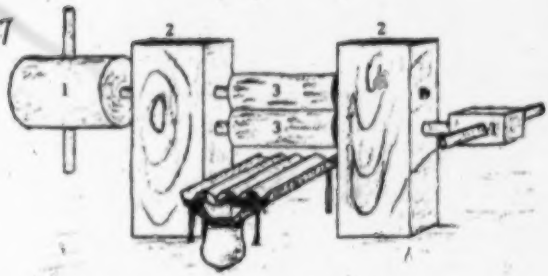

FIG. 6—SUGARCANE PRESS.
1, Kabal-té. 2, Smete-al. 3, S-kab.

184
608 their godchild nor protect him if he be-
736 comes orphaned, but this is only because
431 closer members of the same lineage take
608 care of him. But the padrinos must attend
764 the wake (*kanka-almail*) and the burial when the godchild dies, as is expected from
608 the godchild when the godparents die. In
182 these communities, compadrazgo constitutes both an important religious obligation and a means of establishing friendship and cooperation between families.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

621 The political and religious patern is the
631 same throughout all the Tzeltal communi-
[184] ties, governed by two groups of authorities whose activities are interrelated. The first group, formed by members of the cabildo and ayuntamiento, manages political affairs of the community. The ayuntamiento maintains relationship between the local gov-
631 ernment and the national authorities. The presidente municipal and the intermediate authorities are popularly elected and then confirmed by the congress of the state.
[563] These authorities must represent both ethnic groups (Indians and Ladinos) to warrant the claim that "justice is equal for everybody." In 1936 the state government ruled that in all municipios where the indigenous population predominates, the presidente municipal should be an Indian.

Next in authority after the presidente is

[P. 219-B]

795 In most of the prayers, Dios Tatik Jesu-
782 cristo and the 13 *fiadores* who are in heaven are mentioned. These 13 fiadores are God's immediate helpers and correspond to the
[778] Christian saints. The cross is venerated as a representation of God wherever a prayer is said and so appears on the family altar, on mountaintops, in caves, at fountains, at entrances to the town, at the four corners of the plaza, and in front of the church.

795 The local character of Catholicism is seen
778 in the Masses offered to the mountain called
776 Ikal Ajau, near the ceremonial center of
177 Oxchuc. The Indians say that it is a "living mountain" and give it great reverence, for Ikal Ajau was the name of the idol venerated by Oxchuc people in pre-Hispanic
795 times. In almost all the municipios the
184 saints are dressed as Indians. Towns with a
776 large Ladino population have different saints for the Ladinos, who are dressed as Ladinos and to whom the Indians are completely indifferent, even to forgetting the names of them.

Fiesta for the Patron Saint

796 One of the major events in the religious
794 life of the Indians is the annual fiesta in honor of the patron saint and the other saints kept in the church. The capitán principal and some of his immediate assistants are in charge of the organization and expenses of these fiestas. The length and cost
[435] of the fiesta correspond to the importance of the saint and range from one day and 100 pesos to four days and several thousand pesos, like the one for the patron saint. To become a capitán principal a man must go through all the ranks and be able to afford the expenses of any fiesta, from a small one to the very large ones of the patrons.

796 The fiesta of the patron of each village is similar to that for any other saint but larger. There are Masses and other religious observances in the church, processions with the image of the saint along the main streets, large meals at the house of the cargoholders, and, above all, constant drink-

[P 221-B]

[Text continues on p. 222-B]

753 thunder, wind, or lightning. All the men
776 who occupy or have occupied cargos in the
[794] political or religious organization are sup-
[888] posed to have a nagual, as do the older
[613] members of the lineage. They consider it their duty to punish those members of the group who have sinned and use their nagual, who can devour the soul of the victim little by little.

774 According to this idea, everybody has two
776 souls: one which can be eaten by the naguales, and one which follows the destiny that its patron saint has planned for it.
761 When death comes, the naguales take away
775 the first soul and have a banquet up in the
776 mountains. In this feast, the naguales of the old people of the clan participate, joined by others induced to comradeship.

761 It is a widespread belief that at midyear
773 the naguales go to a place in heaven called
776 Atimaltik, where an old man who possesses the Book of Life lives. Since in this book he keeps account of the time each person can live, it is a source of information for the naguales, who thus can know who is close to death. When the signature of a person disappears from the book, this means that the person died.

764 People have to keep watch over the body for two days and two nights. It is placed on a wooden plank in the middle of the house after being washed or just given a change of clothes. Two candles are placed at the head. At night friends and neighbors come to keep company with the family. They play harp and guitar and drink chicha and aguardiente. At dawn, the men go home and the women remain crying near the corpse.

[613] Following the ancient custom, the dead are buried near the graves of other men of
[184] the same lineage. In Cancuc, however, dead are buried inside the house.

The bottom and sides of the grave are covered with slabs to form a coffin. The corpse, bundled up in a petate, is placed inside. His clothes and other articles he may

[P. 224-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

648 mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

829 The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We received many small favours and [123] acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

FIG. 283—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

241 In their culture these people [181] belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend [433] primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the [291] staple crop. Calabashes, melons, [301] beans, tobacco, bananas, and cotton are raised. The farming is [302] carried on by the same wasteful "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old [178] Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment [166] of many cities. In the case of the Bachajon, it has already become one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn 262 boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates 252 which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and 411 weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but al- 412 ways made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most 184 amazing industries in the world. 177

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

tume. The men's shirt is more of a tunic, home woven, without cuffs, collar, or buttons, with a V-neck, and much longer. It may be tucked in under the trousers or worn outside, with the sash over all. Their trousers are sometimes wrapped at the ankles with tape. On the haciendas, a great deal of ordinary European clothing, bought at the local stores, is worn. 291 [177]

The women's dress does not differ from the Bachajon, save for a coarse red sash with yellow stripes, which comes from Comitan.

Houses, *na'*, are of two kinds, the normal, highland type found in Ocosingo Valley and in Bachajon Village itself, and a palm-roofed variant, not unlike the houses of the lowlands, found among the Bachajon in the jungle region (fig. 287). 342 [184]

FIG. 286—El Encanto, Chis. Bark Sandals.

The roof of the normal type, made of a grass thatch laid on in overlapping bundles to a thickness of about twenty centimeters, is called *winikak*. It stands independently of the walls, being supported on cross-beams laid from the main uprights, *kuk'up*. A hip roof is always used for a true dwelling. Often the building is under-cut at one end, so that a small porch is made, on which the door opens. [291]

The walls, *p'ahk*, are of upright sticks stuck in the ground and lashed with lianas, standing without support, separate from the frame. Usually they are thinly plastered with mud. The manner of building the frame itself is described below.

Those of the Bachajon living in the close jungle, where grass is not available, thatch their roofs with palm, when they are called *can*. The leaves are usually of the *chiapai*, *tcyapai*, or *chichon*, *ak'te*. Banana leaves are sometimes used for temporary structures, but fray too readily. Owing to the warmer climate, the walls are not plastered, and often part of the house is un-walled. Usually the porch is omitted. A careful study was made of a house of this type about half a mile from the Finca Encanto, which was a good example save that, being in an open space where grass was plentiful, it was grass thatched.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

121 This thesis is an introduction to the ethnography of drinking in Aguacatenango, a Mayan-speaking community in Chiapas. It displays in some detail the roles and the circumstances of drinking performances there, and it examines some of the ways in which drinking performances reflect the more general beliefs and habitual actions of the people of the community.

*273 183 The drinking of beverage alcohol is a highly frequent, well-patterned part of life in most of the Chiapas highland Indian communities, the only known exceptions being some of the *273 184 [114] protestant enclaves in Oxchuk and environs (Slocum 1956). While detailed references to drinking performances are scarce, it has been determined that variations on the patterns to be described for Aguacatenango are likely to be found at least in Amatenango (Nash 1960); Cancuc (Guiteras-Holmes 1946); Chamula (Bunzel 1940, Pozas 1959); Chenalhó (Guiteras-Holmes 1961); Huistan (Miller 1958); Oxchuc (Castro 1959, 1962; Siverts 1960; Slocum 1956; Villa-Rojas 1946); Tenejapa (Metzger and Williams 1963);

273* 184 Tzinacantan (Laughlin 1962). Many more of the Indian communities could be added to this list.

273* 171 In a more general way, the drinking patterns found in Chiapas highlands are observed throughout much of the aboriginal new world. Thus Cooper (1946: 544) says:

> In some regions, particularly the Andean and parts of the forested lowlands, fermented beverages are drunk as a common everyday beverage. Most of the drinking, however, throughout the great brewing area of the West Indies, Middle America and continental South America is in connection with drinking sprees, of a social and/or magicoreligious nature in which groups participate. These drinking bouts are main or attendant features of gatherings of all kinds, especially in connection with hunting, fishing, harvesting, and other food-getting activities, with visiting and hospitality to guests, with war, victory, and peacetime councils, with births, naming, initiations, weddings, and funerals, and with magico-religious festivals, rites, and celebrations--the specific occasions differing from tribe to tribe and from area to area. The sprees may last from a few hours up to many days, usually until all the available liquid is exhausted. The participants imbibe until they reach various stages of intoxication, from mild tipsiness to complete alcoholic coma. Among nearly all people on whom we have information, the bouts are accompanied by and end in the airing of grudges and hurling of insults, which lead to quarrels and fighting, more or less violent and not uncommonly fatal. Sex intrigues and orgies are equally common accompaniments.

121 273* While some of the general characteristics of drinking are known for the New World, detailed ethnographic descriptions are rather rare, causing Cooper (1946), Heath (1962), Simmons (1962), and Washburne (1961), among others, to suggest that more attention needs to be paid to this type of study. The descriptions of drinking performances which have been published on the aboriginal populations of the New World are perceptive if overly brief.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER V

SUMMING THE MATTER UP

273* 554 There are basically two patterns of drinking among the Aguacatenangueros. The first of these we may define as the internally complex unit ± ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking (but at least one of these). The second of these we will define as intermittent non-cumulative drinking--that is, drinking performances which do not lead to deep drunkenness. These two patterns of drinking performances are associated with large classes of the population. The ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking pattern is expressed by married males. The intermittent non-cumulative drinking pattern is expressed by all other persons (unmarried males and all females).[1] When individuals drink, they are constrained to express one pattern or the other as is congruent with their role. By drinking in a particular way, an individual certifies his membership in a particular role class.

273* 591 885 Adult males (equivalent to males married at least once) drink within the limitations of the ceremonial drinking ± in-

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[184] [171] [1]This particular contrast is not general to all Tzeltal-Tzotzil speakers in the Chiapas highlands.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

there is no other woman in the house. (c) Number of men in the family. If there are productively employed men, women of the household tend to make less pottery, since they are busy cooking and washing and have their basic subsistence needs supplied. Pottery is then produced to supply cash for fiestas only. Widows make a great deal of pottery since they must either hire men to work in the milpa or buy corn.

2. Wealth of the family: Relatively wealthy families make almost no pottery. In other cases, the scheduling of production is related to consumption needs. Figure 2 charts the pottery production by type of item produced for a family which included two unmarried women, their mother, father, and grandmother. The peaks in production occur just before the major fiestas when the family wants additional money to buy meat, fruits, and clothing. Although this family produced more pottery than the majority of households because of the presence of four women, its production typifies the high periods of activity relating to the fiestas. Production is also related to the seasonal changes: during the rainy season (from June to October) many households curtail production, except to earn money for the fiesta of Santiago (July 25), because of the difficulty of firing without closed kilns.

Variation in production means that an overall estimate of income from pottery cannot be made. It ranges from none to nearly 90 percent of family income in the case of widows without land or male helpers. I would guess that an average family might earn 200 pesos a year, about 10 to 15 percent of the money value of crops. One family of two widows and five children who work constantly throughout the year averages an income of about 600 pesos, or about one-half what an agriculturist can make on one-half hectare of land.

The Motivation to Produce

The motivation to work is tied directly to consumption needs of the household. Failure to meet expenditures with income from agriculture and pottery is met by men hiring out as agricultural workers or as laborers in the sawmill. This alternative is chosen over that of increasing the size

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle
Mexico NU1

tional economy and polity at a more rapid pace than has ever occurred in the past. Typical of this new movement is the recently established ejido of Brindis, formed by a core of landless Indians from the town working with acculturated Indians from Teopisca. Whether the political unity which has developed in the course of establishing their claim to the land will continue to provide a base for community development will depend on the encouragement and support by national institutions.

Within Indian communities of highland Chiapas, the ejido program has weakened age-authority principles in the family and in the civil hierarchy (Day n.d., Edel n.d.). Sons are no longer primarily dependent on their fathers for acquiring economic independence. Ejido Commission leaders have broken the monopoly of power by a gerontocracy of principales. Outside of the community, however, the political and economic potential of the ejido has not yet been fully realized. As the new ejidos such as Brindis develop, they may break the old community boundaries that contained and limited the power of the ejidatarios. With rising literacy, many Indians now read the *Codigo Agraria* sold in neighboring markets, and they are increasingly conscious of their rights. If unity across township boundaries could be achieved, the new ejidos might become an effective political force in regional and national spheres.

Wage Labor and Occupational Specialties

The agriculturalists of the community do work as both exchange and paid laborers in the following forms: reciprocal exchange, part time labor and part-time independent agricultural work, and forestry.[1] Wage work is considered only a supplement to independent self-employment for all but twenty agricultural employees who work full-time on a finca within the township.

Payments for agricultural labor within the community are lower than the prevailing rate outside of the town and are higher in the fincas of hot country than in the highlands. When men work on the fincas of landowners in the neighboring township, they prefer payment by the task (*tarea*) rather than by the day, since they can usually complete two tareas by

1. See Richard N. Adams (1964:48) for a discussion of the forms of rural labor.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

776 539 177 *"Is there food for it?" asked his mother.*

"I am going to plant a milpa to feed the little pig. You stay here and watch the little pig and I will go."

"Yes, I will care for it," said his mother.

K'ol went to plant his milpa. As he was leaving, he said to his mother, "I will return in the afternoon."

His mother said, "I shall await you in the afternoon."

When K'ol returned, his mother asked, "How is your milpa?"

He replied, "It isn't ready. Tomorrow I am going to burn it because it is just a forest."

The next day, K'ol returned to his milpa. Everything he had cut had grown back in his milpa. He asked himself, "How did it spring up? I am going to wait and see who is causing the trouble." He waited and saw a bird entering the milpa. The bird said, "I don't want to have the woods burned!"

K'ol said, "I am going to start the fire."

He started the fire, and then he said, "I am going to where the day meets the heaven." He picked up the fire of his milpa, saying, "My brother does not know how to walk. I am going to walk around and return."

Now the day walks in front and the night walks behind.[2]

The story has an aftermath which describes the continuing relationship between the Lord Sun, K'ol, and his mother, Our Grandmother the Moon.

The Lord Sun sees all of our sins and puts them in a book. If anyone has sexual relations in the milpa, he puts it down. When he sees this, he gets angry because he walks alone. He wants to end the world since he does not endure our sins. But Our Grandmother the Moon does not want

[184] 2. There are other versions of this story in neighboring Tzeltal-speaking communities. Castro (1959:24-31) gives an Oxchuk version in which the identification of the three brothers with the Christian Trinity is not made. Šut, the vocative term used in the Tzo'-ontahal version, is given as the name of the youngest brother, who succeeded in giving a new sun to the world. But in outwitting his brothers with the honey, Šut killed them rather than turning them into pigs. A Chol version (Whittaker and Warkentin 1965) is closer to that of Oxchuk. [171]

554 the status. Community integration is achieved at the expense of limiting the range of roles through restricted recruitment and validating mechanisms.

621 794 [182] *Alternation and linkage in office-holding.* The principle of alternation between civil and religious posts serves to integrate these officers in a single functioning system and prevents the development of segmented groups. The alternation of offices between sides of the dual divisions helps to integrate the village by pairing or alternating them in the same office. Some roles served as links between the institutional domaines. Principales are the primary symbolic leaders of both hierarchies since they are chosen from among men who have completed service in both hierarchies. The alfereces formerly symbolized the unity of the civil and religious branches in the transfer of banners from the cabildo to the church and in other ceremonial duties.

621 624 794 [692] [84] The regidores and judges have remained identified with the civil authority in Tzoʔontahal, although in other towns in the area they have become almost exclusively identified with the religious hierarchy (Cancian 1965). The regidores were formerly involved in religious affairs during the household celebration for the installation of the new alférez. At this time they were called personaetik from the Spanish term persona, or personage.

731 756 178 621 Events requiring community action reveal some of the links which unite officials who play roles in different institutional settings. On the occasion of an epidemic, curers are called before the civil authority to "give an account" of who is causing the witchcraft. Formerly the curers were linked to the civil hierarchy by a system of social control in which the principales, as elders, reviewed their actions in guarding the safety and health of the community. This system of checks and balance has been broken by the shift in power from the principales to the president.

794 621 182 The nakawanehetik provide the links between the household and the civil and religious hierarchies. They transmit the knowledge of ritual prayer and acts and officiate at the inauguration of officials. They serve as stage directors in maintaining the traditional household rituals and in ensuring continuity in public ceremonials.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AT THE VILLAGE LEVEL

Introduction

128 For the purpose of describing the social structure of the two communities compared on this paper, they will be treated at two levels. The level of the macro-structure contains the total community and the community territorial divisions (the barrios); the micro-structural level contains the household, the descent groups, and the informal territorial groupings or neighborhoods.

[621] [184] The main justification for this division of the material is that the macro-structure of the two communities is extremely similar, and there will be very few axes of contrasting comparisons to be found at this level, while the micro-structure is the level at which the most important differences between the two communities discussed in this paper are found.

A second justification is that the definition of roles at one level is separated from the definition of roles at the other level.

128 571 The roles at the macro-structure level are role dyads which include, on the one hand, the individual in the role of a community member, and on the other, any person representing the community at large. The roles at the micro-structure level are

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

621 The communal offices of the Ayuntamiento[48] and Mayordomías
623 form a hierarchical age-grade system, with a partially compulsory
794 sequence of cargos (literally burdens, although it can best be
561 translated as offices) which end in the cargo of Principal, who is a member of the community council of elders.

561 The age-grade system does not have corporate groups of the age-set type common in East Africa. The system only places the individual in relation to others who are higher or lower than him in the hierarchy. People belonging to the same level of the hierarchy do not act as a group, nor do they develop special relations with each other.

•184 The name and number of officerships differ everywhere in
621 the Chiapas highlands from village to village. Larger towns have
794 a larger number of governmental posts within the hierarchy; in some towns the Church organization is more elaborate (perhaps because it was originally a curato head town, or had a convento in the village), the Mayordomías and Cofradías (religious brotherhoods which carry on some fiesta celebrations) have a larger membership, a more elaborate ritual and carry on a larger number of fiestas, while in other villages the Mayordomías have a secondary role with respect to the civil government. This is not the place to discuss the historical and functional reasons for this extensive variation, which would take a study in its own right, but the important thing is that although the form varies, the basic system of hierarchically graded officerships stays the same in all the Chiapas highlands, including Amatenango and Aguacatenango (see Zabala, 1961 and Figs. 2 and 3).

621 Moreover, he can more easily 54
624 fulfill these requisites if he had been able in his lifetime to
554 become the jural head of a large and united extended family, be-
596 cause, given the fact that he should be able to control the opinions and actions of many villagers, it is his personal power with other individuals which supports his position as principal, and not the reverse.

621 Town officials, although they are selected by the previous
[623] officers and approved by the principales, have to be ratified in their positions by all the household heads in a public meeting. The different qualifications of some men for the higher posts creates some disparity in the number of cargos held by a particular individual, but the differences are never enough to say that political power is differentially distributed. The following table and figure show the distribution of officerships by age group, in a random sample of married men in Aguacatenango, and it confirms the idea that the villagers themselves have about their access to political officership: any normal, married man with more than one child is capable of achieving, in a hierarchical order, several political posts.[1]

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[184] [1]This system is in contrast with other villages in the area. In the very large communities with paraje type settlements (a nucleated village which functions as a ceremonial and political center surrounded by dispersed hamlets) such as Tenejapa or Zinacantan, although the number of offices is tremendously increased, the population is so large that only a few men from each paraje pass the cargos, and the ideal of every man participating in the hierarchy of power is never attained. In those cases, only the richer obtain office, and the "democratic" aspects of the system are less noticeable. It could be that an egalitarian political organization can only be maintained when the population size is limited, and that a large social group with a centralized organization "needs" differential power distribution, or, rather, cannot avoid the differential distribution of political power among the population groups.

462 distribute their work so that while one takes care of the regular
323 home tasks: cooking, caring for the young, cleaning, etc., the
438 other can occupy herself in gathering clay, coiling or modeling. Most steps in the production of pots are arranged in an "assembly line" style, with the women distributing their individual work according to the needs of the stage of the productive activity. Some of these steps, such as firing, require their close and alert cooperation to be carried on successfully. Pottery production
[434] represents about half of the income of each independent household, with some slight variation, because households richer in land produce less pots than poorer ones.

Comparison

433 Pottery production in the hands of the women shapes the
184 economic landscape of Amatenango very differently than the one of
241 Aguacatenango. In the first place, agriculture is a business where
433 the risks are high and the profits unstable. The agricultural production of the villages depends on many uncontrollable factors. Too little rain or too much, too early rain or too late, worm pests or wild animals, can ruin the year's crop. The villagers try to insure the risks of a bad year by planting in as many different types of fields as they can. They plant in the hot country where the crops mature fast, and in the high, cold country where the maturation process is slow but the corn, of a hardier variety, is more resistant to weather conditions. They plant irrigated land to insure water if rain is missing, and in <u>temporal</u> to insure against the drying up of the sources of irrigated water. But even

241 433 then, each season is a question mark, an equally unpredictable year of plenty or a lean year.

184 323 241 433 434 In Amatenango, when the crop fails or is poor, the income of the villagers can be compensated by producing more pottery. This is obviously not so in Aguacatenango. If hunger threatens the families, the result is a higher migration rate or an increase 184 166 464 731 in the number of men leaving town to work part-time in the fincas. The result of having an alternative form of income within the 184 434 621 homestead in Amatenango is that the village keeps its income more balanced year after year, and that the village as a whole has a reputation of being richer than the other communities.

184 434 462 562 In Aguacatenango, the women are an economic burden. The men are very aware that they themselves "do all the work." Women have long and leisurely afternoons which are spent sitting on their porches grooming, chatting, or visiting. Men complain of this, saying "Women cannot realize how hard a man has to work. They complain of not having this or that, but they do not know. . . ." In Amatenango, on the contrary, women are important producers, men and women sharing, equally, the responsibility of supporting their families.

Thus, in the one case, Aguacatenango, the work of women has a marginal, undeterminate value in an economic milieu in which they have no cultural alternatives to convert their labor into goods or subsistence necessities; in the other case, Amatenango, the labor input of women represents about half of the total productive efforts of the villagers.

184 562 462 434 This contrasting economic picture has many effects in the structuring of social relations because it places the women of the two villages in very different positions with respect to their male relatives, and at crucial points in the life of an individual, determines, to a large extent, his choice of alternative behavior.

It is important to make clear that I am not suggesting that economic factors are the determinant of all social life. The specialization of Amatenango in pottery making is not only an economic, but a social and historical phenomenon as well. The basic economic organization of the villages of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is treated here as a given cultural factor. There is nothing in the ecology of Aguacatenango or Amatenango, or in the economic system itself, that "requires" that the women of the one village should be marginal producers while the women in the other are not.[1] This is a given fact. The factors that determined the present division of labor in the villages are not known to me, and I do not pretend that it is due to some primary economic cause.

128 But, if I take the division of labor and the economic structure of the village as given variables, then I can ask myself to what extent it is followed by adjustments in other cultural norms. It is here where my problem lies.

I am going to attempt to describe, in the rest of this work, how, and under what circumstances, certain social choices which have become normative are related to the economic life of

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[1]Some of the clay deposits are located in Aguacatenango territory. But, Aguacatecos do not exploit them.

[BM]

601 In Aguacatenango, where the distinction between collaterals and lineals is implicit in the terminology, non-kinsmen are usually addressed by the collateral terms, thus indicating distance between lineal relatives and others.

The terminological system is so widely applied that there is no possibility of separating the range of kinsmen from non-kinsmen by observing only terminological usages. The only way to make the distinction is: (1) to observe the particular behavior of Ego towards others; (2) to ask each particular Ego whom, among those which he addresses with kin terms, he considers genealogically connected with him. This any Ego is able to do. So therefore, although the terminology used suggests that kinship is not the main differentiation, in terms of other behavior the distinction is clearly specified.

The use of affinal terms is presently restricted to parents and children-in-law, and the others are merged with the consanguineal terms. Even then, if the relationship between in-laws is affectionate and they live in the same household or in close proximity, they address each other with the consanguineal terms.

• 184 601 Although the terminology in the two villages is practically identical, the Amatenango kinship usages suggest a more emphatic bilateral-generation systematization of kinship terms for both kin and non-kin. I can suggest that the relationships established in the household (core of the kin group) in Amatenango, are consistent with more emphasis in bilaterality, while in Aguacatenango, where the basic kinship relations of the individual are lineal

184 60 ones, the terminology consistently emphasizes the distinction between direct and collateral relatives. In that sense, and only in that sense, the terminology usage reflects the consistency between the linguistic realm and the non-linguistic behavior realms, a consistency which has been assumed by many anthropologists to be axiomatic.

561 562 **The Ordering of Social Relations**

In both communities relative age and sex are important in the structuring of social relations within the household and throughout the community. The exact chronological age of an individual is often unknown, but his relative age, with respect to siblings, cousins, relatives and other people who live close by, is always known. Any two individuals can always place each other in terms of seniority or order of birth.

561 Children are classified as those who are still at the mother's breast and cannot walk (husul 'it), small walking children (kosh kerem), pre-adolescents (hc' iel), and adolescents of marriageable age (tek' el). Married men are distinguished by whether they have children, by whether they have or do not have an independent household, and by the number of cargos they have passed in the government. Mature men are classified as still being active in the civil-religious hierarchy or as being pasados. Pasados are separated into those who are just old (mamal) and those who are principales.

858 Little babies and small children are not always counted as part of the household because they die so easily. They can have their souls "stolen" by other children who are still in their

883 (gang), containing males from the age of about twelve to the time
562 they marry. They usually sleep together in one of the escuadrilla
573 member's house corridor, and spend long nights playing the harmonica, having corn eating competitions or serenading.

562 A man is not considered a full-fledged community member
885 until he marries and has a child (the word for man and father
851 have the same root: tat), which allows him to take the lower
601 post in the government (policía). The government itself is an
621 age-graded organization in which the kinship terms of elder and
621 younger brother are used reciprocally, and by extension, by of-
561 ficers in lower and higher posts.
601

562 With the passing of time, both men and women increase their
593 status by raising a family and by passing to higher positions in
621 the civil-religious hierarchy. Although women do not participate
794 directly in the government, they have some duties as officer's wives (e.g., ironing the Saint's clothes if their husbands are Mayordomos), and they are called by their husband's titles. A man may resign from office if his wife dies and there is no other adult woman in the household who can take care of her part of the officer's performance.

184 The first noticeable difference in the ordering of social
562 relations in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women
592 in the domestic group.

184 In Aguacatenango, the eldest male is the head of the
562 household. He controls the land which the men of the household
462 work, the cattle, the labor of the household members and most of
592 the money obtained through the sale of surplus corn (which is

184 used as a cash crop) or livestock. He decides when and where to
562 plant what, who should buy or sell any household property, when
462 to go to market, etc. If a son is living with his father, he
592 can talk about "our cow," but he is usually referring to his
592 father's animal. In the same way, when a woman who is single
593 talks about "our maize," she is referring to the maize cultivated
562 by her father and brothers and stored by her mother. If she is
married, she means the maize produced by her father-in-law and
husband, and controlled by her mother-in-law.

The eldest woman in the household has authority over the
592 younger females residing within it, including the daughter-in-
593 law, because during the period in which a married man resides with
562 his parents, the wife, being the younger, is under the direct
[606] authority of her husband's mother. The elder woman controls the
[251] food given to her by her husband and son, and she keeps it stored
in the tapanco (roof granary). She selects the food for the
meals, and sets up the housekeeping schedule for the younger
women in the homestead.

Women "keep" the money that their husbands earn at home.
592 They are supposed to save it, and not spend any of it without the
593 husband's permission. They do control small amounts of cash
434 which they can obtain by selling eggs, fruits or some vegetables
562 that they grow in the garden. They are allowed to spend it on
some luxuries: new clothes for a fiesta, a new pot, or something
similar, but they are not expected to take care of themselves.
59 Before marriage, a woman is supported by her father and brothers,
562 and lives under her father's roof. After marriage, she is

592
593
562 her before making important decisions, and allow her to handle
421 some of the household property, such as the selling of pigs.

562 But even under the best conditions, the position of a
593 woman is de facto lower than the position of men. If her husband gets drunk and beats her up, she is not supposed to complain, but accept it as part of her role. One of our informants said that once she scolded her husband for drinking, and he said: "I am not
593 asking you for the money." If he is unfaithful, she has no real
586 way of controlling his behavior except by leaving his house, run-
837 ning away to San Cristóbal to work for a few days as a servant or breaking up the marriage.

184 In Amatenango, the pottery making village, the situation
562 is quite different. First, women are economically independent,
434 being able to make a living without a male in the household.
592 Second, they control the profits made by the household from the
421 sale of pottery and from the sale of cash crops such as chayotes which they plant in their gardens. In many cases, they own the house in which they live with their husband and children. They contribute as much as their male siblings to the support of the whole domestic group while they were living in their family's home, and it is possible for them to inherit both land and cattle, a fact which reinforces the equivalent standing between women and their male siblings.

184 Adultery in Amatenango has strong reactive sanctions for
593 both men and women, and a "wife is considered within her rights to
[837] order an erring husband out of the house." "Women do not tolerate

184 "Women do not tolerate
593 beating by their husbands, and they frequently seek justice in
692 the local court if this occurs" (Nash, J., 1960:34).

184 In sum, Aguacatenango women have a dependent role all of
562 their lives, while Amatenango women enjoy a freer and more autonomous life. The people of Aguacatenango say that la mujer se debe a su marido y sus criaturas (a woman is indebted, or bound to obey, her husband and her children), while in Amatenango people believe that women are la fuerza en la casa (the authority or power in the home) (Nash, J., 1960:29). This set of contrasting statements sums up, from their own point of view, the different conceptions of the woman's role and position in the domestic group.

184 The second difference between Amatenango and Aguacatenango
592 is the criteria employed in both places for the recruitment of household personnel. Membership in a household implies both (1) a kinship connection with a sponsor who lives in the unit, and (2) economic interdependency.

Membership in a household changes for the individual at crucial times in his life, and changes in age and marital status give a person the right to attach himself or herself to a particular domestic group. An analysis of residence patterns of the two villages shows how, during the developmental cycle of the household, it changes membership and how particular individuals, according to their age, sex, marital status, kinship connection and economic role, are recruited into the unit.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VI

THE HOUSEHOLD

Definition

184 591 The life of the people of Amatenango and Aguacatenango can be seen as extending in overlapping circles which have a social as well as spatial dimension.

592 The most important of these circles is the domestic group. The domestic group, or independent household, is the basic unit of the social organization, and is the core of the economic, political, and moral life of the villager.

The households are economically independent units, the basic unit that controls production and consumption for the village, and therefore, the primary unit for the recruitment of labor. It is within the household that young community members are socialized. It is the place where adults find the primary focus of social activity and interaction, their most enduring and important emotional ties, and the center of their cultural values. As a child, a person learns work from the other people of the same sex who live in his domestic unit. As an adult, he shares with them his labor, his wealth, his worries and his moments of pleasure. In a sense, all that is important for the individual in his lifetime is centered in his household. There, most of his

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

	Number - Per Cent
184 342 343 Walls made of mud	93-77
wood planks (teiamanil)	11-9
palm	9-7
mud and wood	3-2.5
cane and palm	1-1.1
cane	2-2.3
mud and palm	1-1.1

Steam bath--20.
Of 121 buildings, 25 were painted white.

Building with corridor	65-80
Building without corridor	16-20
Kitchen with corridor	7-23
Kitchen without corridor	24-77

Households with more than two buildings distributed as follows: 15-22

unfinished new houses	4
granaries	6
saint's houses	2
storage room for pots	1
bedroom	1
empty	1

Roofs made of material other than palm (tile)--4
Pig pens--in all houses in sample
Chicken coops--46
Forty-five per cent of households have the kitchen built separate from the main building

Fig. 12.--House types in Aguacatenango

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

TABLE 5

HOUSE TYPES IN AMATENANGO[a]

•184
342

Type	Cases	Per Cent
Roof		
Tile	1	1
Shingle	28	24
Thatch	87	75
Wall		
Wattle-and-daub	97	84
Rough Boards	19	16

[a]After Nash, J.: 1959.

342 Houses are a part of the family. They are considered as being alive (they grow old, just as people do) and watching the behavior of humans, toward whom they are somewhat unfriendly. If they are displeased with the behavior of the inhabitants, they can bring nightmares to the adults, death to the children and other misfortunes. Calixta Guiteras-Holmes (1960) has suggested that houses are ideologically connected with the earth, whom one has to please if crops are going to grow steadily, and to the monte (forested hills), where the wood for its construction is gathered. [N/8] Thus, because the monte is the residence of the evil spirits, enemies of mankind, the house is a projection of this malevolent world.

342 753 571 578 Even more significant is the house ritual connected with the sickness of a person who lives in it. It is significant

592 764 People are buried in the cemetery according to the place in which they resided in life. The burial grounds are a small spatial replica of the town itself, the clusters of tombs representing clusters of households of the living.

592 241 184 The agricultural ritual, which in other villages in Chiapas is performed by specialists (rain makers, principales and cabildos de milpa), is in both Amatenango and Aguacatenango, a household affair. It consists of a small ceremony performed in the milpa at planting and harvesting time by the men who have worked the land together, and consists of the lighting of candles and the burning of incense.

592 The household is the stage where the drama of an individual's life is performed, and therefore where a person lives is very crucial.

Household Membership

The placement of a person in a particular homestead is determined by two factors: (1) the domestic unit is composed of a kinship group and (2) it is the basic unit of production, and of the recruitment of labor. Thus, each individual is placed in a particular household both as a kinsman and as a producer. The two factors are not seen as separate by the villager. The role of a person as a kinsman and the role of a person as a producer are intimately related, but one can express a choice as belonging to the kinship and economic domains, simultaneously, or as belonging alternately to one or the other.

In Amatenango and Aguacatenango, there are two types of households which represent different stages in the development of

592 independent domestic groups: nuclear and compound households. The nuclear household is composed of a nuclear family: a man, his wife and their unmarried children. The compound household is made up of two or more nuclear families, or one nuclear family and the remnants of other nuclear households.

184 592 The characteristic type of residential unit in both communities is the nuclear household because it is the most frequent residential arrangement in terms of total frequencies (70 per cent in Aguacatenango and 72 per cent in Amatenango; the difference in percentage between the two communities is not statistically significant).

121 591 The Method for the Analysis of Residence

Murdock's book, Social Structure (1949), opened a new road for students interested in the problem of residence taxonomy because, although it was an outstanding contribution to the field, the work obviously suffered from the ambiguity of the residence data presented in the anthropological reports on which it was based. The classification of residence types, as utilized in the past, was shown to be defective for the purposes of modern research. The terminology of the field was too all-embracing, ambiguous in meaning, and diffuse in application. Murdock himself was well aware of this problem, and suggested a preliminary revision of the terminology (Murdock, 1949:16-18), but the subject of residence types came under suspicion.

As a result of the controversies aroused by the subject, Murdock (1955) wrote an article wherein he pointed out the

591 the head of the household, it is likely that the younger couple
592 will move to another house after the temporary service period. If a couple has a married daughter or son living in the house, they will not insist, when a second child marries, that the first couple remain in the unit. Apparently, the most efficient work group is a dyad, both for agricultural work and pottery making
[428] (see below). The last child whether male or female will stay in the home and inherit it after the parents' death. It is unlike
[184] Aguacatenango where the rule is that only a male child inherits the house.

591 The choice of which parents' household should be the residence of a new couple requires a separate decision for each particular case. The factors that determine the choice are (1) the economic condition of the parents of each spouse; (2) the presence or absence of other children in each spouse's family of orientation; and (3) the age of the couple.

"A new couple will take up residence quarters with the
[556] parents who are economically better off, with more land and cattle"
[693] (Nash, J., 1960:45). The second factor is related to the fact that
[592] if a couple has married children living in the house who can help with the agricultural work and the making of pottery, they are not as anxious to keep their other children as members of the household labor force. The third factor is a personal, rather than a
[582] standard, choice, because if a bride is very young at the time of marriage, "her mother may prevail upon the couple to stay in her home until later, even if the boy is working with his father and is to inherit his homestead" (Nash, J., 1960:45).

423 593 The reasons for keeping a son are not as pressing as the [432] reasons for keeping a daughter. Amatenango land holdings are [184] somewhat smaller than Aguacatenango, and the buying and selling of agricultural parcels, as long as it does not involve outsiders to the village, is a common practice which accounts for approximately 16 per cent of land transactions. The

423 241 592 464 limited land holding units in Amatenango require minimal cooperation in agriculture. Because of fractured land holdings, fewer than one-half of the households have two tablones . . . of land. Therefore, fewer than one-half the households can keep more than one man actively employed. Even in those households with from two to five tablones, a man and his adult son are sufficient labor for most activities except harvest. 592 323 434 868 [582] [178] Women's pottery production, however, requires frequent cooperation. Two tendencies are reinforcing the cooperation of women, especially of mothers and daughters: (1) with increasing need for cash income to buy products which are not longer produced in the home, or which have been introduced, money is constantly needed. Pottery offers an easy means of acquiring cash with almost immediate returns, and (2) marriages are currently contracted at a later age for girls than formerly. Before, about a generation ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve were the rule. Most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques begins at that age. Consequently, pottery was taught to the daughter by the mother-in-law if the girl was married and resided in the husband's house. (See Frans [114] Blom and Oliver LaFarge [1927] who commented that all pottery was taught by the mother-in-law.) Most marriages now are contracted for girls from 14 to 17 years of age. At this time they are already proficient potters, and accustomed to working with their mother. Therefore, there is a greater stress put on their remaining in or near their parental home after marriage (Nash, J., 1960:47).[1]

592 868 323 The people of Amatenango recognize that during the period in which a woman learns to make pottery, she establishes particular habits of cooperation and a strong solidarity bond with the woman from whom she learns and with whom she works. "Parents say that there is an advantage in early marriages, in that the girl would be more willing to learn the ways of her mother-in-law if she

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[161] [1]It is also important to notice that with the increase in population over the area, the market has increased.

361 the women do so, and while 63 per cent of the men in the village
591 live in close patrilocal proximity, only 40 per cent of the men
434 in Santa Cruz live near their parents (see Table 16).

Residence of Widows

•184 589 Another striking contrast between Aguacatenango and
591 Amatenango is the position of women, in the latter, as household heads, and their residence after they become widows.

562 First, because in many cases a woman owns the house in
589 which she lives with her husband and children, she is not obliged
434 to move out of the site if her husband dies, as she is in Aguaca-
[423] [768] tenango. Second, she does not need an adult man in the household to be able to support herself and the children because she is able to meet the economic demands of the domestic groups from her
592 own labor in pottery production. The result of women's economic
562 independence is that many of them are the heads of their own
434 households. Out of 280 households, 39 have female heads, and 25
184 do not contain any adult men (the others contain younger sons-in-law). This also means that all corn is bought; there is no income derived from agriculture, but only from pottery sales. In Aguacatenango, where all income derives directly or indirectly from agriculture, this situation is inconceivable: there are no households without men, nor households in which a female is the absolute head of the unit.

The Marriage Transactions and the Household

583 584 In Aguacatenango, a man selects his future spouse and his father arranges the marriage for him. At the ceremonial visits

583 which are exchanged between future parents-in-law, the bride-
584 price or bocado is paid. The bocado is fixed: 300 pesos in goods.

582 Parents try to marry off their daughters within their own
• 184 economic level to provide a similar standard of living for them.
434 They will strongly refuse to give them to a poorer household if they are not very poor themselves. If the household is very poor, the first solution is to marry off the daughters, since they are consumers who do not contribute to the household income. If a poor household cannot find a husband for a daughter within the village, they will even give her to an outsider, for example, to a man from La Palizada. This is viewed as an unfortunate, but inevitable, choice. La Palizada is a settlement in the high, cold
[595] country. It is very poor. A woman marrying into it is viewed with pity because La Palizada men are polygamous and their wives work in the cornfields with them. Of two cases of marriages with La Palizada which we know about (one in the past and another that is contemporary), the only reason given for the marriage was the poverty of the households.

582 If a young man in town insists on marrying the daughter of a couple richer than his own household, they will refuse because
583 "the girl is not used to the hardships." If the girl decides on her own that she likes the man, the usual procedure is elopement at night to the boy's house. In this case, a poor man can get a richer bride without the bride-price, but he does not get any of the economic advantages shared by her family. The girl is cut-off from any social interaction with her family of orientation. Later, if the marriage proves stable, the young deviant couple can attempt

121 previous pages. Homans points out that this ambiguity is neither
593 accidental, nor "natural," but "tends to reappear in societies all over the world in which the family is an important productive unit and the father is the boss" (Homans, 1950:245).

593 The relation son-mother, however, ought to be different
[184] in the two communities. In Aguacatenango, a mother has less and less authority over a son the older he grows. While a man is a child, she controls him without discussion, but as he becomes more and more mature, his role as a man, a superior, makes for conflicting social power. On the one hand the mother is older, and therefore has more authority. Yet on the other hand, she is a female, and therefore the son (a male) has more authority. The balancing of authority between the two cancels it out. A son can, if he wishes, completely alienate himself from his mother. She has not much power to punish or sanction him, no property she can withdraw from him. If he misbehaves, she can only try to advise him or complain to her husband. On the other hand, the absence of authority between the two makes the relationship highly affectionate. If a son stays at home or close-by after marriage, the interaction mother-son is frequent and friendly. In many cases the mother will make a coalition with the son against her husband, defending the younger man. Mothers tend to be very partial towards the judgement of their sons' behavior, and sons obtain what they want from the fathers through their mothers.

In Amatenango, the mother has more economic power over the
[434] son. She can give him cash for extra needs, and he can inherit
[428] land or a house from her, as well as from his father.

128 593 One would expect, then, that the affective distance between mother and son in Amatenango would be larger. It is unfortunate that this hypothesis cannot be tested at the moment. This author does not have available the relevant information to make the comparison reliable.

593 184 There is evidence, nonetheless, that the sibling bond is different.

In Aguacatenango, the important sibling bond after marriage is only between the siblings who have cooperative tasks to carry out in common: brothers. The relationships of brothers with [607] sisters is respectful and distant, and brothers-in-law are not equated, in behavioral terms, with brothers. Sisters, after marriage, have little chance to see each other, except at fiestas, and they become quite alien to each other.

In Amatenango, on the contrary, the sibling bond is multilateral. Sisters and sisters collaborate with each other, brothers with brothers, and siblings of different sex also do so. Moreover, [607] siblings-in-law are equated with siblings, and they form a complex generational set of group relations.

606 184 A final difference in the affective content of role relations within the domestic group is the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law relations.

606 593 184 In Aguacatenango, there is a striking contrast between the relation mother-daughter and the relation daughter-in-law-mother-in-law. We have discussed extensively how antagonistic and asymmetrical it is. Although the mother has authority over the daughter, she plays (has played) a nurturant role for her, which

606 a mother-in-law does not. The affective ties which develop with
184 the nurturant figure are extremely durable, even though they
[593] seldom see each other after the daughter marries.

[868] In Amatenango, perhaps because of early marriages which increase the nurturant aspect of the mother-in-law role (she certainly takes part in the socialization of the daughter-in-law by teaching her how to make pottery), and because of the establishment of a relationship before the younger women had many chances to establish adult affective ties with any woman other than her own mother, the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond is less tense. The women create a strong solidarity bond in their active cooperation in pottery making, and their association is both intense and constant. The result is that "a successful relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is not an authoritarian one, but is rather characterized by mutual cooperation" (Nash, J., 1960:
184 29, 62-67). We can also observe that the residence pattern
591 grants, in Aguacatenango, unconditional power to the mother-in-law,
606 while in Amatenango, where a woman after marriage can reside with
578 her own parents if she dislikes her in-laws, a mother-in-law is made to be more careful about her own behavior towards the younger woman. If she is too harsh, she can find herself with no female help in the house, and losing a son at the same time, which means that the household loses two laborers.

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178 lineage (which exists today in many other communities such as
754 Oxchuc), has disappeared. Without the basic belief in the super-
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613 natural controlling powers of the lineage heads, the ritual activities performed by the lineage as a corporation became meaningless, and fell out of use.

592 Finally, from an economic point of view, the large patriline
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434 household-compound, as a productive unit, is unfunctional, and the
421 characteristic form of the domestic group is now the nuclear house-
578 hold, which also contributes to the weakening of patriline strength. Within the nuclear household, it is difficult for its members to discriminate between the part of the household income that is derived from the household head in his capacity as a worker and that which is from his unmarried sons; between those profits which are derived from the household head as a capitalist who has provided tools and implements, and finally those which come from his capacity as "owner" of land. In a larger household, differences in labor in-put, rivalry between the women about the food controlled by themselves and belonging to their husbands, or between the men about the property rights of the produce derived from their common effort, tend to create conflict and disunity. In the
592
594 nuclear household, the division of labor is explicit, the role ex-
578 actly and minimally distributed, and conflict, in the case of its occurrence, is likely to be more quickly solved because the fission of the nuclear domestic group is equivalent to the disappearance of the household itself.

178 The functions before performed by the lineage are now
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592 performed by the household, the community, or by the neighborhood
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group, composed in Amatenango of bilateral relatives, and in Aguacatenango, mainly of agnatic kinsmen, but also including some affinals and non-related people, because contiguous household-to-household localization is an ideal not always realized (we have discussed previously how in some few cases a son lives in a house given to him by his father, but one block distant from his father's own compound).

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The result of this complex set of variables is that the lineage has lost, in Aguacatenango, some of its characteristic functions. The Amatenango case, to extend the example, shows how, even when (1) patri-virilocality disappears (as a consequence of the women participating actively in the economy), and (2) the status of the sexes with regard to inheritance and rights over property becomes equal, the lineage disappears leaving only small traces of its previous presence: name groups without meaning or function.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

42 43 182 571 184 241 323 434 We can safely arrive at the conclusion that some aspects of the economic system play a very important part in the structuring of social relations in the Chiapas communities. The economic factors which are indicated by the natives themselves and have been assessed by us as being crucial correlates of certain patterns of social behavior are:

(1) The unspecialized agricultural system of one village (Aguacatenango) versus the system of agriculture plus pottery production in the other makes the second one a "richer" town with less wealth fluctuation from year to year.

184 182 462 572 562 434 (2) The relative importance of women as bread-winners and producers in the traditional division of labor in one village (Amatenango), results in the fact that labor of women is crucial for the continuity of the domestic group, whereas in Aguacatenango, it is not. This does not mean that Aguacatenango women do not work. It just means that women's work in Aguacatenango, however exhausting, does not have a market in which it can be sold, and it cannot be transformed into subsistence goods or into money, i.e., it has an undeterminate marginal value. This gives the women in one village (Amatenango) economic independence and a higher status

184 vis-a-vis their husbands and male kinsmen, while in Aguacatenango,
182 it makes them economically dependent, and subordinates from a jural
462 point of view. In one case females inherit as men do, in the
592 other, inheritance follows a male line. In one case, they control
562 the same property as men do, in the other, they control only
434 marginal property.
[428]
[421]

(3) The relative importance of a man is labor versus a
184 woman's labor within the domestic unit affects residence. In
182 Aguacatenango, where all important productive activities are in
462 the hands of men, residence is patri-virilocal, and only males are
434 residence sponsors regularly. In Amatenango, where productive ac-
591 tivities are in the hands of both males and females, residence is
alternately matri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal, and both males
and females can become residence sponsors. In Amatenango, house-
[323] holds that depend more on the women's labor in pottery making are
[241] uxorilocal, while households in which the largest part of the do-
mestic group income is derived from agriculture have post-marital
patri-virilocal residence of their members.

184 In Aguacatenango, where all household income is derived
182 from agriculture and residence is patri-virilocal, matri-uxorilo-
434 cality occurs sporadically due to some other economic and non-
591 economic factors: (a) the inheritance of some land in the female
593 line when a daughter structurally replaces a son; (b) the coopera-
428 tive work between father-in-law-son-in-law when they replace the
562 position of father and son for each other; (c) the payment of
602 curing ceremonies and medicines for a sick married woman by her
606 own kin rather than her husband's.
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184 182 428 593 (4) The reciprocal financial obligations between parents and children in Amatenango, and between parents and sons in Aguacatenango, to support each other at different stages of the developmental cycle of their respective domestic groups affect the rule of ultimogeniture.

184 182 582 591 556 (5) The relative wealth of the natal domestic group of the spouse, measured by the amount of land controlled by the unit affects (a) the choice of marriage partner, and (b) the residence of the newly married couple. In Aguacatenango, where residence is normatively patri-virilocal, parents try to marry their daughters within the same economic level of their own households. In Amatenango, marriages occur across wealth lines, and the couple reside with the parents of the spouse who are better off.

184 182 462 476 593 (6) The relative importance of men versus female cooperative work groups, and/or the difference in structuring of work groups affects (a) the sibling bond; (b) the mother-daughter bond; and (c) the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond.

[606] In Aguacatenango, where only men form cooperative work groups, the brother-brother bond is stronger than the sister-sister bond or the brother-sister bond.

In Amatenango, where both males and females form cooperative [607] work groups, the multilateral sibling bond is reinforced to the point of including siblings-in-law.

184 593 578 571 In Aguacatenango, economic rivalry between siblings tends to disrupt the brother bond with constant conflict. Thus, relationships are more vertically oriented which is consistent with the [613] presence of agnatic descent lines (in Amatenango, generational

184 solidarity is stronger than cross-generational solidarity), but
593 generational conflict tends to disrupt the collateral extension
578 of patriline growth, making every patriline segment a shallow
591 descent group containing few generations in depth, and only few
613 collaterals.

184 (7) Territorial propinquity between households in each
361 village follows the social propinquity established in terms of eco-
592 nomic reciprocity and work interaction. Thus, in Amatenango resi-
476 dence for individuals, interaction between households and the settlement of a neighborhood follow a bilateral pattern, while in Aguacatenango the three follow the male and agnatic line. The type of economic organization, based on the domestic group, correlates with the type of domestic group formed thereof.

184 The domestic group in Aguacatenango, with an internal
59 economy based on the cooperative work of father and son and the
428 transmission of property in the male line, is a kinship unit built
562 around a core of agnatically related males with patri-virilocal residence. Among the Aguacatecos, at least one son of the nuclear family remains in the parents' household after marriage. All other children marry and move out, the sons staying close to the father. In this way, the family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of agnatic order, which extends itself in space as a patrilocally localized agnatic line, and perpetuates itself, in time, through the principle of agnatic ultimogeniture.

The domestic group in Amatenango, with an internal economy based on the cooperative work of both a father and son, a mother

184 59 428 562 and daughter, and the transmission of property in a bilateral fashion, is a kinship unit of the utrolateral type (Goody, 1958: 26) with alternate patri-uxorilocal and patri-virilocal residence.

184 59 592 562 Among the people of Amatenango, at least one child of the nuclear family stays at home after marriage, sons or daughter being equally good choices for the perpetuation of the domestic group. In this way, the Amatenango family continues through time, [428] from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of bilateral order, which extends itself territorially in a bilateral fashion, and perpetuates itself through the principle of ultrolateral ultimogeniture..

184 182 591 592 The structuring of the domestic groups as corporate units of a clearly different order is intimately connected with the rules by which residence sponsors are chosen.

184 591 562 1. In Aguacatenango, male sponsors are always preferred over females, independently of the sex, age, or marital status of the individual, while in Amatenango, where women are economically capable of being residence sponsors, they are selected as such as often as males.

184 591 562 602 2. In Aguacatenango, consanguineal sponsors are preferred over affinals or self (neolocality), except for married women, while in Amatenango, married men prefer affinals as much as married women do, under certain conditions.

184 591 602 3. In both villages, residence with a kinsman is preferred to neolocality, usually a kinsman from whom certain economic rights can be claimed (land, house, etc.).

184 591 602 4. In both villages, among consanguineal sponsors, lineal relatives who have immediate economic duties are preferred as sponsors over collaterals.

5. In Aguacatenango, among consanguineal sponsors, agnatically linked relatives are preferred over non-agnatic relatives, while in Amatenango, any consanguineal relative, a matri- or patrilineal one, is an equally likely choice.

184 591 561 6. In both villages, economic dependency is usually assigned within the parental and the children's generation, rather than within the same generation, the result being that residence sponsors are preferred to be from alternate rather than the same generation, and within the same generation, sponsors are selected in terms of seniority over Ego.

184 591 562 434 7. In both villages, spouses reside together. In Aguacatenango, the residence sponsor is the husband, while in Amatenango, either husband or wife can be sponsors. Males are the only sponsors when they are the only household members responsible for the support of the unit. Women and men are sponsors where both share the economic burden of supporting the household. Women are sponsors when they are the only ones responsible for the economic demands of the domestic group, and when their husbands work with their fathers.

184 591 586 602 8. Unmarried children reside with both parents, and work with the parent of the same sex. If the parents are separated when the children are small, they stay with the mother. In Aguacatenango, if the mother is dead, a patrilineal sponsor other than

184 591 586 602 the father is preferred, while in Amatenango, both paternal and maternal relatives are equally good choices.

184 736 591 434 9. In Aguacatenango, where widows are incapable of supporting the economic demands of the household by themselves, they choose to reside with a male sponsor in another household, while in Amatenango, they can be self-sponsors and the heads of their own domestic groups.

184 621 582 591 10. In both villages, residence within one's barrio is preferred over residence in any other territorial division. In Amatenango, cross-barrio marriages are accompanied by matri-uxorilocal residence as well as patri-virilocal residence, which results in both men and women residing in a barrio other than their own (11 per cent and 16 per cent respectively). This results in Aguacatenango barrios being related only through the circulation of women between them, while in Amatenango, both men and women are transmitted between families across barrio lines, in both directions.

184 621 602 [592] The structuring of economic and residential sponsorship produces two different types of neighborhoods in the two villages. In Aguacatenango, the neighborhood tends to be a cluster of agnatically linked households, while in Amatenango, it is composed [613] of a set of kindred. The barrio in Aguacatenango, then, is a [562] territorial division containing neighborhoods which are localized agnatic groups, which I call localized patrilines, with few non-relatives and bilateral kinsmen enclaved throughout the blocks; a man does not separate from his territory or barrio, nor from his neighborhood, while a woman circulates within neighborhoods after 184 621 591 marriage and even within barrios. In Amatenango, both men and

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621 women tend to stay within the neighborhood in which they are born,
591 or, equally, cross territorial lines at marriage.

121 To be able to derive these simple rules of residence, we
591 had to take into account some aspects of sponsorship which Fischer did not include in his typology. First, Fischer makes the error of assuming that people make residence choices mainly in terms of kinship, and within kinship, in terms of lineage and lineage sponsors.

We have shown that people make residence choices in terms of both kinship links and economic interdependence, and that among kinsmen, unilinearity is not necessarily the basic criterion for
121 choice. Although Fischer's typology can be very useful in analyzing
128 groups in which linearity is strong, such as Aguacatenango, it
602 tends to obscure the analysis of more bilateral groups such as Amatenango.

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602 To make up for this bias in the taxonomy, we had to add
591 three separate criteria for sponsorship: (1) the sex of the
562 sponsor, independently of his lineage affiliation; (2) the generation
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571 of the sponsor; (3) the economic role of the sponsor, independently of his or her sex, and independently of his or her kinship connection with the person being sponsored.

184 At any given time, an individual in Aguacatenango or
591 Amatenango resides in one and only one household, and derives his
592 rights of membership in the unit through kinship or marriage, depending on the importance of his position as a laborer. While in Aguacatenango men derive their membership, as a rule, through descent and women after marriage only through affinality, in

184 Amatenango both men and women derive their rights to reside in
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592 particular homesteads through both marriage or birth, as alternate choices.

592 The economic system in itself is not an independent vari-
591 able. Given its present shape, decisions about where to live,
571 changes in the composition of the domestic group at crucial points
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602 in its development, and the strength of emotional ties between individuals are influenced by it. Most choices which concern the structuring of internal relations within the domestic unit are expressed by the cultural carriers as economic and kinship choices simultaneously, or in other words, as economic choices made within the framework offered by the kinship structure of the domestic unit.

Other factors, however, seem to perform no less important functions. Among these other factors, we have mentioned the following in separate parts of the previous text: (1) the position of the person within the kinship group which forms the core of the household; (2) the number of men and women residing in the unit; (3) the age of the household membership; (4) the temperament and attitudes of the household members with respect to each other; (5) the aspirations of the individual, in terms of the achievement of status, the insurance of positive affection and the need for psychological rewards; and (6) the laws of group interaction.

571 In order of intensity, the economic domain affects (1) the
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621 individual's status within the family; (2) the membership and organization of the domestic group, both in terms of residence choices and the distribution of authority within the unit; (3) the

571 592 621 developmental cycle of the domestic group; (4) the relations of households within a neighborhood and within the more inclusive kinship groups; (5) the relative strength of the patriline versus the bilateral group; (6) the functions of the larger territorial endogamous divisions or barrios; and (7) the total community.

[184] Except for the importance of barrio land tenure in Aguacatenango, and general higher wealth of Amatenango as a whole, the system of production does not seem to affect the structuring of relationships at a level higher than the household and the particular type of rights and duties of members of the extended family of each village.

184 562 The position of women for the village at large is very similar in the two communities. Except for the fact that Amatenango women have the economic power and the legal right to take cases to the Ayuntamiento on their own, neither the women of Aguacatenango nor of Amatenango has rights to political officership, nor to roles outside the domestic domain, which, once more, confirms the anthropological truth that whatever the descent system, or the economic organization, jural authority is ultimately vested in the hands of the males of a society.

182 571 602 Economic factors are not the only factors affecting the interpersonal relations of the villagers. The economic structure is a given historical and cultural fact. Many choices of behavior, which are economic choices in their immediate context, are not so in terms of the long range view of the system. First, the kinship system seems to limit the range of economic alternatives for the individual, independently of the fact that choices

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

184 Within the same cultural frame, two social groups can show many structural diversities which originate from delicate adjustments to internal pressures, even in the case in which, apparently, the variation seems to be the result of influences coming from the external system.

794 754 [177] One example, perhaps, summarizes, by its simplicity, the core of this problem. The post of Alferez, as it functions in the highlands of Chiapas, is an institution that tends to disappear in the more acculturated towns (i.e., those villages more affected by the external system). Although it is a religious post, it does not form part of the Ayuntamiento or Cofradias organization, nor is it part of the hierarchical ladder. A person can become an Alferez independently of his previous service in the government, as long as he can afford the burden financially or "expenses" of the fiesta for which he is selected. "However, in undertaking the post, he is subject to witchcraft exercised by neighbors envious of the wealth he displays in fulfilling his obligation" (Nash, J., 1960:94). Nash reports three informants who considered themselves bewitched as a result of having been Alfereces in Amatenango. In Aguacatenango, the post has not been occupied for the last twenty-five years. People refuse to take the position on the grounds that they cannot afford it, and refuse to "help the pueblo" for fear of witchcraft. One can see that the same internal pressure, the pressure for economic homogeneity, has resulted in the same supernatural rationalization: fear of witchcraft. One of the villages has arrived at the point where the conflict eradicated itself through the disappearance of the post which originates it, while in the other town, Amatenango,

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000 true for more than the specific case studied by them, and it only discusses one set of domains of the family: socialization and its concomitant psychological variables.

It well could be that some societies seem to emphasize structural arrangements in one domain over the others. The more difficult it is for a society to procure the basic biological needs for food, the more the economic domain can be a primary determinant of organization. The more complex a descent system and the more functions it performs in the political and ritual domains (such as the Hopi), the more kinship would tend to be emphasized by the structural arrangements as viewed by the natives themselves. That does not mean that the anthropologists cannot and should not be able to see the concomitant effects of the other domains. A study of any social group has to be, if it is going to contribute anything to our knowledge of human activity and motivations, a multi-variable analysis. A neat analysis based on a single focus of observation may well be an elegant piece of research, and simultaneously, a biased account of human life.

128 •184 I think that my study of two Chiapas villages contributes somewhat to the clarification of several problems which were set forth in the Introduction. (1) It shows, I think conclusively, that social variations in Middle American Indian communities are not only the result of acculturation, but also the result of the delicate internal adjustments of their institutions. (2) It shows 128 591 571 602 that residence is a system of social coalitions to express both kinship and economic interdependency. From the point of view of any one individual and from the point of view of a small group,

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

made explicit in the contrasts they make between their conditions and those of the migratory mestizo laborers who work in the sawmills and fincas in the area. They comment on the fact that these workers have no political representation and that they and their children are illiterate and do not attend school. The significant factor is that the Indians of the corporate communities not only have advantages over the mestizo worker, but they perceive these advantages and are acting in terms of them. The preservation of community traditions is seen as a means of retaining community-owned assets and of maintaining a sense of self which is threatened or destroyed when the individual Indian enters into the national society.

The rules of strategy for moving in the direction of change are a transformation of the rules of the game that the Indians hve played in the four and a half centuries since the Conquest. The overall strategy is still defensive and aimed at preserving local independence, but their tactics include new skills acquired from Ladinos. In opposing the old power elite of the curing hierarchy, the present leadership uses the same tactics of the witch-hunt that their opponents used in the past to punish deviates, but they are beginning to confront them openly when sorcery is suspected. Leaders of the new cooperatives state that their aim is to increase opportunities for the whole community, not to make individual profit.

Because the conflict has been contained within community boundaries, the statement of goals remains the same. These goals include the retention of control by local leaders over judgment of guilt or innocence, in ceremonial affairs, and by all townspeople over land. This retention of local control is the key feature of a moving equilibrium in a model of change that puts the emphasis on continuous adjustments and adaptations. In the usual models for discussing modernization, the confrontation is conceived as one between the indigenous society and the outsider representing western influence. In Tzo'ontahal, young leaders within the community have confronted old in the stated interest of preserving tradition. Occasionally they may make alliances with the old leaders as in the conflict with the priest.

These "shifts in the focus of political power within a given system" (Leach 1964:9) are the prelude to structural change. Tzo'ontahal as a case

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle
Mexico NU1

nic unity extending back to the beginning of time. The people set boundaries by such external symbols as a locally specified costume for men and women, a distinctive dialect of Tzeltal, and specialization in the production of pottery. Implicit boundaries are established by socialization processes that inhibit response to the outside world and that define a code of behavior understandable only in its own context. The completely socialized member of the community is not expected to seek recognition, nor could he find prestige, outside these boundaries. The community comprises the moral universe: cooperation and reciprocity are limited to members of the community, as are most cases of homicide and theft. Lacking concrete evidence, people assume misdeeds to have been committed by someone from the community.

The boundaries that separate these Indians from other Indian communities as well as from non-Indian, or *Ladino*,[1] communities are social artifacts that give a sense of security to members of the in-group. They call themselves "the true men" (*b'atz'il winik*), and their world is defined in "the true word" (*b'atz'il k'op*). The latter is their term for the Tzeltal dialect of Maya which is the language of the house and of the street, the courthouse, and the church in the absence of the Spanish-speaking priest. Tzeltal names differ from Spanish names for most of the surrounding towns, the earth, the heavens, and the cosmological bodies. Catholic saints are incorporated under a Tzeltal name or a Tzeltal version of their Spanish name. All of the members of the community have a Tzeltal patronym in addition to the Spanish surname with which they are baptized. The given name is that of a Spanish saint but is shortened and pronounced with Tzeltal phonemes, and female names have the feminine prefix *I*. Their world is labeled in their own language.

The people assume that their expectations will be met and their projec-

1. The term Ladino has a range of usage throughout Middle America. In Mexico City, people define Ladino as any person who abuses his superior skills to take advantage of others. In Oaxaca, a Zapotec Indian defined Ladino as "an Indian who knows Spanish, has adopted western-style clothing, and takes advantage of other Indians because of his knowledge of the language and ways of life of the non-Indian society. He is like a fox." In Chiapas, the term is applied to any non-Indian without derogatory connotation, and the same is true in Guatemala. In the metalanguage of anthropological monographs, it is used in this latter sense.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

tions of self will find a responsive audience only within these linguistic and physical boundaries. The sense of insulation is a denial of regional and national political institutions in which they interact with the other Indians and Ladinos who are part of their present world and share their history. The town itself is a product of the Spanish colonial *congregación,* which drew together diverse Indian populations that had been scattered in small settlements. The outlying barrios are occupied by Indians who have moved out from the center, as well as foreign Indians who had worked in the *fincas,* or large plantations, within the township. These latter people are referred to by a derisive term, *Kurik,* meaning roughly "country hick." Beyond these, and still within the municipal limits, there are a series of *colonias,* settlements populated by Indians who have moved here from other towns and by *mestizos,* or acculturated Indians. These settlers acquired land in the time of Juarez or later in the Cardenas period. Ladino men are called *Kaštan* and women *Šinlan;* foreigners who do not appear to be of the country are called *Alemán,* the Spanish term for German.

The focus of this book is on the lives and thoughts of people living within the center. The people of Tzoʔontahal live in a square world, surrounded by a round universe. From the square hole, cut in the earth at the center post of their square house to receive the sacrifice of a live chicken when the house is built, stretches a square village (it appears as a rectangle on the map, but they draw it as a square).[2] The fields are measured in squares of twenty-five arms' breadths, with five handspans measuring the square between each plant. Within this square world, they have elaborated techniques for dealing with spiritual and human co-residents in curing rituals, offerings for crops, burial practices, and baptism rites. Their present cultural stock reveals a selective absorption of Spanish colonial features along with twentieth-century innovations. They have techniques for planting and harvesting milpa, marketing the pottery manufactured in all the households, curing an eclipse of the moon, divining causes of illness and curing the maladjusted social relations which cause it, manufacturing and

2. This view of the world as square is shared by Tzeltal and Tzotzil neighbors in Larráinzar (Holland 1963:69), San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:254), and Pinola (Hermitte 1964). The four-direction concept of the village and world noted by Landa (Tozzer 1941:135) suggests a square-space concept.

Chapter 4

Family Authority and Community Control

All residents of the center consider themselves to be "true men" descended from the ancestors who lived in the cave. In Murdock's terminology (1965:63), the Indian community constitutes a *deme*, or local group of genealogically related residents who cannot trace the exact kinship tie. This sense of kinship sustains a model of paternal authority for assigning positions of power and prestige in the wider community. The key to persistence of the Indians as a culturally distinct population lies in these age-ordered hierarchies sanctioned by the ancestors and the elders who act as their intermediaries. The reward for remaining within the social control system is security and the right to their guardianship; the sanction against violating the norms is exile or exposure to the evil spirits they hold at bay.

The bilateral extension of age-relative collateral terms to all members of the same side of the dual division is a successful adaptation of the kinship model to the government of a compact nucleated community. The system of terminology is similar to that of the neighboring nucleated settlement of Aguacatenango which shares many of the same features of behavior (Hunt n.d., Metzger in Romney 1967:231). These systems are closer to those of the Coatlan Mixe (Merrifield and Hoogshagen 1961) and the Chinantec of Palantla (Merrifield 1959) than they are to the nearby Tzeltal-speaking communities of Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes 1947) and Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947). In the case of the Mixe and Chinantec, the strong emphasis on relative age is correlated with age-graded positions in the political-religious hierarchy (Merrifield 1959, Merrifield and Hoogshagen 1961:225).[1] The lineage-clan pattern found in the vacant center, or *paraje*,

1. In the Coatlán, Oaxaca case of Mixe Indians cited by Merrifield and Hoogshagen (1961) they state that the classificatory terms utilizing the criteria of age relative to ego

3. Categories of role-bearers sit and act together in all the domains. 571
In the home the me?eletik, the nakawanehetik, and the b'alnialetik have 554
established seats and act in concert. Similarly in the cabildo, four ranks 576
of officials, the principales, judges, regidores, and police, move and act together. In the church, elder and younger mayordomos move in pairs of two.

4. Sexual segregation is present in the home, the church, and the 562
cabildo, but is lacking in the school. This rejection of the community 871
standard for a group situation was the basis for some parents holding 177
their children out of school until coerced by the federal authorities 178
backed by the local officials.

5. Attendance in all domains involves coercion as well as voluntary action. Coercion is most marked in the school, but resistance by the parents to forced attendance and mixing of the sexes is fast wearing down in this domain. In the cabildo, the defendant is required to attend the court hearing and may even be jailed if he does not pay the fines charged against him. Coercion is covert in the home; the lack of alternative housing arrangements makes residence in the household of orientation or of procreation mandatory.

6. Sacred symbols are present in all the domains. The symbols of the cabildo and of the school relate the community to the nation with the national flags and the portraits of the president. The canes of [293]
office which are assumed as each official acquires office are symbols of local authority. The universalistic symbols of the church—the saints im- 778
ages, portraits, and banners—are acquired from Catholic orthodoxy, but 177
have been encapsulated with local sentiments and beliefs. Sacred symbols 178
are treated with respect and avoidance, both in the church and the home. 788
The "holy cross" or banners are touched only with sacred embroidered cloths binding the hands of those who carry them. Saints' images are kissed, but as a mark of respect, not intimacy. The Mexican flag, with 186
which less awe is associated, is saluted.

Each of the domains provides a setting for the recognition and valida- 621
tion of authority figures in the community. Values which are communally 177
shared or imposed from outside are formally instilled in these settings. Ex- 178

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578 small; you will leave having paid five or ten pesos. You will forgive each other. If the misdeed is large, then you will give twenty-five or thirty pesos as your fine, so that we can give something to him who has been injured by you. We will cure him, so that he gets well, so that he may not die. Then he also will give pardon. But if we do not cure him, if we do not give medicine to the one you have hit, then you will quarrel, then his heart will be angered. Because here we have two kinds of misdeeds. He who is evil will do [754] witchcraft. He who does not know witchcraft will give pardon. But he who is evil if he sends sickness to you, then if you get sick, if you die, it is because you did not obey the commandment.

I say this because I am a principal, I am a father [of the town]. I advise you so that the town will go forth in happiness, and in happiness we will increase in our gatherings in the town. But if you are evil, we will not increase, our children will not grow, because there are evil people, there is sickness, there is death from him who knows witchcraft. He who does not know it uses bullets and will kill you that way. Why? Because you sent sickness. So I speak to you thus. Happy, in peace, do not quarrel. It is better.

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[754] The important aspect of witchcraft as a sanctioning procedure is in relation to the distribution of wealth in the community.

A man can accumulate a certain amount of money as long as [454] he is willing to share it with others and spend it in culturally accepted ways, such as buying cohetes for a fiesta, giving a house party for the Saint in the house altar and inviting many [186] villagers, etc. But he cannot simply save it without being accused of miserliness; spend it all in building too large or too different a house without being accused of being embarrassed of his Indianess (of which he should be proud); nor can he invest in businesses which are not the traditional economic activities of the Indian without the fierce criticism of his fellow villagers. There is, then, a top limit to the accumulation of wealth imposed not only by the environmental and technological factors, but by

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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TABLE 1—DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY MUNICIPALITIES
(Census of 1950)

Municipalities	Area in sq. km.	Tzeltal-speakers	Spanish-speakers	Total Population
North Zone:				
Sitala	550	5,435	1,385	6,821
Yajalon	145	6,026	4,010	10,036
Chilon	462	9,049	2,070	11,118
Ocosingo	12,143	9,170	3,770	12,940
Subtotal	13,300	29,680	11,235	40,915
Central Zone:				
Chanal	192	2,328	553	2,881
Oxchuc	42	4,074	1,338	5,412
Tenejapa	67	6,215	1,535	7,750
Altamirano	1,559	2,945	1,810	4,655
Subtotal	1,860	15,462	5,236	20,698
South Zone:				
Teopisca	270	754	4,601	5,355
Amatenango	355	1,773	756	2,529
Pinoh	185	1,384	5,736	7,120
Subtotal	810	3,911	11,093	15,004
GRAND TOTAL	15,970	49,053	27,564	76,617

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TABLE 2—SPEAKERS OF TZELTAL
(Distribution by Zones)

Zones	Monolingual	Bilingual	Total
North Zone	23,429	8,251	31,680
Central Zone	11,291	4,171	15,462
South Zone	323	3,588	3,911
TOTAL	35,043	16,010	51,053

[P. 196-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Although it
161 has an average of 19 inhabitants per sq. km.,
[241] the southern zone has lands that are suitable
[631] for agriculture and for irrigation, such as in
[128] Amatenango. Later I shall discuss the influence of these factors on the uneven economic and social development of the three zones.

161 The figures on Indians are based exclu-
162 sively on use of the Indian language and
197 so include both monolinguals and bilin-
191 guals. To differentiate each group, however, I have made corrections based on field work as shown in Table 2.

141 The average height of these Indians ranges from 1.55 to 1.60 m. Referring to

[P. 196 - B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

621 other municipalities (Aguacatenango, Can-
632 cuc, Tenango, San Martin, Sivaca, Guaqui-
tepec, and Bachajon). Petalcingo belongs to the municipality of Tila, where Chol is spoken. The reason for these heterogeneous municipalities is that, within the political constitution of the state, only communities containing a sufficient number of inhabitants may achieve the status of municipality; the rest are considered merely as agencies of the municipality to which they have been assigned.

18 Another cultural variation stems from its
177 ecological location. Communities of the
191 southern zone, which have good lands,
361 roads, mechanized transportation, and therefore greater contacts with the outside world, occupy a more advanced place in the process of acculturation, which is revealed by the scant number of monolingual Indian residents and by their better economic condition. Communities of the central zone, of irregular landscape and high demographic pressure, isolated, and without economic opportunities, are the poorest, most conservative, and most untrusting of the entire region. The northern zone has a high index of Indianness because of the number of those who do not know Spanish, but their economic condition is better than that of the central zone, because there is more opportunity to cultivate coffee and work on the plantations.

Historical Antecedents

175 I shall mention only the periods of greatest
177 social significance in the past four centuries.
648 The dates are approximate.

The period of the conquest, from 1524 to 1545, saw the most violent encounters and occasional skirmishes between Indians and Spaniards. The fortress of Chamula was taken by Captain Luis Marín in 1524, and four years later Ciudad Real (now San Cristobal de las Casas), destined to be the politico-religious center of the region, was founded.

The period of catechization and consoli-

[P. 197-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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the old church ruins. The chief and the officials all spoke Spanish, but the only one who knew how to read and write was the town secretary, a 15-year old boy.

After dark the Indians gathered in front of the municipal house and presently some of the elders made signs that they wanted to talk to us. We followed them into the dark out of earshot of the agent, where the Indians told us of all their sorrows and difficulties, asking if we could not help them. They said that the agent tried to raise unjust taxes, that they were forced to do much work for the Municipal President of Ocosingo and did not have time to look after their own corn fields, and also that they were molested by the managers of the neighbouring properties. They asked us to bring their complaints before the Central Government, which we have done.

From there our route followed the main trail, or Camino Real, between Chilon and Ocosingo. A few hours ride through pine forest brought us to the top of a pass from where we had a magnificent view over the Ocosingo Valley. We could see the Indian village of Sivacá, and the white walled, red tiled houses of the Mexican town Ocosingo, lying on a green carpet of extensive grazing land. Down over the mountain side we scrambled towards the valley bottom, and by noon the hoofs of our animals clattered against the cobbled stones of Ocosingo's streets.

124 126 other party than when he did not; the proportion of the total number of words which was spoken by the other party was greater when that person was older than the informant than when he was the same age, and younger persons spoke, relatively, even less. The frequent use of various terms of respect and ritual kinship between the informant and the other speaker also suggests that their other behavior in the recording situation takes these relationships into account.

12 [191] Our bilingual informant, Mariano Juarez, was trained in the field by N. A. McQuown in the phonemic transcription of Tzeltal. When he had completed the transcription of the tapes, I instructed him to produce a translation in which the translation equivalents were to be forced into the Tzeltal frame of reference insofar as possible, using the vernacular Spanish as he knew it. The examples of text which appear herein should be understood to be Mr. Juarez' work. The fact that a native speaker of Tzeltal, who knew the general and idiosyncratic contexts in which the Tzeltal material appeared, did the translating guarantees as accurate a translation as possible. The always knotty problem of English glosses involves not only the depth of my understanding of the vernacular Spanish and its relation to the Tzeltal, but also the more general point, made recently by Conklin (1963), that the structure of English domains stands in no necessary relationship to the structure of domains of any other language. Frake (1961),

273* aguardiente. And it was not unusual that they were unable to secure a single liter. In fact, it appears that the termination of drinking performances was in no small amount controlled by
273* the exhausting of the community supply of aguardiente. What re-
432 sale there was of aguardiente in the community was carried on
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589 by widows who might secure as much as five to six extra liters to resell to men who wished to continue drinking after their own supplies were exhausted. As a business venture, a widow would buy for three pesos the liter which she would sell for five, gaining thus ten pesos every month or six weeks.

273* At the fiesta of the patron saint, ladinos would bring
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439 in a supply of aguardiente to be sold. The large number of people coming from the neighboring towns made this a profitable
[191] venture for the three or four days of the fiesta. In order to
[216] increase the sale of the aguardiente (and other distilled beverages, as well as beer), ladino vendors set up cantina complexes in the plaza, the cantina consisting of a thatch or canvas shelter, a few tables and chairs, and principally a tocadisco--a loudspeaker system connected to a phonograph as well as a microphone, so that music and announcements could be made which
275 could be heard from blocks around. Typically in this cantina
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191 pattern, a man from Aguacatenango would sit down with a few friends, drink a liter or two of aguardiente, and during this period, request that pieces be played on the tocadisco for which

275 216 191 he paid twenty centavos and in return for which payment his name was announced over the loud speaker as well as the name of a person to whom he might wish to "dedicate" the piece.

275 216 191 178 In 1959, there occurred a set of circumstances which permitted the Aguacatenangueros to gain control of the elements of the cantina complex, and in this year cantinas were established permanently in Aguacatenango. As the result of some difficulties in Pinola, the cantineros there were required by the town government to sell or otherwise get rid of their tocadiscos. [432] And three or four of them sold their tocadiscos to the men in Aguacatenango. These gas generator-driven units were set up in various yards in the community, the loudspeakers were mounted on tall poles as is the custom in the neighboring towns, and men came to these door yards when they were drinking to request [171] pieces be played with appropriate dedicatory remarks. The cantineros in Aguacatenango then simply filled out the rest of the cantina complex as they had seen it in the plaza.

442 275 432 439 They began to buy aguardiente by the garafón, most of it from clandestine distillers in the neighboring towns who deliver it to the buyers, and also beer and other distilled beverages, these being delivered by San Cristóbal distributors or bought and transported there by cantineros.

275 Thus the retailers of alcohol drunk by Aguacatenangueros are no longer ladinos and local widows, but local men. Some of

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

hall, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of the new officials. Residents of the barrios and colonias can never rise to any position above that of assistant judge, but once they have served in this post they may become principales in their own localities. One week the first regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the third regidor from Alannantik, and the next week the second regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the fourth regidor from Alannantik. The ten police are ranked in five levels with representatives from each side at every level in the series except for the fourth level, which is occupied by police from the barrios.

These civil officials, called as a group the *hu?eletik*, those who are "able" (in control), constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. To reach a high post, an official must first pass through each of the lower positions in the hierarchy. Outside of this ranked hierarchy, the posts of president and síndico are occupied by young men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy was, until the present generation, limited to a few men in their thirties. With increasing literacy, the competition for these posts is growing.[2] Men who have such skills are called upon as signers of official documents and are called *firmanetik*.

Also existing outside of the traditional hierarchy is the post of secretary which had, until 1965, been occupied by a Ladino. This was the only post which was paid; it also provided opportunity for earning extra income by preparing "acts," or official documents, and fines from court cases. The present incumbent is an Indian of Alannantik.

Because Tzo?ontahal's hierarchy is still a linked series of civil and religious posts, the structure of the civil hierarchy cannot be considered independently from that of the religious hierarchy. The major segments of the religious hierarchy are the *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces or captains of the fiestas. The internal ranking of the sixteen mayordomos depends on the number of religious posts the incumbent has filled and on the rank order of the saints he serves.

The alfereces, or captains of the fiestas, provide a ceremonial link be-

2. Julio de la Fuente (1964:30) has summarized the effect of literacy in breaking the homogeneity of the community since the literate Indians have received greater privileges and release from communal work. When the entire community is educated, the monopoly of literacy is broken.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Age of household head	Wealth: Land in hectares	Wealth: Head of cattle	No. of civil offices	No. of religious offices
55	½		2	2
55	½		2	2
55	½	2	2	3
60	½		2	3
60	½		1	3
60	½		4	3
62	½	1	2	3
65	½		2	3
65	½	4	4	6
65	½		6	5
75	½		5	6
87	½		4	4

from six to five. The reason given for this is that there are more people now than formerly.

The second course of civil careers is to serve as síndico and go on to president, bypassing the intermediate and lower posts of the hierarchy and never filling the higher traditional posts. Of seven who have served as president, two served as síndico, two had no previous office, and three had been both policeman and síndico (Table 25). None of the former presidents served in any civil post after being president. Two served as fiscal in their religious careers and had had no other religious service. This is the course pursued by literate men who speak Spanish well. An alternative course is to enter the ejido commission as secretary, treasurer, or president and then serve as síndico, or even directly as president. The president elected in 1964 had served only on the ejido commission. This caused some discontent, but not enough to prevent his election.

The household head enters religious office first as *nit'nal* or junior mayordomo, then serves as *?ali?bal*, or assistant, next as *tatil*, or elder mayordomo of a lesser saint. The fourth position is tatil of San Pedro, after which comes *kobraria*, or cofrade, first of San Francisco, then of Santa Lucía or Sacramento. Following his appointment as tatil of San Pedro, the incumbent holds the first gathering of mayordomos in his house. When he completes his term in this office, he may be called upon by neighbors, relatives, and compadres to serve as nakawane in household ceremonials. He

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Chapter 9

The Competition for Power

829 178 177 Changes in the organization of the civil and religious hierarchies since the constitution of 1927 can be traced in a series of events remembered by members of the community. Their selection of significant events and the interpretation they make of them give the best clues to their response to change. In the remembrance of things past people structure their world and project expectations for the future. Behavior in these events lacks the controls operating in the formal rituals of the officials—age-graded authority, hierarchy, and a code of behavior which conceals the open show of power. The strategies employed in these organizational changes reveal other rules or transformation of the old rules characterizing social interaction.

554 621 794 578 177 178 The structure of roles in the civil and religious hierarchies has remained intact. What has changed are the bases for according prestige and authority and allocating roles. The pivotal positions in which change is occurring are the mediating roles between local and national power structures, specifically those of president and secretary in the civil authority and of fiscal and priest in the religious authority.

[212] [191] [756] The contest for power and "control of the town" has centered in five blocks of competition: (1) the opposition of new young leaders with skills in speaking Spanish, literacy, and knowledge of the idiom of behavior in the national culture to the established succession of an age-dominated authority system; (2) the challenge by the civil authority to the control of the curers who rely on power derived from possession of an animal spirit; (3) the struggle for political power among factions based on new economic enterprises; (4) the contest among local caciques for domination; and (5) the conflict among religious functionaries. The series of events in which these contests have crystallized and brought about a reorganization

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

In the strategy of incorporating new leadership, these tactics are employed. 621

1. The four regidores are assigned the task of bringing the novice scribe to the town authorities. They are the official recruiters for civil and religious office. [624]

2. The request is made to the parent of the appointed scribe in the formal speech of the pat?o?tan. The appeal is cast in terms of the sacred nature of the task with reference to the "holy" nature of the post to be undertaken on this "holy hour, holy day and holy year."

3. The contractual relationship is initiated as always with a drinking session. The scribe is introduced into the drinking order as fourth in rank. The officials show solicitude as he is taught to drink "the gift of the gods and the ancestors." Once the gift of liquor has been accepted, the recipient has no recourse except to fulfill the obligation. [203]

These tactics, used also in other contractual arrangements, were inadequate to the task of inducting foreign Indians living in the township into the traditional hierarchy. In 1929, a Huistecan Indian, Augustín, who had worked as a laborer in a finca within the township, became president. Although he could not read, he was able to speak Spanish fluently. He succeeded in getting the first ejido grant under the land reform act of 1927. 621 609 622 191 423

During his term of office, Augustín was accused of abusing his authority on several occasions, as the following account shows:

When I was very young, my father told me about this land case. Augustín was president then. He tried to get land from my uncle's father-in-law, Juan. My uncle, Bartolo, defended his father-in-law's right to the land because he had good friends in Tuxtla. Augustín spoke Spanish very well, but he did not know how to read. Since my uncle knew how to read well, he gained the case. Augustín was angry. He invited all the curers to the town hall and ordered the police to bring in my uncle. My uncle was given something in a cup of liquor, and in three days he died. 159 622 661

Even if this story is untrue, or distorted because of the family relationship of the narrator and the victim, it reveals the sense of being exploited 622 661 609

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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witz had formed a small *cacicazgo* (supporters of a cacique) of armed men. Because of their influence with departmental officials since the land grant, they had secured an order to reassign lots in the center, putting one family from Yetawitz in each block. The reaction of the townspeople to this "invasion" of barrio Indians was immediate and conclusive, as Ceferino's account reveals:

The owners of the house lots here objected to having their lots seized. They went to a lawyer in San Cristóbal, and they also had the help of the professor here. He was a good professor. We walked with the professor. The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles. The people from Yetawitz went to another lawyer in San Cristóbal. They got an order that the people of the pueblo would have to admit the people of Yetawitz. We returned to the lawyer. He asked where these people were from. We said they were from Huistán. They were well armed. Because of this, we went to take over their arms.

When we arrived at their house, Juan asked, "What are you here for?" We answered, "We came to get your rifles."

They refused to give them up, but we seized their property. We tied up the men and carried them up to the pueblo. We dragged them like dogs up to the jail and put them in.

They asked, "Why are you putting us in jail?" and we answered, "Tomorrow we will arrange the case."

Four police stayed there. The next morning I came to see them. They had planned to go to Las Casas, but we ordered the saddles taken off the horses that were in readiness. We tried them, and they no longer bothered the pueblo.

The Huistecan's attempt to seize power reveals several significant factors in the genesis of cummunity political institutions. In the 1930s in Chiapas, the land reform act of 1927 was taking effect. Translation of law into reality in the local community required the drive and leadership of the Indians themselves. Literacy and Spanish-speaking skills were of even greater importance than before. The Indians of the center who had not been forced to work in the fincas and who had sufficient resources to resist contact with the outside economy were not in a position to take a leader-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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621 423 178 177 [609] ship role in the new political setting. As a result, it was the marginal Indians, outsiders who had come as did Augustín to work as *baldios* (laborers) on the finca near the town, that were the drivng force behind the demand for land. This was the basis for the new leadership in the early days of land reform. The ejido program, conceived of by Cárdenas as a basis for political development of the campesinos, (Brandenburg 1964) gave these marginal Indians the opportunity to rise to positions of influence in local government. The reluctance of the townspeople to take action [554] against Augustín derived in part from fear, since he reputedly backed his use of force with witchcraft—the imported kind of witchcraft in which poisons are used instead of spiritual force.

622 554 177 178 [191] [464] Ceferino, the man who finally deposed Augustín, was a member of the traditional community, but because he had been impoverished by burying four members of his family in the typhoid epidemic of 1928, he had been forced to work in the fincas. There he had learned Spanish and some of the ways of the dominant society. His leadership potential had developed in the role of *caporal,* or gang leader of the pickers in the coffee finca, and he had been a leader in the trek of recruited laborers down to the fincas in Soconusco. Under the old authority structure, in which all officials including the president were recruited through the hierarchy, he would never have reached a prestigious position. But in this crisis, he was the only man willing to confront the incumbent and take over the operation of civil affairs.

622 554 Ceferino did not take advantage of the situation to emerge as a cacique himself. As he explained in his narrative, "The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles." The way in which he had been introduced into the cabildo as scribe had successfully neutralized his own ambitions to attain power, if he had any. He accepted the ideal of a united pueblo, recognizing the authority of the principales.

621 177 178 The increasing scope and frequency of relationships between the nation and the locality since the revolution has emphasized the roles of president and síndico at the expense of the authority and control exercised by the principales. The ceremonial significance of the principales in rituals is retained as a symbol of continuity in the change of officials, but their func-

793 794 [578] *hundred and fifty pesos for a dress. The padre said I couldn't buy it there. He told me to send for one in Mexico that cost five hundred and fifty pesos. He wanted to make the profit.*

The fiscal. As an intermediary between the traditional religious officials and the priest, the fiscal is the target for both sides of the religious controversy. The priest selects the fiscal, but his retention of the post depends on his being accepted by the mayordomos. The tendency in the past [212] fifteen years since a regular priest has been assigned to the community is [191] to choose a man who speaks Spanish and can read and write, but who can 794 be dominated by the priest. The following statement by a man who served in this post in 1929 defines the functions of the fiscal as the Indians see them:

> *When I served as fiscal, I knew how to sell [the Indians use the verb* to sell *in reference to any propaganda—whether commercial, political, or religious] the catechism. After the prayer, I cleaned the patio. I held the key to the church. I saw [in the sense of watch over] all the mayordomos. I bought the candles and incense for the saints. At midday the mayordomos and I left the church and went home. There was no padre living here then, and the padre from San Cristóbal came only on the days of San Francisco, Virgin Santa Lucía, San Pedro the Martyr, and Santiago. Each Sunday, the ten mayordomos and I entered the church and prayed in the true language.*

[782] [191] Prayers are now given in Spanish by the fiscal and the prayer-reciters under the guidance of the lay sisters, who remain most of the time in the convento. The fiscal, as a consequence, is no longer selected on the basis of [554] his ability to recite the patʔoʔtan. Since one of the main tasks of the fiscal is to take care of the church, several recent incumbents have been jeered as being like women, cleaning house and responding to the bidding of the priests. Some have suggested that one was a homosexual. They blame the fiscales for letting control over the domain of the church fall into the hands of the priest.

[782] A man who had filled the post himself, described the careers of several former fiscales:

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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11:30 The mayordomos ring the bells again. A man says it is twelve o'clock.

12:00 They go home, leaving the door open and the church empty.

B. Observation in the School

Morning

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The schoolrooms are exceedingly crowded with three hundred and fifty children in four rooms and an open porch. The babble of the children's voices reciting their lessons drowns out the voice of the teacher, who has to shout to draw their attention to a new lesson.

All the teaching is done in Spanish. On one occasion, when no one in the class understood what was said, the teacher asked a little boy to translate for her. When she talks, usually about only half or three-quarters of the class pays attention. When the children are singing, all but two or three students participate. [191]

In taking roll, the teacher calls the boys' names first. This order is reversed when the children leave the classroom, with the girls going first. Seating order on the long benches set before tables is not segregated by sex, although there is some clustering.

In teaching the children to read, the teacher writes the vowels on the blackboard in alphabetical order. The children are asked to repeat them after her. She does this seven or eight times. She has a number of the children come up and use the pointer to indicate certain vowels while the rest of the children repeat their names. She leads them in singing the song she has taught them before about the vowels. She mixes up the order of the vowels, pointing to them and asking the children to name them. She asks how many there are and writes a number under each vowel. She drills the class in the names of the vowels and the corresponding numbers for about five minutes more. Using sticks (the majority of the children have five sticks which they carry in their bags, and those who don't use their fingers) she leads them in practicing their numbers up to ten. She asks for volunteers to count from one to ten. When a child falters, she repeats the numbers with him.

The teacher uses a doll to teach the children parts of the body, giving the name in Spanish first, and afterward asking, "What do you call this?" She takes the doll to small groups of children sitting at their desks and lets them handle it. They show much interest, crowding around the doll. She then shows

197 The inhabitants of both villages speak closely related dialects of the Tzeltal language, one of the two groups forming the Tzeltal-Tzotzil, which split linguistically from the parent stock of the Mayan Family around the beginning of the Classic Period of Maya Civilization (McQuown , 1959).

Lexicostatistical counts and isoglosses show that the two communities cluster together, in dialect cores of less than 500 years of separation, as against several others in the study area of the Chiapas Project of the University of Chicago. Several indices were used for the count, including degree of Spanish borrowing (McQuown, 1956; 1959). They indicate the same degree of linguistic acculturation.

191 At present Tzeltal-Spanish bilingualism is common, perhaps with the exception of elder women, although the Spanish spoken is mainly "market-Spanish" and reduced in vocabulary.

Demography

175 621 166 During the Colonial Period and the Independence both villages remained stable, being endogamous, economically self-sufficient communities with fairly restricted ranges of territorial movement; this is in contrast with the present day situation in which settlements tend to split into separate communities through local migrations (McQuown et al., 1959, Section 2, Part I, page 6).

175 161 A comparison of censuses available for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries suggests a high degree of demographic continuity with a slow, steady increase in population, although there is some evidence of population declines which took place in the

In addition to this regular ladder of officials representing the center and its close-lying barrios are judges representing the *colonias*, or rural settlements, of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Crus Quemada. They do not regularly attend the townhall sessions, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of new officials. Only after I had elicited officials from two informants was I able to get from the third the three judges of the colonias with the question, "Are there any other officials in the cabildo?" 621* 693 632

These civil officials constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. The positions of president and *sintiku* (in Spanish *síndico*), not included in the offices of the townhall as a category by informants, were elicited in response to the question stated above. These posts are occupied by younger men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy, until the present generation, was limited to those in the 30-year age bracket. Those with such skills passed immediately into the *comisario ejidal*, commission for land grants, where they assisted in the control and redistribution of land granted under the ejido program, or went directly into the post of *síndico*. Thus they were able to avoid the onerous and time-consuming functions of the traditional posts and enter into the remunerative post of president, where their authority was recognized at an early age. With improved literacy, the competition for such posts is increasing. Although informants say that the post of president alternates for the two sides of the dual division, case materials do not bear this out. 622 624 [124] [191] [212] [423] [178] [212] 622 621* 114

The only Ladino in the hierarchy is the secretary. For the first time this year (1964) the post of secretary has been taken by an Indian of the town. This is part of the power play described below. 563 624 178

Naming of civil officials is done in November, first in a closed session in the townhall at which each official names his successor, followed by a mass meeting *(Komun K'op)* at which the names are read to the assembled household heads in the plaza. To the question, "What are all the kinds of offices in the church?" the response was given: *martomàetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces (or captains, the Spanish term *alfereces* comes from the Arabic). There are 16 mayordomos. Role terms for the mayordomos indicated that each saint was repre- 666 621* 794 [776]

[P 213-B]

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P.469-B]

leaders, both in the civil authority and in the curing profession. The transition from the old hierarchy of control to the new leadership structure is still in process. In the most recent confrontation of the civil authority and curers, the fact that neither side resorted to violence suggests the transitional nature of homicide as a solution in intracommunal conflict.

This study of homicide indicates that the changing rate of behavior points to structural change, but does not in itself indicate what kind of change occurs or from what motives it stems. Qualitative case analysis related to structural changes within the recall of informants is essential for understanding social process.

NOTES

[1] Field work is based on two periods of residence in the community in 1964 and 1965; it was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health. I am grateful for comments by Paul Friedrich, Richard Henderson, Harold Scheffler, and Peter Wilson, who have improved the original version read at the 1965 meetings of the American Anthropological Association. I remain responsible for the contents of the paper.

[2] Henry and Short (1954:18) analyze both suicide and homicide as undifferentiated aggressive reactions to frustration, the rates of which vary—in the first case inversely and in the second case directly—with the strength of the external control system over behavior. Their assumption that homicide is motivationally a single phenomenon, and not an expression of a variety of motives, stems from the assumption that all cases of aggressive acts are the result of frustration. Straus and Straus (1964:587) apply a similar correlational analysis of homicide and suicide rates with structural features of society in Ceylon, but come to opposite conclusions. They maintain that one would expect greater evidence of homicide in a "loosely structured society," by which they mean one with considerable sanctioning of variation in individual behavior. These studies contradict each other in the conclusions that they reach by similar analytical processes, but they are attempts to move away from such psychoanalytic reasoning as the death wish theory.

[3] Bohannan's (1960) survey of homicide and suicide in African societies represents a useful model for comparing the total pattern of homicide cross-culturally. In presenting the case material here, I have used a similar format, adding to it the circumstances surrounding the killing. In the analysis of these materials, I have diverged from Bohannan's model in trying to demonstrate the linkage among the components—the ratios, to use Burke's (1945) terminology of scene/setting/actor/agent.

[4] The term "witch" is a translation of the Tzeltal term *ʔak'-lamel*, literally "giver of sickness." The term "curer" is a translation of *ʔaʔol*. The power to cure and to give sickness stems from the possession of a *muyehel*, or animal spirit.

[5] For a discussion of the tactics of gaining consensus in witch-killings, see Manning Nash (1960).

[6] Political homicide by agrarian leaders, which is so frequent in the central plateau (Friedrich 1967), is a relatively recent phenomenon in the retreat zones of Indian population. The cases analyzed by Friedrich are a strategy of political power stemming from a revolutionary background, and the cultural assumptions to which he points contrast with those underlying witch-killings. My only comparable case is, significantly, found outside the traditional center, in the new ejido colony.

[7] Jules Henry (1936) sees the formula of fear and anger as the

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

114 [192] [554] "Tata" means something like father, and the Indians use the word as a remark of respect to old men. Our old Lázaro had by now become a part of our outfit, always working, looking after the welfare of our animals and ourselves. We had come to regard him as a friend, and the name "Tata" grew out of nowhere, as the natural thing to call him.

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FIG. 197—Tenimá, Chis. Monument 7-7.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

amazing industries in the world. In addition, most men own smooth-bore flint-lock muskets, a few having progressed to percussion caps. The bow and arrow occurs occasionally as a child's toy. 411 [524]

The Bachajon men dress in cotton clothing, made of material bought in Ocosingo, or, more rarely, of home weave (fig. 284). The shirt is cut without tails, the trousers are of European type save that they tie with a string and have no buttons. Ordinarily they are worn rolled up above the knee. Over the trousers is worn a sash of native weave, red with fringed ends, and often decorated with black and yellow design in lines, sometimes forming a plaid effect. The sash is wound around, crossing in front, then turned back on itself, and the ends tucked under behind, so that they hang down below the shirt (fig. 285). 291

FIG. 284—El Encanto, Chis. A Bachajon Medicine Man.

Shirts of native weave occasionally have fine coloured lines running through them. The opening, which runs about two-thirds of the way down the front, the cuffs, and the seams at the shoulders may be decorated with very simple stitching. Down the front is a row of small buttons, coloured if possible, not all of which are for use. The most admired arrangement seems to be an alternation, such as red, black, white, repeated, although cases were observed in which no two were alike. These buttons are bought at the stores.

Sandals, *tep*, are ordinarily of leather, a thick sole with simple heel-toe string and loop. The leather is usually bought ready-cut. Formerly they were made of *mahagua* bast wicker-work, in form corresponding to that found in Basket-Maker sites of the Southwestern United States,* and these are still occasionally woven. The finest specimens are dyed red with a bark. Bast sandals are called *canak* (fig. 286). [92]

*Kidder and Guernsey, 1919, Page 180 et seq.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

did not like it and ran away. His place was taken by a younger man, Nicholas Cardon Niqol (the third names appear to be nicknames), but too much time had been lost to accomplish a great deal.

192 197 [128] In the printed lists, preference has been given to the first-named informant in each dialect, although when the variation is considerable, both versions are set down.

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
Abeja	tcanal-tcap tcap-tcul-tat-tik	yûm -tcap mu-yum olokte	tcupim
abuela	tcutcux tcutcun-el	kE-mim pan'ocip	ka-mam
abuelo	tat-mam-al (father-old-the)	kE-mop	ka-mam
agrio	bax	amuh-ba'*	pa
agua	ha'	ha'	ha
aguacero	tulan-ha-al (strong water)	no-ha (big water)	
alacrán	tsek	sina'	sina'
aliento			ik
alma	lap	pican	
alto	toyol	diski	iski
amarillo	k'an	kun	k'an
amo		yum	
andar	be-el	cuma'a ya-kE-te†	te camba
animal	tcam-ba'lam	Eluk'i	tcitam
año	hun hab-il hab sin-il	hun hap (future) hun habi (past)	
aquí	liil	nida^n	
araña	ām	t'oi	ah-toi‡
árbol	te	te	hun tsit-te
arcilla	tcav-ek lum (beeswax-earth)		
arco	timal-te yalab	wun-te	
cuerda del arco	ahci'al		
ardilla	tcutc	tcutc	ictcutc
arroyo	ukum	sañ-ha'	
asiento		tcumlip	tcunlip
áspero		ketscn	
atole		mats	mats
aya		nant'i	

*amuh, amo-, or amos-, appearing in various adjectives, means very.
†In many verbs the informants gave the first person singular, present form. This may be detected by the prenominal kE. See Appendix III.
‡ah = the definite article.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
baile			ahk'out
barba	kisim	kE-tsuktik	tsutsti
balsa	poi		
banda		ku'tcinuk	
barca		no-hukup (big canoe)	
bastante	bisel	kŏĕn	
blanco	tsak	tsuk	suk
blando		la'am / pukum	laam
bobo		tsitsuk	
boca	kŏ	kE-ti'	ati
bonito		pitsi'	
mujer			goodo ke pokem novicik
bosque	mukul hamal (big woods)		
brasero		pulvĕnip	nitci kak
brazo	kap	kE-kup	kab
brujo	poci'	atsak'	ah tsataya (sacerdote indio)
	iluxhom		
bueno	lek	uts	uts
está b-	lek-ai (good-there is)	uts-an (good-there is)	
buho	koOts	buhup	ah-hu
caballo	tsemen	tsimin	
cabello		kE-tsuk	tsuk
cabeza	hol	kE-pam	ka-pam
caer			ta yelo
calabaza	tcum	tcum	tcum
calavera	sbak-el-hol-al	pama-tcim'i / k'an	a-tcime
caliente	kiicin	tiko'b	tiku
cama	waix-yiv-el	nutc	tsen
camino	be	bii	bi
camisa		buk	
campo	huta-kin / akiltik	ñam	campa
cangrejo	nĕp	aiy'uc	yue
caña	qwahale	ci	oh
caoba		atsutso	tsutsub
carne	bak	uye'e / bekta	vee
casa	na'	otOt	otot
casas		otOte	

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
cayuco	*cayuca*	kûkûp	hukub
cazar	muts-umihel	kola-tute'he (let us go hunting)	ya-ka-ce-te-le-tolla (now I go hunting)
ceniza	tan	tsitañ	tsitan
cerca	hoŏpol	hEtsûk	natsa
cerro	wits	wits	
ciego	tupen-tsit	'ahtcOk'	{trok-uhpl / atcuk
cielo	tc'utcan	*cielo*	*cielo*
ciervo		tcimai	tcimai
cojo			{tcunuyok / petcOk
cola		nc	ne
colgar		kE-tcoi-kE-tcc (I-hang-I-do)	ka-tcu-ka-tcc
collar		yentac	
comer		ko-yic	kostekucka
concha	puix	{petak / tOt	
conejo	t'ul	a'-tûl	ab-tul
corazón	kŏtan	kEyo-pican	{ka-halin / pusika
correr	axnimal	ya-kE-tce'-tuañkre	
coser	espanyĕl	tcuwi'	
cuerpo	wink-ilel (man-entire)	kE-*cuerpo*	ka-*cuerpo*
culebra	tcan	tcañ	tcan
cuñada	bal	kE-mo'	
cuñado	bal	kE-n°an	
curar			ta tsakalka
danta	tsemĕn	tc-el tsimin (woods beast)	
dar	aweyel		benet
débil	mankyip	mats-an-umuk (not-has-force)	pue-tcem
dedo		kE-nikûp	nikab
todos los d- d- del pie	lalatak	kE-petc'kûp	
		kE-niOk	
día	k'akal	k'in	
diablo		kwo'tak	manap
diente	ke	ke	ke
molares		kE-tcaam	muela
dios	tcun-tat-tik *dios* (our-father-of-us-all)	kEn-yum-la *dios* (our-master-of-us-all)	u-yum-kab

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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SPANISH	TZELTAL	TOCOTAN	CHONTAL
dormir	waixy-el	te-weye	ta-vaye
dulce	tcab	tsa	tcab
duro		mo Etsuts	tsuts
echar suertes			u yakti ik
que sabe e-	labil		
eclipse	makisit k'akal	mukutce kuwa-kin	{aitobni kin muku kuckan kin
elote	axhan	tcOk-icim	teok-na
enfermo	{tcamel (sickness) aix tcamel (he has sickness)	amo-nkohu'lun amon-kohu'lun	koHo
encantar	paku	ankotcuwen upican (force his soul)	tsataya
encanto		jyaan	ah tsataya
e- adentro de la laguna		ta-manap (*cf. diablo*)	
escoba		misip	misip
escopeta		tcomba'	
escribir	tsibabel	kE-tsivan-hom-tsip	te-tsib
espalda		kopaat	tsumpat
espina	tcic	tcic	tcic
espinazo	{tcilc-pat mõtco-bakel	tsompat	ubuke tsampat
esposo		k-itõk	
esposa		k-itõk	
esqueleto	{tcicil-bak bak-el-etik		upete u-bak'e
estrella	ãk'	ik	*lacero*
de mañana	tsõk	ab-no-ik* (the-big-star)	
vespertina		ab-no-ik*	
pleiades (?)		tcookõk (la que brilla)	
Ursa Major	cana-ek		
familia	{bisil te-kal te-kal-atak	{kE *familia* nata'ũn tok'up (nosotros todos)	
feo		matc-uts	poeyik
fiesta	k'in		
f- del santo (May 18, Bachajon)	kan-k'in		
flecha	{t'imal-te tu-te	wun-te	
flor	nitcim	unite	nic-te
frente		kE-pũl	{ka-tihut pul

* "They say it is the same star." (i. e., Venus).

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
192 197 frijol	{tcenek / buul	{bu'um / bu'u	bô
frio	sik	sis	tsis
fruta	sit	tsahE	
fuego	k'ak	k'ak'	k'ak'
hacer f-	{wakEnuk k'ak / pas k'ak'	tcen-k'ak'	ka-tse-ve-k'ak'
fuente		huta	tcan
fuerte	tulan	amo-k'en-umuk'	pok'om
fuerza		ûmuk'	
gallina		piyuk	
ganado	gwakac (cow, Spanish)	pam-beket (head-horned)	
gato	mis	mis	
gato montes	{t'el teox / wac		
grande	mukul	{nok, nob, / lokônok	noH
grano	tcic	hun-cim	
guaracha	{tep / tcahan	putcyok	
g- de cascara	cunak		
hablar	k'op	{k'aan / tcen'-tan	te-t'an
hacer	pas-el	kE-tcen	
hermana mayor	{wic / gwic	kE-tcite	ka-tcite
h- menor	kitsin	kE-kita'in	ka-tcite
hermano mayor	bañk-il	kE-sukun	ka-sakun
h- menor	kitsin	{kE-kita'in / wita'in	k'itsin
hierro	*hierrô*	pal'ip	
hija	atcic	kE-yôk-istcO'k	
hijo	nitcan	kE-yôk-haxlO'k	
hilo	*hilo*	pui'	
hombre	{winik / vinik	winik	vinik
hueso	bak-el	bak	bak
h- del tobillo		OkutkOk	
huipil		kamic	
huso	pêtêt	pêtêt	
iglesia		tcuuk	tcu *iglesia*
iguana	tOlôk	hû'	huh
incienso	pôm	pOm	pom
jarrete		tcu-telkin	

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
jefe	yaxwhal	anoha / kE-xhwcs	noh-van-vinik / nori-vinik
j- del pueblo		k-anoha-la tuwa-k'a (our-chief-of-us-all of-the-village)	
jícara	tsima', kax / tuts	tup, buc	tup
j- (rattle)	tcitcil / tsutsu	tcikie	
labrar (madera, etc.)	waluyel	půl	
lagarto	aihyin	Ehin	ahin
laguna	mukul-ha'	nap	*laguna*
lanza	fisig'a (?)	stcik-te	*lanza*
l- para pescados		tceki'biye	
lejos	lum-namal	muhnaat	pwenat
lengua	kak'	kE-ak	ka-ak
la l-, (idoma)	ts'eltal	yoko'tan	
leon	tcambalam / tsax-hal-tcox (red-the-tiger)	tcimai bäl'um	bal'am
lia		sum	Hote
ligero	ma-waal (not-heavy)	seĕp	pwe sop
liso		ts'eyyum	
luna	uH(halalme-tik)	uhi	u
llano		nun-ham	
llever	itceltai-il		
lluvias (tiempo de)	bayel-ka-haal / bayel-yac-stal-haal	amo-ken-ha' / ha'-leltin	non-ha
madera	te / te' eti	te'	te
madre	nan	na'	ka-na
maiz	icim	icim	icim
maléolo		kE-peteOk	
malo	ma-lĕk-uk	matc-uts	kanic / mats-uts
hombre m-	tcopal / malek-owotan (bad-his-heart)		
mañana (morning)	sakubal	isapan	ika sapan
mano	dyal-k'ap	kE-k'up	ka-pikab
mediodia	holi-kak'al	kEncin-k'in	
mente		kahalin	
mes	hun uh	hunpe-uhi*	

*Used for counting time of childbirth.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
192 197 miel	{axa-tcap, usum {tcap-tcul-tatik	te'ele tcap	tcap
mijiiote		abalai'	
mono	mac	pūm	ah-pum
monte	hamal	bwulena	bwenala
mojado		atch	
muchacha	atcic	yok'tclum	
muchacho	{kere {kerem	{yokhaxlOhk {ah-lohk	
mucho	bayel	amo-k'en	k'en
muerte	{talteamel {tca-winik	ah-tcimi	ah-tcami
mujer	ants	icik	icik
murcielago	tsOts	tsūts	sūts
muslo		kE-wOk	
muy		{amos {icta	
nadar		nu'ci	
naranja		arancus (Spanish)	
n- agrio		pahala	
nariz	ni	kE-ni'	ni'
negro	ik'	ik	ik
nieta		k'-umam	ka-tcok-mama
nieto		kE-bit-umam (pl.)	
niño pequeño	tut-alat	tcik'stcOk (que todavia son de pecho)	
noche	ak'abal	{ehak'Ek {ak'ūp	aitabni
norte	{kin haal {yaxtal-hale' (por sea viene el agua)	te-*norte*	
viento del n-		ben'dawal	
nuera		kE-hrip	
nuevo	{yatcil {tomut	{tcOk* {sihip†	tsihib
ofrenda	matamniil (gifts)	{cux'hiwa {atcumpom (first fruits)	hisi utci hunpe si
ojo	sit	{kE-pu'ut {hut	hut
olorosa		mahatsin'na	
olla	ōcom		
oreja	tc'kin	kE-tcikin	tcikin

*For animals and human beings. †For inanimate objects.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
• 192 197 padre	tat	kE-pop	ka-pop
pájaro	mut	mut	mut
panacho		tcim-pam	
pared	pak'	wOk'tcē	
pecho		kE-tokpa'	pantis
pequeño	tnt	tcOtcOk	tcitcok
persona	winik	{untu-tcugha {untu-winik	vinik
pava		nakmu'lup	
pavo		ahtsŏk	ahtso
perro	tsit	wi'tcuk	vitcu
pesado	ahl	amoh-al	al
pesando	tcai	byiyc'to-ha'	maluh
pescuezo			lukub
p- en frente		kE-lukup	
p- por atras		kE-picte	
petate	pOp	pOp	pop
pie	kOk'	Ok	ok
piedra	ton	tun	tc'a
piel		putci'le	patcihi
pierna		{kOk {kE-wOk	ka-vok
pito	amai	Emwi	
plata	tak'in	takin	
pluma	kŭkum	{makup {vitc	maku
platano		haas	haas
poco	luunteb	tsintap	tsita
poniente	yaxubak-kaka-baitik	ko-pome-kin (where-sets-sun)	{muku-pome-kin {baca-u-pome-kin
posole	mats	puhk'a	buka
primo	cavankil	kE-bitis'ā'	ka-pom
pulgar	sme-kap		noh-nikab
pulsera		tcutcui-kup	
quemar	k'utcik k'akel	pulu'	tu-pule
quemo		kE-pule	
raton		tsuk	ictsuk
red	tcokhax	tcip	
redondo		pete	
relámpago	{nixkel, tsantsegwal {kaka-tcauuk	ah-lemi-tcawŭk	tcavuk
rio	ha	*rio*	
rodilla		kE-tenek	

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
• 192 rojo 197	tsak	tcuk tcik	tcuk
saliente	yax-loke-kakal hwantec-lok-tcul-kakal (lok — risen tcul — holy)	biete-kin ko-tuts-kin (where-rises-sun)	muku-pase-kin baka-pase-kin
sangre	tciitc	tcitce'	tciitc
sapo	pokOk	mutc	ah-mutc
seco	takin	ti'k'in	tikin
el s., tiempo	takin-huc kepel-kinal	amo-tik'in	noh-kin
sembrar	tsunel	pEkE	tu pŭkŭb
semilla	tsumbul	ubĕk	
sierras	*sierras*	tc-witś*	
sol	k'ak-al	kin	k'in
sombrero		hopo	hop'o
sopiar		hutstañ	
subir		kE-topsen	
suegra	meclnial	kE-noh-nak	
suegro	nial	k-itcan	k-itcan
sueño	wayel		
sur	nitaa-lan (here-below) hwantec-otc-kakal	*sur*	
tabacco		kuts	
tambor	kayo'	kowĕn	hoven
techo	hol-na'	hai-te'	te-can
techo de palma	can	can	
tejer	waluyel holel	hŭ'lvwebe	
tejedor	holel	hElŭ	
tia	mehun	kE-tcitc (elder sister)	
tio	baxhun	kE-sukun (elder brother)	
tierra	lum	kaap	kab
tigre	tcox	ba'lum	ba'lam
tinaja	çip	Ots	pŭ
tirar (piedra)		la-kE-hulehi-tun	yak-ce-ka-Huleh
(escopeta)		kE-tcen-sombak	
(lanza)		kE-tcik-teen	
tortilla	gwax	dlaañ gua' (all forms of cornbread)	va

*Really a directional term South. "Towards the Hills."

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
192 197 tortuga	ahk'	ak'	ak'
trueño	{stackwaiyel {aicwaiyel, t'om	{kweye {tcawûk*	tcavok*
tumbar (un arbol)		kE-yEsen	
uña (de hombre o de animal)		itcek	itchûk
verde	yac	yuc	yuc
vida	kucûl	anto-pican	halin†
viejo	{kaalic {mamal	{tcupin‡ {su'§	nohcib
viento	ik'	ik	ta ik'
volar	wixhlel	kE-wil'e	
yacer			ya ka-cacutce
yerno	bal	kE-ni'E^{n}	
zaraguate	bats	aHwats	
192 197 802 1	hun	hun-pe¶	un-to
2	tcĕ-eb¶	tca'-pe	tca-to
3	oc-eb	uc'-pe	uc-to
4	tcan-eb	tcum'-pe	tcan-to
5	ho-eb	{hun'-ka (one hand) {no'pe	ho-to
6	hwak-eb	*seis*, etc., in Spanish	
7	huk-eb		
8	wacak-eb		
9	balun-eb		
10	lahun-eb		
11	bulutc-eb		
12	lastcai-yeb		
13	uc-lahun-eb#		
14	tcan-lahun-eb		
15	ho-lahun-eb		
16	hwak-lahun-eb		
17	huk-lahun-eb		
18	wacak-lahun-eb		
19	balun-lahun-eb		
20	tab, tax.		
21	hun-ka-vinik		
30	lahun-is-tca-vinik		
40	tca-vinik		
50	ho-lahun-eb‖		
80	tcane-vinik		
100	hol-vinik		
400	bak		

*Cf. "Relamparo."
†Cf. mente. ‡Used for animate beings. §Used for inanimate objects.
¶The suffix = "times."
#Obviously an error, cf. 13.

[pp 479-484 contain no Tzeltal material]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Appendix VI

TZELTAL TEXTS

Given by Señor Aurelio Cruz, of Toniná

TEXT I

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PRAYER OF POOR MAN, WHEN MAKING OFFERINGS IN CHURCH OR IN THE MILPA

(See The Northern Tzeltal, Chap.)

Pas-a	*resib-il*	*yun**	*k-aHwal-tik*	
Do thou	accept (Sp. recibir)	in the name of	our guardian of us	
Dios	*tcul-ba-lum-milal*†	*bin*	*la-ta*‡	*y*
God (of)	blessed the world	that which	found	and
bin	*ma-va-la-ta.*	*pas-a*	perdon	*yun*
that which	not was found.	do thou	forgive	in the name of
k-aHwal-tik	Dios		*tcul-ba-lum-milal*	*tcitc'*
our guardian of us	God	(of)	blessed the world	blood
bak'-et-al	*ham-al*	*k'-otan-tik*	*ham-al*	*ti'-tik*
of (?) bones the	open	our hearts of us	open	mouths of us
ax-on	*te-lum-al*	*koltai-ya*	*haHwal*	
give me	health of the earth	free it (protect?)	kneeling (?)	
ha-nitcan				
thy son				

TEXT II

539

TZELTAL CONVERSATION

hoon	*lok'-on*	*taz*		*lum-al*	*x-oon*	*ta'*
I	went out I	from	(my)	land the	went I	to
yan	*lum-etik*§	*ta'*	*yil-el*‖	*yan*	*lugarx-etik*	
other	lands	to	see	other	places	
y	*lak-il*‖	*s-na*	*es-etik*	*baiyel*		
and	look at	their (?) houses	Old Ones ("los antiguos")	plenty		

[192]
[193]

*This was originally given *sok*, "with," but one of the Indian girls at El Real corrected it to *yun*.
†The stem is *lum*, "earth." No definite translation was found for *-ba-* or *-milal*.
‡The root is *ta*, "come."
§*-etik*, or *-tik*, is the emphatic plural, as well as forming, with the first personal pronoun present or implied, the inclusive plural.
‖*-el* is the generalizing suffix, here it represents the abstract idea of the action, and corresponds to our infinitive.

585 608 601 602 sometimes modified by /MUK'UL/ or /C'IN/ as previously shown. When, in addition to the exchange of gifts which constitutes the traditional wedding, the couple is married in the church, a pair of padrinos (male and female) is chosen from outside the set of relatives who become compadres in the ceremony just mentioned. These people are referred to as /-TAT+SNARYOS~PAGRINO/ and /-ME*+SNARYOS~MAGRINA/ by the married couple (who are called by them, respectively, /-NIC'AN+SNARYOS~IHADA/ and /-*AL+SNARYOS~*IHADA/) and as /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ (self-reciprocally) by the parents of the married partners.

796 608 The fiesta of Noche Buena establishes /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ relations, and no others, between the host of the fiesta and a few other individuals he invites to sponsor the fiesta.

Other relationship terms

571 192 There remains a set of terms which, when used with possessive prefixes, identify the referent in terms of a more general relationship to some coordinating person. These terms are as follows:

(1) /HOY/, "companion" (in reference to spouses; one who lives in the same house, including specific kin; and all of the specified kinds of companion below)

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(2) /HOY TA YAKBEL/, "drinking companion"

(3) /HOY TA *A*TEL/, "working companion"

(4) /HOY+YAXBEN/, "traveling companion"

(5) /*AMIGO/, "friend"

(6) /BESINO/ /NAHPAL NOCOL/, "neighbor"

(7) /-KONTRA/ /-*ENEMIGO/, "enemy"

(8) /-*AHWAL/, "boss"

Examination of genealogical data, data as to residence, and compadrazgo relations reveals (as might be inferred from the apparent meaning of /HOY/) that the same referent may occupy more than a single one of these associative roles at the same time as well as be kin and/or compadre to the coordinating individual, though in any given reference term only one such identification will be employed. Though formally mutually exclusive (as in the less general case of kin and compadrazgo terms), all of these may intersect in the same individual.

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[551]
[608]

These general relationship terms combine with names, terms of compadrazgo, and teknonymous constructions, both in terms where the second form specifies the first, e.g. /HOYTIK SIRIL HWARES/, "our companion Cirilo Juarez," and in terms where the second form refers to a cocrdinating person, /S-HOY S-MAGRINA/, "her madrina's companion." The general relationship terms share with kin terms the feature that in complex terms they are always the first of the two forms; terms of compadrazgo combine with

571 192 601 551 these two sets of terms only as the second term but always precede names, role names, and teknonymous constructions. General relationship terms are like the terms of compadrazgo in that they may be specified by a personal name (as above).

"Role names"

571 192 554 The set of terms to which we apply the label "role names" is distinguished by the fact that these terms usually occur unpossessed and are not defined in terms of a relationship to some person. While they occasionally have possessive prefixes, they never occur in the third person in coordinating constructions. Also, when possessed, these forms always carry the agentive prefix /-H-/, which is optional in the unpossessed variants. Thus:

Unpossessed	Possessed
/PRESIRENTE/ /H-PRESIRENTE/ "presidente"	/*AW-AH-PRESIRENTE/ "your presidente"
/H-*UL/ "curandero"	/*AW-AH-*UL/ "your curandero"

Among the forms in this class is /(H)KAX(1)AN(-ETIK)/, "ladinos (as a class)," which contrasts with the elicited from /H-TUL H-LUMAL/, "one of my pueblo (Aguacatenango)." (Both forms are included under the headword /KRISTYANO-ETIK/, "human being," which contrasts with /CAMBALAM-ETIK/, "animals," and /TUTU-TIK/, "things.")

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The dimensions of contrast are not simple here, since there is involved as well /H-TUL YAN LUM/, "one of another pueblo" in reference as well to persons other than ladinos. Furthermore, an immediate contrast that suggests itself to the [829] informants when differentiating themselves from ladinos is:

/H-TUL LUMAL/	/KAXLAN/
/POBR-ETIK/	/K'ULEHETIK/
"the poor ones"	"the rich ones"

Among other forms of the class is a series which repre- [756] sents alternative terms for a single group of people, i.e., native curers:

/H-*UL~H-POXTAWAN(EH)~H-*AK'-POX/~/H-ME*TIK+TATIK/

which while possibly distinctive (we are unprepared to say until our studies of Tzeltal medicine have proceeded further), share the characteristic performance /PIK C'IC'/ "pulsing." A contrasting form /H-*OKTOR/, "doctor," marks a curer who does not know how to pulse, but who instead gives "consultations." The form /*OKTOR/ differs from the others in this subset in that it may also be used as a modifier, as in /*OKTOR PEYRO/, "Dr. Pedro" (in reference to an Indian nurse) and /*OKTOR+KAXLAN/, "ladino doctor."

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Other terms in the "role-name" class cannot conveniently be lumped under a descriptive head. Some might perhaps be labeled "occupational," but this would result in merely grouping together otherwise distinctive forms in a way which appears "reasonable" to the ethnographer. In this heterogeneous group are the following, all of which have the agentive prefix.

/H.KANAN+LUM/	"overseer of land"
/H.PRINSEPAL KRINSIPAL/	"principal, elder"
/H.GOBYERNO/	"governor (of the state)"
/H.ME*BAL/	"orphan"
/H.LO*LIWANEH/	"liar"

Another subgroup of terms lacks possessive or agentive prefixes, and these share the feature that the referents are persons outside the Indian community. These terms are the following:

/COHWER/	"driver"
/DOKTOR/	"doctor"
/DOKTOR+DENTISTA/	"dentist"
/KARPINTERA/	"carpenter"
/MASTRI/	"teacher"

Two other terms in this class are exceptions to the rule that requires the agentive prefix when possessed; /-*ANZ/, "woman," and /-WINIK/, "man," may be used with the possessive prefix alone,

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554 and the meanings of the possessed forms are "wife" or "husband"
192 of the coordinating person.

The remainder of the forms in this class are subsumed under the headword /H.*A*TEL-ETIK/, "workers."

571 On the next lower level of contrast, the headword is
554 modified by one of the mutually exclusive post-modifiers
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621 /TA KABILTO/, "in the cabildo (civil)"; /TA MARTOMIL/, "in the mayordomía (religious)." These in turn constitute head words of two mutually exclusive classes of forms. The set of contrasting forms in the class /H.*A*TEL-ETIK TA KABILTO/ is as follows (in order of ascending rank):

/MAYOR/, "policia" ranked from /XWAXKEBAL/, "eighth," to /BA/, "first" or /HEFE DE KWARTEL/

/SINTIKO/, "sindico"

/REHIDOR/, "regidor" ranked from /XCEBAL/ "second" to /BA/ "first"

/XCEBAL REHIMAL/, "second regimal"

/BA REHIMALA~ SUPLENTE PRESIRENTE/, "first rehimal or assistant presidente"

/PRESIRENTE~ *AHENTE (MUNISIPAL)/, "presidente or ahente munisipal"

/XCEBAL HWES/, "second juez"

/HWES/— /*ALKAL/, "juez"

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554 (Several forms not included in this set are nevertheless part of
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621 the civil administration--/SEKRETARYO/, "secretary," /PRESIRENTE DE EDUKASYON/, "supervisor of education," and /KOMISARYADO *EYHIDAL/, "ejido commissioner.")

The /*A*TEL-ETIK TA KABILTO/ are responsible for the civil business of the community, resolution of conflicts brought before it, the maintenance of community facilities and the making of a limited number of decisions which affect the community as a whole. Its members are recruited yearly for one-year terms
[641] the whole group assuming office in January. Every male in the community is expected to hold office as a civil cargo holder four times in his life, and the order of recruitment to the position for any individual is more or less fixed.

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554 The forms of the class /H.*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/ are
192 grouped as follows (also in order of ascending rank):
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The first and lowest set of positions includes:

/MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO/	"mayordomo of San Antonio"
/MARTOMO ME*TIK ROSARYO/	"mayordomo of the Virgin of Rosario"
/MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD/	"mayordomo of the Virgin of Natividad"

By lowest, we mean that set of positions into one of which an individual would initially be co-opted upon entering the mayordomía.

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554 The saint's name associated with each is that one for whose fiesta
192 the mayordomo is primarily responsible. The second and next low-
794 est set of positions includes:

/MARTOMO *ANIMA/ "mayordomo of Todos Santos"

/MARTOMO SAN MARTIN/ "mayordomo of San Martin"

The third set includes the position:

/MARTOMO SANTA CRUS/ "mayordomo of Santa Crus"

And the fourth set includes the position:

/MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN/ "mayordomo of San Sebastian"

In turn, for each of the saints, there are two mayordomos, ranked relative to each other, the higher in rank being the:

/BA MARTOMO/ "1st mayordomo"

and the other being the:

/CE*BAL MARTOMO/ "2nd mayordomo"

The /*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/ are formally responsible for the correct interpretation of the saints' days celebrated in Aguacatenango. There are seven of these fiestas under the supervision of the mayordomis, and two /MARTOMO-ETIK/ are co-opted for each, the pair serving for one year beginning on the saint's

571 554 192 [794] day for which they serve. Every male in the community is held responsible to be co-opted into four /MARTOMO/ positions before he is freed from any further performaces of this sort, and as was pointed out earlier, these positions must be held earlier.

The various forms of the "role-name" set most often occur as simple terms of reference, often modified by status terms. However, the combination /H-KUMPRE SEKRETARYO/ "my compadre, the secretary" is reported.

Modifiers

In addition to the basic classes of terms of reference, modifiers are important in identifying persons. Among these are enumerators, diminutivgs (mentioned above), and demonstratives. Two modifiers establish the physical condition of the referent-- [602] /CAM/ and /*AN(I)MA/, both glossed as "dead." One, /MERO/, noted earlier, distinguishes "legitimate" or "real" relationship from terminological equivalence, as in /MERO *ERMANO/, "true brother." 571 554 561 192 [562] Two, differing only by sex of referent, indicate advanced age: /MA MAMAL/ "old" (male referent) and /ME*L/, "old" (female referent). When these two modifiers are used with terms indicating younger persons, the incongruity expresses depreciation or derogation. Other modifiers, most of which are age-status terms like the special kin terms discussed earlier, include the following:

576
554 /C'UL/ "holy" honorific titles used with
561 /SENYOR/ "mister" role-names of the
192 /H.*A*TEL-ETIK/ group

/YAN/ "other"

/NEK/ "big"

/SOLTERA/ "unmarried" used with /KEREM/ "boy" and /*AC'IX/ "girl" primarily to establish precise age-status (adolescence)

/DON DONYA/ "mister mrs." used with names of ladinos

/NINYA/ "miss"

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192 Still another set of modifiers occurs after the noun head rather than before and includes internally complex phrases. These might be termed locatives, and they include /NUN/ "there," /LI*/ "here," and such combinations as /NUN TA HEHC/, "there on the other side (i.e., in the other barrio of Aguacatenango)"; /LI* TA *ALAN/, "here below (i.e., in El Puerto, a closely related village down the mountain)"; /LI* TA TEHKLUM/, "here in the pueblo"; /LI* TA PAT NA/, "here behind the house"; /NUN TA *AHK'OL/, "here above"; and /NUN TA XOHLEH/, "there at the corner."

While the subject of the relationships (position and co-occurrence) between modifiers and between modifiers and noun heads will be deferred until a forthcoming paper, some general

571 idea about the use of modifiers can be gained from a brief list
• 192 of examples. These examples are also illustrative of some of the complexity of personal reference in Aguacatenango.

/TE CAM MA TATIK HOSE GOMES/	"the late old Mr. Jose Gomez"
/MA TA(T) S-TA(T) CUS KAYTANO/	"old Mr. Jesus' father, Cayetano"
/H-MA KUMPRE S-TAT CEN/	"my old compadre, Cresencio's father"
/ME*L WIX PETRONA MENTES/	"old (elder sister) Petrona Mendez"
/S-ME*L *INAM/	"his old wife"
/ME*L ME* ZME* H.PINI/	"old Mrs. Delfina's mother"
/H-KUMPRE S-TAT KANT(E)LARYA	"my compadre, Candelario's father here above"
/BANKIL LUTERYO NUN TA *AHK'OL/	"(elder brother) Eleuterio here above"
/TATIK SINTIKO NUN TA *ALAN/	"Mr. Sindico there below"
/SENYOR *AHENTE/	"Mr. agente"
/MA DON MANWEL/	"old Don Manuel"

571 The patterns of social relationships are displayed in the order and arrangement of individuals in households and in the sets of role-names which frequently occur in the conversa-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Although the town center forms a rough rectangle on Map 1, the people think of it as being a square.[2] 361 This conforms to the cultural ideal of a square applied in house, milpa, village, and probably world, although when anyone is asked about the last, he cautiously answers, "I have heard that it is round." The center is the unit that the people think of when they say *hteklum*, my land or my village. House lots are not sold to outsiders, particularly Ladinos, but the prohibition applies as well to other Indians living within the limits of the township. 423 609

The residents of the center identify themselves with the former residents of the two pre-Conquest sites occupying the hill of Amawitz[3] northwest of the center, and the hill of San Nicolás (called Lelem in Tzeltal) to the southeast. The following account is given of the founding of the present town in the valley: 361 173 [101] [539]

Our ancestors lived in Amawitz. There wasn't enough water there, but there was a great deal that passed here in the valley. The ancestors came out of their cave to look at where the people should move. They told the people where they should go. The people "thought in common." They cut the trees here; then, when it was dry, they burned it with fire as they do for milpa. When it was cleared, they began to build their houses. Others saw this and came to build their houses. When they finished building their houses, everyone began to think of building a church. The first church was built in Alannantik [the low side] for San Pedro the Martyr. This was torn down because the witches used to come to get the permission of San Pedro to do witchcraft. When the new church was built, there was a division of the town into the upper and lower sections.

It is significant that the people attribute the initiative in the resettlement to the mythical ancestors, although archaeological evidence indicates that the present center was settled after the Conquest. The Conquest is not a part of their mythico-historic past. The ancestors are given credit for establishing everything.

2. The pre-Conquest term for local center was Tzamgholal (Calnek 1962:25), signifying "square head." "Head" town was possibly a ceremonial center. [192]

3. Hermitte (1964:48) notes that in Pinola the "police" of the spiritual government are sent to outposts in Amawitz and Me?wakal in Amatenango. This suggests that it may be considered the ancestral home of other Indians of the area.

621 361 A territorial distinction not recognized by the federal government is the division of the town center into two sections, or sides, by the street running in front of the church. The two sides of the division are called [192] Ahk'olnantik, upper side, and Alannantik, lower side. The upper side is in the direction of higher lands in the southwest called Ahk'olk'inal, and the lower side is in the direction of lower lands to the northeast, called Alank'inal. The emphasis on relative altitude implicit in place nomenclature is a central fact in the Indians' ecological adjustment. Marriage is endogamous within each division by explicit rule, and in fact 87 percent of all marriages conform to the rule, according to a census I took in 1958. A man who marries a girl on the opposite side is forced to make a payment of eighteen liters of liquor to the bachelors of the opposite division. In addition to regulating competition for marriage partners, the dual division is the basis for allocating civil and religious offices.

[582] [183] [125] [583]

174 621 Whether the dual division was an indigenous trait or not is a moot point. The pattern for dual organizations existed in both Spanish and indigenous societies (Foster 1951:5). There is some speculation that the dual divisions are a product of the Spanish colonial policy of the congregación, when populations of different origins were drawn together. However, local historical accounts indicate that several ethnic groups were introduced at various periods. After the initial congregación, foreign Indians were incorporated in the sixteenth century, in the latter part of the nineteenth century (Secretaría de Gobierno Constitucional, October 26, 1893), and as late as the 1930s in response to the land reform program. As each ethnic group entered the region, it was either incorporated into one of the existing divisions or was isolated. The persistence of polarization must be explained on other grounds. The widespread distribution in the Chiapas highlands of dual divisions defined by territory and descent in communities of both dispersed and nucleated settlement patterns suggests the indigenous origins of the division. A dual division of upper and lower sections based on endogamy and equal representation is found in San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:64), Chanal (Eva Hunt, NSF II report), Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1946:424), and Cancuk (Siverts 1964). The Nahuatl term *calpul* is applied in some cases to these divisions. The towns where calpulles are found are *paraje*, or vacant center, types (Tax 1937) which

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621 [174]

243 vest. Harvesting is done by all the members of the household, sometimes
[592] with the assistance of exchange or hired labor. Women help by going to
[464] the fields and degraining the cobs with few kernels of corn so that there
[462] will not be an unnecessary burden to carry to the houses.

243 A small fiesta for the corn is made following the harvest. The purpose
796 of the fiesta is to reciprocate the spiritual owner of the corn by giving him
782 a "gift." Two candles are lit and set on top of the piles of corncobs. Two other candles are placed near the heaps of corn grains gathered by the

243 192 TABLE 7. Stages of Corn Growth and Agricultural Activities

Stages of growth	*Activity*	*Time (after planting)*
Šlihk sčital (begins to grow)	First hoeing	8 days
Čiltal lik ʔilim (well-grown; about 4 feet)	Second hoeing	1 month
Čiltal stekan aniʔ (begins to form husk)		2 months
B'al tzuto (begins to bud)		
Lok'il tzutohal (flower comes out)		3 months
Yihil sk'ab'enal (begins to mature)		4 months
Lok'il yihkatz (cobs fill out)		
Sčam hol (its head dies)	Pick cobs to eat fresh	5 months
Yihiltal sk'anubil (now more yellow)	Double over stalks	6 months
Yihubil (more yellow)		
Tahkinil (dry)		
Sk'ahik lok'el (harvest time)	Pick dried corn	7 months

243 women. The candles cause the spirit of the corn to rise and give its "gift to
796 the world" in the following harvest. Failure to make a fiesta would mean
782 an end to all corn harvests.

243 Corn is brought to the house and stored in the rafters, since there are no
25 corn cribs or separate storage facilities of any kind in the village. Most of
136 the houses are infested with rats as a consequence. When the harvest is brought in, there is an attempt to rid the rafters of these "thieves." The
[411] men and boys armed with slingshots stand posted in the yard as the children rustle around in the rafters chasing the rats out. Although they are remarkably good shots since they use this tool from early childhood, the houses are never completely free of rats, and the inhabitants learn to put up with them.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NVʔ Tzeltal NVʔ
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121 interconnected and governed by a core meaning. However elementary the schema, it is a schema, precisely by virtue of the fact that the behavior components which it sets into motion form a strong whole, a recurrent and identifiable figure against a background of less tightly organized behavior.

Piaget (1952:244) has stated:

> It is due to the fact that schemata present this kind of structure that mental assimilation is possible and any object whatever can be incorporated or serve as aliment to a given schema.

This has significant implications for the continuity of tradition. The persistence of behavior depends on control in the organization of the work and in the training of new producers. As yet we do not have a means to measure the degree of organization or transfer of cognitive maps so that we can make comparisons across behavioral domains. The best source of data lies in the language which provides the cognitive mapping of the behavior. Table 10 provides a preliminary breakdown of the major stages 128 and the distinct but similar action sequences which they include. Individual motions are replicated, in combination with other elements in the action sequence, to make up the component actions of different stages of production. The classification of actions implied in the Tzeltal verbs is shown in Table 11.

323
461 TABLE 10. Schedule of Activities in Pottery Production
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Time	*Step*	*Activity*
1st day	1.	Yah tzes yaʔbi yaʔlel (Moisten; give water to clay and leave one day)
2d day	2.	Ya swotz lum sok hiʔ (Mix clay with sand)
	2.1	Yah sčičin hiʔ (Sift sand)
	2.2	Yah lihk swotz (Begin to mix)
	2.3	Sah sk'ap sok hiʔ yuʔun ben pikil (Add sand until grainy)
	2.4	Yakto parte ma to yaiyehuk hiʔ (Put aside some that doesn't have enough sand)
	2.5	Yaʔbe čaʔ mel sk'ut • sok hiʔ (Give 2 passes, kneading with sand)
	2.6	Ya tzob ya swol (Collect it and make a ball)
	2.7	Ya sba smaʔan ta suhk sč'ute (Go set it on a board)

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Time	*Step*	*Activity*
3d day	3.	Ya slihkesbe hit' (Begin to make the base)
	3.1	Ya swol (Make a ball)
	3.2	Ya sčob (Work into it)
	3.3	Ya snakan te čuhte (Set it on a board)
	3.4	Ya skubeyit (Poke it)
	3.5	Ya slihk sbis moʔel (Begin to press it to rise)
	3.6	Ya snit mo'el (Pull it up [a process of pressing clay from inside pot against palm of hand and forcing clay upward])
	3.7	Ya stuisbe stiʔil (Level; cut off edge)
	3.8	Ya sč'ewanbael (Lay it out)
	3.9	Ya sk'ehilel swai (Keep it while one sleeps)
4th day	4.	Yaʔbe stalbilum (Stick on clay on the base)
	4.1	Ya sbʔal te lum yuʔun ya tzak (Make a tube to stick on)
	4.2	Ya smakbe ʔa (Cover over where it is stuck on)
	4.3	Ya šlič mo"el (Let it up)
	4.4	Ya sč'ulmoel (Make it rise by rubbing against hand on outside)
	4.5	Ya stuisbe stiʔil (Cut off edge [evens it])
	4.6	Ya stalhilel hil swai (Let it stick overnight [some leave it for only 2 hours])
5th day	5.	Ya šyubmoʔel (Raise the sides)
	5.1	Ya yaʔbe bʔal lum (Give it a tube of clay)
	5.2	Ya tzak šyubmoʔel (Stick it on sides making it rise)
	5.3	Ya yaʔbe sčuht (Make the belly [round out side walls])
	5.4	Sb'isbetal yutil (Smooth inside)
	5.5	Ma snuksba ya yaʔbe šan č'inuk (If it doesn't meet, make another piece)
	5.6	Tzak šan yuʔun sčube stiʔil (Stick on more to make it close at the mouth)
	5.7	Ya yaʔi baʔa te haʔ yei ya yaʔbe slumil yuʔun pahal sila spimile (Feel where it is thin and give it more clay so it is same remains double)
	5.8	Lah šyubmoʔel sk'ahilel šwai (After raising side leave overnight)
6th day	6.	Ya yaʔbe snuk' (Make the neck)
	6.1	Ya yaʔbe yaʔlel stiʔil yuʔun skunubai tenaš ʔa ta yaʔbe slam yit (Scrape pot with knife; put water on mouth to make it soft and more clay at edge)
	6.2	Yah sb'albe slumil snuk' (Form roll of clay for neck)
	6.3	Yah tz'akbe stiʔil (Stick it on the mouth)
	6.4	Yah šlihk sb'isbe te yutil (Begin to smooth it inside)
	6.5	Yah šlihk stuisbe stiʔil (Even the edge)

(*cont.*)

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Time	*Step*	*Activity*
	6.6	Yah lihk sb'is ta snukul (Smooth the edge)
	6.7	Yah lihk spusko?el sok nukul (Double over the edge with leather piece)
	6.8	Ya sb?albeko?el (Roll down lip of jug)
	6.9	Ya sibetal yutil (Spread it out inside)
	6.10	Ya ya?be sbelbel lumil (Put little pieces on edge where the neck is stuck on)
7th day	7.	Yah ya?be sčikin (Make the handles [ears])
	7.1	Ya sb'albe slumil (Roll the clay)
	7.2	Ya sp'is ?ošeb (Measure out three pieces)
	7.3	Ya tzakbe sčikin (Stick on ears)
	7.4	Ya sku?be sčikin (Press on ears)
	7.5	Ya spusbe (Double over)
	7.6	Ya sb'isb'e sčikin sok yal sk'ab (Smooth with little finger [child of the hand])
	7.7	Ya sb'isbe sčikin sok sme?sk'ab (Smooth with thumb [mother of hand])
	7.8	Ya sčulbe lek sok sme? sk'ab (Spread it out with thumb [mother of hand])
8th day	8.	Yah smes ta k'ib' sok ?ul (Wash the pot with corn grind)
9th day	9.	Yah tz'ibawe kib' (Design pots)
10th day	10.	Čik'omahel (Fire pottery)
	10.1	Ya ya?be sčute?al ?a k'ib'e yu?un mak swok'a (Put down boards and accompany pottery in order that it does not break)
	10.2	Stos' si?wok (Chop wood)
	10.3	Ya šlihk sk'ak'al (Light fire)
	10.4	Ya holtik si? (Take off wood)
	10.5	Yah ta sik'ub ya him lok'el (Cool and take off wood)

• Same term used for grinding corn; motion similar.

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The segmentation of activities shows that in a major schema such as pottery-making, similar motions are found at different levels, modified by direction in which motion occurs (up or down) or by the part of the pot being worked on. The classification of such motions simplifies teaching. Some of the motions included in Table 11 are classified with behavior in other contexts. For example. kneading the sand and clay (2.5 *sk'u*) is expressed by the same verb used for grinding corn, and a very similar motion is involved. *Tz'ib'ayel,* or painting the designs, also refers to writing.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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The word for the act by which a tube of clay is formed, *ya sb'al,* has the connotation of creativity. In the *pat?o?tan,* a prayer form with many variations which introduces ceremonials, informants explain the terms *sb'al lum* and *sb'al ?ač'al* as a reference to the creation of man's body formed out of soil and mud by the ancestors. Sometimes the verb *sb'al* is used instead of the usual word for planted, *tz'un,* to refer to the seeding of crops. 323 192

The parts of pottery are metaphorically equated to those of the body; the belly of the pot and the neck, ears, and mouth all have parallels in English metaphors. But among the Indians, pottery also has a soul. Metal or enamel containers do not have souls as do gourds and handmade pottery. [D74]

TABLE 11. Classification of Motions in Pottery Production

Motion *	*Step* †	*Content*
Sb'is + (smooth +)		
-mo?el (raise)	3.5	Pressing walls of base with curved index finger inside pot against flattened fingers outside, working clay upward
te yutil (inside)	6.4	Smoothing interior of vessel
ta snukel (its neck)	6.6	Smoothing neck with piece of leather
-b'e sčikin sok yal sk'ab (its ears with "child finger")	7.6	Smoothing handles on inside with little finger
-b'e sčikin sok sme? (its ears with "mother finger")	7.7	Smoothing handles on outside with thumb
Šyub' + (shape +)		
-mo?el (raise)	5, 5.2, 5.8	Shape and raise pot upward
Tzak + (stick +)		
yah tzak (stick on)	4.1	Stick on tube of clay to hardened base
-šyubmo?el (shape and raise)	5.2	Stick on another tube of clay to side, shape it upward
šan (another)	5.6	Add another tube of clay to side
-b'e sti?il (mouth)	6.3	Add roll of clay to hardened mouth
-b'e sčikin (ears)	7.3	Add measured, flattened tube of clay to walls of pot for handles
Swol + (make a ball +)		

(*cont.*)

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Motion *	*Step* †	*Context*
yah swol (make a ball)	2.6, 3.1	In mixing sand with clay, finish by making oval ball; also preliminary to making base, form ball
Spus + (roll +)		
yah lihk spusko?el (begins to roll down)	6.7	Turn down lip of neck
yah spusb'e sčikin (doubles over ears)	7.5	Curve tube of clay over to form handle
Stuis + (cut +)		
-b'e sti?il (edge)	3.7	Push clay with thumb; even edge by removing higher levels of clay at upper edge of base
" " "	4.5	Same, but edge is top of half-formed pot
" " "	6.5	Same, but edge is top of opening of jug
B'al + (make a tube +)		
ya sb'al te (make a tube of clay)	4.1	Build up sides with coils of clay
ya ya?b'e b'al lum (give a roll of clay)	5.1	Continue building up sides with coils of clay
yah sb'alb'eko?el (roll down)	6.8	Roll the tube of clay fitting on neck of pot to form a lip.

* Additives preceded by a hyphen form a single word with the verb stem; others are separate words in a phrase with the verb.
† Numbers refer to step numbers in Table 10.

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[433]

The nine stages of production provide a basis for the organization of the work in five-day intervals. The usual output is in lots of one dozen water jugs or ten bowls. This staging of production indicates an incipient rationalization of production that maximizes efficiency for the individual producer: a woman repeats the same limited sequence of motions for the lot. Leaving the item overnight permits drying and hardening so that in building up the pot there is greater stability. The staging of production also provides a basis for the division of labor in households with more than one producer. Certain stages require greater skill and/or discrimination: mixing the clay with sand requires the greatest discrimination to achieve the consistency which allows both maximum manipulability and strength and durability; building up and shaping the walls of the pot requires the maximum skill and dexterity. These tasks are performed by the more ex-

601 wife, and wife's sister with the term *mu?*. This same term is used by women to refer to sister's husband, and to husband's brother. Men refer to sister's husband, wife's brother and wife's parents' brothers as *b'al,* while women refer to brother's wife and husband's sister as *ha?wan*. The rule is that siblings-in-law of opposite sex of speaker are classified as mu? and siblings-in-law of same sex as speaker are differentiated by sex of speaker so that men classify them as b'al and women classify them as ha?wan. Parents-in-law are referred to as *tat ni?al* and *me? ni?al* and called father and mother. Wives of sons and brothers' sons are referred to as *kalib'* by men.

Fig. 4. Kinship Terms for Affinal Relatives

	Collateral	Lineal		Collateral
+1		Nial Tat	Nial Me?	
	Bal	(Hmamlal) Kinam		Mu?
−1	Kihtz'in			

Underlined term is vocative.

Affinal terminology is not applied to spouses of parents' siblings; the terms for father and mother or elder sister and elder brother, depending on their age relative to ego, are extended to them (Fig. 4).

601 The term for assistant in a ceremony, *b'alni?al,* using the combined
796 terms for ego's generation and parental generation in-laws, may indicate
794 that this group formerly served in household ceremonies. They are still
174 called upon for assistance, but nonrelated neighbors and compadres or
592 godchildren may also assist and the same term is applied to all.

571 Significant reference groups are designated by the Spanish derived terms
197 *yermanotak, kumparetak,* and *bersinatak*. The yermanotak is comprised
192 of siblings, their spouses, and siblings of parents; the term is derived from the Spanish *hermanos;* kumparetak, meaning the ritual co-parents, is a

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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term derived from compadres; and bersinatak, meaning the neighbors, is derived from *vecinos*. When informants are asked to summarize who participates in rituals, these three groups are always mentioned. They are not exclusive groupings; neighbors or siblings may be chosen as compadres, in which case the reference and vocative terms for compadres are preferred to any previous terminology. Activation of any of these ties depends on choice and convenience. Proximity of residence is of greater importance in day-to-day exchanges of assistance or visiting than closeness of genealogical tie. Interaction rates have been quantified in an earlier study of the community (J. Nash 1960; 1964). 571 197 192

Another way of referring to the yermanotak is with the plural form of the Indian patronym. Members of the Shunton family would, for example, be called the Shuntonetik. Several Indian surnames are linked to a Spanish patronym. For example, the Shunton, along with Lin, Mai, and Wolto? are linked to the name Lopez. In other Tzeltal and Tzotzil-speaking communities, these Indian surname groups have a greater cohesiveness, and in the recent past held corporate lands which they worked in common, as in Larraínzar (Holland 1963), Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947, Siverts 1960) and San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961). In these towns, the Spanish patronym designated a clan marked by exogamy and responsibility of the elders for maintaining social control. In Tzo?ontahal, the tie of descent has given way to an emphasis on collateral links. Exogamy of the Indian name group is the only surviving function of the lineage, and when this has been violated, there are only minor repercussions. 571 551 [613]

While the Spanish-derived collective terms are restricted to domestic groupings, the Tzeltal collective term for elders, me?iltatil, refers to the three central groups responsible for social control in the community. Derived from the terms for mother, *me?*, and father, *tat*, it is metaphorically extended to include the sponsors in household ceremonies, the curers acting as guardians of their side of the dual division, and the civil officials. Each of the groups is vested with a different level of authority in the community. This is summarized briefly below. 571 608 [192]

1. Household sponsors: The Spanish institution of ritual godparenthood has been fused with the indigenous system of sponsorship by me?iltatil. When a child is baptized, his god-parents are included as

608 members of the me?iltatil along with relatives and sometimes neigh-
571 bors. They are his sponsors at subsequent life crises—rituals of betrothal, marriage, and death. All of these people become co-parents to each other and to the child's parents. This relationship lasts throughout his and their lifetime. If the marriage bond is threatened, the me?iltatil gather to hear the complaints and try to resolve the problems. When a person dies, his me?iltatil go to his wake to watch over his spirit. He in turn is expected to help in the household of his me?iltatil when they have a ceremony by bringing wood or serving food and drink to guests.

624 2. Civil officials: The civil officials as a group may also be called
561 the me?iltatil; the term has special reference to the judges who represent the ancestors in their judgment of wrongdoers. In their passage through office from lower to higher positions, they are ranked in age-graded sets of junior officials (policemen), senior officials (regidores), and elder officials (judges), with the highest respect in ceremonial occasions accorded to the principales, two men, one from each side of the dual division, selected from those who have served in all offices. Drinking order, marching order, and seating order reflect the age-ordered rank in all ceremonial occasions.

[192] The link between the me?iltatil of the household and the me?iltatil of the civil authority is provided by a group of officials called the *nakawanehetik*. These men are chosen from among bilaterally related
571 relatives, ritual co-parents, and neighbors who have served in office in
621 the church or the town hall and know the prayers. They direct cere-
602 monies in the house at times of baptism, betrothal, death, and when
794 the household head enters a community office. They are the ones who
608 know how the ancestors did things and "watch and see" that all is done in accord with custom. They instruct the new official in the prayers he
[574] must memorize. Their wives direct the preparation of food by the younger women, and one of them may serve as chief woman speaker greeting guests.

621 3. Curers: Curers are similarly ranked according to age and years
756 in practice. The elder curer on each side of the dual division is charged
561 with guarding his side against the intrusion of evil spirits in the form of his own animal spirit. It is in this function of guardianship that the curers are referred to as me?iltatil.

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593 parents. This role is institutionalized and the youngest child is referred to
[192] as *k'ol*, the last one.

591
593
182 The choice of residence after marriage is influenced by the following factors:

1. The couple live with whatever family has less pressure from immature siblings remaining in the household. If there is no other child in one family, there is a strong likelihood that the new family will remain in that household.

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434 2. If there is any wealth difference, the couple tends to live with the richer family. "Wealthy" families prefer to have their children live near them and will make an effort to build a house within their compound or nearby.

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162 TABLE 15. Trends in Household Composition, 1958–1964

	Alannantik		*Ahk'olnantik*		*Total*	
Family type	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*
Remained the same						
Nuclear	49	76	38	57	87	67
Virilocal	7	11	11	16	18	14
Uxorilocal	4	6	7	11	11	9
Joint sib	1	2	1	2	2	1
Grandparent-grandchild	1	2	2	3	3	2
Incomplete	2	3	7	11	9	7
Total	64	100	66	100	130	100
Percent of all families		44		34		39
New families created						
Nuclear	16	89	48	88	64	88
Uxorilocal	1	5.5	1	2	2	3
Incomplete	1	5.5	6	10	7	9
Total	18	100	55	100	73	100
Percent of all families		12		28		21
Families which changed *	64	44	74	38	138	40
Total number of families	146	100	195	100	341	100

* Direction of change indicated in Table 16.

Behavior Defined in the Family

Socialization in the family provides the individual with the idiom for 867
behaving in the wider community. The basic principles ordering behavior
are respect and obedience toward those who are older, and care for those
who are younger. Obedience, expressed by the verb *ɛ'un* which means 861
both to believe (or to be gullible) and to obey, is instilled by cultivating a [192]
sense of fear and shame. Fear is communicated by the parent to the child
by invoking evil spirits and by the threat or use of punishment, especially
whipping with a leather strap. Shame is aroused by ridicule, jeering, and
chastising. A good child is a quiet child; questioning is discouraged either
by refusing to answer the child or by telling him to keep quiet. The nega-
tive aspect of good behavior is stressed. Significantly, the phrase "Behave
yourself!" is translated into Spanish as "Don't do anything!" Good behav-
ior is not rewarded either by praise or by gifts. The only public demonstra- 603
tion of affection toward children I have seen is by grandparents toward 431
grandchildren: an elder might give his sweet roll at a ceremony to his
grandchild and even fondle him. Parents show affection to youngsters 593
under three years of age, although the last child may be coddled somewhat [858]
longer. Mothers and young children show intimacy and affection in de- [515
lousing each other or combing each others' hair. Kissing is not a sign of 302]
intimacy but of formal respect in ceremonies. [832]

Beliefs concerning conception show awareness of both the male and the 842
female contribution to the fetus. The man's sperm (*snal*) enters the [192]
womb, *yoʔtan,* (also the word for heart) and mixes with the woman's
flow, to bring about conception. The blood of a child is believed to come [826]
from its mother and the skin, bones, and brains from the father. During 843
pregnancy, the father must have intercourse with his wife because his
sperm nourishes the fetus. This continues right up to the birth of the
child. Men too are believed to have wombs, and some men have trouble 826
with "dropped wombs" caused by lifting heavy burdens.

The only people in attendance at the birth of a child are the women of 844
the immediate household, the mother of the woman giving birth if she is [592]
not a part of the houshold, and the midwife. Children are kept out of the

Chapter 5

Rituals of Life Crisis

571 The ceremonial occasions marking baptism, betrothal, and death define
608 the network of bilateral relatives, neighbors, and compadres who will
602 guide and help a person throughout his life. These people make up the group called me?iltatil. The constitute a corporate group, but one which is tied to a single transaction. The sense of corporate identity is strengthened by the same group being called upon to act in subsequent household celebrations. But for each set of me?iltatil there is almost always a different membership since the participants are selected for a particular event. The behavior during these ceremonials is marked by formality and replication of a limited number of ceremonial acts. Through this replication, the rituals dramatize continuity with the past and foster a sense of changelessness. The symbolic act establishing the bond is the embrace, called *sme?is-*
[192] *petb'ak*. Within the ritual setting, the child learns whom he can turn to for help and what he is expected to do in his home and community.

Baptism

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774 After a month of seclusion when the child is hidden from public view, the soul is expected to have found its place in the child's body. A cere-
[192] mony called *ki'n ha?* (water ceremony) then takes place with the mother and grandmother in attendance. The three enter the sweatbath, and the mother and child are bathed in hot water and then cold.

If the child cries frequently, it is suspected that his soul is still not firmly lodged and has been wandering in the streets where it encounters animal spirits that frighten him. This requires a soul-calling ceremony performed

in the house in which he lives. The midwife, the only person present besides the mother, performs the ritual. She puts cold water in the child's mouth and then goes to the door, saying, "Enter if you arrive, little boy [or little girl]." Then she brushes the child with pine branches dipped in springwater, and smokes with incense of pitch pine the clothing which is then put on the child. The incense "makes a path for the soul to find the body of the child." As she does this, she says, "May your heart be one now that you are in the house." This ceremony is always performed when the child is born outside his parents' residence is order to guide his soul to its proper locale. Three days later, a ceremony called *sti? mut* (eat the chicken) takes place. Only women attend this meal. In one case I observed, the child's mother, her three sisters, mother, and husband's cousin attended. Each woman brings a peso's worth of bread, some chocolate, and ten tortillas. Two hens are cooked in boiling water, and the food is eaten by the women.

Baptism, called "throw the water" (*?it ha?*) occurs as soon as possible after the new-born child's twentieth day of life. If the parents of the child live with either the mother's or the father's family, the grandparents will choose the godparent, or *padrino*. The actual decisions recorded for four families in Table 20 can be compared with statements of preference as to who should be godparents. People say they prefer nonrelatives ("We are not deceived by them"), people of the same section of the dual division ("We like to greet them in the street") and finally people of good reputation. The individual or couple chosen as godparent becomes *compadre* or co-parent to the parents of the child.

People seem to be successful in realizing the preferences they state. 81 percent of compadres are chosen from their own side of the dual division, and only 4 percent are chosen from out of town. 71 percent of compadres are chosen from among nonrelatives. A significant factor in the choice of compadres is maintaining good neighbor relations. Most families surround themselves with a ring of compadres which neutralizes both the fear of being the object of witchcraft and of being accused of witchcraft. Factors of wealth, prestige, and status positions—particularly that of fiscal—are also taken into consideration in choosing a compadre. Most of the padrinos of baptism are chosen from among older members of the community,

tual practices and are carried on in the home. Sometimes a church and/or civil marriage is held in addition, but the union is not consumated until the traditional home marriage has taken place. 584 585

The betrothal, or *č'om*, is an extended series of negotiations in which the boy's representatives plead with the girl's family to accept the suit. Anytime in a boy's late teens or early twenties, he may initiate the suit by speaking to his father, or the father may undertake to find a wife for his son. The parents of the boy then request an older woman who has some skill in speaking the formal speeches to serve as the me? *Č'om*, mother of the betrothal, and an older man to serve as the *statal č'om*, or leader of the betrothal (sometimes he is called mam č'om or grandfather of the betrothal). These intermediaries may or may not be related to the family initiating the request. Nonkin are usually chosen from among compadres or a neighborhood group. When the father requests that they act as intermediaries, he brings a gift of liquor, chocolate, and bread. 584 [192]

Before any negotiations are begun with the girl's family, the boy's family calls together the representatives. These include his grandparents, uncles, and aunts, his padrino of baptism and confirmation, and possibly neighbors or nearby compadres of his parents. The gathering then questions the boy to learn whether his interest in the girl is sincere and exclusive of any other infatuation. In this session, called the *?il' yo?tan* or "taking of the heart," the boy goes to each of his representatives and kneels before them as they question him, asking him if he wants that girl and only that girl. He is told that marriage is an important relationship, not to be treated "as a toy"; the boy should be interested in only this girl, and if he should cause them to have to go to the cabildo "the day after tomorrow," it would cause embarrassment to the entire company. [602] [608] [571] [192] [581]

At the final gathering, called the *?il' rason* or "taking of the understanding," the assembled me?iltatil of both the boy and the girl give the couple further advice. The boy is told what is expected of him in the marriage. It is a minimal statement: he should not leave her tomorrow, he should not beat her, he should bring home corn and beans, and all will be well. The girl is told that she should prepare her husband's meals and be waiting for him in the house when he comes home from work. Respect, called "hearing" and "feeling" (both combined in the verb *l?awayi*), is [192] 581 584

756 156 *they will go to the church wedding. The parents of the couple embrace the godparents. They go dance in the house.*

The paranoic fantasies of this young curer, a man in his early thirties, characterize the world of fears, both real and demonic, which the curers sometimes manipulate and by which they are sometimes victimized. The young curers in their thirties and forties tend to have more domestic disputes than most men in town. Emilio, a man in his forties who has been trying to assert his stature as leading curer of Alannantik since his predecessor was killed for witchcraft, was deserted by his wife. She fled to a neighbor's house. In a drunken rage, he tried to burn it to the ground. When his attempt failed, he threatened to bring "heat" from the Cave of the Star to cause an epidemic after which, he said, he would "eat the souls of the children by the dozen." In the line of duty, curers are often required to get drunk, and drunkenness loosens the cautions which control behavior. Gloating in the power of their swayoheles, there seems to be no limit to the threats or acts they commit. While drinking has probably always been part of curing ceremonies, the behavior noted in the cases described seems to be a response to the growing insecurity on the part of the curers about their status.

756 156 593 578 756 273 156 [154]

The curer reveals in his speech and acts the motivation of power. In Tzo?ontahal, power means freedom from one's own fears as well as from the human and supernatural sanctions imposed on those who ignore the norms governing behavior. The proof of his power lies in the ability to inspire fear in others. For this reason, the curer brags of the evil deeds he has committed or is capable of doing, even though this may bring about his own destruction.

756 156

Curing Behavior

In their role as "doctors" for the individual patient, curers are referred to as *?u?ul* and are addressed with the honorific title *tatin*. Despite the declining belief in their guardianship function, there has been a retention of belief in their power to overcome witchcraft. Only the curer, because he possesses a swayohel, can deal with illness caused by witchcraft. Even if

756 [192] [554] [178]

755 giving hot medicines for hot diseases. If this is discovered, he will be sub-
757 ject to accusations of witchcraft. The relatives of the patient are present as witnesses "to see what medicines are given."

757 In the case of infections, the curer cauterizes the wound, a process called "take out the odor." First he smells the wound, checking on the severity of the infection. He mixes chile and hot charcoal and puts them on the wound to "cause the evil to rise to the surface." He then sucks on the wound, and spits out a "worm" which indicates the kind of evil caused by witchcraft. He covers the wound with mentholated cream and binds it. The patient is kept covered.

755 *Calling the soul.* The major effort in soul-calling (tamohel) is
[192] concentrated on preparing the patient and the house for the return of his soul. This is done for illnesses caused by fear and resulting in soul-loss. Here a knowledge of the setting is crucial to understand each act. An arch of pine boughs is set at the center post because it is here that the souls of the inmates of the house cluster (over the square hole at the foot of the post where the sheep's head is buried during the inauguration of the house). Thirteen candles, including a large, 50-cent one in the center and twelve 20-cent ones, are set before the arch. If the patient is being cured in the house of the curer, which happens when he goes to another town for a cure, the arch is put near the door in order that his soul not mingle with the souls of the curer's household. The patient is laid out on a mat in front of the curing arch, or if he is a small child, he is held in the arms of his mother. The curing is scheduled so that the arrival of the soul occurs when it will not be seen by people passing in the street. This would cause it embarrassment, and it would not enter the house. The patient continues to sleep under the arch each night until it is removed nine days later. As he sleeps, his soul enters in a dream and is reunited with the body. A gui-
[534] tar and seed rattle are played continuously during the ceremony to make the spirits of guests, patient, and house "of one heart." Many rounds of liq-
[273] uor are served in order to "finish with our money" and thus reduce the envy of the one who caused the witchcraft.

The soul-calling is combined with a cold bath to cure the illness. The patient is disrobed, and the curer brushes him with branches of plants

hall, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of the new officials. Residents of the barrios and colonias can never rise to any position above that of assistant judge, but once they have served in this post they may become principales in their own localities. One week the first regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the third regidor from Alannantik, and the next week the second regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the fourth regidor from Alannantik. The ten police are ranked in five levels with representatives from each side at every level in the series except for the fourth level, which is occupied by police from the barrios.

These civil officials, called as a group the *hu?eletik*, those who are "able" (in control), constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. To reach a high post, an official must first pass through each of the lower positions in the hierarchy. Outside of this ranked hierarchy, the posts of president and síndico are occupied by young men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy was, until the present generation, limited to a few men in their thirties. With increasing literacy, the competition for these posts is growing.[2] Men who have such skills are called upon as signers of official documents and are called *firmanetik*.

Also existing outside of the traditional hierarchy is the post of secretary which had, until 1965, been occupied by a Ladino. This was the only post which was paid; it also provided opportunity for earning extra income by preparing "acts," or official documents, and fines from court cases. The present incumbent is an Indian of Alannantik.

Because Tzo?ontahal's hierarchy is still a linked series of civil and religious posts, the structure of the civil hierarchy cannot be considered independently from that of the religious hierarchy. The major segments of the religious hierarchy are the *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces or captains of the fiestas. The internal ranking of the sixteen mayordomos depends on the number of religious posts the incumbent has filled and on the rank order of the saints he serves.

The alfereces, or captains of the fiestas, provide a ceremonial link be-

2. Julio de la Fuente (1964:30) has summarized the effect of literacy in breaking the homogeneity of the community since the literate Indians have received greater privileges and release from communal work. When the entire community is educated, the monopoly of literacy is broken.

794 tween civil and religious authorities. They are in charge of the fiestas for the saints whom they represent: San Francisco, San Pedro the Martyr, Santa Lucía, and Sacramento. The internal ranking of this set of officials is based on time of entry. This varies in the annual cycle since the new alférez enters just before the fiesta for which he will be responsible. He will be expected to give deference to the three who have preceded him during the year. The terms applied to this fluctuating ranking system in order of highest to lowest are *hilon ta pasaro* (remains as past), *pasaro* (past official), *sčebal ?aʼ ?alperes* (second new alférez), and *?aʼ ?alperes* (new alférez). [192]

794 562 Outside of the traditional religious hierarchy are roles performed by functionaries on the basis of specific skills. These include the fiscal, assistant to the priest, and the *me?eletik*, women who serve as prayer-reciters. The fiscal takes orders from the priest when the latter is in town, and in the absence of the priest he directs the activities of the mayordomos within the church. He is chosen on the basis of his knowledge of Spanish and willingness to perform the priests' bidding. He remains in office as long as he wishes, or until he is forcibly retired by the priest or by the mayordomos. When retired, he has an ex officio role saying prayers at funerals, and is often called upon for house ceremonies and as godfather in baptisms. The retired fiscales attend mass more often than the rest of the townspeople and sit in the front near the altar. The prayer-reciters are usually widowed or single women of the town whom the lay sisters have organized as support in responding to the catechism.

621 794 The officials who have served in five posts in the civil hierarchy and six posts in the religious hierarchy become *pasaroetik*, the Tzeltal rendering of *pasados* or former officials. Any one of these men may be eligible to serve as one of two principales, one chosen from Alannantik and one from Ahk'olnantik. They remain in office until they are too old to serve or until death. Each of the outlying barrios has two principales chosen from among men who have served in office. [192]

Entry Into and Exit from Office

621 666 The constitution assures local autonomy in the election of civil officials. The officials of Tzoʾontahal, including the two principales, president,

Age of household head	Wealth: Land in hectares	Wealth: Head of cattle	No. of civil offices	No. of religious offices
55	½		2	2
55	½		2	2
55	½	2	2	3
60	½		2	3
60	½		1	3
60	½		4	3
62	½	1	2	3
65	½		2	3
65	½	4	4	6
65	½		6	5
75	½		5	6
87	½		4	4

621
794
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from six to five. The reason given for this is that there are more people now than formerly. 621 794

The second course of civil careers is to serve as síndico and go on to president, bypassing the intermediate and lower posts of the hierarchy and never filling the higher traditional posts. Of seven who have served as president, two served as síndico, two had no previous office, and three had been both policeman and síndico (Table 25). None of the former presidents served in any civil post after being president. Two served as fiscal in their religious careers and had had no other religious service. This is the course pursued by literate men who speak Spanish well. An alternative course is to enter the ejido commission as secretary, treasurer, or president and then serve as síndico, or even directly as president. The president elected in 1964 had served only on the ejido commission. This caused some discontent, but not enough to prevent his election. [212] [91] [423]

The household head enters religious office first as *nit'nal* or junior mayordomo, then serves as *?ali?bal*, or assistant, next as *tatil*, or elder mayordomo of a lesser saint. The fourth position is tatil of San Pedro, after which comes *kobraria*, or cofrade, first of San Francisco, then of Santa Lucía or Sacramento. Following his appointment as tatil of San Pedro, the incumbent holds the first gathering of mayordomos in his house. When he completes his term in this office, he may be called upon by neighbors, relatives, and compadres to serve as nakawane in household ceremonials. He 794 [192]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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only to ordering between segments; because of the uneven civil careers of the incumbents, a man in the lower ranks within a segment may be older than another in the same rank because he started his career later. 621 554

A second significant feature of the inauguration behavior is the sacred quality of the acts, indicated by the words of the pat?o?tan—"holy office," "holy cold house," "holy staff, holy wand," "holy day and holy hour." The presence of the alfereces, the observation of the new civil officials by the religious officials, the movement from the town hall to the church and back to the town hall are the behavioral links between "our holy mother church and our holy father cabildo." 621 794 527

The behavioral elements in the inauguration of the religious officials parallel those in the inauguration of the civil officials. As in the case of the latter, the ritual takes place in both domestic and public settings—the house of the new officials and the church. In both inaugurations, the same feature of "raising" (rounding up for gatherings) the officials occurs: those of lower rank gather in the houses of successively higher officials, finally entering the house of the highest official. In each setting, the same ritual acts are performed—the formal greeting, the serving of coffee and bread followed by bean tamales, the request for permission to drink, and the serving of the "gift" of liquor. In the household setting for both civil and religious officials the same role performers—nakawanehetik, b'alnialetik and ǰkoltawanetik—lend their support.

In the religious hierarchy the symbolic "tools" of office of the mayordomos are candles while those in the civil hierarchy are canes. In the case of the inauguration of the religious officials, the inventory involves counting the money collected for each saint rather than accounting for the possessions owned by the town. An inventory of the saints' clothing is not made as in other towns, possibly because the lay sisters living in the town maintain this stock of equipment.

The formalized speech of the pat?o?tan is an important social tool in both public and private ceremonials. Characteristic of the speech are the elaboration of simile and metaphor (*me?ba?al, wokol:* poverty and trouble in reference to one's house; *lumiltik kač'aletik:* clay and mud in reference to bodies; *snuk shoy:* his joined one, his companion in reference to one's wife; *sapil yok' sapil sk'aab k'a santuetik k'a peroltik:* the washings [192]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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621 794 527 of the legs and arms of our patron lord, Jesus, in reference to liquor). The prayer-like intonation, together with repeated invocation of the gods, gives [192] a sacred quality to the words.

[273] Liquor, referred to as "the gift of God" or "gift of the ancestors," is of crucial significance in both civil and religious ritual. Receiving an offering of liquor is tantamount to accepting part of the spiritual essence of the donor. Drinking in each of the domains—the house, the town hall, and the church—serves to tie together different sets of participants in the obligation system of service to the community. In Mauss' terms (1954:11) receiving the gift defines "a pattern of spiritual bonds between things which are to some extent parts of persons, and persons and groups, that behave in some measure as if they were things."

[273] In both inaugurations an attempt is made to control the intake of liquor so that the officials can function in the ritual. This is shown in the civil inauguration when the first policeman thinks about whether the police can take another drink and still carry out their duties. It is more explicit in the religious inaugurations when the cofrades warn the mayordomos that they should not drink so much that they "walk like madmen." The mayordomos then pass on the drinks served to them to the nakawanebetik who drink them and fall into a stupor.

621 794 527 793 875 In noting the difference between elicited and performed ritual, minimal changes in behavior provided clues to structural change. The change of custom as to where the meal of the mayordomos takes place (it now is given at the house of the cofrade rather than in the courtyard of the church) indicates a significant shift in the relation between the priest and the local religious leadership. The priest has gained control over the church since he has taken up residence in the parish house. The incident in which the confrontation took place is described in Chapter 9. Divergence of the performed from the expected ritual in the inauguration of the civil authority occurred when the schoolteacher delivered the oath instead of the former Ladino secretary. This revealed the schoolteacher's increasing power in his competition with the former cacique.

621 794 527 The rituals of both civil and religious inaugurations reveal the sense of the sacred obligation to the ancestors. Although both the roles and the scheduling of events are derived from outside the culture, the necessity for

621 794 527 178 newly cut pine canes of the police and the old carved and painted staffs of the higher officials.

621 794 527 273 Order and measure, respect and deference are the social effect achieved in the ritual performance of the inaugurations. In the act of drinking, these principles become behaviorally explicit. The drink is carefully measured out and passed to the first principal, who asks permission to drink it of each set of officials in order of their ranked positions in the hierarchy. Each official must receive the drink, whether he is a teetotaler or not. He will then perform the action of drinking, which is sufficient to express his good will as part of the group. The symbolic act of pretending to drink—receiving the "gift" and raising it to one's lips without imbibing—reveals the importance of acts *as such* in social interaction. This is expressed in the Tzeltal loan term *ʔaksion,* from the Spanish *acción,* the pretended act, [192] which demonstrates in this case one's good will in joining in the communal act. We have a tendency in our culture to downgrade the act, stressing motive specific to the immediate goal of the act. If performance is motivated by other goals, we express it in phrases such as "He is only acting," or "It was all a big act." In Tzoʔontahal, the play is the thing, and everything can be justified by reference to traditional expectations.

621 794 561 177 178 Before describing some of the organizational changes which are affecting the civil-religious hierarchy, I shall at this point assess its viability on the basis of structural criteria. These criteria include the effectiveness of the system in (1) coordinating roles such that conflict is minimized in carrying out tasks, (2) motivating people to enter into office and fulfill obligations, (3) absorbing changes without structural modification.

The primary devices for coordinating roles in the hierarchy are those of relative age and residence in the dual division. The major challenge to the age-respect pattern has been the introduction of young leadership in the roles of president and síndico. This shock to the system has been somewhat overcome by the retention of the ceremonial primacy of the principales. The president and síndico are considered outside the traditional hierarchy. This conceptual isolation of the roles becomes obvious when one asks informants to list the civil officials, for they never include the president and síndico in the first response. They are mentioned in response to repeated enquiries as to whether there are other officials.

Chapter 8

Taking Care of the Lord Spirits

Religious behavior is concerned with two major goals: maintaining a given state of prosperity and protecting the community against disaster. In the words of one informant: "All of the goods which we enjoy—the corn, beans, and wheat that we eat, the animals which work for us and give us food—are the gifts of the Lord spirits." The technique for maintaining the flow of goods of the world is the annual cycle of fiestas for the saints. The strategy for protecting the community against disaster is through avoidance of offense and special offerings to the gods identified with pre-hispanic deities and spirits. Responsibility for the ceremonial cycle is assigned to officials who represent the community, but everyone is responsible for the avoidance of disaster, since any transgression of moral behavior by an individual can cause their wrath and bring destruction of crops and animals. The protective rituals involve beliefs continuous from pre-hispanic times; maintenance depends on Catholic saints.

Kinds of Lord Spirits

Religious behavior is based on an understanding of the personality and rank of each deity in a hierarchy of power. The people distinguish two major categories of gods: the lord spirits of the heaven, *E'ultatik ta E'ulčan*, and the lord spirits of the church, *E'ultatik ta E'ulna*. The prefix *E'ul* in all of these terms can be translated as spirit. All growing things—people, plants, and animals—have a spirit. *Tatik* can be translated as our lords, elders, or fathers. The categories of spirits discussed here differ from the *E'uleletik* (Chapter 1) since these are spirits possessed by the place in which they dwell, as indicated by the possessive form of the noun with the prefix *s*.

776 177 The two groups of spirits differ in their traditional characteristics and functions. The spirits of the heaven "look to see where everyone is going," "look and listen to all that people say," "are very alive," and "are of the world." In contrast to them, the spirits of the church "are not alive," "do not speak," "do not do anything," "are only of the pueblo." Thus the spirits of the heaven are universal; those of the church are particular. The saints' images which are kept in the church of the town are not considered to represent the same person as these same images in other towns. This [171] conception of saints as local and distinct personalities is found in other Maya Indian towns and differs from that of orthodox Catholicism.

The lord spirits of the heaven. The spirits of the heaven are God the Father, *Tios Tatil,* God the Son, *Tios Niƛ'anil,* and the Holy Spirit, *Spiritusantú.* Table 27 indicates the identification made between these major figures and pre-hispanic spiritual entities.

[192] TABLE 27. Pre- and Post-Hispanic Equivalents of the Lord Spirits of the Heavens

Post-Hispanic spirits		*Pre-Hispanic spirits*
Tios Tatil (God the Father)	=	B'alamilal (The World) B'ankilal (Elder Brother)
Tios Niƛ'anil (God the Son, Jesus Christ)	=	Sčeb'al B'ankilal (Second Brother)
Spiritusantú (Holy Spirit)	=	Tatik K'ahk'al (The Lord Sun) K'oł (referential, Last Child) Šut (vocative, proper name) ʔihtz'in (Younger Brother)
Meʔ Santú (Virgin Mary)	=	Meʔtikčič ʔu (Our Grandmother the Moon)

776 539 177 The "mystery" of the Trinity is "explained" in the following story in which pre-hispanic deities are identified with the Christian deities.

Many years ago, the Lord Sun [Tatik K'ak'al] *did not walk as now. He was only hanging in the heavens. Our Grandmother the Moon* [Meʔtik Čič ʔu] *bore three sons named God the Father* [Tios Tatil], the Elder *Brother; God the Son, Second Brother; and a third named K'oł, or Last One. The first brother did not turn out bright nor did the second brother. It was the youngest brother, K'oł, who was the brightest. When the Elder*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Brother was in heaven, there never was night. He never rested from his work.

One day K'oł said to his brother, "Let us go for a walk. We will get honey and eat it. I know where there is a tree." He told his mother to make tortillas to take with them. She made many tortillas for K'oł to eat, and in addition made two small tortillas.

His mother asked K'oł, "Why do you want to go out walking?"

He replied, "I am going to find honey. Wait for me to return."

K'oł and his two older brothers walked until they arrived at the tree with the honey. The Elder Brother said, "I shall climb very high."

K'oł said, "I too will climb."

The Elder Brother said, "Do not climb. Wait and I shall throw the honey down. You cannot climb the tree, Šut" [for this is what they called K'oł].

K'oł just waited for his brother to throw down the honey. K'oł got very angry because the Elder Brother just threw down beeswax.[1] An animal entered the trunk of the tree and started eating the root. The tree shook, frightening the two brothers. They called out, "What are you doing, Šut?"

"Nothing. I am not doing anything. Why don't you give me good honey?"

"Go on and drink it," the older brothers said.

"I don't like it. It isn't any good," replied K'oł.

He did nothing for a while. Then the tree fell. K'oł saw the tree fall. He went and got the two small tortillas his mother had packed in his lunch, and he put one on the Elder Brother's nose. His brother turned into a pig. He tried to put the other tortilla on the Second Brother's nose, but he could not seize him. The Second Brother turned into a wild boar, and fled into the forest. He brought the Elder Brother to his house. When he arrived at his house with his little pig, he said to his mother, "Mother, I have brought a little pig to raise."

"Where did you find it?" his mother asked.

"I just brought it," replied K'oł.

1. In recounting this passage, the narrator laughed, and when I asked why, said that the word for beeswax is also the word for excrement. She commented that K'oł was very bright because he would not tolerate this.

the sun to kill people. She is afraid that if all the people die, other people will come who have just one hand and one foot. They will not be able to work. Our Grandmother the Moon wants things as they are. So she fights the Sun, and then there is an eclipse. For this reason, people say that she bears our sins. 776 539 177 [821]

The tales occasionally try to bring the old gods into focus with the Christian gods and to explain certain cosmological events, for example the eclipse and the movement in the heavens of the sun and the moon. The synthesis is incomplete. First of all, the small part Jesus (Second Brother) plays in the first myth, in which he finally disappears into the forest, shows a failure to fit the three gods into the pre-hispanic format which included only two main characters. Secondly, the myths fail to synthesize the codes of morality stemming from Maya and Christian sources. In Christian mythology, the deities are conceived of as perfect. They are not identified with the sun, but are the power of creation which brought forth the sun and made it move. Destructive forces come from the evil power of the Devil. The deities of the Indians incorporate both good and evil. Cosmological forces are the gods acting directly either to promote or destroy man's work. Even the Grandmother Moon, who shows compassion for her grandchildren, can be piqued into destroying their crops. 776 539 177 178 821

In another tale the personification of good and evil in separate characters shows greater influence from Catholicism. Jesus emerges as the hero who, with the collaboration of the Virgin Mary, outwits the Devil. 776 539 177

After Jesus was crucified, the King of the Jews[3] *called upon people to sow a staff to prove who moves the world. Jesus planted the seed, but the Jews did not let them grow. He did it again, and only one leg came out and one hand came out. Therefore the plant did not stand because the "King of Evil" was watching.*

Jesus and his mother had an idea. He spoke to her, saying, "What do you think, Mother?" She replied, "The only thing I can say is, what can we think of?"

The Lord Christ replied, "Our children and offspring [the milpa] do

3. The Devil is alternately called King of the Jews [Statal Jurio], King of Evil [Statal Pukuh], and the Devil in the story. [192]

121 write beliefs that give coherence to these roles. Whether these events continue to be scheduled, and in the process of being presented "prove" the postulates upon which structural relationships are based, depends upon acceptance of the belief system.

183 A fundamental understanding governing behavior in Tzoʔontahal is that people ought to do as the ancestors did. Both "knowing" and "re-
[192] membering" are expressed by the same verb, *ya sna,* while "learning" and "memorizing" are expressed by the verb *ya snop*. The behavioral corollary of this association between knowing and remembering is that one should accept the word of the ancestors as a guide to behavior. The importance of obeying one's elders as the intermediaries in the transfer of ways of behaving from one generation to another is stressed in child training and is restated in the prayers uttered at ritual performances enacting the ways of the ancestors.

128 In this chapter I shall consider the integration of behavior based on roles, personality, codes of morality and etiquette, and the ideological and behavorial changes which are disturbing this system.

The Role System

554 Coherence of the role system in Tzoʔontahal depends upon (1) similar
621 182 premises for role recruitment and continuity in transition from one role to another; (2) alternation in office and linkage of separate domains by special offices; and (3) standardized etiquette of role interaction. Uniform standards of evaluation of performance provide a sanctioning system ensuring social integration.

561 *Recruitment and transition.* Relative and chronological age com-
554 bined with consideration of sex are the fundamental principles for assign-
562 ing role categories. The age principle categorizes the entire town in role pairs of respect and deference. Sex differentiation is not made in children until after infancy. An infant of either sex is called *ʔunin,* also a term for
[192] the new moon, until the age of eight months. The sex of parent rather
[601] than that of the child is designated: a woman calls her offspring *ʔalal* whether boy or girl, and a man calls his offspring *nilʔan*. Sex distinction is

made in speaking of toddlers: boys are called *htatil* and girls *ḳantxil*. After five years of age, a boy is referred to as *č'in ḳerem*, "little boy" and a girl as *č'in ʔačil*, "little girl." The term for younger sibling, *ḳihtx'in*, which is extended to all of the people younger than oneself on one's own side of the dual division, is not sex marked, but the terms for all people older than oneself are. Sexual segregation begins at the age of five in sleeping arrangements as well as in public gatherings, when little boys stand with their fathers. The modifier "č'in" is dropped after the age of nine, and the terms "kerem" and "ačil" are used until marriage. At the age of fifteen, a girl is referred to as *ʔantx wiltal*, "just arriving at womanhood," and when she is married she is classified as an *ʔantx*, or woman. A boy is referred to as a kerem until he is married, when he is called *ač' winiḳ* or "new man." A woman with children is referred to as *meʔelil*, and is a full-fledged member of her sex, the *meʔil*. A man's reference term does not change with paternity. When a young unmarried man dies, people say with sorrow that it was a pity "he did not try out life," and that "he did not try out a woman."

In her youth a woman's role is tied to the reproductive cycle, but after menopause she is released from the restrictions of childbearing women. She need not appear as modest in public, and can drink and dance at fiestas. A noticeable personality change can be seen as women move out of the chrysalis of their reproductive cycle. Some older women begin to take a keen interest in sex, and widows in particular may have sexual relations with young unmarried men. It is after menopause that a woman takes her first role in ceremonials as a woman speaker.

In the man's life cycle, leadership roles are related to age. Paternal roles are the prototype for both familial and public authority positions. Thus the term for father, *tat* is the stem for the term for leader, *statal*.

In the relationship between the sexes, women are considered to be under the control of a male protector, either their father or husband. However, there is a kind of equality between the sexes which is not found in Ladino society. Usually there is only a small age difference between husband and wife, even in second marriages, and parents resist giving a young unmarried girl to an older previously married man. Mutual respect is stressed in the advice given by elders at marriage. There is no double standard for ex-

does not drink or have a record of fighting. Character traits are given more significance than wealth, since the minimal differences which distinguish rich from poor can be lost within a few months if a man drinks heavily or does not work. The close identification among siblings means that in accepting a suit the girl's parents will take into consideration not only the boy's reputation, but those of his brothers. If they are considered to be disobedient, lazy, or frequently drunk, their brother may have difficulty finding a woman. 581 582 [593]

Positions of ceremonial importance in the household celebrations are filled by any of the elders who have acquired knowledge of the prayers. The nakawanehetik are chosen from among any of the bilaterally-extended relatives, compadres, or padrinos who have served five times in religious office. They are selected not only on the basis of how well they know the prayers, but also on their behavior when required to drink. A man who can hold his liquor and still speak well or who quietly goes to sleep rather than fighting when drunk is preferred. The me?il k'op is selected from among the female complements of these male relatives. She acquires her knowledge of the prayers in familial settings. The b'alnialetik are chosen from the kihtz'inal (younger siblings and cousins), or from among compadres or members of neighboring households. The rank order between the two sets of roles—the nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik—depends on relative age; thus the older nakawanehetik have greater authority. 794 592 782 555 561 [273]

Familial roles provide both a pattern and a springboard for other roles in the community. The father-son role pair is extended to the relationships between senior and junior officials in both the religious hierarchy and the curing hierarchy. For each saint, the elder mayordomo is called "father" (*Tatil Martoma*), and the younger is called "son" (*Nic'nal Martoma*). A man must fill the junior post at least two times before taking on the senior post. For each side of the dual division, the elder curer (when there was a recognized leader) was called "father" (*Tatil ?u?ul*), and the younger was called "son" (*Nic'nal ?u?ul*) or sometimes "youth" (*Biktal ?u?ul*). The term *me?il* (woman who has borne a child) is used in the reference to ceremonial roles played by women in the household, as in the case of me?il k'op (woman speaker) and me?il c'om (mother of the betrothal). 621 593 561 794 192 [756] 621 592 562

Etiquette of role interaction. The complex system of stereotyped behavior contained in codes of etiquette depends upon role relations. The primary rule of etiquette is to greet people appropriately. In street greetings, one demonstrates that one knows how to "take into account," or show respect to, elders and minors. To elders of the first ascending generation or above, one says, "Good morning, father (or mother)." Those of one's own generation are greeted as elder brother or sister, or younger brother or sister, depending on their relative age. If the encounter is with a compadre, the terms kumpare or kumare take precedence over any other relation. A respected curer is addressed as *tatinal*. Officials are greeted by their titles, preceded by *mam* if they are older. Such greetings are restricted to people who live in the same division of the village. When one enters the other division, it is necessary to greet only compadres or relatives who have passed over after marriage. When younger persons approach elders of prestige, they remove their hats and incline their heads to be touched.

Service of food and drink is strictly ordered by age and sex. At mealtime, small children are fed separately, before or after their elders depending on the child's needs. When they reach the age of reason, about twelve, they are expected to await their turn. The father is served first, followed by his sons in order of age. The mother eats later with the girls.

The etiquette of ceremonial behavior is an extension and elaboration of the everyday forms. Service and greetings are made in order of age and rank, a procedure simplified by the fact that seating arrangements are made in the same order. In house ceremonials, the eldest man sits facing inward, to the right of the door. The rest of the company sits in clockwise order from eldest to youngest on benches lining the porch. Within the house, the seating of women by age begins with the eldest woman sitting at the center post and others sitting in clockwise order.

Preferred modes of behavior in all settings for all roles are "slowness and softness, expressed by a single term, *k'unk'untik*. Deference and respect—"hearing and feeling," *ʃ?awai*—should be shown in all encounters, marked by behavior such as downcast eyes, shawl held over the mouth, avoidance of direct eye contact, as well as verbal signs of agreement and

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Evaluations of Behavior

121 The evaluation of individual behavior is related to role categories, but is not circumscribed by them. Some behavior is universally prescribed, and judgments include all categories of people. This is particularly notable in behavior related to the moral code. Etiquette requires an ability to respond appropriately not only to individual "others" in a setting, but to a plurality of "others" categorized in special roles. This ability to respond to others in a setting and to anticipate what their responses will be has been characterized as "complex syntactic behavior" by Hebb and Thompson (1954). Analysis of complex syntactic behavior must go beyond the summation of dyadic interaction within role sets to exploring the shared values and norms on which judgments are made and expectations predicated.

Judgments of behavior are cast in terms of (1) morality, or the acceptance of prescribed behavior, (2) etiquette, or the acceptance of preferred actions, and (3) competence, or the effectiveness of performance. In gossip, in court cases, in allocating roles of responsibility, in judging professional competence, the assessment of a person is made with reference to his action in past incidents. A person is what he does, and the evaluation [192] [193] of a person's repetitive acts (called *yobra* incorporating the Spanish loan word *obra* and the Tzeltal possessive form *y*) encompasses a personal history.

196 577 *Morality*. Judgments concerning the moral value of a person are summarized in terms of states of the heart. A person who behaves well is said to be of "very good heart" in contrast to someone of "another heart." A good man is "one-hearted" if he takes other people into account. The description may be put in the negative, as "one who does not know how to seek disputes." The expression "two-hearted" is comparable to what English speakers mean by "two-faced."

577 626 Violations of the moral code are differentiated from violations of the code of convention or etiquette in that the former are said to indicate lack of fear and the latter are said to indicate lack of shame. These two definitions of social transgression point to the major socializing technique of the community: promoting a sense of shame and fear.

577 sion: "I pay respect to my elders. I greet my brothers and my children [ex-
887 tension of kinship terms]. To all I give respect. Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick."

577 A good man is a generous host, expressed in the phrase, "he gives many
[574] tortillas." He serves his community in public office but avoids the appear-
[196] ance of seeking power or self-aggrandizement. When he gives orders, it is
[576] in a soft, low tone, supplicating rather than ordering with the phrase, "If you would please lend a hand." He gives thanks readily for any service rendered both to God and to his fellow man. He avoids any show of
[578] anger, and is always careful to show consideration of others. Those who are of "another heart" or "two-hearted" are the opposite, seeking disputes, "thinking small," "being miserly," and of a "very black soul."

[754] The heightened awareness of the state of the heart of others comes from the ever-present fear of witchcraft. Since the people feel their survival depends upon perception of evil heart before it strikes, they develop an acute sense of the behavioral clues that indicate its presence.

829 *Conformity and deviance.* Conventional or preferred behavior is
183 characterized as "reasonable." The phrase "ʔiʔ rason," to take reason or
• [192] understanding, is applied to a child who is expected to have reason at the
[828] age of twelve years or so, as well as to the arrival at agreement of competing parties, as in the case of betrothal.

Reasonable behavior is any behavior conforming to socially accepted understandings of what the world is. These include what a person of non-Indian culture might characterize as beliefs based on faith. They "know"
[776] that there are hill spirits, wood spirits who cut off people's heads, and men who transform themselves into animals. Occasionally they subject given
813 understandings to empirical tests: one woman tested the belief that a
[241] woman could rid the milpa of insect pests only by walking through a
[825] planted field wearing a new skirt; she walked through the field wearing a worn skirt and her belief was confirmed when she found that the insect pests were not killed but just fled and returned later. Empiricism is not lacking; the difference between the content of their category of what is rational or reasonable and ours is based on the premises, not the process of reasoning.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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People who fail to conform to the customs of the town are said to lack "reason." This category includes those who do not attend to the advice of their elders. People from outside of town who do not behave in conventional patterns are said to be "of another sort."

Institutionalized patterns of behavior differ as to the degree of explicitness of the association between action and reason. Curing practices are most directly attached to an understanding of why they are performed. Ritual practices in the cult of the spirits are tied to a more general explanatory system in which something should be done "because it was the custom of our ancestors."

Competency. Judgments concerning the intelligence of a person and his ability to adjust to his social and physical environment complement the criteria of morality and reasonableness. Alertness, or intelligence is associated with the possession of more than one soul: a person may have from one to a dozen additional souls. Curers and witches, by virtue of their possession of an animal spirit, are by definition very intelligent. Evaluations of alertness are often made in discussing the personalities of others. In the myth concerning the three brothers and the honey (Chapter 8) God, the Elder Brother, was described as "not very bright," Jesus Christ, the Second Brother, as "a little brighter," and the Holy Ghost, the Youngest Brother as "the brightest." Alertness is usually associated with manipulation for one's own advantage, but is not necessarily antithetical to having a good heart. In the myth mentioned above, the youngest brother outwits his two older brothers to his own advantage, and coincidentally that of the world.

The word *b'ol* is used figuratively to express the opposite of alertness, stupidity. Literally it means one who is mute; the connection is significant. A child born mute is said to have had its soul stolen at birth so that he must exist without speech. The power of speech is highly valued and the prestigeful roles are accorded to those who can speak well in both formal and informal exchanges. It is a dangerous skill, since the ability to talk to the gods gives an advantage to the speaker over the general population. The ability to speak to the earth, a talent which people say the ancestors possessed and which curers in the neighboring town of Chamula still

Chapter 12

Ordering Behavior by Time

The structuring of social acts depends upon shared understandings about how others use time as well as space. Scheduling of activities in the daily and annual cycles minimizes decision-making by individuals and provides a set of expectations that facilitates cooperation. 121

The Sense of Time

The abstract noun for time, *k'alal,* is derived from the word for day, *k'al.* Time began when k'oš, the youngest son of Our Grandmother the Moon, took the sun from his elder brother and carried it around the world so that there was a succession of day and night (Chapter 8). Time past, (*name?il*), is a general state of being in which the ancestors lived. The future is at best a recapitulation of the past. 805 192 196 173 822

People judge time by the position of the sun during the day, and by that of the moon or the stars at night. In winter, the appearance of the group of stars called "the sandal" and in summer of the "seven stars" indicates two o'clock in the morning. The appearance of Venus, called "the big star," announces the arrival of dawn. 805 821

In addition to these natural indicators, there are three timepieces in the town—in the school, the parish house, and the store. In the morning the policemen check the time with the lay sisters or the schoolmaster before mounting the tower of the church to strike the bell at eight o'clock, the time for rounding up the schoolchildren, at noon, the time for closing the town hall and the church, and at five in the afternoon, the time for evening prayers. 805

Despite bells and nature, however, people are not very accurate in calcu-

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS Replication of behavior in both civil and religious inauguration is also seen in the house ceremonies. Prior to setting out to the townhall or to the church, the new officials acquire a sense of the sacred obligations they are about to undertake from the words of the *nakawanehetik*. 621* 794 796 182

The major behavioral schema are established in the settings in which activities occur. In each setting, the actors assert status in a social arrangement by their position in a physical arrangement: seating order clockwise from the door indicates rank order in all settings. The same act has a different significance in each setting. For example, drinking in the townhall differs from drinking in the house because it ties together different sets of actors.[10] As the actors move from one setting to the next, they are accompanied by some of the members linking them to the prior setting, as when the *nakawanehetik* accompany the president to the townhall. 621* 794 156 182 571 554 [273]

The significance of setting in allocating roles is evident in the Tzeltal terms for categories of officials: religious officials are called "officials in the church" *(?a?teletik te ta č'ulna)* and civil officials are called "officials in the townhall" *(?a?teletik te ta č'ulna)*. If my guess concerning the derivation of the term *nakawane* from house officials is correct (note 6), then this category derives its name from the locus in which authority is recognized. 621* 794 182 192 156

The analysis of behavior, or roles in action, corroborates some of the understandings gained from eliciting the structure, but requires some modification. The segmentary character of the hierarchy is evidenced in the domain, action, and the timing of action. However, qualifications of the elicited model must be made on the basis of the behavioral data. First, the asymmetry of the links between civil and religious officials in the church setting as compared with the townhall setting requires a qualification of the meaning of the integration for the two wings. 621* 794 182 156

[10] This adds a further caveat to the "behaviorist fallacies" pointed out by Lewin (1951, p. 79) when the psychological setting is ignored in the description of the physical dimension of an act. [114]

[R 221-A]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo'ontahal

APPENDIX 3A — SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN CIVIL INAUGURATION

	Setting	Role (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	Relationship	Behavior
*621 105 192 554 593 [574]	House, evening of inauguration	*ʔAČʔATEL*, new officials	Ego	Receives guests, sits next to leader *nakawane*
		NAKAWANEHETIK, house officials	Father of new official or elder of neighborhood who has passed in higher offices (first regidor and elder mayordomo)	Initiates greetings; sits in head seat
		BALNIALETIK, assistants	Sons of new officials, husbands of daughters or of sisters	Serve food, measure drinks
[608]		*ʔAK'SIETIK*, wood gatherers	Neighbors, compadres, brothers	Bring wood, eat, drink
		MEʔELETIK, Meʔil K'op, woman speaker Yinam, wife	Mother, or elder relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings
		SKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers		Serves food. Cook food, dish out food, eat
*621 105 192 554 [593]	House, morning of inauguration	*NAKAWANEHETIK*, house officials	Father and/or elder neighbors	Initiates greetings, addresses blessing to liquor
		AʔTELETIK ALKALETIK REHIROLETIK, judges, regidores	Men of village	Receive food and liquor
[602] [608]		*BALNIALETIK*, assistants	Brothers-in-law, godsons, compadres, fa's sis's sons, brother, comadre's son, neighbors	Serve food, measure drink
[574]		*YULATAK*, visitors	Men from rural colonias	Give *abrazo*, embrace, to new president, eat, drink
		MEʔELETIK, women Meʔil k'op Sčebal Smeʔ Yoćebal Smeʔ	Mother or elder relative ? ? ?	Responds to *nakawane's* and *alkal's* greeting. Orders women in serving of food
		SKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	(See Chart 3)	Cooks food, dishes out food
	Townhall, morning session, civil inauguration	*K'AʔAʔTELETIK*, old officials	Men of village	Drink; wait for new officials seated
[194]		*ʔALPERESETIK*, alfereces	Men of village	Bring banners from church, drink wait for new officials

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

*621 105 • 192 554	*KRINSIPALETIK*, principales	Two men who have passed through five offices in civil and six in religious hierarchy	Address greetings to old first judge; drink, greet new officials pass over staffs
	?AČ?A?TELETIK, new officials	Men of village	Receive oath
	Professor		Gives oath
Plaza, noon	*'TEKLUM*, Village (people) *Spisil Me?eletik*, all the women *Spisil Winketik*, all the men	Men and women of village	Look to see who the new officials are
[788]	*?AC?A?TELETIK*, new officials		Make two turns in procession
[794]	*?ALPERESETIK*, alfereces		Lead procession with banners
	BALNIALETIK, assistants	Two of president's assistants	Play flute and drum, light firecrackers
[794] Church, noon	*MARTOMAETIK*, mayordomos		Look to see new officials
	PIŠKAL, fiscal		Look to see new official
	?AČ' A?TELETIK, new officials		Speak to God
Townhall, afternoon	*?AČ' A?TELETIK*, new officials		Drink with *krinsipaletik*
	KRINSIPALETIK, principales		Drink with new officials

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo'ontahal

APPENDIX 3B—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN RELIGIOUS INAUGURATION

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SETTING	ROLE (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	RELATIONSHIP	BEHAVIOR
[574] House of kobraria Sacramento, morning of inauguration	KOBRARIA SAKRAMENTU	Ego	Receives guests; sits at first seat on outside wall near door
[604] [605]	NAKAWANEHETIK	Fa's brother and fa's brother's sons	Initiates greetings, sits at head seat
[593] [608]	BALNIALETIK	Sons, sons of campadres, neighbors	Serve liquor, food
[602]	ME?ELETIK, women	Elder female relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings, orders helpers
[608]	Me?ilk'op, woman speaker		
	ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	Comadres, sisters, neighbors	Prepare food, coffee
	MARTOMAETIK 3 KOBRARIA TATILETIK NIČ'ANILETIK		Eat and drink. Listen to advice of *nakawanehetik*
Church, morning of inauguration	PIŠKAL, fiscal KURA, priest ?AČ'MARTOMAETIK, new mayordomos K'A MARTOMAETIK, old mayordomos		Advises mayordomos of duties. Divides up candles brought by mayordomos; hands them to new mayordomos

the thigh. The spinning is done with the left hand, the right holding and drawing out the thread, *tsahalna'* (fig. 302-d). 283

The thread is then arranged for the warp on a form called *kumen* (fig. 302-c). This is a pole 1.40 meters long, notched at intervals on one side, and with a groove in one end joining two unnotched sides. In one of the notches, according to the length of thread desired, is placed a cross stick, *tumin-te,* (equals *kumen-te?*), 45 centimeters long. The thread is laid from one end of this cross stick, through the groove, around to the other end of the cross stick, and so, back and forth, until the required number of woof-strands are prepared. The loops around one half of the cross stick are then transferred to the head-stick of the loom, those around the other to the foot-stick, and the woof is ready. At the head end, the loops are braided for the selvage. 286 [342] [284] [142] [516] [854] [302] [291] [231]

FIG. 301—Sivacá, Chis. Woman Winding Thread.

The loom, *holél,** has no rigid frame. The woof is stretched over the head and foot-sticks, *wolol-te.* The head-stick is fastened to a beam in the house or to a branch, usually more than a meter above the ground. Before this the weaver sits, with the foot-stick strapped to her by a broad leather strap, *ku'epat,* thus holding the set-up taut (fig. 303). At a little distance below the head-stick, the woof-strands are crossed, those underneath being carried on top, and held in place

*holél is one of a large class of words ending in -el, -il, or -il, which are at once verbal nouns and infinitives; e. g. tal-il, to come, or the act of coming, corresponding to the Latin venire and veniendo. hol-il primarily means to weave, here it is also applied to the loom. [193]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927/NV9 Tzeltal NV9

197 be of great interest could it be ascertained whether Tzeltal really is the parent tongue of Zotzil, or whether Zotzil, with its marked vocalic individuality, has not corrupted Tzeltal from an original form more closely allied to the lowland languages.

194 The alphabet used here is modeled on that of Dr. Tozzer,* with a few changes and some additions. It would, perhaps, be possible to enlarge the range of *k* sounds yet further, but the result would be only to make the present records needlessly difficult of comparison with the older lists.

PHONETICS. The languages recorded here closely resemble Maya itself in their phonetic system, although a slightly wider range of sounds, especially in the vowels, is found. This may in part be due to uncertainties of pronunciation; certain sounds occur differently in the same word spoken by different men, e. g., *ts'* and *tc'* in Tzeltal, final ' and *k* in Yocotan Chontal. If enough Indians could be questioned, a normal form could undoubtedly be derived from many of these alternates. The presence of the *k* fortis (*k'*), velar *k* (*q*), and the palatalized *g* (*x*), with the frequent stop ('), gives a wider range of *k* and *g* sounds than in Maya.† These, with the fortis forms of *t* and *p*, and the dental surds *ts* and *tc*, make the languages distinctly harsh and unpleasant to the ear. In addition, the Tzeltal and Chaneabal have an ugly, whining tone in ordinary conversation, very much increased when emphasis is desired. Yocotan has an unusual range of nasals.

193 CONSONANTS. The system of consonants includes one velar, three
194 palatals, alveolars, and a double set of dentals, both surd and fortis, a dorsal, nasal, and labials. It is difficult to distinguish between *b*, *p*, and *w*, although they are probably not interchangeable.‡ In Jacalteca the *p* at first appeared to be a *w*, but was found to be actually distinct; the sound is almost impossible to imitate.

Mention should be made of the added letter *r*, already suggested by Dr. Tozzer, who says:§

"I have been much perplexed by what I have long thought to be an *r* sound, possibly a sonant of the spirant. No mention of this sound is made in any of the early grammars and its presence is denied by the Mayas themselves. This sound I seem to have heard in several words written by Maya scholars with a double vowel . . . I have come to the conclusion to omit this sound from the list."

*Tozzer, 1921.
†Cf. Tozzer, op. cit., p. 17.
‡Tozzer, op. cit., p. 18, and Gates, 1930, p. 612.
§Ibid, page 18.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

194
•193 This *r* I have heard and recorded in the same word in different lists, particularly among the Tzeltal; e. g., *kere* (boy). It is rare, occasionally confused with *l*, but quite forcible when present. It has a short, hard trill, not unlike the Japanese, made with the forward part of the tongue against the roof of the palate.

	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Nasal	Lateral	Trill
Velar	—	q	—	—	—	—	—
Palatal	—	k	k'	H	—	—	—
Alveolar	—	t	t'	s	n	l	—
Dorsal	g	—	—	x	ñ	—	r
Nasal	—	—	—	—	n	—	—
Dental	—	ts	ts'	j	—	—	—
		tc	tc'	c			
Labial	b	p	p'	v	m	—	—
Glottal	'	—	—	—	—	—	—

Breath, *h*. Semi-vowels, w and *y*.

q, the velar *k*, is formed between the back of the tongue and the soft palate. Palatal *k* is as in English. The fortis, *k'*, is made as the *k*, followed by a strong explosion of breath. The various fortis sounds may be similarly described in relation to their respective surds.

H is an intensified *h* sound, resembling the Mexican pronunciation of *x* in "Mexico," or *g* in "gente."

The dorsal *x* resembles *ch* in German "ach," but with less aspiration.

g is rather faint, as in Spanish "agua."

ñ is the *ng* in English "ring."

tc is the *ch* in English "child."

c is the *sh* in English "shoot."

The lateral *l* is accompanied by a slight breathing, giving it a thick sound.

j is pronounced as in French "jamais."

VOWELS. On comparing the vowel sounds listed here with those of other writers, it seems possible that I have made too fine distinc-
[124] tions. However, the new vowels were found to occur with great
[126] regularity, and in several cases I was corrected by my informants for changing them to the nearest approximate standard form, as, in pronouncing Yocotan *kE-* as *kü*, or the sound I have represented by *O* as *o*. Unmarked vowels have their Spanish sounds, *a* as in "pan," *e* as in "me" (not as in "metate"), *i* as in "bonita," *o* as in "lodo," but *u* is pronounced as *oo* in English "good." In addition there is a long *a* (*ā*) as in English "father," short *e* (*ĕ*) as in Eng-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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193 lish "met," short *i* (*ĭ*) as in English "mix," long *u* (*ū*) as *oo* in English "boot," and short *u* (*ŭ*) as in English "hut." *E* represents a sound between *ŭ* and English *er* in "water." *O* is a sound like English "or" said while holding the mouth for *u*. Diphthongs are *ai*, *oi* and *au*.

Double vowels are always to be pronounced separately, the second having a slightly shorter quantity than the first.

Accent is indicated by ′ in those words in which the stress does not fall on the last syllable.

000 INFORMANTS. The Chontal List was taken down by Mr. William Gates from two pure-blooded Indians of Tecoluta, Tabasco. It was made at Comalcalco. Mr. Gates' spelling has been revised to accord with the other lists, as far as possible.

Two Yocotan lists were made, the first, from José Hernandez, a young Indian of San Fernando, Tabasco, at Macuspana. The second was given, together with the ethnographic information, by Lázaro Hernandez Guillermo, a man of forty or forty-five, also of San Fernando; he had a little Ladino blood on his mother's side. This man, although illiterate, was remarkably intelligent, and was by all odds the best informant that we had in the course of the trip. The list was made at leisure on board the steamer, and he was by that time thoroughly at home with us, and acquainted with our methods and wishes. He showed some, limited, ability to analyze his own grammatical forms.

124 The first Tzeltal list was given by Sebastiano Guzman, a Bacha-
126 jon shaman, at El Encanto in Chiapas. It was supervised by Don
115 Arturo Tovilla, who was thoroughly conversant with the language. The second was given, also at El Encanto, by Fidencio Morales, a Ladino house-boy from Ocosingo, who was not satisfactory. The third was taken down from Don Ciriaco Aguilar at Bachajon. Señor Aguilar had been assisting in Ethnological work for over two weeks, and spoke Tzeltal fluently. He was assisted by a volunteer committee of Indians and Ladinos.

000 The Chaneabal list was compiled at El Puente, near Comitan, from an Indian estimated at thirty-five years of age, called Casimiro Gomez. He was moderately satisfactory.

Two Jacalteca lists were made. The first, at Jacaltenango in Guatemala, was given by Santiago Hernandez, a middle-aged Indian of doubtful purity, with occasional help from other Indians. He was literate, fairly intelligent, and enthusiastically coöperative. The second was hastily taken down at Concepción. It was begun by Alonzo Rafael Alvebal, pure-blood, about thirty years old, who

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Appendix VI

TZELTAL TEXTS

Given by Senor Aureo Cruz, of Toniná

TEXT I

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PRAYER OF POOR MAN, WHEN MAKING OFFERINGS IN CHURCH OR IN THE MILPA

(See The Northern Tzeltal, Chap.)

Pas-a	*resib-il*	*yun**	*k-aHwal-tik*
Do thou	accept (Sp. recibir)	in the name of	our guardian of us

Dios		*teul-ba-lum-milal*†	*bin*	*la-ta*‡	*y*
God	(of)	blessed the world	that which	found	and

bin	*ma-va-la-ta.*	*pas-a*	perdon	*yun*
that which	not was found.	do thou	forgive	in the name of

k-aHwal-tik	Dios		*teul-ba-lum-milal*	*teitc'*
our guardian of us	God	(of)	blessed the world	blood

bak'-et-al	*ham-al*	*k'-otan-tik*	*ham-al*	*ti'-tik*
of (?) bones the	open	our hearts of us	open	mouths of us

aw-on	*te-lum-al*	*koltai-ya*	*kaHwal*
give me	health of the earth	free it (protect?)	kneeling (?)

ka-nitcan.
thy son.

TEXT II

539

TZELTAL CONVERSATION

hoon	*lok'-on*	*tax*		*lum-al*	*v-oon*	*ta'*
I	went out I	from	(my)	land the	went I	to

yan	*lum-etik*§	*ta'*	*yil-el*‖	*yan*	*lugarx-etik*
other	lands	to	see	other	places

y	*lak-il*‖	*s-na*	*es-etik*	*baiyel*
and	look at	their (?) houses	Old Ones ("los antiguos")	plenty

[192]
[193]

*This was originally given *sok*, "with," but one of the Indian girls at El Real corrected it to *yun*.
†The stem is *lum*, "earth." No definite translation was found for *-ba-* or *-milal*.
‡The root is *ta*, "come."
§*-etik*, or *-tik*, is the emphatic plural, as well as forming, with the first personal pronoun present or implied, the inclusive plural.
‖*-el* is the generalizing suffix, here it represents the abstract idea of the action, and corresponds to our infinitive.

613 614 621 171 601 type of communitives such as Oxchuk and Cancuc depends on communal land holding and contiguity in residence of the agnatic kin. The corporate identity of these groups is breaking down with the fragmentation of land holdings and movement of men from the paraje of their fathers (Guiteras Holmes 1947, Villa Rojas 1946).

601 602 Symmetrical bilateral extension of kinship terms can be seen in Figure 3. Relative age modifies generation in terms for collaterals. In ego's generation, older brother and sister are distinguished from younger siblings. In parents' generation, siblings of father younger than father are referred to and called elder brother or sister, and those older than father are called father or mother. In grandparent's generation, siblings older than grandparent are called grandfather or grandmother, and those younger than grandparent are called father and mother. If the grandparent should die, leaving only a younger sibling, the term grandparent is used referentially and vocatively. There is no sex distinction made between siblings or collaterals younger than ego in the referential terminology. Referential terminology [193] for lineals younger than ego does not make sex distinctions, but the distinction may be made with one's own children by using the possessive form of the vocative term, such as "my little man" (*htatil*) or "my little woman" (*ḳantzil*). Women refer to their children with the term *ʔalal*. The stem *ʔal* signifies the verb to give birth. Men refer to their children as *niẖ'an*. The collective term for children of both parents combines the two terms in a possessive form, *ḳalniẖ'an*, our children.

The bilateral system of Amatenango is not in conformity with the Spanish model. Along with similar systems mentioned for Aguacatenango, Coatlan, and Palantla, it differs from the Spanish model in that collaterals in ascending generations are classified with lineal relatives, and age relative to ego modifies generational separation. These systems appear to be an [174]

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obscures that of generation. Just as in Tzoʔontahal, all members of the community address others they meet on the street with the term indicating age relationship to ego, and grandfather and grandmother terms are reserved for the very old. The authors conclude that this terminological behavior reflects the rigid age-grading found in social groups throughout the community. I would venture a generalization that requires further research to the effect that age-grading provides a pattern for appropriate behavior among members of endogamous, closely settled communities whereby conflict is reduced by channeling competition for prestigeful positions. [601] [171]

Chapter 8

Taking Care of the Lord Spirits

Religious behavior is concerned with two major goals: maintaining a given state of prosperity and protecting the community against disaster. In the words of one informant: "All of the goods which we enjoy—the corn, beans, and wheat that we eat, the animals which work for us and give us food—are the gifts of the Lord spirits." The technique for maintaining the flow of goods of the world is the annual cycle of fiestas for the saints. The strategy for protecting the community against disaster is through avoidance of offense and special offerings to the gods identified with pre-hispanic deities and spirits. Responsibility for the ceremonial cycle is assigned to officials who represent the community, but everyone is responsible for the avoidance of disaster, since any transgression of moral behavior by an individual can cause their wrath and bring destruction of crops and animals. The protective rituals involve beliefs continuous from pre-hispanic times; maintenance depends on Catholic saints.

Kinds of Lord Spirits

Religious behavior is based on an understanding of the personality and rank of each deity in a hierarchy of power. The people distinguish two major categories of gods: the lord spirits of the heaven, *ʔultatik ta ʔulčan*, and the lord spirits of the church, *ʔultatik ta ʔulna*. The prefix *ʔul* in all of these terms can be translated as spirit. All growing things—people, plants, and animals—have a spirit. *Tatik* can be translated as our lords, elders, or fathers. The categories of spirits discussed here differ from the ʔuleletik (Chapter 1) since these are spirits possessed by the place in which they dwell, as indicated by the possessive form of the noun with the prefix *s*.

as the direct agents of the ancestors, guarded the streets of their own side of the dual division. The judges, with the supervision of the principales, were responsible for guarding against the abuse of power by the curers or others possessing a swayohel in their review of witchcraft cases in the town hall. The three sets of functionaries—ancestors, curers, and judges—are classified in a lexicon of role function in the stem *me? . . tat . . ,* common to the terms applied to them, me?tiktatik, me?iltatil, and me?eštateš.[3]

The system of control over the use of power has been in a state of uneasy tension. In a series of incidents recounted below, the growing suspicion that the judges and the principales were not countering the witches because of their fear of falling victim to them, and that the curers themselves were exercising the witchcraft becomes apparent.

In the following case, the system of checks and balances was upset by the entry into the presidency in 1940 of Mam Nicolás, the leading curer of Allannantik. Nicolás combined the skills of operating in the traditional culture with those of dealing with the Ladino world. Despite the fact that he was a graduate of the boarding school operating in the town in the 1930s, which had far more extensive effects in acculturation as well as formal education than any prior school, he practiced curing. The case is recounted by Ceferino, the scribe:

Formerly the dead president Mam Nicolás left at midday from the town hall and went to his house where he ate a meal. A neighbor, Francisco, came to talk to him. They drank a half a liter of trago, and then began to drink a second and got drunk. They began to say goodbye, and Francisco left Nicolás' house. When Nicolás saw that Francisco went out, he grabbed his shotgun. He saw that Francisco was now far away, and he fired many shots. One got him right in his back. When Francisco felt it, he shouted. The police heard him and went to get the judges who came to see also. His [Francisco's] wife came. She raised his head and cried when she saw he was dead. An elder sister brought a new mat to carry him.

3. The suffixes *-eš,* and *-tik* refer to pronominal forms, as in "you judges" and "our ancestors." *-il* is an article, as in "the curers." In prayer, the ancestors may be addressed in the second person, or the judges may be referred to with the first-person-plural possessive, but these forms are rare in those contexts.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Evaluations of Behavior

121 The evaluation of individual behavior is related to role categories, but is not circumscribed by them. Some behavior is universally prescribed, and judgments include all categories of people. This is particularly notable in behavior related to the moral code. Etiquette requires an ability to respond appropriately not only to individual "others" in a setting, but to a plurality of "others" categorized in special roles. This ability to respond to others in a setting and to anticipate what their responses will be has been characterized as "complex syntactic behavior" by Hebb and Thompson (1954). Analysis of complex syntactic behavior must go beyond the summation of dyadic interaction within role sets to exploring the shared values and norms on which judgments are made and expectations predicated.

Judgments of behavior are cast in terms of (1) morality, or the acceptance of prescribed behavior, (2) etiquette, or the acceptance of preferred actions, and (3) competence, or the effectiveness of performance. In gossip, in court cases, in allocating roles of responsibility, in judging professional competence, the assessment of a person is made with reference to his action in past incidents. A person is what he does, and the evaluation of a person's repetitive acts (called *yobra* incorporating the Spanish loan word *obra* and the Tzeltal possessive form *y*) encompasses a personal history. [192] [193]

196 577 *Morality*. Judgments concerning the moral value of a person are summarized in terms of states of the heart. A person who behaves well is said to be of "very good heart" in contrast to someone of "another heart." A good man is "one-hearted" if he takes other people into account. The description may be put in the negative, as "one who does not know how to seek disputes." The expression "two-hearted" is comparable to what English speakers mean by "two-faced."

577 626 Violations of the moral code are differentiated from violations of the code of convention or etiquette in that the former are said to indicate lack of fear and the latter are said to indicate lack of shame. These two definitions of social transgression point to the major socializing technique of the community: promoting a sense of shame and fear.

formants' conscious understandings as well as of their subconscious patterns of behavior. [121] [024]

Description of behavior requires a theoretical approach to the problems of segmenting activity streams, selecting events, and ordering them. Too large chunks of behavior are not useful in comparisons made over time in the same society or between societies. However, because human (as well as animal) behavior is characterized by motivation and cognition (Tolman, 1961) we cannot expect to isolate minimal units which are invariant from one context to another. Verbs, as French (1954, p. 162) points out, are one-act plays in which a change of dramatis personae creates entirely new meaning. Furthermore, the symbolic weight of a single act varies; it can encompass the history of an institution, such as crossing oneself, or it can establish identification with a social movement, such as raising a clenched fist. However, for any behavioral schema, which I define, following Piaget, as component acts structured in an organized totality (Flavell, 1963, p. 54), it is possible to segment acts and assess their significance. In the major schema of the inauguration of officials in Tzo?ontahal, place, time, and roles are the bases for structuring related sets of activities.

Segmenting human behavior has been treated as either an actor-oriented or an observer-oriented problem. Pike (1954) and Adams (1962) rely on informants' advice to isolate the "behavioreme," whereas Harris (1964, p. 367 ff.) rejects the actor's statement of goals in favor of the investigator's own definitions of action units. If the "basic unit of action in the human body is purposive motion" (Burke, 1962, p. 61), then we must consider the meaning of action at the first stage of an analysis.[4] The anthropological observer's segmentation at this point injects cultural bias which stems from his point of view (Hymes, 1964, p. 14; Spier and Sapir, 1930, p. 217). Since our [114] [124]

[4] Most verbs used by informants in describing action patterns imply purpose. The informant says that he "eats," not that he raises food to his mouth and masticates it. The coding of motives and goals in the verbs underlines the importance of eliciting in the performer's own language. For example, when one observes the Indians as they enter the townhall, one sees them kneel and do what could be interpreted as crossing themselves. Asked what they do, the informants reply, "We measure our noses (*sp'is smi?ik*)." Measuring water (*sp'is ha?*) is another important ceremonial act. This suggests the possible ceremonial significance of measure in ceremonial performances. To assume knowledge of the act because of its similarity to Catholic forms might rule out suggestions requiring deeper probing. Cf. Adams' (1962) distinction between the reported and the observed act, and Barker (1963). [121] [124] [193] [788] [804] [114]

[p. 210-B]

the new officials are publicly defined before overlapping sets of participants and observers. Within each setting, the multiple sets of relationships which determine the individual's selection for a role are indicated in Appendix 3. 621* [571] [602]

It has often been stated of Guatemalan and Mexican highland Maya communities that public office is an undertaking of the household. The precise dimensions of this support have yet to be defined in an activity context. Visitors and helpers in the household celebration provide one such context in which the parameters of the aid can be defined (Charts 2, 3, 4). Primary support is given by the official's wife, without whom he would not be serving in the hierarchy.[5] She serves him by waiting for him in the house, taking care of the money he might have to guard as a civil official, and watching him while he is drunk from the bouts in the townhall so that he will not harm himself by falling in the fire or be harmed by his enemies. His advisors and councilors in the household are the *nakawanehetik*.[6] These are men who have passed through some of the civil offices —at least those of *alferez* and first regidor—and who are somehow related to the new official.[7] A second group of supporters in the household serve as errand boys and assistants, the *balnialetik*. They are chosen from among brothers, brothers-in-law,[8] sons, *compadres* (ritual co-parents), godchildren, and neighbors. A third group are the *ikoltawanehetik*, the fe- 621* 592 [574] [593] [602]

[5] Innumerable instances attest to the significance of the wife in officeholding. For example, at the final ceremony in a betrothal, the boy is advised by his elders that now he will be called to serve the pueblo. Or, in the court case of a judge whose wife wished to leave him because he had beaten her, the other judges counseled her to wait until he had completed his term of office.

[6] The term *nakawanehetik* may be derived from the honorific prefix *nak*, found in other Maya languages (LaFarge, 1947). Another possibility is that it may be the stem *na*, 'house,' plus *kawanehetik*, tentatively glossed as 'officials.' [193]

[7] In the case of the president (in the observed sequence) his father, who had passed through all the offices up to the first judge and had fulfilled his turns in the religious hierarchy as well, was the first *nakawane*.

[8] The term *bal* is generic for brother-in-law, *nial* for father-in-law, but whether this formerly had significance in the selection of assistance I do not know. At present, brothers-in-law are chosen along with others, such as godchildren or neighbors. [601]

[P. 216-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

197 be of great interest could it be ascertained whether Tzeltal really is the parent tongue of Zotzil, or whether Zotzil, with its marked vocalic individuality, has not corrupted Tzeltal from an original form more closely allied to the lowland languages.

• 194 The alphabet used here is modeled on that of Dr. Tozzer,* with a few changes and some additions. It would, perhaps, be possible to enlarge the range of *k* sounds yet further, but the result would be only to make the present records needlessly difficult of comparison with the older lists.

PHONETICS. The languages recorded here closely resemble Maya itself in their phonetic system, although a slightly wider range of sounds, especially in the vowels, is found. This may in part be due to uncertainties of pronunciation; certain sounds occur differently in the same word spoken by different men, e. g., *ts'* and *tc'* in Tzeltal, final ' and *k* in Yocotan Chontal. If enough Indians could be questioned, a normal form could undoubtedly be derived from many of these alternates. The presence of the *k* fortis (*k'*), velar *k* (*q*), and the palatalized *g* (*x*), with the frequent stop ('), gives a wider range of *k* and *g* sounds than in Maya.† These, with the fortis forms of *t* and *p*, and the dental surds *ts* and *tc*, make the languages distinctly harsh and unpleasant to the ear. In addition, the Tzeltal and Chaneabal have an ugly, whining tone in ordinary conversation, very much increased when emphasis is desired. Yocotan has an unusual range of nasals.

193 CONSONANTS. The system of consonants includes one velar, three
194 palatals, alveolars, and a double set of dentals, both surd and fortis, a dorsal, nasal, and labials. It is difficult to distinguish between *b*, *p*, and *w*, although they are probably not interchangeable.‡ In Jacalteca the *p* at first appeared to be a *w*, but was found to be actually distinct; the sound is almost impossible to imitate.

Mention should be made of the added letter *r*, already suggested by Dr. Tozzer, who says:§

"I have been much perplexed by what I have long thought to be an *r* sound, possibly a sonant of the spirant. No mention of this sound is made in any of the early grammars and its presence is denied by the Mayas themselves. This sound I seem to have heard in several words written by Maya scholars with a double vowel . . . I have come to the conclusion to omit this sound from the list."

*Tozzer, 1921.
†Cf. Tozzer, op. cit., p. 17.
‡Tozzer, op. cit., p. 18, and Gates, 1926, p. 612.
§Ibid, page 18.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

194
193 This *r* I have heard and recorded in the same word in different lists, particularly among the Tzeltal; e. g., *kere* (boy). It is rare, occasionally confused with *l*, but quite forcible when present. It has a short, hard trill, not unlike the Japanese, made with the forward part of the tongue against the roof of the palate.

	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Nasal	Lateral	Trill
Velar	—	q	—	—	—	—	—
Palatal	—	k	k'	H	—	—	—
Alveolar	—	t	t'	s	n	l	—
Dorsal	g	—	—	x	ñ	—	r
Nasal	—	—	—	—	n	—	—
Dental	—	ts tc	ts' tc'	j c	—	—	—
Labial	b	p	p'	v	m	—	—
Glottal	'	—	—	—	—	—	—

Breath, *h*. Semi-vowels, *w* and *y*.

q, the velar *k*, is formed between the back of the tongue and the soft palate. Palatal *k* is as in English. The fortis, *k'*, is made as the *k*, followed by a strong explosion of breath. The various fortis sounds may be similarly described in relation to their respective surds.

H is an intensified *h* sound, resembling the Mexican pronunciation of *x* in "Mexico," or *g* in "gente."

The dorsal *x* resembles *ch* in German "ach," but with less aspiration.

g is rather faint, as in Spanish "agua."
ñ is the *ng* in English "ring."
tc is the *ch* in English "child."
c is the *sh* in English "shoot."

The lateral *l* is accompanied by a slight breathing, giving it a thick sound.

j is pronounced as in French "jamais."

Vowels. On comparing the vowel sounds listed here with those of other writers, it seems possible that I have made too fine distinc-
[124] tions. However, the new vowels were found to occur with great
[126] regularity, and in several cases I was corrected by my informants for changing them to the nearest approximate standard form, as, in pronouncing Yocotan *kE-* as *kŭ*, or the sound I have represented by *O* as *o*. Unmarked vowels have their Spanish sounds, *a* as in "pan," *e* as in "me" (not as in "metate"), *i* as in "bonita," *o* as in "lodo," but *u* is pronounced as *oo* in English "good." In addition there is a long *a* (*ā*) as in English "father," short *e* (*ĕ*) as in Eng-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

194
193 lish "met," short *i* (*ĭ*) as in English "mix," long *u* (*ū*) as *oo* in English "boot," and short *u* (*ŭ*) as in English "hut." *E* represents a sound between *ŭ* and English *er* in "water." *O* is a sound like English "or" said while holding the mouth for *u*. Diphthongs are *ai*, *oi* and *au*.

Double vowels are always to be pronounced separately, the second having a slightly shorter quantity than the first.

Accent is indicated by ′ in those words in which the stress does not fall on the last syllable.

INFORMANTS. The Chontal List was taken down by Mr. William Gates from two pure-blooded Indians of Tecoluta, Tabasco. It was made at Comalcalco. Mr. Gates' spelling has been revised to accord with the other lists, as far as possible.

Two Yocotan lists were made, the first, from José Hernandez, a young Indian of San Fernando, Tabasco, at Macuspana. The second was given, together with the ethnographic information, by Lázaro Hernandez Guillermo, a man of forty or forty-five, also of San Fernando; he had a little Ladino blood on his mother's side. This man, although illiterate, was remarkably intelligent, and was by all odds the best informant that we had in the course of the trip. The list was made at leisure on board the steamer, and he was by that time thoroughly at home with us, and acquainted with our methods and wishes. He showed some, limited, ability to analyze his own grammatical forms.

124 The first Tzeltal list was given by Sebastiano Guzman, a Bacha-
126 jon shaman, at El Encanto in Chiapas. It was supervised by Don
115 Arturo Tovilla, who was thoroughly conversant with the language. The second was given, also at El Encanto, by Fidencio Morales, a Ladino house-boy from Ocosingo, who was not satisfactory. The third was taken down from Don Ciriaco Aguilar at Bachajon. Señor Aguilar had been assisting in Ethnological work for over two weeks, and spoke Tzeltal fluently. He was assisted by a volunteer committee of Indians and Ladinos.

The Chaneabal list was compiled at El Puente, near Comitan, from an Indian estimated at thirty-five years of age, called Casimiro Gomez. He was moderately satisfactory.

Two Jacalteca lists were made. The first, at Jacaltenango in Guatemala, was given by Santiago Hernandez, a middle-aged Indian of doubtful purity, with occasional help from other Indians. He was literate, fairly intelligent, and enthusiastically coöperative. The second was hastily taken down at Concepción. It was begun by Alonzo Rafael Alvebal, pure-blood, about thirty years old, who

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The performance continued until late that night and began again the next morning. Later in the day the banners were carried to the chapel in procession, with music, and deposited by the altar. The *caporales* led in prayer. The fiesta went on again in the evening. 796 [794]

Christian forms are applied to or mixed with non-Christian rites and ideas to some extent, a confusion resembling the appeal to both saints and native gods in prayer among tribes of Guatemala* and British Honduras.† Much of Christianity is adapted to conform to old, fundamental native concepts. 771 177 178 171

In the church at Bachajon Village there are fourteen saints beside the tribal patron, St. Jerome. These others each have a special care, as the cornfield, hunting, the rivers, etc., and are prayed to for help in their particular provinces. They are given gifts of cloth, usually red or blue, which is draped about them. Many of them duplicate the functions of non-Christian "guardians," to be described below. 776

In this connection it may be mentioned that the Zotzil-speaking Indians of Huistan are accustomed to beat their saint (St. Martin) when they have a bad year, and to caress him and anoint him with oil when things go well. We were told that he had lost his nose and both ears due to this practice. [171]

One prayer was dictated to us by Señor Cruz at Toniná, the full text of which is given in Appendix VI, Text I. It is primarily meant for a poor man when making his offering in the cornfield, a use which is indicated by the phrase "health of the earth," but it may also be used in church. The phrase "blood of my flesh" suggests a remniscence of the ancient Maya offerings of blood from the ear, tongue, etc. A free translation is given here. 126 782 196

PRAYER OF A POOR MAN WHO HAS NOT MUCH TO OFFER.

"Do Thou accept, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, what I have gained, and what I have not gained. Do Thou forgive, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, blood of our flesh; our hearts are open, our lips are open. Give health of the earth; protect thy son kneeling here." [539]

Of primary interest to us were the survivals of the old worship. At the time of the Conquest the Spaniards put forth their utmost efforts to suppress the native religion, and the process has gone on 771 178 177

*Sapper, 1925.
†Gann, 1918.

tuals and everyday tasks. The dialectic of change lies in the interpretations people make of new experience. [21]

My method of study in the field was that of participant-observation combined with extensive eliciting. The assumption implicit in participant-observation that "seeing is believing" denies not only the symbolic significance of the acts one sees, but the relevant social features which are part of their definition of the situation. Rather than impose my own perceptions on the simplest field description, I relied on informants' statements about where, when, what, to whom, and how things were happening. In the case of formally programmed events, I elicited in advance in Tzeltal from two or more informants the sequence of activities as they expected them to transpire. I asked informants to segment the experience they were recounting in as minimal units as they had the descriptive vocabulary to do. This was done for instrumental activities—agriculture and pottery production—as well as ceremonial events in the life cycle and in religious and economic institutions. Implicit in the informants' segmentation of experience is the concept of "molar acts"—purposive and cognitive behavior.[3] The informant says for example that he "eats," not that he raises food to his mouth and chews it. The importance of eliciting descriptions in the performers' own language is indicated in the different way in which experience is lumped or split in Tzeltal. For example, when a curer takes a pulse he both "feels" and "hears" (*ʔawai*) the messages communicated by the blood. On the other hand, the verb "to eat" has several terms depending on what is being eaten (Berlin 1967). Their translations into Spanish do not make the same distinctions. [12] [196] [755]

Observation of events in process provided not only a check for validity and completeness of the informants' accounts, but also a means of analyzing the process of change. The attempt to analyze divergence in actual behavior from normative statements in terms of Murdock's ideal-real dichotomy or Kroeber's value-culture and reality-culture is based on an assumption that there is a single perception of the way things ought to be done in

3. Psychologists such as Lewin (1951:72) and Tolman (1961:89) who have studied animal behavior have emphasized that the minimal unit of significant behavior is both purposive and cognitive. Most of my descriptions of behavior are limited to molar behavior, and the analysis of gesture systems is confined to those which have symbolic significance in a ceremonial context.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Evaluations of Behavior

121 The evaluation of individual behavior is related to role categories, but is not circumscribed by them. Some behavior is universally prescribed, and judgments include all categories of people. This is particularly notable in behavior related to the moral code. Etiquette requires an ability to respond appropriately not only to individual "others" in a setting, but to a plurality of "others" categorized in special roles. This ability to respond to others in a setting and to anticipate what their responses will be has been characterized as "complex syntactic behavior" by Hebb and Thompson (1954). Analysis of complex syntactic behavior must go beyond the summation of dyadic interaction within role sets to exploring the shared values and norms on which judgments are made and expectations predicated.

Judgments of behavior are cast in terms of (1) morality, or the acceptance of prescribed behavior, (2) etiquette, or the acceptance of preferred actions, and (3) competence, or the effectiveness of performance. In gossip, in court cases, in allocating roles of responsibility, in judging professional competence, the assessment of a person is made with reference to his action in past incidents. A person is what he does, and the evaluation [192] of a person's repetitive acts (called *yobra* incorporating the Spanish loan [193] word *obra* and the Tzeltal possessive form *y*) encompasses a personal history.

• 196 *Morality*. Judgments concerning the moral value of a person are 577 summarized in terms of states of the heart. A person who behaves well is said to be of "very good heart" in contrast to someone of "another heart." A good man is "one-hearted" if he takes other people into account. The description may be put in the negative, as "one who does not know how to seek disputes." The expression "two-hearted" is comparable to what English speakers mean by "two-faced."

577 Violations of the moral code are differentiated from violations of the 626 code of convention or etiquette in that the former are said to indicate lack of fear and the latter are said to indicate lack of shame. These two definitions of social transgression point to the major socializing technique of the community: promoting a sense of shame and fear.

577 887 sion: "I pay respect to my elders. I greet my brothers and my children [extension of kinship terms]. To all I give respect. Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick."

577 A good man is a generous host, expressed in the phrase, "he gives many [574] tortillas." He serves his community in public office but avoids the appear- [196] ance of seeking power or self-aggrandizement. When he gives orders, it is [576] in a soft, low tone, supplicating rather than ordering with the phrase, "If you would please lend a hand." He gives thanks readily for any service rendered both to God and to his fellow man. He avoids any show of [578] anger, and is always careful to show consideration of others. Those who are of "another heart" or "two-hearted" are the opposite, seeking disputes, "thinking small," "being miserly," and of a "very black soul."

[754] The heightened awareness of the state of the heart of others comes from the ever-present fear of witchcraft. Since the people feel their survival depends upon perception of evil heart before it strikes, they develop an acute sense of the behavioral clues that indicate its presence.

829 *Conformity and deviance.* Conventional or preferred behavior is 183 characterized as "reasonable." The phrase "ʔiʔ rason," to take reason or [192] understanding, is applied to a child who is expected to have reason at the [828] age of twelve years or so, as well as to the arrival at agreement of competing parties, as in the case of betrothal.

Reasonable behavior is any behavior conforming to socially accepted understandings of what the world is. These include what a person of non-Indian culture might characterize as beliefs based on faith. They "know" [776] that there are hill spirits, wood spirits who cut off people's heads, and men who transform themselves into animals. Occasionally they subject given 813 understandings to empirical tests: one woman tested the belief that a [241] woman could rid the milpa of insect pests only by walking through a [825] planted field wearing a new skirt; she walked through the field wearing a worn skirt and her belief was confirmed when she found that the insect pests were not killed but just fled and returned later. Empiricism is not lacking; the difference between the content of their category of what is rational or reasonable and ours is based on the premises, not the process of reasoning.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

People who fail to conform to the customs of the town are said to lack "reason." This category includes those who do not attend to the advice of their elders. People from outside of town who do not behave in conventional patterns are said to be "of another sort."

Institutionalized patterns of behavior differ as to the degree of explicitness of the association between action and reason. Curing practices are most directly attached to an understanding of why they are performed. Ritual practices in the cult of the spirits are tied to a more general explanatory system in which something should be done "because it was the custom of our ancestors."

Competency. Judgments concerning the intelligence of a person and his ability to adjust to his social and physical environment complement the criteria of morality and reasonableness. Alertness, or intelligence is associated with the possession of more than one soul: a person may have from one to a dozen additional souls. Curers and witches, by virtue of their possession of an animal spirit, are by definition very intelligent. Evaluations of alertness are often made in discussing the personalities of others. In the myth concerning the three brothers and the honey (Chapter 8) God, the Elder Brother, was described as "not very bright," Jesus Christ, the Second Brother, as "a little brighter," and the Holy Ghost, the Youngest Brother as "the brightest." Alertness is usually associated with manipulation for one's own advantage, but is not necessarily antithetical to having a good heart. In the myth mentioned above, the youngest brother outwits his two older brothers to his own advantage, and coincidentally that of the world.

The word *b'ol* is used figuratively to express the opposite of alertness, stupidity. Literally it means one who is mute; the connection is significant. A child born mute is said to have had its soul stolen at birth so that he must exist without speech. The power of speech is highly valued and the prestigeful roles are accorded to those who can speak well in both formal and informal exchanges. It is a dangerous skill, since the ability to talk to the gods gives an advantage to the speaker over the general population. The ability to speak to the earth, a talent which people say the ancestors possessed and which curers in the neighboring town of Chamula still

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787 claim, has been lost, as has been more recently that of speaking with the ancestors. But the curers can still enter into communication with the spirit world and in this lies their power.

461 Industry is valued along with competency. A man is described as indus-
183 trious with the words, "he carries much wood well," and a woman with the words, "she carries much sand well." These expressions are a kind of
[196] synechdoche for general industriousness, since the tasks serve as the measure of willingness to perform one's sexually defined roles.

[476] Judgments made in the choice of working "partners" in the exchange
[602] labor system are based on competence in working as well as on considera-
[608] tions of kin and compadrazgo relationship. Women make judgments of
[323] others' skill in pottery-making on the basis of both the appearance of the pot and its durability proved in use and transportation without breakage to market. Both men and women known to be hard workers are admired
[154] and envied. They may consequently become the objects of witchcraft.

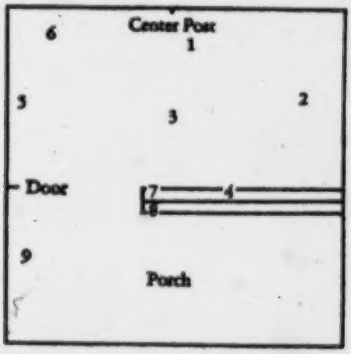
828 Conceptions of personality are one end product of evaluations of per-
157 formances and condition people's expectations of individuals in their social environment. For the Indians, personality traits tend to imply other traits.
125 In order to derive a sense of these implications for Tzo?ontahal, I drew up
157 a checklist to identify some of these associations. Informants were asked to
828 state whether each of the traits listed on the top line in Table 30 was correlated positively, negatively, or not at all with each of the same traits listed vertically. A plus (+) sign indicates positive correlation, a minus (—) sign indicates negative correlation, and an equal (=) sign indicates that
157 there was no correlation. Thus being bright is positively correlated with
828 being beautiful and negatively correlated with being evil, fearful, lazy, foolish, gullible, braggardly, gossipy, and miserly. There is no connection between being bright and being of good heart, aggressive, or honorable. This suggests that the heart and the mind are independent loci for a set of traits that stem from them. Metaphors such as bitter, acid, and straight, when used to describe personality, are similar in connotation to those used in English. As in English, immediate sensory experiences of taste and vision provide by extension a means of talking about character.

157 In studying these personality traits, I sensed that "being" was "doing"
551 things in certain repetitive ways. This impression is corroborated by the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 286]

342 women sit inside in a semicircle. A house without a closed-in porch is re-
[196] ferred to as a "cattle house" since it is considered inadequate for entertain-
[621] ing guests at ceremonial affairs. Townspeople prefer to choose as higher
[574] officials those who have houses with porches to accommodate visitors.

Fig. 8. Interior of a House



1. Seat of honor for women
2. Bed area for women of house
3. Hearth
4. Bench area for relatives of house
5. Bench area for visiting men
6. Mats or wooden board for visiting women
7. Honor seat for men (when inside house)
8. Honor seat for men outside house
9. Resting areas for male helpers

592 Each member of the household has his place for sleeping, eating, and sit-
[513] ting. The youngest child sleeps with his parents, and older children sleep with siblings of the same sex or with their grandparents. Newly married couples living with their parents prefer to sleep in the cook shack if there
[264] is a separate structure. At mealtime, men and boys sit on small wooden
[352] chairs at a miniature table placed against the wall separating the interior from the porch, while women and girls kneel on straw mats near the hearth.

342 Reference points inside the house (Fig. 8) are the center post where the
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342 party to go to the spring, at least one relative remains in the house to
79 greet the soul if it should precede the curing party.
584 Behavior in household rituals is described in Chapters 1, 5, and 8.
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The Cabildo

344 The cabildo, called by the people of the town the "cold house,"[1] was
96 built following the revolution of 1915, when Piñeda's revolutionary soldiers
75 destroyed the original colonial structure. The tiles of the roof were confiscated from a finca which the Indians invaded in 1941 in an unsuccessful attempt to gain additional lands. When they were unable to maintain their hold on the land, they burned the owner's house and took the tiles to the town center where they remain as a symbol of their defiant action. They refer to this event with pride. The cabildo houses the jail, equipped with a barred wooden door, in one of its wings, and the Ejido Commission office in the other.

344 Within the cabildo, each official has his established place. The cabildo is
352 furnished with a table at which the president and síndico sit on wooden
621 chairs made in the Indian town of Chamula. Four benches lining the
554 walls on either side of the entry provide seating for the civil officials. On
576 the right side (looking out at the plaza) sit the judges in order of rank;
693 the regidores, in similar sequence follow them. The principales, and formerly the alfereces, sit on the left side when they appear for ceremonial occasions. This spatial allocation establishes drinking and greeting order as well. Visitors can go directly from one to another in the formal greeting of a handclasp and murmured "good morning, father," or "good afternoon, father," without violating age-respect patterns.

344 During court cases, the claimant and his supporters sit on the bench to
352 the left of the door; on other occasions the bench is occupied by visitors or
695 petitioners. The police sit on one of the two benches lining the outside
625 wall, or retire to the kitchen, a wooden slat lean-to on the left wing of the

171 1. Bunzel (1952) notes that in prayers, the cabildo in Chichicastenango is referred to as "the cold house, the icy house." Although the Quiché term is not given in her manuscript, one can see a similarity in the rhyming couplets and metaphorical allusions in the prayers of the towns.

Chapter 12

Ordering Behavior by Time

The structuring of social acts depends upon shared understandings about how others use time as well as space. Scheduling of activities in the daily and annual cycles minimizes decision-making by individuals and provides a set of expectations that facilitates cooperation. 121

The Sense of Time

805 192 196 173

The abstract noun for time, *k'alal,* is derived from the word for day, *k'al.* Time began when k'oš, the youngest son of Our Grandmother the Moon, took the sun from his elder brother and carried it around the world so that there was a succession of day and night (Chapter 8). Time past, (*name?iš*), is a general state of being in which the ancestors lived. The future is at best a recapitulation of the past. 822

People judge time by the position of the sun during the day, and by that of the moon or the stars at night. In winter, the appearance of the group of stars called "the sandal" and in summer of the "seven stars" indicates two o'clock in the morning. The appearance of Venus, called "the big star," announces the arrival of dawn. 805 821

In addition to these natural indicators, there are three timepieces in the town—in the school, the parish house, and the store. In the morning the policemen check the time with the lay sisters or the schoolmaster before mounting the tower of the church to strike the bell at eight o'clock, the time for rounding up the schoolchildren, at noon, the time for closing the town hall and the church, and at five in the afternoon, the time for evening prayers. 805

Despite bells and nature, however, people are not very accurate in calcu-

Change of Officials

informants cannot, fortunately, be relegated to the role of rats in the maze of their own cultural settings, I prefer the actor's to the investigator's statement of significantly contrasting units. I have found it useful, however, to retain both modes of analysis. Observation corrects for the shorthand statements of the informant, for his lapses of memory, or for inadequate knowledge. Even if some of these inadequacies are corrected by other informants, there remains the problem as to what is an individual understanding and what is socially shared knowledge. In addition, observation provides cues to the dynamic variables which enter into all social processes. 121 124

It is impossible, if not irrelevant, to recount all the behavior occurring in an event. Some of the selection will be fortuitous: we will record what aspects we observe. But not all of this need be included. For example, one would exclude the trips to the back of the patio to urinate by participants in a household ritual, but what might well be recorded is the etiquette with which they undertake these trips. In Tzo?ontahal, people carefully excuse themselves, saying, "I go before your face," specifying that they must urinate. Discretion requires explicitness rather than reticence in reference to such urges, perhaps because of the paranoic fears, particularly during curing ritual, that the one who is departing may be using counter-healing magic when he leaves the group. 121 121 514 [196] • [152] [754]

There is no absolute rule to guide one in selection. In my own field notes, I note what is significant in terms of my own comprehension of goals being pursued. Having been cued into most of the activity in sessions with the informants prior to the event, I have 121 124

[P. 211-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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TABLE 1—DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY MUNICIPALITIES
(Census of 1950)

Municipalities	Area in sq. km.	Tzeltal-speakers	Spanish-speakers	Total Population
North Zone:				
Sitala	550	5,435	1,385	6,821
Yajalon	145	6,026	4,010	10,036
Chilon	462	9,049	2,070	11,118
Ocosingo	12,143	9,170	3,770	12,940
Subtotal	13,300	29,680	11,235	40,915
Central Zone:				
Chanal	192	2,328	553	2,881
Oxchuc	42	4,074	1,338	5,412
Tenejapa	67	6,215	1,535	7,750
Altamirano	1,559	2,945	1,810	4,655
Subtotal	1,860	15,462	5,236	20,698
South Zone:				
Teopisca	270	754	4,601	5,355
Amatenango	355	1,773	756	2,529
Pinola	185	1,384	5,736	7,120
Subtotal	810	3,911	11,093	15.004
GRAND TOTAL	15,970	49,053	27,564	76,617

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TABLE 2—SPEAKERS OF TZELTAL
(Distribution by Zones)

Zones	Monolingual	Bilingual	Total
North Zone	23,429	8,251	31,680
Central Zone	11,291	4,171	15,462
South Zone	323	3,588	3,911
TOTAL	35,043	16,010	51,053

[P. 196-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Although it
161 has an average of 19 inhabitants per sq. km.,
[241] the southern zone has lands that are suitable
[631] for agriculture and for irrigation, such as in
[128] Amatenango. Later I shall discuss the influence of these factors on the uneven economic and social development of the three zones.

161 The figures on Indians are based exclu-
162 sively on use of the Indian language and
• 197 so include both monolinguals and bilin-
191 guals. To differentiate each group, however, I have made corrections based on field work as shown in Table 2.

141 The average height of these Indians ranges from 1.55 to 1.60 m. Referring to

[P. 196 - B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

Chapter XV

THE NORTHERN TZELTAL TRIBES

114 Ever since leaving Zona Sala, we had been working in the coun-
101 try of the Tzeltal-speaking tribes who form an outpost of the Highland Indians. The Bachajon, of the Finca Encanto and Bachajon village, and the Indians of Ocosingo and the neighbouring valleys, living as they do, cut off from the outside world, strong in number, and of a rather independent disposition, gave us the first evidences of how little the Indian of the Chiapas Highlands has changed since the days before Columbus. The kings and priests are dead, the temples have been replaced by churches and Christian forms, but the Indians and labourers of today in many respects live the life that their humble forebears did five hundred years ago.

114 At this point, before describing our trip up into the true mountain country, it seems opportune to tell something of these people, their manners and customs. We did not have time to make an exhaustive study of any of them, but they were constantly with us as guides and labourers, and we passed through many of their villages.
115 At El Encanto we had a chance to visit and examine the settlement
126 of the finca's workmen, with the kind help of Señor Ciriaco Aguilar, who acted as interpreter and supplied us with invaluable information. Señor Arturo Tovilla helped us with the Linguistic Lists (see Appendix III), as well as describing many of the customs recorded in this chapter. Señor Aureo Cruz of Toniná dictated a Tzeltal Prayer and Conversation, which was analyzed with the help of Señor Manuel Bulnes of El Real. (See Appendix VI). In general it may be said that all the Spanish-speaking people with whom we dealt helped us in every way possible.*

101 The Bachajon (*Batcahon*) and Ocosingo Valley Indians are, as
197 has been said, an outlying part of a large group living in the mountain country. They speak the Tzeltal language, belonging to that branch of the great Mayance stock more closely related to Maya.
131 In the pine country of Chiapas they hold the largest share of land,
101 occupying an irregular area running southeast from Simojovel to

[175] *"The written sources bearing directly on the ethnology of these people are very meager. Nuñez de la Vega (1702) gives the best account of the early religion: his section on Nagualism has been reprinted by Paniagua (1908) along with an important selection of other early sources. Licenciado Vicente Pineda (1888) in his account of the Indian uprisings, gives some information, together with the most complete linguistic material. He gives a native calendar, probably based on one published by Emeterio Pineda (1845). Of modern scientific works, Starr (1901 and 1902) has ethnographic material, and publishes the only physical measurements (1902). Seler (1898) goes into the calendar in detail. For comparative material Tozzer (1907) and Sapper (1925) have been our chief reliance. Sapper's "Nordliche Mittelamerika" (1897) was in constant use in the field for information on all subjects. Particular references are given as they occur. Prof. Rudolph Schuller kindly allowed me access to his manuscript material.*

131 the Guatemala border, which it overlaps at Gracias á Dios. They
101 do not reach the highest part of the mountains. For the most part, they live in isolated tribal groups, although in some places, notably in Ocosingo Valley, they are attached to *haciendas* and *fincas*. Much of the easternmost country marked in the maps as belonging to them and the Chol is actually uninhabited wilderness, or, if occupied at all, is Lacandone territory.

101 Their immediate neighbours of the Highlands are the Zotzil and
• 197 Chaneabal. The former speak a language differentiated from Tzeltal only by a shift of *a*, *e*, and *b* to Zotzil *o*, *i*, and *m*, respectively.* Chaneabal is spoken by a small group near Comitan. The people of that place say that the language is simply Tzeltal influenced by Mames contact. The list given in Appendix III, seems to bear this out. To the north, and around Tumbalá, are the Chol Indians, whose language is quite distinct, but, of all the other Mayance tongues, probably the nearest to the Highland group.

197 The language itself has been variously named Cendal, Tzendal, Cendales, Tzental, and Tzeltal. I have taken the latter form, as it most nearly represents the Indians' own form, *ts'eltal*, varied in careless speech to *tceltal*. The villages are spoken of as tribes, be-
197 cause each one forms a separate, self-governing unit. There is no evidence of cohesion within the language-group as a whole save
628 during certain periods of uprisings. Individual villages may resemble tribes of another speech more closely than they do those of
[104] their own. The Mexican spelling of Tzeltal names is given first, followed by the phonetic spelling (See Appendix III), and the translation, if known.

101 The Bachajon live on the threshold of the pine country. Their
[131] farms may be found hidden away in the thick jungle land of ma-
[137] hogany and palms, through which their little hidden trails lead to houses tucked away out of sight of alien travelers. Altogether, they
[161] are estimated at five thousand families, but it is doubtful whether evidences of more than fifty farms could be seen by one passing along the trail through the heart of their country. The capital, Bachajon Village, is among the pines. There, periodically, the
[648] Spaniards used to round them up, that they might be more easily policed, and for the benefit of the church established there. Once
[346] there was a fine, stone church and a neat Cabildo with white walls, colonnade, and tiled roof. Both have been wrecked by the Indians,
[344] apparently because they did not like to be reminded of alien domination, for from the wreckage of the old church, they took tiles to roof their new one, and they have a straw-thatched Cabildo for the Maestro, or government agent.

*Starr (1902) quoting Sanchez (1880).

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

APPENDIX III

COMPARATIVE WORD-LISTS

YOCOTAN, CHONTAL, TZELTAL, CHANEABAL, JACALTECA

The Yocotan dialect spoken at the villages of San Fernando and San Carlos, and neighbouring rancherias, near Macuspana in Tabasco, proves on comparison to be merely a variant of Chontal of the Chontalpa proper. The name Yocotan is retained because it is their own name for the dialect, and offers a substitute, if applied to the whole language, for the confusing Chontal, which is also applied to an entirely distinct, non-Mayance dialect of the Pacific Coast. Both Berendt* and Thomas and Swanton* have objected to this confusion.

Comparison with Tzeltal does not bear out the assertion, quoted in Thomas and Swanton, of Berendt,* and of Brinton, who had seen Berendt's unpublished material, that Chontal is only a form of Tzeltal. While undoubted similarities exist between the two dialects, enough to cause them to be classed in the same larger division of the Mayance stock,† the two do not belong together in the sense in which Tzeltal and Zotzil, or Tzeltal and Chaneabal are joined. Yocotan shows a greater number of lexical similarities to Maya proper, and in their resemblances to and variations from Maya the two languages do not agree.

Structurally, the Yocotan dialects are marked off from all the others of this group by their verb construction (see Appendix IV). The most notable point of this is that in Yocotan the possessive pronoun is ordinarily prefixed to the verb, while with the others a verbal-nominal pronoun is suffixed.

The graded variations and similarities from Yocotan all the way to Jacalteca cause one to wonder whether it is correct to take Maya as the type language for the stock, a position which at present seems to be based on historical priority rather than on linguistic grounds. Proper study both of sound-shifts and, especially, morphology, may possibly place in a new light the languages—Chol, Chorti, Tzeltal, Chaneabal—of Indians occupying the Old Empire terrain, partially surrounding the Lacandon country. It would, for instance,

*Thomas and Swanton, 1911, p. 88; Berendt, 1876, p. 9.
†Stoll, 1884, quoted by Tozzer, 1921; Gates, 1926. Sapper groups Chol, Chorti and Chontal.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

197 be of great interest could it be ascertained whether Tzeltal really is the parent tongue of Zotzil, or whether Zotzil, with its marked vocalic individuality, has not corrupted Tzeltal from an original form more closely allied to the lowland languages.

194 The alphabet used here is modeled on that of Dr. Tozzer,* with a few changes and some additions. It would, perhaps, be possible to enlarge the range of *k* sounds yet further, but the result would be only to make the present records needlessly difficult of comparison with the older lists.

PHONETICS. The languages recorded here closely resemble Maya itself in their phonetic system, although a slightly wider range of sounds, especially in the vowels, is found. This may in part be due to uncertainties of pronunciation; certain sounds occur differently in the same word spoken by different men, e. g., *ts'* and *tc'* in Tzeltal, final ' and *k* in Yocotan Chontal. If enough Indians could be questioned, a normal form could undoubtedly be derived from many of these alternates. The presence of the *k* fortis (*k'*), velar *k* (*q*), and the palatalized *g* (*x*), with the frequent stop ('), gives a wider range of *k* and *g* sounds than in Maya.† These, with the fortis forms of *t* and *p*, and the dental surds *ts* and *tc*, make the languages distinctly harsh and unpleasant to the ear. In addition, the Tzeltal and Chaneabal have an ugly, whining tone in ordinary conversation, very much increased when emphasis is desired. Yocotan has an unusual range of nasals.

193 CONSONANTS. The system of consonants includes one velar, three
194 palatals, alveolars, and a double set of dentals, both surd and fortis, a dorsal, nasal, and labials. It is difficult to distinguish between *b*, *p*, and *w*, although they are probably not interchangeable.‡ In Jacalteca the *p* at first appeared to be a *w*, but was found to be actually distinct; the sound is almost impossible to imitate.

Mention should be made of the added letter *r*, already suggested by Dr. Tozzer, who says:§

"I have been much perplexed by what I have long thought to be an *r* sound, possibly a sonant of the spirant. No mention of this sound is made in any of the early grammars and its presence is denied by the Mayas themselves. This sound I seem to have heard in several words written by Maya scholars with a double vowel . . . I have come to the conclusion to omit this sound from the list."

*Tozzer, 1921.
†Cf. Tozzer, op. cit., p. 17.
‡Tozzer, op. cit., p. 18, and Gates, 1926, p. 612.
§Ibid. page 18.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

did not like it and ran away. His place was taken by a younger man, Nicholas Cardon Niqol (the third names appear to be nicknames), but too much time had been lost to accomplish a great deal.

192 In the printed lists, preference has been given to the first-named 197 informant in each dialect, although when the variation is consider- [128] able, both versions are set down.

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
Abeja	{teanal-teap teap-teul-tat-tik	{yūm -teap mu-yum olokte	teupim
abuela	{teuteux teuteun-el	{kE-mim pan'ocip	ka-mam
abuelo	tat-mam-al (father-old-the)	kE-mop	ka-mam
agrio	bax	amuh-ba'*	pa
agua	ha'	ha'	ha
aguacero	tulan-ha-al (strong water)	no-ha (big water)	
alacrán	tsek	sina'	sina'
aliento			ik
alma	lap	pican	
alto	toyol	diski	iski
amarillo	k'an	kun	k'an
amo		yum	
andar	be-el	{cuma'a ya-kE-te†	te camba
animal	team-ba'lam	Eluk'i	teitam
año	{hun hab-il hab sin-il	{hun hap (future) hun habi (past)	
aquí	liil	nida[n]	
araña	ām	t'oi	ah-toi‡
árbol	te	te	hun tsit-te
arcilla	teav-ek lum (beeswax-earth)		
arco	{timal-te yalab	wun-te	
cuerda del arco	ahci'al		
ardilla	teute	teute	ieteute
arroyo	ukum	sañ-ha'	
asiento		teumlip	teunlip
áspero		ketscn	
atole		mats	mats
aya		nant'i	

*amuh, amo-, or amoa-, appearing in various adjectives, means very.
†In many verbs the informants gave the first person singular, present form. This may be detected by the pronominal kE. See Appendix III.
‡ah = the definite article.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
baile			ahk'out
barba	kisim	kE-tsuktik	tsutsti
balsa	poi		
banda		ku'tcinuk	
barca		no-hukup (big canoe)	
bastante	bisel	kččn	
blanco	tsak	tsuk	suk
blando		la'am / pukum	laam
bobo		tsitsuk	
boca	kč	kE-ti'	ati
bonito		pitsi'	
mujer			goodo ke pokem novicik
bosque	mukul hamal (big woods)		
brasero		pulvěnip	nitci kak
brazo	kap	kE-kup	kab
brujo	poci'	atsak'	ah tsataya (sacerdote indio)
	iluxhom		
bueno	lek	uts	uts
está b-	lek-ai (good-there is)	uts-an (good-there is)	
buho	koOts	buhup	ah-hu
caballo	tsemen	tsimin	
cabello		kE-tsuk	tsuk
cabeza	hol	kE-pam	ka-pam
caer			ta yelo
calabaza	tcum	tcum	tcum
calavera	sbak-el-hol-al	pama-tcim'i / k'an	a-tcime
caliente	kiicin	tiko'b	tiku
cama	waix-yiv-el	nute	tsen
camino	be	bii	bi
camisa		buk	
campo	huta-kin / akiltik	ñam	campu
cangrejo	něp	aiy'uc	yue
caña	qwahale	oi	oh
caoba		atsutso	tsutsub
carne	bak	uye'c / bekta	vee
casa	na'	otOt	otot
casas		otOte	

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
cayuco	*cayuca*	kûkûp	hûkub
cazar	muts-umihel	kola-tute'he (let us go hunting)	ya-ka-ce-te-lo-toHa (now I go hunting)
ceniza	tan	tsitañ	tsitan
cerca	hoŏpol	hEtsûk	natsa
cerro	wits	wits	
ciego	tupen-tsit	'ahteOk'	{teek-uhul {atcuk
cielo	tc'utcan	*cielo*	*cielo*
ciervo		teimai	teimai
cojo			{tcunuyek {petcOk
cola		ne	ne
colgar		kE-tcoi-kE-tce (I-hang-I-do)	ka-tcu-ka-tce
collar		yentac	
comer		ko-yie	kostekucka
concha	puix	{petak {tOt	
conejo	t'ul	a'-tûl	ah-tul
corazón	kŏtan	kEyo-pican	{ka-halin {pusika
correr	axnimal	ya-kE-tee'-tuañkre	
coser	espanyĕl	tcuwi'	
cuerpo	wink-ilel (man-entire)	kE-*cuerpo*	ka-*cuerpo*
culebra	tcan	tcañ	tcan
cuñada	bal	kE-mo'	
cuñado	bal	kE-n°an	
curar			ta tsakalka
danta	tseměn	te-el tsimin (woods beast)	
dar	aweyel		benet
débil	mankyip	mats-an-umuk (not-has-force)	pue-tcem
dedo		kE-nikûp	nikab
todos los d-	lalatak	kE-pete'kûp	
d- del pie		kE-niOk	
día	k'akal	k'in	
diablo		kwo'tak	manap
diente	ke	ke	ke
molares		kE-tcaam	muela
dios	tcun-tat-tik *dios* (our-father-of-us-all)	kEn-yum-la *dios* (our-master-of-us-all)	u-yum-kab

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
dormir	waixy-el	te-weye	ta-vaye
dulce	tcab	tsa	tcab
duro		mo Etsuta	tsuts
echar suertes			u yakti ik
que sabe e-	labil		
eclipse	makisit k'akal	mukutee kuwa-kin	{aitobni kin muku kuckan kin
elote	axhan	teOk-icim	tcok-na
enfermo	{teamel (sickness) aix teamel (he has sickness)	amo-nkobo'lun amon-kohu'lun	koHo
encantar	puku	ankotcuwen upican (force his soul)	tsataya.
encanto		jyaan	ah tsataya
e- adentro de la laguna		ta-manap (cf. *diablo*)	
escoba		misip	misip
escopeta		tsomba'	
escribir	tsibahel	kE-tsivan-hom-tsip	te-tsib
espalda		kopaat	tsumpat
espina	teic	teic	teic
espinazo	{teiic-pat mötco-bakel	tsompat	ubuke tsampat
esposo		k-itök	
esposa		k-itök	
esqueleto	{teicil-bak bak-el-etik		upete u-bak'e
estrella	ök'	ik	*lucero*
de mañana	tsëk	ah-no-ik* (the-big-star)	
vespertina		ah-no-ik*	
pleiades (?)		teookök (la que brilla)	
Ursa Major	cana-ek		
familia	{bisil te-kal te-kal-atak	{kE *familia* nats'ün tok'up (nosotros todos)	
feo		mate-uts	poeyik
fiesta	k'in		
f- del santo (May 13, Bachajon)	kan-k'in		
flecha	{t'imal-te tu-te	wun-te	
flor	nitcim	unite	nic-te
frente		kE-pül	{ka-tihut pul

* "They say it is the same star." (i. e., Venus).

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SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
frijol	tcenek buul	bu'um bu'u	bū
frio	sik	sis	tsis
fruta	sit	tsahE	
fuego	k'ak	k'ak'	k'ak'
hacer f-	wakEnuk k'ak pas k'ak'	teen-k'ak'	ka-tse-ve-k'ak'
fuente		buta	tcan
fuerte	tulan	amo-k'en-umuk'	pok'om
fuerza		ūmuk'	
gallina		piyuk	
ganado	gwakae (cow, Spanish)	pam-bcket (head-horned)	
gato	mis	mis	
gato montes	t'el teox wac		
grande	mukul	nok, noh, lokönok	noH
grano	tcic	hun-cim	
guaracha	tep tcahan	putcyok	
g- de cascara	canak		
hablar	k'op	k'aan tcen'-tan	te-t'an
hacer	pas-el	kE-tcen	
hermana mayor	wic gwic	kE-tcitc	ka-tcitc
h- menor	kitsin	kE-kits'in	ka-tcitc
hermano mayor	bañk-il	kE-sukun	ka-sakun
h- menor	kitsin	kE-kits'in wits'in	k'itsin
hierro	*hierro*	pal'ip	
hija	atcic	kE-yök-istcO'k	
hijo	nitcan	kE-yök-haxlO'k	
hilo	*hilo*	pui'	
hombre	winik vinik	winik	vinik
hueso	bak-el	bak	bak
h- del tobillo		OkutkOk	
huipil		kamic	
huso	pětět	pětět	
iglesia		tcuuk'	tcu *iglesia*
iguana	tOlök	hü'	huh
incienso	pöm	pOm	pom
jarrete		tcu-tcikin	

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
jefe	yaxwhal	anoha kE-xhwes	noh-van-vinik noci-vinik
j- del pueblo		k-anoha-la tuwa-k'a (our-chief-of-us-all of-the-village)	
jícara	tsima', kax tuts	tup, buc	tup
j- (rattle)	tcitcil tsutsu	tcikic	
labrar (madera, etc.)	waluyel	půl	
lagarto	aihyin	Ehin	ahin
laguna	mukul-ha'	nap	*laguna*
lanza	fisig'a (?)	stcik-te	*lanza*
l- para pescados		tceki'biye	
lejos	lum-namal	muhnaăt	pwenat
lengua	kak'	kE-ak	ka-ak
la l-, (idoma)	ts'eltal	yoko'tan	
leon	tcambalam tsáx-hal-tcox (red-the-tiger)	tcimai băl'um	bal'am
lia		sum	Hote
ligero	ma-waal (not-heavy)	scĕp	pwe sop
liso		ts'eyyum	
luna	uH(halalme-tik)	uhi	u
llano		nun-ham	
llever	itceltai-il		
lluvias (tiempo de)	bayel-ka-haal bayel-yac-stal-haal	amo-ken-ha' ha'-leltin	non-ha
madera	te te' eti	te'	te
madre	nan	na'	kŭ-na
maiz	icim	icim	icim
maléolo		kE-petcOk	
malo	ma-lĕk-uk	matc-uts	kanic mats-uts
hombre m-	tcopal malek-owotan (bad-his-heart)		
mañana (morning)	sakubal	isapan	ika sapan
mano	dyal-k'ap	kE-k'up	ka-nikab
mediodia	boli-kak'al	kEncin-k'in	
mente		kahalin	
mes	hun uh	hunpe-uhi*	

*Used for counting time of childbirth.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
192 197 miel	axa-tcap, usum tcap-tcul-tatik	te'cle teap	tcap
mijilote		abalai'	
mono	mac	pûm	ah-pum
monte	hamal	bwulcna	bwenala
mojado		atch	
muchacha	ateic	yok'telum	
muchacho	kere kerem	yokhaxlOhk ah-lohk	
mucho	bayel	amo-k'en	k'en
muerte	taltcamel tca-winik	ah-tcimi	ah-tcami
mujer	ants	icik	icik
murciélago	tsOts	tsûts	sûts
muslo		kE-wOk	
muy		amos icta	
nadar		nu'ci	
naranja		arancus (Spanish)	
n- agrio		pahala	
nariz	ni	kE-ni'	ni'
negro	ik'	ik	ik
nieta		k'-umam	ka-tcok-mama
nieto		kE-bit-umam (pl.)	
niño pequeño	tut-alat	tcik'stcOk (que todavia son de pecho)	
noche	ak'abal	ehak'Ek ak'ûp	aitabni
norte	kin haal yaxtal-hale' (por aca viene el agua)	te-*norte*	
viento del n-		ben'dawal	
nuera		kE-hrip	
nuevo	yatcil tomut	tcOk* sihip†	tsihib
ofrenda	matamniil (gifts)	cux'hiwa atcumpom (first fruits)	hisi utci hunpe si
ojo	sit	kE-pu'ut hut	hut
olorosa		mahatsin'na	
olla	ŏcom		
oreja	tcikin	kE-tcikin	tcikin

*For animals and human beings. †For inanimate objects.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

SPANISH	TZELTAL	VOCOTAN	CHONTAL
192 padre	tat	kE-pop	ka-pop
• 197 pájaro	mut	mut	mut
panacho		tcim-pam	
pared	pak'	wOk'teč	
pecho		kE-tokpa'	pantis
pequeño	tut	tcOtcOk	tcitcok
persona	winik	untu-tcugha untu-winik	vinik
pava		nakmu'lup	
pavo		ahtsŏk	ahtso
perro	tsit	wi'tcuk	vitcu
pesado	ahl	amoh-al	al
pescado	tcai	byiyc'to-ha'	malub
pescuezo			lukub
p- en frente		kE-lukup	
p- por atras		kE-picte	
petate	pOp	pOp	pop
pie	kOk'	Ok	ok
piedra	ton	tun	tc'a
piel		putci'le	patcihi
pierna		kOk kE-wOk	ka-vok
pito	amai	Emwi	
plata	tak'in	takin	
pluma	kŭkum	makup vitc	maku
platano		haas	haas
poco	luunteb	tsintap	tsita
poniente	yaxubak-kaka-baitik	ko-pome-kin (where-sets-sun)	muku-pome-kin baca-u-pome-kin
posole	mats	puhk'a	buka
primo	cavankil	kE-bitis'ä'	ka-pom
pulgar	sme-kap		nob-nikab
pulsera		tcutcui-kup	
quemar	k'utcik k'akel	pulu'	tu-pule
quemo		kE-pule	
raton		tsuk	ictsuk
red	tcokhax	tcip	
redondo		pete	
relámpago	nixkel, tsantsegwal kaka-tcauuk	ah-lemi-tcawŭk	tcavuk
rio	ha	rio	
rodilla		kE-tenek	

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SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
rojo	tsak	tcuk tcik	tcuk
saliente	yax-loke-kakal hwantec-lok-teul-kakal (lok = risen teul = holy)	biete-kin ko-tuts-kin (where-rises-sun)	muku-pasc-kin baka-pasc-kin
sangre	teiite	teitee'	teiite
sapo	pokOk	mute	ah-mute
seco	takin	ti'k'in	tikin
el s., tiempo	takin-huc kepel-kinal	amo-tik'in	noh-kin
sembrar	taunel	pEkE	tu pūkūb
semilla	taumbul	ubĕk	
sierras	*sierras*	te-wits*	
sol	k'ak-al	kin	k'in
sombrero		hopo	hop'o
soplar		hutstañ	
subir		kE-topsen	
suegra	meelnial	kE-noh-nak	
suegro	nial	k-itcan	k-itcan
sueño	wayel		
sur	nitaa-lan (here-below) hwantec-otc-kakal	*sur*	
tabaco		kuts	
tambor	kayo'	kowĕn	hoven
techo	hol-na'	hai-te'	te-can
techo de palma	can	can	
tejer	waluyel holel	hū'lvwehe	
tejedor	holel	hElū	
tía	mehun	kE-tcite (elder sister)	
tío	baxhun	kE-sukun (elder brother)	
tierra	lum	kaap	kab
tigre	teox	ba'lum	ba'lam
tinaja	çip	Ots	pū
tirar (piedra)		la-kE-hulchi-tun	yak-ce-ka-Hulch
(escopeta)		kE-tcen-sombak	
(lanza)		kE-tcik-teen	
tortilla	gwax	dlaañ gua' (all forms of cornbread)	va

*Really a directional term *South*. "Towards the Hills."

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

	SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
192 197	tortuga	ahk'	ak'	ak'
	trueño	{stackwaiyel / alcwaiyel, t'om	{kweye / tcawûk*	tcavok*
	tumbar (un arbol)		kE-yEsen	
	uña (de hombre o de animal)		itcek	itchûk
	verde	yac	yuc	yuc
	vida	kucûl	anto-pican	halin†
	viejo	{kaalic / mamal	{tcupin‡ / su'§	nobcib
	viento	ik'	ik	ta ik'
	volar	wixhlel	kE-wil'e	
	yacer			ya ka-cacutce
	yerno	bal	kE-ni'E^n	
	zaraguate	bats	aHwats	
192 197 802	1	hun	hun-pe¶	un-to
	2	toŏ-eb¶	tca'-pe	tca-to
	3	oc-eb	uc'-pe	uc-to
	4	tcan-eb	tcum'-pe	tcan-to
	5	ho-eb	{hun'-ka (one hand) / no'pe	ho-to
	6	hwak-eb	*seis*, etc., in Spanish	
	7	huk-eb		
	8	wacak-eb		
	9	balun-eb		
	10	lahun-eb		
	11	bulutc-eb		
	12	lastcai-yeb		
	13	uc-lahun-eb		
	14	tcan-lahun-eb		
	15	ho-lahun-eb		
	16	hwak-lahun-eb		
	17	huk-lahun-eb		
	18	wacak-lahun-eb		
	19	balun-lahun-eb		
	20	tab, tax.		
	21	hun-ka-vinik		
	30	lahun-is-tca-vinik		
	40	tca-vinik		
	50	ho-lahun-eb‖		
	80	tcane-vinik		
	100	hol-vinik		
	400	hak		

*Cf. "Kolampaga."
†Cf. mante. ‡Used for animate beings. §Used for inanimate objects.
‖The suffix = "linea."
¶Obviously an error, cf. 15.

[pp 479-484 contain no Tzeltal material]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Mexico NU1

nic unity extending back to the beginning of time. The people set boundaries by such external symbols as a locally specified costume for men and women, a distinctive dialect of Tzeltal, and specialization in the production of pottery. Implicit boundaries are established by socialization processes that inhibit response to the outside world and that define a code of behavior understandable only in its own context. The completely socialized member of the community is not expected to seek recognition, nor could he find prestige, outside these boundaries. The community comprises the moral universe: cooperation and reciprocity are limited to members of the community, as are most cases of homicide and theft. Lacking concrete evidence, people assume misdeeds to have been committed by someone from the community.

The boundaries that separate these Indians from other Indian communities as well as from non-Indian, or *Ladino*,[1] communities are social artifacts that give a sense of security to members of the in-group. They call themselves "the true men" (*b'atz'il winik*), and their world is defined in "the true word" (*b'atz'il k'op*). The latter is their term for the Tzeltal dialect of Maya which is the language of the house and of the street, the courthouse, and the church in the absence of the Spanish-speaking priest. Tzeltal names differ from Spanish names for most of the surrounding towns, the earth, the heavens, and the cosmological bodies. Catholic saints are incorporated under a Tzeltal name or a Tzeltal version of their Spanish name. All of the members of the community have a Tzeltal patronym in addition to the Spanish surname with which they are baptized. The given name is that of a Spanish saint but is shortened and pronounced with Tzeltal phonemes, and female names have the feminine prefix *I*. Their world is labeled in their own language.

The people assume that their expectations will be met and their projec-

1. The term Ladino has a range of usage throughout Middle America. In Mexico City, people define Ladino as any person who abuses his superior skills to take advantage of others. In Oaxaca, a Zapotec Indian defined Ladino as "an Indian who knows Spanish, has adopted western-style clothing, and takes advantage of other Indians because of his knowledge of the language and ways of life of the non-Indian society. He is like a fox." In Chiapas, the term is applied to any non-Indian without derogatory connotation, and the same is true in Guatemala. In the metalanguage of anthropological monographs, it is used in this latter sense.

Chapter 1

Spirits and Places

Social space is the cognitive pattern of relationships imposed upon any terrain. In Amatenango del Valle[1] there are two superimposed patterns. One is defined by the nation for the purposes of political administration. This follows the pattern of colonial administration of *municipios*, or townships, with a *cabecera*, or administrative center, containing the church, town hall, and school house, and serving a number of colonias and *rancherias*, local hamlets or nuclei of populations. The other pattern is defined by the inhabitants using Tzeltal terminology or a Tzeltal rendition of a Spanish name. In this pattern, domains of good and bad spirits are defined, and behavior appropriate to each place is specified in myths and rituals. Persistence of this pattern has had profound implications for continuity of pre-Conquest culture. It provides a ground plan for the system of social control and security exercised by the old gods and their human intermediaries.

In the following section, I will discuss first territorial divisions defined by national law and modified by indigenous categories, and then the interaction between the spirits of persons and places.

The Territorial Divisions

The township of Amatenango del Valle is located at 92°30′ longitude and 16°30′ latitude in the highland zone of the state of Chiapas. The town center is located no more than fifty yards from the Pan-American Highway twenty-five miles southeast of the departmental capital of San Cristóbal.

1. I use the national designation derived from Nahuatl, Amatenango del Valle, to refer to the township, and the Tzeltal term Tzo'ontahal to refer to the center.

601 wife, and wife's sister with the term *muʔ*. This same term is used by women to refer to sister's husband, and to husband's brother. Men refer to sister's husband, wife's brother and wife's parents' brothers as *b'al*, while women refer to brother's wife and husband's sister as *haʔwan*. The rule is that siblings-in-law of opposite sex of speaker are classified as muʔ and siblings-in-law of same sex as speaker are differentiated by sex of speaker so that men classify them as b'al and women classify them as haʔwan. Parents-in-law are referred to as *tat niʔal* and *meʔ niʔal* and called father and mother. Wives of sons and brothers' sons are referred to as *kalib'* by men.

Fig. 4. Kinship Terms for Affinal Relatives

	Collateral	Lineal		Collateral
+1		Nial Tat	Nial Meʔ	
−1	Bal	(Hmamlal) Kinam		Muʔ
	Kihtz'in			

Underlined term is vocative.

Affinal terminology is not applied to spouses of parents' siblings; the terms for father and mother or elder sister and elder brother, depending on their age relative to ego, are extended to them (Fig. 4).

601 The term for assistant in a ceremony, *b'alniʔal*, using the combined
796 terms for ego's generation and parental generation in-laws, may indicate
794 that this group formerly served in household ceremonies. They are still
174 called upon for assistance, but nonrelated neighbors and compadres or
592 godchildren may also assist and the same term is applied to all.

571 Significant reference groups are designated by the Spanish derived terms
197 *yermanotak*, *kumparetak*, and *bersinatak*. The yermanotak is comprised
192 of siblings, their spouses, and siblings of parents; the term is derived from the Spanish *hermanos*; kumparetak, meaning the ritual co-parents, is a

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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term derived from compadres; and bersinatak, meaning the neighbors, is derived from *vecinos*. When informants are asked to summarize who participates in rituals, these three groups are always mentioned. They are not exclusive groupings; neighbors or siblings may be chosen as compadres, in which case the reference and vocative terms for compadres are preferred to any previous terminology. Activation of any of these ties depends on choice and convenience. Proximity of residence is of greater importance in day-to-day exchanges of assistance or visiting than closeness of genealogical tie. Interaction rates have been quantified in an earlier study of the community (J. Nash 1960; 1964). 571 197 192

Another way of referring to the yermanotak is with the plural form of the Indian patronym. Members of the Shunton family would, for example, be called the Shuntonetik. Several Indian surnames are linked to a Spanish patronym. For example, the Shunton, along with Lin, Mai, and Wolto? are linked to the name Lopez. In other Tzeltal and Tzotzil-speaking communities, these Indian surname groups have a greater cohesiveness, and in the recent past held corporate lands which they worked in common, as in Larraínzar (Holland 1963), Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947, Siverts 1960) and San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961). In these towns, the Spanish patronym designated a clan marked by exogamy and responsibility of the elders for maintaining social control. In Tzo?ontahal, the tie of descent has given way to an emphasis on collateral links. Exogamy of the Indian name group is the only surviving function of the lineage, and when this has been violated, there are only minor repercussions. 571 551 [613]

While the Spanish-derived collective terms are restricted to domestic groupings, the Tzeltal collective term for elders, me?iltatil, refers to the three central groups responsible for social control in the community. Derived from the terms for mother, *me?*, and father, *tat*, it is metaphorically extended to include the sponsors in household ceremonies, the curers acting as guardians of their side of the dual division, and the civil officials. Each of the groups is vested with a different level of authority in the community. This is summarized briefly below. 571 608 [192]

1. Household sponsors: The Spanish institution of ritual godparenthood has been fused with the indigenous system of sponsorship by me?iltatil. When a child is baptized, his god-parents are included as

174 621 and Amatenango are at present divided into two endogamous barrios, remnants of these parcialidades.

173 101 The origin myth of Aguacatenango seems to agree with the historical evidence, both indicating that the Amatenango settlement was founded somewhat earlier. According to the people of Aguacatenango their ancestors came from a place named "Bahuitz," close to the region of Oxchuc. The elders of the group chose a place about 1,000 feet lower than the present location of the town. They had to move from this place (which now is the colonia of El Puerto, where Aguacatenango owns land for cultivation) because "they were bitten by insects and disliked the climate."

They arrived at the site of their present location, and asked for permission to occupy it from the people of Amatenango, from whom they obtained the land. While they were clearing the land for their houses, some men from Amatenango arrived to ask what they were doing. "We are cutting down the trees," they answered, and thus "Ꞓeté," which means "cutting down," became their name. When they finished their work they sent some men to visit the Amatenango men and they found them gathering firewood. They asked again "What are you doing?" "Hǫob'tah," "gathering" the other responded, and that became their name. Both villages today call themselves and each other by these names.

Linguistics

174 197 The legend summarized above seems to imply that the two villages were populated by people who could speak to each other in the same language. This is confirmed by linguistic evidence.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

197 The inhabitants of both villages speak closely related dialects of the Tzeltal language, one of the two groups forming the Tzeltal-Tzotzil, which split linguistically from the parent stock of the Mayan Family around the beginning of the Classic Period of Maya Civilization (McQuown , 1959).

Lexicostatistical counts and isoglosses show that the two communities cluster together, in dialect cores of less than 500 years of separation, as against several others in the study area of the Chiapas Project of the University of Chicago. Several indices were used for the count, including degree of Spanish borrowing (McQuown, 1956; 1959). They indicate the same degree of linguistic acculturation.

191 At present Tzeltal-Spanish bilingualism is common, perhaps with the exception of elder women, although the Spanish spoken is mainly "market-Spanish" and reduced in vocabulary.

Demography

175 621 166 During the Colonial Period and the Independence both villages remained stable, being endogamous, economically self-sufficient communities with fairly restricted ranges of territorial movement; this is in contrast with the present day situation in which settlements tend to split into separate communities through local migrations (McQuown et al., 1959, Section 2, Part I, page 6).

175 161 A comparison of censuses available for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries suggests a high degree of demographic continuity with a slow, steady increase in population, although there is some evidence of population declines which took place in the

Change of Officials

male helpers who are usually wives of the *balnialetik*, or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors who come to congratulate the new official. Particularly conspicuous because of their Ladino or non-Indian clothing in the house of the president (Chart 6) were the visitors from the outlying rancherías and colonias of Tzoʔontahal. 621* [592] [574]

Validation in the household setting takes place in two scenes. The first occurs on the eve of New Year. Each new official entertains in his house the men he has chosen as his *nakawanehetik* and as his *balnialetik*. Only those *balnialetik* who are immediately related come to this gathering. The *meʔil k'op*, 'woman speaker,' is present along with the wives of the *balnialetik* (Chart 2). The house is decorated with pine needles and juniper boughs in the afternoon. The visitors arrive with wood and pitchpine to light the house at about eight in the evening and stay until the liquor is finished. Drinking order is from elder to younger, which coincides with the prestige ranking. The *nakawanehetik* are served, then the *nic'anil*. 621* 574 592 [602] [353] [273] [554]

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The assembled officials proceed to the townhall, announcing with rockets to the policemen that they have left. Gathered in the townhall, referred to in the formal address or *patʔot'an* as the *sik na*, 'cold house,'[9] are the 'old officials' *(k'a hu'eletik)* along with the alfereces and the principales. They enter two by two, the president and síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges, and the judges of the barrios and colonias. They kneel and 'measure their noses' *(sp'is snsʔik,)* as they enter, showing respect to the holy banners which the alfereces have delivered from the church. 621* 693 [202] [794] [554] [788] [794]

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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Monday: Nothing
Tuesday: Nothing
Wednesday: All the mayordomos gather at the church. Some go to carry wood for the cross while others look for flowers to make a "bed" for Jesus, Tatik Eskipulas, *to lay Him on after he has been crucified. The mayordomos arrange the table on which he will lie very beautifully. They tie boughs of evergreen on all four sides. Some of the flowers [a small variety of orchid which was possibly of some importance in pre-Catholic rituals] are very fragrant. When all is arranged well, they take out a box so that Tatik Eskipulas can lie where the flowers and branches are. They put this table at the foot of the cross. After the mayordomos have "planted" the cross, they adorn it with pine boughs. They put flowers on each arm of the holy cross. Then they drape it with the holy cloth* [the purple banner]. *At eleven o'clock some of the mayordomos begin to play the coronet, matraka, flute, and drum. Tatik Eskipulas arrives at the cross with the male and female prayer-maker.* [824] [533]

Thursday: Half of us finish making the cross, and the other half arrange the "prison" inside the church where Tatik Eskipulas will spend the night. After we make the prison, we make the Jew. We look for his pants and shoes, his hat and his tie, his mask, his gourd, his bag, his shirt, his cigarette. After we arrange him, we raise him with a rope in front of the church, and leave him hanging for the pueblo to see who killed Christ. Meanwhile, others put Tatik Eskipulas in prison. When night time arrives, four men with rifles watch Tatik Eskipulas to guard Him as the holy evening passes. The mayordomos gather at the church and play the sad flute and the old coronet. They play the matraka. At midnight they play the drum and coronet. [533]

Friday: Very early in the morning of Friday, the four guards of God are changed as the dawn enters. All day, the guards will watch the Lord. They will see Him rise on the cross and descend from the cross. Then the four go to their house to drink a little liquor. At eleven o'clock in the morning the mayordomos will give a sign on the elder coronet, the elder matraka, and the sad flute and the drum. They will play three times to summon the townspeople instead of sounding the bell. When all the women and men arrive, they hear the prayer announcing that Tatik Eski- [533] [202]

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796 *pulas has risen on the cross. After they have seen Him rise, all the pueblo*
[533] *will go out. At two o'clock in the afternoon, they will again play the sad flute, the drum, the coronet, and the matraka. All the pueblo will collect and will make another prayer to see the Tatik Eskipulas lowered from the*
[188] *cross. When He is lowered, they take Him out on a procession with the priest, the prayer-makers, and all the men and women of the pueblo who will hold candles, and the four guards with rifles. The first mayordomo*
[533] *knows how to blow the old coronet, and another mayordomo knows how to blow the sad flute, and anther plays the drum, and another plays the old matraka. After the procession goes in the plaza, it returns to the*
[273] *church and leaves Tatik Eskipulas in the middle of the church. The mayordomos sit outside the church and drink a liter of trago, and then go to their homes.*

Saturday of glory: Very early in the morning of Saturday, they give a prayer with the sad flute and drum, with the old trumpet and with the
[202] *matraka. Three times it is sounded for the pueblo to gather and hear mass. After the mass, the judge goes to speak to the police to look for a horse to mount the Jew. When the horse arrives, they take the figure of the Jew down from the church and tie him on top of the horse. A mayordomo leads him by the bridle, and he goes out in the pueblo with the flute and drum to ask for contributions. Those who know fiesta [the curers] give fifty or twenty cents or if there is nothing, they give an egg. Afterward, they return to the church and the Jew is taken from the horse. The people set fire to his straw body. When they finish burning this, they check to see how much money they collected. All the mayordomos count the money in common. If there are twenty or thirty pesos, the mayordomos make a fiesta with drum and flute.*

[533] *Sunday of Resurrection: Mayordomos gather and sweep church. After*
[273] *sweeping they play the music to open the mouth of the bell. After the mass, they go drink fermented atol with bean tortilla. They eat a hen or*
[262] *rooster to make a fiesta for our Holy Lord because he is resurrected and because all the town is happy. They give the mayordomos fermented atol to drink. Then they return to the church and take out the lord cross, take out the jail, and the bed where the Father Eskipulas slept.*

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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male helpers who are usually wives of the *balnialetik*, or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors who come to congratulate the new official. Particularly conspicuous because of their Ladino or non-Indian clothing in the house of the president (Chart 6) were the visitors from the outlying rancherías and colonias of Tzoʔontahal. 621* [592] [574]

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[R 217-A]

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APPENDIX I—*continued*

	Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
*62 124 796 693 576 [788]				judge got up and stood before the second judge and did the *spalanbe soltuk tuyipal ?'in mahtanil* (account to company for the little gift. He then went to the first *nakawane* with the *sak'inal* (good day greeting). Then all the assembled company stood up and turn to wall and gave the benediction to the gift of the ancestors
	21. Why do they stand and turn to the wall?	Not asked—preceded observation	Not asked	So that the devil does not enter
*62 124 796 [273] [693]	22. What do they do after they drink coffee?	They drink liquor seated, resting their heart, in the entry of the house of the president	Drink liquor to await the hour they go to the cabildo	Two beers and 2 liters liquor were laid to rest. At 11:55 women came in to get liters of liquor. Put it under a kerchief and took it out to women in kitchen. Judges and regidores put on red kerchiefs. At 12 noon two judges got up and said goodbye, first to the *balsal* then the first judge went to the *nakawane* while the second judge and two regidores followed behind him. Then together the four said goodbye to the *nakawane* and to the *me?il k'op*. Firecrackers were set off to advise police that the group was setting out on their way to the town hall. Police were to meet them at the townhall and had to be advised so that they would arrive at the same time. Two past regidores came to the *me?il k'op* and said goodbye. The group set out together
[202] [625]				
	[23. Omitted.]			
*62 124 788 796 [693]	24. How do they enter the townhall?	They enter two by two. They kneel and cross themselves at the door of the cabildo	They enter two by two, kneel at the door. They rise, enter, arrive, kneel before the *tatik* table	Pair by pair they entered and touched cross of banner with their rosaries. First the president and síndico then first and second judges followed by judges from Madronal, La Grandeza, San Vicente, and Cruz Quemada
	25. Why do they cross themselves?	Because they show respect to the holy cross		

283 the ground. This disc has two hooks to
413 which the fiber is knotted; when the disc is turned by a crank, it braids the fibers into rope. A thick board, smoothed by a metal knife (manufactured by the Indians from iron pieces bought in the city), is used to scrape the pita and remove the fiber.

407 The most complex machine that the Tzel-
[177] tal own and build is the wooden cane press, which was imported by the Spaniards to grind sugarcane (fig. 6). This machine is operated by two men, who move the rollers by a handle (*kabal-té*) at each end of the
[415] machine. The juice pressed out by the rollers drops into fluted containers made of pieces of banana tree, and finally into a pot. This
273 juice is used in the preparation of an alcoholic beverage, *chicha* (*chi-ja*, 'sweet water'), and for panela. Chicha is prepared by
[415] fermenting this juice by bran, corn, or wheat, in a special container (*canoja*) made from a fluted tree trunk. The bran or other fermenting agent is *smé-chi-já* ('mother of
[184] the chicha'). Some communities (Tenejapa, Cancuc, Oxchuc) have greater preference for this beverage than other Tzeltal groups.

224 A gun has become very common in hunt-
411 ing. Sometimes (Oxchuc and Tenejapa) rabbits are taken by striking them with a
[412] coa, after cornering them with the aid of dogs. Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:352) state that the Tzeltal of the lowlands usually hunt wild boar with long wooden spears with fire-hardened or metal points. Traps protect the milpa as well as snaring game.

41 Cooking utensils are mainly indigenous. The usual set consists of clay containers of varying size and shape, jícaras, baskets, wooden spoons, a comal, a metate, hooks, and wooden tripods for hanging items over
177 the fire. In the last few years metal pots,
404 dishes, frying pans, boiling pans, and espe-
415 cially handy *nixtamal* mills (which are gradually displacing the grinding stone)
177 have been introduced. Other items that
207 come from the city are flashlights, small
405 kerosene lamps, watches, scissors, and (in-
412 frequently) battery radios.
416
[P 206-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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the old church ruins. The chief and the officials all spoke Spanish, but the only one who knew how to read and write was the town secretary, a 15-year old boy.

191 212

After dark the Indians gathered in front of the municipal house and presently some of the elders made signs that they wanted to talk to us. We followed them into the dark out of earshot of the agent, where the Indians told us of all their sorrows and difficulties, asking if we could not help them. They said that the agent tried to raise unjust taxes, that they were forced to do much work for the Municipal President of Ocosingo and did not have time to look after their own corn fields, and also that they were molested by the managers of the neighbouring properties. They asked us to bring their complaints before the Central Government, which we have done.

123 648

From there our route followed the main trail, or Camino Real, between Chilon and Ocosingo. A few hours ride through pine forest brought us to the top of a pass from where we had a magnificent view over the Ocosingo Valley. We could see the Indian village of Sivacá, and the white walled, red tiled houses of the Mexican town Ocosingo, lying on a green carpet of extensive grazing land. Down over the mountain side we scrambled towards the valley bottom, and by noon the hoofs of our animals clattered against the cobbled stones of Ocosingo's streets.

114 133 361

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón
Sivacá

621 Bachajon and Sivacá are governed through native officials selected from among the men of repute in the tribe by the Mexican Government, more or less in accordance with the Indians' wishes. They serve for definite terms, usually two years, and may be reappointed. Bachajon Village, organized when the whole tribe was concentrated there, has two complete administrations, each with a 624 president, council, and secretary. At Sivacá the only official is the *alcalde*, who carries as insignia a staff, *barra*, 1.50 meters long, decorated with a double cross in black at the head. The secretaries [212] are chosen primarily for literacy; the others are older men of influence in the tribe. The great respect with which they are treated by the natives indicates that the selections accord fairly well with those they would make themselves.

648 Each group is in the charge of a resident Mexican official called 651 the *Maestro*, corresponding to our Reservation Agent. He is appointed by the Presidente Municipal of the local government. He is paid with taxes collected by himself from the Indians in produce or money, to which he adds commissions obtained from his services as a labour agent, the profits of trade in a few staples, and receipts from travelers, for whom his house is the official guest-house.

648 Ordinarily the *Maestro* does not give his orders directly to the 622 Indians, but works through the native president, who may openly 621 oppose him if he see fit, though he is in some degree bound to obey. The influence and power of the *Maestro* depends upon the individual, and on the temper of the Indians under him. In extreme cases he will send for troops, a measure greatly dreaded, as the soldiers, once arrived, may stay indefinitely, helping themselves freely to the pigs and chickens of the natives, and generally making themselves objectionable.

648 In addition to those appointed by the Government, the Indians 622 accord obedience and respect to a considerable body of purely 624 native officials. The only ones fulfilling a civic function are the class known as *Principales*, who exist chiefly among the Bachajon. They are men who know how to read and write Spanish, living in places more available to the outlying Indians than the Secretaries at Bachajon Village, and are usually men in whom confidence is reposed. Although they hold their position without official selection, but by general consent, they are recognized by the Mexicans with whom they deal as holding a sort of power of attorney for their people. They examine and sign written documents, and compose communications from the Indians to the Government. Through this they gain an influence with which, if they be men of force, they may become leaders of real power in their own districts. A *Principale* whom we met at El Encanto, where he had come in to buy salt, was

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

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tional economy and polity at a more rapid pace than has ever occurred in the past. Typical of this new movement is the recently established ejido of Brindis, formed by a core of landless Indians from the town working with acculturated Indians from Teopisca. Whether the political unity which has developed in the course of establishing their claim to the land will continue to provide a base for community development will depend on the encouragement and support by national institutions.

Within Indian communities of highland Chiapas, the ejido program has weakened age-authority principles in the family and in the civil hierarchy (Day n.d., Edel n.d.). Sons are no longer primarily dependent on their fathers for acquiring economic independence. Ejido Commission leaders have broken the monopoly of power by a gerontocracy of principales. Outside of the community, however, the political and economic potential of the ejido has not yet been fully realized. As the new ejidos such as Brindis develop, they may break the old community boundaries that contained and limited the power of the ejidatarios. With rising literacy, many Indians now read the *Codigo Agraria* sold in neighboring markets, and they are increasingly conscious of their rights. If unity across township boundaries could be achieved, the new ejidos might become an effective political force in regional and national spheres.

Wage Labor and Occupational Specialties

The agriculturalists of the community do work as both exchange and paid laborers in the following forms: reciprocal exchange, part time labor and part-time independent agricultural work, and forestry.[1] Wage work is considered only a supplement to independent self-employment for all but twenty agricultural employees who work full-time on a finca within the township.

Payments for agricultural labor within the community are lower than the prevailing rate outside of the town and are higher in the fincas of hot country than in the highlands. When men work on the fincas of landowners in the neighboring township, they prefer payment by the task (*tarea*) rather than by the day, since they can usually complete two tareas by

1. See Richard N. Adams (1964:48) for a discussion of the forms of rural labor.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

hall, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of the new officials. Residents of the barrios and colonias can never rise to any position above that of assistant judge, but once they have served in this post they may become principales in their own localities. One week the first regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the third regidor from Alannantik, and the next week the second regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the fourth regidor from Alannantik. The ten police are ranked in five levels with representatives from each side at every level in the series except for the fourth level, which is occupied by police from the barrios.

These civil officials, called as a group the *hu?eletik*, those who are "able" (in control), constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. To reach a high post, an official must first pass through each of the lower positions in the hierarchy. Outside of this ranked hierarchy, the posts of president and síndico are occupied by young men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy was, until the present generation, limited to a few men in their thirties. With increasing literacy, the competition for these posts is growing.[2] Men who have such skills are called upon as signers of official documents and are called *firmanetik*.

Also existing outside of the traditional hierarchy is the post of secretary which had, until 1965, been occupied by a Ladino. This was the only post which was paid; it also provided opportunity for earning extra income by preparing "acts," or official documents, and fines from court cases. The present incumbent is an Indian of Alannantik.

Because Tzo?ontahal's hierarchy is still a linked series of civil and religious posts, the structure of the civil hierarchy cannot be considered independently from that of the religious hierarchy. The major segments of the religious hierarchy are the *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces or captains of the fiestas. The internal ranking of the sixteen mayordomos depends on the number of religious posts the incumbent has filled and on the rank order of the saints he serves.

The alfereces, or captains of the fiestas, provide a ceremonial link be-

2. Julio de la Fuente (1964:30) has summarized the effect of literacy in breaking the homogeneity of the community since the literate Indians have received greater privileges and release from communal work. When the entire community is educated, the monopoly of literacy is broken.

Age of household head	Wealth: Land in hectares	Wealth: Head of cattle	No. of civil offices	No. of religious offices
55	½		2	2
55	½		2	2
55	½	2	2	3
60	½		2	3
60	½		1	3
60	½		4	3
62	½	1	2	3
65	½		2	3
65	½	4	4	6
65	½		6	5
75	½		5	6
87	½		4	4

621
794
556
423
231
561

from six to five. The reason given for this is that there are more people now than formerly. 621 794

The second course of civil careers is to serve as síndico and go on to president, bypassing the intermediate and lower posts of the hierarchy and never filling the higher traditional posts. Of seven who have served as president, two served as síndico, two had no previous office, and three had been both policeman and síndico (Table 25). None of the former presidents served in any civil post after being president. Two served as fiscal in their religious careers and had had no other religious service. This is the course pursued by literate men who speak Spanish well. An alternative course is to enter the ejido commission as secretary, treasurer, or president and then serve as síndico, or even directly as president. The president elected in 1964 had served only on the ejido commission. This caused some discontent, but not enough to prevent his election. [212] [91] [423]

The household head enters religious office first as *nil'nal* or junior mayordomo, then serves as *?ali?bal,* or assistant, next as *tatil,* or elder mayordomo of a lesser saint. The fourth position is tatil of San Pedro, after which comes *kobraria,* or cofrade, first of San Francisco, then of Santa Lucía or Sacramento. Following his appointment as tatil of San Pedro, the incumbent holds the first gathering of mayordomos in his house. When he completes his term in this office, he may be called upon by neighbors, relatives, and compadres to serve as nakawane in household ceremonials. He 794 [192]

Chapter 9

The Competition for Power

829 178 177 Changes in the organization of the civil and religious hierarchies since the constitution of 1927 can be traced in a series of events remembered by members of the community. Their selection of significant events and the interpretation they make of them give the best clues to their response to change. In the remembrance of things past people structure their world and project expectations for the future. Behavior in these events lacks the controls operating in the formal rituals of the officials—age-graded authority, hierarchy, and a code of behavior which conceals the open show of power. The strategies employed in these organizational changes reveal other rules or transformation of the old rules characterizing social interaction.

554 621 794 578 177 178 The structure of roles in the civil and religious hierarchies has remained intact. What has changed are the bases for according prestige and authority and allocating roles. The pivotal positions in which change is occurring are the mediating roles between local and national power structures, specifically those of president and secretary in the civil authority and of fiscal and priest in the religious authority.

[212] [191] [756] The contest for power and "control of the town" has centered in five blocks of competition: (1) the opposition of new young leaders with skills in speaking Spanish, literacy, and knowledge of the idiom of behavior in the national culture to the established succession of an age-dominated authority system; (2) the challenge by the civil authority to the control of the curers who rely on power derived from possession of an animal spirit; (3) the struggle for political power among factions based on new economic enterprises; (4) the contest among local caciques for domination; and (5) the conflict among religious functionaries. The series of events in which these contests have crystallized and brought about a reorganization

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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of political relations is summarized for each of these conflict areas. Most of the events recorded below are transcriptions of informants' statements given in Tzeltal. I have chosen this method to show how the people interpret incidents and how this leads to cognitive restructuring.

The Conflict among Civil Officials

In the period of consolidation since the revolution, the crucial issue in determining the allocation of power among local civil authorities has been that of incorporating men who have special abilities to deal with external authority without upsetting an age-ranked system. Prior to the 1950s these skills were rare—in 1920 only four young men could sign their names and read. The civil careers of two men, Ceferino, a native of the town, and Augustín, a revistido Indian from Huistán, illustrate the different courses taken by this new leadership in the post-revolutionary period of the 1930s. Ceferino was included in the given structure of power while Augustín used his skills in dealing with Ladinos to gain personal power. Ceferino was one of the first four men of the town to learn to read and write. The civil authorities recognized his potential usefulness in the town hall, and succeeded in incorporating him in an honorific but powerless position as scribe. He described his introduction into local government:

After I got out of school, the town saw that I knew how to write. Formerly there was no one who knew how to write. In the town hall the judges and president needed someone to write down the contributions and the payment for the government agents. Therefore, when the civil authority changed in the new year, they talked to my mother. As was the custom then, four regidores came to "raise" me, bringing a bottle of trago as a gift for my mother. She did not drink it alone. Together with the regidores we finished the trago. After finishing the trago, the first regidor began to speak to my mother in the pat?o?tan, saying, "I am going to bring one of your children, one of your offspring to the place where we look and where we see [reference to town hall]. We ask this favor because he knows how to write. Therefore the judges and the president ordered me to come and raise him and take out his soil, his mud, for this duty for this obligation.

159
• 212 *We shall go with your child, your offspring to pass the holy day, the holy*
621 *year. Thank you, thanks to your heart that you permit your child, your offspring to go. Now we go to receive the holy post with all the elders. The spirit of your child, your offspring shall learn."*

When the fourth regidor finished the pat?o?tan, my mother spoke: "Thank you, Take care of him. I do not want him to return to me drunk. He hasn't yet learned to drink."

I went out with two of the regidores on my right side and the other two on the left. When we arrived, the first judge spoke to us in the pat?o?tan: "You have brought before us our writer. It is well that you arrived with him. Enter and sit down."

I sat down in the middle of the regidores. When we sat down, the first judge and the president began to speak. All were gathered in the town hall. [*Ceferino then listed all the civil officials by name, a feat of memory which I shall not repeat here.*]

[273] *We sat down and they brought in two liters of trago. They began the pat?o?tan, and after the pat?o?tan the third regidor came to measure the trago. He gave the first measure to the president, the second to the first judge, the third to the second judge, the fourth to me, the writer. And I was not accustomed much to drink liquor. I took the trago and I drank it. It was killing me. It came out my nose. The judges and regidores saw my suffering when it came out my nose. They patted my back, and with some difficulty the trago went down. Thus with suffering and with trouble, I learned to drink trago. But then I got drunk. I felt drunk, and I told the judge and regidores that I was going to die. The first judge ordered the regidor to go with me to my house.*

He said, "Go leave him in his house because his mother said that I should return him to his house. See that you hand over her poor son to his mother."

[593] *Since I did not have a wife—I was a bachelor—they gave me to my mother. My mother said, "Thank you." They ordered my mother to send me the next day because we had to see how another day passed.*

When I left in 1925, I didn't return to the town hall until 1936 when the pueblo asked me to stay as president.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 3970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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witz had formed a small *cacicazgo* (supporters of a cacique) of armed men. Because of their influence with departmental officials since the land grant, they had secured an order to reassign lots in the center, putting one family from Yetawitz in each block. The reaction of the townspeople to this "invasion" of barrio Indians was immediate and conclusive, as Ceferino's account reveals:

The owners of the house lots here objected to having their lots seized. They went to a lawyer in San Cristóbal, and they also had the help of the professor here. He was a good professor. We walked with the professor. The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles. The people from Yetawitz went to another lawyer in San Cristóbal. They got an order that the people of the pueblo would have to admit the people of Yetawitz. We returned to the lawyer. He asked where these people were from. We said they were from Huistán. They were well armed. Because of this, we went to take over their arms.

When we arrived at their house, Juan asked, "What are you here for?" We answered, "We came to get your rifles."

They refused to give them up, but we seized their property. We tied up the men and carried them up to the pueblo. We dragged them like dogs up to the jail and put them in.

They asked, "Why are you putting us in jail?" and we answered, "Tomorrow we will arrange the case."

Four police stayed there. The next morning I came to see them. They had planned to go to Las Casas, but we ordered the saddles taken off the horses that were in readiness. We tried them, and they no longer bothered the pueblo.

The Huistecan's attempt to seize power reveals several significant factors in the genesis of cummunity political institutions. In the 1930s in Chiapas, the land reform act of 1927 was taking effect. Translation of law into reality in the local community required the drive and leadership of the Indians themselves. Literacy and Spanish-speaking skills were of even greater importance than before. The Indians of the center who had not been forced to work in the fincas and who had sufficient resources to resist contact with the outside economy were not in a position to take a leader-

793 794 [578] *hundred and fifty pesos for a dress. The padre said I couldn't buy it there. He told me to send for one in Mexico that cost five hundred and fifty pesos. He wanted to make the profit.*

The fiscal. As an intermediary between the traditional religious officials and the priest, the fiscal is the target for both sides of the religious controversy. The priest selects the fiscal, but his retention of the post depends on his being accepted by the mayordomos. The tendency in the past [212] [191] fifteen years since a regular priest has been assigned to the community is to choose a man who speaks Spanish and can read and write, but who can be dominated by the priest. The following statement by a man who served 794 in this post in 1929 defines the functions of the fiscal as the Indians see them:

> *When I served as fiscal, I knew how to sell [the Indians use the verb* to sell *in reference to any propaganda—whether commercial, political, or religious] the catechism. After the prayer, I cleaned the patio. I held the key to the church. I saw [in the sense of watch over] all the mayordomos. I bought the candles and incense for the saints. At midday the mayordomos and I left the church and went home. There was no padre living here then, and the padre from San Cristóbal came only on the days of San Francisco, Virgin Santa Lucía, San Pedro the Martyr, and Santiago. Each Sunday, the ten mayordomos and I entered the church and prayed in the true language.*

[782] [191] Prayers are now given in Spanish by the fiscal and the prayer-reciters under the guidance of the lay sisters, who remain most of the time in the convento. The fiscal, as a consequence, is no longer selected on the basis of [554] his ability to recite the pat'o'tan. Since one of the main tasks of the fiscal is to take care of the church, several recent incumbents have been jeered as being like women, cleaning house and responding to the bidding of the priests. Some have suggested that one was a homosexual. They blame the fiscales for letting control over the domain of the church fall into the hands of the priest.

[782] A man who had filled the post himself, described the careers of several former fiscales:

while he was fiscal. He let control over the key to the church and the donation boxes slip into the hands of the priest. His opponents accused him of weakness and failure to act in the interest of the town. The careers of these fiscales illustrate the pitfalls for those filling the post. First, there is the temptation for personal gain, since the fiscal has access to the money of the saints: in the past three fiscales have been charged with robbery. Second, there is the problem that the fiscal serves two masters, the priest and the head cofrade, each of whom has different standards of conduct for the role: when the selection of the fiscal was in the hands of the cofrades, they chose a man who knew the pat'o'tan and who was to deal directly with the curers in rituals at the cave of the ancestors and in the homes of the cofrades; now he is chosen by the priest who prefers a young, literate man. If the fiscal follows the commands of the priest, he runs into problems with the cofrades. This was the difficulty with Antonio, who was put out of office by the cofrades because he yielded to the priest's demands to improve the convento and the church. As long as the conflict in interests between the priest and the traditional authorities exist, there is no successful position for the fiscal to take.

Conflict and Social Change

In the contest for leadership which has and is occurring, the following observations can be made on the basis of the events described.

1. The community has successfully incorporated the young, literate men into the framework of the traditional hierarchy. This has been accomplished by expanding the scope of activities of the president and síndico and by relieving them of serving in the lower posts of the hierarchy.

2. The ceremonial role of the principales serves as a symbol of continuity in government both in the tie they have with the past and in the annual changeover of officials.

3. The threat of foreign Indians in the township misusing their skills in dealing with the outside world has been overcome by removing them from office and preventing them from filling high posts.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Teopisca. The schoolmaster said, "Don't cry, Ceferino. I am not going to beat you because you will learn to write. It is good to know how to write. You will speak Spanish because you will hear it, and you will look at the letters because the letters are the same as they are spoken in Spanish. Sit down now, and come tomorrow." 159 177 872

Then I told my mother to look for a slate and chalk because every morning and afternoon I wrote. She was of one heart and did not cry when she heard how I entered in the school.

For the most part, the teachers rely on authority in their program of instruction rather than encouraging the active involvement of students. In the early years of the school, there was a rapid turnover of teachers, but the employment of a schoolmaster with his wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The children respond with respect and fear to the schoolmaster, and occasionally with interest and enthusiasm. The following reminiscences by the informant, Ceferino, reflect the fear, tempered by some pleasure and interest, which he experienced: 875 876 159 212

The first schoolteacher I had when I entered school was called Chaya. She taught me to write with chalk on a blackboard. Every time I wrote badly, she told me to erase the letters and write another. After I finished, I went to my house at three in the afternoon. The next day I would go back to school. I would write on the blackboard. Writing was another kind of thing. The chalk did not stick well on the blackboard. Afterward, we started to use ink, and I began to learn well. But for a long time, I did not learn how to read. For one year, I couldn't speak Spanish, but I continued writing letters. This schoolteacher left and another came, Mista Munda Gordi. He asked me what my name was, and I told him. He saw that I didn't write the letters well. He was interested. He told me how to do it. Then I began to improve, and my name came out well. He said that the letters were better. He saw that now it was good. "Now you can make capital letters." 875 876

Mista Munda used to beat us if we did not make good letters, but I did not know how to make capitals. He told me he would beat me, so I began to do the capitals well. He saw that it was better. When he saw the letters, he gave me a book. In the first year, I finished the book, and he gave me

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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159 212 875 876

another book that added to the letters I knew. He saw that I was doing well. I began to read out loud, and he listened to see if I read well. Then he heard that I did well, and he gave me another letter to learn. Then he gave me another book, to take to my house.

[*"Was he a good teacher?" I asked.*]

He beat us if we didn't do the letters well. He would pull my ear and he scolded very much. I began to make the letters better, and I was writing when the schoolmaster left.

A third schoolmaster came and taught in the pueblo. He was named Carmen Urban. We received him. I learned a little more writing. Now when he asked me a letter, I could reply. He saw that I knew all the letters, and he gave me another notebook. I began to write with a pen. With the pen my writing came out well. He saw that it was good and gave me another book. After I finished all that was in the book, he took another writing book out. He told me that I read all the letters well. He gave me a fourth book and a piece of paper. It was a very fine book! But this schoolmaster stayed only three months. Then he left. I did not continue in school since my mother said I should continue to learn only until I know all the letters.

She said, "You are an orphan since you don't have a father. You eat by my strength only. Now that you know your letters well, I want to see how well you can help me because I alone am buying corn and you are only eating it. Now that you know everything, you don't have to go to school because you must accompany me in looking for corn."

She saw that I was too big to stay in the school. She went to talk with the schoolmaster to tell him that I could not return. She told the schoolmaster, "See before your eyes that Ceferino has no father. It is for this that I want him to accompany me looking for corn." The schoolmaster said that I could not go out because I was now learning well. But my mother began to cry before the eyes of the schoolmaster and the president. He lowered his heart and said, "Well, take him then."

I left then. My mother heard and went happily because her boy had come out. When I came out I said "Thank you" to the schoolmaster. He said, "Now you know and go. Don't forget your letters. Take this book, and go on reading in order not to forget." I began to copy all the letters in the book so that I would learn some.

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Despite the beating and the scolding, Ceferino recognized that the schoolteachers cared, and this inspired him to learn. He learned to write without any knowledge of the meaning of the words in his first year of schooling, but this did not discourage him. He was among the first four literate Indians in the community.

The program of education for primary schools today is scheduled by the Secretary of Public Education in Mexico City. The teachers conform to this as best they can in the overcrowded, understaffed conditions. The first-year program, according to the book, includes, in addition to reading and math, health studies—basic knowledge of nutrition, social and personal hygiene, the study of the healthful environment, the prevention of diseases and accidents, and first aid. The second-year course includes the study of nature—the sky, earth, seasons, the various changes in the moon, and conservation of natural resources. In the third year of their training the children learn about social life—the child in the home, school, community, and nation. The fourth year includes creative activities—games and artistic expression through learning to play musical instruments and the formation of orchestras, for example. The fifth year teaches practical activities—the construction of toys, work in gardens and other agricultural projects, and the economics of the home; and the program during the sixth year stresses the study of the national language, arithmetic, and geometry. Each of these six sections has a list of the knowledge, habits, abilities, and attitudes the teacher should have formed in the children by the time they have finished the year. The lists become more detailed with each passing year. The amount of material the teacher is expected to cover is impressive.

Mary Marshall's observation of classroom behavior (Appendix 3B) suggests some of the complexities of communicating this standard program in a class of first-year pupils. Inside the schoolroom almost all behavior is initiated and controlled by the teacher. All communication within the school is in Spanish—the teacher ignores responses other than those in Spanish—although most of the children understand no Spanish when they enter school. The regular pattern of question and response is sometimes broken up by demonstration of objects. The children's response is greater when the teacher reverses the pupil-schoolteacher role and lets them ask the questions she tells them. The scarcity of materials imposes a greater bur-

In addition to this regular ladder of officials representing the center and its close-lying barrios are judges representing the *colonias*, or rural settlements, of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Crus Quemada. They do not regularly attend the townhall sessions, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of new officials. Only after I had elicited officials from two informants was I able to get from the third the three judges of the colonias with the question, "Are there any other officials in the cabildo?" 621* 693 632

These civil officials constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. The positions of president and *sintiku* (in Spanish *síndico*), not included in the offices of the townhall as a category by informants, were elicited in response to the question stated above. These posts are occupied by younger men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy, until the present generation, was limited to those in the 30-year age bracket. Those with such skills passed immediately into the *comisario ejidal*, commission for land grants, where they assisted in the control and redistribution of land granted under the ejido program, or went directly into the post of *síndico*. Thus they were able to avoid the onerous and time-consuming functions of the traditional posts and enter into the remunerative post of president, where their authority was recognized at an early age. With improved literacy, the competition for such posts is increasing. Although informants say that the post of president alternates for the two sides of the dual division, case materials do not bear this out. 622 624 [124] [191] [212] [423] [178] [212] 622 621* 114

The only Ladino in the hierarchy is the secretary. For the first time this year (1964) the post of secretary has been taken by an Indian of the town. This is part of the power play described below. 563 624 178

Naming of civil officials is done in November, first in a closed session in the townhall at which each official names his successor, followed by a mass meeting *(Komun K'op)* at which the names are read to the assembled household heads in the plaza. To the question, "What are all the kinds of offices in the church?" the response was given: *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces (or captains, the Spanish term *alfereces* comes from the Arabic). There are 16 mayordomos. Role terms for the mayordomos indicated that each saint was repre- 666 621* 794 [776]

[P 213-B]

sented by an elder *tatil martoma* and a junior *nilʼanil martoma*, and that the 15 mayordomos were further ranked in terms of the four major saints, the *mas mamalil* or more senior, whose mayordomos are referred to as *kobraria*, cofradías or brotherhoods, and the remaining as mayordomos. The four *kobrarias* were ranked in terms of the importance and expense of the saint whom they support. The order for Tzoºontahal is Sacramento *(Sakramentu)*, Virgin Santa

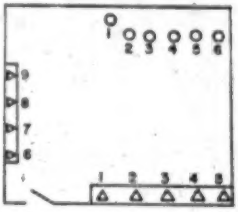

CHART 2 — EVENING, DECEMBER 31, HOUSE OF NEW JUDGE (ELICITED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Meºil Kʼop)*
2 Wife of president *(Yinam Presirente)*
3-6 Wives of juniors *(Yinam Nilʼanil)*

MEN (triangles):
1 Leading house official *(Stasal Nakawane)*
2 New judge *(Alʼ Alkal)*
3-5 Assistants, sons of judge *(Balnialetik)*
6-9 Woodgatherers *(Akniºetik)*

Lucia *(Halal Meºtik Santalusia)*, San Pedro Martyr *(Tatik Martil)*, and San Francisco *(Tatik Sanpransisku)*. There was complete agreement among the three informants questioned regarding this rank order, but for rank order of the 12 remaining mayordomos in charge of the 19 lesser saints there was no agreement between informants, and even the same informant was inconsistent in different eliciting sessions.

Outside the traditional hierarchy is the *pilkal* (in Spanish *fiscal*), who is the direct assistant of the priest and serves in an advisory capacity in charge of the church activities of the brotherhoods and mayordomos in the absence of the priest. This role was not elicited, but in my questioning about fiestas he was mentioned as performing a certain role. The incumbent in the past three years was serving as president for the third time, showing the scarcity of men with the needed literary skills. The fiscal is usually relieved of other posts while serving in office. Another set of roles external to the hierarchy are the *meºeletik* (or *resadoras*, the Spanish term for female prayer-makers). These are usually widowed or single wo-

273* aguardiente. And it was not unusual that they were unable to secure a single liter. In fact, it appears that the termination of drinking performances was in no small amount controlled by 273* the exhausting of the community supply of aguardiente. What re- 432 443 sale there was of aguardiente in the community was carried on 589 by widows who might secure as much as five to six extra liters to resell to men who wished to continue drinking after their own supplies were exhausted. As a business venture, a widow would buy for three pesos the liter which she would sell for five, gaining thus ten pesos every month or six weeks.

273* 796 439 At the fiesta of the patron saint, ladinos would bring in a supply of aguardiente to be sold. The large number of people coming from the neighboring towns made this a profitable [191] [216] venture for the three or four days of the fiesta. In order to increase the sale of the aguardiente (and other distilled beverages, as well as beer), ladino vendors set up cantina complexes in the plaza, the cantina consisting of a thatch or canvas shelter, a few tables and chairs, and principally a tocadisco--a loudspeaker system connected to a phonograph as well as a microphone, so that music and announcements could be made which 275 216 191 could be heard from blocks around. Typically in this cantina pattern, a man from Aguacatenango would sit down with a few friends, drink a liter or two of aguardiente, and during this period, request that pieces be played on the tocadisco for which

275 216 191 he paid twenty centavos and in return for which payment his name was announced over the loud speaker as well as the name of a person to whom he might wish to "dedicate" the piece.

275 216 191 178 In 1959, there occurred a set of circumstances which permitted the Aguacatenangueros to gain control of the elements of the cantina complex, and in this year cantinas were established permanently in Aguacatenango. As the result of some difficulties in Pinola, the cantineros there were required by the town government to sell or otherwise get rid of their tocadiscos. [432] And three or four of them sold their tocadiscos to the men in Aguacatenango. These gas generator-driven units were set up in various yards in the community, the loudspeakers were mounted on tall poles as is the custom in the neighboring towns, and men came to these door yards when they were drinking to request [171] pieces be played with appropriate dedicatory remarks. The cantineros in Aguacatenango then simply filled out the rest of the cantina complex as they had seen it in the plaza.

442 275 432 439 They began to buy aguardiente by the garafón, most of it from clandestine distillers in the neighboring towns who deliver it to the buyers, and also beer and other distilled beverages, these being delivered by San Cristóbal distributors or bought and transported there by cantineros.

275 Thus the retailers of alcohol drunk by Aguacatenangueros are no longer ladinos and local widows, but local men. Some of

-7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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000 town. However, other cooperatives have been successfully organized to
474 finance small-scale oeprations. Five record players with loudspeakers have
275 been installed in the houses of members who sell liquor. Once the initial
216 investment is made, the operating costs are low: 27 pesos for electricity, 25
454 pesos for a liquor license, 30 pesos for *hacienda* or state tax, and 10 pesos
434 for the township tax. Liquor bought at 60 pesos for an 18-liter jug is resold at 72 pesos. The total monthly cost of 92 pesos yields a net profit of about 300 pesos. The cost of the installation, 5,000 pesos, was low enough for some of the richer members of the community to finance individually, but as one of the operators told me, it was too risky—that is, too profitable.
474 The envy the neighbors would feel on seeing the profits made would
434 never result in witchcraft against all of the members, whereas an individ-
626 ual owner could expect that he himself or a member of his household
754 would become ill or die as the victim of witchcraft. These early entrepreneurs recognize the value of the cooperative in overcoming the force of envy which has effectively inhibited acquisition or display in these corporate Indian communities. Instead of socializing losses, one of its functions
[182] in modern capital organizations, the cooperative in Tzo?ontahal serves to socialize gains.

474 The most enterprising action of the new cooperatives has been the pur-
493 chase of a truck, initiated by the entrepreneur, Santos. The purchase of the
452 truck was inspired by the example of the Ladino secretary, who with his wife and son had a monopoly on the transportation of pottery, people, and wheat out of the village. Furthermore, in the neighboring town of Zinacantan the Indians were successfully operating two trucks. Santos went with his brother to the director of the I.N.I. in Las Casas to ask for a co-signer on the installment purchase of a Chevrolet truck, since without a Ladino sponsor Indians could not get credit with the company. According to one informant, I.N.I. officials advised them that they would not be able to profit from this venture and that they should buy a tractor with their money. The brothers persisted and went to the Dodge company in the state capital. The company agreed to sell to the Indians without Ladino co-signers on the basis of a down payment of 10,000 pesos. The initial payment was raised with thirty Indians putting up the money. Some gave no more than 150 pesos, but as the instigators of the purchase remarked, "The more members we have, the more power it gives us."

323 coming from the smaller towns to buy. The Indians still bring pottery to
178 442 443 sell retail in towns that they visit during a fiesta. One of these is the barrio of Lok'ibal in the município of Villa Carranza, where people go on the third Friday of Lent to get holy water from the spring.

The Indians have not taken advantage of the truck to buy pottery wholesale and market it directly in the smaller towns, selling from the truck in the plaza as some of the wholesale fruit truckers do. Another operation which they have failed to profit from is buying the wheat harvest and selling to government warehouses, as some of the Ladino truckers do.

44 471 Lack of capital is the major reason for failure to exploit these opportunities. In marketing the contraband liquor, which is the most flourishing of
273 443 434 the new enterprises, the Indians have not yet entered into the external markets except in the case of one young unmarried mother. Wholesale purchases are made by Ladinos, primarily women, from other towns who resell the liquor in Comitán and on the coast. There is however, a well-de-
[675] veloped home market since all contracts are sealed with the offering of liq-
[681] uor, the "gift of the gods," all court fines are paid in liquor, and the main
[583] gift in betrothal is liquor. The cantinas with phonograph players opened
[275] by the cooperatives operate very successfully on Saturday night and during
[216] fiestas. The internal market for liquor is controlled by a syndicate of the
[548] forty-two independent liquor distillers. The price is set at 4 pesos per liter
[435] for all buyers, with the buyer providing the bottle.

Agricultural production is not geared to a market, and Indians do not
241 take advantage of fluctuations in price. Wheat yields a lower return per
442 443 unit of land than corn, but it is grown for two reasons: the Indians believe that crop rotation of corn and wheat prevents depletion of the soil, and wheat requires less work since no cultivation is needed. Wheat is a cash crop and none of it is milled or consumed directly in town. Poor families sell their wheat "standing" to Teopisca truckers. The price given the
[435] grower is usually about 90 pesos per hundred kilograms, and it is resold at 110 or 120 pesos in Tuxtla or to the government storehouses. Wheat is sometimes brought directly to San Cristóbal millers who give 120 per hundred kilograms. Corn is primarily a subsistence crop when grown in the center. Corn grown in hot country ejido land is now sold in Teopisca and
[489] San Cristóbal. The local truck cooperative has a special permit which gives

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

221 241 Concerning the correspondence between the months and the agricultural activities, Emeterio Pineda says:

"*Moc* is the month in which fences should be repaired, and *Olalti* is that in which the sowing is to be done, no matter what may be the condition of the atmosphere, so that if rain fails or is insufficient or is excessive, nevertheless it may not be done in any other month even though then weather and precipitation permit.

Uck (*Uch*): in this month plants are attacked by ailments and insects, in particular by insects such as plant lice which weaken and destroy them; in the month of *Elach* (*Eluch*) the favorable winds should cure them. But in case they are not favorable, the loss of many plants is sure, as, for example, the potato which neither flowers nor gives a yield. *Nichquin* corresponds with the period of flowering, *Sbalvinquil* with pollenization and *Xchibalvinquil*, *Yoxibalvinquil* and *Xchanibalvinquil* with the three periods of the formation of the seed—that of the pearl, that of the milk and that of the starch.

Poin (*Pom*): in this month honey may be taken from the hives, and the harvest may be carried in. *Mux* represents the beginning of cold, and *Yaxquin* the Christmas season."[66]

[114] O. D. E. Bunge quotes this paragraph but attributes it erroneously to Nuñez de la Vega.[67] Bunge's publication provides other interesting data on this subject. It may be added that the nineteen-month calendar with close relation to the agricultural year has recently been reported by Weitlaner[68] for a non-Maya people, the Chinantec, in northern Oaxaca, and for the Mazatec, a people neighboring the Chinantec.[69]

[66] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 112.
[67] Bunge, 1935, p. 54.
[68] Weitlaner, 1936, pp. 197–201.
[69] Bevan, 1938, p. 5.

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4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
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114 27) but without touching on social organization.

[101] Study of social organization began in
[122] 1938 when I made my first trip through the region under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington (Redfield and Villa Rojas, 1939, pp. 107–19). In 1942–44 we spent several periods among the Tzeltal of Oxchuc, establishing camp at Yochib, and published the results soon thereafter (Villa Rojas, 1946, 1947).

Since 1957 various investigations by the universities of Chicago, Harvard, and Stanford have been headed by the anthropologists Sol Tax, Norman A. McQuown, Evon Z. Vogt, Julian Pitt-Rivers, and A. Kimball Romney.

221 241 Subsistence Patterns and Food Habits

The Milpa

Nothing is of greater importance to the Indian than to have a good *milpa*. Three classes of milpas are cultivated: *sijomal*, planted in mid-January and harvested three months later; *nal-aual* or "March milpa" planted in mid-March and harvested toward the end of August; the main milpa, *jabil-caltic* or "milpa of the year," sown between April and May and harvested between November and December. The first two types are most often cultivated in the lower zone of Tierra Caliente, where humidity is favorable.

241 804 Among the Tzeltal of Oxchuc (Villa Rojas, 1946, pp. 510–39), milpa work begins in February with the measuring of the plot. The measuring rod (*jaubtic*), which presumably corresponds to a *brazada* (the distance between the arms extended), is equivalent to 1.98 m. The area 8 brazadas square takes the name of *tarea* (about 256 sq. m.). The area of the milpa is also computed according to the number of ears of corn needed for seeding; 60 ears of corn are required to fill 1.5 hectares, the average in milpas that we observed.

241 412 Since the bush is short, only a hatchet (*eche*) is necessary to cut it down. The
[P.199-A]

241 [412] machete (*machit*) or the *luk*, a sort of curved machete with a long handle, are the implements needed. The cutting of the grass from the plot where the milpa had been the previous year is *selab*; the cutting of bush grown for three or four years is *sok-uej*. The work of cutting the bush is done by the entire family, including children of seven or eight years old.

[221] [412] The planting is done between April and May after the first rains, with a long stick whose tip is hardened by fire or protected by a metal point. [242] The seed must come from large, healthy ears whose tips have been cut off because they have small corn. [824] The *olote*, or corncob, is either kept or thrown away at a distance to avoid its being used as fuel, for this would hurt the milpa which then would produce ears with broken kernels.

241 462 785 834 The task of planting is a very delicate matter, to be performed after fasting and sexual abstinence. It is exclusively a man's affair. 241 574 A great banquet is served at noon, generally outdoors as the hut interiors are small, to the friends and neighbors who will participate as helpers. Sometimes as [476] many as 10 men help to plant a friend's milpa. The meal is offered "precisely when the sun stops for a moment midway on its run and the doors of the Church of Heaven are opened, from where the quality of the banquet is observed." This is *s-uelil-abal* ('meal of the planting').

241 262 272 574 [263] When things are properly done, the meal consists of a number of items. First the *atole* (*pajal-ul*) is served, which is slightly sour and sweetened with *panela*. As "companion" to this atole are tamales (*chenkul-uaj*), which are prepared with cornmeal and ground beans. It is said that both things are to be served together so that "the seed may penetrate deep into the ground."

241 252 262 574 212 After this preliminary snack comes what is considered the main course for each person: a hard-boiled egg in a thick reddish broth prepared from dough and ground chile dissolved in water; a large tortilla,

[P.199-B]

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201-A

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

the roots of each plant so that it will be protected. One farmer commented on this process: "The face of the earth remains loose. Thus the corn remains of one heart. Nothing dies because the soil is moved, and the tender shoots begin to grow. When the second hoeing is finished, God looks at it to see that the corn matures." In the second hoeing, any corn which has grown between hillocks is pulled out so it will not deprive the main stalks of strength. 243

When the corn has matured, the stalks are doubled over to hasten the drying process. The mature cobs are left on the doubled-over stalks for about two weeks to ensure the maximum drying of the kernels before har-

TABLE 6. Schedule of Activities in Corn Production

243
221
412
407

Activity	*Month*	*No. of days necessary for task*	*Helpers*	*Tools*
Clear irrigation ditches	Oct.	6		Machete, forked stick
Fence fields	Nov.	4		Machete, ax
Cut stalks of last year's crop; burn leaves and weeds	Dec.	4		Machete, forked stick
Plow land 3 times	Jan.	3	Oxen	Plow
Clear irrigation ditches	Feb.	2		Machete, forked stick
Irrigate land and leave 6 days	Feb.	2		
Select seed and put in water, leaving overnight	Mar.	1	Wife	
Measure rows and distance between hills so there will be 5 handspans between each hillock; plant corn	Mar.	1		Digging stick, string, net bag
Irrigate planted corn	Mar.	1		
First hoeing	Apr.	4	2 or 3 men	Hoe
Second hoeing	May	3	2 or 3 men	Hoe
Fix irrigated ditches	June	1		Machete
Outside employment	July–Aug.			
Double over corn and leave 15 days	Sept.	4		
Pick corn; put in net bag and degrain cobs with few kernels; carry home harvest.	Oct.	5	Wife, horse	Net bags, sticks,

SOURCE: Information from a farmer possessing ½ hectare of irrigated land in center. He has no sons and one married daughter, whose husband works in sawmill. [115]

7; Nash B-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

244 which there is a black variety and a colored variety, and (2) climbing beans, of which there are four subclasses: "painted," white, yellow, and black. Beans must be grown only in irrigated lands of highest productiv-

TABLE 8. Schedule of Activities in Wheat Production

Activity	Winter wheat	Summer wheat	No. of days necessary for task: Winter wheat	No. of days necessary for task: Summer wheat	Helpers	Tools
243 464 461 Clear land	Dec. 7	May 12	5	2	2 paid workers	Machete, forked stick
412 407 Irrigate land; leave soaking	Dec. 7	May 15	1	1		
Plow	Dec. 15	May 23	1	2	Oxen team	Plow
221 Sow seed broadcast; cover, crossing over twice	Dec. 16	May 24	1	1	Oxen team	Plow
Cut wheat	May 1	Oct. 5	2	2	2 or 3 unpaid workers	Scythe
Thresh						
Carry wheat to shelter	May 3	Oct. 7				Net bags
Horses trample wheat	May 4	Oct. 8				
Shake stalks	May 5	Oct. 9	3	3	4 or 5 unpaid workers, 5 horses	Forked stick
Scoop grain into wooden box and sift to get rid of chaff						Box with wire mesh
Put grain in burlap bags; carry to houses on horseback						Burlap bags

[115] SOURCE: Information from two informants, one who grows winter wheat and the other who grows summer wheat, both cultivating. ½ hectare of irrigated land.

244 ity. The land in the center, except for the fertilized corral areas, has lately yielded a very poor harvest. People say that the soul of the bean departed when they introduced the crop to their ejido plots in hot country. The scheduling of bean production is shown in Table 9.

Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive as gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

175 632 466 communal projects for the neighboring town as there had been formerly. The peasant is master of his own time.

125 221 512 Tables 33 and 34 summarize the number of days and percentage of time accorded to various activities for men of two households. The first family consists of a man forty-three years of age and his wife. All of their own children died in infancy, and an adopted daughter recently left home to live with her husband and child in a new ejido plot. The second family consists of a man, his wife, two adult sons, and an unmarried daughter. In this family, the father of sixty-five is retired and his two sons perform all of the agricultural work. Table 34 includes only the activities of the sons. 125 221 The two schedules provide some contrasts:

461 462 561 1. The forty-three-year-old man has many more ceremonial obligations than the youths. This is a factor related to the life cycle in which men over thirty-five years of age are involved in more familial and community celebrations. During the year this schedule was taken, the man was serving as a mayordomo.

2. The older man has fewer productively employed days than the youths (only 54 percent of his time is spent in productive activities) in contrast to 76 percent and 79 percent for the youths). The difference is accounted for by wage employment the youths have undertaken. In order to pay for the cost of betrothal, the elder son worked 56 days (37 percent of the time accounted for) in a neighboring sawmill.

3. The youths were not involved in any exchange labor arrangements; until they become independent heads of households working their own fields, the men do not contract reciprocal exchanges.

221 461 462 796 The fact that men spend only 54 to 79 percent of their time (using these tables to provide minimal and maximal limits) on productive activities means that there is a great deal of flexibility in the use of time for ceremonial responsibilities. Everyone takes an average of twenty days off for celebrating fiestas in addition to fifty-two Sundays.

241 461 [796] The high proportion of time spent in family or communal ceremonials suggests the high value placed on them. The preference for leisure to pursue these activities is proved in cases such as that in which the additional profit in cultivating cabbages was not sufficient to motivate one agricultur-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 316]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

TABLE 33. Activity Schedule for September 1 to June 29 of Man Owning 1 Hectare of Land and 2 Ejido Plots of ½ Hectare Each

221 461 462 512

Activity	*Days spent*	*Percent of total time*
Agriculture		46
Preparing land		
Clearing irrigation ditches	12	
Repairing and mending fences	11½	
Clearing land by cutting and burning brush	11	
Irrigating land	8	
Plowing	11	
Planting	6	
Cultivating crops	21	
Guarding crops against animals and birds	3	
Harvesting	34	
Milling sugarcane	8	
Exchange labor	13	
Walking to hot country	4	
Hunting for and tending animals	25½	9
Collecting firewood	13	5
Religious activities		23
Performing duties as mayordomo	26	
Attending Sunday mass and cleaning church	24	
Fiestas, attending mass, participating in playing drum, flute, etc.	21	
Kinship and social obligations		6
Attending funerals	7	
Attending curing ceremonials	3	
Attending betrothal ceremonials	5	
Helping in house-building	1	
Marketing		3
Buying	9	
Selling	1	
Communal labor		2
Cleaning irrigation ditches	1	
Repairing threshing shelter	4	
Business affairs of cooperative	4	1
Assisting town officials	4	1
Outside work	12	4
TOTAL	303	100

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

241 461 ist to continue growing this labor-intensive crop (Chapter 2). The low propensity to consume, maintained by community-shared standards which inhibit the display of wealth, further reduces the incentives to expand production (Schultz 1964:27). The major reward for hard work is land which, in his middle years, the agriculturalist can turn over to be worked by his sons, thus relieving him of daily toil.

221 461 462 512

TABLE 34. Activity Schedule for September 1 to February 28 for Two Unmarried Youths

Activity	Younger brother Days spent	Younger brother Percent of total time	Elder brother Days spent	Elder brother Percent of total time
Agriculture		41		25
Preparing land				
Clearing land by cutting and burning brush	26		6	
Irrigating land	3		3	
Plowing land	1		1	
Planting	1		1	
Harvesting crop	11		7	
Doubling over stalks	4		4	
Working in hot country	16		16	
Collecting firewood	6	4	2	1
House maintenance		12		6
Plastering house walls	13		6	
Bringing lumber	2		2	
Making pigpen	3		2	
Pottery		1		1
Bringing clay	2		2	
Agricultural work for others		8		8
Harvesting and carrying corn	3		3	
Plowing	2		2	
Planting	6		7	
Nonagricultural work in sawmill	16	11	56	37
Religious activities		18		21
Attending fiestas	3		3	
Attending mass and relaxing on Sundays	25		28	
Sickness	8	5		
TOTAL	151	100	151	100

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

177 262 ious meats, and canned foods such as salmon, sardines, and sausages.

231 The keeping of bees is not widespread. [222] The Indians instead take advantage of the wild honey, which is commonly gathered during certain parts of the year. Tenango was the only town where I observed beehives next to the huts. The bees, large and yellow, are called *aja-chab* and are brought from the woods. When a tree is found with one of these beehives, the section containing the hive is cut off and is taken to town; the ends of this section are covered with jícaras, which are stuck on with clay.

Settlement Patterns

Town and Parajes

632 621 361 All the communities consist of a town center and a number of settlements, called parajes, which are scattered over the municipio. The town is the political, religious, and commercial center of the entire community; there the municipal authorities have their offices, [563] and the church and shops are located. In general, the Ladinos reside in the center, their houses arranged in aligned streets, but some communities (Chanal, Amatenango, Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Bachajon) refuse to accept Ladinos in the town permanently. The Indians prefer the parajes, where the huts are dispersed irregularly.

162 As observed by Sol Tax for the highlands of Guatemala (1937), the proportion of Indians who reside in the town center varies. In some communities (Chanal, Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Tenango) nearly all the people live in the capital. In Chanal, with a population of 2,881 persons, 2,386 reside in the center and so it is a "nucleated town," according to Tax's terminology. In contrast, the most common community is the "vacant town." Tenejapa, for example, has only 517 inhabitants of a total 7,750 residing in the center. The least frequent is an intermediate type, where some live in the center and some in the parajes, as typified by

[P. 203-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 205-A]

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[p.461-B]

682 704 756 location of the soul, *sč'ulel*, in the tongue, *yat*, wherein lies the particular power of the curer. This possibly suggested the mode of attack.

682 411 412 The instruments used to kill are carried by the farmers of this area most of the time. The men go to their milpa with a machete strapped to their side, a shotgun slung over their shoulder, and sometimes even a knife stuck in their waistband. They frequently interrupt work to hunt birds, rabbits, and deer. The shotgun does not excite suspicion or comment when it is seen. The men of Teklum are technologically prepared to kill in the course of an ordinary day's work. [223] [224]

682 [152] [683] The number of wounds and the thoroughness with which the job is done (see Table 1) suggest not so much the fury of the assailants as the fear motivating their act. In a witch-killing, it appears to be thought necessary to hack up the victim completely so that his power is effectively ended: one witch was cut into 32 pieces; another had 166 wounds.

682 674 656 The death acts drawn up in the local courthouse have been increasingly specific in their statements as to the wounds inflicted ever since the government's intervention in the case of an accidental death in 1950. The local authorities were threatened with a fine of 600 pesos if the details were not properly recorded. The careful measurement of the body in relation to the road and to neighboring milpas and the measurement of the size and depth of the wounds provide the screen of complicity that wards off further investigation by federal authorities and preserves local independence. There is never any questioning of suspects or attempt to solve the crime by officials. The success of the ploy is illustrated in the following account:

> Pedro had animals at the spring and had gone out early with ropes in his bag to lasso them. He was found with a rope tied around his neck hung from a *čikinib* tree. We went out and measured the length and thickness of the rope and how many centimeters it penetrated his neck. We put all these facts in the report, which gave the cause of death as suicide.
>
> At that time we had a schoolteacher in town who asked the dead man's wife why the town didn't investigate who killed him because someone must have done it. He went with the widow to the Ministerio Publico in the capital. Well, when they came out, there were all the facts in the death act. [Informant laughed heartily as he recalled this success.] He saw that we had discovered the body at 3 P.M., that the rope was 15 meters

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

224 411 The Chief weapon used in hunting is the muzzle-loading smooth-bore gun, really a shot-gun, usually loaded with shot. Both flint-locks and percussion caps are known, and occasionally match-locks are made by the Indians themselves, the barrels being bought in the towns, or taken from old guns. Powder is carried in a cow's horn, which sometimes also serves as a flask.

Wild boar is sometimes hunted with spears, *mojara,* made of sticks with points hardened in the fire, although iron-headed spears are known, having been used in the Uprising of 1868. The latter form, however, does not appear to be made at present. Spears left over from the Uprising are highly valued and cannot be bought. [669] That they were brought out of hiding during a period of unrest at Bachajon in 1915 is considered one of the proofs that a real revolt was planned at that time.

224 231 Dogs take part in the chase, their use being connected with some curious superstitions. It is a common practice in Mexico to cut a

224

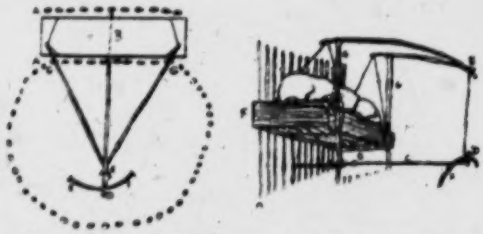

FIG. 308—Deadfall, from a rat trap at El Encanto, Chis. A. Plan. B. Sketch of essential parts.

224 231 piece off a dog's ear and keep it in the house if he shows a tendency to roam, or to go hunting alone. If he will not follow a trail, a similar piece is cut off and thrown on it. The Indians keep jaw-bones or other trophies of animals killed with the dogs' help hung in a conspicuous place under the eaves of the house; the object being to remind the dogs of their achievements, and to keep them from losing heart during a period of no hunting.

223 Birds, as well as being hunted, are caught with snares and with limed twigs.

224 Dead-falls, *yakul,* are used to trap animals, both for game, and to protect the fields. They are substantially all of one pattern, the drawing for which was taken from a rat-trap in the house at El Encanto (fig. 308). The deadfall consists essentially of a log, F, weighted with stones, held suspended in two slings, which hang from the ends of two sticks, EE, resting over two forked uprights, GG. The two sticks cross each other at the further end, where they are

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[p.461-B] Teklum

682 704 756 location of the soul, *st'ulel*, in the tongue, *yat*, wherein lies the particular power of the curer. This possibly suggested the mode of attack.

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283 the ground. This disc has two hooks to
413 which the fiber is knotted; when the disc is turned by a crank, it braids the fibers into rope. A thick board, smoothed by a metal knife (manufactured by the Indians from iron pieces bought in the city), is used to scrape the pita and remove the fiber.

407 The most complex machine that the Tzel-
[177] tal own and build is the wooden cane press, which was imported by the Spaniards to grind sugarcane (fig. 6). This machine is operated by two men, who move the rollers by a handle (*kabal-té*) at each end of the
[415] machine. The juice pressed out by the rollers drops into fluted containers made of pieces of banana tree, and finally into a pot. This
273 juice is used in the preparation of an alcoholic beverage, *chicha* (*chi-ja*, 'sweet water'), and for panela. Chicha is prepared by
[415] fermenting this juice by bran, corn, or wheat, in a special container (*canoja*) made from a fluted tree trunk. The bran or other fermenting agent is *smé-chi-já* ('mother of
[184] the chicha'). Some communities (Tenejapa, Cancuc, Oxchuc) have greater preference for this beverage than other Tzeltal groups.

• 224 A gun has become very common in hunt-
411 ing. Sometimes (Oxchuc and Tenejapa)
[412] rabbits are taken by striking them with a coa, after cornering them with the aid of dogs. Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:352) state that the Tzeltal of the lowlands usually hunt wild boar with long wooden spears with fire-hardened or metal points. Traps protect the milpa as well as snaring game.

41 Cooking utensils are mainly indigenous. The usual set consists of clay containers of varying size and shape, jícaras, baskets, wooden spoons, a comal, a metate, hooks, and wooden tripods for hanging items over
177 the fire. In the last few years metal pots,
404 dishes, frying pans, boiling pans, and espe-
415 cially handy *nixtamal* mills (which are gradually displacing the grinding stone)
177 have been introduced. Other items that
207 come from the city are flashlights, small
405 kerosene lamps, watches, scissors, and (in-
412 frequently) battery radios.
416

[P 206-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

353 Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail
[231] hung in the eaves so that the dogs might see them, to prevent their
[415] going away or losing heart. A swizzle stick, *mahas,* about 40 centimeters long, was used for stirring cocoa. It is made by cutting a twig above a joint with four branches. Two rat traps, *yakul,* just
[224] outside the hut, were exact models of the larger deadfalls used for jaguars (see fig. 308).

[291] Add to this the clothes on the inhabitants backs, and the man's
[411] machete, and you will have a complete list of the worldly possessions, large and small, of a Bachajon family—altogether some forty-four different kinds of things. We assembled as many together as pos-
[126] sible, arranging them as for a feast, and placed in the middle the small son of the house, and a little monkey of a boy, Miguel, who accompanied us to run errands (fig. 292).

342 →

[516]
[291]
[415]
←

[123]
[122]
→

FIG. 292—Bachajon boy guests.

If mud-plastered walls are added to this description, you have a typical Ocosingo Valley house. Change the grass roof to palm, it is the kind to be seen in the jungle country.

At Muxculja (*muckul ha,* "Covered Water"), in the jungle, our Indians built us a trail shelter or hut of the type called in Spanish *champa,* and in Tzeltal *tutna',* "small house." This enabled us to note the manner of building the frame-work and laying on the roof. The kind of *champa* built for us, with an A-roof and gable ends, is called *gwakac na',* "cow house"; the more common type built by the Indians when alone, a simple lean-to, is called *lestce-pat* (should be *lestce-pahk?*) "only one wall."

Our shelter being more than usually pretentious, we could observe most of the steps in building a true house, although, of course, the form here was different and the construction much lighter (figs. 293-294). It was three meters, fifty-one centimeters long by three meters wide, two meters high at the ridge-pole, one at the eaves.
[461] It had no walls. From the construction of the outline of the frame to the completed thatching it took fifty minutes for four men, later only two, working without haste.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

remarkable. They make combs of one piece of wood, averaging 15 centimeters long, 8 wide, by 4 millimeters thick. The teeth are cut out of one of the long sides, running back less than half-way into the body of the piece. These teeth may be as fine as two in three millimeters, or as coarse as two in five millimeters; sometimes they are graded. The back is slightly arched. On the ends a piece of wood is left uncut, usually about four millimeters wide. The shape is not unlike the small Japanese combs to be found in most of our curio stores. The best examples are made from mahogany, chosen with a nice feeling for the effect of the grain. They are not worn, but used for combing the hair. 322 412

They make violins which are small copies of the European type. The instrument and bow are known by their Spanish names, *violina* and *arcilla*. The body is about 26 centimeters in greatest length and width; the neck, *tsutsuH-te*, projects about 30 centimeters. Save for a decoration of wavy lines on the back, the violin looks like a cheap toy fiddle. The strings, *tcucuix*, are of *mico de noche* (night-walking lemur) gut, save the G-string, which is of the usual type, bought in the towns. The bow-strings are of horse-hair treated with rosin. The tone is poor, lacking resonance. 534 322

One tobacco pipe, *bum*, was observed, which was a remarkable piece of whittling (fig. 307). It was about 14 centimeters long, made of one piece of mahogany, and apparently modeled after the American corn-cobs occasionally seen among the Ladinos. The bowl was roughly rounded, with a flat bottom. The stem was round, with a step in it at the middle, in imitation of the step in the mouth-piece of an ordinary pipe. The tube had been hollowed out with a hot wire. The tin-foil cap over the cork of a *Habanero* bottle had been hammered onto the base of the bowl, and two strips of tin-foil laid around the stem, each held on with a brad. It may be mentioned that the mahogany coloured prettily from handling and smoking, and that the flavour was sweet. 276 322

FIG. 307—Pipe.

Stools, with three legs let into a single, round piece, and rather rickety tables on the same principle, but four-legged, are made by the men, as well as the squatting-seats mentioned in describing the house. 352 322

Game furnishes an important part of the Indian's food supply. Wild boar, deer, howler monkey, *faisan*, *cojolite*, dove, and quail are hunted for food. The various large cats, alligator, lemurs, and many of the larger snakes are sought for their hides, which form a considerable article of trade. The chief weapon used in hunting is 224

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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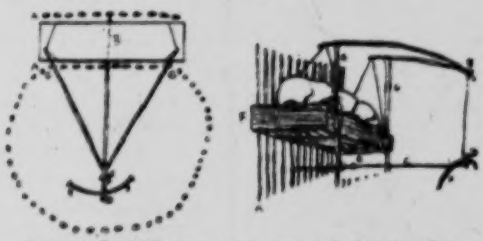

FIG. 308—Deadfall, from a rat trap at El Encanto, Chis. A. Plan. B. Sketch of essential parts.

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5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

tied by a string carried down to an arched stick, H, stuck in the 224
ground. This string, by holding down the far ends, counterbalances the weight of the fall at the other ends. At the end of the string the cross-stick, D, holds it against the arch; it, in turn, is held by the trigger, C, one end of which braces against it, the other end against the far side of the trap, passing under the deadfall. A circular fence of sticks prevents an animal from getting at the outer part of the trap. A straight fence on the other side of the fall necessitates its entering through the entrance, AA, to get at the bait, B, on the trigger. The animal dislodges the trigger, releasing D and with it the string. The outer ends of the sticks fly up, and the weighted log falls. In the rat trap, the log and stones came to at least three kilograms, arranged to fall through a space of about ten centimeters, other traps being in proportion.

When hunting with a gun, a red fruit called *ahoon* is frequently [824]
rubbed on the shot, and *palma bendita, tcul-tĕc-wil can,* the palm used in church decorations, is used for the wad. This prevents the bullet "from getting tired" before it reaches its mark.

Meat obtained while hunting, if it cannot be carried immediately 251
to the house, is dried on a rack, *tcax.*

The primary method of carrying goods of all kinds is by the 482
tump-line, for which, as has been said in the discussion of physical and other characteristics, these people are very well adapted. The tump-line, *pak,* is a broad strip of inner bark, or of cow-hide. For their ordinary uses, this is a single strip, the ends being attached to a net (q. v.) of their own manufacture. When a package too bulky for the net is carried, a long strap is used with the ends tied together. This is looped through itself, around the package, so that it hangs in two slings. Additional straps may be attached to the line where it passes over the ears, to wrap around the sides of the burden. A flat piece of cowhide, *tcokHax,* is worn against the back, to protect the carrier from the chafing of his load. Both men and women use the tump-line, the carrying of objects on the head being unusual.

Formerly the Indians of this district are said to have owned a 492
good many mules and horses for packing, which they lost during [798]
the recent political disturbances. Many of them know something about packing. At present, however, few if any own cattle of any kind.

The highland rivers do not, on the whole, lend themselves to 487
water travel, although the Bachajon territory reaches to the Bascan, Tulija, and other more amenable water-ways. Canoes are known only 581
as introductions of German or Ladino ranchers. The natives use a [799]

805 lating the time of day; when I questioned them as to the hour, they were often as much as an hour off, usually behind.

Most activities are ordered with reference to the Gregorian calendar, but the twenty-day Maya calendrical month, defined as "twenty days or a month" is used in much the same way that we use "a fortnight." The In-
805 dians consider the moon to be an uncertain indicator of time, since "she
821 does not walk well." But the moon is important in the culture: people note its different phases and are especially aware of the phase under which a child is born—an important sign for the newborn's future. If a baby is
[856] born at the full moon, he is expected to mature more readily. The full
[787] moon also signifies a propitious time for undertaking certain activities, such as cutting wood for the main posts of a house and cutting palm for the roof.

The Daily Schedule

512
462 Daily activities are organized by traditional economic pursuits. The woman is the first one to rise in the morning. She gets up at dawn, lights
[252] the fire, and sets a jar of water to boil for coffee. She grinds the nixtamal cooked the night before on the stone grinding board, or takes it to the mill
[412] in the center. She then makes tortillas either by hand or with a press; a re-
[177] cent innovation made of two hinged pieces of wood in which the ball of
[178] dough is set between pieces of plastic paper.

The men of the household are served first, followed by the boys; the
[264] women and girls eat last. As soon as they have eaten, the men and boys who have finished the required three years of schooling go out to the
[481] fields to work. They walk single file even in the streets of the town, the fa-
[482] ther preceding his sons. Each carries a machete, net bag, tumpline, and sheepskin back-protector if he plans to carry any loads. Many bring shot-
[411] guns as well in order to hunt for field rats, raccoon, or the burrowing ani-
[224] mals they find in the fields.

After the men leave, the women go to the porch and "seize their work."
[857] The children go to school, which begins at eight-thirty in the morning
[872] and continues until five o'clock in the evening. They return home for
[264] lunch, a meal of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans or chayote when it is in season.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

563 Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo relations between Indians and Ladinos are more friendly, and the Indians are regarded as milder and more tractable.

181 Of the strongly Indian towns, Cancuc is the most conservative, Chanal the most progressive.

631 In respect to official political organization, these villages are divided according to their importance and the number of their inhabitants, into free municipalities
563 (*municipios libres*) and dependent municipalities (*agencias municipales*). The former are those which have the right to choose their own government, upon which formal administration depends. To this category belong Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Ococingo, Chilón, and Bachajón. Until a short time ago the municipal governments of these settlements were composed of Ladinos in the principal posts and of Indians in the subordinate positions. At the present time the government is seeking to reverse this situation so that the Indians have the greater authority; it is for this reason that the governments of the four villages first mentioned are now headed by Indians. This change has brought about marked
[177] alterations in certain places in the social equilibrium that before existed between the two ethnic elements which compose the population.

Villages of the latter category are those which depend, in administrative matters, on a free municipality. In these cases authority is represented in the first place by the *agente municipal*, who is named by the central municipal government. This post is always discharged by a Ladino. In most instances the municipal agent compensates for the meagerness of his salary by controlling the sale of rum in the village which he administers. The other members of the municipal government are chosen almost always from the Indian group.

184 In several of the highland communities, notably Amatenango, Chanal, and,
243 to a much less extent, Tenejapa, the Indian grows (in addition to the universal
439 maize) a certain amount of wheat for export; the Ladinos of Oxchuc cultivate this crop, but in Cancuc, where there are no Ladinos, wheat is not grown. (Wheat is
433 also grown in the Tzotzil towns of Chamula and Huistán.) Other money crops
241 of the highlands are chickpeas, peas, oranges, and other fruit. Some coffee is grown in San Martín; it is the principal export from Yajalón and Petalcingo. In Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Chilón a principal produce is brown sugar, made locally from sugar cane locally raised. Cancuc is the only village that cultivates cotton
[286] commercially; the production in the other communities is insignificant. The local manufacture of loom-woven clothing is rapidly disappearing. Most Tzeltal com-
[178] munities are without beehives, but there is considerable apiculture in Sivacá, and
231 a little beekeeping is also practised in Tenango, Bachajón, and Yajalón. Apparently
184 the bees kept are wild colonies brought to the villages in the sections of hollow log they are made to inhabit. The raising of hogs and poultry is a principal economic
233 recourse in all the Indian settlements. The beef cattle industry has always been in the hands of Ladinos; however, recently the Government, acting through the
[654] Centers of Native Education, has sought to stimulate the industry among the Indians.

241 Between September and October, when the tender ears are ready, some are torn loose to prepare atoles and tamales.

Toward the middle of October, when the milpa has reached maturity, all hands proceed to the task of the *dobla*, folding or breaking the stem of the plant so that the ear dries and may later be put into the barn. This is an easy task, in which men, [462] [857] women, and children take part.

The harvest takes place in November and [592] December with the participation of the whole family; it is a joyful task which compensates for all the moments of anxiety in the previous months, when subsistence was scarce. The produce from the milpa is gath- [251] ered in large nets and later stored in a corner of the house or in some improvised structure nearby. The crop is measured by [804] *zontles*, units of 400 ears, which are formed by counting the ears by fives; two ears are taken in one hand and three in the other until 400 are reached. The family of five [261] members which manages to harvest from [231] 15 to 20 zontles considers itself happy, since that much will last them the entire year, consuming 20 ears a day plus feeding one or two hogs and 10 or 12 chickens.

The milpa also produces various squashes, manioc (*dzinté*), and peanuts, which the Indians call *cexlan-chenek* ('Ladino's bean').

243 Exceptional among the Tzeltal is the cul- 184 tivation of wheat in Amatenango. There the small valley and a creek have favored its development.

241 The most important ceremonies take 796 place immediately after planting. They entrust the germination of the seed to the care of God, of the "thirteen holders of Heaven," and of "Tatík Jesucristo." The "thirteen holders of Heaven" refer to the principal saints who are mentioned in the prayers. The ceremonies consist in offer- [178] ings of prayers and incense before the [782] crosses kept in caves belonging to each paraje, and in one *bikit mixa* ('small Mass'), which the cabildos and principales of the

[P 201-B]

241 782 *chin-uch* (May 20–June 8), an offering is made to the supernatural being which reigns over it. The natives have vague no-
[825] tions of the nature of this being. They say that *uch* is the name of a small insect which spoils the pozole and, also, of the *tlacuache* or *zarigueya* which often destroys the milpa. The offering, hung at the entrance of the hut, consists of a ball of pozole wrapped in plantain leaf, a red chile, a tortilla, an ear of corn, and a little stick like the kind used to turn the ear cooking over hot coals.
241 782 787 All objects are minute in size. When the offering achieves its purpose, on the completion of a 20-day period, the atmosphere becomes hazy "as if there were smoke." It is explained that "the chin-uch burned its house," which forecasts a favorable sun for development of the milpa. If such a sign should not appear on the indicated date or at the end of the next month of *mukul-uch* (June 9–28), the forecast is ominous and indicates that the rains will be excessive, greatly harming the milpa.

778 796 Another mukul-mixa is performed in Oxchuc, in homage to the hill called Ikal-Ajau,
[184] near the ceremonial center, of which the Indians say "it is a living hill." The name of the hill is that of the ancient hill worshipped by the Oxchuequeños. Nuñez de la Vega (in Becerra, 1933, p. 293) reports: "Those of Oxchuc and other towns of Los Llanos venerate very much the idol which they call Icalajau, which means principal Negro or
[789] lord of the Negroes." This Mass, performed the first days of June, prevents locusts and other plagues from coming.

241 78 Once the crop is in the granary, other family prayers are said before the household cross, to give thanks for the good received and to petition the supernatural beings to protect the grain from insects and rodents.

Other Subsistence Resources

262 235 Other food resources include raising chickens and pigs. A family averages about
[231] 10 chickens, using the eggs as money when
[437] [P. 202-B]

262 they visit the regional market. Only during
235 illness or fiesta are both chickens and eggs
[437] eaten.

231 In towns like Tenejapa and Cancuc, In-
439 dians buy small pigs from the Ladinos of the center, fatten them for 8 or 10 months, then sell them to the Ladinos, who slaughter them and sell the meat to the Indians. As may be supposed, in this sort of symbiosis the greatest profit accrues to the La-
[454] dinos. However, the Indians more often keep the money from selling pigs to meet emergencies or expenses of clothing, tools, and fiestas.

262 *Food Habits*

Corn, beans, chile, and squash are the core of Indian diet, supplemented by ma-
262 nioc, sweetpotato, potato, and chayote. One
263 or more chayote trees next to the house are common; every part of the chayote is used—fruit, tender leaves, and root—usually boiled with salt. Wild herbs are eaten raw or cooked. Among the raw ones are *culix-uamal*, *xhix-uamal*, and *alauanex*, the last a wild radish which Ladinos call "the Indian's radish." Herbs that are cooked include *tzul* and *tuxac*. Some herbs are eaten both raw or cooked: *verdolaga* or *chic-xecul*, *muem* (*hierba mora*), *maj-tas*, *tzuy*, and *San Sibro Uamal*. The last is a small grass with long
[276] thin leaves which the Indians grind and add to give a better taste to the *pilico* or wild tobacco. This is called *poxil-may*, which is like saying "medicinal pilico." Ladinos use its leaves in tea sweetened with panela.

262 There are three main meals during the
264 course of the day: breakfast (*ue-el sab*), which consists of atole or pozole, beans, chile, and tortillas; lunch (*ue-el olical*) of the same foods plus a vegetable such as squash or chayote; and supper (*ue-el x-malcal*), with atole, tortillas, beans, and chile. In Tenejapa rabbit meat is frequently
172 on the table. In Amatenango, Aguacate-
262 nango, and Pinola, greater contact with Ladinos has added coffee, wheat bread, var-

[P.203-A]

177 262 ious meats, and canned foods such as salmon, sardines, and sausages.

• 231 [222] The keeping of bees is not widespread. The Indians instead take advantage of the wild honey, which is commonly gathered during certain parts of the year. Tenango was the only town where I observed beehives next to the huts. The bees, large and yellow, are called *aja-chab* and are brought from the woods. When a tree is found with one of these beehives, the section containing the hive is cut off and is taken to town; the ends of this section are covered with jícaras, which are stuck on with clay.

Settlement Patterns

Town and Parajes

632 621 361 All the communities consist of a town center and a number of settlements, called parajes, which are scattered over the municipio. The town is the political, religious, and commercial center of the entire community; there the municipal authorities have their offices, [563] and the church and shops are located. In general, the Ladinos reside in the center, their houses arranged in aligned streets, but some communities (Chanal, Amatenango, Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Bachajon) refuse to accept Ladinos in the town permanently. The Indians prefer the parajes, where the huts are dispersed irregularly.

162 As observed by Sol Tax for the highlands of Guatemala (1937), the proportion of Indians who reside in the town center varies. In some communities (Chanal, Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Tenango) nearly all the people live in the capital. In Chanal, with a population of 2,881 persons, 2,386 reside in the center and so it is a "nucleated town," according to Tax's terminology. In contrast, the most common community is the "vacant town." Tenejapa, for example, has only 517 inhabitants of a total 7,750 residing in the center. The least frequent is an intermediate type, where some live in the center and some in the parajes, as typified by

[P. 203-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 205-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

353 Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail
[231] hung in the eaves so that the dogs might see them, to prevent their
[415] going away or losing heart. A swizzle stick, *mahas*, about 40 centimeters long, was used for stirring cocoa. It is made by cutting a
[224] twig above a joint with four branches. Two rat traps, *yakul*, just outside the hut, were exact models of the larger deadfalls used for jaguars (see fig. 308).

[291] Add to this the clothes on the inhabitants backs, and the man's
[411] machete, and you will have a complete list of the worldly possessions, large and small, of a Bachajón family—altogether some forty-four different kinds of things. We assembled as many together as pos-
[126] sible, arranging them as for a feast, and placed in the middle the small son of the house, and a little monkey of a boy, Miguel, who accompanied us to run errands (fig. 292).

342 →

[516]
[291]
[415]
←

[123]
[122]
→

Fig. 292—Bachajon boy guests.

If mud-plastered walls are added to this description, you have a typical Ocosingo Valley house. Change the grass roof to palm, it is the kind to be seen in the jungle country.

At Muxculja (*muckul ha*, "Covered Water"), in the jungle, our Indians built us a trail shelter or hut of the type called in Spanish *champa*, and in Tzeltal *tutna'*, "small house." This enabled us to note the manner of building the frame-work and laying on the roof. The kind of *champa* built for us, with an A-roof and gable ends, is called *gwakac na'*, "cow house"; the more common type built by the Indians when alone, a simple lean-to, is called *lestce-pat* (should be *lestce-pahk?*) "only one wall."

Our shelter being more than usually pretentious, we could observe most of the steps in building a true house, although, of course, the form here was different and the construction much lighter (figs. 293-294). It was three meters, fifty-one centimeters long by three meters wide, two meters high at the ridge-pole, one at the eaves.
[461] It had no walls. From the construction of the outline of the frame to the completed thatching it took fifty minutes for four men, later only two, working without haste.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

the thigh. The spinning is done with the left hand, the right holding and drawing out the thread, *tsahalna'* (fig. 302-d). 283

The thread is then arranged for the warp on a form called *kumen* (fig. 302-c). This is a pole 1.40 meters long, notched at intervals on one side, and with a groove in one end joining two unnotched sides. In one of the notches, according to the length of thread desired, is placed a cross stick, *tumin-te,* (equals *kumen-te?*), 45 centimeters long. The thread is laid from one end of this cross stick, through the groove, around to the other end of the cross stick, and so, back and forth, until the required number of woof-strands are prepared. The loops around one half of the cross stick are then transferred to the head-stick of the loom, those around the other to the foot-stick, and the woof is ready. At the head end, the loops are braided for the selvage. 286 342 284 142 516 854 302 291 231

FIG. 301—Sivacá, Chis. Woman Winding Thread.

The loom, *holél,** has no rigid frame. The woof is stretched over the head and foot-sticks, *wolol-te.* The head-stick is fastened to a beam in the house or to a branch, usually more than a meter above the ground. Before this the weaver sits, with the foot-stick strapped to her by a broad leather strap, *ku'epat,* thus holding the set-up taut (fig. 303). At a little distance below the head-stick, the woof-strands are crossed, those underneath being carried on top, and held in place

*Holél is one of a large class of words ending in -al, -él, or -il, which are at once verbal nouns and infinitives; e. g. *tal-él,* to come, or the act of coming, corresponding to the Latin venire and veniendo. *hol-él* primarily means to weave, here it is also applied to the loom. [193]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

224 411 The Chief weapon used in hunting is the muzzle-loading smooth-bore gun, really a shot-gun, usually loaded with shot. Both flint-locks and percussion caps are known, and occasionally match-locks are made by the Indians themselves, the barrels being bought in the towns, or taken from old guns. Powder is carried in a cow's horn, which sometimes also serves as a flask.

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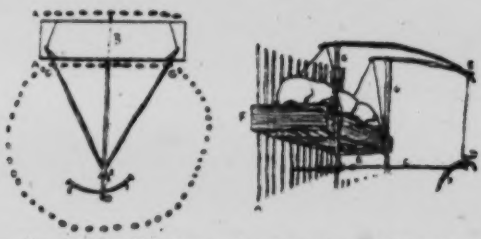

FIG. 308—Deadfall, from a rat trap at El Encanto, Chia. A, Plan. B, Sketch of essential parts.

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5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

361
342
137
231
417
415

FIG. 311—Tenango, Chis. Street Scene.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

291 shorts are also usually embroidered in red and yellow. The chief had such a pair, very fine and gaudy, which we asked to see. He took [123] them off to show us, but when we tried to buy them from him he [293] became furiously angry and abusive. Sandals, when worn, are of the ordinary type. Most of the Indians carry a staff of some kind.

The women wear the typical blue skirt, but the blouse, cut like [531] a poncho, is usually tucked inside and heavily embroidered about the neck and shoulders. This work takes a long time, and the finished blouses are valued very highly. When worn outside they nearly cover the skirts, which are just knee length. Red sashes with a yellow stripe from Tapachula, of the kind worn also around Ocosingo, bind the skirts at the waist. Hair is done in two braids with dark red ribbon, or tied up in a knot over the forehead as at Cancuc.

[342] [231] [854] ← 302 → 301 → 621 563 → [293] →

Fig. 330—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians in the street.

Men and women alike wear cheap, gay-coloured necklaces, usually rosaries.

The Indians move with great freedom through the town and lounge in company with the Ladinos on the broad porch of the Town Hall. The officials are distinguished by silver-headed canes with black tassels. In lieu of a Maestro, they are directly under the Ladino *Presidente Municipal,* and their disputes are tried by the local judge. Their lawsuits have a mediaeval air, carried on publicly with great clamor on the Town Hall porch, and all concerned speaking with the utmost freedom. A breach of promise case was observed in the course of trial. It went on for at least two hours with never less than two Indians, usually women, speaking at once. One could not but admire the patience of the rather bored and indifferent judge.

695 344

114 The cargadores from Cancuc arrived shortly after dark, still lively despite the long day and steep climb. More remarkable still,

342 construction used thatch or palm leaves carried from hot country. These
177 cost only the price of renting a horse, if it was necessary, for transporta-
435 tion. Roofs made of these materials have to be replaced every seven or
[492] eight years. Each rethatching requires three days' work with four or five helpers, and the houseowner must provide a meal for them and their families. He spends about 25 pesos for meat and uses two or three liters of corn; the total cost is about 75 pesos. Another kind of roof is made of wooden shingles bought in the neighboring town. These are fixed to the housetops with wooden pegs, and the total cost is about 200 pesos. This lasts ten or twelve years with replacement of individual shingles. Tile roofs have the highest initial cost, 800 pesos, but the lowest maintenance in labor.

342
435

TABLE 13. Construction Costs for House, 1965

	Cost (pesos)
Supplies	
Roof tiles (1,000)	800
Posts and poles	*
Planks	40
Door	100
Window frame	30
Services	
Transportation of tiles	30
Transportation of posts and poles	206
Carpenter	50
Food for helpers	75
TOTAL	1,331

* Obtained free from communal woods.

342 House walls are preferably made of mud mixed with lime poured into an interlacing of cane poles set between the house posts and tied with a handmade fiber rope. Another temporary type of construction, which does not offer as good insulation, is made of board planks. Sweatbaths are
343 made by digging out a floor about 2.5 meters square, raising stones in an
[514] oval shape over this, and plastering them with mud. The I.N.I. tried to in-
[647] troduce latrines, but no more than a half dozen of the cement toilet seats
[177] they gave away as demonstrators were put into use. Latrines are consid-
ered to be dirty since the pigs and dogs
[231] cannot scavenge the feces.

71 Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

by the company truck to replenish supplies they bring with them. Most of the workers are young men in their twenties and thirties. They return Saturday evening in a truck supplied by the company and go back to work on Monday morning. Weekly wage payments have upset the usual controls over budget management. Money earned from crops is handled by women. The sawmill workers have resisted passing over their paychecks to their wives or mothers, and several court cases have been precipitated as a result (Appendix 2b).

All of the work in which men are engaged outside of the community is voluntarily undertaken for cash compensation. Formerly, forced labor of two kinds was frequently demanded of the Indians: communal labor in the neighboring ladino town when Tzoʔontahal was an *agente municipal* of that town, and work in neighboring fincas for wages of 50 cents a day. Forced communal work came to an end when the town became an independent municipio in 1931, and the labor roundups at substandard wages were ended when Indians became conscious of their rights guaranteed in the *Ley Federal del Trabajo* in the late 30s. Copies of the *Colección Jurídica Ley Federal del Trabajo* are sold in the departmental marketplace along with the *Codigo Agraria*. Awareness of their rights as workers is concomitant with increasing entry into wage labor employment outside of the local community. As yet, Indians do not have any organized labor interest groups to champion their rights. The Commissioner of Indian affairs in the departmental capital is an intermediary in individual cases that arise. But wage levels and conditions of work are set in a free market in which the Indian's only control is to refuse to work.

The few special occupations in the town, such as butchering, caponizing, weaving bags, carpentry, and midwifery, have never developed into full-time professions.[2] The failure of the development of specialization is related to the tradition of ritual offerings of gifts of liquor and consumables and to the lack of a marketplace in the town.

Most of the livestock raised in the town is sold to butchers of the neighboring town because of lack of storage or of market facilities for the meat. Pigs and bulls are slaughtered in town only on the occasion of a celebra-

2. Curing is treated in a separate chapter since it is an exceptional case of specialization related to social control.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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231 tion or when the animal is sick. For ceremonial occasions, the assistant of
796 one of the mayordomos is expected to kill the bull which will provide the
[794] meat for a common meal. On other occasions, someone who is known to have a hand which gives flavor to the meat is asked to do it. The owner of
[465] the animal gives the butcher a half-liter of liquor.

232 Caponizing is a skill learned by some men with a few head of cattle by
[843] watching someone who knows how to perform the operation. If a man's wife is pregnant, he cannot perform the operation himself or even approach the bull, since his glance is very hot and will cause the bull to die. The procedure for making the request and for performing the operation is described below:

The owner goes to speak to one who knows how to caponize. When he arrives at the house of the caponizer, he says, "Are you in, Mam Gomez?" "I am," he replies if he is in. "Come in and sit down," he says.

"Pardon me, I have come to speak to you. Please, for the sake of the Virgin and for the sake of God, will you do nothing more than take out the little scrotum of my bull tomorrow?"

"Yes," replies the caponizer. "Do not worry, I shall take it out tomorrow."

"Good," replies the owner. "I shall wait for you in the house."

The next morning, the caponizer comes. The owner gives him some coffee to drink with a little bread. After they drink, they go to the hills to find the bull. They bring him to a wooded place and tie him by his hind legs to a branch of a tree. They then cast the body on the ground and tie the forelegs to the hind legs with a leather strap. They tie a string around the scrotum and sever the testes. After this, they drink a little. The owner's family joins them. The men blow up the scrotum to make a ball and the children play with it. They cut up the testes and broil them in a pan on the fire. After this is cooked, they pass it out to all of the people present with a tortilla and salt. Two liters of liquor are served. After the common meal, everyone goes to the house of the owner, and there they have a meal of chicken soup with two more liters of liquor. Those who do not drink liquor are served soda.

Very early the next day, the owner goes to see if his bull has died. If he

dies, the owner announces on the loudspeaker of the local bars that he will sell meat at 5 pesos a portion. He preserves the hide to make saddle packs and tumplines. But the loss is great because he will not be able to buy a new bull with what he earns. If the bull lives, he will be better in three weeks and can carry loads. It is a very dangerous operation since the scrotum of a bull is very large. It is easier with a horse. 232

Surrounding the event with a ceremonial complex minimizes the development of commercialized relations between the caponizer and the owner. Most men who acquire several head of cattle or horses eventually learn to do the task themselves.

Handicrafts performed by men include rope-making from the tails of horses or from plant fibers, and weaving net bags. Most of the men who are assigned to the civil hierarchy spend their spare time in the cabildo making these items. 462 283 282

Carpentry is a skill now being practiced by two Indians of the town who "just learned by watching." They are called upon to help people in constructing the house frame, for which they receive 50 pesos in wages. A Ladino living on the margin of the town is a full-time specialist with his own shop. In addition to supervising house construction, he makes furniture and caskets to order. 322 [465]

New Economic Enterprises

In the operation of the new enterprises, which include cattle raising, cooperative ownership of a store, bars, and trucks, and liquor distilling, several patterns of organization have emerged. Some of these are based on preexisting social groupings, while others represent innovations. The social resources of management, credit operations, and the development of new skills within these local enterprises are of significance in preparing Indians for new occupations in the wider society. 43 44

Cattle raising. The most traditional organization is found in the case of cattle raising. Cattle have been in the town at least as far back as the 1915 revolutionary period when informants indicate that most of the 231 233

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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231 233 cattle was seized by bandits or soldiers. It is "new" only in the size of the holdings, which have expanded from ownership of one or two head per household, primarily useful as draft animals, to a herd as large as two hundred head belonging to the wealthiest man in town. Cattle rearing is now a capital investment for resale as well as for draft animals in plow agriculture.

233 311 312 621 575 The increasing herds have stimulated competition for community resources. The control of communal grazing and waterhole rights is exercised through the traditional dual division of the town, with rights to pasture allocated on the basis of residence in the upper or lower barrio of the center. An association of cattle owners has developed in each of the sections, and the leaders of each association call together all members to clean the water holes and repair the troughs. A recent project of the cattle association of the upper section has been the erection of a large cross at the [789] water hole. The water had dried up the year before, and the installation of the cross was an attempt to ensure a continuous supply of water in the future. [796] The priest blessed the cross in the dedication, and the fiscal and prayer-reciters adorn it each year on May 3, the Day of the Cross in the old Catholic calendar, along with other crosses of the village.

233 621 578 575 627 Cattle grazing is the source of much of the conflict in the town. The cattle roam freely in the woods and communal pasture lands, and many are lost or stolen. The cattle association has not fenced in the pasture in order to control it. Their tactics have been punitive; they have raised funds from among members to hire men to kill suspected cattle thieves. In the last twenty years, six men have been killed as cattle thieves, and at least three of those were known to be killed by men hired by the association, which then paid the court fines to set the killers free. The leader of one of the cattle associations was killed after an incident in which he fined a man who had failed to assist in cleaning the water holes. The fine of 2 pesos per head of cattle represented a large fee for the man, who had sixty head. He refused to pay more than half, since he said he had not been notified. [754] When his daughter later died of illness, he blamed her death on witchcraft exercised by the cattle association leader, and later killed him.

231 434 Cattle are only minimally exploited as a resource. The cattle are not butchered locally since there is not a large enough market, but are sold to

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Ladino butchers in the neighboring town. The cows are not milked either for local consumption or sale. Fertilizers are for the most part wasted since the cattle roam freely in the communal pasture lands except in the case of a few corrals owned by families. Hides are cured rather crudely and are used for saddle packs or protective aprons by the men, but none are sold.

The cooperatives. The notion of a cooperative to mobilize capital had been introduced by the I.N.I. in 1957 with the inauguration of a store owned by over one hundred members of the community. In the first years of its existence, the cooperative had some difficulties, primarily in convincing the Indians that when the returns on shares were lower in any year from prior levels, it did not indicate that the agents were stealing the money.

The cooperative store was bought by the Indians of the town from the I.N.I. in 1964 after the members had some trouble receiving returns on their shares. There are now one hundred and twenty-two members. The profits of 1965 were reinvested in the purchase of the corn-grinding mill. Current profits at the store are lent at 5 percent per month interest. The store grosses 80 to 100 pesos in sales daily, and the mill grossess 100 pesos. The wages paid to the storekeeper are 300 pesos and to the miller 250 per month.

Now that the cooperative is independent of the government, one of the stated policies is not to sell a single share to a Ladino or member of another community. "We do not want to give gifts to the Ladinos," the secretary of the cooperative told me. He added, "There was a Ladino in Teopisca who wanted to join with 5,000 pesos, but we wouldn't let him in. If you let them in, they would come to dominate the pueblo." The cooperative store does not share profits with the consumers but gives dividends. The 11,380-peso assets in the year 1965 were reinvested in stock and in the purchase of corn at harvest which was then sold at one and a half or two times the sale price.

The Indians developed their first independent cooperative in the ownership of a *marimba,* a musical instrument like a xylophone, operated by eight men of the community. This enterprise failed because the players never developed sufficient skill to be commissioned to play outside of town.

556 626 but his style of living is indistinguishable from theirs. The only difference [23] is the larger number of dogs he[1] keeps to guard his wealth stored in the form of surplus crops in the eaves of his house.

177 178 433 434 621 323 The kind of economic change occurring in Tzo'ontahal fits the model of a moving equilibrium. Tightly controlled behavioral schema preserve the traditional productive activities in pottery and agriculture. They provide the framework into which the new enterprises are fit. Increasing dependence of cosumption choices on external markets is slowly transforming the content but not the pattern of community life. This kind of change is limited to societies that form a distinct corporate group. In an open society where many alternatives are available, the painful process of accommodation of the new to a customary pattern would probably not be undertaken given the tendency for social change to follow the course of least resistence. The absorption of economic innovation in Tzo'ontahal illustrates the ability of closed corporate communities to participate in commercial undertakings and reformulate them to fit their own pattern.

[1] [i.e., the richest man in town. - Analyst]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

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TABLE 25. Number of Civil and Religious Offices of Household Heads over 50 Years of Age as Related to Wealth

Age of household head	Wealth: Land in hectares	Wealth: Head of cattle	No. of civil offices	No. of religious offices
54	3	4	5	3
55	3	8	2	3
65	3	11	6	2
50	2½	2	4	4
75	2½	4	6	6
55	2	8	2	4
55	2		4	3
60	2	2	2	4
65	2		6	6
75	2	7	4	3
78	2	6	2	1
50	2½	2	3	4
50	1½	2	6	5
55	1½	6	2	6
58	1½		1	2
60	1½		6	6
60	1½	4	4	4
60	1½	8	4	5
80	1½		4	5
88	1½	7	6	6
50	1	10	2	3
50	1	1	3	3
54	1	4	6	6
54	1	4	6	6
55	1	6	2	3
56	1	4	3	3
58	1		5	4
60	1	1	5	6
60	1	2	5	6
60	1	2	4	6
65	1	2	3	
65	1		6	6
65	1		3	3
70	1		1	1
75	1		5	5
79	1		5	5
80	1	2	3	
80	1	22	3	1
85	1	6	6	6

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Age of household head	Wealth: Land in hectares	Wealth: Head of cattle	No. of civil offices	No. of religious offices
55	½		2	2
55	½		2	2
55	½	2	2	3
60	½		2	3
60	½		1	3
60	½		4	3
62	½	1	2	3
65	½		2	3
65	½	4	4	6
65	½		6	5
75	½		5	6
87	½		4	4

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from six to five. The reason given for this is that there are more people now than formerly. 621 794

The second course of civil careers is to serve as síndico and go on to president, bypassing the intermediate and lower posts of the hierarchy and never filling the higher traditional posts. Of seven who have served as president, two served as síndico, two had no previous office, and three had been both policeman and síndico (Table 25). None of the former presidents served in any civil post after being president. Two served as fiscal in their religious careers and had had no other religious service. This is the course pursued by literate men who speak Spanish well. An alternative course is to enter the ejido commission as secretary, treasurer, or president and then serve as síndico, or even directly as president. The president elected in 1964 had served only on the ejido commission. This caused some discontent, but not enough to prevent his election. [212] [91] [423]

The household head enters religious office first as *nil'nal* or junior mayordomo, then serves as *?ali?bal*, or assistant, next as *tatil*, or elder mayordomo of a lesser saint. The fourth position is tatil of San Pedro, after which comes *kobraria*, or cofrade, first of San Francisco, then of Santa Lucía or Sacramento. Following his appointment as tatil of San Pedro, the incumbent holds the first gathering of mayordomos in his house. When he completes his term in this office, he may be called upon by neighbors, relatives, and compadres to serve as nakawane in household ceremonials. He [794] [192]

[P. 198-C]

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Plate 3. A father and his two sons, walking in order of age, leave the village to go to their milpa. The father, walking in front, is wearing the old-style costume with a wrapped overshirt concealing short undertrousers. His sons wear western clothing. All of the men carry net bags on a tumpline, with their backs protected from their burdens by a sheepskin. They all carry machetes, and the boys have rifles.

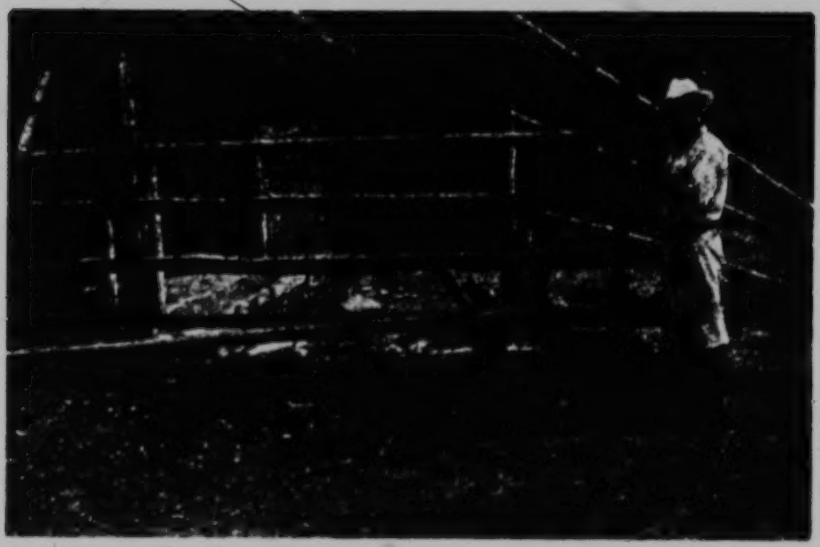

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Plate 4. Farmer showing the arada plow. He is holding the handle, and the shaft, made of a long tree post, is propped on the ground.

794 *the regidores were seated in their customary places; the alfereces sat on the*
796 *visitors' bench. The two former alfereces went before the two newly ap-*
526 *pointed alfereces and gave an account of what was going to take place, instructing them on "how they should make a fiesta."*

When the two former alfereces entered, they went to the president, saying, "How does the Lord see you alive on this holy afternoon?" They then went to the síndico and the regidores and ended with the judges, exchanging a pat?o?tan.

The alfereces went out, mounted their horses, and were handed the banners by the regidores. The two old alfereces received their banners first. All four made the sign of the cross, first facing the cabildo, then the
[788] *church, and then rode in procession, preceded by the flutist, two drum players, and a guitarist, and followed by the other horsemen. They stopped before the church, dipping their flags, first toward the church and then the cabildo. The president, síndico, and first judge walked across the*
[533] *plaza to the church as the church bells were rung, and all the musical instruments played—the marimba, bell, drums, and flute. The alfereces dismounted and put their banners in the church.*

[426] *The final day, called* Lahinbahel Sk'in, *was spent sobering up, putting things back in order, and returning borrowed items.*

178 Although Santiago is not one of the major saints, a major celebration is
231 given in his honor because of the high value placed on horsemanship in
526 this community. Before the construction of the Pan-American Highway in
796 1953 everyone in town had horses which were used to carry the pottery to
[492] market. Riding skills were developed in the free-swinging *macho* (manly) style of northern Mexico's cowboys. Even today when horses are not as economically useful the horse culture has survived. The running of the horses in the fiesta is not competitive. Each rider does his best to tear at high speed across the plaza, but there is no specific goal. Since the
[273] drunken riders often fall and are injured, some of the excitement is based on the potential danger.

128 The behavioral data on which the analysis of rituals depends are included because they provide a basis for comparison with neighboring

000 animals. The domesticated animals include dogs, horses, burros, 231 cattle,[1] hogs and chickens.

311 To summarize, the villages are located in the same ecological zone. In addition to this, both villages have extended their cultivated lands into the lowlands, down to about 1,500 meters above sea level, where semi-tropical and tropical products are grown (Kaplan, 1956-57, 1958; Wagner, 1959, Part II, Section 5).

Archeology

172 Although the Chiapas Highlands seem to have been occupied from the late Pre Classic, Local Phase Sak (Adams, R.; 1961:342) the first evidence of occupation within the valleys belongs to the Late Classic and Early Post Classic. A few archeological sites of this period are located on the tops of small hills and ridges around the flat-bottomed areas in which today's towns are located.

Adams (1961) interprets the sites as having been independent communities, characterized architecturally by a lack of attention to ceremonial structures, conspicuous absence of sculpture, and a certain emphasis on fortifications and defensive positions, indications of some sort of warfare. Surrounding the sites there is evidence of small hamlets and of agricultural terracing, but

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[1] Cattle were introduced in the area a long time ago, but [231] were not adopted by the Indians of Amatenango and Aguacatenango [177] until very recently. They are more and more of a problem for the [648] milpa agriculturalist, because with the system of open range grazing, the cattle constantly invade the milpas, and are a continuous threat for the villager, plus a source of friction between Indian and Ladinos, especially cattle ranch owners.

241 Each man tries to cultivate enough food to make his household
462 self-sufficient the whole year around.

241 The younger males of a household are initiated into the
868 agricultural work by their fathers and elder brothers who work with the household head in the same fields. Around the age of ten, they are expected to leave grammar school and the children's playground, and to start learning their life trade: the tech-
[582] niques of cultivation. No young male is capable of marrying if he is not capable of bearing on his shoulders the economic burden of supporting a household with his labor in the fields.

241 In addition to producing enough corn for the consumption
433 of his homestead, a man is expected to cultivate some surplus
434 which the household can exchange in the local markets and stores for the manufactured goods and staples which they need: machetes, candles, needles, coffee and various other commodities. Moreover,
[464] if the household is in need of extra cash to pay for the expenses of a burial, a wedding, or any other emergency expenditure, he is expected to earn it by selling his labor to other men in the village for wages, or by working for short periods of time in the sugar cane plantation of Pulilic. (Usually between one and two weeks of wage work will cover such emergencies. See Fig. 3.)

562 The women of Aguacatenango are economically dependent on their male relatives: father, husband, siblings and adult male
462 children. The women have many responsibilities; they are in charge of cooking and cleaning, sewing the family clothes, gathering
[231] firewood for the hearth, and educating the young. They are also
[241] in charge of feeding the small livestock which is kept in the

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77

462 [231] [241] sitio (household territory): pigs and chickens, and the cultivation of the rudimentary gardens within the back patios. These gardens do not have great economic importance. Women plant chiles, cilantro, chayotes, té limón, mostaza, and sometimes even beans and a small milpa for elote (tender corn), but gardening is not a serious occupation: most women only plant two of three varieties of plants, a little bush of flavor herbs for the beans, some medicinal plant, or some flowers to ornament the house altar. Many backyards just grow wild, and the collection of its products is mainly "gathering in one's backyard" rather than harvesting (see Fig. 6).

[434] By selling the products of the small garden, some eggs, or fruits, a woman can contribute to the household cash income, but this money is considered somewhat of a luxury. The extra cash can be used to buy some clothes before a fiesta, or a new pot, or a similar item, but women are not expected to support their families: this is the basic responsibility of the family men.

166 462 464 Women have very few cultural alternatives for transforming their labor into a substantial income. Young single girls whose parents are too poor to support them, or who are alocadas (lightheaded) and desire to break away from home, can leave town to go to work as servants in Ladino towns. Wives running away from a mother-in-law who is too strict, or from a drunkard husband, or widows, would occasionally take up this kind of work. This, of course, isolates a woman from the village, and is a form of self-imposed exile. Working for Ladinos is a somewhat awe inspiring [819] idea. Women "know" or suspect that Ladino men violate Indian

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 79]

159 come back when the father was home because not even he could sell
592 the pig without his consent. The Ladino was then forced to give up.
437
602 A few days later, Juan sold the pig according to his own plans. He kept the money, except for a small amount that he gave to his wife and daughter-in-law, in spite of the fact that Maria had fattened the pig, and that it had been previously said that the pig was the young couple's animal.[1]

592 A woman living with her husband in a separate household
593 has some autonomy within it, but she is still subordinate to her
562 husband. She owns little property. A woman may be given a cow
421 when she marries, but her father is not obliged to do so. It is
[231] simply a regalo (present). She does not own agricultural implements. She can not own land or inherit from her husband, except in cases where she is, in effect, keeping the house in trust for her male children, and it has not been claimed by her husband's father or brothers who have primacy rights over such property.

[561] As she grows older, and with the birth of children, her
[851] position becomes somewhat less dependent. She has more prestige in the eyes of her husband's family and other people, and if her marital relation has developed into a strong emotional bond, her interaction with her husband is less subordinate. He would consult

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[1] The animals are usually said to "belong" to one particular
[231] woman in the household. However, this does not mean that she has
[421] property rights over it; it only means that she is the person in
[562] charge of feeding it. Thus, the expression "el cochi de María" (María's pig) means the pig which María has the responsibility to feed every day, and it does not assume that she can sell it, kill it for meat, or do anything about it without the consent of the head of the household.

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2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

563 Citala, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo relations between Indians and Ladinos are more friendly, and the Indians are regarded as milder and more tractable.

181 Of the strongly Indian towns, Cancuc is the most conservative, Chanal the most progressive.

In respect to official political organization, these villages are divided according
631 to their importance and the number of their inhabitants, into free municipalities
563 (*municipios libres*) and dependent municipalities (*agencias municipales*). The former are those which have the right to choose their own government, upon which formal administration depends. To this category belong Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Ococingo, Chilón, and Bachajon. Until a short time ago the municipal governments of these settlements were composed of Ladinos in the principal posts and of Indians in the subordinate positions. At the present time the government is seeking to reverse this situation so that the Indians have the greater authority; it is for this reason that the governments of the four villages first mentioned are now headed by Indians. This change has brought about marked
[177] alterations in certain places in the social equilibrium that before existed between the two ethnic elements which compose the population.

Villages of the latter category are those which depend, in administrative matters, on a free municipality. In these cases authority is represented in the first place by the *agente municipal*, who is named by the central municipal government. This post is always discharged by a Ladino. In most instances the municipal agent compensates for the meagerness of his salary by controlling the sale of rum in the village which he administers. The other members of the municipal government are chosen almost always from the Indian group.

184 In several of the highland communities, notably Amatenango, Chanal, and, to a much less extent, Tenejapa, the Indian grows (in addition to the universal
243 maize) a certain amount of wheat for export; the Ladinos of Oxchuc cultivate this
439 crop, but in Cancuc, where there are no Ladinos, wheat is not grown. (Wheat is
433 also grown in the Tzotzil towns of Chamula and Huistan.) Other money crops
241 of the highlands are chickpeas, peas, oranges, and other fruit. Some coffee is grown in San Martin, it is the principal export from Yajalón and Petalcingo. In Bachajón, Citala, Guaquitepec, and Chilón a principal produce is brown sugar, made locally from sugar cane locally raised. Cancuc is the only village that cultivates cotton
[286] commercially; the production in the other communities is insignificant. The local
[178] manufacture of loom-woven clothing is rapidly disappearing. Most Tzeltal com-
231 munities are without beehives, but there is considerable apiculture in Sivacá, and
184 a little beekeeping is also practised in Tenango, Bachajón, and Yajalón. Apparently the bees kept are wild colonies brought to the villages in the sections of hollow log they are made to inhabit. The raising of hogs and poultry is a principal economic
• 233 recourse in all the Indian settlements. The beef cattle industry has always been
[654] in the hands of Ladinos; however, recently the Government, acting through the Centers of Native Education, has sought to stimulate the industry among the Indians.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P 465-A] Teklum

682 only a rise in the tensions that provoke con-
178 flict, but an undermining of the social-control
121 mechanisms for channeling them. The percep-
626 tion of these changes by the members of the
society makes for shifts in the individual cal-
culi, grossly measured in changes in the rate of
[128] behavior. In order to understand the interre-
lated problems of the sources of the increasing
tensions and the reasons homicide is chosen as
a means of resolving them, I have recon-
structed the course of social change in the
period from 1935 to 1965.

178 *Increasing Social Tensions*

556 New economic enterprises have increased
wealth differences in the community. The best
measure of this is in the increase in cattle-
holding, which is a socially approved way of
spending money. Twenty-five years ago, there
were only a half-dozen men with cattle, and
178 they had only one or two head each. Today,
233 one of the herders in the community has 200
556 head of cattle, and 75 percent of the households
have one or more each.

Cattle-herding is a "new" industry in the
sense that instead of just having a team of
oxen to help with agricultural labor, men are
233 breeding cattle for profit. Because the cattle
685 roam freely, there is much loss, and this leads
to accusations of theft. I have never heard
such accusations directed against anyone out-
side the community; crime as well as positive
moral relationships is confined within the
682 boundaries of this corporate community. Sus-
685 pected cattle thieves are killed by the cattle-
[474] owner or by a killer hired by the cooperative of
cattle-owners. Such killings account for six of
the 37 cases analyzed above (Table 1).

178 The illicit distilling of liquor has also added
274 to the town's prosperity. The liquor industry
was introduced about 15 years ago, but the
number of distillers has increased from 5 to 40
[438] in the last five years. From an enterprise
[439] formerly meeting only local market needs,
contraband liquor is now sold as far away as
the coastal area and across the border in
274 Guatemala. A cooperative of distillers has re-
474 duced the frictions that immediately followed
the introduction of liquor-distilling. The
cooperative pays the fines of any member
caught distilling, and in addition threatens to
use group action against informers, who were
formerly tempted to earn the 200 pesos offered
[578] by federal agents. But the envy aroused by the
sight of those who profit from this enterprise,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Chapter XII

THE OCOSINGO VALLEY

The name Ocosingo is Aztec, signifying the "Place of Pines," 103
a name well chosen, for the valley is enclosed in pine-clad hills. 137
When one stands at the southwestern end of the valley it stretches 133
out in front like a huge natural stadium with the high San Martín mountain lying at the back. The northern and southern sides of the valley consist of two parallel rows of mountains, the inner rows being lower than the outer. The interior ranges slope towards the valley and turn nearly vertical cliff walls towards the very narrow valleys that separate them from the exterior mountains (fig. 196).

The interior ranges are broken up in many points, and this the 133
Maya took advantage of, selecting the highest points for pyramids. [172]

The floor of the valley is grass covered, with scattered groups of [137]
pine trees. Here and there lie ranches, mostly inhabited by Mex- [361]
icans, called Ladinos here. The Ladino is, strictly speaking, a man
of mixed Indian and Spanish blood, but the Indians use the term to 829
indicate any Mexican or Spaniard who lives in a town or owns a larger ranch. With the name generally goes a certain amount of education, and the ability to read and write.

Ocosingo town now contains only about 500 inhabitants, living ooo
in whitewashed brick houses with red tiled roofs. In the center of the town is a Plaza, at one end of which lies the Palacio Municipal, and at the other end a huge Spanish Colonial church. In front of the church is the public fountain; the water and news supply of the town. All day long girls come here to fill large clay jugs with cool water, led down from the San Martín mountain through an underground canal.

Half of the Plaza is planted with trees, which surround a dilapidated music pavilion, without which no self-respecting Mexican village could exist.

The houses that face the Plaza all have colonnades where one may walk in the shade, and where families bring their rocking chairs in the evenings to sit and watch the crowds of as many as twenty-five men and women who walk around the pavilion, or to look at the horses and cows that feed on the grass growing exuberantly between the paving stones of the Plaza.

The Ocosingo Valley and many smaller valleys adjoining for- 233 •
merly supported large herds of cattle and had considerable trade. 43

[Text continues on p. 247]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Revolutions have since destroyed the herds, and the town now has only a small local trade in sugar and rum. 233

All goods are transported on mule-back over bad trails. Main trails run to Yajalon, San Cristóbal las Casas, and Comitan. Minor trails connect with Tenosique in Tabasco, a ride of five or six days through uninhabited forests. Other small trails lead into the heart of the forests along the Usumacinta river, where there are a few mahogany camps, fourteen days distance on a good mule. 492 491 [313]

The Spanish Conquerors had quickly discovered the richness of the soil and taken possession of it. Therefore, we find but a few Indians around Ocosingo, save at the small town of Sivacá, entirely inhabited by Tzeltal-speaking Indians. From there we secured our labourers, who were summoned by the municipal president and worked for us at the regulation pay of 50 centavos per day. Ocosingo holds sway over the native towns of Sivacá, Tenango, Oschuc, San Martín, and Bachajon. The municipality commands the Indians for all kinds of work, and in many ways lives on what can be pressed from them. As a consequence, the good people of Ocosingo are anything but popular among the Indians, though it appears that the man then in charge, Señor Simon Leon, was quite friendly towards them, and therefore well liked. 175 134 563 [114] 661 829

Geologically, the Ocosingo Valley is a syncline, the valley bottom and the interior mountain ranges being of a coarse red sandstone, and the exterior ranges of limestone. The axis of the valley runs approximately N-80-W to S-80-E, and Ocosingo town is located at an altitude of 900 meters above sea level. 133 [135]

As we rode into the village, La Farge discovered a stone block, carved with hieroglyphs, set in the pavement of the sidewalk, an excellent reception for archaeologists. 172

Our first concern was to find quarters, which we located in a house on the corner of a street leading into the Plaza. Soon our equipment was unloaded, and while we unpacked, the Ladino guide we had acquired in Bachajon went to his house to order food for us. 114 [122]

The restaurant and meal were a surprise, though not pleasant. In a room with a rotten board floor, the plaster falling off the walls, and a huge box full of saints, we were served fried eggs and black beans by an old woman with a large goitre. Though nothing in the house appeared to be either particularly exclusive or clean, the Ladino family seemed to resent that we sat down at the table with our chief guide, the trusty old Indian, Lázaro, now called "Tata" by us.

242 *Soil characteristics.* The potential productivity of flat irrigated lands is evaluated on the basis of two criteria: color of the soil and consistency of the soil. The preferred land for cultivation is the black loam mixed with some sand, (*ʔihk'al hiʔiletik lum*). The better, quicker growing corn seed is planted here. These very productive soils are called "hot" lands (*k'ilin lum*). (Heat is associated with fertility in both lands and people: a pregnant woman and her husband are considered to be in a state of heat, and the contrast state of being cold is attributed to someone who is sterile.) The red (*tzab'alum*) yellow (*k'analum*), and white soils (*sak lum*) are poorer soils and the slower seed is planted here. These soils are considered "cold" (*sik*) and are thought to be "tired."

[822] [843] [842]

The loss of soil productivity is attributed either to the loss of the soul of the crop or to the fact that the soil gets "tired." Farmers have noticed that in the first five years of planting in Tulanca, the ejido land grant, the soil was "hot" and gave good crops. When this productivity was lost, people said the soul of the crop left. It is considered dangerous to start crops in the lower lands of hot country because when the location of crops is changed, the soul leaves its original residence. The notion of crop soul loss does not conflict with the awareness of natural causes of soil productivity. Fields are left fallow for four or five years when productivity diminishes and the soil is "tired." The irrigated lands are in continuous use because there is some replenishment of fertility with the overflow of the ditch waters. Cattle fertilizers are used sporadically. Those who have many head of cattle construct corrals into which they herd the cattle each night. The location of the corral is changed yearly. Corn and beans are then planted in the old corral with superior results. The dozen or so corrals in the town are owned and worked cooperatively by extended families and are referred to by the Indian patronyms—for example, *skoral Linetik* (corral of the Lins) or *skoral Čailetik* (corral of the Čailes). The one attempt to use commercial fertilizers provided by the Ejido Bank proved a technical success but an administrative failure (chapter 3). Indians noted the increased yields, but none have attempted to purchase fertilizers.

[774] [233] [596] [476] [551] [177]

Soil consistency is evaluated on the basis of how easy it is to work. Wet, sticky, or clayey soil (*šučilium*) and stony soil (*kešilum*) are least desirable. Sandy soil is easier to work, but soil productivity depends on a loam

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

dies, the owner announces on the loudspeaker of the local bars that he will sell meat at 5 pesos a portion. He preserves the hide to make saddle packs and tumplines. But the loss is great because he will not be able to buy a new bull with what he earns. If the bull lives, he will be better in three weeks and can carry loads. It is a very dangerous operation since the scrotum of a bull is very large. It is easier with a horse. 232

Surrounding the event with a ceremonial complex minimizes the development of commercialized relations between the caponizer and the owner. Most men who acquire several head of cattle or horses eventually learn to do the task themselves.

Handicrafts performed by men include rope-making from the tails of horses or from plant fibers, and weaving net bags. Most of the men who are assigned to the civil hierarchy spend their spare time in the cabildo making these items. 462 283 286

Carpentry is a skill now being practiced by two Indians of the town who "just learned by watching." They are called upon to help people in constructing the house frame, for which they receive 50 pesos in wages. A Ladino living on the margin of the town is a full-time specialist with his own shop. In addition to supervising house construction, he makes furniture and caskets to order. 322 [465]

New Economic Enterprises

In the operation of the new enterprises, which include cattle raising, cooperative ownership of a store, bars, and trucks, and liquor distilling, several patterns of organization have emerged. Some of these are based on preexisting social groupings, while others represent innovations. The social resources of management, credit operations, and the development of new skills within these local enterprises are of significance in preparing Indians for new occupations in the wider society. 43 44

Cattle raising. The most traditional organization is found in the case of cattle raising. Cattle have been in the town at least as far back as the 1915 revolutionary period when informants indicate that most of the 231 233

231 cattle was seized by bandits or soldiers. It is "new" only in the size of the
• 233 holdings, which have expanded from ownership of one or two head per household, primarily useful as draft animals, to a herd as large as two hundred head belonging to the wealthiest man in town. Cattle rearing is now a capital investment for resale as well as for draft animals in plow agriculture.

233 The increasing herds have stimulated competition for community re-
311 sources. The control of communal grazing and waterhole rights is exer-
312 cised through the traditional dual division of the town, with rights to pas-
621 ture allocated on the basis of residence in the upper or lower barrio of the
575 center. An association of cattle owners has developed in each of the sections, and the leaders of each association call together all members to clean the water holes and repair the troughs. A recent project of the cattle association of the upper section has been the erection of a large cross at the
[789] water hole. The water had dried up the year before, and the installation of the cross was an attempt to ensure a continuous supply of water in the fu-
[796] ture. The priest blessed the cross in the dedication, and the fiscal and prayer-reciters adorn it each year on May 3, the Day of the Cross in the old Catholic calendar, along with other crosses of the village.

233 Cattle grazing is the source of much of the conflict in the town. The cat-
621 tle roam freely in the woods and communal pasture lands, and many are
578 lost or stolen. The cattle association has not fenced in the pasture in order
575 to control it. Their tactics have been punitive; they have raised funds from
627 among members to hire men to kill suspected cattle thieves. In the last twenty years, six men have been killed as cattle thieves, and at least three of those were known to be killed by men hired by the association, which then paid the court fines to set the killers free. The leader of one of the cattle associations was killed after an incident in which he fined a man who had failed to assist in cleaning the water holes. The fine of 2 pesos per head of cattle represented a large fee for the man, who had sixty head. He refused to pay more than half, since he said he had not been notified.
[754] When his daughter later died of illness, he blamed her death on witchcraft exercised by the cattle association leader, and later killed him.

231 Cattle are only minimally exploited as a resource. The cattle are not
434 butchered locally since there is not a large enough market, but are sold to

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The behavior described for each institution in earlier chapters will be summarized as a mode of adjustment or adaptation in relation to the beliefs that give it meaning and purpose. 128

Economic Activities

868 241 323

Learning agricultural tasks and pottery-making in the household is part of adjusting to membership in the community. Parents are responsible for teaching the value of industriousness and are held accountable throughout the life of the child. Agricultural tasks are scheduled in a yearly cycle that provides sufficient flexibility for a man to carry out community and familial ceremonial responsibilities. In milpa agriculture, there is no specialization of tasks. Small-plot agricultural production with a simple technology has been reinforced by the land reform program. Since the lands incorporated under the Ejido Commission in the 1930s were attached to the community, agriculturalists were not forced to adjust to new ecological conditions. Politicalization was minimal since the local commission operated within the old civil hierarchy. In the recent expansion of ejido colonies in hot country, Indians from the community have developed alliances with non-Indians in asserting claims to the land. Without any preexisting civil hierarchy, these ejidatarios have not had to adjust their activities to a given structure of authority, but have developed independent political organizations as an adaptation to their new environment. 241 177 178 423 621

Women's work in pottery is less subject to changes in techniques and organization than is men's. The schema of production in simple tasks in a fixed sequence makes it easier to teach girls each process and reinforces a given pottery tradition. My guess would be that if wheel production were introduced, it would liberate the creativity of each potter by freeing her of established routines. 323 177 178

Pottery production is not surrounded, as is agricultural production, by ceremonials. There is no god to whom one lights candles or gives offerings to ensure success, although there are hazards in production, particularly at the time of firing. Agricultural productivity, on the other hand, is thought to depend on the proper relation between the spirits of the heaven and of the church with the spirits of crops. 323 241 476 [796]

In the new economic activities, the Indians have shown both adjustive 177 178 233 312 476 621

233 177 178 621 476 312 [685] and adaptive responses. With the expansion of cattle raising, Indians have organized associations adjusted to the traditional dual division. The association for each side of the dual division mobilizes labor for maintaining the watering holes. The failure to organize communal corrals means that inefficient herding techniques, damage to the milpa, and frequent loss or theft of cattle persist. The association reacts to the last problem by hiring killers to get rid of those suspected of theft, but this adaptive response is limited to dealing with particular incidents and has not solved the problem.

548 293 177 178 [435] 694 [681] [621] [561] The manufacturers of contraband liquor have succeeded in organizing a syndicate strong enough to maintain a monopoly price for both the internal and external markets and to provide security for themselves against federal agents. The syndicate mobilizes for specific actions, such as raising the bail bond for imprisoned members or punishing informers. As a community-wide organization ignoring the dual division and age-ranked seniority, it represents an adaptation in response to extra-community pressures.

474 177 178 The cooperatives that have been organized to manage the local store and the trucks provide permanent managerial operations that are an adaptition to growing interaction in extra-community economic activities. Cooperative owners are able to raise the capital to maintain and expand these operations. It is within these structures that entrepreneurial skills are being developed. The organizers gain the advantage not only of socializing the risk of loss but also of making a profit in a community where belief in witchcraft, fostered by envy, is rampant.

474 472 177 178 Activities in the new economic enterprises are not supported by any supernatural belief. In order to gain acceptance for the new enterprises, the entrepreneur Santos, who had organized the trucking cooperative, recognized the need for an ideology. His rhetoric drew upon the sense of deprivation Indians feel in their relations with Ladinos. He justified his own ends as an attempt to gain for all the community the profits that only Ladinos had been able to gain through trucking and crops resales in the regional markets. The ideology he had begun to formulate stressed economic and political independence from both the Ladino entrepreneurs of neighboring towns and government agents who tried to promote welfare

241 *chin-uch* (May 20–June 8), an offering is
782 made to the supernatural being which reigns over it. The natives have vague no-
[825] tions of the nature of this being. They say that *uch* is the name of a small insect which spoils the pozole and, also, of the *tlacuache* or *zarigueya* which often destroys the milpa. The offering, hung at the entrance of the hut, consists of a ball of pozole wrapped in plantain leaf, a red chile, a tortilla, an ear of corn, and a little stick like the kind used to turn the ear cooking over hot coals.
241 All objects are minute in size. When the
782 offering achieves its purpose, on the com-
787 pletion of a 20-day period, the atmosphere becomes hazy "as if there were smoke." It is explained that "the chin-uch burned its house," which forecasts a favorable sun for development of the milpa. If such a sign should not appear on the indicated date or at the end of the next month of *mukul-uch* (June 9–28), the forecast is ominous and indicates that the rains will be excessive, greatly harming the milpa.

778 Another mukul-mixa is performed in Ox-
796 chuc, in homage to the hill called Ikal-Ajau,
[184] near the ceremonial center, of which the Indians say "it is a living hill." The name of the hill is that of the ancient hill worshipped by the Oxchuequeños. Nuñez de la Vega (in Becerra, 1933, p. 293) reports: "Those of Oxchuc and other towns of Los Llanos venerate very much the idol which they call Icalajau, which means principal Negro or
[789] lord of the Negroes." This Mass, performed the first days of June, prevents locusts and other plagues from coming.

241 Once the crop is in the granary, other
78 family prayers are said before the household cross, to give thanks for the good received and to petition the supernatural beings to protect the grain from insects and rodents.

Other Subsistence Resources

262 Other food resources include raising
235 chickens and pigs. A family averages about
[231] 10 chickens, using the eggs as money when
[437] [P. 202-B]

262 they visit the regional market. Only during
235 illness or fiesta are both chickens and eggs
[437] eaten.

231 In towns like Tenejapa and Cancuc, In-
439 dians buy small pigs from the Ladinos of the center, fatten them for 8 or 10 months, then sell them to the Ladinos, who slaughter them and sell the meat to the Indians. As may be supposed, in this sort of symbiosis the greatest profit accrues to the La-
[454] dinos. However, the Indians more often keep the money from selling pigs to meet emergencies or expenses of clothing, tools, and fiestas.

262 *Food Habits*

Corn, beans, chile, and squash are the core of Indian diet, supplemented by ma-
262 nioc, sweetpotato, potato, and chayote. One
263 or more chayote trees next to the house are common; every part of the chayote is used—fruit, tender leaves, and root—usually boiled with salt. Wild herbs are eaten raw or cooked. Among the raw ones are *culix-uamal*, *xhix-uamal*, and *alauanex*, the last a wild radish which Ladinos call "the Indian's radish." Herbs that are cooked include *tzul* and *tuxac*. Some herbs are eaten both raw or cooked: *verdolaga* or *chic-xecul*, *muem* (*hierba mora*), *maj-tas*, *tzuy*, and *San Sibro Uamal*. The last is a small grass with long
[276] thin leaves which the Indians grind and add to give a better taste to the *pilico* or wild tobacco. This is called *poril-may*, which is like saying "medicinal pilico." Ladinos use its leaves in tea sweetened with panela.

262 There are three main meals during the
264 course of the day: breakfast (*ue-el sab*), which consists of atole or pozole, beans, chile, and tortillas; lunch (*ue-el olical*) of the same foods plus a vegetable such as squash or chayote; and supper (*ue-el x-malcal*), with atole, tortillas, beans, and chile. In Tenejapa rabbit meat is frequently
177 on the table. In Amatenango, Aguacate-
262 nango, and Pinola, greater contact with Ladinos has added coffee, wheat bread, var-
[P.203-A]

412 (*eché*), hoe (*asron*), machete (*machit*), coa (*luk*), and digging stick (*avutel*). In a
243 few towns (Amatenango), where lands are
[407] flat, the plow is made of wood and pulled by oxen but only for wheat farming. During
[415] corn planting, the seed is carried by the
[824] planter in a *morral* hung from the shoulder,
[237] in a gourd with a large spout, or in containers made of armadillo shells. The harvested crops are placed in deep baskets, made of reed-grass, or in big pita (*chojak*)
[412] net bags. The ear of corn is cleared of its
[237] husk by a sharp bone or a small deer horn.

322 The axe, machete, and knife are used in
412 wood working, which is very rudimentary, though handsaw and hammer have a place. With these tools the Indians make doors, tables, seats, small benches, shelves. Blom
[534] and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:351) add that the Tzeltal near Ocosingo also make violins of a shape similar to the European type, but they have no resonance and poor tone. They also manufacture pipes and combs roughly
[463] finished. No village of this group has specialists in carpentry to compare with the Chamulas (Tzotzil-speaking), who supply furniture at low cost to San Cristóbal de las Casas and other places of the area.

324 Stone carving requires a pickaxe with
412 one end very sharp, the other very flat to serve as a hammer, and a short wooden handle. This is the tool used in Tenejapa for making metates. These metates have three legs, but Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:338) mention metates without legs (Ocosingo municipio) which are made of volcanic stone found along the San Martin River. According to the Tzeltal of Oxchuc, the name of the metate is *chá*, its handle *kab-chá*.

412 An iron bar to break the ground, an axe, and a machete are the tools for building huts, chickencoops, sweat houses, and other small structures.

283 Another tool, used in the making of pita
413 rope, is *karet*, which probably comes from the Spanish *carreta*. It consists of a wooden disc fixed to a tree trunk that is nailed to

[P.206-A]

787 776 been taken away by the local authorities and sent to the Indians' Affairs Office in San Cristobal.

LIFE CYCLE

842 *Pregnancy and Childbirth*

183 The strongest desire of every Tzeltal couple is to create a numerous family, preferably boys. The relationship between sexual intercourse and pregnancy is well understood among the Indians. They know that pregnancy lasts nine months and they keep a good count of it. On the other hand, there are ideas about the possibility of the woman being influenced by old men or "the owners of the nagual," who can interrupt pregnancy and change the fetus from one woman to another. This is why a woman who thinks she is pregnant for three or four months suddenly realizes that she carries nothing any more, while another one, maybe her neighbor, finds herself in advanced pregnancy, giving birth a few months later. It is to be stressed, however, that these changes can take place only among married women.

843 [833] 843 789

844 [81] In conservative villages (Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Cancuc) there is no professional midwife. Children are delivered by the oldest women in the neighborhood.

[757] [237] When labor begins, the first thing is to give the mother a beverage made of powdered opossum tail dissolved in boiling water. It is very common for Indians to have a dry tail hanging next the fireplace. The woman kneels at labor, facing the midwife. The husband's belt or the woman's rebozo is tied very tightly around the upper part of the abdomen to prevent the child from "going up again." The mother can also help herself by seizing a rope tied to the roof, or taking firm hold of any post of the house. The umbilical cord is chopped with a machete or cut with scissors, supported on an ear of corn. This ear is afterwards used as seed and is considered very fertile.

[241] [824]

[757] When labor has finished, the mother is given another hot beverage of pepper,

[P 223-B]

844 cloves, and corncake, to keep her "warm
[757] and fertile." The placenta can be burned,
[842] thrown to the dogs, or deeply buried in case
the mother does not want another preg-
[789] nancy soon. The umbilical cord is put under
a three-stone fireplace if it is a baby is a girl,
on top of a tree if it is a boy so that he may
become brave and agile when adult.

846 A few hours after childbirth, at the latest
515 the next day, both mother and child take a
temascal (steam bath). Some women stay
in the temascal until they feel completely
recovered.

Childhood and Adolescence

789 During the first weeks of life, children are
774 in danger of losing their souls because their
inexperience makes them an easy prey to
the naguales and bad spirits who wander
around. As protection, mothers place a small
[237] piece of beeswax at the back of the child's
head or tie, as a bracelet, a red or blue
thread around the wrist. If none of these
precautions are taken, the mother has to
cover with branches the paths her child
walks, so that his soul can easily find its way
in case he loses it.

789 Because of all these dangers, fathers al-
852 ways try to perform the ceremony of "seed
774 the soul of the child" as soon as possible. It
[553] is during this ceremony that the child is
given a name, later confirmed according to
Catholic ritual at the ceremonial center. A
[608] very important aspect of the ceremony is
selection of the godparents.

753 *Sickness and Death*

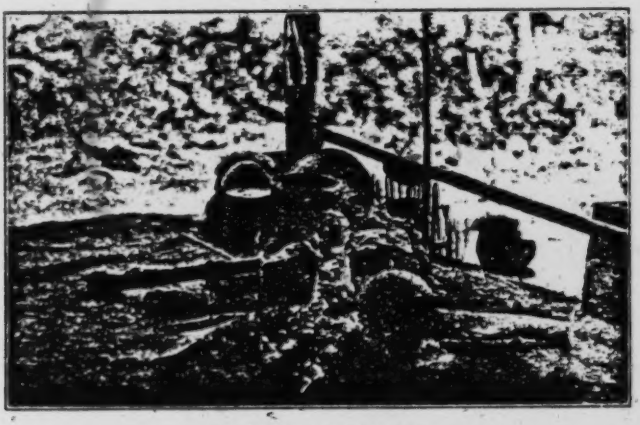
776 Most sicknesses come from infection or
[888] malnutrition. To the natives, however, ill-
nesses have a supernatural cause and are
ascribed either to the anger of gods and
spirits or to old people who have a nagual
or who can throw a spell. The most frequent
explanation is that naguales or supernatural
beings are acting against people. They can
adopt human or animal form or appear as

[P 224-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

necks and round bottoms. Two were full of corn and lime for 415
tortillas, just off the fire. A big Tenango jar, *k'ip*, of the kind to be described at that place, was used for water.

A pottery dish, about 7 centimeters across, *tsets*, is commonly [515]
offered to guests to wash their hands. It is placed on a pottery stand [574]
of an hour-glass shape, about 15 centimeters high, *awaliko* (see fig. 299). The ordinary plates and general vessels are flat gourd dishes, *qai'*, about 20 centimeters across. Gourds as well were used for a
dipper, *tuts*, and a water-jar, *tsux*. Two nets hung from the rack. 353
There were three small baskets, *tutemotc*, and four big ones, *mukulmotc*. Hanging on the wall were a pair of the basket-work sandals
mentioned before, and selected ears of corn for seed. The wife's 283
textile outfit, more fully described later, consisted of a spindle, *pětět*, 286



354

FIG. 291—Bachajon Fireplace.

with clay whorl, spun in a gourd bowl, *tsima*, cotton, *t'umin*, hang- 283
ing in leaves, and the loom itself, *holěl*. A sling, made of a forked 286
stick and rubber band with a leather piece to take the clay pellet, 411
finmutc, belonged to the small boy. Bananas were drying on the
rack. With them were laid, or hanging in packages of leaves, bees- 353
wax, *tcavek*, blocks, 20 x 20 x 2 centimeters, for trade purposes, 237
used for making candles, a lump of hard red clay, *baq lum* ("bitter [251]
earth"), for washing the hair, and sometimes also eaten, a package of brown loaf sugar, salt, *atsam*, traded down from the Zotzil country, several packages of pimiento pepper, and serpent fat, *junto tcan*,
for rubbing on the chest to cure coughs. Under the table was a 353
basket of coarse, blackish-gray clay for making pottery, *tcavek lum* [323]
("beeswax earth"). Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail

Ladino butchers in the neighboring town. The cows are not milked either for local consumption or sale. Fertilizers are for the most part wasted since the cattle roam freely in the communal pasture lands except in the case of a few corrals owned by families. Hides are cured rather crudely and are used for saddle packs or protective aprons by the men, but none are sold. 231 [434] [237] [281]

The cooperatives. The notion of a cooperative to mobilize capital had been introduced by the I.N.I. in 1957 with the inauguration of a store owned by over one hundred members of the community. In the first years of its existence, the cooperative had some difficulties, primarily in convincing the Indians that when the returns on shares were lower in any year from prior levels, it did not indicate that the agents were stealing the money. 474 444 [647] [177]

The cooperative store was bought by the Indians of the town from the I.N.I. in 1964 after the members had some trouble receiving returns on their shares. There are now one hundred and twenty-two members. The profits of 1965 were reinvested in the purchase of the corn-grinding mill. Current profits at the store are lent at 5 percent per month interest. The store grosses 80 to 100 pesos in sales daily, and the mill grossess 100 pesos. The wages paid to the storekeeper are 300 pesos and to the miller 250 per month. [454] [434] [465]

Now that the cooperative is independent of the government, one of the stated policies is not to sell a single share to a Ladino or member of another community. "We do not want to give gifts to the Ladinos," the secretary of the cooperative told me. He added, "There was a Ladino in Teopisca who wanted to join with 5,000 pesos, but we wouldn't let him in. If you let them in, they would come to dominate the pueblo." The cooperative store does not share profits with the consumers but gives dividends. The 11,380-peso assets in the year 1965 were reinvested in stock and in the purchase of corn at harvest which was then sold at one and a half or two times the sale price. [563] [434] [454]

The Indians developed their first independent cooperative in the ownership of a *marimba*, a musical instrument like a xylophone, operated by eight men of the community. This enterprise failed because the players never developed sufficient skill to be commissioned to play outside of town. 474 534

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

563 Citala, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo relations between Indians and Ladinos are more friendly, and the Indians are regarded as milder and more tractable.

181 Of the strongly Indian towns, Cancuc is the most conservative, Chanal the most progressive.

631 563 In respect to official political organization, these villages are divided according to their importance and the number of their inhabitants, into free municipalities (*municipios libres*) and dependent municipalities (*agencias municipales*). The former are those which have the right to choose their own government, upon which formal administration depends. To this category belong Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Ococingo, Chilón, and Bachajon. Until a short time ago the municipal governments of these settlements were composed of Ladinos in the principal posts and of Indians in the subordinate positions. At the present time the government is seeking to reverse this situation so that the Indians have the greater authority; it is for this reason that the governments of the four villages first mentioned are now headed by Indians. This change has brought about marked [177] alterations in certain places in the social equilibrium that before existed between the two ethnic elements which compose the population.

Villages of the latter category are those which depend, in administrative matters, on a free municipality. In these cases authority is represented in the first place by the *agente municipal*, who is named by the central municipal government. This post is always discharged by a Ladino. In most instances the municipal agent compensates for the meagerness of his salary by controlling the sale of rum in the village which he administers. The other members of the municipal government are chosen almost always from the Indian group.

184 243 439 In several of the highland communities, notably Amatenango, Chanal, and to a much less extent, Tenejapa, the Indian grows (in addition to the universal maize) a certain amount of wheat for export; the Ladinos of Oxchuc cultivate this crop, but in Cancuc, where there are no Ladinos, wheat is not grown. (Wheat is 433 also grown in the Tzotzil towns of Chamula and Huistan.) Other money crops • 241 of the highlands are chickpeas, peas, oranges, and other fruit. Some coffee is grown in San Martin, it is the principal export from Yajalón and Petalcingo. In Bachajon, Citala, Guaquitepec, and Chilón a principal produce is brown sugar, made locally from sugar cane locally raised. Cancuc is the only village that cultivates cotton [286] commercially; the production in the other communities is insignificant. The local [178] manufacture of loom-woven clothing is rapidly disappearing. Most Tzeltal com- munities are without beehives, but there is considerable apiculture in Sivacá, and 231 a little beekeeping is also practised in Tenango, Bachajón, and Yajalón. Apparently 184 the bees kept are wild colonies brought to the villages in the sections of hollow log they are made to inhabit. The raising of hogs and poultry is a principal economic 233 recourse in all the Indian settlements. The beef cattle industry has always been [654] in the hands of Ladinos; however, recently the Government, acting through the Centers of Native Education, has sought to stimulate the industry among the Indians.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

221 .241 Concerning the correspondence between the months and the agricultural activities, Emeterio Pineda says:

> *Moc* is the month in which fences should be repaired, and *Olalsi* is that in which the sowing is to be done, no matter what may be the condition of the atmosphere, so that if rain fails or is insufficient or is excessive, nevertheless it may not be done in any other month even though then weather and precipitation permit.
>
> *Uch* (*Uch*): in this month plants are attacked by ailments and insects, in particular by insects such as plant lice which weaken and destroy them; in the month of *Elach* (*Eluch*) the favorable winds should cure them. But in case they are not favorable, the loss of many plants is sure, as, for example, the potato which neither flowers nor gives a yield. *Nichquin* corresponds with the period of flowering, *Sbalvinquil* with pollenization and *Xchibalvinquil*, *Yoxibalvinquil* and *Xchanibalvinquil* with the three periods of the formation of the seed: that of the pearl, that of the milk and that of the starch.
>
> *Poin* (*Pom*): in this month honey may be taken from the hives, and the harvest may be carried in. *Mux* represents the beginning of cold, and *Yaxquin* the Christmas season.[46]

[114] O. D. E. Bunge quotes this paragraph but attributes it erroneously to Nuñez de la Vega.[47] Bunge's publication provides other interesting data on this subject. It may be added that the nineteen-month calendar with close relation to the agricultural year has recently been reported by Weitlaner[48] for a non-Maya people, the Chinantec, in northern Oaxaca, and for the Mazatec, a people neighboring the Chinantec.[49]

[46] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 112.
[47] Bunge, 1935, p. 54.
[48] Weitlaner, 1936, pp. 197–201.
[49] Bevan, 1938, p. 5.

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Although it

161 has an average of 19 inhabitants per sq. km.
[241] the southern zone has lands that are suitable
[631] for agriculture and for irrigation, such as in
[128] Amatenango. Later I shall discuss the influence of these factors on the uneven economic and social development of the three zones.

161 The figures on Indians are based exclu-
162 sively on use of the Indian language and
197 so include both monolinguals and bilin-
191 guals. To differentiate each group, however, I have made corrections based on field work as shown in Table 2.

141 The average height of these Indians ranges from 1.55 to 1.60 m. Referring to

[P. 196 - B]

114 27) but without touching on social organization.

[101] Study of social organization began in
[122] 1938 when I made my first trip through the region under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington (Redfield and Villa Rojas, 1939, pp. 107–19). In 1942–44 we spent several periods among the Tzeltal of Oxchuc, establishing camp at Yochib, and published the results soon thereafter (Villa Rojas, 1946, 1947).

Since 1957 various investigations by the universities of Chicago, Harvard, and Stanford have been headed by the anthropologists Sol Tax, Norman A. McQuown, Evon Z. Vogt, Julian Pitt-Rivers, and A. Kimball Romney.

221 SUBSISTENCE PATTERNS AND FOOD HABITS
241 *The Milpa*

Nothing is of greater importance to the Indian than to have a good *milpa*. Three classes of milpas are cultivated: *sijomal*, planted in mid-January and harvested three months later; *nal-aual* or "March milpa" planted in mid-March and harvested toward the end of August; the main milpa, *jabil-caltic* or "milpa of the year," sown between April and May and harvested between November and December. The first two types are most often cultivated in the lower zone of Tierra Caliente, where humidity is favorable.

241 Among the Tzeltal of Oxchuc (Villa
804 Rojas, 1946, pp. 510–39), milpa work begins in February with the measuring of the plot. The measuring rod (*jaubtic*), which presumably corresponds to a *brazada* (the distance between the arms extended), is equivalent to 1.98 m. The area 8 brazadas square takes the name of *tarea* (about 256 sq. m.). The area of the milpa is also computed according to the number of ears of corn needed for seeding; 60 ears of corn are required to fill 1.5 hectares, the average in milpas that we observed.

241 Since the bush is short, only a hatchet
412 (*eche*) is necessary to cut it down. The
[P.199-A]

241 [412] machete (*machit*) or the *luk*, a sort of curved machete with a long handle, are the implements needed. The cutting of the grass from the plot where the milpa had been the previous year is *selab*; the cutting of bush grown for three or four years is *sok-uej*. The work of cutting the bush is done by the entire family, including children of seven or eight years old.

[221] [412] The planting is done between April and May after the first rains, with a long stick whose tip is hardened by fire or pro- [242] tected by a metal point. The seed must come from large, healthy ears whose tips have been cut off because they have small [824] corn. The *olote*, or corncob, is either kept or thrown away at a distance to avoid its being used as fuel, for this would hurt the milpa which then would produce ears with broken kernels.

241 462 785 834 The task of planting is a very delicate matter, to be performed after fasting and sexual abstinence. It is exclusively a man's 241 affair. A great banquet is served at noon, 574 generally outdoors as the hut interiors are small, to the friends and neighbors who will participate as helpers. Sometimes as [476] many as 10 men help to plant a friend's milpa. The meal is offered "precisely when the sun stops for a moment midway on its run and the doors of the Church of Heaven are opened, from where the quality of the banquet is observed." This is *s-uelil-abal* ('meal of the planting').

241 262 272 574 [263] When things are properly done, the meal consists of a number of items. First the *atole* (*pajal-ul*) is served, which is slightly sour and sweetened with *panela*. As "companion" to this atole are tamales (*chenkul-uaj*), which are prepared with cornmeal and ground beans. It is said that both things are to be served together so that "the seed may penetrate deep into the ground."

241 252 262 574 272 After this preliminary snack comes what is considered the main course for each person: a hard-boiled egg in a thick reddish broth prepared from dough and ground chile dissolved in water; a large tortilla;

[P.199-B]

BEST CONTINUED ON PAGE 201-A

241 boiled beans; other tamales (*petul*), which
252 are made from dough and whole beans;
262 and finally, still more atole. The atole is
574 served not in individual *jicaras* but in two
272 or three large ones (*bátzil-booch*), which
[415] are passed from person to person. The same is done with the other foods; they are served in one or two large pots (*mucul pulato*) out of which everyone serves himself. This banquet is given only on the first
241 day of the planting; if other days are re-
574 quired, the milpero himself does the planting.

241 Since weeds grow rapidly during the rain season, the milpa must be hoed twice before it reaches maturity. For this the luk or coa is used and also the hoe (*asron*), the same one used to break the soil before planting. The first weeding is done in June, the second between July and August. Women
[462] help their husbands in this chore and some-
[566] times do it entirely themselves, since the
[464] men are in the habit of leaving for Tapachula to work as peons on the coffee plantations.

244 Also in the milpa beans of several varieties are planted: *chuil-chenek* (or *ibes*, according to the Ladinos); *botil*, a large common bean; *xakil-chenek* or *frijol de vara*; and the *x-luumil-chenek* or *frijol de la tierra*, thus called because it is a creeping plant.

Chile is planted on a separate lot, 15–20 m. square. The planting is done during the first weeks of March, in alternate years so that it will not coincide with the year when the people of Cancuc plant cotton. Chile planted by the people of Oxchuc is *dzajalik* or red chile.

241 Toward the end of August, the first fruits are ready (*unimajam* or *jilote*, according to Ladinos). These are received with great joy by the families which are by then lack-
[242] ing food. From each plant, which provides two or three *jilotes*, the farthest down is picked to let the other two grow bigger.
[252] These jilotes are boiled without salt and
[263] are eaten whole, including the husks.
[262] [P 201-A]

241 Between September and October, when the tender ears are ready, some are torn loose to prepare atoles and tamales.

Toward the middle of October, when the milpa has reached maturity, all hands proceed to the task of the *dobla*, folding or breaking the stem of the plant so that the ear dries and may later be put into the barn. This is an easy task, in which men, women, and children take part. [462] [857]

The harvest takes place in November and December with the participation of the whole family; it is a joyful task which compensates for all the moments of anxiety in the previous months, when subsistence was scarce. The produce from the milpa is gathered in large nets and later stored in a corner of the house or in some improvised structure nearby. The crop is measured by *zontles*, units of 400 ears, which are formed by counting the ears by fives; two ears are taken in one hand and three in the other until 400 are reached. The family of five members which manages to harvest from 15 to 20 zontles considers itself happy, since that much will last them the entire year, consuming 20 ears a day plus feeding one or two hogs and 10 or 12 chickens. [592] [251] [804] [261] [231]

The milpa also produces various squashes, manioc (*dzinté*), and peanuts, which the Indians call *caxlan-chenek* ('Ladino's bean').

243 184 Exceptional among the Tzeltal is the cultivation of wheat in Amatenango. There the small valley and a creek have favored its development.

241 796 The most important ceremonies take place immediately after planting. They entrust the germination of the seed to the care of God, of the "thirteen holders of Heaven," and of "Tatik Jesucristo." The "thirteen holders of Heaven" refer to the principal saints who are mentioned in the prayers. The ceremonies consist in offerings of prayers and incense before the crosses kept in caves belonging to each paraje, and in one *bikit mixa* ('small Mass'), which the cabildos and principales of the [778] [782]

[P. 201-B]

241 paraje perform before the altar of the
782 church in the ceremonial center. All prayers
796 are said in Tzeltal; some are Christian in
[778] origin, others entirely pagan. This prayer
[177] I recorded in 1944:

241
796 Here we come to bring you your food, to
782 light your candles, to play the harp, to play the
539 guitar. Here we come to perform your fiesta,
[534] so you may be happy, so you will not abandon us.

We have already planted the milpas; the seed is already in the soil. Father, do not forsake us; let the rains come properly; let them not be abundant nor deficient. Let there be a little sunshine and a few clouds. Let the soil be happy.

Father, let no hail come; let no wind come; let no locust come; let no harmful animals come; let no robbers come, lest they steal from us and leave us in poverty.

Father, let the year come well; let the corn turn out well; let the beans turn out well. Let there be no sickness; let there be no sorrow. Father, the mouthful has already entered; the word had already entered.

The word "mouthful" refers to all the gifts, "word" to all the prayer.

796 A similar ceremony is the *mukul mixa*
[621] ('great Mass'), organized by members of
[776] each calpul. Each calpul has its own patron
[622] saint and its own chiefs. For this ceremony
[534] many more people gather, for representatives and musicians (flute, drum, harp, and guitar) come from all places. The candles offered as "mouthfuls" are greater in number and size.

778 Household ceremonies follow as the head
78 of the household, in private, prepares the small home altar, where the cross which
[834] protects the home is always found. He adorns it with *juncia* and five candles; he says appropriate prayers at 6 o'clock in the morning or at midday, as he observes fasting and sexual abstinence. These family prayers may be repeated occasionally, depending on the condition of the milpa.

241 At the beginning of the month called
782 [P. 202-A]

241 782 *chin-uch* (May 20–June 8), an offering is made to the supernatural being which reigns over it. The natives have vague no-
[825] tions of the nature of this being. They say that *uch* is the name of a small insect which spoils the pozole and, also, of the *tlacuache* or *zarigueya* which often destroys the milpa. The offering, hung at the entrance of the hut, consists of a ball of pozole wrapped in plantain leaf, a red chile, a tortilla, an ear of corn, and a little stick like the kind used to turn the ear cooking over hot coals.
241 782 787 All objects are minute in size. When the offering achieves its purpose, on the completion of a 20-day period, the atmosphere becomes hazy "as if there were smoke." It is explained that "the chin-uch burned its house," which forecasts a favorable sun for development of the milpa. If such a sign should not appear on the indicated date or at the end of the next month of *mukul-uch* (June 9–28), the forecast is ominous and indicates that the rains will be excessive, greatly harming the milpa.

778 796 Another mukul-mixa is performed in Oxchuc, in homage to the hill called Ikal-Ajau,
[184] near the ceremonial center, of which the Indians say "it is a living hill." The name of the hill is that of the ancient hill worshipped by the Oxchuequeños. Nuñez de la Vega (in Becerra, 1933, p. 293) reports: "Those of Oxchuc and other towns of Los Llanos venerate very much the idol which they call Icalajau, which means principal Negro or
[789] lord of the Negroes." This Mass, performed the first days of June, prevents locusts and other plagues from coming.

241 78 Once the crop is in the granary, other family prayers are said before the household cross, to give thanks for the good received and to petition the supernatural beings to protect the grain from insects and rodents.

Other Subsistence Resources

262 235 Other food resources include raising chickens and pigs. A family averages about
[231] 10 chickens, using the eggs as money when
[437] [P. 202-B]

804 *Shucubil* ("codo"): Distance from the elbow to the end of the middle finger extended.
Jaub ("braza" or "brazada"): Distance between the ends of both extended arms.
Yankabal (equivalent to the meter): Distance from the armpit to the extended middle finger of the opposite hand.

[484] The "legua" is also used and is equivalent to the distance a man can walk during one hour (approximately 5 km.).

Of square measures used for the milpa, the most common is the *tarea* (equivalent to a square of 8 jaubs). This is equivalent to a square of 16 m., which is very close to the mecate used by the Yucatec Maya.

The standard most often used for measuring maize or beans is the *almud*, which among the Tzeltal of Cancuc, Oxchuc, and Tenejapa, is equivalent to 4 *quartillas* (each quartilla is equivalent to 8 large *borcelanas*). The borcelana is an earthen cup or pot, which can be either small or large. The large one is equivalent to ½ kg. of maize, the small one to ¼ kg. of maize. The borcelana is used to measure chile.

[415]

Economics

Division of Labor and Specialization

• 241 462 Care of the milpa is men's work, but sometimes women help with light tasks such as weeding or harvesting. Seeding does not require great effort, but it is considered a job for men exclusively. Women may participate in chile seeding—but in the planting only; the holes in the ground can be made only by men, who use a *macana* or planting stick. Cutting and carrying firewood are tasks for men, but women may perform them when men cannot. Women can handle an axe or machete skillfully. Fetching water, from river or fountain, is work for women. It is considered inappropriate and ridiculous that a man carry a cantaro on the hip. Laundry and all kitchen duties are performed by women, as well as spinning, knitting, sewing, embroidering, and making of earthenware. Manufacture

462

[P 209-A]

[Text continues on p. 210-B]

462 All activities related to curing of disease are also performed by specialized men, though in some places women occasionally participate. Help at childbirth is always as-
[844] signed to experienced female relatives; there
[759] are no professional midwives—nor profes-
[584] sional marriage brokers.

463 Specialization is little developed. Only in the largest centers are there a few individuals concentrated on carpentry, tailoring, trading, masonry, or some other activity.
[241] The families in Tenango and Amatenango who carry on the ceramics industry also

[P. 210-C]

463 241 handle the milpa. It is rare to find an Indian who does not have a milpa since this is the work that ensures his existence.

Property Rights

423 613 This is a matter that varies according to the degree of acculturation reached by the [177] community. In the most conservative groups [181] (Oxchuc, Cancuc, Tenejapa, Tenango) there are still family property rights, but they seem to depend on lineage rather than on the immediate family (Villa Rojas, 562 1947, ch. 19). As these lineages are patri- 428 lineal, a woman does not count when inheritance is involved. She can own her parcel of land only when she has saved the money to buy it, but this is not frequent. Any man can claim lands that previously belonged to his lineage; it is enough to give back the money paid for them two or three generations ago. Of course, he has to prove by witnesses or documents that those lands were the property of his lineage.

127 According to a document dated 1861, 423 which I found in the possession of the 613 Gómez Ichiloks (they belong to the Gómez 614 clan and to the Ichilok lineage), residents of the paraje of Tzajalchen of the municipio of Oxchuc, this property system seems to be very ancient. The document is of special interest.

000 DOCUMENTO DE TIERRAS DE LOS GÓMEZ ICHILOK ^A

Por pedimento de los ciudadanos Domingo Gómez Ichílok, Tomás Gomez Ichílok, otro Tomás Gómez Ichílok, Miguel Gómez Ichilok, Diego Gómez Ichílok, otre, Domingo Gómez Ichílok, otro Diego Gómez Ichílok y su hijo Diego Gómez Ichilok y por último su hijo menor Manuel Gómez Ichílok, y como antiguamente se acostumbra en este pueblo que segun los hermanos de una propria familia, se les demarca un retazo de terreno de ejido para que en lo sucesivo no haya pleitos con los vecinos como suele suceder, nosotros los Gobernadores, Auxíliares, Justicias, Escribanos y Testigos, pasamos al paraje denominado Tzajalchén a

[P. 211-A]

^A /For a translation by H.R.A.F. of this document, see category 116, p. 225-C--Analyst/

her own clothes and her backstrap loom. A widow may continue living in the hut and use its equipment only if she has a son. Otherwise, she must leave the house and return to her father's home because the land will be claimed by the brothers or other male relatives of the deceased husband.

Production and Consumption Groups

The family controls all matters related to production and consumption. The head of the house, with the help of his wife and other members of the family, takes care of farming and producing the basic food crops. In the most conservative communities, the old custom of planting by a cooperative group, composed of relatives and friends, is still practiced. This is a task for men exclusively, since much skill and strength are required to dig up the ground in carefully spaced, perfectly straight rows. The owner of the milpa has to fast and observe sexual abstinence before starting the planting.

Only the family shares in the rest of the labor, according to their sex: men take care of tasks requiring much effort, women perform those such as tending domestic animals. Help from relatives and neighbors may also be asked occasionally, to build up fences around the orchard, to open or improve irrigation systems, etc.

Trade and Markets

Tenango and Amatenango concentrate on producing ceramics and trading them to neighboring municipios. Other municipios have a very limited commercial activity: Tenejapa exports a few sleeping mats; Oxchuc, ropes, nets, and pita bags; Cancuc, wooden combs; Bachajon, clay toys. These Tzeltal villages have no specialized merchants as do Zinacantan and Chamula.

There are a few markets where a large number of people meet regularly: Teopisca, in the south, has a Sunday market where natives from Aguacatenango, Amatenango, and Pinola meet. In the central part of the region they meet every Sunday at the mar-

[P. 212-B]

787 been taken away by the local authorities
776 and sent to the Indians' Affairs Office in San Cristobal.

LIFE CYCLE

842 *Pregnancy and Childbirth*

183 The strongest desire of every Tzeltal couple is to create a numerous family, preferably
843 boys. The relationship between sexual inter-
[833] course and pregnancy is well understood among the Indians. They know that pregnancy lasts nine months and they keep a
843 good count of it. On the other hand, there
789 are ideas about the possibility of the woman being influenced by old men or "the owners of the nagual," who can interrupt pregnancy and change the fetus from one woman to another. This is why a woman who thinks she is pregnant for three or four months suddenly realizes that she carries nothing any more, while another one, maybe her neighbor, finds herself in advanced pregnancy, giving birth a few months later. It is to be stressed, however, that these changes can take place only among married women.

844 In conservative villages (Tenejapa, Ox-
[81] chuc, Cancuc) there is no professional midwife. Children are delivered by the oldest women in the neighborhood.

[757] When labor begins, the first thing is to
[237] give the mother a beverage made of powdered opossum tail dissolved in boiling water. It is very common for Indians to have a dry tail hanging next the fireplace. The woman kneels at labor, facing the midwife. The husband's belt or the woman's rebozo is tied very tightly around the upper part of the abdomen to prevent the child from "going up again." The mother can also help herself by seizing a rope tied to the roof, or taking firm hold of any post of the house. The umbilical cord is chopped with a machete or cut with scissors, supported on an
[241] ear of corn. This ear is afterwards used as
[824] seed and is considered very fertile.

[757] When labor has finished, the mother is given another hot beverage of pepper,

[P 223-B]

Chapter XI

PINES

T 137 Our trail wound through low bush and second growth. Here and there on hills were islands of high forest, but the level ground formerly under cultivation was now covered with an impenetrable network of low bushes and thorny brambles.

T 241 Indian agriculture is very simple. Towards the end of the dry season the Indian selects a place in the forest for his corn field, and makes an extensive clearing. All trees and branches are cut in small pieces, and left to dry in the baking sun. When thoroughly dry they set fire to them, and in a short while the ground is clear, leaving it as clean as a floor.

Then the Indian plants his corn in holes made with a wooden digging stick. He sows just before the rainy season sets in and waters his field, and thereafter he has nothing to do until it is time to harvest. The ground is never broken, and no fertilizer is used.

This method is very wasteful. Three to four plantings can be made in the same clearing, after which the soil is burnt out and exhausted. Then a new place must be found for the field.

T 161 In this way great tracts gradually become waste land. Today the population is scarce, and the damage is therefore comparatively small; but before the Conquest the population must have been much PY 174 greater, judging by the many and large ruined cities. In those days the Maya undoubtedly first cultivated the lands near his town, and 166 as the soil became exhausted, moved farther away. Then one fine 241 day the distance from field to town became so great, the labour of cultivating the distant field and transporting the crops so excessive, PY that he was forced to look for new country. Very likely the inhabi- [72] tants of one city would invade the territory of a neighbouring city in their search for cultivable land and this would result in war.

PY 172 Dates inscribed on monuments show us that the Maya for some reason abandoned the southern part of their country around the 174 year 600 A. D. After 630 A. D., we find no more dates in this, 131 the Old Empire area, as it has been called; but about the same time dated monuments appear in northern Yucatan.

167 A general exodus from the southern area must have started at 361 this time, and little by little, tribe after tribe went north, leaving their magnificent cities to a few stragglers—eventually to be claimed

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

The country near the village has been farmed out long ago; now the fields lie at a distance in the jungle. After every concentration, the Indians drift away again like blown smoke. Today most of the houses are rotten, sagging, with gaping doors. The paths are grown up with weeds, huge, old moss-covered crosses lean at crazy angles by the main trails. Over all broods the frame of the sacked church, huge stone walls with rank vegetation around them, and a twisted, unhealthy oak-tree on one side, like a composition by Piranesi.

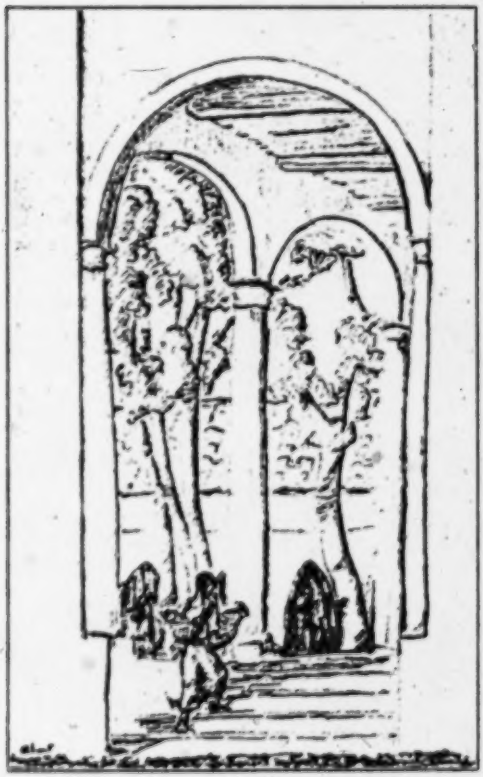

FIG. 277—Ocosingo, Chis. Colonnade on the Plaza.

Ocosingo Valley and its neighbours furnish a transition towards the real highlands. The valleys are fertile and green, ringed in with ranges of steep, rich hills. The soil in the lower parts is light; here palms and pines grow together, with a luxuriance of rich grass that makes an ideal grazing country. Through the valleys are large and small ranches of Ladinos and old Spanish families. The bigger ones, such as San Antonio, Quechil, and Achin in the Ocosingo Valley, San José Reforma and El Real beyond the San José Pass, and Tecojá in its own valley, each has a village of Indian labourers attached to them. The natives' houses are rather better that the average, and often tile-roofed (fig. 278). The Indians of each ranch function more or less as a tribe, governed by the owner of the ranch, conducting their own worship at its chapel. A few Indians own scattered, independent farms. Sivacá (*sivak ha'*, "Gunpowder Water"), near Ocosingo on the trail to Tenango, is a true village, self-governing, with its own *alcalde*, under the supervision of a Ladino *maestro*. All these groups come together at

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

628 796 certain times of the year for ceremonies, such as those at Chakalchib, and formerly at Campomtik, to be mentioned later. The Bachajon hold their own ceremonies at their village.

141 Physically, the Tzeltal, like all the Mayance Indians, are short, averaging probably about 160 centimeters (5 feet, 4 inches) for the 142 men, and slightly less for the women. Their build is slender, with stringy muscles, except for a good development of the calves. Hands and feet are small and well-formed. Their slenderness is 147 deceptive, for their great strength lies in their legs, back, and neck, seen in their ability to carry loads of 45 kilograms (100 lbs.) and upwards, all day up and down hill without undue fatigue. Taking in a tump-line a load under which they cannot rise from the floor.

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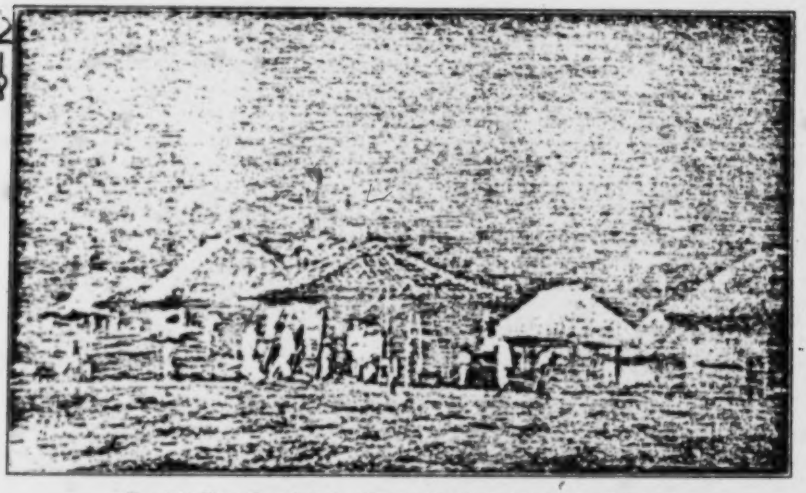

FIG. 278—Finca Tecojá, Chis. Houses of Indians attached to the Finca.

147 without help, they will carry it with ease. The lifting power of their arms is less than that of Americans or Ladinos. Their headform is 142 meso- to brachycephalic, and the cranium is small. Deformation in [304] the shape of a marked depression just above the juncture of the hair-line and the forehead, due to the use of a tump-line from early infancy, may be responsible for the conical appearance of the top of the skull. Noses are, on the whole, mesorrhine and small, with little appearance of the famous "Maya Nose," and then in a narrow form, lacking the width of nostril seen in pre-historic figures. Prognathism is slight, alveolar proganthism being the more common, particularly in children. Hair form is straight, coarse, and black. Gray hair or baldness are very unusual. Body hair, as far as could be observed,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

000 An excellent discussion of the character of the neighbouring Indians of Guatemala, which applies well to these, by one who has lived long among them, is found in Sapper's "Der Charakter der Mittelamerikanisch Indianer."

648 Before passing on to the native culture, a little must be said
771 of the outside influences that do
793 so much to mould it — the Church, the Government, and the Hacienda. The first of these occupies a very curious position indeed. While the Indians are ostensibly Christian, as will be shown later, in many ways they are still unconverted. It may be said, briefly, that they acknowledge two antagonistic worships. Of these, the Christian has publicly the upper hand. The Priests, accordingly, wield a tremendous influence among them, and did even more so in the past, when supported by the State. Our experience on this trip was that, on the whole, this influence was intelligently and beneficially used. To the Priests the Indians confide their troubles, to them they accord the greatest honour on the occasions of their visits to the villages. Yet, at the same time, the Indians conceal from them one-half of their worship, knowing them to be sworn to stamp it out.

[142] [291] [301] [302] →

[142] [291] [302] →

FIG. 280—El Encanto, Chia. Bachajon girls.

FIG. 281—El Encanto, Chia. Bachajon man and boy.

648 The Hacienda system has
241 caused the formation of many
361 small villages, as has been said
466 above. In other cases, as with the Bachajon on the Encanto property, the Indians living at large on the distant lands of the

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

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hacienda, are held liable for a certain amount of labour each year, in lieu of rent. Should one of them fail to do his share, the owners are considered free to arrest him and bring him in. While so working, they are paid, largely in credit at the local store, and fed. On the haciendas with regular village establishments, and in other parts of Mexico, this system has worked smoothly in the past, because the workers found themselves cared and provided for, corn laid up for the future, money or credit ready for festive occasions, and so forth. But the more independent Bachajones seem amply able to take care of themselves, and do not relish working for a ranch miles from their homes, even when they acknowledge its ownership of the jungle in which they dwell.

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The payment of labour is seen again in relations of the Indians with the Government, which holds them liable to road-mending and municipal work, as a form of tax. Commonly, crimes are also punished by fines of such work. The system is irregularly applied. For instance, some Indians from Cancuc, who were carrying part of our outfit to San Cristóbal, were held up for two hours road-work at one point. Every Indian that came that way was similarly held. Starr (1902) reports the same experience. In San Cristóbal the right to collect any Indian for labor has been so abused as materially to harm the trade of the town. Quite serious crimes, as long as only committed by one Indian against another, are relatively lightly punished in this manner. It may be said, as far as concerns the tax-*corvée*, that the right of the Indians to go home again before staying away long enough to cause their crops to suffer is generally recognized, and the Indians themselves know when it is time to announce that they must leave. The whole system, however, leads to a certain amount of hard feeling on the Indians' part.

Fig. 222—El Encanto, Chia. Bachajon men.

[829]

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Interwoven with these specific factors must be considered the Ladino's general attitude towards the Indian. To him, especially the town-dweller, the natives are barbarous in all respects, legiti-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

648 mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

829 The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We received many small favours and [123] acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

FIG. 283—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

241 In their culture these people [181] belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend [433] primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the [291] staple crop. Calabashes, melons, [301] beans, tobacco, bananas, and cotton are raised. The farming is [302] carried on by the same wasteful "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old [178] Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment [166] of many cities. In the case of the Bachajon, it has already become one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn 262 boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates 252 which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and 411 weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but al- 412 ways made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most 184 amazing industries in the world. 177

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

778 paper, brightened with colour added by a cigarette package, a label from a tin of beets in a deep red, a joke in German about the fall of the mark, of which the prevailing tone was pure viridian, and a page of advertising from the Saturday Evening Post. We gave [123] this family a chromo of a saint, which was immediately framed with a sort of wooden box, and set up beside the cross. The table below was used for laying odds and ends on, such as the spindle and a couple of empty aguardiente bottles.

782 788 177 178 Incense, *pom*, and candles, both extensively used by the Indians today, had a place in the old Maya ritual similar to that of the Catholic Church.

The Priest is an important figure to the Indians. They come to 793 him with respect to tell him their troubles, and receive him into their villages with rejoicing. At the same time, there is no doubt that they deliberately hoodwink him as to the orthodoxy of their faith.

796 Although it includes several non-Christian elements, a description of the fiesta observed at Tecojá will give a fair idea of the Tzeltal's church observances. Tecojá ranch has a village of about [241] twenty houses attached to it. The fiesta was held on the twenty- [648] second and twenty-third of June. By custom, the ranch had to allow the Indians this time off, as well as accepting the lowered efficiency on the following "cold grey dawn of the morning after." The owners had, moreover, to provide the rum for the whole celebration, in this case, two demi-johns.

The ranch chapel was thrown open and decorated with fir [794] branches and streamers. The proceedings were in charge of two older men, called *caporales*, who were distinguished by a cross-belting of red handkerchiefs. One house was set aside for the celebrations, in front of which was a table and three triangular, crimson banners with gold edges. By these drumming and flute-playing went on irregularly. Here was the official dispensary for rum, which was given out by the *caporales*. Inside the house, a palm-thatched one with stick walls, about fifteen feet square, some thirty [534] Indians, men and women, were squatting against the walls. There was an orchestra of a guitar and a mouth-organ, occasionally augmented by the piper, who would wander in from outside. This individual, although most amazingly drunk, managed to maintain his [533] musical ability until he fell asleep. The tune they played was like [535] a rather wistful jig, but the time was lively. To this four couples danced, the men facing the women, with a shuffling step not unlike waltzing. They kept very much in one place, but occasionally changed sides. The dancing was evidently a serious affair. This type is called in Spanish *zapatea*, in Tzeltal, *ahk'Out*.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

133 green wall away to the westward. Midway, there is a break in the slope, with a dramatic splash of deep red cliffs, in violent contrast to the fertile grass and soft tones of the limestone outcrops. Only • 241 the upper end of this valley belongs to Tenango, so little, in fact that the inhabitants cannot practice the usual, sprawling milpa system of agriculture. The very yards are planted, and the fields [351] start almost in the village, radiating from it in a close patchwork [417] as in Europe. Everything is fenced with roughly split planks set on end, and fences line the road into Tenango where it passes 361 through the cornfields. The houses with their yards lie close about an open plaza in which are the grey bones of a ruined church, a

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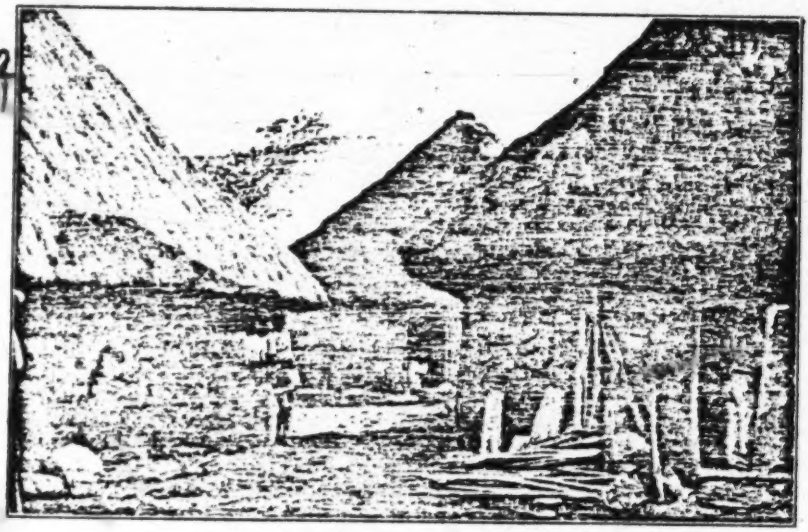

FIG. 313—Tenango, Chia. Houses.

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whitewashed, palm-roofed native one, and the shack of a Cabildo for 245 the Maestro. The streets are lined with useful trees, oranges, gourds, 363 and a few bananas, which do poorly at this altitude.

342 The houses are square and well-made with walls of broad, split planks covered with mud (figs. 311-312). The roofs are steeply thatched and pyramidal, or have a short ridge along which broken pots are laid after the manner of tiles. The frame-work differs from that described in the last chapter in having cross-pieces laid between [354] the plates. There are no chimneys, the smoke is allowed to seep through the thatch, keeping out vermin and making the roofs steam like a clam-bake.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

286 and often have no fringe. We were told that it was impossible to
123 see a woman weaving at that time, but by persistent stalking the
126 writer finally managed to locate a girl at work, whom he observed
286 and sketched from behind a bush. The women here were so consistently shy that no doubt she would have rolled up her loom, which was of just the same type as the one seen at Sivacá, and fled into the house had she known she was observed. Our procession through this very pretty village, too, was a serious affair—distinguished strangers being shown around town by the mayor—and had none of the cheerful joking and general *bonhommie* that produced such friendliness and good results at Sivacá.

241 Something more should be said about the agriculture here. Ordinarily, Indians go out to choose their own land in the bush and

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FIG. 319—Tenango, Chis. La Farge drawing pottery.

241 plant it with little cultivation, placing the corn close together. Here each family has its land assigned to it by the council. As the same field must be planted year after year, the hills of corn are widely spaced, and the ground is turned over as deeply as possible by means
[417] of heavy hoes, *ak'en*, purchased in San Cristóbal. As was said, everything is fenced as much as possible. When some of our pack animals got loose in a field, the excitement was intense. In the yards of the houses they raise corn, beans, and a plant related to tobacco. This
824 plant grows nearly as tall as a man. The leaf is rubbed on their legs to cure fatigue. It is carried with lime in a small gourd and offered and accepted for chewing with much the same bowing and formalities as obtained among our ancestors when offering snuff.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc
Tenejapa

From Cancuc the road falls slowly away, then it climbs to the 133
steep side of the ridge and at last dips percipitously to a covered 114
bridge over a narrow ravine. All along on both sides little corn- [241]
fields alternate with second growth. Ahead, the same great palisade
that we saw from Tenango rises in a green wall, patched with fields
and broken here and there by outcrops of cliffs and hanging valleys.
We passed a dribbling of traffic, Indians on foot, and at the bridge
met a family of Mexicans noisily eating a picnic lunch. The ravine
was deep, rock-walled, with a roaring stream in the shadows of the
bottom. From the other side of it the palisade rose immediately,
looking almost perpendicular and indefinitely high to us as we con-
templated it. The road assumed a stiff grade, rising in a series of [491]
zig-zags that gained painfully to the top. Straight up, almost like [487]
a ruled line, lay the Indian trail, taking no account of the twists and
turns of the road. Our carriers from Cancuc, who took on the cargo
that the Tenango men had carried the day before, had gone up that
fearsome climb. We tried it, but the horses slid and fell back on their
haunches, and we ourselves could barely keep our footing. So we
continued along the road, turning and turning, seeming never to
gain, and fearing that our animals would never make it. The heat
of the sun was thrown back by the hillside and the road.

We toiled on. Low growth and brush on the side of the road 137
gave no shade. The dust rose high. The air, for all the heat, began 114
to have a pleasant crispness that reminded us of high altitudes in
other countries. Then we smelt a familiar smell which we ignored
until its persistent recurrence forced us to look, see, and believe—
that blackberries grow wild in Chiapas! The event of the next
hours amused Lazaro greatly, for here in Mexico we found our-
selves among familiar northern flowers and wild fruits, buttercups,
dandelions, wild roses, blackberries, strawberries, all strange to him.
We passed an Indian farm, stuck into a tiny hanging valley, where 245
peach trees and alligator pears were growing together in the corn-
field.

At the top of the pass in a shallow V-shaped cut, the barometer 133
read 2,100 meters, a climb of 600 meters—about 1,900 feet—in two [114]
hours.

The country changed beyond here to steep ravines, high cliffs, rushing, cold brooks, and tall, dark fir trees clothing the rocks. The tilled fields disappeared, the scattered houses, and stick fences. It was a wild, shaggy country—a perfect setting, we thought, for the home of the rough Tenejapeños that we had seen along the road.

Near evening, a road forked off to the right, leading to a split in a wall of high cliffs through which we could see, already dark with

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Tenejapa

361 Amatenango lies in an open valley. It is estimated at three
342 hundred houses, each in a fenced yard of good size, and shaded with
351 fruit trees. The houses are large and well built, of mud and grass
245 thatch, with porches. The small church and Town Hall are tiled-
346 roof and stuccoed. The fields, which lie close around the town, and
344 the gardens in the town itself are watered by a stream brought down
• 241 a very pretty, roaring flume from higher land behind the village.
312 The irrigation system is fairly elaborate, and is unique in this area as far as we know.

323 The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one shape, a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, how-

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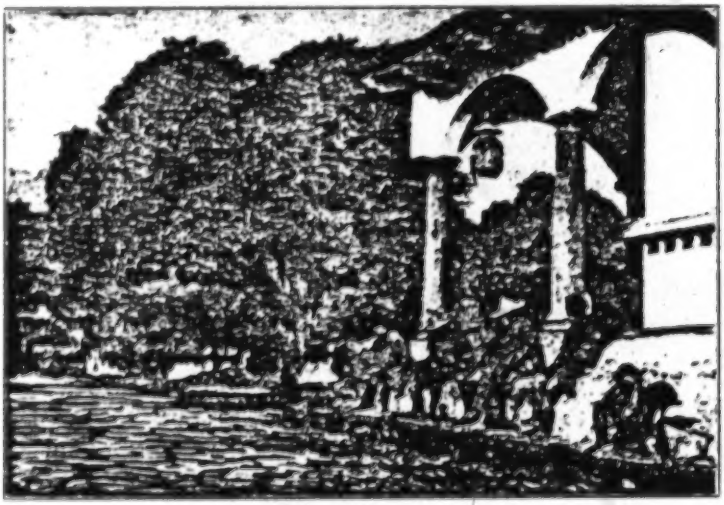

FIG. 332—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians at the Town Hall.

323 ever, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep, reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of boards, two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman in charge turns them until they are done (fig. 333). These pots are
[443] carried by the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they are redis-
[492] tributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala. Their industry is sufficient to enable them to maintain mules for carrying their goods, although both men and beasts are equally loaded.

121 A culture, under certain conditions, during a period of time can be said to be an open system in a state of stable but moving equilibrium: that is to say, it maintains a boundary, accepts inputs and produces outputs at approximately equal rates, and changes continuously but gradually in internal structure.

The concept of equilibrium is one way to talk about the constraints which make behavior congruent with beliefs. Given a constantly changing ecological setting due to an expanding population and a changing man-land ratio, the stability of the system depends on the adequacy of existing institutions to handle conflict and of shared understandings to explain events. Movement stems from the tension between individual and social goals and the adaptations to bring them into closer harmony. The basic condition for the kind of change characteristic of a moving equilibrium is that conflict is contained within the community.

128 I have organized the data to clarify features maintaining equilibrium and to show the direction in which the society is moving. First I describe formal, prescribed behavior for each institutional complex and relate it to the beliefs that underlie it. Following each of these chapters I analyze strategies formulated in response to changes coming from within or outside the community. The formal behavior providing a framework for continuity is related to place spirits in Chapter 1, to economic activities in Chapter 2, to customs and rituals in the family and neighborhood in Chapters 4 and 5, to civil and religious government in Chapters 7 and 8. Changing strategies are related to economic activities in Chapter 3, to social relations as revealed in curing practices in Chapter 6, and to political relations in Chapter 9.

177 178 Implicit in the organization is an ordering of institutions from most static to most dynamic. In the economy, agricultural technology has been stabilized at the colonial level of adaptation at which the wooden plow, [241] [323] hoe, and machete were added to, but did not displace, the digging stick, while in pottery manufacture, both techniques and products have remained unchanged. The organization of work groups remains limited to [592] [476] the household except for the introduction of cooperatives in recent years. [361] In domestic institutions there has been an adaptation to living in a compact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group.

ties to the center. They register births and deaths in the township center, 632
but they do not have any representation in the cabildo. The populations 621
have no identification with Indian subgroups, speak Spanish, and are oriented to the regional rather than the local economic center. The plantations remaining in the area, classified as *ranchos* in the national census, employ Indians from the center. Their only relationship to the central authority is to get help in recruiting additional laborers. Recruitment of [464] [241]
labor is no longer coercive as it was prior to the 1930s when the low wage rate could not attract the help needed. Announcements of the need for workers are made by the president on the loudspeaker system of the town, and men voluntarily go to the plantations.

Spirit Domains

The link between people and place is through the media of the spirits 776
(*E'uleletik*) of persons and of locale. The relationship is maintained 778
through a set of rules governing the behavior among spirits of people and of places. These rules derive from myths and stories of encounters which define the character of the spirits in each of the domains. Danger is localized in a series of caves which are avoided. Benevolent, or guardian, spirits inhabit a different set of sites, where ceremonies are conducted that maintain the well-being of the individual and of the community. By locating [182]
and circumscribing places of danger and guardianship, the members of the community can supplicate helpful spirits and avoid evil; they are delivered from fear of the unknown and provided with a rationale for dealing with fear of the known.

The places where spirits meet are outlined in Table 3. The first group [128]
includes spirits which are supplicated, the second, dangerous spirits which are avoided or approached only by powerful persons.

The house spirits. The spirits of inhabitants and of the house 776
meet at the center post at the rear wall of the house. The spirit of the 342
house lives in this post. Those who claim to have seen the house spirit say he is a small Ladino child. He is capricious, and if he is not happy, he may admit the evil spirits who will eat the souls of the inmates. His appe- [753]

Chapter 2

Traditional Economic Activities

The traditional occupation of every adult man is working in the milpa and of every adult woman, making pottery. The fiction is maintained that they do this work, even if they are actually engaged fulltime in some other activity. In response to the census question, "What is the work of the man or woman?" men answered universally that they were agriculturalists and women that they were potters. Men who work outside the community, in the fincas or in the sawmills, consider this a temporary means of gaining cash income and do not define themselves as sawyers or laborers for others. They work outside the community only when they do not have sufficient land to provide themselves with corn to eat and a surplus to sell, or when they must pay debts incurred by bethrothal or assumption of religious posts. Many women who do not make pottery for extended periods of time, or make it only for a special fiesta, still consider themselves pottery producers.

Persistence of the same occupations and the daily effort to make a living strengthen the link between generations and to tradition. The primary emphasis in child training is teaching both boys and girls to work efficiently and industriously in these traditional occupations. The techniques for codifying and perpetuating a given way of doing things, particularly evident in pottery production, provide clues to the way in which other kinds of behavior are schematized.

Agricultural Production

Agricultural production involves two areas of decision making: what to grow and when to schedule each activity related to production. Decisions in both these areas are based upon custom and time-proved results. I shall

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

241 indicate these bases and assess the efficiency of the agriculturalists in allocating resources of labor, land, and seeds.

423 311 [175] *Land use.* The historical factor of the greatest significance in establishing the present economic position of the town was the act of possession of ejido lands in 1937. The first grant included 4,873.53 *hectares*[1] of land of the following categories:

irrigated flat land	139.77
non-irrigated plots	1,018.37
pasture	1,659.65
hill land	2,055.74

The high hill land with its cover of pine and scrub oak was set aside for use of all members of the community for hunting and gathering firewood. The pasture lands are similarly controlled by the civil authority for common use. The cultivable lands passed into the hands of 385 ejidatarios, each of whom received one-half hectare. A further grant in 1954 provided an increase of 2,578 hectares, including:

low mountain land	2,277.60
pasture land	300.40

423 178 The possession of land by individual small-plot cultivators reversed the trend toward large-scale commercial agriculture begun in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The land of the Indians that had been expropriated in the latter part of the nineteenth century by forced sales was to be held in the possession of the townspeople, "benefiting all with its products and uses" (Act of possession, 1937, Town Archives).

423 241 311 178 With the increase in ejido lands acquired in 1954, the share of each ejidatario has been increased to one hectare. This is usually split between low land in San Caralampio and high land in San Isidro and Tulancá, giving two growing seasons. The advantages of different growing seasons are that there is a more balanced work schedule and that there are two harvests, one in November and one in July. The ejido land grant has stabilized subsistence crop cultivation in the economy of the town and in-

1. A hectare is equal to 2.46 acres.

creased the economic independence of the Indians. The present total of 613 ejidatarios in 1965 has increased 59 percent since the original grant. The dependence of the town's economy on the ejido land can be assessed in the fact that 63 percent of the pasture land is held in ejido grants. The use of land resources in the township is summarized in Table 4.

TABLE 4. Agricultural Productivity by Size of Landholding

Size of landholding (hectares)	*Weight of produce (kilograms)*	*Value of produce (pesos)*	*Land used (percentage)*
Less than 5 hectares			
Corn	200,000	120,000	83.
Wheat	29,000	27,550	16.8
Fruit	3,000	9,000	.2
1 hectare of ejido land			
Corn	319,688	223,781	49.
Corn (with beans)	30,320	21,224	6.
Beans (with corn)	14,000	17,360	
Wheat	185,580	181,580	28.
Beans	84,322	104,322	17.
More than 5 hectares			
Corn	67,388	45,117	34.
Corn (with beans)	96,550	68,108	51.
Beans (with corn)	42,985	56,740	
Alfalfa	350,000	42,000	4.6
Fruit	14,508	9,720	4.4
Other			6.

SOURCE: 1960 census, Mexico.

According to the 1960 census figures on productivity per hectare, privately owned plots under five hectares yield the highest return in corn (1,097 kgs. per hectare), privately owned plots over five hectares the next highest return (925 kgs. per hectare), and ejido plots of one hectare the least (810 kgs. per hectare). In the census evaluation of wheat and corn production on privately owned plots of less than five hectares, wheat apparently yields a higher return (807 pesos per hectare of wheat compared with 658 pesos per hectare of corn). This relative return is nearly the same for the corn produced on ejido lands (820 pesos per hectare return on wheat compared with 603 pesos for corn). However, this is figured at the maximum market price for wheat of 124 pesos per 100 kgs.

000 maximum market price for wheat of 124 pesos per 100 kgs. The Indians
435 usually sell their wheat at 90 pesos per 100 kgs. to Teopisca truckers, or at
442 best gain 110 pesos per 100 kgs. by bringing it to the mills themselves.
• 241 From their perspective corn is the more valuable crop, not only from the point of view of subsistence, but also for sale since if they hold it in storage they can sell it at double the price at which the values are calculated in the census (.60 peso per kg.). They do not have facilities to store wheat in order to take maximum advantage of price changes.

125 The census I made in 1964 of land ownership and use by the 304 fami-
423 lies living in the center of the township (Table 5) shows that 47 percent
161 of the households have no land other than the ejido grant of one hectare. Because of the growing population, the land per household has decreased. A comparison with the 1958 census of land ownership of 280 households in the center indicates that 89 families now have less land than they had at that date, 72 have the same amount, and 44 have more land; 99 unknown cases include new families which have been created since the earlier date, families which were no longer in existence in 1964, and households in which there is a lack of data on the question of landholding.

423 The strong sentiment against the sale of one's own land, well docu-
432 mented in the monographic literature,[2] is expressed here:

If a man sells his land without sickness, people say he is lazy. The best thing to buy if you have money is land. Unlike cattle, it does not die, it does not get lost, and it does not need watching. It is not the same with a horse. When you buy one, you have to watch it and care for it and when it dies, all is over. You lose all your money. But with land, in two years you have the land paid for and it remains as a gift. It gives us what we eat.

423 Land is rarely sold to outsiders. If a man needs money and has a buyer
432 from out of town, the civil authorities raise the money and buy the plot,
609 selling it in pieces as they find buyers. Only one small plot of land has
621 been sold to an outsider in my knowledge of the community. This plot

2. See Tax (1957), Wagley (1941). Oscar Lewis (1963:125 indicates that in Tepoztlan the breakdown of the resistance to selling land was associated with a growing awareness of profits to be made in the regional and national economy.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 32]

[p.31]

TABLE 5. Land Ownership and Crops Grown by Households, 1964

Crops	Owners of ejido land (2 tablones *)	Owners of ejido and inherited land No. of tablones 1	2	3	4	5	Owners of ejido and bought land No. of tablones 1	2	3	4	5 and over	Owners of ejido, bought, and inherited land No. of tablones 1	2	3	4	5	Total
Corn	45	6	2				1		1								55
Corn and wheat	92	25	13	1	2		2	3	2	2	2	1	6	5	2	3	161
							8	11	1	2			3		3	2	78
Corn and beans	3	23	16	4	2		2							1			5
							11	16	3	5	2	1	9	6	5	5	299
Unknown	2																
Total	142	54	31	5	4												

* A tablón is equal to 25 square meters roughly figured; there are 4 tablones in one hectare.

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423 was in a low gully where crops would not grow, and no one within the
432 community would buy it.
609
621

Land is frequently pawned by farmers as security on a loan. The title to
423 the land is left with the lender, who can foreclose on the debt if the inter-
426 est payments of five percent per month are not paid. Often the land pawned may be worth far more than the loan. Loans in town are rarely backed with security, and if something is pawned, it is usually clothing or household items.

198 With the growing significance of ejido lands and land sale, inheritance
423 of land is of less importance in the economic expectations of each succes-
428 sive generation. The rules controlling inheritance are theoretically simple:
593 equal inheritance for all children regardless of sex. The parents usually give some land when the child establishes a separate household; the remainder is then given at the death of the parent or when old age makes it impossible for the parent to work any more. The youngest child remaining at home works his father's land, or if he is living with his wife's family, his father-in-law's land, until the latter's death. His family inherits the house site as well as an equal share of the privately held lands. Complications arise because of modifications of the basic rule of equal inheritance by provisions for care and maintenance of the aged parents. Frequent dis-
[692] putes over inheritance are settled in local courts or passed on to the De-
[647] partment of Indian Affairs in San Cristóbal.

The selection of which crop to grow is related to the kind and amount
• 241 of land a farmer owns. The most important crops are corn, beans, and wheat. Some squash and sugarcane are grown in the lower ejido lands of San Caralampio. Cabbage is grown by one Indian who possesses fertile irrigated lands in the center. Most Indians, however, are unwilling to undertake the risk of raising a cash crop since there is greater chance of the crop being stolen and they cannot afford a bad market price when they harvest.

241 Relating the size of holding to the crop grown, according to figures in
423 the Mexican census of 1960[3] (Table 4) one can see that in privately
433

[659] 3. The census figures are based on estimates received from town officials, who submit them monthly to the census bureau. The officials of the town question the household heads as they see them in the streets or in their houses about how much seed they planted. They then estimate what the yield per almud for good and bad land is, from their own crops.

owned plots of less than five hectares, corn is clearly the major crop, with 83 percent of the land devoted to its production. In the ejido lands, it is cultivated on less than 50 percent of the land, with wheat and beans sharing the remaining lands. Included in the category of ownership of five hectares or more are three large fincas where cattle fodder is grown. These fincas employ eighty-three laborers, some of whom live in the town center.

Since the Mexican census figures do not take into account the total land holdings of the household, I shall refer to the data on land use from my own census in 1964 (Table 5). Beans are grown (except in three cases) only if the household has more than the one hectare of ejido land grant. Corn and beans are grown together only on irrigated lands, both in high lands and in low country. Most farmers with ejido land grow wheat in addition to corn only when the land is in continual production, since it is believed that wheat gives "heat" to the land and improves the soil. This belief is supported by the real value of crop rotation.

Decisions concerning what crops to plant where are based on two sets of criteria: topology and soil characteristics. These criteria, furthermore, are the basis for determining what kinds of seed should be planted and what techniques of cultivation should be utilized.

Topological criteria. Because of the relative wealth of land resources, the steep hills are left uncultivated. All of the steep hills are communally owned, and the second growth of pine and scrub oak provides firewood. Tall pine growing in the higher lands of the colonia of San Vicente is sold by the community to private lumber companies.

The "belly of the land," the mound-like hillocks at the bottom of the hills, are sometimes cultivated or used for pasturage. On hilly lands farmers put rocks in the banks or curve the rows of corn to avoid erosion. The very low lands of the valley floor must be drained by digging ditches.

The flat irrigated lands of the valley floor are the most desirable lands for cultivation. The Indians are reluctant to sell these lands, and hold on to them until they are forced to sell.

When the officials reach concensus on what the mean yield (or *medio calculo* as they call it) is, they multiply this by the known amount of seed planted. Every six years a house-to-house census of what was planted is made.

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base, so the farmers prefer to plant the better, quicker-growing corn seed 242
in a mixed sand and loam soil.

The final evaluation of land is based on results at harvest. The range of 242
variation is large: from 48 liters of yield per liter of seed to 80 litters of 433
yield per liter of seed. Township officials say that the average harvest is
five *fanegas* (1 fanega equals 12 liters) or 60 liters per liter of seed. Market [435]
prices are of less importance in deciding what crops will be planted than
are considerations of what the soil "wants" and what labor is involved.
Corn is grown on all kinds of land, whereas beans and special crops such
as cabbages can be grown only on the more fertile soil. Wheat can be
grown only where there is irrigation. One farmer raised cabbage in coop- [434]
eration with a Ladino and earned 1,000 pesos, four times the amount he
earned with his wheat crop the previous year. Despite the greater return
for cabbage, the farmer did not plant it the next year when the Ladino,
who had supported the first venture, withdrew his support. The reason he
gave for this was the fact that there was more work involved and he could
not accomplish it alone: first the crop had to be planted, then transplanted,
then irrigated every three days in the early growing period, and cultivated
two or three times; every eight days he had to get rid of worms. He esti- [461]
mated that growing cabbage involved well over four times the amount of
work necessary for growing corn.

Labor. Most agricultural work is performed by members of 592
households with exchange or hired labor. There is no specialization of 241
labor when the work force includes two or more men since the men 476
cooperate in doing each task. Communal labor is restricted to the mainte- 464
nance of the main irrigation ditches. Each year the ditches are dug out 241
where the sides have eroded and cleaned of brush and leaves. The presi- 621
dent and judges unite to decide on a time for this work and announce it 476
on a loudspeaker of one of the cantinas. This usually occurs around the
twenty-fifth of December. Formerly, all the men of the community helped
in this work whether or not they owned irrigated fields. In 1958 those who [178] [423]
did not own such land "got smart" and refused to work.

In 1962 the civil officials decided that a cement canal should be installed 653
near the source of the spring. They tried to finance it with contributions 621
423
241

653 621 241 423 from all men of the township, but again they were refused by the farmers who did not own irrigated land. The officials then sold trees in the communally owned lands to support the project, which cost 2,000 pesos. The farmers without irrigated lands still bore the cost although indirectly since community resources were expended in subsidizing the work.

241 The scheduling of agricultural activities follows an annual cycle for the three major crops, corn, wheat, and beans.

243 242 *Corn*. In corn production, the greatest discrimination comes in the selection of seed.[4] Seed is chosen from cobs which have the most grain. The farmer must look carefully to see that none of it is rotten, since if one grain is bad, the entire five grains put into each hillock will rot. There are two major kinds of corn: a quick-growing variety and a slow-growing variety. The first is preferred, but not all soils "want" it. The bitter soil "wants" the slow corn which must be planted about the first of February. [177] A new corn seed introduced by some developmental engineers in 1957 yielded more grain, but it was not as flinty as the old variety and rotted quickly.

243 The soil is prepared by cross-plowing the land three times in one direction and two times in the other. Those who do not own their own oxen team do it just once because of the additional expense. In planting, the farmer is careful to measure rows evenly, five handspans between rows, and five handspans between each hillock, forming a square which permits the maximum growth of each plant. Five seeds are placed in each hillock. In hot country, the land has not been worked over as well, and as a result it cannot be measured as accurately because of rocks and trees. This upsets the agriculturalist's sense of symmetry and beauty.

Once the corn has been planted, the scheduling of activities is based on the maturation of the plant rather than on a calendrical sequence. The scheduling of activities in corn production is shown in Table 6. The starges of growth in the corn plant and the activities related to them are listed in Table 7.

Cultivation is performed twice, to kill the weeds and to pile up earth at

4. The botanist Anderson (quoted in Lévi-Strauss 1966:73) points out that the careful separation of seed planted in each plot distinguished Indian from non-Indian agriculturalists in other Middle American communities.

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Guarding the crops. The crops must be guarded against intruders. The farmers sometimes sleep in the fields when they expect animals to steal the ripening corn. They observe the habits of these intruders and develop belief systems which help them organize opposition:

The raccoon steals maize seeds. He pushes down cornstalks when they are in elote and steals the cob. He is very smart. He can tell whether the owner is sleeping or not by putting his hand on his own anus. If his anus is cold, the owner is awake; if it is hot the owner is asleep and he enters.

Some men who live below in Alannantik have good dogs. They planted their milpa, and the next night wanted to hunt. "You stay with one dog,"

TABLE 9. Schedule of Activities in Bean Production

Activity	*Date*	*No. of days necessary for task*	*Helpers*	*Tools*
Cleaning and preparation of soil is same as for corn (Table 6)				
Ground beans				
Plant between rows of corn	Mar. 1	2	3 exchange workers	Digging stick
Cultivate	Apr. 19	3	2 exchange workers	Hoe
Harvest, pulling up entire plants and putting them in burlap bags	July 10	2		
Store in eaves of house				Burlap bags
When pods are very dry, beat bag with stick to depod beans	Sept. 1	2	women of household	Stick
Pole beans				
Plant, following the second hoeing of corn, setting seeds near each hillock of corn	May 2	1		Digging stick
Wind the vines up on corn stalk; tie	June	1		
Cut pods and store in burlap bags in eaves of house	Nov.	1		Burlap bags
Shell beans as they are used				

SOURCE: Same as for Table 6.

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241 825 *they said to me, "while we go over with the other two." I fell asleep. Then the raccoon entered. And so I believe the raccoon is very bright.*

Also there is the wild pig, who is less bright than the raccoon.

Another "thief" of the milpa is a small black insect which eats beans. These are eliminated in the following way:

[291] *When we plant beans, the women go with us wearing a new skirt and a new shawl. They walk near the plants, waving the shawl. The animals die. It has to be a new skirt. My mother proved it. She went with an old skirt, and she saw that they did not die. They just fled to the mountain out of shame. It is the smell of the old skirt that scared them away.*

241 825 782 788 If many animals are eating the crops, Indians buy three twenty-cent candles. They take them to the fields and light them, praying in Tzeltal: "God, holy world, please look at me and speak to the little animals. God, holy rock, holy forest, please look at me, hear me, speak to the animals."

The candles are media through which communication is made with the gods as well as gifts which seal the contract with the gods ensuring their protection and guardianship over the crops.

241 786 784 Guarding the crops also involves avoidance of certain kinds of behavior by the farmer and his wife. Farmers must always avoid irritating the spirits of the heaven who control the elements which make the growth of the crop possible. One informant explained:

One should not have sexual relations with anyone in the milpa because the Father Sun [Tatik K'ak'al] *gets angry or "ends his heart." He will not give crops. He gets very hot. One time, many women in town were looking for lovers. They would have sexual relations with boys in the daytime. The Father Sun got angry and caused the crops to burn. There was very little corn. The price went up to twenty cents a liter. People bought bread and mixed it with the nixtamal.*

It is different if a man is married to a woman in the church. The Tatik K'ak'al does not get angry. The Tatik K'ak'al does not have a woman of his own, and so he gets jealous if he sees people having sexual relations in the milpa in the daytime.

But if you have relations at night with a man in the milpa, Our grand-

mother the Moon gets angry. This might cause an eclipse of the moon, and the crops will suffer because there will be no sun. 241 776 784

There is no prohibition, however, against having sexual relations prior to planting or at other crucial stages, as there are for other Maya Indians (Wagley 1941:34). [171]

During the growing season, candles are lit in the milpa as protection against wind as well as robbers, who "lose their luck" when this is done. 241 788

The spirits' care of the crops. The crops have souls, given by the spirits, which will be lost if they are not cared for. The spirits "watch over the crops as parents watch over their children." The term for seed (*yal*) is a metaphorical extension of the term for "child of a woman." 241 774 776

The following myths give different, occasionally contradictory versions of the origin of crops. This central truth emerges in all of them: The spirits have given us our crops and will continue to do so as long as we offer thanks in the form of ceremonies and gifts to them. [782]

Santo Tomás [*the patron saint of Oxchuk*] *had intercourse with Santa Lucía. She wanted* [asked for] *the soul of corn, and he gave her the seed of corn. Then there came forth beans, corn, and wheat. But then all the saints of San Bartolo and San Miguel* [*neighboring towns*] *asked for the soul of corn. Then the soul of beans left us and went to hot country. Now it does not grow well in the pueblo. Also, the avocado has gone to Comitán. The matasano and ground beans went to Oxchuk when Santa Lucía fought with Santo Tomás.* [539]

The myth of the origin of crops overlays an older myth which has parallels in other groups of Maya-speaking Indians (Castro 1965, Wagley 1941:20). 773 241 171

Formerly, during a famine, there was hunger. The tzisim, *an insect of Ariola, came to take the corn from underground. Thus the ancestors got their first seed. For this reason, people say that corn was born underground, brought up by the tzisim. But I believe God sent us corn.* [539]

Another version has synthesized the role of the saints and that of the animal agent. 241 776 825 539

241 776 825 539 *The ant* [alielo] *brings corn out of the house. They say that a saint passed on horseback. The ant came to the saint, bringing a grain of corn. He stood before the saint, and the saint said, "Where are you going with the corn?" The ant replied, "To the storeroom." The saint inquired, "Which one?" The ant went to show the saint a stone as large as a church into which he entered to take out corn. There was white, yellow, and red corn.*

The saint returned to heaven and spoke to San Bartolo. San Bartolo asked, "Where is it?" The saint replied, "I will show you."

San Bartolo went with Santo Tomás to see the stone. Santo Tomás said, "Good, let us figure out how to destroy this stone." San Bartolo said, "Let us go talk to a carpenter." At this moment, a carpenter came. They asked him to cut the stone. "Good," said the carpenter, "I will do it."

But the carpenter could not open the stone. They went to another carpenter—there were three in this mountain. The first couldn't, nor could the second. The third carpenter said, "Let us talk to the tunselek [*woodpecker*]. *He is a good carpenter."*

The first two birds had broken their beaks, and the saints warned the woodpecker that he should be careful or he would fail with the stone. The woodpecker broke open the stone, and all the corn seed—yellow, red, and white—fell out. People should not kill these birds because they broke open the rock where the seeds were kept.

241 776 The necessity for showing respect to crops because of their relationship to the saints is expressed in the following account:

[539] *Corn must be treated with respect, since it is the body of the Virgin. You cannot step on anything which is for eating—beans, corn, or wheat—or the Virgin will become angry. Particular care has to be taken at the harvest to avoid offending the saints.*

Some of the saints serve man by helping to spread the cultivation of crops, as in the case of San Isidro, the patron saint of milpas.

[539] *The Padre told us that San Isidro helps the farmers. Formerly there was only milpa here where there is irrigated land. San Isidro went up to the*

hilltop with a digging stick. He knelt and prayed, asking for rain. At that very moment, the rain came. He put the seeds in the holes he made, and from then on people have been planting in the hills.

Other saints are charged with providing rainfall. The saint of greatest importance in this respect is Santo Tomás, the patron saint of Oxchuk. Some Indians have gone to the church there to light a candle and ask for rain, and on their return the rains came. During an extended drought in August 1967, over one hundred people walked to Oxchuk to pray for rain. The people of Tzoʔontahal are somewhat bitter about the Oxchuqueños' neglect of Santo Tomás since over half of the town has converted to Protestantism. Whenever there is a drought, they blame it on the failure of the people of Oxchuk to take care of Santo Tomás.

In addition to the Catholic saints, the ancestor spirits help man to watch over the land. They are responsible for giving the rains in the planting period and early growing season. The fiesta on the Day of the Cross (Chapter 1) is primarily a plea for rain. Until the 1950s, the curers would hold a celebration at the Cave of the Ancestors to ask for rain during a drought. The waning belief in the presence of the ancestor spirits in the town has meant that there is less attention given to such fiestas. Some go to seek the ancestors in Chiapa de Corzo in the cave in which they are supposed to reside, as the following story illustrates:

One time my three brothers-in-law went to Chiapas to ask the ancestors for better crops. When they arrived there, nobody knew where the cave was. They said only a certain mayordomo there could find it.

Another time, two of the prayer-reciters went to the cave. They talked to the guard of the cave, saying, "May we speak to our ancestors?" The guard said, "Are you prepared? Did you bring two liters of trago? The ancestors like to drink."

The prayer-reciters went to get two liters of trago and all three drank it. While they were drinking, they saw a cow and chickens appear. The guardian said that if they came back in May with "food" for the ancestors —candles, incense, and firecrackers—they would get rich crops. I think the prayer-reciters succeeded because now they have a cow and chickens and a horse. They are afraid of the envy of their neighbors.

628 People with lands in hot country recount that during droughts the In-
796 dians from the neighboring town of Chamula have held rainmaking fies-
782 tas for which they solicit contributions from other Indians.

821 *The Chamulteco came to us and said, "Let all of us who have milpas*
731 *contribute five pesos for a fiesta." He brought the candles. In the little hill there the people brought drums and flute. We ate chickens and drank liquor. For eleven hours he prayed, and in the afternoon it rained.*

628 The *kuriketik*, rural inhabitants of the colonia of San Vicente who
241 migrated to Amatenango from Chanal, have no irrigated lands and de-
789 pend directly on rainfall throughout the growing season. Indians of the center know of their practice of sticking their digging sticks into the ground with the points toward the sky "to puncture the clouds" when they have planted their milpa, but they do not imitate this practice. Control over the supply of water in the irrigated lands has apparently led to the neglect of supernatural appeals even where the canals do not supply water. Under pressure of extended drought, they will resort to spiritual intercession through Chamula or Oxchuk practitioners in whom they have some faith.

241 Acquiring the protection of the gods does not obviate the practical activ-
796 ities necessary in the cultivation of crops. Fiestas for the saints are a repay-
782 ment for services rendered in watching over the milpa. The sponsorship of
796 fiestas for the saints by the community ensures the protection for all of the crops, and general crop failure due to drought or high winds is explained as a result of mismanagement of these community-wide fiestas. The offering of candles to the spiritual owner of one's own milpa is a kind of individual insurance policy for future crops as well as a repayment for the gift of the corn harvest. The peasant notion of surplus value is implicit in this reciprocal relation: the payment, or gift, of two candles to the milpa spirit is far less than the value of the harvest. But the account is balanced by the expenditure of this surplus in communal fiestas.

Pottery Production

323
178 Making pottery has been a speciality of the town since pre-Conquest
172 days. The old site of the town contains sherds of pottery which is remarkably similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now.

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there is no other woman in the house. (c) Number of men in the family. If there are productively employed men, women of the household tend to make less pottery, since they are busy cooking and washing and have their basic subsistence needs supplied. Pottery is then produced to supply cash for fiestas only. Widows make a great deal of pottery since they must either hire men to work in the milpa or buy corn.

2. Wealth of the family: Relatively wealthy families make almost no pottery. In other cases, the scheduling of production is related to consumption needs. Figure 2 charts the pottery production by type of item produced for a family which included two unmarried women, their mother, father, and grandmother. The peaks in production occur just before the major fiestas when the family wants additional money to buy meat, fruits, and clothing. Although this family produced more pottery than the majority of households because of the presence of four women, its production typifies the high periods of activity relating to the fiestas. Production is also related to the seasonal changes: during the rainy season (from June to October) many households curtail production, except to earn money for the fiesta of Santiago (July 25), because of the difficulty of firing without closed kilns.

Variation in production means that an overall estimate of income from pottery cannot be made. It ranges from none to nearly 90 percent of family income in the case of widows without land or male helpers. I would guess that an average family might earn 200 pesos a year, about 10 to 15 percent of the money value of crops. One family of two widows and five children who work constantly throughout the year averages an income of about 600 pesos, or about one-half what an agriculturist can make on one-half hectare of land.

The Motivation to Produce

The motivation to work is tied directly to consumption needs of the household. Failure to meet expenditures with income from agriculture and pottery is met by men hiring out as agricultural workers or as laborers in the sawmill. This alternative is chosen over that of increasing the size

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434 of the farm by renting additional land, as European peasants typically
464 did,[5] since there is very little land available for rent and the returns are
427 not immediate. Farmers will try to avoid this by acquiring land grants to
241 increase subsistence agriculture.

125 Expenditures and earnings were studied in six families over varying pe-
434 riods of time from ten days to one year. The data are summarized below.

434 Family No. 1, consisting of a husband, his wife, and their married
592 daughter separated from her husband and child, is able to meet all of their
[241] need for corn and brown sugar and most of their need for beans by the crops they raise on one-half hectare of ejido land in hot country, one-half hectare of ejido land in the township, and three-quarters hectare of privately owned, irrigated land in the township. On their irrigated land, they grow one-half hectare of wheat and one-quarter hectare of corn. In hot country they grow corn, beans, and sugar cane on the margins of the field. The cane is ground in a cooperatively owned mill, and their crop in 1965 produced 144 *tapas,* or measures of one kilogram worth 5 pesos. In addition to 200 pesos earned for the wheat crop, 100 pesos for the bean crop, 298 pesos for corn, this farmer earned 808 pesos for outside work. His high
[464] wage income is due to his working for an American at twice the usual
[465] daily pay. The farmer buys coffee by the twenty-five-pound bag costing 62
[435] pesos in hot country, a saving of about one-half the retail price of coffee in the town, where it is sold at 5 or 7 pesos at pound. In twelve months of recorded expenditures, the family spent 609.50 pesos or 83 percent of their budget on food, 40 pesos or 5 percent of their budget on clothing and 82 pesos or 11 percent of their budget on medicine.

The high expenditures in the case of family No. 2, consisting of a man,
[583] his wife, and two mature sons, was due to the fact that one of the boys was carrying on a betrothal suit. The bride-price had been fixed at 500 pesos, toward which the family was contributing whatever excess of income over
[464] expenditures it had. The son who was seeking a wife worked fifty-six days
[465] in the sawmill at a wage of 15 pesos per day during the six-month period recorded, earning 255 pesos. In addition, he and his brother earned 160 pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village.

5. Chayanov (1966:7) demonstrated that Russian peasant families expanded the size of their farms when the subjective needs of the family increased, not as a response to market prices for crops or rents.

pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village. The expenditures of this family on meat, brown sugar, and liquor were required for the house celebrations carried out almost every Sunday. Like family No. 1 they spent 83 percent of their budget on food, a total of 714.80 pesos, and a larger percentage on clothing, 138 pesos. They sold their surplus corn for 292 pesos and their beans for 247 pesos. These crops were produced on one hectare of privately owned, irrigated land, one hectare of privately owned, non-irrigated land and one hectare of ejido land.

Family No. 3 consists of a widow and her widowed daughter-in-law who had five children. The oldest son, aged sixteen, worked their one-half hectare of ejido land and one-half hectare of irrigated land with some hired help during harvest. During the three weeks recorded, there were no returns from their crops, which include wheat and corn, and the family relied entirely on returns from pottery. This household produces more pottery than any of the others recorded, earning 61 pesos in the three weeks, because there are no adult male producers. They spent 63 percent of their budget on food, a total of 42 pesos, and 34 percent or 23 pesos on clothing.

Family No. 4 consists of a married couple with three children seven years of age and under. The husband works occasionally in the sawmill, but since he drinks a great deal, he does not contribute much of his 70-peso weekly wage to the family. He grows wheat on one-half hectare of irrigated land and corn on one-half hectare of ejido land. In the ten days recorded, no money was gained on harvest, but the woman earned 19 pesos from pottery. The family spent 77 percent, or 17.20 pesos of their budget on food and another 22 percent, or 5 pesos such as soap, kerosene, etc.

Family No. 5 consists of a married couple, their married son and daughter-in-law, and three grandchildren. They own one and one-half hectare of irrigated land, on which they grow wheat and corn, and one-half hectare of ejido land. The husband and his son supplement their earning from farming by distilling liquor, earning 108 pesos in the ten days recorded. In addition, the women of the household earned 54 pesos from pottery they made. They spent 143 pesos, or 97 percent of their budget on food and 3 pesos, or 2 percent of their budget, on clothing.

Family No. 6 consists of a young couple with two children. The husband owns one-half hectare of irrigated land, and one-half hectare of non-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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434 592 irrigated land in addition to their one-half hectare of ejido land. He supplements his income with work in the sawmill for some periods of the year, at a wage of 90 pesos a week, making a total of 165 pesos in the ten days recorded. The family spent 81 percent or 36 pesos of the budget on food, 13 percent or 6 pesos on clothing 2.3 percent or 1 peso on household supplies, and 3 percent or 1.20 pesos on medicines.

[241] [423] [464]

434 592 241 262 These family budgets show that most of the corn and beans can be supplied by subsistence agriculture. Garden crops of chile, chayote (a green vegetable which produces a fruit and an edible root), and fruit trees, including lime and anone, are raised in the house yard. Tomatoes, fruit, and cabbages are bought in neighboring market towns.

434 592 171 In comparison with household consumption expenditures in the United States and other foreign countries, these budgets show a much higher proportion of cash income spent on food. The percentages of food expenditures range from 63.2 to 97.0 in the families studied, whereas in the United States the average percentage is only 26.3, in Argentina 59.2, and in Zambia 66.5 (Conference Board Economic Almanac 1967). This reflects the fact that the people of Tzoʾontahal have no expenses for house rental, that wood for fuel and light is available in communally owned forests, and that most of the household utensils such as jars, jugs, and bowls, are locally produced. However, failure to report items must also be noted—no one reported purchasing matches although everyone uses them, and only half of the families reported use of soap, although this is universally purchased.

[125]

433 241 A gross estimate of the land necessary to fulfill consumption needs of corn for a family of two adults and four children would be approximately one and a half to two hectares. The yearly average consumption of corn for such a family is about 2,000 kilograms. One hectare produces from 1,200 to 2,000 kilograms in addition to 80 kilograms of beans. Of the 299 families whose land ownership is given in Table 5, 142 have only one hectare of ejido land and 85 more have only one-half additional hectare of privately owned land. This means that 227 households, or 61 percent do not have enough land to meet their subsistence needs. 160 household heads

423 433

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have recently sought additional lands in the ejido of Brindis to meet these minimal requirements. This preference for expanding subsistence agriculture to hiring out as laborers is the best index to the persistence of traditional economic pursuits. 423 433 178 241 464

Farmers who do not have a cash crop in wheat may be forced to sell corn even when there is no surplus. Because they usually need the cash as soon as they harvest their crop, they must sell when the prices are low. Thus their consumption needs exacerbate the disadvantage they face in the market. 434 435

Clothing, whether traditional or modern in style, requires cash outlays. Women have kept the traditional costume while men are modifying their clothing. Even when they go to hot country, older women wear the heavy cotton skirt bound with a thick sash and topped by an embroidered blouse; some younger women have adopted the long cotton dirndl skirt and peasant blouse. A white cotton shawl is added for ceremonial events or for warmth in the evening. All of their clothing is either bought or made of materials woven on looms in Comitán or San Bartolomé. The navy blue skirt, which they say is black, and the red and yellow sash are sold for 40 to 50 pesos by Ladina vendors who come to town. The blouse is made from two meters of heavy white cotton sold in the local stores or in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. Most prefer the more expensive cotton woven on bed looms in San Bartolomé, but it is not always available. They embroider the wide bands of yellow and red around the neckline with embroidery floss sold in the local store. The fringed shawl from Comitán is also sold locally, but is often purchased during the annual fiestas in the town. These items are replaced every two or three years, depending on the wealth of the family. The newer clothing is worn on ceremonial occasions, and the older clothing is worn every day. Women wear sandals and hats for protection only when they are firing pottery. For jewelry they wear bead necklaces, sometimes with crosses attached. Their hair is braided with ribbons for fiestas, or simply left hanging when they work. 434 291 178 [439] [435] [294] [292] [751] [301] [302]

Men buy a woolen jacket called *kotonču,* which is brought illegally from the Department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala, where it is made, 434 291 439

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[153] I can get one then. Last year I bought a transistor radio for nine hundred and ninety pesos. My wife said she would leave me if I got it because all the children would get sick. But I got it anyway and no one was sick. I am stronger than my enemies."

Innovation on the consumption level is adding a stimulus to innovation in economic activities. The successful innovator must invent a rationale for his improved standards of living and then prove that he can survive the possible evil consequences of envy. The process of adoption is one of a shift in the incidence of choices made in the direction of improving levels of living. The new is often incorporated with the old rather than replacing it. For example, after the rough preparation has been done with the mill, [252] grinding stones are used for the final grinding of corn to get the dough [415] into the preferred consistency for making tortillas. Tin plates are used along with crockery and gourds. Some items are linked in change: for ex- [291] ample, tailored pants are worn only with buttoned shirts and belts and [096] with zippered jackets. The old forms are continued in a ceremonial con- [415] text: kotonču is preferred when a man undertakes an official role, and gourds are preferred to any other container for ceremonial foods. The technology of production lags behind the changes in consumption that have increased the need for greater income—agricultural tools have not been modified since the colonial period when the wooden plow, metal hoe, machete, and plow used with draft animals were added. Changes in consumption needs rather than in productive technology are expanding the economic horizons of the Indians.

Choices and Strategies in Agricultural Production

241 In agricultural and pottery production, decision-making concerning the use of land and labor resources is controlled not only by a traditional technology but more importantly by a given state of cognitive orientations that determines, in Goodenough's words (1966:54), "what states of affairs they have learned to discern, what they believe to be the relations between them, and what they understand to be the processes by which one state can be transformed into another." Agriculturalists have a fine perception

of what seeds grow best in which soils. Good, fast-growing seed is not 241 sowed indiscriminately but is limited to use on more fertile irrigated 242 lands. The size of a family's holdings is the primary factor in deciding what proportion of the three major crops—corn, beans, and wheat—they [423] will grow. Where they grow each of these crops depends upon the quality of the soil categorized by topological criteria, consistency, color, and proved fertility. Decline in productivity is attributed to wearing out of soil fertility because of overuse as well as to loss of the soul of crops. The first explanation leads to adaptive behavior, in which the land is "rested" or turned over to cattle grazing, and to crop rotation, alternating wheat and corn crops. The second explanation leads to adjustive behavior in which the agriculturalist takes care of ceremonial obligations to the saints and to the "owner of the milpa."

The scheduling of activities is determined by the knowledge of time re- 241 quired for maturing of the crop and by expectations concerning seasonal fluctuations as they affect rainfall. Although the farmers have some control over water supply through irrigation, dependence on rainfall for the non- [182] irrigated fields means that sporadic appeals to the ancestors or saints are [176] made to ensure rain in the growing period. These rituals are not as inte- [169] grated in the agricultural production cycle as they are in the neighboring [171] towns of Chamula and Oxchuk or in the colonia of San Vicente where irrigation facilities are lacking.

Traditional techniques of pottery production are maintained by a tightly 323 organized schema of procedures which allows for little variation in technique or form. Learning of productive techniques is facilitated by a fine segmentation of tasks. Knowledge of local clays and tempering has been stabilized for at least five hundred years of occupation in this area. Women's work is entirely lacking in rituals to ensure the success of their efforts.

These given sets of cognitive orientations in economic activities do not 241 exclude the possibility of considering new ways or means of doing things. 177 Agriculturalists have tried the new seed introduced by agronomists, but 178 have found them wanting in their resistance to mold, in the case of corn, and in their portability, in the case of wheat. Fertilizers have been tried, but the credit costs proved too high for the agriculturalists to continue. Women were willing to try a kiln in place of open firing, but either the 177 model introduced was faulty or they were not 323 taught to use it properly.

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model introduced was faulty or they were not taught to use it properly. Notions about the supernatural relation between souls of crops, man, and the saints do not interfere with experimentation or adaptation at the instrumental level. Obligations with respect to them are carried on as a supplement to other practical measures.

The organization of men's work in agriculture contrasts with that of women's work in pottery. Men's work, when performed cooperatively by two or more of an extended household or exchange labor team, is mechanically organized, in Durkheim's terminology. Each of the men does the same task, working closely in the rows of the milpa. Women's work groups are organically organized since segmentation of the pottery production in the stages described above makes possible specialization within a domestic production group including two or more women. Preferences and special abilities can be taken into account. The potters with more experience do the jobs which require more judgement and skill, such as mixing the clay or making the bases, and then the work is passed on to less proficient workers. Or an older woman can leave the more strenuous tasks, such as mixing clay or building up the sides of the larger pots, to younger women and perform the lighter tasks, such as putting on the neck and handles.

These differences in the organization of male and female work tasks suggest the need for a reformulation of the classification of whole societies as organically or mechanically integrated. In assessing the potential for change, internal variations in the organization of production might provide the clues for implementing development programs.

The division of labor according to sex is nearly absolute: women do not learn to work in the milpa nor do men learn to make pottery or perform household tasks. However, women will gather firewood, and men will transport clay (although they do not collect the clay deposits in balls) and help in firing pottery. Women can live without men in the household economy of the town, but men cannot live without women. This is because male labor is a market commodity while female labor in household activities is not. A widow can hire a man to work her fields, but a man cannot hire a cook. If he is widowed, he must remarry, move into his

highly stratified primitive society, which remains static: it lacks the 423
flexibility and mobility that exists in modern societies.

The history of the ejido program in Tzo'ontahal in the first few years 175
after it was organized in 1937 seemed to confirm this conclusion. Its 423
immediate effect was to block the flow of labor and goods in the regional 182
and national markets. The ejidatarios were no longer forced to sell their 464
labor at the prevailing rate of 25 cents a day, a wage which was not [465]
enough to supply the needs of even one man much less those of a household. Children and women formerly had to work with their husbands in the coffee fincas in order to meet their most immediate consumption needs. The independence that the ejido tract gave meant that men could withhold their own labor and that of the subordinate members of the family from such exploitation. The second harvests coming from the ejido [241]
plots in low country freed the Indians from having to buy corn in July, [435]
August, and September at the inflated market prices which took advantage of the scarcity of this basic necessity.

The political effect of the ejido in the early days was to fortify the corpo- 175
rate community against the shocks of the outside world. The first lands ac- 423
quired were primarily allotments of corporate lands alienated by the laws 621
of 1856 and 1876. Populations remained in situ, whether they were foreign Indians working on the expropriated estates, or residential communities created in the sixteenth century as crown towns.

The township of Amatenango acquired its first ejido land grant in 1937.
One of the early promoters of the ejido, a *revestido* Indian (one who has [177]
adopted western clothing) from Huistán who had been a laborer on one of the fincas within the township limits, threatened to become a rural *cacique*, or local boss, comparable to those who emerged from the agrarian revolt in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962a). This leader was elected president, but during his term of office he was expelled because of his attempt to secure house plots in the center for himself and other Huistecan Indians residing in the barrio of Yetawitz (Chapter 9).

The stabilizing effects of the ejido in its earlier phase have been upset in 423
recent years. As the population of the center expanded, new families mi- 621
grated to the nearby barrios contiguous to the town center. These new set- 166

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The action of the Ejido Commission of the town reveals the knowledge of how to manipulate political and economic power. By sending the 200-peso bribe, they were able to block the independence movement before the leadership had arrived. The extreme tactics used by the independence leaders in killing their opponents approximates the kind of political homicide characteristic of the central plateau (Friedrich 1962). The Indians of the center have been able to maintain their ejido grants intact. However, the political discrimination against residents of both colonias and barrios—no resident of either (except for the Huistecan mentioned above) has been elected president, and they never serve in any post higher than that of assistant judge—will undoubtedly lead to further unrest as the populations expand.

Bureaucratic inefficiency and corruption minimize the potential effectiveness of the ejido organization at local, state, and national levels. Projects undertaken by the national government lose their effectiveness when they are promoted by fraudulent claims, taking advantage of the presumed illiteracy and ignorance of the peasantry. The following case illustrates both the tactics of the ejido agents and the countertactics of the local Indians, resulting in a stalemate in the development projects planned and projected at the national level.

In August, two years ago, the Ejido Bank agents came to town with an offer to lend money on crops. We didn't want to borrow it, but Francisco, carbrón! [*then president of the town*], *said we should do it. "Good," we said. We accepted their terms. They said, "We will give fertilizer. It won't cost you a cent. We have tried it. It will give a good crop. We will give you money every six months, and you will pay the interest of nine percent. We will pay for all the costs. It won't cost you anything for the fertilizer."*

In six months, when the bank agents came to get the interest, they charged us six hundred pesos for the fertilizer. We did not want to receive the second load of fertilizer. We presented our case to the Jefe *and told him, "Why did you say it would not cost anything?" He replied, "No,* muchacho [*boy*], *I told you* [*using the familiar form* te dije] *that the fertilizer is going to cost."*

We used seven bags of fertilizer on each hectare for which they charged

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us 65 pesos per bag. It was the first time we had used it and we had very good crops. We got together and decided not to pay for the fertilizer. We called the bank agents and requested that we be relieved of the charge because the crops had failed. We showed him a milpa which is a low plot that is too wet for a good crop. We just throw the seed there, but don't work on it because it isn't worth the trouble.

We went to a lawyer in Tuxtla. He told us the bank would have to pay for the fertilizer since they had promised it. The lawyer is the helper of the campesinos [*poor farmers*].

Several points of significance can be noted in this case: (1) the Indians are reluctant to take credit risks because of unfortunate experiences in the past; (2) they react to deception with their own deceptions, showing the engineer the land which had not only not been fertilized but had never been weeded or cared for; and (3) they seek professional legal aid in dealing with government agents in order to equalize the contest in which they feel disadvantaged. These first two behavioral syndromes are culturally conditioned responses; the third represents an innovation. By seeking professional aid for which they pay a fee, the Indians are breaking the monopoly of power held by the caciques to whom they were formerly bound in a network of personal obligations incurred in such transactions.

Recent colonization of national lands since the 1950s has introduced a new kind of ejido settlement. Since most of the lands contiguous to settled towns were absorbed in the early days of the ejido grant, movement has been into lands outside the domain of established centers. This spontaneous colonization of unexploited land has followed the penetration of new highways in Quintana Roo, Campeche, Chiapas, Tabasco, and Vera Cruz (de la Peña 1951:348). In defense of their rights to the new lands, the colonists, often of diverse origins, develop a political consciousness. Mestizos and Indians of different towns work together in securing official ejido status for their lands. Acculturation to the national language and ways of life is much greater in these mixed centers than in the settled populations that were part of the original ejido tracts. Consciousness of their rights under national law and independence from traditional loyalties means that these new settlements may be the basis for welding Indians into the na-

323
178 coming from the smaller towns to buy. The Indians still bring pottery to
442 sell retail in towns that they visit during a fiesta. One of these is the barrio
443 of Lok'ibal in the município of Villa Carranza, where people go on the third Friday of Lent to get holy water from the spring.

The Indians have not taken advantage of the truck to buy pottery wholesale and market it directly in the smaller towns, selling from the truck in the plaza as some of the wholesale fruit truckers do. Another operation which they have failed to profit from is buying the wheat harvest and selling to government warehouses, as some of the Ladino truckers do.

44 Lack of capital is the major reason for failure to exploit these opportuni-
471 ties. In marketing the contraband liquor, which is the most flourishing of
273 the new enterprises, the Indians have not yet entered into the external
443 markets except in the case of one young unmarried mother. Wholesale
434 purchases are made by Ladinos, primarily women, from other towns who resell the liquor in Comitán and on the coast. There is however, a well-de-
[675] veloped home market since all contracts are sealed with the offering of liq-
[681] uor, the "gift of the gods," all court fines are paid in liquor, and the main
[583] gift in betrothal is liquor. The cantinas with phonograph players opened
[275] by the cooperatives operate very successfully on Saturday night and during
[216] fiestas. The internal market for liquor is controlled by a syndicate of the
[548] forty-two independent liquor distillers. The price is set at 4 pesos per liter
[435] for all buyers, with the buyer providing the bottle.

Agricultural production is not geared to a market, and Indians do not
241 take advantage of fluctuations in price. Wheat yields a lower return per
442 unit of land than corn, but it is grown for two reasons: the Indians believe
443 that crop rotation of corn and wheat prevents depletion of the soil, and wheat requires less work since no cultivation is needed. Wheat is a cash crop and none of it is milled or consumed directly in town. Poor families sell their wheat "standing" to Teopisca truckers. The price given the
[435] grower is usually about 90 pesos per hundred kilograms, and it is resold at 110 or 120 pesos in Tuxtla or to the government storehouses. Wheat is sometimes brought directly to San Cristóbal millers who give 120 per hundred kilograms. Corn is primarily a subsistence crop when grown in the center. Corn grown in hot country ejido land is now sold in Teopisca and
[489] San Cristóbal. The local truck cooperative has a special permit which gives

members entry to the ejido colony, an area where traffic was formerly excluded because of the monopoly by the large trucking companies. Both the fruit and root of chayote are sold in August by some families who have a supply over consumption needs. It is brought along with pottery to the market of San Cristóbal where it is sold to *regatones*, retail sellers who have stalls.

Decisions as to what crops to plant are not responsive to market fluctuation. With the major emphasis on subsistence crops, the farmers have little margin of land on which to experiment with profitable but risky ventures. They have little knowledge or experience. There are no full-time specialists in market operations, although the truck drivers may gradually assume a greater role in this respect.

Very few Indians of the region, and none of those in Tzoʔontahal sell corn to the National Warehouses (Almacenes Nacionales de Deposito), although the warehouses offer prices higher than the going market price for corn. (940 pesos per ton in comparison to 500 to 600 pesos at harvest or 800 pesos offered a few months later by wholesalers who come to town). The reason for their failure to take advantage of the higher market price is that they do not have sufficiently large crops to pay the transportation costs of 28.75 pesos or the "tip" to ensure that their crops will not be declared substandard because of impurities, rotten kernels, insects, or excessive water content. In addition to that, they must spend time at the warehouses and in traveling. The alternative to the sale of crops to national warehouses is sale to wholesalers.

Dealing with external agencies. Entering into competitive areas where they were formerly excluded, the Indians are encountering opposition from competitors and are the prey of departmental and state government agents. The reduplication of bureaucracies at the state and departmental level means that they will be subject to the double "bite" or *mordida* if they pursue their enterprises. Operating on minimal capital, they are not able to fulfill all the requirements, or buy all the necessary permits and licenses. Because of monopolization of certain traffic by the larger syndicates of truck owners, they proceed without permits and are often caught.

868 857 the larger ones their mothers make, but their products are usually not [323] commercially saleable until they reach the age of marriage. Their responsi- [312] bility in preadolescence is to bring water from the faucets installed in every other block of the town, and to degrain corn, tend the fire as the *nixtamal,* or corn dough mixed with lime, cooks, and help their mother grind it. The careful assessment of the child's capacity to perform tasks is exemplified by the gradations of water-carrying jars given to each child: the older the child, the larger the jar, with minute variations in scale. The [592] close, usually wordless cooperation between women in a household comes [462] from years of working together and knowing their part in cooperative tasks.

Boys accompany their fathers to the fields after they reach the age of six and when they are not attending school. They do not participate in the work of the milpa until they are eight or older, but they pick up twigs for the fire or gather the wild berries or plants which supplement the diet of [411] the family. They usually carry slingshots with which they kill field rats [262] and birds, which they bring home to cook and eat. Teaching a boy the 868 tasks involved in agriculture is consciously undertaken by older brothers 241 or the father when the child reaches the age of twelve or thirteen. The following reminiscence of this training is given by a man who had been brought up by his widowed mother and brother.

159 *I went to the field with my brother who is eighteen years older than I,*
868 *when I was thirteen years old. My brother brought me to clean the milpa,*
241 *saying, "Let us go and you will learn how to work. See what I do and you do the same. You will learn what I do and you can do the same."*

One day I finished six rows. My brother said when he saw my work, "Good, just give a little more soil at the foot of the corn because the little corn must have a little soil. Now you do it well." "Yes," I said. He saw it was good, and he told me, "You have learned your work. You are going to forget it when you enter school. When you come out of school, go do two or three rows of work. When you hear the bell strike, go back to school."

He told my mother that I had learned to work, and she said, "Good you know how to cultivate." I learned to do my work better by going along with my elder brother in his work so that I would not forget.

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602 Kinship is one of several bases for recruiting reciprocal or cooperative
476 labor. Table 19 compares kinship with nonkinship-defined work groups
626 in terms of the kinds of exchanges, the type of work done, the time span permitted for reciprocity, and the sanctions against failure to reciprocate.

TABLE 19. Labor Exchanges of Kinship- and Nonkinship-Defined Groups

Conditions	*Within household*	*Beyond household, within community*	
		With kin (ritual, compadre, affinal and consanguineal)	*With nonkin*
Interchange	"Cooperation"—reciprocity based on implicit understandings	Reciprocity—explicit, defined by traditional expectations	Reciprocity—explicit, often defined by contract as well as tradition
Sanctions	Authority of elder member, male in men's work group, female in women's work group	Authority of elders of bilaterally-extended kin group; Recourse to cabildo if no strong elder	Informal—fear of gossip of neighbors; formal—reliance on local judges and president or recourse to district courts
Time Span	Extended, indefinite	Extended, usually some defined limit on repeated tasks (harvest); no limit for non-repeated tasks (house-building)	Immediate return expected, or explicitly stated time allowance
Kind of Task	Pottery-making, milpa agriculture, care of cattle, preparation of food	Ploughing, cultivating, harvesting, firing pottery, housebuilding	Same.

593 Fathers and sons, or sons-in-laws may work together on family-owned
476 property. Because all men can acquire ejido land after marriage, and since
423 47 percent of the households claim to have only this land, the cooperative
621 tie between fathers and sons is not based on inheritance. If they work well
[606] together, they may continue to cooperate after the son has become inde-
476 pendent. Father and sons, brothers and brothers-in-law are expected to
342 cooperate with each other in building a house, rethatching a roof, and
607 threshing wheat. In the case of house-building or maintenance, they must
593 pay for a substitute if they are unable to fulfill the obligation.
241

There is no double standard for ex-
593 tramarital sexual relations, although men abuse the prohibition more often
562 than women, judging from court cases. The ability the women has to as-
[839] sert herself rests on her economic contribution in pottery-making and on the fact that female household help is not part of the labor market.

562 Female sexuality has the connotation of negative power over male sexu-
831 ality. A woman should not step over a man's feet or his clothing since she
[829] could affect his virility. This negative power emanates from the odors of a
[825] woman's body, and is captured by anything in contact with it. A woman's
[755] skirt cast over the head of a bull can tame him, and the water used by a
[752] woman to wash her body, particularly the vagina if she has had children, is drunk to cure snake bites because it is very "cold."

[412] Sexuality is seldom extended beyond persons to material objects. There is some feeling that a man's tools, especially the machete and hoe, are male
[241] and that a woman's tools, especially the grinding stone, are female. Corn is a crop of men, while beans are a woman's crop, identified with the Virgin. But I could not get much farther with such distinctions.

593 The accidents of birth determine the recruitment of successive genera-
597 tions into the family of orientation. There is no outright adoption, but a
861 child may be "lent" to a childless couple, usually by a sibling of one of the
[603] spouses, or a grandchild may take up residence in the house of a grandparent when all the children have moved to separate residences. Parents discipline a badly behaved child with the threat, "I am going to sell you to care for someone's house," but I have never known of a case of outright sale of a child.

581 The selection of a spouse is a decision based on both universalistic as
582 well as particularistic considerations. Both the boy and the girl should be hardworking, sober, and dutiful residents of the same section of the dual division. It is considered to be of greater importance that the boy feel af-
[562] fection toward the girl than vice versa. The "taking of the heart" is a test of the strength and exclusiveness of the boy's interest in his chosen mate, and there is no counterpart for the girl. Although there is no term for romantic love, the closest approximation being "want" or "ask for" a woman, there is an awareness of the importance of a warm, affectionate basis if a marriage relationship is to last "at least until the day after tomorrow." A suitor is accepted if he is known to be a hard worker and if he

621 Familial role requirements must be fulfilled in order for public roles to be
593 undertaken. A man must be married in order to enter into even the lowest
581 posts in the civil and religious hierarchies.
794

794 Only in the case of the alfereces has wealth ever been a criterion for re-
556 cruitment. These four officials had to be able to spend 3,000 pesos during
434 their year in office. The heavy expenditures failed to give prestige to the
554 official, and the display of wealth excited envy rather than respect. The re-
sult was that people called upon to accept the post had to be imprisoned
before they would accept.

554 Recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on in-
756 nate qualities; special skills and knowledge are attributes acquired in office
or other role positions rather than requirements for undertaking roles.
Curers are recruited because they are recognized as having an animal
spirit; they learn whatever skills are required after they have been ini-
tiated into the profession. The curers' special position in the society rests
more on esoteric powers than on esoteric knowledge. Everyone in the com-
[218] munity knows the herbs and medicines which are prescribed, and most
men can give as comprehensive a taxonomy of illnesses as any practicing
curer.

868 Economic roles, though largely undifferentiated for each sex, are con-
241 sciously learned and transmitted. Boys accompany their fathers or elder
[859] brothers to the field at about the age of eight and continue working with
[883] them until they reach independence. Observation of behavior alone would
seem to indicate an unconscious absorption of the role of agricultural
worker, but informants recount episodes in which training in field work
was explicitly transmitted by their fathers or brothers, and formal ap-
proval of their ability to do the tasks announced to their mothers. Parents
[871] express fear that school attendance not only interferes with working in the
milpa, but that it will cause the child to forget what he has learned in the
field. Regardless of what other tasks a man performs, he thinks of himself
as a farmer.

868 Becoming a potter requires an even more explicit training procedure.
323 The fine linguistic segmentation of each act and movement in the sched-
ule of pottery-making is a clue to the explicit transmission of tasks by the

577 887 sion: "I pay respect to my elders. I greet my brothers and my children [extension of kinship terms]. To all I give respect. Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick."

577 [574] [196] [576] A good man is a generous host, expressed in the phrase, "he gives many tortillas." He serves his community in public office but avoids the appearance of seeking power or self-aggrandizement. When he gives orders, it is in a soft, low tone, supplicating rather than ordering with the phrase, "If you would please lend a hand." He gives thanks readily for any service rendered both to God and to his fellow man. He avoids any show of [578] anger, and is always careful to show consideration of others. Those who are of "another heart" or "two-hearted" are the opposite, seeking disputes, "thinking small," "being miserly," and of a "very black soul."

[754] The heightened awareness of the state of the heart of others comes from the ever-present fear of witchcraft. Since the people feel their survival depends upon perception of evil heart before it strikes, they develop an acute sense of the behavioral clues that indicate its presence.

829 183 [192] [828] *Conformity and deviance.* Conventional or preferred behavior is characterized as "reasonable." The phrase "ʔič' rason," to take reason or understanding, is applied to a child who is expected to have reason at the age of twelve years or so, as well as to the arrival at agreement of competing parties, as in the case of betrothal.

Reasonable behavior is any behavior conforming to socially accepted understandings of what the world is. These include what a person of non-Indian culture might characterize as beliefs based on faith. They "know" [776] that there are hill spirits, wood spirits who cut off people's heads, and men who transform themselves into animals. Occasionally they subject given 813 understandings to empirical tests: one woman tested the belief that a [241] woman could rid the milpa of insect pests only by walking through a [825] planted field wearing a new skirt; she walked through the field wearing a worn skirt and her belief was confirmed when she found that the insect pests were not killed but just fled and returned later. Empiricism is not lacking; the difference between the content of their category of what is rational or reasonable and ours is based on the premises, not the process of reasoning.

Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

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632 communal projects for the neighboring town as there had been formerly.
466 The peasant is master of his own time.

125 Tables 33 and 34 summarize the number of days and percentage of time
221 accorded to various activities for men of two households. The first family
512 consists of a man forty-three years of age and his wife. All of their own children died in infancy, and an adopted daughter recently left home to live with her husband and child in a new ejido plot. The second family consists of a man, his wife, two adult sons, and an unmarried daughter. In this family, the father of sixty-five is retired and his two sons perform all of the agricultural work. Table 34 includes only the activities of the sons.
125 The two schedules provide some contrasts:
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462
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1. The forty-three-year-old man has many more ceremonial obligations than the youths. This is a factor related to the life cycle in which men over thirty-five years of age are involved in more familial and community celebrations. During the year this schedule was taken, the man was serving as a mayordomo.

2. The older man has fewer productively employed days than the youths (only 54 percent of his time is spent in productive activities) in contrast to 76 percent and 79 percent for the youths). The difference is accounted for by wage employment the youths have undertaken. In order to pay for the cost of betrothal, the elder son worked 56 days (37 percent of the time accounted for) in a neighboring sawmill.

3. The youths were not involved in any exchange labor arrangements; until they become independent heads of households working their own fields, the men do not contract reciprocal exchanges.

221 The fact that men spend only 54 to 79 percent of their time (using these
461 tables to provide minimal and maximal limits) on productive activities
462 means that there is a great deal of flexibility in the use of time for ceremo-
796 nial responsibilities. Everyone takes an average of twenty days off for celebrating fiestas in addition to fifty-two Sundays.

241 The high proportion of time spent in family or communal ceremonials
461 suggests the high value placed on them. The preference for leisure to pur-
[796] sue these activities is proved in cases such as that in which the additional profit in cultivating cabbages was not sufficient to motivate one agricultur-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 316]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

241 461 ist to continue growing this labor-intensive crop (Chapter 2). The low propensity to consume, maintained by community-shared standards which inhibit the display of wealth, further reduces the incentives to expand production (Schultz 1964:27). The major reward for hard work is land which, in his middle years, the agriculturalist can turn over to be worked by his sons, thus relieving him of daily toil.

221 461 462 512

TABLE 34. Activity Schedule for September 1 to February 28 for Two Unmarried Youths

Activity	*Younger brother* *Days spent*	*Younger brother* *Percent of total time*	*Elder brother* *Days spent*	*Elder brother* *Percent of total time*
Agriculture		41		25
Preparing land				
Clearing land by cutting and burning brush	26		6	
Irrigating land	3		3	
Plowing land	1		1	
Planting	1		1	
Harvesting crop	11		7	
Doubling over stalks	4		4	
Working in hot country	16		16	
Collecting firewood	6	4	2	1
House maintenance		12		6
Plastering house walls	13		6	
Bringing lumber	2		2	
Making pigpen	3		2	
Pottery		1		1
Bringing clay	2		2	
Agricultural work for others		8		8
Harvesting and carrying corn	3		3	
Plowing	2		2	
Planting	6		7	
Nonagricultural work in sawmill	16	11	56	37
Religious activities		18		21
Attending fiestas	3		3	
Attending mass and relaxing on Sundays	25		28	
Sickness	8	5		
TOTAL	151	100	151	100

Chapter 13

Belief and Behavior in a Changing Society

Continuity is the theme stressed in the rules of the game that apply to living in the square world of the community. The framework of continuity is the landscape itself with the ancestral hills and devils' caves reminding people of the moral order of the past. Repetitive behavior in rituals symbolically projects the past into the future, and behavioral schema in pottery and agricultural production reinforce the belief that all remains the same. The conditions making for change stem from the very attempts to preserve the existing equilibrium. A rising population on a limited land base using colonial techniques of cultivation is bringing about an increasing reliance on outside markets for the sale of labor and the purchase of goods. The ejido program which has perpetuated the system of subsistence cultivation has at the same time increased the dependency on external political influence and undermined dependency on parents. Some of the rules of strategy that have developed in response to changes coming from outside the community can no longer be justified by the beliefs that govern behavior within its boundaries. The community is now in crisis: people are losing faith in the old beliefs and have not yet developed a meaningful ideology for new strategies.

The crisis does not affect all institutions equally. It is absent in the traditional economic activities of milpa cultivation and pottery production. It is incipient in the households, especially where there are wage-workers in nonagricultural jobs. It is more apparent in the civil than in the religious sphere, and it is most manifest in the new economic activities. The school, as an externally imposed institution, generates awareness of the conflict between old beliefs and the ideology of nationalism, but until recently receptivity to these ideas has been limited. The behavior described for each in-

The behavior described for each institution in earlier chapters will be summarized as a mode of adjustment or adaptation in relation to the beliefs that give it meaning and purpose. 128

Economic Activities

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Learning agricultural tasks and pottery-making in the household is part of adjusting to membership in the community. Parents are responsible for teaching the value of industriousness and are held accountable throughout the life of the child. Agricultural tasks are scheduled in a yearly cycle that provides sufficient flexibility for a man to carry out community and familial ceremonial responsibilities. In milpa agriculture, there is no specialization of tasks. Small-plot agricultural production with a simple technology has been reinforced by the land reform program. Since the lands incorporated under the Ejido Commission in the 1930s were attached to the community, agriculturalists were not forced to adjust to new ecological conditions. Politicalization was minimal since the local commission operated within the old civil hierarchy. In the recent expansion of ejido colonies in hot country, Indians from the community have developed alliances with non-Indians in asserting claims to the land. Without any preexisting civil hierarchy, these ejidatarios have not had to adjust their activities to a given structure of authority, but have developed independent political organizations as an adaptation to their new environment.

241 177 178 423 621

Women's work in pottery is less subject to changes in techniques and organization than is men's. The schema of production in simple tasks in a fixed sequence makes it easier to teach girls each process and reinforces a given pottery tradition. My guess would be that if wheel production were introduced, it would liberate the creativity of each potter by freeing her of established routines.

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Pottery production is not surrounded, as is agricultural production, by ceremonials. There is no god to whom one lights candles or gives offerings to ensure success, although there are hazards in production, particularly at the time of firing. Agricultural productivity, on the other hand, is thought to depend on the proper relation between the spirits of the heaven and of the church with the spirits of crops.

323 241 196 [196]

In the new economic activities, the Indians have shown both adjustive

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131 American Highway which connects San Cristobal de las Casas with
361 Comitan. They are 50 and 44 kilometers, respectively, from San
[491] Cristobal. Aguacatenango is closer to the branch road that continues south from the Highway to Venustiano Carranza, in the lowlands.

361 Both villages are 2,000 meters above sea level, placed in
133 a slightly raised terrain in the valley floor.

137 The vegetation climaxes surrounding the settlements are the same: woodlands of pine and oak, the second predominating, grasslands which for the most part are secondary growths in abandoned agricultural plots, and thorny bushes which the inhabitants of the valleys utilize for building fences.

241 The range of cultivated plants is the same in the two vil-
137 lages, including several varieties of corn and beans, squash and a few greens, while other edible plants grow wild in the edges of streams and rocky places unsuited for cultivation (Kaplan in McQuown et al., 1959, Part II, Section 6).

134 The soils are mainly limestone base, calcareous clay loam
132 and loam transported, both territories receiving the same amount
132 of rain. Surface water is drained internally within the basin of
136 the Rio Blanco, and in the edges of the village of Aguacatenango, forms, during the rainy season, a small lagoon, where a variety of small fish thrive (Wagner, in McQuown et al., 1959, Part II, Section 5).

136 The fauna include small deer, ocelots, snakes (poisonous and non-poisonous), domestic and field rats, and other small animals.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER IV

THE ORGANIZATION OF PRODUCTION

128

Introduction

Up to this page we have been describing the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango, emphasizing the similarities between these two social universes. There is, however, a set of differences between the two which requires separate treatment. It is important to do so because a detailed analysis of the patterned variation in the two villages can show us how, within a very similar social and cultural background, two societies can develop alternative forms of behavior which place the relations between individuals in two contrasting social structures.

Aguacatenango

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[621]

Aguacatenango is purely an agricultural village. The whole community is organized into independent domestic groups which are, in a sense, small family farms administered by the males.

Men cultivate the field crops--corn, beans and squash--do other planting and agricultural work, and care for the large livestock with the help of the sons who live under the same roof. Each household has a male head who is the bread-winner; he is responsible for the welfare of those who live in the same sitio.

241 Each man tries to cultivate enough food to make his household
592 self-sufficient the whole year around.
462

The younger males of a household are initiated into the
241 agricultural work by their fathers and elder brothers who work
868 with the household head in the same fields. Around the age of ten, they are expected to leave grammar school and the children's playground, and to start learning their life trade: the tech-
[582] niques of cultivation. No young male is capable of marrying if he is not capable of bearing on his shoulders the economic burden of supporting a household with his labor in the fields.

In addition to producing enough corn for the consumption
241 of his homestead, a man is expected to cultivate some surplus
433 which the household can exchange in the local markets and stores
434 for the manufactured goods and staples which they need: machetes, candles, needles, coffee and various other commodities. Moreover,
[464] if the household is in need of extra cash to pay for the expenses of a burial, a wedding, or any other emergency expenditure, he is expected to earn it by selling his labor to other men in the village for wages, or by working for short periods of time in the sugar cane plantation of Puiiltic. (Usually between one and two weeks of wage work will cover such emergencies. See Fig. 5.)

562 The women of Aguacatenango are economically dependent on their male relatives: father, husband, siblings and adult male
462 children. The women have many responsibilities; they are in charge of cooking and cleaning, sewing the family clothes, gathering
[231] firewood for the hearth, and educating the young. They are also
[241] in charge of feeding the small livestock which is kept in the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77]

462 [231] [241] sitio (household territory): pigs and chickens, and the cultivation of the rudimentary gardens within the back patios. These gardens do not have great economic importance. Women plant chiles, cilantro, chayotes, té limón, mostaza, and sometimes even beans and a small milpa for elote (tender corn), but gardening is not a serious occupation: most women only plant two of three varieties of plants, a little bush of flavor herbs for the beans, some medicinal plant, or some flowers to ornament the house altar. Many backyards just grow wild, and the collection of its products is mainly "gathering in one's backyard" rather than harvesting (see Fig. 6).

[434] By selling the products of the small garden, some eggs, or fruits, a woman can contribute to the household cash income, but this money is considered somewhat of a luxury. The extra cash can be used to buy some clothes before a fiesta, or a new pot, or a similar item, but women are not expected to support their families: this is the basic responsibility of the family men.

166 462 464 Women have very few cultural alternatives for transforming their labor into a substantial income. Young single girls whose parents are too poor to support them, or who are alocadas (lightheaded) and desire to break away from home, can leave town to go to work as servants in Ladino towns. Wives running away from a mother-in-law who is too strict, or from a drunkard husband, or widows, would occasionally take up this kind of work. This, of course, isolates a woman from the village, and is a form of self-imposed exile. Working for Ladinos is a somewhat awe inspiring [829] idea. Women "know" or suspect that Ladino men violate Indian

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 79]

241 Number of fruit-tree varieties: 7

Number of vegetable varieties: 16

Number of flower varieties: 7

Total 30

Fruit Trees:

Name	Number of Houses	Number of Trees	Average per House Which Has Them	Average per Total Sample
Anona	25	72	2.9	1
Naranja	17	26	1.5	0.3
Lima	47	131	2.8	1.9
Durazno	40	117	2.9	1.7
Guayaba	1	1	1	0.01
Guineo	7	14	2	0.2
Matasano	4	7	1.7	0.1

Average number of varieties planted in each garden: 3.4

Mode of varieties per household: 4

Fig. 6.--Aguacatenango Garden Produce

166 462 464 [829] women and that Ladino women mistreat their servants. Working in towns is remembered, by those who have done it, as a strange mixture of carefree economic independence and innumerable small humilitations and suffering. Its lack of attractiveness is well reflected in the fact that, from a random sample of sixty-eight households, only fourteen women have worked outside their homes (see Fig. 5).

562 462 434 [464] [275] The only women who are the bread-winners or heads of their homes are forced to do so because they have no male relatives to provide for them. In this case, they have few alternatives open to them, the two most common being: 1) acting as a servant (already discussed above) or 2) selling liquor in their houses to the men of the village. This second occupation is not very well [558] thought of by the villagers, trago sellers being gossiped about as being bold women, "sexy" females who enjoy the company of drunks and men married to other women.

Amatenango

462 323 438 [241] [434] In Amatenango, the division of labor presents a very different picture. The whole village of Amatenango is a pottery factory because, in addition to the household income derived from the agricultural work of the village men, each Amatenango woman is a pottery producer.

Pottery that is made for selling is neither a choice, nor a part-time job, nor an individual specialization, but a town specialty. All women in Amatenango are expected to know how to make pots, and to make them. The women of each household

462 distribute their work so that while one takes care of the regular
323 home tasks: cooking, caring for the young, cleaning, etc., the
438 other can occupy herself in gathering clay, coiling or modeling. Most steps in the production of pots are arranged in an "assembly line" style, with the women distributing their individual work according to the needs of the stage of the productive activity. Some of these steps, such as firing, require their close and alert cooperation to be carried on successfully. Pottery production [434] represents about half of the income of each independent household, with some slight variation, because households richer in land produce less pots than poorer ones.

Comparison

433 Pottery production in the hands of the women shapes the
184 economic landscape of Amatenango very differently than the one of
241 Aguacatenango. In the first place, agriculture is a business where
433 the risks are high and the profits unstable. The agricultural production of the villages depends on many uncontrollable factors. Too little rain or too much, too early rain or too late, worm pests or wild animals, can ruin the year's crop. The villagers try to insure the risks of a bad year by planting in as many different types of fields as they can. They plant in the hot country where the crops mature fast, and in the high, cold country where the maturation process is slow but the corn, of a hardier variety, is more resistant to weather conditions. They plant irrigated land to insure water if rain is missing, and in temporal to insure against the drying up of the sources of irrigated water. But even

241 433 then, each season is a question mark, an equally unpredictable year of plenty or a lean year.

184 323 241 433 434 In Amatenango, when the crop fails or is poor, the income of the villagers can be compensated by producing more pottery. This is obviously not so in Aguacatenango. If hunger threatens the families, the result is a higher migration rate or an increase

184 166 464 731 in the number of men leaving town to work part-time in the fincas. The result of having an alternative form of income within the

184 434 621 homestead in Amatenango is that the village keeps its income more balanced year after year, and that the village as a whole has a reputation of being richer than the other communities.

184 434 462 562 In Aguacatenango, the women are an economic burden. The men are very aware that they themselves "do all the work." Women have long and leisurely afternoons which are spent sitting on their porches grooming, chatting, or visiting. Men complain of this, saying "Women cannot realize how hard a man has to work. They complain of not having this or that, but they do not know, . . ." In Amatenango, on the contrary, women are important producers, men and women sharing, equally, the responsibility of supporting their families.

Thus, in the one case, Aguacatenango, the work of women has a marginal, undeterminate value in an economic milieu in which they have no cultural alternatives to convert their labor into goods or subsistence necessities; in the other case, Amatenango, the labor input of women represents about half of the total productive efforts of the villagers.

351 592 571 When the people in two adjacent sitios have close social ties, they open an interior gate in the common fence, connecting the two yards. June Nash has noticed that if any disagreement [578] occurs between the people residing in the two contiguous sitios, the interior gates are barricaded even more strongly than the remainder of the fence, symbolically severing social communication (Nash, J: 1959).

351 592 Inside the sitios, there are several areas of activity [343] (see Fig. 10): the front yard (ti?naie) where animals are tied [342] when brought to the sitio, where corn is put to dry, etc., and where there are buildings (hna) such as the cook-house and others [241] which serve as sleeping quarters. The back yard is the place where things are stored and where a small garden is cultivated. [415] There are other spots, such as the place for the water jugs, the [252] place for washing the mixtamal (corn mesh used for making tortillas), [343] the sweat bath, etc.

342 The buildings themselves are mainly wattle and daub with thatch or palm roofs in the traditional Mayan pattern. There is, nevertheless, some variation in the use of cane, shingles and planks for walls, or tile roofs, which indicates a desire to imitate ladino ways rather than the wealth of the household. The houses have small porches which serve as "living room," places for receiving visitors, grooming, cleaning corn, or enjoying the twilight after a good day's work (see Figs. 10 and 11).

House Ritual

342 592 The building of a new house is an important social event

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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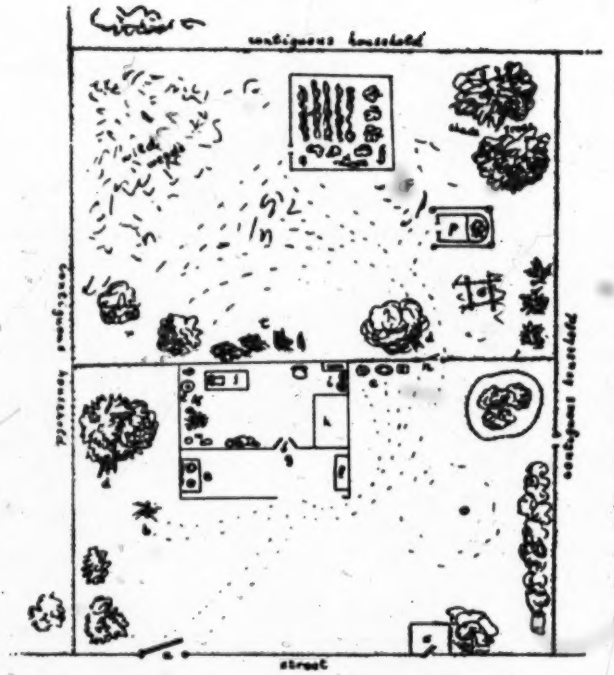

Fig. 10.--Model of a Standard Household

a--entrance gate
b--nixtamal washing-pot
c--water pots
d--chicken coop in a tree
e--Saint's altar in the corridor
f--bench for receiving visitors
g--double door
h--wooden bed
i--petates (mats) chest and chair
j--table for making tortillas (with the grinding stone or metate)
k--molino and fire place
l--water pot inside the house
m--little stools for seating during meals and stored bags
n--gate to back yard
o--raised pig-pen
p--temascal (steam bath)
q--garden with chillis, and "tomatoes"
r--peach trees
s--pig-pen with gate to the street
t--fire-wood drying

592 764 People are buried in the cemetery according to the place in which they resided in life. The burial grounds are a small spatial replica of the town itself, the clusters of tombs representing clusters of households of the living.

592 241 184 The agricultural ritual, which in other villages in Chiapas is performed by specialists (rain makers, principales and cabildos de milpa), is in both Amatenango and Aguacatenango, a household affair. It consists of a small ceremony performed in the milpa at planting and harvesting time by the men who have worked the land together, and consists of the lighting of candles and the burning of incense.

592 The household is the stage where the drama of an individual's life is performed, and therefore where a person lives is very crucial.

Household Membership

The placement of a person in a particular homestead is determined by two factors: (1) the domestic unit is composed of a kinship group and (2) it is the basic unit of production, and of the recruitment of labor. Thus, each individual is placed in a particular household both as a kinsman and as a producer. The two factors are not seen as separate by the villager. The role of a person as a kinsman and the role of a person as a producer are intimately related, but one can express a choice as belonging to the kinship and economic domains, simultaneously, or as belonging alternately to one or the other.

In Amatenango and Aguacatenango, there are two types of households which represent different stages in the development of

592 593 but it is always built around a core of agnatically related men: a father and his sons, united in their common interest in the patrimonial land and the fruits of their joint cooperative labor. To this core of men are attached their children and their wives, all of whom are dependent on them for their food supply, shelter, and the satisfaction of most other needs.

621 591 592 602 When a couple moves outside the parental home, the house site that they are given should be contiguous if possible, or as close as there is a place available, to the husband's father's homestead. Thus, ideally, the town should be settled by clusters of domestic groups forming localized agnatic lines, each containing a man, his parents, his brothers and his married male sons. At the same time, one would find out that women, because they follow their husbands, live much further apart from their agnatic relatives than men do.

593 591 476 241 417 After a man moves from his father's household, he is not expected to work the same parcels with his father, but they do share some work in common. Usually (I don't have the exact number of cases, but enough information to suggest that this is the mode), a man and his sons have contiguous milpas that are fenced together. The fences, which are laboriously built and repaired, are the communal job of all the men, and save them the time and effort of building interior separations between the plots, because the purpose of fencing is to keep cattle from invading the parcels and without fences it is useless to risk planting.

423 241 417 This does not mean that the land is held jointly. Each man

423 241 417 knows his own parcel and its boundaries, which are sometimes marked with a few stones or a less elaborate fence of a few poles.

241 496 The men that fence the land together cooperate with each other in some other agricultural tasks which require more than two hands (e.g., clearing and burning before planting, cleaning irrigation ditches).

183 591 Stating the norms of residence in anthropological language, we can say that the generalized residence pattern, if it reflects the practice of the norms, should be patrilocal for single and married men, patrilocal for single women, virilocal for married women and parentilocal for children (see Fig. 13, Fischer's Typology).

The Residence Patterns

125 To find out how the ideal rules are carried into practice, we analyzed a sample of sixty-eight households containing an average of five people per unit, and a total of 384 individuals. This sample was gathered by the author in the field, in 1958, and covers half of the village in a chess board pattern of blocks (see charts). The data on the sample is complemented by a previous total census of the village, prepared by the Metzgers and the school teacher in 1956, which covered the whole population of the community, but contained less detailed information on some aspects of residence. Both will be augmented by a sample of life histories contained in the field notes.

128 The data will be presented in tables, and in the text, both in number of cases and in relative percentages. When possible,

423 593 The reasons for keeping a son are not as pressing as the [432] reasons for keeping a daughter. Amatenango land holdings are [184] somewhat smaller than Aguacatenango, and the buying and selling of agricultural parcels, as long as it does not involve outsiders to the village, is a common practice which accounts for approximately 16 per cent of land transactions. The

423 241 592 464 limited land holding units in Amatenango require minimal cooperation in agriculture. Because of fractured land holdings, fewer than one-half of the households have two tablones . . . of land. Therefore, fewer than one-half the households can keep more than one man actively employed. Even in those households with from two to five tablones, a man and his adult son are sufficient labor for most activities except harvest. 592 323 434 868 Women's pottery production, however, requires frequent cooperation. Two tendencies are reinforcing the cooperation of women, especially of mothers and daughters: (1) with increasing need for cash income to buy products which are not longer produced in the home, or which have been introduced, money [582] is constantly needed. Pottery offers an easy means of acquiring cash with almost immediate returns, and (2) marriages are [178] currently contracted at a later age for girls than formerly. Before, about a generation ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve were the rule. Most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques begins at that age. Consequently, pottery was taught to the daughter by the mother-in-law if the girl was married and resided in the husband's house. (See Frans [114] Blom and Oliver LaFarge [1927] who commented that all pottery was taught by the mother-in-law.) Most marriages now are contracted for girls from 14 to 17 years of age. At this time they are already proficient potters, and accustomed to working with their mother. Therefore, there is a greater stress put on their remaining in or near their parental home after marriage (Nash, J., 1960:47).[1]

592 868 323 The people of Amatenango recognize that during the period in which a woman learns to make pottery, she establishes particular habits of cooperation and a strong solidarity bond with the woman from whom she learns and with whom she works. "Parents say that there is an advantage in early marriages, in that the girl would be more willing to learn the ways of her mother-in-law if she

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[61] [1]It is also important to notice that with the increase in population over the area, the market has increased.

571 and outside the household by the bilateral group of kinsmen of each particular Ego and his or her spouse, which because of the residence pattern, live localized within a neighborhood.

602 592 562 In Aguacatenango, on the contrary, most important activities are carried on mainly by agnatically related kin. This, of course, does not mean that matri-kin or affinals are absolutely excluded. But in making decisions for giving or receiving help in work, for example, agnatic kin are preferred, especially for men, because women tend to collaborate mostly with the agnatic kin of their husbands. The reason for this is that activities for women are not determined in terms of the kinship lines, but in terms of household membership: they collaborate with the closest kin of the household in which they reside, and not their own closest kin. A household contributes labor and interacts more often with agnatically linked households than any other.

361 602 592 The reason for this difference in emphasis could be said to be a result of the fact that one collaborates more with the people who live the closest. After all, the neighborhood in Aguacatenango tends to be a cluster of agnatically related households. [114] Nash felt that in Amatenango, "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relations are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130). We disagree with this statement.

323 241 433 182 591 592 621 In Amatenango, pottery making and corn agriculture are the two principal productive enterprises which affect the organization of the domestic group, including the residence choices, so it is not strange that the neighborhood group (or residence clusters within the barrio), made up according to the criteria of selecting

323 producers for the particular domestic groups, seems to be the
241 originator of bilateral increase in interaction, while it could
433 be equally well said that the bilaterally settled neighborhood in
182 Amatenango is a result of the selection of household personnel
591 along both males' and females' kinsmen lines.
592
621

114 J. Nash (1960) interpreted the bilaterality of Amatenango
602 as being a result of the residence pattern. Nash assumes that
182 kinship and territoriality are two mutually exclusive principles
361 of association, while in reality they are not so. On the one hand, if territoriality (or the spatial placement of the individual in the household) is determined by kinship alignments, both would tend to be symmetrical; on the other hand, even if they are not mutually inclusive (which in this case they are), both are emphasized simultaneously in the same set of choices, so that the principles of spatial proximity and kinship proximity, although independent variables, are concomitant in their effects. Moreover, Nash found out that activities which did not involve immediate reciprocity followed the kinship line exclusively without reference to territorial propinquity.

121 The danger of assuming that "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relationships are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130) becomes evident in a larger theoretical context. If residential propinquity tends to set up interaction along bilateral lines, the opposite, residential dispersion, would tend to emphasize interaction among unilineal relatives. Then, all lineally organized societies ought to be organized in exogamous settlements, or in a dispersed hamlet pattern, and all large concentrations of

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango .
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

42 43 182 57 184 241 323 434 We can safely arrive at the conclusion that some aspects of the economic system play a very important part in the structuring of social relations in the Chiapas communities. The economic factors which are indicated by the natives themselves and have been assessed by us as being crucial correlates of certain patterns of social behavior are:

(1) The unspecialized agricultural system of one village (Aguacatenango) versus the system of agriculture plus pottery production in the other makes the second one a "richer" town with less wealth fluctuation from year to year.

184 182 462 592 562 434 (2) The relative importance of women as bread-winners and producers in the traditional division of labor in one village (Amatenango), results in the fact that labor of women is crucial for the continuity of the domestic group, whereas in Aguacatenango, it is not. This does not mean that Aguacatenango women do not work. It just means that women's work in Aguacatenango, however exhausting, does not have a market in which it can be sold, and it cannot be transformed into subsistence goods or into money, i.e., it has an undeterminate marginal value. This gives the women in one village (Amatenango) economic independence and a higher status

184 vis-à-vis their husbands and male kinsmen, while in Aguacatenango,
182 it makes them economically dependent, and subordinate from a jural
462 point of view. In one case females inherit as men do, in the
592 other, inheritance follows a male line. In one case, they control
560 the same property as men do, in the other, they control only
434 marginal property.
[428]
[421]

(3) The relative importance of a man is labor versus a
184 woman's labor within the domestic unit affects residence. In
182 Aguacatenango, where all important productive activities are in
462 the hands of men, residence is patri-virilocal, and only males are
434 residence sponsors regularly. In Amatenango, where productive activities are in the hands of both males and females, residence is alternately matri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal, and both males and females can become residence sponsors. In Amatenango, households that depend more on the women's labor in pottery making are uxorilocal, while households in which the largest part of the domestic group income is derived from agriculture have post-marital patri-virilocal residence of their members.
591
[323]
[241]

184 In Aguacatenango, where all household income is derived
182 from agriculture and residence is patri-virilocal, matri-uxorilo-
434 cality occurs sporadically due to some other economic and non-
591 economic factors: (a) the inheritance of some land in the female
593 line when a daughter structurally replaces a son; (b) the coopera-
428 tive work between father-in-law-son-in-law when they replace the
562 position of father and son for each other; (c) the payment of
602 curing ceremonies and medicines for a sick married woman by her
606 own kin rather than her husband's.
75

121 it is impossible to do it taking into account any other variable in isolation. Social structures are built up around several simultaneously activated domains of phenomena. Kinship (or the biological facts of birth and copulation and the concomitant social facts of descent and affinality) is one domain. Economics (or the system for the production and allocation of rights over material goods and services) is another domain. Territorial allegiances, based on spatial proximity or distance, is another. The domain of the psychological (the inherent needs of human beings for sociality, positive affection, the sharing of moral values with other men [and perhaps the need for controlling others]), is still another domain.

182 796 If we take ritual as a projective system of the importance of social domains, we can see that it involves, in every case, several of them.

[571] [527] [764] [602] [241] For example, in Aguacatenango and Amatenango, ritual practices are oriented towards: (1) expressing tensions between individuals among whom harmonic relations are re-established through the curing ceremony; (2) expressing the territorial attachments of people, such as the ceremonies for housewarmings and the fact that in the cemetery people are buried according to the place in which they resided (the cemetery is a small replica of the village); (3) expressing kinship bonds, such as the marriage ceremony, the baptisms and compadrazgos, the food given to the ancestors on Todos Santos, etc.; (4) expressing economic needs, such as the rituals performed to insure the success of the harvest.

000 Within the same cultural frame, two social groups can

241 [412] machete (*machit*) or the *luk*, a sort of curved machete with a long handle, are the implements needed. The cutting of the grass from the plot where the milpa had been the previous year is *selab*; the cutting of bush grown for three or four years is *sok-uej*. The work of cutting the bush is done by the entire family, including children of seven or eight years old.

[221] [412] The planting is done between April and May after the first rains, with a long stick whose tip is hardened by fire or protected by a metal point. [242] The seed must come from large, healthy ears whose tips have been cut off because they have small corn. [824] The *olote*, or corncob, is either kept or thrown away at a distance to avoid its being used as fuel, for this would hurt the milpa which then would produce ears with broken kernels.

241 462 785 834 The task of planting is a very delicate matter, to be performed after fasting and sexual abstinence. It is exclusively a man's affair. 241 574 A great banquet is served at noon, generally outdoors as the hut interiors are small, to the friends and neighbors who will participate as helpers. Sometimes as [476] many as 10 men help to plant a friend's milpa. The meal is offered "precisely when the sun stops for a moment midway on its run and the doors of the Church of Heaven are opened, from where the quality of the banquet is observed." This is *s-uelil-abal* ('meal of the planting').

241 262 272 574 [263] When things are properly done, the meal consists of a number of items. First the *atole* (*pajal-ul*) is served, which is slightly sour and sweetened with *panela*. As "companion" to this atole are tamales (*chenkul-uaj*), which are prepared with cornmeal and ground beans. It is said that both things are to be served together so that "the seed may penetrate deep into the ground." 241 252 262 574 272 After this preliminary snack comes what is considered the main course for each person: a hard-boiled egg in a thick reddish broth prepared from dough and ground chile dissolved in water; a large tortilla;

[P.199-B]

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201-A

241 boiled beans; other tamales (*petul*), which
252 are made from dough and whole beans;
262 and finally, still more atole. The atole is
574 served not in individual *jícaras* but in two
272 or three large ones (*batzil-booch*), which
[415] are passed from person to person. The same is done with the other foods; they are served in one or two large pots (*mucul pulato*) out of which everyone serves himself. This banquet is given only on the first
241 day of the planting; if other days are re-
574 quired, the milpero himself does the planting.

241 Since weeds grow rapidly during the rain season, the milpa must be hoed twice before it reaches maturity. For this the luk or coa is used and also the hoe (*asron*), the same one used to break the soil before planting. The first weeding is done in June, the second between July and August. Women
[462] help their husbands in this chore and some-
[566] times do it entirely themselves, since the
[464] men are in the habit of leaving for Tapachula to work as peons on the coffee plantations.

244 Also in the milpa beans of several varieties are planted: *chuil-chenek* (or *ibes*, according to the Ladinos); *botil*, a large common bean; *xakil-chenek* or *frijol de vara*; and the *x-luumil-chenek* or *frijol de la tierra*, thus called because it is a creeping plant.

Chile is planted on a separate lot, 15–20 m. square. The planting is done during the first weeks of March, in alternate years so that it will not coincide with the year when the people of Cancuc plant cotton. Chile planted by the people of Oxchuc is *dzajalik* or red chile.

241 Toward the end of August, the first fruits are ready (*unimajam* or *jilote*, according to Ladinos). These are received with great joy by the families which are by then lack-
[242] ing food. From each plant, which provides two or three *jilotes*, the farthest down is picked to let the other two grow bigger.
[252] These jilotes are boiled without salt and
[263] are eaten whole, including the husks.
[262] [P. 201-A]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

owned plots of less than five hectares, corn is clearly the major crop, with 83 percent of the land devoted to its production. In the ejido lands, it is cultivated on less than 50 percent of the land, with wheat and beans sharing the remaining lands. Included in the category of ownership of five hectares or more are three large fincas where cattle fodder is grown. These fincas employ eighty-three laborers, some of whom live in the town center.

Since the Mexican census figures do not take into account the total land holdings of the household, I shall refer to the data on land use from my own census in 1964 (Table 5). Beans are grown (except in three cases) only if the household has more than the one hectare of ejido land grant. Corn and beans are grown together only on irrigated lands, both in high lands and in low country. Most farmers with ejido land grow wheat in addition to corn only when the land is in continual production, since it is believed that wheat gives "heat" to the land and improves the soil. This belief is supported by the real value of crop rotation.

Decisions concerning what crops to plant where are based on two sets of criteria: topology and soil characteristics. These criteria, furthermore, are the basis for determining what kinds of seed should be planted and what techniques of cultivation should be utilized.

Topological criteria. Because of the relative wealth of land resources, the steep hills are left uncultivated. All of the steep hills are communally owned, and the second growth of pine and scrub oak provides firewood. Tall pine growing in the higher lands of the colonia of San Vicente is sold by the community to private lumber companies.

The "belly of the land," the mound-like hillocks at the bottom of the hills, are sometimes cultivated or used for pasturage. On hilly lands farmers put rocks in the banks or curve the rows of corn to avoid erosion. The very low lands of the valley floor must be drained by digging ditches.

The flat irrigated lands of the valley floor are the most desirable lands for cultivation. The Indians are reluctant to sell these lands, and hold on to them until they are forced to sell.

When the officials reach concensus on what the mean yield (or *medio calculo* as they call it) is, they multiply this by the known amount of seed planted. Every six years a house-to-house census of what was planted is made.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

242 *Soil characteristics.* The potential productivity of flat irrigated lands is evaluated on the basis of two criteria: color of the soil and consistency of the soil. The preferred land for cultivation is the black loam mixed with some sand, (*?ihk'al hi?iletik lum*). The better, quicker growing corn seed is planted here. These very productive soils are called "hot" lands (*k'ilin lum*). (Heat is associated with fertility in both lands and people: a pregnant woman and her husband are considered to be in a state of heat, and the contrast state of being cold is attributed to someone who is sterile.) The red (*tzab'alum*) yellow (*k'analum*), and white soils (*sak lum*) are poorer soils and the slower seed is planted here. These soils are considered "cold" (*sik*) and are thought to be "tired."

The loss of soil productivity is attributed either to the loss of the soul of the crop or to the fact that the soil gets "tired." Farmers have noticed that in the first five years of planting in Tulanca, the ejido land grant, the soil was "hot" and gave good crops. When this productivity was lost, people said the soul of the crop left. It is considered dangerous to start crops in the lower lands of hot country because when the location of crops is changed, the soul leaves its original residence. The notion of crop soul loss does not conflict with the awareness of natural causes of soil productivity. Fields are left fallow for four or five years when productivity diminishes and the soil is "tired." The irrigated lands are in continuous use because there is some replenishment of fertility with the overflow of the ditch waters. Cattle fertilizers are used sporadically. Those who have many head of cattle construct corrals into which they herd the cattle each night. The location of the corral is changed yearly. Corn and beans are then planted in the old corral with superior results. The dozen or so corrals in the town are owned and worked cooperatively by extended families and are referred to by the Indian patronyms—for example, *skoral Linetik* (corral of the Lins) or *skoral Čailetik* (corral of the Čailes). The one attempt to use commercial fertilizers provided by the Ejido Bank proved a technical success but an administrative failure (chapter 3). Indians noted the increased yields, but none have attempted to purchase fertilizers.

Soil consistency is evaluated on the basis of how easy it is to work. Wet, sticky, or clayey soil (*Iučilium*) and stony soil (*kešilum*) are least desirable. Sandy soil is easier to work, but soil productivity depends on a loam

base, so the farmers prefer to plant the better, quicker-growing corn seed 242 in a mixed sand and loam soil.

The final evaluation of land is based on results at harvest. The range of 242 variation is large: from 48 liters of yield per liter of seed to 80 litters of 433 yield per liter of seed. Township officials say that the average harvest is five *fanegas* (1 fanega equals 12 liters) or 60 liters per liter of seed. Market [435] prices are of less importance in deciding what crops will be planted than are considerations of what the soil "wants" and what labor is involved. Corn is grown on all kinds of land, whereas beans and special crops such as cabbages can be grown only on the more fertile soil. Wheat can be grown only where there is irrigation. One farmer raised cabbage in coop- [434] eration with a Ladino and earned 1,000 pesos, four times the amount he earned with his wheat crop the previous year. Despite the greater return for cabbage, the farmer did not plant it the next year when the Ladino, who had supported the first venture, withdrew his support. The reason he gave for this was the fact that there was more work involved and he could not accomplish it alone: first the crop had to be planted, then transplanted, then irrigated every three days in the early growing period, and cultivated two or three times; every eight days he had to get rid of worms. He esti- [461] mated that growing cabbage involved well over four times the amount of work necessary for growing corn.

Labor. Most agricultural work is performed by members of 592 households with exchange or hired labor. There is no specialization of 241 labor when the work force includes two or more men since the men 476 cooperate in doing each task. Communal labor is restricted to the maintenance of the main irrigation ditches. Each year the ditches are dug out 464 where the sides have eroded and cleaned of brush and leaves. The presi- 241 dent and judges unite to decide on a time for this work and announce it 621 on a loudspeaker of one of the cantinas. This usually occurs around the 476 twenty-fifth of December. Formerly, all the men of the community helped in this work whether or not they owned irrigated fields. In 1958 those who [178] did not own such land "got smart" and refused to work. [423]

In 1962 the civil officials decided that a cement canal should be installed 653 near the source of the spring. They tried to finance it with contributions 621 423 241

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

653 621 241 423 from all men of the township, but again they were refused by the farmers who did not own irrigated land. The officials then sold trees in the communally owned lands to support the project, which cost 2,000 pesos. The farmers without irrigated lands still bore the cost although indirectly since community resources were expended in subsidizing the work.

241 The scheduling of agricultural activities follows an annual cycle for the three major crops, corn, wheat, and beans.

243 242 *Corn*. In corn production, the greatest discrimination comes in the selection of seed.[4] Seed is chosen from cobs which have the most grain. The farmer must look carefully to see that none of it is rotten, since if one grain is bad, the entire five grains put into each hillock will rot. There are two major kinds of corn: a quick-growing variety and a slow-growing variety. The first is preferred, but not all soils "want" it. The bitter soil "wants" the slow corn which must be planted about the first of February. [177] A new corn seed introduced by some developmental engineers in 1957 yielded more grain, but it was not as flinty as the old variety and rotted quickly.

243 The soil is prepared by cross-plowing the land three times in one direction and two times in the other. Those who do not own their own oxen team do it just once because of the additional expense. In planting, the farmer is careful to measure rows evenly, five handspans between rows, and five handspans between each hillock, forming a square which permits the maximum growth of each plant. Five seeds are placed in each hillock. In hot country, the land has not been worked over as well, and as a result it cannot be measured as accurately because of rocks and trees. This upsets the agriculturalist's sense of symmetry and beauty.

Once the corn has been planted, the scheduling of activities is based on the maturation of the plant rather than on a calendrical sequence. The scheduling of activities in corn production is shown in Table 6. The starges of growth in the corn plant and the activities related to them are listed in Table 7.

Cultivation is performed twice, to kill the weeds and to pile up earth at

4. The botanist Anderson (quoted in Lévi-Strauss 1966:73) points out that the careful separation of seed planted in each plot distinguished Indian from non-Indian agriculturalists in other Middle American communities.

Wheat. In selecting the seed, the farmers choose those heads with the most kernels—there may be from thirty to eighty on each head. The same kind of seed must be used in planting each plot of land or the soil "does not give well." A new wheat seed was introduced by an American agronomist in the 1950s. The following reaction by an informant reveals why most of the farmers decided not to use it:

There is a quick-growing wheat, called foreign wheat because a foreigner brought it and planted it in the soil. Those who wanted to try it were given some. It was difficult to harvest because it was very dry and broke easily. Most of the grain was left behind on the ground. When it got to the threshing floor, most of it was broken. Therefore the town did not want it. So we continue planting the common wheat and it doesn't break.

The inefficient harvesting techniques force the people to consider loss of grains in deciding what wheat they will seed. However, a few of the farmers continue to grow the new wheat.

The scheduling of wheat production is shown in Table 8. The *arada* plow, introduced by the Spaniards (Foster 1951) and made locally by farmers for their own use, is commonly used to prepare the land. A few farmers borrow the plow of a relative, or sometimes a metal plowshare is bought in the departmental capital.

The harvest is the most arduous work in wheat production, but because it is done with the assistance of four or five helpers, usually brothers or compadres, it is a gay occasion. There are about a dozen threshing shelters which are individually owned and rented for 5 pesos a day. At the height of the harvesting season, the farmers have to wait for their turn to use the shelter. After the threshing, a fiesta is held in the house of the owner of the wheat at which liquor and a meal of beef stew is served. Since the labor involved is based on exchange rather than payment, the owner will take part in the harvest and celebration of those whom he has helped.

Beans. The choice of locale and the time of planting vary more radically for beans than for other crops because of the greater differences in type of seed. The two major types of beans are (1) ground beans, of

of what seeds grow best in which soils. Good, fast-growing seed is not 241
sowed indiscriminately but is limited to use on more fertile irrigated 242
lands. The size of a family's holdings is the primary factor in deciding
what proportion of the three major crops—corn, beans, and wheat—they [423]
will grow. Where they grow each of these crops depends upon the quality of the soil categorized by topological criteria, consistency, color, and proved fertility. Decline in productivity is attributed to wearing out of soil fertility because of overuse as well as to loss of the soul of crops. The first explanation leads to adaptive behavior, in which the land is "rested" or turned over to cattle grazing, and to crop rotation, alternating wheat and corn crops. The second explanation leads to adjustive behavior in which the agriculturalist takes care of ceremonial obligations to the saints and to the "owner of the milpa."

The scheduling of activities is determined by the knowledge of time re- 241
quired for maturing of the crop and by expectations concerning seasonal fluctuations as they affect rainfall. Although the farmers have some control
over water supply through irrigation, dependence on rainfall for the non- [182]
irrigated fields means that sporadic appeals to the ancestors or saints are [176]
made to ensure rain in the growing period. These rituals are not as inte- [169]
grated in the agricultural production cycle as they are in the neighboring [171]
towns of Chamula and Oxchuk or in the colonia of San Vicente where irrigation facilities are lacking.

Traditional techniques of pottery production are maintained by a tightly 323
organized schema of procedures which allows for little variation in technique or form. Learning of productive techniques is facilitated by a fine segmentation of tasks. Knowledge of local clays and tempering has been stabilized for at least five hundred years of occupation in this area. Women's work is entirely lacking in rituals to ensure the success of their efforts.

These given sets of cognitive orientations in economic activities do not 241
exclude the possibility of considering new ways or means of doing things. 177
Agriculturalists have tried the new seed introduced by agronomists, but 178
have found them wanting in their resistance to mold, in the case of corn, and in their portability, in the case of wheat. Fertilizers have been tried, but the credit costs proved too high for the agriculturalists to continue.
Women were willing to try a kiln in place of open firing, but either the 177
model introduced was faulty or they were not 323
taught to use it properly.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

563 Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo relations between Indians and Ladinos are more friendly, and the Indians are regarded as milder and more tractable.

181 Of the strongly Indian towns, Cancuc is the most conservative, Chanal the most progressive.

In respect to official political organization, these villages are divided according
631 to their importance and the number of their inhabitants, into free municipalities
563 (*municipios libres*) and dependent municipalities (*agencias municipales*). The former are those which have the right to choose their own government, upon which formal administration depends. To this category belong Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Ococingo, Chilón, and Bachajon. Until a short time ago the municipal governments of these settlements were composed of Ladinos in the principal posts and of Indians in the subordinate positions. At the present time the government is seeking to reverse this situation so that the Indians have the greater authority; it is for this reason that the governments of the four villages first mentioned are now headed by Indians. This change has brought about marked
[177] alterations in certain places in the social equilibrium that before existed between the two ethnic elements which compose the population.

Villages of the latter category are those which depend, in administrative matters, on a free municipality. In these cases authority is represented in the first place by the *agente municipal*, who is named by the central municipal government. This post is always discharged by a Ladino. In most instances the municipal agent compensates for the meagerness of his salary by controlling the sale of rum in the village which he administers. The other members of the municipal government are chosen almost always from the Indian group.

184 In several of the highland communities, notably Amatenango, Chanal, and
243 to a much less extent, Tenejapa, the Indian grows (in addition to the universal
439 maize) a certain amount of wheat for export; the Ladinos of Oxchuc cultivate this crop, but in Cancuc, where there are no Ladinos, wheat is not grown. (Wheat is
433 also grown in the Tzotzil towns of Chamula and Huistan.) Other money crops
241 of the highlands are chickpeas, peas, oranges, and other fruit. Some coffee is grown in San Martin, it is the principal export from Yajalon and Petalcingo. In Bachajon, Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Chilón a principal produce is brown sugar, made locally from sugar cane locally raised. Cancuc is the only village that cultivates cotton
[286] commercially; the production in the other communities is insignificant. The local
[178] manufacture of loom-woven clothing is rapidly disappearing. Most Tzeltal com-
231 munities are without beehives, but there is considerable apiculture in Sivacá, and
184 a little beekeeping is also practised in Tenango, Bachajón, and Yajalón. Apparently the bees kept are wild colonies brought to the villages in the sections of hollow log they are made to inhabit. The raising of hogs and poultry is a principal economic
233 recourse in all the Indian settlements. The beef cattle industry has always been
[654] in the hands of Ladinos; however, recently the Government, acting through the Centers of Native Education, has sought to stimulate the industry among the Indians.

241 Between September and October, when the tender ears are ready, some are torn loose to prepare atoles and tamales.

Toward the middle of October, when the milpa has reached maturity, all hands proceed to the task of the *dobla*, folding or breaking the stem of the plant so that the ear dries and may later be put into the [462] barn. This is an easy task, in which men, [857] women, and children take part.

The harvest takes place in November and [592] December with the participation of the whole family; it is a joyful task which compensates for all the moments of anxiety in the previous months, when subsistence was [251] scarce. The produce from the milpa is gathered in large nets and later stored in a corner of the house or in some improvised [804] structure nearby. The crop is measured by *zontles*, units of 400 ears, which are formed by counting the ears by fives; two ears are taken in one hand and three in the other until 400 are reached. The family of five [261] members which manages to harvest from [231] 15 to 20 zontles considers itself happy, since that much will last them the entire year, consuming 20 ears a day plus feeding one or two hogs and 10 or 12 chickens.

The milpa also produces various squashes, manioc (*dzinté*), and peanuts, which the Indians call *caxlan-chenek* ('Ladino's bean').

243 Exceptional among the Tzeltal is the cul- 184 tivation of wheat in Amatenango. There the small valley and a creek have favored its development.

241 The most important ceremonies take 796 place immediately after planting. They entrust the germination of the seed to the care of God, of the "thirteen holders of Heaven," and of "Tatik Jesucristo." The "thirteen holders of Heaven" refer to the principal saints who are mentioned in the [778] prayers. The ceremonies consist in offer- [782] ings of prayers and incense before the crosses kept in caves belonging to each paraje, and in one *bikit mixa* ('small Mass'), which the cabildos and principales of the

[P 201-B]

412 (*eché*), hoe (*asron*), machete (*machit*), coa (*luk*), and digging stick (*avutel*). In a
• 243 few towns (Amatenango), where lands are
[407] flat, the plow is made of wood and pulled by oxen but only for wheat farming. During
[415] corn planting, the seed is carried by the
[824] planter in a *morral* hung from the shoulder,
[237] in a gourd with a large spout, or in containers made of armadillo shells. The harvested crops are placed in deep baskets, made of reed-grass, or in big pita (*chojak*)
[412] net bags. The ear of corn is cleared of its
[237] husk by a sharp bone or a small deer horn.

322 The axe, machete, and knife are used in
412 wood working, which is very rudimentary, though handsaw and hammer have a place. With these tools the Indians make doors, tables, seats, small benches, shelves. Blom
[534] and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:351) add that the Tzeltal near Ocosingo also make violins of a shape similar to the European type, but they have no resonance and poor tone. They also manufacture pipes and combs roughly
[463] finished. No village of this group has specialists in carpentry to compare with the Chamulas (Tzotzil-speaking), who supply furniture at low cost to San Cristobal de las Casas and other places of the area.

324 Stone carving requires a pickaxe with
412 one end very sharp, the other very flat to serve as a hammer, and a short wooden handle. This is the tool used in Tenejapa for making metates. These metates have three legs, but Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:338) mention metates without legs (Ocosingo municipio) which are made of volcanic stone found along the San Martin River. According to the Tzeltal of Oxchuc, the name of the metate is *chá*, its handle *kab-chá*.

412 An iron bar to break the ground, an axe, and a machete are the tools for building huts, chickencoops, sweat houses, and other small structures.

283 Another tool, used in the making of pita
413 rope, is *karet*, which probably comes from the Spanish *carreta*. It consists of a wooden disc fixed to a tree trunk that is nailed to

[P·206-A]

71 Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

653 621 241 423 from all men of the township, but again they were refused by the farmers who did not own irrigated land. The officials then sold trees in the communally owned lands to support the project, which cost 2,000 pesos. The farmers without irrigated lands still bore the cost although indirectly since community resources were expended in subsidizing the work.

241 The scheduling of agricultural activities follows an annual cycle for the three major crops, corn, wheat, and beans.

• 243 242 *Corn.* In corn production, the greatest discrimination comes in the selection of seed.[4] Seed is chosen from cobs which have the most grain. The farmer must look carefully to see that none of it is rotten, since if one grain is bad, the entire five grains put into each hillock will rot. There are two major kinds of corn: a quick-growing variety and a slow-growing variety. The first is preferred, but not all soils "want" it. The bitter soil "wants" the slow corn which must be planted about the first of February. [177] A new corn seed introduced by some developmental engineers in 1957 yielded more grain, but it was not as flinty as the old variety and rotted quickly.

243 The soil is prepared by cross-plowing the land three times in one direction and two times in the other. Those who do not own their own oxen team do it just once because of the additional expense. In planting, the farmer is careful to measure rows evenly, five handspans between rows, and five handspans between each hillock, forming a square which permits the maximum growth of each plant. Five seeds are placed in each hillock. In hot country, the land has not been worked over as well, and as a result it cannot be measured as accurately because of rocks and trees. This upsets the agriculturalist's sense of symmetry and beauty.

Once the corn has been planted, the scheduling of activities is based on the maturation of the plant rather than on a calendrical sequence. The scheduling of activities in corn production is shown in Table 6. The starges of growth in the corn plant and the activities related to them are listed in Table 7.

Cultivation is performed twice, to kill the weeds and to pile up earth at

4. The botanist Anderson (quoted in Lévi-Strauss 1966:73) points out that the careful separation of seed planted in each plot distinguished Indian from non-Indian agriculturalists in other Middle American communities.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

the roots of each plant so that it will be protected. One farmer commented on this process: "The face of the earth remains loose. Thus the corn remains of one heart. Nothing dies because the soil is moved, and the tender shoots begin to grow. When the second hoeing is finished, God looks at it to see that the corn matures." In the second hoeing, any corn which has grown between hillocks is pulled out so it will not deprive the main stalks of strength. 243

When the corn has matured, the stalks are doubled over to hasten the drying process. The mature cobs are left on the doubled-over stalks for about two weeks to ensure the maximum drying of the kernels before har-

TABLE 6. Schedule of Activities in Corn Production

243
221
412
407

Activity	*Month*	*No. of days necessary for task*	*Helpers*	*Tools*
Clear irrigation ditches	Oct.	6		Machete, forked stick
Fence fields	Nov.	4		Machete, ax
Cut stalks of last year's crop; burn leaves and weeds	Dec.	4		Machete, forked stick
Plow land 3 times	Jan.	3	Oxen	Plow
Clear irrigation ditches	Feb.	2		Machete, forked stick
Irrigate land and leave 6 days	Feb.	2		
Select seed and put in water, leaving overnight	Mar.	1	Wife	
Measure rows and distance between hills so there will be 5 handspans between each hillock; plant corn	Mar.	1		Digging stick, string, net bag
Irrigate planted corn	Mar.	1		
First hoeing	Apr.	4	2 or 3 men	Hoe
Second hoeing	May	3	2 or 3 men	Hoe
Fix irrigated ditches	June	1		Machete
Outside employment	July–Aug.			
Double over corn and leave 15 days	Sept.	4		
Pick corn; put in net bag and degrain cobs with few kernels; carry home harvest.	Oct.	5	Wife, horse	Net bags, sticks,

SOURCE: Information from a farmer possessing ½ hectare of irrigated land in center. He has no sons and one married daughter, whose husband works in sawmill. [115]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

243 vest. Harvesting is done by all the members of the household, sometimes
[592] with the assistance of exchange or hired labor. Women help by going to
[464] the fields and degraining the cobs with few kernels of corn so that there
[462] will not be an unnecessary burden to carry to the houses.

243 A small fiesta for the corn is made following the harvest. The purpose
796 of the fiesta is to reciprocate the spiritual owner of the corn by giving him
782 a "gift." Two candles are lit and set on top of the piles of corncobs. Two other candles are placed near the heaps of corn grains gathered by the

243 192 TABLE 7. Stages of Corn Growth and Agricultural Activities

Stages of growth	*Activity*	*Time (after planting)*
Ślihk sčital (begins to grow)	First hoeing	8 days
Čištal lik ʔiłim (well-grown; about 4 feet)	Second hoeing	1 month
Čištal stekan snıʔ (begins to form husk)		2 months
B'al tzuto (begins to bud)		
Lok'ił tzutohal (flower comes out)		3 months
Yihił sk'ab'enal (begins to mature)		4 months
Lok'ił yihkatz (cobs fill out)		
Sčam hol (its head dies)	Pick cobs to eat fresh	5 months
Yihiłtal sk'anubił (now more yellow)	Double over stalks	6 months
Yihubił (more yellow)		
Tahkinił (dry)		
Sk'ahik lok'el (harvest time)	Pick dried corn	7 months

243 women. The candles cause the spirit of the corn to rise and give its "gift to
796 the world" in the following harvest. Failure to make a fiesta would mean
782 an end to all corn harvests.

243 Corn is brought to the house and stored in the rafters, since there are no
25 corn cribs or separate storage facilities of any kind in the village. Most of
136 the houses are infested with rats as a consequence. When the harvest is brought in, there is an attempt to rid the rafters of these "thieves." The
[411] men and boys armed with slingshots stand posted in the yard as the children rustle around in the rafters chasing the rats out. Although they are remarkably good shots since they use this tool from early childhood, the houses are never completely free of rats, and the inhabitants learn to put up with them.

Wheat. In selecting the seed, the farmers choose those heads with the most kernels—there may be from thirty to eighty on each head. The same kind of seed must be used in planting each plot of land or the soil "does not give well." A new wheat seed was introduced by an American agronomist in the 1950s. The following reaction by an informant reveals why most of the farmers decided not to use it:

There is a quick-growing wheat, called foreign wheat because a foreigner brought it and planted it in the soil. Those who wanted to try it were given some. It was difficult to harvest because it was very dry and broke easily. Most of the grain was left behind on the ground. When it got to the threshing floor, most of it was broken. Therefore the town did not want it. So we continue planting the common wheat and it doesn't break.

The inefficient harvesting techniques force the people to consider loss of grains in deciding what wheat they will seed. However, a few of the farmers continue to grow the new wheat.

The scheduling of wheat production is shown in Table 8. The *arada* plow, introduced by the Spaniards (Foster 1951) and made locally by farmers for their own use, is commonly used to prepare the land. A few farmers borrow the plow of a relative, or sometimes a metal plowshare is bought in the departmental capital.

The harvest is the most arduous work in wheat production, but because it is done with the assistance of four or five helpers, usually brothers or compadres, it is a gay occasion. There are about a dozen threshing shelters which are individually owned and rented for 5 pesos a day. At the height of the harvesting season, the farmers have to wait for their turn to use the shelter. After the threshing, a fiesta is held in the house of the owner of the wheat at which liquor and a meal of beef stew is served. Since the labor involved is based on exchange rather than payment, the owner will take part in the harvest and celebration of those whom he has helped.

Beans. The choice of locale and the time of planting vary more radically for beans than for other crops because of the greater differences in type of seed. The two major types of beans are (1) ground beans, of

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

244 which there is a black variety and a colored variety, and (2) climbing beans, of which there are four subclasses: "painted," white, yellow, and black. Beans must be grown only in irrigated lands of highest productiv-

TABLE 8. Schedule of Activities in Wheat Production

Activity	Winter wheat	Summer wheat	No. of days necessary for task: Winter wheat	No. of days necessary for task: Summer wheat	Helpers	Tools
243 464 461 Clear land	Dec. 7	May 12	5	2	2 paid workers	Machete, forked stick
412 407 Irrigate land; leave soaking	Dec. 7	May 15	1	1		
221 Plow	Dec. 15	May 23	1	2	Oxen team	Plow
Sow seed broadcast; cover, crossing over twice	Dec. 16	May 24	1	1	Oxen team	Plow
Cut wheat	May 1	Oct. 5	2	2	2 or 3 unpaid workers	Scythe
Thresh						
Carry wheat to shelter	May 3	Oct. 7				Net bags
Horses trample wheat	May 4	Oct. 8				
Shake stalks						Forked stick
Scoop grains into wooden box and sift to get rid of chaff	May 5	Oct. 9	3	3	4 or 5 unpaid workers, 5 horses	Box with wire mesh
Put grain in burlap bags; carry to houses on horseback						Burlap bags

[115] SOURCE: Information from two informants, one who grows winter wheat and the other who grows summer wheat, both cultivating ½ hectare of irrigated land.

244 ity. The land in the center, except for the fertilized corral areas, has lately yielded a very poor harvest. People say that the soul of the bean departed when they introduced the crop to their ejido plots in hot country. The scheduling of bean production is shown in Table 9.

241 boiled beans; other tamales (*petul*), which
252 are made from dough and whole beans;
262 and finally, still more atole. The atole is
574 served not in individual *jícaras* but in two
272 or three large ones (*batzil-booch*), which
[415] are passed from person to person. The same is done with the other foods; they are served in one or two large pots (*mucul pulato*) out of which everyone serves him-
241 self. This banquet is given only on the first
574 day of the planting; if other days are required, the milpero himself does the planting.

241 Since weeds grow rapidly during the rain season, the milpa must be hoed twice before it reaches maturity. For this the luk or coa is used and also the hoe (*asron*), the same one used to break the soil before planting. The first weeding is done in June, the second between July and August. Women
[462] help their husbands in this chore and some-
[566] times do it entirely themselves, since the
[464] men are in the habit of leaving for Tapachula to work as peons on the coffee plantations.

244 Also in the milpa beans of several varieties are planted: *chuil-chenek* (or *ibes*, according to the Ladinos); *botil*, a large common bean; *xakil-chenek* or *frijol de vara*; and the *x-luumil-chenek* or *frijol de la tierra*, thus called because it is a creeping plant.

Chile is planted on a separate lot, 15–20 m. square. The planting is done during the first weeks of March, in alternate years so that it will not coincide with the year when the people of Cancuc plant cotton. Chile planted by the people of Oxchuc is *dzajalik* or red chile.

241 Toward the end of August, the first fruits are ready (*unimajam* or *jilote*, according to Ladinos). These are received with great joy by the families which are by then lack-
[242] ing food. From each plant, which provides two or three *jilotes*, the farthest down is picked to let the other two grow bigger.
[252] These jilotes are boiled without salt and
[263] are eaten whole, including the husks.
[262] [P 201-A]

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Amatenango del Valle

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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Guarding the crops. The crops must be guarded against intruders. The farmers sometimes sleep in the fields when they expect animals to steal the ripening corn. They observe the habits of these intruders and develop belief systems which help them organize opposition: 241 825

The raccoon steals maize seeds. He pushes down cornstalks when they are in elote and steals the cob. He is very smart. He can tell whether the owner is sleeping or not by putting his hand on his own anus. If his anus is cold, the owner is awake; if it is hot the owner is asleep and he enters.

Some men who live below in Alannantik have good dogs. They planted their milpa, and the next night wanted to hunt. "You stay with one dog,"

TABLE 9. Schedule of Activities in Bean Production

244 461 464 412

Activity	*Date*	*No. of days necessary for task*	*Helpers*	*Tools*
Cleaning and preparation of soil is same as for corn (Table 6)				
Ground beans				
Plant between rows of corn	Mar. 1	2	3 exchange workers	Digging stick
Cultivate	Apr. 19	3	2 exchange workers	Hoe
Harvest, pulling up entire plants and putting them in burlap bags	July 10	2		
Store in eaves of house				Burlap bags
When pods are very dry, beat bag with stick to depod beans	Sept. 1	2	women of household	Stick
Pole beans				
Plant, following the second hoeing of corn, setting seeds near each hillock of corn	May 2	1		Digging stick
Wind the vines up on corn stalk; tie	June	1		
Cut pods and store in burlap bags in eaves of house	Nov.	1		Burlap bags
Shell beans as they are used				

SOURCE: Same as for Table 6.

[115]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

9. The Tzeltal

ALFONSO VILLA ROJAS

131 OCCUPYING A REGION east of the Tzotzil, the Tzeltal live in the central part of the state of Chia-
133 pas, Mexico. Three natural zones divide this land: gentle slopes and plains in the south (Amatenango del Valle, Aguacatenango, Pinola, Soyatitan, and Socoltenango); high peaks and irregular terrain in the central part (Chanal, Oxchuc, Tenejapa, Cancuc, Abasolo, and Tenango); lower peaks toward the north.

GEOGRAPHY AND DEMOGRAPHY

13 Vegetation varies with climate and altitude. In the temperate or cold lands, evergreen oaks and pines predominate; in the lower and warm areas are high evergreen forests, alternating with savannas and subdeciduous forest (F. Miranda, 1952, vol. 1, ch. 3). In
[245] the temperate and the warm zones coffee and a great variety of fruit trees—orange, annona, peach—are cultivated.

133 Few rivers of any volume cross the moun-
[487] tainous terrain. None are navigable. The hydrographic system is delimited by the Usmacinta and Grijalva rivers; the former

[P. 195-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajon
Tenango
Sivacá

dark gray in colour, with a considerable admixture of fine limestone gravel. As far as could be ascertained, the mixture is worked without other preparation than that of dampening it to a good consistency. 323

The actual pottery making, *hutsul ya pas ŏcom*, ("I am making a cooking pot"), which is done by the women, was observed at Sivacá. Some of the men of the village had worked for us at Toniná, and they, particularly the heavy set one on the extreme right of the picture (fig. 297), a cheerful and very thirsty fellow, remembered me as a friend. A few poor jokes and a handful of cigarettes won the men over, so that the visit became less an investigation than a triumphal tour, escorted by the whole male population, the Alcalde leading, in and out through the village. It really was very good fun. We wound our way among the huts, seeking the 323 123

343

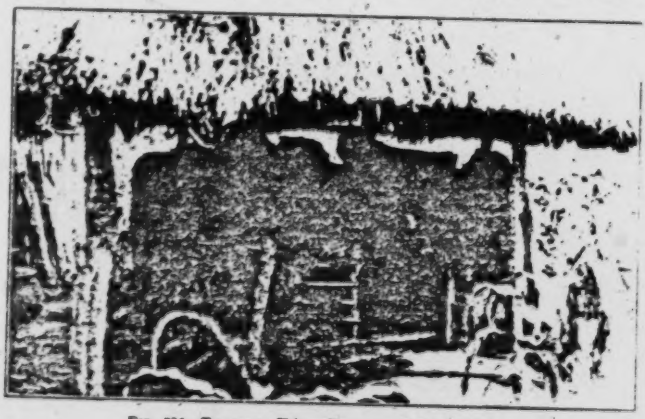

FIG. 296—Tenango, Chis. Close-up of Sweat House.

323 123

shade wherever possible, scuffling up a good deal of dust, now and then tripping over a pig or a dog. Whenever we came to an orange tree, someone would climb it, to come down with a handful of little, green fruits, so poisonous to look at, and so very sweet and refreshing to eat. They dragged out specimens of all their pottery, and at last lead me with some pomp to a house in which a woman was at work. The good wife did not in the least understand this visit, and was not at all sure that she liked it. All the men clamoured at her at once, telling her to come out and be photographed. Finally she brought her clay and unbaked pots, setting all in the sun, still a little bit afraid that this meant some new Ladino imposition. She set to work as though finding some relief from her embarrassment in the occupation. [245] [126]

5: Blom & LaFargé A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

133 green wall away to the westward. Midway, there is a break in the slope, with a dramatic splash of deep red cliffs, in violent contrast
241 to the fertile grass and soft tones of the limestone outcrops. Only the upper end of this valley belongs to Tenango, so little, in fact that the inhabitants cannot practice the usual, sprawling milpa sys-
[351] tem of agriculture. The very yards are planted, and the fields start almost in the village, radiating from it in a close patchwork
[417] as in Europe. Everything is fenced with roughly split planks set on end, and fences line the road into Tenango where it passes
361 through the cornfields. The houses with their yards lie close about an open plaza in which are the grey bones of a ruined church, a

342
361

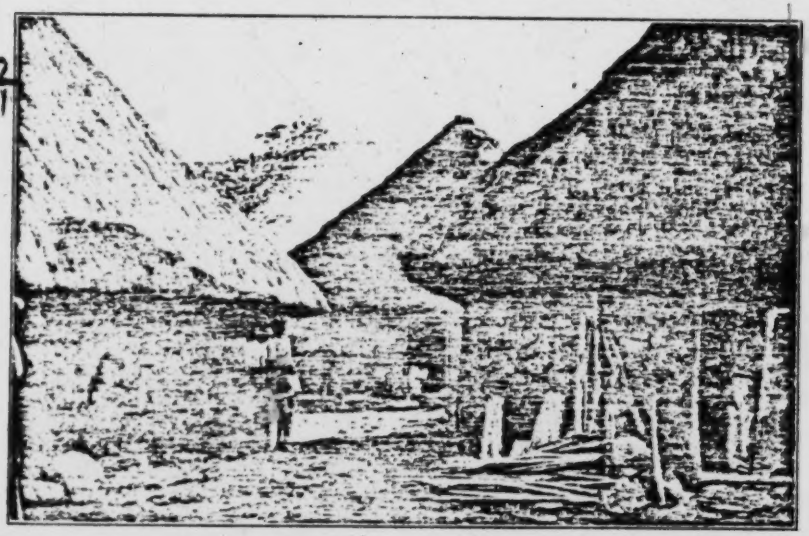

Fig. 312—Tenango, Chis. Houses.

361
whitewashed, palm-roofed native one, and the shack of a Cabildo for
245 the Maestro. The streets are lined with useful trees, oranges, gourds,
363 and a few bananas, which do poorly at this altitude.

342 The houses are square and well-made with walls of broad, split planks covered with mud (figs. 311-312). The roofs are steeply thatched and pyramidal, or have a short ridge along which broken pots are laid after the manner of tiles. The frame-work differs from that described in the last chapter in having cross-pieces laid between
[354] the plates. There are no chimneys, the smoke is allowed to seep through the thatch, keeping out vermin and making the roofs steam like a clam-bake.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc
Tenejapa

From Cancuc the road falls slowly away, then it climbs to the steep side of the ridge and at last dips percipitously to a covered bridge over a narrow ravine. All along on both sides little cornfields alternate with second growth. Ahead, the same great palisade that we saw from Tenango rises in a green wall, patched with fields and broken here and there by outcrops of cliffs and hanging valleys. We passed a dribbling of traffic, Indians on foot, and at the bridge met a family of Mexicans noisily eating a picnic lunch. The ravine was deep, rock-walled, with a roaring stream in the shadows of the bottom. From the other side of it the palisade rose immediately, looking almost perpendicular and indefinitely high to us as we contemplated it. The road assumed a stiff grade, rising in a series of zig-zags that gained painfully to the top. Straight up, almost like a ruled line, lay the Indian trail, taking no account of the twists and turns of the road. Our carriers from Cancuc, who took on the cargo that the Tenango men had carried the day before, had gone up that fearsome climb. We tried it, but the horses slid and fell back on their haunches, and we ourselves could barely keep our footing. So we continued along the road, turning and turning, seeming never to gain, and fearing that our animals would never make it. The heat of the sun was thrown back by the hillside and the road.

We toiled on. Low growth and brush on the side of the road gave no shade. The dust rose high. The air, for all the heat, began to have a pleasant crispness that reminded us of high altitudes in other countries. Then we smelt a familiar smell which we ignored until its persistent recurrence forced us to look, see, and believe—that blackberries grow wild in Chiapas! The event of the next hours amused Lazaro greatly, for here in Mexico we found ourselves among familiar northern flowers and wild fruits, buttercups, dandelions, wild roses, blackberries, strawberries, all strange to him. We passed an Indian farm, stuck into a tiny hanging valley, where peach trees and alligator pears were growing together in the cornfield.

At the top of the pass in a shallow V-shaped cut, the barometer read 2,100 meters, a climb of 600 meters—about 1,900 feet—in two hours.

The country changed beyond here to steep ravines, high cliffs, rushing, cold brooks, and tall, dark fir trees clothing the rocks. The tilled fields disappeared, the scattered houses, and stick fences. It was a wild, shaggy country—a perfect setting, we thought, for the home of the rough Tenejapeños that we had seen along the road.

Near evening, a road forked off to the right, leading to a split in a wall of high cliffs through which we could see, already dark with

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Tenejapa

361 Amatenango lies in an open valley. It is estimated at three
342 hundred houses, each in a fenced yard of good size, and shaded with
351 fruit trees. The houses are large and well built, of mud and grass
245 thatch, with porches. The small church and Town Hall are tiled-
346 roof and stuccoed. The fields, which lie close around the town, and
344 the gardens in the town itself are watered by a stream brought down
241 a very pretty, roaring flume from higher land behind the village.
312 The irrigation system is fairly elaborate, and is unique in this area as far as we know.

323 The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one shape, a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, how-

344

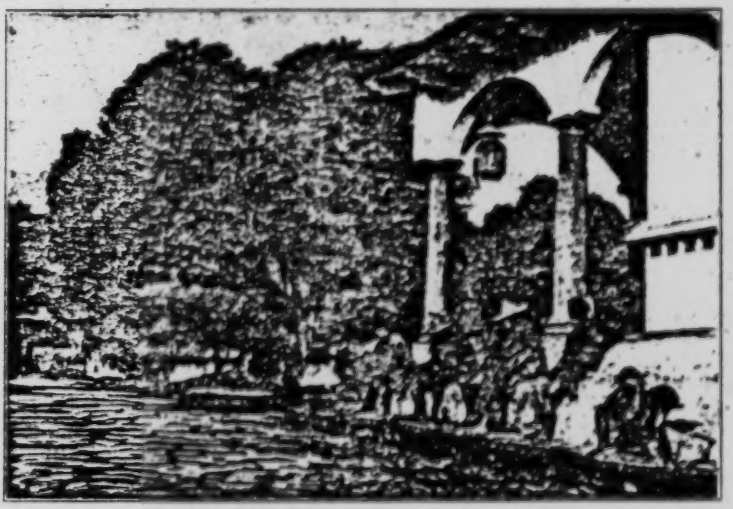

FIG. 882—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians at the Town Hall.

323 ever, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep, reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of boards, two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman in charge turns them until they are done (fig. 883). These pots are
[443] carried by the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they are redis-
[492] tributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala. Their industry is sufficient to enable them to maintain mules for carrying their goods, although both men and beasts are equally loaded.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

352 utensils pertaining to the other room include three tables of varying form and size. One of these, about 60 cm. high, is called *akhintel*,[23] and serves as a support for the metate (*chá*). Another smaller table (*matzamalté*) has three legs and is circular in form; it is used in making tortillas. The third table (*ucbalté*), also small but quadrangular, is used in serving food. Three benches of hollow logs 415 (*tzantel*) and small chairs (*taburetes*) serve as seats. Deep baskets and gasoline .251 boxes are used for holding clothes. Hanging from the roof is always to be seen a disk made of vines (*likin-nab*). This is used to keep comestibles from the rats. The other implements are the griddle, pots, and other vessels of clay, and calabashes and gourds in various forms and dimensions.

343 Besides the fowl pen (*na-mut*) and the pigpen (*na-chitán*) it is common to [417] see near the house the temazcal, or steam bath (*pus*). It is made of clay and irregularly shaped stones; it is rectangular with a small door in front and a ventilator in the rear. It is usual to cover it with a small shelter of straw. The use of the temazcal [184] is common in the highlands. It is almost not to be found from Ococingo northward.

29 Each village has its own costume; however, local variations conform to a 184 certain pattern which changes according to the altitudes and climate. Thus, in the region of Los Altos the usual pattern of dress is the following: for men, short cotton trousers (*uex*)[24] and cotton shirt (*kú*) reaching to the knees, a sash (*chukichut*) of wool or cotton and in most cases red in color, a poncho (*tzotz*) made of wool and in most cases dark grey in color, a handkerchief (*chuhkil*), a straw hat (*pixol*), and leather sandals (*xanab*), women wear a white blouse (*ku*) and a blue shirt (*tzequel*), both made either of wool or of cotton, and a red woolen sash (*chukichut*). Some women in going out-of-doors add a woolen *rebozo*. Women use also a cotton cloth (*zitz-cal*) to carry small children. They wear no footgear.

In the tierra caliente the dress of the women is almost the same except that it is cleaner. On the other hand that of the men, although equally clean, presents marked differences: the trousers are longer and the shirt shorter, coming to resemble an open blouse or *guayabera*. The sash and the poncho cease to be indispensable [177] garments. It is in this region that there is most use of trousers and shirt in European style.

551 In Tenejapa, Starr found that the Indians had Tzeltal surnames. He says, 582 "We feel sure that these are *not* nicknames, but the old family names still preserved."[25] He does not give examples, and says nothing about any relation between 114 these name-groups and marriage. Blom and LaFarge make no note of such names, and say, "there are no formal restrictions on marriage."[26]

582 Villa found Indian surnames present in Chanal, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc, 551 and was told that marriage is not allowed, or is at least strongly discouraged, between persons of the same Indian surname. In Chanal an informant indicated that such

[184] [23] The names of these objects vary from one village to another, those which are described here were obtained in Chanal.

[24] The names of some of these garments vary likewise from one village to another, here Villa gives names used in Chanal.

[25] Starr, 1908, p. 73.

[26] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:159.

241 Between September and October, when the tender ears are ready, some are torn loose to prepare atoles and tamales.

Toward the middle of October, when the milpa has reached maturity, all hands proceed to the task of the *dobla*, folding or breaking the stem of the plant so that the ear dries and may later be put into the barn. This is an easy task, in which men, women, and children take part. [462] [857]

The harvest takes place in November and December with the participation of the whole family; it is a joyful task which compensates for all the moments of anxiety in the previous months, when subsistence was scarce. The produce from the milpa is gathered in large nets and later stored in a corner of the house or in some improvised structure nearby. The crop is measured by *zontles*, units of 400 ears, which are formed by counting the ears by fives; two ears are taken in one hand and three in the other until 400 are reached. The family of five members which manages to harvest from 15 to 20 zontles considers itself happy, since that much will last them the entire year, consuming 20 ears a day plus feeding one or two hogs and 10 or 12 chickens. [592] [251] [804] [261] [231]

The milpa also produces various squashes, manioc (*dzinté*), and peanuts, which the Indians call *caxlan-chenek* ('Ladino's bean').

243 184 Exceptional among the Tzeltal is the cultivation of wheat in Amatenango. There the small valley and a creek have favored its development.

241 796 The most important ceremonies take place immediately after planting. They entrust the germination of the seed to the care of God, of the "thirteen holders of Heaven," and of "Tatik Jesucristo." The "thirteen holders of Heaven" refer to the principal saints who are mentioned in the prayers. The ceremonies consist in offerings of prayers and incense before the crosses kept in caves belonging to each paraje, and in one *bikit mixa* ('small Mass'), which the cabildos and principales of the [778] [782]

[P 201-B]

342 lages of the lowlands where the houses have
[354] small windows, which improve ventilation
342 and illumination slightly. In places like
184 Chanal, where there is abundant lumber, the sides of the houses are built with wooden boards set vertically. The largest and best-built houses are in Tenejapa center.

Generally, the hut is divided into two rooms: the front is parlor and kitchen, the rear is bedroom. In Bachajon the rear room serves as bedroom and kitchen, the front room for sewing and grinding and the re-
[574] ception of visitors. In Amatenango del Valle the front of the house is open and
[323] used as a porch for visits. Ceramic work
[251] is also performed here. In one room of the house a bin of wood or reeds stores corn.
[343] Sometimes, small structures which serve as granaries are built inside the hut.

343 Among the auxiliary structures outside is
515 the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. Not every hut has a *pus* since one is enough to attend the needs of several neighboring families. The *pus* is a small room 1.5 m. high by 2 m. on each side, built of stones and clay. The roof is flat. Inside a hollow forms a hearth for heating stones. Water thrown on these red-hot stones produces the necessary steam. On the floor are boards on which people lie while taking the bath.
[184] Among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil the *pus* is
[759] not only for cleanliness but also for the cure
[846] of certain diseases and to strengthen women after childbirth. Sweat baths are more commonly taken in Tierra Fria than in Tierra Caliente.

417 The other structures near the hut are the chickencoop and the hogpen.

352 Furniture is limited to essential items. In the kitchen are the three hearth stones, the comal (*samet*), the grinding stone (*chá*), a bench or strong table to hold the metate (*ah-ken*), one or two small tables (*matzmalté* or *vebalté*) 25–39 cm. high and 30–40 cm. in diameter, and small benches 15–20 cm. high made of scooped-out tree trunks
415 (*tzanté*). Kitchen equipment includes earthenware (pans, pitchers, and jars) and

[P. 207-B]

412 stone, *ton-al-ha'*, ("water stone"). The other, *skaltca-muk* ("big metate") was made of an igneous stone called *hayáltcak*, brought from San Martín. The *manos*, or smaller stones used for grinding on these, were called *miscabtca* (fig. 290). To the left, opposite 354 this table, was the fire, *kak'*, built of two broken ollas and two small rocks, placed so that the logs could be laid star-fashion between them, and close enough together to support the tortilla griddle or 354 an olla (fig. 291). Outside the house was another fire, with only • 251 three stones, on which was drying a basket full of *pinole*, *tcilim*, a 252 fruit which is mixed with cacao in a form of chocolate. Over the house fireplace racks, *baxtet*, were placed at the level of the eaves 354 across the corner, and along the wall to the middle post, that things 353 hung up there might be protected by the smoke from insects. All 417 these things are indicated in the plan.

352
412

FIG. 290—Table with Metates.

352 A hammock, *aktci*, which we understood was not of native make, hung across the middle of the house. Two woven mats, *pOp*, the Spanish *petate*, lay on the beds. Beside this, the beds, and the table, the only thing that could properly be called furniture was a three-[287] legged stool about 30 centimeters high, *matsumte*. Two mats of pounded bark, or tapa, *bat-te* ("bark tree"), or *bat manál tcahan*, were rolled up in a corner. First comers got the hammock to lie in, others sat on the low "squatting seats," *tsamate*, of which there were three, made each of half a log, peeled, and partially flattened on top, with a handle on one end.

415 The tortilla griddle was a flat, dish-like pottery affair, about 40 centimeters in diameter. There were five ollas, *ócom*, with plain

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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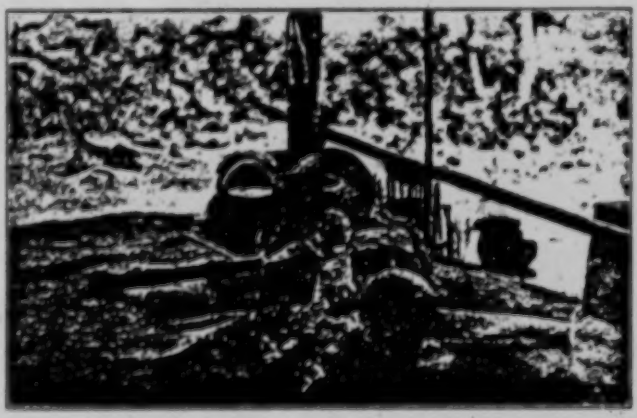
necks and round bottoms. Two were full of corn and lime for 415
tortillas, just off the fire. A big Tenango jar, *k'ip*, of the kind to be described at that place, was used for water.

A pottery dish, about 7 centimeters across, *tsets*, is commonly [515]
offered to guests to wash their hands. It is placed on a pottery stand [574]
of an hour-glass shape, about 15 centimeters high, *awaliko* (see fig. 299). The ordinary plates and general vessels are flat gourd dishes, *qai'*, about 20 centimeters across. Gourds as well were used for a dipper, *tuts*, and a water-jar, *tsux*. Two nets hung from the rack. 353
There were three small baskets, *tutemotc*, and four big ones, *mukulmotc*. Hanging on the wall were a pair of the basket-work sandals mentioned before, and selected ears of corn for seed. The wife's 283
textile outfit, more fully described later, consisted of a spindle, *pětět*, 286.



354

FIG. 161—Bachajón Fireplace.

with clay whorl, spun in a gourd bowl, *tsima*, cotton, *t'umin*, hang- 283
ing in leaves, and the loom itself, *holěl*. A sling, made of a forked 286
stick and rubber band with a leather piece to take the clay pellet, 411
finmutc, belonged to the small boy. Bananas were drying on the rack. With them were laid, or hanging in packages of leaves, bees- 353
wax, *tcavek*, blocks, 20 x 20 x 2 centimeters, for trade purposes, 237
used for making candles, a lump of hard red clay, *baq lum* ("bitter [251]
earth"), for washing the hair, and sometimes also eaten, a package of brown loaf sugar, salt, *atsam*, traded down from the Zotzil country, several packages of pimiento pepper, and serpent fat, *junto tcan*, for rubbing on the chest to cure coughs. Under the table was a 353
basket of coarse, blackish-gray clay for making pottery, *tcavek lum* [323]
("beeswax earth"). Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

tied by a string carried down to an arched stick, H, stuck in the ground. This string, by holding down the far ends, counterbalances the weight of the fall at the other ends. At the end of the string the cross-stick, D, holds it against the arch; it, in turn, is held by the trigger, C, one end of which braces against it, the other end against the far side of the trap, passing under the deadfall. A circular fence of sticks prevents an animal from getting at the outer part of the trap. A straight fence on the other side of the fall necessitates its entering through the entrance, AA, to get at the bait, B, on the trigger. The animal dislodges the trigger, releasing D and with it the string. The outer ends of the sticks fly up, and the weighted log falls. In the rat trap, the log and stones came to at least three kilograms, arranged to fall through a space of about ten centimeters, other traps being in proportion. 224

When hunting with a gun, a red fruit called *ahoon* is frequently rubbed on the shot, and *palma bendita, tcul-tĕc-wil can,* the palm used in church decorations, is used for the wad. This prevents the bullet "from getting tired" before it reaches its mark. [824]

Meat obtained while hunting, if it cannot be carried immediately to the house, is dried on a rack, *tcar.* 251

The primary method of carrying goods of all kinds is by the tump-line, for which, as has been said in the discussion of physical and other characteristics, these people are very well adapted. The tump-line, *pak,* is a broad strip of inner bark, or of cow-hide. For their ordinary uses, this is a single strip, the ends being attached to a net (q. v.) of their own manufacture. When a package too bulky for the net is carried, a long strap is used with the ends tied together. This is looped through itself, around the package, so that it hangs in two slings. Additional straps may be attached to the line where it passes over the ears, to wrap around the sides of the burden. A flat piece of cowhide, *tcokHar,* is worn against the back, to protect the carrier from the chafing of his load. Both men and women use the tump-line, the carrying of objects on the head being unusual. 482

Formerly the Indians of this district are said to have owned a good many mules and horses for packing, which they lost during the recent political disturbances. Many of them know something about packing. At present, however, few if any own cattle of any kind. 498 [78]

The highland rivers do not, on the whole, lend themselves to water travel, although the Bachajon territory reaches to the Bascan, Tulija, and other more amenable water-ways. Canoes are known only as introductions of German or Ladino ranchers. The natives use a 487 581 [77]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

243 vest. Harvesting is done by all the members of the household, sometimes
[592] with the assistance of exchange or hired labor. Women help by going to
[464] the fields and degraining the cobs with few kernels of corn so that there
[462] will not be an unnecessary burden to carry to the houses.

243 A small fiesta for the corn is made following the harvest. The purpose
796 of the fiesta is to reciprocate the spiritual owner of the corn by giving him
782 a "gift." Two candles are lit and set on top of the piles of corncobs. Two other candles are placed near the heaps of corn grains gathered by the

243
192

TABLE 7. Stages of Corn Growth and Agricultural Activities

Stages of growth	*Activity*	*Time (after planting)*
Šlihk sčital (begins to grow)	First hoeing	8 days
Čištal lik ʔišim (well-grown; about 4 feet)	Second hoeing	1 month
Čištal stekan sniʔ (begins to form husk)		2 months
B'al tzuto (begins to bud)		
Lok'iš tzutohal (flower comes out)		3 months
Yihiš sk'ab'enal (begins to mature)		4 months
Lok'iš yihkatz (cobs fill out)		
Sčam hol (its head dies)	Pick cobs to eat fresh	5 months
Yihištal sk'anubiš (now more yellow)	Double over stalks	6 months
Yihubiš (more yellow)		
Tahkiniš (dry)		
Sk'ahik lok'el (harvest time)	Pick dried corn	7 months

243 women. The candles cause the spirit of the corn to rise and give its "gift to
796 the world" in the following harvest. Failure to make a fiesta would mean
782 an end to all corn harvests.

243 Corn is brought to the house and stored in the rafters, since there are no
25 corn cribs or separate storage facilities of any kind in the village. Most of
136 the houses are infested with rats as a consequence. When the harvest is brought in, there is an attempt to rid the rafters of these "thieves."[1] The
[411] men and boys armed with slingshots stand posted in the yard as the children rustle around in the rafters chasing the rats out. Although they are remarkably good shots since they use this tool from early childhood, the houses are never completely free of rats, and the inhabitants learn to put up with them.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

by the company truck to replenish supplies they bring with them. Most of the workers are young men in their twenties and thirties. They return Saturday evening in a truck supplied by the company and go back to work on Monday morning. Weekly wage payments have upset the usual controls over budget management. Money earned from crops is handled by women. The sawmill workers have resisted passing over their paychecks to their wives or mothers, and several court cases have been precipitated as a result (Appendix 2b).

All of the work in which men are engaged outside of the community is voluntarily undertaken for cash compensation. Formerly, forced labor of two kinds was frequently demanded of the Indians: communal labor in the neighboring ladino town when Tzoʔontahal was an *agente municipal* of that town, and work in neighboring fincas for wages of 50 cents a day. Forced communal work came to an end when the town became an independent municipio in 1931, and the labor roundups at substandard wages were ended when Indians became conscious of their rights guaranteed in the *Ley Federal del Trabajo* in the late 30s. Copies of the *Colección Jurídica Ley Federal del Trabajo* are sold in the departmental marketplace along with the *Codigo Agraria*. Awareness of their rights as workers is concomitant with increasing entry into wage labor employment outside of the local community. As yet, Indians do not have any organized labor interest groups to champion their rights. The Commissioner of Indian affairs in the departmental capital is an intermediary in individual cases that arise. But wage levels and conditions of work are set in a free market in which the Indian's only control is to refuse to work.

The few special occupations in the town, such as butchering, caponizing, weaving bags, carpentry, and midwifery, have never developed into full-time professions.[2] The failure of the development of specialization is related to the tradition of ritual offerings of gifts of liquor and consumables and to the lack of a marketplace in the town.

Most of the livestock raised in the town is sold to butchers of the neighboring town because of lack of storage or of market facilities for the meat. Pigs and bulls are slaughtered in town only on the occasion of a celebra-

2. Curing is treated in a separate chapter since it is an exceptional case of specialization related to social control.

square. Although this conception is contradicted by knowledge learned in 772
school, the two concepts are not brought into direct opposition. The town 361
still defines the outer limit of most meaningful social relations, and most people are not forced by the circumstances of their lives to deal with an understanding of the world as round. It is enough that the four "sides" of their village be protected by crosses at the points of entry. The important orientation points are the east, referred to as the "coming out of the sun," and the west, referred to as "the sleeping place of the sun." North and south are referred to as lowland and highland because of the topography. Compass orientation is important behaviorally only at death. The body of [764]
the deceased is laid out in the cemetery with the head to the east. Indians [829]
comment that the Ladinos lay the body out with the head to the west, but Indians of other towns, such as Zinacantan, also do so. The cemetery is located on the western side of the town.

The House

The reference to the house in prayer as "the entry to suffering, inside 342
the poverty" suggests the "cult of poverty" which Wolf (1955:459) points [782]
out as characteristic of closed corporate Indian communities. Most people conform to a standard house size of five square meters subdivided into an interior sleeping and living area and a porch (Fig. 8). The walls are made of mud strengthened with lime packed in a framework of poles supported on nine main posts. The roofs are pitched with four sheds rising steeply to a truncated ridge. Tiles are used in most new houses to cover the roof, but there are still many thatched palm or wooden shingle roofs. Corn and [251]
beans are stored in the rafters under the eaves of the house.

Inside the house, beds line the two side walls. If there is no cooking [352]
shack separate from the house, the hearth is placed in the center of the in- [354]
terior room. The grinding stone, raised on three posts, is placed to the left [412]
of the center post.

The porch is the area for ceremonial gatherings and for making and storing pottery. A table with the pictures of household saints set against [353]
the inside wall, is adorned with flowers and candles. During house fiestas, [796]
men sit on the benches lining the four walls of the porch, while the [562]
women sit inside in a semicircle.

184 562 562 462 592 used as a cash crop) or livestock. He decides when and where to plant what, who should buy or sell any household property, when to go to market, etc. If a son is living with his father, he 592 593 562 can talk about "our cow," but he is usually referring to his father's animal. In the same way, when a woman who is single talks about "our maize," she is referring to the maize cultivated by her father and brothers and stored by her mother. If she is married, she means the maize produced by her father-in-law and husband, and controlled by her mother-in-law.

592 593 562 [606] The eldest woman in the household has authority over the younger females residing within it, including the daughter-in-law, because during the period in which a married man resides with his parents, the wife, being the younger, is under the direct authority of her husband's mother. The elder woman controls the [251] food given to her by her husband and son, and she keeps it stored in the tapanco (roof granary). She selects the food for the meals, and sets up the housekeeping schedule for the younger women in the homestead.

592 593 434 562 Women "keep" the money that their husbands earn at home. They are supposed to save it, and not spend any of it without the husband's permission. They do control small amounts of cash which they can obtain by selling eggs, fruits or some vegetables that they grow in the garden. They are allowed to spend it on some luxuries: new clothes for a fiesta, a new pot, or something similar, but they are not expected to take care of themselves. 59 562 Before marriage, a woman is supported by her father and brothers, and lives under her father's roof. After marriage, she is

241 machete (*machit*) or the *luk*, a sort of
[412] curved machete with a long handle, are the implements needed. The cutting of the grass from the plot where the milpa had been the previous year is *selab*; the cutting of bush grown for three or four years is *sok-uej*. The work of cutting the bush is done by the entire family, including children of seven or eight years old.

[221] The planting is done between April and
[412] May after the first rains, with a long stick whose tip is hardened by fire or pro-
[242] tected by a metal point. The seed must come from large, healthy ears whose tips have been cut off because they have small
[824] corn. *The *olote*, or corncob, is either kept or thrown away at a distance to avoid its being used as fuel, for this would hurt the milpa which then would produce ears with broken kernels.

241 The task of planting is a very delicate
462 matter, to be performed after fasting and
785 sexual abstinence. It is exclusively a man's
834 affair. A great banquet is served at noon,
241 generally outdoors as the hut interiors are
574 small, to the friends and neighbors who will participate as helpers. Sometimes as
[476] many as 10 men help to plant a friend's milpa. The meal is offered "precisely when the sun stops for a moment midway on its run and the doors of the Church of Heaven are opened, from where the quality of the banquet is observed." This is *s-uelil-abal* ('meal of the planting').

241 When things are properly done, the meal
262 consists of a number of items. First the
272 *atole* (*pajal-ul*) is served, which is slightly
574 sour and sweetened with *panela*. As "com-
[263] panion" to this atole are tamales (*chenkul-uaj*), which are prepared with cornmeal and ground beans. It is said that both things are to be served together so that "the seed may penetrate deep into the ground."

241 After this preliminary snack comes what is
252 considered the main course for each per-
262 son: a hard-boiled egg in a thick reddish
574 broth prepared from dough and ground
272 chile dissolved in water; a large tortilla;

[P. 199-B]

NEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201-A]

241 boiled beans; other tamales (*petul*), which
252 are made from dough and whole beans;
262 and finally, still more atole. The atole is
574 served not in individual *jícaras* but in two
272 or three large ones (*batzil-booch*), which
[415] are passed from person to person. The same is done with the other foods; they are served in one or two large pots (*mucul pulato*) out of which everyone serves himself. This banquet is given only on the first
241 574 day of the planting; if other days are required, the milpero himself does the planting.

241 Since weeds grow rapidly during the rain season, the milpa must be hoed twice before it reaches maturity. For this the luk or coa is used and also the hoe (*asron*), the same one used to break the soil before planting. The first weeding is done in June, the second between July and August. Women
[462] help their husbands in this chore and some-
[566] times do it entirely themselves, since the
[464] men are in the habit of leaving for Tapachula to work as peons on the coffee plantations.

244 Also in the milpa beans of several varieties are planted: *chuil-chenek* (or *ibes*, according to the Ladinos); *botil*, a large common bean; *xakil-chenek* or *frijol de vara*; and the *x-luumil-chenek* or *frijol de la tierra*, thus called because it is a creeping plant.

Chile is planted on a separate lot, 15–20 m. square. The planting is done during the first weeks of March, in alternate years so that it will not coincide with the year when the people of Cancuc plant cotton. Chile planted by the people of Oxchuc is *dzajalik* or red chile.

241 Toward the end of August, the first fruits are ready (*unimajam* or *jilote*, according to Ladinos). These are received with great joy by the families which are by then lack-
[242] ing food. From each plant, which provides two or three *jilotes*, the farthest down is picked to let the other two grow bigger.
[252] These jilotes are boiled without salt and
[263] are eaten whole, including the husks.
[262] [P. 201-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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648 mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

829 The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We received many small favours and [123] acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

FIG. 293—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

241 In their culture these people [181] belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend [433] primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the [291] staple crop. Calabashes, melons, [301] beans, tobacco, bananas, and cotton are raised. The farming is [302] carried on by the same wasteful "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old [178] Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment [166] of many cities. In the case of the Bachajon, it has already become one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn 262 boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates 252 which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and 411 weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but al- 412 ways made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most 184 amazing industries in the world. 177

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

412 stone, *ton-al-ha'*, ("water stone"). The other, *skaltca-muk* ("big metate") was made of an igneous stone called *hayáltcak*, brought from San Martín. The *manos*, or smaller stones used for grinding on these, were called *miscabtca* (fig. 290). To the left, opposite 354 this table, was the fire, *kak'*, built of two broken ollas and two small rocks, placed so that the logs could be laid star-fashion between them, and close enough together to support the tortilla griddle or 354 an olla (fig. 291). Outside the house was another fire, with only 251 three stones, on which was drying a basket full of *pinole*, *tcilim*, a 252 fruit which is mixed with cacao in a form of chocolate. Over the house fireplace racks, *baxtet*, were placed at the level of the eaves 354 across the corner, and along the wall to the middle post, that things 353 hung up there might be protected by the smoke from insects. All 417 these things are indicated in the plan.

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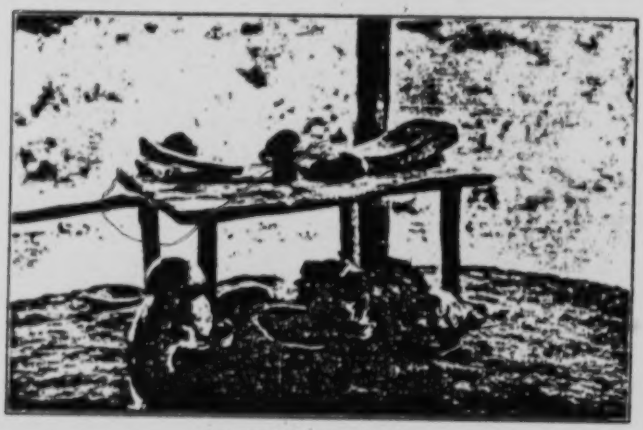

Fig. 290—Table with Metates.

352 A hammock, *aktci*, which we understood was not of native make, hung across the middle of the house. Two woven mats, *pOp*, the Spanish *petate*, lay on the beds. Beside this, the beds, and the table, the only thing that could properly be called furniture was a three-[287] legged stool about 30 centimeters high, *matsumte*. Two mats of pounded bark, or tapa, *bat-te* ("bark tree"), or *bat manil tcahan*, were rolled up in a corner. First comers got the hammock to lie in, others sat on the low "squatting seats," *tsamate*, of which there were three, made each of half a log, peeled, and partially flattened on top, with a handle on one end.

415 The tortilla griddle was a flat, dish-like pottery affair, about 40 centimeters in diameter. There were five ollas, *ŏcom*, with plain

434 178 177 I can get one then. Last year I bought a transistor radio for nine hundred and ninety pesos. My wife said she would leave me if I got it because all [053] the children would get sick. But I got it anyway and no one was sick. I am stronger than my enemies."

Innovation on the consumption level is adding a stimulus to innovation in economic activities. The successful innovator must invent a rationale for his improved standards of living and then prove that he can survive the possible evil consequences of envy. The process of adoption is one of a shift in the incidence of choices made in the direction of improving levels of living. The new is often incorporated with the old rather than replacing it. For example, after the rough preparation has been done with the mill, [252] grinding stones are used for the final grinding of corn to get the dough [415] into the preferred consistency for making tortillas. Tin plates are used along with crockery and gourds. Some items are linked in change: for ex- [291] ample, tailored pants are worn only with buttoned shirts and belts and [096] with zippered jackets. The old forms are continued in a ceremonial con- [415] text: kotonču is preferred when a man undertakes an official role, and gourds are preferred to any other container for ceremonial foods. The technology of production lags behind the changes in consumption that have increased the need for greater income—agricultural tools have not been modified since the colonial period when the wooden plow, metal hoe, machete, and plow used with draft animals were added. Changes in consumption needs rather than in productive technology are expanding the economic horizons of the Indians.

Choices and Strategies in Agricultural Production

241 In agricultural and pottery production, decision-making concerning the use of land and labor resources is controlled not only by a traditional technology but more importantly by a given state of cognitive orientations that determines, in Goodenough's words (1966:54), "what states of affairs they have learned to discern, what they believe to be the relations between them, and what they understand to be the processes by which one state can be transformed into another." Agriculturalists have a fine perception

[P198-6]

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Plate 8. Women of a household and their helpers grinding corn and making tortillas with a press in preparation for a house ceremony. They are all dressed in the traditional costume. Most of such food preparation is done inside the house except at the time of large festivals. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

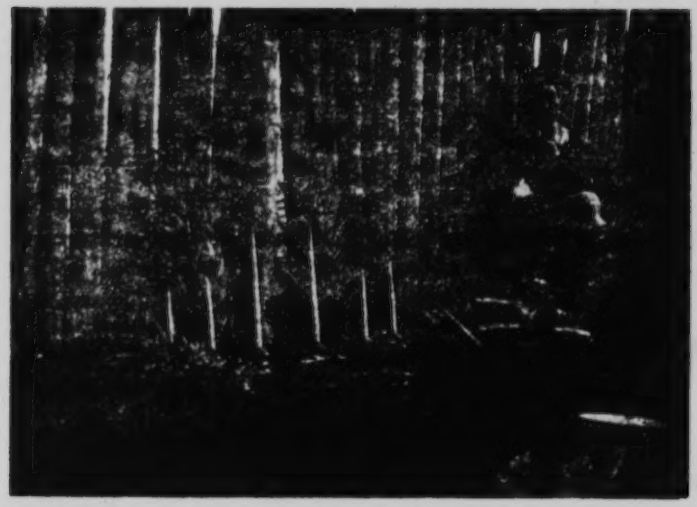

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Plate 9. Curer sitting next to the center post where he has just arranged the candles and branches of spring bushes in preparation for the house fiesta. The basket contains the protective crosses, bound with palm fronds, which he will nail on the house posts. The basin contains springwater, and the gourd in the foreground contains the powdered medicines which will be added to the water and drunk. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

might have been his father, an uncle, or a godparent who had already served as alférez. 794 782

Buying festal foods. *The following items were purchased in the neighboring Ladino town of Himlol: 120 pesos' worth of bread; one-half a slaughtered bull for 600 pesos; 6 almudes of beans; 10 kilos of coffee; and 5 pesos' worth of brown sugar. If the alférez owned a bull, he slaughtered it and sold one half.* 794 796 [43]

Preparing liquor. *The alférez rented a still and, with the help of his father and brothers, distilled 7 garafones (126 liters) of liquor, using brown cane sugar.* [273] [429]

Preparing special clothing. *The following items were purchased or bought: jacket for 50 pesos; shirt for 55 pesos; hat for 30 pesos; pair of boots for 32 pesos; red waistband for 16 pesos; and red kerchief for 9 pesos.* 794 796 43 [291]

The hat was made by a man in the town. When the alférez went to ask him to do him the favor of making a hat, he brought 1 peso's worth of bread, 1 liter of trago, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. The alférez borrowed black leather leggings and a black towel. To each of those who lent him clothing, he gave 1 liter of trago, 1 peso's worth of bread, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. When he returned the clothing, he gave the same gifts. [426]

The installation of the new alférez. *During the four days of the fiesta of the saint with which he was charged, the new alférez was initiated into his duties in office. In taking on each of the functions assigned to him, that "dialectical connection between the actor and his part, the person and his roles or status or office," was effected* (Fortes 1959:57). 794 796

The first day (Paswamal). *On the first day of every large fiesta,* Paswamal (*literally, "to make the boughs or decorations"*), *the women of the household and the sisters and sisters-in-law of the new alférez and his wife gathered in his house to cook the food. The men slaughtered the* [252] [262]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

794 796 252 262 *bull, and the women prepared beef stew and made tortillas and coffee. The floor of the house was strewn with pine needles.*

At noon, two alfereces led the procession of police, judges, síndico, and principales as they collected money for the fiesta. The alfereces held the banners with an embroidered cloth. The movements of the procession were initiated with church bells ringing and rockets set off by two junior mayordomos as they left the church and as they arrived at and left each of the seven "stands," locations marked by crosses at the intersections of the major streets of the village. When they arrived at each stand, the alfereces stood holding the banners and the other civil and religious officials sat on the side of the road, smoking and drinking. The five police scattered, going to collect 5 pesos from each household. When they returned, the síndico noted the amount received and the principales held the money in a tin tray.

When the group arrived back at the church at two-thirty, the alfereces put the banners in the rear corner of the church. They went to the altar rail, knelt and prayed, crossed themselves and kissed first the image of Santiago, then all the other images. The music of drum and flute was played in the church courtyard, and firecrackers were set off. A table was set up to the right of the door of the church, and there the money was counted. As the officials came out of the church, they made the rounds of the seated officials, greeting them with the pat?o?tan. The officials arranged themselves in the traditional pattern: The fiscal and town treasurer stood at the table counting the money before the assembled officials. The principales and judges, stood immediately before the table watching the fiscal and treasurer; their position indicated their guardian role. Bills of the same denomination were set in piles under stones to prevent their blowing away, and then tied into bundles with palm fronds. When all the money had been counted, the principales put it in a manila folder, and the treasurer wrapped this in a red kerchief. The striking of the church bells announced the end of the counting.

794 796 574 602 *All the relatives—the yermanotak, or "brotherhood" group, including bilaterally-extended brothers and brothers-in-law and their wives, compadres, and neighbors—were invited to partake of the meal in the afternoon at the houses of the alfereces. The nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik, rela-*

805 lating the time of day; when I questioned them as to the hour, they were often as much as an hour off, usually behind.

Most activities are ordered with reference to the Gregorian calendar, but the twenty-day Maya calendrical month, defined as "twenty days or a month" is used in much the same way that we use "a fortnight." The In-
805 dians consider the moon to be an uncertain indicator of time, since "she
821 does not walk well." But the moon is important in the culture: people note its different phases and are especially aware of the phase under which a child is born—an important sign for the newborn's future. If a baby is
[856] born at the full moon, he is expected to mature more readily. The full
[787] moon also signifies a propitious time for undertaking certain activities, such as cutting wood for the main posts of a house and cutting palm for the roof.

The Daily Schedule

512
462 Daily activities are organized by traditional economic pursuits. The woman is the first one to rise in the morning. She gets up at dawn, lights
[252] the fire, and sets a jar of water to boil for coffee. She grinds the nixtamal cooked the night before on the stone grinding board, or takes it to the mill
[412] in the center. She then makes tortillas either by hand or with a press; a re-
[177] cent innovation made of two hinged pieces of wood in which the ball of
[178] dough is set between pieces of plastic paper.

The men of the household are served first, followed by the boys; the
[264] women and girls eat last. As soon as they have eaten, the men and boys who have finished the required three years of schooling go out to the
[481] fields to work. They walk single file even in the streets of the town, the fa-
[482] ther preceding his sons. Each carries a machete, net bag, tumpline, and sheepskin back-protector if he plans to carry any loads. Many bring shot-
[411] guns as well in order to hunt for field rats, raccoon, or the burrowing ani-
[224] mals they find in the fields.

After the men leave, the women go to the porch and "seize their work."
[857] The children go to school, which begins at eight-thirty in the morning
[872] and continues until five o'clock in the evening. They return home for
[264] lunch, a meal of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans or chayote when it is in season.

Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

These time and space patterns provide the individual with a cognitive structure which enables him to function appropriately in a given setting and to plan his future actions. Having one piece of information, people can derive the other understandings necessary to adjust their own behavior to the expectations of others.

Time as a measure of value has been affected by changes occurring in the past two decades. Men are less willing to expend time in ceremonial activities than formerly. The first ceremony given up was Carnival, which has not been celebrated for over a decade. Most recently, young men have refused to become alfereces, and their resistance on the basis of loss of time and money was formally recognized in 1966 when the institution was abolished. The resistance parents used to show to their children spending, or wasting their time in school has given way as some of the more modernized parents have seen the advantages of education.

The tempo of life has accelerated with the increasing importance of bus and truck transportation to market. Women's time has always figured as importantly as that of the men because of their pottery production, and they have quickly accepted time-saving innovations such as the tortilla press and the corn-grinding mill. They have not shown any inclination to adopt time-saving technology, such as the potter's wheel, in pottery-making since they have no knowledge of it, and using it would require relearning basic tasks.

The ceremonial cycle still provides the major consideration in programming other activities in the community. The Indian as an agriculturalist remains master of his own time, and he plans his work so that he can fulfill his ceremonial obligations.

351 592 571 When the people in two adjacent sitios have close social ties, they open an interior gate in the common fence, connecting the two yards. June Nash has noticed that if any disagreement [578] occurs between the people residing in the two contiguous sitios, the interior gates are barricaded even more strongly than the remainder of the fence, symbolically severing social communication (Nash, J: 1959).

351 592 Inside the sitios, there are several areas of activity (see Fig. 10): the front yard (ti?naje) where animals are tied [343] [342] when brought to the sitio, where corn is put to dry, etc., and where there are buildings (hna) such as the cook-house and others [241] which serve as sleeping quarters. The back yard is the place where things are stored and where a small garden is cultivated. [415] There are other spots, such as the place for the water jugs, the [252] place for washing the mixtamal (corn mesh used for making tortillas), [343] the sweat bath, etc.

342 The buildings themselves are mainly wattle and daub with thatch or palm roofs in the traditional Mayan pattern. There is, nevertheless, some variation in the use of cane, shingles and planks for walls, or tile roofs, which indicates a desire to imitate ladino ways rather than the wealth of the household. The houses have small porches which serve as "living room," places for receiving visitors, grooming, cleaning corn, or enjoying the twilight after a good day's work (see Figs. 10 and 11).

House Ritual

342 592 The building of a new house is an important social event

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]

9:Nash . E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontahal

Appendix 1 — CHANGE OF OFFICIALS IN THE TOWNHALL

	Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
*621 124 796	1. When do they change the officials?	On January 1, *ʔak haʔbil* (New Year)	First of January	I observed the preparations for the New Year change of office fiesta in the houses of the president and of the new first policeman on December 31, 1964, and January 1, 1965
	2. What do they do first on the fiesta of changing of officials?	They arrange the house of each official	The wife of the first judge puts the bean tortillas on the fire	
[252]	3. When do they do this?	In the afternoon of December 31	In the morning of the last day of December	The women spend most of the morning and afternoon making the bean tortillas
[353]	4. How do they arrange the house?	They get juniper boughs and needles and put them in the house		Around 8 P.M. the visitors arrive. The house is decorated with pine needles on the floor and in the yard, and there are branches of juniper nailed to the posts of the house entry, just as it is done at the entry to the townhall. I was not present at the gathering
[602]	5. Who helps her?		All her relatives (*kermanotak*) with neighbors (see Chart 1)	
	6. What do they do in the afternoon?		The women eat	
*621 124 796	7. What time do the guests gather in the house of the new officials?	On December 31 at 7 P.M.		
574	8. What do they bring?	They arrive with wood and pitchpine	They bring wood or pitchpine	
[278] [262]	9. What do the visitors do?	They drink coffee with bread and bean tortillas	They say greetings. They drink coffee and eat bean tortillas	
[293]	10. What do they do when they finish the coffee?	They drink liquor	They take out liquor, and the judge recites the benediction	
*621 124 796 [693]	11. Who is present in the house of the new official?		*stalal nakawane*, his leading house official, Baltol Kantiron. The new judge, Santos Kantiron, *balnial*, assistants to pass gruel, sons of the new officials *ʔak'aʔetik*: wood bringers (see Chart 2)	
[624]	12. What do they do first on New Year's day?	The fourth regidor calls everyone together	The fourth regidor raises all the new officials	

794 796	19. Where do they drink it?	Behind the church	In the house of the *'ali'bal*
124	20. Where do the old mayordomos eat the common meal?	In the church	In the house of the *'ali'bal*
[273]	21. What do they eat?	Male turkey (*mam koz*). Beef soup with tortillas and chile	
[264]			
[262]	22. How do they prepare turkey?	With chile, *yerba buena* and salt	
[263]	23. Who prepares the meal for the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	The *'ali'bal*. The wife of the *lik'tal* (minor) mayordomo of San Pedro and San Pablo	
[252]			
	24. What do they do after the common meal?	They go to their homes	They go home
	25. What do they call the second day of the fiesta?	Wispereš	
	26. What do the old mayordomos do first?	They make a fiesta. They beat the drums. They play the flute. They drink trago	They ring the bells three times. The people gather in the church
	27. What time do they begin the fiesta?	Early	At 7 o'clock
	28. What do they do in the church?		The padre gives a Mass for San Pedro and San Pablo
	29. Who collects for the Mass?		The old officials and the new officials and the women
[533]	30. Where do the mayordomos blow the flute and beat the drum?	At the door of the church	In front of the church
	31. Where do the new mayordomos gather first?	At the house of the kobraria Santa Lucia	At the house of the kobraria of Santa Lucia
	32. What do they do first?	They take out the mouthwash	They serve the mouthwash
[273]	33. What do they do then?	They take out a liter to drink	They serve coffee and corn gruel. Then they serve liquor
[272]			
[262]	34. How much do the new mayordomos drink?	Two drinks each	After two rounds are served, drink is served to the mayordomos who go to the *nak'awanek'tik* and offer their drinks. This is done so that the new officials will not be drunk in church
[273]			
	35. How many of the new mayordomos don't drink liquor?	Three	
[272]	36. What do they drink?	Cold water (soda)	
124 794 796 539	37. What does the kobraria of Santa Lucia say to the kobraria of San Pedro Martyr at his house when they begin to drink?	Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal. Thanks you are alive, his word God, at daybreak. We want to see no illness at daybreak. What we will do what we have done. We have to say what our heart says, our soul, our mind. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our Judge Sanpegro sanpablu? So it is that we	

241 Between September and October, when the tender ears are ready, some are torn loose to prepare atoles and tamales.

Toward the middle of October, when the milpa has reached maturity, all hands proceed to the task of the *dobla*, folding or breaking the stem of the plant so that the ear dries and may later be put into the barn. This is an easy task, in which men, women, and children take part. [462] [857]

The harvest takes place in November and December with the participation of the whole family; it is a joyful task which compensates for all the moments of anxiety in the previous months, when subsistence was scarce. The produce from the milpa is gathered in large nets and later stored in a corner of the house or in some improvised structure nearby. The crop is measured by *zontles*, units of 400 ears, which are formed by counting the ears by fives; two ears are taken in one hand and three in the other until 400 are reached. The family of five members which manages to harvest from 15 to 20 zontles considers itself happy, since that much will last them the entire year, consuming 20 ears a day plus feeding one or two hogs and 10 or 12 chickens. [592] [251] [804] [261] [231]

The milpa also produces various squashes, manioc (*dzinté*), and peanuts, which the Indians call *caxlan-chenek* ('Ladino's bean').

243 184 Exceptional among the Tzeltal is the cultivation of wheat in Amatenango. There the small valley and a creek have favored its development.

241 796 The most important ceremonies take place immediately after planting. They entrust the germination of the seed to the care of God, of the "thirteen holders of Heaven," and of "Tatik Jesucristo." The "thirteen holders of Heaven" refer to the principal saints who are mentioned in the prayers. The ceremonies consist in offerings of prayers and incense before the crosses kept in caves belonging to each paraje, and in one *bikit mixa* ('small Mass'), which the cabildos and principales of the [798] [782]

[P 201-B]

241 [412] machete (*machit*) or the *luk*, a sort of curved machete with a long handle, are the implements needed. The cutting of the grass from the plot where the milpa had been the previous year is *selab*; the cutting of bush grown for three or four years is *sok-uej*. The work of cutting the bush is done by the entire family, including children of seven or eight years old.

[221] [412] [242] [824] The planting is done between April and May after the first rains, with a long stick whose tip is hardened by fire or protected by a metal point. The seed must come from large, healthy ears whose tips have been cut off because they have small corn. The *olote*, or corncob, is either kept or thrown away at a distance to avoid its being used as fuel, for this would hurt the milpa which then would produce ears with broken kernels.

241 462 785 834 241 574 [476] The task of planting is a very delicate matter, to be performed after fasting and sexual abstinence. It is exclusively a man's affair. A great banquet is served at noon, generally outdoors as the hut interiors are small, to the friends and neighbors who will participate as helpers. Sometimes as many as 10 men help to plant a friend's milpa. The meal is offered "precisely when the sun stops for a moment midway on its run and the doors of the Church of Heaven are opened, from where the quality of the banquet is observed." This is *s-uelil-abal* ('meal of the planting').

241 262 272 574 [263] When things are properly done, the meal consists of a number of items. First the *atole* (*pajal-ul*) is served, which is slightly sour and sweetened with *panela*. As "companion" to this atole are tamales (*chenkul-uaj*), which are prepared with cornmeal and ground beans. It is said that both things are to be served together so that "the seed may penetrate deep into the ground."

241 252 262 574 272 After this preliminary snack comes what is considered the main course for each person: a hard-boiled egg in a thick reddish broth prepared from dough and ground chile dissolved in water; a large tortilla;

[P.199-B]

NEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201-A

241 boiled beans; other tamales (*petul*), which
252 are made from dough and whole beans;
262 and finally, still more atole. The atole is
574 served not in individual *jícaras* but in two
272 or three large ones (*batzil-booch*), which
[415] are passed from person to person. The same is done with the other foods; they are served in one or two large pots (*mucul pulato*) out of which everyone serves him-
241 self. This banquet is given only on the first
574 day of the planting; if other days are required, the milpero himself does the planting.

241 Since weeds grow rapidly during the rain season, the milpa must be hoed twice before it reaches maturity. For this the luk or coa is used and also the hoe (*asron*), the same one used to break the soil before planting. The first weeding is done in June, the second between July and August. Women
[462] help their husbands in this chore and some-
[566] times do it entirely themselves, since the
[464] men are in the habit of leaving for Tapachula to work as peons on the coffee plantations.

244 Also in the milpa beans of several varieties are planted: *chuil-chenek* (or *ibes*, according to the Ladinos); *botil*, a large common bean; *xakil-chenek* or *frijol de vara*; and the *x-luumil-chenek* or *frijol de la tierra*, thus called because it is a creeping plant.

Chile is planted on a separate lot, 15–20 m. square. The planting is done during the first weeks of March, in alternate years so that it will not coincide with the year when the people of Cancuc plant cotton. Chile planted by the people of Oxchuc is *dzajalik* or red chile.

241 Toward the end of August, the first fruits are ready (*unimajam* or *jilote*, according to Ladinos). These are received with great joy by the families which are by then lack-
[242] ing food. From each plant, which provides two or three *jilotes*, the farthest down is picked to let the other two grow bigger.
[252] These jilotes are boiled without salt and
[263] are eaten whole, including the husks.
[262] [P 201-A]

241 *chin-uch* (May 20–June 8), an offering is
782 made to the supernatural being which reigns over it. The natives have vague no-
[825] tions of the nature of this being. They say that *uch* is the name of a small insect which spoils the pozole and, also, of the *tlacuache* or *zarigueya* which often destroys the milpa. The offering, hung at the entrance of the hut, consists of a ball of pozole wrapped in plantain leaf, a red chile, a tortilla, an ear of corn, and a little stick like the kind used to turn the ear cooking over hot coals.
241 All objects are minute in size. When the
782 offering achieves its purpose, on the com-
787 pletion of a 20-day period, the atmosphere becomes hazy "as if there were smoke." It is explained that "the chin-uch burned its house," which forecasts a favorable sun for development of the milpa. If such a sign should not appear on the indicated date or at the end of the next month of *mukul-uch* (June 9–28), the forecast is ominous and indicates that the rains will be excessive, greatly harming the milpa.

778 Another mukul-mixa is performed in Ox-
796 chuc, in homage to the hill called Ikal-Ajau,
[184] near the ceremonial center, of which the Indians say "it is a living hill." The name of the hill is that of the ancient hill worshipped by the Oxchuequeños. Nuñez de la Vega (in Becerra, 1933, p. 293) reports: "Those of Oxchuc and other towns of Los Llanos venerate very much the idol which they call Icalajau, which means principal Negro or
[789] lord of the Negroes." This Mass, performed the first days of June, prevents locusts and other plagues from coming.

241 Once the crop is in the granary, other
78 family prayers are said before the household cross, to give thanks for the good received and to petition the supernatural beings to protect the grain from insects and rodents.

Other Subsistence Resources

262 Other food resources include raising
235 chickens and pigs. A family averages about
[231] 10 chickens, using the eggs as money when
[437] [P. 202-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

262 they visit the regional market. Only during
235 illness or fiesta are both chickens and eggs
[437] eaten.

231 In towns like Tenejapa and Cancuc, In-
439 dians buy small pigs from the Ladinos of the center, fatten them for 8 or 10 months, then sell them to the Ladinos, who slaughter them and sell the meat to the Indians. As may be supposed, in this sort of symbiosis the greatest profit accrues to the La-
[454] dinos. However, the Indians more often keep the money from selling pigs to meet emergencies or expenses of clothing, tools, and fiestas.

262 *Food Habits*

Corn, beans, chile, and squash are the core of Indian diet, supplemented by ma-
262 nioc, sweetpotato, potato, and chayote. One
263 or more chayote trees next to the house are common; every part of the chayote is used—fruit, tender leaves, and root—usually boiled with salt. Wild herbs are eaten raw or cooked. Among the raw ones are *culix-uamal*, *xhix-uamal*, and *alauanex*, the last a wild radish which Ladinos call "the Indian's radish." Herbs that are cooked include *tzul* and *tuxac*. Some herbs are eaten both raw or cooked: *verdolaga* or *chic-xecul*, *muem* (*hierba mora*), *maj-tas*, *tzuy*, and *San Sibro Uamal*. The last is a small grass with long
[276] thin leaves which the Indians grind and add to give a better taste to the *pilico* or wild tobacco. This is called *poxil-may*, which is like saying "medicinal pilico." Ladinos use its leaves in tea sweetened with panela.

262 There are three main meals during the
264 course of the day: breakfast (*ue-el sab*), which consists of atole or pozole, beans, chile, and tortillas; lunch (*ue-el olical*) of the same foods plus a vegetable such as squash or chayote; and supper (*ue-el x-malcal*), with atole, tortillas, beans, and chile. In Tenejapa rabbit meat is frequently
177 on the table. In Amatenango, Aguacate-
262 nango, and Pinola, greater contact with Ladinos has added coffee, wheat bread, var-

[P-203-A]

177 262 ious meats and canned foods such as salmon, sardines, and sausages.

231 [222] The keeping of bees is not widespread. The Indians instead take advantage of the wild honey, which is commonly gathered during certain parts of the year. Tenango was the only town where I observed beehives next to the huts. The bees, large and yellow, are called *aja-chab* and are brought from the woods. When a tree is found with one of these beehives, the section containing the hive is cut off and is taken to town; the ends of this section are covered with jícaras, which are stuck on with clay.

Settlement Patterns

Town and Parajes

632 621 361 All the communities consist of a town center and a number of settlements, called parajes, which are scattered over the municipio. The town is the political, religious, and commercial center of the entire community; there the municipal authorities have their offices, [563] and the church and shops are located. In general, the Ladinos reside in the center, their houses arranged in aligned streets, but some communities (Chanal, Amatenango, Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Bachajon) refuse to accept Ladinos in the town permanently. The Indians prefer the parajes, where the huts are dispersed irregularly.

162 As observed by Sol Tax for the highlands of Guatemala (1937), the proportion of Indians who reside in the town center varies. In some communities (Chanal, Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Tenango) nearly all the people live in the capital. In Chanal, with a population of 2,881 persons, 2,386 reside in the center and so it is a "nucleated town," according to Tax's terminology. In contrast, the most common community is the "vacant town." Tenejapa, for example, has only 517 inhabitants of a total 7,750 residing in the center. The least frequent is an intermediate type, where some live in the center and some in the parajes, as typified by

[P. 203-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 205-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

648 mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

829 The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We received many small favours and [123] acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

FIG. 282—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

241 In their culture these people [181] belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend [433] primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the [291] staple crop. Calabashes, melons, [301] beans, tobacco, bananas, and cotton are raised. The farming is [302] carried on by the same wasteful "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old [178] Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment [166] of many cities. In the case of the Bachajon, it has already become one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn 262 boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates 252 which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and 411 weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but al- 412 ways made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most 184 amazing industries in the world. 177

273* The ceremonial drinking sequence is regularly associated
• 262 with the serving of food by the sponsors to the guests. The alternate possibilities are included in the following table:

TABLE 13

FOODS AND BEVERAGES ACCOMPANYING CEREMONIAL DRINKING

	Food	Beverage
[272]	Beans	coffee
tortillas and	chicken broth with a chunk of chicken	aguardiente
	beef broth with a chunk of beef	chocolate
	turkey broth with a chunk of turkey	

The relative prestige of the food served increases with the descending order.

273* The duration of a ceremonial drinking cycle is well-defined. It does not last beyond an eight-hour period, in general. Its termination is marked, as has been noted above, by the departure of the marimba from the scene and by the fact that the host ceases to serve aguardiente. Individuals who continue to drink after the ceremonial cycle is terminated do so under informal drinking rules.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

434 592 irrigated land in addition to their one-half hectare of ejido land. He sup-
[241] plements his income with work in the sawmill for some periods of the
[423] year, at a wage of 90 pesos a week, making a total of 165 pesos in the ten
[464] days recorded. The family spent 81 percent or 36 pesos of the budget on food, 13 percent or 6 pesos on clothing 2.3 percent or 1 peso on household supplies, and 3 percent or 1.20 pesos on medicines.

434 592 241 262 These family budgets show that most of the corn and beans can be supplied by subsistence agriculture. Garden crops of chile, chayote (a green vegetable which produces a fruit and an edible root), and fruit trees, including lime and anone, are raised in the house yard. Tomatoes, fruit, and cabbages are bought in neighboring market towns.

434 592 171 In comparison with household consumption expenditures in the United States and other foreign countries, these budgets show a much higher proportion of cash income spent on food. The percentages of food expenditures range from 63.2 to 97.0 in the families studied, whereas in the United States the average percentage is only 26.3, in Argentina 59.2, and in Zambia 66.5 (Conference Board Economic Almanac 1967). This reflects the fact that the people of Tzo'ontahal have no expenses for house rental, that wood for fuel and light is available in communally owned forests, and that most of the household utensils such as jars, jugs, and bowls, are locally produced. However, failure to report items must also be noted—no
[125] one reported purchasing matches although everyone uses them, and only half of the families reported use of soap, although this is universally purchased.

433 241 A gross estimate of the land necessary to fulfill consumption needs of corn for a family of two adults and four children would be approximately one and a half to two hectares. The yearly average consumption of corn for such a family is about 2,000 kilograms. One hectare produces from 1,200 to 2,000 kilograms in addition to 80 kilograms of beans. Of the 299 families whose land ownership is given in Table 5, 142 have only one hectare of ejido land and 85 more have only one-half additional hectare of pri-
423 433 vately owned land. This means that 227 households, or 61 percent do not have enough land to meet their subsistence needs. 160 household heads

868 857 [323] [312] the larger ones their mothers make, but their products are usually not commercially saleable until they reach the age of marriage. Their responsibility in preadolescence is to bring water from the faucets installed in every other block of the town, and to degrain corn, tend the fire as the *nixtamal,* or corn dough mixed with lime, cooks, and help their mother grind it. The careful assessment of the child's capacity to perform tasks is exemplified by the gradations of water-carrying jars given to each child: the older the child, the larger the jar, with minute variations in scale. The [592] [462] close, usually wordless cooperation between women in a household comes from years of working together and knowing their part in cooperative tasks.

Boys accompany their fathers to the fields after they reach the age of six and when they are not attending school. They do not participate in the work of the milpa until they are eight or older, but they pick up twigs for the fire or gather the wild berries or plants which supplement the diet of [411] [262] the family. They usually carry slingshots with which they kill field rats and birds, which they bring home to cook and eat. Teaching a boy the 868 241 tasks involved in agriculture is consciously undertaken by older brothers or the father when the child reaches the age of twelve or thirteen. The following reminiscence of this training is given by a man who had been brought up by his widowed mother and brother.

159 868 241 *I went to the field with my brother who is eighteen years older than I, when I was thirteen years old. My brother brought me to clean the milpa, saying, "Let us go and you will learn how to work. See what I do and you do the same. You will learn what I do and you can do the same."*

One day I finished six rows. My brother said when he saw my work, "Good, just give a little more soil at the foot of the corn because the little corn must have a little soil. Now you do it well." "Yes," I said. He saw it was good, and he told me, "You have learned your work. You are going to forget it when you enter school. When you come out of school, go do two or three rows of work. When you hear the bell strike, go back to school."

He told my mother that I had learned to work, and she said, "Good you know how to cultivate." I learned to do my work better by going along with my elder brother in his work so that I would not forget.

the functions of the caretakers of the church because, one informant said, 794
his image shows him holding the keys to the gates of heaven. 527

The ritual of the inauguration begins on June 29, a day called Pas Kantelero, *prepare the candle holders. The old mayordomos who have served for the past six months scrape the candle sticks, while two of the group play the drum and blow the flute. Others sweep the church and clean the interior. Then the fiscal and the mayordomos gather outside the church. A table is brought out, and the money that has been collected from each mayordomo by the two cofrades to be used for the purchase of candles is counted. When the money has been counted, two mayordomos ring the bells in the bell tower. Two servings of contraband liquor are* [273]
passed out, one called "arrival of our food," before the meal, and the other called "wash down the meal," afterwards. Formerly a meal, consisting of a [262]
male turkey, or beef soup if the mayordomos could not afford a turkey, with tortillas and chile, was prepared and served in the church yard. This is now eaten in the home of the cofrade because the priest objected to the preliminary drinking session.

On the second day of the fiesta, called Wišpereł, *the mayordomos* [533]
"make a fiesta" which consists of beating the drums, playing the flute, and drinking trago. Early in the morning the priest gives a mass for San Pedro and San Pablo attended by the old and new officials and the women.

A series of house celebrations takes place in the houses of the cofrades. The new mayordomos go first to the house of the cofrade of Santa Lucia. There they are offered the mouthwash, a bowl of cold water with which [273]
they rinse their mouths, followed by a round of two drinks each. The Cofrade of Santa Lucia then speaks to the Tatil of San Pedro the Martyr:

Cofrade of Santa Lucia: "Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal? Thanks that you are alive, word of God, at daybreak. What will we do? What have we done? We have to speak of what is in our heart, our soil, our mud. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials, where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our judge San Pedro and

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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San Pablo? So it is that we are here and that we are united in front of the house. Pardon us, if it is not much, you elders. Where we are gathered together there is nothing flavorful nor is there much. It is only a little to warm your body, the water that washed his body, his hand our old saint San Pedro and San Pablo [reference to liquor]. God thank mother and father, mam kobraria."

As the mayordomos prepare to leave the house, the following exchange takes place:

Tatil of San Pedro the Martyr: "What are we thinking? How shall we rise to enter the house of the Kobraria Sakramentu? Why is it he does not want us to drink too much? It is good, we would not remember. It is enough. If you will remember, you will say little, mayordomos. Are we not ready with our rosaries and with our kerchiefs and our candles? Is there anything you want to say?"

Cofrade of Santa Lucía: "It is good. I am going to ask you all if you are ready with your rosary and with your cloth to take the holy candles."

Mayordomos: "Yes, good, we are ready, thank you."

Cofrade of Santa Lucía: "Only one more thing do I have to say. Do not drink too much trago. I do not want you to walk like a mad man. I do not want anyone to say that the kobraria did not say anything to advise you."

Mayordomos: "Yes, thanks. It is good. Let us go now. Let us raise our mud, our soil [reference to body]."

The group goes on to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento who is awaiting them with his nakawanehetik, his b'alnialetik, and the female assistants in the house. They enter saying "Good day, Mamal," greeting first the b'alnialetik, then the third nakawane, then the second nakawane, and finally the first nakawane. The Cofrade of Santa Lucía stands before the first nakawane and recites the spatbeyoʔtan. Then he goes on to speak to the meʔil k'op, *or woman speaker, who is referred to in this instance as the* meʔc'ukuła ʔil, *"woman who nursed us."*

The women of the kobraria's kindred, the sisters and first cousins and wives of his brothers, remain inside the house as the men sit on the benches on the porch. The nakawane orders the b'alnialetik to serve the mouthwash which is followed by coffee and tortillas. After another

[242]
[262]

might have been his father, an uncle, or a godparent who had already served as alférez. 794 782

Buying festal foods. *The following items were purchased in the neighboring Ladino town of Himlol: 120 pesos' worth of bread; one-half a slaughtered bull for 600 pesos; 6 almudes of beans; 10 kilos of coffee; and 5 pesos' worth of brown sugar. If the alférez owned a bull, he slaughtered it and sold one half.* 794 796 [43]

Preparing liquor. *The alférez rented a still and, with the help of his father and brothers, distilled 7 garafones (126 liters) of liquor, using brown cane sugar.* [273] [429]

Preparing special clothing. *The following items were purchased or bought: jacket for 50 pesos; shirt for 55 pesos; hat for 30 pesos; pair of boots for 32 pesos; red waistband for 16 pesos; and red kerchief for 9 pesos.* 794 796 43 [291]

The hat was made by a man in the town. When the alférez went to ask him to do him the favor of making a hat, he brought 1 peso's worth of bread, 1 liter of trago, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. The alférez borrowed black leather leggings and a black towel. To each of those who lent him clothing, he gave 1 liter of trago, 1 peso's worth of bread, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. When he returned the clothing, he gave the same gifts. [426]

The installation of the new alférez. *During the four days of the fiesta of the saint with which he was charged, the new alférez was initiated into his duties in office. In taking on each of the functions assigned to him, that "dialectical connection between the actor and his part, the person and his roles or status or office," was effected (Fortes 1959:57).* 794 796

The first day (Paswamal). *On the first day of every large fiesta,* Paswamal *(literally, "to make the boughs or decorations"), the women of the household and the sisters and sisters-in-law of the new alférez and his wife gathered in his house to cook the food. The men slaughtered the* [252] [262]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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794 796 [252] [242]

bull, and the women prepared beef stew and made tortillas and coffee. The floor of the house was strewn with pine needles.

At noon, two alfereces led the procession of police, judges, síndico, and principales as they collected money for the fiesta. The alfereces held the banners with an embroidered cloth. The movements of the procession were initiated with church bells ringing and rockets set off by two junior mayordomos as they left the church and as they arrived at and left each of the seven "stands," locations marked by crosses at the intersections of the major streets of the village. When they arrived at each stand, the alfereces stood holding the banners and the other civil and religious officials sat on the side of the road, smoking and drinking. The five police scattered, going to collect 5 pesos from each household. When they returned, the síndico noted the amount received and the principales held the money in a tin tray.

When the group arrived back at the church at two-thirty, the alfereces put the banners in the rear corner of the church. They went to the altar rail, knelt and prayed, crossed themselves and kissed first the image of Santiago, then all the other images. The music of drum and flute was played in the church courtyard, and firecrackers were set off. A table was set up to the right of the door of the church, and there the money was counted. As the officials came out of the church, they made the rounds of the seated officials, greeting them with the pat?o?tan. The officials arranged themselves in the traditional pattern: The fiscal and town treasurer stood at the table counting the money before the assembled officials. The principales and judges, stood immediately before the table watching the fiscal and treasurer; their position indicated their guardian role. Bills of the same denomination were set in piles under stones to prevent their blowing away, and then tied into bundles with palm fronds. When all the money had been counted, the principales put it in a manila folder, and the treasurer wrapped this in a red kerchief. The striking of the church bells announced the end of the counting.

794 796 574 602

All the relatives—the yermanotak, or "brotherhood" group, including bilaterally-extended brothers and brothers-in-law and their wives, compadres, and neighbors—were invited to partake of the meal in the afternoon at the houses of the alfereces. The nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik, rela-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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tives whose positions in this household fiesta are established on the basis of their age and experience in office, took up the established positions for these roles in the house of the new alférez. The first nakawane blessed the liquor; two bottles were measured into shot glasses and served to the guests. After this the meal was served.

The second day (Wišpereš). *All the nakawanehetik appointed for the new alférez gathered in his house at nine o'clock in the morning to drink. The first and second nakawanehetik went to the cabildo to ask the judge and president when the new alférez must take out the holy banner. The president replied that it would be in two days. The question was rhetorical: everyone knew that the ceremony of taking out the banners occurred on the fourth day of the fiesta, and the day itself was named* Šlok' Krus, *taking out of the cross (the banner has a cross adorning the staff). What was being communicated to the civil officials by the question was the recognition of responsibility to the new alférez by the nakawanehetik. In the afternoon of this day, another meal of beef stew and tortillas was served to the same guests assembled on the previous day.*

The third day (Sk'ak'halel Sk'in). *At cock's crow the parents of the new alférez awakened him. Gathered in the house were the woman speaker, the guitarist, and the nakawanehetik. Under the direction of the woman speaker, the alférez' wife helped him put on his clothing, and the guitarist accompanied this procedure with music. When he was dressed, the new alférez danced a turn before the assembled guests to show his new clothing, and reviewed the pat?o?tan with the nakawanehetik who had taught him. He then went with his guitarist to raise his companions. First he went to the third alférez and awakened him. He greeted the nakawane of the third alférez with the pat?o?tan, and was invited to sit down; he was served coffee and bread, followed by a mouthwash. The third alférez dressed, and after the two were served liquor they danced a turn. In this same fashion, the new alférez raised all of his companions. The assembled group went to the cabildo.*

The nakawanehetik and the b'alnialetik, after drinking coffee and eating bean tortillas, went to collect the things needed to receive official

their eyes, the posture of dance in which they clasped their hands at their stomach-band—all of these manifested the shame that they were overcoming. Whether they really felt the shame or not was irrelevant since they were being judged in terms of their behavior. The wives circled around with a two-step, their eyes downcast and their hands clasped over their stomach-bands, while their husbands stepped up and down in place in a ring around them, shaking the gourd rattle and joking. 794 796 535 562

When the dancing was terminated, a joking session was initiated by the nakawane. The signal for this was the lighting of the first round of cigarettes. Smoking, like drinking, was required of everyone and was rarely indulged in privately. The women sometimes put aside the cigarettes, but they had to accept them. At midnight a meal of bean tortillas and coffee was served. 794 796 [522] [276] [562] [262]

The fourth day (Šlok' Krus). *The four regidores arrived early in the morning to raise the alférez and take him to the cabildo to receive the oath. In this function the regidores were referred to as* personaetik *or "persons." The Spanish term* persona *signifies the exterior appearance by which men of merit were distinguished, and in its Latin derivation persona is the mask by which role is indicated. I think it is in the sense of assuming a new identity that the Indians incorporated the term as a reference for specific roles assumed by the regidores at this time. The alcaldes, or judges, were on this day referred to as* koronaetik, *or colonels. This reference term evoked the military ranking system, as did also the term alférez or captain, and established the relative ranking of the two sets of officials in the cabildo on the day of receiving the banners. The alfereces were given titles to indicate the order of their entry into office. The seating order of the four in the cabildo followed the succession pattern, with the first to take office sitting nearest to the door.*

The new alférez, with two of his four escorts on either side, sat on the visitor's bench along with the higher officials, themselves once alfereces. The first regidor, or persona, addressed the first judge with the pat?o?tan. The fourth regidor distributed a liter of trago to the assembled officials, first to the judges, then the president and síndico, the alfereces, the person-

796 is served when the expectations are that the individual will feel embarrass-
154 ment. These occasions formerly occurred when the company arrived at the
[273] house of the alférez before the dance and when the alfereces mounted
[276] their horses. Cigarettes signal relaxation, and when the first round of ciga-
[522] rettes is served in the house setting, the company abandons formal re-
straints and, led by the chief nakawane, indulges in joking.

541 *Carnival and Easter Week.* Carnival has changed over time more
522 than any other religious ceremonial in the town. Until five years ago, a
177 group of masked jokers visited the houses of the captains of the fiestas.
178 They wore Ladino clothing, including vest, pants, and shoes, and they hid their faces behind masks or painted them black. They danced a "Ladino dance" (paired couples), first in the church and then in the houses of the alfereces. While dancing, they made sexual allusions about unmarried women. Their joking emphasized their strangeness to the villagers; for example one of the jokers might say, "You do not know what type of person I am. An airplane made me." They carried small stuffed animals which they made "cry." Pretending they were the husband of a woman, they would go to her and tell her to take care of her "baby." The woman speaker would sometimes respond to their jokes, saying, "Who are you? You are not good looking, you little black boy. You must be from Germany or from the other side of the water. Maybe you are from Patwitz or Yetawitz, and your father is kurik." People say the custom was discontinued because it was too expensive to give liquor to the jokers.

541 Another carnival custom which has been lost is the "common meal" of
262 squash on the five Fridays of Lent. Formerly the wives of the four kobra-
794 ria brought squash from hot country, cooked it, and brought two gourds
177 each to the church. The assistant divided it, giving two pieces to each of
178 the mayordomos. This custom was stopped during the typhoid epidemic
[931] of 1928 and has never been resumed because, it is said, the people did not want to lose work time. These changes may be a response to the priest's attempts to modify some of the excesses of carnival. Whether or not this is so, the people prefer to attribute change to their own decisions.

796 The events of Easter Week as recounted by an informant are outlined below.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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796 *pulas has risen on the cross. After they have seen Him rise, all the pueblo*
[533] *will go out. At two o'clock in the afternoon, they will again play the sad flute, the drum, the coronet, and the matraka. All the pueblo will collect and will make another prayer to see the Tatik Eskipulas lowered from the*
[188] *cross. When He is lowered, they take Him out on a procession with the priest, the prayer-makers, and all the men and women of the pueblo who will hold candles, and the four guards with rifles. The first mayordomo*
[533] *knows how to blow the old coronet, and another mayordomo knows how to blow the sad flute, and anther plays the drum, and another plays the old matraka. After the procession goes in the plaza, it returns to the*
[273] *church and leaves Tatik Eskipulas in the middle of the church. The mayordomos sit outside the church and drink a liter of trago, and then go to their homes.*

Saturday of glory: Very early in the morning of Saturday, they give a prayer with the sad flute and drum, with the old trumpet and with the
[202] *matraka. Three times it is sounded for the pueblo to gather and hear mass. After the mass, the judge goes to speak to the police to look for a horse to mount the Jew. When the horse arrives, they take the figure of the Jew down from the church and tie him on top of the horse. A mayordomo leads him by the bridle, and he goes out in the pueblo with the flute and drum to ask for contributions. Those who know fiesta [the curers] give fifty or twenty cents or if there is nothing, they give an egg. Afterward, they return to the church and the Jew is taken from the horse. The people set fire to his straw body. When they finish burning this, they check to see how much money they collected. All the mayordomos count the money in common. If there are twenty or thirty pesos, the mayordomos make a fiesta with drum and flute.*

[533] *Sunday of Resurrection: Mayordomos gather and sweep church. After*
[273] *sweeping they play the music to open the mouth of the bell. After the mass, they go drink fermented atol with bean tortilla. They eat a hen or*
[262] *rooster to make a fiesta for our Holy Lord because he is resurrected and because all the town is happy. They give the mayordomos fermented atol to drink. Then they return to the church and take out the lord cross, take out the jail, and the bed where the Father Eskipulas slept.*

Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The assumption that leisure is a concept unique to highly civilized societies is denied by peasant behavior in this community and many others like it in which the members are masters of the greater part of their time. What differentiates their scheduling of leisure-time activities from that of most western societies is that theirs is based on community decisions rather than individual predilections and that it is set in the frame of sacred rather than secular performances. Community standards are most notable in the way people dress for fiestas: women wear their newest embroidered blouses; their hair is neatly braided with ribbons. Men wear a kotonču with their cleanest shirt and pants. The children, except for the youngest, wear clothes like the adults'. Villagers "care for" the celebration by sitting on their porches, greeting neighbors, smoking and talking. When a public performance is held in the church or plaza, they participate as observers. Arduous work of any kind is proscribed. Special foods are prepared and served at regular mealtimes. A special mark of all days of fiesta is the serving of fermented corn beverage. Meat or chicken is more likely to be served on Sundays and holidays than on other days.

Timing as a Strategy in Interpersonal Relations

The preferred mode of action is "slow and soft." This applies to motion, especially in rituals, as well as to the scheduling of actions in a series of negotiations. The people are sensitive to the use of time in bargaining as an index to the relative resources of the negotiators. Withholding power in the market gives a marked price advantage in the sale of crops. Sale in advance of harvest means a loss of one-quarter to one-half of the price which could be gained if the crop was sold after it was cut, and corn sometimes doubles in value if withheld for six months or more. Interest as a time payment for the use of money is accepted on the basis that the borrower could put it to work. There is no feeling against the evil of usury, although the rates are relatively high in town—five percent per month.

This understanding of time as an indicator of relative strength extends to social functions. Time serves as an interval to build confidence on the part of both parties entering into contractual arrangement. In the betrothal, both parties are prepared for a long series of visits before the suit

Appendix 1 — CHANGE OF OFFICIALS IN THE TOWNHALL

	Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
*621 124 796	1. When do they change the officials?	On January 1, *?ač ha?bil* (New Year)	First of January	I observed the preparations for the New Year change of office fiesta in the houses of the president and of the new first policeman on December 31, 1964, and January 1, 1965
	2. What do they do first on the fiesta of changing of officials?	They arrange the house of each official	The wife of the first judge puts the bean tortillas on the fire	
[252]	3. When do they do this?	In the afternoon of December 31	In the morning of the last day of December	The women spend most of the morning and afternoon making the bean tortillas
[353]	4. How do they arrange the house?	They get juniper boughs and needles and put them in the house		Around 8 P.M. the visitors arrive. The house is decorated with pine needles on the floor and in the yard, and there are branches of juniper nailed to the posts of the house entry, just as it is done at the entry to the townhall. I was not present at the gathering
[602]	5. Who helps her?		All her relatives (*kermanotak*) with neighbors (see Chart 1)	
	6. What do they do in the afternoon?		The women eat	
*621 124 796	7. What time do the guests gather in the house of the new officials?	On December 31 at 7 P.M.		
574	8. What do they bring?*	They arrive with wood and pitchpine	They bring wood or pitchpine	
[272] [262]	9. What do the visitors do?	They drink coffee with bread and bean tortillas	They say greetings. They drink coffee and eat bean tortillas	
[273]	10. What do they do when they finish the coffee?	They drink liquor	They take out liquor, and the judge recites the benediction	
*621 124 796 [693]	11. Who is present in the house of the new official?		*statal nakawane*, his leading house official, Baltol Kantiron. The new judge, Santos Kantiron, *balnial*, assistants to pass gruel, sons of the new officials *?ak sʔetik*: wood bringers (see Chart 2)	
[624]	12. What do they do first on New Year's day?	The fourth regidor calls everyone together	The fourth regidor raises all the new officials	

[P. 231]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

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(Judge) I live. There is no illness. Lord mamtat give pardon with God with the Virgin Mother (*Tios sok Halal meʔsik*). Enter holy pardon lord, give pardon Virgin Mother

Here we are gathered before you where is seated "our soil our mud" (our bodies). What are we going to do to make arrive to fall to happen holy New Year our patron of heaven (*kah-waltik*) God. Here in a little dawns the holy hour. Let us go look before our heart where we are going to receive the holy oath inside of the holy cold house the cold hall where we go to receive our suffering our work holy staff, holy wand. It is going to change, holy day, holy year. Thus we do as did in the past our mother our father

20. What do they do after the greeting?

They drink coffee

They drink coffee

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At 10:45 served bread set on bowl of coffee and bean tortilla in a cloth wrapping. First served *nakawanehetik* then president, then first and second judge, then first and second regidor, then assistant judge, then visitors. At 10:55 *nakawane* got up and stood before first judge and spoke the *spalan mat* (account of the gruel). Then the first judge spoke the *spalan mat* to second judge. The first two regidores of the past year came in to ask if the new officials were now ready "to raise the change"

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(*K'a sʔabhal yak helol*). They said *patʔot'an* before the *nakawane*. Then bowed and kissed hand (*kut' ibale*) with all men in left interior. Went to door and spoke with *meʔil k'op, kut' ibale* with her.

At 11:15 *balnialetik* took out the table, laid embroidered cloth on it, put 3 liters of trago and 2 quarts of beer. The first *nakawane* did the *spalanbe mahtan me'il tatil* with the first judge standing before him. Then the first

794 796	19. Where do they drink it?	Behind the church	In the house of the *?ali?bal*
124	20. Where do the old mayordomos eat the common meal?	In the church	In the house of the *?ali?bal*
[273]	21. What do they eat?	Male turkey *(mam koz)*. Beef soup with tortillas and chile	
[264]			
[262]	22. How do they prepare turkey?	With chile, *yerba buena* and salt	
[263] [252]	23. Who prepares the meal for the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	The *?alibal*. The wife of the *Biktal* (minor) mayordomo of San Pedro and San Pablo	
	24. What do they do after the common meal?	They go to their homes	They go home
	25. What do they call the second day of the fiesta?	Wišperes	
	26. What do the old mayordomos do first?	They make a fiesta. They beat the drums. They play the flute. They drink trago	They ring the bells three times. The people gather in the church
	27. What time do they begin the fiesta?	Early	At 7 o'clock
	28. What do they do in the church?		The padre gives a Mass for San Pedro and San Pablo
	29. Who collects for the Mass?		The old officials and the new officials and the women
[533]	30. Where do the mayordomos blow the flute and beat the drum?	At the door of the church	In front of the church
	31. Where do the new mayordomos gather first?	At the house of the kobraria Santa Lucia	At the house of the kobraria of Santa Lucia
	32. What do they do first?	They take out the mouthwash	They serve the mouthwash
[273]	33. What do they do then?	They take out a liter to drink	They serve coffee and corn gruel. Then they serve liquor
[272] [262] [273]	34. How much do the new mayordomos drink?	Two drinks each	After two rounds are served, drink is served to the mayordomos who go to the *nakawaneketik* and offer their drinks. This is done so that the new officials will not be drunk in church
	35. How many of the new mayordomos don't drink liquor?	Three	
[272]	36. What do they drink?	Cold water (soda)	
124 794 796 539	37. What does the kobraria of Santa Lucia say to the kobraria of San Pedro Martyr at his house when they begin to drink?	Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal. Thanks you are alive, his word God, at daybreak. We want to see no illness at daybreak. What we will do what we have done. We have to say what our heart says, our soil, our mud. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our Judge Sanpegro sanpablu? So it is that we	

241 [412] machete (*machit*) or the *luk*, a sort of curved machete with a long handle, are the implements needed. The cutting of the grass from the plot where the milpa had been the previous year is *selab*; the cutting of bush grown for three or four years is *sok-uej*. The work of cutting the bush is done by the entire family, including children of seven or eight years old.

[221] [412] The planting is done between April and May after the first rains, with a long stick whose tip is hardened by fire or protected by a metal point. The seed must [242] come from large, healthy ears whose tips have been cut off because they have small corn. The *olote*, or corncob, is either kept [824] or thrown away at a distance to avoid its being used as fuel, for this would hurt the milpa which then would produce ears with broken kernels.

241 462 785 834 The task of planting is a very delicate matter, to be performed after fasting and sexual abstinence. It is exclusively a man's 241 574 affair. A great banquet is served at noon, generally outdoors as the hut interiors are small, to the friends and neighbors who will participate as helpers. Sometimes as [476] many as 10 men help to plant a friend's milpa. The meal is offered "precisely when the sun stops for a moment midway on its run and the doors of the Church of Heaven are opened, from where the quality of the banquet is observed." This is *s-uelil-abal* ('meal of the planting').

241 262 272 574 When things are properly done, the meal consists of a number of items. First the *atole* (*pajal-ul*) is served, which is slightly sour and sweetened with *panela*. As "com- [263] panion" to this atole are tamales (*chenkul-uaj*), which are prepared with cornmeal and ground beans. It is said that both things are to be served together so that "the seed may penetrate deep into the ground."

241 252 262 574 272 After this preliminary snack comes what is considered the main course for each person: a hard-boiled egg in a thick reddish broth prepared from dough and ground chile dissolved in water; a large tortilla;

[P.199-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201-A]

241 boiled beans; other tamales (*petul*), which
252 are made from dough and whole beans;
262 and finally, still more atole. The atole is
574 served not in individual *jícaras* but in two
272 or three large ones (*batzil-booch*), which
[415] are passed from person to person. The same is done with the other foods; they are served in one or two large pots (*mucul pulato*) out of which everyone serves him-
241 self. This banquet is given only on the first
574 day of the planting; if other days are required, the milpero himself does the planting.

241 Since weeds grow rapidly during the rain season, the milpa must be hoed twice before it reaches maturity. For this the luk or coa is used and also the hoe (*asron*), the same one used to break the soil before planting. The first weeding is done in June, the second between July and August. Women
[462] help their husbands in this chore and some-
[566] times do it entirely themselves, since the
[464] men are in the habit of leaving for Tapachula to work as peons on the coffee plantations.

244 Also in the milpa beans of several varieties are planted: *chuil-chenek* (or *ibes*, according to the Ladinos); *botil*, a large common bean; *xakil-chenek* or *frijol de vara;* and the *x-luumil-chenek* or *frijol de la tierra*, thus called because it is a creeping plant.

Chile is planted on a separate lot, 15–20 m. square. The planting is done during the first weeks of March, in alternate years so that it will not coincide with the year when the people of Cancuc plant cotton. Chile planted by the people of Oxchuc is *dzajal-ik* or red chile.

241 Toward the end of August, the first fruits are ready (*unimajam* or *jilote*, according to Ladinos). These are received with great joy by the families which are by then lack-
[242] ing food. From each plant, which provides two or three *jilotes*, the farthest down is picked to let the other two grow bigger.
[252] These jilotes are boiled without salt and
[263] are eaten whole, including the husks.
[262] [P. 201-A]

262 they visit the regional market. Only during
235 illness or fiesta are both chickens and eggs
[437] eaten.

231 In towns like Tenejapa and Cancuc, In-
439 dians buy small pigs from the Ladinos of the center, fatten them for 8 or 10 months, then sell them to the Ladinos, who slaughter them and sell the meat to the Indians. As may be supposed, in this sort of symbiosis the greatest profit accrues to the La-
[454] dinos. However, the Indians more often keep the money from selling pigs to meet emergencies or expenses of clothing, tools, and fiestas.

262 *Food Habits*

Corn, beans, chile, and squash are the core of Indian diet, supplemented by ma-
262 nioc, sweetpotato, potato, and chayote. One
263 or more chayote trees next to the house are common; every part of the chayote is used—fruit, tender leaves, and root—usually boiled with salt. Wild herbs are eaten raw or cooked. Among the raw ones are *culix-uamal*, *xhix-uamal*, and *alauanex*, the last a wild radish which Ladinos call "the Indian's radish." Herbs that are cooked include *tzul* and *tuxac*. Some herbs are eaten both raw or cooked: *verdolaga* or *chic-xecul*, *muem* (*hierba mora*), *maj-tas*, *tzuy*, and *San Sibro Uamal*. The last is a small grass with long
[276] thin leaves which the Indians grind and add to give a better taste to the *pilico* or wild tobacco. This is called *poxil-may*, which is like saying "medicinal pilico." Ladinos use its leaves in tea sweetened with panela.

262 There are three main meals during the
264 course of the day: breakfast (*ue-el sab*), which consists of atole or pozole, beans, chile, and tortillas; lunch (*ue-el olical*) of the same foods plus a vegetable such as squash or chayote; and supper (*ue-el x-malcal*), with atole, tortillas, beans, and chile. In Tenejapa rabbit meat is frequently
177 on the table. In Amatenango, Aguacate-
262 nango, and Pinola, greater contact with Ladinos has added coffee, wheat bread, var-
[P. 203-A]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

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	25. What do they call the second day of the fiesta?	Wisperel	
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262 nango, and Pinola, greater contact with Ladinos has added coffee, wheat bread, var-
[P. 203-A]

273* in the order of drinking. There is no drink server in the informal drinking sequence; a man initiates the drinking act with
273* each other man in turn until his bottle is empty The relative
561 age-ranks of the participants are recognized, however, in that if an older person is present, he is served first. Also, toasting (see the description of drinking by the civil hierarchy) incorporates forms of address--/BANKIL/, /TAT/, and /TATA*/--in which relative age-rank is recognized.

273* The informal drinking sequence, then, is loosely structured internally, and its length is determined by the interaction of the number of participants with the quantity of aguardiente in the bottle. The sequence is terminated when the bottle is empty. A new sequence is initiated when another participant produces another bottle and invites the others to drink. The length of time between sequences varies from virtually no time, when the group is in a bar and a new bottle can be quickly bought, to much longer periods when participants must go to borrow money to buy a bottle or (as happened before the cantinas were established) to find someone who has a bottle to sell. One sequence follows another until all the participants have run out of aguardiente or are unconscious.

[264] No eating--even of regular meals at home--is associated
[533] with the informal drinking sequence. Sometimes a marimba is associated with the informal drinking sequence, but only when the

578 793 794 273 *to cook their meal in the yard of the church. They threatened to beat the priest with the wood, and he retreated into the church. He later announced that he would not give mass, or weddings, or baptism. We did not mind that he did not give the mass or would not give weddings, but the people were frightened if he would not give baptism. The mayordomos had a meeting, and they agreed to give up drinking in the church if the priest would continue to give baptism, but they would no longer care for the pigs or bring wood for him without payment. We pay him fifteen* [465] *pesos for an ordinary mass and forty pesos for a singing mass, so he should pay us for help. The priest was in agreement with the mayordomos.*

[264] As a result of this edict, the drinking has stopped and the mayordomos no longer eat the common meal in the church yard. Drinking was an act linked to eating, since the round of liquor served before the meal was "to prepare the stomach," and the drink after the meal was "to wash down the food." The shift to the house of the cofrade was a ready alternative in this community where the household is a recognized ritual domain.

793 794 178 The priest's control over the church has extended to control over the donation boxes and the saints' images. He now receives the money donated to the saints and does not permit a public accounting of the funds. Because of this, the civil officials accuse him of stealing some of the money. A recent incident recounted below by one of the prayer-reciters led to even more severe censure:

793 776 626 578 178 *The bishop visited our church, and when he looked under the silk robes of the Virgin Santa Lucía he found a wooden dress covered with gold paint. He told the priest to have the cloth dress removed. The people were very upset by this since they are very proud of the dresses bought for the Virgin. One of the prayer-reciters dreamed that the Virgin appeared before her in tears, saying she did not want to appear nude in public. We [the group of prayer-reciters] went to see the bishop to demand that the Virgin should wear her dress in church and that the priest be sent out of the town. The bishop refused. He said the Virgin did not feel cold because she was just a statue. Ha! How could she not feel cold?*

Etiquette of role interaction. The complex system of stereotyped behavior contained in codes of etiquette depends upon role relations. The primary rule of etiquette is to greet people appropriately. In street greetings, one demonstrates that one knows how to "take into account," or show respect to, elders and minors. To elders of the first ascending generation or above, one says, "Good morning, father (or mother)." Those of one's own generation are greeted as elder brother or sister, or younger brother or sister, depending on their relative age. If the encounter is with a compadre, the terms kumpare or kumare take precedence over any other relation. A respected curer is addressed as *tatinal*. Officials are greeted by their titles, preceded by *mam* if they are older. Such greetings are restricted to people who live in the same division of the village. When one enters the other division, it is necessary to greet only compadres or relatives who have passed over after marriage. When younger persons approach elders of prestige, they remove their hats and incline their heads to be touched.

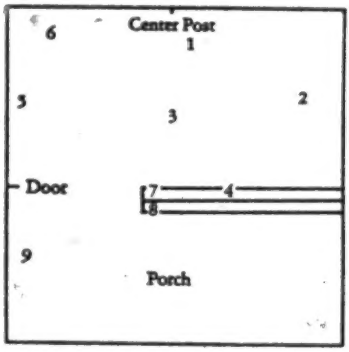
Service of food and drink is strictly ordered by age and sex. At mealtime, small children are fed separately, before or after their elders depending on the child's needs. When they reach the age of reason, about twelve, they are expected to await their turn. The father is served first, followed by his sons in order of age. The mother eats later with the girls.

The etiquette of ceremonial behavior is an extension and elaboration of the everyday forms. Service and greetings are made in order of age and rank, a procedure simplified by the fact that seating arrangements are made in the same order. In house ceremonials, the eldest man sits facing inward, to the right of the door. The rest of the company sits in clockwise order from eldest to youngest on benches lining the porch. Within the house, the seating of women by age begins with the eldest woman sitting at the center post and others sitting in clockwise order.

Preferred modes of behavior in all settings for all roles are "slowness and softness, expressed by a single term, *k'unk'untik*. Deference and respect—"hearing and feeling," *ʔawai*—should be shown in all encounters, marked by behavior such as downcast eyes, shawl held over the mouth, avoidance of direct eye contact, as well as verbal signs of agreement and

342 women sit inside in a semicircle. A house without a closed-in porch is re-
[196] ferred to as a "cattle house" since it is considered inadequate for entertain-
[621] ing guests at ceremonial affairs. Townspeople prefer to choose as higher
[574] officials those who have houses with porches to accommodate visitors.

Fig. 8. Interior of a House



1. Seat of honor for women
2. Bed area for women of house
3. Hearth
4. Bench area for relatives of house
5. Bench area for visiting men
6. Mats or wooden board for visiting women
7. Honor seat for men (when inside house)
8. Honor seat for men outside house
9. Resting areas for male helpers

592 Each member of the household has his place for sleeping, eating, and sit-
[513] ting. The youngest child sleeps with his parents, and older children sleep with siblings of the same sex or with their grandparents. Newly married couples living with their parents prefer to sleep in the cook shack if there
[264] is a separate structure. At mealtime, men and boys sit on small wooden
[352] chairs at a miniature table placed against the wall separating the interior from the porch, while women and girls kneel on straw mats near the hearth.

342 Reference points inside the house (Fig. 8) are the center post where the
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574
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695 minimum of explicit rules. Very little is ruled out of order, and almost nothing introduced is considered irrelevant. The dialogue is primarily be- [693] tween the judge and claimant and secondarily between judge and defendant. The rural judges join with the regidores, who act as court clerks when a case is heard, in a kind of Greek chorus when consensus is reached regarding statements made by defendant or claimant. The judges indicate clearly their approval or disapproval of the statements being made, and throughout the case, consensual verdicts are made in an apparently spontaneous manner. No one pretends to be impartial. Personal knowledge of the defendant or claimant is introduced into the case.

Courtroom behavior falls into three major acts: (1) the declaration by the claimant, (2) the questioning of the defendant (literally the "taking of the heart"), and (3) the paying of the fine. The judge introduces the first act by asking the claimant to "come and speak" so that they can "listen [576] and hear." This ends formally with the claimant saying, "Good day, Elder Brother." The judge introduces the second act when he turns to the defendant, who stands before the civil officials, and says, "Speak and we shall listen, boy. What goes with you?" The defendant sums up his defense in the questioning period. The president introduces the final act, telling the defendant, "When you give a little fine you will be free."

[641] Both claimant and defendant pay court fees, an acknowledgment of the [273] feeling that both are guilty because they are involved in a dispute. Before [178] the term of the incumbent president began, this was paid in two liters of illegally distilled liquor, a kind of symbolic defiance of federal law. Now, since the president drinks only beer, it is paid in two family-sized bottles of beer. The etiquette of courtroom drinking is prescribed: the bottle, referred to as *smahtan*, or gift, is passed to the judge, who goes to the president and presents it to him with a few words of the pat?o?tan giving thanks for the gift. The fourth regidor then measures out the liquor, giving the first shot to the president, the next to the first judge and so on around the room. If a large fine is paid by the defendant, the president or- [264] ders the police to buy meat, and a "common meal" is prepared and eaten.

693 In this society, there are neither veniremen nor specialized advocates. 695 Civil officials other than the first judge act as jurors, announcing their sentiments in unison. The judge, rather than handing down a decision, sums up the consensus of the group. Kinsmen of the claimant and defendant act

805 lating the time of day; when I questioned them as to the hour, they were often as much as an hour off, usually behind.

Most activities are ordered with reference to the Gregorian calendar, but the twenty-day Maya calendrical month, defined as "twenty days or a month" is used in much the same way that we use "a fortnight." The In-
805 dians consider the moon to be an uncertain indicator of time, since "she
821 does not walk well." But the moon is important in the culture: people note its different phases and are especially aware of the phase under which a child is born—an important sign for the newborn's future. If a baby is
[856] born at the full moon, he is expected to mature more readily. The full
[787] moon also signifies a propitious time for undertaking certain activities, such as cutting wood for the main posts of a house and cutting palm for the roof.

The Daily Schedule

512
462 Daily activities are organized by traditional economic pursuits. The woman is the first one to rise in the morning. She gets up at dawn, lights
[252] the fire, and sets a jar of water to boil for coffee. She grinds the nixtamal cooked the night before on the stone grinding board, or takes it to the mill
[412] in the center. She then makes tortillas either by hand or with a press; a re-
[177] cent innovation made of two hinged pieces of wood in which the ball of
[178] dough is set between pieces of plastic paper.

The men of the household are served first, followed by the boys; the
[264] women and girls eat last. As soon as they have eaten, the men and boys who have finished the required three years of schooling go out to the
[481] fields to work. They walk single file even in the streets of the town, the fa-
[482] ther preceding his sons. Each carries a machete, net bag, tumpline, and
[411] sheepskin back-protector if he plans to carry any loads. Many bring shot-
[224] guns as well in order to hunt for field rats, raccoon, or the burrowing animals they find in the fields.

After the men leave, the women go to the porch and "seize their work."
[857] The children go to school, which begins at eight-thirty in the morning
[872] and continues until five o'clock in the evening. They return home for
[264] lunch, a meal of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans or chayote when it is in season.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *xacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

592 593 606 clear social differentiation in the allocation of authority, and the relationship is somewhat antagonistic. Many a man finds himself between a mother complaining bitterly of the laziness of his wife, and a wife of the hardness of his mother. This antagonistic relation is attenuated by the presence of other women in the household (which makes for an easy schedule in the allocation of every day work) and by the personalities of the individuals involved.

606 The relation of a woman and her father-in-law is characterized by a very mild form of avoidance. Verbal interaction is initiated usually by the father-in-law, and is formal. At meal [264] times the social distance between the two is expressed in the seating arrangements, the young wife sitting at the edge of the eating space, the farthest apart from her husband's father.

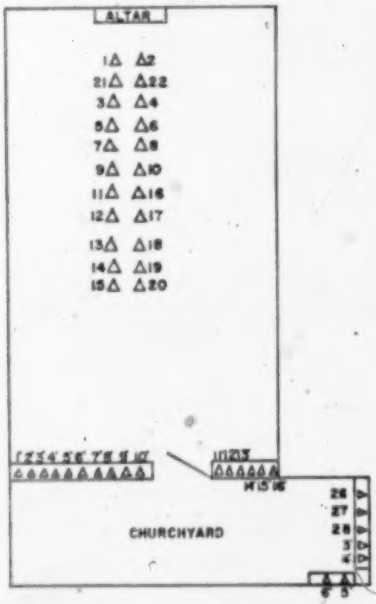
593 Together with the pressures brought about by the structure of these relationships, a woman must go through a process of adjustment with the husband, whom she knew only slightly before marriage.

Given this situation, when she is sick, her natal household offers to her certain emotional attractions that her husband's household does not. The change of residence at the time 591 757 of sickness provides a simple example of what Malinowski called the functional solutions offered by a society for the satisfaction of physical as well as emotional needs of the individual. Three cases of residential change for this reason occurred during the summer of 1958.

000 Independently of the analysis of geographical distribution

Third, there was opposition on the score that the president had never passed in any other public office. The only incident revealing the discontent was the firing of eight shots at (or above) the president's brother following the house festival on the eve of the inauguration. 666 578 622

The principales, who "formerly were the ones who ruled," no longer have a part in the power struggle 624 178



621* 794 554 346

CHART 11 — NEW OFFICIALS INSIDE CHURCH, NEW YEAR'S DAY

OFFICIALS:
1'-16' Mayordomos

Remaining numbers refer to officials listed in Charts 7-9.

which centers on party membership and economic competition. Their ceremonial role in rituals is preserved as a link with the past as well as a sign of continuity between old and new officials. 624 178 [794]

In the inauguration of the religious officials, divergence in the elicited and the observed event (App. 2, column 4) occurred first of all in the shift of locale for the common meal from the churchyard to the house of the *?ali?bal* instead of in the churchyard (App. 2, Q. 19). This was a clue to the power struggle going on in the church. When I questioned my informant about the disparity, he told me the following story: 794 178 578 [264] [793] [273]

[P. 223-B]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

[P. 231]

*621
124
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(Judge) I live. There is no illness. Lord mamtat give pardon with God with the Virgin Mother *(Tios sok Halal me'tik)*. Enter holy pardon lord, give pardon Virgin Mother

Here we are gathered before you where is seated "our soil our mud" (our bodies). What are we going to do to make arrive to fall to happen holy New Year our patron of heaven (*kah-waltik*) God. Here in a little dawns the holy hour. Let us go look before our heart where we are going to receive the holy oath inside of the holy cold house the cold hall where we go to receive our suffering our work holy staff, holy wand. It is going to change, holy day, holy year. Thus we do as did in the past our mother our father

20. What do they do after the greeting?

They drink coffee

They drink coffee

*621
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At 10:45 served bread set on bowl of coffee and bean tortilla in a cloth wrapping. First served *nakawanehetik* then president, then first and second judge, then first and second regidor, then assistant judge, then visitors. At 10:55 *nakawane* got up and stood before first judge and spoke the *spalan mat* (account of the gruel). Then the first judge spoke the *spalan mat* to second judge. The first two regidores of the past year came in to ask if the new officials were now ready "to raise the change"

*621
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[273]

(*K'a s'achal yak helol*). They said *pat'ot'an* before the *nakawane*. Then bowed and kissed hand (*kut' ibale*) with all men in left interior. Went to door and spoke with *me'il k'op*. *kut' ibale* with her.

At 11:15 *balnialetik* took out the table, laid embroidered cloth on it, put 3 liters of trago and 2 quarts of beer. The first *nakawane* did the *spalanbe mahtan me'il tatil* with the first judge standing before him. Then the first

794 796	19. Where do they drink it?	Behind the church	In the house of the *?ali?bal*
124	20. Where do the old mayordomos eat the common meal?	In the church	In the house of the *?ali?bal*
[273] [264]	21. What do they eat?	Male turkey (*mam koz*). Beef soup with tortillas and chile	
[262]	22. How do they prepare turkey?	With chile, *yerba buena* and salt	
[263] [252]	23. Who prepares the meal for the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	The *?ali?bal*. The wife of the *Biktal* (minor) mayordomo of San Pedro and San Pablo	
	24. What do they do after the common meal?	They go to their homes	They go home
	25. What do they call the second day of the fiesta?	Wiśperes	
	26. What do the old mayordomos do first?	They make a fiesta. They beat the drums. They play the flute. They drink trago	They ring the bells three times. The people gather in the church
	27. What time do they begin the fiesta?	Early	At 7 o'clock
	28. What do they do in the church?		The padre gives a Mass for San Pedro and San Pablo
	29. Who collects for the Mass?		The old officials and the new officials and the women
[533]	30. Where do the mayordomos blow the flute and beat the drum?	At the door of the church	In front of the church
	31. Where do the new mayordomos gather first?	At the house of the kobraria Santa Lucia	At the house of the kobraria of Santa Lucia
	32. What do they do first?	They take out the mouthwash	They serve the mouthwash
[273]	33. What do they do then?	They take out a liter to drink	They serve coffee and corn gruel. Then they serve liquor
[272] [262] [273]	34. How much do the new mayordomos drink?	Two drinks each	After two rounds are served, drink is served to the mayordomos who go to the *nakawanektik* and offer their drinks. This is done so that the new officials will not be drunk in church
	35. How many of the new mayordomos don't drink liquor?	Three	
[272]	36. What do they drink?	Cold water (soda)	
124 794 796 539	37. What does the kobraria of Santa Lucia say to the kobraria of San Pedro Martyr at his house when they begin to drink?	Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal. Thanks you are alive, his word God, at daybreak. We want to see no illness at daybreak. What we will do what we have done. We have to say what our heart says, our soil, our mud. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our Judge Sanpegro sanpablu? So it is that we	

241 machete (*machit*) or the *luk*, a sort of
[412] curved machete with a long handle, are the implements needed. The cutting of the grass from the plot where the milpa had been the previous year is *selab*; the cutting of bush grown for three or four years is *sok-uej*. The work of cutting the bush is done by the entire family, including children of seven or eight years old.

[221] The planting is done between April and
[412] May after the first rains, with a long stick whose tip is hardened by fire or pro-
[242] tected by a metal point. The seed must come from large, healthy ears whose tips have been cut off because they have small
[824] corn. The *olote*, or corncob, is either kept or thrown away at a distance to avoid its being used as fuel, for this would hurt the milpa which then would produce ears with broken kernels.

241 The task of planting is a very delicate
462 matter, to be performed after fasting and
785 sexual abstinence. It is exclusively a man's
834 affair. A great banquet is served at noon,
241 generally outdoors as the hut interiors are
574 small, to the friends and neighbors who will participate as helpers. Sometimes as
[476] many as 10 men help to plant a friend's milpa. The meal is offered "precisely when the sun stops for a moment midway on its run and the doors of the Church of Heaven are opened, from where the quality of the banquet is observed." This is *s-uelil-abal* ('meal of the planting').

241 When things are properly done, the meal
262 consists of a number of items. First the
272 *atole* (*pajal-ul*) is served, which is slightly
574 sour and sweetened with *panela*. As "com-
[263] panion" to this atole are tamales (*chenkul-uaj*), which are prepared with cornmeal and ground beans. It is said that both things are to be served together so that "the seed may penetrate deep into the ground."

241 After this preliminary snack comes what is
252 considered the main course for each per-
262 son: a hard-boiled egg in a thick reddish
574 broth prepared from dough and ground
272 chile dissolved in water; a large tortilla;

[P.199-B]

NEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201-A

241 boiled beans; other tamales (*petul*), which
252 are made from dough and whole beans;
262 and finally, still more atole. The atole is
574 served not in individual *jícaras* but in two
272 or three large ones (*batzil-booch*), which
[415] are passed from person to person. The same is done with the other foods; they are served in one or two large pots (*mucul pulato*) out of which everyone serves himself. This banquet is given only on the first
241 day ~~of the~~ planting; if other days are re-
574 quired, the milpero himself does the planting.

241 Since weeds grow rapidly during the rain season, the milpa must be hoed twice before it reaches maturity. For this the luk or coa is used and also the hoe (*asron*), the same one used to break the soil before planting. The first weeding is done in June, the second between July and August. Women
[462] help their husbands in this chore and some-
[566] times do it entirely themselves, since the
[464] men are in the habit of leaving for Tapachula to work as peons on the coffee plantations.

244 Also in the milpa beans of several varieties are planted: *chuil-chenek* (or *ibes*, according to the Ladinos); *botil*, a large common bean; *xakil-chenek* or *frijol de vara;* and the *x-luumil-chenek* or *frijol de la tierra*, thus called because it is a creeping plant.

Chile is planted on a separate lot, 15–20 m. square. The planting is done during the first weeks of March, in alternate years so that it will not coincide with the year when the people of Cancuc plant cotton. Chile planted by the people of Oxchuc is *dzajalik* or red chile.

241 Toward the end of August, the first fruits are ready (*unimajam* or *jilote*, according to Ladinos). These are received with great joy by the families which are by then lack-
[242] ing food. From each plant, which provides two or three *jilotes*, the farthest down is picked to let the other two grow bigger.
[252] These jilotes are boiled without salt and
[263] are eaten whole, including the husks.
[262] [P 201-A]

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* The ceremonial drinking sequence is regularly associated
262 with the serving of food by the sponsors to the guests. The alternate possibilities are included in the following table:

TABLE 13

FOODS AND BEVERAGES ACCOMPANYING CEREMONIAL DRINKING

	Food	Beverage
[272]	Beans	coffee
tortillas and	chicken broth with a chunk of chicken	aguardiente
	beef broth with a chunk of beef	chocolate
	turkey broth with a chunk of turkey	

The relative prestige of the food served increases with the descending order.

273* The duration of a ceremonial drinking cycle is well-defined. It does not last beyond an eight-hour period, in general. Its termination is marked, as has been noted above, by the departure of the marimba from the scene and by the fact that the host ceases to serve aguardiente. Individuals who continue to drink after the ceremonial cycle is terminated do so under informal drinking rules.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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527

San Pablo? So it is that we are here and that we are united in front of the house. Pardon us, if it is not much, you elders. Where we are gathered together there is nothing flavorful nor is there much. It is only a little to warm your body, the water that washed his body, his hand our old saint San Pedro and San Pablo [reference to liquor]. God thank mother and father, mam kobraria."

As the mayordomos prepare to leave the house, the following exchange takes place:

Tatil of San Pedro the Martyr: "What are we thinking? How shall we rise to enter the house of the Kobraria Sakramentu? Why is it he does not want us to drink too much? It is good, we would not remember. It is enough. If you will remember, you will say little, mayordomos. Are we not ready with our rosaries and with our kerchiefs and our candles? Is there anything you want to say?"

Cofrade of Santa Lucia: "It is good. I am going to ask you all if you are ready with your rosary and with your cloth to take the holy candles."

Mayordomos: "Yes, good, we are ready, thank you."

Cofrade of Santa Lucia: "Only one more thing do I have to say. Do not drink too much trago. I do not want you to walk like a mad man. I do not want anyone to say that the kobraria did not say anything to advise you."

Mayordomos: "Yes, thanks. It is good. Let us go now. Let us raise our mud, our soil [reference to body]."

The group goes on to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento who is awaiting them with his nakawanehetik, his b'alnialetik, and the female assistants in the house. They enter saying "Good day, Mamal," greeting first the b'alnialetik, then the third nakawane, then the second nakawane, and finally the first nakawane. The Cofrade of Santa Lucia stands before the first nakawane and recites the spatbeyo?tan. Then he goes on to speak to the me?il k'op, *or woman speaker, who is referred to in this instance as the* me?c'ukuša?il, *"woman who nursed us."*

The women of the kobraria's kindred, the sisters and first cousins and wives of his brothers, remain inside the house as the men sit on the benches on the porch. The nakawane orders the b'alnialetik to serve the mouthwash which is followed by coffee and tortillas. After another

[242]
[262]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

Appendix 1 — CHANGE OF OFFICIALS IN THE TOWNHALL

	Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
*621 124 796	1. When do they change the officials?	On January 1, *?ač ha?bil* (New Year)	First of January	I observed the preparations for the New Year change of office fiesta in the houses of the president and of the new first policeman on December 31, 1964, and January 1, 1965
	2. What do they do first on the fiesta of changing of officials?	They arrange the house of each official	The wife of the first judge puts the bean tortillas on the fire	
[252]	3. When do they do this?	In the afternoon of December 31	In the morning of the last day of December	The women spend most of the morning and afternoon making the bean tortillas
[353]	4. How do they arrange the house?	They get juniper boughs and needles and put them in the house		Around 8 P.M. the visitors arrive. The house is decorated with pine needles on the floor and in the yard, and there are branches of juniper nailed to the posts of the house entry, just as it is done at the entry to the townhall. I was not present at the gathering
[602]	5. Who helps her?		All her relatives (*kermanotak*) with neighbors (see Chart 1)	
	6. What do they do in the afternoon?		The women eat	
*621 124 796	7. What time do the guests gather in the house of the new officials?	On December 31 at 7 P.M.		
574	8. What do they bring?	They arrive with wood and pitchpine	They bring wood or pitchpine	
[272] [262]	9. What do the visitors do?	They drink coffee with bread and bean tortillas	They say greetings. They drink coffee and eat bean tortillas	
[273]	10. What do they do when they finish the coffee?	They drink liquor	They take out liquor, and the judge recites the benediction	
*621 124 796 [693]	11. Who is present in the house of the new official?		*statal nakawane*, his leading house official, Baltol Kantiron. The new judge, Santos Kantiron, *balnial*, assistants to pass gruel, sons of the new officials *?ak s?etik*: wood bringers (see Chart 2)	
[624]	12. What do they do first on New Year's day?	The fourth regidor calls everyone together	The fourth regidor raises all the new officials	

[p. 231]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

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(Judge) I live. There is no illness. Lord mamtat give pardon with God with the Virgin Mother *(Tios sok Halal me?tik)*. Enter holy pardon lord, give pardon Virgin Mother

Here we are gathered before you where is seated "our soil our mud" (our bodies). What are we going to do to make arrive to fall to happen holy New Year our patron of heaven (*kah-waltik*) God. Here in a little dawns the holy hour. Let us go look before our heart where we are going to receive the holy oath inside of the holy cold house the cold hall where we go to receive our suffering our work holy staff, holy wand. It is going to change, holy day, holy year. Thus we do as did in the past our mother our father

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At 10:45 served bread set on bowl of coffee and bean tortilla in a cloth wrapping. First served *nakawanehetik* then president, then first and second judge, then first and second regidor, then assistant judge, then visitors. At 10:55 *nakawane* got up and stood before first judge and spoke the *spalan mat* (account of the gruel). Then the first judge spoke the *spalan mat* to second judge. The first two regidores of the past year came in to ask if the new officials were now ready "to raise the change"

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(*K'a s?ālbal yak helol*). They said *pat?ot'an* before the *nakawane*. Then bowed and kissed hand (*kuk' ibale*) with all men in left interior. Went to door and spoke with *me?il k'op, kuk' ibale* with her.

At 11:15 *balnialetik* took out the table, laid embroidered cloth on it, put 3 liters of trago and 2 quarts of beer. The first *nakawane* did the *spalanbe mahtan me'il tail* with the first judge standing before him. Then the first

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The Indians manufacture and consume *chicha*, an alcoholic beverage fermented from sugar cane or maize. They drink larger quantities of rum prepared in Ladino-owned distilleries. *Pilico*, a combination of lime and tobacco, is chewed frequently, especially in Oxchuc, Tenejapa, and Cancuc.

Tenejapa is the only Tzeltal town that enjoys importance as a market center. Here a market is held every Sunday.

Pottery is made for sale outside the local community in Amatenango and in Tenango. In almost all the other communities the industry is practised in a rudimentary form merely to supply local needs. Blom and LaFarge observed and reported the techniques of pottery manufacture at Sivacá;[19] Villa limits his data to mentioning the industry there. Blom and LaFarge report, on hearsay, the method of making large, egg-shaped, three-handled water jars at Tenango; Villa observed and reported this industry. The former authors report that the clay used is "a light greenish brown colour."[20] Villa says that two kinds of clay, "white earth" and "red earth," are combined to form the paste. Villa also noted the tempering with a ground sandy limestone (*hi*); and the painting with a paint made from a soft stone from the river (*huxu-tzaik*). The pots and griddles are made from one kind of clay tempered with a different sandstone called *bax*. The method of firing described for Sivacá by Blom and LaFarge from hearsay, involving the preparation of "an A-roof, forming a long tunnel,"[21] was observed and photographed by Villa in Tenango. Villa was told that vessels after firing are filled with *pozole* in water to reduce the porosity.

In Tenejapa metates are made for export, and in Oxchuc halters, lead-ropes, nets, and bags. The methods of weaving, net making and basketry, reported by Blom and LaFarge for Bachajón[22] were not reported by Villa.

The type of habitation is the same throughout the whole region, although there are small variations from village to village. The houses are rectangular in form with four-sided roofs, thatched with grass, and with sides made of poles and clay. Only the houses of Chanal form an exception. The walls of these structures are in most cases of wood. The houses of Tenango present another exception in that they are the only ones where the roofs do not terminate in a ridge, but in a point; it is usual to cover this with an inverted pot. Houses are throughout divided into two rooms, one of which serves as living room and kitchen and the other as sleeping room. In some cases the kitchen is placed in the latter section. There is a single door in front; only in certain settlements to the north, as Chilón and Yajalón, where the influence of the white man has been greater, are houses to be seen with two doors and even some with small windows. The floor is always of packed earth.

The furnishings of the living room are limited in general to beds, improvised of boards placed on the ground or on logs, and covered with mats. The hammock is little used; it is generally reserved for children. The furnishings and domestic

[19] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:342–345.
[20] *Ibid.*, 2:383.
[21] *Ibid.*, 2:344.
[22] *Ibid.*, 2:345–349.

682 156 themselves killed." When they see a man who is abusive while drunk, who brags of his power and of that of his animal spirit, they will remark: "That man is going to wake up dead" (*sakubk'inal čamel*). When such a man is killed, no one complains, even among his immediate relatives (cases 5, 10, 14, 16, 19, 22, 24, 26, 27, 29, 31, and 32 are of this type). When I asked [562] why women do not get killed, the response was, "They don't look for trouble" (*ma sleik smul*).

682 *Setting*

	Total	*Dawn*	*Afternoon*	*Evening*	*Night*	??
Streets of town	11				11	
Milpa, woods, road out of town	10	2	3	2	2	1
Highway	4		1	1	1	1
In cantina	3		1		2	
In houseyard	3			1	2	
In bed	1				1	
Neighboring hamlets & towns	2		1			1
??	3					3
Total	37	2	6	4	19	6

Where the killing takes place and its timing in the diurnal cycle are directly linked. All of the homicides in the streets of the town were committed at night, while those in the roads out of town near the milpa occurred in the late afternoon or evening. In providing privacy and security from discovery, the darkness of night is functionally equivalent to distance from the town center during the daytime. When I suggested that the killings might be reduced if the 682 114 town would connect the lights that had been installed in the streets, the response was that when they had been in use, killings had increased. The lights helped the killer find his victim, perhaps lying out in the road after a drinking session. He would shoot out the light and then kill his victim.

682 579 The only killings in which considerations of space or time were ignored were those in the cantina during a drunken brawl, for in contrast to the usual killing their onset was unpremeditated.

682 The timing of homicide is related also to the annual cycle: 14 homicides occurred during the [527] fiestas in the town or in a neighboring town. [579] The drunkenness of the fiestas provides an appropriate occasion for killing an enemy, although a drunken brawl is in itself rarely a [755] sufficient motive (two cases). Other opportune times are after a curing ceremony (six cases) [273] and after the gathering of curers during an

682 epidemic (two cases), when people have drunk
[755] a great deal and their motive is fresh in their
[273] mind.

The settings in which homicides occur indi-
682 cate that a killer is expressing not his own
152 bravery but rather his fears. Wounds are fre-
154 quently inflicted from the rear, and often the
[273] victim is outnumbered and set upon by a group. The victim is sometimes invited to drink with his killer(s), and in this session he is disarmed psychologically and physically. Alcohol reduces the chance of his effective reaction, and this is important when a knife or machete is used. Shotgun killings are done at a distance and do not require this tactic, al-
682 though it may still be employed. For drinking
273 serves to reduce the killer's own fears. Drink
152 "heats the blood" and makes unusual behavior possible. One killer, in recounting his act, was not trying to prove bravery, but rather his own good judgment and cool-headedness. The killer fired at the victim while he was sleeping, his back turned to the door, and killed him. The shot also entered the arm of the
[695] sleeping man's wife. She saw the killer as he left the scene, but testified in court that she
[683] had seen no one. She was, in effect, accepting his verdict that her husband was a witch.[4] This homicide was not regarded by the killer or by anyone else as a heroic act, nor was the killer in recounting it attempting to emphasize anything other than the necessity of the act.

682 *Instrumentality: Weapons and Wounds*
411

gun	14
machete	6
gun and machete	4
knife	3
knife and gun	1
knife and machete	1
knife and stone	1
hatchet	1
nail	1
sandals	1
??	4

The variety of weapons reduces the question of any technological determinism to a minimum. The actual weapon used seems to be a matter of convenience. When more than one is used, it is usually evidence that the assailant had helpers. The nail is unusual. It was hammered into the jaws of a man who had entered the curing profession at an age considered too
682 young. The attack on the jaws of the victim
774 seems related to the power of speech and to the
756 [text continues on p. 461-B]

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.464-A] Teklum

682 683 627 to who did it. The consultations with curers prior to the death of the supposed victims of a witch will be introduced as evidence. (Some degree of consensus may have been built up beforehand, in witch-killings, by the public broadcast of accusations noted above.[8]) The focus of the discussion is not so much on who killed the dead man, but whether he was indeed a witch. This kind of mock trial occurs [753] after every funeral, since it must be decided who caused the sickness. Emotions run very [152] high as the liquor is passed around, and accusations are made, sometimes against those pres- [273] ent. It was after a funeral that one man killed his son (not included in Table 1) for accusing him of having caused the death of the son's child, who was being buried.

682 [521] In the weeks following a homicide, it is discussed at all the drinking sessions in the homes or in the town hall. Eventually an authoritative version begins to emerge. Those who have defended the victim then keep silent, and the 682 683 affair "rests in peace." Avenging the death of a man judged to have been a witch, so far as I [627] know, has never been done. In one case (no. 36, Table 1) the widow of a man killed as a witch vigorously denied the legitimacy of the act and built up a case against the killer. She spread word that it was without doubt the dead man's son by a prior marriage. When the son was killed shortly after (case 37, Table 1), everyone assumed that he had been killed by the widow's son by *her* prior marriage. However, the authoritative version concerning the second killing was that it was an accident: he had been mistaken for his brother, whom the killer was after because of rivalry over a girl.

682 183 *Rules for Surviving*

The patterning of the selection of victims and the circumstances of homicide provide the basis for formulating a set of rules that can 682 539 183 ensure survival. The long-range rules of survival, in the words of an elder at the occasion of the death of his godchild, are:

lakon kak'o ta kventa me?tal
I pay respect to my elders.

kun ku kikta'in kalnižan
[601] I greet my younger brothers and my children (classificatory extension of kinship terms).

spisil kak' ta kventa
To all I give respect.

ka? kil lakotik. Ma taltik milel ma taltik komal

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 464-B] Teklum

682 539 783 Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick.

682 156 828 A good man is of one heart, and he shows it by his humility, *ben k'un yo?tan* or "very soft heart." He can drink with friends on either side of the dual division of the town, and he is called upon in many household fiestas to greet the guests of the house-owner.

But the man who is "very strong of heart," *ben toyol yo?tan*, who "fails to take people into account," *ma ?awa ta kwenta*, who "abuses people," *me ya wul*, has means of survival despite the many threats to his life. He surrounds himself with a circle of *compadres*, or godparents; he especially picks out curers, both to mitigate the use of their power against him, and for them to serve as intermediaries if he should have enemies with animal spirits. When a threat becomes imminent, he may stay within his house or limit his range of activities to a very circumscribed area, always taking a weapon when he does go out. He will usually try to limit his drinking, or give it up entirely. These short-range rules of avoidance are clearly indicated by the circumstances in which killings occur: in the hills or at night, when the victim is under the influence of liquor.

[608] [756] [273]

682 These 37 cases of homicide reveal a regularity in the kinds of people and situations involved. The victims are most often men who assert power, principally curers, or men who violate standards of behavior by abusiveness or theft. Their killers are often linked to them by kinship or neighborhood, the bonds in which tensions are greatest. The regularity of time and place of homicide suggests the precautions that can be taken to avoid being killed if one has an enemy. The general failure of the community social-control agents to bring negative sanctions against a killer indicates that homicide is an accepted solution for interpersonal conflict. The structural setting that validates this behavior is discussed below.

[578] 682 626

II. STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

682 178 121 626 Case analysis, useful for discerning certain patterns, is inadequate for understanding the interrelationships among a variety of social changes in the community. An increasing rate of homicide of this magnitude indicates fundamental changes in the social matrix in which individual decisions are made: it suggests not

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P 467-B] Teklum

178 the cave and that they are in communication
756 with him. But these claims are met with ex-
769 pressions of disbelief by the people. Almost everyone is convinced not only that the curers do not now talk with the ancestors, but that the ancestors no longer look over them from the watchout hill outside their cave.

756 The loss of control by the curers is drama-
178 tized in the long passage quoted above con-
731 trasting the past and present treatment of epidemics. Formerly the two leaders of the curers consulted together and announced to the president that they had rid the town of evil. Now the curers as a group are ordered to come before the civil authority. There, in a
[273] long examination called *?iz yo?tan*—"taking the heart"—in which 18 liters of liquor are consumed, the assembled curers and civil authorities decide who among them is responsible for bringing in the witchcraft that is causing the epidemic. Later in the evening,
[682] one of the curers is usually killed (cases 11 and 29, Table 1).

756 (2) *Conflict between the curers and the civil*
578 *authority*. The competition between the curers and the civil authority can be traced in a series of incidents beginning in the '30's and culminating in an open confrontation in the spring of 1966.

756 The first incident occurred in 1932, when
578 the town was still part of the neighboring
682 Ladino township:

683 F went and asked permission of the authorities to
[632] kill his enemy, a curer, who he thought was bewitching his brother-in-law. The president went to the house of the suspected witch with the order to imprison him. He said they were going to take him to the neighboring township center to put him in jail. The group of authorities set off with the suspected witch. On the way, another group met them and asked them where they were going. The president replied, "To H." The group that had encountered them asked if they would like a drink to heat their body. They gave one cup, and then another. Then they cut up the suspected witch with a machete and put his body in the cave of the ancestors. When the widow enquired the next day where her husband was, the president said that the man must have gone to the finca.

The ambush by the killers was prearranged in the town court, and the president covered their deed when questions were asked.

[622] In 1940, the leading curer of the lower section was president. When he killed a man who

283 the ground. This disc has two hooks to
413 which the fiber is knotted; when the disc is turned by a crank, it braids the fibers into rope. A thick board, smoothed by a metal knife (manufactured by the Indians from iron pieces bought in the city), is used to scrape the pita and remove the fiber.

407 The most complex machine that the Tzel-
[177] tal own and build is the wooden cane press, which was imported by the Spaniards to grind sugarcane (fig. 6). This machine is operated by two men, who move the rollers by a handle (*kabal-té*) at each end of the
[415] machine. The juice pressed out by the rollers drops into fluted containers made of pieces of banana tree, and finally into a pot. This
• 273 juice is used in the preparation of an alcoholic beverage, *chicha* (*chi-ja*, 'sweet water'), and for panela. Chicha is prepared by
[415] fermenting this juice by bran, corn, or wheat, in a special container (*canoja*) made from a fluted tree trunk. The bran or other fermenting agent is *smé-chi-já* ('mother of
[184] the chicha'). Some communities (Tenejapa, Cancuc, Oxchuc) have greater preference for this beverage than other Tzeltal groups.

224 A gun has become very common in hunt-
411 ing. Sometimes (Oxchuc and Tenejapa) rabbits are taken by striking them with a
[412] coa, after cornering them with the aid of dogs. Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:352) state that the Tzeltal of the lowlands usually hunt wild boar with long wooden spears with fire-hardened or metal points. Traps protect the milpa as well as snaring game.

41 Cooking utensils are mainly indigenous. The usual set consists of clay containers of varying size and shape, jícaras, baskets, wooden spoons, a comal, a metate, hooks, and wooden tripods for hanging items over
177 the fire. In the last few years metal pots,
404 dishes, frying pans, boiling pans, and espe-
416 cially handy *nixtamal* mills (which are gradually displacing the grinding stone)
177 have been introduced. Other items that
207 come from the city are flashlights, small
405 kerosene lamps, watches, scissors, and (in-
412 frequently) battery radios.
416 [P 206-B]

583 procedures (*trámites*) of church and civil
584 registry. The traditional marriage is an arrangement between two families. The young man's parents, with his agreement, select the bride and start the visits leading to the
[574] petition. The visits to the girl's house must
[273] be made at dawn, accompanied by two or three bottles of aguardiente. These visits continue for several months, because the girl's parents want to consult the old men or the most important members of the patrilineal clan.

585 The wedding itself is simple, a family ritual concerning the boy's parents, the girl's parents, and old men of the clan she belongs to. Now the boy appears for the first time, bringing articles that will "warm up" the fiesta (Villa Rojas, 1949):

1 garrafón (about 18 liters) of aguardiente
80 cooked eggs
80 tortillas
80 tamales of the *chenkul-uaj type* (corn and bean dough)
10 kilos of pozole with chile
10 kilos of pozole without chile
1 kilo of ground chile
1 almud (4 kilos) of beans

According to my informants from Oxchuc, these items represent what the girl's parents have spent for her during childhood.
[574] This marriage feast is called *beybal-ja* ('the first delivery of aguardiente').

585 These items are presented with the great-
614 est formality to the girl's clan in oral forms that symbolize the wish for everlasting friendship between both families. The oldest member of the girl's clan responds by expressing on behalf of all members their satisfaction in receiving those articles and their good wishes for a successful union. Immediately, the couple kneels on a petate and listens to the oldest member of the clan, who formally announces they are married and recites the duties and obligations of each.

584 Until recently in Cancuc the custom ob-
184 tained of making these marriage arrange-
[P 217-B]

584 [184] ments through a special person (*chunel*) for each of the four clans, and differed from Oxchuc, where the case is presented to the nearest old man of the clan. In Cancuc, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, p. 3):

> The boy's parents dealt with the *Chunel* of the girl's clan when petitioning her. He received the gifts and gave approval; and then accompanied by the boy and his parents he went into the house of the girl's parents. There, he presented the boy's petition. Nobody could oppose the Chunel's decisions. The girl would die if she didn't obey the decisions of the elder of the clan.

583 Once a marriage feast is finished, the boy stays in his parents-in-law's house to fulfill the bride price (*stojyinam*). This service, which consists in helping the father-in-law in the milpa and in other duties, usually lasts a year, or less if arrangements are made in advance. Frequently during this period the man spends alternate periods of three weeks with his parents-in-law and with his own parents. When he has the means to do it, he builds his own house and starts the new cycle of a nuclear family.

581 585 574 [273] [614] After the first year of marriage, if the couple get along together, the man must make a present of two garrafones of aguardiente and the same petitionary items of food, though in larger amounts. This time, more of the girl's clan are present, and so increase the importance of the event. The purpose is to celebrate the success of the couple and the union that will exist between the two families. This big *tertulia*, along with the corresponding meal, is called [888] *mukel-ja* ('abundance of drink'). Old men of [273] the clan who cannot attend receive at their homes the portion of aguardiente they 586 should have drunk. On the other hand, if the couple could not get along during the first year and the union is annulled because of the woman's fault, her parents must give back all they have received during the first ritual.

581 574 Finally, to bring all these duties to an [P. 218-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

137 Change in soil is
134 probably the reason for change in vegetation. The tropical forest grows on black humus soil and the pine country is underlain by a red sandstone which weathers into a heavy red clay. The contact of this sandstone with the limestone country on which leaf trees grow lies about an hour's ride north of the village of Bachajon.

[133] The pine country is very hilly, the trees are scattered over a carpet of vivid green grass cut by the strong red line of the soil of the trail like a scar (fig. 195).

114 It was like riding through a magnificent park, up and down the hills and across small streams. Our poor animals had a hard time on the slippery trail. La Farge's horse gave out, and he had to change his saddle to a spare animal.

361 The Bachajon Indian village came in sight, lying on a hill in the
342 middle of the valley. It was well after noon when we reached the
346 dilapidated, grass-roofed and mud-walled huts clustered around the huge ruin of an old Spanish stone church. The Indians use a new church which they have built of the same material as their houses.

122 The house of the Government agent lies in the middle of the
344 village and here we were quartered in a room, the floor of which had just been covered with a carpet of fresh pine needles.

123 The Bachajon Indians are reputed to be unfriendly to all travellers, so we were not surprised when the Indian chief of the village told us that he could not furnish fodder for our animals or men to carry some of our cargo. To all our questions he answered "Mayuk," or in English, "Ain't got none." But when the chief, a little later, heard from our Encanto men that we had been friendly to them, and that furthermore, we were friends of the big father President in Mexico City, he changed his attitude.

648 The Government agent is sent to the Indian village by the civil
[651] authorities of the neighbouring Mexican town of Ocosingo. He is
[653] supposed to collect certain taxes, raise labourers for public works in the Mexican town, and help the Indians with their affairs. He is highly unpopular among the Indians, who counteract his orders through a remarkable system of passive resistance. They say "yes" to everything and do nothing. The only reason the Indians tolerate
[273] him is because he keeps a small store and sells liquor. The Indian is very fond of sugar-cane rum, and every Saturday and Sunday all the villagers generally get drunk. The agent complained bit-
[123] terly that the Indians were not selling him any food supplies and was astonished when they sold us chickens and eggs.

361 Most of the Bachajon Indians live hidden away in the bush. Only the families of the chief and the village officials live around the old church ruins.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

fragments of prayers to him will be given when discussing medicine. Distinct from the guardian of the cornfields, he is known only by name to the ordinary Indians, and mention of him appeared to alarm them a good deal.

Drunkenness still retains some of its old, ceremonial significance, in its association with fiestas, funeral rites, and particularly with medicine, under which head it will be more fully taken up.

There are a number of beliefs and practices, no matter what their origin, which, as they exist today, must be considered as superstitions rather than religion. Of such a type is the belief mentioned when speaking of hunting, that painting the bullet red would make it go further. This is of interest in the study of survivals, in view of the importance of the colour red in pre-Christian times. It may be equally well argued, however, that the red in this case represents the blood of the animal to be slain. Most of the superstitions are concerned with the *nagual* or the soul.

The set of ideas that constitute Nagualism is derived from ancient and important beliefs. The *nagual, tcul-el* (*tcul,* "holy," *-el* "the, the one"), is a companion-spirit to a man, taking the form of some animal. The stronger the *nagual,* the stronger the man, thus one with a jaguar for a familiar could work any kind of magic or other harm on one with a rabbit. We were told both that the *nagual* was assigned by popular consent, due to people's opinion of a man, and that it was seen in a dream. A man who has a quarrel with another will deliberately shoot animals of the species of the other's *nagual,* hoping to hit the particular one associated with his enemy. If that one dies, the man dies, and vice versa. Thus, it is plain that there is no idea of association with a whole class of animals, but only with one individual of a class.

According to Nuñez de la Vega,* in the seventeenth century the *nagual* was assigned by a shaman, who took it from the name of the day on which the individual was born. The child was later caused to see his *nagual* . . . *"se abrazan cariñosamente con su nagual, que por arte diabólica se le apparece muy doméstica y supersticiosamente cariñosa, aunque sea una bestia muy feroz, como leon, tigre, etc."*† According to Sapper (1925) exactly the same practices obtain in Guatemala today, the animal being caused to appear by means of hypnotism.

It is possible that further investigation would show a similar manner of choosing the *nagual* among the modern Tzeltal. How-

*Nuñez de la Vega. 1702. loc. cit.
†Extract in Paniagua. 1908. Page 97.

774 [513] fire and then hung up to destroy the impression and prevent leaving behind with it a portion of the soul, on which magic could be worked. Our own observation was that this precaution was carelessly observed.

789 123 Although magic may be worked on impressions on leaves, bits of hair, earth from fields, etc., the Indians showed no objection at all to being photographed beyond a certain embarrassment, and very little to being drawn. Often they asked to be photographed, and at some villages posed readily for sketches.

756 Although, according to Nuñez de la Vega,* there were originally several classes of shamans among these tribes, at present they seem to have narrowed down to one medicine-man type. Primarily these are doctors, but in their practice they preserve certain priestly char-
756 acteristics. They have a real pharmacopeia, and Ladinos and oc-
757 casional foreigners who have tried their skill testify to the effectiveness of the medicines.† All their knowledge, however, is kept in greatest secrecy. Just enough medicine is administered at once for a dose, the shaman watching to see that it is consumed, and none held out for identification. Of these we were able to find out virtually nothing. Serpent fat, *junto-tcan,* is in common use as a rub for colds. Head-aches and extreme drunkenness are treated by cutting the forehead with a bit of sharp glass, and bleeding is resorted to in some other cases. The use of the tourniquet in cases of snake-bite is widely known.

All applications of medicine are accompanied by prayers recited in such a way as to be unintelligible to lay hearers. The prayers are an essential part of the treatment.

756 Shamans are trained from early infancy, being selected probably by the older practitioners. One of them takes the student in hand and teaches him prayers and medicines proper to his particular specialty. With this goes a certain amount of plain magic. Whether a man may then study under others and continue learning is not known: however, they vary in reputation both for their ability at curing, and for clairvoyance, casting spells, etc. Casting spells is a sort of reverse function of doctoring, the man who can cure disease being, obviously, able also to cause it.

[273] One of the two words given for a shaman, *poci',* shows an interesting resemblance to the Tzeltal for rum, *poc.* This similarity gains importance in view of the real connection between curing and drinking. A shaman definitely will not perform unless he is more

*Op. Cit.
†Cf. Sapper, 1923.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

or less inebriated, not from greediness, but because it is a ceremonial necessity for him to be in that condition when dealing with the sacred things. Drunkness was a requisite of certain functions among the old Maya, and with the present-day Lacandones,* the Chontal shamans similarly will not perform unless drunk. 756 [273]

Sebastiano Guzman, a Bachajon at El Encanto, a specialist on snake-bite cases, would not treat a friend for snake-bite, although he carried him on his back for two hours to get treatment from us, because the friend could not buy him any rum. It probably would be considered very dangerous to deal with the supernatural healing powers when sober. 755 273

When a group of Indians are drinking at any time, the shamans, as soon as they are drunk, go off together to one side and proceed to exchange prayers and prescriptions which they will not discuss when sober. They make a curious spectacle thus; a group of elderly men sitting in a corner passing a bottle about, plainly drunk, and gravely intoning prayers that are obviously to all of them matters of weighty importance. 273 756

Of their prayers two, or parts of two, were obtained. The first was copied by a Ladino secretary at El Encanto from the recital of an intoxicated shaman. The shaman became a general object of ridicule to all his people, lay or initiate, for having let out one of his secrets to an outsider. The second was recited by Señor Aguilar of El Encanto, who had overheard it. No one was able to give us any but the most fragmentary and unsatisfactory translations for these prayers; undoubtedly the text is in part archaic, and may contain some gibberish. The manner in which they were acquired, moreover, prevents accurate transcription. They are given here, rather than with the Tzeltal Texts in Appendix V, because of this failure to translate them, and their primarily ethnological value. 756 273 126 782

I.

hun ahau ilic tunic baken pusti-lum tal kowit' tal keke manic tunic inic kilan kun in ahau keke tunic hun tsak-unti-bak tsak-unti-tci. 539

Hun Ahau, the Guardian of the Mountains, has been discussed already. *ilic* was said to mean "drove out the sickness," and *tunic*, "placed the sickness." *pusti-lum* contains the stem *lum*, "earth." *tal* may be the stem of the verb *tal-el*, "to come." *kilan* is a lizard used in medicine. *keke tunic* was explained as meaning that the sickness was placed by means of *ajo* fruit. *tsak-unti* is remarkably similar to the Lacandone *tsakuntik*, "to redden," occurring in a

*Tozzer, 1907.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

291 broidery along all the seams, at the cuffs, and over what would be a pocket in a European shirt. Trousers are either very short "shorts," or replaced by a cotton breech-clout. Hats are seldom worn. Most men carry woolen blankets woven by the Chamula Indians. The red sashes are knotted in front (fig. 322).

The women's dress is the same as at Tenango, but without any 302 decoration, and with a shorter skirt. Their hair is worn in two braids, or done up in a knot over the forehead, forward of where the tump-line is placed.

FIG. 323—Cancuc, Chis. Men on the Cabildo porch.

771 These people, for all their turbulence, are very devout, although, like many who are more civilized, they leave most of the expression 794 to the women. The church is swept out daily by women appointed for the purpose. Along about five o'clock in the afternoon all the women drift in, singly or in small groups, pray for awhile, 346 and come out. Looking in the door one sees the large interior almost pitch dark, cut here and there with [291] tiny, yellow candle-flames, and hears a monotonous sing-song drone of chanted 796 prayers. Their festivals center about the church. In this connection they have a very curious custom. [417] There are two scaffolds by the plaza (fig. 323) very small platforms on four rickety poles about four meters high, surrounded by an insufficient railing, arched over with palm branches, [203] and reached by a frail-looking ladder. The drinking which, as was explained in the last chapter, is an essential part of any ceremony, must all take place on top of these scaffolds. It is indeed a miracle that every fiesta does not cause a score of broken necks.

123 While wandering around to see what he could see, the writer was hailed by an elderly woman who gave him to understand by signs

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

that he was invited into her house, presumably to take shelter from the evening rain that was beginning to fall. The house, of which he sketched a hurried plan (fig. 324) was more rectangular than is usual, the prevailing type being square with a pyramidal roof. He entered through a low doorway, closed with a wooden door on leather hinges. Although the ridge of the roof was high, the many cross poles reaching from the top of one wall to the other made it necessary to stoop. The writer squacted by the door, facing the fire, which smoked merrily in the closed room. The old woman immediately set to shaping a pile of tortillas for baking. Along either wall was a well-made bench, decorated with notches along the top and geometric designs on the back, similar to the benches on the Cabildo porch (fig. 325). These and a sturdy table that was stored on top of the stringers were said to be purely local products. By the door stood a big jar, a full meter in height, crude and undecorated (fig. 326). There was the usual collection of ollas and gourds, and one other new form, an open-mouthed pot about eight centimeters high and as many in diameter, flat bottomed, with a handle on one side, called *hütc* (fig. 327). In the thick smoke, it was hard to see anything. I was interested to note that my hostess' eyes watered nearly as much as my own. In the darker end of the house I could make out corn stacked neatly along one wall, and a partition that presumably hid the beds. For a while the woman answered the few questions that I could make her understand by means of signs, my half-a-dozen words of Tzeltal,

FIG. 323—Cancuc, Chis. Drinking scaffold.

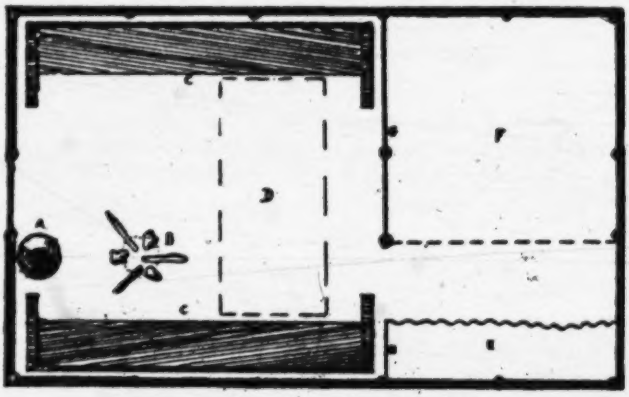

FIG. 324—Cancuc, Chis. Plan of House.

6: Metzger

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

• 273

[For detailed information on various aspects of drinking performance in Aguacatenango, see category 116, pp. 1-4, 10, 44-47, 49-99, 102-113, and 125-183.]

It is considered much safer to drink in a bar on one's own side, but those men who pride themselves on being widely respected brag that they can drink on either side without becoming involved in a fight. When people must pass to the other side of town, they prefer walking on the Pan-American Highway, a socially neutral network, to passing through the streets of the opposite division, where their presence arouses curiosity and comments, such as "He must be looking for a lover!"

The colonias. The six colonias (Table 1) are populations of Indians who have moved from the center to take advantage of the lands granted under the ejido program of 1937 and "foreign Indians" who were formerly workers on the expropriated plantations. The Indians distinguish the close-lying settlements, or *barrios,* of Yetawitz, Pathuitz, B'očib'al, and Te'tikil from the remaining colonias listed in the census (Table 1). The populations of the barrios are more closely identified with the center since they are closer to it and there is a higher proportion of migrants from the parent group. They are linked to the side of the dual division to which they are most closely situated. Marriages can be contracted between members of the two settlements, and house lots can be acquired by residents of the town in the barrio with which they are associated. An exception was made to the association on the basis of proximity in the case of Te'tikil, which lies nearer to Alannantik but was linked with Ahk'olnantik in order to balance the population ratios at the time of its settlement. Police are appointed from these colonias and serve in the local *cabildo,* or town hall, along with other police from the center. The colonias of San Vicente and San Caralampio are farther away, and the rural judge and police appointed to these populations appear only once a week and during ceremonies in the local cabildo. The foreign Indians of San Vicente, who migrated from Chanal, and of Yetawitz, who came from Huistán to work in the finca of San Nicolás before acquiring ejido lands, are discriminated against in the local political organization. Their representatives never reach the high positions of president and first or second judge.

Ranchos and rancherías. The populations of these small settlements have only the most formal kind of social, economic, and political

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527
756
788

it before he arch. The younger curer then took a bunch of the branches of spring bushes and brushed each person over the head, shoulders, back, arms, and legs. Liquor was passed around to the visitors and participants. The elder curer took the bunch of branches, prayed, and brushed the future occupants. The younger curer followed him with another brushing.

The elder curer put some powder in the springwater. He then took a rattle, stuck it it in a bunch of the leaves from the spring, gave it a couple of shakes as though testing it, and handed it to one of the b'alnial *(young male assistants). He then stood before the candles at the back center post, bowed to it, turned, and bowed to the opposite center post. He poured the springwater in a gourd and gave it to Juliana, the houseowner's daughter, who passed it to each member of the household. The curer then took out four cigarettes and put them on either side of the candles. He greeted everyone present and delivered the following prayer:* [782] [839]

May no witchcraft enter.
May all the children be cared for.
I can see and hear who enters.
Of one heart are the women, of one heart are the men.

Santiago began to play the guitar as his wife, Alberta, brought in the coffee and rolls. She handed the first cup to the elder curer. This was followed with a serving of rice and tomatoes. Before he began to eat, the curer said, "good afternoon" to all present.

After the meal, the elder curer led the household members outside. He held one of the palm crosses at the corner post of the house and prayed; then Santiago pounded in a nail to hold it. Each member of the household, including the small children of Alberta, went up and kissed the cross in turn. They went on to the other main posts of the exterior of the house where they did the same thing. They entered the house and continued drinking the rest of the afternoon. Cigarettes were passed around, and the men began to joke. Drinking is compulsory: everyone who attends must drink equal amounts of the liquor served. [273]

Each of the ritual items is introduced because it contains a powerful soul. The branches and the springwater contain souls associated with the

342 527 782 756 [788]

the animal. The curer received from him the severed head and paws which he placed in a large gourd. Then the curer served a potion of herbs in springwater to all of the members of the household. The final ritual act was for the curer to smoke an article of clothing belonging to each member of the household over the incense burning in front of the center arch at the back wall. Liquor was served continaully throughout the ceremony, the first drink always being given to the curer followed by one to the elder houseowner. The first drink was served immediately after the cutting of the jugular vein of the sheep. Flowing blood, water, and liquor are spirit media symbolically linked in ritual behavior. Between each of the major ritual acts—the slaughtering of the sheep, the burial of the head, the serving of the springwater and herbs, and the smoking of the clothing with incense—the curer prayed, but his prayers were so mumbled that I could not hear or record them. Informants said that it was a variation of the prayer given at the first house fiesta. After the rituals, a stew made with the sheep meat was served with tortillas to all the visitors. The music of guitar and gourd rattle, played during the ritual by young male relatives continued after the meal, and the guests remained in the house drinking and dancing for the rest of the afternoon.

[273] [533]

Elements of these house fiestas are repeated when any of the children of the household is ill. A severe illness, diagnosed as being caused by the devil eating the soul of the patient, requires offering a meal to the house spirit. The square hole is reopened, and a live black chicken, male if the patient is a boy and female if it is a girl, is placed inside. A food offering of one-fourth liter of liquor, one peso's worth of bread, and 50 cents' worth of chocolate is placed inside with the chicken, and a square board is fitted on top of the hole "to keep the chicken alive for eight days so that the house spirit will hear his cries." When the curing arch is removed, the hole is filled in with dirt over the chicken, now dead, which provides a meal for the spirit house earth. 755

When the houseowner is sick, an appeal for health is made to the spirit in the house post. The members of the household kiss the post, a splinter is removed and burned in an incense burner with *pom*, the resin of pine. This odor is pleasing to the house spirit. [776]

When a serious illness caused by witchcraft has been cured, the patient 000

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pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village. The expenditures of this family on meat, brown sugar, and liquor were required for the house celebrations carried out almost every Sunday. Like family No. 1 they spent 83 percent of their budget on food, a total of 714.80 pesos, and a larger percentage on clothing, 138 pesos. They sold their surplus corn for 292 pesos and their beans for 247 pesos. These crops were produced on one hectare of privately owned, irrigated land, one hectare of privately owned, non-irrigated land and one hectare of ejido land.

Family No. 3 consists of a widow and her widowed daughter-in-law who had five children. The oldest son, aged sixteen, worked their one-half hectare of ejido land and one-half hectare of irrigated land with some hired help during harvest. During the three weeks recorded, there were no returns from their crops, which include wheat and corn, and the family relied entirely on returns from pottery. This household produces more pottery than any of the others recorded, earning 61 pesos in the three weeks, because there are no adult male producers. They spent 63 percent of their budget on food, a total of 42 pesos, and 34 percent or 23 pesos on clothing.

Family No. 4 consists of a married couple with three children seven years of age and under. The husband works occasionally in the sawmill, but since he drinks a great deal, he does not contribute much of his 70-peso weekly wage to the family. He grows wheat on one-half hectare of irrigated land and corn on one-half hectare of ejido land. In the ten days recorded, no money was gained on harvest, but the woman earned 19 pesos from pottery. The family spent 77 percent, or 17.20 pesos of their budget on food and another 22 percent, or 5 pesos such as soap, kerosene, etc.

Family No. 5 consists of a married couple, their married son and daughter-in-law, and three grandchildren. They own one and one-half hectare of irrigated land, on which they grow wheat and corn, and one-half hectare of ejido land. The husband and his son supplement their earning from farming by distilling liquor, earning 108 pesos in the ten days recorded. In addition, the women of the household earned 54 pesos from pottery they made. They spent 143 pesos, or 97 percent of their budget on food and 3 pesos, or 2 percent of their budget, on clothing.

Family No. 6 consists of a young couple with two children. The husband owns one-half hectare of irrigated land, and one-half hectare of non-

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The truck is the focus of the desire for self-improvement, for fighting the Ladino monopoly of the road, for the antagonisms and factional strife and conflict within the community. When they bought the truck, the Indians hired a Ladino in the neighboring town as chauffeur. One of the conditions of his employment was that he would teach his Indian assistant to drive. The Ladino tried to avoid doing this since he knew it would be the end of his job. But the Indian assistant learned by observation and is now operating the truck with an Indian assistant.

Accounts of the cost and profit of the truck operation indicated a running loss. A new tarpaulin cost 1,200 pesos; there were repairs and bribes to the highway patrol. But the truck was kept in operation because the major shareholders were impressed with the power it gave them. "They [their enemies, the members of the other co-operative owned by the Ladino along with twenty members of the community] are afraid of us because of the truck," one said, and added that it was better than having a *swayohel,* the animal spirit that gives power to the curers. At the time of my last visit in 1967 the truck was making a profit. The owners were thinking of selling it and replacing it with a five-ton model.

Structural realignment has been most marked in the organization of the truck-owning cooperatives. Membership cuts across the dual division for both of the truck-owning cooperatives. The cooperative is the most important factor in local political elections (Chapter 9). The truck has become both the symbol of power and the basis for the contest for power between the factions within the community.

Contraband liquor. The number of distillers has grown in the last ten years from five to forty. The distillation process was learned by Indians from Ladinos in neighboring towns fifteen years ago. There has been no local innovation in the basic process, but a new item, used in distillation, has been introduced into pottery production, a funnel decorated in the traditional manner of the water jars and other vessels. The capital investment in the equipment for operating the still is put up by individuals or partnerships of relatives. The still is rented to people who have charge of the celebration for a saint's day, or who are involved in courtship.

Private enterprise is the favored form of organization of the distillers be-

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273 472 cause of the limited capital involved and the fear of discovery with the expansion of the enterprise. A loose syndicate of distillers provides an insurance protection by raising fines for members who are apprehended by federal agents. Security measures are taken to avoid discovery, and the presence of a federal agent is announced in Tzeltal on the loudspeaker system of one of the bars. One federal agent is on the payroll of the four operating bar owners, who give him 5 pesos a week to avoid legal action on the sale of contraband liquor. Individual distillers pay the tariff of 10 pesos or two liters of liquor a year to the civil officials and to the ejido commission, a tariff justified by the fact that they use wood from communally owned land to cook the sugar. The syndicate is a community-wide organization, mobilized in emergencies only.

The New Social Resources

177 178 43 44 621 156 In the course of operating the new enterprises, knowledge of and experience with supralocal institutions and agents are developing social resources in (1) entrepreneurship, (2) management of capital and credit, (3) knowledge of markets, and (4) dealing with government agencies. In entering into these new economic activities, the Indians have not lost a sense of belonging to the local community. Self-identification as poor, indigenous farmers is both a screen of protection and a means of ensuring continuity with local control systems.

472 621 156 *Entrepreneurship.* Local entrepreneurs explain their motivation in a rhetoric which emphasizes their interest in community welfare. This validates entering into nontraditional activities, but retaining their position in local society inhibits the expansions of their activities. The case of Santos, 159 472 621 45 the promoter of the trucking cooperative is instructive. Santos had picked up some accounting techniques while he served in the army in Michoacán. He returned to the village because his father walked from Chiapas to Michoacán to tell him he should come back and get married. When he returned, he kept careful account of his costs and returns from the milpa. He realized soon that it wasn't "worth his work" (the Indian has not as yet learned the idiom or the value system which goes into the

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323
178 coming from the smaller towns to buy. The Indians still bring pottery to
442 sell retail in towns that they visit during a fiesta. One of these is the barrio
443 of Lok'ibal in the municipio of Villa Carranza, where people go on the third Friday of Lent to get holy water from the spring.

The Indians have not taken advantage of the truck to buy pottery wholesale and market it directly in the smaller towns, selling from the truck in the plaza as some of the wholesale fruit truckers do. Another operation which they have failed to profit from is buying the wheat harvest and selling to government warehouses, as some of the Ladino truckers do.

44 Lack of capital is the major reason for failure to exploit these opportuni-
471 ties. In marketing the contraband liquor, which is the most flourishing of
273 the new enterprises, the Indians have not yet entered into the external
443 markets except in the case of one young unmarried mother. Wholesale
434 purchases are made by Ladinos, primarily women, from other towns who resell the liquor in Comitán and on the coast. There is however, a well-de-
[675] veloped home market since all contracts are sealed with the offering of liq-
[681] uor, the "gift of the gods," all court fines are paid in liquor, and the main
[583] gift in betrothal is liquor. The cantinas with phonograph players opened
[275] by the cooperatives operate very successfully on Saturday night and during
[216] fiestas. The internal market for liquor is controlled by a syndicate of the
[548] forty-two independent liquor distillers. The price is set at 4 pesos per liter
[435] for all buyers, with the buyer providing the bottle.

Agricultural production is not geared to a market, and Indians do not
241 take advantage of fluctuations in price. Wheat yields a lower return per
442 unit of land than corn, but it is grown for two reasons: the Indians believe
443 that crop rotation of corn and wheat prevents depletion of the soil, and wheat requires less work since no cultivation is needed. Wheat is a cash crop and none of it is milled or consumed directly in town. Poor families sell their wheat "standing" to Teopisca truckers. The price given the
[435] grower is usually about 90 pesos per hundred kilograms, and it is resold at 110 or 120 pesos in Tuxtla or to the government storehouses. Wheat is sometimes brought directly to San Cristóbal millers who give 120 per hundred kilograms. Corn is primarily a subsistence crop when grown in the center. Corn grown in hot country ejido land is now sold in Teopisca and
[489] San Cristóbal. The local truck cooperative has a special permit which gives

852 608 571 788 The church ceremony is followed by another ceremony in the house of the child's parents. As the group returning from the church enters the house, they are greeted with the pat'o'tan by the maliwanehetik who are waiting for them in the house. As they enter, each of the returning party says, "You go forward, kumpare." They embrace all of the waiting party, an act which establishes their relationship as compadres with the entire company. When the padrinos leave, the grandparents and parents of the [273] child go to a spot before the eaves outside the house; there the father of [593] the child serves liquor to the padrinos and the grandparents of the child. [603] The drink is called "the finale as the compadres leave." The group must finish the entire liter "since it is a gift," and if there are only one or two grandparents, they may get fairly drunk. As the compadres leave, the grandpaernts say, "Over the soil, over the mud where you take your holy [778] godchild, your holy flower, your holy candle." The child, referred to metaphorically as holy flower, holy candle, is identified with the most sacred symbols of the culture.[2]

608 571 171 The emphasis on the group relationship in Tzo'ontahal contrasts with the form of compadrazgo found in the central plateau of Mexico where the dyadic tie between two compadres provides flexibility in achieving instrumental ends in political or economic life.[3] Some of the new leaders in economic enterprises are beginning to emphasize the dyadic contract in their compadrazgo relationships to achieve political support, but its greatest importance is still based on creating or reinforcing group solidarity.

796 177 Betrothal and Marriage

The Indians of Tzo'onthal are initiated into the community of the liv- 584 ing and depart from it with ceremonies deriving from the Spanish colonial 585 culture. The courtship and marriage ceremonies continue indigenous re-

[852] she later attended the household ceremony, she was never called kumare because of the [571] omission of this act.

[608] 2. See Laughlin (1962) on the symbolism of the candle and flower in Zinacantan.

[171] 3. In regard to the occasions and the kind of respect relation established, compadrazgo in Tzo'ontahal is similar to the institution in other parts of Mexico (Foster 1963, Nader 1964, Wolf and Mintz 1950). The difference lies in the elaboration of the number of ties acquired through compadrazgo at each event.

593 worked in the sawmill, he was not as willing to hand over his wages to
578 his wife as is the farmer, who according to established custom gives the
608 proceeds from the sale of his crop to his wife. The judges advise the man
571 to stay sober, adding, "If you want a woman, you ought to support her.
692 You shouldn't fight." They entreat the wife to return to her husband's house "and make a fire there." They refuse to release the marriage license, and the woman's father reluctantly agrees. He has the last word, warning the husband: "The day after tomorrow, don't come back here with a couple more children and say, 'I don't want you; go back to your mother's house.' You are lucky to have a wife. If you don't have a wife, you go get drunk every day. But with a wife, life is good. She will give you coffee and corn to eat. Don't go on fighting whether drunk or sober. Both my compadres [referring to the judges] have advised you."

755 The curing ceremony as a means of adjusting interpersonal conflict is
608 discussed at greater length in the following chapter. Padrinos of baptism,
571 compadres, and other members of the patient's me?iltatil attend, both to
578 see that the curer is performing his duties properly and to lend spiritual
182 support. Like the household and court review of conflict, it permits the open airing of grievances and relies on the authority of elders. Drinking
[273] liquor is a means of restoring good feelings, either as a follow-up to the review of court cases or as a continuous measure of goodwill in curing.

182 The responsibility of the me?iltatil for repairing personal relationships
571 in the family underwrites the importance of this institution in the commu-
608 nity. In these institutionalized means of settling conflict the society recog-
578 nizes the inevitability of friction in intimate relations and draws upon the resources of personnel and techniques developed in the life crisis rituals.

182 The me?iltatil are the guardians of individuals. The security that they
156 provide depends upon the individual conforming to the group norms.
608 They are a personal reference group maintaining customary ways of be-
571 having. I shall show in the following chapters how they are linked as the inner core to a system of guardianship provided by curers within each side of the dual division and by civil authorities at the community-wide level.
182 These are the agents who, by providing models of how the progenitors
608 behaved and by channeling responses to social change, maintain the sense
571 of equilibrium and the illusion of changelessness. The sense of continuity

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[764 43] *give five or ten pesos are helped by God. Those who give nothing end at their burial with nothing.*

If the death occurs in the night, the body will be buried on the following day. During the wake, called "watching over the dead," relatives of the father, mother, and spouse of the deceased, as well as compadres and neighbors, watch over the body so that the devil cannot enter and steal the [608] soul. If the dead person's padrino is alive, he serves as first *nakawane* and [273] greets the guests. Liquor is served constantly. The women serve coffee and [574] tamales or tortillas to the visitors at midnight.

At midnight the woman who is closest of kin cries for the dead. This is a stylized crying in which the mourner speaks of how the dead man passed his life. If she is his widow, she weeps for the misery she will face. [539] Mourning for herself, she repeats:

How can I eat now with my children?
You will not see how I shall live.
You are of one heart in the ground.
But you do not see how I shall eat with the children.

If the death has been a violent one, the widow may express her sentiments about the blamelessness of her husband, or she may suggest that accusations that he was a witch are true by saying she knew nothing of what he did at night. In any case, people listen carefully to what she sings because it may give some basis for speculating whether there will be an attempt to avenge his death.

On the day of the burial, the coffin is lined with a new straw mat, and all the dead man's used clothing except for his kotonču is placed inside. A gourd drinking cup with *posol,* a spiced corn gruel, is placed near the dead man's mouth along with a tortilla. A metal cup cannot be used to hold water in the coffin because it does not have a soul as does the gourd vessel, which comes from a living plant. If the deceased is a man or boy, his hat is placed next to his head and his sandals are set beside his feet. A cross made of palm is put in the coffin to ward off the devil. If the deceased is a child, his head is adorned witha wreath of paper flowers set on a kerchief which is bound around his head.

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The funeral procession leaves for the cemetery about three in the afternoon. Attending the body are the padrinos, parents, aunts, and uncles. If the deceased is a child under two years of age, he is carried by his madrina. One of the former fiscales or someone who knows how to pray goes along. Smaller siblings or children of the dead are left at home with the maliwanehetik, who in this case are chosen from among the more distant relatives, compadres, and neighbors not attending the funeral. As they walk, the women cry and the "owner of the dead," the woman closest of kin, wails constantly in the stylized mourning cry. She stops wailing only when the company stops to pray at the cross at the exit of the town and just before entering the graveyard. At each resting point, the fiscal, who holds a rosary, reads the prayer book, while a neighbor or compadre uses a geranium to sprinkle holy water on the spot. An older male relative holds a palm cross.

When the party arrives at the opened grave, the godmother sits down near the coffin to make the final arrangements. The grave has been opened prior to the arrival of the party, but sometimes the men widen the hole. If they come across a bone, the fiscal shakes holy water over it with the geranium. When a nursing child is buried, the mother leans over the coffin and puts her breast in the child's mouth just before he is lowered into the grave. This is done so that the child's spirit will not think any longer of returning. The godparent or some other attendant dips the geranium in water and shakes it over the body. Handfuls of dirt are then thrown into the coffin. It is at this point that the assembled group, including the men, breaks into loud wails. The wails of the funeral party, though they do not lack feeling, are most important as a controlled communication, uttered when it is appropriate and by particular persons who are expected to cry before a select audience.

As the neighbors who have come to help the bereaved relatives shovel dirt on the grave, the padrino of the deceased approaches the fiscal and recites the pat'o'tan of blessing for the gift of liquor. The liquor is measured in a shot glass and passed around to the company. The women leave soon, and the men remain drinking. At this point a kind of trial is held to see who is responsible for the death. Since almost all sickness is believed to be caused by witchcraft, it is important to decide who the guilty person

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756 156 *they will go to the church wedding. The parents of the couple embrace the godparents. They go dance in the house.*

The paranoic fantasies of this young curer, a man in his early thirties, characterize the world of fears, both real and demonic, which the curers sometimes manipulate and by which they are sometimes victimized. The
756 young curers in their thirties and forties tend to have more domestic dis-
156 putes than most men in town. Emilio, a man in his forties who has been
593 trying to assert his stature as leading curer of Alannantik since his prede-
578 cessor was killed for witchcraft, was deserted by his wife. She fled to a neighbor's house. In a drunken rage, he tried to burn it to the ground. When his attempt failed, he threatened to bring "heat" from the Cave of the Star to cause an epidemic after which, he said, he would "eat the souls
756 of the children by the dozen." In the line of duty, curers are often re-
273 quired to get drunk, and drunkenness loosens the cautions which control
156 behavior. Gloating in the power of their swayoheles, there seems to be no limit to the threats or acts they commit. While drinking has probably al-
[154] ways been part of curing ceremonies, the behavior noted in the cases described seems to be a response to the growing insecurity on the part of the curers about their status.

756 The curer reveals in his speech and acts the motivation of power. In
156 Tzoʔontahal, power means freedom from one's own fears as well as from the human and supernatural sanctions imposed on those who ignore the norms governing behavior. The proof of his power lies in the ability to inspire fear in others. For this reason, the curer brags of the evil deeds he has committed or is capable of doing, even though this may bring about his own destruction.

Curing Behavior

756 In their role as "doctors" for the individual patient, curers are referred
[192] to as *ʔuʔul* and are addressed with the honorific title *tatín*. Despite the de-
[594] clining belief in their guardianship function, there has been a retention of
[178] belief in their power to overcome witchcraft. Only the curer, because he possesses a swayohel, can deal with illness caused by witchcraft. Even if

uals. The resources expended in the process of curing counterbalance the 755
patient's greater wealth which provoked the envy initially. The witch starts the sickness by going to one of the caves in the hills where he burns a candle, drinks a liter of liquor, and prays that the object of his envy fall ill. The essential element in the fight against the witch is the act of drink- [273]
ing by all those present at the curing. In consuming their own liquor, often paid for by the sale of cattle or crops, they mitigate the envy of the witch. If the witch persists, he must continue to spend money on the liquor necessary to initiate the witchcraft after each ceremonial cure. Part of the tactic of a rapid series of cures is to demonstrate willingness to use all of the family's resources if necessary to counteract the rituals of the witch. The statement that they drink "in order to finish with the money" takes on significance in this strategy of limiting envy by expending resources.

Medicating the illness. The cure of the disease comes in the bath- 755
ing or heating of the patient and the application or ingestion of medicines, 757
usually a combination of patent medicines purchased in the nearby Ladino town. The specific cures called for depend on the secondary classification of the disease: if it is a "cold disease," hot medicines are applied; if it is a "hot disease," cold medicines are used.

Two kinds of bathing are performed, one a kind of steam bath, called "rise over the fire," for cold illnesses, and another a cold bath for hot illnesses. Chills and fever require both treatments. In the first case, a large charcoal fire is made inside the main room of the patient's house. When the fire is strong, two thick green logs are placed on it to create smoke. The patient mounts on a stool over the fire, and a straw mat is held over him to capture the steam. When he is sweating a great deal, the curer gives him a drink of cold medicines.

The cold bath is given with thirteen branches from bushes which grown near the spring.[4] Patent medicines dissolved in Spring water include syrup of *isidro,* cloves, vapor rub, epsom salts, aspirin, and other cold herbs or juices such as lemon, grapefruit, *cintula,* and *tok'o.* If the trouble is chills and fever, hot herbs such as *inajo, lumahiya,* and apple may be added to restore the body's hot-cold balance. A bad curer may reverse the medicines,

4. These include plants called *tihiliha?, yokmut, tsitsil hi', Iolwamal* and *yetalbulha?.* [824]

755 giving hot medicines for hot diseases. If this is discovered, he will be sub-
757 ject to accusations of witchcraft. The relatives of the patient are present as witnesses "to see what medicines are given."

757 In the case of infections, the curer cauterizes the wound, a process called "take out the odor." First he smells the wound, checking on the severity of the infection. He mixes chile and hot charcoal and puts them on the wound to "cause the evil to rise to the surface." He then sucks on the wound, and spits out a "worm" which indicates the kind of evil caused by witchcraft. He covers the wound with mentholated cream and binds it. The patient is kept covered.

755 *Calling the soul.* The major effort in soul-calling (tamohel) is
[192] concentrated on preparing the patient and the house for the return of his soul. This is done for illnesses caused by fear and resulting in soul-loss. Here a knowledge of the setting is crucial to understand each act. An arch of pine boughs is set at the center post because it is here that the souls of the inmates of the house cluster (over the square hole at the foot of the post where the sheep's head is buried during the inauguration of the house). Thirteen candles, including a large, 50-cent one in the center and twelve 20-cent ones, are set before the arch. If the patient is being cured in the house of the curer, which happens when he goes to another town for a cure, the arch is put near the door in order that his soul not mingle with the souls of the curer's household. The patient is laid out on a mat in front of the curing arch, or if he is a small child, he is held in the arms of his mother. The curing is scheduled so that the arrival of the soul occurs when it will not be seen by people passing in the street. This would cause it embarrassment, and it would not enter the house. The patient continues to sleep under the arch each night until it is removed nine days later. As he sleeps, his soul enters in a dream and is reunited with the body. A gui-
[534] tar and seed rattle are played continuously during the ceremony to make the spirits of guests, patient, and house "of one heart." Many rounds of liq-
[273] uor are served in order to "finish with our money" and thus reduce the envy of the one who caused the witchcraft.

The soul-calling is combined with a cold bath to cure the illness. The patient is disrobed, and the curer brushes him with branches of plants

from the spring and a live black chicken which draws the heat from the patient, taking it into its own body. The branches are dipped in a mixture of raw cocoa, pieces of melon mixed in water, and other "cold" items. A new set of clothing, smoked over an incense burner in which pitch pine is burned, is put on the patient. A common meal of chicken or beef stew is served with tortillas to all the guests. 755

In the case of more persistent illnesses, the bathing may take place at the springs. Male patient go to the large spring of San Nicolás and female patients to Pahaltón. A curing arch is erected near the spring. The curer calls upon the spirit of the spring to perform a miracle. Some members of the family stay behind at the house so that if the spirit of the patient should return before he does, it will be welcomed. The people waiting in the house, called maliwanehetik, must drink as much liquor as do those at the spring. [776] [273]

Sometimes the soul of a child is called at the place where fear caused it to be lost. The cure is started at the house, and then part of the group goes to the place which the curer has designated as the location of the fright. Soil is gathered in a kerchief or item of the patient's clothing and is placed at the head of his bed. As the group returns to the house, one of the child's relatives plays the guitar at the gate, and the curer sweeps a path for the soul with branches he has taken from the spring. Inside the house, the soul is again called while the curer brushes the child with spring branches. The mother embraces the child as incense is smoked over him and all his clothing. The child is then pulsed to determine whether the soul has returned.

Medicating the house. The strategy of medicating the house is tied to an understanding of the interaction of the spirit of the house and those of the inmates. When the evil sent out by the witch enters the house, it first asks permission of the house posts to enter the soil of the house. The house is adorned with pine branches and flowers to make the house-soul happy. Old men make palm crosses for the center post and corner posts of the yard. One large 50-cent candle is lit at the center post with small 20-cent candles on each side. When these candles are lighted they "blind the eye of evil spirits who can see only in the dark." A black chicken is buried alive in the square hole where the offering of the sheep 755 776 342

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shortly before the fiesta of the saint's day with which he was charged. When the nomination was made, the president sent out the first policeman with the chief policeman to bring the man chosen to the town hall. They expected, and were always confronted with, resistance to the nomination. In order to gain acceptance they got the nominee drunk in a drinking session at the town hall. Liquor was measured out, and all the officials drank only a half cup at each round, but the new alférez was required to drink a full cup. The rounds continued until the new alférez was drunk. If he did not accept at this session, he was put in jail to think it over. Another drinking session took place the following day.

Nomination to the post of alférez was the only situation in which the jail penalty has been brought into effect, since refusal by nominees to other posts simply means that the officials "look for someone else." The reason given for invoking the punishment was "we know he has the wealth and therefore he should serve." Until 1965 the town had always succeeded in recruiting two of the alfereces from Ahk'olnantik and two from Alannantik. Since the upper division of Ahk'olnantik has grown at a more rapid rate than the lower division, candidates were found only in Ahk'olnantik. This unbalancing of the population ratios undermined the institution of alférez, which had always been the most unpopular position. When I returned to the field in 1967, it had been eliminated.

The Functions of Civil Officials

An analysis of the formally prescribed functions of the civil officials must take into account three sources of data: the functions as prescribed by state legislation, the functions as understood by local officials, and the observed activities of the officials. Table 26 compares the functions of officials as stated in the constitution of the state of Chiapas (Secretaría del Gobierno Departmental de Chiapas, 1828: Decreto 52, Nov. 30, 1825) [3] to statements of informants and to my observations of the carrying out of their official obligations.

3. I have chosen this constitution as the first post-independence statement of the status of local civil administrators.

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Priorities in service and salutations validate the prestige of the incumbent. Rituals also provide the occasion for noting social change. Divergencies between expected and enacted sequences are a clue to shifts in authority and prestige. Conflict between competing interests often comes to the surface when structural features are made explicit in ritual performances. This is particularly true in these Indian villages where drinking liquor releases inhibitions. The inaugurations of officials in the civil and religious hierarchies are analyzed below to show how they reflect both continuity and change.

Inauguration of civil officials. Legal provision for the installation of the civil officials is minimally stated in the constitution of the state of Chiapas (Secretaría del Gobierno Departamental de Chiapas, 1841:4):

1. The judges and regidores elected will present on the 30th of December their credentials to the Secretary of the civil branch in order that he will put an account of them in a book.
2. Having verified this, he will give an account to them on the following day in the town hall, for which he will name a commission of three people who will identify the people named.
3. On the 1st of January of each year the first judge will meet in the meeting room and present the oath before the civil officials, chaired by the Prefect or Subprefect along with the remaining members of the group, as is stated in article 164 of the law of the 20th of March, 1837. The form of the oath will be the following:

   "I swear to God to preserve and to have others preserve the constitutional laws decreed and sanctioned by the National Congress in the year of 1836". To which the response will be, "Yes, I swear."

   Concluding the oath, they will take their seats. The outgoing officials will cease their functions, and they will be withdrawn from the place of the meetings.

The elaboration of ritual beyond the requirements of the law in household settings as well as in the town hall reveals the significance of ceremonial acts in these small, endogamous communities. The inauguration is a

621 527 [537] *holy year. And so we shall be able to do what our mothers and what our fathers did here where the holy Father sees us and the holy Mother sees us."*

[782] *The formal prayer, using elements of all the addresses of pat?o?tan, presages the events which will take place and announces the continuity with the past in following out the work the ancestors have done. The civil authorities, like the religious authorities, assert that they are taking on a holy responsibility. There is, in the words of the pat?o?tan, no distinction between profane and sacred obligations toward the village.*

[273] *Following the drinking and prayers, liquor is served. Drinking order always follows the elder to younger pattern which, in household settings, is always coincident with prestige ranking. At midnight, coffee, bread, and bean-filled tamales are served.*

621 527 574 *The second series of household gatherings takes place on the morning of New Year's Day in the houses of the new president, the first judge, and the first policeman. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the other three regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house and are served coffee and liquor. They then proceed to the house of the president. As the judges and regidores arrive there, the visiting group greets all of the assembled guests at the president's house with a prescribed greeting, the* sak'inaltat *and the hand-kissing, called* ʾutzk'aab. *The first judge exchanges an extended pat?o?tan with the first nakawane of the president and then liquor is served to all those gathered. The assembled group next stands and "turns toward the rising sun." This is said to be a "defense against the entry of the devil."*

While the higher officials meet in the house of the president, the policemen join togther in the houses of the first policeman on each side of the dual division. Just as in the house of the president, the ceremony consists in serving liquor and coffee. They await the sound of the firecrackers set off in the yard of the president's house before setting out for the town hall. With this announcement of the departure, the officials at the president's house and at the two first policemen's houses set out for the town hall.

621 527 *Gathered in the town hall are the old officials along with the alfereces and the principals. The new officials enter two by two, the president and*

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621 527 *cials, from the last policeman to the first and second judges. The procession makes two turns "to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] who the new officials to remain in office are."*

[788] [554] *Awaiting the arrival of the new officials in the church are all of the mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see who they are." The new officials enter two by two and proceed to the altar rail where they "speak to God," asking for health so that they can fulfill their obligation to the town. They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father cabildo."*

[794] [782]

621 527 • 273 *The first order of the new president is to ask the fourth regidor to buy two liters of the "gift of the ancestors," contraband liquor. When the liquor arrives, the first judge rises and goes to the principales. Standing before them while they remain seated, he asks permission of God to "receive the gift," or drink the liquor, saying, "Give pardon, Mamal Krinsipal; let a little enter and warm your body."*

The policemen, after leaving the church, enter the kitchen shack attached to the town hall. The first new policeman orders the fourth policeman to bring a little trago, and when he returns with the liquor, the first policeman orders one of the policemen of the colonias to measure the drinks. They drink one liter, after which the first policeman of the lower division addresses the first policeman of the upper division in the pat?o-?tan. After the spatbeyo?tan, *or formal address, the first policeman wonders "whether they can endure a little more. Can they drink more liquor without getting drunk?" It is his responsibility to receive any orders from the president, and he wonders, "What should happen if we get drunk? We won't know if there is an errand for the mamal judge and we cannot help. Better rest a while, and if there is an errand we can help a little. If there is no errand, let us drink a little more until midday." At twelve noon both groups retire to their homes to rest their hearts.*

794 527 *Inauguration of religious officials.* The change of the mayordomos occurs twice annually, once on January 6 and a second time on the Day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29. San Pedro is associated with

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the functions of the caretakers of the church because, one informant said, 794
his image shows him holding the keys to the gates of heaven. 527

The ritual of the inauguration begins on June 29, a day called Pas Kantelero, *prepare the candle holders. The old mayordomos who have served for the past six months scrape the candle sticks, while two of the group play the drum and blow the flute. Others sweep the church and clean the interior. Then the fiscal and the mayordomos gather outside the church. A table is brought out, and the money that has been collected from each mayordomo by the two cofrades to be used for the purchase of candles is counted. When the money has been counted, two mayordomos ring the bells in the bell tower. Two servings of contraband liquor are passed out, one called "arrival of our food," before the meal, and the other called "wash down the meal," afterwards. Formerly a meal, consisting of a male turkey, or beef soup if the mayordomos could not afford a turkey, with tortillas and chile, was prepared and served in the church yard. This is now eaten in the home of the cofrade because the priest objected to the preliminary drinking session.* [273] [262]

On the second day of the fiesta, called Wišpereš, *the mayordomos "make a fiesta" which consists of beating the drums, playing the flute, and drinking trago. Early in the morning the priest gives a mass for San Pedro and San Pablo attended by the old and new officials and the women.* [533]

A series of house celebrations takes place in the houses of the cofrades. The new mayordomos go first to the house of the cofrade of Santa Lucía. There they are offered the mouthwash, a bowl of cold water with which they rinse their mouths, followed by a round of two drinks each. The Cofrade of Santa Lucía then speaks to the Tatil of San Pedro the Martyr: [273]

Cofrade of Santa Lucía: "Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal? Thanks that you are alive, word of God, at daybreak. What will we do? What have we done? We have to speak of what is in our heart, our soil, our mud. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials, where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our judge San Pedro and

After another
mouthwash, the b'alnialetik lay a cloth on a small table which is put in the center of the porch, and two liters of trago and a measuring glass are laid on this. The Cofrade of Santa Lucía rises and asks permission of the women, the mayordomos, and all the b'alnialetik to drink the liquor, saying: "God, mother who nurses us, give permission to us so that the water of his body, the water of his hand, the gift will pass in our bodies, that which is the gift of the me?tiktatik. God speaks, tat nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik. Give us permission to hand the gift that will pass in your body from the me?tiktatik. God, Jesus, Mary, only one commander God is three persons. Bless what we eat and what we drink and bless in the name of God the father. God, take the gift, me?ĕstatel."

794 527 [273] [282] [539]

The mayordomos, b'alnialetik, and nakawanehetik then make the sign of the cross. The Cofrade of the Virgin Santa Lucía blesses the liquor, saying, "In God's name, God the father, name of God, God the son, Holy Spirit. Yes, I can endure doing what they did, what our mother and what our father did, with my hand which has sinned and my feet which have sinned. Yes, we are changing office on this holy day, this holy year the holy saint, with the holy oath and in the name of God the Father."

The mayordomos drink four measures of liquor, then raise the rest of the drinks to their lips without drinking and take the glass over to one of the nakawanehetik. In this way they show the restraint to which they have been urged in the speeches. At eleven o'clock they leave for the church, putting their red kerchiefs around their necks along with the rosaries. As they set out, the elder nakawane says so the new mayordomos: "May you all get up and go to the church. May you all enter inside the church. May you take the oath inside the church before the face of the fiscal. After you take the oath, make the sign of the cross before the face of the Tatik Jesus Christ. After you have made the sign of the cross, when you enter inside the door of the church, the mamal new kobraria will give the account to the mamal old kobraria."

[273]

Sitting within the church are the old mayordomos and the fiscal who have remained there after the mass. They are awaiting the new mayordomos. Two of them play the drum and the flute. The new mayordomos enter, the elder and junior mayordomo of each saint walking together, and kneel before the image of Tatik Jesus Christ. The church has been ar-

[533]

794 527 *ranged with a large table in the center, the candles allotted to each mayor-*
domo laid out in bundles of nine. On the table is a little cross of the cruci-
[188] *fied Christ. The priest blesses the new mayordomos and the old mayordo-*
mos. Then the fiscal gives nine candles wrapped in a napkin to each may-
ordomo. The nic'nal, junior mayordomo, of each saint first takes the can-
dles allotted to the tatil to the latter's house, and then takes his own to his
house. After the oath, the new mayordomos return to the house of the
[273] *Cofrade of Sacramento where they drink until prayer time in the evening.*

On the sk'ak'alel Sk'in, *the true day of the fiesta, the new mayordomos go to hear the mass along with women prayer-reciters at seven in the morning. They then go to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento, leav-*
[533] *ing three junior mayordomos to play the drums and flute at the door of the church. In the house of the cofrade, they count the money of the Virgin and of San Pedro the Martyr. This fund of money is passed over from*
[454] *the outgoing officials to the incoming officials along with interest. It is now being loaned out to local entrepreneurs. The Virgin has a fund of 228 pesos, and San Pedro the Martyr has 40 pesos. The fiscal supervises the counting of the money, and records the sum, after which the pat?o?tan is recited and drinks are served.*

621 554 In the behavioral sequences of the inauguration, several features of the structure and functioning of the hierarchy can be noted. First, one can see in the actions of the officials that the hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth step ladder but a segmented order. The categories of officials, the alkaletik, rehiroletik, and mayoletik, act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same area in all the settings. Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth (and in the case of the mayoletik, from first to fifth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They command their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge orders the fourth regidor to get liquor, and the first policeman orders the police from the rural colonia to get liquor. By these behavioral indices one can see the ordering and grouping by age, skill in praying, and territorial identification within the segments of the civil-religious hierarchy. These principles apply, however,

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621 794 527 of the legs and arms of our patron lord, Jesus, in reference to liquor). The prayer-like intonation, together with repeated invocation of the gods, gives [192] a sacred quality to the words.

• [273] Liquor, referred to as "the gift of God" or "gift of the ancestors," is of crucial significance in both civil and religious ritual. Receiving an offering of liquor is tantamount to accepting part of the spiritual essence of the donor. Drinking in each of the domains—the house, the town hall, and the church—serves to tie together different sets of participants in the obligation system of service to the community. In Mauss' terms (1954:11) receiving the gift defines "a pattern of spiritual bonds between things which are to some extent parts of persons, and persons and groups, that behave in some measure as if they were things."

[273] In both inaugurations an attempt is made to control the intake of liquor so that the officials can function in the ritual. This is shown in the civil inauguration when the first policeman thinks about whether the police can take another drink and still carry out their duties. It is more explicit in the religious inaugurations when the cofrades warn the mayordomos that they should not drink so much that they "walk like madmen." The mayordomos then pass on the drinks served to them to the nakawanehetik who drink them and fall into a stupor.

621 794 527 793 875 In noting the difference between elicited and performed ritual, minimal changes in behavior provided clues to structural change. The change of custom as to where the meal of the mayordomos takes place (it now is given at the house of the cofrade rather than in the courtyard of the church) indicates a significant shift in the relation between the priest and the local religious leadership. The priest has gained control over the church since he has taken up residence in the parish house. The incident in which the confrontation took place is described in Chapter 9. Divergence of the performed from the expected ritual in the inauguration of the civil authority occurred when the schoolteacher delivered the oath instead of the former Ladino secretary. This revealed the schoolteacher's increasing power in his competition with the former cacique.

621 794 527 The rituals of both civil and religious inaugurations reveal the sense of the sacred obligation to the ancestors. Although both the roles and the scheduling of events are derived from outside the culture, the necessity for

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621 794 527 178 newly cut pine canes of the police and the old carved and painted staffs of the higher officials.

621 794 527 • 273 Order and measure, respect and deference are the social effect achieved in the ritual performance of the inaugurations. In the act of drinking, these principles become behaviorally explicit. The drink is carefully measured out and passed to the first principal, who asks permission to drink it of each set of officials in order of their ranked positions in the hierarchy. Each official must receive the drink, whether he is a teetotaler or not. He will then perform the action of drinking, which is sufficient to express his good will as part of the group. The symbolic act of pretending to drink—receiving the "gift" and raising it to one's lips without imbibing—reveals the importance of acts *as such* in social interaction. This is expressed in the [192] Tzeltal loan term *ʔaksion,* from the Spanish *acción,* the pretended act, which demonstrates in this case one's good will in joining in the communal act. We have a tendency in our culture to downgrade the act, stressing motive specific to the immediate goal of the act. If performance is motivated by other goals, we express it in phrases such as "He is only acting," or "It was all a big act." In Tzoʔontahal, the play is the thing, and everything can be justified by reference to traditional expectations.

621 794 561 177 178 Before describing some of the organizational changes which are affecting the civil-religious hierarchy, I shall at this point assess its viability on the basis of structural criteria. These criteria include the effectiveness of the system in (1) coordinating roles such that conflict is minimized in carrying out tasks, (2) motivating people to enter into office and fulfill obligations, (3) absorbing changes without structural modification.

The primary devices for coordinating roles in the hierarchy are those of relative age and residence in the dual division. The major challenge to the age-respect pattern has been the introduction of young leadership in the roles of president and síndico. This shock to the system has been somewhat overcome by the retention of the ceremonial primacy of the principales. The president and síndico are considered outside the traditional hierarchy. This conceptual isolation of the roles becomes obvious when one asks informants to list the civil officials, for they never include the president and síndico in the first response. They are mentioned in response to repeated enquiries as to whether there are other officials.

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The principle of balancing posts according to residence in the dual division is maintained in the traditional civil posts but fails to be effective again in the case of the president. Increasing population in the upper division meant that the expensive post of alférez had to be filled primarily from the side with the highest population. This unbalancing of the sharing of these burdensome posts eventually led to revolt and the post was abolished. Since it was the key post in learning prayers, its loss may mean the end of the traditional rituals in the home.
794 561 177 178

The hierarchy fails to provide sufficient prestige or power to motivate people voluntarily to undertake some posts. The most vulnerable post was that of alférez. In fulfilling obligations to the saints, alfereces used to spend over 3,000 pesos, twice the normal income of a man in one year. They were assisted by members of their immediate households either in loans or in the sale of pottery to help pay for the house fiestas. The show of wealth at these fiestas, when up to one hundred guests were fed, excited the envy of neighbors, often among the invited guests. It was felt that this provoked witchcraft, and every former alférez I knew maintained that he suffered some catastrophe following his year in office. In the last few years before its demise in 1966 the post was accepted only under duress, and all those who had been nominated at first chose to go to jail. The reason that it survived as long as it did was the insistence of those officials who served in this post that it was essentail to maintaining good fiestas. The resolution of the contradictions by abolishing the post contrast with that of Zinacantan, where men sought the prestige-conferring posts that involved large expenditures of money as a validation of wealth (Cancian 1965).
794 554 434 796 754 178 [556]

Another contradition which minimizes the motivation to undertake the traditional posts is that the highest post in the ladder, that of principal, is one associated with embarrassment and shame rather than prestige. Shorn of his roles in decision-making and in guarding public funds, the principal is reduced to holding the plate in which donations for the major fiestas are placed. The ceremonial role of the principales will probably survive, however, since the old men of the community who have retired from active work in the fields enjoy the drinking sessions in the cabildo sufficiently to compensate for the shame associated with the role.
621 554 178 [273]

The internal structural contradictions have to be considered in the con-

796 boring towns of Oxchuk, Larraínzar, and Chenalhó. The ceremonial calendar is given in Table 28.

TABLE 28. Ceremonial Calendar

Big fiestas		*Small fiestas*	
Date	*Fiesta*	*Date*	*Fiesta*
Mar. or Apr.	Tatik Kulibal	Jan. 20	Tatik San Karalampio
Apr. 29	Tatik Martil	May 6	Tatik San Migel
July 25	Tatik Santiagú	May 15	Tatik San Isigre
Aug. 29	Tatik San Pransiskú	May 26	Tatik Spiritu Santú
Nov. 29	Santu?	June 11	Tatik San Antonió
Dec. 13	Me?tik Santa Lucía	June 29	San Pegro-San Pablú
		July 15	Tatik Korasón
		July 20	Tatik San Huan
		Oct. 2	Me?tik Rosario
		Nov. 12	Me?tik Guadalupe
		Dec. 12	Tatik Santo Tomás
		Dec. 25	Me?tik Paskú, Tatik Ninyo

[533] [788] [794] [273] In every fiesta drums and flutes are played, liquor is drunk, candles burned, and church bells rung. During a big fiesta, which continues for three days rather than for a single day, these additional activities are added: contributions of 5 pesos per household are collected, the church is adorned with flowers and greens, mass is held (this may occur in minor fiestas as well if the priest happens to be present), a common meal is prepared for the mayordomos, and the people celebrate with firecrackers, saints' processions, dancing, house fiestas in the homes of the alfereces when they were still being installed, and a fiesta in the houses of the kobraria with a bull slaughtered for the meal.

[273] [276] [794] During fiestas, time is measured in liters of liquor consumed and in cigarettes. The liquor, or "gift of the gods," is the basic element of all fiestas and assures the participants that the celebration will be successful. Safeguards were built into the management of the fiesta in the role of *alisiles*, who used to act as attendants to the alfereces and who watched to see that the alfereces and the guitarists did not get so drunk that they could not perform.

796 273 539 The following story about the origin of liquor illustrates its great importance to the fiesta.

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Well, hear now how liquor first appeared. They were looking and looking for a bullfighter. But there was none to be found. There was no one drunk enough to make a fiesta. With no one to make a fiesta, there was no fiesta. Therefore Santa Lucía and Santiago wanted to make a fiesta. Santa Lucía said, "There is no one to make a fiesta. I better go take a bath. When the water comes to wash me, then we can have a fiesta. It is because now you are very frightened. You cannot mount on horseback. No one will fight the bull because there is no liquor. You are not prepared because you have to have a liter of trago."

"Good," said Santiago. After Santa Lucía and Santiago spoke they took the water from Santa Lucía's bath and took out of it one liter of trago. They distributed one liter to all and we changed. They built a beautiful corral and everyone in the town gathered.

Well, when they had arrived, they gave a little liquid in the little cup. After drinking a little, it gave strength. Well, everyone changed greatly. Those who drank the trago found strength with each drink. But since many drank, no one got drunk. They finished one liter and then another, but no one got drunk. "Better get another," said someone. They got one more liter, and with this they began the fiesta. One after another mounted on horseback, and fought the bull. Thus they fought, one horse tied to another. How they fought that fiesta! Thus they went on, getting more and more drunk, until the women hid it.

It is thus that liquor appeared by the grace of our patron God. It is for this reason that we say in the pat?o?tan "the washings of his legs and of his arms our saint and leader Jesus Christ, the great master holy Jesus Christ, Santiago, Santa Lucía. So we gather at the door, our clay, our mud." We speak these words because of the liquor, because God gave the trago only by washing himself, only by his powerful urine. There was no trago for the old forefathers because the washings were given to their offspring. So it is that liquor appeared according to this story. Later it was related in the pat?o?tan. Now it is the custom for everyone.

This story is somewhat confused since it is Santa Lucía who took the bath and Jesus Christ who is given the credit. Others have told me that the first liquor appeared when Jesus was taken from the cross and his

796 body was washed. The confusion may come not from error, but from an
539 identification of the patron saints with Jesus. The importance of the story
• 273 is that liquor, as the gift of the gods, is the medium for releasing people from their fears.

796 The small fiestas are the responsibility of only the two mayordomos, the
794 elder and the junior, who are assigned to the saint. They ring the church bells, light the candles, and play the drum and flute until noon. In the large fiestas all the mayordomos are active, as well as the fiscal and the priest, the prayer-reciters, and formerly the alfereces. The entire pueblo participates in the mass given at the large fiestas and assembles to "see the saints" when they emerge in the procession.

The proceedings of the fiesta take place in the church and the church yard, the house of the cofrade of the major saint whose fiesta it is, the plaza, and formerly, the house of the alférez of that saint. In each of these domains different sets of actors are tied together by acts performed in carrying out responsibilities to the saints. The chain of command is established in each setting: in the church the mayordomos are directed by the fiscal; in the household the eldest nakawane orders the b'alnial and re-
[562] ceives the visitors with the pat'o'tan. He is the master of ceremonies, as in all household gatherings, and his female counterpart is the woman speaker. She orders the women helpers in the preparation of the food, which is then served by the b'alnialetik. Religious officials hold ceremonies in their houses only after they have served five times in office.

796 In the household, religious ceremonies replicate civil ceremonies. A mouthwash is served, followed by coffee and bean tamales, another round of mouthwash, an offering of thanks for the liquor by the nakawane, and a serving of liquor. Musical instruments played in the household differ
[534] from those of the church yard: a guitar and gourd rattle provide the accompaniment to the drinking episode here. Fiestas held in the household of the alfereces were terminated with a dance.

Choosing and Installing the Alférez

794 Formerly the alfereces were the chief figures in maintaining the fiesta
178 cycle. During my stay in 1964 and 1965 the officials were experiencing

794 796 *Judge: "By force you must receive it. You do not have to give as much. You only have to receive the sacred banner."*

Nominee: "But if I don't give a fiesta, the pueblo will speak badly of me."

Judge: "It is not important what the pueblo says. Pardon us, let us drink a little trago."

[273] [*All the officers drank, contributing jointly to buy the liquor. Each officer took one sip from the measure, but the nominee drank the entire measure on each round. When he became intoxicated, he yielded to the persuasions of the officials and agreed.*]

Nominee: "Good. I am going to see how it goes."

[*The two regidores carried the new alférez to his house.*]

794 796 The activities of the alférez in preparation for the fiesta during which he was installed in his post are summarized below.

434 462 323 Making pottery. *The new alférez prepared for the fiesta by organizing his household to make the pottery that was to be sold to cover the expenses. His brothers and brothers-in-law went on horseback bringing fifteen or twenty loads of clay. The women got the sand, carrying it back with the tumpline. The men went on horseback again to collect the limestone temper, which the women would grind and mix with the clay for cooking pots. The next week, the alférez went with a gift of 2 pesos' worth of bread and one liter of liquor to ask the woman who knew how to make large ollas, pots in which the festal foods are cooked, to help him. The sisters and sisters-in-law of both the alférez and his wife joined together to grind the temper and mix the clay. In addition to the special large pots, the women made bowls, soup plates, and water jugs to sell.*

When the pottery was ready to be fired, the men brought the wood and the women tended to the firing. After the pots were fired, the men sold them in the markets of San Cristóbal or Comitán. They usually made about 26 pesos per dozen, which netted them about 500 pesos.

794 782 Learning the pat?o?tan. *Each evening, an elder of the family of the alférez who knew the pat?o?tan, or prayer, came to teach him. This*

might have been his father, an uncle, or a godparent who had already served as alférez. 794 782

Buying festal foods. *The following items were purchased in the neighboring Ladino town of Himlol: 120 pesos' worth of bread; one-half a slaughtered bull for 600 pesos; 6 almudes of beans; 10 kilos of coffee; and 5 pesos' worth of brown sugar. If the alférez owned a bull, he slaughtered it and sold one half.* 794 796 [43]

Preparing liquor. *The alférez rented a still and, with the help of his father and brothers, distilled 7 garafones (126 liters) of liquor, using brown cane sugar.* [273] [429]

Preparing special clothing. *The following items were purchased or bought: jacket for 50 pesos; shirt for 55 pesos; hat for 30 pesos; pair of boots for 32 pesos; red waistband for 16 pesos; and red kerchief for 9 pesos.* 794 796 43 [291]

The hat was made by a man in the town. When the alférez went to ask him to do him the favor of making a hat, he brought 1 peso's worth of bread, 1 liter of trago, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. The alférez borrowed black leather leggings and a black towel. To each of those who lent him clothing, he gave 1 liter of trago, 1 peso's worth of bread, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. When he returned the clothing, he gave the same gifts. [426]

The installation of the new alférez. *During the four days of the fiesta of the saint with which he was charged, the new alférez was initiated into his duties in office. In taking on each of the functions assigned to him, that "dialectical connection between the actor and his part, the person and his roles or status or office," was effected* (Fortes 1959:57). 794 796

The first day (Paswamal). *On the first day of every large fiesta,* Paswamal (*literally, "to make the boughs or decorations"*), *the women of the household and the sisters and sisters-in-law of the new alférez and his wife gathered in his house to cook the food. The men slaughtered the* [252] [262]

tives whose positions in this household fiesta are established on the basis of their age and experience in office, took up the established positions for these roles in the house of the new alférez. The first nakawane blessed the liquor; two bottles were measured into shot glasses and served to the guests. After this the meal was served.

The second day (Wišpereš). *All the nakawanehetik appointed for the new alférez gathered in his house at nine o'clock in the morning to drink. The first and second nakawanehetik went to the cabildo to ask the judge and president when the new alférez must take out the holy banner. The president replied that it would be in two days. The question was rhetorical: everyone knew that the ceremony of taking out the banners occurred on the fourth day of the fiesta, and the day itself was named* Šlok' Krus, *taking out of the cross (the banner has a cross adorning the staff). What was being communicated to the civil officials by the question was the recognition of responsibility to the new alférez by the nakawanehetik. In the afternoon of this day, another meal of beef stew and tortillas was served to the same guests assembled on the previous day.*

The third day (Sk'ak'halel Sk'in). *At cock's crow the parents of the new alférez awakened him. Gathered in the house were the woman speaker, the guitarist, and the nakawanehetik. Under the direction of the woman speaker, the alférez' wife helped him put on his clothing, and the guitarist accompanied this procedure with music. When he was dressed, the new alférez danced a turn before the assembled guests to show his new clothing, and reviewed the pat?o?tan with the nakawanehetik who had taught him. He then went with his guitarist to raise his companions. First he went to the third alférez and awakened him. He greeted the nakawane of the third alférez with the pat?o?tan, and was invited to sit down; he was served coffee and bread, followed by a mouthwash. The third alférez dressed, and after the two were served liquor they danced a turn. In this same fashion, the new alférez raised all of his companions. The assembled group went to the cabildo.*

The nakawanehetik and the b'alnialetik, after drinking coffee and eating bean tortillas, went to collect the things needed to receive official

794 796 *aetik, and finally the new alférez. The first judge spoke with each set of officials, saying, "God, we have finished the gift of your ancestors"; and the departing alférez said, "So it is, elders."*

The new alférez took his banner from the table and went outside with the four personaetik, followed by the other alfereces carrying their banners, and by the president, the síndico, and the koronaetik, who carried their staffs of office. They went in a procession to the home of the outgoing alférez; at the fence of his house, they lined up their banners in the stand provided. The wife of the outgoing alférez, with the nakawane, brought burning incense from the house and placed it before the banners. The first nakawane exchanged the pat?o?tan with the first judge. In a column of paired officials, they approached the house and seated themselves on the porch. The judges went to the first nakawane and greeted him with the pat?o?tan; then, standing at the door of the interior of the house, the first judge repeated the greeting with the woman speaker.

[273] *The nakawane ordered the b'alnialetik to bring the fermented corn gruel. After it was served, the b'alnial put a small table in the middle of the porch, covered it with the embroidered cloth, and set two liters of liquor on it. The nakawane rose and gave the pat?o?tan to the first judge. He asked permission of the woman speaker to drink, and when this was granted, the b'alnialetik measured out and served the trago.*

[535] *After the two bottles of trago had been consumed, the alisil took the wife of the outgoing alférez, and the dance began, following the same*
[788] *pattern described above. The dancing was followed by a procession to the church in which the new alférez carried the banner, thereby asserting his succession to the office. The old alférez remained in his house with his assembled guests.*

[788] *In the movement of the banners by the alfereces, one could see the symbolic military behavior: the procession to the house was a mock column of march; the military titles of the alfereces and the "colonels" were carried out in vocative and referential titles in the prayers. The handling of the banners was always done with show of sacred respect: cloths were used to handle them, and they were always set carefully in appointed places so the pole never touched the ground; incense was set nearby when they were unattended. In the cermonial movment from the houses of the al-*

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794 during the fiesta of Santiago and Easter Week. These are described briefly
796 below.

Fiesta of Santiago. *On the third day of the fiesta the new alférez went to "raise" his three companions. First he went to the house of the alférez who had recently served. There he greeted the nakawanehetik with the pat?o?tan, drank a measure of liquor, and went with the third alférez to the house of the second alférez. The same greeting was exchanged with the nakawanehetik, and the two drank another measure of liquor. They went to the house of the first past alférez, and there they exchanged a greeting with the nakawanehetik in which they comment on the "flowery and flavorful" fiesta for "our old saint and commander, the great angel man Señor Santiago." From there they mounted their horses and began the races.*

[276] *Each of the horseback riders was given a quarter-liter of liquor and a*
[273] *cigarette. Three liters of liquor were distributed at the holy cross (site of a cross no longer standing). The four alfereces stood at the cross, removed their hats, which they stacked one on top of the other, and put them nearby. The four took turns kissing and bowing before the others. They said, "Holy good afternoon," and gave two holy thanks for the gift (the liquor), embracing each other. After the four alfereces greeted each other*
794 *and the three alisiles, the leader of the races gave the pat?o?tan with the*
796 *past alférez:*
539

> *And good day. What do you see, Mam compadre? You are alive, word of God this holy afternoon. You have not heard of any sickness behind our heart this holy afternoon, Mam compadre? There is no fear, shame, Mam compadre. Give another pardon Lord with Virgin. Give me holy pardon, Mam compadre. See us gathered before you seated our bodies, our clay, our mud, Mam compadre. What can we do, what can we make here where we have arrived again? Speak, raise godchild, afternoon of holy fiesta godchild afternoon of holy child's fiesta of him our saint, our commander. What can we do, what can we make when we have found this holy hour, this holy day of our lord Santiago Calixtro, for our patron god? Where now is the water of her legs, the water of her hand* [liquor], *our saint, virgin*

mother? There is nothing but holy suffering, holy penitence here 794
before our sinful clay, our sinful mud. Again we gather here where 796
others have gathered before in the company of our ancestors, the holy 539
alisiles with the liquor bearers. It is your burden the four of you, the holy work, your holy office for his godchildren again give his godchild at the gate of the door of the church our saint, our keeper, the great father Señor Santiago Calixtro for our patron God, again we gather before this doorway our bodies, our clay, our mud with the holy alisil with our costume. Only give a little liquor, the gift of [273] •
your mothers, your fathers, mam compadre.

The two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik received one liter of liquor, and the 794
same quota was given to the two alfereces of Alannantik. They drank 796
some and poured off most of the measured shots into the bottles carried by [273]
the liquor bearers; then they smoked a cigarette. When they finished this, they raised their banners and entered the plaza on horseback. The bell of the church struck as they entered. About four o'clock, two columns of 794
horsemen formed, one behind the two alfereces of Alannantik and one be- 796
hind the two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik. One year I observed thirty-eight 526
horsemen from Ahk'olnantik and fifteen from Alannantik. The imbalance [621]
in representation for the two sides of the dual division grew sharper each year as the population increased in Ahk'olnantik. Before starting the race, the four alfereces crossed themselves, facing first the church, then the ca-
bildo. As the race began, the mayordomos played the drums and flute in [533]
the church yard and the nakawanehetik sat in front of the church wall.

When the racers made four passes across the plaza, they came to drink another trago and smoke two cigarettes in front of the church. At the end [273]
of the race, they again drank and smoked the same measured quantities as [276]
the pat?o?tan was recited by the leader of the races.

On Sk'ak'halel Sk'in, *the same procedures occurred as on the previous day. The final act of the fiesta took place when, after the races, the alfer-*
eces dismounted and the nakawanehetik went to them and drank one liter [273]
of liquor before the leader of the races. The two most recently appointed alfereces entered the cabildo, where the banners were laid out on the table among orange and lemon leaves. The president, síndico, two judges, and

[794] *the regidores were seated in their customary places; the alfereces sat on the*
[796] *visitors' bench. The two former alfereces went before the two newly ap-*
[526] *pointed alfereces and gave an account of what was going to take place, instructing them on "how they should make a fiesta."*

When the two former alfereces entered, they went to the president, saying, "How does the Lord see you alive on this holy afternoon?" They then went to the síndico and the regidores and ended with the judges, exchanging a pat?o?tan.

The alfereces went out, mounted their horses, and were handed the banners by the regidores. The two old alfereces received their banners first. All four made the sign of the cross, first facing the cabildo, then the
[788] *church, and then rode in procession, preceded by the flutist, two drum players, and a guitarist, and followed by the other horsemen. They stopped before the church, dipping their flags, first toward the church and then the cabildo. The president, síndico, and first judge walked across the*
[533] *plaza to the church as the church bells were rung, and all the musical instruments played—the marimba, bell, drums, and flute. The alfereces dismounted and put their banners in the church.*

[426] *The final day, called* Lahinbahel Sk'in, *was spent sobering up, putting things back in order, and returning borrowed items.*

178 Although Santiago is not one of the major saints, a major celebration is
231 given in his honor because of the high value placed on horsemanship in
526 this community. Before the construction of the Pan-American Highway in
[796] 1953 everyone in town had horses which were used to carry the pottery to
[492] market. Riding skills were developed in the free-swinging *macho* (manly) style of northern Mexico's cowboys. Even today when horses are not as economically useful the horse culture has survived. The running of the horses in the fiesta is not competitive. Each rider does his best to tear at high speed across the plaza, but there is no specific goal. Since the
[273] drunken riders often fall and are injured, some of the excitement is based on the potential danger.

128 The behavioral data on which the analysis of rituals depends are included because they provide a basis for comparison with neighboring

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towns and explain small-scale change over short periods of time. The con- 128
textual description of behavioral details may eventually overcome the lack of replicable events available to laboratory science. By specifying all the conditions of the ritual, it is possible to separate the unique from the patterned components. At one level, the analysis consists in indicating the repetitive patterns and the continuity of beliefs which these exemplify. At another level, rituals can be analyzed as psychodramas in which the individual adopts a social role. The dialectical connection between the new official and his role is established in the obligations he carries out.

When people are asked "why" something is done, they continually shift 796
between the social and psychological levels. "We do this because it was the 829
custom of our ancestors," they will frequently say. When pressed further, they reduce their level of response to the individual, saying, "The women don their husband's ceremonial hat because they wish to hide their face because of embarrassment." Both answers are true interpretations, differing only in the level of social complexity at which the enquiry is directed. One can go farther in elaborating the latent significance of the ritual acts. To 796
continue with the same example, the dance drawing the wife into a public 829
performance was performed because, as one informant said, "she too has 562
done work for the fiesta" (she made pottery to raise the money). The dance gains the favor of the saints, as is demonstrated in the Virgin's tactics with the Devil, and in the curing rituals with the spirits of the house and of the springs. Dancing establishes a relationship to the group: the women dancing in the center of the circle formed by their husbands revolving around them are incorporated as an integral part of a sacred social unit.

Rituals provide a key to the psychic dynamics of the group since they 796
deal with these explicitly. The ritual acts are predicated on expected indi- 154
vidual responses. For example, since liquor overcomes embarrassment,[5] it 273

5. Bennett and Zingg (1937) have stated the even more dramatic social significance of liquor among the Tarahumara. Social intercourse in this mountain tribe is impossible without liquor. Conditioned as they are in isolated nuclear family groups to retreat at the sign of an outsider, the Tarahumara need something to relax their embarrassment and fear in large gatherings. Landa (Tozzer 1941) has commented at length on the compulsory drinking at ceremonials of the Yucatecan Maya. [171]

796 is served when the expectations are that the individual will feel embarrass-
154 ment. These occasions formerly occurred when the company arrived at the
house of the alférez before the dance and when the alfereces mounted
• [273] their horses. Cigarettes signal relaxation, and when the first round of ciga-
[276] rettes is served in the house setting, the company abandons formal re-
[522] straints and, led by the chief nakawane, indulges in joking.

541 *Carnival and Easter Week*. Carnival has changed over time more
522 than any other religious ceremonial in the town. Until five years ago, a
177 group of masked jokers visited the houses of the captains of the fiestas.
178 They wore Ladino clothing, including vest, pants, and shoes, and they hid their faces behind masks or painted them black. They danced a "Ladino dance" (paired couples), first in the church and then in the houses of the alfereces. While dancing, they made sexual allusions about unmarried women. Their joking emphasized their strangeness to the villagers; for example one of the jokers might say, "You do not know what type of person I am. An airplane made me." They carried small stuffed animals which they made "cry." Pretending they were the husband of a woman, they would go to her and tell her to take care of her "baby." The woman speaker would sometimes respond to their jokes, saying, "Who are you? You are not good looking, you little black boy. You must be from Germany or from the other side of the water. Maybe you are from Patwitz or Yetawitz, and your father is kurik." People say the custom was discontinued because it was too expensive to give liquor to the jokers.

541 Another carnival custom which has been lost is the "common meal" of
262 squash on the five Fridays of Lent. Formerly the wives of the four kobra-
794 ria brought squash from hot country, cooked it, and brought two gourds
177 each to the church. The assistant divided it, giving two pieces to each of
178 the mayordomos. This custom was stopped during the typhoid epidemic
of 1928 and has never been resumed because, it is said, the people did not
[131] want to lose work time. These changes may be a response to the priest's attempts to modify some of the excesses of carnival. Whether or not this is so, the people prefer to attribute change to their own decisions.

796 The events of Easter Week as recounted by an informant are outlined below.

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794
796 *pulas has risen on the cross. After they have seen Him rise, all the pueblo*
[533] *will go out. At two o'clock in the afternoon, they will again play the sad flute, the drum, the coronet, and the matrake. All the pueblo will collect and will make another prayer to see the Tatik Eskipulas lowered from the*
[188] *cross. When He is lowered, they take Him out on a procession with the priest, the prayer-makers, and all the men and women of the pueblo who will hold candles, and the four guards with rifles. The first mayordomo*
[533] *knows how to blow the old coronet, and another mayordomo knows how to blow the sad flute, and anther plays the drum, and another plays the old matraka. After the procession goes in the plaza, it returns to the*
[273] *church and leaves Tatik Eskipulas in the middle of the church. The mayordomos sit outside the church and drink a liter of trago, and then go to their homes.*

Saturday of glory: Very early in the morning of Saturday, they give a prayer with the sad flute and drum, with the old trumpet and with the
[202] *matraka. Three times it is sounded for the pueblo to gather and hear mass. After the mass, the judge goes to speak to the police to look for a horse to mount the Jew. When the horse arrives, they take the figure of the Jew down from the church and tie him on top of the horse. A mayordomo leads him by the bridle, and he goes out in the pueblo with the flute and drum to ask for contributions. Those who know fiesta [the curers] give fifty or twenty cents or if there is nothing, they give an egg. Afterward, they return to the church and the Jew is taken from the horse. The people set fire to his straw body. When they finish burning this, they check to see how much money they collected. All the mayordomos count the money in common. If there are twenty or thirty pesos, the mayordomos make a fiesta with drum and flute.*

[533] *Sunday of Resurrection: Mayordomos gather and sweep church. After*
[273] *sweeping they play the music to open the mouth of the bell. After the mass, they go drink fermented atol with bean tortilla. They eat a hen or*
[262] *rooster to make a fiesta for our Holy Lord because he is resurrected and because all the town is happy. They give the mayordomos fermented atol to drink. Then they return to the church and take out the lord cross, take out the jail, and the bed where the Father Eskipulas slept.*

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of political relations is summarized for each of these conflict areas. Most of the events recorded below are transcriptions of informants' statements given in Tzeltal. I have chosen this method to show how the people interpret incidents and how this leads to cognitive restructuring.

The Conflict among Civil Officials

In the period of consolidation since the revolution, the crucial issue in determining the allocation of power among local civil authorities has been that of incorporating men who have special abilities to deal with external authority without upsetting an age-ranked system. Prior to the 1950s these skills were rare—in 1920 only four young men could sign their names and read. The civil careers of two men, Ceferino, a native of the town, and Augustín, a revistido Indian from Huistán, illustrate the different courses taken by this new leadership in the post-revolutionary period of the 1930s. Ceferino was included in the given structure of power while Augustín used his skills in dealing with Ladinos to gain personal power. Ceferino was one of the first four men of the town to learn to read and write. The civil authorities recognized his potential usefulness in the town hall, and succeeded in incorporating him in an honorific but powerless position as scribe. He described his introduction into local government:

After I got out of school, the town saw that I knew how to write. Formerly there was no one who knew how to write. In the town hall the judges and president needed someone to write down the contributions and the payment for the government agents. Therefore, when the civil authority changed in the new year, they talked to my mother. As was the custom then, four regidores came to "raise" me, bringing a bottle of trago as a gift for my mother. She did not drink it alone. Together with the regidores we finished the trago. After finishing the trago, the first regidor began to speak to my mother in the pat?o?tan, saying, "I am going to bring one of your children, one of your offspring to the place where we look and where we see [reference to town hall]. We ask this favor because he knows how to write. Therefore the judges and the president ordered me to come and raise him and take out his soil, his mud, for this duty for this obligation.

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159
212 *We shall go with your child, your offspring to pass the holy day, the holy*
621 *year. Thank you, thanks to your heart that you permit your child, your offspring to go. Now we go to receive the holy post with all the elders. The spirit of your child, your offspring shall learn."*

When the fourth regidor finished the pat?o?tan, my mother spoke: "Thank you, Take care of him. I do not want him to return to me drunk. He hasn't yet learned to drink."

I went out with two of the regidores on my right side and the other two on the left. When we arrived, the first judge spoke to us in the pat?o?tan: "You have brought before us our writer. It is well that you arrived with him. Enter and sit down."

I sat down in the middle of the regidores. When we sat down, the first judge and the president began to speak. All were gathered in the town hall. [Ceferino then listed all the civil officials by name, a feat of memory which I shall not repeat here.]

[273] *We sat down and they brought in two liters of trago. They began the pat?o?tan, and after the pat?o?tan the third regidor came to measure the trago. He gave the first measure to the president, the second to the first judge, the third to the second judge, the fourth to me, the writer. And I was not accustomed much to drink liquor. I took the trago and I drank it. It was killing me. It came out my nose. The judges and regidores saw my suffering when it came out my nose. They patted my back, and with some difficulty the trago went down. Thus with suffering and with trouble, I learned to drink trago. But then I got drunk. I felt drunk, and I told the judge and regidores that I was going to die. The first judge ordered the regidor to go with me to my house.*

He said, "Go leave him in his house because his mother said that I should return him to his house. See that you hand over her poor son to his mother."

[593] *Since I did not have a wife—I was a bachelor—they gave me to my mother. My mother said, "Thank you." They ordered my mother to send me the next day because we had to see how another day passed.*

When I left in 1925, I didn't return to the town hall until 1936 when the pueblo asked me to stay as president.

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In the strategy of incorporating new leadership, these tactics are employed. 621

1. The four regidores are assigned the task of bringing the novice scribe to the town authorities. They are the official recruiters for civil and religious office. [624]

2. The request is made to the parent of the appointed scribe in the formal speech of the pat?o?tan. The appeal is cast in terms of the sacred nature of the task with reference to the "holy" nature of the post to be undertaken on this "holy hour, holy day and holy year."

3. The contractual relationship is initiated as always with a drinking session. The scribe is introduced into the drinking order as fourth in rank. The officials show solicitude as he is taught to drink "the gift of the gods and the ancestors." Once the gift of liquor has been accepted, the recipient has no recourse except to fulfill the obligation. [203]

These tactics, used also in other contractual arrangements, were inadequate to the task of inducting foreign Indians living in the township into the traditional hierarchy. In 1929, a Huistecan Indian, Augustín, who had worked as a laborer in a finca within the township, became president. Although he could not read, he was able to speak Spanish fluently. He succeeded in getting the first ejido grant under the land reform act of 1927. 621 609 622 191 423

During his term of office, Augustín was accused of abusing his authority on several occasions, as the following account shows:

When I was very young, my father told me about this land case. Augustín was president then. He tried to get land from my uncle's father-in-law, Juan. My uncle, Bartolo, defended his father-in-law's right to the land because he had good friends in Tuxtla. Augustín spoke Spanish very well, but he did not know how to read. Since my uncle knew how to read well, he gained the case. Augustín was angry. He invited all the curers to the town hall and ordered the police to bring in my uncle. My uncle was given something in a cup of liquor, and in three days he died. 159 622 661

Even if this story is untrue, or distorted because of the family relationship of the narrator and the victim, it reveals the sense of being exploited 622 661 609

621 tural opposition between the two sides of the dual division. In this case,
756 resolution came with the intercession of federal troops.
578
[648] When curing was a controlled profession, with a hierarchy legitimizing
756 entry and exit, the power of the curers was directed toward guarding the
178 village against evil as well as curing. In the 1940s, the loss of one leader by death and the other's jail sentence meant loss of control over entry into the profession. A growing suspicion and discontent with the curers as a
[754] group, laying upon them the responsibility of much of the witchcraft, is reflected in the account of another older informant:

> *Formerly when the curers J. C., A. A., S. K., and J. D. were alive, they walked in common. The people were in accord with the curers because they watched over the peublo. They knew about medicine, and so people of Alannantik went to ask them favors to cure them and also the people of Ahk'olnantik went to ask them favors.*
>
> *But then, after they died [about 1940], the principales did not dare fight the curers because they had animal spirits, and the principales themselves didn't—they were just honorable people.*

621 The doubt about the civil authority's control over the curers has in-
756 creased since young leaders have taken the leadership in the town. One in-
178 formant said, "When there are young people in the cabildo, they can't keep control of the curers, but the old people in the cabildo can." With the relaxation of restrictions on entry into the curing profession, following the loss of leadership and the ranked hierarchy, curers were no longer re-
[273] strained by professional standards. When drunk, they bragged of their
[054] power to do evil as well as to do good. The first killing of a curer accused
683 of being a witch occurred in 1937. He was working in Pinola when he
621 was shot. The dead curer's widow wanted to bring his body back to be
[178] buried in the town cemetery, but the request was refused by the judges. This suggests that the town authorities agreed with the accusation, since it is the custom to return the dead to the town for burial. Other assassinations by individuals occurred in 1943 and in 1950. During this period, the civil officials sanctioned the assassinations of persons accused and convicted of witchcraft. When someone wished to kill a man suspected of witchcraft, they would go to the town hall and ask for permission. After a re-

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Conflict among Religious Functionaries

578 794

Conflict in the religious domain stems from the opposition of the traditional religious hierarchy and more recently that of the young leadership in the civil authority to the increasing power of the priest. In this conflict the fiscal is a middleman who often gets knocked by both sides.

The priest. The priest visits thirty other Indian communities of the department of San Cristóbal Las Casas in addition to Tzoʾontahal. In the fifteen years he has been working regularly in this town, he has gained increasing authority over the cofrades. He is assisted by two lay sisters who maintain the church and lead the evening prayers in his absence. He admits that, without them, his own work in the town would be more difficult because of the sexual jealousy of the townsmen. His relationship to the group of about forty *resadoras,* or female prayer-makers, who attend the evening prayers regularly and are the most vocal respondents in the mass, would be suspect without the presence of the lay sisters. 793 [794]

The priest tries to play the role of parish leader as well as spiritual leader. When medicine is available from missionary sources, he gives it to the sick. In his sermons, he advises people to use injections, which he makes available, against contagious diseases. He attempts to counsel the people, advising them not to kill, to steal, or to have illegal sexual affairs. In his role as pastor, the priest is influenced by missionary efforts of American Catholic organizations which have sent supplies to the area. [797] [278] [751] [797]

In recent years, the priest has challenged the authority of the head cofrade in activities occurring within and at the door of the church. The following incident, recounted by the son of the elder cofrade, marked a shift in control in these domains: 578 793 794 273

In 1961 the elder cofrade of Sacramento was drinking with the other mayordomos at the door of the church. The priest came out and demanded that they stop because this was the house of God. The elder replied that it was the custom of the pueblo, and he and the other men refused to leave. The priest went back into the church and returned with a gun in his hand. The mayordomos seized wood which they had gathered

578 *to cook their meal in the yard of the church. They threatened to beat the*
793 *priest with the wood, and he retreated into the church. He later an-*
794 *nounced that he would not give mass, or weddings, or baptism. We did*
• 273 *not mind that he did not give the mass or would not give weddings, but the people were frightened if he would not give baptism. The mayordomos had a meeting, and they agreed to give up drinking in the church if the priest would continue to give baptism, but they would no longer care for the pigs or bring wood for him without payment. We pay him fifteen*
[465] *pesos for an ordinary mass and forty pesos for a singing mass, so he should pay us for help. The priest was in agreement with the mayordomos.*

[264] As a result of this edict, the drinking has stopped and the mayordomos no longer eat the common meal in the church yard. Drinking was an act linked to eating, since the round of liquor served before the meal was "to prepare the stomach," and the drink after the meal was "to wash down the food." The shift to the house of the cofrade was a ready alternative in this community where the household is a recognized ritual domain.

793 The priest's control over the church has extended to control over the do-
794 nation boxes and the saints' images. He now receives the money donated
178 to the saints and does not permit a public accounting of the funds. Because of this, the civil officials accuse him of stealing some of the money.
793 A recent incident recounted below by one of the prayer-reciters led to even
796 more severe censure:

626 *The bishop visited our church, and when he looked under the silk robes*
578 *of the Virgin Santa Lucía he found a wooden dress covered with gold*
178 *paint. He told the priest to have the cloth dress removed. The people were very upset by this since they are very proud of the dresses bought for the Virgin. One of the prayer-reciters dreamed that the Virgin appeared before her in tears, saying she did not want to appear nude in public. We [the group of prayer-reciters] went to see the bishop to demand that the Virgin should wear her dress in church and that the priest be sent out of the town. The bishop refused. He said the Virgin did not feel cold because she was just a statue. Ha! How could she not feel cold?*

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does not drink or have a record of fighting. Character traits are given 581
more significance than wealth, since the minimal differences which distin- 582
guish rich from poor can be lost within a few months if a man drinks
heavily or does not work. The close identification among siblings means [593]
that in accepting a suit the girl's parents will take into consideration not only the boy's reputation, but those of his brothers. If they are considered to be disobedient, lazy, or frequently drunk, their brother may have difficulty finding a woman.

Positions of ceremonial importance in the household celebrations are 794
filled by any of the elders who have acquired knowledge of the prayers. 592
The nakawanehetik are chosen from among any of the bilaterally-ex- 782
tended relatives, compadres, or padrinos who have served five times in reli- 555
gious office. They are selected not only on the basis of how well they 561
know the prayers, but also on their behavior when required to drink. A [273]
man who can hold his liquor and still speak well or who quietly goes to sleep rather than fighting when drunk is preferred. The me?il k'op is selected from among the female complements of these male relatives. She acquires her knowledge of the prayers in familial settings. The b'alnialetik are chosen from the kihtz'inal (younger siblings and cousins), or from among compadres or members of neighboring households. The rank order between the two sets of roles—the nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik—depends on relative age; thus the older nakawanehetik have greater authority.

Familial roles provide both a pattern and a springboard for other roles 621
in the community. The father-son role pair is extended to the relationships 593
between senior and junior officials in both the religious hierarchy and the 561
curing hierarchy. For each saint, the elder mayordomo is called "father" 794
(*Tatil Martoma*), and the younger is called "son" (*Nic'nal Martoma*). A 192
man must fill the junior post at least two times before taking on the senior post. For each side of the dual division, the elder curer (when there was a [756]
recognized leader) was called "father" (*Tatil ?u?ul*), and the younger was called "son" (*Nic'nal ?u?ul*) or sometimes "youth" (*Biktal ?u?ul*). The term *me?il* (woman who has borne a child) is used in the reference 621
to ceremonial roles played by women in the household, as in the case of 592
me?il k'op (woman speaker) and me?il c'om (mother of the betrothal). 562

577 682 in the following statement by a man who admitted to me that he had killed two men:

> *The padre said that those who kill will get killed. The one who kills also receives all the guilt of his victim and will have to pay for it in the after-world. But my father said that when he was a policeman, there was a man in Tejonero who killed for nothing when he got drunk. He always carried a knife and would kill anyone around. However, he lived until he was very old. Therefore I do not believe the padre.*

577 775 Concern about the afterworld does not act as a deterrent to action in this world.

783 794 Most men ignore the priest's attempts to persuade them to go to confession. Women, especially the prayer-reciters, confess and take communion. Their confessions, according to the priest, are a recitation of the sins of their husbands or their neighbors.

• 273 577 Drinking is often given as a defense for failing to meet standards of behavior. While this serves to excuse minor infractions, a man is supposed to be responsible for his actions even when drunk. When one policeman started a fight in public, an elder judge commented to my informant:

> *Look at that, younger brother! I drink liquor when I am very drunk, but I do not fight either my elders or minors. When I passed as president formerly, I used to enter the cabildo, and I spoke well to the judges even if I was drunk. One time I came to your house very drunk and you were half drunk, but you did not say anything to me, nor did I. You did not fight. Thus I walk well. I never fight, nor have I gone to prison, and it is because I give respect to my elders and to my juniors.*

Reflecting on this advice, my informant added:

> *And so it is with me also. I have drunk a great deal in Ahk'olnantik [the opposite section from where he lives] both at day and at night. Whoever speaks to me tells me to go drink with them a little liquor, and sometimes I give them a drink or I take them where they sell liquor and we drink. But I never fight, and I am able to drink wherever I like.*

626 273 431 The community has developed techniques for compensating failure to meet behavioral norms. The most frequently used is an offering of the

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"gift of the gods," liquor, to the party whose interests have been slighted. This is done in the case of a suitor who is asking for a woman of the other side of the dual division; he gives the bachelors of that side a garrafón of liqúor in compensation for the loss of a potential mate. Liquor has become a substitute for the sacrifice of a child by a man being initiated into the curing profession. Informal offerings of liquor may be made between neighbors or relatives who have been fighting with each other. Liquor is a kind of universal social solvent in disputes, and figures importantly in court cases which are always terminated in a drinking session.

Another technique is simply a payment in money to compensate for damages. In some homicide cases, the payment of "blood money" has compensated the family of the victim to avoid legal action. This is never done, however, if the community agrees that the victim was a witch. Payment of fines in court is another such form of compensation. These payments or offerings minimize the bloodshed or personal involvement in conflictual relations. Payment by the man judged guilty will ensure his reincorporation into his customary place in the community without stigma.

While it is impossible to elicit from informants a theory of roles, it is possible to formulate the principles underlying roles. These are deduced from behavioral observations and from evaluations made of the performances of others. They can be summarized in the following propositions:

1. There is a clear separation between role and role-bearer. This is seen most clearly in the passage through civil and religious offices with a minimum of "halo" effect. It is also found in the situation of household officials whose authority in directing affairs within a household ceases when the ceremony in which they officiate is over. The separation ensures flexibility in a closed social system, enabling people to shift from one role to another. It also permits continuity in a system which requires an almost complete turnover of personnel each year.

2. Function performed is separate from role in which it is performed. This applies even in those roles which are designated on the basis of the most important function required of the performer, for example woman speaker, liquor measurer, and basket carrier. All of

554 these role-bearers have other functions to perform, but the term specifies the most significant of these. Other people may unofficially perform these acts but only the officially appointed person has the other prerequisites for and duties of the role.

3. Recruitment into roles depends on age and sex qualifications. Validation of the role emphasizes, in addition to these ascribed characteristics, innate capacity rather than acquired ability. For example, the curers who are respected are assumed to have been born with an animal spirit, while those who are believed to have acquired it are suspected of being witches. Similarly, high civil officials are expected to be innately clever, not just trained for office.

828 4. Evaluation of performance emphasizes the state of the heart and qualifies judgments of the person according to characteristics of the mind and of the soul. The heart governs emotions such as contentment or inner turmoil and determines the moral relations a person has with others. The mind enables a man to deal effectively in his instrumental activities so that he can speak and work well. Possession of a [774] second soul means that one is clever and capable, but it is the third soul which gives power over the life and death of others. The exchange of [754] evaluations about others is a crucial area of concern in the tense atmosphere dominated by fear of whichcraft. In the belief that their very sur- [156] vival depends upon knowledge of the intent of others before it is expressed in witchcraft, the people constantly consult with relatives, compadres, neighbors, or the curers, in order to anticipate changes in their relations with others.

681 5. Sanctions against behavior that fails to meet role expectations depend on the seriousness of the crime rather than on the attitude of the criminal. This means that compensation relieves the wrong-doer of any guilt burden. Most compensation, even for homicide, can be translated into cash payment.

156 6. Ceremonial behavior in everyday interaction as well as in [554] ritual serves to limit the personal involvement in the encounter and to emphasize the role category. This is particularly emphasized in the [273] initial stage of the encounter. Liquor and cigarettes introduce a more [296] informal behavior in which the etiquette of reserve can be relaxed.

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Unorthodox behavior after drinking is less subject to censure than that indulged in without this stimulus.

The social changes affecting the community have not changed the categories of roles. What has happened is a shift in the power and authority associated with civil roles: the president's role for example has assumed importance over that of the principales. A full account of the changes in the role system requires a discussion of the settings in which they are enacted, the timing which gives them coherence, and the beliefs which give them meaning. Summary statements on role coordination will be given in the final chapter.

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building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office.

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist.

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first.

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient portable typewriter. Since typing is a new skill for him, he makes many errors, and his retrials are accepted with patience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

695 minimum of explicit rules. Very little is ruled out of order, and almost
[693] nothing introduced is considered irrelevant. The dialogue is primarily between the judge and claimant and secondarily between judge and defendant. The rural judges join with the regidores, who act as court clerks when a case is heard, in a kind of Greek chorus when consensus is reached regarding statements made by defendant or claimant. The judges indicate clearly their approval or disapproval of the statements being made, and throughout the case, consensual verdicts are made in an apparently spontaneous manner. No one pretends to be impartial. Personal knowledge of the defendant or claimant is introduced into the case.

Courtroom behavior falls into three major acts: (1) the declaration by the claimant, (2) the questioning of the defendant (literally the "taking of the heart"), and (3) the paying of the fine. The judge introduces the first act by asking the claimant to "come and speak" so that they can "listen
[576] and hear." This ends formally with the claimant saying, "Good day, Elder Brother." The judge introduces the second act when he turns to the defendant, who stands before the civil officials, and says, "Speak and we shall listen, boy. What goes with you?" The defendant sums up his defense in the questioning period. The president introduces the final act, telling the defendant, "When you give a little fine you will be free."

[641] Both claimant and defendant pay court fees, an acknowledgment of the
[273] feeling that both are guilty because they are involved in a dispute. Before
[178] the term of the incumbent president began, this was paid in two liters of illegally distilled liquor, a kind of symbolic defiance of federal law. Now, since the president drinks only beer, it is paid in two family-sized bottles of beer. The etiquette of courtroom drinking is prescribed: the bottle, referred to as *smahtan*, or gift, is passed to the judge, who goes to the president and presents it to him with a few words of the pat?o?tan giving thanks for the gift. The fourth regidor then measures out the liquor, giving the first shot to the president, the next to the first judge and so on
[264] around the room. If a large fine is paid by the defendant, the president orders the police to buy meat, and a "common meal" is prepared and eaten.

693 In this society, there are neither veniremen nor specialized advocates.
695 Civil officials other than the first judge act as jurors, announcing their sentiments in unison. The judge, rather than handing down a decision, sums up the consensus of the group. Kinsmen of the claimant and defendant act

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The assumption that leisure is a concept unique to highly civilized societies is denied by peasant behavior in this community and many others like it in which the members are masters of the greater part of their time. What differentiates their scheduling of leisure-time activities from that of most western societies is that theirs is based on community decisions rather than individual predilections and that it is set in the frame of sacred rather than secular performances. Community standards are most notable in the way people dress for fiestas: women wear their newest embroidered blouses; their hair is neatly braided with ribbons. Men wear a kotonču with their cleanest shirt and pants. The children, except for the youngest, wear clothes like the adults'. Villagers "care for" the celebration by sitting on their porches, greeting neighbors, smoking and talking. When a public performance is held in the church or plaza, they participate as observers. Arduous work of any kind is proscribed. Special foods are prepared and served at regular mealtimes. A special mark of all days of fiesta is the serving of fermented corn beverage. Meat or chicken is more likely to be served on Sundays and holidays than on other days.

Timing as a Strategy in Interpersonal Relations

The preferred mode of action is "slow and soft." This applies to motion, especially in rituals, as well as to the scheduling of actions in a series of negotiations. The people are sensitive to the use of time in bargaining as an index to the relative resources of the negotiators. Withholding power in the market gives a marked price advantage in the sale of crops. Sale in advance of harvest means a loss of one-quarter to one-half of the price which could be gained if the crop was sold after it was cut, and corn sometimes doubles in value if withheld for six months or more. Interest as a time payment for the use of money is accepted on the basis that the borrower could put it to work. There is no feeling against the evil of usury, although the rates are relatively high in town—five percent per month.

This understanding of time as an indicator of relative strength extends to social functions. Time serves as an interval to build confidence on the part of both parties entering into contractual arrangement. In the betrothal, both parties are prepared for a long series of visits before the suit

233 177 178 621 476 312 [685] and adaptive responses. With the expansion of cattle raising, Indians have organized associations adjusted to the traditional dual division. The association for each side of the dual division mobilizes labor for maintaining the watering holes. The failure to organize communal corrals means that inefficient herding techniques, damage to the milpa, and frequent loss or theft of cattle persist. The association reacts to the last problem by hiring killers to get rid of those suspected of theft, but this adaptive response is limited to dealing with particular incidents and has not solved the problem.

548 293 177 178 [435] 694 [681] [621] [561] The manufacturers of contraband liquor have succeeded in organizing a syndicate strong enough to maintain a monopoly price for both the internal and external markets and to provide security for themselves against federal agents. The syndicate mobilizes for specific actions, such as raising the bail bond for imprisoned members or punishing informers. As a community-wide organization ignoring the dual division and age-ranked seniority, it represents an adaptation in response to extra-community pressures.

474 177 178 The cooperatives that have been organized to manage the local store and the trucks provide permanent managerial operations that are an adaptition to growing interaction in extra-community economic activities. Cooperative owners are able to raise the capital to maintain and expand these operations. It is within these structures that entrepreneurial skills are being developed. The organizers gain the advantage not only of socializing the risk of loss but also of making a profit in a community where belief in witchcraft, fostered by envy, is rampant.

474 472 177 178 Activities in the new economic enterprises are not supported by any supernatural belief. In order to gain acceptance for the new enterprises, the entrepreneur Santos, who had organized the trucking cooperative, recognized the need for an ideology. His rhetoric drew upon the sense of deprivation Indians feel in their relations with Ladinos. He justified his own ends as an attempt to gain for all the community the profits that only Ladinos had been able to gain through trucking and crops resales in the regional markets. The ideology he had begun to formulate stressed economic and political independence from both the Ladino entrepreneurs of neighboring towns and government agents who tried to promote welfare

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Religious Behavior

Socialization of the child includes teaching him how to adjust to spirits of the house and of the surrounding hills and springs as well as to people in his social environment. He learns the obligations he owes to these spirits in the rituals of house inauguration and curing. Place spirits are given an ethnic identity. The ancestor figures who live in the cave are Indians from whom all the people originate. The Ladino spirits residing in the houses and springs are a mythological projection of a conquered people who have learned to coexist with their conquerors by paying tribute of candles, food, liquor, and entertainment. If the spirits are not won over, they will admit the evil spirits who bring sickness and death. Their presence is known only by the trouble they permit rather than by good occurences; the miracles they perform are an undoing of the harm they have permitted.

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The belief in the potentially dangerous nature of these spirits when their envy or appetite is aroused is linked to an understanding that men and gods alike are jealous and vindictive. It generates behavior that is in conformity with that of the ancestors. A sense of security is reinforced by the protective symbols of incense, the cross of palm hung on the entrance posts of the yard and house, candles which "blind the eye of the devil," and garlic mixed with hot herbs which exude an odor that evil spirits dislike. When the uneasy contract between spiritual and human coresidents is upset, a curing ritual is performed to make everyone "of one heart." Behavior with respect to both spirits and people stems from a policy of appeasement through entertainment and liquor provided in household ceremonials.

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Behavior differs in regard to the category of saints called "spirits in the heaven" and those called "spirits in the church." Spirits of the heavens have incorporated pre-Conquest deities with those introduced by the missions. They are a more powerful force influencing human moral behavior. Illicit sexual relations carried out in the milpa by day are believed to arouse the envy of "Our Father the Sun" who will cause the milpa to burn by refusing to give way to rain. Similarly "Our Grandmother the

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755 Patient's Wife: *There he was lying down for the day.*
126 Patient: *It is the first day I have stepped foot on soil.*
Patient's Wife: *It is today.*
Patient: *I have endured it for days. So I wanted to go get help from your work. He [Emilio] told me, "Go get the horse to work in the wheat." "Good, I am going to get it. Afterward I am going to leave him in the threshing shelter." When I returned in the afternoon, I could not bear walking.*
Patient's Wife: *I told him, "Better not go yet to caponize your horse."*
Patient: *We had another little horse we were thinking of caponizing this year. But now I couldn't think of it. You have heard how it is with me. Let us see what God says.*
Curer's Wife: *Yes, give another [speaking to liquor pourer who was passing out liquor] to the women.*
[273] [554] *[All the company were given drinks. Drinking order was: father of curer's wife, curer, his two sons, wife of curer, interviewer, patient, his wife, wife of curer's two sons.]*
Curer: *Do you want a little more?*
Patient: *No, it is good.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *With your permission. [Drinks his liquor.]*
Curer [to Father-in-law]: *Enter! [Meaning, "Drink the liquor."]*
[The curer began to bleed the patient. He had eight gourds which he applied three times. He took the basin into which he poured the blood out to the yard and buried it, saying, "We cannot burn it inside because it was witchcraft."]
Curer [to patient]: *Can you endure it again?*
Patient: *I can endure it.*
Patient's Wife: *Please, father.*
Curer: *It is good. You don't have to endure it again.*
[Drinking continues.]
Curer's Father-in-law *[pouring blood into a saucer]*: *Look, it is black.*
Curer's Younger Son [to elder brother]: *It is not good, elder brother. [He had noted that the last gourd did not have much blood.]*
Curer's Father-in-law [to interviewer]: *Ah, God, it is not now as it was before. There is much witchcraft.*
Patient's Wife: *Let us see what came out.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *It is black because the witchcraft is well lodged in his body.*
[Curer points to his son where to make another scratch.]
Curer's Elder Son: *Where truly?*

628 establish with them the relations of posada and compadrazgo, men-
438 tioned above, as well as (in the infrequent cases of inter-com-
571 munity marriage), some affinal kinship ties. In the few recorded
608 cases of emigration from the village, some members of the com-
582 munity keep communication with a few consanguineal relatives living
628 in other Indian villages, although social exchanges and the memory
166 of such relatives tend to die out after a generation or two.
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105 With the other Indian communities in the area, Amatenango and Aguacatenango share a common material culture and belief system, derived from a Highland Maya cultural tradition, the same linguistic background, and a subsistence pattern based on agriculture. They are peasant, in the sense that they are rural villages which depend, for survival, not only on agricultural work, but on economic exchange with other semi-urban and urban centers (Redfield, 1956:25-28).

438 Aguacatenango buys pottery and chayotes from Amatenango,
[273] whose women come periodically to sell them, and trago (drinking alcohol) which some Amatenangueros produce illegally. Amatenango buys from Aguacatenango surplus corn.

628 The two towns have amicable relations, thinking of each
[311] other as neighbors, and sharing the same pasture lands, and
[312] source of water for irrigation. The two communities share the
628 same cultural hero, called Juan Lopez in Aguacatenango and Lopez
776 Shuntón in Amatenango, connected with the corn and with the "lightening who lives in a cave." For Aguacatenangueros this personage is the builder of the roads, responsible for the eradication of "cannibalism," the conversion of man-hunting animals

Introduction

BEHAVIORAL REGULARITIES in ritual or informal interaction are usually considered the raw material for making structural-functional statements. The descriptive data are used illustratively or may never be included with published material. This monograph describes ritual activity, both elicited and observed. The object is (1) to state the behavioral dimensions of a structural-functional model and (2) to show where social changes are putting stress on that structure. 121

Ritual events are good occasions for such study because both communally prescribed and individually preferred behavior can be recorded. The expected behavior can be sorted out from the chance since the rules are more explicit than in ordinary interaction. Ceremonial behavior projects in a public performance a given set of status relationships. In doing things as they were done in the past, a theme repeated in prayers and in explanations for actions, people assert continuity of tradition. But just because of this, ceremonies are an occasion for dramatizing social change (Geertz, 1957). Competition between groups and tensions deriving from contradictions which are not apparent in everyday life may be expressed during the ceremony.

I have chosen the rituals of the inauguration of civil and religious officials in the community of Tzoʔontahal, Chiapas, Mexico, because in these performances people act out their techniques for maintaining continuity at the time of change.[1] The inauguration is a rite of passage designed to gain social acceptance of new personnel in a given set of roles. However, as in all ceremonies in this community, the occasion provides the backdrop for the release of latent hostilities. The formal ceremony requires drinking a great deal of the locally distilled liquor, "the gift of the ancestors" that makes fiestas possible.[2] Liquor rids the participants of embarrassment 121 182 796 121 796 273

[1] Field research was supported by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health which made possible my stay from May to September, 1964, and again in December, 1964. I am grateful to Duane Metzger for providing facilities for working in San Cristobal de las Casas with my informants. Comments by Harold Conklin, Constance Sutton, and David Hunter have helped improve earlier versions. [122] [114] [128]

[2] In a myth concerning the origin of liquor, it is said that the town had no fiestas until Santiago gave the gift of liquor.

[P. 209-A]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltál NV9
Tzoʔontahal

and, in fostering social intercourse, it frees them of other constraints. With the usual inhibitions removed, the social interaction following the ceremony allows the investigator to see below the surface.

We have many structural-functional descriptions of the civil-religious hierarchy of highland Maya Indian communities (Adams, 1957; Cámara Barbachano, 1952; Cancian, 1964; McArthur, 1960; Siverts, 1960, 1964; Tax, 1964; Vogt, 1965; Zabala Cubillos, 1961). The roles and functions of the hierarchy are at least minimally described in the many community studies of the area (Bunzel, 1952; Gutteras Holmes, 1961; LaFarge, 1947; LaFarge and Byers, 1931; M. Nash, 1955; Tax, 1947a,b; Valladares, 1957; Wagley, 1949; Wisdom, 1940). We have, as well, historical summaries of the colonial and independence developments (Aguirre Beltrán, 1953; Carrasco, 1952, 1961; Chávez Orozco, 1943). In previous summaries of the structure and functioning of the hierarchies, however, systematic descriptive data on performances are mostly lacking. Vogt (1965, p. 42) has indicated the value of observing behavior as a "reliable operational measure for determining rank" in Zinacantan. Cross-community comparison of institutions would be facilitated by such behavioral data. For example, the recurrent descriptive phrase "closely integrated civil-religious hierarchy" covers a spectrum of behavioral and ideological components which ranges from one in which officials of both ladders are linked by a series of sacred acts, functions and personnel, to one in which there is independent and exclusive participation. These generalizations can be broken down to a series of acts in which they are expressed. If comparison over time or between communities is to be meaningful, we must look to the descriptive detail which went into such generalizations.

For any scheduled event such as a ritual, three sources of data are available: the expectations of what will happen, the case histories of similar events in the past, and the observation of the event. In tapping the first of these, I have used the technique developed by Metzger and Williams (1963) in formal ethnographic analysis.[3] In this approach, the informant co-

[3] I am indebted to Duane Metzger for training in these methods, and to discussions with him, Brent Berlin, and Paul Kay which helped me in working out the observation schedule.

[P. 209-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

average annual earnings of a man in this town); failure to accept the post when it is offered brings a jail sentence. On the following day, during a drinking session in the townhall with the assembled civil officials, the reluctant nominee usually accepts. 794 [434] [681] [273]

The civil career of an individual would be one in which he passed (*sk'as*, which I gloss as 'pass'; it is the same verb as Spanish *pasar*) first as police, then as third or fourth regidor. If he has passed as alferez, he will enter as first or second regidor at this stage, and then go on to second judge and finally become first judge. If not, he will stop as third or fourth regidor. After reaching the peak of his career as first judge, he may return to the police group as *martomorey*. Present leaders of the town consider this an "ugly" custom and say they hope to change it because it puts men of major age in a position of minor importance. Formerly men had to fulfill six turns in civil office, twice as regidor and twice as judge, to be considered free of further obligation. But now, because of increasing population (according to informants), this has been lowered to five required turns. The post which has been eliminated is that of assistant judge, which is now filled by a representative of one of the two barrios. 156 621* 554 693 [794] [829] 624 693 178 156

Throughout his career in office, a household head is expected to alternate between the civil and religious posts. Religious posts are considered less onerous since they require only six months of service, from the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo at the end of June until January 6, and the men are on duty only Sundays and holidays. A balanced number of six turns in each of the branches of the hierarchy was expected, prior to the reduction of the number of civil posts to five, to bring one to the end of one's career. In a census of 311 household heads made in 1964, passage in office shows a balance between posts undertaken in each wing of the hierarchy. Of 13 men over 70 years of age, five had completed service in civil and religious office. Three who had passed as president had served only once or twice in each wing of the hierarchy. The remaining five had a balanced but incomplete career. 621* 156 794 [125]

In the religious hierarchy, a man passes first as *nič'anil kuč ha?*, 'minor who brings liquor.' Then he will pass as *?ali?bal*, the assistant to the *kobraria*, particularly charged with the slaughter of the bull for the large fiestas. These "servants" were not distinguished from other mayordomos in the initial listing of officers, but were mentioned in the description of fiesta 794 554 156

[P. 215-A]

male helpers who are usually wives of the *balnialetik*, or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors who come to congratulate the new official. Particularly conspicuous because of their Ladino or non-Indian clothing in the house of the president (Chart 6) were the visitors from the outlying rancherías and colonias of Tzoʔontahal. 621* [592] [574]

Validation in the household setting takes place in two scenes. The first occurs on the eve of New Year. Each new official entertains in his house the men he has chosen as his *nakawanehetik* and as his *balnialetik*. Only those *balnialetik* who are immediately related come to this gathering. The *meʔil k'op*, 'woman speaker,' is present along with the wives of the *balnialetik* (Chart 2). The house is decorated with pine needles and juniper boughs in the afternoon. The visitors arrive with wood and pitchpine to light the house at about eight in the evening and stay until the liquor is finished. Drinking order is from elder to younger, which coincides with the prestige ranking. The *nakawanehetik* are served, then the *nič'anil*. 621* 574 592 [602] [353] [273] [554]

The second household gathering takes place on the morning of the New Year. Major settings for such gatherings are the house of the first judge and the house of the new president. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the three other regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house. They join the president at his house and then proceed to the townhall. The group of five police from *ahk'olnantik* meet separately in the house of the first police of that side, and those of *alannantik* meet in the house of their first police. 621* 574 693 [592]

The assembled officials proceed to the townhall, announcing with rockets to the policemen that they have left. Gathered in the townhall, referred to in the formal address or *patʔot'an* as the *sik na*, 'cold house,'[9] are the 'old officials' *(k'a hu'eletik)* along with the alfereces and the principales. They enter two by two, the president and síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges, and the judges of the barrios and colonias. They kneel and 'measure their noses' *(sp'is snisʔik,)* as they enter, showing respect to the holy banners which the alfereces have delivered from the church. 621* 693 [202] [794] [554] [788] [794]

[9] Bunzel (1952, p. 377) translates a formal speech in which the townhall of Chichicastenango is referred to as that "cold house, the icy house," but the Quiche word is not included. The pattern of double synonyms for nouns is present in these Quiche formal texts as in the Tzeltal. [197]

[R 217-A]

reces have delivered from the church. The presence of the alfereces with their banners proclaims the link between civil and religious office. 621* 794 182

The principales, now fairly inebriated after their long wait for the arrival of the new officials, pass out the staffs, assisted by the old president who helps direct them as they wander in a daze from the table to the new officials. The intoxicated state of the principales is never mentioned in elicited statements. The act of passing over the staffs is a significant index to their role in the hierarchy. As the only "permanent" 621* 624 [273]

621* 554 693

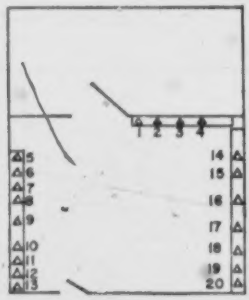


CHART 5 — MORNING, HOUSE OF PRESIDENT, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS (all men):

1 Nakawane
2 President
3, 4 Nakawane
5 First judge
6 Second judge
7 Síndico
8, 9 Assistant judges
10 First regidor
11 Second regidor
12 Third regidor
13 Fourth regidor
14-20 *Balnialetik*

incumbents—permanent so long as they are alive, healthy, and not impoverished—they are the link between the outgoing and incoming officials. When all the old officials have retired to their homes following the ceremony, and the new officials have gone on to the church, the principales wait in the townhall for the new officials to return for the afternoon drinking session in which they will join, as they had done in the morning with the old officials. 621* 624 [273]

Wearing their rosaries, the new officials follow the alfereces out of the townhall in a procession. Holding the holy banners, the alfereces line up before the townhall, dip their banners, and proceed to the 621* 794 788

[P. 217-B]

621*
"to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] 788
who the new officials to remain in office are." 554
693

Awaiting the new officials in the church are all the 621*
mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials 794
as they enter to see who they are" (App. 1, Q. 48, 49).
The new officials "speak to God," asking for health [782]
so that they can complete their obligation to the town.
They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave [788]
the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father townhall." There they spend the remainder of the afternoon.

The mayordomos go to the kitchen attached to the 621*
townhall. The first policeman directs the purchase of 273
liquor and the measuring out of drinks for the ten [794]
policemen from the two sides of the dual division and [625]
the two rural commissioners. In the townhall the new president's first orders are to the fourth regidor to ask
him to buy two liters of "the gift," liquor. The par- [693]
don to the ancestors, and the offering of the gift to the [782]
principales, is in the hands of the first judge, who [431]
knows the *pat?ot'an*, and can do the honors. The [537]
president is served following the principales in the round of drinking.

The change of religious officials takes place on the 794
fiesta day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29, and 796
on the day of the three Kings, January 6. This provides a six-month term of office. The new officials gather in the homes of the *kobraria* of Halal me?tik and Sakramentu, and in the church. Thus two settings, home and church, come into play with the change of civil officials, but the townhall, significantly, is not part of this act nor are the alfereces called into action.

The ceremony lasts three days: first day is *pas kantelero*, 'to make candles,' when the candles are cleaned, and the old mayordomos eat a "common meal" *(komun we?el)*; second day is *wišperes*, when the oath is taken; final day is *sk'ahk'alel*, when the new mayordomos play the drums or flute.

The first gathering, which took place the year I observed it in the house of the *kobraria* of Halal Me?-tik Santalusia, was cut short because the *kobraria* did not have a porch, and it had begun raining. By local [362]
standards, a house without a porch is considered inadequate, and is called 'cow house' *(wakaš na?)* since the owner cannot accommodate guests on such occasions. The group therefore lingered longer in the house of the *kobraria* of Sakramentu.

The speech of the *nakawane* to the "elder new [537]
mayordomos" *(mamal ?ač martomaetik)* (App. 2,

[P. 218-B]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS Replication of behavior in both civil and religious

inauguration is also seen in the house ceremonies. 621* Prior to setting out to the townhall or to the church, 794 the new officials acquire a sense of the sacred obligations they are about to undertake from the words of 796 182 the *nakawanehetik*.

The major behavioral schema are established in 621* the settings in which activities occur. In each setting, 794 the actors assert status in a social arrangement by 156 their position in a physical arrangement: seating 182 order clockwise from the door indicates rank order 571 in all settings. The same act has a different significance in each setting. For example, drinking in the 554 townhall differs from drinking in the house because [273] it ties together different sets of actors.[10] As the actors move from one setting to the next, they are accompanied by some of the members linking them to the prior setting, as when the *nakawanehetik* accompany the president to the townhall.

The significance of setting in allocating roles is evi- 621* dent in the Tzeltal terms for categories of officials: 794 religious officials are called "officials in the church" 182 (*ʔaʔteletik te ta ĉ'ulna*) and civil officials are called 192 "officials in the townhall" (*ʔaʔteletik te ta ĉ'ulna*). If 156 my guess concerning the derivation of the term *nakawane* from house officials is correct (note 6), then this category derives its name from the locus in which authority is recognized.

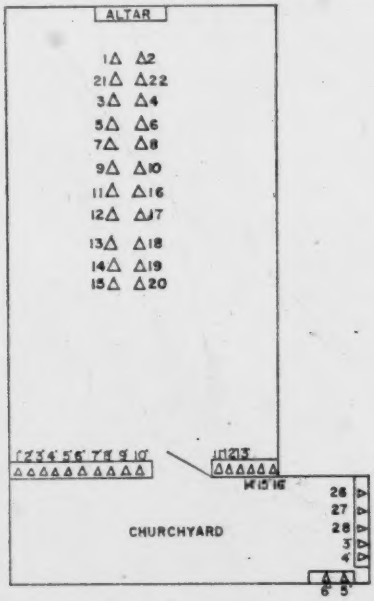
The analysis of behavior, or roles in action, corrob- 621* orates some of the understandings gained from elicit- 794 ing the structure, but requires some modification. 182 The segmentary character of the hierarchy is evi- 156 denced in the domain, action, and the timing of action. However, qualifications of the elicited model must be made on the basis of the behavioral data. First, the asymmetry of the links between civil and religious officials in the church setting as compared with the townhall setting requires a qualification of the meaning of the integration for the two wings.

[10] This adds a further caveat to the "behaviorist fallacies" [114] pointed out by Lewin (1951, p. 79) when the psychological setting is ignored in the description of the physical dimension of an act.

[P 221 - A]

Third, there was opposition on the score that the president had never passed in any other public office. The only incident revealing the discontent was the firing of eight shots at (or above) the president's brother following the house festival on the eve of the inauguration. 666 578 622

The principales, who "formerly were the ones who ruled," no longer have a part in the power struggle 624 178



621* 794 554 346

CHART 11 — NEW OFFICIALS INSIDE CHURCH, NEW YEAR'S DAY

OFFICIALS:
1'-16' Mayordomos

Remaining numbers refer to officials listed in Charts 7-9.

which centers on party membership and economic competition. Their ceremonial role in rituals is preserved as a link with the past as well as a sign of continuity between old and new officials. 624 178 [794]

In the inauguration of the religious officials, divergence in the elicited and the observed event (App. 2, column 4) occurred first of all in the shift of locale for the common meal from the churchyard to the house of the *?ali?bal* instead of in the churchyard (App. 2, Q. 19). This was a clue to the power struggle going on in the church. When I questioned my informant about the disparity, he told me the following story: 794 178 578 [264] [793] [273]

[P. 223-B]

Three years before [in 1961] my father was the *tatik* of Sacramento. One day he and the other mayordomos were drinking at the door of the church. The priest came out and demanded that they stop because this was the house of God. The *tatik* replied that it was the custom of the pueblo, and he and the other men refused to leave. The priest went back into the church and returned with a gun in his hand. The mayordomos seized wood which they had gathered in the yard of the church. They threatened the priest with this and he went back into the church. He announced that he would not give Mass, or perform wedding or baptismal ceremonies. We did not mind if he did not give the Mass or would not give weddings, but the people were frightened if he would not give baptism. The mayordomos had a meeting and they agreed to give up drinking in the church if the priest would continue to give baptism, but they

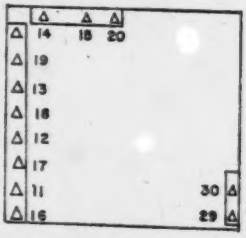


CHART 12 — KITCHEN OF POLICE, AFTER CHURCH (ELICITED)

Numbers refer to role terms listed in Charts 7 and 10.

would no longer care for the pigs or bring wood for the priest without payment. We pay him 15 pesos for an ordinary Mass and 40 pesos for a sung Mass, so he should pay us for help. The priest was in agreement with the mayordomos.

My informant had not realized that the ban affected eating in the yard of the church, but it was implied because liquor is served before the meal "to prepare the stomach" *(ya ʼital skoip weʔeletik)* and after the meal "to wash down the food" *(yaʔlel weʔelil)*.

The statement on who defines what performances, and in what setting, provides an index to the locus of power. The priest is gaining more control over the building, maintenance, and developments around the church. The mayordomos give at least a half-day's labor to the priest's projects each Sunday. When they cannot work, they must pay the elder *kobraria* two pesos for a half-day's work missed, or 4 pesos for a full day. The proceeds are used to buy liquor, which the mayordomos drink. Thus the social control is ex-

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

Appendix 1—CHANGE OF OFFICIALS IN THE TOWNHALL

	Question	Informant 1 General Description	Informant 2 Case: entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
*62 124 796	1. When do they change the officials?	On January 1, *?al ha?bil* (New Year)	First of January	I observed the preparations for the New Year change of office fiesta in the houses of the president and of the new first policeman on December 31, 1964, and January 1, 1965
	2. What do they do first on the fiesta of changing of officials?	They arrange the house of each official	The wife of the first judge puts the bean tortillas on the fire	
[252]	3. When do they do this?	In the afternoon of December 31	In the morning of the last day of December	The women spend most of the morning and afternoon making the bean tortillas
[353]	4. How do they arrange the house?	They get juniper boughs and needles and put them in the house		Around 8 P.M. the visitors arrive. The house is decorated with pine needles on the floor and in the yard, and there are branches of juniper nailed to the posts of the house entry, just as it is done at the entry to the townhall. I was not present at the gathering
[602]	5. Who helps her?		All her relatives (*kermanotak*) with neighbors (see Chart 1)	
	6. What do they do in the afternoon?		The women eat	
*62 124 796 574	7. What time do the guests gather in the house of the new officials?	On December 31 at 7 P.M.		
	8. What do they bring?	They arrive with wood and pitchpine	They bring wood or pitchpine	
[272] [262]	9. What do the visitors do?	They drink coffee with bread and bean tortillas	They say greetings. They drink coffee and eat bean tortillas	
[273]	10. What do they do when they finish the coffee?	They drink liquor	They take out liquor, and the judge recites the benediction	
*62 124 796 [693]	11. Who is present in the house of the new official?		*statal maksawane*, his leading house official, Baltol Kantiron. The new judge, Santos Kantiron, *balaial*, assistants to pass gruel, sons of the new officials *?ak n?etik* wood bringers (see Chart 2)	
[624]	12. What do they do first on New Year's day?	The fourth regidor calls everyone together	The fourth regidor raises all the new officials	

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX I—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
*62 124	13. What time does he begin to raise the officials?		He gets up early about 6 A.M.	
796 624	14. How does the fourth regidor raise the other officials?	First he goes to get the third regidor. Then they go to the second. The three go to collect the first. After all are together, the four go to the house of the first judge	The fourth regidor goes to the house of the third regidor. They leave and go to the house of the second regidor, then to the house of the first regidor. Then they go to the síndico's house. Leave and go to the house of the judge	
*62 124 796 693	15. How do the judges join together?	First the two assistant judges call on the second judge. Then the three go to the house of the first judge	The assistant judge for Ahk'olnantik goes to raise assistant for Alannantik. The two go to the house of the second judge. Then they go to the house of the first judge	I arrived at 9:30 at the house of the first alcalde. Present were the following (see Chart 3)
[273]	16. What do the judges do in the house of the first judge?	They drink liquor. They await the arrival of the four regidores	They drink liquor	Before serving liquor the first judge gave the benediction for the liquor *(pat?ot'an yič smahtanil)* with the first *nakawane*. His godchild *ahijado thalal* [illegible]*upune*, of marriage, and his brother-in-law Lucian Kut poured liquor. He served cigarettes. Two liters of liquor were drunk here before going to house of president
[292]	17. What do they do then?	They go to the house of the president (see Chart 4)	Go to the house of the president	Assembled company prepared to leave at 10:10. The first judge puts on his plain red kerchief. The assistant judges put on flowered red kerchiefs. First judge said goodbye to the *nakawane*. This formal adieu, the *spat lok'yo?t'an*. Regidores stood up and came out. Then the assistant judge arrived at the house of President 10:30. (Chart 6)
[576]				
*62 124 796 693 576	18. What do they do when they enter the house of the president?	The first judge gives the *spat yo?t'an* with the first nakawane	The first regidor gives the *pat?ot'an*	First judge speaks with *me?il k'op* who stood at door of inner room. The *nakawanchetik* bowed and kissed hands with the first and second alcaldes
[523] [539]	19. How do they give the *spat yo?t'anik* at his house the president?	They sing what they will do for the year	Holy evening, mamtat, your health. God how does He see you, mamtat. You are alive speak God holy evening. Behind your heart no illness I hear this holy evening.	(See Chart 6 for seating at house of president)

[P. 231]

Change of Officials

*621
124
796
693
576
539

(Judge) I live. There is no illness. Lord mamtat give pardon with God with the Virgin Mother *(Tios sok Halal meʔtik)*. Enter holy pardon lord, give pardon Virgin Mother

Here we are gathered before you where is seated "our soil our mud" (our bodies). What are we going to do to make arrive to fall to happen holy New Year our patron of heaven (*kah-waltik*) God. Here in a little dawns the holy hour. Let us go look before our heart where we are going to receive the holy oath inside of the holy cold house the cold hall where we go to receive our suffering our work holy staff, holy wand. It is going to change, holy day, holy year. Thus we do as did in the past our mother our father

20. What do they do after the greeting?

They drink coffee

They drink coffee

*621
124
796
264
272
262
693

At 10:45 served bread set on bowl of coffee and bean tortilla in a cloth wrapping. First served *nakawanchetik* then president, then first and second judge, then first and second regidor, then assistant judge, then visitors. At 10:55 *nakawane* got up and stood before first judge and spoke the *spalan mas* (account of the gruel). Then the first judge spoke the *spalan mas* to second judge. The first two regidores of the past year came in to ask if the new officials were now ready "to raise the change"

*621
124
796
693
576
[273]

(*K'a sʔabal yok helol*). They said *patʔotʔan* before the *nakawane*. Then bowed and kissed hand (*kus' ibale*) with all men in left interior. Went to door and spoke with *meʔil k'op, kus' ibale* with her.

At 11:15 *balnialetik* took out the table, laid embroidered cloth on it, put 3 liters of trago and 2 quarts of beer. The first *nakawane* did the *spalanbe mahtan me'il tatil* with the first judge standing before him. Then the first

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX I—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
*62 124 796 693 576 [788]				judge got up and stood before the second judge and did the *spalanbe soltak tuyipal č'in mahtanil* (account to company for the little gift. He then went to the first *nakawane* with the *sak'inal* (good day greeting). Then all the assembled company stood up and turn to wall and gave the benediction to the gift of the ancestors
	21. Why do they stand and turn to the wall?	Not asked—preceded observation	Not asked	So that the devil does not enter
*62 124 796 [273] [693] [202] [625]	22. What do they do after they drink coffee?	They drink liquor seated, resting their heart, in the entry of the house of the president	Drink liquor to await the hour they go to the cabildo	Two beers and 2 liters liquor were laid to rest. At 11:55 women came in to get liters of liquor. Put it under a kerchief and took it out to women in kitchen. Judges and regidores put on red kerchiefs. At 12 noon two judges got up and said goodbye, first to the *balnial* then the first judge went to the *nakawane* while the second judge and two regidores followed behind him. Then together the four said goodbye to the *nakawane* and to the *me?il k'op*. Firecrackers were set off to advise police that the group was setting out on their way to the town hall. Police were to meet them at the townhall and had to be advised so that they would arrive at the same time. Two past regidores came to the *me?il k'op* and said goodbye. The group set out together
	[23. Omitted.]			
*62 124 788 796 [693]	24. How do they enter the townhall?	They enter two by two. They kneel and cross themselves at the door of the cabildo	They enter two by two, kneel at the door. They rise, enter, arrive, kneel before the *tatik* table	Pair by pair they entered and touched cross of banner with their rosaries. First the president and síndico then first and second judges followed by judges from Mádronal, La Grandeza, San Vicente, and Cruz Quemada
	25. Why do they cross themselves?	Because they show respect to the holy cross		

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

*62 124 796	26. What do they do in the townhall?	They take the oath		
[778]	27. How is the townhall arranged?	The four holy crosses brought by the alfereces and the holy staffs are on the *tatik* table		On the table were 4 banners, new staffs, key of cabildo laid on orange leaves sprinkled about on table.
	28. Who is in the townhall?	There are gathered the old officials *(mamal k'a hu?(le-tik)* and the two principales *(mamal krinsipaletik)* and the four alfereces *(alperesil)*. (See Chart 7)	It is the old officials	(See Chart 8)
	29. What are the old officials doing?	They are seated conversing		
*62 124 796 64	30. How do they take the oath?	They take from the *tatik* table what they give the oath for—the four holy crosses and the four staffs.	Standing, the new officials call the name of God. They form a line before the banners	New president ordered new officials to form a circle around table. Then the martomoreys prayed holding rosary in hand
[782]	31. Who passes the staffs *(sbaratik me?tiktatik)*?	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials. They encircle hand with rosary and take their staff	Two principales handed out staffs first to president, then first judge, second judge, assistant judge, regidores and police. The second principal was very drunk and had to be directed by former president
[273]				
*62 124 796 641 875 539	32. Who gave the oath?		The secretary	The schoolteacher
	32a. What does the schoolteacher say when he gives the oath?			Gentlemen, by the will of the pueblo, the government of the state leaves us in charge of the officers before us. The president is in charge of the pueblo during the three years from this one on, 1965, –66, –67. This pueblo has the obligation of helping him in the organization of all his works. It has the obligation of respecting his command, and the authorities that are going to work with him also have the obligation of respecting him because he is the first authority. All of us who belong to the pueblo and all the societies have the obligation of respecting him just as the assistant authorities fulfill his orders because he is the primary authority. Raise the right hand, repeat after me: In the name of the government of the state with the honor that characterizes them I swear to fulfill with honor

[P.235]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

*621 124 796	44. Where do the old officials go?	To the house of the old president or to the house of the former first judge		
	45. What do they do there?	They go to say goodbye		
	46. What do their hearts say?	Their hearts are very sad		
	47. Why do they kiss all the people present?		Because they want a miracle in order that there be no illness to pass in office	
*621 124	48. Who is in the church?	The mayordomos are in the church		The mayordomos sit at the bench in back of the church
794 796	49. What are the mayordomos doing?	They are seated at the door of the church. They watch the new officials enter the church		
	50. Why are they seated in the church?	In order to know who will be the new officials to see *(ya i'il)* in the townhall		
*621 124 796	51. Where do the new officials go when they come out of the church?	The new police enter inside the kitchen (Chart 12). The president enters inside the townhall	Leave church and pass to the townhall	The police go to the kitchen attached to the townhall and the rest of the officials go into the townhall
[539] [693]	52. What does the president say to the two principales inside the cabildo?	"Where are you, *Mamal principal?*"	First judge gives *patbeyo'r'an* with the two principales. "Good day, tat. How does God see you, tat. Now you have taken your heart, has spoken your heart. Now you have been before the face of the motherfather. Where you take the holy oath inside the holy cold house, holy cold abode. You saw the procession in the plaza before the temple and inside the holy mother church for the commander lord. There is no fear, no embarrassment. That is all. Go rest your heart	[I was not present for these sessions]
	53. What does the principal reply?	"Enter, Mr. new president *(mamal 'al' presirente)* and enter, Mr. New judges *(mamal 'al' alkaletik)*"		
*621 124	54. What do they do then?	They sit a little each in his own chair	They sit down. They begin to drink liquor	
273 796 693	55. What do they do after they have rested their heart a little?	The first judge and the president order the fourth regidor to go get a liter of trago		
	56. For whom do they get the liter of the gift?	For the new officials		
	57. What do they do with the gift when the regidor arrives?	They put it in the middle *(ta yoil komun)*		

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APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
*621 124 796 539 693 273	58. What do the principales say to the first judge in the cabildo on the New Year?	They give the *spakeyo?k'an*		
	59. What does the judge say when he gives the gift to the principales?	"Give pardon, mamal *krinipal*. Let a little enter to give warmth to your body"		
	60. What do the principales say?	"Thank you, *tuwo mamal alkal, mamal presirente, mamal sintiku*"		
	61. What does the judge say?	"Pardon and let a little drink warm your body"		
	62. What does the judge say to the regidor?	"Lend me your hand, *mamal rehiral skuwbal* (second regidor). Look, pour the gift of the ancestors (*me?tiktanik*) for the *mamal krinipalenik*"		
	63. What does the fourth regidor say as he pours the gift for the principal?	"With your permission, *mamal krinipal, mamal ?alkolenik*, I look and give the gift"		
*621 124 796 693 273	64. Who drinks first on New Year in the townhall?	The two principales		
	65. Second?	President		
	66. Third?	Síndico		
	67. Fourth?	First judge		
	68. Fifth?	Second judge		
	69. Sixth?	Third judge		
	70. Seventh?	Fourth judge		
	71. Eighth?	First regidor		
	72. Ninth?	Second regidor		
	73. Tenth?	Third regidor		
	74. Eleventh?	Fourth regidor		
	75. What do they do after the first round of drinks?	They continue drinking until they get a little drunk		
	76. What happens at noon?	They close the doors of the townhall		
	77. What do the police do in the kitchen?	They enter and sit on a bench		
	78. Where do they sit?	(Chart 11)		
	79. What is the first order that he gives the first new police?	He sends the fourth police to bring a little liquor		
	80. What do they do when the fourth returns?	He orders a police of the colonia to "measure" the liquor		

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CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

*62 124 796 213 81. What do they do after the commissioner of the colonia measures the drink?	The first police of Alannantik gets up and speaks a little with the first police of Ah-k'olnantik	
82. What does he say?	He gives the *spatbe yo?t'an*	
83. What time do they finish the celebration of New Year's?	12 o'clock noon	
84. What does he say after the *spatbe yo?t'an*?	He asks if they can endure a little more	
85. What do the police think?	They ask whether they can endure a little more without getting drunk. "What happens if we get drunk? We won't know if there is an errand for the *mamal ?alkalenk* and we might not be able to help. Better to rest the heart a little. If there is an errand we can help a little and so it is. If there is no errand, let us stay till noon"	
86. What do they do then?	They finish a little more. Then after a little all go out because it is midday. Each one goes to his house to rest the heart and until tomorrow	Drinking continued until sundown

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

Appendix 2—CHANGE OF OFFICIALS IN THE HOLY HOUSE

	Question	Informant 3	Observation
794 796	1. What is the first day of the fiesta called?	*Pas Kantelero*, 'Making the candles'	
124	2. What do the mayordomos do first on Paswamal of the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	They scrape the candles	At 9 A.M. the mayordomos were gathered at the door of the church, scraping the candles. The wax was carefully gathered. It will be melted down to make more candles, but not for ceremonial purposes.
[533]	3. What else do they do in the morning of Paswamal?	Two mayordomos beat the drum and one blows the flute	Music was provided by two mayordomos beating drum and one blowing flute
	4. Where do they scrape the candles?	Inside the church	In the courtyard of the church
	5. Where do they blow the flute?	At the door of the church	On the benches near the door of the church
	6. What else is done on the morning of Paswamal?	They sweep out the church	They sweep the church
[824]	7. What else is done on the morning of Paswamal?	Nothing. Formerly they bought juniper needles to put on the floor inside the church but now they do not	
	8. Why don't they bring pine needles now?	Because now the floor of the church is well finished with pure cement	
	9. What do they do after they finish scraping the candles?	They count the money	The fiscal spent the morning sitting on the benches outside the church with the elder mayordomos watching the counting of money
	10. What day do they collect the money?	On Sunday, eight days before the fiesta of San Pedro	
	11. Who collects the money?	Two kobrarias	
	12. How much do they collect from each mayordomo?	Two pesos each	
	13. Why do they collect the money?	For the price of the candles	
	14. Who counts the money to buy the candles?	Two kobrarias with the fiscal	
794 796	15. What do they do at noon?	They ring the bells. They all begin to drink liquor *(ya?alik)*	They ring the bells. Then they go to the house of the *?ali?bal*
273	16. What do they call the first drink at midday?	One measure to make the food go down *(sko?ip we?eletik)*	
124	17. What do they call the drink after the meal?	Water for the meal *(ya?lel we?elil)*	
	18. How many liters of liquor do the mayordomos drink on Paswamal?	Two liters	

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794 796	19. Where do they drink it?	Behind the church	In the house of the *?ali?bal*
124	20. Where do the old mayordomos eat the common meal?	In the church	In the house of the *?ali?bal*
[273]	21. What do they eat?	Male turkey *(mam koz)*. Beef soup with tortillas and chilé	
[264] [262]	22. How do they prepare turkey?	With chile, *yerba buena* and salt	
[263] [252]	23. Who prepares the meal for the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	The *?ali?bal*. The wife of the *Bikital* (minor) mayordomo of San Pedro and San Pablo	
	24. What do they do after the common meal?	They go to their homes	They go home
	25. What do they call the second day of the fiesta?	Wišperes	
	26. What do the old mayordomos do first?	They make a fiesta. They beat the drums. They play the flute. They drink trago	They ring the bells three times. The people gather in the church
	27. What time do they begin the fiesta?	Early	At 7 o'clock
	28. What do they do in the church?		The padre gives a Mass for San Pedro and San Pablo
	29. Who collects for the Mass?		The old officials and the new officials and the women
[533]	30. Where do the mayordomos blow the flute and beat the drum?	At the door of the church	In front of the church
	31. Where do the new mayordomos gather first?	At the house of the kobraria Santa Lucia	At the house of the kobraria of Santa Lucia
	32. What do they do first?	They take out the mouthwash	They serve the mouthwash
[273]	33. What do they do then?	They take out a liter to drink	They serve coffee and corn gruel. Then they serve liquor
[272] [262] [273]	34. How much do the new mayordomos drink?	Two drinks each	After two rounds are served, drink is served to the mayordomos who go to the *nákawaneketik* and offer their drinks. This is done so that the new officials will not be drunk in church
	35. How many of the new mayordomos don't drink liquor?	Three	
[272]	36. What do they drink?	Cold water (soda)	
124 794 796 539	37. What does the kobraria of Santa Lucia say to the kobraria of San Pedro Martyr at his house when they begin to drink?	Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal. Thanks you are alive, his word God, at daybreak. We want to see no illness at daybreak. What we will do what we have done. We have to say what our heart says, our soil, our mud. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our Judge Sanpegro sanpablu? So it is that we	

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794 796 124 49. Who is the woman speaker? — She is the first elder sister of the mother of the mam kobraria. She has the same mother and father as the father the mam kobraria

50. Who are the women inside the house of the kobraria of Sacramento? — Two or three sisters of the kobraria

51. What do his sisters (*yermanotak*) do inside his house? — They sit on the bench on the porch

52. What do the mayordomos do after the account with the *me'ē'ukaialetik?* — They sit on the bench on the porch

53. What does the *nakawane* do? — He tells the *balnial* to take out the mouthwash

54. What do they give after the mouthwash? — First the coffee with the bean tortillas

55. What do they give after the coffee? — They give another mouthwash

56. What do the *balnialetik* do after the mouthwash? — They take out the table with the cloth

[273] 57. What do they do then? — They take out 2 or 3 liters of trago with the measure and a little cold water

58. Who orders the women inside? — *Me'ē'ukalal*

59. What do they do before they begin to drink? — The kobraria of the Virgin of Santa Lucia gives the *spathe ya'tan* He rises to ask permission before the *me'ē'ukalaletik*, all the mayordomos and all the *balnialetik*

[539] 60. What does the kobraria of the Virgin of Santa Lucia say then? — God, mother who nurses us, give permission to us. The water of his body the water of his hand, the gift will pass in your body that which is the mothers' fathers' (*me'tiktatik*). God speaks, *tat nakawanehenk* and *balnialetik*. Give us permission to hand the gift that will pass in your body from the *me'tiktatik*. God, Jesus, Mary, only one commander god is three persons. Bless what we eat and what we drink and bless in the name of god the father. God take the gift, *me'ej tatel*

61. What do they do then? — The mayordomos, *balnialetik* and *nakawanetik* measure their noses.

62. What does the *me'ē'ukalal* say? — God thank Mamal Tat

63. Then what does the kobraria of the Virgin Santa Lucia say? — He gives the benediction to the liquor

[539] 64. What is the benediction? — In God's name. God father, name of God. God son. Holy spirit. Yes, I can endure to do what they did, that which the mother, which the father

APPENDIX 2—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3	OBSERVATION
794 796 124 [539]			did with the hand which has sinned, the feet which have sinned. Yes, I am changing holy day holy year, holy saint holy oath and the name of the god the father
[213]	65. How much do the mayordomos drink?		They drink four measures. After four measures they do not finish and give the rest to *mamal nakowanchetik*
	66. Why do they do this?		Because it is said they may get drunk at the hour to go to church
	67. What time do they go to the church?	At 10 o'clock	At 11 left for church. Put on red kerchiefs, rosaries
[539]	68. What does the *nakowanar* say to the new mayordomos as they leave to go to church?		May you all get up and go to the church. May you all enter inside the church. May you take the oath inside the church before the face of the fiscal. After you take the oath you measure the nose in the face of the *tatik* Jesus Christ. After you have measured the noses, when you enter inside the door of the church the mamal new kobraria speaks the *palanbetik* to the mamal old kobraria
	69. Who is at the church?	The old mayordomos	The old mayordomos are seated at the door of the church
[533]	70. What are they doing?	They are awaiting the new mayordomos	They play the drum and the flute
	71. How do they take the *haromenar* (oath)?		They enter and kneel each pair, *tatil* and *nikgal* in front of *tatik* Jesus Christ
	72. How do they stand?		(Chart 15)
	73. How is the church arranged?		There is a large table with the candles lined up. In the middle of the table stands a little holy Jesus hung on the cross
	74. Who is inside the church?		The priest, the fiscal, the old mayordomos
	75. What does the priest do?		He gives the Mass. He blesses the new and the old mayordomos
	76. What do they do after the blessing?		The fiscal gives the candles wrapped in a napkin
	77. How many candles does he give to each mayordomo?		Nine candles
	78. What are the candles for?		To light for the saints
	79. What does he do with the candles?		Goes and puts them in the elder officeholder's house. Returns and gets his own to bring to his house
	80. Where do they go after the oath?		To the house of the kobraria of Sacramento

794	81. What do they do?		They drink
796 124	82. What time do they leave his house?		Prayer time *(oracion)*
[273]	83. Where do they go?		To their house
	84. What do they do first on *sk'ak'alel?*		Go to hear Mass
	85. Who is in the church to hear Mass?		All the new mayordomos, the women, the prayer leaders
	86. What time is the Mass?		At 7 o'clock
	87. What do they do when they come out of Mass?		Go to the house of the kobraria of Sacramento
	88. How many go?		Thirteen
	89. What do the rest do?		Three juniors *(mil'anil)* remain play drum at door of church
	90. What do they do at the house of the kobraria of Sacramento?		Count the money of the Virgin and San Pedro Martyr
[426]	91. What do they do with the money?		They want to lend it in order to get interest because they want to increase it *(ya sk'an smahanik yu'un ya'he sol ya'un sk'an solin hilel)*
	92. How much money is there for the virgin?		Two hundred twenty-eight pesos
[624]	93. Who counts it?	Fiscal with two kobraria	The town treasurer, the síndico and secretary assisted the fiscal in the accounting of funds. The principales sat on the bench to observe proceedings
	94. How much money is there for San Pedro?	Forty pesos	
[624] [537]	95. What do they do after they count the money?	Begins the *pat'at'an* with the kobraria of Sacramento	The principales recite the *pat'o'tan* with the kobraria of Sacramento
[273]	96. What do they do afterward?	They drink liquor	They drink liquor

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682 only a rise in the tensions that provoke con-
178 flict, but an undermining of the social-control
121 mechanisms for channeling them. The percep-
626 tion of these changes by the members of the
society makes for shifts in the individual cal-
culi, grossly measured in changes in the rate of
behavior. In order to understand the interre-
[128] lated problems of the sources of the increasing
tensions and the reasons homicide is chosen as
a means of resolving them, I have recon-
structed the course of social change in the
period from 1935 to 1965.

178 *Increasing Social Tensions*

556 New economic enterprises have increased
wealth differences in the community. The best
measure of this is in the increase in cattle-
holding, which is a socially approved way of
spending money. Twenty-five years ago, there
were only a half-dozen men with cattle, and
they had only one or two head each. Today,
178 one of the herders in the community has 200
233 head of cattle, and 75 percent of the households
556 have one or more each.

Cattle-herding is a "new" industry in the
sense that instead of just having a team of
oxen to help with agricultural labor, men are
233 breeding cattle for profit. Because the cattle
685 roam freely, there is much loss, and this leads
to accusations of theft. I have never heard
such accusations directed against anyone out-
side the community; crime as well as positive
moral relationships is confined within the
682 boundaries of this corporate community. Sus-
685 pected cattle thieves are killed by the cattle-
[474] owner or by a killer hired by the cooperative of
cattle-owners. Such killings account for six of
the 37 cases analyzed above (Table 1).

178 The illicit distilling of liquor has also added
274 to the town's prosperity. The liquor industry
was introduced about 15 years ago, but the
number of distillers has increased from 5 to 40
[438] in the last five years. From an enterprise
[439] formerly meeting only local market needs,
contraband liquor is now sold as far away as
the coastal area and across the border in
274 Guatemala. A cooperative of distillers has re-
474 duced the frictions that immediately followed
the introduction of liquor-distilling. The
cooperative pays the fines of any member
caught distilling, and in addition threatens to
use group action against informers, who were
formerly tempted to earn the 200 pesos offered
[578] by federal agents. But the envy aroused by the
sight of those who profit from this enterprise,

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as with the cattle industry, is a covert cause for personal attacks on other grounds.

A third enterprise, trucking, has caused a realignment of political interests in factions associated with two truck-owning cooperatives. Membership in one of the cooperatives, or patronage of one of the two trucks, arouses the enmity of members of the other cooperative. Several threats have been made on the lives of the owners and the operators, but the only damage done has been to tires.

The tensions resulting from the introduction of these new enterprises cannot be fully measured by the deaths attributed to direct economic conflict. Wealth differences resulting from the new enterprises excite envy, and with it come accusations of witchcraft. In this community, witchcraft killing does not perform the normative function of reducing wealth differentiation that Kluckhohn saw operating among the Navaho (1944), since it is the poor man who is killed as a witch, not the rich man. The slaying of the envious witch exacerbates the economic differentiation that provides the seedbed for conflict.

Another new source of tension is found in the growing demand for political leadership or even independence from the township by the *ejido* colonies formed since land reform went into effect in 1937. The inept maneuvers of two founders of the ejido colonies in hot country resulted in two homicides (cases 12 and 18 in Table 1).[4] The increasing strength of these hamlets will mean that more attempts will be made in the future to gain political equality and/or independence. Whether this will result in increasing homicides will depend on social-control agencies external to the Indian communities.

Homicide occurring as a direct result of economic and political competition represents a new strategy in the community. The decision to kill rather than to use other negative sanctions is related to the social-control mechanisms discussed below.

Changing Mechanisms of Social Control

A system of social control rests not only on the exercise of negative sanctions, but on the sense of personal security derived from confidence in the institutions of control. In Teklum, the maintenance of control was formerly centered in the guardianship against malevolent spirits held by the ancestor spirits and the curers. The "police force," made up of ten

273* aguardiente. And it was not unusual that they were unable to secure a single liter. In fact, it appears that the termination of drinking performances was in no small amount controlled by 273* the exhausting of the community supply of aguardiente. What re- 432 443 sale there was of aguardiente in the community was carried on 589 by widows who might secure as much as five to six extra liters to resell to men who wished to continue drinking after their own supplies were exhausted. As a business venture, a widow would buy for three pesos the liter which she would sell for five, gaining thus ten pesos every month or six weeks.

273* 776 439 At the fiesta of the patron saint, ladinos would bring in a supply of aguardiente to be sold. The large number of people coming from the neighboring towns made this a profitable [191] [216] venture for the three or four days of the fiesta. In order to increase the sale of the aguardiente (and other distilled beverages, as well as beer), ladino vendors set up cantina complexes in the plaza, the cantina consisting of a thatch or canvas shelter, a few tables and chairs, and principally a tocadisco--a loudspeaker system connected to a phonograph as well as a microphone, so that music and announcements could be made which 275 could be heard from blocks around. Typically in this cantina 216 191 pattern, a man from Aguacatenango would sit down with a few friends, drink a liter or two of aguardiente, and during this period, request that pieces be played on the tocadisco for which

275 216 191 he paid twenty centavos and in return for which payment his name was announced over the loud speaker as well as the name of a person to whom he might wish to "dedicate" the piece.

275 216 191 178 In 1959, there occurred a set of circumstances which permitted the Aguacatenangueros to gain control of the elements of the cantina complex, and in this year cantinas were established permanently in Aguacatenango. As the result of some difficulties in Pinola, the cantineros there were required by the town government to sell or otherwise get rid of their tocadiscos. [432] And three or four of them sold their tocadiscos to the men in Aguacatenango. These gas generator-driven units were set up in various yards in the community, the loudspeakers were mounted on tall poles as is the custom in the neighboring towns, and men came to these door yards when they were drinking to request [171] pieces be played with appropriate dedicatory remarks. The cantineros in Aguacatenango then simply filled out the rest of the cantina complex as they had seen it in the plaza.

442 275 432 439 They began to buy aguardiente by the garafón, most of it from clandestine distillers in the neighboring towns who deliver it to the buyers, and also beer and other distilled beverages, these being delivered by San Cristóbal distributors or bought and transported there by cantineros.

275 Thus the retailers of alcohol drunk by Aguacatenangueros are no longer ladinos and local widows, but local men. Some of

275 178 434 736 Some of the effects of this change can be seen in the growing wealth of cantineros, observable in changes in house construction, and a shift to the raising of small livestock (always an alternative strategy) by women who must support themselves. With regard to *273 178 drinking performances, the effect of the change in retailers seems to have been an increase in the number of drinking performances--especially for boys and young men, whose limited ceremonial responsibilities have made them relatively infrequent drinkers in the past. In turn, the increase in the number of drinking situations has required slight modification in the timing of the drinking--men seem to drink for shorter periods of time. Thus, for example, drinking on Sunday is becoming more common, but the continuation of drinking on a second day (Monday) has decreased. These matters will be spelled out in more detail in later sections.

273* [434] [562] [858] [883] <u>Age-sex distribution of drinking</u>

Aguardiente is bought by men who have control of money, and it is drunk almost exclusively by them. Women drink rarely, and it is considered inappropriate for them to do so. Children do not drink at all; boys begin to drink on festive occasions at fifteen or sixteen, and it is probably relevant that by this time they are old enough to work for wages and usually have some money 000 of their own. Old men often give up drinking except when, as of-

273* [533] marimberos drink together with their friends in the house where the instrument is kept. When the informal drinking sequence [275] takes place in a cantina, it is accompanied by music played on the phonograph of the cantinero. Each piece costs the owner twenty centavos, and before it is played the names of the donor and his drinking companions are announced over the loud speaker, which carries the sound all over the community.

The informal drinking cycle differs from the ceremonial cycle in that it may move from one setting to another. The two types of cycle differ also in the settings in which each may occur. The distribution of cycles by setting is shown in the following table:

TABLE 14

DISTRIBUTION OF DRINKING CYCLES BY SETTING

Informal drinking	Ceremonial drinking	Informal drinking and ceremonial drinking	Neither
cantinas	porch of cabildo	uncultivated fields	cultivated fields
	inside cabildo	door yards	inside church
	inside caves	house porches	inside convento
	porch of convento	inside houses	inside clinic
			inside store

000 town. However, other cooperatives have been successfully organized to
474 finance small-scale oeprations. Five record players with loudspeakers have
275 been installed in the houses of members who sell liquor. Once the initial
216 investment is made, the operating costs are low: 27 pesos for electricity, 25
454 pesos for a liquor license, 30 pesos for *hacienda* or state tax, and 10 pesos
434 for the township tax. Liquor bought at 60 pesos for an 18-liter jug is resold at 72 pesos. The total monthly cost of 92 pesos yields a net profit of about 300 pesos. The cost of the installation, 5,000 pesos, was low enough for some of the richer members of the community to finance individually, but as one of the operators told me, it was too risky—that is, too profitable.
474 The envy the neighbors would feel on seeing the profits made would
434 never result in witchcraft against all of the members, whereas an individ-
626 ual owner could expect that he himself or a member of his household
754 would become ill or die as the victim of witchcraft. These early entrepreneurs recognize the value of the cooperative in overcoming the force of envy which has effectively inhibited acquisition or display in these corpo-
[182] rate Indian communities. Instead of socializing losses, one of its functions in modern capital organizations, the cooperative in Tzo'ontahal serves to socialize gains.

474 The most enterprising action of the new cooperatives has been the pur-
493 chase of a truck, initiated by the entrepreneur, Santos. The purchase of the
452 truck was inspired by the example of the Ladino secretary, who with his wife and son had a monopoly on the transportation of pottery, people, and wheat out of the village. Furthermore, in the neighboring town of Zinacantan the Indians were successfully operating two trucks. Santos went with his brother to the director of the I.N.I. in Las Casas to ask for a co-signer on the installment purchase of a Chevrolet truck, since without a Ladino sponsor Indians could not get credit with the company. According to one informant, I.N.I. officials advised them that they would not be able to profit from this venture and that they should buy a tractor with their money. The brothers persisted and went to the Dodge company in the state capital. The company agreed to sell to the Indians without Ladino co-signers on the basis of a down payment of 10,000 pesos. The initial payment was raised with thirty Indians putting up the money. Some gave no more than 150 pesos, but as the instigators of the purchase remarked, "The more members we have, the more power it gives us."

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323 178 coming from the smaller towns to buy. The Indians still bring pottery to
442 sell retail in towns that they visit during a fiesta. One of these is the barrio
443 of Lok'ibal in the município of Villa Carranza, where people go on the third Friday of Lent to get holy water from the spring.

The Indians have not taken advantage of the truck to buy pottery wholesale and market it directly in the smaller towns, selling from the truck in the plaza as some of the wholesale fruit truckers do. Another operation which they have failed to profit from is buying the wheat harvest and selling to government warehouses, as some of the Ladino truckers do.

44 Lack of capital is the major reason for failure to exploit these opportuni-
471 ties. In marketing the contraband liquor, which is the most flourishing of
273 the new enterprises, the Indians have not yet entered into the external
443 markets except in the case of one young unmarried mother. Wholesale
434 purchases are made by Ladinos, primarily women, from other towns who resell the liquor in Comitán and on the coast. There is however, a well-de-
[675] veloped home market since all contracts are sealed with the offering of liq-
[681] uor, the "gift of the gods," all court fines are paid in liquor, and the main
[583] gift in betrothal is liquor. The cantinas with phonograph players opened
[275] by the cooperatives operate very successfully on Saturday night and during
[216] fiestas. The internal market for liquor is controlled by a syndicate of the
[548] forty-two independent liquor distillers. The price is set at 4 pesos per liter
[435] for all buyers, with the buyer providing the bottle.

Agricultural production is not geared to a market, and Indians do not
241 take advantage of fluctuations in price. Wheat yields a lower return per
442 unit of land than corn, but it is grown for two reasons: the Indians believe
443 that crop rotation of corn and wheat prevents depletion of the soil, and wheat requires less work since no cultivation is needed. Wheat is a cash crop and none of it is milled or consumed directly in town. Poor families sell their wheat "standing" to Teopisca truckers. The price given the
[435] grower is usually about 90 pesos per hundred kilograms, and it is resold at 110 or 120 pesos in Tuxtla or to the government storehouses. Wheat is sometimes brought directly to San Cristóbal millers who give 120 per hundred kilograms. Corn is primarily a subsistence crop when grown in the center. Corn grown in hot country ejido land is now sold in Teopisca and
[489] San Cristóbal. The local truck cooperative has a special permit which gives

166 462 464 [829] women and that Ladino women mistreat their servants. Working in towns is remembered, by those who have done it, as a strange mixture of carefree economic independence and innumerable small humilitations and suffering. Its lack of attractiveness is well reflected in the fact that, from a random sample of sixty-eight households, only fourteen women have worked outside their homes (see Fig. 5).

562 462 434 [464] [275] The only women who are the bread-winners or heads of their homes are forced to do so because they have no male relatives to provide for them. In this case, they have few alternatives open to them, the two most common being: 1) acting as a servant (already discussed above); or 2) selling liquor in their houses to the men of the village. This second occupation is not very well [558] thought of by the villagers, trago sellers being gossiped about as being bold women, "sexy" females who enjoy the company of drunks and men married to other women.

Amatenango

462 323 438 [241] [434] In Amatenango, the division of labor presents a very different picture. The whole village of Amatenango is a pottery factory because, in addition to the household income derived from the agricultural work of the village men, each Amatenango woman is a pottery producer.

Pottery that is made for selling is neither a choice, nor a part-time job, nor an individual specialization, but a town specialty. All women in Amatenango are expected to know how to make pots, and to make them. The women of each household

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The Indians manufacture and consume *chicha*, an alcoholic beverage fermented from sugar cane or maize. They drink larger quantities of rum prepared in Ladino-owned distilleries. *Pilicó*, a combination of lime and tobacco, is chewed frequently, especially in Oxchuc, Tenejapa, and Cancuc.

Tenejapa is the only Tzeltal town that enjoys importance as a market center. Here a market is held every Sunday.

Pottery is made for sale outside the local community in Amatenango and in Tenango. In almost all the other communities the industry is practised in a rudimentary form merely to supply local needs. Blom and LaFarge observed and reported the techniques of pottery manufacture at Sivacá;[19] Villa limits his data to mentioning the industry there. Blom and LaFarge report, on hearsay, the method of making large, egg-shaped, three-handled water jars at Tenango; Villa observed and reported this industry. The former authors report that the clay used is "a light greenish brown colour."[20] Villa says that two kinds of clay, "white earth" and "red earth," are combined to form the paste. Villa also noted the tempering with a ground sandy limestone (*hi*); and the painting with a paint made from a soft stone from the river (*huxu-tzaik*). The pots and griddles are made from one kind of clay tempered with a different sandstone called *bax*. The method of firing described for Sivacá by Blom and LaFarge from hearsay, involving the preparation of "an A-roof, forming a long tunnel,"[21] was observed and photographed by Villa in Tenango. Villa was told that vessels after firing are filled with *pozole* in water to reduce the porosity.

In Tenejapa metates are made for export, and in Oxchuc halters, lead-ropes, nets, and bags. The methods of weaving, net making and basketry, reported by Blom and LaFarge for Bachajón[22] were not reported by Villa.

The type of habitation is the same throughout the whole region, although there are small variations from village to village. The houses are rectangular in form with four-sided roofs, thatched with grass, and with sides made of poles and clay. Only the houses of Chanal form an exception. The walls of these structures are in most cases of wood. The houses of Tenango present another exception in that they are the only ones where the roofs do not terminate in a ridge, but in a point; it is usual to cover this with an inverted pot. Houses are throughout divided into two rooms, one of which serves as living room and kitchen and the other as sleeping room. In some cases the kitchen is placed in the latter section. There is a single door in front; only in certain settlements to the north, as Chilón and Yajalón, where the influence of the white man has been greater, are houses to be seen with two doors and even some with small windows. The floor is always of packed earth.

The furnishings of the living room are limited in general to beds, improvised of boards placed on the ground or on logs, and covered with mats. The hammock is little used; it is generally reserved for children. The furnishings and domestic

[19] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:342–345.
[20] *Ibid.*, 2:383.
[21] *Ibid.*, 2:344.
[22] *Ibid.*, 2:345–349.

262 they visit the regional market. Only during
235 illness or fiesta are both chickens and eggs
[437] eaten.

231 In towns like Tenejapa and Cancuc, In-
439 dians buy small pigs from the Ladinos of the center, fatten them for 8 or 10 months, then sell them to the Ladinos, who slaughter them and sell the meat to the Indians. As may be supposed, in this sort of symbiosis the greatest profit accrues to the La-
[454] dinos. However, the Indians more often keep the money from selling pigs to meet emergencies or expenses of clothing, tools, and fiestas.

262 *Food Habits*

Corn, beans, chile, and squash are the core of Indian diet, supplemented by ma-
262 nioc, sweetpotato, potato, and chayote. One
263 or more chayote trees next to the house are common; every part of the chayote is used—fruit, tender leaves, and root—usually boiled with salt. Wild herbs are eaten raw or cooked. Among the raw ones are *culix-uamal*, *xhix-uamal*, and *alauanex*, the last a wild radish which Ladinos call "the Indian's radish." Herbs that are cooked include *tzul* and *tuxac*. Some herbs are eaten both raw or cooked: *verdolaga* or *chic-xecul*, *muem* (*hierba mora*), *maj-tas*, *tzuy*, and *San Sibro Uamal*. The last is a small grass with long
[276] thin leaves which the Indians grind and add to give a better taste to the *pilico* or wild tobacco. This is called *poxil-may*, which is like saying "medicinal pilico." Ladinos use its leaves in tea sweetened with panela.

262 There are three main meals during the
264 course of the day: breakfast (*ue-el sab*), which consists of atole or pozole, beans, chile, and tortillas; lunch (*ue-el olical*) of the same foods plus a vegetable such as squash or chayote; and supper (*ue-el x-malcal*), with atole, tortillas, beans, and chile. In Tenejapa rabbit meat is frequently
177 on the table. In Amatenango, Aguacate-
262 nango, and Pinola, greater contact with Ladinos has added coffee, wheat bread, var-

[P 203 - A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

remarkable. They make combs of one piece of wood, averaging 15 centimeters long, 8 wide, by 4 millimeters thick. The teeth are cut out of one of the long sides, running back less than half-way into the body of the piece. These teeth may be as fine as two in three millimeters, or as coarse as two in five millimeters; sometimes they are graded. The back is slightly arched. On the ends a piece of wood is left uncut, usually about four millimeters wide. The shape is not unlike the small Japanese combs to be found in most of our curio stores. The best examples are made from mahogany, chosen with a nice feeling for the effect of the grain. They are not worn, but used for combing the hair. 322 412

They make violins which are small copies of the European type. The instrument and bow are known by their Spanish names, *violina* and *arcilla*. The body is about 26 centimeters in greatest length and width; the neck, *tsutsuH-te*, projects about 50 centimeters. Save for a decoration of wavy lines on the back, the violin looks like a cheap toy fiddle. The strings, *tcucuix*, are of *mico de noche* (night-walking lemur) gut, save the G-string, which is of the usual type, bought in the towns. The bow-strings are of horse-hair treated with rosin. The tone is poor, lacking resonance. 534 322

One tobacco pipe, *bum*, was observed, which was a remarkable piece of whittling (fig. 307). It was about 14 centimeters long, made of one piece of mahogany, and apparently modeled after the American corn-cobs occasionally seen among the Ladinos. The bowl was roughly rounded, with a flat bottom. The stem was round, with a step in it at the middle, in imitation of the step in the mouth-piece of an ordinary pipe. The tube had been hollowed out with a hot wire. The tin-foil cap over the cork of a *Habanero* bottle had been hammered onto the base of the bowl, and two strips of tin-foil laid around the stem, each held on with a brad. It may be mentioned that the mahogany coloured prettily from handling and smoking, and that the flavour was sweet. 276 322

FIG. 307.—Pipe.

Stools, with three legs let into a single, round piece, and rather rickety tables on the same principle, but four-legged, are made by the men, as well as the squatting-seats mentioned in describing the house. 352 322

Game furnishes an important part of the Indian's food supply. Wild boar, deer, howler monkey, *faisan*, *cojolite*, dove, and quail are hunted for food. The various large cats, alligator, lemurs, and many of the larger snakes are sought for their hides, which form a considerable article of trade. The chief weapon used in hunting is 224

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796 boring towns of Oxchuk, Larraínzar, and Chenalhó. The ceremonial calendar is given in Table 28.

TABLE 28. Ceremonial Calendar

Big fiestas		*Small fiestas*	
Date	*Fiesta*	*Date*	*Fiesta*
Mar. or Apr.	Tatik Kulibal	Jan. 20	Tatik San Karalampio
Apr. 29	Tatik Martil	May 6	Tatik San Migel
July 25	Tatik Santiagú	May 15	Tatik San Isigre
Aug. 29	Tatik San Pransiskú	May 26	Tatik Spiritu Santú
Nov. 29	Santu?	June 11	Tatik San Antonió
Dec. 13	Me?tik Santa Lucía	June 29	San Pegro-San Pablú
		July 15	Tatik Korasón
		July 20	Tatik San Husan
		Oct. 2	Me?tik Rosario
		Nov. 12	Me?tik Guadalupe
		Dec. 12	Tatik Santo Tomás
		Dec. 25	Me?tik Paskú, Tatik Ninyo

[533] [788] [794] [273] In every fiesta drums and flutes are played, liquor is drunk, candles burned, and church bells rung. During a big fiesta, which continues for three days rather than for a single day, these additional activities are added: contributions of 5 pesos per household are collected, the church is adorned with flowers and greens, mass is held (this may occur in minor fiestas as well if the priest happens to be present), a common meal is prepared for the mayordomos, and the people celebrate with firecrackers, saints' processions, dancing, house fiestas in the homes of the alfereces when they were still being installed, and a fiesta in the houses of the kobraria with a bull slaughtered for the meal.

[273] [296] [794] During fiestas, time is measured in liters of liquor consumed and in cigarettes. The liquor, or "gift of the gods," is the basic element of all fiestas and assures the participants that the celebration will be successful. Safeguards were built into the management of the fiesta in the role of *alisiles*, who used to act as attendants to the alfereces and who watched to see that the alfereces and the guitarists did not get so drunk that they could not perform.

796 273 539 The following story about the origin of liquor illustrates its great importance to the fiesta.

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their eyes, the posture of dance in which they clasped their hands at their stomach-band—all of these manifested the shame that they were overcoming. Whether they really felt the shame or not was irrelevant since they were being judged in terms of their behavior. The wives circled around with a two-step, their eyes downcast and their hands clasped over their stomach-bands, while their husbands stepped up and down in place in a ring around them, shaking the gourd rattle and joking. 794 796 535 562

When the dancing was terminated, a joking session was initiated by the nakawane. The signal for this was the lighting of the first round of cigarettes. Smoking, like drinking, was required of everyone and was rarely indulged in privately. The women sometimes put aside the cigarettes, but they had to accept them. At midnight a meal of bean tortillas and coffee was served. 794 796 [522] [276] [562] [262]

The fourth day (Šlok' Krus). *The four regidores arrived early in the morning to raise the alférez and take him to the cabildo to receive the oath. In this function the regidores were referred to as* personaetik *or "persons." The Spanish term* persona *signifies the exterior appearance by which men of merit were distinguished, and in its Latin derivation persona is the mask by which role is indicated. I think it is in the sense of assuming a new identity that the Indians incorporated the term as a reference for specific roles assumed by the regidores at this time. The alcaldes, or judges, were on this day referred to as* koronaetik, *or colonels. This reference term evoked the military ranking system, as did also the term alférez or captain, and established the relative ranking of the two sets of officials in the cabildo on the day of receiving the banners. The alfereces were given titles to indicate the order of their entry into office. The seating order of the four in the cabildo followed the succession pattern, with the first to take office sitting nearest to the door.*

The new alférez, with two of his four escorts on either side, sat on the visitor's bench along with the higher officials, themselves once alfereces. The first regidor, or persona, addressed the first judge with the pat?o?tan. The fourth regidor distributed a liter of trago to the assembled officials, first to the judges, then the president and síndico, the alfereces, the person-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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794 during the fiesta of Santiago and Easter Week. These are described briefly
796 below.

Fiesta of Santiago. *On the third day of the fiesta the new alférez went to "raise" his three companions. First he went to the house of the alférez who had recently served. There he greeted the nakawanehetik with the pat?o?tan, drank a measure of liquor, and went with the third alférez to the house of the second alférez. The same greeting was exchanged with the nakawanehetik, and the two drank another measure of liquor. They went to the house of the first past alférez, and there they exchanged a greeting with the nakawanehetik in which they comment on the "flowery and flavorful" fiesta for "our old saint and commander, the great angel man Señor Santiago." From there they mounted their horses and began the races.*

[296] [273] *Each of the horseback riders was given a quarter-liter of liquor and a cigarette. Three liters of liquor were distributed at the holy cross (site of a cross no longer standing). The four alfereces stood at the cross, removed their hats, which they stacked one on top of the other, and put them nearby. The four took turns kissing and bowing before the others. They said, "Holy good afternoon," and gave two holy thanks for the gift (the liquor), embracing each other. After the four alfereces greeted each other and the three alisiles, the leader of the races gave the pat?o?tan with the past alférez:*

794 796 539

And good day. What do you see, Mam compadre? You are alive, word of God this holy afternoon. You have not heard of any sickness behind our heart this holy afternoon, Mam compadre? There is no fear, shame, Mam compadre. Give another pardon Lord with Virgin. Give me holy pardon, Mam compadre. See us gathered before you seated our bodies, our clay, our mud, Mam compadre. What can we do, what can we make here where we have arrived again? Speak, raise godchild, afternoon of holy fiesta godchild afternoon of holy child's fiesta of him our saint, our commander. What can we do, what can we make when we have found this holy hour, this holy day of our lord Santiago Calixtro, for our patron god? Where now is the water of her legs, the water of her hand [liquor], *our saint, virgin*

mother? There is nothing but holy suffering, holy penitence here 794
before our sinful clay, our sinful mud. Again we gather here where 796
others have gathered before in the company of our ancestors, the holy 539
alisiles with the liquor bearers. It is your burden the four of you, the holy work, your holy office for his godchildren again give his godchild at the gate of the door of the church our saint, our keeper, the great father Señor Santiago Calixtro for our patron God, again we gather before this doorway our bodies, our clay, our mud with the holy alisil with our costume. Only give a little liquor, the gift of [273]
your mothers, your fathers, mam compadre.

The two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik received one liter of liquor, and the 794
same quota was given to the two alfereces of Alannantik. They drank 796
some and poured off most of the measured shots into the bottles carried by [273]
the liquor bearers; then they smoked a cigarette. When they finished this, they raised their banners and entered the plaza on horseback. The bell of the church struck as they entered. About four o'clock, two columns of 794
horsemen formed, one behind the two alfereces of Alannantik and one be- 796
hind the two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik. One year I observed thirty-eight 526
horsemen from Ahk'olnantik and fifteen from Alannantik. The imbalance [621]
in representation for the two sides of the dual division grew sharper each year as the population increased in Ahk'olnantik. Before starting the race, the four alfereces crossed themselves, facing first the church, then the cabildo. As the race began, the mayordomos played the drums and flute in [533]
the church yard and the nakawanehetik sat in front of the church wall.

When the racers made four passes across the plaza, they came to drink another trago and smoke two cigarettes in front of the church. At the end [273]
of the race, they again drank and smoked the same measured quantities as [276]
the pat?o?tan was recited by the leader of the races.

On Sk'ak'halel Sk'in, *the same procedures occurred as on the previous day. The final act of the fiesta took place when, after the races, the alfereces dismounted and the nakawanehetik went to them and drank one liter* [273]
of liquor before the leader of the races. The two most recently appointed alfereces entered the cabildo, where the banners were laid out on the table among orange and lemon leaves. The president, síndico, two judges, and

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796 is served when the expectations are that the individual will feel embarrass-
154 ment. These occasions formerly occurred when the company arrived at the house of the alférez before the dance and when the alfereces mounted
[273] their horses. Cigarettes signal relaxation, and when the first round of cig-
[276] arettes is served in the house setting, the company abandons formal re-
[522] straints and, led by the chief nakawane, indulges in joking.

541 *Carnival and Easter Week*. Carnival has changed over time more
522 than any other religious ceremonial in the town. Until five years ago, a
177 group of masked jokers visited the houses of the captains of the fiestas.
178 They wore Ladino clothing, including vest, pants, and shoes, and they hid their faces behind masks or painted them black. They danced a "Ladino dance" (paired couples), first in the church and then in the houses of the alfereces. While dancing, they made sexual allusions about unmarried women. Their joking emphasized their strangeness to the villagers; for example one of the jokers might say, "You do not know what type of person I am. An airplane made me." They carried small stuffed animals which they made "cry." Pretending they were the husband of a woman, they would go to her and tell her to take care of her "baby." The woman speaker would sometimes respond to their jokes, saying, "Who are you? You are not good looking, you little black boy. You must be from Germany or from the other side of the water. Maybe you are from Patwitz or Yetawitz, and your father is kurik." People say the custom was discontinued because it was too expensive to give liquor to the jokers.

541 Another carnival custom which has been lost is the "common meal" of
262 squash on the five Fridays of Lent. Formerly the wives of the four kobra-
794 ria brought squash from hot country, cooked it, and brought two gourds
177 each to the church. The assistant divided it, giving two pieces to each of
178 the mayordomos. This custom was stopped during the typhoid epidemic
[131] of 1928 and has never been resumed because, it is said, the people did not want to lose work time. These changes may be a response to the priest's attempts to modify some of the excesses of carnival. Whether or not this is so, the people prefer to attribute change to their own decisions.

796 The events of Easter Week as recounted by an informant are outlined below.

554 these role-bearers have other functions to perform, but the term specifies the most significant of these. Other people may unofficially perform these acts but only the officially appointed person has the other prerequisites for and duties of the role.

3. Recruitment into roles depends on age and sex qualifications. Validation of the role emphasizes, in addition to these ascribed characteristics, innate capacity rather than acquired ability. For example, the curers who are respected are assumed to have been born with an animal spirit, while those who are believed to have acquired it are suspected of being witches. Similarly, high civil officials are expected to be innately clever, not just trained for office.

828 4. Evaluation of performance emphasizes the state of the heart and qualifies judgments of the person according to characteristics of the mind and of the soul. The heart governs emotions such as contentment or inner turmoil and determines the moral relations a person has with others. The mind enables a man to deal effectively in his instrumental activities so that he can speak and work well. Possession of a [174] second soul means that one is clever and capable, but it is the third soul which gives power over the life and death of others. The exchange of [154] evaluations about others is a crucial area of concern in the tense atmosphere dominated by fear of whichcraft. In the belief that their very sur- [156] vival depends upon knowledge of the intent of others before it is expressed in witchcraft, the people constantly consult with relatives, compadres, neighbors, or the curers, in order to anticipate changes in their relations with others.

681 5. Sanctions against behavior that fails to meet role expectations depend on the seriousness of the crime rather than on the attitude of the criminal. This means that compensation relieves the wrong-doer of any guilt burden. Most compensation, even for homicide, can be translated into cash payment.

156 6. Ceremonial behavior in everyday interaction as well as in [554] ritual serves to limit the personal involvement in the encounter and to emphasize the role category. This is particularly emphasized in the [273] initial stage of the encounter. Liquor and cigarettes introduce a more [296] informal behavior in which the etiquette of reserve can be relaxed.

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Unorthodox behavior after drinking is less subject to censure than that indulged in without this stimulus. 156 273 276

The social changes affecting the community have not changed the categories of roles. What has happened is a shift in the power and authority associated with civil roles: the president's role for example has assumed importance over that of the principales. A full account of the changes in the role system requires a discussion of the settings in which they are enacted, the timing which gives them coherence, and the beliefs which give them meaning. Summary statements on role coordination will be given in the final chapter. 621 554 178

755 Sometimes a colicky baby
753 may become the focus of a curing ceremony designed to "cure" the conflict
593 between husband and wife. In one case, the parents of a healthy young
182 wife separated from her husband staged a curing ceremony to dramatize
578 her marital plight to the in-laws.

178 The breakdown of the curing hierarchy and the recruitment procedures
756 which were maintained by the elder leaders (see Chapter 10) has led to a
608 reevaluation of the role of the curers in the community. They have lost
754 their position as me'iltatil representing the ancestors who guard over the
[627] community. Curers are increasingly being accused of sorcery, and over ten of them have been killed in the past decade as witches (Nash, J. 1967). Paradoxically, it is the belief in their evil power which leads to their persisting role in the society. Clients feel that the more evil the curer is, the more able he is to combat evil. In a community dominated by belief in witchcraft, they are both feared and valued for their ability to control it. From a position as arbiters of morality, they have become the chief targets as deviants from the moral code. Despite the loss of confidence in curers as guardians, they are still called upon to fight the evil of witchcraft, and nearly every day a ritual is performed. The regimen of the curing ritual has not been upset by the undermining of the curers' position. Tied to a
[755] diagnostic system emphasizing the state of the patient's social relations, the
[278] same procedures are carried out even when modern medicines are used.

753 In curing practices, the Indian sees himself as the key figure in the
156 drama of his own self-victimization. His illnesses come from within his own world, usually from within his family or close neighborhood. They are a mark of guilt for having excited the envy or hatred of associates. While the Indian is often portrayed in the role of passive victim to outside domination, in his own self-projection he sees himself dominated by powers within the community. Greater participation and equality in the wider society may in the future release him from these fear-provoking figures in his own environment.

159 622 177 178 partners. He sold a few shares of a truck he and his family owned to Indians, but he retained the controlling interest. His wife was reputed to be [454] a witch, and was an active curer, combining old and new treatments of ill- [754] nesses. [756]

His position was challenged in the 1960s by the Ladino schoolmaster, 159 who had been remarkably unsuccessful from his arrival in 1953 until that 875 time in gaining personal power and influence. His intercession in a local 177 homicide case involving a father's murder of his son outraged the towns- 178 people, some of whom threatened to kill him. His attempts to have water 563 578 installed aroused the curers against him since they were accustomed to [312] bathing their patients at the source of the spring from which they were de- [756] barred when the plumbing was installed. His demands that children [871] within the legal age limit should not only attend school but should be pro- [582] hibited from marrying until they had completed their schooling caused the anger of parents who wanted to give their daughters in an early and profitable marriage.

159 Gradually, however, the schoolmaster extended his own base of support. 875 He minimized his attack on local customs, adhering only to those laws af- 177 fecting the school population, over which he had a great deal of control. 178 Some of his support came from the orthodox Catholic members of the 563 community; he extended his control through compadre relationships with 557 over eighty members of the community. He showed movies which he ac- [608] quired from the United Nations and other educational film sources and [546] gave away medicines acquired from the health officials in the state capitol [278] who were his friends. From one of these sources of philanthropy he ac- [431] quired wool shawls which he gave to every woman in the town.

The professor demanded no return from the townspeople other than their respect and admiration; he was a person who enjoyed commanding others and needed an arena in which to project his own personality. In his early years in the town, he had to satisfy this need by capturing stray tourists and plying them with soda pop or coffee. His first opportunity to gain [474] leadership in the local sphere came in 1963, when he supported the new truck-owning cooperative. He used the influence of contacts in the state capital, including compadres, friends, and relatives of his wife's family. He promoted the cooperative's attempt to gain the presidency. One of the first

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Conflict among Religious Functionaries

578 794

Conflict in the religious domain stems from the opposition of the traditional religious hierarchy and more recently that of the young leadership in the civil authority to the increasing power of the priest. In this conflict the fiscal is a middleman who often gets knocked by both sides.

793

The priest. The priest visits thirty other Indian communities of the department of San Cristóbal Las Casas in addition to Tzoʔontahal. In the fifteen years he has been working regularly in this town, he has gained increasing authority over the cofrades. He is assisted by two lay sisters who maintain the church and lead the evening prayers in his absence. He admits that, without them, his own work in the town would be more difficult because of the sexual jealousy of the townsmen. His relationship to the group of about forty *resadoras,* or female prayer-makers, who attend the evening prayers regularly and are the most vocal respondents in the mass, would be suspect without the presence of the lay sisters. [794]

The priest tries to play the role of parish leader as well as spiritual leader. When medicine is available from missionary sources, he gives it to the sick. In his sermons, he advises people to use injections, which he makes available, against contagious diseases. He attempts to counsel the people, advising them not to kill, to steal, or to have illegal sexual affairs. In his role as pastor, the priest is influenced by missionary efforts of American Catholic organizations which have sent supplies to the area. [797] [278] [751] [797]

In recent years, the priest has challenged the authority of the head cofrade in activities occurring within and at the door of the church. The following incident, recounted by the son of the elder cofrade, marked a shift in control in these domains: 578 793 794 273

In 1961 the elder cofrade of Sacramento was drinking with the other mayordomos at the door of the church. The priest came out and demanded that they stop because this was the house of God. The elder replied that it was the custom of the pueblo, and he and the other men refused to leave. The priest went back into the church and returned with a gun in his hand. The mayordomos seized wood which they had gathered

621 593 581 794 Familial role requirements must be fulfilled in order for public roles to be undertaken. A man must be married in order to enter into even the lowest posts in the civil and religious hierarchies.

794 556 434 554 Only in the case of the alfereces has wealth ever been a criterion for recruitment. These four officials had to be able to spend 3,000 pesos during their year in office. The heavy expenditures failed to give prestige to the official, and the display of wealth excited envy rather than respect. The result was that people called upon to accept the post had to be imprisoned before they would accept.

554 756 Recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on innate qualities; special skills and knowledge are attributes acquired in office or other role positions rather than requirements for undertaking roles. Curers are recruited because they are recognized as having an animal spirit; they learn whatever skills are required after they have been initiated into the profession. The curers' special position in the society rests more on esoteric powers than on esoteric knowledge. Everyone in the community [218] knows the herbs and medicines which are prescribed, and most men can give as comprehensive a taxonomy of illnesses as any practicing curer.

868 241 [857] [883] Economic roles, though largely undifferentiated for each sex, are consciously learned and transmitted. Boys accompany their fathers or elder brothers to the field at about the age of eight and continue working with them until they reach independence. Observation of behavior alone would seem to indicate an unconscious absorption of the role of agricultural worker, but informants recount episodes in which training in field work was explicitly transmitted by their fathers or brothers, and formal approval of their ability to do the tasks announced to their mothers. Parents express fear that school attendance not only interferes with working in the milpa, [871] but that it will cause the child to forget what he has learned in the field. Regardless of what other tasks a man performs, he thinks of himself as a farmer.

868 323 Becoming a potter requires an even more explicit training procedure. The fine linguistic segmentation of each act and movement in the schedule of pottery-making is a clue to the explicit transmission of tasks by the

Ladino butchers in the neighboring town. The cows are not milked either 231
for local consumption or sale. Fertilizers are for the most part wasted since [434]
the cattle roam freely in the communal pasture lands except in the case of [237]
a few corrals owned by families. Hides are cured rather crudely and are [281]
used for saddle packs or protective aprons by the men, but none are sold.

The cooperatives. The notion of a cooperative to mobilize capital 474
had been introduced by the I.N.I. in 1957 with the inauguration of a store 444
owned by over one hundred members of the community. In the first years [647]
of its existence, the cooperative had some difficulties, primarily in convinc- [177]
ing the Indians that when the returns on shares were lower in any year from prior levels, it did not indicate that the agents were stealing the money.

The cooperative store was bought by the Indians of the town from the I.N.I. in 1964 after the members had some trouble receiving returns on their shares. There are now one hundred and twenty-two members. The [454]
profits of 1965 were reinvested in the purchase of the corn-grinding mill. Current profits at the store are lent at 5 percent per month interest. The [434]
store grosses 80 to 100 pesos in sales daily, and the mill grossess 100 pesos. The wages paid to the storekeeper are 300 pesos and to the miller 250 per [465]
month.

Now that the cooperative is independent of the government, one of the [563]
stated policies is not to sell a single share to a Ladino or member of another community. "We do not want to give gifts to the Ladinos," the secretary of the cooperative told me. He added, "There was a Ladino in Teopisca who wanted to join with 5,000 pesos, but we wouldn't let him in. If you let them in, they would come to dominate the pueblo." The coopera- [434]
tive store does not share profits with the consumers but gives dividends. [454]
The 11,380-peso assets in the year 1965 were reinvested in stock and in the purchase of corn at harvest which was then sold at one and a half or two times the sale price.

The Indians developed their first independent cooperative in the owner- 474
ship of a *marimba*, a musical instrument like a xylophone, operated by 534
eight men of the community. This enterprise failed because the players never developed sufficient skill to be commissioned to play outside of town.

412 (*eché*), hoe (*asron*), machete (*machit*), coa (*luk*), and digging stick (*avutel*). In a few towns (Amatenango), where lands are flat, the plow is made of wood and pulled by oxen but only for wheat farming. During corn planting, the seed is carried by the planter in a *morral* hung from the shoulder, in a gourd with a large spout, or in containers made of armadillo shells. The harvested crops are placed in deep baskets, made of reed-grass, or in big pita (*chojak*) net bags. The ear of corn is cleared of its husk by a sharp bone or a small deer horn.

243 [407] [415] [824] [237] [412] [237]

322 412 The axe, machete, and knife are used in wood working, which is very rudimentary, though handsaw and hammer have a place. With these tools the Indians make doors, tables, seats, small benches, shelves. Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:351) add that the Tzeltal near Ocosingo also make violins of a shape similar to the European type, but they have no resonance and poor tone. They also manufacture pipes and combs roughly finished. No village of this group has specialists in carpentry to compare with the Chamulas (Tzotzil-speaking), who supply furniture at low cost to San Cristobal de las Casas and other places of the area.

[534] [463]

324 412 Stone carving requires a pickaxe with one end very sharp, the other very flat to serve as a hammer, and a short wooden handle. This is the tool used in Tenejapa for making metates. These metates have three legs, but Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:338) mention metates without legs (Ocosingo municipio), which are made of volcanic stone found along the San Martin River. According to the Tzeltal of Oxchuc, the name of the metate is *chá*, its handle *kab-chá*.

412 An iron bar to break the ground, an axe, and a machete are the tools for building huts, chickencoops, sweat houses, and other small structures.

283 413 Another tool, used in the making of pita rope, is *karet*, which probably comes from the Spanish *carreta*. It consists of a wooden disc fixed to a tree trunk that is nailed to

[P-206-A]

283 the ground. This disc has two hooks to
413 which the fiber is knotted; when the disc is turned by a crank, it braids the fibers into rope. A thick board, smoothed by a metal knife (manufactured by the Indians from iron pieces bought in the city), is used to scrape the pita and remove the fiber.

407 The most complex machine that the Tzel-
[177] tal own and build is the wooden cane press, which was imported by the Spaniards to grind sugarcane (fig. 6). This machine is operated by two men, who move the rollers by a handle (*kabal-té*) at each end of the
[415] machine. The juice pressed out by the rollers drops into fluted containers made of pieces of banana tree, and finally into a pot. This
273 juice is used in the preparation of an alcoholic beverage, *chicha* (*chi-ja*, 'sweet water'), and for panela. Chicha is prepared by
[415] fermenting this juice by bran, corn, or wheat, in a special container (*canoja*) made from a fluted tree trunk. The bran or other fermenting agent is *smé-chi-já* ('mother of
[184] the chicha'). Some communities (Tenejapa, Cancuc, Oxchuc) have greater preference for this beverage than other Tzeltal groups.

224 A gun has become very common in hunt-
411 ing. Sometimes (Oxchuc and Tenejapa) rabbits are taken by striking them with a
[412] coa, after cornering them with the aid of dogs. Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:352) state that the Tzeltal of the lowlands usually hunt wild boar with long wooden spears with fire-hardened or metal points. Traps protect the milpa as well as snaring game.

41 Cooking utensils are mainly indigenous. The usual set consists of clay containers of varying size and shape, jícaras, baskets, wooden spoons, a comal, a metate, hooks, and wooden tripods for hanging items over
177 the fire. In the last few years metal pots,
404 dishes, frying pans, boiling pans, and espe-
415 cially handy *nixtamal* mills (which are gradually displacing the grinding stone)
177 have been introduced. Other items that
207 come from the city are flashlights, small
405 kerosene lamps, watches, scissors, and (in-
412 frequently) battery radios.
416
[P 206-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Handcrafts

323 Among the few handcrafts practiced in
[462] the Tzeltal areas, ceramics, produced mainly
by women, is the most widespread. Tenango
[184] and Amatenango del Valle are the only
communities which have made a specialty
of this craft. Tenango exports its products
[439] through the northern zone. Amatenango
through the southern zone, including neigh-
323 boring Guatemalan villages. Both places use
/84 a similar ceramic technique but different
shape and ornamentation. Referring to
Amatenango del Valle, Blom and LaFarge
(1926–27, 2:396) state:

> The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one shape, a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, however, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep, reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of boards, two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman in charge turns them
> [438] until they are done. These pots are carried by
> [439] the men as far as San Cristobal, where they
> are redistributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala.

283 Another widespread craft is spinning and
286 weaving of fabrics for clothing. No village
in the Tzeltal area trades these products
[438] because production barely meets their fam-
ily needs. The backstrap loom of pre-
Hispanic origin is the chief tool.

[184] Pita articles—ropes, bags, and nets to
gather the harvest or carry loads—are
mainly produced in Oxchuc and Cancuc.
322 In Cancuc wooden combs are also manu-
184 factured.

342 *Houses and Furniture*

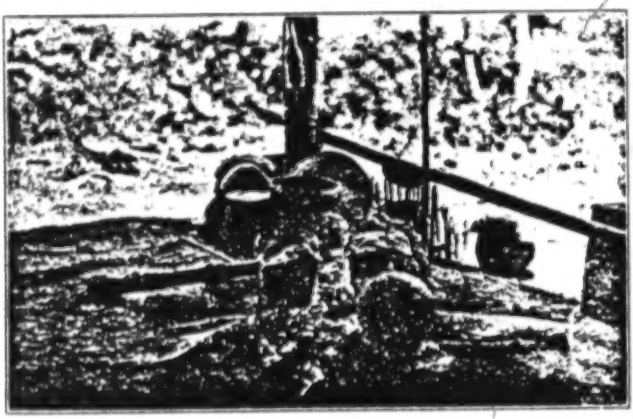
Houses, from 3 to 5 m. on a side, are
predominantly square with thatched roofs.
The walls are wattle-and-daub on plain
tree trunks tied with vines. Floors are of
[354] hardened earth. The houses only have one
door and no windows, except in some vil-

[P. 207-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

necks and round bottoms. Two were full of corn and lime for 415
tortillas, just off the fire. A big Tenango jar, *k'ip*, of the kind to be described at that place, was used for water.

A pottery dish, about 7 centimeters across, *tsets*, is commonly [515]
offered to guests to wash their hands. It is placed on a pottery stand [574
of an hour-glass shape, about 15 centimeters high, *awaliko* (see fig. 299). The ordinary plates and general vessels are flat gourd dishes, *qai'*, about 20 centimeters across. Gourds as well were used for a dipper, *tuts*, and a water-jar, *tsuz*. Two nets hung from the rack. 353
There were three small baskets, *tutumotc*, and four big ones, *mukulmotc*. Hanging on the wall were a pair of the basket-work sandals mentioned before, and selected ears of corn for seed. The wife's 283
textile outfit, more fully described later, consisted of a spindle, *pětět*, 286



354

FIG. 291—Bachajon Fireplace.

with clay whorl, spun in a gourd bowl, *tsima*, cotton, *t'umin*, hang- 283
ing in leaves, and the loom itself, *holčl*. A sling, made of a forked 286
stick and rubber band with a leather piece to take the clay pellet, 411
finmutc, belonged to the small boy. Bananas were drying on the rack. With them were laid, or hanging in packages of leaves, bees- 353
wax, *tcavek*, blocks, 20 x 20 x 2 centimeters, for trade purposes, 237
used for making candles, a lump of hard red clay, *baq lum* ("bitter [251]
earth"), for washing the hair, and sometimes also eaten, a package of brown loaf sugar, salt, *atsam*, traded down from the Zotzil country, several packages of pimiento pepper, and serpent fat, *junto tcan*, 353
for rubbing on the chest to cure coughs. Under the table was a basket of coarse, blackish-gray clay for making pottery, *tcavek lum* [323]
("beeswax earth"). Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

286 126 123 Our Indian hostess at the Encanto house was commissioned to make us a sash: after observing and photographing the process (fig. 300), we bought the loom with the unfinished piece on it. At Sivacá the army of guides produced a woman who was weaving cloth, and another who was just preparing the thread for the loom (fig. 301). The former was very bored and matter-of-fact about the whole pro-

323

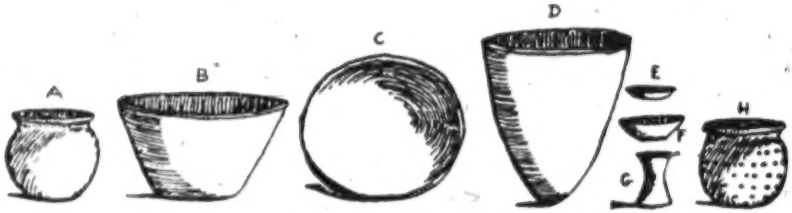


FIG. 299—Sivocá, Chis. Pottery Forms.

A. Ocom. B. Pok'et. C. Tsameta. D. Hor'mo. E. Hutstahibe. F. Taeta. G. Awaliko. H. Teistcinalx.

286 126 123 ceeding, but the latter, a younger one, was at first frightened. At the first sight of me, she put away all her work. As she spoke no Spanish, I fell back upon a corps of seven or eight interpreters, who all spoke together while I looked as harmless as possible. Then she thought that the Mayor of Ocosingo, or the President of Mexico, or some one had sent for her, and packed her things to travel. At last she understood, and then balked. The men explained to me, with some amusement, that she was ashamed—"*dice que tiene verguenza*".— but finally she consented to pose. The result was a picture worth the while; she herself was a good type of young Indian woman, on her back was slung a pretty though somewhat grimy baby, while an underfed puppy and very small chicken completed the family group. The picture also shows a good example of the squatting-seat mentioned when listing the contents of the Encanto house (see fig. 301).

[286] [291] [142] [302] [516] ←

FIG. 300—El Encanto, Chis. Woman Weaving.

283 The spindle, *pĕtĕt*, is a stick 35 centimeters long, at the foot of which is a clay whorl, for which no name was given. It is spun with the weighted end resting in a gourd bowl, the upper end held against

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

the thigh. The spinning is done with the left hand, the right holding and drawing out the thread, *tsahalna'* (fig. 302-d). 283

The thread is then arranged for the warp on a form called *kumen* (fig. 302-c). This is a pole 1.40 meters long, notched at intervals on one side, and with a groove in one end joining two unnotched sides. In one of the notches, according to the length of thread desired, is placed a cross stick, *tumin-te,* (equals *kumen-te?*), 45 centimeters long. The thread is laid from one end of this cross stick, through the groove, around to the other end of the cross stick, and so, back and forth, until the required number of woof-strands are prepared. The loops around one half of the cross stick are then transferred to the head-stick of the loom, those around the other to the foot-stick, and the woof is ready. At the head end, the loops are braided for the selvage. 286 342 284 142 516 854 302 291 231

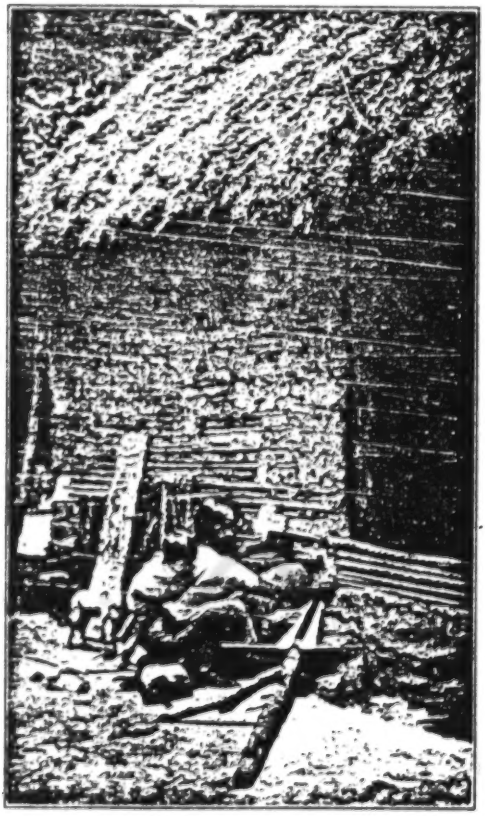


FIG. 301—Sivacá, Chis. Woman Winding Thread.

The loom, *holël,** has no rigid frame. The woof is stretched over the head and foot-sticks, *wolol-te.* The head-stick is fastened to a beam in the house or to a branch, usually more than a meter above the ground. Before this the weaver sits, with the foot-stick strapped to her by a broad leather strap, *ku'epat,* thus holding the set-up taut (fig. 303). At a little distance below the head-stick, the woof-strands are crossed, those underneath being carried on top, and held in place

*holël is one of a large class of words ending in -al, -el, or -il, which are at once verbal nouns and infinitives; e. g. tal-el, to come, or the act of coming, corresponding to the Latin venire and veniendo. hol-el primarily means to weave, here it is also applied to the loom. 193

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

286 by a stick called *wolol-te* at El Encanto, and *ibal-te* at Sivacá. The former name was probably obtained through faulty questioning, as it is also applied to the head and foot-sticks. *Wolol-* may be derived from *lol-*, in which case the word would simply mean "stick for weaving" (*-te*, "stick, tree, wood"), and would be applicable to any part of the loom. Below these two is a heddle, *yolala*, attached by

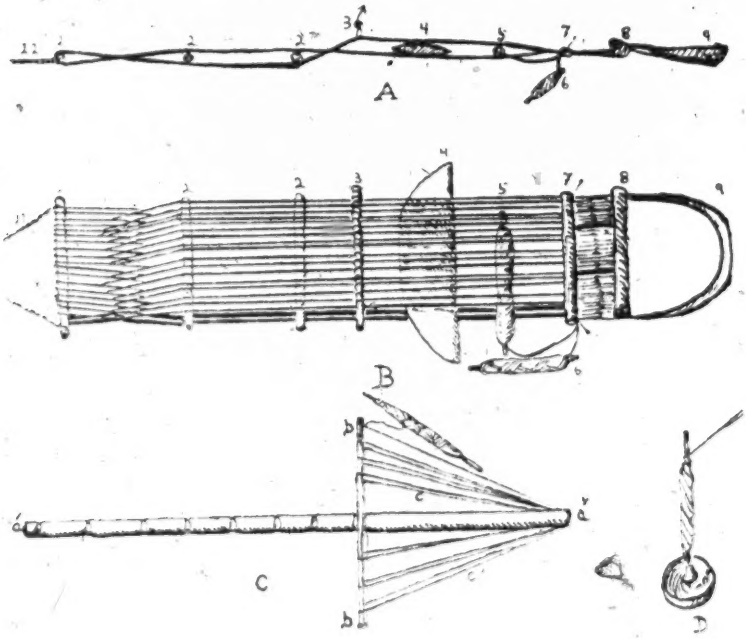


Fig. 203—Weaving Implements.

A. Side view of loom.
1. Wolol-te.
2. Ibal-te.
3. Heddle, yolala
4. Batten, halawil-te.
5. Shuttle, tiomal.
6. Shuttle, tiomal.
7. Wolol-te.
8. Wolol-te.
9. Ku'epat.
B. Top view of loom.
C. Kumen.
a. Notched end.
b. Tumen-te.
c. Warp strands.
D. Spindle.

cotton loops to the lower set of warp-strings. Below this is sometimes set another separating stick, *tsutuhil*. The pounding batten, *halawil-te*, is inserted at this point. At Sivacá a wooden comb *ixlalh* was also used. As the woven part becomes long, it is rolled up around the foot-stick, thus keeping the work easily within the weaver's reach. That part which is woven but not rolled up is held

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

dies, the owner announces on the loudspeaker of the local bars that he will sell meat at 5 pesos a portion. He preserves the hide to make saddle packs and tumplines. But the loss is great because he will not be able to buy a new bull with what he earns. If the bull lives, he will be better in three weeks and can carry loads. It is a very dangerous operation since the scrotum of a bull is very large. It is easier with a horse. 232

Surrounding the event with a ceremonial complex minimizes the development of commercialized relations between the caponizer and the owner. Most men who acquire several head of cattle or horses eventually learn to do the task themselves.

Handicrafts performed by men include rope-making from the tails of horses or from plant fibers, and weaving net bags. Most of the men who are assigned to the civil hierarchy spend their spare time in the cabildo making these items. 462 283 282

Carpentry is a skill now being practiced by two Indians of the town who "just learned by watching." They are called upon to help people in constructing the house frame, for which they receive 50 pesos in wages. A Ladino living on the margin of the town is a full-time specialist with his own shop. In addition to supervising house construction, he makes furniture and caskets to order. 322 [465]

New Economic Enterprises

In the operation of the new enterprises, which include cattle raising, cooperative ownership of a store, bars, and trucks, and liquor distilling, several patterns of organization have emerged. Some of these are based on preexisting social groupings, while others represent innovations. The social resources of management, credit operations, and the development of new skills within these local enterprises are of significance in preparing Indians for new occupations in the wider society. 43 44

Cattle raising. The most traditional organization is found in the case of cattle raising. Cattle have been in the town at least as far back as the 1915 revolutionary period when informants indicate that most of the 231 233

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

the thigh. The spinning is done with the left hand, the right holding and drawing out the thread, *tsahalna'* (fig. 302-d). 283

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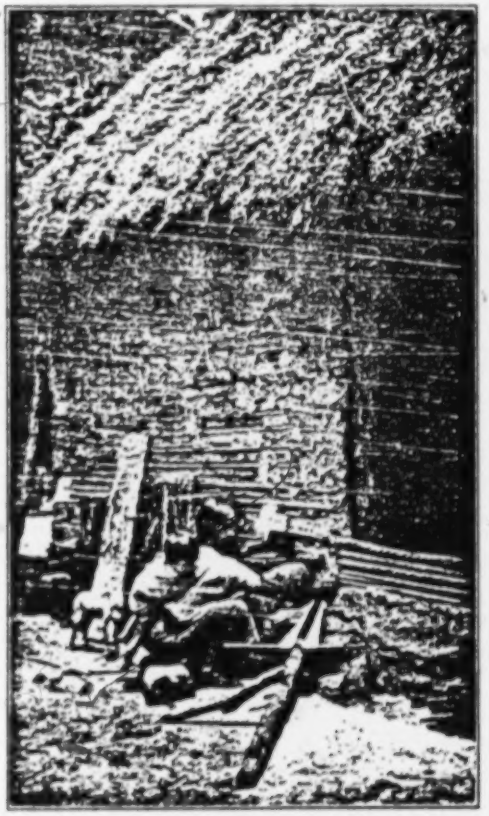


Fig. 301—Sivacá, Chis. Woman Winding Thread.

The loom, *holēl*,* has no rigid frame. The woof is stretched over the head and foot-sticks, *wolol-te*. The head-stick is fastened to a beam in the house or to a branch, usually more than a meter above the ground. Before this the weaver sits, with the foot-stick strapped to her by a broad leather strap, *ku'epat*, thus holding the set-up taut (fig. 303). At a little distance below the head-stick, the woof-strands are crossed, those underneath being carried on top, and held in place

*Ho*l*ēl* is one of a large class of words ending in *-al*, *-el*, or *-il*, which are at once verbal nouns and infinitives; e. g. *tal-el*, to come, or the act of coming, corresponding to the Latin venire and veniendo. *Ho*l*-el* primarily means to weave; here it is also applied to the loom. [193]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

124 and her three words of Spanish. Then she grew hostile, answering
123 everything with a plaintive "*Ma snaa,*" "I don't know." This went on for two or three minutes, then suddenly she flung open the door and waved me out with no uncertain gesture, saying something about the "Presidente Municipal," and the "Secretario." By this time it was pouring cats and dogs, but there was nothing to do save run for it.

284 Cancuc is not noted for any product. There are about the same
322 arts and industries as at other towns, but the only ones that amount to anything like a specialty are netmaking and whittling combs. The combs are better and more neatly made than those of the Bachajon, and with a selection of the wood for grain that often produces very pretty combinations. The nets are made by the men, who

[352]
[531]
←
[415]
→

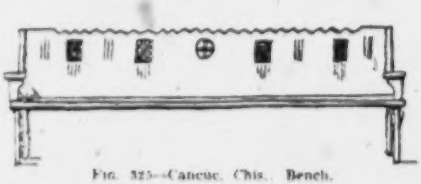


Fig. 325—Cancuc, Chis., Bench.

Fig. 327. Cancuc, Chis. Pottery, Hilte. (8 c.m. high).

Fig. 326—Cancuc, Chis. Tall Jar. (1 m. high).

go about rolling the twine or knitting as they walk. The process was described in the last chapter.

485 Being on the main highway, the government maintains a long shed, like a wagon-shed, thatched with leaves and grass, which is at the disposal of travelers. This relieves the Maestro of duties of entertainment. Towards nightfall, various groups came into camp here, a family of Mexicans, with a big fire, and goods piled high, two traders with their packs, some Chamulas, fine-looking men dressed in white wool tunics, with flowing cotton kerchiefs round their heads, and a couple of Tenejapeños with nets full of apples. The Chamulas, who are remarkably progressive Indians, had come in with a string of mules. After dark, the line of fires in the divisions of the shed, the talk, the fire-lit figures in their varied costumes, with the Church and houses rising on the terraced hill behind made as picturesque and charming a scene as one could possibly imagine.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The Indians manufacture and consume *chicha*, an alcoholic beverage fermented from sugar cane or maize. They drink larger quantities of rum prepared in Ladino-owned distilleries. *Pilico*, a combination of lime and tobacco, is chewed frequently, especially in Oxchuc, Tenejapa, and Cancuc.

Tenejapa is the only Tzeltal town that enjoys importance as a market center. Here a market is held every Sunday.

Pottery is made for sale outside the local community in Amatenango and in Tenango. In almost all the other communities the industry is practised in a rudimentary form merely to supply local needs. Blom and LaFarge observed and reported the techniques of pottery manufacture at Sivacá.[19] Villa limits his data to mentioning the industry there. Blom and LaFarge report, on hearsay, the method of making large, egg-shaped, three-handled water jars at Tenango; Villa observed and reported this industry. The former authors report that the clay used is "a light greenish brown colour."[20] Villa says that two kinds of clay, "white earth" and "red earth," are combined to form the paste. Villa also noted the tempering with a ground sandy limestone (*hi*); and the painting with a paint made from a soft stone from the river (*huxu-tzaik*). The pots and griddles are made from one kind of clay tempered with a different sandstone called *bax*. The method of firing described for Sivacá by Blom and LaFarge from hearsay, involving the preparation of "an A-roof, forming a long tunnel,"[21] was observed and photographed by Villa in Tenango. Villa was told that vessels after firing are filled with *pozole* in water to reduce the porosity.

In Tenejapa metates are made for export, and in Oxchuc halters, lead-ropes, nets, and bags. The methods of weaving, net making and basketry, reported by Blom and LaFarge for Bachajón,[22] were not reported by Villa.

The type of habitation is the same throughout the whole region, although there are small variations from village to village. The houses are rectangular in form with four-sided roofs, thatched with grass, and with sides made of poles and clay. Only the houses of Chanal form an exception. The walls of these structures are in most cases of wood. The houses of Tenango present another exception in that they are the only ones where the roofs do not terminate in a ridge, but in a point; it is usual to cover this with an inverted pot. Houses are throughout divided into two rooms, one of which serves as living room and kitchen and the other as sleeping room. In some cases the kitchen is placed in the latter section. There is a single door in front; only in certain settlements to the north, as Chilón and Yajalón, where the influence of the white man has been greater, are houses to be seen with two doors and even some with small windows. The floor is always of packed earth.

The furnishings of the living room are limited in general to beds, improvised of boards placed on the ground or on logs, and covered with mats. The hammock is little used; it is generally reserved for children. The furnishings and domestic

[19] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 342-345.
[20] *Ibid.*, 2: 183.
[21] *Ibid.*, 2: 344.
[22] *Ibid.*, 2: 345-349.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

stretched flat by a stick with thorns in the end, also said to be called *wolol-te*. The string for tying up the head-stick is called *tsul*. (See fig. 302-A, B). 286

The different coloured threads are wound on shuttles, which are called *buk'al* when bare, *tiomal* when wound. These are passed back and forth between the warp-strands, with an alternate raising and lowering of the heddle. The threads not in use at the moment are laid parallel to the outermost woof-strand at the selvage. Cross-stripes are thus made with the warp, longitudinal stripes with coloured woof-strands.

The shape of the loom depends upon the article to be woven. A sash-loom is about 40 centimeters wide. A cloth-loom is about 75 centimeters wide, and usually not as long as the sash-loom; the sword is a meter in length. The sword at Sivacá was of a heavy wood, very smooth, and dark with much handling. We were told that the wood was not indigenous, and that such swords were very valuable, as they could not be obtained any more. The one seen in use was borrowed from another woman, who refused to sell it.

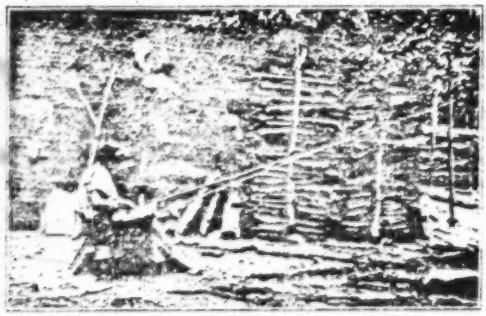


Fig. 303—Sivacá, Chis. Woman Weaving.

Cloth for clothes is ordinarily woven plain white, but is sometimes varied with fine lines laid in the woof. The Bachajon weave relatively little cloth, being more accustomed to buy cotton at the stores; their sashes, however, show more variety and use of colour than do those of Ocosingo Valley.

Hats and baskets, *mOc*, are made by the men. The former have already been described. 285 [462]

Baskets are woven on a frame of heavy splints laid crossing each other at the center. These are bent upward, leaving a sufficient length flat to provide for the bottom. The warp of reeds is then woven in and out, in a simple wicker-work, around the bottom and sides. At the top the splints are doubled over and tucked down under the strands. The rim is formed of two strands twisted around each other between each splint. The work is not very fine, there

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

285 being an average of only three strands to a centimeter, with the splints about three centimeters apart. Ordinarily the widest part of the basket is at the rim, but a very small basket, *tutemOtc*, was observed, in which the greater diameter was about half way up the side. The weave was the same. The standard large size is 23 centimeters high, 36 centimeters diameter at the rim, and 13 at the base (fig. 304).

286 [482] The men also make the nets, *tcotcaH*, which are used, suspended from one shoulder, as a pocket, or, slung from a tump-line, to carry small burdens. They are made of bennequen or ixtla cord. The mouth is an extra heavy string, from which the woven part of the net hangs (fig. 305). The method of laying the cord was observed

[285]

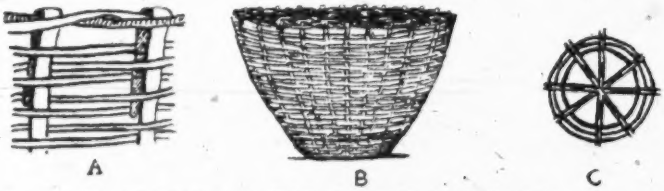


Fig. 304—Basketry. A. Detail of weave showing finish of rim. B. Basket, height 23 c.m. C. Arrangement of splints at the bottom.

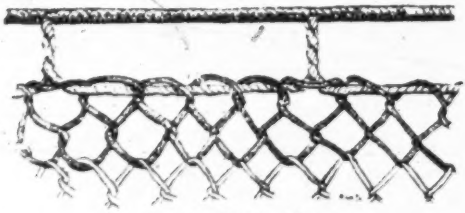


Fig. 305—Detail of Net.

Fig. 306—Frame for weaving net.

at Cancuc. The istla threads are held in the crotch of the left knee, and the cord is wound on the thigh with a flat-hand, rubbing motion. A bundle of threads laid parallel to each other, is taken by the middle and rolled into the already made cord, forming two strands. When the strands are ready, they are laid together with a reverse-stroke of the hand on the thigh. The net is woven with a deer-horn needle, *muk*, on a frame, *tiaH*, consisting of a board about 18 centimeters long with an upright stick at each end (fig. 306). The actual weaving was not observed.

322 Considering that their only tools are their machetes, and an occasional cheap pocket knife, the wood-working done by the men is

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 - NV9 Tzeltal NV9

563 Citala, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo relations between Indians and Ladinos are more friendly, and the Indians are regarded as milder and more tractable.

181 Of the strongly Indian towns, Cancuc is the most conservative, Chanal the most progressive.

631 563 In respect to official political organization, these villages are divided according to their importance and the number of their inhabitants, into free municipalities (*municipios libres*) and dependent municipalities (*agencias municipales*). The former are those which have the right to choose their own government, upon which formal administration depends. To this category belong Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Ococingo, Chilón, and Bachajon. Until a short time ago the municipal governments of these settlements were composed of Ladinos in the principal posts and of Indians in the subordinate positions. At the present time the government is seeking to reverse this situation so that the Indians have the greater authority; it is for this reason that the governments of the four villages first mentioned are now headed by Indians. This change has brought about marked [179] alterations in certain places in the social equilibrium that before existed between the two ethnic elements which compose the population.

Villages of the latter category are those which depend, in administrative matters, on a free municipality. In these cases authority is represented in the first place by the *agente municipal*, who is named by the central municipal government. This post is always discharged by a Ladino. In most instances the municipal agent compensates for the meagerness of his salary by controlling the sale of rum in the village which he administers. The other members of the municipal government are chosen almost always from the Indian group.

184 243 439 433 241 In several of the highland communities, notably Amatenango, Chanal, and to a much less extent, Tenejapa, the Indian grows (in addition to the universal maize) a certain amount of wheat for export; the Ladinos of Oxchuc cultivate this crop, but in Cancuc, where there are no Ladinos, wheat is not grown. (Wheat is also grown in the Tzotzil towns of Chamula and Huistan.) Other money crops of the highlands are chickpeas, peas, oranges, and other fruit. Some coffee is grown in San Martin, it is the principal export from Yajalon and Petalcingo. In Bachajon, Citala, Guaquitepec, and Chilón a principal produce is brown sugar, made locally from sugar cane locally raised. Cancuc is the only village that cultivates cotton commercially; the production in the other communities is insignificant. The local [286] manufacture of loom-woven clothing is rapidly disappearing. Most Tzeltal com- [178] munities are without beehives, but there is considerable apiculture in Sivaca, and 231 a little beekeeping is also practised in Tenango, Bachajón, and Yajalon. Apparently 184 the bees kept are wild colonies brought to the villages in the sections of hollow log they are made to inhabit. The raising of hogs and poultry is a principal economic 233 recourse in all the Indian settlements. The beef cattle industry has always been in the hands of Ladinos, however, recently the Government, acting through the [654] Centers of Native Education, has sought to stimulate the industry among the Indians.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The Indians manufacture and consume *chicha*, an alcoholic beverage fermented from sugar cane or maize. They drink larger quantities of rum prepared in Ladino-owned distilleries. *Pilico*, a combination of lime and tobacco, is chewed frequently, especially in Oxchuc, Tenejapa, and Cancuc.

Tenejapa is the only Tzeltal town that enjoys importance as a market center. Here a market is held every Sunday.

Pottery is made for sale outside the local community in Amatenango and in Tenango. In almost all the other communities the industry is practised in a rudimentary form merely to supply local needs. Blom and LaFarge observed and reported the techniques of pottery manufacture at Sivacá; Villa limits his data to mentioning the industry there. Blom and LaFarge report, on hearsay, the method of making large, egg-shaped, three-handled water jars at Tenango; Villa observed and reported this industry. The former authors report that the clay used is "a light greenish brown colour."[20] Villa says that two kinds of clay, "white earth" and "red earth," are combined to form the paste. Villa also noted the tempering with a ground sandy limestone (*hi*); and the painting with a paint made from a soft stone from the river (*huxu-tzaik*). The pots and griddles are made from one kind of clay tempered with a different sandstone called *bax*. The method of firing described for Sivacá by Blom and LaFarge from hearsay, involving the preparation of "an A-roof, forming a long tunnel,"[21] was observed and photographed by Villa in Tenango. Villa was told that vessels after firing are filled with *pozole* in water to reduce the porosity.

In Tenejapa metates are made for export, and in Oxchuc halters, lead-ropes, nets, and bags. The methods of weaving, net making and basketry, reported by Blom and LaFarge for Bachajón[22] were not reported by Villa.

The type of habitation is the same throughout the whole region, although there are small variations from village to village. The houses are rectangular in form with four-sided roofs, thatched with grass, and with sides made of poles and clay. Only the houses of Chanal form an exception. The walls of these structures are in most cases of wood. The houses of Tenango present another exception in that they are the only ones where the roofs do not terminate in a ridge, but in a point; it is usual to cover this with an inverted pot. Houses are throughout divided into two rooms, one of which serves as living room and kitchen and the other as sleeping room. In some cases the kitchen is placed in the latter section. There is a single door in front; only in certain settlements to the north, as Chilón and Yajalón, where the influence of the white man has been greater, are houses to be seen with two doors and even some with small windows. The floor is always of packed earth.

The furnishings of the living room are limited in general to beds, improvised of boards placed on the ground or on logs, and covered with mats. The hammock is little used; it is generally reserved for children. The furnishings and domestic

[19] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:342–345.
[20] *Ibid.*, 2:383.
[21] *Ibid.*, 2:344.
[22] *Ibid.*, 2:345–349.

Handcrafts

323 Among the few handcrafts practiced in
[462] the Tzeltal areas, ceramics, produced mainly
by women, is the most widespread. Tenango
[184] and Amatenango del Valle are the only
communities which have made a specialty
of this craft. Tenango exports its products
[439] through the northern zone. Amatenango
through the southern zone, including neigh-
323 boring Guatemalan villages. Both places use
184 a similar ceramic technique but different
shape and ornamentation. Referring to
Amatenango del Valle, Blom and LaFarge
(1926–27, 2:396) state:

> The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one shape, a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, however, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of boards two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman in charge turns them
> [438] until they are done. These pots are carried by
> [439] the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they are redistributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala.

283 Another widespread craft is spinning and
286 weaving of fabrics for clothing. No village
in the Tzeltal area trades these products
[438] because production barely meets their fam-
ily needs. The backstrap loom of pre-
Hispanic origin is the chief tool.

[184] Pita articles—ropes, bags, and nets to
gather the harvest or carry loads—are
mainly produced in Oxchuc and Cancuc.
372 In Cancuc wooden combs are also manu-
184 factured.

342 *Houses and Furniture*

Houses, from 3 to 5 m. on a side, are predominantly square with thatched roofs. The walls are wattle-and-daub or plain tree trunks tied with vines. Floors are of
[354] hardened earth. The houses only have one
door and no windows, except in some vil-
[P 207-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A.E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón.

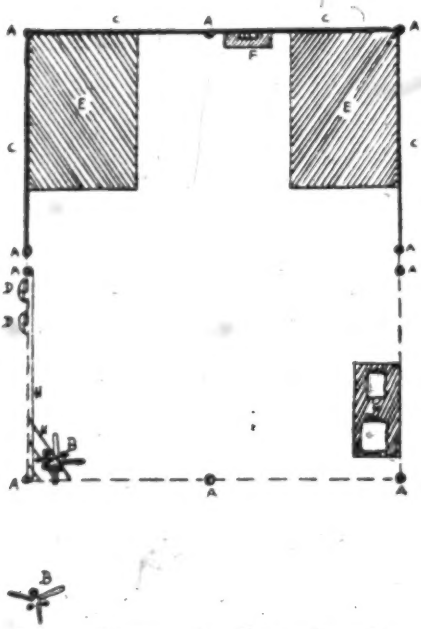


FIG. 288—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon House, Plan. (Scale 1:100).

A. Uprights, kuk'up.
B. Fire.
C. Wall, p'ahk.
D. Rat Trap.
E. Beds.
F. Altar.
G. Table with Metates.
H. Racks.

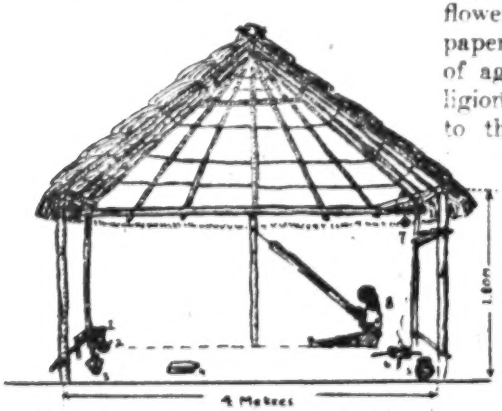


FIG. 289—El Encanto, Chis. Section of Bachajon House.

1. Table, ahk'en, with Metates.
2. Basket of clay, teavek lum.
3. Tenango water jar, k'ip.
4. Squatting chair, tamate.
5. Olla, ocom.
6. Fire, kak'.
7. Racks, baxtet, with packages.
8. Woman weaving.

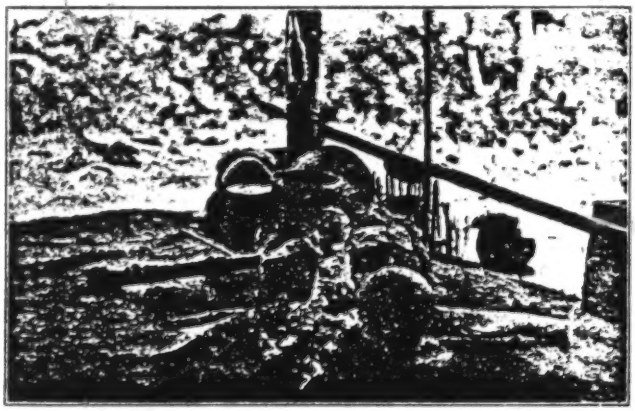
a central front and back post, and two posts close together on each side at the ends of the walls, supported the roof-beams. There were no horizontal members save the plates, following the line of the eaves. The rafters were built up from these direct to the ridge-pole, joined by light cross pieces, or thatching-poles, laid on outside. Near the top they were braced by a purlin of heavy logs on the inside. From floor to eaves it was 1.80 meters, and about the same from eaves to the ridge-pole. The floor was of hard dirt, fairly well levelled, and well swept. We were told that situations on hills, such as this, are commonly chosen to assure drainage, and that there is no orientation.

The altar, a table and a large cross decorated with flowers, pine-tips, and bits of paper, which will be spoken of again when discussing religion, was placed at the back to the right of the middle post. In front, to the right, was the table, *ahk'en*, on which were two metates, or grinding stones. They were legless, one end being raised slightly by propping with stones. The finer one was called *skaltca-tut* ("metate-small"), it was made of a fine, sandy lime-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

necks and round bottoms. Two were full of corn and lime for 415
tortillas, just off the fire. A big Tenango jar, *k'ip*, of the kind to be described at that place, was used for water.

A pottery dish, about 7 centimeters across, *tsets*, is commonly [515]
offered to guests to wash their hands. It is placed on a pottery stand [574]
of an hour-glass shape, about 15 centimeters high, *awaliko* (see fig. 299). The ordinary plates and general vessels are flat gourd dishes, *qai'*, about 20 centimeters across. Gourds as well were used for a dipper, *tuts*, and a water-jar, *tsux*. Two nets hung from the rack. 353
There were three small baskets, *tutemotc*, and four big ones, *mukulmotc*. Hanging on the wall were a pair of the basket-work sandals mentioned before, and selected ears of corn for seed. The wife's 283
textile outfit, more fully described later, consisted of a spindle, *pětět*, 286



354

FIG. 291—Bachajon Fireplace.

with clay whorl, spun in a gourd bowl, *tsima*, cotton, *t'umin*, hang- 283
ing in leaves, and the loom itself, *holěl*. A sling, made of a forked 286
stick and rubber band with a leather piece to take the clay pellet, 411
finmutc, belonged to the small boy. Bananas were drying on the rack. With them were laid, or hanging in packages of leaves, bees- 353
wax, *tcavek*, blocks, 20 x 20 x 2 centimeters, for trade purposes, 237
used for making candles, a lump of hard red clay, *baq lum* ("bitter [251]
earth"), for washing the hair, and sometimes also eaten, a package of brown loaf sugar, salt, *atsam*, traded down from the Zotzil country, several packages of pimiento pepper, and serpent fat, *junto tcan*, for rubbing on the chest to cure coughs. Under the table was a 353
basket of coarse, blackish-gray clay for making pottery, *tcavek lum* [323]
("beeswax earth"). Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

red-gold colour. The baking observed at Amatenango, which is described in the following chapter, was quite different. 323

The forms made at Sivacá are: (Fig. 299) a tub, *pok'et;* cooking pots or *ollas, ŏcom;* form for making cooking pots, *hutstahibe;* bowl, *tsets;* stand for bowl, *awaliko;* form for making sugar, with a hole in the bottom, *hor'mo;* tortilla griddle, *tsamets;* and a perforated olla for washing corn, *tcistcinaix.*

The Bachajon make most of these also, but the tub and clay *tsets* are rare, a gourd often serving for the latter. The surfaces are less well smoothed. In no case was any attempt at decoration observed. It should be noted in this respect, however, that almost all of these would eventually be quite blackened with smoke.

[142] [291] [302] [516] [342]

Fig. 194—Sivacá, Chis. Woman making pottery.

Among the forms shown in the figures, it will be noticed that there is no piece with a markedly contracted neck; such work seems to be beyond their abilities. All through this district the big *cantaras* or water jars are imported from Tenango, and will be discussed in the next chapter.

In general throughout Ocosingo Valley white cloth for men's clothes and women's blouses, made of native cotton, *na'*, as well as the men's sashes, are of local manufacture. Among the Bachajon, cloth is compartively little woven, but sashes are always home made. The coloured thread is usually bought in stores. Weaving is entirely done by the women. 286 [291]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

286 126 123 Our Indian hostess at the Encanto house was commissioned to make us a sash; after observing and photographing the process (fig. 300), we bought the loom with the unfinished piece on it. At Sivacá the army of guides produced a woman who was weaving cloth, and another who was just preparing the thread for the loom (fig. 301). The former was very bored and matter-of-fact about the whole pro-

323

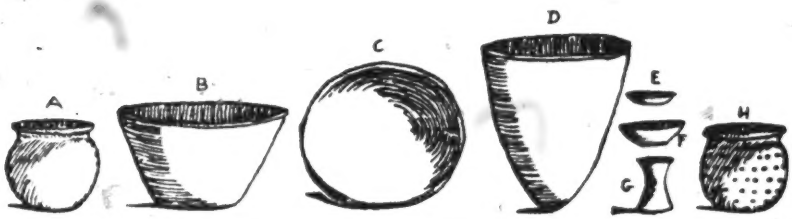


FIG. 299—Sivacá, Chis. Pottery Forms.

A. Ocom. B. Pok et. C. Tsameta. D. Hor'mo. E. Hutstahibe. F. Taeta. G. Awaliko. H. Teisteinahx.

286 126 123 ceeding, but the latter, a younger one, was at first frightened. At the first sight of me, she put away all her work. As she spoke no Spanish, I fell back upon a corps of seven or eight interpreters, who all spoke together while I looked as harmless as possible. Then she thought that the Mayor of Ocosingo, or the President of Mexico, or some one had sent for her, and packed her things to travel. At last she understood, and then balked. The men explained to me, with some amusement, that she was ashamed—*"dice que tiene verguenza"* — but finally she consented to pose. The result was a picture worth the while; she herself was a good type of young Indian woman, on her back was slung a pretty though somewhat grimy baby, while an underfed puppy and very small chicken completed the family group. The picture also shows a good example of the squatting-seat mentioned when listing the contents of the Encanto house (see fig. 301).

[286] [291] [142] [302] [516] ←

FIG. 300—El Encanto, Chis. Woman Weaving.

283 The spindle, *pětět*, is a stick 85 centimeters long, at the foot of which is a clay whorl, for which no name was given. It is spun with the weighted end resting in a gourd bowl, the upper end held against

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

the thigh. The spinning is done with the left hand, the right holding and drawing out the thread, *tsahalna'* (fig. 302-d). 283

The thread is then arranged for the warp on a form called *kumen* (fig. 302-c). This is a pole 1.40 meters long, notched at intervals on one side, and with a groove in one end joining two unnotched sides. In one of the notches, according to the length of thread desired, is placed a cross stick, *tumin-te*, (equals *kumen-te?*), 45 centimeters long. The thread is laid from one end of this cross stick, through the groove, around to the other end of the cross stick, and so, back and forth, until the required number of woof-strands are prepared. The loops around one half of the cross stick are then transferred to the head-stick of the loom, those around the other to the foot-stick, and the woof is ready. At the head end, the loops are braided for the selvage. 286 342 284 142 516 854 802 291 231

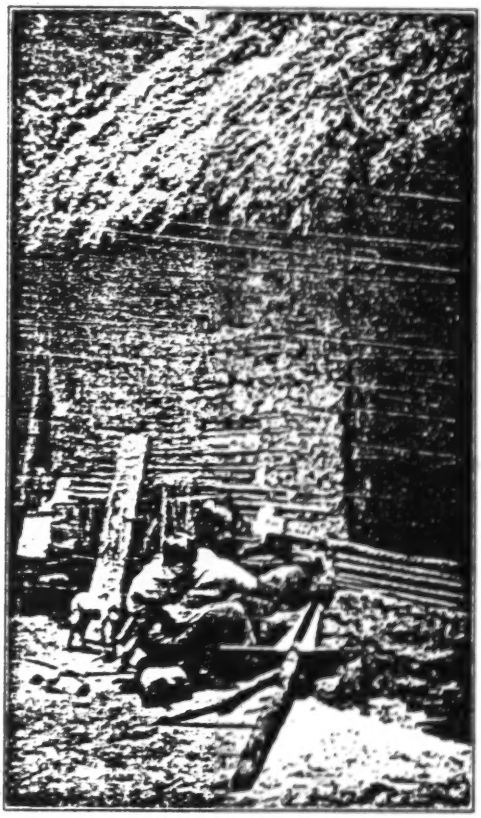


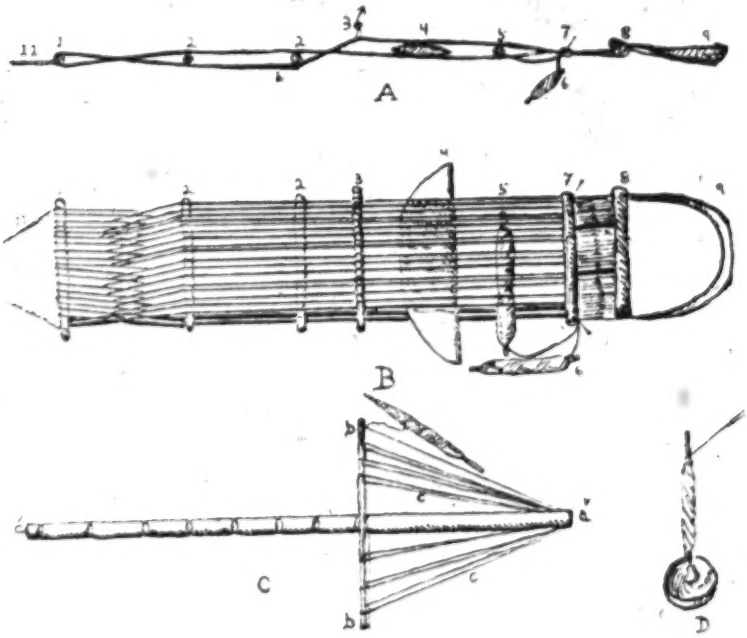
FIG. 301—Sivacá, Chis. Woman Winding Thread.

The loom, *holēl*,* has no rigid frame. The woof is stretched over the head and foot-sticks, *wolol-te*. The head-stick is fastened to a beam in the house or to a branch, usually more than a meter above the ground. Before this the weaver sits, with the foot-stick strapped to her by a broad leather strap, *ku'epat*, thus holding the set-up taut (fig. 303). At a little distance below the head-stick, the woof-strands are crossed, those underneath being carried on top, and held in place

*holēl is one of a large class of words ending in *-al*, *-el*, or *-il*, which are at once verbal nouns and infinitives; e. g. *tal-el*, to come, or the act of coming, corresponding to the Latin *venire* and *veniendo*. *hol-el* primarily means to weave, here it is also applied to the loom. [193]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

286 by a stick called *wolol-te* at El Encanto, and *ibal-te* at Sivacá. The former name was probably obtained through faulty questioning, as it is also applied to the head and foot-sticks. *W'olol-* may be derived from *hol-*, in which case the word would simply mean "stick for weaving" (*-te*, "stick, tree, wood"), and would be applicable to any part of the loom. Below these two is a heddle, *yolala*, attached by



[283]

FIG. 303—Weaving Implements.

A. Side view of loom.
1. Wolol-te.
2. Ibal-te.
3. Heddle, yolala.
4. Batten, halawil-te.
5. Shuttle, tiomal.
6. Shuttle, tiomal.
7. Wolol-te.
8. Wolol-te.
9. Ku'epat.
B. Top view of loom.
C. Kumen.
a. Notched end.
b. Tumen-te.
c. Warp strands.
D. Spindle.

cotton loops to the lower set of warp-strings. Below this is sometimes set another separating stick, *tautuhil*. The pounding batten, *halawil-te*, is inserted at this point. At Sivacá a wooden comb *holalbl*, was also used. As the woven part becomes long, it is rolled up around the foot-stick, thus keeping the work easily within the weaver's reach. That part which is woven but not rolled up is held

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

stretched flat by a stick with thorns in the end, also said to be called *wolol-te*. The string for tying up the head-stick is called *tsul*. (See fig. 302-A, B). 286

The different coloured threads are wound on shuttles, which are called *buk'al* when bare, *tiomal* when wound. These are passed back and forth between the warp-strands, with an alternate raising and lowering of the heddle. The threads not in use at the moment are laid parallel to the outermost woof-strand at the selvage. Cross-stripes are thus made with the warp, longitudinal stripes with coloured woof-strands.

The shape of the loom depends upon the article to be woven. A sash-loom is about 40 centimeters wide. A cloth-loom is about 75 centimeters wide, and usually not as long as the sash-loom; the sword is a meter in length. The sword at Sivacá was of a heavy wood, very smooth, and dark with much handling. We were told that the wood was not indigenous, and that such swords were very valuable, as they could not be obtained any more. The one seen in use was borrowed from another woman, who refused to sell it.

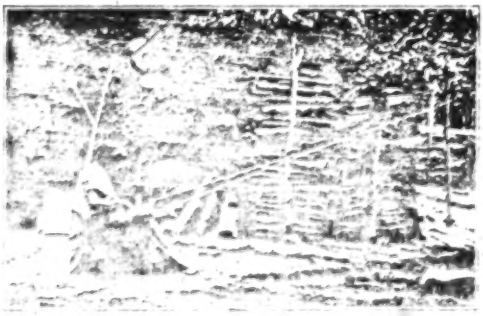


Fig. 304—Sivacá, Chis. Woman Weaving.

Cloth for clothes is ordinarily woven plain white, but is sometimes varied with fine lines laid in the woof. The Bachajon weave relatively little cloth, being more accustomed to buy cotton at the stores; their sashes, however, show more variety and use of colour than do those of Ocosingo Valley.

Hats and baskets, *mOc*, are made by the men. The former have already been described. 285 [462]

Baskets are woven on a frame of heavy splints laid crossing each other at the center. These are bent upward, leaving a sufficient length flat to provide for the bottom. The warp of reeds is then woven in and out, in a simple wicker-work, around the bottom and sides. At the top the splints are doubled over and tucked down under the strands. The rim is formed of two strands twisted around each other between each splint. The work is not very fine, there

5: Blom & LaFargé A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

285 being an average of only three strands to a centimeter, with the splints about three centimeters apart. Ordinarily the widest part of the basket is at the rim, but a very small basket, *tutemOtc*, was observed, in which the greater diameter was about half-way up the side. The weave was the same. The standard large size is 23 centimeters high, 36 centimeters diameter at the rim, and 13 at the base (fig. 304).

286 [482] The men also make the nets, *tcotcaH*, which are used, suspended from one shoulder, as a pocket, or, slung from a tump-line, to carry small burdens. They are made of hennequen or ixtla cord. The mouth is an extra heavy string, from which the woven part of the net hangs (fig. 305). The method of laying the cord was observed

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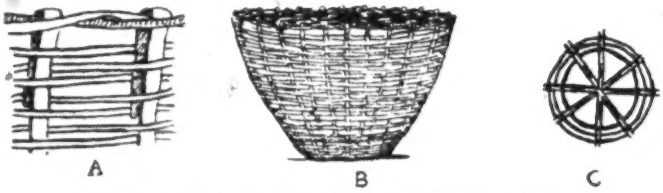

Fig. 304—Basketry. A. Detail of weave showing finish of rim. B. Basket, height 23 c.m. C. Arrangement of splints at the bottom.

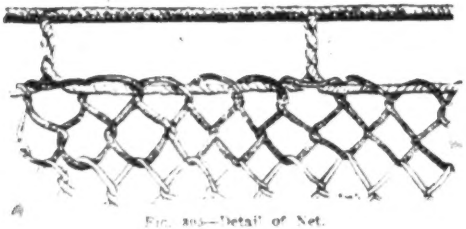

Fig. 305—Detail of Net.

Fig. 306—Frame for weaving net.

at Cancuc. The istla threads are held in the crotch of the left knee, and the cord is wound on the thigh with a flat-hand, rubbing motion. A bundle of threads laid parallel to each other, is taken by the middle and rolled into the already made cord, forming two strands. When the strands are ready, they are laid together with a reverse-stroke of the hand on the thigh. The net is woven with a deer-horn needle, *muk*, on a frame, *tiaH*, consisting of a board about 18 centimeters long with an upright stick at each end (fig. 306). The actual weaving was not observed.

322 412 Considering that their only tools are their machetes, and an occasional cheap pocket knife, the wood-working done by the men is

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

one piece with its stand, which is then called *cOt*, and a pot with one or two spouts and a handle on top called *bur'nia* (figs. 317-319). 323

The decoration is fairly standardized. In the big cantaras each woman uses a central element of her own, and all follow the same general scheme. Occasionally a potter breaks out with an odd form, such as an undersized cantara which we bought. It has a row of pellets about the rim, called *tut-cuH*, "little beads"; around the center is a zone of galloping animals showing considerable action, but difficult to identify. When we asked what the animals were, the woman replied rather wearily that they were "to make it pretty," so we let it go at that (fig. 318). 323 531

Fig. 318—Tenango Jar. (43 c.m. high).

The clay used is a light, greenish brown colour, and lumpy before being prepared. It is tempered with ground, sandy limestone, *hiH-ton* ("sand-stone") of fine quality. The jar is painted with a paste made of a soft, 323

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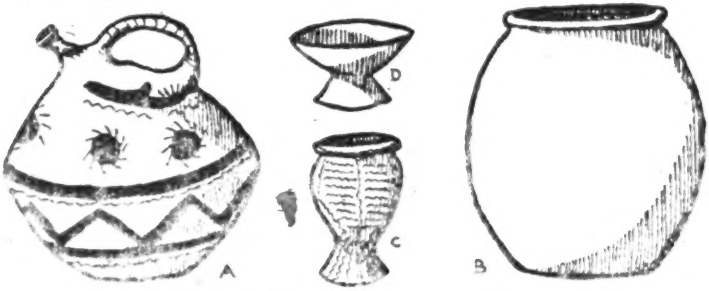

Fig. 317—Tenango, Chis. Types of Pottery.
A. Burnia. B. Ocom. C. Yocwal-ata'a. D. cOt.

Fig. 319—Tenango, Chis. Central designs from jars.

black stone, *tsa-ik* (*ik* equals "black") ground and mixed with water. It is laid on with the soft, green tip of a bush called *Hwamal*.* 323

The women's *huipiles* and all the men's clothes are woven at Tenango by the women. The men's sashes, which they make, are not as finely woven as among the Bachajon. They are undecorated 286

*To make a cantara—*wuk-k'in*. To paint a cantara—*siro-k'in*. To bake cantaras—*waktik k'ih-tik* (the emphatic *ohm*, they are always baked in large batches).

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

286 and often have no fringe. We were told that it was impossible to
123 see a woman weaving at that time, but by persistent stalking the
126 writer finally managed to locate a girl at work, whom he observed
286 and sketched from behind a bush. The women here were so consistently shy that no doubt she would have rolled up her loom, which was of just the same type as the one seen at Sivacá, and fled into the house had she known she was observed. Our procession through this very pretty village, too, was a serious affair—distinguished strangers being shown around town by the mayor—and had none of the cheerful joking and general *bonhommie* that produced such friendliness and good results at Sivacá.

241 Something more should be said about the agriculture here. Ordinarily, Indians go out to choose their own land in the bush and

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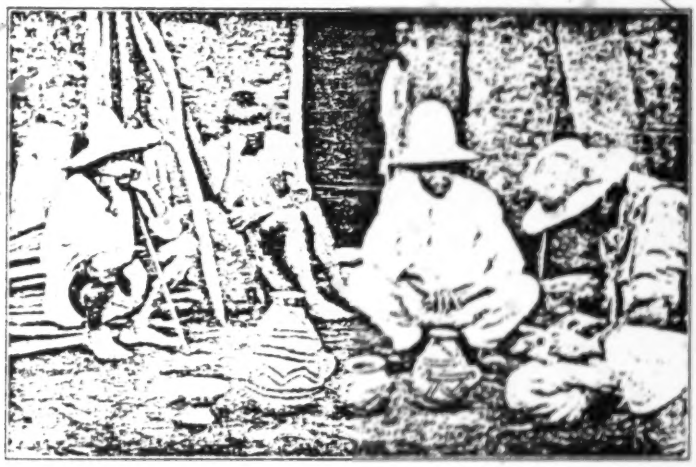

FIG. 319—Tenango, Chis. La Farge drawing pottery.

241 plant it with little cultivation, placing the corn close together. Here each family has its land assigned to it by the council. As the same field must be planted year after year, the hills of corn are widely spaced, and the ground is turned over as deeply as possible by means
[417] of heavy hoes, *ak'en*, purchased in San Cristóbal. As was said, everything is fenced as much as possible. When some of our pack animals got loose in a field, the excitement was intense. In the yards of the
824 houses they raise corn, beans, and a plant related to tobacco. This plant grows nearly as tall as a man. The leaf is rubbed on their legs to cure fatigue. It is carried with lime in a small gourd and offered and accepted for chewing with much the same bowing and formalities as obtained among our ancestors when offering snuff.

dies, the owner announces on the loudspeaker of the local bars that he will sell meat at 5 pesos a portion. He preserves the hide to make saddle packs and tumplines. But the loss is great because he will not be able to buy a new bull with what he earns. If the bull lives, he will be better in three weeks and can carry loads. It is a very dangerous operation since the scrotum of a bull is very large. It is easier with a horse. 232

Surrounding the event with a ceremonial complex minimizes the development of commercialized relations between the caponizer and the owner. Most men who acquire several head of cattle or horses eventually learn to do the task themselves.

Handicrafts performed by men include rope-making from the tails of horses or from plant fibers, and weaving net bags. Most of the men who are assigned to the civil hierarchy spend their spare time in the cabildo making these items. 462 283 282

Carpentry is a skill now being practiced by two Indians of the town who "just learned by watching." They are called upon to help people in constructing the house frame, for which they receive 50 pesos in wages. A Ladino living on the margin of the town is a full-time specialist with his own shop. In addition to supervising house construction, he makes furniture and caskets to order. 322 [465]

New Economic Enterprises

In the operation of the new enterprises, which include cattle raising, cooperative ownership of a store, bars, and trucks, and liquor distilling, several patterns of organization have emerged. Some of these are based on preexisting social groupings, while others represent innovations. The social resources of management, credit operations, and the development of new skills within these local enterprises are of significance in preparing Indians for new occupations in the wider society. 43 44

Cattle raising. The most traditional organization is found in the case of cattle raising. Cattle have been in the town at least as far back as the 1915 revolutionary period when informants indicate that most of the 231 233

175 669 621 631 called by the historians the Wars of the Castes (Pineda, 1888; Molina, C., 1934; Kline, H., 1960), and both of them voted to join Mexico when the State of Chiapas was contemplating annexation to either Mexico or Guatemala (Trens, 1942:274).

TABLE 2

175 631 621 AMATENANGO AND AGUATENANGO: POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE JURISDICTIONS

Time	Amatenango	Aguacatenango
1600 to 1778	Obispado de Ciudad Real Provincia de los Llanos	
1829	Departamento del Sur Partido de los Llanos	
1844	Distrito del Centro Partido de Las Casas o San Cristobal	
1854	Municipio de San Cristobal 9th Municipio	Distrito de Comitan 4th Municipio
1937-1958	Municipio de Amatenango	Municipio de V. Carranza

175 177 286 In the end of the eighteenth century (1792) the Bishop Francisco Gabriel de Olivares y Benito tried to specialize Amatenango, Teopisca and Aguacatenango as small textile centers (cotton) by giving the weaving materials to widows and young female children to process and sell. A school for the training of weavers [874] was established in the same year, but the project ended unsuccessfully in the beginning of the nineteenth century (Trens, 1942: 175-6).

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

412 stone, *ton-al-ha'*, ("water stone"). The other, *skaltca-muk* ("big metate") was made of an igneous stone called *hayáltcak*, brought from San Martín. The *manos*, or smaller stones used for grinding
354 on these, were called *miscabtca* (fig. 290). To the left, opposite this table, was the fire, *kak'*, built of two broken ollas and two small rocks, placed so that the logs could be laid star-fashion between them, and close enough together to support the tortilla griddle or
354 an olla (fig. 291). Outside the house was another fire, with only
251 three stones, on which was drying a basket full of *pinole*, *tcilim*, a
252 fruit which is mixed with cacao in a form of chocolate. Over the house fireplace racks, *baxtet*, were placed at the level of the eaves
354 across the corner, and along the wall to the middle post, that things
353 hung up there might be protected by the smoke from insects. All
417 these things are indicated in the plan.

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FIG. 290—Table with Metates.

352 A hammock, *aktci*, which we understood was not of native make, hung across the middle of the house. Two woven mats, *pOp*, the Spanish *petate*, lay on the beds. Beside this, the beds, and the table, the only thing that could properly be called furniture was a three-
[287] legged stool about 30 centimeters high, *matsumte*. Two mats of pounded bark, or tapa, *bat-te* ("bark tree"), or *bat manil tcahan*, were rolled up in a corner. First comers got the hammock to lie in, others sat on the low "squatting seats," *tsamate*, of which there were three, made each of half a log, peeled, and partially flattened on top, with a handle on one end.

415 The tortilla griddle was a flat, dish-like pottery affair, about 40 centimeters in diameter. There were five ollas, *ŏcom*, with plain

c: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

352 utensils pertaining to the other room include three tables of varying form and size. One of these, about 60 cm. high, is called *akhintel*,[23] and serves as a support for the metate (*chá*). Another smaller table (*matzamalté*) has three legs and is circular in form; it is used in making tortillas. The third table (*ucbalté*), also small but quadrangular, is used in serving food. Three benches of hollow logs 415 (*tzantel*) and small chairs (*taburetes*) serve as seats. Deep baskets and gasoline 251 boxes are used for holding clothes. Hanging from the roof is always to be seen a disk made of vines (*likin-nab*). This is used to keep comestibles from the rats. The other implements are the griddle, pots, and other vessels of clay, and calabashes and gourds in various forms and dimensions.

343 Besides the fowl pen (*na-mut*) and the pigpen (*na-chitán*) it is common to [417] see near the house the temazcal, or steam bath (*pus*). It is made of clay and irregularly shaped stones; it is rectangular with a small door in front and a ventilator in the rear. It is usual to cover it with a small shelter of straw. The use of the temazcal [184] is common in the highlands. It is almost not to be found from Ocozingo northward.

Each village has its own costume; however, local variations conform to a •29 certain pattern which changes according to the altitudes and climate. Thus, in 184 the region of Los Altos the usual pattern of dress is the following: for men, short cotton trousers (*uex*)[24] and cotton shirt (*kú*) reaching to the knees, a sash (*chukichut*) of wool or cotton and in most cases red in color, a poncho (*tzotz*) made of wool and in most cases dark grey in color, a handkerchief (*chukkil*), a straw hat (*pixol*), and leather sandals (*xanab*); women wear a white blouse (*ku*) and a blue shirt (*tzequel*), both made either of wool or of cotton, and a red woolen sash (*chukichut*). Some women in going out-of-doors add a woolen *rebozo*. Women use also a cotton cloth (*zitz-cal*) to carry small children. They wear no footgear.

In the tierra caliente the dress of the women is almost the same except that it is cleaner. On the other hand that of the men, although equally clean, presents marked differences: the trousers are longer and the shirt shorter, coming to resemble an open blouse or *guayabera*. The sash and the poncho cease to be indispensable [177] garments. It is in this region that there is most use of trousers and shirt in European style.

551 In Tenejapa, Starr found that the Indians had Tzeltal surnames. He says: 582 "We feel sure that these are *not* nicknames, but the old family names still preserved." He does not give examples, and says nothing about any relation between 114 these name-groups and marriage. Blom and LaFarge make no note of such names, and say, "there are no formal restrictions on marriage."[25]

582 Villa found Indian surnames present in Chanal, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc, 551 and was told that marriage is not allowed, or is at least strongly discouraged, between persons of the same Indian surname. In Chanal an informant indicated that such

[184] [23] The names of these objects vary from one village to another; those which are described here were obtained in Chanal.

[24] The names of some of these garments vary likewise from one village to another; here Villa gives names used in Chanal.

[25] Starr, 1908, p. 73 [25] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359

4 Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Tenejapa

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FIG. 1—PARAJE REPRESENTATIVES VISITING THE CEREMONIAL CENTER OF TENEJAPA (Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 200]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Tenejapa

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FIG. 2—TENEJAPA WOMAN AND CHILD. (Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 204]

415 containers made of jícara (*boch*) or teco-
352 mate (*tzu*). In the bedroom is a bed
[513] (*uaybal*) made of boards placed on four
[735] forked poles, usually with a sleeping mat
[415] on it. Only the very poor sleep on mats on the floor. Small chairs, wooden chests for clothes, baskets of all shapes and sizes, pita bags and nets, shelves made of wood ribs, and pegs for hanging clothes are scattered around the hut without order.

353 The most important article is the altar
798 with the family cross. Its construction varies in different areas: it may be a plain small table made of tree trunks or better material. The altar is generally ornamented with pine needles. Occasionally, the figure of a saint is placed by the cross.

Clothing and Ornaments

291 Each community has its own style of
184 clothing, which gives a sense of unity to its members and permits the observer to identify easily the groups during fiestas or market days. This variety applies only to a few items of clothing, which is basically the
291 same for the entire region. Men's costume consists of short pants (*uesh*) and a long shirt (*nátil-ku*) which reaches the knee, both made of cloth that women weave; a red sash or belt (*chuj-chut*) of cotton, 10–15 cm. wide by 1.5 m. long; a palm hat (*pishol*); and leather sandals (*shanabil*). Residents of cold areas wear a woolen chamarra which is manufactured by the Chamulas. Women's costume consists of a skirt made of wool (*tzek*) or blue thick cloth, made in one piece and wrapped around the body with two pleats in front; it is belted at the waist by a red wool sash, which the Chamulas manufacture. Occasionally, they
301 wear a wool rebozo. They tie their hair with a red woolen ribbon (*malal*) and wear earrings (*yulel-chikinil*) and glass necklaces
291 (*ual*) bought in the city. Women always go barefoot, even during long trips. When outdoors they cover their heads with a cloth or wool fabric.

[184] Each municipio has made of these clothes
[P. 208-A]

291 184 a typical outfit with special characteristics. For instance, the men of Tenejapa wear a hat of broad brim and pointed round crown, trimmed with thin ribbons of different colors. They also wear a dark chamarra or poncho with thin white stripes. The characteristic clothes of Cancuc are short, tight pants and a long shirt trimmed with red wool yarn. In Tierra Caliente the wool chamarra is not used nor is the variation in outfit so well defined.

Transportation

482 [484] [487] [492] 482 147 Men and pack animals are the principal carriers in the Tzeltal region, which is crossed in all directions by narrow trails. Men carrying loads of 40–50 kg. usually walk, in one day, as far as 8 leguas (leagues). According to Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:386), the Tzeltal of the highlands are so strong "que ponen en vergüenza a una mula." In 1944 I observed Indians [565] passing by my Yochib camp, carrying chairs on their shoulders, in which a lady or a child of upper-class Ladinos from Ocosingo 492 and Yajalon would be sitting. Pack animals are now becoming common among the Tzeltal, some of whom also have saddle horses. 491 Part of the Tzeltal-Tzotzil region is crossed by the Pan-American Highway joining Guatemala and Mexico City. In recent years, roads called "brechas de penetración" for motor vehicles are being constructed. 474 493 The natives of some communities (Oxchuc and Chanal) have organized cooperatives and purchased their own trucks.

804 *Units of Measure*

The system of measures still retains aboriginal characteristics. The main units are:

Nab: Distance between the end of the thumb and the middle finger extended.

Chutuh. Distance between the end of the thumb and the index finger extended. It is equivalent to the jeme. The Indians do not use the cuarta (distance between the thumb and little finger extended).

[P 208-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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FIG. 3—INDIAN GIRL, FINCA EL REAL.
(Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P 209-B]

4 Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Aguacatenango

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Fig. 4—WOMEN FROM AGUACATENANGO (Copyright, Gertrude Duby)

[P. 210-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltàl NV9

Tenejapa

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FIG. 5—TENEJAPA GROUP WITH VESSELS CONTAINING CHICHA. (Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 214-A]

4. Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Amatenango del Valle

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FIG. 7—CARGO OFFICIALS, AMATENANGO DEL VALLE. Note ceremonial hats and drum with which church functions are announced. (Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 222-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

is negative. Among the Bachajon, face hair was very slight, or 142
negative, even on men of past middle age. At Sivacá the Alcalde, an elderly man, had a small beard. This is more commonly found among the Indians further in the Highlands. A slightly taller and more heavily boned type here also suggests the Highland influence (figs. 279-280-281-282-283).

Temperamentally, the Bachajon were by far the least pleasant 152
Indians with whom we had to deal. They are drunken, revengeful, and murderous. The murders, usually the sudden outburst of a long-nursed feud, are sometimes so appallingly brutal that one would think them committed by an abnormal or degenerate people.

291

Fig. 279—Huxumachital, Chia. Bachajon men.

Yet, at the same time, these were the most independent Indians we 648
met, controlling their own lives and way of living, and are left very much alone by the neighbouring Ladinos.

All the Indians are outwardly restrained, at least in the presence 609
of strangers, although an accident, such as a narrow escape, shows 152
them to be volatile and ready to express emotion. At home, they are cheerful, and laugh willingly. In bursts of feeling, as during an uprising, or one of the murders mentioned above, capable of any outrage, ordinarily they are not a cruel people. They showed them- 123
selves always responsive to friendly advances on our part.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

000 An excellent discussion of the character of the neighbouring Indians of Guatemala, which applies well to these, by one who has lived long among them, is found in Sapper's "Der Charakter der Mittelamerikanisch Indianer."

Fig. 290—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajón girls.

648 771 793 Before passing on to the native culture, a little must be said of the outside influences that do so much to mould it — the Church, the Government, and the Hacienda. The first of these occupies a very curious position indeed. While the Indians are ostensibly Christian, as will be shown later, in many ways they are still unconverted. It may be said, briefly, that they acknowledge two antagonistic worships. Of these, the Christian has publicly the upper hand. The Priests, accordingly, wield a tremendous influence among them, and did even more so in the past, when supported by the State. Our experience on this trip was that, on the whole, this influence was intelligently and beneficially used. To the Priests the Indians confide their troubles, to them they accord the greatest honour on the occasions of their visits to the villages. Yet, at the same time, the Indians conceal from them one-half of their worship, knowing them to be sworn to stamp it out.

[142] [291] [301] [302] →

[142] [291] [302] →

Fig. 291—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajón man and boy.

648 241 361 466 The Hacienda system has caused the formation of many small villages, as has been said above. In other cases, as with the Bachajon on the Encanto property, the Indians living at large on the distant lands of the

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

648 mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

829 The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We received many small favours and [123] acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

FIG. 283—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

24 In their culture these people [181] belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend [433] primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the [291] staple crop. Calabashes, melons, [301] beans, tobacco, bananas, and cot- [302] ton are raised. The farming is carried on by the same wasteful "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old [178] Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment [166] of many cities. In the case of the Bachajon, it has already become one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn 262 boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates 252 which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and 411 weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but al- 412 ways made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most 184 amazing industries in the world. 177

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

amazing industries in the world. In addition, most men own smooth-bore flint-lock muskets, a few having progressed to percussion caps. The bow and arrow occurs occasionally as a child's toy. 411 [524]

The Bachajon men dress in cotton clothing, made of material bought in Ocosingo, or, more rarely, of home weave (fig. 284). The shirt is cut without tails, the trousers are of European type save that they tie with a string and have no buttons. Ordinarily they are worn rolled up above the knee. Over the trousers is worn a sash of native weave, red with fringed ends, and often decorated with black and yellow design in lines, sometimes forming a plaid effect. The sash is wound around, crossing in front, then turned back on itself, and the ends tucked under behind, so that they hang down below the shirt (fig. 285). 291

FIG. 284—El Encanto, Chis. A Bachajon Medicine Man.

Shirts of native weave occasionally have fine coloured lines running through them. The opening, which runs about two-thirds of the way down the front, the cuffs, and the seams at the shoulders may be decorated with very simple stitching. Down the front is a row of small buttons, coloured if possible, not all of which are for use. The most admired arrangement seems to be an alternation, such as red, black, white, repeated, although cases were observed in which no two were alike. These buttons are bought at the stores.

Sandals, *tep*, are ordinarily of leather, a thick sole with simple heel-toe string and loop. The leather is usually bought ready-cut. Formerly they were made of *mahagua* bast wicker-work, in form corresponding to that found in Basket-Maker sites of the Southwestern United States,* and these are still occasionally woven. The finest specimens are dyed red with a bark. Bast sandals are called *conak* (fig. 286). [92]

*Kidder and Guernsey, 1919, Page 100 et seq.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

291 Their hats are a smaller-brimmed version of the Mexican sombrero, plaited by the men out of straw. The long plait is stitched in a spiral with *ixtle* fibre or hennequen. They may be decorated with coloured ribbons.

302 Hair is worn short, and banged across the forehead.

291 The Bachajon women get themselves up a little more gaily, in a dark blue skirt and prettily embroidered blouse. Both are made of materials purchased in the stores. The skirt, *tsekel*, made of the blue cotton from San Cristóbal, is in the form of a cylinder, decorated along the seams, with parti-coloured stitching, red, white, green, and yellow. Naturally, it is a great deal too full at the waist; this fullness is taken up with a twist, which is then tucked in, holding the skirt in position without disaster.

The blouse, *kuul*, is of white cotton, the neck open from shoulder to shoulder, with a short sleeve coming half-way to the elbow. Embroidery of red and blue thread, or an appliqué of stamped tape bought in the stores, outlines the neck and shoulder seams, the edge of the sleeves, and the upper part of the front of the blouse. The bottom is tucked in under the skirt.

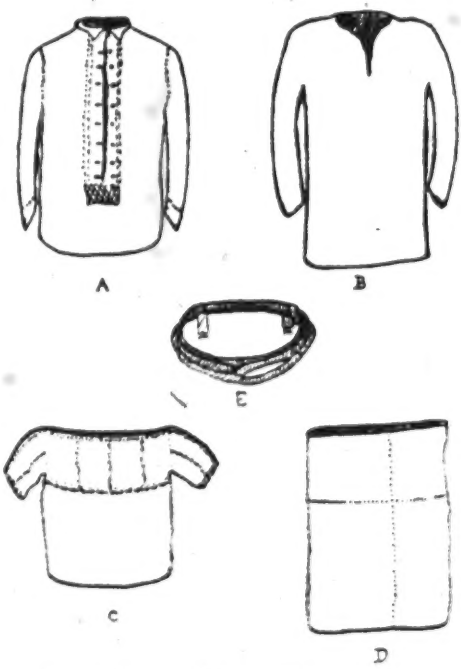

FIG. 281—Costumes, Bachajon and Ocosingo Valley.

A. Skirt, Bachajon.
B. Man's shirt, Ocosingo Valley.
C. Woman's blouse, Bachajon.
D. Woman's skirt, Bachajon and Ocosingo Valley.
E. Sash.

302 The women do their hair in one or two braids, which may be decorated with red or yellow ribbon. Ordinarily it is very neatly combed and parted down the middle. Sometimes it is allowed to hang unbraided, but gathered with a pin or ribbon just behind the head.

291 Curiously enough, the Indians in Ocosingo Valley, although more in contact with the Ladino people, have a less European costume.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

tume. The men's shirt is more of a tunic, home woven, without cuffs, collar, or buttons, with a V-neck, and much longer. It may be tucked in under the trousers or worn outside, with the sash over all. Their trousers are sometimes wrapped at the ankles with tape. On the haciendas, a great deal of ordinary European clothing, bought at the local stores, is worn. 291 [177]

The women's dress does not differ from the Bachajon, save for a coarse red sash with yellow stripes, which comes from Comitan.

Houses, *na'*, are of two kinds, the normal, highland type found in Ocosingo Valley and in Bachajon Village itself, and a palm-roofed variant, not unlike the houses of the lowlands, found among the Bachajon in the jungle region (fig. 287). 342 [184]

Fig. 286—El Encanto, Chis. Bark Sandals.

The roof of the normal type, made of a grass thatch laid on in overlapping bundles to a thickness of about twenty centimeters, is called *winikak*. It stands independently of the walls, being supported on cross-beams laid from the main uprights, *kuk'up*. A hip roof is always used for a true dwelling. Often the building is under-cut at one end, so that a small porch is made, on which the door opens. [291]

The walls, *p'ahk*, are of upright sticks stuck in the ground and lashed with lianas, standing without support, separate from the frame. Usually they are thinly plastered with mud. The manner of building the frame itself is described below.

Those of the Bachajon living in the close jungle, where grass is not available, thatch their roofs with palm, when they are called *can*. The leaves are usually of the *chiapai*, *tcyapai*, or *chichon*, *ak'te*. Banana leaves are sometimes used for temporary structures, but fray too readily. Owing to the warmer climate, the walls are not plastered, and often part of the house is un-walled. Usually the porch is omitted. A careful study was made of a house of this type about half a mile from the Finca Encanto, which was a good example save that, being in an open space where grass was plentiful, it was grass thatched.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

353 Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail
[231] hung in the eaves so that the dogs might see them, to prevent their
[415] going away or losing heart. A swizzle stick, *mahas*, about 40 centi-
[224] meters long, was used for stirring cocoa. It is made by cutting a twig above a joint with four branches. Two rat traps, *yakul*, just outside the hut, were exact models of the larger deadfalls used for jaguars (see fig. 308).

[291] Add to this the clothes on the inhabitants backs, and the man's
[411] machete, and you will have a complete list of the worldly possessions, large and small, of a Bachajon family—altogether some forty-four different kinds of things. We assembled as many together as pos-
[126] sible, arranging them as for a feast, and placed in the middle the small son of the house, and a little monkey of a boy, Miguel, who accompanied us to run errands (fig. 292).

342 →

[516]
[291]
[415]
←

[123]
[122]
→

Fig. 292—Bachajon boy guests.

If mud-plastered walls are added to this description, you have a typical Ocosingo Valley house. Change the grass roof to palm, it is the kind to be seen in the jungle country.

At Muxculja (*muckul ha*, "Covered Water"), in the jungle, our Indians built us a trail shelter or hut of the type called in Spanish *champa*, and in Tzeltal *tutna'*, "small house." This enabled us to note the manner of building the frame-work and laying on the roof. The kind of *champa* built for us, with an A-roof and gable ends, is called *gwakac na'*, "cow house"; the more common type built by the Indians when alone, a simple lean-to, is called *lestce-pat* (should be *lestce-pahk?*) "only one wall."

Our shelter being more than usually pretentious, we could observe most of the steps in building a true house, although, of course, the form here was different and the construction much lighter (figs. 293-294). It was three meters, fifty-one centimeters long by three meters wide, two meters high at the ridge-pole, one at the eaves.
[46] It had no walls. From the construction of the outline of the frame to the completed thatching it took fifty minutes for four men, later only two, working without haste.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajon
Tenango
Sivacá

342 The thatching was done by one man on the roof and another, who stood on a slanting stick tied to one of the center uprights, to help the first pass the liana around.

The angle of the long side not being steep enough, the roof leaked. Two men held the eaves-pole on their shoulders while the rest drove the corner posts in deeper, thus making the angle sharper and improving the shed.

[356] Repairs in thatch are made by laying new bundles of leaves directly over the old, the stems being stitched into the thatch with a liana, and a wooden needle made on the spot.

343 In all the larger settlements sweat-baths, *pus*, are located (figs. 295-296). The essential element is a cube of wattle thickly plastered

[291]

FIG. 295—Tenango, Chis. Sweat House of same type used in Ocosingo Valley.

with mud, about a meter to a meter and a half in all measurements, with a small doorway in one end. The door is of the same construction, or of boards. At Sivacá there were thatched roofs above the baths, but entirely separate from them. Water poured on hot stones is used in them. The purpose appears to be medicinal rather than ceremonial.

323 All the Highland Indians make vessels of clay, with the possible exception of the Tenejapeños. Among the Bachajon and at Sivacá, the art is not very well developed, only the most common [135] forms being made, without decoration. Their clay, *tcavek lum*, ("beeswax earth"), is found in the banks of many small streams. It is a

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

323 She formed the base of her pot rapidly in a saucer-like clay form, *hutstahibe* ("rest"). When the bottom was finished, she took it out and laid it on a broad leaf. The work progressed surprisingly quickly and without pause, the potter's hands moving with great speed and precision; the slapping sound as she patted the clay into position was unceasing. The clay was put on in slabs and built upwards, contrary to the coiling technique of the Southwest, the bowl on its leaf being turned rapidly as she worked around the sides. The finishing was done with her hands. The completed bowl was symmetrical, but not very smooth. It was then set in the sun to dry (fig. 298).

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FIG. 297—Sivacá, Chis. The men of the town with the Alcalde on the left.

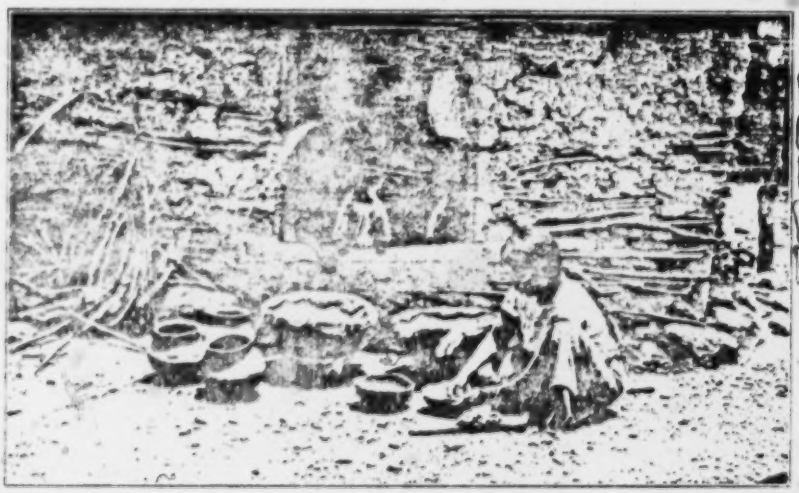
323 The larger forms are started in a flat, gourd dish, and the *tsets* bowls (see below) in an ordinary drinking gourd. Large tubs, when drying, are protected by leaves covering the rim, and are placed on leaves in the gourd dishes used as forms. The leaves are to prevent their drying too quickly and cracking. When cracks do occur, they are filled in with fresh clay. After enough pots are ready, there is a baking, apparently a community affair. I was told that the pottery was ranged in a line, the pine-fuel being laid up in an A-roof over it, forming a long tunnel, through which the draft ensures a brisk fire. One would expect from such a process that the vessels would be much blackened from contact with the fuel, which was not the case in the new ones that I examined, all having an even

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

red-gold colour. The baking observed at Amatenango, which is described in the following chapter, was quite different. 323

The forms made at Sivacá are: (Fig. 299) a tub, *pok'et;* cooking pots or *ollas, ōcom;* form for making cooking pots, *hutstahibe;* bowl, *tsets;* stand for bowl, *awaliko;* form for making sugar, with a hole in the bottom, *hor'mo;* tortilla griddle, *tsamets;* and a perforated olla for washing corn, *tcistcinaix.*

The Bachajon make most of these also, but the tub and clay *tsets* are rare, a gourd often serving for the latter. The surfaces are less well smoothed. In no case was any attempt at decoration observed. It should be noted in this respect, however, that almost all of these would eventually be quite blackened with smoke.



[142] [291] [302] [516] [342]

Fig. 294—Sivacá, Chis. Woman making pottery.

Among the forms shown in the figures, it will be noticed that there is no piece with a markedly contracted neck; such work seems to be beyond their abilities. All through this district the big *cantaras* or water jars are imported from Tenango, and will be discussed in the next chapter.

In general throughout Ocosingo Valley white cloth for men's clothes and women's blouses, made of native cotton, *na'*, as well as the men's sashes, are of local manufacture. Among the Bachajon, cloth is compartively little woven, but sashes are always home made. The coloured thread is usually bought in stores. Weaving is entirely done by the women. 286 [291]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

286 126 123 Our Indian hostess at the Encanto house was commissioned to make us a sash: after observing and photographing the process (fig. 300), we bought the loom with the unfinished piece on it. At Sivacá the army of guides produced a woman who was weaving cloth, and another who was just preparing the thread for the loom (fig. 301). The former was very bored and matter-of-fact about the whole pro-

323

Fig. 299—Sivacá, Chis. Pottery Forms.

A. Ocom. B. Pok et. C. Tsameta. D. Hor'mo. E. Hutstahibe. F. Tseta. G. Awaliko. H. Teistcinaix.

286 126 123 ceeding, but the latter, a younger one, was at first frightened. At the first sight of me, she put away all her work. As she spoke no Spanish, I fell back upon a corps of seven or eight interpreters, who all spoke together while I looked as harmless as possible. Then she thought that the Mayor of Ocosingo, or the President of Mexico, or some one had sent for her, and packed her things to travel. At last she understood, and then balked. The men explained to me, with some amusement, that she was ashamed—*"dice que tiene verguenza"* — but finally she consented to pose. The result was a picture worth the while; she herself was a good type of young Indian woman, on her back was slung a pretty though somewhat grimy baby, while an underfed puppy and very small chicken completed the family group. The picture also shows a good example of the squatting-seat mentioned when listing the contents of the Encanto house (see fig. 301).

[286] [291] [142] [302] [516]

Fig. 300—El Encanto, Chis. Woman Weaving.

283 The spindle, *pětět*, is a stick 35 centimeters long, at the foot of which is a clay whorl, for which no name was given. It is spun with the weighted end resting in a gourd bowl, the upper end held against

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

the thigh. The spinning is done with the left hand, the right holding and drawing out the thread, *tsahalna'* (fig. 302-d). 283

The thread is then arranged for the warp on a form called *kumen* (fig. 302-c). This is a pole 1.40 meters long, notched at intervals on one side, and with a groove in one end joining two unnotched sides. In one of the notches, according to the length of thread desired, is placed a cross stick, *tumin-te,* (equals *kumen-te?*), 45 centimeters long. The thread is laid from one end of this cross stick, through the groove, around to the other end of the cross stick, and so, back and forth, until the required number of woof-strands are prepared. The loops around one half of the cross stick are then transferred to the head-stick of the loom, those around the other to the foot-stick, and the woof is ready. At the head end, the loops are braided for the selvage. 286 342 284 142 516 854 302 291 231

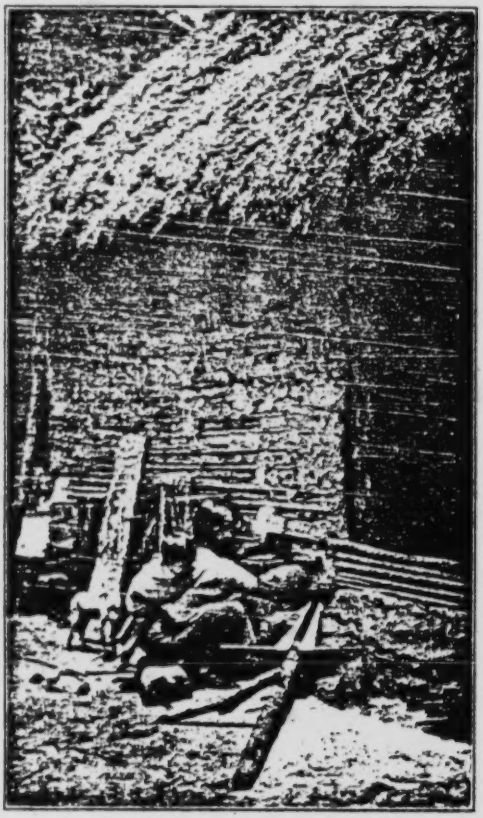


FIG. 301—Sivacá, Chis. Woman Winding Thread.

The loom, *holēl,** has no rigid frame. The woof is stretched over the head and foot-sticks, *wolol-te.* The head-stick is fastened to a beam in the house or to a branch, usually more than a meter above the ground. Before this the weaver sits, with the foot-stick strapped to her by a broad leather strap, *ku'epat,* thus holding the set-up taut (fig. 303). At a little distance below the head-stick, the woof-strands are crossed, those underneath being carried on top, and held in place

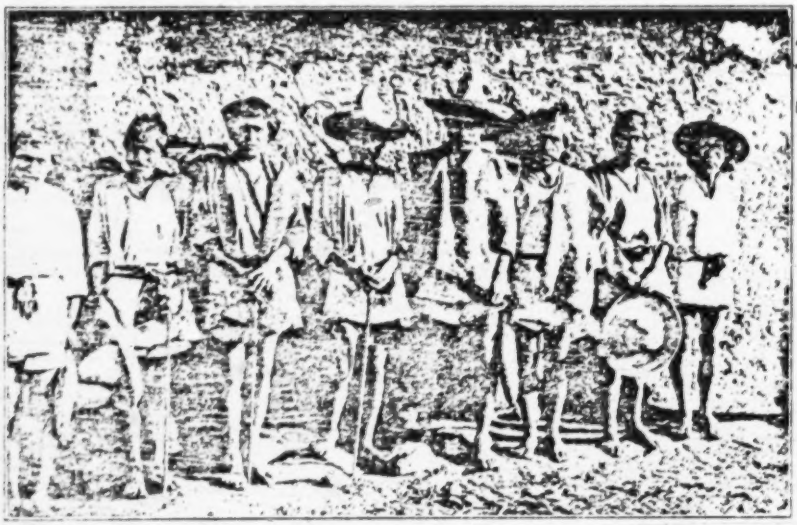
*Holēl is one of a large class of words ending in *-al, -ēl,* or *-il,* which are at once verbal nouns and infinitives; e. g. *tal-ēl,* to come, or the act of coming, corresponding to the Latin *venire* and *veniendo. Hol-ēl* primarily means to weave, here it is also applied to the loom. 193

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

Physically, the people are taller and somewhat heavier boned than the Bachajon. The older men have small beards, close to their chins, of sparse, wiry black hair. Moustaches are faint. The men wear their hair longer on the backs of their necks and over the tops of their ears (fig. 313). 142 302

The men's costume is like that of Ocosingo Valley, a long, V-necked tunic without buttons, coming down nearly to their knees, but the trousers are usually rolled up until almost hidden. A plain red sash is worn knotted in front with ends hanging. 291

We had great difficulty in getting a look at any of the women until finally the officials arranged for a few of them to come and 126 123



142 291 302 623

FIG. 313—Tenango, Chis. The Village Elders.

be photographed with their husbands (fig. 314). Nothing could have brought them alone. They were very strange and stiff about the whole thing, and showed more genuine fear of the camera than we saw anywhere else. The women of marriageable age draw their hair together at the back of the head. Around it a long, red, woolen ribbon, about three centimeters wide, is wrapped until it forms a disk standing out like a halo, the exact size being a matter of coquetry. The hair is then turned back and laid along the edge of the disk and wrapped in the last few rounds of ribbon. The result is that it comes out from the head through the center of the disk in a thick mass, then forms a flat elbow where it is doubled back to the 126 123 302 [301]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

302 edge (fig. 315). Married women use the same head-dress, but with a smaller disk. Girls not yet marriageable do their hair in a pig-tail.

291 The women's blouse is of the old *huipil* type, a long sack of a garment, hanging to the knees, with the shoulders broad enough to come to the elbow, or else with short sleeves sewn on. The seams, cuffs, and neck are picked out with red stitching. The skirt is dark blue, and comes about half-way between knee and ankle.

323 It is an interesting point, and one which archaeologists should note, that Tenango makes the only decorated pottery in the district and has a monopoly also on the big, three-handled water-jars. The

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FIG. 314—Tenango, Chis. Married Couples.

323 Indians explain that they go in for pottery-making because they need the money to supplement the products of their insufficient fields. We were there during the farming season when no work is done on pottery so we were not able to see the processes of manufacture. However, one of our guides took us to the house of a woman who had some reputation for skill, and all types were brought out for us. Besides the forms described in the last chapter, and the big water-jars (fig. 316), they make a goblet-shaped salt-cellar, *yoc-cal-ats' a'* (*atsam*—"salt"), a *tacts* bowl of

[302]

FIG. 315—Tenango, Chis. Woman's head-dress.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

286 and often have no fringe. We were told that it was impossible to
123 see a woman weaving at that time, but by persistent stalking the
126 writer finally managed to locate a girl at work, whom he observed
286 and sketched from behind a bush. The women here were so consistently shy that no doubt she would have rolled up her loom, which was of just the same type as the one seen at Sivacá, and fled into the house had she known she was observed. Our procession through this very pretty village, too, was a serious affair—distinguished strangers being shown around town by the mayor—and had none of the cheerful joking and general *bonhommie* that produced such friendliness and good results at Sivacá.

241 Something more should be said about the agriculture here. Ordinarily, Indians go out to choose their own land in the bush and

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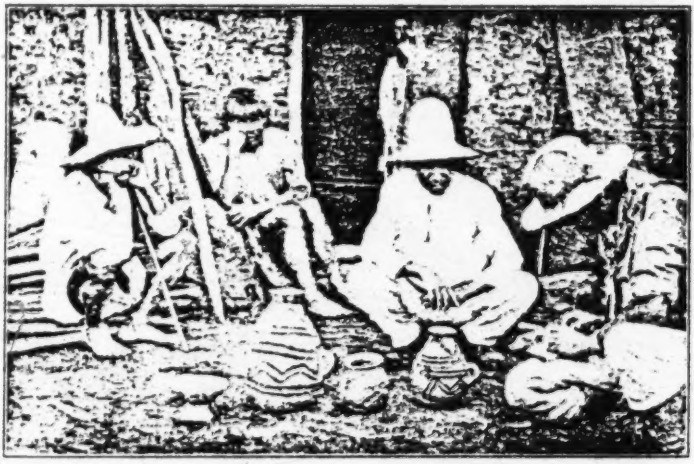

FIG. 319—Tenango, Chis. La Farge drawing pottery.

241 plant it with little cultivation, placing the corn close together. Here each family has its land assigned to it by the council. As the same field must be planted year after year, the hills of corn are widely spaced, and the ground is turned over as deeply as possible by means
[417] of heavy hoes, *ak'en*, purchased in San Cristóbal. As was said, everything is fenced as much as possible. When some of our pack animals got loose in a field, the excitement was intense. In the yards of the houses they raise corn, beans, and a plant related to tobacco. This
824 plant grows nearly as tall as a man. The leaf is rubbed on their legs to cure fatigue. It is carried with lime in a small gourd and offered and accepted for chewing with much the same bowing and formalities as obtained among our ancestors when offering snuff.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango
Cancuc

443 439 themselves maintain an export trade, yet there is some. From the distant, shy Lacandones a little tobacco of fine grade comes out, in exchange for salt, dogs, powder for flint-locks, and aguardiente. Tenango pottery goes down to Salto de Agua and up to Tenejapa where it meets the finer products of Amatenango, with which it cannot compete. Amatenango pottery is traded as far, at least, as San Andres in Guatemala. Chamula blankets are worn in Cancuc, and all through the Chiapas mountains. The Indians of the highest section keep warm in a heavy woolen shirt called *"chuj,"* which is made in Guatemala. So they themselves, on a small scale, and the Ladino peddlers yet more, keep alive a vestige of the old trade that once ran from Central America to Utah.

114 291 482

Fig. 321—Cargadores with our boxes.

114 The last day's climb had seriously fatigued our horses. It became obvious that they alone could not bring us safely through, so on the sixth we arranged for five *cargadores,* under one of the village councillors, to carry five of our boxes through to Cancuc (fig. 321). It seemed as though that would make quite a load for each of these men, but we came to realize that the carrying power of a Highland Tzeltal truly puts a mule to shame.

At the end of the valley we swung up into the highroad that runs from San Cristóbal to the Lowlands at Salto de Agua. Once fairly well smoothed and levelled, this road is now impassable for ox-carts, and even horses must pick their way over the jagged limestone

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

boulders with care. It still is broad in most places, and has reasonable grades. We climbed to a rather desolate upland of wind-swept grass with a few crooked trees. There was some traffic on the road. We passed a group of Tenejapeños going down to the hot country to carry sugar. The men were ragged and woolly, like those we had seen at Salto de Agua, and their women, in short blue skirts and white blouses gorgeously ornamented with gold and crimson silk, were remarkable for their very pink cheeks showing through dark brown colouring.

The town of Cancuc (*kank'uk*) lies on the rounded shoulder of a long ridge that juts up above the high moors commanding a tremendous view North, West, and South over a jumbled mass of mountain ranges, like a herd of great elephants shouldering away to the horizon. A wind blows day and night, the trees are small and stunted, and the general effect is one of bleakness and height. At an altitude of 1,440 meters, with the unresting wind, it is always cold. The highroad climbs from a ravine up into the village where a small plaza is laid out on a level place. On our left was the big, white church, still well preserved. Opposite it, the Cabildo surprised us, a neat building with tile roof and white columned portico, built in President Diaz' time. Round about were some tumbling and ruined huts, and behind, the village rose on rough terraces crudely faced with stone.

Cancuc has a stormy history. It was the center of the famous rebellion of 1712, the subject of Brinton's "Maria Candelaria."* According to Starr (1904) who passed through here, there is a tradition that the men's long hair, covering their ears, is so worn in memory of the clipped ears which their ancestors received at that time. Recently, there has been political dissension in the form of a dragging feud, and a series of small fights and murders has resulted in those left of the defeated party abandoning the village and setting up their houses in the bush. It is from this that one sees so many huts deserted and beginning to disintegrate, adding to the general cheerless aspect of the place.

We were well received at the Cabildo, where the village officials with their silver-headed canes turned up shortly to look us over. They were younger men than most of the officials we had met previously, and a pretty tough looking crew, much what one would expect of a group that had attained office largely by means of the machete. The people on the whole rather resemble the Bachajon physically, being of a small-limbed type with an average height for men of about 160 centimeters, and nearly beardless. The men wear tunics cut as at Tenango, but decorated with red and yellow em-

*Brinton, 1887; Pineda, 1888.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

291 broidery along all the seams, at the cuffs, and over what would be a pocket in a European shirt. Trousers are either very short "shorts," or replaced by a cotton breech-clout. Hats are seldom worn. Most men carry woolen blankets woven by the Chamula Indians. The red sashes are knotted in front (fig. 322).

The women's dress is the same as at Tenango, but without any 302 decoration, and with a shorter skirt. Their hair is worn in two braids, or done up in a knot over the forehead, forward of where the tump-line is placed.

FIG. 323—Cancuc, Chis. Men on the Cabildo porch.

771 These people, for all their turbulence, are very devout, although, like many who are more civilized, they leave most of the expression 794 to the women. The church is swept out daily by women appointed for the purpose. Along about five o'clock in the afternoon all the women drift in, singly or in small groups, pray for awhile, 346 and come out. Looking in the door one sees the large interior almost pitch dark, cut here and there with [291] tiny, yellow candle-flames, and hears a monotonous sing-song drone of chanted 796 prayers. Their festivals center about the church. In this connection they have a very curious custom. [417] There are two scaffolds by the plaza (fig. 323) very small platforms on four rickety poles about four meters high, surrounded by an insufficient railing, arched over with palm branches, [203] and reached by a frail-looking ladder. The drinking which, as was explained in the last chapter, is an essential part of any ceremony, must all take place on top of these scaffolds. It is indeed a miracle that every fiesta does not cause a score of broken necks.

123 While wandering around to see what he could see, the writer was hailed by an elderly woman who gave him to understand by signs

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

estimate, with their own, regular Indian administration under the control of the Ladino government. The *Presidente Municipal*, a most obliging man, got the Indian *Presidente* for us, whom we photographed by the last light of the day (fig. 329). Through this chief, men were sent out to bring in grass; they returned with enormous, green bundles as big as themselves.

The Indian houses outside the town differ from those previously described in the possession of a sort of porch, or part under the roof in front screened with boards, introductory to the house itself.

The Tenejapeños are strongly built, thickset, and short, with enormously powerful calves. In fact the chief industry of the tribe is acting as porters. They go in large bands to places at a considerable distance to take or bring back loads, competing successfully with the Chamula packtrains. In this the women are as proficient as the men. Their colour is dark, a rich brown, more red than golden, with distinctly pink cheeks showing through in the case of the children and old people. The men are almost beardless. Faces are rather broad and round* (fig. 330).

FIG. 329—Tenejapa, Chia. The chief of the Tenejapeños.

The essential parts of a man's costume are a pair of shorts and a brown and white striped Chamula Indian blanket, worn as a poncho. Two of these blankets may be comfortably worn in that climate. Hats, when used, are also of Chamula make, of straw with a flat brim, and round, close-fitting crown pointed at the top. Usually they are decorated with ribbons. A sash of white material may be worn, the ends of which, hanging down in front, are elaborately embroidered (fig. 331). The

*Starr (1902) made some measurements upon these people, the most important of which are summarised here. They show an interesting variability.

STATURE IN MILLIMETERS

Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range	Below 1600	1600—1650	1650—1700	Above 1700	Total
1,597	1,722	1,402	320	75	18	6	1	100

	Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range
CEPHALIC INDEX	78.3	86.4	68.9	18.5
FACIAL INDEX	81.6	94.5	63.0	30.5
NASAL INDEX	88.8	102.2	64.1	38.3

291 shorts are also usually embroidered in red and yellow. The chief had such a pair, very fine and gaudy, which we asked to see. He took [123] them off to show us, but when we tried to buy them from him he [293] became furiously angry and abusive. Sandals, when worn, are of the ordinary type. Most of the Indians carry a staff of some kind.

[531] The women wear the typical blue skirt, but the blouse, cut like a poncho, is usually tucked inside and heavily embroidered about the neck and shoulders. This work takes a long time, and the finished blouses are valued very highly. When worn outside they nearly cover the skirts, which are just knee length. Red sashes with a yellow stripe from Tapachula, of the kind worn also around Ocosingo, bind the skirts at the waist. Hair is done in two braids with dark red ribbon, or tied up in a knot over the forehead as at Cancuc.

[342] [231] [854] ← 302 → 301 → 621 563 → [293] →

FIG. 330—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians in the street.

Men and women alike wear cheap, gay-coloured necklaces, usually rosaries.

The Indians move with great freedom through the town and lounge in company with the Ladinos on the broad porch of the Town Hall. The officials are distinguished by silver-headed canes with black tassels. In lieu of a Maestro, they are directly under the Ladino *Presidente Municipal,* and their disputes are tried by the local judge. Their lawsuits have a mediaeval air, carried on publicly with great clamor on the Town Hall porch, and all concerned speaking with the utmost freedom. A breach of promise case was observed in the course of trial. It went on for at least two hours with never less than two Indians, usually women, speaking at once. One could not but admire the patience of the rather bored and indifferent judge.

695 344

114 The cargadores from Cancuc arrived shortly after dark, still lively despite the long day and steep climb. More remarkable still,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa
Amatenango

one of them had developed fever, "so that he lost his breath," and 114
another had made almost the whole trip with two kayaks, over 200 lbs. on his back. They camped on the Town Hall porch where we, with our beds on piles of grass in a room labelled *"Commandancia,"* heard them, as we fell asleep, still chattering over a friendly bottle. Here, as long ago at Ocozotepec, our goods and saddles were stored in the jail, the room next ours, bearing the tactful label in red and blue, *"Prevencion."* Our grass beds were soft and sweet. The big door framed a little of the plaza, the fountain, a cottage with a narrow barred, candle-lit window, and the towering back-drop of cliffs behind, reaching to the stars, with one small winking fire, high up, from some Indian's house. We heard our *cargadores* low chatter-

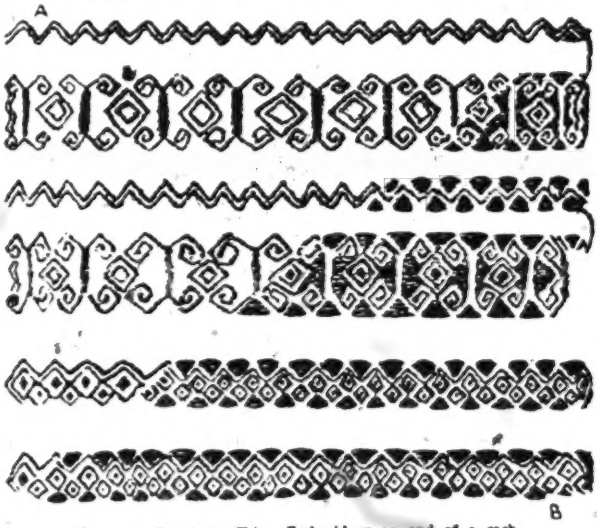

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FIG. 331—Tenejapa, Chis. Embroidery on end of a sash.
A. Front. B. Back.

ing, the play of the fountain, a distant guitar. The air was fresh 114
with pines and sweet grass and mountain coolness. We were in a magic country, and we were very, very tired.

Although it breaks the sequence of our journey, it seems best to 361
mention the town of Amatenango here in connection with the other 323
Highland Tzeltal tribes. We passed through it just beyond Teopisca on our way to Comitan, having no time to stop off. The [492]
people had been observed in San Cristóbal, where they come in to trade their famous pottery, men and mules alike piled high with loads twice their size.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Tzotzil NV11

Tze 142 Tze 291

The men are tallish and the majority of them have sparse, black beards. They wear plain, white cotton tunics and short trousers, sashes, and hats of the sombrero type. The women wear the usual short, blue skirts. Their blouses are cut with a square neck, around which are embroidered three bands, each about two centimeters wide, of red, yellow and red. At the corners, little imitation tassels are embroidered in the same colours.

Tze 621 623 Tze [115]

We were told, by an unreliable informant, that this village was remarkable for its independence. Its officials are chosen by the natives alone, and run through a regularly prescribed *cursus honorum* from secretary up to president, and then on to the council of elders. Government laws and orders sent to the village are debated by this council and are not published unless approved by them.

Tze 323

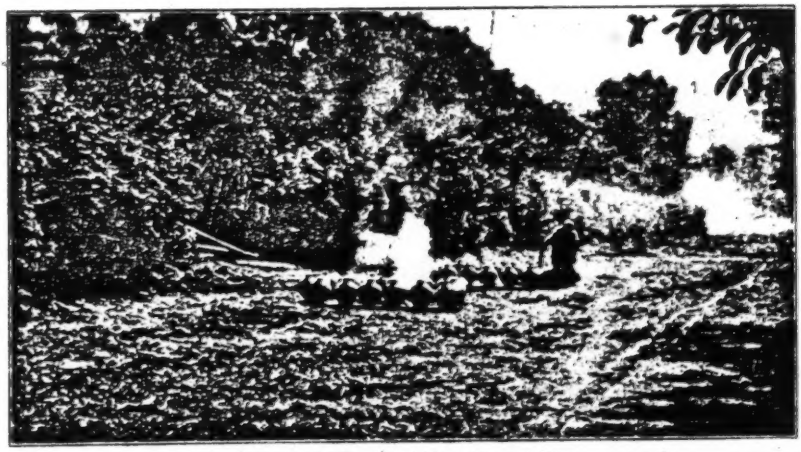

FIG. 333—Amatenango, Chis. Pottery baking.

Tze 584 323 606

We were also told that in case of marriage each party works for his or her prospective in-laws, and that the girl at that time learns pottery making, taking over the mother-in-law's specialty.

Tze 648 434 171

While there was no way of checking up on this information, it is true that there is no Maestro at Amatenango, and that the Indians seem to be an unusually self-respecting and self-reliant lot. Of all the Tzeltal people observed, they were the only ones who seemed to compare with the Zotzil-speaking Chamulas in energy and prosperity.

Tzo 114 137

Returning to ourselves and our trip. We left Tenejapa on the following morning by a winding, broad road climbing to a pass in

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

241 825 *they said to me, "while we go over with the other two." I fell asleep. Then the raccoon entered. And so I believe the raccoon is very bright.*

Also there is the wild pig, who is less bright than the raccoon.

Another "thief" of the milpa is a small black insect which eats beans. These are eliminated in the following way:

• 291 *When we plant beans, the women go with us wearing a new skirt and a new shawl. They walk near the plants, waving the shawl. The animals die. It has to be a new skirt. My mother proved it. She went with an old skirt, and she saw that they did not die. They just fled to the mountain out of shame. It is the smell of the old skirt that scared them away.*

241 825 782 788 If many animals are eating the crops, Indians buy three twenty-cent candles. They take them to the fields and light them, praying in Tzeltal: "God, holy world, please look at me and speak to the little animals. God, holy rock, holy forest, please look at me, hear me, speak to the animals."

The candles are media through which communication is made with the gods as well as gifts which seal the contract with the gods ensuring their protection and guardianship over the crops.

241 776 784 Guarding the crops also involves avoidance of certain kinds of behavior by the farmer and his wife. Farmers must always avoid irritating the spirits of the heaven who control the elements which make the growth of the crop possible. One informant explained:

One should not have sexual relations with anyone in the milpa because the Father Sun [Tatik K'ak'al] *gets angry or "ends his heart." He will not give crops. He gets very hot. One time, many women in town were looking for lovers. They would have sexual relations with boys in the daytime. The Father Sun got angry and caused the crops to burn. There was very little corn. The price went up to twenty cents a liter. People bought bread and mixed it with the nixtamal.*

It is different if a man is married to a woman in the church. The Tatik K'ak'al does not get angry. The Tatik K'ak'al does not have a woman of his own, and so he gets jealous if he sees people having sexual relations in the milpa in the daytime.

But if you have relations at night with a man in the milpa, Our grand-

have recently sought additional lands in the ejido of Brindis to meet these minimal requirements. This preference for expanding subsistence agriculture to hiring out as laborers is the best index to the persistence of traditional economic pursuits. 423 433 178 241 464

Farmers who do not have a cash crop in wheat may be forced to sell corn even when there is no surplus. Because they usually need the cash as soon as they harvest their crop, they must sell when the prices are low. Thus their consumption needs exacerbate the disadvantage they face in the market. 434 435

Clothing, whether traditional or modern in style, requires cash outlays. Women have kept the traditional costume while men are modifying their clothing. Even when they go to hot country, older women wear the heavy cotton skirt bound with a thick sash and topped by an embroidered blouse; some younger women have adopted the long cotton dirndl skirt and peasant blouse. A white cotton shawl is added for ceremonial events or for warmth in the evening. All of their clothing is either bought or made of materials woven on looms in Comitán or San Bartolomé. The navy blue skirt, which they say is black, and the red and yellow sash are sold for 40 to 50 pesos by Ladina vendors who come to town. The blouse is made from two meters of heavy white cotton sold in the local stores or in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. Most prefer the more expensive cotton woven on bed looms in San Bartolomé, but it is not always available. They embroider the wide bands of yellow and red around the neckline with embroidery floss sold in the local store. The fringed shawl from Comitán is also sold locally, but is often purchased during the annual fiestas in the town. These items are replaced every two or three years, depending on the wealth of the family. The newer clothing is worn on ceremonial occasions, and the older clothing is worn every day. Women wear sandals and hats for protection only when they are firing pottery. For jewelry they wear bead necklaces, sometimes with crosses attached. Their hair is braided with ribbons for fiestas, or simply left hanging when they work. 434 291 178 [439] [435] [294] [292] [751] [301] [302]

Men buy a woolen jacket called *kotonču*, which is brought illegally from the Department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala, where it is made, 434 291 439

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

and sold in Comitán. It is the same as the costume worn by the Indians of that area. A similar garment is made in Comitán but is considered inferior to the contraband product. Shirts and wrapped trousers made of coarse cotton are stitched and sold in Teopisca. The trousers are bound with a red woven sash. These items make up the modified costume worn by most of the boys and men. Men over sixty wear a long, coarsely woven shirt with a slashed neck made in San Bartolomé. This is caught at the waist with a woven band and worn over short trousers. In the evening or during ceremonies the kotonču is always worn. The older men wear high-backed sandals attached to rubber-tire soles with thongs, while younger men wear the *huarache* of crossed leather bands secured to a rubber-tire sole found in many parts of Mexico. Increasingly men are taking on the western clothing worn by Ladinos—the belted cotton trousers, shirt, and underclothing sold in the local store and in the neighboring towns. In 1957, only a half-dozen men, all of them former students in the boarding school established in Cárdenas' term of office, wore this dress, but today over twenty middle-aged men and dozens of youths in their teens wear it. Those who wear modern clothing have substituted a zippered "air-force" jacket for the kotonču. All men wear factory-made straw hats, under which, on ceremonial occasions, they wear a red bandanna bound over the forehead and tied at the nape of the neck. A high-crowned palm hat with black designs, ordered by the alfereces when they enter office, used to be woven by a few specialists; now only one man can make them.

The changing styles in men's clothing reflect three stages of acculturation. The older style worn by elders is said to be the costume worn by the ancestors who live in the cave. Since all of the items are and have for some time been purchased from outside the town, the changing pattern of consumption—the change from modified peasant to ladino-style clothing—has not affected local production.

Girl's wear a machine-embroidered peasant blouse and a mid-calf gathered skirt made of cotton or rayon and purchased in the neighboring towns. They change to the woman's costume when they reach their teens. Boys wear the same clothing as their fathers, except for the old costume. Table 12 shows the cost for these items.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Houses are built of materials locally produced or gathered from communal resources, but new construction materials, such as tiles, require cash outlay. The average house area is thirty-six square meters divided into two main rooms. Building is usually done in February or March. After the 342

TABLE 12. Clothing Expenditure and Origin

	Price (pesos)	*Place of origin*
Men's clothing		
Kotonču from Guatemala	60	Huehuetenango
Kotonču from Mexico	40	Comitán
Shirt worn by elders	60	San Bartolomé
Underpants	15	San Bartolomé
High-backed sandals	25	San Cristóbal
Wrapped pants	25	Teopisca
Tailored shirt	30	Teopisca
Factory-made shirt	7	San Cristóbal and Comitán
Straw hats	10	Teopisca and San Cristóbal
Factory-made pants	15	Teopisca and San Cristóbal
Belt	5	Teopisca, San Cristóbal, and Comitán
Sash	7	Comitán
Huaraches	20	San Cristóbal
Women's clothing		
Wrapped skirt	40–60	Comitán
Huipile, factory-made cloth	50	San Cristóbal
Huipile, hand-loomed cloth	60	San Bartolomé
Reboza	12–16	Comitán
Apron	5	San Cristóbal
Children's clothing		
Girl's skirt	7	Teopisca
Girl's blouse	5	Teopisca
Boy's shirt	3.5	Teopisca
Boy's hat	3–4	Teopisca, San Cristóbal
Boy's pants	5	Teopisca

291 435

materials have been collected, the construction of the house frame takes about eight days' work with the cooperation of five or six men. Filling in the walls with mud takes another three days. Table 13 gives the cost of materials and transportation for one house built during my stay. 342

The biggest change in housing has been in the roofs. The old type of 177 342 435

434 178 177 I can get one then. Last year I bought a transistor radio for nine hundred and ninety pesos. My wife said she would leave me if I got it because all [153] the children would get sick. But I got it anyway and no one was sick. I am stronger than my enemies."

Innovation on the consumption level is adding a stimulus to innovation in economic activities. The successful innovator must invent a rationale for his improved standards of living and then prove that he can survive the possible evil consequences of envy. The process of adoption is one of a shift in the incidence of choices made in the direction of improving levels of living. The new is often incorporated with the old rather than replacing it. For example, after the rough preparation has been done with the mill, [252] grinding stones are used for the final grinding of corn to get the dough [415] into the preferred consistency for making tortillas. Tin plates are used along with crockery and gourds. Some items are linked in change: for ex- [291] ample, tailored pants are worn only with buttoned shirts and belts and [196] with zippered jackets. The old forms are continued in a ceremonial con- [415] text: kotonču is preferred when a man undertakes an official role, and gourds are preferred to any other container for ceremonial foods. The technology of production lags behind the changes in consumption that have increased the need for greater income—agricultural tools have not been modified since the colonial period when the wooden plow, metal hoe, machete, and plow used with draft animals were added. Changes in consumption needs rather than in productive technology are expanding the economic horizons of the Indians.

Choices and Strategies in Agricultural Production

241 In agricultural and pottery production, decision-making concerning the use of land and labor resources is controlled not only by a traditional technology but more importantly by a given state of cognitive orientations that determines, in Goodenough's words (1966:54), "what states of affairs they have learned to discern, what they believe to be the relations between them, and what they understand to be the processes by which one state can be transformed into another." Agriculturalists have a fine perception

[P. 198-C]

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Plate 3. A father and his two sons, walking in order of age, leave the village to go to their milpa. The father, walking in front, is wearing the old-style costume with a wrapped overshirt concealing short undertrousers. His sons wear western clothing. All of the men carry net bags on a tumpline, with their backs protected from their burdens by a sheepskin. They all carry machetes, and the boys have rifles.

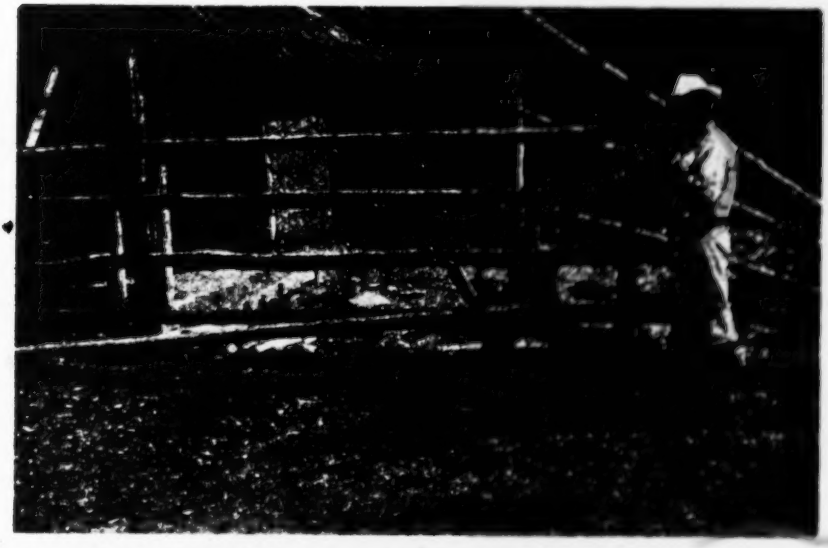

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Plate 4. Farmer showing the arada plow. He is holding the handle, and the shaft, made of a long tree post, is propped on the ground.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

[P.198-D]

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Plate 5. Men assisting the women of their household in the firing of canteros, or water jugs. They have just removed the still-smoldering logs which were propped on the outer perimeter of the pyramid of jugs.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

[P.198-E]

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Plate 6. Woman scraping a cantero that has been sun-dried in the porch of her home. Behind her is an altar with pictures of the saints. Photograph by Mercey Jacobson.[1]

1 (correction, this should read "photograph by Marcey Jacobson"..Analyst)

[P.198-G]

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Plate 8. Women of a household and their helpers grinding corn and making tortillas with a press in preparation for a house ceremony. They are all dressed in the traditional costume. Most of such food preparation is done inside the house except at the time of large festivals. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

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Plate 9. Curer sitting next to the center post where he has just arranged the candles and branches of spring bushes in preparation for the house fiesta. The basket contains the protective crosses, bound with palm fronds, which he will nail on the house posts. The basin contains springwater, and the gourd in the foreground contains the powdered medicines which will be added to the water and drunk. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

[P 198-H]

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Plate 10. Future members of the household line up with the branches of spring bushes with which the curer will brush them. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

might have been his father, an uncle, or a godparent who had already served as alférez. 794 782

Buying festal foods. *The following items were purchased in the neighboring Ladino town of Himtol: 120 pesos' worth of bread; one-half a slaughtered bull for 600 pesos; 6 almudes of beans; 10 kilos of coffee; and 5 pesos' worth of brown sugar. If the alférez owned a bull, he slaughtered it and sold one half.* 794 796 [43]

Preparing liquor. *The alférez rented a still and, with the help of his father and brothers, distilled 7 garafones (126 liters) of liquor, using brown cane sugar.* [273] [429]

Preparing special clothing. *The following items were purchased or bought: jacket for 50 pesos; shirt for 55 pesos; hat for 30 pesos; pair of boots for 32 pesos; red waistband for 16 pesos; and red kerchief for 9 pesos.* 794 796 43 [291]

The hat was made by a man in the town. When the alférez went to ask him to do him the favor of making a hat, he brought 1 peso's worth of bread, 1 liter of trago, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. The alférez borrowed black leather leggings and a black towel. To each of those who lent him clothing, he gave 1 liter of trago, 1 peso's worth of bread, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. When he returned the clothing, he gave the same gifts. [426]

The installation of the new alférez. *During the four days of the fiesta of the saint with which he was charged, the new alférez was initiated into his duties in office. In taking on each of the functions assigned to him, that "dialectical connection between the actor and his part, the person and his roles or status or office," was effected (Fortes 1959:57).* 794 796

The first day (Paswamal). *On the first day of every large fiesta,* Paswamal *(literally, "to make the boughs or decorations"), the women of the household and the sisters and sisters-in-law of the new alférez and his wife gathered in his house to cook the food. The men slaughtered the* [252] [262]

621 474 493 permission to extend operations to hot country where the Indians of the town-held ejido land. This territory had been controlled by the state-wide trucking sindicate whose monopoly was protected by government permits. On the basis that they were poor, nonprofit-making ejidatarios, the Indians were granted the right to truck corn from the ejido colonies to the highlands. Whenever the cooperative leaders planned to go to the department[291] capital to make their appeals, the schoolmaster counseled them to wear their Indian costume—the white shirt and pants with red sash, sandals, and woolen kotonču—in order to play the role of simple campesinos more convincingly. He was aware of the effectiveness of this pose in pro-Indian governmental circles.

665 The PRI leadership in the department capital is neither aware of nor interested in the local factions which seek their support. Their concern is only that the vote is solidly behind regional and national candidates of the party, and they support the group that can mobilize the largest number of votes. A policy of favoritism toward Indians, based on an ideology of *indigenismo,* pro-Indianism, is coupled with a policy of permitting local autonomy. The national committee's program for promoting literacy has never reached this community nor any that I know of in the area. The party's promotion of Indian welfare consists of supporting demands made by Indian constituents and bringing them to the attention of civil service officials assigned to these functions. Party officials thus act as intermediaries between the voters and the bureaucracy of the government, channeling complaints and demands.

62 177 178 181 In the development of factions around new economic interests, the Indians have shifted from an ideology in which the dialectic of conflict was cast in traditional dual-division opposition to one in which the conflict is seen as Indian versus Ladino domination of enterprises. Since these interests cut across the territorial divisions, the economic factions have not crystallized along territorial lines. It is this shift in perspective which makes [665] for the "qualitative" change in local political organization.

Competition between Caciques

622 563 There are several dimensions to the role of cacique in Tzoʔontahal. First, it is a role created by outside interests and occupied by someone mar-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The assumption that leisure is a concept unique to highly civilized societies is denied by peasant behavior in this community and many others like it in which the members are masters of the greater part of their time. What differentiates their scheduling of leisure-time activities from that of most western societies is that theirs is based on community decisions rather than individual predilections and that it is set in the frame of sacred rather than secular performances. Community standards are most notable in the way people dress for fiestas: women wear their newest embroidered blouses; their hair is neatly braided with ribbons. Men wear a kotonču with their cleanest shirt and pants. The children, except for the youngest, wear clothes like the adults'. Villagers "care for" the celebration by sitting on their porches, greeting neighbors, smoking and talking. When a public performance is held in the church or plaza, they participate as observers. Arduous work of any kind is proscribed. Special foods are prepared and served at regular mealtimes. A special mark of all days of fiesta is the serving of fermented corn beverage. Meat or chicken is more likely to be served on Sundays and holidays than on other days.

Timing as a Strategy in Interpersonal Relations

The preferred mode of action is "slow and soft." This applies to motion, especially in rituals, as well as to the scheduling of actions in a series of negotiations. The people are sensitive to the use of time in bargaining as an index to the relative resources of the negotiators. Withholding power in the market gives a marked price advantage in the sale of crops. Sale in advance of harvest means a loss of one-quarter to one-half of the price which could be gained if the crop was sold after it was cut, and corn sometimes doubles in value if withheld for six months or more. Interest as a time payment for the use of money is accepted on the basis that the borrower could put it to work. There is no feeling against the evil of usury, although the rates are relatively high in town—five percent per month.

This understanding of time as an indicator of relative strength extends to social functions. Time serves as an interval to build confidence on the part of both parties entering into contractual arrangement. In the betrothal, both parties are prepared for a long series of visits before the suit

855 the elder child, except that they allow the child some freedom
862 to run around the sitio, or go outside the sitio with other adults
883 in order to go visiting.[1]

The adolescent children, especially those going to school, have complete freedom of movement within the community. They are sent to visit their grandmothers, to deliver little presents, or they are sent to ask for borrowed things. They also bring news and gossip back and forth between households. Their role as [585] messengers is sometimes formalized, as during weddings when children are sent ahead to announce the arrival of the bride, and her family, to the groom's household.

857 Pre-adolescent girls have the responsibility of caring for
868 their younger siblings, and are initiated into the woman's work
562 at an early age. They are trained by their mothers in making tortillas, carrying water, sweeping and sewing. They can go visiting on their own, and play outside the home with other girls before and after school, if they are regular school goers.

882 After the first menstruation (and sometimes a little before
562 if they show signs of maturity), they change from the light cotton
[291] skirt into the traditional dark blue nagua (tubular skirt) and red faja (sash), and are considered marriageable (solteritas or tek' el). At this point, they are expected to stay within the homestead grounds, except if they are told to bring water or if they go with compañía (company) to the afternoon rezo (praying

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[1] In extreme cases, when the elder child shows extreme signs of distress (crying long hours and refusing to eat anything), it will be given to a woman relative living in other household, usually the paternal grandmother or a married sister without children. This, however, is extremely rare.

4. Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Amatenango del Valle

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FIG. 7—CARGO OFFICIALS, AMATENANGO DEL VALLE. Note ceremonial hats and drum with which church functions are announced. (Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 222-A]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

323 pyramid is complete, wood is laid against the pots in a tepee formation. [313] When the sawmill in the vicinity was in operation, flat boards—scraps of [372] cut lengths—were used, but now only logs are available. Corn husks or [462] dry straw are stuffed between the planks or logs. When a large number of pots are being fired, the men usually help at the final stages to remove the [476] charred planks with poles. If men are not available, the women of the household often call upon their neighbors for help. In this operation, the [292] women wear sandals and hats for protection from the heat. When the pots are cooled, the women, sometimes with the help of the men, stack them in net bags, six to a net with straw protecting the pots.

647 About fifteen year ago, a kiln was introduced by the government in the 177 interest of conserving wood. Those who tried it claim that the pottery did 323 not fire well and that many of the pots were broken. I.N.I. (the Instituto 372 Nacional Indigenista) planned to introduce an improved kiln, and while most of the people we questioned expressed a willingness to try it, the proposal was never put into action.

462 The men do most of the marketing of pottery. Loads of one or two 442 dozen may be taken by bus or truck to San Cristóbal or to Comitán. 443 When there is large-scale production throughout the community, as occurs 494 just before major fiestas, truckers come from the neighboring town of Teopisca to contract for delivery.

592 The amount of pottery produced in households varies with the follow- 323 ing factors:
433

1. Household composition: (a) Number of women in the family. [464] If there is only one woman, very little or no pottery is produced because of the demands of domestic duties. Households with two or more women are able to sustain the ideal output of at least a dozen water jugs a week (I use "ideal" here to suggest their notion of what they produce when asked to guess. As Fig. 2 indicates, this varies considerably during the [887] year.) (b) Age of women and ages of children. Older women over sixty do not independently undertake pottery production. They may assist in washing pots with corn gruel or making the neck, mouth, and handles, but they are unable to endure the harder task of collecting clay. A woman with infants under two years of age makes little pottery if

have recently sought additional lands in the ejido of Brindis to meet these minimal requirements. This preference for expanding subsistence agriculture to hiring out as laborers is the best index to the persistence of traditional economic pursuits. 423 433 178 241 464

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Amatenango del Valle

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younger men wear the *huarache* of crossed leather bands secured to a rub-
ber-tire sole found in many parts of Mexico. Increasingly men are taking
[177] on the western clothing worn by Ladinos—the belted cotton trousers,
shirt, and underclothing sold in the local store and in the neighboring
towns. In 1957, only a half-dozen men, all of them former students in the
boarding school established in Cárdenas' term of office, wore this dress,
but today over twenty middle-aged men and dozens of youths in their
[177] teens wear it. Those who wear modern clothing have substituted a zip-
pered "air-force" jacket for the kotonču. All men wear factory-made straw
[292] hats, under which, on ceremonial occasions, they wear a red bandanna
bound over the forehead and tied at the nape of the neck. A high-crowned
[194] palm hat with black designs, ordered by the alfereces when they enter of-
[292] fice, used to be woven by a few specialists; now only one man can make
[178] them.

291 The changing styles in men's clothing reflect three stages of acculturation.
177 The older style worn by elders is said to be the costume worn by the
ancestors who live in the cave. Since all of the items are and have for some
time been purchased from outside the town, the changing pattern of con-
sumption—the change from modified peasant to ladino-style clothing—has
not affected local production.

Girl's wear a machine-embroidered peasant blouse and a mid-calf gath-
ered skirt made of cotton or rayon and purchased in the neighboring
towns. They change to the woman's costume when they reach their teens.
Boys wear the same clothing as their fathers, except for the old costume.
Table 12 shows the cost for these items.

Change of Officials

The degree of integration of the civil and religious wings of the hierarchy can be described behaviorally. The following acts (App. 1) indicate this structural feature. 621* 794 182

Q. 24. The civil officials kneel and "measure their noses" as they enter the townhall in deference to the banners. [788]

Q. 27. Sacred objects, such as the holy banners of the *kobrarias*, are present on the table in the townhall as the officers take the oath of office. Officials carry rosaries as they accept oath and wear them in the procession to the church. [778]

Q. 28. The alfereces are present in the townhall to witness the ceremony. As bearers of the four major saints of the town, their role is primarily defined in a religious context.

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In the inauguration of the religious officials the only act uniting officials of the two wings of the hierarchies is that of counting the money (App. 2, Q. 90) when the town treasurer and síndico assist the church officials. The integration of the civil and religious wings in Tzo?ontahal is asymmetrical. The church officials as a group are involved in the civil inauguration, but the civil officials are only peripherally involved in the religious inauguration. 621* 794 182 [624]

Another behavioral basis for stating the dimensions of the civil and religious integration is found in the replication of symbols and acts in each inauguration. In taking the oath, the term *yič huramentu* is used in both settings. The staff as symbol of civil office has its counterpart in the candles handed over to the mayordomos. In both ceremonies, officials of the townhall and of the church wear red kerchiefs and carry rosaries when receiving the oath of office. 621* 794 182 782 788 [641] [292] [293]

Replication of behavior in both civil and religious 000

[P. 220—B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzoʔontahal

APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
*62 124	13. What time does he begin to raise the officials?		He gets up early about 6 A.M.	
796 624	14. How does the fourth regidor raise the other officials?	First he goes to get the third regidor. Then they go to the second. The three go to collect the first. After all are together, the four go to the house of the first judge	The fourth regidor goes to the house of the third regidor. They leave and go to the house of the second regidor, then to the house of the first regidor. Then they go to the síndico's house. Leave and go to the house of the judge	
*62 124 796 693	15. How do the judges join together?	First the two assistant judges call on the second judge. Then the three go to the house of the first judge	The assistant judge for Ahk'olnantik goes to raise assistant for Alannantik. The two go to the house of the second judge. Then they go to the house of the first judge	I arrived at 9:30 at the house of the first alcalde. Present were the following (see Chart 3)
[273]	16. What do the judges do in the house of the first judge?	They drink liquor. They await the arrival of the four regidores	They drink liquor	Before serving liquor the first judge gave the benediction for the liquor *(patʔot'an yič smahtanil)* with the first *nakawane*. His godchild *ahijado shalal nupune*, of marriage, and his brother-in-law Lucian Kut poured liquor. He served cigarettes. Two liters of liquor were drunk here before going to house of president
[292] [576]	17. What do they do then?	They go to the house of the president (see Chart 4)	Go to the house of the president	Assembled company prepared to leave at 10:10. The first judge puts on his plain red kerchief. The assistant judges put on flowered red kerchiefs. First judge said goodbye to the *nakawane*. This formal adieu, the *spat lok'yoʔt'an*. Regidores stood up and came out. Then the assistant judge arrived at the house of President 10:30. (Chart 6)
*62 124 796 693 576	18. What do they do when they enter the house of the president?	The first judge gives the *spat yoʔt'an* with the first nakawane	The first regidor gives the *patʔot'an*	First judge speaks with *meʔil k'op* who stood at door of inner room. The *nakawanehetik* bowed and kissed hands with the first and second alcaldes
[533] [539]	19. How do they give the *spat yoʔt'anik* at his house the president?	They sing what they will do for the year	Holy evening, mamtat, your health. God how does He see you, mamtat. You are alive speak God holy evening. Behind your heart no illness I bear this holy evening.	(See Chart 6 for seating at house of president)

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
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555 ta for minor saints. He alternates between
624 a period of activity and expense and one of
794 quiet and economic recovery. The cargos alternate between church positions and civil government positions, but in communities where Indian tradition is stressed, there is no clear-cut division between civil and religious matters, because of the influence of the sacred and supernatural in daily life.

554 Those functionaries who have a staff of
624 office wield great influence in their calpul.
293 This cane (*nabté*), a sign of important status, is made of pine or other fine wood, and has a silver handle adorned with colored ribbons, primarily yellow, green, and red. The staff is ornamented by the owner and is considered a family object, usually placed on the home altar. Occasionally it is the [708] [782] object of prayers and offerings of incense. People carrying it are called *bastonudos*.

624 It is the duty of the staff-carriers to com-
627 municate to every paraje the orders of the ayuntamiento and those coming from the supreme chief of the calpul; to summon people for communal duties; to apprehend prisoners in cases of crime, and to deal with public problems such as taxation and epidemics. Coping with transgressions such as minor stealing, adultery, disputes, and intrigues are also their responsibility within the paraje, following the traditional form of procuring mutual understanding on both sides, in a calm atmosphere, around a bottle [692] of liquor. If conflict persists, those involved appear before chiefs of the calpul, who are called principales or "cabildos de justicia" even after they have finished their term of office.

794 The cargos from dzunubil on up are sacred and are open only to people with superior knowledge, recognized moral status, and expert experience in church ritual and in the semi-pagan ceremonies practiced in the caves, waterholes, and special mountains. These cargos are thus obtained not by automatic advancement but by special merits which are usually not acquired until advanced age. All such high representatives of

[P 220-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

291 shorts are also usually embroidered in red and yellow. The chief had such a pair, very fine and gaudy, which we asked to see. He took [123] them off to show us, but when we tried to buy them from him he [293] became furiously angry and abusive. Sandals, when worn, are of the ordinary type. Most of the Indians carry a staff of some kind.

[531] The women wear the typical blue skirt, but the blouse, cut like a poncho, is usually tucked inside and heavily embroidered about the neck and shoulders. This work takes a long time, and the finished blouses are valued very highly. When worn outside they nearly cover the skirts, which are just knee length. Red sashes with a yellow stripe from Tapachula, of the kind worn also around Ocosingo, bind the skirts at the waist. Hair is done in two braids with dark red ribbon, or tied up in a knot over the forehead as at Cancuc.

[342] [231] [854] ←

302 →

301 →

621 563 →

[293] →

FIG. 250—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians in the street.

Men and women alike wear cheap, gay-coloured necklaces, usually rosaries.

The Indians move with great freedom through the town and lounge in company with the Ladinos on the broad porch of the Town Hall. The officials are distinguished by silver-headed canes with black tassels. In lieu of a Maestro, they are directly under the Ladino *Presidente Municipal,* and their disputes are tried by the local judge. Their lawsuits have a mediaeval air, carried on publicly with great clamor on the Town Hall porch, and all concerned speaking with the utmost freedom. A breach of promise case was observed in the course of trial. It went on for at least two hours with never less than two Indians, usually women, speaking at once. One could not but admire the patience of the rather bored and indifferent judge.

695 344

114 The cargadores from Cancuc arrived shortly after dark, still lively despite the long day and steep climb. More remarkable still.

3. Categories of role-bearers sit and act together in all the domains. In the home the me?eletik, the nakawanehetik, and the b'alnialetik have established seats and act in concert. Similarly in the cabildo, four ranks of officials, the principales, judges, regidores, and police, move and act together. In the church, elder and younger mayordomos move in pairs of two.

4. Sexual segregation is present in the home, the church, and the cabildo, but is lacking in the school. This rejection of the community standard for a group situation was the basis for some parents holding their children out of school until coerced by the federal authorities backed by the local officials.

5. Attendance in all domains involves coercion as well as voluntary action. Coercion is most marked in the school, but resistance by the parents to forced attendance and mixing of the sexes is fast wearing down in this domain. In the cabildo, the defendant is required to attend the court hearing and may even be jailed if he does not pay the fines charged against him. Coercion is covert in the home; the lack of alternative housing arrangements makes residence in the household of orientation or of procreation mandatory.

6. Sacred symbols are present in all the domains. The symbols of the cabildo and of the school relate the community to the nation with the national flags and the portraits of the president. The canes of office which are assumed as each official acquires office are symbols of local authority. The universalistic symbols of the church—the saints images, portraits, and banners—are acquired from Catholic orthodoxy, but have been encapsulated with local sentiments and beliefs. Sacred symbols are treated with respect and avoidance, both in the church and the home. The "holy cross" or banners are touched only with sacred embroidered cloths binding the hands of those who carry them. Saints' images are kissed, but as a mark of respect, not intimacy. The Mexican flag, with which less awe is associated, is saluted.

Each of the domains provides a setting for the recognition and validation of authority figures in the community. Values which are communally shared or imposed from outside are formally instilled in these settings. Ex-

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

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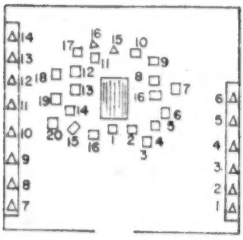


CHART 7 — TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING OATH OF OFFICE (ELICITED)

OLD OFFICIALS (triangles):

1 First principal
2 Second principal
3 Elder past alférez
4 Remaining past alférez
5 Third past alférez
6 Junior alférez
7 First judge
8 Second judge
9 Third judge
10 Fourth judge
11 First regidor
12 Second regidor
13 Third regidor
14 Fourth regidor
15 President
16 Síndico

NEW OFFICIALS (squares):

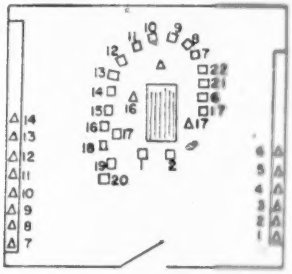
1 President
2 Síndico
3 First judge
4 Second judge
5 Third judge
6 Fourth judge
7 First regidor
8 Second regidor
9 Third regidor
10 Fourth regidor
11 First police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
12 Second police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
13 Third police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
14 Fourth police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
15 Last police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
16 First police *(Alannantik)*
17 Second police *(Alannantik)*
18 Third police *(Alannantik)*
19 Fourth police *(Alannantik)*
20 Fifth police *(Alannantik)*

NOTE: Canes of office are on table near center of room.

[P. 219-B]

as a team. Thus the junior *(niš'anil)* and senior *(tatil)* officials walk and sit in pairs. The senior officials order the junior. Just as in the case of the civil officials, some junior mayordomos may be younger than others who are in lower positions, because they have passed in the lower offices at an earlier age, but all senior mayordomos are older than their paired juniors. 794 561 156

Another important structural feature that became apparent in the behavioral schedules is the household base establishing the officeholders' position in both hierarchies. The new official learns his role obligations from the *nakawanchetik*, the group of elders 621* 156 794 592 [867]



621* 554 693 293

CHART 8 — INSIDE THE TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING THE OATH (OBSERVED)

Old officials are indicated by triangles, new officials by squares. Numbers refer to list on Chart 7. Three officials—the old secretary (17) and two new rural judges (21 and 22)—were not listed in the elicited session, Chart 7. Canes of office are on the table near the center of the room. Numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7.

who assemble in his house and who will assist him in his period in office. The ceremony in the house establishes this as a significant domain in public affairs. Relatives, neighbors, and compadres make up the interlocking network of supporters in the setting of the household. Both husband's and wife's relatives are symmetrically represented (Chart 3; see also J. Nash, 1964b, report on alferez assistants). Because of the expenses and the commitment of time during the period of office, the officials must have this backing to fulfill their obligations. A man with many compadres and godchildren has a firmer base to support his career in office. In the case of the new president, this was mentioned as an important asset by the president's brother. The guest list (Charts 3, 4) reveals the multiple references which establish the individual's role during any event. 621* 156 794 592 [867] 621* 794 592 602 156 [608]

[P. 220-A]

Change of Officials

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Q. 24. The civil officials kneel and "measure their noses" as they enter the townhall in deference to the banners. [788]

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Replication of behavior in both civil and religious 000

[P. 220—B]

ing "what our mothers and fathers did" (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 64). Second, continuity can be seen in the presence of both old and new officials in the townhall. In this setting, the old officials acknowledge acceptance of the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28). Finally, of greatest importance in establishing continuity are the principales, who await the arrival of the new officials with the old officials (App. 1, Q. 28) who pass over the symbol of authority (App. 1, Q. 31), and who remain alone in the townhall for the return of the new officials, when they have gone to church. 621* 105 794 178 18 [624]

2. *Role commitment.* The officials are members of closed corporate communities, integrated in a prior set of kinship and other social relations. They cannot rely on anonymity when acting in their official capacity as judge or policeman. Thus one of the functions of the inauguration as a rite of passage is a disengagement from the preexisting network of obligations and a commitment to the obligations of the office (cf. Parsons, 1951, pp. 80–84; Gluckman, 1962, p. 34; Cancian, 1964). Behaviorally, this function is indicated in the unfailing use of the term *Mam* (elder respect term) in both address and reference. The reference to the holy nature of their task (App. 1, Q. 19) and of the symbol of their authority, the "holy" staff (App. 1, Q. 30) which they always carry when discharging an official errand, establishes the supernatural authority on which the role is based. The effectiveness of these symbolic role identities in neutralizing prior affective commitments can partially be judged in that most dispute cases are brought before the local courts rather than referred to higher courts, suggesting that the complainant expects fair treatment. 621* 105 794 178 18 156 554 [576] [293] [691]

3. *Role learning.* The inauguration provides a setting in which the individual who is about to assume office learns what is expected of him (cf. Fortes, 1962, p. 82). The instruction of the novice officeholder is acquired most importantly in the home from the speeches of the *nakawanehetik* and cofrades (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 38, Q. 64) and in the directions he may be given in the ceremonial setting (App. 2, Q. 39, observation).

4. *Introduction of new officeholders to the villagers.* The new status of the officeholders is made 621* 105 794 178 18 788

[p. 227-8]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

291 Their hats are a smaller-brimmed version of the Mexican sombrero, plaited by the men out of straw. The long plait is stitched in a spiral with *ixtle* fibre or hennequen. They may be decorated with coloured ribbons.

302 Hair is worn short, and banged across the forehead.

291 The Bachajon women get themselves up a little more gaily, in a dark blue skirt and prettily embroidered blouse. Both are made of materials purchased in the stores. The skirt, *tsekel*, made of the blue cotton from San Cristóbal, is in the form of a cylinder, decorated along the seams, with parti-coloured stitching, red, white, green, and yellow. Naturally, it is a great deal too full at the waist; this fullness is taken up with a twist, which is then tucked in, holding the skirt in position without disaster.

The blouse, *kuul*, is of white cotton, the neck open from shoulder to shoulder, with a short sleeve coming half-way to the elbow. Embroidery of [294] red and blue thread, or an appliqué of stamped tape bought in the stores, outlines the neck and shoulder seams, the edge of the sleeves, and the upper part of the front of the blouse. The bottom is tucked in under the skirt.

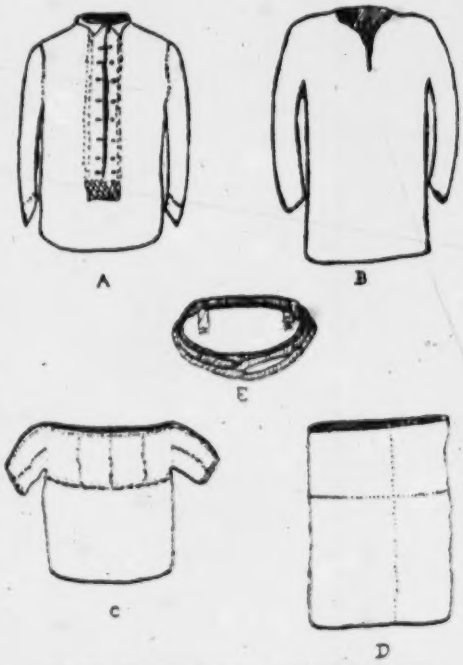

FIG. 283—Costumes, Bachajon and Ocosingo Valley.

A. Shirt, Bachajon.
B. Meh's shirt, Ocosingo Valley.
C. Woman's blouse, Bachajon.
D. Woman's skirt, Bachajon and Ocosingo Valley.
E. Sash.

302 The women do their hair in one or two braids, which may be decorated with red or yellow ribbon. Ordinarily it is very neatly combed and parted down the middle. Sometimes it is allowed to hang unbraided, but gathered with a pin or ribbon just behind the head.

291 177 Curiously enough, the Indians in Ocosingo Valley, although more in contact with the Ladino people, have a less European costume.

294 438 With the closing of the stills in Comitan came a second economic pressure which sharply changed the Aguacatenangueros' pattern of travel. The trade specialty which Aguacatenango had intensively developed, at least by 1920 and perhaps long before, was the weaving of palm hats. A principal point of trade for these hats was Comitan where the Aguacatenangueros took them. 294 438 439 With the advent of the Pan-American highway, the region was flooded with nationally manufactured sombreros, which, in the period of ten years completely destroyed the Aguacatenango market. 438 439 293 As the marketability of palm hats decreased, the Aguacatenangueros stopped going to Comitan; and it was during this same time that the supply of comiteco was cut off.

+32 438 +273 The people from Aguacatenango then began to buy their aguardiente from licensed sellers in Pinola (Villa las Rosas) and Teopisca as well as from clandestine sources, the nearest being in Amatenango and the mountainous area that lay between 548 687 there and Chanal. The use of clandestine aguardiente was still restricted by the occasional inspection by patrols of soldiers and liquor inspectors who would examine the contents of the houses in Aguacatenango, confiscating the aguardiente for which one did not have a legitimate receipt and taking the holders of such to jail in San Bartolomé de los Llanos. By the end of the 40's, distillation technology had disseminated widely enough among the Indian municipios that a few men in Aguacatenango began

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

have recently sought additional lands in the ejido of Brindis to meet these minimal requirements. This preference for expanding subsistence agriculture to hiring out as laborers is the best index to the persistence of traditional economic pursuits. 423 433 178 241 464

Farmers who do not have a cash crop in wheat may be forced to sell corn even when there is no surplus. Because they usually need the cash as soon as they harvest their crop, they must sell when the prices are low. Thus their consumption needs exacerbate the disadvantage they face in the market. 434 435

Clothing, whether traditional or modern in style, requires cash outlays. Women have kept the traditional costume while men are modifying their clothing. Even when they go to hot country, older women wear the heavy cotton skirt bound with a thick sash and topped by an embroidered blouse; some younger women have adopted the long cotton dirndl skirt and peasant blouse. A white cotton shawl is added for ceremonial events or for warmth in the evening. All of their clothing is either bought or made of materials woven on looms in Comitán or San Bartolomé. The navy blue skirt, which they say is black, and the red and yellow sash are sold for 40 to 50 pesos by Ladina vendors who come to town. The blouse is made from two meters of heavy white cotton sold in the local stores or in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. Most prefer the more expensive cotton woven on bed looms in San Bartolomé, but it is not always available. They embroider the wide bands of yellow and red around the neckline with embroidery floss sold in the local store. The fringed shawl from Comitán is also sold locally, but is often purchased during the annual fiestas in the town. These items are replaced every two or three years, depending on the wealth of the family. The newer clothing is worn on ceremonial occasions, and the older clothing is worn every day. Women wear sandals and hats for protection only when they are firing pottery. For jewelry they wear bead necklaces, sometimes with crosses attached. Their hair is braided with ribbons for fiestas, or simply left hanging when they work. 434 291 178 [439] [435] [294] [292] [351] [301] [302]

Men buy a woolen jacket called *ḳotonču,* which is brought illegally from the Department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala, where it is made, 434 291 439

4 Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Tenejapa

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FIG. 1—FARAJE REPRESENTATIVES VISITING THE CEREMONIAL CENTER OF TENEJAPA.
(Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 200]

415 containers made of jícara (*boch*) or teco-
352 mate (*tzu*). In the bedroom is a bed
[513] (*uaybal*) made of boards placed on four
[735] forked poles, usually with a sleeping mat
[415] on it. Only the very poor sleep on mats on the floor. Small chairs, wooden chests for clothes, baskets of all shapes and sizes, pita bags and nets, shelves made of wood ribs, and pegs for hanging clothes are scattered around the hut without order.

353 The most important article is the altar
798 with the family cross. Its construction varies in different areas: it may be a plain small table made of tree trunks or better material. The altar is generally ornamented with pine needles. Occasionally, the figure of a saint is placed by the cross.

Clothing and Ornaments

291 Each community has its own style of
184 clothing, which gives a sense of unity to its members and permits the observer to identify easily the groups during fiestas or market days. This variety applies only to a few items of clothing, which is basically the
291 same for the entire region. Men's costume consists of short pants (*uesh*) and a long shirt (*nátil-ku*) which reaches the knee, both made of cloth that women weave; a red sash or belt (*chuj-chut*) of cotton, 10–15 cm. wide by 1.5 m. long; a palm hat (*pishol*), and leather sandals (*shanabil*). Residents of cold areas wear a woolen chamarra which is manufactured by the Chamulas. Women's costume consists of a skirt made of wool (*tzek*) or blue thick cloth, made in one piece and wrapped around the body with two pleats in front; it is belted at the waist by a red wool sash, which the Chamulas manufacture. Occasionally, they
• 301 wear a wool rebozo. They tie their hair with a red woolen ribbon (*mahal*) and wear earrings (*yulel-chikinil*) and glass necklaces
291 (*ual*) bought in the city. Women always go barefoot, even during long trips. When outdoors they cover their heads with a cloth or wool fabric.

[184] Each municipio has made of these clothes
[P. 208-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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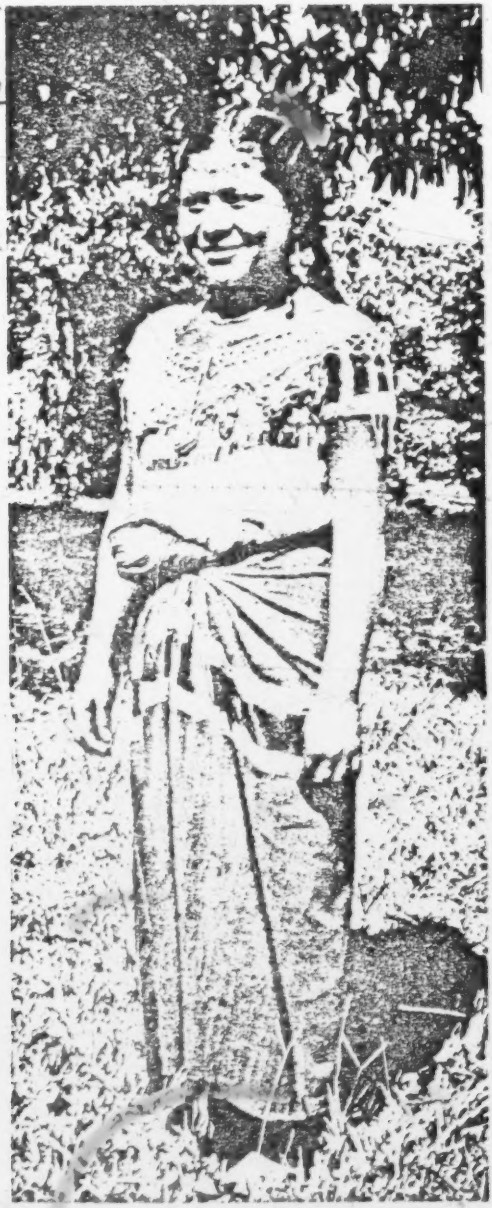

FIG. 3—INDIAN GIRL, FINCA EL REAL.
(Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 209-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

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[142] [291] [301] [302] →

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Fig. 280—El Encanto, Chia. Bachajon girls.

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5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

648 mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

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FIG. 283—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

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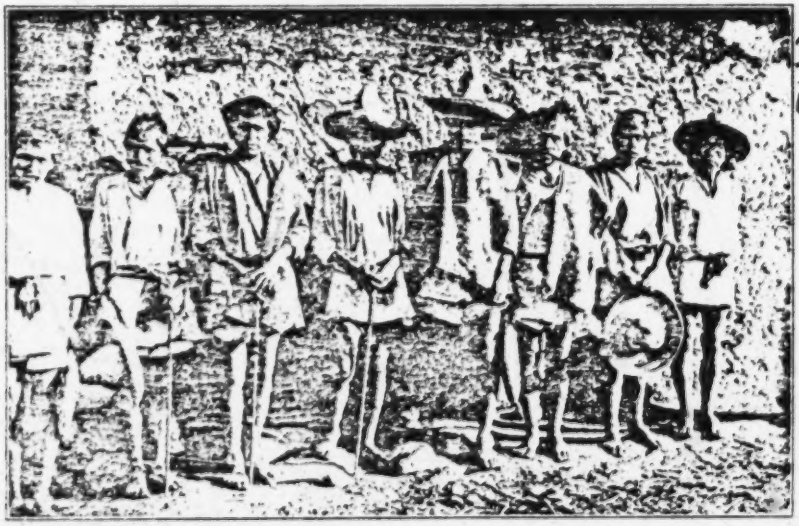
5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

Physically, the people are taller and somewhat heavier boned than the Bachajon. The older men have small beards, close to their chins, of sparse, wiry black hair. Moustaches are faint. The men wear their hair longer on the backs of their necks and over the tops of their ears (fig. 313). 142 302

The men's costume is like that of Ocosingo Valley, a long, V-necked tunic without buttons, coming down nearly to their knees, but the trousers are usually rolled up until almost hidden. A plain red sash is worn knotted in front with ends hanging. 291

We had great difficulty in getting a look at any of the women until finally the officials arranged for a few of them to come and 126 123



142 291 302 623

FIG. 313—Tenango, Chis. The Village Elders.

be photographed with their husbands (fig. 314). Nothing could have brought them alone. They were very strange and stiff about the whole thing, and showed more genuine fear of the camera than we saw anywhere else. The women of marriageable age draw their hair together at the back of the head. Around it a long, red, woolen ribbon, about three centimeters wide, is wrapped until it forms a disk standing out like a halo, the exact size being a matter of coquetry. The hair is then turned back and laid along the edge of the disk and wrapped in the last few rounds of ribbon. The result is that it comes out from the head through the center of the disk in a thick mass, then forms a flat elbow where it is doubled back to the 126 123 302 [301]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

estimate, with their own, regular Indian administration under the control of the Ladino government. The *Presidente Municipal,* a most obliging man, got the Indian *Presidente* for us, whom we photographed by the last light of the day (fig. 329). Through this chief, men were sent out to bring in grass; they returned with enormous, green bundles as big as themselves.

The Indian houses outside the town differ from those previously described in the possession of a sort of porch, or part under the roof in front screened with boards, introductory to the house itself.

The Tenejapeños are strongly built, thickset, and short, with enormously powerful calves. In fact the chief industry of the tribe is acting as porters. They go in large bands to places at a considerable distance to take or bring back loads, competing successfully with the Chamula packtrains. In this the women are as proficient as the men. Their colour is dark, a rich brown, more red than golden, with distinctly pink cheeks showing through in the case of the children and old people. The men are almost beardless. Faces are rather broad and round* (fig. 330).

FIG. 329—Tenejapa, Chia. The chief of the Tenejapeños.

The essential parts of a man's costume are a pair of shorts and a brown and white striped Chamula Indian blanket, worn as a poncho. Two of these blankets may be comfortably worn in that climate. Hats, when used, are also of Chamula make, of straw with a flat brim, and round, close-fitting crown pointed at the top. Usually they are decorated with ribbons. A sash of white material may be worn, the ends of which, hanging down in front, are elaborately embroidered (fig. 331). The

*Starr (1902) made some measurements upon these people, the most important of which are summarized here. They show an interesting variability.

STATURE IN MILLIMETERS

Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range	Below 1600	1600—1650	1650—1700	Above 1700	Total
1,557	1,722	1,402	320	73	18	6	1	100

	Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range
CEPHALIC INDEX	76.3	86.4	68.0	18.3
FACIAL INDEX	81.6	94.3	65.6	29.0
NASAL INDEX	80.9	102.2	64.1	38.2

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

291 shorts are also usually embroidered in red and yellow. The chief had such a pair, very fine and gaudy, which we asked to see. He took [123] them off to show us, but when we tried to buy them from him he [293] became furiously angry and abusive. Sandals, when worn, are of the ordinary type. Most of the Indians carry a staff of some kind.

[531] The women wear the typical blue skirt, but the blouse, cut like a poncho, is usually tucked inside and heavily embroidered about the neck and shoulders. This work takes a long time, and the finished blouses are valued very highly. When worn outside they nearly cover the skirts, which are just knee length. Red sashes with a yellow stripe from Tapachula, of the kind worn also around Ocosingo, bind the skirts at the waist. Hair is done in two braids with dark red ribbon, or tied up in a knot over the forehead as at Cancuc.

[342] [231] [854] ← 302 → 301 → 621 563 → [293] →

Fig. 330—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians in the street.

Men and women alike wear cheap, gay-coloured necklaces, usually rosaries.

The Indians move with great freedom through the town and lounge in company with the Ladinos on the broad porch of the Town Hall. The officials are distinguished by silver-headed canes with black tassels. In lieu of a Maestro, they are directly under the Ladino *Presidente Municipal,* and their disputes are tried by the local judge. Their lawsuits have a mediaeval air, carried on publicly with great clamor on the Town Hall porch, and all concerned speaking with the utmost freedom. A breach of promise case was observed in the course of trial. It went on for at least two hours with never less than two Indians, usually women, speaking at once. One could not but admire the patience of the rather bored and indifferent judge.

695 344

114 The cargadores from Cancuc arrived shortly after dark, still lively despite the long day and steep climb. More remarkable still,

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

have recently sought additional lands in the ejido of Brindis to meet these minimal requirements. This preference for expanding subsistence agriculture to hiring out as laborers is the best index to the persistence of traditional economic pursuits. 423 433 178 241 464

Farmers who do not have a cash crop in wheat may be forced to sell corn even when there is no surplus. Because they usually need the cash as soon as they harvest their crop, they must sell when the prices are low. Thus their consumption needs exacerbate the disadvantage they face in the market. 434 435

Clothing, whether traditional or modern in style, requires cash outlays. Women have kept the traditional costume while men are modifying their clothing. Even when they go to hot country, older women wear the heavy cotton skirt bound with a thick sash and topped by an embroidered blouse; some younger women have adopted the long cotton dirndl skirt and peasant blouse. A white cotton shawl is added for ceremonial events or for warmth in the evening. All of their clothing is either bought or made of materials woven on looms in Comitán or San Bartolomé. The navy blue skirt, which they say is black, and the red and yellow sash are sold for 40 to 50 pesos by Ladina vendors who come to town. The blouse is made from two meters of heavy white cotton sold in the local stores or in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. Most prefer the more expensive cotton woven on bed looms in San Bartolomé, but it is not always available. They embroider the wide bands of yellow and red around the neckline with embroidery floss sold in the local store. The fringed shawl from Comitán is also sold locally, but is often purchased during the annual fiestas in the town. These items are replaced every two or three years, depending on the wealth of the family. The newer clothing is worn on ceremonial occasions, and the older clothing is worn every day. Women wear sandals and hats for protection only when they are firing pottery. For jewelry they wear bead necklaces, sometimes with crosses attached. Their hair is braided with ribbons for fiestas, or simply left hanging when they work. 434 291 178 [439] [435] [294] [292] [751] [301] [302]

Men buy a woolen jacket called *kotonču,* which is brought illegally from the Department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala, where it is made, 434 291 439

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Tenejapa

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FIG. 2—TENEJAPA WOMAN AND CHILD. (Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 204]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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FIG. 3—INDIAN GIRL, FINCA EL REAL.
(Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 209-B]

4 Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Aguacatenango

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FIG. 4—WOMEN FROM AGUACATENANGO (Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 210-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Tenejapa

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FIG. 5—TENEJAPA GROUP WITH VESSELS CONTAINING CHICHA. (Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 214-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

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Bachajón

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5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

291 Their hats are a smaller-brimmed version of the Mexican sombrero, plaited by the men out of straw. The long plait is stitched in a spiral with *ixtle* fibre or hennequen. They may be decorated with coloured ribbons.

302 Hair is worn short, and banged across the forehead.

291 The Bachajon women get themselves up a little more gaily, in a dark blue skirt and prettily embroidered blouse. Both are made of materials purchased in the stores. The skirt, *tsekel*, made of the blue cotton from San Cristóbal, is in the form of a cylinder, decorated along the seams, with parti-coloured stitching, red, white, green, and yellow. Naturally, it is a great deal too full at the waist; this fullness is taken up with a twist, which is then tucked in, holding the skirt in position without disaster.

The blouse, *kuul*, is of white cotton, the neck open from shoulder to shoulder, with a short sleeve coming half-way to the elbow. Embroidery of red and blue thread, or an appliqué of stamped tape bought in the stores, outlines the neck and shoulder seams, the edge of the sleeves, and the upper part of the front of the blouse. The bottom is tucked in under the skirt.

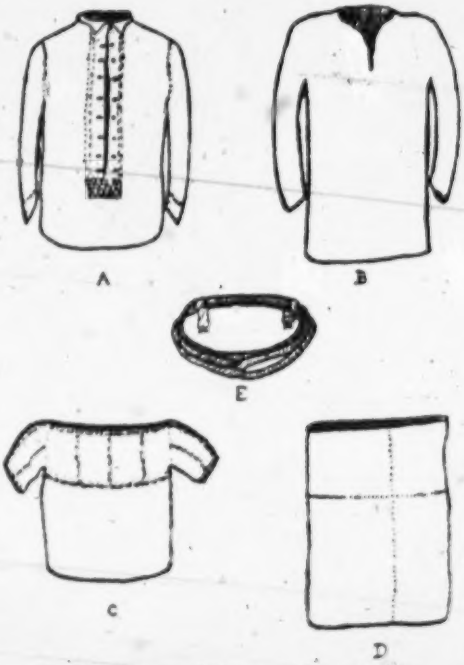

FIG. 255—Costumes, Bachajon and Ocosingo Valley.

A. Shirt, Bachajon.
B. Men's shirt, Ocosingo Valley.
C. Woman's blouse, Bachajon.
D. Woman's skirt, Bachajon and Ocosingo Valley.
E. Sash.

302 The women do their hair in one or two braids, which may be decorated with red or yellow ribbon. Ordinarily it is very neatly combed and parted down the middle. Sometimes it is allowed to hang unbraided, but gathered with a pin or ribbon just behind the head.

291 Curiously enough, the Indians in Ocosingo Valley, although more in contact with the Ladino people, have a less European costume.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

red-gold colour. The baking observed at Amatenango, which is described in the following chapter, was quite different. 323

The forms made at Sivacá are: (Fig. 299) a tub, *pok'et;* cooking pots or *ollas, ŏcom;* form for making cooking pots, *hutstahibe;* bowl, *tsets;* stand for bowl, *awaliko;* form for making sugar, with a hole in the bottom, *hor'mo;* tortilla griddle, *tsamets;* and a perforated olla for washing corn, *tcistcinaix.*

The Bachajon make most of these also, but the tub and clay *tsets* are rare, a gourd often serving for the latter. The surfaces are less well smoothed. In no case was any attempt at decoration observed. It should be noted in this respect, however, that almost all of these would eventually be quite blackened with smoke.

[142] [291] [302] [516] [342]

Fig. 299—Sivacá, Chis. Woman making pottery.

Among the forms shown in the figures, it will be noticed that there is no piece with a markedly contracted neck; such work seems to be beyond their abilities. All through this district the big *cantaras* or water jars are imported from Tenango, and will be discussed in the next chapter.

In general throughout Ocosingo Valley white cloth for men's clothes and women's blouses, made of native cotton, *na'*, as well as the men's sashes, are of local manufacture. Among the Bachajon, cloth is compartively little woven, but sashes are always home made. The coloured thread is usually bought in stores. Weaving is entirely done by the women. 286 [291]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

286 Our Indian hostess at the Encanto house was commissioned to
126 make us a sash; after observing and photographing the process (fig.
123 300), we bought the loom with the unfinished piece on it. At Sivacá the army of guides produced a woman who was weaving cloth, and another who was just preparing the thread for the loom (fig. 301). The former was very bored and matter-of-fact about the whole pro-

323

Fig. 299—Sivacá, Chis. Pottery Forms.

A. Ocom. C. Tsameta. E. Hutstahibe. G. Awalíko.
B. Pok et. D. Hor'mo. F. Tseta. H. Teistcinaix.

286 ceeding, but the latter, a younger one, was at first frightened. At
126 the first sight of me, she put away all her work. As she spoke no
123 Spanish, I fell back upon a corps of seven or eight interpreters, who all spoke together while I looked as harmless as possible. Then she thought that the Mayor of Ocosingo, or the President of Mexico, or some one had sent for her, and packed her things to travel. At last she understood, and then balked. The men explained to me, with some amusement, that she was ashamed—"*dice que tiene verguenza*"—but finally she consented to pose. The result was a picture worth the while; she herself was a good type of young Indian woman, on her back was slung a pretty though somewhat grimy baby, while an underfed puppy and very small chicken completed the family group. The picture also shows a good example of the squatting-seat mentioned when listing the contents of the Encanto house (see fig. 301).

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Fig. 300—El Encanto, Chis. Woman Weaving.

283 The spindle, *pětět*, is a stick 35 centimeters long, at the foot of which is a clay whorl, for which no name was given. It is spun with the weighted end resting in a gourd bowl, the upper end held against

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

the thigh. The spinning is done with the left hand, the right holding and drawing out the thread, *tsahalna'* (fig. 302-d). 283

The thread is then arranged for the warp on a form called *kumen* (fig. 302-c). This is a pole 1.40 meters long, notched at intervals on one side, and with a groove in one end joining two unnotched sides. In one of the notches, according to the length of thread desired, is placed a cross stick, *tumin-te,* (equals *kumen-te?*), 45 centimeters long. The thread is laid from one end of this cross stick, through the groove, around to the other end of the cross stick, and so, back and forth, until the required number of woof-strands are prepared. The loops around one half of the cross stick are then transferred to the head-stick of the loom, those around the other to the foot-stick, and the woof is ready. At the head end, the loops are braided for the selvage. 286 342 284 142 516 854 302 291 231

FIG. 301—Sivacá, Chia. Woman Winding Thread.

The loom, *holēl,** has no rigid frame. The woof is stretched over the head and foot-sticks, *wolol-te.* The head-stick is fastened to a beam in the house or to a branch, usually more than a meter above the ground. Before this the weaver sits, with the foot-stick strapped to her by a broad leather strap, *ku'epat,* thus holding the set-up taut (fig. 303). At a little distance below the head-stick, the woof-strands are crossed, those underneath being carried on top, and held in place

*Holēl is one of a large class of words ending in *-el, -il,* or *-ēl,* which are at once verbal nouns and infinitives; e. g. *tal-il,* to come, or the act of coming, corresponding to the Latin *venire* and *veniendo. Hol-ēl* primarily means to weave, here it is also applied to the loom. [193]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

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142 291 302 623

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5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

• 302 edge (fig. 315). Married women use the same head-dress, but with a smaller disk. Girls not yet marriageable do their hair in a pig-tail.

291 The women's blouse is of the old *huipil* type, a long sack of a garment, hanging to the knees, with the shoulders broad enough to come to the elbow, or else with short sleeves sewn on. The seams, cuffs, and neck are picked out with red stitching. The skirt is dark blue, and comes about half-way between knee and ankle.

323 It is an interesting point, and one which archaeologists should note, that Tenango makes the only decorated pottery in the district and has a monopoly also on the big, three-handled water-jars. The

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FIG. 314—Tenango, Chis. Married Couples

323 Indians explain that they go in for pottery-making because they need the money to supplement the products of their insufficient fields. We were there during the farming season when no work is done on pottery so we were not able to see the processes of manufacture. However, one of our guides took us to the house of a woman who had some reputation for skill, and all types were brought out for us. Besides the forms described in the last chapter, and the big water-jars (fig. 316), they make a goblet-shaped salt-cellar, *you-zcal-ats' a'* (*atsam*—"salt"), a *tscts* bowl of

[302] ←

FIG. 315—Tenango, Chis. Woman's head-dress.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

boulders with care. It still is broad in most places, and has reasonable grades. We climbed to a rather desolate upland of wind-swept grass with a few crooked trees. There was some traffic on the road. We passed a group of Tenejapeños going down to the hot country to carry sugar. The men were ragged and woolly, like those we had seen at Salto de Agua, and their women, in short blue skirts and white blouses gorgeously ornamented with gold and crimson silk, were remarkable for their very pink cheeks showing through dark brown colouring.

The town of Cancuc (*kank'uk*) lies on the rounded shoulder of a long ridge that juts up above the high moors commanding a tremendous view North, West, and South over a jumbled mass of mountain ranges, like a herd of great elephants shouldering away to the horizon. A wind blows day and night, the trees are small and stunted, and the general effect is one of bleakness and height. At an altitude of 1,440 meters, with the unresting wind, it is always cold. The highroad climbs from a ravine up into the village where a small plaza is laid out on a level place. On our left was the big, white church, still well preserved. Opposite it, the Cabildo surprised us, a neat building with tile roof and white columned portico, built in President Diaz' time. Round about were some tumbling and ruined huts, and behind, the village rose on rough terraces crudely faced with stone.

Cancuc has a stormy history. It was the center of the famous rebellion of 1712, the subject of Brinton's "Maria Candelaria."* According to Starr (1904) who passed through here, there is a tradition that the men's long hair, covering their ears, is so worn in memory of the clipped ears which their ancestors received at that time. Recently, there has been political dissension in the form of a dragging feud, and a series of small fights and murders has resulted in those left of the defeated party abandoning the village and setting up their houses in the bush. It is from this that one sees so many huts deserted and beginning to disintegrate, adding to the general cheerless aspect of the place.

We were well received at the Cabildo, where the village officials with their silver-headed canes turned up shortly to look us over. They were younger men than most of the officials we had met previously, and a pretty tough looking crew, much what one would expect of a group that had attained office largely by means of the machete. The people on the whole rather resemble the Bachajon physically, being of a small-limbed type with an average height for men of about 160 centimeters, and nearly beardless. The men wear tunics cut as at Tenango, but decorated with red and yellow em-

*Brinton, 1897; Pineda, 1888.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

291 broidery along all the seams, at the cuffs, and over what would be a pocket in a European shirt. Trousers are either very short "shorts," or replaced by a cotton breech-clout. Hats are seldom worn. Most men carry woolen blankets woven by the Chamula Indians. The red sashes are knotted in front (fig. 322).

The women's dress is the same as at Tenango, but without any 302 decoration, and with a shorter skirt. Their hair is worn in two braids, or done up in a knot over the forehead, forward of where the tump-line is placed.

Fig. 322—Cancuc, Chis. Men on the Cabildo porch.

771 These people, for all their turbulence, are very devout, although, like many who are more civilized, they leave most of the expression 794 to the women. The church is swept out daily by women appointed for the purpose. Along about five o'clock in the afternoon all the women drift in, singly or in small groups, pray for awhile, 346 and come out. Looking in the door one sees the large interior almost pitch dark, cut here and there with [291] tiny, yellow candle-flames, and hears a monotonous sing-song drone of chanted 796 prayers. Their festivals center about the church. In this connection they have a very curious custom. [417] There are two scaffolds by the plaza (fig. 323) very small platforms on four rickety poles about four meters high, surrounded by an insufficient railing, arched over with palm branches, [273] and reached by a frail-looking ladder. The drinking which, as was explained in the last chapter, is an essential part of any ceremony, must all take place on top of these scaffolds. It is indeed a miracle that every fiesta does not cause a score of broken necks.

123 While wandering around to see what he could see, the writer was hailed by an elderly woman who gave him to understand by signs

291 shorts are also usually embroidered in red and yellow. The chief had such a pair, very fine and gaudy, which we asked to see. He took [123] them off to show us, but when we tried to buy them from him he [293] became furiously angry and abusive. Sandals, when worn, are of the ordinary type. Most of the Indians carry a staff of some kind.

The women wear the typical blue skirt, but the blouse, cut like [531] a poncho, is usually tucked inside and heavily embroidered about the neck and shoulders. This work takes a long time, and the finished blouses are valued very highly. When worn outside they nearly cover the skirts, which are just knee length. Red sashes with a yellow stripe from Tapachula, of the kind worn also around Ocosingo, bind the skirts at the waist. Hair is done in two braids with dark red ribbon, or tied up in a knot over the forehead as at Cancuc.

[342] [231] [854] ← 302 → 301 → 621 563 → [293] →

FIG. 330—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians in the street.

Men and women alike wear cheap, gay-coloured necklaces, usually rosaries.

The Indians move with great freedom through the town and lounge in company with the Ladinos on the broad porch of the Town Hall. The officials are distinguished by silver-headed canes with black tassels. In lieu of a Maestro, they are directly under the Ladino *Presidente Municipal,* and their disputes are tried by the local judge. Their lawsuits have a mediaeval air, carried on publicly with great clamor on the Town Hall porch, and all concerned speaking with the utmost freedom. A breach of promise case was observed in the course of trial. It went on for at least two hours with never less than two Indians, usually women, speaking at once. One could not but admire the patience of the rather bored and indifferent judge.

695 344

114 The cargadores from Cancuc arrived shortly after dark, still lively despite the long day and steep climb. More remarkable still,

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

have recently sought additional lands in the ejido of Brindis to meet these minimal requirements. This preference for expanding subsistence agriculture to hiring out as laborers is the best index to the persistence of traditional economic pursuits. 423 433 178 241 464

Farmers who do not have a cash crop in wheat may be forced to sell corn even when there is no surplus. Because they usually need the cash as soon as they harvest their crop, they must sell when the prices are low. Thus their consumption needs exacerbate the disadvantage they face in the market. 434 435

Clothing, whether traditional or modern in style, requires cash outlays. Women have kept the traditional costume while men are modifying their clothing. Even when they go to hot country, older women wear the heavy cotton skirt bound with a thick sash and topped by an embroidered blouse; some younger women have adopted the long cotton dirndl skirt and peasant blouse. A white cotton shawl is added for ceremonial events or for warmth in the evening. All of their clothing is either bought or made of materials woven on looms in Comitán or San Bartolomé. The navy blue skirt, which they say is black, and the red and yellow sash are sold for 40 to 50 pesos by Ladina vendors who come to town. The blouse is made from two meters of heavy white cotton sold in the local stores or in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. Most prefer the more expensive cotton woven on bed looms in San Bartolomé, but it is not always available. They embroider the wide bands of yellow and red around the neckline with embroidery floss sold in the local store. The fringed shawl from Comitán is also sold locally, but is often purchased during the annual fiestas in the town. These items are replaced every two or three years, depending on the wealth of the family. The newer clothing is worn on ceremonial occasions, and the older clothing is worn every day. Women wear sandals and hats for protection only when they are firing pottery. For jewelry they wear bead necklaces, sometimes with crosses attached. Their hair is braided with ribbons for fiestas, or simply left hanging when they work. 434 291 178 [439] [435] [294] [292] [051] [301] [302]

Men buy a woolen jacket called *kotonču,* which is brought illegally from the Department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala, where it is made, 434 291 439

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Behavior Defined in the Family

Socialization in the family provides the individual with the idiom for behaving in the wider community. The basic principles ordering behavior are respect and obedience toward those who are older, and care for those who are younger. Obedience, expressed by the verb *ɛ'un* which means both to believe (or to be gullible) and to obey, is instilled by cultivating a sense of fear and shame. Fear is communicated by the parent to the child by invoking evil spirits and by the threat or use of punishment, especially whipping with a leather strap. Shame is aroused by ridicule, jeering, and chastising. A good child is a quiet child; questioning is discouraged either by refusing to answer the child or by telling him to keep quiet. The negative aspect of good behavior is stressed. Significantly, the phrase "Behave yourself!" is translated into Spanish as "Don't do anything!" Good behavior is not rewarded either by praise or by gifts. The only public demonstration of affection toward children I have seen is by grandparents toward grandchildren: an elder might give his sweet roll at a ceremony to his grandchild and even fondle him. Parents show affection to youngsters under three years of age, although the last child may be coddled somewhat longer. Mothers and young children show intimacy and affection in delousing each other or combing each others' hair. Kissing is not a sign of intimacy but of formal respect in ceremonies.

Beliefs concerning conception show awareness of both the male and the female contribution to the fetus. The man's sperm (*snal*) enters the womb, *yoʔtan,* (also the word for heart) and mixes with the woman's flow, to bring about conception. The blood of a child is believed to come from its mother and the skin, bones, and brains from the father. During pregnancy, the father must have intercourse with his wife because his sperm nourishes the fetus. This continues right up to the birth of the child. Men too are believed to have wombs, and some men have trouble with "dropped wombs" caused by lifting heavy burdens.

The only people in attendance at the birth of a child are the women of the immediate household, the mother of the woman giving birth if she is not a part of the houshold, and the midwife. Children are kept out of the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

[P.198-E]

142
323
302
291
516
415

Plate 6. Woman scraping a cantero that has been sun-dried in the porch of her home. Behind her is an altar with pictures of the saints. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

(correction, this should read "photograph by Marcey Jacobson"..Analyst)

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

[P 198-H]

142
291
516
• 302
783
824

Plate 10. Future members of the household line up with the branches of spring bushes with which the curer will brush them. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The assumption that leisure is a concept unique to highly civilized societies is denied by peasant behavior in this community and many others like it in which the members are masters of the greater part of their time. What differentiates their scheduling of leisure-time activities from that of most western societies is that theirs is based on community decisions rather than individual predilections and that it is set in the frame of sacred rather than secular performances. Community standards are most notable in the way people dress for fiestas: women wear their newest embroidered blouses; their hair is neatly braided with ribbons. Men wear a kotonču with their cleanest shirt and pants. The children, except for the youngest, wear clothes like the adults'. Villagers "care for" the celebration by sitting on their porches, greeting neighbors, smoking and talking. When a public performance is held in the church or plaza, they participate as observers. Arduous work of any kind is proscribed. Special foods are prepared and served at regular mealtimes. A special mark of all days of fiesta is the serving of fermented corn beverage. Meat or chicken is more likely to be served on Sundays and holidays than on other days.

Timing as a Strategy in Interpersonal Relations

The preferred mode of action is "slow and soft." This applies to motion, especially in rituals, as well as to the scheduling of actions in a series of negotiations. The people are sensitive to the use of time in bargaining as an index to the relative resources of the negotiators. Withholding power in the market gives a marked price advantage in the sale of crops. Sale in advance of harvest means a loss of one-quarter to one-half of the price which could be gained if the crop was sold after it was cut, and corn sometimes doubles in value if withheld for six months or more. Interest as a time payment for the use of money is accepted on the basis that the borrower could put it to work. There is no feeling against the evil of usury, although the rates are relatively high in town—five percent per month.

This understanding of time as an indicator of relative strength extends to social functions. Time serves as an interval to build confidence on the part of both parties entering into contractual arrangement. In the betrothal, both parties are prepared for a long series of visits before the suit

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

688
796 certain times of the year for ceremonies, such as those at Chakalchib, and formerly at Campomtik, to be mentioned later. The Bachajon hold their own ceremonies at their village.

141 Physically, the Tzeltal, like all the Mayance Indians, are short, averaging probably about 160 centimeters (5 feet, 4 inches) for the
142 men, and slightly less for the women. Their build is slender, with stringy muscles, except for a good development of the calves. Hands and feet are small and well-formed. Their slenderness is
147 deceptive, for their great strength lies in their legs, back, and neck, seen in their ability to carry loads of 45 kilograms (100 lbs.) and upwards, all day up and down hill without undue fatigue. Taking in a tump-line a load under which they cannot rise from the floor.

342
241
648

FIG. 278—Finca Tecojá, Chis. Houses of Indians attached to the Finca.

147 without help, they will carry it with ease. The lifting power of their arms is less than that of Americans or Ladinos. Their headform is
142 meso- to brachycephalic, and the cranium is small. Deformation in
[304] the shape of a marked depression just above the juncture of the hair-line and the forehead, due to the use of a tump-line from early infancy, may be responsible for the conical appearance of the top of the skull. Noses are, on the whole, mesorrhine and small, with little appearance of the famous "Maya Nose," and then in a narrow form, lacking the width of nostril seen in pre-historic figures. Prognathism is slight, alveolar proganthism being the more common, particularly in children. Hair form is straight, coarse, and black. Gray hair or baldness are very unusual. Body hair, as far as could be observed,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

The country near the village has been farmed out long ago; now the fields lie at a distance in the jungle. After every concentration, the Indians drift away again like blown smoke. Today most of the houses are rotten, sagging, with gaping doors. The paths are grown up with weeds, huge, old moss-covered crosses lean at crazy angles by the main trails. Over all broods the frame of the sacked church, huge stone walls with rank vegetation around them, and a twisted, unhealthy oak-tree on one side, like a composition by Piranesi.

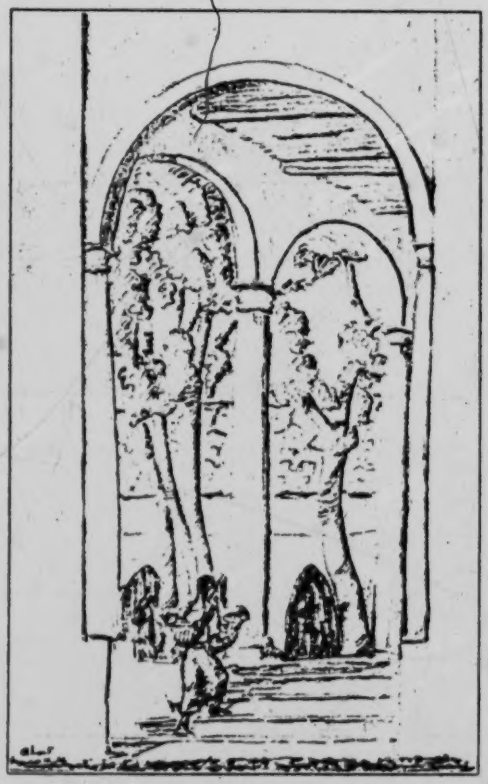

Fig. 277—Ocosingo, Chia. Colonnade on the Plaza.

Ocosingo Valley and its neighbours furnish a transition towards the real highlands. The valleys are fertile and green, ringed in with ranges of steep, rich hills. The soil in the lower parts is light; here palms and pines grow together, with a luxuriance of rich grass that makes an ideal grazing country. Through the valleys are large and small ranches of Ladinos and old Spanish families. The bigger ones, such as San Antonio, Quechil, and Achin in the Ocosingo Valley, San José Reforma and El Real beyond the San José Pass, and Tecojá in its own valley, each has a village of Indian labourers attached to them. The natives' houses are rather better that the average, and often tile-roofed (fig. 278). The Indians of each ranch function more or less as a tribe, governed by the owner of the ranch, conducting their own worship at its chapel. A few Indians own scattered, independent farms. Sivacá (*sivak ha'*, "Gunpowder Water"), near Ocosingo on the trail to Tenango, is a true village, self-governing, with its own *alcalde*, under the supervision of a Ladino *maestro*. All these groups come together at

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

241 indicate these bases and assess the efficiency of the agriculturalists in allocating resources of labor, land, and seeds.

423 311 [175] *Land use.* The historical factor of the greatest significance in establishing the present economic position of the town was the act of possession of ejido lands in 1937. The first grant included 4,873.53 *hectares*[1] of land of the following categories:

irrigated flat land	139.77
non-irrigated plots	1,018.37
pasture	1,659.65
hill land	2,055.74

The high hill land with its cover of pine and scrub oak was set aside for use of all members of the community for hunting and gathering firewood. The pasture lands are similarly controlled by the civil authority for common use. The cultivable lands passed into the hands of 385 ejidatarios, each of whom received one-half hectare. A further grant in 1954 provided an increase of 2,578 hectares, including:

low mountain land	2,277.60
pasture land	300.40

423 178 The possession of land by individual small-plot cultivators reversed the trend toward large-scale commercial agriculture begun in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The land of the Indians that had been expropriated in the latter part of the nineteenth century by forced sales was to be held in the possession of the townspeople, "benefiting all with its products and uses" (Act of possession, 1937, Town Archives).

423 241 311 178 With the increase in ejido lands acquired in 1954, the share of each ejidatario has been increased to one hectare. This is usually split between low land in San Caralampio and high land in San Isidro and Tulancá, giving two growing seasons. The advantages of different growing seasons are that there is a more balanced work schedule and that there are two harvests, one in November and one in July. The ejido land grant has stabilized subsistence crop cultivation in the economy of the town and in-

1. A hectare is equal to 2.46 acres.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

creased the economic independence of the Indians. The present total of 613 ejidatarios in 1965 has increased 59 percent since the original grant. The dependence of the town's economy on the ejido land can be assessed in the fact that 63 percent of the pasture land is held in ejido grants. The use of land resources in the township is summarized in Table 4.

TABLE 4. Agricultural Productivity by Size of Landholding

Size of landholding (hectares)	*Weight of produce (kilograms)*	*Value of produce (pesos)*	*Land used (percentage)*
Less than 5 hectares			
Corn	200,000	120,000	83.
Wheat	29,000	27,550	16.8
Fruit	3,008	9,000	.2
1 hectare of ejido land			
Corn	319,688	223,781	49.
Corn (with beans)	30,320	21,224	6.
Beans (with corn)	14,000	17,360	
Wheat	185,580	181,580	28.
Beans	84,322	104,322	17.
More than 5 hectares			
Corn	67,388	45,117	34.
Corn (with beans)	96,550	68,108	51.
Beans (with corn)	42,985	56,746	
Alfalfa	350,000	42,000	4.6
Fruit	14,508	9,720	4.4
Other			6.

SOURCE: 1960 census, Mexico.

According to the 1960 census figures on productivity per hectare, privately owned plots under five hectares yield the highest return in corn (1,097 kgs. per hectare), privately owned plots over five hectares the next highest return (925 kgs. per hectare), and ejido plots of one hectare the least (810 kgs. per hectare). In the census evaluation of wheat and corn production on privately owned plots of less than five hectares, wheat apparently yields a higher return (807 pesos per hectare of wheat compared with 658 pesos per hectare of corn). This relative return is nearly the same for the corn produced on ejido lands (820 pesos per hectare return on wheat compared with 603 pesos for corn). However, this is figured at the maximum market price for wheat of 124 pesos per 100 kgs.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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owned plots of less than five hectares, corn is clearly the major crop, with 83 percent of the land devoted to its production. In the ejido lands, it is cultivated on less than 50 percent of the land, with wheat and beans sharing the remaining lands. Included in the category of ownership of five hectares or more are three large fincas where cattle fodder is grown. These fincas employ eighty-three laborers, some of whom live in the town center.

Since the Mexican census figures do not take into account the total land holdings of the household, I shall refer to the data on land use from my own census in 1964 (Table 5). Beans are grown (except in three cases) only if the household has more than the one hectare of ejido land grant. Corn and beans are grown together only on irrigated lands, both in high lands and in low country. Most farmers with ejido land grow wheat in addition to corn only when the land is in continual production, since it is believed that wheat gives "heat" to the land and improves the soil. This belief is supported by the real value of crop rotation.

Decisions concerning what crops to plant where are based on two sets of criteria: topology and soil characteristics. These criteria, furthermore, are the basis for determining what kinds of seed should be planted and what techniques of cultivation should be utilized.

Topological criteria. Because of the relative wealth of land resources, the steep hills are left uncultivated. All of the steep hills are communally owned, and the second growth of pine and scrub oak provides firewood. Tall pine growing in the higher lands of the colonia of San Vicente is sold by the community to private lumber companies.

The "belly of the land," the mound-like hillocks at the bottom of the hills, are sometimes cultivated or used for pasturage. On hilly lands farmers put rocks in the banks or curve the rows of corn to avoid erosion. The very low lands of the valley floor must be drained by digging ditches.

The flat irrigated lands of the valley floor are the most desirable lands for cultivation. The Indians are reluctant to sell these lands, and hold on to them until they are forced to sell.

When the officials reach concensus on what the mean yield (or *medio calculo* as they call it) is, they multiply this by the known amount of seed planted. Every six years a house-to-house census of what was planted is made.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

231 cattle was seized by bandits or soldiers. It is "new" only in the size of the
233 holdings, which have expanded from ownership of one or two head per household, primarily useful as draft animals, to a herd as large as two hundred head belonging to the wealthiest man in town. Cattle rearing is now a capital investment for resale as well as for draft animals in plow agriculture.

233 The increasing herds have stimulated competition for community re-
311 sources. The control of communal grazing and waterhole rights is exer-
312 cised through the traditional dual division of the town, with rights to pas-
621 ture allocated on the basis of residence in the upper or lower barrio of the
575 center. An association of cattle owners has developed in each of the sections, and the leaders of each association call together all members to clean the water holes and repair the troughs. A recent project of the cattle association of the upper section has been the erection of a large cross at the
[789] water hole. The water had dried up the year before, and the installation of the cross was an attempt to ensure a continuous supply of water in the fu-
[796] ture. The priest blessed the cross in the dedication, and the fiscal and prayer-reciters adorn it each year on May 3, the Day of the Cross in the old Catholic calendar, along with other crosses of the village.

233 Cattle grazing is the source of much of the conflict in the town. The cat-
621 tle roam freely in the woods and communal pasture lands, and many are
578 lost or stolen. The cattle association has not fenced in the pasture in order
575 to control it. Their tactics have been punitive; they have raised funds from
627 among members to hire men to kill suspected cattle thieves. In the last twenty years, six men have been killed as cattle thieves, and at least three of those were known to be killed by men hired by the association, which then paid the court fines to set the killers free. The leader of one of the cattle associations was killed after an incident in which he fined a man who had failed to assist in cleaning the water holes. The fine of 2 pesos per head of cattle represented a large fee for the man, who had sixty head. He refused to pay more than half, since he said he had not been notified.
[754] When his daughter later died of illness, he blamed her death on witchcraft exercised by the cattle association leader, and later killed him.

231 Cattle are only minimally exploited as a resource. The cattle are not
434 butchered locally since there is not a large enough market, but are sold to

000 animals. The domesticated animals include dogs, horses, burros, 231 cattle,[1] hogs and chickens.

311 To summarize, the villages are located in the same ecological zone. In addition to this, both villages have extended their cultivated lands into the lowlands, down to about 1,500 meters above sea level, where semi-tropical and tropical products are grown (Kaplan, 1956-57, 1958; Wagner, 1959, Part II, Section 5).

Archeology

172 Although the Chiapas Highlands seem to have been occupied from the late Pre Classic, Local Phase Sak (Adams, R.; 1961:342) the first evidence of occupation within the valleys belongs to the Late Classic and Early Post Classic. A few archeological sites of this period are located on the tops of small hills and ridges around the flat-bottomed areas in which today's towns are located.

Adams (1961) interprets the sites as having been independent communities, characterized architecturally by a lack of attention to ceremonial structures, conspicuous absence of sculpture, and a certain emphasis on fortifications and defensive positions, indications of some sort of warfare. Surrounding the sites there is evidence of small hamlets and of agricultural terracing, but

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[231] [1] Cattle were introduced in the area a long time ago, but
[177] were not adopted by the Indians of Amatenango and Aguacatenango
[648] until very recently. They are more and more of a problem for the milpa agriculturalist, because with the system of open range grazing, the cattle constantly invade the milpas, and are a continuous threat for the villager, plus a source of friction between Indian and Ladinos, especially cattle ranch owners.

628 438 571 608 582 628 166 602 establish with them the relations of posada and compadrazgo, mentioned above, as well as (in the infrequent cases of inter-community marriage), some affinal kinship ties. In the few recorded cases of emigration from the village, some members of the community keep communication with a few consanguineal relatives living in other Indian villages, although social exchanges and the memory of such relatives tend to die out after a generation or two.

105 With the other Indian communities in the area, Amatenango and Aguacatenango share a common material culture and belief system, derived from a Highland Maya cultural tradition, the same linguistic background, and a subsistence pattern based on agriculture. They are peasant, in the sense that they are rural villages which depend, for survival, not only on agricultural work, but on economic exchange with other semi-urban and urban centers (Redfield, 1956:25-28).

438 [273] Aguacatenango buys pottery and chayotes from Amatenango, whose women come periodically to sell them, and trago (drinking alcohol) which some Amatenangueros produce illegally. Amatenango buys from Aguacatenango surplus corn.

628 [311] [312] 628 776 The two towns have amicable relations, thinking of each other as neighbors, and sharing the same pasture lands, and source of water for irrigation. The two communities share the same cultural hero, called Juan Lopez in Aguacatenango and Lopez Shuntón in Amatenango, connected with the corn and with the "lightening who lives in a cave." For Aguacatenangueros this personage is the builder of the roads, responsible for the eradication of "cannibalism," the conversion of man-hunting animals

361 The central plaza contains the Church, the local government offices, [366] the school and the National Indian Institute (INI) cooperative [368] store (see below), in Amatenango this list being increased by the INI clinic. Around these plazas (open squares) the houses are relatively concentrated, the population density is high and the size of the sitio (a household plot) small. (There are about seven or eight sitios in a block one hectare in size.) Toward the margins of the town the houses thin out, being surrounded by milpas. Well established family groups live toward the center, while newcomers, poorer families and deviants live toward the [906] periphery. Sitios within the center are highly valued in both communities, the outskirts of the town being closer to the unknown dangers of the monte (hill and forest) with its malevolent spirits (animal souls of witches in the search of victims, owners of the caves, etc.).

361 Surrounding the villages one finds the communal grass 311 lands for pasture and the irrigated milpas. The grass lands and 312 the water source for the milpas de regadío (irrigated corn fields) 423 are shared by both villages, although Amatenango makes use of the water first, since the stream flows through Amatenango before it reaches the Aguacatenango lands.

311 Towards the hill slopes the milpas de temporal (corn fields depending on seasonal rain) are planted in scattered small groups, fenced together against the invasion of cattle;[1] and alternating with forested patches.

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[1] See footnote 1, p. 17.

T M 175 423 621 The rights over land given to the villages by the Spaniards were not contested by the Mexican Government, but during the last century there have been some redistributions of the boundaries to better fit changes in the size of the population of the different villages in the area. Besides, although it was not legally approved, large chunks of the territory of the communities were taken away by the local ranchers who had the backing of the state politicians. As a result of the land invasion by the ranchers, the villages of Amatenango and Aguacatenango controlled, until recently in this century, very little land, mostly temporal, the better land being in the hands of the local ladino ranchers. After the Mexican Revolution of the twenties, the fincas (ranches) were expropriated by the national government, according to new policies of agrarian reform, and under the presidential regime of Avila Camacho were returned to the villages as Ejidos (cooperatively owned land).

M [661] T 175 423 621 661 423 T 175 423 M 669 423

The territory of the villages is divided today, by use, into land for agriculture (?ulabal [irrigated], pomultik [hot-country] and temporal), land for residential sites, and land for lumbering and pasture. Within the communities the over-all authority that controls land is the Ayuntamiento, the body which forms the civil branch of the civil-religious government that is the ultimate authority in village affairs. The Ayuntamiento controls both the communal lands and the Ejido lands.

T 621 423 311 T 621 423

The Ejidos function very much like the communal lands, in that they are "owned" by the community. Every household head is a member of the ejido cooperative, and has rights to cultivate a parcel within the ejido. According to the Mexican Agrarian Code,

T 423 621

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Tenejapa

361 Amatenango lies in an open valley. It is estimated at three
342 hundred houses, each in a fenced yard of good size, and shaded with
351 fruit trees. The houses are large and well built, of mud and grass
245 thatch, with porches. The small church and Town Hall are tiled-
346 roof and stuccoed. The fields, which lie close around the town, and
344 the gardens in the town itself are watered by a stream brought down
241 a very pretty, roaring flume from higher land behind the village.
312 The irrigation system is fairly elaborate, and is unique in this area as far as we know.

323 The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one shape, a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, how-

344

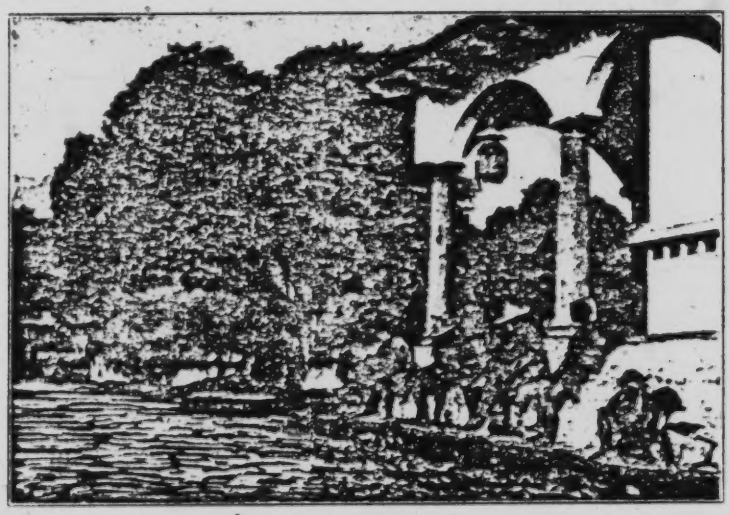

FIG. 332—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians at the Town Hall.

323 ever, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep, reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of boards, two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman in charge turns them until they are done (fig. 333). These pots are
[443] carried by the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they are redis-
[492] tributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala. Their industry is sufficient to enable them to maintain mules for carrying their goods, although both men and beasts are equally loaded.

Patronym	*Alannantk only*	*Ahk'olnantik only*	*Alannantik and Ahk'olnantik*
Lopez Tz'uʔu			12
Lopez Wolto			50
Lopez Yutz			16
Perez			9
Perez Huhan			4
Perez Kam			11
Perez Kantiron			23
Perez Os			17
Perez Otol			16
Perez Tut			18
Perez Ventura			11
Sanchez		3	
Santis Peč	1		
Vasquez		3	
Total	26	58	629

The curing hierarchy was organized on the basis of the dual division until the 1940s. There were two leader curers, one on each side, who were in charge of guarding their own side against intrusion of evil spirits. During the 1940s a breakdown in the hierarchial principle led to some lessening of the power of the group and a collapse of the leadership. People now patronize curers from either section, but there is some feeling that it is safer for the curers if they cure only on their own side.

The dual division persists as a basis of economic organization only in the case of the cattle owner's associations. Pasturage on communal lands is allocated according to residence in the upper or lower division. Since cattle raising for beef has increased the size of herds the cattle owners on each side have formed an association to clear the waterholes and celebrate fiestas at the major waterhole on the Day of the Cross. None of the other new enterprises in town organize on the basis of the territorial division.

In the etiquette of social interaction, the dual division is still taken into account. When a resident of one side walks in the streets of the other side, he is not expected to greet passersby or people in their houses with the usual *b'onme wiš* or *b'onme tat* (I go, elder sister or father, or whatever the appropriate extension of kin terms may be). Such street greetings are mandatory on one's own side of the town. It is considered much safer to

18. When a serious illness caused by witchcraft has been cured, the patient must be protected against reentry of the evil by a gift of medicine to the house. Palm crosses are made for the corner posts and the entry, and a medicine consisting of a mixture of garlic and creosote, the seeds of mustard, and *poštan*, a "hot" herb, is mixed. As the crosses are nailed on the posts, the curer marks a cross with the medicine over the palm cross. This "covers the eyes of the evil spirit" so that it will not enter the house. In the Eyes of the Ancestors

The relationship between house spirit and the spirits of the residents is an uneasy one. Fear is associated with this capricious spirit, who might make an alliance with evil spirits, and whose power is evident only in sickness and in death, never in good deeds. A sense of alienation is conveyed in the fact that the house spirit and the spirits of the spring are conceived of as Ladinos. Spirits of the house and of the landscape are exacting landlords from whom the tenants expect nothing in return for their offerings but freedom from harm. Acceptance of the offerings seals a contract between spiritual occupants that must continually be renewed in order to maintain the balance of security expressed in the phrase "to be of one heart." The payment of a "tribute" in the form of food, liquor, and entertainment is part of a larger strategy by which these Indians ensure their survival by appeasement of overlords, demanding government officials, and the very rats which live in their houses and feed on the corn they store in the eaves.

The springs. Other meeting grounds for the spirits of people and places are the springs. The major spring, San Nicolás, is located on the southwestern periphery of the town. It provides drinking water and water for irrigating the cultivated lands. A second spring, called Pahaltón, lies closer to the village and provides a smaller stream of water directed into the canals irrigating the fields of the center. Some say the spirit of San Nicolás is a small Ladino boy; others say he is a man. The spirit of Pahaltón is a female non-Indian, or *Ladina*. The spirits of these waters are able to effect miraculous cures for patients who have lost their souls or those who are of two hearts because of upset social relations in the home. Male patients are brought to San Nicolás and female patients are brought to Pahaltón to seek a miracle. In the curing ceremony an arch of flowers entwined in pine boughs is constructed as closely as possible to the spring

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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waters. The curer brushes the patients with branches of the cooling bushes and herbs growing near the spring, the same ones used in the fiesta of inauguration and the curing ceremonies conducted in the house. The strategy of making the house spirit happy by providing music, dancing, and drinking is repeated at the spring to make the water spirit happy. Some of the family of the patient must remain in the house as "waiters" (*maliwanehetik*) to receive the spirit if it should arrive before its owner. The maliwanehetik must drink as much liquor as the participants at the spring.

The Cave of the Ancestors. The ancestors, the *me?tiktatik*, were believed to have lived in a cave in the hills lying on the peripheries of the township. In the myth that follows, they are given a historical identity as two brothers, the Shuntonetik. Shunton is one of the Tzeltal patronyms of families still living in the town, and in fact the narrator of this version of the myth is Mariano Shunton, whom people consider a descendant of the ancestors.[6]

Formerly a priest asked for a document to be delivered to Antigua in Guatemala. Two messengers were sent with it, but they did not return. Another messenger went and did not return. Four or five more messengers were sent out and did not come back. Finally they sent a man from the cabildo with his younger brother. They left early in the morning, and the elder brother said as he left the other town officials, "If I succeed, I want a fiesta. Look for my sign of four arches [rainbow]."

The two brothers first went to a hill. There they called upon their swayohelik [*animal spirits*]. *First the animal spirit of the elder brother spoke. He said, "I am a stone." Then the animal spirit of the younger brother said, "I am a stick. Moreover, I am a snake and a maguey plant." The elder brother said, "Then we are well off. Let us go."*

6. The same identification of a lineage patronym with the most important sacred hill is found in other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities (Holland 1963, Hermitte 1964). The pattern may have originated in a period of pre-Conquest expansion when the dominant lineage was assiged a custodial leadership over the new settlement, with their spirits remaining as guardians of the community. Members of the contemporary communities who bear the same patronym do not have any privileged position. These associations of past and contemporary belief are, as Vogt (1964:216) cautions, still hypothetical.

231 cattle was seized by bandits or soldiers. It is "new" only in the size of the
233 holdings, which have expanded from ownership of one or two head per household, primarily useful as draft animals, to a herd as large as two hundred head belonging to the wealthiest man in town. Cattle rearing is now a capital investment for resale as well as for draft animals in plow agriculture.

233 The increasing herds have stimulated competition for community re-
311 sources. The control of communal grazing and waterhole rights is exer-
312 cised through the traditional dual division of the town, with rights to pas-
621 ture allocated on the basis of residence in the upper or lower barrio of the
575 center. An association of cattle owners has developed in each of the sections, and the leaders of each association call together all members to clean the water holes and repair the troughs. A recent project of the cattle association of the upper section has been the erection of a large cross at the
[789] water hole. The water had dried up the year before, and the installation of the cross was an attempt to ensure a continuous supply of water in the fu-
[796] ture. The priest blessed the cross in the dedication, and the fiscal and prayer-reciters adorn it each year on May 3, the Day of the Cross in the old Catholic calendar, along with other crosses of the village.

233 Cattle grazing is the source of much of the conflict in the town. The cat-
621 tle roam freely in the woods and communal pasture lands, and many are
578 lost or stolen. The cattle association has not fenced in the pasture in order
575 to control it. Their tactics have been punitive; they have raised funds from
627 among members to hire men to kill suspected cattle thieves. In the last twenty years, six men have been killed as cattle thieves, and at least three of those were known to be killed by men hired by the association, which then paid the court fines to set the killers free. The leader of one of the cattle associations was killed after an incident in which he fined a man who had failed to assist in cleaning the water holes. The fine of 2 pesos per head of cattle represented a large fee for the man, who had sixty head. He refused to pay more than half, since he said he had not been notified.
[754] When his daughter later died of illness, he blamed her death on witchcraft exercised by the cattle association leader, and later killed him.

231 Cattle are only minimally exploited as a resource. The cattle are not
434 butchered locally since there is not a large enough market, but are sold to

868 857 the larger ones their mothers make, but their products are usually not [323] commercially saleable until they reach the age of marriage. Their responsi- [312] bility in preadolescence is to bring water from the faucets installed in every other block of the town, and to degrain corn, tend the fire as the *nixtamal,* or corn dough mixed with lime, cooks, and help their mother grind it. The careful assessment of the child's capacity to perform tasks is exemplified by the gradations of water-carrying jars given to each child: the older the child, the larger the jar, with minute variations in scale. The [592] close, usually wordless cooperation between women in a household comes [462] from years of working together and knowing their part in cooperative tasks.

Boys accompany their fathers to the fields after they reach the age of six and when they are not attending school. They do not participate in the work of the milpa until they are eight or older, but they pick up twigs for the fire or gather the wild berries or plants which supplement the diet of [411] the family. They usually carry slingshots with which they kill field rats [262] and birds, which they bring home to cook and eat. Teaching a boy the 868 tasks involved in agriculture is consciously undertaken by older brothers 241 or the father when the child reaches the age of twelve or thirteen. The following reminiscence of this training is given by a man who had been brought up by his widowed mother and brother.

159 *I went to the field with my brother who is eighteen years older than I,*
868 *when I was thirteen years old. My brother brought me to clean the milpa,*
241 *saying, "Let us go and you will learn how to work. See what I do and you do the same. You will learn what I do and you can do the same."*

One day I finished six rows. My brother said when he saw my work, "Good, just give a little more soil at the foot of the corn because the little corn must have a little soil. Now you do it well." "Yes," I said. He saw it was good, and he told me, "You have learned your work. You are going to forget it when you enter school. When you come out of school, go do two or three rows of work. When you hear the bell strike, go back to school."

He told my mother that I had learned to work, and she said, "Good you know how to cultivate." I learned to do my work better by going along with my elder brother in his work so that I would not forget.

159 622 177 178 [454] [754] [756] partners. He sold a few shares of a truck he and his family owned to Indians, but he retained the controlling interest. His wife was reputed to be a witch, and was an active curer, combining old and new treatments of illnesses.

His position was challenged in the 1960s by the Ladino schoolmaster, 159 875 177 178 563 578 [312] [756] who had been remarkably unsuccessful from his arrival in 1953 until that time in gaining personal power and influence. His intercession in a local homicide case involving a father's murder of his son outraged the townspeople, some of whom threatened to kill him. His attempts to have water installed aroused the curers against him since they were accustomed to bathing their patients at the source of the spring from which they were debarred when the plumbing was installed. His demands that children [871] [582] within the legal age limit should not only attend school but should be prohibited from marrying until they had completed their schooling caused the anger of parents who wanted to give their daughters in an early and profitable marriage.

159 875 177 178 563 557 [608] [546] [278] [431] Gradually, however, the schoolmaster extended his own base of support. He minimized his attack on local customs, adhering only to those laws affecting the school population, over which he had a great deal of control. Some of his support came from the orthodox Catholic members of the community; he extended his control through compadre relationships with over eighty members of the community. He showed movies which he acquired from the United Nations and other educational film sources and gave away medicines acquired from the health officials in the state capitol who were his friends. From one of these sources of philanthropy he acquired wool shawls which he gave to every woman in the town.

The professor demanded no return from the townspeople other than their respect and admiration; he was a person who enjoyed commanding others and needed an arena in which to project his own personality. In his early years in the town, he had to satisfy this need by capturing stray tourists and plying them with soda pop or coffee. His first opportunity to gain [474] leadership in the local sphere came in 1963, when he supported the new truck-owning cooperative. He used the influence of contacts in the state capital, including compadres, friends, and relatives of his wife's family. He promoted the cooperative's attempt to gain the presidency. One of the first

159 civil officials, not of me"). He identifies himself with the Indians in the
875 fight against the competitive trucking cooperative ("Those who are with
563 him [Don Ramon] are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by
177 him"). While he does not accuse Ramon's wife directly of witchcraft he
178 implies this in saying that people sign their candidate's nomination peti-
[754] tion for president because they are afraid Juana will use witchcraft. This is
[626] a characteristic mode of attacking one's enemies in the town. He claims credit for all of the innovations in the town which have won public approval—the highway, the water supply, electricity, and so forth.

622 The profit motive is inadequate to explain why Ladinos want to play
875 the role of cacique in these corporate Indian communities. One must seek
563 for an explanation instead in the social status they gain. While their jobs
177 are limited and usually frustrating and they can never be completely inte-
178 grated into the community, political activities offer them a larger arena in which they can derive personal satisfaction. The contrast between the schoolmaster's position in Tzoʔontahal before he became a political leader and his position after finding local supporters illustrates this. In the early days of his residence in town, when he built a chicken coop which extended a few feet beyond the grounds allotted to the schoolhouse, some Indians threatened to kill him. In 1957, I saw him trying to summon a policeman from the town hall, which was adjacent to the schoolhouse, to remove a boulder from the path so that a visiting friend could pass in his automobile. No one heeded his urgent shouts or the whistle he used to call children to school, although they were well aware of what he wanted. But by 1965 there was not a single important transaction which did not require consultation with the schoolteacher. Campesinos from as far as Villa Las Rosas came to request his advice and his help in approaching government agents. In projecting his political role, he gained support for projects which were of interest to him. When he had succeeded in getting the gov-
[653] ernment to install water pipes and electricity, he talked the civil authori-
[312] ties into building a kiosk, or bandstand, in the plaza. This was a fulfill-
[365] ment of his ambition to make the town over in the image of a colonial
[345] Spanish pueblo. His final statement in the speech quoted above, "Today we see a kiosk, tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory!" reveals the symbolic significance it had for him.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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The behavior described for each institution in earlier chapters will be summarized as a mode of adjustment or adaptation in relation to the beliefs that give it meaning and purpose. 128

Economic Activities

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Learning agricultural tasks and pottery-making in the household is part of adjusting to membership in the community. Parents are responsible for teaching the value of industriousness and are held accountable throughout the life of the child. Agricultural tasks are scheduled in a yearly cycle that provides sufficient flexibility for a man to carry out community and familial ceremonial responsibilities. In milpa agriculture, there is no specialization of tasks. Small-plot agricultural production with a simple technology has been reinforced by the land reform program. Since the lands incorporated under the Ejido Commission in the 1930s were attached to the community, agriculturalists were not forced to adjust to new ecological conditions. Politicalization was minimal since the local commission operated within the old civil hierarchy. In the recent expansion of ejido colonies in hot country, Indians from the community have developed alliances with non-Indians in asserting claims to the land. Without any preexisting civil hierarchy, these ejidatarios have not had to adjust their activities to a given structure of authority, but have developed independent political organizations as an adaptation to their new environment.

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Women's work in pottery is less subject to changes in techniques and organization than is men's. The schema of production in simple tasks in a fixed sequence makes it easier to teach girls each process and reinforces a given pottery tradition. My guess would be that if wheel production were introduced, it would liberate the creativity of each potter by freeing her of established routines.

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Pottery production is not surrounded, as is agricultural production, by ceremonials. There is no god to whom one lights candles or gives offerings to ensure success, although there are hazards in production, particularly at the time of firing. Agricultural productivity, on the other hand, is thought to depend on the proper relation between the spirits of the heaven and of the church with the spirits of crops.

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In the new economic activities, the Indians have shown both adjustive

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177 and adaptive responses. With the expansion of cattle raising, Indians have
178 organized associations adjusted to the traditional dual division. The asso-
621 ciation for each side of the dual division mobilizes labor for maintaining
476 the watering holes. The failure to organize communal corrals means that
312 inefficient herding techniques, damage to the milpa, and frequent loss or
[685] theft of cattle persist. The association reacts to the last problem by hiring killers to get rid of those suspected of theft, but this adaptive response is limited to dealing with particular incidents and has not solved the problem.

548 The manufacturers of contraband liquor have succeeded in organizing a
273 syndicate strong enough to maintain a monopoly price for both the inter-
177 nal and external markets and to provide security for themselves against
178 federal agents. The syndicate mobilizes for specific actions, such as raising
[435] the bail bond for imprisoned members or punishing informers. As a com-
694 munity-wide organization ignoring the dual division and age-ranked sen-
[681] iority, it represents an adaptation in response to extra-community pres-
[621] sures.
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The cooperatives that have been organized to manage the local store
474 and the trucks provide permanent managerial operations that are an adap-
177 tition to growing interaction in extra-community economic activities.
178 Cooperative owners are able to raise the capital to maintain and expand these operations. It is within these structures that entrepreneurial skills are being developed. The organizers gain the advantage not only of socializing the risk of loss but also of making a profit in a community where belief in witchcraft, fostered by envy, is rampant.

474 Activities in the new economic enterprises are not supported by any su-
472 pernatural belief. In order to gain acceptance for the new enterprises, the
177 entrepreneur Santos, who had organized the trucking cooperative, recog-
178 nized the need for an ideology. His rhetoric drew upon the sense of deprivation Indians feel in their relations with Ladinos. He justified his own ends as an attempt to gain for all the community the profits that only Ladinos had been able to gain through trucking and crops resales in the regional markets. The ideology he had begun to formulate stressed economic and political independence from both the Ladino entrepreneurs of neighboring towns and government agents who tried to promote welfare

M 563 621 647 doctors and officers of the National Indian Institute (INI) who arrive to the villages at irregular intervals. In Amatenango, T 621 743 647 the INI has established a "clinic" in which a native nurse provides some medical services, such as vaccinations, the selling of aspirin, etc., while in Aguacatenango the native INI nurse provides services in his home.

T 621 647 474 In both the villages the INI has established a cooperative store which sells staples which are not produced in the community, but such stores are in no sense agents of cultural change, selling only commodities which the Indians habitually buy elsewhere. (A reason for the lack of success of such stores is that the Indians have not understood the "cooperative" principle, very few men have joined, and they are disillusioned with the marginal profit obtained through them.) In 1958, Amatenango had water T 621 647 312 114 piped into the village, a project completed by the INI in 1957; while after the author left Aguacatenango in 1958, water pipes were installed there.

M 563 692 Political relations with the Ladinos of a more formal nature occur through the courts of justice and national government offices, and they are characterized by the covert (and at times open) hostility and misunderstanding on the part of both Indians and Ladinos (see D. Metzger, 1956 and Fuente, Julio de la, 1958).

T 628 438 571 608 582 Relations with other Indian villages are common both for Amatenango and Aguacatenango. They trade with the communities located in different ecological zones the products that do not grow in their territory (ocote from the highlands, sugar cane from the lowlands, etc.) in exchange for their own products and they

628 438 establish with them the relations of posada and compadrazgo, men-
571 tioned above, as well as (in the infrequent cases of inter-com-
608 582 munity marriage), some affinal kinship ties. In the few recorded
cases of emigration from the village, some members of the com-
628 166 munity keep communication with a few consanguineal relatives living
602 in other Indian villages, although social exchanges and the memory
of such relatives tend to die out after a generation or two.

105 With the other Indian communities in the area, Amatenango and Aguacatenango share a common material culture and belief system, derived from a Highland Maya cultural tradition, the same linguistic background, and a subsistence pattern based on agriculture. They are peasant, in the sense that they are rural villages which depend, for survival, not only on agricultural work, but on economic exchange with other semi-urban and urban centers (Redfield, 1956:25-28).

438 Aguacatenango buys pottery and chayotes from Amatenango,
[273] whose women come periodically to sell them, and trago (drinking alcohol) which some Amatenangueros produce illegally. Amatenango buys from Aguacatenango surplus corn.

628 The two towns have amicable relations, thinking of each
311 other as neighbors, and sharing the same pasture lands, and
312 source of water for irrigation. The two communities share the
628 same cultural hero, called Juan Lopez in Aguacatenango and Lopez
916 Shuntón in Amatenango, connected with the corn and with the "lightening who lives in a cave." For Aguacatenangueros this personage is the builder of the roads, responsible for the eradication of "cannibalism," the conversion of man-hunting animals

361 The central plaza contains the Church, the local government offices, [366] the school and the National Indian Institute (INI) cooperative [368] store (see below), in Amatenango this list being increased by the INI clinic. Around these plazas (open squares) the houses are relatively concentrated, the population density is high and the size of the sitio (a household plot) small. (There are about seven or eight sitios in a block one hectare in size.) Toward the margins of the town the houses thin out, being surrounded by milpas. Well established family groups live toward the center, while newcomers, poorer families and deviants live toward the [416] periphery. Sitios within the center are highly valued in both communities, the outskirts of the town being closer to the unknown dangers of the monte (hill and forest) with its malevolent spirits (animal souls of witches in the search of victims, owners of the caves, etc.).

361 311 312 423 Surrounding the villages one finds the communal grass lands for pasture and the irrigated milpas. The grass lands and the water source for the milpas de regadío (irrigated corn fields) are shared by both villages, although Amatenango makes use of the water first, since the stream flows through Amatenango before it reaches the Aguacatenango lands.

311 Towards the hill slopes the milpas de temporal (corn fields depending on seasonal rain) are planted in scattered small groups, fenced together against the invasion of cattle;[1] and alternating with forested patches.

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[1] See footnote 1, p. 17.

them to "overlook" the trespasser, but not many young men are willing to risk the ire of the other barrio bachelors, nor the gossip and sanctions applied to them by their own barrio mates.[1]

Each barrio plays a role in the political and religious organization of the village by sending an approximately equal number of officers to the Ayuntamiento and the Mayordomías. Although in some years there are more delegates from one barrio, they attempt to correct the imbalance in the succeeding years. The Principales (council of elders) have also equal representation.

Escuadrilla groups (adolescent boys' gangs) and unmarried women's Church groups are formed among barrio mates. Women, with few exceptions, used the water wells or pipe lines in their barrio of residence (the exceptions include women who originally came from the other barrio) and who do their washing at places in the river on their barrio side. Men who work together at such tasks as buying and butchering a cow, building a path or clearing an irrigation ditch belong to the same barrio. House parties organized to buy candles for the Church before a special Saint's day are barrio affairs, and no resident of the other barrio (with the exception of the anthropologist) is invited. In the past, there were, in Aguacatenango, religious sororities sponsored by the Catholic Church, and each barrio had a separate one. There

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[1] A man that has married once is considered to have had his share of the available women of the barrio. Second marriages, especially with girls who have never married before, are not well thought of. It is common, then, that second marriages occur across barrio lines. A man finds it easier to cope with the antagonism of the other barrio men (who are expected, in any case, to be antagonistic) than with the bachelors and neighbors in his own barrio, where he has to face the antagonism in every day interaction.

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each barrio prolonging their cornfields towards "their side." Aguacatenango irrigated land is divided and allocated so that men from one barrio have their plots separate from men from the other barrio, the barrio plots being watered by separate canals.

The same way that the community as a whole holds exclusive titles of ownership and rights of usufruct against other communities, the barrio has a monopoly of certain town lands, over which it holds, if not ownership titles, rights to plant their crops, gather palms for the roofs of the houses and espino for the fences.

In 1956, a group of men from one barrio bought land from a nearby finca (ranch). A month later, the other barrio bought land from another finca owner. The meetings which planned the purchases were closed and maintained in semi-secrecy. There was some conflict over the rights of the "other barrio" to use the pastures included in the new lands of the other, and gossip on the subject lasted almost two years, revealing, once more, the traditional separation between the two village factions.

That the barrio as a land-holding unit is more significant in Aguacatenango should not be a surprise: Aguacatenango is much more dependent on land for its subsistence, since agriculture is the only large-scale productive enterprise of the community. Therefore, conflict and competition for land tends to acquire greater proportions than in Amatenango where people have other important sources of income. One of the ways in which possible conflicts between village factions over land and its products is handled, is by delimiting the territorial rights held by the people who belong to such factions.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Revolutions have since destroyed the herds, and the town now has only a small local trade in sugar and rum.

All goods are transported on mule-back over bad trails. Main trails run to Yajalon, San Cristóbal las Casas, and Comitan. Minor trails connect with Tenosique in Tabasco, a ride of five or six days through uninhabited forests. Other small trails lead into the heart of the forests along the Usumacinta river, where there are a few mahogany camps, fourteen days distance on a good mule.

The Spanish Conquerors had quickly discovered the richness of the soil and taken possession of it. Therefore, we find but a few Indians around Ocosingo, save at the small town of Sivacá, entirely inhabited by Tzeltal-speaking Indians. From there we secured our labourers, who were summoned by the municipal president and worked for us at the regulation pay of 50 centavos per day. Ocosingo holds sway over the native towns of Sivacá, Tenango, Oschuc, San Martín, and Bachajon. The municipality commands the Indians for all kinds of work, and in many ways lives on what can be pressed from them. As a consequence, the good people of Ocosingo are anything but popular among the Indians, though it appears that the man then in charge, Señor Simon Leon, was quite friendly towards them, and therefore well liked.

Geologically, the Ocosingo Valley is a syncline, the valley bottom and the interior mountain ranges being of a coarse red sandstone; and the exterior ranges of limestone. The axis of the valley runs approximately N-80-W to S-80-E, and Ocosingo town is located at an altitude of 900 meters above sea level.

As we rode into the village, La Farge discovered a stone block, carved with hieroglyphs, set in the pavement of the sidewalk, an excellent reception for archaeologists.

Our first concern was to find quarters, which we located in a house on the corner of a street leading into the Plaza. Soon our equipment was unloaded, and while we unpacked, the Ladino guide we had acquired in Bachajon went to his house to order food for us.

The restaurant and meal were a surprise, though not pleasant. In a room with a rotten board floor, the plaster falling off the walls, and a huge box full of saints, we were served fried eggs and black beans by an old woman with a large goitre. Though nothing in the house appeared to be either particularly exclusive or clean, the Ladino family seemed to resent that we sat down at the table with our chief guide, the trusty old Indian, Lázaro, now called "Tata" by us.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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owned plots of less than five hectares, corn is clearly the major crop, with 83 percent of the land devoted to its production. In the ejido lands, it is cultivated on less than 50 percent of the land, with wheat and beans sharing the remaining lands. Included in the category of ownership of five hectares or more are three large fincas where cattle fodder is grown. These fincas employ eighty-three laborers, some of whom live in the town center.

Since the Mexican census figures do not take into account the total land holdings of the household, I shall refer to the data on land use from my own census in 1964 (Table 5). Beans are grown (except in three cases) only if the household has more than the one hectare of ejido land grant. Corn and beans are grown together only on irrigated lands, both in high lands and in low country. Most farmers with ejido land grow wheat in addition to corn only when the land is in continual production, since it is believed that wheat gives "heat" to the land and improves the soil. This belief is supported by the real value of crop rotation.

Decisions concerning what crops to plant where are based on two sets of criteria: topology and soil characteristics. These criteria, furthermore, are the basis for determining what kinds of seed should be planted and what techniques of cultivation should be utilized.

Topological criteria. Because of the relative wealth of land resources, the steep hills are left uncultivated. All of the steep hills are communally owned, and the second growth of pine and scrub oak provides firewood. Tall pine growing in the higher lands of the colonia of San Vicente is sold by the community to private lumber companies.

The "belly of the land," the mound-like hillocks at the bottom of the hills, are sometimes cultivated or used for pasturage. On hilly lands farmers put rocks in the banks or curve the rows of corn to avoid erosion. The very low lands of the valley floor must be drained by digging ditches.

The flat irrigated lands of the valley floor are the most desirable lands for cultivation. The Indians are reluctant to sell these lands, and hold on to them until they are forced to sell.

When the officials reach concensus on what the mean yield (or *medio calculo* as they call it) is, they multiply this by the known amount of seed planted. Every six years a house-to-house census of what was planted is made.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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323 pyramid is complete, wood is laid against the pots in a tepee formation. [313] When the sawmill in the vicinity was in operation, flat boards—scraps of [372] cut lengths—were used, but now only logs are available. Corn husks or [462] dry straw are stuffed between the planks or logs. When a large number of pots are being fired, the men usually help at the final stages to remove the [476] charred planks with poles. If men are not available, the women of the household often call upon their neighbors for help. In this operation, the [292] women wear sandals and hats for protection from the heat. When the pots are cooled, the women, sometimes with the help of the men, stack them in net bags, six to a net with straw protecting the pots.

647 About fifteen year ago, a kiln was introduced by the government in the 177 interest of conserving wood. Those who tried it claim that the pottery did 323 not fire well and that many of the pots were broken. I.N.I. (the Instituto 372 Nacional Indigenista) planned to introduce an improved kiln, and while most of the people we questioned expressed a willingness to try it, the proposal was never put into action.

462 The men do most of the marketing of pottery. Loads of one or two 442 dozen may be taken by bus or truck to San Cristóbal or to Comitán. 443 When there is large-scale production throughout the community, as occurs 494 just before major fiestas, truckers come from the neighboring town of Teopisca to contract for delivery.

592 The amount of pottery produced in households varies with the follow- 323 ing factors:
433

1. Household composition: (a) Number of women in the family. [464] If there is only one woman, very little or no pottery is produced because of the demands of domestic duties. Households with two or more women are able to sustain the ideal output of at least a dozen water jugs a week (I use "ideal" here to suggest their notion of what they produce when asked to guess. As Fig. 2 indicates, this varies considerably during the [887] year.) (b) Age of women and ages of children. Older women over sixty do not independently undertake pottery production. They may assist in washing pots with corn gruel or making the neck, mouth, and handles, but they are unable to endure the harder task of collecting clay. A woman with infants under two years of age makes little pottery if

Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

593 592 885 621 But a man wants to become independent of his father. While he is living within his parent's compound he is considered by the community to be "a child." He is bound to work his father's land and cannot control the produce of his own labor. Until he sets up his own separate domestic group, and becomes economically independent, he does not have full rights to participation in the political life of the community because (1) he is bound to make political decisions following his father's, and he has no voice in most community affairs which are the concern of household heads, and because (2) he cannot materially afford to take up the expenses of officership.

562 592 885 606 Women are also usually anxious to set up their own separate domestic group and independent housekeeping because this gives them some autonomy which they cannot achieve otherwise. The bond between a daughter-in-law and a mother-in-law is not expected to be a strong one. We have already discussed how the two women are assumed to be somewhat antagonistic, and their common work of housekeeping is unequally distributed.

While women live in the same compound with their mother-in-law, they have no power to make decisions of their own about their working schedule, their housekeeping, or the food stored by the elder because this is under the control of the elder woman.

[574] A woman cannot freely take time to visit her mother because she is expected to keep her social life within the boundaries of [313] her husband's domestic unit. She cannot even go to gather firewood, which is an activity highly enjoyed by women. Except for getting water from the well or pipes in the street or gathering firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound.

000 firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound.
462 Going to gather wood is a very nice break in the routine, and women
313 usually go in the company of other women with whom they chat, ex-
606 changing news and gossip. A young wife usually stays home cooking
592 while her mother-in-law leaves the house to gather the fuel for the hearth. Even if a woman does go out to gather wood, she is expected to do so with her mother-in-law, rather than with the
[626] women of her own natal family. A woman talking about a bad daughter-in-law will say, "She does not even want to gather firewood with me, she always runs to her mother's."

562 Women look upon having their own homestead as the only so-
592 lution for gaining independence. It is true that, even then, they
885 are under their husband's authority, but they control the food brought by the husband to the home, and they can make their own
[574] decisions about the work schedule. They can also take time to
[572] visit their own female relatives and childhood girl friends, a
[606] habit which is disliked by their mothers-in-law as being a threat to their own position.

592 We can see, then, that there are several factors which
578 provoke structural tensions in the compound home; some are economic, others are related to the ordering of social relations in the kinship domain, and still others depend on the aspirations of the individuals.

In the course of time, the structural tensions accumulate to the point that they precipitate the fission of the household. The triad of a woman, her son and her son's wife, and the dyadic conflict between a father and son dissolves the compound into two

000 bly similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now. Just as a
323 man defines himself as an agriculturalist, a woman defines herself as a pot-
462 ter. Men complain if their wives do not produce pottery, and I know of
[593] two cases of separation on the grounds that the woman was not fulfilling
[586] one of her functions as housewife by helping the family budget with pot-
[461] tery production. Most women like to make pottery: it helps them to pass the day, and they say they would be bored without it. Some of the women who have gone with their husbands for extended stays in hot country have tried to make pottery out of clays available there, but because of its inferior quality, they have not had much success. Unlike women of neighboring towns, the women of Tzoʔontahal usually do not accompany their husbands to the fincas "because they have their work at home."

323 *Making pottery.* The women make a wide variety of household
178 and ceremonial objects, but the item which has the widest market distribution is the water storage jar (See Plate 7). They introduce new items in response to local needs, such as the funnel used in channeling liquor into large containers from the retort of the still. One vessel which is disappearing from production is the large ceremonial cooking pot. The only woman who knew how to do this (or who admitted to knowing, since it is unpaid work) died in the 60s, and no one has replaced her. One woman who had a reputation for eccentricity, introduced several elaborate vases and ashtrays. Her creative imagination was best exemplified in a combined ashtray and vase which featured four frogs poised on the lip of the tray, presumably drinking from a fountain. Reina (1962–1963) has pointed out
[171] that women of the Guatemalan community of Chinautla who wish to be
[156] accepted in the community must limit themselves to conventional forms, and the same restriction seems to apply in Tzoʔontahal.

317 The women of a household work as a group in collecting clay and in
592 firing pottery. Clay is free since it is found in the communally owned hills
[323] on the perimeter of the town. It is collected preferably during the rainy
[423] season when it is easier to gather from the open gorges in which it is found, but if the supply runs out, other trips are made. All of the women of the household go, sometimes with neighbors or relatives in groups of
[482] five or six. They collect large clay balls weighing from forty to fifty pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline.

(see plates following p.198..Analyst)

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline. The sand which is mixed with the clay is found nearby. In preparing it for use, the clay has to be chopped with a hatchet and soaked. A temper for cooking pots is made of ground sandstone, called *baš*. This is found near the border of the neighboring town of Aguacatenango, and sometimes Indians of that town bring pieces which they exchange for a soup bowl or other small pottery item.

Variation in the color of the clay—it may be white, white mixed with yellow, true yellow, black, or blue-green—provides the basis for discerning its quality. The white clay is thought to be best since it doesn't break as much in firing. The preferred clay is very soft, and the women test deposits by feeling them with their hands.

The rhythm of work is regular. Children under three years of age climb on their mother's back or lap or sometimes stand by her side nursing. The women do not interrupt their work when this happens, although they may shift their body to accommodate the child. In the organization of work, there is no discussion of what is to be done or who will do it. Orders are given only to the young children. When the women are working, all motions which would require a break in activity are assigned to children who bring unfinished pots to be worked on and shoo away chickens or dogs. The standardization of production rhythm is evidenced in the uniformity in time required for each operation. Timing one potter's production of 10 *apastes* (soup bowls) on two different days, I found that she spent one hour and 10 minutes for each set, an average of 11 minutes per pot. Another woman made a *comal* (platter) in 26 minutes and a second one in 28 minutes. A pair of larger bowls produced by another woman took 15 minutes each.

The continuity in tradition of pottery production stems from a tightly organized behavioral schema with defined units of motion and stages of production. I follow Piaget in his definition of behavioral schema which Flavell (1963:54) has summarized as follows:

> Thus, an action sequence, if it is to constitute a schema, must have a certain cohesiveness and must maintain its identity as a quasi-stable, repeatable unit. It must possess component actions which are tightly

184 562 462 434 This contrasting economic picture has many effects in the structuring of social relations because it places the women of the two villages in very different positions with respect to their male relatives, and at crucial points in the life of an individual, determines, to a large extent, his choice of alternative behavior.

It is important to make clear that I am not suggesting that economic factors are the determinant of all social life. The specialization of Amatenango in pottery making is not only an economic, but a social and historical phenomenon as well. The basic economic organization of the villages of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is treated here as a given cultural factor. There is nothing in the ecology of Aguacatenango or Amatenango, or in the economic system itself, that "requires" that the women of the one village should be marginal producers while the women in the other are not.[1] This is a given fact. The factors that determined the present division of labor in the villages are not known to me, and I do not pretend that it is due to some primary economic cause.

128 But, if I take the division of labor and the economic structure of the village as given variables, then I can ask myself to what extent it is followed by adjustments in other cultural norms. It is here where my problem lies.

I am going to attempt to describe, in the rest of this work, how, and under what circumstances, certain social choices which have become normative are related to the economic life of

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[1]Some of the clay deposits are located in Aguacatenango territory. But, Aguacatecos do not exploit them.

412 (*eché*), hoe (*asron*), machete (*machit*), coa (*luk*), and digging stick (*avutel*). In a
243 few towns (Amatenango), where lands are
[407] flat, the plow is made of wood and pulled by oxen but only for wheat farming. During
[415] corn planting, the seed is carried by the
[824] planter in a *morral* hung from the shoulder,
[237] in a gourd with a large spout, or in containers made of armadillo shells. The harvested crops are placed in deep baskets, made of reed-grass, or in big pita (*chojak*)
[412] net bags. The ear of corn is cleared of its
[287] husk by a sharp bone or a small deer horn.

322 412 The axe, machete, and knife are used in wood working, which is very rudimentary, though handsaw and hammer have a place. With these tools the Indians make doors, tables, seats, small benches, shelves. Blom
[534] and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:351) add that the Tzeltal near Ocosingo also make violins of a shape similar to the European type, but they have no resonance and poor tone. They also manufacture pipes and combs roughly
[463] finished. No village of this group has specialists in carpentry to compare with the Chamulas (Tzotzil-speaking), who supply furniture at low cost to San Cristobal de las Casas and other places of the area.

324 412 Stone carving requires a pickaxe with one end very sharp, the other very flat to serve as a hammer, and a short wooden handle. This is the tool used in Tenejapa for making metates. These metates have three legs, but Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:338) mention metates without legs (Ocosingo municipio) which are made of volcanic stone found along the San Martin River. According to the Tzeltal of Oxchuc, the name of the metate is *chá*, its handle *kab-chá*.

412 An iron bar to break the ground, an axe, and a machete are the tools for building huts, chickencoops, sweat houses, and other small structures.

283 413 Another tool, used in the making of pita rope, is *karet*, which probably comes from the Spanish *carreta*. It consists of a wooden disc fixed to a tree trunk that is nailed to

[P 206-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Handcrafts

323 Among the few handcrafts practiced in
[462] the Tzeltal areas, ceramics, produced mainly
by women, is the most widespread. Tenango
[184] and Amatenango del Valle are the only
communities which have made a specialty
of this craft. Tenango exports its products
[439] through the northern zone, Amatenango
through the southern zone, including neigh-
323 boring Guatemalan villages. Both places use
184 a similar ceramic technique but different
shape and ornamentation. Referring to
Amatenango del Valle, Blom and LaFarge
(1926–27, 2:396) state:

> The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one shape; a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, however, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep, reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of boards, two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman in charge turns them
> [438] until they are done. These pots are carried by
> [439] the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they are redistributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala.

283 Another widespread craft is spinning and
286 weaving of fabrics for clothing. No village
in the Tzeltal area trades these products
[438] because production barely meets their fam-
ily needs. The backstrap loom of pre-
Hispanic origin is the chief tool.

[184] Pita articles—ropes, bags, and nets to
gather the harvest or carry loads—are
mainly produced in Oxchuc and Cancuc.
322 In Cancuc wooden combs are also manu-
184 factured.

342 *Houses and Furniture*

Houses, from 3 to 5 m. on a side, are
predominantly square with thatched roofs.
The walls are wattle-and-daub or plain
tree trunks tied with vines. Floors are of
[354] hardened earth. The houses only have one
door and no windows, except in some vil-

[P 207-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

285 being an average of only three strands to a centimeter, with the splints about three centimeters apart. Ordinarily the widest part of the basket is at the rim, but a very small basket, *tutemOtc*, was observed, in which the greater diameter was about half-way up the side. The weave was the same. The standard large size is 23 centimeters high, 36 centimeters diameter at the rim, and 13 at the base (fig. 304).

286 [482] The men also make the nets, *tcotcaH*, which are used, suspended from one shoulder, as a pocket, or, slung from a tump-line, to carry small burdens. They are made of hennequen or ixtla cord. The mouth is an extra heavy string, from which the woven part of the net hangs (fig. 305). The method of laying the cord was observed

[285]

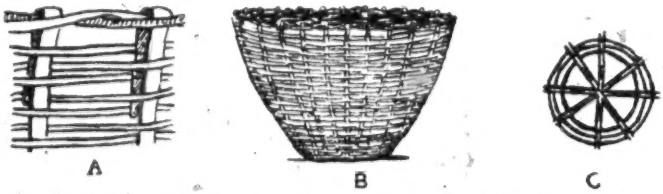

Fig. 304—Basketry. A. Detail of weave showing finish of rim. B. Basket, height 23 c.m. C. Arrangement of splints at the bottom.

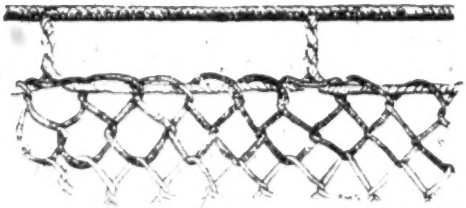

Fig. 305—Detail of Net.

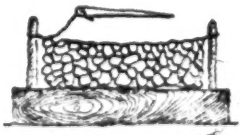

Fig. 306—Frame for weaving net.

at Cancuc. The istla threads are held in the crotch of the left knee, and the cord is wound on the thigh with a flat-hand, rubbing motion. A bundle of threads laid parallel to each other, is taken by the middle and rolled into the already made cord, forming two strands. When the strands are ready, they are laid together with a reverse-stroke of the hand on the thigh. The net is woven with a deer-horn needle, *muk*, on a frame, *tiaH*, consisting of a board about 18 centimeters long with an upright stick at each end (fig. 306). The actual weaving was not observed.

322 Considering that their only tools are their machetes, and an occasional cheap pocket knife, the wood-working done by the men is

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

remarkable. They make combs of one piece of wood, averaging 15 centimeters long, 8 wide, by 4 millimeters thick. The teeth are cut out of one of the long sides, running back less than half-way into the body of the piece. These teeth may be as fine as two in three millimeters, or as coarse as two in five millimeters; sometimes they are graded. The back is slightly arched. On the ends a piece of wood is left uncut, usually about four millimeters wide. The shape is not unlike the small Japanese combs to be found in most of our curio stores. The best examples are made from mahogany, chosen with a nice feeling for the effect of the grain. They are not worn, but used for combing the hair. 322 412

They make violins which are small copies of the European type. The instrument and bow are known by their Spanish names, *violina* and *arcilla*. The body is about 26 centimeters in greatest length and width; the neck, *tsutsuH-te*, projects about 50 centimeters. Save for a decoration of wavy lines on the back, the violin looks like a cheap toy fiddle. The strings, *tcucuix*, are of *mico de noche* (night-walking lemur) gut, save the G-string, which is of the usual type, bought in the towns. The bow-strings are of horse-hair treated with rosin. The tone is poor, lacking resonance. 534 322

One tobacco pipe, *bum*, was observed, which was a remarkable piece of whittling (fig. 307). It was about 14 centimeters long, made of one piece of mahogany, and apparently modeled after the American corn-cobs occasionally seen among the Ladinos. The bowl was roughly rounded, with a flat bottom. The stem was round, with a step in it at the middle, in imitation of the step in the mouth-piece of an ordinary pipe. The tube had been hollowed out with a hot wire. The tin-foil cap over the cork of a *Habanero* bottle had been hammered onto the base of the bowl, and two strips of tin-foil laid around the stem, each held on with a brad. It may be mentioned that the mahogany coloured prettily from handling and smoking, and that the flavour was sweet. 276 322

Fig. 307—Pipe.

Stools, with three legs let into a single, round piece, and rather rickety tables on the same principle, but four-legged, are made by the men, as well as the squatting-seats mentioned in describing the house. 352 322

Game furnishes an important part of the Indian's food supply. Wild boar, deer, howler monkey, *faisan*, *cojolite*, dove, and quail are hunted for food. The various large cats, alligator, lemurs, and many of the larger snakes are sought for their hides, which form a considerable article of trade. The chief weapon used in hunting is 224

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

124 and her three words of Spanish. Then she grew hostile, answering
123 everything with a plaintive "*Ma snaa,*" "I don't know." This went on for two or three minutes, then suddenly she flung open the door and waved me out with no uncertain gesture, saying something about the "Presidente Municipal," and the "Secretario." By this time it was pouring cats and dogs, but there was nothing to do save run for it.

284 Cancuc is not noted for any product. There are about the same
322 arts and industries as at other towns, but the only ones that amount to anything like a specialty are netmaking and whittling combs. The combs are better and more neatly made than those of the Bachajon, and with a selection of the wood for grain that often produces very pretty combinations. The nets are made by the men, who

[352]
[531]
←
[415]
→.

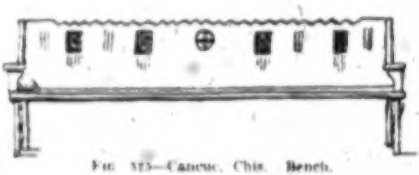

Fig. 315—Cancuc, Chis. Bench.

Fig. 317. Cancuc, Chis. Pottery, Hide. (8 c.m. high)

Fig. 318—Cancuc, Chis. Tall Jar. (1 m. high).

go about rolling the twine or knitting as they walk. The process was described in the last chapter.

485 Being on the main highway, the government maintains a long shed, like a wagon-shed, thatched with leaves and grass, which is at the disposal of travelers. This relieves the Maestro of duties of entertainment. Towards nightfall, various groups came into camp here, a family of Mexicans, with a big fire, and goods piled high, two traders with their packs, some Chamulas, fine-looking men dressed in white wool tunics, with flowing cotton kerchiefs round their heads, and a couple of Tenejapeños with nets full of apples. The Chamulas, who are remarkably progressive Indians, had come in with a string of mules. After dark, the line of fires in the divisions of the shed, the talk, the fire-lit figures in their varied costumes, with the Church and houses rising on the terraced hill behind made as picturesque and charming a scene as one could possibly imagine.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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342 177 178 434 of witchcraft. Today probably 95 percent of the new roofs are made of tile. Often the old roofs cannot be replaced with tile because the rafters were not built to support them. One result of the change has been the dependence on a carpenter to construct the gables, since they have to be lined up more accurately than they do with thatch or palm roofs. [335]

361 351 434 House lots in the town center are preferred to those on the margins. As residents of house sites on the ejido lands at the margins of the town acquire wealth, one of the first things they try to do is acquire a house closer to the plaza. These lots are smaller, averaging about 500 square meters, while those farther out average 900 square meters. In a sample measurement of 100 house lots, the size ranged from 180 to 1,440 square meters, and the average size was 77 square meters. Considering the advantages of a large lot in growing chile fruits and corn, the preference for smaller central lots reveals the strong prestige factor influencing choice. [554]

352 435 House furnishings include both purchased and homemade items. Sleeping accommodations consist of wooden bedboards, either nailed on a frame or simply laid on blocks and covered with a straw mat. Woolen blankets from Comitán are sold locally at a price of 24 pesos or for 20 pesos in San Cristóbal and 18 pesos in Comitán. Most households own two or three wooden benches which line the walls of the porch and are made locally. Small chairs are purchased from Chamula carpenters at a cost of 2 to 4 pesos, as well as a small table costing about 4. A higher table is provided for the saints' pictures and candle holders, incense burner, and flower vases or tin cans. Hooks are fashioned from the crotch of trees and suspended on the house posts. Wooden boxes are bought from Ladino carpenters in San Cristóbal at a cost of 10 to 20 pesos depending on size and workmanship and are used to store clothing. In addition to the homemade water holders, water carriers, comales, strainers, and bowls, handmade glazed ware from San Cristóbal, factory-made porcelain dishes, metal cooking pots, knives, and spoons are purchased. Gourds provide serving ware for ceremonial occasions. Stone grinding platforms and rollers are purchased in San Cristóbal for about 10 pesos. Two new items have become increasingly popular in the past five years: a metal grinding machine for corn, hand operated and costing from 40 to 60 pesos depending on the size and quality, and a hinged press for tortillas, costing 15 pesos if made [513] [708] [322] 415 435 439 [412] 435 415 177

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

dies, the owner announces on the loudspeaker of the local bars that he will sell meat at 5 pesos a portion. He preserves the hide to make saddle packs and tumplines. But the loss is great because he will not be able to buy a new bull with what he earns. If the bull lives, he will be better in three weeks and can carry loads. It is a very dangerous operation since the scrotum of a bull is very large. It is easier with a horse. 232

Surrounding the event with a ceremonial complex minimizes the development of commercialized relations between the caponizer and the owner. Most men who acquire several head of cattle or horses eventually learn to do the task themselves.

Handicrafts performed by men include rope-making from the tails of horses or from plant fibers, and weaving net bags. Most of the men who are assigned to the civil hierarchy spend their spare time in the cabildo making these items. 462 283 282

Carpentry is a skill now being practiced by two Indians of the town who "just learned by watching." They are called upon to help people in constructing the house frame, for which they receive 50 pesos in wages. A Ladino living on the margin of the town is a full-time specialist with his own shop. In addition to supervising house construction, he makes furniture and caskets to order. 322 [465]

New Economic Enterprises

In the operation of the new enterprises, which include cattle raising, cooperative ownership of a store, bars, and trucks, and liquor distilling, several patterns of organization have emerged. Some of these are based on preexisting social groupings, while others represent innovations. The social resources of management, credit operations, and the development of new skills within these local enterprises are of significance in preparing Indians for new occupations in the wider society. 43 44

Cattle raising. The most traditional organization is found in the case of cattle raising. Cattle have been in the town at least as far back as the 1915 revolutionary period when informants indicate that most of the 231 233

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The Indians manufacture and consume *chicha*, an alcoholic beverage fermented from sugar cane or maize. They drink larger quantities of rum prepared in Ladino-owned distilleries. *Pilico*, a combination of lime and tobacco, is chewed frequently, especially in Oxchuc, Tenejapa, and Cancuc. 273 276 184

Tenejapa is the only Tzeltal town that enjoys importance as a market center. Here a market is held every Sunday. 443

Pottery is made for sale outside the local community in Amatenango and in Tenango. In almost all the other communities the industry is practised in a rudimentary form merely to supply local needs. Blom and LaFarge observed and reported the techniques of pottery manufacture at Sivaca; Villa limits his data to mentioning the industry there. Blom and LaFarge report, on hearsay, the method of making large, egg-shaped, three-handled water jars at Tenango. Villa observed and reported this industry. The former authors report that the clay used is "a light greenish brown colour."[18] Villa says that two kinds of clay, "white earth" and "red earth," are combined to form the paste. Villa also noted the tempering with a ground sandy limestone (*chi'*), and the painting with a paint made from a soft stone from the river (*chuxu-tsaik*). The pots and griddles are made from one kind of clay tempered with a different sandstone called *bax*. The method of firing described for Sivaca by Blom and LaFarge from hearsay, involving the preparation of "an A-roof, forming a long tunnel," was observed and photographed by Villa in Tenango. Villa was told that vessels after firing are filled with *pozole* in water to reduce the porosity. 323 [438]

In Tenejapa metates are made for export, and in Oxchuc halters, lead-ropes, nets and bags. The methods of weaving, net making and basketry, reported by Blom and LaFarge for Bachajon, were not reported by Villa. 439 114 285 286

The type of habitation is the same throughout the whole region, although there are small variations from village to village. The houses are rectangular in form with four-sided roofs, thatched with grass, and with sides made of poles and clay. Only the houses of Chanal form an exception. The walls of these structures are in most cases of wood. The houses of Tenango present another exception in that they are the only ones where the roofs do not terminate in a ridge, but in a point; it is usual to cover this with an inverted pot. Houses are throughout divided into two rooms, one of which serves as living room and kitchen and the other as sleeping room. In some cases the kitchen is placed in the latter section. There is a single door in front; only in certain settlements to the north, as Chilón and Yajalon, where the influence of the white man has been greater, are houses to be seen with two doors and even some with small windows. The floor is always of packed earth. 342 184 [177]

The furnishings of the living room are limited in general to beds, improvised of boards placed on the ground or on logs, and covered with mats. The hammock is little used; it is generally reserved for children. The furnishings and domestic 352

[18] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 342–345.
[19] *Ibid.*, 2: 183.
[20] *Ibid.*, 2: 344.
[21] *Ibid.*, 2: 345–349.

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Handcrafts

323 [462] Among the few handcrafts practiced in the Tzeltal areas, ceramics, produced mainly by women, is the most widespread. Tenango [184] and Amatenango del Valle are the only communities which have made a specialty of this craft. Tenango exports its products [439] through the northern zone, Amatenango through the southern zone, including neighboring Guatemalan villages. Both places use 323 184 a similar ceramic technique but different shape and ornamentation. Referring to Amatenango del Valle, Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:396) state:

> The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one shape; a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, however, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep, reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of boards, two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman in charge turns them [438] until they are done. These pots are carried by [439] the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they are redistributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala.

283 286 Another widespread craft is spinning and weaving of fabrics for clothing. No village in the Tzeltal area trades these products [438] because production barely meets their family needs. The backstrap loom of pre-Hispanic origin is the chief tool.

[184] Pita articles—ropes, bags, and nets to gather the harvest or carry loads—are mainly produced in Oxchuc and Cancuc. 322 184 In Cancuc wooden combs are also manufactured.

342 *Houses and Furniture*

Houses, from 3 to 5 m. on a side, are predominantly square with thatched roofs. The walls are wattle-and-daub or plain tree trunks tied with vines. Floors are of [354] hardened earth. The houses only have one door and no windows, except in some vil-

[P:207-A]

342 lages of the lowlands where the houses have
[354] small windows, which improve ventilation
and illumination slightly. In places like
342 Chanal, where there is abundant lumber,
184 the sides of the houses are built with wooden boards set vertically. The largest and best-built houses are in Tenejapa center.

Generally, the hut is divided into two rooms: the front is parlor and kitchen, the rear is bedroom. In Bachajon the rear room serves as bedroom and kitchen, the front room for sewing and grinding and the re-
[574] ception of visitors. In Amatenango del Valle the front of the house is open and
[323] used as a porch for visits. Ceramic work
[251] is also performed here. In one room of the house a bin of wood or reeds stores corn.
[343] Sometimes, small structures which serve as granaries are built inside the hut.

343 Among the auxiliary structures outside is
515 the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. Not every hut has a *pus* since one is enough to attend the needs of several neighboring families. The *pus* is a small room 1.5 m. high by 2 m. on each side, built of stones and clay. The roof is flat. Inside a hollow forms a hearth for heating stones. Water thrown on these red-hot stones produces the necessary steam. On the floor are boards on which people lie while taking the bath.
[184] Among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil the *pus* is
[757] not only for cleanliness but also for the cure
[846] of certain diseases and to strengthen women after childbirth. Sweat baths are more commonly taken in Tierra Fria than in Tierra Caliente.

417 The other structures near the hut are the chickencoop and the hogpen.

352 Furniture is limited to essential items. In the kitchen are the three hearth stones, the comal (*samet*), the grinding stone (*chá*), a bench or strong table to hold the metate (*ah-ken*), one or two small tables (*matz-malté* or *vebalté*) 25–39 cm. high and 30–40 cm. in diameter, and small benches 15–20 cm. high made of scooped-out tree trunks
415 (*tzanté*). Kitchen equipment includes earthenware (pans, pitchers, and jars) and

[P. 207-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

necks and round bottoms. Two were full of corn and lime for 415
tortillas, just off the fire. A big Tenango jar, *k'ip*, of the kind to be described at that place, was used for water.

A pottery dish, about 7 centimeters across, *tsets*, is commonly [515]
offered to guests to wash their hands. It is placed on a pottery stand [574]
of an hour-glass shape, about 15 centimeters high, *awaliko* (see fig. 299). The ordinary plates and general vessels are flat gourd dishes, *qai'*, about 20 centimeters across. Gourds as well were used for a dipper, *tuts*, and a water-jar, *tsux*. Two nets hung from the rack, 353
There were three small baskets, *tutemotc*, and four big ones, *mukulmotc*. Hanging on the wall were a pair of the basket-work sandals mentioned before, and selected ears of corn for seed. The wife's 283
textile outfit, more fully described later, consisted of a spindle, *pětět*, 286.

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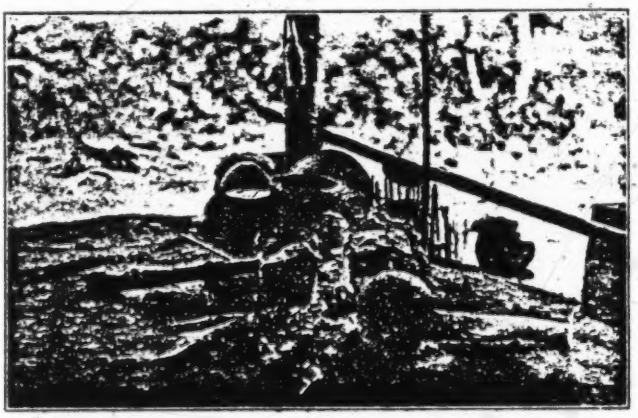


FIG. 291—Bachajon Fireplace.

with clay whorl, spun in a gourd bowl, *tsima*, cotton, *t'umin*, hang- 283
ing in leaves, and the loom itself, *holěl*. A sling, made of a forked 286
stick and rubber band with a leather piece to take the clay pellet, 411
finmutc, belonged to the small boy. Bananas were drying on the rack. With them were laid, or hanging in packages of leaves, bees- 353
wax, *tcavek*, blocks, 20 x 20 x 2 centimeters, for trade purposes, 237
used for making candles, a lump of hard red clay, *baq lum* ("bitter [251]
earth"), for washing the hair, and sometimes also eaten, a package of brown loaf sugar, salt, *atsam*, traded down from the Zotzil country, several packages of pimiento pepper, and serpent fat, *junto tcan*, for rubbing on the chest to cure coughs. Under the table was a 353
basket of coarse, blackish-gray clay for making pottery, *tcavek lum* [323]
("beeswax earth"). Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajon
Tenango
Sivacá

342 The thatching was done by one man on the roof and another, who stood on a slanting stick tied to one of the center uprights, to help the first pass the liana around.

The angle of the long side not being steep enough, the roof leaked. Two men held the eaves-pole on their shoulders while the rest drove the corner posts in deeper, thus making the angle sharper and improving the shed.

[356] Repairs in thatch are made by laying new bundles of leaves directly over the old, the stems being stitched into the thatch with a liana, and a wooden needle made on the spot.

343 In all the larger settlements sweat-baths, *pus,* are located (figs. 295-296). The essential element is a cube of wattle thickly plastered

[291]

FIG. 295—Tenango, Chis. Sweat House of same type used in Ocosingo Valley.

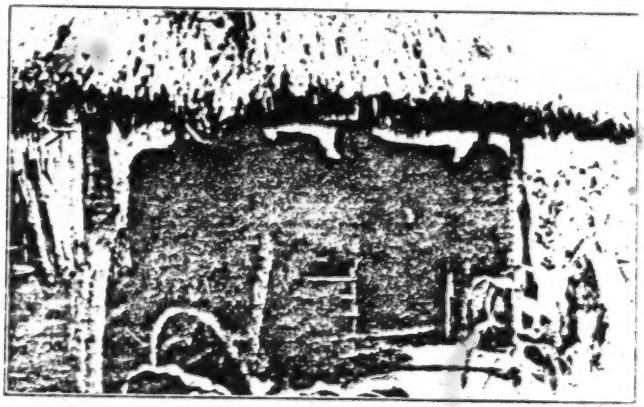
with mud, about a meter to a meter and a half in all measurements, with a small doorway in one end. The door is of the same construction, or of boards. At Sivacá there were thatched roofs above the baths, but entirely separate from them. Water poured on hot stones is used in them. The purpose appears to be medicinal rather than ceremonial.

• 323 All the Highland Indians make vessels of clay, with the possible exception of the Tenejapeños. Among the Bachajon and at Sivacá, the art is not very well developed, only the most common forms being made, without decoration. Their clay, *tcavek lum,* ("beeswax earth"), is found in the banks of many small streams. It is a [135]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajon
Tenango
Sivacá

dark gray in colour, with a considerable admixture of fine limestone gravel. As far as could be ascertained, the mixture is worked without other preparation than that of dampening it to a good consistency. 323

The actual pottery making, *hutsul ya pas ŏcom*, ("I am making a cooking pot"), which is done by the women, was observed at Sivacá. Some of the men of the village had worked for us at Toniná, and they, particularly the heavy set one on the extreme right of the picture (fig. 297), a cheerful and very thirsty fellow, remembered me as a friend. A few poor jokes and a handful of cigarettes won the men over, so that the visit became less an investigation than a triumphal tour, escorted by the whole male population, the Alcalde leading, in and out through the village. It really was very good fun. We wound our way among the huts, seeking the 323 123



343

FIG. 296—Tenango, Chis. Close-up of Sweat House.

shade wherever possible, scuffling up a good deal of dust, now and then tripping over a pig or a dog. Whenever we came to an orange tree, someone would climb it, to come down with a handful of little, green fruits, so poisonous to look at, and so very sweet and refreshing to eat. They dragged out specimens of all their pottery, and at last lead me with some pomp to a house in which a woman was at work. The good wife did not in the least understand this visit, and was not at all sure that she liked it. All the men clamoured at her at once, telling her to come out and be photographed. Finally she brought her clay and unbaked pots, setting all in the sun, still a little bit afraid that this meant some new Ladino imposition. She set to work as though finding some relief from her embarrassment in the occupation. 323 123 [245] [126]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

323 She formed the base of her pot rapidly in a saucer-like clay form, *hutstahibe* ("rest"). When the bottom was finished, she took it out and laid it on a broad leaf. The work progressed surprisingly quickly and without pause, the potter's hands moving with great speed and precision; the slapping sound as she patted the clay into position was unceasing. The clay was put on in slabs and built upwards, contrary to the coiling technique of the Southwest, the bowl on its leaf being turned rapidly as she worked around the sides. The finishing was done with her hands. The completed bowl was symmetrical, but not very smooth. It was then set in the sun to dry (fig. 298).

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FIG. 297—Sivacá, Chis. The men of the town with the Alcalde on the left.

323 The larger forms are started in a flat, gourd dish, and the *tsets* bowls (see below) in an ordinary drinking gourd. Large tubs, when drying, are protected by leaves covering the rim, and are placed on leaves in the gourd dishes used as forms. The leaves are to prevent their drying too quickly and cracking. When cracks do occur, they are filled in with fresh clay. After enough pots are ready, there is a baking, apparently a community affair. I was told that the pottery was ranged in a line, the pine-fuel being laid up in an A-roof over it, forming a long tunnel, through which the draft ensures a brisk fire. One would expect from such a process that the vessels would be much blackened from contact with the fuel, which was not the case in the new ones that I examined, all having an even

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

red-gold colour. The baking observed at Amatenango, which is described in the following chapter, was quite different. 323

The forms made at Sivacá are: (Fig. 299) a tub, *pok'et;* cooking pots or *ollas, ŏcom;* form for making cooking pots, *hutstahibe;* bowl, *tsets;* stand for bowl, *awaliko;* form for making sugar, with a hole in the bottom, *hor'mo;* tortilla griddle, *tsamets;* and a perforated olla for washing corn, *tcistcinaix.*

The Bachajon make most of these also, but the tub and clay *tsets* are rare, a gourd often serving for the latter. The surfaces are less well smoothed. In no case was any attempt at decoration observed. It should be noted in this respect, however, that almost all of these would eventually be quite blackened with smoke.

[142] [291] [302] [516] [342]

Fig. 298—Sivacá, Chis. Woman making pottery.

Among the forms shown in the figures, it will be noticed that there is no piece with a markedly contracted neck; such work seems to be beyond their abilities. All through this district the big *cantaras* or water jars are imported from Tenango, and will be discussed in the next chapter.

In general throughout Ocosingo Valley white cloth for men's clothes and women's blouses, made of native cotton, *na'*, as well as the men's sashes, are of local manufacture. Among the Bachajon, cloth is compartively little woven, but sashes are always home made. The coloured thread is usually bought in stores. Weaving is entirely done by the women. 286 [291]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

286 126 123 Our Indian hostess at the Encanto house was commissioned to make us a sash; after observing and photographing the process (fig. 300), we bought the loom with the unfinished piece on it. At Sivacá the army of guides produced a woman who was weaving cloth, and another who was just preparing the thread for the loom (fig. 301). The former was very bored and matter-of-fact about the whole pro-

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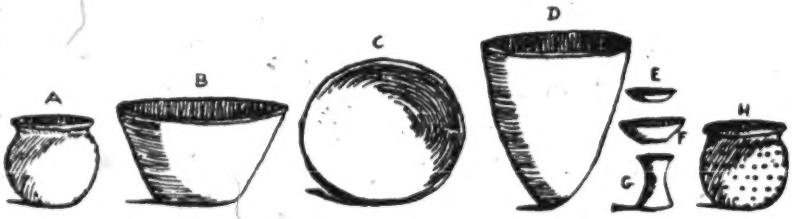

Fig. 299—Sivacá, Chis. Pottery Forms.

A. Ocom. B. Pok et. C. Tsaineta. D. Hör'mo. E. Hutstahibe. F. Taeta. G. Awaliko. H. Tcistcinaix.

286 126 123 ceeding, but the latter, a younger one, was at first frightened. At the first sight of me, she put away all her work. As she spoke no Spanish, I fell back upon a corps of seven or eight interpreters, who all spoke together while I looked as harmless as possible. Then she thought that the Mayor of Ocosingo, or the President of Mexico, or some one had sent for her, and packed her things to travel. At last she understood, and then balked. The men explained to me, with some amusement, that she was ashamed—*"dice que tiene verguenza"* — but finally she consented to pose. The result was a picture worth the while; she herself was a good type of young Indian woman, on her back was slung a pretty though somewhat grimy baby, while an underfed puppy and very small chicken completed the family group. The picture also shows a good example of the squatting-seat mentioned when listing the contents of the Encanto house (see fig. 301).

[286] [291] [142] [302] [516] ←

Fig. 300—El Encanto, Chis. Woman Weaving.

283 The spindle, *pĕtĕt*, is a stick 35 centimeters long, at the foot of which is a clay whorl, for which no name was given. It is spun with the weighted end resting in a gourd bowl, the upper end held against

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

302 edge (fig. 315). Married women use the same head-dress, but with a smaller disk. Girls not yet marriageable do their hair in a pig-tail.

291 The women's blouse is of the old *huipil* type, a long sack of a garment, hanging to the knees, with the shoulders broad enough to come to the elbow, or else with short sleeves sewn on. The seams, cuffs, and neck are picked out with red stitching. The skirt is dark blue, and comes about half-way between knee and ankle.

323 It is an interesting point, and one which archaeologists should note, that Tenango makes the only decorated pottery in the district and has a monopoly also on the big, three-handled water-jars. The

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Fig. 314—Tenango, Chis. Married Couples.

323 Indians explain that they go in for pottery-making because they need the money to supplement the products of their insufficient fields. We were there during the farming season when no work is done on pottery so we were not able to see the processes of manufacture. However, one of our guides took us to the house of a woman who had some reputation for skill, and all types were brought out for us. Besides the forms described in the last chapter, and the big water-jars (fig. 316), they make a goblet-shaped salt-cellar, *yoc-xal-ats' a'* (*atsam*—"salt"), a *tscts* bowl of

[302]

Fig. 315—Tenango, Chis. Woman's head-dress.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

one piece with its stand, which is then called *cOt*, and a pot with one or two spouts and a handle on top called *bur'nia* (figs. 317-319). 323

The decoration is fairly standardized. In the big cantaras each woman uses a central element of her own, and all follow the same general scheme. Occasionally a potter breaks out with an odd form, such as an undersized cantara which we bought. It has a row of pellets about the rim, called *tut-cuH*, "little beads"; around the center is a zone of galloping animals showing considerable action, but difficult to identify. When we asked what the animals were, the woman replied rather wearily that they were "to make it pretty," so we let it go at that (fig. 318). 323 531

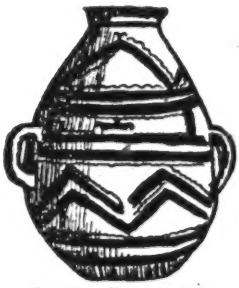

Fig. 316—Tenango Jar. (45 c.m. high).

The clay used is a light, greenish brown colour, and lumpy before being prepared. It is tempered with ground, sandy limestone, *hiH-ton* ("sand-stone") of fine quality. The jar is painted with a paste made of a soft, 323

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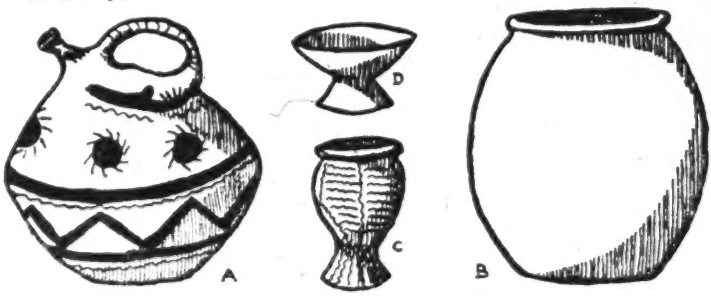

Fig. 317—Tenango, Chis. Types of Pottery.
A. Burnia. B. Ocom. C. Yocwal-ats'a. D. cOt.

Fig. 318—Tenango, Chis. Central designs from jars.

black stone, *tsa-ik* (*ik* equals "black") ground and mixed with water. It is laid on with the soft, green tip of a bush called *Hwamal*.* 323

The women's *huipiles* and all the men's clothes are woven at Tenango by the women. The men's sashes, which they make, are not as finely woven as among the Bachajon. They are undecorated 286

*To make a cantara—*cuc-k'ip*. To paint a cantara—*ciro-k'ip*. To bake cantaras—*yuktuk k ib-tik* (-tik is the emphatic plural, they are always baked in large batches).

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa
Amatenango

one of them had developed fever, "so that he lost his breath," and another had made almost the whole trip with two kayaks, over 200 lbs. on his back. They camped on the Town Hall porch where we, with our beds on piles of grass in a room labelled *"Commandancia,"* heard them, as we fell asleep, still chattering over a friendly bottle. Here, as long ago at Ocozotepec, our goods and saddles were stored in the jail, the room next ours, bearing the tactful label in red and blue, *"Prevencion."* Our grass beds were soft and sweet. The big door framed a little of the plaza, the fountain, a cottage with a narrow barred, candle-lit window, and the towering back-drop of cliffs behind, reaching to the stars, with one small winking fire, high up, from some Indian's house. We heard our *cargadores'* low chatter-

FIG. 331—Tenejapa, Chis. Embroidery on end of a sash.
A. Front. B. Back.

ing, the play of the fountain, a distant guitar. The air was fresh with pines and sweet grass and mountain coolness. We were in a magic country, and we were very, very tired.

Although it breaks the sequence of our journey, it seems best to mention the town of Amatenango here in connection with the other Highland Tzeltal tribes. We passed through it just beyond Teopisca on our way to Comitan, having no time to stop off. The people had been observed in San Cristóbal, where they come in to trade their famous pottery, men and mules alike piled high with loads twice their size.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Tenejapa

361 Amatenango lies in an open valley. It is estimated at three
342 hundred houses, each in a fenced yard of good size, and shaded with
351 fruit trees. The houses are large and well built, of mud and grass
245 thatch, with porches. The small church and Town Hall are tiled-
346 roof and stuccoed. The fields, which lie close around the town, and
344 the gardens in the town itself are watered by a stream brought down
241 a very pretty, roaring flume from higher land behind the village.
312 The irrigation system is fairly elaborate, and is unique in this area as far as we know.

323 The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one shape, a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, how-

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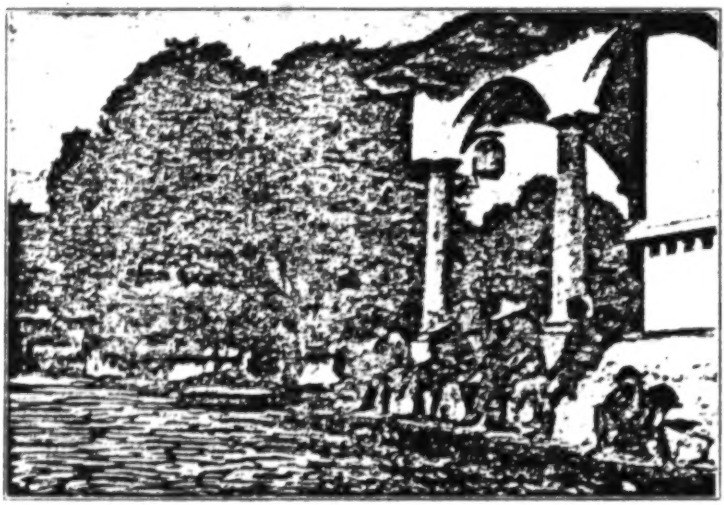


FIG. 333—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians at the Town Hall.

323 ever, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep, reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of boards, two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman in charge turns them until they are done (fig. 333). These pots are
[443] carried by the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they are redis-
[492] tributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala. Their industry is sufficient to enable them to maintain mules for carrying their goods, although both men and beasts are equally loaded.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Tzotzil NV11

The men are tallish and the majority of them have sparse, black beards. They wear plain, white cotton tunics and short trousers, sashes, and hats of the sombrero type. The women wear the usual short, blue skirts. Their blouses are cut with a square neck, around which are embroidered three bands, each about two centimeters wide, of red, yellow and red. At the corners, little imitation tassels are embroidered in the same colours.

We were told, by an unreliable informant, that this village was remarkable for its independence. Its officials are chosen by the natives alone, and run through a regularly prescribed *cursus honorum* from secretary up to president, and then on to the council of elders. Government laws and orders sent to the village are debated by this council and are not published unless approved by them.

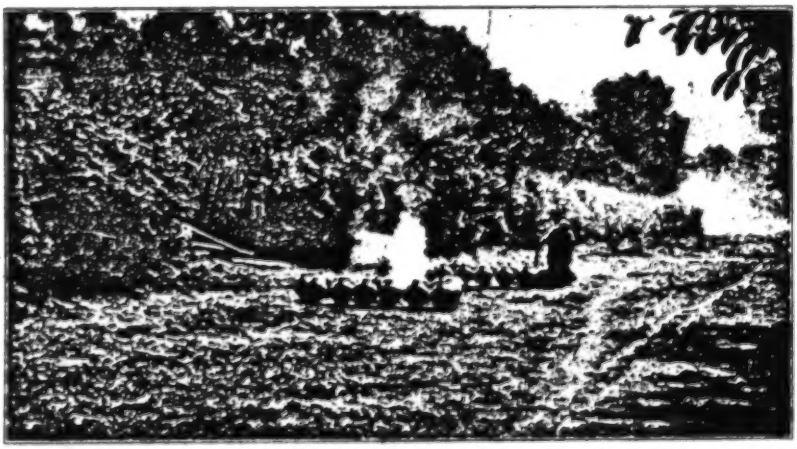


FIG. 888—Amatenango, Chis. Pottery baking.

We were also told that in case of marriage each party works for his or her prospective in-laws, and that the girl at that time learns pottery making, taking over the mother-in-law's specialty.

While there was no way of checking up on this information, it is true that there is no Maestro at Amatenango, and that the Indians seem to be an unusually self-respecting and self-reliant lot. Of all the Tzeltal people observed, they were the only ones who seemed to compare with the Zotzil-speaking Chamulas in energy and prosperity.

Returning to ourselves and our trip. We left Tenejapa on the following morning by a winding, broad road climbing to a pass in

121 A culture, under certain conditions, during a period of time can be said to be an open system in a state of stable but moving equilibrium: that is to say, it maintains a boundary, accepts inputs and produces outputs at approximately equal rates, and changes continuously but gradually in internal structure.

The concept of equilibrium is one way to talk about the constraints which make behavior congruent with beliefs. Given a constantly changing ecological setting due to an expanding population and a changing man-land ratio, the stability of the system depends on the adequacy of existing institutions to handle conflict and of shared understandings to explain events. Movement stems from the tension between individual and social goals and the adaptations to bring them into closer harmony. The basic condition for the kind of change characteristic of a moving equilibrium is that conflict is contained within the community.

128 I have organized the data to clarify features maintaining equilibrium and to show the direction in which the society is moving. First I describe formal, prescribed behavior for each institutional complex and relate it to the beliefs that underlie it. Following each of these chapters I analyze strategies formulated in response to changes coming from within or outside the community. The formal behavior providing a framework for continuity is related to place spirits in Chapter 1, to economic activities in Chapter 2, to customs and rituals in the family and neighborhood in Chapters 4 and 5, to civil and religious government in Chapters 7 and 8. Changing strategies are related to economic activities in Chapter 3, to social relations as revealed in curing practices in Chapter 6, and to political relations in Chapter 9.

177 178 [241] [323] Implicit in the organization is an ordering of institutions from most static to most dynamic. In the economy, agricultural technology has been stabilized at the colonial level of adaptation at which the wooden plow, hoe, and machete were added to, but did not displace, the digging stick, while in pottery manufacture, both techniques and products have remained unchanged. [592] [476] The organization of work groups remains limited to the household except for the introduction of cooperatives in recent years. [361] In domestic institutions there has been an adaptation to living in a compact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group.

Chapter 2

Traditional Economic Activities

The traditional occupation of every adult man is working in the milpa and of every adult woman, making pottery. The fiction is maintained that they do this work, even if they are actually engaged fulltime in some other activity. In response to the census question, "What is the work of the man or woman?" men answered universally that they were agriculturalists and women that they were potters. Men who work outside the community, in the fincas or in the sawmills, consider this a temporary means of gaining cash income and do not define themselves as sawyers or laborers for others. They work outside the community only when they do not have sufficient land to provide themselves with corn to eat and a surplus to sell, or when they must pay debts incurred by betrothal or assumption of religious posts. Many women who do not make pottery for extended periods of time, or make it only for a special fiesta, still consider themselves pottery producers.

Persistence of the same occupations and the daily effort to make a living strengthen the link between generations and to tradition. The primary emphasis in child training is teaching both boys and girls to work efficiently and industriously in these traditional occupations. The techniques for codifying and perpetuating a given way of doing things, particularly evident in pottery production, provide clues to the way in which other kinds of behavior are schematized.

Agricultural Production

Agricultural production involves two areas of decision making: what to grow and when to schedule each activity related to production. Decisions in both these areas are based upon custom and time-proved results. I shall

628 796 782 People with lands in hot country recount that during droughts the Indians from the neighboring town of Chamula have held rainmaking fiestas for which they solicit contributions from other Indians.

821 731 *The Chamulteco came to us and said, "Let all of us who have milpas contribute five pesos for a fiesta." He brought the candles. In the little hill there the people brought drums and flute. We ate chickens and drank liquor. For eleven hours he prayed, and in the afternoon it rained.*

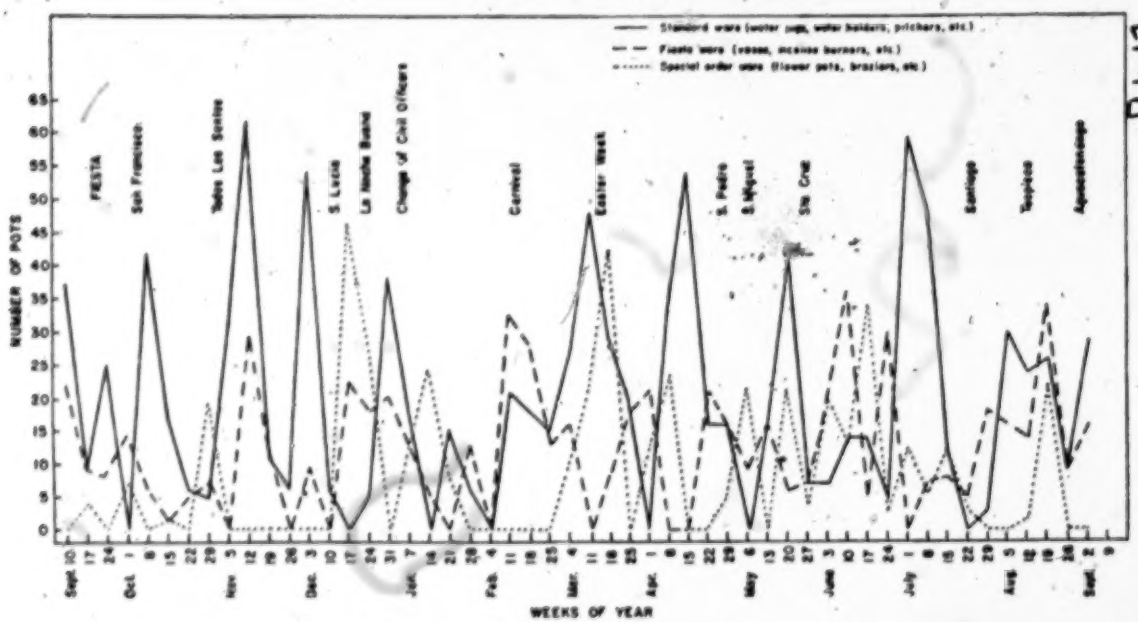
628 241 789 The *kuriketik*, rural inhabitants of the colonia of San Vicente who migrated to Amatenango from Chanal, have no irrigated lands and depend directly on rainfall throughout the growing season. Indians of the center know of their practice of sticking their digging sticks into the ground with the points toward the sky "to puncture the clouds" when they have planted their milpa, but they do not imitate this practice. Control over the supply of water in the irrigated lands has apparently led to the neglect of supernatural appeals even where the canals do not supply water. Under pressure of extended drought, they will resort to spiritual intercession through Chamula or Oxchuk practitioners in whom they have some faith.

241 776 782 796 Acquiring the protection of the gods does not obviate the practical activities necessary in the cultivation of crops. Fiestas for the saints are a repayment for services rendered in watching over the milpa. The sponsorship of fiestas for the saints by the community ensures the protection for all of the crops, and general crop failure due to drought or high winds is explained as a result of mismanagement of these community-wide fiestas. The offering of candles to the spiritual owner of one's own milpa is a kind of individual insurance policy for future crops as well as a repayment for the gift of the corn harvest. The peasant notion of surplus value is implicit in this reciprocal relation: the payment, or gift, of two candles to the milpa spirit is far less than the value of the harvest. But the account is balanced by the expenditure of this surplus in communal fiestas.

Pottery Production

323 178 172 Making pottery has been a speciality of the town since pre-Conquest days. The old site of the town contains sherds of pottery which is remarkably similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now.

Fig. 2. Pottery Production in the Household and Its Correlation with the Ceremonial Cycle



SOURCE: The above was printed in *Man* (219:186–91) in an article by Manning Nash entitled "The Social Context of Economic Choice in a Small Society."

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000 bly similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now. Just as a
323 man defines himself as an agriculturalist, a woman defines herself as a pot-
462 ter. Men complain if their wives do not produce pottery, and I know of
[593] two cases of separation on the grounds that the woman was not fulfilling
[586] one of her functions as housewife by helping the family budget with pot-
[461] tery production. Most women like to make pottery; it helps them to pass the day, and they say they would be bored without it. Some of the women who have gone with their husbands for extended stays in hot country have tried to make pottery out of clays available there, but because of its inferior quality, they have not had much success. Unlike women of neighboring towns, the women of Tzoʔontahal usually do not accompany their husbands to the fincas "because they have their work at home."

323 *Making pottery.* The women make a wide variety of household
178 and ceremonial objects, but the item which has the widest market distribution is the water storage jar (See Plate 7). They introduce new items in response to local needs, such as the funnel used in channeling liquor into large containers from the retort of the still. One vessel which is disappearing from production is the large ceremonial cooking pot. The only woman who knew how to do this (or who admitted to knowing, since it is unpaid work) died in the 60s, and no one has replaced her. One woman who had a reputation for eccentricity, introduced several elaborate vases and ashtrays. Her creative imagination was best exemplified in a combined ashtray and vase which featured four frogs poised on the lip of the tray, presumably drinking from a fountain. Reina (1962–1963) has pointed out
[171] that women of the Guatemalan community of Chinautla who wish to be
[156] accepted in the community must limit themselves to conventional forms, and the same restriction seems to apply in Tzoʔontahal.

317 The women of a household work as a group in collecting clay and in
592 firing pottery. Clay is free since it is found in the communally owned hills
[323] on the perimeter of the town. It is collected preferably during the rainy
[423] season when it is easier to gather from the open gorges in which it is found, but if the supply runs out, other trips are made. All of the women of the household go, sometimes with neighbors or relatives in groups of
[482] five or six. They collect large clay balls weighing from forty to fifty pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline.

(see plates following p.198..Analyst)

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pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline. The sand which is mixed with the clay is found nearby. In preparing it for use, the clay has to be chopped with a hatchet and soaked. A temper for cooking pots is made of ground sandstone, called *baš*. This is found near the border of the neighboring town of Aguacatenango, and sometimes Indians of that town bring pieces which they exchange for a soup bowl or other small pottery item.

Variation in the color of the clay—it may be white, white mixed with yellow, true yellow, black, or blue-green—provides the basis for discerning its quality. The white clay is thought to be best since it doesn't break as much in firing. The preferred clay is very soft, and the women test deposits by feeling them with their hands.

The rhythm of work is regular. Children under three years of age climb on their mother's back or lap or sometimes stand by her side nursing. The women do not interrupt their work when this happens, although they may shift their body to accommodate the child. In the organization of work, there is no discussion of what is to be done or who will do it. Orders are given only to the young children. When the women are working, all motions which would require a break in activity are assigned to children who bring unfinished pots to be worked on and shoo away chickens or dogs. The standardization of production rhythm is evidenced in the uniformity in time required for each operation. Timing one potter's production of 10 *apastes* (soup bowls) on two different days, I found that she spent one hour and 10 minutes for each set, an average of 11 minutes per pot. Another woman made a *comal* (platter) in 26 minutes and a second one in 28 minutes. A pair of larger bowls produced by another woman took 15 minutes each.

The continuity in tradition of pottery production stems from a tightly organized behavioral schema with defined units of motion and stages of production. I follow Piaget in his definition of behavioral schema which Flavell (1963:54) has summarized as follows:

> Thus, an action sequence, if it is to constitute a schema, must have a certain cohesiveness and must maintain its identity as a quasi-stable, repeatable unit. It must possess component actions which are tightly

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121 interconnected and governed by a core meaning. However elementary the schema, it is a schema, precisely by virtue of the fact that the behavior components which it sets into motion form a strong whole, a recurrent and identifiable figure against a background of less tightly organized behavior.

Piaget (1952:244) has stated:

> It is due to the fact that schemata present this kind of structure that mental assimilation is possible and any object whatever can be incorporated or serve as aliment to a given schema.

This has significant implications for the continuity of tradition. The persistence of behavior depends on control in the organization of the work and in the training of new producers. As yet we do not have a means to measure the degree of organization or transfer of cognitive maps so that we can make comparisons across behavioral domains. The best source of data lies in the language which provides the cognitive mapping of the behavior. Table 10 provides a preliminary breakdown of the major stages 128 and the distinct but similar action sequences which they include. Individual motions are replicated, in combination with other elements in the action sequence, to make up the component actions of different stages of production. The classification of actions implied in the Tzeltal verbs is shown in Table 11.

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TABLE 10. Schedule of Activities in Pottery Production

Time	*Step*	*Activity*
1st day	1.	Yah tzes yaʔbi yaʔlel (Moisten; give water to clay and leave one day)
2d day	2.	Ya swotz lum sok hiʔ (Mix clay with sand)
	2.1	Yah sčičin hiʔ (Sift sand)
	2.2	Yah lihk swotz (Begin to mix)
	2.3	Sah sk'ap sok hiʔ yuʔun ben pikiš (Add sand until grainy)
	2.4	Yakto parte ma to yaiyehuk hiʔ (Put aside some that doesn't have enough sand)
	2.5	Yaʔbe čaʔ mel sk'ut • sok hiʔ (Give 2 passes, kneading with sand)
	2.6	Ya tzob ya swol (Collect it and make a ball)
	2.7	Ya sba snaʔan ta suhk sč'ute (Go set it on a board)

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Time	*Step*	*Activity*
3d day	3.	Ya slihkesbe hit' (Begin to make the base)
	3.1	Ya swol (Make a ball)
	3.2	Ya sčob (Work into it)
	3.3	Ya snakan te čuhte (Set it on a board)
	3.4	Ya skubeyit (Poke it)
	3.5	Ya slihk sbis moʔel (Begin to press it to rise)
	3.6	Ya snit mo'el (Pull it up [a process of pressing clay from inside pot against palm of hand and forcing clay upward])
	3.7	Ya stuisbe stiʔil (Level; cut off edge)
	3.8	Ya sč'ewanbael (Lay it out)
	3.9	Ya sk'ehilel swai (Keep it while one sleeps)
4th day	4.	Yaʔbe stalbilum (Stick on clay on the base)
	4.1	Ya sbʔal te lum yuʔun ya tzak (Make a tube to stick on)
	4.2	Ya smakbe ʔa (Cover over where it is stuck on)
	4.3	Ya šlič mo"el (Let it up)
	4.4	Ya sč'ulmoel (Make it rise by rubbing against hand on outside)
	4.5	Ya stuisbe stiʔil (Cut off edge [evens it])
	4.6	Ya stalhilel hil swai (Let it stick overnight [some leave it for only 2 hours])
5th day	5.	Ya šyubmoʔel (Raise the sides)
	5.1	Ya yaʔbe bʔal lum (Give it a tube of clay)
	5.2	Ya tzak šyubmoʔel (Stick it on sides making it rise)
	5.3	Ya yaʔbe sčuht (Make the belly [round out side walls])
	5.4	Sb'isbetal yutil (Smooth inside)
	5.5	Ma snuksba ya yaʔbe šan č'inuk (If it doesn't meet, make another piece)
	5.6	Tzak šan yuʔun sčube stiʔil (Stick on more to make it close at the mouth)
	5.7	Ya yaʔi baʔa te haʔ yei ya yaʔbe slumil yuʔun pahal sila spimile (Feel where it is thin and give it more clay so it is same remains double)
	5.8	Lah šyubmoʔel sk'ahilel šwai (After raising side leave overnight)
6th day	6.	Ya yaʔbe snuk' (Make the neck)
	6.1	Ya yaʔbe yaʔlel stiʔil yuʔun skunubai tenaš ʔa ta yaʔbe slam yit (Scrape pot with knife; put water on mouth to make it soft and more clay at edge)
	6.2	Yah sb'albe slumil snuk' (Form roll of clay for neck)
	6.3	Yah tz'akbe stiʔil (Stick it on the mouth)
	6.4	Yah šlihk sb'isbe te yutil (Begin to smooth it inside)
	6.5	Yah šlihk stuisbe stiʔil (Even the edge)

(*cont.*)

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Time	*Step*	*Activity*
	6.6	Yah lihk sb'is ta snukul (Smooth the edge)
	6.7	Yah lihk spusko?el sok nukul (Double over the edge with leather piece)
	6.8	Ya sb?albeko?el (Roll down lip of jug)
	6.9	Ya sibetal yutil (Spread it out inside)
	6.10	Ya ya?be sbelbel lumil (Put little pieces on edge where the neck is stuck on)
7th day	7.	Yah ya?be sčikin (Make the handles [ears])
	7.1	Ya sb'albe slumil (Roll the clay)
	7.2	Ya sp'is ?ošeb (Measure out three pieces)
	7.3	Ya tzakbe sčikin (Stick on ears)
	7.4	Ya sku?be sčikin (Press on ears)
	7.5	Ya spusbe (Double over)
	7.6	Ya sb'isb'e sčikin sok yal sk'ab (Smooth with little finger [child of the hand])
	7.7	Ya sb'isbe sčikin sok sme?sk'ab (Smooth with thumb [mother of hand])
	7.8	Ya sčulbe lek sok sme? sk'ab (Spread it out with thumb [mother of hand])
8th day	8.	Yah smes ta k'ib' sok ?ul (Wash the pot with corn grind)
9th day	9.	Yah tz'ibawe kib' (Design pots)
10th day	10.	Čik'omahel (Fire pottery)
	10.1	Ya ya?be sčute?al ?a k'ib'e yu?un mak swok'a (Put down boards and accompany pottery in order that it does not break)
	10.2	Stos' si?wok (Chop wood)
	10.3	Ya šlihk sk'ak'al (Light fire)
	10.4	Ya holtik si? (Take off wood)
	10.5	Yah ta sik'ub ya him lok'el (Cool and take off wood)

* Same term used for grinding corn; motion similar.

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The segmentation of activities shows that in a major schema such as pottery-making, similar motions are found at different levels, modified by direction in which motion occurs (up or down) or by the part of the pot being worked on. The classification of such motions simplifies teaching. Some of the motions included in Table 11 are classified with behavior in other contexts. For example. kneading the sand and clay (2.5 *sk'u*) is expressed by the same verb used for grinding corn, and a very similar motion is involved. *Tz'ib'ayel,* or painting the designs, also refers to writing.

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The word for the act by which a tube of clay is formed, *ya sb'al,* has the connotation of creativity. In the *pat?o?tan,* a prayer form with many variations which introduces ceremonials, informants explain the terms *sb'al lum* and *sb'al ?at'al* as a reference to the creation of man's body formed out of soil and mud by the ancestors. Sometimes the verb *sb'al* is used instead of the usual word for planted, *tz'un,* to refer to the seeding of crops.

The parts of pottery are metaphorically equated to those of the body; the belly of the pot and the neck, ears, and mouth all have parallels in English metaphors. But among the Indians, pottery also has a soul. Metal or enamel containers do not have souls as do gourds and handmade pottery.

TABLE 11. Classification of Motions in Pottery Production

Motion *	*Step* †	*Context*
Sb'is + (smooth +)		
-mo?el (raise)	3.5	Pressing walls of base with curved index finger inside pot against flattened fingers outside, working clay upward
te yutil (inside)	6.4	Smoothing interior of vessel
ta snukel (its neck)	6.6	Smoothing neck with piece of leather
-b'e sčikin sok yal sk'ab (its ears with "child finger")	7.6	Smoothing handles on inside with little finger
-b'e sčikin sok sme? (its ears with "mother finger")	7.7	Smoothing handles on outside with thumb
Šyub' + (shape +)		
-mo?el (raise)	5, 5.2, 5.8	Shape and raise pot upward
Tzak + (stick +)		
yah tzak (stick on)	4.1	Stick on tube of clay to hardened base
-šyubmo?el (shape and raise)	5.2	Stick on another tube of clay to side, shape it upward
šan (another)	5.6	Add another tube of clay to side
-b'e sti?il (mouth)	6.3	Add roll of clay to hardened mouth
-b'e sčikin (ears)	7.3	Add measured, flattened tube of clay to walls of pot for handles
Swol + (make a ball +)		

(*cont.*)

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Motion *	*Step* †	*Context*
yah swol (make a ball)	2.6, 3.1	In mixing sand with clay, finish by making oval ball; also preliminary to making base, form ball
Spus + (roll +)		
yah lihk spusko?el (begins to roll down)	6.7	Turn down lip of neck
yah spusb'e sčikin (doubles over ears)	7.5	Curve tube of clay over to form handle
Stuis + (cut +)		
-b'e sti?il (edge)	3.7	Push clay with thumb; even edge by removing higher levels of clay at upper edge of base
" " "	4.5	Same, but edge is top of half-formed pot
" " "	6.5	Same, but edge is top of opening of jug
B'al + (make a tube +)		
ya sb'al te (make a tube of clay)	4.1	Build up sides with coils of clay
ya ya?b'e b'al lum (give a roll of clay)	5.1	Continue building up sides with coils of clay
yah sb'alb'eko?el (roll down)	6.8	Roll the tube of clay fitting on neck of pot to form a lip.

* Additives preceded by a hyphen form a single word with the verb stem; others are separate words in a phrase with the verb.
† Numbers refer to step numbers in Table 10.

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The nine stages of production provide a basis for the organization of the work in five-day intervals. The usual output is in lots of one dozen water jugs or ten bowls. This staging of production indicates an incipient rationalization of production that maximizes efficiency for the individual producer: a woman repeats the same limited sequence of motions for the lot. Leaving the item overnight permits drying and hardening so that in building up the pot there is greater stability. The staging of production also provides a basis for the division of labor in households with more than one producer. Certain stages require greater skill and/or discrimination: mixing the clay with sand requires the greatest discrimination to achieve the consistency which allows both maximum manipulability and strength and durability; building up and shaping the walls of the pot requires the maximum skill and dexterity. These tasks are performed by the more ex-

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perienced potter in the household, sometimes with the help of a trainee. 323
Older women prefer doing the lighter tasks, such as putting on the han- 461
dles and mouth or applying the slip of watered clay, to raising the sides which requires greater force and exertion of the back muscles. A second basis for the division of labor is the kind of item produced: older women for example, make bowls in preference to large water jugs and containers.

Learning to make pottery. A girl begins to make pottery about 323
the age of eleven. First she makes small replicas of the articles her mother 868
produces. Then, under her mother's direction, she learns to prepare the clay. The mother feels the clay with her fingers, telling her daughter to add more sand if this is lacking. She is taught to knead the clay three times. In making the pot, the most difficult phases are mixing the clay, forming the base, and rounding out the walls of the vessel as it is raised. The child is expected to learn slowly and is encouraged gently to improve each step. While the child works on her first pot, the mother makes a similar one; three or four times they exchange vessels, and the mother shapes her daughter's pot into a better form.

About two generations ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve 582
were the rule. Since most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques 178
begins at that age, pottery was taught to the bride by her mother-in-law if 323
she resided in her husband's house (Blom and La Farge 1927). Most mar- [606]
riages now are contracted for girls from fourteen to seventeen years of age.
By this time they are already proficient potters and accustomed to working [593]
with their mothers. Therefore there is greater stress on their remaining in [591]
or near the parental home after marriage.

The pottery is fired in the streets of the town outside the house, usually 323
after the women have made four or five dozen items. The pots are set on planks forming a rough square around the fire in the center. Charcoal is added to the fire as the brush or corn husks set between the pots begin to burn. The women tend the pots, turning them every five minutes until the surface is well dried and hardened. Wood is added to the fire, and then the jugs are stacked in a pyramid, each one protected from the one it touches with a broken piece of pottery. The stacking is crucial to permit even firing and must be done carefully so that none are broken. Once the

323 pyramid is complete, wood is laid against the pots in a tepee formation.
[313] When the sawmill in the vicinity was in operation, flat boards—scraps of
[372] cut lengths—were used, but now only logs are available. Corn husks or
[462] dry straw are stuffed between the planks or logs. When a large number of pots are being fired, the men usually help at the final stages to remove the
[476] charred planks with poles. If men are not available, the women of the household often call upon their neighbors for help. In this operation, the
[292] women wear sandals and hats for protection from the heat. When the pots are cooled, the women, sometimes with the help of the men, stack them in net bags, six to a net with straw protecting the pots.

647 About fifteen year ago, a kiln was introduced by the government in the
177 interest of conserving wood. Those who tried it claim that the pottery did
323 not fire well and that many of the pots were broken. I.N.I. (the Instituto
372 Nacional Indigenista) planned to introduce an improved kiln, and while most of the people we questioned expressed a willingness to try it, the proposal was never put into action.

462 The men do most of the marketing of pottery. Loads of one or two
442 dozen may be taken by bus or truck to San Cristóbal or to Comitán.
443 When there is large-scale production throughout the community, as occurs
494 just before major fiestas, truckers come from the neighboring town of Teopisca to contract for delivery.

592 The amount of pottery produced in households varies with the follow-
323 ing factors:
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1. Household composition: (a) Number of women in the family.
[464] If there is only one woman, very little or no pottery is produced because of the demands of domestic duties. Households with two or more women are able to sustain the ideal output of at least a dozen water jugs a week (I use "ideal" here to suggest their notion of what they produce when asked to guess. As Fig. 2 indicates, this varies considerably during the
[887] year.) (b) Age of women and ages of children. Older women over sixty do not independently undertake pottery production. They may assist in washing pots with corn gruel or making the neck, mouth, and handles, but they are unable to endure the harder task of collecting clay. A woman with infants under two years of age makes little pottery if

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there is no other woman in the house. (c) Number of men in the family. If there are productively employed men, women of the household tend to make less pottery, since they are busy cooking and washing and have their basic subsistence needs supplied. Pottery is then produced to supply cash for fiestas only. Widows make a great deal of pottery since they must either hire men to work in the milpa or buy corn.

2. Wealth of the family: Relatively wealthy families make almost no pottery. In other cases, the scheduling of production is related to consumption needs. Figure 2 charts the pottery production by type of item produced for a family which included two unmarried women, their mother, father, and grandmother. The peaks in production occur just before the major fiestas when the family wants additional money to buy meat, fruits, and clothing. Although this family produced more pottery than the majority of households because of the presence of four women, its production typifies the high periods of activity relating to the fiestas. Production is also related to the seasonal changes: during the rainy season (from June to October) many households curtail production, except to earn money for the fiesta of Santiago (July 25), because of the difficulty of firing without closed kilns.

Variation in production means that an overall estimate of income from pottery cannot be made. It ranges from none to nearly 90 percent of family income in the case of widows without land or male helpers. I would guess that an average family might earn 200 pesos a year, about 10 to 15 percent of the money value of crops. One family of two widows and five children who work constantly throughout the year averages an income of about 600 pesos, or about one-half what an agriculturist can make on one-half hectare of land.

The Motivation to Produce

The motivation to work is tied directly to consumption needs of the household. Failure to meet expenditures with income from agriculture and pottery is met by men hiring out as agricultural workers or as laborers in the sawmill. This alternative is chosen over that of increasing the size

pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village. The expenditures of this family on meat, brown sugar, and liquor were required for the house celebrations carried out almost every Sunday. Like family No. 1 they spent 83 percent of their budget on food, a total of 714.80 pesos, and a larger percentage on clothing, 138 pesos. They sold their surplus corn for 292 pesos and their beans for 247 pesos. These crops were produced on one hectare of privately owned, irrigated land, one hectare of privately owned, non-irrigated land and one hectare of ejido land.

Family No. 3 consists of a widow and her widowed daughter-in-law who had five children. The oldest son, aged sixteen, worked their one-half hectare of ejido land and one-half hectare of irrigated land with some hired help during harvest. During the three weeks recorded, there were no returns from their crops, which include wheat and corn, and the family relied entirely on returns from pottery. This household produces more pottery than any of the others recorded, earning 61 pesos in the three weeks, because there are no adult male producers. They spent 63 percent of their budget on food, a total of 42 pesos, and 34 percent or 23 pesos on clothing.

Family No. 4 consists of a married couple with three children seven years of age and under. The husband works occasionally in the sawmill, but since he drinks a great deal, he does not contribute much of his 70-peso weekly wage to the family. He grows wheat on one-half hectare of irrigated land and corn on one-half hectare of ejido land. In the ten days recorded, no money was gained on harvest, but the woman earned 19 pesos from pottery. The family spent 77 percent, or 17.20 pesos of their budget on food and another 22 percent, or 5 pesos such as soap, kerosene, etc.

Family No. 5 consists of a married couple, their married son and daughter-in-law, and three grandchildren. They own one and one-half hectare of irrigated land, on which they grow wheat and corn, and one-half hectare of ejido land. The husband and his son supplement their earning from farming by distilling liquor, earning 108 pesos in the ten days recorded. In addition, the women of the household earned 54 pesos from pottery they made. They spent 143 pesos, or 97 percent of their budget on food and 3 pesos, or 2 percent of their budget, on clothing.

Family No. 6 consists of a young couple with two children. The husband owns one-half hectare of irrigated land, and one-half hectare of non-

of what seeds grow best in which soils. Good, fast-growing seed is not 241
sowed indiscriminately but is limited to use on more fertile irrigated 242
lands. The size of a family's holdings is the primary factor in deciding
what proportion of the three major crops—corn, beans, and wheat—they [423]
will grow. Where they grow each of these crops depends upon the quality of the soil categorized by topological criteria, consistency, color, and proved fertility. Decline in productivity is attributed to wearing out of soil fertility because of overuse as well as to loss of the soul of crops. The first explanation leads to adaptive behavior, in which the land is "rested" or turned over to cattle grazing, and to crop rotation, alternating wheat and corn crops. The second explanation leads to adjustive behavior in which the agriculturalist takes care of ceremonial obligations to the saints and to the "owner of the milpa."

The scheduling of activities is determined by the knowledge of time re- 241
quired for maturing of the crop and by expectations concerning seasonal fluctuations as they affect rainfall. Although the farmers have some control
over water supply through irrigation, dependence on rainfall for the non- [082]
irrigated fields means that sporadic appeals to the ancestors or saints are [176]
made to ensure rain in the growing period. These rituals are not as inte- [169]
grated in the agricultural production cycle as they are in the neighboring [171]
towns of Chamula and Oxchuk or in the colonia of San Vicente where irrigation facilities are lacking.

Traditional techniques of pottery production are maintained by a tightly 323
organized schema of procedures which allows for little variation in technique or form. Learning of productive techniques is facilitated by a fine segmentation of tasks. Knowledge of local clays and tempering has been stabilized for at least five hundred years of occupation in this area. Women's work is entirely lacking in rituals to ensure the success of their efforts.

These given sets of cognitive orientations in economic activities do not 241
exclude the possibility of considering new ways or means of doing things. 177
Agriculturalists have tried the new seed introduced by agronomists, but 178
have found them wanting in their resistance to mold, in the case of corn, and in their portability, in the case of wheat. Fertilizers have been tried, but the credit costs proved too high for the agriculturalists to continue.
Women were willing to try a kiln in place of open firing, but either the 177
model introduced was faulty or they were not 323
taught to use it properly.

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model introduced was faulty or they were not taught to use it properly. Notions about the supernatural relation between souls of crops, man, and the saints do not interfere with experimentation or adaptation at the instrumental level. Obligations with respect to them are carried on as a supplement to other practical measures.

The organization of men's work in agriculture contrasts with that of women's work in pottery. Men's work, when performed cooperatively by two or more of an extended household or exchange labor team, is mechanically organized, in Durkheim's terminology. Each of the men does the same task, working closely in the rows of the milpa. Women's work groups are organically organized since segmentation of the pottery production in the stages described above makes possible specialization within a domestic production group including two or more women. Preferences and special abilities can be taken into account. The potters with more experience do the jobs which require more judgement and skill, such as mixing the clay or making the bases, and then the work is passed on to less proficient workers. Or an older woman can leave the more strenuous tasks, such as mixing clay or building up the sides of the larger pots, to younger women and perform the lighter tasks, such as putting on the neck and handles.

These differences in the organization of male and female work tasks suggest the need for a reformulation of the classification of whole societies as organically or mechanically integrated. In assessing the potential for change, internal variations in the organization of production might provide the clues for implementing development programs.

The division of labor according to sex is nearly absolute: women do not learn to work in the milpa nor do men learn to make pottery or perform household tasks. However, women will gather firewood, and men will transport clay (although they do not collect the clay deposits in balls) and help in firing pottery. Women can live without men in the household economy of the town, but men cannot live without women. This is because male labor is a market commodity while female labor in household activities is not. A widow can hire a man to work her fields, but a man cannot hire a cook. If he is widowed, he must remarry, move into his

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usual, and seeing the pesos, picked them up. The "spirit of the money" left the village forever. The story reveals not only the sense of deprivation Indians feel in losing wealth to Ladinos (historically land the Indians had lost through fraud or legal trickery during the Porfirio Diaz period), but also their realization of their own responsibility for letting their assets slip out of their control.

Payment of interest on money borrowed is justified in the calculations of the Indians for loans made within as well as outside of the community. Interest, called *shol tak'in,* or "head" of money, makes it possible for the borrower to work, and thus to earn, so the "owner" has the right to charge for the use. The rate on loans made within the pueblo has risen from 2 or 3 pesos a month for 100 pesos to 5 pesos, thus equalizing the rate with that charged in the neighboring Ladino town. The same rate is applied between relatives as nonkin. The advantage of intracommunity borrowing is that the lender does not demand an immediate return, or as high security. Ladinos of the neighboring town tend to demand items of greater value than the debt held as security—one Ladino held title to land worth 1,000 pesos for a 50-peso debt, and threatened to foreclose. Within the pueblo, security of about the same value as the loan is asked except in the case of neighbors and relatives who can be reminded every day of the debt. And they are.

Markets. In marketing, the Indians of Tzoʔontahal have neither extended nor gained control over the selling and buying operations that have been pursued since before the opening of the Pan-American Highway in 1955. The pottery which is produced locally was formerly carried on horseback to the smaller towns within a radius of fifty miles. The pottery was marketed directly by the men of the household which produced it, with no specialization in trading by commercial travelers, as had happened in the Zapotec and other areas of Mexico. Since the penetration of the Pan-American Highway, the men take the pottery produced in their households by bus or on the trucks to either San Cristóbal or Comitán. This tends to polarize trading operations and dry up the traffic into small towns not connected by the highway. As a result, the wholesale trade in San Cristóbal and Comitán has increased in the past decade, with dealers

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178 coming from the smaller towns to buy. The Indians still bring pottery to
442 sell retail in towns that they visit during a fiesta. One of these is the barrio
443 of Lok'ibal in the município of Villa Carranza, where people go on the third Friday of Lent to get holy water from the spring.

The Indians have not taken advantage of the truck to buy pottery wholesale and market it directly in the smaller towns, selling from the truck in the plaza as some of the wholesale fruit truckers do. Another operation which they have failed to profit from is buying the wheat harvest and selling to government warehouses, as some of the Ladino truckers do.

44 Lack of capital is the major reason for failure to exploit these opportuni-
471 ties. In marketing the contraband liquor, which is the most flourishing of
273 the new enterprises, the Indians have not yet entered into the external
443 markets except in the case of one young unmarried mother. Wholesale
434 purchases are made by Ladinos, primarily women, from other towns who resell the liquor in Comitán and on the coast. There is however, a well-de-
[675] veloped home market since all contracts are sealed with the offering of liq-
[681] uor, the "gift of the gods," all court fines are paid in liquor, and the main
[583] gift in betrothal is liquor. The cantinas with phonograph players opened
[275] by the cooperatives operate very successfully on Saturday night and during
[216] fiestas. The internal market for liquor is controlled by a syndicate of the
[548] forty-two independent liquor distillers. The price is set at 4 pesos per liter
[435] for all buyers, with the buyer providing the bottle.

Agricultural production is not geared to a market, and Indians do not
241 take advantage of fluctuations in price. Wheat yields a lower return per
442 unit of land than corn, but it is grown for two reasons: the Indians believe
443 that crop rotation of corn and wheat prevents depletion of the soil, and wheat requires less work since no cultivation is needed. Wheat is a cash crop and none of it is milled or consumed directly in town. Poor families sell their wheat "standing" to Teopisca truckers. The price given the
[435] grower is usually about 90 pesos per hundred kilograms, and it is resold at 110 or 120 pesos in Tuxtla or to the government storehouses. Wheat is sometimes brought directly to San Cristóbal millers who give 120 per hundred kilograms. Corn is primarily a subsistence crop when grown in the center. Corn grown in hot country ejido land is now sold in Teopisca and
[489] San Cristóbal. The local truck cooperative has a special permit which gives

556 but his style of living is indistinguishable from theirs. The only difference
622 [23] is the larger number of dogs he[1] keeps to guard his wealth stored in the form of surplus crops in the eaves of his house.

The kind of economic change occurring in Tzo'ontahal fits the model
177 of a moving equilibrium. Tightly controlled behavioral schema preserve
178 the traditional productive activities in pottery and agriculture. They pro-
433 vide the framework into which the new enterprises are fit. Increasing de-
434 pendence of cosumption choices on external markets is slowly transform-
621 ing the content but not the pattern of community life. This kind of
323 change is limited to societies that form a distinct corporate group. In an open society where many alternatives are available, the painful process of accommodation of the new to a customary pattern would probably not be undertaken given the tendency for social change to follow the course of least resistence. The absorption of economic innovation in Tzo'ontahal illustrates the ability of closed corporate communities to participate in commercial undertakings and reformulate them to fit their own pattern.

[1] [i.e., the richest man in town. - Analyst]

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must announce his arrival at the gate so that the mother can cover the child from view. In this period, the mother sleeps with the child apart from her husband. 846 [513]

Infants remain swaddled in wrapped skirt pieces—the woman's sash is not used after the first fifteen days—throughout the first year of life. Their arms are bound to their sides by kerchiefs crossed over the chest and drawn around the back with the ends tucked in; this makes it easier to carry the child on the back, wrapped in a large carrying cloth. Mothers sometimes lay sleeping infants on their bed when they are working in the house, but much of the time they carry them on their backs. 854

The child is given corn gruel to supplement nursing during his third or fourth month. Weaning may be consciously done after the child reaches the age of one and a half or two years. If the child persists in trying to nurse, the mother may put chile sauce or draw a face on her breasts to discourage him. 853 862

Much of the care of children from two to four years of age is done by elder siblings. Both girls and boys of from seven to ten years of age carry younger siblings in a carrying cloth on their backs, even when playing very active games. They pacify the child by holding a flower or twig for him to chew or grasp, and they usually share with him any cookies or scraps of food they are given. 855 857

School is commonly considered the most joyful time of a person's life. There the children, especially boys, make friendships which last throughout life. School recess is a time for unrestrained running, shouting, and laughter such as I have rarely seen in the houseyards when children play together. 871 857

In teaching their children how to work, parents are expected to inculcate not only competence but also a sense of the value of work, for industry is one of the most esteemed traits in both boys and girls. Small girls do errands for their mothers from the age of about four years. When a woman is occupied with pottery, she rarely disturbs herself to get needed items, but calls upon her children to fetch a pot which is out of reach or to bring water for the painting. She gives these orders in a quiet undertone, and I have never seen any need to prompt or cajole the child into fulfilling the errand. By the age of ten or eleven, girls begin to make small pots like 867 857 868 323

868 857 the larger ones their mothers make, but their products are usually not [323] commercially saleable until they reach the age of marriage. Their responsi- [312] bility in preadolescence is to bring water from the faucets installed in every other block of the town, and to degrain corn, tend the fire as the *nixtamal,* or corn dough mixed with lime, cooks, and help their mother grind it. The careful assessment of the child's capacity to perform tasks is exemplified by the gradations of water-carrying jars given to each child: the older the child, the larger the jar, with minute variations in scale. The [592] close, usually wordless cooperation between women in a household comes [462] from years of working together and knowing their part in cooperative tasks.

Boys accompany their fathers to the fields after they reach the age of six and when they are not attending school. They do not participate in the work of the milpa until they are eight or older, but they pick up twigs for the fire or gather the wild berries or plants which supplement the diet of [411] the family. They usually carry slingshots with which they kill field rats [262] and birds, which they bring home to cook and eat. Teaching a boy the 868 tasks involved in agriculture is consciously undertaken by older brothers 241 or the father when the child reaches the age of twelve or thirteen. The following reminiscence of this training is given by a man who had been brought up by his widowed mother and brother.

159 *I went to the field with my brother who is eighteen years older than I,*
868 *when I was thirteen years old. My brother brought me to clean the milpa,*
241 *saying, "Let us go and you will learn how to work. See what I do and you do the same. You will learn what I do and you can do the same."*

One day I finished six rows. My brother said when he saw my work, "Good, just give a little more soil at the foot of the corn because the little corn must have a little soil. Now you do it well." "Yes," I said. He saw it was good, and he told me, "You have learned your work. You are going to forget it when you enter school. When you come out of school, go do two or three rows of work. When you hear the bell strike, go back to school."

He told my mother that I had learned to work, and she said, "Good you know how to cultivate." I learned to do my work better by going along with my elder brother in his work so that I would not forget.

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[D.198-D]

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Plate 5. Men assisting the women of their household in the firing of canteros, or water jugs. They have just removed the still-smoldering logs which were propped on the outer perimeter of the pyramid of jugs.

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[P.198-E]

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291
516
415

Plate 6. Woman scraping a cantero that has been sun-dried in the porch of her home. Behind her is an altar with pictures of the saints. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.[1]

1 (correction, this should read "photograph by Marcey Jacobson"..Analyst)

[P.198-F]

Plate 7. Types of pottery produced:

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532
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a decorated water pitcher

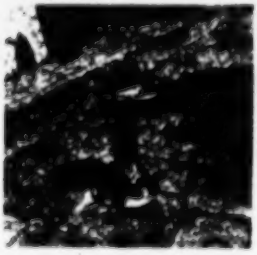
b water storage jar

c bowl

d water-carrying jar

e toy: man astride donkey

f flower holder shaped in form of duck



g candle holder

h vase on an ashtray, pedestal with three frogs

Photographs by Jean Simmons.

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794 796 *Judge: "By force you must receive it. You do not have to give as much. You only have to receive the sacred banner."*

Nominee: "But if I don't give a fiesta, the pueblo will speak badly of me."

Judge: "It is not important what the pueblo says. Pardon us, let us drink a little trago."

[273] [*All the officers drank, contributing jointly to buy the liquor. Each officer took one sip from the measure, but the nominee drank the entire measure on each round. When he became intoxicated, he yielded to the persuasions of the officials and agreed.*]

Nominee: "Good. I am going to see how it goes."

[*The two regidores carried the new alférez to his house.*]

794 796 The activities of the alférez in preparation for the fiesta during which he was installed in his post are summarized below.

434 462 323 Making pottery. *The new alférez prepared for the fiesta by organizing his household to make the pottery that was to be sold to cover the expenses. His brothers and brothers-in-law went on horseback bringing fifteen or twenty loads of clay. The women got the sand, carrying it back with the tumpline. The men went on horseback again to collect the limestone temper, which the women would grind and mix with the clay for cooking pots. The next week, the alférez went with a gift of 2 pesos' worth of bread and one liter of liquor to ask the woman who knew how to make large ollas, pots in which the festal foods are cooked, to help him. The sisters and sisters-in-law of both the alférez and his wife joined together to grind the temper and mix the clay. In addition to the special large pots, the women made bowls, soup plates, and water jugs to sell.*

When the pottery was ready to be fired, the men brought the wood and the women tended to the firing. After the pots were fired, the men sold them in the markets of San Cristóbal or Comitán. They usually made about 26 pesos per dozen, which netted them about 500 pesos.

794 782 Learning the patʔoʔtan. *Each evening, an elder of the family of the alférez who knew the patʔoʔtan, or prayer, came to teach him. This*

621 593 581 794 Familial role requirements must be fulfilled in order for public roles to be undertaken. A man must be married in order to enter into even the lowest posts in the civil and religious hierarchies.

794 556 434 554 Only in the case of the alfereces has wealth ever been a criterion for recruitment. These four officials had to be able to spend 3,000 pesos during their year in office. The heavy expenditures failed to give prestige to the official, and the display of wealth excited envy rather than respect. The result was that people called upon to accept the post had to be imprisoned before they would accept.

554 756 Recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on innate qualities; special skills and knowledge are attributes acquired in office or other role positions rather than requirements for undertaking roles. Curers are recruited because they are recognized as having an animal spirit; they learn whatever skills are required after they have been initiated into the profession. The curers' special position in the society rests more on esoteric powers than on esoteric knowledge. Everyone in the com- [278] munity knows the herbs and medicines which are prescribed, and most men can give as comprehensive a taxonomy of illnesses as any practicing curer.

868 241 [857] [883] Economic roles, though largely undifferentiated for each sex, are consciously learned and transmitted. Boys accompany their fathers or elder brothers to the field at about the age of eight and continue working with them until they reach independence. Observation of behavior alone would seem to indicate an unconscious absorption of the role of agricultural worker, but informants recount episodes in which training in field work was explicitly transmitted by their fathers or brothers, and formal approval of their ability to do the tasks announced to their mothers. Parents [871] express fear that school attendance not only interferes with working in the milpa, but that it will cause the child to forget what he has learned in the field. Regardless of what other tasks a man performs, he thinks of himself as a farmer.

868 323 Becoming a potter requires an even more explicit training procedure. The fine linguistic segmentation of each act and movement in the schedule of pottery-making is a clue to the explicit transmission of tasks by the

mother to her daughter. Informants are able to recount the succession of 868
learning of the tasks, the relative difficulty of each task, and the mistakes 323
they made and how their mother corrected them. Being a potter in Tzoʔontahal is as much a part of being a woman as the role of agriculturalist is of being a man.

Special tasks become crystallized as roles only when few people perform 463
them. Jobs such as caponizing, butchering, net and rope weaving, and 554
wood cutting which are done by almost every man do not have role terms. Bonesetting and curing of certain "good" illnesses, such as swelling caused by embarrassment, are semispecialized activities performed by a few women who have "cold" hands. Midwifery is a fully specialized role per- [759]
formed by two women who are referred to as "the grandmothers of the newborn child."

A new occupational role has been created with the purchase of a truck 463
by Indians of the community. There are now two Indian truck drivers. 554
Recruitment of these particular young men was a result of their fathers' 177
importance in the truck-owning cooperatives, and their skill was acquired [493]
in apprenticeship with a Ladino truck driver hired when the truck was first in operation. Both of them are acculturated in clothing and speech. Since they have acquired skills in dealing with the Ladino world, they often act as intermediaries for Indians of the town in their negotiations in the market or the courts of the departmental capital.

The continuity in occupational adjustment from early childhood to 864
adulthood contrasts with the discontinuities in assuming roles in the life cycle. Girls are not advised about menstruation until they see the first signs of it; they describe their reaction to it as one of fear and surprise. Often they have been pregnant several months before they are aware of the condition or its cause, and they have no preparation for the experience
of childbirth before it is upon them. Boys are not considered men until 885
they are married, but in order to arrive at this status, they must enter into 584
the "fight to get a wife," as the betrothal is often called. 585

Since recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on 554
qualities of the person rather than acquired skills, failure to recognize the prerequisite conditions of age and experience undermines the validity of

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787 claim, has been lost, as has been more recently that of speaking with the ancestors. But the curers can still enter into communication with the spirit world and in this lies their power.

461 Industry is valued along with competency. A man is described as indus-
183 trious with the words, "he carries much wood well," and a woman with the words, "she carries much sand well." These expressions are a kind of
[196] synechdoche for general industriousness, since the tasks serve as the measure of willingness to perform one's sexually defined roles.

[476] Judgments made in the choice of working "partners" in the exchange
[602] labor system are based on competence in working as well as on considera-
[608] tions of kin and compadrazgo relationship. Women make judgments of
[323] others' skill in pottery-making on the basis of both the appearance of the pot and its durability proved in use and transportation without breakage to market. Both men and women known to be hard workers are admired
[154] and envied. They may consequently become the objects of witchcraft.

828 Conceptions of personality are one end product of evaluations of per-
157 formances and condition people's expectations of individuals in their social environment. For the Indians, personality traits tend to imply other traits.
125 In order to derive a sense of these implications for Tzoʔontahal, I drew up
157 a checklist to identify some of these associations. Informants were asked to
828 state whether each of the traits listed on the top line in Table 30 was correlated positively, negatively, or not at all with each of the same traits listed vertically. A plus (+) sign indicates positive correlation, a minus (—) sign indicates negative correlation, and an equal (=) sign indicates that
157 there was no correlation. Thus being bright is positively correlated with
828 being beautiful and negatively correlated with being evil, fearful, lazy, foolish, gullible, braggardly, gossipy, and miserly. There is no connection between being bright and being of good heart, aggressive, or honorable. This suggests that the heart and the mind are independent loci for a set of traits that stem from them. Metaphors such as bitter, acid, and straight, when used to describe personality, are similar in connotation to those used in English. As in English, immediate sensory experiences of taste and vision provide by extension a means of talking about character.

157 In studying these personality traits, I sensed that "being" was "doing"
551 things in certain repetitive ways. This impression is corroborated by the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 286]

Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

These time and space patterns provide the individual with a cognitive structure which enables him to function appropriately in a given setting and to plan his future actions. Having one piece of information, people can derive the other understandings necessary to adjust their own behavior to the expectations of others. 181 [805] [571]

Time as a measure of value has been affected by changes occurring in the past two decades. Men are less willing to expend time in ceremonial activities than formerly. The first ceremony given up was Carnival, which has not been celebrated for over a decade. Most recently, young men have refused to become alfereces, and their resistance on the basis of loss of time and money was formally recognized in 1966 when the institution was abolished. The resistance parents used to show to their children spending, or wasting their time in school has given way as some of the more modernized parents have seen the advantages of education. 181 177 178 [796] [794] [871]

The tempo of life has accelerated with the increasing importance of bus and truck transportation to market. Women's time has always figured as importantly as that of the men because of their pottery production, and they have quickly accepted time-saving innovations such as the tortilla press and the corn-grinding mill. They have not shown any inclination to adopt time-saving technology, such as the potter's wheel, in pottery-making since they have no knowledge of it, and using it would require relearning basic tasks. 181 177 178 462 323 [252]

The ceremonial cycle still provides the major consideration in programming other activities in the community. The Indian as an agriculturalist remains master of his own time, and he plans his work so that he can fulfill his ceremonial obligations. 181 796

Chapter 13

Belief and Behavior in a Changing Society

Continuity is the theme stressed in the rules of the game that apply to living in the square world of the community. The framework of continuity is the landscape itself with the ancestral hills and devils' caves reminding people of the moral order of the past. Repetitive behavior in rituals symbolically projects the past into the future, and behavioral schema in pottery and agricultural production reinforce the belief that all remains the same. The conditions making for change stem from the very attempts to preserve the existing equilibrium. A rising population on a limited land base using colonial techniques of cultivation is bringing about an increasing reliance on outside markets for the sale of labor and the purchase of goods. The ejido program which has perpetuated the system of subsistence cultivation has at the same time increased the dependency on external political influence and undermined dependency on parents. Some of the rules of strategy that have developed in response to changes coming from outside the community can no longer be justified by the beliefs that govern behavior within its boundaries. The community is now in crisis: people are losing faith in the old beliefs and have not yet developed a meaningful ideology for new strategies.

The crisis does not affect all institutions equally. It is absent in the traditional economic activities of milpa cultivation and pottery production. It is incipient in the households, especially where there are wage-workers in nonagricultural jobs. It is more apparent in the civil than in the religious sphere, and it is most manifest in the new economic activities. The school, as an externally imposed institution, generates awareness of the conflict between old beliefs and the ideology of nationalism, but until recently receptivity to these ideas has been limited. The behavior described for each in-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The behavior described for each institution in earlier chapters will be summarized as a mode of adjustment or adaptation in relation to the beliefs that give it meaning and purpose. 128

Economic Activities

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Learning agricultural tasks and pottery-making in the household is part of adjusting to membership in the community. Parents are responsible for teaching the value of industriousness and are held accountable throughout the life of the child. Agricultural tasks are scheduled in a yearly cycle that provides sufficient flexibility for a man to carry out community and familial ceremonial responsibilities. In milpa agriculture, there is no specialization of tasks. Small-plot agricultural production with a simple technology has been reinforced by the land reform program. Since the lands incorporated under the Ejido Commission in the 1930s were attached to the community, agriculturalists were not forced to adjust to new ecological conditions. Politicalization was minimal since the local commission operated within the old civil hierarchy. In the recent expansion of ejido colonies in hot country, Indians from the community have developed alliances with non-Indians in asserting claims to the land. Without any preexisting civil hierarchy, these ejidatarios have not had to adjust their activities to a given structure of authority, but have developed independent political organizations as an adaptation to their new environment.

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Women's work in pottery is less subject to changes in techniques and organization than is men's. The schema of production in simple tasks in a fixed sequence makes it easier to teach girls each process and reinforces a given pottery tradition. My guess would be that if wheel production were introduced, it would liberate the creativity of each potter by freeing her of established routines.

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Pottery production is not surrounded, as is agricultural production, by ceremonials. There is no god to whom one lights candles or gives offerings to ensure success, although there are hazards in production, particularly at the time of firing. Agricultural productivity, on the other hand, is thought to depend on the proper relation between the spirits of the heaven and of the church with the spirits of crops.

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In the new economic activities, the Indians have shown both adjustive

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166 462 464 [829] women and that Ladino women mistreat their servants. Working in towns is remembered, by those who have done it, as a strange mixture of carefree economic independence and innumerable small humilitations and suffering. Its lack of attractiveness is well reflected in the fact that, from a random sample of sixty-eight households, only fourteen women have worked outside their homes (see Fig. 5).

562 462 434 [464] [275] The only women who are the bread-winners or heads of their homes are forced to do so because they have no male relatives to provide for them. In this case, they have few alternatives open to them, the two most common being: 1) acting as a servant (already discussed above), or 2) selling liquor in their houses to the men of the village. This second occupation is not very well [558] thought of by the villagers, trago sellers being gossiped about as being bold women, "sexy" females who enjoy the company of drunks and men married to other women.

Amatenango

462 323 438 [241] [434] In Amatenango, the division of labor presents a very different picture. The whole village of Amatenango is a pottery factory because, in addition to the household income derived from the agricultural work of the village men, each Amatenango woman is a pottery producer.

Pottery that is made for selling is neither a choice, nor a part-time job, nor an individual specialization, but a town specialty. All women in Amatenango are expected to know how to make pots, and to make them. The women of each household

462 distribute their work so that while one takes care of the regular
323 home tasks: cooking, caring for the young, cleaning, etc., the
438 other can occupy herself in gathering clay, coiling or modeling. Most steps in the production of pots are arranged in an "assembly line" style, with the women distributing their individual work according to the needs of the stage of the productive activity. Some of these steps, such as firing, require their close and alert cooperation to be carried on successfully. Pottery production
[434] represents about half of the income of each independent household, with some slight variation, because households richer in land produce less pots than poorer ones.

Comparison

433 Pottery production in the hands of the women shapes the
184 economic landscape of Amatenango very differently than the one of
241 Aguacatenango. In the first place, agriculture is a business where
433 the risks are high and the profits unstable. The agricultural production of the villages depends on many uncontrollable factors. Too little rain or too much, too early rain or too late, worm pests or wild animals, can ruin the year's crop. The villagers try to insure the risks of a bad year by planting in as many different types of fields as they can. They plant in the hot country where the crops mature fast, and in the high, cold country where the maturation process is slow but the corn, of a hardier variety, is more resistant to weather conditions. They plant irrigated land to insure water if rain is missing, and in temporal to insure against the drying up of the sources of irrigated water. But even

241 433 then, each season is a question mark, an equally unpredictable year of plenty or a lean year.

184 323 241 433 434 184 166 464 731 184 434 621 In Amatenango, when the crop fails or is poor, the income of the villagers can be compensated by producing more pottery. This is obviously not so in Aguacatenango. If hunger threatens the families, the result is a higher migration rate or an increase in the number of men leaving town to work part-time in the fincas. The result of having an alternative form of income within the homestead in Amatenango is that the village keeps its income more balanced year after year, and that the village as a whole has a reputation of being richer than the other communities.

184 434 462 562 In Aguacatenango, the women are an economic burden. The men are very aware that they themselves "do all the work." Women have long and leisurely afternoons which are spent sitting on their porches grooming, chatting, or visiting. Men complain of this, saying "Women cannot realize how hard a man has to work. They complain of not having this or that, but they do not know. . . ." In Amatenango, on the contrary, women are important producers, men and women sharing, equally, the responsibility of supporting their families.

Thus, in the one case, Aguacatenango, the work of women has a marginal, undeterminate value in an economic milieu in which they have no cultural alternatives to convert their labor into goods or subsistence necessities; in the other case, Amatenango, the labor input of women represents about half of the total productive efforts of the villagers.

423 593 The reasons for keeping a son are not as pressing as the [432] reasons for keeping a daughter. Amatenango land holdings are [184] somewhat smaller than Aguacatenango, and the buying and selling of agricultural parcels, as long as it does not involve outsiders to the village, is a common practice which accounts for approximately 16 per cent of land transactions. The

423 241 592 464 limited land holding units in Amatenango require minimal cooperation in agriculture. Because of fractured land holdings, fewer than one-half of the households have two tablones . . . of land. Therefore, fewer than one-half the households can keep more than one man actively employed. Even in those households with from two to five tablones, a man and his adult son are sufficient labor for most activities except harvest. 592 323 434 868 Women's pottery production, however, requires frequent cooperation. Two tendencies are reinforcing the cooperation of women, especially of mothers and daughters: (1) with increasing need for cash income to buy products which are not longer produced in the home, or which have been introduced, money [582] [178] is constantly needed. Pottery offers an easy means of acquiring cash with almost immediate returns, and (2) marriages are currently contracted at a later age for girls than formerly. Before, about a generation ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve were the rule. Most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques begins at that age. Consequently, pottery was taught to the daughter by the mother-in-law if the girl was married and resided in the husband's house. (See Frans [114] Blom and Oliver LaFarge [1927] who commented that all pottery was taught by the mother-in-law.) Most marriages now are contracted for girls from 14 to 17 years of age. At this time they are already proficient potters, and accustomed to working with their mother. Therefore, there is a greater stress put on their remaining in or near their parental home after marriage (Nash, J., 1960:47).[1]

592 868 323 The people of Amatenango recognize that during the period in which a woman learns to make pottery, she establishes particular habits of cooperation and a strong solidarity bond with the woman from whom she learns and with whom she works. "Parents say that there is an advantage in early marriages, in that the girl would be more willing to learn the ways of her mother-in-law if she

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[161] [1]It is also important to notice that with the increase in population over the area, the market has increased.

591 takes up residence in her husband's house" (Nash, J., 1960:28)
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323 at an age in which she is not fully trained in pottery production.
[522] At the same time, "mothers prefer to keep their daughters at home at least until the age of fourteen if there is no economic necessity in the family" (Nash, J., 1960:28).

592 Pottery production as a source of income is not equally
434 important for all households. (1) Households with more children
433 produce less pottery, because "child care compete with pottery
323 making for a woman's time." (2) Households with more women produce more pottery because the different tasks of the woman: pottery making, child care, and house maintenance, can be best distributed among them during the day. (3) The motivation to work at pottery production is stronger in poorer households, "because alternative sources of income are less, and more of the family subsistence must come from pottery making." (4) Households with more men and land produce less pottery. First, land needs men to work it, and a single man cannot work much, or lay claim to government Ejido land of any considerable size. "In richer households (in terms of land and cattle) there is sufficient milpa raised that corn need not be bought, and the need for continuous cash income is not so pressing. This has also a circular effect: richer households tend to be able to keep more children alive; with more children to care for, women devote less time to pottery." "Conversely, poorer households depend upon pottery income, have fewer children, and less experience with prolonged periods of little or no pottery production" (Nash, M., 1961:188).

000 If the woman's work in pottery is a crucial factor in

591 If the woman's work in pottery is a crucial factor in
592 making residence choices, then poorer households, which depend
323 more on pottery sales as an important source of income, should
434 also show more emphasis on having the daughters stay at home
361 after marriage, and therefore, the incidence of uxorilocal residence and matrilocal proximity of women should be higher.

361 Within Amatenango "there are clusters of bilaterally re-
602 lated kin which form neighborhood groups. Two of these neighborhoods are spatially set apart from other houses of the barrio
361 and are named" (Nash, J., 1960:52). One of them, the neighbor-
591 hood of Santa Cruz, is composed of households which show greater
434 poverty in comparison with the rest of the village. As it was hypothesized, Santa Cruz also shows a greater incidence of matrilocal proximity. The correlation between lack of household wealth (which increases the importance of woman's pottery making) and residential proximity of a woman to her maternal home is statistically significant at the .001 level (see Table 16).

361 On the other hand, one should also expect the married men
591 to live further apart from their own parents because (1) those who
166 stay at home would reside and work with their wife's relatives,
434 and (2) it is said that some of the men of the neighborhood are
464 forced by their poverty to migrate to the lowlands seeking work in the ranches, and may stay there permanently. This hypotheses is confirmed; the correlation is significant at the .05 level of confidence (see Table 16).

361 The result of poverty in this neighborhood is that while
591 for the community as a whole 49 per cent of the women live in the
434 same neighborhood as their parents, in Santa Cruz 67 per cent of

[Text continued on p. 162]

571 and outside the household by the bilateral group of kinsmen of each particular Ego and his or her spouse, which because of the residence pattern, live localized within a neighborhood.

602 592 562 In Aguacatenango, on the contrary, most important activities are carried on mainly by agnatically related kin. This, of course, does not mean that matri-kin or affinals are absolutely excluded. But in making decisions for giving or receiving help in work, for example, agnatic kin are preferred, especially for men, because women tend to collaborate mostly with the agnatic kin of their husbands. The reason for this is that activities for women are not determined in terms of the kinship lines, but in terms of household membership: they collaborate with the closest kin of the household in which they reside, and not their own closest kin. A household contributes labor and interacts more often with agnatically linked households than any other.

361 602 592 The reason for this difference in emphasis could be said to be a result of the fact that one collaborates more with the people who live the closest. After all, the neighborhood in Aguacatenango tends to be a cluster of agnatically related households. Nash felt that in Amatenango, "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relations are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130). We disagree with this statement. [114]

323 241 433 182 591 592 621 In Amatenango, pottery making and corn agriculture are the two principal productive enterprises which affect the organization of the domestic group, including the residence choices, so it is not strange that the neighborhood group (or residence clusters within the barrio), made up according to the criteria of selecting

323 241 433 182 591 592 621 producers for the particular domestic groups, seems to be the originator of bilateral increase in interaction, while it could be equally well said that the bilaterally settled neighborhood in Amatenango is a result of the selection of household personnel along both males' and females' kinsmen lines.

114 602 182 361 J. Nash (1960) interpreted the bilaterality of Amatenango as being a result of the residence pattern. Nash assumes that kinship and territoriality are two mutually exclusive principles of association, while in reality they are not so. On the one hand, if territoriality (or the spatial placement of the individual in the household) is determined by kinship alignments, both would tend to be symmetrical; on the other hand, even if they are not mutually inclusive (which in this case they are), both are emphasized simultaneously in the same set of choices, so that the principles of spatial proximity and kinship proximity, although independent variables, are concomitant in their effects. Moreover, Nash found out that activities which did not involve immediate reciprocity followed the kinship line exclusively without reference to territorial propinquity.

121 The danger of assuming that "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relationships are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130) becomes evident in a larger theoretical context. If residential propinquity tends to set up interaction along bilateral lines, the opposite, residential dispersion, would tend to emphasize interaction among unilineal relatives. Then, all lineally organized societies ought to be organized in exogamous settlements, or in a dispersed hamlet pattern, and all large concentrations of

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

42 43 182 571 We can safely arrive at the conclusion that some aspects of the economic system play a very important part in the structuring of social relations in the Chiapas communities. The economic 184 241 323 434 factors which are indicated by the natives themselves and have been assessed by us as being crucial correlates of certain patterns of social behavior are:

(1) The unspecialized agricultural system of one village (Aguacatenango) versus the system of agriculture plus pottery production in the other makes the second one a "richer" town with less wealth fluctuation from year to year.

184 182 462 592 562 434 (2) The relative importance of women as bread-winners and producers in the traditional division of labor in one village (Amatenango), results in the fact that labor of women is crucial for the continuity of the domestic group, whereas in Aguacatenango, it is not. This does not mean that Aguacatenango women do not work. It just means that women's work in Aguacatenango, however exhausting, does not have a market in which it can be sold, and it cannot be transformed into subsistence goods or into money, i.e., it has an undeterminate marginal value. This gives the women in one village (Amatenango) economic independence and a higher status

184 vis-à-vis their husbands and male kinsmen, while in Aguacatenango,
182 it makes them economically dependent, and subordinates from a jural
462 point of view. In one case females inherit as men do, in the
592 other, inheritance follows a male line. In one case, they control
562 the same property as men do, in the other, they control only
434 marginal property.
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[421]

(3) The relative importance of a man is labor versus a
184 woman's labor within the domestic unit affects residence. In
182 Aguacatenango, where all important productive activities are in
462 the hands of men, residence is patri-virilocal, and only males are
434 residence sponsors regularly. In Amatenango, where productive ac-
591 tivities are in the hands of both males and females, residence is alternately matri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal, and both males and females can become residence sponsors. In Amatenango, house-
[323] holds that depend more on the women's labor in pottery making are
[241] uxorilocal, while households in which the largest part of the domestic group income is derived from agriculture have post-marital patri-virilocal residence of their members.

184 In Aguacatenango, where all household income is derived
182 from agriculture and residence is patri-virilocal, matri-uxorilo-
434 cality occurs sporadically due to some other economic and non-
591 economic factors: (a) the inheritance of some land in the female
593 line when a daughter structurally replaces a son; (b) the coopera-
428 tive work between father-in-law-son-in-law when they replace the
562 position of father and son for each other; (c) the payment of
602 curing ceremonies and medicines for a sick married woman by her
606 own kin rather than her husband's.
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412 (*eché*), hoe (*asron*), machete (*machit*), coa (*luk*), and digging stick (*avutel*). In a 243 few towns (Amatenango), where lands are [409] flat, the plow is made of wood and pulled by oxen but only for wheat farming. During [415] corn planting, the seed is carried by the [824] planter in a *morral* hung from the shoulder, [237] in a gourd with a large spout, or in containers made of armadillo shells. The harvested crops are placed in deep baskets, made of reed-grass, or in big pita (*chojak*) [412] net bags. The ear of corn is cleared of its [237] husk by a sharp bone or a small deer horn.

322 412 The axe, machete, and knife are used in wood working, which is very rudimentary, though handsaw and hammer have a place. With these tools the Indians make doors, tables, seats, small benches, shelves. Blom [534] and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:351) add that the Tzeltal near Ocosingo also make violins of a shape similar to the European type, but they have no resonance and poor tone. They also manufacture pipes and combs roughly [463] finished. No village of this group has specialists in carpentry to compare with the Chamulas (Tzotzil-speaking), who supply furniture at low cost to San Cristobal de las Casas and other places of the area.

324 412 Stone carving requires a pickaxe with one end very sharp, the other very flat to serve as a hammer, and a short wooden handle. This is the tool used in Tenejapa for making metates. These metates have three legs, but Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:338) mention metates without legs (Ocosingo municipio) which are made of volcanic stone found along the San Martin River. According to the Tzeltal of Oxchuc, the name of the metate is *chá*, its handle *kab-chá*.

412 An iron bar to break the ground, an axe, and a machete are the tools for building huts, chickencoops, sweat houses, and other small structures.

283 413 Another tool, used in the making of pita rope, is *karet*, which probably comes from the Spanish *carreta*. It consists of a wooden disc fixed to a tree trunk that is nailed to

[P. 206-A]

342 177 178 434 of witchcraft. Today probably 95 percent of the new roofs are made of tile. Often the old roofs cannot be replaced with tile because the rafters were not built to support them. One result of the change has been the depend- [335] ence on a carpenter to construct the gables, since they have to be lined up more accurately than they do with thatch or palm roofs.

361 351 434 House lots in the town center are preferred to those on the margins. As residents of house sites on the ejido lands at the margins of the town acquire wealth, one of the first things they try to do is acquire a house closer to the plaza. These lots are smaller, averaging about 500 square meters, while those farther out average 900 square meters. In a sample measurement of 100 house lots, the size ranged from 180 to 1,440 square meters, and the average size was 77 square meters. Considering the advantages of [554] a large lot in growing chile fruits and corn, the preference for smaller central lots reveals the strong prestige factor influencing choice.

352 435 [513] House furnishings include both purchased and homemade items. Sleeping accommodations consist of wooden bedboards, either nailed on a frame or simply laid on blocks and covered with a straw mat. Woolen blankets from Comitán are sold locally at a price of 24 pesos or for 20 pesos in San Cristóbal and 18 pesos in Comitán. Most households own two or three wooden benches which line the walls of the porch and are made locally. Small chairs are purchased from Chamula carpenters at a cost of 2 to 4 pesos, as well as a small table costing about 4. A higher table [778] is provided for the saints' pictures and candle holders, incense burner, and [322] flower vases or tin cans. Hooks are fashioned from the crotch of trees and suspended on the house posts. Wooden boxes are bought from Ladino car- 415 penters in San Cristóbal at a cost of 10 to 20 pesos depending on size and 435 workmanship and are used to store clothing. In addition to the homemade 439 water holders, water carriers, comales, strainers, and bowls, handmade glazed ware from San Cristóbal, factory-made porcelain dishes, metal cooking pots, knives, and spoons are purchased. Gourds provide serving [412] ware for ceremonial occasions. Stone grinding platforms and rollers are purchased in San Cristóbal for about 10 pesos. Two new items have be- 435 come increasingly popular in the past five years: a metal grinding machine 415 for corn, hand operated and costing from 40 to 60 pesos depending on the 177 size and quality, and a hinged press for tortillas, costing 15 pesos if made

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The Indians manufacture and consume *chicha*, an alcoholic beverage fermented from sugar cane or maize. They drink larger quantities of rum prepared in Ladino-owned distilleries. *Pilico*, a combination of lime and tobacco, is chewed frequently, especially in Oxchuc, Tenejapa, and Cancuc.

Tenejapa is the only Tzeltal town that enjoys importance as a market center. Here a market is held every Sunday.

Pottery is made for sale outside the local community in Amatenango and in Tenango. In almost all the other communities the industry is practised in a rudimentary form merely to supply local needs. Blom and LaFarge observed and reported the techniques of pottery manufacture at Sivacá;[19] Villa limits his data to mentioning the industry there. Blom and LaFarge report, on hearsay, the method of making large, egg-shaped, three-handled water jars at Tenango; Villa observed and reported this industry. The former authors report that the clay used is "a light greenish brown colour."[20] Villa says that two kinds of clay, "white earth" and "red earth," are combined to form the paste. Villa also noted the tempering with a ground sandy limestone (*hi*); and the painting with a paint made from a soft stone from the river (*huxu-tbaik*). The pots and griddles are made from one kind of clay tempered with a different sandstone called *bax*. The method of firing described for Sivacá by Blom and LaFarge from hearsay, involving the preparation of "an A-roof, forming a long tunnel,"[21] was observed and photographed by Villa in Tenango. Villa was told that vessels after firing are filled with *pozole* in water to reduce the porosity.

In Tenejapa metates are made for export, and in Oxchuc halters, lead-ropes, nets and bags. The methods of weaving, net making and basketry, reported by Blom and LaFarge for Bachajón[22] were not reported by Villa.

The type of habitation is the same throughout the whole region, although there are small variations from village to village. The houses are rectangular in form with four-sided roofs, thatched with grass, and with sides made of poles and clay. Only the houses of Chanal form an exception. The walls of these structures are in most cases of wood. The houses of Tenango present another exception in that they are the only ones where the roofs do not terminate in a ridge, but in a point; it is usual to cover this with an inverted pot. Houses are throughout divided into two rooms, one of which serves as living room and kitchen and the other as sleeping room. In some cases the kitchen is placed in the latter section. There is a single door in front; only in certain settlements to the north, as Chilón and Yajalon, where the influence of the white man has been greater, are houses to be seen with two doors and even some with small windows. The floor is always of packed earth.

The furnishings of the living room are limited in general to beds, improvised of boards placed on the ground or on logs, and covered with mats. The hammock is little used; it is generally reserved for children. The furnishings and domestic

[19] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 342-345.
[20] *Ibid.*, 2: 383.
[21] *Ibid.*, 2: 344.
[22] *Ibid.*, 2: 345-349.

778 821 823 natural elements (hail, wind, storms), which often threaten and destroy the cornfields.

Distribution of Huts

621 In the parajes as well as in the centers the tendency to cluster huts in patrilineal nuclei is strong. One perceives this tendency also where lineage or clan ties still persist (Oxchuc).

[594] The majority of households consist of the elementary family, a couple and their offspring. The habitations include a hut, which serves as dormitory and kitchen, plus chickencoop, pigpen, and, sometimes, the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. Among industrious families another small hut serves exclusively as a kitchen. Seldom does a fence separate this nucleus from its neighbors, but it may protect a vegetable patch from animals. In the capital, however, each family must fence its lot.

342 343 [417] 343 417

Relationships between Communities

628 Communities establish commercial and other ties according to their ecological distribution and cultural condition. In the southern zone, Amatenango and Aguacatenango form a kind of unit, based on physical proximity and cultural affinity. Their residents meet frequently at the Sunday market of Teopisca. In the central zone, Oxchuc, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Tenango, which more or less share ways of life and natural environment, form another informal association, contacts resulting from the weekly markets of Tenejaya and Yochib. In the northern zone, Sitala and Guaquitepec form another unit. Ocosingo, Chilon, and Yajalon are centers of commercial and political importance, occupied largely by Ladinos but used as trade centers by Indians throughout the northern zone.

412 TECHNOLOGY

Tools and Techniques

Farming tools are the most important: axe

[P 205-B]

Handcrafts

323 Among the few handcrafts practiced in
[462] the Tzeltal areas, ceramics, produced mainly
by women, is the most widespread. Tenango
[184] and Amatenango del Valle are the only
communities which have made a specialty
of this craft. Tenango exports its products
[439] through the northern zone, Amatenango
through the southern zone, including neigh-
323 boring Guatemalan villages. Both places use
184 a similar ceramic technique but different
shape and ornamentation. Referring to
Amatenango del Valle, Blom and LaFarge
(1926–27, 2:396) state:

> The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one shape; a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, however, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep, reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of boards, two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman in charge turns them
> [438] until they are done. These pots are carried by
> [439] the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they are redistributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala.

283 Another widespread craft is spinning and
286 weaving of fabrics for clothing. No village
in the Tzeltal area trades these products
[438] because production barely meets their fam-
ily needs. The backstrap loom of pre-
Hispanic origin is the chief tool.

[184] Pita articles—ropes, bags, and nets to
gather the harvest or carry loads—are
mainly produced in Oxchuc and Cancuc.
322 In Cancuc wooden combs are also manu-
184 factured.

342 *Houses and Furniture*

Houses, from 3 to 5 m. on a side, are
predominantly square with thatched roofs.
The walls are wattle-and-daub or plain
tree trunks tied with vines. Floors are of
[354] hardened earth. The houses only have one
door and no windows, except in some vil-
[P. 207-A]

342 lages of the lowlands where the houses have
[354] small windows, which improve ventilation
342 and illumination slightly. In places like
184 Chanal, where there is abundant lumber, the sides of the houses are built with wooden boards set vertically. The largest and best-built houses are in Tenejapa center.

Generally, the hut is divided into two rooms: the front is parlor and kitchen, the rear is bedroom. In Bachajon the rear room serves as bedroom and kitchen, the front room for sewing and grinding and the re-
[574] ception of visitors. In Amatenango del Valle the front of the house is open and
[323] used as a porch for visits. Ceramic work
[251] is also performed here. In one room of the house a bin of wood or reeds stores corn.
[343] Sometimes, small structures which serve as granaries are built inside the hut.

343 Among the auxiliary structures outside is
515 the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. Not every hut has a *pus* since one is enough to attend the needs of several neighboring families. The *pus* is a small room 1.5 m. high by 2 m. on each side, built of stones and clay. The roof is flat. Inside a hollow forms a hearth for heating stones. Water thrown on these red-hot stones produces the necessary steam. On the floor are boards on which people lie while taking the bath.
[184] Among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil the *pus* is
[757] not only for cleanliness but also for the cure
[846] of certain diseases and to strengthen women after childbirth. Sweat baths are more commonly taken in Tierra Fria than in Tierra Caliente.

417 The other structures near the hut are the chickencoop and the hogpen.

352 Furniture is limited to essential items. In the kitchen are the three hearth stones, the comal (*samet*), the grinding stone (*chá*), a bench or strong table to hold the metate (*ah-ken*), one or two small tables (*matzmalté* or *vebalté*) 25–39 cm. high and 30–40 cm. in diameter, and small benches 15–20 cm. high made of scooped-out tree trunks
415 (*tzanté*). Kitchen equipment includes earthenware (pans, pitchers, and jars) and

[P. 207-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Tenejapa

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FIG. 5—TENEJAPA GROUP WITH VESSELS CONTAINING CHICHA. (Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 214-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

137 Change in soil is
134 probably the reason for change in vegetation. The tropical forest grows on black humus soil and the pine country is underlain by a red sandstone which weathers into a heavy red clay. The contact of this sandstone with the limestone country on which leaf trees grow lies about an hour's ride north of the village of Bachajon.

[133] The pine country is very hilly, the trees are scattered over a carpet of vivid green grass cut by the strong red line of the soil of the trail like a scar (fig. 195).

114 It was like riding through a magnificent park, up and down the hills and across small streams. Our poor animals had a hard time on the slippery trail. La Farge's horse gave out, and he had to change his saddle to a spare animal.

361 The Bachajon Indian village came in sight, lying on a hill in the
342 middle of the valley. It was well after noon when we reached the
346 dilapidated, grass-roofed and mud-walled huts clustered around the huge ruin of an old Spanish stone church. The Indians use a new church which they have built of the same material as their houses.

122 The house of the Government agent lies in the middle of the
344 village and here we were quartered in a room, the floor of which had just been covered with a carpet of fresh pine needles.

123 The Bachajon Indians are reputed to be unfriendly to all travellers, so we were not surprised when the Indian chief of the village told us that he could not furnish fodder for our animals or men to carry some of our cargo. To all our questions he answered "Mayuk," or in English, "Ain't got none." But when the chief, a little later, heard from our Encanto men that we had been friendly to them, and that furthermore, we were friends of the big father President in Mexico City, he changed his attitude.

648 The Government agent is sent to the Indian village by the civil
[651] authorities of the neighbouring Mexican town of Ocosingo. He is supposed to collect certain taxes, raise labourers for public works
[653] in the Mexican town, and help the Indians with their affairs. He is highly unpopular among the Indians, who counteract his orders through a remarkable system of passive resistance. They say "yes" to everything and do nothing. The only reason the Indians tolerate
[273] him is because he keeps a small store and sells liquor. The Indian is very fond of sugar-cane rum, and every Saturday and Sunday all the villagers generally get drunk. The agent complained bit-
[123] terly that the Indians were not selling him any food supplies and was astonished when they sold us chickens and eggs.

361 Most of the Bachajon Indians live hidden away in the bush. Only the families of the chief and the village officials live around the old church ruins.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

The country near the village has been farmed out long ago; now the fields lie at a distance in the jungle. After every concentration, the Indians drift away again like blown smoke. Today most of the houses are rotten, sagging, with gaping doors. The paths are grown up with weeds, huge, old moss-covered crosses lean at crazy angles by the main trails. Over all broods the frame of the sacked church, huge stone walls with rank vegetation around them, and a twisted, unhealthy oak-tree on one side, like a composition by Piranesi.

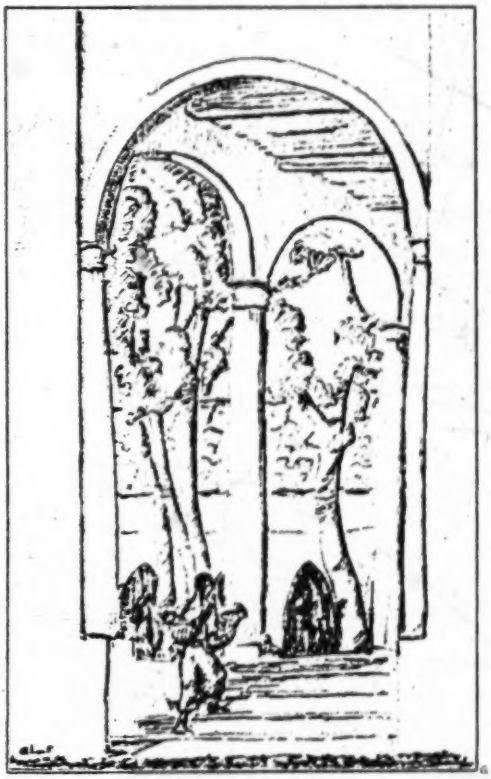

FIG. 277—Ocosingo, Chis. Colonnade on the Plaza.

Ocosingo Valley and its neighbours furnish a transition towards the real highlands. The valleys are fertile and green, ringed in with ranges of steep, rich hills. The soil in the lower parts is light; here palms and pines grow together, with a luxuriance of rich grass that makes an ideal grazing country. Through the valleys are large and small ranches of Ladinos and old Spanish families. The bigger ones, such as San Antonio, Quechil, and Achin in the Ocosingo Valley, San José Reforma and El Real beyond the San José Pass, and Tecojá in its own valley, each has a village of Indian labourers attached to them. The natives' houses are rather better that the average, and often tile-roofed (fig. 278). The Indians of each ranch function more or less as a tribe, governed by the owner of the ranch, conducting their own worship at its chapel. A few Indians own scattered, independent farms. Sivacá (*sivak ha'*, "Gunpowder Water"), near Ocosingo on the trail to Tenango, is a true village, self-governing, with its own *alcalde*, under the supervision of a Ladino *maestro*. All these groups come together at

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

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796 certain times of the year for ceremonies, such as those at Chakalchib, and formerly at Campomtik, to be mentioned later. The Bachajon hold their own ceremonies at their village.

141 Physically, the Tzeltal, like all the Mayance Indians, are short, averaging probably about 160 centimeters (5 feet, 4 inches) for the
142 men, and slightly less for the women. Their build is slender, with stringy muscles, except for a good development of the calves. Hands and feet are small and well-formed. Their slenderness is
147 deceptive, for their great strength lies in their legs, back, and neck, seen in their ability to carry loads of 45 kilograms (100 lbs.) and upwards, all day up and down hill without undue fatigue. Taking in a tump-line a load under which they cannot rise from the floor.

• 342
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648

FIG. 276—Finca Tecojá, Chis. Houses of Indians attached to the Finca.

147 without help, they will carry it with ease. The lifting power of their arms is less than that of Americans or Ladinos. Their headform is
142 meso- to brachycephalic, and the cranium is small. Deformation in
[304] the shape of a marked depression just above the juncture of the hair-line and the forehead, due to the use of a tump-line from early infancy, may be responsible for the conical appearance of the top of the skull. Noses are, on the whole, mesorrhine and small, with little appearance of the famous "Maya Nose," and then in a narrow form, lacking the width of nostril seen in pre-historic figures. Prognathism is slight, alveolar proganthism being the more common, particularly in children. Hair form is straight, coarse, and black. Gray hair or baldness are very unusual. Body hair, as far as could be observed,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

tume. The men's shirt is more of a tunic, home woven, without cuffs, collar, or buttons, with a V-neck, and much longer. It may be tucked in under the trousers or worn outside, with the sash over all. Their trousers are sometimes wrapped at the ankles with tape. On the haciendas, a great deal of ordinary European clothing, bought at the local stores, is worn. 291 [177]

The women's dress does not differ from the Bachajon, save for a coarse red sash with yellow stripes, which comes from Comitan.

Houses, *na'*, are of two kinds, the normal, highland type found in Ocosingo Valley and in Bachajon Village itself, and a palm-roofed variant, not unlike the houses of the lowlands, found among the Bachajon in the jungle region (fig. 287). 342 [184]

FIG. 286—El Encanto, Chis. Bark Sandals.

The roof of the normal type, made of a grass thatch laid on in overlapping bundles to a thickness of about twenty centimeters, is called *winikak*. It stands independently of the walls, being supported on cross-beams laid from the main uprights, *kuk'up*. A hip roof is always used for a true dwelling. Often the building is under-cut at one end, so that a small porch is made, on which the door opens. [291]

The walls, *p'ahk*, are of upright sticks stuck in the ground and lashed with lianas, standing without support, separate from the frame. Usually they are thinly plastered with mud. The manner of building the frame itself is described below.

Those of the Bachajon living in the close jungle, where grass is not available, thatch their roofs with palm, when they are called *can*. The leaves are usually of the *chiapai*, *tcyapai*, or *chichon*, *ak'te*. Banana leaves are sometimes used for temporary structures, but fray too readily. Owing to the warmer climate, the walls are not plastered, and often part of the house is un-walled. Usually the porch is omitted. A careful study was made of a house of this type about half a mile from the Finca Encanto, which was a good example save that, being in an open space where grass was plentiful, it was grass thatched.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

123 Visiting such a house is not a mere, simple social affair. Here,
648 on a steep-sided and slippery natural hill, lived a family belonging to a notoriously exclusive people. Our hostess seemed suspicious of the visit at first, although one visitor was a "Melicano," one of the pair who had already acquired a good reputation with the Indians, and his guide, Señor Aguilar, was known to be a friend. Men in felt hats and boots seldom visited those houses for good purposes; at the best, they might be expected to make off with a quantity of eggs and tortillas without paying their value—at the worst, the head of the house might be haled away for forced labour, or there might be a fight, the pigs killed, and the little hut set afire. The family consisted of a married couple their small son, and two grown girls. On our first visit the wife alone was there. She was at first sullen and a little frightened, but becoming reassured by degrees, showed herself to be a placid, dignified woman, pleasant, neat, and in many ways an ideal type of the traditional housewife. After we had given medicine to one of the girls for cold, and to the husband for mild fever, with a gaudy chromo of a saint to decorate the family altar, they came [342] to take us for granted, and allowed us to see unfolding the harmonious, dignified family life, with its feeling of unvoiced yet real affection that is so typical of the American Indian where European contact has been slight. The 342 little house, only half walled, and small—about 15 x 13½ feet—was [353] always neat, its dirt floor swept clean, each small posession in its [356] place. There was a faint smell of wood-smoke and earth, with the scent of the rich jungle drifting in, the sound of low-voiced talk, wind in grass, or the grind and thump of the metates, now and then laughter.

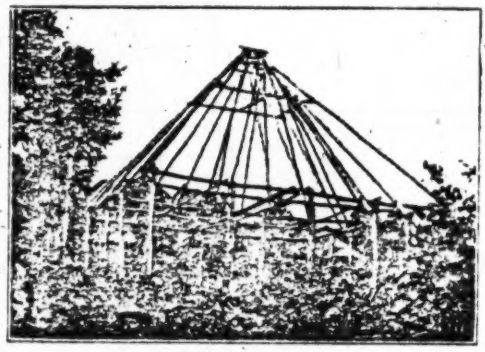

Fig. 287—Cancuc, Chis. Frame of house, illustrating type used in whole area.

The house was a rectangle, 4.90 x 4.20 meters (figs. 288-289), the front of the house being on a short side. The back and slightly less than half of the sides were walled with close-planted, upright [352] poles, without plastering. To wooden beds, *waixyivel*, like low tables, were built into the corners thus framed. Four corner-posts,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

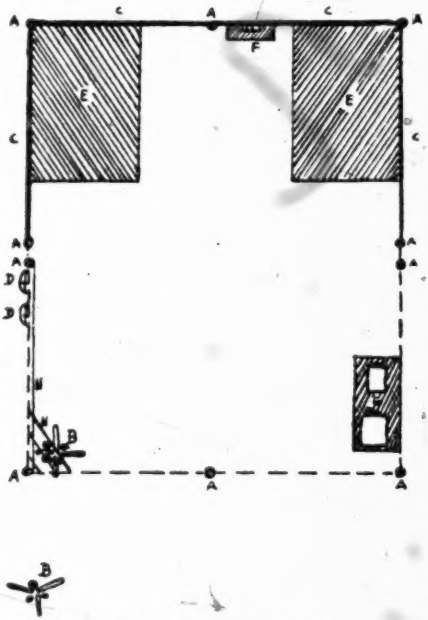

FIG. 288—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon House. Plan. (Scale 8:100).

A. Uprights, kuk'up.
B. Fire.
C. Wall, p'ahk.
D. Rat Trap.
E. Beds.
F. Altar.
G. Table with Metates.
H. Racks.

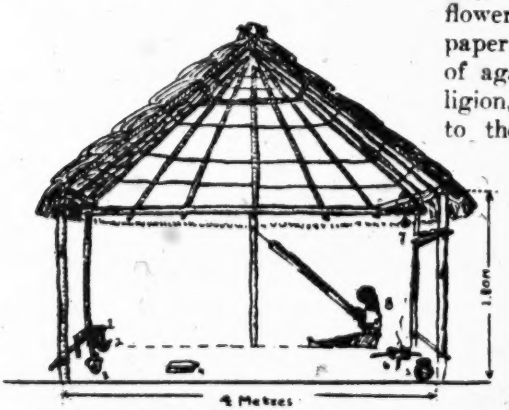

FIG. 289—El Encanto, Chis. Section of Bachajon House.

1. Table, ahk'en, with Metates.
2. Basket of clay, tzavek lum.
3. Tenango water jar, k'ip.
4. Squatting chair, tamate.
5. Olla, ocom.
6. Fire, kak'.
7. Racks, baxtet, with packages.
8. Woman weaving.

a central front and back post. 342 and two posts close together on each side at the ends of the walls, supported the roof-beams. There were no horizontal members save the plates, following the line of the eaves. The rafters were built up from these direct to the ridge-pole, joined by light cross pieces, or thatching-poles, laid on outside. Near the top they were braced by a purlin of heavy logs on the inside. From floor to eaves it was 1.80 meters, and about the same from eaves to the ridge-pole. The floor was of hard dirt, fairly well levelled, and well swept. We were told that situations on hills, such as this, are commonly chosen to assure drainage, and that there is no orientation.

The altar, a table and a large cross decorated with flowers, pine-tips, and bits of paper, which will be spoken of again when discussing religion, was placed at the back to the right of the middle post. In front, to the right, was the table, *ahk'en*, on which were two metates, or grinding stones. They were legless, one end being raised slightly by propping with stones. The finer one was called *skaltca-tut'* ("metate-small"), it was made of a fine, sandy lime-

353 Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail
[231] hung in the eaves so that the dogs might see them, to prevent their
going away or losing heart. A swizzle stick, *mahas*, about 40 centi-
[415] meters long, was used for stirring cocoa. It is made by cutting a
twig above a joint with four branches. Two rat traps, *yakul*, just
[224] outside the hut, were exact models of the larger deadfalls used for
jaguars (see fig. 308).

[291] Add to this the clothes on the inhabitants backs, and the man's
[411] machete, and you will have a complete list of the worldly possessions,
large and small, of a Bachajon family—altogether some forty-four
different kinds of things. We assembled as many together as pos-
[126] sible, arranging them as for a feast, and placed in the middle the
small son of the house, and a little monkey of a boy, Miguel, who accompanied us to run errands (fig. 292).

342 [516] [291] [415] [123] [122]

Fig. 292—Bachajon boy guests.

If mud-plastered walls are added to this description, you have a typical Ocosingo Valley house. Change the grass roof to palm, it is the kind to be seen in the jungle country.

At Muxculja (*muckul ha*, "Covered Water"), in the jungle, our Indians built us a trail shelter or hut of the type called in Spanish *champa*, and in Tzeltal *tutna'*, "small house." This enabled us to note the manner of building the frame-work and laying on the roof. The kind of *champa* built for us, with an A-roof and gable ends, is called *gwakac na'*, "cow house"; the more common type built by the Indians when alone, a simple lean-to, is called *lestce-pat* (should be *lestce-pahk?*) "only one wall."

Our shelter being more than usually pretentious, we could observe most of the steps in building a true house, although, of course, the form here was different and the construction much lighter (figs. 293-294). It was three meters, fifty-one centimeters long by three meters wide, two meters high at the ridge-pole, one at the eaves.
[46] It had no walls. From the construction of the outline of the frame to the completed thatching it took fifty minutes for four men, later only two, working without haste.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

342 [412]

only two, working without haste. The only tools used were machetes, which served even for digging the post-holes and for trenching.

The elementary frame consisted in two forked upright posts, *makan-te*, supporting the ridge-pole, *kabaiye-te*, four forked corner posts, *oix*, two plate-poles, *tsañ-te*, and gable-rafters, *sak-te*.

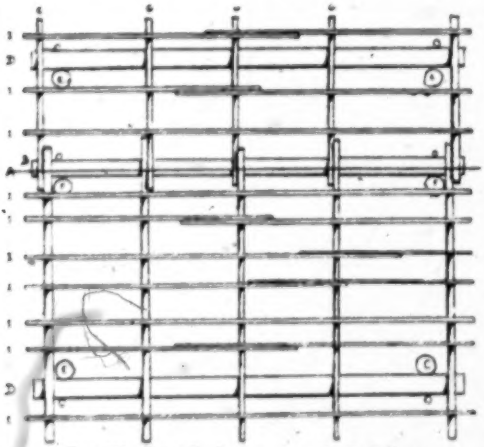

Fig. 293—Formalized plan of roof of shelter.
A. False ridge-pole, kabaiyete. E. Corner posts, oix.
B. Ridge-pole, kabaiyete. F. Center posts, makante.
C. Gable rafters, sakte. G. Rafters, sakte (?).
D. Plates, tsañte. I. Thatching-poles, butl.

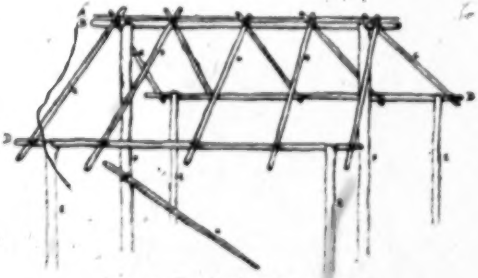

Fig. 294—Sketch of frame of shelter.
A. False ridge-pole, kabaiyete. F. Center posts, makante.
B. Ridge-pole, kabaiyete. G. Rafters, sakte (?).
C. Gable rafters, sakte. H. Staging for work on under side of roof.
D. Plates, tsañte.
E. Corner posts, oix.

Three lighter poles were then laid on each side as rafters, and lashed to the ridge and plates with lianas. Thatching-rods were laid parallel to the ridge-pole across them, they were also lashed with lianas, the vines being laid along the rafters in a spiral, with a criss-cross hitch at each rod. A light false ridge-pole was laid over the true one, resting in the crotches of the crossed gable-rafters. It was said that this was also called *kabaiyete*. Projecting ends of sticks were then trimmed.

Palm-leaves were gathered in bundles of four, tied together with their own base-fronds. These were laid on in the manner of shingles, and the stems tied down to the thatching rods with a spiral running liana similar to that binding the poles. As the leaves are over a meter long, only four rows were needed to cover the long side of the roof, allowing a considerable over-hang, although more would have been used in a permanent dwelling. A row of over-lapping leaves was laid on top of and parallel to the false ridge-pole, bound down, and secured with yet another light stick.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajon
Tenango
Sivacá

342 The thatching was done by one man on the roof and another, who stood on a slanting stick tied to one of the center uprights, to help the first pass the liana around.

The angle of the long side not being steep enough, the roof leaked. Two men held the eaves-pole on their shoulders while the rest drove the corner posts in deeper, thus making the angle sharper and improving the shed.

[356] Repairs in thatch are made by laying new bundles of leaves directly over the old, the stems being stitched into the thatch with a liana, and a wooden needle made on the spot.

343 In all the larger settlements sweat-baths, *pus*, are located (figs. 295-296). The essential element is a cube of wattle thickly plastered

[291]

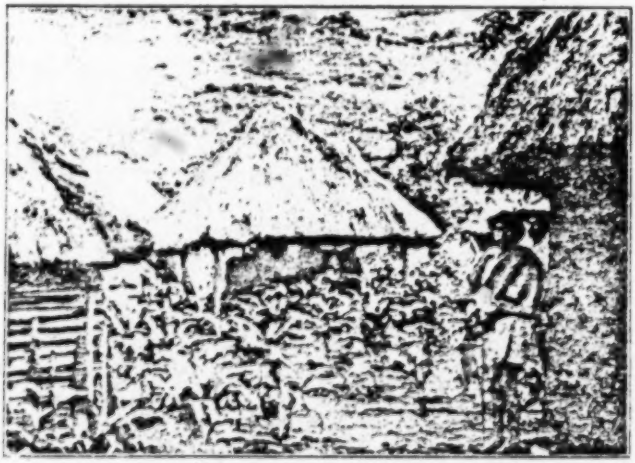

FIG. 295—Tenango, Chis. Sweat House of same type used in Ocosingo Valley.

with mud, about a meter to a meter and a half in all measurements, with a small doorway in one end. The door is of the same construction, or of boards. At Sivacá there were thatched roofs above the baths, but entirely separate from them. Water poured on hot stones is used in them. The purpose appears to be medicinal rather than ceremonial.

323 All the Highland Indians make vessels of clay, with the possible exception of the Tenejapeños. Among the Bachajon and at Sivacá, the art is not very well developed, only the most common [135] forms being made, without decoration. Their clay, *tcavek lum*, ("bees-wax earth"), is found in the banks of many small streams. It is a

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

323 She formed the base of her pot rapidly in a saucer-like clay form, *hutstahibe* ("rest"). When the bottom was finished, she took it out and laid it on a broad leaf. The work progressed surprisingly quickly and without pause, the potter's hands moving with great speed and precision; the slapping sound as she patted the clay into position was unceasing. The clay was put on in slabs and built upwards, contrary to the coiling technique of the Southwest, the bowl on its leaf being turned rapidly as she worked around the sides. The finishing was done with her hands. The completed bowl was symmetrical, but not very smooth. It was then set in the sun to dry (fig. 298).

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624

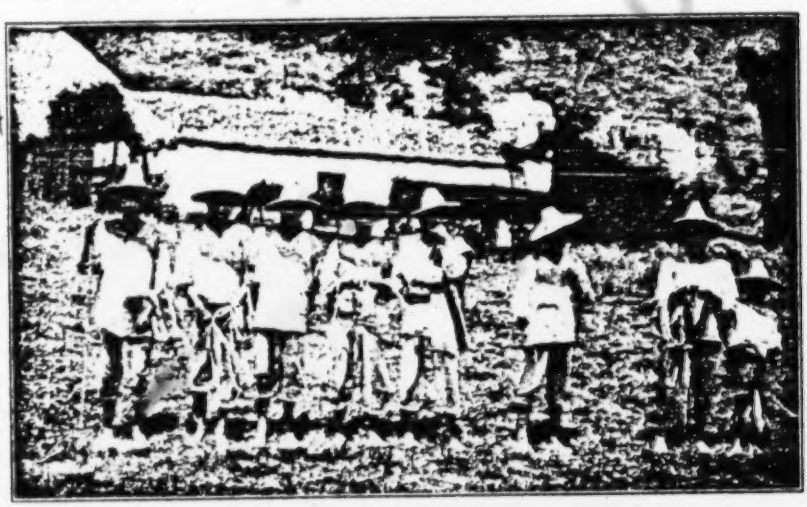

FIG. 297—Sivacá, Chis. The men of the town with the Alcalde on the left.

323 The larger forms are started in a flat, gourd dish, and the *tsets* bowls (see below) in an ordinary drinking gourd. Large tubs, when drying, are protected by leaves covering the rim, and are placed on leaves in the gourd dishes used as forms. The leaves are to prevent their drying too quickly and cracking. When cracks do occur, they are filled in with fresh clay. After enough pots are ready, there is a baking, apparently a community affair. I was told that the pottery was ranged in a line, the pine-fuel being laid up in an A-roof over it, forming a long tunnel, through which the draft ensures a brisk fire. One would expect from such a process that the vessels would be much blackened from contact with the fuel, which was not the case in the new ones that I examined, all having an even

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

red-gold colour. The baking observed at Amatenango, which is described in the following chapter, was quite different. 323

The forms made at Sivacá are: (Fig. 299) a tub, *pok'et;* cooking pots or *ollas, ŏcom;* form for making cooking pots, *hutstahibe;* bowl, *tsets;* stand for bowl, *awaliko;* form for making sugar, with a hole in the bottom, *hor'mo;* tortilla griddle, *tsamets;* and a perforated olla for washing corn, *tcistcinaix.*

The Bachajon make most of these also, but the tub and clay *tsets* are rare, a gourd often serving for the latter. The surfaces are less well smoothed. In no case was any attempt at decoration observed. It should be noted in this respect, however, that almost all of these would eventually be quite blackened with smoke.

[142] [291] [302] [516] [342]

FIG. 294—Sivacá, Chis. Woman making pottery.

Among the forms shown in the figures, it will be noticed that there is no piece with a markedly contracted neck; such work seems to be beyond their abilities. All through this district the big *cantaras* or water jars are imported from Tenango, and will be discussed in the next chapter.

In general throughout Ocosingo Valley white cloth for men's clothes and women's blouses, made of native cotton, *na'*, as well as the men's sashes, are of local manufacture. Among the Bachajon, cloth is compartively little woven, but sashes are always home made. The coloured thread is usually bought in stores. Weaving is entirely done by the women. 286 [291]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

the thigh. The spinning is done with the left hand, the right holding and drawing out the thread, *tsahalna'* (fig. 302-d). 283

The thread is then arranged for the warp on a form called *kumen* (fig. 302-c). This is a pole 1.40 meters long, notched at intervals on one side, and with a groove in one end joining two unnotched sides. In one of the notches, according to the length of thread desired, is placed a cross stick, *tumin-te*, (equals *kumen-te?*), 45 centimeters long. The thread is laid from one end of this cross stick, through the groove, around to the other end of the cross stick, and so, back and forth, until the required number of woof-strands are prepared. The loops around one half of the cross stick are then transferred to the head-stick of the loom, those around the other to the foot-stick, and the woof is ready. At the head end, the loops are braided for the selvage. 286 342 284 142 516 854 302 291 231

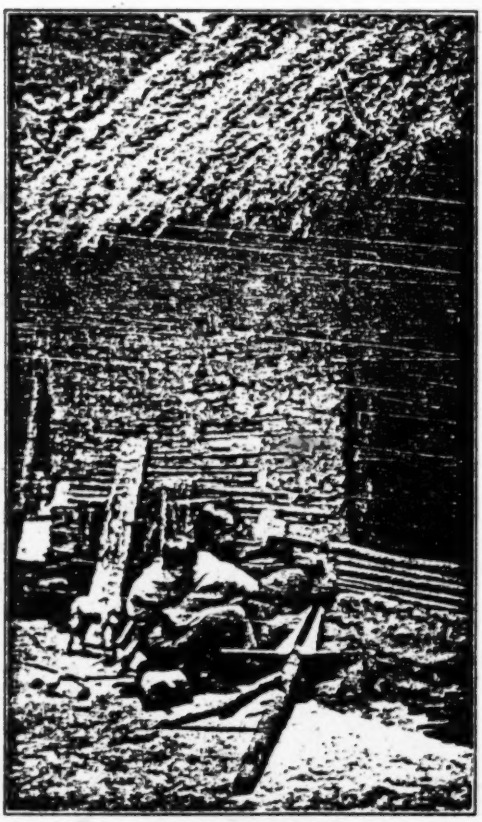

FIG. 301—Sivacá, Chis. Woman Winding Thread.

The loom, *holél*,* has no rigid frame. The woof is stretched over the head and foot-sticks, *wolol-te*. The head-stick is fastened to a beam in the house or to a branch, usually more than a meter above the ground. Before this the weaver sits, with the foot-stick strapped to her by a broad leather strap, *ku'epat*, thus holding the set-up taut (fig. 303). At a little distance below the head-stick, the woof-strands are crossed, those underneath being carried on top, and held in place

*Holél is one of a large class of words ending in *-al*, *-él*, or *-il*, which are at once verbal nouns and infinitives; e. g. *tal-él*, to come, or the act of coming, corresponding to the Latin *venire* and *venendo*. *Hol-él* primarily means to weave, here it is also applied to the loom. [193]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

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342
137
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417
415

FIG. 311—Tenango, Chis. Street Scene.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

133 green wall away to the westward. Midway, there is a break in the slope, with a dramatic splash of deep red cliffs, in violent contrast
241 to the fertile grass and soft tones of the limestone outcrops. Only the upper end of this valley belongs to Tenango, so little, in fact that the inhabitants cannot practice the usual, sprawling milpa system of agriculture. The very yards are planted, and the fields
[35] start almost in the village, radiating from it in a close patchwork
[417] as in Europe. Everything is fenced with roughly split planks set on end, and fences line the road into Tenango where it passes
361 through the cornfields. The houses with their yards lie close about an open plaza in which are the grey bones of a ruined church, a

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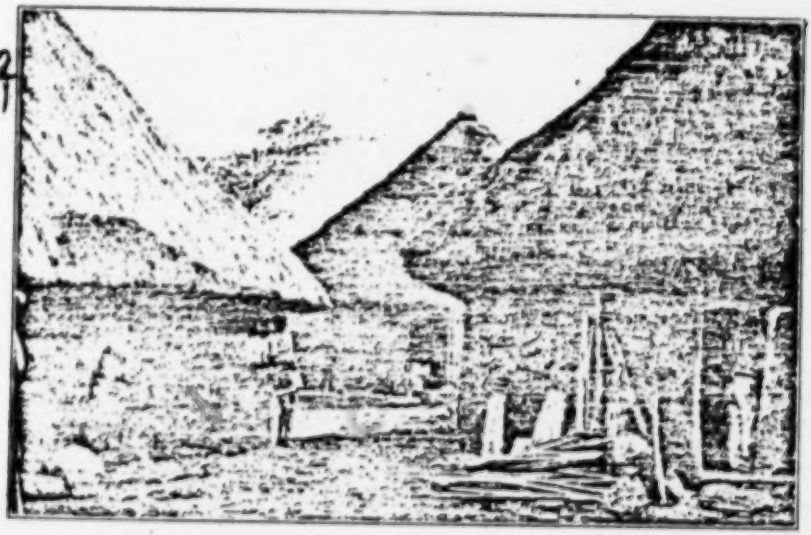

FIG. 313—Tenango, Chis. Houses.

361
whitewashed, palm-roofed native one, and the shack of a Cabildo for
245 the Maestro. The streets are lined with useful trees, oranges, gourds,
363 and a few bananas, which do poorly at this altitude.

342 The houses are square and well-made with walls of broad, split planks covered with mud (figs. 311-312). The roofs are steeply thatched and pyramidal, or have a short ridge along which broken pots are laid after the manner of tiles. The frame-work differs from that described in the last chapter in having cross-pieces laid between
[354] the plates. There are no chimneys, the smoke is allowed to seep through the thatch, keeping out vermin and making the roofs steam like a clam-bake.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

that he was invited into her house, presumably to take shelter from the evening rain that was beginning to fall. The house, of which he sketched a hurried plan (fig. 324) was more rectangular than is usual, the prevailing type being square with a pyramidal roof. He entered through a low doorway, closed with a wooden door on leather hinges. Although the ridge of the roof was high, the many cross poles reaching from the top of one wall to the other made it necessary to stoop. The writer squatted by the door, facing the fire, which smoked merrily in the closed room. The old woman immediately set to shaping a pile of tortillas for baking. Along either wall was a well-made bench, decorated with notches along the top and geometric designs on the back, similar to the benches on the Cabildo porch (fig. 325). These and a sturdy table that was stored on top of the stringers were said to be purely local products. By the door stood a big jar, a full meter in height, crude and undecorated (fig. 326). There was the usual collection of ollas and gourds, and one other new form, an open-mouthed pot about eight centimeters high and as many in diameter, flat bottomed, with a handle on one side, called *hütc* (fig. 327). In the thick smoke, it was hard to see anything. I was interested to note that my hostess' eyes watered nearly as much as my own. In the darker end of the house I could make out corn stacked neatly along one wall, and a partition that presumably hid the beds. For a while the woman answered the few questions that I could make her understand by means of signs, my half-a-dozen words of Tzeltal,

FIG. 323—Cancuc, Chis. Drinking scaffold.

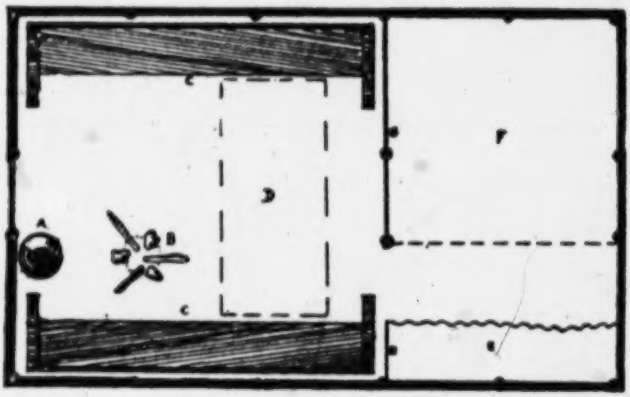

FIG. 324—Cancuc, Chis. Plan of House.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

estimate, with their own, regular Indian administration under the control of the Ladino government. The *Presidente Municipal*, a most obliging man, got the Indian *Presidente* for us, whom we photographed by the last light of the day (fig. 329). Through this chief, men were sent out to bring in grass; they returned with enormous, green bundles as big as themselves.

The Indian houses outside the town differ from those previously described in the possession of a sort of porch, or part under the roof in front screened with boards, introductory to the house itself.

The Tenejapeños are strongly built, thickset, and short, with enormously powerful calves. In fact the chief industry of the tribe is acting as porters. They go in large bands to places at a considerable distance to take or bring back loads, competing successfully with the Chamula packtrains. In this the women are as proficient as the men. Their colour is dark, a rich brown, more red than golden, with distinctly pink cheeks showing through in the case of the children and old people. The men are almost beardless. Faces are rather broad and round* (fig. 330).

FIG. 329—Tenejapa, Chia. The chief of the Tenejapeños.

The essential parts of a man's costume are a pair of shorts and a brown and white striped Chamula Indian blanket, worn as a poncho. Two of these blankets may be comfortably worn in that climate. Hats, when used, are also of Chamula make, of straw with a flat brim, and round, close-fitting crown pointed at the top. Usually they are decorated with ribbons. A sash of white material may be worn, the ends of which, hanging down in front, are elaborately embroidered (fig. 331). The

*Starr (1902) made some measurements upon these people, the most important of which are summarized here. They show an interesting variability.

STATURE IN MILLIMETERS

Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range	Below 1600	1600—1650	1650—1700	Above 1700	Total
1,597	1,722	1,468	254	73	18	6	1	104

	Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range
CEPHALIC INDEX	76.8	86.4	68.0	18.3
FACIAL INDEX	81.6	84.5	65.6	19.0
NASAL INDEX	88.8	102.2	64.1	38.2

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

291 shorts are also usually embroidered in red and yellow. The chief had such a pair, very fine and gaudy, which we asked to see. He took [123] them off to show us, but when we tried to buy them from him he [293] became furiously angry and abusive. Sandals, when worn, are of the ordinary type. Most of the Indians carry a staff of some kind.

[531] The women wear the typical blue skirt, but the blouse, cut like a poncho, is usually tucked inside and heavily embroidered about the neck and shoulders. This work takes a long time, and the finished blouses are valued very highly. When worn outside they nearly cover the skirts, which are just knee length. Red sashes with a yellow stripe from Tapachula, of the kind worn also around Ocosingo, bind the skirts at the waist. Hair is done in two braids with dark red ribbon, or tied up in a knot over the forehead as at Cancuc.

[342] [231] [854] ←

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621 563 →

[293] →

Fig. 330—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians in the street.

Men and women alike wear cheap, gay-coloured necklaces, usually rosaries.

The Indians move with great freedom through the town and lounge in company with the Ladinos on the broad porch of the Town Hall. The officials are distinguished by silver-headed canes with black tassels. In lieu of a Maestro, they are directly under the Ladino *Presidente Municipal,* and their disputes are tried by the local judge. Their lawsuits have a mediaeval air, carried on publicly with great clamor on the Town Hall porch, and all concerned speaking with the utmost freedom. A breach of promise case was observed in the course of trial. It went on for at least two hours with never less than two Indians, usually women, speaking at once. One could not but admire the patience of the rather bored and indifferent judge.

695 344

114 The cargadores from Cancuc arrived shortly after dark, still lively despite the long day and steep climb. More remarkable still.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Tenejapa

361 Amatenango lies in an open valley. It is estimated at three
342 hundred houses, each in a fenced yard of good size, and shaded with
351 fruit trees. The houses are large and well built, of mud and grass
245 thatch, with porches. The small church and Town Hall are tiled-
346 roof and stuccoed. The fields, which lie close around the town, and
344 the gardens in the town itself are watered by a stream brought down
241 a very pretty, roaring flume from higher land behind the village.
312 The irrigation system is fairly elaborate, and is unique in this area as far as we know.

323 The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one shape, a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, how-

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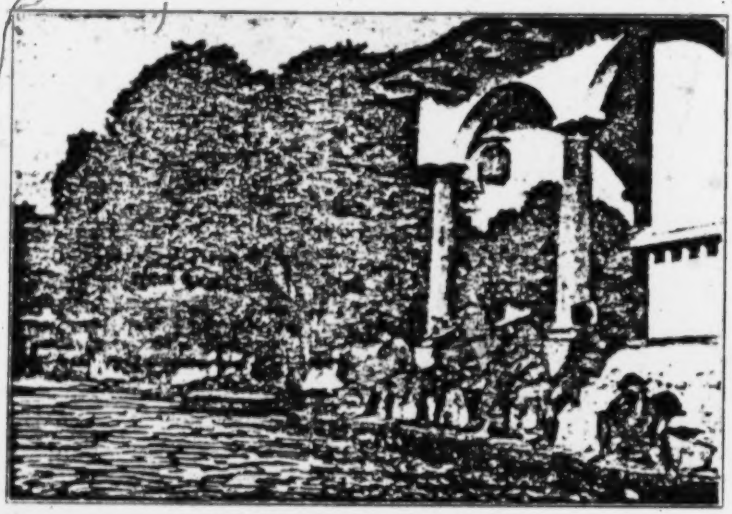

FIG. 333—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians at the Town Hall.

323 ever, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep, reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of boards, two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman in charge turns them until they are done (*fig. 333*). These pots are
[443] carried by the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they are redis-
[492] tributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala. Their industry is sufficient to enable them to maintain mules for carrying their goods, although both men and beasts are equally loaded.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

ties to the center. They register births and deaths in the township center, 632
but they do not have any representation in the cabildo. The populations 621
have no identification with Indian subgroups, speak Spanish, and are oriented to the regional rather than the local economic center. The plantations remaining in the area, classified as *ranchos* in the national census, employ Indians from the center. Their only relationship to the central au- [464]
thority is to get help in recruiting additional laborers. Recruitment of [241]
labor is no longer coercive as it was prior to the 1930s when the low wage rate could not attract the help needed. Announcements of the need for workers are made by the president on the loudspeaker system of the town, and men voluntarily go to the plantations.

Spirit Domains

The link between people and place is through the media of the spirits 776
(*ʼuleletik*) of persons and of locale. The relationship is maintained 778
through a set of rules governing the behavior among spirits of people and of places. These rules derive from myths and stories of encounters which define the character of the spirits in each of the domains. Danger is localized in a series of caves which are avoided. Benevolent, or guardian, spirits inhabit a different set of sites, where ceremonies are conducted that maintain the well-being of the individual and of the community. By locating [182]
and circumscribing places of danger and guardianship, the members of the community can supplicate helpful spirits and avoid evil; they are delivered from fear of the unknown and provided with a rationale for dealing with fear of the known.

The places where spirits meet are outlined in Table 3. The first group [128]
includes spirits which are supplicated, the second, dangerous spirits which are avoided or approached only by powerful persons.

The house spirits. The spirits of inhabitants and of the house 776
meet at the center post at the rear wall of the house. The spirit of the 342
house lives in this post. Those who claim to have seen the house spirit say he is a small Ladino child. He is capricious, and if he is not happy, he may admit the evil spirits who will eat the souls of the inmates. His appe- [753]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

342 tite must be satisfied when the house is first occupied and when the chil-
776 dren of the house fall ill from a sickness diagnosed by a curer as a result of
753 their souls being eaten. The souls of the inmates of the house hover near the center post when they are not in the body. The soul calling ceremony
342 is held near this center post. If someone is cured in a house not his own,
755 he must not sit near this post because his soul will be confused with those of the inmates of the house. The curing arch is erected directly before the center post, over the square hole in which the ceremonial offering of a sheep's head is buried when the house is built. A live chicken is buried in this spot if the illness is severe.

776
778 TABLE 3. Spirits and Places
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Place	*Place spirit*	*Person spirit*
Loci of spirits to be supplicated		
House	Spirit of the house (*sč'ulel na*)	Spirits of children (*sč'uleletik yuntikil*)
Spring of San Nicolás	Little Ladino (*č'in kailan*)	Spirits of male patients (*sč'uleletik yuʔun keremetik*)
Spring of Pahaltón	Little Ladina (*č'in linlan*)	Spirits of female patients (*sč'uleletik yuʔun ʔač'ilsetik*)
Cave of Ancestors	Lopez brothers (*Šuntonetik*)	Spirits of towns-people (*sč'uleletik spisil teklum*)
Loci of spirits to be avoided		
Cave of Don David	Ladino moneylender (*Klabil*)	Petitioners for wealth
Cave of the Black Man	Devil, or black man (*ʔihk'al winik*)	Witches
Cave of Juan Santos	Deceased recipient of wealth from Cave Hwan Santil	Petitioners for wealth
Stone Cave	Owner of cave (*Yahwal sč'en*)	Petitioners for wealth
Cave of Elotes	Owner of cave (*Yahwal sč'en*)	Petitioners for wealth
Cave of the Star	Owner of star (*Yahwal ʔek'*)	Curers and witches

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The four sides of the square house are protected by palm crosses which were nailed to each of the four corner posts during the ceremony of the initiation of the house. These crosses prevent the entry of evil. A fifth cross on the door post, replaced each year on the Day of the Cross, ensures the guardianship of San Pedro the Martyr, the Lord of Lightning.[5] 342 789 [776]

The idea of the similarity in substance between a house and its inmates originates in the notions about soil (*lum*) and mud (*ʔač'al*). An origin myth concerning the creation of man indicates that God created man out of soil and this mythical identification is reiterated in prayers when the fleshy part of the body is referred to as *hlumeletik*, our soil, and *kač'aletik*, our mud. Whatever soil man comes into contact with—in his house, in the backyard, or in his travels, may contain some of his soul. This belief is demonstrated in the following practices: When a person's soil is lost because of a fright, such as falling or "seeing a spirit," the soil where the incident occurred is scraped into a shirt or skirt belonging to him and deposited in the soil below the head of his bed. Some older informants say that the soil from beneath the bed is scraped up and deposited in the coffin of a deceased inmate of the house, but I have never seen this done. This intimate relation between soul and soil was best illustrated to us when our landlord refused to let us put a cement floor in the interior of his house since it would interfere with the practices described above and other customs in the house ceremonies mentioned below. 342 773 774 [123]

The house is constructed in two stages. The completion of each stage requires a ceremony linking the spirits of the inmates to that of the dwelling. The first stage is the erection of the house posts and the wooden frame. When the roof is covered with wood shingles, thatch, or tile, the family may set up temporary walls of boards. They wait until the rainy season to complete the second stage of building up the walls with mud. The first ceremony, called "fiesta for the house," is for "the spirit which resides in the posts," and the second, called "meal for the house," is to feed "the spirit of the house earth." People believe that the mud walls, like their fleshy counterpart, the human body, require nourishment. 342 774 [527]

5. San Pedro Martyr is referred to by the Indians as *Tatik Martil* and is identified with the pre-Conquest deity Lord of Lightning, or *Tatik Čaʔuk*. [776]

342 527 789 *First house fiesta.* In preparation for the fiesta to inaugurate the wooden frame of the house, the older men of the household and the curers make palm crosses called *Tatik Martil,* another reference to San Pedro Martyr. Older men are chosen to do this task because their procreative powers will not be endangered by handling this powerful symbol. Branches of the bushes growing near the springwater of San Nicolás are cut by the younger men of the household to be arranged in an arch, while the women make incense burners and clay candle holders. The protective symbols used in the fiesta—the arch of branches and flowers, the candles, liquor, handrolled cigarettes, palm crosses, and springwater in a gourd—are arranged before the center post of the back wall of the house.

Fig. 1. Relatives Present at House Fiesta

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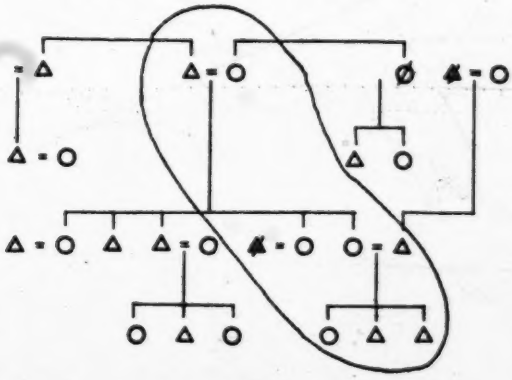

Encircled group will live in house.

342 527 The activities of a house fiesta observed in 1966 are described below.

756 788 *The future occupants of the house sat in a row facing the curing arch. Two curers officiated, the elder a resident of the side of the dual division in which the houseowner lives and the second from the barrio in which his son-in-law, Santiago, was born. The elder curer lit the candles at the center post of the back wall, while the younger curer lit those at the center post in the middle wall. The mother of Santiago lit the incense and placed*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

342 527 756 788

it before he arch. The younger curer then took a bunch of the branches of spring bushes and brushed each person over the head, shoulders, back, arms, and legs. Liquor was passed around to the visitors and participants. The elder curer took the bunch of branches, prayed, and brushed the future occupants. The younger curer followed him with another brushing.

The elder curer put some powder in the springwater. He then took a rattle, stuck it it in a bunch of the leaves from the spring, gave it a couple of shakes as though testing it, and handed it to one of the b'alnial *(young male assistants). He then stood before the candles at the back center post, bowed to it, turned, and bowed to the opposite center post. He poured the springwater in a gourd and gave it to Juliana, the houseowner's daughter, who passed it to each member of the household. The curer then took out four cigarettes and put them on either side of the candles. He greeted everyone present and delivered the following prayer:* [082] [639]

May no witchcraft enter.
May all the children be cared for.
I can see and hear who enters.
Of one heart are the women, of one heart are the men.

Santiago began to play the guitar as his wife, Alberta, brought in the coffee and rolls. She handed the first cup to the elder curer. This was followed with a serving of rice and tomatoes. Before he began to eat, the curer said, "good afternoon" to all present.

After the meal, the elder curer led the household members outside. He held one of the palm crosses at the corner post of the house and prayed; then Santiago pounded in a nail to hold it. Each member of the household, including the small children of Alberta, went up and kissed the cross in turn. They went on to the other main posts of the exterior of the house where they did the same thing. They entered the house and continued drinking the rest of the afternoon. Cigarettes were passed around, and the men began to joke. Drinking is compulsory: everyone who attends must drink equal amounts of the liquor served. [273]

Each of the ritual items is introduced because it contains a powerful soul. The branches and the springwater contain souls associated with the

342 527 774 788 spring. The gourd is used as a container for the springwater because, like all growing plants and unlike metal or glass containers, it has a soul. The soul of the tobacco plant is considered particularly strong. The smoke of the candles and incense are the media through which prayers to the spirit of the house are transmitted. [782]

342 527 788 776 533 The house fiesta serves three functions: (1) introducing the spirit of the house inmates to the house spirit, (2) creating a harmonious setting for spiritual interaction of the members of the household and the house spirit, (3) protecting the house against the intrusion of evil. The introduction is achieved by brushing the household members with the branches from the spring, and the harmony is brought about by drinking liquor, playing the guitar, and dancing. The music of the seed gourd, the guitar, and sometimes a radio or phonograph makes the residents, their guests, and the house spirit happy, or "of one heart." Protection is insured by nailing the palm crosses representing the Lord of the Lightning to the house posts. [789]

342 527 782 756 *Second house fiesta* ("meal for the house"). When a meal is given to the spirit of the house earth, the house is arranged as for the house fiesta with curing arches set in front of the center posts at the back and middle walls. The same guests are invited as for the first fiesta. The family buys a sheep and slaughters it in the morning by stringing it up to the center post by it paws and slashing its jugular vein. When the blood has drained into the square hole opened at the base of the center post, the curer removes the head and buries it in the hole. Some curers bury the four paws as well, while others prefer to add an offering of five pieces of bread in a new pottery jar, twenty measures of chocolate, thirteen cigarettes, and a bottle of liquor covered with a new cloth. The head of the sheep is placed so that the eyes look up to watch over the inhabitants. Some refer to it as the *me?iltatil,* identifying it with the curers (who are called me?iltatil in the context of guardianship) and thus with the ancestor guardians.

During the house fiesta I observed in July 1967, an old curer who had officiated at the first ceremony served again. A neighbor, who was not related to the houseowners but who was skilled in butchering, slaughtered

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[788]
[273]
[533]

the animal. The curer received from him the severed head and paws which he placed in a large gourd. Then the curer served a potion of herbs in springwater to all of the members of the household. The final ritual act was for the curer to smoke an article of clothing belonging to each member of the household over the incense burning in front of the center arch at the back wall. Liquor was served continaully throughout the ceremony, the first drink always being given to the curer followed by one to the elder houseowner. The first drink was served immediately after the cutting of the jugular vein of the sheep. Flowing blood, water, and liquor are spirit media symbolically linked in ritual behavior. Between each of the major ritual acts—the slaughtering of the sheep, the burial of the head, the serving of the springwater and herbs, and the smoking of the clothing with incense—the curer prayed, but his prayers were so mumbled that I could not hear or record them. Informants said that it was a variation of the prayer given at the first house fiesta. After the rituals, a stew made with the sheep meat was served with tortillas to all the visitors. The music of guitar and gourd rattle, played during the ritual by young male relatives continued after the meal, and the guests remained in the house drinking and dancing for the rest of the afternoon.

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Elements of these house fiestas are repeated when any of the children of the household is ill. A severe illness, diagnosed as being caused by the devil eating the soul of the patient, requires offering a meal to the house spirit. The square hole is reopened, and a live black chicken, male if the patient is a boy and female if it is a girl, is placed inside. A food offering of one-fourth liter of liquor, one peso's worth of bread, and 50 cents' worth of chocolate is placed inside with the chicken, and a square board is fitted on top of the hole "to keep the chicken alive for eight days so that the house spirit will hear his cries." When the curing arch is removed, the hole is filled in with dirt over the chicken, now dead, which provides a meal for the spirit house earth.

[776]

When the houseowner is sick, an appeal for health is made to the spirit in the house post. The members of the household kiss the post, a splinter is removed and burned in an incense burner with *pom*, the resin of pine. This odor is pleasing to the house spirit.

000

When a serious illness caused by witchcraft has been cured, the patient

18 When a serious illness caused by witchcraft has been cured, the patien

789 must be protected against reentry of the evil by a gift of medicine to the house. Palm crosses are made for the corner posts and the entry, and a medicine consisting of a mixture of garlic and creosote, the seeds of mustard, and *poštan*, a "hot" herb, is mixed. As the crosses are nailed on the posts, the curer marks a cross with the medicine over the palm cross. This "covers the eyes of the evil spirit" so that it will not enter the house.

776 The relationship between house spirit and the spirits of the residents is
342 an uneasy one. Fear is associated with this capricious spirit, who might make an alliance with evil spirits, and whose power is evident only in sickness and in death, never in good deeds. A sense of alienation is conveyed in the fact that the house spirit and the spirits of the spring are conceived of as Ladinos. Spirits of the house and of the landscape are exacting landlords from whom the tenants expect nothing in return for their offerings
[782] but freedom from harm. Acceptance of the offerings seals a contract between spiritual occupants that must continually be renewed in order to maintain the balance of security expressed in the phrase "to be of one
[557] heart." The payment of a "tribute" in the form of food, liquor, and enter-
[571] tainment is part of a larger strategy by which these Indians ensure their
[782] survival by appeasement of overlords, demanding government officials, and the very rats which live in their houses and feed on the corn they store in the eaves.

778 *The springs.* Other meeting grounds for the spirits of people and
312 places are the springs. The major spring, San Nicolás, is located on the southwestern periphery of the town. It provides drinking water and water for irrigating the cultivated lands. A second spring, called Pahaltón, lies closer to the village and provides a smaller stream of water directed into
[776] the canals irrigating the fields of the center. Some say the spirit of San Nicolás is a small Ladino boy; others say he is a man. The spirit of Pahaltón is a female non-Indian, or *Ladina*. The spirits of these waters are able to ef-
778 fect miraculous cures for patients who have lost their souls or those who
312 are of two hearts because of upset social relations in the home. Male pa-
755 tients are brought to San Nicolás and female patients are brought to Pahaltón to seek a miracle. In the curing ceremony an arch of flowers entwined in pine boughs is constructed as closely as possible to the spring

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Houses are built of materials locally produced or gathered from communal resources, but new construction materials, such as tiles, require cash outlay. The average house area is thirty-six square meters divided into two main rooms. Building is usually done in February or March. After the 342

TABLE 12. Clothing Expenditure and Origin

	Price (pesos)	*Place of origin*
Men's clothing		
Kotonču from Guatemala	60	Huehuetenango
Kotonču from Mexico	40	Comitán
Shirt worn by elders	60	San Bartolomé
Underpants	15	San Bartolomé
High-backed sandals	25	San Cristóbal
Wrapped pants	25	Teopisca
Tailored shirt	30	Teopisca
Factory-made shirt	7	San Cristóbal and Comitán
Straw hats	10	Teopisca and San Cristóbal
Factory-made pants	15	Teopisca and San Cristóbal
Belt	5	Teopisca, San Cristóbal, and Comitán
Sash	7	Comitán
Huaraches	20	San Cristóbal
Women's clothing		
Wrapped skirt	40–60	Comitán
Huipile, factory-made cloth	50	San Cristóbal
Huipile, hand-loomed cloth	60	San Bartolomé
Reboza	12–16	Comitán
Apron	5	San Cristóbal
Children's clothing		
Girl's skirt	7	Teopisca
Girl's blouse	5	Teopisca
Boy's shirt	3.5	Teopisca
Boy's hat	3–4	Teopisca, San Cristóbal
Boy's pants	5	Teopisca

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435

materials have been collected, the construction of the house frame takes about eight days' work with the cooperation of five or six men. Filling in the walls with mud takes another three days. Table 13 gives the cost of materials and transportation for one house built during my stay. 342

The biggest change in housing has been in the roofs. The old type of 177 342 435

342 177 435 [492] construction used thatch or palm leaves carried from hot country. These cost only the price of renting a horse, if it was necessary, for transportation. Roofs made of these materials have to be replaced every seven or eight years. Each rethatching requires three days' work with four or five helpers, and the houseowner must provide a meal for them and their families. He spends about 25 pesos for meat and uses two or three liters of corn; the total cost is about 75 pesos. Another kind of roof is made of wooden shingles bought in the neighboring town. These are fixed to the housetops with wooden pegs, and the total cost is about 200 pesos. This lasts ten or twelve years with replacement of individual shingles. Tile roofs have the highest initial cost, 800 pesos, but the lowest maintenance in labor.

342 435

TABLE 13. Construction Costs for House, 1965

	Cost (pesos)
Supplies	
Roof tiles (1,000)	800
Posts and poles	*
Planks	40
Door	100
Window frame	30
Services	
Transportation of tiles	30
Transportation of posts and poles	206
Carpenter	50
Food for helpers	75
TOTAL	1,331

* Obtained free from communal woods.

342 House walls are preferably made of mud mixed with lime poured into an interlacing of cane poles set between the house posts and tied with a handmade fiber rope. Another temporary type of construction, which does not offer as good insulation, is made of board planks. Sweatbaths are 343 made by digging out a floor about 2.5 meters square, raising stones in an oval shape over this, and plastering them with mud. The I.N.I. tried to introduce latrines, but no more than a half dozen of the cement toilet seats they gave away as demonstrators were put into use. Latrines are considered to be dirty since the pigs and dogs cannot scavenge the feces.

[514] [647] [177] [231]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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ered to be dirty since the pigs and dogs cannot scavenge the feces. Mothers train their children to have bowel movements in the evening when darkness offers them privacy in the houseyard.

Changes in house types in the seven-year period from my first census in 1958 to the second in 1964 are tabulated in Table 14. There has been a general improvement in the standards: tile roofs have increased from 1 to 20.1 percent. The increase has been at the expense of both wood shingle (declined 8.3 percent) and of thatch and palm leaf (declined 9.8 percent).

TABLE 14. Types of House Construction

	1958*		1964†	
	Number of houses	*Percent of all houses*	*Number of houses*	*Percent of all houses*
Roofs				
Tile	1	1	58	20
Shingle	27	23	41	14
Thatch or palm	87	76	190	66
Walls				
Board plank	17	15	66	23
Wattle and daub	98	85	223	77
Sweatbath				
Have	60	52	120	42
Have not	54	47	169	58
Unknown	1	1		

* Based on sample of 115 houses.
† Based on total survey of houses in center with 22 unspecified.

The numbers of houses with wood plank walls has increased from 14.8 percent to 22.8 percent. This is a temporary arrangement, and the planks are usually replaced with wattle and daub, so the increase may simply reflect new construction. The percentage of houses having sweatbaths has declined from 52.1 to 41.5. No new sweatbaths have been made for the last ten years or so, and many of those recorded are not in use.

The changes in housing type reflect the greater prosperity of the town as well as the increasing receptivity to outside influence. The increase in tile roofs means a greater dependency on external markets. Ten years before the final census, a man who put on a tile roof feared the consequences of witchcraft.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

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342 177 178 434 of witchcraft. Today probably 95 percent of the new roofs are made of tile. Often the old roofs cannot be replaced with tile because the rafters were not built to support them. One result of the change has been the depend-
[335] ence on a carpenter to construct the gables, since they have to be lined up more accurately than they do with thatch or palm roofs.

361 351 434 House lots in the town center are preferred to those on the margins. As residents of house sites on the ejido lands at the margins of the town acquire wealth, one of the first things they try to do is acquire a house closer to the plaza. These lots are smaller, averaging about 500 square meters, while those farther out average 900 square meters. In a sample measurement of 100 house lots, the size ranged from 180 to 1,440 square meters, and the average size was 77 square meters. Considering the advantages of
[554] a large lot in growing chile fruits and corn, the preference for smaller central lots reveals the strong prestige factor influencing choice.

352 435 House furnishings include both purchased and homemade items. Sleeping accommodations consist of wooden bedboards, either nailed on a
[513] frame or simply laid on blocks and covered with a straw mat. Woolen blankets from Comitán are sold locally at a price of 24 pesos or for 20 pesos in San Cristóbal and 18 pesos in Comitán. Most households own two or three wooden benches which line the walls of the porch and are made locally. Small chairs are purchased from Chamula carpenters at a cost of 2 to 4 pesos, as well as a small table costing about 4. A higher table
[778] is provided for the saints' pictures and candle holders, incense burner, and
[322] flower vases or tin cans. Hooks are fashioned from the crotch of trees and suspended on the house posts. Wooden boxes are bought from Ladino car-
415 435 439 penters in San Cristóbal at a cost of 10 to 20 pesos depending on size and workmanship and are used to store clothing. In addition to the homemade water holders, water carriers, comales, strainers, and bowls, handmade glazed ware from San Cristóbal, factory-made porcelain dishes, metal cooking pots, knives, and spoons are purchased. Gourds provide serving
[412] ware for ceremonial occasions. Stone grinding platforms and rollers are purchased in San Cristóbal for about 10 pesos. Two new items have be-
435 415 177 come increasingly popular in the past five years: a metal grinding machine for corn, hand operated and costing from 40 to 60 pesos depending on the size and quality, and a hinged press for tortillas, costing 15 pesos if made

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602 Kinship is one of several bases for recruiting reciprocal or cooperative
476 labor. Table 19 compares kinship with nonkinship-defined work groups
626 in terms of the kinds of exchanges, the type of work done, the time span permitted for reciprocity, and the sanctions against failure to reciprocate.

TABLE 19. Labor Exchanges of Kinship- and Nonkinship-Defined Groups

Conditions	*Within household*	*Beyond household, within community*	
		With kin (ritual, compadre, affinal and consanguineal)	*With nonkin*
Interchange	"Cooperation"—reciprocity based on implicit understandings	Reciprocity—explicit, defined by traditional expectations	Reciprocity—explicit, often defined by contract as well as tradition
Sanctions	Authority of elder member, male in men's work group, female in women's work group	Authority of elders of bilaterally-extended kin group; Recourse to cabildo if no strong elder	Informal—fear of gossip of neighbors; formal—reliance on local judges and president or recourse to district courts
Time Span	Extended, indefinite	Extended, usually some defined limit on repeated tasks (harvest); no limit for non-repeated tasks (house-building)	Immediate return expected, or explicitly stated time allowance
Kind of Task	Pottery-making, milpa agriculture, care of cattle, preparation of food	Ploughing, cultivating, harvesting, firing pottery, housebuilding	Same.

593 Fathers and sons, or sons-in-laws may work together on family-owned
476 property. Because all men can acquire ejido land after marriage, and since
423 47 percent of the households claim to have only this land, the cooperative
621 tie between fathers and sons is not based on inheritance. If they work well
[606] together, they may continue to cooperate after the son has become independent. Father and sons, brothers and brothers-in-law are expected to
476 cooperate with each other in building a house, rethatching a roof, and
342 threshing wheat. In the case of house-building or maintenance, they must
607 pay for a substitute if they are unable to fulfill the obligation.
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Compadres, or ritual kin, are the next most important pool from which to draw assistance. The same restrictions on exchanges between actual kin apply to those between ritual kin. The one task which is confined to brothers and not extended to compadres is that of house-building.

Relationships between members of the household are defined by daily work tasks, commensality, sharing a living space, and participation in the same ceremonial events. The same rules which govern behavior in the family are extended to the wider community. The extension of the terms elder brother and elder sister, father and mother, and younger sibling to all of the people in one's own side of the dual division implies a pattern of behavior similar to that of the family. The fundamental equation in social relations is age-respect-deference-prestige.

The bilaterally extended kinship group provides the pattern structuring relations throughout the community. It is a framework allowing wide choice in selecting individuals with whom ceremonial and work relations are contracted. Relative age has superseded generation and descent as the principle governing relationships of authority and respect from the nuclear family to the hierarchy or community officials. These patterns will be traced in other institutions in following chapters.

from the spring and a live black chicken which draws the heat from the patient, taking it into its own body. The branches are dipped in a mixture of raw cocoa, pieces of melon mixed in water, and other "cold" items. A new set of clothing, smoked over an incense burner in which pitch pine is burned, is put on the patient. A common meal of chicken or beef stew is served with tortillas to all the guests.

In the case of more persistent illnesses, the bathing may take place at the springs. Male patient go to the large spring of San Nicolás and female patients to Pahaltón. A curing arch is erected near the spring. The curer calls upon the spirit of the spring to perform a miracle. Some members of the family stay behind at the house so that if the spirit of the patient should return before he does, it will be welcomed. The people waiting in the house, called maliwanehetik, must drink as much liquor as do those at the spring.

Sometimes the soul of a child is called at the place where fear caused it to be lost. The cure is started at the house, and then part of the group goes to the place which the curer has designated as the location of the fright. Soil is gathered in a kerchief or item of the patient's clothing and is placed at the head of his bed. As the group returns to the house, one of the child's relatives plays the guitar at the gate, and the curer sweeps a path for the soul with branches he has taken from the spring. Inside the house, the soul is again called while the curer brushes the child with spring branches. The mother embraces the child as incense is smoked over him and all his clothing. The child is then pulsed to determine whether the soul has returned.

Medicating the house. The strategy of medicating the house is tied to an understanding of the interaction of the spirit of the house and those of the inmates. When the evil sent out by the witch enters the house, it first asks permission of the house posts to enter the soil of the house. The house is adorned with pine branches and flowers to make the house-soul happy. Old men make palm crosses for the center post and corner posts of the yard. One large 50-cent candle is lit at the center post with small 20-cent candles on each side. When these candles are lighted they "blind the eye of evil spirits who can see only in the dark." A black chicken is buried alive in the square hole where the offering of the sheep

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755 has been made at the time of the house inauguration. Food for the chick-
776 en—bread, chocolate, tortilla, and liquor—is put in the hole so it will stay
• 342 alive for eight days.

The logic of the meal is that the house needs nourishment and for this reason has been fighting with the inmates and causing their illness. After the guests have been fed, the curer marks a cross with a mixture of garlic, creosote, seeds of mustard, and a "hot" herb called pokčan, on the center post inside the house and on the corner posts. Like the candles, the cross serves to "blind the eye" of the evil spirits so that they will not reenter the house and talk the spirit of the house into causing harm.

This ceremony replicates that of the house meal at the time of the inauguration (Chapter 1). The music of the guitar and gourd rattle is intended to make both the soul of the house and the souls of the inmates content. Why the curing of the house is always done on Thursday, when "the holy earth is open," is not fully understood by the curers I have questioned; they say, "We have forgotten how to talk to the earth." Chamula curers are reputed to be able to talk to the earth, and consultations may be sought with them if the illness continues.

755 *Prayer.* The curers talk with the soul of the thirteen ancestors of
776 the world,[5] to the "spirits of the heaven and of the church," and to saints
782 of neighboring towns, asking for a good cure. The following prayer is one
[539] given by the oldest and most honored of the curers:

Sacred earth, sacred world
Thirteen holy world, holy flowers
In the center of another holy world

Look mother, its clay
I am a child, its clay.
Holy heaven, Jesus Christ
Holy herbs give the spirit

[801] 5. The number 13 has significance in the Maya cosmology in the 13 levels of heaven (Thompson 1964:125). The 13 candles set before the curing arch symbolize the 13 holy worlds. The meal for the house spirit includes 13 cigarettes.

Chapter 11

Ordering Behavior by Places

121 People act out roles in a space and time matrix that provides the cues for
554 appropriate behavior. Place is a means of patterning three structural dimensions of role: sex, age, and relative prestige. In societies characterized by multiplex relationships, Gluckman (1962:35-36n.) has emphasized the importance of the setting in establishing what role the individual is playing. One's selection of a particular role from the many possible relationships tying people together is supported by observation of official terms of
554 address and reference in these settings. In Tzoʔontahal, the use of place as a designation of role is even more specific since each person occupying a role is given a special place within the setting.

554 The social domains, or fields of activity where major systems of roles are
342 defined in Tzoʔontahal, include the house, the cabildo, the church, and
368 the school. Segmentary role relations are limited to the clinic, the corn-
517 grinding mill, and the store. The house has retained its importance as a ceremonial locus not only for life crisis rituals but also for initiating new officials into the civil and religious hierarchies. The institutional buildings
[361] grouped around the plaza—the church, the cabildo, the schoolhouse, the clinic, the mill, and the cooperative store—are the meeting ground for outside representatives of national or supra-local agents and townspeople. These provide the settings in which behavioral adjustments to internal changes and to external standards can be viewed.

The Concept of Space

772 Relevant social space is conceived of as a square. The square shape of
361 houses, of the offering hole for the house sacrifice, of the corn field, and of the planting pattern for corn conforms to a notion of the world as a

square. Although this conception is contradicted by knowledge learned in 772
school, the two concepts are not brought into direct opposition. The town 361
still defines the outer limit of most meaningful social relations, and most people are not forced by the circumstances of their lives to deal with an understanding of the world as round. It is enough that the four "sides" of their village be protected by crosses at the points of entry. The important orientation points are the east, referred to as the "coming out of the sun," and the west, referred to as "the sleeping place of the sun." North and south are referred to as lowland and highland because of the topography. Compass orientation is important behaviorally only at death. The body of [764]
the deceased is laid out in the cemetery with the head to the east. Indians [829]
comment that the Ladinos lay the body out with the head to the west, but Indians of other towns, such as Zinacantan, also do so. The cemetery is located on the western side of the town.

The House

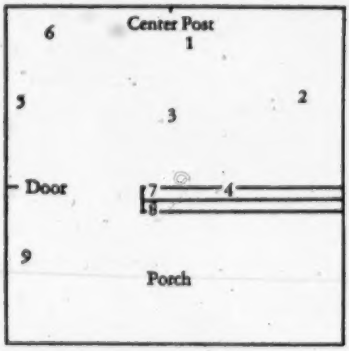
The reference to the house in prayer as "the entry to suffering, inside 342
the poverty" suggests the "cult of poverty" which Wolf (1955:459) points [782]
out as characteristic of closed corporate Indian communities. Most people conform to a standard house size of five square meters subdivided into an interior sleeping and living area and a porch (Fig. 8). The walls are made of mud strengthened with lime packed in a framework of poles supported on nine main posts. The roofs are pitched with four sheds rising steeply to a truncated ridge. Tiles are used in most new houses to cover the roof, but there are still many thatched palm or wooden shingle roofs. Corn and [251]
beans are stored in the rafters under the eaves of the house.

Inside the house, beds line the two side walls. If there is no cooking [352]
shack separate from the house, the hearth is placed in the center of the in- [354]
terior room. The grinding stone, raised on three posts, is placed to the left [412]
of the center post.

The porch is the area for ceremonial gatherings and for making and storing pottery. A table with the pictures of household saints set against [353]
the inside wall, is adorned with flowers and candles. During house fiestas, [796]
men sit on the benches lining the four walls of the porch, while the [562]
women sit inside in a semicircle.

342 women sit inside in a semicircle. A house without a closed-in porch is re-
[196] ferred to as a "cattle house" since it is considered inadequate for entertain-
[621] ing guests at ceremonial affairs. Townspeople prefer to choose as higher
[574] officials those who have houses with porches to accommodate visitors.

Fig. 8. Interior of a House



1. Seat of honor for women
2. Bed area for women of house
3. Hearth
4. Bench area for relatives of house
5. Bench area for visiting men
6. Mats or wooden board for visiting women
7. Honor seat for men (when inside house)
8. Honor seat for men outside house
9. Resting areas for male helpers

592 Each member of the household has his place for sleeping, eating, and sit-
[513] ting. The youngest child sleeps with his parents, and older children sleep with siblings of the same sex or with their grandparents. Newly married couples living with their parents prefer to sleep in the cook shack if there
[264] is a separate structure. At mealtime, men and boys sit on small wooden
[352] chairs at a miniature table placed against the wall separating the interior from the porch, while women and girls kneel on straw mats near the hearth.

342 Reference points inside the house (Fig. 8) are the center post where the
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meal for the house is buried in the inauguration ceremony (Chapter 1) and the door. Left and right are orientation points viewed from inside facing the door. Women of the house sit on mats near the center post. Female visitors occupy the mats to the left of the post and male visitors sit on benches lining the right wall and the interior wall. If it is a large ceremony for the ritual of inauguration or a celebration by the captain of a fiesta, only women enter the house, and the men sit on borrowed benches lining the walls of the porch.

Relative age is indicated by position in the seating arrangement. For women the seat of honor, occupied by the oldest woman present, is at the center post; other women of the household sit on a straw mat or board in order of descending age clockwise around the room. This order is modified by the presence of the grandmother who, if not a woman speaker, retires to the left (facing door from inside) corner. Visiting women sit to the right of the center post with the oldest immediately next to the post and those decreasing in age and stature to her right. For men, the seat on the bench nearest the door to the interior is called the "head of the bench"; this is the seat of the leading nakawane. The rest of the nakawanehetik sit along this bench in order of age. On the bench facing them sits the house owner, with his brothers and other visitors to his right in an age-ranked order. The b'alnialetik sit on the right wall bench.

Since prestigeful roles are usually a concomitant of age, especially in the house ceremonies, there is seldom conflict between age and role status. When conflict does occur, it is only seen at the top level; thus, the grandmother if not active because of age, retires to the corner while the woman speaker, who must order the women in the kitchen and receive visiting dignitaries, takes over this position. I have seen the leader of the č'om take precedence over the leader waiter who was older, because of the important role of the former.

When the family is carrying out a ritual, it is felt that the house should never be left vacant. The role of the "waiters" (maliwanehetik) is specifically that of remaining in the house while others of the celebrants are involved in ritual acts outside of the house. When the members of the betrothal party go to the girl's house, for example, the waiters are left behind; or when the patient leaves with the curer and some of the curing

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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342 party to go to the spring, at least one relative remains in the house to
796 greet the soul if it should precede the curing party.
[584]
[755] Behavior in household rituals is described in Chapters 1, 5, and 8.
[128]

The Cabildo

344 The cabildo, called by the people of the town the "cold house,"[1] was
[196] built following the revolution of 1915, when Piñeda's revolutionary soldiers
[175] destroyed the original colonial structure. The tiles of the roof were confiscated from a finca which the Indians invaded in 1941 in an unsuccessful attempt to gain additional lands. When they were unable to maintain their hold on the land, they burned the owner's house and took the tiles to the town center where they remain as a symbol of their defiant action. They refer to this event with pride. The cabildo houses the jail, equipped with a barred wooden door, in one of its wings, and the Ejido Commission office in the other.

344 Within the cabildo, each official has his established place. The cabildo is
352 furnished with a table at which the president and síndico sit on wooden
621 chairs made in the Indian town of Chamula. Four benches lining the
554 walls on either side of the entry provide seating for the civil officials. On
576 the right side (looking out at the plaza) sit the judges in order of rank;
[693] the regidores, in similar sequence follow them. The principales, and formerly the alfereces, sit on the left side when they appear for ceremonial occasions. This spatial allocation establishes drinking and greeting order as well. Visitors can go directly from one to another in the formal greeting of a handclasp and murmured "good morning, father," or "good afternoon, father," without violating age-respect patterns.

344 During court cases, the claimant and his supporters sit on the bench to
352 the left of the door; on other occasions the bench is occupied by visitors or
695 petitioners. The police sit on one of the two benches lining the outside
[625] wall, or retire to the kitchen, a wooden slat lean-to on the left wing of the

[171] 1. Bunzel (1952) notes that in prayers, the cabildo in Chichicastenango is referred to as "the cold house, the icy house." Although the Quiché term is not given in her manuscript, one can see a similarity in the rhyming couplets and metaphorical allusions in the prayers of the towns.

351 592 571 When the people in two adjacent sitios have close social ties, they open an interior gate in the common fence, connecting the two yards. June Nash has noticed that if any disagreement [578] occurs between the people residing in the two contiguous sitios, the interior gates are barricaded even more strongly than the remainder of the fence, symbolically severing social communication (Nash, J: 1959).

351 592 Inside the sitios, there are several areas of activity (see Fig. 10): the front yard (ti?naie) where animals are tied [343] [342] when brought to the sitio, where corn is put to dry, etc., and where there are buildings (hna) such as the cook-house and others [241] which serve as sleeping quarters. The back yard is the place where things are stored and where a small garden is cultivated. [415] [252] [343] There are other spots, such as the place for the water jugs, the place for washing the mixtemal (corn mesh used for making tortillas), the sweat bath, etc.

342 The buildings themselves are mainly wattle and daub with thatch or palm roofs in the traditional Mayan pattern. There is, nevertheless, some variation in the use of cane, shingles and planks for walls, or tile roofs, which indicates a desire to imitate ladino ways rather than the wealth of the household. The houses have small porches which serve as "living room," places for receiving visitors, grooming, cleaning corn, or enjoying the twilight after a good day's work (see Figs. 10 and 11).

House Ritual

342 592 The building of a new house is an important social event

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]

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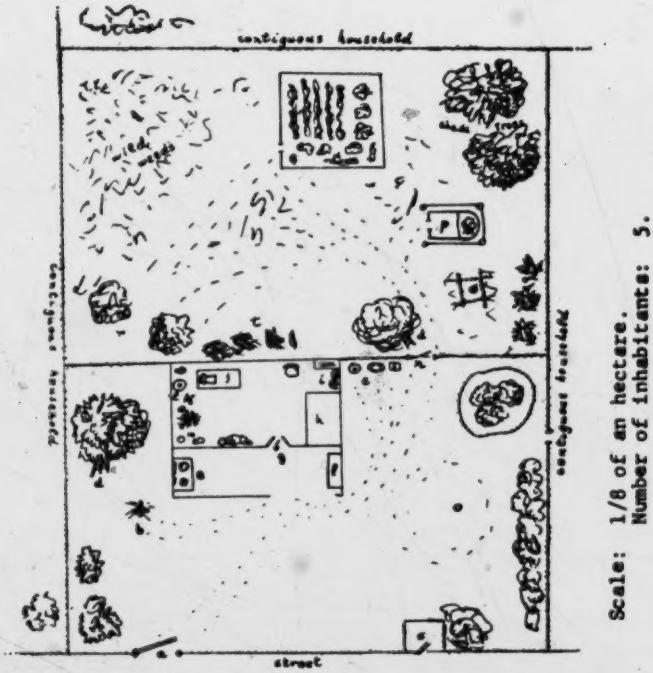

Fig. 10.--Model of a Standard Household

a--entrance gate
b--nixtamal washing-pot
c--water pots
d--chicken coop in a tree
e--Saint's altar in the corridor
f--bench for receiving visitors
g--double door
h--wooden bed
i--petates (mats) chest and chair
j--table for making tortillas (with the grinding stone or metate)
k--molino and fire place
l--water pot inside the house
m--little stools for seating during meals and stored bags
n--gate to back yard
o--raised pig-pen
p--temascal (steam bath)
q--garden with chillis, and "tomatoes"
r--peach trees
s--pig-pen with gate to the street
t--fire-wood drying

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Fig. 11.--House Viewed from the Street Gate

342 592 which usually indicates the emergence of a new domestic group. Its social importance is related to several factors.

342 591 592 When the young couple build their first separate house, this symbolizes their right to become a separate domestic group. It means that they have lived together long enough to raise one or more children past the age of weaning, and that they have become economically and jurally independent of their parents.

342 156 571 (See later discussion on residence.) The building itself is a material display of a man's good social relations. Although house size does not correlate with the number of people living in it, the villagers think that a house "talks" about its owners. A very small house tells the villagers that it is a "drunk-man house" because his owner spends all his money on liquor and cannot buy materials for building a better place. The house also tells of the amount of industrious effort that a man and his family are able to put into its construction, and it tells about how much his relatives and neighbors are willing to "loan hands" to him (help for house building is not paid for in money, but in reciprocal labor). A house is also a good indicator of how much [177] "ladino influence" its owner has assimilated. Houses with ladino influence would have internal divisions in the rooms, windows, painted walls and/or tile roofs. (This type of house is not common, as can be seen in Fig. 12 and Table 5.)

342 [527] [782] The building of a house is followed by a "house warming" ceremony, in which offerings to the Mother-Earth or Saintly Earth and the house are buried under the floor. The ritual preparation of a new home is part of a complex ideological identification between people and their homestead.

[NEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 111]

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		Number - Per Cent
Walls made of mud		93-77
	wood planks (tejamanil)	11-9
	palm	9-7
	mud and wood	3-2.5
	cane and palm	1-1.1
	cane	2-2.3
	mud and palm	1-1.1

Steam bath--20.
Of 121 buildings, 25 were painted white.

Building with corridor	65-80
Building without corridor	16-20
Kitchen with corridor	7-23
Kitchen without corridor	24-77

Households with more than two buildings distributed as follows:		15-22
unfinished new houses	4	
granaries	6	
saint's houses	2	
storage room for pots	1	
bedroom	1	
empty	1	

Roofs made of material other than palm (tile)--4
Pig pens--in all houses in sample
Chicken coops--46
Forty-five per cent of households have the kitchen built separate from the main building

Fig. 12.--House types in Aguacatenango

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

TABLE 5

HOUSE TYPES IN AMATENANGO[a]

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Type	Cases	Per Cent
Roof		
Tile	1	1
Shingle	28	24
Thatch	87	75
Wall		
Wattle-and-daub	97	84
Rough Boards	19	16

[a]After Nash, J.: 1959.

342 Houses are a part of the family. They are considered as being alive (they grow old, just as people do) and watching the behavior of humans, toward whom they are somewhat unfriendly. If they are displeased with the behavior of the inhabitants, they can bring nightmares to the adults, death to the children and other misfortunes. Calixta Guiteras-Holmes (1960) has suggested that houses are ideologically connected with the earth, whom one has to please if crops are going to grow steadily, and to the monte (forested hills), where the wood for its construction is gathered. [N/2] Thus, because the monte is the residence of the evil spirits, enemies of mankind. the house is a projection of this malevolent world.

342 753 571 578 Even more significant is the house ritual connected with the sickness of a person who lives in it. It is significant

because sickness is considered a supernatural expression of disturbed social relations, and this is considered disruptive, not only for the people who inhabit a single dwelling, but also for the building which symbolizes their common residence and interests. As long as the relations of people living in a house are harmonious, the house is kept contented. But if this is not so, both the people and the building have to be ritually cleaned. For example, if a daughter disobeys her mother, she is considered to be suffering from bilis or cólico, and in need of curing. During the curing ceremony, the sick misbehaver has to be instructed about her duties as a good daughter, and is given a speech apropos the misdemeanor. The curing ceremony is not completed if the house is not ritually cured, too. This is done by a curer offering the building some trago, the local brew, asking it to be contented. This offering is then symbolic of both the re-establishment of normal social relations between the individuals living in the house, and between the individuals and their material projection, their house.

The people living in a household are in charge of performing some other rituals which are expected to insure the welfare of the whole group.

A small altar, usually made of a pine table, is kept in the house. It is covered with Catholic Saints' images and printed religious calendars. The table also contains all kinds of other things: petty cash (which is kept there for small purchases), double corncobs (which are "lucky pieces") or unusually colored maize, and any other oddity found by the household members, such

592 778 as archeological pieces ("things of the people of before"). This altar is usually located in the house corridor. The altar is cleaned regularly and adorned with flowers by the women, and a candle or two is lighted on propitious days of the week, or to ask the house Saints for protection against witchcraft.

592 778 769 342 On the first of November, "day of all the dead" according to the Catholic calendar, a ceremonial offering of food to the spirits of the deceased is placed on this altar. It is in memory of the spirits who lived in the house in the immediate past, and who are supposed to come to enjoy the food and the fact that they are being remembered by the household. The ritual is performed only for the immediate generations. It is not the worshipping of one's ancestors, for it is for people who are not necessarily related by kinship, but for those who resided in the house. (Second wives, for example, are expected to offer food to the deceased first wife of their husbands if they lived in the same dwelling.)

592 769 Afterwards, the food is distributed among the living relatives, compadres and neighbors, and all members of the household go to the cemetery.

[794] At the cemetery, the tombs are cleaned, repaired, adorned with marigolds, fruit and other food, and the family pays for the performance of a responso, funeral oration, read by a part-time specialist in such matters.

592 769 342 If these rituals are not performed, the dead come back to their life stage, the house, and wander aimlessly among the living, scaring people, giving them bad dreams, or taking the lives of children.

c: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,* (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

352 utensils pertaining to the other room include three tables of varying form and size. One of these, about 60 cm high, is called *akhintel*,[23] and serves as a support for the metate (*chá*). Another smaller table (*matzamaite*) has three legs and is circular in form, it is used in making tortillas. The third table (*ucbalté*), also small but quadrangular, is used in serving food. Three benches of hollow logs 415 (*tzantel*) and small chairs (*taburetes*) serve as seats. Deep baskets and gasoline 251 boxes are used for holding clothes. Hanging from the roof is always to be seen a disk made of vines (*likin-nab*). This is used to keep comestibles from the rats. The other implements are the griddle, pots, and other vessels of clay, and calabashes and gourds in various forms and dimensions.

• 343 Besides the fowl pen (*na-mut*) and the pigpen (*na-chitán*) it is common to [417] see near the house the temazcal, or steam bath (*pus*). It is made of clay and irregularly shaped stones, it is rectangular with a small door in front and a ventilator in the rear. It is usual to cover it with a small shelter of straw. The use of the temazcal [184] is common in the highlands. It is almost not to be found from Ococingo northward.

29 Each village has its own costume; however, local variations conform to a 184 certain pattern which changes according to the altitudes and climate. Thus, in the region of Los Altos the usual pattern of dress is the following: for men, short cotton trousers (*uex*)[24] and cotton shirt (*kú*) reaching to the knees, a sash (*chukichut*) of wool or cotton and in most cases red in color, a poncho (*tzotz*) made of wool and in most cases dark grey in color, a handkerchief (*chuhkil*), a straw hat (*pixol*), and leather sandals (*xanab*), women wear a white blouse (*ku*) and a blue shirt (*tzequel*), both made either of wool or of cotton, and a red woolen sash (*chukichut*). Some women in going out-of-doors add a woolen *rebozo*. Women use also a cotton cloth (*tzitz-cal*) to carry small children. They wear no footgear.

In the tierra caliente the dress of the women is almost the same except that it is cleaner. On the other hand that of the men, although equally clean, presents marked differences: the trousers are longer and the shirt shorter, coming to resemble an open blouse or *guayabera*. The sash and the poncho cease to be indispensable [177] garments. It is in this region that there is most use of trousers and shirt in European style.

551 In Tenejapa, Starr found that the Indians had Tzeltal surnames. He says, 582 "We feel sure that these are *not* nicknames, but the old family names still preserved."[25] He does not give examples, and says nothing about any relation between 114 these name-groups and marriage. Blom and LaFarge make no note of such names, and say "there are no formal restrictions on marriage."[26]

582 Villa found Indian surnames present in Chanal, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc, 551 and was told that marriage is not allowed, or is at least strongly discouraged, between persons of the same Indian surname. In Chanal an informant indicated that such

[187] [23] The names of these objects vary from one village to another; those which are described here were obtained in Chanal.

[24] The names of some of these garments vary likewise from one village to another; here Villa gives names used in Chanal.

[25] Starr, 1902, p. 73.

[26] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359.

778 natural elements (hail, wind, storms),
821 which often threaten and destroy the corn-
823 fields.

Distribution of Huts

621 In the parajes as well as in the centers the tendency to cluster huts in patrilineal nuclei is strong. One perceives this tendency also where lineage or clan ties still persist (Oxchuc).

[594] The majority of households consist of the elementary family, a couple and their
342 offspring. The habitations include a hut,
343 which serves as dormitory and kitchen, plus
[417] chickencoop, pigpen, and, sometimes, the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths.
343 Among industrious families another small hut serves exclusively as a kitchen. Seldom
417 does a fence separate this nucleus from its neighbors, but it may protect a vegetable patch from animals. In the capital, however, each family must fence its lot.

Relationships between Communities

628 Communities establish commercial and other ties according to their ecological distribution and cultural condition. In the southern zone, Amatenango and Aguacatenango form a kind of unit, based on physical proximity and cultural affinity. Their residents meet frequently at the Sunday market of Teopisca. In the central zone, Oxchuc, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Tenango, which more or less share ways of life and natural environment, form another informal association, contacts resulting from the weekly markets of Tenejaya and Yochib. In the northern zone, Sitala and Guaquitepec form another unit. Ocusingo, Chilon, and Yajalon are centers of commercial and political importance, occupied largely by Ladinos but used as trade centers by Indians throughout the northern zone.

412 TECHNOLOGY

Tools and Techniques

Farming tools are the most important: axe

[P 205-B]

342 lages of the lowlands where the houses have
[354] small windows, which improve ventilation
342 and illumination slightly. In places like
184 Chanal, where there is abundant lumber, the sides of the houses are built with wooden boards set vertically. The largest and best-built houses are in Tenejapa center.

Generally, the hut is divided into two rooms: the front is parlor and kitchen, the rear is bedroom. In Bachajon the rear room serves as bedroom and kitchen, the front room for sewing and grinding and the re-
[574] ception of visitors. In Amatenango del Valle the front of the house is open and
[323] used as a porch for visits. Ceramic work
[251] is also performed here. In one room of the house a bin of wood or reeds stores corn.
[343] Sometimes, small structures which serve as granaries are built inside the hut.

343 Among the auxiliary structures outside is
515 the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. Not every hut has a *pus* since one is enough to attend the needs of several neighboring families. The *pus* is a small room 1.5 m. high by 2 m. on each side, built of stones and clay. The roof is flat. Inside a hollow forms a hearth for heating stones. Water thrown on these red-hot stones produces the necessary steam. On the floor are boards on which people lie while taking the bath.
[184] Among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil the *pus* is
[759] not only for cleanliness but also for the cure
[846] of certain diseases and to strengthen women after childbirth. Sweat baths are more commonly taken in Tierra Fria than in Tierra Caliente.

417 The other structures near the hut are the chickencoop and the hogpen.

352 Furniture is limited to essential items. In the kitchen are the three hearth stones, the comal (*samet*), the grinding stone (*chá*), a bench or strong table to hold the metate (*ah-ken*), one or two small tables (*matzmalté* or *vebalté*) 25–39 cm. high and 30–40 cm. in diameter, and small benches 15–20 cm. high made of scooped-out tree trunks
415 (*tzanté*). Kitchen equipment includes earthenware (pans, pitchers, and jars) and

[P. 207-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajon
Tenango
Sivacá

342 The thatching was done by one man on the roof and another, who stood on a slanting stick tied to one of the center uprights, to help the first pass the liana around.

The angle of the long side not being steep enough, the roof leaked. Two men held the eaves-pole on their shoulders while the rest drove the corner posts in deeper, thus making the angle sharper and improving the shed.

[356] Repairs in thatch are made by laying new bundles of leaves directly over the old, the stems being stitched into the thatch with a liana, and a wooden needle made on the spot.

• 343 In all the larger settlements sweat-baths, *pus*, are located (figs. 295-296). The essential element is a cube of wattle thickly plastered

[291]

FIG. 295—Tenango, Chis. Sweat House of same type used in Ocosingo Valley.

with mud, about a meter to a meter and a half in all measurements, with a small doorway in one end. The door is of the same construction, or of boards. At Sivacá there were thatched roofs above the baths, but entirely separate from them. Water poured on hot stones is used in them. The purpose appears to be medicinal rather than ceremonial.

323 All the Highland Indians make vessels of clay, with the possible exception of the Tenejapeños. Among the Bachajon and at Sivacá, the art is not very well developed, only the most common [135] forms being made, without decoration. Their clay, *tcavek lum*, ("bees-wax earth"), is found in the banks of many small streams. It is a

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajon
Tenango
Sivacá

dark gray in colour, with a considerable admixture of fine limestone gravel. As far as could be ascertained, the mixture is worked without other preparation than that of dampening it to a good consistency. 323

The actual pottery making, *hutsul ya pas ŏcom*, ("I am making a cooking pot"), which is done by the women, was observed at Sivacá. Some of the men of the village had worked for us at Toniná, and they, particularly the heavy set one on the extreme right of the picture (fig. 297), a cheerful and very thirsty fellow, remembered me as a friend. A few poor jokes and a handful of cigarettes won the men over, so that the visit became less an investigation than a triumphal tour, escorted by the whole male population, the Alcalde leading, in and out through the village. It really was very good fun. We wound our way among the huts, seeking the 323 123

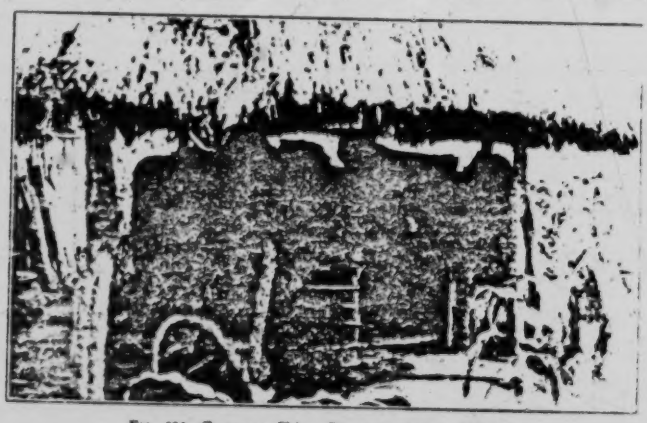

Fig. 298—Tenango, Chis. Close-up of Sweat House.

shade wherever possible, scuffling up a good deal of dust, now and then tripping over a pig or a dog. Whenever we came to an orange tree, someone would climb it, to come down with a handful of little, green fruits, so poisonous to look at, and so very sweet and refreshing to eat. They dragged out specimens of all their pottery, and at last lead me with some pomp to a house in which a woman was at work. The good wife did not in the least understand this visit, and was not at all sure that she liked it. All the men clamoured at her at once, telling her to come out and be photographed. Finally she brought her clay and unbaked pots, setting all in the sun, still a little bit afraid that this meant some new Ladino imposition. She set to work as though finding some relief from her embarrassment in the occupation. 323 123 [245] [126]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

342 177 435 [492] construction used thatch or palm leaves carried from hot country. These cost only the price of renting a horse, if it was necessary, for transportation. Roofs made of these materials have to be replaced every seven or eight years. Each rethatching requires three days' work with four or five helpers, and the houseowner must provide a meal for them and their families. He spends about 25 pesos for meat and uses two or three liters of corn; the total cost is about 75 pesos. Another kind of roof is made of wooden shingles bought in the neighboring town. These are fixed to the housetops with wooden pegs, and the total cost is about 200 pesos. This lasts ten or twelve years with replacement of individual shingles. Tile roofs have the highest initial cost, 800 pesos, but the lowest maintenance in labor.

342 435

TABLE 13. Construction Costs for House, 1965

	Cost (pesos)
Supplies	
Roof tiles (1,000)	800
Posts and poles	*
Planks	40
Door	100
Window frame	30
Services	
Transportation of tiles	30
Transportation of posts and poles	206
Carpenter	50
Food for helpers	75
TOTAL	1,331

* Obtained free from communal woods.

342 House walls are preferably made of mud mixed with lime poured into an interlacing of cane poles set between the house posts and tied with a handmade fiber rope. Another temporary type of construction, which does not offer as good insulation, is made of board planks. Sweatbaths are 343 made by digging out a floor about 2.5 meters square, raising stones in an oval shape over this, and plastering them with mud. The I.N.I. tried to introduce latrines, but no more than a half dozen of the cement toilet seats they gave away as demonstrators were put into use. Latrines are considered to be dirty since the pigs and dogs cannot scavenge the feces.

[514] [647] [177] [231]

7: Nash E-6 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

ered to be dirty since the pigs and dogs cannot scavenge the feces. Mothers train their children to have bowel movements in the evening when darkness offers them privacy in the houseyard.

Changes in house types in the seven-year period from my first census in 1958 to the second in 1964 are tabulated in Table 14. There has been a general improvement in the standards: tile roofs have increased from 1 to 20.1 percent. The increase has been at the expense of both wood shingle (declined 8.3 percent) and of thatch and palm leaf (declined 9.8 percent).

TABLE 14. Types of House Construction

	1958 *		1964 †	
	Number of houses	*Percent of all houses*	*Number of houses*	*Percent of all houses*
Roofs				
Tile	1	1	58	20
Shingle	27	23	41	14
Thatch or palm	87	76	190	66
Walls				
Board plank	17	15	66	23
Wattle and daub	98	85	223	77
Sweatbath				
Have	60	52	120	42
Have not	54	47	169	58
Unknown	1	1		

* Based on sample of 115 houses.
† Based on total survey of houses in center with 22 unspecified.

The numbers of houses with wood plank walls has increased from 14.8 percent to 22.8 percent. This is a temporary arrangement, and the planks are usually replaced with wattle and daub, so the increase may simply reflect new construction. The percentage of houses having sweatbaths has declined from 52.1 to 41.5. No new sweatbaths have been made for the last ten years or so, and many of those recorded are not in use.

The changes in housing type reflect the greater prosperity of the town as well as the increasing receptivity to outside influence. The increase in tile roofs means a greater dependency on external markets. Ten years before the final census, a man who put on a tile roof feared the consequences of witchcraft.

351 592 571 When the people in two adjacent sitios have close social ties, they open an interior gate in the common fence, connecting the two yards. June Nash has noticed that if any disagreement [578] occurs between the people residing in the two contiguous sitios, the interior gates are barricaded even more strongly than the remainder of the fence, symbolically severing social communication (Nash, J: 1959).

351 592 Inside the sitios, there are several areas of activity (see Fig. 10): the front yard (ti?naie) where animals are tied [343] [342] when brought to the sitio, where corn is put to dry, etc., and where there are buildings (hna) such as the cook-house and others [241] which serve as sleeping quarters. The back yard is the place where things are stored and where a small garden is cultivated. [415] [252] [393] There are other spots, such as the place for the water jugs, the place for washing the mixtamal (corn mesh used for making tortillas), the sweat bath, etc.

342 The buildings themselves are mainly wattle and daub with thatch or palm roofs in the traditional Mayan pattern. There is, nevertheless, some variation in the use of cane, shingles and planks for walls, or tile roofs, which indicates a desire to imitate ladino ways rather than the wealth of the household. The houses have small porches which serve as "living room," places for receiving visitors, grooming, cleaning corn, or enjoying the twilight after a good day's work (see Figs. 10 and 11).

House Ritual

342 592 The building of a new house is an important social event

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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342
343
351
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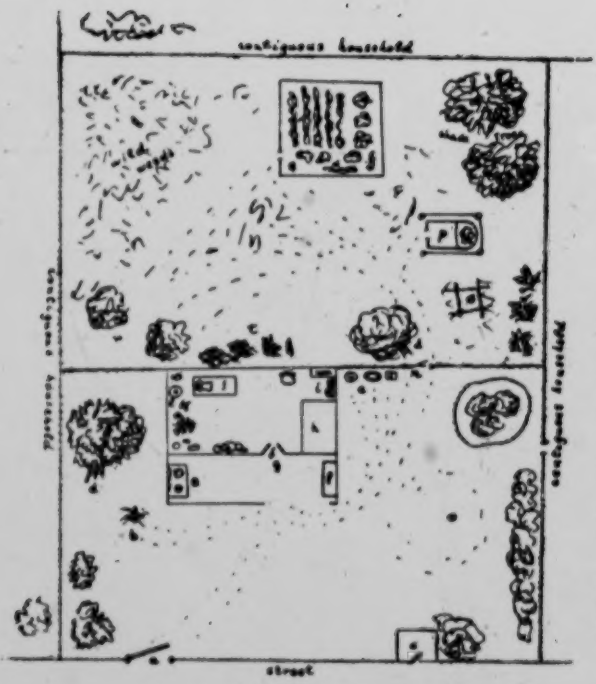
354
372
708



Scale: 1/8 of an hectare.
Number of inhabitants: 5.

Fig. 10.--Model of a Standard Household

a--entrance gate
b--nixtamal washing-pot
c--water pots
d--chicken coop in a tree
e--Saint's altar in the corridor
f--bench for receiving visitors
g--double door
h--wooden bed
i--petates (mats) chest and chair
j--table for making tortillas (with the grinding stone or metate)
k--molino and fire place
l--water pot inside the house
m--little stools for seating during meals and stored bags
n--gate to back yard
o--raised pig-pen
p--temascal (steam bath)
q--garden with chillis, and "tomatoes"
r--peach trees
s--pig-pen with gate to the street
t--fire-wood drying

184
342
343

		Number - Per Cent
Walls made of mud		93-77
	wood planks (teiamanil)	11-9
	palm	9-7
	mud and wood	3-2.5
	cane and palm	1-1.1
	cane	2-2.3
	mud and palm	1-1.1

Steam bath--20.
Of 121 buildings, 25 were painted white.

Building with corridor	65-80
Building without corridor	16-20
Kitchen with corridor	7-23
Kitchen without corridor	24-77

Households with more than two buildings distributed as follows:		15-22
unfinished new houses	4	
granaries	6	
saint's houses	2	
storage room for pots	1	
bedroom	1	
empty	1	

Roofs made of material other than palm (tile)--4
Pig pens--in all houses in sample
Chicken coops--46
Forty-five per cent of households have the kitchen built separate from the main building

Fig. 12.--House types in Aguacatenango

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

137 Change in soil is
134 probably the reason for change in vegetation. The tropical forest grows on black humus soil and the pine country is underlain by a red sandstone which weathers into a heavy red clay. The contact of this sandstone with the limestone country on which leaf trees grow lies about an hour's ride north of the village of Bachajon.

[133] The pine country is very hilly, the trees are scattered over a carpet of vivid green grass cut by the strong red line of the soil of the trail like a scar (fig. 195).

114 It was like riding through a magnificent park, up and down the hills and across small streams. Our poor animals had a hard time on the slippery trail. La Farge's horse gave out, and he had to change his saddle to a spare animal.

361 The Bachajon Indian village came in sight, lying on a hill in the
342 middle of the valley. It was well after noon when we reached the
346 dilapidated, grass-roofed and mud-walled huts clustered around the huge ruin of an old Spanish stone church. The Indians use a new church which they have built of the same material as their houses.

122 The house of the Government agent lies in the middle of the
344 village and here we were quartered in a room, the floor of which had just been covered with a carpet of fresh pine needles.

123 The Bachajon Indians are reputed to be unfriendly to all travellers, so we were not surprised when the Indian chief of the village told us that he could not furnish fodder for our animals or men to carry some of our cargo. To all our questions he answered "Mayuk," or in English, "Ain't got none." But when the chief, a little later, heard from our Encanto men that we had been friendly to them, and that furthermore, we were friends of the big father President in Mexico City, he changed his attitude.

648 The Government agent is sent to the Indian village by the civil
[651] authorities of the neighbouring Mexican town of Ocosingo. He is supposed to collect certain taxes, raise labourers for public works
[653] in the Mexican town, and help the Indians with their affairs. He is highly unpopular among the Indians, who counteract his orders through a remarkable system of passive resistance. They say "yes" to everything and do nothing. The only reason the Indians tolerate
[273] him is because he keeps a small store and sells liquor. The Indian is very fond of sugar-cane rum, and every Saturday and Sunday all the villagers generally get drunk. The agent complained bit-
[123] terly that the Indians were not selling him any food supplies and was astonished when they sold us chickens and eggs.

361 Most of the Bachajon Indians live hidden away in the bush. Only the families of the chief and the village officials live around the old church ruins.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

the Guatemala border, which it overlaps at Gracias á Dios. They do not reach the highest part of the mountains. For the most part, they live in isolated tribal groups, although in some places, notably in Ocosingo Valley, they are attached to *haciendas* and *fincas*. Much of the easternmost country marked in the maps as belonging to them and the Chol is actually uninhabited wilderness, or, if occupied at all, is Lacandone territory.

Their immediate neighbours of the Highlands are the Zotzil and Chaneabal. The former speak a language differentiated from Tzeltal only by a shift of *a, c,* and *b* to Zotzil *o, i,* and *m*, respectively.* Chaneabal is spoken by a small group near Comitan. The people of that place say that the language is simply Tzeltal influenced by Mames contact. The list given in Appendix III, seems to bear this out. To the north, and around Tumbalá, are the Chol Indians, whose language is quite distinct, but, of all the other Mayance tongues, probably the nearest to the Highland group.

The language itself has been variously named Cendal, Tzendal, Cendales, Tzental, and Tzeltal. I have taken the latter form, as it most nearly represents the Indians' own form, *ts'eltal*, varied in careless speech to *tceltal*. The villages are spoken of as tribes, because each one forms a separate, self-governing unit. There is no evidence of cohesion within the language-group as a whole save during certain periods of uprisings. Individual villages may resemble tribes of another speech more closely than they do those of their own. The Mexican spelling of Tzeltal names is given first, followed by the phonetic spelling (See Appendix III), and the translation, if known.

The Bachajon live on the threshold of the pine country. Their farms may be found hidden away in the thick jungle land of mahogany and palms, through which their little hidden trails lead to houses tucked away out of sight of alien travelers. Altogether, they are estimated at five thousand families, but it is doubtful whether evidences of more than fifty farms could be seen by one passing along the trail through the heart of their country. The capital, Bachajon Village, is among the pines. There, periodically, the Spaniards used to round them up, that they might be more easily policed, and for the benefit of the church established there. Once there was a fine, stone church and a neat Cabildo with white walls, colonnade, and tiled roof. Both have been wrecked by the Indians, apparently because they did not like to be reminded of alien domination, for from the wreckage of the old church, they took tiles to roof their new one, and they have a straw-thatched Cabildo for the Maestro, or government agent.

*Starr (1903) quoting Sanchez (1890).

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

133 shadow, another wall far behind. A Mexican told us that Tene-
133 japa lay in the valley thus enclosed. With the cool evening air our
114 animals picked up, taking us along at a good trot. We swung around a green dell, up under one cliff into the opening, over the threshold of a ridge. Some Indians sitting there waved to us. Beyond was a tiny, lush meadow and a brook where some Mexicans were making clay tiles. There was another rocky hillock, around which we swung to find ourselves trotting down a well-cobbled street lined with little white cottages, white-walled gardens, and
361 roses. To us, looking for something yet wilder than the villages we had seen, the neat houses and candle-lit casement windows, the doors of tiny shops, the flowers, and the shingled roofs were an utter surprise. In the streets was a sprinkling of touselled-headed Indians

[346]

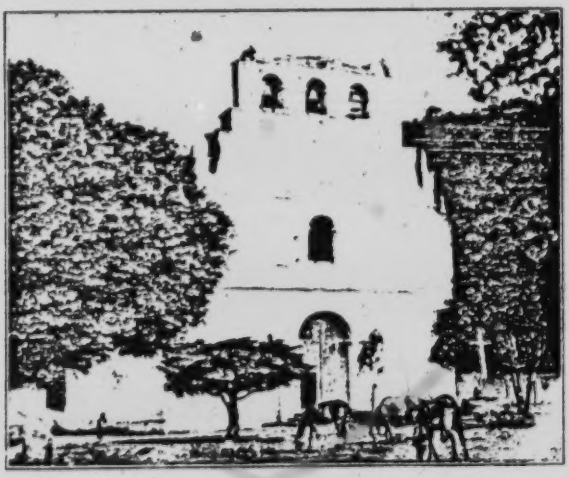


FIG. 328—Tenejapa, Chis. Church and Plaza.

and Ladino people of much fairer complexion than the typical, Lowland Mexicans. We rode past a gaunt, high-shouldered stone church into the plaza, a field of about two acres planted with a few trees, and with a fine town fountain of icy water in the middle (fig.
344 328). Along one side ran the Cabildo, a long, one-storied building
531 with a very deep veranda, gorgeously painted in cubist fashion, red,
123 yellow, green and blue. Here we halted to unpack and present our credentials to the *Presidente Municipal*.

361 Tenejapa is really two towns in one. There is the Ladino town,
563 around which lie the houses of some eight thousand Indians, by local

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

291 shorts are also usually embroidered in red and yellow. The chief had such a pair, very fine and gaudy, which we asked to see. He took [123] them off to show us, but when we tried to buy them from him he [293] became furiously angry and abusive. Sandals, when worn, are of the ordinary type. Most of the Indians carry a staff of some kind.

[531] The women wear the typical blue skirt, but the blouse, cut like a poncho, is usually tucked inside and heavily embroidered about the neck and shoulders. This work takes a long time, and the finished blouses are valued very highly. When worn outside they nearly cover the skirts, which are just knee length. Red sashes with a yellow stripe from Tapachula, of the kind worn also around Ocosingo, bind the skirts at the waist. Hair is done in two braids with dark red ribbon, or tied up in a knot over the forehead as at Cancuc.

[342] [231] [854] ← 302 → 301 → 621 563 → [293] →

FIG. 330—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians in the street.

Men and women alike wear cheap, gay-coloured necklaces, usually rosaries.

The Indians move with great freedom through the town and lounge in company with the Ladinos on the broad porch of the Town Hall. The officials are distinguished by silver-headed canes with black tassels. In lieu of a Maestro, they are directly under the Ladino *Presidente Municipal,* and their disputes are tried by the local judge. Their lawsuits have a mediaeval air, carried on publicly with great clamor on the Town Hall porch, and all concerned speaking with the utmost freedom. A breach of promise case was observed in the course of trial. It went on for at least two hours with never less than two Indians, usually women, speaking at once. One could not but admire the patience of the rather bored and indifferent judge.

695 344

114 The cargadores from Cancuc arrived shortly after dark, still lively despite the long day and steep climb. More remarkable still.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Tenejapa

361 Amatenango lies in an open valley. It is estimated at three
342 hundred houses, each in a fenced yard of good size, and shaded with
351 fruit trees. The houses are large and well built, of mud and grass
245 thatch, with porches. The small church and Town Hall are tiled-
346 roof and stuccoed. The fields, which lie close around the town, and
• 344 the gardens in the town itself are watered by a stream brought down
241 a very pretty, roaring flume from higher land behind the village.
312 The irrigation system is fairly elaborate, and is unique in this area as far as we know.

323 The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one shape, a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, how-

344

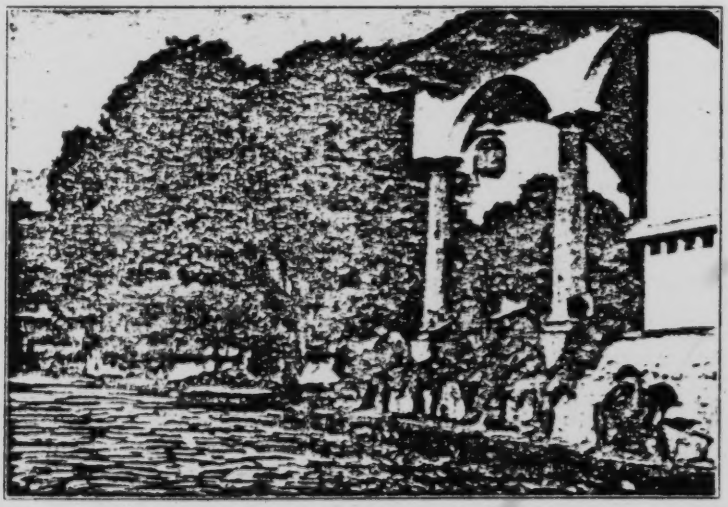


FIG. 332—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians at the Town Hall.

323 ever, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep, reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of boards, two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman in charge turns them until they are done (fig. 333). These pots are
[443] carried by the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they are redis-
[492] tributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala. Their industry is sufficient to enable them to maintain mules for carrying their goods, although both men and beasts are equally loaded.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

342 party to go to the spring, at least one relative remains in the house to
796 greet the soul if it should precede the curing party.
[584]
[755] Behavior in household rituals is described in Chapters 1, 5, and 8.
[128]

The Cabildo

344 The cabildo, called by the people of the town the "cold house,"[1] was
[196] built following the revolution of 1915, when Piñeda's revolutionary soldiers
[175] destroyed the original colonial structure. The tiles of the roof were confiscated from a finca which the Indians invaded in 1941 in an unsuccessful attempt to gain additional lands. When they were unable to maintain their hold on the land, they burned the owner's house and took the tiles to the town center where they remain as a symbol of their defiant action. They refer to this event with pride. The cabildo houses the jail, equipped with a barred wooden door, in one of its wings, and the Ejido Commission office in the other.

344 Within the cabildo, each official has his established place. The cabildo is
352 furnished with a table at which the president and síndico sit on wooden
621 chairs made in the Indian town of Chamula. Four benches lining the
554 walls on either side of the entry provide seating for the civil officials. On
576 the right side (looking out at the plaza) sit the judges in order of rank;
[693] the regidores, in similar sequence follow them. The principales, and formerly the alfereces, sit on the left side when they appear for ceremonial occasions. This spatial allocation establishes drinking and greeting order as well. Visitors can go directly from one to another in the formal greeting of a handclasp and murmured "good morning, father," or "good afternoon, father," without violating age-respect patterns.

344 During court cases, the claimant and his supporters sit on the bench to
352 the left of the door; on other occasions the bench is occupied by visitors or
695 petitioners. The police sit on one of the two benches lining the outside
[625] wall, or retire to the kitchen, a wooden slat lean-to on the left wing of the

[171] 1. Bunzel (1952) notes that in prayers, the cabildo in Chichicastenango is referred to as "the cold house, the icy house." Although the Quiché term is not given in her manuscript, one can see a similarity in the rhyming couplets and metaphorical allusions in the prayers of the towns.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office.

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist.

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first.

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient portable typewriter. Since typing is a new skill for him, he makes many errors, and his retrials are accepted with patience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

as lawyers. The defendant is sometimes accompanied by supporters who 693
feel that he has a case. The failure of parents to accompany a defendant, 695
regardless of his age, is attributed to their shame over their child's misbe- [593]
havior and their own failure to train him properly. The judge does not limit himself to passing judgment but also counsels the defendant as to how he should behave.

The town hall is usually shut and locked at noon unless some business 621
requires more time. In the evening about six, the officials return to take [344]
their same posts. They sit with their arms drawn inside their woolen jack- [516]
ets for warmth. After a half an hour they drift home. People rely on the [626]
presence of officials rather than particular actions to maintain social control, and it is their appearance at regular hours that assures the villagers that the town is being well run.

Local autonomy depends primarily on retaining social control functions. 621
Civil officials try to settle disputes locally and avoid the entry of Ladino of- 692
ficials from the departmental capital, although the judges and president 631
will threaten the defendant with taking the case to the department if they cannot get compliance. The number of cases referred to the capital has been increasing since 1950 as Table 32 shows. In 1951 the federal government began to fine local officials who failed to report homicide cases and accidental death. The local officials complied, but departmental courts were unable to bring action in over half the cases. No action was taken in 72 cases, or 54 percent, in comparison with 62 cases, or 46 percent, in which action was taken. Domestic cases, except for one of adultery, are adequately handled in local courts and do not appear in the departmental records. The trend shows an increasing number of cases of crimes against [674]
persons in comparison to crimes against property, an index to the break- [182]
down in social control processes.

The Church

346
The church has been built and on two occasions rebuilt—when the [794]
tower was struck by lightning—with funds collected locally from house- [821]
hold heads. Damage to the church was attributed to the patron saint of [776]
the neighboring town of Oxchuk who, the people say, was fighting with their patroness, Santa Lucía. The townspeople feel that they own the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 301]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

621 Among its duties are those of keeping vital statistics for
659 the National Population Bureau which are sent to the state office,
695 solving cases of adultery and theft, collecting the fiesta and
651 Ejido taxes, keeping the streets clean, building and repairing
363 roads and public buildings, and also taking charge of the local
491 jail. Ayuntamiento officers are also called in to prevent or solve
344 witchcraft cases and give advice and reprimands to misbehaving
754 wives, sons and other relatives when the household or the responsible
626 relatives cannot deal with the case on their own.

621 423 432 434 The Ayuntamiento also keeps its own corn field, worked by communal labor, whose crop is sold to collect funds for its own expenses.

794 The Mayordomia, or religious body, performs the formal activities on the religious holidays, is the custodian of the sacred objects (rockets, church keys, bells) connected with the Church, and the authority which carries out the tasks required by all of man's peaceful relations with the supernatural on the village level.

They are responsible as a group for the upkeep of the Church building and saint images, and the preparations for and the performance of Church Fiestas, regular church meetings, etc. Among their duties are those of providing meals for the priest while he is in town, helping during mass, contracting musicians and collecting the Church limosna during mass.

621 This structural level lacks monopoly of either of these functions in relation to other less inclusive social units. Social control and religious activity are carried on at the level of the barrio, the extended family, and within the household, and religious activity can be carried on by individuals.

159 civil officials, not of me"). He identifies himself with the Indians in the
875 fight against the competitive trucking cooperative ("Those who are with
563 him [Don Ramon] are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by
177 him"). While he does not accuse Ramon's wife directly of witchcraft he
178 implies this in saying that people sign their candidate's nomination peti-
[754] tion for president because they are afraid Juana will use witchcraft. This is
[626] a characteristic mode of attacking one's enemies in the town. He claims credit for all of the innovations in the town which have won public approval—the highway, the water supply, electricity, and so forth.

622 The profit motive is inadequate to explain why Ladinos want to play
875 the role of cacique in these corporate Indian communities. One must seek
563 for an explanation instead in the social status they gain. While their jobs
177 are limited and usually frustrating and they can never be completely inte-
178 grated into the community, political activities offer them a larger arena in which they can derive personal satisfaction. The contrast between the schoolmaster's position in Tzoʔontahal before he became a political leader and his position after finding local supporters illustrates this. In the early days of his residence in town, when he built a chicken coop which extended a few feet beyond the grounds allotted to the schoolhouse, some Indians threatened to kill him. In 1957, I saw him trying to summon a policeman from the town hall, which was adjacent to the schoolhouse, to remove a boulder from the path so that a visiting friend could pass in his automobile. No one heeded his urgent shouts or the whistle he used to call children to school, although they were well aware of what he wanted. But by 1965 there was not a single important transaction which did not require consultation with the schoolteacher. Campesinos from as far as Villa Las Rosas came to request his advice and his help in approaching government agents. In projecting his political role, he gained support for projects which were of interest to him. When he had succeeded in getting the gov-
[653] ernment to install water pipes and electricity, he talked the civil authori-
[312] ties into building a kiosk, or bandstand, in the plaza. This was a fulfill-
[365] ment of his ambition to make the town over in the image of a colonial
[345] Spanish pueblo. His final statement in the speech quoted above, "Today we see a kiosk, tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory!" reveals the symbolic significance it had for him.

794 the calpul must have a powerful nagual, through which they can learn about the private lives of their subordinates. This is usually the way they know who has enough money to pay for a feast, who can occupy special jobs, and which sinners deserve punishment.

Religious Life

The Catholic Cult

177 797 795 795 778 [346] [361] [776] [796] [794] The beliefs and religious practices introduced by Catholic missionaries in the 16th century have been adapted to the aboriginal culture. The largest and most important building of the village is the church, situated on the east side of the ceremonial center. In it are the image of the patron saint of the group, the holy cross, and lesser saints. The most profound ceremonies take place before the altar of these saints, who are looked upon as mediators between God and men, and are performed by the cabildos de misa, dzunubiles, and other elderly men of high rank who know both Catholic and Indian ritual.

346 796 795 [782] During the ceremonies the altar is decorated with flowers and with paper and ribbons of different colors. The floor is covered with pine needles, which give off an agreeable fragrance. Candles and copal are part of every prayer and ceremony, the copal having been used since pre-Hispanic times.

795 782 Common prayers of people who visit the center also have a place. These people have to enter the church and make an offering of candles to the patron saint. The prayers follow a formal pattern but vary in content according to the need and mood of the supplicant. Each individual talks intimately to the saint, specifying the help he needs, much as he would to a relative or a friend in whom he has absolute confidence. The two most frequent matters of petition are health and food, as the latter depends almost entirely on the condition of the cornfield, people pray that "it may not be damaged by the wind, or by cold, sun, birds, or plagues."

[P.221-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

137 Change in soil is
134 probably the reason for change in vegetation. The tropical forest grows on black humus soil and the pine country is underlain by a red sandstone which weathers into a heavy red clay. The contact of this sandstone with the limestone country on which leaf trees grow lies about an hour's ride north of the village of Bachajon.

[133] The pine country is very hilly, the trees are scattered over a carpet of vivid green grass cut by the strong red line of the soil of the trail like a scar (fig. 195).

114 It was like riding through a magnificent park, up and down the hills and across small streams. Our poor animals had a hard time on the slippery trail. La Farge's horse gave out, and he had to change his saddle to a spare animal.

361 The Bachajon Indian village came in sight, lying on a hill in the
342 middle of the valley. It was well after noon when we reached the
346 dilapidated, grass-roofed and mud-walled huts clustered around the huge ruin of an old Spanish stone church. The Indians use a new church which they have built of the same material as their houses.

122 The house of the Government agent lies in the middle of the
344 village and here we were quartered in a room, the floor of which had just been covered with a carpet of fresh pine needles.

123 The Bachajon Indians are reputed to be unfriendly to all travellers, so we were not surprised when the Indian chief of the village told us that he could not furnish fodder for our animals or men to carry some of our cargo. To all our questions he answered "Mayuk," or in English, "Ain't got none." But when the chief, a little later, heard from our Encanto men that we had been friendly to them, and that furthermore, we were friends of the big father President in Mexico City, he changed his attitude.

648 The Government agent is sent to the Indian village by the civil
[651] authorities of the neighbouring Mexican town of Ocosingo. He is supposed to collect certain taxes, raise labourers for public works
[653] in the Mexican town, and help the Indians with their affairs. He is highly unpopular among the Indians, who counteract his orders through a remarkable system of passive resistance. They say "yes" to everything and do nothing. The only reason the Indians tolerate
[273] him is because he keeps a small store and sells liquor. The Indian is very fond of sugar-cane rum, and every Saturday and Sunday all the villagers generally get drunk. The agent complained bit-
[123] terly that the Indians were not selling him any food supplies and was astonished when they sold us chickens and eggs.

361 Most of the Bachajon Indians live hidden away in the bush. Only the families of the chief and the village officials live around the old church ruins.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

the Guatemala border, which it overlaps at Gracias á Dios. They do not reach the highest part of the mountains. For the most part, they live in isolated tribal groups, although in some places, notably in Ocosingo Valley, they are attached to *haciendas* and *fincas*. Much of the easternmost country marked in the maps as belonging to them and the Chol is actually uninhabited wilderness, or, if occupied at all, is Lacandone territory.

Their immediate neighbours of the Highlands are the Zotzil and Chaneabal. The former speak a language differentiated from Tzeltal only by a shift of *a*, *c*, and *b* to Zotzil *o*, *i*, and *m*, respectively.* Chaneabal is spoken by a small group near Comitan. The people of that place say that the language is simply Tzeltal influenced by Mames contact. The list given in Appendix III, seems to bear this out. To the north, and around Tumbalá, are the Chol Indians, whose language is quite distinct, but, of all the other Mayance tongues, probably the nearest to the Highland group.

The language itself has been variously named Cendal, Tzendal, Cendales, Tzental, and Tzeltal. I have taken the latter form, as it most nearly represents the Indians' own form, *ts'eltal*, varied in careless speech to *tceltal*. The villages are spoken of as tribes, because each one forms a separate, self-governing unit. There is no evidence of cohesion within the language-group as a whole save during certain periods of uprisings. Individual villages may resemble tribes of another speech more closely than they do those of their own. The Mexican spelling of Tzeltal names is given first, followed by the phonetic spelling (See Appendix III), and the translation, if known.

The Bachajon live on the threshold of the pine country. Their farms may be found hidden away in the thick jungle land of mahogany and palms, through which their little hidden trails lead to houses tucked away out of sight of alien travelers. Altogether, they are estimated at five thousand families, but it is doubtful whether evidences of more than fifty farms could be seen by one passing along the trail through the heart of their country. The capital, Bachajon Village, is among the pines. There, periodically, the Spaniards used to round them up, that they might be more easily policed, and for the benefit of the church established there. Once there was a fine, stone church and a neat Cabildo with white walls, colonnade, and tiled roof. Both have been wrecked by the Indians, apparently because they did not like to be reminded of alien domination, for from the wreckage of the old church, they took tiles to roof their new one, and they have a straw-thatched Cabildo for the Maestro, or government agent.

*Starr (1905) quoting Sanchez (1890).

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

291 broidery along all the seams, at the cuffs, and over what would be a pocket in a European shirt. Trousers are either very short "shorts," or replaced by a cotton breech-clout. Hats are seldom worn. Most men carry woolen blankets woven by the Chamula Indians. The red sashes are knotted in front (fig. 322).

The women's dress is the same as at Tenango, but without any 302 decoration, and with a shorter skirt. Their hair is worn in two braids, or done up in a knot over the forehead, forward of where the tump-line is placed.

Fig. 323—Cancuc, Chis. Men on the Cabildo porch.

771 These people, for all their turbulence, are very devout, although, like many who are more civilized, they leave most of the expression 794 to the women. The church is swept out daily by women appointed for the purpose. Along about five o'clock in the afternoon all the women drift in, singly or in small groups, pray for awhile, 346 and come out. Looking in the door one sees the large interior almost pitch dark, cut here and there with [291] tiny, yellow candle-flames, and hears a monotonous sing-song drone of chanted 796 prayers. Their festivals center about the church. In this connection they have a very curious custom. [417] There are two scaffolds by the plaza (fig. 323) very small platforms on four rickety poles about four meters high, surrounded by an insufficient railing, arched over with palm branches, [203] and reached by a frail-looking ladder. The drinking which, as was explained in the last chapter, is an essential part of any ceremony, must all take place on top of these scaffolds. It is indeed a miracle that every fiesta does not cause a score of broken necks.

123 While wandering around to see what he could see, the writer was hailed by an elderly woman who gave him to understand by signs

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

133 shadow, another wall far behind. A Mexican told us that Tene-
133 japa lay in the valley thus enclosed. With the cool evening air our
114 animals picked up, taking us along at a good trot. We swung around a green dell, up under one cliff into the opening, over the threshold of a ridge. Some Indians sitting there waved to us. Beyond was a tiny, lush meadow and a brook where some Mexicans were making clay tiles. There was another rocky hillock, around which we swung to find ourselves trotting down a well-cobbled street lined with little white cottages, white-walled gardens, and
361 roses. To us, looking for something yet wilder than the villages we had seen, the neat houses and candle-lit casement windows, the doors of tiny shops, the flowers, and the shingled roofs were an utter surprise. In the streets was a sprinkling of touselled-headed Indians

[346]

FIG. 328—Tenejapa, Chis. Church and Plaza.

and Ladino people of much fairer complexion than the typical, Lowland Mexicans. We rode past a gaunt, high-shouldered stone church into the plaza, a field of about two acres planted with a few trees, and with a fine town fountain of icy water in the middle (fig.
344 328). Along one side ran the Cabildo, a long, one-storied building
531 with a very deep veranda, gorgeously painted in cubist fashion, red,
123 yellow, green and blue. Here we halted to unpack and present our credentials to the *Presidente Municipal*.

361 Tenejapa is really two towns in one. There is the Ladino town,
563 around which lie the houses of some eight thousand Indians, by local

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Amatenango
Tenejapa

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The Church

346

The church has been built and on two occasions rebuilt—when the tower was struck by lightning—with funds collected locally from household heads. Damage to the church was attributed to the patron saint of the neighboring town of Oxchuk who, the people say, was fighting with their patroness, Santa Lucía. The townspeople feel that they own the [794] [821] [776]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 301]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The townspeople feel that they own the church, and many resent the intrusion of the priest who resides sometimes two or three days a week in the adjoining rectory. In the past five years, however, the priest has succeeded in asserting more control over the church: he has forbidden drinking in the church or in the courtyard, a prohibition that resulted in an open confrontation with the leading cofrade (Chapter 9); and he now controls the keys to the church and to the money boxes, formerly the responsibility of the fiscal. The two lay sisters who are in residence during the week hold the keys and are in charge of the upkeep of the church. 346 793 794 177 178

People always show respect for the church by removing their hats as they pass the entrance, even when they are at a distance. As they enter the church, they always kneel and cross themselves. They may spit on the floor of the church, for this is not a sign of disrespect. 346 576 788 [514]

The complementarity of church and cabildo is still formally recognized in ceremonial events: participants bow to the church and then to the cabildo during processions. The transfer of sacred symbols from one locale to the other at the time of the inauguration of civil and religious officials ceremonially signifies the integration of civil and religious authority, despite the growing separation in day-to-day functions in each of the domains. 621 794 182

The church serves as a staging platform for the images and symbolic offerings to them in the annual cycle of ceremonies. During the nine days of ceremony accorded to the major saints, their images are moved to the center of the altar or to the center of the nave. The staging effects are particularly notable during the fiesta of Holy Week, when the reenactment of the crucifixion is performed in the nave. The mayordomos, under the direction of the fiscal and the lay sisters, move the saints about and prepare adornments of flowers and pine needles. 346 796 [794]

The church is the locus for the weekly mass given by the priest. The men stand on the left side of the church (facing the altar), while the women kneel or sit on the floor to the right. A few benches near the altar are occupied by the Ladinos of the area who attend the mass. The lay sisters indicate to the congregation when they should kneel and rise in response to the cues of the sermon or mass. [562] [563] [794]

In addition to these scheduled events, the church serves as a locus where 346 776 782

346 776 782 individuals can visit the saints on their own personal missions. Appendix 3A records the visits of groups and individuals on an ordinary Sunday. Their actions in the church are part of the standardized behavior incumbent upon all those who enter the building.

Communication with the saints is ensured either by touching and kissing their images or, if the images are enclosed in glass cases, by tapping the gl. with offerings of money. It is believed that one gains an audience [562] by pay..g for it. When groups larger than individual clusters of visitors enter the church, sexual segregation is observed (for example, when a male child enters with his mother on the occasion of a mass, he remains with her until more people arrive, then leaves her to stand on the male [788] side of the nave). Ritualized wailing is done by women only. After such a [152] demonstration the women show normal composure, since wailing is a standardized mode of communication, not an outburst of uncontrolled emotion. It is private and concerns the individual wailer and the saint to which she appeals; none of the other visitors in the church indicates any sign of response to these displays. Unless there is a focused activity going [794] on, such as a mass or series of baptisms, each visiting group is an autonomous unit, carrying out its own mission.

794 571 562 People visit the church most commonly in pairs of two. They congregate for mass in a pattern in which women and children enter first, and men, who linger in the plaza until the church is partially filled, enter in clusters and take their places on the male side of the nave. The religious and civil officials enter last, and the mayordomos, whose attendance is one of the obligations of their post, move toward the altar at the front. Men attend church less frequently than do women.

The School

346 621 875 [177] [178] Unlike the church, the school is regarded as an alien structure. Assistance in reconstruction and maintenance is given under pressure rather than voluntarily. Until fairly recently, schoolteachers too remained unintegrated in the community. In the early years of the school's existence, there was a rapid turnover of teachers. The employment of a schoolmaster with a wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The school has be-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

come the domain of the schoolmaster, who represents federal influence in the local community. He has rebuilt parts of the structure in the thirteen years he and his family have lived and worked in this building; it was his fortress when the Indians threatened to kill him for building a chicken coop obtruding into the street, and again when he interceded in a case of homicide. He has a small arsenal stored in his bedroom in preparation for any reversal of his position in the community. The school is his platform, the area he controls and from which he shouts to his compadres—the storekeeper, the fiscal, and the president—to come speak with him. 346 621 875

The long building is subdivided into four classrooms and the living quarters of the schoolmaster's family. The classrooms are furnished with crude benches and tables; blackboards and charts of birds, animals, and the alphabet decorate the walls. The back porch, converted to classrooms to accommodate the three hundred and fifty children, overflows with benches. The students' own materials—a notebook, pencil, and erasers—are provided by their parents. When a notebook is filled, the students industriously erase all the marks and reuse the book until it falls apart. 346 352 353 872

When I was in the village, the schoolmaster often encouraged visitors to share a Coca-Cola with him in his office. Here, surrounded by his books, his collection of artifacts of both genuine and spurious origin, a picture of the district inspector of federal schools pinning a medal on his chest, the flag of the Mexican republic, he could speak freely of the personal attacks and frustrations and of the rare satisfactions he encountered "in bringing civilization to the town." As he began to build up his political power in the community, the president and síndico often consulted with him on town affairs. Agents of the federal or departmental offices who came to town frequently communicated with him directly before going to the cabildo. The school became the arena for working out political programs and strategies. The schoolmaster prided himself on being the primary channel of communication between the outside world and the village. 621 875 [346] [353]

The conflict of interest between the schoolmaster and the parents of the children over attendance in school has been ameliorated in recent years with the acceptance by some of the parents of education as an advantage. In the early years of compulsory education, physical force was used to round up the children. The traumatic experience of his first day in school 872 875 578 177 178 872 177

Third, there was opposition on the score that the president had never passed in any other public office. The only incident revealing the discontent was the firing of eight shots at (or above) the president's brother following the house festival on the eve of the inauguration. 666 578 622

The principales, who "formerly were the ones who ruled," no longer have a part in the power struggle 624 178

621* 794 554 346

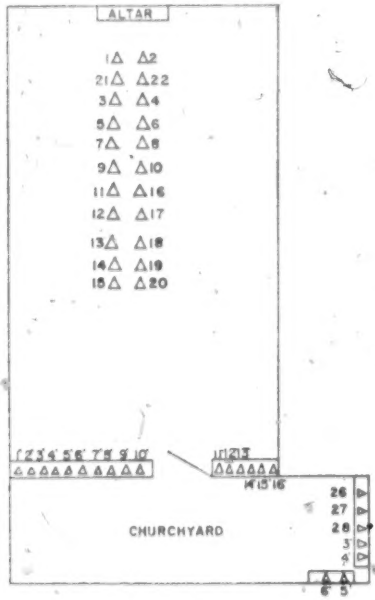

CHART 11 — NEW OFFICIALS INSIDE CHURCH, NEW YEAR'S DAY

OFFICIALS:
1-16 Mayordomos

Remaining numbers refer to officials listed in Charts 7-9.

which centers on party membership and economic competition. Their ceremonial role in rituals is preserved as a link with the past as well as a sign of continuity between old and new officials. 624 178 [794]

In the inauguration of the religious officials, divergence in the elicited and the observed event (App. 2, column 4) occurred first of all in the shift of locale for the common meal from the churchyard to the house of the *?ali?bal* instead of in the churchyard (App. 2, Q. 19). This was a clue to the power struggle going on in the church. When I questioned my informant about the disparity, he told me the following story: 794 178 578 [264] [793] [273]

[P. 223-B]

public in the procession around the plaza (App. 1, Q. 39). The mayordomos gather in the church specifically to view the new incumbents (App. 1, Q. 50). There is less public display of new officeholders in the case of the religious officials than in the case of civil officials.

The morphological description of the structure of a society is inadequate unless it includes role behavior as well as status positions. The behavioral data pro-

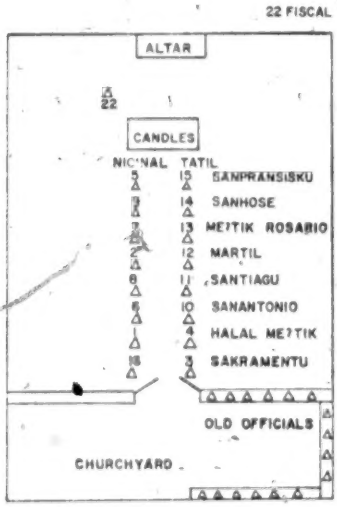

CHART 15 — NEW MAYORDOMOS INSIDE CHURCH, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

vide the basis for describing the physiology of a culture, or how actors and social groups interrelate in carrying out tasks. In the inaugurations, the household emerged in the behavioral descriptions as an important ritual domain supporting the civil and religious hierarchy. Similarly, the asymmetrical relation between the role of religious officials in the civil inauguration and that of civil officials in the religious

[P. 228-A)

Though the nuclear family predominates,
591 custom dictates that the house be near mem-
613 bers of the same lineage or patrilineal
[361] group, perhaps because of the patrilineal
[592] system of land inheritance. In the parajes groups of houses in which families composed of mother, father, uncles, and other members of the patriline live are common. No fences mark the limits of the property; [351] their infrequent presence merely keeps the
591 pigs and chickens under control. This group
592 of houses, easily accessible and inhabited by people related by kinship, constitutes the most important influence in the individual's formation, since it is here that he acquires his first experiences and cultural values, as well as the emotional links that will have the greatest weight in his life. This system of patrilocal residence is observed all through the region, even in compact villages like Aguacatenango, where lack of space favors dispersion. B. Metzger (1959) tells us, "Looking at the nuclear families to trace patrilocality there, we find that in 74 cases where we have adequate data, 39 are in the same block and 12 in adjacent blocks with husband's parents or siblings; 11 in the same block and 8 in adjacent blocks with wife's parents or siblings. 4 are classed to neither spouse's family."

351 In villages or cabeceras of a compact type
591 it is customary to mark family plots by a
592 fence of stones or sticks, with entrance toward the street (Chanal, Sivaca, Amatenango, Aguacatenango.) Occasionally, when the nuclear family is divided because of the marriage of one of the sons, then the "solar" or the "sitio" (as it is called in the region) is subdivided by another fence that separates the portion now belonging to the new family. A door allows easy communication between both families. Sometimes, even three nuclear families live in a large sitio, divided by fences.

583 *Types of Marriage*

Types of marriage vary from that following the old traditional to one requiring the

[P. 217-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

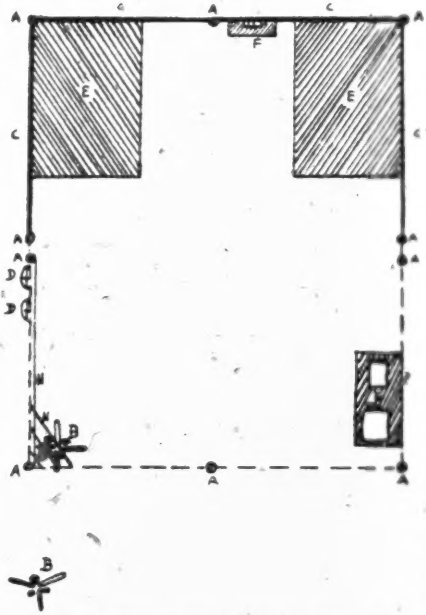

FIG. 288—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon House. Plan. (Scale 1:100).

A. Uprights, kuk'up.
B. Fire.
C. Wall, p'ahk.
D. Rat Trap.
E. Beds.
F. Altar.
G. Table with Metates.
H. Racks.

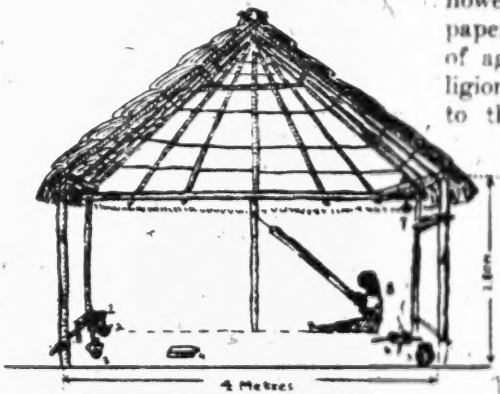

FIG. 289—El Encanto, Chis. Section of Bachajon House.

1. Table, ahk'en, with Metates.
2. Basket of clay, tcavek lum.
3. Tenango water jar, k'ip.
4. Squatting chair, tsamate.
5. Olla, ocom.
6. Fire, kak'.
7. Racks, baxtet, with packages.
8. Woman weaving.

a central front and back post, and two posts close together on each side at the ends of the walls, supported the roof-beams. There were no horizontal members save the plates, following the line of the eaves. The rafters were built up from these direct to the ridge-pole, joined by light cross pieces, or thatching-poles, laid on outside. Near the top they were braced by a purlin of heavy logs on the inside. From floor to eaves it was 1.80 meters, and about the same from eaves to the ridge-pole. The floor was of hard dirt, fairly well levelled, and well swept. We were told that situations on hills, such as this, are commonly chosen to assure drainage, and that there is no orientation.

The altar, a table and a large cross decorated with flowers, pine-tips, and bits of paper, which will be spoken of again when discussing religion, was placed at the back to the right of the middle post. In front, to the right, was the table, *ahk'en*, on which were two metates, or grinding stones. They were legless, one end being raised slightly by propping with stones. The finer one was called *skaltca-tut* ("metate-small"), it was made of a fine, sandy lime-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

133 green wall away to the westward. Midway, there is a break in the slope, with a dramatic splash of deep red cliffs, in violent contrast
241 to the fertile grass and soft tones of the limestone outcrops. Only the upper end of this valley belongs to Tenango, so little, in fact that the inhabitants cannot practice the usual, sprawling milpa system of agriculture. The very yards are planted, and the fields
[35] start almost in the village, radiating from it in a close patchwork
[41] as in Europe. Everything is fenced with roughly split planks set on end, and fences line the road into Tenango where it passes
361 through the cornfields. The houses with their yards lie close about an open plaza in which are the grey bones of a ruined church, a

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361

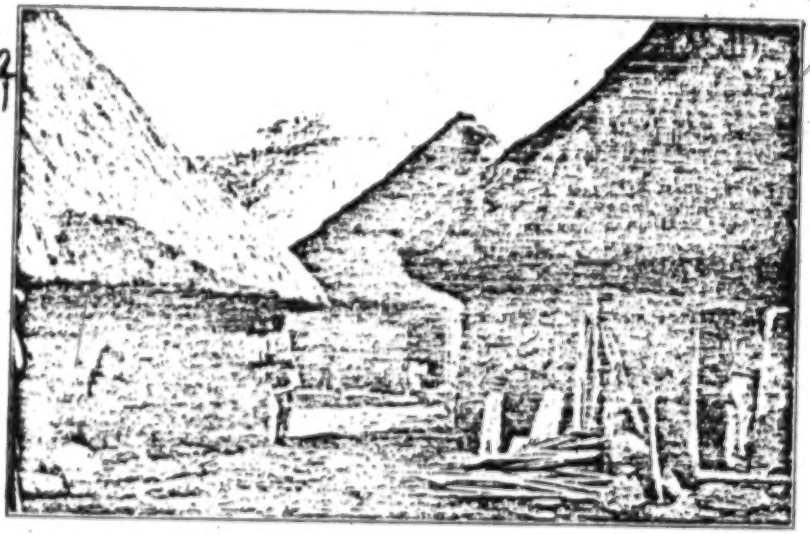

FIG. 313—Tenango, Chis. Houses.

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whitewashed, palm-roofed native one, and the shack of a Cabildo for
245 the Maestro. The streets are lined with useful trees, oranges, gourds,
363 and a few bananas, which do poorly at this altitude.

342 The houses are square and well-made with walls of broad, split planks covered with mud (figs. 311-312). The roofs are steeply thatched and pyramidal, or have a short ridge along which broken pots are laid after the manner of tiles. The frame-work differs from that described in the last chapter in having cross-pieces laid between
[354] the plates. There are no chimneys, the smoke is allowed to seep through the thatch, keeping out vermin and making the roofs steam like a clam-bake.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Tenejapa

361 Amatenango lies in an open valley. It is estimated at three
342 hundred houses, each in a fenced yard of good size, and shaded with
351 fruit trees. The houses are large and well built, of mud and grass
245 thatch, with porches. The small church and Town Hall are tiled-
346 roof and stuccoed. The fields, which lie close around the town, and
344 the gardens in the town itself are watered by a stream brought down
241 a very pretty, roaring flume from higher land behind the village.
312 The irrigation system is fairly elaborate, and is unique in this area as far as we know.

323 The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one shape, a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, how-

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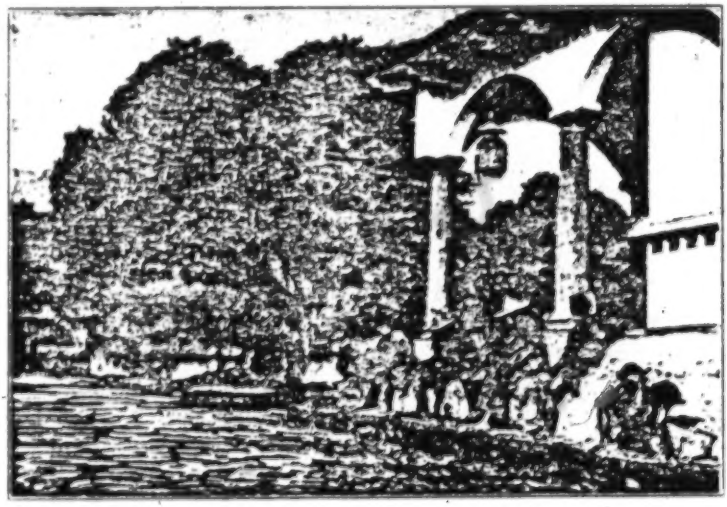

FIG. 333—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians at the Town Hall.

323 ever, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep, reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of boards, two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman in charge turns them until they are done (fig. 333). These pots are
[443] carried by the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they are redis-
[492] tributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala. Their industry is sufficient to enable them to maintain mules for carrying their goods, although both men and beasts are equally loaded.

342 177 178 434 of witchcraft. Today probably 95 percent of the new roofs are made of tile. Often the old roofs cannot be replaced with tile because the rafters were not built to support them. One result of the change has been the dependence on a carpenter to construct the gables, since they have to be lined up more accurately than they do with thatch or palm roofs. [335]

361 351 434 House lots in the town center are preferred to those on the margins. As residents of house sites on the ejido lands at the margins of the town acquire wealth, one of the first things they try to do is acquire a house closer to the plaza. These lots are smaller, averaging about 500 square meters, while those farther out average 900 square meters. In a sample measurement of 100 house lots, the size ranged from 180 to 1,440 square meters, and the average size was 77 square meters. Considering the advantages of a large lot in growing chile fruits and corn, the preference for smaller central lots reveals the strong prestige factor influencing choice. [554]

352 435 House furnishings include both purchased and homemade items. Sleeping accommodations consist of wooden bedboards, either nailed on a frame or simply laid on blocks and covered with a straw mat. Woolen blankets from Comitán are sold locally at a price of 24 pesos or for 20 pesos in San Cristóbal and 18 pesos in Comitán. Most households own two or three wooden benches which line the walls of the porch and are made locally. Small chairs are purchased from Chamula carpenters at a cost of 2 to 4 pesos, as well as a small table costing about 4. A higher table is provided for the saints' pictures and candle holders, incense burner, and flower vases or tin cans. Hooks are fashioned from the crotch of trees and suspended on the house posts. Wooden boxes are bought from Ladino carpenters in San Cristóbal at a cost of 10 to 20 pesos depending on size and workmanship and are used to store clothing. In addition to the homemade water holders, water carriers, comales, strainers, and bowls, handmade glazed ware from San Cristóbal, factory-made porcelain dishes, metal cooking pots, knives, and spoons are purchased. Gourds provide serving ware for ceremonial occasions. Stone grinding platforms and rollers are purchased in San Cristóbal for about 10 pesos. Two new items have become increasingly popular in the past five years: a metal grinding machine for corn, hand operated and costing from 40 to 60 pesos depending on the size and quality, and a hinged press for tortillas, costing 15 pesos if made [513] [908] [322] 415 435 439 [412] 435 415 177

592 decisions are made, most of his life conflicts created and solved. Basically, it is as a member of a particular household that a person relates to people living outside his home. There is no more unhappy position for a person than being an "orphan," a person without relatives who can give him a home.

Moreover, the household functions as a political unit, being the unit of recruitment of personnel for the larger institutions of the village, such as the local government.

Physical Setting

•351 592 The domestic territory is the sitio: the land and buildings of a single household. The boundaries of this residential site are delimited by a low fence and a gate facing one street. The fence is made of pickets tied with maguey rope or of thorny branches. The sitio entrance from the street is a tranca, a gate made of two large, sliding, horizontal poles attached to a short, vertical column on each side.

The fences and gates are important social symbols, delimiting the territory of the domestic group which resides in it. When a household splits into two separate domestic groups, but keeps on sharing the same original sitio, a new fence is built between them. Occasionally, this fence will not be built for a period of time, but the two domestic groups will build separate living quarters and separate cook-houses. Even then, the households will have their territory within the sitio clearly delimited, if not fenced. In any case, a new gate is opened, symbolizing the independence of the families living within the sitio.

351 592 571 When the people in two adjacent sitios have close social ties, they open an interior gate in the common fence, connecting the two yards. June Nash has noticed that if any disagreement [578] occurs between the people residing in the two contiguous sitios, the interior gates are barricaded even more strongly than the remainder of the fence, symbolically severing social communication (Nash, J: 1959).

351 592 Inside the sitios, there are several areas of activity [343] (see Fig. 10): the front yard (ti?naie) where animals are tied [342] when brought to the sitio, where corn is put to dry, etc., and where there are buildings (hna) such as the cook-house and others [241] which serve as sleeping quarters. The back yard is the place where things are stored and where a small garden is cultivated. [415] There are other spots, such as the place for the water jugs, the [252] place for washing the mixtamal (corn mesh used for making tortillas), [343] the sweat bath, etc.

342 The buildings themselves are mainly wattle and daub with thatch or palm roofs in the traditional Mayan pattern. There is, nevertheless, some variation in the use of cane, shingles and planks for walls, or tile roofs, which indicates a desire to imitate ladino ways rather than the wealth of the household. The houses have small porches which serve as "living room," places for receiving visitors, grooming, cleaning corn, or enjoying the twilight after a good day's work (see Figs. 10 and 11).

House Ritual

342 592 The building of a new house is an important social event

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]

8: Hunt E-4.5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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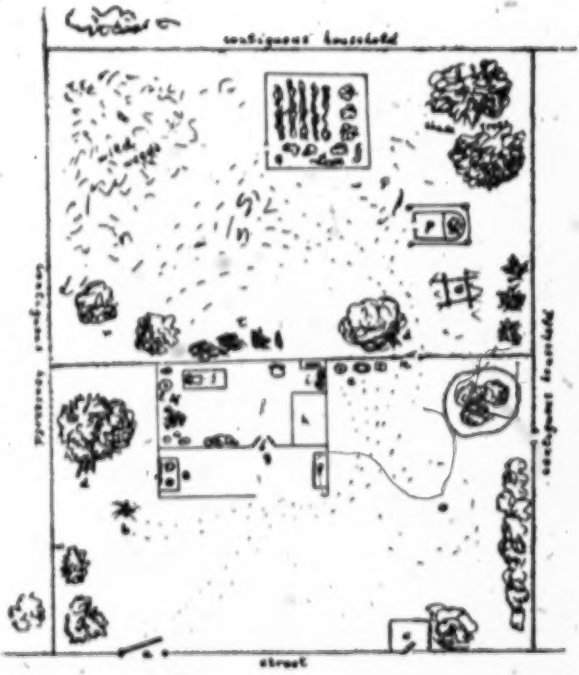

Scale: 1/8 of an hectare.
Number of inhabitants: 5.

Fig. 10.--Model of a Standard Household

a--entrance gate
b--nixtamal washing-pot
c--water pots
d--chicken coop in a tree
e--Saint's altar in the corridor
f--bench for receiving visitors
g--double door
h--wooden bed
i--petates (mats) chest and chair
j--table for making tortillas (with the grinding stone or metate)
k--molino and fire place
l--water pot inside the house
m--little stools for seating during meals and stored bags
n--gate to back yard
o--raised pig-pen
p--temascal (steam bath)
q--garden with chillis, and "tomatoes"
r--peach trees
s--pig-pen with gate to the street
t--fire-wood drying

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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•351
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354
415

Fig. 11.--House Viewed from the Street Gate

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The Indians manufacture and consume *chicha*, an alcoholic beverage fermented from sugar cane or maize. They drink larger quantities of rum prepared in Ladino-owned distilleries. *Pilico*, a combination of lime and tobacco, is chewed frequently, especially in Oxchuc, Tenejapa, and Cancuc. 273 276 184

Tenejapa is the only Tzeltal town that enjoys importance as a market center. Here a market is held every Sunday. 443

Pottery is made for sale outside the local community in Amatenango and in Tenango. In almost all the other communities the industry is practised in a rudimentary form merely to supply local needs. Blom and LaFarge observed and reported the techniques of pottery manufacture at Sivaca;[28] Villa limits his data to mentioning the industry there. Blom and LaFarge report, on hearsay, the method of making large, egg-shaped, three-handled water jars at Tenango; Villa observed and reported this industry. The former authors report that the clay used is "a light greenish brown colour."[29] Villa says that two kinds of clay, "white earth" and "red earth," are combined to form the paste. Villa also noted the tempering with a ground sandy limestone (*hi*); and the painting with a paint made from a soft stone from the river (*huxu-tzaik*). The pots and griddles are made from one kind of clay tempered with a different sandstone called *bax*. The method of firing described for Sivaca by Blom and LaFarge from hearsay, involving the preparation of "an A-roof, forming a long tunnel,"[30] was observed and photographed by Villa in Tenango. Villa was told that vessels after firing are filled with *pozole* in water to reduce the porosity. 323 [438]

In Tenejapa metates are made for export, and in Oxchuc halters, lead-ropes, nets and bags. The methods of weaving, net making and basketry, reported by Blom and LaFarge for Bachajon, were not reported by Villa. 439 114 285 286

The type of habitation is the same throughout the whole region, although there are small variations from village to village. The houses are rectangular in form with four-sided roofs, thatched with grass, and with sides made of poles and clay. Only the houses of Chanal form an exception. The walls of these structures are in most cases of wood. The houses of Tenango present another exception in that they are the only ones where the roofs do not terminate in a ridge, but in a point; it is usual to cover this with an inverted pot. Houses are throughout divided into two rooms, one of which serves as living room and kitchen and the other as sleeping room. In some cases the kitchen is placed in the latter section. There is a single door in front; only in certain settlements to the north, as Chilón and Yajalon, where the influence of the white man has been greater, are houses to be seen with two doors and even some with small windows. The floor is always of packed earth. 342 184 [177]

The furnishings of the living room are limited in general to beds, improvised of boards placed on the ground or on logs, and covered with mats. The hammock is little used; it is generally reserved for children. The furnishings and domestic 352

[28] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 343-345.
[29] *Ibid.*, 2: 183.
[30] *Ibid.*, 2: 344.
[31] *Ibid.*, 2: 345-349.

c: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

352 utensils pertaining to the other room include three tables of varying form and size. One of these, about 60 cm high, is called *akhintel*,[22] and serves as a support for the metate (*cha*). Another smaller table (*matzamaité*) has three legs and is circular in form, it is used in making tortillas. The third table (*ucbalté*), also small but quadrangular, is used in serving food. Three benches of hollow logs 415 (*tzantel*) and small chairs (*taburetes*) serve as seats. Deep baskets and gasoline 251 boxes are used for holding clothes. Hanging from the roof is always to be seen a disk made of vines (*likin-nab*). This is used to keep comestibles from the rats. The other implements are the griddle, pots, and other vessels of clay, and calabashes and gourds in various forms and dimensions.

343 Besides the fowl pen (*na-mut*) and the pigpen (*na-chitán*) it is common to see near the house the temazcal, or steam bath (*pus*). It is made of clay and irregu- [417] larly shaped stones; it is rectangular with a small door in front and a ventilator in the rear. It is usual to cover it with a small shelter of straw. The use of the temazcal [184] is common in the highlands. It is almost not to be found from Ococingo northward.

29 Each village has its own costume; however, local variations conform to a 184 certain pattern which changes according to the altitudes and climate. Thus, in the region of Los Altos the usual pattern of dress is the following: for men, short cotton trousers (*uex*)[24] and cotton shirt (*ku*) reaching to the knees, a sash (*chukichut*) of wool or cotton and in most cases red in color, a poncho (*tzotz*) made of wool and in most cases dark grey in color, a handkerchief (*chukkil*), a straw hat (*pixol*), and leather sandals (*xanab*), women wear a white blouse (*ku*) and a blue shirt (*tzequel*), both made either of wool or of cotton, and a red woolen sash (*chukichut*). Some women in going out-of-doors add a woolen *rebozo*. Women use also a cotton cloth (*zitz-cal*) to carry small children. They wear no footgear.

In the tierra caliente the dress of the women is almost the same except that it is cleaner. On the other hand that of the men, although equally clean, presents marked differences: the trousers are longer and the shirt shorter, coming to resemble an open blouse or *guayabera*. The sash and the poncho cease to be indispensable [177] garments. It is in this region that there is most use of trousers and shirt in European style.

551 In Tenejapa, Starr found that the Indians had Tzeltal surnames. He says, 582 "We feel sure that these are *not* nicknames, but the old family names still pre- served." He does not give examples, and says nothing about any relation between 114 these name-groups and marriage. Blom and LaFarge make no note of such names, and say: "there are no formal restrictions on marriage."[26]

582 Villa found Indian surnames present in Chanal, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc, 551 and was told that marriage is not allowed, or is at least strongly discouraged, between persons of the same Indian surname. In Chanal an informant indicated that such

[184] [22] The names of these objects vary from one village to another: those which are described here were obtained in Chanal.

[24] The names of some of these garments vary likewise from one village to another; here Villa gives names used in Chanal.

[25] Starr, 1902, p. 73.

[26] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359.

342 lages of the lowlands where the houses have
[354] small windows, which improve ventilation
342 and illumination slightly. In places like
184 Chanal, where there is abundant lumber, the sides of the houses are built with wooden boards set vertically. The largest and best-built houses are in Tenejapa center.

Generally, the hut is divided into two rooms: the front is parlor and kitchen, the rear is bedroom. In Bachajon the rear room serves as bedroom and kitchen, the front room for sewing and grinding and the re-
[574] ception of visitors. In Amatenango del Valle the front of the house is open and
[323] used as a porch for visits. Ceramic work
[251] is also performed here. In one room of the house, a bin of wood or reeds stores corn.
[343] Sometimes, small structures which serve as granaries are built inside the hut.

343 Among the auxiliary structures outside is
515 the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. Not every hut has a *pus* since one is enough to attend the needs of several neighboring families. The *pus* is a small room 1.5 m. high by 2 m. on each side, built of stones and clay. The roof is flat. Inside a hollow forms a hearth for heating stones. Water thrown on these red-hot stones produces the necessary steam. On the floor are boards on which people lie while taking the bath.
[184] Among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil the *pus* is
[757] not only for cleanliness but also for the cure
[846] of certain diseases and to strengthen women after childbirth. Sweat baths are more commonly taken in Tierra Fria than in Tierra Caliente.

417 The other structures near the hut are the chickencoop and the hogpen.

• 352 Furniture is limited to essential items. In the kitchen are the three hearth stones, the comal (*samet*), the grinding stone (*chá*), a bench or strong table to hold the metate (*ah-ken*), one or two small tables (*matzmalté* or *vebalté*) 25–39 cm. high and 30–40 cm. in diameter, and small benches 15–20 cm. high made of scooped-out tree trunks
415 (*tzanté*). Kitchen equipment includes earthenware (pans, pitchers, and jars) and
[P. 207-B]

415 containers made of jícara (*boch*) or tecomate (*tzu*). In the bedroom is a bed
352 (*uaybal*) made of boards placed on four
[513] forked poles, usually with a sleeping mat
[735] on it. Only the very poor sleep on mats on the floor. Small chairs, wooden chests for
[415] clothes, baskets of all shapes and sizes, pita bags and nets, shelves made of wood ribs, and pegs for hanging clothes are scattered around the hut without order.

353 The most important article is the altar
798 with the family cross. Its construction varies in different areas: it may be a plain small table made of tree trunks or better material. The altar is generally ornamented with pine needles. Occasionally, the figure of a saint is placed by the cross.

Clothing and Ornaments

291 Each community has its own style of
184 clothing, which gives a sense of unity to its members and permits the observer to identify easily the groups during fiestas or market days. This variety applies only to a few items of clothing, which is basically the
291 same for the entire region. Men's costume consists of short pants (*uesh*) and a long shirt (*nátil-kú*) which reaches the knee, both made of cloth that women weave; a red sash or belt (*chuj-chut*) of cotton, 10–15 cm. wide by 1.5 m. long; a palm hat (*pishol*); and leather sandals (*shanabil*). Residents of cold areas wear a woolen chamarra which is manufactured by the Chamulas. Women's costume consists of a skirt made of wool (*tzek*) or blue thick cloth, made in one piece and wrapped around the body with two pleats in front; it is belted at the waist by a red wool sash, which the Chamulas manufacture. Occasionally, they
301 wear a wool rebozo. They tie their hair with a red woolen ribbon (*malal*) and wear earrings (*yulel-chikinil*) and glass necklaces
291 (*ual*) bought in the city. Women always go barefoot, even during long trips. When outdoors they cover their heads with a cloth or wool fabric.

[184] Each municipio has made of these clothes
[P. 208-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

123 Visiting such a house is not a mere, simple social affair. Here,
648 on a steep-sided and slippery natural hill, lived a family belonging to a notoriously exclusive people. Our hostess seemed suspicious of the visit at first, although one visitor was a "Melicano," one of the pair who had already acquired a good reputation with the Indians, and his guide, Señor Aguilar, was known to be a friend. Men in felt hats and boots seldom visited those houses for good purposes; at the best, they might be expected to make off with a quantity of eggs and tortillas without paying their value—at the worst, the head of the house might be haled away for forced labour, or there might be a fight, the pigs killed, and the little hut set afire. The family consisted of a married couple their small son, and two grown girls. On our first visit the wife alone was there. She was at first sullen and a little frightened, but becoming reassured by degrees, showed herself to be a placid, dignified woman, pleasant, neat, and in many ways an ideal type of the traditional housewife. After we had given medicine to one of the girls for cold, and to the husband for mild fever, with a gaudy chromo of a saint to decorate the family altar, they came
[342] to take us for granted, and allowed us to see unfolding the harmonious, dignified family life, with its feeling of unvoiced yet real affection that is so typical of the American Indian where European contact has been slight. The
342 little house, only half walled, and small—about 15 x 13½ feet—was
[353] always neat, its dirt floor swept clean, each small posession in its
[356] place. There was a faint smell of wood-smoke and earth, with the scent of the rich jungle drifting in, the sound of low-voiced talk, wind in grass, or the grind and thump of the metates, now and then laughter.

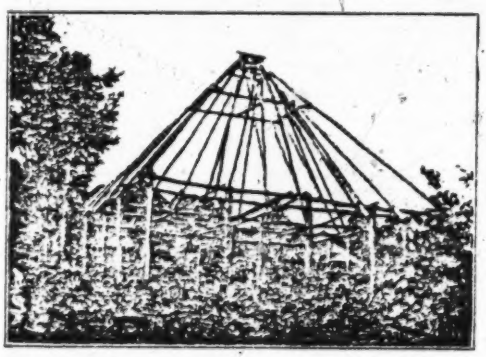

FIG. 287—Cancuc, Chis. Frame of house, illustrating type used in whole area.

The house was a rectangle, 4.90 x 4.20 meters (figs. 288-289), the front of the house being on a short side. The back and slightly less than half of the sides were walled with close-planted, upright
[352] poles, without plastering. To wooden beds, *waixyivel*, like low tables, were built into the corners thus framed. Four corner-posts,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

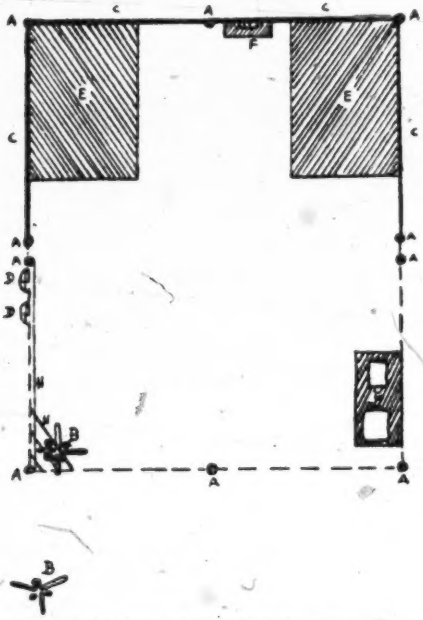

FIG. 288—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon House. Plan. (Scale 1:100).

A. Uprights, kuk'up.
B. Fire.
C. Wall, p'ahk.
D. Rat Trap.
E. Beds.
F. Altar.
G. Table with Metates.
H. Racks.

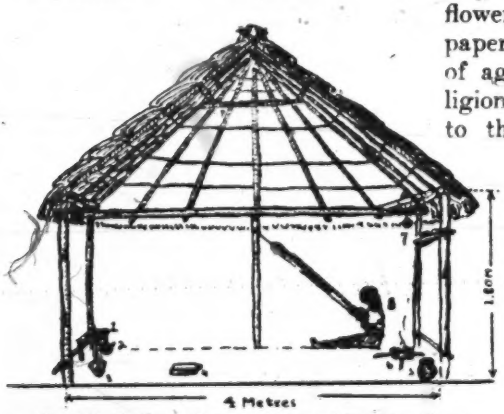

FIG. 289—El Encanto, Chis. Section of Bachajon House.

1. Table, ahk'en, with Metates.
2. Basket of clay, teavek lum.
3. Tenango water jar, k'ip.
4. Squatting chair, tzamate.
5. Olla, ocom.
6. Fire, kak'.
7. Racks, baxtet, with packages.
8. Woman weaving.

a central front and back post, and two posts close together on each side at the ends of the walls, supported the roof-beams. There were no horizontal members save the plates, following the line of the eaves. The rafters were built up from these direct to the ridge-pole, joined by light cross pieces, or thatching-poles, laid on outside. Near the top they were braced by a purlin of heavy logs on the inside. From floor to eaves it was 1.80 meters, and about the same from eaves to the ridge-pole. The floor was of hard dirt, fairly well levelled, and well swept. We were told that situations on hills, such as this, are commonly chosen to assure drainage, and that there is no orientation.

The altar, a table and a large cross decorated with flowers, pine-tips, and bits of paper, which will be spoken of again when discussing religion, was placed at the back to the right of the middle post. In front, to the right, was the table, *ahk'en,* on which were two metates, or grinding stones. They were legless, one end being raised slightly by propping with stones. The finer one was called *skaltca-tut* ("metate-small"), it was made of a fine, sandy lime-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

412 stone, *ton-al-ha'*, ("water stone"). The other, *skaltca-muk* ("big metate") was made of an igneous stone called *hayáltcak*, brought from San Martín. The *manos*, or smaller stones used for grinding on these, were called *miscabtca* (fig. 290). To the left, opposite 354 this table, was the fire, *kak'*, built of two broken ollas and two small rocks, placed so that the logs could be laid star-fashion between them, and close enough together to support the tortilla griddle or 354 an olla (fig. 291). Outside the house was another fire, with only 251 three stones, on which was drying a basket full of *pinole*, *tcilim*, a 252 fruit which is mixed with cacao in a form of chocolate. Over the house fireplace racks, *baxtet*, were placed at the level of the eaves 354 across the corner, and along the wall to the middle post, that things 353 hung up there might be protected by the smoke from insects. All 417 these things are indicated in the plan.

352
412

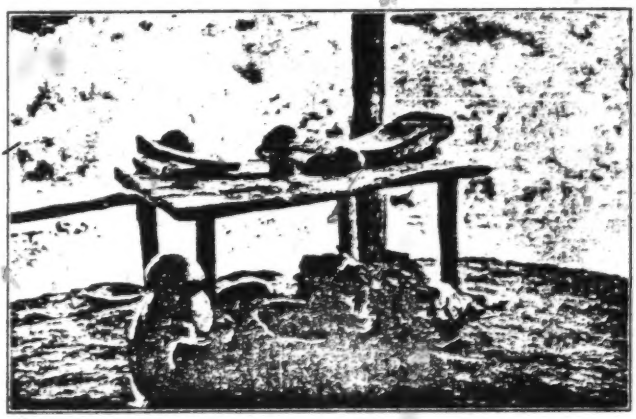

Fig. 290—Table with Metates.

352 A hammock, *aktci*, which we understood was not of native make, hung across the middle of the house. Two woven mats, *pOp*, the Spanish *petate*, lay on the beds. Beside this, the beds, and the table, the only thing that could properly be called furniture was a three-[287] legged stool about 30 centimeters high, *matsumte*. Two mats of pounded bark, or tapa, *bat-te* ("bark tree"), or *bat manil tcahan*, were rolled up in a corner. First comers got the hammock to lie in, others sat on the low "squatting seats," *tsamate*, of which there were three, made each of half a log, peeled, and partially flattened on top, with a handle on one end.

415 The tortilla griddle was a flat, dish-like pottery affair, about 40 centimeters in diameter. There were five ollas, *ŏcom*, with plain

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

remarkable. They make combs of one piece of wood, averaging 15 centimeters long, 8 wide, by 4 millimeters thick. The teeth are cut out of one of the long sides, running back less than half-way into the body of the piece. These teeth may be as fine as two in three millimeters, or as coarse as two in five millimeters; sometimes they are graded. The back is slightly arched. On the ends a piece of wood is left uncut, usually about four millimeters wide. The shape is not unlike the small Japanese combs to be found in most of our curio stores. The best examples are made from mahogany, chosen with a nice feeling for the effect of the grain. They are not worn, but used for combing the hair. 322 412

They make violins which are small copies of the European type. The instrument and bow are known by their Spanish names, *violina* and *arcilla*. The body is about 26 centimeters in greatest length and width; the neck, *tsutsuH-te*, projects about 50 centimeters. Save for a decoration of wavy lines on the back, the violin looks like a cheap toy fiddle. The strings, *tcucuix*, are of *mico de noche* (night-walking lemur) gut, save the G-string, which is of the usual type, bought in the towns. The bow-strings are of horse-hair treated with rosin. The tone is poor, lacking resonance. 534 322

One tobacco pipe, *bum*, was observed, which was a remarkable piece of whittling (fig. 307). It was about 14 centimeters long, made of one piece of mahogany, and apparently modeled after the American corn-cobs occasionally seen among the Ladinos. The bowl was roughly rounded, with a flat bottom. The stem was round, with a step in it at the middle, in imitation of the step in the mouth-piece of an ordinary pipe. The tube had been hollowed out with a hot wire. The tin-foil cap over the cork of a *Habanero* bottle had been hammered onto the base of the bowl, and two strips of tin-foil laid around the stem, each held on with a brad. It may be mentioned that the mahogany coloured prettily from handling and smoking, and that the flavour was sweet. 276 322

FIG. 307—Pipe.

Stools, with three legs let into a single, round piece, and rather rickety tables on the same principle, but four-legged, are made by the men, as well as the squatting-seats mentioned in describing the house. 352 322

Game furnishes an important part of the Indian's food supply. Wild boar, deer, howler monkey, *faisan*, *cojolite*, dove, and quail are hunted for food. The various large cats, alligator, lemurs, and many of the larger snakes are sought for their hides, which form a considerable article of trade. The chief weapon used in hunting is 224

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

that he was invited into her house, presumably to take shelter from the evening rain that was beginning to fall. The house, of which he sketched a hurried plan (fig. 324) was more rectangular than is usual, the prevailing type being square with a pyramidal roof. He entered through a low doorway, closed with a wooden door on leather hinges. Although the ridge of the roof was high, the many cross poles reaching from the top of one wall to the other made it necessary to stoop. The writer squatted by the door, facing the fire, which smoked merrily in the closed room. The old woman immediately set to shaping a pile of tortillas for baking. Along either wall was a well-made bench, decorated with notches along the top and geometric designs on the back, similar to the benches on the Cabildo porch (fig. 325). These and a sturdy table that was stored on top of the stringers were said to be purely local products. By the door stood a big jar, a full meter in height, crude and undecorated (fig. 326). There was the usual collection of ollas and gourds, and one other new form, an open-mouthed pot about eight centimeters high and as many in diameter, flat bottomed, with a handle on one side, called *hütc* (fig. 327). In the thick smoke, it was hard to see anything. I was interested to note that my hostess' eyes watered nearly as much as my own. In the darker end of the house I could make out corn stacked neatly along one wall, and a partition that presumably hid the beds. For a while the woman answered the few questions that I could make her understand by means of signs, my half-a-dozen words of Tzeltal,

Fig. 323—Cancuc, Chis. Drinking scaffold.

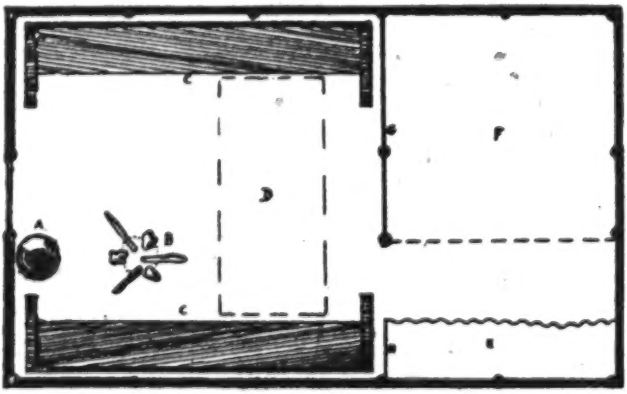

Fig. 324—Cancuc, Chis. Plan of House.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

124 and her three words of Spanish. Then she grew hostile, answering
123 everything with a plaintive *"Ma snaa,"* "I don't know." This went on for two or three minutes, then suddenly she flung open the door and waved me out with no uncertain gesture, saying something about the "Presidente Municipal," and the "Secretario." By this time it was pouring cats and dogs, but there was nothing to do save run for it.

284 Cancuc is not noted for any product. There are about the same
322 arts and industries as at other towns, but the only ones that amount to anything like a specialty are netmaking and whittling combs. The combs are better and more neatly made than those of the Bachajon, and with a selection of the wood for grain that often produces very pretty combinations. The nets are made by the men, who

[352]
[531]
←
[415]
→

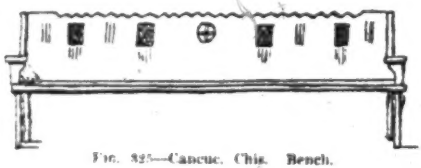

Fig. 325—Cancuc, Chis. Bench.

Fig. 327. Cancuc, Chis. Pottery, Hilte. (8 c.m. high).

Fig. 326—Cancuc, Chis. Tall Jar. (1 m. high).

go about rolling the twine or knitting as they walk. The process was described in the last chapter.

485 Being on the main highway, the government maintains a long shed, like a wagon-shed, thatched with leaves and grass, which is at the disposal of travelers. This relieves the Maestro of duties of entertainment. Towards nightfall, various groups came into camp here, a family of Mexicans, with a big fire, and goods piled high, two traders with their packs, some Chamulas, fine-looking men dressed in white wool tunics, with flowing cotton kerchiefs round their heads, and a couple of Tenejapeños with nets full of apples. The Chamulas, who are remarkably progressive Indians, had come in with a string of mules. After dark, the line of fires in the divisions of the shed, the talk, the fire-lit figures in their varied costumes, with the Church and houses rising on the terraced hill behind made as picturesque and charming a scene as one could possibly imagine.

342 177 178 434 of witchcraft. Today probably 95 percent of the new roofs are made of tile. Often the old roofs cannot be replaced with tile because the rafters were not built to support them. One result of the change has been the depend-
[335] ence on a carpenter to construct the gables, since they have to be lined up more accurately than they do with thatch or palm roofs.

361 351 434 House lots in the town center are preferred to those on the margins. As residents of house sites on the ejido lands at the margins of the town acquire wealth, one of the first things they try to do is acquire a house closer to the plaza. These lots are smaller, averaging about 500 square meters, while those farther out average 900 square meters. In a sample measurement of 100 house lots, the size ranged from 180 to 1,440 square meters, and the average size was 77 square meters. Considering the advantages of
[554] a large lot in growing chile fruits and corn, the preference for smaller central lots reveals the strong prestige factor influencing choice.

352 435 House furnishings include both purchased and homemade items. Sleeping accommodations consist of wooden bedboards, either nailed on a
[513] frame or simply laid on blocks and covered with a straw mat. Woolen blankets from Comitán are sold locally at a price of 24 pesos or for 20 pesos in San Cristóbal and 18 pesos in Comitán. Most households own two or three wooden benches which line the walls of the porch and are made locally. Small chairs are purchased from Chamula carpenters at a cost of 2 to 4 pesos, as well as a small table costing about 4. A higher table
[778] is provided for the saints' pictures and candle holders, incense burner, and
[322] flower vases or tin cans. Hooks are fashioned from the crotch of trees and suspended on the house posts. Wooden boxes are bought from Ladino car-
415 435 439 penters in San Cristóbal at a cost of 10 to 20 pesos depending on size and workmanship and are used to store clothing. In addition to the homemade water holders, water carriers, comales, strainers, and bowls, handmade glazed ware from San Cristóbal, factory-made porcelain dishes, metal cooking pots, knives, and spoons are purchased. Gourds provide serving
[412] ware for ceremonial occasions. Stone grinding platforms and rollers are purchased in San Cristóbal for about 10 pesos. Two new items have be-
435 415 177 come increasingly popular in the past five years: a metal grinding machine for corn, hand operated and costing from 40 to 60 pesos depending on the size and quality, and a hinged press for tortillas, costing 15 pesos if made

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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square. Although this conception is contradicted by knowledge learned in 772
school, the two concepts are not brought into direct opposition. The town 361
still defines the outer limit of most meaningful social relations, and most people are not forced by the circumstances of their lives to deal with an understanding of the world as round. It is enough that the four "sides" of their village be protected by crosses at the points of entry. The important orientation points are the east, referred to as the "coming out of the sun," and the west, referred to as "the sleeping place of the sun." North and south are referred to as lowland and highland because of the topography. Compass orientation is important behaviorally only at death. The body of [764]
the deceased is laid out in the cemetery with the head to the east. Indians [829]
comment that the Ladinos lay the body out with the head to the west, but Indians of other towns, such as Zinacantan, also do so. The cemetery is located on the western side of the town.

The House

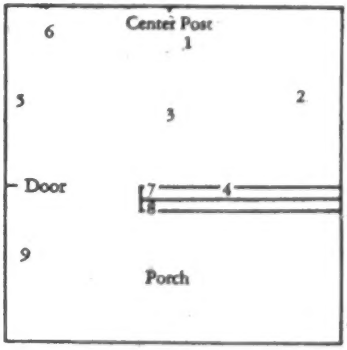
The reference to the house in prayer as "the entry to suffering, inside 342
the poverty" suggests the "cult of poverty" which Wolf (1955:459) points [782]
out as characteristic of closed corporate Indian communities. Most people conform to a standard house size of five square meters subdivided into an interior sleeping and living area and a porch (Fig. 8). The walls are made of mud strengthened with lime packed in a framework of poles supported on nine main posts. The roofs are pitched with four sheds rising steeply to a truncated ridge. Tiles are used in most new houses to cover the roof, but there are still many thatched palm or wooden shingle roofs. Corn and [251]
beans are stored in the rafters under the eaves of the house.

Inside the house, beds line the two side walls. If there is no cooking [352]
shack separate from the house, the hearth is placed in the center of the in- [354]
terior room. The grinding stone, raised on three posts, is placed to the left [412]
of the center post.

The porch is the area for ceremonial gatherings and for making and storing pottery. A table with the pictures of household saints set against [353]
the inside wall, is adorned with flowers and candles. During house fiestas, [796]
men sit on the benches lining the four walls of the porch, while the [562]
women sit inside in a semicircle.

342 women sit inside in a semicircle. A house without a closed-in porch is re-
[196] ferred to as a "cattle house" since it is considered inadequate for entertain-
[621] ing guests at ceremonial affairs. Townspeople prefer to choose as higher
[574] officials those who have houses with porches to accommodate visitors.

Fig. 8. Interior of a House



1. Seat of honor for women
2. Bed area for women of house
3. Hearth
4. Bench area for relatives of house
5. Bench area for visiting men
6. Mats or wooden board for visiting women
7. Honor seat for men (when inside house)
8. Honor seat for men outside house
9. Resting areas for male helpers

592 Each member of the household has his place for sleeping, eating, and sit-
[513] ting. The youngest child sleeps with his parents, and older children sleep with siblings of the same sex or with their grandparents. Newly married couples living with their parents prefer to sleep in the cook shack if there
[264] is a separate structure. At mealtime, men and boys sit on small wooden
[352] chairs at a miniature table placed against the wall separating the interior from the porch, while women and girls kneel on straw mats near the hearth.

342 Reference points inside the house (Fig. 8) are the center post where the
352
562
574
796

meal for the house is buried in the inauguration ceremony (Chapter 1) and the door. Left and right are orientation points viewed from inside facing the door. Women of the house sit on mats near the center post. Female visitors occupy the mats to the left of the post and male visitors sit on benches lining the right wall and the interior wall. If it is a large ceremony for the ritual of inauguration or a celebration by the captain of a fiesta, only women enter the house, and the men sit on borrowed benches lining the walls of the porch.

Relative age is indicated by position in the seating arrangement. For women the seat of honor, occupied by the oldest woman present, is at the center post; other women of the household sit on a straw mat or board in order of descending age clockwise around the room. This order is modified by the presence of the grandmother who, if not a woman speaker, retires to the left (facing door from inside) corner. Visiting women sit to the right of the center post with the oldest immediately next to the post and those decreasing in age and stature to her right. For men, the seat on the bench nearest the door to the interior is called the "head of the bench"; this is the seat of the leading nakawane. The rest of the nakawanehetik sit along this bench in order of age. On the bench facing them sits the house owner, with his brothers and other visitors to his right in an age-ranked order. The b'alnialetik sit on the right wall bench.

Since prestigeful roles are usually a concomitant of age, especially in the house ceremonies, there is seldom conflict between age and role status. When conflict does occur, it is only seen at the top level; thus, the grandmother if not active because of age, retires to the corner while the woman speaker, who must order the women in the kitchen and receive visiting dignitaries, takes over this position. I have seen the leader of the č'om take precedence over the leader waiter who was older, because of the important role of the former.

When the family is carrying out a ritual, it is felt that the house should never be left vacant. The role of the "waiters" (maliwanehetik) is specifically that of remaining in the house while others of the celebrants are involved in ritual acts outside of the house. When the members of the betothal party go to the girl's house, for example, the waiters are left behind; or when the patient leaves with the curer and some of the curing

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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342 party to go to the spring, at least one relative remains in the house to
796 greet the soul if it should precede the curing party.
[584]
[755] Behavior in household rituals is described in Chapters 1, 5, and 8.
[128]

The Cabildo

344 The cabildo, called by the people of the town the "cold house,"[1] was
[196] built following the revolution of 1915, when Piñeda's revolutionary soldiers
[175] destroyed the original colonial structure. The tiles of the roof were confiscated from a finca which the Indians invaded in 1941 in an unsuccessful attempt to gain additional lands. When they were unable to maintain their hold on the land, they burned the owner's house and took the tiles to the town center where they remain as a symbol of their defiant action. They refer to this event with pride. The cabildo houses the jail, equipped with a barred wooden door, in one of its wings, and the Ejido Commission office in the other.

344 Within the cabildo, each official has his established place. The cabildo is
352 furnished with a table at which the president and síndico sit on wooden
621 chairs made in the Indian town of Chamula. Four benches lining the
554 walls on either side of the entry provide seating for the civil officials. On
576 the right side (looking out at the plaza) sit the judges in order of rank;
[693] the regidores, in similar sequence follow them. The principales, and formerly the alfereces, sit on the left side when they appear for ceremonial occasions. This spatial allocation establishes drinking and greeting order as well. Visitors can go directly from one to another in the formal greeting of a handclasp and murmured "good morning, father," or "good afternoon, father," without violating age-respect patterns.

344 During court cases, the claimant and his supporters sit on the bench to
352 the left of the door; on other occasions the bench is occupied by visitors or
695 petitioners. The police sit on one of the two benches lining the outside
[625] wall, or retire to the kitchen, a wooden slat lean-to on the left wing of the

[171] 1. Bunzel (1952) notes that in prayers, the cabildo in Chichicastenango is referred to as "the cold house, the icy house." Although the Quiché term is not given in her manuscript, one can see a similarity in the rhyming couplets and metaphorical allusions in the prayers of the towns.

building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office.

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist.

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first.

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient portable typewriter. Since typing is a new skill for him, he makes many errors, and his retrials are accepted with patience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

come the domain of the schoolmaster, who represents federal influence in the local community. He has rebuilt parts of the structure in the thirteen years he and his family have lived and worked in this building; it was his fortress when the Indians threatened to kill him for building a chicken coop obtruding into the street, and again when he interceded in a case of homicide. He has a small arsenal stored in his bedroom in preparation for any reversal of his position in the community. The school is his platform, the area he controls and from which he shouts to his compadres—the storekeeper, the fiscal, and the president—to come speak with him. 346 621 875

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8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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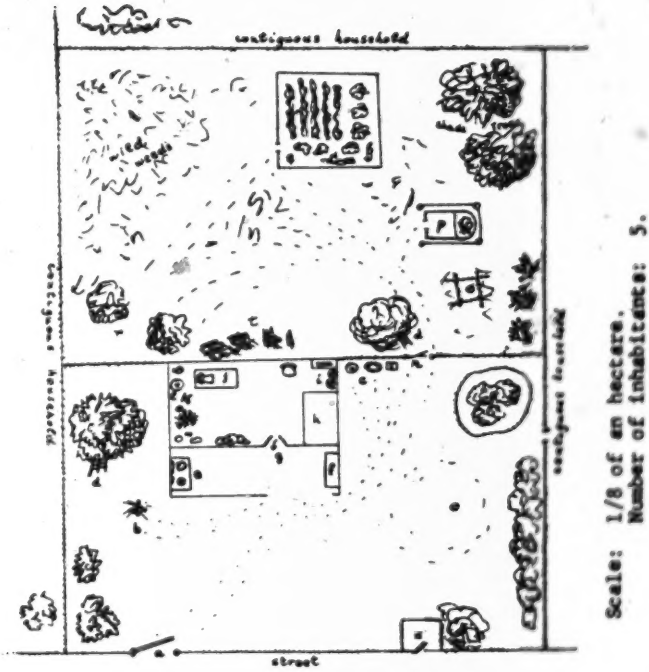

Fig. 10.--Model of a Standard Household

a--entrance gate
b--nixtamal washing-pot
c--water pots
d--chicken coop in a tree
e--Saint's altar in the corridor
f--bench for receiving visitors
g--double door
h--wooden bed
i--petates (mats) chest and chair
j--table for making tortillas (with the grinding stone or metate)
k--molino and fire place
l--water pot inside the house
m--little stools for seating during meals and stored bags
n--gate to back yard
o--raised pig-pen
p--temascal (steam bath)
q--garden with chillis, and "tomatoes"
r--peach trees
s--pig-pen with gate to the street
t--fire-wood drying

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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Fig. 11.--House Viewed from the Street Gate

4: Villa Rojas E-4.5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

415 containers made of jicara (*boch*) or tecomate (*tzu*). In the bedroom is a bed
352 (*uaybal*) made of boards placed on four
[513] forked poles, usually with a sleeping mat
[735] on it. Only the very poor sleep on mats on the floor. Small chairs, wooden chests for
[415] clothes, baskets of all shapes and sizes, pita bags and nets, shelves made of wood ribs, and pegs for hanging clothes are scattered around the hut without order.

• 353 The most important article is the altar
798 with the family cross. Its construction varies in different areas: it may be a plain small table made of tree trunks or better material. The altar is generally ornamented with pine needles. Occasionally, the figure of a saint is placed by the cross.

Clothing and Ornaments

291 Each community has its own style of
184 clothing, which gives a sense of unity to its members and permits the observer to identify easily the groups during fiestas or market days. This variety applies only to a few items of clothing, which is basically the
291 same for the entire region. Men's costume consists of short pants (*uesh*) and a long shirt (*nátil-kú*) which reaches the knee, both made of cloth that women weave; a red sash or belt (*chuj-chut*) of cotton, 10–15 cm. wide by 1.5 m. long; a palm hat (*pishol*); and leather sandals (*shanabil*). Residents of cold areas wear a woolen chamarra which is manufactured by the Chamulas. Women's costume consists of a skirt made of wool (*tzek*) or blue thick cloth, made in one piece and wrapped around the body with two pleats in front; it is belted at the waist by a red wool sash, which the Chamulas manufacture. Occasionally, they
301 wear a wool rebozo. They tie their hair with a red woolen ribbon (*malal*) and wear earrings (*yulel-chikinil*) and glass necklaces
291 (*ual*) bought in the city. Women always go barefoot, even during long trips. When outdoors they cover their heads with a cloth or wool fabric.

[184] Each municipio has made of these clothes

[P.208-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

123 Visiting such a house is not a mere, simple social affair. Here,
648 on a steep-sided and slippery natural hill, lived a family belonging to a notoriously exclusive people. Our hostess seemed suspicious of the visit at first, although one visitor was a "Melicano," one of the pair who had already acquired a good reputation with the Indians, and his guide, Señor Aguilar, was known to be a friend. Men in felt hats and boots seldom visited those houses for good purposes; at the best, they might be expected to make off with a quantity of eggs and tortillas without paying their value—at the worst, the head of the house might be haled away for forced labour, or there might be a fight, the pigs killed, and the little hut set afire. The family consisted of a married couple their small son, and two grown girls. On our first visit the wife alone was there. She was at first sullen and a little frightened, but becoming reassured by degrees, showed herself to be a placid, dignified woman, pleasant, neat, and in many ways an ideal type of the traditional housewife. After we had given medicine to one of the girls for cold, and to the husband for mild fever, with a gaudy chromo of a saint to decorate the family altar, they came [342] to take us for granted, and allowed us to see unfolding the harmonious, dignified family life, with its feeling of unvoiced yet real affection that is so typical of the American Indian where European contact has been slight. The 342 little house, only half walled, and small—about 15 x 13½ feet—was [353] always neat, its dirt floor swept clean, each small posession in its [356] place. There was a faint smell of wood-smoke and earth, with the scent of the rich jungle drifting in, the sound of low-voiced talk, wind in grass, or the grind and thump of the metates, now and then laughter.

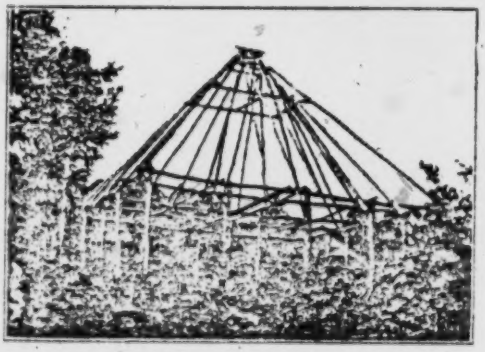

Fig. 287—Cancuc, Chis. Frame of house, illustrating type used in whole area.

The house was a rectangle, 4.90 x 4.20 meters (figs. 288-289), the front of the house being on a short side. The back and slightly less than half of the sides were walled with close-planted, upright [352] poles, without plastering. To wooden beds, *waixyivel,* like low tables, were built into the corners thus framed. Four corner-posts,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

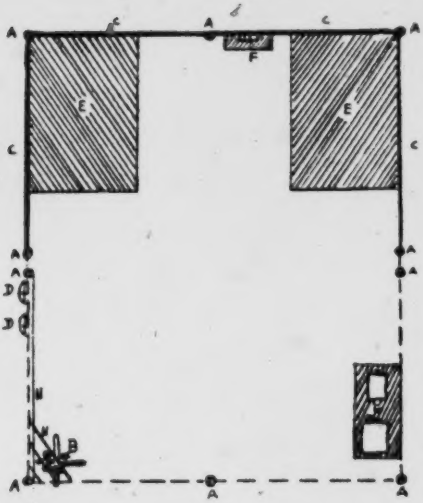

Fig. 288—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon House. Plan. (Scale 3:100).

A. Uprights, kuk'up.
B. Fire.
C. Wall, p'ahk.
D. Rat Trap.
E. Beds.
F. Altar.
G. Table with Metates.
H. Racks.

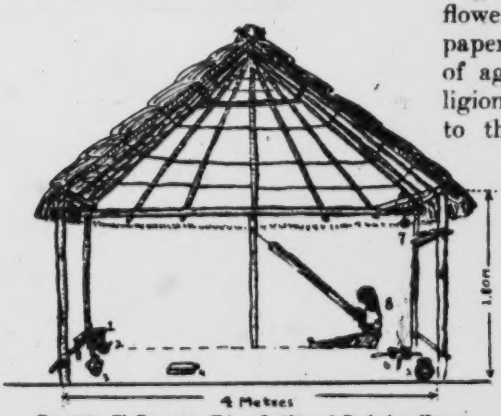

Fig. 289—El Encanto, Chis. Section of Bachajon House.

1. Table, ahk'en, with Metates.
2. Basket of clay, teavek lum.
3. Tenango water jar, k'ip.
4. Squatting chair, tsamate.
5. Olla, ocom.
6. Fire, kak'.
7. Racks, baxtet, with packages.
8. Woman weaving.

a central front and back post, and two posts close together on each side at the ends of the walls, supported the roof-beams. There were no horizontal members save the plates, following the line of the eaves. The rafters were built up from these direct to the ridge-pole, joined by light cross pieces, or thatching-poles, laid on outside. Near the top they were braced by a purlin of heavy logs on the inside. From floor to eaves it was 1.80 meters, and about the same from eaves to the ridge-pole. The floor was of hard dirt, fairly well levelled, and well swept. We were told that situations on hills, such as this, are commonly chosen to assure drainage, and that there is no orientation.

The altar, a table and a large cross decorated with flowers, pine-tips, and bits of paper, which will be spoken of again when discussing religion, was placed at the back to the right of the middle post. In front, to the right, was the table, *ahk'en,* on which were two metates, or grinding stones. They were legless, one end being raised slightly by propping with stones. The finer one was called *skaltca-tut* ("metate-small"), it was made of a fine, sandy lime-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

412 stone, *ton-al-ha'*, ("water stone"). The other, *skaltca-muk* ("big metate") was made of an igneous stone called *hayáltcak*, brought from San Martín. The *manos*, or smaller stones used for grinding on these, were called *miscabtca* (fig. 290). To the left, opposite 354 this table, was the fire, *kak'*, built of two broken ollas and two small rocks, placed so that the logs could be laid star-fashion between them, and close enough together to support the tortilla griddle or 354 an olla (fig. 291). Outside the house was another fire, with only 251 three stones, on which was drying a basket full of *pinole*, *tcilim*, a 252 fruit which is mixed with cacao in a form of chocolate. Over the house fireplace racks, *baxtet*, were placed at the level of the eaves 354 across the corner, and along the wall to the middle post, that things 353 hung up there might be protected by the smoke from insects. All 417 these things are indicated in the plan.

352
412

FIG. 290—Table with Metates.

352 A hammock, *aktci*, which we understood was not of native make, hung across the middle of the house. Two woven mats, *pOp*, the Spanish *petate*, lay on the beds. Beside this, the beds, and the table, the only thing that could properly be called furniture was a three-[287] legged stool about 30 centimeters high, *matsumte*. Two mats of pounded bark, or tapa, *bat-te* ("bark tree"), or *bat manil tcahan*, were rolled up in a corner. First comers got the hammock to lie in, others sat on the low "squatting seats," *tsamate*, of which there were three, made each of half a log, peeled, and partially flattened on top, with a handle on one end.

415 The tortilla griddle was a flat, dish-like pottery affair, about 40 centimeters in diameter. There were five ollas, *ŏcom*, with plain

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

necks and round bottoms. Two were full of corn and lime for 415
tortillas, just off the fire. A big Tenango jar, *k'ip,* of the kind to be described at that place, was used for water.

A pottery dish, about 7 centimeters across, *tsets,* is commonly [515]
offered to guests to wash their hands. It is placed on a pottery stand [574]
of an hour-glass shape, about 15 centimeters high, *awaliko* (see fig. 299). The ordinary plates and general vessels are flat gourd dishes, *qai',* about 20 centimeters across. Gourds as well were used for a dipper, *tuts,* and a water-jar, *tsux.* Two nets hung from the rack. 353
There were three small baskets, *tutemotc,* and four big ones, *mukulmotc.* Hanging on the wall were a pair of the basket-work sandals mentioned before, and selected ears of corn for seed. The wife's 283
textile outfit, more fully described later, consisted of a spindle, *pětět,* 286

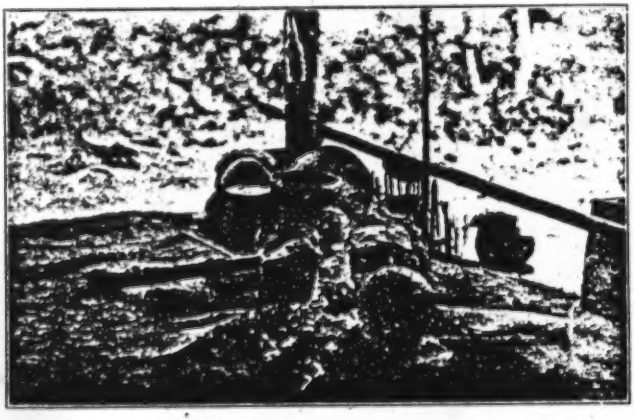

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FIG. 291—Bachajon Fireplace.

with clay whorl, spun in a gourd bowl, *tsima,* cotton, *t'umin,* hang- 283
ing in leaves, and the loom itself, *holěl.* A sling, made of a forked 286
stick and rubber band with a leather piece to take the clay pellet, 411
finmutc, belonged to the small boy. Bananas were drying on the rack. With them were laid, or hanging in packages of leaves, bees- 353
wax, *tcavek,* blocks, 20 x 20 x 2 centimeters, for trade purposes, 237
used for making candles, a lump of hard red clay, *baq lum* ("bitter [251]
earth"), for washing the hair, and sometimes also eaten, a package of brown loaf sugar, salt, *atsam,* traded down from the Zotzil country, several packages of pimiento pepper, and serpent fat, *junto tcan,* for rubbing on the chest to cure coughs. Under the table was a 353
basket of coarse, blackish-gray clay for making pottery, *tcavek lum* [323]
("beeswax earth"). Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail

353 Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail hung in the eaves so that the dogs might see them, to prevent their [231] going away or losing heart. A swizzle stick, *mahas,* about 40 centi- [415] meters long, was used for stirring cocoa. It is made by cutting a twig above a joint with four branches. Two rat traps, *yakul,* just [224] outside the hut, were exact models of the larger deadfalls used for jaguars (see fig. 308).

[291] Add to this the clothes on the inhabitants backs, and the man's [411] machete, and you will have a complete list of the worldly possessions, large and small, of a Bachajon family—altogether some forty-four different kinds of things. We assembled as many together as pos- [126] sible, arranging them as for a feast, and placed in the middle the small son of the house, and a little monkey of a boy, Miguel, who accompanied us to run errands (fig. 292).

342 [516] [291] [415] [123] [122]

Fig. 292—Bachajon boy guests.

If mud-plastered walls are added to this description, you have a typical Ocosingo Valley house. Change the grass roof to palm, it is the kind to be seen in the jungle country.

At Muxculja (*muckul ha,* "Covered Water"), in the jungle, our Indians built us a trail shelter or hut of the type called in Spanish *champa,* and in Tzeltal *tutna',* "small house." This enabled us to note the manner of building the frame-work and laying on the roof. The kind of *champa* built for us, with an A-roof and gable ends, is called *gwakac na',* "cow house"; the more common type built by the Indians when alone, a simple lean-to, is called *lestce-pat* (should be *lestce-pahk?*) "only one wall."

Our shelter being more than usually pretentious, we could observe most of the steps in building a true house, although, of course, the form here was different and the construction much lighter (figs. 293-294). It was three meters, fifty-one centimeters long by three meters wide, two meters high at the ridge-pole, one at the eaves. [461] It had no walls. From the construction of the outline of the frame to the completed thatching it took fifty minutes for four men, later only two, working without haste.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

that he was invited into her house, presumably to take shelter from the evening rain that was beginning to fall. The house, of which he sketched a hurried plan (fig. 324) was more rectangular than is usual, the prevailing type being square with a pyramidal roof. He entered through a low doorway, closed with a wooden door on leather hinges. Although the ridge of the roof was high, the many cross poles reaching from the top of one wall to the other made it necessary to stoop. The writer squatted by the door, facing the fire, which smoked merrily in the closed room. The old woman immediately set to shaping a pile of tortillas for baking. Along either wall was a well-made bench, decorated with notches along the top and geometric designs on the back, similar to the benches on the Cabildo porch (fig. 325). These and a sturdy table that was stored on top of the stringers were said to be purely local products. By the door stood a big jar, a full meter in height, crude and undecorated (fig. 326). There was the usual collection of ollas and gourds, and one other new form, an open-mouthed pot about eight centimeters high and as many in diameter, flat bottomed, with a handle on one side, called *hütc* (fig. 327). In the thick smoke, it was hard to see anything. I was interested to note that my hostess' eyes watered nearly as much as my own. In the darker end of the house I could make out corn stacked neatly along one wall, and a partition that presumably hid the beds. For a while the woman answered the few questions that I could make her understand by means of signs, my half-a-dozen words of Tzeltal,

Fig. 323—Cancuc, Chis. Drinking scaffold.

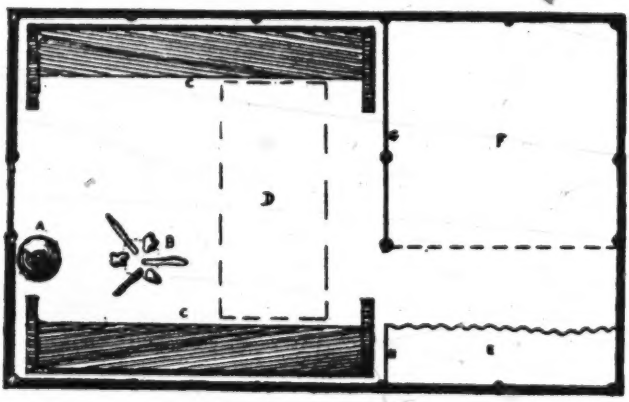

Fig. 324—Cancuc, Chis. Plan of House.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

square. Although this conception is contradicted by knowledge learned in 772
school, the two concepts are not brought into direct opposition. The town 361
still defines the outer limit of most meaningful social relations, and most people are not forced by the circumstances of their lives to deal with an understanding of the world as round. It is enough that the four "sides" of their village be protected by crosses at the points of entry. The important orientation points are the east, referred to as the "coming out of the sun," and the west, referred to as "the sleeping place of the sun." North and south are referred to as lowland and highland because of the topography. Compass orientation is important behaviorally only at death. The body of [764]
the deceased is laid out in the cemetery with the head to the east. Indians [829]
comment that the Ladinos lay the body out with the head to the west, but Indians of other towns, such as Zinacantan, also do so. The cemetery is located on the western side of the town.

The House

The reference to the house in prayer as "the entry to suffering, inside 342
the poverty" suggests the "cult of poverty" which Wolf (1955:459) points [782]
out as characteristic of closed corporate Indian communities. Most people conform to a standard house size of five square meters subdivided into an interior sleeping and living area and a porch (Fig. 8). The walls are made of mud strengthened with lime packed in a framework of poles supported on nine main posts. The roofs are pitched with four sheds rising steeply to a truncated ridge. Tiles are used in most new houses to cover the roof, but there are still many thatched palm or wooden shingle roofs. Corn and [251]
beans are stored in the rafters under the eaves of the house.

Inside the house, beds line the two side walls. If there is no cooking [352]
shack separate from the house, the hearth is placed in the center of the in- [354]
terior room. The grinding stone, raised on three posts, is placed to the left [412]
of the center post.

The porch is the area for ceremonial gatherings and for making and storing pottery. A table with the pictures of household saints set against [353]
the inside wall, is adorned with flowers and candles. During house fiestas, [796]
men sit on the benches lining the four walls of the porch, while the [562]
women sit inside in a semicircle.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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male helpers who are usually wives of the *balnialetik*, or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors who come to congratulate the new official. Particularly conspicuous because of their Ladino or non-Indian clothing in the house of the president (Chart 6) were the visitors from the outlying rancherías and colonias of Tzoʔontahal. 621* [592] [574]

Validation in the household setting takes place in two scenes. The first occurs on the eve of New Year. Each new official entertains in his house the men he has chosen as his *nakawanehetik* and as his *balnialetik*. Only those *balnialetik* who are immediately related come to this gathering. The *meʔil k'op*, 'woman speaker,' is present along with the wives of the *balnialetik* (Chart 2). The house is decorated with pine needles and juniper boughs in the afternoon. The visitors arrive with wood and pitchpine to light the house at about eight in the evening and stay until the liquor is finished. Drinking order is from elder to younger, which coincides with the prestige ranking. The *nakawanehetik* are served, then the *nic'anil*. 621* 574 592 [602] [353] [273] [554]

The second household gathering takes place on the morning of the New Year. Major settings for such gatherings are the house of the first judge and the house of the new president. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the three other regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house. They join the president at his house and then proceed to the townhall. The group of five police from *ahk'olnantik* meet separately in the house of the first police of that side, and those of *alannantik* meet in the house of their first police. 621* 574 693 [592]

The assembled officials proceed to the townhall, announcing with rockets to the policemen that they have left. Gathered in the townhall, referred to in the formal address or *patʔot'an* as the *sik na*, 'cold house,'[9] are the 'old officials' *(k'a hu'eletik)* along with the alfereces and the principáles. They enter two by two, the president and síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges, and the judges of the barrios and colonias. They kneel and 'measure their noses' *(sp'is snīʔik,)* as they enter, showing respect to the holy banners which the alfereces have delivered from the church. 621* 693 [202] [794] [554] [788] [794]

[9] Bunzel (1952, p. 377) translates a formal speech in which the townhall of Chichicastenango is referred to as that "cold house, the icy house," but the Quiche word is not included. The pattern of double synonyms for nouns is present in these Quiche formal texts as in the Tzeltal. [197]

[P 217-A]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

Appendix 1 — CHANGE OF OFFICIALS IN THE TOWNHALL

	Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
*621 124 796	1. When do they change the officials?	On January 1, *?ač ha?bil* (New Year)	First of January	I observed the preparations for the New Year change of office fiesta in the houses of the president and of the new first policeman on December 31, 1964, and January 1, 1965
	2. What do they do first on the fiesta of changing of officials?	They arrange the house of each official	The wife of the first judge puts the bean tortillas on the fire	
[252]	3. When do they do this?	In the afternoon of December 31	In the morning of the last day of December	The women spend most of the morning and afternoon making the bean tortillas
[353]	4. How do they arrange the house?	They get juniper boughs and needles and put them in the house		Around 8 P.M. the visitors arrive. The house is decorated with pine needles on the floor and in the yard, and there are branches of juniper nailed to the posts of the house entry, just as it is done at the entry to the townhall. I was not present at the gathering
[602]	5. Who helps her?		All her relatives (*kermanotak*) with neighbors (see Chart 1)	
	6. What do they do in the afternoon?		The women eat	
*621 124 796	7. What time do the guests gather in the house of the new officials?	On December 31 at 7 P.M.		
574	8. What do they bring?	They arrive with wood and pitchpine	They bring wood or pitchpine	
[272] [262]	9. What do the visitors do?	They drink coffee with bread and bean tortillas	They say greetings. They drink coffee and eat bean tortillas	
[273]	10. What do they do when they finish the coffee?	They drink liquor	They take out liquor, and the judge recites the benediction	
*621 124 796 [693]	11. Who is present in the house of the new official?		*statal nakawane*, his leading house official, Baltol Kantiron. The new judge, Santos Kantiron, *balnial*, assistants to pass gruel, sons of the new officials *?ak s?etik*: wood bringers (see Chart 2)	
[624]	12. What do they do first on New Year's day?	The fourth regidor calls everyone together	The fourth regidor raises all the new officials	

Handcrafts

323 Among the few handcrafts practiced in
[462] the Tzeltal areas, ceramics, produced mainly
by women, is the most widespread. Tenango
[184] and Amatenango del Valle are the only
communities which have made a specialty
of this craft. Tenango exports its products
[439] through the northern zone, Amatenango
through the southern zone, including neigh-
323 boring Guatemalan villages. Both places use
184 a similar ceramic technique but different
shape and ornamentation. Referring to
Amatenango del Valle, Blom and LaFarge
(1926–27, 2:396) state:

> The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one shape; a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, however, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep, reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of boards, two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman in charge turns them
> [438] until they are done. These pots are carried by
> [439] the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they are redistributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala.

283 Another widespread craft is spinning and
286 weaving of fabrics for clothing. No village
in the Tzeltal area trades these products
[438] because production barely meets their fam-
ily needs. The backstrap loom of pre-
Hispanic origin is the chief tool.

[184] Pita articles—ropes, bags, and nets to
gather the harvest or carry loads—are
mainly produced in Oxchuc and Cancuc.
322 In Cancuc wooden combs are also manu-
184 factured.

342 *Houses and Furniture*

Houses, from 3 to 5 m. on a side, are
predominantly square with thatched roofs.
The walls are wattle-and-daub or plain
tree trunks tied with vines. Floors are of
• [354] hardened earth. The houses only have one
door and no windows, except in some vil-
[P. 207-A]

342 lages of the lowlands where the houses have
[354] small windows, which improve ventilation
342 and illumination slightly. In places like
184 Chanal, where there is abundant lumber, the sides of the houses are built with wooden boards set vertically. The largest and best-built houses are in Tenejapa center.

Generally, the hut is divided into two rooms: the front is parlor and kitchen, the rear is bedroom. In Bachajon the rear room serves as bedroom and kitchen, the front room for sewing and grinding and the re-
[574] ception of visitors. In Amatenango del Valle the front of the house is open and
[323] used as a porch for visits. Ceramic work
[251] is also performed here. In one room of the house a bin of wood or reeds stores corn.
[343] Sometimes, small structures which serve as granaries are built inside the hut.

343 Among the auxiliary structures outside is
515 the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. Not every hut has a *pus* since one is enough to attend the needs of several neighboring families. The *pus* is a small room 1.5 m. high by 2 m. on each side, built of stones and clay. The roof is flat. Inside a hollow forms a hearth for heating stones. Water thrown on these red-hot stones produces the necessary steam. On the floor are boards on which people lie while taking the bath.
[184] Among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil the *pus* is
[757] not only for cleanliness but also for the cure
[846] of certain diseases and to strengthen women after childbirth. Sweat baths are more commonly taken in Tierra Fria than in Tierra Caliente.

417 The other structures near the hut are the chickencoop and the hogpen.

352 Furniture is limited to essential items. In the kitchen are the three hearth stones, the comal (*samet*), the grinding stone (*chá*), a bench or strong table to hold the metate (*ah-ken*), one or two small tables (*matzmalté* or *vebalté*) 25–39 cm. high and 30–40 cm. in diameter, and small benches 15–20 cm. high made of scooped-out tree trunks
415 (*tzanté*). Kitchen equipment includes earthenware (pans, pitchers, and jars) and
[P. 207-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

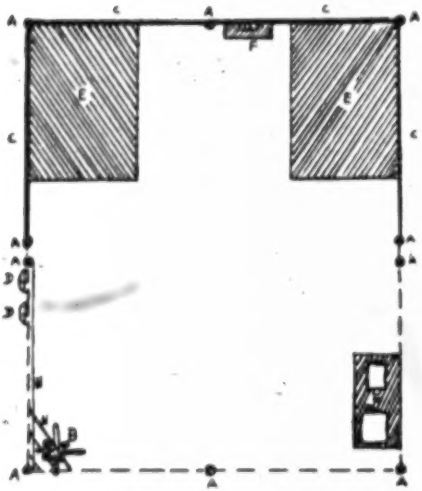

Fig. 288—El Encanto, Chia. Bachajon House. Plan. (Scale 1:100).

A. Uprights, kuk'up.
B. Fire.
C. Wall, p'ahk.
D. Rat Trap.
E. Beds.
F. Altar.
G. Table with Metates.
H. Racks.

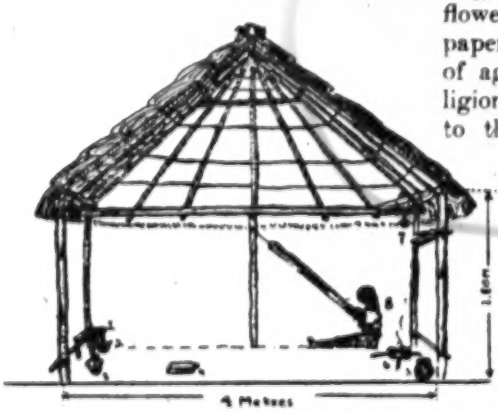

Fig. 289—El Encanto, Chia. Section of Bachajon House.

1. Table, ahk'en, with Metates.
2. Basket of clay, tzavek lum.
3. Tenango water jar, k'ip.
4. Squatting chair, tamale.
5. Olla, ocom.
6. Fire, kak'.
7. Racks, baxtut, with packages.
8. Woman weaving.

a central front and back post, and two posts close together on each side at the ends of the walls, supported the roof-beams. There were no horizontal members save the plates, following the line of the eaves. The rafters were built up from these direct to the ridge-pole, joined by light cross pieces, or thatching-poles, laid on outside. Near the top they were braced by a purlin of heavy logs on the inside. From floor to eaves it was 1.80 meters, and about the same from eaves to the ridge-pole. The floor was of hard dirt, fairly well levelled, and well swept. We were told that situations on hills, such as this, are commonly chosen to assure drainage, and that there is no orientation.

The altar, a table and a large cross decorated with flowers, pine-tips, and bits of paper, which will be spoken of again when discussing religion, was placed at the back to the right of the middle post. In front, to the right, was the table, *ahk'en*, on which were two metates, or grinding stones. They were legless, one end being raised slightly by propping with stones. The finer one was called *skaltca-tut* ("metate-small"), it was made of a fine, sandy lime-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

412 stone, *ton-al-ha'*, ("water stone"). The other, *skaltca-muk* ("big metate") was made of an igneous stone called *hayáltcak*, brought from San Martín. The *manos*, or smaller stones used for grinding on these, were called *miscabtca* (fig. 290). To the left, opposite 354 this table, was the fire, *kak'*, built of two broken ollas and two small rocks, placed so that the logs could be laid star-fashion between them, and close enough together to support the tortilla griddle or 354 an olla (fig. 291). Outside the house was another fire, with only 251 three stones, on which was drying a basket full of *pinole*, *tcilim*, a 252 fruit which is mixed with cacao in a form of chocolate. Over the house fireplace racks, *baxtet*, were placed at the level of the eaves 354 across the corner, and along the wall to the middle post, that things 353 hung up there might be protected by the smoke from insects. All 417 these things are indicated in the plan.

352
412

FIG. 290—Table with Metates.

352 A hammock, *aktci*, which we understood was not of native make, hung across the middle of the house. Two woven mats, *pOp*, the Spanish *petate*, lay on the beds. Beside this, the beds, and the table, the only thing that could properly be called furniture was a three-[287] legged stool about 80 centimeters high, *matsumte*. Two mats of pounded bark, or tapa, *bat-te* ("bark tree"), or *bat manil tcahan*, were rolled up in a corner. First comers got the hammock to lie in, others sat on the low "squatting seats," *tsamate*, of which there were three, made each of half a log, peeled, and partially flattened on top, with a handle on one end.

415 The tortilla griddle was a flat, dish-like pottery affair, about 40 centimeters in diameter. There were five ollas, *ŏcom*, with plain

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

necks and round bottoms. Two were full of corn and lime for 415
tortillas, just off the fire. A big Tenango jar, *k'ip*, of the kind to be described at that place, was used for water.

A pottery dish, about 7 centimeters across, *tsets*, is commonly [515]
offered to guests to wash their hands. It is placed on a pottery stand [574]
of an hour-glass shape, about 15 centimeters high, *awaliko* (see fig. 299). The ordinary plates and general vessels are flat gourd dishes, *qai'*, about 20 centimeters across. Gourds as well were used for a dipper, *tuts*, and a water-jar, *tsux*. Two nets hung from the rack. 353
There were three small baskets, *tutemotc*, and four big ones, *mukulmotc*. Hanging on the wall were a pair of the basket-work sandals mentioned before, and selected ears of corn for seed. The wife's 283
textile outfit, more fully described later, consisted of a spindle, *pětět*, 286.

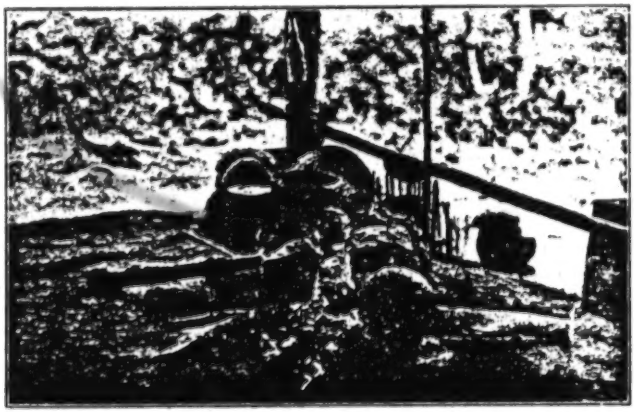

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FIG. 121—Bachajon Fireplace.

with clay whorl, spun in a gourd bowl, *tsima*, cotton, *t'umin*, hang- 283
ing in leaves, and the loom itself, *holěl*. A sling, made of a forked 286
stick and rubber band with a leather piece to take the clay pellet, 411
finmutc, belonged to the small boy. Bananas were drying on the rack. With them were laid, or hanging in packages of leaves, bees- 353
wax, *tcavek*, blocks, 20 x 20 x 2 centimeters, for trade purposes, 237
used for making candles, a lump of hard red clay, *baq lum* ("bitter [251]
earth"), for washing the hair, and sometimes also eaten, a package of brown loaf sugar, salt, *atsam*, traded down from the Zotzil country, several packages of pimiento pepper, and serpent fat, *junto tcan*, for rubbing on the chest to cure coughs. Under the table was a 353
basket of coarse, blackish-gray clay for making pottery, *tcavek lum* [323]
("beeswax earth"). Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

133 green wall away to the westward. Midway, there is a break in the slope, with a dramatic splash of deep red cliffs, in violent contrast
241 to the fertile grass and soft tones of the limestone outcrops. Only the upper end of this valley belongs to Tenango, so little, in fact that the inhabitants cannot practice the usual, sprawling milpa sys-
[351] tem of agriculture. The very yards are planted, and the fields
[417] start almost in the village, radiating from it in a close patchwork as in Europe. Everything is fenced with roughly split planks set on end, and fences line the road into Tenango where it passes
361 through the cornfields. The houses with their yards lie close about an open plaza in which are the grey bones of a ruined church, a

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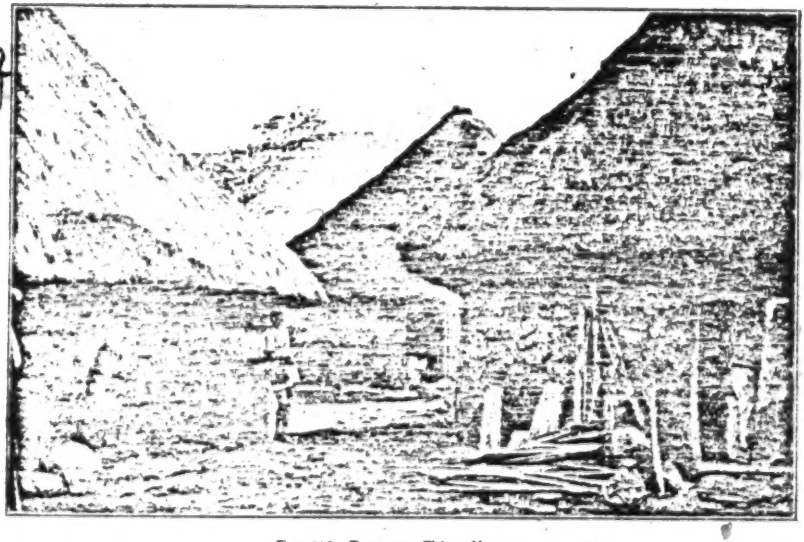

Fig. 312—Tenango, Chis. Houses.

361
whitewashed, palm-roofed native one, and the shack of a Cabildo for
245 the Maestro. The streets are lined with useful trees, oranges, gourds,
363 and a few bananas, which do poorly at this altitude.

342 The houses are square and well-made with walls of broad, split planks covered with mud (figs. 311-312). The roofs are steeply thatched and pyramidal, or have a short ridge along which broken pots are laid after the manner of tiles. The frame-work differs from that described in the last chapter in having cross-pieces laid between
[354] the plates. There are no chimneys, the smoke is allowed to seep through the thatch, keeping out vermin and making the roofs steam like a clam-bake.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

that he was invited into her house, presumably to take shelter from the evening rain that was beginning to fall. The house, of which he sketched a hurried plan (fig. 324) was more rectangular than is usual, the prevailing type being square with a pyramidal roof. He entered through a low doorway, closed with a wooden door on leather hinges. Although the ridge of the roof was high, the many cross poles reaching from the top of one wall to the other made it necessary to stoop. The writer squatted by the door, facing the fire, which smoked merrily in the closed room. The old woman immediately set to shaping a pile of tortillas for baking. Along either wall was a well-made bench, decorated with notches along the top and geometric designs on the back, similar to the benches on the Cabildo porch (fig. 325). These and a sturdy table that was stored on top of the stringers were said to be purely local products. By the door stood a big jar, a full meter in height, crude and undecorated (fig. 326). There was the usual collection of ollas and gourds, and one other new form, an open-mouthed pot about eight centimeters high and as many in diameter, flat bottomed, with a handle on one side, called *hutc* (fig. 327). In the thick smoke, it was hard to see anything. I was interested to note that my hostess' eyes watered nearly as much as my own. In the darker end of the house I could make out corn stacked neatly along one wall, and a partition that presumably hid the beds. For a while the woman answered the few questions that I could make her understand by means of signs, my half-a-dozen words of Tzeltal,

Fig. 325—Cancuc, Chis. Drinking scaffold.

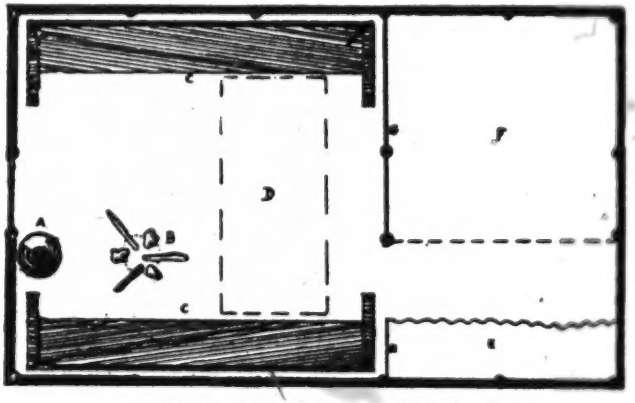

Fig. 324—Cancuc, Chis. Plan of House.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

of metal and 10 pesos if made of wood. These are lined with waxed paper which the local storekeeper cuts from cracker-box wrappers and sells for 5 cents each. 435 415 177

Electricity, first used in the cooperative store and later in the liquor shops, is now being installed in houses. 83 families had electricity installed in their homes by 1967. Street lights have been in operation since 1966, although the first attempt to install them was blocked by residents on the streets to be lighted who did not want to pay the tax of 1 peso per month per household to meet the cost to the community of 75 pesos a month. Most people have a flashlight, and lighting in the house is provided by pitch pine or by small kerosene lamps. Candles are used only in ceremonies. 365 [651] 354 [416]

The inventory of items sold in the cooperative store in town includes the most frequently purchased items of consumption. Hardward includes buckets, hoes, kerosene lamps, batteries, Gillette blades, shotgun bullets, canned goods such as sardines, chiles, and powdered milk. Packaged foods include rice, sugar, salt, oatmeal, cornstarch, flour, coffee, biscuits, cookies, gum, and candy. Beer is sold along with soft drinks and cigarettes. Household supplies include candles, soap, D.D.T. powder, thread, matches, and kerosene. Medicines dispensed most frequently include sulphur pills, aralin, Desenfriol, Alka-Seltzer, and Sonrisal. Yard goods for shawls, children's wraps, and men's clothing are sold along with manufactured shirts, blouses for girls, and rubber capes. Eggs as well as money are taken in payment and then sold. Except for one can of Chocomilk, which sat on the shelves for a year, all of the items are in constant demand, and provide an index to the level of living and dependency on external markets. 444 [436]

The preferences in changing consumption are limited by communal standards of what is appropriate. I once asked a man who was acquiring more than the usual income by brokerage activities what he would buy with more money. He replied, "I would get more land and cattle." I interrupted to ask what he would do to improve his standard of living. "I wouldn't get better clothing—what would I need that for? I would get a house built with good materials like this [the government-built clinic] with a cement floor. But I couldn't get it now because of envy. When my children grow up, they [the neighbors] will see them working and maybe 434 178 177 [156]

square. Although this conception is contradicted by knowledge learned in 772
school, the two concepts are not brought into direct opposition. The town 361
still defines the outer limit of most meaningful social relations, and most people are not forced by the circumstances of their lives to deal with an understanding of the world as round. It is enough that the four "sides" of their village be protected by crosses at the points of entry. The important orientation points are the east, referred to as the "coming out of the sun," and the west, referred to as "the sleeping place of the sun." North and south are referred to as lowland and highland because of the topography. Compass orientation is important behaviorally only at death. The body of [764]
the deceased is laid out in the cemetery with the head to the east. Indians [829]
comment that the Ladinos lay the body out with the head to the west, but Indians of other towns, such as Zinacantan, also do so. The cemetery is located on the western side of the town.

The House

The reference to the house in prayer as "the entry to suffering, inside 342
the poverty" suggests the "cult of poverty" which Wolf (1955:459) points [782]
out as characteristic of closed corporate Indian communities. Most people conform to a standard house size of five square meters subdivided into an interior sleeping and living area and a porch (Fig. 8). The walls are made of mud strengthened with lime packed in a framework of poles supported on nine main posts. The roofs are pitched with four sheds rising steeply to a truncated ridge. Tiles are used in most new houses to cover the roof, but there are still many thatched palm or wooden shingle roofs. Corn and [251]
beans are stored in the rafters under the eaves of the house.

Inside the house, beds line the two side walls. If there is no cooking [352]
shack separate from the house, the hearth is placed in the center of the in- [354]
terior room. The grinding stone, raised on three posts, is placed to the left [412]
of the center post.

The porch is the area for ceremonial gatherings and for making and storing pottery. A table with the pictures of household saints set against [353]
the inside wall, is adorned with flowers and candles. During house fiestas, [796]
men sit on the benches lining the four walls of the porch, while the [562]
women sit inside in a semicircle.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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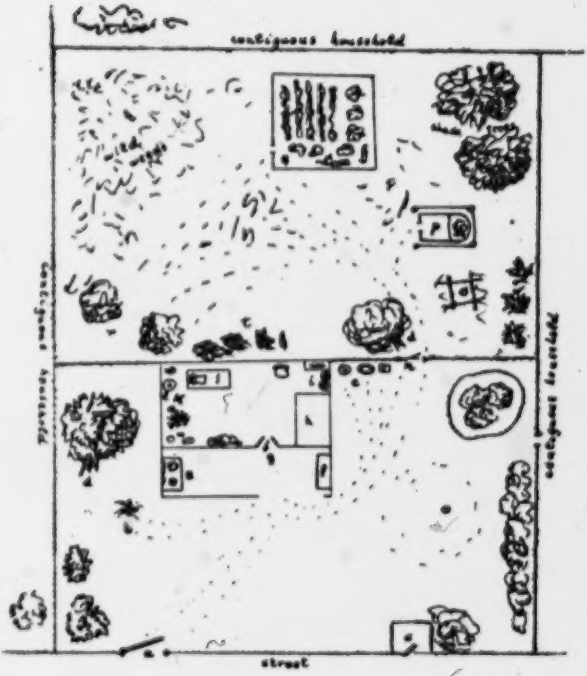

Scale: 1/8 of an hectare.
Number of inhabitants: 5.

Fig. 10.--Model of a Standard Household

a--entrance gate
b--nixtamal washing-pot
c--water pots
d--chicken coop in a tree
e--Saint's altar in the corridor
f--bench for receiving visitors
g--double door
h--wooden bed
i--petates (mats) chest and chair
j--table for making tortillas (with the grinding stone or metate)
k--molino and fire place
l--water pot inside the house
m--little stools for seating during meals and stored bags
n--gate to back yard
o--raised pig-pen
p--temascal (steam bath)
q--garden with chillis, and "tomatoes"
r--peach trees
s--pig-pen with gate to the street
t--fire-wood drying

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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351
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•354
415

Fig. 11.--House Viewed from the Street Gate

5: Blom & LaFarge A, E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

123 648 Visiting such a house is not a mere, simple social affair. Here, on a steep-sided and slippery natural hill, lived a family belonging to a notoriously exclusive people. Our hostess seemed suspicious of the visit at first, although one visitor was a "Melicano," one of the pair who had already acquired a good reputation with the Indians, and his guide, Señor Aguilar, was known to be a friend. Men in felt hats and boots seldom visited those houses for good purposes; at the best, they might be expected to make off with a quantity of eggs and tortillas without paying their value—at the worst, the head of the house might be haled away for forced labour, or there might be a fight, the pigs killed, and the little hut set afire. The family consisted of a married couple their small son, and two grown girls. On our first visit the wife alone was there. She was at first sullen and a little frightened, but becoming reassured by degrees, showed herself to be a placid, dignified woman, pleasant, neat, and in many ways an ideal type of the traditional housewife. After we had given medicine to one of the girls for cold, and to the husband for mild fever, with a gaudy chromo of a saint to decorate the family altar, they came [342] to take us for granted, and allowed us to see unfolding the harmonious, dignified family life, with its feeling of unvoiced yet real affection that is so typical of the American Indian where European contact has been slight. The 342 little house, only half walled, and small—about 15 x 18½ feet—was [353] always neat, its dirt floor swept clean, each small posession in its [356] place. There was a faint smell of wood-smoke and earth, with the scent of the rich jungle drifting in, the sound of low-voiced talk, wind in grass, or the grind and thump of the metates, now and then laughter.

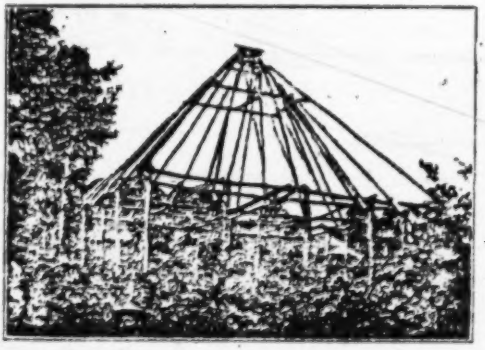

Fig. 287—Cancuc, Chis. Frame of house, illustrating type used in whole area.

The house was a rectangle, 4.90 x 4.20 meters (figs. 288-289), the front of the house being on a short side. The back and slightly less than half of the sides were walled with close-planted, upright [352] poles, without plastering. To wooden beds, *waixyivel*, like low tables, were built into the corners thus framed. Four corner-posts,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajon
Tenango
Sivaca

342 The thatching was done by one man on the roof and another, who stood on a slanting stick tied to one of the center uprights, to help the first pass the liana around.

The angle of the long side not being steep enough, the roof leaked. Two men held the eaves-pole on their shoulders while the rest drove the corner posts in deeper, thus making the angle sharper and improving the shed.

[356] Repairs in thatch are made by laying new bundles of leaves directly over the old, the stems being stitched into the thatch with a liana, and a wooden needle made on the spot.

343 In all the larger settlements sweat-baths, *pus*, are located (figs. 295-296). The essential element is a cube of wattle thickly plastered

[291]

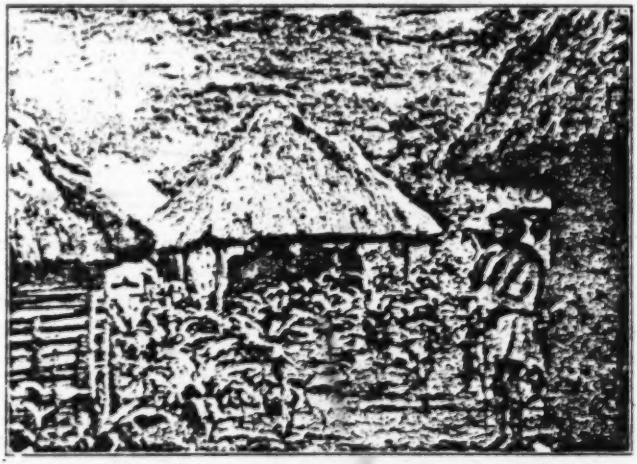

FIG. 295—Tenango, Chis. Sweat House of same type used in Ocosingo Valley.

with mud, about a meter to a meter and a half in all measurements, with a small doorway in one end. The door is of the same construction, or of boards. At Sivacá there were thatched roofs above the baths, but entirely separate from them. Water poured on hot stones is used in them. The purpose appears to be medicinal rather than ceremonial.

323 All the Highland Indians make vessels of clay, with the possible exception of the Tenejapeños. Among the Bachajon and at Sivacá, the art is not very well developed, only the most common forms being made, without decoration. Their clay, *tcavek lum*, ("beeswax earth"), is found in the banks of many small streams. It is a [135]

/6 cont./

621 The native surnames are regarded as belonging to a definite
[551] barrio, two of which exist at present. (In an old document, which
[127] we cannot now locate, reference is made to four barrios of Cancuc. Our informants do not remember this fact and emphatically deny it, but they do refer to a third one, which became incorporated into the two remaining ones a very long time ago.) These two barrios formerly bore the names of Chejeb and Chiklajum, by which they are still known, but today they are preferably called Ajkol-culibal, or "upper barrio," and Alán-culibal, or "lower barrio," respectively. Some informants say "calpul" in referring to the barrios, but not so others, who recognize the word calpul as the one used by other native groups -- "here there is no calpul, only Alán- and Ajkol-culibal," several Cancuqueros explain to us. One informant tells us that formerly there were three culibales, the third being called Alal-bikit-culbal. The dividing line of the barrios passes through the center of the town, located on the crest of a hill, drawn from east to west, the lands of the north belonging to Alán- and those of the south to Ajkol-culibal. The
[361] third one, which has now disappeared, included all the land
[368] to the west of the town, as the dividing line terminated at the point where the building of the Cabildo /town hall/ is located -- to the east of the great plaza, having in front the Iglesia /church/ and the ruins of the ancient "convento." When Alal-bikit-culibal was incorporated into the other two, the line that divided them was extended, separating its lands into two parts: those that remained south of the line being transferred so as to belong to the "upper" culibal, and those of the north to the "lower" one.

621 Even though at present there are persons from one culibal
551 living in the other, they always consider themselves bound to the one from which their surname comes (for this purpose our informants never took into account the third barrio to which we have referred). According to our list of native surnames, we can say
[614] that 54 belong to Ajkol-culibal, and 38 to Alán-culibal. According to the division into three clans, we have the following distribution:

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

114 chiefly at Tenejapa and Cancuc. In 1925 Blom and LaFarge[6] entered the Tzeltal country from the north, visiting Bachajón, Sivacá, Tenango, Cancuc, Tenejapa, and Amatenango. These authors have published a short general account[7] of the culture of these people. In 1928 the John Geddings Gray Memorial Expedition of the Tulane University of Louisiana passed through the villages of Ococingo and Sivaca, and visited the hacienda "El Real." At this last place Carlos Basauri, a member of the expedition, collected notes on the Tzeltals.[8] Marcos E. Becerra, who was for ten years head of the Department of Public Education of Chiapas, assembled information on the languages, ethnography, and history of the Indians of the highlands and of other parts of the state.[9] Dr. Ruth Bunzel has spent some time recently in the region, her materials are unpublished.

101 The Tzeltal-speaking communities may be divided into those situated in the
•361 highlands (Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Cancuc, Oxchuc, San Martín, and Tenango) and those situated at less than 1000 m. above sea level and that consequently enjoy a warmer climate (Sivaca, Ococingo, Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo).

133 In general the State of Chiapas is highly dissected and mountainous. It is crossed from east to west with three cordilleras, with subdivisions into various branches which cross with one another to form a complicated orographic system.[10] The ranges which cross the Tzeltal region are those belonging to the Cordillera de Hueitepec,[11] reaching an altitude of 2597 m. above sea level[12] in a mountain of this name situated east of the city of Las Casas. With the exception of some
[361] Chamula settlements, this is the settlement of greatest altitude (2110 m. above sea level)[13] in the entire state. From this point and continuing northward are to be found the other pueblos Villa visited. The land decreases in altitude until it reaches the Ococingo Valley where there is a sharp descent of 600 m.[14] From here on, the terrain is not so dissected and the altitude is less than 1000 m. above sea level and becomes gradually less.

132 As is natural, the climates of these two zones present marked differences which
[823] have given rise to the expressions "tierra fría" and "tierra caliente" by which the natives distinguish them. The former refers to the higher region where, according to Amram, "The temperature rarely falls below freezing, though in November, 1935, it dropped as low as 24° F. During the long dry period, when for weeks at a time no rain falls, the temperature in the shade occasionally rises above 75° and the temperature in the sun may reach well over 100°. The relative humidity is low, and there are great differences between shade and sun temperatures. The nights are cool."[15]

The region of the tierra caliente begins in the Valley of Ococingo and the temperature rises as one goes northward. At Salto de Agua, 73 m. above sea level, one experiences tropical heat.

[6] Blom and LaFarge, 1927.
[7] *Ibid.*, 2:324–400.
[8] Basauri, 1931.
[9] Becerra, 1932 and 1933.
[10] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 20. See also Waibel, 1935, pp. 69–77.
[11] Santiabañez, 1911, p. 7.
[12] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 20.
[13] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:518.
[14] *Ibid.*, 2:37*.
[15] Amram, 1937, p. 52.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

As is the case in the highlands of Guatemala, the outstanding social unit, corresponding to a tribe, is the population of several hundred or several thousand Indians whose activities center in one leading settlement from which the community gets its name. As in Guatemala, these communities vary greatly with respect to the proportion of Indians living permanently in this central settlement. Dr. Tax[10] uses the phrase "town nucleus type" for Guatemalan Indian communities in which all or a large majority of the Indians live in the principal settlement, and the phrase "vacant town type" for those in which most of the Indians live in scattered rural habitations, coming to the town center occasionally for commercial, governmental, or festal reasons. Among the Tzeltals the town-nucleus type is less atypical than it is in Guatemala, and the town-nucleus communities are suffering from a scarcity of land. The following communities may be regarded as of this type: Amatenango, San Martin, Tenango, Sivacá, Petalcingo, and probably also Chanal and Citala, although at least in the case of the last two, there are also considerable numbers of Indians dwelling in the countryside. The vacant-town type of community is represented by Cancuc, Oxchuc, Bachajón, and Chilón. It will be seen that both types are represented in both highlands and lowlands. With respect to this classification Tenejapa, Guaquitepec, and Yajalon are intermediate, and illustrate Tax's "Type III" in that many of the people live in the town and work their fields closely surrounding it, while many live on their farms and only occasionally come to town.

621 361 632 [101] [171] [619]

As in the highlands of Guatemala, the ethnic distinction between Indian and Ladino is marked, here also the Ladinos are much outnumbered by the Indians, and here too the Ladinos are very predominately town-dwellers. In Chilón and Yajalón the permanent town-dwellers are chiefly Ladinos, the permanent population of Oxchuc consists of about seventy Ladino families, the several thousand Indians live about the town and in the country. In other towns (Tenejapa,[11] Citala, Guaquitepec, and Petalcingo) a considerable number of Ladino families have become established, although in these communities there are more Indians even among the inhabitants of the town itself than there are Ladinos. A general disposition to exclude Ladinos from permanent settlement in Indian communities is most marked in Cancuc, the site of the uprising of 1712, and where in 1935 some Ladino merchants were slain by the Indians. No Ladinos reside there now. In Amatenango, Chanal, Bachajón, San Martin, Tenango, and Sivacá the Indians are also unfavorable to settlement by Ladinos, in each of the three last-named villages the only Ladino residents are the school-teacher and the government-imposed municipal agent. Recently a few Ladino tradespeople have settled in Bachajón, and a "Center of Native Education" has been established there (as also at Amatenango) by the Mexican national government. In the lowland towns of

563 [669] [871]

[10] Tax, 1937, pp. 423-444.

[11] It is interesting that in Tenejapa, where both Indians and Ladinos live in town, the two groups recognize different santos, "patron saints" and there are separate schools for Indians and for Ladinos, whereas in Oxchuc, where all the Indians live outside the town, the same santos are worshipped by both groups, but the Ladinos maintain their own celebration on the day of the festival.

[12] Vicente Pineda, 1888.

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

621 other municipalities (Aguacatenango, Can-
632 cuc, Tenango, San Martin, Sivaca, Guaqui-
tepec, and Bachajon). Petalcingo belongs to the municipality of Tila, where Chol is spoken. The reason for these heterogeneous municipalities is that, within the political constitution of the state, only communities containing a sufficient number of inhabitants may achieve the status of municipality; the rest are considered merely as agencies of the municipality to which they have been assigned.

18 Another cultural variation stems from its
177 ecological location. Communities of the
191 southern zone, which have good lands,
361 roads, mechanized transportation, and therefore greater contacts with the outside world, occupy a more advanced place in the process of acculturation, which is revealed by the scant number of monolingual Indian residents and by their better economic condition. Communities of the central zone, of irregular landscape and high demographic pressure, isolated, and without economic opportunities, are the poorest, most conservative, and most untrusting of the entire region. The northern zone has a high index of Indianness because of the number of those who do not know Spanish, but their economic condition is better than that of the central zone, because there is more opportunity to cultivate coffee and work on the plantations.

Historical Antecedents

175 I shall mention only the periods of greatest
177 social significance in the past four centuries.
648 The dates are approximate.

The period of the conquest, from 1524 to 1545, saw the most violent encounters and occasional skirmishes between Indians and Spaniards. The fortress of Chamula was taken by Captain Luis Marín in 1524, and four years later Ciudad Real (now San Cristobal de las Casas), destined to be the politico-religious center of the region, was founded.

The period of catechization and consoli-

[P. 197-B]

177 262 ious meats, and canned foods such as salmon, sardines, and sausages.

231 [222] The keeping of bees is not widespread. The Indians instead take advantage of the wild honey, which is commonly gathered during certain parts of the year. Tenango was the only town where I observed beehives next to the huts. The bees, large and yellow, are called *aja-chab* and are brought from the woods. When a tree is found with one of these beehives, the section containing the hive is cut off and is taken to town; the ends of this section are covered with jícaras, which are stuck on with clay.

Settlement Patterns

Town and Parajes

632 621 361 All the communities consist of a town center and a number of settlements, called parajes, which are scattered over the municipio. The town is the political, religious, and commercial center of the entire community; there the municipal authorities have their offices, [563] and the church and shops are located. In general, the Ladinos reside in the center, their houses arranged in aligned streets, but some communities (Chanal, Amatenango, Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Bachajon) refuse to accept Ladinos in the town permanently. The Indians prefer the parajes, where the huts are dispersed irregularly.

162 As observed by Sol Tax for the highlands of Guatemala (1937), the proportion of Indians who reside in the town center varies. In some communities (Chanal, Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Tenango) nearly all the people live in the capital. In Chanal, with a population of 2,881 persons, 2,386 reside in the center and so it is a "nucleated town," according to Tax's terminology. In contrast, the most common community is the "vacant town." Tenejapa, for example, has only 517 inhabitants of a total 7,750 residing in the center. The least frequent is an intermediate type, where some live in the center and some in the parajes, as typified by

[P. 203-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 205-A]

162 Amatenango del Valle, a community of 2,529 inhabitants, of which 1,470 reside in the town center.

621 The town centers are divided into two sections, called barrios by Ladinos and calpules by Indians (Oxchuc and Cancuc). The imaginary line which separates one barrio from another passes through the center of the town, sometimes east-west, sometimes north-south, with no fixed orientation.

[776] Each barrio has its own local authorities and sometimes its own patron saint (Oxchuc and Bachajon). The principal function of the barrios was not only political or religious but also social, in regulating mar-

[178] riage. Endogamy was common to all barrios, but today that rule is losing its rigidity. In Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1960, p. 8) tells us that, "The rule of barrio endogamy, which is viable in 86% of the known marriages, contributes to the localization of related families limiting the geographical range of marriage choice." A similar situation obtains in Amatenango (J. Nash, 1959, p. 3), Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes, 1947, p. 7), and Bachajon (Guiteras Holmes, 1961c, p. 167).

[178] In Bachajon, Guiteras Holmes states that: "In the old days there was no marriage be-

[578] tween the *barrios*. If a boy from San Sebastian took a walk through San Geronimo, he was beaten; they would give him a '*maciza*,' as they say. If a boy from a *barrio* approached the waterholes to court a girl, he fared very badly." The calpules of Oxchuc, although they have politico-religious significance, have no influence at all in the selection of wives.

621 The parajes have a few scattered huts
778 among the cultivated fields. Each paraje is
[361] bound by religious ties to a given cave where a cross, the supreme sacred symbol, is kept. The name of the paraje is generally
778 taken from the name of the cave. Sacred
821 caves of secondary importance also exist.
823 This mystical regard for caves is based in the belief that they are the place from which issues the lightning to punish the

[P 205-A]

Though the nuclear family predominates,
591 custom dictates that the house be near mem-
613 bers of the same lineage or patrilineal
[361] group, perhaps because of the patrilineal
[592] system of land inheritance. In the parajes groups of houses in which families composed of mother, father, uncles, and other members of the patriline live are common.
[351] No fences mark the limits of the property; their infrequent presence merely keeps the
591 pigs and chickens under control. This group
592 of houses, easily accessible and inhabited by people related by kinship, constitutes the most important influence in the individual's formation, since it is here that he acquires his first experiences and cultural values, as well as the emotional links that will have the greatest weight in his life. This system of patrilocal residence is observed all through the region, even in compact villages like Aguacatenango, where lack of space favors dispersion. B. Metzger (1959) tells us: "Looking at the nuclear families to trace patrilocality there, we find that in 74 cases where we have adequate data, 39 are in the same block and 12 in adjacent blocks with husband's parents or siblings; 11 in the same block and 8 in adjacent blocks with wife's parents or siblings; 4 are classed to neither spouse's family."

351 In villages or cabeceras of a compact type
591 it is customary to mark family plots by a
592 fence of stones or sticks, with entrance toward the street (Chanal, Sivaca, Amatenango, Aguacatenango.) Occasionally, when the nuclear family is divided because of the marriage of one of the sons, then the "solar" or the "sitio" (as it is called in the region) is subdivided by another fence that separates the portion now belonging to the new family. A door allows easy communication between both families. Sometimes, even three nuclear families live in a large sitio, divided by fences.

583 *Types of Marriage*

Types of marriage vary from that following the old traditional to one requiring the
[P. 217-A]

794 the calpul must have a powerful nagual, through which they can learn about the private lives of their subordinates. This is usually the way they know who has enough money to pay for a feast, who can occupy special jobs, and which sinners deserve punishment.

Religious Life

The Catholic Cult

177 The beliefs and religious practices intro-
797 duced by Catholic missionaries in the 16th
795 century have been adapted to the aborigi-
795 nal culture. The largest and most important
778 building of the village is the church, situ-
[346] ated on the east side of the ceremonial cen-
[361] ter. In it are the image of the patron saint
[776] of the group, the holy cross, and lesser
[796] saints. The most profound ceremonies take
[794] place before the altar of these saints, who are looked upon as mediators between God and men, and are performed by the cabildos de misa, dzunubiles, and other elderly men of high rank who know both Catholic and Indian ritual.

346 During the ceremonies the altar is deco-
796 rated with flowers and with paper and rib-
795 bons of different colors. The floor is covered with pine needles, which give off an agree-
[782] able fragrance. Candles and copal are part of every prayer and ceremony, the copal having been used since pre-Hispanic times.

795 Common prayers of people who visit the
782 center also have a place. These people have to enter the church and make an offering of candles to the patron saint. The prayers follow a formal pattern but vary in content according to the need and mood of the suppliant. Each individual talks intimately to the saint, specifying the help he needs, much as he would to a relative or a friend in whom he has absolute confidence. The two most frequent matters of petition are health and food; as the latter depends almost entirely on the condition of the cornfield, people pray that "it may not be damaged by the wind, or by cold, sun, birds, or plagues."

[P 221-A]

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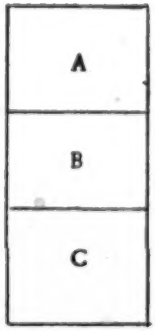
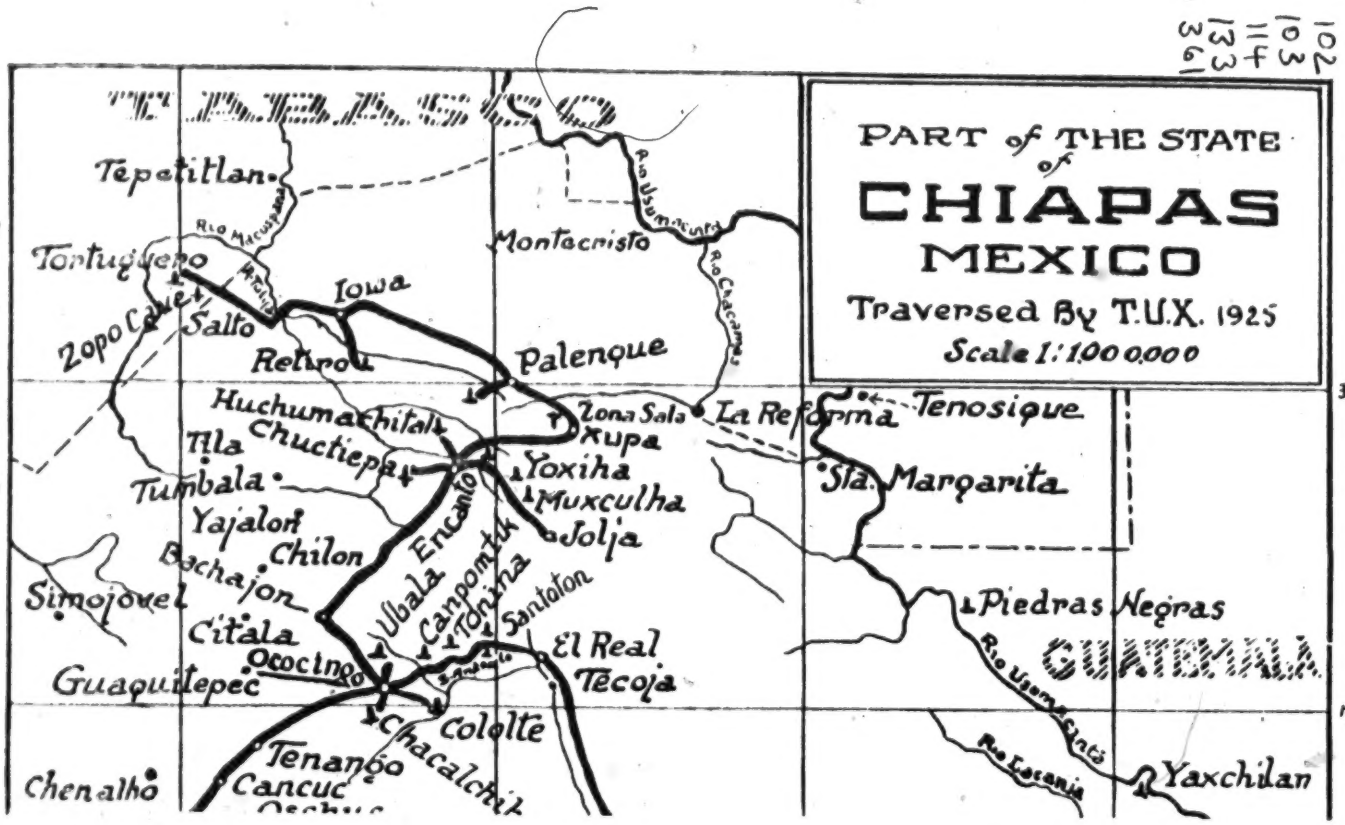


Chart of Positions of Map
Facing p. 239

[facing p. 239]



[Facing p. 239a]

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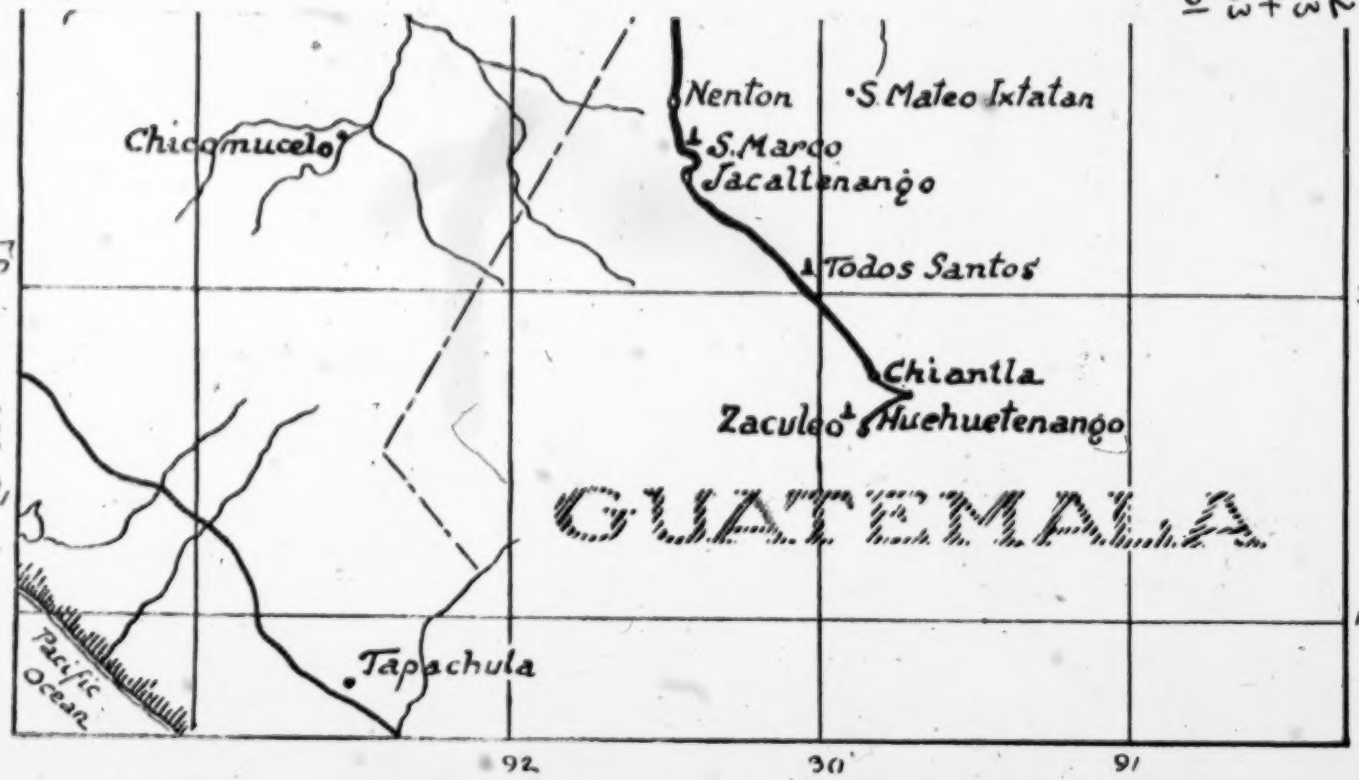
[facing p. 239, B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9



[Facing p. 239, C]

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5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

PY
172 by the great forest. New cities, one after the other, sprang up in
174 the new country. Several tribes stayed behind, but the leaders and
13 chiefs must have gone north. The tribes still living in the southern
167 area are descendants of those who remained.
361

PY Several explanations have been advanced for this migration,
174 among which are disease, war, and change of climatic conditions.
167 Probably there are many reasons for the exodus, of which the ex-
24 haustion of the soil is one of the principal.

PY The Maya could have gone south. There they would have
13 found igneous mountains. We find Maya speaking tribes in the
167 highlands of Guatemala, but rarely find great buildings in that
174 area. To the north, on the peninsula of Yucatan, the migrants
135 found a limestone country, much like that which they had left.
24 Limestone played a principal role in their whole culture. Lime was necessary for making their principal food, the corn cake (now called tortilla by the Spaniards). Limestone was easy to cut and carve with stone tools, and burnt lime was essential in their temple building. Moreover, the agricultural conditions were similar to those to which they were accustomed. Therefore, after two centuries of moving around, searching for a suitable place, they settled in Yucatan. There they built more great cities, and blossomed out in a magnificent renaissance, finally to reach the climax and then came the downfall of their entire culture.

T
361 Now and then we met a few Indians, but only when we reached the high points of the trail did we see their houses in places of vantage on the hills, away from the trail, so that the inhabitants could look out for strangers.

T Reaching a steep climb, we dismounted and drove our animals
114 along, urging them with Indian cries. The pack animals laboured under their burden, frequently stopping to get their wind, then driven forward again by the yells and whistling of the boys.

T The trail went straight over the ridge, from the top of which we
133 had a magnificent view of the valley of the Bachilá and Bolontichna
137 rivers. Below we heard the roar of the rivers, and in front lay the
114 nearly vertical wall of the southern side of the valley, an enormous geological fault. Along the backbone of a long narrow ridge we could see our trail winding up to the edge of the wall miles ahead. Nowhere in the huge valley at our feet did we see big forest; all was second growth and patches of grass.

T Shortly after noon we had crossed the two rivers, and continued
133 the gradual climb towards the southern rim. As we ascended we
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[361]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

saw houses and fields, lying away from the trail, and at a bend before us in the distance a perpendicular wall of yellow and red rock, about 400 meters high, framed in green foliage. A vertical, shining white band, the waterfall "Chegua," cut the center of the red cliff.

Toward evening we made camp by a small stream not far below the rim of the valley, 980 meters above sea level, and rolled ourselves in our blankets just as a downpour started to drum on our tent-fly.

Early in the morning a few Bachajon Indians came stealthily out of the bush to look at our strange outfit. They talked with our Indian carriers, and evidently found out that we were not bad people, as they soon came near to our camp to talk with us.

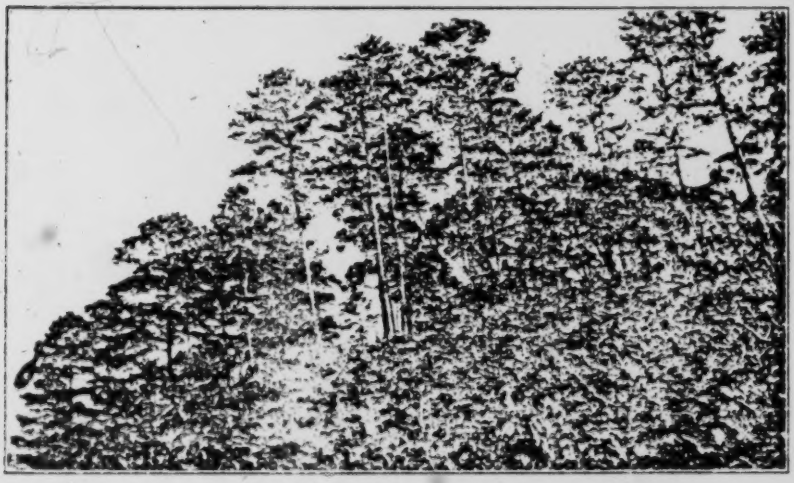

Fig. 133—Bachajon, Chis. Pine Forest.

It was a cool morning and the bottom of the valley was hidden under great soft banks of white mists with the mountains appearing above in sharp silhouette against the morning sky. Soon we reached the rim of the valley and looking back towards the north, saw the many mountain ranges we had crossed and also the Don Juan mountain along the foot of which we rode towards Palenque.

The vegetation changed to low oak-like bush over ground covered with fern-like moss and pretty wild iris. As we rode downward to the next valley new mountain ranges appeared before us and we could see the pine country at a distance. There is no transition from tropical vegetation to pine forest. Change in soil is

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

137 Change in soil is
134 probably the reason for change in vegetation. The tropical forest grows on black humus soil and the pine country is underlain by a red sandstone which weathers into a heavy red clay. The contact of this sandstone with the limestone country on which leaf trees grow lies about an hour's ride north of the village of Bachajon.

[133] The pine country is very hilly, the trees are scattered over a carpet of vivid green grass cut by the strong red line of the soil of the trail like a scar (fig. 195).

114 It was like riding through a magnificent park, up and down the hills and across small streams. Our poor animals had a hard time on the slippery trail. La Farge's horse gave out, and he had to change his saddle to a spare animal.

361 The Bachajon Indian village came in sight, lying on a hill in the
342 middle of the valley. It was well after noon when we reached the
346 dilapidated, grass-roofed and mud-walled huts clustered around the huge ruin of an old Spanish stone church. The Indians use a new church which they have built of the same material as their houses.

122 The house of the Government agent lies in the middle of the
344 village and here we were quartered in a room, the floor of which had just been covered with a carpet of fresh pine needles.

123 The Bachajon Indians are reputed to be unfriendly to all travellers, so we were not surprised when the Indian chief of the village told us that he could not furnish fodder for our animals or men to carry some of our cargo. To all our questions he answered "Mayuk," or in English, "Ain't got none." But when the chief, a little later, heard from our Encanto men that we had been friendly to them, and that furthermore, we were friends of the big father President in Mexico City, he changed his attitude.

648 The Government agent is sent to the Indian village by the civil
[651] authorities of the neighbouring Mexican town of Ocosingo. He is
[653] supposed to collect certain taxes, raise labourers for public works in the Mexican town, and help the Indians with their affairs. He is highly unpopular among the Indians, who counteract his orders through a remarkable system of passive resistance. They say "yes" to everything and do nothing. The only reason the Indians tolerate
[273] him is because he keeps a small store and sells liquor. The Indian is very fond of sugar-cane rum, and every Saturday and Sunday all the villagers generally get drunk. The agent complained bit-
[123] terly that the Indians were not selling him any food supplies and was astonished when they sold us chickens and eggs.

361 Most of the Bachajon Indians live hidden away in the bush. Only the families of the chief and the village officials live around the old church ruins.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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the old church ruins. The chief and the officials all spoke Spanish, but the only one who knew how to read and write was the town secretary, a 15-year old boy.

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After dark the Indians gathered in front of the municipal house and presently some of the elders made signs that they wanted to talk to us. We followed them into the dark out of earshot of the agent, where the Indians told us of all their sorrows and difficulties, asking if we could not help them. They said that the agent tried to raise unjust taxes, that they were forced to do much work for the Municipal President of Ocosingo and did not have time to look after their own corn fields, and also that they were molested by the managers of the neighbouring properties. They asked us to bring their complaints before the Central Government, which we have done.

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From there our route followed the main trail, or Camino Real, between Chilon and Ocosingo. A few hours ride through pine forest brought us to the top of a pass from where we had a magnificent view over the Ocosingo Valley. We could see the Indian village of Sivacá, and the white walled, red tiled houses of the Mexican town Ocosingo, lying on a green carpet of extensive grazing land. Down over the mountain side we scrambled towards the valley bottom, and by noon the hoofs of our animals clattered against the cobbled stones of Ocosingo's streets.

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5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Chapter XII

THE OCOSINGO VALLEY

The name Ocosingo is Aztec, signifying the "Place of Pines," 103
a name well chosen, for the valley is enclosed in pine-clad hills. 137
When one stands at the southwestern end of the valley it stretches 133
out in front like a huge natural stadium with the high San Martín mountain lying at the back. The northern and southern sides of the valley consist of two parallel rows of mountains, the inner rows being lower than the outer. The interior ranges slope towards the valley and turn nearly vertical cliff walls towards the very narrow valleys that separate them from the exterior mountains (fig. 196).

The interior ranges are broken up in many points, and this the 133
Maya took advantage of, selecting the highest points for pyramids. [172]

The floor of the valley is grass covered, with scattered groups of [137]
pine trees. Here and there lie ranches, mostly inhabited by Mex- [361]
icans, called Ladinos here. The Ladino is, strictly speaking, a man
of mixed Indian and Spanish blood, but the Indians use the term to 829
indicate any Mexican or Spaniard who lives in a town or owns a larger ranch. With the name generally goes a certain amount of education, and the ability to read and write.

Ocosingo town now contains only about 500 inhabitants, living ooo
in whitewashed brick houses with red tiled roofs. In the center of the town is a Plaza, at one end of which lies the Palacio Municipal, and at the other end a huge Spanish Colonial church. In front of the church is the public fountain; the water and news supply of the town. All day long girls come here to fill large clay jugs with cool water, led down from the San Martín mountain through an underground canal.

Half of the Plaza is planted with trees, which surround a dilapidated music pavilion, without which no self-respecting Mexican village could exist.

The houses that face the Plaza all have colonnades where one may walk in the shade, and where families bring their rocking chairs in the evenings to sit and watch the crowds of as many as twenty-five men and women who walk around the pavilion, or to look at the horses and cows that feed on the grass growing exuberantly between the paving stones of the Plaza.

The Ocosingo Valley and many smaller valleys adjoining for- 233
merly supported large herds of cattle and had considerable trade. 43

[Text continues on p. 247]

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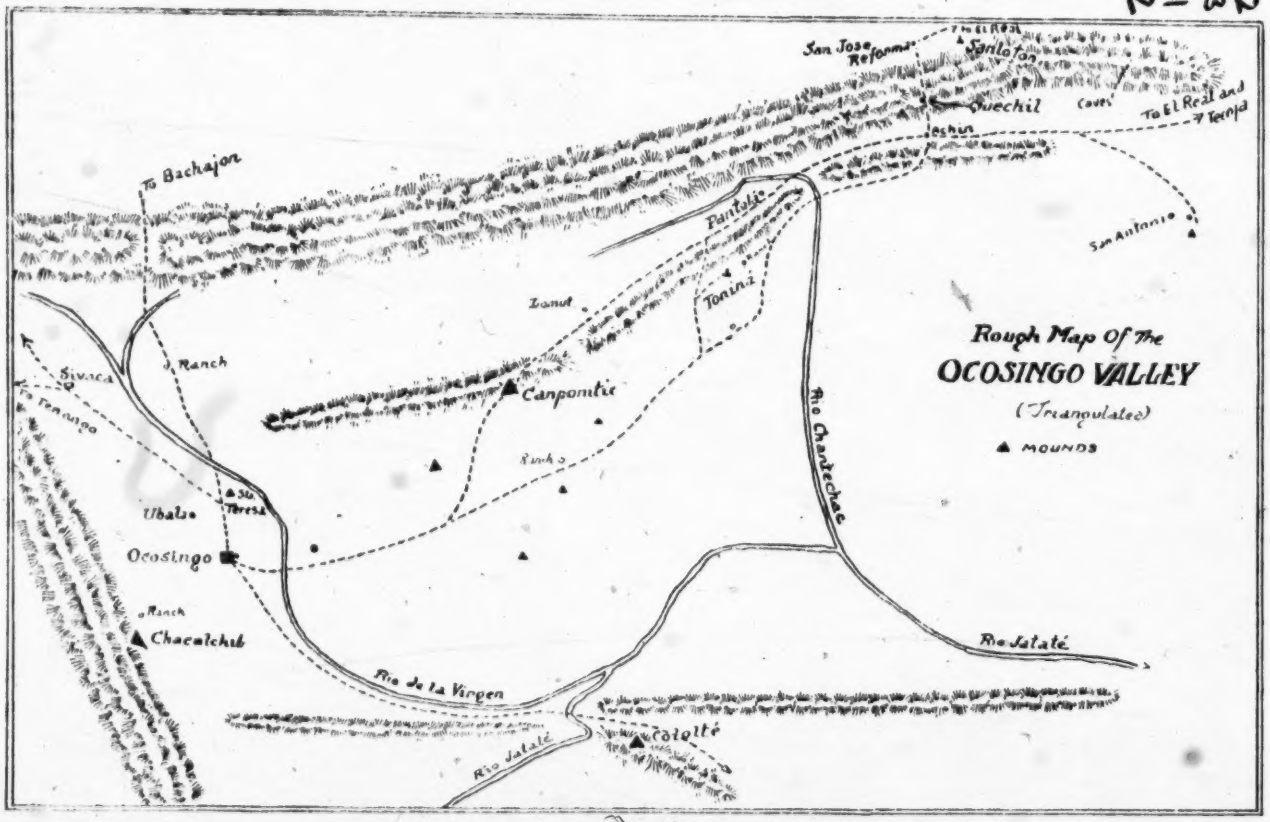

FIG. 196 Ocosingo Valley. (Triangulation). Scale 1:85,000.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

123 able when broken by the clattering of horses hoofs against the paving stones.

172 From the Plaza one can see a great part of the valley and sur-
114 rounding mountains. When the sun in the morning falls on the San Martín mountain, one's attention is attracted by a spur on this mountain which strongly resembles a pyramid. We asked about this and were told that it actually was an ancient mound. Therefore, one morning, we rode to the foot of the San Martín.

Reaching a small ranch, we left our horses behind and ascended on foot. A spur of the mountain had in ancient times been levelled and shaped to the form of an immense truncated pyramid, rising in terraces.

778 We had heard that there were caves in the mountainside, and
114 that every year, on the 3rd of May, the Indians come here to worship the god of the mountain. Soon we reached a small cave, or rock shelter, and upon entering saw that a tunnel led into the dark. This we followed, with lighted candles, into a small cave, and there on the floor we found signs of a small altar.*

We took great pains not to disturb anything on the altar, returning to the mouth of the cave, and emerged into the glaring sunlight. We then climbed to the top of the pyramid, and found a large level area in the center of which stood a small mound. On top of the mound Indians had erected a wooden cross and at its foot we found bunches of pine needles, also remnants of burnt copal incense. Evidently this also was a place of Indian worship.

114 Sitting on top of the mound we had the whole Ocosingo valley
133 at our feet. The red roofs of the town lay 500 meters below us.
172 The top of the pyramid, called Chacalchib, is 1,440 meters above
361 sea level. Far away we could see two other hilltops that likewise had been turned into pyramids. On the northern edge of the valley lay Campomtik, and further away on the same side we could distinguish the ruins of Toniná. On the southern side of the valley was the mountain-pyramid called Cololté. All these places were later visited.

133 The valley floor spread out before us. Here and there lay small
137 ranches, and patches of pine forest. Several groups of mounds were
361 easily distinguished, as those of Santa Teresa just outside Ocosingo
172 on the trail to Bachajon. At the head of the valley lay Sivacá, the Indian village.

172 On the level top of the pyramid were rows of stones, indicating
114 old house foundations, but though we made a careful search, we found no monuments.

*For Description, see Chapter XV.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

The country near the village has been farmed out long ago; now the fields lie at a distance in the jungle. After every concentration, the Indians drift away again like blown smoke. Today most of the houses are rotten, sagging, with gaping doors. The paths are grown up with weeds, huge, old moss-covered crosses lean at crazy angles by the main trails. Over all broods the frame of the sacked church, huge stone walls with rank vegetation around them, and a twisted, unhealthy oak-tree on one side, like a composition by Piranesi.

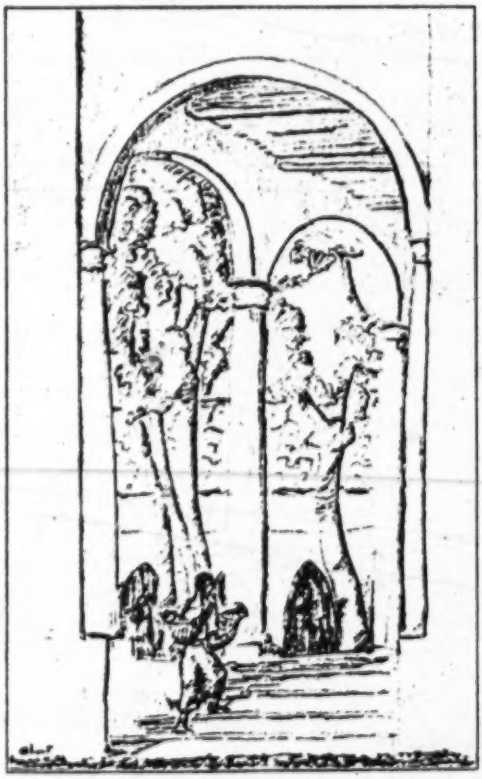

Fig. 277—Ocosingo, Chia. Colonnade on the Plaza.

Ocosingo Valley and its neighbours furnish a transition towards the real highlands. The valleys are fertile and green, ringed in with ranges of steep, rich hills. The soil in the lower parts is light; here palms and pines grow together, with a luxuriance of rich grass that makes an ideal grazing country. Through the valleys are large and small ranches of Ladinos and old Spanish families. The bigger ones, such as San Antonio, Quechil, and Achin in the Ocosingo Valley, San José Reforma and El Real beyond the San José Pass, and Tecojá in its own valley, each has a village of Indian labourers attached to them. The natives' houses are rather better that the average, and often tile-roofed (fig. 278). The Indians of each ranch function more or less as a tribe, governed by the owner of the ranch, conducting their own worship at its chapel. A few Indians own scattered, independent farms. Sivacá (*sivak ha'*, "Gunpowder Water"), near Ocosingo on the trail to Tenango, is a true village, self-governing, with its own *alcalde*, under the supervision of a Ladino *maestro*. All these groups come together at

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

000 An excellent discussion of the character of the neighbouring Indians of Guatemala, which applies well to these, by one who has lived long among them, is found in Sapper's "Der Charakter der Mittelamerikanisch Indianer."

FIG. 280—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon girls.

648 771 793 Before passing on to the native culture, a little must be said of the outside influences that do so much to mould it — the Church, the Government, and the Hacienda. The first of these occupies a very curious position indeed. While the Indians are ostensibly Christian, as will be shown later, in many ways they are still unconverted. It may be said, briefly, that they acknowledge two antagonistic worships. Of these, the Christian has publicly the upper hand. The Priests, accordingly, wield a tremendous influence among them, and did even more so in the past, when supported by the State. Our experience on this trip was that, on the whole, this influence was intelligently and beneficially used. To the Priests the Indians confide their troubles, to them they accord the greatest honour on the occasions of their visits to the villages. Yet, at the same time, the Indians conceal from them one-half of their worship, knowing them to be sworn to stamp it out.

[142] [291] [301] [302] →

[142] [291] [302] →

FIG. 281—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon man and boy.

648 241 361 466 The Hacienda system has caused the formation of many small villages, as has been said above. In other cases, as with the Bachajon on the Encanto property, the Indians living at large on the distant lands of the

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

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hacienda, are held liable for a certain amount of labour each year, in lieu of rent. Should one of them fail to do his share, the owners are considered free to arrest him and bring him in. While so working, they are paid, largely in credit at the local store, and fed. On the haciendas with regular village establishments, and in other parts of Mexico, this system has worked smoothly in the past, because the workers found themselves cared and provided for, corn laid up for the future, money or credit ready for festive occasions, and so forth. But the more independent Bachajones seem amply able to take care of themselves, and do not relish working for a ranch miles from their homes, even when they acknowledge its ownership of the jungle in which they dwell.

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The payment of labour is seen again in relations of the Indians with the Government, which holds them liable to road-mending and municipal work, as a form of tax. Commonly, crimes are also punished by fines of such work. The system is irregularly applied. For instance, some Indians from Cancuc, who were carrying part of our outfit to San Cristóbal, were held up for two hours road-work at one point. Every Indian that came that way was similarly held. Starr (1902) reports the same experience. In San Cristóbal the right to collect any Indian for labor has been so abused as materially to harm the trade of the town. Quite serious crimes, as long as only committed by one Indian against another, are relatively lightly punished in this manner. It may be said, as far as concerns the tax-*corvée*, that the right of the Indians to go home again before staying away long enough to cause their crops to suffer is generally recognized, and the Indians themselves know when it is time to announce that they must leave. The whole system, however, leads to a certain amount of hard feeling on the Indians' part.

Fig. 283—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon men.

[829]

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Interwoven with these specific factors must be considered the Ladino's general attitude towards the Indian. To him, especially the town-dweller, the natives are barbarous in all respects, legiti-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

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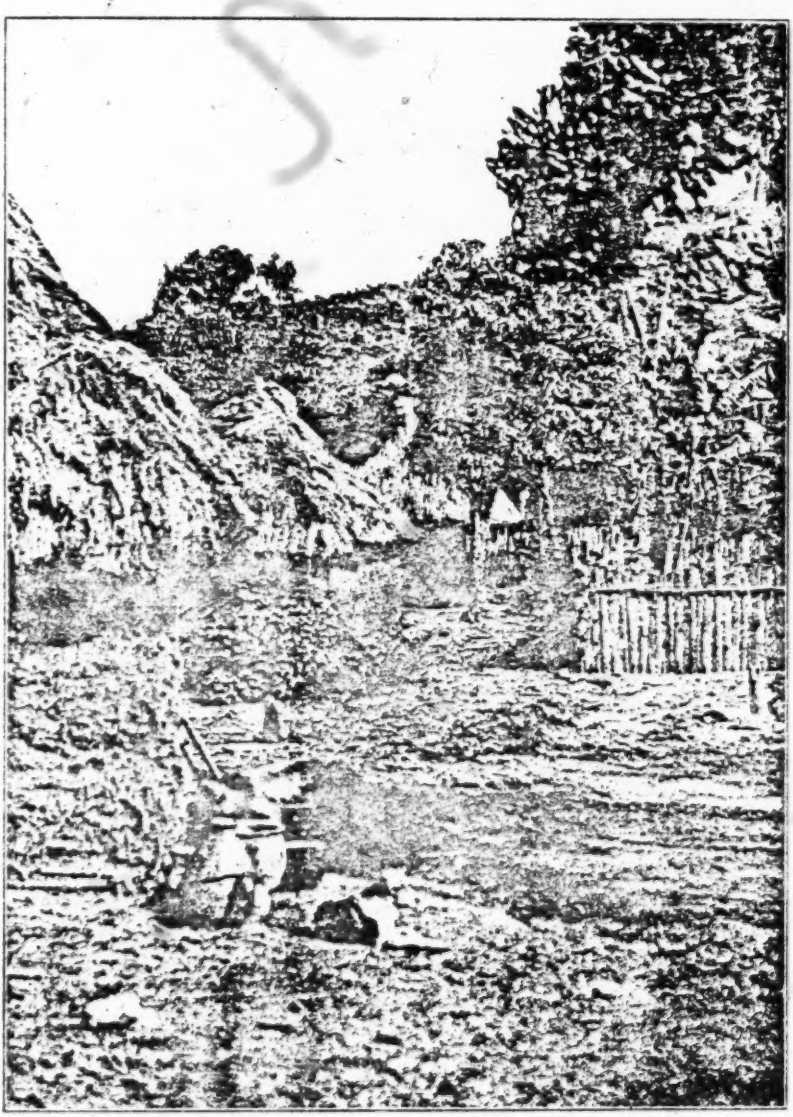

FIG. 311—Tenango, Chis. Street Scene.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

133 green wall away to the westward. Midway, there is a break in the slope, with a dramatic splash of deep red cliffs, in violent contrast
241 to the fertile grass and soft tones of the limestone outcrops. Only the upper end of this valley belongs to Tenango, so little, in fact that the inhabitants cannot practice the usual, sprawling milpa system of agriculture. The very yards are planted, and the fields
[35] start almost in the village, radiating from it in a close patchwork
[417] as in Europe. Everything is fenced with roughly split planks set on end, and fences line the road into Tenango where it passes
• 361 through the cornfields. The houses with their yards lie close about an open plaza in which are the grey bones of a ruined church, a

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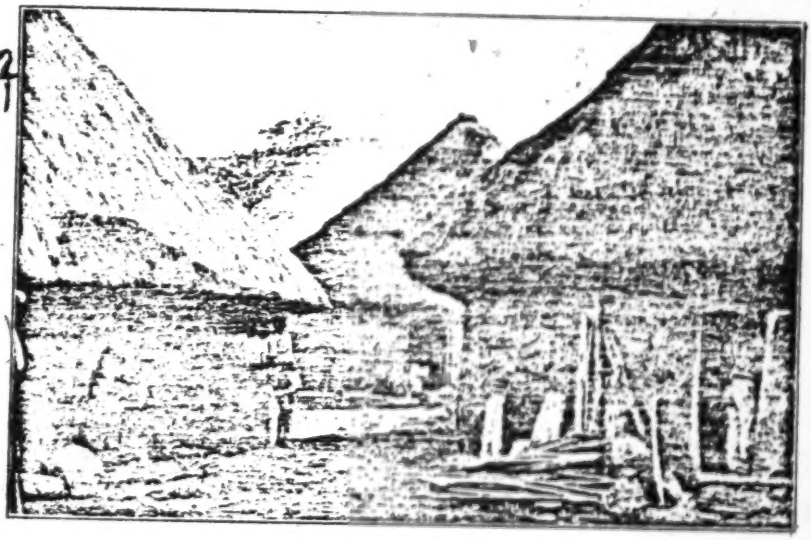

FIG. 312—Tenango, Chis. Houses.

361 whitewashed, palm-roofed native one, and the shack of a Cabildo for
245 the Maestro. The streets are lined with useful trees, oranges, gourds,
363 and a few bananas, which do poorly at this altitude.

342 The houses are square and well-made with walls of broad, split planks covered with mud (figs. 311-312). The roofs are steeply thatched and pyramidal, or have a short ridge along which broken pots are laid after the manner of tiles. The frame-work differs from that described in the last chapter in having cross-pieces laid between
[354] the plates. There are no chimneys, the smoke is allowed to seep through the thatch, keeping out vermin and making the roofs steam like a clam-bake.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

boulders with care. It still is broad in most places, and has reasonable grades. We climbed to a rather desolate upland of wind-swept grass with a few crooked trees. There was some traffic on the road. We passed a group of Tenejapeños going down to the hot country to carry sugar. The men were ragged and woolly, like those we had seen at Salto de Agua, and their women, in short blue skirts and white blouses gorgeously ornamented with gold and crimson silk, were remarkable for their very pink cheeks showing through dark brown colouring.

The town of Cancuc (*kank'uk*) lies on the rounded shoulder of a long ridge that juts up above the high moors commanding a tremendous view North, West, and South over a jumbled mass of mountain ranges, like a herd of great elephants shouldering away to the horizon. A wind blows day and night, the trees are small and stunted, and the general effect is one of bleakness and height. At an altitude of 1,440 meters, with the unresting wind, it is always cold. The highroad climbs from a ravine up into the village where a small plaza is laid out on a level place. On our left was the big, white church, still well preserved. Opposite it, the Cabildo surprised us, a neat building with tile roof and white columned portico, built in President Diaz' time. Round about were some tumbling and ruined huts, and behind, the village rose on rough terraces crudely faced with stone.

Cancuc has a stormy history. It was the center of the famous rebellion of 1712, the subject of Brinton's "Maria Candelaria."* According to Starr (1904) who passed through here, there is a tradition that the men's long hair, covering their ears, is so worn in memory of the clipped ears which their ancestors received at that time. Recently, there has been political dissension in the form of a dragging feud, and a series of small fights and murders has resulted in those left of the defeated party abandoning the village and setting up their houses in the bush. It is from this that one sees so many huts deserted and beginning to disintegrate, adding to the general cheerless aspect of the place.

We were well received at the Cabildo, where the village officials with their silver-headed canes turned up shortly to look us over. They were younger men than most of the officials we had met previously, and a pretty tough looking crew, much what one would expect of a group that had attained office largely by means of the machete. The people on the whole rather resemble the Bachajon physically, being of a small-limbed type with an average height for men of about 160 centimeters, and nearly beardless. The men wear tunics cut as at Tenango, but decorated with red and yellow em-

*Brinton, 1897; Pineda, 1888.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

133 shadow, another wall far behind. A Mexican told us that Tene-
133 japa lay in the valley thus enclosed. With the cool evening air our
114 animals picked up, taking us along at a good trot. We swung around a green dell, up under one cliff into the opening, over the threshold of a ridge. Some Indians sitting there waved to us. Beyond was a tiny, lush meadow and a brook where some Mexicans were making clay tiles. There was another rocky hillock, around which we swung to find ourselves trotting down a well-cobbled street lined with little white cottages, white-walled gardens, and
• 361 roses. To us, looking for something yet wilder than the villages we had seen, the neat houses and candle-lit casement windows, the doors of tiny shops, the flowers, and the shingled roofs were an utter surprise. In the streets was a sprinkling of touselled-headed Indians

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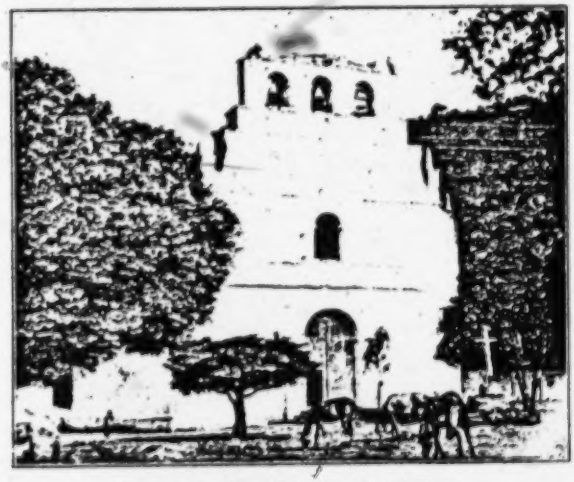

FIG. 328—Tenejapa, Chis. Church and Plaza.

and Ladino people of much fairer complexion than the typical, Lowland Mexicans. We rode past a gaunt, high-shouldered stone church into the plaza, a field of about two acres planted with a few trees, and with a fine town fountain of icy water in the middle (fig.
344 328). Along one side ran the Cabildo, a long, one-storied building
531 with a very deep veranda, gorgeously painted in cubist fashion, red,
123 yellow, green and blue. Here we halted to unpack and present our credentials to the *Presidente Municipal*.

361 Tenejapa is really two towns in one. There is the Ladino town,
563 around which lie the houses of some eight thousand Indians, by local

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

estimate, with their own, regular Indian administration under the control of the Ladino government. The *Presidente Municipal*, a most obliging man, got the Indian *Presidente* for us, whom we photographed by the last light of the day (fig. 329). Through this chief, men were sent out to bring in grass; they returned with enormous, green bundles as big as themselves.

The Indian houses outside the town differ from those previously described in the possession of a sort of porch, or part under the roof in front screened with boards, introductory to the house itself.

The Tenejapeños are strongly built, thickset, and short, with enormously powerful calves. In fact the chief industry of the tribe is acting as porters. They go in large bands to places at a considerable distance to take or bring back loads, competing successfully with the Chamula pack-trains. In this the women are as proficient as the men. Their colour is dark, a rich brown, more red than golden, with distinctly pink cheeks showing through in the case of the children and old people. The men are almost beardless. Faces are rather broad and round* (fig. 330).

FIG. 329—Tenejapa, Chis. The chief of the Tenejapeños.

The essential parts of a man's costume are a pair of shorts and a brown and white striped Chamula Indian blanket, worn as a poncho. Two of these blankets may be comfortably worn in that climate. Hats, when used, are also of Chamula make, of straw with a flat brim, and round, close-fitting crown pointed at the top. Usually they are decorated with ribbons. A sash of white material may be worn, the ends of which, hanging down in front, are elaborately embroidered (fig. 331). The

*Starr (1902) made some measurements upon these people, the most important of which are summarized here. They show an interesting variability.

STATURE IN MILLIMETERS

Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range	Below 1600	1600—1650	1650—1700	Above 1700	Total
1,597	1,725	1,400	325	75	18	6	1	100

	Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range
CEPHALIC INDEX	78.3	86.4	68.6	18.3
FACIAL INDEX	81.6	94.5	65.6	29.0
NASAL INDEX	86.9	105.5	64.1	30.3

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa
Amatenango

one of them had developed fever, "so that he lost his breath," and 114
another had made almost the whole trip with two kayaks, over 200 lbs. on his back. They camped on the Town Hall porch where we, with our beds on piles of grass in a room labelled *"Commandancia,"* heard them, as we fell asleep, still chattering over a friendly bottle. Here, as long ago at Ocozotepec, our goods and saddles were stored in the jail, the room next ours, bearing the tactful label in red and blue, *"Prevencion."* Our grass beds were soft and sweet. The big door framed a little of the plaza, the fountain, a cottage with a narrow barred, candle-lit window, and the towering back-drop of cliffs behind, reaching to the stars, with one small winking fire, high up, from some Indian's house. We heard our *cargadores'* low chatter-

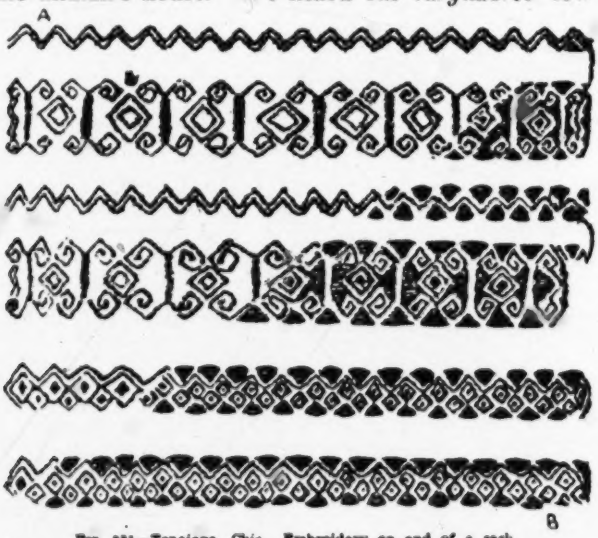

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FIG. 331—Tenejapa, Chis. Embroidery on end of a sash.
A. Front. B. Back.

ing, the play of the fountain, a distant guitar. The air was fresh 114
with pines and sweet grass and mountain coolness. We were in a magic country, and we were very, very tired.

Although it breaks the sequence of our journey, it seems best to 361
mention the town of Amatenango here in connection with the other 323
Highland Tzeltal tribes. We passed through it just beyond Teopisca on our way to Comitan, having no time to stop off. The [492]
people had been observed in San Cristóbal, where they come in to trade their famous pottery, men and mules alike piled high with loads twice their size.

361 Amatenango lies in an open valley. It is estimated at three
342 hundred houses, each in a fenced yard of good size, and shaded with
351 fruit trees. The houses are large and well built, of mud and grass
245 thatch, with porches. The small church and Town Hall are tiled-
346 roof and stuccoed. The fields, which lie close around the town, and
344 the gardens in the town itself are watered by a stream brought down
241 a very pretty, roaring flume from higher land behind the village.
312 The irrigation system is fairly elaborate, and is unique in this area as far as we know.

323 The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one shape, a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, how-

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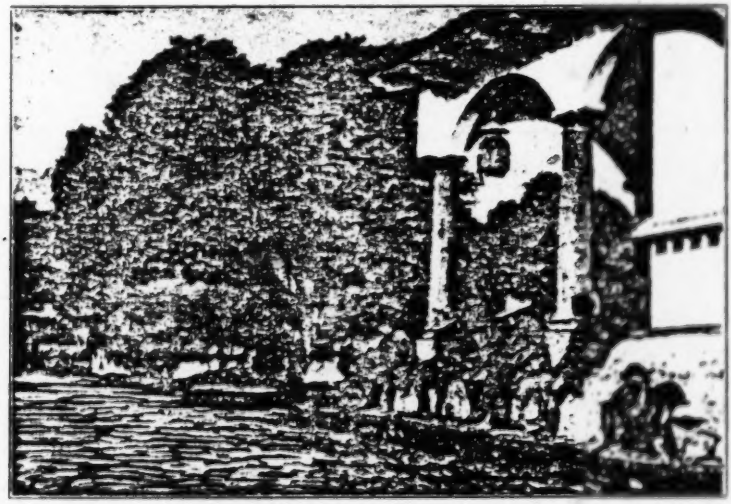


FIG. 332—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians at the Town Hall.

323 ever, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep, reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of boards, two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman in charge turns them until they are done (fig. 333). These pots are
[443] carried by the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they are redis-
[492] tributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala. Their industry is sufficient to enable them to maintain mules for carrying their goods, although both men and beasts are equally loaded.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

tions of self will find a responsive audience only within these linguistic and physical boundaries. The sense of insulation is a denial of regional and national political institutions in which they interact with the other Indians and Ladinos who are part of their present world and share their history. The town itself is a product of the Spanish colonial *congregación,* which drew together diverse Indian populations that had been scattered in small settlements. The outlying barrios are occupied by Indians who have moved out from the center, as well as foreign Indians who had worked in the *fincas,* or large plantations, within the township. These latter people are referred to by a derisive term, *Kurik,* meaning roughly "country hick." Beyond these, and still within the municipal limits, there are a series of *colonias,* settlements populated by Indians who have moved here from other towns and by *mestizos,* or acculturated Indians. These settlers acquired land in the time of Juarez or later in the Cardenas period. Ladino men are called *Kallan* and women *Sinlan;* foreigners who do not appear to be of the country are called *Alemán,* the Spanish term for German.

The focus of this book is on the lives and thoughts of people living within the center. The people of Tzoʾontahal live in a square world, surrounded by a round universe. From the square hole, cut in the earth at the center post of their square house to receive the sacrifice of a live chicken when the house is built, stretches a square village (it appears as a rectangle on the map, but they draw it as a square).[2] The fields are measured in squares of twenty-five arms' breadths, with five handspans measuring the square between each plant. Within this square world, they have elaborated techniques for dealing with spiritual and human co-residents in curing rituals, offerings for crops, burial practices, and baptism rites. Their present cultural stock reveals a selective absorption of Spanish colonial features along with twentieth-century innovations. They have techniques for planting and harvesting milpa, marketing the pottery manufactured in all the households, curing an eclipse of the moon, divining causes of illness and curing the maladjusted social relations which cause it, manufacturing and

2. This view of the world as square is shared by Tzeltal and Tzotzil neighbors in Larráinzar (Holland 1963:69), San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:254), and Pinola (Hermitte 1964). The four-direction concept of the village and world noted by Landa (Tozzer 1941:135) suggests a square-space concept.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

121 A culture, under certain conditions, during a period of time can be said to be an open system in a state of stable but moving equilibrium: that is to say, it maintains a boundary, accepts inputs and produces outputs at approximately equal rates, and changes continuously but gradually in internal structure.

The concept of equilibrium is one way to talk about the constraints which make behavior congruent with beliefs. Given a constantly changing ecological setting due to an expanding population and a changing man-land ratio, the stability of the system depends on the adequacy of existing institutions to handle conflict and of shared understandings to explain events. Movement stems from the tension between individual and social goals and the adaptations to bring them into closer harmony. The basic condition for the kind of change characteristic of a moving equilibrium is that conflict is contained within the community.

128 I have organized the data to clarify features maintaining equilibrium and to show the direction in which the society is moving. First I describe formal, prescribed behavior for each institutional complex and relate it to the beliefs that underlie it. Following each of these chapters I analyze strategies formulated in response to changes coming from within or outside the community. The formal behavior providing a framework for continuity is related to place spirits in Chapter 1, to economic activities in Chapter 2, to customs and rituals in the family and neighborhood in Chapters 4 and 5, to civil and religious government in Chapters 7 and 8. Changing strategies are related to economic activities in Chapter 3, to social relations as revealed in curing practices in Chapter 6, and to political relations in Chapter 9.

177 178 [241] [323] Implicit in the organization is an ordering of institutions from most static to most dynamic. In the economy, agricultural technology has been stabilized at the colonial level of adaptation at which the wooden plow, hoe, and machete were added to, but did not displace, the digging stick, while in pottery manufacture, both techniques and products have remained unchanged. [592] [476] The organization of work groups remains limited to the household except for the introduction of cooperatives in recent years. [361] In domestic institutions there has been an adaptation to living in a compact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group.

Chapter 1

Spirits and Places

Social space is the cognitive pattern of relationships imposed upon any terrain. In Amatenango del Valle [1] there are two superimposed patterns. One is defined by the nation for the purposes of political administration. This follows the pattern of colonial administration of *municipios*, or townships, with a *cabecera*, or administrative center, containing the church, town hall, and school house, and serving a number of colonias and *rancherias*, local hamlets or nuclei of populations. The other pattern is defined by the inhabitants using Tzeltal terminology or a Tzeltal rendition of a Spanish name. In this pattern, domains of good and bad spirits are defined, and behavior appropriate to each place is specified in myths and rituals. Persistence of this pattern has had profound implications for continuity of pre-Conquest culture. It provides a ground plan for the system of social control and security exercised by the old gods and their human intermediaries.

In the following section, I will discuss first territorial divisions defined by national law and modified by indigenous categories, and then the interaction between the spirits of persons and places.

The Territorial Divisions

The township of Amatenango del Valle is located at 92°30′ longitude and 16°30′ latitude in the highland zone of the state of Chiapas. The town center is located no more than fifty yards from the Pan-American Highway twenty-five miles southeast of the departmental capital of San Cristóbal.

1. I use the national designation derived from Nahuatl, Amatenango del Valle, to refer to the township, and the Tzeltal term Tzo'ontahal to refer to the center.

000 133 tóbal. The altitude above sea level varies from 2,000 meters in the hilly periphery to 1,720 meters in the valley where the town center is located. Ejido
423 632 lands acquired in the 1930s have extended the boundaries of the township
183 to lower lands at 1,500 meters altitude.

172 361 Pre-Conquest settlement patterns in the Chiapas highlands were characterized by independent communities occupying the headlands around flat-bottomed valleys (R. M. Adams 1961:341). The choice of sites seems to have been based on defense against invading Toltec or other conquest groups (Calnek 1962:25). The sites investigated by Adams and Culbert (R. M. Adams 1961:347) in Amatenango belong to the late-Classic and early post-Classic period. They were marginal to the centers of Maya civilization in the Yucatán peninsula and Guatemala. Test excavations in the modern town indicate that it was occupied only after colonial times.

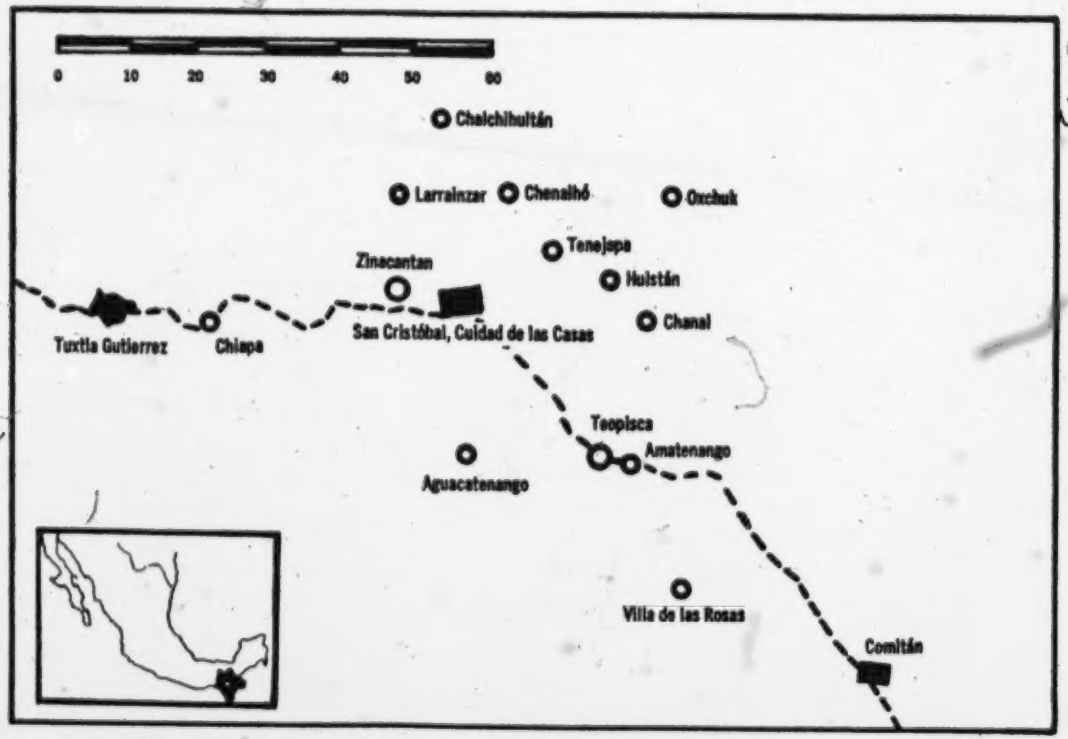
175 361 161 162 The town of Amatenango del Valle is first mentioned in the year 1528 when it was included in tribute lists with both the Nahuatl name, Amatenango, and the Tzeltal name, Tzobontaghal (Calnek n.d.). The tribute lists of 1761 include 33 families in the *parcialidad*, or Spanish political unit based on an indigenous settlement, of Zacatepec in Amatenango and 75 families in the parcialidad of Amatenango (Trens 1957 I:217). The first census done in 1778 shows a total population of 576, with 374 men and 202 women. The racial breakdown is listed as 8 white, 2 negro and mestizo, and 560 Indians (Trens 1957:221). By 1824, the population had increased
161 632 [423] to 1,620. The present population of 3,179 represents natural growth as well as inclusion of additional outlying settlements added in the latter part of the nineteenth century and during the 1930s with the enactment of the land reform act. The population changes indicate steady but not great increases. The capacity of the town to incorporate additional population has probably passed its peak. The present trend is for out-migration to newly opened ejido lands.

128 632 The subdivisions of the town, which provide the framework for administration by the national government, are included in Table 1.

361 [563] *The center.* The center of Tzo'ontahal is called the "center [or navel] of the world." The residents of the center, with the exception of the schoolteacher's family, are all Indian. Although the town center forms

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5]

[P. 4]



The State of Chiapas, showing the capital, Tuxtla; the two principal cities, San Cristóbal and Comitán; several surrounding Indian towns; and the Pan-American Highway (dashed line).

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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Although the town center forms a rough rectangle on Map 1, the people think of it as being a square.[2] This conforms to the cultural ideal of a square applied in house, milpa, village, and probably world, although when anyone is asked about the last, he cautiously answers, "I have heard that it is round." The center is the unit that the people think of when they say *hteklum*, my land or my village. House lots are not sold to outsiders, particularly Ladinos, but the prohibition applies as well to other Indians living within the limits of the township.

The residents of the center identify themselves with the former residents of the two pre-Conquest sites occupying the hill of Amawitz[3] northwest of the center, and the hill of San Nicolás (called Lelem in Tzeltal) to the southeast. The following account is given of the founding of the present town in the valley:

Our ancestors lived in Amawitz. There wasn't enough water there, but there was a great deal that passed here in the valley. The ancestors came out of their cave to look at where the people should move. They told the people where they should go. The people "thought in common." They cut the trees here; then, when it was dry, they burned it with fire as they do for milpa. When it was cleared, they began to build their houses. Others saw this and came to build their houses. When they finished building their houses, everyone began to think of building a church. The first church was built in Alannantik [the low side] for San Pedro the Martyr. This was torn down because the witches used to come to get the permission of San Pedro to do witchcraft. When the new church was built, there was a division of the town into the upper and lower sections.

It is significant that the people attribute the initiative in the resettlement to the mythical ancestors, although archaeological evidence indicates that the present center was settled after the Conquest. The Conquest is not a part of their mythico-historic past. The ancestors are given credit for establishing everything.

2. The pre-Conquest term for local center was Tzamgholal (Calnek 1962:25), signifying "square head." "Head" town was possibly a ceremonial center.

3. Hermitte (1964:48) notes that in Pinola the "police" of the spiritual government are sent to outposts in Amawitz and Me'wakal in Amatenango. This suggests that it may be considered the ancestral home of other Indians of the area.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621 A territorial distinction not recognized by the federal government is the
361 division of the town center into two sections, or sides, by the street running in front of the church. The two sides of the division are called
[192] Ahk'olnantik, upper side, and Alannantik, lower side. The upper side is in the direction of higher lands in the southwest called Ahk'olk'inal, and the lower side is in the direction of lower lands to the northeast, called Alank'inal. The emphasis on relative altitude implicit in place nomenclature is a central fact in the Indians' ecological adjustment. Marriage is en-
[582] dogamous within each division by explicit rule, and in fact 87 percent of
[183] all marriages conform to the rule, according to a census I took in 1958. A
[125] man who marries a girl on the opposite side is forced to make a payment
[583] of eighteen liters of liquor to the bachelors of the opposite division. In addition to regulating competition for marriage partners, the dual division is the basis for allocating civil and religious offices.

174 Whether the dual division was an indigenous trait or not is a moot
621 point. The pattern for dual organizations existed in both Spanish and indigenous societies (Foster 1951:5). There is some speculation that the dual divisions are a product of the Spanish colonial policy of the congregación, when populations of different origins were drawn together. However, local historical accounts indicate that several ethnic groups were introduced at various periods. After the initial congregación, foreign Indians
175 were incorporated in the sixteenth century, in the latter part of the nine-
621 teenth century (Secretaría de Gobierno Constitucional, October 26, 1893),
563 and as late as the 1930s in response to the land reform program. As each ethnic group entered the region, it was either incorporated into one of the existing divisions or was isolated. The persistence of polarization must be
621 explained on other grounds. The widespread distribution in the Chiapas
[174] highlands of dual divisions defined by territory and descent in communities of both dispersed and nucleated settlement patterns suggests the indigenous origins of the division. A dual division of upper and lower sections based on endogamy and equal representation is found in San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:64), Chanal (Eva Hunt, NSF II report), Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1946:424), and Cancuk (Siverts 1964). The Nahuatl term *calpul* is applied in some cases to these divisions. The towns where calpulles are found are *paraje,* or vacant center, types (Tax 1937) which

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

342 177 178 434 of witchcraft. Today probably 95 percent of the new roofs are made of tile. Often the old roofs cannot be replaced with tile because the rafters were not built to support them. One result of the change has been the depend- [335] ence on a carpenter to construct the gables, since they have to be lined up more accurately than they do with thatch or palm roofs.

361 351 434 House lots in the town center are preferred to those on the margins. As residents of house sites on the ejido lands at the margins of the town acquire wealth, one of the first things they try to do is acquire a house closer to the plaza. These lots are smaller, averaging about 500 square meters, while those farther out average 900 square meters. In a sample measurement of 100 house lots, the size ranged from 180 to 1,440 square meters, and the average size was 77 square meters. Considering the advantages of [554] a large lot in growing chile fruits and corn, the preference for smaller central lots reveals the strong prestige factor influencing choice.

352 435 [513] House furnishings include both purchased and homemade items. Sleeping accommodations consist of wooden bedboards, either nailed on a frame or simply laid on blocks and covered with a straw mat. Woolen blankets from Comitán are sold locally at a price of 24 pesos or for 20 pesos in San Cristóbal and 18 pesos in Comitán. Most households own two or three wooden benches which line the walls of the porch and are made locally. Small chairs are purchased from Chamula carpenters at a cost of 2 to 4 pesos, as well as a small table costing about 4. A higher table [778] is provided for the saints' pictures and candle holders, incense burner, and [322] flower vases or tin cans. Hooks are fashioned from the crotch of trees and suspended on the house posts. Wooden boxes are bought from Ladino car- 415 435 439 penters in San Cristóbal at a cost of 10 to 20 pesos depending on size and workmanship and are used to store clothing. In addition to the homemade water holders, water carriers, comales, strainers, and bowls, handmade glazed ware from San Cristóbal, factory-made porcelain dishes, metal cooking pots, knives, and spoons are purchased. Gourds provide serving [412] ware for ceremonial occasions. Stone grinding platforms and rollers are purchased in San Cristóbal for about 10 pesos. Two new items have be- 435 415 177 come increasingly popular in the past five years: a metal grinding machine for corn, hand operated and costing from 40 to 60 pesos depending on the size and quality, and a hinged press for tortillas, costing 15 pesos if made

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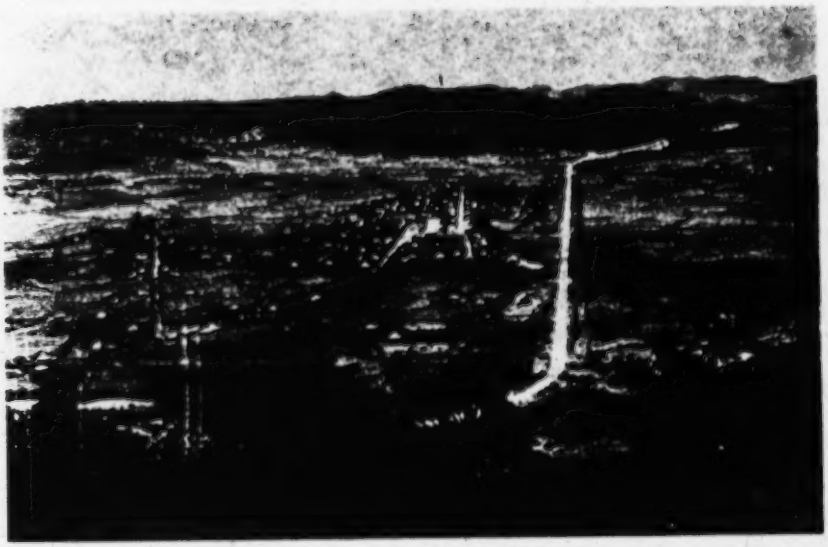

Plate 2. The view the ancestors had of the town from the Head of Palm shows the proximity of the village center to the Pan-American Highway just to the right of center. The church, which can be discerned in the center of the major settlement, is the dividing marker for the dual division. The barrio of Yetawitz is shown just to the left of the major settlement. The barrios of Madronal and La Grandeza are found at the mid-level of the hill in the far left, on the other side of the road which goes to Pinola and "hot country." The Ladino town of Teopisca lies just beyond the hills to the right along the Pan-American Highway. From this site, the ancestors were able to see clearly all of the thoroughfares within the town and guard against the entry of evil.

Chapter 11

Ordering Behavior by Places

121 554 People act out roles in a space and time matrix that provides the cues for appropriate behavior. Place is a means of patterning three structural dimensions of role: sex, age, and relative prestige. In societies characterized by multiplex relationships, Gluckman (1962:35-36n.) has emphasized the importance of the setting in establishing what role the individual is playing. One's selection of a particular role from the many possible relationships tying people together is supported by observation of official terms of address and reference in these settings. In Tzoʔontahal, the use of place as 554 a designation of role is even more specific since each person occupying a role is given a special place within the setting.

554 The social domains, or fields of activity where major systems of roles are 342 defined in Tzoʔontahal, include the house, the cabildo, the church, and 368 the school. Segmentary role relations are limited to the clinic, the corn- 517 grinding mill, and the store. The house has retained its importance as a ceremonial locus not only for life crisis rituals but also for initiating new officials into the civil and religious hierarchies. The institutional buildings [361] grouped around the plaza—the church, the cabildo, the schoolhouse, the clinic, the mill, and the cooperative store—are the meeting ground for outside representatives of national or supra-local agents and townspeople. These provide the settings in which behavioral adjustments to internal changes and to external standards can be viewed.

The Concept of Space

772 Relevant social space is conceived of as a square. The square shape of 361 houses, of the offering hole for the house sacrifice, of the corn field, and of the planting pattern for corn conforms to a notion of the world as a

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

square. Although this conception is contradicted by knowledge learned in 772
school, the two concepts are not brought into direct opposition. The town 361
still defines the outer limit of most meaningful social relations, and most people are not forced by the circumstances of their lives to deal with an understanding of the world as round. It is enough that the four "sides" of their village be protected by crosses at the points of entry. The important orientation points are the east, referred to as the "coming out of the sun," and the west, referred to as "the sleeping place of the sun." North and south are referred to as lowland and highland because of the topography. Compass orientation is important behaviorally only at death. The body of [764]
the deceased is laid out in the cemetery with the head to the east. Indians [829]
comment that the Ladinos lay the body out with the head to the west, but Indians of other towns, such as Zinacantan, also do so. The cemetery is located on the western side of the town.

The House

The reference to the house in prayer as "the entry to suffering, inside 342
the poverty" suggests the "cult of poverty" which Wolf (1955:459) points [782]
out as characteristic of closed corporate Indian communities. Most people conform to a standard house size of five square meters subdivided into an interior sleeping and living area and a porch (Fig. 8). The walls are made of mud strengthened with lime packed in a framework of poles supported on nine main posts. The roofs are pitched with four sheds rising steeply to a truncated ridge. Tiles are used in most new houses to cover the roof, but there are still many thatched palm or wooden shingle roofs. Corn and [251]
beans are stored in the rafters under the eaves of the house.

Inside the house, beds line the two side walls. If there is no cooking [352]
shack separate from the house, the hearth is placed in the center of the in- [354]
terior room. The grinding stone, raised on three posts, is placed to the left [412]
of the center post.

The porch is the area for ceremonial gatherings and for making and storing pottery. A table with the pictures of household saints set against [353]
the inside wall, is adorned with flowers and candles. During house fiestas, [796]
men sit on the benches lining the four walls of the porch, while the [562]
women sit inside in a semicircle.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango .
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER II

THE GENERAL BACKGROUND FOR A CONTROLLED COMPARISON

Geography and Ecology

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131 The communities selected for this study are located in the southwest quarter of the state of Chiapas, which is the southernmost state of the Republic of Mexico. This is a mountainous area [133] belonging to the Sierra Madre Occidental, and a part of the state's Central Plateau. The Plateau Summit of the area is to the north northwest of the villages, and contains the city of San Cristobal las Casas, ex-capital of the state (the present capital, Tuxtla, is in the lowlands).

The villages themselves are situated in the terraced margins of the plateau, which extend to the South into the Grijalva River Depression, and to the north and east into the Lacandon Jungle.

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487 The slightly inclined terraces are criss-crossed by sev-
491 eral small streams tributary to the Blanco River, and by a complex network of paths, trails, and roads, including a section of the Pan American Highway which connects Mexico City with Guatemala and which is being constructed.

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36 The villages of Aguacatenango and Amatenango are in two contiguous valleys (see Fig. 1) near to the section of the Pan

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 16]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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Fig. 1.--Physiographic Sketch of the Valleys of Amatenango, Aguacatenango and Adjacent Towns.

131 American Highway which connects San Cristobal de las Casas with
361 Comitan. They are 50 and 44 kilometers, respectively, from San
[491] Cristobal. Aguacatenango is closer to the branch road that continues south from the Highway to Venustiano Carranza, in the lowlands.

361 Both villages are 2,000 meters above sea level, placed in
133 a slightly raised terrain in the valley floor.

137 The vegetation climaxes surrounding the settlements are the same: woodlands of pine and oak, the second predominating, grasslands which for the most part are secondary growths in abandoned agricultural plots, and thorny bushes which the inhabitants of the valleys utilize for building fences.

241 The range of cultivated plants is the same in the two vil-
137 lages, including several varieties of corn and beans, squash and a few greens, while other edible plants grow wild in the edges of streams and rocky places unsuited for cultivation (Kaplan in McQuown et al., 1959, Part II, Section 6).

134 The soils are mainly limestone base, calcareous clay loam
132 and loam transported, both territories receiving the same amount
133 of rain. Surface water is drained internally within the basin of
136 the Rio Blanco, and in the edges of the village of Aguacatenango, forms, during the rainy season, a small lagoon, where a variety of small fish thrive (Wagner, in McQuown et al., 1959, Part II, Section 5).

136 The fauna include small deer, ocelots, snakes (poisonous and non-poisonous), domestic and field rats, and other small animals.

172 the density of occupational refuse suggests to him that the populations were concentrated on the hill sites themselves.

During the Post Classic period the valleys of Amatenango and Aguacatenango were apparently unoccupied. This correlates with a shift in the total settlement pattern of the area, from small well defended valleys to large, more strategic positions such as the ones on the Plateau Summit of San Cristobal de las Casas.

Ethnohistory

175 Historical documents tend to confirm that the valleys of Amatenango and Aguacatenango were not occupied by any large nucleated settlements upon the arrival of the Spaniards. They do not appear in the first accounts of the Conquistadores. The earliest reference to Amatenango is 1586 and to Aguacatenango 1605, perhaps indicating that the former inhabitants were reducidos (concentrated in villages by the Spaniards) somewhat earlier. These first references occur in connection with grants of encomienda (i.e., they were tributaries of a Spanish lord, or Encomendero) (Simpson, L., 1929:1950).

175 361 621 648 Both communities were formed, as far as we can tell from the scanty evidence in the primary sources, by the Spaniards, in agreement with the policy of reducciones (concentration of population in villages) of the encomiendas initiated in the sixteenth century (Calnek, 1961, Appendix III). Each one of these settlements was formed of two separate pueblos, one incorporated within the other, which later appear in other documents as parcialidades. .

175 Thus, the village of Aguacatenango was created by joining the
361 parcialidades of Aguacatenango and Quesaltepec, while Amatenango
621 was composed of the parcialidades of Amatenango and Sacatepec.
648 It is not possible at present to identify more closely the social groups that the Spaniards called parcialidades.

[797] It is probable that each parcialidad was composed of several lineages and clans, but up to the present time no one has done a comparative study of name distributions on available censuses or other similar materials, nor has any record been found, which explains the procedures used by the Dominican Friars (who controlled the reducciones in the area) when they reorganized
175 the populations of the territory.[1] In central Mexico the term
171 parcialidad refers, in the primary sources, to the four divisions
621 of Tenochtitlan, the Aztec Capital, but they also refer to the
175 barrios or calpuls (Caso, A., 1959). In Chiapas it is normally
621 used to mean the sub-divisions of pueblos reducidos. It is known,
648 however, that the parcialidades were originally separate groups of people which were independent social units. Even after the reducciones they kept important elements of their organization separate, including their political officers, who were responsible for complying with demands made by the Spaniards for tribute and labor. Some of the separate political functions have been re-
174 tained up to the present. It is also safe to assume that each one
621 of the parcialidades was an endogamous group; both Aguacatenango

[1]The new documents are still unavailable. They have been reported by Edward Calnek in the National Archives in Guatemala, and by Dr. Vicenta Cortez in the Madrid Archives, Spain.

128 pairs of individual roles, highly intense in interaction and
571 performed by people who are tied to each other by many clearly defined and extensive rights and duties. (D. Metzger [1960] defines them as highly relational versus lowly relational roles.) The roles at the micro-structural level form one net, and the quality of the joint performance of the individual, of all the roles which belong to him within this net define him as a good or bad person; the roles at the macro-structural level form a separate independent net which defines the individual as a good or bad community member.

128 For example, a man can spend his household money in long
156 drinking sessions, and while drunk fight with his brother or beat
571 his wife, which will make him a bad brother and husband. But if he shares the liquor he drinks with other men in his barrio (town division), the same activity will define him as a good neighbor, who is neither selfish nor a miser, but willing to share his
[626] profits with other men. On the other hand, a man may refuse to pay his limosna to the Church, risk the community gossip and threats of witchcraft, but this would not make him a less respected father, nor influence the relationship with his wife.

.361 The Physical Setting of the Villages

The towns are geographically compact, nucleated communities, as opposed to the vacant-town (and ceremonial center) described first by Tax (1937). The town streets form a grid pattern, more symmetrical in the center than at the edges where streets tend to curve following the accidents of the terrain.

361 The central plaza contains the Church, the local government offices, [366] the school and the National Indian Institute (INI) cooperative [368] store (see below), in Amatenango this list being increased by the INI clinic. Around these plazas (open squares) the houses are relatively concentrated, the population density is high and the size of the sitio (a household plot) small. (There are about seven or eight sitios in a block one hectare in size.) Toward the margins of the town the houses thin out, being surrounded by milpas. Well established family groups live toward the center, while newcomers, poorer families and deviants live toward the [006] periphery. Sitios within the center are highly valued in both communities, the outskirts of the town being closer to the unknown dangers of the monte (hill and forest) with its malevolent spirits (animal souls of witches in the search of victims, owners of the caves, etc.).

361 311 312 423 Surrounding the villages one finds the communal grass lands for pasture and the irrigated milpas. The grass lands and the water source for the milpas de regadío (irrigated corn fields) are shared by both villages, although Amatenango makes use of the water first, since the stream flows through Amatenango before it reaches the Aguacatenango lands.

311 Towards the hill slopes the milpas de temporal (corn fields depending on seasonal rain) are planted in scattered small groups, fenced together against the invasion of cattle;[1] and alternating with forested patches.

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[1] See footnote 1, p. 17.

TABLE 7

591 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: NEWLY MARRIED COUPLES IN COMPOUNDS, 1958

Residence	Cases	Per Cent
Viri-patrilocal	13	72
Uxor-patrilocal	4	23
Neolocal (Borrowing house)	1	5
Total	18	100

592 593 183 Aguacatenangos: Residence Patterns of Old Marriages, Nuclear Households

The composition of nuclear households shows that people live according to their own ideas about who should live separate from their parents. Nuclear households with no children in them represents 7 per cent of the total. Nuclear households with only one child also represent 7 per cent of the cases. Nuclear households with two or more children represent 86 per cent.

125 591 593 Paternal sponsorship after a couple has moved out of the husband's parental compound was measured by (1) degree of proximity between the two households of a man and his son, and (2) father-son transmission of a house site.

361 591 593 The fact that the town is closely settled, especially in the center, makes it increasingly difficult to maintain strict contiguous patrilocal proximity between father and son, so at first glance, many a man seems to be living in a neolocal setting according to Fischer's typology. The problem of applying the concept

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591 has not inherited land. The other family living in a borrowed
592 home is a young couple that married without their parents' ap-
423 proval. They eloped and established themselves on the edge of
426 town, in an empty old hut, whose owner does not demand payment.
"Borrowings" are temporary arrangements, and as a form of resi-
[583] dence, very unstable. Young couples who decide to elope leave
town to reside at Colonia del Puerto. We know of two cases which
followed this custom. But if they do not leave town, they try
to move to a house on the edge of town. From these two cases, we
can assume that borrowing is due to economic reasons (poverty of
a family who cannot afford to buy a house), or as a consequence
of deviant behavior (in the case we have, the husband was an
orphan and parental sponsorship by the wife's parents was denied
because they disapproved of the marriage).

• 361 The edge of town is a refuge area for people who in one
156 way or another "do not belong" to the community. Social deviants,
167 like the young couple mentioned above, tend to move to the town
boundaries. Recent migrants from other villages also live on the
edges. Two complete blocks on the southern boundary of town are
inhabited by a large extended patrilocal family which originated
from a Chamula Indian who was a peon on a nearby finca until the
agrarian revolution. After he became free, he migrated to the
village and married a local Indian woman.

125 The above discussion covers all the cases for which we
had sample data. We have, however, information on other cases
which could not be counted in the statistics because they were
part of life histories or concerned individuals who do not live in

591
592 The distribution of couples living in compounds shows that the primary sponsorship by the parents of the man or the woman are perfectly balanced choices for the community as a whole, each one accounting for 50 per cent of the total number of cases. (See Table 13.)

TABLE 13

AMATENANGO RESIDENCE: UXORILOCALITY VERSUS VIRILOCALITY IN COMPOUND HOUSEHOLDS[a]

	Virilocal		Uxorilocal	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Only child living with parents, other siblings married and apart	20	18	18	16
Other immature children living with parents	20	18	15	13
Other married siblings living in the same *sitio*	7	6	9	8
Lives in own house in compound *sitio* with parents	10	8	15	13
Total	57	50	57	50

[a]After Nash, J., 1960.

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361 After a couple has moved out of the parental compound in which they were residing, sponsorship by the parents, measured by the degree of residential proximity to the progenitors of each spouse and by the pattern of house-inheritance, also shows a similar distribution, but there is a statistically significant difference between a woman's proximity to her family of orientation after marriage and a man's: 64 per cent of the men in the community live within a block's distance from their parents, while

591 593 361 only 49 per cent of the women do so (see Table 14). This indicates that patrilocal, patrilineal emphasis is stronger, and the difference needs to be explained.

174 591 It is very possible that the community of Amatenango had, in the near past, patrilocal residence norms, as does Aguacatenango and most communities in the Chiapas Highlands. The patrilocal norms would have been in agreement with the presence of agnatic descent lines of which the only remnant, today, in Amatenango, is the agnatic inheritance of Indian names attached to the Spanish surname of the villagers. If this were so, we could explain the persistence of a patrilocal emphasis in these terms. This is a dangerous enterprise because to accept this explanation is to dismiss the importance of the case by arbitrarily attributing the phenomenon to an historical survival, an intellectual misdemeanor which modern anthropology has seriously questioned. But we do not need to utilize this explanation. In the first place, although 591 428 483 inheritance is bilateral, the inheritance of the house site shows that patrilineal house sponsorship still is stronger than matrilineal.

> In the inheritance of the house site, women received the land in 30 per cent of the cases, men in 34 per cent. Patrilineal inheritance was more frequent in the parental generation. If we take the figures indicating which parent gave the land to the child, mothers passed on the land in 15 per cent of cases known, and fathers passed on the land in 26 per cent of the known 68 cases. (Nash, J., 1960:51).

If the place of residence is inherited from the male line more often than from the female, it is to be expected that viripatrilocal proximity would be stronger. This offers a reasonable explanation for the higher incidence of patrilocal proximity. The

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 157]

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TABLE 16

AMATENANGO RESIDENCE: PROXIMITY TO THE PARENTAL HOME, ALL MARRIED INDIVIDUALS

Living in	Man			Woman		
	Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent	Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent
I Same house	49	33	64	39	23	49
II Same Compound	10	7		15	9	
III Next door	15	10		17	10	
IV Same block	21	14		10	7	
V Same town division	35	24	24	60	35	35
VI Other division	9	11	11	10	16	16
VII Outlying barrios	4			12		
VIII Other town	6			5		
Total	149			178		

	+	-
Men	94.5	54.5
Women	81.5	86.5

$x^2 = 7.11 > 6.635$ Significance level at 0.01

I to IV: Patrilocal Proximity
I to V : Barrio Endogamy
I to VI: Village Endogamy
VII to VIII: Village Exogamy

591 If the woman's work in pottery is a crucial factor in
592 making residence choices, then poorer households, which depend
323 more on pottery sales as an important source of income, should
434
361 also show more emphasis on having the daughters stay at home after marriage, and therefore, the incidence of uxorilocal residence and matrilocal proximity of women should be higher.

361 Within Amatenango "there are clusters of bilaterally re-
602 lated kin which form neighborhood groups. Two of these neighborhoods are spatially set apart from other houses of the barrio
361 and are named" (Nash, J., 1960:52). One of them, the neighbor-
591 hood of Santa Cruz, is composed of households which show greater
434 poverty in comparison with the rest of the village. As it was hypothesized, Santa Cruz also shows a greater incidence of matrilocal proximity. The correlation between lack of household wealth (which increases the importance of woman's pottery making) and residential proximity of a woman to her maternal home is statistically significant at the .001 level (see Table 16).

361 On the other hand, one should also expect the married men
591 to live further apart from their own parents because (1) those who
166 stay at home would reside and work with their wife's relatives,
434 and (2) it is said that some of the men of the neighborhood are
464 forced by their poverty to migrate to the lowlands seeking work in the ranches, and may stay there permanently. This hypotheses is confirmed; the correlation is significant at the .05 level of confidence (see Table 16).

361 The result of poverty in this neighborhood is that while
591 for the community as a whole 49 per cent of the women live in the
434 same neighborhood as their parents, in Santa Cruz 67 per cent of

[Text continued on p. 162]

TABLE 16

AMATENANGO RESIDENCE: PARENTS AND CHILDREN PROXIMITY IN SANTA CRUZ[a]

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Proximity	Live in:	Men Number	Men Per Cent	Women Number	Women Per Cent
Same Neighborhood	Same house	3	40	7	67
	Next door	2		6	
	Same block	1		1	
	Santa Cruz	5		4	
Different Neighborhood	Same barrio	13	60	7	33
	Other barrio	3		1	
	Other town	1		2	
Total		28	100	28	100

Women

	+	-
Village	81.5	86.5
Santa Cruz	17.5	10.5

$x^2 = 18.786$ 10.827 significance level at .001

Men

	+	-
Village	94.5	54.5
Santa Cruz	11.5	16.5

$x^2 = 4.902$ 3.841 significance level at .05

[a]After Nash, J., 1960.

361 591 434 the women do so, and while 63 per cent of the men in the village live in close patrilocal proximity, only 40 per cent of the men in Santa Cruz live near their parents (see Table 16).

Residence of Widows

184 589 591 Another striking contrast between Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women, in the latter, as household heads, and their residence after they become widows.

562 589 434 [423] [768] First, because in many cases a woman owns the house in which she lives with her husband and children, she is not obliged to move out of the site if her husband dies, as she is in Aguacatenango. Second, she does not need an adult man in the household to be able to support herself and the children because she is able to meet the economic demands of the domestic groups from her own labor in pottery production. The result of women's economic independence is that many of them are the heads of their own households. Out of 280 households, 39 have female heads, and 25 do not contain any adult men (the others contain younger sons-in-law). This also means that all corn is bought; there is no income derived from agriculture, but only from pottery sales. In Aguacatenango, where all income derives directly or indirectly from agriculture, this situation is inconceivable: there are no households without men, nor households in which a female is the absolute head of the unit.

592 562 434 184

The Marriage Transactions and the Household

583 584 In Aguacatenango, a man selects his future spouse and his father arranges the marriage for him. At the ceremonial visits

571 and outside the household by the bilateral group of kinsmen of each particular Ego and his or her spouse, which because of the residence pattern, live localized within a neighborhood.

602 In Aguacatenango, on the contrary, most important activi-
592 ties are carried on mainly by agnatically related kin. This, of
562 course, does not mean that matri-kin or affinals are absolutely excluded. But in making decisions for giving or receiving help in work, for example, agnatic kin are preferred, especially for men, because women tend to collaborate mostly with the agnatic kin of their husbands. The reason for this is that activities for women are not determined in terms of the kinship lines, but in terms of household membership: they collaborate with the closest kin of the household in which they reside, and not their own closest kin. A household contributes labor and interacts more often with agnatically linked households than any other.

361 The reason for this difference in emphasis could be said
602 to be a result of the fact that one collaborates more with the
592 people who live the closest. After all, the neighborhood in Aguacatenango tends to be a cluster of agnatically related house-
[114] holds. Nash felt that in Amatenango, "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relations are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130). We disagree with this statement.

323 In Amatenango, pottery making and corn agriculture are the
241 two principal productive enterprises which affect the organization
433 of the domestic group, including the residence choices, so it is
182 not strange that the neighborhood group (or residence clusters
591 within the <u>barrio</u>), made up according to the criteria of selecting
592
621

323 241 433 182 591 592 621 producers for the particular domestic groups, seems to be the originator of bilateral increase in interaction, while it could be equally well said that the bilaterally settled neighborhood in Amatenango is a result of the selection of household personnel along both males' and females' kinsmen lines.

114 602 182 361 J. Nash (1960) interpreted the bilaterality of Amatenango as being a result of the residence pattern. Nash assumes that kinship and territoriality are two mutually exclusive principles of association, while in reality they are not so. On the one hand, if territoriality (or the spatial placement of the individual in the household) is determined by kinship alignments, both would tend to be symmetrical; on the other hand, even if they are not mutually inclusive (which in this case they are), both are emphasized simultaneously in the same set of choices, so that the principles of spatial proximity and kinship proximity, although independent variables, are concomitant in their effects. Moreover, Nash found out that activities which did not involve immediate reciprocity followed the kinship line exclusively without reference to territorial propinquity.

121 The danger of assuming that "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relationships are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130) becomes evident in a larger theoretical context. If residential propinquity tends to set up interaction along bilateral lines, the opposite, residential dispersion, would tend to emphasize interaction among unilineal relatives. Then, all lineally organized societies ought to be organized in exogamous settlements, or in a dispersed hamlet pattern, and all large concentrations of

121 population, such as an endogamous village, ought to be bilateral societies. This is obviously not so. Even if we assume that our statement is a reductio ad absurdum of Nash's point, there is evidence in the immediate vicinity of Amatenango that other villages, equally concentrated in population, with the same physical setting, are not bilateral. J. Nash (1960) compared Amatenango and Aguacatenango in a few paragraphs, and she felt that the evidence supported her theory. However, the data available to her was very unreliable. She quoted a preliminary report of Metzger written before the residence analysis of the community was carried to completion, which contained only impressionistic observations, and gave the impression that residence was neolocal and that agnatically related households were widely spread within the community, which we have shown in chapter vi not to be true.

114 361 602 592 591

602 613 592 551 621

Moreover, Aguacatenango not only has patri-virilocality, but corporate patrilines. The name-groups in Aguacatenango form localized agnatic descent groups (which we above called the localized clusters of agnatically linked households). The people belonging to a name-group are recognized as relatives or, in Tzeltal, "those who are my family on my father's side." Those individuals have one last name (Indian surname) in common with Ego. Within the Spanish surname, some people are considered in the descent group and some are considered aparte (separate), but a man of the Spanish name Perez, would say that all those Perezetik who are not aparte belong to his family, and any Perez is "closer" to another Perez than to a man of another Spanish name. The reason for the segmentation of the Spanish name-group is lost in the past. When the lineage system was composed of

174 613 551

184 solidarity is stronger than cross-generational solidarity), but
593
578 generational conflict tends to disrupt the collateral extension
571 of patriline growth, making every patriline segment a shallow
613 descent group containing few generations in depth, and only few collaterals.

184 (7) Territorial propinquity between households in each
361 village follows the social propinquity established in terms of eco-
592
476 nomic reciprocity and work interaction. Thus, in Amatenango residence for individuals, interaction between households and the settlement of a neighborhood follow a bilateral pattern, while in Aguacatenango the three follow the male and agnatic line. The type of economic organization, based on the domestic group, correlates with the type of domestic group formed thereof.

184 The domestic group in Aguacatenango, with an internal
59 economy based on the cooperative work of father and son and the
428
562 transmission of property in the male line, is a kinship unit built around a core of agnatically related males with patri-virilocal residence. Among the Aguacatecos, at least one son of the nuclear family remains in the parents' household after marriage. All other children marry and move out, the sons staying close to the father. In this way, the family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of agnatic order, which extends itself in space as a patrilocally localized agnatic line, and perpetuates itself, in time, through the principle of agnatic ultimogeniture.

The domestic group in Amatenango, with an internal economy based on the cooperative work of both a father and son, a mother

621*
"to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] 788
who the new officials to remain in office are." 554
693

Awaiting the new officials in the church are all the mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see who they are" (App. 1, Q. 48, 49). 621* 794 The new officials "speak to God," asking for health so that they can complete their obligation to the town. [782] They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father townhall." There they spend the remainder of the afternoon. [788]

The mayordomos go to the kitchen attached to the townhall. The first policeman directs the purchase of liquor and the measuring out of drinks for the ten policemen from the two sides of the dual division and the two rural commissioners. In the townhall the new president's first orders are to the fourth regidor to ask him to buy two liters of "the gift," liquor. The pardon to the ancestors, and the offering of the gift to the principales, is in the hands of the first judge, who knows the *paṭʔoṭ'an,* and can do the honors. The president is served following the principales in the round of drinking. 621* 273 [794] [625] [693] [782] [431] [537]

The change of religious officials takes place on the fiesta day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29, and on the day of the three Kings, January 6. This provides a six-month term of office. The new officials gather in the homes of the *ḳobraria* of Halal meʔtik and Sakramentu, and in the church. Thus two settings, home and church, come into play with the change of civil officials, but the townhall, significantly, is not part of this act nor are the alfereces called into action. 794 796

The ceremony lasts three days: first day is *pas ḳantelero,* 'to make candles,' when the candles are cleaned, and the old mayordomos eat a "common meal" *(ḳomun weʔel);* second day is *wiš̌peres,* when the oath is taken; final day is *sḳ'ahḳ'alel,* when the new mayordomos play the drums or flute.

The first gathering, which took place the year I observed it in the house of the *ḳobraria* of Halal Meʔtik Santalusia, was cut short because the *ḳobraria* did not have a porch, and it had begun raining. By local standards, a house without a porch is considered inadequate, and is called 'cow house' *(waḳaš̌ naʔ)* since the owner cannot accommodate guests on such occasions. The group therefore lingered longer in the house of the *ḳobraria* of Sakramentu. [362]

The speech of the *naḳawane* to the "elder new mayordomos" *(mamal ʔaš̌ martomaetik)* (App. 2, [537]

[P. 218-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The Municipal President was visited, and as soon as he saw our credentials, arranged for labourers to be furnished from Sivacá, and sent to the ruins of Toniná nearby, to clear the bush for our work. Then we drew the stone discovered by La Farge (see figs. 214-215).

During the evening we talked with many of the inhabitants, and were told of several more carved stones to be found in other parts

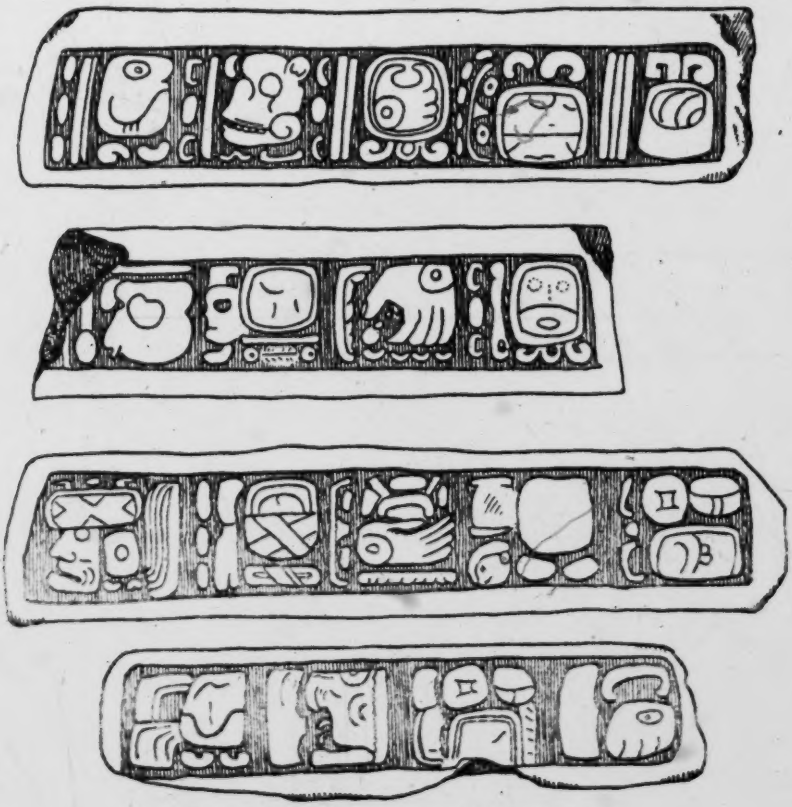

FIG. 199—Toniná, Chis. Drawing of Monument T-7.

of town. Previous Municipal Presidents had paved the streets with cut stones from the Toniná ruins. As a matter fact, it appears, that from the very founding of the Spanish town of Ocosingo, the inhabitants have occupied themselves mainly with hauling rocks from the ruins to the village.

Our search for carved monuments led us into strange places, and amusing situations. In the corner of a house belonging to the Ger-

5* Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

133 green wall away to the westward. Midway, there is a break in the slope, with a dramatic splash of deep red cliffs, in violent contrast
241 to the fertile grass and soft tones of the limestone outcrops. Only the upper end of this valley belongs to Tenango, so little, in fact that the inhabitants cannot practice the usual, sprawling milpa system of agriculture. The very yards are planted, and the fields
[35] start almost in the village, radiating from it in a close patchwork
[417] as in Europe. Everything is fenced with roughly split planks set on end, and fences line the road into Tenango where it passes
361 through the cornfields. The houses with their yards lie close about an open plaza in which are the grey bones of a ruined church, a

342
361

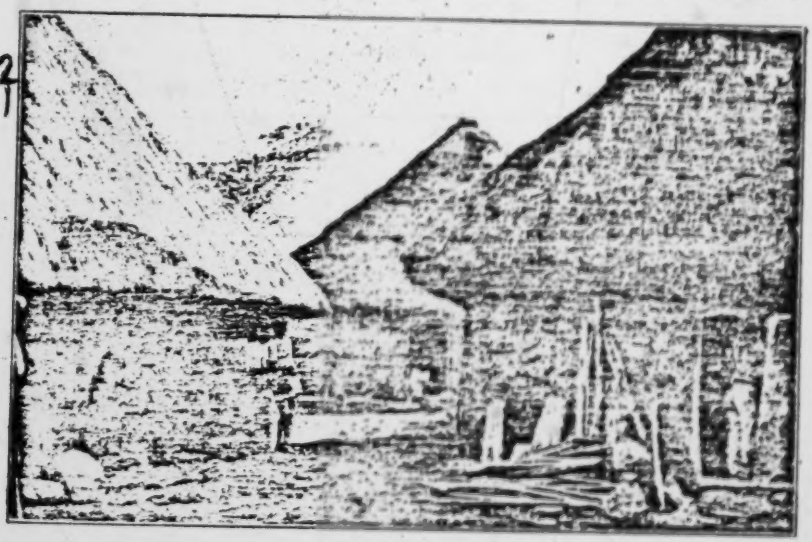

FIG. 319—Tenango, Chis. Houses.

361
whitewashed, palm-roofed native one, and the shack of a Cabildo for
245 the Maestro. The streets are lined with useful trees, oranges, gourds,
363 and a few bananas, which do poorly at this altitude.

342 The houses are square and well-made with walls of broad, split planks covered with mud (figs. 311-312). The roofs are steeply thatched and pyramidal, or have a short ridge along which broken pots are laid after the manner of tiles. The frame-work differs from that described in the last chapter in having cross-pieces laid between
[354] the plates. There are no chimneys, the smoke is allowed to seep through the thatch, keeping out vermin and making the roofs steam like a clam-bake.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

621 Among its duties are those of keeping vital statistics for the National Population Bureau which are sent to the state office, solving cases of adultery and theft, collecting the fiesta and Eiido taxes, keeping the streets clean, building and repairing roads and public buildings, and also taking charge of the local jail. Ayuntamiento officers are also called in to prevent or solve witchcraft cases and give advice and reprimands to misbehaving wives, sons and other relatives when the household or the responsible relatives cannot deal with the case on their own.

621 423 432 434 The Ayuntamiento also keeps its own corn field, worked by communal labor, whose crop is sold to collect funds for its own expenses.

794 The Mayordomia, or religious body, performs the formal activities on the religious holidays, is the custodian of the sacred objects (rockets, church keys, bells) connected with the Church, and the authority which carries out the tasks required by all of man's peaceful relations with the supernatural on the village level.

They are responsible as a group for the upkeep of the Church building and saint images, and the preparations for and the performance of Church Fiestas, regular church meetings, etc. Among their duties are those of providing meals for the priest while he is in town, helping during mass, contracting musicians and collecting the Church limosna during mass.

621 This structural level lacks monopoly of either of these functions in relation to other less inclusive social units. Social control and religious activity are carried on at the level of the barrio, the extended family, and within the household, and religious activity can be carried on by individuals.

of metal and 10 pesos if made of wood. These are lined with waxed paper which the local storekeeper cuts from cracker-box wrappers and sells for 5 cents each. 435 415 177

Electricity, first used in the cooperative store and later in the liquor shops, is now being installed in houses. 83 families had electricity installed in their homes by 1967. Street lights have been in operation since 1966, although the first attempt to install them was blocked by residents on the streets to be lighted who did not want to pay the tax of 1 peso per month per household to meet the cost to the community of 75 pesos a month. Most people have a flashlight, and lighting in the house is provided by pitch pine or by small kerosene lamps. Candles are used only in ceremonies. 365 [651] 354 [416]

The inventory of items sold in the cooperative store in town includes the most frequently purchased items of consumption. Hardward includes buckets, hoes, kerosene lamps, batteries, Gillette blades, shotgun bullets, canned goods such as sardines, chiles, and powdered milk. Packaged foods include rice, sugar, salt, oatmeal, cornstarch, flour, coffee, biscuits, cookies, gum, and candy. Beer is sold along with soft drinks and cigarettes. Household supplies include candles, soap, D.D.T. powder, thread, matches, and kerosene. Medicines dispensed most frequently include sulphur pills, aralin, Desenfriol, Alka-Seltzer, and Sonrisal. Yard goods for shawls, children's wraps, and men's clothing are sold along with manufactured shirts, blouses for girls, and rubber capes. Eggs as well as money are taken in payment and then sold. Except for one can of Chocomilk, which sat on the shelves for a year, all of the items are in constant demand, and provide an index to the level of living and dependency on external markets. 444 [436]

The preferences in changing consumption are limited by communal standards of what is appropriate. I once asked a man who was acquiring more than the usual income by brokerage activities what he would buy with more money. He replied, "I would get more land and cattle." I interrupted to ask what he would do to improve his standard of living. "I wouldn't get better clothing—what would I need that for? I would get a house built with good materials like this [the government-built clinic] with a cement floor. But I couldn't get it now because of envy. When my children grow up, they [the neighbors] will see them working and maybe 434 178 177 [156]

159 civil officials, not of me"). He identifies himself with the Indians in the
875 fight against the competitive trucking cooperative ("Those who are with
563 him [Don Ramon] are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by
177 him"). While he does not accuse Ramon's wife directly of witchcraft he
178 implies this in saying that people sign their candidate's nomination peti-
[754] tion for president because they are afraid Juana will use witchcraft. This is
[626] a characteristic mode of attacking one's enemies in the town. He claims credit for all of the innovations in the town which have won public approval—the highway, the water supply, electricity, and so forth.

622 The profit motive is inadequate to explain why Ladinos want to play
875 the role of cacique in these corporate Indian communities. One must seek
563 for an explanation instead in the social status they gain. While their jobs
177 are limited and usually frustrating and they can never be completely inte-
178 grated into the community, political activities offer them a larger arena in which they can derive personal satisfaction. The contrast between the schoolmaster's position in Tzoʔontahal before he became a political leader and his position after finding local supporters illustrates this. In the early days of his residence in town, when he built a chicken coop which extended a few feet beyond the grounds allotted to the schoolhouse, some Indians threatened to kill him. In 1957, I saw him trying to summon a policeman from the town hall, which was adjacent to the schoolhouse, to remove a boulder from the path so that a visiting friend could pass in his automobile. No one heeded his urgent shouts or the whistle he used to call children to school, although they were well aware of what he wanted. But by 1965 there was not a single important transaction which did not require consultation with the schoolteacher. Campesinos from as far as Villa Las Rosas came to request his advice and his help in approaching government agents. In projecting his political role, he gained support for projects which were of interest to him. When he had succeeded in getting the gov-
[653] ernment to install water pipes and electricity, he talked the civil authori-
[312] ties into building a kiosk, or bandstand, in the plaza. This was a fulfill-
[365] ment of his ambition to make the town over in the image of a colonial
[345] Spanish pueblo. His final statement in the speech quoted above, "Today we see a kiosk, tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory!" reveals the symbolic significance it had for him.

361 The central plaza contains the Church, the local government offices, [366] the school and the National Indian Institute (INI) cooperative [368] store (see below), in Amatenango this list being increased by the INI clinic. Around these plazas (open squares) the houses are relatively concentrated, the population density is high and the size of the sitio (a household plot) small. (There are about seven or eight sitios in a block one hectare in size.) Toward the margins of the town the houses thin out, being surrounded by milpas. Well established family groups live toward the center, while newcomers, poorer families and deviants live toward the [076] periphery. Sitios within the center are highly valued in both communities, the outskirts of the town being closer to the unknown dangers of the monte (hill and forest) with its malevolent spirits (animal souls of witches in the search of victims, owners of the caves, etc.).

361 311 312 423 Surrounding the villages one finds the communal grass lands for pasture and the irrigated milpas. The grass lands and the water source for the milpas de regadío (irrigated corn fields) are shared by both villages, although Amatenango makes use of the water first, since the stream flows through Amatenango before it reaches the Aguacatenango lands.

311 Towards the hill slopes the milpas de temporal (corn fields depending on seasonal rain) are planted in scattered small groups, fenced together against the invasion of cattle;[1] and alternating with forested patches.

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[1] See footnote 1, p. 17.

/6 cont./

621 The native surnames are regarded as belonging to a definite
[551] barrio, two of which exist at present. (In an old document, which
[127] we cannot now locate, reference is made to four barrios of Cancuc. Our informants do not remember this fact and emphatically deny it, but they do refer to a third one, which became incorporated into the two remaining ones a very long time ago.) These two barrios formerly bore the names of Chejeb and Chiklajum, by which they are still known, but today they are preferably called Ajkol-culibal, or "upper barrio," and Alán-culibal, or "lower barrio," respectively. Some informants say "calpul" in referring to the barrios, but not so others, who recognize the word calpul as the one used by other native groups -- "here there is no calpul, only Alán- and Ajkol-culibal," several Cancuqueros explain to us. One informant tells us that formerly there were three culibales, the third being called Alal-bikit-culbal. The dividing line of the barrios passes through the center of the town, located on the crest of a hill, drawn from east to west, the lands of the north belonging to Alán- and those of the south to Ajkol-culibal. The
[361] third one, which has now disappeared, included all the land
[368] to the west of the town, as the dividing line terminated at the point where the building of the Cabildo /town hall/ is located -- to the east of the great plaza, having in front the Iglesia /church/ and the ruins of the ancient "convento." When Alal-bikit-culibal was incorporated into the other two, the line that divided them was extended, separating its lands into two parts: those that remained south of the line being transferred so as to belong to the "upper" culibal, and those of the north to the "lower" one.

621 Even though at present there are persons from one culibal
551 living in the other, they always consider themselves bound to the one from which their surname comes (for this purpose our informants never took into account the third barrio to which we have referred). According to our list of native surnames, we can say
[614] that 54 belong to Ajkol-culibal, and 38 to Alán-culibal. According to the division into three clans, we have the following distribution:

Chapter 11

Ordering Behavior by Places

121 554 People act out roles in a space and time matrix that provides the cues for appropriate behavior. Place is a means of patterning three structural dimensions of role: sex, age, and relative prestige. In societies characterized by multiplex relationships, Gluckman (1962:35-36n.) has emphasized the importance of the setting in establishing what role the individual is playing. One's selection of a particular role from the many possible relationships tying people together is supported by observation of official terms of address and reference in these settings. In Tzo'ontahal, the use of place as 554 a designation of role is even more specific since each person occupying a role is given a special place within the setting.

554 342 368 517 The social domains, or fields of activity where major systems of roles are defined in Tzo'ontahal, include the house, the cabildo, the church, and the school. Segmentary role relations are limited to the clinic, the corn-grinding mill, and the store. The house has retained its importance as a ceremonial locus not only for life crisis rituals but also for initiating new officials into the civil and religious hierarchies. The institutional buildings [361] grouped around the plaza—the church, the cabildo, the schoolhouse, the clinic, the mill, and the cooperative store—are the meeting ground for outside representatives of national or supra-local agents and townspeople. These provide the settings in which behavioral adjustments to internal changes and to external standards can be viewed.

The Concept of Space

772 361 Relevant social space is conceived of as a square. The square shape of houses, of the offering hole for the house sacrifice, of the corn field, and of the planting pattern for corn conforms to a notion of the world as a

361 The central plaza contains the Church, the local government offices, [366] the school and the National Indian Institute (INI) cooperative [368] store (see below), in Amatenango this list being increased by the INI clinic. Around these plazas (open squares) the houses are relatively concentrated, the population density is high and the size of the sitio (a household plot) small. (There are about seven or eight sitios in a block one hectare in size.) Toward the margins of the town the houses thin out, being surrounded by milpas. Well established family groups live toward the center, while newcomers, poorer families and deviants live toward the [006] periphery. Sitios within the center are highly valued in both communities, the outskirts of the town being closer to the unknown dangers of the monte (hill and forest) with its malevolent spirits (animal souls of witches in the search of victims, owners of the caves, etc.).

361 311 312 423 Surrounding the villages one finds the communal grass lands for pasture and the irrigated milpas. The grass lands and the water source for the milpas de regadío (irrigated corn fields) are shared by both villages, although Amatenango makes use of the water first, since the stream flows through Amatenango before it reaches the Aguacatenango lands.

311 Towards the hill slopes the milpas de temporal (corn fields depending on seasonal rain) are planted in scattered small groups, fenced together against the invasion of cattle;[1] and alternating with forested patches.

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[1] See footnote 1, p. 17.

M 426 441 his community, who desire to buy something in credit from the
563 554 Ladino (land, cattle, fireworks, etc.). The Indian Fiador carries the accounts of the debt, counting with corn grains, and is responsible for collecting the money from his fellow villagers and for paying the debt to the Ladino. Finally, the Patrón relation
M 464 563 is one in which the Ladino becomes a temporary employer of the Indian who desires to work for wages.

M 563 369 Indian knowledge of the Ladino town and the frequency of the relationships with the town decrease as the distance of the
T 369 829 village to the town increases, so for Amatenango and Aguacatenango, San Cristobal is a place to which one goes but few times in a year while the Capital of Mexico is a place where one is "likely to be eaten by cannibals."

M 563 875 Within the villages themselves the only Ladino residents are the school teachers, who are looked upon with suspicion and resentment, there being a tradition that local school teachers attempt to increase their meager salaries by monopolizing Indian produce, or interfere with Indian political affairs, at times even with the good will of "civilizing" them. A frequent Ladino vis-
M 563 793 796 itor is the priest (the same for Aguacatenango and Amatenango and thirty-one other villages), a necessity if one is to keep on performing the Church ceremonies connected with the village religious holidays, which were established as part of the calendar of festivities early in Colonial times, and now are an important part of community ritual.

M 563 621 647 Other Ladinos who live in the surrounding territories do not participate in any way in the life of the communities, with the exception of peddlers and the infrequent visits of the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

323 pyramid is complete, wood is laid against the pots in a tepee formation.
[313] When the sawmill in the vicinity was in operation, flat boards—scraps of
[372] cut lengths—were used, but now only logs are available. Corn husks or
[462] dry straw are stuffed between the planks or logs. When a large number of pots are being fired, the men usually help at the final stages to remove the
[476] charred planks with poles. If men are not available, the women of the household often call upon their neighbors for help. In this operation, the
[292] women wear sandals and hats for protection from the heat. When the pots are cooled, the women, sometimes with the help of the men, stack them in net bags, six to a net with straw protecting the pots.

647 About fifteen year ago, a kiln was introduced by the government in the
177 interest of conserving wood. Those who tried it claim that the pottery did
323 not fire well and that many of the pots were broken. I.N.I. (the Instituto
372 Nacional Indigenista) planned to introduce an improved kiln, and while most of the people we questioned expressed a willingness to try it, the proposal was never put into action.

462 The men do most of the marketing of pottery. Loads of one or two
442 dozen may be taken by bus or truck to San Cristóbal or to Comitán.
443 When there is large-scale production throughout the community, as occurs
494 just before major fiestas, truckers come from the neighboring town of Teopisca to contract for delivery.

592 The amount of pottery produced in households varies with the follow-
323 ing factors:
433

1. Household composition: (a) Number of women in the family.
[464] If there is only one woman, very little or no pottery is produced because of the demands of domestic duties. Households with two or more women are able to sustain the ideal output of at least a dozen water jugs a week (I use "ideal" here to suggest their notion of what they produce when asked to guess. As Fig. 2 indicates, this varies considerably during the
[887] year.) (b) Age of women and ages of children. Older women over sixty do not independently undertake pottery production. They may assist in washing pots with corn gruel or making the neck, mouth, and handles, but they are unable to endure the harder task of collecting clay. A woman with infants under two years of age makes little pottery if

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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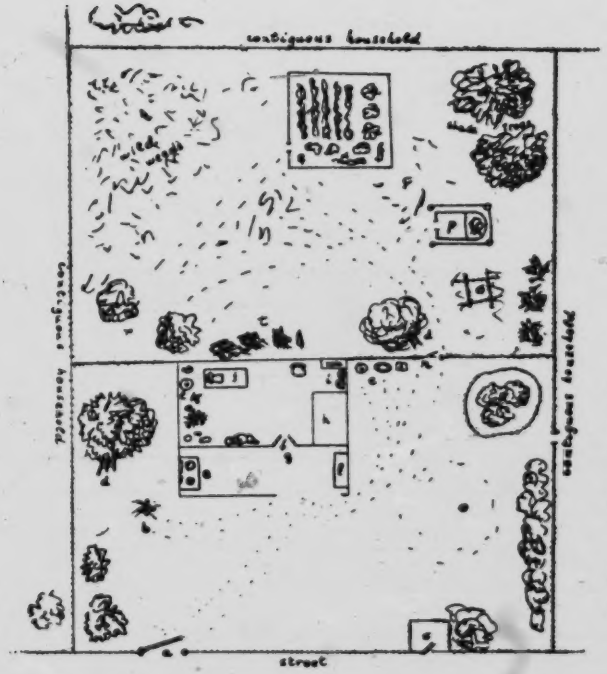

Scale: 1/8 of an hectare.
Number of inhabitants: 5.

Fig. 10.--Model of a Standard Household

a--entrance gate
b--nixtamal washing-pot
c--water pots
d--chicken coop in a tree
e--Saint's altar in the corridor
f--bench for receiving visitors
g--double door
h--wooden bed
i--petates (mats) chest and chair
j--table for making tortillas (with the grinding stone or metate)
k--molino and fire place
l--water pot inside the house
m--little stools for seating during meals and stored bags
n--gate to back yard
o--raised pig-pen
p--temascal (steam bath)
q--garden with chillis, and "tomatoes"
r--peach trees
s--pig-pen with gate to the street
t--fire-wood drying

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

283 the ground. This disc has two hooks to
413 which the fiber is knotted; when the disc is turned by a crank, it braids the fibers into rope. A thick board, smoothed by a metal knife (manufactured by the Indians from iron pieces bought in the city), is used to scrape the pita and remove the fiber.

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[177] tal own and build is the wooden cane press, which was imported by the Spaniards to grind sugarcane (fig. 6). This machine is operated by two men, who move the rollers by a handle (*kabal-té*) at each end of the
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224 A gun has become very common in hunt-
411 ing. Sometimes (Oxchuc and Tenejapa) rabbits are taken by striking them with a
[412] coa, after cornering them with the aid of dogs. Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:352) state that the Tzeltal of the lowlands usually hunt wild boar with long wooden spears with fire-hardened or metal points. Traps protect the milpa as well as snaring game.

41 Cooking utensils are mainly indigenous. The usual set consists of clay containers of varying size and shape, jícaras, baskets, wooden spoons, a comal, a metate, hooks, and wooden tripods for hanging items over
177 the fire. In the last few years metal pots,
404 dishes, frying pans, boiling pans, and espe-
416 cially handy *nixtamal* mills (which are gradually displacing the grinding stone)
177 have been introduced. Other items that
207 come from the city are flashlights, small
405 kerosene lamps, watches, scissors, and (in-
412 frequently) battery radios.
416
[P 206-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4.5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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416
[P 206-B]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office.

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist.

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first.

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient portable typewriter. Since typing is a new skill for him, he makes many errors, and his retrials are accepted with patience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

412 (*eché*), hoe (*asron*), machete (*machit*), coa (*huk*), and digging stick (*avutel*). In a 243 few towns (Amatenango), where lands are [407] flat, the plow is made of wood and pulled by oxen but only for wheat farming. During [415] corn planting, the seed is carried by the [824] planter in a *morral* hung from the shoulder, [237] in a gourd with a large spout, or in containers made of armadillo shells. The harvested crops are placed in deep baskets, made of reed-grass, or in big pita (*chojak*) [412] net bags. The ear of corn is cleared of its [237] husk by a sharp bone or a small deer horn.

322 The axe, machete, and knife are used in 412 wood working, which is very rudimentary, though handsaw and hammer have a place. With these tools the Indians make doors, tables, seats, small benches, shelves. Blom [534] and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:351) add that the Tzeltal near Ocosingo also make violins of a shape similar to the European type, but they have no resonance and poor tone. They also manufacture pipes and combs roughly [463] finished. No village of this group has specialists in carpentry to compare with the Chamulas (Tzotzil-speaking), who supply furniture at low cost to San Cristobal de las Casas and other places of the area.

324 Stone carving requires a pickaxe with 412 one end very sharp, the other very flat to serve as a hammer, and a short wooden handle. This is the tool used in Tenejapa for making metates. These metates have three legs, but Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:338) mention metates without legs (Ocosingo municipio) which are made of volcanic stone found along the San Martin River. According to the Tzeltal of Oxchuc, the name of the metate is *chá*, its handle *kab-chá*.

412 An iron bar to break the ground, an axe, and a machete are the tools for building huts, chickencoops, sweat houses, and other small structures.

283 Another tool, used in the making of pita 413 rope, is *karet*, which probably comes from the Spanish *carreta*. It consists of a wooden disc fixed to a tree trunk that is nailed to

[P-206-A]

283 the ground. This disc has two hooks to
413 which the fiber is knotted; when the disc is turned by a crank, it braids the fibers into rope. A thick board, smoothed by a metal knife (manufactured by the Indians from iron pieces bought in the city), is used to scrape the pita and remove the fiber.

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[P.206-B]

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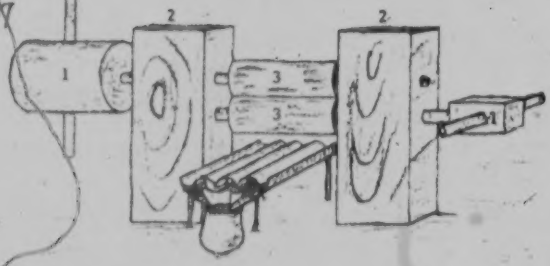

FIG. 6—SUGARCANE PRESS.
1, Kabal-te. 2, Smete-al. 3, S-kab.

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608 their godchild nor protect him if he be-
736 comes orphaned, but this is only because
431 closer members of the same lineage take
608 care of him. But the padrinos must attend
764 the wake (*kanka-almail*) and the burial when the godchild dies, as is expected from the godchild when the godparents die. In
608 these communities, compadrazgo consti-
182 tutes both an important religious obligation and a means of establishing friendship and cooperation between families.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

621 The political and religious patern is the
631 same throughout all the Tzeltal communi-
[184] ties, governed by two groups of authorities whose activities are interrelated. The first group, formed by members of the cabildo and ayuntamiento, manages political affairs of the community. The ayuntamiento maintains relationship between the local gov-
631 ernment and the national authorities. The presidente municipal and the intermediate authorities are popularly elected and then confirmed by the congress of the state.
[563] These authorities must represent both ethnic groups (Indians and Ladinos) to warrant the claim that "justice is equal for everybody." In 1936 the state government ruled that in all municipios where the indigenous population predominates, the presidente municipal should be an Indian.

Next in authority after the presidente is

[P. 219-B]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

the roots of each plant so that it will be protected. One farmer commented on this process: "The face of the earth remains loose. Thus the corn remains of one heart. Nothing dies because the soil is moved, and the tender shoots begin to grow. When the second hoeing is finished, God looks at it to see that the corn matures." In the second hoeing, any corn which has grown between hillocks is pulled out so it will not deprive the main stalks of strength. 243

When the corn has matured, the stalks are doubled over to hasten the drying process. The mature cobs are left on the doubled-over stalks for about two weeks to ensure the maximum drying of the kernels before har-

TABLE 6. Schedule of Activities in Corn Production

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Activity	*Month*	*No. of days necessary for task*	*Helpers*	*Tools*
Clear irrigation ditches	Oct.	6		Machete, forked stick
Fence fields	Nov.	4		Machete, ax
Cut stalks of last year's crop; burn leaves and weeds	Dec.	4		Machete, forked stick
Plow land 3 times	Jan.	3	Oxen	Plow
Clear irrigation ditches	Feb.	2		Machete, forked stick
Irrigate land and leave 6 days	Feb.	2		
Select seed and put in water, leaving overnight	Mar.	1	Wife	
Measure rows and distance between hills so there will be 5 handspans between each hillock; plant corn	Mar.	1		Digging stick, string, net bag
Irrigate planted corn	Mar.	1		
First hoeing	Apr.	4	2 or 3 men	Hoe
Second hoeing	May	3	2 or 3 men	Hoe
Fix irrigated ditches	June	1		Machete
Outside employment	July–Aug.			
Double over corn and leave 15 days	Sept.	4		
Pick corn; put in net bag and degrain cobs with few kernels; carry home harvest.	Oct.	5	Wife, horse	Net bags, sticks,

SOURCE: Information from a farmer possessing ½ hectare of irrigated land in center. He has no sons and one married daughter, whose husband works in sawmill. [115]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Wheat. In selecting the seed, the farmers choose those heads with the most kernels—there may be from thirty to eighty on each head. The same kind of seed must be used in planting each plot of land or the soil "does not give well." A new wheat seed was introduced by an American agronomist in the 1950s. The following reaction by an informant reveals why most of the farmers decided not to use it:

There is a quick-growing wheat, called foreign wheat because a foreigner brought it and planted it in the soil. Those who wanted to try it were given some. It was difficult to harvest because it was very dry and broke easily. Most of the grain was left behind on the ground. When it got to the threshing floor, most of it was broken. Therefore the town did not want it. So we continue planting the common wheat and it doesn't break.

The inefficient harvesting techniques force the people to consider loss of grains in deciding what wheat they will seed. However, a few of the farmers continue to grow the new wheat.

The scheduling of wheat production is shown in Table 8. The *arada* plow, introduced by the Spaniards (Foster 1951) and made locally by farmers for their own use, is commonly used to prepare the land. A few farmers borrow the plow of a relative, or sometimes a metal plowshare is bought in the departmental capital.

The harvest is the most arduous work in wheat production, but because it is done with the assistance of four or five helpers, usually brothers or compadres, it is a gay occasion. There are about a dozen threshing shelters which are individually owned and rented for 5 pesos a day. At the height of the harvesting season, the farmers have to wait for their turn to use the shelter. After the threshing, a fiesta is held in the house of the owner of the wheat at which liquor and a meal of beef stew is served. Since the labor involved is based on exchange rather than payment, the owner will take part in the harvest and celebration of those whom he has helped.

Beans. The choice of locale and the time of planting vary more radically for beans than for other crops because of the greater differences in type of seed. The two major types of beans are (1) ground beans, of

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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244 which there is a black variety and a colored variety, and (2) climbing beans, of which there are four subclasses: "painted," white, yellow, and black. Beans must be grown only in irrigated lands of highest productiv-

TABLE 8. Schedule of Activities in Wheat Production

Activity	Winter wheat	Summer wheat	No. of days necessary for task: Winter wheat	No. of days necessary for task: Summer wheat	Helpers	Tools
243 464 461 412 407 221						
Clear land	Dec. 7	May 12	5	2	2 paid workers	Machete, forked stick
Irrigate land; leave soaking	Dec. 7	May 15	1	1		
Plow	Dec. 15	May 23	1	2	Oxen team	Plow
Sow seed broadcast; cover, crossing over twice	Dec. 16	May 24	1	1	Oxen team	Plow
Cut wheat	May 1	Oct. 5	3	2	2 or 3 unpaid workers	Scythe
Thresh						
Carry wheat to shelter	May 3	Oct. 7				Net bags
Horses trample wheat	May 4	Oct. 8				
Shake stalks	May 5	Oct. 9	3	3	4 or 5 unpaid workers, 5 horses	Forked stick
Scoop grains into wooden box and sift to get rid of chaff						Box with wire mesh
Put grain in burlap bags; carry to houses on horseback						Burlap bags

[115] SOURCE: Information from two informants, one who grows winter wheat and the other who grows summer wheat, both cultivating ½ hectare of irrigated land.

244 ity. The land in the center, except for the fertilized corral areas, has lately yielded a very poor harvest. People say that the soul of the bean departed when they introduced the crop to their ejido plots in hot country. The scheduling of bean production is shown in Table 9.

[P.198-C]

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291
482
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Plate 3. A father and his two sons, walking in order of age, leave the village to go to their milpa. The father, walking in front, is wearing the old-style costume with a wrapped overshirt concealing short undertrousers. His sons wear western clothing. All of the men carry net bags on a tumpline, with their backs protected from their burdens by a sheepskin. They all carry machetes, and the boys have rifles.

407•
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Plate 4. Farmer showing the arada plow. He is holding the handle, and the shaft, made of a long tree post, is propped on the ground.

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416
[P 206-B]

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.457-B] Teklum

682 epidemic (two cases), when people have drunk
[755] a great deal and their motive is fresh in their
[273] mind.

The settings in which homicides occur indi-
682 cate that a killer is expressing not his own
152 bravery but rather his fears. Wounds are fre-
154 quently inflicted from the rear, and often the
[273] victim is outnumbered and set upon by a group. The victim is sometimes invited to drink with his killer(s), and in this session he is disarmed psychologically and physically. Alcohol reduces the chance of his effective reaction, and this is important when a knife or machete is used. Shotgun killings are done at a distance and do not require this tactic, al-
682 though it may still be employed. For drinking
273 serves to reduce the killer's own fears. Drink
152 "heats the blood" and makes unusual behavior possible. One killer, in recounting his act, was not trying to prove bravery, but rather his own good judgment and cool-headedness. The killer fired at the victim while he was sleeping, his back turned to the door, and killed him. The shot also entered the arm of the
[695] sleeping man's wife. She saw the killer as he left the scene, but testified in court that she
[683] had seen no one. She was, in effect, accepting his verdict that her husband was a witch.[4] This homicide was not regarded by the killer or by anyone else as a heroic act, nor was the killer in recounting it attempting to emphasize anything other than the necessity of the act.

682 *Instrumentality: Weapons and Wounds*
411

gun	14
machete	6
gun and machete	4
knife	3
knife and gun	1
knife and machete	1
knife and stone	1
hatchet	1
nail	1
sandals	1
??	4

The variety of weapons reduces the question of any technological determinism to a minimum. The actual weapon used seems to be a matter of convenience. When more than one is used, it is usually evidence that the assailant had helpers. The nail is unusual. It was hammered into the jaws of a man who had entered the curing profession at an age considered too
682 young. The attack on the jaws of the victim
774 seems related to the power of speech and to the
756 [text continues on p. 461-B]

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3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 NY9 Tzeltal NY9
[P 458] Tekum

TABLE 1. CASE ANALYSIS OF HOMICIDES OCCURRING FROM 1938 TO 1965
(AS RECALLED FROM MEMORY BY THREE INFORMANTS)*

CASE No.	DATE	AGE	WEAPON	WOUNDS	PLACE	TIME	SUSPECTS	MOTIVE	OUTCOME
1	1938—fiesta in neighboring town	50	pistol, machete	head cut off	in houseyard of borrowed house in neighboring town	afternoon	?	Accused of witchcraft	No one apprehended.
2	1945	65	pistol	shot between eyes	in street	night	two drinking companions (relatives of victim)	Drunken quarrel	Two companions went to jail. While in jail, with help of witch from neighboring town, set fire to four houses in pueblo.
3	1946	48	machete (brothers disarmed him of shotgun)	?	road at outskirts of town, at cross	dawn (5 A.M.)	brothers: 1 elder, 2 younger	Curer, suspected of being witch.	One brother went to jail for five years.
4	1946	45	machete	well chopped up	neighboring hamlet	?	?	"I don't know what crime he had. He was a curer."	No one went to jail.
5	1946—fiesta San Francisco	38	machete and gun	well cut up, head and neck	in woods	?	?	Accused of witchcraft.	No one complained.
6	1946	50	shotgun	?	in street	night, after curing ceremony, very drunk	?	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	Wife complained, but no witness.
7	1958	27	nail	in throat	in street	night, after curing ceremony	father of boy who died of witchcraft	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	Before dying, victim revealed name of killer, but local authorities would not arrest him. Case went to higher court, but no witnesses.
8	1960—11/28	60	machete	cut off head	in street	night, after curing ceremony	son-in-law	Accused of witchcraft by curer at ceremony for daughter.	Son-in-law fled town.
9	1960—12/18 fiesta, Sta. Lucia	28	knife, machete	heart, throat, stomach	?	?	killer paid by cattle owners	Stole cattle.	Released killer on bail of 2,500 pesos paid by cattle owners.

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3:Nash B-5 (1964-1965) 1967 MY9 Tzeltal MY9
[P.459] Teklum

10	1960—12/18 fiesta, Sta. Lucia	60	shotgun	shot in back—bullet entered lung	homeyard, two feet from house	7 P.M., after curing ceremony	brother-in-law	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	No one apprehended
11	1961—6/16	70	machete	many wounds	near highway	9 P.M., after gathering of curers	neighbors	Curer, accused by other curers of being witch causing epidemic.	Neighbors were not identified.
12	1961	35	shotgun	shot in back	highway	?	leader of political independence movement (wife's brother)	Refused to pay tribute to independence leaders.	Killer's wife (victim's sister) left husband. No one jailed. Later, killer killed by victim's brother [case 18].
13	1961—7/26 fiesta in neighboring hamlet	30	?	?	street, near cantina	late at night	wife's brother	Very abusive, fought drunks.	Wife's brother fled town.
14	1961—10/24 fiesta in neighboring hamlet	45	knife	many wounds	?	?	neighbors	Accused of being witch by neighbors.	No one apprehended.
15	1961—12/15 fiesta, Sta. Lucia	37	gun	?	cantina	late at night	?	Accused of witchcraft.	Wife agreed he was witch.
16	1962—9/25	18	?	?	?	?	rival for girl	Fought over girl.	No one accused.
17	1962—9/25	20	knife	stabs	in street	night (1 A.M.)	cattle owners	Accused of stealing cattle.	Went to jail, but released on bail put up by cattle owners.
18	1962—9/26	35	gun	shot in head	highway	(4 P.M.)	brother-in-law's brother	Revenge—victim had killed his own brother-in-law [case 12].	Killer declared he had killed. Paid fine and went free.
19	1962—11/15 fiesta, All Saints	20	knife, gun	stabbed in heart and shot	drinking in cantina	late at night	rival for girl	Fought over girl.	No one accused.
20	1962—12/24 fiesta, Christmas Eve	50	gun	shot between eyes	road outside town	dawn (6 A.M.)	leader of cattle association	Accused of stealing cattle.	?
21	1963—4/4	36	hatchet	head	in woods, given drink by killers	5 P.M.	?	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	No one apprehended. Brother did some investigating.
22	1963—7/24	45	?	?	in bed	night, after curing ceremony	Curer from neighboring town	Victim had accused suspect of being a witch when curing a patient.	Nothing.

* Two more homicides were recalled for 1964 than official records show. They most probably occurred in a previous year.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 NW9 Tzeltal NW9
Teklum
[P460]
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TABLE 1 (CONT.)

Case No.	Date	Age	Weapon	Wounds	Place	Time	Suspects	Motive	Outcome
23	1963 - 6/28 fiesta, San Augustin	?	sandals	kicked to death	in cantina	afternoon	drinking companions	Barroom brawl	One of two assailants arrested, bailed out.
24	1963 9/25	70	shotgun	forehead	in field	late afternoon	sons of man whom he was accused of having killed by witchcraft	Accused by curers in neighboring towns of having caused sickness	Nothing.
25	1964 1/2 fiesta, New Years	30	machete, gun	?	street outside house of new president	night (11 P.M.)	killer paid by brothers	Accused of stealing cattle	Brother fled, but was jailed when he returned.
26	1964 4/5 Carnival	14	gun, machete	chopped up with machete	street, one block from house	night (11 P.M.)	?	Accused of witchcraft by neighbors.	No one accused.
27	1964 8/14	40	gun	forehead	highway	afternoon	Ladino liquor distiller, not of community	Victim had denounced distiller to federal authorities.	No one accused.
28	1964—9/1	30	gun	?	milpa, after his brothers gave him drink	afternoon	his brothers	Accused of witchcraft	One brother fled. The other was jailed but claimed the first one did it.
29	1964 9/14	65	knives	many knife wounds	street, three blocks from house	late at night, after gathering of curers	curers	Curer, accused by other curers of being witch causing epidemic.	No one accused.
30	1964	22	?	?	eight meters from his house	night (1 A.M.)	close friend, hired by cattle owners, brothers of killer	Accused of stealing cattle.	Freed on bail.
31	1965 - 2/14	42	machete	head cut off	road to neighboring hamlet	night (1 A.M.)	?—at first thought it was wood spirit, until they found head	?	No one accused.
32	1965—2/22	45	knife, stone	stabbed in heart, head bashed	street near house	night	?	Accused of witchcraft by neighbors.	No one accused.
33	1965—4/21 Carnival	45	shotgun	?	street	night	?	Accused of witchcraft.	No one apprehended

3:Kaah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P-461-A] Teklum

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34	1965 4/24	27	gun	?	found in woods, body dragged there from town	night (1 a.m.)	brother-in-law	He had relations with 14-year-old sister-in-law. When he tried reconciliation, became drunk, abusive	No witness, no blood found in in-laws' house.
35	1965 5/30 fiesta, just before San Francisco	35	shotgun	three shots entered back	road	afternoon	?	Stole cattle, corn.	Killers left note saying old man did it, but no one believed it.
36	1965 8/13	42	machete	head severed, side wounds	road to milpa	6 p.m.	son by first marriage	Failed to help son get a wife; accused by dying wife of causing her death by witch craft.	Widow spread rumors that it was his son, but refused to testify.
37	1965 10/?	40	shotgun	back	in houseyard	6 p.m.	rival for girl	Accident—killer mistook him for his brother, who was challenging killer's suit for a girl.	?

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[p.461-B]

Teklum

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4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
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283 the ground. This disc has two hooks to
413 which the fiber is knotted; when the disc is turned by a crank, it braids the fibers into rope. A thick board, smoothed by a metal knife (manufactured by the Indians from iron pieces bought in the city), is used to scrape the pita and remove the fiber.

407 The most complex machine that the Tzel-
[177] tal own and build is the wooden cane press, which was imported by the Spaniards to grind sugarcane (fig. 6). This machine is operated by two men, who move the rollers by a handle (*kabal-té*) at each end of the
[415] machine. The juice pressed out by the rollers drops into fluted containers made of pieces
273 of banana tree, and finally into a pot. This juice is used in the preparation of an alcoholic beverage, *chicha* (*chi-ja*, 'sweet water'), and for panela. Chicha is prepared by
[415] fermenting this juice by bran, corn, or wheat, in a special container (*canoja*) made from a fluted tree trunk. The bran or other fermenting agent is *smé-chi-já* ('mother of
[184] the chicha'). Some communities (Tenejapa, Cancúc, Oxchuc) have greater preference for this beverage than other Tzeltal groups.

224 A gun has become very common in hunt-
411 ing. Sometimes (Oxchuc and Tenejapa) rabbits are taken by striking them with a
[412] coa, after cornering them with the aid of dogs. Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:352) state that the Tzeltal of the lowlands usually hunt wild boar with long wooden spears with fire-hardened or metal points. Traps protect the milpa as well as snaring game.

41 Cooking utensils are mainly indigenous. The usual set consists of clay containers of varying size and shape, jícaras, baskets, wooden spoons, a comal, a metate, hooks, and wooden tripods for hanging items over
177 the fire. In the last few years metal pots,
404 dishes, frying pans, boiling pans, and espe-
415 cially handy *nixtamal* mills (which are gradually displacing the grinding stone)
177 have been introduced. Other items that
207 come from the city are flashlights, small
405 kerosene lamps, watches, scissors, and (in-
412 frequently) battery radios.
416
[P 206-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

648 mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

829 The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We received many small favours and [123] acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

FIG. 283—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

241 In their culture these people [181] belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend [433] primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the [291] staple crop. Calabashes, melons, [301] beans, tobacco, bananas, and cotton are raised. [302] The farming is carried on by the same wasteful "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old [178] Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment [166] of many cities. In the case of the Bachajon, it has already become one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn 262 boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates 252 which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and 411 weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but al- 412 ways made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most 184 amazing industries in the world. 177

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

amazing industries in the world. In addition, most men own smooth-bore flint-lock muskets, a few having progressed to percussion caps. The bow and arrow occurs occasionally as a child's toy. 411 [524]

The Bachajon men dress in cotton clothing, made of material bought in Ocosingo, or, more rarely, of home weave (fig. 284). The shirt is cut without tails, the trousers are of European type save that they tie with a string and have no buttons. Ordinarily they are worn rolled up above the knee. Over the trousers is worn a sash of native weave, red with fringed ends, and often decorated with black and yellow design in lines, sometimes forming a plaid effect. The sash is wound around, crossing in front, then turned back on itself, and the ends tucked under behind, so that they hang down below the shirt (fig. 285). 291

FIG. 284—El Encanto, Chis. A Bachajon Medicine Man.

Shirts of native weave occasionally have fine coloured lines running through them. The opening, which runs about two-thirds of the way down the front, the cuffs, and the seams at the shoulders may be decorated with very simple stitching. Down the front is a row of small buttons, coloured if possible, not all of which are for use. The most admired arrangement seems to be an alternation, such as red, black, white, repeated, although cases were observed in which no two were alike. These buttons are bought at the stores.

Sandals, *tep*, are ordinarily of leather, a thick sole with simple heel-toe string and loop. The leather is usually bought ready-cut. Formerly they were made of *mahagua* bast wicker-work, in form corresponding to that found in Basket-Maker sites of the Southwestern United States,* and these are still occasionally woven. The finest specimens are dyed red with a bark. Bast sandals are called *canak* (fig. 286). [72]

*Kidder and Guernsey, 1919, Page 160 et seq.

5: Blom & LaFarge A, E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

necks and round bottoms. Two were full of corn and lime for tortillas, just off the fire. A big Tenango jar, *k'ip*, of the kind to be described at that place, was used for water. 415

A pottery dish, about 7 centimeters across, *tsets*, is commonly offered to guests to wash their hands. It is placed on a pottery stand of an hour-glass shape, about 15 centimeters high, *awaliko* (see fig. 299). The ordinary plates and general vessels are flat gourd dishes, *qai'*, about 20 centimeters across. Gourds as well were used for a dipper, *tuts*, and a water-jar, *tsux*. Two nets hung from the rack. There were three small baskets, *tutemotc*, and four big ones, *mukulmotc*. Hanging on the wall were a pair of the basket-work sandals mentioned before, and selected ears of corn for seed. The wife's textile outfit, more fully described later, consisted of a spindle, *pětět*, [515] [574] 353 283 286

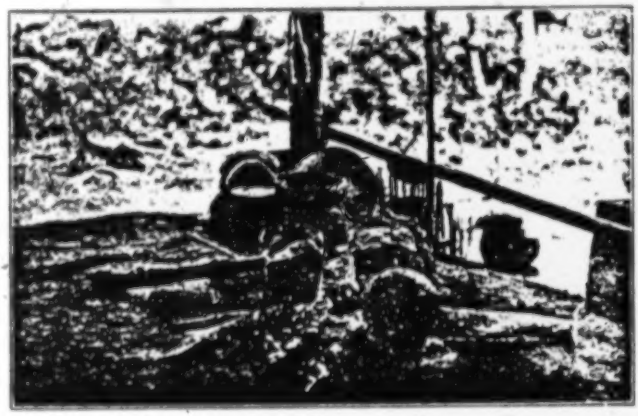

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FIG. 291—Bachajon Fireplace.

with clay whorl, spun in a gourd bowl, *tsima*, cotton, *t'umin*, hanging in leaves, and the loom itself, *holěl*. A sling, made of a forked stick and rubber band with a leather piece to take the clay pellet, *finmutc*, belonged to the small boy. Bananas were drying on the rack. With them were laid, or hanging in packages of leaves, beeswax, *tcavek*, blocks, 20 x 20 x 2 centimeters, for trade purposes, used for making candles, a lump of hard red clay, *baq lum* ("bitter earth"), for washing the hair, and sometimes also eaten, a package of brown loaf sugar, salt, *atsam*, traded down from the Zotzil country, several packages of pimiento pepper, and serpent fat, *junto tcan*, for rubbing on the chest to cure coughs. Under the table was a basket of coarse, blackish-gray clay for making pottery, *tcavek lum* ("beeswax earth"). Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail 283 286 411 353 237 [251] 353 [323]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

353 Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail
[231] hung in the eaves so that the dogs might see them, to prevent their
going away or losing heart. A swizzle stick, *mahas,* about 40 centi-
[415] meters long, was used for stirring cocoa. It is made by cutting a
twig above a joint with four branches. Two rat traps, *yakul,* just
[224] outside the hut, were exact models of the larger deadfalls used for
jaguars (see fig. 308).

[291] Add to this the clothes on the inhabitants backs, and the man's
[411] machete, and you will have a complete list of the worldly possessions,
large and small, of a Bachajon family—altogether some forty-four
different kinds of things. We assembled as many together as pos-
[126] sible, arranging them as for a feast, and placed in the middle the
small son of the house, and a
little monkey of a boy, Miguel,
who accompanied us to run
errands (fig. 292).

342 →

[516]
[291]
[415]
←

[123]
[122]
→

FIG. 292—Bachajon boy guests.

If mud-plastered walls are
added to this description, you
have a typical Ocosingo Valley
house. Change the grass roof
to palm, it is the kind to be seen
in the jungle country.

At Muxculja (*muckul ha,* "Covered Water"), in the jungle, our Indians built us a trail shelter or hut of the type called in Spanish *champa,* and in Tzeltal *tutna',* "small house." This enabled us to note the manner of building the frame-work and laying on the roof. The kind of *champa* built for us, with an A-roof and gable ends, is called *gwakac na',* "cow house"; the more common type built by the Indians when alone, a simple lean-to, is called *lestce-pat* (should be *lestce-pahk?*) "only one wall."

Our shelter being more than usually pretentious, we could observe most of the steps in building a true house, although, of course, the form here was different and the construction much lighter (figs. 293-294). It was three meters, fifty-one centimeters long by three meters wide, two meters high at the ridge-pole, one at the eaves.
[461] It had no walls. From the construction of the outline of the frame to the completed thatching it took fifty minutes for four men, later only two, working without haste.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

224 The Chief weapon used in hunting is
• 411 the muzzle-loading smooth-bore gun, really a shot-gun, usually loaded with shot. Both flint-locks and percussion caps are known, and occasionally match-locks are made by the Indians themselves, the barrels being bought in the towns, or taken from old guns. Powder is carried in a cow's horn, which sometimes also serves as a flask.

Wild boar is sometimes hunted with spears, *mojara,* made of sticks with points hardened in the fire, although iron-headed spears are known, having been used in the Uprising of 1868. The latter form, however, does not appear to be made at present. Spears left
[669] over from the Uprising are highly valued and cannot be bought. That they were brought out of hiding during a period of unrest at Bachajon in 1915 is considered one of the proofs that a real revolt was planned at that time.

224 Dogs take part in the chase, their use being connected with some
231 curious superstitions. It is a common practice in Mexico to cut a

224

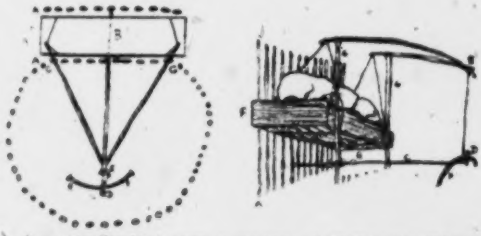

FIG. 308—Deadfall, from a rat trap at El Encanto, Chis.
A. Plan. B. Sketch of essential parts.

224 piece off a dog's ear and keep it in the house if he shows a tendency
231 to roam, or to go hunting alone. If he will not follow a trail, a similar piece is cut off and thrown on it. The Indians keep jaw-bones or other trophies of animals killed with the dogs' help hung in a conspicuous place under the eaves of the house; the object being to remind the dogs of their achievements, and to keep them from losing heart during a period of no hunting.

223 Birds, as well as being hunted, are caught with snares and with limed twigs.

224 Dead-falls, *yakul,* are used to trap animals, both for game, and to protect the fields. They are substantially all of one pattern, the drawing for which was taken from a rat-trap in the house at El Encanto (fig. 308). The deadfall consists essentially of a log, F, weighted with stones, held suspended in two slings, which hang from the ends of two sticks, EE, resting over two forked uprights, GG. The two sticks cross each other at the further end, where they are

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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243 vest. Harvesting is done by all the members of the household, sometimes
[592] with the assistance of exchange or hired labor. Women help by going to
[464] the fields and degraining the cobs with few kernels of corn so that there
[462] will not be an unnecessary burden to carry to the houses.

243 A small fiesta for the corn is made following the harvest. The purpose
796 of the fiesta is to reciprocate the spiritual owner of the corn by giving him
782 a "gift." Two candles are lit and set on top of the piles of corncobs. Two other candles are placed near the heaps of corn grains gathered by the

243
192

TABLE 7. Stages of Corn Growth and Agricultural Activities

Stages of growth	*Activity*	*Time (after planting)*
Šlihk sčital (begins to grow)	First hoeing	8 days
Čištal lik ʔišim (well-grown; about 4 feet)	Second hoeing	1 month
Čištal stekan sni? (begins to form husk)		2 months
B'al tzuto (begins to bud)		
Lok'iš tzutohal (flower comes out)		3 months
Yihiš sk'ab'enal (begins to mature)		4 months
Lok'iš yihkatz (cobs fill out)		
Sčam hol (its head dies)	Pick cobs to eat fresh	5 months
Yihištal sk'anubiš (now more yellow)	Double over stalks	6 months
Yihubiš (more yellow)		
Tahkiniš (dry)		
Sk'ahik lok'el (harvest time)	Pick dried corn	7 months

243 women. The candles cause the spirit of the corn to rise and give its "gift to
796 the world" in the following harvest. Failure to make a fiesta would mean
782 an end to all corn harvests.

243 Corn is brought to the house and stored in the rafters, since there are no
25 corn cribs or separate storage facilities of any kind in the village. Most of
136 the houses are infested with rats as a consequence. When the harvest is brought in, there is an attempt to rid the rafters of these "thieves." The
[411] men and boys armed with slingshots stand posted in the yard as the children rustle around in the rafters chasing the rats out. Although they are remarkably good shots since they use this tool from early childhood, the houses are never completely free of rats, and the inhabitants learn to put up with them.

868 857 the larger ones their mothers make, but their products are usually not [323] commercially saleable until they reach the age of marriage. Their responsi- [312] bility in preadolescence is to bring water from the faucets installed in every other block of the town, and to degrain corn, tend the fire as the *nixtamal,* or corn dough mixed with lime, cooks, and help their mother grind it. The careful assessment of the child's capacity to perform tasks is exemplified by the gradations of water-carrying jars given to each child: the older the child, the larger the jar, with minute variations in scale. The [592] close, usually wordless cooperation between women in a household comes [462] from years of working together and knowing their part in cooperative tasks.

Boys accompany their fathers to the fields after they reach the age of six and when they are not attending school. They do not participate in the work of the milpa until they are eight or older, but they pick up twigs for the fire or gather the wild berries or plants which supplement the diet of [411] the family. They usually carry slingshots with which they kill field rats [262] and birds, which they bring home to cook and eat. Teaching a boy the 868 tasks involved in agriculture is consciously undertaken by older brothers 241 or the father when the child reaches the age of twelve or thirteen. The following reminiscence of this training is given by a man who had been brought up by his widowed mother and brother.

159 *I went to the field with my brother who is eighteen years older than I,*
868 *when I was thirteen years old. My brother brought me to clean the milpa,*
241 *saying, "Let us go and you will learn how to work. See what I do and you do the same. You will learn what I do and you can do the same."*

One day I finished six rows. My brother said when he saw my work, "Good, just give a little more soil at the foot of the corn because the little corn must have a little soil. Now you do it well." "Yes," I said. He saw it was good, and he told me, "You have learned your work. You are going to forget it when you enter school. When you come out of school, go do two or three rows of work. When you hear the bell strike, go back to school."

He told my mother that I had learned to work, and she said, "Good you know how to cultivate." I learned to do my work better by going along with my elder brother in his work so that I would not forget.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

805 lating the time of day; when I questioned them as to the hour, they were often as much as an hour off, usually behind.

Most activities are ordered with reference to the Gregorian calendar, but the twenty-day Maya calendrical month, defined as "twenty days or a month" is used in much the same way that we use "a fortnight." The In-
805 dians consider the moon to be an uncertain indicator of time, since "she
821 does not walk well." But the moon is important in the culture: people note its different phases and are especially aware of the phase under which a child is born—an important sign for the newborn's future. If a baby is
[856] born at the full moon, he is expected to mature more readily. The full
[787] moon also signifies a propitious time for undertaking certain activities, such as cutting wood for the main posts of a house and cutting palm for the roof.

The Daily Schedule

512
462 Daily activities are organized by traditional economic pursuits. The woman is the first one to rise in the morning. She gets up at dawn, lights
[252] the fire, and sets a jar of water to boil for coffee. She grinds the nixtamal cooked the night before on the stone grinding board, or takes it to the mill
[412] in the center. She then makes tortillas either by hand or with a press; a re-
[177] cent innovation made of two hinged pieces of wood in which the ball of
[178] dough is set between pieces of plastic paper.

The men of the household are served first, followed by the boys; the
[264] women and girls eat last. As soon as they have eaten, the men and boys who have finished the required three years of schooling go out to the
[481] fields to work. They walk single file even in the streets of the town, the fa-
[482] ther preceding his sons. Each carries a machete, net bag, tumpline, and sheepskin back-protector if he plans to carry any loads. Many bring shot-
[411] guns as well in order to hunt for field rats, raccoon, or the burrowing ani-
[224] mals they find in the fields.

After the men leave, the women go to the porch and "seize their work."
[857] The children go to school, which begins at eight-thirty in the morning
[872] and continues until five o'clock in the evening. They return home for
[264] lunch, a meal of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans or chayote when it is in season.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.461-B]

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4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
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114 27) but without touching on social organization.

[101] Study of social organization began in
[122] 1938 when I made my first trip through the region under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington (Redfield and Villa Rojas, 1939, pp. 107–19). In 1942–44 we spent several periods among the Tzeltal of Oxchuc, establishing camp at Yochib, and published the results soon thereafter (Villa Rojas, 1946, 1947).

Since 1957 various investigations by the universities of Chicago, Harvard, and Stanford have been headed by the anthropologists Sol Tax, Norman A. McQuown, Evon Z. Vogt, Julian Pitt-Rivers, and A. Kimball Romney.

221 SUBSISTENCE PATTERNS AND FOOD HABITS
241 *The Milpa*

Nothing is of greater importance to the Indian than to have a good *milpa*. Three classes of milpas are cultivated: *sijomal*, planted in mid-January and harvested three months later; *nal-aual* or "March milpa" planted in mid-March and harvested toward the end of August; the main milpa, *jabil-caltic* or "milpa of the year," sown between April and May and harvested between November and December. The first two types are most often cultivated in the lower zone of Tierra Caliente, where humidity is favorable.

241 Among the Tzeltal of Oxchuc (Villa
804 Rojas, 1946, pp. 510–39), milpa work begins in February with the measuring of the plot. The measuring rod (*jaubtic*), which presumably corresponds to a *brazada* (the distance between the arms extended), is equivalent to 1.98 m. The area 8 brazadas square takes the name of *tarea* (about 256 sq. m.). The area of the milpa is also computed according to the number of ears of corn needed for seeding; 60 ears of corn are required to fill 1.5 hectares, the average in milpas that we observed.

241 Since the bush is short, only a hatchet
412 (*eche*) is necessary to cut it down. The
[P.199-A]

241 [412] machete (*machit*) or the *luk*, a sort of curved machete with a long handle, are the implements needed. The cutting of the grass from the plot where the milpa had been the previous year is *selab*; the cutting of bush grown for three or four years is *sok-uej*. The work of cutting the bush is done by the entire family, including children of seven or eight years old.

[221] [412] The planting is done between April and May after the first rains, with a long stick whose tip is hardened by fire or protected by a metal point. [242] The seed must come from large, healthy ears whose tips have been cut off because they have small corn. [824] The *olote*, or corncob, is either kept or thrown away at a distance to avoid its being used as fuel, for this would hurt the milpa which then would produce ears with broken kernels.

241 462 785 834 The task of planting is a very delicate matter, to be performed after fasting and sexual abstinence. It is exclusively a man's affair. 241 574 A great banquet is served at noon, generally outdoors as the hut interiors are small, to the friends and neighbors who will participate as helpers. Sometimes as [476] many as 10 men help to plant a friend's milpa. The meal is offered "precisely when the sun stops for a moment midway on its run and the doors of the Church of Heaven are opened, from where the quality of the banquet is observed." This is *s-uelil-abal* ('meal of the planting').

241 262 272 574 [263] When things are properly done, the meal consists of a number of items. First the *atole* (*pajal-ul*) is served, which is slightly sour and sweetened with *panela*. As "companion" to this atole are tamales (*chenkul-uaj*), which are prepared with cornmeal and ground beans. It is said that both things are to be served together so that "the seed may penetrate deep into the ground."

241 252 262 574 272 After this preliminary snack comes what is considered the main course for each person: a hard-boiled egg in a thick reddish broth prepared from dough and ground chile dissolved in water; a large tortilla;

[P.199-B]

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201-A

778 821 823 natural elements (hail, wind, storms), which often threaten and destroy the cornfields.

Distribution of Huts

621 In the parajes as well as in the centers the tendency to cluster huts in patrilineal nuclei is strong. One perceives this tendency also where lineage or clan ties still persist (Oxchuc).

[594] The majority of households consist of the elementary family, a couple and their offspring. The habitations include a hut, which serves as dormitory and kitchen, plus chickencoop, pigpen, and, sometimes, the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. Among industrious families another small hut serves exclusively as a kitchen. Seldom does a fence separate this nucleus from its neighbors, but it may protect a vegetable patch from animals. In the capital, however, each family must fence its lot.

342 343 [417] 343 417

Relationships between Communities

628 Communities establish commercial and other ties according to their ecological distribution and cultural condition. In the southern zone Amatenango and Aguacatenango form a kind of unit, based on physical proximity and cultural affinity. Their residents meet frequently at the Sunday market of Teopisca. In the central zone, Oxchuc, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Tenango, which more or less share ways of life and natural environment, form another informal association, contacts resulting from the weekly markets of Tenejaya and Yochib. In the northern zone, Sitala and Guaquitepec form another unit. Ocosingo, Chilon, and Yajalon are centers of commercial and political importance, occupied largely by Ladinos but used as trade centers by Indians throughout the northern zone.

412 TECHNOLOGY

Tools and Techniques

Farming tools are the most important: axe

[P 205-B]

412 (*eché*), hoe (*asron*), machete (*machit*), coa (*luk*), and digging stick (*avutel*). In a 243 few towns (Amatenango), where lands are [409] flat, the plow is made of wood and pulled by oxen but only for wheat farming. During [415] corn planting, the seed is carried by the [824] planter in a *morral* hung from the shoulder, [237] in a gourd with a large spout, or in containers made of armadillo shells. The harvested crops are placed in deep baskets, made of reed-grass, or in big pita (*chojak*) [412] net bags. The ear of corn is cleared of its [237] husk by a sharp bone or a small deer horn.

322 412 The axe, machete, and knife are used in wood working, which is very rudimentary, though handsaw and hammer have a place. With these tools the Indians make doors, tables, seats, small benches, shelves. Blom [534] and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:351) add that the Tzeltal near Ocosingo also make violins of a shape similar to the European type, but they have no resonance and poor tone. They also manufacture pipes and combs roughly [463] finished. No village of this group has specialists in carpentry to compare with the Chamulas (Tzotzil-speaking), who supply furniture at low cost to San Cristobal de las Casas and other places of the area.

324 412 Stone carving requires a pickaxe with one end very sharp, the other very flat to serve as a hammer, and a short wooden handle. This is the tool used in Tenejapa for making metates. These metates have three legs, but Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:338) mention metates without legs (Ocosingo municipio) which are made of volcanic stone found along the San Martin River. According to the Tzeltal of Oxchuc, the name of the metate is *chá*, its handle *kab-chá*.

412 An iron bar to break the ground, an axe, and a machete are the tools for building huts, chickencoops, sweat houses, and other small structures.

283 413 Another tool, used in the making of pita rope, is *karet*, which probably comes from the Spanish *carreta*. It consists of a wooden disc fixed to a tree trunk that is nailed to

[P·206-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

283 the ground. This disc has two hooks to
413 which the fiber is knotted; when the disc is turned by a crank, it braids the fibers into rope. A thick board, smoothed by a metal knife (manufactured by the Indians from iron pieces bought in the city), is used to scrape the pita and remove the fiber.

407 The most complex machine that the Tzel-
[177] tal own and build is the wooden cane press, which was imported by the Spaniards to grind sugarcane (fig. 6). This machine is operated by two men, who move the rollers by a handle (*kabal-té*) at each end of the
[415] machine. The juice pressed out by the rollers drops into fluted containers made of pieces of banana tree, and finally into a pot. This
273 juice is used in the preparation of an alcoholic beverage, *chicha* (*chi-ja*, 'sweet water'), and for panela. Chicha is prepared by
[415] fermenting this juice by bran, corn, or wheat, in a special container (*canoja*) made from a fluted tree trunk. The bran or other fermenting agent is *smé-chi-já* ('mother of
[184] the chicha'). Some communities (Tenejapa, Cancuc, Oxchuc) have greater preference for this beverage than other Tzeltal groups.

224 A gun has become very common in hunt-
411 ing. Sometimes (Oxchuc and Tenejapa)
[412] rabbits are taken by striking them with a coa, after cornering them with the aid of dogs. Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:352) state that the Tzeltal of the lowlands usually hunt wild boar with long wooden spears with fire-hardened or metal points. Traps protect the milpa as well as snaring game.

41 Cooking utensils are mainly indigenous. The usual set consists of clay containers of varying size and shape, jícaras, baskets, wooden spoons, a comal, a metate, hooks, and wooden tripods for hanging items over
177 the fire. In the last few years metal pots,
404 dishes, frying pans, boiling pans, and espe-
415 cially handy *nixtamal* mills (which are gradually displacing the grinding stone)
177 have been introduced. Other items that
207 come from the city are flashlights, small
405 kerosene lamps, watches, scissors, and (in-
412 frequently) battery radios.
416
[P 206-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

648 mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

829 The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We received many small favours and [123] acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

FIG. 283—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

241 In their culture these people [181] belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend [433] primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the [291] staple crop. Calabashes, melons, [301] beans, tobacco, bananas, and cotton are raised. [302] The farming is carried on by the same wasteful "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old [178] Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment [166] of many cities. In the case of the Bachajon, it has already become one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn 262 boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates 252 which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and 411 weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but al- 412 ways made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most 184 amazing industries in the world. 177

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

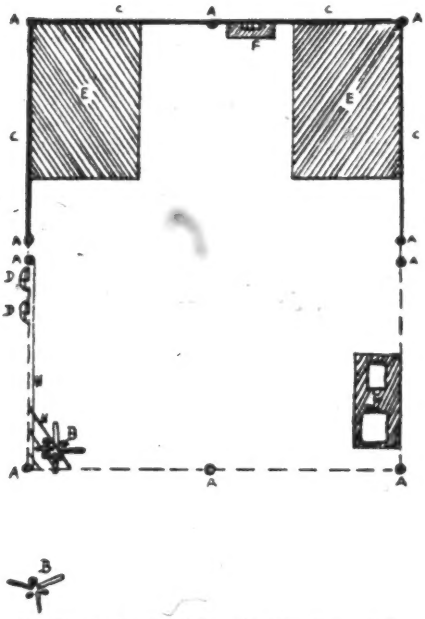

FIG. 288—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon House. Plan. (Scale 1:100).

A. Uprights, kuk'up.
B. Fire.
C. Wall, p'ahk.
D. Rat Trap.
E. Beds.
F. Altar.
G. Table with Metates.
H. Racks.

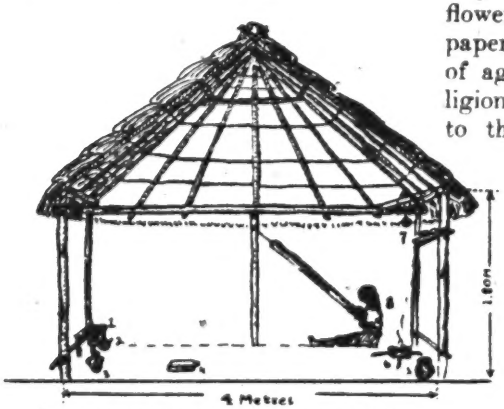

FIG. 289—El Encanto, Chis. Section of Bachajon House.

1. Table, ahk'en, with Metates.
2. Basket of clay, teavek lum.
3. Tenango water jar, k'ip.
4. Squatting chair, tsamate.
5. Olla, ocom.
6. Fire, kak'.
7. Racks, baxtet, with packages.
8. Woman weaving.

a central front and back post, 342
and two posts close together on each side at the ends of [352] the walls, supported the roof- [353] beams. There were no horizontal members save the plates, following the line of the eaves. The rafters were built up from these direct to the ridge-pole, joined by light cross pieces, or thatching-poles, laid on outside. Near the top they were braced by a purlin of heavy logs on the inside. From floor to eaves it was 1.80 meters, and about the same from eaves to the ridge-pole. The floor was of hard dirt, fairly well levelled, and well swept. We were told [351] that situations on hills, such as this, are commonly chosen to assure drainage, and that there is no orientation.

The altar, a table and a 353
large cross decorated with flowers, pine-tips, and bits of paper, which will be spoken of again when discussing religion, was placed at the back to the right of the middle post. In front, to the 412 •
right, was the table, *ahk'en*, on which were two metates, or grinding stones. They were [342] legless, one end being [352] raised slightly by propping with stones. The [353] finer one was called [354] *skaltca-tut* ("metate- [286] small"), it was made of a fine, sandy lime-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

412 stone, *ton-al-ha'*, ("water stone"). The other, *akaltca-muk* ("big metate") was made of an igneous stone called *hayáltcak*, brought from San Martín. The *manos*, or smaller stones used for grinding on these, were called *miscabtca* (fig. 290). To the left, opposite 354 this table, was the fire, *kak'*, built of two broken ollas and two small rocks, placed so that the logs could be laid star-fashion between them, and close enough together to support the tortilla griddle or 354 an olla (fig. 291). Outside the house was another fire, with only 251 three stones, on which was drying a basket full of *pinole*, *tcilim*, a 252 fruit which is mixed with cacao in a form of chocolate. Over the house fireplace racks, *bartet*, were placed at the level of the eaves 354 across the corner, and along the wall to the middle post, that things 353 hung up there might be protected by the smoke from insects. All 417 these things are indicated in the plan.

352
412

FIG. 290—Table with Metates.

352 A hammock, *aktci*, which we understood was not of native make, hung across the middle of the house. Two woven mats, *pOp*, the Spanish *petate*, lay on the beds. Beside this, the beds, and the table, the only thing that could properly be called furniture was a three-[287] legged stool about 30 centimeters high, *matsumte*. Two mats of pounded bark, or tapa, *bat-te* ("bark tree"), or *bat manil tcahan*, were rolled up in a corner. First comers got the hammock to lie in, others sat on the low "squatting seats," *tsamate*, of which there were three, made each of half a log, peeled, and partially flattened on top, with a handle on one end.

415 The tortilla griddle was a flat, dish-like pottery affair, about 40 centimeters in diameter. There were five ollas, *ŏcom*, with plain

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

342 [412]

only two, working without haste. The only tools used were machetes, which served even for digging the post-holes and for trenching.

The elementary frame consisted in two forked upright posts, *makan-te*, supporting the ridge-pole, *kabaiye-te*, four forked corner posts, *oix*, two plate-poles, *tsañ-te*, and gable-rafters, *sak-te*.

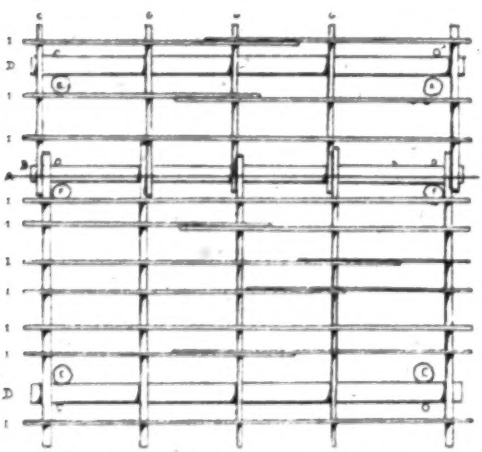

FIG. 283—Formalized plan of roof of shelter.
A. False ridge-pole, kabaiyete.
B. Ridge-pole, kabaiyete.
C. Gable rafters, sakte.
D. Plates, tsañte.
E. Corner posts, oix.
F. Center posts, makante.
G. Rafters, sakte (?).
I. Thatching-poles, butl.

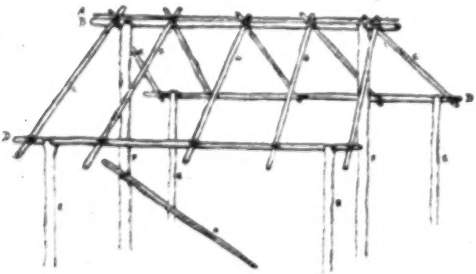

FIG. 284—Sketch of frame of shelter.
A. False ridge-pole, kabaiyete.
B. Ridge-pole, kabaiyete.
C. Gable rafters, sakte.
D. Plates, tsañte.
E. Corner posts, oix.
F. Center posts, makante.
G. Rafters, sakte (?).
H. Staging for work on under side of roof.

Three lighter poles were then laid on each side as rafters, and lashed to the ridge and plates with lianas. Thatching-rods were laid parallel to the ridge-pole across them, they were also lashed with lianas, the vines being laid along the rafters in a spiral, with a criss-cross hitch at each rod. A light false ridge-pole was laid over the true one, resting in the crotches of the crossed gable-rafters. It was said that this was also called *kabaiyete*. Projecting ends of sticks were then trimmed.

Palm-leaves were gathered in bundles of four, tied together with their own base-fronds. These were laid on in the manner of shingles, and the stems tied down to the thatching rods with a spiral running liana similar to that binding the poles. As the leaves are over a meter long, only four rows were needed to cover the long side of the roof, allowing a considerable over-hang, although more would have been used in a permanent dwelling. A row of over-lapping leaves was laid on top of and parallel to the false ridge-pole, bound down, and secured with yet another light stick.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

285 being an average of only three strands to a centimeter, with the splints about three centimeters apart. Ordinarily the widest part of the basket is at the rim, but a very small basket, *tutemOtc*, was observed, in which the greater diameter was about half-way up the side. The weave was the same. The standard large size is 23 centimeters high, 36 centimeters diameter at the rim, and 13 at the base (fig. 304).

286 [482] The men also make the nets, *tcotcaH*, which are used, suspended from one shoulder, as a pocket, or, slung from a tump-line, to carry small burdens. They are made of hennequen or ixtla cord. The mouth is an extra heavy string, from which the woven part of the net hangs (fig. 305). The method of laying the cord was observed

[285]

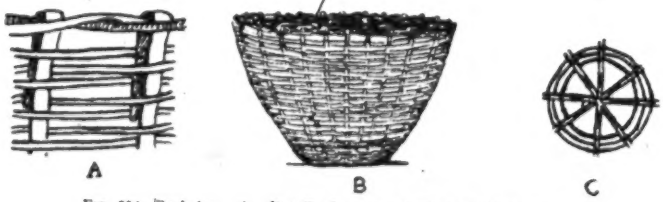

FIG. 304—Basketry. A. Detail of weave showing finish of rim. B. Basket, height 23 c.m. C. Arrangement of splints at the bottom.

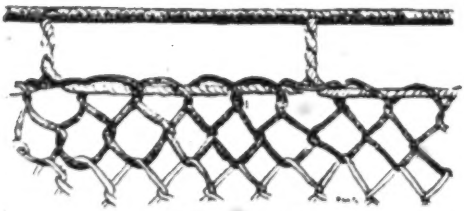

FIG. 305—Detail of Net.

FIG. 306—Frame for weaving net.

at Cancuc. The istla threads are held in the crotch of the left knee, and the cord is wound on the thigh with a flat-hand, rubbing motion. A bundle of threads laid parallel to each other, is taken by the middle and rolled into the already made cord, forming two strands. When the strands are ready, they are laid together with a reverse-stroke of the hand on the thigh. The net is woven with a deer-horn needle, *muk*, on a frame, *tiaH*, consisting of a board about 18 centimeters long with an upright stick at each end (fig. 306). The actual weaving was not observed.

322 412 Considering that their only tools are their machetes, and an occasional cheap pocket knife, the wood-working done by the men is

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

remarkable. They make combs of one piece of wood, averaging 15 centimeters long, 8 wide, by 4 millimeters thick. The teeth are cut out of one of the long sides, running back less than half-way into the body of the piece. These teeth may be as fine as two in three millimeters, or as coarse as two in five millimeters; sometimes they are graded. The back is slightly arched. On the ends a piece of wood is left uncut, usually about four millimeters wide. The shape is not unlike the small Japanese combs to be found in most of our curio stores. The best examples are made from mahogany, chosen with a nice feeling for the effect of the grain. They are not worn, but used for combing the hair. 322 412

They make violins which are small copies of the European type. The instrument and bow are known by their Spanish names, *violina* and *arcilla*. The body is about 26 centimeters in greatest length and width; the neck, *tsutsuH-te*, projects about 50 centimeters. Save for a decoration of wavy lines on the back, the violin looks like a cheap toy fiddle. The strings, *tcucuix*, are of *mico de noche* (night-walking lemur) gut, save the G-string, which is of the usual type, bought in the towns. The bow-strings are of horse-hair treated with rosin. The tone is poor, lacking resonance. 534 322

One tobacco pipe, *bum*, was observed, which was a remarkable piece of whittling (fig. 307). It was about 14 centimeters long, made of one piece of mahogany, and apparently modeled after the American corn-cobs occasionally seen among the Ladinos. The bowl was roughly rounded, with a flat bottom. The stem was round, with a step in it at the middle, in imitation of the step in the mouth-piece of an ordinary pipe. The tube had been hollowed out with a hot wire. The tin-foil cap over the cork of a *Habanero* bottle had been hammered onto the base of the bowl, and two strips of tin-foil laid around the stem, each held on with a brad. It may be mentioned that the mahogany coloured prettily from handling and smoking, and that the flavour was sweet. 276 322

FIG. 307—Pipe.

Stools, with three legs let into a single, round piece, and rather rickety tables on the same principle, but four-legged, are made by the men, as well as the squatting-seats mentioned in describing the house. 352 322

Game furnishes an important part of the Indian's food supply. Wild boar, deer, howler monkey, *faisan*, *cojolite*, dove, and quail are hunted for food. The various large cats, alligator, lemurs, and many of the larger snakes are sought for their hides, which form a considerable article of trade. The chief weapon used in hunting is 224

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

the roots of each plant so that it will be protected. One farmer commented on this process: "The face of the earth remains loose. Thus the corn remains of one heart. Nothing dies because the soil is moved, and the tender shoots begin to grow. When the second hoeing is finished, God looks at it to see that the corn matures." In the second hoeing, any corn which has grown between hillocks is pulled out so it will not deprive the main stalks of strength. 243

When the corn has matured, the stalks are doubled over to hasten the drying process. The mature cobs are left on the doubled-over stalks for about two weeks to ensure the maximum drying of the kernels before har-

TABLE 6. Schedule of Activities in Corn Production

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412
407

Activity	*Month*	*No. of days necessary for task*	*Helpers*	*Tools*
Clear irrigation ditches	Oct.	6		Machete, forked stick
Fence fields	Nov.	4		Machete, ax
Cut stalks of last year's crop; burn leaves and weeds	Dec.	4		Machete, forked stick
Plow land 3 times	Jan.	3	Oxen	Plow
Clear irrigation ditches	Feb.	2		Machete, forked stick
Irrigate land and leave 6 days	Feb.	2		
Select seed and put in water, leaving overnight	Mar.	1	Wife	
Measure rows and distance between hills so there will be 5 handspans between each hillock; plant corn	Mar.	1		Digging stick, string, net bag
Irrigate planted corn	Mar.	1		
First hoeing	Apr.	4	2 or 3 men	Hoe
Second hoeing	May	3	2 or 3 men	Hoe
Fix irrigated ditches	June	1		Machete
Outside employment	July–Aug.			
Double over corn and leave 15 days	Sept.	4		
Pick corn; put in net bag and degrain cobs with few kernels; carry home harvest.	Oct.	5	Wife, horse	Net bags, sticks,

SOURCE: Information from a farmer possessing ½ hectare of irrigated land in center. He has no sons and one married daughter, whose husband works in sawmill. [115]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

244 which there is a black variety and a colored variety, and (2) climbing beans, of which there are four subclasses: "painted," white, yellow, and black. Beans must be grown only in irrigated lands of highest productiv-

TABLE 8. Schedule of Activities in Wheat Production

243
464
461
412
407
221

Activity	Winter wheat	Summer wheat	No. of days necessary for task: Winter wheat	No. of days necessary for task: Summer wheat	Helpers	Tools
Clear land	Dec. 7	May 12	5	2	2 paid workers	Machete, forked stick
Irrigate land; leave soaking	Dec. 7	May 15	1	1		
Plow	Dec. 15	May 23	1	2	Oxen team	Plow
Sow seed broadcast; cover, crossing over twice	Dec. 16	May 24	1	1	Oxen team	Plow
Cut wheat	May 1	Oct. 5	2	2	2 or 3 unpaid workers	Scythe
Thresh						
Carry wheat to shelter	May 3	Oct. 7				Net bags
Horses trample wheat	May 4	Oct. 8				
Shake stalks	May 5	Oct. 9	3	3	4 or 5 unpaid workers, 5 horses	Forked stick
Scoop grains into wooden box and sift to get rid of chaff						Box with wire mesh
Put grain in burlap bags; carry to houses on horseback						Burlap bags

[115] SOURCE: Information from two informants, one who grows winter wheat and the other who grows summer wheat, both cultivating ½ hectare of irrigated land.

244 ity. The land in the center, except for the fertilized corral areas, has lately yielded a very poor harvest. People say that the soul of the bean departed when they introduced the crop to their ejido plots in hot country. The scheduling of bean production is shown in Table 9.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Guarding the crops. The crops must be guarded against intruders. The farmers sometimes sleep in the fields when they expect animals to steal the ripening corn. They observe the habits of these intruders and develop belief systems which help them organize opposition: 241 825

The raccoon steals maize seeds. He pushes down cornstalks when they are in elote and steals the cob. He is very smart. He can tell whether the owner is sleeping or not by putting his hand on his own anus. If his anus is cold, the owner is awake; if it is hot the owner is asleep and he enters.

Some men who live below in Alannantik have good dogs. They planted their milpa, and the next night wanted to hunt. "You stay with one dog,"

TABLE 9. Schedule of Activities in Bean Production

244
461
464
412

Activity	*Date*	*No. of days necessary for task*	*Helpers*	*Tools*
Cleaning and preparation of soil is same as for corn (Table 6)				
Ground beans				
Plant between rows of corn	Mar. 1	2	3 exchange workers	Digging stick
Cultivate	Apr. 19	3	2 exchange workers	Hoe
Harvest, pulling up entire plants and putting them in burlap bags	July 10	2		
Store in eaves of house				Burlap bags
When pods are very dry, beat bag with stick to depod beans	Sept. 1	2	women of household	Stick
Pole beans				
Plant, following the second hoeing of corn, setting seeds near each hillock of corn	May 2	1		Digging stick
Wind the vines up on corn stalk; tie	June	1		
Cut pods and store in burlap bags in eaves of house	Nov.	1		Burlap bags
Shell beans as they are used				

SOURCE: Same as for Table 6.

[115]

342 177 178 434 of witchcraft. Today probably 95 percent of the new roofs are made of tile. Often the old roofs cannot be replaced with tile because the rafters were not built to support them. One result of the change has been the dependence on a carpenter to construct the gables, since they have to be lined up more accurately than they do with thatch or palm roofs. [335]

361 351 434 House lots in the town center are preferred to those on the margins. As residents of house sites on the ejido lands at the margins of the town acquire wealth, one of the first things they try to do is acquire a house closer to the plaza. These lots are smaller, averaging about 500 square meters, while those farther out average 900 square meters. In a sample measurement of 100 house lots, the size ranged from 180 to 1,440 square meters, and the average size was 77 square meters. Considering the advantages of a large lot in growing chile fruits and corn, the preference for smaller central lots reveals the strong prestige factor influencing choice. [554]

352 435 House furnishings include both purchased and homemade items. Sleeping accommodations consist of wooden bedboards, either nailed on a frame or simply laid on blocks and covered with a straw mat. Woolen blankets from Comitán are sold locally at a price of 24 pesos or for 20 pesos in San Cristóbal and 18 pesos in Comitán. Most households own two or three wooden benches which line the walls of the porch and are made locally. Small chairs are purchased from Chamula carpenters at a cost of 2 to 4 pesos, as well as a small table costing about 4. A higher table is provided for the saints' pictures and candle holders, incense burner, and flower vases or tin cans. Hooks are fashioned from the crotch of trees and suspended on the house posts. Wooden boxes are bought from Ladino carpenters in San Cristóbal at a cost of 10 to 20 pesos depending on size and workmanship and are used to store clothing. In addition to the homemade water holders, water carriers, comales, strainers, and bowls, handmade glazed ware from San Cristóbal, factory-made porcelain dishes, metal cooking pots, knives, and spoons are purchased. Gourds provide serving ware for ceremonial occasions. Stone grinding platforms and rollers are purchased in San Cristóbal for about 10 pesos. Two new items have become increasingly popular in the past five years: a metal grinding machine for corn, hand operated and costing from 40 to 60 pesos depending on the size and quality, and a hinged press for tortillas, costing 15 pesos if made [513] [778] [322] 415 435 439 [412] 435 415 177

[P. 198 G]

252
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412
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Plate 8. Women of a household and their helpers grinding corn and making tortillas with a press in preparation for a house ceremony. They are all dressed in the traditional costume. Most of such food preparation is done inside the house except at the time of large festivals. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

291
415
516
756
778

Plate 9. Curer sitting next to the center post where he has just arranged the candles and branches of spring bushes in preparation for the house fiesta. The basket contains the protective crosses, bound with palm fronds, which he will nail on the house posts. The basin contains springwater, and the gourd in the foreground contains the powdered medicines which will be added to the water and drunk. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

There is no double standard for extramarital sexual relations, although men abuse the prohibition more often than women, judging from court cases. The ability the women has to assert herself rests on her economic contribution in pottery-making and on the fact that female household help is not part of the labor market.

Female sexuality has the connotation of negative power over male sexuality. A woman should not step over a man's feet or his clothing since she could affect his virility. This negative power emanates from the odors of a woman's body, and is captured by anything in contact with it. A woman's skirt cast over the head of a bull can tame him, and the water used by a woman to wash her body, particularly the vagina if she has had children, is drunk to cure snake bites because it is very "cold."

Sexuality is seldom extended beyond persons to material objects. There is some feeling that a man's tools, especially the machete and hoe, are male and that a woman's tools, especially the grinding stone, are female. Corn is a crop of men, while beans are a woman's crop, identified with the Virgin. But I could not get much farther with such distinctions.

The accidents of birth determine the recruitment of successive generations into the family of orientation. There is no outright adoption, but a child may be "lent" to a childless couple, usually by a sibling of one of the spouses, or a grandchild may take up residence in the house of a grandparent when all the children have moved to separate residences. Parents discipline a badly behaved child with the threat, "I am going to sell you to care for someone's house," but I have never known of a case of outright sale of a child.

The selection of a spouse is a decision based on both universalistic as well as particularistic considerations. Both the boy and the girl should be hardworking, sober, and dutiful residents of the same section of the dual division. It is considered to be of greater importance that the boy feel affection toward the girl than vice versa. The "taking of the heart" is a test of the strength and exclusiveness of the boy's interest in his chosen mate, and there is no counterpart for the girl. Although there is no term for romantic love, the closest approximation being "want" or "ask for" a woman, there is an awareness of the importance of a warm, affectionate basis if a marriage relationship is to last "at least until the day after tomorrow." A suitor is accepted if he is known to be a hard worker and if he

square. Although this conception is contradicted by knowledge learned in 772
school, the two concepts are not brought into direct opposition. The town 361
still defines the outer limit of most meaningful social relations, and most people are not forced by the circumstances of their lives to deal with an understanding of the world as round. It is enough that the four "sides" of their village be protected by crosses at the points of entry. The important orientation points are the east, referred to as the "coming out of the sun," and the west, referred to as "the sleeping place of the sun." North and south are referred to as lowland and highland because of the topography. Compass orientation is important behaviorally only at death. The body of [764]
the deceased is laid out in the cemetery with the head to the east. Indians [829]
comment that the Ladinos lay the body out with the head to the west, but Indians of other towns, such as Zinacantan, also do so. The cemetery is located on the western side of the town.

The House

The reference to the house in prayer as "the entry to suffering, inside 342
the poverty" suggests the "cult of poverty" which Wolf (1955:459) points [782]
out as characteristic of closed corporate Indian communities. Most people conform to a standard house size of five square meters subdivided into an interior sleeping and living area and a porch (Fig. 8). The walls are made of mud strengthened with lime packed in a framework of poles supported on nine main posts. The roofs are pitched with four sheds rising steeply to a truncated ridge. Tiles are used in most new houses to cover the roof, but there are still many thatched palm or wooden shingle roofs. Corn and [251]
beans are stored in the rafters under the eaves of the house.

Inside the house, beds line the two side walls. If there is no cooking [352]
shack separate from the house, the hearth is placed in the center of the in- [354]
terior room. The grinding stone, raised on three posts, is placed to the left [412]
of the center post.

The porch is the area for ceremonial gatherings and for making and storing pottery. A table with the pictures of household saints set against [353]
the inside wall, is adorned with flowers and candles. During house fiestas, [796]
men sit on the benches lining the four walls of the porch, while the [562]
women sit inside in a semicircle.

805 lating the time of day; when I questioned them as to the hour, they were often as much as an hour off, usually behind.

Most activities are ordered with reference to the Gregorian calendar, but the twenty-day Maya calendrical month, defined as "twenty days or a month" is used in much the same way that we use "a fortnight." The In-
805 dians consider the moon to be an uncertain indicator of time, since "she
821 does not walk well." But the moon is important in the culture: people note its different phases and are especially aware of the phase under which a child is born—an important sign for the newborn's future. If a baby is
[856] born at the full moon, he is expected to mature more readily. The full
[087] moon also signifies a propitious time for undertaking certain activities, such as cutting wood for the main posts of a house and cutting palm for the roof.

The Daily Schedule

512
462 Daily activities are organized by traditional economic pursuits. The woman is the first one to rise in the morning. She gets up at dawn, lights
[252] the fire, and sets a jar of water to boil for coffee. She grinds the nixtamal cooked the night before on the stone grinding board, or takes it to the mill
[412] in the center. She then makes tortillas either by hand or with a re-
[177] cent innovation made of two hinged pieces of wood in which the ball of
[178] dough is set between pieces of plastic paper.

The men of the household are served first, followed by the boys; the
[264] women and girls eat last. As soon as they have eaten, the men and boys who have finished the required three years of schooling go out to the
[481] fields to work. They walk single file even in the streets of the town, the fa-
[482] ther preceding his sons. Each carries a machete, net bag, tumpline, and sheepskin back-protector if he plans to carry any loads. Many bring shot-
[411] guns as well in order to hunt for field rats, raccoon, or the burrowing ani-
[224] mals they find in the fields.

After the men leave, the women go to the porch and "seize their work."
[857] The children go to school, which begins at eight-thirty in the morning
[872] and continues until five o'clock in the evening. They return home for
[264] lunch, a meal of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans or chayote when it is in season.

412 (*eché*), hoe (*asron*), machete (*machit*), coa (*luk*), and digging stick (*avutel*). In a 243 few towns (Amatenango), where lands are [409] flat, the plow is made of wood and pulled by oxen but only for wheat farming. During [415] corn planting, the seed is carried by the planter in a *morral* hung from the shoulder, [824] in a gourd with a large spout, or in con- [237] tainers made of armadillo shells. The harvested crops are placed in deep baskets, made of reed-grass, or in big pita (*chojak*) [412] net bags. The ear of corn is cleared of its [237] husk by a sharp bone or a small deer horn.

322 The axe, machete, and knife are used in 412 wood working, which is very rudimentary, though handsaw and hammer have a place. With these tools the Indians make doors, tables, seats, small benches, shelves. Blom [534] and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:351) add that the Tzeltal near Ocosingo also make violins of a shape similar to the European type, but they have no resonance and poor tone. They also manufacture pipes and combs roughly [463] finished. No village of this group has specialists in carpentry to compare with the Chamulas (Tzotzil-speaking), who supply furniture at low cost to San Cristobal de las Casas and other places of the area.

324 Stone carving requires a pickaxe with 412 one end very sharp, the other very flat to serve as a hammer, and a short wooden handle. This is the tool used in Tenejapa for making metates. These metates have three legs, but Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:338) mention metates without legs (Ocosingo municipio) which are made of volcanic stone found along the San Martin River. According to the Tzeltal of Oxchuc, the name of the metate is *chá*, its handle *kab-chá*.

412 An iron bar to break the ground, an axe, and a machete are the tools for building huts, chickencoops, sweat houses, and other small structures.

283 Another tool, used in the making of pita 413 rope, is *karet*, which probably comes from the Spanish *carreta*. It consists of a wooden disc fixed to a tree trunk that is nailed to

[P. 206-A]

283 the ground. This disc has two hooks to
413 which the fiber is knotted; when the disc is turned by a crank, it braids the fibers into rope. A thick board, smoothed by a metal knife (manufactured by the Indians from iron pieces bought in the city), is used to scrape the pita and remove the fiber.

407 The most complex machine that the Tzel-
[177] tal own and build is the wooden cane press, which was imported by the Spaniards to grind sugarcane (fig. 6). This machine is operated by two men, who move the rollers by a handle (*kabal-té*) at each end of the
[415] machine. The juice pressed out by the rollers drops into fluted containers made of pieces of banana tree, and finally into a pot. This
273 juice is used in the preparation of an alcoholic beverage, *chicha* (*chi-ja*, 'sweet water'), and for panela. Chicha is prepared by
[415] fermenting this juice by bran, corn, or wheat, in a special container (*canoja*) made from a fluted tree trunk. The bran or other fermenting agent is *smé-chi-já* ('mother of
[184] the chicha'). Some communities (Tenejapa, Cancuc, Oxchuc) have greater preference for this beverage than other Tzeltal groups.

224 A gun has become very common in hunt-
411 ing. Sometimes (Oxchuc and Tenejapa) rabbits are taken by striking them with a
[412] coa, after cornering them with the aid of dogs. Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:352) state that the Tzeltal of the lowlands usually hunt wild boar with long wooden spears with fire-hardened or metal points. Traps protect the milpa as well as snaring game.

41 Cooking utensils are mainly indigenous. The usual set consists of clay containers of varying size and shape, jícaras, baskets, wooden spoons, a comal, a metate, hooks, and wooden tripods for hanging items over
177 the fire. In the last few years metal pots,
404 dishes, frying pans, boiling pans, and espe-
415 cially handy *nixtamal* mills (which are gradually displacing the grinding stone)
177 have been introduced. Other items that
207 come from the city are flashlights, small
405 kerosene lamps, watches, scissors, and (in-
412 frequently) battery radios.
416
[P 206-B]

c: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

352 utensils pertaining to the other room include three tables of varying form and size. One of these, about 60 cm. high, is called *akhinsel*,[21] and serves as a support for the metate (*chá*). Another smaller table (*matzamalté*) has three legs and is circular in form, it is used in making tortillas. The third table (*ucbalté*), also small but quadrangular, is used in serving food. Three benches of hollow logs •415 (*tzantel*) and small chairs (*taburetes*) serve as seats. Deep baskets and gasoline 251 boxes are used for holding clothes. Hanging from the roof is always to be seen a disk made of vines (*likin-nab*). This is used to keep comestibles from the rats. The other implements are the griddle, pots, and other vessels of clay, and calabashes and gourds in various forms and dimensions.

343 Besides the fowl pen (*na-mut*) and the pigpen (*na-chitán*) it is common to [417] see near the house the temazcal, or steam bath (*pus*). It is made of clay and irregularly shaped stones; it is rectangular with a small door in front and a ventilator in the rear. It is usual to cover it with a small shelter of straw. The use of the temazcal [184] is common in the highlands. It is almost not to be found from Ocozingo northward.

29 Each village has its own costume; however, local variations conform to a 184 certain pattern which changes according to the altitudes and climate. Thus, in the region of Los Altos the usual pattern of dress is the following: for men, short cotton trousers (*uex*)[22] and cotton shirt (*ku*) reaching to the knees, a sash (*chukichut*)[22] of wool or cotton and in most cases red in color, a poncho (*tzotz*) made of wool and in most cases dark grey in color, a handkerchief (*chuhkil*), a straw hat (*pixol*), and leather sandals (*xanab*); women wear a white blouse (*ku*) and a blue shirt (*tzequel*), both made either of wool or of cotton, and a red woolen sash (*chukichut*). Some women in going out-of-doors add a woolen *rebozo*. Women use also a cotton cloth (*sitz-cal*) to carry small children. They wear no footgear.

In the tierra caliente the dress of the women is almost the same except that it is cleaner. On the other hand that of the men, although equally clean, presents marked differences: the trousers are longer and the shirt shorter, coming to resemble an open blouse or *guayabera*. The sash and the poncho cease to be indispensable [177] garments. It is in this region that there is most use of trousers and shirt in European style.

551 In Tenejapa, Starr found that the Indians had Tzeltal surnames. He says, 582 "We feel sure that these are *not* nicknames, but the old family names still preserved."[23] He does not give examples, and says nothing about any relation between 114 these name-groups and marriage. Blom and LaFargé make no note of such names, and say "there are no formal restrictions on marriage."[24]

582 Villa found Indian surnames present in Chanal, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc, 551 and was told that marriage is not allowed, or is at least strongly discouraged, between persons of the same Indian surname. In Chanal an informant indicated that such

[184] [21] The names of these objects vary from one village to another; those which are described here were obtained in Chanal.

[22] The names of some of these garments vary likewise from one village to another; here Villa gives names used in Chanal.

[23] Starr, 1904, p. 75.

[24] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359.

241 boiled beans; other tamales (*petul*), which
252 are made from dough and whole beans;
262 and finally, still more atole. The atole is
574 served not in individual *jicaras* but in two
272 or three large ones (*batzil-booch*), which
[415] are passed from person to person. The same is done with the other foods; they are served in one or two large pots (*mucul pulato*) out of which everyone serves himself. This banquet is given only on the first
241 day of the planting; if other days are re-
574 quired, the milpero himself does the planting.

241 Since weeds grow rapidly during the rain season, the milpa must be hoed twice before it reaches maturity. For this the luk or coa is used and also the hoe (*asron*), the same one used to break the soil before planting. The first weeding is done in June, the second between July and August. Women
[462] help their husbands in this chore and some-
[566] times do it entirely themselves, since the
[464] men are in the habit of leaving for Tapachula to work as peons on the coffee plantations.

244 Also in the milpa beans of several varieties are planted: *chuil-chenek* (or *ibes*, according to the Ladinos); *botil*, a large common bean; *xakil-chenek* or *frijol de vara*; and the *x-luumil-chenek* or *frijol de la tierra*, thus called because it is a creeping plant.

Chile is planted on a separate lot, 15–20 m. square. The planting is done during the first weeks of March, in alternate years so that it will not coincide with the year when the people of Cancuc plant cotton. Chile planted by the people of Oxchuc is *dzajalik* or red chile.

241 Toward the end of August, the first fruits are ready (*unimajam* or *jilote*, according to Ladinos). These are received with great joy by the families which are by then lack-
[242] ing food. From each plant, which provides two or three *jilotes*, the farthest down is picked to let the other two grow bigger.
[252] These jilotes are boiled without salt and
[263] are eaten whole, including the husks.
[262] [P 201-A]

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[P.206-A]

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177 have been introduced. Other items that
207 come from the city are flashlights, small
405 kerosene lamps, watches, scissors, and (in-
412 frequently) battery radios.
416
[P 206-B]

342 lages of the lowlands where the houses have
[354] small windows, which improve ventilation
342 and illumination slightly. In places like
184 Chanal, where there is abundant lumber, the sides of the houses are built with wooden boards set vertically. The largest and best-built houses are in Tenejapa center.

Generally, the hut is divided into two rooms: the front is parlor and kitchen, the rear is bedroom. In Bachajon the rear room serves as bedroom and kitchen, the front room for sewing and grinding and the re-
[574] ception of visitors. In Amatenango del Valle the front of the house is open and
[323] used as a porch for visits. Ceramic work
[251] is also performed here. In one room of the house a bin of wood or reeds stores corn.
[343] Sometimes, small structures which serve as granaries are built inside the hut.

343 Among the auxiliary structures outside is
515 the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. Not every hut has a *pus* since one is enough to attend the needs of several neighboring families. The *pus* is a small room 1.5 m. high by 2 m. on each side, built of stones and clay. The roof is flat. Inside a hollow forms a hearth for heating stones. Water thrown on these red-hot stones produces the necessary steam. On the floor are boards on which people lie while taking the bath.
[184] Among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil the *pus* is
[757] not only for cleanliness but also for the cure
[846] of certain diseases and to strengthen women after childbirth. Sweat baths are more commonly taken in Tierra Fria than in Tierra Caliente.

417 The other structures near the hut are the chickencoop and the hogpen.

352 Furniture is limited to essential items. In the kitchen are the three hearth stones, the comal (*samet*), the grinding stone (*chá*), a bench or strong table to hold the metate (*ah-ken*), one or two small tables (*matzmalté* or *vebalté*) 25–39 cm. high and 30–40 cm. in diameter, and small benches 15–20 cm. high made of scooped-out tree trunks
• 415 (*tzanté*). Kitchen equipment includes earthenware (pans, pitchers, and jars) and
[P. 207-B]

415 containers made of jícara (*boch*) or tecomate (*tzu*). In the bedroom is a bed
352 (*uaybal*) made of boards placed on four
[513] forked poles, usually with a sleeping mat
[735] on it. Only the very poor sleep on mats on the floor. Small chairs, wooden chests for
[415] clothes, baskets of all shapes and sizes, pita bags and nets, shelves made of wood ribs, and pegs for hanging clothes are scattered around the hut without order.

353 The most important article is the altar
798 with the family cross. Its construction varies in different areas: it may be a plain small table made of tree trunks or better material. The altar is generally ornamented with pine needles. Occasionally, the figure of a saint is placed by the cross.

Clothing and Ornaments

291 Each community has its own style of
184 clothing, which gives a sense of unity to its members and permits the observer to identify easily the groups during fiestas or market days. This variety applies only to a few items of clothing, which is basically the
291 same for the entire region. Men's costume consists of short pants (*uesh*) and a long shirt (*nátil-kú*) which reaches the knee, both made of cloth that women weave; a red sash or belt (*chuj-chut*) of cotton, 10–15 cm. wide by 1.5 m. long; a palm hat (*pishol*); and leather sandals (*shanabil*). Residents of cold areas wear a woolen chamarra which is manufactured by the Chamulas. Women's costume consists of a skirt made of wool (*tzek*) or blue thick cloth, made in one piece and wrapped around the body with two pleats in front; it is belted at the waist by a red wool sash, which the Chamulas manufacture. Occasionally, they
301 wear a wool rebozo. They tie their hair with a red woolen ribbon (*malal*) and wear earrings (*yulel-chikinil*) and glass necklaces
291 (*ual*) bought in the city. Women always go barefoot, even during long trips. When outdoors they cover their heads with a cloth or wool fabric.

[184] Each municipio has made of these clothes
[P.208-A]

804 *Shucubil* ("codo"): Distance from the elbow to the end of the middle finger extended.
Jaub ("braza" or "brazada"): Distance between the ends of both extended arms.
Yankabal (equivalent to the meter): Distance from the armpit to the extended middle finger of the opposite hand.

[484] The "legua" is also used and is equivalent to the distance a man can walk during one hour (approximately 5 km.).

Of square measures used for the milpa, the most common is the *tarea* (equivalent to a square of 8 jaubs). This is equivalent to a square of 16 m., which is very close to the mecate used by the Yucatec Maya.

The standard most often used for measuring maize or beans is the *almud*, which among the Tzeltal of Cancuc, Oxchuc, and Tenejapa, is equivalent to 4 *quartillas* (each quartilla is equivalent to 8 large *borcelanas*). The borcelana is an earthen cup or pot, which can be either small or large. The large one is equivalent to ½ kg. of maize, the small one to ¼ kg. of maize. The borcelana is used to measure chile.

[415]

Economics

241 *Division of Labor and Specialization*

462 Care of the milpa is men's work, but sometimes women help with light tasks such as weeding or harvesting. Seeding does not require great effort, but it is considered a job for men exclusively. Women may participate in chile seeding—but in the planting only; the holes in the ground can be made only by men, who use a *macana* or planting stick. Cutting and carrying firewood are tasks for men, but women may perform them when men cannot. Women can handle an axe or machete skillfully. Fetching water, from river or fountain, is work for women. It is considered inappropriate and ridiculous that a man carry a cantaro on the hip. Laundry and all kitchen duties are performed by women, as well as spinning, knitting, sewing, embroidering, and making of earthenware. Manufacture

462

[P 209-A]

[Text continues on p. 210-B]

4 Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Tenejapa

142
291
415
302
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FIG. 5—TENEJAPA GROUP WITH VESSELS CONTAINING CHICHA. (Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 214-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

412 stone, *ton-al-ha'*, ("water stone"). The other, *skaltca-muk* ("big metate") was made of an igneous stone called *hayáltcak*, brought from San Martín. The *manos*, or smaller stones used for grinding on these, were called *miscabtca* (fig. 290). To the left, opposite 354 this table, was the fire, *kak'*, built of two broken ollas and two small rocks, placed so that the logs could be laid star-fashion between them, and close enough together to support the tortilla griddle or 354 an olla (fig. 291). Outside the house was another fire, with only 251 three stones, on which was drying a basket full of *pinole*, *tcilim*, a 252 fruit which is mixed with cacao in a form of chocolate. Over the house fireplace racks, *bartet*, were placed at the level of the eaves 354 across the corner, and along the wall to the middle post, that things 353 hung up there might be protected by the smoke from insects. All 417 these things are indicated in the plan.

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FIG. 290—Table with Metates.

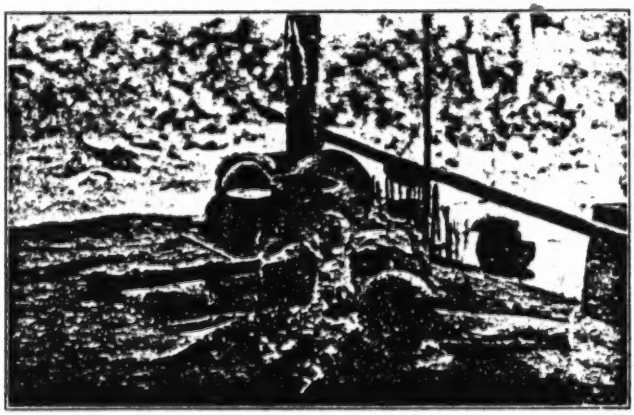
352 A hammock, *aktci*, which we understood was not of native make, hung across the middle of the house. Two woven mats, *pOp*, the Spanish *petate*, lay on the beds. Beside this, the beds, and the table, the only thing that could properly be called furniture was a three-[287] legged stool about 80 centimeters high, *matsumte*. Two mats of pounded bark, or tapa, *bat-te* ("bark tree"), or *bat manil tcahan*, were rolled up in a corner. First comers got the hammock to lie in, others sat on the low "squatting seats," *tsamate*, of which there were three, made each of half a log, peeled, and partially flattened on top, with a handle on one end.

415 The tortilla griddle was a flat, dish-like pottery affair, about 40 centimeters in diameter. There were five ollas, *ŏcom*, with plain

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

necks and round bottoms. Two were full of corn and lime for 415
tortillas, just off the fire. A big Tenango jar, *k'ip*, of the kind to be described at that place, was used for water.

A pottery dish, about 7 centimeters across, *tsets*, is commonly [515]
offered to guests to wash their hands. It is placed on a pottery stand [574]
of an hour-glass shape, about 15 centimeters high, *awaliko* (see fig. 299). The ordinary plates and general vessels are flat gourd dishes, *qai'*, about 20 centimeters across. Gourds as well were used for a dipper, *tuts*, and a water-jar, *tsux*. Two nets hung from the rack. 353
There were three small baskets, *tutemotc*, and four big ones, *mukulmotc*. Hanging on the wall were a pair of the basket-work sandals mentioned before, and selected ears of corn for seed. The wife's 283
textile outfit, more fully described later, consisted of a spindle, *pětět*, 286



354

FIG. 291—Bachajon Fireplace.

with clay whorl, spun in a gourd bowl, *tsima*, cotton, *t'umin*, hang- 283
ing in leaves, and the loom itself, *holěl*. A sling, made of a forked 286
stick and rubber band with a leather piece to take the clay pellet, 411
finmutc, belonged to the small boy. Bananas were drying on the rack. With them were laid, or hanging in packages of leaves, bees- 353
wax, *tcavek*, blocks, 20 x 20 x 2 centimeters, for trade purposes, 237
used for making candles, a lump of hard red clay, *baq lum* ("bitter [251]
earth"), for washing the hair, and sometimes also eaten, a package of brown loaf sugar, salt, *atsam*, traded down from the Zotzil country, several packages of pimiento pepper, and serpent fat, *junto tcan*, for rubbing on the chest to cure coughs. Under the table was a 353
basket of coarse, blackish-gray clay for making pottery, *tcavek lum* [323]
("beeswax earth"). Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

353 Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail
[231] hung in the eaves so that the dogs might see them, to prevent their
[415] going away or losing heart. A swizzle stick, *mahas*, about 40 centimeters long, was used for stirring cocoa. It is made by cutting a
[224] twig above a joint with four branches. Two rat traps, *yakul*, just outside the hut, were exact models of the larger deadfalls used for jaguars (see fig. 308).

[291] Add to this the clothes on the inhabitants backs, and the man's
[411] machete, and you will have a complete list of the worldly possessions, large and small, of a Bachajon family—altogether some forty-four different kinds of things. We assembled as many together as pos-
[126] sible, arranging them as for a feast, and placed in the middle the small son of the house, and a little monkey of a boy, Miguel, who accompanied us to run errands (fig. 292).

342 [516] [291] [415] [123] [122]

Fig. 292—Bachajon boy guests.

If mud-plastered walls are added to this description, you have a typical Ocosingo Valley house. Change the grass roof to palm, it is the kind to be seen in the jungle country.

At Muxculja (*muckul ha*, "Covered Water"), in the jungle, our Indians built us a trail shelter or hut of the type called in Spanish *champa*, and in Tzeltal *tutna'*, "small house." This enabled us to note the manner of building the frame-work and laying on the roof. The kind of *champa* built for us, with an A-roof and gable ends, is called *gwakac na'*, "cow house"; the more common type built by the Indians when alone, a simple lean-to, is called *lestce-pat* (should be *lestce-pahk?*) "only one wall."

Our shelter being more than usually pretentious, we could observe most of the steps in building a true house, although, of course, the form here was different and the construction much lighter (figs. 293-294). It was three meters, fifty-one centimeters long by three meters wide, two meters high at the ridge-pole, one at the eaves.
[461] It had no walls. From the construction of the outline of the frame to the completed thatching it took fifty minutes for four men, later only two, working without haste.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

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FIG. 311—Tenango, Chia. Street Scene.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

286 and often have no fringe. We were told that it was impossible to
123 see a woman weaving at that time, but by persistent stalking the
126 writer finally managed to locate a girl at work, whom he observed
286 and sketched from behind a bush. The women here were so consistently shy that no doubt she would have rolled up her loom, which was of just the same type as the one seen at Sivacá, and fled into the house had she known she was observed. Our procession through this very pretty village, too, was a serious affair—distinguished strangers being shown around town by the mayor—and had none of the cheerful joking and general *bonhommie* that produced such friendliness and good results at Sivacá.

241 Something more should be said about the agriculture here. Ordinarily, Indians go out to choose their own land in the bush and

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FIG. 319—Tenango, Chis. La Farge drawing pottery.

241 plant it with little cultivation, placing the corn close together. Here each family has its land assigned to it by the council. As the same field must be planted year after year, the hills of corn are widely spaced, and the ground is turned over as deeply as possible by means of heavy hoes, *ak'en*, purchased in San Cristóbal. As was said, every-
[417] thing is fenced as much as possible. When some of our pack animals got loose in a field, the excitement was intense. In the yards of the houses they raise corn, beans, and a plant related to tobacco. This
824] plant grows nearly as tall as a man. The leaf is rubbed on their legs to cure fatigue. It is carried with lime in a small gourd and offered and accepted for chewing with much the same bowing and formalities as obtained among our ancestors when offering snuff.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

that he was invited into her house, presumably to take shelter from 123
the evening rain that was beginning to fall. The house, of which he 342
sketched a hurried plan (fig. 324) was more rectangular than is [126]
usual, the prevailing type being square with a pyramidal roof. He
entered through a low doorway, closed with a wooden door on leather hinges. Although the ridge of the roof was high, the many cross poles reaching from the top [417]
of one wall to the other made it necessary to stoop. [196]
The writer squatted by the door, facing the fire, [273]
which smoked merrily in the closed room. The
old woman immediately set to shaping a pile of
tortillas for baking. Along either wall was a well- 352
made bench, decorated with notches along the top [531]
and geometric designs on the back, similar to the
benches on the Cabildo porch (fig. 325). These
and a sturdy table that was stored on top of the
stringers were said to be purely local products.
By the door stood a big jar, a full meter in height, 353
crude and undecorated (fig. 326). There was the [415]
usual collection of ollas and gourds, and one other new form, an open-mouthed pot about eight centimeters high and as many in diameter, flat bottomed, with a handle on one side, called *hütc* (fig. 327). In the thick smoke, it was hard to see anything. I was in-

Fig. 323—Cancuc, Chis. Drinking scaffold.

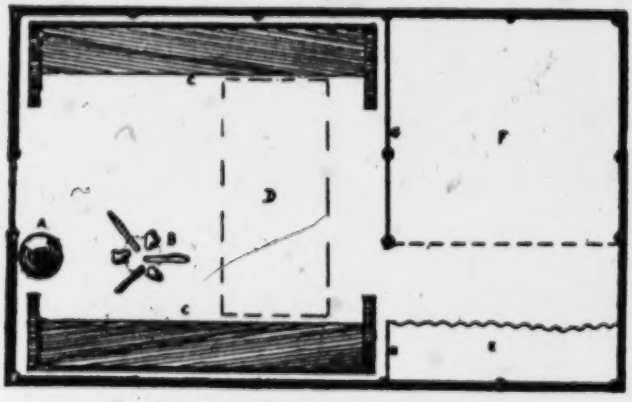

Fig. 324—Cancuc, Chis. Plan of House.

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terested to note that my hostess' eyes watered nearly as much as my 353
own. In the darker end of the house I could make out corn stacked neatly along one wall, and a partition that presumably hid the beds. For a while the woman answered the few questions that I could make 124
her understand by means of signs, my half-a-dozen words of Tzeltal, 123

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

124 and her three words of Spanish. Then she grew hostile, answering
123 everything with a plaintive *"Ma snaa,"* "I don't know." This went on for two or three minutes, then suddenly she flung open the door and waved me out with no uncertain gesture, saying something about the "Presidente Municipal," and the "Secretario." By this time it was pouring cats and dogs, but there was nothing to do save run for it.

284 Cancuc is not noted for any product. There are about the same
322 arts and industries as at other towns, but the only ones that amount to anything like a specialty are netmaking and whittling combs. The combs are better and more neatly made than those of the Bachajon, and with a selection of the wood for grain that often produces very pretty combinations. The nets are made by the men, who

[352]
[531]
←
[415]
→

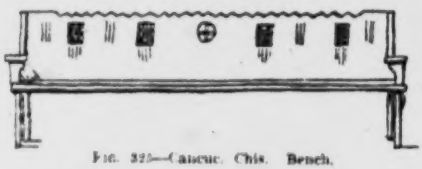

Fig. 325—Cancuc. Chis. Bench.

Fig. 327. Cancuc. Chis. Pottery. Hilte. (8 c.m. high).

Fig. 326—Cancuc. Chis. Tall Jar. (1 m. high).

go about rolling the twine or knitting as they walk. The process was described in the last chapter.

485 Being on the main highway, the government maintains a long shed, like a wagon-shed, thatched with leaves and grass, which is at the disposal of travelers. This relieves the Maestro of duties of entertainment. Towards nightfall, various groups came into camp here, a family of Mexicans, with a big fire, and goods piled high, two traders with their packs, some Chamulas, fine-looking men dressed in white wool tunics, with flowing cotton kerchiefs round their heads, and a couple of Tenejapeños with nets full of apples. The Chamulas, who are remarkably progressive Indians, had come in with a string of mules. After dark, the line of fires in the divisions of the shed, the talk, the fire-lit figures in their varied costumes, with the Church and houses rising on the terraced hill behind made as picturesque and charming a scene as one could possibly imagine.

342 177 178 434 of witchcraft. Today probably 95 percent of the new roofs are made of tile. Often the old roofs cannot be replaced with tile because the rafters were not built to support them. One result of the change has been the dependence on a carpenter to construct the gables, since they have to be lined up more accurately than they do with thatch or palm roofs. [335]

361 351 434 House lots in the town center are preferred to those on the margins. As residents of house sites on the ejido lands at the margins of the town acquire wealth, one of the first things they try to do is acquire a house closer to the plaza. These lots are smaller, averaging about 500 square meters, while those farther out average 900 square meters. In a sample measurement of 100 house lots, the size ranged from 180 to 1,440 square meters, and the average size was 77 square meters. Considering the advantages of a large lot in growing chile fruits and corn, the preference for smaller central lots reveals the strong prestige factor influencing choice. [554]

352 435 [513] House furnishings include both purchased and homemade items. Sleeping accommodations consist of wooden bedboards, either nailed on a frame or simply laid on blocks and covered with a straw mat. Woolen blankets from Comitán are sold locally at a price of 24 pesos or for 20 pesos in San Cristóbal and 18 pesos in Comitán. Most households own two or three wooden benches which line the walls of the porch and are made locally. Small chairs are purchased from Chamula carpenters at a cost of 2 to 4 pesos, as well as a small table costing about 4. A higher table is provided for the saints' pictures and candle holders, incense burner, and flower vases or tin cans. Hooks are fashioned from the crotch of trees and suspended on the house posts. Wooden boxes are bought from Ladino carpenters in San Cristóbal at a cost of 10 to 20 pesos depending on size and workmanship and are used to store clothing. In addition to the homemade water holders, water carriers, comales, strainers, and bowls, handmade glazed ware from San Cristóbal, factory-made porcelain dishes, metal cooking pots, knives, and spoons are purchased. Gourds provide serving ware for ceremonial occasions. Stone grinding platforms and rollers are purchased in San Cristóbal for about 10 pesos. Two new items have become increasingly popular in the past five years: a metal grinding machine for corn, hand operated and costing from 40 to 60 pesos depending on the size and quality, and a hinged press for tortillas, costing 15 pesos if made [778] [322] 415 435 439 [412] 435 415 177

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

of metal and 10 pesos if made of wood. These are lined with waxed paper which the local storekeeper cuts from cracker-box wrappers and sells for 5 cents each. 435 415 177

Electricity, first used in the cooperative store and later in the liquor shops, is now being installed in houses. 83 families had electricity installed in their homes by 1967. Street lights have been in operation since 1966, although the first attempt to install them was blocked by residents on the streets to be lighted who did not want to pay the tax of 1 peso per month per household to meet the cost to the community of 75 pesos a month. Most people have a flashlight, and lighting in the house is provided by pitch pine or by small kerosene lamps. Candles are used only in ceremonies. 365 [651] 354 [416]

The inventory of items sold in the cooperative store in town includes the most frequently purchased items of consumption. Hardward includes buckets, hoes, kerosene lamps, batteries, Gillette blades, shotgun bullets, canned goods such as sardines, chiles, and powdered milk. Packaged foods include rice, sugar, salt, oatmeal, cornstarch, flour, coffee, biscuits, cookies, gum, and candy. Beer is sold along with soft drinks and cigarettes. Household supplies include candles, soap, D.D.T. powder, thread, matches, and kerosene. Medicines dispensed most frequently include sulphur pills, aralin, Desenfriol, Alka-Seltzer, and Sonrisal. Yard goods for shawls, children's wraps, and men's clothing are sold along with manufactured shirts, blouses for girls, and rubber capes. Eggs as well as money are taken in payment and then sold. Except for one can of Chocomilk, which sat on the shelves for a year, all of the items are in constant demand, and provide an index to the level of living and dependency on external markets. 444 [436]

The preferences in changing consumption are limited by communal standards of what is appropriate. I once asked a man who was acquiring more than the usual income by brokerage activities what he would buy with more money. He replied, "I would get more land and cattle." I interrupted to ask what he would do to improve his standard of living. "I wouldn't get better clothing—what would I need that for? I would get a house built with good materials like this [the government-built clinic] with a cement floor. But I couldn't get it now because of envy. When my children grow up, they [the neighbors] will see them working and maybe 434 178 177 [156]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

434 178 177 I can get one then. Last year I bought a transistor radio for nine hundred and ninety pesos. My wife said she would leave me if I got it because all [053] the children would get sick. But I got it anyway and no one was sick. I am stronger than my enemies."

Innovation on the consumption level is adding a stimulus to innovation in economic activities. The successful innovator must invent a rationale for his improved standards of living and then prove that he can survive the possible evil consequences of envy. The process of adoption is one of a shift in the incidence of choices made in the direction of improving levels of living. The new is often incorporated with the old rather than replacing it. For example, after the rough preparation has been done with the mill, [252] grinding stones are used for the final grinding of corn to get the dough into the preferred consistency for making tortillas. Tin plates are used [415] along with crockery and gourds. Some items are linked in change: for ex- [291] ample, tailored pants are worn only with buttoned shirts and belts and with zippered jackets. The old forms are continued in a ceremonial con- [096] text: kotonču is preferred when a man undertakes an official role, and [415] gourds are preferred to any other container for ceremonial foods. The technology of production lags behind the changes in consumption that have increased the need for greater income—agricultural tools have not been modified since the colonial period when the wooden plow, metal hoe, machete, and plow used with draft animals were added. Changes in consumption needs rather than in productive technology are expanding the economic horizons of the Indians.

Choices and Strategies in Agricultural Production

241 In agricultural and pottery production, decision-making concerning the use of land and labor resources is controlled not only by a traditional technology but more importantly by a given state of cognitive orientations that determines, in Goodenough's words (1966:54), "what states of affairs they have learned to discern, what they believe to be the relations between them, and what they understand to be the processes by which one state can be transformed into another." Agriculturalists have a fine perception

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The truck is the focus of the desire for self-improvement, for fighting the Ladino monopoly of the road, for the antagonisms and factional strife and conflict within the community. When they bought the truck, the Indians hired a Ladino in the neighboring town as chauffeur. One of the conditions of his employment was that he would teach his Indian assistant to drive. The Ladino tried to avoid doing this since he knew it would be the end of his job. But the Indian assistant learned by observation and is now operating the truck with an Indian assistant.

Accounts of the cost and profit of the truck operation indicated a running loss. A new tarpaulin cost 1,200 pesos; there were repairs and bribes to the highway patrol. But the truck was kept in operation because the major shareholders were impressed with the power it gave them. "They [their enemies, the members of the other co-operative owned by the Ladino along with twenty members of the community] are afraid of us because of the truck," one said, and added that it was better than having a *swayohel,* the animal spirit that gives power to the curers. At the time of my last visit in 1967 the truck was making a profit. The owners were thinking of selling it and replacing it with a five-ton model.

Structural realignment has been most marked in the organization of the truck-owning cooperatives. Membership cuts across the dual division for both of the truck-owning cooperatives. The cooperative is the most important factor in local political elections (Chapter 9). The truck has become both the symbol of power and the basis for the contest for power between the factions within the community.

Contraband liquor. The number of distillers has grown in the last ten years from five to forty. The distillation process was learned by Indians from Ladinos in neighboring towns fifteen years ago. There has been no local innovation in the basic process, but a new item, used in distillation, has been introduced into pottery production, a funnel decorated in the traditional manner of the water jars and other vessels. The capital investment in the equipment for operating the still is put up by individuals or partnerships of relatives. The still is rented to people who have charge of the celebration for a saint's day, or who are involved in courtship.

Private enterprise is the favored form of organization of the distillers be-

[P.198-E]

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Plate 6. Woman scraping a cantero that has been sun-dried in the porch of her home. Behind her is an altar with pictures of the saints. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.[1]

1 (correction, this should read "photograph by Marcey Jacobson"..Analyst)

[P.198-F]

Plate 7. Types of pottery produced:

323
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532
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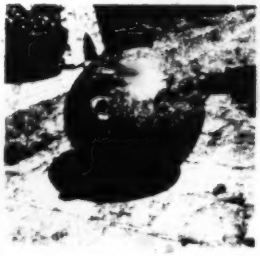
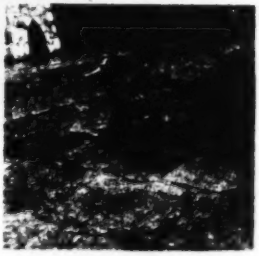
a decorated water pitcher

b water storage jar

c bowl

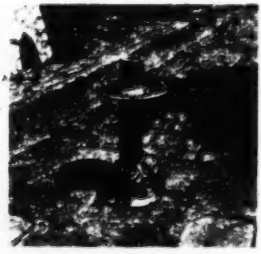


d water-carrying jar



e toy: man astride donkey

f flower holder shaped in form of duck



g candle holder

h vase on an ashtray, pedestal with three frogs

Photographs by Jean Simmons.

[P.198 G]

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Plate 8. Women of a household and their helpers grinding corn and making tortillas with a press in preparation for a house ceremony. They are all dressed in the traditional costume. Most of such food preparation is done inside the house except at the time of large festivals. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

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415
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756
778

Plate 9. Curer sitting next to the center post where he has just arranged the candles and branches of spring bushes in preparation for the house fiesta. The basket contains the protective crosses, bound with palm fronds, which he will nail on the house posts. The basin contains springwater, and the gourd in the foreground contains the powdered medicines which will be added to the water and drunk. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

351 592 571 When the people in two adjacent sitios have close social ties, they open an interior gate in the common fence, connecting the two yards. June Nash has noticed that if any disagreement [578] occurs between the people residing in the two contiguous sitios, the interior gates are barricaded even more strongly than the remainder of the fence, symbolically severing social communication (Nash, J: 1959).

351 592 Inside the sitios, there are several areas of activity (see Fig. 10): the front yard (ti?naie) where animals are tied [343] [342] when brought to the sitio, where corn is put to dry, etc., and where there are buildings (hna) such as the cook-house and others [241] which serve as sleeping quarters. The back yard is the place where things are stored and where a small garden is cultivated. [415] There are other spots, such as the place for the water jugs, the [252] place for washing the mixtamal (corn mesh used for making tortillas), [343] the sweat bath, etc.

342 The buildings themselves are mainly wattle and daub with thatch or palm roofs in the traditional Mayan pattern. There is, nevertheless, some variation in the use of cane, shingles and planks for walls, or tile roofs, which indicates a desire to imitate ladino ways rather than the wealth of the household. The houses have small porches which serve as "living room," places for receiving visitors, grooming, cleaning corn, or enjoying the twilight after a good day's work (see Figs. 10 and 11).

House Ritual

342 592 The building of a new house is an important social event

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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Fig. 11.--House Viewed from the Street Gate

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

283 the ground. This disc has two hooks to
413 which the fiber is knotted; when the disc is turned by a crank, it braids the fibers into rope. A thick board, smoothed by a metal knife (manufactured by the Indians from irón pieces bought in the city), is used to scrape the pita and remove the fiber.

407 The most complex machine that the Tzel-
[177] tal own and build is the wooden cane press, which was imported by the Spaniards to grind sugarcane (fig. 6). This machine is operated by two men, who move the rollers by a handle (*kabal-té*) at each end of the
[415] machine. The juice pressed out by the rollers drops into fluted containers made of pieces of banana tree, and finally into a pot. This
273 juice is used in the preparation of an alcoholic beverage, *chicha* (*chi-ja*, 'sweet water'), and for panela. Chicha is prepared by
[415] fermenting this juice by bran, corn, or wheat, in a special container (*canoja*) made from a fluted tree trunk. The bran or other fermenting agent is *smé-chi-já* ('mother of
[184] the chicha'). Some communities (Tenejapa, Cancuc, Oxchuc) have greater preference for this beverage than other Tzeltal groups.

224 A gun has become very common in hunt-
411 ing. Sometimes (Oxchuc and Tenejapa) rabbits are taken by striking them with a
[412] coa, after cornering them with the aid of dogs. Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:352) state that the Tzeltal of the lowlands usually hunt wild boar with long wooden spears with fire-hardened or metal points. Traps protect the milpa as well as snaring game.

41 Cooking utensils are mainly indigenous. The usual set consists of clay containers of varying size and shape, jícaras, baskets, wooden spoons, a comal, a metate, hooks, and wooden tripods for hanging items over
177 the fire. In the last few years metal pots,
404 dishes, frying pans, boiling pans, and espe-
415 cially handy *nixtamal* mills (which are gradually displacing the grinding stone)
177 have been introduced. Other items that
207 come from the city are flashlights, small
405 kerosene lamps, watches, scissors, and (in-
412 frequently) battery radios.
416
[P 206-B]

of metal and 10 pesos if made of wood. These are lined with waxed paper which the local storekeeper cuts from cracker-box wrappers and sells for 5 cents each. 435 415 177

Electricity, first used in the cooperative store and later in the liquor shops, is now being installed in houses. 83 families had electricity installed in their homes by 1967. Street lights have been in operation since 1966, although the first attempt to install them was blocked by residents on the streets to be lighted who did not want to pay the tax of 1 peso per month per household to meet the cost to the community of 75 pesos a month. Most people have a flashlight, and lighting in the house is provided by pitch pine or by small kerosene lamps. Candles are used only in ceremonies. 365 [651] 354 [416]

The inventory of items sold in the cooperative store in town includes the most frequently purchased items of consumption. Hardward includes buckets, hoes, kerosene lamps, batteries, Gillette blades, shotgun bullets, canned goods such as sardines, chiles, and powdered milk. Packaged foods include rice, sugar, salt, oatmeal, cornstarch, flour, coffee, biscuits, cookies, gum, and candy. Beer is sold along with soft drinks and cigarettes. Household supplies include candles, soap, D.D.T. powder, thread, matches, and kerosene. Medicines dispensed most frequently include sulphur pills, aralin, Desenfriol, Alka-Seltzer, and Sonrisal. Yard goods for shawls, children's wraps, and men's clothing are sold along with manufactured shirts, blouses for girls, and rubber capes. Eggs as well as money are taken in payment and then sold. Except for one can of Chocomilk, which sat on the shelves for a year, all of the items are in constant demand, and provide an index to the level of living and dependency on external markets. 444 [436]

The preferences in changing consumption are limited by communal standards of what is appropriate. I once asked a man who was acquiring more than the usual income by brokerage activities what he would buy with more money. He replied, "I would get more land and cattle." I interrupted to ask what he would do to improve his standard of living. "I wouldn't get better clothing—what would I need that for? I would get a house built with good materials like this [the government-built clinic] with a cement floor. But I couldn't get it now because of envy. When my children grow up, they [the neighbors] will see them working and maybe 434 178 177 [156]

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

352 utensils pertaining to the other room include three tables of varying form and size. One of these, about 60 cm. high, is called *akhintel*,[27] and serves as a support for the metate (*chá*). Another smaller table (*matzamalté*) has three legs and is circular in form; it is used in making tortillas. The third table (*ucbalté*), also small but quadrangular, is used in serving food. Three benches of hollow logs 415 (*tzantel*) and small chairs (*taburetes*) serve as seats. Deep baskets and gasoline 251 boxes are used for holding clothes. Hanging from the roof is always to be seen a disk made of vines (*likin-nab*). This is used to keep comestibles from the rats. The other implements are the griddle, pots, and other vessels of clay, and calabashes and gourds in various forms and dimensions.

343 Besides the fowl pen (*na-mut*) and the pigpen (*na-chitán*) it is common to [417] see near the house the temazcal, or steam bath (*pus*). It is made of clay and irregularly shaped stones; it is rectangular with a small door in front and a ventilator in the rear. It is usual to cover it with a small shelter of straw. The use of the temazcal [184] is common in the highlands. It is almost not to be found from Ococingo northward.

29 Each village has its own costume; however, local variations conform to a 184 certain pattern which changes according to the altitudes and climate. Thus, in the region of Los Altos the usual pattern of dress is the following: for men, short cotton trousers (*uex*)[28] and cotton shirt (*kú*) reaching to the knees, a sash (*chukichut*) of wool or cotton and in most cases red in color, a poncho (*tzotz*) made of wool and in most cases dark grey in color, a handkerchief (*chuhkil*), a straw hat (*pixol*), and leather sandals (*xanab*); women wear a white blouse (*kú*) and a blue shirt (*tzequel*), both made either of wool or of cotton, and a red woolen sash (*chukichut*). Some women in going out-of-doors add a woolen *rebozo*. Women use also a cotton cloth (*zitz-cal*) to carry small children. They wear no footgear.

In the tierra caliente the dress of the women is almost the same except that it is cleaner. On the other hand that of the men, although equally clean, presents marked differences: the trousers are longer and the shirt shorter, coming to resemble an open blouse or *guayabera*. The sash and the poncho cease to be indispensable [177] garments. It is in this region that there is most use of trousers and shirt in European style.

551 In Tenejapa, Starr found that the Indians had Tzeltal surnames. He says, 582 "We feel sure that these are *not* nicknames, but the old family names still pre- 114 served."[29] He does not give examples, and says nothing about any relation between these name-groups and marriage. Blom and LaFarge make no note of such names, and say: "there are no formal restrictions on marriage."[30]

582 Villa found Indian surnames present in Chanal, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc, 551 and was told that marriage is not allowed, or is at least strongly discouraged, between persons of the same Indian surname. In Chanal an informant indicated that such

[27] The names of these objects vary from one village to another: those which are described here were obtained in Chanal.

[28] The names of some of these garments vary likewise from one village to another; here Villa gives names used in Chanal.

[29] Starr, 1908, p. 73.

[30] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, II 359.

778 821 823 natural elements (hail, wind, storms), which often threaten and destroy the cornfields.

Distribution of Huts

621 In the parajes as well as in the centers the tendency to cluster huts in patrilineal nuclei is strong. One perceives this tendency also where lineage or clan ties still persist (Oxchuc).

[594] The majority of households consist of the elementary family, a couple and their offspring. The habitations include a hut, which serves as dormitory and kitchen, plus chickencoop, pigpen, and, sometimes, the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. Among industrious families another small hut serves exclusively as a kitchen. Seldom does a fence separate this nucleus from its neighbors, but it may protect a vegetable patch from animals. In the capital, however, each family must fence its lot.

342 343 [417] 343 417

Relationships between Communities

628 Communities establish commercial and other ties according to their ecological distribution and cultural condition. In the southern zone, Amatenango and Aguacatenango form a kind of unit, based on physical proximity and cultural affinity. Their residents meet frequently at the Sunday market of Teopisca. In the central zone, Oxchuc, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Tenango, which more or less share ways of life and natural environment, form another informal association, contacts resulting from the weekly markets of Tenejaya and Yochib. In the northern zone, Sitala and Guaquitepec form another unit. Ocosingo, Chilon, and Yajalon are centers of commercial and political importance, occupied largely by Ladinos but used as trade centers by Indians throughout the northern zone.

412 TECHNOLOGY

Tools and Techniques

Farming tools are the most important: axe

[P 205-B]

342 lages of the lowlands where the houses have
[354] small windows, which improve ventilation
342 and illumination slightly. In places like
184 Chanal, where there is abundant lumber, the sides of the houses are built with wooden boards set vertically. The largest and best-built houses are in Tenejapa center.

Generally, the hut is divided into two rooms: the front is parlor and kitchen, the rear is bedroom. In Bachajon the rear room serves as bedroom and kitchen, the front room for sewing and grinding and the re-
[574] ception of visitors. In Amatenango del Valle the front of the house is open and
[323] used as a porch for visits. Ceramic work
[251] is also performed here. In one room of the house a bin of wood or reeds stores corn.
[343] Sometimes, small structures which serve as granaries are built inside the hut.

343 Among the auxiliary structures outside is
515 the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. Not every hut has a *pus* since one is enough to attend the needs of several neighboring families. The *pus* is a small room 1.5 m. high by 2 m. on each side, built of stones and clay. The roof is flat. Inside a hollow forms a hearth for heating stones. Water thrown on these red-hot stones produces the necessary steam. On the floor are boards on which people lie while taking the bath.
[184] Among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil the *pus* is
[759] not only for cleanliness but also for the cure
[846] of certain diseases and to strengthen women after childbirth. Sweat baths are more commonly taken in Tierra Fria than in Tierra Caliente.

• 417 The other structures near the hut are the chickencoop and the hogpen.

352 Furniture is limited to essential items. In the kitchen are the three hearth stones, the comal (*samet*), the grinding stone (*chá*), a bench or strong table to hold the metate (*ah-ken*), one or two small tables (*matzmalté* or *vebalté*) 25–39 cm. high and 30–40 cm. in diameter, and small benches 15–20 cm. high made of scooped-out tree trunks
415 (*tzanté*). Kitchen equipment includes earthenware (pans, pitchers, and jars) and
[P. 207-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4.5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

412 stone, *ton-al-ha'*, ("water stone"). The other, *skaltca-muk* ("big metate") was made of an igneous stone called *hayáltcak*, brought from San Martín. The *manos*, or smaller stones used for grinding
354 on these, were called *miscabtca* (fig. 290). To the left, opposite this table, was the fire, *kak'*, built of two broken ollas and two small rocks, placed so that the logs could be laid star-fashion between them, and close enough together to support the tortilla griddle or
354 an olla (fig. 291). Outside the house was another fire, with only
251 three stones, on which was drying a basket full of *pinole*, *tcilim*, a
252 fruit which is mixed with cacao in a form of chocolate. Over the house fireplace racks, *baxtet*, were placed at the level of the eaves
354 across the corner, and along the wall to the middle post, that things
353 hung up there might be protected by the smoke from insects. All
417 these things are indicated in the plan.

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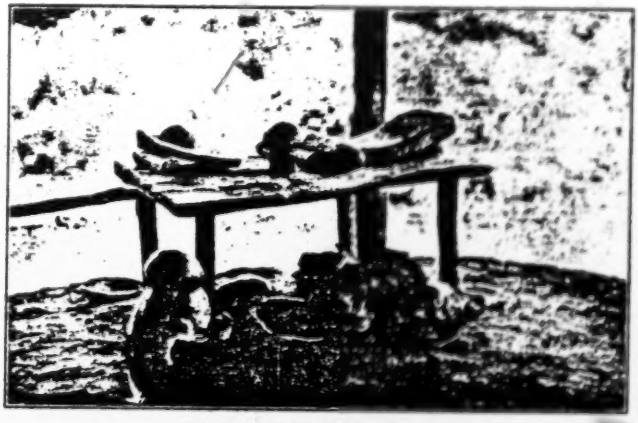

FIG. 290—Table with Metates.

352 A hammock, *aktci*, which we understood was not of native make, hung across the middle of the house. Two woven mats, *pOp*, the Spanish *petate*, lay on the beds. Beside this, the beds, and the table, the only thing that could properly be called furniture was a three-
[287] legged stool about 30 centimeters high, *matsumte*. Two mats of pounded bark, or tapa, *bat-te* ("bark tree"), or *bat manil tcahan*, were rolled up in a corner. First comers got the hammock to lie in, others sat on the low "squatting seats," *tsamate*, of which there were three, made each of half a log, pe[illegible]ed, and partially flattened on top, with a handle on one end.

415 The tortilla griddle was a flat, dish-like pottery affair, about 40 centimeters in diameter. There were five ollas, *ōcom*, with plain

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

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FIG. 311—Tenango, Chia. Street Scene.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

133 green wall away to the westward. Midway, there is a break in the slope, with a dramatic splash of deep red cliffs, in violent contrast
241 to the fertile grass and soft tones of the limestone outcrops. Only the upper end of this valley belongs to Tenango, so little, in fact that the inhabitants cannot practice the usual, sprawling milpa system of agriculture. The very yards are planted, and the fields
[35] start almost in the village, radiating from it in a close patchwork
[417] as in Europe. Everything is fenced with roughly split planks set on end, and fences line the road into Tenango where it passes
361 through the cornfields. The houses with their yards lie close about an open plaza in which are the grey bones of a ruined church, a

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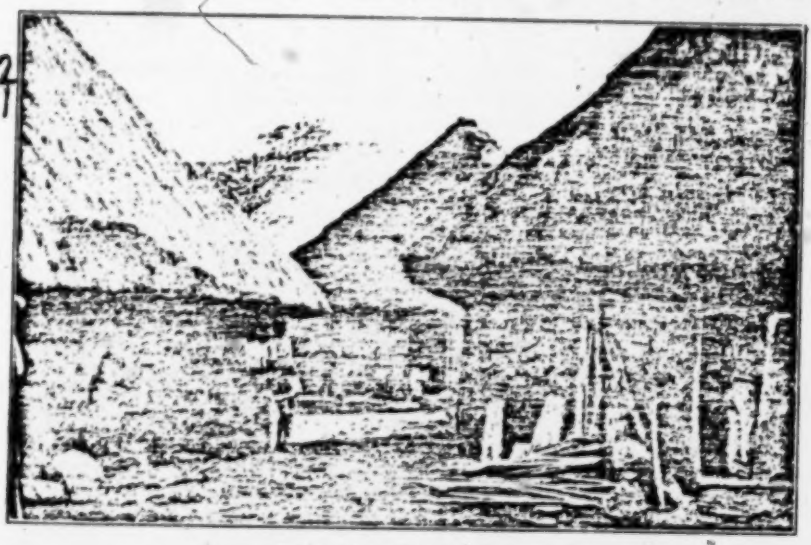

FIG. 312—Tenango, Chis. Houses.

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whitewashed, palm-roofed native one, and the shack of a Cabildo for
245 the Maestro. The streets are lined with useful trees, oranges, gourds,
363 and a few bananas, which do poorly at this altitude.

342 The houses are square and well-made with walls of broad, split planks covered with mud (figs. 311-312). The roofs are steeply thatched and pyramidal, or have a short ridge along which broken pots are laid after the manner of tiles. The frame-work differs from that described in the last chapter in having cross-pieces laid between
[354] the plates. There are no chimneys, the smoke is allowed to seep through the thatch, keeping out vermin and making the roofs steam like a clam-bake.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

286 and often have no fringe. We were told that it was impossible to
123 see a woman weaving at that time, but by persistent stalking the
126 writer finally managed to locate a girl at work, whom he observed
286 and sketched from behind a bush. The women here were so consistently shy that no doubt she would have rolled up her loom, which was of just the same type as the one seen at Sivacá, and fled into the house had she known she was observed. Our procession through this very pretty village, too, was a serious affair—distinguished strangers being shown around town by the mayor—and had none of the cheerful joking and general *bonhommie* that produced such friendliness and good results at Sivacá.

241 Something more should be said about the agriculture here. Ordinarily, Indians go out to choose their own land in the bush and

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FIG. 319—Tenango, Chia. La Farge drawing pottery.

241 plant it with little cultivation, placing the corn close together. Here each family has its land assigned to it by the council. As the same field must be planted year after year, the hills of corn are widely spaced, and the ground is turned over as deeply as possible by means
[417] of heavy hoes, *ak'en*, purchased in San Cristóbal. As was said, everything is fenced as much as possible. When some of our pack animals got loose in a field, the excitement was intense. In the yards of the houses they raise corn, beans, and a plant related to tobacco. This
824 plant grows nearly as tall as a man. The leaf is rubbed on their legs to cure fatigue. It is carried with lime in a small gourd and offered and accepted for chewing with much the same bowing and formalities as obtained among our ancestors when offering snuff.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

291 broidery along all the seams, at the cuffs, and over what would be a pocket in a European shirt. Trousers are either very short "shorts," or replaced by a cotton breech-clout. Hats are seldom worn. Most men carry woolen blankets woven by the Chamula Indians. The red sashes are knotted in front (fig. 322).

The women's dress is the same as at Tenango, but without any 302 decoration, and with a shorter skirt. Their hair is worn in two braids, or done up in a knot over the forehead, forward of where the tump-line is placed.

Fig. 323—Cancuc, Chis. Men on the Cabildo porch.

771 These people, for all their turbulence, are very devout, although, like many who are more civilized, they leave most of the expression 794 to the women. The church is swept out daily by women appointed for the purpose. Along about five o'clock in the afternoon all the women drift in, singly or in small groups, pray for awhile, 346 and come out. Looking in the door one sees the large interior almost pitch dark, cut here and there with [291] tiny, yellow candle-flames, and hears a monotonous sing-song drone of chanted 796 prayers. Their festivals center about the church. In this connection they have a very curious custom. [417] There are two scaffolds by the plaza (fig. 323) very small platforms on four rickety poles about four meters high, surrounded by an insufficient railing, arched over with palm branches, [273] and reached by a frail-looking ladder. The drinking which, as was explained in the last chapter, is an essential part of any ceremony, must all take place on top of these scaffolds. It is indeed a miracle that every fiesta does not cause a score of broken necks.

123 While wandering around to see what he could see, the writer was hailed by an elderly woman who gave him to understand by signs

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

that he was invited into her house, presumably to take shelter from the evening rain that was beginning to fall. The house, of which he sketched a hurried plan (fig. 324) was more rectangular than is usual, the prevailing type being square with a pyramidal roof. He entered through a low doorway, closed with a wooden door on leather hinges. Although the ridge of the roof was high, the many cross poles reaching from the top of one wall to the other made it necessary to stoop. The writer squatted by the door, facing the fire, which smoked merrily in the closed room. The old woman immediately set to shaping a pile of tortillas for baking. Along either wall was a well-made bench, decorated with notches along the top and geometric designs on the back, similar to the benches on the Cabildo porch (fig. 325). These and a sturdy table that was stored on top of the stringers were said to be purely local products. By the door stood a big jar, a full meter in height, crude and undecorated (fig. 326). There was the usual collection of ollas and gourds, and one other new form, an open-mouthed pot about eight centimeters high and as many in diameter, flat bottomed, with a handle on one side, called *hütc* (fig. 327). In the thick smoke, it was hard to see anything. I was interested to note that my hostess' eyes watered nearly as much as my own. In the darker end of the house I could make out corn stacked neatly along one wall, and a partition that presumably hid the beds. For a while the woman answered the few questions that I could make her understand by means of signs, my half-a-dozen words of Tzeltal,

123 342 [126] [417] [196] [273] 352 [531] 353 [415]

Fig. 323—Cancuc, Chis. Drinking scaffold.

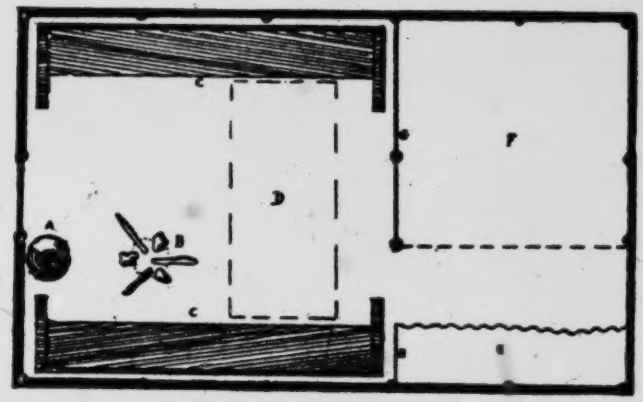

Fig. 324—Cancuc, Chis. Plan of House.

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[P.198-C]

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Plate 3. A father and his two sons, walking in order of age, leave the village to go to their milpa. The father, walking in front, is wearing the old-style costume with a wrapped overshirt concealing short undertrousers. His sons wear western clothing. All of the men carry net bags on a tumpline, with their backs protected from their burdens by a sheepskin. They all carry machetes, and the boys have rifles.

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Plate 4. Farmer showing the arada plow. He is holding the handle, and the shaft, made of a long tree post, is propped on the ground.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

[P. 198-D]

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Plate 5. Men assisting the women of their household in the firing of canteros, or water jugs. They have just removed the still-smoldering logs which were propped on the outer perimeter of the pyramid of jugs.

592 but it is always built around a core of agnatically related men:
593 a father and his sons, united in their common interest in the patrimonial land and the fruits of their joint cooperative labor. To this core of men are attached their children and their wives, all of whom are dependent on them for their food supply, shelter, and the satisfaction of most other needs.

When a couple moves outside the parental home, the house
621 site that they are given should be contiguous if possible, or as
591 close as there is a place available, to the husband's father's
592 homestead. Thus, ideally, the town should be settled by clusters
602 of domestic groups forming localized agnatic lines, each containing a man, his parents, his brothers and his married male sons. At the same time, one would find out that women, because they follow their husbands, live much further apart from their agnatic relatives than men do.

593 After a man moves from his father's household, he is not
591 expected to work the same parcels with his father, but they do
476 share some work in common. Usually (I don't have the exact num-
241 ber of cases, but enough information to suggest that this is the
417 mode), a man and his sons have contiguous milpas that are fenced together. The fences, which are laboriously built and repaired, are the communal job of all the men, and save them the time and effort of building interior separations between the plots, because the purpose of fencing is to keep cattle from invading the parcels and without fences it is useless to risk planting.

423 This does not mean that the land is held jointly. Each man
241
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423 241 knows his own parcel and its boundaries, which are sometimes
• 417 marked with a few stones or a less elaborate fence of a few poles.

241 The men that fence the land together cooperate with each
496 other in some other agricultural tasks which require more than two hands (e.g., clearing and burning before planting, cleaning irrigation ditches).

183 Stating the norms of residence in anthropological language,
591 we can say that the generalized residence pattern, if it reflects the practice of the norms, should be patrilocal for single and married men, patrilocal for single women, virilocal for married women and parentilocal for children (see Fig. 13, Fischer's Typology).

The Residence Patterns

125 To find out how the ideal rules are carried into practice, we analyzed a sample of sixty-eight households containing an average of five people per unit, and a total of 384 individuals. This sample was gathered by the author in the field, in 1958, and covers half of the village in a chess board pattern of blocks (see charts). The data on the sample is complemented by a previous total census of the village, prepared by the Metzgers and the school teacher in 1956, which covered the whole population of the community, but contained less detailed information on some aspects of residence. Both will be augmented by a sample of life histories contained in the field notes.

128 The data will be presented in tables, and in the text, both in number of cases and in relative percentages. When possible,

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

42 43 182 571 184 241 323 434 We can safely arrive at the conclusion that some aspects of the economic system play a very important part in the structuring of social relations in the Chiapas communities. The economic factors which are indicated by the natives themselves and have been assessed by us as being crucial correlates of certain patterns of social behavior are:

(1) The unspecialized agricultural system of one village (Aguacatenango) versus the system of agriculture plus pottery production in the other makes the second one a "richer" town with less wealth fluctuation from year to year.

184 182 462 597 562 434 (2) The relative importance of women as bread-winners and producers in the traditional division of labor in one village (Amatenango), results in the fact that labor of women is crucial for the continuity of the domestic group, whereas in Aguacatenango, it is not. This does not mean that Aguacatenango women do not work. It just means that women's work in Aguacatenango, however exhausting, does not have a market in which it can be sold, and it cannot be transformed into subsistence goods or into money, i.e., it has an undeterminate marginal value. This gives the women in one village (Amatenango) economic independence and a higher status

423 In the most acculturated communities
592 (Aguacatenango and Amatenango) individ-
[184] ually held property is more general. The head of the house is the owner of the parcel and he can manage it as he pleases. Referring to Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1960, p. 11) states that:

> In general, land is "owned"—that is, controlled—by the household; as long as the son lives with the father, he may speak of "his land," but in fact he works the land with his father, planting what and when his father de-
> [428] cides. The son who lives apart is usually given a piece of land by his father, and he acquires new land which he, in turn, will pass on to his sons at his death or, if he chooses, before.

[613] At this level the lineage concept has dis-
[593] appeared, and the only recognized connection is the father-son relationship.

423 Irrigated lands ("tierras irrigables"), however, in Aguacatenango and in Amatenango contain parcels belonging to private owners and parcels used in common, which are administered or given by the local authorities to be cultivated. Metzger (*ibid.*) informs us that: "Recently, land has been bought on the edges of the town by each of the two barrios for the exclusive use of their members, while in the irrigable area the holdings of members of the two barrios are separate and watered by separate canals."

[175] Ejido lands exist in almost all the region, distributed according to the Programa Agrario de la Revolución Mexicana since 1914 but in some communities not put into practice until after 1930. These lands are administered by the "comite ejidal" of each municipio, which gives to any individual who needs land the permission to cultivate it. These lands cannot be sold or transferred in any way, because they are considered common property.

421 Family land as well as the house and its
586 equipment belong to the man. When a marriage is dissolved, the woman goes back to her parents without taking anything but
[P 212-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

421 her own clothes and her backstrap loom.
586 A widow may continue living in the hut and use its equipment only if she has a son. Otherwise, she must leave the house and return to her father's home because the land will be claimed by the brothers or other male relatives of the deceased husband.

Production and Consumption Groups

592 The family controls all matters related
433 to production and consumption. The head
241 of the house, with the help of his wife and other members of the family, takes care of farming and producing the basic food crops.
462 In the most conservative communities, the
476 old custom of planting by a cooperative
241 group, composed of relatives and friends, is still practiced. This is a task for men exclusively, since much skill and strength are required to dig up the ground in carefully spaced, perfectly straight rows. The owner
[785] of the milpa has to fast and observe sexual
[834] abstinence before starting the planting.

462 Only the family shares in the rest of the
592 labor, according to their sex: men take care of tasks requiring much effort, women perform those such as tending domestic ani-
[476] mals. Help from relatives and neighbors may also be asked occasionally, to build up fences around the orchard, to open or improve irrigation systems, etc.

Trade and Markets

438 Tenango and Amatenango concentrate on producing ceramics and trading them to neighboring municipios. Other municipios have a very limited commercial activity: Tenejapa exports a few sleeping mats; Oxchuc, ropes, nets, and pita bags; Cancuc, wooden combs; Bachajon, clay toys. These Tzeltal villages have no specialized merchants as do Zinacantan and Chamula.

443 There are a few markets where a large number of people meet regularly; Teopisca, in the south, has a Sunday market where natives from Aguacatenango, Amatenango, and Pinola meet. In the central part of the region they meet every Sunday at the mar-

[P. 212-B]

159 come back when the father was home because not even he could sell
592 the pig without his consent. The Ladino was then forced to give up.
437
602 A few days later, Juan sold the pig according to his own plans. He kept the money, except for a small amount that he gave to his wife and daughter-in-law, in spite of the fact that Maria had fattened the pig, and that it had been previously said that the pig was the young couple's animal.[1]

592 A woman living with her husband in a separate household
593 has some autonomy within it, but she is still subordinate to her
562 husband. She owns little property. A woman may be given a cow
421 when she marries, but her father is not obliged to do so. It is
[931] simply a regalo (present). She does not own agricultural implements. She can not own land or inherit from her husband, except in cases where she is, in effect, keeping the house in trust for her male children, and it has not been claimed by her husband's father or brothers who have primacy rights over such property.

[561] As she grows older, and with the birth of children, her
[851] position becomes somewhat less dependent. She has more prestige in the eyes of her husband's family and other people, and if her marital relation has developed into a strong emotional bond, her interaction with her husband is less subordinate. He would consult

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[1]The animals are usually said to "belong" to one particular
[231] woman in the household. However, this does not mean that she has
[421] property rights over it; it only means that she is the person in
[562] charge of feeding it. Thus, the expression el cochi de María (Maria's pig) means the pig which Maria has the responsibility to feed every day, and it does not assume that she can sell it, kill it for meat, or do anything about it without the consent of the head of the household.

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593
562 her before making important decisions, and allow her to handle
421 some of the household property, such as the selling of pigs.

562 But even under the best conditions, the position of a
593 woman is de facto lower than the position of men. If her husband gets drunk and beats her up, she is not supposed to complain, but accept it as part of her role. One of our informants said that once she scolded her husband for drinking, and he said: "I am not
593 asking you for the money." If he is unfaithful, she has no real
586 way of controlling his behavior except by leaving his house, run-
837 ning away to San Cristóbal to work for a few days as a servant or breaking up the marriage.

184 In Amatenango, the pottery making village, the situation
562 is quite different. First, women are economically independent,
434 being able to make a living without a male in the household.
592 Second, they control the profits made by the household from the
421 sale of pottery and from the sale of cash crops such as chayotes which they plant in their gardens. In many cases, they own the house in which they live with their husband and children. They contribute as much as their male siblings to the support of the whole domestic group while they were living in their family's home, and it is possible for them to inherit both land and cattle, a fact which reinforces the equivalent standing between women and their male siblings.

184 Adultery in Amatenango has strong reactive sanctions for
593 both men and women, and a "wife is considered within her rights to
[837] order an erring husband out of the house." "Women do not tolerate

177
178 lineage (which exists today in many other communities such as
754 Oxchuc), has disappeared. Without the basic belief in the super-
776
613 natural controlling powers of the lineage heads, the ritual activities performed by the lineage as a corporation became meaningless, and fell out of use.

592
613
434 Finally, from an economic point of view, the large patriline
421 household-compound, as a productive unit, is unfunctional, and the
578 characteristic form of the domestic group is now the nuclear household, which also contributes to the weakening of patriline strength. Within the nuclear household, it is difficult for its members to discriminate between the part of the household income that is derived from the household head in his capacity as a worker and that which is from his unmarried sons; between those profits which are derived from the household head as a capitalist who has provided tools and implements, and finally those which come from his capacity as "owner" of land. In a larger household, differences in labor in-put, rivalry between the women about the food controlled by themselves and belonging to their husbands, or between the men about the property rights of the produce derived from their common effort, tend to create conflict and disunity. In the
592
594 nuclear household, the division of labor is explicit, the role ex-
578 actly and minimally distributed, and conflict, in the case of its occurrence, is likely to be more quickly solved because the fission of the nuclear domestic group is equivalent to the disappearance of the household itself.

178
613 The functions before performed by the lineage are now
592 performed by the household, the community, or by the neighborhood
621
591
184

184 vis-à-vis their husbands and male kinsmen, while in Aguacatenango,
182
462 it makes them economically dependent, and subordinates from a jural
592 point of view. In one case females inherit as men do, in the
562
434 other, inheritance follows a male line. In one case, they control
[428] the same property as men do, in the other, they control only
[421] marginal property.

184 (3) The relative importance of a man is labor versus a
182 woman's labor within the domestic unit affects residence. In
462 Aguacatenango, where all important productive activities are in
434
591 the hands of men, residence is patri-virilocal, and only males are residence sponsors regularly. In Amatenango, where productive activities are in the hands of both males and females, residence is alternately matri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal, and both males and females can become residence sponsors. In Amatenango, house-
[323] holds that depend more on the women's labor in pottery making are
[241] uxorilocal, while households in which the largest part of the domestic group income is derived from agriculture have post-marital patri-virilocal residence of their members.

184 In Aguacatenango, where all household income is derived
182 from agriculture and residence is patri-virilocal, matri-uxorilo-
434 cality occurs sporadically due to some other economic and non-
591
593 economic factors: (a) the inheritance of some land in the female
428 line when a daughter structurally replaces a son; (b) the coopera-
562 tive work between father-in-law-son-in-law when they replace the
602
606 position of father and son for each other; (c) the payment of
75 curing ceremonies and medicines for a sick married woman by her own kin rather than her husband's.

now cultivating it, and has been doing so for a long time, refuses to return it, even if he is paid half of the value of the land, or only asked to give half of it to Chilola's son.

The reason for the inheritance rights of the people concerned not being clear is that twice, in the sequence of transmission, women have passed on the property, and as a result, it has left the hands of the original lineage.

Chilola's feelings are quite strong: the land belonged to her husband. Even if her mother-in-law had rights over the property at Chilola's husband's death, she was being supported by Chilola, and certainly, neither her mother-in-law's second husband nor their daughter has primacy rights against her son. (See Genealogy, Fig. 16.)

The case is obviously complicated by the fact that the property rights are defined not only in terms of inheritance rights, but in terms of usufruct (in a sense, they do not have land tenure, but milpa tenure), and the other men had been taking care of the parcel for a long time, which makes them feel that it is theirs.

This type of conflict carries over to other property, such as livestock, as exemplified in the next case.

Case 3

When Candelario Aguilar married, Juana, his wife received a regalo from her father: a bull. Candelario sold the bull and bought a cow, which had a calf.

Candelario left town and gave the cow and calf to his father Francisco, so that they would take care of it in his absence.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 193]

159 422 593 578 During the branding of animals in the village, Francisco received a letter from Candelario asking him to brand the cow and calf for him. Francisco and his son, Epifanio, did so.

This started the conflict. Jose Mendez, Juana's brother, felt that the cow and calf did not rightfully belong to Candelario, nor to Francisco or Epifanio, but to him. Epifanio had a fight with Jose, and the latter, insisting on his rights, which were not very clear, stated that Candelario had sold him the cow (which was not true), when they were working in the lowlands together. Casimira, Juana and Jose's mother, supported Jose's claims over the animals, because it was the money obtained from Juana's bull that had paid for the cow that had the calf. The relatives of her daughter's husband had less right over the animal than Juana's brother.

It is possible that Jose felt that the cow and calf had been purchased with the money obtained from selling a bull which was originally his father's, not his sister's. Even if it was his sister's, he felt he had more right to use it than the sister's husband's brother and father. If owner of the bull or the cow had been a brother rather than a sister, the conflict would not have arisen. (For genealogy see Fig. 17.)

177 178 754 796 613 Third, with the introduction of Catholicism, although the native belief system has preserved many of its early features, it is now, without doubt, a new syncretic elaboration. The pervasive witchcraft powers are, for example, attributed now to Catholic saints, but the concept that the lineage heads of principales have witchcraft power to punish deviants within their

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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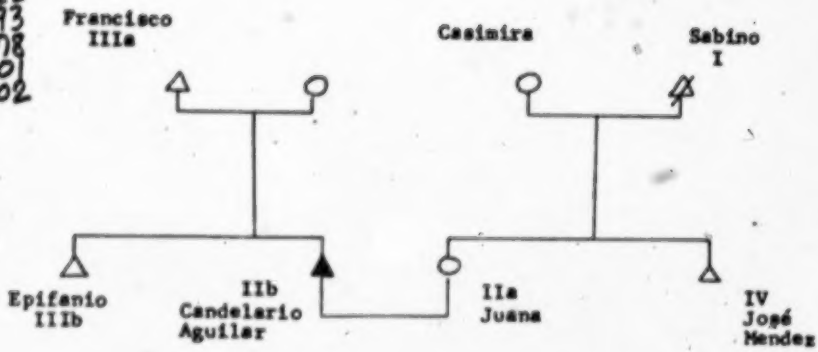

I to IIb indicate the order in which the bull was transmitted.

IIb-IIIb indicate the order in which cow and calf were transmitted.

IV is the man that pretends to have rights over the animals, with his mother's support.

Fig. 17.--Genealogy of Candelario Aguilar

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 465-B]

274
474 as with the cattle industry, is a covert cause
578 for personal attacks on other grounds.

A third enterprise, trucking, has caused a
494 realignment of political interests in factions
404 associated with two truck-owning cooperatives.
578 Membership in one of the cooperatives, or patronage of one of the two trucks, arouses the enmity of members of the other cooperative. Several threats have been made on the lives of the owners and the operators, but the only damage done has been to tires.

682 The tensions resulting from the introduction
578 of these new enterprises cannot be fully measured by the deaths attributed to direct economic conflict. Wealth differences resulting
682 from the new enterprises excite envy, and with
578 it come accusations of witchcraft. In this com-
556 munity, witchcraft killing does not perform
754 the normative function of reducing wealth differentiation that Kluckhohn saw operating
[114] among the Navaho (1944), since it is the poor man who is killed as a witch, not the rich man.
[683] The slaying of the envious witch exacerbates the economic differentiation that provides the seedbed for conflict.

578 Another new source of tension is found in the
423 growing demand for political leadership or
668 even independence from the township by the *ejido* colonies formed since land reform went into effect in 1937. The inept maneuvers of two
[682] founders of the ejido colonies in hot country resulted in two homicides (cases 12 and 18 in
[178] Table 1).[6] The increasing strength of these hamlets will mean that more attempts will be made in the future to gain political equality and/or independence. Whether this will result in increasing homicides will depend on social-control agencies external to the Indian communities.

682 Homicide occurring as a direct result of
578 economic and political competition represents a new strategy in the community. The decision
[626] to kill rather than to use other negative sanctions is related to the social-control mechanisms discussed below.

Changing Mechanisms of Social Control

626 A system of social control rests not only on
182 the exercise of negative sanctions, but on the sense of personal security derived from confi-
[756] dence in the institutions of control. In Teklum, the maintenance of control was formerly
[769] centered in the guardianship against malevolent spirits held by the ancestor spirits and
000 the curers. The "police force," made up of ten

3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P.469-B]

leaders, both in the civil authority and in the curing profession. The transition from the old hierarchy of control to the new leadership structure is still in process. In the most recent confrontation of the civil authority and curers, the fact that neither side resorted to violence suggests the transitional nature of homicide as a solution in intracommunal conflict.

This study of homicide indicates that the changing rate of behavior points to structural change, but does not in itself indicate what kind of change occurs or from what motives it stems. Qualitative case analysis related to structural changes within the recall of informants is essential for understanding social process.

NOTES

[1] Field work is based on two periods of residence in the community in 1964 and 1965; it was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health. I am grateful for comments by Paul Friedrich, Richard Henderson, Harold Scheffler, and Peter Wilson, who have improved the original version read at the 1965 meetings of the American Anthropological Association. I remain responsible for the contents of the paper.

[2] Henry and Short (1954:18) analyze both suicide and homicide as undifferentiated aggressive reactions to frustration, the rates of which vary—in the first case inversely and in the second case directly—with the strength of the external control system over behavior. Their assumption that homicide is motivationally a single phenomenon, and not an expression of a variety of motives, stems from the assumption that all cases of aggressive acts are the result of frustration. Straus and Straus (1964:587) apply a similar correlational analysis of homicide and suicide rates with structural features of society in Ceylon, but come to opposite conclusions. They maintain that one would expect greater evidence of homicide in a "loosely structured society," by which they mean one with considerable sanctioning of variation in individual behavior. These studies contradict each other in the conclusions that they reach by similar analytical processes, but they are attempts to move away from such psychoanalytic reasoning as the death-wish theory.

[3] Bohannan's (1960) survey of homicide and suicide in African societies represents a useful model for comparing the total pattern of homicide cross-culturally. In presenting the case material here, I have used a similar format, adding to it the circumstances surrounding the killing. In the analysis of these materials, I have diverged from Bohannan's model in trying to demonstrate the linkage among the components—the ratios, to use Burke's (1945) terminology of scene/setting/actor/agent.

[4] The term "witch" is a translation of the Tzeltal term *ʔak'-ʔamal*, literally "giver of sickness." The term "curer" is a translation of *ʔaʔwal*. The power to cure and to give sickness stems from the possession of a *muyehal*, or animal spirit.

[5] For a discussion of the tactics of gaining consensus in witch-killings, see Manning Nash (1960).

[6] Political homicide by agrarian leaders, which is so frequent in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962), is a relatively recent phenomenon in the retreat zones of Indian population. The cases analyzed by Friedrich are a strategy of political power stemming from a revolutionary background, and the cultural assumptions to which he points contrast with those underlying witch-killings. My only comparable case is, significantly, found outside the traditional center, in the new ejido colony.

[7] Jules Henry (1936) sees the formula of fear and anger as the

463 241 handle the milpa. It is rare to find an Indian who does not have a milpa since this is the work that ensures his existence.

Property Rights

423 613 [177] [181] This is a matter that varies according to the degree of acculturation reached by the community. In the most conservative groups (Oxchuc, Cancuc, Tenejapa, Tenango) there are still family property rights, but they seem to depend on lineage rather than on the immediate family (Villa Rojas, 562 428 1947, ch. 19). As these lineages are patrilineal, a woman does not count when inheritance is involved. She can own her parcel of land only when she has saved the money to buy it, but this is not frequent. Any man can claim lands that previously belonged to his lineage; it is enough to give back the money paid for them two or three generations ago. Of course, he has to prove by witnesses or documents that those lands were the property of his lineage.

127 423 613 614 According to a document dated 1861, which I found in the possession of the Gómez Ichiloks (they belong to the Gómez clan and to the Ichilok lineage), residents of the paraje of Tzajalchen of the municipio of Oxchuc, this property system seems to be very ancient. The document is of special interest.

000 DOCUMENTO DE TIERRAS DE LOS GÓMEZ ICHILOK A

Por pedimento de los ciudadanos Domingo Gómez Ichilok, Tomás Gomez Ichilok, otro Tomás Gómez Ichilok, Miguel Gómez Ichilok, Diego Gómez Ichilok, otre, Domingo Gómez Ichilok, otro Diego Gómez Ichilok y su hijo Diego Gómez Ichilok y por último su hijo menor Manuel Gómez Ichilok, y como antiguamente se acostumbra en este pueblo que según los hermanos de una propria familia, se les demarca un retazo de terreno de ejido para que en lo sucesivo no haya pleitos con los vecinos como suele suceder, nosotros los Gobernadores, Auxiliares, Justicias, Escribanos y Testigos, pasamos al paraje denominado Tzajalchén a

[P. 211-A]

A /For a translation by H.R.A.F. of this document, see category 116, p. 225-C--Analyst/

000 ponerles sus mojones y a darles al posesión que les corresponde segun el número de ellos.

"Donde principió parar primer mojón *Busulton Pacton* que está en el camino derecho; 2° mojón *Oxloton* que está en el camino; 3er. mojón *Tzovilton*; 4° mojón *Tequelton*, mojón con Pedro Moreno; 5° mojón *Yolilnelej Lomchen*; 6° mojón de acuerdo con Juan Gómez Bet y Martin Sanchez Chelap se llama la raya *Teguel Canté* que es también la raya con Manuel Chinbak; 7° mojón *Tequelton* raya única con Marcos Hernandez López y Diego López y Diego Giron Vázquez; 8° mojón y último *Basulton Pacton*.

"Habiendo quedado todos los vecinos colindantes contentos, ofreciendo ambos que en lo sucesive no tendrán el menor disgusto, pues, son nativos de su propio pueblo, bajo el concepto que si alguno delinquiese en trastornar el orden en que han quedado, el agraviado lo pondrá en conocimiento del Juez para aberiguarlo y aplicarle la pena que merezca, para acuya seguridad son testigos Lorenzo Ichilok, Martin Solel, Miguel Gómez Ichilok y Gobernadores Diego Méndez Chizna y Nicolas Jiménez Acux. Por los testigos y Gobernadores que no saben firmar. Abril 12 de 1861 y como testigo y escribano Alónso Santis

423 613 614 The descendants of the Gómez Ichiloks still live in the same paraje of Tzajalchen and share the same parcel. In other lineages the original parcel was subdivided on agree-
[178] ment between the interested parties. In this way single individuals now own pieces of land, a type of property ownership that is becoming more general as the old social organization based on clans and lineages gradually breaks up.

423 427 The parcels can be rented to people of other lineages and of other communities. Often the Tzeltal of Oxchuc rent their parcels to natives from Tenejapa or Cancuc
[613] who are their immediate neighbors. Pay-
[614] ment, made with food, chicha, and money, must be shared by the most important members of the same clan other than the ones of the same lineage (Villa Rojas, 1947, ch. 19).

[P 211-B]

423 592 [184] In the most acculturated communities (Aguacatenango and Amatenango) individually held property is more general. The head of the house is the owner of the parcel and he can manage it as he pleases. Referring to Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1960, p. 11) states that:

> In general, land is "owned"—that is, controlled—by the household; as long as the son lives with the father, he may speak of "his land," but in fact he works the land with his father, planting what and when his father decides. The son who lives apart is usually given a piece of land by his father, and he acquires new land which he, in turn, will pass on to his sons at his death or, if he chooses, before. [428]

[613] [593] At this level the lineage concept has disappeared, and the only recognized connection is the father-son relationship.

423 Irrigated lands ("tierras irrigables"), however, in Aguacatenango and in Amatenango contain parcels belonging to private owners and parcels used in common, which are administered or given by the local authorities to be cultivated. Metzger (*ibid.*) informs us that: "Recently, land has been bought on the edges of the town by each of the two barrios for the exclusive use of their members, while in the irrigable area the holdings of members of the two barrios are separate and watered by separate canals."

[175] Ejido lands exist in almost all the region, distributed according to the Programa Agrario de la Revolución Mexicana since 1914 but in some communities not put into practice until after 1930. These lands are administered by the "comite ejidal" of each municipio, which gives to any individual who needs land the permission to cultivate it. These lands cannot be sold or transferred in any way, because they are considered common property.

421 586 Family land as well as the house and its equipment belong to the man. When a marriage is dissolved, the woman goes back to her parents without taking anything but

[P 212-A]

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/Document of Lands of the Gómez Ichilok

On account of the petition of the citizens Domingo Gómez Ichilok, Tomás Gómez Ichilok, another Tomás Gómez Ichilok, Miguel Gómez Ichilok, Diego Gómez Ichilok, another Domingo Gómez Ichilok, another Diego Gómez Ichilok and his son Diego Gómez Ichilok, and lastly his minor son, Manuel Gómez Ichilok, and as formerly was the custom in this town that, according to the brothers of one family, a piece of common land is marked off for them so that in the future there will be no disputes with the neighbors as is usually the case, we the Governors, Auxiliaries, Justices, Scribes and Witnesses, give the paraje /place/ called Tzajalchén for them to put their landmarks on and to give them the possession that corresponds to them according to their number.

"Where began to stand the first landmark Busulton Pacton which is on the road to the right; 2nd landmark Oxloton which is on the road; 3rd landmark Tzovilton; 4th landmark Tequelton, landmark with Pedro Moreno; 5th landmark Yolilnelej Lomchen; 6th landmark in accord with Juan Gómez Bet and Martin Sanchez Chelap is called the line Teguel Cante which is also the line with Manuel Chinbak; 7th landmark Tequelton only line with Marcos Hernandez López and Diego Lopez and Diego Giron Vásquez; 8th and last landmark Basulton Pacton.

"Having left all the bordering neighbors content, offering both that in the future they will not have the least disagreement, as they are natives of their own town, under the judgment that if anyone is guilty in upsetting the order in which it has been left, the injured party will put in the cognizance of the Judge to investigate it and to apply the punishment that it deserves, for whose security the witnesses are Lorenzo Ichilok, Martin Solel, Miguel Gómez Ichilok and Governors Diego Méndez Chizna and Nicolas Jiménez Acux. For the witnesses and Governors who do not know how to sign their names. April 12 of 1861 and as witness and scribe Alonso Santis./

[P. 225-C]

000 133 tóbal. The altitude above sea level varies from 2,000 meters in the hilly periphery to 1,720 meters in the valley where the town center is located. Ejido 423 632 183 lands acquired in the 1930s have extended the boundaries of the township to lower lands at 1,500 meters altitude.

Pre-Conquest settlement patterns in the Chiapas highlands were characterized by independent communities occupying the headlands around flat- 172 361 bottomed valleys (R. M. Adams 1961:341). The choice of sites seems to have been based on defense against invading Toltec or other conquest groups (Calnek 1962:25). The sites investigated by Adams and Culbert (R. M. Adams 1961:347) in Amatenango belong to the late-Classic and early post-Classic period. They were marginal to the centers of Maya civilization in the Yucatán peninsula and Guatemala. Test excavations in the modern town indicate that it was occupied only after colonial times.

175 361 The town of Amatenango del Valle is first mentioned in the year 1528 when it was included in tribute lists with both the Nahuatl name, Ama- 161 tenango, and the Tzeltal name, Tzobontaghal (Calnek n.d.). The tribute 162 lists of 1761 include 33 families in the *parcialidad*, or Spanish political unit based on an indigenous settlement, of Zacatepec in Amatenango and 75 families in the parcialidad of Amatenango (Trens 1957 I:217). The first census done in 1778 shows a total population of 576, with 374 men and 202 women. The racial breakdown is listed as 8 white, 2 negro and mestizo, and 560 Indians (Trens 1957:221). By 1824, the population had increased 161 to 1,620. The present population of 3,179 represents natural growth as well 632 as inclusion of additional outlying settlements added in the latter part of [423] the nineteenth century and during the 1930s with the enactment of the land reform act. The population changes indicate steady but not great increases. The capacity of the town to incorporate additional population has probably passed its peak. The present trend is for out-migration to newly opened ejido lands.

128 632 The subdivisions of the town, which provide the framework for administration by the national government, are included in Table 1.

361 *The center.* The center of Tzoʔontahal is called the "center [or [563] navel] of the world." The residents of the center, with the exception of the schoolteacher's family, are all Indian. Although the town center forms

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5]

Although the town center forms a rough rectangle on Map 1, the people think of it as being a square.[2] This conforms to the cultural ideal of a square applied in house, milpa, village, and probably world, although when anyone is asked about the last, he cautiously answers, "I have heard that it is round." The center is the unit that the people think of when they say *hteklum*, my land or my village. House lots are not sold to outsiders, particularly Ladinos, but the prohibition applies as well to other Indians living within the limits of the township.

The residents of the center identify themselves with the former residents of the two pre-Conquest sites occupying the hill of Amawitz[3] northwest of the center, and the hill of San Nicolás (called Lelem in Tzeltal) to the southeast. The following account is given of the founding of the present town in the valley:

Our ancestors lived in Amawitz. There wasn't enough water there, but there was a great deal that passed here in the valley. The ancestors came out of their cave to look at where the people should move. They told the people where they should go. The people "thought in common." They cut the trees here; then, when it was dry, they burned it with fire as they do for milpa. When it was cleared, they began to build their houses. Others saw this and came to build their houses. When they finished building their houses, everyone began to think of building a church. The first church was built in Alannantik [the low side] for San Pedro the Martyr. This was torn down because the witches used to come to get the permission of San Pedro to do witchcraft. When the new church was built, there was a division of the town into the upper and lower sections.

It is significant that the people attribute the initiative in the resettlement to the mythical ancestors, although archaeological evidence indicates that the present center was settled after the Conquest. The Conquest is not a part of their mythico-historic past. The ancestors are given credit for establishing everything.

2. The pre-Conquest term for local center was Tzamgholal (Calnek 1962:25), signifying "square head." "Head" town was possibly a ceremonial center.

3. Hermitte (1964:48) notes that in Pinola the "police" of the spiritual government are sent to outposts in Amawitz and Me?wakal in Amatenango. This suggests that it may be considered the ancestral home of other Indians of the area.

were not affected by the congregación. The fact that there is no mention 621
in the post-Conquest documents of the introduction of dual divisions sug- [174]
gests that the model was indigenous to the area.

The Indians of Tzo'ontahal state that the dividing line of the division 173
was established in its present position when a new church, replacing the 621
first one which was burned, was built on the present site. Judging from a date carved in a beam of the church, this must have been about the year 1746. The endogamous restriction on marriage has not led to a sense of ra- 582
cial distinction between the two populations. Both groups feel that they 621
are descendants of the same ancestor figures and under their guardianship. The same Tzeltal patronyms are distributed on both sides of the division, 551
although there is a clustering of some of them on one or another side. 621
Table 2 shows the distribution of patronyms of 714 male and female adults; 88 percent of the patronyms are found in both divisions.[4]

The functions of the division in organizing social groupings have been 178
eroded, but some survive. Equal representation by civil officials from the 62
upper and lower sections, when there are two or more posts at the same rank, is still in effect. The principle of alternation of the single posts of president and *síndico*, his administrative assistant, so that one term the incumbent is chosen from Ahk'olnantik and the following term from Alannantik has not been a decisive factor since the 1930s, when Indian communities were being drawn into more active participation in national programs of change (Chapter 9).

Residential expansion within the center has been almost entirely in 621
Ahk'olnantik because of the addition of ejido lands formerly belonging to 178
the finca of San Nicolás on this side of town. This one-sided increase in 161
population finally resulted, in 1965, in a breakdown of the principle of 794
equal representation in the ceremonial posts involving high expenses, [423]
those of the four *alfereces*. Although attempts were made to find candidates in Alannantik, there were no men with sufficient funds who had not

4. Carrasco (n.d.:5) quotes a document in the *Archivo General de Indias de Seville, Guatemala* 16 indicating that Spanish patronyms were given to the heads of calpules and that these were to be extended to all members of the calpul. The present distribution of name groups in the dual divisions cannot support this, nor can it refute the possibility that Spanish patronyms were related to some larger kin or territorial grouping more than three hundred years ago.

Patronym	*Alannantik only*	*Ahk'olnantik only*	*Alannantik and Ahk'olnantik*
Lopez Tz'uʔu			12
Lopez Wolto			50
Lopez Yutz			16
Perez			9
Perez Huhan			4
Perez Kam			11
Perez Kantiron			23
Perez Os			17
Perez Otol			16
Perez Tut			18
Perez Ventura			11
Sanchez		3	
Santis Peč	1		
Vasquez		3	
Total	26	58	629

The curing hierarchy was organized on the basis of the dual division until the 1940s. There were two leader curers, one on each side, who were in charge of guarding their own side against intrusion of evil spirits. During the 1940s a breakdown in the hierarchial principle led to some lessening of the power of the group and a collapse of the leadership. People now patronize curers from either section, but there is some feeling that it is safer for the curers if they cure only on their own side.

The dual division persists as a basis of economic organization only in the case of the cattle owner's associations. Pasturage on communal lands is allocated according to residence in the upper or lower division. Since cattle raising for beef has increased the size of herds the cattle owners on each side have formed an association to clear the waterholes and celebrate fiestas at the major waterhole on the Day of the Cross. None of the other new enterprises in town organize on the basis of the territorial division.

In the etiquette of social interaction, the dual division is still taken into account. When a resident of one side walks in the streets of the other side, he is not expected to greet passersby or people in their houses with the usual *b'onme wiš* or *b'onme tat* (I go, elder sister or father, or whatever the appropriate extension of kin terms may be). Such street greetings are mandatory on one's own side of the town. It is considered much safer to

It is considered much safer to drink in a bar on one's own side, but those men who pride themselves on being widely respected brag that they can drink on either side without becoming involved in a fight. When people must pass to the other side of town, they prefer walking on the Pan-American Highway, a socially neutral network, to passing through the streets of the opposite division, where their presence arouses curiosity and comments, such as "He must be looking for a lover!"

The colonias. The six colonias (Table 1) are populations of Indians who have moved from the center to take advantage of the lands granted under the ejido program of 1937 and "foreign Indians" who were formerly workers on the expropriated plantations. The Indians distinguish the close-lying settlements, or *barrios,* of Yetawitz, Pathuitz, B'očib'al, and Te'tikil from the remaining colonias listed in the census (Table 1). The populations of the barrios are more closely identified with the center since they are closer to it and there is a higher proportion of migrants from the parent group. They are linked to the side of the dual division to which they are most closely situated. Marriages can be contracted between members of the two settlements, and house lots can be acquired by residents of the town in the barrio with which they are associated. An exception was made to the association on the basis of proximity in the case of Te'tikil, which lies nearer to Alannantik but was linked with Ahk'olnantik in order to balance the population ratios at the time of its settlement. Police are appointed from these colonias and serve in the local *cabildo,* or town hall, along with other police from the center. The colonias of San Vicente and San Caralampio are farther away, and the rural judge and police appointed to these populations appear only once a week and during ceremonies in the local cabildo. The foreign Indians of San Vicente, who migrated from Chanal, and of Yetawitz, who came from Huistán to work in the finca of San Nicolás before acquiring ejido lands, are discriminated against in the local political organization. Their representatives never reach the high positions of president and first or second judge.

Ranchos and rancherías. The populations of these small settlements have only the most formal kind of social, economic, and political

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241 indicate these bases and assess the efficiency of the agriculturalists in allocating resources of labor, land, and seeds.

423 311 [175] *Land use.* The historical factor of the greatest significance in establishing the present economic position of the town was the act of possession of ejido lands in 1937. The first grant included 4,873.53 *hectares*[1] of land of the following categories:

irrigated flat land	139.77
non-irrigated plots	1,018.37
pasture	1,659.65
hill land	2,055.74

The high hill land with its cover of pine and scrub oak was set aside for use of all members of the community for hunting and gathering firewood. The pasture lands are similarly controlled by the civil authority for common use. The cultivable lands passed into the hands of 385 ejidatarios, each of whom received one-half hectare. A further grant in 1954 provided an increase of 2,578 hectares, including:

low mountain land	2,277.60
pasture land	300.40

423 178 The possession of land by individual small-plot cultivators reversed the trend toward large-scale commercial agriculture begun in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The land of the Indians that had been expropriated in the latter part of the nineteenth century by forced sales was to be held in the possession of the townspeople, "benefiting all with its products and uses" (Act of possession, 1937, Town Archives).

423 241 311 178 With the increase in ejido lands acquired in 1954, the share of each ejidatario has been increased to one hectare. This is usually split between low land in San Caralampio and high land in San Isidro and Tulancá, giving two growing seasons. The advantages of different growing seasons are that there is a more balanced work schedule and that there are two harvests, one in November and one in July. The ejido land grant has stabilized subsistence crop cultivation in the economy of the town and in-

1. A hectare is equal to 2.46 acres.

creased the economic independence of the Indians. The present total of 613 ejidatarios in 1965 has increased 59 percent since the original grant. The dependence of the town's economy on the ejido land can be assessed in the fact that 63 percent of the pasture land is held in ejido grants. The use of land resources in the township is summarized in Table 4.

TABLE 4. Agricultural Productivity by Size of Landholding

Size of landholding (hectares)	*Weight of produce (kilograms)*	*Value of produce (pesos)*	*Land used (percentage)*
Less than 5 hectares			
Corn	200,000	120,000	83.
Wheat	29,000	27,550	16.8
Fruit	3,000	9,000	.2
1 hectare of ejido land			
Corn	319,688	223,781	49.
Corn (with beans)	30,320	21,224	6.
Beans (with corn)	14,000	17,360	
Wheat	185,580	181,580	28.
Beans	84,322	104,322	17.
More than 5 hectares			
Corn	67,388	45,117	34.
Corn (with beans)	96,550	68,108	51.
Beans (with corn)	42,985	56,740	
Alfalfa	350,000	42,000	4.6
Fruit	14,588	9,720	4.4
Other			6.

SOURCE: 1960 census, Mexico.

According to the 1960 census figures on productivity per hectare, privately owned plots under five hectares yield the highest return in corn (1,097 kgs. per hectare), privately owned plots over five hectares the next highest return (925 kgs. per hectare), and ejido plots of one hectare the least (810 kgs. per hectare). In the census evaluation of wheat and corn production on privately owned plots of less than five hectares, wheat apparently yields a higher return (807 pesos per hectare of wheat compared with 658 pesos per hectare of corn). This relative return is nearly the same for the corn produced on ejido lands (820 pesos per hectare return on wheat compared with 603 pesos for corn). However, this is figured at the maximum market price for wheat of 124 pesos per 100 kgs.

000 maximum market price for wheat of 124 pesos per 100 kgs. The Indians
435 usually sell their wheat at 90 pesos per 100 kgs. to Teopisca truckers, or at
442 best gain 110 pesos per 100 kgs. by bringing it to the mills themselves.
241 From their perspective corn is the more valuable crop, not only from the point of view of subsistence, but also for sale since if they hold it in storage they can sell it at double the price at which the values are calculated in the census (.60 peso per kg.). They do not have facilities to store wheat in order to take maximum advantage of price changes.

125 The census I made in 1964 of land ownership and use by the 304 fami-
423 lies living in the center of the township (Table 5) shows that 47 percent
161 of the households have no land other than the ejido grant of one hectare. Because of the growing population, the land per household has decreased. A comparison with the 1958 census of land ownership of 280 households in the center indicates that 89 families now have less land than they had at that date, 72 have the same amount, and 44 have more land; 99 unknown cases include new families which have been created since the earlier date, families which were no longer in existence in 1964, and households in which there is a lack of data on the question of landholding.

423 The strong sentiment against the sale of one's own land, well docu-
432 mented in the monographic literature,[2] is expressed here:

If a man sells his land without sickness, people say he is lazy. The best thing to buy if you have money is land. Unlike cattle, it does not die, it does not get lost, and it does not need watching. It is not the same with a horse. When you buy one, you have to watch it and care for it and when it dies, all is over. You lose all your money. But with land, in two years you have the land paid for and it remains as a gift. It gives us what we eat.

423 Land is rarely sold to outsiders. If a man needs money and has a buyer
432 from out of town, the civil authorities raise the money and buy the plot,
609 selling it in pieces as they find buyers. Only one small plot of land has
621 been sold to an outsider in my knowledge of the community. This plot

2. See Tax (1957), Wagley (1941). Oscar Lewis (1963:125 indicates that in Tepoztlan the breakdown of the resistance to selling land was associated with a growing awareness of profits to be made in the regional and national economy.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 32]

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TABLE 5. Land Ownership and Crops Grown by Households, 1964

Crops	Owners of ejido land (2 tablones *)	Owners of ejido and inherited land No. of tablones 1	2	3	4	5	Owners of ejido and bought land No. of tablones 1	2	3	4	5 and over	Owners of ejido, bought, and inherited land No. of tablones 1	2	3	4	5	Total
Corn	45	6	2				1		1								55
Corn and wheat	92	25	13	1	2		2	3	2	2	2	1	6	5	2	3	161
Corn and beans	3	23	16	4	2		8	11	1	2			3		3	2	78
Unknown	2							2						1			5
Total	142	54	31	5	4		11	16	3	5	2	1	9	6	5	5	299

* A tablón is equal to 25 square meters roughly figured; there are 4 tablones in one hectare.

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423 was in a low gully where crops would not grow, and no one within the
432 community would buy it.
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621

Land is frequently pawned by farmers as security on a loan. The title to
423 the land is left with the lender, who can foreclose on the debt if the inter-
426 est payments of five percent per month are not paid. Often the land pawned may be worth far more than the loan. Loans in town are rarely backed with security, and if something is pawned, it is usually clothing or household items.

178 With the growing significance of ejido lands and land sale, inheritance
423 of land is of less importance in the economic expectations of each succes-
428 sive generation. The rules controlling inheritance are theoretically simple:
693 equal inheritance for all children regardless of sex. The parents usually give some land when the child establishes a separate household; the remainder is then given at the death of the parent or when old age makes it impossible for the parent to work any more. The youngest child remaining at home works his father's land, or if he is living with his wife's family, his father-in-law's land, until the latter's death. His family inherits the house site as well as an equal share of the privately held lands. Complications arise because of modifications of the basic rule of equal inheritance by provisions for care and maintenance of the aged parents. Frequent dis-
[692] putes over inheritance are settled in local courts or passed on to the De-
[647] partment of Indian Affairs in San Cristóbal.

The selection of which crop to grow is related to the kind and amount
241 of land a farmer owns. The most important crops are corn, beans, and wheat. Some squash and sugarcane are grown in the lower ejido lands of San Caralampio. Cabbage is grown by one Indian who possesses fertile irrigated lands in the center. Most Indians, however, are unwilling to undertake the risk of raising a cash crop since there is greater chance of the crop being stolen and they cannot afford a bad market price when they harvest.

241 Relating the size of holding to the crop grown, according to figures in
423 the Mexican census of 1960[3] (Table 4) one can see that in privately
433

[659] 3. The census figures are based on estimates received from town officials, who submit them monthly to the census bureau. The officials of the town question the household heads as they see them in the streets or in their houses about how much seed they planted. They then estimate what the yield per almud for good and bad land is, from their own crops.

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owned plots of less than five hectares, corn is clearly the major crop, with 83 percent of the land devoted to its production. In the ejido lands, it is cultivated on less than 50 percent of the land, with wheat and beans sharing the remaining lands. Included in the category of ownership of five hectares or more are three large fincas where cattle fodder is grown. These fincas employ eighty-three laborers, some of whom live in the town center.

Since the Mexican census figures do not take into account the total land holdings of the household, I shall refer to the data on land use from my own census in 1964 (Table 5). Beans are grown (except in three cases) only if the household has more than the one hectare of ejido land grant. Corn and beans are grown together only on irrigated lands, both in high lands and in low country. Most farmers with ejido land grow wheat in addition to corn only when the land is in continual production, since it is believed that wheat gives "heat" to the land and improves the soil. This belief is supported by the real value of crop rotation.

Decisions concerning what crops to plant where are based on two sets of criteria: topology and soil characteristics. These criteria, furthermore, are the basis for determining what kinds of seed should be planted and what techniques of cultivation should be utilized.

Topological criteria. Because of the relative wealth of land resources, the steep hills are left uncultivated. All of the steep hills are communally owned, and the second growth of pine and scrub oak provides firewood. Tall pine growing in the higher lands of the colonia of San Vicente is sold by the community to private lumber companies.

The "belly of the land," the mound-like hillocks at the bottom of the hills, are sometimes cultivated or used for pasturage. On hilly lands farmers put rocks in the banks or curve the rows of corn to avoid erosion. The very low lands of the valley floor must be drained by digging ditches.

The flat irrigated lands of the valley floor are the most desirable lands for cultivation. The Indians are reluctant to sell these lands, and hold on to them until they are forced to sell.

When the officials reach concensus on what the mean yield (or *medio calculo* as they call it) is, they multiply this by the known amount of seed planted. Every six years a house-to-house census of what was planted is made.

base, so the farmers prefer to plant the better, quicker-growing corn seed 242
in a mixed sand and loam soil.

The final evaluation of land is based on results at harvest. The range of 242
variation is large: from 48 liters of yield per liter of seed to 80 litters of 433
yield per liter of seed. Township officials say that the average harvest is
five *fanegas* (1 fanega equals 12 liters) or 60 liters per liter of seed. Market [435]
prices are of less importance in deciding what crops will be planted than
are considerations of what the soil "wants" and what labor is involved.
Corn is grown on all kinds of land, whereas beans and special crops such
as cabbages can be grown only on the more fertile soil. Wheat can be
grown only where there is irrigation. One farmer raised cabbage in coop- [434]
eration with a Ladino and earned 1,000 pesos, four times the amount he
earned with his wheat crop the previous year. Despite the greater return
for cabbage, the farmer did not plant it the next year when the Ladino,
who had supported the first venture, withdrew his support. The reason he
gave for this was the fact that there was more work involved and he could
not accomplish it alone: first the crop had to be planted, then transplanted,
then irrigated every three days in the early growing period, and cultivated
two or three times; every eight days he had to get rid of worms. He esti- [461]
mated that growing cabbage involved well over four times the amount of
work necessary for growing corn.

Labor. Most agricultural work is performed by members of 592
households with exchange or hired labor. There is no specialization of 241
labor when the work force includes two or more men since the men 476
cooperate in doing each task. Communal labor is restricted to the mainte- 464
nance of the main irrigation ditches. Each year the ditches are dug out 241
where the sides have eroded and cleaned of brush and leaves. The presi- 621
dent and judges unite to decide on a time for this work and announce it 476
on a loudspeaker of one of the cantinas. This usually occurs around the
twenty-fifth of December. Formerly, all the men of the community helped
in this work whether or not they owned irrigated fields. In 1958 those who [178] [423]
did not own such land "got smart" and refused to work.

In 1962 the civil officials decided that a cement canal should be installed 653
near the source of the spring. They tried to finance it with contributions 621
423
241

653 621 241 423 from all men of the township, but again they were refused by the farmers who did not own irrigated land. The officials then sold trees in the communally owned lands to support the project, which cost 2,000 pesos. The farmers without irrigated lands still bore the cost although indirectly since community resources were expended in subsidizing the work.

241 The scheduling of agricultural activities follows an annual cycle for the three major crops, corn, wheat, and beans.

243 242 *Corn*. In corn production, the greatest discrimination comes in the selection of seed.[4] Seed is chosen from cobs which have the most grain. The farmer must look carefully to see that none of it is rotten, since if one grain is bad, the entire five grains put into each hillock will rot. There are two major kinds of corn: a quick-growing variety and a slow-growing variety. The first is preferred, but not all soils "want" it. The bitter soil "wants" the slow corn which must be planted about the first of February. [177] A new corn seed introduced by some developmental engineers in 1957 yielded more grain, but it was not as flinty as the old variety and rotted quickly.

243 The soil is prepared by cross-plowing the land three times in one direction and two times in the other. Those who do not own their own oxen team do it just once because of the additional expense. In planting, the farmer is careful to measure rows evenly, five handspans between rows, and five handspans between each hillock, forming a square which permits the maximum growth of each plant. Five seeds are placed in each hillock. In hot country, the land has not been worked over as well, and as a result it cannot be measured as accurately because of rocks and trees. This upsets the agriculturalist's sense of symmetry and beauty.

Once the corn has been planted, the scheduling of activities is based on the maturation of the plant rather than on a calendrical sequence. The scheduling of activities in corn production is shown in Table 6. The starges of growth in the corn plant and the activities related to them are listed in Table 7.

Cultivation is performed twice, to kill the weeds and to pile up earth at

4. The botanist Anderson (quoted in Lévi-Strauss 1966:73) points out that the careful separation of seed planted in each plot distinguished Indian from non-Indian agriculturalists in other Middle American communities.

Wheat. In selecting the seed, the farmers choose those heads with the most kernels—there may be from thirty to eighty on each head. The same kind of seed must be used in planting each plot of land or the soil "does not give well." A new wheat seed was introduced by an American agronomist in the 1950s. The following reaction by an informant reveals why most of the farmers decided not to use it:

There is a quick-growing wheat, called foreign wheat because a foreigner brought it and planted it in the soil. Those who wanted to try it were given some. It was difficult to harvest because it was very dry and broke easily. Most of the grain was left behind on the ground. When it got to the threshing floor, most of it was broken. Therefore the town did not want it. So we continue planting the common wheat and it doesn't break.

The inefficient harvesting techniques force the people to consider loss of grains in deciding what wheat they will seed. However, a few of the farmers continue to grow the new wheat.

The scheduling of wheat production is shown in Table 8. The *arada* plow, introduced by the Spaniards (Foster 1951) and made locally by farmers for their own use, is commonly used to prepare the land. A few farmers borrow the plow of a relative, or sometimes a metal plowshare is bought in the departmental capital.

The harvest is the most arduous work in wheat production, but because it is done with the assistance of four or five helpers, usually brothers or compadres, it is a gay occasion. There are about a dozen threshing shelters which are individually owned and rented for 5 pesos a day. At the height of the harvesting season, the farmers have to wait for their turn to use the shelter. After the threshing, a fiesta is held in the house of the owner of the wheat at which liquor and a meal of beef stew is served. Since the labor involved is based on exchange rather than payment, the owner will take part in the harvest and celebration of those whom he has helped.

Beans. The choice of locale and the time of planting vary more radically for beans than for other crops because of the greater differences in type of seed. The two major types of beans are (1) ground beans, of

000 bly similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now. Just as a
323 man defines himself as an agriculturalist, a woman defines herself as a pot-
462 ter. Men complain if their wives do not produce pottery, and I know of
[593] two cases of separation on the grounds that the woman was not fulfilling
[586] one of her functions as housewife by helping the family budget with pot-
[461] tery production. Most women like to make pottery: it helps them to pass the day, and they say they would be bored without it. Some of the women who have gone with their husbands for extended stays in hot country have tried to make pottery out of clays available there, but because of its inferior quality, they have not had much success. Unlike women of neighboring towns, the women of Tzoʔontahal usually do not accompany their husbands to the fincas "because they have their work at home."

323 *Making pottery.* The women make a wide variety of household
178 and ceremonial objects, but the item which has the widest market distribution is the water storage jar (See Plate 7).[1] They introduce new items in response to local needs, such as the funnel used in channeling liquor into large containers from the retort of the still. One vessel which is disappearing from production is the large ceremonial cooking pot. The only woman who knew how to do this (or who admitted to knowing, since it is unpaid work) died in the 60s, and no one has replaced her. One woman who had a reputation for eccentricity, introduced several elaborate vases and ashtrays. Her creative imagination was best exemplified in a combined ashtray and vase which featured four frogs poised on the lip of the tray, presumably drinking from a fountain. Reina (1962–1963) has pointed out
[171] that women of the Guatemalan community of Chinautla who wish to be
[156] accepted in the community must limit themselves to conventional forms, and the same restriction seems to apply in Tzoʔontahal.

317 The women of a household work as a group in collecting clay and in
592 firing pottery. Clay is free since it is found in the communally owned hills
[323] on the perimeter of the town. It is collected preferably during the rainy
[423] season when it is easier to gather from the open gorges in which it is found, but if the supply runs out, other trips are made. All of the women of the household go, sometimes with neighbors or relatives in groups of
[482] five or six. They collect large clay balls weighing from forty to fifty pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline.

1 (see plates following p.198..Analyst)

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pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village. The expenditures of this family on meat, brown sugar, and liquor were required for the house celebrations carried out almost every Sunday. Like family No. 1 they spent 83 percent of their budget on food, a total of 714.80 pesos, and a larger percentage on clothing, 138 pesos. They sold their surplus corn for 292 pesos and their beans for 247 pesos. These crops were produced on one hectare of privately owned, irrigated land, one hectare of privately owned, non-irrigated land and one hectare of ejido land.

Family No. 3 consists of a widow and her widowed daughter-in-law who had five children. The oldest son, aged sixteen, worked their one-half hectare of ejido land and one-half hectare of irrigated land with some hired help during harvest. During the three weeks recorded, there were no returns from their crops, which include wheat and corn, and the family relied entirely on returns from pottery. This household produces more pottery than any of the others recorded, earning 61 pesos in the three weeks, because there are no adult male producers. They spent 63 percent of their budget on food, a total of 42 pesos, and 34 percent or 23 pesos on clothing.

Family No. 4 consists of a married couple with three children seven years of age and under. The husband works occasionally in the sawmill, but since he drinks a great deal, he does not contribute much of his 70-peso weekly wage to the family. He grows wheat on one-half hectare of irrigated land and corn on one-half hectare of ejido land. In the ten days recorded, no money was gained on harvest, but the woman earned 19 pesos from pottery. The family spent 77 percent, or 17.20 pesos of their budget on food and another 22 percent, or 5 pesos such as soap, kerosene, etc.

Family No. 5 consists of a married couple, their married son and daughter-in-law, and three grandchildren. They own one and one-half hectare of irrigated land, on which they grow wheat and corn, and one-half hectare of ejido land. The husband and his son supplement their earning from farming by distilling liquor, earning 108 pesos in the ten days recorded. In addition, the women of the household earned 54 pesos from pottery they made. They spent 143 pesos, or 97 percent of their budget on food and 3 pesos, or 2 percent of their budget, on clothing.

Family No. 6 consists of a young couple with two children. The husband owns one-half hectare of irrigated land, and one-half hectare of non-

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434 592 [241] [423] [464] irrigated land in addition to their one-half hectare of ejido land. He supplements his income with work in the sawmill for some periods of the year, at a wage of 90 pesos a week, making a total of 165 pesos in the ten days recorded. The family spent 81 percent or 36 pesos of the budget on food, 13 percent or 6 pesos on clothing 2.3 percent or 1 peso on household supplies, and 3 percent or 1.20 pesos on medicines.

434 592 241 262 These family budgets show that most of the corn and beans can be supplied by subsistence agriculture. Garden crops of chile, chayote (a green vegetable which produces a fruit and an edible root), and fruit trees, including lime and anone, are raised in the house yard. Tomatoes, fruit, and cabbages are bought in neighboring market towns.

434 592 171 In comparison with household consumption expenditures in the United States and other foreign countries, these budgets show a much higher proportion of cash income spent on food. The percentages of food expenditures range from 63.2 to 97.0 in the families studied, whereas in the United States the average percentage is only 26.3, in Argentina 59.2, and in Zambia 66.5 (Conference Board Economic Almanac 1967). This reflects the fact that the people of Tzoʾontahal have no expenses for house rental, that wood for fuel and light is available in communally owned forests, and that most of the household utensils such as jars, jugs, and bowls, are locally produced. However, failure to report items must also be noted—no [125] one reported purchasing matches although everyone uses them, and only half of the families reported use of soap, although this is universally purchased.

433 241 A gross estimate of the land necessary to fulfill consumption needs of corn for a family of two adults and four children would be approximately one and a half to two hectares. The yearly average consumption of corn for such a family is about 2,000 kilograms. One hectare produces from 1,200 to 2,000 kilograms in addition to 80 kilograms of beans. Of the 299 families whose land ownership is given in Table 5, 142 have only one hectare of ejido land and 85 more have only one-half additional hectare of pri-
423 433 vately owned land. This means that 227 households, or 61 percent do not have enough land to meet their subsistence needs. 160 household heads

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have recently sought additional lands in the ejido of Brindis to meet these minimal requirements. This preference for expanding subsistence agriculture to hiring out as laborers is the best index to the persistence of traditional economic pursuits. 423 433 178 241 464

Farmers who do not have a cash crop in wheat may be forced to sell corn even when there is no surplus. Because they usually need the cash as soon as they harvest their crop, they must sell when the prices are low. Thus their consumption needs exacerbate the disadvantage they face in the market. 434 435

Clothing, whether traditional or modern in style, requires cash outlays. Women have kept the traditional costume while men are modifying their clothing. Even when they go to hot country, older women wear the heavy cotton skirt bound with a thick sash and topped by an embroidered blouse; some younger women have adopted the long cotton dirndl skirt and peasant blouse. A white cotton shawl is added for ceremonial events or for warmth in the evening. All of their clothing is either bought or made of materials woven on looms in Comitán or San Bartolomé. The navy blue skirt, which they say is black, and the red and yellow sash are sold for 40 to 50 pesos by Ladina vendors who come to town. The blouse is made from two meters of heavy white cotton sold in the local stores or in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. Most prefer the more expensive cotton woven on bed looms in San Bartolomé, but it is not always available. They embroider the wide bands of yellow and red around the neckline with embroidery floss sold in the local store. The fringed shawl from Comitán is also sold locally, but is often purchased during the annual fiestas in the town. These items are replaced every two or three years, depending on the wealth of the family. The newer clothing is worn on ceremonial occasions, and the older clothing is worn every day. Women wear sandals and hats for protection only when they are firing pottery. For jewelry they wear bead necklaces, sometimes with crosses attached. Their hair is braided with ribbons for fiestas, or simply left hanging when they work. 434 291 178 [439] [435] [294] [292] [751] [301] [302]

Men buy a woolen jacket called *kotonču*, which is brought illegally from the Department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala, where it is made, 434 291 439

of what seeds grow best in which soils. Good, fast-growing seed is not 241
sowed indiscriminately but is limited to use on more fertile irrigated 242
lands. The size of a family's holdings is the primary factor in deciding
what proportion of the three major crops—corn, beans, and wheat—they [423]
will grow. Where they grow each of these crops depends upon the quality of the soil categorized by topological criteria, consistency, color, and proved fertility. Decline in productivity is attributed to wearing out of soil fertility because of overuse as well as to loss of the soul of crops. The first explanation leads to adaptive behavior, in which the land is "rested" or turned over to cattle grazing, and to crop rotation, alternating wheat and corn crops. The second explanation leads to adjustive behavior in which the agriculturalist takes care of ceremonial obligations to the saints and to the "owner of the milpa."

The scheduling of activities is determined by the knowledge of time re- 241
quired for maturing of the crop and by expectations concerning seasonal fluctuations as they affect rainfall. Although the farmers have some control over water supply through irrigation, dependence on rainfall for the non- [982] [776] [769] [171]
irrigated fields means that sporadic appeals to the ancestors or saints are made to ensure rain in the growing period. These rituals are not as integrated in the agricultural production cycle as they are in the neighboring towns of Chamula and Oxchuk or in the colonia of San Vicente where irrigation facilities are lacking.

Traditional techniques of pottery production are maintained by a tightly 323
organized schema of procedures which allows for little variation in technique or form. Learning of productive techniques is facilitated by a fine segmentation of tasks. Knowledge of local clays and tempering has been stabilized for at least five hundred years of occupation in this area. Women's work is entirely lacking in rituals to ensure the success of their efforts.

These given sets of cognitive orientations in economic activities do not 241
exclude the possibility of considering new ways or means of doing things. 177
Agriculturalists have tried the new seed introduced by agronomists, but 178
have found them wanting in their resistance to mold, in the case of corn, and in their portability, in the case of wheat. Fertilizers have been tried, but the credit costs proved too high for the agriculturalists to continue. Women were willing to try a kiln in place of open firing, but either the 177
model introduced was faulty or they were not 323
taught to use it properly.

Chapter 3

New Economic Activities

43 The role of the Indian in the regional and national economy is being
44 shaped more and more by supralocal institutions in public and private en-
177 terprises. The Indians of Tzoʔontahal have mobilized their own resources
178 to incorporate these opportunities. In this they reveal a selective perception of the economic and social advantages of innovation and a tendency to translate form and function into a local idiom. The success of planning at national or regional levels depends upon incorporation of projects at local levels, while the survival of the local group depends upon acceptance of
178 the new opportunities to absorb rising populations.

177 The major institutional settings in which innovation is occurring are
423 (1) the ejido program, (2) employment in agricultural and nonagricul-
464 tural enterprises outside of the community, and (3) economic enterprises
43 originating within the community. My discussion of the economic potential of the local community to adapt to change will be organized in terms of these settings.

The Economic Potential of the Ejido

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Mexico's ejido program, as one of the oldest and most extensive attempts at land reform in the hemisphere, provides a basis for assessing the economic potential of such programs. Here I shall consider only the effects of ejido administration in the community and what this case illustrates of the potential for development in the future.

Manuel Giraul (quoted in de la Peña 1951:327) summarizes the negative effects of the ejido program:

> In Mexico, the ejido system constitutes an institutionalized block to the reform of the social and economic structure; it corresponds to a

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highly stratified primitive society, which remains static: it lacks the 423
flexibility and mobility that exists in modern societies.

The history of the ejido program in Tzo'ontahal in the first few years 175
after it was organized in 1937 seemed to confirm this conclusion. Its 423
immediate effect was to block the flow of labor and goods in the regional 182
and national markets. The ejidatarios were no longer forced to sell their 464
labor at the prevailing rate of 25 cents a day, a wage which was not [465]
enough to supply the needs of even one man much less those of a household. Children and women formerly had to work with their husbands in the coffee fincas in order to meet their most immediate consumption needs. The independence that the ejido tract gave meant that men could withhold their own labor and that of the subordinate members of the family from such exploitation. The second harvests coming from the ejido [241]
plots in low country freed the Indians from having to buy corn in July, [435]
August, and September at the inflated market prices which took advantage of the scarcity of this basic necessity.

The political effect of the ejido in the early days was to fortify the corpo- 175
rate community against the shocks of the outside world. The first lands ac- 423
quired were primarily allotments of corporate lands alienated by the laws 621
of 1856 and 1876. Populations remained in situ, whether they were foreign Indians working on the expropriated estates, or residential communities created in the sixteenth century as crown towns.

The township of Amatenango acquired its first ejido land grant in 1937. [177]
One of the early promoters of the ejido, a *revestido* Indian (one who has adopted western clothing) from Huistán who had been a laborer on one of the fincas within the township limits, threatened to become a rural *cacique,* or local boss, comparable to those who emerged from the agrarian revolt in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962). This leader was elected president, but during his term of office he was expelled because of his attempt to secure house plots in the center for himself and other Huistecan Indians residing in the barrio of Yetawitz (Chapter 9).

The stabilizing effects of the ejido in its earlier phase have been upset in 423
recent years. As the population of the center expanded, new families mi- 621
grated to the nearby barrios contiguous to the town center. These new set- 166

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tlements were assigned to one of the two sections of the division in the center with an attempt being made to maintain a demographic balance. Incorporation of the new settlements was more effective in the case of the barrios than in the case of the colonias, which were farther away from the town center and included Indians of diverse communities. The process of breaking away from the old community is illustrated by the 1961 move for independence made by the original settlers of the colonia of Caralampio. The following account was given by a man who was then secretary of the ejido:

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The first settlers of San Caralampio, José, Pablo, Luciano, and Santos were self-appointed principales, *or head men, of the colony. Santos and Luciano were from the town center, and José and Pablo had worked on the ranch when it was privately owned. The colony was well populated and the people lived well—there were no fights nor any problems. In 1956 the four principales decided that they should separate from the center. They told the people that if each person would contribute twenty-five pesos, they would raise the issue of the division in the* Departamento Agraria Mixta. *José invited Mateo, a man who knew how to read and write, to help them.*

"Let's divide from the town so that we alone will run the colony," he told them.

The principales took the money contributed and went to Tuxtla. There, in the Liga de Communidad Agraria *they asked for the separation, and were referred to the* Departamento Agraria Mixta. *When they arrived there with their request, the commissioner said that he would have to communicate with the chief in Mexico.*

After this, Pablo came one day to the center. He spoke to the ejido commission: "Look here, José, Luciano and Mateo went to Tuxtla."

"What for?" asked the ejido president.

"They asked for a division from the town."

"Que pendejo!" *said the president. "What happened?"*

"What do you think?" asked Pablo.

"We are against it. If it was a new center, we would support you. But

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we are against division," said the president. "How much did you have to contribute?" he asked Pablo.

"Twenty-five pesos. They told us if we do not give money, we will be thrown out of the colonia."

We advised him that it would be better not to continue giving money to the principales. "You can't make this division," we told him.

One Sunday all the pueblo united in a mass meeting. Everyone was present. People asked about the affair of San Caralampio, and the Ejido Commission explained to them what had happened. The people said, "Let's get rid of them [the four principales of San Caralampio]."

When the three principales returned to San Caralampio from Tuxtla they asked each household head to contribute fifty pesos in order to send them to Mexico to talk personally with the Chief of the Ejido Division. Pablo came the next day to talk to the president in the center and advised them that the principales had gone out. There was another meeting. The president's decision was to get a contribution of one peso from each person in the center so that they would have six hundred pesos to prevent the division. They feared that if this occurred the people of the center couldn't work down there.

When the leaders of the central Ejido Commission had received the money, they went to the departmental capital to explain to the chief of the ejido zone what had happened. They said that the leaders of the colonia had gone to Mexico.

"Let's to go work!" said the chief. "Did you bring the money?"

"Yes, we have six hundred pesos."

"Go to the bank and change it into one-hundred-peso bills," said the chief. "Let us send two hundred pesos to the chief of the division in Mexico so that he will prevent the division."

We sent the money airmail. Before the principales of San Caralampio had arrived, we had their way blocked. Our money went to work for us. In five days, the chief in Las Casas said the money had been well received, and the leaders of San Caralampio had not been received.

A week later, Pablo came to see how the affair had proceeded. We asked Pablo if he had contributed money. He said no. We told him,

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175 423 621 661 159 *"Don't give any more money. The Ejido Commission won't let the division happen since we are the same pueblo."*

The four principales returned from Mexico. They said that they had a paper and that an engineer would come. They asked for another contribution of 25 pesos. They said that those who wouldn't pay would be thrown out. Pablo came and told us. We told him not to be afraid. The principales now knew that Pablo was with us. He had two brothers, Pancho and Ignacio, whom he advised not to go along with the principales since he knew that they would not win the case. When the principales returned to ask for more money for their trips to Tuxtla, both brothers refused.

175 423 621 661 682 159 *Since these three brothers did not cooperate, the principales got angry and decided to kill Pablo. One day, when Pablo was on his way to Teopisca, he was shot in the back. He continued riding 76 meters. The horse returned to his house. His wife ran to tell his two brothers that the horse had come home without a rider. The brothers ran out and found Pablo dead. The civil authorities of the town went. A few days passed. The brothers never asked for justice. But since they knew who did it, one of them took Pablo's 16-centimeter rifle. Pablo's wife had been thinking of selling it to pay for the expenses of the funeral. Pancho [Pablo's brother] said, "No wait. I will buy it as soon as I have money."*

He borrowed it for several years. One Sunday there was an order for all of the people of San Caralampio to go to the pueblo. They got up early and wakened all the others with a horn. Pancho got up with his rifle. He went to Juan's house and shot him. Luciano had Pancho jailed in the department capitol. He declared his crime, and said that he had killed Juan because the latter had shot his brother. He made a good statement. For this reason, he got out very cheaply—1500 pesos—which he paid with his crop of beans and corn. He was in prison in San Caralampio three months. Now he lives in Teopisca. His sons go to work there, but he doesn't. One day, Pancho was shot in the back—I don't know how many centimeters the bullet penetrated, but he did not die. The brothers of Juan and José have all left the colonia.

José was the one who caused all of the trouble. His wife was the younger sister of Pablo and she left him. Now José is going around begging for food to eat.

The action of the Ejido Commission of the town reveals the knowledge of how to manipulate political and economic power. By sending the 200-peso bribe, they were able to block the independence movement before the leadership had arrived. The extreme tactics used by the independence leaders in killing their opponents approximates the kind of political homicide characteristic of the central plateau (Friedrich 1962). The Indians of the center have been able to maintain their ejido grants intact. However, the political discrimination against residents of both colonias and barrios—no resident of either (except for the Huistecan mentioned above) has been elected president, and they never serve in any post higher than that of assistant judge—will undoubtedly lead to further unrest as the populations expand.

Bureaucratic inefficiency and corruption minimize the potential effectiveness of the ejido organization at local, state, and national levels. Projects undertaken by the national government lose their effectiveness when they are promoted by fraudulent claims, taking advantage of the presumed illiteracy and ignorance of the peasantry. The following case illustrates both the tactics of the ejido agents and the countertactics of the local Indians, resulting in a stalemate in the development projects planned and projected at the national level.

In August, two years ago, the Ejido Bank agents came to town with an offer to lend money on crops. We didn't want to borrow it, but Francisco, carbrón! [*then president of the town*], *said we should do it. "Good," we said. We accepted their terms. They said, "We will give fertilizer. It won't cost you a cent. We have tried it. It will give a good crop. We will give you money every six months, and you will pay the interest of nine percent. We will pay for all the costs. It won't cost you anything for the fertilizer."*

In six months, when the bank agents came to get the interest, they charged us six hundred pesos for the fertilizer. We did not want to receive the second load of fertilizer. We presented our case to the Jefe *and told him, "Why did you say it would not cost anything?" He replied, "No,* muchacho [*boy*], *I told you* [*using the familiar form* te dije] *that the fertilizer is going to cost."*

We used seven bags of fertilizer on each hectare for which they charged

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tional economy and polity at a more rapid pace than has ever occurred in the past. Typical of this new movement is the recently established ejido of Brindis, formed by a core of landless Indians from the town working with acculturated Indians from Teopisca. Whether the political unity which has developed in the course of establishing their claim to the land will continue to provide a base for community development will depend on the encouragement and support by national institutions.

Within Indian communities of highland Chiapas, the ejido program has weakened age-authority principles in the family and in the civil hierarchy (Day n.d., Edel n.d.). Sons are no longer primarily dependent on their fathers for acquiring economic independence. Ejido Commission leaders have broken the monopoly of power by a gerontocracy of principales. Outside of the community, however, the political and economic potential of the ejido has not yet been fully realized. As the new ejidos such as Brindis develop, they may break the old community boundaries that contained and limited the power of the ejidatarios. With rising literacy, many Indians now read the *Codigo Agraria* sold in neighboring markets, and they are increasingly conscious of their rights. If unity across township boundaries could be achieved, the new ejidos might become an effective political force in regional and national spheres.

Wage Labor and Occupational Specialties

The agriculturalists of the community do work as both exchange and paid laborers in the following forms: reciprocal exchange, part time labor and part-time independent agricultural work, and forestry.[1] Wage work is considered only a supplement to independent self-employment for all but twenty agricultural employees who work full-time on a finca within the township.

Payments for agricultural labor within the community are lower than the prevailing rate outside of the town and are higher in the fincas of hot country than in the highlands. When men work on the fincas of landowners in the neighboring township, they prefer payment by the task (*tarea*) rather than by the day, since they can usually complete two tareas by

1. See Richard N. Adams (1964:48) for a discussion of the forms of rural labor.

When this fails, they turn to the professional help of lawyers rather than 177
to the old caciques with whom they had formerly maintained patron- 178
client relations. The traditional structural alignment of upper and lower 474
barrios is retained as the basis for organizing the growing cattle herds, but 693
the cooperative provides flexibility and power for developing new enter- 621
prises.

The minimal changes in the material environment and the technology 177
of the peasantry are countered by the development of social resources 178
which should facilitate Indian integration in the wider society. In operat- 472
ing the new enterprises independently of Ladino control, they are develop-
ing entrepreneurial skills and an awareness of the relationship between
capital and profit. The restriction of their operations to nonproductive use
of capital for profit, such as buying crops at harvest and reselling as the
price rises, reveals the limited dynamics of intracommunal development.
The town will look to the regional and national networks for fundamen-
tal changes in its economy.

The fear of exciting envy acts as a brake on productive activity and the 626
enjoyment of improved consumption resulting from wealth. Santos' death 182
is a symbolic warning to others who would follow in his footsteps. An ear- 472
lier case occurred when the ejido land grants were made in the 30s: 556

The brothers Ča?iletik became "very rich" as a result of careful opera- 556
tion of their ejido and privately owned land. They owned ten pair of oxen 433
and about fifty horses. When they brought in their crops on horseback, it 423
looked like a line of ants. They built a good house in Alkob', and a good 621
threshing shelter. The people of the town began to talk about getting 626
them off the land. The ejido commissioner took their land away and 159
turned it over to others in the town. Until this day, the brothers Ča?iletik
are without land. Now they do no more than work like other men. They
live poorly. All their cattle and horses are sold.

The organization of the cooperatives is one means of diverting envy di- 474
rected against individuals and permitting some increase in productive ef- 182
forts, but the society still lacks the means of validating higher consump- 626
tion standards. The richest man in town eats better than his neighbors, 556

602 Kinship is one of several bases for recruiting reciprocal or cooperative
476 labor. Table 19 compares kinship with nonkinship-defined work groups
626 in terms of the kinds of exchanges, the type of work done, the time span permitted for reciprocity, and the sanctions against failure to reciprocate.

TABLE 19. Labor Exchanges of Kinship- and Nonkinship-Defined Groups

Conditions	*Within household*	*Beyond household, within community*	
		With kin (ritual, compadre, affinal and consanguineal)	*With nonkin*
Interchange	"Cooperation"—reciprocity based on implicit understandings	Reciprocity—explicit, defined by traditional expectations	Reciprocity—explicit, often defined by contract as well as tradition
Sanctions	Authority of elder member, male in men's work group, female in women's work group	Authority of elders of bilaterally-extended kin group; Recourse to cabildo if no strong elder	Informal—fear of gossip of neighbors; formal—reliance on local judges and president or recourse to district courts
Time Span	Extended, indefinite	Extended, usually some defined limit on repeated tasks (harvest); no limit for nonrepeated tasks (housebuilding)	Immediate return expected, or explicitly stated time allowance
Kind of Task	Pottery-making, milpa agriculture, care of cattle, preparation of food	Ploughing, cultivating, harvesting, firing pottery, housebuilding	Same.

593 Fathers and sons, or sons-in-laws may work together on family-owned
476 property. Because all men can acquire ejido land after marriage, and since
423 47 percent of the households claim to have only this land, the cooperative
621 tie between fathers and sons is not based on inheritance. If they work well
[606] together, they may continue to cooperate after the son has become inde-
476 pendent. Father and sons, brothers and brothers-in-law are expected to
342 cooperate with each other in building a house, rethatching a roof, and
607 threshing wheat. In the case of house-building or maintenance, they must
593 pay for a substitute if they are unable to fulfill the obligation.
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Chapter 7

The Formal Organization of Local Government

The formal organization of civil and religious offices in Tzo'ontahal is based on the pattern of a locally independent, democratically elected officialdom introduced by the Spaniards. Variations in the pattern from that of other towns of the highlands have resulted from differences of interpretation of the functions, the range of power, and the course of succession of offices. This flexibility has preserved structural continuity as organizational adjustments are made. The Indians have transformed an alien governing mechanism into one that meets their changing needs and contributes to their independence in the modern world. 621 177 178

The independence of the local township has a base in the pre-Conquest social organization of Chiapas. Robert Adams (1961:347) has noted the absence of architectural or other features indicative of functional specialization that would arise in a politically integrated region. At the time of the Conquest, Chiapas was divided into warring principalities, revealing the extreme political fragmentation of the area (Calnek 1962:8). Each town was divided from the neighboring town by *mojones*, hilled-up boundaries (ibid:36). A minimum of political unity was achieved by holding certain towns subject to the dominance of others (ibid:27); local autonomy persisted, however, in the administration of landholding as a community enterprise. 632 178 175 632 628 131 621 423

During the colonial period the Spanish Crown established the independence of towns directly under their control and provided them with a civil-religious hierarchy which has persisted as the form of government to the present (Carrasco 1961: Wolf 1957b). 175 632 177 621

Comparative studies of the civil-religious hierarchy indicate the range of 171 621

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TABLE 25. Number of Civil and Religious Offices of Household Heads over 50 Years of Age as Related to Wealth

Age of household head	*Wealth* *Land in hectares*	*Head of cattle*	*No. of civil offices*	*No. of religious offices*
54	3	4	5	3
55	3	8	2	3
65	3	11	6	2
50	2½	2	4	4
75	2½	4	6	6
55	2	8	2	4
55	2		4	3
60	2	2	2	4
65	2		6	6
75	2	7	4	3
78	2	6	2	1
50	2½	2	3	4
50	1½	2	6	5
55	1½	6	2	6
58	1½		1	2
60	1½		6	6
60	1½	4	4	4
60	1½	8	4	5
80	1½		4	5
88	1½	7	6	6
50	1	10	2	3
50	1	1	3	3
54	1	4	6	6
54	1	4	6	6
55	1	6	2	3
56	1	4	3	3
58	1		5	4
60	1	1	5	6
60	1	2	5	6
60	1	2	4	6
65	1	2	3	
65	1		6	6
65	1		3	3
70	1		1	1
75	1		5	5
79	1		5	5
80	1	2	3	
80	1	22	3	1
85	1	6	6	6

Age of household head	Wealth: Land in hectares	Wealth: Head of cattle	No. of civil offices	No. of religious offices
55	½		2	2
55	½		2	2
55	½	2	2	3
60	½		2	3
60	½		1	3
60	½		4	3
62	½	1	2	3
65	½		2	3
65	½	4	4	6
65	½		6	5
75	½		5	6
87	½		4	4

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from six to five. The reason given for this is that there are more people now than formerly. 621 794

The second course of civil careers is to serve as síndico and go on to president, bypassing the intermediate and lower posts of the hierarchy and never filling the higher traditional posts. Of seven who have served as president, two served as síndico, two had no previous office, and three had been both policeman and síndico (Table 25). None of the former presidents served in any civil post after being president. Two served as fiscal in their religious careers and had had no other religious service. This is the course pursued by literate men who speak Spanish well. An alternative course is to enter the ejido commission as secretary, treasurer, or president and then serve as síndico, or even directly as president. The president elected in 1964 had served only on the ejido commission. This caused some discontent, but not enough to prevent his election. [212] [191] [423]

The household head enters religious office first as *niĉ'nal* or junior mayordomo, then serves as *?ali?bal,* or assistant, next as *tatil,* or elder mayordomo of a lesser saint. The fourth position is tatil of San Pedro, after which comes *kobraria,* or cofrade, first of San Francisco, then of Santa Lucía or Sacramento. Following his appointment as tatil of San Pedro, the incumbent holds the first gathering of mayordomos in his house. When he completes his term in this office, he may be called upon by neighbors, relatives, and compadres to serve as nakawane in household ceremonials. He 794 [192]

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In the strategy of incorporating new leadership, these tactics are employed. 621

1. The four regidores are assigned the task of bringing the novice scribe to the town authorities. They are the official recruiters for civil and religious office. [624]

2. The request is made to the parent of the appointed scribe in the formal speech of the pat?o?tan. The appeal is cast in terms of the sacred nature of the task with reference to the "holy" nature of the post to be undertaken on this "holy hour, holy day and holy year."

3. The contractual relationship is initiated as always with a drinking session. The scribe is introduced into the drinking order as fourth in rank. The officials show solicitude as he is taught to drink "the gift of the gods and the ancestors." Once the gift of liquor has been accepted, the recipient has no recourse except to fulfill the obligation. [213]

These tactics, used also in other contractual arrangements, were inadequate to the task of inducting foreign Indians living in the township into the traditional hierarchy. In 1929, a Huistecan Indian, Augustín, who had worked as a laborer in a finca within the township, became president. Although he could not read, he was able to speak Spanish fluently. He succeeded in getting the first ejido grant under the land reform act of 1927. 621 609 622 191 423

During his term of office, Augustín was accused of abusing his authority on several occasions, as the following account shows:

When I was very young, my father told me about this land case. Augustín was president then. He tried to get land from my uncle's father-in-law, Juan. My uncle, Bartolo, defended his father-in-law's right to the land because he had good friends in Tuxtla. Augustín spoke Spanish very well, but he did not know how to read. Since my uncle knew how to read well, he gained the case. Augustín was angry. He invited all the curers to the town hall and ordered the police to bring in my uncle. My uncle was given something in a cup of liquor, and in three days he died. 159 622 661

Even if this story is untrue, or distorted because of the family relationship of the narrator and the victim, it reveals the sense of being exploited 622 661 609

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witz had formed a small *cacicazgo* (supporters of a cacique) of armed men. Because of their influence with departmental officials since the land grant, they had secured an order to reassign lots in the center, putting one family from Yetawitz in each block. The reaction of the townspeople to this "invasion" of barrio Indians was immediate and conclusive, as Ceferino's account reveals:

The owners of the house lots here objected to having their lots seized. They went to a lawyer in San Cristóbal, and they also had the help of the professor here. He was a good professor. We walked with the professor. The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles. The people from Yetawitz went to another lawyer in San Cristóbal. They got an order that the people of the pueblo would have to admit the people of Yetawitz. We returned to the lawyer. He asked where these people were from. We said they were from Huistán. They were well armed. Because of this, we went to take over their arms.

When we arrived at their house, Juan asked, "What are you here for?"

We answered, "We came to get your rifles."

They refused to give them up, but we seized their property. We tied up the men and carried them up to the pueblo. We dragged them like dogs up to the jail and put them in.

They asked, "Why are you putting us in jail?" and we answered, "Tomorrow we will arrange the case."

Four police stayed there. The next morning I came to see them. They had planned to go to Las Casas, but we ordered the saddles taken off the horses that were in readiness. We tried them, and they no longer bothered the pueblo.

The Huistecan's attempt to seize power reveals several significant factors in the genesis of cummunity political institutions. In the 1930s in Chiapas, the land reform act of 1927 was taking effect. Translation of law into reality in the local community required the drive and leadership of the Indians themselves. Literacy and Spanish-speaking skills were of even greater importance than before. The Indians of the center who had not been forced to work in the fincas and who had sufficient resources to resist contact with the outside economy were not in a position to take a leader-

ship role in the new political setting. As a result, it was the marginal Indians, outsiders who had come as did Augustín to work as *baldíos* (laborers) on the finca near the town, that were the drivng force behind the demand for land. This was the basis for the new leadership in the early days of land reform. The ejido program, conceived of by Cárdenas as a basis for political development of the campesinos, (Brandenburg 1964) gave these marginal Indians the opportunity to rise to positions of influence in local government. The reluctance of the townspeople to take action against Augustín derived in part from fear, since he reputedly backed his use of force with witchcraft—the imported kind of witchcraft in which poisons are used instead of spiritual force.

Ceferino, the man who finally deposed Augustín, was a member of the traditional community, but because he had been impoverished by burying four members of his family in the typhoid epidemic of 1928, he had been forced to work in the fincas. There he had learned Spanish and some of the ways of the dominant society. His leadership potential had developed in the role of *caporal*, or gang leader of the pickers in the coffee finca, and he had been a leader in the trek of recruited laborers down to the fincas in Soconusco. Under the old authority structure, in which all officials including the president were recruited through the hierarchy, he would never have reached a prestigious position. But in this crisis, he was the only man willing to confront the incumbent and take over the operation of civil affairs.

Ceferino did not take advantage of the situation to emerge as a cacique himself. As he explained in his narrative, "The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles." The way in which he had been introduced into the cabildo as scribe had successfully neutralized his own ambitions to attain power, if he had any. He accepted the ideal of a united pueblo, recognizing the authority of the principales.

The increasing scope and frequency of relationships between the nation and the locality since the revolution has emphasized the roles of president and síndico at the expense of the authority and control exercised by the principales. The ceremonial significance of the principales in rituals is retained as a symbol of continuity in the change of officials, but their func-

building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office.

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist.

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first.

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient portable typewriter. Since typing is a new skill for him, he makes many errors, and his retrials are accepted with patience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

Chapter 13

Belief and Behavior in a Changing Society

Continuity is the theme stressed in the rules of the game that apply to living in the square world of the community. The framework of continuity is the landscape itself with the ancestral hills and devils' caves reminding people of the moral order of the past. Repetitive behavior in rituals symbolically projects the past into the future, and behavioral schema in pottery and agricultural production reinforce the belief that all remains the same. The conditions making for change stem from the very attempts to preserve the existing equilibrium. A rising population on a limited land base using colonial techniques of cultivation is bringing about an increasing reliance on outside markets for the sale of labor and the purchase of goods. The ejido program which has perpetuated the system of subsistence cultivation has at the same time increased the dependency on external political influence and undermined dependency on parents. Some of the rules of strategy that have developed in response to changes coming from outside the community can no longer be justified by the beliefs that govern behavior within its boundaries. The community is now in crisis: people are losing faith in the old beliefs and have not yet developed a meaningful ideology for new strategies.

The crisis does not affect all institutions equally. It is absent in the traditional economic activities of milpa cultivation and pottery production. It is incipient in the households, especially where there are wage-workers in nonagricultural jobs. It is more apparent in the civil than in the religious sphere, and it is most manifest in the new economic activities. The school, as an externally imposed institution, generates awareness of the conflict between old beliefs and the ideology of nationalism, but until recently receptivity to these ideas has been limited. The behavior described for each in-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The behavior described for each institution in earlier chapters will be summarized as a mode of adjustment or adaptation in relation to the beliefs that give it meaning and purpose. 128

Economic Activities

868 241 323

Learning agricultural tasks and pottery-making in the household is part of adjusting to membership in the community. Parents are responsible for teaching the value of industriousness and are held accountable throughout the life of the child. Agricultural tasks are scheduled in a yearly cycle that provides sufficient flexibility for a man to carry out community and familial ceremonial responsibilities. In milpa agriculture, there is no specialization of tasks. Small-plot agricultural production with a simple technology has been reinforced by the land reform program. Since the lands incorporated under the Ejido Commission in the 1930s were attached to the community, agriculturalists were not forced to adjust to new ecological conditions. Politicalization was minimal since the local commission operated within the old civil hierarchy. In the recent expansion of ejido colonies in hot country, Indians from the community have developed alliances with non-Indians in asserting claims to the land. Without any preexisting civil hierarchy, these ejidatarios have not had to adjust their activities to a given structure of authority, but have developed independent political organizations as an adaptation to their new environment. 241 177 178 423 621

Women's work in pottery is less subject to changes in techniques and organization than is men's. The schema of production in simple tasks in a fixed sequence makes it easier to teach girls each process and reinforces a given pottery tradition. My guess would be that if wheel production were introduced, it would liberate the creativity of each potter by freeing her of established routines. 323 177 178

Pottery production is not surrounded, as is agricultural production, by ceremonials. There is no god to whom one lights candles or gives offerings to ensure success, although there are hazards in production, particularly at the time of firing. Agricultural productivity, on the other hand, is thought to depend on the proper relation between the spirits of the heaven and of the church with the spirits of crops. 323 241 796 [796]

In the new economic activities, the Indians have shown both adjustive 177 178 233 312 476 621

361 The central plaza contains the Church, the local government offices, [366] the school and the National Indian Institute (INI) cooperative [368] store (see below), in Amatenango this list being increased by the INI clinic. Around these plazas (open squares) the houses are relatively concentrated, the population density is high and the size of the sitio (a household plot) small. (There are about seven or eight sitios in a block one hectare in size.) Toward the margins of the town the houses thin out, being surrounded by milpas. Well established family groups live toward the center, while newcomers, poorer families and deviants live toward the [006] periphery. Sitios within the center are highly valued in both communities, the outskirts of the town being closer to the unknown dangers of the monte (hill and forest) with its malevolent spirits (animal souls of witches in the search of victims, owners of the caves, etc.).

361 Surrounding the villages one finds the communal grass 311 lands for pasture and the irrigated milpas. The grass lands and 312 the water source for the milpas de regadío (irrigated corn fields) 423 are shared by both villages, although Amatenango makes use of the water first, since the stream flows through Amatenango before it reaches the Aguacatenango lands.

311 Towards the hill slopes the milpas de temporal (corn fields depending on seasonal rain) are planted in scattered small groups, fenced together against the invasion of cattle;[1] and alternating with forested patches.

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[1] See footnote 1, p. 17.

The Social Setting of the Villages

Introduction

621
121/ The villages of Aguacatenango and Amatenango can best be described as corporate peasant communities, following Eric Wolf (1955: 452-71).

First of all, the villages are small, independent social systems, with clearly defined geographic and social boundaries, "in relation to both outsiders and insiders" (Wolf, 1955:456).

The Land

621
423 In the spatial dimension, the main characteristic of the villages is that they lay claim to a territory, a land base over which they hold exclusive rights of usufruct, and which has clearly demarked geographical dimensions. The rights over this territory are communal rights, every villager being a co-owner of the community territory, in the sense that membership in the village gives to a man the rights of usufruct of land within the village boundaries.

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122
423
[174] We do not know what the characteristic features of the pre-hispanic land tenure system of the Tzeltal-Tzotzils were. At the beginning of the Spanish occupation of the area, the Indians were relocated in villages and assigned to a particular encomendero and encomienda. (The encomienda was an institution by which a Spanish lord was assigned a number of villagers from whom he had the right to collect services and tribute.) At the same time, the villages were allotted land of two kinds: municipal, administered by the town officials and used to pay taxes and tribute to

T 175 179 423 the encomendero and the Church; and communal, which contained the woodland, pasture, and the site of the village itself.

T 423 179 M 175 648 Several considerations may have promoted [the Spanish] Crown policy toward [the creation of] such communities. First, the corporate community performing joint labor services for an overlord was a widespread characteristic of European economic feudalism. In trying to curtail the political power of a potential new landholding class in the Spanish colonies the Crown took over management of Indian communities in order to deny the conquerors direct managerial control over labor. The Crown attempted to act as a go-between and labor contractor for both peasant community and landowner. Second, the corporate community fitted well into the political structure of the Spanish dynastic state, which attempted to incorporate each sub-cultural group and to define its radius of activity by law. This enables the Crown to marshal the resources of such a group as an organized unit, and to impose its economic, social and religious controls by a type of indirect rule. Third, the corporate structure of the peasant communities permitted the imposition of communal as well as individual burdens of forced labor and taxation. (Wolf, 1955:457.)

M 621 178 179 Independent Mexico inherited from the Spanish Empire these communities, and although at some time or other modifications of the over-all political structure have been proposed, the communities have persisted through the last century with basically the same makeup, and without having changed much in terms of their social structure or their cultural content.

In other areas of Mexico where urbanization and a more industrial society has developed, or where it was possible to mechanize agriculture, the corporate community quickly gave way M [184] to new forms of social organization. But in Chiapas, especially in the highlands, a definitely marginal area in terms of national development, very few large scale changes have been introduced, and most of them have been rapidly assimilated into the local structure, rather than transforming it.

000 The rights over land given to the villages by the Spaniards

T M 175 423 621 The rights over land given to the villages by the Spaniards were not contested by the Mexican Government, but during the last century there have been some redistributions of the boundaries to better fit changes in the size of the population of the different villages in the area. Besides, although it was not legally approved, large chunks of the territory of the communities were taken away by the local ranchers who had the backing of the state politicians. As a result of the land invasion by the ranchers, the villages of Amatenango and Aguacatenango controlled, until recently in this century, very little land, mostly temporal, the better land being in the hands of the local ladino ranchers. After the Mexican Revolution of the twenties, the fincas (ranches) were expropriated by the national government, according to new policies of agrarian reform, and under the presidential regime of Avila Camacho were returned to the villages as Ejidos (cooperatively owned land).

M [661] T 175 423 621 661 523 T 175 423 M 669 423

The territory of the villages is divided today, by use, into land for agriculture (?ulabal [irrigated], pomultik [hot-country] and temporal), land for residential sites, and land for lumbering and pasture. Within the communities the over-all authority that controls land is the Ayuntamiento, the body which forms the civil branch of the civil-religious government that is the ultimate authority in village affairs. The Ayuntamiento controls both the communal lands and the Ejido lands.

T 621 423 311 T 621 423

The Ejidos function very much like the communal lands, in that they are "owned" by the community. Every household head is a member of the ejido cooperative, and has rights to cultivate a parcel within the ejido. According to the Mexican Agrarian Code,

T 423 621

423 621 the Ejido should be administered by a Commission, the head of which is the Comisario Ejidal. In Amatenango and Aguacatenango, however, there is no distinction between the administration of the communal lands and the ejido parcels. Although there is a Comisario Ejidal, he is usually a young man whose word can be overruled by the Ayuntamiento with whom he must work in agreement, and although the position of Comisario does not count in the escalafón of the civil-religious hierarchy for seniority rights, the post has been informally assimilated into the Ayuntamiento officerships.

Through the legal assignment of a limited territory for each village, the size of the land owned by the community has been, at the moment, frozen. The community lands can neither be expanded, nor alienated from it, except under very special circumstances defined by law.

[642] Under the Mexican Agrarian Code only the State can reclaim land from the community, and only under special conditions: need to establish urban centers, means of communication, and the constructions of hydraulic works for public benefit. Of these, only the second is likely to occur at the present time in this rural, marginal area, which has no modern urban center, little water supply, and a scarcity of good land, so that the construction of a dam is not worth undertaking.

On the other hand, community lands can be expanded for cultivation in three ways:

1) Buying land from nearby fincas, which now cannot be expropriated because they are within the size limits of inalienable property (propiedad inafectable) set up by the government.

423 621 2) Extending the rights of usufruct in the already available communal lands which are still covered with timber.

3) Petitioning the Ejido Commission if there are more than twenty individuals without parcels. In this case, the Ejido Commission is responsible for providing land by seeking further expropriation of large latifundios. This, again, is not likely to occur, because the size of the surrounding private properties is smaller, now, than the maximum size permitted by law, and cannot be reclaimed. Many finqueros, in other areas, have large properties which they have managed to keep untouched by registering the land in the name of several family members with separate ownership titles, so each one is smaller than the size permitted by law (Montagu, 1960). If necessary, the government could claim that this practice is illegal. But in the valleys of Aguacatenango and Amatenango this type of finca does not exist, being common only in the more fertile lowland territories such as the area of Ocosingo.

423 628 Some communities in the Chiapas highlands have been expanding their territories by invading the lands of bordering villages, the best example of this being the Chamulas into Huistec land, north of San Cristóbal de las Casas (Pozas, 1959). But in Amatenango and Aguacatenango, although from time to time they have had conflict over the exact boundaries of their territories with other neighboring villages (Pinola, for example), this type of 423 621 expansion has not occurred. The demands for parcels by the villagers can be met from the already available land because of the

423 621 recent grants of land, and also because the whole region of Amatenango and Aguacatenango has less population pressure than the overpopulated Chamula area.

Membership

621 In the social dimension, one of the basic features of the corporate communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is their criteria for membership: to become a member of Amatenango of Aguacatenango one has to be born in the village, or marry a village member.

Contractual membership, although rare, may occur, and has, but only for Indians, and with concensual acceptance by the whole [166] community. When the nearby fincas were closed after the Mexican [175] Revolution, some of the Indian peones attached to them asked for and obtained land from Amatenango and Aguacatenango and became full members of these communities with the same rights and duties as any other community member. Although people can indicate who is a member of a new or old family, this distinction tends to be forgotten, even by the families themselves, after the next generation has been born and married into the village.

628 621 423 [651] A man from another Indian community may receive an agricultural plot if he makes a petition to the Ayuntamiento, is willing to pay the ejido taxes and the limosna (tax levied against the household heads to support the expenses of celebration of village holidays) and a small payment to the Ayuntamiento (20 pesos) for handling his case. Even then, he has to bring witnesses to testify

628 621 423 to his good conduct, plus demonstrate that he is not able to culti-
vate within the confines of his own village lands.

621 423 166 Membership in the community requires residence within its territorial boundaries. If a person moves away from the village he loses the attached rights of membership, although at his return he can claim such rights back.

621 Maintenance of membership involves clearly specified duties (e.g., paying communal taxes), and the general obligation of living and acting in agreement with the cultural norms.

Government

All the male members of the community, ideally, and most of them in practice, participate (at some time in their lives) in the government machinery of the village.

621 794 Amatenango and Aguacatenango each have two governmental bodies, the Ayuntamiento (or civil body) and the Mayordomias (or religious body). (The distinction between civil and religious is not a sharp one drawn by the community members themselves. It is an analytical device to label the different functions of these two bodies which are clearly separate and require different skills on the part of the incumbents.)

621 The Ayuntamiento deals with secular matters: it administers the land, the relations with the outside world and the village taxations, and is in charge of the maintenance of social control through the application of the native system of justice (as against, and separate from, National or State Mexican law; see Metzger, D., 1956). Among its duties are those of keeping vital statistics for

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

621 Among its duties are those of keeping vital statistics for
[659] the National Population Bureau which are sent to the state office,
[396] solving cases of adultery and theft, collecting the fiesta and
[621] Ejido taxes, keeping the streets clean, building and repairing
[363] roads and public buildings, and also taking charge of the local
[491] jail. Ayuntamiento officers are also called in to prevent or solve
[344] witchcraft cases and give advice and reprimands to misbehaving
[754] wives, sons and other relatives when the household or the responsible
[626] relatives cannot deal with the case on their own.

621 423 432 434 The Ayuntamiento also keeps its own corn field, worked by communal labor, whose crop is sold to collect funds for its own expenses.

794 The Mayordomia, or religious body, performs the formal activities on the religious holidays, is the custodian of the sacred objects (rockets, church keys, bells) connected with the Church, and the authority which carries out the tasks required by all of man's peaceful relations with the supernatural on the village level.

They are responsible as a group for the upkeep of the Church building and saint images, and the preparations for and the performance of Church Fiestas, regular church meetings, etc. Among their duties are those of providing meals for the priest while he is in town, helping during mass, contracting musicians and collecting the Church limosna during mass.

621 This structural level lacks monopoly of either of these functions in relation to other less inclusive social units. Social control and religious activity are carried on at the level of the barrio, the extended family, and within the household, and religious activity can be carried on by individuals.

621 the outside world, from which, from the community point of view, come the threats to the individual Indian, his family and to the village as a unit.

The mechanisms employed for the preservation of the village as an Indian corporate community are the wealth leveling devices and the sanctioning system described below.

556 Economic Mechanisms

The villagers aim at a better subsistence level, but not at capital reinvestment, and wealth does not command prestige in [433] itself. Extreme wealth differences are not likely to occur because, on the one hand, the marginality of land limits the productive power of the villager, and the low level technology: machete, digging stick, and wooden plow (the last only used in the 621 flat bottom land) limits production and also capital increase. On • 423 the other hand, accumulation of land is limited by the Ayuntamiento having control of the ultimate disposal of free land within the community. Therefore, although there is some variation in the amount or variety of land held by a family, for the community as a whole there is a clear tendency toward an equalitarian distribution of parcels, so that in gross terms every household head controls agricultural plots of similar size and quality to every other agriculturalist. (Each household controls land both in cold and hot country, both irrigated and temporal and of equivalent quality.) It is difficult to ascertain the size of each 423 433 particular holding because the people do not think in terms of the size of the parcel itself, but in terms of the amount of grain

423 necessary to plant it. In some land more seed is necessary, so a
433 tablón, a measure of how much seed is planted in a parcel, tends to be about a hectare, but can also be irregular in shape or somewhat larger or smaller.

434 Ideological and Sanctioning Mechanisms

Even if a domestic group manages to accumulate profits from the extra work of its members, the forced assumption of fiesta obligations and cargos (Officerships) inhibits capital accumulation and redistributes the profits back into the community in the form of consumable goods: food, alcohol, cohetes, etc.
621 The assumption of the cargos requires a certain amount of capital
556 to spend on the expenses attached to the post, so it is likely that a household head who has managed to save some extra money is going to be called to perform his duties as an officer rather than the other men with less wealth and equal qualifications.

621 In terms of economic and political bases for differentiation, then, the communities are egalitarian. Villagers insist that everybody is just like everybody else: "we are all equal, we all follow the customs, we are all poor, we are all agriculturalists,
621 we are all Indians, just the same," they say. Nevertheless, they
183 would also admit that some people are good and some "have bad hearts," and therefore would not follow the customs, or would try to become richer by getting involved in economic enterprises which are not Indian (such as buying or selling for high profit, or lending money, or becoming store clerks). They would imitate the Ladinos in their speech, dress or their house layout, become "alzados"

621 [595] were the Daughters of Holy Mary and the Daughters of Guadalupe.

[594] Visits to households in the other barrio are rare, and when they do occur they are due to unusual circumstances and are accompanied by formal etiquette. A long discussion was observed in Aguacatenango when the members of a household were debating the "correctness" of going to a house in the other barrio to buy milk for a very sick man. Two days later, the anthropologist was present in the house of the cow owners when the wife of the sick man arrived and asked to buy the milk. The senior woman of the house denied that her cow had any. When the visitor left, it was explained that "milk is money, the Ladino schoolteacher pays better for it, and besides . . . the woman came from the other barrio. . . ." When the Ayuntamiento authorities call the household heads to contribute with communal labor and/or discuss village affairs, it is usual that one barrio will send many and the other barrio relatively fewer delegates, depending on which one is more affected by the outcome of the activities involved.

621 423 The only important difference between the barrio organizations of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is their relation with the land tenure system. In Amatenango, the barrio lands are not separate. In Aguacatenango, although the barrios are not land-holding units in the strict sense of possessing separate titles of ownership, rights of usufruct of the village communal and irrigated lands are held separately by the two barrios, the people of

G21 423 [312]

each barrio prolonging their cornfields towards "their side." Aguacatenango irrigated land is divided and allocated so that men from one barrio have their plots separate from men from the other barrio, the barrio plots being watered by separate canals.

The same way that the community as a whole holds exclusive titles of ownership and rights of usufruct against other communities, the barrio has a monopoly of certain town lands, over which it holds, if not ownership titles, rights to plant their crops, gather palms for the roofs of the houses and espino for the fences.

In 1956, a group of men from one barrio bought land from a nearby finca (ranch). A month later, the other barrio bought land from another finca owner. The meetings which planned the purchases were closed and maintained in semi-secrecy. There was some conflict over the rights of the "other barrio" to use the pastures included in the new lands of the other, and gossip on the subject lasted almost two years, revealing, once more, the traditional separation between the two village factions.

That the barrio as a land-holding unit is more significant in Aguacatenango should not be a surprise: Aguacatenango is much more dependent on land for its subsistence, since agriculture is the only large-scale productive enterprise of the community. Therefore, conflict and competition for land tends to acquire greater proportions than in Amatenango where people have other important sources of income. One of the ways in which possible conflicts between village factions over land and its products is handled, is by delimiting the territorial rights held by the people who belong to such factions.

592 593 but it is always built around a core of agnatically related men: a father and his sons, united in their common interest in the patrimonial land and the fruits of their joint cooperative labor. To this core of men are attached their children and their wives, all of whom are dependent on them for their food supply, shelter, and the satisfaction of most other needs.

621 591 592 602 When a couple moves outside the parental home, the house site that they are given should be contiguous if possible, or as close as there is a place available, to the husband's father's homestead. Thus, ideally, the town should be settled by clusters of domestic groups forming localized agnatic lines, each containing a man, his parents, his brothers and his married male sons. At the same time, one would find out that women, because they follow their husbands, live much further apart from their agnatic relatives than men do.

593 591 476 241 417 After a man moves from his father's household, he is not expected to work the same parcels with his father, but they do share some work in common. Usually (I don't have the exact number of cases, but enough information to suggest that this is the mode), a man and his sons have contiguous milpas that are fenced together. The fences, which are laboriously built and repaired, are the communal job of all the men, and save them the time and effort of building interior separations between the plots, because the purpose of fencing is to keep cattle from invading the parcels and without fences it is useless to risk planting.

•423 241 417 This does not mean that the land is held jointly. Each man

423 241 417 knows his own parcel and its boundaries, which are sometimes marked with a few stones or a less elaborate fence of a few poles.

241 476 The men that fence the land together cooperate with each other in some other agricultural tasks which require more than two hands (e.g., clearing and burning before planting, cleaning irrigation ditches).

183 591 Stating the norms of residence in anthropological language, we can say that the generalized residence pattern, if it reflects the practice of the norms, should be patrilocal for single and married men, patrilocal for single women, virilocal for married women and parentilocal for children (see Fig. 13, Fischer's Typology).

The Residence Patterns

125 To find out how the ideal rules are carried into practice, we analyzed a sample of sixty-eight households containing an average of five people per unit, and a total of 384 individuals. This sample was gathered by the author in the field, in 1958, and covers half of the village in a chess board pattern of blocks (see charts). The data on the sample is complemented by a previous total census of the village, prepared by the Metzgers and the school teacher in 1956, which covered the whole population of the community, but contained less detailed information on some aspects of residence. Both will be augmented by a sample of life histories contained in the field notes.

128 The data will be presented in tables, and in the text, both in number of cases and in relative percentages. When possible,

593 423 Independently of the analysis of[139] geographical distribution of individuals, in most cases a couple depends on the family of the husband for obtaining a house site of their own. Looking at the available data in household transactions, regular sponsorship in the male line appears as the statistical mode, the most frequently followed pattern. To explain the 16 per cent of sponsorship in the female line, we refer the reader to the section 1 of the reasons for uxorilocal residence, p. 133.

TABLE 10

423 AGUACATENANGO: HOUSE TRANSACTIONS AND INHERITANCE

	Cases	Percentage
House-land bought	22	32
House-land obtained through the husband's relatives	33	49
House-land obtained through the wife's relatives	11	16
Family borrowing the house	2	3
Total number of households for which information was available	68	100

423 432 593 [183] The norms for house sponsorship are not always followed, for other reasons: land within the town, houseplots, is one of the forms of land which has a monetary value in Aguacatenango. Lots are bought and sold for money, and are used constantly as a resource of income when one is in need of a large amount of cash. Ideally, most parents think that they will give contiguous [428] houses to their male sons, and that their house will be inherited by the last male son who stays in the house until his parents' 423 432 death.[1] In practice, many times the house has to be sold before

[1]Other property is expected to be inherited in equal shares by all sons.

423
432 this time arrives. The main reason for selling a house is to
[764] pay for the burial of a family member. Most widows, if the house
is not reclaimed by the husband's agnatic kin (who have rights
[428] over the property if there are no mature sons left by the deceased), will sell the sitio to pay for the husband's burial, and will move to their natal households with their children. Some sons will sell the house to pay for the burial of a father. The selling of the house is also a solution for cases of conflicting inheritance rights. For example, if two brothers claim rights to it, and if they both agree about it, they will sell it and the money obtained would be divided among them.

592 The fission of the compound household into nuclear house-
591 holds is accepted by the villagers as a traditional pattern of
578 behavior, but residential changes are always expressed in terms of on-going conflict between the couples residing in the compound.

593 A father tries to keep his son living with him for as
592 long as possible because he is an emotional as well as an economic
464 asset to him. While a man has his son living with him, he has an
562 unpaid agricultural worker bound to him by emotional and jural ties and by his economic dependence, and this allows him to maximize the labor force of the household and, therefore, increase production notably. At the same time, he is able to control a relatively larger amount of land for cultivation. If the son leaves the compound, he is forced to divide the land holdings under cultivation and to give him a parcel, a paternal duty which, in spite of the fact that it is expected of them, they try to avoid as long as possible. When the son leaves, the household

593 592 464 562 423 loses his labor and some of its land holdings, while if a daughter leaves, the loss of labor is marginal, there is no loss of land, and her removal is not a drain on the resources of the household, nor does it upset its basic economy.

591 593 182 The multiple bonds between a father and a son over the patrimonial land of the family, the products of their joint effort, and their common responsibility for setting up the standard of living for the homestead, all foster patrilocality.

423 425 592 621 [593] A young man could, today, obtain land without his father's direct help. He cannot obtain irrigated land (because it is extremely scarce, and privately "owned" by the household heads), but he could obtain land in the communal lands of the village. This, of course, is not the better land, being <u>temporal</u> and far away from the village. Although the <u>temporal</u> land close to town is not privately owned, it is "earmarked" for use by the heads of each household. That is, the communal lands are distributed to households, not by titles of ownership, but by usufruct rights. Even if he decides to take such a step, he needs (1) the approval of the <u>Ayuntamiento</u> which oversees the distribution of usufruct rights for the community as a whole, and (2) the recruitment of other men to help him clean and fence the parcel.

621 593 423 425 578 Neither of the two alternatives is easy to carry out in practice. First, if the <u>Ayuntamiento</u> grants land to a man against his father's will, this creates a problem of jurisdiction between the jural rights of the household head and the administrative rights of the <u>Ayuntamiento</u>. We could not predict what consequences such a case would have, because we have no evidence that it has ever occurred (of course, this is based on the case

593 578 histories collected during the field work season, and it well
621 could be that a case was missed). Second, if he wants to obtain
423 476 help from other men, they risk antagonizing, with their willingness to cooperate, the head of the household in which the young man is residing, and they also risk the concommitant sanctions.

423 425 464 166 593 The young man could also obtain land without his father's help by leaving the community to work for wages and saving enough money to buy land. Although the selling of parcels is not a common practice in Aguacatenango, the idea of land being a commodity that can be bought and sold has been introduced, and some few household heads, in cases of emergency, are willing to sell. Of course, leaving the community to work for wages means voluntary exile for a man and alienation from relatives, friends and the cultural milieu. Also, men insist that it is profitable to work for wages only if one does it for short periods of time and keeps milpa simultaneously. Wage work alone is not enough to buy corn and the other necessities to meet the requirements of the customary standard of living.

593 62 156 On the other hand, a man breaking away from his home and refusing to accept his father's authority becomes a deviant, and antagonizes not only his family, but the community.

593 592 156 Although it is possible, theoretically, to become economically independent of one's father against his will, in fact a man can only set up his own household in compliance with the ethical principles and moral conventions of his culture. Therefore, he is only permitted to form his own domestic group when he has demonstrated that he has reached the stage of social maturity which allows him to do so.

591 587 [601] [183] The stepmother refers to her as "my husband's child," and she did not count her, when giving census information, among the children of her household, but as a child living with "my husband's mother." Another characteristic that makes this case [848] anomalous is that this stepchild was born of an extra-marital relation between the father and another woman, while the father was already married to the stepmother.

593 591 587 [428] The rationale given by the people when asked the reasons why a father does not keep his children with him, is that "stepmothers are no good." It is possible that one of the main forces operating behind this arrangement is the possibility of conflict over inheritance rights of stepchildren. By assigning rights and duties towards stepchildren only to stepfathers, it is implied that a man marrying a woman with children takes not only a wife, but the economic and jural responsibilities of being a father, including the duty of making them his heirs. We do not have, at the moment, sufficient information to support this point, and it is only given here as a suggestion for future inquiry.

591 592 •423 426 These alternative rules of residence explain the composition of the compound households made up of the remnants of two or more original nuclear families, except for the cases in which people are living in borrowed houses. In one of the two cases in our sample, a house was "borrowed" from a brother of the husband's father. The family living in this compound is a very large one, twelve members, with only two males who are of working age, and very poor by Aguacatenango standards. The male head is an orphan who lived before marriage with his mother's mother and

591 has not inherited land. The other family living in a borrowed
592 home is a young couple that married without their parents' ap-
• 423 proval. They eloped and established themselve on the edge of
426 town, in an empty old hut, whose owner does not demand payment.
"Borrowings" are temporary arrangements, and as a form of resi-
[583] dence, very unstable. Young couples who decide to elope leave town to reside at Colonia del Puerto. We know of two cases which followed this custom. But if they do not leave town, they try to move to a house on the edge of town. From these two cases, we can assume that borrowing is due to economic reasons (poverty of a family who cannot afford to buy a house), or as a consequence of deviant behavior (in the case we have, the husband was an orphan and parental sponsorship by the wife's parents was denied because they disapproved of the marriage).

361 The edge of town is a refuge area for people who in one
156 way or another "do not belong" to the community. Social deviants,
167 like the young couple mentioned above, tend to move to the town boundaries. Recent migrants from other villages also live on the edges. Two complete blocks on the southern boundary of town are inhabited by a large extended patrilocal family which originated from a Chamula Indian who was a peon on a nearby finca until the agrarian revolution. After he became free, he migrated to the village and married a local Indian woman.

125 The above discussion covers all the cases for which we had sample data. We have, however, information on other cases which could not be counted in the statistics because they were part of life histories or concerned individuals who do not live in

591 only 49 per cent of the women do so (see Table 14). This indi-
593 cates that patrilocal, patrilineal emphasis is stronger, and the
36 difference needs to be explained.

174 It is very possible that the community of Amatenango had,
591 in the near past, patrilocal residence norms, as does Aguacatenango and most communities in the Chiapas Highlands. The patrilocal norms would have been in agreement with the presence of agnatic descent lines of which the only remnant, today, in Amatenango, is the agnatic inheritance of Indian names attached to the Spanish surname of the villagers. If this were so, we could explain the persistence of a patrilocal emphasis in these terms. This is a dangerous enterprise because to accept this explanation is to dismiss the importance of the case by arbitrarily attributing the phenomenon to an historical survival, an intellectual misdemeanor which modern anthropology has seriously questioned. But we do
591 not need to utilize this explanation. In the first place, although
428 inheritance is bilateral, the inheritance of the house site shows
423 that patrilineal house sponsorship still is stronger than matrilineal.

> In the inheritance of the house site, women received the land in 30 per cent of the cases, men in 34 per cent. Patrilineal inheritance was more frequent in the parental generation. If we take the figures indicating which parent gave the land to the child, mothers passed on the land in 15 per cent of cases known, and fathers passed on the land in 26 per cent of the known 68 cases. (Nash, J., 1960:51).

If the place of residence is inherited from the male line more often than from the female, it is to be expected that viripatrilocal proximity would be stronger. This offers a reasonable explanation for the higher incidence of patrilocal proximity. The

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 157]

TABLE 15

423
428

AMATENANGO: HOUSE TRANSACTIONS AND INHERITANCE

	Number	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent
Inherited from the wife's relatives	78	30	30
Inherited from the husband's relatives	79	34	34
Bought	50	19	
Received from Ejido	27	10	30.5
Borrowing	4	1.5	
Inherited from husband	12	4.5	
Inherited from wife	1	.5	5.5
Unmarried orphan, inherited from parents	1	.5	
Total	262	100.0	100.0

591 The
428 fact that this pattern of house sponsorship directly affects the
423 emphasis on patrilocality is compensated for by some recent changes
433 in the economic conditions of the village. In Amatenango, the
593 cooperative bonds between father and son in agricultural work, united with the emphasis on patrilineal inheritance of house sites, foster patrilocality, but, at the same time, the bonds between father and son have entered in competition with the cooperative relation developed between a woman and her daughter in making pottery. If a woman lives close to her mother-in-law, she will assist her more often than her own mother in the firing of pottery--"If a man lives with his wife's family, he will assist his father-in-law in the fields more than he will work with his own father" (Nash, J., 1960:49).

423 593 [432] [184] The reasons for keeping a son are not as pressing as the reasons for keeping a daughter. Amatenango land holdings are somewhat smaller than Aguacatenango, and the buying and selling of agricultural parcels, as long as it does not involve outsiders to the village, is a common practice which accounts for approximately 16 per cent of land transactions. The

423 241 592 464 limited land holding units in Amatenango require minimal cooperation in agriculture. Because of fractured land holdings, fewer than one-half of the households have two tablones . . . of land. Therefore, fewer than one-half the households can keep more than one man actively employed. Even in those households with from two to five tablones, a man and his adult son are sufficient labor for most activities except harvest. 592 323 434 868 [582] [178] Women's pottery production, however, requires frequent cooperation. Two tendencies are reinforcing the cooperation of women, especially of mothers and daughters: (1) with increasing need for cash income to buy products which are not longer produced in the home, or which have been introduced, money is constantly needed. Pottery offers an easy means of acquiring cash with almost immediate returns, and (2) marriages are currently contracted at a later age for girls than formerly. Before, about a generation ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve were the rule. Most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques begins at that age. Consequently, pottery was taught to the daughter by the mother-in-law if the girl was married and resided in the husband's house. (See Frans Blom and Oliver LaFarge [1927] who commented that all pottery was taught by the mother-in-law.) [114] Most marriages now are contracted for girls from 14 to 17 years of age. At this time they are already proficient potters, and accustomed to working with their mother. Therefore, there is a greater stress put on their remaining in or near their parental home after marriage (Nash, J., 1960:47).[1]

592 868 323 The people of Amatenango recognize that during the period in which a woman learns to make pottery, she establishes particular habits of cooperation and a strong solidarity bond with the woman from whom she learns and with whom she works. "Parents say that there is an advantage in early marriages, in that the girl would be more willing to learn the ways of her mother-in-law if she

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[161] [1]It is also important to notice that with the increase in population over the area, the market has increased.

36 the women do so, and while 63 per cent of the men in the village
591 live in close patrilocal proximity, only 40 per cent of the men
434 in Santa Cruz live near their parents (see Table 16).

Residence of Widows

184 Another striking contrast between Aguacatenango and
589 Amatenango is the position of women, in the latter, as household
591 heads, and their residence after they become widows.

562 First, because in many cases a woman owns the house in
589 which she lives with her husband and children, she is not obliged
434 to move out of the site if her husband dies, as she is in Aguaca-
[423] tenango. Second, she does not need an adult man in the household
[768] to be able to support herself and the children because she is
able to meet the economic demands of the domestic groups from her
591 own labor in pottery production. The result of women's economic
562 independence is that many of them are the heads of their own
434 households. Out of 280 households, 39 have female heads, and 25
184 do not contain any adult men (the others contain younger sons-in-
law). This also means that all corn is bought; there is no income
derived from agriculture, but only from pottery sales. In Agua-
catenango, where all income derives directly or indirectly from
agriculture, this situation is inconceivable: there are no house-
holds without men, nor households in which a female is the ab-
solute head of the unit.

The Marriage Transactions and the Household

583 In Aguacatenango, a man selects his future spouse and his
584 father arranges the marriage for him. At the ceremonial visits

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VII

CORPORATE GROUPS WITHIN THE VILLAGE

Historical Perspective

174 611 591 601 583 423 422 It is probable that the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango had, at some time in their past, a patrilineal organization based on agnatic descent, patri-virilocality, a kinship terminology of the Normal Omaha type, and other associated features such as bride-price, groom service, patrilineal control of the rights to land usufruct, and patrilineal inheritance.

174 613 614 621 626 Each agnatic descent group formed segments of a corporate lineage, and several segments formed a sib. Lineages were localized, and they had important social functions. The heads of linear segments formed the local government and had the responsibility of controlling conflict and sanctioning individual behavior through the supernatural. They were believed to "own" powerful animal counterparts of their souls, which patrolled the village during sleep, and punished the misdemeanors of those men belonging to their line of descent. It is also probable that the lineage was [582] an exogamous unit, and there is some scanty evidence which points to the practice of cross-cousin marriage.

127 The evidence to support this hypothetical statement is of two types. On the one hand, there is some historical documentation in published, as well as manuscript, form. On the other hand,

613 476 murdered. Informants declare that "all the Mendeztik will get
626 together against the Perezetik if a Perez kills a Mendez." We have
627 witnessed cases of "talk of revenge," but never any case of the
613 lineal solidarity functioning in this way in practice. In a case
736 where the father of a man dies, it is within the agnatic line that
a man finds a sponsor to live with, to pay his bride-price, and to
613 work the land with. If there is conflict over an adulterous wife,
837 or over the distribution of an inheritance among brothers, it is the
428 duty of the elder members of the agnatic line to give advice, witness the distribution of the property, etc.

613 The patriline is not a land holding unit, in the sense that
423 there is no land that is said to belong to the line as a corporation, but the group of agnatically related men have control over the distribution of it, and its inheritance. If a man dies without adult sons, the closest agnatic kin (father, brother, or in some cases a father's brother if the other two are dead or have enough land) will take over the cultivated fields that he has left. According to the Mexican Agrarian Code, Ejido land can only be transmitted to people that live in the same domestic unit, and communal land cannot be transmitted at all: at the death of the person who held usufruct rights over a parcel, the land should revert to the Ayuntamiento, which has the power to re-distribute it as it considers convenient. In practice, in Aguacatenango, if the household fails to provide heirs, the parcels (both ejido and communal) are re-allocated among agnatic kin. Therefore, although the patriline does not "own" land, some land is allocated through linearity.

736 linearity. The widow is expected to give back to them the house
613 site and house in which they lived, and go to live in her own
423 parental home. In one case, a woman who had kept the house in trust for her sons, asked permission to sell the lot (which originally had been given to her dead husband) from a living male sibling of the deceased.

613 There are no ritual functions which have to be performed
592 by the patriline. Aguacatenango rituals are carried on by the
796 household, by the part-time ritual specialists (curanderos), or
794 by officially appointed town officers (the Mayordomos).

121 This type of "lineage" seems to fit Homan's definition of
613 "weak" lineage, because he considers the following characteristics as defining a weak lineage: (1) few (less than four) generations in depth; (2) narrow spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) locality limited to a few people; and (4) incest rules pulled towards the smaller local units and mainly restricted to the nuclear family. The characteristics of a strong lineage, in contrast, are: (1) many (more than four) generations in depth; (2) wide spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) maximal localization of residence and maximal sharing of activities within the lineage; and (4) incest rules pushed away from the local units, to embrace all relatives within a lineage (lecture in the Oriental Institute, April 22, 1959, unpublished). However, I prefer to call them patrilines to distinguish them from the more elaborate agnatic descent groups common in Africa, from which they are distinguished by (1) the lack of genealogical depth; (2) the absence of the use of genealogical

121 manipulations for political purposes; and (3) their restricted
613 functions.

174 Why is the patriline this weak? There are reasons of
613 an historical nature, as well as functional reasons. First, with the centralization of political power created by the Spanish colony, in which each household head, independently of lineage affiliation, became a tributario (tax payer) and had rights of participation in the political structure, the political functions or the lineage
613 became debilitated. At the present time, it is only through the
624 principales that the patriline as a unit has political representation. The principles are usually the elders of the largest patrilines in the community. To make decisions, they have to have the backing of the men they represent. Belonging to a larger line indicates that a man is capable of controlling a larger number of household heads and, therefore, has stronger political support. That being the head of a large patriline gives a man authority in village affairs is shown not only by the fact that principales are thus supported, but also by the fact that patriline elders, even if they are not officially principales, on occasions can act as such, and they are sought after for advice in making Ayuntamiento decisions, by their own people and by other villagers.

174 Second, with the relocation of the lineages at the time
• 423 that the village was reducido, and the control of the lands by the
613 Encomienda and the Spanish crown and later by the fincas, some of the lineage control over its lands was lost. It is possible, however, that before the agrarian reform, when the village lands were scarcer, the land holding rights of the patriline were more precisely stated.

000 precisely stated. Today, with the total increase in land holdings,
423 the influence of the Ejido Commission (however minimal) and the
621
592 introduction of a money economy in which land is becoming more
178 and more of a commodity that can be bought and sold, in terms of contract transactions, land tends to be thought of as individual
[593] household property. There have been several cases in which brothers have bought land from each other, although they are the people from which a line member can expect to obtain land, or in the absence of it, the necessary help to clear and fence a new parcel in forested communal territory.

178 Other reasons for the constant breaking of linearity,
613 which reduced the patriline to a very shallow group, are inherent
593 in the system itself. First, the antagonism between brothers over
423 property rights tends to make the sibling group weak, and agnatic lines split in each generation.

593 Insofar as siblings occupy an equivalent position with
[592] respect to the elders in the household, their sentiments towards one another are easy and affectionate, but insofar as the elder sibling has jural authority over the younger ones, the relationship is marked by constraint, respect and a certain ambivalence.

Thus, siblings are expected to love each other, to give each other company, to help when necessary, and to share, in some aspects of their life, a common position with respect to the community at large, or what Homans calls the external system (1950: 90-94).

The equivalence of siblings, especially those of the same sex, is evident in many observations. A man whose brother is

159 now cultivating it, and has been doing so for a long time, refuses
428 to return it, even if he is paid half of the value of the land, or
562 only asked to give half of it to Chilola's son.
578

The reason for the inheritance rights of the people concerned not being clear is that twice, in the sequence of transmission, women have passed on the property, and as a result, it has left the hands of the original lineage.

Chilola's feelings are quite strong: the land belonged to
[606] her husband. Even if her mother-in-law had rights over the prop-
[736] erty at Chilola's husband's death, she was being supported by Chilola, and certainly, neither her mother-in-law's second husband nor their daughter has primacy rights against her son. (See Genealogy, Fig. 16.)

[423] The case is obviously complicated by the fact that the property rights are defined not only in terms of inheritance rights, but in terms of usufruct (in a sense, they do not have land tenure, but milpa tenure), and the other men had been taking care of the parcel for a long time, which makes them feel that it is theirs.

159 This type of conflict carries over to other property, such
422 as livestock, as exemplified in the next case.
593
578

Case 3

When Candelario Aguilar married, Juana, his wife received
[431] a regalo from her father: a bull. Candelario sold the bull and bought a cow, which had a calf.

Candelario left town and gave the cow and calf to his father Francisco, so that they would take care of it in his absence.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 193]

In addition to this regular ladder of officials representing the center and its close-lying barrios are judges representing the *colonias*, or rural settlements, of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Crus Quemada. They do not regularly attend the townhall sessions, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of new officials. Only after I had elicited officials from two informants was I able to get from the third the three judges of the colonias with the question, "Are there any other officials in the cabildo?" 621* 693 632

These civil officials constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. The positions of president and *sintiku* (in Spanish *síndico*), not included in the offices of the townhall as a category by informants, were elicited in response to the question stated above. These posts are occupied by younger men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy, until the present generation, was limited to those in the 30-year age bracket. Those with such skills passed immediately into the *comisario ejidal*, commission for land grants, where they assisted in the control and redistribution of land granted under the ejido program, or went directly into the post of *síndico*. Thus they were able to avoid the onerous and time-consuming functions of the traditional posts and enter into the remunerative post of president, where their authority was recognized at an early age. With improved literacy, the competition for such posts is increasing. Although informants say that the post of president alternates for the two sides of the dual division, case materials do not bear this out. 622 624 [124] [191] [212] [423] [178] [212] 622 621* 114

The only Ladino in the hierarchy is the secretary. For the first time this year (1964) the post of secretary has been taken by an Indian of the town. This is part of the power play described below. 563 624 178

Naming of civil officials is done in November, first in a closed session in the townhall at which each official names his successor, followed by a mass meeting *(Komun K'op)* at which the names are read to the assembled household heads in the plaza. To the question, "What are all the kinds of offices in the church?" the response was given: *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces (or captains, the Spanish term *alfereces* comes from the Arabic). There are 16 mayordomos. Role terms for the mayordomos indicated that each saint was repre- 666 621* 794 [776]

[R 213-B]

/5 cont./

551 614 The great majority of the native surnames could not be translated by our informants, who asserted that they did not signify anything in the Tzeltal language. Those for which we could obtain the meaning are: Chan ... snake, of the Ijká clan; Chij ... deer, of the Chik clan; Uax ... wildcat, of the Boj clan; Chikin ... ear, of the Chik clan; and Lot ... lie /Sp. mentira, lie, story, error/, of the Ijká clan.

428 424 551 613 614 The surnames are inherited through the paternal line and constitute the lineages within each clan. The lands formerly belonged to the lineage and could not be alienated. This custom is tending to disappear in recent times, but even today we have found several cases in which only an individual belonging to the lineage can occupy land that has been left without an owner when one has died without leaving male descendants.

166 551 553 614 A native from another municipality or group who comes to Cancuc with the aim of settling down in it must be incorporated into one of the clans, for which it is necessary to change his native surname for a Cancuc one. (The different native groups of this central region of the State of Chiapas have surnames that differ among themselves, and it is through them that their place of origin is shown.) Generally he keeps the Spanish surname and takes a native surname that in Cancuc corresponds to that. One Gómez Tzima from Oxchuc became Gómez Uotán of the Chejeb clan of Cancuc. One Aguilar belongs to the Chik clan, like all the Aguilar of Cancuc. One Santis Kujul, the small son of an Oxchuquero and a woman from Cancuc, gave up his surname from Oxchuc when his father died and his mother's family incorporated him into the Ijká clan, changing the native surname Kujul for that of Lul, "so that he will be from here, and have his chapomales here, and marry here," his maternal aunt of the Chik clan explained to us. These cases are rare. We could not find out before whom these incorporations are carried out. One informant, born [889] in Cancuc, whose paternal grandfather /6/ had come from the municipality of Tenejapa, told us that he had heard his father say that "in the old times the old people arranged that."

The me'iltatil is the core institution preserving cultural continuity in the community. The exercise of authority and social control depended on a system of checks and balances in which the ancestors watched over the community, the judges watched over the curers to see that they did not abuse their power, and the curers watched over their side of the dual division to see that no witches or evil spirits caused harm. The validation of power is based on the kinship model of age-authority. The recruitment and functions of each of the three manifestations of this ancestral authority will be discussed in the following chapters on life crisis rituals, curing, and civil government. 182 621 602 608 571

The Household and Family 592

The household unit is a crystallization at a given point in time of consanguineously and affinally related people within a wider kinship matrix. It is the most important structural unit providing for economic cooperation, socialization of the young, and care and sustenance of the aged. It provides the setting and the personnel for the transmission of traditional prayers and ritual procedures of the civil and religious hierarchy. The composition of the unit is constantly changing due to internal changes in the life cycles of its members as well as changes in the wider kinship matrix. The decisions made in response to these changes reveal both traditionally established adjustments to life crises and adaptations to social changes originating outside the family. The kinds of choices made in residence after marriage as well as in inheritance and succession to leadership in the household do not always conform to the cultural formulae for handling them. The exigencies of space, time, economic, and social considerations may outweigh the ideological considerations of what ought to be done.

The formula for the developmental cycle of the household is the following: when a man marries, he lives with his bride's family for one year, working in her father's fields. He then returns to his father's household to live and work with him until his father is too old to manage the work in the field. The father then gives equal shares of his land and animals to each of his children, both male and female. The youngest child, or the last one to get married, remains in the parental house, taking care of the aged 591 [425] 591 593

been made, there is no recourse but to kill the man since he may retaliate by killing his accuser (this occurred in two of the cases noted in Table 29).

Conflict between generations in the role sets father/son and father/son-in-law stems from delay in carrying out role responsibilities. Fathers are expected to provide the money for the costs of betrothal, and to give their children shares of the patrimony including both land and livestock. The scheduling of when this should occur is often a matter of dispute, resulting in at least two cases of homicide in the period analyzed.

New economic enterprises have exacerbated the tensions rising from envy. Foster (1965) has suggested that envy stems from the notion of the "limited good," requiring the strategy of a "zero sum game" (Bennet 1966). The fact that the new wealth is evidence of new opportunities, not a subtraction from a given resource supply, has not entered the cognitive awareness of the people. The prospering leaders of these enterprises feel themselves to be particularly vulnerable to the envy of others and thus to the charge of witchcraft. There have been several open attacks on new leaders accused as witches; the leader of the truck cooperative, for example, was murdered in 1966. Six men have been killed as cattle thieves in the past ten years.

The economic roles created with the introduction of new enterprises have not been integrated in the traditional pattern of recruitment and control. In the association of cattle breeders, leadership tends to be based on the size of the herd; in the case of the truck cooperative, amount of capital invested and entrepreneurial skills have determined the leadership of the enterprise, while driving skill and ability to get along in the Ladino world has been the basis for choice of drivers. Such achievement principles as the basis for recruitment into these envied positions are not accepted in the same way that age and passage through a hierarchy of posts validated higher positions in the old hierarchies. The conspicuous expenditure of wealth in the more expensive posts in the religious hierarchy has also failed to lessen hostility aroused by the increasing disparity in wealth, and in fact those who have served as alférez have been even more subject to witchcraft aroused by envy.

593 loses his labor and some of its land holdings, while if a daughter
592 leaves, the loss of labor is marginal, there is no loss of land,
464 and her removal is not a drain on the resources of the household,
562 nor does it upset its basic economy.
423

591 The multiple bonds between a father and a son over the
593 patrimonial land of the family, the products of their joint ef-
182 fort, and their common responsibility for setting up the standard of living for the homestead, all foster patrilocality.

423 A young man could, today, obtain land without his father's
425 direct help. He cannot obtain irrigated land (because it is ex-
592 tremely scarce, and privately "owned" by the household heads),
621 but he could obtain land in the communal lands of the village.
[593] This, of course, is not the better land, being <u>temporal</u> and far away from the village. Although the <u>temporal</u> land close to town is not privately owned, it is "earmarked" for use by the heads of each household. That is, the communal lands are distributed to households, not by titles of ownership, but by usufruct rights. Even if he decides to take such a step, he needs (1) the approval of the <u>Ayuntamiento</u> which oversees the distribution of usufruct rights for the community as a whole, and (2) the recruitment of other men to help him clean and fence the parcel.

621 Neither of the two alternatives is easy to carry out in
593 practice. First, if the <u>Ayuntamiento</u> grants land to a man against
423 his father's will, this creates a problem of jurisdiction between
425 the jural rights of the household head and the administrative
578 rights of the <u>Ayuntamiento</u>. We could not predict what consequences such a case would have, because we have no evidence that it has ever occurred (of course, this is based on the case

593
578 histories collected during the field work season, and it well
[621] could be that a case was missed). Second, if he wants to obtain
[423] help from other men, they risk antagonizing, with their willing-
[476] ness to cooperate, the head of the household in which the young man is residing, and they also risk the concommitant sanctions.

423 The young man could also obtain land without his father's
•425 help by leaving the community to work for wages and saving enough
464 money to buy land. Although the selling of parcels is not a
166
[593] common practice in Aguacatenango, the idea of land being a commodity that can be bought and sold has been introduced, and some few household heads, in cases of emergency, are willing to sell. Of course, leaving the community to work for wages means voluntary exile for a man and alienation from relatives, friends and the cultural milieu. Also, men insist that it is profitable to work for wages only if one does it for short periods of time and keeps milpa simultaneously. Wage work alone is not enough to buy corn and the other necessities to meet the requirements of the customary standard of living.

593 On the other Hand, a man breaking away from his home and
62 refusing to accept his father's authority becomes a deviant, and
156 antagonizes not only his family, but the community.

Although it is possible, theoretically, to become eco-
593
592 nomically independent of one's father against his will, in fact
156 a man can only set up his own household in compliance with the ethical principles and moral conventions of his culture. Therefore, he is only permitted to form his own domestic group when he has demonstrated that he has reached the stage of social maturity which allows him to do so.

273* 539 C. HA* HAL ME*L HLO*LIWANEH XINAN HAL YA X BEN LI* I.

That's that lying ladina who comes up here.

M. *E *AWA* MA* BA TUTA SPAS HNUXUK.

And he says that it didn't help him at all.

C. *E TEY *A YUN SZ'IHK TE*K YUN C'IN HUNUK HA*WIL *A E, *IL C'IN CE* OXE*K'AHAL HONC TAK.

It should at least keep him from drinking for a year, and he only lasted two or three days.

M. *E YUN TONC *ANC TA *AWO*TAN LA *AZ'IK *EHK *ABI, XKUT, *E YU*NIX *A XCI.

"Well, you only stop if you want to," I told him. "Yes," he said.

HINX *A MA YUNUK LA YILA LA STUK YO*TAN I, YUN TONC LA SZ'IK.

"Yes, my heart didn't reject the aguardiente, I willed not to drink."

273* One of the reasons why men may avoid drinking on succeeding days is economic. As drinking continues, there is a tendency to water the aguardiente, prolonging the drinking cycle by reducing the per person unit cost. Nevertheless, men go into debt to buy aguardiente and must often seek work outside the community in order to pay what they owe. [426]

273* 124 Other reasons are suggested by the questions and responses of the survey. Fifty-four men reported that they became ill as a result of drinking--and illness following drinking appears very frequently in the texts. Eleven men reported that, at least occasionally, they are involved in fights while drinking. Fifty-two

423
432 was in a low gully where crops would not grow, and no one within the
609 community would buy it.
621

Land is frequently pawned by farmers as security on a loan. The title to
423 the land is left with the lender, who can foreclose on the debt if the inter-
•426 est payments of five percent per month are not paid. Often the land pawned may be worth far more than the loan. Loans in town are rarely backed with security, and if something is pawned, it is usually clothing or household items.

178 With the growing significance of ejido lands and land sale, inheritance
423 of land is of less importance in the economic expectations of each succes-
428 sive generation. The rules controlling inheritance are theoretically simple:
593 equal inheritance for all children regardless of sex. The parents usually give some land when the child establishes a separate household; the remainder is then given at the death of the parent or when old age makes it impossible for the parent to work any more. The youngest child remaining at home works his father's land, or if he is living with his wife's family, his father-in-law's land, until the latter's death. His family inherits the house site as well as an equal share of the privately held lands. Complications arise because of modifications of the basic rule of equal inheritance by provisions for care and maintenance of the aged parents. Frequent dis-
[692 putes over inheritance are settled in local courts or passed on to the De-
647] partment of Indian Affairs in San Cristóbal.

The selection of which crop to grow is related to the kind and amount
241 of land a farmer owns. The most important crops are corn, beans, and wheat. Some squash and sugarcane are grown in the lower ejido lands of San Caralampio. Cabbage is grown by one Indian who possesses fertile irrigated lands in the center. Most Indians, however, are unwilling to undertake the risk of raising a cash crop since there is greater chance of the crop being stolen and they cannot afford a bad market price when they harvest.

241 Relating the size of holding to the crop grown, according to figures in
423 the Mexican census of 1960[3] (Table 4) one can see that in privately
433

[659 3. The census figures are based on estimates received from town officials, who submit them monthly to the census bureau. The officials of the town question the household heads as they see them in the streets or in their houses about how much seed they planted. They then estimate what the yield per almud for good and bad land is, from their own crops.

Wheat. In selecting the seed, the farmers choose those heads with the most kernels—there may be from thirty to eighty on each head. The same kind of seed must be used in planting each plot of land or the soil "does not give well." A new wheat seed was introduced by an American agronomist in the 1950s. The following reaction by an informant reveals why most of the farmers decided not to use it:

There is a quick-growing wheat, called foreign wheat because a foreigner brought it and planted it in the soil. Those who wanted to try it were given some. It was difficult to harvest because it was very dry and broke easily. Most of the grain was left behind on the ground. When it got to the threshing floor, most of it was broken. Therefore the town did not want it. So we continue planting the common wheat and it doesn't break.

The inefficient harvesting techniques force the people to consider loss of grains in deciding what wheat they will seed. However, a few of the farmers continue to grow the new wheat.

The scheduling of wheat production is shown in Table 8. The *arada* plow, introduced by the Spaniards (Foster 1951) and made locally by farmers for their own use, is commonly used to prepare the land. A few farmers borrow the plow of a relative, or sometimes a metal plowshare is bought in the departmental capital.

The harvest is the most arduous work in wheat production, but because it is done with the assistance of four or five helpers, usually brothers or compadres, it is a gay occasion. There are about a dozen threshing shelters which are individually owned and rented for 5 pesos a day. At the height of the harvesting season, the farmers have to wait for their turn to use the shelter. After the threshing, a fiesta is held in the house of the owner of the wheat at which liquor and a meal of beef stew is served. Since the labor involved is based on exchange rather than payment, the owner will take part in the harvest and celebration of those whom he has helped.

Beans. The choice of locale and the time of planting vary more radically for beans than for other crops because of the greater differences in type of seed. The two major types of beans are (1) ground beans, of

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T 661 652 621 571 241 *us 65 pesos per bag. It was the first time we had used it and we had very good crops. We got together and decided not to pay for the fertilizer. We called the bank agents and requested that we be relieved of the charge because the crops had failed. We showed him a milpa which is a low plot that is too wet for a good crop. We just throw the seed there, but don't work on it because it isn't worth the trouble.*

T [693] *We went to a lawyer in Tuxtla. He told us the bank would have to pay for the fertilizer since they had promised it. The lawyer is the helper of* the campesinos [*poor farmers*].

T 178 661 621 571 [426] [693] Several points of significance can be noted in this case: (1) the Indians are reluctant to take credit risks because of unfortunate experiences in the past; (2) they react to deception with their own deceptions, showing the engineer the land which had not only not been fertilized but had never been weeded or cared for; and (3) they seek professional legal aid in dealing with government agents in order to equalize the contest in which they feel disadvantaged. These first two behavioral syndromes are culturally conditioned responses; the third represents an innovation. By seeking professional aid for which they pay a fee, the Indians are breaking the monopoly of power held by the caciques to whom they were formerly bound in a network of personal obligations incurred in such transactions.

T [177] [178]

M 423 361 Recent colonization of national lands since the 1950s has introduced a new kind of ejido settlement. Since most of the lands contiguous to settled towns were absorbed in the early days of the ejido grant, movement has been into lands outside the domain of established centers. This spontaneous colonization of unexploited land has followed the penetration of new highways in Quintana Roo, Campeche, Chiapas, Tabasco, and Vera Cruz (de la Peña 1951:348). In defense of their rights to the new lands, the colonists, often of diverse origins, develop a political consciousness. Mestizos and Indians of different towns work together in securing official ejido status for their lands. Acculturation to the national language and ways of life is much greater in these mixed centers than in the settled populations that were part of the original ejido tracts. Consciousness of their rights under national law and independence from traditional loyalties means that these new settlements may be the basis for welding Indians into the na-

M [491]

M 423 621 563 [197]

M 641 563

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159 edge not only of how to manage money, but also of how to *manejarlo,* or
472 drive it, and to "make it grow" indicated an insight into capital operations
621 which made him a leader in local enterprises. In his post as shopkeeper, he
45 invested the store's capital in corn bought at harvest.

159 Santos' career as an entrepreneur was ended when a bullet was fired
472 into his back in 1966. He had relaxed his observation of the rules which permit survival for those who challenge traditional ways: no drinking, no trips to the mountain alone, and no boasting of gains. As yet, he has had no parallel in the community, but the truck drivers are becoming aware of the possibilites for profit in trade and commercial deals.

426 *Capital and credit.* The Indians' knowledge of capital and credit
609 operations has been acquired in the role of debtor, not creditor. In the leg-
538 ends concerning money the creditor is an outsider, a *pukuh* or devil, usually a Ladino. I had accepted a story about a Don Klabil, owner of a mountain in the town adjacent to the neighboring Ladino town Teopisca, as being of ancient origin. It fit with the many stories collected in Mesoamerica of owners of the hills who give out money on request to those who come knocking at the entrances to their caves. After their death, the recipients spend their spirit life in the mountain, working off the debt. Don Klabil was said to be responsible for the wealth of one of the outstandingly wealthy men in town who had gone to his hill and asked for cattle and money. Once while riding in a bus from Tzoʔontahal to Las Casas, I was engaged in conversation with a woman of Teopisca, who was dressed in widow's weeds. I commented on the story of Don Klabil as we passed the hill, and she said, "Oh, yes. That was Don David, my husband. He used to lend money to the Indians." When he died, the Indians say he went to live in the cave from which he got money when he was alive.

The Indians feel at a disadvantage to Ladinos when they enter into capital and credit operations. They tell a story of how, many years ago, when all the Indians of Tzoʔontahal were rich, the mayordomos got drunk on *Paswamal,* the day of gathering flowers and greens to decorate the church. When the true day of the fiesta came, they looked about them and realized that the church was undecorated, so they strewed green peso notes on the floor of the church. The Ladinos from Teopisca came for the fiesta as

usual, and seeing the pesos, picked them up. The "spirit of the money" left the village forever. The story reveals not only the sense of deprivation Indians feel in losing wealth to Ladinos (historically land the Indians had lost through fraud or legal trickery during the Porfirio Diaz period), but also their realization of their own responsibility for letting their assets slip out of their control.

Payment of interest on money borrowed is justified in the calculations of the Indians for loans made within as well as outside of the community. Interest, called *shol tak'in*, or "head" of money, makes it possible for the borrower to work, and thus to earn, so the "owner" has the right to charge for the use. The rate on loans made within the pueblo has risen from 2 or 3 pesos a month for 100 pesos to 5 pesos, thus equalizing the rate with that charged in the neighboring Ladino town. The same rate is applied between relatives as nonkin. The advantage of intracommunity borrowing is that the lender does not demand an immediate return, or as high security. Ladinos of the neighboring town tend to demand items of greater value than the debt held as security—one Ladino held title to land worth 1,000 pesos for a 50-peso debt, and threatened to foreclose. Within the pueblo, security of about the same value as the loan is asked except in the case of neighbors and relatives who can be reminded every day of the debt. And they are.

Markets. In marketing, the Indians of Tzoʔontahal have neither extended nor gained control over the selling and buying operations that have been pursued since before the opening of the Pan-American Highway in 1955. The pottery which is produced locally was formerly carried on horseback to the smaller towns within a radius of fifty miles. The pottery was marketed directly by the men of the household which produced it, with no specialization in trading by commercial travelers, as had happened in the Zapotec and other areas of Mexico. Since the penetration of the Pan-American Highway, the men take the pottery produced in their households by bus or on the trucks to either San Cristóbal or Comitán. This tends to polarize trading operations and dry up the traffic into small towns not connected by the highway. As a result, the wholesale trade in San Cristóbal and Comitán has increased in the past decade, with dealers

might have been his father, an uncle, or a godparent who had already served as alférez. 794 782

Buying festal foods. *The following items were purchased in the neighboring Ladino town of Himlol: 120 pesos' worth of bread; one-half a slaughtered bull for 600 pesos; 6 almudes of beans; 10 kilos of coffee; and 5 pesos' worth of brown sugar. If the alférez owned a bull, he slaughtered it and sold one half.* 794 796 [43]

Preparing liquor. *The alférez rented a still and, with the help of his father and brothers, distilled 7 garafones (126 liters) of liquor, using brown cane sugar.* [273] [429]

Preparing special clothing. *The following items were purchased or bought: jacket for 50 pesos; shirt for 55 pesos; hat for 30 pesos; pair of boots for 32 pesos; red waistband for 16 pesos; and red kerchief for 9 pesos.* 794 796 43 [291]

The hat was made by a man in the town. When the alférez went to ask him to do him the favor of making a hat, he brought 1 peso's worth of bread, 1 liter of trago, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. The alférez borrowed black leather leggings and a black towel. To each of those who lent him clothing, he gave 1 liter of trago, 1 peso's worth of bread, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. When he returned the clothing, he gave the same gifts. [426]

The installation of the new alférez. *During the four days of the fiesta of the saint with which he was charged, the new alférez was initiated into his duties in office. In taking on each of the functions assigned to him, that "dialectical connection between the actor and his part, the person and his roles or status or office," was effected (Fortes 1959:57).* 794 796

The first day (Paswamal). *On the first day of every large fiesta,* Paswamal (*literally, "to make the boughs or decorations"*), *the women of the household and the sisters and sisters-in-law of the new alférez and his wife gathered in his house to cook the food. The men slaughtered the* [252] [262]

794 *the regidores were seated in their customary places; the alfereces sat on the*
796 *visitors' bench. The two former alfereces went before the two newly ap-*
526 *pointed alfereces and gave an account of what was going to take place, instructing them on "how they should make a fiesta."*

When the two former alfereces entered, they went to the president, saying, "How does the Lord see you alive on this holy afternoon?" They then went to the síndico and the regidores and ended with the judges, exchanging a pat?o?tan.

The alfereces went out, mounted their horses, and were handed the banners by the regidores. The two old alfereces received their banners first. All four made the sign of the cross, first facing the cabildo, then the
[788] *church, and then rode in procession, preceded by the flutist, two drum players, and a guitarist, and followed by the other horsemen. They stopped before the church, dipping their flags, first toward the church and then the cabildo. The president, síndico, and first judge walked across the*
[533] *plaza to the church as the church bells were rung, and all the musical instruments played—the marimba, bell, drums, and flute. The alfereces dismounted and put their banners in the church.*

[426] *The final day, called* Lahinbahel Sk'in, *was spent sobering up, putting things back in order, and returning borrowed items.*

178 Although Santiago is not one of the major saints, a major celebration is
231 given in his honor because of the high value placed on horsemanship in
526 this community. Before the construction of the Pan-American Highway in
[796] 1953 everyone in town had horses which were used to carry the pottery to
[492] market. Riding skills were developed in the free-swinging *macho* (manly) style of northern Mexico's cowboys. Even today when horses are not as economically useful the horse culture has survived. The running of the horses in the fiesta is not competitive. Each rider does his best to tear at high speed across the plaza, but there is no specific goal. Since the
[273] drunken riders often fall and are injured, some of the excitement is based on the potential danger.

128 The behavioral data on which the analysis of rituals depends are included because they provide a basis for comparison with neighboring

ginal to the community, either a foreign Indian, as in the case of Augustín, or a Ladino, as in the cases of the secretary and schoolmaster described below. The only indigenous candidate for the role was recently killed. It provokes too much envy for someone socialized in the community; fear of being accused and even killed as a witch or a power-seeker is justified by several such precedents. Those with the skills to become caciques have until recently been effectively incorporated in the existing hierarchy as firmanetik.

Second, the cacique is a gatekeeper, channeling information, goods, and services from the outside to the members of the community. In this capacity, he prefers to pose as a benefactor when he may actually be no more than the distributor of government welfare goods and services.[4]

Third, the role of cacique is one in which the incumbent operates in a local sphere, but depends upon a network of compadrazgo and professional ties outside of the community to assure his position in the community. He must be sufficiently aware of the local idiom in order to avoid making enemies.

Finally, the role is monopolistic. This results in part from the fact that the outside world prefers to deal with a single representative for reasons of expediency. However, new governmental agents are more and more dealing directly with Indians, a factor which has shaken the position of the cacique. The monopolistic quality of the position also stems from the fact that the profit to be gleaned from the community is small. A Ladino from a neighboring town commented that it was worth the time of only one man to exploit an Indian community of the size of Tzoʔontahal. The extractable profit is diminishing as the Indians become more aware of their rights.

The change in character and range of activities of local caciques is illustrated by the recent careers of two residents of Tzoʔontahal. In the 1950s and until 1964, the Ladino secretary, Don Ramon, had filled the role of cacique. He took advantage of this role not only by collecting a salary and a percentage of court fees, but also by earning money for using his influence in Ladino official circles outside the community. He lent money for interest and subsidized some enterprises such as growing cabbages with Indian partners.

4. Goldrich (1965) points to this tactic of politicians who distribute government goods as though they were their own gifts.

building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office.

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist.

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first.

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient portable typewriter. Since typing is a new skill for him, he makes many errors, and his retrials are accepted with patience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

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The assumption that leisure is a concept unique to highly civilized societies is denied by peasant behavior in this community and many others like it in which the members are masters of the greater part of their time. What differentiates their scheduling of leisure-time activities from that of most western societies is that theirs is based on community decisions rather than individual predilections and that it is set in the frame of sacred rather than secular performances. Community standards are most notable in the way people dress for fiestas: women wear their newest embroidered blouses; their hair is neatly braided with ribbons. Men wear a kotonču with their cleanest shirt and pants. The children, except for the youngest, wear clothes like the adults'. Villagers "care for" the celebration by sitting on their porches, greeting neighbors, smoking and talking. When a public performance is held in the church or plaza, they participate as observers. Arduous work of any kind is proscribed. Special foods are prepared and served at regular mealtimes. A special mark of all days of fiesta is the serving of fermented corn beverage. Meat or chicken is more likely to be served on Sundays and holidays than on other days.

Timing as a Strategy in Interpersonal Relations

The preferred mode of action is "slow and soft." This applies to motion, especially in rituals, as well as to the scheduling of actions in a series of negotiations. The people are sensitive to the use of time in bargaining as an index to the relative resources of the negotiators. Withholding power in the market gives a marked price advantage in the sale of crops. Sale in advance of harvest means a loss of one-quarter to one-half of the price which could be gained if the crop was sold after it was cut, and corn sometimes doubles in value if withheld for six months or more. Interest as a time payment for the use of money is accepted on the basis that the borrower could put it to work. There is no feeling against the evil of usury, although the rates are relatively high in town—five percent per month.

This understanding of time as an indicator of relative strength extends to social functions. Time serves as an interval to build confidence on the part of both parties entering into contractual arrangement. In the betrothal, both parties are prepared for a long series of visits before the suit

156 621 571 [426] [155] [476] [431] [608]

getting involved in the fight. He can help relatives in distress pay a debt or give a curing ceremony for a sick child. He can be a "hard worker, ready to offer a hand to a neighbor in need of extra labor" (hel-K'abal). He can send his wife with small presents of food to other households. He can make many compadres among those whom he suspects of possibly being against him, thereby assuring their friendship and respect. In sum, he can create around himself a long chain of loyal villagers who are bound to him by many different obligations. Then, because he is a 'leKil winiK' (one that behaves well with the people), he can "afford" to become rich by local standards without the immediate fear of punishment.

Every household head manipulates his environment in these terms. People try to accumulate riches and protect their paths in other ways. They also try to avoid distributing their accumulated wealth outside their household and to prevent the envy or gossip of those not so bound by loyalty, by hiding from others the knowledge of their possessions.

The result of the contradiction between the egalitarian values on the one hand, and the individual aspirations and behavior on the other, is expressed in gossip, "witchcraft talk" and a constant realignment of loyalties among villagers. Every man suspects another of being better off than one is led to believe, while at the same time he himself tries to keep others from suspecting him, and would not voluntarily give information on how many horses he owns or how much corn he has grown.

The picture of life in Amatenango and Aguacatenango is

591 587 [601] [183] The stepmother refers to her as "my husband's child," and she did not count her, when giving census information, among the children of her household, but as a child living with "my husband's mother." Another characteristic that makes this case [848] anomalous is that this stepchild was born of an extra-marital relation between the father and another woman, while the father was already married to the stepmother.

593 591 587 [428] The rationale given by the people when asked the reasons why a father does not keep his children with him, is that "stepmothers are no good." It is possible that one of the main forces operating behind this arrangement is the possibility of conflict over inheritance rights of stepchildren. By assigning rights and duties towards stepchildren only to stepfathers, it is implied that a man marrying a woman with children takes not only a wife, but the economic and jural responsibilities of being a father, including the duty of making them his heirs. We do not have, at the moment, sufficient information to support this point, and it is only given here as a suggestion for future inquiry.

591 592 423 426 These alternative rules of residence explain the composition of the compound households made up of the remnants of two or more original nuclear families, except for the cases in which people are living in borrowed houses. In one of the two cases in our sample, a house was "borrowed" from a brother of the husband's father. The family living in this compound is a very large one, twelve members, with only two males who are of working age, and very poor by Aguacatenango standards. The male head is an orphan who lived before marriage with his mother's mother and

591 has not inherited land. The other family living in a borrowed
592 home is a young couple that married without their parents' ap-
423 proval. They eloped and established themselve on the edge of
426 town, in an empty old hut, whose owner does not demand payment.
"Borrowings" are temporary arrangements, and as a form of resi-
[583] dence, very unstable. Young couples who decide to elope leave town to reside at Colonia del Puerto. We know of two cases which followed this custom. But if they do not leave town, they try to move to a house on the edge of town. From these two cases, we can assume that borrowing is due to economic reasons (poverty of a family who cannot afford to buy a house), or as a consequence of deviant behavior (in the case we have, the husband was an orphan and parental sponsorship by the wife's parents was denied because they disapproved of the marriage).

361 The edge of town is a refuge area for people who in one
156 way or another "do not belong" to the community. Social deviants,
167 like the young couple mentioned above, tend to move to the town boundaries. Recent migrants from other villages also live on the edges. Two complete blocks on the southern boundary of town are inhabited by a large extended patrilocal family which originated from a Chamula Indian who was a peon on a nearby finca until the agrarian revolution. After he became free, he migrated to the village and married a local Indian woman.

125 The above discussion covers all the cases for which we had sample data. We have, however, information on other cases which could not be counted in the statistics because they were part of life histories or concerned individuals who do not live in

794	81.	What do they do?		They drink
796	82.	What time do they leave his house?		Prayer time *(oración)*
124				
[293]	83.	Where do they go?		To their house
	84.	What do they do first on *ye ahk'nil?*		Go to hear Mass
	85.	Who is in the church to hear Mass?		All the new mayordomos, the women, the prayer leaders
	86.	What time is the Mass?		At 7 o'clock
	87.	What do they do when they come out of Mass?		Go to the house of the kobraria of Sacramento
	88.	How many go?		Thirteen
	89.	What do the rest do?		Three juniors *(nil'anil)* remain play drum at door of church
	90.	What do they do at the house of the kobraria of Sacramento?		Count the money of the Virgin and San Pedro Martyr
[426]	91.	What do they do with the money?		They want to lend it in order to get interest because they want to increase it *(ya tk'an tmahanik yu'un ya'be sol yu'un tk'an tolin kilel)*
	92.	How much money is there for the virgin?		Two hundred twenty-eight pesos
[624]	93.	Who counts it?	Fiscal with two kobraria	The town treasurer, the sindico and secretary assisted the fiscal in the accounting of funds. The principales sat on the bench to observe proceedings
	94.	How much money is there for San Pedro?	Forty pesos	
[624]	95.	What do they do after they count the money?	Begins the *pat'ot'an* with the kobraria of Sacramento	The principales recite the *pat'o'tan* with the kobraria of Sacramento
[537]	96.	What do they do afterward?	They drink liquor	They drink liquor
[293]				

000 ponerles sus mojones y a darles al posesión que les corresponde segun el número de ellos.

"Donde principió parar primer mojon *Busulton Pacton* que está en el camino derecho; 2° mojón *Ozloton* que está en el camino; 3er. mojón *Tzovilton*; 4° mojón *Tequelton*, mojón con Pedro Moreno; 5° mojón *Yolilnelej Lomchen*; 6° mojón de acuerdo con Juan Gómez Bet y Martin Sanchez Chelap se llama la raya *Teguel Canté* que es también la raya con Manuel Chinbak; 7° mojón *Tequelton* raya única con Marcos Hernandez López y Diego López y Diego Giron Vázquez; 8° mojón y último *Banulton Pacton*.

"Habiendo quedado todos los vecinos colindantes contentos, ofreciendo ambos que en lo sucesive no tendrán el menor disgusto, pues, son nativos de su propio pueblo, bajo el concepto que si alguno delinquiese en trastornar el orden en que han quedado, el agraviado lo pondrá en conocimiento del Juez para aberiguarlo y aplicarle la pena que merezca, para acuya seguridad son testigos Lorenzo Ichílok, Martin Solel, Miguel Gómez Ichilok y Gobernadores Diego Méndez Chizna y Nicolas Jiménez Acux. Por los testigos y Gobernadores que no saben firmar. Abril 12 de 1861 y como testigo y escribano Alonso Santis.

423 613 614 The descendants of the Gómez Ichiloks still live in the same paraje of Tzajalchen and share the same parcel. In other lineages the original parcel was subdivided on agree-
[178] ment between the interested parties. In this way single individuals now own pieces of land, a type of property ownership that is becoming more general as the old social organization based on clans and lineages gradually breaks up.

423 427 The parcels can be rented to people of other lineages and/ of other communities. Often the Tzeltal of Oxchuc rent their parcels to natives from Tenejapa or Cancuc
[613] who are their immediate neighbors. Pay-
[614] ment, made with food, chicha, and money, must be shared by the most important members of the same clan other than the ones of the same lineage (Villa Rojas, 1947, ch. 19).

[P 211-B]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Wheat. In selecting the seed, the farmers choose those heads with the most kernels—there may be from thirty to eighty on each head. The same kind of seed must be used in planting each plot of land or the soil "does not give well." A new wheat seed was introduced by an American agronomist in the 1950s. The following reaction by an informant reveals why most of the farmers decided not to use it:

There is a quick-growing wheat, called foreign wheat because a foreigner brought it and planted it in the soil. Those who wanted to try it were given some. It was difficult to harvest because it was very dry and broke easily. Most of the grain was left behind on the ground. When it got to the threshing floor, most of it was broken. Therefore the town did not want it. So we continue planting the common wheat and it doesn't break.

The inefficient harvesting techniques force the people to consider loss of grains in deciding what wheat they will seed. However, a few of the farmers continue to grow the new wheat.

The scheduling of wheat production is shown in Table 8. The *arada* plow, introduced by the Spaniards (Foster 1951) and made locally by farmers for their own use, is commonly used to prepare the land. A few farmers borrow the plow of a relative, or sometimes a metal plowshare is bought in the departmental capital.

The harvest is the most arduous work in wheat production, but because it is done with the assistance of four or five helpers, usually brothers or compadres, it is a gay occasion. There are about a dozen threshing shelters which are individually owned and rented for 5 pesos a day. At the height of the harvesting season, the farmers have to wait for their turn to use the shelter. After the threshing, a fiesta is held in the house of the owner of the wheat at which liquor and a meal of beef stew is served. Since the labor involved is based on exchange rather than payment, the owner will take part in the harvest and celebration of those whom he has helped.

Beans. The choice of locale and the time of planting vary more radically for beans than for other crops because of the greater differences in type of seed. The two major types of beans are (1) ground beans, of

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

there is no other woman in the house. (c) Number of men in the family. If there are productively employed men, women of the household tend to make less pottery, since they are busy cooking and washing and have their basic subsistence needs supplied. Pottery is then produced to supply cash for fiestas only. Widows make a great deal of pottery since they must either hire men to work in the milpa or buy corn. 592 323 433 [434] [136]

2. Wealth of the family: Relatively wealthy families make almost no pottery. In other cases, the scheduling of production is related to consumption needs. Figure 2 charts the pottery production by type of item produced for a family which included two unmarried women, their mother, father, and grandmother. The peaks in production occur just before the major fiestas when the family wants additional money to buy meat, fruits, and clothing. Although this family produced more pottery than the majority of households because of the presence of four women, its production typifies the high periods of activity relating to the fiestas. Production is also related to the seasonal changes: during the rainy season (from June to October) many households curtail production, except to earn money for the fiesta of Santiago (July 25), because of the difficulty of firing without closed kilns. [434] [196] [132]

Variation in production means that an overall estimate of income from pottery cannot be made. It ranges from none to nearly 90 percent of family income in the case of widows without land or male helpers. I would guess that an average family might earn 200 pesos a year, about 10 to 15 percent of the money value of crops. One family of two widows and five children who work constantly throughout the year averages an income of about 600 pesos, or about one-half what an agriculturist can make on one-half hectare of land. 323 433 434 184

The Motivation to Produce

461 434 182

The motivation to work is tied directly to consumption needs of the household. Failure to meet expenditures with income from agriculture and pottery is met by men hiring out as agricultural workers or as laborers in the sawmill. This alternative is chosen over that of increasing the size [464] 434 464 427 241

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

434 of the farm by renting additional land, as European peasants typically
464 did,[5] since there is very little land available for rent and the returns are
427 not immediate. Farmers will try to avoid this by acquiring land grants to
241 increase subsistence agriculture.

125 Expenditures and earnings were studied in six families over varying pe-
434 riods of time from ten days to one year. The data are summarized below.

434 Family No. 1, consisting of a husband, his wife, and their married
592 daughter separated from her husband and child, is able to meet all of their
[241] need for corn and brown sugar and most of their need for beans by the crops they raise on one-half hectare of ejido land in hot country, one-half hectare of ejido land in the township, and three-quarters hectare of privately owned, irrigated land in the township. On their irrigated land, they grow one-half hectare of wheat and one-quarter hectare of corn. In hot country they grow corn, beans, and sugar cane on the margins of the field. The cane is ground in a cooperatively owned mill, and their crop in 1965 produced 144 *tapas*, or measures of one kilogram worth 5 pesos. In addition to 200 pesos earned for the wheat crop, 100 pesos for the bean crop, 298 pesos for corn, this farmer earned 808 pesos for outside work. His high
[464] wage income is due to his working for an American at twice the usual
[465] daily pay. The farmer buys coffee by the twenty-five-pound bag costing 62
[435] pesos in hot country, a saving of about one-half the retail price of coffee in the town, where it is sold at 5 or 7 pesos at pound. In twelve months of recorded expenditures, the family spent 609.50 pesos or 83 percent of their budget on food, 40 pesos or 5 percent of their budget on clothing and 82 pesos or 11 percent of their budget on medicine.

The high expenditures in the case of family No. 2, consisting of a man,
[583] his wife, and two mature sons, was due to the fact that one of the boys was carrying on a betrothal suit. The bride-price had been fixed at 500 pesos, toward which the family was contributing whatever excess of income over
[464] expenditures it had. The son who was seeking a wife worked fifty-six days
[465] in the sawmill at a wage of 15 pesos per day during the six-month period recorded, earning 255 pesos. In addition, he and his brother earned 160 pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village.

5. Chayanov (1966:7) demonstrated that Russian peasant families expanded the size of their farms when the subjective needs of the family increased, not as a response to market prices for crops or rents.

might have been his father, an uncle, or a godparent who had already served as alférez. 794 782

Buying festal foods. *The following items were purchased in the neighboring Ladino town of Himlol: 120 pesos' worth of bread; one-half a slaughtered bull for 600 pesos; 6 almudes of beans; 10 kilos of coffee; and 5 pesos' worth of brown sugar. If the alférez owned a bull, he slaughtered it and sold one half.* 794 796 [43]

Preparing liquor. *The alférez rented a still and, with the help of his father and brothers, distilled 7 garafones (126 liters) of liquor, using brown cane sugar.* [273] [429]

Preparing special clothing. *The following items were purchased or bought: jacket for 50 pesos; shirt for 55 pesos; hat for 30 pesos; pair of boots for 32 pesos; red waistband for 16 pesos; and red kerchief for 9 pesos.* 794 796 43 [291]

The hat was made by a man in the town. When the alférez went to ask him to do him the favor of making a hat, he brought 1 peso's worth of bread, 1 liter of trago, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. The alférez borrowed black leather leggings and a black towel. To each of those who lent him clothing, he gave 1 liter of trago, 1 peso's worth of bread, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. When he returned the clothing, he gave the same gifts. [426]

The installation of the new alférez. *During the four days of the fiesta of the saint with which he was charged, the new alférez was initiated into his duties in office. In taking on each of the functions assigned to him, that "dialectical connection between the actor and his part, the person and his roles or status or office," was effected* (Fortes 1959:57). 794 796

The first day (Paswamal). *On the first day of every large fiesta,* Paswamal (*literally, "to make the boughs or decorations"*), *the women of the household and the sisters and sisters-in-law of the new alférez and his wife gathered in his house to cook the food. The men slaughtered the* [252] [262]

/5 cont./

551 614 The great majority of the native surnames could not be translated by our informants, who asserted that they did not signify anything in the Tzeltal language. Those for which we could obtain the meaning are: Chan ... snake, of the Ijká clán; Chij ... deer, of the Chik clan; Uax ... wildcat, of the Boj clan; Chikin ... ear, of the Chik clan; and Lot ... lie /Sp. mentira, lie, story, error/, of the Ijká clan.

428 424 551 613 614 The surnames are inherited through the paternal line and constitute the lineages within each clan. The lands formerly belonged to the lineage and could not be alienated. This custom is tending to disappear in recent times, but even today we have found several cases in which only an individual belonging to the lineage can occupy land that has been left without an owner when one has died without leaving male descendants.

166 551 553 614 A native from another municipality or group who comes to Cancuc with the aim of settling down in it must be incorporated into one of the clans, for which it is necessary to change his native surname for a Cancuc one. (The different native groups of this central region of the State of Chiapas have surnames that differ among themselves, and it is through them that their place of origin is shown.) Generally he keeps the Spanish surname and takes a native surname that in Cancuc corresponds to that. One Gómez Tzima from Oxchuc became Gómez Uotán of the Chejeb clan of Cancuc. One Aguilar belongs to the Chik clan, like all the Aguilar of Cancuc. One Santis Kujul, the small son of an Oxchuquero and a woman from Cancuc, gave up his surname from Oxchuc when his father died and his mother's family incorporated him into the Ijká clan, changing the native surname Kujul for that of Lul, "so that he will be from here, and have his chapomales here, and marry here," his maternal aunt of the Chik clan explained to us. These cases are rare. We could not find out before whom these incorporations are carried out. One informant, born [889] in Cancuc, whose paternal grandfather /6/ had come from the municipality of Tenejapa, told us that he had heard his father say that "in the old times the old people arranged that."

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P.462-B]

682 683 their neighbors by establishing *compadrazgo*, or godparental, relations with them.

621 608 Ten of the 37 homicides here reported were committed by immediate consanguineal or affinal relatives of the victim. The high frequency of killings involving brothers or brothers-in-law (8 cases) suggests a locus of high tension in these relationships. Male siblings, the *yermanotak*, comprise the closest cooperating group. Cooperation between brothers is obligatory when wheat is to be threshed, a house built, or a roof rethatched. If a brother or brother-in-law is unavoidably absent, he must pay a substitute. Brothers, or sons and fathers, are the only relationship pairs who work the milpa in common and share the harvest. Bilateral inheritance, with equal division of land and house to both male and female offspring, means that brothers-in-law are potentially equivalent in the competition for goods as well as in their obligation to cooperate. A man kills his sister's husband if the husband is abusive to the woman or to members of the family (two cases). The brother figures not only as a lethal opponent, but also as the man who avenges one's own death (case 18, Table 1). When someone has been killed for witchcraft, his brothers are expected to accept the verdict or to avenge the killing.

682 593 607 602 476 428 682 627 593

[Text continues on p. 463-A]

463 handle the milpa. It is rare to find an Indian
241 who does not have a milpa since this is the work that ensures his existence.

Property Rights

423 This is a matter that varies according to
613 the degree of acculturation reached by the
[177] community. In the most conservative groups
[181] (Oxchuc, Cancuc, Tenejapa, Tenango) there are still family property rights, but they seem to depend on lineage rather than on the immediate family (Villa Rojas,
562 1947, ch. 19). As these lineages are patri-
● 428 lineal, a woman does not count when inheritance is involved. She can own her parcel of land only when she has saved the money to buy it, but this is not frequent. Any man can claim lands that previously belonged to his lineage; it is enough to give back the money paid for them two or three generations ago. Of course, he has to prove by witnesses or documents that those lands were the property of his lineage.

127 According to a document dated 1861,
423 which I found in the possession of the
613 Gómez Ichiloks (they belong to the Gómez
614 clan and to the Ichilok lineage), residents of the paraje of Tzajalchen of the municipio of Oxchuc, this property system seems to be very ancient. The document is of special interest.

000 DOCUMENTO DE TIERRAS DE LOS GÓMEZ ICHILOK A

Por pedimento de los ciudadanos Domingo Gómez Ichilok, Tomás Gomez Ichilok, otro Tomás Gómez Ichilok, Miguel Gómez Ichilok, Diego Gómez Ichilok, otre, Domingo Gómez Ichilok, otro Diego Gómez Ichilok y su hijo Diego Gómez Ichilok y por último su hijo menor Manuel Gómez Ichilok, y como antiguamente se acostumbra en este pueblo que segun los hermanos de una propria familia, se les demarca un retazo de terreno de ejido para que en lo sucesivo no haya pleitos con los vecinos como suele suceder, nosotros los Gobernadores, Auxiliares, Justicias, Escribanos y Testigos, pasamos al paraje denominado Tzajalchén a

[P. 211-A]

A /For a translation by H.R.A.F. of this document, see category 116, p. 225-C--Analyst/

423 592 [184] In the most acculturated communities (Aguacatenango and Amatenango) individually held property is more general. The head of the house is the owner of the parcel and he can manage it as he pleases. Referring to Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1960, p. 11) states that:

> In general, land is "owned"—that is, controlled—by the household; as long as the son lives with the father, he may speak of "his land," but in fact he works the land with his father, planting what and when his father decides. The son who lives apart is usually given a piece of land by his father, and he acquires new land which he, in turn, will pass on to his sons at his death or, if he chooses, before.

[428]

[613] [593] At this level the lineage concept has disappeared, and the only recognized connection is the father-son relationship.

423 Irrigated lands ("tierras irrigables"), however, in Aguacatenango and in Amatenango contain parcels belonging to private owners and parcels used in common, which are administered or given by the local authorities to be cultivated. Metzger (*ibid.*) informs us that: "Recently, land has been bought on the edges of the town by each of the two barrios for the exclusive use of their members, while in the irrigable area the holdings of members of the two barrios are separate and watered by separate canals."

[175] Ejido lands exist in almost all the region, distributed according to the Programa Agrario de la Revolución Mexicana since 1914 but in some communities not put into practice until after 1930. These lands are administered by the "comite ejidal" of each municipio, which gives to any individual who needs land the permission to cultivate it. These lands cannot be sold or transferred in any way, because they are considered common property.

421 586 Family land as well as the house and its equipment belong to the man. When a marriage is dissolved, the woman goes back to her parents without taking anything but

[P 212-A]

613 than three or four generations. In the past, these lineages were localized, and in places like Bachajon, Cancuc, and Oxchuc the exact locations are still remembered.

613 769 778 A few generations ago, the most distinguished members of each lineage were buried in the cave after which the paraje was named, the bones and ashes of the dead being placed in large jugs or urns. The caves were places for ceremonies honoring the ancestors. Blom (1954) made a study of these burials and mapped the distribution of the sites. These caves are still places for worship but not for burials; the cross protecting all members of the lineage is kept there, as well as, in some instances, small crosses belonging to the important members of it (Villa Rojas, 1946, p. 16).

614 The words *chapomal* and *tijinabal* name the members of the clan in general. It is said that "the neighbors of this paraje are all chapomales," or "those cannot get married because they are chapomales." Tijinabal also means neighbor or member of the same paraje. Another word, *patshunk*, is also an equivalent of tijinabal. These words are currently used in Oxchuc, Cancuc, and Bachajon. On the other hand, there is no specific word to designate the lineage.

[835] The main function of the clan is to regulate marriage, as the union of two chapomales is considered incestuous. The clan [574] also gives much self-confidence to the Indian who travels to other parajes, for he can always find hospitality among people of his own clan. It also has a function of social control, exercised by the old men of the group, who punish all transgressors against the established rules. Helped by the nagual (supernatural spirit), they find out about the behavior of the members of the clan and punish according to the crime (Villa Rojas, 1947).

614 626 887

613 428 The lineage relationship is also important in inheritance (especially land), since the plots should always be under the control of individuals of the same Indian name. Only where such persons are absent or missing or

[P 215-A]

613 [428] have no interest in the land is preference given to the chapomales of other lineages. The importance of the lineage is stressed again during events such as curing ceremonies, conflicts, weddings, burials, fiestas, or banquets, where members of the same lineage should be invited first, then the chapomales.

601 The Omaha type of terminology still predominates in the more conservative municipios, where the same names are used for children of the father's sister as well as for children of the ego's sister, while children of the mother's brother are considered to be uncles and aunts on the matrilineal side (Murdock, 1949, p. 102; Guiteras Holmes, 1947, pp. 13–15; J. Nash, 1959, pp. 4–7).

The name *kichan*, given to the mother's brother, is also given to all the patrilineal descendants, stressing the concept that they are regarded as persons from another clan.

The most common kin terms collected in Cancuc by Guiteras Holmes (1947, p. 8) and in Oxchuc by Siverts (1955, pp. 16–20) are practically the same.

Tzeltal	*English*
Bankil	older brother of a man
Xibel	older brother of a woman
uish	older sister; father's sister
Kitzin	youngest brother or sister
Tat	father
Me	mother
Nichán	a man's children
Kaal	a woman's children
Ta-jun	father's brother
Mee-jun	mother's sister
Nicha-jun	the children of a man's brother
Kaal-jun	the children of a woman's sister
Kichán	mother's brother; children of a man's sister
Cha-mam	a man's grandchildren
Kil-al	a woman's grandchildren
Mam	grandfather
Meel-kuj	grandmother
Mamalal	husband
Kinam	wife
Bal	a man's brother-in-law
Jauan	a woman's sister-in-law
Mu	siblings-in-law of opposite sex

[P. 215-B]

[Text continues on p. 216-B]

423
432 was in a low gully where crops would not grow, and no one within the
609 community would buy it.
621

Land is frequently pawned by farmers as security on a loan. The title to
423 the land is left with the lender, who can foreclose on the debt if the inter-
426 est payments of five percent per month are not paid. Often the land pawned may be worth far more than the loan. Loans in town are rarely backed with security, and if something is pawned, it is usually clothing or household items.

178 With the growing significance of ejido lands and land sale, inheritance
423 of land is of less importance in the economic expectations of each succes-
428 sive generation. The rules controlling inheritance are theoretically simple:
593 equal inheritance for all children regardless of sex. The parents usually give some land when the child establishes a separate household; the remainder is then given at the death of the parent or when old age makes it impossible for the parent to work any more. The youngest child remaining at home works his father's land, or if he is living with his wife's family, his father-in-law's land, until the latter's death. His family inherits the house site as well as an equal share of the privately held lands. Complications arise because of modifications of the basic rule of equal inheritance by provisions for care and maintenance of the aged parents. Frequent dis-
[692] putes over inheritance are settled in local courts or passed on to the De-
[647] partment of Indian Affairs in San Cristóbal.

The selection of which crop to grow is related to the kind and amount
241 of land a farmer owns. The most important crops are corn, beans, and wheat. Some squash and sugarcane are grown in the lower ejido lands of San Caralampio. Cabbage is grown by one Indian who possesses fertile irrigated lands in the center. Most Indians, however, are unwilling to undertake the risk of raising a cash crop since there is greater chance of the crop being stolen and they cannot afford a bad market price when they harvest.

241 Relating the size of holding to the crop grown, according to figures in
423 the Mexican census of 1960[3] (Table 4) one can see that in privately
433

[659] 3. The census figures are based on estimates received from town officials, who submit them monthly to the census bureau. The officials of the town question the household heads as they see them in the streets or in their houses about how much seed they planted. They then estimate what the yield per almud for good and bad land is, from their own crops.

The relationship of respect and obedience between parents and children 593
is expected to last throughout life. When a boy reaches the age of eight- 582
teen, his parents are expected to provide him with a wife. Wealthier fami- 434
lies tend to fulfill this obligation at an earlier age than do poorer families, 583
in which the boy may have to work in the fincas or in the sawmills to acquire the money for his own marriage.

Instruction in sexual behavior and reproduction is not characterized by 864
continuity, as is instruction about work tasks. Children are given no information about sex prior to marriage, and girls remain entirely innocent. They may be pregnant several months before they are aware of what is happening. The complete sexual segregation in work tasks and play during adolescence makes the relationship between sexes strained.

Even after marriage, the parents are concerned with maintaining their 593
child's marital situation, or, if they judge their child's spouse to be incorri- [586]
gible, to help him get rid of his partner. In the case of women, in particu- [736]
lar, parents continue to provide a refuge in case a daughter's husband should die, be sent to prison, or prove incompatible. Parents usually accompany their children if they are called into court, and failure to attend is tantamount to admitting the guilt of the child.

In successful marriages, the parents-in-law are equivalent to parents and 593
are called "mother" and "father." The parents of both spouses attend the 606
life crisis ceremonies of their children and grandchildren. Grandparents 603
provide support and care for grandchildren if their parents should die or remarry.

When parents reach the age of about sixty-five, they are no longer ex- 593
pected to work actively. A man will then distribute all of his land and ani- 888
mals among his children. He will expect to be taken care of by all of his
children, but special responsibility falls on the youngest who will inherit [428]
the house. Sometimes aged parents move from one of their children's [591]
houses to another, spending a few months or years with each. Children are [755]
expected to pay for any curing ceremonies necessary in their parents' old [764]
age and to provide a good funeral appropriate to their wealth. Failure to [626]
do this incurs loss of respect with the neighbors and collateral relatives of
the deceased. If the parents die after they have distributed their posses- 593
sions, the crisis following the death is minimal. At the funeral, mature 764
children of a deceased parent exhibit to the community their filial respect.

576 support of whatever is said—repeating the final phrase of the person con-
versing or injecting supportive statements such as "indeed, indeed" or "so
[535] it is." In the dance of the alfereces' wives, for example, women were the
model of deference, moving in a self-contained pattern before the assem-
bled guests, with slow, tiny steps, eyes downcast, a shawl covering their
heads on which they wore their husbands' ceremonial hats.

621 Through recruitment procedures, alternation and linkage in official
182 roles, and leadership validated by age and service in lower positions—prin-
ciples applying to role relations in all institutions—Tzoʔontahal has re-
mained an integrated community. There is a high degree of stereotyping
in behavior from one institution to another, and norms of behavior are the
[682] same for public as for private roles. However, a remarkably high homicide
[578] rate and open conflict in all of the institutional settings indicate basic
sources of disruption.

682 Since 1960 the rate of homicide in town has increased from an average
593 of 1 every 2 years to an average of 5 or 6 per year. Table 29 indicates the
609 role relationships of killer to victim in 37 of over 70 homicides occurring
428 between 1937 and 1964. The highest incidence of homicide (7 cases) oc-
578 curred between brothers and brothers-in-law. Male siblings comprise the
closest cooperating group. Brothers work together in the milpa until the
father dies or divides his property among his children during his lifetime.
Bilateral inheritance with equal division of land and houses among female
as well as male offspring means that brothers-in-law are potential competi-
tors for the same limited resources. Friction arising among brothers and
brothers-in-law does not come from the principle of equal inheritance, but
rather because of the fact of differing responsibilities and expenses within
the family. For example, the child who has remained with the parents and
[888] thus assumes the burden of care for them in their declining years often
feels that he should inherit a greater share. The disputes arise in the deci-
sions concerning how much this disadvantage should be weighted. The
682 suppression of overt competition may in part explain the homicidal acts.
683 Although the tensions in fact stem from suppressed economic competition,
[154] they are translated into witchcraft accusations as soon as anyone in the
[626] family becomes ill. Violence against a witch is condoned by the commu-
nity and provides a channel for latent hostility. Once the accusation has

1 (see pp.245-247..Analyst)

592 606 hierarchical order of authority. The following example illustrates this social ordering:

159 591 592 Maria was the daughter-in-law of Margarita, a woman married to Juan Perez, one of the village elders. The sons of Juan Perez and all the daughters had left the compound after marriage, with the exception of Felix, the last son, who was Maria's husband. The couple had decided to stay in the parental house until the death of Felix's parents, and they were promised the inheritance of the sitio as a recompense for their willingness to support Juan and Margarita in their old age (see Fig. 9).

[428]

159 592 439 602 Maria had been fattening a pig, which Juan had decided to sell, and he had been talking about it with a Ladino merchant who was anxious to buy it, but who wanted to pay a lower price for it than Juan was willing to accept.

One afternoon, while the men were in the fields and Margarita was outside the compound gathering firewood, Maria was visited by a Ladino merchant who insisted on taking the pig with him. He offered to pay a price which Maria was not sure was already arranged between the merchant and her father-in-law. She discussed it with him, refusing to give up the animal, until her sister-in-law, Felix's elder sister, arrived to visit her mother.

When Felix's sister arrived, Maria retired from the discussion, and left the elder woman to carry the burden of the interaction.

After a while, Margarita came back with her load of firewood, and she took up the discussion while both her daughter and daughter-in-law conversed among themselves after Crecencia

592 885 During the first few years of marriage, he slowly becomes a tat (man). He establishes his own nuclear family, and he is able to take up the first officership in the local government, acquiring thus the rights to political ascension in the civil-religious hierarchy. We could say that the period of patri/virilocal residence has the function of smoothing the transition between bachelorhood and the responsibilities of married life.

581 591 Aguacatecos believe that a marriage has proved stable once children are produced and the man is capable of carrying on the economic burden of a family of his own. At this time, the couple should move to a house of their own, and form an independent household. A father, then, has to provide his son with a house site, in addition to a parcel to grow milpa.

591 [582] Soon, a younger brother (ideally, children marry in order of seniority) will marry and bring his wife into the parental home, starting a new cycle. The last of the sons (the po'h) [593] should stay with the parents until their death, and he and his [428] wife will inherit the parental house. It is preferable to have 591 606 only one daughter-in-law at a time living in the household. One informant suggested that the reason is that the mother-in-law is bound to prefer one of the two women, and this creates jealousy between them and fights.[1]

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[592] [1]When a second son marries, if the first son and his wife stay in the sitio they set up a separate kitchen, and eat their meals separately. In this case, the first daughter-in-law becomes independent of the mother-in-law, and works by herself, no longer under her mother-in-law's direct power. Except for the close spatial proximity, this arrangement functions as if the couple has set up a separate homestead, and the couple forms a separate domestic group within the same sitio (lot). The separate kitchen, or rather,

593 156 62 [583] Aguacatecos expect a man to take the responsibility of setting up his son in "business" as a community member. He pays for his son's bride, teaches him the skills for tilling the soil in order to earn a living, and provides him, at a prudential time, with the means of production: a parcel of land, and perhaps a few animals, and a house where he can live with his wife and children.

593 888 At the same time, a son is expected to take care of his parents when they are old and the father retires from agricultural work because he is too old, sick or weak to do, by himself, all the work necessary for the maintenance of his household as an economically independent unit. The people say that a son should provide for his aged parents because: "Did we not give them everything?"

The primary responsibility for the care of aged parents is usually given to one son in particular, preferably the last one (po'h). The villagers explain that this is his duty, because "if [422] he stays with us when all our other sons marry, get their land and leave, this house will be for him, he will inherit this place." Thus, the villager visualizes his dependency on the last son as an economic exchange between kinsmen: he receives from his son food and shelter, he gives him a house lot and house. The duties of a son toward his parents are expressed both in the kinship idiom

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[592] the separate cooking fire, is the symbol of the unity of one [591] single domestic group. When two couples live within the sitio [606] without dividing it, people are very careful to explain if they still cook together or not, and if they cultivate the land separately or not.

114 591 593 of sponsorship is that Fischer indicates that the residence sponsor is a person living in the same household, while in Aguacatenango patrilocal sponsorship is expressed by giving the sons a house site, even if it is not contiguous with the parental one. Therefore, to determine patrilocality of men, the couples in the sample were located (1) territorially, in terms of proximity to the husband's and wife's parents; (2) and in terms of who owned the house site, and from whom it had been obtained.

183 591 [428] The results of this analysis indicate a statistically significant emphasis on patrilocal proximity, and a strong bias towards inheriting the house in the male line.

TABLE 8

AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: PROXIMITY TO PARENTAL HOME.
MARRIED INDIVIDUALS IN NUCLEAR HOUSEHOLDS

	Man				Woman			
	Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent		Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent	
Same block	10	56	84	100	3	14	38	76
Adjacent block	5	28			5	24		
Same barrio	3	16	16		8	38	38	
Different barrio	. . .	. . .	. . .		3	14	24	
Other town	. . .	. . .			2	10		
Total Sample	18	100			21	100		

593 Independently of the analysis of geographical distribution
423 of individuals, in most cases a couple depends on the family of the husband for obtaining a house site of their own. Looking at the available data in household transactions, regular sponsorship in the male line appears as the statistical mode, the most frequently followed pattern. To explain the 16 per cent of sponsorship in the female line, we refer the reader to the section 1 of the reasons for uxorilocal residence, p. 133.

TABLE 10

423 AGUACATENANGO: HOUSE TRANSACTIONS AND INHERITANCE

	Cases	Percentage
House-land bought	22	32
House-land obtained through the husband's relatives	33	49
House-land obtained through the wife's relatives	11	16
Family borrowing the house	2	3
Total number of households for which information was available	68	100

423
432 The norms for house sponsorship are not always followed,
593 for other reasons: land within the town, houseplots, is one of
[183] the forms of land which has a monetary value in Aguacatenango. Lots are bought and sold for money, and are used constantly as a resource of income when one is in need of a large amount of
[428] cash. Ideally, most parents think that they will give contiguous houses to their male sons, and that their house will be inherited by the last male son who stays in the house until his parents'
423 death.[1] In practice, many times the house has to be sold before
432

[1] Other property is expected to be inherited in equal shares by all sons.

423
432 this time arrives. The main reason for selling a house is to
[764] pay for the burial of a family member. Most widows, if the house
is not reclaimed by the husband's agnatic kin (who have rights
[428] over the property if there are no mature sons left by the de-
ceased), will sell the sitio to pay for the husband's burial, and
will move to their natal households with their children. Some
sons will sell the house to pay for the burial of a father. The
selling of the house is also a solution for cases of conflicting
inheritance rights. For example, if two brothers claim rights
to it, and if they both agree about it, they will sell it and the
money obtained would be divided among them.

592 The fission of the compound household into nuclear house-
591 holds is accepted by the villagers as a traditional pattern of
578 behavior, but residential changes are always expressed in terms
of on-going conflict between the couples residing in the compound.

593 A father tries to keep his son living with him for as
592 long as possible because he is an emotional as well as an economic
464 asset to him. While a man has his son living with him, he has an
562 unpaid agricultural worker bound to him by emotional and jural
ties and by his economic dependence, and this allows him to maxi-
mize the labor force of the household and, therefore, increase
production notably. At the same time, he is able to control a
relatively larger amount of land for cultivation. If the son
leaves the compound, he is forced to divide the land holdings
under cultivation and to give him a parcel, a paternal duty which,
in spite of the fact that it is expected of them, they try to
avoid as long as possible. When the son leaves, the household

591 587 [601] [183] The stepmother refers to her as "my husband's child," and she did not count her, when giving census information, among the children of her household, but as a child living with "my husband's mother." Another characteristic that makes this case [848] anomalous is that this stepchild was born of an extra-marital relation between the father and another woman, while the father was already married to the stepmother.

593 591 587 [428] The rationale given by the people when asked the reasons why a father does not keep his children with him, is that "stepmothers are no good." It is possible that one of the main forces operating behind this arrangement is the possibility of conflict over inheritance rights of stepchildren. By assigning rights and duties towards stepchildren only to stepfathers, it is implied that a man marrying a woman with children takes not only a wife, but the economic and jural responsibilities of being a father, including the duty of making them his heirs. We do not have, at the moment, sufficient information to support this point, and it is only given here as a suggestion for future inquiry.

591 592 423 426 These alternative rules of residence explain the composition of the compound households made up of the remnants of two or more original nuclear families, except for the cases in which people are living in borrowed houses. In one of the two cases in our sample, a house was "borrowed" from a brother of the husband's father. The family living in this compound is a very large one, twelve members, with only two males who are of working age, and very poor by Aguacatenango standards. The male head is an orphan who lived before marriage with his mother's mother and

591 the head of the household, it is likely that the younger couple
592 will move to another house after the temporary service period. If a couple has a married daughter or son living in the house, they will not insist, when a second child marries, that the first couple remain in the unit. Apparently, the most efficient work group is a dyad, both for agricultural work and pottery making (see below). The last child whether male or female will stay in [428] the home and inherit it after the parents' death. It is unlike [184] Aguacatenango where the rule is that only a male child inherits the house.

591 The choice of which parents' household should be the residence of a new couple requires a separate decision for each particular case. The factors that determine the choice are (1) the economic condition of the parents of each spouse; (2) the presence or absence of other children in each spouse's family of orientation; and (3) the age of the couple.

[556] "A new couple will take up residence quarters with the parents who are economically better off, with more land and cattle" [693] (Nash, J., 1960:45). The second factor is related to the fact that [592] if a couple has married children living in the house who can help with the agricultural work and the making of pottery, they are not as anxious to keep their other children as members of the household labor force. The third factor is a personal, rather than a [582] standard, choice, because if a bride is very young at the time of marriage, "her mother may prevail upon the couple to stay in her home until later, even if the boy is working with his father and is to inherit his homestead" (Nash, J., 1960:45).

591 593 361 only 49 per cent of the women do so (see Table 14). This indicates that patrilocal, patrilineal emphasis is stronger, and the difference needs to be explained.

174 591 It is very possible that the community of Amatenango had, in the near past, patrilocal residence norms, as does Aguacatenango and most communities in the Chiapas Highlands. The patrilocal norms would have been in agreement with the presence of agnatic descent lines of which the only remnant, today, in Amatenango, is the agnatic inheritance of Indian names attached to the Spanish surname of the villagers. If this were so, we could explain the persistence of a patrilocal emphasis in these terms. This is a dangerous enterprise because to accept this explanation is to dismiss the importance of the case by arbitrarily attributing the phenomenon to an historical survival, an intellectual misdemeanor which modern anthropology has seriously questioned. But we do not need to utilize this explanation. In the first place, although 591 428 483 inheritance is bilateral, the inheritance of the house site shows that patrilineal house sponsorship still is stronger than matrilineal.

> In the inheritance of the house site, women received the land in 30 per cent of the cases, men in 34 per cent. Patrilineal inheritance was more frequent in the parental generation. If we take the figures indicating which parent gave the land to the child, mothers passed on the land in 15 per cent of cases known, and fathers passed on the land in 26 per cent of the known 68 cases. (Nash, J., 1960:51).

If the place of residence is inherited from the male line more often than from the female, it is to be expected that viripatrilocal proximity would be stronger. This offers a reasonable explanation for the higher incidence of patrilocal proximity. The

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 157]

TABLE 15

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428

AMATENANGO: HOUSE TRANSACTIONS AND INHERITANCE

	Number	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent
Inherited from the wife's relatives	78	30	30
Inherited from the husband's relatives	79	34	34
Bought	50	19	
Received from Ejido	27	10	30.5
Borrowing	4	1.5	
Inherited from husband	12	4.5	
Inherited from wife	1	.5	5.5
Unmarried orphan, inherited from parents	1	.5	
Total	262	100.0	100.0

591 The
428 fact that this pattern of house sponsorship directly affects the
423 emphasis on patrilocality is compensated for by some recent changes
433 in the economic conditions of the village. In Amatenango, the
593 cooperative bonds between father and son in agricultural work, united with the emphasis on patrilineal inheritance of house sites, foster patrilocality, but, at the same time, the bonds between father and son have entered in competition with the cooperative relation developed between a woman and her daughter in making pottery. If a woman lives close to her mother-in-law, she will assist her more often than her own mother in the firing of pottery--"If a man lives with his wife's family, he will assist his father-in-law in the fields more than he will work with his own father" (Nash, J., 1960:49).

121 previous pages. Homans points out that this ambiguity is neither
593 accidental, nor "natural," but "tends to reappear in societies all over the world in which the family is an important productive unit and the father is the boss" (Homans, 1950:245).

593 The relation son-mother, however, ought to be different
[184] in the two communities. In Aguacatenango, a mother has less and less authority over a son the older he grows. While a man is a child, she controls him without discussion, but as he becomes more and more mature, his role as a man, a superior, makes for conflicting social power. On the one hand the mother is older, and therefore has more authority. Yet on the other hand, she is a female, and therefore the son (a male) has more authority. The balancing of authority between the two cancels it out. A son can, if he wishes, completely alienate himself from his mother. She has not much power to punish or sanction him, no property she can withdraw from him. If he misbehaves, she can only try to advise him or complain to her husband. On the other hand, the absence of authority between the two makes the relationship highly affectionate. If a son stays at home or close-by after marriage, the interaction mother-son is frequent and friendly. In many cases the mother will make a coalition with the son against her husband, defending the younger man. Mothers tend to be very partial towards the judgement of their sons' behavior, and sons obtain what they want from the fathers through their mothers.

In Amatenango, the mother has more economic power over the
[434] son. She can give him cash for extra needs, and he can inherit
[428] land or a house from her, as well as from his father.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VII

CORPORATE GROUPS WITHIN THE VILLAGE

Historical Perspective

174 611 591 601 583 423 428 It is probable that the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango had, at some time in their past, a patrilineal organization based on agnatic descent, patri-virilocality, a kinship terminology of the Normal Omaha type, and other associated features such as bride-price, groom service, patrilineal control of the rights to land usufruct, and patrilineal inheritance.

174 613 614 621 626 Each agnatic descent group formed segments of a corporate lineage, and several segments formed a sib. Lineages were localized, and they had important social functions. The heads of linear segments formed the local government and had the responsibility of controlling conflict and sanctioning individual behavior through the supernatural. They were believed to "own" powerful animal counterparts of their souls, which patrolled the village during sleep, and punished the misdemeanors of those men belonging to their line of descent. It is also probable that the lineage was [582] an exogamous unit, and there is some scanty evidence which points to the practice of cross-cousin marriage.

127 The evidence to support this hypothetical statement is of two types. On the one hand, there is some historical documentation in published, as well as manuscript, form. On the other hand,

613 476 murdered. Informants declare that "all the Mendeztik will get
626 together against the Perezetik if a Perez kills a Mendez." We have
627 witnessed cases of "talk of revenge," but never any case of the
613 lineal solidarity functioning in this way in practice. In a case
736 where the father of a man dies, it is within the agnatic line that
a man finds a sponsor to live with, to pay his bride-price, and to
613 work the land with. If there is conflict over an adulterous wife,
837 or over the distribution of an inheritance among brothers, it is the
428 duty of the elder members of the agnatic line to give advice, witness the distribution of the property, etc.

613 The patriline is not a land holding unit, in the sense that
423 there is no land that is said to belong to the line as a corporation, but the group of agnatically related men have control over the distribution of it, and its inheritance. If a man dies without adult sons, the closest agnatic kin (father, brother, or in some cases a father's brother if the other two are dead or have enough land) will take over the cultivated fields that he has left. According to the Mexican Agrarian Code, Ejido land can only be transmitted to people that live in the same domestic unit, and communal land cannot be transmitted at all: at the death of the person who held usufruct rights over a parcel, the land should revert to the Ayuntamiento, which has the power to re-distribute it as it considers convenient. In practice, in Aguacatenango, if the household fails to provide heirs, the parcels (both ejido and communal) are re-allocated among agnatic kin. Therefore, although the patriline does not "own" land, some land is allocated through linearity.

593 The folk tales reflect, undoubtedly, the pattern of ultimo-
578 geniture and, perhaps, a switch from primogeniture to ultimogeniture.
538 The meaning of the folk tales becomes obvious because of other elements which enter in the conflict.

428 If a younger son is married at the time of his father's
592 death, he inherits his house, and replaces his father as head of
593 the domestic group, following the norm of agnatic ultimogeniture. But if a younger son is single at the time of his father's death, his elder brother replaces the father and inherits from him. In this last case, it is his duty to provide for his younger brother's support, and at the time that he marries, split the paternal inheritance with him, giving the younger son his share of land, cattle or whatever was left for them.

183 The "rules of the game"[1] are, in the second case, not as
428 explicit as in the normative pattern. Many alternative forms of
592 behavior occur. In some cases, the elder son will move out of
593 the paternal home when his younger brother marries and brings his
[591] wife to the homestead. In other cases, he will expect to be com-
[583] pensated for his brother's bride-price and for having supported him and his mother. He would probably reclaim part of the property, or force his younger brother to sell the house and share the money obtained with him.

In still other cases, he will even refuse to give the younger son his share, or move out of the compound.

593 It is obvious that not all men are alike in temperament
578

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[1]That is, the adjustment between authority rights and succession rights.

593 578 nor in brotherly love. At times, the transmission of property and authority is smooth; at times it reaches open conflict and extreme hostility.

[754] In several case histories from Aguacatenango, this antagonism between brothers has been expressed by the informants in the "witchcraft" idiom.

593 578 754 428 In one case, for example, a man, while drunk, threatened his younger brother with witchcraft, because their father had not given him a house (the man lived in a house given to him by his wife's relatives), but the younger brother was known to everybody to have been promised his father's sitio. In another case, a man, Miguel, gave his brother, Juan, part of his father's inheritance. Juan divided it among his own sons without consulting Miguel. After a while, one of Juan's sons died, and the people said that it was Miguel, angered by the distribution of property which he considered his own, who had bewitched Juan's son, his own agnatic nephew, in revenge.

593 578 585 The antagonism between brothers reaches aspects other than inheritance itself, such as the rights of sons over father's economic assistance. Church weddings, for example, are considered to be more binding than the traditional local ceremony or civil marriages. In most cases, there is a second marriage ceremony performed after the birth of a child, when the marriage has proved stable and the couple needs to have proof of a religious wedding to get the child baptized.

In one of our case histories from Aguacatenango, the rivalry of two brothers became evident over the matter of a church

593 578 585 wedding. One son had married and already lived outside his father's compound. His younger brother was married, but stayed with the father. The younger brother obtained from his father a church wedding and the fiesta which accompanies it. The elder felt cheated. He was older, but he had not been given a church wedding, which he felt he should have had first. The father insisted that the elder son did not deserve it. First, he had not stayed in the house long enough after his marriage because "his wife was a bad daughter-in-law and insisted on moving out taking him away." Second, he was living outside his sitio and, being economically independent, he should have been able to pay for his own church wedding.

[626] The opinions of the villagers were divided. On the one hand, it was clear that only the child who is being supported had the right to get the father's direct economic assistance. On the other hand, the elder son had seniority rights.

593 578 428 We do not know the outcome of this particular case, but the evidence is strong enough to suggest that the relationship between brothers, especially in terms of each one's position as an heir with respect to their father, is not clearly resolved by the society, and is (1) a likely place of conflict in the social structure, and (2) a point of fission in the patriline genealogical continuity and depth. Second, the alternative pattern of patri-uxorilocal residence, and the concomitant fact that a man works the land with his affinals and inherits from them, and that a woman can inherit a house site, breaks in some cases the exclusive rights of inheritance within the patriline.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

562 428 598 The inheritance rights of women are highly controversial. All the cases of conflict over the inheritance or rights of usufruct of land, that we know about, involved a woman in the line [183] of transmission. But however controversial, they are an established pattern. This is shown in the following cases.

Case 1

159 592 593 562 554 428 434 Delfina is about twenty-four years old, and still single. She was raised by her godmother in San Cristóbal, and her aspirations are to become a Ladina. She has consistently refused to marry any Indian man, and lives with her parents in a large compound. She is economically self-sufficient (perhaps the only woman in the village which is in the same position), because she works for the INI as a sewing teacher, and her status in the household is quite high due to the fact that she draws a large salary and that her parents are close to senility and dependent on her. Until recently, her married brother lived in the compound with his parents. He insisted that at his parents death he should inherit everything: land, house and animals. Delfina and his father were of the opposite opinion: the house should be for Delfina, since she was supporting them and, as she expressed it: "she did not get married." Faced with the brother's insistence about his traditional rights, the father ordered him out of the household, and he and his wife left town and went to live in [626] Amatenango. Most villagers, however, think that Delfina is in the wrong. They say that she is alzada (prideful) and loose in her relations with Ladino men (the employees of the INI that come to the village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

159 156 Delfina is an unusual woman by village standards, and the anthropologist quickly notices her deviant, from the rest of Aguacatenango women, personal characteristics: domineering, moody and pretentious. But even in other cases, the rights of women to 562 428 578 inherit or transmit property are contested often, as the following example will also show.

Case 2

159 428 562 578 Chilola has a son from a marriage previous to her present one. This son is about twenty years old. He is working the land with his stepfather, but wants to have his own milpa. When Chilola's first husband died, they were very poor. Nobody claimed rights on her husband's milpa, so she held it, although her son was not old enough to cultivate it. She tried to sell it to pay for the burial, but nobody wanted to pay her price, so she kept it. At the time, her mother-in-law, an old woman, was living with [592] [606] [587] her and being supported by Chilola, but "although she was already old, went out and looked for her man" (aunque estaba viejita se fué a buscar su hombre), and remarried. Because Chilola's son's milpa was fallow, the second husband of Chilola's mother-in-law took over its cultivation.

From the mother-in-law's late marriage, a daughter was born. This daughter married and her husband took over the milpa.

Now, Chilola's son wants to get his part of it because he is the direct heir of the father, who was the man who originally had the rights over the parcel. At the same time, the man who is

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 191]

159 now cultivating it, and has been doing so for a long time, refuses
422 to return it, even if he is paid half of the value of the land, or
560 only asked to give half of it to Chilola's son.
578

The reason for the inheritance rights of the people concerned not being clear is that twice, in the sequence of transmission, women have passed on the property, and as a result, it has left the hands of the original lineage.

Chilola's feelings are quite strong: the land belonged to
[606] her husband. Even if her mother-in-law had rights over the prop-
[736] erty at Chilola's husband's death, she was being supported by Chilola, and certainly, neither her mother-in-law's second husband nor their daughter has primacy rights against her son. (See Genealogy, Fig. 16.)

[43] The case is obviously complicated by the fact that the property rights are defined not only in terms of inheritance rights, but in terms of usufruct (in a sense, they do not have land tenure, but milpa tenure), and the other men had been taking care of the parcel of the land for a long time, which makes them feel that it is theirs.

159 This type of conflict carries over to other property, such
422 as livestock, as exemplified in the next case.
593
578

Case 3

When Candelario Aguilar married, Juana, his wife received
[113] a regalo from her father: a bull. Candelario sold the bull and bought a cow, which had a calf.

Candelario left town and gave the cow and calf to his father Francisco, so that they would take care of it in his absence.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 193]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Aguacatenango

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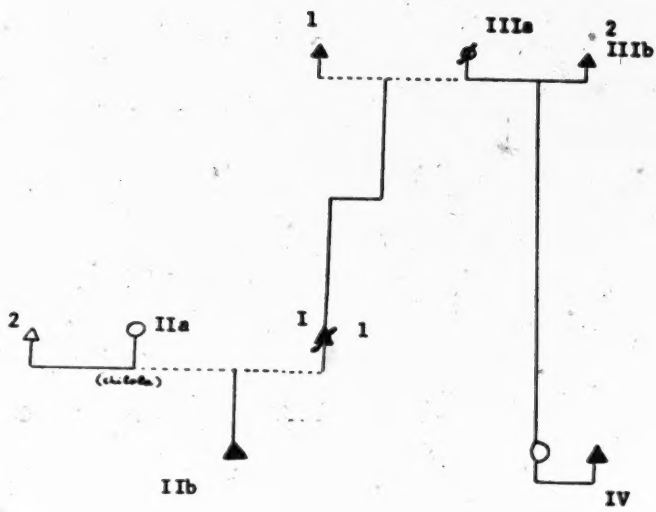

= men that claimed rights over the land.

I to IV indicate the order in which the land has been transmitted. The two men in the youngest generation are the ones contesting each other's rights.

Fig. 16.--Genealogy of Chilola M.

184 vis-à-vis their husbands and male kinsmen, while in Aguacatenango,
182 it makes them economically dependent, and subordinates from a jural
462 point of view. In one case females inherit as men do, in the
432 other, inheritance follows a male line. In one case, they control
592 the same property as men do, in the other, they control only
562 marginal property.
434
[428]
[421]

(3) The relative importance of a man is labor versus a
184 woman's labor within the domestic unit affects residence. In
182 Aguacatenango, where all important productive activities are in
462 the hands of men, residence is patri-virilocal, and only males are
434 residence sponsors regularly. In Amatenango, where productive activities are in the hands of both males and females, residence is alternately matri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal, and both males and females can become residence sponsors. In Amatenango, households that depend more on the women's labor in pottery making are uxorilocal, while households in which the largest part of the domestic group income is derived from agriculture have post-marital patri-virilocal residence of their members.
591
[323]
[241]

In Aguacatenango, where all household income is derived
184 from agriculture and residence is patri-virilocal, matri-uxorilo-
182 cality occurs sporadically due to some other economic and non-
434 economic factors: (a) the inheritance of some land in the female
591 line when a daughter structurally replaces a son; (b) the coopera-
593 tive work between father-in-law-son-in-law when they replace the
428 position of father and son for each other; (c) the payment of
562 curing ceremonies and medicines for a sick married woman by her
602 own kin rather than her husband's.
606
75

184 182 428 593 (4) The reciprocal financial obligations between parents and children in Amatenango, and between parents and sons in Aguacatenango, to support each other at different stages of the developmental cycle of their respective domestic groups affect the rule of ultimogeniture.

184 182 582 591 556 (5) The relative wealth of the natal domestic group of the spouse, measured by the amount of land controlled by the unit affects (a) the choice of marriage partner, and (b) the residence of the newly married couple. In Aguacatenango, where residence is normatively patri-virilocal, parents try to marry their daughters within the same economic level of their own households. In Amatenango, marriages occur across wealth lines, and the couple reside with the parents of the spouse who are better off.

184 182 462 476 593 (6) The relative importance of men versus female cooperative work groups, and/or the difference in structuring of work groups affects (a) the sibling bond; (b) the mother-daughter bond; and (c) the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond.

[606] In Aguacatenango, where only men form cooperative work groups, the brother-brother bond is stronger than the sister-sister bond or the brother-sister bond.

In Amatenango, where both males and females form cooperative [607] work groups, the multilateral sibling bond is reinforced to the point of including siblings-in-law.

184 593 578 571 In Aguacatenango, economic rivalry between siblings tends to disrupt the brother bond with constant conflict. Thus, relationships are more vertically oriented which is consistent with the [613] presence of agnatic descent lines (in Amatenango, generational

184 solidarity is stronger than cross-generational solidarity), but
593
578 generational conflict tends to disrupt the collateral extension
591 of patriline growth, making every patriline segment a shallow
613 descent group containing few generations in depth, and only few collaterals.

184 (7) Territorial propinquity between households in each
361 village follows the social propinquity established in terms of eco-
592
476 nomic reciprocity and work interaction. Thus, in Amatenango residence for individuals, interaction between households and the settlement of a neighborhood follow a bilateral pattern, while in Aguacatenango the three follow the male and agnatic line. The type of economic organization, based on the domestic group, correlates with the type of domestic group formed thereof.

184 The domestic group in Aguacatenango, with an internal
59 economy based on the cooperative work of father and son and the
•428
562 transmission of property in the male line, is a kinship unit built around a core of agnatically related males with patri-virilocal residence. Among the Aguacatecos, at least one son of the nuclear family remains in the parents' household after marriage. All other children marry and move out, the sons staying close to the father. In this way, the family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of agnatic order, which extends itself in space as a patrilocally localized agnatic line, and perpetuates itself, in time, through the principle of agnatic ultimogeniture.

The domestic group in Amatenango, with an internal economy based on the cooperative work of both a father and son, a mother

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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184 59 and daughter, and the transmission of property in a bilateral
428 562 fashion, is a kinship unit of the utrolateral type (Goody, 1958: 26) with alternate patri-uxorilocal and patri-virilocal residence.

184 Among the people of Amatenango, at least one child of the
59 nuclear family stays at home after marriage, sons or daughter
592 562 being equally good choices for the perpetuation of the domestic
[428] group. In this way, the Amatenango family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of bilateral order, which extends itself territorially in a bilateral fashion, and perpetuates itself through the principle of ultrolateral ultimogeniture..

184 The structuring of the domestic groups as corporate units
182 591 of a clearly different order is intimately connected with the
592 rules by which residence sponsors are chosen.

184 1. In Aguacatenango, male sponsors are always preferred
591 over females, independently of the sex, age, or marital status of
562 the individual, while in Amatenango, where women are economically capable of being residence sponsors, they are selected as such as often as males.

184 2. In Aguacatenango, consanguineal sponsors are preferred
591 over affinals or self (neolocality), except for married women,
562 602 while in Amatenango, married men prefer affinals as much as married women do, under certain conditions.

184 3. In both villages, residence with a kinsman is pre-
59 ferred to neolocality, usually a kinsman from whom certain eco-
602 nomic rights can be claimed (land, house, etc.).

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Chapter XII

THE OCOSINGO VALLEY

The name Ocosingo is Aztec, signifying the "Place of Pines," a name well chosen, for the valley is enclosed in pine-clad hills. When one stands at the southwestern end of the valley it stretches out in front like a huge natural stadium with the high San Martín mountain lying at the back. The northern and southern sides of the valley consist of two parallel rows of mountains, the inner rows being lower than the outer. The interior ranges slope towards the valley and turn nearly vertical cliff walls towards the very narrow valleys that separate them from the exterior mountains (fig. 196).

The interior ranges are broken up in many points, and this the Maya took advantage of, selecting the highest points for pyramids.

The floor of the valley is grass covered, with scattered groups of pine trees. Here and there lie ranches, mostly inhabited by Mexicans, called Ladinos here. The Ladino is, strictly speaking, a man of mixed Indian and Spanish blood, but the Indians use the term to indicate any Mexican or Spaniard who lives in a town or owns a larger ranch. With the name generally goes a certain amount of education, and the ability to read and write.

Ocosingo town now contains only about 500 inhabitants, living in whitewashed brick houses with red tiled roofs. In the center of the town is a Plaza, at one end of which lies the Palacio Municipal, and at the other end a huge Spanish Colonial church. In front of the church is the public fountain; the water and news supply of the town. All day long girls come here to fill large clay jugs with cool water, led down from the San Martín mountain through an underground canal.

Half of the Plaza is planted with trees, which surround a dilapidated music pavilion, without which no self-respecting Mexican village could exist.

The houses that face the Plaza all have colonnades where one may walk in the shade, and where families bring their rocking chairs in the evenings to sit and watch the crowds of as many as twenty-five men and women who walk around the pavilion, or to look at the horses and cows that feed on the grass growing exuberantly between the paving stones of the Plaza.

The Ocosingo Valley and many smaller valleys adjoining formerly supported large herds of cattle and had considerable trade.

[Text continues on p. 247]

Chapter 3

New Economic Activities

43 The role of the Indian in the regional and national economy is being
44 shaped more and more by supralocal institutions in public and private en-
177 terprises. The Indians of Tzo?ontahal have mobilized their own resources
178 to incorporate these opportunities. In this they reveal a selective perception of the economic and social advantages of innovation and a tendency to translate form and function into a local idiom. The success of planning at national or regional levels depends upon incorporation of projects at local levels, while the survival of the local group depends upon acceptance of
178 the new opportunities to absorb rising populations.

177 The major institutional settings in which innovation is occurring are
423 (1) the ejido program, (2) employment in agricultural and nonagricul-
464 tural enterprises outside of the community, and (3) economic enterprises
43 originating within the community. My discussion of the economic potential of the local community to adapt to change will be organized in terms of these settings.

The Economic Potential of the Ejido

423

Mexico's ejido program, as one of the oldest and most extensive attempts at land reform in the hemisphere, provides a basis for assessing the economic potential of such programs. Here I shall consider only the effects of ejido administration in the community and what this case illustrates of the potential for development in the future.

Manuel Giraul (quoted in de la Peña 1951:327) summarizes the negative effects of the ejido program:

> In Mexico, the ejido system constitutes an institutionalized block to the reform of the social and economic structure; it corresponds to a

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

dies, the owner announces on the loudspeaker of the local bars that he will sell meat at 5 pesos a portion. He preserves the hide to make saddle packs and tumplines. But the loss is great because he will not be able to buy a new bull with what he earns. If the bull lives, he will be better in three weeks and can carry loads. It is a very dangerous operation since the scrotum of a bull is very large. It is easier with a horse. 232

Surrounding the event with a ceremonial complex minimizes the development of commercialized relations between the caponizer and the owner. Most men who acquire several head of cattle or horses eventually learn to do the task themselves.

Handicrafts performed by men include rope-making from the tails of horses or from plant fibers, and weaving net bags. Most of the men who are assigned to the civil hierarchy spend their spare time in the cabildo making these items. 462 283 286

Carpentry is a skill now being practiced by two Indians of the town who "just learned by watching." They are called upon to help people in constructing the house frame, for which they receive 50 pesos in wages. A Ladino living on the margin of the town is a full-time specialist with his own shop. In addition to supervising house construction, he makes furniture and caskets to order. 322 [465]

New Economic Enterprises

In the operation of the new enterprises, which include cattle raising, cooperative ownership of a store, bars, and trucks, and liquor distilling, several patterns of organization have emerged. Some of these are based on preexisting social groupings, while others represent innovations. The social resources of management, credit operations, and the development of new skills within these local enterprises are of significance in preparing Indians for new occupations in the wider society. 43 44

Cattle raising. The most traditional organization is found in the case of cattle raising. Cattle have been in the town at least as far back as the 1915 revolutionary period when informants indicate that most of the 231 233

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

cause of the limited capital involved and the fear of discovery with the expansion of the enterprise. A loose syndicate of distillers provides an insurance protection by raising fines for members who are apprehended by federal agents. Security measures are taken to avoid discovery, and the presence of a federal agent is announced in Tzeltal on the loudspeaker system of one of the bars. One federal agent is on the payroll of the four operating bar owners, who give him 5 pesos a week to avoid legal action on the sale of contraband liquor. Individual distillers pay the tariff of 10 pesos or two liters of liquor a year to the civil officials and to the ejido commission, a tariff justified by the fact that they use wood from communally owned land to cook the sugar. The syndicate is a community-wide organization, mobilized in emergencies only.

The New Social Resources

In the course of operating the new enterprises, knowledge of and experience with supralocal institutions and agents are developing social resources in (1) entrepreneurship, (2) management of capital and credit, (3) knowledge of markets, and (4) dealing with government agencies. In entering into these new economic activities, the Indians have not lost a sense of belonging to the local community. Self-identification as poor, indigenous farmers is both a screen of protection and a means of ensuring continuity with local control systems.

Entrepreneurship. Local entrepreneurs explain their motivation in a rhetoric which emphasizes their interest in community welfare. This validates entering into nontraditional activities, but retaining their position in local society inhibits the expansions of their activities. The case of Santos, the promoter of the trucking cooperative is instructive. Santos had picked up some accounting techniques while he served in the army in Michoacán. He returned to the village because his father walked from Chiapas to Michoacán to tell him he should come back and get married. When he returned, he kept careful account of his costs and returns from the milpa. He realized soon that it wasn't "worth his work" (the Indian has not as yet learned the idiom or the value system which goes into the

might have been his father, an uncle, or a godparent who had already served as alférez. 794 782

Buying festal foods. *The following items were purchased in the neighboring Ladino town of Himlol: 120 pesos' worth of bread; one-half a slaughtered bull for 600 pesos; 6 almudes of beans; 10 kilos of coffee; and 5 pesos' worth of brown sugar. If the alférez owned a bull, he slaughtered it and sold one half.* 794 796 [43]

Preparing liquor. *The alférez rented a still and, with the help of his father and brothers, distilled 7 garafones (126 liters) of liquor, using brown cane sugar.* [273] [429]

Preparing special clothing. *The following items were purchased or bought: jacket for 50 pesos; shirt for 55 pesos; hat for 30 pesos; pair of boots for 32 pesos; red waistband for 16 pesos; and red kerchief for 9 pesos.* 794 796 43 [291]

The hat was made by a man in the town. When the alférez went to ask him to do him the favor of making a hat, he brought 1 peso's worth of bread, 1 liter of trago, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. The alférez borrowed black leather leggings and a black towel. To each of those who lent him clothing, he gave 1 liter of trago, 1 peso's worth of bread, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. When he returned the clothing, he gave the same gifts. [426]

The installation of the new alférez. *During the four days of the fiesta of the saint with which he was charged, the new alférez was initiated into his duties in office. In taking on each of the functions assigned to him, that "dialectical connection between the actor and his part, the person and his roles or status or office," was effected* (Fortes 1959:57). 794 796

The first day (Paswamal). *On the first day of every large fiesta,* Paswamal (*literally, "to make the boughs or decorations"*), *the women of the household and the sisters and sisters-in-law of the new alférez and his wife gathered in his house to cook the food. The men slaughtered the* [252] [262]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

42 We can safely arrive at the conclusion that some aspects
43
182 of the economic system play a very important part in the structur-
571 ing of social relations in the Chiapas communities. The economic
184 factors which are indicated by the natives themselves and have been
241 assessed by us as being crucial correlates of certain patterns of
323
434 social behavior are:

(1) The unspecialized agricultural system of one village (Aguacatenango) versus the system of agriculture plus pottery production in the other makes the second one a "richer" town with less wealth fluctuation from year to year.

184 (2) The relative importance of women as bread-winners
182 and producers in the traditional division of labor in one village
462
592 (Amatenango), results in the fact that labor of women is crucial
562 for the continuity of the domestic group, whereas in Aguacatenango,
434 it is not. This does not mean that Aguacatenango women do not work. It just means that women's work in Aguacatenango, however exhausting, does not have a market in which it can be sold, and it cannot be transformed into subsistence goods or into money, i.e., it has an undeterminate marginal value. This gives the women in one village (Amatenango) economic independence and a higher status

584 with the family of the girl. If the boy is accepted, the gifts are received and the marriage takes place.

585 184 [177] In Aguacatenango and Amatenango, the Catholic ceremony is sometimes delayed for several years after the informal marriage, because of the belief that the latter really consolidated the union. On the other hand, in places where the Ladino population is larger (Pinola and San Bartolo) the religious ceremony is considered by the Indians as a very important part of the customs.

184 177 608 The compadrazgo relationship is stressed among these communities where Ladinos have great influence. There are baptism, confirmation, and wedding padrinos. The rights and duties established through this relationship are still respected, especially 608 the compadre relationship. It is the duty of the child's parents to give occasional gifts [736] to the godparents. If the child's parents die, the godparents must take care of him, except when there are closer relatives to the father.

585 608 It is the main duty of the wedding godparents to help the couple maintain a good understanding and to dissolve, by advice, any disagreement. They always receive great respect and affection from their *ahijados*.

608 [851] Among conservative groups, the compadrazgo relationship arises only from the baptism of a child. Sometimes this relationship is established in a very informal way; perhaps during fiesta at the ceremonial center they may take advantage of the priest's presence to ask a very close friend to "em- 574 brace" the child. The padrino is then invited 608 to have aguardiente. At other times the arrangement is made formally; the parents of the child go to the house of their future [431] compadres to ask them that favor. Exchanges of gifts and dinner invitations are frequent, the child's parents feeling the greater obligation. These meals can be really banquets where many "platillos" and 184 much aguardiente are consumed. Among 608 some groups, padrinos neither give a gift to 431 736 [P 219-A]

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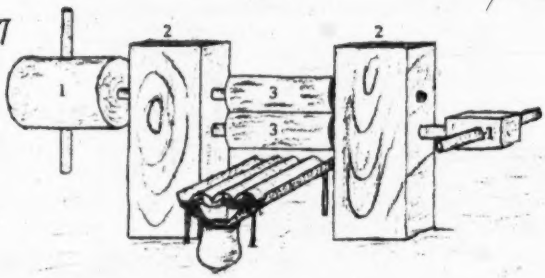

FIG. 6—SUGARCANE PRESS.
1, Kabal-té. 2, Smete-al. 3, S-kab.

184
608 their godchild nor protect him if he be-
736 comes orphaned, but this is only because
431 closer members of the same lineage take
608 care of him. But the padrinos must attend
764 the wake (*kanka-almail*) and the burial when the godchild dies, as is expected from the godchild when the godparents die. In
608 these communities, compadrazgo consti-
182 tutes both an important religious obligation and a means of establishing friendship and cooperation between families.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

621 The political and religious patern is the
631 same throughout all the Tzeltal communi-
[184] ties, governed by two groups of authorities whose activities are interrelated. The first group, formed by members of the cabildo and ayuntamiento, manages political affairs of the community. The ayuntamiento maintains relationship between the local gov-
631 ernment and the national authorities. The presidente municipal and the intermediate authorities are popularly elected and then confirmed by the congress of the state.
[563] These authorities must represent both ethnic groups (Indians and Ladinos) to warrant the claim that "justice is equal for everybody." In 1936 the state government ruled that in all municipios where the indigenous population predominates, the presidente municipal should be an Indian.

Next in authority after the presidente is

[P. 219-B]

Behavior Defined in the Family

Socialization in the family provides the individual with the idiom for 867
behaving in the wider community. The basic principles ordering behavior
are respect and obedience toward those who are older, and care for those
who are younger. Obedience, expressed by the verb *t'un* which means 861
both to believe (or to be gullible) and to obey, is instilled by cultivating a [192]
sense of fear and shame. Fear is communicated by the parent to the child
by invoking evil spirits and by the threat or use of punishment, especially
whipping with a leather strap. Shame is aroused by ridicule, jeering, and
chastising. A good child is a quiet child; questioning is discouraged either
by refusing to answer the child or by telling him to keep quiet. The nega-
tive aspect of good behavior is stressed. Significantly, the phrase "Behave
yourself!" is translated into Spanish as "Don't do anything!" Good behav-
ior is not rewarded either by praise or by gifts. The only public demonstra- 603
tion of affection toward children I have seen is by grandparents toward 431
grandchildren: an elder might give his sweet roll at a ceremony to his
grandchild and even fondle him. Parents show affection to youngsters 593
under three years of age, although the last child may be coddled somewhat [858]
longer. Mothers and young children show intimacy and affection in de- [515]
lousing each other or combing each others' hair. Kissing is not a sign of [302]
intimacy but of formal respect in ceremonies. [832]

Beliefs concerning conception show awareness of both the male and the 842
female contribution to the fetus. The man's sperm (*snal*) enters the [192]
womb, *yoʔtan*, (also the word for heart) and mixes with the woman's
flow, to bring about conception. The blood of a child is believed to come [826]
from its mother and the skin, bones, and brains from the father. During 843
pregnancy, the father must have intercourse with his wife because his
sperm nourishes the fetus. This continues right up to the birth of the
child. Men too are believed to have wombs, and some men have trouble 826
with "dropped wombs" caused by lifting heavy burdens.

The only people in attendance at the birth of a child are the women of 844
the immediate household, the mother of the woman giving birth if she is [592]
not a part of the houshold, and the midwife. Children are kept out of the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

584 [581] stressed for both. The boy is again warned not to bring the me?iltatil embarrassment by causing them to go to the cabildo.

During the six months to a year between the first and the last gatherings, the boy's representatives make up to a dozen visits to the girl's house. The patterning of behavior during these visits reveals cyclical and progressive tendencies of which the participants are consciously aware. These progressions involve time, the number of people involved, and the size of the gift.

584 Time progression affects two aspects of the courtship: the hour of the visit of the boy's mam č'om and me? č'om, which becomes later, and the length of the visit—it is longer each time. The first visit is a tactical maneuver involving the early-bird ploy. The me? č'om, having stayed awake after the all-night ceremony of the "taking of the heart," arrives at the girl's house at the "dawning dusk of the world." She stays only long enough to leave the gift and announce her intention of continuing the suit indefinitely. The timing of the last visit when the "taking of the understanding" occurs contrasts with this in that the members of the boy's wedding party arrive late in the evening and do not leave until four or five in the morning. The time of arrival and departure is plotted for each visit in Figure 5. The progressively later arrival time indicates increasing security on the part of the members of the betrothal party that the girl's family will be there to receive them, while the extended staying time indicates growing confidence and the breaking down of the barriers of reserve. Even up to the last visit, however, the members of the betrothal party take two quick parting shots of liquor as they leave the boy's house to "rid themselves of their embarrassment."

584 431 The increase in the number of members of the betrothal party who go to the girl's house is tied to the increase in the amount of the gift. The role terms of the members of the betrothal party indicate their association to the gift, as shown on Table 21.

Finally, the progression in the value of the gift is the cultural item most commented upon by the people, both within the village and in comparing customs with other Indian towns. This permissible variation indicates the relative wealth of the boy's family and the relative resistence of the girl's family. While the quantities vary from one č'om to another, in all cases

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 128]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

584 there is an increase with each trip. Except for the transfer of money in the
431 last trip, the gift is completely in consumables—chickens, bread, liquor, chocolate, and sugar. With many of the older men becoming teetotalers, soda has become an established part of the gift exchange as well. Two elements of the gift exchange are stable in all marriages—the four chickens each cooked and wrapped in fifteen tortillas with a chile placed inside, and the chocolate. In a traditional exchange system, the quantities of some items of exchange are fixed while those of other items fluctuate; gifts of bread, liquor, and money, for example, are of varying quantity in Tzoʔontahal. The fixed quantities of chicken, chocolate, and tortillas establish conformity to community standards while the fluctuating ones indicate the relative prestige of the family.

TABLE 21. Relation of Members of Betrothal Party to Gifts

584
431
608
571

Member of the betrothal party	*Time of participation*	*Function*
Mother of the betrothal (Meʔ Čʼom)	Initiates action	At first, carries the gift of bread, chocolate, and brown sugar. Burden lightens as others take over these gifts, so that at end she carries only corn gruel and one large piece of bread
Elder of the betrothal (Mam Čʼom)	On fourth visit, accompanies mother of the betrothal	Carries liquor until Measurer of liquor takes over, then carries only sweetened liquor served to women
Measurer of liquor (Pʼ is haʔ)	About seventh visit, accompanies mother and elder of the betrothal when suit is accepted	Carries white liquor served to men and that given as gift
Basket carrier (La smoč, usually wife of Pʼis haʔ)	Accompanies mother and elder of the betrothal and Measurer of liquor when suit is accepted	Carries bread throughout final visits before "taking of the understanding"
Carrier of brown sugar (Čʼup ʔaskah)	On last visit before "taking of the understanding," accompanies mother, elder, measurer, and basket carrier	Carries sweet liquor and soda for last visit and for "taking of the understanding"

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The sense of continuity with the past is preserved in the ceremonials in which these officials act, but nonceremonial activities no longer reinforce the values symbolized in ritual. 182 608 571 796

Death and Burial

When a person dies, his soul is believed to go out from his tongue. The family is responsible for finding a resting place which will be satisfactory to the soul. If the dead person has died of a "good" (not caused by witchcraft) illness, the soul lingers for eight days and then goes to heaven. If the dead person has been killed, his soul stays in the village for "a month or twenty days." The reason given for this is that "the gods did not choose the hour of death, and the soul doesn't know where to go." During this waiting period the dead person "finishes his heart," or ends his emotional ties with friends and relatives. 763 764 775 [593]

Following the death, a sister of the parents of a child or some other adult woman washes the body and puts a wrap over it. The body is always laid out with the feet toward the door; the eyes are shut, and the jaw is wrapped with a kerchief to hold the mouth closed. Two candles are placed at the head and two at the feet. Flowers and a bowl to collect offerings of 2 pesos from each visitor are placed at the head of the body. The contribution given at the burial assures the giver of a hearing with Christ: 764 764 431

Everyone gives a contribution of 50 cents or a peso. Each one considers how much he can give and gives it. God listens to and speaks to those who give gifts. Those who give a candle or a little contribution of corn or flowers give an account of the dead man's life. If he had no crime on his conscience or only one crime, whoever killed him by violence or by witchcraft bears the guilt. Christ listens to the account of those who have given good contributions. Thus the help is given so that Christ will see that he did a favor to one who is poor and who has nothing to bury himself, not corn, or money, or anything to sell, not land, or cattle, or wheat. Therefore everyone who is a relative or a compadre or a neighbor brings one-fourth [bottle of liquor], a half measure of brown sugar, fifteen or twenty corncobs and one or two candles. And all men who arrive at the grave and

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

764 [43] *give five or ten pesos are helped by God. Those who give nothing end at their burial with nothing.*

If the death occurs in the night, the body will be buried on the following day. During the wake, called "watching over the dead," relatives of the father, mother, and spouse of the deceased, as well as compadres and neighbors, watch over the body so that the devil cannot enter and steal the soul. If the dead person's padrino is alive, he serves as first *nakawane* and greets the guests. Liquor is served constantly. The women serve coffee and tamales or tortillas to the visitors at midnight.

[608] [273] [574]

At midnight the woman who is closest of kin cries for the dead. This is a stylized crying in which the mourner speaks of how the dead man passed his life. If she is his widow, she weeps for the misery she will face. Mourning for herself, she repeats:

[539]

How can I eat now with my children?
You will not see how I shall live.
You are of one heart in the ground.
But you do not see how I shall eat with the children.

If the death has been a violent one, the widow may express her sentiments about the blamelessness of her husband, or she may suggest that accusations that he was a witch are true by saying she knew nothing of what he did at night. In any case, people listen carefully to what she sings because it may give some basis for speculating whether there will be an attempt to avenge his death.

On the day of the burial, the coffin is lined with a new straw mat, and all the dead man's used clothing except for his kotonču is placed inside. A gourd drinking cup with *posol,* a spiced corn gruel, is placed near the dead man's mouth along with a tortilla. A metal cup cannot be used to hold water in the coffin because it does not have a soul as does the gourd vessel, which comes from a living plant. If the deceased is a man or boy, his hat is placed next to his head and his sandals are set beside his feet. A cross made of palm is put in the coffin to ward off the devil. If the deceased is a child, his head is adorned witha wreath of paper flowers set on a kerchief which is bound around his head.

159 partners. He sold a few shares of a truck he and his family owned to In-
622 dians, but he retained the controlling interest. His wife was reputed to be
177 a witch, and was an active curer, combining old and new treatments of ill-
178 nesses.

His position was challenged in the 1960s by the Ladino schoolmaster, who had been remarkably unsuccessful from his arrival in 1953 until that time in gaining personal power and influence. His intercession in a local homicide case involving a father's murder of his son outraged the townspeople, some of whom threatened to kill him. His attempts to have water installed aroused the curers against him since they were accustomed to bathing their patients at the source of the spring from which they were debarred when the plumbing was installed. His demands that children within the legal age limit should not only attend school but should be prohibited from marrying until they had completed their schooling caused the anger of parents who wanted to give their daughters in an early and profitable marriage.

159 875 177 178 563 578 [312] [756] [871] [582]

Gradually, however, the schoolmaster extended his own base of support. He minimized his attack on local customs, adhering only to those laws affecting the school population, over which he had a great deal of control. Some of his support came from the orthodox Catholic members of the community; he extended his control through compadre relationships with over eighty members of the community. He showed movies which he acquired from the United Nations and other educational film sources and gave away medicines acquired from the health officials in the state capitol who were his friends. From one of these sources of philanthropy he acquired wool shawls which he gave to every woman in the town.

159 875 177 178 563 558 [608] [546] [278] [431]

The professor demanded no return from the townspeople other than their respect and admiration; he was a person who enjoyed commanding others and needed an arena in which to project his own personality. In his early years in the town, he had to satisfy this need by capturing stray tourists and plying them with soda pop or coffee. His first opportunity to gain leadership in the local sphere came in 1963, when he supported the new truck-owning cooperative. He used the influence of contacts in the state capital, including compadres, friends, and relatives of his wife's family. He promoted the cooperative's attempt to gain the presidency. One of the first

[494]

577 682 in the following statement by a man who admitted to me that he had killed two men:

The padre said that those who kill will get killed. The one who kills also receives all the guilt of his victim and will have to pay for it in the after-world. But my father said that when he was a policeman, there was a man in Tejonero who killed for nothing when he got drunk. He always carried a knife and would kill anyone around. However, he lived until he was very old. Therefore I do not believe the padre.

577 775 Concern about the afterworld does not act as a deterrent to action in this world.

783 794 Most men ignore the priest's attempts to persuade them to go to confession. Women, especially the prayer-reciters, confess and take communion. Their confessions, according to the priest, are a recitation of the sins of their husbands or their neighbors.

273 577 Drinking is often given as a defense for failing to meet standards of behavior. While this serves to excuse minor infractions, a man is supposed to be responsible for his actions even when drunk. When one policeman started a fight in public, an elder judge commented to my informant:

Look at that, younger brother! I drink liquor when I am very drunk, but I do not fight either my elders or minors. When I passed as president formerly, I used to enter the cabildo, and I spoke well to the judges even if I was drunk. One time I came to your house very drunk and you were half drunk, but you did not say anything to me, nor did I. You did not fight. Thus I walk well. I never fight, nor have I gone to prison, and it is because I give respect to my elders and to my juniors.

Reflecting on this advice, my informant added:

And so it is with me also. I have drunk a great deal in Ahk'olnantik [the opposite section from where he lives] both at day and at night. Whoever speaks to me tells me to go drink with them a little liquor, and sometimes I give them a drink or I take them where they sell liquor and we drink. But I never fight, and I am able to drink wherever I like.

626 273 431 The community has developed techniques for compensating failure to meet behavioral norms. The most frequently used is an offering of the

"gift of the gods," liquor, to the party whose interests have been slighted. This is done in the case of a suitor who is asking for a woman of the other side of the dual division; he gives the bachelors of that side a garrafón of liquor in compensation for the loss of a potential mate. Liquor has become a substitute for the sacrifice of a child by a man being initiated into the curing profession. Informal offerings of liquor may be made between neighbors or relatives who have been fighting with each other. Liquor is a kind of universal social solvent in disputes, and figures importantly in court cases which are always terminated in a drinking session.

Another technique is simply a payment in money to compensate for damages. In some homicide cases, the payment of "blood money" has compensated the family of the victim to avoid legal action. This is never done, however, if the community agrees that the victim was a witch. Payment of fines in court is another such form of compensation. These payments or offerings minimize the bloodshed or personal involvement in conflictual relations. Payment by the man judged guilty will ensure his reincorporation into his customary place in the community without stigma.

While it is impossible to elicit from informants a theory of roles, it is possible to formulate the principles underlying roles. These are deduced from behavioral observations and from evaluations made of the performances of others. They can be summarized in the following propositions:

1. There is a clear separation between role and role-bearer. This is seen most clearly in the passage through civil and religious offices with a minimum of "halo" effect. It is also found in the situation of household officials whose authority in directing affairs within a household ceases when the ceremony in which they officiate is over. The separation ensures flexibility in a closed social system, enabling people to shift from one role to another. It also permits continuity in a system which requires an almost complete turnover of personnel each year.

2. Function performed is separate from role in which it is performed. This applies even in those roles which are designated on the basis of the most important function required of the performer, for example woman speaker, liquor measurer, and basket carrier. All of

156 621 571 426 155 416 431 608

getting involved in the fight. He can help relatives in distress pay a debt or give a curing ceremony for a sick child. He can be a "hard worker, ready to offer a hand to a neighbor in need of extra labor" (hel-K'abal). He can send his wife with small presents of food to other households. He can make many compadres among those whom he suspects of possibly being against him, thereby assuring their friendship and respect. In sum, he can create around himself a long chain of loyal villagers who are bound to him by many different obligations. Then, because he is a 'leKil winiK' (one that behaves well with the people), he can "afford" to become rich by local standards without the immediate fear of punishment.

Every household head manipulates his environment in these terms. People try to accumulate riches and protect their paths in other ways. They also try to avoid distributing their accumulated wealth outside their household and to prevent the envy or gossip of those not so bound by loyalty, by hiding from others the knowledge of their possessions.

The result of the contradiction between the egalitarian values on the one hand, and the individual aspirations and behavior on the other, is expressed in gossip, "witchcraft talk" and a constant realignment of loyalties among villagers. Every man suspects another of being better off than one is led to believe, while at the same time he himself tries to keep others from suspecting him, and would not voluntarily give information on how many horses he owns or how much corn he has grown.

The picture of life in Amatenango and Aguacatenango is

159 come back when the father was home because not even he could sell
592 the pig without his consent. The Ladino was then forced to give up.
437
602 A few days later, Juan sold the pig according to his own plans. He kept the money, except for a small amount that he gave to his wife and daughter-in-law, in spite of the fact that Maria had fattened the pig, and that it had been previously said that the pig was the young couple's animal.[1]

592 A woman living with her husband in a separate household
593 has some autonomy within it, but she is still subordinate to her
562 husband. She owns little property. A woman may be given a cow
421 when she marries, but her father is not obliged to do so. It is
[431] simply a regalo (present). She does not own agricultural implements. She can not own land or inherit from her husband, except in cases where she is, in effect, keeping the house in trust for her male children, and it has not been claimed by her husband's father or brothers who have primacy rights over such property.

[561] As she grows older, and with the birth of children, her
[851] position becomes somewhat less dependent. She has more prestige in the eyes of her husband's family and other people, and if her marital relation has developed into a strong emotional bond, her interaction with her husband is less subordinate. He would consult

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[1] The animals are usually said to "belong" to one particular
[23] woman in the household. However, this does not mean that she has
[42] property rights over it; it only means that she is the person in
[562] charge of feeding it. Thus, the expression el cochi de María (María's pig) means the pig which María has the responsibility to feed every day, and it does not assume that she can sell it, kill it for meat, or do anything about it without the consent of the head of the household.

159 now cultivating it, and has been doing so for a long time, refuses
428
562 to return it, even if he is paid half of the value of the land, or
578 only asked to give half of it to Chilola's son.

The reason for the inheritance rights of the people concerned not being clear is that twice, in the sequence of transmission, women have passed on the property, and as a result, it has left the hands of the original lineage.

Chilola's feelings are quite strong: the land belonged to
[606] her husband. Even if her mother-in-law had rights over the prop-
[736] erty at Chilola's husband's death, she was being supported by Chilola, and certainly, neither her mother-in-law's second husband nor their daughter has primacy rights against her son. (See Genealogy, Fig. 16.)

The case is obviously complicated by the fact that the
[423] property rights are defined not only in terms of inheritance rights, but in terms of usufruct (in a sense, they do not have land tenure, but milpa tenure), and the other men had been taking care of the parcel for a long time, which makes them feel that it is theirs.

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422 This type of conflict carries over to other property, such
593 as livestock, as exemplified in the next case.
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Case 3

When Candelario Aguilar married, Juana, his wife received
[131] a regalo from her father: a bull. Candelario sold the bull and bought a cow, which had a calf.

Candelario left town and gave the cow and calf to his father Francisco, so that they would take care of it in his absence.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 193]

621*
"to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] 788
who the new officials to remain in office are." 554
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Awaiting the new officials in the church are all the mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see who they are" (App. 1, Q. 48, 49). 621* 794 The new officials "speak to God," asking for health [782] so that they can complete their obligation to the town. They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave [788] the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father townhall." There they spend the remainder of the afternoon.

The mayordomos go to the kitchen attached to the 621* townhall. The first policeman directs the purchase of 273 liquor and the measuring out of drinks for the ten [794] policemen from the two sides of the dual division and [625] the two rural commissioners. In the townhall the new president's first orders are to the fourth regidor to ask him to buy two liters of "the gift," liquor. The pardon to the ancestors, and the offering of the gift to the [693] principales, is in the hands of the first judge, who [782] knows the *patʔot'an*, and can do the honors. The [431] president is served following the principales in the round of drinking. [537]

The change of religious officials takes place on the 794 fiesta day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29, and 796 on the day of the three Kings, January 6. This provides a six-month term of office. The new officials gather in the homes of the *kobraria* of Halal meʔtik and Sakramentu, and in the church. Thus two settings, home and church, come into play with the change of civil officials, but the townhall, significantly, is not part of this act nor are the alfereces called into action.

The ceremony lasts three days: first day is *pas kantelero*, 'to make candles,' when the candles are cleaned, and the old mayordomos eat a "common meal" *(komun weʔel)*; second day is *wiš̃peres*, when the oath is taken; final day is *sk'ahk'alel*, when the new mayordomos play the drums or flute.

The first gathering, which took place the year I observed it in the house of the *kobraria* of Halal Meʔtik Santalusia, was cut short because the *kobraria* did not have a porch, and it had begun raining. By local [362] standards, a house without a porch is considered inadequate, and is called 'cow house' *(wakaš̃ naʔ)* since the owner cannot accommodate guests on such occasions. The group therefore lingered longer in the house of the *kobraria* of Sakramentu.

The speech of the *nakawane* to the "elder new [537] mayordomos" *(mamal ʔal martomaetik)* (App. 2,

[P. 218 - B]

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With the closing of the stills in Comitan came a second economic pressure which sharply changed the Aguacatenangueros' pattern of travel. The trade specialty which Aguacatenango had intensively developed, at least by 1920 and perhaps long before, was the weaving of palm hats. A principal point of trade for these hats was Comitan where the Aguacatenangueros took them.

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With the advent of the Pan-American highway, the region was flooded with nationally manufactured sombreros, which, in the period of ten years completely destroyed the Aguacatenango mar-

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ket. As the marketability of palm hats decreased, the Agua-catenangueros stopped going to Comitan; and it was during this same time that the supply of comiteco was cut off.

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The people from Aguacatenango then began to buy their aguardiente from licensed sellers in Pinola (Villa las Rosas) and Teopisca as well as from clandestine sources, the nearest being in Amatenango and the mountainous area that lay between

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there and Chanal. The use of clandestine aguardiente was still restricted by the occasional inspection by patrols of soldiers and liquor inspectors who would examine the contents of the houses in Aguacatenango, confiscating the aguardiente for which one did not have a legitimate receipt and taking the holders of such to jail in San Bartolomé de los Llanos. By the end of the 40's, distillation technology had disseminated widely enough among the Indian municipios that a few men in Aguacatenango began

548 distilling aguardiente. Distillation of aguardiente continued
687 for a relatively short time (perhaps as long as three to four years) because satisfactory arrangements could not be worked out within the community so that the distillers would not be denounced to the authorities by their neighbors. Unlike Amatenango, where the clandestine distillation of aguardiente continues to the present time, inspectors were able to discover and destroy the four or five stills operated by the men of Aguacatenango. The punishments meted out to the owners were relatively severe, some having to spend as long as a year in jail and having to pay as much as 1000 pesos to secure their release.

273* The pattern of procurement of aguardiente has changed
[178] substantially in Aguacatenango since the time we began doing
[432] field work there. In 1957, when we were first there, the buying of aguardiente was both situation-and-family-specific. Most of the aguardiente was being bought in Pinola and later in Teopisca and had to be carried on one's back to Aguacatenango. In an-
[796] ticipation of each fiesta or other occasion where it was known drinking would take place, each family would bring in three or four liters for that occasion. Beyond this family supply, there was relatively little aguardiente in the community. It was not at all unusual, after a fiesta, to see men inquiring all over town about the possibility of buying, or borrowing, a liter of

273* aguardiente. And it was not unusual that they were unable to secure a single liter. In fact, it appears that the termination of drinking performances was in no small amount controlled by
273* the exhausting of the community supply of aguardiente. What re-
• 432 443 sale there was of aguardiente in the community was carried on
589 by widows who might secure as much as five to six extra liters to resell to men who wished to continue drinking after their own supplies were exhausted. As a business venture, a widow would buy for three pesos the liter which she would sell for five, gaining thus ten pesos every month or six weeks.

273* 796 439 At the fiesta of the patron saint, ladinos would bring in a supply of aguardiente to be sold. The large number of people coming from the neighboring towns made this a profitable
[191] [216] venture for the three or four days of the fiesta. In order to increase the sale of the aguardiente (and other distilled beverages, as well as beer), ladino vendors set up cantina complexes in the plaza, the cantina consisting of a thatch or canvas shelter, a few tables and chairs, and principally a tocadisco--a loudspeaker system connected to a phonograph as well as a microphone, so that music and announcements could be made which
275 216 191 could be heard from blocks around. Typically in this cantina pattern, a man from Aguacatenango would sit down with a few friends, drink a liter or two of aguardiente, and during this period, request that pieces be played on the tocadisco for which

275 216 191 he paid twenty centavos and in return for which payment his name was announced over the loud speaker as well as the name of a person to whom he might wish to "dedicate" the piece.

275 216 191 178 In 1959, there occurred a set of circumstances which permitted the Aguacatenangueros to gain control of the elements of the cantina complex, and in this year cantinas were established permanently in Aguacatenango. As the result of some difficulties in Pinola, the cantineros there were required by the town government to sell or otherwise get rid of their tocadiscos. [432] And three or four of them sold their tocadiscos to the men in Aguacatenango. These gas generator-driven units were set up in various yards in the community, the loudspeakers were mounted on tall poles as is the custom in the neighboring towns, and men came to these door yards when they were drinking to request [171] pieces be played with appropriate dedicatory remarks. The cantineros in Aguacatenango then simply filled out the rest of the cantina complex as they had seen it in the plaza.

442 275 432 439 They began to buy aguardiente by the garafón, most of it from clandestine distillers in the neighboring towns who deliver it to the buyers, and also beer and other distilled beverages, these being delivered by San Cristóbal distributors or bought and transported there by cantineros.

275 Thus the retailers of alcohol drunk by Aguacatenangueros are no longer ladinos and local widows, but local men. Some of

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

000 maximum market price for wheat of 124 pesos per 100 kgs. The Indians
435 usually sell their wheat at 90 pesos per 100 kgs. to Teopisca truckers, or at
442 best gain 110 pesos per 100 kgs. by bringing it to the mills themselves.
241 From their perspective corn is the more valuable crop, not only from the point of view of subsistence, but also for sale since if they hold it in storage they can sell it at double the price at which the values are calculated in the census (.60 peso per kg.). They do not have facilities to store wheat in order to take maximum advantage of price changes.

125 The census I made in 1964 of land ownership and use by the 304 fami-
423 lies living in the center of the township (Table 5) shows that 47 percent
161 of the households have no land other than the ejido grant of one hectare. Because of the growing population, the land per household has decreased. A comparison with the 1958 census of land ownership of 280 households in the center indicates that 89 families now have less land than they had at that date, 72 have the same amount, and 44 have more land; 99 unknown cases include new families which have been created since the earlier date, families which were no longer in existence in 1964, and households in which there is a lack of data on the question of landholding.

423 The strong sentiment against the sale of one's own land, well docu-
432 mented in the monographic literature,[2] is expressed here:

> *If a man sells his land without sickness, people say he is lazy. The best thing to buy if you have money is land. Unlike cattle, it does not die, it does not get lost, and it does not need watching. It is not the same with a horse. When you buy one, you have to watch it and care for it and when it dies, all is over. You lose all your money. But with land, in two years you have the land paid for and it remains as a gift. It gives us what we eat.*

423 Land is rarely sold to outsiders. If a man needs money and has a buyer
432 from out of town, the civil authorities raise the money and buy the plot,
609 selling it in pieces as they find buyers. Only one small plot of land has
621 been sold to an outsider in my knowledge of the community. This plot

2. See Tax (1957), Wagley (1941). Oscar Lewis (1963:125 indicates that in Tepoztlan the breakdown of the resistance to selling land was associated with a growing awareness of profits to be made in the regional and national economy.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 32]

423 was in a low gully where crops would not grow, and no one within the community would buy it.

Land is frequently pawned by farmers as security on a loan. The title to the land is left with the lender, who can foreclose on the debt if the interest payments of five percent per month are not paid. Often the land pawned may be worth far more than the loan. Loans in town are rarely backed with security, and if something is pawned, it is usually clothing or household items.

With the growing significance of ejido lands and land sale, inheritance of land is of less importance in the economic expectations of each successive generation. The rules controlling inheritance are theoretically simple: equal inheritance for all children regardless of sex. The parents usually give some land when the child establishes a separate household; the remainder is then given at the death of the parent or when old age makes it impossible for the parent to work any more. The youngest child remaining at home works his father's land, or if he is living with his wife's family, his father-in-law's land, until the latter's death. His family inherits the house site as well as an equal share of the privately held lands. Complications arise because of modifications of the basic rule of equal inheritance by provisions for care and maintenance of the aged parents. Frequent disputes over inheritance are settled in local courts or passed on to the Department of Indian Affairs in San Cristóbal.

The selection of which crop to grow is related to the kind and amount of land a farmer owns. The most important crops are corn, beans, and wheat. Some squash and sugarcane are grown in the lower ejido lands of San Caralampio. Cabbage is grown by one Indian who possesses fertile irrigated lands in the center. Most Indians, however, are unwilling to undertake the risk of raising a cash crop since there is greater chance of the crop being stolen and they cannot afford a bad market price when they harvest.

Relating the size of holding to the crop grown, according to figures in the Mexican census of 1960[3] (Table 4) one can see that in privately

3. The census figures are based on estimates received from town officials, who submit them monthly to the census bureau. The officials of the town question the household heads as they see them in the streets or in their houses about how much seed they planted. They then estimate what the yield per almud for good and bad land is, from their own crops.

dies are expected to give a funeral appropriate to his station in life and his wealth, as is expressed in the following account:

When my father got sick, he told his wife not to put him in a black box. He had heard a story that when the dead man is in a black box, his spirit cannot see. He wanted to be in a white box. He told this to his brother. But his brother wanted to get a black box. He bought one black box for three hundred pesos when my father died, because it is the custom of the pueblo to bury adults in a black box. The people would talk if we did not buy a good box because they knew he had animals. We spent six hundred pesos for the funeral. We presented the body in church for a mass. We had a singing mass for thirty pesos, and the box cost three hundred pesos. We had a common meal of beef in the house, and we spent two hundred and sixteen pesos for three garrafones of liquor. Each of his sons contributed sixty pesos for that. If we hadn't given him a good funeral, people would have said, "His children are very lax not to buy a good box to bury their father."

The padre says that all bodies should be presented in the church. He says if you don't have money, you don't have to pay for the mass. But we are ashamed if we don't pay because he does work for us. He charged only twenty-five pesos because he said my father worked hard for the town. We took a collection from all the people who were there, and it amounted to one hundred and thirty pesos. We paid the padre for the mass and gave a contribution. All the people in whose houses he had passed when he was alive came to see him. They said, "Ah, his children gave a very nice box for their father."

If all of the family is poor, no one talks if the funeral is not a good one. But if there is anything that can be sold, it will have to be to make a good funeral. When my father died, he had eighteen horses. We had to sell one, and each of the children gave one hundred pesos.

Some say the souls play the harp and drink liquor when they arrive in heaven. On All Soul's Day they visit the village where they had lived and where they are known. For each member of the household who had died, a specific portion of food is laid out. Special likes are catered to: a bottle of liquor will be set on the table for a deceased father, soda pop for children

621 Among its duties are those of keeping vital statistics for
[659] the National Population Bureau which are sent to the state office,
[392] solving cases of adultery and theft, collecting the fiesta and
[651] Ejido taxes, keeping the streets clean, building and repairing
[363] roads and public buildings, and also taking charge of the local
[491] jail. Ayuntamiento officers are also called in to prevent or solve
[754] witchcraft cases and give advice and reprimands to misbehaving
[626] wives, sons and other relatives when the household or the responsible relatives cannot deal with the case on their own.

621 423 432 434 The Ayuntamiento also keeps its own corn field, worked by communal labor, whose crop is sold to collect funds for its own expenses.

794 The Mayordomia, or religious body, performs the formal activities on the religious holidays, is the custodian of the sacred objects (rockets, church keys, bells) connected with the Church, and the authority which carries out the tasks required by all of man's peaceful relations with the supernatural on the village level.

They are responsible as a group for the upkeep of the Church building and saint images, and the preparations for and the performance of Church Fiestas, regular church meetings, etc. Among their duties are those of providing meals for the priest while he is in town, helping during mass, contracting musicians and collecting the Church limosna during mass.

621 This structural level lacks monopoly of either of these functions in relation to other less inclusive social units. Social control and religious activity are carried on at the level of the barrio, the extended family, and within the household, and religious activity can be carried on by individuals.

593 423 Independently of the analysis of[139] geographical distribution of individuals, in most cases a couple depends on the family of the husband for obtaining a house site of their own. Looking at the available data in household transactions, regular sponsorship in the male line appears as the statistical mode, the most frequently followed pattern. To explain the 16 per cent of sponsorship in the female line, we refer the reader to the section 1 of the reasons for uxorilocal residence, p. 133.

TABLE 10

423 AGUACATENANGO: HOUSE TRANSACTIONS AND INHERITANCE

	Cases	Percentage
House-land bought	22	32
House-land obtained through the husband's relatives	33	49
House-land obtained through the wife's relatives	11	16
Family borrowing the house	2	3
Total number of households for which information was available	68	100

423 432 593 [183] The norms for house sponsorship are not always followed, for other reasons: land within the town, houseplots, is one of the forms of land which has a monetary value in Aguacatenango. Lots are bought and sold for money, and are used constantly as a resource of income when one is in need of a large amount of cash. [428] Ideally, most parents think that they will give contiguous houses to their male sons, and that their house will be inherited by the last male son who stays in the house until his parents' 423 432 death.[1] In practice, many times the house has to be sold before

[1]Other property is expected to be inherited in equal shares by all sons.

423
432 this time arrives. The main reason for selling a house is to
[764] pay for the burial of a family member. Most widows, if the house
[428] is not reclaimed by the husband's agnatic kin (who have rights over the property if there are no mature sons left by the deceased), will sell the sitio to pay for the husband's burial, and will move to their natal households with their children. Some sons will sell the house to pay for the burial of a father. The selling of the house is also a solution for cases of conflicting inheritance rights. For example, if two brothers claim rights to it, and if they both agree about it, they will sell it and the money obtained would be divided among them.

592
591 The fission of the compound household into nuclear house-
578 holds is accepted by the villagers as a traditional pattern of behavior, but residential changes are always expressed in terms of on-going conflict between the couples residing in the compound.

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592 A father tries to keep his son living with him for as
464 long as possible because he is an emotional as well as an economic
562 asset to him. While a man has his son living with him, he has an unpaid agricultural worker bound to him by emotional and jural ties and by his economic dependence, and this allows him to maximize the labor force of the household and, therefore, increase production notably. At the same time, he is able to control a relatively larger amount of land for cultivation. If the son leaves the compound, he is forced to divide the land holdings under cultivation and to give him a parcel, a paternal duty which, in spite of the fact that it is expected of them, they try to avoid as long as possible. When the son leaves, the household

423 593 The reasons for keeping a son are not as pressing as the
• [432] reasons for keeping a daughter. Amatenango land holdings are
[184] somewhat smaller than Aguacatenango, and the buying and selling of agricultural parcels, as long as it does not involve outsiders to the village, is a common practice which accounts for approximately 16 per cent of land transactions. The

423 241 592 464 limited land holding units in Amatenango require minimal cooperation in agriculture. Because of fractured land holdings, fewer than one-half of the households have two tablones . . . of land. Therefore, fewer than one-half the households can keep more than one man actively employed. Even in those households with from two to five tablones, a man and his adult son are sufficient labor for most activities except harvest. 592 323 434 868 Women's pottery production, however, requires frequent cooperation. Two tendencies are reinforcing the cooperation of women, especially of mothers and daughters: (1) with increasing need for cash income to buy products which are not longer produced in the home, or which have been introduced, money [582] is constantly needed. Pottery offers an easy means of acquiring cash with almost immediate returns, and (2) marriages are [178] currently contracted at a later age for girls than formerly. Before, about a generation ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve were the rule. Most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques begins at that age. Consequently, pottery was taught to the daughter by the mother-in-law if the girl was married and resided in the husband's house. (See Frans [114] Blom and Oliver LaFarge [1927] who commented that all pottery was taught by the mother-in-law.) Most marriages now are contracted for girls from 14 to 17 years of age. At this time they are already proficient potters, and accustomed to working with their mother. Therefore, there is a greater stress put on their remaining in or near their parental home after marriage (Nash, J., 1960:47).[1]

592 868 323 The people of Amatenango recognize that during the period in which a woman learns to make pottery, she establishes particular habits of cooperation and a strong solidarity bond with the woman from whom she learns and with whom she works. "Parents say that there is an advantage in early marriages, in that the girl would be more willing to learn the ways of her mother-in-law if she

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[161] [1]It is also important to notice that with the increase in population over the area, the market has increased.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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[602] The patrilines function in several dimensions. Work groups, although invariably containing some bilateral and affinal relatives, recruit members mainly among agnatic kinsmen. Men fence their fields with the help of their brothers, father and sons; when villagers get together to buy a cow for a town fiesta celebration, each cow is bought by a group which contains agnatically related men. In one case, seventeen men who bought a cow together belonged to four patrilines which were neighbors among themselves. In another case, in which several men got together to build a house, nine were agnatic kinsmen, three were affinals (the son's wife's brother, the daughter's husband and the wife's brother), three were compadres and one a neighbor from across the street. The women who prepared the meal for the housewarming were: nine agnatically related to the household head; two agnatically related to the wife of the household head; three affinals of the household head; two affinals of the wife; and two neighbors. In another case, a man and his two sons, one of whom was living in a separate domestic group, helped in the construction, and several other men were contracted to help with the payment, although the daughter's husband, who was a carpenter, was called in to give advice and help.

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[432]
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Individuals, in time of trouble, seek advice from the elders of the patriline, which is the largest unit in which kinship solidarity functions as a controlling social force outside the domestic group. The patriline also exercises control in the form of moral pressure: gossip, accusations of witchcraft, and responsibility for vengeance when a patriline member has been

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

563 Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo relations between Indians and Ladinos are more friendly, and the Indians are regarded as milder and more tractable.

181 Of the strongly Indian towns, Cancuc is the most conservative, Chanal the most progressive.

631 563 In respect to official political organization, these villages are divided according to their importance and the number of their inhabitants, into free municipalities (*municipios libres*) and dependent municipalities (*agencias municipales*). The former are those which have the right to choose their own government, upon which formal administration depends. To this category belong Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Ococingo, Chilón, and Bachajon. Until a short time ago the municipal governments of these settlements were composed of Ladinos in the principal posts and of Indians in the subordinate positions. At the present time the government is seeking to reverse this situation so that the Indians have the greater authority; it is for this reason that the governments of the four villages first mentioned are now headed by Indians. This change has brought about marked [177] alterations in certain places in the social equilibrium that before existed between the two ethnic elements which compose the population.

Villages of the latter category are those which depend, in administrative matters, on a free municipality. In these cases authority is represented in the first place by the *agente municipal*, who is named by the central municipal government. This post is always discharged by a Ladino. In most instances the municipal agent compensates for the meagerness of his salary by controlling the sale of rum in the village which he administers. The other members of the municipal government are chosen almost always from the Indian group.

184 243 439 In several of the highland communities, notably Amatenango, Chanal, and, to a much less extent, Tenejapa, the Indian grows (in addition to the universal maize) a certain amount of wheat for export; the Ladinos of Oxchuc cultivate this crop, but in Cancuc, where there are no Ladinos, wheat is not grown. (Wheat is 433 also grown in the Tzotzil towns of Chamula and Huistan.) Other money crops 241 of the highlands are chickpeas, peas, oranges, and other fruit. Some coffee is grown in San Martin, it is the principal export from Yajalón and Petalcingo. In Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Chilón a principal produce is brown sugar, made locally from sugar cane locally raised. Cancuc is the only village that cultivates cotton commercially; the production in the other communities is insignificant. The local [286] manufacture of loom-woven clothing is rapidly disappearing. Most Tzeltal com- [178] munities are without beehives, but there is considerable apiculture in Sivacá, and 231 a little beekeeping is also practised in Tenangó, Bachajón, and Yajalón. Apparently 184 the bees kept are wild colonies brought to the villages in the sections of hollow log they are made to inhabit. The raising of hogs and poultry is a principal economic 233 recourse in all the Indian settlements. The beef cattle industry has always been [654] in the hands of Ladinos; however, recently the Government, acting through the Centers of Native Education, has sought to stimulate the industry among the Indians.

421 her own clothes and her backstrap loom.
586 A widow may continue living in the hut and use its equipment only if she has a son. Otherwise, she must leave the house and return to her father's home because the land will be claimed by the brothers or other male relatives of the deceased husband.

Production and Consumption Groups

592 The family controls all matters related
433 to production and consumption. The head
241 of the house, with the help of his wife and other members of the family, takes care of farming and producing the basic food crops.
462 In the most conservative communities, the
476 old custom of planting by a cooperative
241 group, composed of relatives and friends, is still practiced. This is a task for men exclusively, since much skill and strength are required to dig up the ground in carefully
[785] spaced, perfectly straight rows. The owner
[834] of the milpa has to fast and observe sexual abstinence before starting the planting.

462 Only the family shares in the rest of the
592 labor, according to their sex: men take care of tasks requiring much effort, women perform those such as tending domestic ani-
[476] mals. Help from relatives and neighbors may also be asked occasionally, to build up fences around the orchard, to open or improve irrigation systems, etc.

Trade and Markets

438 Tenango and Amatenango concentrate on producing ceramics and trading them to neighboring municipios. Other municipios have a very limited commercial activity: Tenejapa exports a few sleeping mats; Oxchuc, ropes, nets, and pita bags; Cancuc, wooden combs, Bachajon, clay toys. These Tzeltal villages have no specialized merchants as do Zinacantan and Chamula.

443 There are a few markets where a large number of people meet regularly: Teopisca, in the south, has a Sunday market where natives from Aguacatenango, Amatenango, and Pinola meet. In the central part of the region they meet every Sunday at the mar-

[P. 212-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

648 mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

829 The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We received many small favours and [123] acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

FIG. 283—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

241 In their culture these people [181] belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend [433] primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the [291] staple crop. Calabashes, melons, [301] beans, tobacco, bananas, and cot- [302] ton are raised. The farming is carried on by the same wasteful "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old [178] Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment [166] of many cities. In the case of the Bachajon, it has already become one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn 262 boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates 252 which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and 411 weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but al- 412 ways made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most 184 amazing industries in the world. 177

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

creased the economic independence of the Indians. The present total of 613 ejidatarios in 1965 has increased 59 percent since the original grant. The dependence of the town's economy on the ejido land can be assessed in the fact that 63 percent of the pasture land is held in ejido grants. The use of land resources in the township is summarized in Table 4.

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TABLE 4. Agricultural Productivity by Size of Landholding

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Size of landholding (hectares)	*Weight of produce (kilograms)*	*Value of produce (pesos)*	*Land used (percentage)*
Less than 5 hectares			
Corn	200,000	120,000	83.
Wheat	29,000	27,550	16.8
Fruit	3,000	9,000	.2
1 hectare of ejido land			
Corn	319,688	223,781	49.
Corn (with beans)	30,320	21,224	6.
Beans (with corn)	14,000	17,360	
Wheat	185,580	181,580	28.
Beans	84,322	104,322	17.
More than 5 hectares			
Corn	67,388	45,117	34.
Corn (with beans)	96,550	68,108	51.
Beans (with corn)	42,985	56,740	
Alfalfa	350,000	42,000	4.6
Fruit	14,508	9,720	44
Other			6.

SOURCE: 1960 census, Mexico.

According to the 1960 census figures on productivity per hectare, privately owned plots under five hectares yield the highest return in corn (1,097 kgs. per hectare), privately owned plots over five hectares the next highest return (925 kgs. per hectare), and ejido plots of one hectare the least (810 kgs. per hectare). In the census evaluation of wheat and corn production on privately owned plots of less than five hectares, wheat apparently yields a higher return (807 pesos per hectare of wheat compared with 658 pesos per hectare of corn). This relative return is nearly the same for the corn produced on ejido lands (820 pesos per hectare return on wheat compared with 603 pesos for corn). However, this is figured at the maximum market price for wheat of 124 pesos per 100 kgs.

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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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423 was in a low gully where crops would not grow, and no one within the
435 community would buy it.
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Land is frequently pawned by farmers as security on a loan. The title to
423 the land is left with the lender, who can foreclose on the debt if the inter-
426 est payments of five percent per month are not paid. Often the land pawned may be worth far more than the loan. Loans in town are rarely backed with security, and if something is pawned, it is usually clothing or household items.

178 With the growing significance of ejido lands and land sale, inheritance
423 of land is of less importance in the economic expectations of each succes-
428 sive generation. The rules controlling inheritance are theoretically simple:
593 equal inheritance for all children regardless of sex. The parents usually give some land when the child establishes a separate household; the remainder is then given at the death of the parent or when old age makes it impossible for the parent to work any more. The youngest child remaining at home works his father's land, or if he is living with his wife's family, his father-in-law's land, until the latter's death. His family inherits the house site as well as an equal share of the privately held lands. Complications arise because of modifications of the basic rule of equal inheritance by provisions for care and maintenance of the aged parents. Frequent dis-
[692] putes over inheritance are settled in local courts or passed on to the De-
[647] partment of Indian Affairs in San Cristóbal.

The selection of which crop to grow is related to the kind and amount
241 of land a farmer owns. The most important crops are corn, beans, and wheat. Some squash and sugarcane are grown in the lower ejido lands of San Caralampio. Cabbage is grown by one Indian who possesses fertile irrigated lands in the center. Most Indians, however, are unwilling to undertake the risk of raising a cash crop since there is greater chance of the crop being stolen and they cannot afford a bad market price when they harvest.

241 Relating the size of holding to the crop grown, according to figures in
423 the Mexican census of 1960[3] (Table 4) one can see that in privately
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[659] 3. The census figures are based on estimates received from town officials, who submit them monthly to the census bureau. The officials of the town question the household heads as they see them in the streets or in their houses about how much seed they planted. They then estimate what the yield per almud for good and bad land is, from their own crops.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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owned plots of less than five hectares, corn is clearly the major crop, with 83 percent of the land devoted to its production. In the ejido lands, it is cultivated on less than 50 percent of the land, with wheat and beans sharing the remaining lands. Included in the category of ownership of five hectares or more are three large fincas where cattle fodder is grown. These fincas employ eighty-three laborers, some of whom live in the town center.

Since the Mexican census figures do not take into account the total land holdings of the household, I shall refer to the data on land use from my own census in 1964 (Table 5). Beans are grown (except in three cases) only if the household has more than the one hectare of ejido land grant. Corn and beans are grown together only on irrigated lands, both in high lands and in low country. Most farmers with ejido land grow wheat in addition to corn only when the land is in continual production, since it is believed that wheat gives "heat" to the land and improves the soil. This belief is supported by the real value of crop rotation.

Decisions concerning what crops to plant where are based on two sets of criteria: topology and soil characteristics. These criteria, furthermore, are the basis for determining what kinds of seed should be planted and what techniques of cultivation should be utilized.

Topological criteria. Because of the relative wealth of land resources, the steep hills are left uncultivated. All of the steep hills are communally owned, and the second growth of pine and scrub oak provides firewood. Tall pine growing in the higher lands of the colonia of San Vicente is sold by the community to private lumber companies.

The "belly of the land," the mound-like hillocks at the bottom of the hills, are sometimes cultivated or used for pasturage. On hilly lands farmers put rocks in the banks or curve the rows of corn to avoid erosion. The very low lands of the valley floor must be drained by digging ditches.

The flat irrigated lands of the valley floor are the most desirable lands for cultivation. The Indians are reluctant to sell these lands, and hold on to them until they are forced to sell.

When the officials reach concensus on what the mean yield (or *medio calculo* as they call it) is, they multiply this by the known amount of seed planted. Every six years a house-to-house census of what was planted is made.

base, so the farmers prefer to plant the better, quicker-growing corn seed 242
in a mixed sand and loam soil.

The final evaluation of land is based on results at harvest. The range of 242
variation is large: from 48 liters of yield per liter of seed to 80 litters of 433
yield per liter of seed. Township officials say that the average harvest is
five *fanegas* (1 fanega equals 12 liters) or 60 liters per liter of seed. Market [435]
prices are of less importance in deciding what crops will be planted than
are considerations of what the soil "wants" and what labor is involved.
Corn is grown on all kinds of land, whereas beans and special crops such
as cabbages can be grown only on the more fertile soil. Wheat can be
grown only where there is irrigation. One farmer raised cabbage in coop- [434]
eration with a Ladino and earned 1,000 pesos, four times the amount he
earned with his wheat crop the previous year. Despite the greater return
for cabbage, the farmer did not plant it the next year when the Ladino,
who had supported the first venture, withdrew his support. The reason he
gave for this was the fact that there was more work involved and he could
not accomplish it alone: first the crop had to be planted, then transplanted,
then irrigated every three days in the early growing period, and cultivated
two or three times; every eight days he had to get rid of worms. He esti- [461]
mated that growing cabbage involved well over four times the amount of
work necessary for growing corn.

Labor. Most agricultural work is performed by members of 592
households with exchange or hired labor. There is no specialization of 241
labor when the work force includes two or more men since the men 476
cooperate in doing each task. Communal labor is restricted to the mainte- 464
nance of the main irrigation ditches. Each year the ditches are dug out 241
where the sides have eroded and cleaned of brush and leaves. The presi- 621
dent and judges unite to decide on a time for this work and announce it 476
on a loudspeaker of one of the cantinas. This usually occurs around the
twenty-fifth of December. Formerly, all the men of the community helped
in this work whether or not they owned irrigated fields. In 1958 those who [178]
did not own such land "got smart" and refused to work. [423]

In 1962 the civil officials decided that a cement canal should be installed 653
near the source of the spring. They tried to finance it with contributions 621
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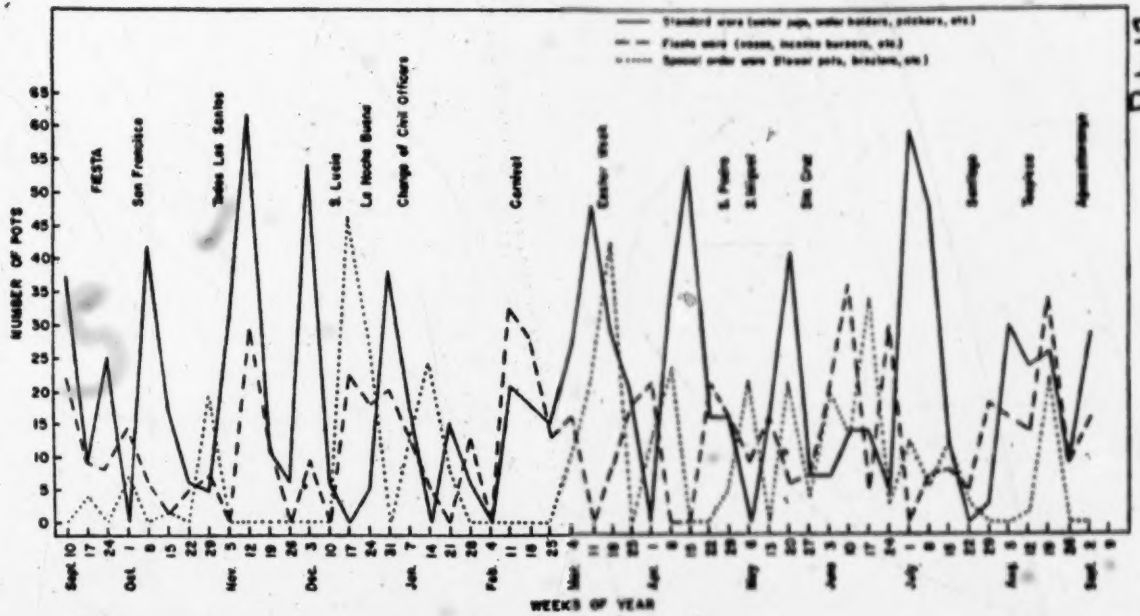
Fig. 2. Pottery Production in the Household and Its Correlation with the Ceremonial Cycle



Source: The above was printed in *Man* (219:186–91) in an article by Manning Nash entitled "The Social Context of Economic Choice in a Small Society."

[P 47]
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Motion *	*Step* †	*Context*
yah swol (make a ball)	2.6, 3.1	In mixing sand with clay, finish by making oval ball; also preliminary to making base, form ball
Spus + (roll +)		
yah lihk spusko^{ʔ}el (begins to roll down)	6.7	Turn down lip of neck
yah spusb'e sčikin (doubles over ears)	7.5	Curve tube of clay over to form handle
Stuis + (cut +)		
-b'e sti^{ʔ}il (edge)	3.7	Push clay with thumb; even edge by removing higher levels of clay at upper edge of base
" " "	4.5	Same, but edge is top of half-formed pot
" " "	6.5	Same, but edge is top of opening of jug
B'al + (make a tube +)		
ya sb'al te (make a tube of clay)	4.1	Build up sides with coils of clay
ya ya^{ʔ}b'e b'al lum (give a roll of clay)	5.1	Continue building up sides with coils of clay
yah sb'alb'eko^{ʔ}el (roll down)	6.8	Roll the tube of clay fitting on neck of pot to form a lip.

* Additives preceded by a hyphen form a single word with the verb stem; others are separate words in a phrase with the verb.
† Numbers refer to step numbers in Table 10.

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The nine stages of production provide a basis for the organization of the work in five-day intervals. The usual output is in lots of one dozen water jugs or ten bowls. This staging of production indicates an incipient rationalization of production that maximizes efficiency for the individual producer: a woman repeats the same limited sequence of motions for the lot. Leaving the item overnight permits drying and hardening so that in building up the pot there is greater stability. The staging of production also provides a basis for the division of labor in households with more than one producer. Certain stages require greater skill and/or discrimination: mixing the clay with sand requires the greatest discrimination to achieve the consistency which allows both maximum manipulability and strength and durability; building up and shaping the walls of the pot requires the maximum skill and dexterity. These tasks are performed by the more ex-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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323 pyramid is complete, wood is laid against the pots in a tepee formation.
[313] When the sawmill in the vicinity was in operation, flat boards—scraps of
[372] cut lengths—were used, but now only logs are available. Corn husks or
[462] dry straw are stuffed between the planks or logs. When a large number of pots are being fired, the men usually help at the final stages to remove the
[476] charred planks with poles. If men are not available, the women of the household often call upon their neighbors for help. In this operation, the
[292] women wear sandals and hats for protection from the heat. When the pots are cooled, the women, sometimes with the help of the men, stack them in net bags, six to a net with straw protecting the pots.

647 About fifteen year ago, a kiln was introduced by the government in the
177 interest of conserving wood. Those who tried it claim that the pottery did
323 not fire well and that many of the pots were broken. I.N.I. (the Instituto
372 Nacional Indigenista) planned to introduce an improved kiln, and while most of the people we questioned expressed a willingness to try it, the proposal was never put into action.

462 The men do most of the marketing of pottery. Loads of one or two
442 dozen may be taken by bus or truck to San Cristóbal or to Comitán.
443 When there is large-scale production throughout the community, as occurs
494 just before major fiestas, truckers come from the neighboring town of Teopisca to contract for delivery.

592 The amount of pottery produced in households varies with the follow-
323 ing factors:
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1. Household composition: (a) Number of women in the family.
[464] If there is only one woman, very little or no pottery is produced because of the demands of domestic duties. Households with two or more women are able to sustain the ideal output of at least a dozen water jugs a week (I use "ideal" here to suggest their notion of what they produce when asked to guess. As Fig. 2 indicates, this varies considerably during the
[887] year.) (b) Age of women and ages of children. Older women over sixty do not independently undertake pottery production. They may assist in washing pots with corn gruel or making the neck, mouth, and handles, but they are unable to endure the harder task of collecting clay. A woman with infants under two years of age makes little pottery if

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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there is no other woman in the house. (c) Number of men in the family. If there are productively employed men, women of the household tend to make less pottery, since they are busy cooking and washing and have their basic subsistence needs supplied. Pottery is then produced to supply cash for fiestas only. Widows make a great deal of pottery since they must either hire men to work in the milpa or buy corn.

2. Wealth of the family: Relatively wealthy families make almost no pottery. In other cases, the scheduling of production is related to consumption needs. Figure 2 charts the pottery production by type of item produced for a family which included two unmarried women, their mother, father, and grandmother. The peaks in production occur just before the major fiestas when the family wants additional money to buy meat, fruits, and clothing. Although this family produced more pottery than the majority of households because of the presence of four women, its production typifies the high periods of activity relating to the fiestas. Production is also related to the seasonal changes: during the rainy season (from June to October) many households curtail production, except to earn money for the fiesta of Santiago (July 25), because of the difficulty of firing without closed kilns.

Variation in production means that an overall estimate of income from pottery cannot be made. It ranges from none to nearly 90 percent of family income in the case of widows without land or male helpers. I would guess that an average family might earn 200 pesos a year, about 10 to 15 percent of the money value of crops. One family of two widows and five children who work constantly throughout the year averages an income of about 600 pesos, or about one-half what an agriculturist can make on one-half hectare of land.

The Motivation to Produce

The motivation to work is tied directly to consumption needs of the household. Failure to meet expenditures with income from agriculture and pottery is met by men hiring out as agricultural workers or as laborers in the sawmill. This alternative is chosen over that of increasing the size

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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434 592 [241] [423] [464] irrigated land in addition to their one-half hectare of ejido land. He supplements his income with work in the sawmill for some periods of the year, at a wage of 90 pesos a week, making a total of 165 pesos in the ten days recorded. The family spent 81 percent or 36 pesos of the budget on food, 13 percent or 6 pesos on clothing 2.3 percent or 1 peso on household supplies, and 3 percent or 1.20 pesos on medicines.

434 592 241 262 These family budgets show that most of the corn and beans can be supplied by subsistence agriculture. Garden crops of chile, chayote (a green vegetable which produces a fruit and an edible root), and fruit trees, including lime and anone, are raised in the house yard. Tomatoes, fruit, and cabbages are bought in neighboring market towns.

434 592 171 In comparison with household consumption expenditures in the United States and other foreign countries, these budgets show a much higher proportion of cash income spent on food. The percentages of food expenditures range from 63.2 to 97.0 in the families studied, whereas in the United States the average percentage is only 26.3, in Argentina 59.2, and in Zambia 66.5 (Conference Board Economic Almanac 1967). This reflects the fact that the people of Tzoʔontahal have no expenses for house rental, that wood for fuel and light is available in communally owned forests, and that most of the household utensils such as jars, jugs, and bowls, are locally produced. However, failure to report items must also be noted—no [125] one reported purchasing matches although everyone uses them, and only half of the families reported use of soap, although this is universally purchased.

433 241 A gross estimate of the land necessary to fulfill consumption needs of corn for a family of two adults and four children would be approximately one and a half to two hectares. The yearly average consumption of corn for such a family is about 2,000 kilograms. One hectare produces from 1,200 to 2,000 kilograms in addition to 80 kilograms of beans. Of the 299 families whose land ownership is given in Table 5, 142 have only one hectare of ejido land and 85 more have only one-half additional hectare of pri-
423 433 vately owned land. This means that 227 households, or 61 percent do not have enough land to meet their subsistence needs. 160 household heads

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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have recently sought additional lands in the ejido of Brindis to meet these minimal requirements. This preference for expanding subsistence agriculture to hiring out as laborers is the best index to the persistence of traditional economic pursuits. 423 433 178 241 464

Farmers who do not have a cash crop in wheat may be forced to sell corn even when there is no surplus. Because they usually need the cash as soon as they harvest their crop, they must sell when the prices are low. Thus their consumption needs exacerbate the disadvantage they face in the market. 434 435

Clothing, whether traditional or modern in style, requires cash outlays. Women have kept the traditional costume while men are modifying their clothing. Even when they go to hot country, older women wear the heavy cotton skirt bound with a thick sash and topped by an embroidered blouse; some younger women have adopted the long cotton dirndl skirt and peasant blouse. A white cotton shawl is added for ceremonial events or for warmth in the evening. All of their clothing is either bought or made of materials woven on looms in Comitán or San Bartolomé. The navy blue skirt, which they say is black, and the red and yellow sash are sold for 40 to 50 pesos by Ladina vendors who come to town. The blouse is made from two meters of heavy white cotton sold in the local stores or in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. Most prefer the more expensive cotton woven on bed looms in San Bartolomé, but it is not always available. They embroider the wide bands of yellow and red around the neckline with embroidery floss sold in the local store. The fringed shawl from Comitán is also sold locally, but is often purchased during the annual fiestas in the town. These items are replaced every two or three years, depending on the wealth of the family. The newer clothing is worn on ceremonial occasions, and the older clothing is worn every day. Women wear sandals and hats for protection only when they are firing pottery. For jewelry they wear bead necklaces, sometimes with crosses attached. Their hair is braided with ribbons for fiestas, or simply left hanging when they work. 434 291 178 [439] [435] [294] [292] [751] [301] [302]

Men buy a woolen jacket called *ḳoionču,* which is brought illegally from the Department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala, where it is made, 434 291 439

When this fails, they turn to the professional help of lawyers rather than to the old caciques with whom they had formerly maintained patron-client relations. The traditional structural alignment of upper and lower barrios is retained as the basis for organizing the growing cattle herds, but the cooperative provides flexibility and power for developing new enterprises. 177 178 474 693 621

The minimal changes in the material environment and the technology of the peasantry are countered by the development of social resources which should facilitate Indian integration in the wider society. In operating the new enterprises independently of Ladino control, they are developing entrepreneurial skills and an awareness of the relationship between capital and profit. The restriction of their operations to nonproductive use of capital for profit, such as buying crops at harvest and reselling as the price rises, reveals the limited dynamics of intracommunal development. The town will look to the regional and national networks for fundamental changes in its economy. 177 178 472

The fear of exciting envy acts as a brake on productive activity and the enjoyment of improved consumption resulting from wealth. Santos' death is a symbolic warning to others who would follow in his footsteps. An earlier case occurred when the ejido land grants were made in the 30s: 626 182 472 556

The brothers Ča?iletik became "very rich" as a result of careful operation of their ejido and privately owned land. They owned ten pair of oxen and about fifty horses. When they brought in their crops on horseback, it looked like a line of ants. They built a good house in Alkob', and a good threshing shelter. The people of the town began to talk about getting them off the land. The ejido commissioner took their land away and turned it over to others in the town. Until this day, the brothers Ča?iletik are without land. Now they do no more than work like other men. They live poorly. All their cattle and horses are sold. 556 433 423 621 626 159

The organization of the cooperatives is one means of diverting envy directed against individuals and permitting some increase in productive efforts, but the society still lacks the means of validating higher consumption standards. The richest man in town eats better than his neighbors, 474 182 626 556 000

556 626 but his style of living is indistinguishable from theirs. The only difference [23] is the larger number of dogs he[1] keeps to guard his wealth stored in the form of surplus crops in the eaves of his house.

177 178 433 434 621 323 The kind of economic change occurring in Tzoʾontahal fits the model of a moving equilibrium. Tightly controlled behavioral schema preserve the traditional productive activities in pottery and agriculture. They provide the framework into which the new enterprises are fit. Increasing dependence of cosumption choices on external markets is slowly transforming the content but not the pattern of community life. This kind of change is limited to societies that form a distinct corporate group. In an open society where many alternatives are available, the painful process of accommodation of the new to a customary pattern would probably not be undertaken given the tendency for social change to follow the course of least resistence. The absorption of economic innovation in Tzoʾontahal illustrates the ability of closed corporate communities to participate in commercial undertakings and reformulate them to fit their own pattern.

[1] [i.e., the richest man in town. - Analyst]

621 the outside world, from which, from the community point of view, come the threats to the individual Indian, his family and to the village as a unit.

The mechanisms employed for the preservation of the village as an Indian corporate community are the wealth leveling devices and the sanctioning system described below.

556 Economic Mechanisms

The villagers aim at a better subsistence level, but not at capital reinvestment, and wealth does not command prestige in [433] itself. Extreme wealth differences are not likely to occur because, on the one hand, the marginality of land limits the productive power of the villager, and the low level technology: machete, digging stick, and wooden plow (the last only used in the 621 flat bottom land) limits production and also capital increase. On 423 the other hand, accumulation of land is limited by the Ayuntamiento having control of the ultimate disposal of free land within the community. Therefore, although there is some variation in the amount or variety of land held by a family, for the community as a whole there is a clear tendency toward an equalitarian distribution of parcels, so that in gross terms every household head controls agricultural plots of similar size and quality to every other agriculturalist. (Each household controls land both in cold and hot country, both irrigated and temporal and of equivalent quality.) It is difficult to ascertain the size of each 423 433 particular holding because the people do not think in terms of the size of the parcel itself, but in terms of the amount of grain

423 necessary to plant it. In some land more seed is necessary, so a
433 tablón, a measure of how much seed is planted in a parcel, tends to be about a hectare, but can also be irregular in shape or somewhat larger or smaller.

434 Ideological and Sanctioning Mechanisms

Even if a domestic group manages to accumulate profits from the extra work of its members, the forced assumption of fiesta obligations and cargos (Officerships) inhibits capital accumulation and redistributes the profits back into the community in the form of consumable goods: food, alcohol, cohetes, etc.
621 The assumption of the cargos requires a certain amount of capital
556 to spend on the expenses attached to the post, so it is likely that a household head who has managed to save some extra money is going to be called to perform his duties as an officer rather than the other men with less wealth and equal qualifications.

621 In terms of economic and political bases for differentiation, then, the communities are egalitarian. Villagers insist that everybody is just like everybody else: "we are all equal, we all follow the customs, we are all poor, we are all agriculturalists,
621 we are all Indians, just the same," they say. Nevertheless, they
183 would also admit that some people are good and some "have bad hearts," and therefore would not follow the customs, or would try to become richer by getting involved in economic enterprises which are not Indian (such as buying or selling for high profit, or lending money, or becoming store clerks). They would imitate the Ladinos in their speech, dress or their house layout, become "alzados"

241 Each man tries to cultivate enough food to make his household
592 462 self-sufficient the whole year around.

241 868 The younger males of a household are initiated into the agricultural work by their fathers and elder brothers who work with the household head in the same fields. Around the age of ten, they are expected to leave grammar school and the children's playground, and to start learning their life trade: the tech-
[582] niques of cultivation. No young male is capable of marrying if he is not capable of bearing on his shoulders the economic burden of supporting a household with his labor in the fields.

241 433 434 In addition to producing enough corn for the consumption of his homestead, a man is expected to cultivate some surplus which the household can exchange in the local markets and stores for the manufactured goods and staples which they need: machetes, candles, needles, coffee and various other commodities. Moreover,
[464] if the household is in need of extra cash to pay for the expenses of a burial, a wedding, or any other emergency expenditure, he is expected to earn it by selling his labor to other men in the village for wages, or by working for short periods of time in the sugar cane plantation of Puiiltic. (Usually between one and two weeks of wage work will cover such emergencies. See Fig. 5.)

562 The women of Aguacatenango are economically dependent on their male relatives: father, husband, siblings and adult male
462 children. The women have many responsibilities; they are in charge of cooking and cleaning, sewing the family clothes, gathering
[231] firewood for the hearth, and educating the young. They are also
[244] in charge of feeding the small livestock which is kept in the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77]

462 distribute their work so that while one takes care of the regular
323 home tasks: cooking, caring for the young, cleaning, etc., the
438 other can occupy herself in gathering clay, coiling or modeling. Most steps in the production of pots are arranged in an "assembly line" style, with the women distributing their individual work according to the needs of the stage of the productive activity. Some of these steps, such as firing, require their close and alert cooperation to be carried on successfully. Pottery production
[434] represents about half of the income of each independent household, with some slight variation, because households richer in land produce less pots than poorer ones.

Comparison

• 433 Pottery production in the hands of the women shapes the
184 economic landscape of Amatenango very differently than the one of
241 Aguacatenango. In the first place, agriculture is a business where
433 the risks are high and the profits unstable. The agricultural production of the villages depends on many uncontrollable factors. Too little rain or too much, too early rain or too late, worm pests or wild animals, can ruin the year's crop. The villagers try to insure the risks of a bad year by planting in as many different types of fields as they can. They plant in the hot country where the crops mature fast, and in the high, cold country where the maturation process is slow but the corn, of a hardier variety, is more resistant to weather conditions. They plant irrigated land to insure water if rain is missing, and in temporal to insure against the drying up of the sources of irrigated water. But even

241 433 then, each season is a question mark, an equally unpredictable year of plenty or a lean year.

184 323 241 433 434 In Amatenango, when the crop fails or is poor, the income of the villagers can be compensated by producing more pottery. This is obviously not so in Aguacatenango. If hunger threatens the families, the result is a higher migration rate or an increase

184 166 464 731 in the number of men leaving town to work part-time in the fincas. The result of having an alternative form of income within the homestead in Amatenango is that the village keeps its income more

184 434 621 balanced year after year, and that the village as a whole has a reputation of being richer than the other communities.

184 434 462 562 In Aguacatenango, the women are an economic burden. The men are very aware that they themselves "do all the work." Women have long and leisurely afternoons which are spent sitting on their porches grooming, chatting, or visiting. Men complain of this, saying "Women cannot realize how hard a man has to work. They complain of not having this or that, but they do not know. . . ." In Amatenango, on the contrary, women are important producers, men and women sharing, equally, the responsibility of supporting their families.

Thus, in the one case, Aguacatenango, the work of women has a marginal, undeterminate value in an economic milieu in which they have no cultural alternatives to convert their labor into goods or subsistence necessities; in the other case, Amatenango, the labor input of women represents about half of the total productive efforts of the villagers.

TABLE 15

423
428

AMATENANGO: HOUSE TRANSACTIONS AND INHERITANCE

	Number	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent
Inherited from the wife's relatives	78	30	30
Inherited from the husband's relatives	79	34	34
Bought	50	19	
Received from Ejido	27	10	30.5
Borrowing	4	1.5	
Inherited from husband	12	4.5	
Inherited from wife	1	.5	5.5
Unmarried orphan, inherited from parents	1	.5	
Total	262	100.0	100.0

591 The
428 fact that this pattern of house sponsorship directly affects the
423 emphasis on patrilocality is compensated for by some recent changes
433 in the economic conditions of the village. In Amatenango, the
593 cooperative bonds between father and son in agricultural work, united with the emphasis on patrilineal inheritance of house sites, foster patrilocality, but, at the same time, the bonds between father and son have entered in competition with the cooperative relation developed between a woman and her daughter in making pottery. If a woman lives close to her mother-in-law, she will assist her more often than her own mother in the firing of pottery--"If a man lives with his wife's family, he will assist his father-in-law in the fields more than he will work with his own father" (Nash, J., 1960:49).

592 takes up residence in her husband's house" (Nash, J., 1960:28)
868
323 at an age in which she is not fully trained in pottery production.
[582] At the same time, "mothers prefer to keep their daughters at home at least until the age of fourteen if there is no economic necessity in the family" (Nash, J., 1960:28).

592 Pottery production as a source of income is not equally
434 important for all households. (1) Households with more children
• 433 produce less pottery, because "child care compete with pottery
323 making for a woman's time." (2) Households with more women produce more pottery because the different tasks of the woman: pottery making, child care, and house maintenance, can be best distributed among them during the day. (3) The motivation to work at pottery production is stronger in poorer households, "because alternative sources of income are less, and more of the family subsistence must come from pottery making." (4) Households with more men and land produce less pottery. First, land needs men to work it, and a single man cannot work much, or lay claim to government Ejido land of any considerable size. "In richer households (in terms of land and cattle) there is sufficient milpa raised that corn need not be bought, and the need for continuous cash income is not so pressing. This has also a circular effect: richer households tend to be able to keep more children alive; with more children to care for, women devote less time to pottery." "Conversely, poorer households depend upon pottery income, have fewer children, and less experience with prolonged periods of little or no pottery production" (Nash, M., 1961:188).

000 If the woman's work in pottery is a crucial factor in

571 and outside the household by the bilateral group of kinsmen of each particular Ego and his or her spouse, which because of the residence pattern, live localized within a neighborhood.

602 592 562 In Aguacatenango, on the contrary, most important activities are carried on mainly by agnatically related kin. This, of course, does not mean that matri-kin or affinals are absolutely excluded. But in making decisions for giving or receiving help in work, for example, agnatic kin are preferred, especially for men, because women tend to collaborate mostly with the agnatic kin of their husbands. The reason for this is that activities for women are not determined in terms of the kinship lines, but in terms of household membership: they collaborate with the closest kin of the household in which they reside, and not their own closest kin. A household contributes labor and interacts more often with agnatically linked households than any other.

361 602 592 The reason for this difference in emphasis could be said to be a result of the fact that one collaborates more with the people who live the closest. After all, the neighborhood in Aguacatenango tends to be a cluster of agnatically related households. Nash felt that in Amatenango, "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relations are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130). We disagree with this statement. [114]

323 241 433 182 591 592 621 In Amatenango, pottery making and corn agriculture are the two principal productive enterprises which affect the organization of the domestic group, including the residence choices, so it is not strange that the neighborhood group (or residence clusters within the barrio), made up according to the criteria of selecting

323 241 433 182 591 592 621 producers for the particular domestic groups, seems to be the originator of bilateral increase in interaction, while it could be equally well said that the bilaterally settled neighborhood in Amatenango is a result of the selection of household personnel along both males' and females' kinsmen lines.

114 602 182 361 J. Nash (1960) interpreted the bilaterality of Amatenango as being a result of the residence pattern. Nash assumes that kinship and territoriality are two mutually exclusive principles of association, while in reality they are not so. On the one hand, if territoriality (or the spatial placement of the individual in the household) is determined by kinship alignments, both would tend to be symmetrical; on the other hand, even if they are not mutually inclusive (which in this case they are), both are emphasized simultaneously in the same set of choices, so that the principles of spatial proximity and kinship proximity, although independent variables, are concomitant in their effects. Moreover, Nash found out that activities which did not involve immediate reciprocity followed the kinship line exclusively without reference to territorial propinquity.

121 The danger of assuming that "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relationships are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130) becomes evident in a larger theoretical context. If residential propinquity tends to set up interaction along bilateral lines, the opposite, residential dispersion, would tend to emphasize interaction among unilineal relatives. Then, all lineally organized societies ought to be organized in exogamous settlements, or in a dispersed hamlet pattern, and all large concentrations of

Some of the effects of this change can be seen in the growing wealth of cantineros, observable in changes in house construction, and a shift to the raising of small livestock (always an alternative strategy) by women who must support themselves. With regard to drinking performances, the effect of the change in retailers seems to have been an increase in the number of drinking performances--especially for boys and young men, whose limited ceremonial responsibilities have made them relatively infrequent drinkers in the past. In turn, the increase in the number of drinking situations has required slight modification in the timing of the drinking--men seem to drink for shorter periods of time. Thus, for example, drinking on Sunday is becoming more common, but the continuation of drinking on a second day (Monday) has decreased. These matters will be spelled out in more detail in later sections.

Age-sex distribution of drinking

Aguardiente is bought by men who have control of money, and it is drunk almost exclusively by them. Women drink rarely, and it is considered inappropriate for them to do so. Children do not drink at all; boys begin to drink on festive occasions at fifteen or sixteen, and it is probably relevant that by this time they are old enough to work for wages and usually have some money of their own. Old men often give up drinking except when, as of-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Tzotzil NV11

Tze 142 Tze 291

The men are tallish and the majority of them have sparse, black beards. They wear plain, white cotton tunics and short trousers, sashes, and hats of the sombrero type. The women wear the usual short, blue skirts. Their blouses are cut with a square neck, around which are embroidered three bands, each about two centimeters wide, of red, yellow and red. At the corners, little imitation tassels are embroidered in the same colours.

Tze 62 623 Tze [115]

We were told, by an unreliable informant, that this village was remarkable for its independence. Its officials are chosen by the natives alone, and run through a regularly prescribed *cursus honorum* from secretary up to president, and then on to the council of elders. Government laws and orders sent to the village are debated by this council and are not published unless approved by them.

Tze 323

FIG. 333—Amatenango, Chis. Pottery baking.

Tze 584 323 606

We were also told that in case of marriage each party works for his or her prospective in-laws, and that the girl at that time learns pottery making, taking over the mother-in-law's specialty.

Tze 648 434 171

While there was no way of checking up on this information, it is true that there is no Maestro at Amatenango, and that the Indians seem to be an unusually self-respecting and self-reliant lot. Of all the Tzeltal people observed, they were the only ones who seemed to compare with the Zotzil-speaking Chamulas in energy and prosperity.

Tzo 114 137

Returning to ourselves and our trip. We left Tenejapa on the following morning by a winding, broad road climbing to a pass in

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

base, so the farmers prefer to plant the better, quicker-growing corn seed 242
in a mixed sand and loam soil.

The final evaluation of land is based on results at harvest. The range of 242
variation is large: from 48 liters of yield per liter of seed to 80 litters of 433
yield per liter of seed. Township officials say that the average harvest is
five *fanegas* (1 fanega equals 12 liters) or 60 liters per liter of seed. Market [435]
prices are of less importance in deciding what crops will be planted than
are considerations of what the soil "wants" and what labor is involved.
Corn is grown on all kinds of land, whereas beans and special crops such
as cabbages can be grown only on the more fertile soil. Wheat can be
grown only where there is irrigation. One farmer raised cabbage in coop- [434]
eration with a Ladino and earned 1,000 pesos, four times the amount he
earned with his wheat crop the previous year. Despite the greater return
for cabbage, the farmer did not plant it the next year when the Ladino,
who had supported the first venture, withdrew his support. The reason he
gave for this was the fact that there was more work involved and he could
not accomplish it alone: first the crop had to be planted, then transplanted,
then irrigated every three days in the early growing period, and cultivated
two or three times; every eight days he had to get rid of worms. He esti- [461]
mated that growing cabbage involved well over four times the amount of
work necessary for growing corn.

Labor. Most agricultural work is performed by members of 592
households with exchange or hired labor. There is no specialization of 241
labor when the work force includes two or more men since the men 476
cooperate in doing each task. Communal labor is restricted to the mainte- 464
nance of the main irrigation ditches. Each year the ditches are dug out 241
where the sides have eroded and cleaned of brush and leaves. The presi- 621
dent and judges unite to decide on a time for this work and announce it 476
on a loudspeaker of one of the cantinas. This usually occurs around the
twenty-fifth of December. Formerly, all the men of the community helped
in this work whether or not they owned irrigated fields. In 1958 those who [178]
did not own such land "got smart" and refused to work. [423]

In 1962 the civil officials decided that a cement canal should be installed 653
near the source of the spring. They tried to finance it with contributions 621
423
241

71 Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

there is no other woman in the house. (c) Number of men in the family. If there are productively employed men, women of the household tend to make less pottery, since they are busy cooking and washing and have their basic subsistence needs supplied. Pottery is then produced to supply cash for fiestas only. Widows make a great deal of pottery since they must either hire men to work in the milpa or buy corn. 592 323 433 [434] [136]

2. Wealth of the family: Relatively wealthy families make almost no pottery. In other cases, the scheduling of production is related to consumption needs. Figure 2 charts the pottery production by type of item produced for a family which included two unmarried women, their mother, father, and grandmother. The peaks in production occur just before the major fiestas when the family wants additional money to buy meat, fruits, and clothing. Although this family produced more pottery than the majority of households because of the presence of four women, its production typifies the high periods of activity relating to the fiestas. Production is also related to the seasonal changes: during the rainy season (from June to October) many households curtail production, except to earn money for the fiesta of Santiago (July 25), because of the difficulty of firing without closed kilns. [434] [196] [132]

Variation in production means that an overall estimate of income from pottery cannot be made. It ranges from none to nearly 90 percent of family income in the case of widows without land or male helpers. I would guess that an average family might earn 200 pesos a year, about 10 to 15 percent of the money value of crops. One family of two widows and five children who work constantly throughout the year averages an income of about 600 pesos, or about one-half what an agriculturist can make on one-half hectare of land. 323 433 434 184

The Motivation to Produce

461 434 182

The motivation to work is tied directly to consumption needs of the household. Failure to meet expenditures with income from agriculture and pottery is met by men hiring out as agricultural workers or as laborers in the sawmill. This alternative is chosen over that of increasing the size [464] 434 434 427 241

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

434 of the farm by renting additional land, as European peasants typically
464 did,[5] since there is very little land available for rent and the returns are
427 not immediate. Farmers will try to avoid this by acquiring land grants to
241 increase subsistence agriculture.

125 Expenditures and earnings were studied in six families over varying pe-
434 riods of time from ten days to one year. The data are summarized below.

434 Family No. 1, consisting of a husband, his wife, and their married
592 daughter separated from her husband and child, is able to meet all of their
[241] need for corn and brown sugar and most of their need for beans by the crops they raise on one-half hectare of ejido land in hot country, one-half hectare of ejido land in the township, and three-quarters hectare of privately owned, irrigated land in the township. On their irrigated land, they grow one-half hectare of wheat and one-quarter hectare of corn. In hot country they grow corn, beans, and sugar cane on the margins of the field. The cane is ground in a cooperatively owned mill, and their crop in 1965 produced 144 *tapas,* or measures of one kilogram worth 5 pesos. In addition to 200 pesos earned for the wheat crop, 100 pesos for the bean crop, 298 pesos for corn, this farmer earned 808 pesos for outside work. His high
[464] wage income is due to his working for an American at twice the usual
[465] daily pay. The farmer buys coffee by the twenty-five-pound bag costing 62
[435] pesos in hot country, a saving of about one-half the retail price of coffee in the town, where it is sold at 5 or 7 pesos at pound. In twelve months of recorded expenditures, the family spent 609.50 pesos or 83 percent of their budget on food, 40 pesos or 5 percent of their budget on clothing and 82 pesos or 11 percent of their budget on medicine.

The high expenditures in the case of family No. 2, consisting of a man,
[583] his wife, and two mature sons, was due to the fact that one of the boys was carrying on a betrothal suit. The bride-price had been fixed at 500 pesos, toward which the family was contributing whatever excess of income over
[464] expenditures it had. The son who was seeking a wife worked fifty-six days
[465] in the sawmill at a wage of 15 pesos per day during the six-month period recorded, earning 255 pesos. In addition, he and his brother earned 160 pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village.

5. Chayanov (1966:7) demonstrated that Russian peasant families expanded the size of their farms when the subjective needs of the family increased, not as a response to market prices for crops or rents.

71 Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village. The expenditures of this family on meat, brown sugar, and liquor were required for the house celebrations carried out almost every Sunday. Like family No. 1 they spent 83 percent of their budget on food, a total of 714.80 pesos, and a larger percentage on clothing, 138 pesos. They sold their surplus corn for 292 pesos and their beans for 247 pesos. These crops were produced on one hectare of privately owned, irrigated land, one hectare of privately owned, non-irrigated land and one hectare of ejido land.

Family No. 3 consists of a widow and her widowed daughter-in-law who had five children. The oldest son, aged sixteen, worked their one-half hectare of ejido land and one-half hectare of irrigated land with some hired help during harvest. During the three weeks recorded, there were no returns from their crops, which include wheat and corn, and the family relied entirely on returns from pottery. This household produces more pottery than any of the others recorded, earning 61 pesos in the three weeks, because there are no adult male producers. They spent 63 percent of their budget on food, a total of 42 pesos, and 34 percent or 23 pesos on clothing.

Family No. 4 consists of a married couple with three children seven years of age and under. The husband works occasionally in the sawmill, but since he drinks a great deal, he does not contribute much of his 70-peso weekly wage to the family. He grows wheat on one-half hectare of irrigated land and corn on one-half hectare of ejido land. In the ten days recorded, no money was gained on harvest, but the woman earned 19 pesos from pottery. The family spent 77 percent, or 17.20 pesos of their budget on food and another 22 percent, or 5 pesos such as soap, kerosene, etc.

Family No. 5 consists of a married couple, their married son and daughter-in-law, and three grandchildren. They own one and one-half hectare of irrigated land, on which they grow wheat and corn, and one-half hectare of ejido land. The husband and his son supplement their earning from farming by distilling liquor, earning 108 pesos in the ten days recorded. In addition, the women of the household earned 54 pesos from pottery they made. They spent 143 pesos, or 97 percent of their budget on food and 3 pesos, or 2 percent of their budget, on clothing.

Family No. 6 consists of a young couple with two children. The husband owns one-half hectare of irrigated land, and one-half hectare of non-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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434 592 [241] [423] [464] irrigated land in addition to their one-half hectare of ejido land. He supplements his income with work in the sawmill for some periods of the year, at a wage of 90 pesos a week, making a total of 165 pesos in the ten days recorded. The family spent 81 percent or 36 pesos of the budget on food, 13 percent or 6 pesos on clothing 2.3 percent or 1 peso on household supplies, and 3 percent or 1.20 pesos on medicines.

434 592 241 262 These family budgets show that most of the corn and beans can be supplied by subsistence agriculture. Garden crops of chile, chayote (a green vegetable which produces a fruit and an edible root), and fruit trees, including lime and anone, are raised in the house yard. Tomatoes, fruit, and cabbages are bought in neighboring market towns.

434 592 171 In comparison with household consumption expenditures in the United States and other foreign countries, these budgets show a much higher proportion of cash income spent on food. The percentages of food expenditures range from 63.2 to 97.0 in the families studied, whereas in the United States the average percentage is only 26.3, in Argentina 59.2, and in Zambia 66.5 (Conference Board Economic Almanac 1967). This reflects the fact that the people of Tzoʔontahal have no expenses for house rental, that wood for fuel and light is available in communally owned forests, and that most of the household utensils such as jars, jugs, and bowls, are locally produced. However, failure to report items must also be noted—no [125] one reported purchasing matches although everyone uses them, and only half of the families reported use of soap, although this is universally purchased.

433 241 A gross estimate of the land necessary to fulfill consumption needs of corn for a family of two adults and four children would be approximately one and a half to two hectares. The yearly average consumption of corn for such a family is about 2,000 kilograms. One hectare produces from 1,200 to 2,000 kilograms in addition to 80 kilograms of beans. Of the 299 families whose land ownership is given in Table 5, 142 have only one hectare of ejido land and 85 more have only one-half additional hectare of privately owned land. This means that 227 households, or 61 percent do not 423 433 have enough land to meet their subsistence needs. 160 household heads

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have recently sought additional lands in the ejido of Brindis to meet these minimal requirements. This preference for expanding subsistence agriculture to hiring out as laborers is the best index to the persistence of traditional economic pursuits. 423 433 178 241 464

Farmers who do not have a cash crop in wheat may be forced to sell corn even when there is no surplus. Because they usually need the cash as soon as they harvest their crop, they must sell when the prices are low. Thus their consumption needs exacerbate the disadvantage they face in the market. 434 435

Clothing, whether traditional or modern in style, requires cash outlays. Women have kept the traditional costume while men are modifying their clothing. Even when they go to hot country, older women wear the heavy cotton skirt bound with a thick sash and topped by an embroidered blouse; some younger women have adopted the long cotton dirndl skirt and peasant blouse. A white cotton shawl is added for ceremonial events or for warmth in the evening. All of their clothing is either bought or made of materials woven on looms in Comitán or San Bartolomé. The navy blue skirt, which they say is black, and the red and yellow sash are sold for 40 to 50 pesos by Ladina vendors who come to town. The blouse is made from two meters of heavy white cotton sold in the local stores or in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. Most prefer the more expensive cotton woven on bed looms in San Bartolomé, but it is not always available. They embroider the wide bands of yellow and red around the neckline with embroidery floss sold in the local store. The fringed shawl from Comitán is also sold locally, but is often purchased during the annual fiestas in the town. These items are replaced every two or three years, depending on the wealth of the family. The newer clothing is worn on ceremonial occasions, and the older clothing is worn every day. Women wear sandals and hats for protection only when they are firing pottery. For jewelry they wear bead necklaces, sometimes with crosses attached. Their hair is braided with ribbons for fiestas, or simply left hanging when they work. 434 291 178 [439] [435] [294] [292] [751] [301] [302]

Men buy a woolen jacket called *ḳotonču*, which is brought illegally from the Department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala, where it is made, 434 291 439

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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434 and sold in Comitán. It is the same as the costume worn by the Indians of
291 that area. A similar garment is made in Comitán but is considered infe-
[439] rior to the contraband product. Shirts and wrapped trousers made of coarse cotton are stitched and sold in Teopisca. The trousers are bound
291 with a red woven sash. These items make up the modified costume worn by most of the boys and men. Men over sixty wear a long, coarsely woven shirt with a slashed neck made in San Bartolomé. This is caught at the waist with a woven band and worn over short trousers. In the evening or during ceremonies the kotonču is always worn. The older men wear high-backed sandals attached to rubber-tire soles with thongs, while younger men wear the *huarache* of crossed leather bands secured to a rubber-tire sole found in many parts of Mexico. Increasingly men are taking
[177] on the western clothing worn by Ladinos—the belted cotton trousers, shirt, and underclothing sold in the local store and in the neighboring towns. In 1957, only a half-dozen men, all of them former students in the boarding school established in Cárdenas' term of office, wore this dress, but today over twenty middle-aged men and dozens of youths in their
[177] teens wear it. Those who wear modern clothing have substituted a zip-
[292] pered "air-force" jacket for the kotonču. All men wear factory-made straw hats, under which, on ceremonial occasions, they wear a red bandanna bound over the forehead and tied at the nape of the neck. A high-crowned
[194] palm hat with black designs, ordered by the alfereces when they enter of-
[292] fice, used to be woven by a few specialists; now only one man can make
[178] them.

291 The changing styles in men's clothing reflect three stages of acculturation. The older style worn by elders is said to be the costume worn by the
177 ancestors who live in the cave. Since all of the items are and have for some time been purchased from outside the town, the changing pattern of consumption—the change from modified peasant to ladino-style clothing—has not affected local production.

Girl's wear a machine-embroidered peasant blouse and a mid-calf gathered skirt made of cotton or rayon and purchased in the neighboring towns. They change to the woman's costume when they reach their teens. Boys wear the same clothing as their fathers, except for the old costume. Table 12 shows the cost for these items.

ered to be dirty since the pigs and dogs cannot scavenge the feces. Mothers train their children to have bowel movements in the evening when darkness offers them privacy in the houseyard. 000 863

Changes in house types in the seven-year period from my first census in 1958 to the second in 1964 are tabulated in Table 14. There has been a general improvement in the standards: tile roofs have increased from 1 to 20.1 percent. The increase has been at the expense of both wood shingle (declined 8.3 percent) and of thatch and palm leaf (declined 9.8 percent). 342 177 178 [125]

TABLE 14. Types of House Construction

	1958*		1964†	
	Number of houses	*Percent of all houses*	*Number of houses*	*Percent of all houses*
Roofs				
Tile	1	1	58	20
Shingle	27	23	41	14
Thatch or palm	87	76	190	66
Walls				
Board plank	17	15	66	23
Wattle and daub	98	85	223	77
Sweatbath				
Have	60	52	120	42
Have not	54	47	169	58
Unknown	1	1		

* Based on sample of 115 houses.
† Based on total survey of houses in center with 22 unspecified.

[343]

The numbers of houses with wood plank walls has increased from 14.8 percent to 22.8 percent. This is a temporary arrangement, and the planks are usually replaced with wattle and daub, so the increase may simply reflect new construction. The percentage of houses having sweatbaths has declined from 52.1 to 41.5. No new sweatbaths have been made for the last ten years or so, and many of those recorded are not in use. 343 178

The changes in housing type reflect the greater prosperity of the town as well as the increasing receptivity to outside influence. The increase in tile roofs means a greater dependency on external markets. Ten years before the final census, a man who put on a tile roof feared the consequences of witchcraft. 342 177 178 434 754

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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[335]

of witchcraft. Today probably 95 percent of the new roofs are made of tile. Often the old roofs cannot be replaced with tile because the rafters were not built to support them. One result of the change has been the dependence on a carpenter to construct the gables, since they have to be lined up more accurately than they do with thatch or palm roofs.

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House lots in the town center are preferred to those on the margins. As residents of house sites on the ejido lands at the margins of the town acquire wealth, one of the first things they try to do is acquire a house closer to the plaza. These lots are smaller, averaging about 500 square meters, while those farther out average 900 square meters. In a sample measurement of 100 house lots, the size ranged from 180 to 1,440 square meters, and the average size was 77 square meters. Considering the advantages of a large lot in growing chile fruits and corn, the preference for smaller central lots reveals the strong prestige factor influencing choice.

[554]

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[513]

House furnishings include both purchased and homemade items. Sleeping accommodations consist of wooden bedboards, either nailed on a frame or simply laid on blocks and covered with a straw mat. Woolen blankets from Comitán are sold locally at a price of 24 pesos or for 20 pesos in San Cristóbal and 18 pesos in Comitán. Most households own two or three wooden benches which line the walls of the porch and are made locally. Small chairs are purchased from Chamula carpenters at a cost of 2 to 4 pesos, as well as a small table costing about 4. A higher table is provided for the saints' pictures and candle holders, incense burner, and flower vases or tin cans. Hooks are fashioned from the crotch of trees and suspended on the house posts. Wooden boxes are bought from Ladino carpenters in San Cristóbal at a cost of 10 to 20 pesos depending on size and workmanship and are used to store clothing. In addition to the homemade water holders, water carriers, comales, strainers, and bowls, handmade glazed ware from San Cristóbal, factory-made porcelain dishes, metal cooking pots, knives, and spoons are purchased. Gourds provide serving ware for ceremonial occasions. Stone grinding platforms and rollers are purchased in San Cristóbal for about 10 pesos. Two new items have become increasingly popular in the past five years: a metal grinding machine for corn, hand operated and costing from 40 to 60 pesos depending on the size and quality, and a hinged press for tortillas, costing 15 pesos if made

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of metal and 10 pesos if made of wood. These are lined with waxed paper 435 415 which the local storekeeper cuts from cracker-box wrappers and sells for 5 177 cents each.

Electricity, first used in the cooperative store and later in the liquor 365 shops, is now being installed in houses. 83 families had electricity installed in their homes by 1967. Street lights have been in operation since 1966, al- [651] though the first attempt to install them was blocked by residents on the streets to be lighted who did not want to pay the tax of 1 peso per month per household to meet the cost to the community of 75 pesos a month. Most people have a flashlight, and lighting in the house is provided by 354 pitch pine or by small kerosene lamps. Candles are used only in ceremo- [416] nies.

The inventory of items sold in the cooperative store in town includes 444 the most frequently purchased items of consumption. Hardward includes buckets, hoes, kerosene lamps, batteries, Gillette blades, shotgun bullets, canned goods such as sardines, chiles, and powdered milk. Packaged foods include rice, sugar, salt, oatmeal, cornstarch, flour, coffee, biscuits, cookies, gum, and candy. Beer is sold along with soft drinks and cigarettes. Household supplies include candles, soap, D.D.T. powder, thread, matches, and kerosene. Medicines dispensed most frequently include sulphur pills, aralin, Desenfriol, Alka-Seltzer, and Sonrisal. Yard goods for shawls, children's wraps, and men's clothing are sold along with manufactured shirts, blouses for girls, and rubber capes. Eggs as well as money are taken in [436] payment and then sold. Except for one can of Chocomilk, which sat on the shelves for a year, all of the items are in constant demand, and provide an index to the level of living and dependency on external markets.

The preferences in changing consumption are limited by communal 434 standards of what is appropriate. I once asked a man who was acquiring 178 more than the usual income by brokerage activities what he would buy 177 with more money. He replied, "I would get more land and cattle." I interrupted to ask what he would do to improve his standard of living. "I wouldn't get better clothing—what would I need that for? I would get a house built with good materials like this [the government-built clinic] with a cement floor. But I couldn't get it now because of envy. When my [156] children grow up, they [the neighbors] will see them working and maybe

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434 178 177 I can get one then. Last year I bought a transistor radio for nine hundred and ninety pesos. My wife said she would leave me if I got it because all [053] the children would get sick. But I got it anyway and no one was sick. I am stronger than my enemies."

Innovation on the consumption level is adding a stimulus to innovation in economic activities. The successful innovator must invent a rationale for his improved standards of living and then prove that he can survive the possible evil consequences of envy. The process of adoption is one of a shift in the incidence of choices made in the direction of improving levels of living. The new is often incorporated with the old rather than replacing it. For example, after the rough preparation has been done with the mill, [252] grinding stones are used for the final grinding of corn to get the dough [415] into the preferred consistency for making tortillas. Tin plates are used along with crockery and gourds. Some items are linked in change: for ex- [291] ample, tailored pants are worn only with buttoned shirts and belts and [096] with zippered jackets. The old forms are continued in a ceremonial con- [415] text: kotonču is preferred when a man undertakes an official role, and gourds are preferred to any other container for ceremonial foods. The technology of production lags behind the changes in consumption that have increased the need for greater income—agricultural tools have not been modified since the colonial period when the wooden plow, metal hoe, machete, and plow used with draft animals were added. Changes in consumption needs rather than in productive technology are expanding the economic horizons of the Indians.

Choices and Strategies in Agricultural Production

241 In agricultural and pottery production, decision-making concerning the use of land and labor resources is controlled not only by a traditional technology but more importantly by a given state of cognitive orientations that determines, in Goodenough's words (1966:54), "what states of affairs they have learned to discern, what they believe to be the relations between them, and what they understand to be the processes by which one state can be transformed into another." Agriculturalists have a fine perception

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mother's house, find a wife for a grown son, or find an unattached female relative to live with him. 736 562

Traditional agricultural and pottery production contained within household units has limited specialization and the formation of classes. Whatever exceeded consumption needs was absorbed in a ceremonial fund that served to maintain existing standards. The aim of production was to maintain a given level of "poverty and suffering" as they said in prayers of thanksgiving. These old standards are no longer adequate. Family budgets reflect a range of alternatives requiring an increasing amount of cash expenditure on goods made outside of the community Because of land limitations, these new preferences are met by wage labor rather than increases in the size of the farm. The new enterprises discussed in the following chapter provide the income streams which are disrupting the present distribution of wealth and the social system based on it. 434 177 464

465 working long hours. Thus they receive 12 pesos for about one and a half times as many hours as is worked locally for the prevailing wage of 6 pesos (ten hours in comparison with the usual day's work of six to seven hours in the town). For this reason they maximize the effort expended in [476] getting to fields outside of their own township. The lower payment in town entails an obligation on the owner's part to reciprocate the labor, but the payment relieves him of an immediate demand on his time. Exchange 476 labor without payment requires reciprocity within the same activity schedule: thus if a man assists someone else during harvesting, he expects that person to assist him during the same harvest period. If, however, he will be unable to reciprocate immediately, the payment of 6 pesos terminates [465] an immediate obligation, but he will be expected to respond when he can if other requests should be made by this same farmer. Exchange labor without payment is contracted between relatives, compadres, and neighbors, using the network of established social ties to reinforce the obligation to reciprocate.

464 Agricultural work in the fincas in hot country is undertaken only when [434] there is extreme need for supplementary income, or when a man is escap- [754] ing the threat of being killed as a witch. In the 1920s, when the Indians had limited land resources and prevailing wages were low, some were forced to go to the fincas of the Argentino and Aregovia near Tapachula. [626] Despite the economic necessity for their undertaking this work, the social pressure was so strong against it that they would leave early in the morning to avoid being jeered as they passed in the street. The women rarely [462] accompanied them because they could produce pottery at home and supplement earnings. The prevailing rate now is 15 to 18 pesos per tarea, a [465] half-day's work, but Indians work in the finca only when urgently pressed.

Nonagricultural labor in the sawmills is a source of employment for twenty-two Indians of the town. Lumber companies operating in the forested areas of Montebello Lake have employed Indians of the town for [465] the past year. The wage offered, from 15 to 18 pesos a day, exceeds the 12-peso wage paid to agricultural laborers in the immediate area, but corresponds to that paid in hot country. The men must live at the sawmill, and supplies of tortillas made by their families are brought in on Wednesdays

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by the company truck to replenish supplies they bring with them. Most of the workers are young men in their twenties and thirties. They return Saturday evening in a truck supplied by the company and go back to work on Monday morning. Weekly wage payments have upset the usual controls over budget management. Money earned from crops is handled by women. The sawmill workers have resisted passing over their paychecks to theis wives or mothers, and several court cases have been precipitated as a result (Appendix 2b).

All of the work in which men are engaged outside of the community is voluntarily undertaken for cash compensation. Formerly, forced labor of two kinds was frequently demanded of the Indians: communal labor in the neighboring ladino town when Tzo?ontahal was an *agente municipal* of that town, and work in neighboring fincas for wages of 50 cents a day. Forced communal work came to an end when the town became an independent municipio in 1931, and the labor roundups at substandard wages were ended when Indians became conscious of their rights guaranteed in the *Ley Federal del Trabajo* in the late 30s. Copies of the *Colección Juridica Ley Federal del Trabajo* are sold in the departmental marketplace along with the *Codigo Agraria*. Awareness of their rights as workers is concomitant with increasing entry into wage labor employment outside of the local community. As yet, Indians do not have any organized labor interest groups to champion their rights. The Commissioner of Indian affairs in the departmental capital is an intermediary in individual cases that arise. But wage levels and conditions of work are set in a free market in which the Indian's only control is to refuse to work.

The few special occupations in the town, such as butchering, caponizing, weaving bags, carpentry, and midwifery, have never developed into full-time professions.[2] The failure of the development of specialization is related to the tradition of ritual offerings of gifts of liquor and consumables and to the lack of a marketplace in the town.

Most of the livestock raised in the town is sold to butchers of the neighboring town because of lack of storage or of market facilities for the meat. Pigs and bulls are slaughtered in town only on the occasion of a celebra-

2. Curing is treated in a separate chapter since it is an exceptional case of specialization related to social control.

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231 cattle was seized by bandits or soldiers. It is "new" only in the size of the
233 holdings, which have expanded from ownership of one or two head per household, primarily useful as draft animals, to a herd as large as two hundred head belonging to the wealthiest man in town. Cattle rearing is now a capital investment for resale as well as for draft animals in plow agriculture.

233 The increasing herds have stimulated competition for community re-
311 sources. The control of communal grazing and waterhole rights is exer-
312 cised through the traditional dual division of the town, with rights to pas-
621 ture allocated on the basis of residence in the upper or lower barrio o the
575 center. An association of cattle owners has developed in each of the sections, and the leaders of each association call together all members to clean the water holes and repair the troughs. A recent project of the cattle association of the upper section has been the erection of a large cross at the
[789] water hole. The water had dried up the year before, and the installation of the cross was an attempt to ensure a continuous supply of water in the fu-
[796] ture. The priest blessed the cross in the dedication, and the fiscal and prayer-reciters adorn it each year on May 3, the Day of the Cross in the old Catholic calendar, along with other crosses of the village.

233 Cattle grazing is the source of much of the conflict in the town. The cat-
621 tle roam freely in the woods and communal pasture lands, and many are
578 lost or stolen. The cattle association has not fenced in the pasture in order
575 to control it. Their tactics have been punitive; they have raised funds from
627 among members to hire men to kill suspected cattle thieves. In the last twenty years, six men have been killed as cattle thieves, and at least three of those were known to be killed by men hired by the association, which then paid the court fines to set the killers free. The leader of one of the cattle associations was killed after an incident in which he fined a man who had failed to assist in cleaning the water holes. The fine of 2 pesos per head of cattle represented a large fee for the man, who had sixty head. He refused to pay more than half, since he said he had not been notified.
[754] When his daughter later died of illness, he blamed her death on witchcraft exercised by the cattle association leader, and later killed him.

231 Cattle are only minimally exploited as a resource. The cattle are not
434 butchered locally since there is not a large enough market, but are sold to

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Ladino butchers in the neighboring town. The cows are not milked either for local consumption or sale. Fertilizers are for the most part wasted since the cattle roam freely in the communal pasture lands except in the case of a few corrals owned by families. Hides are cured rather crudely and are used for saddle packs or protective aprons by the men, but none are sold.

The cooperatives. The notion of a cooperative to mobilize capital had been introduced by the I.N.I. in 1957 with the inauguration of a store owned by over one hundred members of the community. In the first years of its existence, the cooperative had some difficulties, primarily in convincing the Indians that when the returns on shares were lower in any year from prior levels, it did not indicate that the agents were stealing the money.

The cooperative store was bought by the Indians of the town from the I.N.I. in 1964 after the members had some trouble receiving returns on their shares. There are now one hundred and twenty-two members. The profits of 1965 were reinvested in the purchase of the corn-grinding mill. Current profits at the store are lent at 5 percent per month interest. The store grosses 80 to 100 pesos in sales daily, and the mill grossess 100 pesos. The wages paid to the storekeeper are 300 pesos and to the miller 250 per month.

Now that the cooperative is independent of the government, one of the stated policies is not to sell a single share to a Ladino or member of another community. "We do not want to give gifts to the Ladinos," the secretary of the cooperative told me. He added, "There was a Ladino in Teopisca who wanted to join with 5,000 pesos, but we wouldn't let him in. If you let them in, they would come to dominate the pueblo." The cooperative store does not share profits with the consumers but gives dividends. The 11,380-peso assets in the year 1965 were reinvested in stock and in the purchase of corn at harvest which was then sold at one and a half or two times the sale price.

The Indians developed their first independent cooperative in the ownership of a *marimba,* a musical instrument like a xylophone, operated by eight men of the community. This enterprise failed because the players never developed sufficient skill to be commissioned to play outside of town.

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000 town. However, other cooperatives have been successfully organized to
474 finance small-scale oeprations. Five record players with loudspeakers have
275 been installed in the houses of members who sell liquor. Once the initial
216 investment is made, the operating costs are low: 27 pesos for electricity, 25
454 pesos for a liquor license, 30 pesos for *hacienda* or state tax, and 10 pesos
434 for the township tax. Liquor bought at 60 pesos for an 18-liter jug is resold at 72 pesos. The total monthly cost of 92 pesos yields a net profit of about 300 pesos. The cost of the installation, 5,000 pesos, was low enough for some of the richer members of the community to finance individually, but as one of the operators told me, it was too risky—that is, too profitable.
474 The envy the neighbors would feel on seeing the profits made would
434 never result in witchcraft against all of the members, whereas an individ-
626 ual owner could expect that he himself or a member of his household
754 would become ill or die as the victim of witchcraft. These early entrepreneurs recognize the value of the cooperative in overcoming the force of envy which has effectively inhibited acquisition or display in these corpo-
[182] rate Indian communities. Instead of socializing losses, one of its functions in modern capital organizations, the cooperative in Tzo'ontahal serves to socialize gains.

474 The most enterprising action of the new cooperatives has been the pur-
493 chase of a truck, initiated by the entrepreneur, Santos. The purchase of the
452 truck was inspired by the example of the Ladino secretary, who with his wife and son had a monopoly on the transportation of pottery, people, and wheat out of the village. Furthermore, in the neighboring town of Zinacantan the Indians were successfully operating two trucks. Santos went with his brother to the director of the I.N.I. in Las Casas to ask for a co-signer on the installment purchase of a Chevrolet truck, since without a Ladino sponsor Indians could not get credit with the company. According to one informant, I.N.I. officials advised them that they would not be able to profit from this venture and that they should buy a tractor with their money. The brothers persisted and went to the Dodge company in the state capital. The company agreed to sell to the Indians without Ladino co-signers on the basis of a down payment of 10,000 pesos. The initial payment was raised with thirty Indians putting up the money. Some gave no more than 150 pesos, but as the instigators of the purchase remarked, "The more members we have, the more power it gives us."

323
178 coming from the smaller towns to buy. The Indians still bring pottery to
442 sell retail in towns that they visit during a fiesta. One of these is the barrio
443 of Lok'ibal in the município of Villa Carranza, where people go on the third Friday of Lent to get holy water from the spring.

The Indians have not taken advantage of the truck to buy pottery wholesale and market it directly in the smaller towns, selling from the truck in the plaza as some of the wholesale fruit truckers do. Another operation which they have failed to profit from is buying the wheat harvest and selling to government warehouses, as some of the Ladino truckers do.

44 Lack of capital is the major reason for failure to exploit these opportuni-
471 ties. In marketing the contraband liquor, which is the most flourishing of
273 the new enterprises, the Indians have not yet entered into the external
443 markets except in the case of one young unmarried mother. Wholesale
434 purchases are made by Ladinos, primarily women, from other towns who resell the liquor in Comitán and on the coast. There is however, a well-de-
[675] veloped home market since all contracts are sealed with the offering of liq-
[681] uor, the "gift of the gods," all court fines are paid in liquor, and the main
[583] gift in betrothal is liquor. The cantinas with phonograph players opened
[275] by the cooperatives operate very successfully on Saturday night and during
[216] fiestas. The internal market for liquor is controlled by a syndicate of the
[548] forty-two independent liquor distillers. The price is set at 4 pesos per liter
[435] for all buyers, with the buyer providing the bottle.

Agricultural production is not geared to a market, and Indians do not
241 take advantage of fluctuations in price. Wheat yields a lower return per
442 unit of land than corn, but it is grown for two reasons: the Indians believe
443 that crop rotation of corn and wheat prevents depletion of the soil, and wheat requires less work since no cultivation is needed. Wheat is a cash crop and none of it is milled or consumed directly in town. Poor families sell their wheat "standing" to Teopisca truckers. The price given the
[435] grower is usually about 90 pesos per hundred kilograms, and it is resold at 110 or 120 pesos in Tuxtla or to the government storehouses. Wheat is sometimes brought directly to San Cristóbal millers who give 120 per hundred kilograms. Corn is primarily a subsistence crop when grown in the center. Corn grown in hot country ejido land is now sold in Teopisca and
[489] San Cristóbal. The local truck cooperative has a special permit which gives

556 but his style of living is indistinguishable from theirs. The only difference
622 [23] is the larger number of dogs he keeps to guard his wealth stored in the form of surplus crops in the eaves of his house.

179 The kind of economic change occurring in Tzo'ontahal fits the model
178 of a moving equilibrium. Tightly controlled behavioral schema preserve
433 the traditional productive activities in pottery and agriculture. They pro-
434 vide the framework into which the new enterprises are fit. Increasing de-
621 pendence of cosumption choices on external markets is slowly transform-
323 ing the content but not the pattern of community life. This kind of change is limited to societies that form a distinct corporate group. In an open society where many alternatives are available, the painful process of accommodation of the new to a customary pattern would probably not be undertaken given the tendency for social change to follow the course of least resistence. The absorption of economic innovation in Tzo'ontahal illustrates the ability of closed corporate communities to participate in commercial undertakings and reformulate them to fit their own pattern.

[i.e., the richest man in town. - Analyst]

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591
593 parents. This role is institutionalized and the youngest child is referred to
[192] as *k'oJ*, the last one.

591
593 The choice of residence after marriage is influenced by the following
182 factors:

1. The couple live with whatever family has less pressure from immature siblings remaining in the household. If there is no other child in one family, there is a strong likelihood that the new family will remain in that household.

591
182 2. If there is any wealth difference, the couple tends to live with the
434 richer family. "Wealthy" families prefer to have their children live near them and will make an effort to build a house within their compound or nearby.

Table 15. Trends in Household Composition, 1958–1964

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	Alannantik		*Ahk'olnantik*		*Total*	
Family type	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*
Remained the same						
Nuclear	49	76	38	57	87	67
Virilocal	7	11	11	16	18	14
Uxorilocal	4	6	7	11	11	9
Joint sib	1	2	1	2	2	1
Grandparent-grandchild	1	2	2	3	3	2
Incomplete	2	3	7	11	9	7
Total	64	100	66	100	130	100
Percent of all families		44		34		39
New families created						
Nuclear	16	89	48	88	64	88
Uxorilocal	1	5.5	1	2	2	3
Incomplete	1	5.5	6	10	7	9
Total	18	100	55	100	73	100
Percent of all families		12		28		21
Families which changed *	64	44	74	38	138	40
Total number of families	146	100	195	100	341	100

* Direction of change indicated in Table 16.

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The relationship of respect and obedience between parents and children 593
is expected to last throughout life. When a boy reaches the age of eight- 582
teen, his parents are expected to provide him with a wife. Wealthier fami- 434
lies tend to fulfill this obligation at an earlier age than do poorer families, 583
in which the boy may have to work in the fincas or in the sawmills to acquire the money for his own marriage.

Instruction in sexual behavior and reproduction is not characterized by 864
continuity, as is instruction about work tasks. Children are given no information about sex prior to marriage, and girls remain entirely innocent. They may be pregnant several months before they are aware of what is happening. The complete sexual segregation in work tasks and play during adolescence makes the relationship between sexes strained.

Even after marriage, the parents are concerned with maintaining their 593
child's marital situation, or, if they judge their child's spouse to be incorri- [586]
gible, to help him get rid of his partner. In the case of women, in particu- [736]
lar, parents continue to provide a refuge in case a daughter's husband should die, be sent to prison, or prove incompatible. Parents usually accompany their children if they are called into court, and failure to attend is tantamount to admitting the guilt of the child.

In successful marriages, the parents-in-law are equivalent to parents and 593
are called "mother" and "father." The parents of both spouses attend the 606
life crisis ceremonies of their children and grandchildren. Grandparents 603
provide support and care for grandchildren if their parents should die or remarry.

When parents reach the age of about sixty-five, they are no longer ex- 593
pected to work actively. A man will then distribute all of his land and ani- 888
mals among his children. He will expect to be taken care of by all of his children, but special responsibility falls on the youngest who will inherit [428]
the house. Sometimes aged parents move from one of their children's [591]
houses to another, spending a few months or years with each. Children are [755]
expected to pay for any curing ceremonies necessary in their parents' old [764]
age and to provide a good funeral appropriate to their wealth. Failure to [626]
do this incurs loss of respect with the neighbors and collateral relatives of the deceased. If the parents die after they have distributed their posses- 593
sions, the crisis following the death is minimal. At the funeral, mature 764
children of a deceased parent exhibit to the community their filial respect.

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The principle of balancing posts according to residence in the dual division is maintained in the traditional civil posts but fails to be effective again in the case of the president. Increasing population in the upper division meant that the expensive post of alférez had to be filled primarily from the side with the highest population. This unbalancing of the sharing of these burdensome posts eventually led to revolt and the post was abolished. Since it was the key post in learning prayers, its loss may mean the end of the traditional rituals in the home.

The hierarchy fails to provide sufficient prestige or power to motivate people voluntarily to undertake some posts. The most vulnerable post was that of alférez. In fulfilling obligations to the saints, alfereces used to spend over 3,000 pesos, twice the normal income of a man in one year. They were assisted by members of their immediate households either in loans or in the sale of pottery to help pay for the house fiestas. The show of wealth at these fiestas, when up to one hundred guests were fed, excited the envy of neighbors, often among the invited guests. It was felt that this provoked witchcraft, and every former alférez I knew maintained that he suffered some catastrophe following his year in office. In the last few years before its demise in 1966 the post was accepted only under duress, and all those who had been nominated at first chose to go to jail. The reason that it survived as long as it did was the insistence of those officials who served in this post that it was essentail to maintaining good fiestas. The resolution of the contradictions by abolishing the post contrast with that of Zinacantan, where men sought the prestige-conferring posts that involved large expenditures of money as a validation of wealth (Cancian 1965).

Another contradition which minimizes the motivation to undertake the traditional posts is that the highest post in the ladder, that of principal, is one associated with embarrassment and shame rather than prestige. Shorn of his roles in decision-making and in guarding public funds, the principal is reduced to holding the plate in which donations for the major fiestas are placed. The ceremonial role of the principales will probably survive, however, since the old men of the community who have retired from active work in the fields enjoy the drinking sessions in the cabildo sufficiently to compensate for the shame associated with the role.

The internal structural contradictions have to be considered in the con-

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794 796 *Judge: "By force you must receive it. You do not have to give as much. You only have to receive the sacred banner."*

Nominee: "But if I don't give a fiesta, the pueblo will speak badly of me."

Judge: "It is not important what the pueblo says. Pardon us, let us drink a little trago."

[273] [*All the officers drank, contributing jointly to buy the liquor. Each officer took one sip from the measure, but the nominee drank the entire measure on each round. When he became intoxicated, he yielded to the persuasions of the officials and agreed.*]

Nominee: "Good. I am going to see how it goes."

[*The two regidores carried the new alférez to his house.*]

794 796 The activities of the alférez in preparation for the fiesta during which he was installed in his post are summarized below.

434 462 323 Making pottery. *The new alférez prepared for the fiesta by organizing his household to make the pottery that was to be sold to cover the expenses. His brothers and brothers-in-law went on horseback bringing fifteen or twenty loads of clay. The women got the sand, carrying it back with the tumpline. The men went on horseback again to collect the limestone temper, which the women would grind and mix with the clay for cooking pots. The next week, the alférez went with a gift of 2 pesos' worth of bread and one liter of liquor to ask the woman who knew how to make large ollas, pots in which the festal foods are cooked, to help him. The sisters and sisters-in-law of both the alférez and his wife joined together to grind the temper and mix the clay. In addition to the special large pots, the women made bowls, soup plates, and water jugs to sell.*

When the pottery was ready to be fired, the men brought the wood and the women tended to the firing. After the pots were fired, the men sold them in the markets of San Cristóbal or Comitán. They usually made about 26 pesos per dozen, which netted them about 900 pesos.

794 782 Learning the pat'o'tan. *Each evening, an elder of the family of the alférez who knew the pat?o?tan, or prayer, came to teach him. This*

ginal to the community, either a foreign Indian, as in the case of Augustín, or a Ladino, as in the cases of the secretary and schoolmaster described below. The only indigenous candidate for the role was recently killed. It provokes too much envy for someone socialized in the community; fear of being accused and even killed as a witch or a power-seeker is justified by several such precedents. Those with the skills to become caciques have until recently been effectively incorporated in the existing hierarchy as firmanetik.

Second, the cacique is a gatekeeper, channeling information, goods, and services from the outside to the members of the community. In this capacity, he prefers to pose as a benefactor when he may actually be no more than the distributor of government welfare goods and services.[4]

Third, the role of cacique is one in which the incumbent operates in a local sphere, but depends upon a network of compadrazgo and professional ties outside of the community to assure his position in the community. He must be sufficiently aware of the local idiom in order to avoid making enemies.

Finally, the role is monopolistic. This results in part from the fact that the outside world prefers to deal with a single representative for reasons of expediency. However, new governmental agents are more and more dealing directly with Indians, a factor which has shaken the position of the cacique. The monopolistic quality of the position also stems from the fact that the profit to be gleaned from the community is small. A Ladino from a neighboring town commented that it was worth the time of only one man to exploit an Indian community of the size of Tzoʔontahal. The extractable profit is diminishing as the Indians become more aware of their rights.

The change in character and range of activities of local caciques is illustrated by the recent careers of two residents of Tzoʔontahal. In the 1950s and until 1964, the Ladino secretary, Don Ramon, had filled the role of cacique. He took advantage of this role not only by collecting a salary and a percentage of court fees, but also by earning money for using his influence in Ladino official circles outside the community. He lent money for interest and subsidized some enterprises such as growing cabbages with Indian partners.

4. Goldrich (1965) points to this tactic of politicians who distribute government goods as though they were their own gifts.

621 593 581 794 Familial role requirements must be fulfilled in order for public roles to be undertaken. A man must be married in order to enter into even the lowest posts in the civil and religious hierarchies.

794 556 434 554 Only in the case of the alfereces has wealth ever been a criterion for recruitment. These four officials had to be able to spend 3,000 pesos during their year in office. The heavy expenditures failed to give prestige to the official, and the display of wealth excited envy rather than respect. The result was that people called upon to accept the post had to be imprisoned before they would accept.

554 756 Recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on innate qualities; special skills and knowledge are attributes acquired in office or other role positions rather than requirements for undertaking roles. Curers are recruited because they are recognized as having an animal spirit; they learn whatever skills are required after they have been initiated into the profession. The curers' special position in the society rests more on esoteric powers than on esoteric knowledge. Everyone in the com- [298] munity knows the herbs and medicines which are prescribed, and most men can give as comprehensive a taxonomy of illnesses as any practicing curer.

868 241 [857] [883] Economic roles, though largely undifferentiated for each sex, are consciously learned and transmitted. Boys accompany their fathers or elder brothers to the field at about the age of eight and continue working with them until they reach independence. Observation of behavior alone would seem to indicate an unconscious absorption of the role of agricultural worker, but informants recount episodes in which training in field work was explicitly transmitted by their fathers or brothers, and formal approval of their ability to do the tasks announced to their mothers. Parents [871] express fear that school attendance not only interferes with working in the milpa, but that it will cause the child to forget what he has learned in the field. Regardless of what other tasks a man performs, he thinks of himself as a farmer.

868 323 Becoming a potter requires an even more explicit training procedure. The fine linguistic segmentation of each act and movement in the schedule of pottery-making is a clue to the explicit transmission of tasks by the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The assumption that leisure is a concept unique to highly civilized societies is denied by peasant behavior in this community and many others like it in which the members are masters of the greater part of their time. What differentiates their scheduling of leisure-time activities from that of most western societies is that theirs is based on community decisions rather than individual predilections and that it is set in the frame of sacred rather than secular performances. Community standards are most notable in the way people dress for fiestas: women wear their newest embroidered blouses; their hair is neatly braided with ribbons. Men wear a kotonču with their cleanest shirt and pants. The children, except for the youngest, wear clothes like the adults'. Villagers "care for" the celebration by sitting on their porches, greeting neighbors, smoking and talking. When a public performance is held in the church or plaza, they participate as observers. Arduous work of any kind is proscribed. Special foods are prepared and served at regular mealtimes. A special mark of all days of fiesta is the serving of fermented corn beverage. Meat or chicken is more likely to be served on Sundays and holidays than on other days.

461 626 796 [291] [302] [291] [273] [262]

Timing as a Strategy in Interpersonal Relations

571 805 [461]

The preferred mode of action is "slow and soft." This applies to motion, especially in rituals, as well as to the scheduling of actions in a series of negotiations. The people are sensitive to the use of time in bargaining as an index to the relative resources of the negotiators. Withholding power in the market gives a marked price advantage in the sale of crops. Sale in advance of harvest means a loss of one-quarter to one-half of the price which could be gained if the crop was sold after it was cut, and corn sometimes doubles in value if withheld for six months or more. Interest as a time payment for the use of money is accepted on the basis that the borrower could put it to work. There is no feeling against the evil of usury, although the rates are relatively high in town—five percent per month.

571 434 805 571 805 [426]

This understanding of time as an indicator of relative strength extends to social functions. Time serves as an interval to build confidence on the part of both parties entering into contractual arrangement. In the betrothal, both parties are prepared for a long series of visits before the suit

[584]

621 Among its duties are those of keeping vital statistics for
659 the National Population Bureau which are sent to the state office,
692 solving cases of adultery and theft, collecting the fiesta and
351 Eiido taxes, keeping the streets clean, building and repairing
363 roads and public buildings, and also taking charge of the local
491 jail. Ayuntamiento officers are also called in to prevent or solve
344 witchcraft cases and give advice and reprimands to misbehaving
754 wives, sons and other relatives when the household or the responsible
626 relatives cannot deal with the case on their own.

621 The Ayuntamiento also keeps its own corn field, worked by
423 communal labor, whose crop is sold to collect funds for its own
432 expenses.
434

794 The Mayordomia, or religious body, performs the formal activities on the religious holidays, is the custodian of the sacred objects (rockets, church keys, bells) connected with the Church, and the authority which carries out the tasks required by all of man's peaceful relations with the supernatural on the village level.

They are responsible as a group for the upkeep of the Church building and saint images, and the preparations for and the performance of Church Fiestas, regular church meetings, etc. Among their duties are those of providing meals for the priest while he is in town, helping during mass, contracting musicians and collecting the Church limosna during mass.

621 This structural level lacks monopoly of either of these functions in relation to other less inclusive social units. Social control and religious activity are carried on at the level of the barrio, the extended family, and within the household, and religious activity can be carried on by individuals.

423 necessary to plant it. In some land more seed is necessary, so a
433 tablón, a measure of how much seed is planted in a parcel, tends to be about a hectare, but can also be irregular in shape or somewhat larger or smaller.

434 Ideological and Sanctioning Mechanisms

Even if a domestic group manages to accumulate profits from the extra work of its members, the forced assumption of fiesta obligations and cargos (Officerships) inhibits capital accumulation and redistributes the profits back into the community in the form of consumable goods: food, alcohol, cohetes, etc.
621 The assumption of the cargos requires a certain amount of capital
556 to spend on the expenses attached to the post, so it is likely that a household head who has managed to save some extra money is going to be called to perform his duties as an officer rather than the other men with less wealth and equal qualifications.

621 In terms of economic and political bases for differentiation, then, the communities are egalitarian. Villagers insist that everybody is just like everybody else: "we are all equal, we all follow the customs, we are all poor, we are all agriculturalists,
621 we are all Indians, just the same," they say. Nevertheless, they
183 would also admit that some people are good and some "have bad hearts," and therefore would not follow the customs, or would try to become richer by getting involved in economic enterprises which are not Indian (such as buying or selling for high profit, or lending money, or becoming store clerks). They would imitate the Ladinos in their speech, dress or their house layout, become "alzados"

NM would inherit the cattle, but there is no assurance that the animals would not rapidly die: the children may not have the father's suerte to raise cattle, but one of them may have it to grow beans.

Good suerte is a concept attached also to certain skills: if a man has that special suerte, he can have a mano fría (cold hand) which is necessary to castrate or brand animals without having their wounds get infected. In addition, a woman can become a midwife because she has the suerte to deliver babies. On the contrary, a person with bad suerte can have a mano caliente (hot hand), and be unable to carry on such tasks.[1]

156 754 777 Then, ideologically, people belong to two opposite categories. On the one hand, there are those with "small hearts" and witchcraft powers. On the other hand, there are good people with suerte. If a man is well thought of, the villagers say he has suerte. If they dislike him, they say he is a witch.

Every villager has to gamble carefully and weigh his odds, balancing his behavior in such a way as to avoid the "misjudgement" of his fellow villagers. The better they know and like him, the more likely it is that they would think that he has suerte. The more he creates enemies, the higher his probability of being

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[1]There are many part-time specialists in the village who do [463] their work for neighbors and relatives at irregular intervals, [934] never as a life specialization, except in a few cases such as midwives. Women may castrate chickens, or be called in as cooks at fiesta time. Men may be good at branding horses, roofing, etc. None of these jobs contributes substantially to the household income, except for the roles of carpenter, midwife and curer. Curers, however, are a separate category altogether, being ritual specialists "known" to have metaphysical powers.

241 592 462 Each man tries to cultivate enough food to make his household self-sufficient the whole year around.

241 868 The younger males of a household are initiated into the agricultural work by their fathers and elder brothers who work with the household head in the same fields. Around the age of ten, they are expected to leave grammar school and the children's playground, and to start learning their life trade: the techniques of cultivation. [582] No young male is capable of marrying if he is not capable of bearing on his shoulders the economic burden of supporting a household with his labor in the fields.

241 433 434 In addition to producing enough corn for the consumption of his homestead, a man is expected to cultivate some surplus which the household can exchange in the local markets and stores for the manufactured goods and staples which they need: machetes, candles, needles, coffee and various other commodities. Moreover, [464] if the household is in need of extra cash to pay for the expenses of a burial, a wedding, or any other emergency expenditure, he is expected to earn it by selling his labor to other men in the village for wages, or by working for short periods of time in the sugar cane plantation of Pujiltic. (Usually between one and two weeks of wage work will cover such emergencies. See Fig. 5.)

562 The women of Aguacatenango are economically dependent on their male relatives: father, husband, siblings and adult male 462 children. The women have many responsibilities; they are in charge of cooking and cleaning, sewing the family clothes, gathering [231] firewood for the hearth, and educating the young. They are also [241] in charge of feeding the small livestock which is kept in the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77]

462 [231] [241] sitio (household territory): pigs and chickens, and the cultivation of the rudimentary gardens within the back patios. These gardens do not have great economic importance. Women plant chiles, cilantro, chayotes, té limón, mostaza, and sometimes even beans and a small milpa for elote (tender corn), but gardening is not a serious occupation: most women only plant two of three varieties of plants, a little bush of flavor herbs for the beans, some medicinal plant, or some flowers to ornament the house altar. Many backyards just grow wild, and the collection of its products is mainly "gathering in one's backyard" rather than harvesting (see Fig. 6).

[434] By selling the products of the small garden, some eggs, or fruits, a woman can contribute to the household cash income, but this money is considered somewhat of a luxury. The extra cash can be used to buy some clothes before a fiesta, or a new pot, or a similar item, but women are not expected to support their families: this is the basic responsibility of the family men.

166 462 464 Women have very few cultural alternatives for transforming their labor into a substantial income. Young single girls whose parents are too poor to support them, or who are alocadas (lightheaded) and desire to break away from home, can leave town to go to work as servants in Ladino towns. Wives running away from a mother-in-law who is too strict, or from a drunkard husband, or widows, would occasionally take up this kind of work. This, of course, isolates a woman from the village, and is a form of self-imposed exile. Working for Ladinos is a somewhat awe inspiring [879] idea. Women "know" or suspect that Ladino men violate Indian

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 79]

166 462 464 [829] women and that Ladino women mistreat their servants. Working in towns is remembered, by those who have done it, as a strange mixture of carefree economic independence and innumerable small humilitations and suffering. Its lack of attractiveness is well reflected in the fact that, from a random sample of sixty-eight households, only fourteen women have worked outside their homes (see Fig. 5).

562 462 434 [464] [275] The only women who are the bread-winners or heads of their homes are forced to do so because they have no male relatives to provide for them. In this case, they have few alternatives open to them, the two most common being: 1) acting as a servant (already discussed above), or 2) selling liquor in their houses to the men of the village. This second occupation is not very well [558] thought of by the villagers, trago sellers being gossiped about as being bold women, "sexy" females who enjoy the company of drunks and men married to other women.

Amatenango

462 323 438 [241] [434] In Amatenango, the division of labor presents a very different picture. The whole village of Amatenango is a pottery factory because, in addition to the household income derived from the agricultural work of the village men, each Amatenango woman is a pottery producer.

Pottery that is made for selling is neither a choice, nor a part-time job, nor an individual specialization, but a town specialty. All women in Amatenango are expected to know how to make pots, and to make them. The women of each household

462 distribute their work so that while one takes care of the regular
323 home tasks: cooking, caring for the young, cleaning, etc., the
438 other can occupy herself in gathering clay, coiling or modeling. Most steps in the production of pots are arranged in an "assembly line" style, with the women distributing their individual work according to the needs of the stage of the productive activity. Some of these steps, such as firing, require their close and alert cooperation to be carried on successfully. Pottery production [434] represents about half of the income of each independent household, with some slight variation, because households richer in land produce less pots than poorer ones.

Comparison

433 Pottery production in the hands of the women shapes the
184 economic landscape of Amatenango very differently than the one of
241 Aguacatenango. In the first place, agriculture is a business where
433 the risks are high and the profits unstable. The agricultural production of the villages depends on many uncontrollable factors. Too little rain or too much, too early rain or too late, worm pests or wild animals, can ruin the year's crop. The villagers try to insure the risks of a bad year by planting in as many different types of fields as they can. They plant in the hot country where the crops mature fast, and in the high, cold country where the maturation process is slow but the corn, of a hardier variety, is more resistant to weather conditions. They plant irrigated land to insure water if rain is missing, and in temporal to insure against the drying up of the sources of irrigated water. But even

then, each season is a question mark, an equally unpredictable year of plenty or a lean year.

In Amatenango, when the crop fails or is poor, the income of the villagers can be compensated by producing more pottery. This is obviously not so in Aguacatenango. If hunger threatens the families, the result is a higher migration rate or an increase in the number of men leaving town to work part-time in the fincas. The result of having an alternative form of income within the homestead in Amatenango is that the village keeps its income more balanced year after year, and that the village as a whole has a reputation of being richer than the other communities.

In Aguacatenango, the women are an economic burden. The men are very aware that they themselves "do all the work." Women have long and leisurely afternoons which are spent sitting on their porches grooming, chatting, or visiting. Men complain of this, saying "Women cannot realize how hard a man has to work. They complain of not having this or that, but they do not know. . . ." In Amatenango, on the contrary, women are important producers, men and women sharing, equally, the responsibility of supporting their families.

Thus, in the one case, Aguacatenango, the work of women has a marginal, undeterminate value in an economic milieu in which they have no cultural alternatives to convert their labor into goods or subsistence necessities; in the other case, Amatenango, the labor input of women represents about half of the total productive efforts of the villagers.

184 562 462 434 This contrasting economic picture has many effects in the structuring of social relations because it places the women of the two villages in very different positions with respect to their male relatives, and at crucial points in the life of an individual, determines, to a large extent, his choice of alternative behavior.

It is important to make clear that I am not suggesting that economic factors are the determinant of all social life. The specialization of Amatenango in pottery making is not only an economic, but a social and historical phenomenon as well. The basic economic organization of the villages of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is treated here as a given cultural factor. There is nothing in the ecology of Aguacatenango or Amatenango, or in the economic system itself, that "requires" that the women of the one village should be marginal producers while the women in the other are not.[1] This is a given fact. The factors that determined the present division of labor in the villages are not known to me, and I do not pretend that it is due to some primary economic cause.

128 But, if I take the division of labor and the economic structure of the village as given variables, then I can ask myself to what extent it is followed by adjustments in other cultural norms. It is here where my problem lies.

I am going to attempt to describe, in the rest of this work, how, and under what circumstances, certain social choices which have become normative are related to the economic life of

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[1]Some of the clay deposits are located in Aguacatenango territory. But, Aguacatecos do not exploit them.

184 562 462 592 used as a cash crop) or livestock. He decides when and where to plant what, who should buy or sell any household property, when to go to market, etc. If a son is living with his father, he 592 593 562 can talk about "our cow," but he is usually referring to his father's animal. In the same way, when a woman who is single talks about "our maize," she is referring to the maize cultivated by her father and brothers and stored by her mother. If she is married, she means the maize produced by her father-in-law and husband, and controlled by her mother-in-law.

592 593 562 [606] The eldest woman in the household has authority over the younger females residing within it, including the daughter-in-law, because during the period in which a married man resides with his parents, the wife, being the younger, is under the direct [251] authority of her husband's mother. The elder woman controls the food given to her by her husband and son, and she keeps it stored in the tapanco (roof granary). She selects the food for the meals, and sets up the housekeeping schedule for the younger women in the homestead.

592 593 434 562 Women "keep" the money that their husbands earn at home. They are supposed to save it, and not spend any of it without the husband's permission. They do control small amounts of cash which they can obtain by selling eggs, fruits or some vegetables that they grow in the garden. They are allowed to spend it on some luxuries: new clothes for a fiesta, a new pot, or something similar, but they are not expected to take care of themselves.

59 562 Before marriage, a woman is supported by her father and brothers, and lives under her father's roof. After marriage, she is

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421 her before making important decisions, and allow her to handle some of the household property, such as the selling of pigs.

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593 But even under the best conditions, the position of a woman is de facto lower than the position of men. If her husband gets drunk and beats her up, she is not supposed to complain, but accept it as part of her role. One of our informants said that once she scolded her husband for drinking, and he said: "I am not
593 asking you for the money." If he is unfaithful, she has no real
586 way of controlling his behavior except by leaving his house, run-
837 ning away to San Cristóbal to work for a few days as a servant or breaking up the marriage.

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562 In Amatenango, the pottery making village, the situation
434 is quite different. First, women are economically independent,
592 being able to make a living without a male in the household.
421 Second, they control the profits made by the household from the sale of pottery and from the sale of cash crops such as chayotes which they plant in their gardens. In many cases, they own the house in which they live with their husband and children. They contribute as much as their male siblings to the support of the whole domestic group while they were living in their family's home, and it is possible for them to inherit both land and cattle, a fact which reinforces the equivalent standing between women and their male siblings.

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593 Adultery in Amatenango has strong reactive sanctions for
[837] both men and women, and a "wife is considered within her rights to order an erring husband out of the house." "Women do not tolerate

423 593 [432] [184] The reasons for keeping a son are not as pressing as the reasons for keeping a daughter. Amatenango land holdings are somewhat smaller than Aguacatenango, and the buying and selling of agricultural parcels, as long as it does not involve outsiders to the village, is a common practice which accounts for approximately 16 per cent of land transactions. The

423 241 592 464 limited land holding units in Amatenango require minimal cooperation in agriculture. Because of fractured land holdings, fewer than one-half of the households have two tablones . . . of land. Therefore, fewer than one-half the households can keep more than one man actively employed. Even in those households with from two to five tablones, a man and his adult son are sufficient labor for most activities except harvest. 592 323 434 868 [582] [178] Women's pottery production, however, requires frequent cooperation. Two tendencies are reinforcing the cooperation of women, especially of mothers and daughters: (1) with increasing need for cash income to buy products which are not longer produced in the home, or which have been introduced, money is constantly needed. Pottery offers an easy means of acquiring cash with almost immediate returns, and (2) marriages are currently contracted at a later age for girls than formerly. Before, about a generation ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve were the rule. Most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques begins at that age. Consequently, pottery was taught to the daughter by the mother-in-law if the girl was married and resided in the husband's house. [114] (See Frans Blom and Oliver LaFarge [1927] who commented that all pottery was taught by the mother-in-law.) Most marriages now are contracted for girls from 14 to 17 years of age. At this time they are already proficient potters, and accustomed to working with their mother. Therefore, there is a greater stress put on their remaining in or near their parental home after marriage (Nash, J., 1960:47).[1]

592 868 323 The people of Amatenango recognize that during the period in which a woman learns to make pottery, she establishes particular habits of cooperation and a strong solidarity bond with the woman from whom she learns and with whom she works. "Parents say that there is an advantage in early marriages, in that the girl would be more willing to learn the ways of her mother-in-law if she

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[1] It is also important to notice that with the increase in [161] population over the area, the market has increased.

591 868 323 takes up residence in her husband's house" (Nash, J., 1960:28) at an age in which she is not fully trained in pottery production. [582] At the same time, "mothers prefer to keep their daughters at home at least until the age of fourteen if there is no economic necessity in the family" (Nash, J., 1960:28).

592 434 433 323 Pottery production as a source of income is not equally important for all households. (1) Households with more children produce less pottery, because "child care compete with pottery making for a woman's time." (2) Households with more women produce more pottery because the different tasks of the woman: pottery making, child care, and house maintenance, can be best distributed among them during the day. (3) The motivation to work at pottery production is stronger in poorer households, "because alternative sources of income are less, and more of the family subsistence must come from pottery making." (4) Households with more men and land produce less pottery. First, land needs men to work it, and a single man cannot work much, or lay claim to government Ejido land of any considerable size. "In richer households (in terms of land and cattle) there is sufficient milpa raised that corn need not be bought, and the need for continuous cash income is not so pressing. This has also a circular effect: richer households tend to be able to keep more children alive; with more children to care for, women devote less time to pottery." "Conversely, poorer households depend upon pottery income, have fewer children, and less experience with prolonged periods of little or no pottery production" (Nash, M., 1961:188).

200 If the woman's work in pottery is a crucial factor in

591 If the woman's work in pottery is a crucial factor in
592 making residence choices, then poorer households, which depend
323 more on pottery sales as an important source of income, should
434 also show more emphasis on having the daughters stay at home
361 after marriage, and therefore, the incidence of uxorilocal residence and matrilocal proximity of women should be higher.

361 Within Amatenango "there are clusters of bilaterally re-
602 lated kin which form neighborhood groups. Two of these neighborhoods are spatially set apart from other houses of the barrio
361 and are named" (Nash, J., 1960:32). One of them, the neighbor-
591 hood of Santa Cruz, is composed of households which show greater
434 poverty in comparison with the rest of the village. As it was hypothesized, Santa Cruz also shows a greater incidence of matrilocal proximity. The correlation between lack of household wealth (which increases the importance of woman's pottery making) and residential proximity of a woman to her maternal home is statistically significant at the .001 level (see Table 16).

361 On the other hand, one should also expect the married men
591 to live further apart from their own parents because (1) those who
166 stay at home would reside and work with their wife's relatives,
434 and (2) it is said that some of the men of the neighborhood are
464 forced by their poverty to migrate to the lowlands seeking work in the ranches, and may stay there permanently. This hypotheses is confirmed; the correlation is significant at the .05 level of confidence (see Table 16).

361 The result of poverty in this neighborhood is that while
591 for the community as a whole 49 per cent of the women live in the
434 same neighborhood as their parents, in Santa Cruz 67 per cent of

[Text continued on p. 162]

the women do so, and while 63 per cent of the men in the village live in close patrilocal proximity, only 40 per cent of the men in Santa Cruz live near their parents (see Table 16).

Residence of Widows

Another striking contrast between Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women, in the latter, as household heads, and their residence after they become widows.

First, because in many cases a woman owns the house in which she lives with her husband and children, she is not obliged to move out of the site if her husband dies, as she is in Aguacatenango. Second, she does not need an adult man in the household to be able to support herself and the children because she is able to meet the economic demands of the domestic groups from her own labor in pottery production. The result of women's economic independence is that many of them are the heads of their own households. Out of 280 households, 39 have female heads, and 25 do not contain any adult men (the others contain younger sons-in-law). This also means that all corn is bought; there is no income derived from agriculture, but only from pottery sales. In Aguacatenango, where all income derives directly or indirectly from agriculture, this situation is inconceivable: there are no households without men, nor households in which a female is the absolute head of the unit.

The Marriage Transactions and the Household

In Aguacatenango, a man selects his future spouse and his father arranges the marriage for him. At the ceremonial visits

583 which are exchanged between future parents-in-law, the bride-
584 price or bocado is paid. The bocado is fixed: 300 pesos in goods.

582 Parents try to marry off their daughters within their own
184 economic level to provide a similar standard of living for them.
434 They will strongly refuse to give them to a poorer household if they are not very poor themselves. If the household is very poor, the first solution is to marry off the daughters, since they are consumers who do not contribute to the household income. If a poor household cannot find a husband for a daughter within the village, they will even give her to an outsider, for example, to a man from La Palizada. This is viewed as an unfortunate, but inevitable, choice. La Palizada is a settlement in the high, cold
[595] country. It is very poor. A woman marrying into it is viewed with pity because La Palizada men are polygamous and their wives work in the cornfields with them. Of two cases of marriages with La Palizada which we know about (one in the past and another that is contemporary), the only reason given for the marriage was the poverty of the households.

582 If a young man in town insists on marrying the daughter of a couple richer than his own household, they will refuse because
583 "the girl is not used to the hardships." If the girl decides on her own that she likes the man, the usual procedure is elopement at night to the boy's house. In this case, a poor man can get a richer bride without the bride-price, but he does not get any of the economic advantages shared by her family. The girl is cut-off from any social interaction with her family of orientation. Later, if the marriage proves stable, the young deviant couple can attempt

583 to reconcile themselves with the wife's parents by paying the agradecimiento (thankfulness payment), half of the established bride-pride. In those cases, it is considered that the full bride-price is not necessary "because the couple was already [591] living together." It follows that elopement cases are always patri-virilocal in residence.

592 562 582 434 In Amatenango, where women are important laborers, the household considers them an economic asset. They will not marry them off early except in case of extreme need, and they will use their marriage to form economic alliances with households at other levels of wealth. If they are not interested in keeping her because there is another married child in the household but they do not have immediate economic need, they will wait and try to marry her into a richer household. If they are interested in keep- 591 583 ing her in the unit as a producer, they will marry her to a poorer man and ask him to come and reside uxorilocally. When the residence choice at the time of the marriage is patri-virilocal, the bride-price is much higher than in Aguacatenango: 1,000 pesos rather than 300. Unfortunately, we do not know what the amount of the bride-price is, if it is anything at all, when residence after marriage is matri-uxorilocal.

582 191 The contrast between the marriage transactions in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is not unique to these two villages, but seems to be a recurrent structural pattern when there are differences in the labor market for women. Tax (1953) reports a similar contrast for Guatemala. In Panajachel, where women's labor has a high value, "marriages tend to cross wealth lines, with a man of a

121 593 previous pages. Homans points out that this ambiguity is neither accidental, nor "natural," but "tends to reappear in societies all over the world in which the family is an important productive unit and the father is the boss" (Homans, 1950:245).

593 [184] The relation son-mother, however, ought to be different in the two communities. In Aguacatenango, a mother has less and less authority over a son the older he grows. While a man is a child, she controls him without discussion, but as he becomes more and more mature, his role as a man, a superior, makes for conflicting social power. On the one hand the mother is older, and therefore has more authority. Yet on the other hand, she is a female, and therefore the son (a male) has more authority. The balancing of authority between the two cancels it out. A son can, if he wishes, completely alienate himself from his mother. She has not much power to punish or sanction him, no property she can withdraw from him. If he misbehaves, she can only try to advise him or complain to her husband. On the other hand, the absence of authority between the two makes the relationship highly affectionate. If a son stays at home or close-by after marriage, the interaction mother-son is frequent and friendly. In many cases the mother will make a coalition with the son against her husband, defending the younger man. Mothers tend to be very partial towards the judgement of their sons' behavior, and sons obtain what they want from the fathers through their mothers.

In Amatenango, the mother has more economic power over the son. She can give him cash for extra needs, and he can inherit [434] [428] land or a house from her, as well as from his father.

562 The inheritance rights of women are highly controversial.
428 All the cases of conflict over the inheritance or rights of usu-
578 fruct of land, that we know about, involved a woman in the line
[183] of transmission. But however controversial, they are an estab-
lished pattern. This is shown in the following cases.

Case 1

159 Delfina is about twenty-four years old, and still single.
592 She was raised by her godmother in San Cristóbal, and her aspira-
593 tions are to become a Ladina. She has consistently refused to
562 marry any Indian man, and lives with her parents in a large com-
554 pound. She is economically self-sufficient (perhaps the only
428 woman in the village which is in the same position), because she
434 works for the INI as a sewing teacher, and her status in the household is quite high due to the fact that she draws a large salary and that her parents are close to senility and dependent on her. Until recently, her married brother lived in the compound with his parents. He insisted that at his parents death he should inherit everything: land, house and animals. Delfina and his father were of the opposite opinion: the house should be for Delfina, since she was supporting them and, as she expressed it: "she did not get married." Faced with the brother's insistence about his traditional rights, the father ordered him out of the household, and he and his wife left town and went to live in
[626] Amatenango. Most villagers, however, think that Delfina is in the wrong. They say that she is alzada (prideful) and loose in her relations with Ladino men (the employees of the INI that come to the village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

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178 lineage (which exists today in many other communities such as
754 Oxchuc), has disappeared. Without the basic belief in the super-
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613 natural controlling powers of the lineage heads, the ritual activities performed by the lineage as a corporation became meaningless, and fell out of use.

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613 Finally, from an economic point of view, the large patriline
434 household-compound, as a productive unit, is unfunctional, and the
421 characteristic form of the domestic group is now the nuclear house-
578 hold, which also contributes to the weakening of patriline strength. Within the nuclear household, it is difficult for its members to discriminate between the part of the household income that is derived from the household head in his capacity as a worker and that which is from his unmarried sons; between those profits which are derived from the household head as a capitalist who has provided tools and implements, and finally those which come from his capacity as "owner" of land. In a larger household, differences in labor in-put, rivalry between the women about the food controlled by themselves and belonging to their husbands, or between the men about the property rights of the produce derived from their common effort, tend to create conflict and disunity. In the
592
594 nuclear household, the division of labor is explicit, the role ex-
578 actly and minimally distributed, and conflict, in the case of its occurrence, is likely to be more quickly solved because the fission of the nuclear domestic group is equivalent to the disappearance of the household itself.

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613 The functions before performed by the lineage are now
592 performed by the household, the community, or by the neighborhood
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8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

42 43 182 571 184 241 323 434 We can safely arrive at the conclusion that some aspects of the economic system play a very important part in the structuring of social relations in the Chiapas communities. The economic factors which are indicated by the natives themselves and have been assessed by us as being crucial correlates of certain patterns of social behavior are:

(1) The unspecialized agricultural system of one village (Aguacatenango) versus the system of agriculture plus pottery production in the other makes the second one a "richer" town with less wealth fluctuation from year to year.

184 182 462 572 566 434 (2) The relative importance of women as bread-winners and producers in the traditional division of labor in one village (Amatenango), results in the fact that labor of women is crucial for the continuity of the domestic group, whereas in Aguacatenango, it is not. This does not mean that Aguacatenango women do not work. It just means that women's work in Aguacatenango, however exhausting, does not have a market in which it can be sold, and it cannot be transformed into subsistence goods or into money, i.e., it has an undeterminate marginal value. This gives the women in one village (Amatenango) economic independence and a higher status

184 vis-à-vis their husbands and male kinsmen, while in Aguacatenango,
182 it makes them economically dependent, and subordinates from a jural
462 point of view. In one case females inherit as men do, in the
592 other, inheritance follows a male line. In one case, they control
562 the same property as men do, in the other, they control only
434 marginal property.
[428]
[421]

(3) The relative importance of a man is labor versus a
184 woman's labor within the domestic unit affects residence. In
182 Aguacatenango, where all important productive activities are in
462 the hands of men, residence is patri-virilocal, and only males are
434 residence sponsors regularly. In Amatenango, where productive ac-
591 tivities are in the hands of both males and females, residence is alternately matri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal, and both males and females can become residence sponsors. In Amatenango, house-
[323] holds that depend more on the women's labor in pottery making are
[241] uxorilocal, while households in which the largest part of the domestic group income is derived from agriculture have post-marital patri-virilocal residence of their members.

184 In Aguacatenango, where all household income is derived
182 from agriculture and residence is patri-virilocal, matri-uxorilo-
434 cality occurs sporadically due to some other economic and non-
591 economic factors: (a) the inheritance of some land in the female
593 line when a daughter structurally replaces a son; (b) the coopera-
428 tive work between father-in-law-son-in-law when they replace the
562 position of father and son for each other; (c) the payment of
602 curing ceremonies and medicines for a sick married woman by her
606 own kin rather than her husband's.
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602 4. In both villages, among consanguineal sponsors, lineal relatives who have immediate economic duties are preferred as sponsors over collaterals.

5. In Aguacatenango, among consanguineal sponsors, agnatically linked relatives are preferred over non-agnatic relatives, while in Amatenango, any consanguineal relative, a matri- or patrilineal one, is an equally likely choice.

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561 6. In both villages, economic dependency is usually assigned within the parental and the children's generation, rather than within the same generation, the result being that residence sponsors are preferred to be from alternate rather than the same generation, and within the same generation, sponsors are selected in terms of seniority over Ego.

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434 7. In both villages, spouses reside together. In Aguacatenango, the residence sponsor is the husband, while in Amatenango, either husband or wife can be sponsors. Males are the only sponsors when they are the only household members responsible for the support of the unit. Women and men are sponsors where both share the economic burden of supporting the household. Women are sponsors when they are the only ones responsible for the economic demands of the domestic group, and when their husbands work with their fathers.

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602 8. Unmarried children reside with both parents, and work with the parent of the same sex. If the parents are separated when the children are small, they stay with the mother. In Aguacatenango, if the mother is dead, a patrilineal sponsor other than

184 591 586 602 the father is preferred, while in Amatenango, both paternal and maternal relatives are equally good choices.

184 736 591 434 9. In Aguacatenango, where widows are incapable of supporting the economic demands of the household by themselves, they choose to reside with a male sponsor in another household, while in Amatenango, they can be self-sponsors and the heads of their own domestic groups.

184 621 582 591 10. In both villages, residence within one's barrio is preferred over residence in any other territorial division. In Amatenango, cross-barrio marriages are accompanied by matri-uxorilocal residence as well as patri-virilocal residence, which results in both men and women residing in a barrio other than their own (11 per cent and 16 per cent respectively). This results in Aguacatenango barrios being related only through the circulation of women between them, while in Amatenango, both men and women are transmitted between families across barrio lines, in both directions.

184 621 602 [592] [613] [562] The structuring of economic and residential sponsorship produces two different types of neighborhoods in the two villages. In Aguacatenango, the neighborhood tends to be a cluster of agnatically linked households, while in Amatenango, it is composed of a set of kindred. The barrio in Aguacatenango, then, is a territorial division containing neighborhoods which are localized agnatic groups, which I call localized patrilines, with few non-relatives and bilateral kinsmen enclaved throughout the blocks; a man does not separate from his territory or barrio, nor from his neighborhood, while a woman circulates within neighborhoods after marriage and even within barrios. In Amatenango, both men and

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9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

men whom the lay sisters assisting the priest have 794
organized to help carry out the Mass and other
church rituals.

Another pair of officials, the *krinsipaletik* or princi- 624
pales, were not mentioned in the category "officials in 554
the townhall" or in that of "officials in the church,"
until I questioned, "Who names the officials?" The
response was, "Principales with the president." In
order to arrive at the higher honorific posts of princi-
pal, one must serve five times in the civil and six
times in the religious posts in the traditional hier-
archy. The principales provide continuity in the [182]
transfer of authority, remaining in the townhall
when the old officials depart to their homes, and pass-
ing over the staffs to the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28,
31). It is a position without power in the day-to-day
administration of affairs. Although the incumbents 624
occupy prestigeful positions and carry out ceremonial 554
acts, many men avoid the office because of the loss of 794
status in carrying out one of their most important
acts, the collection of contributions for the major
fiestas. The two principales must hold the plate into
which the money is turned over by the police, and
this causes "embarrassment." Formerly they were [453]
also bankers, holding the money until it was spent.
This responsibility gave prestige to the act of receiv-
ing the money, now redefined as a sort of begging
operation.

A ceremonial link between the civil and religious 794
wings is the group of officers known as the *alperese-*
tik, alfereces. They are associated with the four major
saints, who are also represented by the *kobrarias* of [776]
Sacramento, Santa Lucia, San Pedro Martyr, and San
Francisco. Their rank order is determined not by the 794
importance of the saint but by the order of entry into 554
office. These are named: *tat pasaro*, the past "father";
ʼil pasaro, remains past; *sčebal pasaro*, second past;
and *?ałʼ alperes*, new alferez. They sit, move, and are
served in this order wherever they appear. Although 794
tied to a *čʼultat*, spirit father or saint, they function in 554
the townhall in bearing the banners there from the 62 *
church for civil affairs (App. 1, Q. 27), and they pro- 537
vide the post which is crucial for learning the set
speeches useful in all formal occasions, called the
pat?otʼan, 'behind the heart.' Because of the crucial [624]
nature of this speechmaking, no man can progress
into the post of first or second regidor without having
passed through that of alferez. This post is the most 794
difficult to fill because of the high outlay (3000 pesos 434
in one year of average expenditures, about half the 681

[P. 214-B]

average annual earnings of a man in this town); failure to accept the post when it is offered brings a jail sentence. On the following day, during a drinking session in the townhall with the assembled civil officials, the reluctant nominee usually accepts. 794 [434] [681] [273]

The civil career of an individual would be one in which he passed (*sk'as*, which I gloss as 'pass'; it is the same verb as Spanish *pasar*) first as police, then as third or fourth regidor. If he has passed as alferez, he will enter as first or second regidor at this stage, and then go on to second judge and finally become first judge. If not, he will stop as third or fourth regidor. After reaching the peak of his career as first judge, he may return to the police group as *martomorey*. Present leaders of the town consider this an "ugly" custom and say they hope to change it because it puts men of major age in a position of minor importance. Formerly men had to fulfill six turns in civil office, twice as regidor and twice as judge, to be considered free of further obligation. But now, because of increasing population (according to informants), this has been lowered to five required turns. The post which has been eliminated is that of assistant judge, which is now filled by a representative of one of the two barrios. 156 621* 554 693 [794] [829] 624 693 178 156

Throughout his career in office, a household head is expected to alternate between the civil and religious posts. Religious posts are considered less onerous since they require only six months of service, from the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo at the end of June until January 6, and the men are on duty only Sundays and holidays. A balanced number of six turns in each of the branches of the hierarchy was expected, prior to the reduction of the number of civil posts to five, to bring one to the end of one's career. In a census of 311 household heads made in 1964, passage in office shows a balance between posts undertaken in each wing of the hierarchy. Of 13 men over 70 years of age, five had completed service in civil and religious office. Three who had passed as president had served only once or twice in each wing of the hierarchy. The remaining five had a balanced but incomplete career. 621* 156 794 [125]

In the religious hierarchy, a man passes first as *nič'anil kuč haʔ*, 'minor who brings liquor.' Then he will pass as *ʔalisʔbal*, the assistant to the *kobraria*, particularly charged with the slaughter of the bull for the large fiestas. These "servants" were not distinguished from other mayordomos in the initial listing of officers, but were mentioned in the description of fiesta 794 559 156

[P. 215-A]

682 674 75 these suspicions and kill the witch. If he should kill the witch while the patient is still alive, it is believed that the patient will die.

682 685 674 [463] [697] Killing men for cattle theft (six cases) is a relatively recent occurrence. It has put homicide on the market: the associations of cattle-owners have hired killers in three of the six cases. In addition to the killer's fee, they pay the fine to release him from prison. Fines for homicide have increased in the past five years—from 1,000 to 3,000 pesos—but not sufficiently to price the murder of cattle thieves out of the market. A good bull is worth [435] 1,500 pesos, and the threat of further loss by theft seems to justify the expenditure of fees and fines. 685 787 776 When the cattle-owners lose some of their herd, they go to spiritualists or to San Miguel, the talking saint of Ixtapa, to find out who did the stealing. Since such evidence does not hold up in court, legal settlement is not 685 694 attempted. Legal action, moreover, would create an enemy who might seek revenge. A Ladino secretary of the town center who had lost a bull accused a man of stealing his cattle and demanded 500 pesos in compensation. By receiving the money he jeopardized his safety, and eventually he had to leave town.

The Resolution of the Case

682 69 It is nearly impossible to find witnesses to homicide. Of these 37 cases, 28 resulted in no action being taken by the authorities, and in five cases where the killers went to jail, they were released with the payment of minimal fines. In the calculations of the townspeople, it is hardly worth risking one's neck to get such a minimal revenge.

682 593 626 [683] However, this does not mean that homicide goes unnoticed in the community. After a killing the widow sings of the life of the dead man. If she is in agreement with the verdict arrived at by the killer and others, she will deny knowledge of what he has done, or even suggest that she too was aware of what harm he has caused (one widow implied that her husband, killed as a witch, was responsible for the death of four of her six children). If she objects to the verdict, she sings of what a good man he was and how blameless. She will then air her own suspicions in the following weeks as to who killed her husband.

682 683 627 Following the funeral, when the women have left the cemetary, the men sit at the grave. As they measure out a liter of liquor and pass it around, they advance hypotheses as

795 782 In most of the prayers, Dios Tatik Jesucristo and the 13 *fiadores* who are in heaven are mentioned. These 13 fiadores are God's immediate helpers and correspond to the [778] Christian saints. The cross is venerated as a representation of God wherever a prayer is said and so appears on the family altar, on mountaintops, in caves, at fountains, at entrances to the town, at the four corners of the plaza, and in front of the church.

795 778 776 177 The local character of Catholicism is seen in the Masses offered to the mountain called Ikal Ajau, near the ceremonial center of Oxchuc. The Indians say that it is a "living mountain" and give it great reverence, for Ikal Ajau was the name of the idol venerated by Oxchuc people in pre-Hispanic 795 184 776 times. In almost all the municipios the saints are dressed as Indians. Towns with a large Ladino population have different saints for the Ladinos, who are dressed as Ladinos and to whom the Indians are completely indifferent, even to forgetting the names of them.

Fiesta for the Patron Saint

796 794 One of the major events in the religious life of the Indians is the annual fiesta in honor of the patron saint and the other saints kept in the church. The capitán principal and some of his immediate assistants are in charge of the organization and expenses of these fiestas. The length and cost of the fiesta correspond to the importance [435] of the saint and range from one day and 100 pesos to four days and several thousand pesos, like the one for the patron saint. To become a capitán principal a man must go through all the ranks and be able to afford the expenses of any fiesta, from a small one to the very large ones of the patrons.

796 The fiesta of the patron of each village is similar to that for any other saint but larger. There are Masses and other religious observances in the church, processions with the image of the saint along the main streets, large meals at the house of the cargoholders, and, above all, constant drink-

[P. 221-B]

[Text continues on p. 222-B]

571 tions of community members. We now propose to display some of the ways in which further sets of performances, among them drinking, are associated with those already described.

Roles and the procurement of alcohol

273* 571 178 The procurement of alcohol for drinking involves social relationships which have undergone a change within the period of study. Traditionally, Aguacatenangueros have obtained 273* 439 aguardiente--a distilled sugar cane alcohol--by purchase. For many years aguardiente was manufactured by ladinos in San Cristobal and in Comitan principally for sale to the Indians. Before 1940, one ladino family established a liquor monopoly throughout the highlands and with the aid of government liquor inspectors was able to close down all competitors, which meant that production in Comitan and San Cristobal was completely stopped save for the factories of this family. In the first part of this period, then, Aguacatenangueros bought all their aguardiente from Comitan, and it was and still is known as 273* 548 comiteco by Indians and ladinos throughout the area. With the closing down of the several factories that produced aguardiente, Indians--principally Chamulas--began to manufacture the aguardiente in clandestine stills in mountain areas that were apparently difficult to patrol. The monopoly determined price of about 90 [435] pesos a garafón (18 liters) was cut nearly in half by these clandestine operators.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

creased the economic independence of the Indians. The present total of 613 ejidatarios in 1965 has increased 59 percent since the original grant. The dependence of the town's economy on the ejido land can be assessed in the fact that 63 percent of the pasture land is held in ejido grants. The use of land resources in the township is summarized in Table 4. 423 241 311 178

TABLE 4. Agricultural Productivity by Size of Landholding 241 433 311 435

Size of landholding (hectares)	*Weight of produce (kilograms)*	*Value of produce (pesos)*	*Land used (percentage)*
Less than 5 hectares			
Corn	200,000	120,000	83.
Wheat	29,000	27,550	16.8
Fruit	3,000	9,000	.2
1 hectare of ejido land			
Corn	319,688	223,781	49.
Corn (with beans)	30,320	21,224	6.
Beans (with corn)	14,000	17,360	
Wheat	185,580	181,580	28.
Beans	84,322	104,322	17.
More than 5 hectares			
Corn	67,388	45,117	34.
Corn (with beans)	96,550	68,108	51.
Beans (with corn)	42,985	56,740	
Alfalfa	350,000	42,000	4.6
Fruit	14,508	9,720	4.4
Other			6.

SOURCE: 1960 census, Mexico.

According to the 1960 census figures on productivity per hectare, privately owned plots under five hectares yield the highest return in corn (1,097 kgs. per hectare), privately owned plots over five hectares the next highest return (925 kgs. per hectare), and ejido plots of one hectare the least (810 kgs. per hectare). In the census evaluation of wheat and corn production on privately owned plots of less than five hectares, wheat apparently yields a higher return (807 pesos per hectare of wheat compared with 658 pesos per hectare of corn). This relative return is nearly the same for the corn produced on ejido lands (820 pesos per hectare return on wheat compared with 603 pesos for corn). However, this is figured at the maximum market price for wheat of 124 pesos per 100 kgs. 423 433 241 [435]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

maximum market price for wheat of 124 pesos per 100 kgs. The Indians usually sell their wheat at 90 pesos per 100 kgs. to Teopisca truckers, or at best gain 110 pesos per 100 kgs. by bringing it to the mills themselves. From their perspective corn is the more valuable crop, not only from the point of view of subsistence, but also for sale since if they hold it in storage they can sell it at double the price at which the values are calculated in the census (.60 peso per kg.). They do not have facilities to store wheat in order to take maximum advantage of price changes.

The census I made in 1964 of land ownership and use by the 304 families living in the center of the township (Table 5) shows that 47 percent of the households have no land other than the ejido grant of one hectare. Because of the growing population, the land per household has decreased. A comparison with the 1958 census of land ownership of 280 households in the center indicates that 89 families now have less land than they had at that date, 72 have the same amount, and 44 have more land; 99 unknown cases include new families which have been created since the earlier date, families which were no longer in existence in 1964, and households in which there is a lack of data on the question of landholding.

The strong sentiment against the sale of one's own land, well documented in the monographic literature,[2] is expressed here:

If a man sells his land without sickness, people say he is lazy. The best thing to buy if you have money is land. Unlike cattle, it does not die, it does not get lost, and it does not need watching. It is not the same with a horse. When you buy one, you have to watch it and care for it and when it dies, all is over. You lose all your money. But with land, in two years you have the land paid for and it remains as a gift. It gives us what we eat.

Land is rarely sold to outsiders. If a man needs money and has a buyer from out of town, the civil authorities raise the money and buy the plot, selling it in pieces as they find buyers. Only one small plot of land has been sold to an outsider in my knowledge of the community. This plot

2. See Tax (1957), Wagley (1941). Oscar Lewis (1963:125) indicates that in Tepotzlan the breakdown of the resistance to selling land was associated with a growing awareness of profits to be made in the regional and national economy.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 32]

base, so the farmers prefer to plant the better, quicker-growing corn seed in a mixed sand and loam soil. 242

The final evaluation of land is based on results at harvest. The range of variation is large: from 48 liters of yield per liter of seed to 80 litters of yield per liter of seed. Township officials say that the average harvest is five *fanegas* (1 fanega equals 12 liters) or 60 liters per liter of seed. Market prices are of less importance in deciding what crops will be planted than are considerations of what the soil "wants" and what labor is involved. Corn is grown on all kinds of land, whereas beans and special crops such as cabbages can be grown only on the more fertile soil. Wheat can be grown only where there is irrigation. One farmer raised cabbage in cooperation with a Ladino and earned 1,000 pesos, four times the amount he earned with his wheat crop the previous year. Despite the greater return for cabbage, the farmer did not plant it the next year when the Ladino, who had supported the first venture, withdrew his support. The reason he gave for this was the fact that there was more work involved and he could not accomplish it alone: first the crop had to be planted, then transplanted, then irrigated every three days in the early growing period, and cultivated two or three times; every eight days he had to get rid of worms. He estimated that growing cabbage involved well over four times the amount of work necessary for growing corn. 242 433 [435] [434] [461]

Labor. Most agricultural work is performed by members of households with exchange or hired labor. There is no specialization of labor when the work force includes two or more men since the men cooperate in doing each task. Communal labor is restricted to the maintenance of the main irrigation ditches. Each year the ditches are dug out where the sides have eroded and cleaned of brush and leaves. The president and judges unite to decide on a time for this work and announce it on a loudspeaker of one of the cantinas. This usually occurs around the twenty-fifth of December. Formerly, all the men of the community helped in this work whether or not they owned irrigated fields. In 1958 those who did not own such land "got smart" and refused to work. 592 241 476 464 241 621 476 [178] [423]

In 1962 the civil officials decided that a cement canal should be installed near the source of the spring. They tried to finance it with contributions 653 621 423 241

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

434 of the farm by renting additional land, as European peasants typically
464 did,[5] since there is very little land available for rent and the returns are
427 not immediate. Farmers will try to avoid this by acquiring land grants to
241 increase subsistence agriculture.

125 Expenditures and earnings were studied in six families over varying pe-
434 riods of time from ten days to one year. The data are summarized below.

434 Family No. 1, consisting of a husband, his wife, and their married
592 daughter separated from her husband and child, is able to meet all of their
[241] need for corn and brown sugar and most of their need for beans by the crops they raise on one-half hectare of ejido land in hot country, one-half hectare of ejido land in the township, and three-quarters hectare of privately owned, irrigated land in the township. On their irrigated land, they grow one-half hectare of wheat and one-quarter hectare of corn. In hot country they grow corn, beans, and sugar cane on the margins of the field. The cane is ground in a cooperatively owned mill, and their crop in 1965 produced 144 *tapas,* or measures of one kilogram worth 5 pesos. In addition to 200 pesos earned for the wheat crop, 100 pesos for the bean crop, 298 pesos for corn, this farmer earned 808 pesos for outside work. His high
[464] wage income is due to his working for an American at twice the usual
[465] daily pay. The farmer buys coffee by the twenty-five-pound bag costing 62
[435] pesos in hot country, a saving of about one-half the retail price of coffee in the town, where it is sold at 5 or 7 pesos at pound. In twelve months of recorded expenditures, the family spent 609.50 pesos or 83 percent of their budget on food, 40 pesos or 5 percent of their budget on clothing and 82 pesos or 11 percent of their budget on medicine.

The high expenditures in the case of family No. 2, consisting of a man,
[583] his wife, and two mature sons, was due to the fact that one of the boys was carrying on a betrothal suit. The bride-price had been fixed at 500 pesos, toward which the family was contributing whatever excess of income over
[464] expenditures it had. The son who was seeking a wife worked fifty-six days
[465] in the sawmill at a wage of 15 pesos per day during the six-month period recorded, earning 255 pesos. In addition, he and his brother earned 160 pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village.

5. Chayanov (1966:7) demonstrated that Russian peasant families expanded the size of their farms when the subjective needs of the family increased, not as a response to market prices for crops or rents.

pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village. The expenditures of this family on meat, brown sugar, and liquor were required for the house celebrations carried out almost every Sunday. Like family No. 1 they spent 83 percent of their budget on food, a total of 71.80 pesos, and a larger percentage on clothing, 138 pesos. They sold their surplus corn for 292 pesos and their beans for 247 pesos. These crops were produced on one hectare of privately owned, irrigated land, one hectare of privately owned, non-irrigated land and one hectare of ejido land.

Family No. 3 consists of a widow and her widowed daughter-in-law who had five children. The oldest son, aged sixteen, worked their one-half hectare of ejido land and one-half hectare of irrigated land with some hired help during harvest. During the three weeks recorded, there were no returns from their crops, which include wheat and corn, and the family relied entirely on returns from pottery. This household produces more pottery than any of the others recorded, earning 61 pesos in the three weeks, because there are no adult male producers. They spent 63 percent of their budget on food, a total of 42 pesos, and 34 percent or 23 pesos on clothing.

Family No. 4 consists of a married couple with three children seven years of age and under. The husband works occasionally in the sawmill, but since he drinks a great deal, he does not contribute much of his 70-peso weekly wage to the family. He grows wheat on one-half hectare of irrigated land and corn on one-half hectare of ejido land. In the ten days recorded, no money was gained on harvest, but the woman earned 19 pesos from pottery. The family spent 77 percent, or 17.20 pesos of their budget on food and another 22 percent, or 5 pesos such as soap, kerosene, etc.

Family No. 5 consists of a married couple, their married son and daughter-in-law, and three grandchildren. They own one and one-half hectare of irrigated land, on which they grow wheat and corn, and one-half hectare of ejido land. The husband and his son supplement their earning from farming by distilling liquor, earning 108 pesos in the ten days recorded. In addition, the women of the household earned 54 pesos from pottery they made. They spent 143 pesos, or 97 percent of their budget on food and 3 pesos, or 2 percent of their budget, on clothing.

Family No. 6 consists of a young couple with two children. The husband owns one-half hectare of irrigated land, and one-half hectare of non-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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have recently sought additional lands in the ejido of Brindis to meet these minimal requirements. This preference for expanding subsistence agriculture to hiring out as laborers is the best index to the persistence of traditional economic pursuits. 423 433 178 241 464

Farmers who do not have a cash crop in wheat may be forced to sell corn even when there is no surplus. Because they usually need the cash as soon as they harvest their crop, they must sell when the prices are low. Thus their consumption needs exacerbate the disadvantage they face in the market. 434 435

Clothing, whether traditional or modern in style, requires cash outlays. Women have kept the traditional costume while men are modifying their clothing. Even when they go to hot country, older women wear the heavy cotton skirt bound with a thick sash and topped by an embroidered blouse; some younger women have adopted the long cotton dirndl skirt and peasant blouse. A white cotton shawl is added for ceremonial events or for warmth in the evening. All of their clothing is either bought or made of materials woven on looms in Comitán or San Bartolomé. The navy blue skirt, which they say is black, and the red and yellow sash are sold for 40 to 50 pesos by Ladina vendors who come to town. The blouse is made from two meters of heavy white cotton sold in the local stores or in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. Most prefer the more expensive cotton woven on bed looms in San Bartolomé, but it is not always available. They embroider the wide bands of yellow and red around the neckline with embroidery floss sold in the local store. The fringed shawl from Comitán is also sold locally, but is often purchased during the annual fiestas in the town. These items are replaced every two or three years, depending on the wealth of the family. The newer clothing is worn on ceremonial occasions, and the older clothing is worn every day. Women wear sandals and hats for protection only when they are firing pottery. For jewelry they wear bead necklaces, sometimes with crosses attached. Their hair is braided with ribbons for fiestas, or simply left hanging when they work. 434 291 178 [439] [435] [294] [292] [051] [301] [302]

Men buy a woolen jacket called *kotonču*, which is brought illegally from the Department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala, where it is made, 434 291 439

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Houses are built of materials locally produced or gathered from communal resources, but new construction materials, such as tiles, require cash outlay. The average house area is thirty-six square meters divided into two main rooms. Building is usually done in February or March. After the

TABLE 12. Clothing Expenditure and Origin

	Price (pesos)	*Place of origin*
Men's clothing		
Kotonču from Guatemala	60	Huehuetenango
Kotonču from Mexico	40	Comitán
Shirt worn by elders	60	San Bartolomé
Underpants	15	San Bartolomé
High-backed sandals	25	San Cristóbal
Wrapped pants	25	Teopisca
Tailored shirt	30	Teopisca
Factory-made shirt	7	San Cristóbal and Comitán
Straw hats	10	Teopisca and San Cristóbal
Factory-made pants	15	Teopisca and San Cristóbal
Belt	5	Teopisca, San Cristóbal, and Comitán
Sash	7	Comitán
Huaraches	20	San Cristóbal
Women's clothing		
Wrapped skirt	40–60	Comitán
Huipile, factory-made cloth	50	San Cristóbal
Huipile, hand-loomed cloth	60	San Bartolomé
Reboza	12–16	Comitán
Apron	5	San Cristóbal
Children's clothing		
Girl's skirt	7	Teopisca
Girl's blouse	5	Teopisca
Boy's shirt	3.5	Teopisca
Boy's hat	3–4	Teopisca, San Cristóbal
Boy's pants	5	Teopisca

materials have been collected, the construction of the house frame takes about eight days' work with the cooperation of five or six men. Filling in the walls with mud takes another three days. Table 13 gives the cost of materials and transportation for one house built during my stay.

The biggest change in housing has been in the roofs. The old type of

342 construction used thatch or palm leaves carried from hot country. These
177 cost only the price of renting a horse, if it was necessary, for transporta-
• 435 tion. Roofs made of these materials have to be replaced every seven or
[492] eight years. Each rethatching requires three days' work with four or five helpers, and the houseowner must provide a meal for them and their families. He spends about 25 pesos for meat and uses two or three liters of corn; the total cost is about 75 pesos. Another kind of roof is made of wooden shingles bought in the neighboring town. These are fixed to the housetops with wooden pegs, and the total cost is about 200 pesos. This lasts ten or twelve years with replacement of individual shingles. Tile roofs have the highest initial cost, 800 pesos, but the lowest maintenance in labor.

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TABLE 13. Construction Costs for House, 1965

	Cost (pesos)
Supplies	
Roof tiles (1,000)	800
Posts and poles	*
Planks	40
Door	100
Window frame	30
Services	
Transportation of tiles	30
Transportation of posts and poles	206
Carpenter	50
Food for helpers	75
TOTAL	1,331

* Obtained free from communal woods.

342 House walls are preferably made of mud mixed with lime poured into an interlacing of cane poles set between the house posts and tied with a handmade fiber rope. Another temporary type of construction, which does not offer as good insulation, is made of board planks. Sweatbaths are
343 made by digging out a floor about 2.5 meters square, raising stones in an
[514] oval shape over this, and plastering them with mud. The I.N.I. tried to in-
[647] troduce latrines, but no more than a half dozen of the cement toilet seats
[177] they gave away as demonstrators were put into use. Latrines are consid-
[231] ered to be dirty since the pigs and dogs cannot scavenge the feces.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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342 177 178 434 of witchcraft. Today probably 95 percent of the new roofs are made of tile. Often the old roofs cannot be replaced with tile because the rafters were not built to support them. One result of the change has been the dependence on a carpenter to construct the gables, since they have to be lined up more accurately than they do with thatch or palm roofs. [335]

361 351 434 House lots in the town center are preferred to those on the margins. As residents of house sites on the ejido lands at the margins of the town acquire wealth, one of the first things they try to do is acquire a house closer to the plaza. These lots are smaller, averaging about 500 square meters, while those farther out average 900 square meters. In a sample measurement of 100 house lots, the size ranged from 180 to 1,440 square meters, and the average size was 77 square meters. Considering the advantages of a large lot in growing chile fruits and corn, the preference for smaller central lots reveals the strong prestige factor influencing choice. [554]

352 435 [513] House furnishings include both purchased and homemade items. Sleeping accommodations consist of wooden bedboards, either nailed on a frame or simply laid on blocks and covered with a straw mat. Woolen blankets from Comitán are sold locally at a price of 24 pesos or for 20 pesos in San Cristóbal and 18 pesos in Comitán. Most households own two or three wooden benches which line the walls of the porch and are made locally. Small chairs are purchased from Chamula carpenters at a cost of 2 to 4 pesos, as well as a small table costing about 4. A higher table is provided for the saints' pictures and candle holders, incense burner, and flower vases or tin cans. Hooks are fashioned from the crotch of trees and suspended on the house posts. Wooden boxes are bought from Ladino carpenters in San Cristóbal at a cost of 10 to 20 pesos depending on size and workmanship and are used to store clothing. In addition to the homemade water holders, water carriers, comales, strainers, and bowls, handmade glazed ware from San Cristóbal, factory-made porcelain dishes, metal cooking pots, knives, and spoons are purchased. Gourds provide serving ware for ceremonial occasions. Stone grinding platforms and rollers are purchased in San Cristóbal for about 10 pesos. Two new items have become increasingly popular in the past five years: a metal grinding machine for corn, hand operated and costing from 40 to 60 pesos depending on the size and quality, and a hinged press for tortillas, costing 15 pesos if made [778] [322] 415 435 439 [412] 435 415 177

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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of metal and 10 pesos if made of wood. These are lined with waxed paper which the local storekeeper cuts from cracker-box wrappers and sells for 5 cents each. 435 415 177

Electricity, first used in the cooperative store and later in the liquor shops, is now being installed in houses. 83 families had electricity installed in their homes by 1967. Street lights have been in operation since 1966, although the first attempt to install them was blocked by residents on the streets to be lighted who did not want to pay the tax of 1 peso per month per household to meet the cost to the community of 75 pesos a month. Most people have a flashlight, and lighting in the house is provided by pitch pine or by small kerosene lamps. Candles are used only in ceremonies. 365 [651] 354 [416]

The inventory of items sold in the cooperative store in town includes the most frequently purchased items of consumption. Hardward includes buckets, hoes, kerosene lamps, batteries, Gillette blades, shotgun bullets, canned goods such as sardines, chiles, and powdered milk. Packaged foods include rice, sugar, salt, oatmeal, cornstarch, flour, coffee, biscuits, cookies, gum, and candy. Beer is sold along with soft drinks and cigarettes. Household supplies include candles, soap, D.D.T. powder, thread, matches, and kerosene. Medicines dispensed most frequently include sulphur pills, aralin, Desenfriol, Alka-Seltzer, and Sonrisal. Yard goods for shawls, children's wraps, and men's clothing are sold along with manufactured shirts, blouses for girls, and rubber capes. Eggs as well as money are taken in payment and then sold. Except for one can of Chocomilk, which sat on the shelves for a year, all of the items are in constant demand, and provide an index to the level of living and dependency on external markets. 444 [436]

The preferences in changing consumption are limited by communal standards of what is appropriate. I once asked a man who was acquiring more than the usual income by brokerage activities what he would buy with more money. He replied, "I would get more land and cattle." I interrupted to ask what he would do to improve his standard of living. "I wouldn't get better clothing—what would I need that for? I would get a house built with good materials like this [the government-built clinic] with a cement floor. But I couldn't get it now because of envy. When my children grow up, they [the neighbors] will see them working and maybe 434 178 177 [156]

highly stratified primitive society, which remains static: it lacks the flexibility and mobility that exists in modern societies. 423

The history of the ejido program in Tzo?ontahal in the first few years after it was organized in 1937 seemed to confirm this conclusion. Its immediate effect was to block the flow of labor and goods in the regional and national markets. The ejidatarios were no longer forced to sell their labor at the prevailing rate of 25 cents a day, a wage which was not enough to supply the needs of even one man much less those of a household. Children and women formerly had to work with their husbands in the coffee fincas in order to meet their most immediate consumption needs. The independence that the ejido tract gave meant that men could withhold their own labor and that of the subordinate members of the family from such exploitation. The second harvests coming from the ejido plots in low country freed the Indians from having to buy corn in July, August, and September at the inflated market prices which took advantage of the scarcity of this basic necessity. 175 423 182 464 [465] [241] [435]

The political effect of the ejido in the early days was to fortify the corporate community against the shocks of the outside world. The first lands acquired were primarily allotments of corporate lands alienated by the laws of 1856 and 1876. Populations remained in situ, whether they were foreign Indians working on the expropriated estates, or residential communities created in the sixteenth century as crown towns. 175 423 621

The township of Amatenango acquired its first ejido land grant in 1937. One of the early promoters of the ejido, a *revestido* Indian (one who has adopted western clothing) from Huistán who had been a laborer on one of the fincas within the township limits, threatened to become a rural *cacique,* or local boss, comparable to those who emerged from the agrarian revolt in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962). This leader was elected president, but during his term of office he was expelled because of his attempt to secure house plots in the center for himself and other Huistecan Indians residing in the barrio of Yetawitz (Chapter 9). [177]

The stabilizing effects of the ejido in its earlier phase have been upset in recent years. As the population of the center expanded, new families migrated to the nearby barrios contiguous to the town center. These new set- 423 621 166

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178 coming from the smaller towns to buy. The Indians still bring pottery to
442 sell retail in towns that they visit during a fiesta. One of these is the barrio
443 of Lok'ibal in the município of Villa Carranza, where people go on the third Friday of Lent to get holy water from the spring.

The Indians have not taken advantage of the truck to buy pottery wholesale and market it directly in the smaller towns, selling from the truck in the plaza as some of the wholesale fruit truckers do. Another operation which they have failed to profit from is buying the wheat harvest and selling to government warehouses, as some of the Ladino truckers do.

44 Lack of capital is the major reason for failure to exploit these opportuni-
47 ties. In marketing the contraband liquor, which is the most flourishing of
273 the new enterprises, the Indians have not yet entered into the external
443 markets except in the case of one young unmarried mother. Wholesale
434 purchases are made by Ladinos, primarily women, from other towns who resell the liquor in Comitán and on the coast. There is however, a well-de-
[675] veloped home market since all contracts are sealed with the offering of liq-
[681] uor, the "gift of the gods," all court fines are paid in liquor, and the main
[583] gift in betrothal is liquor. The cantinas with phonograph players opened
[275] by the cooperatives operate very successfully on Saturday night and during
[216] fiestas. The internal market for liquor is controlled by a syndicate of the
[548] forty-two independent liquor distillers. The price is set at 4 pesos per liter
[435] for all buyers, with the buyer providing the bottle.

Agricultural production is not geared to a market, and Indians do not
241 take advantage of fluctuations in price. Wheat yields a lower return per
442 unit of land than corn, but it is grown for two reasons: the Indians believe
443 that crop rotation of corn and wheat prevents depletion of the soil, and wheat requires less work since no cultivation is needed. Wheat is a cash crop and none of it is milled or consumed directly in town. Poor families sell their wheat "standing" to Teopisca truckers. The price given the
[435] grower is usually about 90 pesos per hundred kilograms, and it is resold at 110 or 120 pesos in Tuxtla or to the government storehouses. Wheat is sometimes brought directly to San Cristóbal millers who give 120 per hundred kilograms. Corn is primarily a subsistence crop when grown in the center. Corn grown in hot country ejido land is now sold in Teopisca and
[489] San Cristóbal. The local truck cooperative has a special permit which gives

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dies are expected to give a funeral appropriate to his station in life and his wealth, as is expressed in the following account:

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[175]

When my father got sick, he told his wife not to put him in a black box. He had heard a story that when the dead man is in a black box, his spirit cannot see. He wanted to be in a white box. He told this to his brother. But his brother wanted to get a black box. He bought one black box for three hundred pesos when my father died, because it is the custom of the pueblo to bury adults in a black box. The people would talk if we did not buy a good box because they knew he had animals. We spent six hundred pesos for the funeral. We presented the body in church for a mass. We had a singing mass for thirty pesos, and the box cost three hundred pesos. We had a common meal of beef in the house, and we spent two hundred and sixteen pesos for three garrafones of liquor. Each of his sons contributed sixty pesos for that. If we hadn't given him a good funeral, people would have said, "His children are very lax not to buy a good box to bury their father."

The padre says that all bodies should be presented in the church. He says if you don't have money, you don't have to pay for the mass. But we are ashamed if we don't pay because he does work for us. He charged only twenty-five pesos because he said my father worked hard for the town. We took a collection from all the people who were there, and it amounted to one hundred and thirty pesos. We paid the padre for the mass and gave a contribution. All the people in whose houses he had passed when he was alive came to see him. They said, "Ah, his children gave a very nice box for their father."

If all of the family is poor, no one talks if the funeral is not a good one. But if there is anything that can be sold, it will have to be to make a good funeral. When my father died, he had eighteen horses. We had to sell one, and each of the children gave one hundred pesos. [432]

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Some say the souls play the harp and drink liquor when they arrive in heaven. On All Soul's Day they visit the village where they had lived and where they are known. For each member of the household who had died, a specific portion of food is laid out. Special likes are catered to: a bottle of liquor will be set on the table for a deceased father, soda pop for children

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177 and adaptive responses. With the expansion of cattle raising, Indians have
178 organized associations adjusted to the traditional dual division. The asso-
621 ciation for each side of the dual division mobilizes labor for maintaining
476 the watering holes. The failure to organize communal corrals means that
312 inefficient herding techniques, damage to the milpa, and frequent loss or
[685] theft of cattle persist. The association reacts to the last problem by hiring killers to get rid of those suspected of theft, but this adaptive response is limited to dealing with particular incidents and has not solved the problem.

548 The manufacturers of contraband liquor have succeeded in organizing a
293 syndicate strong enough to maintain a monopoly price for both the inter-
177 nal and external markets and to provide security for themselves against
178 federal agents. The syndicate mobilizes for specific actions, such as raising
[435] the bail bond for imprisoned members or punishing informers. As a com-
694 munity-wide organization ignoring the dual division and age-ranked sen-
[681] iority, it represents an adaptation in response to extra-community pres-
621 sures.
[561]

The cooperatives that have been organized to manage the local store
474 and the trucks provide permanent managerial operations that are an adap-
177 tition to growing interaction in extra-community economic activities.
178 Cooperative owners are able to raise the capital to maintain and expand these operations. It is within these structures that entrepreneurial skills are being developed. The organizers gain the advantage not only of socializing the risk of loss but also of making a profit in a community where belief in witchcraft, fostered by envy, is rampant.

474 Activities in the new economic enterprises are not supported by any su-
472 pernatural belief. In order to gain acceptance for the new enterprises, the
177 entrepreneur Santos, who had organized the trucking cooperative, recog-
178 nized the need for an ideology. His rhetoric drew upon the sense of deprivation Indians feel in their relations with Ladinos. He justified his own ends as an attempt to gain for all the community the profits that only Ladinos had been able to gain through trucking and crops resales in the regional markets. The ideology he had begun to formulate stressed economic and political independence from both the Ladino entrepreneurs of neighboring towns and government agents who tried to promote welfare

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241 782 *chin-uch* (May 20–June 8), an offering is made to the supernatural being which reigns over it. The natives have vague no-
[825] tions of the nature of this being. They say that *uch* is the name of a small insect which spoils the pozole and, also, of the *tlacuache* or *zarigueya* which often destroys the milpa. The offering, hung at the entrance of the hut, consists of a ball of pozole wrapped in plantain leaf, a red chile, a tortilla, an ear of corn, and a little stick like the kind used to turn the ear cooking over hot coals.
241 782 787 All objects are minute in size. When the offering achieves its purpose, on the completion of a 20-day period, the atmosphere becomes hazy "as if there were smoke." It is explained that "the chin-uch burned its house," which forecasts a favorable sun for development of the milpa. If such a sign should not appear on the indicated date or at the end of the next month of *mukul-uch* (June 9–28), the forecast is ominous and indicates that the rains will be excessive, greatly harming the milpa.

778 796 Another mukul-mixa is performed in Oxchuc, in homage to the hill called Ikal-Ajau,
[184] near the ceremonial center, of which the Indians say "it is a living hill." The name of the hill is that of the ancient hill worshipped by the Oxchuequeños. Nuñez de la Vega (in Becerra, 1933, p. 293) reports: "Those of Oxchuc and other towns of Los Llanos venerate very much the idol which they call Icalajau, which means principal Negro or
[789] lord of the Negroes." This Mass, performed the first days of June, prevents locusts and other plagues from coming.

241 78 Once the crop is in the granary, other family prayers are said before the household cross, to give thanks for the good received and to petition the supernatural beings to protect the grain from insects and rodents.

Other Subsistence Resources

262 235 Other food resources include raising chickens and pigs. A family averages about
[231] 10 chickens, using the eggs as money when
[437] [P. 202-B]

262 they visit the regional market. Only during
235 illness or fiesta are both chickens and eggs
[437] eaten.

231 In towns like Tenejapa and Cancuc, In-
439 dians buy small pigs from the Ladinos of the center, fatten them for 8 or 10 months, then sell them to the Ladinos, who slaughter them and sell the meat to the Indians. As may be supposed, in this sort of symbiosis the greatest profit accrues to the La-
[454] dinos. However, the Indians more often keep the money from selling pigs to meet emergencies or expenses of clothing, tools, and fiestas.

262 *Food Habits*

Corn, beans, chile, and squash are the core of Indian diet, supplemented by ma-
262 nioc, sweetpotato, potato, and chayote. One
263 or more chayote trees next to the house are common; every part of the chayote is used—fruit, tender leaves, and root—usually boiled with salt. Wild herbs are eaten raw or cooked. Among the raw ones are *culix-uamal*, *xhix-uamal*, and *alauanex*, the last a wild radish which Ladinos call "the Indian's radish." Herbs that are cooked include *tzul* and *tuxac*. Some herbs are eaten both raw or cooked: *verdolaga* or *chic-xecul*, *muem* (*hierba mora*), *maj-tas*, *tzuy*, and *San Sibro Uamal*. The last is a small grass with long
[276] thin leaves which the Indians grind and add to give a better taste to the *pilico* or wild tobacco. This is called *poxil-may*, which is like saying "medicinal pilico." Ladinos use its leaves in tea sweetened with panela.

262 There are three main meals during the
264 course of the day: breakfast (*ue-el sab*), which consists of atole or pozole, beans, chile, and tortillas; lunch (*ue-el olical*) of the same foods plus a vegetable such as squash or chayote; and supper (*ue-el x-malcal*), with atole, tortillas, beans, and chile. In Tenejapa rabbit meat is frequently
177 on the table. In Amatenango, Aguacate-
262 nango, and Pinola, greater contact with Ladinos has added coffee, wheat bread, var-

[P. 203-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969
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443 ket of Tenejapa. Other commercial centers are Ocosingo, Chilon, and Yajalon in the north. These markets are also frequented by Ladinos, but others, located far from the cabecera, are exclusively for Indians. The most important of them is the Saturday market of Yochib near Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc. It draws 300–400 natives, who arrive at dawn carrying agricultural and handcraft products. Most people come from 8 to 10 in the morning, after which they begin to depart; about 2 or 3 P.M. only those staying to drink chicha are left. Transactions [437] are paid in trade or in money.

Wage Work

464 Because the cold climate and the rugged topography of the region produce little corn, the natives must work periodically as day laborers on the coffee plantations of the Soconusco area on the Pacific coast. About 7000 Tzeltal and a few more Tzotzil work there each year. Natives may go to the coffee plantations any time of the year but prefer to do so during the months the milpa requires less attention (either after planting or after harvest). Between Yajalon and Ocosingo are plantations where men from the neighboring villages are hired for short periods.

Use of Wealth

556 578 829 183 Because of their social organization, it is very difficult for these Indians to accumulate wealth. The worst sin an individual can commit against the community is to store up crops, domestic animals, or clothes, or simply to build a better house. Whatever [754] raises an individual above his fellows—buying a new house, improving an old one, buying a horse—can cause in them a deep fear of being the target of witchcraft (Villa Rojas, 1947).

556 829 183 Those who, enjoying good health, are able to pile up some wealth, are obliged by the community to spend it in banquets and amusements for the community. It is believed that the old men and principales

[P. 213-A]

592 606 hierarchical order of authority. The following example illustrates this social ordering:

159 591 592 Maria was the daughter-in-law of Margarita, a woman married to Juan Perez, one of the village elders. The sons of Juan Perez and all the daughters had left the compound after marriage, with the exception of Felix, the last son, who was Maria's hus-
[428] band. The couple had decided to stay in the parental house until the death of Felix's parents, and they were promised the inheritance of the sitio as a recompense for their willingness to support Juan and Margarita in their old age (see Fig. 9).

159 592 437 602 Maria had been fattening a pig, which Juan had decided to sell, and he had been talking about it with a Ladino merchant who was anxious to buy it, but who wanted to pay a lower price for it than Juan was willing to accept.

One afternoon, while the men were in the fields and Margarita was outside the compound gathering firewood, Maria was visited by a Ladino merchant who insisted on taking the pig with him. He offered to pay a price which Maria was not sure was already arranged between the merchant and her father-in-law. She discussed it with him, refusing to give up the animal, until her sister-in-law, Felix's elder sister, arrived to visit her mother.

When Felix's sister arrived, Maria retired from the discussion, and left the elder woman to carry the burden of the interaction.

After a while, Margarita came back with her load of firewood, and she took up the discussion while both her daughter and daughter-in-law conversed among themselves after Crecencia

159 indicated that "she did not live in the house, nor was the boss
592 there." Margarita knew the price at which to sell, but she told
437 off the merchant, in quite a rude manner, and even refused to
602 let him see the animal "because she was sure that the man was
going to give it the evil eye and get it sick."

[601]

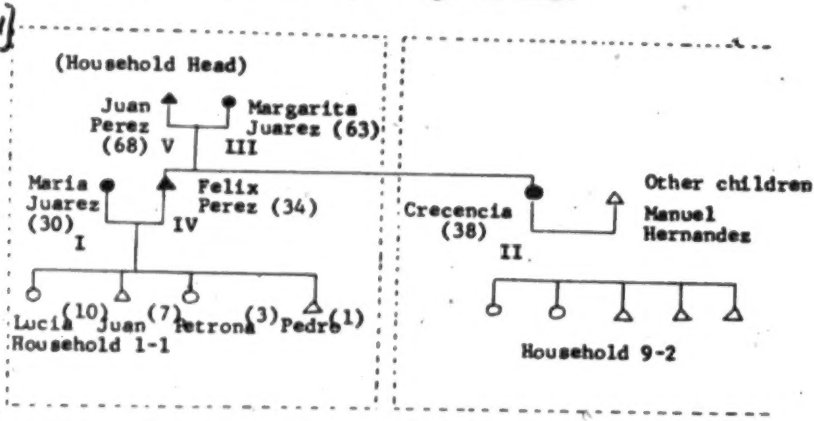

Fig. 9.--Genealogy of Household of Juan Perez

The Ladino merchant utilized every policy of charm and threat, trying to get them to sell the animal, but he began to relize that it was getting him nowhere. None of the women, not even the female head of the household, felt that she could take the responsibility for the business transaction.

When the merchant was ready to leave, Felix arrived. At this point, Felix took up the bargaining. When he could not get the price his father wanted, he resolved that the merchant should

159 592 437 602 come back when the father was home because not even he could sell the pig without his consent. The Ladino was then forced to give up.

A few days later, Juan sold the pig according to his own plans. He kept the money, except for a small amount that he gave to his wife and daughter-in-law, in spite of the fact that Maria had fattened the pig, and that it had been previously said that the pig was the young couple's animal.[1]

592 593 562 42 [431] A woman living with her husband in a separate household has some autonomy within it, but she is still subordinate to her husband. She owns little property. A woman may be given a cow when she marries, but her father is not obliged to do so. It is simply a regalo (present). She does not own agricultural implements. She can not own land or inherit from her husband, except in cases where she is, in effect, keeping the house in trust for her male children, and it has not been claimed by her husband's father or brothers who have primacy rights over such property.

[561] [851] As she grows older, and with the birth of children, her position becomes somewhat less dependent. She has more prestige in the eyes of her husband's family and other people, and if her marital relation has developed into a strong emotional bond, her interaction with her husband is less subordinate. He would consult

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[23] [42] [562] [1]The animals are usually said to "belong" to one particular woman in the household. However, this does not mean that she has property rights over it; it only means that she is the person in charge of feeding it. Thus, the expression "el cochi de María" (María's pig) means the pig which María has the responsibility to feed every day, and it does not assume that she can sell it, kill it for meat, or do anything about it without the consent of the head of the household.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The Indians manufacture and consume *chicha*, an alcoholic beverage fermented from sugar cane or maize. They drink larger quantities of rum prepared in Ladino-owned distilleries. *Pilico*, a combination of lime and tobacco, is chewed frequently, especially in Oxchuc, Tenejapa, and Cancuc.

Tenejapa is the only Tzeltal town that enjoys importance as a market center. Here a market is held every Sunday.

Pottery is made for sale outside the local community in Amatenango and in Tenango. In almost all the other communities the industry is practised in a rudimentary form merely to supply local needs. Blom and LaFarge observed and reported the techniques of pottery manufacture at Sivaca;[19] Villa limits his data to mentioning the industry there. Blom and LaFarge report, on hearsay, the method of making large, egg-shaped, three-handled water jars at Tenango; Villa observed and reported this industry. The former authors report that the clay used is "a light greenish brown colour."[20] Villa says that two kinds of clay, "white earth" and "red earth," are combined to form the paste. Villa also noted the tempering with a ground sandy limestone (*hi*); and the painting with a paint made from a soft stone from the river (*huxu-tzaik*). The pots and griddles are made from one kind of clay tempered with a different sandstone called *bax*. The method of firing described for Sivaca by Blom and LaFarge from hearsay, involving the preparation of "an A-roof, forming a long tunnel,"[21] was observed and photographed by Villa in Tenango. Villa was told that vessels after firing are filled with *pozole* in water to reduce the porosity.

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The furnishings of the living room are limited in general to beds, improvised of boards placed on the ground or on logs, and covered with mats. The hammock is little used; it is generally reserved for children. The furnishings and domestic

[19] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 342-345.
[20] *Ibid.*, 2: 383.
[21] *Ibid.*, 2: 344.
[22] *Ibid.*, 2: 345-349.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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[P 465-A]

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spending money. Twenty-five years ago, there
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cooperative pays the fines of any member
caught distilling, and in addition threatens to
use group action against informers, who were
formerly tempted to earn the 200 pesos offered
[578] by federal agents. But the envy aroused by the
sight of those who profit from this enterprise,

Handcrafts

323 Among the few handcrafts practiced in
[462] the Tzeltal areas, ceramics, produced mainly
by women, is the most widespread. Tenango
[184] and Amatenango del Valle are the only
communities which have made a specialty
of this craft. Tenango exports its products
[439] through the northern zone, Amatenango,
through the southern zone, including neigh-
323 boring Guatemalan villages. Both places use
184 a similar ceramic technique but different
shape and ornamentation. Referring to
Amatenango del Valle, Blom and LaFarge
(1926–27, 2:396) state:

> The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one shape; a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, however, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep, reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of boards, two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman in charge turns them
> [438] until they are done. These pots are carried by
> [439] the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they are redistributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala.

283 Another widespread craft is spinning and
286 weaving of fabrics for clothing. No village
in the Tzeltal area trades these products
[438] because production barely meets their fam-
ily needs. The backstrap loom of pre-
Hispanic origin is the chief tool.

[184] Pita articles—ropes, bags, and nets to
gather the harvest or carry loads—are
mainly produced in Oxchuc and Cancuc.
322 In Cancuc wooden combs are also manu-
184 factured.

342 *Houses and Furniture*

Houses, from 3 to 5 m. on a side, are
predominantly square with thatched roofs.
The walls are wattle-and-daub or plain
tree trunks tied with vines. Floors are of
[354] hardened earth. The houses only have one
door and no windows, except in some vil-
[P. 207-A]

her own clothes and her backstrap loom. A widow may continue living in the hut and use its equipment only if she has a son. Otherwise, she must leave the house and return to her father's home because the land will be claimed by the brothers or other male relatives of the deceased husband.

Production and Consumption Groups

The family controls all matters related to production and consumption. The head of the house, with the help of his wife and other members of the family, takes care of farming and producing the basic food crops. In the most conservative communities, the old custom of planting by a cooperative group, composed of relatives and friends, is still practiced. This is a task for men exclusively, since much skill and strength are required to dig up the ground in carefully spaced, perfectly straight rows. The owner of the milpa has to fast and observe sexual abstinence before starting the planting.

Only the family shares in the rest of the labor, according to their sex: men take care of tasks requiring much effort, women perform those such as tending domestic animals. Help from relatives and neighbors may also be asked occasionally, to build up fences around the orchard, to open or improve irrigation systems, etc.

Trade and Markets

Tenango and Amatenango concentrate on producing ceramics and trading them to neighboring municipios. Other municipios have a very limited commercial activity: Tenejapa exports a few sleeping mats; Oxchuc, ropes, nets, and pita bags; Cancuc, wooden combs; Bachajon, clay toys. These Tzeltal villages have no specialized merchants as do Zinacantan and Chamula.

There are a few markets where a large number of people meet regularly: Teopisca, in the south, has a Sunday market where natives from Aguacatenango, Amatenango, and Pinola meet. In the central part of the region they meet every Sunday at the mar-

294
438 With the closing of the stills in Comitan came a second economic pressure which sharply changed the Aguacatenangueros' pattern of travel. The trade specialty which Aguacatenango had intensively developed, at least by 1920 and perhaps long before, was the weaving of palm hats. A principal point of trade for these hats was Comitan where the Aguacatenangueros took them.
294 With the advent of the Pan-American highway, the region was
438 flooded with nationally manufactured sombreros, which, in the
439 period of ten years completely destroyed the Aguacatenango mar-
438 ket. As the marketability of palm hats decreased, the Agua-
439 catenangueros stopped going to Comitan; and it was during this
273 same time that the supply of comiteco was cut off.

432 The people from Aguacatenango then began to buy their
438 aguardiente from licensed sellers in Pinola (Villa las Rosas)
273 and Teopisca as well as from clandestine sources, the nearest being in Amatenango and the mountainous area that lay between
548 there and Chanál. The use of clandestine aguardiente was still
687 restricted by the occasional inspection by patrols of soldiers and liquor inspectors who would examine the contents of the houses in Aguacatenango, confiscating the aguardiente for which one did not have a legitimate receipt and taking the holders of such to jail in San Bartolomé de los Llanos. By the end of the 40's, distillation technology had disseminated widely enough among the Indian municipios that a few men in Aguacatenango began

pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline. The 317 323
sand which is mixed with the clay is found nearby. In preparing it for use, the clay has to be chopped with a hatchet and soaked. A temper for cooking pots is made of ground sandstone, called *baŝ*. This is found near the [438]
border of the neighboring town of Aguacatenango, and sometimes Indians of that town bring pieces which they exchange for a soup bowl or other small pottery item.

Variation in the color of the clay—it may be white, white mixed with yellow, true yellow, black, or blue-green—provides the basis for discerning its quality. The white clay is thought to be best since it doesn't break as much in firing. The preferred clay is very soft, and the women test deposits by feeling them with their hands.

The rhythm of work is regular. Children under three years of age climb 323
on their mother's back or lap or sometimes stand by her side nursing. The 461
women do not interrupt their work when this happens, although they may [855]
shift their body to accommodate the child. In the organization of work, there is no discussion of what is to be done or who will do it. Orders are given only to the young children. When the women are working, all mo- [857]
tions which would require a break in activity are assigned to children who bring unfinished pots to be worked on and shoo away chickens or dogs. The standardization of production rhythm is evidenced in the uniformity in time required for each operation. Timing one potter's production of 10 *apastes* (soup bowls) on two different days, I found that she spent one hour and 10 minutes for each set, an average of 11 minutes per pot. Another woman made a *comal* (platter) in 26 minutes and a second one in 28 minutes. A pair of larger bowls produced by another woman took 15 minutes each.

The continuity in tradition of pottery production stems from a tightly 323
organized behavioral schema with defined units of motion and stages of [178]
production. I follow Piaget in his definition of behavioral schema which Flavell (1963:54) has summarized as follows:

> Thus, an action sequence, if it is to constitute a schema, must have a 121
> certain cohesiveness and must maintain its identity as a quasi-stable, repeatable unit. It must possess component actions which are tightly

M 563 621 647 T 621 743 647 doctors and officers of the National Indian Institute (INI) who arrive to the villages at irregular intervals. In Amatenango, the INI has established a "clinic" in which a native nurse provides some medical services, such as vaccinations, the selling of aspirin, etc., while in Aguacatenango the native INI nurse provides services in his home.

T 621 647 474 In both the villages the INI has established a cooperative store which sells staples which are not produced in the community, but such stores are in no sense agents of cultural change, selling only commodities which the Indians habitually buy elsewhere. (A reason for the lack of success of such stores is that the Indians have not understood the "cooperative" principle, very few men have joined, and they are disillusioned with the marginal profit obtained through them.) In 1958, Amatenango had water T 621 647 312 114 piped into the village, a project completed by the INI in 1957; while after the author left Aguacatenango in 1958, water pipes were installed there.

M 563 692 Political relations with the Ladinos of a more formal nature occur through the courts of justice and national government offices, and they are characterized by the covert (and at times open) hostility and misunderstanding on the part of both Indians and Ladinos (see D. Metzger, 1956 and Fuente, Julio de la, 1958).

T 628 •438 571 608 582 Relations with other Indian villages are common both for Amatenango and Aguacatenango. They trade with the communities located in different ecological zones the products that do not grow in their territory (ocote from the highlands, sugar cane from the lowlands, etc.) in exchange for their own products and they

628 438 571 608 582 628 166 602 establish with them the relations of posada and compadrazgo, mentioned above, as well as (in the infrequent cases of inter-community marriage), some affinal kinship ties. In the few recorded cases of emigration from the village, some members of the community keep communication with a few consanguineal relatives living in other Indian villages, although social exchanges and the memory of such relatives tend to die out after a generation or two.

105 With the other Indian communities in the area, Amatenango and Aguacatenango share a common material culture and belief system, derived from a Highland Maya cultural tradition, the same linguistic background, and a subsistence pattern based on agriculture. They are peasant, in the sense that they are rural villages which depend, for survival, not only on agricultural work, but on economic exchange with other semi-urban and urban centers (Redfield, 1956:25-28).

438 [273] Aguacatenango buys pottery and chayotes from Amatenango, whose women come periodically to sell them, and trago (drinking alcohol) which some Amatenangueros produce illegally. Amatenango buys from Aguacatenango surplus corn.

628 [311] [312] The two towns have amicable relations, thinking of each other as neighbors, and sharing the same pasture lands, and source of water for irrigation. The two communities share the 628 776 same cultural hero, called Juan Lopez in Aguacatenango and Lopez Shuntón in Amatenango, connected with the corn and with the "lightening who lives in a cave." For Aguacatenangueros this personage is the builder of the roads, responsible for the eradication of "cannibalism," the conversion of man-hunting animals

166 462 464 [829] women and that Ladino women mistreat their servants. Working in towns is remembered, by those who have done it, as a strange mixture of carefree economic independence and innumerable small humilitations and suffering. Its lack of attractiveness is well reflected in the fact that, from a random sample of sixty-eight households, only fourteen women have worked outside their homes (see Fig. 5).

561 462 434 [464] [275] The only women who are the bread-winners or heads of their homes are forced to do so because they have no male relatives to provide for them. In this case, they have few alternatives open to them, the two most common being: 1) acting as a servant (already discussed above); or 2) selling liquor in their houses to the men of the village. This second occupation is not very well [552] thought of by the villagers, trago sellers being gossiped about as being bold women, "sexy" females who enjoy the company of drunks and men married to other women.

Amatenango

462 323 438 [241] [434] In Amatenango, the division of labor presents a very different picture. The whole village of Amatenango is a pottery factory because, in addition to the household income derived from the agricultural work of the village men, each Amatenango woman is a pottery producer.

Pottery that is made for selling is neither a choice, nor a part-time job, nor an individual specialization, but a town specialty. All women in Amatenango are expected to know how to make pots, and to make them. The women of each household

462 distribute their work so that while one takes care of the regular
323 home tasks: cooking, caring for the young, cleaning, etc., the
438 other can occupy herself in gathering clay, coiling or modeling. Most steps in the production of pots are arranged in an "assembly line" style, with the women distributing their individual work according to the needs of the stage of the productive activity. Some of these steps, such as firing, require their close and alert cooperation to be carried on successfully. Pottery production
[434] represents about half of the income of each independent household, with some slight variation, because households richer in land produce less pots than poorer ones.

Comparison

433 Pottery production in the hands of the women shapes the
184 economic landscape of Amatenango very differently than the one of
241 Aguacatenango. In the first place, agriculture is a business where
433 the risks are high and the profits unstable. The agricultural production of the villages depends on many uncontrollable factors. Too little rain or too much, too early rain or too late, worm pests or wild animals, can ruin the year's crop. The villagers try to insure the risks of a bad year by planting in as many different types of fields as they can. They plant in the hot country where the crops mature fast, and in the high, cold country where the maturation process is slow but the corn, of a hardier variety, is more resistant to weather conditions. They plant irrigated land to insure water if rain is missing, and in <u>temporal</u> to insure against the drying up of the sources of irrigated water. But even

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

563 Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo relations between Indians and Ladinos are more friendly, and the Indians are regarded as milder and more tractable.

181 Of the strongly Indian towns, Cancuc is the most conservative, Chanal the most progressive.

In respect to official political organization, these villages are divided according
631 to their importance and the number of their inhabitants, into free municipalities
563 (*municipios libres*) and dependent municipalities (*agencias municipales*). The former are those which have the right to choose their own government, upon which formal administration depends. To this category belong Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Ococingo, Chilón, and Bachajón. Until a short time ago the municipal governments of these settlements were composed of Ladinos in the principal posts and of Indians in the subordinate positions. At the present time the government is seeking to reverse this situation so that the Indians have the greater authority; it is for this reason that the governments of the four villages first mentioned are now headed by Indians. This change has brought about marked
[177] alterations in certain places in the social equilibrium that before existed between the two ethnic elements which compose the population.

Villages of the latter category are those which depend, in administrative matters, on a free municipality. In these cases authority is represented in the first place by the *agente municipal*, who is named by the central municipal government. This post is always discharged by a Ladino. In most instances the municipal agent compensates for the meagerness of his salary by controlling the sale of rum in the village which he administers. The other members of the municipal government are chosen almost always from the Indian group.

184 In several of the highland communities, notably Amatenango, Chanal, and,
243 to a much less extent, Tenejapa, the Indian grows (in addition to the universal
439 maize) a certain amount of wheat for export, the Ladinos of Oxchuc cultivate this crop, but in Cancuc, where there are no Ladinos, wheat is not grown. (Wheat is
433 also grown in the Tzotzil towns of Chamula and Húistan.) Other money crops
241 of the highlands are chickpeas, peas, oranges, and other fruit. Some coffee is grown in San Martín; it is the principal export from Yajalón and Petalcingo. In Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Chilón a principal produce is brown sugar, made locally from sugar cane locally raised. Cancuc is the only village that cultivates cotton
[286] commercially; the production in the other communities is insignificant. The local
[178] manufacture of loom-woven clothing is rapidly disappearing. Most Tzeltal com-
231 munities are without beehives, but there is considerable apiculture in Sivacá, and a little beekeeping is also practised in Tenango, Bachajón, and Yajalón. Apparently
184 the bees kept are wild colonies brought to the villages in the sections of hollow log they are made to inhabit. The raising of hogs and poultry is a principal economic
233 recourse in all the Indian settlements. The beef cattle industry has always been
[654] in the hands of Ladinos; however, recently the Government, acting through the Centers of Native Education, has sought to stimulate the industry among the Indians.

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use group action against informers, who were
formerly tempted to earn the 200 pesos offered
[578] by federal agents. But the envy aroused by the
sight of those who profit from this enterprise,

262 they visit the regional market. Only during
235 illness or fiesta are both chickens and eggs
[437] eaten.

231 In towns like Tenejapa and Cancuc, In-
439 dians buy small pigs from the Ladinos of the center, fatten them for 8 or 10 months, then sell them to the Ladinos, who slaughter them and sell the meat to the Indians. As may be supposed, in this sort of symbiosis the greatest profit accrues to the La-
[454] dinos. However, the Indians more often keep the money from selling pigs to meet emergencies or expenses of clothing, tools, and fiestas.

262 *Food Habits*

Corn, beans, chile, and squash are the core of Indian diet, supplemented by ma-
262 nioc, sweetpotato, potato, and chayote. One
263 or more chayote trees next to the house are common; every part of the chayote is used—fruit, tender leaves, and root—usually boiled with salt. Wild herbs are eaten raw or cooked. Among the raw ones are *culix-uamal*, *xhix-uamal*, and *alquanex*, the last a wild radish which Ladinos call "the Indian's radish." Herbs that are cooked include *tzul* and *tuxac*. Some herbs are eaten both raw or cooked: *verdolaga* or *chic-xecul*, *muem* (*hierba mora*), *maj-tas*, *tzuy*, and *San Sibro Uamal*. The last is a small grass with long
[276] thin leaves which the Indians grind and add to give a better taste to the *pilico* or wild tobacco. This is called *poxil-may*, which is like saying "medicinal pilico." Ladinos use its leaves in tea sweetened with panela.

262 There are three main meals during the
264 course of the day: breakfast (*ue-el sab*), which consists of atole or pozole, beans, chile, and tortillas; lunch (*ue-el olical*) of the same foods plus a vegetable such as squash or chayote; and supper (*ue-el x-malcal*), with atole, tortillas, beans, and chile. In Tenejapa rabbit meat is frequently
177 on the table. In Amatenango, Aguacate-
262 nango, and Pinola, greater contact with Ladinos has added coffee, wheat bread, var-
[P. 203-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Handcrafts

323 Among the few handcrafts practiced in
[462] the Tzeltal areas, ceramics, produced mainly
by women, is the most widespread. Tenango
[184] and Amatenango del Valle are the only
communities which have made a specialty
of this craft. Tenango exports its products
[439] through the northern zone, Amatenango
through the southern zone, including neigh-
323 boring Guatemalan villages. Both places use
184 a similar ceramic technique but different
shape and ornamentation. Referring to
Amatenango del Valle, Blom and LaFarge
(1926–27, 2:396) state:

> The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one shape; a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, however, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep, reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of boards, two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman in charge turns them
> [438] until they are done. These pots are carried by
> [439] the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they are redistributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala.

283 Another widespread craft is spinning and
286 weaving of fabrics for clothing. No village
in the Tzeltal area trades these products
[438] because production barely meets their fam-
ily needs. The backstrap loom of pre-
Hispanic origin is the chief tool.

Pita articles—ropes, bags, and nets to
[184] gather the harvest or carry loads—are
mainly produced in Oxchuc and Cancuc.
322 In Cancuc wooden combs are also manu-
184 factured.

342 *Houses and Furniture*

Houses, from 3 to 5 m. on a side, are
predominantly square with thatched roofs.
The walls are wattle-and-daub or plain
tree trunks tied with vines. Floors are of
[354] hardened earth. The houses only have one
door and no windows, except in some vil-
[P. 207-A]

571 tions of community members. We now propose to display some of the ways in which further sets of performances, among them drinking, are associated with those already described.

Roles and the procurement of alcohol

273* 571 178 The procurement of alcohol for drinking involves social relationships which have undergone a change within the period of study. Traditionally, Aguacatenangueros have obtained 273* aguardiente--a distilled sugar cane alcohol--by purchase. For 439 many years aguardiente was manufactured by ladinos in San Cristobal and in Comitan principally for sale to the Indians. Before 1940, one ladino family established a liquor monopoly throughout the highlands and with the aid of government liquor inspectors was able to close down all competitors, which meant that production in Comitan and San Cristobal was completely stopped save for the factories of this family. In the first part of this period, then, Aguacatenangueros bought all their aguardiente from Comitan, and it was and still is known as 273* 548 comiteco by Indians and ladinos throughout the area. With the closing down of the several factories that produced aguardiente, Indians--principally Chamulas--began to manufacture the aguardiente in clandestine stills in mountain areas that were apparently dif- [435] ficult to patrol. The monopoly determined price of about 90 pesos a garafón (18 liters) was cut nearly in half by these clandestine operators.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

294 438 With the closing of the stills in Comitan came a second economic pressure which sharply changed the Aguacatenangueros' pattern of travel. The trade specialty which Aguacatenango had intensively developed, at least by 1920 and perhaps long before, was the weaving of palm hats. A principal point of trade for these hats was Comitan where the Aguacatenangueros took them. 294 438 439 With the advent of the Pan-American highway, the region was flooded with nationally manufactured sombreros, which, in the period of ten years completely destroyed the Aguacatenango market. 438 439 *213 As the marketability of palm hats decreased, the Aguacatenangueros stopped going to Comitan; and it was during this same time that the supply of comiteco was cut off.

432 438 *213 The people from Aguacatenango then began to buy their aguardiente from licensed sellers in Pinola (Villa las Rosas) and Teopisca as well as from clandestine sources, the nearest being in Amatenango and the mountainous area that lay between 548 687 there and Chanal. The use of clandestine aguardiente was still restricted by the occasional inspection by patrols of soldiers and liquor inspectors who would examine the contents of the houses in Aguacatenango, confiscating the aguardiente for which one did not have a legitimate receipt and taking the holders of such to jail in San Bartolomé de los Llanos. By the end of the 40's, distillation technology had disseminated widely enough among the Indian municipios that a few men in Aguacatenango began

273* aguardiente. And it was not unusual that they were unable to secure a single liter. In fact, it appears that the termination of drinking performances was in no small amount controlled by
273* the exhausting of the community supply of aguardiente. What re-
432 443 sale there was of aguardiente in the community was carried on
589 by widows who might secure as much as five to six extra liters to resell to men who wished to continue drinking after their own supplies were exhausted. As a business venture, a widow would buy for three pesos the liter which she would sell for five, gaining thus ten pesos every month or six weeks.

273* 796 439 At the fiesta of the patron saint, ladinos would bring in a supply of aguardiente to be sold. The large number of people coming from the neighboring towns made this a profitable
[191] [216] venture for the three or four days of the fiesta. In order to increase the sale of the aguardiente (and other distilled beverages, as well as beer), ladino vendors set up cantina complexes in the plaza, the cantina consisting of a thatch or canvas shelter, a few tables and chairs, and principally a tocadisco--a loudspeaker system connected to a phonograph as well as a microphone, so that music and announcements could be made which
275 216 191 could be heard from blocks around. Typically in this cantina pattern, a man from Aguacatenango would sit down with a few friends, drink a liter or two of aguardiente, and during this period, request that pieces be played on the tocadisco for which

275 216 191 he paid twenty centavos and in return for which payment his name was announced over the loud speaker as well as the name of a person to whom he might wish to "dedicate" the piece.

275 216 191 178 In 1959, there occurred a set of circumstances which permitted the Aguacatenangueros to gain control of the elements of the cantina complex, and in this year cantinas were established permanently in Aguacatenango. As the result of some difficulties in Pinola, the cantineros there were required by the town government to sell or otherwise get rid of their tocadiscos. [432] And three or four of them sold their tocadiscos to the men in Aguacatenango. These gas generator-driven units were set up in various yards in the community, the loudspeakers were mounted on tall poles as is the custom in the neighboring towns, and men came to these door yards when they were drinking to request [171] pieces be played with appropriate dedicatory remarks. The cantineros in Aguacatenango then simply filled out the rest of the cantina complex as they had seen it in the plaza.

442 275 432 439 They began to buy aguardiente by the garafón, most of it from clandestine distillers in the neighboring towns who deliver it to the buyers, and also beer and other distilled beverages, these being delivered by San Cristóbal distributors or bought and transported there by cantineros.

275 Thus the retailers of alcohol drunk by Aguacatenangueros are no longer ladinos and local widows, but local men. Some of

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

We had a better chance here than anywhere else to look over 621
the village government. It being Sunday, all were present, the 624
Presidente Municipal, the *Secretario,* and council of *Regidores,* elderly men, grave of mien, with small, black goatees. The ordinary villagers treated them with the greatest respect. Each official carried a silver-headed cane with a red ribbon tied to it and the name of his office inscribed on the head. They are appointed to their offices by the government with the ratification of the village. The Maestro works entirely through them, and their orders are ab- 624
solutely obeyed. Indeed, owing to the independent nature of the 648
Tenangeros, the Maestro is rather like the ambassador of a powerful foreign nation persuading the local government, through tact and very gentle pressure, to behave.

We finished our survey about noon, the Indians appearing un- 126
willing to have us enter their houses. For the rest of that day we 123
spent our time working up our notes into good shape, then teaching the gift chickens to do tricks until Lazaro claimed them for the pot, and in dodging the local officials who, having got themselves slightly tipsy in honour of the Sabbath, came importuning us to give them cigarettes, of which we ourselves were short.

Both that night and the night before, traveling traders built 443
their little pine fires on the mud verandah of the Cabildo. In one case it was a Mexican and an Indian, in the other two Mexicans, to be distinguished from Indians only by the cut of their trousers and a donkey. They travelled with their big packs on a tump-line, long staff in hand, for all the world like a living re-incarnation of the traders shown in the pre-Columbian drawings of the codices (fig. 320). In old times they traded parrots, macaws, obsidian, textiles, jade, and later, gold and copper. Now it is a business of cheap 443
watches, gaudy cloths, and ten-cent jewelry, bringing Connecticut, 439
Hamburg, and Orizaba down to a fiesta in Bachajon village, following the old trade-route along which we were going, in the other direction, to San Cristóbal. Very few of the present Indian tribes

FIG. 320—Travelling Aztec Merchant. Drawing after the Codex Land.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango
Cancuc

443 themselves maintain an export trade, yet there is some. From the
439 distant, shy Lacandones a little tobacco of fine grade comes out, in exchange for salt, dogs, powder for flint-locks, and aguardiente. Tenango pottery goes down to Salto de Agua and up to Tenejapa where it meets the finer products of Amatenango, with which it cannot compete. Amatenango pottery is traded as far, at least, as San Andres in Guatemala. Chamula blankets are worn in Cancuc, and all through the Chiapas mountains. The Indians of the highest section keep warm in a heavy woolen shirt called "*chuj*," which is made in Guatemala. So they themselves, on a small scale, and the Ladino peddlers yet more, keep alive a vestige of the old trade that once ran from Central America to Utah.

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291
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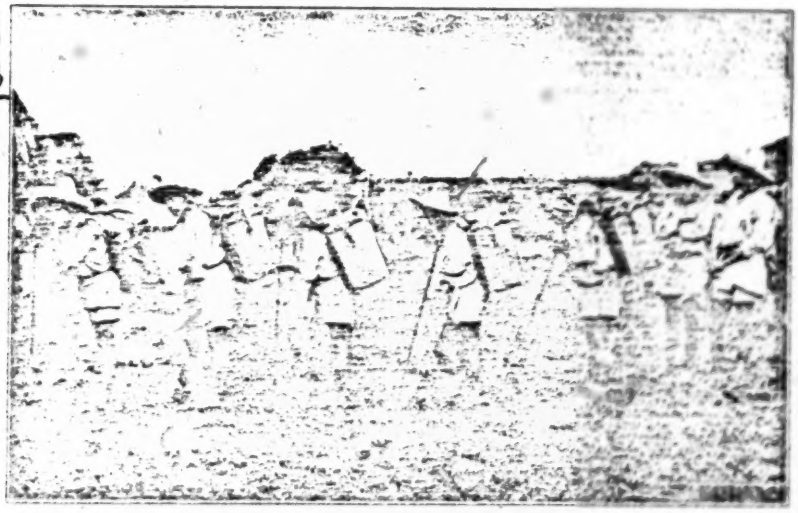

Fig. 321—Carradores with our boxes.

114 The last day's climb had seriously fatigued our horses. It became obvious that they alone could not bring us safely through, so on the sixth we arranged for five *cargadores*, under one of the village councillors, to carry five of our boxes through to Cancuc (fig. 321). It seemed as though that would make quite a load for each of these men, but we came to realize that the carrying power of a Highland Tzeltal truly puts a mule to shame.

At the end of the valley we swung up into the highroad that runs from San Cristóbal to the Lowlands at Salto de Agua. Once fairly well smoothed and levelled, this road is now impassable for ox-carts, and even horses must pick their way over the jagged limestone

have recently sought additional lands in the ejido of Brindis to meet these minimal requirements. This preference for expanding subsistence agriculture to hiring out as laborers is the best index to the persistence of traditional economic pursuits. 423 433 178 241 464

Farmers who do not have a cash crop in wheat may be forced to sell corn even when there is no surplus. Because they usually need the cash as soon as they harvest their crop, they must sell when the prices are low. Thus their consumption needs exacerbate the disadvantage they face in the market. 434 435

Clothing, whether traditional or modern in style, requires cash outlays. Women have kept the traditional costume while men are modifying their clothing. Even when they go to hot country, older women wear the heavy cotton skirt bound with a thick sash and topped by an embroidered blouse; some younger women have adopted the long cotton dirndl skirt and peasant blouse. A white cotton shawl is added for ceremonial events or for warmth in the evening. All of their clothing is either bought or made of materials woven on looms in Comitán or San Bartolomé. The navy blue skirt, which they say is black, and the red and yellow sash are sold for 40 to 50 pesos by Ladina vendors who come to town. The blouse is made from two meters of heavy white cotton sold in the local stores or in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. Most prefer the more expensive cotton woven on bed looms in San Bartolomé, but it is not always available. They embroider the wide bands of yellow and red around the neckline with embroidery floss sold in the local store. The fringed shawl from Comitán is also sold locally, but is often purchased during the annual fiestas in the town. These items are replaced every two or three years, depending on the wealth of the family. The newer clothing is worn on ceremonial occasions, and the older clothing is worn every day. Women wear sandals and hats for protection only when they are firing pottery. For jewelry they wear bead necklaces, sometimes with crosses attached. Their hair is braided with ribbons for fiestas, or simply left hanging when they work. 434 291 178 [439] [435] [294] [292] [751] [301] [302]

Men buy a woolen jacket called *kotonču*, which is brought illegally from the Department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala, where it is made, 434 291 439

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9.Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

and sold in Comitán. It is the same as the costume worn by the Indians of that area. A similar garment is made in Comitán but is considered inferior to the contraband product. Shirts and wrapped trousers made of coarse cotton are stitched and sold in Teopisca. The trousers are bound with a red woven sash. These items make up the modified costume worn by most of the boys and men. Men over sixty wear a long, coarsely woven shirt with a slashed neck made in San Bartolomé. This is caught at the waist with a woven band and worn over short trousers. In the evening or during ceremonies the kotonču is always worn. The older men wear high-backed sandals attached to rubber-tire soles with thongs, while younger men wear the *huarache* of crossed leather bands secured to a rubber-tire sole found in many parts of Mexico. Increasingly men are taking on the western clothing worn by Ladinos—the belted cotton trousers, shirt, and underclothing sold in the local store and in the neighboring towns. In 1957, only a half-dozen men, all of them former students in the boarding school established in Cárdenas' term of office, wore this dress, but today over twenty middle-aged men and dozens of youths in their teens wear it. Those who wear modern clothing have substituted a zippered "air-force" jacket for the kotonču. All men wear factory-made straw hats, under which, on ceremonial occasions, they wear a red bandanna bound over the forehead and tied at the nape of the neck. A high-crowned palm hat with black designs, ordered by the alfereces when they enter office, used to be woven by a few specialists; now only one man can make them.

The changing styles in men's clothing reflect three stages of acculturation. The older style worn by elders is said to be the costume worn by the ancestors who live in the cave. Since all of the items are and have for some time been purchased from outside the town, the changing pattern of consumption—the change from modified peasant to ladino-style clothing—has not affected local production.

Girl's wear a machine-embroidered peasant blouse and a mid-calf gathered skirt made of cotton or rayon and purchased in the neighboring towns. They change to the woman's costume when they reach their teens. Boys wear the same clothing as their fathers, except for the old costume. Table 12 shows the cost for these items.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

342 177 178 434 of witchcraft. Today probably 95 percent of the new roofs are made of tile. Often the old roofs cannot be replaced with tile because the rafters were not built to support them. One result of the change has been the dependence on a carpenter to construct the gables, since they have to be lined up more accurately than they do with thatch or palm roofs. [335]

361 351 434 House lots in the town center are preferred to those on the margins. As residents of house sites on the ejido lands at the margins of the town acquire wealth, one of the first things they try to do is acquire a house closer to the plaza. These lots are smaller, averaging about 500 square meters, while those farther out average 900 square meters. In a sample measurement of 100 house lots, the size ranged from 180 to 1,440 square meters, and the average size was 77 square meters. Considering the advantages of a large lot in growing chile fruits and corn, the preference for smaller central lots reveals the strong prestige factor influencing choice. [554]

352 435 House furnishings include both purchased and homemade items. Sleeping accommodations consist of wooden bedboards, either nailed on a frame or simply laid on blocks and covered with a straw mat. Woolen blankets from Comitán are sold locally at a price of 24 pesos or for 20 pesos in San Cristóbal and 18 pesos in Comitán. Most households own two or three wooden benches which line the walls of the porch and are made locally. Small chairs are purchased from Chamula carpenters at a cost of 2 to 4 pesos, as well as a small table costing about 4. A higher table is provided for the saints' pictures and candle holders, incense burner, and flower vases or tin cans. Hooks are fashioned from the crotch of trees and suspended on the house posts. Wooden boxes are bought from Ladino carpenters in San Cristóbal at a cost of 10 to 20 pesos depending on size and workmanship and are used to store clothing. In addition to the homemade water holders, water carriers, comales, strainers, and bowls, handmade glazed ware from San Cristóbal, factory-made porcelain dishes, metal cooking pots, knives, and spoons are purchased. Gourds provide serving ware for ceremonial occasions. Stone grinding platforms and rollers are purchased in San Cristóbal for about 10 pesos. Two new items have become increasingly popular in the past five years: a metal grinding machine for corn, hand operated and costing from 40 to 60 pesos depending on the size and quality, and a hinged press for tortillas, costing 15 pesos if made [513] [778] [322] 415 435 439 [412] 435 415 177

members entry to the ejido colony, an area where traffic was formerly excluded because of the monopoly by the large trucking companies. Both the fruit and root of chayote are sold in August by some families who have a supply over consumption needs. It is brought along with pottery to the market of San Cristóbal where it is sold to *regatones,* retail sellers who have stalls. 241 442 443 [489]

Decisions as to what crops to plant are not responsive to market fluctuation. With the major emphasis on subsistence crops, the farmers have little margin of land on which to experiment with profitable but risky ventures. They have little knowledge or experience. There are no full-time specialists in market operations, although the truck drivers may gradually assume a greater role in this respect.

Very few Indians of the region, and none of those in Tzoʔontahal sell corn to the National Warehouses (Almacenes Nacionales de Deposito), although the warehouses offer prices higher than the going market price for corn. (940 pesos per ton in comparison to 500 to 600 pesos at harvest or 800 pesos offered a few months later by wholesalers who come to town). The reason for their failure to take advantage of the higher market price is that they do not have sufficiently large crops to pay the transportation costs of 28.75 pesos or the "tip" to ensure that their crops will not be declared substandard because of impurities, rotten kernels, insects, or excessive water content. In addition to that, they must spend time at the warehouses and in traveling. The alternative to the sale of crops to national warehouses is sale to wholesalers. 241 442 443 439 [489]

Dealing with external agencies. Entering into competitive areas where they were formerly excluded, the Indians are encountering opposition from competitors and are the prey of departmental and state government agents. The reduplication of bureaucracies at the state and departmental level means that they will be subject to the double "bite" or *mordida* if they pursue their enterprises. Operating on minimal capital, they are not able to fulfill all the requirements, or buy all the necessary permits and licenses. Because of monopolization of certain traffic by the larger syndicates of truck owners, they proceed without permits and are often caught. 471 648 [494]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Chapter 3

New Economic Activities

43 The role of the Indian in the regional and national economy is being
44 shaped more and more by supralocal institutions in public and private en-
177 terprises. The Indians of Tzoʔontahal have mobilized their own resources
178 to incorporate these opportunities. In this they reveal a selective perception of the economic and social advantages of innovation and a tendency to translate form and function into a local idiom. The success of planning at national or regional levels depends upon incorporation of projects at local levels, while the survival of the local group depends upon acceptance of
178 the new opportunities to absorb rising populations.

177 The major institutional settings in which innovation is occurring are
423 (1) the ejido program, (2) employment in agricultural and nonagricul-
46H tural enterprises outside of the community, and (3) economic enterprises
43 originating within the community. My discussion of the economic potential of the local community to adapt to change will be organized in terms of these settings.

The Economic Potential of the Ejido

423

Mexico's ejido program, as one of the oldest and most extensive attempts at land reform in the hemisphere, provides a basis for assessing the economic potential of such programs. Here I shall consider only the effects of ejido administration in the community and what this case illustrates of the potential for development in the future.

Manuel Giraul (quoted in de la Peña 1951:327) summarizes the negative effects of the ejido program:

> In Mexico, the ejido system constitutes an institutionalized block to the reform of the social and economic structure; it corresponds to a

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

dies, the owner announces on the loudspeaker of the local bars that he will sell meat at 5 pesos a portion. He preserves the hide to make saddle packs and tumplines. But the loss is great because he will not be able to buy a new bull with what he earns. If the bull lives, he will be better in three weeks and can carry loads. It is a very dangerous operation since the scrotum of a bull is very large. It is easier with a horse. 232

Surrounding the event with a ceremonial complex minimizes the development of commercialized relations between the caponizer and the owner. Most men who acquire several head of cattle or horses eventually learn to do the task themselves.

Handicrafts performed by men include rope-making from the tails of horses or from plant fibers, and weaving net bags. Most of the men who are assigned to the civil hierarchy spend their spare time in the cabildo making these items. 462 283 286

Carpentry is a skill now being practiced by two Indians of the town who "just learned by watching." They are called upon to help people in constructing the house frame, for which they receive 50 pesos in wages. A Ladino living on the margin of the town is a full-time specialist with his own shop. In addition to supervising house construction, he makes furniture and caskets to order. 322 [465]

New Economic Enterprises

In the operation of the new enterprises, which include cattle raising, cooperative ownership of a store, bars, and trucks, and liquor distilling, several patterns of organization have emerged. Some of these are based on preexisting social groupings, while others represent innovations. The social resources of management, credit operations, and the development of new skills within these local enterprises are of significance in preparing Indians for new occupations in the wider society. 43 44

Cattle raising. The most traditional organization is found in the case of cattle raising. Cattle have been in the town at least as far back as the 1915 revolutionary period when informants indicate that most of the 231 233

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

293 472 cause of the limited capital involved and the fear of discovery with the expansion of the enterprise. A loose syndicate of distillers provides an insur-
273 ance protection by raising fines for members who are apprehended by fed-
548 eral agents. Security measures are taken to avoid discovery, and the pres-
661 ence of a federal agent is announced in Tzeltal on the loudspeaker system of one of the bars. One federal agent is on the payroll of the four operating bar owners, who give him 5 pesos a week to avoid legal action on the sale of contraband liquor. Individual distillers pay the tariff of 10 pesos or two liters of liquor a year to the civil officials and to the ejido commission, a tariff justified by the fact that they use wood from communally owned land to cook the sugar. The syndicate is a community-wide organization, mobilized in emergencies only.

The New Social Resources

177 In the course of operating the new enterprises, knowledge of and experi-
178 ence with supralocal institutions and agents are developing social re-
43 sources in (1) entrepreneurship, (2) management of capital and credit,
44 (3) knowledge of markets, and (4) dealing with government agencies. In
621 entering into these new economic activities, the Indians have not lost a
156 sense of belonging to the local community. Self-identification as poor, indigenous farmers is both a screen of protection and a means of ensuring continuity with local control systems.

472 *Entrepreneurship.* Local entrepreneurs explain their motivation in
621 a rhetoric which emphasizes their interest in community welfare. This val-
156 idates entering into nontraditional activities, but retaining their position in local society inhibits the expansions of their activities. The case of Santos,
159 the promoter of the trucking cooperative is instructive. Santos had picked
472 up some accounting techniques while he served in the army in Mi-
621 choacán. He returned to the village because his father walked from Chia-
45 pas to Michoacán to tell him he should come back and get married. When he returned, he kept careful account of his costs and returns from the milpa. He realized soon that it wasn't "worth his work" (the Indian has not as yet learned the idiom or the value system which goes into the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

323
178 coming from the smaller towns to buy. The Indians still bring pottery to
442 sell retail in towns that they visit during a fiesta. One of these is the barrio
443 of Lok'ibal in the município of Villa Carranza, where people go on the third Friday of Lent to get holy water from the spring.

The Indians have not taken advantage of the truck to buy pottery wholesale and market it directly in the smaller towns, selling from the truck in the plaza as some of the wholesale fruit truckers do. Another operation which they have failed to profit from is buying the wheat harvest and selling to government warehouses, as some of the Ladino truckers do.

44 Lack of capital is the major reason for failure to exploit these opportuni-
471 ties. In marketing the contraband liquor, which is the most flourishing of
273 the new enterprises, the Indians have not yet entered into the external
443 markets except in the case of one young unmarried mother. Wholesale
434 purchases are made by Ladinos, primarily women, from other towns who resell the liquor in Comitán and on the coast. There is however, a well-de-
[675] veloped home market since all contracts are sealed with the offering of liq-
[681] uor, the "gift of the gods," all court fines are paid in liquor, and the main
[583] gift in betrothal is liquor. The cantinas with phonograph players opened
[275] by the cooperatives operate very successfully on Saturday night and during
[216] fiestas. The internal market for liquor is controlled by a syndicate of the
[548] forty-two independent liquor distillers. The price is set at 4 pesos per liter
[435] for all buyers, with the buyer providing the bottle.

Agricultural production is not geared to a market, and Indians do not
241 take advantage of fluctuations in price. Wheat yields a lower return per
442 unit of land than corn, but it is grown for two reasons: the Indians believe
443 that crop rotation of corn and wheat prevents depletion of the soil, and wheat requires less work since no cultivation is needed. Wheat is a cash crop and none of it is milled or consumed directly in town. Poor families sell their wheat "standing" to Teopisca truckers. The price given the
[435] grower is usually about 90 pesos per hundred kilograms, and it is resold at 110 or 120 pesos in Tuxtla or to the government storehouses. Wheat is sometimes brought directly to San Cristóbal millers who give 120 per hundred kilograms. Corn is primarily a subsistence crop when grown in the center. Corn grown in hot country ejido land is now sold in Teopisca and
[489] San Cristóbal. The local truck cooperative has a special permit which gives

275 216 191 he paid twenty centavos and in return for which payment his name was announced over the loud speaker as well as the name of a person to whom he might wish to "dedicate" the piece.

275 216 191 178 In 1959, there occurred a set of circumstances which permitted the Aguacatenangueros to gain control of the elements of the cantina complex, and in this year cantinas were established permanently in Aguacatenango. As the result of some difficulties in Pinola, the cantineros there were required by the town government to sell or otherwise get rid of their tocadiscos. [432] And three or four of them sold their tocadiscos to the men in Aguacatenango. These gas generator-driven units were set up in various yards in the community, the loudspeakers were mounted on tall poles as is the custom in the neighboring towns, and men came to these door yards when they were drinking to request [171] pieces be played with appropriate dedicatory remarks. The cantineros in Aguacatenango then simply filled out the rest of the cantina complex as they had seen it in the plaza.

• 442 275 432 439 They began to buy aguardiente by the garafón, most of it from clandestine distillers in the neighboring towns who deliver it to the buyers, and also beer and other distilled beverages, these being delivered by San Cristóbal distributors or bought and transported there by cantineros.

275 Thus the retailers of alcohol drunk by Aguacatenangueros are no longer ladinos and local widows, but local men. Some of

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

maximum market price for wheat of 124 pesos per 100 kgs. The Indians usually sell their wheat at 90 pesos per 100 kgs. to Teopisca truckers, or at best gain 110 pesos per 100 kgs. by bringing it to the mills themselves. From their perspective corn is the more valuable crop, not only from the point of view of subsistence, but also for sale since if they hold it in storage they can sell it at double the price at which the values are calculated in the census (.60 peso per kg.). They do not have facilities to store wheat in order to take maximum advantage of price changes.

The census I made in 1964 of land ownership and use by the 304 families living in the center of the township (Table 5) shows that 47 percent of the households have no land other than the ejido grant of one hectare. Because of the growing population, the land per household has decreased. A comparison with the 1958 census of land ownership of 280 households in the center indicates that 89 families now have less land than they had at that date, 72 have the same amount, and 44 have more land; 99 unknown cases include new families which have been created since the earlier date, families which were no longer in existence in 1964, and households in which there is a lack of data on the question of landholding.

The strong sentiment against the sale of one's own land, well documented in the monographic literature,[2] is expressed here:

If a man sells his land without sickness, people say he is lazy. The best thing to buy if you have money is land. Unlike cattle, it does not die, it does not get lost, and it does not need watching. It is not the same with a horse. When you buy one, you have to watch it and care for it and when it dies, all is over. You lose all your money. But with land, in two years you have the land paid for and it remains as a gift. It gives us what we eat.

Land is rarely sold to outsiders. If a man needs money and has a buyer from out of town, the civil authorities raise the money and buy the plot, selling it in pieces as they find buyers. Only one small plot of land has been sold to an outsider in my knowledge of the community. This plot

2. See Tax (1957), Wagley (1941). Oscar Lewis (1963:125 indicates that in Tepotzlan the breakdown of the resistance to selling land was associated with a growing awareness of profits to be made in the regional and national economy.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 32]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

323 pyramid is complete, wood is laid against the pots in a tepee formation.
[313] When the sawmill in the vicinity was in operation, flat boards—scraps of
[372] cut lengths—were used, but now only logs are available. Corn husks or
[462] dry straw are stuffed between the planks or logs. When a large number of pots are being fired, the men usually help at the final stages to remove the
[476] charred planks with poles. If men are not available, the women of the household often call upon their neighbors for help. In this operation, the
[292] women wear sandals and hats for protection from the heat. When the pots are cooled, the women, sometimes with the help of the men, stack them in net bags, six to a net with straw protecting the pots.

647 About fifteen year ago, a kiln was introduced by the government in the
177 interest of conserving wood. Those who tried it claim that the pottery did
323 not fire well and that many of the pots were broken. I.N.I. (the Instituto
372 Nacional Indigenista) planned to introduce an improved kiln, and while most of the people we questioned expressed a willingness to try it, the proposal was never put into action.

462 The men do most of the marketing of pottery. Loads of one or two
442 dozen may be taken by bus or truck to San Cristóbal or to Comitán.
443 When there is large-scale production throughout the community, as occurs
494 just before major fiestas, truckers come from the neighboring town of Teopisca to contract for delivery.

592 The amount of pottery produced in households varies with the follow-
323 ing factors:
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1. Household composition: (a) Number of women in the family.
[464] If there is only one woman, very little or no pottery is produced because of the demands of domestic duties. Households with two or more women are able to sustain the ideal output of at least a dozen water jugs a week (I use "ideal" here to suggest their notion of what they produce when asked to guess. As Fig. 2 indicates, this varies considerably during the
[887] year.) (b) Age of women and ages of children. Older women over sixty do not independently undertake pottery production. They may assist in washing pots with corn gruel or making the neck, mouth, and handles, but they are unable to endure the harder task of collecting clay. A woman with infants under two years of age makes little pottery if

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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Payment of interest on money borrowed is justified in the calculations of the Indians for loans made within as well as outside of the community. Interest, called *shol tak'in,* or "head" of money, makes it possible for the borrower to work, and thus to earn, so the "owner" has the right to charge for the use. The rate on loans made within the pueblo has risen from 2 or 3 pesos a month for 100 pesos to 5 pesos, thus equalizing the rate with that charged in the neighboring Ladino town. The same rate is applied between relatives as nonkin. The advantage of intracommunity borrowing is that the lender does not demand an immediate return, or as high security. Ladinos of the neighboring town tend to demand items of greater value than the debt held as security—one Ladino held title to land worth 1,000 pesos for a 50-peso debt, and threatened to foreclose. Within the pueblo, security of about the same value as the loan is asked except in the case of neighbors and relatives who can be reminded every day of the debt. And they are. 426 621 602 [571]

Markets. In marketing, the Indians of Tzo'ontahal have neither extended nor gained control over the selling and buying operations that have been pursued since before the opening of the Pan-American Highway in 1955. The pottery which is produced locally was formerly carried on horseback to the smaller towns within a radius of fifty miles. The pottery was marketed directly by the men of the household which produced it, with no specialization in trading by commercial travelers, as had happened in the Zapotec and other areas of Mexico. Since the penetration of the Pan-American Highway, the men take the pottery produced in their households by bus or on the trucks to either San Cristóbal or Comitán. This tends to polarize trading operations and dry up the traffic into small towns not connected by the highway. As a result, the wholesale trade in San Cristóbal and Comitán has increased in the past decade, with dealers 442 443 178 323 442 443 [492] [462] [494]

323 178 442 443 coming from the smaller towns to buy. The Indians still bring pottery to sell retail in towns that they visit during a fiesta. One of these is the barrio of Lok'ibal in the município of Villa Carranza, where people go on the third Friday of Lent to get holy water from the spring.

The Indians have not taken advantage of the truck to buy pottery wholesale and market it directly in the smaller towns, selling from the truck in the plaza as some of the wholesale fruit truckers do. Another operation which they have failed to profit from is buying the wheat harvest and selling to government warehouses, as some of the Ladino truckers do.

44 471 Lack of capital is the major reason for failure to exploit these opportunities. In marketing the contraband liquor, which is the most flourishing of 273 443 434 the new enterprises, the Indians have not yet entered into the external markets except in the case of one young unmarried mother. Wholesale purchases are made by Ladinos, primarily women, from other towns who resell the liquor in Comitán and on the coast. There is however, a well-de- [675] [681] [583] [275] [216] [548] [435] veloped home market since all contracts are sealed with the offering of liquor, the "gift of the gods," all court fines are paid in liquor, and the main gift in betrothal is liquor. The cantinas with phonograph players opened by the cooperatives operate very successfully on Saturday night and during fiestas. The internal market for liquor is controlled by a syndicate of the forty-two independent liquor distillers. The price is set at 4 pesos per liter for all buyers, with the buyer providing the bottle.

241 442 443 Agricultural production is not geared to a market, and Indians do not take advantage of fluctuations in price. Wheat yields a lower return per unit of land than corn, but it is grown for two reasons: the Indians believe that crop rotation of corn and wheat prevents depletion of the soil, and wheat requires less work since no cultivation is needed. Wheat is a cash crop and none of it is milled or consumed directly in town. Poor families sell their wheat "standing" to Teopisca truckers. The price given the [435] grower is usually about 90 pesos per hundred kilograms, and it is resold at 110 or 120 pesos in Tuxtla or to the government storehouses. Wheat is sometimes brought directly to San Cristóbal millers who give 120 per hundred kilograms. Corn is primarily a subsistence crop when grown in the center. Corn grown in hot country ejido land is now sold in Teopisca and [489] San Cristóbal. The local truck cooperative has a special permit which gives

members entry to the ejido colony, an area where traffic was formerly excluded because of the monopoly by the large trucking companies. Both the fruit and root of chayote are sold in August by some families who have a supply over consumption needs. It is brought along with pottery to the market of San Cristóbal where it is sold to *regatones,* retail sellers who have stalls.

Decisions as to what crops to plant are not responsive to market fluctuation. With the major emphasis on subsistence crops, the farmers have little margin of land on which to experiment with profitable but risky ventures. They have little knowledge or experience. There are no full-time specialists in market operations, although the truck drivers may gradually assume a greater role in this respect.

Very few Indians of the region, and none of those in Tzo?ontahal sell corn to the National Warehouses (Almacenes Nacionales de Deposito), although the warehouses offer prices higher than the going market price for corn. (940 pesos per ton in comparison to 500 to 600 pesos at harvest or 800 pesos offered a few months later by wholesalers who come to town). The reason for their failure to take advantage of the higher market price is that they do not have sufficiently large crops to pay the transportation costs of 28.75 pesos or the "tip" to ensure that their crops will not be declared substandard because of impurities, rotten kernels, insects, or excessive water content. In addition to that, they must spend time at the warehouses and in traveling. The alternative to the sale of crops to national warehouses is sale to wholesalers.

Dealing with external agencies. Entering into competitive areas where they were formerly excluded, the Indians are encountering opposition from competitors and are the prey of departmental and state government agents. The reduplication of bureaucracies at the state and departmental level means that they will be subject to the double "bite" or *mordida* if they pursue their enterprises. Operating on minimal capital, they are not able to fulfill all the requirements, or buy all the necessary permits and licenses. Because of monopolization of certain traffic by the larger syndicates of truck owners, they proceed without permits and are often caught.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The Indians manufacture and consume *chicha*, an alcoholic beverage fermented from sugar cane or maize. They drink larger quantities of rum prepared in Ladino-owned distilleries. *Pilico*, a combination of lime and tobacco, is chewed frequently, especially in Oxchuc, Tenejapa, and Cancuc.

Tenejapa is the only Tzeltal town that enjoys importance as a market center. Here a market is held every Sunday.

Pottery is made for sale outside the local community in Amatenango and in Tenango. In almost all the other communities the industry is practised in a rudimentary form merely to supply local needs. Blom and LaFarge observed and reported the techniques of pottery manufacture at Sivacá;[19] Villa limits his data to mentioning the industry there. Blom and LaFarge report, on hearsay, the method of making large, egg-shaped, three-handled water jars at Tenango; Villa observed and reported this industry. The former authors report that the clay used is "a light greenish brown colour."[20] Villa says that two kinds of clay, "white earth" and "red earth," are combined to form the paste. Villa also noted the tempering with a ground sandy limestone (*hi*); and the painting with a paint made from a soft stone from the river (*huxu-tzaik*). The pots and griddles are made from one kind of clay tempered with a different sandstone called *bax*. The method of firing described for Sivacá by Blom and LaFarge from hearsay, involving the preparation of "an A-roof, forming a long tunnel,"[21] was observed and photographed by Villa in Tenango. Villa was told that vessels after firing are filled with *pozole* in water to reduce the porosity.

In Tenejapa metates are made for export, and in Oxchuc halters, lead-ropes, nets and bags. The methods of weaving, net making and basketry, reported by Blom and LaFarge for Bachajón[22] were not reported by Villa.

The type of habitation is the same throughout the whole region, although there are small variations from village to village. The houses are rectangular in form with four-sided roofs, thatched with grass, and with sides made of poles and clay. Only the houses of Chanal form an exception. The walls of these structures are in most cases of wood. The houses of Tenango present another exception in that they are the only ones where the roofs do not terminate in a ridge, but in a point, it is usual to cover this with an inverted pot. Houses are throughout divided into two rooms, one of which serves as living room and kitchen and the other as sleeping room. In some cases the kitchen is placed in the latter section. There is a single door in front; only in certain settlements to the north, as Chilón and Yajalon, where the influence of the white man has been greater, are houses to be seen with two doors and even some with small windows. The floor is always of packed earth.

The furnishings of the living room are limited in general to beds, improvised of boards placed on the ground or on logs, and covered with mats. The hammock is little used; it is generally reserved for children. The furnishings and domestic

[19] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 342-345.
[20] *Ibid.*, 2: 183.
[21] *Ibid.*, 2: 344.
[22] *Ibid.*, 2: 345-349.

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

421 586 her own clothes and her backstrap loom. A widow may continue living in the hut and use its equipment only if she has a son. Otherwise, she must leave the house and return to her father's home because the land will be claimed by the brothers or other male relatives of the deceased husband.

Production and Consumption Groups

592 433 241 The family controls all matters related to production and consumption. The head of the house, with the help of his wife and other members of the family, takes care of farming and producing the basic food crops. 462 476 241 In the most conservative communities, the old custom of planting by a cooperative group, composed of relatives and friends, is still practiced. This is a task for men exclusively, since much skill and strength are required to dig up the ground in carefully spaced, perfectly straight rows. The owner [785] of the milpa has to fast and observe sexual [834] abstinence before starting the planting.

462 592 Only the family shares in the rest of the labor, according to their sex: men take care of tasks requiring much effort, women perform those such as tending domestic animals. [476] Help from relatives and neighbors may also be asked occasionally, to build up fences around the orchard, to open or improve irrigation systems, etc.

Trade and Markets

438 Tenango and Amatenango concentrate on producing ceramics and trading them to neighboring municipios. Other municipios have a very limited commercial activity: Tenejapa exports a few sleeping mats; Oxchuc, ropes, nets, and pita bags; Cancuc, wooden combs; Bachajon, clay toys. These Tzeltal villages have no specialized merchants as do Zinacantan and Chamula.

443 There are a few markets where a large number of people meet regularly: Teopisca, in the south, has a Sunday market where natives from Aguacatenango, Amatenango, and Pinola meet. In the central part of the region they meet every Sunday at the mar-

[P. 212-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

443 ket of Tenejapa. Other commercial centers are Ocosingo, Chilon, and Yajalon in the north. These markets are also frequented by Ladinos, but others, located far from the cabecera, are exclusively for Indians. The most important of them is the Saturday market of Yochib near Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc. It draws 300–400 natives, who arrive at dawn carrying agricultural and handcraft products. Most people come from 8 to 10 in the morning, after which they begin to depart; about 2 or 3 P.M. only those staying to drink chicha are left. Transactions
[430] are paid in trade or in money.

Wage Work

464 Because the cold climate and the rugged topography of the region produce little corn, the natives must work periodically as day laborers on the coffee plantations of the Soconusco area on the Pacific coast. About 7000 Tzeltal and a few more Tzotzil work there each year. Natives may go to the coffee plantations any time of the year but prefer to do so during the months the milpa requires less attention (either after planting or after harvest). Between Yajalon and Ocosingo are plantations where men from the neighboring villages are hired for short periods.

Use of Wealth

556 578 829 183 Because of their social organization, it is very difficult for these Indians to accumulate wealth. The worst sin an individual can commit against the community is to store up crops, domestic animals, or clothes, or simply to build a better house. Whatever
[754] raises an individual above his fellows—buying a new house, improving an old one, buying a horse—can cause in them a deep fear of being the target of witchcraft (Villa Rojas, 1947).

556 829 183 Those who, enjoying good health, are able to pile up some wealth, are obliged by the community to spend it in banquets and amusements for the community. It is believed that the old men and principales

[P. 213-A]

273* aguardiente. And it was not unusual that they were unable to secure a single liter. In fact, it appears that the termination of drinking performances was in no small amount controlled by
273* the exhausting of the community supply of aguardiente. What re-
432 443 sale there was of aguardiente in the community was carried on
589 by widows who might secure as much as five to six extra liters to resell to men who wished to continue drinking after their own supplies were exhausted. As a business venture, a widow would buy for three pesos the liter which she would sell for five, gaining thus ten pesos every month or six weeks.

273* 796 439 At the fiesta of the patron saint, ladinos would bring in a supply of aguardiente to be sold. The large number of people coming from the neighboring towns made this a profitable
[191] [216] venture for the three or four days of the fiesta. In order to increase the sale of the aguardiente (and other distilled beverages, as well as beer), ladino vendors set up cantina complexes in the plaza, the cantina consisting of a thatch or canvas shelter, a few tables and chairs, and principally a tocadisco--a loudspeaker system connected to a phonograph as well as a microphone, so that music and announcements could be made which
275 could be heard from blocks around. Typically in this cantina
216 191 pattern, a man from Aguacatenango would sit down with a few friends, drink a liter or two of aguardiente, and during this period, request that pieces be played on the tocadisco for which

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

We had a better chance here than anywhere else to look over 621
the village government. It being Sunday, all were present, the 624
Presidente Municipal, the *Secretario,* and council of *Regidores,* elderly men, grave of mien, with small, black goatees. The ordinary villagers treated them with the greatest respect. Each official carried a silver-headed cane with a red ribbon tied to it and the name of his office inscribed on the head. They are appointed to their offices by the government with the ratification of the village. The Maestro works entirely through them, and their orders are ab- 624
solutely obeyed. Indeed, owing to the independent nature of the 648
Tenangeros, the Maestro is rather like the ambassador of a powerful foreign nation persuading the local government, through tact and very gentle pressure, to behave.

We finished our survey about noon, the Indians appearing un- 126
willing to have us enter their houses. For the rest of that day we 123
spent our time working up our notes into good shape, then teaching the gift chickens to do tricks until Lazaro claimed them for the pot, and in dodging the local officials who, having got themselves slightly tipsy in honour of the Sabbath, came importuning us to give them cigarettes, of which we ourselves were short.

Both that night and the night before, traveling traders built 443
their little pine fires on the mud verandah of the Cabildo. In one case it was a Mexican and an Indian, in the other two Mexicans, to be distinguished from Indians only by the cut of their trousers and a donkey. They travelled with their big packs on a tump-line, long staff in hand, for all the world like a living re-incarnation of the traders shown in the pre-Columbian drawings of the codices (fig. 320). In old times they traded parrots, macaws, obsidian, textiles,

FIG. 320—Travelling Aztec Merchant. Drawing after the Codex Laud.

jade, and later, gold and copper. Now it is a business of cheap 443
watches, gaudy cloths, and ten-cent jewelry, bringing Connecticut, 439
Hamburg, and Orizaba down to a fiesta in Bachajon village, following the old trade-route along which we were going, in the other direction, to San Cristóbal. Very few of the present Indian tribes

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango
Cancuc

443 439 themselves maintain an export trade, yet there is some. From the distant, shy Lacandones a little tobacco of fine grade comes out, in exchange for salt, dogs, powder for flint-locks, and aguardiente. Tenango pottery goes down to Salto de Agua and up to Tenejapa where it meets the finer products of Amatenango, with which it cannot compete. Amatenango pottery is traded as far, at least, as San Andres in Guatemala. Chamula blankets are worn in Cancuc, and all through the Chiapas mountains. The Indians of the highest section keep warm in a heavy woolen shirt called *"chuj,"* which is made in Guatemala. So they themselves, on a small scale, and the Ladino peddlers yet more, keep alive a vestige of the old trade that once ran from Central America to Utah.

114 291 482

FIG. 321—Cargadores with our boxes.

114 The last day's climb had seriously fatigued our horses. It became obvious that they alone could not bring us safely through, so on the sixth we arranged for five *cargadores,* under one of the village councillors, to carry five of our boxes through to Cancuc (fig. 321). It seemed as though that would make quite a load for each of these men, but we came to realize that the carrying power of a Highland Tzeltal truly puts a mule to shame.

At the end of the valley we swung up into the highroad that runs from San Cristóbal to the Lowlands at Salto de Agua. Once fairly well smoothed and levelled, this road is now impassable for ox-carts, and even horses must pick their way over the jagged limestone

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Tenejapa

361 Amatenango lies in an open valley. It is estimated at three
342 hundred houses, each in a fenced yard of good size, and shaded with
351 fruit trees. The houses are large and well built, of mud and grass
245 thatch, with porches. The small church and Town Hall are tiled-
346 roof and stuccoed. The fields, which lie close around the town, and
344 the gardens in the town itself are watered by a stream brought down
241 a very pretty, roaring flume from higher land behind the village.
312 The irrigation system is fairly elaborate, and is unique in this area as far as we know.

323 The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one shape, a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, how-

344

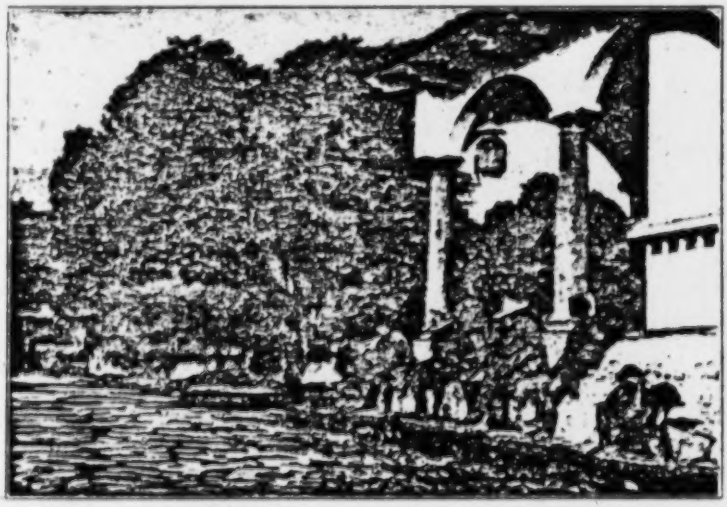

FIG. 332—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians at the Town Hall.

323 ever, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep, reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of boards, two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman in charge turns them until they are done (fig. 333). These pots are
[443] carried by the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they are redis-
[192] tributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala. Their industry is sufficient to enable them to maintain mules for carrying their goods, although both men and beasts are equally loaded.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

by the company truck to replenish supplies they bring with them. Most of the workers are young men in their twenties and thirties. They return Saturday evening in a truck supplied by the company and go back to work on Monday morning. Weekly wage payments have upset the usual controls over budget management. Money earned from crops is handled by women. The sawmill workers have resisted passing over their paychecks to their wives or mothers, and several court cases have been precipitated as a result (Appendix 2b).

All of the work in which men are engaged outside of the community is voluntarily undertaken for cash compensation. Formerly, forced labor of two kinds was frequently demanded of the Indians: communal labor in the neighboring ladino town when Tzoʔontahal was an *agente municipal* of that town, and work in neighboring fincas for wages of 50 cents a day. Forced communal work came to an end when the town became an independent municipio in 1931, and the labor roundups at substandard wages were ended when Indians became conscious of their rights guaranteed in the *Ley Federal del Trabajo* in the late 30s. Copies of the *Colección Jurídica Ley Federal del Trabajo* are sold in the departmental marketplace along with the *Codigo Agraria*. Awareness of their rights as workers is concomitant with increasing entry into wage labor employment outside of the local community. As yet, Indians do not have any organized labor interest groups to champion their rights. The Commissioner of Indian affairs in the departmental capital is an intermediary in individual cases that arise. But wage levels and conditions of work are set in a free market in which the Indian's only control is to refuse to work.

The few special occupations in the town, such as butchering, caponizing, weaving bags, carpentry, and midwifery, have never developed into full-time professions.[2] The failure of the development of specialization is related to the tradition of ritual offerings of gifts of liquor and consumables and to the lack of a marketplace in the town.

Most of the livestock raised in the town is sold to butchers of the neighboring town because of lack of storage or of market facilities for the meat. Pigs and bulls are slaughtered in town only on the occasion of a celebra-

2. Curing is treated in a separate chapter since it is an exceptional case of specialization related to social control.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

usual, and seeing the pesos, picked them up. The "spirit of the money" left the village forever. The story reveals not only the sense of deprivation Indians feel in losing wealth to Ladinos (historically land the Indians had lost through fraud or legal trickery during the Porfirio Diaz period), but also their realization of their own responsibility for letting their assets slip out of their control. 426 609 538

Payment of interest on money borrowed is justified in the calculations of the Indians for loans made within as well as outside of the community. Interest, called *shol tak'in*, or "head" of money, makes it possible for the borrower to work, and thus to earn, so the "owner" has the right to charge for the use. The rate on loans made within the pueblo has risen from 2 or 3 pesos a month for 100 pesos to 5 pesos, thus equalizing the rate with that charged in the neighboring Ladino town. The same rate is applied between relatives as nonkin. The advantage of intracommunity borrowing is that the lender does not demand an immediate return, or as high security. Ladinos of the neighboring town tend to demand items of greater value than the debt held as security—one Ladino held title to land worth 1,000 pesos for a 50-peso debt, and threatened to foreclose. Within the pueblo, security of about the same value as the loan is asked except in the case of neighbors and relatives who can be reminded every day of the debt. And they are. 426 621 602 [571]

Markets. In marketing, the Indians of Tzoʔontahal have neither extended nor gained control over the selling and buying operations that have been pursued since before the opening of the Pan-American Highway in 1955. The pottery which is produced locally was formerly carried on horseback to the smaller towns within a radius of fifty miles. The pottery was marketed directly by the men of the household which produced it, with no specialization in trading by commercial travelers, as had happened in the Zapotec and other areas of Mexico. Since the penetration of the Pan-American Highway, the men take the pottery produced in their households by bus or on the trucks to either San Cristóbal or Comitán. This tends to polarize trading operations and dry up the traffic into small towns not connected by the highway. As a result, the wholesale trade in San Cristóbal and Comitán has increased in the past decade, with dealers 442 443 178 323 442 443 [492] [462] [494]

323 178 442 443 coming from the smaller towns to buy. The Indians still bring pottery to sell retail in towns that they visit during a fiesta. One of these is the barrio of Lok'ibal in the município of Villa Carranza, where people go on the third Friday of Lent to get holy water from the spring.

The Indians have not taken advantage of the truck to buy pottery wholesale and market it directly in the smaller towns, selling from the truck in the plaza as some of the wholesale fruit truckers do. Another operation which they have failed to profit from is buying the wheat harvest and selling to government warehouses, as some of the Ladino truckers do.

44 471 Lack of capital is the major reason for failure to exploit these opportunities. In marketing the contraband liquor, which is the most flourishing of 273 443 434 the new enterprises, the Indians have not yet entered into the external markets except in the case of one young unmarried mother. Wholesale purchases are made by Ladinos, primarily women, from other towns who resell the liquor in Comitán and on the coast. There is however, a well-developed home market since all contracts are sealed with the offering of liquor, the "gift of the gods," all court fines are paid in liquor, and the main gift in betrothal is liquor. The cantinas with phonograph players opened by the cooperatives operate very successfully on Saturday night and during fiestas. The internal market for liquor is controlled by a syndicate of the forty-two independent liquor distillers. The price is set at 4 pesos per liter for all buyers, with the buyer providing the bottle.

[675] [681] [583] [275] [216] [548] [435]

Agricultural production is not geared to a market, and Indians do not take advantage of fluctuations in price. Wheat yields a lower return per unit of land than corn, but it is grown for two reasons: the Indians believe that crop rotation of corn and wheat prevents depletion of the soil, and wheat requires less work since no cultivation is needed. Wheat is a cash crop and none of it is milled or consumed directly in town. Poor families sell their wheat "standing" to Teopisca truckers. The price given the grower is usually about 90 pesos per hundred kilograms, and it is resold at 110 or 120 pesos in Tuxtla or to the government storehouses. Wheat is sometimes brought directly to San Cristóbal millers who give 120 per hundred kilograms. Corn is primarily a subsistence crop when grown in the center. Corn grown in hot country ejido land is now sold in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. The local truck cooperative has a special permit which gives

241 442 443 [435] [489]

members entry to the ejido colony, an area where traffic was formerly excluded because of the monopoly by the large trucking companies. Both the fruit and root of chayote are sold in August by some families who have a supply over consumption needs. It is brought along with pottery to the market of San Cristóbal where it is sold to *regatones,* retail sellers who have stalls.

Decisions as to what crops to plant are not responsive to market fluctuation. With the major emphasis on subsistence crops, the farmers have little margin of land on which to experiment with profitable but risky ventures. They have little knowledge or experience. There are no full-time specialists in market operations, although the truck drivers may gradually assume a greater role in this respect.

Very few Indians of the region, and none of those in Tzoʔontahal sell corn to the National Warehouses (Almacenes Nacionales de Deposito), although the warehouses offer prices higher than the going market price for corn. (940 pesos per ton in comparison to 500 to 600 pesos at harvest or 800 pesos offered a few months later by wholesalers who come to town). The reason for their failure to take advantage of the higher market price is that they do not have sufficiently large crops to pay the transportation costs of 28.75 pesos or the "tip" to ensure that their crops will not be declared substandard because of impurities, rotten kernels, insects, or excessive water content. In addition to that, they must spend time at the warehouses and in traveling. The alternative to the sale of crops to national warehouses is sale to wholesalers.

Dealing with external agencies. Entering into competitive areas where they were formerly excluded, the Indians are encountering opposition from competitors and are the prey of departmental and state government agents. The reduplication of bureaucracies at the state and departmental level means that they will be subject to the double "bite" or *mordida* if they pursue their enterprises. Operating on minimal capital, they are not able to fulfill all the requirements, or buy all the necessary permits and licenses. Because of monopolization of certain traffic by the larger syndicates of truck owners, they proceed without permits and are often caught.

of metal and 10 pesos if made of wood. These are lined with waxed paper which the local storekeeper cuts from cracker-box wrappers and sells for 5 cents each. 435 415 177

Electricity, first used in the cooperative store and later in the liquor shops, is now being installed in houses. 83 families had electricity installed in their homes by 1967. Street lights have been in operation since 1966, although the first attempt to install them was blocked by residents on the streets to be lighted who did not want to pay the tax of 1 peso per month per household to meet the cost to the community of 75 pesos a month. Most people have a flashlight, and lighting in the house is provided by pitch pine or by small kerosene lamps. Candles are used only in ceremonies. 365 [651] 354 [416]

The inventory of items sold in the cooperative store in town includes the most frequently purchased items of consumption. Hardward includes buckets, hoes, kerosene lamps, batteries, Gillette blades, shotgun bullets, canned goods such as sardines, chiles, and powdered milk. Packaged foods include rice, sugar, salt, oatmeal, cornstarch, flour, coffee, biscuits, cookies, gum, and candy. Beer is sold along with soft drinks and cigarettes. Household supplies include candles, soap, D.D.T. powder, thread, matches, and kerosene. Medicines dispensed most frequently include sulphur pills, aralin, Desenfriol, Alka-Seltzer, and Sonrisal. Yard goods for shawls, children's wraps, and men's clothing are sold along with manufactured shirts, blouses for girls, and rubber capes. Eggs as well as money are taken in payment and then sold. Except for one can of Chocomilk, which sat on the shelves for a year, all of the items are in constant demand, and provide an index to the level of living and dependency on external markets. 444 [436]

The preferences in changing consumption are limited by communal standards of what is appropriate. I once asked a man who was acquiring more than the usual income by brokerage activities what he would buy with more money. He replied, "I would get more land and cattle." I interrupted to ask what he would do to improve his standard of living. "I wouldn't get better clothing—what would I need that for? I would get a house built with good materials like this [the government-built clinic] with a cement floor. But I couldn't get it now because of envy. When my children grow up, they [the neighbors] will see them working and maybe 434 178 177 [156]

Ladino butchers in the neighboring town. The cows are not milked either for local consumption or sale. Fertilizers are for the most part wasted since the cattle roam freely in the communal pasture lands except in the case of a few corrals owned by families. Hides are cured rather crudely and are used for saddle packs or protective aprons by the men, but none are sold.

The cooperatives. The notion of a cooperative to mobilize capital had been introduced by the I.N.I. in 1957 with the inauguration of a store owned by over one hundred members of the community. In the first years of its existence, the cooperative had some difficulties, primarily in convincing the Indians that when the returns on shares were lower in any year from prior levels, it did not indicate that the agents were stealing the money.

The cooperative store was bought by the Indians of the town from the I.N.I. in 1964 after the members had some trouble receiving returns on their shares. There are now one hundred and twenty-two members. The profits of 1965 were reinvested in the purchase of the corn-grinding mill. Current profits at the store are lent at 5 percent per month interest. The store grosses 80 to 100 pesos in sales daily, and the mill grossess 100 pesos. The wages paid to the storekeeper are 300 pesos and to the miller 250 per month.

Now that the cooperative is independent of the government, one of the stated policies is not to sell a single share to a Ladino or member of another community. "We do not want to give gifts to the Ladinos," the secretary of the cooperative told me. He added, "There was a Ladino in Teopisca who wanted to join with 5,000 pesos, but we wouldn't let him in. If you let them in, they would come to dominate the pueblo." The cooperative store does not share profits with the consumers but gives dividends. The 11,380-peso assets in the year 1965 were reinvested in stock and in the purchase of corn at harvest which was then sold at one and a half or two times the sale price.

The Indians developed their first independent cooperative in the ownership of a *marimba,* a musical instrument like a xylophone, operated by eight men of the community. This enterprise failed because the players never developed sufficient skill to be commissioned to play outside of town.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

273 472 cause of the limited capital involved and the fear of discovery with the expansion of the enterprise. A loose syndicate of distillers provides an insur-
273 548 661 ance protection by raising fines for members who are apprehended by federal agents. Security measures are taken to avoid discovery, and the presence of a federal agent is announced in Tzeltal on the loudspeaker system of one of the bars. One federal agent is on the payroll of the four operating bar owners, who give him 5 pesos a week to avoid legal action on the sale of contraband liquor. Individual distillers pay the tariff of 10 pesos or two liters of liquor a year to the civil officials and to the ejido commission, a tariff justified by the fact that they use wood from communally owned land to cook the sugar. The syndicate is a community-wide organization, mobilized in emergencies only.

The New Social Resources

177 178 43 44 621 156 In the course of operating the new enterprises, knowledge of and experience with supralocal institutions and agents are developing social resources in (1) entrepreneurship, (2) management of capital and credit, (3) knowledge of markets, and (4) dealing with government agencies. In entering into these new economic activities, the Indians have not lost a sense of belonging to the local community. Self-identification as poor, indigenous farmers is both a screen of protection and a means of ensuring continuity with local control systems.

472 621 156 *Entrepreneurship.* Local entrepreneurs explain their motivation in a rhetoric which emphasizes their interest in community welfare. This validates entering into nontraditional activities, but retaining their position in local society inhibits the expansions of their activities. The case of Santos,
159 472 621 45 the promoter of the trucking cooperative is instructive. Santos had picked up some accounting techniques while he served in the army in Michoacán. He returned to the village because his father walked from Chiapas to Michoacán to tell him he should come back and get married. When he returned, he kept careful account of his costs and returns from the milpa. He realized soon that it wasn't "worth his work" (the Indian has not as yet learned the idiom or the value system which goes into the

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phrase "worth my time"). He therefore persuaded a Ladino of Teopisca to lend him 5,000 pesos. He went down to hot country and bought corn when it was scarce in the village, brought it up the hill, sold a little to pay for his needs, but held the rest until the price went up in the next three months. In a two year period of buying and selling with his 5,000 peso investment, he grossed 400,000 pesos. Afterwards he began to hire men to work in his milpa. At a meeting of the cooperative association in 1966, Santos defended his investments of the association's funds by showing his carefully kept accounts. He held up his pencil saying proudly, "This is my machete! This is my hoe!" The phrasing is an imitation of Ladino rhetoric of the provinces.

Santos served as treasurer of the ejido commission and of the town. In 1965 he was made a *nič'nal martoma,* or junior religious official in charge of caring for the saints. His appointment was an attempt made by the former president, a member of the Ladino-owned trucking concern, to cut down Santo's operations in passenger traffic on Sunday by keeping him occupied in religious activities. While in office, Santos began an enquiry into the use of the funds collected in donations to the saints. The priest had gained control over these funds, and had not subjected the collection to the public review and accounting procedures by which funds had been handled by the civil administration. Santos demanded an explanation by the priest, who refused to make a statement. The issue was raised in a general assembly of the men of the community which occurs sporadically on Sundays. Meanwhile Santos was taking advantage of the money associated with each of the major saints. In the cargo system for the care of saints, a fund of money is passed over in the installation ceremony from the outgoing mayordomos to the incoming mayordomo. This fund has always been passed over to the incoming officials with an increment of about 10 pesos. Santos requested the use of these funds to "make them grow," and he thus gained uncontested access to low interest funds which he used in his brokerage activities. In addition to the interest, he gave a gift of clothing to the saint to maintain good credit relations.

Santos' administration of funds in his public capacity as town treasurer, storekeeper, and treasurer of both the ejido commission and the truck cooperative won him a reputation of honesty and reliability. His knowl-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

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159 edge not only of how to manage money, but also of how to *manejarlo,* or
472 drive it, and to "make it grow" indicated an insight into capital operations
621 which made him a leader in local enterprises. In his post as shopkeeper, he
45 invested the store's capital in corn bought at harvest.

159 Santos' career as an entrepreneur was ended when a bullet was fired
472 into his back in 1966. He had relaxed his observation of the rules which permit survival for those who challenge traditional ways: no drinking, no trips to the mountain alone, and no boasting of gains. As yet, he has had no parallel in the community, but the truck drivers are becoming aware of the possibilites for profit in trade and commercial deals.

426 *Capital and credit.* The Indians' knowledge of capital and credit
609 operations has been acquired in the role of debtor, not creditor. In the leg-
538 ends concerning money the creditor is an outsider, a *pukuh* or devil, usually a Ladino. I had accepted a story about a Don Klabil, owner of a mountain in the town adjacent to the neighboring Ladino town Teopisca, as being of ancient origin. It fit with the many stories collected in Mesoamerica of owners of the hills who give out money on request to those who come knocking at the entrances to their caves. After their death, the recipients spend their spirit life in the mountain, working off the debt. Don Klabil was said to be responsible for the wealth of one of the outstandingly wealthy men in town who had gone to his hill and asked for cattle and money. Once while riding in a bus from Tzoʔontahal to Las Casas, I was engaged in conversation with a woman of Teopisca, who was dressed in widow's weeds. I commented on the story of Don Klabil as we passed the hill, and she said, "Oh, yes. That was Don David, my husband. He used to lend money to the Indians." When he died, the Indians say he went to live in the cave from which he got money when he was alive.

The Indians feel at a disadvantage to Ladinos when they enter into capital and credit operations. They tell a story of how, many years ago, when all the Indians of Tzoʔontahal were rich, the mayordomos got drunk on *Paswamal,* the day of gathering flowers and greens to decorate the church. When the true day of the fiesta came, they looked about them and realized that the church was undecorated, so they strewed green peso notes on the floor of the church. The Ladinos from Teopisca came for the fiesta as

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000 town. However, other cooperatives have been successfully organized to
474 finance small-scale oeprations. Five record players with loudspeakers have
275 been installed in the houses of members who sell liquor. Once the initial
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454 pesos for a liquor license, 30 pesos for *hacienda* or state tax, and 10 pesos
434 for the township tax. Liquor bought at 60 pesos for an 18-liter jug is resold at 72 pesos. The total monthly cost of 92 pesos yields a net profit of about 300 pesos. The cost of the installation, 5,000 pesos, was low enough for some of the richer members of the community to finance individually, but as one of the operators told me, it was too risky—that is, too profitable.
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493 chase of a truck, initiated by the entrepreneur, Santos. The purchase of the
452 truck was inspired by the example of the Ladino secretary, who with his wife and son had a monopoly on the transportation of pottery, people, and wheat out of the village. Furthermore, in the neighboring town of Zinacantan the Indians were successfully operating two trucks. Santos went with his brother to the director of the I.N.I. in Las Casas to ask for a co-signer on the installment purchase of a Chevrolet truck, since without a Ladino sponsor Indians could not get credit with the company. According to one informant, I.N.I. officials advised them that they would not be able to profit from this venture and that they should buy a tractor with their money. The brothers persisted and went to the Dodge company in the state capital. The company agreed to sell to the Indians without Ladino co-signers on the basis of a down payment of 10,000 pesos. The initial payment was raised with thirty Indians putting up the money. Some gave no more than 150 pesos, but as the instigators of the purchase remarked, "The more members we have, the more power it gives us."

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontabal

men whom the lay sisters assisting the priest have 794
organized to help carry out the Mass and other church rituals.

Another pair of officials, the *krinsipaletik* or princi- 624
pales, were not mentioned in the category "officials in 554
the townhall" or in that of "officials in the church," until I questioned, "Who names the officials?" The response was, "Principales with the president." In order to arrive at the higher honorific posts of principal, one must serve five times in the civil and six times in the religious posts in the traditional hier-
archy. The principales provide continuity in the [182]
transfer of authority, remaining in the townhall when the old officials depart to their homes, and passing over the staffs to the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28, 31). It is a position without power in the day-to-day
administration of affairs. Although the incumbents 624
occupy prestigeful positions and carry out ceremonial 554
acts, many men avoid the office because of the loss of 794
status in carrying out one of their most important acts, the collection of contributions for the major fiestas. The two principales must hold the plate into which the money is turned over by the police, and
this causes "embarrassment." Formerly they were [453]
also bankers, holding the money until it was spent. This responsibility gave prestige to the act of receiving the money, now redefined as a sort of begging operation.

A ceremonial link between the civil and religious 794
wings is the group of officers known as the *alperesetik*, alfereces. They are associated with the four major [776]
saints, who are also represented by the *kobrarias* of Sacramento, Santa Lucia, San Pedro Martyr, and San
Francisco. Their rank order is determined not by the 794
importance of the saint but by the order of entry into 554
office. These are named: *tat pasaro*, the past "father"; *ʼil pasaro*, remains past; *sčebal pasaro*, second past; and *ʔaČʼ alperes*, new alferez. They sit, move, and are
served in this order wherever they appear. Although 794
tied to a *čʼultat*, spirit father or saint, they function in 554
the townhall in bearing the banners there from the 621 *
church for civil affairs (App. 1, Q. 27), and they pro-
vide the post which is crucial for learning the set 537
speeches useful in all formal occasions, called the *patʔotʼan*, 'behind the heart.' Because of the crucial [624]
nature of this speechmaking, no man can progress
into the post of first or second regidor without having
passed through that of alferez. This post is the most 794
difficult to fill because of the high outlay (3000 pesos 434
in one year of average expenditures, about half the 681

[P. 214-B]

262 they visit the regional market. Only during
235 illness or fiesta are both chickens and eggs
[437] eaten.

231 In towns like Tenejapa and Cancuc, In-
439 dians buy small pigs from the Ladinos of the center, fatten them for 8 or 10 months, then sell them to the Ladinos, who slaughter them and sell the meat to the Indians. As may be supposed, in this sort of symbiosis the greatest profit accrues to the La-
[454] dinos. However, the Indians more often keep the money from selling pigs to meet emergencies or expenses of clothing, tools, and fiestas.

262 *Food Habits*

Corn, beans, chile, and squash are the core of Indian diet, supplemented by ma-
262 nioc, sweetpotato, potato, and chayote. One
263 or more chayote trees next to the house are common; every part of the chayote is used—fruit, tender leaves, and root—usually boiled with salt. Wild herbs are eaten raw or cooked. Among the raw ones are *culix-uamal*, *xhix-uamal*, and *alauanex*, the last a wild radish which Ladinos call "the Indian's radish." Herbs that are cooked include *tzul* and *tuxac*. Some herbs are eaten both raw or cooked: *verdolaga* or *chic-xecul*, *muem* (*hierba mora*), *maj-tas*, *tzuy*, and *San Sibro Uamal*. The last is a small grass with long
[276] thin leaves which the Indians grind and add to give a better taste to the *pilico* or wild tobacco. This is called *poxil-may*, which is like saying "medicinal pilico." Ladinos use its leaves in tea sweetened with panela.

262 There are three main meals during the
264 course of the day: breakfast (*ue-el sab*), which consists of atole or pozole, beans, chile, and tortillas; lunch (*ue-el olical*) of the same foods plus a vegetable such as squash or chayote; and supper (*ue-el x-malcal*), with atole, tortillas, beans, and chile. In Tenejapa rabbit meat is frequently
177 on the table. In Amatenango, Aguacate-
262 nango, and Pinola, greater contact with Ladinos has added coffee, wheat bread, var-

[P. 203-A]

Ladino butchers in the neighboring town. The cows are not milked either for local consumption or sale. Fertilizers are for the most part wasted since the cattle roam freely in the communal pasture lands except in the case of a few corrals owned by families. Hides are cured rather crudely and are used for saddle packs or protective aprons by the men, but none are sold.

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794 527 *ranged with a large table in the center, the candles allotted to each mayordomo laid out in bundles of nine. On the table is a little cross of the crucified Christ. The priest blesses the new mayordomos and the old mayordomos. Then the fiscal gives nine candles wrapped in a napkin to each mayordomo. The nit'nal, junior mayordomo, of each saint first takes the candles allotted to the tatil to the latter's house, and then takes his own to his house. After the oath, the new mayordomos return to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento where they drink until prayer time in the evening.* [788] [273]

On the sk'ak'alel Sk'in, *the true day of the fiesta, the new mayordomos go to hear the mass along with women prayer-reciters at seven in the morning. They then go to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento, leaving three junior mayordomos to play the drums and flute at the door of the church. In the house of the cofrade, they count the money of the Virgin and of San Pedro the Martyr. This fund of money is passed over from the outgoing officials to the incoming officials along with interest. It is now being loaned out to local entrepreneurs. The Virgin has a fund of 228 pesos, and San Pedro the Martyr has 40 pesos. The fiscal supervises the counting of the money, and records the sum, after which the pat?o?tan is recited and drinks are served.* [533] [454]

621 554 In the behavioral sequences of the inauguration, several features of the structure and functioning of the hierarchy can be noted. First, one can see in the actions of the officials that the hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth step ladder but a segmented order. The categories of officials, the alkaletik, rehiroletik, and mayoletik, act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same area in all the settings. Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth (and in the case of the mayoletik, from first to fifth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They command their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge orders the fourth regidor to get liquor, and the first policeman orders the police from the rural colonia to get liquor. By these behavioral indices one can see the ordering and grouping by age, skill in praying, and territorial identification within the segments of the civil-religious hierarchy. These principles apply, however,

ginal to the community, either a foreign Indian, as in the case of Au- 622
gustín, or a Ladino, as in the cases of the secretary and schoolmaster de- [563]
scribed below. The only indigenous candidate for the role was recently
killed. It provokes too much envy for someone socialized in the commu- [626]
nity; fear of being accused and even killed as a witch or a power-seeker is
justified by several such precedents. Those with the skills to become ca-
ciques have until recently been effectively incorporated in the existing hier-
archy as firmanetik.

Second, the cacique is a gatekeeper, channeling information, goods, and services from the outside to the members of the community. In this capacity, he prefers to pose as a benefactor when he may actually be no more than the distributor of government welfare goods and services.[4]

Third, the role of cacique is one in which the incumbent operates in a local sphere, but depends upon a network of compadrazgo and professional ties outside of the community to assure his position in the community. He must be sufficiently aware of the local idiom in order to avoid making enemies.

Finally, the role is monopolistic. This results in part from the fact that the outside world prefers to deal with a single representative for reasons of expediency. However, new governmental agents are more and more dealing directly with Indians, a factor which has shaken the position of the cacique. The monopolistic quality of the position also stems from the fact that the profit to be gleaned from the community is small. A Ladino from a neighboring town commented that it was worth the time of only one
man to exploit an Indian community of the size of Tzo'ontahal. The ex- [178]
tractable profit is diminishing as the Indians become more aware of their rights.

The change in character and range of activities of local caciques is illus- 622
trated by the recent careers of two residents of Tzo'ontahal. In the 1950s 177
and until 1964, the Ladino secretary, Don Ramon, had filled the role of ca- 178
cique. He took advantage of this role not only by collecting a salary and a 159
percentage of court fees, but also by earning money for using his influence [434]
in Ladino official circles outside the community. He lent money for inter- [426]
est and subsidized some enterprises such as growing cabbages with Indian [454]
partners.

4. Goldrich (1965) points to this tactic of politicians who distribute government goods as though they were their own gifts.

partners. He sold a few shares of a truck he and his family owned to Indians, but he retained the controlling interest. His wife was reputed to be a witch, and was an active curer, combining old and new treatments of illnesses.

His position was challenged in the 1960s by the Ladino schoolmaster, who had been remarkably unsuccessful from his arrival in 1953 until that time in gaining personal power and influence. His intercession in a local homicide case involving a father's murder of his son outraged the townspeople, some of whom threatened to kill him. His attempts to have water installed aroused the curers against him since they were accustomed to bathing their patients at the source of the spring from which they were debarred when the plumbing was installed. His demands that children within the legal age limit should not only attend school but should be prohibited from marrying until they had completed their schooling caused the anger of parents who wanted to give their daughters in an early and profitable marriage.

Gradually, however, the schoolmaster extended his own base of support. He minimized his attack on local customs, adhering only to those laws affecting the school population, over which he had a great deal of control. Some of his support came from the orthodox Catholic members of the community; he extended his control through compadre relationships with over eighty members of the community. He showed movies which he acquired from the United Nations and other educational film sources and gave away medicines acquired from the health officials in the state capitol who were his friends. From one of these sources of philanthropy he acquired wool shawls which he gave to every woman in the town.

The professor demanded no return from the townspeople other than their respect and admiration; he was a person who enjoyed commanding others and needed an arena in which to project his own personality. In his early years in the town, he had to satisfy this need by capturing stray tourists and plying them with soda pop or coffee. His first opportunity to gain leadership in the local sphere came in 1963, when he supported the new truck-owning cooperative. He used the influence of contacts in the state capital, including compadres, friends, and relatives of his wife's family. He promoted the cooperative's attempt to gain the presidency. One of the first

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578 small; you will leave having paid five or ten pesos. You will forgive each other. If the misdeed is large, then you will give twenty-five or thirty pesos as your fine, so that we can give something to him who has been injured by you. We will cure him, so that he gets well, so that he may not die. Then he also will give pardon. But if we do not cure him, if we do not give medicine to the one you have hit, then you will quarrel, then his heart will be angered. Because here we have two kinds of misdeeds. He who is evil will do [754] witchcraft. He who does not know witchcraft will give pardon. But he who is evil if he sends sickness to you, then if you get sick, if you die, it is because you did not obey the commandment.

I say this because I am a principal, I am a father [of the town]. I advise you so that the town will go forth in happiness, and in happiness we will increase in our gatherings in the town. But if you are evil, we will not increase, our children will not grow, because there are evil people, there is sickness, there is death from him who knows witchcraft. He who does not know it uses bullets and will kill you that way. Why? Because you sent sickness. So I speak to you thus. Happy, in peace, do not quarrel. It is better.

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[754] The important aspect of witchcraft as a sanctioning procedure is in relation to the distribution of wealth in the community.

A man can accumulate a certain amount of money as long as [454] he is willing to share it with others and spend it in culturally accepted ways, such as buying cohetes for a fiesta, giving a house party for the Saint in the house altar and inviting many [186] villagers, etc. But he cannot simply save it without being accused of miserliness; spend it all in building too large or too different a house without being accused of being embarrassed of his Indianess (of which he should be proud); nor can he invest in businesses which are not the traditional economic activities of the Indian without the fierce criticism of his fellow villagers. There is, then, a top limit to the accumulation of wealth imposed not only by the environmental and technological factors, but by

273* 753 **Circumstances under which the drinking of aguardiente can directly cause illness**

Not only does aguardiente in some contexts serve as medium by means of which witchcraft can be communicated, but also it has a certain disease producing potential of its own when it is taken in certain amounts within a certain time period. (The ceremonial drinking plus one or more adjacent informal drinking units.) We will now review a few of the disease processes which are interpreted as beginning immediately
273* 164 adjacent to drinking performances. The most common illness that results from drinking is a state that may be glossed as a "hangover" /GOMA, XCAMEL YU*UN TRAWO/. This is a minor illness which involves the symptoms of "headache, loss of appetite, dehydration, vomiting, diarrhea, trembling," the response to
273* 757 461 which is selected from the following alternative set. The condition of GOMA is nearly exclusive with the ability to engage in routine agricultural performances. This means that the day after a ceremonial drinking plus informal drinking segment, a man does not work. He has the choice, then, of staying around the house or leaving the house to perform some minor tasks such as gathering poles to support chayote vines, looking at his cattle, or any other task that takes him out of the household setting. This is an important distinction since if a man stays around the house he increases the probability that he will con-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

353 Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail
[231] hung in the eaves so that the dogs might see them, to prevent their
[415] going away or losing heart. A swizzle stick, *mahas,* about 40 centi-
meters long, was used for stirring cocoa. It is made by cutting a
twig above a joint with four branches. Two rat traps, *yakul,* just
[224] outside the hut, were exact models of the larger deadfalls used for
jaguars (see fig. 308).

[291] Add to this the clothes on the inhabitants backs, and the man's
[411] machete, and you will have a complete list of the worldly possessions,
large and small, of a Bachajon family—altogether some forty-four
different kinds of things. We assembled as many together as pos-
[126] sible, arranging them as for a feast, and placed in the middle the
small son of the house, and a
little monkey of a boy, Miguel,
who accompanied us to run
errands (fig. 292).

342

[516]
[291]
[415]

[123]
[122]

Fig. 292—Bachajon boy guests.

If mud-plastered walls are
added to this description, you
have a typical Ocosingo Valley
house. Change the grass roof
to palm, it is the kind to be seen
in the jungle country.

At Muxculja (*muckul ha,* "Covered Water"), in the jungle, our Indians built us a trail shelter or hut of the type called in Spanish *champa,* and in Tzeltal *tutna',* "small house." This enabled us to note the manner of building the frame-work and laying on the roof. The kind of *champa* built for us, with an A-roof and gable ends, is called *gwakac na',* "cow house"; the more common type built by the Indians when alone, a simple lean-to, is called *lestce-pat* (should be *lestce-pahk?*) "only one wall."

Our shelter being more than usually pretentious, we could observe most of the steps in building a true house, although, of course, the form here was different and the construction much lighter (figs. 293-294). It was three meters, fifty-one centimeters long by three meters wide, two meters high at the ridge-pole, one at the eaves.
[461] It had no walls. From the construction of the outline of the frame to the completed thatching it took fifty minutes for four men, later only two, working without haste.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

base, so the farmers prefer to plant the better, quicker-growing corn seed 242
in a mixed sand and loam soil.

The final evaluation of land is based on results at harvest. The range of 242
variation is large: from 48 liters of yield per liter of seed to 80 litters of 433
yield per liter of seed. Township officials say that the average harvest is
five *fanegas* (1 fanega equals 12 liters) or 60 liters per liter of seed. Market [435]
prices are of less importance in deciding what crops will be planted than
are considerations of what the soil "wants" and what labor is involved.
Corn is grown on all kinds of land, whereas beans and special crops such
as cabbages can be grown only on the more fertile soil. Wheat can be
grown only where there is irrigation. One farmer raised cabbage in coop- [434]
eration with a Ladino and earned 1,000 pesos, four times the amount he
earned with his wheat crop the previous year. Despite the greater return
for cabbage, the farmer did not plant it the next year when the Ladino,
who had supported the first venture, withdrew his support. The reason he
gave for this was the fact that there was more work involved and he could
not accomplish it alone: first the crop had to be planted, then transplanted,
then irrigated every three days in the early growing period, and cultivated
two or three times; every eight days he had to get rid of worms. He esti- [461]
mated that growing cabbage involved well over four times the amount of
work necessary for growing corn.

Labor. Most agricultural work is performed by members of 592
households with exchange or hired labor. There is no specialization of 241
labor when the work force includes two or more men since the men 476
cooperate in doing each task. Communal labor is restricted to the maintenance of the main irrigation ditches. Each year the ditches are dug out 464
where the sides have eroded and cleaned of brush and leaves. The presi- 241
dent and judges unite to decide on a time for this work and announce it 621
on a loudspeaker of one of the cantinas. This usually occurs around the 476
twenty-fifth of December. Formerly, all the men of the community helped
in this work whether or not they owned irrigated fields. In 1958 those who [178]
did not own such land "got smart" and refused to work. [423]

In 1962 the civil officials decided that a cement canal should be installed 653
near the source of the spring. They tried to finance it with contributions 621
423
241

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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244 which there is a black variety and a colored variety, and (2) climbing beans, of which there are four subclasses: "painted," white, yellow, and black. Beans must be grown only in irrigated lands of highest productiv-

TABLE 8. Schedule of Activities in Wheat Production

Activity	Winter wheat	Summer wheat	No. of days necessary for task: Winter wheat	No. of days necessary for task: Summer wheat	Helpers	Tools
243 464 461 Clear land	Dec. 7	May 12	5	2	2 paid workers	Machete, forked stick
412 407 Irrigate land; leave soaking	Dec. 7	May 15	1	1		
221 Plow	Dec. 15	May 23	1	2	Oxen team	Plow
Sow seed broadcast; cover, crossing over twice	Dec. 16	May 24	1	1	Oxen team	Plow
Cut wheat	May 1	Oct. 5	2	2	2 or 3 unpaid workers	Scythe
Thresh						
Carry wheat to shelter	May 3	Oct. 7				Net bags
Horses trample wheat	May 4	Oct. 8				
Shake stalks	May 5	Oct. 9	3	3	4 or 5 unpaid workers, 5 horses	Forked stick
Scoop grains into wooden box and sift to get rid of chaff						Box with wire mesh
Put grain in burlap bags; carry to houses on horseback						Burlap bags

[115] SOURCE: Information from two informants, one who grows winter wheat and the other who grows summer wheat, both cultivating ½ hectare of irrigated land.

244 ity. The land in the center, except for the fertilized corral areas, has lately yielded a very poor harvest. People say that the soul of the bean departed when they introduced the crop to their ejido plots in hot country. The scheduling of bean production is shown in Table 9.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Guarding the crops. The crops must be guarded against intruders. The farmers sometimes sleep in the fields when they expect animals to steal the ripening corn. They observe the habits of these intruders and develop belief systems which help them organize opposition: 241 825

The raccoon steals maize seeds. He pushes down cornstalks when they are in elote and steals the cob. He is very smart. He can tell whether the owner is sleeping or not by putting his hand on his own anus. If his anus is cold, the owner is awake; if it is hot the owner is asleep and he enters.

Some men who live below in Alannantik have good dogs. They planted their milpa, and the next night wanted to hunt. "You stay with one dog,"

TABLE 9. Schedule of Activities in Bean Production

244 461 464 412

Activity	*Date*	*No. of days necessary for task*	*Helpers*	*Tools*
Cleaning and preparation of soil is same as for corn (Table 6)				
Ground beans				
Plant between rows of corn	Mar. 1	2	3 exchange workers	Digging stick
Cultivate	Apr. 19	3	2 exchange workers	Hoe
Harvest, pulling up entire plants and putting them in burlap bags	July 10	2		
Store in eaves of house				Burlap bags
When pods are very dry, beat bag with stick to depod beans	Sept. 1	2	women of household	Stick
Pole beans				
Plant, following the second hoeing of corn, setting seeds near each hillock of corn	May 2	1		Digging stick
Wind the vines up on corn stalk; tie	June	1		
Cut pods and store in burlap bags in eaves of house	Nov.	1		Burlap bags
Shell beans as they are used				

SOURCE: Same as for Table 6.

[115]

000 bly similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now. Just as a
323 man defines himself as an agriculturalist, a woman defines herself as a pot-
462 ter. Men complain if their wives do not produce pottery, and I know of
[593] two cases of separation on the grounds that the woman was not fulfilling
[586] one of her functions as housewife by helping the family budget with pot-
[461] tery production. Most women like to make pottery: it helps them to pass the day, and they say they would be bored without it. Some of the women who have gone with their husbands for extended stays in hot country have tried to make pottery out of clays available there, but because of its inferior quality, they have not had much success. Unlike women of neighboring towns, the women of Tzoʔontahal usually do not accompany their husbands to the fincas "because they have their work at home."

323 *Making pottery.* The women make a wide variety of household
178 and ceremonial objects, but the item which has the widest market distribution is the water storage jar (See Plate 7). They introduce new items in response to local needs, such as the funnel used in channeling liquor into large containers from the retort of the still. One vessel which is disappearing from production is the large ceremonial cooking pot. The only woman who knew how to do this (or who admitted to knowing, since it is unpaid work) died in the 60s, and no one has replaced her. One woman who had a reputation for eccentricity, introduced several elaborate vases and ashtrays. Her creative imagination was best exemplified in a combined ashtray and vase which featured four frogs poised on the lip of the tray, presumably drinking from a fountain. Reina (1962–1963) has pointed out
[171] that women of the Guatemalan community of Chinautla who wish to be
[156] accepted in the community must limit themselves to conventional forms, and the same restriction seems to apply in Tzoʔontahal.

317 The women of a household work as a group in collecting clay and in
592 firing pottery. Clay is free since it is found in the communally owned hills
[323] on the perimeter of the town. It is collected preferably during the rainy
[423] season when it is easier to gather from the open gorges in which it is found, but if the supply runs out, other trips are made. All of the women of the household go, sometimes with neighbors or relatives in groups of
[482] five or six. They collect large clay balls weighing from forty to fifty pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline.

(see plates following p.198..Analyst)

pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline. The sand which is mixed with the clay is found nearby. In preparing it for use, the clay has to be chopped with a hatchet and soaked. A temper for cooking pots is made of ground sandstone, called *baš*. This is found near the border of the neighboring town of Aguacatenango, and sometimes Indians of that town bring pieces which they exchange for a soup bowl or other small pottery item. 317 323 [438]

Variation in the color of the clay—it may be white, white mixed with yellow, true yellow, black, or blue-green—provides the basis for discerning its quality. The white clay is thought to be best since it doesn't break as much in firing. The preferred clay is very soft, and the women test deposits by feeling them with their hands.

The rhythm of work is regular. Children under three years of age climb on their mother's back or lap or sometimes stand by her side nursing. The women do not interrupt their work when this happens, although they may shift their body to accommodate the child. In the organization of work, there is no discussion of what is to be done or who will do it. Orders are given only to the young children. When the women are working, all motions which would require a break in activity are assigned to children who bring unfinished pots to be worked on and shoo away chickens or dogs. The standardization of production rhythm is evidenced in the uniformity in time required for each operation. Timing one potter's production of 10 *apastes* (soup bowls) on two different days, I found that she spent one hour and 10 minutes for each set, an average of 11 minutes per pot. Another woman made a *comal* (platter) in 26 minutes and a second one in 28 minutes. A pair of larger bowls produced by another woman took 15 minutes each. 323 461 [855] [857]

The continuity in tradition of pottery production stems from a tightly organized behavioral schema with defined units of motion and stages of production. I follow Piaget in his definition of behavioral schema which Flavell (1963:54) has summarized as follows: 323 [178]

> Thus, an action sequence, if it is to constitute a schema, must have a certain cohesiveness and must maintain its identity as a quasi-stable, repeatable unit. It must possess component actions which are tightly 121

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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121 interconnected and governed by a core meaning. However elementary the schema, it is a schema, precisely by virtue of the fact that the behavior components which it sets into motion form a strong whole, a recurrent and identifiable figure against a background of less tightly organized behavior.

Piaget (1952:244) has stated:

> It is due to the fact that schemata present this kind of structure that mental assimilation is possible and any object whatever can be incorporated or serve as aliment to a given schema.

This has significant implications for the continuity of tradition. The persistence of behavior depends on control in the organization of the work and in the training of new producers. As yet we do not have a means to measure the degree of organization or transfer of cognitive maps so that we can make comparisons across behavioral domains. The best source of data lies in the language which provides the cognitive mapping of the behavior. Table 10 provides a preliminary breakdown of the major stages 428 and the distinct but similar action sequences which they include. Individual motions are replicated, in combination with other elements in the action sequence, to make up the component actions of different stages of production. The classification of actions implied in the Tzeltal verbs is shown in Table 11.

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TABLE 10. Schedule of Activities in Pottery Production

Time	*Step*	*Activity*
1st day	1.	Yah tzes yaʔbi yaʔlel (Moisten; give water to clay and leave one day)
2d day	2.	Ya swotz lum sok hiʔ (Mix clay with sand)
	2.1	Yah sčičin hiʔ (Sift sand)
	2.2	Yah lihk swotz (Begin to mix)
	2.3	Sah sk'ap sok hiʔ yuʔun ben pikiš (Add sand until grainy)
	2.4	Yakto parte ma to yaiyehuk hiʔ (Put aside some that doesn't have enough sand)
	2.5	Yaʔbe čaʔ mel sk'ut • sok hiʔ (Give 2 passes, kneading with sand)
	2.6	Ya tzob ya swol (Collect it and make a ball)
	2.7	Ya sba snaʔan ta suhk sk'ute (Go set it on a board)

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Time	*Step*	*Activity*
3d day	3.	Ya slihkesbe hit' (Begin to make the base)
	3.1	Ya swol (Make a ball)
	3.2	Ya sčob (Work into it)
	3.3	Ya snakan te čuhte (Set it on a board)
	3.4	Ya skubeyit (Poke it)
	3.5	Ya slihk sbis moʔel (Begin to press it to rise)
	3.6	Ya snit mo'el (Pull it up [a process of pressing clay from inside pot against palm of hand and forcing clay upward])
	3.7	Ya stuisbe stiʔil (Level; cut off edge)
	3.8	Ya sč'ewanbael (Lay it out)
	3.9	Ya sk'ehilel swai (Keep it while one sleeps)
4th day	4.	Yaʔbe stalbilum (Stick on clay on the base)
	4.1	Ya sbʔal te lum yuʔun ya tzak (Make a tube to stick on)
	4.2	Ya smakbe ʔa (Cover over where it is stuck on)
	4.3	Ya šlič mo"el (Let it up)
	4.4	Ya sč'ulmoel (Make it rise by rubbing against hand on outside)
	4.5	Ya stuisbe stiʔil (Cut off edge [evens it])
	4.6	Ya stalhilel hil swai (Let it stick overnight [some leave it for only 2 hours])
5th day	5.	Ya šyubmoʔel (Raise the sides)
	5.1	Ya yaʔbe bʔal lum (Give it a tube of clay)
	5.2	Ya tzak šyubmoʔel (Stick it on sides making it rise)
	5.3	Ya yaʔbe sčuht (Make the belly [round out side walls])
	5.4	Sb'isbetal yutil (Smooth inside)
	5.5	Ma snuksba ya yaʔbe šan č'inuk (If it doesn't meet, make another piece)
	5.6	Tzak šan yuʔun sčube stiʔil (Stick on more to make it close at the mouth)
	5.7	Ya yaʔi baʔa te haʔ yei ya yaʔbe slumil yuʔun pahal sila spimile (Feel where it is thin and give it more clay so it is same remains double)
	5.8	Lah šyubmoʔel sk'ahilel šwai (After raising side leave overnight)
6th day	6.	Ya yaʔbe snuk' (Make the neck)
	6.1	Ya yaʔbe yaʔlel stiʔil yuʔun skunubai tenaš ʔa ta yaʔbe slam yit (Scrape pot with knife; put water on mouth to make it soft and more clay at edge)
	6.2	Yah sb'albe slumil snuk' (Form roll of clay for neck)
	6.3	Yah tz'akbe stiʔil (Stick it on the mouth)
	6.4	Yah šlihk sb'isbe te yutil (Begin to smooth it inside)
	6.5	Yah šlihk stuisbe stiʔil (Even the edge)

(*cont.*)

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192

Time	*Step*	*Activity*
	6.6	Yah lihk sb'is ta snukul (Smooth the edge)
	6.7	Yah lihk spusko?el sok nukul (Double over the edge with leather piece)
	6.8	Ya sb?albeko?el (Roll down lip of jug)
	6.9	Ya sibetal yutil (Spread it out inside)
	6.10	Ya ya?be sbelbel lumil (Put little pieces on edge where the neck is stuck on)
7th day	7.	Yah ya?be sčikin (Make the handles [ears])
	7.1	Ya sb'albe slumil (Roll the clay)
	7.2	Ya sp'is ?oleb (Measure out three pieces)
	7.3	Ya tzakbe sčikin (Stick on ears)
	7.4	Ya sku?be sčikin (Press on ears)
	7.5	Ya spusbe (Double over)
	7.6	Ya sb'isb'e sčikin sok yal sk'ab (Smooth with little finger [child of the hand])
	7.7	Ya sb'isbe sčikin sok sme?sk'ab (Smooth with thumb [mother of hand])
	7.8	Ya sčulbe lek sok sme? sk'ab (Spread it out with thumb [mother of hand])
8th day	8.	Yah smes ta k'ib' sok ?ul (Wash the pot with corn grind)
9th day	9.	Yah tz'ibawe kib' (Design pots)
10th day	10.	Čik'omahel (Fire pottery)
	10.1	Ya ya?be sčute?al ?a k'ib'e yu?un mak swok'a (Put down boards and accompany pottery in order that it does not break)
	10.2	Stos' si?wok (Chop wood)
	10.3	Ya šlihk sk'ak'al (Light fire)
	10.4	Ya holtik si? (Take off wood)
	10.5	Yah ta sik'ub ya him lok'el (Cool and take off wood)

* Same term used for grinding corn; motion similar.

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The segmentation of activities shows that in a major schema such as pottery-making, similar motions are found at different levels, modified by direction in which motion occurs (up or down) or by the part of the pot being worked on. The classification of such motions simplifies teaching. Some of the motions included in Table 11 are classified with behavior in other contexts. For example. kneading the sand and clay (2.5 *sk'u*) is expressed by the same verb used for grinding corn, and a very similar motion is involved. *Tz'ib'ayel,* or painting the designs, also refers to writing.

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Motion *	*Step* †	*Context*
yah swol (make a ball)	2.6, 3.1	In mixing sand with clay, finish by making oval ball; also preliminary to making base, form ball
Spus + (roll +)		
yah lihk spusko?el (begins to roll down)	6.7	Turn down lip of neck
yah spusb'e stikin (doubles over ears)	7.5	Curve tube of clay over to form handle
Stuis + (cut +)		
-b'e sti?il (edge)	3.7	Push clay with thumb; even edge by removing higher levels of clay at upper edge of base
" " "	4.5	Same, but edge is top of half-formed pot
" " "	6.5	Same, but edge is top of opening of jug
B'al + (make a tube +)		
ya sb'al te (make a tube of clay)	4.1	Build up sides with coils of clay
ya ya?b'e b'al lum (give a roll of clay)	5.1	Continue building up sides with coils of clay
yah sb'alb'eko?cî (roll down)	6.8	Roll the tube of clay fitting on neck of pot to form a lip.

* Additives preceded by a hyphen form a single word with the verb stem; others are separate words in a phrase with the verb.
† Numbers refer to step numbers in Table 10.

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[433]

The nine stages of production provide a basis for the organization of the work in five-day intervals. The usual output is in lots of one dozen water jugs or ten bowls. This staging of production indicates an incipient rationalization of production that maximizes efficiency for the individual producer: a woman repeats the same limited sequence of motions for the lot. Leaving the item overnight permits drying and hardening so that in building up the pot there is greater stability. The staging of production also provides a basis for the division of labor in households with more than one producer. Certain stages require greater skill and/or discrimination: mixing the clay with sand requires the greatest discrimination to achieve the consistency which allows both maximum manipulability and strength and durability; building up and shaping the walls of the pot requires the maximum skill and dexterity. These tasks are performed by the more ex-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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perienced potter in the household, sometimes with the help of a trainee. 323
Older women prefer doing the lighter tasks, such as putting on the han- 461
dles and mouth or applying the slip of watered clay, to raising the sides which requires greater force and exertion of the back muscles. A second basis for the division of labor is the kind of item produced: older women for example, make bowls in preference to large water jugs and containers.

Learning to make pottery. A girl begins to make pottery about 323
the age of eleven. First she makes small replicas of the articles her mother 868
produces. Then, under her mother's direction, she learns to prepare the clay. The mother feels the clay with her fingers, telling her daughter to add more sand if this is lacking. She is taught to knead the clay three times. In making the pot, the most difficult phases are mixing the clay, forming the base, and rounding out the walls of the vessel as it is raised. The child is expected to learn slowly and is encouraged gently to improve each step. While the child works on her first pot, the mother makes a similar one; three or four times they exchange vessels, and the mother shapes her daughter's pot into a better form.

About two generations ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve 582
were the rule. Since most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques 178
begins at that age, pottery was taught to the bride by her mother-in-law if 323
she resided in her husband's house (Blom and La Farge 1927). Most mar- [606]
riages now are contracted for girls from fourteen to seventeen years of age. By this time they are already proficient potters and accustomed to working [593]
with their mothers. Therefore there is greater stress on their remaining in [591]
or near the parental home after marriage.

The pottery is fired in the streets of the town outside the house, usually 323
after the women have made four or five dozen items. The pots are set on planks forming a rough square around the fire in the center. Charcoal is added to the fire as the brush or corn husks set between the pots begin to burn. The women tend the pots, turning them every five minutes until the surface is well dried and hardened. Wood is added to the fire, and then the jugs are stacked in a pyramid, each one protected from the one it touches with a broken piece of pottery. The stacking is crucial to permit even firing and must be done carefully so that none are broken. Once the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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there is no other woman in the house. (c) Number of men in the family. If there are productively employed men, women of the household tend to make less pottery, since they are busy cooking and washing and have their basic subsistence needs supplied. Pottery is then produced to supply cash for fiestas only. Widows make a great deal of pottery since they must either hire men to work in the milpa or buy corn. 592 323 433 [434] [136]

2. Wealth of the family: Relatively wealthy families make almost no pottery. In other cases, the scheduling of production is related to consumption needs. Figure 2 charts the pottery production by type of item produced for a family which included two unmarried women, their mother, father, and grandmother. The peaks in production occur just before the major fiestas when the family wants additional money to buy meat, fruits, and clothing. Although this family produced more pottery than the majority of households because of the presence of four women, its production typifies the high periods of activity relating to the fiestas. Production is also related to the seasonal changes: during the rainy season (from June to October) many households curtail production, except to earn money for the fiesta of Santiago (July 25), because of the difficulty of firing without closed kilns. [434] [196] [132]

Variation in production means that an overall estimate of income from pottery cannot be made. It ranges from none to nearly 90 percent of family income in the case of widows without land or male helpers. I would guess that an average family might earn 200 pesos a year, about 10 to 15 percent of the money value of crops. One family of two widows and five children who work constantly throughout the year averages an income of about 600 pesos, or about one-half what an agriculturist can make on one-half hectare of land. 323 433 434 184

461 434 182

The Motivation to Produce

The motivation to work is tied directly to consumption needs of the household. Failure to meet expenditures with income from agriculture and pottery is met by men hiring out as agricultural workers or as laborers in the sawmill. This alternative is chosen over that of increasing the size [464] 434 434 427 241

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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000 model introduced was faulty or they were not taught to use it properly.
241 Notions about the supernatural relation between souls of crops, man, and
774 the saints do not interfere with experimentation or adaptation at the in-
776 strumental level. Obligations with respect to them are carried on as a sup-
178 plement to other practical measures.

The organization of men's work in agriculture contrasts with that of
462 women's work in pottery. Men's work, when performed cooperatively by
46 two or more of an extended household or exchange labor team, is mechan-
24 ically organized, in Durkheim's terminology. Each of the men does the
323 same task, working closely in the rows of the milpa. Women's work groups are organically organized since segmentation of the pottery production in the stages described above makes possible specialization within a domestic production group including two or more women. Preferences and special abilities can be taken into account. The potters with more experience do the jobs which require more judgement and skill, such as mixing the clay or making the bases, and then the work is passed on to less proficient workers. Or an older woman can leave the more strenuous tasks, such as mixing clay or building up the sides of the larger pots, to younger women and perform the lighter tasks, such as putting on the neck and handles.

000 These differences in the organization of male and female work tasks suggest the need for a reformulation of the classification of whole societies as organically or mechanically integrated. In assessing the potential for change, internal variations in the organization of production might provide the clues for implementing development programs.

The division of labor according to sex is nearly absolute: women do not
462 learn to work in the milpa nor do men learn to make pottery or perform
241 household tasks. However, women will gather firewood, and men will
323 transport clay (although they do not collect the clay deposits in balls) and help in firing pottery. Women can live without men in the household
462 economy of the town, but men cannot live without women. This is be-
464 cause male labor is a market commodity while female labor in household
736 activities is not. A widow can hire a man to work her fields, but a man
562 cannot hire a cook. If he is widowed, he must remarry, move into his

827
787 claim, has been lost, as has been more recently that of speaking with the ancestors. But the curers can still enter into communication with the spirit world and in this lies their power.

461
183 Industry is valued along with competency. A man is described as industrious with the words, "he carries much wood well," and a woman with the words, "she carries much sand well." These expressions are a kind of
[196] synechdoche for general industriousness, since the tasks serve as the measure of willingness to perform one's sexually defined roles.

[476]
[602] Judgments made in the choice of working "partners" in the exchange labor system are based on competence in working as well as on considera-
[608] tions of kin and compadrazgo relationship. Women make judgments of
[323] others' skill in pottery-making on the basis of both the appearance of the pot and its durability proved in use and transportation without breakage to market. Both men and women known to be hard workers are admired
[754] and envied. They may consequently become the objects of witchcraft.

828
157 Conceptions of personality are one end product of evaluations of performances and condition people's expectations of individuals in their social environment. For the Indians, personality traits tend to imply other traits.
125 In order to derive a sense of these implications for Tzo?ontahal, I drew up
157 a checklist to identify some of these associations. Informants were asked to
828 state whether each of the traits listed on the top line in Table 30 was correlated positively, negatively, or not at all with each of the same traits listed vertically. A plus (+) sign indicates positive correlation, a minus (—) sign indicates negative correlation, and an equal (=) sign indicates that
157 there was no correlation. Thus being bright is positively correlated with
828 being beautiful and negatively correlated with being evil, fearful, lazy, foolish, gullible, braggardly, gossipy, and miserly. There is no connection between being bright and being of good heart, aggressive, or honorable. This suggests that the heart and the mind are independent loci for a set of traits that stem from them. Metaphors such as bitter, acid, and straight, when used to describe personality, are similar in connotation to those used in English. As in English, immediate sensory experiences of taste and vision provide by extension a means of talking about character.

157
551 In studying these personality traits, I sensed that "being" was "doing" things in certain repetitive ways. This impression is corroborated by the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 286]

Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

175 632 466 communal projects for the neighboring town as there had been formerly. The peasant is master of his own time.

125 221 512 Tables 33 and 34 summarize the number of days and percentage of time accorded to various activities for men of two households. The first family consists of a man forty-three years of age and his wife. All of their own children died in infancy, and an adopted daughter recently left home to live with her husband and child in a new ejido plot. The second family consists of a man, his wife, two adult sons, and an unmarried daughter. In this family, the father of sixty-five is retired and his two sons perform all of the agricultural work. Table 34 includes only the activities of the sons. 125 221 The two schedules provide some contrasts:

461 462 561 1. The forty-three-year-old man has many more ceremonial obligations than the youths. This is a factor related to the life cycle in which men over thirty-five years of age are involved in more familial and community celebrations. During the year this schedule was taken, the man was serving as a mayordomo.

2. The older man has fewer productively employed days than the youths (only 54 percent of his time is spent in productive activities) in contrast to 76 percent and 79 percent for the youths). The difference is accounted for by wage employment the youths have undertaken. In order to pay for the cost of betrothal, the elder son worked 56 days (37 percent of the time accounted for) in a neighboring sawmill.

3. The youths were not involved in any exchange labor arrangements; until they become independent heads of households working their own fields, the men do not contract reciprocal exchanges.

221 461 462 796 The fact that men spend only 54 to 79 percent of their time (using these tables to provide minimal and maximal limits) on productive activities means that there is a great deal of flexibility in the use of time for ceremonial responsibilities. Everyone takes an average of twenty days off for celebrating fiestas in addition to fifty-two Sundays.

241 461 [796] The high proportion of time spent in family or communal ceremonials suggests the high value placed on them. The preference for leisure to pursue these activities is proved in cases such as that in which the additional profit in cultivating cabbages was not sufficient to motivate one agricultur-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 316]

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TABLE 33. Activity Schedule for September 1 to June 29 of Man Owning 1 Hectare of Land and 2 Ejido Plots of ½ Hectare Each

Activity	*Days spent*	*Percent of total time*
Agriculture		46
Preparing land		
Clearing irrigation ditches	12	
Repairing and mending fences	11½	
Clearing land by cutting and burning brush	11	
Irrigating land	8	
Plowing	11	
Planting	6	
Cultivating crops	21	
Guarding crops against animals and birds	3	
Harvesting	34	
Milling sugarcane	8	
Exchange labor	13	
Walking to hot country	4	
Hunting for and tending animals	25½	9
Collecting firewood	13	5
Religious activities		23
Performing duties as mayordomo	26	
Attending Sunday mass and cleaning church	24	
Fiestas, attending mass, participating in playing drum, flute, etc.	21	
Kinship and social obligations		6
Attending funerals	7	
Attending curing ceremonials	3	
Attending betrothal ceremonials	5	
Helping in house-building	1	
Marketing		3
Buying	9	
Selling	1	
Communal labor		2
Cleaning irrigation ditches	1	
Repairing threshing shelter	4	
Business affairs of cooperative	4	1
Assisting town officials	4	1
Outside work	12	4
TOTAL	303	100

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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241 ist to continue growing this labor-intensive crop (Chapter 2). The low
• 461 propensity to consume, maintained by community-shared standards which inhibit the display of wealth, further reduces the incentives to expand production (Schultz 1964:27). The major reward for hard work is land which, in his middle years, the agriculturalist can turn over to be worked by his sons, thus relieving him of daily toil.

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TABLE 34. Activity Schedule for September 1 to February 28 for Two Unmarried Youths

Activity	Younger brother Days spent	Younger brother Percent of total time	Elder brother Days spent	Elder brother Percent of total time
Agriculture		41		25
Preparing land				
Clearing land by cutting and burning brush	26		6	
Irrigating land	3		3	
Plowing land	1		1	
Planting	1		1	
Harvesting crop	11		7	
Doubling over stalks	4		4	
Working in hot country	16		16	
Collecting firewood	6	4	2	1
House maintenance		12		6
Plastering house walls	13		6	
Bringing lumber	2		2	
Making pigpen	3		2	
Pottery		1		1
Bringing clay	2		2	
Agricultural work for others		8		8
Harvesting and carrying corn	3		3	
Plowing	2		2	
Planting	6		7	
Nonagricultural work in sawmill	16	11	56	37
Religious activities		18		21
Attending fiestas	3		3	
Attending mass and relaxing on Sundays	25		28	
Sickness	8	5		
TOTAL	151	100	151	100

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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The assumption that leisure is a concept unique to highly civilized societies is denied by peasant behavior in this community and many others like it in which the members are masters of the greater part of their time. What differentiates their scheduling of leisure-time activities from that of most western societies is that theirs is based on community decisions rather than individual predilections and that it is set in the frame of sacred rather than secular performances. Community standards are most notable in the way people dress for fiestas: women wear their newest embroidered blouses; their hair is neatly braided with ribbons. Men wear a kotonču with their cleanest shirt and pants. The children, except for the youngest, wear clothes like the adults'. Villagers "care for" the celebration by sitting on their porches, greeting neighbors, smoking and talking. When a public performance is held in the church or plaza, they participate as observers. Arduous work of any kind is proscribed. Special foods are prepared and served at regular mealtimes. A special mark of all days of fiesta is the serving of fermented corn beverage. Meat or chicken is more likely to be served on Sundays and holidays than on other days.

Timing as a Strategy in Interpersonal Relations

The preferred mode of action is "slow and soft." This applies to motion, especially in rituals, as well as to the scheduling of actions in a series of negotiations. The people are sensitive to the use of time in bargaining as an index to the relative resources of the negotiators. Withholding power in the market gives a marked price advantage in the sale of crops. Sale in advance of harvest means a loss of one-quarter to one-half of the price which could be gained if the crop was sold after it was cut, and corn sometimes doubles in value if withheld for six months or more. Interest as a time payment for the use of money is accepted on the basis that the borrower could put it to work. There is no feeling against the evil of usury, although the rates are relatively high in town—five percent per month.

This understanding of time as an indicator of relative strength extends to social functions. Time serves as an interval to build confidence on the part of both parties entering into contractual arrangement. In the betrothal, both parties are prepared for a long series of visits before the suit

571 805 [584] is accepted. Precipitous action on either side reveals a weakness of which the other party might take advantage, or which might even stop procedures.

Timing of activities is so specific that it can be read as an equation of social relations: People who come to the house after nightfall are either intimate members of the family, or are members of the circle of me?tiktatik invited for a special household celebration—night is the time when spirits wander, not a time for casual visiting. Arrival of the betrothal party at the [584] house of the girl's parents after ten o'clock in the morning indicates that the suit has been accepted.

571 805 554 562 Sequential timing expresses relative prestige and a sense of priority. In "raising" the officials for the official ceremonies, the lowest ranks of officials rise first to go to the house and awaken each of their companions in order of rank. The sequence in serving order has already been discussed with respect to rank and prestige. Another principle of sequence operates at a more subtle level: women go before men when there is expectation of a fight since their presence evokes less hostility. This is evident in the be- [584] trothal: the me? ℰom precedes the mam c'om in the initial proceedings [579] when strong resistance and hostility is anticipated. When drunken fights start during house ceremonies, women intercede with calming effect.

641 829 805 Time always is on the side of the Indians when they wish to resist national orders. Verbal agreements to pay fines imposed or to assist federal agents in the capture of criminals are frequently followed by deliberate negligence in carrying out the orders. Usually the order is forgotten or in- [847] terest wanes at a higher level. Government agencies such as the INI learned to bide their time much as the Indians did. Expecting opposition to any proposed change, they waited for the initial reaction to die down, and then proceeded as support from those who benefited overcame internal resistence.

461 464 512 805 When called upon to perform jobs that require regular appointments, the Indians respond easily to the daily scheduling. Resistance comes against scheduled requirements that involve long spans of time and interfere with communal and familial ceremonies. Work away from home is undertaken only on the premise that it will be of limited duration. This [181] control over their own time is a value which Indians will not easily yield.

182 571 based on non-kinship terms would maximize profit or material
(602) benefits, which the kinship frame limits considerably. Second,
182 the cultural norms imposed on the villager about the types of work
183 which he is allowed to perform, about the maximum wealth which he
461 556 is able to control, and about the distribution of this wealth,
are, from a purely financial point of view, "anti-economical."
156 177 But an Indian living in a Ladino town, undoubtedly having the
choice of improving his life from an economic point of view,
156 alienates himself from everything which is dear to him. An Indian
626 556 attempting to live up to his aspirations of wealth within the com-
munity, alienates himself even more, and risks the dangers of
witchcraft and social ostracism.

121 The phrase, "man does not live by bread alone," is very much of a truism here. If the primary factor in determining behavior were economical, the villager would have no need to live within the customary standards of living of his community nor would the corporate community persist. Each Indian could become a laborer of some sort, and integrate himself into the national society of Mexico.

But people make choices not only because they are financially advantageous, but because they preserve their standing within their kinship group, they provide satisfaction for their need of the psychological rewards of prestige and positive affection and for their need for "belonging" to a group of similar human beings with similar culture and aspirations.

We have to admit, then, that it is as impossible to analyze social dynamics, only taking into account economic variables, as

241 [412] machete (*machit*) or the *luk*, a sort of curved machete with a long handle, are the implements needed. The cutting of the grass from the plot where the milpa had been the previous year is *selab*; the cutting of bush grown for three or four years is *sok-uej*. The work of cutting the bush is done by the entire family, including children of seven or eight years old.

[221] [412] [242] [824] The planting is done between April and May after the first rains, with a long stick whose tip is hardened by fire or protected by a metal point. The seed must come from large, healthy ears whose tips have been cut off because they have small corn. The *olote*, or corncob, is either kept or thrown away at a distance to avoid its being used as fuel, for this would hurt the milpa which then would produce ears with broken kernels.

241 462 785 834 241 574 [476] The task of planting is a very delicate matter, to be performed after fasting and sexual abstinence. It is exclusively a man's affair. A great banquet is served at noon, generally outdoors as the hut interiors are small, to the friends and neighbors who will participate as helpers. Sometimes as many as 10 men help to plant a friend's milpa. The meal is offered "precisely when the sun stops for a moment midway on its run and the doors of the Church of Heaven are opened, from where the quality of the banquet is observed." This is *s-uelil-abal* ('meal of the planting').

241 262 272 574 [263] When things are properly done, the meal consists of a number of items. First the *atole* (*pajal-ul*) is served, which is slightly sour and sweetened with *panela*. As "companion" to this atole are tamales (*chenkul-uaj*), which are prepared with cornmeal and ground beans. It is said that both things are to be served together so that "the seed may penetrate deep into the ground."

241 252 262 574 272 After this preliminary snack comes what is considered the main course for each person: a hard-boiled egg in a thick reddish broth prepared from dough and ground chile dissolved in water; a large tortilla;

[P.199-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201-A]

241 boiled beans; other tamales (*petul*), which
252 are made from dough and whole beans;
262 and finally, still more atole. The atole is
574 served not in individual *jicaras* but in two
272 or three large ones (*batzil-booch*), which
[415] are passed from person to person. The same is done with the other foods; they are served in one or two large pots (*mucul pulato*) out of which everyone serves him-
241 self. This banquet is given only on the first
574 day of the planting; if other days are required, the milpero himself does the planting.

241 Since weeds grow rapidly during the rain season, the milpa must be hoed twice before it reaches maturity. For this the luk or coa is used and also the hoe (*asron*), the same one used to break the soil before planting. The first weeding is done in June, the second between July and August. Women
[462] help their husbands in this chore and some-
[566] times do it entirely themselves, since the
[464] men are in the habit of leaving for Tapachula to work as peons on the coffee plantations.

244 Also in the milpa beans of several varieties are planted: *chuil-chenek* (or *ibes*, according to the Ladinos); *botil*, a large common bean; *xakil-chenek* or *frijol de vara*; and the *x-luumil-chenek* or *frijol de la tierra*, thus called because it is a creeping plant.

Chile is planted on a separate lot, 15–20 m. square. The planting is done during the first weeks of March, in alternate years so that it will not coincide with the year when the people of Cancuc plant cotton. Chile planted by the people of Oxchuc is *dzajalik* or red chile.

241 Toward the end of August, the first fruits are ready (*unimajam* or *jilote*, according to Ladinos). These are received with great joy by the families which are by then lack-
[242] ing food. From each plant, which provides two or three *jilotes*, the farthest down is picked to let the other two grow bigger.
[252] These jilotes are boiled without salt and
[263] are eaten whole, including the husks.
[262] [P 201-A]

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241 Between September and October, when the tender ears are ready, some are torn loose to prepare atoles and tamales.

Toward the middle of October, when the milpa has reached maturity, all hands proceed to the task of the *dobla*, folding or breaking the stem of the plant so that the ear dries and may later be put into the barn. This is an easy task, in which men, women, and children take part. [462] [857]

The harvest takes place in November and December with the participation of the whole family; it is a joyful task which compensates for all the moments of anxiety in the previous months, when subsistence was scarce. The produce from the milpa is gathered in large nets and later stored in a corner of the house or in some improvised structure nearby. The crop is measured by *zontles*, units of 400 ears, which are formed by counting the ears by fives; two ears are taken in one hand and three in the other until 400 are reached. The family of five members which manages to harvest from 15 to 20 zontles considers itself happy, since that much will last them the entire year, consuming 20 ears a day plus feeding one or two hogs and 10 or 12 chickens. [592] [251] [804] [261] [231]

The milpa also produces various squashes, manioc (*dzinté*), and peanuts, which the Indians call *caxlan-chenek* ('Ladino's bean').

243 184 Exceptional among the Tzeltal is the cultivation of wheat in Amatenango. There the small valley and a creek have favored its development.

241 796 The most important ceremonies take place immediately after planting. They entrust the germination of the seed to the care of God, of the "thirteen holders of Heaven," and of "Tatik Jesucristo." The "thirteen holders of Heaven" refer to the principal saints who are mentioned in the prayers. The ceremonies consist in offerings of prayers and incense before the crosses kept in caves belonging to each paraje, and in one *bikit mixa* ('small Mass'), which the cabildos and principales of the [778] [782]

[P 201-B]

Handcrafts

323 Among the few handcrafts practiced in
[462] the Tzeltal areas, ceramics, produced mainly
by women, is the most widespread. Tenango
[184] and Amatenango del Valle are the only
communities which have made a specialty
[439] of this craft. Tenango exports its products
through the northern zone, Amatenango
through the southern zone, including neigh-
323 boring Guatemalan villages. Both places use
184 a similar ceramic technique but different
shape and ornamentation. Referring to
Amatenango del Valle, Blom and LaFarge
(1926–27, 2:396) state:

> The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one shape; a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, however, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep, reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of boards, two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman in charge turns them
> [438] until they are done. These pots are carried by
> [439] the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they are redistributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala.

283 Another widespread craft is spinning and
286 weaving of fabrics for clothing. No village
in the Tzeltal area trades these products
[438] because production barely meets their fam-
ily needs. The backstrap loom of pre-
Hispanic origin is the chief tool.

[184] Pita articles—ropes, bags, and nets to
gather the harvest or carry loads—are
mainly produced in Oxchuc and Cancuc.
322 In Cancuc wooden combs are also manu-
184 factured.

342 *Houses and Furniture*

Houses, from 3 to 5 m. on a side, are
predominantly square with thatched roofs.
The walls are wattle-and-daub or plain
tree trunks tied with vines. Floors are of
[354] hardened earth. The houses only have one
door and no windows, except in some vil-
[P. 207-A]

804 *Shucubil* ("codo"): Distance from the elbow to the end of the middle finger extended.

Jaub ("braza" or "brazada"): Distance between the ends of both extended arms.

Yankabal (equivalent to the meter): Distance from the armpit to the extended middle finger of the opposite hand.

[484] The "legua" is also used and is equivalent to the distance a man can walk during one hour (approximately 5 km.).

Of square measures used for the milpa, the most common is the *tarea* (equivalent to a square of 8 jaubs). This is equivalent to a square of 16 m., which is very close to the mecate used by the Yucatec Maya.

The standard most often used for measuring maize or beans is the *almud*, which among the Tzeltal of Cancuc, Oxchuc, and Tenejapa, is equivalent to 4 *quartillas* (each quartilla is equivalent to 8 large *borcelanas*). [415] The borcelana is an earthen cup or pot, which can be either small or large. The large one is equivalent to ½ kg. of maize; the small one to ¼ kg. of maize. The borcelana is used to measure chile.

Economics

241 *Division of Labor and Specialization*

462 Care of the milpa is men's work, but sometimes women help with light tasks such as weeding or harvesting. Seeding does not require great effort, but it is considered a job for men exclusively. Women may participate in chile seeding—but in the planting only; the holes in the ground can be made only by men, who use a *macana* or planting stick. 462 Cutting and carrying firewood are tasks for men, but women may perform them when men cannot. Women can handle an axe or machete skillfully. Fetching water, from river or fountain, is work for women. It is considered inappropriate and ridiculous that a man carry a cantaro on the hip. Laundry and all kitchen duties are performed by women, as well as spinning, knitting, sewing, embroidering, and making of earthenware. Manufacture

[P 209-A]

[Text continues on p. 210-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
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462 of palm articles (sleeping mats and hats) as well as articles of wood, stone, or leather are tasks for men; the same applies to basketry but women may occasionally help.

Government matters are under the exclusive supervision of men. In religious affairs women may participate but only in a very minor way—to say prayers or to take care of the saints in the church. The most important ceremonies—on hills, in caves, at waterholes, or in other mountain spots—are performed by men who specialize in the ritual.

[P. 210-B]

D

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

462 All activities related to curing of disease are also performed by specialized men, though in some places women occasionally participate. Help at childbirth is always as-
[844] signed to experienced female relatives; there
[759] are no professional midwives—nor profes-
[584] sional marriage brokers.

Specialization is little developed. Only in
463 the largest centers are there a few individuals concentrated on carpentry, tailoring, trading, masonry, or some other activity.
[241] The families in Tenango and Amatenango who carry on the ceramics industry also

[P 210-C]

421 586 her own clothes and her backstrap loom. A widow may continue living in the hut and use its equipment only if she has a son. Otherwise, she must leave the house and return to her father's home because the land will be claimed by the brothers or other male relatives of the deceased husband.

Production and Consumption Groups

592 433 241 The family controls all matters related to production and consumption. The head of the house, with the help of his wife and other members of the family, takes care of farming and producing the basic food crops. 462 476 241 In the most conservative communities, the old custom of planting by a cooperative group, composed of relatives and friends, is still practiced. This is a task for men exclusively, since much skill and strength are required to dig up the ground in carefully spaced, perfectly straight rows. The owner [785] [834] of the milpa has to fast and observe sexual abstinence before starting the planting.

462 592 Only the family shares in the rest of the labor, according to their sex: men take care of tasks requiring much effort, women perform those such as tending domestic animals. [476] Help from relatives and neighbors may also be asked occasionally, to build up fences around the orchard, to open or improve irrigation systems, etc.

Trade and Markets

438 Tenango and Amatenango concentrate on producing ceramics and trading them to neighboring municipios. Other municipios have a very limited commercial activity: Tenejapa exports a few sleeping mats; Oxchuc, ropes, nets, and pita bags; Cancuc, wooden combs; Bachajon, clay toys. These Tzeltal villages have no specialized merchants as do Zinacantan and Chamula.

443 There are a few markets where a large number of people meet regularly: Teopisca, in the south, has a Sunday market where natives from Aguacatenango, Amatenango, and Pinola meet. In the central part of the region they meet every Sunday at the mar-

[P. 212-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

stretched flat by a stick with thorns in the end, also said to be called *wolol-te*. The string for tying up the head-stick is called *tsul*. (See fig. 302-A, B). 286

The different coloured threads are wound on shuttles, which are called *buk'al* when bare, *tiomal* when wound. These are passed back and forth between the warp-strands, with an alternate raising and lowering of the heddle. The threads not in use at the moment are laid parallel to the outermost woof-strand at the selvage. Cross-stripes are thus made with the warp, longitudinal stripes with coloured woof-strands.

The shape of the loom depends upon the article to be woven. A sash-loom is about 40 centimeters wide. A cloth-loom is about 75 centimeters wide, and usually not as long as the sash-loom; the sword is a meter in length. The sword at Sivacá was of a heavy wood, very smooth, and dark with much handling. We were told that the wood was not indigenous, and that such swords were very valuable, as they could not be obtained any more. The one seen in use was borrowed from another woman, who refused to sell it.

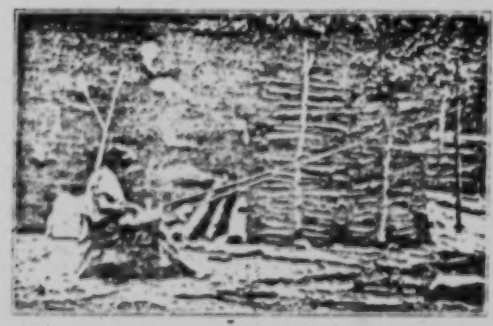

Fig. 308—Sivacá, Chis. Woman Weaving.

Cloth for clothes is ordinarily woven plain white, but is sometimes varied with fine lines laid in the woof. The Bachajon weave relatively little cloth, being more accustomed to buy cotton at the stores; their sashes, however, show more variety and use of colour than do those of Ocosingo Valley.

Hats and baskets, *mOc*, are made by the men. The former have already been described. 285 [462]

Baskets are woven on a frame of heavy splints laid crossing each other at the center. These are bent upward, leaving a sufficient length flat to provide for the bottom. The warp of reeds is then woven in and out, in a simple wicker-work, around the bottom and sides. At the top the splints are doubled over and tucked down under the strands. The rim is formed of two strands twisted around each other between each splint. The work is not very fine, there

Chapter 2

Traditional Economic Activities

The traditional occupation of every adult man is working in the milpa 462
and of every adult woman, making pottery. The fiction is maintained that [241]
they do this work, even if they are actually engaged fulltime in some other [323]
activity. In response to the census question, "What is the work of the man or woman?" men answered universally that they were agriculturalists and women that they were potters. Men who work outside the community, in [464]
the fincas or in the sawmills, consider this a temporary means of gaining cash income and do not define themselves as sawyers or laborers for others. They work outside the community only when they do not have sufficient land to provide themselves with corn to eat and a surplus to sell, or when they must pay debts incurred by bethrothal or assumption of religious posts. Many women who do not make pottery for extended periods [323]
of time, or make it only for a special fiesta, still consider themselves pottery producers.

Persistence of the same occupations and the daily effort to make a living 462
strengthen the link between generations and to tradition. The primary em- 868
phasis in child training is teaching both boys and girls to work efficiently and industriously in these traditional occupations. The techniques for codifying and perpetuating a given way of doing things, particularly evident in pottery production, provide clues to the way in which other kinds of behavior are schematized.

Agricultural Production

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Agricultural production involves two areas of decision making: what to grow and when to schedule each activity related to production. Decisions in both these areas are based upon custom and time-proved results. I shall

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

243 vest. Harvesting is done by all the members of the household, sometimes
[592] with the assistance of exchange or hired labor. Women help by going to
[464] the fields and degraining the cobs with few kernels of corn so that there
[462] will not be an unnecessary burden to carry to the houses.

243 A small fiesta for the corn is made following the harvest. The purpose
796 of the fiesta is to reciprocate the spiritual owner of the corn by giving him
782 a "gift." Two candles are lit and set on top of the piles of corncobs. Two other candles are placed near the heaps of corn grains gathered by the

243 192 TABLE 7. Stages of Corn Growth and Agricultural Activities

Stages of growth	*Activity*	*Time (after planting)*
Šlihk sčital (begins to grow)	First hoeing	8 days
Čištal lik ʔišim (well-grown; about 4 feet)	Second hoeing	1 month
Čištal stekan sniʔ (begins to form husk)		2 months
B'al tzuto (begins to bud)		
Lok'iš tzutohal (flower comes out)		3 months
Yihiš sk'ab'enal (begins to mature)		4 months
Lok'iš yihkatz (cobs fill out)		
Sčam hol (its head dies)	Pick cobs to eat fresh	5 months
Yihištal sk'anubiš (now more yellow)	Double over stalks	6 months
Yihubiš (more yellow)		
Tahkinis (dry)		
Sk'ahik lok'el (harvest time)	Pick dried corn	7 months

243 women. The candles cause the spirit of the corn to rise and give its "gift to
796 the world" in the following harvest. Failure to make a fiesta would mean
782 an end to all corn harvests.

243 Corn is brought to the house and stored in the rafters, since there are no
251 corn cribs or separate storage facilities of any kind in the village. Most of
136 the houses are infested with rats as a consequence. When the harvest is brought in, there is an attempt to rid the rafters of these "thieves." The
[411] men and boys armed with slingshots stand posted in the yard as the children rustle around in the rafters chasing the rats out. Although they are remarkably good shots since they use this tool from early childhood, the houses are never completely free of rats, and the inhabitants learn to put up with them.

000 bly similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now. Just as a
323 man defines himself as an agriculturalist, a woman defines herself as a pot-
462 ter. Men complain if their wives do not produce pottery, and I know of
[593] two cases of separation on the grounds that the woman was not fulfilling
[586] one of her functions as housewife by helping the family budget with pot-
[461] tery production. Most women like to make pottery: it helps them to pass the day, and they say they would be bored without it. Some of the women who have gone with their husbands for extended stays in hot country have tried to make pottery out of clays available there, but because of its inferior quality, they have not had much success. Unlike women of neighboring towns, the women of Tzoʔontahal usually do not accompany their husbands to the fincas "because they have their work at home."

323 *Making pottery.* The women make a wide variety of household
178 and ceremonial objects, but the item which has the widest market distribution is the water storage jar (See Plate 7). They introduce new items in response to local needs, such as the funnel used in channeling liquor into large containers from the retort of the still. One vessel which is disappearing from production is the large ceremonial cooking pot. The only woman who knew how to do this (or who admitted to knowing, since it is unpaid work) died in the 60s, and no one has replaced her. One woman who had a reputation for eccentricity, introduced several elaborate vases and ashtrays. Her creative imagination was best exemplified in a combined ashtray and vase which featured four frogs poised on the lip of the tray, presumably drinking from a fountain. Reina (1962–1963) has pointed out
[171] that women of the Guatemalan community of Chinautla who wish to be
[156] accepted in the community must limit themselves to conventional forms, and the same restriction seems to apply in Tzoʔontahal.

317 The women of a household work as a group in collecting clay and in
592 firing pottery. Clay is free since it is found in the communally owned hills
[323] on the perimeter of the town. It is collected preferably during the rainy
[423] season when it is easier to gather from the open gorges in which it is found, but if the supply runs out, other trips are made. All of the women of the household go, sometimes with neighbors or relatives in groups of
[482] five or six. They collect large clay balls weighing from forty to fifty pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline.

(see plates following p.198..Analyst)

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tseltal NV9
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323 pyramid is complete, wood is laid against the pots in a tepee formation.
[313] When the sawmill in the vicinity was in operation, flat boards—scraps of
[372] cut lengths—were used, but now only logs are available. Corn husks or
[462] dry straw are stuffed between the planks or logs. When a large number of pots are being fired, the men usually help at the final stages to remove the
[476] charred planks with poles. If men are not available, the women of the household often call upon their neighbors for help. In this operation, the
[292] women wear sandals and hats for protection from the heat. When the pots are cooled, the women, sometimes with the help of the men, stack them in net bags, six to a net with straw protecting the pots.

647 About fifteen year ago, a kiln was introduced by the government in the
177 interest of conserving wood. Those who tried it claim that the pottery did
323 not fire well and that many of the pots were broken. I.N.I. (the Instituto
372 Nacional Indigenista) planned to introduce an improved kiln, and while most of the people we questioned expressed a willingness to try it, the proposal was never put into action.

462 The men do most of the marketing of pottery. Loads of one or two
442 dozen may be taken by bus or truck to San Cristóbal or to Comitán.
443 When there is large-scale production throughout the community, as occurs
494 just before major fiestas, truckers come from the neighboring town of Teopisca to contract for delivery.

592 The amount of pottery produced in households varies with the follow-
323 ing factors:
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1. Household composition: (a) Number of women in the family.
[464] If there is only one woman, very little or no pottery is produced because of the demands of domestic duties. Households with two or more women are able to sustain the ideal output of at least a dozen water jugs a week (I use "ideal" here to suggest their notion of what they produce when asked to guess. As Fig. 2 indicates, this varies considerably during the
[887] year.) (b) Age of women and ages of children. Older women over sixty do not independently undertake pottery production. They may assist in washing pots with corn gruel or making the neck, mouth, and handles, but they are unable to endure the harder task of collecting clay. A woman with infants under two years of age makes little pottery if

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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model introduced was faulty or they were not taught to use it properly. Notions about the supernatural relation between souls of crops, man, and the saints do not interfere with experimentation or adaptation at the instrumental level. Obligations with respect to them are carried on as a supplement to other practical measures.

The organization of men's work in agriculture contrasts with that of women's work in pottery. Men's work, when performed cooperatively by two or more of an extended household or exchange labor team, is mechanically organized, in Durkheim's terminology. Each of the men does the same task, working closely in the rows of the milpa. Women's work groups are organically organized since segmentation of the pottery production in the stages described above makes possible specialization within a domestic production group including two or more women. Preferences and special abilities can be taken into account. The potters with more experience do the jobs which require more judgement and skill, such as mixing the clay or making the bases, and then the work is passed on to less proficient workers. Or an older woman can leave the more strenuous tasks, such as mixing clay or building up the sides of the larger pots, to younger women and perform the lighter tasks, such as putting on the neck and handles.

These differences in the organization of male and female work tasks suggest the need for a reformulation of the classification of whole societies as organically or mechanically integrated. In assessing the potential for change, internal variations in the organization of production might provide the clues for implementing development programs.

The division of labor according to sex is nearly absolute: women do not learn to work in the milpa nor do men learn to make pottery or perform household tasks. However, women will gather firewood, and men will transport clay (although they do not collect the clay deposits in balls) and help in firing pottery. Women can live without men in the household economy of the town, but men cannot live without women. This is because male labor is a market commodity while female labor in household activities is not. A widow can hire a man to work her fields, but a man cannot hire a cook. If he is widowed, he must remarry, move into his

465 working long hours. Thus they receive 12 pesos for about one and a half times as many hours as is worked locally for the prevailing wage of 6 pesos (ten hours in comparison with the usual day's work of six to seven hours in the town). For this reason they maximize the effort expended in getting to fields outside of their own township. The lower payment in [476] town entails an obligation on the owner's part to reciprocate the labor, but the payment relieves him of an immediate demand on his time. Exchange 476 labor without payment requires reciprocity within the same activity schedule: thus if a man assists someone else during harvesting, he expects that person to assist him during the same harvest period. If, however, he will be unable to reciprocate immediately, the payment of 6 pesos terminates [465] an immediate obligation, but he will be expected to respond when he can if other requests should be made by this same farmer. Exchange labor without payment is contracted between relatives, compadres, and neighbors, using the network of established social ties to reinforce the obligation to reciprocate.

464 Agricultural work in the fincas in hot country is undertaken only when [434] there is extreme need for supplementary income, or when a man is escap- [754] ing the threat of being killed as a witch. In the 1920s, when the Indians had limited land resources and prevailing wages were low, some were forced to go to the fincas of the Argentino and Aregovia near Tapachula. [626] Despite the economic necessity for their undertaking this work, the social pressure was so strong against it that they would leave early in the morning to avoid being jeered as they passed in the street. The women rarely [462] accompanied them because they could produce pottery at home and supplement earnings. The prevailing rate now is 15 to 18 pesos per tarea, a [465] half-day's work, but Indians work in the finca only when urgently pressed.

Nonagricultural labor in the sawmills is a source of employment for twenty-two Indians of the town. Lumber companies operating in the forested areas of Montebello Lake have employed Indians of the town for [465] the past year. The wage offered, from 15 to 18 pesos a day, exceeds the 12-peso wage paid to agricultural laborers in the immediate area, but corresponds to that paid in hot country. The men must live at the sawmill, and supplies of tortillas made by their families are brought in on Wednesdays

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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dies, the owner announces on the loudspeaker of the local bars that he will sell meat at 5 pesos a portion. He preserves the hide to make saddle packs and tumplines. But the loss is great because he will not be able to buy a new bull with what he earns. If the bull lives, he will be better in three weeks and can carry loads. It is a very dangerous operation since the scrotum of a bull is very large. It is easier with a horse. 232

Surrounding the event with a ceremonial complex minimizes the development of commercialized relations between the caponizer and the owner. Most men who acquire several head of cattle or horses eventually learn to do the task themselves.

Handicrafts performed by men include rope-making from the tails of horses or from plant fibers, and weaving net bags. Most of the men who are assigned to the civil hierarchy spend their spare time in the cabildo making these items. 462 283 286

Carpentry is a skill now being practiced by two Indians of the town who "just learned by watching." They are called upon to help people in constructing the house frame, for which they receive 50 pesos in wages. A Ladino living on the margin of the town is a full-time specialist with his own shop. In addition to supervising house construction, he makes furniture and caskets to order. 322 [465]

New Economic Enterprises

In the operation of the new enterprises, which include cattle raising, cooperative ownership of a store, bars, and trucks, and liquor distilling, several patterns of organization have emerged. Some of these are based on preexisting social groupings, while others represent innovations. The social resources of management, credit operations, and the development of new skills within these local enterprises are of significance in preparing Indians for new occupations in the wider society. 43 44

Cattle raising. The most traditional organization is found in the case of cattle raising. Cattle have been in the town at least as far back as the 1915 revolutionary period when informants indicate that most of the 231 233

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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usual, and seeing the pesos, picked them up. The "spirit of the money" left the village forever. The story reveals not only the sense of deprivation Indians feel in losing wealth to Ladinos (historically land the Indians had lost through fraud or legal trickery during the Porfirio Diaz period), but also their realization of their own responsibility for letting their assets slip out of their control. 426 609 538

Payment of interest on money borrowed is justified in the calculations of the Indians for loans made within as well as outside of the community. Interest, called *shol tak'in*, or "head" of money, makes it possible for the borrower to work, and thus to earn, so the "owner" has the right to charge for the use. The rate on loans made within the pueblo has risen from 2 or 3 pesos a month for 100 pesos to 5 pesos, thus equalizing the rate with that charged in the neighboring Ladino town. The same rate is applied between relatives as nonkin. The advantage of intracommunity borrowing is that the lender does not demand an immediate return, or as high security. Ladinos of the neighboring town tend to demand items of greater value than the debt held as security—one Ladino held title to land worth 1,000 pesos for a 50-peso debt, and threatened to foreclose. Within the pueblo, security of about the same value as the loan is asked except in the case of neighbors and relatives who can be reminded every day of the debt. And they are. 426 621 602 [571]

Markets. In marketing, the Indians of Tzo'ontahal have neither extended nor gained control over the selling and buying operations that have been pursued since before the opening of the Pan-American Highway in 1955. The pottery which is produced locally was formerly carried on horseback to the smaller towns within a radius of fifty miles. The pottery was marketed directly by the men of the household which produced it, with no specialization in trading by commercial travelers, as had happened in the Zapotec and other areas of Mexico. Since the penetration of the Pan-American Highway, the men take the pottery produced in their households by bus or on the trucks to either San Cristóbal or Comitán. This tends to polarize trading operations and dry up the traffic into small towns not connected by the highway. As a result, the wholesale trade in San Cristóbal and Comitán has increased in the past decade, with dealers 442 443 178 323 442 443 [492] [462] [494]

868 857 the larger ones their mothers make, but their products are usually not [323] commercially saleable until they reach the age of marriage. Their responsi- [312] bility in preadolescence is to bring water from the faucets installed in every other block of the town, and to degrain corn, tend the fire as the *nixtamal,* or corn dough mixed with lime, cooks, and help their mother grind it. The careful assessment of the child's capacity to perform tasks is exemplified by the gradations of water-carrying jars given to each child: the older the child, the larger the jar, with minute variations in scale. The [592] close, usually wordless cooperation between women in a household comes [462] from years of working together and knowing their part in cooperative tasks.

Boys accompany their fathers to the fields after they reach the age of six and when they are not attending school. They do not participate in the work of the milpa until they are eight or older, but they pick up twigs for the fire or gather the wild berries or plants which supplement the diet of [411] the family. They usually carry slingshots with which they kill field rats [262] and birds, which they bring home to cook and eat. Teaching a boy the 868 tasks involved in agriculture is consciously undertaken by older brothers 241 or the father when the child reaches the age of twelve or thirteen. The following reminiscence of this training is given by a man who had been brought up by his widowed mother and brother.

159 *I went to the field with my brother who is eighteen years older than I,*
868 *when I was thirteen years old. My brother brought me to clean the milpa,*
241 *saying, "Let us go and you will learn how to work. See what I do and you do the same. You will learn what I do and you can do the same."*

One day I finished six rows. My brother said when he saw my work, "Good, just give a little more soil at the foot of the corn because the little corn must have a little soil. Now you do it well." "Yes," I said. He saw it was good, and he told me, "You have learned your work. You are going to forget it when you enter school. When you come out of school, go do two or three rows of work. When you hear the bell strike, go back to school."

He told my mother that I had learned to work, and she said, "Good you know how to cultivate." I learned to do my work better by going along with my elder brother in his work so that I would not forget.

[P. 198-D]

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417

Plate 5. Men assisting the women of their household in the firing of canteros, or water jugs. They have just removed the still-smoldering logs which were propped on the outer perimeter of the pyramid of jugs.

794 796 *Judge: "By force you must receive it. You do not have to give as much. You only have to receive the sacred banner."*

Nominee: "But if I don't give a fiesta, the pueblo will speak badly of me."

Judge: "It is not important what the pueblo says. Pardon us, let us drink a little trago."

[273] [*All the officers drank, contributing jointly to buy the liquor. Each officer took one sip from the measure, but the nominee drank the entire measure on each round. When he became intoxicated, he yielded to the persuasions of the officials and agreed.*]

Nominee: "Good. I am going to see how it goes."

[*The two regidores carried the new alférez to his house.*]

794 796 434 462 323 The activities of the alférez in preparation for the fiesta during which he was installed in his post are summarized below.

Making pottery. *The new alférez prepared for the fiesta by organizing his household to make the pottery that was to be sold to cover the expenses. His brothers and brothers-in-law went on horseback bringing fifteen or twenty loads of clay. The women got the sand, carrying it back with the tumpline. The men went on horseback again to collect the limestone temper, which the women would grind and mix with the clay for cooking pots. The next week, the alférez went with a gift of 2 pesos' worth of bread and one liter of liquor to ask the woman who knew how to make large ollas, pots in which the festal foods are cooked, to help him. The sisters and sisters-in-law of both the alférez and his wife joined together to grind the temper and mix the clay. In addition to the special large pots, the women made bowls, soup plates, and water jugs to sell.*

When the pottery was ready to be fired, the men brought the wood and the women tended to the firing. After the pots were fired, the men sold them in the markets of San Cristóbal or Comitán. They usually made about 26 pesos per dozen, which netted them about 500 pesos.

794 782 Learning the patʔoʔtan. *Each evening, an elder of the family of the alférez who knew the patʔoʔtan, or prayer, came to teach him. This*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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805 lating the time of day; when I questioned them as to the hour, they were often as much as an hour off, usually behind.

Most activities are ordered with reference to the Gregorian calendar, but the twenty-day Maya calendrical month, defined as "twenty days or a month" is used in much the same way that we use "a fortnight." The In-
805 dians consider the moon to be an uncertain indicator of time, since "she
821 does not walk well." But the moon is important in the culture: people note its different phases and are especially aware of the phase under which a child is born—an important sign for the newborn's future. If a baby is
[856] born at the full moon, he is expected to mature more readily. The full
[787] moon also signifies a propitious time for undertaking certain activities, such as cutting wood for the main posts of a house and cutting palm for the roof.

The Daily Schedule

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462 Daily activities are organized by traditional economic pursuits. The woman is the first one to rise in the morning. She gets up at dawn, lights
[252] the fire, and sets a jar of water to boil for coffee. She grinds the nixtamal cooked the night before on the stone grinding board, or takes it to the mill
[412] in the center. She then makes tortillas either by hand or with a press; a re-
[177] cent innovation made of two hinged pieces of wood in which the ball of
[178] dough is set between pieces of plastic paper.

The men of the household are served first, followed by the boys; the
[264] women and girls eat last. As soon as they have eaten, the men and boys who have finished the required three years of schooling go out to the
[481] fields to work. They walk single file even in the streets of the town, the fa-
[482] ther preceding his sons. Each carries a machete, net bag, tumpline, and
[411] sheepskin back-protector if he plans to carry any loads. Many bring shot-
[224] guns as well in order to hunt for field rats, raccoon, or the burrowing animals they find in the fields.

After the men leave, the women go to the porch and "seize their work."
[857] The children go to school, which begins at eight-thirty in the morning
[872] and continues until five o'clock in the evening. They return home for
[264] lunch, a meal of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans or chayote when it is in season.

Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

175 632 466 communal projects for the neighboring town as there had been formerly. The peasant is master of his own time.

125 221 512 Tables 33 and 34 summarize the number of days and percentage of time accorded to various activities for men of two households. The first family consists of a man forty-three years of age and his wife. All of their own children died in infancy, and an adopted daughter recently left home to live with her husband and child in a new ejido plot. The second family consists of a man, his wife, two adult sons, and an unmarried daughter. In this family, the father of sixty-five is retired and his two sons perform all of the agricultural work. Table 34 includes only the activities of the sons. 125 The two schedules provide some contrasts:

221 461 462 561

1. The forty-three-year-old man has many more ceremonial obligations than the youths. This is a factor related to the life cycle in which men over thirty-five years of age are involved in more familial and community celebrations. During the year this schedule was taken, the man was serving as a mayordomo.

2. The older man has fewer productively employed days than the youths (only 54 percent of his time is spent in productive activities) in contrast to 76 percent and 79 percent for the youths). The difference is accounted for by wage employment the youths have undertaken. In order to pay for the cost of betrothal, the elder son worked 56 days (37 percent of the time accounted for) in a neighboring sawmill.

3. The youths were not involved in any exchange labor arrangements; until they become independent heads of households working their own fields, the men do not contract reciprocal exchanges.

221 461 462 796 The fact that men spend only 54 to 79 percent of their time (using these tables to provide minimal and maximal limits) on productive activities means that there is a great deal of flexibility in the use of time for ceremonial responsibilities. Everyone takes an average of twenty days off for celebrating fiestas in addition to fifty-two Sundays.

241 461 [796] The high proportion of time spent in family or communal ceremonials suggests the high value placed on them. The preference for leisure to pursue these activities is proved in cases such as that in which the additional profit in cultivating cabbages was not sufficient to motivate one agricultur-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 316]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

TABLE 33. Activity Schedule for September 1 to June 29 of Man Owning 1 Hectare of Land and 2 Ejido Plots of ½ Hectare Each

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Activity	*Days spent*	*Percent of total time*
Agriculture		46
Preparing land		
Clearing irrigation ditches	12	
Repairing and mending fences	11½	
Clearing land by cutting and burning brush	11	
Irrigating land	8	
Plowing	11	
Planting	6	
Cultivating crops	21	
Guarding crops against animals and birds	3	
Harvesting	34	
Milling sugarcane	8	
Exchange labor	13	
Walking to hot country	4	
Hunting for and tending animals	25½	9
Collecting firewood	13	5
Religious activities		23
Performing duties as mayordomo	26	
Attending Sunday mass and cleaning church	24	
Fiestas, attending mass, participating in playing drum, flute, etc.	21	
Kinship and social obligations		6
Attending funerals	7	
Attending curing ceremonials	3	
Attending betrothal ceremonials	5	
Helping in house-building	1	
Marketing		3
Buying	9	
Selling	1	
Communal labor		2
Cleaning irrigation ditches	1	
Repairing threshing shelter	4	
Business affairs of cooperative	4	1
Assisting town officials	4	1
Outside work	12	4
TOTAL	303	100

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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ist to continue growing this labor-intensive crop (Chapter 2). The low propensity to consume, maintained by community-shared standards which inhibit the display of wealth, further reduces the incentives to expand production (Schultz 1964:27). The major reward for hard work is land which, in his middle years, the agriculturalist can turn over to be worked by his sons, thus relieving him of daily toil.

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TABLE 34. Activity Schedule for September 1 to February 28 for Two Unmarried Youths

Activity	Younger brother: Days spent	Younger brother: Percent of total time	Elder brother: Days spent	Elder brother: Percent of total time
Agriculture		41		25
Preparing land				
Clearing land by cutting and burning brush	26		6	
Irrigating land	3		3	
Plowing land	1		1	
Planting	1		1	
Harvesting crop	11		7	
Doubling over stalks	4		4	
Working in hot country	16		16	
Collecting firewood	6	4	2	1
House maintenance		12		6
Plastering house walls	13		6	
Bringing lumber	2		2	
Making pigpen	3		2	
Pottery		1		1
Bringing clay	2		2	
Agricultural work for others		8		8
Harvesting and carrying corn	3		3	
Plowing	2		2	
Planting	6		7	
Nonagricultural work in sawmill	16	11	56	37
Religious activities		18		21
Attending fiestas	3		3	
Attending mass and relaxing on Sundays	25		28	
Sickness	8	5		
TOTAL	151	100	151	100

These time and space patterns provide the individual with a cognitive structure which enables him to function appropriately in a given setting and to plan his future actions. Having one piece of information, people can derive the other understandings necessary to adjust their own behavior to the expectations of others.

Time as a measure of value has been affected by changes occurring in the past two decades. Men are less willing to expend time in ceremonial activities than formerly. The first ceremony given up was Carnival, which has not been celebrated for over a decade. Most recently, young men have refused to become alfereces, and their resistance on the basis of loss of time and money was formally recognized in 1966 when the institution was abolished. The resistance parents used to show to their children spending, or wasting their time in school has given way as some of the more modernized parents have seen the advantages of education.

The tempo of life has accelerated with the increasing importance of bus and truck transportation to market. Women's time has always figured as importantly as that of the men because of their pottery production, and they have quickly accepted time-saving innovations such as the tortilla press and the corn-grinding mill. They have not shown any inclination to adopt time-saving technology, such as the potter's wheel, in pottery-making since they have no knowledge of it, and using it would require relearning basic tasks.

The ceremonial cycle still provides the major consideration in programming other activities in the community. The Indian as an agriculturalist remains master of his own time, and he plans his work so that he can fulfill his ceremonial obligations.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER IV

THE ORGANIZATION OF PRODUCTION

128

Introduction

Up to this page we have been describing the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango, emphasizing the similarities between these two social universes. There is, however, a set of differences between the two which requires separate treatment. It is important to do so because a detailed analysis of the patterned variation in the two villages can show us how, within a very similar social and cultural background, two societies can develop alternative forms of behavior which place the relations between individuals in two contrasting social structures.

Aguacatenango

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[B21]

Aguacatenango is purely an agricultural village. The whole community is organized into independent domestic groups which are, in a sense, small family farms administered by the males.

Men cultivate the field crops--corn, beans and squash--do other planting and agricultural work, and care for the large livestock with the help of the sons who live under the same roof. Each household has a male head who is the bread-winner; he is responsible for the welfare of those who live in the same sitio.

241 Each man tries to cultivate enough food to make his household
[582] 462 self-sufficient the whole year around.

241 The younger males of a household are initiated into the
868 agricultural work by their fathers and elder brothers who work with the household head in the same fields. Around the age of ten, they are expected to leave grammar school and the children's playground, and to start learning their life trade: the tech-
[582] niques of cultivation. No young male is capable of marrying if he is not capable of bearing on his shoulders the economic burden of supporting a household with his labor in the fields.

241 In addition to producing enough corn for the consumption
433 of his homestead, a man is expected to cultivate some surplus
434 which the household can exchange in the local markets and stores for the manufactured goods and staples which they need: machetes, candles, needles, coffee and various other commodities. Moreover,
[464] if the household is in need of extra cash to pay for the expenses of a burial, a wedding, or any other emergency expenditure, he is expected to earn it by selling his labor to other men in the village for wages, or by working for short periods of time in the sugar cane plantation of Pujiltic. (Usually between one and two weeks of wage work will cover such emergencies. See Fig. 5.)

562 The women of Aguacatenango are economically dependent on their male relatives: father, husband, siblings and adult male
462 children. The women have many responsibilities; they are in charge of cooking and cleaning, sewing the family clothes, gathering
[231] firewood for the hearth, and educating the young. They are also
[241] in charge of feeding the small livestock which is kept in the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77]

462 [231] [241] sitio (household territory): pigs and chickens, and the cultivation of the rudimentary gardens within the back patios. These gardens do not have great economic importance. Women plant chiles, cilantro, chayotes, té limón, mostaza, and sometimes even beans and a small milpa for elote (tender corn), but gardening is not a serious occupation: most women only plant two of three varieties of plants, a little bush of flavor herbs for the beans, some medicinal plant, or some flowers to ornament the house altar. Many backyards just grow wild, and the collection of its products is mainly "gathering in one's backyard" rather than harvesting (see Fig. 6).

[434] By selling the products of the small garden, some eggs, or fruits, a woman can contribute to the household cash income, but this money is considered somewhat of a luxury. The extra cash can be used to buy some clothes before a fiesta, or a new pot, or a similar item, but women are not expected to support their families: this is the basic responsibility of the family men.

166 462 464 Women have very few cultural alternatives for transforming their labor into a substantial income. Young single girls whose parents are too poor to support them, or who are alocadas (lightheaded) and desire to break away from home, can leave town to go to work as servants in Ladino towns. Wives running away from a mother-in-law who is too strict, or from a drunkard husband, or widows, would occasionally take up this kind of work. This, of course, isolates a woman from the village, and is a form of self-imposed exile. Working for Ladinos is a somewhat awe inspiring [279] idea. Women "know" or suspect that Ladino men violate Indian

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 79]

166 women and that Ladino women mistreat their servants. Working in
• 462 towns is remembered, by those who have done it, as a strange mix-
464 ture of carefree economic independence and innumerable small
[829] humilitations and suffering. Its lack of attractiveness is well reflected in the fact that, from a random sample of sixty-eight households, only fourteen women have worked outside their homes (see Fig. 5).

562 The only women who are the bread-winners or heads of their
462 homes are forced to do so because they have no male relatives to
434 provide for them. In this case, they have few alternatives open
[464] to them, the two most common being: 1) acting as a servant (al-
[275] ready discussed above); or 2) selling liquor in their houses to the
[558] men of the village. This second occupation is not very well thought of by the villagers, trago sellers being gossiped about as being bold women, "sexy" females who enjoy the company of drunks and men married to other women.

Amatenango

462 In Amatenango, the division of labor presents a very dif-
323
438 ferent picture. The whole village of Amatenango is a pottery
[241] factory because, in addition to the household income derived from
[434] the agricultural work of the village men, each Amatenango woman is a pottery producer.

Pottery that is made for selling is neither a choice, nor a part-time job, nor an individual specialization, but a town specialty. All women in Amatenango are expected to know how to make pots, and to make them. The women of each household

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

462 distribute their work so that while one takes care of the regular
323 home tasks: cooking, caring for the young, cleaning, etc., the
438 other can occupy herself in gathering clay, coiling or modeling. Most steps in the production of pots are arranged in an "assembly line" style, with the women distributing their individual work according to the needs of the stage of the productive activity. Some of these steps, such as firing, require their close and alert cooperation to be carried on successfully. Pottery production
[434] represents about half of the income of each independent household, with some slight variation, because households richer in land produce less pots than poorer ones.

Comparison

433
184 Pottery production in the hands of the women shapes the economic landscape of Amatenango very differently than the one of
241 Aguacatenango. In the first place, agriculture is a business where
433 the risks are high and the profits unstable. The agricultural production of the villages depends on many uncontrollable factors. Too little rain or too much, too early rain or too late, worm pests or wild animals, can ruin the year's crop. The villagers try to insure the risks of a bad year by planting in as many different types of fields as they can. They plant in the hot country where the crops mature fast, and in the high, cold country where the maturation process is slow but the corn, of a hardier variety, is more resistant to weather conditions. They plant irrigated land to insure water if rain is missing, and in temporal to insure against the drying up of the sources of irrigated water. But even

then, each season is a question mark, an equally unpredictable year of plenty or a lean year.

In Amatenango, when the crop fails or is poor, the income of the villagers can be compensated by producing more pottery. This is obviously not so in Aguacatenango. If hunger threatens the families, the result is a higher migration rate or an increase in the number of men leaving town to work part-time in the fincas. The result of having an alternative form of income within the homestead in Amatenango is that the village keeps its income more balanced year after year, and that the village as a whole has a reputation of being richer than the other communities.

In Aguacatenango, the women are an economic burden. The men are very aware that they themselves "do all the work." Women have long and leisurely afternoons which are spent sitting on their porches grooming, chatting, or visiting. Men complain of this, saying "Women cannot realize how hard a man has to work. They complain of not having this or that, but they do not know. . . ." In Amatenango, on the contrary, women are important producers, men and women sharing, equally, the responsibility of supporting their families.

Thus, in the one case, Aguacatenango, the work of women has a marginal, undeterminate value in an economic milieu in which they have no cultural alternatives to convert their labor into goods or subsistence necessities; in the other case, Amatenango, the labor input of women represents about half of the total productive efforts of the villagers.

184 562 462 434 This contrasting economic picture has many effects in the structuring of social relations because it places the women of the two villages in very different positions with respect to their male relatives, and at crucial points in the life of an individual, determines, to a large extent, his choice of alternative behavior.

It is important to make clear that I am not suggesting that economic factors are the determinant of all social life. The specialization of Amatenango in pottery making is not only an economic, but a social and historical phenomenon as well. The basic economic organization of the villages of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is treated here as a given cultural factor. There is nothing in the ecology of Aguacatenango or Amatenango, or in the economic system itself, that "requires" that the women of the one village should be marginal producers while the women in the other are not.[1] This is a given fact. The factors that determined the present division of labor in the villages are not known to me, and I do not pretend that it is due to some primary economic cause.

128 But, if I take the division of labor and the economic structure of the village as given variables, then I can ask myself to what extent it is followed by adjustments in other cultural norms. It is here where my problem lies.

I am going to attempt to describe, in the rest of this work, how, and under what circumstances, certain social choices which have become normative are related to the economic life of

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[1]Some of the clay deposits are located in Aguacatenango territory. But, Aguacatecos do not exploit them.

317

883 (gang), containing males from the age of about twelve to the time
562 they marry. They usually sleep together in one of the escuadrilla
573 member's house corridor, and spend long nights playing the harmonica, having corn eating competitions or serenading.

562 A man is not considered a full-fledged community member
885 until he marries and has a child (the word for man and father
851 have the same root: tat), which allows him to take the lower
601 post in the government (policía). The government itself is an
621 age-graded organization in which the kinship terms of elder and
621 younger brother are used reciprocally, and by extension, by of-
561 ficers in lower and higher posts.
601

562 With the passing of time, both men and women increase their
593 status by raising a family and by passing to higher positions in
621 the civil-religious hierarchy. Although women do not participate
794 directly in the government, they have some duties as officer's wives (e.g., ironing the Saint's clothes if their husbands are Mayordomos), and they are called by their husband's titles. A man may resign from office if his wife dies and there is no other adult woman in the household who can take care of her part of the officer's performance.

184 The first noticeable difference in the ordering of social
562 relations in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women
592 in the domestic group.

184 In Aguacatenango, the eldest male is the head of the
562 household. He controls the land which the men of the household
462 work, the cattle, the labor of the household members and most of
592 the money obtained through the sale of surplus corn (which is

184 used as a cash crop) or livestock. He decides when and where to
562 plant what, who should buy or sell any household property, when
592 to go to market, etc. If a son is living with his father, he
592 can talk about "our cow," but he is usually referring to his
593 father's animal. In the same way, when a woman who is single
562 talks about "our maize," she is referring to the maize cultivated by her father and brothers and stored by her mother. If she is married, she means the maize produced by her father-in-law and husband, and controlled by her mother-in-law.

592 The eldest woman in the household has authority over the
593 younger females residing within it, including the daughter-in-
562 law, because during the period in which a married man resides with
[606] his parents, the wife, being the younger, is under the direct
[251] authority of her husband's mother. The elder woman controls the food given to her by her husband and son, and she keeps it stored in the tapanco (roof granary). She selects the food for the meals, and sets up the housekeeping schedule for the younger women in the homestead.

592 Women "keep" the money that their husbands earn at home.
593 They are supposed to save it, and not spend any of it without the
434 husband's permission. They do control small amounts of cash
562 which they can obtain by selling eggs, fruits or some vegetables that they grow in the garden. They are allowed to spend it on some luxuries: new clothes for a fiesta, a new pot, or something similar, but they are not expected to take care of themselves.
59 Before marriage, a woman is supported by her father and brothers,
562 and lives under her father's roof. After marriage, she is

000 firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound.
462 Going to gather wood is a very nice break in the routine, and women
313 usually go in the company of other women with whom they chat, ex-
606 changing news and gossip. A young wife usually stays home cooking
592 while her mother-in-law leaves the house to gather the fuel for the hearth. Even if a woman does go out to gather wood, she is expected to do so with her mother-in-law, rather than with the
[626] women of her own natal family. A woman talking about a bad daughter-in-law will say, "She does not even want to gather firewood with me, she always runs to her mother's."

562 Women look upon having their own homestead as the only so-
592 lution for gaining independence. It is true that, even then, they
885 are under their husband's authority, but they control the food brought by the husband to the home, and they can make their own
[574] decisions about the work schedule. They can also take time to
[572] visit their own female relatives and childhood girl friends, a
[606] habit which is disliked by their mothers-in-law as being a threat to their own position.

592 We can see, then, that there are several factors which
578 provoke structural tensions in the compound home; some are economic, others are related to the ordering of social relations in the kinship domain, and still others depend on the aspirations of the individuals.

In the course of time, the structural tensions accumulate to the point that they precipitate the fission of the household. The triad of a woman, her son and her son's wife, and the dyadic conflict between a father and son dissolves the compound into two

613 476 [602] The patrilines function in several dimensions. Work groups, although invariably containing some bilateral and affinal relatives, recruit members mainly among agnatic kinsmen. Men fence their fields with the help of their brothers, father and sons; when villagers get together to buy a cow for a town fiesta celebration, each cow is bought by a group which contains agnatically related men. In one case, seventeen men who bought a cow together belonged to four patrilines which were neighbors among themselves. In another case, in which several men got together to build a house, nine were agnatic kinsmen, three were affinals (the son's wife's brother, the daughter's husband and the wife's brother), three were compadres and one a neighbor from across the street. The women who prepared the meal for the housewarming were: nine agnatically related to the household head; two agnatically related to the wife of the household head; three affinals of the household head; two affinals of the wife; and two neighbors. In another case, a man and his two sons, one of whom was living in a separate domestic group, helped in the construction, and several other men were contracted to help with the payment, although the daughter's husband, who was a carpenter, was called in to give advice and help.

613 621 476 [432]

[462]

613 476 626 627 Individuals, in time of trouble, seek advice from the elders of the patriline, which is the largest unit in which kinship solidarity functions as a controlling social force outside the domestic group. The patriline also exercises control in the form of moral pressure: gossip, accusations of witchcraft, and responsibility for vengeance when a patriline member has been

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

42 43 182 571 184 241 323 434 We can safely arrive at the conclusion that some aspects of the economic system play a very important part in the structuring of social relations in the Chiapas communities. The economic factors which are indicated by the natives themselves and have been assessed by us as being crucial correlates of certain patterns of social behavior are:

(1) The unspecialized agricultural system of one village (Aguacatenango) versus the system of agriculture plus pottery production in the other makes the second one a "richer" town with less wealth fluctuation from year to year.

184 182 462 572 562 434 (2) The relative importance of women as bread-winners and producers in the traditional division of labor in one village (Amatenango), results in the fact that labor of women is crucial for the continuity of the domestic group, whereas in Aguacatenango, it is not. This does not mean that Aguacatenango women do not work. It just means that women's work in Aguacatenango, however exhausting, does not have a market in which it can be sold, and it cannot be transformed into subsistence goods or into money, i.e., it has an undeterminate marginal value. This gives the women in one village (Amatenango) economic independence and a higher status

184 vis-à-vis their husbands and male kinamen, while in Aguacatenango,
182 462 it makes them economically dependent, and subordinates from a jural
482 592 point of view. In one case females inherit as men do, in the
562 434 other, inheritance follows a male line. In one case, they control
[428] the same property as men do, in the other, they control only
[421] marginal property.

184 (3) The relative importance of a man is labor versus a
182 462 woman's labor within the domestic unit affects residence. In
434 Aguacatenango, where all important productive activities are in
591 the hands of men, residence is patri-virilocal, and only males are residence sponsors regularly. In Amatenango, where productive activities are in the hands of both males and females, residence is alternately matri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal, and both males and females can become residence sponsors. In Amatenango, house-
[323] holds that depend more on the women's labor in pottery making are
[241] uxorilocal, while households in which the largest part of the domestic group income is derived from agriculture have post-marital patri-virilocal residence of their members.

184 In Aguacatenango, where all household income is derived
182 from agriculture and residence is patri-virilocal, matri-uxorilo-
434 cality occurs sporadically due to some other economic and non-
591 economic factors: (a) the inheritance of some land in the female
593 line when a daughter structurally replaces a son; (b) the coopera-
428 562 tive work between father-in-law-son-in-law when they replace the
602 position of father and son for each other; (c) the payment of
606 curing ceremonies and medicines for a sick married woman by her
75 own kin rather than her husband's.

184 182 428 593 (4) The reciprocal financial obligations between parents and children in Amatenango, and between parents and sons in Aguacatenango, to support each other at different stages of the developmental cycle of their respective domestic groups affect the rule of ultimogeniture.

184 182 582 591 556 (5) The relative wealth of the natal domestic group of the spouse, measured by the amount of land controlled by the unit affects (a) the choice of marriage partner, and (b) the residence of the newly married couple. In Aguacatenango, where residence is normatively patri-virilocal, parents try to marry their daughters within the same economic level of their own households. In Amatenango, marriages occur across wealth lines, and the couple reside with the parents of the spouse who are better off.

184 182 462 476 593 (6) The relative importance of men versus female cooperative work groups, and/or the difference in structuring of work groups affects (a) the sibling bond; (b) the mother-daughter bond; and (c) the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond.

[606] In Aguacatenango, where only men form cooperative work groups, the brother-brother bond is stronger than the sister-sister bond or the brother-sister bond.

In Amatenango, where both males and females form cooperative [607] work groups, the multilateral sibling bond is reinforced to the point of including siblings-in-law.

184 593 578 571 In Aguacatenango, economic rivalry between siblings tends to disrupt the brother bond with constant conflict. Thus, relationships are more vertically oriented which is consistent with the [613] presence of agnatic descent lines (in Amatenango, generational

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.456-B] Teklum

682 ceeded along two lines of enquiry. First, I have
674 analyzed the circumstances surrounding the
121 deaths in as many cases as my informants could remember. Variations in the components of homicidal acts—the setting, agents, purpose, and outcome—suggested the different assumptions underlying each case. Secondly, I have correlated the different kinds of homicide with structural and organizational changes in
682 the community. The analysis of cases in Sec-
674 tion I summarizes the patterned components
128 of behavior. The social environment providing the cues to the actors is explored in Section II.

682 I. THE PATTERNED COMPONENTS OF
165 37 HOMICIDE CASES[9]

[128] The following tabulations and discussion are based on the 37 cases presented in Table 1.

Who Is Killed

Sex:	all male	
Age:	18–22	5
	27–30	7
	34–38	7
	42–48	8
	50	3
	60	2
	65	2
	70	2
	??	1
[463] Occupation:	curer	8
	political leader	1
	farmer	28

One-half the total number of killings occurred to those between the ages of 34 to 50. However, as the six victims aged 60 and over indicate, survival to a late age does not ensure that one will die a nonviolent death. The age of the victim may be correlated with motive, insofar as some events leading to conflict occur
68 only at certain times in the life cycle. Thus,
[578] betrothal conflicts involved only young men, while victims accused of witchcraft were older: 27 was the age of the youngest, and 16 out of the 18 men killed as witches were over 34. Cattle theft, on the other hand, occurred throughout the age range.

682 Eight of the victims—more than one-fifth of
165 them—were curers, a much higher proportion
756 than their share in the total population, for there are only about a dozen now living in the town center of 1,900.

682 There is a personality type recognized by the
156 community as distinctive of those who "get

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[p. 463 - B] Teklum

682 674 75 these suspicions and kill the witch. If he should kill the witch while the patient is still alive, it is believed that the patient will die.

682 685 674 [463] [697] Killing men for cattle theft (six cases) is a relatively recent occurrence. It has put homicide on the market: the associations of cattle-owners have hired killers in three of the six cases. In addition to the killer's fee, they pay the fine to release him from prison. Fines for homicide have increased in the past five years—from 1,000 to 3,000 pesos—but not sufficiently to price the murder of cattle thieves out of the market. A good bull is worth [435] 1,500 pesos, and the threat of further loss by theft seems to justify the expenditure of fees 685 787 776 and fines. When the cattle-owners lose some of their herd, they go to spiritualists or to San Miguel, the talking saint of Ixtapa, to find out who did the stealing. Since such evidence does not hold up in court, legal settlement is not 685 694 attempted. Legal action, moreover, would create an enemy who might seek revenge. A Ladino secretary of the town center who had lost a bull accused a man of stealing his cattle and demanded 500 pesos in compensation. By receiving the money he jeopardized his safety, and eventually he had to leave town.

The Resolution of the Case

682 69 It is nearly impossible to find witnesses to homicide. Of these 37 cases, 28 resulted in no action being taken by the authorities, and in five cases where the killers went to jail, they were released with the payment of minimal fines. In the calculations of the townspeople, it is hardly worth risking one's neck to get such a minimal revenge.

682 593 626 [683] However, this does not mean that homicide goes unnoticed in the community. After a killing the widow sings of the life of the dead man. If she is in agreement with the verdict arrived at by the killer and others, she will deny knowledge of what he has done, or even suggest that she too was aware of what harm he has caused (one widow implied that her husband, killed as a witch, was responsible for the death of four of her six children). If she objects to the verdict, she sings of what a good man he was and how blameless. She will then air her own suspicions in the following weeks as to who killed her husband.

682 683 627 Following the funeral, when the women have left the cemetary, the men sit at the grave. As they measure out a liter of liquor and pass it around, they advance hypotheses as

412 (*eché*), hoe (*asron*), machete (*machit*), coa (*luk*), and digging stick (*avutel*). In a 243 few towns (Amatenango), where lands are [407] flat, the plow is made of wood and pulled by oxen but only for wheat farming. During [415] corn planting, the seed is carried by the [824] planter in a *morral* hung from the shoulder, [237] in a gourd with a large spout, or in containers made of armadillo shells. The harvested crops are placed in deep baskets, made of reed-grass, or in big pita (*chojak*) [412] net bags. The ear of corn is cleared of its [237] husk by a sharp bone or a small deer horn.

322 The axe, machete, and knife are used in 412 wood working, which is very rudimentary, though handsaw and hammer have a place. With these tools the Indians make doors, tables, seats, small benches, shelves. Blom [534] and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:351) add that the Tzeltal near Ocosingo also make violins of a shape similar to the European type, but they have no resonance and poor tone. They also manufacture pipes and combs roughly [463] finished. No village of this group has specialists in carpentry to compare with the Chamulas (Tzotzil-speaking), who supply furniture at low cost to San Cristobal de las Casas and other places of the area.

324 Stone carving requires a pickaxe with 412 one end very sharp, the other very flat to serve as a hammer, and a short wooden handle. This is the tool used in Tenejapa for making metates. These metates have three legs, but Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:338) mention metates without legs (Ocosingo municipio) which are made of volcanic stone found along the San Martin River. According to the Tzeltal of Oxchuc, the name of the metate is *chá*, its handle *kab-chá*.

412 An iron bar to break the ground, an axe, and a machete are the tools for building huts, chickencoops, sweat houses, and other small structures.

283 Another tool, used in the making of pita 413 rope, is *karet*, which probably comes from the Spanish *carreta*. It consists of a wooden disc fixed to a tree trunk that is nailed to

[P·206-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

462 All activities related to curing of disease are also performed by specialized men, though in some places women occasionally participate. Help at childbirth is always as-
[844] signed to experienced female relatives; there
[959] are no professional midwives—nor profes-
[584] sional marriage brokers.

Specialization is little developed. Only in
463 the largest centers are there a few individuals concentrated on carpentry, tailoring, trading, masonry, or some other activity.
[241] The families in Tenango and Amatenango who carry on the ceramics industry also

[P. 210 - C]

463 241 handle the milpa. It is rare to find an Indian who does not have a milpa since this is the work that ensures his existence.

Property Rights

423 613 This is a matter that varies according to the degree of acculturation reached by the [177] [181] community. In the most conservative groups (Oxchuc, Cancuc, Tenejapa, Tenango) there are still family property rights, but they seem to depend on lineage rather than on the immediate family (Villa Rojas, 562 1947, ch. 19). As these lineages are patri- 428 lineal, a woman does not count when inheritance is involved. She can own her parcel of land only when she has saved the money to buy it, but this is not frequent. Any man can claim lands that previously belonged to his lineage; it is enough to give back the money paid for them two or three generations ago. Of course, he has to prove by witnesses or documents that those lands were the property of his lineage.

127 According to a document dated 1861, 423 which I found in the possession of the 613 Gómez Ichiloks (they belong to the Gómez 614 clan and to the Ichilok lineage), residents of the paraje of Tzajalchen of the municipio of Oxchuc, this property system seems to be very ancient. The document is of special interest.

000 DOCUMENTO DE TIERRAS DE LOS GÓMEZ ICHILOK A

Por pedimento de los ciudadanos Domingo Gómez Ichílok, Tomás Gomez Ichílok, otro Tomás Gómez Ichílok, Miguel Gómez Ichílok, Diego Gómez Ichílok, otre, Domingo Gómez Ichílok, otro Diego Gómez Ichílok y su hijo Diego Gómez Ichilok y por último su hijo menor Manuel Gómez Ichílok, y como antiguamente se acostumbra en este pueblo que segun los hermanos, de una propria família, se les demarca un retazo de terreno de ejido para que en lo sucesivo no haya pleitos con los vecinos como suele suceder, nosotros los Gobernadores, Auxíliares, Justicias, Escríbanos y Testigos, pasamos al paraje denominado Tzajalchén a

[P. 211-A]

A /For a translation by H.R.A.F. of this document, see category 116, p. 225-C--Analyst/ A

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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by the company truck to replenish supplies they bring with them. Most of the workers are young men in their twenties and thirties. They return Saturday evening in a truck supplied by the company and go back to work on Monday morning. Weekly wage payments have upset the usual controls over budget management. Money earned from crops is handled by women. The sawmill workers have resisted passing over their paychecks to their wives or mothers, and several court cases have been precipitated as a result (Appendix 2b).

All of the work in which men are engaged outside of the community is voluntarily undertaken for cash compensation. Formerly, forced labor of two kinds was frequently demanded of the Indians: communal labor in the neighboring ladino town when Tzo'ontahal was an *agente municipal* of that town, and work in neighboring fincas for wages of 50 cents a day. Forced communal work came to an end when the town became an independent municipio in 1931, and the labor roundups at substandard wages were ended when Indians became conscious of their rights guaranteed in the *Ley Federal del Trabajo* in the late 30s. Copies of the *Colección Jurídica Ley Federal del Trabajo* are sold in the departmental marketplace along with the *Codigo Agraria*. Awareness of their rights as workers is concomitant with increasing entry into wage labor employment outside of the local community. As yet, Indians do not have any organized labor interest groups to champion their rights. The Commissioner of Indian affairs in the departmental capital is an intermediary in individual cases that arise. But wage levels and conditions of work are set in a free market in which the Indian's only control is to refuse to work.

The few special occupations in the town, such as butchering, caponizing, weaving bags, carpentry, and midwifery, have never developed into full-time professions.[2] The failure of the development of specialization is related to the tradition of ritual offerings of gifts of liquor and consumables and to the lack of a marketplace in the town.

Most of the livestock raised in the town is sold to butchers of the neighboring town because of lack of storage or of market facilities for the meat. Pigs and bulls are slaughtered in town only on the occasion of a celebra-

2. Curing is treated in a separate chapter since it is an exceptional case of specialization related to social control.

mother to her daughter. Informants are able to recount the succession of 868
learning of the tasks, the relative difficulty of each task, and the mistakes 323
they made and how their mother corrected them. Being a potter in Tzoʔontahal is as much a part of being a woman as the role of agriculturalist is of being a man.

Special tasks become crystallized as roles only when few people perform 463
them. Jobs such as caponizing, butchering, net and rope weaving, and 554
wood cutting which are done by almost every man do not have role terms. Bonesetting and curing of certain "good" illnesses, such as swelling caused by embarrassment, are semispecialized activities performed by a few women who have "cold" hands. Midwifery is a fully specialized role per- [759]
formed by two women who are referred to as "the grandmothers of the newborn child."

A new occupational role has been created with the purchase of a truck 463
by Indians of the community. There are now two Indian truck drivers. 554
Recruitment of these particular young men was a result of their fathers' 177
importance in the truck-owning cooperatives, and their skill was acquired [493]
in apprenticeship with a Ladino truck driver hired when the truck was first in operation. Both of them are acculturated in clothing and speech. Since they have acquired skills in dealing with the Ladino world, they often act as intermediaries for Indians of the town in their negotiations in the market or the courts of the departmental capital.

The continuity in occupational adjustment from early childhood to 864
adulthood contrasts with the discontinuities in assuming roles in the life cycle. Girls are not advised about menstruation until they see the first signs of it; they describe their reaction to it as one of fear and surprise. Often they have been pregnant several months before they are aware of the condition or its cause, and they have no preparation for the experience of childbirth before it is upon them. Boys are not considered men until 885
they are married, but in order to arrive at this status, they must enter into 554
the "fight to get a wife," as the betrothal is often called. 585

Since recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on 554
qualities of the person rather than acquired skills, failure to recognize the prerequisite conditions of age and experience undermines the validity of

would inherit the cattle, but there is no assurance that the animals would not rapidly die: the children may not have the father's suerte to raise cattle, but one of them may have it to grow beans.

Good suerte is a concept attached also to certain skills: if a man has that special suerte, he can have a mano fría (cold hand) which is necessary to castrate or brand animals without having their wounds get infected. In addition, a woman can become a midwife because she has the suerte to deliver babies. On the contrary, a person with bad suerte can have a mano caliente (hot hand), and be unable to carry on such tasks.[1]

Then, ideologically, people belong to two opposite categories. On the one hand, there are those with "small hearts" and witchcraft powers. On the other hand, there are good people with suerte. If a man is well thought of, the villagers say he has suerte. If they dislike him, they say he is a witch.

Every villager has to gamble carefully and weigh his odds, balancing his behavior in such a way as to avoid the "misjudgement" of his fellow villagers. The better they know and like him, the more likely it is that they would think that he has suerte. The more he creates enemies, the higher his probability of being

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[1]There are many part-time specialists in the village who do their work for neighbors and relatives at irregular intervals, never as a life specialization, except in a few cases such as midwives. Women may castrate chickens, or be called in as cooks at fiesta time. Men may be good at branding horses, roofing, etc. None of these jobs contributes substantially to the household income, except for the roles of carpenter, midwife and curer. Curers, however, are a separate category altogether, being ritual specialists "known" to have metaphysical powers.

241 boiled beans; other tamales (*petul*), which
252 are made from dough and whole beans;
262 and finally, still more atole. The atole is
574 served not in individual *jicaras* but in two
272 or three large ones (*batzil-booch*), which
[415] are passed from person to person. The same is done with the other foods; they are served in one or two large pots (*mucul pulato*) out of which everyone serves him-
241 self. This banquet is given only on the first
574 day of the planting; if other days are required, the milpero himself does the planting.

241 Since weeds grow rapidly during the rain season, the milpa must be hoed twice before it reaches maturity. For this the luk or coa is used and also the hoe (*asron*), the same one used to break the soil before planting. The first weeding is done in June, the second between July and August. Women
[462] help their husbands in this chore and some-
[566] times do it entirely themselves, since the
[464] men are in the habit of leaving for Tapachula to work as peons on the coffee plantations.

244 Also in the milpa beans of several varieties are planted: *chuil-chenek* (or *ibes*, according to the Ladinos); *botil*, a large common bean; *xakil-chenek* or *frijol de vara*; and the *x-luumil-chenek* or *frijol de la tierra*, thus called because it is a creeping plant.

Chile is planted on a separate lot, 15–20 m. square. The planting is done during the first weeks of March, in alternate years so that it will not coincide with the year when the people of Cancuc plant cotton. Chile planted by the people of Oxchuc is *dzajal-ik* or red chile.

241 Toward the end of August, the first fruits are ready (*unimajam* or *jilote*, according to Ladinos). These are received with great joy by the families which are by then lack-
[242] ing food. From each plant, which provides two or three *jilotes*, the farthest down is picked to let the other two grow bigger.
[252] These jilotes are boiled without salt and
[263] are eaten whole, including the husks.
[262] [P 201-A]

443 ket of Tenejapa. Other commercial centers are Ocosingo, Chilon, and Yajalon in the north. These markets are also frequented by Ladinos, but others, located far from the cabecera, are exclusively for Indians. The most important of them is the Saturday market of Yochib near Tenejapa, Cancuk, and Oxchuc. It draws 300-400 natives, who arrive at dawn carrying agricultural and handcraft products. Most people come from 8 to 10 in the morning, after which they begin to depart; about 2 or 3 P.M. only those staying to drink chicha are left. Transactions [439] are paid in trade or in money.

Wage Work

464 Because the cold climate and the rugged topography of the region produce little corn, the natives must work periodically as day laborers on the coffee plantations of the Soconusco area on the Pacific coast. About 7000 Tzeltal and a few more Tzotzil work there each year. Natives may go to the coffee plantations any time of the year but prefer to do so during the months the milpa requires less attention (either after planting or after harvest). Between Yajalon and Ocosingo are plantations where men from the neighboring villages are hired for short periods.

Use of Wealth

556 578 829 183 Because of their social organization, it is very difficult for these Indians to accumulate wealth. The worst sin an individual can commit against the community is to store up crops, domestic animals, or clothes, or simply to build a better house. Whatever [754] raises an individual above his fellows—buying a new house, improving an old one, buying a horse—can cause in them a deep fear of being the target of witchcraft (Villa Rojas, 1947).

556 829 183 Those who, enjoying good health, are able to pile up some wealth, are obliged by the community to spend it in banquets and amusements for the community. It is believed that the old men and principales

[P. 213-A]

ties to the center. They register births and deaths in the township center, 632
but they do not have any representation in the cabildo. The populations 621
have no identification with Indian subgroups, speak Spanish, and are oriented to the regional rather than the local economic center. The plantations remaining in the area, classified as *ranchos* in the national census, employ Indians from the center. Their only relationship to the central authority is to get help in recruiting additional laborers. Recruitment of [464] [241]
labor is no longer coercive as it was prior to the 1930s when the low wage rate could not attract the help needed. Announcements of the need for workers are made by the president on the loudspeaker system of the town, and men voluntarily go to the plantations.

Spirit Domains

The link between people and place is through the media of the spirits 776
(*E'uleletik*) of persons and of locale. The relationship is maintained 778
through a set of rules governing the behavior among spirits of people and of places. These rules derive from myths and stories of encounters which define the character of the spirits in each of the domains. Danger is localized in a series of caves which are avoided. Benevolent, or guardian, spirits inhabit a different set of sites, where ceremonies are conducted that maintain the well-being of the individual and of the community. By locating [182]
and circumscribing places of danger and guardianship, the members of the community can supplicate helpful spirits and avoid evil; they are delivered from fear of the unknown and provided with a rationale for dealing with fear of the known.

The places where spirits meet are outlined in Table 3. The first group [128]
includes spirits which are supplicated, the second, dangerous spirits which are avoided or approached only by powerful persons.

The house spirits. The spirits of inhabitants and of the house 776
meet at the center post at the rear wall of the house. The spirit of the 342
house lives in this post. Those who claim to have seen the house spirit say he is a small Ladino child. He is capricious, and if he is not happy, he may admit the evil spirits who will eat the souls of the inmates. His appe- [753]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Chapter 2

Traditional Economic Activities

The traditional occupation of every adult man is working in the milpa and of every adult woman, making pottery. The fiction is maintained that they do this work, even if they are actually engaged fulltime in some other activity. In response to the census question, "What is the work of the man or woman?" men answered universally that they were agriculturalists and women that they were potters. Men who work outside the community, in the fincas or in the sawmills, consider this a temporary means of gaining cash income and do not define themselves as sawyers or laborers for others. They work outside the community only when they do not have sufficient land to provide themselves with corn to eat and a surplus to sell, or when they must pay debts incurred by bethrothal or assumption of religious posts. Many women who do not make pottery for extended periods of time, or make it only for a special fiesta, still consider themselves pottery producers.

Persistence of the same occupations and the daily effort to make a living strengthen the link between generations and to tradition. The primary emphasis in child training is teaching both boys and girls to work efficiently and industriously in these traditional occupations. The techniques for codifying and perpetuating a given way of doing things, particularly evident in pottery production, provide clues to the way in which other kinds of behavior are schematized.

Agricultural Production

Agricultural production involves two areas of decision making: what to grow and when to schedule each activity related to production. Decisions in both these areas are based upon custom and time-proved results. I shall

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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owned plots of less than five hectares, corn is clearly the major crop, with 83 percent of the land devoted to its production. In the ejido lands, it is cultivated on less than 50 percent of the land, with wheat and beans sharing the remaining lands. Included in the category of ownership of five hectares or more are three large fincas where cattle fodder is grown. These fincas employ eighty-three laborers, some of whom live in the town center.

Since the Mexican census figures do not take into account the total land holdings of the household, I shall refer to the data on land use from my own census in 1964 (Table 5). Beans are grown (except in three cases) only if the household has more than the one hectare of ejido land grant. Corn and beans are grown together only on irrigated lands, both in high lands and in low country. Most farmers with ejido land grow wheat in addition to corn only when the land is in continual production, since it is believed that wheat gives "heat" to the land and improves the soil. This belief is supported by the real value of crop rotation.

Decisions concerning what crops to plant where are based on two sets of criteria: topology and soil characteristics. These criteria, furthermore, are the basis for determining what kinds of seed should be planted and what techniques of cultivation should be utilized.

Topological criteria. Because of the relative wealth of land resources, the steep hills are left uncultivated. All of the steep hills are communally owned, and the second growth of pine and scrub oak provides firewood. Tall pine growing in the higher lands of the colonia of San Vicente is sold by the community to private lumber companies.

The "belly of the land," the mound-like hillocks at the bottom of the hills, are sometimes cultivated or used for pasturage. On hilly lands farmers put rocks in the banks or curve the rows of corn to avoid erosion. The very low lands of the valley floor must be drained by digging ditches.

The flat irrigated lands of the valley floor are the most desirable lands for cultivation. The Indians are reluctant to sell these lands, and hold on to them until they are forced to sell.

When the officials reach concensus on what the mean yield (or *medio calculo* as they call it) is, they multiply this by the known amount of seed planted. Every six years a house-to-house census of what was planted is made.

base, so the farmers prefer to plant the better, quicker-growing corn seed 242
in a mixed sand and loam soil.

The final evaluation of land is based on results at harvest. The range of 242
variation is large: from 48 liters of yield per liter of seed to 80 litters of 433
yield per liter of seed. Township officials say that the average harvest is
five *fanegas* (1 fanega equals 12 liters) or 60 liters per liter of seed. Market [435]
prices are of less importance in deciding what crops will be planted than
are considerations of what the soil "wants" and what labor is involved.
Corn is grown on all kinds of land, whereas beans and special crops such
as cabbages can be grown only on the more fertile soil. Wheat can be
grown only where there is irrigation. One farmer raised cabbage in coop- [434]
eration with a Ladino and earned 1,000 pesos, four times the amount he
earned with his wheat crop the previous year. Despite the greater return
for cabbage, the farmer did not plant it the next year when the Ladino,
who had supported the first venture, withdrew his support. The reason he
gave for this was the fact that there was more work involved and he could
not accomplish it alone: first the crop had to be planted, then transplanted,
then irrigated every three days in the early growing period, and cultivated
two or three times; every eight days he had to get rid of worms. He esti- [461]
mated that growing cabbage involved well over four times the amount of
work necessary for growing corn.

Labor. Most agricultural work is performed by members of 592
households with exchange or hired labor. There is no specialization of 241
labor when the work force includes two or more men since the men 476
cooperate in doing each task. Communal labor is restricted to the maintenance of the main irrigation ditches. Each year the ditches are dug out 241
where the sides have eroded and cleaned of brush and leaves. The presi- 621
dent and judges unite to decide on a time for this work and announce it 476
on a loudspeaker of one of the cantinas. This usually occurs around the
twenty-fifth of December. Formerly, all the men of the community helped
in this work whether or not they owned irrigated fields. In 1958 those who [178] [423]
did not own such land "got smart" and refused to work.

In 1962 the civil officials decided that a cement canal should be installed 653
near the source of the spring. They tried to finance it with contributions 621 423 241

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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243 vest. Harvesting is done by all the members of the household, sometimes
[592] with the assistance of exchange or hired labor. Women help by going to
[464] the fields and degraining the cobs with few kernels of corn so that there
[462] will not be an unnecessary burden to carry to the houses.

243 A small fiesta for the corn is made following the harvest. The purpose
796 of the fiesta is to reciprocate the spiritual owner of the corn by giving him
782 a "gift." Two candles are lit and set on top of the piles of corncobs. Two other candles are placed near the heaps of corn grains gathered by the

243 192

Table 7. Stages of Corn Growth and Agricultural Activities

Stages of growth	*Activity*	*Time (after planting)*
Šlihk sčital (begins to grow)	First hoeing	8 days
Čištal lik ?iišm (well-grown; about 4 feet)	Second hoeing	1 month
Čištal stekan sni? (begins to form husk)		2 months
B'al tzuto (begins to bud)		
Lok'iš tzutohal (flower comes out)		3 months
Yihiš sk'ab'enal (begins to mature)		4 months
Lok'iš yihkatz (cobs fill out)		
Sčam hol (its head dies)	Pick cobs to eat fresh	5 months
Yihištal sk'anubiš (now more yellow)	Double over stalks	6 months
Yihubiš (more yellow)		
Tahkiniš (dry)		
Sk'ahik lok'el (harvest time)	Pick dried corn	7 months

243 women. The candles cause the spirit of the corn to rise and give its "gift to
796 the world" in the following harvest. Failure to make a fiesta would mean
782 an end to all corn harvests.

243 Corn is brought to the house and stored in the rafters, since there are no
25 corn cribs or separate storage facilities of any kind in the village. Most of
136 the houses are infested with rats as a consequence. When the harvest is brought in, there is an attempt to rid the rafters of these "thieves." The
[411] men and boys armed with slingshots stand posted in the yard as the children rustle around in the rafters chasing the rats out. Although they are remarkably good shots since they use this tool from early childhood, the houses are never completely free of rats, and the inhabitants learn to put up with them.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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244 which there is a black variety and a colored variety, and (2) climbing beans, of which there are four subclasses: "painted," white, yellow, and black. Beans must be grown only in irrigated lands of highest productiv-

TABLE 8. Schedule of Activities in Wheat Production

Activity	Winter wheat	Summer wheat	No. of days necessary for task: Winter wheat	No. of days necessary for task: Summer wheat	Helpers	Tools
243 464 461 Clear land	Dec. 7	May 12	5	2	2 paid workers	Machete, forked stick
412 407 Irrigate land; leave soaking	Dec. 7	May 15	1	1		
221 Plow	Dec. 15	May 23	1	2	Oxen team	Plow
Sow seed broadcast; cover, crossing over twice	Dec. 16	May 24	1	1	Oxen team	Plow
Cut wheat	May 1	Oct. 5	2	2	2 or 3 unpaid workers	Scythe
Thresh						
Carry wheat to shelter	May 3	Oct. 7				Net bags
Horses trample wheat	May 4	Oct. 8				
Shake stalks						Forked stick
Scoop grains into wooden box and sift to get rid of chaff	May 5	Oct. 9	3	3	4 or 5 unpaid workers, 5 horses	Box with wire mesh
Put grain in burlap bags; carry to houses on horseback						Burlap bags

[115] SOURCE: Information from two informants, one who grows winter wheat and the other who grows summer wheat, both cultivating ½ hectare of irrigated land.

244 ity. The land in the center, except for the fertilized corral areas, has lately yielded a very poor harvest. People say that the soul of the bean departed when they introduced the crop to their ejido plots in hot country. The scheduling of bean production is shown in Table 9.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Guarding the crops. The crops must be guarded against intruders. The farmers sometimes sleep in the fields when they expect animals to steal the ripening corn. They observe the habits of these intruders and develop belief systems which help them organize opposition: 241 825

The raccoon steals maize seeds. He pushes down cornstalks when they are in elote and steals the cob. He is very smart. He can tell whether the owner is sleeping or not by putting his hand on his own anus. If his anus is cold, the owner is awake; if it is hot the owner is asleep and he enters.

Some men who live below in Alannantik have good dogs. They planted their milpa, and the next night wanted to hunt. "You stay with one dog,"

TABLE 9. Schedule of Activities in Bean Production

244
461
464
412

Activity	*Date*	*No. of days necessary for task*	*Helpers*	*Tools*
Cleaning and preparation of soil is same as for corn (Table 6)				
Ground beans				
Plant between rows of corn	Mar. 1	2	3 exchange workers	Digging stick
Cultivate	Apr. 19	3	2 exchange workers	Hoe
Harvest, pulling up entire plants and putting them in burlap bags	July 10	2		
Store in eaves of house				Burlap bags
When pods are very dry, beat bag with stick to depod beans	Sept. 1	2	women of household	Stick
Pole beans				
Plant, following the second hoeing of corn, setting seeds near each hillock of corn	May 2	1		Digging stick
Wind the vines up on corn stalk; tie	June	1		
Cut pods and store in burlap bags in eaves of house	Nov.	1		Burlap bags
Shell beans as they are used				

SOURCE: Same as for Table 6.

[115]

323 pyramid is complete, wood is laid against the pots in a tepee formation. [313] When the sawmill in the vicinity was in operation, flat boards—scraps of [372] cut lengths—were used, but now only logs are available. Corn husks or [462] dry straw are stuffed between the planks or logs. When a large number of pots are being fired, the men usually help at the final stages to remove the [476] charred planks with poles. If men are not available, the women of the household often call upon their neighbors for help. In this operation, the [292] women wear sandals and hats for protection from the heat. When the pots are cooled, the women, sometimes with the help of the men, stack them in net bags, six to a net with straw protecting the pots.

647 About fifteen year ago, a kiln was introduced by the government in the 177 interest of conserving wood. Those who tried it claim that the pottery did 323 not fire well and that many of the pots were broken. I.N.I. (the Instituto 372 Nacional Indigenista) planned to introduce an improved kiln, and while most of the people we questioned expressed a willingness to try it, the proposal was never put into action.

462 The men do most of the marketing of pottery. Loads of one or two 442 dozen may be taken by bus or truck to San Cristóbal or to Comitán. 443 When there is large-scale production throughout the community, as occurs 494 just before major fiestas, truckers come from the neighboring town of Teopisca to contract for delivery.

592 The amount of pottery produced in households varies with the follow- 323 ing factors:
433

1. Household composition: (a) Number of women in the family. [464] If there is only one woman, very little or no pottery is produced because of the demands of domestic duties. Households with two or more women are able to sustain the ideal output of at least a dozen water jugs a week (I use "ideal" here to suggest their notion of what they produce when asked to guess. As Fig. 2 indicates, this varies considerably during the [887] year.) (b) Age of women and ages of children. Older women over sixty do not independently undertake pottery production. They may assist in washing pots with corn gruel or making the neck, mouth, and handles, but they are unable to endure the harder task of collecting clay. A woman with infants under two years of age makes little pottery if

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there is no other woman in the house. (c) Number of men in the family. If there are productively employed men, women of the household tend to make less pottery, since they are busy cooking and washing and have their basic subsistence needs supplied. Pottery is then produced to supply cash for fiestas only. Widows make a great deal of pottery since they must either hire men to work in the milpa or buy corn. 592 323 433 [434] [136]

2. Wealth of the family: Relatively wealthy families make almost no pottery. In other cases, the scheduling of production is related to consumption needs. Figure 2 charts the pottery production by type of item produced for a family which included two unmarried women, their mother, father, and grandmother. The peaks in production occur just before the major fiestas when the family wants additional money to buy meat, fruits, and clothing. Although this family produced more pottery than the majority of households because of the presence of four women, its production typifies the high periods of activity relating to the fiestas. Production is also related to the seasonal changes: during the rainy season (from June to October) many households curtail production, except to earn money for the fiesta of Santiago (July 25), because of the difficulty of firing without closed kilns. [434] [196] [132]

Variation in production means that an overall estimate of income from pottery cannot be made. It ranges from none to nearly 90 percent of family income in the case of widows without land or male helpers. I would guess that an average family might earn 200 pesos a year, about 10 to 15 percent of the money value of crops. One family of two widows and five children who work constantly throughout the year averages an income of about 600 pesos, or about one-half what an agriculturist can make on one-half hectare of land. 323 433 434 184

The Motivation to Produce

461 434 182

The motivation to work is tied directly to consumption needs of the household. Failure to meet expenditures with income from agriculture and pottery is met by men hiring out as agricultural workers or as laborers in the sawmill. This alternative is chosen over that of increasing the size [464] 434 427 247

434 of the farm by renting additional land, as European peasants typically
464 did,[5] since there is very little land available for rent and the returns are
427 not immediate. Farmers will try to avoid this by acquiring land grants to
241 increase subsistence agriculture.

125 Expenditures and earnings were studied in six families over varying pe-
434 riods of time from ten days to one year. The data are summarized below.

434 Family No. 1, consisting of a husband, his wife, and their married
592 daughter separated from her husband and child, is able to meet all of their
[241] need for corn and brown sugar and most of their need for beans by the crops they raise on one-half hectare of ejido land in hot country, one-half hectare of ejido land in the township, and three-quarters hectare of privately owned, irrigated land in the township. On their irrigated land, they grow one-half hectare of wheat and one-quarter hectare of corn. In hot country they grow corn, beans, and sugar cane on the margins of the field. The cane is ground in a cooperatively owned mill, and their crop in 1965 produced 144 *tapas,* or measures of one kilogram worth 5 pesos. In addition to 200 pesos earned for the wheat crop, 100 pesos for the bean crop, 298 pesos for corn, this farmer earned 808 pesos for outside work. His high
[464] wage income is due to his working for an American at twice the usual
[465] daily pay. The farmer buys coffee by the twenty-five-pound bag costing 62
[435] pesos in hot country, a saving of about one-half the retail price of coffee in the town, where it is sold at 5 or 7 pesos at pound. In twelve months of recorded expenditures, the family spent 609.50 pesos or 83 percent of their budget on food, 40 pesos or 5 percent of their budget on clothing and 82 pesos or 11 percent of their budget on medicine.

The high expenditures in the case of family No. 2, consisting of a man,
[583] his wife, and two mature sons, was due to the fact that one of the boys was carrying on a betrothal suit. The bride-price had been fixed at 500 pesos, toward which the family was contributing whatever excess of income over
[464] expenditures it had. The son who was seeking a wife worked fifty-six days
[465] in the sawmill at a wage of 15 pesos per day during the six-month period recorded, earning 255 pesos. In addition, he and his brother earned 160 pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village.

5. Chayanov (1966:7) demonstrated that Russian peasant families expanded the size of their farms when the subjective needs of the family increased, not as a response to market prices for crops or rents.

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434 592 irrigated land in addition to their one-half hectare of ejido land. He supplements his income with work in the sawmill for some periods of the year, at a wage of 90 pesos a week, making a total of 165 pesos in the ten days recorded. The family spent 81 percent or 36 pesos of the budget on food, 13 percent or 6 pesos on clothing 2.3 percent or 1 peso on household supplies, and 3 percent or 1.20 pesos on medicines.

[241] [423] [464]

434 592 241 262 These family budgets show that most of the corn and beans can be supplied by subsistence agriculture. Garden crops of chile, chayote (a green vegetable which produces a fruit and an edible root), and fruit trees, including lime and anone, are raised in the house yard. Tomatoes, fruit, and cabbages are bought in neighboring market towns.

434 592 171 In comparison with household consumption expenditures in the United States and other foreign countries, these budgets show a much higher proportion of cash income spent on food. The percentages of food expenditures range from 63.2 to 97.0 in the families studied, whereas in the United States the average percentage is only 26.3, in Argentina 59.2, and in Zambia 66.5 (Conference Board Economic Almanac 1967). This reflects the fact that the people of Tzoʔontahal have no expenses for house rental, that wood for fuel and light is available in communally owned forests, and that most of the household utensils such as jars, jugs, and bowls, are locally produced. However, failure to report items must also be noted—no one reported purchasing matches although everyone uses them, and only half of the families reported use of soap, although this is universally purchased.

[125]

433 241 A gross estimate of the land necessary to fulfill consumption needs of corn for a family of two adults and four children would be approximately one and a half to two hectares. The yearly average consumption of corn for such a family is about 2,000 kilograms. One hectare produces from 1,200 to 2,000 kilograms in addition to 80 kilograms of beans. Of the 299 families whose land ownership is given in Table 5, 142 have only one hectare of ejido land and 85 more have only one-half additional hectare of privately owned land. This means that 227 households, or 61 percent do not have enough land to meet their subsistence needs. 160 household heads

423 433

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have recently sought additional lands in the ejido of Brindis to meet these minimal requirements. This preference for expanding subsistence agriculture to hiring out as laborers is the best index to the persistence of traditional economic pursuits.

Farmers who do not have a cash crop in wheat may be forced to sell corn even when there is no surplus. Because they usually need the cash as soon as they harvest their crop, they must sell when the prices are low. Thus their consumption needs exacerbate the disadvantage they face in the market.

Clothing, whether traditional or modern in style, requires cash outlays. Women have kept the traditional costume while men are modifying their clothing. Even when they go to hot country, older women wear the heavy cotton skirt bound with a thick sash and topped by an embroidered blouse; some younger women have adopted the long cotton dirndl skirt and peasant blouse. A white cotton shawl is added for ceremonial events or for warmth in the evening. All of their clothing is either bought or made of materials woven on looms in Comitán or San Bartolomé. The navy blue skirt, which they say is black, and the red and yellow sash are sold for 40 to 50 pesos by Ladina vendors who come to town. The blouse is made from two meters of heavy white cotton sold in the local stores or in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. Most prefer the more expensive cotton woven on bed looms in San Bartolomé, but it is not always available. They embroider the wide bands of yellow and red around the neckline with embroidery floss sold in the local store. The fringed shawl from Comitán is also sold locally, but is often purchased during the annual fiestas in the town. These items are replaced every two or three years, depending on the wealth of the family. The newer clothing is worn on ceremonial occasions, and the older clothing is worn every day. Women wear sandals and hats for protection only when they are firing pottery. For jewelry they wear bead necklaces, sometimes with crosses attached. Their hair is braided with ribbons for fiestas, or simply left hanging when they work.

Men buy a woolen jacket called *kotonču,* which is brought illegally from the Department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala, where it is made,

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model introduced was faulty or they were not taught to use it properly. Notions about the supernatural relation between souls of crops, man, and the saints do not interfere with experimentation or adaptation at the instrumental level. Obligations with respect to them are carried on as a supplement to other practical measures.

The organization of men's work in agriculture contrasts with that of women's work in pottery. Men's work, when performed cooperatively by two or more of an extended household or exchange labor team, is mechanically organized, in Durkheim's terminology. Each of the men does the same task, working closely in the rows of the milpa. Women's work groups are organically organized since segmentation of the pottery production in the stages described above makes possible specialization within a domestic production group including two or more women. Preferences and special abilities can be taken into account. The potters with more experience do the jobs which require more judgement and skill, such as mixing the clay or making the bases, and then the work is passed on to less proficient workers. Or an older woman can leave the more strenuous tasks, such as mixing clay or building up the sides of the larger pots, to younger women and perform the lighter tasks, such as putting on the neck and handles.

These differences in the organization of male and female work tasks suggest the need for a reformulation of the classification of whole societies as organically or mechanically integrated. In assessing the potential for change, internal variations in the organization of production might provide the clues for implementing development programs.

The division of labor according to sex is nearly absolute: women do not learn to work in the milpa nor do men learn to make pottery or perform household tasks. However, women will gather firewood, and men will transport clay (although they do not collect the clay deposits in balls) and help in firing pottery. Women can live without men in the household economy of the town, but men cannot live without women. This is because male labor is a market commodity while female labor in household activities is not. A widow can hire a man to work her fields, but a man cannot hire a cook. If he is widowed, he must remarry, move into his

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mother's house, find a wife for a grown son, or find an unattached female relative to live with him. 736 562

Traditional agricultural and pottery production contained within household units has limited specialization and the formation of classes. Whatever exceeded consumption needs was absorbed in a ceremonial fund that served to maintain existing standards. The aim of production was to maintain a given level of "poverty and suffering" as they said in prayers of thanksgiving. These old standards are no longer adequate. Family budgets reflect a range of alternatives requiring an increasing amount of cash expenditure on goods made outside of the community. Because of land limitations, these new preferences are met by wage labor rather than increases in the size of the farm. The new enterprises discussed in the following chapter provide the income streams which are disrupting the present distribution of wealth and the social system based on it. 434 177 464

Chapter 3

New Economic Activities

43 The role of the Indian in the regional and national economy is being
44 shaped more and more by supralocal institutions in public and private en-
177 terprises. The Indians of Tzo'ontahal have mobilized their own resources
178 to incorporate these opportunities. In this they reveal a selective perception of the economic and social advantages of innovation and a tendency to translate form and function into a local idiom. The success of planning at national or regional levels depends upon incorporation of projects at local levels, while the survival of the local group depends upon acceptance of
178 the new opportunities to absorb rising populations.

177 The major institutional settings in which innovation is occurring are
423 (1) the ejido program, (2) employment in agricultural and nonagricul-
464 tural enterprises outside of the community, and (3) economic enterprises
43 originating within the community. My discussion of the economic potential of the local community to adapt to change will be organized in terms of these settings.

The Economic Potential of the Ejido

423

Mexico's ejido program, as one of the oldest and most extensive attempts at land reform in the hemisphere, provides a basis for assessing the economic potential of such programs. Here I shall consider only the effects of ejido administration in the community and what this case illustrates of the potential for development in the future.

Manuel Giraul (quoted in de la Peña 1951:327) summarizes the negative effects of the ejido program:

> In Mexico, the ejido system constitutes an institutionalized block to the reform of the social and economic structure; it corresponds to a

highly stratified primitive society, which remains static: it lacks the 423
flexibility and mobility that exists in modern societies.

The history of the ejido program in Tzo'ontahal in the first few years 175
after it was organized in 1937 seemed to confirm this conclusion. Its 423
immediate effect was to block the flow of labor and goods in the regional 182
and national markets. The ejidatarios were no longer forced to sell their 464
labor at the prevailing rate of 25 cents a day, a wage which was not [465]
enough to supply the needs of even one man much less those of a household. Children and women formerly had to work with their husbands in the coffee fincas in order to meet their most immediate consumption needs. The independence that the ejido tract gave meant that men could withhold their own labor and that of the subordinate members of the family from such exploitation. The second harvests coming from the ejido [241]
plots in low country freed the Indians from having to buy corn in July, [435]
August, and September at the inflated market prices which took advantage of the scarcity of this basic necessity.

The political effect of the ejido in the early days was to fortify the corpo- 175
rate community against the shocks of the outside world. The first lands ac- 423
quired were primarily allotments of corporate lands alienated by the laws 621
of 1856 and 1876. Populations remained in situ, whether they were foreign Indians working on the expropriated estates, or residential communities created in the sixteenth century as crown towns.

The township of Amatenango acquired its first ejido land grant in 1937.
One of the early promoters of the ejido, a *revestido* Indian (one who has [177]
adopted western clothing) from Huistán who had been a laborer on one of the fincas within the township limits, threatened to become a rural *cacique*, or local boss, comparable to those who emerged from the agrarian revolt in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962). This leader was elected president, but during his term of office he was expelled because of his attempt to secure house plots in the center for himself and other Huistecan Indians residing in the barrio of Yetawitz (Chapter 9).

The stabilizing effects of the ejido in its earlier phase have been upset in 423
recent years. As the population of the center expanded, new families mi- 621
grated to the nearby barrios contiguous to the town center. These new set- 166

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tional economy and polity at a more rapid pace than has ever occurred in the past. Typical of this new movement is the recently established ejido of Brindis, formed by a core of landless Indians from the town working with acculturated Indians from Teopisca. Whether the political unity which has developed in the course of establishing their claim to the land will continue to provide a base for community development will depend on the encouragement and support by national institutions.

Within Indian communities of highland Chiapas, the ejido program has weakened age-authority principles in the family and in the civil hierarchy (Day n.d., Edel n.d.). Sons are no longer primarily dependent on their fathers for acquiring economic independence. Ejido Commission leaders have broken the monopoly of power by a gerontocracy of principales. Outside of the community, however, the political and economic potential of the ejido has not yet been fully realized. As the new ejidos such as Brindis develop, they may break the old community boundaries that contained and limited the power of the ejidatarios. With rising literacy, many Indians now read the *Codigo Agraria* sold in neighboring markets, and they are increasingly conscious of their rights. If unity across township boundaries could be achieved, the new ejidos might become an effective political force in regional and national spheres.

Wage Labor and Occupational Specialties

The agriculturalists of the community do work as both exchange and paid laborers in the following forms: reciprocal exchange, part time labor and part-time independent agricultural work, and forestry.[1] Wage work is considered only a supplement to independent self-employment for all but twenty agricultural employees who work full-time on a finca within the township.

Payments for agricultural labor within the community are lower than the prevailing rate outside of the town and are higher in the fincas of hot country than in the highlands. When men work on the fincas of landowners in the neighboring township, they prefer payment by the task (*tarea*) rather than by the day, since they can usually complete two tareas by

1. See Richard N. Adams (1964:48) for a discussion of the forms of rural labor.

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465 working long hours. Thus they receive 12 pesos for about one and a half times as many hours as is worked locally for the prevailing wage of 6 pesos (ten hours in comparison with the usual day's work of six to seven hours in the town). For this reason they maximize the effort expended in getting to fields outside of their own township. The lower payment in [476] town entails an obligation on the owner's part to reciprocate the labor, but the payment relieves him of an immediate demand on his time. Exchange 476 labor without payment requires reciprocity within the same activity schedule: thus if a man assists someone else during harvesting, he expects that person to assist him during the same harvest period. If, however, he will be unable to reciprocate immediately, the payment of 6 pesos terminates [465] an immediate obligation, but he will be expected to respond when he can if other requests should be made by this same farmer. Exchange labor without payment is contracted between relatives, compadres, and neighbors, using the network of established social ties to reinforce the obligation to reciprocate.

464 Agricultural work in the fincas in hot country is undertaken only when [434] there is extreme need for supplementary income, or when a man is escap- [754] ing the threat of being killed as a witch. In the 1920s, when the Indians had limited land resources and prevailing wages were low, some were forced to go to the fincas of the Argentino and Aregovia near Tapachula. [626] Despite the economic necessity for their undertaking this work, the social pressure was so strong against it that they would leave early in the morning to avoid being jeered as they passed in the street. The women rarely [462] accompanied them because they could produce pottery at home and supplement earnings. The prevailing rate now is 15 to 18 pesos per tarea, a [465] half-day's work, but Indians work in the finca only when urgently pressed.

Nonagricultural labor in the sawmills is a source of employment for twenty-two Indians of the town. Lumber companies operating in the forested areas of Montebello Lake have employed Indians of the town for [465] the past year. The wage offered, from 15 to 18 pesos a day, exceeds the 12-peso wage paid to agricultural laborers in the immediate area, but corresponds to that paid in hot country. The men must live at the sawmill, and supplies of tortillas made by their families are brought in on Wednesdays

by the company truck to replenish supplies they bring with them. Most of the workers are young men in their twenties and thirties. They return Saturday evening in a truck supplied by the company and go back to work on Monday morning. Weekly wage payments have upset the usual controls over budget management. Money earned from crops is handled by women. The sawmill workers have resisted passing over their paychecks to their wives or mothers, and several court cases have been precipitated as a result (Appendix 2b).

All of the work in which men are engaged outside of the community is voluntarily undertaken for cash compensation. Formerly, forced labor of two kinds was frequently demanded of the Indians: communal labor in the neighboring ladino town when Tzoʔontahal was an *agente municipal* of that town, and work in neighboring fincas for wages of 50 cents a day. Forced communal work came to an end when the town became an independent municipio in 1931, and the labor roundups at substandard wages were ended when Indians became conscious of their rights guaranteed in the *Ley Federal del Trabajo* in the late 30s. Copies of the *Colección Jurídica Ley Federal del Trabajo* are sold in the departmental marketplace along with the *Codigo Agraria*. Awareness of their rights as workers is concomitant with increasing entry into wage labor employment outside of the local community. As yet, Indians do not have any organized labor interest groups to champion their rights. The Commissioner of Indian affairs in the departmental capital is an intermediary in individual cases that arise. But wage levels and conditions of work are set in a free market in which the Indian's only control is to refuse to work.

The few special occupations in the town, such as butchering, caponizing, weaving bags, carpentry, and midwifery, have never developed into full-time professions.[2] The failure of the development of specialization is related to the tradition of ritual offerings of gifts of liquor and consumables and to the lack of a marketplace in the town.

Most of the livestock raised in the town is sold to butchers of the neighboring town because of lack of storage or of market facilities for the meat. Pigs and bulls are slaughtered in town only on the occasion of a celebra-

2. Curing is treated in a separate chapter since it is an exceptional case of specialization related to social control.

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hall, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of the new officials. Residents of the barrios and colonias can never rise to any position above that of assistant judge, but once they have served in this post they may become principales in their own localities. One week the first regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the third regidor from Alannantik, and the next week the second regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the fourth regidor from Alannantik. The ten police are ranked in five levels with representatives from each side at every level in the series except for the fourth level, which is occupied by police from the barrios.

These civil officials, called as a group the *hu?eletik*, those who are "able" (in control), constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. To reach a high post, an official must first pass through each of the lower positions in the hierarchy. Outside of this ranked hierarchy, the posts of president and síndico are occupied by young men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy was, until the present generation, limited to a few men in their thirties. With increasing literacy, the competition for these posts is growing.[2] Men who have such skills are called upon as signers of official documents and are called *firmanetik*.

Also existing outside of the traditional hierarchy is the post of secretary which had, until 1965, been occupied by a Ladino. This was the only post which was paid; it also provided opportunity for earning extra income by preparing "acts," or official documents, and fines from court cases. The present incumbent is an Indian of Alannantik.

Because Tzo?ontahal's hierarchy is still a linked series of civil and religious posts, the structure of the civil hierarchy cannot be considered independently from that of the religious hierarchy. The major segments of the religious hierarchy are the *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces or captains of the fiestas. The internal ranking of the sixteen mayordomos depends on the number of religious posts the incumbent has filled and on the rank order of the saints he serves.

The alfereces, or captains of the fiestas, provide a ceremonial link be-

2. Julio de la Fuente (1964:30) has summarized the effect of literacy in breaking the homogeneity of the community since the literate Indians have received greater privileges and release from communal work. When the entire community is educated, the monopoly of literacy is broken.

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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621 423 178 177 [609] ship role in the new political setting. As a result, it was the marginal Indians, outsiders who had come as did Augustín to work as *baldios* (laborers) on the finca near the town, that were the drivng force behind the demand for land. This was the basis for the new leadership in the early days of land reform. The ejido program, conceived of by Cárdenas as a basis for political development of the campesinos, (Brandenburg 1964) gave these marginal Indians the opportunity to rise to positions of influence in local government. The reluctance of the townspeople to take action [154] against Augustín derived in part from fear, since he reputedly backed his use of force with witchcraft—the imported kind of witchcraft in which poisons are used instead of spiritual force.

622 554 177 178 [191] [464] Ceferino, the man who finally deposed Augustín, was a member of the traditional community, but because he had been impoverished by burying four members of his family in the typhoid epidemic of 1928, he had been forced to work in the fincas. There he had learned Spanish and some of the ways of the dominant society. His leadership potential had developed in the role of *caporal*, or gang leader of the pickers in the coffee finca, and he had been a leader in the trek of recruited laborers down to the fincas in Soconusco. Under the old authority structure, in which all officials including the president were recruited through the hierarchy, he would never have reached a prestigious position. But in this crisis, he was the only man willing to confront the incumbent and take over the operation of civil affairs.

622 554 Ceferino did not take advantage of the situation to emerge as a cacique himself. As he explained in his narrative, "The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles." The way in which he had been introduced into the cabildo as scribe had successfully neutralized his own ambitions to attain power, if he had any. He accepted the ideal of a united pueblo, recognizing the authority of the principales.

621 177 178 The increasing scope and frequency of relationships between the nation and the locality since the revolution has emphasized the roles of president and síndico at the expense of the authority and control exercised by the principales. The ceremonial significance of the principales in rituals is retained as a symbol of continuity in the change of officials, but their func-

571 805 [584] is accepted. Precipitous action on either side reveals a weakness of which the other party might take advantage, or which might even stop procedures.

Timing of activities is so specific that it can be read as an equation of social relations: People who come to the house after nightfall are either intimate members of the family, or are members of the circle of me?tiktatik invited for a special household celebration—night is the time when spirits wander, not a time for casual visiting. Arrival of the betrothal party at the [584] house of the girl's parents after ten o'clock in the morning indicates that the suit has been accepted.

571 805 554 562 Sequential timing expresses relative prestige and a sense of priority. In "raising" the officials for the official ceremonies, the lowest ranks of officials rise first to go to the house and awaken each of their companions in order of rank. The sequence in serving order has already been discussed with respect to rank and prestige. Another principle of sequence operates at a more subtle level: women go before men when there is expectation of a fight since their presence evokes less hostility. This is evident in the betrothal: the me? ɛ'om precedes the mam c'om in the initial proceedings [584] [579] when strong resistance and hostility is anticipated. When drunken fights start during house ceremonies, women intercede with calming effect.

641 829 805 Time always is on the side of the Indians when they wish to resist national orders. Verbal agreements to pay fines imposed or to assist federal agents in the capture of criminals are frequently followed by deliberate negligence in carrying out the orders. Usually the order is forgotten or interest wanes at a higher level. Government agencies such as the INI [847] learned to bide their time much as the Indians did. Expecting opposition to any proposed change, they waited for the initial reaction to die down, and then proceeded as support from those who benefited overcame internal resistence.

461 464 512 805 When called upon to perform jobs that require regular appointments, the Indians respond easily to the daily scheduling. Resistance comes against scheduled requirements that involve long spans of time and interfere with communal and familial ceremonies. Work away from home is undertaken only on the premise that it will be of limited duration. This [181] control over their own time is a value which Indians will not easily yield.

Chapter 13

Belief and Behavior in a Changing Society

Continuity is the theme stressed in the rules of the game that apply to living in the square world of the community. The framework of continuity is the landscape itself with the ancestral hills and devils' caves reminding people of the moral order of the past. Repetitive behavior in rituals symbolically projects the past into the future, and behavioral schema in pottery and agricultural production reinforce the belief that all remains the same. The conditions making for change stem from the very attempts to preserve the existing equilibrium. A rising population on a limited land base using colonial techniques of cultivation is bringing about an increasing reliance on outside markets for the sale of labor and the purchase of goods. The ejido program which has perpetuated the system of subsistence cultivation has at the same time increased the dependency on external political influence and undermined dependency on parents. Some of the rules of strategy that have developed in response to changes coming from outside the community can no longer be justified by the beliefs that govern behavior within its boundaries. The community is now in crisis: people are losing faith in the old beliefs and have not yet developed a meaningful ideology for new strategies.

The crisis does not affect all institutions equally. It is absent in the traditional economic activities of milpa cultivation and pottery production. It is incipient in the households, especially where there are wage-workers in nonagricultural jobs. It is more apparent in the civil than in the religious sphere, and it is most manifest in the new economic activities. The school, as an externally imposed institution, generates awareness of the conflict between old beliefs and the ideology of nationalism, but until recently receptivity to these ideas has been limited. The behavior described for each in-

241 596 468 Each man tries to cultivate enough food to make his household self-sufficient the whole year around.

241 868 The younger males of a household are initiated into the agricultural work by their fathers and elder brothers who work with the household head in the same fields. Around the age of ten, they are expected to leave grammar school and the children's playground, and to start learning their life trade: the tech- [582] niques of cultivation. No young male is capable of marrying if he is not capable of bearing on his shoulders the economic burden of supporting a household with his labor in the fields.

241 433 434 In addition to producing enough corn for the consumption of his homestead, a man is expected to cultivate some surplus which the household can exchange in the local markets and stores for the manufactured goods and staples which they need: machetes, candles, needles, coffee and various other commodities. Moreover, [464] if the household is in need of extra cash to pay for the expenses of a burial, a wedding, or any other emergency expenditure, he is expected to earn it by selling his labor to other men in the village for wages, or by working for short periods of time in the sugar cane plantation of Pujiltic. (Usually between one and two weeks of wage work will cover such emergencies. See Fig. 5.)

562 The women of Aguacatenango are economically dependent on their male relatives: father, husband, siblings and adult male 462 children. The women have many responsibilities; they are in charge of cooking and cleaning, sewing the family clothes, gathering [231] firewood for the hearth, and educating the young. They are also [241] in charge of feeding the small livestock which is kept in the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77]

Sample: 68 Households

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	Men	Per Cent
A:		
Never	12	17
Pujiltic (sugar cane plantation)	49	71
Fincas	5	3
Carretera Construction: (1 month)	2	7
Napite (school teacher for the INI): (2 1/2 years)	1	1
Yerba Santa	1	1
Total	70	100
B: Period of work in Pujiltik:		
1 week	29	
2 weeks	15	
3 weeks	2	
1 month	1	
Unknown	2	
C: Period of work in Fincas:		
1 month	2	
2 months	1	
5 months	1	
3 years	1	
D: Status:		
Household Head	41	
Son of household head	15	
Da. Son of household head	2	
Total	58	

II. A:	Women
San Cristobal	12
Teopisca	2

B: Period of Work:

From 3 weeks to 3 years.
Average: 12 months.

C: Status:	
Widow	2
Divorcee	1
Single	11

Fig. 5.--Migratory Labor in Aguacatenango

462 [231] [241] sitio (household territory): pigs and chickens, and the cultivation of the rudimentary gardens within the back patios. These gardens do not have great economic importance. Women plant chiles, cilantro, chayotes, té limón, mostaza, and sometimes even beans and a small milpa for elote (tender corn), but gardening is not a serious occupation: most women only plant two of three varieties of plants, a little bush of flavor herbs for the beans, some medicinal plant, or some flowers to ornament the house altar. Many backyards just grow wild, and the collection of its products is mainly "gathering in one's backyard" rather than harvesting (see Fig. 6).

[434] By selling the products of the small garden, some eggs, or fruits, a woman can contribute to the household cash income, but this money is considered somewhat of a luxury. The extra cash can be used to buy some clothes before a fiesta, or a new pot, or a similar item, but women are not expected to support their families: this is the basic responsibility of the family men.

166 462 464 Women have very few cultural alternatives for transforming their labor into a substantial income. Young single girls whose parents are too poor to support them, or who are alocadas (lightheaded) and desire to break away from home, can leave town to go to work as servants in Ladino towns. Wives running away from a mother-in-law who is too strict, or from a drunkard husband, or widows, would occasionally take up this kind of work. This, of course, isolates a woman from the village, and is a form of self-imposed exile. Working for Ladinos is a somewhat awe inspiring [829] idea. Women "know" or suspect that Ladino men violate Indian

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 79]

166 women and that Ladino women mistreat their servants. Working in
462 towns is remembered, by those who have done it, as a strange mix-
464 ture of carefree economic independence and innumerable small
[829] humilitations and suffering. Its lack of attractiveness is well reflected in the fact that, from a random sample of sixty-eight households, only fourteen women have worked outside their homes (see Fig. 5).

562 The only women who are the bread-winners or heads of their
462 homes are forced to do so because they have no male relatives to
434 provide for them. In this case, they have few alternatives open
[464] to them, the two most common being: 1) acting as a servant (al-
[275] ready discussed above); or 2) selling liquor in their houses to the
[552] men of the village. This second occupation is not very well thought of by the villagers, trago sellers being gossiped about as being bold women, "sexy" females who enjoy the company of drunks and men married to other women.

Amatenango

462 In Amatenango, the division of labor presents a very dif-
323
438 ferent picture. The whole village of Amatenango is a pottery
[241] factory because, in addition to the household income derived from
(434) the agricultural work of the village men, each Amatenango woman is a pottery producer.

Pottery that is made for selling is neither a choice, nor a part-time job, nor an individual specialization, but a town specialty. All women in Amatenango are expected to know how to make pots, and to make them. The women of each household

then, each season is a question mark, an equally unpredictable year of plenty or a lean year.

In Amatenango, when the crop fails or is poor, the income of the villagers can be compensated by producing more pottery. This is obviously not so in Aguacatenango. If hunger threatens the families, the result is a higher migration rate or an increase in the number of men leaving town to work part-time in the fincas. The result of having an alternative form of income within the homestead in Amatenango is that the village keeps its income more balanced year after year, and that the village as a whole has a reputation of being richer than the other communities.

In Aguacatenango, the women are an economic burden. The men are very aware that they themselves "do all the work." Women have long and leisurely afternoons which are spent sitting on their porches grooming, chatting, or visiting. Men complain of this, saying "Women cannot realize how hard a man has to work. They complain of not having this or that, but they do not know. . . ." In Amatenango, on the contrary, women are important producers, men and women sharing, equally, the responsibility of supporting their families.

Thus, in the one case, Aguacatenango, the work of women has a marginal, undeterminate value in an economic milieu in which they have no cultural alternatives to convert their labor into goods or subsistence necessities; in the other case, Amatenango, the labor input of women represents about half of the total productive efforts of the villagers.

423
432 this time arrives. The main reason for selling a house is to
[764] pay for the burial of a family member. Most widows, if the house
is not reclaimed by the husband's agnatic kin (who have rights
[428] over the property if there are no mature sons left by the deceased), will sell the sitio to pay for the husband's burial, and will move to their natal households with their children. Some sons will sell the house to pay for the burial of a father. The selling of the house is also a solution for cases of conflicting inheritance rights. For example, if two brothers claim rights to it, and if they both agree about it, they will sell it and the money obtained would be divided among them.

592
591 The fission of the compound household into nuclear house-
578 holds is accepted by the villagers as a traditional pattern of behavior, but residential changes are always expressed in terms of on-going conflict between the couples residing in the compound.

593
592 A father tries to keep his son living with him for as
464 long as possible because he is an emotional as well as an economic
562 asset to him. While a man has his son living with him, he has an unpaid agricultural worker bound to him by emotional and jural ties and by his economic dependence, and this allows him to maximize the labor force of the household and, therefore, increase production notably. At the same time, he is able to control a relatively larger amount of land for cultivation. If the son leaves the compound, he is forced to divide the land holdings under cultivation and to give him a parcel, a paternal duty which, in spite of the fact that it is expected of them, they try to avoid as long as possible. When the son leaves, the household

593 592 464 562 423 loses his labor and some of its land holdings, while if a daughter leaves, the loss of labor is marginal, there is no loss of land, and her removal is not a drain on the resources of the household, nor does it upset its basic economy.

591 593 182 The multiple bonds between a father and a son over the patrimonial land of the family, the products of their joint effort, and their common responsibility for setting up the standard of living for the homestead, all foster patrilocality.

423 425 592 621 [593] A young man could, today, obtain land without his father's direct help. He cannot obtain irrigated land (because it is extremely scarce, and privately "owned" by the household heads), but he could obtain land in the communal lands of the village. This, of course, is not the better land, being temporal and far away from the village. Although the temporal land close to town is not privately owned, it is "earmarked" for use by the heads of each household. That is, the communal lands are distributed to households, not by titles of ownership, but by usufruct rights. Even if he decides to take such a step, he needs (1) the approval of the Ayuntamiento which oversees the distribution of usufruct rights for the community as a whole, and (2) the recruitment of other men to help him clean and fence the parcel.

621 593 423 425 578 Neither of the two alternatives is easy to carry out in practice. First, if the Ayuntamiento grants land to a man against his father's will, this creates a problem of jurisdiction between the jural rights of the household head and the administrative rights of the Ayuntamiento. We could not predict what consequences such a case would have, because we have no evidence that it has ever occurred (of course, this is based on the case

histories collected during the field work season, and it well could be that a case was missed). Second, if he wants to obtain help from other men, they risk antagonizing, with their willingness to cooperate, the head of the household in which the young man is residing, and they also risk the concommitant sanctions.

The young man could also obtain land without his father's help by leaving the community to work for wages and saving enough money to buy land. Although the selling of parcels is not a common practice in Aguacatenango, the idea of land being a commodity that can be bought and sold has been introduced, and some few household heads, in cases of emergency, are willing to sell. Of course, leaving the community to work for wages means voluntary exile for a man and alienation from relatives, friends and the cultural milieu. Also, men insist that it is profitable to work for wages only if one does it for short periods of time and keeps milpa simultaneously. Wage work alone is not enough to buy corn and the other necessities to meet the requirements of the customary standard of living.

On the other hand, a man breaking away from his home and refusing to accept his father's authority becomes a deviant, and antagonizes not only his family, but the community.

Although it is possible, theoretically, to become economically independent of one's father against his will, in fact a man can only set up his own household in compliance with the ethical principles and moral conventions of his culture. Therefore, he is only permitted to form his own domestic group when he has demonstrated that he has reached the stage of social maturity which allows him to do so.

423 593 The reasons for keeping a son are not as pressing as the [432] reasons for keeping a daughter. Amatenango land holdings are [184] somewhat smaller than Aguacatenango, and the buying and selling of agricultural parcels, as long as it does not involve outsiders to the village, is a common practice which accounts for approximately 16 per cent of land transactions. The

423 241 592 464 limited land holding units in Amatenango require minimal cooperation in agriculture. Because of fractured land holdings, fewer than one-half of the households have two tablones . . . of land. Therefore, fewer than one-half the households can keep more than one man actively employed. Even in those households with from two to five tablones, a man and his adult son are sufficient labor for most activities except harvest. 592 323 434 868 Women's pottery production, however, requires frequent cooperation. Two tendencies are reinforcing the cooperation of women, especially of mothers and daughters: (1) with increasing need for cash income to buy products which are not longer produced in the home, or which have been introduced, money [582] is constantly needed. Pottery offers an easy means of acquiring cash with almost immediate returns, and (2) marriages are [178] currently contracted at a later age for girls than formerly. Before, about a generation ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve were the rule. Most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques begins at that age. Consequently, pottery was taught to the daughter by the mother-in-law if the girl was married and resided in the husband's house. (See Frans [114] Blom and Oliver LaFarge [1927] who commented that all pottery was taught by the mother-in-law.) Most marriages now are contracted for girls from 14 to 17 years of age. At this time they are already proficient potters, and accustomed to working with their mother. Therefore, there is a greater stress put on their remaining in or near their parental home after marriage (Nash, J., 1960:47).[1]

592 868 323 The people of Amatenango recognize that during the period in which a woman learns to make pottery, she establishes particular habits of cooperation and a strong solidarity bond with the woman from whom she learns and with whom she works. "Parents say that there is an advantage in early marriages, in that the girl would be more willing to learn the ways of her mother-in-law if she

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[161] [1]It is also important to notice that with the increase in population over the area, the market has increased.

591 If the woman's work in pottery is a crucial factor in
592 making residence choices, then poorer households, which depend
323 more on pottery sales as an important source of income, should
434 also show more emphasis on having the daughters stay at home
361 after marriage, and therefore, the incidence of uxorilocal residence and matrilocal proximity of women should be higher.

361 Within Amatenango "there are clusters of bilaterally re-
602 lated kin which form neighborhood groups. Two of these neighborhoods are spatially set apart from other houses of the barrio
361 and are named" (Nash, J., 1960:52). One of them, the neighbor-
591 hood of Santa Cruz, is composed of households which show greater
434 poverty in comparison with the rest of the village. As it was hypothesized, Santa Cruz also shows a greater incidence of matrilocal proximity. The correlation between lack of household wealth (which increases the importance of woman's pottery making) and residential proximity of a woman to her maternal home is statistically significant at the .001 level (see Table 16).

361 On the other hand, one should also expect the married men
591 to live further apart from their own parents because (1) those who
166 stay at home would reside and work with their wife's relatives,
434 and (2) it is said that some of the men of the neighborhood are
464 forced by their poverty to migrate to the lowlands seeking work in the ranches, and may stay there permanently. This hypotheses is confirmed; the correlation is significant at the .05 level of confidence (see Table 16).

361 The result of poverty in this neighborhood is that while
591 for the community as a whole 49 per cent of the women live in the
434 same neighborhood as their parents, in Santa Cruz 67 per cent of

[Text continued on p. 162]

434 of the farm by renting additional land, as European peasants typically
464 did,[5] since there is very little land available for rent and the returns are
427 not immediate. Farmers will try to avoid this by acquiring land grants to
241 increase subsistence agriculture.

125 Expenditures and earnings were studied in six families over varying pe-
434 riods of time from ten days to one year. The data are summarized below.

434 Family No. 1, consisting of a husband, his wife, and their married
592 daughter separated from her husband and child, is able to meet all of their
[241] need for corn and brown sugar and most of their need for beans by the crops they raise on one-half hectare of ejido land in hot country, one-half hectare of ejido land in the township, and three-quarters hectare of privately owned, irrigated land in the township. On their irrigated land, they grow one-half hectare of wheat and one-quarter hectare of corn. In hot country they grow corn, beans, and sugar cane on the margins of the field. The cane is ground in a cooperatively owned mill, and their crop in 1965 produced 144 *tapas*, or measures of one kilogram worth 5 pesos. In addition to 200 pesos earned for the wheat crop, 100 pesos for the bean crop,
[464] 298 pesos for corn, this farmer earned 808 pesos for outside work. His high
[465] wage income is due to his working for an American at twice the usual
[435] daily pay. The farmer buys coffee by the twenty-five-pound bag costing 62 pesos in hot country, a saving of about one-half the retail price of coffee in the town, where it is sold at 5 or 7 pesos at pound. In twelve months of recorded expenditures, the family spent 609.50 pesos or 83 percent of their budget on food, 40 pesos or 5 percent of their budget on clothing and 82 pesos or 11 percent of their budget on medicine.

The high expenditures in the case of family No. 2, consisting of a man,
[583] his wife, and two mature sons, was due to the fact that one of the boys was carrying on a betrothal suit. The bride-price had been fixed at 500 pesos, toward which the family was contributing whatever excess of income over
[464] expenditures it had. The son who was seeking a wife worked fifty-six days
[465] in the sawmill at a wage of 15 pesos per day during the six-month period recorded, earning 255 pesos. In addition, he and his brother earned 160 pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village.

5. Chayanov (1966:7) demonstrated that Russian peasant families expanded the size of their farms when the subjective needs of the family increased, not as a response to market prices for crops or rents.

highly stratified primitive society, which remains static: it lacks the 423
flexibility and mobility that exists in modern societies.

The history of the ejido program in Tzo'ontahal in the first few years 175
after it was organized in 1937 seemed to confirm this conclusion. Its 423
immediate effect was to block the flow of labor and goods in the regional 182
and national markets. The ejidatarios were no longer forced to sell their 464
labor at the prevailing rate of 25 cents a day, a wage which was not [465]
enough to supply the needs of even one man much less those of a household. Children and women formerly had to work with their husbands in the coffee fincas in order to meet their most immediate consumption needs. The independence that the ejido tract gave meant that men could withhold their own labor and that of the subordinate members of the family from such exploitation. The second harvests coming from the ejido [241]
plots in low country freed the Indians from having to buy corn in July, [435]
August, and September at the inflated market prices which took advantage of the scarcity of this basic necessity.

The political effect of the ejido in the early days was to fortify the corpo- 175
rate community against the shocks of the outside world. The first lands ac- 423
quired were primarily allotments of corporate lands alienated by the laws 621
of 1856 and 1876. Populations remained in situ, whether they were foreign Indians working on the expropriated estates, or residential communities created in the sixteenth century as crown towns.

The township of Amatenango acquired its first ejido land grant in 1937.
One of the early promoters of the ejido, a *revestido* Indian (one who has [177]
adopted western clothing) from Huistán who had been a laborer on one of the fincas within the township limits, threatened to become a rural *cacique*, or local boss, comparable to those who emerged from the agrarian revolt in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962). This leader was elected president, but during his term of office he was expelled because of his attempt to secure house plots in the center for himself and other Huistecan Indians residing in the barrio of Yetawitz (Chapter 9).

The stabilizing effects of the ejido in its earlier phase have been upset in 423
recent years. As the population of the center expanded, new families mi- 621
grated to the nearby barrios contiguous to the town center. These new set- 166

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle
Mexico NU1

tional economy and polity at a more rapid pace than has ever occurred in the past. Typical of this new movement is the recently established ejido of Brindis, formed by a core of landless Indians from the town working with acculturated Indians from Teopisca. Whether the political unity which has developed in the course of establishing their claim to the land will continue to provide a base for community development will depend on the encouragement and support by national institutions.

Within Indian communities of highland Chiapas, the ejido program has weakened age-authority principles in the family and in the civil hierarchy (Day n.d., Edel n.d.). Sons are no longer primarily dependent on their fathers for acquiring economic independence. Ejido Commission leaders have broken the monopoly of power by a gerontocracy of principales. Outside of the community, however, the political and economic potential of the ejido has not yet been fully realized. As the new ejidos such as Brindis develop, they may break the old community boundaries that contained and limited the power of the ejidatarios. With rising literacy, many Indians now read the *Codigo Agraria* sold in neighboring markets, and they are increasingly conscious of their rights. If unity across township boundaries could be achieved the new ejidos might become an effective political force in regional and national spheres.

Wage Labor and Occupational Specialties

The agriculturalists of the community do work as both exchange and paid laborers in the following forms: reciprocal exchange, part time labor and part-time independent agricultural work, and forestry.[1] Wage work is considered only a supplement to independent self-employment for all but twenty agricultural employees who work full-time on a finca within the township.

Payments for agricultural labor within the community are lower than the prevailing rate outside of the town and are higher in the fincas of hot country than in the highlands. When men work on the fincas of landowners in the neighboring township, they prefer payment by the task (*tarea*) rather than by the day, since they can usually complete two tareas by

1. See Richard N. Adams (1964:48) for a discussion of the forms of rural labor.

465 working long hours. Thus they receive 12 pesos for about one and a half times as many hours as is worked locally for the prevailing wage of 6 pesos (ten hours in comparison with the usual day's work of six to seven hours in the town). For this reason they maximize the effort expended in getting to fields outside of their own township. The lower payment in [476] town entails an obligation on the owner's part to reciprocate the labor, but the payment relieves him of an immediate demand on his time. Exchange 476 labor without payment requires reciprocity within the same activity schedule: thus if a man assists someone else during harvesting, he expects that person to assist him during the same harvest period. If, however, he will be unable to reciprocate immediately, the payment of 6 pesos terminates [465] an immediate obligation, but he will be expected to respond when he can if other requests should be made by this same farmer. Exchange labor without payment is contracted between relatives, compadres, and neighbors, using the network of established social ties to reinforce the obligation to reciprocate.

464 Agricultural work in the fincas in hot country is undertaken only when [434] there is extreme need for supplementary income, or when a man is escap- [754] ing the threat of being killed as a witch. In the 1920s, when the Indians had limited land resources and prevailing wages were low, some were forced to go to the fincas of the Argentino and Aregovia near Tapachula. [626] Despite the economic necessity for their undertaking this work, the social pressure was so strong against it that they would leave early in the morning to avoid being jeered as they passed in the street. The women rarely [462] accompanied them because they could produce pottery at home and supplement earnings. The prevailing rate now is 15 to 18 pesos per tarea, a [465] half-day's work, but Indians work in the finca only when urgently pressed.

Nonagricultural labor in the sawmills is a source of employment for twenty-two Indians of the town. Lumber companies operating in the forested areas of Montebello Lake have employed Indians of the town for [465] the past year. The wage offered, from 15 to 18 pesos a day, exceeds the 12-peso wage paid to agricultural laborers in the immediate area, but corresponds to that paid in hot country. The men must live at the sawmill, and supplies of tortillas made by their families are brought in on Wednesdays

tion or when the animal is sick. For ceremonial occasions, the assistant of one of the mayordomos is expected to kill the bull which will provide the meat for a common meal. On other occasions, someone who is known to have a hand which gives flavor to the meat is asked to do it. The owner of the animal gives the butcher a half-liter of liquor.

Caponizing is a skill learned by some men with a few head of cattle by watching someone who knows how to perform the operation. If a man's wife is pregnant, he cannot perform the operation himself or even approach the bull, since his glance is very hot and will cause the bull to die. The procedure for making the request and for performing the operation is described below:

The owner goes to speak to one who knows how to caponize. When he arrives at the house of the caponizer, he says, "Are you in, Mam Gomez?" "I am," he replies if he is in. "Come in and sit down," he says.

"Pardon me, I have come to speak to you. Please, for the sake of the Virgin and for the sake of God, will you do nothing more than take out the little scrotum of my bull tomorrow?"

"Yes," replies the caponizer. "Do not worry, I shall take it out tomorrow."

"Good," replies the owner. "I shall wait for you in the house."

The next morning, the caponizer comes. The owner gives him some coffee to drink with a little bread. After they drink, they go to the hills to find the bull. They bring him to a wooded place and tie him by his hind legs to a branch of a tree. They then cast the body on the ground and tie the forelegs to the hind legs with a leather strap. They tie a string around the scrotum and sever the testes. After this, they drink a little. The owner's family joins them. The men blow up the scrotum to make a ball and the children play with it. They cut up the testes and broil them in a pan on the fire. After this is cooked, they pass it out to all of the people present with a tortilla and salt. Two liters of liquor are served. After the common meal, everyone goes to the house of the owner, and there they have a meal of chicken soup with two more liters of liquor. Those who do not drink liquor are served soda.

Very early the next day, the owner goes to see if his bull has died. If he

dies, the owner announces on the loudspeaker of the local bars that he will sell meat at 5 pesos a portion. He preserves the hide to make saddle packs and tumplines. But the loss is great because he will not be able to buy a new bull with what he earns. If the bull lives, he will be better in three weeks and can carry loads. It is a very dangerous operation since the scrotum of a bull is very large. It is easier with a horse. 232

Surrounding the event with a ceremonial complex minimizes the development of commercialized relations between the caponizer and the owner. Most men who acquire several head of cattle or horses eventually learn to do the task themselves.

Handicrafts performed by men include rope-making from the tails of horses or from plant fibers, and weaving net bags. Most of the men who are assigned to the civil hierarchy spend their spare time in the cabildo making these items. 462 283 286

Carpentry is a skill now being practiced by two Indians of the town who "just learned by watching." They are called upon to help people in constructing the house frame, for which they receive 50 pesos in wages. A Ladino living on the margin of the town is a full-time specialist with his own shop. In addition to supervising house construction, he makes furniture and caskets to order. 322 [465]

New Economic Enterprises

In the operation of the new enterprises, which include cattle raising, cooperative ownership of a store, bars, and trucks, and liquor distilling, several patterns of organization have emerged. Some of these are based on preexisting social groupings, while others represent innovations. The social resources of management, credit operations, and the development of new skills within these local enterprises are of significance in preparing Indians for new occupations in the wider society. 43 44

Cattle raising. The most traditional organization is found in the case of cattle raising. Cattle have been in the town at least as far back as the 1915 revolutionary period when informants indicate that most of the 231 233

Ladino butchers in the neighboring town. The cows are not milked either for local consumption or sale. Fertilizers are for the most part wasted since the cattle roam freely in the communal pasture lands except in the case of a few corrals owned by families. Hides are cured rather crudely and are used for saddle packs or protective aprons by the men, but none are sold.

The cooperatives. The notion of a cooperative to mobilize capital had been introduced by the I.N.I. in 1957 with the inauguration of a store owned by over one hundred members of the community. In the first years of its existence, the cooperative had some difficulties, primarily in convincing the Indians that when the returns on shares were lower in any year from prior levels, it did not indicate that the agents were stealing the money.

The cooperative store was bought by the Indians of the town from the I.N.I. in 1964 after the members had some trouble receiving returns on their shares. There are now one hundred and twenty-two members. The profits of 1965 were reinvested in the purchase of the corn-grinding mill. Current profits at the store are lent at 5 percent per month interest. The store grosses 80 to 100 pesos in sales daily, and the mill grossess 100 pesos. The wages paid to the storekeeper are 300 pesos and to the miller 250 per month.

Now that the cooperative is independent of the government, one of the stated policies is not to sell a single share to a Ladino or member of another community. "We do not want to give gifts to the Ladinos," the secretary of the cooperative told me. He added, "There was a Ladino in Teopisca who wanted to join with 5,000 pesos, but we wouldn't let him in. If you let them in, they would come to dominate the pueblo." The cooperative store does not share profits with the consumers but gives dividends. The 11,380-peso assets in the year 1965 were reinvested in stock and in the purchase of corn at harvest which was then sold at one and a half or two times the sale price.

The Indians developed their first independent cooperative in the ownership of a *marimba,* a musical instrument like a xylophone, operated by eight men of the community. This enterprise failed because the players never developed sufficient skill to be commissioned to play outside of town.

578 *to cook their meal in the yard of the church. They threatened to beat the*
793 *priest with the wood, and he retreated into the church. He later an-*
794 *nounced that he would not give mass, or weddings, or baptism. We did*
273 *not mind that he did not give the mass or would not give weddings, but the people were frightened if he would not give baptism. The mayordomos had a meeting, and they agreed to give up drinking in the church if the priest would continue to give baptism, but they would no longer care for the pigs or bring wood for him without payment. We pay him fifteen* [465] *pesos for an ordinary mass and forty pesos for a singing mass, so he should pay us for help. The priest was in agreement with the mayordomos.*

[264] As a result of this edict, the drinking has stopped and the mayordomos no longer eat the common meal in the church yard. Drinking was an act linked to eating, since the round of liquor served before the meal was "to prepare the stomach," and the drink after the meal was "to wash down the food." The shift to the house of the cofrade was a ready alternative in this community where the household is a recognized ritual domain.

793 The priest's control over the church has extended to control over the do-
794 nation boxes and the saints' images. He now receives the money donated
178 to the saints and does not permit a public accounting of the funds. Because of this, the civil officials accuse him of stealing some of the money.
793 A recent incident recounted below by one of the prayer-reciters led to even
796 more severe censure:

626 *The bishop visited our church, and when he looked under the silk robes*
578 *of the Virgin Santa Lucia he found a wooden dress covered with gold*
178 *paint. He told the priest to have the cloth dress removed. The people were very upset by this since they are very proud of the dresses bought for the Virgin. One of the prayer-reciters dreamed that the Virgin appeared before her in tears, saying she did not want to appear nude in public. We [the group of prayer-reciters] went to see the bishop to demand that the Virgin should wear her dress in church and that the priest be sent out of the town. The bishop refused. He said the Virgin did not feel cold because she was just a statue. Ha! How could she not feel cold?*

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

000 An excellent discussion of the character of the neighbouring Indians of Guatemala, which applies well to these, by one who has lived long among them, is found in Sapper's "Der Charakter der Mittelamerikanisch Indianer."

648 771 793 Before passing on to the native culture, a little must be said of the outside influences that do so much to mould it — the Church, the Government, and the Hacienda. The first of these occupies a very curious position indeed. While the Indians are ostensibly Christian, as will be shown later, in many ways they are still unconverted. It may be said, briefly, that they acknowledge two antagonistic worships. Of these, the Christian has publicly the upper hand. The Priests, accordingly, wield a tremendous influence among them, and did even more so in the past, when supported by the State. Our experience on this trip was that, on the whole, this influence was intelligently and beneficially used. To the Priests the Indians confide their troubles, to them they accord the greatest honour on the occasions of their visits to the villages. Yet, at the same time, the Indians conceal from them one-half of their worship, knowing them to be sworn to stamp it out.

[142] [291] [301] [302] →

[142] [291] [302] →

648 241 361 466 The Hacienda system has caused the formation of many small villages, as has been said above. In other cases, as with the Bachajon on the Encanto property, the Indians living at large on the distant lands of the

FIG. 290—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon girls.

FIG. 291—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon man and boy.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

648

hacienda, are held liable for a certain amount of labour each year, in 241
lieu of rent. Should one of them fail to do his share, the owners 361
are considered free to arrest him and bring him in. While so work- 466
ing, they are paid, largely in credit at the local store, and fed. On the haciendas with regular village establishments, and in other parts of Mexico, this system has worked smoothly in the past, because the workers found themselves cared and provided for, corn laid up for the future, money or credit ready for festive occasions, and so forth. But the more independent Bachajones seem amply able to take care of themselves, and do not relish working for a ranch miles from their homes, even when they acknowledge its ownership of the jungle in which they dwell.

The payment of labour is seen again in relations of the Indians 648
with the Government, which holds them liable to road-mending and 653
municipal work, as a form of tax. Commonly, crimes are also punished by fines of such work. The system is irregularly applied. For instance, some Indians from Cancuc, who were carrying part of our outfit to San Cristóbal, were held up for two hours road-work at one point. Every Indian that came that way was similarly held. Starr (1902) reports the same experience. In San Cristóbal the right to collect any Indian for labor has been so abused as materially to harm the trade of the town. Quite serious crimes, as long as only committed by one Indian against another, are relatively lightly punished in this manner. It may be said, as far as concerns the tax-*corvée*, that the right of the Indians to go home again before staying away long enough to cause their crops to suffer is generally recognized, and the Indians themselves know when it is time to announce that they must leave. The whole system, however, leads to a certain amount of hard feeling on the Indians' part. [829]

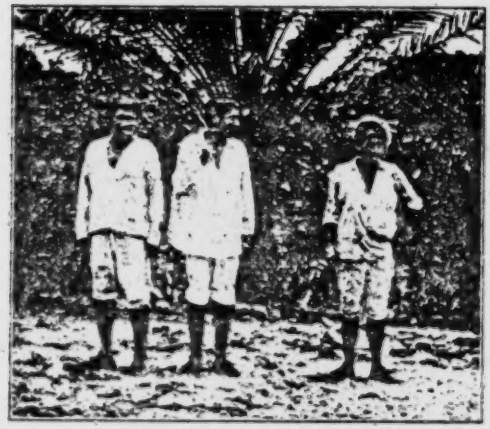

FIG. 283—El Racanfa, Chis. Bachajon men.

Interwoven with these specific factors must be considered the 648
Ladino's general attitude towards the Indian. To him, especially the town-dweller, the natives are barbarous in all respects, legiti-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

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by the company truck to replenish supplies they bring with them. Most of the workers are young men in their twenties and thirties. They return Saturday evening in a truck supplied by the company and go back to work on Monday morning. Weekly wage payments have upset the usual controls over budget management. Money earned from crops is handled by women. The sawmill workers have resisted passing over their paychecks to their wives or mothers, and several court cases have been precipitated as a result (Appendix 2b).

All of the work in which men are engaged outside of the community is voluntarily undertaken for cash compensation. Formerly, forced labor of two kinds was frequently demanded of the Indians: communal labor in the neighboring ladino town when Tzo'ontahal was an *agente municipal* of that town, and work in neighboring fincas for wages of 50 cents a day. Forced communal work came to an end when the town became an independent municipio in 1931, and the labor roundups at substandard wages were ended when Indians became conscious of their rights guaranteed in the *Ley Federal del Trabajo* in the late 30s. Copies of the *Colección Jurídica Ley Federal del Trabajo* are sold in the departmental marketplace along with the *Codigo Agraria*. Awareness of their rights as workers is concomitant with increasing entry into wage labor employment outside of the local community. As yet, Indians do not have any organized labor interest groups to champion their rights. The Commissioner of Indian affairs in the departmental capital is an intermediary in individual cases that arise. But wage levels and conditions of work are set in a free market in which the Indian's only control is to refuse to work.

The few special occupations in the town, such as butchering, caponizing, weaving bags, carpentry, and midwifery, have never developed into full-time professions.[2] The failure of the development of specialization is related to the tradition of ritual offerings of gifts of liquor and consumables and to the lack of a marketplace in the town.

Most of the livestock raised in the town is sold to butchers of the neighboring town because of lack of storage or of market facilities for the meat. Pigs and bulls are slaughtered in town only on the occasion of a celebra-

2. Curing is treated in a separate chapter since it is an exceptional case of specialization related to social control.

Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

175 632 communal projects for the neighboring town as there had been formerly. 466 The peasant is master of his own time.

125 221 512 Tables 33 and 34 summarize the number of days and percentage of time accorded to various activities for men of two households. The first family consists of a man forty-three years of age and his wife. All of their own children died in infancy, and an adopted daughter recently left home to live with her husband and child in a new ejido plot. The second family consists of a man, his wife, two adult sons, and an unmarried daughter. In this family, the father of sixty-five is retired and his two sons perform all of the agricultural work. Table 34 includes only the activities of the sons. 125 The two schedules provide some contrasts:

221 461 462 561 1. The forty-three-year-old man has many more ceremonial obligations than the youths. This is a factor related to the life cycle in which men over thirty-five years of age are involved in more familial and community celebrations. During the year this schedule was taken, the man was serving as a mayordomo.

2. The older man has fewer productively employed days than the youths (only 54 percent of his time is spent in productive activities) in contrast to 76 percent and 79 percent for the youths). The difference is accounted for by wage employment the youths have undertaken. In order to pay for the cost of betrothal, the elder son worked 56 days (37 percent of the time accounted for) in a neighboring sawmill.

3. The youths were not involved in any exchange labor arrangements; until they become independent heads of households working their own fields, the men do not contract reciprocal exchanges.

221 461 462 796 The fact that men spend only 54 to 79 percent of their time (using these tables to provide minimal and maximal limits) on productive activities means that there is a great deal of flexibility in the use of time for ceremonial responsibilities. Everyone takes an average of twenty days off for celebrating fiestas in addition to fifty-two Sundays.

241 461 [796] The high proportion of time spent in family or communal ceremonials suggests the high value placed on them. The preference for leisure to pursue these activities is proved in cases such as that in which the additional profit in cultivating cabbages was not sufficient to motivate one agricultur-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 316]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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by the company truck to replenish supplies they bring with them. Most of the workers are young men in their twenties and thirties. They return Saturday evening in a truck supplied by the company and go back to work on Monday morning. Weekly wage payments have upset the usual controls over budget management. Money earned from crops is handled by women. The sawmill workers have resisted passing over their paychecks to their wives or mothers, and several court cases have been precipitated as a result (Appendix 2b).

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323 coming from the smaller towns to buy. The Indians still bring pottery to
178 442 443 sell retail in towns that they visit during a fiesta. One of these is the barrio of Lok'ibal in the município of Villa Carranza, where people go on the third Friday of Lent to get holy water from the spring.

The Indians have not taken advantage of the truck to buy pottery wholesale and market it directly in the smaller towns, selling from the truck in the plaza as some of the wholesale fruit truckers do. Another operation which they have failed to profit from is buying the wheat harvest and selling to government warehouses, as some of the Ladino truckers do.

44 47 273 443 434 Lack of capital is the major reason for failure to exploit these opportunities. In marketing the contraband liquor, which is the most flourishing of the new enterprises, the Indians have not yet entered into the external markets except in the case of one young unmarried mother. Wholesale purchases are made by Ladinos, primarily women, from other towns who resell the liquor in Comitán and on the coast. There is however, a well-developed home market since all contracts are sealed with the offering of liquor, the "gift of the gods," all court fines are paid in liquor, and the main gift in betrothal is liquor. The cantinas with phonograph players opened by the cooperatives operate very successfully on Saturday night and during fiestas. The internal market for liquor is controlled by a syndicate of the forty-two independent liquor distillers. The price is set at 4 pesos per liter for all buyers, with the buyer providing the bottle.

[675] [681] [583] [275] [216] [548] [435]

Agricultural production is not geared to a market, and Indians do not take advantage of fluctuations in price. Wheat yields a lower return per unit of land than corn, but it is grown for two reasons: the Indians believe that crop rotation of corn and wheat prevents depletion of the soil, and wheat requires less work since no cultivation is needed. Wheat is a cash crop and none of it is milled or consumed directly in town. Poor families sell their wheat "standing" to Teopisca truckers. The price given the grower is usually about 90 pesos per hundred kilograms, and it is resold at 110 or 120 pesos in Tuxtla or to the government storehouses. Wheat is sometimes brought directly to San Cristóbal millers who give 120 per hundred kilograms. Corn is primarily a subsistence crop when grown in the center. Corn grown in hot country ejido land is now sold in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. The local truck cooperative has a special permit which gives

241 442 443 [435] [489]

members entry to the ejido colony, an area where traffic was formerly excluded because of the monopoly by the large trucking companies. Both the fruit and root of chayote are sold in August by some families who have a supply over consumption needs. It is brought along with pottery to the market of San Cristóbal where it is sold to *regatones,* retail sellers who have stalls.

Decisions as to what crops to plant are not responsive to market fluctuation. With the major emphasis on subsistence crops, the farmers have little margin of land on which to experiment with profitable but risky ventures. They have little knowledge or experience. There are no full-time specialists in market operations, although the truck drivers may gradually assume a greater role in this respect.

Very few Indians of the region, and none of those in Tzoʔontahal sell corn to the National Warehouses (Almacenes Nacionales de Deposito), although the warehouses offer prices higher than the going market price for corn. (940 pesos per ton in comparison to 500 to 600 pesos at harvest or 800 pesos offered a few months later by wholesalers who come to town). The reason for their failure to take advantage of the higher market price is that they do not have sufficiently large crops to pay the transportation costs of 28.75 pesos or the "tip" to ensure that their crops will not be declared substandard because of impurities, rotten kernels, insects, or excessive water content. In addition to that, they must spend time at the warehouses and in traveling. The alternative to the sale of crops to national warehouses is sale to wholesalers.

Dealing with external agencies. Entering into competitive areas where they were formerly excluded, the Indians are encountering opposition from competitors and are the prey of departmental and state government agents. The reduplication of bureaucracies at the state and departmental level means that they will be subject to the double "bite" or *mordida* if they pursue their enterprises. Operating on minimal capital, they are not able to fulfill all the requirements, or buy all the necessary permits and licenses. Because of monopolization of certain traffic by the larger syndicates of truck owners, they proceed without permits and are often caught.

port. At his death, he had no successor, and "the town remained in peace." 665

In this first political contest, the conflict was interpreted as opposition between the dual divisions. Factional disputes and the sense of political responsibility and control were contained within these parameters, and any conflict was conceived of as a threat to territorial balancing mechanisms. 621 [829] [578]

The new factions that have developed since 1963 are tied to economic rather than territorial competition. In 1960 the first truck-owning cooperative was organized under the leadership of the former Ladino secretary. The twenty shareholders of the town had only a small amount of capital in the truck, and the controlling interest was in the hands of the secretary's wife. The cooperative was merely a device to gain business in carrying pottery and wheat from the town to the market centers. In 1963 a new truck-owning cooperative was organized by local Indians. The two brothers, Santiago and José, secured capital to buy the truck from thirty residents of the town without any assistance from outside. The shareholders of the new cooperative came from both sides of the dual division, and from the outlying barrios. 621 474 471 177 178 494

When the leaders of the new cooperative tried to get permits and certificates to license the car and the operator, they were refused by the town president who was a shareholder of the first cooperative. The Indians then hired a Ladino truck driver from the neighboring town, and the son of one of the shareholders served as assistant. They realized that it was necessary to get control of the local political positions in order to extend their operations. With the help of the schoolteacher, they got eighty-one signatures on the petition for the PRI candicacy of one of the brothers, José, in the presidential nomination of 1964. He was opposed by a ladinoized Indian living in one of the barrios who was backed by the Ladino secretary who was leader of the competing trucking cooperative. The opponent did not have a chance of winning, as the leaders of the new cooperative pointed out, because of two strikes against him: he was not a resident of the center and he had only PAN backing. The Indians are aware that nothing can be gained politically by a PAN-backed president since PRI is now the party in control of regional and national offices. 474 621 666

After José's election, the Indian truck driver was able to get a driving license. With the help of the schoolmaster, the cooperative was able to get 621 474 493

The truck is the focus of the desire for self-improvement, for fighting the Ladino monopoly of the road, for the antagonisms and factional strife and conflict within the community. When they bought the truck, the Indians hired a Ladino in the neighboring town as chauffeur. One of the conditions of his employment was that he would teach his Indian assistant to drive. The Ladino tried to avoid doing this since he knew it would be the end of his job. But the Indian assistant learned by observation and is now operating the truck with an Indian assistant. 474 493 [182]

Accounts of the cost and profit of the truck operation indicated a running loss. A new tarpaulin cost 1,200 pesos; there were repairs and bribes to the highway patrol. But the truck was kept in operation because the major shareholders were impressed with the power it gave them. "They [their enemies, the members of the other co-operative owned by the Ladino along with twenty members of the community] are afraid of us because of the truck," one said, and added that it was better than having a *swayohel,* the animal spirit that gives power to the curers. At the time of my last visit in 1967 the truck was making a profit. The owners were thinking of selling it and replacing it with a five-ton model. [578]

Structural realignment has been most marked in the organization of the truck-owning cooperatives. Membership cuts across the dual division for both of the truck-owning cooperatives. The cooperative is the most important factor in local political elections (Chapter 9). The truck has become both the symbol of power and the basis for the contest for power between the factions within the community. [621]

Contraband liquor. The number of distillers has grown in the last ten years from five to forty. The distillation process was learned by Indians from Ladinos in neighboring towns fifteen years ago. There has been no local innovation in the basic process, but a new item, used in distillation, has been introduced into pottery production, a funnel decorated in the traditional manner of the water jars and other vessels. The capital investment in the equipment for operating the still is put up by individuals or partnerships of relatives. The still is rented to people who have charge of the celebration for a saint's day, or who are involved in courtship. 273 [177] [415] 273 472 602

Private enterprise is the favored form of organization of the distillers be- 273 472

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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293 472 cause of the limited capital involved and the fear of discovery with the ex-
pansion of the enterprise. A loose syndicate of distillers provides an insur-
273 548 661 ance protection by raising fines for members who are apprehended by fed-
eral agents. Security measures are taken to avoid discovery, and the pres-
ence of a federal agent is announced in Tzeltal on the loudspeaker system of one of the bars. One federal agent is on the payroll of the four operating bar owners, who give him 5 pesos a week to avoid legal action on the sale of contraband liquor. Individual distillers pay the tariff of 10 pesos or two liters of liquor a year to the civil officials and to the ejido commission, a tariff justified by the fact that they use wood from communally owned land to cook the sugar. The syndicate is a community-wide organization, mobilized in emergencies only.

The New Social Resources

177 178 43 44 621 156 In the course of operating the new enterprises, knowledge of and experi-
ence with supralocal institutions and agents are developing social re-
sources in (1) entrepreneurship, (2) management of capital and credit, (3) knowledge of markets, and (4) dealing with government agencies. In entering into these new economic activities, the Indians have not lost a sense of belonging to the local community. Self-identification as poor, indigenous farmers is both a screen of protection and a means of ensuring continuity with local control systems.

472 621 156 *Entrepreneurship*. Local entrepreneurs explain their motivation in
a rhetoric which emphasizes their interest in community welfare. This val-
idates entering into nontraditional activities, but retaining their position in local society inhibits the expansions of their activities. The case of Santos,
159 472 621 45 the promoter of the trucking cooperative is instructive. Santos had picked
up some accounting techniques while he served in the army in Mi-
choacán. He returned to the village because his father walked from Chiapas to Michoacán to tell him he should come back and get married. When he returned, he kept careful account of his costs and returns from the milpa. He realized soon that it wasn't "worth his work" (the Indian has not as yet learned the idiom or the value system which goes into the

phrase "worth my time"). He therefore persuaded a Ladino of Teopisca to lend him 5,000 pesos. He went down to hot country and bought corn when it was scarce in the village, brought it up the hill, sold a little to pay for his needs, but held the rest until the price went up in the next three months. In a two year period of buying and selling with his 5,000 peso investment, he grossed 400,000 pesos. Afterwards he began to hire men to work in his milpa. At a meeting of the cooperative association in 1966, Santos defended his investments of the association's funds by showing his carefully kept accounts. He held up his pencil saying proudly, "This is my machete! This is my hoe!" The phrasing is an imitation of Ladino rhetoric of the provinces.

Santos served as treasurer of the ejido commission and of the town. In 1965 he was made a *nič'nal martoma,* or junior religious official in charge of caring for the saints. His appointment was an attempt made by the former president, a member of the Ladino-owned trucking concern, to cut down Santo's operations in passenger traffic on Sunday by keeping him occupied in religious activities. While in office, Santos began an enquiry into the use of the funds collected in donations to the saints. The priest had gained control over these funds, and had not subjected the collection to the public review and accounting procedures by which funds had been handled by the civil administration. Santos demanded an explanation by the priest, who refused to make a statement. The issue was raised in a general assembly of the men of the community which occurs sporadically on Sundays. Meanwhile Santos was taking advantage of the money associated with each of the major saints. In the cargo system for the care of saints, a fund of money is passed over in the installation ceremony from the outgoing mayordomos to the incoming mayordomo. This fund has always been passed over to the incoming officials with an increment of about 10 pesos. Santos requested the use of these funds to "make them grow," and he thus gained uncontested access to low interest funds which he used in his brokerage activities. In addition to the interest, he gave a gift of clothing to the saint to maintain good credit relations.

Santos' administration of funds in his public capacity as town treasurer, storekeeper, and treasurer of both the ejido commission and the truck cooperative won him a reputation of honesty and reliability. His knowl-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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159 edge not only of how to manage money, but also of how to *manejarlo,* or
472 drive it, and to "make it grow" indicated an insight into capital operations
621 which made him a leader in local enterprises. In his post as shopkeeper, he
45 invested the store's capital in corn bought at harvest.

159 Santos' career as an entrepreneur was ended when a bullet was fired
472 into his back in 1966. He had relaxed his observation of the rules which permit survival for those who challenge traditional ways: no drinking, no trips to the mountain alone, and no boasting of gains. As yet, he has had no parallel in the community, but the truck drivers are becoming aware of the possibilites for profit in trade and commercial deals.

426 *Capital and credit.* The Indians' knowledge of capital and credit
609 operations has been acquired in the role of debtor, not creditor. In the leg-
538 ends concerning money the creditor is an outsider, a *pukuh* or devil, usually a Ladino. I had accepted a story about a Don Klabil, owner of a mountain in the town adjacent to the neighboring Ladino town Teopisca, as being of ancient origin. It fit with the many stories collected in Mesoamerica of owners of the hills who give out money on request to those who come knocking at the entrances to their caves. After their death, the recipients spend their spirit life in the mountain, working off the debt. Don Klabil was said to be responsible for the wealth of one of the outstandingly wealthy men in town who had gone to his hill and asked for cattle and money. Once while riding in a bus from Tzoʔontahal to Las Casas, I was engaged in conversation with a woman of Teopisca, who was dressed in widow's weeds. I commented on the story of Don Klabil as we passed the hill, and she said, "Oh, yes. That was Don David, my husband. He used to lend money to the Indians." When he died, the Indians say he went to live in the cave from which he got money when he was alive.

The Indians feel at a disadvantage to Ladinos when they enter into capital and credit operations. They tell a story of how, many years ago, when all the Indians of Tzoʔontahal were rich, the mayordomos got drunk on *Paswamal,* the day of gathering flowers and greens to decorate the church. When the true day of the fiesta came, they looked about them and realized that the church was undecorated, so they strewed green peso notes on the floor of the church. The Ladinos from Teopisca came for the fiesta as

When this fails, they turn to the professional help of lawyers rather than 177
to the old caciques with whom they had formerly maintained patron- 178
client relations. The traditional structural alignment of upper and lower 474
barrios is retained as the basis for organizing the growing cattle herds, but 693
the cooperative provides flexibility and power for developing new enter- 621
prises.

The minimal changes in the material environment and the technology 177
of the peasantry are countered by the development of social resources 178
which should facilitate Indian integration in the wider society. In operat- 472
ing the new enterprises independently of Ladino control, they are develop-
ing entrepreneurial skills and an awareness of the relationship between
capital and profit. The restriction of their operations to nonproductive use
of capital for profit, such as buying crops at harvest and reselling as the
price rises, reveals the limited dynamics of intracommunal development.
The town will look to the regional and national networks for fundamen-
tal changes in its economy.

The fear of exciting envy acts as a brake on productive activity and the 626
enjoyment of improved consumption resulting from wealth. Santos' death 182
is a symbolic warning to others who would follow in his footsteps. An ear- 472
lier case occurred when the ejido land grants were made in the 30s: 556

The brothers Ča?iletik became "very rich" as a result of careful opera- 556
tion of their ejido and privately owned land. They owned ten pair of oxen 433
and about fifty horses. When they brought in their crops on horseback, it 423
looked like a line of ants. They built a good house in Alkob', and a good 621
threshing shelter. The people of the town began to talk about getting 626
them off the land. The ejido commissioner took their land away and 159
turned it over to others in the town. Until this day, the brothers Ča?iletik
are without land. Now they do no more than work like other men. They
live poorly. All their cattle and horses are sold.

The organization of the cooperatives is one means of diverting envy di- 474
rected against individuals and permitting some increase in productive ef- 182
forts, but the society still lacks the means of validating higher consump- 626
tion standards. The richest man in town eats better than his neighbors, 556

233 and adaptive responses. With the expansion of cattle raising, Indians have
177 organized associations adjusted to the traditional dual division. The asso-
178 ciation for each side of the dual division mobilizes labor for maintaining
621 the watering holes. The failure to organize communal corrals means that
476 inefficient herding techniques, damage to the milpa, and frequent loss or
312 theft of cattle persist. The association reacts to the last problem by hiring
[685] killers to get rid of those suspected of theft, but this adaptive response is limited to dealing with particular incidents and has not solved the problem.

548 The manufacturers of contraband liquor have succeeded in organizing a
293 syndicate strong enough to maintain a monopoly price for both the inter-
177 nal and external markets and to provide security for themselves against
178 federal agents. The syndicate mobilizes for specific actions, such as raising
[435] the bail bond for imprisoned members or punishing informers. As a com-
694 munity-wide organization ignoring the dual division and age-ranked sen-
[681] iority, it represents an adaptation in response to extra-community pres-
621 sures.
[561]

The cooperatives that have been organized to manage the local store
474 and the trucks provide permanent managerial operations that are an adap-
177 tition to growing interaction in extra-community economic activities.
178 Cooperative owners are able to raise the capital to maintain and expand these operations. It is within these structures that entrepreneurial skills are being developed. The organizers gain the advantage not only of socializing the risk of loss but also of making a profit in a community where belief in witchcraft, fostered by envy, is rampant.

474 Activities in the new economic enterprises are not supported by any su-
472 pernatural belief. In order to gain acceptance for the new enterprises, the
177 entrepreneur Santos, who had organized the trucking cooperative, recog-
178 nized the need for an ideology. His rhetoric drew upon the sense of deprivation Indians feel in their relations with Ladinos. He justified his own ends as an attempt to gain for all the community the profits that only Ladinos had been able to gain through trucking and crops resales in the regional markets. The ideology he had begun to formulate stressed economic and political independence from both the Ladino entrepreneurs of neighboring towns and government agents who tried to promote welfare

programs in the interest of "civilizing" the Indians. This formulation involved a basic contradiction between the goal of moving into regional and national networks and that of keeping the old autonomy and independence of the corporate community. He never had to face that contradiction. Unable to gain adherents other than the small group of profit-sharers in the cooperative he organized, he was killed by opponents within the community.

The Family and Household

The core of the traditional culture lay in the local power hierarchies patterned on the familial model of age-ordered paternal authority institutionalized in the me?iltatil. The me?iltatil of the household have provided a flexible institution for adjusting conflict within the kin group. Their role in directing ritual performances preserves a sense of continuity in life cycle changes.

The institutionalized authority of the elders has not been upset by the trend toward residence based on nuclear families, which is an adjustment to the pressure of limited space in the town center. Kinship ties are continually reinforced by rituals that draw together the me?iltalil as sponsors of ceremonies marking baptism, marriage, and death. This group of sponsoring relatives has absorbed the institution of compadrazgo, adding compadres to the network of affinally-and bilaterally-related kin. The procedures for adjusting conflict among members of the household and extended family networks reinforce the authority of the elders. When adjustive processes in the house and court "arrangements" and in curing ceremonies fail, the only recourse is for one of the disputants to leave the community or commit homicide.

Ceremonies within the household provide a model for the rules of the game that apply to adjustive behavior in the community. The household officials introduce new officials into their role, teaching them the prayers and directing the proceedings. Their authority depends upon age and prestige acquired in office. The me?iltatil, as the elders of the family, are the direct link with the ancestors. They and the nakawane provide the strongest force for preserving the ways of the ancestors.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P 465-A] Teklum

682 only a rise in the tensions that provoke con-
178 flict, but an undermining of the social-control
121 mechanisms for channeling them. The percep-
626 tion of these changes by the members of the society makes for shifts in the individual calculi, grossly measured in changes in the rate of behavior. In order to understand the interrelated problems of the sources of the increasing [128] tensions and the reasons homicide is chosen as a means of resolving them, I have reconstructed the course of social change in the period from 1935 to 1965.

178 *Increasing Social Tensions*

556 New economic enterprises have increased wealth differences in the community. The best measure of this is in the increase in cattle-holding, which is a socially approved way of spending money. Twenty-five years ago, there were only a half-dozen men with cattle, and they had only one or two head each. Today, 178 one of the herders in the community has 200 233 head of cattle, and 75 percent of the households 556 have one or more each.

Cattle-herding is a "new" industry in the sense that instead of just having a team of oxen to help with agricultural labor, men are 233 breeding cattle for profit. Because the cattle 685 roam freely, there is much loss, and this leads to accusations of theft. I have never heard such accusations directed against anyone outside the community; crime as well as positive moral relationships is confined within the 682 boundaries of this corporate community. Sus-685 pected cattle thieves are killed by the cattle-owner or by a killer hired by the cooperative of [474] cattle-owners. Such killings account for six of the 37 cases analyzed above (Table 1).

178 The illicit distilling of liquor has also added 274 to the town's prosperity. The liquor industry was introduced about 15 years ago, but the number of distillers has increased from 5 to 40 [438] in the last five years. From an enterprise formerly meeting only local market needs, [439] contraband liquor is now sold as far away as the coastal area and across the border in 274 Guatemala. A cooperative of distillers has re-474 duced the frictions that immediately followed the introduction of liquor-distilling. The cooperative pays the fines of any member caught distilling, and in addition threatens to use group action against informers, who were formerly tempted to earn the 200 pesos offered [578] by federal agents. But the envy aroused by the sight of those who profit from this enterprise,

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 465-B]

274 474 578 as with the cattle industry, is a covert cause for personal attacks on other grounds.

494 474 578 A third enterprise, trucking, has caused a realignment of political interests in factions associated with two truck-owning cooperatives. Membership in one of the cooperatives, or patronage of one of the two trucks, arouses the enmity of members of the other cooperative. Several threats have been made on the lives of the owners and the operators, but the only damage done has been to tires.

682 578 The tensions resulting from the introduction of these new enterprises cannot be fully measured by the deaths attributed to direct economic conflict. 682 578 556 754 [114] Wealth differences resulting from the new enterprises excite envy, and with it come accusations of witchcraft. In this community, witchcraft killing does not perform the normative function of reducing wealth differentiation that Kluckhohn saw operating among the Navaho (1944), since it is the poor man who is killed as a witch, not the rich man. [683] The slaying of the envious witch exacerbates the economic differentiation that provides the seedbed for conflict.

578 423 668 [682] [178] Another new source of tension is found in the growing demand for political leadership or even independence from the township by the *ejido* colonies formed since land reform went into effect in 1937. The inept maneuvers of two founders of the ejido colonies in hot country resulted in two homicides (cases 12 and 18 in Table 1).[8] The increasing strength of these hamlets will mean that more attempts will be made in the future to gain political equality and/or independence. Whether this will result in increasing homicides will depend on social-control agencies external to the Indian communities.

682 578 [626] Homicide occurring as a direct result of economic and political competition represents a new strategy in the community. The decision to kill rather than to use other negative sanctions is related to the social-control mechanisms discussed below.

Changing Mechanisms of Social Control

626 182 [756] [769] 000 A system of social control rests not only on the exercise of negative sanctions, but on the sense of personal security derived from confidence in the institutions of control. In Teklum, the maintenance of control was formerly centered in the guardianship against malevolent spirits held by the ancestor spirits and the curers. The "police force," made up of ten

291 184 a typical outfit with special characteristics. For instance, the men of Tenejapa wear a hat of broad brim and pointed round crown, trimmed with thin ribbons of different colors. They also wear a dark chamarra or poncho with thin white stripes. The characteristic clothes of Cancuc are short, tight pants and a long shirt trimmed with red wool yarn. In Tierra Caliente the wool chamarra is not used nor is the variation in outfit so well defined.

Transportation

482 [484] [487] [492] 482 147 Men and pack animals are the principal carriers in the Tzeltal region, which is crossed in all directions by narrow trails. Men carrying loads of 40–50 kg. usually walk, in one day, as far as 8 leguas (leagues). According to Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:386), the Tzeltal of the highlands are so strong "que ponen en vergüenza a una mula." In 1944 I observed Indians [565] passing by my Yochib camp, carrying chairs on their shoulders, in which a lady or a child of upper-class Ladinos from Ocosingo 492 and Yajalon would be sitting. Pack animals are now becoming common among the Tzeltal, some of whom also have saddle horses. 491 Part of the Tzeltal-Tzotzil region is crossed by the Pan-American Highway joining Guatemala and Mexico City. In recent years, roads called "brechas de penetración" for motor vehicles are being constructed. 474 493 The natives of some communities (Oxchuc and Chanal) have organized cooperatives and purchased their own trucks.

804 *Units of Measure*

The system of measures still retains aboriginal characteristics. The main units are:

Nab: Distance between the end of the thumb and the middle finger extended.

Chutub: Distance between the end of the thumb and the index finger extended. It is equivalent to the jeme. The Indians do not use the cuarta (distance between the thumb and little finger extended).

[P 208-B]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Ladino butchers in the neighboring town. The cows are not milked either for local consumption or sale. Fertilizers are for the most part wasted since the cattle roam freely in the communal pasture lands except in the case of a few corrals owned by families. Hides are cured rather crudely and are used for saddle packs or protective aprons by the men, but none are sold.

The cooperatives. The notion of a cooperative to mobilize capital had been introduced by the I.N.I. in 1957 with the inauguration of a store owned by over one hundred members of the community. In the first years of its existence, the cooperative had some difficulties, primarily in convincing the Indians that when the returns on shares were lower in any year from prior levels, it did not indicate that the agents were stealing the money.

The cooperative store was bought by the Indians of the town from the I.N.I. in 1964 after the members had some trouble receiving returns on their shares. There are now one hundred and twenty-two members. The profits of 1965 were reinvested in the purchase of the corn-grinding mill. Current profits at the store are lent at 5 percent per month interest. The store grosses 80 to 100 pesos in sales daily, and the mill grossess 100 pesos. The wages paid to the storekeeper are 300 pesos and to the miller 250 per month.

Now that the cooperative is independent of the government, one of the stated policies is not to sell a single share to a Ladino or member of another community. "We do not want to give gifts to the Ladinos," the secretary of the cooperative told me. He added, "There was a Ladino in Teopisca who wanted to join with 5,000 pesos, but we wouldn't let him in. If you let them in, they would come to dominate the pueblo." The cooperative store does not share profits with the consumers but gives dividends. The 11,380-peso assets in the year 1965 were reinvested in stock and in the purchase of corn at harvest which was then sold at one and a half or two times the sale price.

The Indians developed their first independent cooperative in the ownership of a *marimba*, a musical instrument like a xylophone, operated by eight men of the community. This enterprise failed because the players never developed sufficient skill to be commissioned to play outside of town.

town. However, other cooperatives have been successfully organized to finance small-scale oeprations. Five record players with loudspeakers have been installed in the houses of members who sell liquor. Once the initial investment is made, the operating costs are low: 27 pesos for electricity, 25 pesos for a liquor license, 30 pesos for *hacienda* or state tax, and 10 pesos for the township tax. Liquor bought at 60 pesos for an 18-liter jug is resold at 72 pesos. The total monthly cost of 92 pesos yields a net profit of about 300 pesos. The cost of the installation, 5,000 pesos, was low enough for some of the richer members of the community to finance individually, but as one of the operators told me, it was too risky—that is, too profitable. The envy the neighbors would feel on seeing the profits made would never result in witchcraft against all of the members, whereas an individual owner could expect that he himself or a member of his household would become ill or die as the victim of witchcraft. These early entrepreneurs recognize the value of the cooperative in overcoming the force of envy which has effectively inhibited acquisition or display in these corporate Indian communities. Instead of socializing losses, one of its functions in modern capital organizations, the cooperative in Tzoʔontahal serves to socialize gains.

The most enterprising action of the new cooperatives has been the purchase of a truck, initiated by the entrepreneur, Santos. The purchase of the truck was inspired by the example of the Ladino secretary, who with his wife and son had a monopoly on the transportation of pottery, people, and wheat out of the village. Furthermore, in the neighboring town of Zinacantan the Indians were successfully operating two trucks. Santos went with his brother to the director of the I.N.I. in Las Casas to ask for a co-signer on the installment purchase of a Chevrolet truck, since without a Ladino sponsor Indians could not get credit with the company. According to one informant, I.N.I. officials advised them that they would not be able to profit from this venture and that they should buy a tractor with their money. The brothers persisted and went to the Dodge company in the state capital. The company agreed to sell to the Indians without Ladino co-signers on the basis of a down payment of 10,000 pesos. The initial payment was raised with thirty Indians putting up the money. Some gave no more than 150 pesos, but as the instigators of the purchase remarked, "The more members we have, the more power it gives us."

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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The truck is the focus of the desire for self-improvement, for fighting the Ladino monopoly of the road, for the antagonisms and factional strife and conflict within the community. When they bought the truck, the Indians hired a Ladino in the neighboring town as chauffeur. One of the conditions of his employment was that he would teach his Indian assistant to drive. The Ladino tried to avoid doing this since he knew it would be the end of his job. But the Indian assistant learned by observation and is now operating the truck with an Indian assistant.

Accounts of the cost and profit of the truck operation indicated a running loss. A new tarpaulin cost 1,200 pesos; there were repairs and bribes to the highway patrol. But the truck was kept in operation because the major shareholders were impressed with the power it gave them. "They [their enemies, the members of the other co-operative owned by the Ladino along with twenty members of the community] are afraid of us because of the truck," one said, and added that it was better than having a *swayohel,* the animal spirit that gives power to the curers. At the time of my last visit in 1967 the truck was making a profit. The owners were thinking of selling it and replacing it with a five-ton model.

Structural realignment has been most marked in the organization of the truck-owning cooperatives. Membership cuts across the dual division for both of the truck-owning cooperatives. The cooperative is the most important factor in local political elections (Chapter 9). The truck has become both the symbol of power and the basis for the contest for power between the factions within the community.

Contraband liquor. The number of distillers has grown in the last ten years from five to forty. The distillation process was learned by Indians from Ladinos in neighboring towns fifteen years ago. There has been no local innovation in the basic process, but a new item, used in distillation, has been introduced into pottery production, a funnel decorated in the traditional manner of the water jars and other vessels. The capital investment in the equipment for operating the still is put up by individuals or partnerships of relatives. The still is rented to people who have charge of the celebration for a saint's day, or who are involved in courtship.

Private enterprise is the favored form of organization of the distillers be-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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474 The strategies the cooperative members have developed in their frequent
648 tangles with state police illustrate the combination of custom and innova-
661 tion. When caught red-handed, they may respond by playing the stereotype Indian role. "We don't know anything. We are just poor Indians. How do you expect us to do what the law says?" This is hard for the Ladino authorities to resist, since it feeds their own sense of superiority. But it does not always work, and so the Indians have devised secondary resources. They put the departmental police at each terminal of their usual route between Las Casas and Comitán on a regular monthly mordida pay-
[693] roll of 50 pesos each. When trying to extend their operations, they hire a lawyer. A recent coup has been the acquisition of a permit to truck corn from Villa las Rosas and other ejido settlements that have been recently colonized. The appeal was made on the basis that they are a nonprofit cooperative of ejidatarios. With the permit, they now undercut the price of their own competitors in the town as well as of the large companies. Law-
474 yers are beginning to advertise themselves in newspapers as "Friends of
693 the Indians" and are in some cases specializing in this new patronage, which they receive from other communities as well as Tzoʔontahal. The professional relationship bypasses personal ties which formerly limited the development of Indian leadership.

177 The self-development occurring in Tzoʔontahal may appear paradoxical
178 if we do not understand the internal dynamics by which change is con-
474 tained within an existing equilibrium. The cooperative association has
621 been adopted as a technique for socializing the risk of making a profit.
648 The truck, although currently used in an uneconomic operation, is a sym-
[493] bol of power in the struggle for a position in the regional markets and in the intracommunity factional strifes. The usual patron-client system is being reversed as the Indian puts the Ladino on his payroll to secure evasion from the law. In the changes which are occuring, the defensive structure of the corporate community is a means by which the Indians are entering into national life not on the lowest rung of the social ladder, but on terms they are setting for themselves. In the new enterprises, the Indians combine old ploys with new strategies. Confronted with legal threats from the outside world, they play the colonial game of defensive ignorance.

When this fails, they turn to the professional help of lawyers rather than to the old caciques with whom they had formerly maintained patron-client relations. The traditional structural alignment of upper and lower barrios is retained as the basis for organizing the growing cattle herds, but the cooperative provides flexibility and power for developing new enterprises.

The minimal changes in the material environment and the technology of the peasantry are countered by the development of social resources which should facilitate Indian integration in the wider society. In operating the new enterprises independently of Ladino control, they are developing entrepreneurial skills and an awareness of the relationship between capital and profit. The restriction of their operations to nonproductive use of capital for profit, such as buying crops at harvest and reselling as the price rises, reveals the limited dynamics of intracommunal development. The town will look to the regional and national networks for fundamental changes in its economy.

The fear of exciting envy acts as a brake on productive activity and the enjoyment of improved consumption resulting from wealth. Santos' death is a symbolic warning to others who would follow in his footsteps. An earlier case occurred when the ejido land grants were made in the 30s:

The brothers Ča?iletik became "very rich" as a result of careful operation of their ejido and privately owned land. They owned ten pair of oxen and about fifty horses. When they brought in their crops on horseback, it looked like a line of ants. They built a good house in Alkob', and a good threshing shelter. The people of the town began to talk about getting them off the land. The ejido commissioner took their land away and turned it over to others in the town. Until this day, the brothers Ča?iletik are without land. Now they do no more than work like other men. They live poorly. All their cattle and horses are sold.

The organization of the cooperatives is one means of diverting envy directed against individuals and permitting some increase in productive efforts, but the society still lacks the means of validating higher consumption standards. The richest man in town eats better than his neighbors,

port. At his death, he had no successor, and "the town remained in peace." 665

In this first political contest, the conflict was interpreted as opposition 621 between the dual divisions. Factional disputes and the sense of political re- [829] sponsibility and control were contained within these parameters, and any [578] conflict was conceived of as a threat to territorial balancing mechanisms.

The new factions that have developed since 1963 are tied to economic 621 rather than territorial competition. In 1960 the first truck-owning coopera- 474 tive was organized under the leadership of the former Ladino secretary. 471 The twenty shareholders of the town had only a small amount of capital 177 in the truck, and the controlling interest was in the hands of the secre- 178 tary's wife. The cooperative was merely a device to gain business in car- 494 rying pottery and wheat from the town to the market centers. In 1963 a new truck-owning cooperative was organized by local Indians. The two brothers, Santiago and José, secured capital to buy the truck from thirty residents of the town without any assistance from outside. The shareholders of the new cooperative came from both sides of the dual division, and from the outlying barrios.

When the leaders of the new cooperative tried to get permits and certifi- 474 cates to license the car and the operator, they were refused by the town 621 president who was a shareholder of the first cooperative. The Indians then 666 hired a Ladino truck driver from the neighboring town, and the son of one of the shareholders served as assistant. They realized that it was necessary to get control of the local political positions in order to extend their operations. With the help of the schoolteacher, they got eighty-one signatures on the petition for the PRI candicacy of one of the brothers, José, in the presidential nomination of 1964. He was opposed by a ladinoized Indian living in one of the barrios who was backed by the Ladino secretary who was leader of the competing trucking cooperative. The opponent did not have a chance of winning, as the leaders of the new cooperative pointed out, because of two strikes against him: he was not a resident of the center and he had only PAN backing. The Indians are aware that nothing can be gained politically by a PAN-backed president since PRI is now the party in control of regional and national offices.

After José's election, the Indian truck driver was able to get a driving li- 621 cense. With the help of the schoolmaster, the cooperative was able to get 474 493

621 474 493 permission to extend operations to hot country where the Indians of the town held ejido land. This territory had been controlled by the state-wide trucking sindicate whose monopoly was protected by government permits. On the basis that they were poor, nonprofit-making ejidatarios, the Indians were granted the right to truck corn from the ejido colonies to the highlands. Whenever the cooperative leaders planned to go to the departmental capital to make their appeals, the schoolmaster counseled them to wear their Indian čostume—the white shirt and pants with red sash, sandals, and woolen kotonču—in order to play the role of simple campesinos more convincingly. He was aware of the effectiveness of this pose in pro-Indian governmental circles. [291]

665 The PRI leadership in the department capital is neither aware of nor interested in the local factions which seek their support. Their concern is only that the vote is solidly behind regional and national candidates of the party, and they support the group that can mobilize the largest number of votes. A policy of favoritism toward Indians, based on an ideology of *indigenismo,* pro-Indianism, is coupled with a policy of permitting local autonomy. The national committee's program for promoting literacy has never reached this community nor any that I know of in the area. The party's promotion of Indian welfare consists of supporting demands made by Indian constituents and bringing them to the attention of civil service officials assigned to these functions. Party officials thus act as intermediaries between the voters and the bureaucracy of the government, channeling complaints and demands.

621 177 178 181 In the development of factions around new economic interests, the Indians have shifted from an ideology in which the dialectic of conflict was cast in traditional dual-division opposition to one in which the conflict is seen as Indian versus Ladino domination of enterprises. Since these interests cut across the territorial divisions, the economic factions have not crystallized along territorial lines. It is this shift in perspective which makes for the "qualitative" change in local political organization. [665]

Competition between Caciques

622 563 There are several dimensions to the role of cacique in Tzoʔontahal. First, it is a role created by outside interests and occupied by someone mar-

partners. He sold a few shares of a truck he and his family owned to Indians, but he retained the controlling interest. His wife was reputed to be a witch, and was an active curer, combining old and new treatments of illnesses.

His position was challenged in the 1960s by the Ladino schoolmaster, who had been remarkably unsuccessful from his arrival in 1953 until that time in gaining personal power and influence. His intercession in a local homicide case involving a father's murder of his son outraged the townspeople, some of whom threatened to kill him. His attempts to have water installed aroused the curers against him since they were accustomed to bathing their patients at the source of the spring from which they were debarred when the plumbing was installed. His demands that children within the legal age limit should not only attend school but should be prohibited from marrying until they had completed their schooling caused the anger of parents who wanted to give their daughters in an early and profitable marriage.

Gradually, however, the schoolmaster extended his own base of support. He minimized his attack on local customs, adhering only to those laws affecting the school population, over which he had a great deal of control. Some of his support came from the orthodox Catholic members of the community; he extended his control through compadre relationships with over eighty members of the community. He showed movies which he acquired from the United Nations and other educational film sources and gave away medicines acquired from the health officials in the state capitol who were his friends. From one of these sources of philanthropy he acquired wool shawls which he gave to every woman in the town.

The professor demanded no return from the townspeople other than their respect and admiration; he was a person who enjoyed commanding others and needed an arena in which to project his own personality. In his early years in the town, he had to satisfy this need by capturing stray tourists and plying them with soda pop or coffee. His first opportunity to gain leadership in the local sphere came in 1963, when he supported the new truck-owning cooperative. He used the influence of contacts in the state capital, including compadres, friends, and relatives of his wife's family. He promoted the cooperative's attempt to gain the presidency. One of the first

been made, there is no recourse but to kill the man since he may retaliate by killing his accuser (this occurred in two of the cases noted in Table 29).

Conflict between generations in the role sets father/son and father/son-in-law stems from delay in carrying out role responsibilities. Fathers are expected to provide the money for the costs of betrothal, and to give their children shares of the patrimony including both land and livestock. The scheduling of when this should occur is often a matter of dispute, resulting in at least two cases of homicide in the period analyzed.

New economic enterprises have exacerbated the tensions rising from envy. Foster (1965) has suggested that envy stems from the notion of the "limited good," requiring the strategy of a "zero sum game" (Bennet 1966). The fact that the new wealth is evidence of new opportunities, not a subtraction from a given resource supply, has not entered the cognitive awareness of the people. The prospering leaders of these enterprises feel themselves to be particularly vulnerable to the envy of others and thus to the charge of witchcraft. There have been several open attacks on new leaders accused as witches; the leader of the truck cooperative, for example, was murdered in 1966. Six men have been killed as cattle thieves in the past ten years.

The economic roles created with the introduction of new enterprises have not been integrated in the traditional pattern of recruitment and control. In the association of cattle breeders, leadership tends to be based on the size of the herd; in the case of the truck cooperative, amount of capital invested and entrepreneurial skills have determined the leadership of the enterprise, while driving skill and ability to get along in the Ladino world has been the basis for choice of drivers. Such achievement principles as the basis for recruitment into these envied positions are not accepted in the same way that age and passage through a hierarchy of posts validated higher positions in the old hierarchies. The conspicuous expenditure of wealth in the more expensive posts in the religious hierarchy has also failed to lessen hostility aroused by the increasing disparity in wealth, and in fact those who have served as alférez have been even more subject to witchcraft aroused by envy.

233 177 178 62 476 312 [685] and adaptive responses. With the expansion of cattle raising, Indians have organized associations adjusted to the traditional dual division. The association for each side of the dual division mobilizes labor for maintaining the watering holes. The failure to organize communal corrals means that inefficient herding techniques, damage to the milpa, and frequent loss or theft of cattle persist. The association reacts to the last problem by hiring killers to get rid of those suspected of theft, but this adaptive response is limited to dealing with particular incidents and has not solved the problem.

548 273 177 178 [435] 694 [681] [621] [561] The manufacturers of contraband liquor have succeeded in organizing a syndicate strong enough to maintain a monopoly price for both the internal and external markets and to provide security for themselves against federal agents. The syndicate mobilizes for specific actions, such as raising the bail bond for imprisoned members or punishing informers. As a community-wide organization ignoring the dual division and age-ranked seniority, it represents an adaptation in response to extra-community pressures.

474 177 178 The cooperatives that have been organized to manage the local store and the trucks provide permanent managerial operations that are an adaptition to growing interaction in extra-community economic activities. Cooperative owners are able to raise the capital to maintain and expand these operations. It is within these structures that entrepreneurial skills are being developed. The organizers gain the advantage not only of socializing the risk of loss but also of making a profit in a community where belief in witchcraft, fostered by envy, is rampant.

474 472 177 178 Activities in the new economic enterprises are not supported by any supernatural belief. In order to gain acceptance for the new enterprises, the entrepreneur Santos, who had organized the trucking cooperative, recognized the need for an ideology. His rhetoric drew upon the sense of deprivation Indians feel in their relations with Ladinos. He justified his own ends as an attempt to gain for all the community the profits that only Ladinos had been able to gain through trucking and crops resales in the regional markets. The ideology he had begun to formulate stressed economic and political independence from both the Ladino entrepreneurs of neighboring towns and government agents who tried to promote welfare

programs in the interest of "civilizing" the Indians. This formulation involved a basic contradiction between the goal of moving into regional and national networks and that of keeping the old autonomy and independence of the corporate community. He never had to face that contradiction. Unable to gain adherents other than the small group of profit-sharers in the cooperative he organized, he was killed by opponents within the community.

The Family and Household

The core of the traditional culture lay in the local power hierarchies patterned on the familial model of age-ordered paternal authority institutionalized in the me?iltatil. The me?iltatil of the household have provided a flexible institution for adjusting conflict within the kin group. Their role in directing ritual performances preserves a sense of continuity in life cycle changes.

The institutionalized authority of the elders has not been upset by the trend toward residence based on nuclear families, which is an adjustment to the pressure of limited space in the town center. Kinship ties are continually reinforced by rituals that draw together the me?iltalil as sponsors of ceremonies marking baptism, marriage, and death. This group of sponsoring relatives has absorbed the institution of compadrazgo, adding compadres to the network of affinally-and bilaterally-related kin. The procedures for adjusting conflict among members of the household and extended family networks reinforce the authority of the elders. When adjustive processes in the house and court "arrangements" and in curing ceremonies fail, the only recourse is for one of the disputants to leave the community or commit homicide.

Ceremonies within the household provide a model for the rules of the game that apply to adjustive behavior in the community. The household officials introduce new officials into their role, teaching them the prayers and directing the proceedings. Their authority depends upon age and prestige acquired in office. The me?iltatil, as the elders of the family, are the direct link with the ancestors. They and the nakawane provide the strongest force for preserving the ways of the ancestors.

621 578 177 178 [114] [474] [182] was channeled along existing lines of competition. During my stay in the community from 1964 to 1966, most conflicts were attributed to economic competition between the two trucking cooperatives. Along with this, the waning of the position of the principales has undermined the confidence of the people in the system of checks and balances in which the principales watched over the judges, the judges watched over the curers, the curers watched over the people to see that no one brought in evil, and the ancestors watched over everyone. Curers are more and more often accused of [756] witchcraft and are frequent victims of homicide. The sense that they are the guardians of the pueblo and the agents of the ancestors is nearly dead. They are consulted only because the people feel that, because of the evil in them, they can fight the evil caused by others.

621 756 177 178 The shift in power from the old leaders to the new has not been accompanied by a shift in ideological allegiance. The new leaders cannot offer the security the people felt when they were living in the eyes of the ancestors. The curers remain as a powerful group because of their claims of being able to fight evil, but there is no longer a legitimate authority controlling their use of destructive forces.

561 554 177 178 A system of authority based on rule by elders is a structural correlative of a behavior pattern in which people act out the ways of the ancestors. This applies to the schematized behavior contained in rituals and in traditional productive activities. The ideology of a seniority-based prestige system persists at the explicit level at the same time that behavioral changes in contradiction to this are occurring.

626 177 178 Social control in a system of behavior based on what was done in the past depends upon the belief that people are carrying out their lives "in the eyes of the ancestors." Ritual behavior in Tzoʔontahal seems to confirm this, but in view of the waning belief in the presence of the ancestors and the loss of confidence in their agents, the curers, this behavior is a kind of social lie designed to perpetuate the old code of morality. In their everyday behavior, people no longer act on the same premises. The social lie is perpetuated because the people who enjoyed power in the old social system—the curers and the elders—do not wish to relinquish it. It will last only so long as they can find successors, and with the abolition of the recruitment through alfereces, this should not be for long.

M 563 621 647 doctors and officers of the National Indian Institute (INI) who arrive to the villages at irregular intervals. In Amatenango, T 621 743 647 the INI has established a "clinic" in which a native nurse provides some medical services, such as vaccinations, the selling of aspirin, etc., while in Aguacatenango the native INI nurse provides services in his home.

T 621 647 474 In both the villages the INI has established a cooperative store which sells staples which are not produced in the community, but such stores are in no sense agents of cultural change, selling only commodities which the Indians habitually buy elsewhere. (A reason for the lack of success of such stores is that the Indians have not understood the "cooperative" principle, very few men have joined, and they are disillusioned with the marginal profit obtained through them.) In 1958, Amatenango had water T 621 647 312 114 piped into the village, a project completed by the INI in 1957; while after the author left Aguacatenango in 1958, water pipes were installed there.

M 563 692 Political relations with the Ladinos of a more formal nature occur through the courts of justice and national government offices, and they are characterized by the covert (and at times open) hostility and misunderstanding on the part of both Indians and Ladinos (see D. Metzger, 1956 and Fuente, Julio de la, 1958).

T 628 438 571 608 582 Relations with other Indian villages are common both for Amatenango and Aguacatenango. They trade with the communities located in different ecological zones the products that do not grow in their territory (ocote from the highlands, sugar cane from the lowlands, etc.) in exchange for their own products and they

these apparently irrelevant comments reveal the 621*
power play going on behind the scene of the ritual. 178

The observed schedule for the civil inauguration 124
(App. 1, column 4) differed from the elicited in four details. The first of these was an item omitted by both informants: after liquor was served in the house of the president, the entire company stood up and "turned toward the wall" (App. 1, Q. 20). When I questioned my informant, he corrected the orientation "toward the wall" and said that they were turning toward the east in deference to the leader of all the saints of the east, led by Santo Aţio. He said that it was done in all household celebrations in order "to be sure that the devil does not enter." Belief concerning these saints is fragmentary, and perhaps because [776] of this, behavior relating to them is not easily recalled. These behavioral sherds, when cut off from the belief system they once dramatized, survive in "perpetuating the custom of the ancestors" *(hič sluwar hič likem meʔtiktatik)*.

Another detail not mentioned by informants was 124
the presence in the house of the president of the rural 632
colonia inhabitants (Chart 6). This omission is typi- 622
cal of the neglect in reporting the activity or presence 574
of anyone other than residents of the center. When I asked what they were doing there, I was told they came "to know the president."

Finally, an important divergence from expected 621*
behavior occurred when the schoolteacher, instead of 875
the secretary, delivered the oath of office. This change 178
was evidence of the schoolteacher's success in a fac- 578
tional struggle developing around new economic enterprises in the town. The former Ladino secretary 621*
was in close alliance with the former president and 578
had supporters in the group of 20 co-owners, In- 474
dians from the village, of the truck when he had 875
purchased. When the incoming president with his 494
brother bought a truck with the assistance of 30 members of a truck-owning cooperative, a new focus for factional strife appeared in the town. The new cooperative was supported by the schoolteacher in his own bid for power. When the truck owners ran into any difficulty with the highway patrol, carrying wood or passengers without permit, the driver would refer them to the schoolteacher, who would then claim it

[P. 222-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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was done at his order for the school.[11] The new co- 621*
operative was harassed by the old group, since the 578
president did everything in his power to cut down 474
their competition. As fiscal, his other role, he maneu- 494
vered the appointment of the chief business agent of [875]
the new truck cooperative and three other members [622]
as *nič'anil martomaetik*, junior caretakers of the [794]
saints. This meant that their Sundays were occupied in church affairs and cut into their taxiing of passengers from Tzoʔontahal to Himšol, the neighboring Ladino town.

The nomination of the president was effected by 621*
winning the support of the Partido Revolucionario 665
Institucional (PRI). Supporters of the nominee se- 666
cured over 85 signatures from townspeople; the op- 622
position candidate failed to get more than 28. Once 578
PRI support was obtained, the election on November 20 was assured since one-party rule prevails here as in the capital. This is the first election which has been contested in 10 years. The last contest came when some members of the barrio of Yut' hok became members of the minor party, Partido Acción Nacional (PAN). Because this group and their presidential candidate all came from one side of the dual division, Alannantik, those from the other side said that they should have a party representative. They drew up a plan to run a candidate on PRI. The PAN candidate won. The present contest was drawn on [474]
the basis of membership in the truck-owning coopera-
tives which cut across the dual division.

The present nominee did not want to run for office. 666
Early in the running there were verbal threats on his 622
life. He had never passed in any office other than that 578
of president of the ejido commission, and although the office of president is not a rung in the ladder to office, it is expected that the incumbent would at least have experience as síndico. Three sources of opposi- 666
tion to his candidacy developed. First in importance 622
was the original trucking cooperative, which objected 578
to the competition of the president and his faction 474
in the new cooperative. Second, these members 548
spread the rumor that the new president would bring in federal agents to break up the liquor traffic, which was becoming one of Tzoʔontahal's most important economic self-development projects. Thus all the distillers were apprehensive of their future under his term of office. Third, there was opposition on the

[11] Siverts (1964) describes Ladinos' "competition for each others' Indians in Cancuc."

[P. 223-A]

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Treltal NV9
Teklum
[P.462-B]

682 683 their neighbors by establishing *compadrazgo*, or godparental, relations with them.

621 608 Ten of the 37 homicides here reported were committed by immediate consanguineal or affinal relatives of the victim. The high frequency of killings involving brothers or brothers-in-law (8 cases) suggests a locus of high tension in these relationships. Male siblings, the *yermanotak*, comprise the closest cooperating group. Cooperation between brothers is obligatory when wheat is to be threshed, a house built, or a roof rethatched. If a brother or brother-in-law is unavoidably absent, he must pay a substitute. Brothers, or sons and fathers, are the only relationship pairs who work the milpa in common and share the harvest. Bilateral inheritance, with equal division of land and house to both male and female offspring, means that brothers-in-law are potentially equivalent in the competition for goods as well as in their obligation to cooperate. A man kills his sister's husband if the husband is abusive to the woman or to members of the family (two cases). The brother figures not only as a lethal opponent, but also as the man who avenges one's own death (case 18, Table 1). When someone has been killed for witchcraft, his brothers are expected to accept the verdict or to avenge the killing.

682 593 607 602 476 428 682 627 593

[Text continues on p. 463-A]

241 [412] machete (*machit*) or the *luk*, a sort of curved machete with a long handle, are the implements needed. The cutting of the grass from the plot where the milpa had been the previous year is *selab*; the cutting of bush grown for three or four years is *sok-uej*. The work of cutting the bush is done by the entire family, including children of seven or eight years old.

[221] [412] The planting is done between April and May after the first rains, with a long stick whose tip is hardened by fire or protected by a metal point. [242] The seed must come from large, healthy ears whose tips have been cut off because they have small corn. [824] The *olote*, or corncob, is either kept or thrown away at a distance to avoid its being used as fuel, for this would hurt the milpa which then would produce ears with broken kernels.

241 462 785 834 The task of planting is a very delicate matter, to be performed after fasting and sexual abstinence. It is exclusively a man's affair. 241 574 A great banquet is served at noon, generally outdoors as the hut interiors are small, to the friends and neighbors who will participate as helpers. Sometimes as [476] many as 10 men help to plant a friend's milpa. The meal is offered "precisely when the sun stops for a moment midway on its run and the doors of the Church of Heaven are opened, from where the quality of the banquet is observed." This is *s-uelil-abal* ('meal of the planting').

241 262 272 574 [263] When things are properly done, the meal consists of a number of items. First the *atole* (*pajal-ul*) is served, which is slightly sour and sweetened with *panela*. As "companion" to this atole are tamales (*chenkul-uaj*), which are prepared with cornmeal and ground beans. It is said that both things are to be served together so that "the seed may penetrate deep into the ground." 241 252 262 574 272 After this preliminary snack comes what is considered the main course for each person: a hard-boiled egg in a thick reddish broth prepared from dough and ground chile dissolved in water; a large tortilla;

[P.199-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201-A]

421 her own clothes and her backstrap loom.
586 A widow may continue living in the hut and use its equipment only if she has a son. Otherwise, she must leave the house and return to her father's home because the land will be claimed by the brothers or other male relatives of the deceased husband.

Production and Consumption Groups

592 The family controls all matters related
433 to production and consumption. The head
241 of the house, with the help of his wife and other members of the family, takes care of farming and producing the basic food crops.
462 In the most conservative communities, the
476 old custom of planting by a cooperative
241 group, composed of relatives and friends, is still practiced. This is a task for men exclusively, since much skill and strength are required to dig up the ground in carefully
[785] spaced, perfectly straight rows. The owner
[834] of the milpa has to fast and observe sexual abstinence before starting the planting.

462 Only the family shares in the rest of the
592 labor, according to their sex: men take care of tasks requiring much effort, women perform those such as tending domestic animals. Help from relatives and neighbors
[476] may also be asked occasionally, to build up fences around the orchard, to open or improve irrigation systems, etc.

Trade and Markets

438 Tenango and Amatenango concentrate on producing ceramics and trading them to neighboring municipios. Other municipios have a very limited commercial activity: Tenejapa exports a few sleeping mats; Oxchuc, ropes, nets, and pita bags; Cancuc, wooden combs; Bachajon, clay toys. These Tzeltal villages have no specialized merchants as do Zinacantan and Chamula.

443 There are a few markets where a large number of people meet regularly: Teopisca, in the south, has a Sunday market where natives from Aguacatenango, Amatenango, and Pinola meet. In the central part of the region they meet every Sunday at the mar-

[P. 212-B]

121 A culture, under certain conditions, during a period of time can be said to be an open system in a state of stable but moving equilibrium: that is to say, it maintains a boundary, accepts inputs and produces outputs at approximately equal rates, and changes continuously but gradually in internal structure.

The concept of equilibrium is one way to talk about the constraints which make behavior congruent with beliefs. Given a constantly changing ecological setting due to an expanding population and a changing man-land ratio, the stability of the system depends on the adequacy of existing institutions to handle conflict and of shared understandings to explain events. Movement stems from the tension between individual and social goals and the adaptations to bring them into closer harmony. The basic condition for the kind of change characteristic of a moving equilibrium is that conflict is contained within the community.

128 I have organized the data to clarify features maintaining equilibrium and to show the direction in which the society is moving. First I describe formal, prescribed behavior for each institutional complex and relate it to the beliefs that underlie it. Following each of these chapters I analyze strategies formulated in response to changes coming from within or outside the community. The formal behavior providing a framework for continuity is related to place spirits in Chapter 1, to economic activities in Chapter 2, to customs and rituals in the family and neighborhood in Chapters 4 and 5, to civil and religious government in Chapters 7 and 8. Changing strategies are related to economic activities in Chapter 3, to social relations as revealed in curing practices in Chapter 6, and to political relations in Chapter 9.

177 178 Implicit in the organization is an ordering of institutions from most static to most dynamic. In the economy, agricultural technology has been stabilized at the colonial level of adaptation at which the wooden plow, [241] [323] hoe, and machete were added to, but did not displace, the digging stick, while in pottery manufacture, both techniques and products have remained unchanged. The organization of work groups remains limited to [592] [476] the household except for the introduction of cooperatives in recent years. [361] In domestic institutions there has been an adaptation to living in a compact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group.

242 *Soil characteristics.* The potential productivity of flat irrigated lands is evaluated on the basis of two criteria: color of the soil and consistency of the soil. The preferred land for cultivation is the black loam mixed with some sand, (*ʔihk'al hiʔiletik lum*). The better, quicker growing corn seed is planted here. These very productive soils are called "hot" [822] lands (*k'ihin lum*). (Heat is associated with fertility in both lands and [843] people: a pregnant woman and her husband are considered to be in a state [842] of heat, and the contrast state of being cold is attributed to someone who is sterile.) The red (*tzab'alum*) yellow (*k'analum*), and white soils (*sak lum*) are poorer soils and the slower seed is planted here. These soils are considered "cold" (*sik*) and are thought to be "tired."

The loss of soil productivity is attributed either to the loss of the soul of [774] the crop or to the fact that the soil gets "tired." Farmers have noticed that in the first five years of planting in Tulanca, the ejido land grant, the soil was "hot" and gave good crops. When this productivity was lost, people said the soul of the crop left. It is considered dangerous to start crops in the lower lands of hot country because when the location of crops is changed, the soul leaves its original residence. The notion of crop soul loss does not conflict with the awareness of natural causes of soil productivity. Fields are left fallow for four or five years when productivity diminishes and the soil is "tired." The irrigated lands are in continuous use because there is some replenishment of fertility with the overflow of the ditch waters. Cattle fertilizers are used sporadically. Those who have many head of [233] cattle construct corrals into which they herd the cattle each night. The location of the corral is changed yearly. Corn and beans are then planted in [596] the old corral with superior results. The dozen or so corrals in the town [476] are owned and worked cooperatively by extended families and are referred [551] to by the Indian patronyms—for example, *skoral Linetik* (corral of the Lins) or *skoral Čailetik* (corral of the Čailes). The one attempt to use [177] commercial fertilizers provided by the Ejido Bank proved a technical success but an administrative failure (chapter 3). Indians noted the increased yields, but none have attempted to purchase fertilizers.

Soil consistency is evaluated on the basis of how easy it is to work. Wet, sticky, or clayey soil (*šučilum*) and stony soil (*kešilum*) are least desirable. Sandy soil is easier to work, but soil productivity depends on a loam

base, so the farmers prefer to plant the better, quicker-growing corn seed 242
in a mixed sand and loam soil.

The final evaluation of land is based on results at harvest. The range of 242
variation is large: from 48 liters of yield per liter of seed to 80 litters of 433
yield per liter of seed. Township officials say that the average harvest is
five *fanegas* (1 fanega equals 12 liters) or 60 liters per liter of seed. Market [435]
prices are of less importance in deciding what crops will be planted than
are considerations of what the soil "wants" and what labor is involved.
Corn is grown on all kinds of land, whereas beans and special crops such
as cabbages can be grown only on the more fertile soil. Wheat can be
grown only where there is irrigation. One farmer raised cabbage in coop- [434]
eration with a Ladino and earned 1,000 pesos, four times the amount he
earned with his wheat crop the previous year. Despite the greater return
for cabbage, the farmer did not plant it the next year when the Ladino,
who had supported the first venture, withdrew his support. The reason he
gave for this was the fact that there was more work involved and he could
not accomplish it alone: first the crop had to be planted, then transplanted,
then irrigated every three days in the early growing period, and cultivated
two or three times; every eight days he had to get rid of worms. He esti- [461]
mated that growing cabbage involved well over four times the amount of
work necessary for growing corn.

Labor. Most agricultural work is performed by members of 592
households with exchange or hired labor. There is no specialization of 241
labor when the work force includes two or more men since the men 476
cooperate in doing each task. Communal labor is restricted to the mainte- 464
nance of the main irrigation ditches. Each year the ditches are dug out 241
where the sides have eroded and cleaned of brush and leaves. The presi- 621
dent and judges unite to decide on a time for this work and announce it 476
on a loudspeaker of one of the cantinas. This usually occurs around the
twenty-fifth of December. Formerly, all the men of the community helped
in this work whether or not they owned irrigated fields. In 1958 those who [178] [423]
did not own such land "got smart" and refused to work.

In 1962 the civil officials decided that a cement canal should be installed 653
near the source of the spring. They tried to finance it with contributions 621
423
241

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Wheat. In selecting the seed, the farmers choose those heads with the most kernels—there may be from thirty to eighty on each head. The same kind of seed must be used in planting each plot of land or the soil "does not give well." A new wheat seed was introduced by an American agronomist in the 1950s. The following reaction by an informant reveals why most of the farmers decided not to use it:

There is a quick-growing wheat, called foreign wheat because a foreigner brought it and planted it in the soil. Those who wanted to try it were given some. It was difficult to harvest because it was very dry and broke easily. Most of the grain was left behind on the ground. When it got to the threshing floor, most of it was broken. Therefore the town did not want it. So we continue planting the common wheat and it doesn't break.

The inefficient harvesting techniques force the people to consider loss of grains in deciding what wheat they will seed. However, a few of the farmers continue to grow the new wheat.

The scheduling of wheat production is shown in Table 8. The *arada* plow, introduced by the Spaniards (Foster 1951) and made locally by farmers for their own use, is commonly used to prepare the land. A few farmers borrow the plow of a relative, or sometimes a metal plowshare is bought in the departmental capital.

The harvest is the most arduous work in wheat production, but because it is done with the assistance of four or five helpers, usually brothers or compadres, it is a gay occasion. There are about a dozen threshing shelters which are individually owned and rented for 5 pesos a day. At the height of the harvesting season, the farmers have to wait for their turn to use the shelter. After the threshing, a fiesta is held in the house of the owner of the wheat at which liquor and a meal of beef stew is served. Since the labor involved is based on exchange rather than payment, the owner will take part in the harvest and celebration of those whom he has helped.

Beans. The choice of locale and the time of planting vary more radically for beans than for other crops because of the greater differences in type of seed. The two major types of beans are (1) ground beans, of

323 pyramid is complete, wood is laid against the pots in a tepee formation.
[313] When the sawmill in the vicinity was in operation, flat boards—scraps of
[372] cut lengths—were used, but now only logs are available. Corn husks or
[462] dry straw are stuffed between the planks or logs. When a large number of pots are being fired, the men usually help at the final stages to remove the
[476] charred planks with poles. If men are not available, the women of the household often call upon their neighbors for help. In this operation, the
[292] women wear sandals and hats for protection from the heat. When the pots are cooled, the women, sometimes with the help of the men, stack them in net bags, six to a net with straw protecting the pots.

647 About fifteen year ago, a kiln was introduced by the government in the
177 interest of conserving wood. Those who tried it claim that the pottery did
323 not fire well and that many of the pots were broken. I.N.I. (the Instituto
372 Nacional Indigenista) planned to introduce an improved kiln, and while most of the people we questioned expressed a willingness to try it, the proposal was never put into action.

462 The men do most of the marketing of pottery. Loads of one or two
442 dozen may be taken by bus or truck to San Cristóbal or to Comitán.
443 When there is large-scale production throughout the community, as occurs
494 just before major fiestas, truckers come from the neighboring town of Teopisca to contract for delivery.

592 The amount of pottery produced in households varies with the follow-
323 ing factors:
433

1. Household composition: (a) Number of women in the family.
[464] If there is only one woman, very little or no pottery is produced because of the demands of domestic duties. Households with two or more women are able to sustain the ideal output of at least a dozen water jugs a week (I use "ideal" here to suggest their notion of what they produce when asked to guess. As Fig. 2 indicates, this varies considerably during the
[887] year.) (b) Age of women and ages of children. Older women over sixty do not independently undertake pottery production. They may assist in washing pots with corn gruel or making the neck, mouth, and handles, but they are unable to endure the harder task of collecting clay. A woman with infants under two years of age makes little pottery if

465 working long hours. Thus they receive 12 pesos for about one and a half times as many hours as is worked locally for the prevailing wage of 6 pesos (ten hours in comparison with the usual day's work of six to seven hours in the town). For this reason they maximize the effort expended in getting to fields outside of their own township. The lower payment in [476] town entails an obligation on the owner's part to reciprocate the labor, but the payment relieves him of an immediate demand on his time. Exchange 476 labor without payment requires reciprocity within the same activity schedule: thus if a man assists someone else during harvesting, he expects that person to assist him during the same harvest period. If, however, he will be unable to reciprocate immediately, the payment of 6 pesos terminates [465] an immediate obligation, but he will be expected to respond when he can if other requests should be made by this same farmer. Exchange labor without payment is contracted between relatives, compadres, and neighbors, using the network of established social ties to reinforce the obligation to reciprocate.

464 Agricultural work in the fincas in hot country is undertaken only when [434] there is extreme need for supplementary income, or when a man is escap- [754] ing the threat of being killed as a witch. In the 1920s, when the Indians had limited land resources and prevailing wages were low, some were forced to go to the fincas of the Argentino and Aregovia near Tapachula. [626] Despite the economic necessity for their undertaking this work, the social pressure was so strong against it that they would leave early in the morning to avoid being jeered as they passed in the street. The women rarely [462] accompanied them because they could produce pottery at home and supplement earnings. The prevailing rate now is 15 to 18 pesos per tarea, a [465] half-day's work, but Indians work in the finca only when urgently pressed.

Nonagricultural labor in the sawmills is a source of employment for twenty-two Indians of the town. Lumber companies operating in the forested areas of Montebello Lake have employed Indians of the town for [465] the past year. The wage offered, from 15 to 18 pesos a day, exceeds the 12-peso wage paid to agricultural laborers in the immediate area, but corresponds to that paid in hot country. The men must live at the sawmill, and supplies of tortillas made by their families are brought in on Wednesdays

602 Kinship is one of several bases for recruiting reciprocal or cooperative
476 labor. Table 19 compares kinship with nonkinship-defined work groups
626 in terms of the kinds of exchanges, the type of work done, the time span permitted for reciprocity, and the sanctions against failure to reciprocate.

TABLE 19. Labor Exchanges of Kinship- and Nonkinship-Defined Groups

Conditions	*Within household*	*Beyond household, within community*	
		With kin (ritual, compadre, affinal and consanguineal)	*With nonkin*
Interchange	"Cooperation"—reciprocity based on implicit understandings	Reciprocity—explicit, defined by traditional expectations	Reciprocity—explicit, often defined by contract as well as tradition
Sanctions	Authority of elder member, male in men's work group, female in women's work group	Authority of elders of bilaterally-extended kin group; Recourse to cabildo if no strong elder	Informal—fear of gossip of neighbors; formal—reliance on local judges and president or recourse to district courts
Time Span	Extended, indefinite	Extended, usually some defined limit on repeated tasks (harvest); no limit for nonrepeated tasks (housebuilding)	Immediate return expected, or explicitly stated time allowance
Kind of Task	Pottery-making, milpa agriculture, care of cattle, preparation of food	Ploughing, cultivating, harvesting, firing pottery, housebuilding	Same.

593 Fathers and sons, or sons-in-laws may work together on family-owned
476 property. Because all men can acquire ejido land after marriage, and since
423 47 percent of the households claim to have only this land, the cooperative
621 tie between fathers and sons is not based on inheritance. If they work well
[606] together, they may continue to cooperate after the son has become inde-
476 pendent. Father and sons, brothers and brothers-in-law are expected to
342 cooperate with each other in building a house, rethatching a roof, and
607 threshing wheat. In the case of house-building or maintenance, they must
593 pay for a substitute if they are unable to fulfill the obligation.
241

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Compadres, or ritual kin, are the next most important pool from which to draw assistance. The same restrictions on exchanges between actual kin apply to those between ritual kin. The one task which is confined to brothers and not extended to compadres is that of house-building.

Relationships between members of the household are defined by daily work tasks, commensality, sharing a living space, and participation in the same ceremonial events. The same rules which govern behavior in the family are extended to the wider community. The extension of the terms elder brother and elder sister, father and mother, and younger sibling to all of the people in one's own side of the dual division implies a pattern of behavior similar to that of the family. The fundamental equation in social relations is age-respect-deference-prestige.

The bilaterally extended kinship group provides the pattern structuring relations throughout the community. It is a framework allowing wide choice in selecting individuals with whom ceremonial and work relations are contracted. Relative age has superseded generation and descent as the principle governing relationships of authority and respect from the nuclear family to the hierarchy or community officials. These patterns will be traced in other institutions in following chapters.

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827
787 claim, has been lost, as has been more recently that of speaking with the ancestors. But the curers can still enter into communication with the spirit world and in this lies their power.

461 Industry is valued along with competency. A man is described as indus-
183 trious with the words, "he carries much wood well," and a woman with the words, "she carries much sand well." These expressions are a kind of
[196] synechdoche for general industriousness, since the tasks serve as the measure of willingness to perform one's sexually defined roles.

[476] Judgments made in the choice of working "partners" in the exchange
[602] labor system are based on competence in working as well as on considera-
[608] tions of kin and compadrazgo relationship. Women make judgments of
[323] others' skill in pottery-making on the basis of both the appearance of the pot and its durability proved in use and transportation without breakage to market. Both men and women known to be hard workers are admired
[154] and envied. They may consequently become the objects of witchcraft.

828 Conceptions of personality are one end product of evaluations of per-
157 formances and condition people's expectations of individuals in their social environment. For the Indians, personality traits tend to imply other traits.
125 In order to derive a sense of these implications for Tzo?ontahal, I drew up
157 a checklist to identify some of these associations. Informants were asked to
828 state whether each of the traits listed on the top line in Table 30 was correlated positively, negatively, or not at all with each of the same traits listed vertically. A plus (+) sign indicates positive correlation, a minus (—) sign indicates negative correlation, and an equal (=) sign indicates that
157 there was no correlation. Thus being bright is positively correlated with
828 being beautiful and negatively correlated with being evil, fearful, lazy, foolish, gullible, braggardly, gossipy, and miserly. There is no connection between being bright and being of good heart, aggressive, or honorable. This suggests that the heart and the mind are independent loci for a set of traits that stem from them. Metaphors such as bitter, acid, and straight, when used to describe personality, are similar in connotation to those used in English. As in English, immediate sensory experiences of taste and vision provide by extension a means of talking about character.

157 In studying these personality traits, I sensed that "being" was "doing"
551 things in certain repetitive ways. This impression is corroborated by the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 286]

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The behavior described for each institution in earlier chapters will be summarized as a mode of adjustment or adaptation in relation to the beliefs that give it meaning and purpose. 128

Economic Activities

868 241 323

Learning agricultural tasks and pottery-making in the household is part of adjusting to membership in the community. Parents are responsible for teaching the value of industriousness and are held accountable throughout the life of the child. Agricultural tasks are scheduled in a yearly cycle that provides sufficient flexibility for a man to carry out community and familial ceremonial responsibilities. In milpa agriculture, there is no specialization of tasks. Small-plot agricultural production with a simple technology has been reinforced by the land reform program. Since the lands incorporated under the Ejido Commission in the 1930s were attached to the community, agriculturalists were not forced to adjust to new ecological conditions. Politicalization was minimal since the local commission operated within the old civil hierarchy. In the recent expansion of ejido colonies in hot country, Indians from the community have developed alliances with non-Indians in asserting claims to the land. Without any preexisting civil hierarchy, these ejidatarios have not had to adjust their activities to a given structure of authority, but have developed independent political organizations as an adaptation to their new environment. 241 177 178 423 621

Women's work in pottery is less subject to changes in techniques and organization than is men's. The schema of production in simple tasks in a fixed sequence makes it easier to teach girls each process and reinforces a given pottery tradition. My guess would be that if wheel production were introduced, it would liberate the creativity of each potter by freeing her of established routines. 323 177 178

Pottery production is not surrounded, as is agricultural production, by ceremonials. There is no god to whom one lights candles or gives offerings to ensure success, although there are hazards in production, particularly at the time of firing. Agricultural productivity, on the other hand, is thought to depend on the proper relation between the spirits of the heaven and of the church with the spirits of crops. 323 241 [196]

In the new economic activities, the Indians have shown both adjustive 177 178 233 312 476 621

233 and adaptive responses. With the expansion of cattle raising, Indians have
177 organized associations adjusted to the traditional dual division. The asso-
178 ciation for each side of the dual division mobilizes labor for maintaining
621 the watering holes. The failure to organize communal corrals means that
476 inefficient herding techniques, damage to the milpa, and frequent loss or
312 theft of cattle persist. The association reacts to the last problem by hiring
[685] killers to get rid of those suspected of theft, but this adaptive response is limited to dealing with particular incidents and has not solved the problem.

548 The manufacturers of contraband liquor have succeeded in organizing a
273 syndicate strong enough to maintain a monopoly price for both the inter-
177 nal and external markets and to provide security for themselves against
178 federal agents. The syndicate mobilizes for specific actions, such as raising
[435] the bail bond for imprisoned members or punishing informers. As a com-
894 munity-wide organization ignoring the dual division and age-ranked sen-
[681] iority, it represents an adaptation in response to extra-community pres-
[621] sures.
[561]

The cooperatives that have been organized to manage the local store
474 and the trucks provide permanent managerial operations that are an adap-
177 tition to growing interaction in extra-community economic activities.
178 Cooperative owners are able to raise the capital to maintain and expand these operations. It is within these structures that entrepreneurial skills are being developed. The organizers gain the advantage not only of socializing the risk of loss but also of making a profit in a community where belief in witchcraft, fostered by envy, is rampant.

474 Activities in the new economic enterprises are not supported by any su-
472 pernatural belief. In order to gain acceptance for the new enterprises, the
177 entrepreneur Santos, who had organized the trucking cooperative, recog-
178 nized the need for an ideology. His rhetoric drew upon the sense of deprivation Indians feel in their relations with Ladinos. He justified his own ends as an attempt to gain for all the community the profits that only Ladinos had been able to gain through trucking and crops resales in the regional markets. The ideology he had begun to formulate stressed economic and political independence from both the Ladino entrepreneurs of neighboring towns and government agents who tried to promote welfare

156
621 getting involved in the fight. He can help relatives in distress
571
[426] pay a debt or give a curing ceremony for a sick child. He can be
[155] a "hard worker, ready to offer a hand to a neighbor in need of
[476] extra labor" (hel-K'abal). He can send his wife with small pres-
[431] ents of food to other households. He can make many compadres
[608] among those whom he suspects of possibly being against him, thereby assuring their friendship and respect. In sum, he can create around himself a long chain of loyal villagers who are bound to him by many different obligations. Then, because he is a 'leKil winiK' (one that behaves well with the people), he can "afford" to become rich by local standards without the immediate fear of punishment.

Every household head manipulates his environment in these terms. People try to accumulate riches and protect their paths in other ways. They also try to avoid distributing their accumulated wealth outside their household and to prevent the envy or gossip of those not so bound by loyalty, by hiding from others the knowledge of their possessions.

The result of the contradiction between the egalitarian values on the one hand, and the individual aspirations and behavior on the other, is expressed in gossip, "witchcraft talk" and a constant realignment of loyalties among villagers. Every man suspects another of being better off than one is led to believe, while at the same time he himself tries to keep others from suspecting him, and would not voluntarily give information on how many horses he owns or how much corn he has grown.

The picture of life in Amatenango and Aguacatenango is

621 578 582 them to "overlook" the trespasser, but not many young men are willing to risk the ire of the other barrio bachelors, nor the gossip and sanctions applied to them by their own barrio mates.[1]

621 794 Each barrio plays a role in the political and religious organization of the village by sending an approximately equal number of officers to the Ayuntamiento and the Mayordomías. Although in some years there are more delegates from one barrio, they attempt to correct the imbalance in the succeeding years. [623] The Principales (council of elders) have also equal representation.

621 [573] [575] [312] Escuadrilla groups (adolescent boys' gangs) and unmarried women's Church groups are formed among barrio mates. Women, with few exceptions, used the water wells or pipe lines in their barrio of residence (the exceptions include women who originally came from the other barrio) and who do their washing at places in the river on their barrio side. [406] Men who work together at such tasks as buying and butchering a cow, building a path or clearing an irrigation ditch belong to the same barrio. House parties [527] [123] organized to buy candles for the Church before a special Saint's day are barrio affairs, and no resident of the other barrio (with the exception of the anthropologist) is invited. [575] In the past, there were, in Aguacatenango, religious sororities sponsored by the Catholic Church, and each barrio had a separate one. There

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[1] [581] [527] A man that has married once is considered to have had his share of the available women of the barrio. Second marriages, especially with girls who have never married before, are not well thought of. It is common, then, that second marriages occur across barrio lines. A man finds it easier to cope with the antagonism of the other barrio men (who are expected, in any case, to be antagonistic) than with the bachelors and neighbors in his own barrio, where he has to face the antagonism in every day interaction.

592 593 but it is always built around a core of agnatically related men: a father and his sons, united in their common interest in the patrimonial land and the fruits of their joint cooperative labor. To this core of men are attached their children and their wives, all of whom are dependent on them for their food supply, shelter, and the satisfaction of most other needs.

621 591 592 602 When a couple moves outside the parental home, the house site that they are given should be contiguous if possible, or as close as there is a place available, to the husband's father's homestead. Thus, ideally, the town should be settled by clusters of domestic groups forming localized agnatic lines, each containing a man, his parents, his brothers and his married male sons. At the same time, one would find out that women, because they follow their husbands, live much further apart from their agnatic relatives than men do.

593 591 476 241 417 After a man moves from his father's household, he is not expected to work the same parcels with his father, but they do share some work in common. Usually (I don't have the exact number of cases, but enough information to suggest that this is the mode), a man and his sons have contiguous milpas that are fenced together. The fences, which are laboriously built and repaired, are the communal job of all the men, and save them the time and effort of building interior separations between the plots, because the purpose of fencing is to keep cattle from invading the parcels and without fences it is useless to risk planting.

423 241 417 This does not mean that the land is held jointly. Each man

423 241 417 knows his own parcel and its boundaries, which are sometimes marked with a few stones or a less elaborate fence of a few poles.

241 476 The men that fence the land together cooperate with each other in some other agricultural tasks which require more than two hands (e.g., clearing and burning before planting, cleaning irrigation ditches).

183 591 Stating the norms of residence in anthropological language, we can say that the generalized residence pattern, if it reflects the practice of the norms, should be patrilocal for single and married men, patrilocal for single women, virilocal for married women and parentilocal for children (see Fig. 13, Fischer's Typology).

The Residence Patterns

125 To find out how the ideal rules are carried into practice, we analyzed a sample of sixty-eight households containing an average of five people per unit, and a total of 384 individuals. This sample was gathered by the author in the field, in 1958, and covers half of the village in a chess board pattern of blocks (see charts). The data on the sample is complemented by a previous total census of the village, prepared by the Metzgers and the school teacher in 1956, which covered the whole population of the community, but contained less detailed information on some aspects of residence. Both will be augmented by a sample of life histories contained in the field notes.

128 The data will be presented in tables, and in the text, both in number of cases and in relative percentages. When possible,

histories collected during the field work season, and it well could be that a case was missed). Second, if he wants to obtain help from other men, they risk antagonizing, with their willingness to cooperate, the head of the household in which the young man is residing, and they also risk the concommitant sanctions.

The young man could also obtain land without his father's help by leaving the community to work for wages and saving enough money to buy land. Although the selling of parcels is not a common practice in Aguacatenango, the idea of land being a commodity that can be bought and sold has been introduced, and some few household heads, in cases of emergency, are willing to sell. Of course, leaving the community to work for wages means voluntary exile for a man and alienation from relatives, friends and the cultural milieu. Also, men insist that it is profitable to work for wages only if one does it for short periods of time and keeps milpa simultaneously. Wage work alone is not enough to buy corn and the other necessities to meet the requirements of the customary standard of living.

On the other hand, a man breaking away from his home and refusing to accept his father's authority becomes a deviant, and antagonizes not only his family, but the community.

Although it is possible, theoretically, to become economically independent of one's father against his will, in fact a man can only set up his own household in compliance with the ethical principles and moral conventions of his culture. Therefore, he is only permitted to form his own domestic group when he has demonstrated that he has reached the stage of social maturity which allows him to do so.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

613 476 [602] The patrilines function in several dimensions. Work groups, although invariably containing some bilateral and affinal relatives, recruit members mainly among agnatic kinsmen. Men fence their fields with the help of their brothers, father and sons; when villagers get together to buy a cow for a town fiesta celebration, each cow is bought by a group which contains agnatically related men. In one case, seventeen men who bought a cow together belonged to four patrilines which were neighbors among themselves. In another case, in which several men got together to build a house, nine were agnatic kinsmen, three were affinals (the son's wife's brother, the daughter's husband and the wife's brother), three were compadres and one a neighbor from across the street. The women who prepared the meal for the housewarming were: nine agnatically related to the household head; two agnatically related to the wife of the household head; three affinals of the household head; two affinals of the wife; and two neighbors. In another case, a man and his two sons, one of whom was living in a separate domestic group, helped in the construction, and several other men were contracted to help with the payment, although the daughter's husband, who was a carpenter, was called in to give advice and help.

613 476 626 627 Individuals, in time of trouble, seek advice from the elders of the patriline, which is the largest unit in which kinship solidarity functions as a controlling social force outside the domestic group. The patriline also exercises control in the form of moral pressure: gossip, accusations of witchcraft, and responsibility for vengeance when a patriline member has been

613 621 476 [432] [462]

613
476 murdered. Informants declare that "all the Mendeztik will get
626 together against the Perezetik if a Perez kills a Mendez." We have
627 witnessed cases of "talk of revenge," but never any case of the
613 lineal solidarity functioning in this way in practice. In a case
736 where the father of a man dies, it is within the agnatic line that
a man finds a sponsor to live with, to pay his bride-price, and to
613 work the land with. If there is conflict over an adulterous wife,
837 or over the distribution of an inheritance among brothers, it is the
428 duty of the elder members of the agnatic line to give advice, witness the distribution of the property, etc.

613 The patriline is not a land holding unit, in the sense that
423 there is no land that is said to belong to the line as a corporation, but the group of agnatically related men have control over the distribution of it, and its inheritance. If a man dies without adult sons, the closest agnatic kin (father, brother, or in some cases a father's brother if the other two are dead or have enough land) will take over the cultivated fields that he has left. According to the Mexican Agrarian Code, Eiido land can only be transmitted to people that live in the same domestic unit, and communal land cannot be transmitted at all: at the death of the person who held usufruct rights over a parcel, the land should revert to the Ayuntamiento, which has the power to re-distribute it as it considers convenient. In practice, in Aguacatenango, if the household fails to provide heirs, the parcels (both eiido and communal) are re-allocated among agnatic kin. Therefore, although the patriline does not "own" land, some land is allocated through linearity.

593 A man whose brother is
[626] accused of witchcraft is very likely to share the same accusation; if a man beats his wife, he can be blamed by his younger brother because the first one's reputation hinders the chances of the second for getting himself a wife. If a woman is lazy, people will assume that her sister is also lazy, and so on. Paradoxically, at the same time that siblings are equivalent for certain purposes, they are not in relation to each other. An elder sibling has, from early in life, power to scold, punish or control his younger siblings. The older they grow, the more the age difference becomes important. While one could be already working with the father in the fields, the other is still a playing child. While one gets married and becomes a man, the other is still under his father's authority.

The elder brother is always a possible jural replacement
[1136] for the father. If the father dies and a man is a bachelor with a married brother, his elder brother replaces the father in terms of jural authority over him, is in charge of supporting him, working with him in the field, paying for his bride-price, etc.

[476] On the one hand, the relationship of brothers is one of
[578] collaboration, intense association for work and mutual dependency; on the other, the differential distribution of authority creates a certain amount of antagonism between the two.

593 This antagonism between brothers is symbolically expressed
578 in myths, legends and tales, many of which contain both a younger
538 and elder brother who spend their time trying to kill each other, being alternately successful until the younger sibling is the final victor.

184 182 428 593 (4) The reciprocal financial obligations between parents and children in Amatenango, and between parents and sons in Aguacatenango, to support each other at different stages of the developmental cycle of their respective domestic groups affect the rule of ultimogeniture.

184 182 582 591 556 (5) The relative wealth of the natal domestic group of the spouse, measured by the amount of land controlled by the unit affects (a) the choice of marriage partner, and (b) the residence of the newly married couple. In Aguacatenango, where residence is normatively patri-virilocal, parents try to marry their daughters within the same economic level of their own households. In Amatenango, marriages occur across wealth lines, and the couple reside with the parents of the spouse who are better off.

184 182 462 476 593 [606] (6) The relative importance of men versus female cooperative work groups, and/or the difference in structuring of work groups affects (a) the sibling bond; (b) the mother-daughter bond; and (c) the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond.

In Aguacatenango, where only men form cooperative work groups, the brother-brother bond is stronger than the sister-sister bond or the brother-sister bond.

In Amatenango, where both males and females form cooperative [607] work groups, the multilateral sibling bond is reinforced to the point of including siblings-in-law.

184 593 578 591 [613] In Aguacatenango, economic rivalry between siblings tends to disrupt the brother bond with constant conflict. Thus, relationships are more vertically oriented which is consistent with the presence of agnatic descent lines (in Amatenango, generational

184 solidarity is stronger than cross-generational solidarity), but
593 generational conflict tends to disrupt the collateral extension
578 of patriline growth, making every patriline segment a shallow
591 descent group containing few generations in depth, and only few
613 collaterals.

184 (7) Territorial propinquity between households in each
361 village follows the social propinquity established in terms of eco-
592 nomic reciprocity and work interaction. Thus, in Amatenango resi-
476 dence for individuals, interaction between households and the settlement of a neighborhood follow a bilateral pattern, while in Aguacatenango the three follow the male and agnatic line. The type of economic organization, based on the domestic group, correlates with the type of domestic group formed thereof.

184 The domestic group in Aguacatenango, with an internal
59 economy based on the cooperative work of father and son and the
428 transmission of property in the male line, is a kinship unit built
562 around a core of agnatically related males with patri-virilocal residence. Among the Aguacatecos, at least one son of the nuclear family remains in the parents' household after marriage. All other children marry and move out, the sons staying close to the father. In this way, the family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of agnatic order, which extends itself in space as a patrilocally localized agnatic line, and perpetuates itself, in time, through the principle of agnatic ultimogeniture.

The domestic group in Amatenango, with an internal economy based on the cooperative work of both a father and son, a mother

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

805 lating the time of day; when I questioned them as to the hour, they were often as much as an hour off, usually behind.

Most activities are ordered with reference to the Gregorian calendar, but the twenty-day Maya calendrical month, defined as "twenty days or a month" is used in much the same way that we use "a fortnight." The In-
805 dians consider the moon to be an uncertain indicator of time, since "she
821 does not walk well." But the moon is important in the culture: people note its different phases and are especially aware of the phase under which a child is born—an important sign for the newborn's future. If a baby is
[856] born at the full moon, he is expected to mature more readily. The full
[187] moon also signifies a propitious time for undertaking certain activities, such as cutting wood for the main posts of a house and cutting palm for the roof.

The Daily Schedule

512 Daily activities are organized by traditional economic pursuits. The
462 woman is the first one to rise in the morning. She gets up at dawn, lights
[252] the fire, and sets a jar of water to boil for coffee. She grinds the nixtamal cooked the night before on the stone grinding board, or takes it to the mill
[412] in the center. She then makes tortillas either by hand or with a press; a re-
[177] cent innovation made of two hinged pieces of wood in which the ball of
[178] dough is set between pieces of plastic paper.

The men of the household are served first, followed by the boys; the
[264] women and girls eat last. As soon as they have eaten, the men and boys who have finished the required three years of schooling go out to the
[481] fields to work. They walk single file even in the streets of the town, the fa-
[482] ther preceding his sons. Each carries a machete, net bag, tumpline, and
[411] sheepskin back-protector if he plans to carry any loads. Many bring shot-
[224] guns as well in order to hunt for field rats, raccoon, or the burrowing animals they find in the fields.

After the men leave, the women go to the porch and "seize their work."
[857] The children go to school, which begins at eight-thirty in the morning
[872] and continues until five o'clock in the evening. They return home for
[264] lunch, a meal of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans or chayote when it is in season.

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Their slender-
147 ness is deceptive, for their great strength lies
[482] in their legs, back, and neck, seen in their ability to carry loads of 45 kilograms (100 lbs.) and upwards, all day up and down hill without
142 undue fatigue . . . Hair form is straight, coarse, and black. Gray hair or baldness are very unusual. Body hair, as far as could be observed, is negative.

143 As many as 99.56 per cent of Tzeltal belong to blood type O, which is one of the highest frequencies registered in the Ma-
143 yance area. According to Matson and Swan-
144 son (1959, p. 50), "In general the more isolated peoples such as the Lacandon, Tzeltal, Tzotzil and Cakchiquel show the highest frequency of the O gene." This condition is attributed to the absence of racial mixture.

Cultural Configuration

621 Like the Indians in the highlands of Gua-
[171] temala (Tax, 1937), the Tzeltal group themselves in communities which are distinct social and cultural units, as is characteristic
621 of the tribe. Each community has its well-
184 defined lands, its own dialect forms, wearing apparel, kinship system, politico-religious organization, economic resources, crafts, and other cultural features. Any native of the region finds it easy to identify the origin of other Indians by noting their speech, wearing apparel, or the goods they
621 sell. Solidarity between the members of each community is strong and becomes manifest in times of conflict with outside groups or in their way of gathering according to their "nationality" on fiestas or market days when people of other communities attend. On the other hand, no ethnic solidar-
[628] ity whatsoever exists. Each community restricts itself to its own affairs and nothing else; whatever happens to the other Tzeltal communities is something altogether apart.

621 The territorial limits of these communi-
632 ties do not always coincide with those of
[171] the municipalities, as in Guatemala. Various well-defined communities exist (in the terms described above) which belong to

[P 197-A]

291 184 a typical outfit with special characteristics. For instance, the men of Tenejapa wear a hat of broad brim and pointed round crown, trimmed with thin ribbons of different colors. They also wear a dark chamarra or poncho with thin white stripes. The characteristic clothes of Cancuc are short, tight pants and a long shirt trimmed with red wool yarn. In Tierra Caliente the wool chamarra is not used nor is the variation in outfit so well defined.

Transportation

482 [484] [487] Men and pack animals are the principal carriers in the Tzeltal region, which is crossed in all directions by narrow trails. [492] Men carrying loads of 40–50 kg. usually 482 walk, in one day, as far as 8 leguas 147 (leagues). According to Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:386), the Tzeltal of the highlands are so strong "que ponen en vergüenza a una mula." In 1944 I observed Indians [565] passing by my Yochib camp, carrying chairs on their shoulders, in which a lady or a child of upper-class Ladinos from Ocosingo 492 and Yajalon would be sitting. Pack animals are now becoming common among the Tzeltal, some of whom also have saddle horses.

491 Part of the Tzeltal-Tzotzil region is crossed by the Pan-American Highway joining Guatemala and Mexico City. In recent years roads called "brechas de penetración" for motor vehicles are being constructed. 474 The natives of some communities (Oxchuc 493 and Chanal) have organized cooperatives and purchased their own trucks.

804 *Units of Measure*

The system of measures still retains aboriginal characteristics. The main units are:

Nab: Distance between the end of the thumb and the middle finger extended.

Chuyub: Distance between the end of the thumb and the index finger extended. It is equivalent to the jeme. The Indians do not use the cuarta (distance between the thumb and little finger extended).

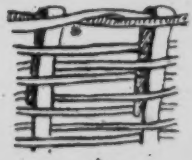
[P 208-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

285 being an average of only three strands to a centimeter, with the splints about three centimeters apart. Ordinarily the widest part of the basket is at the rim, but a very small basket, *tutemOtc*, was observed, in which the greater diameter was about half-way up the side. The weave was the same. The standard large size is 23 centimeters high, 36 centimeters diameter at the rim, and 13 at the base (fig. 304).

286 The men also make the nets, *tcotcaH*, which are used, suspended from one shoulder, as a pocket, or, slung from a tump-line, to carry [482] small burdens. They are made of hennequen or ixtla cord. The mouth is an extra heavy string, from which the woven part of the net hangs (fig. 305). The method of laying the cord was observed

[285]



A

B

C

Fig. 304—Basketry. A. Detail of weave showing finish of rim. B. Basket, height 23 c.m. C. Arrangement of splints at the bottom.

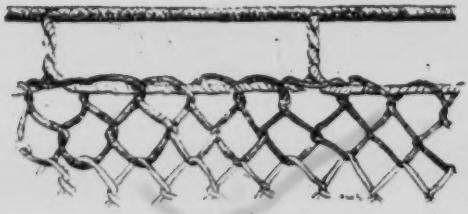


Fig. 305—Detail of Net.

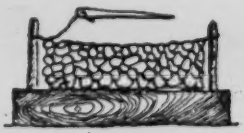


Fig. 306—Frame for weaving net.

at Caneuc. The istla threads are held in the crotch of the left knee, and the cord is wound on the thigh with a flat-hand rubbing motion. A bundle of threads laid parallel to each other, is taken by the middle and rolled into the already made cord, forming two strands. When the strands are ready, they are laid together with a reverse-stroke of the hand on the thigh. The net is woven with a deer-horn needle, *muk*, on a frame, *tiaH*, consisting of a board about 18 centimeters long with an upright stick at each end (fig. 306). The actual weaving was not observed.

322 Considering that their only tools are their machetes, and an oc-
412 casional cheap pocket knife, the wood-working done by the men is

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

tied by a string carried down to an arched stick, H, stuck in the 224
ground. This string, by holding down the far ends, counterbalances the weight of the fall at the other ends. At the end of the string the cross-stick, D, holds it against the arch; it, in turn, is held by the trigger, C, one end of which braces against it, the other end against the far side of the trap, passing under the deadfall. A circular fence of sticks prevents an animal from getting at the outer part of the trap. A straight fence on the other side of the fall necessitates its entering through the entrance, AA, to get at the bait, B, on the trigger. The animal dislodges the trigger, releasing D and with it the string. The outer ends of the sticks fly up, and the weighted log falls. In the rat trap, the log and stones came to at least three kilograms, arranged to fall through a space of about ten centimeters, other traps being in proportion.

When hunting with a gun, a red fruit called *ahoon* is frequently [824]
rubbed on the shot, and *palma bendita, tcul-těc-wil can,* the palm used in church decorations, is used for the wad. This prevents the bullet "from getting tired" before it reaches its mark.

Meat obtained while hunting, if it cannot be carried immediately 251
to the house, is dried on a rack, *tcar.*

The primary method of carrying goods of all kinds is by the 482
tump-line, for which, as has been said in the discussion of physical and other characteristics, these people are very well adapted. The tump-line, *pak,* is a broad strip of inner bark, or of cow-hide. For their ordinary uses, this is a single strip, the ends being attached to a net (q. v.) of their own manufacture. When a package too bulky for the net is carried, a long strap is used with the ends tied together. This is looped through itself, around the package, so that it hangs in two slings. Additional straps may be attached to the line where it passes over the ears, to wrap around the sides of the burden. A flat piece of cowhide, *tcokHax,* is worn against the back, to protect the carrier from the chafing of his load. Both men and women use the tump-line, the carrying of objects on the head being unusual.

Formerly the Indians of this district are said to have owned a 492
good many mules and horses for packing, which they lost during [178]
the recent political disturbances. Many of them know something about packing. At present, however, few if any own cattle of any kind.

The highland rivers do not, on the whole, lend themselves to 487
water travel, although the Bachajon territory reaches to the Bascan, Tulija, and other more amenable water-ways. Canoes are known only 581
as introductions of German or Ladino ranchers. The natives use a [177]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango
Cancuc

443 439 themselves maintain an export trade, yet there is some. From the distant, shy Lacandones a little tobacco of fine grade comes out, in exchange for salt, dogs, powder for flint-locks, and aguardiente. Tenango pottery goes down to Salto de Agua and up to Tenejapa where it meets the finer products of Amatenango, with which it cannot compete. Amatenango pottery is traded as far, at least, as San Andres in Guatemala. Chamula blankets are worn in Cancuc, and all through the Chiapas mountains. The Indians of the highest section keep warm in a heavy woolen shirt called *"chuj,"* which is made in Guatemala. So they themselves, on a small scale, and the Ladino peddlers yet more, keep alive a vestige of the old trade that once ran from Central America to Utah.

114 291 482

Fig. 321—Cargadores with our boxes.

114 The last day's climb had seriously fatigued our horses. It became obvious that they alone could not bring us safely through, so on the sixth we arranged for five *cargadores,* under one of the village councillors, to carry five of our boxes through to Cancuc (fig. 321). It seemed as though that would make quite a load for each of these men, but we came to realize that the carrying power of a Highland Tzeltal truly puts a mule to shame.

At the end of the valley we swung up into the highroad that runs from San Cristóbal to the Lowlands at Salto de Agua. Once fairly well smoothed and levelled, this road is now impassable for ox-carts, and even horses must pick their way over the jagged limestone

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

estimate, with their own, regular Indian administration under the control of the Ladino government. The *Presidente Municipal*, a most obliging man, got the Indian *Presidente* for us, whom we photographed by the last light of the day (fig. 329). Through this chief, men were sent out to bring in grass; they returned with enormous, green bundles as big as themselves.

The Indian houses outside the town differ from those previously described in the possession of a sort of porch, or part under the roof in front screened with boards, introductory to the house itself.

The Tenejapeños are strongly built, thickset, and short, with enormously powerful calves. In fact the chief industry of the tribe is acting as porters. They go in large bands to places at a considerable distance to take or bring back loads, competing successfully with the Chamula packtrains. In this the women are as proficient as the men. Their colour is dark, a rich brown, more red than golden, with distinctly pink cheeks showing through in the case of the children and old people. The men are almost beardless. Faces are rather broad and round* (fig. 330).

FIG. 329—Tenejapa, Chia. The chief of the Tenejapeños.

The essential parts of a man's costume are a pair of shorts and a brown and white striped Chamula Indian blanket, worn as a poncho. Two of these blankets may be comfortably worn in that climate. Hats, when used, are also of Chamula make, of straw with a flat brim, and round, close-fitting crown pointed at the top. Usually they are decorated with ribbons. A sash of white material may be worn, the ends of which, hanging down in front, are elaborately embroidered (fig. 331). The

*Starr (1907) made some measurements upon these people, the most important of which are summarized here. They show an interesting variability.

STATURE IN MILLIMETERS

Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range
1,557	1,722	1,403	320

Below 1600	1600—1650	1650—1700	Above 1700	Total
75	15	8	1	100

	Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range
CEPHALIC INDEX	78.8	84.4	68.9	15.5
FACIAL INDEX	81.6	94.5	65.6	29.0
NASAL INDEX	88.8	102.2	64.1	38.1

000 bly similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now. Just as a
323 man defines himself as an agriculturalist, a woman defines herself as a pot-
462 ter. Men complain if their wives do not produce pottery, and I know of
[593] two cases of separation on the grounds that the woman was not fulfilling
[586] one of her functions as housewife by helping the family budget with pot-
[461] tery production. Most women like to make pottery: it helps them to pass the day, and they say they would be bored without it. Some of the women who have gone with their husbands for extended stays in hot country have tried to make pottery out of clays available there, but because of its inferior quality, they have not had much success. Unlike women of neighboring towns, the women of Tzoʔontahal usually do not accompany their husbands to the fincas "because they have their work at home."

323 *Making pottery.* The women make a wide variety of household
178 and ceremonial objects, but the item which has the widest market distribution is the water storage jar (See Plate 7). They introduce new items in response to local needs, such as the funnel used in channeling liquor into large containers from the retort of the still. One vessel which is disappearing from production is the large ceremonial cooking pot. The only woman who knew how to do this (or who admitted to knowing, since it is unpaid work) died in the 60s, and no one has replaced her. One woman who had a reputation for eccentricity, introduced several elaborate vases and ashtrays. Her creative imagination was best exemplified in a combined ashtray and vase which featured four frogs poised on the lip of the tray, presumably drinking from a fountain. Reina (1962–1963) has pointed out
[171] that women of the Guatemalan community of Chinautla who wish to be
[156] accepted in the community must limit themselves to conventional forms, and the same restriction seems to apply in Tzoʔontahal.

317 The women of a household work as a group in collecting clay and in
592 firing pottery. Clay is free since it is found in the communally owned hills
[323] on the perimeter of the town. It is collected preferably during the rainy
[423] season when it is easier to gather from the open gorges in which it is found, but if the supply runs out, other trips are made. All of the women of the household go, sometimes with neighbors or relatives in groups of
[482] five or six. They collect large clay balls weighing from forty to fifty pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline.

(see plates following p.198..Analyst

1/2

[P.198-C]

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491

Plate 3. A father and his two sons, walking in order of age, leave the village to go to their milpa. The father, walking in front, is wearing the old-style costume with a wrapped overshirt concealing short undertrousers. His sons wear western clothing. All of the men carry net bags on a tumpline, with their backs protected from their burdens by a sheepskin. They all carry machetes, and the boys have rifles.

407
417
291

Plate 4. Farmer showing the arada plow. He is holding the handle, and the shaft, made of a long tree post, is propped on the ground.

805 lating the time of day; when I questioned them as to the hour, they were often as much as an hour off, usually behind.

Most activities are ordered with reference to the Gregorian calendar, but the twenty-day Maya calendrical month, defined as "twenty days or a month" is used in much the same way that we use "a fortnight." The In-
805 dians consider the moon to be an uncertain indicator of time, since "she
821 does not walk well." But the moon is important in the culture: people note its different phases and are especially aware of the phase under which a child is born—an important sign for the newborn's future. If a baby is
[856] born at the full moon, he is expected to mature more readily. The full
[787] moon also signifies a propitious time for undertaking certain activities, such as cutting wood for the main posts of a house and cutting palm for the roof.

The Daily Schedule

512
462 Daily activities are organized by traditional economic pursuits. The woman is the first one to rise in the morning. She gets up at dawn, lights
[252] the fire, and sets a jar of water to boil for coffee. She grinds the nixtamal cooked the night before on the stone grinding board, or takes it to the mill
[412] in the center. She then makes tortillas either by hand or with a press; a re-
[177] cent innovation made of two hinged pieces of wood in which the ball of
[178] dough is set between pieces of plastic paper.

The men of the household are served first, followed by the boys; the
[264] women and girls eat last. As soon as they have eaten, the men and boys who have finished the required three years of schooling go out to the
[481] fields to work. They walk single file even in the streets of the town, the fa-
[482] ther preceding his sons. Each carries a machete, net bag, tumpline, and sheepskin back-protector if he plans to carry any loads. Many bring shot-
[411] guns as well in order to hunt for field rats, raccoon, or the burrowing ani-
[224] mals they find in the fields.

After the men leave, the women go to the porch and "seize their work."
[857] The children go to school, which begins at eight-thirty in the morning
[878] and continues until five o'clock in the evening. They return home for
[264] lunch, a meal of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans or chayote when it is in season.

291 184 a typical outfit with special characteristics. For instance, the men of Tenejapa wear a hat of broad brim and pointed round crown, trimmed with thin ribbons of different colors. They also wear a dark chamarra or poncho with thin white stripes. The characteristic clothes of Cancuc are short, tight pants and a long shirt trimmed with red wool yarn. In Tierra Caliente the wool chamarra is not used nor is the variation in outfit so well defined.

Transportation

482 [484] [487] [492] 482 147 Men and pack animals are the principal carriers in the Tzeltal region, which is crossed in all directions by narrow trails. Men carrying loads of 40–50 kg. usually walk, in one day, as far as 8 leguas (leagues). According to Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:386), the Tzeltal of the highlands are so strong "que ponen en verguenza a una mula." In 1944 I observed Indians [565] passing by my Yochib camp, carrying chairs on their shoulders, in which a lady or a child of upper-class Ladinos from Ocosingo 492 and Yajalon would be sitting. Pack animals are now becoming common among the Tzeltal, some of whom also have saddle horses.

491 Part of the Tzeltal-Tzotzil region is crossed by the Pan-American Highway joining Guatemala and Mexico City. In recent years, roads called "brechas de penetración" for motor vehicles are being constructed. 474 493 The natives of some communities (Oxchuc and Chanal) have organized cooperatives and purchased their own trucks.

804 *Units of Measure*

The system of measures still retains aboriginal characteristics. The main units are:

Nab: Distance between the end of the thumb and the middle finger extended.

Chutub: Distance between the end of the thumb and the index finger extended. It is equivalent to the jeme. The Indians do not use the cuarta (distance between the thumb and little finger extended).

[EP 208-B]

804 *Shucubil* ("codo"): Distance from the elbow to the end of the middle finger extended.
Jaub ("braza" or "brazada"): Distance between the ends of both extended arms.
Yankabal (equivalent to the meter): Distance from the armpit to the extended middle finger of the opposite hand.

[484] The "legua" is also used and is equivalent to the distance a man can walk during one hour (approximately 5 km.).

Of square measures used for the milpa, the most common is the *tarea* (equivalent to a square of 8 jaubs). This is equivalent to a square of 16 m., which is very close to the mecate used by the Yucatec Maya.

The standard most often used for measuring maize or beans is the *almud*, which among the Tzeltal of Cancuc, Oxchuc, and Tenejapa, is equivalent to 4 *quartillas* (each quartilla is equivalent to 8 large *borcelanas*). The borcelana is an earthen cup or pot, which can be either small or large. The large one is equivalent to ½ kg. of maize, the small one to ¼ kg. of maize. The borcelana is used to measure chile.

[415]

Economics

241 *Division of Labor and Specialization*

462 Care of the milpa is men's work, but sometimes women help with light tasks such as weeding or harvesting. Seeding does not require great effort, but it is considered a job for men exclusively. Women may participate in chile seeding—but in the planting only, the holes in the ground can be made only by men, who use a *macana* or planting stick. Cutting and carrying firewood are tasks for men, but women may perform them when men cannot. Women can handle an axe or machete skillfully. Fetching water, from river or fountain, is work for women. It is considered inappropriate and ridiculous that a man carry a cantaro on the hip. Laundry and all kitchen duties are performed by women, as well as spinning, knitting, sewing, embroidering, and making of earthenware. Manufacture

462

[P 209-A]

[Text continues on p. 210-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

124 and her three words of Spanish. Then she grew hostile, answering
123 everything with a plaintive *"Ma snaa,"* "I don't know." This went on for two or three minutes, then suddenly she flung open the door and waved me out with no uncertain gesture, saying something about the "Presidente Municipal," and the "Secretario." By this time it was pouring cats and dogs, but there was nothing to do save run for it.

284 Cancuc is not noted for any product. There are about the same
322 arts and industries as at other towns, but the only ones that amount to anything like a specialty are netmaking and whittling combs. The combs are better and more neatly made than those of the Bachajon, and with a selection of the wood for grain that often produces very pretty combinations. The nets are made by the men, who

[352]
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←
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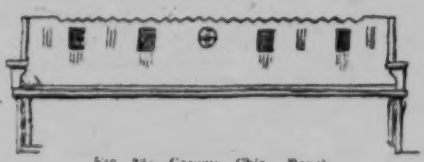

Fig. 22.—Cancuc, Chis. Bench.

Fig. 227. Cancuc, Chis. Pottery, Hilte. (6 c.m. high).

Fig. 228—Cancuc, Chis. Tall Jar. (1 m. high).

go about rolling the twine or knitting as they walk. The process was described in the last chapter.

485 Being on the main highway, the government maintains a long shed, like a wagon-shed, thatched with leaves and grass, which is at the disposal of travelers. This relieves the Maestro of duties of entertainment. Towards nightfall, various groups came into camp here, a family of Mexicans, with a big fire, and goods piled high, two traders with their packs, some Chamulas, fine-looking men dressed in white wool tunics, with flowing cotton kerchiefs round their heads, and a couple of Tenejapeños with nets full of apples. The Chamulas, who are remarkably progressive Indians, had come in with a string of mules. After dark, the line of fires in the divisions of the shed, the talk, the fire-lit figures in their varied costumes, with the Church and houses rising on the terraced hill behind made as picturesque and charming a scene as one could possibly imagine.

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

9. The Tzeltal

ALFONSO VILLA ROJAS

131 OCCUPYING A REGION east of the Tzotzil, the Tzeltal live in the central part of the state of Chia-
133 pas, Mexico. Three natural zones divide this land: gentle slopes and plains in the south (Amatenango del Valle, Aguacatenango, Pinola, Soyatitan, and Socoltenango); high peaks and irregular terrain in the central part (Chanal, Oxchuc, Tenejapa, Cancuc, Abasolo, and Tenango); lower peaks toward the north.

GEOGRAPHY AND DEMOGRAPHY

13 Vegetation varies with climate and altitude. In the temperate or cold lands, evergreen oaks and pines predominate; in the lower and warm areas are high evergreen forests, alternating with savannas and subdeciduous forest (F. Miranda, 1952, vol. 1, ch. 3). In
[245] the temperate and the warm zones coffee and a great variety of fruit trees—orange, annona, peach—are cultivated.

133 Few rivers of any volume cross the moun-
[487] tainous terrain. None are navigable. The hydrographic system is delimited by the Usmacinta and Grijalva rivers; the former

[P. 195-A]

291 a typical outfit with special characteristics.
184 For instance, the men of Tenejapa wear a hat of broad brim and pointed round crown, trimmed with thin ribbons of different colors. They also wear a dark chamarra or poncho with thin white stripes. The characteristic clothes of Cancuc are short, tight pants and a long shirt trimmed with red wool yarn. In Tierra Caliente the wool chamarra is not used nor is the variation in outfit so well defined.

Transportation

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[P 208-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

tied by a string carried down to an arched stick, H, stuck in the 224
ground. This string, by holding down the far ends, counterbalances the weight of the fall at the other ends. At the end of the string the cross-stick, D, holds it against the arch; it, in turn, is held by the trigger, C, one end of which braces against it, the other end against the far side of the trap, passing under the deadfall. A circular fence of sticks prevents an animal from getting at the outer part of the trap. A straight fence on the other side of the fall necessitates its entering through the entrance, AA, to get at the bait, B, on the trigger. The animal dislodges the trigger, releasing D and with it the string. The outer ends of the sticks fly up, and the weighted log falls. In the rat trap, the log and stones came to at least three kilograms, arranged to fall through a space of about ten centimeters, other traps being in proportion.

When hunting with a gun, a red fruit called *ahoon* is frequently [824]
rubbed on the shot, and *palma bendita, tcul-těc-wil can*, the palm used in church decorations, is used for the wad. This prevents the bullet "from getting tired" before it reaches its mark.

Meat obtained while hunting, if it cannot be carried immediately 251
to the house, is dried on a rack, *tcar*.

The primary method of carrying goods of all kinds is by the 482
tump-line, for which, as has been said in the discussion of physical and other characteristics, these people are very well adapted. The tump-line, *pak*, is a broad strip of inner bark, or of cow-hide. For their ordinary uses, this is a single strip, the ends being attached to a net (q. v.) of their own manufacture. When a package too bulky for the net is carried, a long strap is used with the ends tied together. This is looped through itself, around the package, so that it hangs in two slings. Additional straps may be attached to the line where it passes over the ears, to wrap around the sides of the burden. A flat piece of cowhide, *tcokHar*, is worn against the back, to protect the carrier from the chafing of his load. Both men and women use the tump-line, the carrying of objects on the head being unusual.

Formerly the Indians of this district are said to have owned a 492
good many mules and horses for packing, which they lost during [78]
the recent political disturbances. Many of them know something about packing. At present, however, few if any own cattle of any kind.

The highland rivers do not, on the whole, lend themselves to 487
water travel, although the Bachajon territory reaches to the Bascan, Tulija, and other more amenable water-ways. Canoes are known only 581
as introductions of German or Ladino ranchers. The natives use a [77]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Cancuc
Tenejapa

From Cancuc the road falls slowly away, then it climbs to the 133
steep side of the ridge and at last dips percipitously to a covered 114
bridge over a narrow ravine. All along on both sides little corn- [241]
fields alternate with second growth. Ahead, the same great palisade
that we saw from Tenango rises in a green wall, patched with fields
and broken here and there by outcrops of cliffs and hanging valleys.
We passed a dribbling of traffic, Indians on foot, and at the bridge
met a family of Mexicans noisily eating a picnic lunch. The ravine
was deep, rock-walled, with a roaring stream in the shadows of the
bottom. From the other side of it the palisade rose immediately,
looking almost perpendicular and indefinitely high to us as we con-
templated it. The road assumed a stiff grade, rising in a series of [491]
zig-zags that gained painfully to the top. Straight up, almost like
a ruled line, lay the Indian trail, taking no account of the twists and [480]
turns of the road. Our carriers from Cancuc, who took on the cargo
that the Tenango men had carried the day before, had gone up that
fearsome climb. We tried it, but the horses slid and fell back on their
haunches, and we ourselves could barely keep our footing. So we
continued along the road, turning and turning, seeming never to
gain, and fearing that our animals would never make it. The heat
of the sun was thrown back by the hillside and the road.

We toiled on. Low growth and brush on the side of the road 137
gave no shade. The dust rose high. The air, for all the heat, began 114
to have a pleasant crispness that reminded us of high altitudes in
other countries. Then we smelt a familiar smell which we ignored
until its persistent recurrence forced us to look, see, and believe—
that blackberries grow wild in Chiapas! The event of the next
hours amused Lazaro greatly, for here in Mexico we found our-
selves among familiar northern flowers and wild fruits, buttercups,
dandelions, wild roses, blackberries, strawberries, all strange to him.
We passed an Indian farm, stuck into a tiny hanging valley, where 245
peach trees and alligator pears were growing together in the corn-
field.

At the top of the pass in a shallow V-shaped cut, the barometer 133
read 2,100 meters, a climb of 600 meters—about 1,900 feet—in two [114]
hours.

The country changed beyond here to steep ravines, high cliffs, rushing, cold brooks, and tall, dark fir trees clothing the rocks. The tilled fields disappeared, the scattered houses, and stick fences. It was a wild, shaggy country—a perfect setting, we thought, for the home of the rough Tenejapeños that we had seen along the road.

Near evening, a road forked off to the right, leading to a split in a wall of high cliffs through which we could see, already dark with

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER II

THE GENERAL BACKGROUND FOR A CONTROLLED COMPARISON

Geography and Ecology

101
131 The communities selected for this study are located in the southwest quarter of the state of Chiapas, which is the southernmost state of the Republic of Mexico. This is a mountainous area [133] belonging to the Sierra Madre Occidental, and a part of the state's Central Plateau. The Plateau Summit of the area is to the north northwest of the villages, and contains the city of San Cristobal las Casas, ex-capital of the state (the present capital, Tuxtla, is in the lowlands).

The villages themselves are situated in the terraced margins of the plateau, which extend to the South into the Grijalva River Depression, and to the north and east into the Lacandon Jungle.

133
•489 The slightly inclined terraces are criss-crossed by several small streams tributary to the Blanco River, and by a complex
491 network of paths, trails, and roads, including a section of the Pan American Highway which connects Mexico City with Guatemala and which is being constructed.

131 The villages of Aguacatenango and Amatenango are in two
36 contiguous valleys (see Fig. 1) near to the section of the Pan

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 16]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

323
178 coming from the smaller towns to buy. The Indians still bring pottery to
442 sell retail in towns that they visit during a fiesta. One of these is the barrio
443 of Lok'ibal in the município of Villa Carranza, where people go on the third Friday of Lent to get holy water from the spring.

The Indians have not taken advantage of the truck to buy pottery wholesale and market it directly in the smaller towns, selling from the truck in the plaza as some of the wholesale fruit truckers do. Another operation which they have failed to profit from is buying the wheat harvest and selling to government warehouses, as some of the Ladino truckers do.

44 Lack of capital is the major reason for failure to exploit these opportuni-
471 ties. In marketing the contraband liquor, which is the most flourishing of
273 the new enterprises, the Indians have not yet entered into the external
443 markets except in the case of one young unmarried mother. Wholesale
434 purchases are made by Ladinos, primarily women, from other towns who resell the liquor in Comitán and on the coast. There is however, a well-de-
[675] veloped home market since all contracts are sealed with the offering of liq-
[681] uor, the "gift of the gods," all court fines are paid in liquor, and the main
[583] gift in betrothal is liquor. The cantinas with phonograph players opened
[275] by the cooperatives operate very successfully on Saturday night and during
[216] fiestas. The internal market for liquor is controlled by a syndicate of the
[548] forty-two independent liquor distillers. The price is set at 4 pesos per liter
[435] for all buyers, with the buyer providing the bottle.

Agricultural production is not geared to a market, and Indians do not
241 take advantage of fluctuations in price. Wheat yields a lower return per
442 unit of land than corn, but it is grown for two reasons: the Indians believe
443 that crop rotation of corn and wheat prevents depletion of the soil, and wheat requires less work since no cultivation is needed. Wheat is a cash crop and none of it is milled or consumed directly in town. Poor families sell their wheat "standing" to Teopisca truckers. The price given the
[435] grower is usually about 90 pesos per hundred kilograms, and it is resold at 110 or 120 pesos in Tuxtla or to the government storehouses. Wheat is sometimes brought directly to San Cristóbal millers who give 120 per hundred kilograms. Corn is primarily a subsistence crop when grown in the center. Corn grown in hot country ejido land is now sold in Teopisca and
[489] San Cristóbal. The local truck cooperative has a special permit which gives

members entry to the ejido colony, an area where traffic was formerly excluded because of the monopoly by the large trucking companies. Both the fruit and root of chayote are sold in August by some families who have a supply over consumption needs. It is brought along with pottery to the market of San Cristóbal where it is sold to *regatones*, retail sellers who have stalls. 241 442 443 [489]

Decisions as to what crops to plant are not responsive to market fluctuation. With the major emphasis on subsistence crops, the farmers have little margin of land on which to experiment with profitable but risky ventures. They have little knowledge or experience. There are no full-time specialists in market operations, although the truck drivers may gradually assume a greater role in this respect.

Very few Indians of the region, and none of those in Tzo'ontahal sell corn to the National Warehouses (Almacenes Nacionales de Deposito), although the warehouses offer prices higher than the going market price for corn. (940 pesos per ton in comparison to 500 to 600 pesos at harvest or 800 pesos offered a few months later by wholesalers who come to town). The reason for their failure to take advantage of the higher market price is that they do not have sufficiently large crops to pay the transportation costs of 28.75 pesos or the "tip" to ensure that their crops will not be declared substandard because of impurities, rotten kernels, insects, or excessive water content. In addition to that, they must spend time at the warehouses and in traveling. The alternative to the sale of crops to national warehouses is sale to wholesalers. 241 442 443 439 [489]

Dealing with external agencies. Entering into competitive areas where they were formerly excluded, the Indians are encountering opposition from competitors and are the prey of departmental and state government agents. The reduplication of bureaucracies at the state and departmental level means that they will be subject to the double "bite" or *mordida* if they pursue their enterprises. Operating on minimal capital, they are not able to fulfill all the requirements, or buy all the necessary permits and licenses. Because of monopolization of certain traffic by the larger syndicates of truck owners, they proceed without permits and are often caught. 471 648 [494]

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P468-A]

756
578
682 accused him of being a witch, he was put in
683 the local jail by the judge and then removed to
756 the departmental capital. During his term of
754 imprisonment an epidemic broke out in the
682 town: it was attributed to witchcraft sup-
683 posedly practiced by him and by two other
578 curers who remained in town. These two were then imprisoned. After they were set free, all three men were killed in different episodes involving accusations of witchcraft. Permission to act as executioners was granted by the civil authority.

178 In the past, the public review of a case before
682 a killing probably served to minimize homi-
754 cide, since permission was not always granted.
627 Since 1953, when a large highway first linked the town to the departmental capital and
[491] communication between this center of justice and the local township increased, the civil authority has not given permission, and prior review of witchcraft cases occurs only with epidemics.

756 The final incident in which the civil author-
754 ity confronted the curers occurred in the spring
578 of 1966. The president accused one of the
627 curers of cutting short his life by lighting candles in the mountains. The curers were called together to hear the threat and to go to the hill to look at the evidence. The accused curer remained at home pleading that he was sick. He was warned not to pursue his witchcraft, and as yet there has been no use of
[178] violence on either side. This open confronta-
[622] tion without the use of violence may indicate a change in the strategy of conflict with the growing power of the president.

756 (3) *Breakdown of the dual division.* The loss
178 of internal controls in the curing profession
578 and the conflict for power and control by the
621 civil officials and the curers are related to a
626 more fundamental change in the social structure of the community. Formerly the division of the town into two sections provided a channel for opposition as well as cooperation. Recruitment into leadership positions in both the civil hierarchy and the curing hierarchy was based upon residence. The system provided checks and balances in the exercise of power, for the two principales—one from each section of the dual division—were supposed to act as watchdogs over the curers. The shift in the locus of social control from the principales to the president has been marked by the open confrontation with the curers.

OOO The authority of the president, however,

291 a typical outfit with special characteristics:
184 For instance, the men of Tenejapa wear a hat of broad brim and pointed round crown, trimmed with thin ribbons of different colors. They also wear a dark chamarra or poncho with thin white stripes. The characteristic clothes of Cancuc are short, tight pants and a long shirt trimmed with red wool yarn. In Tierra Caliente the wool chamarra is not used nor is the variation in outfit so well defined.

Transportation

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[487] crossed in all directions by narrow trails.
[492] Men carrying loads of 40–50 kg. usually
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493 and Chanal) have organized cooperatives and purchased their own trucks.

804 *Units of Measure*

The system of measures still retains aboriginal characteristics. The main units are:

Nab: Distance between the end of the thumb and the middle finger extended.

Chutub: Distance between the end of the thumb and the index finger extended. It is equivalent to the jeme. The Indians do not use the cuarta (distance between the thumb and little finger extended).

[P. 208-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Revolutions have since destroyed the herds, and the town now has only a small local trade in sugar and rum. 233

All goods are transported on mule-back over bad trails. Main trails run to Yajalon, San Cristóbal las Casas, and Comitan. Minor trails connect with Tenosique in Tabasco, a ride of five or six days through uninhabited forests. Other small trails lead into the heart of the forests along the Usumacinta river, where there are a few mahogany camps, fourteen days distance on a good mule. 492 491 [313]

The Spanish Conquerors had quickly discovered the richness of the soil and taken possession of it. Therefore, we find but a few Indians around Ocosingo, save at the small town of Sivacá, entirely inhabited by Tzeltal-speaking Indians. From there we secured our labourers, who were summoned by the municipal president and worked for us at the regulation pay of 50 centavos per day. Ocosingo holds sway over the native towns of Sivacá, Tenango, Oschuc, San Martín, and Bachajon. The municipality commands the Indians for all kinds of work, and in many ways lives on what can be pressed from them. As a consequence, the good people of Ocosingo are anything but popular among the Indians, though it appears that the man then in charge, Señor Simon Leon, was quite friendly towards them, and therefore well liked. 175 134 563 [114] 661 829

Geologically, the Ocosingo Valley is a syncline, the valley bottom and the interior mountain ranges being of a coarse red sandstone, and the exterior ranges of limestone. The axis of the valley runs approximately N-80-W to S-80-E, and Ocosingo town is located at an altitude of 900 meters above sea level. 133 [135]

As we rode into the village, La Farge discovered a stone block, carved with hieroglyphs, set in the pavement of the sidewalk, an excellent reception for archaeologists. 172

Our first concern was to find quarters, which we located in a house on the corner of a street leading into the Plaza. Soon our equipment was unloaded, and while we unpacked, the Ladino guide we had acquired in Bachajon went to his house to order food for us. 114 [122]

The restaurant and meal were a surprise, though not pleasant. In a room with a rotten board floor, the plaster falling off the walls, and a huge box full of saints, we were served fried eggs and black beans by an old woman with a large goitre. Though nothing in the house appeared to be either particularly exclusive or clean, the Ladino family seemed to resent that we sat down at the table with our chief guide, the trusty old Indian, Lázaro, now called "Tata" by us.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Cancuc
Tenejapa

From Cancuc the road falls slowly away, then it climbs to the 133
steep side of the ridge and at last dips percipitously to a covered 114
bridge over a narrow ravine. All along on both sides little corn- [241]
fields alternate with second-growth. Ahead, the same great palisade
that we saw from Tenango rises in a green wall, patched with fields
and broken here and there by outcrops of cliffs and hanging valleys.
We passed a dribbling of traffic, Indians on foot, and at the bridge
met a family of Mexicans noisily eating a picnic lunch. The ravine
was deep, rock-walled, with a roaring stream in the shadows of the
bottom. From the other side of it the palisade rose immediately,
looking almost perpendicular and indefinitely high to us as we con-
templated it. The road assumed a stiff grade, rising in a series of [491]
zig-zags that gained painfully to the top. Straight up, almost like
a ruled line, lay the Indian trail, taking no account of the twists and [487]
turns of the road. Our carriers from Cancuc, who took on the cargo
that the Tenango men had carried the day before, had gone up that
fearsome climb. We tried it, but the horses slid and fell back on their
haunches, and we ourselves could barely keep our footing. So we
continued along the road, turning and turning, seeming never to
gain, and fearing that our animals would never make it. The heat
of the sun was thrown back by the hillside and the road.

We toiled on. Low growth and brush on the side of the road 137
gave no shade. The dust rose high. The air, for all the heat, began 114
to have a pleasant crispness that reminded us of high altitudes in
other countries. Then we smelt a familiar smell which we ignored
until its persistent recurrence forced us to look, see, and believe—
that blackberries grow wild in Chiapas! The event of the next
hours amused Lazaro greatly, for here in Mexico we found our-
selves among familiar northern flowers and wild fruits, buttercups,
dandelions, wild roses, blackberries, strawberries, all strange to him.
We passed an Indian farm, stuck into a tiny hanging valley, where 245
peach trees and alligator pears were growing together in the corn-
field.

At the top of the pass in a shallow V-shaped cut, the barometer 133
read 2,100 meters, a climb of 600 meters—about 1,900 feet—in two [114]
hours.

The country changed beyond here to steep ravines, high cliffs, rushing, cold brooks, and tall, dark fir trees clothing the rocks. The tilled fields disappeared, the scattered houses, and stick fences. It was a wild, shaggy country—a perfect setting, we thought, for the home of the rough Tenejapeños that we had seen along the road.

Near evening, a road forked off to the right, leading to a split in a wall of high cliffs through which we could see, already dark with

Chapter 1

Spirits and Places

Social space is the cognitive pattern of relationships imposed upon any terrain. In Amatenango del Valle[1] there are two superimposed patterns. One is defined by the nation for the purposes of political administration. This follows the pattern of colonial administration of *municipios*, or townships, with a *cabecera*, or administrative center, containing the church, town hall, and school house, and serving a number of colonias and *rancherias*, local hamlets or nuclei of populations. The other pattern is defined by the inhabitants using Tzeltal terminology or a Tzeltal rendition of a Spanish name. In this pattern, domains of good and bad spirits are defined, and behavior appropriate to each place is specified in myths and rituals. Persistence of this pattern has had profound implications for continuity of pre-Conquest culture. It provides a ground plan for the system of social control and security exercised by the old gods and their human intermediaries.

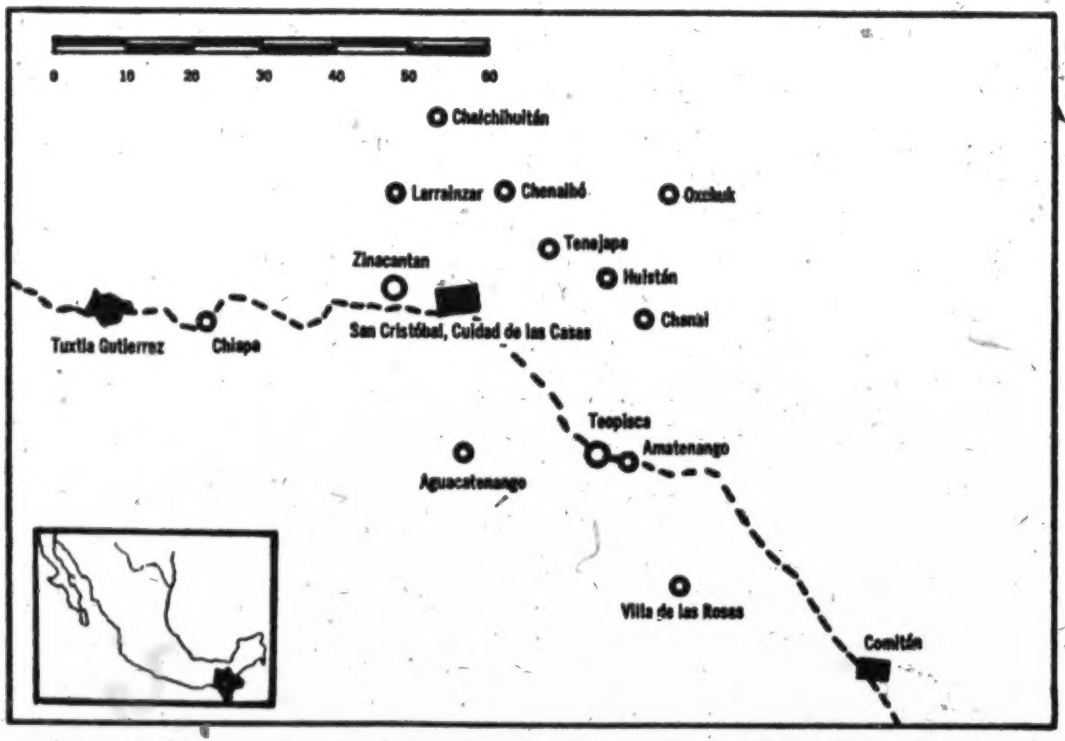
In the following section, I will discuss first territorial divisions defined by national law and modified by indigenous categories, and then the interaction between the spirits of persons and places.

The Territorial Divisions

The township of Amatenango del Valle is located at 92°30′ longitude and 16°30′ latitude in the highland zone of the state of Chiapas. The town center is located no more than fifty yards from the Pan-American Highway twenty-five miles southeast of the departmental capital of San Cristóbal.

1. I use the national designation derived from Nahuatl, Amatenango del Valle, to refer to the township, and the Tzeltal term Tzo'ontahal to refer to the center.

[P 4]



The State of Chiapas, showing the capital, Tuxtla; the two principal cities, San Cristóbal and Comitán; several surrounding Indian towns; and the Pan-American Highway (dashed line).

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It is considered much safer to drink in a bar on one's own side, but those men who pride themselves on being widely respected brag that they can drink on either side without becoming involved in a fight. When people must pass to the other side of town, they prefer walking on the Pan-American Highway, a socially neutral network, to passing through the streets of the opposite division, where their presence arouses curiosity and comments, such as "He must be looking for a lover!"

The colonias. The six colonias (Table 1) are populations of Indians who have moved from the center to take advantage of the lands granted under the ejido program of 1937 and "foreign Indians" who were formerly workers on the expropriated plantations. The Indians distinguish the close-lying settlements, or *barrios,* of Yetawitz, Pathuitz, B'očib'al, and Te'tikil from the remaining colonias listed in the census (Table 1). The populations of the barrios are more closely identified with the center since they are closer to it and there is a higher proportion of migrants from the parent group. They are linked to the side of the dual division to which they are most closely situated. Marriages can be contracted between members of the two settlements, and house lots can be acquired by residents of the town in the barrio with which they are associated. An exception was made to the association on the basis of proximity in the case of Te'tikil, which lies nearer to Alannantik but was linked with Ahk'olnantik in order to balance the population ratios at the time of its settlement. Police are appointed from these colonias and serve in the local *cabildo,* or town hall, along with other police from the center. The colonias of San Vicente and San Caralampio are farther away, and the rural judge and police appointed to these populations appear only once a week and during ceremonies in the local cabildo. The foreign Indians of San Vicente, who migrated from Chanal, and of Yetawitz, who came from Huistán to work in the finca of San Nicolás before acquiring ejido lands, are discriminated against in the local political organization. Their representatives never reach the high positions of president and first or second judge.

Ranchos and rancherías. The populations of these small settlements have only the most formal kind of social, economic, and political

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

[P 198-B]

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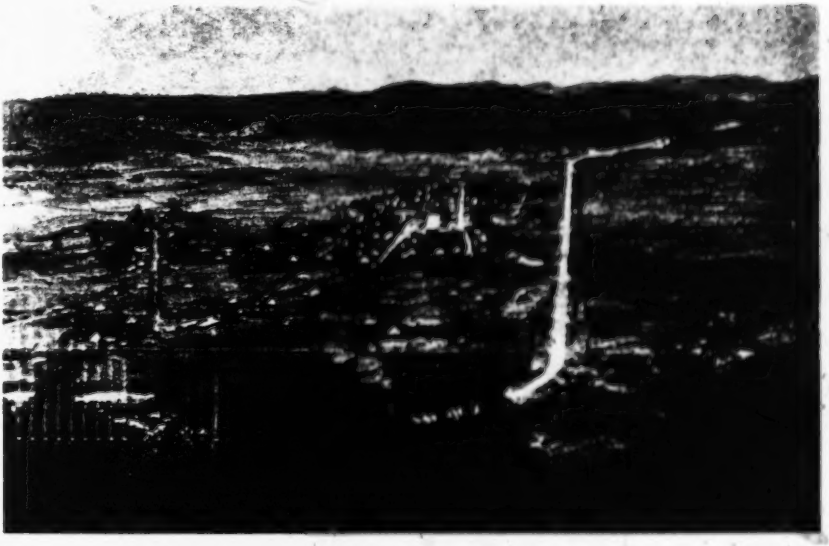
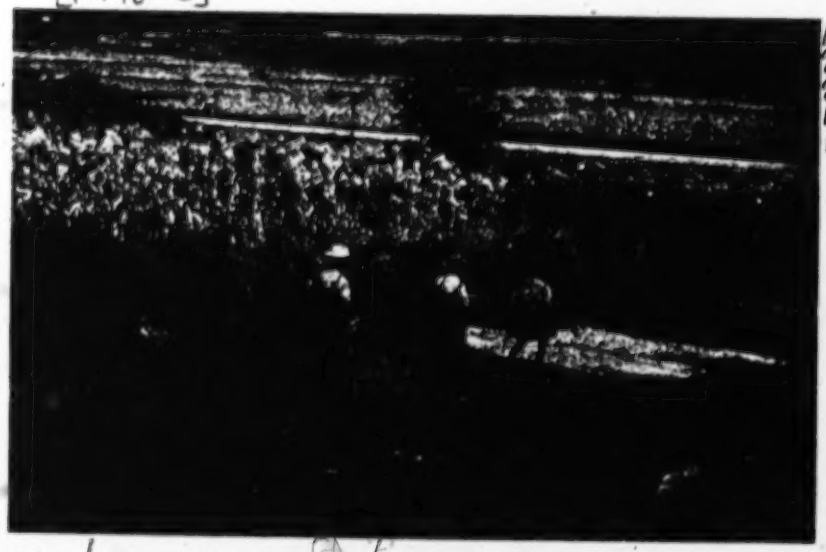


Plate 2. The view the ancestors had of the town from the Head of Palm shows the proximity of the village center to the Pan-American Highway just to the right of center. The church, which can be discerned in the center of the major settlement, is the dividing marker for the dual division. The barrio of Yetawitz is shown just to the left of the major settlement. The barrios of Madronal and La Grandeza are found at the mid-level of the hill in the far left, on the other side of the road which goes to Pinola and "hot country." The Ladino town of Teopisca lies just beyond the hills to the right along the Pan-American Highway. From this site, the ancestors were able to see clearly all of the thoroughfares within the town and guard against the entry of evil.

[p. 198-C]



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491.

Plate 3. A father and his two sons, walking in order of age, leave the village to go to their milpa. The father, walking in front, is wearing the old-style costume with a wrapped overshirt concealing short undertrousers. His sons wear western clothing. All of the men carry net bags on a tumpline, with their backs protected from their burdens by a sheepskin. They all carry machetes, and the boys have rifles.

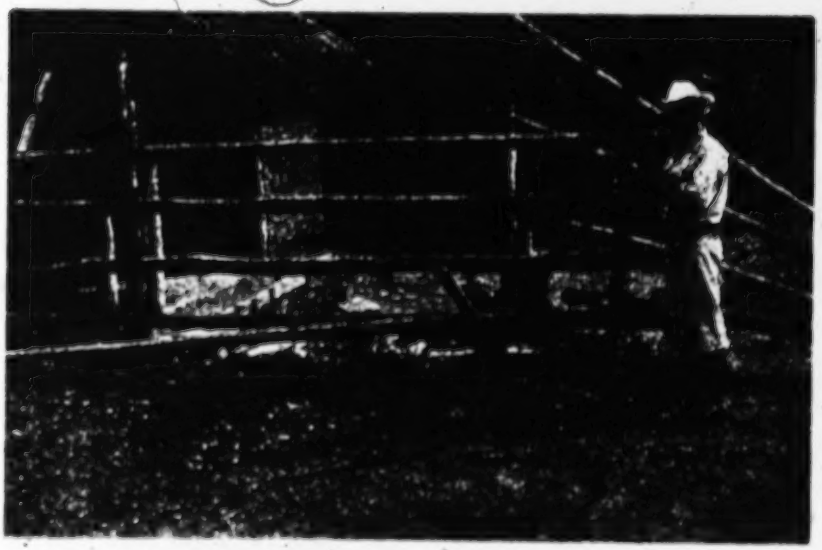

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Plate 4. Farmer showing the arada plow. He is holding the handle, and the shaft, made of a long tree post, is propped on the ground.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER II

THE GENERAL BACKGROUND FOR A CONTROLLED COMPARISON

Geography and Ecology

101
131 The communities selected for this study are located in the southwest quarter of the state of Chiapas, which is the southernmost state of the Republic of Mexico. This is a mountainous area [133] belonging to the Sierra Madre Occidental, and a part of the state's Central Plateau. The Plateau Summit of the area is to the north northwest of the villages, and contains the city of San Cristobal las Casas, ex-capital of the state (the present capital, Tuxtla, is in the lowlands).

The villages themselves are situated in the terraced margins of the plateau, which extend to the South into the Grijalva River Depression, and to the north and east into the Lacandon Jungle.

133 The slightly inclined terraces are criss-crossed by sev-
487 eral small streams tributary to the Blanco River, and by a complex
491 network of paths, trails, and roads, including a section of the Pan American Highway which connects Mexico City with Guatemala and which is being constructed.

131 The villages of Aguacatenango and Amatenango are in two
36 contiguous valleys (see Fig. 1) near to the section of the Pan

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 16]

131 American Highway which connects San Cristobal de las Casas with
361 Comitan. They are 50 and 44 kilometers, respectively, from San
[491] Cristobal. Aguacatenango is closer to the branch road that continues south from the Highway to Venustiano Carranza, in the lowlands.

361 Both villages are 2,000 meters above sea level, placed in
133 a slightly raised terrain in the valley floor.

137 The vegetation climaxes surrounding the settlements are the same: woodlands of pine and oak, the second predominating, grasslands which for the most part are secondary growths in abandoned agricultural plots, and thorny bushes which the inhabitants of the valleys utilize for building fences.

241 The range of cultivated plants is the same in the two vil-
137 lages, including several varieties of corn and beans, squash and a few greens, while other edible plants grow wild in the edges of streams and rocky places unsuited for cultivation (Kaplan in McQuown et al., 1959, Part II, Section 6).

134 The soils are mainly limestone base, calcareous clay loam
132 and loam transported, both territories receiving the same amount
of rain. Surface water is drained internally within the basin of
135 the Rio Blanco, and in the edges of the village of Aguacatenango, forms, during the rainy season, a small lagoon, where a variety of small fish thrive (Wagner, in McQuown et al., 1959, Part II, Section 5).

136 The fauna include small deer, ocelots, snakes (poisonous and non-poisonous), domestic and field rats, and other small animals.

621 Among its duties are those of keeping vital statistics for
[659] the National Population Bureau which are sent to the state office,
392 solving cases of adultery and theft, collecting the fiesta and
[651] Ejido taxes, keeping the streets clean, building and repairing
363
[491] roads and public buildings, and also taking charge of the local
[344] jail. Ayuntamiento officers are also called in to prevent or solve
[754] witchcraft cases and give advice and reprimands to misbehaving
[626] wives, sons and other relatives when the household or the responsible relatives cannot deal with the case on their own.

621
423 The Ayuntamiento also keeps its own corn field, worked by
432 communal labor, whose crop is sold to collect funds for its own
434 expenses.

794 The Mayordomia, or religious body, performs the formal activities on the religious holidays, is the custodian of the sacred objects (rockets, church keys, bells) connected with the Church, and the authority which carries out the tasks required by all of man's peaceful relations with the supernatural on the village level.

They are responsible as a group for the upkeep of the Church building and saint images, and the preparations for and the performance of Church Fiestas, regular church meetings, etc. Among their duties are those of providing meals for the priest while he is in town, helping during mass, contracting musicians and collecting the Church limósna during mass.

621 This structural level lacks monopoly of either of these functions in relation to other less inclusive social units. Social control and religious activity are carried on at the level of the barrio, the extended family, and within the household, and religious activity can be carried on by individuals.

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[P 208-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

tied by a string carried down to an arched stick, H, stuck in the 224
ground. This string, by holding down the far ends, counterbalances the weight of the fall at the other ends. At the end of the string the cross-stick, D, holds it against the arch; it, in turn, is held by the trigger, C, one end of which braces against it, the other end against the far side of the trap, passing under the deadfall. A circular fence of sticks prevents an animal from getting at the outer part of the trap. A straight fence on the other side of the fall necessitates its entering through the entrance, AA, to get at the bait, B, on the trigger. The animal dislodges the trigger, releasing D and with it the string. The outer ends of the sticks fly up, and the weighted log falls. In the rat trap, the log and stones came to at least three kilograms, arranged to fall through a space of about ten centimeters, other traps being in proportion.

When hunting with a gun, a red fruit called *ahoon* is frequently [824]
rubbed on the shot, and *palma bendita, tcul-těc-wil can,* the palm used in church decorations, is used for the wad. This prevents the bullet "from getting tired" before it reaches its mark.

Meat obtained while hunting, if it cannot be carried immediately 251
to the house, is dried on a rack, *tcax.*

The primary method of carrying goods of all kinds is by the 482
tump-line, for which, as has been said in the discussion of physical and other characteristics, these people are very well adapted. The tump-line, *pak,* is a broad strip of inner bark, or of cow-hide. For their ordinary uses, this is a single strip, the ends being attached to a net (q. v.) of their own manufacture. When a package too bulky for the net is carried, a long strap is used with the ends tied together. This is looped through itself, around the package, so that it hangs in two slings. Additional straps may be attached to the line where it passes over the ears, to wrap around the sides of the burden. A flat piece of cowhide, *tcokHax,* is worn against the back, to protect the carrier from the chafing of his load. Both men and women use the tump-line, the carrying of objects on the head being unusual.

Formerly the Indians of this district are said to have owned a 492
good many mules and horses for packing, which they lost during [178]
the recent political disturbances. Many of them know something about packing. At present, however, few if any own cattle of any kind.

The highland rivers do not, on the whole, lend themselves to 487
water travel, although the Bachajon territory reaches to the Bascan, Tulija, and other more amenable water-ways. Canoes are known only 501
as introductions of German or Ladino ranchers. The natives use a [177]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa
Amatenango

one of them had developed fever, "so that he lost his breath," and 114
another had made almost the whole trip with two kayaks, over 200 lbs. on his back. They camped on the Town Hall porch where we, with our beds on piles of grass in a room labelled *"Commandancia,"* heard them, as we fell asleep, still chattering over a friendly bottle. Here, as long ago at Ocozotepec, our goods and saddles were stored in the jail, the room next ours, bearing the tactful label in red and blue, *"Prevencion."* Our grass beds were soft and sweet. The big door framed a little of the plaza, the fountain, a cottage with a narrow barred, candle-lit window, and the towering back-drop of cliffs behind, reaching to the stars, with one small winking fire, high up, from some Indian's house. We heard our *cargadores'* low chatter-

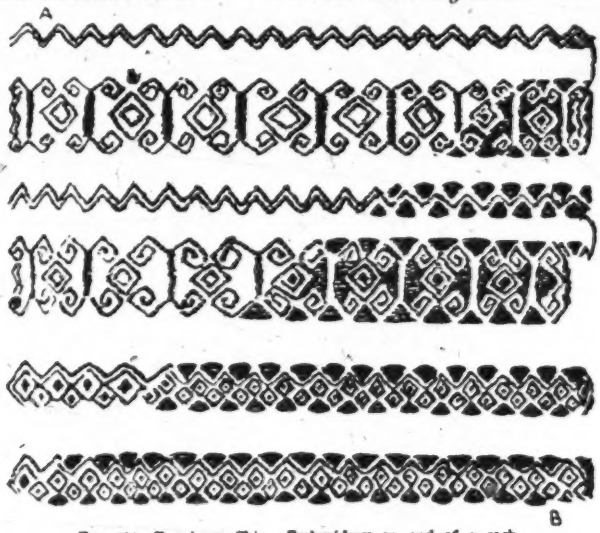

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FIG. 331—Tenejapa, Chis. Embroidery on end of a sash.
A. Front. B. Back.

ing, the play of the fountain, a distant guitar. The air was fresh 114
with pines and sweet grass and mountain coolness. We were in a magic country, and we were very, very tired.

Although it breaks the sequence of our journey, it seems best to 361
mention the town of Amatenango here in connection with the other 323
Highland Tzeltal tribes. We passed through it just beyond Teopisca on our way to Comitan, having no time to stop off. The [492]
people had been observed in San Cristóbal, where they come in to trade their famous pottery, men and mules alike piled high with loads twice their size.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Tenejapa

361 Amatenango lies in an open valley. It is estimated at three
342 hundred houses, each in a fenced yard of good size, and shaded with
351 fruit trees. The houses are large and well built, of mud and grass
245 thatch, with porches. The small church and Town Hall are tiled-
346 roof and stuccoed. The fields, which lie close around the town, and
344 the gardens in the town itself are watered by a stream brought down
241 a very pretty, roaring flume from higher land behind the village.
312 The irrigation system is fairly elaborate, and is unique in this area as far as we know.

323 The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one shape, a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, how-

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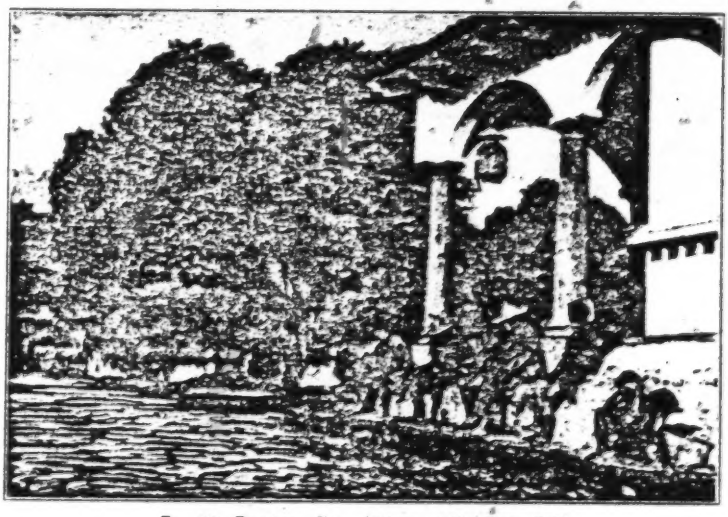

FIG. 332—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians at the Town Hall.

323 ever, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep, reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of boards, two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman in charge turns them until they are done (fig. 333). These pots are
[443] carried by the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they are redis-
[492] tributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala. Their industry is sufficient to enable them to maintain mules for carrying their goods, although both men and beasts are equally loaded.

342 construction used thatch or palm leaves carried from hot country. These
177 cost only the price of renting a horse, if it was necessary, for transporta-
435 tion. Roofs made of these materials have to be replaced every seven or
[492] eight years. Each rethatching requires three days' work with four or five helpers, and the houseowner must provide a meal for them and their families. He spends about 25 pesos for meat and uses two or three liters of corn; the total cost is about 75 pesos. Another kind of roof is made of wooden shingles bought in the neighboring town. These are fixed to the housetops with wooden pegs, and the total cost is about 200 pesos. This lasts ten or twelve years with replacement of individual shingles. Tile roofs have the highest initial cost, 800 pesos, but the lowest maintenance in labor.

342
435

TABLE 13. Construction Costs for House, 1965

	Cost (pesos)
Supplies	
Roof tiles (1,000)	800
Posts and poles	*
Planks	40
Door	100
Window frame	30
Services	
Transportation of tiles	30
Transportation of posts and poles	206
Carpenter	50
Food for helpers	75
TOTAL	1,331

* Obtained free from communal woods.

342 House walls are preferably made of mud mixed with lime poured into an interlacing of cane poles set between the house posts and tied with a handmade fiber rope. Another temporary type of construction, which does not offer as good insulation, is made of board planks. Sweatbaths are
343 made by digging out a floor about 2.5 meters square, raising stones in an oval shape over this, and plastering them with mud. The I.N.I. tried to in-
[514] [647] [177] [231] troduce latrines, but no more than a half dozen of the cement toilet seats they gave away as demonstrators were put into use. Latrines are considered to be dirty since the pigs and dogs cannot scavenge the feces.

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usual, and seeing the pesos, picked them up. The "spirit of the money" left the village forever. The story reveals not only the sense of deprivation Indians feel in losing wealth to Ladinos (historically land the Indians had lost through fraud or legal trickery during the Porfirio Diaz period), but also their realization of their own responsibility for letting their assets slip out of their control.

Payment of interest on money borrowed is justified in the calculations of the Indians for loans made within as well as outside of the community. Interest, called *shol tak'in*, or "head" of money, makes it possible for the borrower to work, and thus to earn, so the "owner" has the right to charge for the use. The rate on loans made within the pueblo has risen from 2 or 3 pesos a month for 100 pesos to 5 pesos, thus equalizing the rate with that charged in the neighboring Ladino town. The same rate is applied between relatives as nonkin. The advantage of intracommunity borrowing is that the lender does not demand an immediate return, or as high security. Ladinos of the neighboring town tend to demand items of greater value than the debt held as security—one Ladino held title to land worth 1,000 pesos for a 50-peso debt, and threatened to foreclose. Within the pueblo, security of about the same value as the loan is asked except in the case of neighbors and relatives who can be reminded every day of the debt. And they are.

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794 *the regidores were seated in their customary places; the alfereces sat on the*
796 *visitors' bench. The two former alfereces went before the two newly ap-*
526 *pointed alfereces and gave an account of what was going to take place, instructing them on "how they should make a fiesta."*

When the two former alfereces entered, they went to the president, saying, "How does the Lord see you alive on this holy afternoon?" They then went to the síndico and the regidores and ended with the judges, exchanging a pat?o?tan.

The alfereces went out, mounted their horses, and were handed the banners by the regidores. The two old alfereces received their banners first. All four made the sign of the cross, first facing the cabildo, then the [788] *church, and then rode in procession, preceded by the flutist, two drum players, and a guitarist, and followed by the other horsemen. They stopped before the church, dipping their flags, first toward the church and then the cabildo. The president, síndico, and first judge walked across the* [533] *plaza to the church as the church bells were rung, and all the musical instruments played—the marimba, bell, drums, and flute. The alfereces dismounted and put their banners in the church.*

[426] *The final day, called* Lahinbahel Sk'in, *was spent sobering up, putting things back in order, and returning borrowed items.*

178 Although Santiago is not one of the major saints, a major celebration is
23 given in his honor because of the high value placed on horsemanship in
526 this community. Before the construction of the Pan-American Highway in
796 1953 everyone in town had horses which were used to carry the pottery to
492 market. Riding skills were developed in the free-swinging *macho* (manly) style of northern Mexico's cowboys. Even today when horses are not as economically useful the horse culture has survived. The running of the horses in the fiesta is not competitive. Each rider does his best to tear at high speed across the plaza, but there is no specific goal. Since the [273] drunken riders often fall and are injured, some of the excitement is based on the potential danger.

128 The behavioral data on which the analysis of rituals depends are included because they provide a basis for comparison with neighboring

291 a typical outfit with special characteristics.
184 For instance, the men of Tenejapa wear a hat of broad brim and pointed round crown, trimmed with thin ribbons of different colors. They also wear a dark chamarra or poncho with thin white stripes. The characteristic clothes of Cancuc are short, tight pants and a long shirt trimmed with red wool yarn. In Tierra Caliente the wool chamarra is not used nor is the variation in outfit so well defined.

Transportation

482 Men and pack animals are the principal
[484] carriers in the Tzeltal region, which is
[487] crossed in all directions by narrow trails.
[492] Men carrying loads of 40–50 kg. usually
482 walk, in one day, as far as 8 leguas
147 (leagues). According to Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:386), the Tzeltal of the highlands are so strong "que ponen en vergüenza a una mula." In 1944 I observed Indians
[565] passing by my Yochib camp, carrying chairs on their shoulders, in which a lady or a child of upper-class Ladinos from Ocosingo
492 and Yajalon would be sitting. Pack animals are now becoming common among the Tzeltal, some of whom also have saddle horses.
491 Part of the Tzeltal-Tzotzil region is crossed by the Pan-American Highway joining Guatemala and Mexico City. In recent years, roads called "brechas de penetración" for motor vehicles are being constructed.
474 The natives of some communities (Oxchuc
493 and Chanal) have organized cooperatives and purchased their own trucks.

804 *Units of Measure*

The system of measures still retains aboriginal characteristics. The main units are:

Nab: Distance between the end of the thumb and the middle finger extended.

Chutub: Distance between the end of the thumb and the index finger extended. It is equivalent to the jeme. The Indians do not use the cuarta (distance between the thumb and little finger extended).

[P 208-B]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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000 town. However, other cooperatives have been successfully organized to
474 finance small-scale oeprations. Five record players with loudspeakers have
275 been installed in the houses of members who sell liquor. Once the initial
216 investment is made, the operating costs are low: 27 pesos for electricity, 25
454 pesos for a liquor license, 30 pesos for *hacienda* or state tax, and 10 pesos
434 for the township tax. Liquor bought at 60 pesos for an 18-liter jug is resold at 72 pesos. The total monthly cost of 92 pesos yields a net profit of about 300 pesos. The cost of the installation, 5,000 pesos, was low enough for some of the richer members of the community to finance individually, but as one of the operators told me, it was too risky—that is, too profitable.
474 The envy the neighbors would feel on seeing the profits made would
434 never result in witchcraft against all of the members, whereas an individ-
626 ual owner could expect that he himself or a member of his household
754 would become ill or die as the victim of witchcraft. These early entrepreneurs recognize the value of the cooperative in overcoming the force of envy which has effectively inhibited acquisition or display in these corporate Indian communities. Instead of socializing losses, one of its functions
[182] in modern capital organizations, the cooperative in Tzoʔontahal serves to socialize gains.

474 The most enterprising action of the new cooperatives has been the pur-
493 chase of a truck, initiated by the entrepreneur, Santos. The purchase of the
452 truck was inspired by the example of the Ladino secretary, who with his wife and son had a monopoly on the transportation of pottery, people, and wheat out of the village. Furthermore, in the neighboring town of Zinacantan the Indians were successfully operating two trucks. Santos went with his brother to the director of the I.N.I. in Las Casas to ask for a co-signer on the installment purchase of a Chevrolet truck, since without a Ladino sponsor Indians could not get credit with the company. According to one informant, I.N.I. officials advised them that they would not be able to profit from this venture and that they should buy a tractor with their money. The brothers persisted and went to the Dodge company in the state capital. The company agreed to sell to the Indians without Ladino co-signers on the basis of a down payment of 10,000 pesos. The initial payment was raised with thirty Indians putting up the money. Some gave no more than 150 pesos, but as the instigators of the purchase remarked, "The more members we have, the more power it gives us."

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The truck is the focus of the desire for self-improvement, for fighting the Ladino monopoly of the road, for the antagonisms and factional strife and conflict within the community. When they bought the truck, the Indians hired a Ladino in the neighboring town as chauffeur. One of the conditions of his employment was that he would teach his Indian assistant to drive. The Ladino tried to avoid doing this since he knew it would be the end of his job. But the Indian assistant learned by observation and is now operating the truck with an Indian assistant.

Accounts of the cost and profit of the truck operation indicated a running loss. A new tarpaulin cost 1,200 pesos; there were repairs and bribes to the highway patrol. But the truck was kept in operation because the major shareholders were impressed with the power it gave them. "They [their enemies, the members of the other co-operative owned by the Ladino along with twenty members of the community] are afraid of us because of the truck," one said, and added that it was better than having a *swayohel,* the animal spirit that gives power to the curers. At the time of my last visit in 1967 the truck was making a profit. The owners were thinking of selling it and replacing it with a five-ton model.

Structural realignment has been most marked in the organization of the truck-owning cooperatives. Membership cuts across the dual division for both of the truck-owning cooperatives. The cooperative is the most important factor in local political elections (Chapter 9). The truck has become both the symbol of power and the basis for the contest for power between the factions within the community.

Contraband liquor. The number of distillers has grown in the last ten years from five to forty. The distillation process was learned by Indians from Ladinos in neighboring towns fifteen years ago. There has been no local innovation in the basic process, but a new item, used in distillation, has been introduced into pottery production, a funnel decorated in the traditional manner of the water jars and other vessels. The capital investment in the equipment for operating the still is put up by individuals or partnerships of relatives. The still is rented to people who have charge of the celebration for a saint's day, or who are involved in courtship.

Private enterprise is the favored form of organization of the distillers be-

474 The strategies the cooperative members have developed in their frequent
648 tangles with state police illustrate the combination of custom and innova-
661 tion. When caught red-handed, they may respond by playing the stereotype Indian role. "We don't know anything. We are just poor Indians. How do you expect us to do what the law says?" This is hard for the Ladino authorities to resist, since it feeds their own sense of superiority. But it does not always work, and so the Indians have devised secondary resources. They put the departmental police at each terminal of their usual route between Las Casas and Comitán on a regular monthly mordida pay-
[693] roll of 50 pesos each. When trying to extend their operations, they hire a lawyer. A recent coup has been the acquisition of a permit to truck corn from Villa las Rosas and other ejido settlements that have been recently colonized. The appeal was made on the basis that they are a nonprofit cooperative of ejidatarios. With the permit, they now undercut the price of their own competitors in the town as well as of the large companies. Law-
474 yers are beginning to advertise themselves in newspapers as "Friends of
693 the Indians" and are in some cases specializing in this new patronage, which they receive from other communities as well as Tzoʔontahal. The professional relationship bypasses personal ties which formerly limited the development of Indian leadership.

177 The self-development occurring in Tzoʔontahal may appear paradoxical
178 if we do not understand the internal dynamics by which change is con-
474 tained within an existing equilibrium. The cooperative association has
621 been adopted as a technique for socializing the risk of making a profit.
648 The truck, although currently used in an uneconomic operation, is a sym-
[493] bol of power in the struggle for a position in the regional markets and in the intracommunity factional strifes. The usual patron-client system is being reversed as the Indian puts the Ladino on his payroll to secure evasion from the law. In the changes which are occuring, the defensive structure of the corporate community is a means by which the Indians are entering into national life not on the lowest rung of the social ladder, but on terms they are setting for themselves. In the new enterprises, the Indians combine old ploys with new strategies. Confronted with legal threats from the outside world, they play the colonial game of defensive ignorance.

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port. At his death, he had no successor, and "the town remained in peace." 665

In this first political contest, the conflict was interpreted as opposition between the dual divisions. Factional disputes and the sense of political responsibility and control were contained within these parameters, and any conflict was conceived of as a threat to territorial balancing mechanisms. 621 [829] [578]

The new factions that have developed since 1963 are tied to economic rather than territorial competition. In 1960 the first truck-owning cooperative was organized under the leadership of the former Ladino secretary. The twenty shareholders of the town had only a small amount of capital in the truck, and the controlling interest was in the hands of the secretary's wife. The cooperative was merely a device to gain business in carrying pottery and wheat from the town to the market centers. In 1963 a new truck-owning cooperative was organized by local Indians. The two brothers, Santiago and José, secured capital to buy the truck from thirty residents of the town without any assistance from outside. The shareholders of the new cooperative came from both sides of the dual division, and from the outlying barrios. 621 474 471 177 178 494

When the leaders of the new cooperative tried to get permits and certificates to license the car and the operator, they were refused by the town president who was a shareholder of the first cooperative. The Indians then hired a Ladino truck driver from the neighboring town, and the son of one of the shareholders served as assistant. They realized that it was necessary to get control of the local political positions in order to extend their operations. With the help of the schoolteacher, they got eighty-one signatures on the petition for the PRI candicacy of one of the brothers, José, in the presidential nomination of 1964. He was opposed by a ladinoized Indian living in one of the barrios who was backed by the Ladino secretary who was leader of the competing trucking cooperative. The opponent did not have a chance of winning, as the leaders of the new cooperative pointed out, because of two strikes against him: he was not a resident of the center and he had only PAN backing. The Indians are aware that nothing can be gained politically by a PAN-backed president since PRI is now the party in control of regional and national offices. 474 621 666

After José's election, the Indian truck driver was able to get a driving license. With the help of the schoolmaster, the cooperative was able to get 621 474 493

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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621
474 permission to extend operations to hot country where the Indians of the
493 town held ejido land. This territory had been controlled by the state-wide trucking sindicate whose monopoly was protected by government permits. On the basis that they were poor, nonprofit-making ejidatarios, the Indians were granted the right to truck corn from the ejido colonies to the highlands. Whenever the cooperative leaders planned to go to the departmental capital to make their appeals, the schoolmaster counseled them to wear their Indian costume—the white shirt and pants with red sash, sandals, and woolen kotonču—in order to play the role of simple campesinos more convincingly. He was aware of the effectiveness of this pose in pro-Indian governmental circles.

665 The PRI leadership in the department capital is neither aware of nor interested in the local factions which seek their support. Their concern is only that the vote is solidly behind regional and national candidates of the party, and they support the group that can mobilize the largest number of votes. A policy of favoritism toward Indians, based on an ideology of *indigenismo,* pro-Indianism, is coupled with a policy of permitting local autonomy. The national committee's program for promoting literacy has never reached this community nor any that I know of in the area. The party's promotion of Indian welfare consists of supporting demands made by Indian constituents and bringing them to the attention of civil service officials assigned to these functions. Party officials thus act as intermediaries between the voters and the bureaucracy of the government, channeling complaints and demands.

621 In the development of factions around new economic interests, the In-
177 dians have shifted from an ideology in which the dialectic of conflict was
178 cast in traditional dual-division opposition to one in which the conflict is
181 seen as Indian versus Ladino domination of enterprises. Since these interests cut across the territorial divisions, the economic factions have not crystallized along territorial lines. It is this shift in perspective which makes for the "qualitative" change in local political organization.

Competition between Caciques

622
563 There are several dimensions to the role of cacique in Tzoʾontahal. First, it is a role created by outside interests and occupied by someone mar-

mother to her daughter. Informants are able to recount the succession of 868
learning of the tasks, the relative difficulty of each task, and the mistakes 323
they made and how their mother corrected them. Being a potter in Tzoʔontahal is as much a part of being a woman as the role of agriculturalist is of being a man.

Special tasks become crystallized as roles only when few people perform 463
them. Jobs such as caponizing, butchering, net and rope weaving, and 554
wood cutting which are done by almost every man do not have role terms. Bonesetting and curing of certain "good" illnesses, such as swelling caused by embarrassment, are semispecialized activities performed by a few women who have "cold" hands. Midwifery is a fully specialized role per- [759]
formed by two women who are referred to as "the grandmothers of the newborn child."

A new occupational role has been created with the purchase of a truck 463
by Indians of the community. There are now two Indian truck drivers. 554
Recruitment of these particular young men was a result of their fathers' 177
importance in the truck-owning cooperatives, and their skill was acquired [493]
in apprenticeship with a Ladino truck driver hired when the truck was first in operation. Both of them are acculturated in clothing and speech. Since they have acquired skills in dealing with the Ladino world, they often act as intermediaries for Indians of the town in their negotiations in the market or the courts of the departmental capital.

The continuity in occupational adjustment from early childhood to 864
adulthood contrasts with the discontinuities in assuming roles in the life cycle. Girls are not advised about menstruation until they see the first signs of it; they describe their reaction to it as one of fear and surprise. Often they have been pregnant several months before they are aware of the condition or its cause, and they have no preparation for the experience of childbirth before it is upon them. Boys are not considered men until 885
they are married, but in order to arrive at this status, they must enter into 584
the "fight to get a wife," as the betrothal is often called. 585

Since recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on 554
qualities of the person rather than acquired skills, failure to recognize the prerequisite conditions of age and experience undermines the validity of

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[P. 465-B] Teklum

as with the cattle industry, is a covert cause for personal attacks on other grounds.

A third enterprise, trucking, has caused a realignment of political interests in factions associated with two truck-owning cooperatives. Membership in one of the cooperatives, or patronage of one of the two trucks, arouses the enmity of members of the other cooperative. Several threats have been made on the lives of the owners and the operators, but the only damage done has been to tires.

The tensions resulting from the introduction of these new enterprises cannot be fully measured by the deaths attributed to direct economic conflict. Wealth differences resulting from the new enterprises excite envy, and with it come accusations of witchcraft. In this community, witchcraft killing does not perform the normative function of reducing wealth differentiation that Kluckhohn saw operating among the Navaho (1944), since it is the poor man who is killed as a witch, not the rich man. The slaying of the envious witch exacerbates the economic differentiation that provides the seedbed for conflict.

Another new source of tension is found in the growing demand for political leadership or even independence from the township by the *ejido* colonies formed since land reform went into effect in 1937. The inept maneuvers of two founders of the ejido colonies in hot country resulted in two homicides (cases 12 and 18 in Table 1).[6] The increasing strength of these hamlets will mean that more attempts will be made in the future to gain political equality and/or independence. Whether this will result in increasing homicides will depend on social-control agencies external to the Indian communities.

Homicide occurring as a direct result of economic and political competition represents a new strategy in the community. The decision to kill rather than to use other negative sanctions is related to the social-control mechanisms discussed below.

Changing Mechanisms of Social Control

A system of social control rests not only on the exercise of negative sanctions, but on the sense of personal security derived from confidence in the institutions of control. In Teklum, the maintenance of control was formerly centered in the guardianship against malevolent spirits held by the ancestor spirits and the curers. The "police force," made up of ten

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323 pyramid is complete, wood is laid against the pots in a tepee formation.
[313] When the sawmill in the vicinity was in operation, flat boards—scraps of
[372] cut lengths—were used, but now only logs are available. Corn husks or
[462] dry straw are stuffed between the planks or logs. When a large number of pots are being fired, the men usually help at the final stages to remove the
[476] charred planks with poles. If men are not available, the women of the household often call upon their neighbors for help. In this operation, the
[292] women wear sandals and hats for protection from the heat. When the pots are cooled, the women, sometimes with the help of the men, stack them in net bags, six to a net with straw protecting the pots.

647 About fifteen year ago, a kiln was introduced by the government in the
177 interest of conserving wood. Those who tried it claim that the pottery did
323 not fire well and that many of the pots were broken. I.N.I. (the Instituto
372 Nacional Indigenista) planned to introduce an improved kiln, and while most of the people we questioned expressed a willingness to try it, the proposal was never put into action.

462 The men do most of the marketing of pottery. Loads of one or two
442 dozen may be taken by bus or truck to San Cristóbal or to Comitán.
443 When there is large-scale production throughout the community, as occurs
494 just before major fiestas, truckers come from the neighboring town of Teopisca to contract for delivery.

592 The amount of pottery produced in households varies with the follow-
323 ing factors:
433

1. Household composition: (a) Number of women in the family.
[464] If there is only one woman, very little or no pottery is produced because of the demands of domestic duties. Households with two or more women are able to sustain the ideal output of at least a dozen water jugs a week (I use "ideal" here to suggest their notion of what they produce when asked to guess. As Fig. 2 indicates, this varies considerably during the
[887] year.) (b) Age of women and ages of children. Older women over sixty do not independently undertake pottery production. They may assist in washing pots with corn gruel or making the neck, mouth, and handles, but they are unable to endure the harder task of collecting clay. A woman with infants under two years of age makes little pottery if

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usual, and seeing the pesos, picked them up. The "spirit of the money" left the village forever. The story reveals not only the sense of deprivation Indians feel in losing wealth to Ladinos (historically land the Indians had lost through fraud or legal trickery during the Porfirio Diaz period), but also their realization of their own responsibility for letting their assets slip out of their control.

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members entry to the ejido colony, an area where traffic was formerly excluded because of the monopoly by the large trucking companies. Both the fruit and root of chayote are sold in August by some families who have a supply over consumption needs. It is brought along with pottery to the market of San Cristóbal where it is sold to *regatones,* retail sellers who have stalls.

Decisions as to what crops to plant are not responsive to market fluctuation. With the major emphasis on subsistence crops, the farmers have little margin of land on which to experiment with profitable but risky ventures. They have little knowledge or experience. There are no full-time specialists in market operations, although the truck drivers may gradually assume a greater role in this respect.

Very few Indians of the region, and none of those in Tzoʔontahal sell corn to the National Warehouses (Almacenes Nacionales de Deposito), although the warehouses offer prices higher than the going market price for corn. (940 pesos per ton in comparison to 500 to 600 pesos at harvest or 800 pesos offered a few months later by wholesalers who come to town). The reason for their failure to take advantage of the higher market price is that they do not have sufficiently large crops to pay the transportation costs of 28.75 pesos or the "tip" to ensure that their crops will not be declared substandard because of impurities, rotten kernels, insects, or excessive water content. In addition to that, they must spend time at the warehouses and in traveling. The alternative to the sale of crops to national warehouses is sale to wholesalers.

Dealing with external agencies. Entering into competitive areas where they were formerly excluded, the Indians are encountering opposition from competitors and are the prey of departmental and state government agents. The reduplication of bureaucracies at the state and departmental level means that they will be subject to the double "bite" or *mordida* if they pursue their enterprises. Operating on minimal capital, they are not able to fulfill all the requirements, or buy all the necessary permits and licenses. Because of monopolization of certain traffic by the larger syndicates of truck owners, they proceed without permits and are often caught.

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In this first political contest, the conflict was interpreted as opposition 621 between the dual divisions. Factional disputes and the sense of political re- [829] sponsibility and control were contained within these parameters, and any [578] conflict was conceived of as a threat to territorial balancing mechanisms.

The new factions that have developed since 1963 are tied to economic 621 rather than territorial competition. In 1960 the first truck-owning coopera- 474 tive was organized under the leadership of the former Ladino secretary. 471 The twenty shareholders of the town had only a small amount of capital 177 in the truck, and the controlling interest was in the hands of the secre- 178 tary's wife. The cooperative was merely a device to gain business in car- 494 rying pottery and wheat from the town to the market centers. In 1963 a new truck-owning cooperative was organized by local Indians. The two brothers, Santiago and José, secured capital to buy the truck from thirty residents of the town without any assistance from outside. The shareholders of the new cooperative came from both sides of the dual division, and from the outlying barrios.

When the leaders of the new cooperative tried to get permits and certifi- 474 cates to license the car and the operator, they were refused by the town 621 president who was a shareholder of the first cooperative. The Indians then 666 hired a Ladino truck driver from the neighboring town, and the son of one of the shareholders served as assistant. They realized that it was necessary to get control of the local political positions in order to extend their operations. With the help of the schoolteacher, they got eighty-one signatures on the petition for the PRI candicacy of one of the brothers, José, in the presidential nomination of 1964. He was opposed by a ladinoized Indian living in one of the barrios who was backed by the Ladino secretary who was leader of the competing trucking cooperative. The opponent did not have a chance of winning, as the leaders of the new cooperative pointed out, because of two strikes against him: he was not a resident of the center and he had only PAN backing. The Indians are aware that nothing can be gained politically by a PAN-backed president since PRI is now the party in control of regional and national offices.

After José's election, the Indian truck driver was able to get a driving li- 621 cense. With the help of the schoolmaster, the cooperative was able to get 474 493

these apparently irrelevant comments reveal the 621 *
power play going on behind the scene of the ritual. 178

The observed schedule for the civil inauguration 124
(App. 1, column 4) differed from the elicited in four details. The first of these was an item omitted by both informants: after liquor was served in the house of the president, the entire company stood up and "turned toward the wall" (App. 1, Q. 20). When I questioned my informant, he corrected the orientation "toward the wall" and said that they were turning toward the east in deference to the leader of all the saints of the east, led by Santo Aɣio. He said that it was done in all household celebrations in order "to be sure that the devil does not enter." Belief concerning these saints is fragmentary, and perhaps because [776] of this, behavior relating to them is not easily recalled. These behavioral sherds, when cut off from the belief system they once dramatized, survive in "perpetuating the custom of the ancestors" *(hič sluwar hič likem meʔtiktatik)*.

Another detail not mentioned by informants was 124
the presence in the house of the president of the rural 632
colonia inhabitants (Chart 6). This omission is typi- 622
cal of the neglect in reporting the activity or presence 574
of anyone other than residents of the center. When I asked what they were doing there, I was told they came "to know the president."

Finally, an important divergence from expected 621 *
behavior occurred when the schoolteacher, instead of 875
the secretary, delivered the oath of office. This change 178
was evidence of the schoolteacher's success in a fac- 578
tional struggle developing around new economic enterprises in the town. The former Ladino secretary 621 *
was in close alliance with the former president and 578
had supporters in the group of 20 co-owners, In- 494
dians from the village, of the truck when he had 875
purchased. When the incoming president with his 494
brother bought a truck with the assistance of 30 members of a truck-owning cooperative, a new focus for factional strife appeared in the town. The new cooperative was supported by the schoolteacher in his own bid for power. When the truck owners ran into any difficulty with the highway patrol, carrying wood or passengers without permit, the driver would refer them to the schoolteacher, who would then claim it

[P. 222-B]

was done at his order for the school.[11] The new co- 621*
operative was harassed by the old group, since the 578
president did everything in his power to cut down 474
their competition. As fiscal, his other role, he maneu- 494
vered the appointment of the chief business agent of [875]
the new truck cooperative and three other members [622]
as *niẽ'anil martomaetik*, junior caretakers of the [794]
saints. This meant that their Sundays were occupied
in church affairs and cut into their taxiing of passengers from Tzoʔontahal to Himsol, the neighboring Ladino town.

The nomination of the president was effected by 621*
winning the support of the Partido Revolucionario 665
Institucional (PRI). Supporters of the nominee se- 666
cured over 85 signatures from townspeople; the op- 622
position candidate failed to get more than 28. Once 578
PRI support was obtained, the election on November
20 was assured since one-party rule prevails here as in the capital. This is the first election which has been contested in 10 years. The last contest came when some members of the barrio of Yut' hok became members of the minor party, Partido Acción Nacional (PAN). Because this group and their presidential candidate all came from one side of the dual division, Alannantik, those from the other side said that they should have a party representative. They drew up a plan to run a candidate on PRI. The PAN candidate won. The present contest was drawn on [474]
the basis of membership in the truck-owning cooperatives which cut across the dual division.

The present nominee did not want to run for office. 666
Early in the running there were verbal threats on his 622
life. He had never passed in any office other than that 578
of president of the ejido commission, and although the office of president is not a rung in the ladder to office, it is expected that the incumbent would at least have experience as síndico. Three sources of opposi- 666
tion to his candidacy developed. First in importance 622
was the original trucking cooperative, which objected 578
to the competition of the president and his faction 474
in the new cooperative. Second, these members 548
spread the rumor that the new president would bring in federal agents to break up the liquor traffic, which was becoming one of Tzoʔontahal's most important economic self-development projects. Thus all the distillers were apprehensive of their future under his term of office. Third, there was opposition on the

[11] Siverts (1964) describes Ladinos' "competition for each others' Indians in Cancuc."

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621 Among its duties are those of 46 keeping vital statistics for
[659] the National Population Bureau which are sent to the state office,
[692] solving cases of adultery and theft, collecting the fiesta and
[351] Eiido taxes, keeping the streets clean, building and repairing
[363]
[491] roads and public buildings, and also taking charge of the local
[490]
[344] jail. Ayuntamiento officers are also called in to prevent or solve
[754] witchcraft cases and give advice and reprimands to misbehaving
[626] wives, sons and other relatives when the household or the responsible relatives cannot deal with the case on their own.

621 423 432 434 The Ayuntamiento also keeps its own corn field, worked by communal labor, whose crop is sold to collect funds for its own expenses.

794 The Mayordomia, or religious body, performs the formal activities on the religious holidays, is the custodian of the sacred objects (rockets, church keys, bells) connected with the Church, and the authority which carries out the tasks required by all of man's peaceful relations with the supernatural on the village level.

They are responsible as a group for the upkeep of the Church building and saint images, and the preparations for and the performance of Church Fiestas, regular church meetings, etc. Among their duties are those of providing meals for the priest while he is in town, helping during mass, contracting musicians and collecting the Church limosna during mass.

621 This structural level lacks monopoly of either of these functions in relation to other less inclusive social units. Social control and religious activity are carried on at the level of the barrio, the extended family, and within the household, and religious activity can be carried on by individuals.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

tied by a string carried down to an arched stick, H, stuck in the ground. This string, by holding down the far ends, counterbalances the weight of the fall at the other ends. At the end of the string the cross-stick, D, holds it against the arch; it, in turn, is held by the trigger, C, one end of which braces against it, the other end against the far side of the trap, passing under the deadfall. A circular fence of sticks prevents an animal from getting at the outer part of the trap. A straight fence on the other side of the fall necessitates its entering through the entrance, AA, to get at the bait, B, on the trigger. The animal dislodges the trigger, releasing D and with it the string. The outer ends of the sticks fly up, and the weighted log falls. In the rat trap, the log and stones came to at least three kilograms, arranged to fall through a space of about ten centimeters, other traps being in proportion. 224

When hunting with a gun, a red fruit called *ahoon* is frequently rubbed on the shot, and *palma bendita, tcul-těc-wil can,* the palm used in church decorations, is used for the wad. This prevents the bullet "from getting tired" before it reaches its mark. [824]

Meat obtained while hunting, if it cannot be carried immediately to the house, is dried on a rack, *tcax.* 251

The primary method of carrying goods of all kinds is by the tump-line, for which, as has been said in the discussion of physical and other characteristics, these people are very well adapted. The tump-line, *pak,* is a broad strip of inner bark, or of cow-hide. For their ordinary uses, this is a single strip, the ends being attached to a net (q. v.) of their own manufacture. When a package too bulky for the net is carried, a long strap is used with the ends tied together. This is looped through itself, around the package, so that it hangs in two slings. Additional straps may be attached to the line where it passes over the ears, to wrap around the sides of the burden. A flat piece of cowhide, *tcokHax,* is worn against the back, to protect the carrier from the chafing of his load. Both men and women use the tump-line, the carrying of objects on the head being unusual. 482

Formerly the Indians of this district are said to have owned a good many mules and horses for packing, which they lost during the recent political disturbances. Many of them know something about packing. At present, however, few if any own cattle of any kind. 492 [078]

The highland rivers do not, on the whole, lend themselves to water travel, although the Bachajon territory reaches to the Bascan, Tulija, and other more amenable water-ways. Canoes are known only as introductions of German or Ladino ranchers. The natives use a 487 501 [077]

501 raft, *poi*, to cross rivers or make very short trips. The specimen observed at *Hol-ha'* (Head of the Water), was made of five cork logs averaging 22 centimeters in diameter and 3.25 meters long, held together by two cross-sticks lashed on with lianas. There was some space between each log, the width of the raft being 1.25 meters. It had a definite bow and stern, the logs at the forward end being cut to an edge, "to cut the water." These rafts are propelled by a pole, preferably of mahogany, the one observed being 2.50 meters long. They are moored by thrusting the pole through a crack between two of the logs, into the bottom of the stream.

648 As one would expect, the old, complicated organization of priests and rulers, the aristocracy of pre-Conquest days, has been utterly swept away. Today, in their social organization, one may trace a little of the feeling of the old times, but the system is the creature of Spanish contact. On the haciendas there are no native officials save those who preside over the fiestas. The owner of the hacienda maintains a patriarchal sway over his workmen, governing them in every respect. Among the village tribes at Bachajon and Sivacá life is still influenced by the obligation to work for the government or the ranchers, although the independent nature of the Indians has won for them a good deal of self-government. Those of the Bachajon living on land belonging to ranches find themselves under a dual system, although the scattered location of their dwellings, deep in the jungles, minimizes the power of the Ladinos.

621 The tribes are very different from those of North America. From our brief observation, it appears as though there was none of that deep feeling of loyalty towards the group, of essential, almost mystic unity with the other members that characterizes our own Indians. Similar customs, common interest, and geographical proximity hold each Tzeltal group together; bonds that are easily broken. [609] Should an outsider attack the common weal by seizure of land or [578] by any other infringements, he will find the tribe solidly united against him, but at the same time it may be, and often is divided 627 within itself by many quarrels. The Bachajon carry out long feuds between families and individuals in the form of occasional murders. These have their origin in delayed retribution for some wrong received by one party from the other, for which, in turn, there is retaliation, and so on indefinitely.

For instance, the murder committed while we were at Encanto was the climax of a long-nursed grudge, and almost immediately afterwards there were indications that from that fight would arise 648 many others. Occasional attacks on ranchers are also usually carried

805 lating the time of day; when I questioned them as to the hour, they were often as much as an hour off, usually behind.

Most activities are ordered with reference to the Gregorian calendar, but the twenty-day Maya calendrical month, defined as "twenty days or a month" is used in much the same way that we use "a fortnight." The In-
805 dians consider the moon to be an uncertain indicator of time, since "she
821 does not walk well." But the moon is important in the culture: people note its different phases and are especially aware of the phase under which a child is born—an important sign for the newborn's future. If a baby is
[856] born at the full moon, he is expected to mature more readily. The full
[787] moon also signifies a propitious time for undertaking certain activities, such as cutting wood for the main posts of a house and cutting palm for the roof.

The Daily Schedule

512 Daily activities are organized by traditional economic pursuits. The
462 woman is the first one to rise in the morning. She gets up at dawn, lights
[252] the fire, and sets a jar of water to boil for coffee. She grinds the nixtamal cooked the night before on the stone grinding board, or takes it to the mill
[412] in the center. She then makes tortillas either by hand or with a press; a re-
[177] cent innovation made of two hinged pieces of wood in which the ball of
[178] dough is set between pieces of plastic paper.

The men of the household are served first, followed by the boys; the
[264] women and girls eat last. As soon as they have eaten, the men and boys who have finished the required three years of schooling go out to the
[481] fields to work. They walk single file even in the streets of the town, the fa-
[482] ther preceding his sons. Each carries a machete, net bag, tumpline, and sheepskin back-protector if he plans to carry any loads. Many bring shot-
[411] guns as well in order to hunt for field rats, raccoon, or the burrowing ani-
[224] mals they find in the fields.

After the men leave, the women go to the porch and "seize their work."
[857] The children go to school, which begins at eight-thirty in the morning
[872] and continues until five o'clock in the evening. They return home for
[264] lunch, a meal of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans or chayote when it is in season.

Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *sacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

175 632 466 communal projects for the neighboring town as there had been formerly. The peasant is master of his own time.

125 221 512 Tables 33 and 34 summarize the number of days and percentage of time accorded to various activities for men of two households. The first family consists of a man forty-three years of age and his wife. All of their own children died in infancy, and an adopted daughter recently left home to live with her husband and child in a new ejido plot. The second family consists of a man, his wife, two adult sons, and an unmarried daughter. In this family, the father of sixty-five is retired and his two sons perform all of the agricultural work. Table 34 includes only the activities of the sons. 125 221 The two schedules provide some contrasts:

461 462 561 1. The forty-three-year-old man has many more ceremonial obligations than the youths. This is a factor related to the life cycle in which men over thirty-five years of age are involved in more familial and community celebrations. During the year this schedule was taken, the man was serving as a mayordomo.

2. The older man has fewer productively employed days than the youths (only 54 percent of his time is spent in productive activities) in contrast to 76 percent and 79 percent for the youths). The difference is accounted for by wage employment the youths have undertaken. In order to pay for the cost of betrothal, the elder son worked 56 days (37 percent of the time accounted for) in a neighboring sawmill.

3. The youths were not involved in any exchange labor arrangements; until they become independent heads of households working their own fields, the men do not contract reciprocal exchanges.

221 461 462 796 The fact that men spend only 54 to 79 percent of their time (using these tables to provide minimal and maximal limits) on productive activities means that there is a great deal of flexibility in the use of time for ceremonial responsibilities. Everyone takes an average of twenty days off for celebrating fiestas in addition to fifty-two Sundays.

241 461 [796] The high proportion of time spent in family or communal ceremonials suggests the high value placed on them. The preference for leisure to pursue these activities is proved in cases such as that in which the additional profit in cultivating cabbages was not sufficient to motivate one agricultur-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 316]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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461
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TABLE 33. Activity Schedule for September 1 to June 29 of Man Owning 1 Hectare of Land and 2 Ejido Plots of ½ Hectare Each

Activity	*Days spent*	*Percent of total time*
Agriculture		46
Preparing land		
Clearing irrigation ditches	12	
Repairing and mending fences	11½	
Clearing land by cutting and burning brush	11	
Irrigating land	8	
Plowing	11	
Planting	6	
Cultivating crops	21	
Guarding crops against animals and birds	3	
Harvesting	34	
Milling sugarcane	8	
Exchange labor	13	
Walking to hot country	4	
Hunting for and tending animals	25½	9
Collecting firewood	13	5
Religious activities		23
Performing duties as mayordomo	26	
Attending Sunday mass and cleaning church	24	
Fiestas, attending mass, participating in playing drum, flute, etc.	21	
Kinship and social obligations		6
Attending funerals	7	
Attending curing ceremonials	3	
Attending betrothal ceremonials	5	
Helping in house-building	1	
Marketing		3
Buying	9	
Selling	1	
Communal labor		2
Cleaning irrigation ditches	1	
Repairing threshing shelter	4	
Business affairs of cooperative	4	1
Assisting town officials	4	1
Outside work	12	4
TOTAL	303	100

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

241 461 ist to continue growing this labor-intensive crop (Chapter 2). The low propensity to consume, maintained by community-shared standards which inhibit the display of wealth, further reduces the incentives to expand production (Schultz 1964:27). The major reward for hard work is land which, in his middle years, the agriculturalist can turn over to be worked by his sons, thus relieving him of daily toil.

221 461 462 • 512

TABLE 34. Activity Schedule for September 1 to February 28 for Two Unmarried Youths

Activity	*Younger brother* *Days spent*	*Younger brother* *Percent of total time*	*Elder brother* *Days spent*	*Elder brother* *Percent of total time*
Agriculture		41		25
Preparing land				
Clearing land by cutting and burning brush	26		6	
Irrigating land	3		3	
Plowing land	1		1	
Planting	1		1	
Harvesting crop	11		7	
Doubling over stalks	4		4	
Working in hot country	16		16	
Collecting firewood	6	4	2	1
House maintenance		12		6
Plastering house walls	13		6	
Bringing lumber	2		2	
Making pigpen	3		2	
Pottery		1		1
Bringing clay	2		2	
Agricultural work for others		8		8
Harvesting and carrying corn	3		3	
Plowing	2		2	
Planting	6		7	
Nonagricultural work in sawmill	16	11	56	37
Religious activities		18		21
Attending fiestas	3		3	
Attending mass and relaxing on Sundays	25		28	
Sickness	8	5		
TOTAL	151	100	151	100

571 is accepted. Precipitous action on either side reveals a weakness of which
805 the other party might take advantage, or which might even stop pro-
[584] cedures.

Timing of activities is so specific that it can be read as an equation of social relations: People who come to the house after nightfall are either intimate members of the family, or are members of the circle of me?tiktatik invited for a special household celebration—night is the time when spirits wander, not a time for casual visiting. Arrival of the betrothal party at the [584] house of the girl's parents after ten o'clock in the morning indicates that the suit has been accepted.

571 Sequential timing expresses relative prestige and a sense of priority. In
805 "raising" the officials for the official ceremonies, the lowest ranks of
554 officials rise first to go to the house and awaken each of their companions
562 in order of rank. The sequence in serving order has already been discussed with respect to rank and prestige. Another principle of sequence operates at a more subtle level: women go before men when there is expectation of a fight since their presence evokes less hostility. This is evident in the be-
[584] trothal: the me? ʔom precedes the mam c'om in the initial proceedings
[579] when strong resistance and hostility is anticipated. When drunken fights start during house ceremonies, women intercede with calming effect.

641 Time always is on the side of the Indians when they wish to resist na-
829 tional orders. Verbal agreements to pay fines imposed or to assist federal
805 agents in the capture of criminals are frequently followed by deliberate negligence in carrying out the orders. Usually the order is forgotten or in-
[647] terest wanes at a higher level. Government agencies such as the INI learned to bide their time much as the Indians did. Expecting opposition to any proposed change, they waited for the initial reaction to die down, and then proceeded as support from those who benefited overcame internal resistence.

461 When called upon to perform jobs that require regular appointments,
464 the Indians respond easily to the daily scheduling. Resistance comes
512 against scheduled requirements that involve long spans of time and inter-
805 fere with communal and familial ceremonies. Work away from home is undertaken only on the premise that it will be of limited duration. This
[181] control over their own time is a value which Indians will not easily yield.

415 containers made of jícara (*boch*) or tecomate (*tzu*). In the bedroom is a bed
352 (*uaybal*) made of boards placed on four
[513] forked poles, usually with a sleeping mat
[735] on it. Only the very poor sleep on mats on the floor. Small chairs, wooden chests for
[415] clothes, baskets of all shapes and sizes, pita bags and nets, shelves made of wood ribs, and pegs for hanging clothes are scattered around the hut without order.

353 The most important article is the altar
798 with the family cross. Its construction varies in different areas: it may be a plain small table made of tree trunks or better material. The altar is generally ornamented with pine needles. Occasionally, the figure of a saint is placed by the cross.

Clothing and Ornaments

291 Each community has its own style of
184 clothing, which gives a sense of unity to its members and permits the observer to identify easily the groups during fiestas or market days. This variety applies only to a few items of clothing, which is basically the
291 same for the entire region. Men's costume consists of short pants (*uesh*) and a long shirt (*nátil-kú*) which reaches the knee, both made of cloth that women weave; a red sash or belt (*chuj-chut*) of cotton, 10–15 cm. wide by 1.5 m. long; a palm hat (*pishol*); and leather sandals (*shanabil*). Residents of cold areas wear a woolen chamarra which is manufactured by the Chamulas. Women's costume consists of a skirt made of wool (*tzek*) or blue thick cloth, made in one piece and wrapped around the body with two pleats in front; it is belted at the waist by a red wool sash, which the Chamulas manufacture. Occasionally, they
301 wear a wool rebozo. They tie their hair with a red woolen ribbon (*malal*) and wear earrings (*yulel-chikinil*) and glass necklaces
291 (*ual*) bought in the city. Women always go barefoot, even during long trips. When outdoors they cover their heads with a cloth or wool fabric.

[184] Each municipio has made of these clothes
[P.208-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

to admit to having a weak one would admit weakness in magic and all other things, and set one's enemies immediately to work with the certainty of success. 776 756

Although the idea prevails among the Ladino people of Chiapas that the *nagual* and the soul are the same, in reality they are quite distinct. The soul, *lap*, is conceived of as a separate possession, distinct also from the principle of life, both in its conception and etimologically ("life"—*kucul*). This soul is a delicate thing, easily lost, and the object of many ceremonial precautions. Apparently it dwells within the body, but may be jarred loose, or lost in whole or in part. 774

Apropos of this, the Yocotan curse, given in Volume I, Chapter VI, a prayer to get hold of a man's soul, shows a similar idea. The damage is not done by catching the soul, but by the magic that may be worked on the man after it is caught. Save for the immortality which the Indian enjoys through it after death, his soul may be regarded as much more of a liability than an asset.

If an Indian falls down, the shock of the fall loosens his soul. He must lie where he is until his companions, or the next comers, place a circle of little crosses of grass about him. They then sweep up the trail behind him, gathering the dust and placing it in a heap by his head. On this the grass crosses are burned, and the Indian, inhaling the smoke, regains his soul.

It should be mentioned that these are a very sure-footed people, who seldom fall, and that no importance is attached to falling down when intoxicated.

In case of severe fright, the soul is also thought of as jarred loose. To cure this, an egg or a chicken is buried at the spot where the fright occurred. There is some idea of fright being caused by a spirit that must be placated, an idea which is differently expressed in a custom described as common among the Chol Indians near Palenque. With them, if a child is frightened, the mother beats it soundly, meantime crying "Go away, devil, go away, devil!" (*Que sale el diablo!*") In this case fright is definitely a form of possession. It is part of a conception found among many of the Mayance tribes that there is something unnatural and supernatural about a sudden shock of this sort. Being startled must be distinguished from merely being afraid of something, which is considered entirely natural and comprehensible.

On the trail the Indians sleep on beds of palm leaves which take an impression of the sleeper's body. Before going on, these leaves must be shaken out, and should also be held over the smoke of the [513]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

774 fire and then hung up to destroy the impression and prevent leaving
[513] behind with it a portion of the soul, on which magic could be worked. Our own observation was that this precaution was carelessly observed.

789 Although magic may be worked on impressions on leaves, bits of
123 hair, earth from fields, etc., the Indians showed no objection at all to being photographed beyond a certain embarrassment, and very little to being drawn. Often they asked to be photographed, and at some villages posed readily for sketches.

756 Although, according to Nuñez de la Vega,* there were originally several classes of shamans among these tribes, at present they seem to have narrowed down to one medicine-man type. Primarily these are doctors, but in their practice they preserve certain priestly char-
756 acteristics. They have a real pharmacopeia, and Ladinos and oc-
757 casional foreigners who have tried their skill testify to the effectiveness of the medicines.† All their knowledge, however, is kept in greatest secrecy. Just enough medicine is administered at once for a dose, the shaman watching to see that it is consumed, and none held out for identification. Of these we were able to find out virtually nothing. Serpent fat, *junto-tcan*, is in common use as a rub for colds. Head-aches and extreme drunkenness are treated by cutting the forehead with a bit of sharp glass, and bleeding is resorted to in some other cases. The use of the tourniquet in cases of snake-bite is widely known.

All applications of medicine are accompanied by prayers recited in such a way as to be unintelligible to lay hearers. The prayers are an essential part of the treatment.

756 Shamans are trained from early infancy, being selected probably by the older practitioners. One of them takes the student in hand and teaches him prayers and medicines proper to his particular specialty. With this goes a certain amount of plain magic. Whether a man may then study under others and continue learning is not known; however, they vary in reputation both for their ability at curing, and for clairvoyance, casting spells, etc. Casting spells is a sort of reverse function of doctoring, the man who can cure disease being, obviously, able also to cause it.

[273] One of the two words given for a shaman, *poci'*, shows an interesting resemblance to the Tzeltal for rum, *poc*. This similarity gains importance in view of the real connection between curing and drinking. A shaman definitely will not perform unless he is more

*Op. Cit.
†Cf. Sapper, 1925.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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342 177 178 434 of witchcraft. Today probably 95 percent of the new roofs are made of tile. Often the old roofs cannot be replaced with tile because the rafters were not built to support them. One result of the change has been the depend-
[335] ence on a carpenter to construct the gables, since they have to be lined up more accurately than they do with thatch or palm roofs.

361 351 434 House lots in the town center are preferred to those on the margins. As residents of house sites on the ejido lands at the margins of the town acquire wealth, one of the first things they try to do is acquire a house closer to the plaza. These lots are smaller, averaging about 500 square meters, while those farther out average 900 square meters. In a sample measurement of 100 house lots, the size ranged from 180 to 1,440 square meters, and the average size was 77 square meters. Considering the advantages of
[554] a large lot in growing chile fruits and corn, the preference for smaller central lots reveals the strong prestige factor influencing choice.

352 435 House furnishings include both purchased and homemade items. Sleeping accommodations consist of wooden bedboards, either nailed on a frame or simply laid on blocks and covered with a straw mat. Woolen
[513] blankets from Comitán are sold locally at a price of 24 pesos or for 20 pesos in San Cristóbal and 18 pesos in Comitán. Most households own two or three wooden benches which line the walls of the porch and are made locally. Small chairs are purchased from Chamula carpenters at a cost of 2 to 4 pesos, as well as a small table costing about 4. A higher table
[778] is provided for the saints' pictures and candle holders, incense burner, and
[322] flower vases or tin cans. Hooks are fashioned from the crotch of trees and suspended on the house posts. Wooden boxes are bought from Ladino car-
415 435 439 penters in San Cristóbal at a cost of 10 to 20 pesos depending on size and workmanship and are used to store clothing. In addition to the homemade water holders, water carriers, comales, strainers, and bowls, handmade glazed ware from San Cristóbal, factory-made porcelain dishes, metal cooking pots, knives, and spoons are purchased. Gourds provide serving
[412] ware for ceremonial occasions. Stone grinding platforms and rollers are purchased in San Cristóbal for about 10 pesos. Two new items have become increasingly popular in the past five years: a metal grinding machine
435 415 for corn, hand operated and costing from 40 to 60 pesos depending on the
177 size and quality, and a hinged press for tortillas, costing 15 pesos if made

must announce his arrival at the gate so that the mother can cover the child from view. In this period, the mother sleeps with the child apart from her husband. 846 [513]

Infants remain swaddled in wrapped skirt pieces—the woman's sash is not used after the first fifteen days—throughout the first year of life. Their arms are bound to their sides by kerchiefs crossed over the chest and drawn around the back with the ends tucked in; this makes it easier to carry the child on the back, wrapped in a large carrying cloth. Mothers sometimes lay sleeping infants on their bed when they are working in the house, but much of the time they carry them on their backs. 854

The child is given corn gruel to supplement nursing during his third or fourth month. Weaning may be consciously done after the child reaches the age of one and a half or two years. If the child persists in trying to nurse, the mother may put chile sauce or draw a face on her breasts to discourage him. 853 862

Much of the care of children from two to four years of age is done by elder siblings. Both girls and boys of from seven to ten years of age carry younger siblings in a carrying cloth on their backs, even when playing very active games. They pacify the child by holding a flower or twig for him to chew or grasp, and they usually share with him any cookies or scraps of food they are given. 855 857

School is commonly considered the most joyful time of a person's life. There the children, especially boys, make friendships which last throughout life. School recess is a time for unrestrained running, shouting, and laughter such as I have rarely seen in the houseyards when children play together. 871 857

In teaching their children how to work, parents are expected to inculcate not only competence but also a sense of the value of work, for industry is one of the most esteemed traits in both boys and girls. Small girls do errands for their mothers from the age of about four years. When a woman is occupied with pottery, she rarely disturbs herself to get needed items, but calls upon her children to fetch a pot which is out of reach or to bring water for the painting. She gives these orders in a quiet undertone, and I have never seen any need to prompt or cajole the child into fulfilling the errand. By the age of ten or eleven, girls begin to make small pots like 867 857 868 323

made in speaking of toddlers: boys are called *htatil* and girls *kantxil*. 554
After five years of age, a boy is referred to as *č'in kerem*, "little boy" and a 561
girl as *č'in ?ačil*, "little girl." The term for younger sibling, *kihtx'in*, 562
which is extended to all of the people younger than oneself on one's own 192
side of the dual division, is not sex marked, but the terms for all people [801]
older than oneself are. Sexual segregation begins at the age of five in sleep- [513]
ing arrangements as well as in public gatherings, when little boys stand [593]
with their fathers. The modifier "č'in" is dropped after the age of nine, and the terms "kerem" and "ačil" are used until marriage. At the age of fifteen, a girl is referred to as *?antx wištal*, "just arriving at womanhood," and when she is married she is classified as an *?antx*, or woman. A boy is referred to as a kerem until he is married, when he is called *ał' winik* or "new man." A woman with children is referred to as *me?eliš*, and is a full-fledged member of her sex, the *me?il*. A man's reference term does not change with paternity. When a young unmarried man dies, people say with sorrow that it was a pity "he did not try out life," and that "he did not try out a woman."

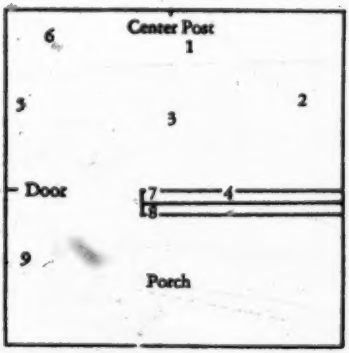
In her youth a woman's role is tied to the reproductive cycle, but after 554
menopause she is released from the restrictions of childbearing women. 561
She need not appear as modest in public, and can drink and dance at fies- 562
tas. A noticeable personality change can be seen as women move out of the chrysalis of their reproductive cycle. Some older women begin to take [831]
a keen interest in sex, and widows in particular may have sexual relations with young unmarried men. It is after menopause that a woman takes her first role in ceremonials as a woman speaker.

In the man's life cycle, leadership roles are related to age. Paternal roles [593]
are the prototype for both familial and public authority positions. Thus [821]
the term for father, *tat* is the stem for the term for leader, *statal*. [192]

In the relationship between the sexes, women are considered to be under 562
the control of a male protector, either their father or husband. However, 593
there is a kind of equality between the sexes which is not found in Ladino society. Usually there is only a small age difference between husband and [582]
wife, even in second marriages, and parents resist giving a young unmarried girl to an older previously married man. Mutual respect is stressed in the advice given by elders at marriage. There is no double standard for ex-

342 women sit inside in a semicircle. A house without a closed-in porch is re-
[196] ferred to as a "cattle house" since it is considered inadequate for entertain-
[621] ing guests at ceremonial affairs. Townspeople prefer to choose as higher
[574] officials those who have houses with porches to accommodate visitors.

Fig. 8. Interior of a House



1. Seat of honor for women
2. Bed area for women of house
3. Hearth
4. Bench area for relatives of house
5. Bench area for visiting men
6. Mats or wooden board for visiting women
7. Honor seat for men (when inside house)
8. Honor seat for men outside house
9. Resting areas for male helpers

592 Each member of the household has his place for sleeping, eating, and sit-
[513] ting. The youngest child sleeps with his parents, and older children sleep with siblings of the same sex or with their grandparents. Newly married couples living with their parents prefer to sleep in the cook shack if there
[264] is a separate structure. At mealtime, men and boys sit on small wooden
[352] chairs at a miniature table placed against the wall separating the interior from the porch, while women and girls kneel on straw mats near the hearth.

342 Reference points inside the house (Fig. 8) are the center post where the
352
562
574
796

Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

858 mother's womb, and they compete for survival with other small
854 babies who live close by (one of the two is likely to die). They
754 are extremely susceptible to the mal de ojo (evil eye)[1] because their souls are tender, and they are, for the same reason, easy victims of witchcraft exercised against their parents. During the first few months of life, they are protected and cared for with innumerable precautions: they are covered up when strangers enter the house, attended at the slightest sign of distress, and
[53] rarely taken out of the sitio. Until another child is born, they sleep with the parents on the same petate (mat) or bed.

855 When a mother is ready to have a new baby, the younger
862 one is given to an elder sister or grandmother with whom it can sleep. The baby is also weaned at this time. The separation of the child from the mother is an open traumatic experience, and parents admit that children get sick and even die as a result of "jealousy." Nevertheless, no direct attempt is made to smooth the emotional disturbances or the developing sibling rivalry in

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[1]The evil eye has been described innumerable times for
[826] Middle America. In the Chiapas Highlands it is a sickness caused
[843] by a person with strong or "hot" eyes, who looks at the victim.
[841] Evil eye "carriers" are not necessarily aware of their power, but some individuals are consciously included in this category: pregnant women, menstruating women, and people with glasses or light eyes, or with very deep set eyes. To avoid giving "mal de ojo," the producer has to touch the person who can be a victim. If a menstruating woman distractedly looks at a small baby, she will immediately put her hand on the baby's forehead, to retrieve from him her power, and not make him sick.

The same procedure of touching the person is done if the other person feels that he is unwillingly "envying" the first one, and can be an unconscious witchcraft mediator. For example, if a married woman without babies sees another woman's baby, she will touch him to show that she is not "envying" the mother, and therefore, there is no danger that she will "steal" the baby's soul or make him sick with her envy.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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342 construction used thatch or palm leaves carried from hot country. These
177 cost only the price of renting a horse, if it was necessary, for transporta-
435 tion. Roofs made of these materials have to be replaced every seven or
[492] eight years. Each rethatching requires three days' work with four or five helpers, and the houseowner must provide a meal for them and their families. He spends about 25 pesos for meat and uses two or three liters of corn; the total cost is about 75 pesos. Another kind of roof is made of wooden shingles bought in the neighboring town. These are fixed to the housetops with wooden pegs, and the total cost is about 200 pesos. This lasts ten or twelve years with replacement of individual shingles. Tile roofs have the highest initial cost, 800 pesos, but the lowest maintenance in labor.

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TABLE 13. Construction Costs for House, 1965

	Cost (pesos)
Supplies	
Roof tiles (1,000)	800
Posts and poles	*
Planks	40
Door	100
Window frame	30
Services	
Transportation of tiles	30
Transportation of posts and poles	206
Carpenter	50
Food for helpers	75
TOTAL	1,331

* Obtained free from communal woods.

342 House walls are preferably made of mud mixed with lime poured into an interlacing of cane poles set between the house posts and tied with a handmade fiber rope. Another temporary type of construction, which does not offer as good insulation, is made of board planks. Sweatbaths are
343 made by digging out a floor about 2.5 meters square, raising stones in an
[514] oval shape over this, and plastering them with mud. The I.N.I. tried to in-
[647] troduce latrines, but no more than a half dozen of the cement toilet seats
[177] they gave away as demonstrators were put into use. Latrines are consid-
[231] ered to be dirty since the pigs and dogs cannot scavenge the feces.

The townspeople feel that they own the church, and many resent the intrusion of the priest who resides sometimes two or three days a week in the adjoining rectory. In the past five years, however, the priest has succeeded in asserting more control over the church: he has forbidden drinking in the church or in the courtyard, a prohibition that resulted in an open confrontation with the leading cofrade (Chapter 9); and he now controls the keys to the church and to the money boxes, formerly the responsibility of the fiscal. The two lay sisters who are in residence during the week hold the keys and are in charge of the upkeep of the church. 346 793 794 177 178

People always show respect for the church by removing their hats as they pass the entrance, even when they are at a distance. As they enter the church, they always kneel and cross themselves. They may spit on the floor of the church, for this is not a sign of disrespect. 346 526 788 [514]

The complementarity of church and cabildo is still formally recognized in ceremonial events: participants bow to the church and then to the cabildo during processions. The transfer of sacred symbols from one locale to the other at the time of the inauguration of civil and religious officials ceremonially signifies the integration of civil and religious authority, despite the growing separation in day-to-day functions in each of the domains. 621 794 182

The church serves as a staging platform for the images and symbolic offerings to them in the annual cycle of ceremonies. During the nine days of ceremony accorded to the major saints, their images are moved to the center of the altar or to the center of the nave. The staging effects are particularly notable during the fiesta of Holy Week, when the reenactment of the crucifixion is performed in the nave. The mayordomos, under the direction of the fiscal and the lay sisters, move the saints about and prepare adornments of flowers and pine needles. 346 796 [794]

The church is the locus for the weekly mass given by the priest. The men stand on the left side of the church (facing the altar), while the women kneel or sit on the floor to the right. A few benches near the altar are occupied by the Ladinos of the area who attend the mass. The lay sisters indicate to the congregation when they should kneel and rise in response to the cues of the sermon or mass. [562] [563] [794]

In addition to these scheduled events, the church serves as a locus where 346 776 782

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

informants cannot, fortunately, be relegated to the 121
role of rats in the maze of their own cultural settings, 124
I prefer the actor's to the investigator's statement of significantly contrasting units. I have found it useful, however, to retain both modes of analysis. Observation corrects for the shorthand statements of the informant, for his lapses of memory, or for inadequate knowledge. Even if some of these inadequacies are corrected by other informants, there remains the problem as to what is an individual understanding and what is socially shared knowledge. In addition, observation provides cues to the dynamic variables which enter into all social processes.

It is impossible, if not irrelevant, to recount all the 121
behavior occurring in an event. Some of the selection will be fortuitous: we will record what aspects we observe. But not all of this need be included. For example, one would exclude the trips to the back of the 121 514
patio to urinate by participants in a household ritual, but what might well be recorded is the etiquette with which they undertake these trips. In Tzo?ontahal, [196]
people carefully excuse themselves, saying, "I go before your face," specifying that they must urinate. Discretion requires explicitness rather than reticence [152]
in reference to such urges, perhaps because of the [154]
paranoic fears, particularly during curing ritual, that the one who is departing may be using counter-healing magic when he leaves the group.

There is no absolute rule to guide one in selection. 121
In my own field notes, I note what is significant in 124
terms of my own comprehension of goals being pursued. Having been cued into most of the activity in sessions with the informants prior to the event, I have

[P. 211-A]

342 lages of the lowlands where the houses have
[354] small windows, which improve ventilation
342 and illumination slightly. In places like
184 Chanal, where there is abundant lumber, the sides of the houses are built with wooden boards set vertically. The largest and best-built houses are in Tenejapa center.

Generally, the hut is divided into two rooms: the front is parlor and kitchen, the rear is bedroom. In Bachajon the rear room serves as bedroom and kitchen, the front room for sewing and grinding and the re-
[574] ception of visitors. In Amatenango del Valle the front of the house is open and
[323] used as a porch for visits. Ceramic work
[251] is also performed here. In one room of the house a bin of wood or reeds stores corn.
[343] Sometimes, small structures which serve as granaries are built inside the hut.

343 Among the auxiliary structures outside is
515 the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. Not every hut has a *pus* since one is enough to attend the needs of several neighboring families. The *pus* is a small room 1.5 m. high by 2 m. on each side, built of stones and clay. The roof is flat. Inside a hollow forms a hearth for heating stones. Water thrown on these red-hot stones produces the necessary steam. On the floor are boards on which people lie while taking the bath.
[184] Among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil the *pus* is
[757] not only for cleanliness but also for the cure
[846] of certain diseases and to strengthen women after childbirth. Sweat baths are more commonly taken in Tierra Fria than in Tierra Caliente.

417 The other structures near the hut are the chickencoop and the hogpen.

352 Furniture is limited to essential items. In the kitchen are the three hearth stones, the comal (*samet*), the grinding stone (*chá*), a bench or strong table to hold the metate (*ah-ken*), one or two small tables (*matzmalté* or *vebalté*) 25–39 cm. high and 30–40 cm. in diameter, and small benches 15–20 cm. high made of scooped-out tree trunks
415 (*tzanté*). Kitchen equipment includes earthenware (pans, pitchers, and jars) and
[P. 207-B]

844 cloves, and corncake, to keep her "warm
[757] and fertile." The placenta can be burned,
[842] thrown to the dogs, or deeply buried in case
the mother does not want another preg-
[789] nancy soon. The umbilical cord is put under
a three-stone fireplace if the baby is a girl,
on top of a tree if it is a boy so that he may
become brave and agile when adult.

846 A few hours after childbirth, at the latest
515 the next day, both mother and child take a
temascal (steam bath). Some women stay
in the temascal until they feel completely
recovered.

Childhood and Adolescence

789 During the first weeks of life, children are
774 in danger of losing their souls because their
inexperience makes them an easy prey to
the naguales and bad spirits who wander
around. As protection, mothers place a small
[237] piece of beeswax at the back of the child's
head or tie, as a bracelet, a red or blue
thread around the wrist. If none of these
precautions are taken, the mother has to
cover with branches the paths her child
walks, so that his soul can easily find its way
in case he loses it.

789 Because of all these dangers, fathers al-
852 ways try to perform the ceremony of "seed
774 the soul of the child" as soon as possible. It
is during this ceremony that the child is
[553] given a name, later confirmed according to
Catholic ritual at the ceremonial center. A
[608] very important aspect of the ceremony is
selection of the godparents.

753 *Sickness and Death*

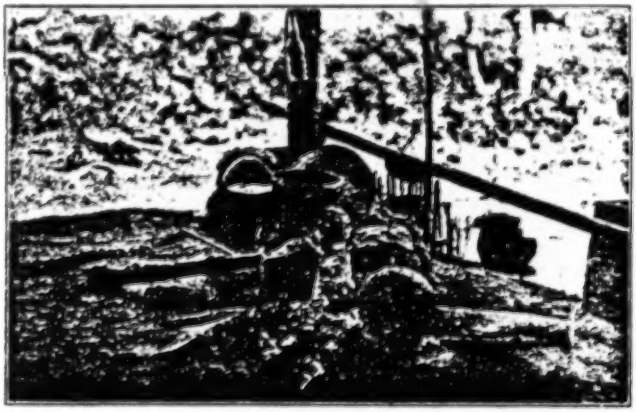
776 Most sicknesses come from infection or
[888] malnutrition. To the natives, however, ill-
nesses have a supernatural cause and are
ascribed either to the anger of gods and
spirits or to old people who have a nagual
or who can throw a spell. The most frequent
explanation is that naguales or supernatural
beings are acting against people. They can
adopt human or animal form or appear as

[P 224-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

necks and round bottoms. Two were full of corn and lime for tortillas, just off the fire. A big Tenango jar, *k'ip*, of the kind to be described at that place, was used for water. 415

A pottery dish, about 7 centimeters across, *tsets*, is commonly offered to guests to wash their hands. It is placed on a pottery stand of an hour-glass shape, about 15 centimeters high, *awaliko* (see fig. 299). The ordinary plates and general vessels are flat gourd dishes, *qai'*, about 20 centimeters across. Gourds as well were used for a dipper, *tuts*, and a water-jar, *tsux*. Two nets hung from the rack. There were three small baskets, *tutemotc*, and four big ones, *mukulmotc*. Hanging on the wall were a pair of the basket-work sandals mentioned before, and selected ears of corn for seed. The wife's textile outfit, more fully described later, consisted of a spindle, *pětět*, [515] [574] 353 283 286



354

FIG. 291—Bachajon Fireplace.

with clay whorl, spun in a gourd bowl, *tsima*, cotton, *t'umin*, hanging in leaves, and the loom itself, *holěl*. A sling, made of a forked stick and rubber band with a leather piece to take the clay pellet, *finmutc*, belonged to the small boy. Bananas were drying on the rack. With them were laid, or hanging in packages of leaves, beeswax, *tcavek*, blocks, 20 x 20 x 2 centimeters, for trade purposes, used for making candles, a lump of hard red clay, *baq lum* ("bitter earth"), for washing the hair, and sometimes also eaten, a package of brown loaf sugar, salt, *atsam*, traded down from the Zotzil country, several packages of pimiento pepper, and serpent fat, *junto tcan*, for rubbing on the chest to cure coughs. Under the table was a basket of coarse, blackish-gray clay for making pottery, *tcavek lum* ("beeswax earth"). Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail 283 286 411 353 237 [251] 353 [323]

Behavior Defined in the Family

Socialization in the family provides the individual with the idiom for behaving in the wider community. The basic principles ordering behavior are respect and obedience toward those who are older, and care for those who are younger. Obedience, expressed by the verb *ʔun* which means both to believe (or to be gullible) and to obey, is instilled by cultivating a sense of fear and shame. Fear is communicated by the parent to the child by invoking evil spirits and by the threat or use of punishment, especially whipping with a leather strap. Shame is aroused by ridicule, jeering, and chastising. A good child is a quiet child; questioning is discouraged either by refusing to answer the child or by telling him to keep quiet. The negative aspect of good behavior is stressed. Significantly, the phrase "Behave yourself!" is translated into Spanish as "Don't do anything!" Good behavior is not rewarded either by praise or by gifts. The only public demonstration of affection toward children I have seen is by grandparents toward grandchildren: an elder might give his sweet roll at a ceremony to his grandchild and even fondle him. Parents show affection to youngsters under three years of age, although the last child may be coddled somewhat longer. Mothers and young children show intimacy and affection in delousing each other or combing each others' hair. Kissing is not a sign of intimacy but of formal respect in ceremonies.

Beliefs concerning conception show awareness of both the male and the female contribution to the fetus. The man's sperm (*snal*) enters the womb, *yoʔtan*, (also the word for heart) and mixes with the woman's flow, to bring about conception. The blood of a child is believed to come from its mother and the skin, bones, and brains from the father. During pregnancy, the father must have intercourse with his wife because his sperm nourishes the fetus. This continues right up to the birth of the child. Men too are believed to have wombs, and some men have trouble with "dropped wombs" caused by lifting heavy burdens.

The only people in attendance at the birth of a child are the women of the immediate household, the mother of the woman giving birth if she is not a part of the houshold, and the midwife. Children are kept out of the

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

353 Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail
[231] hung in the eaves so that the dogs might see them, to prevent their
[415] going away or losing heart. A swizzle stick, *mahas,* about 40 centi-
[224] meters long, was used for stirring cocoa. It is made by cutting a twig above a joint with four branches. Two rat traps, *yakul,* just outside the hut, were exact models of the larger deadfalls used for jaguars (see fig. 308).

[291] Add to this the clothes on the inhabitants backs, and the man's
[411] machete, and you will have a complete list of the worldly possessions, large and small, of a Bachajon family—altogether some forty-four different kinds of things. We assembled as many together as pos-
[126] sible, arranging them as for a feast, and placed in the middle the small son of the house, and a little monkey of a boy, Miguel, who accompanied us to run errands (fig. 292).

342 [516] [291] [415] [123] [122]

Fig. 292—Bachajon boy guests.

If mud-plastered walls are added to this description, you have a typical Ocosingo Valley house. Change the grass roof to palm, it is the kind to be seen in the jungle country.

At Muxculja (*muckul ha,* "Covered Water"), in the jungle, our Indians built us a trail shelter or hut of the type called in Spanish *champa,* and in Tzeltal *tutna',* "small house." This enabled us to note the manner of building the frame-work and laying on the roof. The kind of *champa* built for us, with an A-roof and gable ends, is called *gwakac na',* "cow house"; the more common type built by the Indians when alone, a simple lean-to, is called *lestce-pat* (should be *lestce-pahk?*) "only one wall."

Our shelter being more than usually pretentious, we could observe most of the steps in building a true house, although, of course, the form here was different and the construction much lighter (figs. 293-294). It was three meters, fifty-one centimeters long by three meters wide, two meters high at the ridge-pole, one at the eaves.
[461] It had no walls. From the construction of the outline of the frame to the completed thatching it took fifty minutes for four men, later only two, working without haste.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

red-gold colour. The baking observed at Amatenango, which is described in the following chapter, was quite different. 323

The forms made at Sivacá are: (Fig. 299) a tub, *pok'et;* cooking pots or *ollas, ŏcom;* form for making cooking pots, *hutstahibe;* bowl, *tsets;* stand for bowl, *awaliko;* form for making sugar, with a hole in the bottom, *hor'mo;* tortilla griddle, *tsamets;* and a perforated olla for washing corn, *tcistcinair.*

The Bachajon make most of these also, but the tub and clay *tsets* are rare, a gourd often serving for the latter. The surfaces are less well smoothed. In no case was any attempt at decoration observed. It should be noted in this respect, however, that almost all of these would eventually be quite blackened with smoke.

[142] [291] [302] [516] [342]

FIG. 298—Sivacá, Chis. Woman making pottery.

Among the forms shown in the figures, it will be noticed that there is no piece with a markedly contracted neck; such work seems to be beyond their abilities. All through this district the big *cantaras* or water jars are imported from Tenango, and will be discussed in the next chapter.

In general throughout Ocosingo Valley white cloth for men's clothes and women's blouses, made of native cotton, *na'*, as well as the men's sashes, are of local manufacture. Among the Bachajon, cloth is compartively little woven, but sashes are always home made. The coloured thread is usually bought in stores. Weaving is entirely done by the women. 286 [291]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

286 126 123 Our Indian hostess at the Encanto house was commissioned to make us a sash; after observing and photographing the process (fig. 300), we bought the loom with the unfinished piece on it. At Sivacá the army of guides produced a woman who was weaving cloth, and another who was just preparing the thread for the loom (fig. 301). The former was very bored and matter-of-fact about the whole pro-

323

Fig. 299—Sivacá, Chis. Pottery Forms.

A. Ocom. B. Pok et. C. Teameta. D. Hor'mo. E. Hutstahihe. F. Tseta. G. Awaliko. H. Teistcinaix.

286 126 123 ceeding, but the latter, a younger one, was at first frightened. At the first sight of me, she put away all her work. As she spoke no Spanish, I fell back upon a corps of seven or eight interpreters, who all spoke together while I looked as harmless as possible. Then she thought that the Mayor of Ocosingo, or the President of Mexico, or some one had sent for her, and packed her things to travel. At last she understood, and then balked. The men explained to me, with some amusement, that she was ashamed—*"dice que tiene verguenza"* — but finally she consented to pose. The result was a picture worth the while; she herself was a good type of young Indian woman, on her back was slung a pretty though somewhat grimy baby, while an underfed puppy and very small chicken completed the family group. The picture also shows a good example of the squatting-seat mentioned when listing the contents of the Encanto house (see fig. 301).

[286] [291] [142] [302] [516]

Fig. 300—El Encanto, Chis. Woman Weaving.

283 The spindle, *pĕtĕt*, is a stick 35 centimeters long, at the foot of which is a clay whorl, for which no name was given. It is spun with the weighted end resting in a gourd bowl, the upper end held against

5: Blom & LaFarge A.E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

the thigh. The spinning is done with the left hand, the right holding and drawing out the thread, *tsahalna'* (fig. 302-d). 283

The thread is then arranged for the warp on a form called *kumen* (fig. 302-c). This is a pole 1.40 meters long, notched at intervals on one side, and with a groove in one end joining two unnotched sides. In one of the notches, according to the length of thread desired, is placed a cross stick, *tumin-te*, (equals *kumen-te?*), 45 centimeters long. The thread is laid from one end of this cross stick, through the groove, around to the other end of the cross stick, and so, back and forth, until the required number of woof-strands are prepared. The loops around one half of the cross stick are then transferred to the head-stick of the loom, those around the other to the foot-stick, and the woof is ready. At the head end, the loops are braided for the selvage. 286 342 284 142 516 854 302 291 231

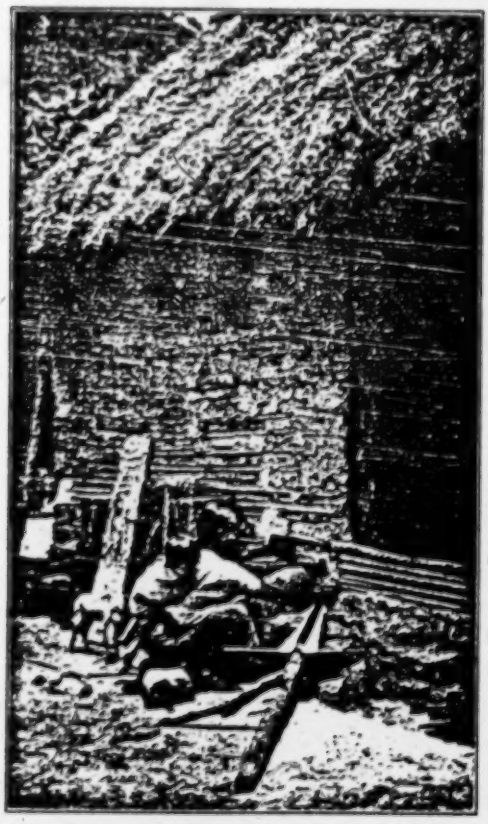


FIG. 301—Sivacá, Chis. Woman Winding Thread.

The loom, *holél*,* has no rigid frame. The woof is stretched over the head and foot-sticks, *wolol-te*. The head-stick is fastened to a beam in the house or to a branch, usually more than a meter above the ground. Before this the weaver sits, with the foot-stick strapped to her by a broad leather strap, *ku'epat*, thus holding the set-up taut (fig. 303). At a little distance below the head-stick, the woof-strands are crossed, those underneath being carried on top, and held in place

*holél is one of a large class of words ending in *-el*, *-il*, or *-il*, which are at once verbal nouns and infinitives; e. g. *tal-il*, to come, or the act of coming, corresponding to the Latin venire and venendo. *hol-il* primarily means to weave, here it is also applied to the loom. 193

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

286 and often have no fringe. We were told that it was impossible to
123 see a woman weaving at that time, but by persistent stalking the
126 writer finally managed to locate a girl at work, whom he observed
286 and sketched from behind a bush. The women here were so consistently shy that no doubt she would have rolled up her loom, which was of just the same type as the one seen at Sivacá, and fled into the house had she known she was observed. Our procession through this very pretty village, too, was a serious affair—distinguished strangers being shown around town by the mayor—and had none of the cheerful joking and general *bonhommie* that produced such friendliness and good results at Sivacá.

241 Something more should be said about the agriculture here. Ordinarily, Indians go out to choose their own land in the bush and

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FIG. 319—Tenango, Chis. La Farge drawing pottery.

241 plant it with little cultivation, placing the corn close together. Here each family has its land assigned to it by the council. As the same field must be planted year after year, the hills of corn are widely spaced, and the ground is turned over as deeply as possible by means
[417] of heavy hoes, *ak'en*, purchased in San Cristóbal. As was said, everything is fenced as much as possible. When some of our pack animals got loose in a field, the excitement was intense. In the yards of the houses they raise corn, beans, and a plant related to tobacco. This
824] plant grows nearly as tall as a man. The leaf is rubbed on their legs to cure fatigue. It is carried with lime in a small gourd and offered and accepted for chewing with much the same bowing and formalities as obtained among our ancestors when offering snuff.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

[P.198-E]

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Plate 6. Woman scraping a cantero that has been sun-dried in the porch of her home. Behind her is an altar with pictures of the saints. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.[1]

1 (correction, this should read "photograph by Marcey Jacobson"..Analyst)

[P. 198G]

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Plate 8. Women of a household and their helpers grinding corn and making tortillas with a press in preparation for a house ceremony. They are all dressed in the traditional costume. Most of such food preparation is done inside the house except at the time of large festivals. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

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Plate 9. Curer sitting next to the center post where he has just arranged the candles and branches of spring bushes in preparation for the house fiesta. The basket contains the protective crosses, bound with palm fronds, which he will nail on the house posts. The basin contains springwater, and the gourd in the foreground contains the powdered medicines which will be added to the water and drunk. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

[P 198-H]

142
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• 516
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783
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Plate 10. Future members of the household line up with the branches of spring bushes with which the curer will brush them. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

as lawyers. The defendant is sometimes accompanied by supporters who 693
feel that he has a case. The failure of parents to accompany a defendant, 695
regardless of his age, is attributed to their shame over their child's misbe- [593]
havior and their own failure to train him properly. The judge does not limit himself to passing judgment but also counsels the defendant as to how he should behave.

The town hall is usually shut and locked at noon unless some business 621
requires more time. In the evening about six, the officials return to take [344]
their same posts. They sit with their arms drawn inside their woolen jack- [516]
ets for warmth. After a half an hour they drift home. People rely on the [626]
presence of officials rather than particular actions to maintain social control, and it is their appearance at regular hours that assures the villagers that the town is being well run.

Local autonomy depends primarily on retaining social control functions. 621
Civil officials try to settle disputes locally and avoid the entry of Ladino of- 692
ficials from the departmental capital, although the judges and president 631
will threaten the defendant with taking the case to the department if they cannot get compliance. The number of cases referred to the capital has been increasing since 1950 as Table 32 shows. In 1951 the federal government began to fine local officials who failed to report homicide cases and accidental death. The local officials complied, but departmental courts were unable to bring action in over half the cases. No action was taken in 72 cases, or 54 percent, in comparison with 62 cases, or 46 percent, in which action was taken. Domestic cases, except for one of adultery, are adequately handled in local courts and do not appear in the departmental records. The trend shows an increasing number of cases of crimes against [674]
persons in comparison to crimes against property, an index to the break- [182]
down in social control processes.

The Church

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The church has been built and on two occasions rebuilt—when the [794]
tower was struck by lightning—with funds collected locally from house- [821]
hold heads. Damage to the church was attributed to the patron saint of [976]
the neighboring town of Oxchuk who, the people say, was fighting with their patroness, Santa Lucía. The townspeople feel that they own the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 301]

Chapter 11

Ordering Behavior by Places

121 554 People act out roles in a space and time matrix that provides the cues for appropriate behavior. Place is a means of patterning three structural dimensions of role: sex, age, and relative prestige. In societies characterized by multiplex relationships, Gluckman (1962:35–36n.) has emphasized the importance of the setting in establishing what role the individual is playing. One's selection of a particular role from the many possible relationships tying people together is supported by observation of official terms of address and reference in these settings. In Tzo'ontahal, the use of place as 554 a designation of role is even more specific since each person occupying a role is given a special place within the setting.

554 The social domains, or fields of activity where major systems of roles are 342 defined in Tzo'ontahal, include the house, the cabildo, the church, and 368 the school. Segmentary role relations are limited to the clinic, the corn- •517 grinding mill, and the store. The house has retained its importance as a ceremonial locus not only for life crisis rituals but also for initiating new officials into the civil and religious hierarchies. The institutional buildings [361] grouped around the plaza—the church, the cabildo, the schoolhouse, the clinic, the mill, and the cooperative store—are the meeting ground for outside representatives of national or supra-local agents and townspeople. These provide the settings in which behavioral adjustments to internal changes and to external standards can be viewed.

The Concept of Space

772 Relevant social space is conceived of as a square. The square shape of 361 houses, of the offering hole for the house sacrifice, of the corn field, and of the planting pattern for corn conforms to a notion of the world as a

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 456-A) Teklum

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It is in the context of these structural divisions that social change and its behavioral indices must be analyzed.

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Homicide—an act viewed as a delict in national Mexican law—has in the past two decades become an accepted strategy in social interaction. It is part of the expectations of the society upon which members predicate their own code of behavior and in terms of which they react to others. Gossip not only fails to suppress homicide, but serves to create a consensual base for condoning it. The corpse is referred to as "the one who had the guilt," *?a stukel smul*, and even when knowledge of the particular act is lacking, certain assumptions are made: the killer was someone in the community; the victim provoked the killer. In listing crimes, informants sometimes failed to mention killing, or they included it after witchcraft, theft, or adultery. Homicide is considered a *reaction* to crime, not a crime in itself.

[626]
[521]
[764]
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[124]

The rate is phenomenally high—up to 251.2 per 100,000 (when adjusted to bring the whole township's population of a little over 3,000 to the base for measuring international rates)—and it is increasing. This compares with national rates of 4.8 for the United States, 31.9 for Mexico (United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1964), and 36.2 for a nearby town (Favre 1964).

The following tabulation summarizes the homicides by decades since 1915, the earliest date for which records are available.

1915–1924	4
1925–1934	5
1935–1944	19
1945–1954	9
1955–1964	35

[114]

Figures prior to 1950 are not apt to be accurate, for only since that time have there been adequate reporting and checking of township records. In the following tabulation, the marked increase in the annual number of homicides since 1960 represents a real increase.

1950	1	1958	1
1951	0	1959	1
1952	1	1960	4
1953	1	1961	7
1954	1	1962	6
1955	0	1963	7
1956	1	1964	4
1957	4	1965	9

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In order to assess the meaning of its remarkable increase during the 1960's, I have pro-

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.464-A] Teklum

682 683 627 to who did it. The consultations with curers prior to the death of the supposed victims of a witch will be introduced as evidence. (Some degree of consensus may have been built up beforehand, in witch-killings, by the public broadcast of accusations noted above.[8]) The focus of the discussion is not so much on who killed the dead man, but whether he was indeed a witch. This kind of mock trial occurs after every funeral, since it must be decided [753] who caused the sickness. Emotions run very [152] high as the liquor is passed around, and accusations are made, sometimes against those pres- [273] ent. It was after a funeral that one man killed his son (not included in Table 1) for accusing him of having caused the death of the son's child, who was being buried.

682 In the weeks following a homicide, it is dis- [52] cussed at all the drinking sessions in the homes or in the town hall. Eventually an authoritative version begins to emerge. Those who have defended the victim then keep silent, and the 682 683 affair "rests in peace." Avenging the death of a man judged to have been a witch, so far as I know, has never been done. In one case (no. 36, [627] Table 1) the widow of a man killed as a witch vigorously denied the legitimacy of the act and built up a case against the killer. She spread word that it was without doubt the dead man's son by a prior marriage. When the son was killed shortly after (case 37, Table 1), everyone assumed that he had been killed by the widow's son by *her* prior marriage. However, the authoritative version concerning the second killing was that it was an accident: he had been mistaken for his brother, whom the killer was after because of rivalry over a girl.

682 183 *Rules for Surviving*

The patterning of the selection of victims and the circumstances of homicide provide the basis for formulating a set of rules that can 682 539 ensure survival. The long-range rules of survival, in the words of an elder at the occasion of 183 the death of his godchild, are:

lekon kak'o ta kwenta me?tal
I pay respect to my elders.

hun ku kiltz'in kalnilan
[601] I greet my younger brothers and my children (classificatory extension of kinship terms).

spisil kak' ta kwenta
To all I give respect.

ha? hil lekotik. Ma taltik milel ma taltik lamel

844 house, and the men usually leave the scene. Women are ashamed of their husbands seeing the afterbirth because they joke about it with other men. [522] [833] (I do not know what the joking is about—possibly it is related to the frequency of sexual intercourse during pregnancy, since the placenta is believed to be increased by male sperm.)

There is no ceremony attending childbirth. Although some women are assisted by one female relative, most call in a midwife, who is referred to as "grandmother of the child" and who comes when the birth pangs begin. [759] There is only one recognized midwife in Tzoʔontahal; she is the sister of one of the practicing curers and a niece of one of the former leading curers of Alannantik. She has patients on both sides of the dual division. On rare occasions, caused by witchcraft the Indians believe, a woman [845] [756] fails to give birth after two or three days of labor, and then a curer is called in.

The child is delivered with the mother kneeling on the floor. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord with a knife, and the child's navel is tied with a cord. The child is wrapped in cloths which have been smoked over incense, and then a woman's sash is wrapped around him from shoulders to feet, firmly binding the arms and legs so that they cannot move. It is felt that if this is not done, the child will snatch at everything and eventually 846 become a thief. The body remains bound in this way for fifteen days. The umbilical cord and placenta are buried in the houseyard. Some say that a boy's umbilical cord may be tied in a tree "so that when the child grows, he can climb trees and cut fruit." The mother is given a drink of coffee, and the midwife binds her stomach with a band. Three days later the woman enters the sweatbath to cleanse herself. The midwife goes in with her and rubs her with branches of orange leaves and massages her stomach. If the child is born away from his own house, he is brought to it with great care so that his soul will not be dislodged from his body. The midwife makes a pad with branches of bushes growing near the springs, and the father sprays the child's body with springwater from his mouth.

[753] In the first "twenty days or one month" of life, the child's contacts with the world are limited to the immediate family in order to guard against soul-loss and illness from "hot" glances of outsiders. When anyone not of the household approaches the house in which there is a newborn child, he

their eyes, the posture of dance in which they clasped their hands at their stomach-band—all of these manifested the shame that they were overcoming. Whether they really felt the shame or not was irrelevant since they were being judged in terms of their behavior. The wives circled around with a two-step, their eyes downcast and their hands clasped over their stomach-bands, while their husbands stepped up and down in place in a ring around them, shaking the gourd rattle and joking. 794 796 535 562

When the dancing was terminated, a joking session was initiated by the nakawane. The signal for this was the lighting of the first round of cigarettes. Smoking, like drinking, was required of everyone and was rarely indulged in privately. The women sometimes put aside the cigarettes, but they had to accept them. At midnight a meal of bean tortillas and coffee was served. 794 796 [522] [276] [562] [262]

The fourth day (Šlok' Krus). *The four regidores arrived early in the morning to raise the alférez and take him to the cabildo to receive the oath. In this function the regidores were referred to as* personaetik *or "persons." The Spanish term* persona *signifies the exterior appearance by which men of merit were distinguished, and in its Latin derivation persona is the mask by which role is indicated. I think it is in the sense of assuming a new identity that the Indians incorporated the term as a reference for specific roles assumed by the regidores at this time. The alcaldes, or judges, were on this day referred to as* koronaetik, *or colonels. This reference term evoked the military ranking system, as did also the term alférez or captain, and established the relative ranking of the two sets of officials in the cabildo on the day of receiving the banners. The alfereces were given titles to indicate the order of their entry into office. The seating order of the four in the cabildo followed the succession pattern, with the first to take office sitting nearest to the door.*

The new alférez, with two of his four escorts on either side, sat on the visitor's bench along with the higher officials, themselves once alfereces. The first regidor, or persona, addressed the first judge with the pat?o?tan. The fourth regidor distributed a liter of trago to the assembled officials, first to the judges, then the president and síndico, the alfereces, the person-

796 is served when the expectations are that the individual will feel embarrass-
154 ment. These occasions formerly occurred when the company arrived at the
house of the alférez before the dance and when the alfereces mounted
[273] their horses. Cigarettes signal relaxation, and when the first round of ciga-
[276] rettes is served in the house setting, the company abandons formal re-
[522] straints and, led by the chief nakawane, indulges in joking.

541 *Carnival and Easter Week*. Carnival has changed over time more
522 than any other religious ceremonial in the town. Until five years ago, a
177 group of masked jokers visited the houses of the captains of the fiestas.
178 They wore Ladino clothing, including vest, pants, and shoes, and they hid their faces behind masks or painted them black. They danced a "Ladino dance" (paired couples), first in the church and then in the houses of the alfereces. While dancing, they made sexual allusions about unmarried women. Their joking emphasized their strangeness to the villagers; for example one of the jokers might say, "You do not know what type of person I am. An airplane made me." They carried small stuffed animals which they made "cry." Pretending they were the husband of a woman, they would go to her and tell her to take care of her "baby." The woman speaker would sometimes respond to their jokes, saying, "Who are you? You are not good looking, you little black boy. You must be from Germany or from the other side of the water. Maybe you are from Patwitz or Yetawitz, and your father is kurik." People say the custom was discontinued because it was too expensive to give liquor to the jokers.

541 Another carnival custom which has been lost is the "common meal" of
262 squash on the five Fridays of Lent. Formerly the wives of the four kobra-
794 ria brought squash from hot country, cooked it, and brought two gourds
177 each to the church. The assistant divided it, giving two pieces to each of
178 the mayordomos. This custom was stopped during the typhoid epidemic
[931] of 1928 and has never been resumed because, it is said, the people did not want to lose work time. These changes may be a response to the priest's attempts to modify some of the excesses of carnival. Whether or not this is so, the people prefer to attribute change to their own decisions.

796 The events of Easter Week as recounted by an informant are outlined below.

Appendix 1

Settlement of Domestic Cases

A. House Arrangement of Separation

The following transcription of a tape recording concerns the house arrangement of a domestic dispute involving Alberta, the niece and adopted daughter of Mariano. She left her husband and returned to Mariano's home with her one-year-old child because of her husband's abusive treatment. Mariano invited all of the members of the betrothal party, as well as the maliwanehetik who had assisted in the marriage negotiations and Victorio, Alberta's husband. The leader of the betrothal negotiations was unable to attend because he had been drinking all day at another betrothal party. The arrangement proceeded with the padrino of the wedding, Pablo, and Alvino, Victorio's uncle and another elder in the betrothal negotiations, leading the discussion. I asked Mariano to tape the session so that my presence would not be an interference. In the joking session, the tape recorder became a target for the men's humor when, trying to replay it, they found that one section had not recorded clearly.

Pablo opened the discussion by asking the errant husband's elder representative, Feliciano, if the family wanted to take the girl back. Feliciano agreed that that was their purpose in coming, and that they must hear what happened to cause the dispute between the couple. Maria, the foster mother of Alberta, summarized their complaints against Victorio and his family.

Maria: *It is almost as though the child [Alberta's year-old daughter] has no father. We have been feeding her because we have had to support both of them. When the child became sick with diarrhea the father did nothing to help.*
Pablo: *Yes, we have to think of that. The child was frightened by her father and became ill.*
Maria: *When he came to our house, he fought Alberta, and the child was ill. Alberta went to the courthouse to complain about his behavior.*
Pablo: *It couldn't be arranged in the courthouse. It is better to settle the dispute here in the house.*

Mariano took out cigarettes, and the group relaxed as all lit up the cigarettes and smoked. They discussed my tape recorder as they listened to the tape replayed. When they came to the section that did not record well, they decided that they should take it out and urinate on it. One man suggested that they should put it in prison, and another said that they should shoot it. This provoked general laughter. They went on to discuss the smoking habits of Ladinos. Pablo remarked that Ladino lawyers do nothing but sit in their offices and talk and smoke. Mariano and Victorio's father joked a great deal, the latter maintaining that Pablo had threatened to castrate him. This was picked up by Pablo who said that then Mariano would be a madrina to his godmother, Martina (the woman speaker in the betrothal negotiations). This provoked a great deal of laughter among the women. They then joked with Mariano about Pablo's other madrina, a Ladina from the neighboring town who sells the blood of slaughtered bulls. They refer to her as *me? Skitsoo*, the fat one. Mariano remarked to the women that Victorio's father must be a witch, and someone would try to kill him on the road. The conversation turned from the danger of going alone in the woods to a discussion of hunting. Feliciano bragged that he had an excellent hunting dog which he bought from a Ladino and which he referred to as "the Ladino dog." Mariano asked what Ladino they bought it from, but Feliciano denied knowledge of who the man was. They suggested it was nothing but a Huistecan Indian who changed his clothing. The joking and drinking continued until midnight, when the assembled company finally broke up. The next day Alberta went to live with her husband in the new house he had built.

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B. Court Arrangement of Separation

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Persons present:

- Judge
- Father of Plaintiff
- Mother of Plaintiff
- Plaintiff
- Husband of Plaintiff
- Regidor
- President

This case concerns a husband who had been separated from his wife and wished a settlement so that she would return to him. The man had been married before, and he occasionally returned to his first wife. When he got drunk,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

amazing industries in the world. In addition, most men own smooth-bore flint-lock muskets, a few having progressed to percussion caps. The bow and arrow occurs occasionally as a child's toy. 411 [524]

The Bachajon men dress in cotton clothing, made of material bought in Ocosingo, or, more rarely, of home weave (fig. 284). The shirt is cut without tails, the trousers are of European type save that they tie with a string and have no buttons. Ordinarily they are worn rolled up above the knee. Over the trousers is worn a sash of native weave, red with fringed ends, and often decorated with black and yellow design in lines, sometimes forming a plaid effect. The sash is wound around, crossing in front, then turned back on itself, and the ends tucked under behind, so that they hang down below the shirt (fig. 285). 291

FIG. 284—El Encanto, Chis. A Bachajon Medicine Man.

Shirts of native weave occasionally have fine coloured lines running through them. The opening, which runs about two-thirds of the way down the front, the cuffs, and the seams at the shoulders may be decorated with very simple stitching. Down the front is a row of small buttons, coloured if possible, not all of which are for use. The most admired arrangement seems to be an alternation, such as red, black, white, repeated, although cases were observed in which no two were alike. These buttons are bought at the stores.

Sandals, *tep*, are ordinarily of leather, a thick sole with simple heel-toe string and loop. The leather is usually bought ready-cut. Formerly they were made of *mahagua* bast wicker-work, in form corresponding to that found in Basket-Maker sites of the Southwestern United States,* and these are still occasionally woven. The finest specimens are dyed red with a bark. Bast sandals are called *canak* (fig. 286). [192]

*Kidder and Guernsey, 1919, Page 100 et seq.

876 den on the teacher already laboring with the barrier in communication. Despite these difficulties, the children manage to learn the basics of reading, writing, arithmetic, and Spanish in four years of schooling. The [875] teachers are devoted and spend at least seven hours in the classroom each day.

872 During the recess period the children play individual competitive games 524 except when organized games are introduced by one of the teachers. There is a tendency toward ganging up on weaker individuals in fights, that occur, but I have never seen signs of marked brutality. Since the Ladino children are a small minority in the school (there are no more than a [563] half a dozen among the three hundred and twenty-four students) the Indian children do not face the discrimination found in schools with a greater proportion of Ladinos (cf. Romney and Romney 1966).

876 Discipline is no longer as strict as it was in the early years of public education. The teacher allows someone who has been hit to hit the aggressor but does not herself intercede. Threat of punishment may be made by the teacher, but I have never seen it carried out, and it is never suggested as a solution to failure to learn.

571 In comparing the domestic, civil, and religious domains of activi-
561 ties, the following features emerge:

554 1. In each domain, a hierarchy of power is present. In the house, [592] males take precedence over females, and older members over younger. [562] In the cabildo, the power hierarchy takes the form of a rank order co- [621] ordinate with age in most of the offices, while in the schoolhouse, power is polarized with all authority vested in the schoolteacher. In the church, [875] the conflict between the priest and the cofrades (Chapter 9) has not [794] been resolved. Within the ranks of the mayordomos, relationships between the elder and junior mayordomo establish a graded ranking system (Chapter 8).

571 2. Behavior in each domain is standardized. Relative rank is re-
554 flected in seating order, greeting order, and drinking order. Autonomous
576 behavior is most marked in the domain of the church. Focused interaction is predominant in the school, where order and control are based on absorbing the attention of the child in a learning task.

mother? There is nothing but holy suffering, holy penitence here before our sinful clay, our sinful mud. Again we gather here where others have gathered before in the company of our ancestors, the holy alisiles with the liquor bearers. It is your burden the four of you, the holy work, your holy office for his godchildren again give his godchild at the gate of the door of the church our saint, our keeper, the great father Señor Santiago Calixtro for our patron God, again we gather before this doorway our bodies, our clay, our mud with the holy alisil with our costume. Only give a little liquor, the gift of your mothers, your fathers, mam compadre. 794 796 539 [273]

The two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik received one liter of liquor, and the same quota was given to the two alfereces of Alannantik. They drank some and poured off most of the measured shots into the bottles carried by the liquor bearers; then they smoked a cigarette. When they finished this, they raised their banners and entered the plaza on horseback. The bell of the church struck as they entered. About four o'clock, two columns of horsemen formed, one behind the two alfereces of Alannantik and one behind the two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik. One year I observed thirty-eight horsemen from Ahk'olnantik and fifteen from Alannantik. The imbalance in representation for the two sides of the dual division grew sharper each year as the population increased in Ahk'olnantik. Before starting the race, the four alfereces crossed themselves, facing first the church, then the cabildo. As the race began, the mayordomos played the drums and flute in the church yard and the nakawanehetik sat in front of the church wall. 794 796 [273] 794 796 526 [621] [533]

When the racers made four passes across the plaza, they came to drink another trago and smoke two cigarettes in front of the church. At the end of the race, they again drank and smoked the same measured quantities as the pat?o?tan was recited by the leader of the races. [273] [276]

On Sk'ak'halel Sk'in, *the same procedures occurred as on the previous day. The final act of the fiesta took place when, after the races, the alfereces dismounted and the nakawanehetik went to them and drank one liter of liquor before the leader of the races. The two most recently appointed alfereces entered the cabildo, where the banners were laid out on the table among orange and lemon leaves. The president, síndico, two judges, and* [273]

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[794] *the regidores were seated in their customary places; the alfereces sat on the*
[796] *visitors' bench. The two former alfereces went before the two newly ap-*
[526] *pointed alfereces and gave an account of what was going to take place, instructing them on "how they should make a fiesta."*

When the two former alfereces entered, they went to the president, saying, "How does the Lord see you alive on this holy afternoon?" They then went to the síndico and the regidores and ended with the judges, exchanging a pat?o?tan.

The alfereces went out, mounted their horses, and were handed the banners by the regidores. The two old alfereces received their banners first. All four made the sign of the cross, first facing the cabildo, then the [788] *church, and then rode in procession, preceded by the flutist, two drum players, and a guitarist, and followed by the other horsemen. They stopped before the church, dipping their flags, first toward the church and then the cabildo. The president, síndico, and first judge walked across the* [533] *plaza to the church as the church bells were rung, and all the musical instruments played—the marimba, bell, drums, and flute. The alfereces dismounted and put their banners in the church.*

[426] *The final day, called* Lahinbahel Sk'in, *was spent sobering up, putting things back in order, and returning borrowed items.*

178 Although Santiago is not one of the major saints, a major celebration is
231 given in his honor because of the high value placed on horsemanship in
526 this community. Before the construction of the Pan-American Highway in
[796] 1953 everyone in town had horses which were used to carry the pottery to
[492] market. Riding skills were developed in the free-swinging *macho* (manly) style of northern Mexico's cowboys. Even today when horses are not as economically useful the horse culture has survived. The running of the horses in the fiesta is not competitive. Each rider does his best to tear at high speed across the plaza, but there is no specific goal. Since the [273] drunken riders often fall and are injured, some of the excitement is based on the potential danger.

128 The behavioral data on which the analysis of rituals depends are included because they provide a basis for comparison with neighboring

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682 156 themselves killed." When they see a man who is abusive while drunk, who brags of his power and of that of his animal-spirit, they will remark: "That man is going to wake up dead" (*sakubk'inal čamel*). When such a man is killed, no one complains, even among his immediate relatives (cases 5, 10, 14, 16, 19, 22, 24, 26, 27, 29, 31, and 32 are of this type). When I asked [562] why women do not get killed, the response was, "They don't look for trouble" (*ma sleik smul*).

682 *Setting*

	Total	*Dawn*	*Afternoon*	*Evening*	*Night*	??
Streets of town	11				11	
Milpa, woods, road out of town	10	2	3	2	2	1
Highway	4		1	1	1	1
In cantina	3		1		2	
In houseyard	3			1	2	
In bed	1				1	
Neighboring hamlets & towns	2		1			1
??	3					3
Total	37	2	6	4	19	6

Where the killing takes place and its timing in the diurnal cycle are directly linked. All of the homicides in the streets of the town were committed at night, while those in the roads out of town near the milpa occurred in the late afternoon or evening. In providing privacy and security from discovery, the darkness of night is functionally equivalent to distance from the town center during the daytime. When I suggested that the killings might be reduced if the 682 114 town would connect the lights that had been installed in the streets, the response was that when they had been in use, killings had increased. The lights helped the killer find his victim, perhaps lying out in the road after a drinking session. He would shoot out the light and then kill his victim.

682 579 The only killings in which considerations of space or time were ignored were those in the cantina during a drunken brawl, for in contrast to the usual killing their onset was unpremeditated.

682 The timing of homicide is related also to the annual cycle: 14 homicides occurred during the [527] fiestas in the town or in a neighboring town. [579] The drunkenness of the fiestas provides an appropriate occasion for killing an enemy, although a drunken brawl is in itself rarely a sufficient motive (two cases). Other opportune [755] times are after a curing ceremony (six cases) [273] and after the gathering of curers during an

273 formal drinking pattern. These limits may be expressed in terms
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[885] of the necessity to drink under those circumstances when one is a member of a group which is engaging in a ceremonial drinking sequence. Every male is a member of several such groups. Under most conditions the ceremonial drinking segment leads to deep drunkenness. Under most conditions the ceremonial drinking segment is followed by an informal drinking segment. Informal drinking segments also lead to deep drunkenness. Following the participation in such segments, a man probably recuperates for a day before he returns to his regular daily routines. Hence a typical drinking performance may be expressed as ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking + recuperating period.

273 The ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking pattern is,
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623 as we have seen, an essential component of many recurring per-
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755 formances in Aguacatenango. We have described the role of drinking in the celebration of family and community holidays, the certification of civil authority, the resolution of conflict, and the etiology as well as the treatment of illness. The indispensability of drinking to such performances is suggested in the following exchange between the ayuntamiento which is retiring and the ayuntamiento which is entering office (as reported by Juan Perez).

The four sides of the square house are protected by palm crosses which were nailed to each of the four corner posts during the ceremony of the initiation of the house. These crosses prevent the entry of evil. A fifth cross on the door post, replaced each year on the Day of the Cross, ensures the guardianship of San Pedro the Martyr, the Lord of Lightning.[5] 342 789 [776]

The idea of the similarity in substance between a house and its inmates originates in the notions about soil (*lum*) and mud (*ʔač'al*). An origin myth concerning the creation of man indicates that God created man out of soil and this mythical identification is reiterated in prayers when the fleshy part of the body is referred to as *hlumeletik*, our soil, and *kač'aletik*, our mud. Whatever soil man comes into contact with—in his house, in the backyard, or in his travels, may contain some of his soul. This belief is demonstrated in the following practices: When a person's soul is lost because of a fright, such as falling or "seeing a spirit," the soil where the incident occurred is scraped into a shirt or skirt belonging to him and deposited in the soil below the head of his bed. Some older informants say that the soil from beneath the bed is scraped up and deposited in the coffin of a deceased inmate of the house, but I have never seen this done. This intimate relation between soul and soil was best illustrated to us when our landlord refused to let us put a cement floor in the interior of his house since it would interfere with the practices described above and other customs in the house ceremonies mentioned below. 342 773 774 [123]

The house is constructed in two stages. The completion of each stage requires a ceremony linking the spirits of the inmates to that of the dwelling. The first stage is the erection of the house posts and the wooden frame. When the roof is covered with wood shingles, thatch, or tile, the family may set up temporary walls of boards. They wait until the rainy season to complete the second stage of building up the walls with mud. The first ceremony, called "fiesta for the house," is for "the spirit which resides in the posts," and the second, called "meal for the house," is to feed "the spirit of the house earth." People believe that the mud walls, like their fleshy counterpart, the human body, require nourishment. 342 774 [527]

5. San Pedro Martyr is referred to by the Indians as *Tatik Mərtil* and is identified with the pre-Conquest deity Lord of Lightning, or *Tatik Čaʔuk*. [776]

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First house fiesta. In preparation for the fiesta to inaugurate the wooden frame of the house, the older men of the household and the curers make palm crosses called *Tatik Martil,* another reference to San Pedro Martyr. Older men are chosen to do this task because their procreative powers will not be endangered by handling this powerful symbol. Branches of the bushes growing near the springwater of San Nicolás are cut by the younger men of the household to be arranged in an arch, while the women make incense burners and clay candle holders. The protective symbols used in the fiesta—the arch of branches and flowers, the candles, liquor, handrolled cigarettes, palm crosses, and springwater in a gourd—are arranged before the center post of the back wall of the house.

Fig. 1. Relatives Present at House Fiesta

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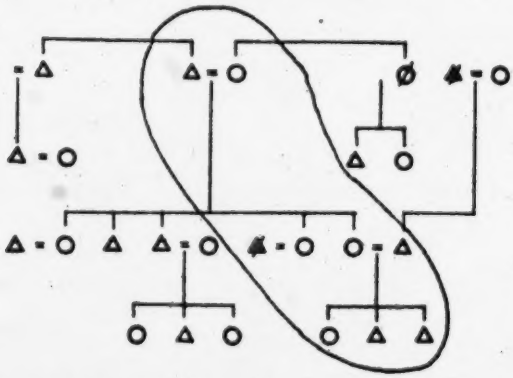

Encircled group will live in house.

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The activities of a house fiesta observed in 1966 are described below.

The future occupants of the house sat in a row facing the curing arch. Two curers officiated, the elder a resident of the side of the dual division in which the houseowner lives and the second from the barrio in which his son-in-law, Santiago, was born. The elder curer lit the candles at the center post of the back wall, while the younger curer lit those at the center post in the middle wall. The mother of Santiago lit the incense and placed

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it before he arch. The younger curer then took a bunch of the branches of spring bushes and brushed each person over the head, shoulders, back, arms, and legs. Liquor was passed around to the visitors and participants. The elder curer took the bunch of branches, prayed, and brushed the future occupants. The younger curer followed him with another brushing.

The elder curer put some powder in the springwater. He then took a rattle, stuck it it in a bunch of the leaves from the spring, gave it a couple of shakes as though testing it, and handed it to one of the b'alnial *(young male assistants). He then stood before the candles at the back center post, bowed to it, turned, and bowed to the opposite center post. He poured the springwater in a gourd and gave it to Juliana, the houseowner's daughter, who passed it to each member of the household. The curer then took out four cigarettes and put them on either side of the candles. He greeted everyone present and delivered the following prayer:* [782] [539]

> *May no witchcraft enter.*
> *May all the children be cared for.*
> *I can see and hear who enters.*
> *Of one heart are the women, of one heart are the men.*

Santiago began to play the guitar as his wife, Alberta, brought in the coffee and rolls. She handed the first cup to the elder curer. This was followed with a serving of rice and tomatoes. Before he began to eat, the curer said, "good afternoon" to all present.

After the meal, the elder curer led the household members outside. He held one of the palm crosses at the corner post of the house and prayed; then Santiago pounded in a nail to hold it. Each member of the household, including the small children of Alberta, went up and kissed the cross in turn. They went on to the other main posts of the exterior of the house where they did the same thing. They entered the house and continued drinking the rest of the afternoon. Cigarettes were passed around, and the men began to joke. Drinking is compulsory: everyone who attends must drink equal amounts of the liquor served. [273]

Each of the ritual items is introduced because it contains a powerful soul. The branches and the springwater contain souls associated with the

342 527 spring. The gourd is used as a container for the springwater because, like 774 all growing plants and unlike metal or glass containers, it has a soul. The 788 soul of the tobacco plant is considered particularly strong. The smoke of the candles and incense are the media through which prayers to the spirit [782] of the house are transmitted.

The house fiesta serves three functions: (1) introducing the spirit of 342 the house inmates to the house spirit, (2) creating a harmonious setting 527 788 for spiritual interaction of the members of the household and the house 776 spirit, (3) protecting the house against the intrusion of evil. The introduc- 533 tion is achieved by brushing the household members with the branches from the spring, and the harmony is brought about by drinking liquor, playing the guitar, and dancing. The music of the seed gourd, the guitar, and sometimes a radio or phonograph makes the residents, their guests, and the house spirit happy, or "of one heart." Protection is insured by [789] nailing the palm crosses representing the Lord of the Lightning to the house posts.

342 *Second house fiesta* ("meal for the house"). When a meal is 527 given to the spirit of the house earth, the house is arranged as for the 782 house fiesta with curing arches set in front of the center posts at the back 756 and middle walls. The same guests are invited as for the first fiesta. The family buys a sheep and slaughters it in the morning by stringing it up to the center post by it paws and slashing its jugular vein. When the blood has drained into the square hole opened at the base of the center post, the curer removes the head and buries it in the hole. Some curers bury the four paws as well, while others prefer to add an offering of five pieces of bread in a new pottery jar, twenty measures of chocolate, thirteen cigarettes, and a bottle of liquor covered with a new cloth. The head of the sheep is placed so that the eyes look up to watch over the inhabitants. Some refer to it as the *me?iltatil,* identifying it with the curers (who are called me?iltatil in the context of guardianship) and thus with the ancestor guardians.

During the house fiesta I observed in July 1967, an old curer who had officiated at the first ceremony served again. A neighbor, who was not related to the houseowners but who was skilled in butchering, slaughtered

the animal. The curer received from him the severed head and paws which he placed in a large gourd. Then the curer served a potion of herbs in springwater to all of the members of the household. The final ritual act was for the curer to smoke an article of clothing belonging to each member of the household over the incense burning in front of the center arch at the back wall. Liquor was served continaully throughout the ceremony, the first drink always being given to the curer followed by one to the elder houseowner. The first drink was served immediately after the cutting of the jugular vein of the sheep. Flowing blood, water, and liquor are spirit media symbolically linked in ritual behavior. Between each of the major ritual acts—the slaughtering of the sheep, the burial of the head, the serving of the springwater and herbs, and the smoking of the clothing with incense—the curer prayed, but his prayers were so mumbled that I could not hear or record them. Informants said that it was a variation of the prayer given at the first house fiesta. After the rituals, a stew made with the sheep meat was served with tortillas to all the visitors. The music of guitar and gourd rattle, played during the ritual by young male relatives continued after the meal, and the guests remained in the house drinking and dancing for the rest of the afternoon.

Elements of these house fiestas are repeated when any of the children of the household is ill. A severe illness, diagnosed as being caused by the devil eating the soul of the patient, requires offering a meal to the house spirit. The square hole is reopened, and a live black chicken, male if the patient is a boy and female if it is a girl, is placed inside. A food offering of one-fourth liter of liquor, one peso's worth of bread, and 50 cents' worth of chocolate is placed inside with the chicken, and a square board is fitted on top of the hole "to keep the chicken alive for eight days so that the house spirit will hear his cries." When the curing arch is removed, the hole is filled in with dirt over the chicken, now dead, which provides a meal for the spirit house earth.

When the houseowner is sick, an appeal for health is made to the spirit in the house post. The members of the household kiss the post, a splinter is removed and burned in an incense burner with *pom*, the resin of pine. This odor is pleasing to the house spirit.

When a serious illness caused by witchcraft has been cured, the patient

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621 crucial ceremony for the following reasons: (1) Most of the officials are changed simultaneously, so that, since there is neither carryover in a civil service nor tenure officials, the act of transferring authority carries a greater burden in preserving continuity; (2) The official is integrated in a prior set of kinship and other social relations such that he cannot act anonymously in his official capacity as judge or policeman. Thus one of the functions of the inauguration is a disengagement from the preexisting network of obligations and a priority commitment to the obligations of the office (Parsons, 1951:80–84; Gluckman 1962:34; Cancian 1963); (3) The household ceremony preceding the inauguration provides a setting in which the individual who is about to assume the office learns what is expected of him (Fortes 1959:82).

The inauguration is patterned on a series of acts which symbolically communicate to performers and villagers who participate as observers the desired social goals. The settings in which the change of civil officials is carried out are (1) the house of the incoming official, (2) the town hall, (3) the plaza, and (4) the church. In each arena, the validation and support of the new officials is publicly defined before overlapping sets of participants and observers.

The activities of the inauguration observed in 1965 are recorded below:

621 *On New Year's eve, household celebrations are held in the house of*
527 *each new official. The houses are decorated with pine needles on the floor*
574 *and juniper boughs on the porch. The visitors arrive about eight in the evening bearing pitch pine and wood to light the house and provide fuel for cooking. The helpers and guests who attend the evening celebration in the house of the president include relatives, compadres, and neighbors who will support him in his term of office. Primary support is given by the official's wife, without whom he would not be serving in the hierarchy. His advisors and councilors in the household are the nakawanehetik, or household officials. These are men who have passed through at least four religious offices and who are somehow related to the new official. A second group of supporters in the household setting are the* b'alnialetik, *young men who are either brothers, brothers-n-law, sons, compadres, godchildren, or neighbors of the houseowner, and who serve*

as errand boys and assistants. A third group are the ǩoltawanehetik, *the female helpers, usually wives of the b'alnialetik or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors,* yulatak, *who come to congratulate the new official.* [*The visitors at the house of the first judge are shown in Figure 7.*] 621 527 [574]

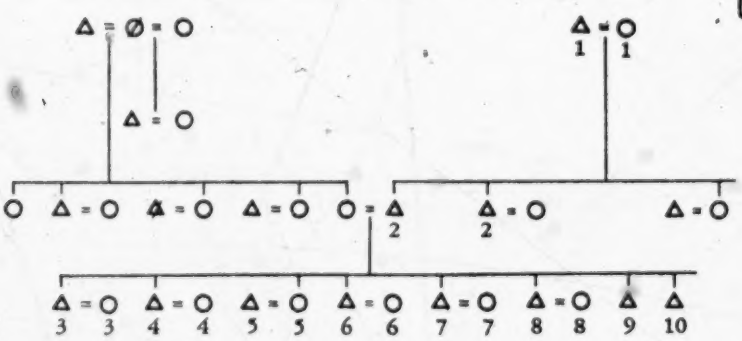
The new official addresses the first nakawane with the following speech: 621

Official: "Holy evening, Mamtat, to your health." 537

Nakawane: "Holy evening, Mamtat, to your health." 527

Official: "Lord, how are you, Mamtat? You are alive, word of God, this holy evening. There is no illness behind your heart."

Fig. 7. Relatives at House of First Judge on Eve of Inauguration [601]



Nakawane: "I live. I feel no illness."

Official: "Lord Mamtat, give pardon with God, with the Virgin Mother. Give holy pardon your mothers, your fathers, with God.

"Give pardon, Lord, give pardon. Virgin mother. Here we are gathered before you where we are seated, our soil, our mud.

"How are we going to succeed in what we will have to do in this holy new year for our patron Lord? Here again in the dawning of the holy hour, let us look into our heart, there where we are going to receive the holy oath inside the holy cold house, the cold hall, where we go receive the work and suffering of the holy staff, the holy wand this holy day, this

621 527 [537] *holy year. And so we shall be able to do what our mothers and what our fathers did here where the holy Father sees us and the holy Mother sees us."*

[782] *The formal prayer, using elements of all the addresses of pat?o?tan, presages the events which will take place and announces the continuity with the past in following out the work the ancestors have done. The civil authorities, like the religious authorities, assert that they are taking on a holy responsibility. There is, in the words of the pat?o?tan, no distinction between profane and sacred obligations toward the village.*

[273] *Following the drinking and prayers, liquor is served. Drinking order always follows the elder to younger pattern which, in household settings, is always coincident with prestige ranking. At midnight, coffee, bread, and bean-filled tamales are served.*

621 527 574 *The second series of household gatherings takes place on the morning of New Year's Day in the houses of the new president, the first judge, and the first policeman. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the other three regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house and are served coffee and liquor. They then proceed to the house of the president. As the judges and regidores arrive there, the visiting group greets all of the assembled guests at the president's house with a prescribed greeting, the* sak'inaltat *and the hand-kissing, called* ʔutzk'aab. *The first judge exchanges an extended pat?o?tan with the first nakawane of the president and then liquor is served to all those gathered. The assembled group next stands and "turns toward the rising sun." This is said to be a "defense against the entry of the devil."*

While the higher officials meet in the house of the president, the policemen join togther in the houses of the first policeman on each side of the dual division. Just as in the house of the president, the ceremony consists in serving liquor and coffee. They await the sound of the firecrackers set off in the yard of the president's house before setting out for the town hall. With this announcement of the departure, the officials at the president's house and at the two first policemen's houses set out for the town hall.

621 527 *Gathered in the town hall are the old officials along with the alfereces and the principals. The new officials enter two by two, the president and*

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síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges of the barrios, the regidores, the judges of the colonias, the two first police, followed by the rest of the police in pairs. As they enter, they kneel and make the sign of the cross, or "measure their noses" (sp'is sni'ik), *an act which shows respect to the holy banners that the alfereces have delivered from the church and laid on the table in the town hall. On this same table are strewn orange blossoms and leaves of laurel with the newly peeled canes of the police and the old staffs of office of the higher officials. The new officials put on their rosaries as they prepare to receive their staffs.* [788]

The principales, fairly inebriated from drinking all morning as they awaited the arrival of the new officials, pass out the staffs assisted by the old president, who helps direct them as they wander in a daze from the table to the line of waiting officials. The second principal picks the staff from the table and hands it to the first principal who passes it on to the recipient. The act of passing over the staffs is a significant index to their role in the hierarchy. They are the only "permanent" officials—permanent so long as they are in good health and not impoverished. They are the link between the outgoing and incoming officials.

The oath of office was given in Spanish by the Ladino schoolteacher the year I observed the ceremony. Formerly, this was performed by the Ladino secretary, but a contest of power in the community resulted in this shift in role performers [*Chapter* 9]. *The inventory of the town's possessions is read by the "old" president*[4] *and each item is inspected as it is passed on to the "new" president.*

After the ceremony in the town hall, all the old officials scatter to their homes and the new officials, wearing their rosaries, go to the church. The principales wait in the town hall for their return.

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The new officials follow the alfereces out of the town hall in a procession. The four alfereces, holding their banners, line up before the town hall and dip their banners toward the town hall and then toward the church. They lead the procession of new officials two times around the plaza, stopping in front of the church to dip the banners toward it and the town hall. The order of the procession indicates the rank order of the offi-

4. The officials who have completed their year in office are referred to as "old," and the incoming officials are referred to as "new" at this event.

621 527 [788] [554] *cials, from the last policeman to the first and second judges. The procession makes two turns "to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] who the new officials to remain in office are."*

[794] [782] *Awaiting the arrival of the new officials in the church are all of the mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see who they are." The new officials enter two by two and proceed to the altar rail where they "speak to God," asking for health so that they can fulfill their obligation to the town. They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father cabildo."*

621 527 273 *The first order of the new president is to ask the fourth regidor to buy two liters of the "gift of the ancestors," contraband liquor. When the liquor arrives, the first judge rises and goes to the principales. Standing before them while they remain seated, he asks permission of God to "receive the gift," or drink the liquor, saying, "Give pardon, Mamal Krinsipal; let a little enter and warm your body."*

The policemen, after leaving the church, enter the kitchen shack attached to the town hall. The first new policeman orders the fourth policeman to bring a little trago, and when he returns with the liquor, the first policeman orders one of the policemen of the colonias to measure the drinks. They drink one liter, after which the first policeman of the lower division addresses the first policeman of the upper division in the pat?o-?tan. After the spatbeyo?tan, *or formal address, the first policeman wonders "whether they can endure a little more. Can they drink more liquor without getting drunk?" It is his responsibility to receive any orders from the president, and he wonders, "What should happen if we get drunk? We won't know if there is an errand for the mamal judge and we cannot help. Better rest a while, and if there is an errand we can help a little. If there is no errand, let us drink a little more until midday." At twelve noon both groups retire to their homes to rest their hearts.*

794 527 *Inauguration of religious officials.* The change of the mayordomos occurs twice annually, once on January 6 and a second time on the Day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29. San Pedro is associated with

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the functions of the caretakers of the church because, one informant said, his image shows him holding the keys to the gates of heaven. 794 527

The ritual of the inauguration begins on June 29, a day called Pas Kantelero, *prepare the candle holders. The old mayordomos who have served for the past six months scrape the candle sticks, while two of the group play the drum and blow the flute. Others sweep the church and clean the interior. Then the fiscal and the mayordomos gather outside the church. A table is brought out, and the money that has been collected from each mayordomo by the two cofrades to be used for the purchase of candles is counted. When the money has been counted, two mayordomos ring the bells in the bell tower. Two servings of contraband liquor are passed out, one called "arrival of our food," before the meal, and the other called "wash down the meal," afterwards. Formerly a meal, consisting of a male turkey, or beef soup if the mayordomos could not afford a turkey, with tortillas and chile, was prepared and served in the church yard. This is now eaten in the home of the cofrade because the priest objected to the preliminary drinking session.* [273] [262]

On the second day of the fiesta, called Wilperel, *the mayordomos "make a fiesta" which consists of beating the drums, playing the flute, and drinking trago. Early in the morning the priest gives a mass for San Pedro and San Pablo attended by the old and new officials and the women.* [533]

A series of house celebrations takes place in the houses of the cofrades. The new mayordomos go first to the house of the cofrade of Santa Lucía. There they are offered the mouthwash, a bowl of cold water with which they rinse their mouths, followed by a round of two drinks each. The Cofrade of Santa Lucía then speaks to the Tatil of San Pedro the Martyr: [273]

Cofrade of Santa Lucía: "Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal? Thanks that you are alive, word of God, at daybreak. What will we do? What have we done? We have to speak of what is in our heart, our soil, our mud. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials, where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our judge San Pedro and

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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527

San Pablo? So it is that we are here and that we are united in front of the house. Pardon us, if it is not much, you elders. Where we are gathered together there is nothing flavorful nor is there much. It is only a little to warm your body, the water that washed his body, his hand our old saint San Pedro and San Pablo [reference to liquor]. God thank mother and father, mam kobraria."

As the mayordomos prepare to leave the house, the following exchange takes place:

Tatil of San Pedro the Martyr: "What are we thinking? How shall we rise to enter the house of the Kobraria Sakramentu? Why is it he does not want us to drink too much? It is good, we would not remember. It is enough. If you will remember, you will say little, mayordomos. Are we not ready with our rosaries and with our kerchiefs and our candles? Is there anything you want to say?"

Cofrade of Santa Lucía: "It is good. I am going to ask you all if you are ready with your rosary and with your cloth to take the holy candles."

Mayordomos: "Yes, good, we are ready, thank you."

Cofrade of Santa Lucía: "Only one more thing do I have to say. Do not drink too much trago. I do not want you to walk like a mad man. I do not want anyone to say that the kobraria did not say anything to advise you."

Mayordomos: "Yes, thanks. It is good. Let us go now. Let us raise our mud, our soil [reference to body]."

The group goes on to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento who is awaiting them with his nakawanehetik, his b'alnialetik, and the female assistants in the house. They enter saying "Good day, Mamal," greeting first the b'alnialetik, then the third nakawane, then the second nakawane, and finally the first nakawane. The Cofrade of Santa Lucía stands before the first nakawane and recites the spatbeyoʔtan. Then he goes on to speak to the meʔil k'op, *or woman speaker, who is referred to in this instance as the* meʔc'ukuŝaʔil, *"woman who nursed us."*

The women of the kobraria's kindred, the sisters and first cousins and wives of his brothers, remain inside the house as the men sit on the benches on the porch. The nakawane orders the b'alnialetik to serve the mouthwash which is followed by coffee and tortillas. After another

[272]
[267]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

After another
mouthwash, the b'alnialetik lay a cloth on a small table which is put in the center of the porch, and two liters of trago and a measuring glass are laid on this. The Cofrade of Santa Lucía rises and asks permission of the women, the mayordomos, and all the b'alnialetik to drink the liquor, saying: "God, mother who nurses us, give permission to us so that the water of his body, the water of his hand, the gift will pass in our bodies, that which is the gift of the me?tiktatik. God speaks, tat nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik. Give us permission to hand the gift that will pass in your body from the me?tiktatik. God, Jesus, Mary, only one commander God is three persons. Bless what we eat and what we drink and bless in the name of God the father. God, take the gift, me?eštateš."

The mayordomos, b'alnialetik, and nakawanehetik then make the sign of the cross. The Cofrade of the Virgin Santa Lucía blesses the liquor, saying, "In God's name, God the father, name of God, God the son, Holy Spirit. Yes, I can endure doing what they did, what our mother and what our father did, with my hand which has sinned and my feet which have sinned. Yes, we are changing office on this holy day, this holy year the holy saint, with the holy oath and in the name of God the Father."

The mayordomos drink four measures of liquor, then raise the rest of the drinks to their lips without drinking and take the glass over to one of the nakawanehetik. In this way they show the restraint to which they have been urged in the speeches. At eleven o'clock they leave for the church, putting their red kerchiefs around their necks along with the rosaries. As they set out, the elder nakawane says so the new mayordomos: "May you all get up and go to the church. May you all enter inside the church. May you take the oath inside the church before the face of the fiscal. After you take the oath, make the sign of the cross before the face of the Tatik Jesus Christ. After you have made the sign of the cross, when you enter inside the door of the church, the mamal new kobraria will give the account to the mamal old kobraria."

Sitting within the church are the old mayordomos and the fiscal who have remained there after the mass. They are awaiting the new mayordomos. Two of them play the drum and the flute. The new mayordomos enter, the elder and junior mayordomo of each saint walking together, and kneel before the image of Tatik Jesus Christ. The church has been ar-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

794 527 *ranged with a large table in the center, the candles allotted to each mayordomo laid out in bundles of nine. On the table is a little cross of the crucified Christ. The priest blesses the new mayordomos and the old mayordomos. Then the fiscal gives nine candles wrapped in a napkin to each mayordomo. The nit'nal, junior mayordomo, of each saint first takes the candles allotted to the tatil to the latter's house, and then takes his own to his house. After the oath, the new mayordomos return to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento where they drink until prayer time in the evening.*

[788] [273]

On the sk'ak'alel Sk'in, *the true day of the fiesta, the new mayordomos go to hear the mass along with women prayer-reciters at seven in the morning. They then go to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento, leaving three junior mayordomos to play the drums and flute at the door of the church. In the house of the cofrade, they count the money of the Virgin and of San Pedro the Martyr. This fund of money is passed over from the outgoing officials to the incoming officials along with interest. It is now being loaned out to local entrepreneurs. The Virgin has a fund of 228 pesos, and San Pedro the Martyr has 40 pesos. The fiscal supervises the counting of the money, and records the sum, after which the pat?o?tan is recited and drinks are served.*

[533] [454]

621 554 In the behavioral sequences of the inauguration, several features of the structure and functioning of the hierarchy can be noted. First, one can see in the actions of the officials that the hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth step ladder but a segmented order. The categories of officials, the alkaletik, rehiroletik, and mayoletik, act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same area in all the settings. Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth (and in the case of the mayoletik, from first to fifth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They command their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge orders the fourth regidor to get liquor, and the first policeman orders the police from the rural colonia to get liquor. By these behavioral indices one can see the ordering and grouping by age, skill in praying, and territorial identification within the segments of the civil-religious hierarchy. These principles apply, however,

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Amatenango del Valle

only to ordering between segments; because of the uneven civil careers of the incumbents, a man in the lower ranks within a segment may be older than another in the same rank because he started his career later. 621 554

A second significant feature of the inauguration behavior is the sacred quality of the acts, indicated by the words of the pat'o'tan—"holy office," "holy cold house," "holy staff, holy wand," "holy day and holy hour." The presence of the alfereces, the observation of the new civil officials by the religious officials, the movement from the town hall to the church and back to the town hall are the behavioral links between "our holy mother church and our holy father cabildo." 621 794 527

The behavioral elements in the inauguration of the religious officials parallel those in the inauguration of the civil officials. As in the case of the latter, the ritual takes place in both domestic and public settings—the house of the new officials and the church. In both inaugurations, the same feature of "raising" (rounding up for gatherings) the officials occurs: those of lower rank gather in the houses of successively higher officials, finally entering the house of the highest official. In each setting, the same ritual acts are performed—the formal greeting, the serving of coffee and bread followed by bean tamales, the request for permission to drink, and the serving of the "gift" of liquor. In the household setting for both civil and religious officials the same role performers—nakawanehetik, b'alnialetik and školtawanetik—lend their support.

In the religious hierarchy the symbolic "tools" of office of the mayordomos are candles while those in the civil hierarchy are canes. In the case of the inauguration of the religious officials, the inventory involves counting the money collected for each saint rather than accounting for the possessions owned by the town. An inventory of the saints' clothing is not made as in other towns, possibly because the lay sisters living in the town maintain this stock of equipment.

The formalized speech of the pat'o'tan is an important social tool in both public and private ceremonials. Characteristic of the speech are the elaboration of simile and metaphor (*me'ba'al, wokol:* poverty and trouble in reference to one's house; *lumiltik kal'aletik:* clay and mud in reference to bodies; *snuk shoy:* his joined one, his companion in reference to one's wife; *sapil yok' sapil sk'aab k'a santuetik k'a peroltik:* the washings [192]

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Amatenango del Valle

621 794 527 of the legs and arms of our patron lord, Jesus, in reference to liquor). The prayer-like intonation, together with repeated invocation of the gods, gives [192] a sacred quality to the words.

[273] Liquor, referred to as "the gift of God" or "gift of the ancestors," is of crucial significance in both civil and religious ritual. Receiving an offering of liquor is tantamount to accepting part of the spiritual essence of the donor. Drinking in each of the domains—the house, the town hall, and the church—serves to tie together different sets of participants in the obligation system of service to the community. In Mauss' terms (1954:11) receiving the gift defines "a pattern of spiritual bonds between things which are to some extent parts of persons, and persons and groups, that behave in some measure as if they were things."

[273] In both inaugurations an attempt is made to control the intake of liquor so that the officials can function in the ritual. This is shown in the civil inauguration when the first policeman thinks about whether the police can take another drink and still carry out their duties. It is more explicit in the religious inaugurations when the cofrades warn the mayordomos that they should not drink so much that they "walk like madmen." The mayordomos then pass on the drinks served to them to the nakawanehetik who drink them and fall into a stupor.

621 794 527 793 875 In noting the difference between elicited and performed ritual, minimal changes in behavior provided clues to structural change. The change of custom as to where the meal of the mayordomos takes place (it now is given at the house of the cofrade rather than in the courtyard of the church) indicates a significant shift in the relation between the priest and the local religious leadership. The priest has gained control over the church since he has taken up residence in the parish house. The incident in which the confrontation took place is described in Chapter 9. Divergence of the performed from the expected ritual in the inauguration of the civil authority occurred when the schoolteacher delivered the oath instead of the former Ladino secretary. This revealed the schoolteacher's increasing power in his competition with the former cacique.

621 794 527 The rituals of both civil and religious inaugurations reveal the sense of the sacred obligation to the ancestors. Although both the roles and the scheduling of events are derived from outside the culture, the necessity for

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undertaking the burden of office is still phrased as a means of maintaining the internal system of security. Tying the new official to personal supporters in the household setting is a significant means of integrating the Spanish governmental system with the preexisting authority systems. 621 794 527

The emphasis on continuity is evident in the prescribed pattern of behavior stressing repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetition of behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expectations which links the present with the past.[5] The nakawanehetik, who are the repositories of knowledge of the customs of the ancestors, are stage directors of acts performed in the house. Behavioral replication is reinforced by verbal references in the pat?o?tan to performing "that which our mothers, that which our fathers did." When any act has lost the wider context of belief in which it must at one time have been embedded, the reason given for the performance is simply "so was the custom of our ancestors." As an example of this, the officials in the president's house on the day of the inauguration stand and bow in the direction of the rising sun. A few informants have heard of the God of the East, Santo Ariyó, the saint in charge of household gods who gave to the people corn, wheat, beans, and cattle, and they say that it is in recognition of him that people turn to the East and bow their heads in all household performances. They further state that in this act they defend the house against the entry of the devil. But the mythological context which might explain the logic of this association is lost. These behavioral sherds, when cut off from the belief system which they dramatized, survive in perpetuating the customs of the ancestors. 621 794 527 178

The link with the past is also seen in the presence of both new and old officials in the town hall, providing a setting in which the succession of the new officials is acknowledged by the old. The role of the principales is of the greatest importance in establishing continuity, significantly emphasized in the fact that it is they who hand over the symbol of authority, the 621 794 527 178

5. Bunzel (1952:251) has pointed to this familiarity of ritual sets in a variety of ceremonials as providing ties with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango, and Vogt (1966) has shown the significance of replication in the ceremonials of Zinacantan. Another function served by behavorial replication is that which Leach (1967:2) pointed out for verbal replication in myths and prayers: it overcomes the "static" of less significant background interference. [171]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621 794 527 178 newly cut pine canes of the police and the old carved and painted staffs of the higher officials.

Order and measure, respect and deference are the social effect achieved in the ritual performance of the inaugurations. In the act of drinking, these principles become behaviorally explicit. The drink is carefully measured out and passed to the first principal, who asks permission to drink it of each set of officials in order of their ranked positions in the hierarchy. Each official must receive the drink, whether he is a teetotaler or not. He will then perform the action of drinking, which is sufficient to express his good will as part of the group. The symbolic act of pretending to drink—receiving the "gift" and raising it to one's lips without imbibing—reveals the importance of acts *as such* in social interaction. This is expressed in the Tzeltal loan term *ʔaksion,* from the Spanish *acción,* the pretended act, which demonstrates in this case one's good will in joining in the communal act. We have a tendency in our culture to downgrade the act, stressing motive specific to the immediate goal of the act. If performance is motivated by other goals, we express it in phrases such as "He is only acting," or "It was all a big act." In Tzoʔontahal, the play is the thing, and everything can be justified by reference to traditional expectations.

621 794 561 177 178 Before describing some of the organizational changes which are affecting the civil-religious hierarchy, I shall at this point assess its viability on the basis of structural criteria. These criteria include the effectiveness of the system in (1) coordinating roles such that conflict is minimized in carrying out tasks, (2) motivating people to enter into office and fulfill obligations, (3) absorbing changes without structural modification.

The primary devices for coordinating roles in the hierarchy are those of relative age and residence in the dual division. The major challenge to the age-respect pattern has been the introduction of young leadership in the roles of president and síndico. This shock to the system has been somewhat overcome by the retention of the ceremonial primacy of the principales. The president and síndico are considered outside the traditional hierarchy. This conceptual isolation of the roles becomes obvious when one asks informants to list the civil officials, for they never include the president and síndico in the first response. They are mentioned in response to repeated enquiries as to whether there are other officials.

them to "overlook" the trespasser, but not many young men are willing to risk the ire of the other barrio bachelors, nor the gossip and sanctions applied to them by their own barrio mates.[1]

Each barrio plays a role in the political and religious organization of the village by sending an approximately equal number of officers to the Ayuntamiento and the Mayordomías. Although in some years there are more delegates from one barrio, they attempt to correct the imbalance in the succeeding years. The Principales (council of elders) have also equal representation.

Escuadrilla groups (adolescent boys' gangs) and unmarried women's Church groups are formed among barrio mates. Women, with few exceptions, used the water wells or pipe lines in their barrio of residence (the exceptions include women who originally came from the other barrio) and who do their washing at places in the river on their barrio side. Men who work together at such tasks as buying and butchering a cow, building a path or clearing an irrigation ditch belong to the same barrio. House parties organized to buy candles for the Church before a special Saint's day are barrio affairs, and no resident of the other barrio (with the exception of the anthropologist) is invited. In the past, there were, in Aguacatenango, religious sororities sponsored by the Catholic Church, and each barrio had a separate one. There

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[1]A man that has married once is considered to have had his share of the available women of the barrio. Second marriages, especially with girls who have never married before, are not well thought of. It is common, then, that second marriages occur across barrio lines. A man finds it easier to cope with the antagonism of the other barrio men (who are expected, in any case, to be antagonistic) than with the bachelors and neighbors in his own barrio, where he has to face the antagonism in every day interaction.

342 which usually indicates the emergence of a new domestic group.
592 Its social importance is related to several factors.

342 When the young couple build their first separate house,
591 this symbolizes their right to become a separate domestic group.
592 It means that they have lived together long enough to raise one or more children past the age of weaning, and that they have become economically and jurally independent of their parents.
342 (See later discussion on residence.) The building itself is a
156 material display of a man's good social relations. Although
571 house size does not correlate with the number of people living in it, the villagers think that a house "talks" about its owners. A very small house tells the villagers that it is a "drunk-man house" because his owner spends all his money on liquor and cannot buy materials for building a better place. The house also tells of the amount of industrious effort that a man and his family are able to put into its construction, and it tells about how much his relatives and neighbors are willing to "loan hands" to him (help for house building is not paid for in money, but in
[177] reciprocal labor). A house is also a good indicator of how much "ladino influence" its owner has assimilated. Houses with ladino influence would have internal divisions in the rooms, windows, painted walls and/or tile roofs. (This type of house is not common, as can be seen in Fig. 12 and Table 5.)

342 The building of a house is followed by a "house warming"
[527] ceremony, in which offerings to the Mother-Earth or Saintly Earth
[782] and the house are buried under the floor. The ritual preparation of a new home is part of a complex ideological identification between people and their homestead.

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 111

121 it is impossible to do it taking into account any other variable in isolation. Social structures are built up around several simultaneously activated domains of phenomena. Kinship (or the biological facts of birth and copulation and the concomitant social facts of descent and affinality) is one domain. Economics (or the system for the production and allocation of rights over material goods and services) is another domain. Territorial allegiances, based on spatial proximity or distance, is another. The domain of the psychological (the inherent needs of human beings for sociality, positive affection, the sharing of moral values with other men [and perhaps the need for controlling others]), is still another domain.

182 796 If we take ritual as a projective system of the importance of social domains, we can see that it involves, in every case, several of them.

[571] [527] [764] [602] [241] For example, in Aguacatenango and Amatenango, ritual practices are oriented towards: (1) expressing tensions between individuals among whom harmonic relations are re-established through the curing ceremony; (2) expressing the territorial attachments of people, such as the ceremonies for housewarmings and the fact that in the cemetery people are buried according to the place in which they resided (the cemetery is a small replica of the village); (3) expressing kinship bonds, such as the marriage ceremony, the baptisms and compadrazgos, the food given to the ancestors on Todos Santos, etc.; (4) expressing economic needs, such as the rituals performed to insure the success of the harvest.

000 Within the same cultural frame, two social groups can

4 Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Tenejapa

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FIG. 1—FARAJE REPRESENTATIVES VISITING THE CEREMONIAL CENTER OF TENEJAPA. (Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[p. 200]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Tenejapa

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302
531

FIG. 2—TENEJAPA WOMAN AND CHILD—(Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 204]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

one piece with its stand, which is then called *cOt*, and a pot with one or two spouts and a handle on top called *bur nia* (figs. 317-319). 323

The decoration is fairly standardized. In the big cantaras each woman uses a central element of her own, and all follow the same general scheme. Occasionally a potter breaks out with an odd form, such as an undersized cantara which we bought. It has a row of pellets about the rim, called *tut-cuH*, "little beads"; around the center is a zone of galloping animals showing considerable action, but difficult to identify. When we asked what the animals were, the woman replied rather wearily that they were "to make it pretty," so we let it go at that (fig. 318). 323 531

Fig. 316—Tenango Jar. (45 c.m. high).

The clay used is a light, greenish brown colour, and lumpy before being prepared. It is tempered with ground, sandy limestone, *hiH-ton* ("sand-stone") of fine quality. The jar is painted with a paste made of a soft, 323

323
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Fig. 317—Tenango, Chis. Types of Pottery.
A. Burnia. B. Ocom. C. Yocwalata'a. D. cOt.

Fig. 318—Tenango, Chis. Central designs from jars.

black stone, *tsa-ik* (*ik* equals "black") ground and mixed with water. It is laid on with the soft, green tip of a bush called *Hwamal*.* 323

The women's *huipiles* and all the men's clothes are woven at Tenango by the women. The men's sashes, which they make, are not as finely woven as among the Bachajon. They are undecorated 286

*To make a cantara—*nsa-k'in*. To paint a cantara—*tirs-k'in*. To bake cantaras—*mukcuk k'ik'ik* (*ik'* is the emphatic plural; they are always baked in large batches).

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

that he was invited into her house, presumably to take shelter from the evening rain that was beginning to fall. The house, of which he sketched a hurried plan (fig. 324) was more rectangular than is usual, the prevailing type being square with a pyramidal roof. He entered through a low doorway, closed with a wooden door on leather hinges. Although the ridge of the roof was high, the many cross poles reaching from the top of one wall to the other made it necessary to stoop. The writer squatted by the door, facing the fire, which smoked merrily in the closed room. The old woman immediately set to shaping a pile of tortillas for baking. Along either wall was a well-made bench, decorated with notches along the top and geometric designs on the back, similar to the benches on the Cabildo porch (fig. 325). These and a sturdy table that was stored on top of the stringers were said to be purely local products. By the door stood a big jar, a full meter in height, crude and undecorated (fig. 326). There was the usual collection of ollas and gourds, and one other new form, an open-mouthed pot about eight centimeters high and as many in diameter, flat bottomed, with a handle on one side, called *hütc* (fig. 327). In the thick smoke, it was hard to see anything. I was interested to note that my hostess' eyes watered nearly as much as my own. In the darker end of the house I could make out corn stacked neatly along one wall, and a partition that presumably hid the beds. For a while the woman answered the few questions that I could make her understand by means of signs, my half-a-dozen words of Tzeltal,

Fig. 323—Cancuc, Chis. Drinking scaffold.

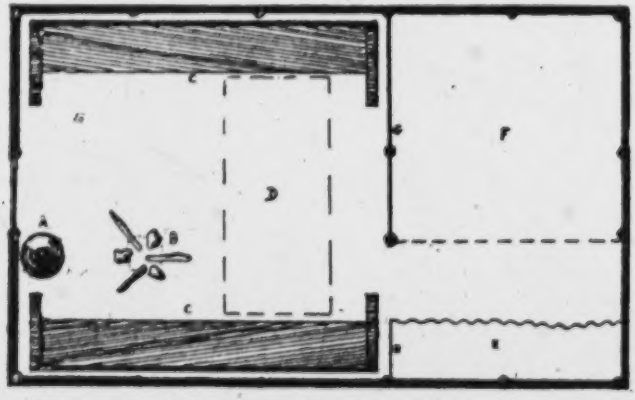

Fig. 324—Cancuc, Chis. Plan of House.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

124 and her three words of Spanish. Then she grew hostile, answering
123 everything with a plaintive *"Ma snaa,"* "I don't know." This went on for two or three minutes, then suddenly she flung open the door and waved me out with no uncertain gesture, saying something about the "Presidente Municipal," and the "Secretario." By this time it was pouring cats and dogs, but there was nothing to do save run for it.

284 Cancuc is not noted for any product. There are about the same
322 arts and industries as at other towns, but the only ones that amount to anything like a specialty are netmaking and whittling combs. The combs are better and more neatly made than those of the Bachajon, and with a selection of the wood for grain that often produces very pretty combinations. The nets are made by the men, who

[352]
[531]
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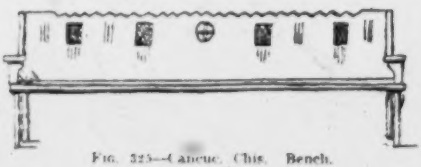

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Fig. 325—Cancuc, Chis. Bench.

Fig. 327. Cancuc, Chis. Pottery. Hilte (8 c.m. high).

Fig. 326—Cancuc, Chis. Tall Jar. (1 m. high).

go about rolling the twine or knitting as they walk. The process was described in the last chapter.

485 Being on the main highway, the government maintains a long shed, like a wagon-shed, thatched with leaves and grass, which is at the disposal of travelers. This relieves the Maestro of duties of entertainment. Towards nightfall, various groups came into camp here a family of Mexicans, with a big fire, and goods piled high, two traders with their packs, some Chamulas, fine-looking men dressed in white wool tunics, with flowing cotton kerchiefs round their heads, and a couple of Tenejapeños with nets full of apples. The Chamulas, who are remarkably progressive Indians, had come in with a string of mules. After dark, the line of fires in the divisions of the shed, the talk, the fire-lit figures in their varied costumes, with the Church and houses rising on the terraced hill behind made as picturesque and charming a scene as one could possibly imagine.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

133 shadow, another wall far behind. A Mexican told us that Tene-
133 japa lay in the valley thus enclosed. With the cool evening air our
114 animals picked up, taking us along at a good trot. We swung around a green dell, up under one cliff into the opening, over the threshold of a ridge. Some Indians sitting there waved to us. Beyond was a tiny, lush meadow and a brook where some Mexicans were making clay tiles. There was another rocky hillock, around which we swung to find ourselves trotting down a well-cobbled street lined with little white cottages, white-walled gardens, and
361 roses. To us, looking for something yet wilder than the villages we had seen, the neat houses and candle-lit casement windows, the doors of tiny shops, the flowers, and the shingled roofs were an utter surprise. In the streets was a sprinkling of touselled-headed Indians

[346]

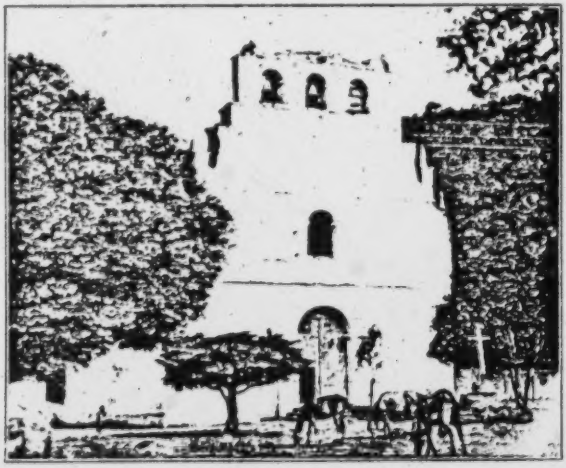


FIG. 328—Tenejapa, Chis. Church and Plaza.

and Ladino people of much fairer complexion than the typical, Lowland Mexicans. We rode past a gaunt, high-shouldered stone church into the plaza, a field of about two acres planted with a few trees, and with a fine town fountain of icy water in the middle (fig.
344 328). Along one side ran the Cabildo, a long, one-storied building
531 with a very deep veranda, gorgeously painted in cubist fashion, red,
123 yellow, green and blue. Here we halted to unpack and present our credentials to the *Presidente Municipal*.

361 Tenejapa is really two towns in one. There is the Ladino town,
563 around which lie the houses of some eight thousand Indians, by local

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

291 shorts are also usually embroidered in red and yellow. The chief had such a pair, very fine and gaudy, which we asked to see. He took [123] them off to show us, but when we tried to buy them from him he [293] became furiously angry and abusive. Sandals, when worn, are of the ordinary type. Most of the Indians carry a staff of some kind.

The women wear the typical blue skirt, but the blouse, cut like [531] a poncho, is usually tucked inside and heavily embroidered about the neck and shoulders. This work takes a long time, and the finished blouses are valued very highly. When worn outside they nearly cover the skirts, which are just knee length. Red sashes with a yellow stripe from Tapachula, of the kind worn also around Ocosingo, bind the skirts at the waist. Hair is done in two braids with dark red ribbon, or tied up in a knot over the forehead as at Cancuc.

[342] [231] [854] ←

302 →

301 →

621 563 →

[293] →

Fig. 330—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians in the street.

Men and women alike wear cheap, gay-coloured necklaces, usually rosaries.

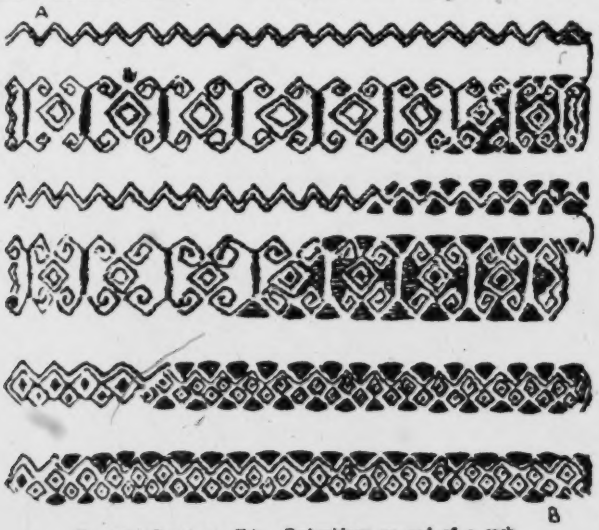
The Indians move with great freedom through the town and lounge in company with the Ladinos on the broad porch of the Town Hall. The officials are distinguished by silver-headed canes with black tassels. In lieu of a Maestro, they are directly under the Ladino *Presidente Municipal,* and their disputes are tried by the local judge. Their lawsuits have a mediaeval air, carried on pub-

695 344 licly with great clamor on the Town Hall porch, and all concerned speaking with the utmost freedom. A breach of promise case was observed in the course of trial. It went on for at least two hours with never less than two Indians, usually women, speaking at once. One could not but admire the patience of the rather bored and indifferent judge.

114 The cargadores from Cancuc arrived shortly after dark, still lively despite the long day and steep climb. More remarkable still,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa
Amatenango

one of them had developed fever, "so that he lost his breath," and 114
another had made almost the whole trip with two kayaks, over 200 lbs. on his back. They camped on the Town Hall porch where we, with our beds on piles of grass in a room labelled *"Comandancia,"* heard them, as we fell asleep, still chattering over a friendly bottle. Here, as long ago at Ocozotepec, our goods and saddles were stored in the jail, the room next ours, bearing the tactful label in red and blue, *"Prevencion."* Our grass beds were soft and sweet. The big door framed a little of the plaza, the fountain, a cottage with a narrow barred, candle-lit window, and the towering back-drop of cliffs behind, reaching to the stars, with one small winking fire, high up, from some Indian's house. We heard our *cargadores'* low chatter-



291
531

FIG. 331—Tenejapa, Chis. Embroidery on end of a sash.
A. Front. B. Back.

ing, the play of the fountain, a distant guitar. The air was fresh 114
with pines and sweet grass and mountain coolness. We were in a magic country, and we were very, very tired.

Although it breaks the sequence of our journey, it seems best to 361
mention the town of Amatenango here in connection with the other 323
Highland Tzeltal tribes. We passed through it just beyond Teopisca on our way to Comitan, having no time to stop off. The [492]
people had been observed in San Cristóbal, where they come in to trade their famous pottery, men and mules alike piled high with loads twice their size.

[P.198-F]

Plate 7. Types of pottery produced:

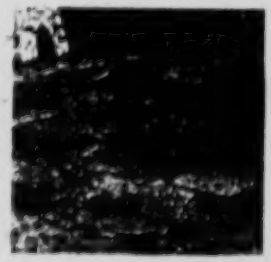
323
531
532
415

a decorated water pitcher

b water storage jar

c bowl

d water-carrying jar



e toy: man astride donkey

f flower holder shaped in form of duck

g candle holder

h vase on an ashtray, pedestal with three frogs

Photographs by Jean Simmons.

[P.198-F]

Plate 7. Types of pottery produced:

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a decorated water pitcher

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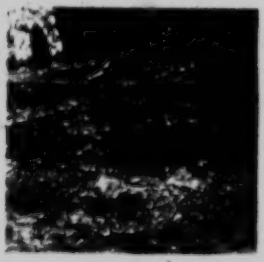

e toy: man astride donkey

f flower holder shaped in form of duck

g candle holder

h vase on an ashtray, pedestal with three frogs

Photographs by Jean Simmons.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The boy is expected to live for a year with the girl's parents; then he makes his own home, usually near that of his father. If the boy's parents are sufficiently powerful, they may pay the girl's parents twelve pesos in lieu of the year's service. Villa was informed that a woman unable to pay a debt or a fine may be taken as a secondary wife by any married man who will pay the debt or fine; that a woman who loses her virginity may be bought similarly of her parents for a little rum; and that in the case of any of these polygynous marriages, a single household is maintained. No such household was observed. 583 591 583 591 595 [681]

No information was obtained on birth customs,[30] or on customs in connection with death.[31] 114

Blom and LaFarge describe a church festival held at Tecojá ranch on June 22 and 23.[32] When Villa visited the highland villages the carnival was being celebrated. In Tenejapa on February 20 he witnessed the "Festival of the Flags" (*tahimalkin*). The (annually elected) leaders of the festival, the *alfereces*, assembled in the morning at the church. Each man conveyed a red banner with green edges, fastened to a pole, and each held in his mouth a short hook on which an orange was impaled. Nothing was learned as to the significance of these objects. The alfereces remained for a time inside the church drinking rum and singing. They then went by fours to pray in turn before each of the crosses set up in the village. The rest of the day they spent visiting the house of each one of them in turn; in each house they sang the same song sung in the church; in each the host offered rum, so that by nightfall all were drunk. These acts were to be twice repeated during the days following. They had for their stated purpose the announcement of the days of carnival. On the following Thursday the carnival became generally celebrated, and many natives went out costumed and masked. 796 [114] [574] [533]

The alfereces were accompanied by musicians, and also by three personages carrying the dried bodies of, respectively, a wild cat, a rodent called *saben*, and an iguana. Villa was informed that these animals are used in a later festal pantomime in which the alfereces enact a sowing, and in which these animals are represented as performing their characteristic mischief.[33] [825]

Villa observed other elements of the carnival ritual in Oxchuc. On Thursday, February 24, Indians of the calpul of Santo Tomás assembled in the church where they prayed for a time before the large altar, and then danced and drank rum in the nave. The dance was performed alternately by men and by women, and was accompanied by music from a harp, a guitar, and a rattle made of a calabash and a deer's hoof. On the following day these acts were performed by Indians of the other calpul; on this occasion the music was furnished by two drums and a flute, and the leader (*capitán*) was dressed in red. On this latter day natives of the calpul of Santo Tomás moved in procession through the streets; four individuals bore each a large pole to which were fastened ribbons of various colors; a fifth carried a red banner. [535] [533]

[30] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359

[31] *Ibid.* 2:360–362

[32] *Ibid.* 2:364–365

[33] The frequent association, in Middle America, of small animals, especially furred animals, with festivals, in connection with ideas of fertility and of festal buffoonery, has been noted. See Redfield, 1936, pp. 231–243. [171]

776 This substitute is called *gelol*, the same im-
796 age but smaller, which is kept next the original one.

[788] During the procession the saint is carried
[782] in a litter. Incense is burned before him,
[533] while music with drums and flutes is played.

Traditional Ceremonies

796 There are other ceremonies held in the
[177] parajes which, although based on Christian
[178] ritual (including some of the prayers, presence of the cross, candles, etc.), still manifest ancient aboriginal traditions. Among
[776] these ceremonies is the one made before the house altar to Chulmetic (the earth goddess), to God, to Tatik Jesucristo and the 13 Fiadores del Cielo, for the soul of one newborn, to guard against sicknesses or bad influences of any kind. This ceremony is

[P. 222-C]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

778 paper, brightened with colour added by a cigarette package, a label from a tin of beets in a deep red, a joke in German about the fall of the mark, of which the prevailing tone was pure viridian, and a page of advertising from the Saturday Evening Post. We gave [123] this family a chromo of a saint, which was immediately framed with a sort of wooden box, and set up beside the cross. The table below was used for laying odds and ends on, such as the spindle and a couple of empty aguardiente bottles.

782 Incense, *pom*, and candles, both extensively used by the Indians
788 today, had a place in the old Maya ritual similar to that of the
177 Catholic Church.
178

The Priest is an important figure to the Indians. They come to
793 him with respect to tell him their troubles, and receive him into their villages with rejoicing. At the same time, there is no doubt that they deliberately hoodwink him as to the orthodoxy of their faith.

796 Although it includes several non-Christian elements, a description of the fiesta observed at Tecojá will give a fair idea of the Tzeltal's church observances. Tecojá ranch has a village of about [241] twenty houses attached to it. The fiesta was held on the twenty- [648] second and twenty-third of June. By custom, the ranch had to allow the Indians this time off, as well as accepting the lowered efficiency on the following "cold grey dawn of the morning after." The owners had, moreover, to provide the rum for the whole celebration, in this case, two demi-johns.

The ranch chapel was thrown open and decorated with fir [794] branches and streamers. The proceedings were in charge of two older men, called *caporales*, who were distinguished by a cross-belting of red handkerchiefs. One house was set aside for the celebrations, in front of which was a table and three triangular, crimson banners with gold edges. By these drumming and flute-playing went on irregularly. Here was the official dispensary for rum, which was given out by the *caporales*. Inside the house, a palm-thatched one with stick walls, about fifteen feet square, some thirty [534] Indians, men and women, were squatting against the walls. There was an orchestra of a guitar and a mouth-organ, occasionally augmented by the piper, who would wander in from outside. This individual, although most amazingly drunk, managed to maintain his [533] musical ability until he fell asleep. The tune they played was like a rather wistful jig, but the time was lively. To this four couples [535] danced, the men facing the women, with a shuffling step not unlike waltzing. They kept very much in one place, but occasionally changed sides. The dancing was evidently a serious affair. This type is called in Spanish *zapatea*, in Tzeltal, *ahk'Out*.

273* 621 794 554 positions), only relative order of drinking is used. It is the arbitrary selection of order as the medium of communication of roles and ranks that leads us to describe drinking performances as a code.

*273 621 794 554 561 We have observed that on the occasion of ceremonial drinking, not only will the relative age differences of the adult males be expressed in the relative order in which they are served aguardiente, but so also will they arrange themselves spatially in such a way that the drink server will be able to meet the obligation of serving the older person first without skipping anyone in the seating order. In other words, men, in the first stages of ceremonial drinking, will arrange themselves in order of relative age-rank, and thus receive in perfect spatial and temporal succession the aguardiente which they drink.

273* 621 794 554 533 The ceremonial drinking sequence is associated with the presence of a marimba which plays throughout the course of the fiesta and the departure of which signals the termination of the same. While the marimba players are paid to play at the fiesta, with regard to the consumption of aguardiente they are treated as are all other males who are present. In some cases, they will be offered drinks with greater frequency to begin with, as it is supposed by the host that they will play more frequently and will charge less if they are somewhat intoxicated.

000 The ceremonial drinking sequence is regularly associated

273* in the order of drinking. There is no drink server in the informal drinking sequence; a man initiates the drinking act with each other man in turn until his bottle is empty. The relative age-ranks of the participants are recognized, however, in that if an older person is present, he is served first. Also, toasting (see the description of drinking by the civil hierarchy) incorporates forms of address--/BANKIL/, /TAT/, and /TATA*/--in which relative age-rank is recognized.

273* The informal drinking sequence, then, is loosely structured internally, and its length is determined by the interaction of the number of participants with the quantity of aguardiente in the bottle. The sequence is terminated when the bottle is empty. A new sequence is initiated when another participant produces another bottle and invites the others to drink. The length of time between sequences varies from virtually no time, when the group is in a bar and a new bottle can be quickly bought, to much longer periods when participants must go to borrow money to buy a bottle or (as happened before the cantinas were established) to find someone who has a bottle to sell. One sequence follows another until all the participants have run out of aguardiente or are unconscious.

No eating--even of regular meals at home--is associated with the informal drinking sequence. Sometimes a marimba is associated with the informal drinking sequence, but only when the

273* marimberos drink together with their friends in the house where
[533] the instrument is kept. When the informal drinking sequence
[275] takes place in a cantina, it is accompanied by music played on the phonograph of the cantinero. Each piece costs the owner twenty centavos, and before it is played the names of the donor and his drinking companions are announced over the loud speaker, which carries the sound all over the community.

The informal drinking cycle differs from the ceremonial cycle in that it may move from one setting to another. The two types of cycle differ also in the settings in which each may occur. The distribution of cycles by setting is shown in the following table:

TABLE 14

DISTRIBUTION OF DRINKING CYCLES BY SETTING

Informal drinking	Ceremonial drinking	Informal drinking and ceremonial drinking	Neither
cantinas	porch of cabildo	uncultivated fields	cultivated fields
	inside cabildo	door yards	inside church
	inside caves	house porches	inside convento
	porch of convento	inside houses	inside clinic
			inside store

342
527
774
788
spring. The gourd is used as a container for the springwater because, like all growing plants and unlike metal or glass containers, it has a soul. The soul of the tobacco plant is considered particularly strong. The smoke of the candles and incense are the media through which prayers to the spirit of the house are transmitted.

[782]

342
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533
The house fiesta serves three functions: (1) introducing the spirit of the house inmates to the house spirit, (2) creating a harmonious setting for spiritual interaction of the members of the household and the house spirit, (3) protecting the house against the intrusion of evil. The introduction is achieved by brushing the household members with the branches from the spring, and the harmony is brought about by drinking liquor, playing the guitar, and dancing. The music of the seed gourd, the guitar, and sometimes a radio or phonograph makes the residents, their guests, and the house spirit happy, or "of one heart." Protection is insured by nailing the palm crosses representing the Lord of the Lightning to the house posts.

[789]

342
527
782
756
Second house fiesta ("meal for the house"). When a meal is given to the spirit of the house earth, the house is arranged as for the house fiesta with curing arches set in front of the center posts at the back and middle walls. The same guests are invited as for the first fiesta. The family buys a sheep and slaughters it in the morning by stringing it up to the center post by it paws and slashing its jugular vein. When the blood has drained into the square hole opened at the base of the center post, the curer removes the head and buries it in the hole. Some curers bury the four paws as well, while others prefer to add an offering of five pieces of bread in a new pottery jar, twenty measures of chocolate, thirteen cigarettes, and a bottle of liquor covered with a new cloth. The head of the sheep is placed so that the eyes look up to watch over the inhabitants. Some refer to it as the *me?iltatil,* identifying it with the curers (who are called me?iltatil in the context of guardianship) and thus with the ancestor guardians.

During the house fiesta I observed in July 1967, an old curer who had officiated at the first ceremony served again. A neighbor, who was not related to the houseowners but who was skilled in butchering, slaughtered

the animal. The curer received from him the severed head and paws which he placed in a large gourd. Then the curer served a potion of herbs in springwater to all of the members of the household. The final ritual act was for the curer to smoke an article of clothing belonging to each member of the household over the incense burning in front of the center arch at the back wall. Liquor was served continaully throughout the ceremony, the first drink always being given to the curer followed by one to the elder houseowner. The first drink was served immediately after the cutting of the jugular vein of the sheep. Flowing blood, water, and liquor are spirit media symbolically linked in ritual behavior. Between each of the major ritual acts—the slaughtering of the sheep, the burial of the head, the serving of the springwater and herbs, and the smoking of the clothing with incense—the curer prayed, but his prayers were so mumbled that I could not hear or record them. Informants said that it was a variation of the prayer given at the first house fiesta. After the rituals, a stew made with the sheep meat was served with tortillas to all the visitors. The music of guitar and gourd rattle, played during the ritual by young male relatives continued after the meal, and the guests remained in the house drinking and dancing for the rest of the afternoon.

Elements of these house fiestas are repeated when any of the children of the household is ill. A severe illness, diagnosed as being caused by the devil eating the soul of the patient, requires offering a meal to the house spirit. The square hole is reopened, and a live black chicken, male if the patient is a boy and female if it is a girl, is placed inside. A food offering of one-fourth liter of liquor, one peso's worth of bread, and 50 cents' worth of chocolate is placed inside with the chicken, and a square board is fitted on top of the hole "to keep the chicken alive for eight days so that the house spirit will hear his cries." When the curing arch is removed, the hole is filled in with dirt over the chicken, now dead, which provides a meal for the spirit house earth.

When the houseowner is sick, an appeal for health is made to the spirit in the house post. The members of the household kiss the post, a splinter is removed and burned in an incense burner with *pom*, the resin of pine. This odor is pleasing to the house spirit.

When a serious illness caused by witchcraft has been cured, the patient

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

the functions of the caretakers of the church because, one informant said, his image shows him holding the keys to the gates of heaven. 794 527

The ritual of the inauguration begins on June 29, a day called Pas Kantelero, *prepare the candle holders. The old mayordomos who have served for the past six months scrape the candle sticks, while two of the group play the drum and blow the flute. Others sweep the church and clean the interior. Then the fiscal and the mayordomos gather outside the church. A table is brought out, and the money that has been collected from each mayordomo by the two cofrades to be used for the purchase of candles is counted. When the money has been counted, two mayordomos ring the bells in the bell tower. Two servings of contraband liquor are passed out, one called "arrival of our food," before the meal, and the other called "wash down the meal," afterwards. Formerly a meal, consisting of a male turkey, or beef soup if the mayordomos could not afford a turkey, with tortillas and chile, was prepared and served in the church yard. This is now eaten in the home of the cofrade because the priest objected to the preliminary drinking session.* [273] [262]

On the second day of the fiesta, called Wišpereš, *the mayordomos "make a fiesta" which consists of beating the drums, playing the flute, and drinking trago. Early in the morning the priest gives a mass for San Pedro and San Pablo attended by the old and new officials and the women.* [533]

A series of house celebrations takes place in the houses of the cofrades. The new mayordomos go first to the house of the cofrade of Santa Lucía. There they are offered the mouthwash, a bowl of cold water with which they rinse their mouths, followed by a round of two drinks each. The Cofrade of Santa Lucía then speaks to the Tatil of San Pedro the Martyr: [273]

Cofrade of Santa Lucía: "Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal? Thanks that you are alive, word of God, at daybreak. What will we do? What have we done? We have to speak of what is in our heart, our soil, our mud. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials, where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our judge San Pedro and

After another
mouthwash, the b'alnialetik lay a cloth on a small table which is put in the center of the porch, and two liters of trago and a measuring glass are laid on this. The Cofrade of Santa Lucía rises and asks permission of the women, the mayordomos, and all the b'alnialetik to drink the liquor, saying: "God, mother who nurses us, give permission to us so that the water of his body, the water of his hand, the gift will pass in our bodies, that which is the gift of the me?tiktatik. God speaks, tat nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik. Give us permission to hand the gift that will pass in your body from the me?tiktatik. God, Jesus, Mary, only one commander God is three persons. Bless what we eat and what we drink and bless in the name of God the father. God, take the gift, me?eštateš."

The mayordomos, b'alnialetik, and nakawanehetik then make the sign of the cross. The Cofrade of the Virgin Santa Lucía blesses the liquor, saying, "In God's name, God the father, name of God, God the son, Holy Spirit. Yes, I can endure doing what they did, what our mother and what our father did, with my hand which has sinned and my feet which have sinned. Yes, we are changing office on this holy day, this holy year the holy saint, with the holy oath and in the name of God the Father."

The mayordomos drink four measures of liquor, then raise the rest of the drinks to their lips without drinking and take the glass over to one of the nakawanehetik. In this way they show the restraint to which they have been urged in the speeches. At eleven o'clock they leave for the church, putting their red kerchiefs around their necks along with the rosaries. As they set out, the elder nakawane says so the new mayordomos: "May you all get up and go to the church. May you all enter inside the church. May you take the oath inside the church before the face of the fiscal. After you take the oath, make the sign of the cross before the face of the Tatik Jesus Christ. After you have made the sign of the cross, when you enter inside the door of the church, the mamal new kobraria will give the account to the mamal old kobraria."

Sitting within the church are the old mayordomos and the fiscal who have remained there after the mass. They are awaiting the new mayordomos. Two of them play the drum and the flute. The new mayordomos enter, the elder and junior mayordomo of each saint walking together, and kneel before the image of Tatik Jesus Christ. The church has been ar-

794 527 *ranged with a large table in the center, the candles allotted to each mayor-*
domo laid out in bundles of nine. On the table is a little cross of the cruci-
[188] *fied Christ. The priest blesses the new mayordomos and the old mayordo-*
mos. Then the fiscal gives nine candles wrapped in a napkin to each may-
ordomo. The niḉ'nal, junior mayordomo, of each saint first takes the can-
dles allotted to the tatil to the latter's house, and then takes his own to his
[273] *house. After the oath, the new mayordomos return to the house of the*
Cofrade of Sacramento where they drink until prayer time in the evening.

On the sk'ak'alel Sk'in, *the true day of the fiesta, the new mayordomos go to hear the mass along with women prayer-reciters at seven in the morning. They then go to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento, leav-*
[533] *ing three junior mayordomos to play the drums and flute at the door of the church. In the house of the cofrade, they count the money of the Virgin and of San Pedro the Martyr. This fund of money is passed over from*
[454] *the outgoing officials to the incoming officials along with interest. It is now being loaned out to local entrepreneurs. The Virgin has a fund of 228 pesos, and San Pedro the Martyr has 40 pesos. The fiscal supervises the counting of the money, and records the sum, after which the pat?o?tan is recited and drinks are served.*

621 554 In the behavioral sequences of the inauguration, several features of the structure and functioning of the hierarchy can be noted. First, one can see in the actions of the officials that the hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth step ladder but a segmented order. The categories of officials, the alkaletik, rehiroletik, and mayoletik, act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same area in all the settings. Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth (and in the case of the mayoletik, from first to fifth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They command their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge orders the fourth regidor to get liquor, and the first policeman orders the police from the rural colonia to get liquor. By these behavioral indices one can see the ordering and grouping by age, skill in praying, and territorial identification within the segments of the civil-religious hierarchy. These principles apply, however,

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

796 boring towns of Oxchuk, Larraínzar, and Chenalhó. The ceremonial calendar is given in Table 28.

TABLE 28. Ceremonial Calendar

Big fiestas		*Small fiestas*	
Date	*Fiesta*	*Date*	*Fiesta*
Mar. or Apr.	Tatik Kulibal	Jan. 20	Tatik San Karalampio
Apr. 29	Tatik Martil	May 6	Tatik San Migel
July 25	Tatik Santiagú	May 15	Tatik San Isigre
Aug. 29	Tatik San Pransiskú	May 26	Tatik Spiritu Santú
Nov. 29	Santu?	June 11	Tatik San Antonió
Dec. 13	Me?tik Santa Lucíá	June 29	San Pegro-San Pablú
		July 15	Tatik Korasón
		July 20	Tatik San Huan
		Oct. 2	Me?tik Rosario
		Nov. 12	Me?tik Guadalupe
		Dec. 12	Tatik Santo Tomás
		Dec. 25	Me?tik Paskú, Tatik Ninyo

[533] In every fiesta drums and flutes are played, liquor is drunk, candles
[188] burned, and church bells rung. During a big fiesta, which continues for
[794] three days rather than for a single day, these additional activities are
[273] added: contributions of 5 pesos per household are collected, the church is adorned with flowers and greens, mass is held (this may occur in minor fiestas as well if the priest happens to be present), a common meal is prepared for the mayordomos, and the people celebrate with firecrackers, saints' processions, dancing, house fiestas in the homes of the alfereces when they were still being installed, and a fiesta in the houses of the kobraria with a bull slaughtered for the meal.

[273] During fiestas, time is measured in liters of liquor consumed and in cig-
[276] arettes. The liquor, or "gift of the gods," is the basic element of all fiestas and assures the participants that the celebration will be successful. Safe-
[794] guards were built into the management of the fiesta in the role of *alisiles*, who used to act as attendants to the alfereces and who watched to see that the alfereces and the guitarists did not get so drunk that they could not perform.

796 The following story about the origin of liquor illustrates its great impor-
273 tance to the fiesta.
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tives whose positions in this household fiesta are established on the basis of their age and experience in office, took up the established positions for these roles in the house of the new alférez. The first nakawane blessed the liquor; two bottles were measured into shot glasses and served to the guests. After this the meal was served.

The second day (Wišpereš). *All the nakawanehetik appointed for the new alférez gathered in his house at nine o'clock in the morning to drink. The first and second nakawanehetik went to the cabildo to ask the judge and president when the new alférez must take out the holy banner. The president replied that it would be in two days. The question was rhetorical: everyone knew that the ceremony of taking out the banners occurred on the fourth day of the fiesta, and the day itself was named* Šlok' Krus, *taking out of the cross (the banner has a cross adorning the staff). What was being communicated to the civil officials by the question was the recognition of responsibility to the new alférez by the nakawanehetik. In the afternoon of this day, another meal of beef stew and tortillas was served to the same guests assembled on the previous day.*

The third day (Sk'ak'halel Sk'in). *At cock's crow the parents of the new alférez awakened him. Gathered in the house were the woman speaker, the guitarist, and the nakawanehetik. Under the direction of the woman speaker, the alférez' wife helped him put on his clothing, and the guitarist accompanied this procedure with music. When he was dressed, the new alférez danced a turn before the assembled guests to show his new clothing, and reviewed the pat?o?tan with the nakawanehetik who had taught him. He then went with his guitarist to raise his companions. First he went to the third alférez and awakened him. He greeted the nakawane of the third alférez with the pat?o?tan, and was invited to sit down; he was served coffee and bread, followed by a mouthwash. The third alférez dressed; and after the two were served liquor they danced a turn. In this same fashion, the new alférez raised all of his companions. The assembled group went to the cabildo.*

The nakawanehetik and the b'alnialetik, after drinking coffee and eating bean tortillas, went to collect the things needed to receive official

mother? There is nothing but holy suffering, holy penitence here before our sinful clay, our sinful mud. Again we gather here where others have gathered before in the company of our ancestors, the holy alisiles with the liquor bearers. It is your burden the four of you, the holy work, your holy office for his godchildren again give his godchild at the gate of the door of the church our saint, our keeper, the great father Señor Santiago Calixtro for our patron God, again we gather before this doorway our bodies, our clay, our mud with the holy alisit with our costume. Only give a little liquor, the gift of your mothers, your fathers, mam compadre. 794 796 539 [273]

The two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik received one liter of liquor, and the same quota was given to the two alfereces of Alannantik. They drank some and poured off most of the measured shots into the bottles carried by the liquor bearers; then they smoked a cigarette. When they finished this, they raised their banners and entered the plaza on horseback. The bell of the church struck as they entered. About four o'clock, two columns of horsemen formed, one behind the two alfereces of Alannantik and one behind the two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik. One year I observed thirty-eight horsemen from Ahk'olnantik and fifteen from Alannantik. The imbalance in representation for the two sides of the dual division grew sharper each year as the population increased in Ahk'olnantik. Before starting the race, the four alfereces crossed themselves, facing first the church, then the cabildo. As the race began, the mayordomos played the drums and flute in the church yard and the nakawanehetik sat in front of the church wall. 794 796 [273] 794 796 526 [621] [533]

When the racers made four passes across the plaza, they came to drink another trago and smoke two cigarettes in front of the church. At the end of the race, they again drank and smoked the same measured quantities as the pat?o?tan was recited by the leader of the races. [273] [276]

On Sk'ak'halel Sk'in, *the same procedures occurred as on the previous day. The final act of the fiesta took place when, after the races, the alfereces dismounted and the nakawanehetik went to them and drank one liter of liquor before the leader of the races. The two most recently appointed alfereces entered the cabildo, where the banners were laid out on the table among orange and lemon leaves. The president, síndico, two judges, and* [273]

794 *the regidores were seated in their customary places; the alfereces sat on the*
796 *visitors' bench. The two former alfereces went before the two newly ap-*
526 *pointed alfereces and gave an account of what was going to take place, instructing them on "how they should make a fiesta."*

When the two former alfereces entered, they went to the president, saying, "How does the Lord see you alive on this holy afternoon?" They then went to the síndico and the regidores and ended with the judges, exchanging a pat?o?tan.

The alfereces went out, mounted their horses, and were handed the banners by the regidores. The two old alfereces received their banners first. All four made the sign of the cross, first facing the cabildo, then the
[788] *church, and then rode in procession, preceded by the flutist, two drum players, and a guitarist, and followed by the other horsemen. They stopped before the church, dipping their flags, first toward the church and then the cabildo. The president, síndico, and first judge walked across the*
[533] *plaza to the church as the church bells were rung, and all the musical instruments played—the marimba, bell, drums, and flute. The alfereces dismounted and put their banners in the church.*

[426] *The final day, called* Lahinbahel Sk'in, *was spent sobering up, putting things back in order, and returning borrowed items.*

178 Although Santiago is not one of the major saints, a major celebration is
231 given in his honor because of the high value placed on horsemanship in
526 this community. Before the construction of the Pan-American Highway in
[796] 1953 everyone in town had horses which were used to carry the pottery to
[492] market. Riding skills were developed in the free-swinging *macho* (manly) style of northern Mexico's cowboys. Even today when horses are not as economically useful the horse culture has survived. The running of the horses in the fiesta is not competitive. Each rider does his best to tear at high speed across the plaza, but there is no specific goal. Since the
[273] drunken riders often fall and are injured, some of the excitement is based on the potential danger.

128 The behavioral data on which the analysis of rituals depends are included because they provide a basis for comparison with neighboring

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Monday: Nothing
Tuesday: Nothing

Wednesday: All the mayordomos gather at the church. Some go to carry wood for the cross while others look for flowers to make a "bed" for Jesus, Tatik Eskipulas, *to lay Him on after he has been crucified. The mayordomos arrange the table on which he will lie very beautifully. They tie boughs of evergreen on all four sides. Some of the flowers* [*a small variety of orchid which was possibly of some importance in pre-Catholic rituals*] *are very fragrant. When all is arranged well, they take out a box so that Tatik Eskipulas can lie where the flowers and branches are. They put this table at the foot of the cross. After the mayordomos have "planted" the cross, they adorn it with pine boughs. They put flowers on each arm of the holy cross. Then they drape it with the holy cloth* [the purple banner]. *At eleven o'clock some of the mayordomos begin to play the coronet, matraka, flute, and drum. Tatik Eskipulas arrives at the cross with the male and female prayer-maker.* [824] [533]

Thursday: Half of us finish making the cross, and the other half arrange the "prison" inside the church where Tatik Eskipulas will spend the night. After we make the prison, we make the Jew. We look for his pants and shoes, his hat and his tie, his mask, his gourd, his bag, his shirt, his cigarette. After we arrange him, we raise him with a rope in front of the church, and leave him hanging for the pueblo to see who killed Christ. Meanwhile, others put Tatik Eskipulas in prison. When night time arrives, four men with rifles watch Tatik Eskipulas to guard Him as the holy evening passes. The mayordomos gather at the church and play the sad flute and the old coronet. They play the matraka. At midnight they play the drum and coronet. [533]

Friday: Very early in the morning of Friday, the four guards of God are changed as the dawn enters. All day, the guards will watch the Lord. They will see Him rise on the cross and descend from the cross. Then the four go to their house to drink a little liquor. At eleven o'clock in the morning the mayordomos will give a sign on the elder coronet, the elder matraka, and the sad flute and the drum. They will play three times to summon the townspeople instead of sounding the bell. When all the women and men arrive, they hear the prayer announcing that Tatik Eski- [533] [202]

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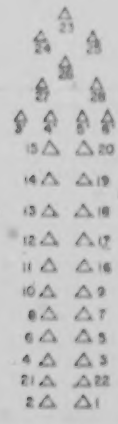
796 *pulas has risen on the cross. After they have seen Him rise, all the pueblo*
[533] *will go out. At two o'clock in the afternoon, they will again play the sad flute, the drum, the coronet, and the matrake. All the pueblo will collect and will make another prayer to see the Tatik Eskipulas lowered from the*
[788] *cross. When He is lowered, they take Him out on a procession with the priest, the prayer-makers, and all the men and women of the pueblo who will hold candles, and the four guards with rifles. The first mayordomo*
[533] *knows how to blow the old coronet, and another mayordomo knows how to blow the sad flute, and anther plays the drum, and another plays the old matraka. After the procession goes in the plaza, it returns to the*
[273] *church and leaves Tatik Eskipulas in the middle of the church. The mayordomos sit outside the church and drink a liter of trago, and then go to their homes.*

Saturday of glory: Very early in the morning of Saturday, they give a prayer with the sad flute and drum, with the old trumpet and with the
[202] *matraka. Three times it is sounded for the pueblo to gather and hear mass. After the mass, the judge goes to speak to the police to look for a horse to mount the Jew. When the horse arrives, they take the figure of the Jew down from the church and tie him on top of the horse. A mayordomo leads him by the bridle, and he goes out in the pueblo with the flute and drum to ask for contributions. Those who know fiesta [the curers] give fifty or twenty cents or if there is nothing, they give an egg. Afterward, they return to the church and the Jew is taken from the horse. The people set fire to his straw body. When they finish burning this, they check to see how much money they collected. All the mayordomos count the money in common. If there are twenty or thirty pesos, the mayordomos make a fiesta with drum and flute.*

[533] *Sunday of Resurrection: Mayordomos gather and sweep church. After*
[273] *sweeping they play the music to open the mouth of the bell. After the*
[262] *mass, they go drink fermented atol with bean tortilla. They eat a hen or rooster to make a fiesta for our Holy Lord because he is resurrected and because all the town is happy. They give the mayordomos fermented atol to drink. Then they return to the church and take out the lord cross, take out the jail, and the bed where the Father Eskipulas slept.*

Second, the house ceremonials require the addition of this segment to complement the civil and religious structures so that we have a triadic set of officials—civil, religious and household—rather than a dyadic set as is usually described for Mesoamerican communities. 621* 794 182 156

Agent, place, time, and acts, both verbal and motor, 121



621* 794 788 533 554

CHART 9 – PROCESSION, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS:

3-6 Alferezes
23 Guitarist (*alpultero*)
24, 25 Firecracker lighters (*tomeie ti'bak*)
26 Flautist (*yamar*)
27, 28 Drummers (*stihik ik'ayohik*)

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7, in addition to 21 and 22, rural judges listed in Chart 8.

carefully described, are the pegs on which comparative analysis can be hung. What we lose in literary value in ethnographic accounts, we may gain in making explicit the inductive bases of structural functional analyses. Once we understand the principles involved in the assignment of position or action in any setting, variations from the elicited and observed pattern provide clues to social change within small time periods. 121

[P. 221-B]

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Most ethnographic reports on the civil-religious hierarchy emphasize status and the functional goal of community integration. What we have failed to impart is the dynamic aspect of status, role. In the divergences between expected and enacted patterns of behavior in those occasions when the individual

621* 121 794 554 178

621* 794 554 788 533

Chart 10 — New Year's Day Procession of New Officials (Observed)

Officials:
29, 30, 31 Comisarios of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Cruz Quemada

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Charts 7 and 9.

"puts into effect the rights and duties which constitute the status" (Linton, 1936, p. 114), we have micrometers to the measurement of change. The details of change may be small—for example, a shift in the lineup of officials in a procession—but it may be a clue to important organizational changes. The behavioral changes in details of this sort provide cues to eliciting information that will explain the divergences. An important supplement to these cues are the unsolicited comments of informants. Sometimes

621* 121 794 554 178

621* 124 178

[P 222-A]

621*
105
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[128]

I SUMMARIZE the evidence offered in the inaugural acts first in terms of a functional analysis of the ceremonial behavior and second in terms of structural and organizational changes revealed in the strategies of interaction. The following goals are attained in the rituals of inauguration:

1. *Preservation of continuity.* In the highland Maya Indian communities the problem of maintaining continuity is crucial because most of the offices

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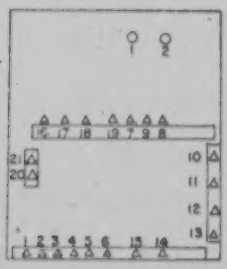

CHART 14 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF SACRAMENTO, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 *Me?il K'op*
2 *Sčebal sme?*

MEN (triangles):
16 Cofrade of Sacramento (*Kobraria Sakramentu*)
17 First Nakawane (*Sba Nakawane*)
18 Second Nakawane (*Sčebal Nakawane*)
19 Third Nakawane (*Yolebal Nakawane*)
20, 21 Guitarist (*Balnial Alpultero*)

Remaining numerals refer to role terms listed in Chart 13.

621*
105
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are changed simultaneously. The emphasis on continuity is evident, first of all, in the repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetitive behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expectation which assures participants in a performance of a link with the past. Bunzel (1952, p. 251) has shown that this familiarity of ritual "sets" in a variety of ceremonials provides linkage with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango. Repetition in behavior is reinforced by verbal references to perform-

[P. 227 - A]

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APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
*62 124	13. What time does he begin to raise the officials?		He gets up early about 6 A.M.	
796 624	14. How does the fourth regidor raise the other officials?	First he goes to get the third regidor. Then they go to the second. The three go to collect the first. After all are together, the four go to the house of the first judge	The fourth regidor goes to the house of the third regidor. They leave and go to the house of the second regidor, then to the house of the first regidor. Then they go to the síndico's house. Leave and go to the house of the judge	
*62 124 796 693	15. How do the judges join together?	First the two assistant judges call on the second judge. Then the three go to the house of the first judge	The assistant judge for Ahk'olnantik goes to raise assistant for Alannantik. The two go to the house of the second judge. Then they go to the house of the first judge	I arrived at 9:30 at the house of the first alcalde. Present were the following (see Chart 3)
[273]	16. What do the judges do in the house of the first judge?	They drink liquor. They await the arrival of the four regidores	They drink liquor	Before serving liquor the first judge gave the benediction for the liquor *(paſʔoſ'an yiſ smahtanil)* with the first *nakawane*. His godchild *ahijado shalal nupune*, of marriage, and his brother-in-law Lucian Kut poured liquor. He served cigarettes. Two liters of liquor were drunk here before going to house of president
[292] [576]	17. What do they do then?	They go to the house of the president (see Chart 4)	Go to the house of the president	Assembled company prepared to leave at 10:10. The first judge puts on his plain red kerchief. The assistant judges put on flowered red kerchiefs. First judge said goodbye to the *nakawane*. This formal adieu, the *spat lok'yoʔt'an*. Regidores stood up and came out. Then the assistant judge arrived at the house of President 10:30. (Chart 6)
*62 124 796 693 576	18. What do they do when they enter the house of the president?	The first judge gives the *spat yoʔt'an* with the first nakawane	The first regidor gives the *paſʔoſ'an*	First judge speaks with *meʔil k'op* who stood at door of inner room. The *nakawanehetik* bowed and kissed hands with the first and second alcaldes
[528] [539]	19. How do they give the *spat yoʔt'anik* at his house the president?	They sing what they will do for the year	Holy evening, mamtat, your health. God how does He see you, mamtat. You are alive speak God holy evening. Behind your heart no illness I hear this holy evening.	(See Chart 6 for seating at house of president)

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APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
*621 124 796 641 [875] [539]				and enthusiasm what the constitution commands us. I want in this moment, under the oath, to designate the position of municipal president of the pueblo
	33. How did new officials respond to oath?			Officials raised hands with rosary in it. Then they put rosary on their necks
*621 124 796	34. What do they do after the oath?		Pass over the papers with the acts, with all the things	Take inventory of communal possessions—5 chairs in bad estate, *2 codigo viejo*, etc.
	35. Who takes inventory?			The past president
*621 124 794 796 [533] [788]	36. What do they do after they take their staffs the new officials?	The four alfereces go out with their banners	The alfereces go out in a procession with the banners	First alferez came to table, crossed himself, kissed banner with kerchief bound on handle, unfurled banner. He followed with second, third, and fourth alfereces. Flute and drum began as alfereces came out. They turned and faced the townhall. Inclining banners the police went out, knelt, crossed selves at door. Then the regidores, then president, then síndico and judges
*621 124 796 788	37. What time did the procession begin?			1:05
	38. What did the procession look like?	(Chart 9)		(Chart 10)
	39. How many turns do they take?		They take two turns where the fruit is sold (reference to plaza during a ceremony)	Two turns (started behind school house but old *nakawane* redirected them)
	40. What did the alfereces do?			At door of the townhall drew up horses facing it, dipped banners. Same at church
	41. Where does the procession go?	To the church	They go to the church	They enter the church
*621 124 796 [624]	42. Who remains at the townhall?		The officials come out, leaving all the townhall silent except for the two principales who will await the new officials	The two principales remain within
[782] [794]	43. What do they do in the church?	All the officials speak to God (Chart 11)	They speak to God. They kiss all the saints	They pray at the altar, then kiss the saints as they leave. The alfereces leave their banners in the church

9:Nash E-5 (1964) - 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo'ontahal

Appendix 2—CHANGE OF OFFICIALS IN THE HOLY HOUSE

	Question	Informant 5	Observation
794 796	1. What is the first day of the fiesta called?	*Pas Kanteleri*, Making the candles	
124	2. What do the mayordomos do first on Paswamal of the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	They scrape the candles	At 9 A.M. the mayordomos were gathered at the door of the church, scraping the candles. The wax was carefully gathered. It will be melted down to make more candles, but not for ceremonial purposes.
[533]	3. What else do they do in the morning of Paswamal?	Two mayordomos beat the drum and one blows the flute	Music was provided by two mayordomos beating drum and one blowing flute
	4. Where do they scrape the candles?	Inside the church	In the courtyard of the church
	5. Where do they blow the flute?	At the door of the church	On the benches near the door of the church
	6. What else is done on the morning of Paswamal?	They sweep out the church	They sweep the church
[824]	7. What else is done on the morning of Paswamal?	Nothing. Formerly they bought juniper needles to put on the floor inside the church but now they do not	
	8. Why don't they bring pine needles now?	Because now the floor of the church is will finished with pure cement	
	9. What do they do after they finish scraping the candles?	They count the money	The fiscal spent the morning sitting on the benches outside the church with the older mayordomos watching the counting of money
	10. What day do they collect the money?	On Sunday eight days before the fiesta of San Pedro	
	11. Who collects the money?	Two kobrates	
	12. How much do they collect from each mayordomo?	Two pesos each	
	13. Why do they collect the money?	For the price of the candles	
	14. Who counts the money to buy the candles?	Two kobrates with the fiscal	
794 796	15. What do they do at noon?	They ring the bells. They all begin to drink liquor (*ya'abal*)	They ring the bells. Then they go to the house of the *'ah'bal*
273	16. What do they call the first drink at midday?	One measure to make the food go down (*sko'op we'elesik*)	
124	17. What do they call the drink after the meal?	Water for the meal (*ya'lel we'elel*)	
	18. How many liters of liquor do the mayordomos drink on Paswamal?	Two liters	

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794	19. Where do they drink?	Behind the church	In the house of the *'ah'bal*
796	20. Where do the old mayordomos eat the common meal?	In the church	In the house of the *'ah'bal*
124 [273]	21. What do they eat?	Male turkey (*mam kox*). Beef soup with tortillas and chile	
[264]	22. How do they prepare turkey?	With chile, *yerba buena* and salt	
[262]	23. Who prepares the meal for the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	The *'ah'bal*. The wife of the *Rekta'* (minor) mayordomo of San Pedro and San Pablo	
[252]	24. What do they do after the common meal?	They go to their homes	They go home
	25. What do they call the second day of the fiesta?	Wilpered	
	26. What do the old mayordomos do first?	They make a fiesta. They beat the drums. They play the flute. They drink tragu	They ring the bells three times. The people gather in the church
	27. What time do they begin the fiesta?	Early	At 7 o'clock
	28. What do they do in the church?		The padre gives a Mass for San Pedro and San Pablo
	29. Who collects for the Mass?		The old officials and the new officials and the women
[533]	30. Where do the mayordomos blow the flute and beat the drum?	At the door of the church	In front of the church
	31. Where do the new mayordomos gather first?	At the house of the kobraria Santa Lucia	At the house of the kobraria of Santa Lucia
	32. What do they do first?	They take out the mouthwash	They serve the mouthwash
[273]	33. What do they do then?	They take out a liter to drink	They serve coffee and corn gruel. Then they serve liquor
[272] [262] [273]	34. How much do the new mayordomos drink?	Two drinks each	After two rounds are served, drink is served to the mayordomos who go to the *nakuwaketik* and offer their drinks. This is done so that the new officials will not be drunk in church
	35. How many of the new mayordomos don't drink liquor?	Three	
[272]	36. What do they drink?	Cold water (*wala*)	
124 794 796 539	37. What does the kobraria of Santa Lucia say to the kobraria of San Pedro Martyr at his house when they begin to drink?	Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal. Thanks you are alive, his word God, at daybreak. We want to see no illness at daybreak. What we will do what we have done. We have to say what our heart says, our soil, our mud. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our Judge Sanpedro sanpablu? So it is that we	

9:Nash E-S (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo'ontahal

APPENDIX 2—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3	OBSERVATION
794 796 124 [539]			did with the hand which has sinned, the feet which have sinned. Yes, I am changing holy day holy year, holy ~~sign~~ holy oath and the name of the god the father
[273]	65. How much do the mayordomos drink?		They drink four measures. After four measures they do not finish and give the rest to ~~*mamal nakuwanakenik*~~
	66. Why do they do this?		Because it is said they may get drunk at the hour to go to church
	67. What time do they go to the church?	At 10 o'clock	At 11 left for church. Put on red kerchiefs, rosaries
[539]	68. What does the *nakanune* say to the new mayordomos as they leave to go to church?		May you all get up and go to the church. May you all enter inside the church. May you take the oath inside the church before the face of the fiscal. After you take the oath you measure the nose in the face of the *tatik* Jesus Christ. After you have measured the noses, when you enter inside the door of the church the mamal new kobraria ~~speaks~~ the *palanbetik* to the mamal old kobraria
	69. Who is at the church?	The old mayordomos	The old mayordomos are seated at the door of the church
[533]	70. What are they doing?	They are awaiting the new mayordomos	They play the drum and the flute
	71. How do they take the *kuramentu* (oath)?		They enter and kneel each pair, *tatil* and *nit'anil* in front of *tatik* Jesus Christ.
	72. How do they stand?		(Chart 15)
	73. How is the church arranged?		There is a large table with the candles lined up. In the middle of the table stands a little holy Jesus hung on the cross a
	74. Who is inside the church?		The priest, the fiscal, the old mayordomos
	75. What does the priest do?		He gives the Mass. He blesses the new and the old mayordomos
	76. What do they do after the blessing?		The fiscal gives the candles wrapped in a napkin
	77. How many candles does he give to each mayordomo?		Nine candles
	78. What are the candles for?		To light for the saints
	79. What does he do with the candles?		Goes and puts them in the elder officeholder's house. Returns and gets his own to bring to his house
	80. Where do they go after the oath?		~~To the house of the kobraria of Santiago~~

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

796 carried a red banner. At the church the four men performed a dance. Divided into
535 pairs facing each other at a distance of 6 m., they first shook the ribbons on their poles while giving loud cries, varied by putting the hand over the mouth, and running to meet one another. Then they made a slight inclination of the head, turned half around, and returned to their original places. After repeating this thrice, the pairs exchanged places and performed new figures. At the conclusion they surrounded the flag-bearer, shouting and waving the ribbons.

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114 information was obtained on the beliefs as to *nahuales*; this subject is discussed by Blom and LaFarge.[37]

[34] This usage corresponds precisely with that of the pairs of crosses used by the Quintana Roo Maya, of which one, the *cruz hadora*, is moved about in ritual.

[35] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:362–374.

[36] Nuñez de la Vega (1702, p. 9) says, "Los de Oxchuc y de otros pueblos de los Llanos veneran mucho al ídolo que llaman Icalahau, que quiere decir negro principal, o señor de negros," as quoted in Becerra, 1932, p. 244.

37. Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:369-371.

241 paraje perform before the altar of the
782 church in the ceremonial center. All prayers
796 are said in Tzeltal; some are Christian in
[778] origin, others entirely pagan. This prayer
[177] I recorded in 1944:

241
796 Here we come to bring you your food, to
782 light your candles, to play the harp, to play the
539 guitar. Here we come to perform your fiesta,
[534] so you may be happy, so you will not abandon us.

We have already planted the milpas; the seed is already in the soil. Father, do not forsake us; let the rains come properly; let them not be abundant nor deficient. Let there be a little sunshine and a few clouds. Let the soil be happy.

Father, let no hail come; let no wind come; let no locust come; let no harmful animals come; let no robbers come, lest they steal from us and leave us in poverty.

Father, let the year come well; let the corn turn out well; let the beans turn out well. Let there be no sickness; let there be no sorrow. Father, the mouthful has already entered; the word had already entered.

The word "mouthful" refers to all the gifts, "word" to all the prayer.

796 A similar ceremony is the *mukul mixa*
[621] ('great Mass'), organized by members of
[776] each calpul. Each calpul has its own patron
[622] saint and its own chiefs. For this ceremony
[534] many more people gather, for representatives and musicians (flute, drum, harp, and guitar) come from all places. The candles offered as "mouthfuls" are greater in number and size.

778 Household ceremonies follow as the head
78 of the household, in private, prepares the small home altar, where the cross which
[834] protects the home is always found. He adorns it with *juncia* and five candles; he says appropriate prayers at 6 o'clock in the morning or at midday, as he observes fasting and sexual abstinence. These family prayers may be repeated occasionally, depending on the condition of the milpa.

241 At the beginning of the month called
782 [P. 202-A]

412 (*eché*), hoe (*asron*), machete (*machit*), coa (*luk*), and digging stick (*avutel*). In a 243 few towns (Amatenango), where lands are [407] flat, the plow is made of wood and pulled by oxen but only for wheat farming. During [415] corn planting, the seed is carried by the [824] planter in a *morral* hung from the shoulder, [237] in a gourd with a large spout, or in containers made of armadillo shells. The harvested crops are placed in deep baskets, made of reed-grass, or in big pita (*chojak*) [412] net bags. The ear of corn is cleared of its [237] husk by a sharp bone or a small deer horn.

322 412 The axe, machete, and knife are used in wood working, which is very rudimentary, though handsaw and hammer have a place. With these tools the Indians make doors, tables, seats, small benches, shelves. Blom [534] and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:351) add that the Tzeltal near Ocosingo also make violins of a shape similar to the European type, but they have no resonance and poor tone. They also manufacture pipes and combs roughly [463] finished. No village of this group has specialists in carpentry to compare with the Chamulas (Tzotzil-speaking), who supply furniture at low cost to San Cristobal de las Casas and other places of the area.

324 412 Stone carving requires a pickaxe with one end very sharp, the other very flat to serve as a hammer, and a short wooden handle. This is the tool used in Tenejapa for making metates. These metates have three legs, but Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:338) mention metates without legs (Ocosingo municipio), which are made of volcanic stone found along the San Martin River. According to the Tzeltal of Oxchuc, the name of the metate is *chá*, its handle *kab-chá*.

412 An iron bar to break the ground, an axe, and a machete are the tools for building huts, chickencoops, sweat houses, and other small structures.

283 413 Another tool, used in the making of pita rope, is *karet*, which probably comes from the Spanish *carreta*. It consists of a wooden disc fixed to a tree trunk that is nailed to

[P·206-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Amatenango del Valle

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292

FIG. 7—CARGO OFFICIALS, AMATENANGO DEL VALLE. Note ceremonial hats and drum with which church functions are announced. (Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 222-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

remarkable. They make combs of one piece of wood, averaging 15 centimeters long, 8 wide, by 4 millimeters thick. The teeth are cut out of one of the long sides, running back less than half-way into the body of the piece. These teeth may be as fine as two in three millimeters, or as coarse as two in five millimeters; sometimes they are graded. The back is slightly arched. On the ends a piece of wood is left uncut, usually about four millimeters wide. The shape is not unlike the small Japanese combs to be found in most of our curio stores. The best examples are made from mahogany, chosen with a nice feeling for the effect of the grain. They are not worn, but used for combing the hair. 322 412

They make violins which are small copies of the European type. The instrument and bow are known by their Spanish names, *violina* and *arcilla*. The body is about 26 centimeters in greatest length and width; the neck, *tsutsuH-te*, projects about 30 centimeters. Save for a decoration of wavy lines on the back, the violin looks like a cheap toy fiddle. The strings, *tcucuix*, are of *mico de noche* (night-walking lemur) gut, save the G-string, which is of the usual type, bought in the towns. The bow-strings are of horse-hair treated with rosin. The tone is poor, lacking resonance. 534 322

One tobacco pipe, *bum*, was observed, which was a remarkable piece of whittling (fig. 307). It was about 14 centimeters long, made of one piece of mahogany, and apparently modeled after the American corn-cobs occasionally seen among the Ladinos. The bowl was roughly rounded, with a flat bottom. The stem was round, with a step in it at the middle, in imitation of the step in the mouth-piece of an ordinary pipe. The tube had been hollowed out with a hot wire. The tin-foil cap over the cork of a *Habanero* bottle had been hammered onto the base of the bowl, and two strips of tin-foil laid around the stem, each held on with a brad. It may be mentioned that the mahogany coloured prettily from handling and smoking, and that the flavour was sweet. 276 322

Fig. 307—Pipe.

Stools, with three legs let into a single, round piece, and rather rickety tables on the same principle, but four-legged, are made by the men, as well as the squatting-seats mentioned in describing the house. 352 322

Game furnishes an important part of the Indian's food supply. Wild boar, deer, howler monkey, *faisan*, *cojolite*, dove, and quail are hunted for food. The various large cats, alligator, lemurs, and many of the larger snakes are sought for their hides, which form a considerable article of trade. The chief weapon used in hunting is 224

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

778 paper, brightened with colour added by a cigarette package, a label from a tin of beets in a deep red, a joke in German about the fall of the mark, of which the prevailing tone was pure viridian, and a page of advertising from the Saturday Evening Post. We gave [123] this family a chromo of a saint, which was immediately framed with a sort of wooden box, and set up beside the cross. The table below was used for laying odds and ends on, such as the spindle and a couple of empty aguardiente bottles.

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The ranch chapel was thrown open and decorated with fir [794] branches and streamers. The proceedings were in charge of two older men, called *caporales*, who were distinguished by a cross-belting of red handkerchiefs. One house was set aside for the celebrations, in front of which was a table and three triangular, crimson banners with gold edges. By these drumming and flute-playing went on irregularly. Here was the official dispensary for rum, which was given out by the *caporales*. Inside the house, a palm-thatched one with stick walls, about fifteen feet square, some thirty [534] Indians, men and women, were squatting against the walls. There was an orchestra of a guitar and a mouth-organ, occasionally augmented by the piper, who would wander in from outside. This individual, although most amazingly drunk, managed to maintain his [533] musical ability until he fell asleep. The tune they played was like a rather wistful jig, but the time was lively. To this four couples [535] danced, the men facing the women, with a shuffling step not unlike waltzing. They kept very much in one place, but occasionally changed sides. The dancing was evidently a serious affair. This type is called in Spanish *zapatea*, in Tzeltal, *ahk'Out*.

Ladino butchers in the neighboring town. The cows are not milked either for local consumption or sale. Fertilizers are for the most part wasted since the cattle roam freely in the communal pasture lands except in the case of a few corrals owned by families. Hides are cured rather crudely and are used for saddle packs or protective aprons by the men, but none are sold.

The cooperatives. The notion of a cooperative to mobilize capital had been introduced by the I.N.I. in 1957 with the inauguration of a store owned by over one hundred members of the community. In the first years of its existence, the cooperative had some difficulties, primarily in convincing the Indians that when the returns on shares were lower in any year from prior levels, it did not indicate that the agents were stealing the money.

The cooperative store was bought by the Indians of the town from the I.N.I. in 1964 after the members had some trouble receiving returns on their shares. There are now one hundred and twenty-two members. The profits of 1965 were reinvested in the purchase of the corn-grinding mill. Current profits at the store are lent at 5 percent per month interest. The store grosses 80 to 100 pesos in sales daily, and the mill grossess 100 pesos. The wages paid to the storekeeper are 300 pesos and to the miller 250 per month.

Now that the cooperative is independent of the government, one of the stated policies is not to sell a single share to a Ladino or member of another community. "We do not want to give gifts to the Ladinos," the secretary of the cooperative told me. He added, "There was a Ladino in Teopisca who wanted to join with 5,000 pesos, but we wouldn't let him in. If you let them in, they would come to dominate the pueblo." The cooperative store does not share profits with the consumers but gives dividends. The 11,380-peso assets in the year 1965 were reinvested in stock and in the purchase of corn at harvest which was then sold at one and a half or two times the sale price.

The Indians developed their first independent cooperative in the ownership of a *marimba*, a musical instrument like a xylophone, operated by eight men of the community. This enterprise failed because the players never developed sufficient skill to be commissioned to play outside of town.

755 giving hot medicines for hot diseases. If this is discovered, he will be sub-
757 ject to accusations of witchcraft. The relatives of the patient are present as witnesses "to see what medicines are given."

757 In the case of infections, the curer cauterizes the wound, a process called "take out the odor." First he smells the wound, checking on the severity of the infection. He mixes chile and hot charcoal and puts them on the wound to "cause the evil to rise to the surface." He then sucks on the wound, and spits out a "worm" which indicates the kind of evil caused by witchcraft. He covers the wound with mentholated cream and binds it. The patient is kept covered.

755 *Calling the soul.* The major effort in soul-calling (tamohel) is
[192] concentrated on preparing the patient and the house for the return of his soul. This is done for illnesses caused by fear and resulting in soul-loss. Here a knowledge of the setting is crucial to understand each act. An arch of pine boughs is set at the center post because it is here that the souls of the inmates of the house cluster (over the square hole at the foot of the post where the sheep's head is buried during the inauguration of the house). Thirteen candles, including a large, 50-cent one in the center and twelve 20-cent ones, are set before the arch. If the patient is being cured in the house of the curer, which happens when he goes to another town for a cure, the arch is put near the door in order that his soul not mingle with the souls of the curer's household. The patient is laid out on a mat in front of the curing arch, or if he is a small child, he is held in the arms of his mother. The curing is scheduled so that the arrival of the soul occurs when it will not be seen by people passing in the street. This would cause it embarrassment, and it would not enter the house. The patient continues to sleep under the arch each night until it is removed nine days later. As he sleeps, his soul enters in a dream and is reunited with the body. A gui-
[534] tar and seed rattle are played continuously during the ceremony to make the spirits of guests, patient, and house "of one heart." Many rounds of liq-
[273] uor are served in order to "finish with our money" and thus reduce the envy of the one who caused the witchcraft.

The soul-calling is combined with a cold bath to cure the illness. The patient is disrobed, and the curer brushes him with branches of plants

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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796 body was washed. The confusion may come not from error, but from an
539 identification of the patron saints with Jesus. The importance of the story
273 is that liquor, as the gift of the gods, is the medium for releasing people from their fears.

796 The small fiestas are the responsibility of only the two mayordomos, the
794 elder and the junior, who are assigned to the saint. They ring the church bells, light the candles, and play the drum and flute until noon. In the large fiestas all the mayordomos are active, as well as the fiscal and the priest, the prayer-reciters, and formerly the alfereces. The entire pueblo participates in the mass given at the large fiestas and assembles to "see the saints" when they emerge in the procession.

The proceedings of the fiesta take place in the church and the church yard, the house of the cofrade of the major saint whose fiesta it is, the plaza, and formerly, the house of the alférez of that saint. In each of these domains different sets of actors are tied together by acts performed in carrying out responsibilities to the saints. The chain of command is established in each setting: in the church the mayordomos are directed by the fiscal; in the household the eldest nakawane orders the b'alnial and re-
[562] ceives the visitors with the pat'o'tan. He is the master of ceremonies, as in all household gatherings, and his female counterpart is the woman speaker. She orders the women helpers in the preparation of the food, which is then served by the b'alnialetik. Religious officials hold ceremonies in their houses only after they have served five times in office.

796 In the household, religious ceremonies replicate civil ceremonies. A mouthwash is served, followed by coffee and bean tamales, another round of mouthwash, an offering of thanks for the liquor by the nakawane, and a serving of liquor. Musical instruments played in the household differ
[534] from those of the church yard: a guitar and gourd rattle provide the accompaniment to the drinking episode here. Fiestas held in the household of the alfereces were terminated with a dance.

Choosing and Installing the Alférez

794 Formerly the alfereces were the chief figures in maintaining the fiesta
178 cycle. During my stay in 1964 and 1965 the officials were experiencing

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The boy is expected to live for a year with the girl's parents; then he makes his own home, usually near that of his father. If the boy's parents are sufficiently powerful, they may pay the girl's parents twelve pesos in lieu of the year's service. Villa was informed that a woman unable to pay a debt or a fine may be taken as a secondary wife by any married man who will pay the debt or fine; that a woman who loses her virginity may be bought similarly of her parents for a little rum; and that in the case of any of these polygynous marriages, a single household is maintained. No such household was observed. 583 591 583 592 595 [681]

No information was obtained on birth customs,[30] or on customs in connection with death.[31] 114

Blom and LaFarge describe a church festival held at Tecojá ranch on June 22 and 23.[32] When Villa visited the highland villages the carnival was being celebrated. In Tenejapa on February 20 he witnessed the "Festival of the Flags" (*tahimalkin*). The (annually elected) leaders of the festival, the *alfereces*, assembled in the morning at the church. Each man conveyed a red banner with green edges, fastened to a pole, and each held in his mouth a short hook on which an orange was impaled. Nothing was learned as to the significance of these objects. The alfereces remained for a time inside the church drinking rum and singing. They then went by fours to pray in turn before each of the crosses set up in the village. The rest of the day they spent visiting the house of each one of them in turn; in each house they sang the same song sung in the church; in each the host offered rum, so that by nightfall all were drunk. These acts were to be twice repeated during the days following. They had for their stated purpose the announcement of the days of carnival. On the following Thursday the carnival became generally celebrated, and many natives went out costumed and masked. 796 [114] [574] [533]

The alfereces were accompanied by musicians, and also by three personages carrying the dried bodies of, respectively, a wild cat, a rodent called *saben*, and an iguana. Villa was informed that these animals are used in a later festal pantomime in which the alfereces enact a sowing, and in which these animals are represented as performing their characteristic mischief.[33] [825]

Villa observed other elements of the carnival ritual in Oxchuc. On Thursday, February 24, Indians of the calpul of Santo Tomás assembled in the church where they prayed for a time before the large altar, and then danced and drank rum in the nave. The dance was performed alternately by men and by women, and was accompanied by music from a harp, a guitar, and a rattle made of a calabash and a deer's hoof. On the following day these acts were performed by Indians of the other calpul; on this occasion the music was furnished by two drums and a flute, and the leader (*capitán*) was dressed in red. On this latter day natives of the calpul of Santo Tomás moved in procession through the streets; four individuals bore each a large pole to which were fastened ribbons of various colors; a fifth carried a red banner. [535] [533]

[30] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 359.

[31] *Ibid.* 2: 360–362.

[32] *Ibid.* 2: 364–365.

[33] The frequent association, in Middle America, of small animals, especially furred animals, with festivals, in connection with ideas of fertility and of festal buffoonery, has been noted. See Redfield, 1936, pp. 231–243. [171]

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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tives whose positions in this household fiesta are established on the basis of their age and experience in office, took up the established positions for these roles in the house of the new alférez. The first nakawane blessed the liquor; two bottles were measured into shot glasses and served to the guests. After this the meal was served. [794] [796] [574] [602] [273]

The second day (Wišpereš). *All the nakawanehetik appointed for the new alférez gathered in his house at nine o'clock in the morning to drink. The first and second nakawanehetik went to the cabildo to ask the judge and president when the new alférez must take out the holy banner. The president replied that it would be in two days. The question was rhetorical: everyone knew that the ceremony of taking out the banners occurred on the fourth day of the fiesta, and the day itself was named* Šlok' Krus, *taking out of the cross (the banner has a cross adorning the staff). What was being communicated to the civil officials by the question was the recognition of responsibility to the new alférez by the nakawanehetik. In the afternoon of this day, another meal of beef stew and tortillas was served to the same guests assembled on the previous day.*

The third day (Sk'ak'halel Sk'in). *At cock's crow the parents of the new alférez awakened him. Gathered in the house were the woman speaker, the guitarist, and the nakawanehetik. Under the direction of the woman speaker, the alférez' wife helped him put on his clothing, and the guitarist accompanied this procedure with music. When he was dressed, the new alférez danced a turn before the assembled guests to show his new clothing, and reviewed the patʔoʔtan with the nakawanehetik who had taught him. He then went with his guitarist to raise his companions. First he went to the third alférez and awakened him. He greeted the nakawane of the third alférez with the patʔoʔtan, and was invited to sit down; he was served coffee and bread, followed by a mouthwash. The third alférez dressed, and after the two were served liquor they danced a turn. In this same fashion, the new alférez raised all of his companions. The assembled group went to the cabildo.* [533] [535] [262]

The nakawanehetik and the b'alnialetik, after drinking coffee and eating bean tortillas, went to collect the things needed to receive official

794 796 *guests. They borrowed benches from neighbors; they cut juniper and prepared the resting place for the sacred banner; they borrowed seed-gourd rattles and two tables, and they adorned the house with pine branches and fruit. In the afternoon, all the relatives, the compadres, and the neighbors were invited. Two alisiles were appointed (this term is probably a Tzeltal rendition of* alguacil, *in Spanish an office corresponding to high bailiff or peace officer). The alisiles were charged with watching to see that neither the new alférez nor either of his two guitarists got too drunk to carry out his functions.*

794 796 535 562 *The two alisiles called out the women to dance, first asking permission of the woman speaker. The dance was the most important act in the set of performances on the third day, which was sometimes referred to as the "afternoon of the big dance." The dance was a highly charged event because the women were for the first time cast in a public role. Fear and* [626] [154] *shame, the two conditioning mechanisms of socialization in Tzo?ontahal, had to be overcome when the women became involved in the dance. Special precautions were taken: the alisil formally requested the woman speaker to take the women out:*

[539] *Lord, women who nursed us, give pardon with God, the Virgin Mother. Give holy pardon mother and father with God and with the Virgin Mother. We have gathered here, collected together your child, your offspring, where it is not very pretty, not very flavorful, at the door of your holy poverty, holy suffering, for the holy office, the holy prayer. Again our clay, our mud comes to speak here to the mothers who nursed, who give us fear and embarrassment.*

Then the alfereces took off their hats and kerchiefs and brought them to the women. This act was described by an informant: "The women cover their heads with the kerchief and put on the hat. The girls want the handkerchief and the hat of their husbands in order not to be ashamed to be seen by a boy. They want the kerchief to hide their faces. If they do not want the hat, it is when they are mature women and do not have shame. The wives of the alfereces do not have shame because it is their job." The use of the kerchief which was draped over their head, partially covering

their eyes, the posture of dance in which they clasped their hands at their stomach-band—all of these manifested the shame that they were overcoming. Whether they really felt the shame or not was irrelevant since they were being judged in terms of their behavior. The wives circled around with a two-step, their eyes downcast and their hands clasped over their stomach-bands, while their husbands stepped up and down in place in a ring around them, shaking the gourd rattle and joking.

When the dancing was terminated, a joking session was initiated by the nakawane. The signal for this was the lighting of the first round of cigarettes. Smoking, like drinking, was required of everyone and was rarely indulged in privately. The women sometimes put aside the cigarettes, but they had to accept them. At midnight a meal of bean tortillas and coffee was served.

The fourth day (Šlok' Krus). *The four regidores arrived early in the morning to raise the alférez and take him to the cabildo to receive the oath. In this function the regidores were referred to as* personaetik *or "persons." The Spanish term* persona *signifies the exterior appearance by which men of merit were distinguished, and in its Latin derivation persona is the mask by which role is indicated. I think it is in the sense of assuming a new identity that the Indians incorporated the term as a reference for specific roles assumed by the regidores at this time. The alcaldes, or judges, were on this day referred to as* koronaetik, *or colonels. This reference term evoked the military ranking system, as did also the term alférez or captain, and established the relative ranking of the two sets of officials in the cabildo on the day of receiving the banners. The alfereces were given titles to indicate the order of their entry into office. The seating order of the four in the cabildo followed the succession pattern, with the first to take office sitting nearest to the door.*

The new alférez, with two of his four escorts on either side, sat on the visitor's bench along with the higher officials, themselves once alfereces. The first regidor, or persona, addressed the first judge with the pat?o?tan. The fourth regidor distributed a liter of trago to the assembled officials, first to the judges, then the president and síndico, the alfereces, the person-

794 796 *aetik, and finally the new alférez. The first judge spoke with each set of officials, saying, "God, we have finished the gift of your ancestors"; and the departing alférez said, "So it is, elders."*

The new alférez took his banner from the table and went outside with the four personaetik, followed by the other alfereces carrying their banners, and by the president, the síndico, and the koronaetik, who carried their staffs of office. They went in a procession to the home of the outgoing alférez; at the fence of his house, they lined up their banners in the stand provided. The wife of the outgoing alférez, with the nakawane, brought burning incense from the house and placed it before the banners. The first nakawane exchanged the pat?o?tan with the first judge. In a column of paired officials, they approached the house and seated themselves on the porch. The judges went to the first nakawane and greeted him with the pat?o?tan; then, standing at the door of the interior of the house, the first judge repeated the greeting with the woman speaker.

[273] *The nakawane ordered the b'alnialetik to bring the fermented corn gruel. After it was served, the b'alnial put a small table in the middle of the porch, covered it with the embroidered cloth, and set two liters of liquor on it. The nakawane rose and gave the pat?o?tan to the first judge. He asked permission of the woman speaker to drink, and when this was granted, the b'alnialetik measured out and served the trago.*

[535] *After the two bottles of trago had been consumed, the alisil took the wife of the outgoing alférez, and the dance began, following the same pattern described above. The dancing was followed by a procession to the church in which the new alférez carried the banner, thereby asserting his succession to the office. The old alférez remained in his house with his assembled guests.*

[788] [788] *In the movement of the banners by the alfereces, one could see the symbolic military behavior: the procession to the house was a mock column of march; the military titles of the alfereces and the "colonels" were carried out in vocative and referential titles in the prayers. The handling of the banners was always done with show of sacred respect: cloths were used to handle them, and they were always set carefully in appointed places so the pole never touched the ground; incense was set nearby when they were unattended. In the cermonial movment from the houses of the al-*

576 support of whatever is said—repeating the final phrase of the person conversing or injecting supportive statements such as "indeed, indeed," or "so [535] it is." In the dance of the alfereces' wives, for example, women were the model of deference, moving in a self-contained pattern before the assembled guests, with slow, tiny steps, eyes downcast, a shawl covering their heads on which they wore their husbands' ceremonial hats.

621 182 Through recruitment procedures, alternation and linkage in official roles, and leadership validated by age and service in lower positions—principles applying to role relations in all institutions—Tzo'ontahal has remained an integrated community. There is a high degree of stereotyping in behavior from one institution to another, and norms of behavior are the [682] same for public as for private roles. However, a remarkably high homicide [578] rate and open conflict in all of the institutional settings indicate basic sources of disruption.

682 593 607 428 578 Since 1960 the rate of homicide in town has increased from an average of 1 every 2 years to an average of 5 or 6 per year. Table 29 indicates the role relationships of killer to victim in 37 of over 70 homicides occurring between 1937 and 1964. The highest incidence of homicide (7 cases) occurred between brothers and brothers-in-law. Male siblings comprise the closest cooperating group. Brothers work together in the milpa until the father dies or divides his property among his children during his lifetime. Bilateral inheritance with equal division of land and houses among female as well as male offspring means that brothers-in-law are potential competitors for the same limited resources. Friction arising among brothers and brothers-in-law does not come from the principle of equal inheritance, but rather because of the fact of differing responsibilities and expenses within the family. For example, the child who has remained with the parents and [888] thus assumes the burden of care for them in their declining years often feels that he should inherit a greater share. The disputes arise in the decisions concerning how much this disadvantage should be weighted. The 682 suppression of overt competition may in part explain the homicidal acts. 683 Although the tensions in fact stem from suppressed economic competition, [154] they are translated into witchcraft accusations as soon as anyone in the [626] family becomes ill. Violence against a witch is condoned by the community and provides a channel for latent hostility. Once the accusation has

1 (see pp.245-247..Analyst)

as errand boys and assistants. A third group are the Ikoltawanehetik, *the female helpers, usually wives of the b'alnialetik or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors,* yulatak, *who come to congratulate the new official.* [*The visitors at the house of the first judge are shown in Figure 7.*]

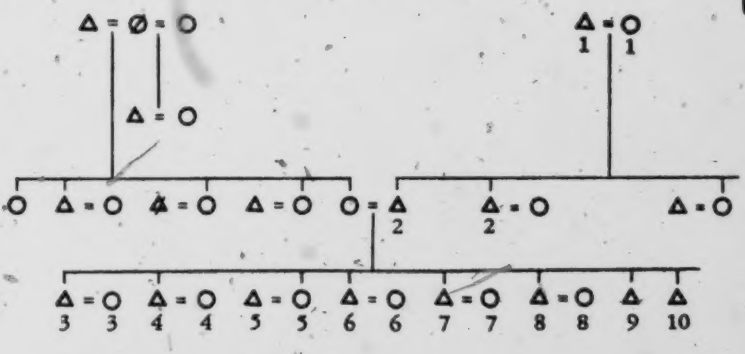
The new official addresses the first nakawane with the following speech:

Official: "Holy evening, Mamtat, to your health."

Nakawane: "Holy evening, Mamtat, to your health."

Official: "Lord, how are you, Mamtat? You are alive, word of God, this holy evening. There is no illness behind your heart."

Fig. 7. Relatives at House of First Judge on Eve of Inauguration



Nakawane: "I live. I feel no illness."

Official: "Lord Mamtat, give pardon with God, with the Virgin Mother. Give holy pardon your mothers, your fathers, with God.

"Give pardon, Lord, give pardon. Virgin mother. Here we are gathered before you where we are seated, our soil, our mud.

"How are we going to succeed in what we will have to do in this holy new year for our patron Lord? Here again in the dawning of the holy hour, let us look into our heart, there where we are going to receive the holy oath inside the holy cold house, the cold hall, where we go receive the work and suffering of the holy staff, the holy wand this holy day, this

621 527 [537] *holy year. And so we shall be able to do what our mothers and what our fathers did here where the holy Father sees us and the holy Mother sees us."*

[782] *The formal prayer, using elements of all the addresses of pat?o?tan, presages the events which will take place and announces the continuity with the past in following out the work the ancestors have done. The civil authorities, like the religious authorities, assert that they are taking on a holy responsibility. There is, in the words of the pat?o?tan, no distinction between profane and sacred obligations toward the village.*

[273] *Following the drinking and prayers, liquor is served. Drinking order always follows the elder to younger pattern which, in household settings, is always coincident with prestige ranking. At midnight, coffee, bread, and bean-filled tamales are served.*

621 527 574 *The second series of household gatherings takes place on the morning of New Year's Day in the houses of the new president, the first judge, and the first policeman. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the other three regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house and are served coffee and liquor. They then proceed to the house of the president. As the judges and regidores arrive there, the visiting group greets all of the assembled guests at the president's house with a prescribed greeting, the* sak'inaltat *and the hand-kissing, called* ʾutzk'aab. *The first judge exchanges an extended pat?o?tan with the first nakawane of the president and then liquor is served to all those gathered. The assembled group next stands and "turns toward the rising sun." This is said to be a "defense against the entry of the devil."*

While the higher officials meet in the house of the president, the policemen join togther in the houses of the first policeman on each side of the dual division. Just as in the house of the president, the ceremony consists in serving liquor and coffee. They await the sound of the firecrackers set off in the yard of the president's house before setting out for the town hall. With this announcement of the departure, the officials at the president's house and at the two first policemen's houses set out for the town hall.

621 527 *Gathered in the town hall are the old officials along with the alfereces and the principals. The new officials enter two by two, the president and*

men whom the lay sisters assisting the priest have 794
organized to help carry out the Mass and other
church rituals.

Another pair of officials, the *krinsipaletik* or princi- 624
pales, were not mentioned in the category "officials in 554
the townhall" or in that of "officials in the church,"
until I questioned, "Who names the officials?" The
response was, "Principales with the president." In
order to arrive at the higher honorific posts of princi-
pal, one must serve five times in the civil and six
times in the religious posts in the traditional hier-
archy. The principales provide continuity in the [182]
transfer of authority, remaining in the townhall
when the old officials depart to their homes, and pass-
ing over the staffs to the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28,
31). It is a position without power in the day-to-day
administration of affairs. Although the incumbents 624
occupy prestigeful positions and carry out ceremonial 554
acts, many men avoid the office because of the loss of 794
status in carrying out one of their most important
acts, the collection of contributions for the major
fiestas. The two principales must hold the plate into
which the money is turned over by the police, and
this causes "embarrassment." Formerly they were [453]
also bankers, holding the money until it was spent.
This responsibility gave prestige to the act of receiv-
ing the money, now redefined as a sort of begging
operation.

A ceremonial link between the civil and religious 794
wings is the group of officers known as the *alperese-*
tik, alfereces. They are associated with the four major [776]
saints, who are also represented by the *kobrarias* of
Sacramento, Santa Lucia, San Pedro Martyr, and San
Francisco. Their rank order is determined not by the 794
importance of the saint but by the order of entry into 554
office. These are named: *tat pasaro*, the past "father";
šil pasaro, remains past; *sčebal pasaro*, second past;
and *?ač' alperes*, new alferez. They sit, move, and are
served in this order wherever they appear. Although 794
tied to a *č'ultat*, spirit father or saint, they function in 554
the townhall in bearing the banners there from the 62 *
church for civil affairs (App. 1, Q. 27), and they pro- 537 •
vide the post which is crucial for learning the set
speeches useful in all formal occasions, called the
pat?ot'an, 'behind the heart.' Because of the crucial [624]
nature of this speechmaking, no man can progress
into the post of first or second regidor without having
passed through that of alferez. This post is the most 794
difficult to fill because of the high outlay (3000 pesos 434
in one year of average expenditures, about half the 681

[P. 214-B]

621*
788
554
693

"to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] who the new officials to remain in office are."

Awaiting the new officials in the church are all the mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see who they are" (App. 1, Q. 48, 49). 621* 794 The new officials "speak to God," asking for health so that they can complete their obligation to the town. [782] They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father townhall." [788] There they spend the remainder of the afternoon.

The mayordomos go to the kitchen attached to the townhall. 621* The first policeman directs the purchase of liquor and the measuring out of drinks for the ten 273 policemen from the two sides of the dual division and [794] the two rural commissioners. [625] In the townhall the new president's first orders are to the fourth regidor to ask him to buy two liters of "the gift," liquor. [693] The pardon to the ancestors, and the offering of the gift to the [782] principales, is in the hands of the first judge, who [431] knows the *patʔot'an*, and can do the honors. [537] The president is served following the principales in the round of drinking.

The change of religious officials takes place on the 794 fiesta day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29, and 796 on the day of the three Kings, January 6. This provides a six-month term of office. The new officials gather in the homes of the *kobraria* of Halal meʔtik and Sakramentu, and in the church. Thus two settings, home and church, come into play with the change of civil officials, but the townhall, significantly, is not part of this act nor are the alfereces called into action.

The ceremony lasts three days: first day is *pas kantelero*, 'to make candles,' when the candles are cleaned, and the old mayordomos eat a "common meal" *(komun weʔel)*; second day is *wišperes*, when the oath is taken; final day is *sk'ahk'alel*, when the new mayordomos play the drums or flute.

The first gathering, which took place the year I observed it in the house of the *kobraria* of Halal Meʔtik Santalusia, was cut short because the *kobraria* did not have a porch, and it had begun raining. By local [362] standards, a house without a porch is considered inadequate, and is called 'cow house' *(wakaš naʔ)* since the owner cannot accommodate guests on such occasions. The group therefore lingered longer in the house of the *kobraria* of Sakramentu.

The speech of the *nakawane* to the "elder new [537] mayordomos" *(mamal ʔač martomaetik)* (App. 2,

[P. 218-B]

Change of Officials

Q. 68) is a review of the major activities in which they will take part in the church. The phrase 'before the face of,' *ta sit*, is the orientation he indicates to the new mayordomos to perform these acts. 794 796 [537]

The ceremony in the church when the mayordomos receive their candles is limited to the few words of advice spoken to them by the fiscal and the passing over of the candles. There is no representation by the civil authorities in the ceremonial aspect of installation, although the fiscal, in his dual office as assistant to the priest and as president, indirectly takes this role. The alfereces, who provide the link on other occasions for the civil officers' inauguration, are not active during this changing of the religious officers. Following the ceremony inside the church, the town treasurer and síndico help the fiscal count the money passed over with each *kobraria*. Thus the "integration" of the hierarchy is asymmetrical, providing for a church representation in civil affairs, but only in a limited sense is there the reverse. [621]* [624]

The mayordomos return to the house of the *kobraria* Sakramentu. The *nakawanehetik* have lost their place of honor at the *hol wanku*, 'head of the bench,' and are sleeping under the bench or in the corner. Their presence is no longer socially marked, and it is not a point which was elicited.

The behavior during the inauguration of civil officials showed the following structural features. The hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth stepladder but a segmented order. The categories elicited in the first session with the informant—*alkaletik*, *rehiroletik*, and *mayoletik*—act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same areas in all the settings (App. 1, Q. 14, 15, 51, 64–74). Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They order their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge issues an order to the fourth regidor to get liquor (App. 1, Q. 55) and the first police orders the commissioner from the rural colonias to get liquor for their group (App. 1, Q. 79). In these behavioral indices one can see the segmentation of the civil hierarchy, ordered by age, skill acquired in the expensive office of alferez, and territorial identification. Age grading is absolute only between the segments, and is roughly applicable within each segment. 621* 571 554 156 [561]

In the inauguration of the religious officials, elder and younger officials associated with each saint act 794 556 156

[P. 219-A] TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 220-A

794	81. What do they do?		They drink
796	82. What time do they leave his house?		Prayer time *(oración)*
124 [273]	83. Where do they go?		To their house
	84. What do they do first on *sk'ahk'alel?*		Go to hear Mass
	85. Who is in the church to hear Mass?		All the new mayordomos, the women, the prayer leaders
	86. What time is the Mass?		At 7 o'clock
	87. What do they do when they come out of Mass?		Go to the house of the kobraria of Sacramento
	88. How many go?		Thirteen
	89. What do the rest do?		Three juniors *(nil'anil)* remain play drum at door of church
	90. What do they do at the house of the kobraria of Sacramento?		Count the money of the Virgin and San Pedro Martyr
[426]	91. What do they do with the money?		They want to lend it in order to get interest because they want to increase it *(ta sk'an smahanik yu?un ya?be sol yu?un sk'an tolin hilel)*
	92. How much money is there for the virgin?		Two hundred twenty-eight pesos
[624]	93. Who counts it?	Fiscal with two kobraria	The town treasurer, the síndico and secretary assisted the fiscal in the accounting of funds. The principales sat on the bench to observe proceedings
	94. How much money is there for San Pedro?	Forty pesos	
[624]	95. What do they do after they count the money?	Begins the *pat?ot'an* with the kobraria of Sacramento	The principales recite the *pat?o?tan* with the kobraria of Sacramento
[539] [273]	96. What do they do afterward?	They drink liquor	They drink liquor

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

159 edge not only of how to manage money, but also of how to *manejarlo,* or
472 drive it, and to "make it grow" indicated an insight into capital operations
621 which made him a leader in local enterprises. In his post as shopkeeper, he
45 invested the store's capital in corn bought at harvest.

159 Santos' career as an entrepreneur was ended when a bullet was fired
472 into his back in 1966. He had relaxed his observation of the rules which permit survival for those who challenge traditional ways: no drinking, no trips to the mountain alone, and no boasting of gains. As yet, he has had no parallel in the community, but the truck drivers are becoming aware of the possibilites for profit in trade and commercial deals.

426 *Capital and credit.* The Indians' knowledge of capital and credit
609 operations has been acquired in the role of debtor, not creditor. In the leg-
538 ends concerning money the creditor is an outsider, a *pukuh* or devil, usually a Ladino. I had accepted a story about a Don Klabil, owner of a mountain in the town adjacent to the neighboring Ladino town Teopisca, as being of ancient origin. It fit with the many stories collected in Mesoamerica of owners of the hills who give out money on request to those who come knocking at the entrances to their caves. After their death, the recipients spend their spirit life in the mountain, working off the debt. Don Klabil was said to be responsible for the wealth of one of the outstandingly wealthy men in town who had gone to his hill and asked for cattle and money. Once while riding in a bus from Tzoʔontahal to Las Casas, I was engaged in conversation with a woman of Teopisca, who was dressed in widow's weeds. I commented on the story of Don Klabil as we passed the hill, and she said, "Oh, yes. That was Don David, my husband. He used to lend money to the Indians." When he died, the Indians say he went to live in the cave from which he got money when he was alive.

The Indians feel at a disadvantage to Ladinos when they enter into capital and credit operations. They tell a story of how, many years ago, when all the Indians of Tzoʔontahal were rich, the mayordomos got drunk on *Paswamal,* the day of gathering flowers and greens to decorate the church. When the true day of the fiesta came, they looked about them and realized that the church was undecorated, so they strewed green peso notes on the floor of the church. The Ladinos from Teopisca came for the fiesta as

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

usual, and seeing the pesos, picked them up. The "spirit of the money" left the village forever. The story reveals not only the sense of deprivation Indians feel in losing wealth to Ladinos (historically land the Indians had lost through fraud or legal trickery during the Porfirio Diaz period), but also their realization of their own responsibility for letting their assets slip out of their control. 426 609 538

Payment of interest on money borrowed is justified in the calculations of the Indians for loans made within as well as outside of the community. Interest, called *shol tak'in,* or "head" of money, makes it possible for the borrower to work, and thus to earn, so the "owner" has the right to charge for the use. The rate on loans made within the pueblo has risen from 2 or 3 pesos a month for 100 pesos to 5 pesos, thus equalizing the rate with that charged in the neighboring Ladino town. The same rate is applied between relatives as nonkin. The advantage of intracommunity borrowing is that the lender does not demand an immediate return, or as high security. Ladinos of the neighboring town tend to demand items of greater value than the debt held as security—one Ladino held title to land worth 1,000 pesos for a 50-peso debt, and threatened to foreclose. Within the pueblo, security of about the same value as the loan is asked except in the case of neighbors and relatives who can be reminded every day of the debt. And they are. 426 621 602 [571]

Markets. In marketing, the Indians of Tzoʔontahal have neither extended nor gained control over the selling and buying operations that have been pursued since before the opening of the Pan-American Highway in 1955. The pottery which is produced locally was formerly carried on horseback to the smaller towns within a radius of fifty miles. The pottery was marketed directly by the men of the household which produced it, with no specialization in trading by commercial travelers, as had happened in the Zapotec and other areas of Mexico. Since the penetration of the Pan-American Highway, the men take the pottery produced in their households by bus or on the trucks to either San Cristóbal or Comitán. This tends to polarize trading operations and dry up the traffic into small towns not connected by the highway. As a result, the wholesale trade in San Cristóbal and Comitán has increased in the past decade, with dealers 442 443 78 323 442 443 [492] [462] [494]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

156 The picture of life in Amatenango and Aguacatenango is
62 not, however, from the ideological point of view of the community
754 members, spread only into sanctions of negative dimensions. There
777 are some justifications for wealth or success which are as intimate a part of the world view of the villagers as witchcraft is, because witchcraft has a positive counterpart: suerte (luck).

777 Suerte, as witchcraft power, is also a supernatural power given to the particular individual without the person's will having control over its possession. Some people are born with good suerte, some people with bad suerte. Some people can be "given" a particular suerte by a supernatural being[1] at some time in their life to keep until his death or for some period of time. Of course, a man cannot give his suerte away or transmit it to his children. The suerte is not a general power, but has specific dimensions. For example, a man has suerte to raise cattle, which would, then, grow and reproduce tremendously in his lifetime. But, he may very well have bad bean crops. His children, at his death,

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[1]The suerte can be given by many different supernatural
[776] beings. Some informants say it is Dios (God), or the Virgin Mary, some say it is the Sombrerón, or owner of the deer and cayes, to whom one has to promise to give one's soul at death, some others indicate that it is written in one's destiny at birth to have a particular type of suerte. The variations in the belief are many, and in a system of ideology without a Church body to create, and control the diffusion of dogma, this is to be expected.

[779] The only organized dogma available to the villager is the
[538] local Catholic Church, but this dogma leaves out a series of beliefs such as suerte and brujeria as unacceptable. Therefore, these beliefs are only transmitted informally, together with folk-tales, myths and the like. Because dreams are of great importance in re-
[787] lation to these beliefs, each individual can contribute, through his personal dream experiences, to the general pool of ideology of
[771] the community. Therefore, tales and myth, dream experiences, the "true" stories that people are told in the evening by particular relatives or friends, all tend to produce a mushrooming of alternative versions of the same or similar sets of beliefs.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

593 [626] A man whose brother is accused of witchcraft is very likely to share the same accusation; if a man beats his wife, he can be blamed by his younger brother because the first one's reputation hinders the chances of the second for getting himself a wife. If a woman is lazy, people will assume that her sister is also lazy, and so on. Paradoxically, at the same time that siblings are equivalent for certain purposes, they are not in relation to each other. An elder sibling has, from early in life, power to scold, punish or control his younger siblings. The older they grow, the more the age difference becomes important. While one could be already working with the father in the fields, the other is still a playing child. While one gets married and becomes a man, the other is still under his father's authority.

The elder brother is always a possible jural replacement [736] for the father. If the father dies and a man is a bachelor with a married brother, his elder brother replaces the father in terms of jural authority over him, is in charge of supporting him, working with him in the field, paying for his bride-price, etc.

[476] On the one hand, the relationship of brothers is one of [508] collaboration, intense association for work and mutual dependency; on the other, the differential distribution of authority creates a certain amount of antagonism between the two.

593 This antagonism between brothers is symbolically expressed 578 in myths, legends and tales, many of which contain both a younger • 538 and elder brother who spend their time trying to kill each other, being alternately successful until the younger sibling is the final victor.

593 578 538 The folk tales reflect, undoubtedly, the pattern of ultimogeniture and, perhaps, a switch from primogeniture to ultimogeniture. The meaning of the folk tales becomes obvious because of other elements which enter in the conflict.

428 592 593 If a younger son is married at the time of his father's death, he inherits his house, and replaces his father as head of the domestic group, following the norm of agnatic ultimogeniture. But if a younger son is single at the time of his father's death, his elder brother replaces the father and inherits from him. In this last case, it is his duty to provide for his younger brother's support, and at the time that he marries, split the paternal inheritance with him, giving the younger son his share of land, cattle or whatever was left for them.

183 428 592 593 [591] [583] The "rules of the game"[1] are, in the second case, not as explicit as in the normative pattern. Many alternative forms of behavior occur. In some cases, the elder son will move out of the paternal home when his younger brother marries and brings his wife to the homestead. In other cases, he will expect to be compensated for his brother's bride-price and for having supported him and his mother. He would probably reclaim part of the property, or force his younger brother to sell the house and share the money obtained with him.

In still other cases, he will even refuse to give the younger son his share, or move out of the compound.

593 578 It is obvious that not all men are alike in temperament

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[1]That is, the adjustment between authority rights and succession rights.

/3/

178 584 614 There are informants who remember the time when there were chuneles, and the younger ones know about it because their fathers have told them. The social conflict brought about by the disappearance of this institution seems to have its most intense point in what concerns marriage. It was the chunel of the clan of a girl to whom the parents of a boy would go to ask for her in marriage. He received gifts and gave his consent in case he thought it advantageous, and, accompanied by the boy and his parents, he went to the house of her parents, to whom he presented the pleas of the young man. No one could oppose the decision of the chunel. An informant adds: "If the woman does not [586] love her husband and leaves him and flees, the man advises the chunel and the chunel eats the woman." She dies if she does not respect the wishes of the oldest man of her clan. Now that there [578] are no chuneles, a boy, with his parents or without them, is accompanied by any member of the clan to which the girl belongs; generally the parents are opposed, the girl is not willing, and the use of force, which serves instead of the traditional fear and reverence, only gives rise to conflicts, bringing irreconcilable hatreds.

614 Formerly the clans of Cancuc were four: Chik, Chejeb, Ijká, and Boj. At present only the first three exist, the members of the Boj clan having been incorporated into the Ijká clan. This fusion of two clans took place a short time before the political revolts to [125] which we have referred. While taking the census of the town, we found marriages between individuals belonging to these two clans, concluded before the fusion. Since that date "the Boj know that they are now Ijká," and clan exogamy has prevented these unions; "If a Boj marries an Ijká now, the two will die," say my informants, "because they are chapomales."

614 539 776 To an inquiry about the reason for the fusion and the manner of accomplishing it, our informants gave the following explanations, which show undeniably the close relationship existing between clan and nagual:

/3 cont./

614 Esteban Santis Pin, of the Ijká clan:
539 Many ants entered the home of the Boj and they asked the
776 Ijká to lend them a home, and they joined there, becoming like chaponales /sic/ to each other since then. The ants did not enter the homes of the "Christian" (people), but the home of the lab; "the people did not talk it over, only the lab talked it over."

/4/ Mateo López Chij, of the Chik clan:
Lightning hit the home of the Boj "because it is very high on the hill." "The lab left" and they took refuge in the home of the Ijká. The members of the clans know this because it is in the home of the lab where "the chuleles (souls) are brought up." Before there were four homes and now there are three, because since that day the Boj and the Ijká live together. The homes are caves.

Diego Domínguez Tzul, of the Ijká clan:
The Boj were ill and the Ijká went to help them and to cure them. The Boj said: "It is good that we join the Ijká." It was the lab that spoke, not the Christians; "but the lab speak the same as people do, that is why they drank, talked, and gathered together." The people know this because those of them who have lab told them. The Boj were those who wanted the union with the Ijká, "and they said that when the lab became drunk."

Miguel Ordóñez, of the Chik clan:
"The lab of the Boj talked and drank with the lab of the Ijká, and presently they joined. Perhaps someone with a lab dreamed about this and then told it to his companions."

/4 cont./

614 Juan Jiménez Chan, of the Ijká clan:
539 It was arranged in the times of the old chuneles, when the
776 lab talked it over, there where they live. The chuneles later heard about it through their lab, and they were in agreement.

Tomás Vásquez Coreta, of the Chik clan:
Ants went into the home of the Boj, and the latter went to the home of the Ijká, where they were very well received, and "all are happy." Only the lab spoke, but the chuneles knew and told it to their chapomales.

Domingo López Uax, of the Boj clan; now of the Ijká:
The lab of the Boj and of the Ijká spoke and all was arranged. "Now they are chapomales and cannot marry."

614 The surnames in Cancuc determine the clan to which an
551 individual belongs. There are two of them: a native one which
177 is preceded by a Spanish one (except in various exceptional cases in which there is only a Spanish surname). All the Cancuqueros know their native surname, but most of them do not know the Spanish surname with which it is combined. Upon the uttering of a native surname, all know to which clan it belongs, which does not happen with the Spanish one, because these can be placed before native surnames belonging to one, two, or three clans. Therefore we can say that there is exogamy of the native surname, but not /5/ of the Spanish one, which does not seem to have any function with respect to the clans.

551 In the lists of surnames that we were able to obtain and which
614 in no way pretend to be exhaustive, we find 20 Spanish surnames and 92 native surnames. These last are distributed among the four clans in the following way: 33 of the Chik clan, 31 of the Chejeb, 21 of the Ijká, and 7 of the Boj (now incorporated into the Ijká clan).

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.464-A] Teklum

682 683 627 to who did it. The consultations with curers prior to the death of the supposed victims of a witch will be introduced as evidence. (Some degree of consensus may have been built up beforehand, in witch-killings, by the public broadcast of accusations noted above.[5]) The focus of the discussion is not so much on who killed the dead man, but whether he was indeed a witch. This kind of mock trial occurs after every funeral, since it must be decided [153] who caused the sickness. Emotions run very [152] high as the liquor is passed around, and accusations are made, sometimes against those present. [273] It was after a funeral that one man killed his son (not included in Table 1) for accusing him of having caused the death of the son's child, who was being buried.

682 [521] In the weeks following a homicide, it is discussed at all the drinking sessions in the homes or in the town hall. Eventually an authoritative version begins to emerge. Those who have defended the victim then keep silent, and the affair "rests in peace." 682 683 Avenging the death of a man judged to have been a witch, so far as I know, has never been done. [627] In one case (no. 36, Table 1) the widow of a man killed as a witch vigorously denied the legitimacy of the act and built up a case against the killer. She spread word that it was without doubt the dead man's son by a prior marriage. When the son was killed shortly after (case 37, Table 1), everyone assumed that he had been killed by the widow's son by *her* prior marriage. However, the authoritative version concerning the second killing was that it was an accident: he had been mistaken for his brother, whom the killer was after because of rivalry over a girl.

682 183 *Rules for Surviving*

The patterning of the selection of victims and the circumstances of homicide provide the basis for formulating a set of rules that can 682 ensure survival. The long-range rules of survival, in the words of an elder at the occasion of • 539 183 the death of his godchild, are:

lekon kak'o ta kwenta me?tal
I pay respect to my elders.

hun ku kihtz'in kalnižan
[601] I greet my younger brothers and my children (classificatory extension of kinship terms).

spisil kak' ta kwenta
To all I give respect.

ha? hil lekotik. Ma taltik milel ma taltik šmal

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 464-B] Teklum

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Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick.

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A good man is of one heart, and he shows it by his humility, *ben k'un yoʔtan* or "very soft heart." He can drink with friends on either side of the dual division of the town, and he is called upon in many household fiestas to greet the guests of the house-owner.

But the man who is "very strong of heart," *ben koyol yoʔtan*, who "fails to take people into account," *ma ʔpawa ta kwenta*, who "abuses people," *me ya wut*, has means of survival despite the many threats to his life. He surrounds himself with a circle of *compadres*, or godparents; he especially picks out curers, both to mitigate the use of their power against him, and for them to serve as intermediaries if he should have enemies with animal spirits. When a threat becomes imminent, he may stay within his house or limit his range of activities to a very circumscribed area, always taking a weapon when he does go out. He will usually try to limit his drinking, or give it up entirely. These short-range rules of avoidance are clearly indicated by the circumstances in which killings occur: in the hills or at night, when the victim is under the influence of liquor.

[608]
[756]
[273]

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These 37 cases of homicide reveal a regularity in the kinds of people and situations involved. The victims are most often men who assert power, principally curers, or men who violate standards of behavior by abusiveness or theft. Their killers are often linked to them by kinship or neighborhood, the bonds in which tensions are greatest. The regularity of time and place of homicide suggests the precautions that can be taken to avoid being killed if one has an enemy. The general failure of the community social-control agents to bring negative sanctions against a killer indicates that homicide is an accepted solution for interpersonal conflict. The structural setting that validates this behavior is discussed below.

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II. STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Case analysis, useful for discerning certain patterns, is inadequate for understanding the interrelationships among a variety of social changes in the community. An increasing rate of homicide of this magnitude indicates fundamental changes in the social matrix in which individual decisions are made: it suggests not

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 466-B] Teklum

626 178 756 orders the curers to gather together. The curers look for the man who has "brought the heat." And then they kill him. Formerly it was not so.

The statement points to two interacting features of change within the curing profession: (1) the loss of leadership and of control over entry into the profession and (2) the loss of faith in the guardianship function of the curers. The effect of these changes has been to reduce security and the maintenance of social control.

756 178 [621] Formerly the recognized leader of the curers in each section of the dual division legitimized entry of new curers and expelled those who abused their power. When these curers died, there was no one of sufficient power to replace them. In listing curers who are active today, there is no agreement as to who the leading curers are or even as to whether there are leaders.

756 Loss of leadership in the curing profession has led to competition among the curers. There is discussion such as the following concerning who is the strongest:

> When N (a former curer, killed as a witch) was alive, he was land-control officer. When we were half drunk one day, the president asked him: "Tell me who is the strongest of all you who know curing." N replied, "Ah, you want to hear. There is no one who is very strong, only the dead Mamal K and myself." The president said, "But Mam D is good." N said, "Less so. I know because one time we proved it, at a meeting of the curers. I arrived as a sheep, and 'took out' [literal translation of *Bok'*] one black dog. He took out a sheep and a pig and ordered them to run. And I saw that they could not run. After my animals ran a little with his, mine arrived first. It is thus that I saw his were less strong."

[541] The present competition among the curers to assert their power by telling such stories or by displaying fearlessness in the bullfights held in community fiestas is symptomatic of the disruption caused by the breakdown in the hierarchy of the profession. When curing was a controlled profession, abusive conduct by the curers was minimized, but the new curers are reputed to use their power for their own gain. The following story is typical:

756 539 J, born in Tetikil, went to live in hot country. A friend invited him to drink. J, who was reputed to be a curer, said to his friend when they were half drunk, "Do you want to 'take out' a girl?" His friend said, "No, how can you?" "*Pendejo!*" J replied, "I can because I have an animal

756 539 [682] [swayobel]." "What one?" asked his friend. "You won't be afraid?" asked J. And then he put his shirt and hat on the floor, spoke three words (my friend didn't say what), and raised his hat and shirt, and a horse appeared. He did this again and a bull appeared. He was a great *ʔak'ʒamal* [witch]. He stole a great deal. He was killed by five bullets.

756 [152] Such stories of curers "who walk on both sides" (*ʒbeʔen ta ʒa mehč*) are favorites in the drinking sessions of Teklum. The power of curers inspires fear, so much so that some of the town presidents have been afraid of putting them in prison.

756 776 [133] [769] The open competition between curers serves to undermine the faith of the people in their guardianship function. This function was believed to have been acquired by the leaders from the *meʔtiktatik*, the ancestors, who were said to live in a cave in a hill near the town, from which came the progenitors of the present townspeople. To carry out this guardianship function, the animal spirits of the two leading curers roamed the streets at night, when the evil spirits were out, each one remaining within the limits of his own side of the dual division. In this role, the two major curers were called the *meʔiltatiletik*, a term derived from the one referring to the ancestors.

178 776 756 769 [796] 796 776 756 178 769 The loss of faith in the guardianship function of the curers was coincident with the loss of belief in the presence of the meʔtiktatik. Some deny that the meʔtiktatik live in the cave anymore, and others say they just appear on the day of their fiesta, the Day of the Cross in the Catholic calendar. This fiesta formerly was an important event in establishing the guardian power of the leader curers, since they were the only ones who dared enter the cave and talk to the ancestors. But, this fear and this belief have gone. In 1960 one young man of the pueblo entered the cave on the day of the fiesta, when the curers were "deceiving the people" in claiming that they were talking to the ancestors; the fact that he dared enter the cave indicates an ambient distrust (in part resulting from verbal attacks by the priest, who at that time was gaining more power in the town). By now, on the Day of the Cross the church and civil officials, the women prayermakers, and an assistant of the priest, the *fiscal*, go to the cave, but the curers are no longer present, even as bystanders. The curers have tried to buttress belief in the guardianship of the ancestors by claiming that a nephew of the ancestors is now in residence in

[794] [793] 178 756 769

241 paraje perform before the altar of the
782 church in the ceremonial center. All prayers
796 are said in Tzeltal; some are Christian in
[778] origin, others entirely pagan. This prayer
[177] I recorded in 1944:

241
796 Here we come to bring you your food, to
782 light your candles, to play the harp, to play the
539 guitar. Here we come to perform your fiesta,
[534] so you may be happy, so you will not abandon us.

We have already planted the milpas; the seed is already in the soil. Father, do not forsake us; let the rains come properly; let them not be abundant nor deficient. Let there be a little sunshine and a few clouds. Let the soil be happy.

Father, let no hail come; let no wind come; let no locust come; let no harmful animals come; let no robbers come, lest they steal from us and leave us in poverty.

Father, let the year come well; let the corn turn out well; let the beans turn out well. Let there be no sickness; let there be no sorrow. Father, the mouthful has already entered; the word had already entered.

The word "mouthful" refers to all the gifts, "word" to all the prayer.

796 A similar ceremony is the *mukul mixa*
[621] ('great Mass'), organized by members of
[776] each calpul. Each calpul has its own patron
[622] saint and its own chiefs. For this ceremony
[834] many more people gather, for representatives and musicians (flute, drum, harp, and guitar) come from all places. The candles offered as "mouthfuls" are greater in number and size.

778 Household ceremonies follow as the head
78 of the household, in private, prepares the small home altar, where the cross which
[834] protects the home is always found. He adorns it with *juncia* and five candles; he says appropriate prayers at 6 o'clock in the morning or at midday, as he observes fasting and sexual abstinence. These family prayers may be repeated occasionally, depending on the condition of the milpa.

241 At the beginning of the month called
782 [P. 202-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The performance continued until late that night and began again the next morning. Later in the day the banners were carried to the chapel in procession, with music, and deposited by the altar. The *caporales* led in prayer. The fiesta went on again in the evening. 796 [794]

Christian forms are applied to or mixed with non-Christian rites and ideas to some extent, a confusion resembling the appeal to both saints and native gods in prayer among tribes of Guatemala* and British Honduras.† Much of Christianity is adapted to conform to old, fundamental native concepts. 771 172 178 171

In the church at Bachajon Village there are fourteen saints beside the tribal patron, St. Jerome. These others each have a special care, as the cornfield, hunting, the rivers, etc., and are prayed to for help in their particular provinces. They are given gifts of cloth, usually red or blue, which is draped about them. Many of them duplicate the functions of non-Christian "guardians," to be described below. 776

In this connection it may be mentioned that the Zotzil-speaking Indians of Huistan are accustomed to beat their saint (St. Martin) when they have a bad year, and to caress him and anoint him with oil when things go well. We were told that he had lost his nose and both ears due to this practice. [171]

One prayer was dictated to us by Señor Cruz at Toniná, the full text of which is given in Appendix VI, Text I. It is primarily meant for a poor man when making his offering in the cornfield, a use which is indicated by the phrase "health of the earth," but it may also be used in church. The phrase "blood of my flesh" suggests a reminiscence of the ancient Maya offerings of blood from the ear, tongue, etc. A free translation is given here. 126 782 196

PRAYER OF A POOR MAN WHO HAS NOT MUCH TO OFFER.

"Do Thou accept, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, what I have gained, and what I have not gained. Do Thou forgive, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, blood of our flesh; our hearts are open, our lips are open. Give health of the earth; protect thy son kneeling here." [539]

Of primary interest to us were the survivals of the old worship. At the time of the Conquest the Spaniards put forth their utmost efforts to suppress the native religion, and the process has gone on 771 178 177

*Sapper, 1925.
†Gann, 1918.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

or less inebriated, not from greediness, but because it is a ceremonial necessity for him to be in that condition when dealing with the sacred things. Drunkness was a requisite of certain functions among the old Maya, and with the present-day Lacandones,* the Chontal shamans similarly will not perform unless drunk. 756 [273]

Sebastiano Guzman, a Bachajon at El Encanto, a specialist on snake-bite cases, would not treat a friend for snake-bite, although he carried him on his back for two hours to get treatment from us, because the friend could not buy him any rum. It probably would be considered very dangerous to deal with the supernatural healing powers when sober. 755 273

When a group of Indians are drinking at any time, the shamans, as soon as they are drunk, go off together to one side and proceed to exchange prayers and prescriptions which they will not discuss when sober. They make a curious spectacle thus; a group of elderly men sitting in a corner passing a bottle about, plainly drunk, and gravely intoning prayers that are obviously to all of them matters of weighty importance. 273 756

Of their prayers two, or parts of two, were obtained. The first was copied by a Ladino secretary at El Encanto from the recital of an intoxicated shaman. The shaman became a general object of ridicule to all his people, lay or initiate, for having let out one of his secrets to an outsider. The second was recited by Señor Aguilar of El Encanto, who had overheard it. No one was able to give us any but the most fragmentary and unsatisfactory translations for these prayers; undoubtedly the text is in part archaic, and may contain some gibberish. The manner in which they were acquired, moreover, prevents accurate transcription. They are given here, rather than with the Tzeltal Texts in Appendix V, because of this failure to translate them, and their primarily ethnological value. 756 273 126 782

I.

hun ahau ilic tunic baken pusti-lum tal kowit' tal keke manic tunic inic kilan kun in ahau keke tunic hun tsak-unti-bak tsak-unti-tci. 539

Hun Ahau, the Guardian of the Mountains, has been discussed already. *ilic* was said to mean "drove out the sickness," and *tunic*, "placed the sickness." *pusti-lum* contains the stem *lum*, "earth." *tal* may be the stem of the verb *tal-el*, "to come." *kilan* is a lizard used in medicine. *keke tunic* was explained as meaning that the sickness was placed by means of *ajo* fruit. *tsak-unti* is remarkably similar to the Lacandone *tsakuntik*, "to redden," occurring in a

*Tozzer, 1907.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

539 Lacandone prayer in Tozzer's "Comparative Study of the Maya and Lacandones," page 169. As *tsax,* which a Ladino would probably give as *tsak,* means "red" in Tzeltal, the two words may be taken to be the same. *bak* means "bone," and *tci* means "blood." Many of these translations are doubtful, and all of them together do not suffice to explain the text.

II.

hun ahau bitskilim gravilan yokivin-wits yevakinok . . .

This also begins with Hun Ahau. *wits* means "hill." Beyond that no translation could be obtained.

124 The whole material on medicine and shamans is very slight and unsatisfactory. Indeed it is doubtful whether anything could be learned save after a long stay and much patient work, so secretive are the Indians on this subject, and so suspicious of inquiries. What we have is presented here in the hope that it may prove useful for comparative purposes, and offer suggestions to any worker going into this field.

796 178 According to Nuñez de la Vega, the old calendar was still current in his time. Starr* quotes a Zotzil Calendar of eighteen months, and Pineda* gives a Tzeltal calendar of both months and days. We asked in the different villages what names were given 124 to the days, and were told always the Spanish names, as also for 796 the months. This may well have been from unwillingness to impart 177 ceremonial information, but consistent replies, plus the statement of 178 various Ladinos who knew the Indians well, incline me to believe that if the old calendar is known at all, it is known only to a very few of the most learned shamans. Feasts, as far as could be made out, are controlled entirely by the cycle of Christian saint's days. However, the Maya year might well have been by now adjusted to the Gregorian, and a time-count actually kept in the old style be stated for public purposes in the terms of the new. Pineda's calendar is adapted from one published by his father† some forty years earlier, but he speaks of it as being still current.

114 Seler also doubts the modernity of Pineda's calendar. In his 178 article "Der Festkalender der Tzeltal und der Maya von Yucatan" 796 (1898), he brings together various interesting statements. Of them, one may be applied to this survey. Emeterio Pineda he quotes as saying that the sixth month, Olalte, is the time of planting. This would be in April of our year, or the end of April and early May,

*Starr, 1903—Pineda, Vicente, 1888.
†Pineda, Emeterio, 1845.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Appendix VI

TZELTAL TEXTS

Given by Senor Aureo Cruz, of Toniná

TEXT I

782
539

PRAYER OF POOR MAN, WHEN MAKING OFFERINGS IN CHURCH OR IN THE MILPA

(See The Northern Tzeltal, Chap.)

Pas-a	*resib-il*	*yun**	*k-aHwal-tik*
Do thou	accept (Sp. recibir)	in the name of	our guardian of us

Dios		*tcul-ba-lum-milal*†	*bin*	*la-ta*‡	*y*
God	(of)	blessed the world	that which	found	and

bin	*ma-va-la-ta.*	*pas-a*	perdon	*yun*
that which	not was found.	do thou	forgive	in the name of

k-aHwal-tik	Dios		*tcul-ba-lum-milal*	*teitc'*
our guardian of us	God	(of)	blessed the world	blood

bak'-et-al	*ham-al*	*k'-otan-tik*	*ham-al*	*ti'-tik*
of (?) bones the	open	our hearts of us	open	mouths of us

aw-on	*te-lum-al*	*koltai-ya*	*haHwal*
give me	health of the earth	free it (protect?)	kneeling (?)

ha-nitcan.
thy son.

TEXT II

539

TZELTAL CONVERSATION

hoon	*lok'-on*	*tax*		*lum-al*	*v-oon*	*ta'*
I	went out I	from	(my)	land the	went I	to

yan	*lum-etik*§	*ta'*	*yil-el*‖	*yan*	*lugarx-etik*
other	lands	to	see	other	places

y	*lak-il*‖	*s-na*	*es-etik*	*baiyel*
and	look at	their (?) houses	Old Ones ("los antiguos")	plenty

[192]
[193]

*This was originally given *sok*, "with," but one of the Indian girls at El Real corrected it to *yun*.
†The stem is *lum*, "earth." No definite translation was found for *-bo-* or *-milal*.
‡The root is *ta*, "come."
§*-etik*, or *-tik*, is the emphatic plural, as well as forming, with the first personal pronoun present or implied, the inclusive plural.
‖*-el* is the generalizing suffix, here it represents the abstract idea of, the action, and corresponds to our infinitive.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

• 539

santo	*ton-etik*		*triwab-il**	*laH-lokes*		
holy	stones (carved monuments)		written	it looked		
te†-bit-il	*aix*	*te-sit*	*y*	*paca-hon*		
it saw (?)	there are	the faces	and	enjoyed I (myself)		
ta-lek	*lax*	*mulan*	*aix*	*s-na*	*puro*	*ton*
well	they	pleased	there are	houses	pure	stone
ta-sba	*wits*	*lax*	*kaltai-tik-on*		*hil-el*	
on top	mound(s)	them	cleared plural we		(we) left (them)	
tsoowōl	Christianos	*yackoi*	*tai*	*yil-el*	*tuxbil*	
many	Mexicans	came	to	see	pretty	
hil	*li*	*ya*	*kikitai*	*li.*		
(it) remained	here	I (?)	left	here.		

*tsibos-vel, "to write."
†May be omitted.

[pp. 505–522 not processed]

273 887 621 Old men often give up drinking except when, as office holders, they are obligated to participate in drinking performances. Changes in drinking patterns during the life cycle 273 539 are discussed by Felix Perez as follows:

HTATIK TA HNA *AMETO LEK SYA*BE C'IN TRAWO, HO*TIK X*ATEHOTIK *A MATO HNA*TIK YUC'EL *A C'IN TRAWI.

My father drank aguardiente a lot. We worked, we didn't know how to drink aguardiente.

*EHK STUKEL KOM TA YUC'EL Z'IN *EHK C'IN TRAWI.

Then he himself stopped drinking trago.

*ATEHON HPAS PUERSA NAME TALE MATO KUC'LEK *EHK *A C'IN TRAWI.

I worked, I made an effort for several years. I didn't drink much trago.

YUN Z'IN TE HLIHK HZAK MANYA Z'IN *EHKE, KUC' PERO YUN LA KILIX TEK TE *AY TU*Y KUN Z'IN *EHKE.

Then the madness began to get hold of me, and I drank, but it was because I saw that I had something of my own.

Composition of drinking groups

273* 571 Almost without exception, men drink in groups rather than alone. The importance of companions in the development of a 273* 539 drinking situation is suggested by Sabino Hernandez' description 571 of one such situation:

TAL Z'IN *IL *ABANKIL, STAT CIKO, BETO Z'INI.

In came your elder brother, the father of Francisco, Alberto.

HUL SK'AN HUN KWARTA XC'IN YA*AL.

He came to ask for a cuarto of aguardiente.

273*
• 539
571

HA* Z'INABI; *OC KUC' SOK, Z'INABI.

Then I entered into drinking with him.

LAH Z'IN TE HUN KWARTA Z'IN HC'IN-KA*ALTIK Z'INE.

We finished a cuarto of aguardiente.

HK'AN HUN XAN KWARTA KU*N *EHUK.

I ordered another cuarto for my part.

KUC' SOK Z'INABI.

I drank this with him.

KON SOK Z'INABI YUKUBEL XAN, TAL XAN YAN WINIKETIK.

With that the drunk began, other men came.

LIHK HZOB HBAHTIK XAN...

We began to gather together again . . .

MUK'UBIX LO*L *ABI.

(The drinking situation) began to come out bigger.

Solitary drinking is rare. Speaking of one Antonio who has come repeatedly to his friend's house, already drunk, and has finally gone off alone, Carmen Espinoza laughs:

*E MA*Y SHOY XC'IN-TUKEL, HE-HE-HE-HE-!

And he doesn't have a companion, he's all by himself! Ha, ha, ha.

273* The most frequent response to the question, "How do you
571 begin to drink?" was "when someone invites me." The invitation
[124] may come from brothers, compadres, "friends" or "companions" (these classes, as I have noted, tend to intersect in the same

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273* 562 885 Participation in drinking cycles[54] is restricted to adult males, and in fact participation signals that such persons are indeed adult males. These are some of the things that participation in drinking cycles "means."

273* Types of drinking cycles

Particular instances of the drinking cycle differ in the degree of "formality" of their organization.

Ceremonial drinking

The full expression of a ceremonial drinking cycle has a number of performance correlates which permit its identification. While it is generally true that ceremonial drinking, in contrast to "informal" drinking, is specifically initiated as a part of one of the rituals just mentioned, its most crucial, i.e., unambiguous characteristic is a formal speech which a senior male of the sponsoring group makes to the receiving group. This speech is responded to with equal formality by a senior male of the receiving group. There are several examples in text of this particular interchange between the sponsor and the receiver. An example of one of these, as reported by Lorenzo Mendez, is given below.

273* 539 *E TYOS KUMPRE, *AK'A LAH PERTON, BA* LA HZO*BEX TALEL, BA* LA HYOMEX TALEL HZ'INUK, H*A K'UK, TA STI*IL HME*BAL HWOKOL. BWENO, SOYOK KALTIK HNIC'ANTIK.

Ay, dios, compadre, excuse me. I have brought you here, gathered you here for a moment, for a little while, at the door of my poor house, with my children and grandchildren.

273* 539 TUTA *AY TUT'A LA HTABE TYOS SOYOK KAL HNIC'ANTIK TA C'UL BALAMILAL, MA LA XU* KUC' HTUKEL.

What I have, what I have obtained with God's help, along with my children, in this world, I cannot take it myself.

MA XU* HTUNTES HTUKEL, *AY LAH HME*, *AY LA HTAT, SOK HKUMPAGRE TA BA* ZOBOLOTIK YOMOLTIK, KIK'EX TAL HZ'INUK H*AK'UK.

I cannot serve myself alone. I have my mother, my father, my compadre. Here they are together, I have called them together for a moment, for a little while.

HBAL HMAY, HBAL SIGARRO, ME XYAL, ME MA XYAL TA *AWO*TANIK, TU YIPAL LA HTABE TYOS TA HME*BAL HWOKOL.

Some tobacco, a cigarette, let it go down or not go down in their hearts, that which I have accumulated with God's help, here in my poor house.

HA* YU*UN TY YIPAL LAH KIK'AT HZ'INUK H*AK'UK, KAHWAL TAT ME*, HKUMPAGRE PUES *AK'A PERTON KUMPAGRE, ME XYAL, MA XYAL TA *AWO*TAN HBAL HMAYTIK, HBAL SIGARROTIK KUMPAGRE.

For this reason I have invited you here for a moment, a little while, respected comadre and compadre, excuse me, let us see if it goes down or does not go down in your heart, our tobacco, our cigarette, compadre.

The response to this formal speech is made by one of the elder guests and goes as follows:

E TYOS KUMPAGRE, BA LAH ME LAH *AWIC', BA* LAH ME TAL *AWU*UN.

Ah, compadre, where did you get the wealth? Where did you bring it from?

MA*YUK TUT'A HK'ANTIK, MA*Y TU"TA HLOK'ESTIK, LA *AWIK'OTIK TALEL, BA* LA *AZO*BOTIK TALEL, HOKOL AWALTIK.

We aren't asking for anything, we don't want to take anything from you. You invited us, you brought us together. Thank you very much.

273* [539]

MA* ATUKELUK LA *AWAK' TA *AWO*TAN, MA* *ATUKELUK LA *AWAK' TA *AWAHC' ALEL, LA *ANA* BA*Y AME*, LA *ANA* BA*Y ATAT, KUMPAGRE, HOKOL AWALTIK, KUMPAGRE, KALEBON XC'IN WINKLEL.

You didn't use your wealth by yourself, you didn't consume it by yourself. You remembered your mother, your father, your compadre. Thank you, compadre. Find someone to pour the drinks.

This exchange initiates the ceremonial drinking sequence. (The sequence is composed of a series of acts; a set of drinking sequences constitutes a drinking cycle.) Upon the termination of the speeches, the owner of the aguardiente asks a junior male to take a proffered liter bottle of aguardiente and a shot glass and offer a drink to each of the men present.

The server must initiate the act of drinking with every other male in the group. Whatever the quantity of aguardiente in the liter bottle, it must be equally distributed among all those present including himself. The drink server must estimate the amount of aguardiente in the bottle and fill the shot glass accordingly. The relative order of initiating the drinking act with the several persons present must proceed from persons of greater rank to persons of lesser rank. As has been suggested in the role inventory, there is a near-perfect correlation between age and rank in Aguacatenango. Hence, the oldest male present is served first and the youngest male present is served next to last, the drink pourer himself being served last. Since the drink server is a junior male, his relative position of

273* 554

273* all persons drinking receive the same known amount, as measured
574 by the shot glass; since each liter is equally divided, the host may stop serving at any time knowing that all have shared equal amounts. In informal drinking, in contrast, equal distribution of the aguardiente is only approximated by passing the bottle to each in turn. Precision in distribution is perhaps of less concern in informal drinking because there is no single host; each man in turn contributes his own bottle to be shared by the group. Mariano tells how he and his friends shared the expense of a drinking cycle as follows:

[539] M. TAL Z'IN *EHK HOYTIK I, K'EHEL BA YUC'IK *EHUK, TE XBOTIK *A, XU* KU*NTIK *EHUK....

Then some other companions came, we went to drink over there, we went to continue over there also. . . .

TUME HA*T NAX K'AN AWAK'IK XCION, SK'AHK' KO*TANTIK *EHK HC'IN TOHOLTIK I.

"It's not right for you alone to give [aguardiente]," I told them. "Now we will buy some with our money."

TENEX K'OT YAK'IK *OLIL HUHUTUL Z'IN *A PAHAL LA YAK'IK STUBI.

Then and there they began to give a half-liter each, afterward all gave equally.

273* The informal drinking cycle is likely to be initiated by same-sex, same-age peers who consider themselves to be friends. In contrast to the ceremonial drinking sequence, in which persons of various ages and role relations always take part, the informal drinking sequence places little emphasis on the individual's rank

273* refuse a drink in a setting in which men are drinking, and since men who are drinking actively seek companions all over town, the only really satisfactory strategy for those who choose not to drink on a succeeding day is to get out of town. (One of Simmons' informants in Lumahuaná reports that there also, "if a man does not wish to drink, he has to go away from the place where the drinking is taking place and must avoid places where men are drinking." Simmons 1962, p. 42.) In the text just cited above, Juan Hernandez has avoided his friend by going in-
273* to the hills to cut poles for his garden. His wife, Carmen,
539 tells about it:

ME K'AN KUXUK YUN NAX LI*YIX BALAWETEL AMETO.

"You won't sober up wallowing around here."

... LE TE*EL C'UNTE TONC MA*K XWEHT BA XBAT.

"Go look for poles for the chayote, since you don't know where to go."

*AYIL HICWAN, XCI.

"Maybe it's better that way," he said.

*AYIL BAHKON HLEH TAL C'IN HYALELUK HKUHSES TAL HBA*A, XCI.

"It's better that I go and take a trip to sober up," he said.

Juan himself comments as follows:

BETIL XYAL HAYUN MA*BA LA HSOLES LEK *EHUK.

One goes into debt, for that reason also one doesn't overdo.

273* 539 MA* LIK *AY *EHK HKUMPRE STAT PEPRI, HA*YUN MA*C'A K'AN HMON BA SOK.

Also, my compadre, Pedro's father, wasn't here, so there wasn't anyone to join me.

HKUMPRE STAT PEYRO WOL I, BAHT TA *A*TEL EHK NUN TA BA*T TANKE, SOK SYAKBEL BAHT HAL HKUMPRE ABI.

My compadre, Pedro's father, Gregorio, went to work down there by the tank, he went with his hangover, that compadre of mine.

273* I have seen men leaving the community on fiesta days so as not to become involved in drinking. The following text fragment from Felix Perez is an example: (Felix went to San Cristóbal on the day of the fiesta in order not to be in his house when companions came by to offer him drinks. He makes the point that he is a compulsive drinker, compulsive in the sense that once he starts drinking he cannot stop on the following day but continues for as long as a week. Thus all the bad aspects of drinking are magnified for a person such as himself. While he drinks more infrequently than most individuals, when he drinks he drinks longer than others.)

273* 539 YAN HO*NEH HA* NAX TAL HC'AY KOK YU*N K'IN YA*YEL I,

I only came to entertain myself because of the fiesta.

HA* XI* *EHK TRAWO *EHK I, HA* MA HK'AN *EHK TE ... LIHK YAKUBOKON *EHK TEY *A I.

I'm afraid of the aguardiente, I don't want to get drunk.

YU*N *IP HTEN BAH TA BETIL, MA* LO*L BETIL STENON *EHK TEME LIKH KUC' E.

273* I would go deeply into debt, it's a heavy debt I carry when
• 539 I begin to drink.

TOH *AY STUK YU*N HNA*TIK. HUN K'AHAL, CE* K'AHAL E.

It would be all right if I could drink one day, two days.

PE *ILI TONC XBAHT TA MUK' KUNTIK HONA, YIC'O HUN SEMNA, YIC'O HO*E K'AHAL, WAXBE* K'AHAL.

But for me it always gets to be a big thing, it lasts a week, five days, six days.

E BA TO K'AN TAK'IN, SIEMPRE XLAH KUNTIK *EHK TAK'IN I.

Where is the money coming from? Our money always runs out.

273* In order not to become involved in drinking, men pursue activities in terms of the necessity of which they lament inability to have taken part in the fiesta. "One of my cattle has been missing for two weeks--and I had to spend all that day and the following day searching for her." "The dogs have been eating elotes in my field in the Paradise section, and I spent the day laying poison and watching the field," etc. The observation of such behavior as this provides a good example of the fact that not all people in Aguacatenango look forward to being "happy" on any given fiesta day, and in turn those people who are being "happy" feel some compulsion to require their fellows to be "happy" with them.

The alternative strategy for avoiding drinking performances is to take the "cure." This consists of taking a medicine so strong that should the taker thereafter drink aguardiente, he

273* is sure to die. One then may refuse a drink, saying, "I have taken the cure and I surely will die." Furthermore, taking the cure is supposed to dispose of one's desire to drink. The cured drinker should find aguardiente repulsive. Candelario Hernandez and Mariano Juarez discuss such a "cure" in the following text fragment:

273* 539

M. YUN WAN LA *AWUC'BE XPOXIL.

Perhaps you took the medicine?

C. LAH NIX KA*BE TE*K *A, PERE MA HNA*TIK ME XU*YUN T*K HAL *EHUK.

I took a little, but I don't know how long I will be able to stand not taking a drink.

M. PERE ME M*K SK'AN TUT'IL *ORA *ILI, MA*K WAN....

But maybe now you won't want it, since now you won't. . . .

C. MA SK'AN BA KUBUL *UC'AN ... LA HATE YUN YA KUUNTIK TE*K C'IN HNUX E, MASK'AN.

Right now I don't feel like it when they invite me to drink, and then if I drink a little I don't like its taste.

HA* *ORA SK'AN XC'I HC'UHTIK YU*UN *ORA XTI*WAN TA HC'UHTIK.

Right away my stomach begins to hurt, right away my stomach begins to swell.

M. PE YUN HA* WAN XPOXIL ABI.

Well, maybe it's the medicine all right.

C. HAYUN HIC MA* BA KA*BE Z'IN, LA YAK'IK LEK PERSA HONC STUK MAC'A YUC' i.

For this reason I don't drink. A lot of the drinkers are taking the medicine.

273*
539

HAL XTU*L KUC'OHTIK MAMAL POX I, *E HZ'IN NAX TEME MMIL HBAHTIK *A E.

When we have taken the medicine, we could easily kill ourselves.

M. YAL TASTAT CUS NAX I, *AY YUC'OBE XPOXIL *EHK I.

The father of Jesusa has just taken the medicine.

C. LA TU*L WAN STOHOL *EHK *ILE.

How much did it cost him?

M. PERE TUN TUT'IP PE HUN TA HTAB HAL YA YAL NAX I.

How much? I think twenty pesos was what he said a while ago.

C. YUC'OH TO.

He's still drinking.

M. C'IN HUN K'IN HONC HATE LA HZ'IK E....

He only lasted through one fiesta sober.

*E YUN YA SK'ANIX HAL KO*TAN I, PE XCI.

"My heart is still begging for aguardiente," he said.

ZAM YA XKO, MA* BA TUTA SPAS HNUXUK XCI TAK.

"It goes down well, it doesn't hurt me at all," he said.

YU*NEN MAHAK *EHK XPOXIL I.

Maybe it isn't the medicine.

C. BA* LA SMAN WAN.

Where did he buy it?

M. *ILI XINLAN TA MUK'UL *AKIL LA XCON PE XCI.

"It was a ladina from Pinola who sold it to me," he said.

273* 539 C. HA* HAL ME*L HLO*LIWANEH XINAN HAL YA X BEN LI* I.

That's that lying ladina who comes up here.

M. *E *AWA* MA* BA TUTA SPAS HNUXUK.

And he says that it didn't help him at all.

C. *E TEY *A YUN SZ'IHK TE*K YUN C'IN HUNUK HA*WIL *A E, *IL C'IN CE* OXE*K'AHAL HONC TAK.

It should at least keep him from drinking for a year, and he only lasted two or three days.

M. *E YUN TONC *ANC TA *AWO*TAN LA *AZ'IK *EHK *ABI, XKUT, *E YU*NIX *A XCI.

"Well, you only stop if you want to," I told him. "Yes," he said.

HINX *A MA YUNUK LA YILA LA STUK YO*TAN I, YUN TONC LA SZ'IK.

"Yes, my heart didn't reject the aguardiente, I willed not to drink."

273* One of the reasons why men may avoid drinking on succeeding days is economic. As drinking continues, there is a tendency to water the aguardiente, prolonging the drinking cycle by reducing the per person unit cost. Nevertheless, men go into debt to buy aguardiente and must often seek work outside the community in order to pay what they owe. [426]

273* 124 Other reasons are suggested by the questions and responses of the survey. Fifty-four men reported that they became ill as a result of drinking--and illness following drinking appears very frequently in the texts. Eleven men reported that, at least occasionally, they are involved in fights while drinking. Fifty-two

273* All of these performances fall within the range of acceptable,
183 though perhaps imperfect, behavior for drunken men; that is,
[589] while some of them are considered deplorable and others danger-
ous, sanctions are usually limited to scolding and the conflict
does not persist beyond the drinking situation.

On the other hand, the drunken man may be insulting or physically aggressive, and while these performances may be discounted on occasion, they often bring the individual into conflict which persists beyond the particular drinking situation. For the purposes of this description, we will define the conflict focus as that state which exists when an individual perceives his control over resources to be temporarily placed in increased jeopardy by circumstances some portion of which can be attributed to the action (or failure to take action) of some other individual; the jeopardized party must also perceive that there exists some form of action he can take (some remedy) in relation to the individual "causing" the conflict which will decrease his feeling of vulnerability.

273* Both insults and physical aggression by drunken indi-
578 viduals are verbally proscribed and often physically sanctioned. Aurelia Ramirez, speaking of the drunken insults of a relative who has been living in her house, says:

[539] PURA XC'AB YA YAL TU*L YA YAX YAKUBEL.

He talks of nothing but witchcraft when he is drunk.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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273* 598 TYABLO TYABLO NA *I, HOLA CINGADO NA.

539 "Curse the house, curse the house!"

TONC YAN XYAKUB TA WINIKIL STUK.

It's inappropriate the way that man drinks.

HAYUN LA YALBE Z'IN SMA*ALIB, XC'OHT TA *AYEL, *A LOK'UK BAEL *A NUHZUK,

So [my daughter] went to her father-in-law and told him to turn them out,

MA*K HK'ANTIKIX *EHUK.

We don't want them any more,

273* 754 539 In another case, the outcome was more serious for the offender. Mariano Juarez describes how the men of the community decided who was the witch responsible for an epidemic of measles as follows:

PERO HIC EHK MAC'A YA XKUC *AK' CAMEL I, YUN YA YAL TA SYAKBEL TE SNA* *AK' CAMEL E.

But they blame that one for the witchcraft, because he says when he's drunk that he knows how to do witchcraft.

MA LA YAK XIW TULAN LA *AY, HA*C YA YAL TA SYAKBEL MAC'A TE SNA* *AK' CAMEL E.

[He says] that he's not afraid, he's strong, that's what he says when he's drunk, that he knows how to do witchcraft.

HAYUN HIC A SKUC *AK' CAMEL YUN KRISTYANETIK I, YUN A YAL TA SYAKBEL.

That's why they blame him for causing the illness among the people, because he says it when he is drunk.

... TA SYAKBEL YA YAL HA*TE MATO KAWAK' *A LIMXNA XCI TA SYAKBEL.

273* 754 539 . . . When he's drunk he says, "you haven't paid your tax yet!" (This is interpreted by our informant as meaning that none of the listener's children has yet died and, further, that the speaker can guarantee that some of them will die.)

HAYUN HIC MA XC'AY TA YO*TANIK HAL KRISTYANETIK I.

And so the hearts of the people don't forget this.

XLIHK CAMEL TA TEHKLUM HA* YA XKUC STUKEL.

When the illness begins in the community they blame him.

... TA SKAHABI YA XLAH TA MILEL YUN SBOLIL.

Because of this they kill him for his foolishness.

MA* TOHUK XYAKUB.

He doesn't get drunk the way one ought to.

273* 518 Physical aggression against drinking companions usually has immediate physical consequences. One fight which occurred between two drunken young men in the cemetery at the fiesta of Todos Santos ended with a broken arm for one of them, and in another fight hospital care was needed for the victim. Sabino Hernandez, on waking up after a night of drinking, is puzzled to find his hand sprained, because, as he remembers,

[539] MAYU*NUK *AY MA*C'A LAH KUT H'A SOK, TONC YU*N TOH LAH KU*C' HAL HC'IN KA*AL I.

I didn't fight with anybody, I just drank my aguardiente the way one ought to.

273* 593 620 Drunken men who beat their wives can expect retaliation in kind only rarely, but a mistreated wife may complain of her husband's behavior to his elders, who will reprimand him and exact a promise to reform.

273* exact a promise to reform. Drunken abuse of a wife is specifi-
593 cally proscribed in the counsel given to a young couple during the wedding ceremony:

[539] HA*T KEREM, K'UXUTA ME AWINAM, MA ME AWUT, MA ME AMAH.

You, boy, esteem your wife, don't scold her, don't strike her.

ME LA *AWUC' POX, TOH ME XAK'AN AWE*EL, TOH ME XAK'AN AMAZ.

When you drink aguardiente, ask for your supper as one ought to, ask for your pozole as one ought to.

273* One wife's attitude toward her husband's aggressiveness when
539 drunk is characteristic of the Aguacatenango woman's view:
593

YU*NEN YIC'O BOLUBEL TA SOL HAL *IX *UTWAN NONC I, WAH.

Maybe he's crazy, since he fights so much! Ha, ha, ha!

TONC YA HZE*LU Z'IN.

Afterward he just laughs.

*AY TYOS, HESUCRISTO, *ABONIK TE*K PERTON, MA*K HNA*, *E XCI Z'IN.

"God, Jesus Christ! Forgive me, I don't remember what I did," he says afterward.

*Y HAYUN HIC MA KAK' TA MUK' Z'IN.

And so I don't pay any attention afterward.

*IP ME KIC' E, KIC' *ABI, *E XCEBAL K'AHAL, *E MA*K HNA*, *E XCI.

Sometimes he hits me, he hits me then, and two days later he says, "I don't remember."

ATUKEL XANA ME KAWAK' PERTONE MA* KAWAK' PERTONE.

"Only you know if you will forgive me or not."

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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273* *E HIC PERE XK'AXAWON AWU*UN, YA KUT.
539
593 "I will pardon you, but I am ashamed of you," I tell him.

*E *AYIL MA*K HPASIS HONC *A, SLOT.

"It's all right, I won't do it again," he lies.

YU*N MALAME K'OPOHAN STUK TEME YU*N T'UXAH E.

It's that he doesn't like to hear talking when he's lying down drunk.

YU*N HUN TA *ALAL YU*N C'A*BAL YANE XWAY.

He's just like a baby, he only sleeps if it's quiet.

YAN STUK TEME YAKAT WULWUNEL E, YU*N HWINIK LA KAHMULA HATE XK'OPOHON SOK E.

If I make any noise he says I am talking with my lover.

*E YU*NEN *AY CAWAH TA SOL WAH.

Maybe he's crazy.

TONC YU*N XKUXLEH STUK *ILI.

That's just the way he is.

273* The willingness of the average wife to forgive drunken
593 abuse is an illustration of the fact that, in general, the behavior of an individual when he is drunk is subject to special interpretation by others. A drunken man is generally assumed not to be responsible for his actions; his unsocial behavior is likely to be disregarded. Speaking of a man who is accused of having given his brother a fatal illness by witchcraft because they had fought over an inheritance, Mariano Juarez and Juana Espinoza agree that it is unusual for fighting to have this result.

273* 578 539 M. YA XLIHK KUT HBAHTIK SOK *EHK HBANKILTIK I PERE ...

We start to fight with our brothers too, but . . .

J. *E PE TOH *AY C'IN HNUX I SKAH NAX YAKUBEL *EHK ABI.

But it's easy [to fight] a little on account of drunkenness.

M. YAKUBEL ...

Drunk . . .

J. MA* KUXLEHALUK.

Not sober.

M. SKAH YAKUBEL.

On account of drunkenness.

J. YU*N TONC TONC MOEM A YA*Y STRAWO *EHK ABI.

It's only that one feels like overstepping from the aguardiente.

HAYUN *AY A XMOH TA *AHOLIK Z'IN PE HA*NAX TE*K ABI.

Sometimes it goes to their heads, but only a little [fighting].

M. TOHOL K'OP.

Just talk.

J. MA*K XCAMOTIK YU*N *EHK TOHOL K'OP I.

We don't die from just talk.

Another illustration of the tendency to discount drunken behavior is a discussion in which Aurelia Ramirez reports the insults of the young man whom she had turned out of her house (mentioned in text above):

273* 578 539 A. NUN TE*K'EL NUN TA YUT C'IN NA E, YA XBON, YA XK'OTON TEME ...

He stood right over there, inside the little house [and said], "I'm going, I'm going to come". . .

MA* LOMUK A XBON STUK *ILI, YU*N K'AN LAHUK SLA* KO*TAN E.

"I'm not going away just like that, not till my anger is used up."

MA XLAH SLA* KO*TAN TU*L A SNUZONIK LO*L I, YAK'ONIK LO*L E.

"My anger isn't used up, because they turned me out, they sent me away."

TYABLO YA KIL TU*L A XLOK' TUK SLA* KO TAN I, MA*Y BA* XBAHT, XCI.

"The devil! We'll see how my anger will come out, it's not going to go away," he said.

M. *A XCI.

He said that.

A. XCI TONC XCA BA YAL HONC HAL BAHT I.

He said that, he talked a lot of witchcraft when he went away.

M. ME YUN A XYAKUB *A.

Could he have been drunk?

A. MA*K XYAKUB TAT KUXLEHAL A YAL.

273* 578 He wasn't drunk, mister, he said it when he was sober.

Mariano, in evaluating Aurelia's remarks, asks the crucial question, "Could he have been drunk?" The fact that he was sober implies that much more weight can be placed on his statements of his power to do witchcraft against others. We may perhaps infer

273* that Mariano will keep this in mind in future transactions with
578 this man--if he believes that Aurelia is telling the truth.

While a man's behavior when he is drunk is usually disregarded in forming character judgments, there are circumstances in which drunken behavior is seen as ambiguous. It is believed, for example, that foreign matter can be put into aguardiente by a member of the drinking group so as to cause the illness or death of one of the other participants. Examples of illness attributed to "poisoned" aguardiente will be offered in the next chapter; here it is sufficient to cite the belief as an indication that "true" aggression may sometimes be expressed when men are drunk. Other aspects of the ambiguity of drunken behavior are suggested in the following text fragment:

273* F. KILIX TEK TE *AY TU*Y KUN Z'IN *EHK E, PUES HA* Z'IN
578 HBANKIL, *ORA *ILI, LA HKABETIK SLUM TE HKOHT SKAH HTEK"EN
• 539 BETIK SNA....
593

Once I had seen that we had accumulated a little wealth, we gave a piece of land to my brother, we gave him a horse, we built him a house. . . .

HO*N YA STI*ON Z'IN HAL BAY BA *IL KUMPRE.

He comes around and bothers me in my house now, compadre.

... HA*Z'IN BA* STA TRAWI, BA* STA POX I, HA*TE XLIHK MOUK TA SOL *A.

. . . That's the way it is when one finds aguardiente, it goes to his head.

YAXC'IN YAL YA*KBIL CAMEL *EHUK, BUENO, HO*N MA* ZAMUK YA KA*Y *EHK HO*N ABI KUMPRE.

273* He begins to talk about witchcraft and I don't care for
578 that at all, compadre.

539 HAL TRAWI, HA* MA HNA*TIK TUT XKALTIK SOK, MA HNA*TIK
593 TUT HLOK'ESTIK SOK, TONC YUN *AY SLUWAR *AY MA* SLUWARUK
XK'OPOHOTIK *A.

Because of the aguardiente, we don't know what we are saying, we don't know how to speak, sometimes it's correct and sometimes it's not possible what we are saying.

M. PERE HA* TE YUN MOEM TA HOLTIK YUN TRAWO *A E.

But this only happens when the aguardiente goes to his head.

F. HAIX KEMPRE, YUN MOEM TA HOLTIK MA HNA* TUT XKALTIK PERES TA SKAH TRAWO, SKAH POX *EHK *ABI.

That's right, compadre, it goes to our head and we don't know what we are saying, but it's because of the aguardiente.

MAYUNUK KUXLULUK KO*TANTIK E.

It doesn't happen when we are sober.

BA LA HTATIK HUN KERMANOTIK HUN HBANKILTIK, Z'AHAL BANKIL, Z'AHAL TAT, HA* XCI XK'OPOHOTIK Z'IN ABI, KONTENTO XK'OPOHOTIK SOK MAC'A KAMIGOTIK E.

When we are sober, when we encounter some brothers or uncles we say, "Good day, uncle, good day, sir," we talk contentedly with our friends.

PERO ME *OC Z'IN C'UL TRAWO, *E HUN *ORA HNA*TIK HUN *ORA MA HNA*TIK HA*YUN *AWA*Y TUL HIC.

But when aguardiente comes in, part of the time we remember and part of the time we don't remember.

MA* ZAMUK TA *UC'EL *EHK C'UL TRAWO HUN *ORA E.

In a way, it's not good to drink aguardiente.

273* towards the other members of the town, and/or if hostility is
578
754 characteristic of the individual even when sober, then a witch-
craft component will probably be attributed to his character.
If the vernacular of witchcraft is used in expressing hostility
in either the first or the second condition, the attribution of
witchcraft to the person is made more likely.

273* Occasionally the outcome of drunken fighting is so ex-
578 treme (e.g., when one participant dies) that "bad character"
(but not necessarily witchcraft) is attributed to the aggressor
regardless of considerations of intent or of his behavior when
sober. In the following text fragment, such a case is discussed.

273* (The fact that the pair had been drinking was ascertained from
578
539 a source other than the text.)

J. HA* CAM *ILI *ATATIK I.

The old gentleman died.

M. TU* LA SPAS.

What happened to him?

J. MA*YUK LAH TA MILEL.

I don't know, he was killed.

M. ME MA* CIKNAH.

Have they found out who did it?

J. CIKAN *AY HA* NAX MISMO SNEAL I, HA* HAL MA TATIK KCIK I XCI.

It seems that it was his own son-in-law, they said, that old Francisco [the honorific, used here in reference to a young person, derogates his status].

273* 578 •539 ... HATE YAHWAL NA HATE SWINKLEL Z'INE, *ABOT TON TA S(H)OL ... HIZ

That head of the house, that owner, was hit on the head with a rock.

MA K'OLO MA TONI.

A rock this big around.

HNA*TIK Z'IN, TU*L LIHK TE SK'OPIK Z'INE, LAH SMIL SBAIK.

We don't know how their argument began, he was killed.

... HA* MILAWAN SNEALI.

His son-in-law killed him.

... HATE MAC'A MILAWAN Z'INE, YIP LA HTATIK TAL Z'IN *A TE SMORAL, SMORALI, YIP LA HTABETAL Z'IN *A SOK CEB PIXLAL.

That one killed him, we only found his morral, only his morral and two hats.

... *ORA *ILI MA* TEK'AY *A, *ANIX LO*EL.

He's not here now, he fled.

M. HIC KOLOL Z'IN.

Then he got away.

273* The possibility that an individual when drinking is in fact speaking the truth is an entertainable idea especially under the circumstances that he reports information which individuals have been searching for unsuccessfully.

273* 626 578 In one text we find Mariano defending himself against statements he allegedly made while he was drunk. The context in which these statements were made is as follows. The woman who

273* that she has heard that he made these remarks while drunk and
675
626 knows that he writes Spanish well. He constructs a conversation
578 for her between himself and one Augustin (who also writes Spanish) in which Augustin asks him if he did in fact write the threatening note, as he had claimed in Augustin's presence to have done. (Mariano never admits himself that he made these remarks while drinking.)

273*
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626

HTAH BA SOK Z'IN HAL *AWSTIN I.

Later I met Augustin.

*ILI ME HIC ME YUN HAT Z'IN LA *APAS HUN I, XYUTON.

"Is it true that you wrote the note?" he asked me.

TU*UN XKUT.

"Why?" I asked him.

HA*BI *AY LA *AWAL TA *AYAKBEL XCI, LA AWAL TA *AYAKBEL *ILI, HO*N LA HPAS HUN I, HO*N LA KAK' HIL TO *AK'EL HIL TA STI* SNA XCIAT.

"Once when you were drunk you said so," he said, "You said, 'I wrote the note, I sent it to her house,' that's what you said," he said.

TU*N BA* LA HTA HBAHTIK XKUT.

"Where did we meet?" I asked him.

*AY LA HTA HBAHTIK TA YAKBEL, HO*N LA HPAS XCAT.

"Once we were drinking together, 'I did it,' you said."

*AYIL C'A*BAN MA HNA* MAC'A LA SPAS *EHK ABI, MA HA*KAT LA *APAS XKUTAT STUK HO*N E.

"'Stop it, be quiet, I don't know who did that. You didn't do it,' I said."

273* 539 578 626 HU*U HO*N LA HPAS XAWUTON HIL XCI.

"'Yes, I did,' you told me," he said.

TENEX *A HUL KAL XAN TA HNA Z'IN.

From there I went home to hear it again.

HA*C LA YAK'IK HKUC ... HA*C LA ... HO*N LA KAL TA HYAKBEL.

"They are blaming you ... ." that I said it when I was drunk.

PASE *AK BA* HTA YAKBEL METO, XKUT AWIX I.

"Don't worry, what I could have done when I was drunk?" I told your aunt.

273* 626 578 In telling his wife not to worry, Mariano implies that the rumor will lose its force since it cannot be true.

Mariano also makes it plain to the rezadora later in the text that he wonders at Augustin's insistence on calling this story to his attention and spreading it around town. He implies that Augustin is being somewhat aggressive in doing this or is trying to cover up his own part in the note-writing act. The rezadora draws the conclusion for Mariano that it is probably Augustin who wrote the note, with which conclusion Mariano agrees. Thereby, in this interaction at least, he not only denies any part in the act but also supplies the rezadora with another person who is probably guilty.

273* 578 Individuals in search of the source of hostile acts are not averse to searching the conversations of men who are drinking deeply. In turn, men who drink deeply may use the privileged

273* our measures of it are crude, but will perhaps serve as a first
578 approximation. A penalizing strategy, in contrast, remains "active" as a basis for post-conflict interaction between the parties. The pure type of conflict bound by penalty is in fact an infinite series of conflicts operating on the pre-conflict role relationships of the parties so as to transform them, in the extreme case, into a relationship which must be terminated if either is to survive as a "social person." Under some circumstances, a penalizing strategy may call forth a counter-strategy of restitutive nature which breaks the chain before it becomes necessary to terminate interaction.

Among the restitutive strategies used to reduce the effects of drunken behavior is apology or restitution for the jeo-
273* pardy on which the drunken aggression is based. Felix Perez
578 tells how he has tried to stop his brother from threatening him
593 while drunk:
539

> PUES HA* Z'IN HBANKIL I *ORA *ILI LA HK'ABETIK HKOT SLUM ESTE HKOT SKA, HKA SLUM, HTEK'EN BETIK SNA....
>
> Well then, we gave my elder brother his piece of land, his horse, his land, we built him a house. . . .
>
> HA* XTI*WAN HIL Z'IN YUN Z'IN TE XTI*WAN KUMPRE.
>
> He kept on bothering me, he kept on bothering me then, compadre.
>
> LA HTATLANOK TA CAMEL YUNTIKILE *E.
>
> His children were taken ill.

273* Z'IN *EHK HO*NE SESNTA SINKWENTA SIEN PESO KA*BE TUTIL XCOP
578 YUNTIKIL I, PE MA SNA* Z'IN HA* LA STI*ON YA*TIK BA*YON *IL,
593 KUMPRE.
539 I gave him sixty, fifty, a hundred pesos to cure his children, but he doesn't recognize that, he goes on bothering me here, compadre.

HA* XTI*WAH YUN NA I.

He bothers me about the house. (Felix, the youngest son, remained with his father and has been promised the house as his inheritance. His elder brother complains that the house should be his.)

... LIHK BENUK XAN KO*TAN Z'IN *E TU*UN *E LAH HCON HKOT C'IN CITAM Z'IN *E TU*UN *E *A KUMPRE *ILI.

I began to think again, and so then I sold a little pig, compadre.

*ABA XAN SIEN PESO XKUT Z'IN HTATIK TA HNA E, LEK'AY *ABI XCI.

"Give him another hundred pesos," I said, and then my father said, "All right."

KA*BE Z'IN YA*BE Z'IN STUKEL YUN Z'IN TE LA HKA*BETIK XAN Z'IN *ABI.

I gave it to him, he gave it to him, then we gave him more.

MA*SK'AN XAN NAXTAK *ABI STI*ON XAN NAXTAK YUN HNA *ILI.

He still didn't like it, he still kept on bothering me about the house.

273* 578 [593] The failure of all these measures to stop the brother's drunken threats has led the father to consider building a new house for Felix and giving the family house to the elder brother.

Another strategy is reprimand or punishment, where the jeopardized party has authority over the drunken offender or, alternatively, where the jeopardized party can appeal to such

273* 578 [539] an authority. One example of a reprimand is found in the texts:

K'UXIX YU*N HA* MA*K STAIX *AWC*TAN HAL TRAWI, AKUT.

"It's hurting you now, the aguardiente doesn't agree with you," I told him.

*ILA *E HIC PE YU*N YA TO SK'AN HONA XCI, *A SKUT.

"Yes, but my heart still wants more," he said. "All right," I said.

LA LOK' XAN K'AEL.

Then he went out again.

BALOTA *UTEL YU*N TATA* I.

His father reprimanded him.

LOK' XAN K'AL Z'IN.

He went out again afterward.

While the reprimand administered here had no immediate effect on the son's behavior, it was probably repeated when he was sober and was surely a factor in his subsequent avoidance of drinking settings.

273* 593 692 [606] A father may reprimand a son. A wife, if she has a good relationship with her father-in-law, can have her husband reprimanded by his father. When these measures fail (as in the case of a son who struck his father in response to a reprimand), or when the jeopardized party is not in a position of authority over the offender, resort to the community court is an alternative strategy by which a restitutive outcome may be obtained.

273* 683 In cases of drunken fighting which results in injury, the

273* 683 court usually demands a nominal fine (10 pesos--about a day's wages--being the customary amount), and sometimes the defendant will apologize as well. In one such case, the plaintiff had to have hospital care, and the defendant was ordered to pay the bill (30 pesos) instead of a fine. Where the fighting ended in 273* 682 a death, both fine and damages are charged, as in the murder [539] case already mentioned in text above:

M. PERO ME LAHWAN YAK' TAK'IN TOHUBEH.

I wonder how much money it was settled for.

J. KINYENTOS PESO LAH YAK' HIL.

He handed over five hundred pesos.

M. ME HA* LAH SMUK Z'IN TE MAC'A CAM E.

Did he pay for the funeral of the dead man?

J. PUES MA HNA*TIK, MA YU*N LAH YA*BE SIYERO TRESYENTOS PESO.

Well, I don't know, maybe he gave him something like three hundred pesos.

M. APARTE XAN Z'IN TE KINYENTO LAH YAK'HIL E.

Apart from the five hundred that he handed over?

J. APARTE Z'IN *EHK HATE KINYENTOS PE E LAH YAK' HIL TA KABILTA.

Apart from the five hundred pesos that he handed over to the court.

682 629 It is important that in this case, the murderer not only paid the fine and damages (through his wife) but also found it advisable to leave the community. Murder and witchcraft do not

627 children and without father or brothers to support her, found it
682 impossible either to retaliate or to remain under the eye of the
754 "killer," so she moved to a distant part of the community.

578 More often, breaking interaction is used as a penalizing
627 strategy in less serious conflicts. For example, a daughter-in-law living in her husband's paternal household complained that her father-in-law scolded her when he was drunk and, in order to reduce her vulnerability, left the house and returned to live with her own family. Sometimes, in such a case, the husband will attempt to make restitution in response to the penalty and the conflict will be resolved. Another case, mentioned in text earlier, is that of Aurelia Ramirez and her unwelcome house guest; she appealed to the young man's father-in-law and had him removed from her house. The penalizing nature of this strategy is illustrated in the text which followed (also cited above); the conflict remained "active" in the relationship between Aurelia and the young man in that he returned to threaten her
[692] with witchcraft. Aurelia's next move is instructive; still feel-
[754] ing vulnerable, she sought the judgment of the court. However, this being a case of threat of witchcraft, the court refused to rule. She describes her rebuff as follows:

[539] KIK' Z'IN KALBE LO*L SME*L NEAL, KOMO PRESIDENTE.

I went out to speak to his father-in-law, since he is president.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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578
627 MALA TUTA YAL, MALA TUTA SLOK'ES, YU*N HO*N LA HA HLE HK'OP,
• 539 HO*N LA PIS TYTA KALTLAN LA.

[He said] that he isn't saying anything, that he isn't taking anything, that I'm lying, that I'm the one who's saying it all.

273* In general, persisting conflicts arising from drunken
578 behavior are relatively infrequent among highly relational role pairs--people who live in the same household and/or are tied to each other by extensive obligations, such as parent-child, sibling-sibling, husband-wife, parent-in-law-child-in-law. In this role set, drunken behavior tends to be discounted or excused on later apology by the offender. When persisting conflicts occur, they are usually handled by means of restitutive strategies employed within the family and do not reach the community court. On the other hand, persisting conflicts based on drunken behavior among lowly relational pairs--people whose obligations toward each other are relatively few, such as siblings-in-law, neighbors, persons of opposite barrios (in descending order)--are fairly common. Indeed, all of the fighting and much of the murder and witchcraft in this role set involve drunkenness. Here there is perhaps no basis for discounting drunken behavior or less
[692] opportunity to make apologies. In any case, these conflicts tend to be taken to the community court--the only authority which both parties recognize--for a restitutive outcome when only injury is involved, and they tend to be handled with severe penaliz-

273* 695 tional informal drinking segments may follow, but they will not necessarily take place on the cabildo porch, and the group may break up, so that drinking is simultaneously going on in two or three settings. All informal drinking rules hold from then on. The normal drinking performance following dispute settlement includes ceremonial drinking plus informal drinking segments which lead to drunkenness. The probability of this is expressed in text where an elder warns the wives of town officers that their husbands will sometimes return home drunk (see Chapter V for citation of text).

The escalation of conflict

273* 578 731 In the case where conflict is to be "settled" by increasing the jeopardy of the other party, aguardiente is supplied by the individuals who are interested in escalating the conflict. The aguardiente is supplied during the time when the conflict is 273* 578 731 "settled" rather than afterwards. Such a case is described in text as follows:

539

K'ALAL LIHK K'OP E YUN SKA CAMEL SARANPIA YUN BAYAL XCAM *ALALETIK.

The fighting began because many children were dying of measles.

HA* SLIHKIL K'OP *ABI HTIHK' WINIKETIK LA SNOP SK'OPIK, YUN LA *OCEM CAMEL TA TEHKLUM.

The action began in the beginning because a group of men got together to talk about who had put the illness in town.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* 578 731 539 HA * HIC LIHK SZOB SPISIL WINIKETIK TA TEHKLUM.

In this manner all the men in town began to get together.

HA* PRIMERA ZOBAWAN MAC'A TE SK'OKIK TA MUKAHEL E.

The first men to get together were those who had been to the funeral [of a boy who had died of measles].

HA* HIC LIHK K'OP *ABI LA YALIK TE YUN *AY MAC'A YOZEB E CAMEL TA TEHKLUM.

In this way the action began, and they said that someone had put the illness in the town.

HA*LA YUN HIC BAYAL YA XCAM *ALALETIK.

And for this reason many children died.

HAYAN HIC LA SZOB SBA SPISIL WINIKETIK YUN CAMEL I.

Because of this, all the men got together, because of the illness.

TA SKA TRAWO LIHK YALIK HA* HIC LIHK SZOB SBAIK.

Because of the aguardiente they began to talk, and thus they began to get together.

LIHK YALIK YUN *AY SWINKLEL HAYUN HIC MUK'UB YUNIK HAL K'OP I.

They began to say that the illness had an owner and for this reason the excitement increased.

LIHK YUC'IK TRAWO YUN HIC *AY SPERSIK *A MAYUK XIWEL TA K'OP *A.

They began to drink aguardiente so that they would be strong, so that they would not be afraid to speak.

HAYUN NAL YA XKIXINTES SBAIK TA TRAWO YUN MILAWAN E.

For this reason, first they warm themselves with aguardiente in order to kill a man.

273* YUN PLETO HA* HIC MAYUK XIWEL *A.
578
731
• 539 In order to fight without being afraid.

753 In conjunction with collateral evidence, this text provides support for the following points. One of the standing beliefs in Aguacatenango is that sickness of god /XCAMEL YU*UN TYOS/ is essentially curable. Measles is classified as such a
[754] sickness. When the children die in a measles epidemic, some "witch" must be laying on further illness components which cause the death. One mode of reducing the witchcraft component in the illness is to kill the witch or witches.

754 755 The problem of determining who the witch(es) may be in such a case as this is very difficult. The well-defined and formally correct mode is to call together several of the curers, have them pulse the patient, hear their announcement that the sick person is suffering from witchcraft and insist that they name the witch or witches. The curers are likely to go as far as to indicate that a witchcraft component is involved in the illness, but they most often are unwilling to name an individual, as their name becomes associated with their testimony and the alleged witch and his kinsmen are likely to impose severe
754 penalties on the curer. The search for the witch, then, must go on, under the force of standing beliefs as follows: Individuals in the community may be assigned a witchcraft potential on the basis of a variety of evidence. In this case the text

754 mentions that the man (one Margarito Mendez) claimed to be a witch while he was drinking. Hence without knowing whether Margarito Mendez was the witch in this particular case, but knowing that he was thought to be a witch in general, the men attributed the deaths to him.

754 627 *273 To kill a witch is a dangerous undertaking. The community should be in agreement, and the mode of killing must be sure or the coalition of the witch will defend him and take counter action against the assassins. In this context, drinking places the individuals in that condition of lack of fear in which they can complete the affair without undue consideration of its effects on their further plans.

754 • 539 An example of the specific statement of the fear reflex in naming witches appears in Ausencio Espinoza's monologue, where one finds the assertions (made at the funeral of a youth who was presumed to have died of witchcraft):

HA* Z'IN ABI YA YAL SPISIL MAC'ATIK XK'OK TA MUKAHEL I,

And afterward, all those who went to the funeral said,

CIKAN *AY MA*C'A LAH HAK'HOL CAMEL I, PERO MA SPAS TA HALEL MAC'A LA YAK', TA REPENTA ME LA YA*BOTIK *EHK E.

"We know who caused the illness, but we can't say who did it, for he might quickly make us ill also."

HA*YU*N MA SPAS YALEL PORKE YAN K'OP XI'BINTIK SBA XCILIK HAL WINIKETIK I.

"For this reason, it isn't possible to say it, because it's bad talk, it's dangerous," said the men.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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754
539 HA*YU*N MA HNA* MAC'A LAH HAK' NAL C'OHBIL CAMEL I.

For this reason, it isn't known who did the witchcraft.

273* One further reason for drinking in such a situation in-
571
672 volves the belief of Aguacatenangueros that individuals who are drunk must be excused for an act they commit. Thus, the individual who is about to increase the probability that some other members of the community will come into conflict with him (i.e., the immediate family of the witch) becomes drunk, and is thus not responsible for his acts. Acts performed while drunk express less clearly the intent of the actor than similar acts performed while sober.

In the case of drinking performances associated with acts of violence, the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking contrast is not well defined. The persons who most desire that the sanctioning acts be performed supply the aguardiente. They continue to supply aguardiente until their ends have been achieved. The ceremonial drinking segment is determined temporally by the vagaries of events. It may be short or long. It is probably not followed by an informal drinking segment. In fact, it more probably is preceded by either an informal drinking segment or, for that matter, a ceremonial drinking segment. The necessities of the situation override the ceremonial aspects of the performances.

273* Drinking performances are associated with risky forms of
182

273* 753 **The role of drinking performances in the onset of illness**

Informants report that drinking may result in illness. One can distinguish, in the case of consequent illness two rather distinct constellations of features which lead to illness. The first involves the enchanting of the aguardiente by some bad-intentioned person, a substance being inserted in the aguardiente which causes severe illness or death to the person who drinks it. The second state involves interpretation of the supposed results of drunkenness, the universal result of the consumption of aguardiente in substantial amounts.

273* 753 539 An example of the first condition appears in a text fragment of Ausencio Espinoza, as follows:

NAL PRIMERA LIHKE YU*N LOK' TA PAXEAL HUN *AHK'BAL SOK SOTAK.

This began when he went out to party with his friends.

BAYAL XK'OKIL BA STOHIK SK'INIK SLOK'ESLAN SBILIK TA BOSINA.

There were several of them who paid for their music and they announced their names on the loud speaker.

PERO SUNUL *AHK'BAL PAXYAHIK.

They partied all night.

TA XCE'BAL K'AHAL LIHK YA'Y K'UX TA SBE YIK' MA*K SNA* STOHOL TUT *AY TE K'UX E.

The next day he began to feel a pain in his throat and he didn't understand what it was from.

BAHT TA *A*TEL.

He went to work.

273* 753 539 TE TA YA*TEL E MA LA X HU* YA YA*Y I TONC LA YA YA*Y TE MA*YUK SPERSE.

He went to work and he was not able to do it, for he felt very weak.

XCE*BAL K'AHAL HA* NAX HIC.

The next day he felt the same.

YOXEBAL K'AHAL HA* NAX HIC.

On the third day he felt the same.

TE*BEHTIK *UNINOT TONC HA* K'UX LI* TA SBE YIK' I.

Little by little the illness dominated him, what gave him pain was his throat.

MA SPAS XWE* SOYOK MA SPAS X KO HNUXUK SBAL XC'UHT TONC YAKB YU*UN TE ZK'UXUL SNUK' E.

He was not able to eat, and he began to grow thin for the pain in his throat.

HA* HIC LIHK XCAMEL ABI.

In this way his illness began.

TONC LIHK Z'IN PURA YA*AL TI*IL LIHK MALMUNEL HONA.

Afterwards he was spitting a lot of phlegm.

MA X MAHK LIHK *IPAHUK LEK.

It didn't stop, it got worse.

*OC TA POXTAYEL WEHT YAH*UL LA XPOXTA PURO MANBILIL POX LA YA*BE.

They began to cure him. The curer used only medicines that were purchased.

PERO MA* TOHOL CAMELUK HA* SAK *OBAL I.

But it was not a simple illness, it was tuberculosis.

273* X*OBEINAHE MA X LOK' HAL *OBAL I.
753
539 When he coughed the phlegm did not come up.

HA* HIC CAM HAL KEREM BONIFASY I.

In this manner Bonifacio died.

X K'OK TA POXTAYEL TA MUK'UL *AKIL PERO MA HNA* MAC'A TE POXTAWANEH MA* TOHUB YU*N YAHCAMEL E.

He went to Pinola to cure himself. I don't know who it was that tried to cure him, but he failed.

*A LA PERSA CAM K'ALAL CAM E, BAYAL X K'OK SMUKEL.

Inevitably, he died. Many went to his funeral.

HA* Z'IN ABI YA YAL SPISIL MAC'ATIK XK'OK TA MUKAHEL I, CIKAN *AY MA*C'A LAH HAK' HOL CAMEL I, PERO MA SPAS TA HALEL MAC'A LA YAK', TA REPENTA ME LA YA*BOTIK *EHK E.

And afterward, all those who went to the funeral said, "We know who caused the illness, but we can't say who did it, for he might quickly make us ill also."

273* So, Bonifacio is reported to have been carousing with
753 his friends for the course of an evening. The specific behaviors which are mentioned include: (a) making a party (in a bar) for one night. The specific features of the party-making include: (1) paying the barkeeper to play music over the loudspeaker system; and (2) announcing their names over this same loudspeaker system. While drinking is not mentioned in the text, it is none the less the case well confirmed by informants that it is unlikely that drinking did not go on in this setting.

The next day Bonifacio went to work. In a matter of weeks Bonifacio died of tuberculosis, an illness whose etiology

273* 753 carries a strong witchcraft component. The conclusion apparent in the text is that Bonifacio was subject to this witchcraft contamination the night of the party, a point which informants confirm.

The party context, then, is one which may make the individual particularly susceptible to witchcraft. One reason for this may be that the party-goer becomes drunk and is thus less well aware of potentially threatening performances around him. A second is that he is ingesting substances (like aguardiente) the precise character of which he does not know; they being brought to the party by his companions or bought at the bar. It is a standing belief that a witch can cause trago to accept poisonous material which will kill the man who drinks it. Thus Bonifacio was killed at the party, the method being unknown (but not unlikely by using aguardiente as a medium), the killer being unknown but probably a member of the party group.

273* 753 539 A further example from text picks up a few more of the features of the drinking situation which is likely to be associated with witchcraft.

M. HINC*A, CAWAH TA HOL.

Yeah, I'm crazy in my head.

C. HAL LA STIH TRAWO *EHK I.

The trago brought that on.

273* M. HA* MA* KA*YTIK BA* YA KUC'TIK TUT'IL *ULEMOTIK I.
753
539

We lose track of where we are drinking when we are good and drunk.

YU*N HO*N MA* KA*YIX K'OP *A, HA*WAN LA HTAIX *A HATE YU*N KUXEBAL E.

It's because I didn't obey; perhaps I got it during Holy Week.

*E LA KAK'HBA TA *ILEL TA *ORA, MANIX KAK' TA MUK' *EHK *ABI.

I tried to cure myself right away but it didn't do any good.

TONC YUN C'ABAL YA KA*Y TONC STUBI YUN LEK *AN YA KA*Y TU*L NIX *AYINON *A.

I hear a lot of silence, and nothing is well with me as I have always been.

LIHK KA*BE XAN Z'IN HAL YUN K'IN E, HUNYO E.

I began to drink again in the fiesta in June.

YUN TE LA SAPUYONIK XAN *A TE MAC'A NIX YA YIL BIHINON *A E.

He bewitched me again, the same guy who had bothered me before.

TE LA POHOL HIL HXANAB *A, TE POHOL HIL HPOKO *A, PERE MA*Y XC'ULEL HNUXUK.

I left my sandals lying there, my flashlight lying there, I just didn't remember a thing.

MA* BA C'IN HPAS HA*IC.

This has never happened to me before.

*OCON K'OL TA HNA Z'IN TONC BOLBOLTIKIX HBA Z'IN *A, TONC YANATIK TUTA KALIX *A TO *OCON K'OL E.

I arrived in my house afterwards half crazy. I saw things wildly strange when I got there.

273* 753 This informant relates the kind of association between his mental disturbance and the drinking of aguardiente. In this case, the disease did not stem directly from the aguardiente but from the experience he had while drinking the trago; namely that someone bewitched him. Having had the illness cured he began to drink again, which was a mistake since the witch knowing of his drunken condition, was able to cast the same spell on him again. Under this spell, his loss of consciousness was more penetrating than anything he had ever experienced as the result of drinking.

This informant reports that his ability to resist the witchcraft attack was greatly reduced while he was drinking. We speculate that such a loss of control involves the individual's loss of ability to control the alters with whom he associates, the locations he moves into, and the substances he drinks.

273* 753 539 A more specific example of the introduction of witchcraft substances into the aguardiente can be found in the text fragment of Josefa Lopez, the relevant parts of which appear in the citation below.

NAL PRIMERE LA* HTIKUN KAL TA RESAL.

It began when I sent him to Rosary.

LA KALBE BAN TA RESAL TATA, BAN *AK'A AC'IN LIMXNA ZUNA AC'IN KANTELA XKUT.

I told him, "Go to Rosary, my son, take a little candle as an offering."

273*
753 KO XCI, BAHT Z'IN.
• 539 "All right," he said, then he went.

LAH RESAL Z'IN LA STA SBA SOK XC'IN HOTAK BAHTIK TA IL K'IN.

After the Rosary, he chanced on some of his friends and they went to watch the fiesta.

YUN SK'IN ME*TIK PASKO BA YILIK BA* *AN C'IN NINO TYOS TA SNA MIGUEL MENTES.

It was the fiesta of Christ's birth and they went to see the Christ-child at the house of Miguel Mendez.

BA YILIK HU* *AHK'OT *I TE LA *ABOTIK C'IN HPIS TRAWO *A XCOLET LA TAL TE HP'IS TRAWE.

They went to watch the dance, and there my son was given a shot of aguardiente along with all of the men as the drink pourer moved around the group.

*ABOT LA Z'IN *EHUK PERO MALA KOK YU*UN TA *UC'EL.

They gave him another but he was not able to drink it.

LI* LA MAHK HIL LI*TA SNUK I.

It got stuck here in his throat.

HUN LA TA C'INIK BAK *IXIM K'ATAL HIL TA SNUK I.

It seemed as though little grains of corn were stuck in his throat.

LAH LA YO*BENTA MALA XLOK.

He coughed but it did not go away.

HA* Z'INABI K'OT YALBON *ORA *ILI LA HTAIX CAMEL.

He came home and told me that he had just got sick.

MAHNA* TY*N BON TA RESAL I LA SMONONIK TA *IL K'IN HOL HOTAK I.

"I don't know why, I went to Rosary and my friends invited me to watch the fiesta."

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* PERO LA YA*BONIK KUC' HPIS TRAWO PERO MA* KO XCI HULEL TA HNA.
753
539

"But they gave me a shot of trago and it didn't go down," he said upon arriving home.

MATO *AK K'AHAL Z'IN *A TUHXA TA CAMEL *ABOT K'AHK'.

Not many days afterwards he fell sick with fever.

E HA Z'INABI K'AX HAL K'AHK' I, TONC MA* HAHC LIHK K'UXUBUK SNUHKLEL.

After the fever passed, he was unable to get up, his body began to ache.

LIHK YA*Y XTI*LAHAN SNUHKLEL X HUN LA TA STI*AW XANIC MALA XU* YAN LA HA YA*I.

He began to feel pain in his body as though ants were biting him and this was very depressing.

LIHK NIKOTUK TA SIK, MA*YUK SPERSA YA YA*I, TONC *IPA HONA.

He began to tremble with cold; he felt weak; he got very much worse.

BA HK'AN PAWOR SOK HME*HTATIK.

I went to ask assistance of the curers.

LA KAK'TA PIKEL XC'IC'EL LA YAL Z'IN LA YU*C' TRAWO TA BA* XK'OK TA *IL K'INE.

I let them pulse him, and afterward [the curer] said, "He drank aguardiente where he went to the fiesta."

*ABOT HPIS TRAWO YU*C' XC'IN MAHTAN, PERO *AY MA* C'A *ILOWAN LA SPAS *IL *OTAN O LA SPAS PUKUHIL.

"They gave him a shot of aguardiente as a gift, but there was someone who looked evil or who did the evil thing."

HA*HIC LA STA CAMEL C'IN KEREM I XCI.

"That is how the boy became sick," he said.

273* HA* C'OHBIL CAMEL I LOM TULAN *AY MAXU* TA HTUL YAH*UL YA
753 SK'AN CA*TUL YAH*UL HA* HIC SPAS TA POXTAYEL *A XCI HAL
• 539 H*UL I.

"This witchcraft is very strong, he won't get well with only one curer. He needs two curers to get well," he said.

*OC TA POXTAYEL Z'IN PERO MA*YUK HTAKIN *A.

The curer began to cure him, but I didn't have any money.

HAWAL NUHUL LO'ON TA MAHAN TA*K'IN YUN POX.

I hurried to borrow money in order to buy the medicine.

LAH TA POXTAYEL Z'IN, C'IN KALKALTIK TE*K HIL.

After the cure was over, he was a little better.

PERO HA* NAX CE* *OXE* K'AHAL I LIHK LA KUXUBUK A YA*Y LI*TA SBE YI*K I.

But only for two or three days, and then began to feel the pain in his throat.

MALA SPAS YA SBIK' YA*L STI*, MA SPAS XKO SWE*EL KUXLAHA YA*Y HONA.

He couldn't swallow his saliva, he couldn't swallow his food, it hurt so much.

MAHNATIK TU*LA XBAHT, ME XCOHP *O ME MA XCOHP.

We don't know whether he is going to get well or not.

*A YAK'WIL TA TYOS TU*LA X BAHT E.

We'll see what God says.

273* Many other informants relate having narrowly escaped
753 witchcraft by avoiding drinking from some particular bottle of trago. If the man who is drinking is very much alive to this possibility, he will be able to observe swirling hair-like ma-

273 *other hand, one wishes to stop drinking, he will drink coca cola
757 and leave the house.

Normally, a cure for a hangover, if it is not followed by more drinking, is successful in a one day time period. The length of a drinking performance can be computed as ceremonial
273 *drinking plus informal drinking plus one day. If some symptons
753 of the hangover continue on successive days, or if the hangover
757 has unusual symptoms, individuals are alerted to the fact that the drinking performance is about to cause more serious conse-
*273 quences. There follow some text fragments in which the more
753 serious consequences are displayed and discussed by informants.
757
• 539 M. HA* YA HK'AN HTAMTIK RASON TY*L LIHK HATE X.HAL *IK TA SBAKEL HTATA I.

I want to ask the reason why my uncle's backache began.

D. *AX TA YOXEBAL HA*WIL, ME TA XCANEBAL HA*WIL HONC HATE LA STA E.

It began about three or four years ago.

PEKE HUN TA TE ...TA K'AXIX ... TA XK'AXEL KUXEBAL YU*N *IP LEK YAKUB HONAX.

It seems that . . . a while ago . . . it was just after Holy Week, because he drank so much.

TONC BAZ'IL LAH YAK' HONC HATE HUN *U MA* BEN E.

For one month he couldn't walk, he really had it.

HUN LAH TA YU*N XIHIL TE* A YA*Y STUK TA YOK I.

It was as though there was a splinter in his foot.

273* YA YAK' HONC HU*N K'AS YU*N TONC YU'N HIC XKOTLAHAN YA X
753 LOK' E.
757
539 It hurt a lot. He had to crawl to go out.

YU*NEN TA TRAWO LA HTA XCI.

Perhaps I got it from the trago," he said.

YU*NEN POX YA SK'AN HONC YU*N AK' TAK'IN E XCI.

"Perhaps it needs medicine, if only there were some money," he said.

X TAL AWA*Y Z'IN E, LI* LA XBAHT TA SBAKEL I.

The next thing he knew, it was here in his back.

WOKOL STUK *IL TAT TONAX YU*N SZ'IKOHONC HEHK STUK TU*L TA *A*TEL I.

It's not a little that he suffers, especially as he is now a mayordomo.

M. MA*YUK YA YAK' SBAH TA POXTAYEL.

Isn't he being cured?

HA*YUN MA*K XCOHP.

That's why it's not getting better.

273* In this particular case, the illness being referred to
753 had already lasted three or four years, according to the text. The association of drinking with the onset of this illness was strong enough, then, to be remembered by the sick man's wife after a period of years.

273* In the following text fragment, we see another example
753
539 of this reasoning about the relationship between illness and drinking.

273* M. HA* YA HLE HCAMEL YU*N *EHK YAKBEL I.
753
• 539 I looked for my illness in a big drunk.

LA KA*BE LEK.

I drank a lot.

YAN SOK MA*K WAN XLIHK HIC MA*K KUC'.

It's bad, and it wouldn't begin if I didn't drink.

HA* HATE YU*N MA* HUNUK NAX K'AHAL YA KUC' *EHK E.

It's because I don't drink for only one day.

YA YAC' HUN SEMNA HA* YUN TONC TE....

I drink for a week, and that's the reason. . . .

MA*K XWE*ON SOK TAK HA* YUN ... TRAWO KUXULOH *A.

I don't eat with it, that's way . . . I live on trago.

HA* YU*N TE STIH HCAMEL Z'IN *A.

It's for this reason that the illness begins.

273* In this example, not only do we see evidence for asso-
753 ciating drinking with illness, but we also observe the particular type of drinking which caused the illness, namely drinking which goes on for a week. An associated feature of the drinking that caused Mariano to become sick, and that in general is perceived to cause illness, is that drinking and eating are usually mutually exclusive.

In the following remarks of Cirilo Hernandez we see further evidence of the association of illness with drinking.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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273*
953
539 HIC MO TAXL K'AHAL E, TEMA* LAHIX HNA TAT E.

A few days ago, my father barely escaped dying.

*E K'UX C'UHTUL.

It was stomach ache.

HA BA YIC' TA K'OLAL YUN LA YUC' TRAWI.

He got sick because he drank aguardiente.

HUN *U LA YUC'.

He drank for a month.

TONAX YUN HA* *AN *EHK SME*L *INAM I, TONAX HUN *U SMIL SBA YUN TRAWO LI*I.

His wife left him and he killed himself drinking for a whole month.

TEMA* LAH.

He nearly died.

E SLA YO*TAN WAN.

It was from bitter anger and shame.

*AHTAL *O*TAN H*OLIL I, TEY YIHIX *ILI, TEY TRAWO NAX TAK LOM NAHT' LA YA*BE TRAWI.

On the one hand, it was from sadness; besides, he's already an old man, and he drank for a very long time.

K'AHAL *AHK'BAL, TONC *AY TA STI* HAL TRAWI XAHC TA SAK K'INAL YUC' XAHC TA SAK K'INAL YUC'.

Night and day, all that went into his mouth was trago; he started drinking as soon as he got up.

LA STOH LEK HONAX, K'O YA*Y HONC KUX HONC Z'IN I.

He paid plenty for it, he felt the effects a lot, he suffered a lot afterward.

273 KALBAT MA XAWUC'IX *A K'A KA*Y AKOMEL, HA* SNAEL TUT KAPAS
753 *ILI, XCUT.
539 I told him, "Don't go on drinking so much, you feel so bad because of your drinking," I said.

Again, in a text fragment of Juan Mendez:

J. LA *IL HA YUN K'IN I, KUC' KA*AL.

And then I drank during the fiesta.

K'AXAN K'IN NAXTAK I, HAL KA*BE XAN HUN TA KA* XAN HUN TA CE* XAN K'AHAL KA*BE XAN K'A XAN K'IN NAXTAK I, YUN MAYUNUK TRAWO STIHBON TAL MA *IK' Z'IN I.

After the fiesta, it seems to me that I drank for two days more. Don't you suppose that this rheumatism began because of the trago?

M. YUN *AY LOM K'UN HNUHKLELTIK *A HAYUN *ORA X TASWAN K'AHK' I.

Sometimes our body gets very weak and then we are taken with fever.

HTE* NAX TE*K MA *AY BA* HMAH HBAHTIK TA *IK', K'IXNAHEM HNUHKLELTIK *A E.

If our body is just a little hot, rheumatism will hit us. [Note: Aguardiente is believed to "heat" the body.]

273 539 Extended drinking can cause fantastically frightening experiences. Jose Mendez describes one as follows:

J. HATE LIHK HONC *A TAT *ILI, LA HKUC' HC'IN KA*AL YU*N SK'IN SANTO.

It all began because I drank aguardiente on All Souls' Day.

KUC' HC'IN KA*AL *AY KA*TEL TA SNARYOS *A YU*N SLAHIB *ATEL *ABI TAT.

I drank because I was mayordomo--my last cargo.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273*
• 539 HA*NIX *ABI YU*N YOC SK'IN SANTO HA* Z'IN HO*N E *AME TONC, *AME TONC *A HO*A LEK K'AHAL LA KUC', SWAKEBAL K'AHAL Z'IN BEN SAB HONC Z'IN, MA* TEK WAN TA HNA E, TE WAN TA SNA HKUMPRE, STAT PEYRO HROK E.

After All Souls' Day, I drank for five days. On the sixth day, I got up early. I wasn't sleeping in my own house but in the house of my compadre, the father of Pedro Rogaciano.

LA YA*BON XA N HUN KWARTA Z'IN, *E TOH X*OC BON Z'IN *OCON K'OL TA HNA Z'IN SAK' INAL I.

He gave me another quarter of a liter, and it went down well. Then I went home, as it was getting light, to my own house.

J. HUL YA*BON Z'IN XC'IN KAHPE Z'IN I, NA*TAK ABI TAT TUT'A TE MOH TA HOL E, TONC LA LA KA* XMU HC'IN Z'IN KAHPEN I, KA* XMU HC'IN HIL Z'IN.

When I arrived my wife offered me some coffee. I don't know what got into me, but I threw the coffee at her, I threw it in her face.

HA* NAX LOK'ON Z'IN ABI BOON--HA* NAX LA MA* TU KA*YEHIX LOK'EL.

Then I just left without taking anything.

HIC C'IN MUK'UL K'AHAL Z'IN TO ME HNA * BA TONC C 'AN K'OL TA *UK'UMALTIK Z'IN LI* K'AL TA SBELAL YANC'EN TAKIN *UK'UM Z'IN E.

Late that day, I don't know where I lost myself by the river on the trail to San Bartolo, near the Rio Seco.

E MAK HNA TY *ORA K'AHAL Z'IN *OCON K'OL TAT, ME TUP'IX K'AHAL *ABI ME TU *ORA K'AHAL Z'IN *A.

I don't know what time it was, whether or not the sun had gone down.

TONC MAY HPIXOL MAY XANAB HIC LOK'ON, K"AL TO TAT, TONC LIHKON TAT, TONC MAY PIXOL E, MAY XANAB E, HIX PE TO LO'L KOK HK'AB TO.

273* 539 I didn't have my hat or my sandals. I went out without my hat or my sandals, with my arms folded.

HA* NAX LA XI* LO*L HONC HATE YU*N KAK' TEK X'IN KAHPEH E, BON Z'IN, *E PERE *E TONC TE TONC TE KUX LO*L KO*TAN Z'IN *A.

As I recovered my memory, I was afraid, for I threw coffee in my wife's face.

HA* TE LIHK Z'IN ABI, TONC HUN TA YU*N HOWIYEL MA HNA* TUT'A TE LA HPAS LOK'EL E.

That's the way it began, it was like madness, that's why I don't know what I set out to do.

M. *A HOWIYEL.

It's madness.

J. *E YU*NIX BAHTALUK *A TAT, *E TONC TA TRAWO LOK'ON TIK E.

It might be, sir. It's because of the trago that I went out.

273* 158 Up to the point in the fragment where José returned to his home that sixth morning, everything was going normally. He'd drunk some aguardiente to kill the hangover, which is customary, and it sounds as though he planned to stop drinking. The craziness expressed itself in his throwing coffee in his wife's face. (He may have done this in response to his wife's complaining about his drinking so long.) He furthermore left the town with no purpose and lost himself several hours' walk from town. Finally, he left his house without the proper traveling equipment--hat and sandals.

This is an experience which, by Aguacatenango standards,

273* 158 is frightening. The normal range of responses to heavy drinking includes a variety of unpleasant symptoms. It is not unusual for men to "black out" for periods of time during the later stages of the drinking performance. But loss of memory and the physical disabling features take place in paths and places within the limits of the settlement. It is an unusually strong disorganizing force that will drive a man outside of the settlement into fields and mountains, into settings in which the level of threats to persons are greater than the in-town settings.

Following this condition of loss of memory, José became physically ill, the illness lasting for more than a year. The first craziness and then the succeeding illness are traced back to the drinking context. While no mention is made of witchcraft in this text, and I could not elicit this information, this type of illness response to drinking is reaching a pitch where informants would be likely to suggest a witchcraft component in the etiology.

273* 539 The following text fragment is a little longer, but as it illustrates multiple points, it seems worthwhile to include:

M. HA* YA HK'ANTIK PAWOR MA SPAS XAWALBOTIK C'IN CA* PALUK TUT'IL TAOT TA CAMEL HKUMPRE KUX TA YAKBEL E.

Could you tell us how my compadre got sick when he got over the big drunk?

273* MJ. 539

*E TUT'IL KUMPRE, *E TONAX, TONAX LIHK TAL TA SYAKBEL WA*.

Well, compadre, it began with the drunk, ay, dios.

*ILE--HATE HUN TA K'AHALIL E, LOK' K'ABEL, LA TONC WOKOL *AY *AH*UNEL HONC ABI.

We went out one day complaining of a terrible hangover.

YAK *AH*UNEL, YAK *AH*UNEL, *E K'UXIX YU*N HA* MA*K STAIX *AWO*TAN HAL TRAWI, AKUT.

"Yes, your're complaining, it's because your heart can't stand the aguardiente any longer," I told him.

*ILA *E HIC PE, YU*N YA TO SK'AN HONA XCI, *A XCUT, LA LOK' XAN K'AEL, BALOTA *UTEL YU*N TATA* I.

"Maybe," he said, "but it still wants more." "All right," I said. Then he went out again. His father scolded him.

LOK' XAN K'AL Z'IN, LA *ILI STAH TAL HIC *ORA Z'IN KUMPRE--KILTIK E NUN TA *AY NUN TA HEHC E.

He went out again, then he came about this time of day, compadre--we saw him over there, over on the other side of town.

HA* Z'IN TATA* XTU*L *AY TA KABILTA Z'IN I, LAME *AXTAK STAT CIK I XCI, MA*YUK XKUT, HAL LI* BAHTIX TA HEHCTIK I XCI, *A *E YU*NEN MA*K XTALIX *ABI XKUT.

When his father came home from the cabildo, he said, "Was Francisca's father come?" I said, "No." He said, "Perhaps he's not coming, then."

YU*NIX MA XTALIX *A TE--TE TA BAHT *A E XCUT, *AA XCI, LA *IL *AK'A ME C'AY *EHK HA*T ABI YA ME XBOTIK TA TUC'CENEK XCI.

"He's probably not coming if he's gone over there," he said. "Yes," I said. "Then hurry up, we'll go and harvest beans," he said.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273 LA HA* YA KILTIK Z'IN KOEL TALIX Z'IN *A I.
539

Next we saw him coming down the hill.

KOEL TALIX *A SOY TAL *IL MA TATIK *AWSTIN RAMIREZ.

He was coming down with old mister Augustin Ramirez (who lives up there).

LA *IL, LA *OC KIC' HC'IN COLTIK KUMPRE, HA* Z'IN C'IN *AC'IX NAXTAK YU*N HKUMPRE, BAN *ILA HTATA* I, TUM PE YU*N BOLUBEN XCI.

When we went in to begin our work, compadre, my comadre's little girl came up and said, "Come and see my uncle, he's gone crazy."

TU*N TU LA SPAS XKUT, HUHU TONC YAK WOLWUNEL TA SORAL XK'OK--XK'OKIX TA *AK'EL HILEL *ILI LOK' I, X K'AL NAXTAK XCI, *AA XKUT, XK'O KAK' HIL Z'IN HSAKO KUMPRE, TAL--LOK'ON TAL Z'IN TAL KIL.

"Why?" I said, "what happened?" "I don't know," she said, "but he is running around in the street." "All right," I said. I went to leave my bean sack and went to see.

*E LOK'IX K'AL NAXTAK *A LI* WUZUL HIL Z'IN TE YAK'EL E.

Well, he had gone out again, and the man who brought him home was sitting here.

LA TUN TU LA APAS KUMPRE TU*N TUT'IL *ILE ME MAXAKUX TE*K *AWO*TAN X*UTOT, HU*U YU*N XBONIX TA HNA, YU*N XBONIX TA HNA XCI.

They said to him, "What's the matter, compadre, why don't you sober up?" "No, I'm going to my house," he said, "I'm going to my house now."

TU*N XK'OKATIX TA HNATIK I, TUT'A TONC MOEM TA AHOL HONC I, BAN TA*LANIX X*UTOT, HICUK ABI XCI, LA * ILI MA SK'AN HONC *EHK HATE YU*N YA KIK'TIK TAL NAXTAK E.

"You've already left our house," they told him, "why are you all mixed up in your head? Go and lie down." "All right," he said, but then he didn't want us to bring him back again.

273* TONC YA X*AN LO*EL.
• 539

He just went rushing out.

LA *OC HZ'USTIK Z'IN NA I, HA* Z'IN HKUMRE SME* CIK I, *OC SPAS HSEHT XAN Z'IN LIMON SOK SAKAL *ASKAL I, YA*BE Z'IN.

Then we got him inside the house and closed the door, and my comadre, Francisca's mother, came to make some more lemon and sugar and gave it to him right away.

SNITBE Z'IN LI* TA SOL I, TIK'IL YA*BE TAL, LA YUC' TAL Z'IN, *E *IK'A LA K'AEL, HA* Z'IN TATA* I, KUNIK TUT*A HIC KAPAS AMETO X*UTOT, KOH XCI, TAL Z'IN XC'UNBE TAL Z'IN TATA* I.

Then she rubbed it in here on his head, she gave it all to him. He came drunk, they say he was carried. Then his father came and said, "Come on, why are you behaving like this?" "All right," he said. Then he obeyed his father and came.

HAYUN TE TAL TA*LUK Z'IN, *E TONC--TONC XWOLETA XLOK' TONC LI* YA XBAHT LI* TA YUT K'ALTIK I, X*OC TAL *ABI XTAL, XWOLET YA XLOK' YA LA XBAHT XAN.

He came in and lay down, and then--then he rushed out there in the back yard, then came in, then rushed out, going away again.

YA LA X*AN LO*EL, TAL Z'IN HKUMPRE STAT CIK I, TAL Z'IN HAL *IL HKUMPRE STAT HWAN LI* I, TAL SKANANTAIK Z'IN.

He rushed out again. Then my compadre, Francisca's father, came, and then my compadre, Juan's father, here. They came to take care of him.

MA*K XLOK'AT, X*UTOT, *E MA*K YUC'IX Z'IN *A TRAWI SOK TOXANIX METI YU*N MOEM TA SOL *A.

"Don't leave," they told him. "He hasn't been drinking just now, he's just crazy in the head."

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273* 539 MA* ME YU*N LAH TO KAWUC' HAL TRAWI YA X*UTOT, MA* KUC'IX *A TO XANIX XPAXYAHON *A XCI.

"I don't know if you were still drinking trago," they said to him. "I wasn't drinking, I was just walking around," he said.

YA KA*Y HONC HATE LI* YA XLIHK TA KO*TAN I XCI.

"I feel something that begins here around my heart," he said.

TONC XLILUN HON KO*TAN I, *E TA*LAN ABI X*UTOT, ME K'AN TA*LUK KUMPRE TONC YA X*ANLO*EL, OC HZ'AHBETIK HA TE SOL E.

"My heart is beating irregularly," he said. "Lie down," they told him. Do you think he wanted to lie down, compadre? He rushed out again. We went and threw water on his head.

TONAX MA SK'AN HATE YU*N HZ'AHBETIK SOL E, H* Z'IN TATA* Z'IN I, BA SK'OPON TAL Z'IN HKUMPRE STAT KANTLARYA NUN TA *AHK'OL E.

He didn't like it that we threw water on his head. Then his father went to speak to my compadre, Candelaria's father, who lives up above.

XK'O SK'OPON TAL Z'IN ABI, TAL, TU*N TYLA PAS KUMPRE X*UTOT, MA*YUK *E YA TONC MA HNA* TY*TAY TONC HA* YAN HONC HOL I XCI, SOK KO*TAN XCI.

He came and said, "What happened to you, compadre?" "Nothing, I don't know, but my head is very bad," he said, "and so is my heart," he said.

TU*N TULAPA XUT--TU*N TEME YU*N *AY HAL *IL LIMON I, ME *AY HAL *IL SAKAL *ASKAL I, *AK'A TAL SEHTUK NALUK XCI, KO X*OC HPASTIK Z'IN.

"What happened to you?" he said. "If there is a little lemon and some sugar, give him some, then we will fix him up," he said.

LAH YUC' ABI KUMPRE, *ABA ME *AY AWU*N BAK' MELON, ME *AY AWU*N *ILI SAKAL *IXIM E, ZAHAL *IXIM E SPAS HIL *EHK KUMPRE, *OC YAK' HUC'TIK Z'IN.

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273 539 He drank it, compadre. "If you have a melon seed, if you have some white corn and some red corn, give them to me," he said. "We have them," they said. "With these, I will fix up my compadre," he said, and he gave us these things to grind.

*OC SBALI Z'IN.

Then he went in to sweep him [or fan him].

*E TUT LA K'AN *UHTUK KUMPRE TONC YILEL.

Well, compadre, how could that cure him? He was just the same.

*OC HZ'USTIK Z'IN NA *ILI, TONC MA* KA*TIK LOK'UK Z'IN.

After that we shut the house and wouldn't let him out.

TAL Z'IN HKUMPRE STAT CIK I, *E TAL SKANTAIK Z'IN, *E BAK'IN *IL TY KAPASIK *ILI BAN--TU MAK XBA K'OPONBON TAL HPAYRINO NUN TA HEHC E XCI.

Then my compadre, the father of Francisca, came to take care of him and saw what he was doing and he said, "Why don't you go and speak with my padrino over on the other side?"

*ABA TAK ABI, ME YUN KAK'AN XCI, YAK YA XLAHONIX, PE YU*N HA* YA SIHT' HONC YO*TAN KUMPRE.

"Go and get him, do you want to?" he said. "Yes, I'm dying," he said. His heart was swelling, compadre.

*ILI BAHT Z'IN *EHK TATA* I, BA SK'AN TAL PAWOR Z'IN HTAZNARYOS NUN TA HEHC E.

So his father went then to ask the favor of my padrino over on the other side.

TAL Z'IN *EHK ABI, *ILI, TEME HIC ABI YATO XBA KIC' TAL C'IN HLOHTUK C'IN KIXIM HIL TA K'ALTIK KU*UN, K'AHBILIX HILEL BAN--YA XTAL KIL PERE BAN PASBONIX *A HAL *ILI NI* KAXAN LEA BA* XAWIC' TA *ORA, HUC'A HUNUK POKET XCILA.

My padrino came, and he said, "I'm going to get a little of my corn that I left in the field, it's already cut. I'll come and see, but go meanwhile and get me some cattail tips and grind them into a ball."

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273*
• 539 ... TAL Z'IN *EHK HAL *IL HTAZNARYOS ABI, LA *OC TA MAKLEYEL Z'IN.

My padrino came then and went in to pulse him.

*E YU*N HA* MA*K STA HAL TRAWI, TONC, TONC HA* K'EHEL *AY HATE XC'ULEL E, TONC HA* XMOIX LO*L TA SOL YU*N YIK' TRAWI XCI.

"The aguardiente does not sit well with him," he said. "His spirit has left him, and he is crazy in the head. His spirit has left him because of the odor of the aguardiente," he said.

HA* XMOIX LO*L TA SOL ABI, HAYUN TONC HA* K'EHEL *AY HATE XC'ULEL E, TEME YU*N--YU*N YAK YA*BE XAN HUNUK K'AHAL, CE*UK K'AHAL E, YU*N MA* YKIX WOKOL XMILOT *A XCI.

"It has gone to his head, so his spirit has left him. If this goes on another day or two, it could easily kill him."

YAK'WIL TU*L YA XBAHT E, *E KANANTAIK M XCI, HICUK ABI XCI--*E TONAX MA XTEHK *A HONC KUMPRE TONC XWOLETA XAHC.

"Well, we'll see how he does. Take good care of him," he said. "All right," I said. But he didn't stop, compadre, he just jumped up.

HATE YU*N XWOLETA XAHC E, Z'IN NAX YA STEN KOEL, TA*LAN TUM PE *IBA *AYON X*UTOT Z'IN.

And when he jumped up, they held him down. "Lie down, I'm here," they told him.

*A YU*N XBON TA HNA, XBON TA HNA, TUM PE TA ANAIX *AYAT BA* TO XBAT *ILI X*UT--

"I'm going home, I'm going home," he said. "But you are in your house, where are you going now?" they said.

*E YU*N *AY MAC'A XTAL *A, Z'AM MA MAC'A *AY HTUKELTIK NAX TA*LAN TONC KAWAK'ALANON TA WOKOL *O*L HBA *EHUK X*T--LA X*OC TA*LUK, TY WOKOL HONC XNEL *AHK'BAL Z'N KUMPRE.

273* "Someone is coming," he said. "No, there's nobody coming, we're here by ourselves. Lie down, you're making me suffer, I feel weak also," they said to him. Then he lay down, but what suffering we went through that night, compadre.

YU*N TE YAL TE*K Z'IN YO*TAN I, *E *OC KA*BETIK XAN YA*L SAKAL *ASKAL SOK LIMON I, *A YUC' XAN TE*K TEME YOU*N *AY TO SK'AHAL TRAWI XCI, HICUK XCUT, LA LEK HA* YA YUC' XAN Z'IN *A KUMPRE XCE*BAL K'AHAL Z'IN YOXEBAL K'AHAL Z'IN, TAL XAN Z'IN *EHK HAL HOSE *ERNANTES NUN E.

As the swelling of his heart went down, we went in to give him more sugar water with lemon. "He should drink more of this, for the heat of the trago is still there," he said. "All right," I said. He drank this then, compadre. Two or three days later, Jose Hernández came here.

HA* *IL TU*UN XBAH SAK' TAL SZEK *ALAL I, YA--KAN TA HIL *A TAT I XKUT *EHK HC'IN *AC'IX I, *E HICUK ABI XCI.

"That one--why?--I'm going to wash the baby's diapers, you stay here and take care of your father," I said to the little girl. "All right," she said.

LEK WUZUL K'AL TA TI*NAIL *A, *AY XCUHKIL SOL, TONC *O*L SBA HONAX.

At the moment he was sitting in front of the house with a handkerchief around his head, he was very sad.

HA* Z'IN *EHK HOSE BI PERSA LA K'AX YIK'.

Then that Jose came by and insisted on taking him along.

HATE TAL HULUKON TAL E, HA* AKIL HA* NITBILIX TAL YU*N *A HKUMRE SME* CIK I, YA LA XLOK'IX NAXTAK *A.

When I got back, I saw my comadre, Francisca's mother, pulling him to keep him from leaving again.

HA* Z'IN HOSE I, TU*N MA XAWIK'BON LO*L TAT MA* XIK'BON MA* KAWIL HWOKOTIK TE MA K'AN LA HUKIX *A METO TY WOKOL KUX AMETO LA *IK'EL XAN LO*EL, TE YU*NUK YAK XBON K, WOKOL *AY HA ZAM E.

273* 539 And then to Jose, "Don't take him away, sir, don't take him. Don't you see how we have suffered? He was going to die. He got better with great difficulty, after many efforts. He's not well."

HE* *AYIL ABI TUME C'IN TO *EHUK YU*N TONC MA XC'UN TUT'A KALBETIK I, KAWAY HATE XMALAWANIX HAL TRAWI LA XLOK'AT XAN, HAMAL YU*N MA*K AWA*Y TUT'A HALBOTAT HIL E, HA* KAK'AN XCAMATA TRAW, PERE YU*N MA XU* HONA XCI.

Ay, dios, why should I worry? He's not a little boy. He just doesn't do what we tell him. "You know that the trago is killing you, but you go out again as if you didn't know what they told you. You just want to die of trago." "But I can't stand it, I feel so bad," he said.

273* 757 In order to avoid consequences of drinking as severe as those detailed above, some men procure medicine designed to reduce the probability of their drinking when the occasion arises. We have already cited a text fragment in which such a "cure" is discussed. There, some doubt was expressed as to the medicine's effectiveness, but Candelario, who had just taken it, was not willing to risk dying by drinking while it was in effect. In another text fragment, more evidence in favor of the "cure" is offered as follows:

273* 539 I. HA* PERSA XPOXIL I PE MA HNA* ME *AY WAN XPOXIL TAT *E MA*YUK *E PE XCIIK HONAX.

Some medicine is necessary, but I don't know if there is one, sir. Many people say there isn't.

M. *AY NIX *A YUN TOL STOHOL.

There is, but it's expensive.

273* I.. TOYOL *E HA* NAX A HNALI HKUMPRE STAT PEYRO LI* TA SPAT
• 539 HNA HUN HU O HUN TA TRENTA KWARENTA TU*L A STOHO XPOX E.

Expensive, yes. My compadre, Pedro's father, here behind my house--I don't know, it seems that he paid thirty or forty [pesos] for the medicine.

TE*HA* CAM SOK.

He almost died of it.

V. MA HNA* BA* LA YIC' TAL WA*.

I don't know where he got it, ay, dios.

I. YU*C'O LEK HONC *A YUC' Z'IN XPOX E.

He was really drunk when he took the medicine.

TYO CAMEN NEL *AHK'BAL

After that, he was stunned the whole day.

V. SAMEL TAL XENEL YA*TIK.

He was vomiting at the same time.

I. *OC *ORASYON LA LIHK XENEL E, LA SYETE LA *OCO LA MANYANA MA*K X LAMA.

About the time of the oración [evening] he began to vomit; at seven or eight in the morning he hadn't settled down yet.

E HAHCON CE BELTA X K'O KIL ... HKUY TA TONC A XEEN X LAH, *E HUHU KUMRE YUN YU*C'OH SMA POX YA TO X LAMA XCIO.

I got up twice and went over to see him . . . I thought he was just vomiting and would die, but he said, "I don't know, comadre, it's just that I took the medicine, it's going to go away soon."

PERE--*E PERE MA* BA YUC'.

But he hasn't drunk since.

273* 539 M. *A MA* BA YUC', HA* XANIX TEME YUN A SMAK TE*K E.

Ah, he hasn't drunk since. It's good if it stops him for a while.

I. *E HAYUN HIC A KAL, TEME SPAS TE*K POX TU*L A YUC' TATIK SEKRETARYI.

That's what I mean, if it works like the remedy the Secretary took.

*IPAL HA*WIL TE*K MA*K YUC' HAL A YUC'BE XPOXIL *ILE.

He hasn't drunk for many years, he took medicine.

M. HIC STUK *ILE HUH*U.

You're right about him.

HA* TONIX PERSA STUK C'IN POX LEHTIK (YUC'E)

Those of us who drink are very much interested in such a medicine.

273* 757 The general characteristics of the medicine for reducing the strength and number of one's drinking performances, as perceived by Aguacatenangueros, are the physical effects if one continues to drink after taking it. Illness and even death may be expected, as has been suggested in the texts cited. The medicine thus overrides all social and psychological "reasons" for drinking. One can tell whether or not the medicine is effective by attempting to continue to drink. If one wishes to drink and feels no unusually bad effects therefrom, it is clear that the medicine is not working.

273* 753 Aguardiente is illness-producing either directly because of its substance, or symbolically because it is one of the media

273* monial drinking pattern, the curer, no matter what his age rela-
755 tive to the age of others present, is served first.[1]

273* Drinking by participants in the curing ceremony appears
• 539 in several text fragments as follows:

MAC'ATIK X*ULAH NAL YA HUC' TRAWO X*OC SPAS POX YU*N HIC *AY SPERSA *A.

Those who cure drink trago first before they go in to cure in order to increase their strength.

SPISIL YO*TAN X*OC TA POSTAWANEH.

So that they will be confident when they go in to cure.

HA* LA YAK' BALOR HAL TRAWI.

It's the aguardiente that gives strength.

PERO *AY H*OLIL MA*K YUC'IK TRAWO HIC NAX YA SPAS POSTO, HA* HIC YA SPASIK POX H*ULELTIK *ABI.

But there are some who don't drink trago before they cure, that's the way they are.

Also:

M. TU*L LIHK YU*C'K.

How did they begin to drink?

C. *E HA* XK'O YILIK HAL XC'IN YAHTAL YO*TAN HKUMRE SME* HOSEPA NUN E.

They went to attend the delivery of my comadre, Josefa's mother, over there.

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[1] From this relative positioning of drinking we conclude
[756] that the role of curer in the curing situation has more status
[554] than the role of old man. In most situations, as has been previously noted, the oldest man present is generally served first.

273* •539 HA* XK'O--TE NEL *AHK'BALTIK KU*NTIK *A HAL *AHK'ABEI

They went over there--we spent the night there last night.

HNUX MA*LAH KUMPRE.

She almost died, compadre.

CAMEN HULEL, LOM LA YAK' SWOKOL.

(The baby) was born dead, she suffered for nothing.

J. ... HA* Z'INABI *E SUNUL *AHK'BAL, MA*A LAHUK *OXE*BUK LITRO I SUNUL *AHK'BAL I.

During the night we drank about three liters, the whole night.

M. *E HAYEBEK *ABI.

And how many of you were there?

J. *E HAYEBOTIK, *E CANE(BOTIK *A SOK CENCO NUN TA HEMEL E, SOK CANTUL *ANZTIK--

How many? Four of us, with Ausencio from over in the valley, and four women.

*E *ULIK STUKEL T'UXAHIK LEK, HA*Z'IN HO*NE MA*BA LOM T'UXAHON LEK ... XLOK' K'AHAL LOK'ONTAL I.

They all got so drunk they fell down. I didn't fall down myself . . . I left as the sun was coming up.

755 The curing ceremony is a public performance, the audience of which is constituted of the sick person's near consanguineals, 273* affinals, ritual kin and neighbors. The males in this audience-- 755 which varies in size depending on the estimated severity of the illness--pace their drinking with that of the curer. He in turn is dependent on the host who initially arranged with him to make the cure for the supply of aguardiente. It is characteristic

273* 764 serving of a meal to them and others who are present. Up to this point drinking is light, this being associated with the fact that a number of tasks are being completed which require sobriety. After the midday meal is served, the rezadora comes and prays with the women over the body. The body is then placed in the casket, the lid is nailed down, and it is carried off to the cemetery, about two kilometers distant. Once the casket is placed in the grave, and the grave begun to be filled, the intensity of drinking sharply increases, both men and the near women relatives (wife, mother, daughter) of the deceased, drinking. This increased rate of drinking continues as the funeral party returns to the house of the deceased and there continues to drink through most of the night.

273* 539 764

M. LA TU *ORA BA MUHUK Z'IN ... HATE *ALAL E.

When did you go to bury the child?

J. TU *ORA *AHK'BALTIKIX *A LOK'OKOTIK K'AL, SAPET K'INAL I.

We went as night was coming, about seven at night.

WOKOL CIKNAH TAL HONA.

It was difficult to find our way back on the trail.

M. WUC'IK TAL HUHUNUX ABI.

Everybody was a little drunk coming back.

J. HAYUN LA HKA*BETIK C'IN HUHUNUX Z'IN.

We gave everybody a little bit.

*273
• 539
764

LA HT'UXAH Z'IN YAN I.

The rest of them fell down afterward.

HAYUN LA HT'UXAH Z'IN, HUN TA Z'IN KUMPRETIK Z'IN STAT *ANTON I, *E *ULEM HONC SAK'INAL Z'IN I.

They fell down afterward, and it seems that our compadre, Antonio's father, was good and drunk by morning.

Many of the males at the funeral fiesta continue to drink on the following day, though in other settings, and the near male relatives of the deceased will continue to drink for as long as a week after the burial--to calm the sadness of their hearts, as they say. The aguardiente for the funeral fiesta is provided by the members of the household in which the dead person lived and/or by the lineal descending relatives. On succeeding days, the men who continue to drink secure their aguardiente under the normal rule of laissez faire drinking (informal drinking).

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273* Speaker for the old ayuntamiento: YA NAX HIC YA XLOK'ON
• 539 K'AL TO, MA WAN TOHUK NAX YA XHAHCON L*EL.

Today, mother-father [i.e., respected] New Authorities, Authorities who are entering office, it is not possible simply to leave, it's not correct simply to get up and leave.

*AY WAN HBAL HMAY, *AY WAN HBAL HSIGARRO, BA* WAN K'AN KA*BAT HIL TA *AWO*TAN, BA* WAN K'AN HMELBAT HIL TA *AWAHC'ALEL, PORKE SYEMPRE *AY XCAMELAL C'IN UN POKO KUMPIRAL LA HPASTIK YU*N *OCAT.

Perhaps I have some tobacco, perhaps I have a cigarette which I can leave in your heart, which I can leave in your body, since we still feel the hangover from the exchange of gifts which we made because you entered [to take your cargos].

HICON *EHUK, YU*N LOK'ON, HIC KOSTUMBRF YU*N TEHKLUM, HIC KOSTUMBRE YU*N HME*TIK HTATIK.

I, too, am leaving office. It's the custom of the town. It's the custom of our ancestors.

AX TYEMPO, AX *ORA, MA HO*KOTIK NAX LA HLIHKESTIK TAL, SINOKE *AX TYEMPO, *AX *ORA, KIC 'OHTIK TAL KOSTUMBRE YU*N HNAL HC'IEL, HNAL HLOK'EL.

It's been a long time, a long time, we did't invent [these customs], rather we have had these customs for a long time, since those who were first born, since those who first came out.

CAMIX WAN, LAHIX WAN, PERO HO*TIK E, MA*K XC'AY TE KOSTUMBRE KU*NTIK E.

Perhaps they died, perhaps they are finished, but we don't lose our customs.

BA* WAN K'AN *AXIC'BON C'IN HPISUK, C'IN HUNUK KOPA KA*BAT HIL TA *AWO*TAN, KA*BAT HIL TA *AWAHC'ALEL, PARAKE HIC XK'IXNAH AWO*TAN, XK'IXNAH AC'IC'EL, *ABAK'ETAL, PARAKE YU*N KONTENTA XLOK'ON BAEL, KONTENTA XBON.

Where it is possible to receive it, a small measure, a shot glass, I am going to give your heart, so that it will warm your body, so that it will warm your heart, warm your blood and your flesh, so that I can leave contented, go contented.

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273* YAL, MA*YAL HIL TA *AWO*TAN, TY YIPAL LA HTAH TAL SOK HZO*BLEHAL,
• 539 HYOMLEHAL, TAL KAK' HIL TE *ERRAMYENTA.

Either it goes down or it doesn't go down, that which I have procured. With all of my group I came to leave the tools [i.e., the town equipment for road construction which is entrusted to the ayuntamiento].

HA* XC'IN KUMPIRALIL, *AY WAN HBAL HMAY, *AY WAN HBAL HSIGARRO, KA*BAT HNUXUK, HTE*BUK.

This is my little gift, a bit of tobacco, a cigarette, I give you a little.

ME YAL, MA* YAL TA *AWOTAN, HIC XTOHUB KO*TAN *EHK *A, HIC HMELZA*AN HBAHTIK *A, HICON *EHUK, YU*N ME XLOK'ONIX BAEL, YA ME XBONIX, HA* ME YU*N HIC YA KALBAT HME* HTAT *AWKTORIDA.

Whether it goes down well or it does not go down well in your heart, I am complying also. Thus we arrange things. I, too, am going, now I'm going, that's why I am telling you this, respected Authorities.

In response to this speech, the spokesman for the new ayuntamiento replies: BA* ME LA *AWIC' HME* HTAT, MA ME *AK TUTA HK'AN, MA ME *AK TUTA YA HK'ANBAT, MA ME *AK TUT'I LA *AHAM *AWO*TAN, TUTA LA *AHAM *ATI*.

Where did you get it, mother-father? I'm not asking for anything, I don't have anything to give you, there is nothing. You opened your heart, you opened your lips.

*AY LAH HBAL *AMAY *AY LA HBAL *ASIGARRO YUN LAH KAMELBON TA KO*TAN YUN LAH KAMELBON TA KAHC'ALEL TUYIPAL ZO*BOLON, YOMOLON LI* TA C'UL KABILTA LI* TA C'UL HUSGADO, YA KIC'BAT *ENTREGAL.

You have tobacco, you have a cigarette to give to my heart, to give to my body, as we are gathered here in the sacred town hall, in the sacred courthouse. I am going to receive what you are giving me.

HOKOL *AWAL YA WAN HZ'UN KAHREHIDOR *A SPIS *A YAK' TU YIPAL WUSTO *AWUN E, TU YIPAL *ATAH TAL.

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273*
539 Thank you very much. Perhaps I will name my regidor to measure the aguardiente, the amount which is your pleasure, the amount which you procured.

PERO MA ME YAK HK'AN, BA ME LA *AWIC'IX *A, BA ME TALIX *AWUN *A, STOHOL ME TAK'IN STOHOL ME SENTABO, WOKOL ME HTATIK WOKOL ME *A KIC'TIK TALEL, MA ME STOHUB C'UL TRAWO, TOYOL TE*K STOHOL, PURO SK'OP TAK'IN.

But I'm not asking for anything. Where did you get it? Where did you bring it from? This requires money, this requires pennies. It costs us to get it, it costs us to bring it. We can't pay for the trago. It's very expensive. One gets it only with money.

PERO KOMO LA *AHAM, LA *AHAM *ATI* LA *AHAM *AWO*TAN HOKOL *AWAL.

But since you opened your mouth, you opened your heart, thank you very much.

YA HZAKBAT, HA*YUN *IBAY, *IL CA* TUL PERSONA, YUN YA SPIS, YUN YA YA*BUKOTIK TA KO*TANTIK, YA*BOTIK TA KAC'LELTIK.

I'm going to receive it. Here are the two persons who will measure it, so that it can be given to our hearts, so that it can be given to our bodies.

HOKOL *AWAL HME* HTAT *AWTORIDA SOK SALYENTE, YA ME KIC' *ENTREGAL, COTLANIK HZ'INUK.

Thank you very much, respected Authorities who are leaving. I'm going to receive what you bring, sit down for a while.

MA WAN HO*KON NAX K'AN KAK' TA KO*TAN PAHAL YAH TUNTESTIK PAHAL YA HMEL TA KO*TANTIK YUN WAN HIC XKUXLEH KO*TANTIK *A, YUN HIC X *AK'BIL LAH KO*TANTIK *A.

Perhaps I won't just put it in my own heart. Equally let us drink, equally drink a round for our hearts, in order to sober our hearts, in order to make our hearts happy.

HOKOL *AWAL HME* HTAT YA ME HZAK, YA ME KIC', *AK'A PERSONETIK, HMELA TA KO*TANTIK MAHTANTIK YUN HMETIK HTATIK YUN LOK'IX, NELIX HUN HA*WIL K'INAL HOKOL *AWAL HME* HTAT YA HZAK YA KIC' LEK *AY.

273* 539 Thank you, respected ones, I am going to take it, I am going to have it. Give it to the persons, a round for our hearts, the gift of the respected ones who are leaving, their year is finished. Thank you, respected ones, I will receive it. Good.

Ceremonial drinking is seen to have side effects which are as clearly patterned and recurrent as the central performances themselves. As drinking "warms the heart," it relaxes control over interpersonal behavior. Warning against this side effect is given in the following text fragments:

The counsel of an elder to the new members of the ayuntamiento:

MA ME *AWUC' *IPAL TRAWO PORKE *AY ME MAHEL CUKEL YA ME XTAL TA TOYOL, YA ME XTAL TA YALEL.

Don't drink too much. For there are crimes to be settled, great ones, or lesser ones may come.

ME LAL AWUC' TRAWO PORKE MALYEL ME ASK'AN, YA ME STAL HUN *ORDEN YA ME XTAL HUN KARTA XTAL HUN *OFISIO.

It's not good to drink trago, because you must wait, an order might come, a letter might come, a duty might come.

*AY ME TOYOL XTAL, *AY ME YALEL YA XTAL.

Much work or little work may come.

HA* ME YUN KUXA *AWO*TAN, MA ME MILABA TA YAKBEL PARA KE HIC ZAM KAWIL TE HUSGADO ZAM KAWIL TE *AWUNTIKIL.

For this reason, stay sober. Don't kill yourselves drinking. Thus you can contentedly care for the town, contentedly watch over your children.

Again, in the counsel of an elder to the wives of new members of the ayuntamiento:

273* HICAT *EHK *ANZETIK, *ABA ME SMAZ', *ABA ME YOT, PARAKE YU*N
• 539 YU*N MA XWI*NAH XC'UHT.

And you, wives, give him his pozole, give him his tortilla, so that he won't be hungry.

ME XYAKUB MA ME HAK'BE SK'OP, *ATA*LUK XCEBAL K'AHAL XTAL YIL SKABILTA.

If he gets drunk, don't provoke him, the next day he will come back to the cabildo.

PERO TEME HA*T PUKUHAT *ANZETIK, TEME HA*T K'AHK'AT, ENTONSE TE X*ILIN TE WINIK, REPENTA SMAHAT, REPENTA XYUTAT, KOMO *CEM TA TRAWO, REPENTA ME XK'AHK'UB SOL TE *AMAMILAL, TE SENYOR *AHENTE, TE SENYOR HWES.

But if you women are bad, if you are mean, then the man gets angry and he may well strike you, he may well scold you, since he is drunk, he may well get hot-headed, your husband the president, or the judge.

Once again, the counsel of an elder to the community at large:

MA ME XAPASIK PLET, ZAM XK'OPOHEX, KOMO *ERMANO, KOMPAGRE, KOMAGRE.

Don't fight, converse in the manner of brothers, compadres, comadres.

YA KAWUC'IK TRAWO K'AYEHINAN, YAKUBAN PASA KONTENTO SOK *ATRAWO.

If you drink aguardiente, sing, get drunk, make yourselves happy with the aguardiente.

*ANSIKE LA LAH SZAKAT TRAWO, *ABA YAK'AT HIL TE MAC'A LAH YA*Y SOL TA TRAWO.

When once you are drunk, go and take home the one whose trago has gone to his head.

*ABA YA*BAT TA SNA, HA* MERO *ERMANO BI.

Take him to his house, like a true brother.

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539 MA*YU*NUK LAH YIL TE XYAKUBAT, SMAHAT ENTONSE MULILME, MA ME HK'AN.

It's not right when you see that he is drunk to hit him, that's a crime, I don't like it.

Other side effects of drinking, these latter associated with prolonged informal drinking, are also negatively evaluated. In one text fragment we find the following exchange:

C. MA*Y K'AHAL STUK--K'IN E, XTA TAK STOHOL KA*ALTIK.

There's a fiesta coming up. I'll have to get some money for aguardiente.

M. PERSA, *A HA* NAX STOHOL *A STUK HAL YA XLIHK *OCEL *A*TEL I.

There isn't any choice, we have to look for work to raise money for trago.

C. PERO MA*YUK AWUC' HA* TE MA *AY.

But you haven't been drinking?

M. YA KA*BE *EHUK.

I've been drinking.

C. YAK PE COPOLIX MA* HA*CUK XTUL*L NAME TAL E.

Yeah, but you haven't been drinking like you used to.

M. MAY LAH TO NAX KA*BE EHK *ABI.

It's not been long since I had a good drunk.

PIM YA YUC' HAL TRAWI.

I drink a lot.

MA TO BA* YA KUC'IX *A STUK *ORA ILI.

I haven't drunk yet in this fiesta.

MAYUK, YA STI CAMEL TRAWI.

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The trago is making me ill.

C. YAK, *IK *IXANWAN *EHUK.

That's right, it's bad for you.

HO*N E, *AX K'AHAL MA* BA KA*BE *EHUK, HUN TA HA*TO LA KA*BE YU*N TO *ENERO TAL E.

I haven't drunk for days, not since January.

*IX YAK' BETIL TONC, *E SOK TONC MA*K XLOK' TA NA*EL KA*TELTIK YU*N MAXTAK.

We got into debt and forget our work.

MA* ZAMUKIX *A.

It's not good.

M. PURA CAMELIX YUKUKOTIK *A.

We just get sick.

C. HA* NAX ZAM *A TE *OCEM TRAWO *A E.

But it's beautiful when the trago is in us.

M. YIP *AK'BIL KO*TANTIK SOK *ABI.

It's the only time we're really happy.

C. YA X*AWUNAT HONC *A STUBI.

You shout a lot when you are drunk.

M. XLOK' AZE*EH YUN STUBI.

You laugh when you are drunk.

PERE HA* Z'IN TEME KUX K'AL Z'IN E, *E YUN HA HAL HUHUNUXANIX MA*K XLAHOTIK YU*N Z'IN I.

But afterwards when we are getting over a big drunk, we come close to dying.

273* concludes by observing that the after-effects of drinking are inevitably bad.

Thus while the drinking performances themselves are highly satisfying experiences, the consequences of drinking may be illness, economic loss, and possible death. Such consequences of any next drinking performance do not, however, appear to prevent that drinking performance from taking place; even though the consequences are the public knowledge of all the men in Aguacatenango.

273* 562 593 The woman's view of the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking sequences is long-suffering (but not necessarily uncomplaining). Women are constrained to complain relatively little as their husbands become ill or abusive and their household resources dwindle. The woman who berates or strikes or abandons her drunken husband is criticized, and desertion of a husband by a wife is never attributed either to his drinking per se nor to his drunken abuse.

273 539 In the following excerpts from text, a wife complains and her husband belittles or laughs off her concern time after time.

I. MA* LO*ILUK IX A X YAKUB HONC *A ATATAI, *Z YES YA*TEL.

Your uncle gets drunk a lot, it's his occupation.

V. HE HE HE.

Ha, Ha, ha!

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273* I. TUT'A C'IN ZAM A HTAHTIK, *E TONC SNA* MA*K SNA* A STI*,
• 539 *AY WI*NAL A X CAM *A, *E LA BA* LA X BA HTAHTIK TAL
EHUK, MA X KILTIK BA C'IKIL, TOH XAMIX TE POHOL *A
YA LA IX CAMIX TA WI*NAL WA* KERE*.

The good things that we find for him, sometimes he remembers to eat and sometimes he doesn't, sometimes he's dying of hunger and then how are we going to find him, we don't know where he is. There he is lying there alone, dying of hunger, ay, dios.

V. HE HE!

Ha, ha!

I. ZAM XC'IN K'U* XC'IN PAK' X LOK'BAEL, BOTOX TA *AHC'AL A.

He goes out with a nice shirt and comes back all muddy.

... K'AX Z'IN SK'IN HALME*TIK I ... TONC LA *ULEM TA WAYEL XHOL TA TE* HC'IX STUK YOK E, NUN KA*Z'AL TA TE* NUN TA TI* MAK TE* E.

. . . After the fiesta of the Virgin of the Nativity . . . he was dead drunk, asleep with his foot caught in the fence, there he was hung on the fence.

V. HE HE HE, MA*Y YAHC'ALEL STUK ABI HI.

Ha, ha, ha! There wasn't any mud there!

I. ... HATE X TAL KUXUK YO*TAN TAT, YUN YAUBEN, YAUBEN.

. . . When he sobers up, sir, he's very thin and weak.

V. *E YUN MA*K XWE*OTIK WA*.

It's because I don't eat, ay, dios.

I. X BAHT TA LE *A*TEL E MA X U*IX YU*UN *O*L SBA.

He goes to work and he can't do it any more, poor thing.

HUN K'AHAL CE* K'AHAL YUC' E HA* HAX TE*K ABI, PERE *ILI WAXKE* K'AHAL, BALNE* K'AHAL, HUK* K'AHAL.

273*
• 539 If he would only drink for just one or two days--but he drinks eight, nine, seven days at a time.

TIHIHTIK *AY KUX YO*TAN CE* K'AHAL *A *OXE* K'AHAL *A X TAL AWA*I X YAKUB IX A X LOK' TAL TA KABILTA *A.

And he drinks often. He'll be sober for two or three days, and the first thing I know he comes home from the Cabildo drunk again.

HA* TE X LIHKESOK I.

It's there that he begins [to drink].

M. HA* X TU*L BA*Y PARTA I.

If there is a case to be settled, for example.

I. ... LOM MA SNA* TU*L X K'OPOH *EHK TA YAKBEL I MA SNA* TU X YAL, *E KE TAL ME XC'UNIK E, *AY XC'UNIK IX LEK--K'AN SMILON IX TA *AHTAL *O*TAN E--

. . . And also, he doesn't know how he should talk, when he's drunk he doesn't know what he's saying, and what if they believe him? Some people believe him--I'm nearly dying with worry.

*E YUN LA YIC', YUN LA X BA SMILIK IX, P'EKEL *AY NUN X BA YAWTIK TA KABILTE.

[They say] that they're going to kill him, that it's clear, that they're going to shout it in the Cabildo [i.e., that he has threatened witchcraft].

V. *EHE--MA CIKO WASKIS STUBI, *E YOBRA NIX *A *ILE TONC PUKUHIK WA*

Oh--that old Francisco Vasquez, he's always like that, they're bad, ay, dios.

I. X BAHT TA MUK' YU*NIK, LAPE HAYUN TONC HA*C ME X LIHK YAK'ON TA *AHTAL *O*TAN, HAYUN HUN TA TONC HA* X K'UB *AHTAL *OTAN HAYUN TONC A X *IPAH Z'IN HCAMEL I.

Those people really believe it. That's why I'm beginning to worry so, that's why the pain is getting worse, that's why my illness is getting worse.

273* 539 I. ... PE *ILI LA STA HUNUK KWARTA, LA STA *OLILUK, HUNUK LITRO SOK SHOTAK E YUN TY*P' IX *ABI YUN C'AY IX SHOL *ABI.

. . . But if he gets a quarter of a liter, a half-liter, a liter with his friends, with that he is stunned, he loses his senses.

V. SOK MA*YUK IX LEK SOLOL KY*N HO*N E, *OLIL XANIX LA X YAKUBON.

I don't have a good head any more, I get drunk on only a half-liter.

MA HNA* TU*UN YAMEL I XAYUB HC'I*C'ELTIK, MA HA*CUK NAME HAYEBUK X KU*C' *A.

I don't know why, my blood is getting less, it wasn't that way before, I could drink a lot more.

PERE *ORA *ILI YU*N LA--YUN *ORA XANIX A X YAKUBON.

But now--I get drunk very quickly.

... *E *O*L HBAHTIK Z'IN--*E TONC A KIXANTIK *EHK HC'I *C'TELTIK I.

. . . We're sad afterward--and it's bad for our blood.

I. LEK ME TEHK'AH MA* TEHK'AH YUN A XEHTA LO*EL.

Whether he stops or not, he's torn up with vomiting.

V. WA HA HA WA HA HA.

Ay, dios, ha, ha, ha!

TONC A HLE HCAMEL *A SNALYE, PE MA X KA*Y K'OP HICUK *UC WAHA*.

I'm just looking for the damned illness, but I don't obey, just like a tlacuache [small wild animal], ay, dios.

I. HA* *AHTAL *OTANTIK SBA YAKBEL I.

Drunkenness causes a lot of suffering.

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Preface

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And so we shall be able to do what our mothers
did and what our fathers did here where our
Holy Father sees us and our Holy Mother sees us.

From the prayer said at the
time of taking offices in
the civil hierarchy

In all societies, some of the ideology and behavior of the past persists after their relevance to current problems has ended. How much this continuity eases the absorption of change by providing meaning and motivation and how much it hinders the ability to deal with current issues and to plan for the future is a long-standing social problem. It is of special relevance to developing nations undergoing changes that transform all social institutions. Developing nations have focused their planning on economic change in the hope that other institutions will respond automatically. This hope has not been justified.

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Mexico has shown a growing awareness of the strength to be drawn from its rich cultural heritage in the five decades of development since the revolution. The changes that were transforming the cities a generation ago are now drawing enclaves of Indian populations into the mainstream of national development. In the 1930s government policy was directed toward transforming Indians into modern nationals. Since the 1950s there has been an increasing effort to incorporate Indians without suppressing their distinctive customs and languages. The old melting pot policy has given way to a new policy of selective adaptation.

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For the Indians, adhering to the ways of the ancestors is the means of surviving as a people. Their sense of cultural survival is threatened by the

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Although the town center forms a rough rectangle on Map 1, the people think of it as being a square.[2] This conforms to the cultural ideal of a square applied in house, milpa, village, and probably world, although when anyone is asked about the last, he cautiously answers, "I have heard that it is round." The center is the unit that the people think of when they say *hteklum*, my land or my village. House lots are not sold to outsiders, particularly Ladinos, but the prohibition applies as well to other Indians living within the limits of the township.

The residents of the center identify themselves with the former residents of the two pre-Conquest sites occupying the hill of Amawitz[3] northwest of the center, and the hill of San Nicolás (called Lelem in Tzeltal) to the southeast. The following account is given of the founding of the present town in the valley:

Our ancestors lived in Amawitz. There wasn't enough water there, but there was a great deal that passed here in the valley. The ancestors came out of their cave to look at where the people should move. They told the people where they should go. The people "thought in common." They cut the trees here; then, when it was dry, they burned it with fire as they do for milpa. When it was cleared, they began to build their houses. Others saw this and came to build their houses. When they finished building their houses, everyone began to think of building a church. The first church was built in Alannantik [the low side] for San Pedro the Martyr. This was torn down because the witches used to come to get the permission of San Pedro to do witchcraft. When the new church was built, there was a division of the town into the upper and lower sections.

It is significant that the people attribute the initiative in the resettlement to the mythical ancestors, although archaeological evidence indicates that the present center was settled after the Conquest. The Conquest is not a part of their mythico-historic past. The ancestors are given credit for establishing everything.

2. The pre-Conquest term for local center was Tzamgholal (Calnek 1962:25), signifying "square head." "Head" town was possibly a ceremonial center.

3. Hermitte (1964:48) notes that in Pinola the "police" of the spiritual government are sent to outposts in Amawitz and Me?wakal in Amatenango. This suggests that it may be considered the ancestral home of other Indians of the area.

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it before he arch. The younger curer then took a bunch of the branches of spring bushes and brushed each person over the head, shoulders, back, arms, and legs. Liquor was passed around to the visitors and participants. The elder curer took the bunch of branches, prayed, and brushed the future occupants. The younger curer followed him with another brushing.

The elder curer put some powder in the springwater. He then took a rattle, stuck it it in a bunch of the leaves from the spring, gave it a couple of shakes as though testing it, and handed it to one of the b'alnial *(young male assistants). He then stood before the candles at the back center post, bowed to it, turned, and bowed to the opposite center post. He poured the springwater in a gourd and gave it to Juliana, the houseowner's daughter, who passed it to each member of the household. The curer then took out four cigarettes and put them on either side of the candles. He greeted everyone present and delivered the following prayer:* [782] [639]

May no witchcraft enter.
May all the children be cared for.
I can see and hear who enters.
Of one heart are the women, of one heart are the men.

Santiago began to play the guitar as his wife, Alberta, brought in the coffee and rolls. She handed the first cup to the elder curer. This was followed with a serving of rice and tomatoes. Before he began to eat, the curer said, "good afternoon" to all present.

After the meal, the elder curer led the household members outside. He held one of the palm crosses at the corner post of the house and prayed; then Santiago pounded in a nail to hold it. Each member of the household, including the small children of Alberta, went up and kissed the cross in turn. They went on to the other main posts of the exterior of the house where they did the same thing. They entered the house and continued drinking the rest of the afternoon. Cigarettes were passed around, and the men began to joke. Drinking is compulsory: everyone who attends must drink equal amounts of the liquor served. [273]

Each of the ritual items is introduced because it contains a powerful soul. The branches and the springwater contain souls associated with the

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waters. The curer brushes the patients with branches of the cooling bushes and herbs growing near the spring, the same ones used in the fiesta of inauguration and the curing ceremonies conducted in the house. The strategy of making the house spirit happy by providing music, dancing, and drinking is repeated at the spring to make the water spirit happy. Some of the family of the patient must remain in the house as "waiters" (*maliwanehetik*) to receive the spirit if it should arrive before its owner. The maliwanehetik must drink as much liquor as the participants at the spring.

The Cave of the Ancestors. The ancestors, the *me?tiktatik*, were believed to have lived in a cave in the hills lying on the peripheries of the township. In the myth that follows, they are given a historical identity as two brothers, the Shuntonetik. Shunton is one of the Tzeltal patronyms of families still living in the town, and in fact the narrator of this version of the myth is Mariano Shunton, whom people consider a descendant of the ancestors.[6]

Formerly a priest asked for a document to be delivered to Antigua in Guatemala. Two messengers were sent with it, but they did not return. Another messenger went and did not return. Four or five more messengers were sent out and did not come back. Finally they sent a man from the cabildo with his younger brother. They left early in the morning, and the elder brother said as he left the other town officials, "If I succeed, I want a fiesta. Look for my sign of four arches [rainbow]."

The two brothers first went to a hill. There they called upon their swayohelik [*animal spirits*]. *First the animal spirit of the elder brother spoke. He said, "I am a stone." Then the animal spirit of the younger brother said, "I am a stick. Moreover, I am a snake and a maguey plant." The elder brother said, "Then we are well off. Let us go."*

6. The same identification of a lineage patronym with the most important sacred hill is found in other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities (Holland 1963, Hermitte 1964). The pattern may have originated in a period of pre-Conquest expansion when the dominant lineage was assiged a custodial leadership over the new settlement, with their spirits remaining as guardians of the community. Members of the contemporary communities who bear the same patronym do not have any privileged position. These associations of past and contemporary belief are, as Vogt (1964:216) cautions, still hypothetical.

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773 *As the two brothers were walking, the elder brother said, "Do you see*
778 *what that man is doing?" He was referring to a black man lying near the*
539 *road. "He is sleeping," said the younger. The elder said, "Let us go on."*
769 *They approached closer to the sleeping man. The elder brother said, "Let us pass." Just as they were passing, the black man said, "Where are you going? Come back! Come, enter here."*

They entered a cave. The black man said, "Here you are going to die."

"So be it," said the elder.

"Put your head here," said the black man. He went to get his machete, but instead of hitting the head with it, he drove it into the great stone which was the elder brother's swayohel. "Ah, the devil, who are you?" he asked. Turning to the younger brother, he said, "Now it is your turn!"

The younger brother came, and the black man struck him with his machete. The machete broke.

"Now it is your turn, black man!" said the younger brother. The devil began to cry, "Go along, I will not trouble you." "Yes, you will always trouble us," said the elder brother. "I shall give you money," said the black man. "No, I have money," said the elder brother. "Then I shall carry you," said the black man. "I do not want that. You must die!" said the elder brother. "Come, boy [to his younger brother], cut a stick and make two points on each side. Stick it there and a wind will carry him aloft."

Then a snake came and settled right there where the stick was planted. The black man fell, and the stick entered his anus. It came out of his mouth and he died. The brothers cut off his head and brought it to Guatemala. They delivered the paper to the priest, who was very frightened.

"Which way have you come?" asked the priest. "We came along the road," answered the brothers.

"But didn't you see anyone?" asked the priest. "No one," answered the brothers. "But where did you really go?" asked the priest.

"Since you force us to answer, we did meet someone," answered the brothers, "covering the road where we passed midway. We brought him here."

"I want to see him," said the priest. The elder brother said, "Look, I brought him in this box. I cut off his head."

The priest looked, and when he saw the head, he cried. He ordered the

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soldiers to come and throw the Shunton brothers in jail. He ordered a meal brought to prison with a servant.

"I do not want it," said the elder brother and returned it with the servant. "Tell him [the priest] that I do not want it but thank him."

The servant told the priest that the brothers did not want the good meal.

"Good," said the priest. "If they don't eat in a little while they will be dead. Go leave them liquor so that they will not feel how they die."

"Good," said the servant. She went to the jail and said, "My master wants to know if you want to drink."

"I don't want any. I have some too. I brought a liter of trago." There they were drinking inside the prison.

At ten in the morning, they came to tie a blindfold on the brothers. They shot at them, but the bullet did not hit. They shot again, but it did not hit. "Who are these people?" asked the priest. "Send out another soldier!" The other began to fire, but the bullets did not hit the brothers. Many soldiers came out and fired, but the bullets did not hit them.

"Then," said the soldier, "you know what we shall do? We shall burn them in this hide."

"Good, go look for the hide. When the hide comes we will prepare it," said the priest.

They began to sew the hide. When they finished sewing, they began to throw wood and lit a fire. They waited until the fire started. They came to see the brothers. They were very drunk.

"Bring them here." said the priest. "Not yet. They are still drinking." But the priest answered, "They have drunk enough. Go bring them and we shall burn them."

On their second return, the fire began to burn the pueblo. The people began to cry. Half the pueblo was burned when the Lord of Lightning and Rain came. A shower hit the fire.

"Good," said the elder brother. "We have won. Now the fire is out and we shall go. Let us see if they are waiting for us in our town. If not, I know where we can find some pretty women in Chiapa."

"Good. Let us rest a little," said the younger brother.

"Good, I am thirsty. Let us go where there is water," said the elder.

773 *"Good."*
778 *They waited a while and the water came. "Are you going to drink?"*
539 *They drank, and then they made the sign of the rainbow. The president*
769 *sent his síndico to meet them. The síndico got drunk on the way. He sat down halfway in the road. The brothers met him there. They were angry that a fiesta was not prepared for them. And for this they left town, and went to live in Chiapas.*

773 This tale is known to everyone in town, and there is no doubt as to its au-
778 thenticity expressed by those who have given versions of it. When I took
769 some of the Indians on a trip to Guatemala, they pointed out the rocks
123 where the brothers encountered the devil. When they arrived in Guatemala and saw a bus marked Antigua they expressed amazement that the town was still in existence.

769 Some people claim to have seen the ancestors, whom they describe as
778 wearing the old style costume—a long shirt with the hat now worn by the alfereces. The ancestors are believed to have watched over the village from a mound rising abruptly before the mouth of the cave, called Hol Shan, or Head of Palm, because of the trees growing on it (Plate 1). From this eminence they could watch the streets of the village and see whether anyone was trying to bring in evil (Plate 2). They were able to discern the power of evil in the souls of the newborn and could snatch the soul before its possessor grew up to cause evil. Their human agents in guarding the town
[756] against evil were the curers (*ʔuʔuletik*), who in the context of guardianship were called *meʔiltatil*.[7]

796 Each year on the Day of the Cross, May 3d in the Catholic calendar,[8] a
769 fiesta is held in honor of the ancestors. It refers back to the fiesta which
62 ought to have been held for the returning Shuntonetik, and is performed in the interest of the whole community as a means of ensuring good relations with the ancestors.

[756] Formerly the curers were responsible for conducting this fiesta. An informant recalled the ritual:

7. The guardianship role of the curers is related to the functions of pre-Conquest officials, called *gheanalum*, "caretakers of the soil" (Calnek 1962:25).

8. The date of the Day of the Cross was changed by the Vatican in 1964. When the
[778] local priest tried to reschedule the fiesta in the community, he encountered strong opposition. The Indians continue to celebrate the Day of the Cross on May 3d.

776 which have the power to mislead, give illness, or capture people to work
[756] for them. Only the most powerful curers and witches, and the very greedy
[754] approach these spirits for they are reputed to be very "live" and mali-
[825] ciously clever. Snakes are the offspring of the hill and do the bidding of the hill owners.

556 Wealth in the form of livestock, corn, or gold can be gained from some
756 of the cave owners upon request, but there is danger in receiving these
778 gifts since they must be reciprocated. Among the cave owners who give
787 gifts is Don Klabil, a deceased moneylender of the neighboring town. After his death in the 1940s, his spirit went to live in the hill bordering the two towns. People say that when he was alive he used to get money from the true owner of the cave. Those who have been inside the cave say it is filled with animals—cattle, horses, rabbits—which drink at a large interior lake. The appropriate approach for requesting wealth is to go on Thurs-
[782] day, "when the earth is open," and burn candles and incense. When the request is granted, the recipient must light candles at the cave every Thursday, and after his death he must work forever for the cave owner. It is said that at his death his wealth dies with him—usually all has been spent, and in fact children are left poor. Some say the spirit of the firstborn child of the recipient must be given to the owner to work for him. For this reason, there is no envy felt by neighbors when they see the increasing wealth of a man who has visited the caves and received such gains and he is doubly protected because no one can hurt an "enchanted man" (one who has entered the cave) with witchcraft.

756 Ladinos' belief in the cave owners gives support to the Indians' credence
776 in their power. Ladinos inquire of Indians where they can find treasures.
778 Once the request to the hill owners is made, it is essential to follow
[829] through correctly. Everyone in town knows the story of Martin Bautista, a curer who went to speak to the true owner of the hill in which Don Klabil lives.

[539] *He knew how to talk to the owner. The owner told him that at midnight on the following day, he would give him what he wanted. At midnight Maria, his wife, was alone in the house. She heard a noise and the sound of* "Andale, burro!" *Then there was a knock at the door. When the*

woman opened the door, she said, "Ay, Dios!" *The owner of the cave did not like this, and at that moment, he disappeared. Her husband returned the next morning. He beat her when he heard of the arrival of the hill owner and his disappearance when she invoked the name of the Lord. From that day on, he lost his luck and remained a poor man.*

The personalities of the cave owners are more fully defined than those of the spirits which reside in the forests. These tree spirits are able to talk to people, or they may sing, "as a mother sings to her child." They sometimes play tricks, misdirecting those who are lost in the woods. A man who intends to kill his enemy may go to talk to the tree spirits to gain their advice. Some plant spirits, such as tobacco, are stronger than others. Indians sometimes address the tobacco plant as "our grandfather" when they approach it, asking leave to pass. Some say that if you chew the tobacco plant you will have strength to overcome evil spirits when you walk in the woods.

An especially fearful group of spirits called *bohwaletik* roam the wooded hills in the late afternoons. These spirits, who look like Ladinos, are feared because they cut off people's heads to feed to the church bell in a neighboring town or to give to the spirits of major construction projects, such as dams. Suspicions are immediately aroused when a solitary Ladino is seen on the outskirts of the town near evening, and if several Indians sight him, they may even kill him.

Persistence of belief and rituals related to the old gods and demons that were part of the Maya pantheon is directly related to the fact that the Indians continue to live in the same place surrounded by the hills and caves that were the habitations of both good and bad spirits. The landscape serves as a mnemonic device, keeping alive the myths of the past. Everyone accepts the knowledge that the spirits once lived here; the only doubt is whether they continue to inhabit their appropriate places, particularly in the case of the ancestors who were responsible for crops and security. This is not a crisis of loss in belief, but a phasing into history of the mythological past. Since there is no longer acceptance of the curers' claim to communication with the spirits, the Indians believe they may have gone elsewhere. It is characteristic of these Indians that they do not

mother the Moon gets angry. This might cause an eclipse of the moon, and the crops will suffer because there will be no sun. 241 776 784

There is no prohibition, however, against having sexual relations prior to planting or at other crucial stages, as there are for other Maya-Indians (Wagley 1941:34). [171]

During the growing season, candles are lit in the milpa as protection against wind as well as robbers, who "lose their luck" when this is done. 241 788

The spirits' care of the crops. The crops have souls, given by the spirits, which will be lost if they are not cared for. The spirits "watch over the crops as parents watch over their children." The term for seed (*yal*) is a metaphorical extension of the term for "child of a woman." 241 774 776

The following myths give different, occasionally contradictory versions of the origin of crops. This central truth emerges in all of them: The spirits have given us our crops and will continue to do so as long as we offer thanks in the form of ceremonies and gifts to them. [782]

Santo Tomás [the patron saint of Oxchuk] had intercourse with Santa Lucía. She wanted [asked for] *the soul of corn, and he gave her the seed of corn. Then there came forth beans, corn, and wheat. But then all the saints of San Bartolo and San Miguel [neighboring towns] asked for the soul of corn. Then the soul of beans left us and went to hot country. Now it does not grow well in the pueblo. Also, the avocado has gone to Comitán. The matasano and ground beans went to Oxchuk when Santa Lucía fought with Santo Tomás.* [539]

The myth of the origin of crops overlays an older myth which has parallels in other groups of Maya-speaking Indians (Castro 1965, Wagley 1941:20). 773 241 171

Formerly, during a famine, there was hunger. The tzisim, *an insect of Ariola, came to take the corn from underground. Thus the ancestors got their first seed. For this reason, people say that corn was born underground, brought up by the tzisim. But I believe God sent us corn.* [539]

Another version has synthesized the role of the saints and that of the animal agent. 241 776 825 539

241 776 825 539 *The ant* [alielo] *brings corn out of the house. They say that a saint passed on horseback. The ant came to the saint, bringing a grain of corn. He stood before the saint, and the saint said, "Where are you going with the corn?" The ant replied, "To the storeroom." The saint inquired, "Which one?" The ant went to show the saint a stone as large as a church into which he entered to take out corn. There was white, yellow, and red corn.*

The saint returned to heaven and spoke to San Bartolo. San Bartolo asked, "Where is it?" The saint replied, "I will show you."

San Bartolo went with Santo Tomás to see the stone. Santo Tomás said, "Good, let us figure out how to destroy this stone." San Bartolo said, "Let us go talk to a carpenter." At this moment, a carpenter came. They asked him to cut the stone. "Good," said the carpenter, "I will do it."

But the carpenter could not open the stone. They went to another carpenter—there were three in this mountain. The first couldn't, nor could the second. The third carpenter said, "Let us talk to the tunselek [*woodpecker*]. *He is a good carpenter."*

The first two birds had broken their beaks, and the saints warned the woodpecker that he should be careful or he would fail with the stone. The woodpecker broke open the stone, and all the corn seed—yellow, red, and white—fell out. People should not kill these birds because they broke open the rock where the seeds were kept.

241 776 The necessity for showing respect to crops because of their relationship to the saints is expressed in the following account:

[539] *Corn must be treated with respect, since it is the body of the Virgin. You cannot step on anything which is for eating—beans, corn, or wheat —or the Virgin will become angry. Particular care has to be taken at the harvest to avoid offending the saints.*

Some of the saints serve man by helping to spread the cultivation of crops, as in the case of San Isidro, the patron saint of milpas.

[539] *The Padre told us that San Isidro helps the farmers. Formerly there was only milpa here where there is irrigated land. San Isidro went up to the*

hilltop with a digging stick. He knelt and prayed, asking for rain. At that very moment, the rain came. He put the seeds in the holes he made, and from then on people have been planting in the hills.

Other saints are charged with providing rainfall. The saint of greatest importance in this respect is Santo Tomás, the patron saint of Oxchuk. Some Indians have gone to the church there to light a candle and ask for rain, and on their return the rains came. During an extended drought in August 1967, over one hundred people walked to Oxchuk to pray for rain. The people of Tzoʔontahal are somewhat bitter about the Oxchuqueños' neglect of Santo Tomás since over half of the town has converted to Protestantism. Whenever there is a drought, they blame it on the failure of the people of Oxchuk to take care of Santo Tomás.

In addition to the Catholic saints, the ancestor spirits help man to watch over the land. They are responsible for giving the rains in the planting period and early growing season. The fiesta on the Day of the Cross (Chapter 1) is primarily a plea for rain. Until the 1950s, the curers would hold a celebration at the Cave of the Ancestors to ask for rain during a drought. The waning belief in the presence of the ancestor spirits in the town has meant that there is less attention given to such fiestas. Some go to seek the ancestors in Chiapa de Corzo in the cave in which they are supposed to reside, as the following story illustrates:

One time my three brothers-in-law went to Chiapas to ask the ancestors for better crops. When they arrived there, nobody knew where the cave was. They said only a certain mayordomo there could find it.

Another time, two of the prayer-reciters went to the cave. They talked to the guard of the cave, saying, "May we speak to our ancestors?" The guard said, "Are you prepared? Did you bring two liters of trago? The ancestors like to drink."

The prayer-reciters went to get two liters of trago and all three drank it. While they were drinking, they saw a cow and chickens appear. The guardian said that if they came back in May with "food" for the ancestors —candles, incense, and firecrackers—they would get rich crops. I think the prayer-reciters succeeded because now they have a cow and chickens and a horse. They are afraid of the envy of their neighbors.

764 [43] *give five or ten pesos are helped by God. Those who give nothing end at their burial with nothing.*

If the death occurs in the night, the body will be buried on the following day. During the wake, called "watching over the dead," relatives of the father, mother, and spouse of the deceased, as well as compadres and neighbors, watch over the body so that the devil cannot enter and steal the [608] soul. If the dead person's padrino is alive, he serves as first *nakawane* and [273] greets the guests. Liquor is served constantly. The women serve coffee and [574] tamales or tortillas to the visitors at midnight.

At midnight the woman who is closest of kin cries for the dead. This is a stylized crying in which the mourner speaks of how the dead man passed his life. If she is his widow, she weeps for the misery she will face. [539] Mourning for herself, she repeats:

How can I eat now with my children?
You will not see how I shall live.
You are of one heart in the ground.
But you do not see how I shall eat with the children.

If the death has been a violent one, the widow may express her sentiments about the blamelessness of her husband, or she may suggest that accusations that he was a witch are true by saying she knew nothing of what he did at night. In any case, people listen carefully to what she sings because it may give some basis for speculating whether there will be an attempt to avenge his death.

On the day of the burial, the coffin is lined with a new straw mat, and all the dead man's used clothing except for his kotonču is placed inside. A gourd drinking cup with *posol,* a spiced corn gruel, is placed near the dead man's mouth along with a tortilla. A metal cup cannot be used to hold water in the coffin because it does not have a soul as does the gourd vessel, which comes from a living plant. If the deceased is a man or boy, his hat is placed next to his head and his sandals are set beside his feet. A cross made of palm is put in the coffin to ward off the devil. If the deceased is a child, his head is adorned witha wreath of paper flowers set on a kerchief which is bound around his head.

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755 has been made at the time of the house inauguration. Food for the chick-
776 en—bread, chocolate, tortilla, and liquor—is put in the hole so it will stay
342 alive for eight days.

The logic of the meal is that the house needs nourishment and for this reason has been fighting with the inmates and causing their illness. After the guests have been fed, the curer marks a cross with a mixture of garlic, creosote, seeds of mustard, and a "hot" herb called poščan, on the center post inside the house and on the corner posts. Like the candles, the cross serves to "blind the eye" of the evil spirits so that they will not reenter the house and talk the spirit of the house into causing harm.

This ceremony replicates that of the house meal at the time of the inauguration (Chapter 1). The music of the guitar and gourd rattle is intended to make both the soul of the house and the souls of the inmates content. Why the curing of the house is always done on Thursday, when "the holy earth is open," is not fully understood by the curers I have questioned; they say, "We have forgotten how to talk to the earth." Chamula curers are reputed to be able to talk to the earth, and consultations may be sought with them if the illness continues.

755 *Prayer*. The curers talk with the soul of the thirteen ancestors of
776 the world,[5] to the "spirits of the heaven and of the church," and to saints
782 of neighboring towns, asking for a good cure. The following prayer is one
• [539] given by the oldest and most honored of the curers:

Sacred earth, sacred world
Thirteen holy world, holy flowers
In the center of another holy world

Look mother, its clay
I am a child, its clay.
Holy heaven, Jesus Christ
Holy herbs give the spirit

[801] 5. The number 13 has significance in the Maya cosmology in the 13 levels of heaven (Thompson 1964:125). The 13 candles set before the curing arch symbolize the 13 holy worlds. The meal for the house spirit includes 13 cigarettes.

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The companions of the patient
are gathered here with his father
In the center of this other holy
earth
Holy earth, take out the fever.

The curer then calls upon each of the saints of the surrounding towns, asking for help in bringing about a miracle. First he calls upon the major saints of the pueblo (Santa Lucía, San Francisco, Santiago, San Pedro the Martyr, and the Virgen de Rosario), then those of Teopisca (San Augustín and the Virgen de Mercedes), of San Cristóbal (San Cristóbal and Justo Juez), of Villa Carranza (Señor del Pozo and San Bartolo), of Socoltenango (the Virgen de Candelaria), of Villa las Rosas (San Miguel and San José), of Comitán (Santo Domingo, San Caralampio, and the Virgen de Santa Teresa), and finally Señor Esquipulas of Tulanca. Thus he defines the meaningful spiritual universe of the village, building a kind of hegemony of defense and protection.

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At any point throughout the cure the patient may consult the doctor sent by the I.N.I., the priest, or the schoolteacher, all of whom compete with each other in gaining clients by dispensing medicines. This does not undermine the role of the curer since curing the disease is considered a separate issue from stopping the witchcraft which is causing it. The disease may be cured, but the persistence of the witchcraft will eventually cause death through spiritual malaise unless treated by the curer.

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[776]

All the people of the village know the common herbs and the sicknesses for which they should be used. The basis for the curer's power thus is not specialized knowledge of medicines, but the strength of his swayohel in fighting that of the enemy, and his esoteric knowledge of pulsing.

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Formerly curers received minimal pay for practicing. The family of the patient offered about 20 pesos or worked in the fields of the curer. Curers refused larger payments because they said their skill came from God, and it would be a sin to accept money for it. This practice is continued today by one old curer for patients within the community. However, he receives from 100 to 200 pesos from out-of-town patients. A Ladina from the neigh-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 156]

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After another
mouthwash, the b'alnialetik lay a cloth on a small table which is put in the center of the porch, and two liters of trago and a measuring glass are laid on this. The Cofrade of Santa Lucia rises and asks permission of the women, the mayordomos, and all the b'alnialetik to drink the liquor, saying: "God, mother who nurses us, give permission to us so that the water of his body, the water of his hand, the gift will pass in our bodies, that which is the gift of the me?tiktatik. God speaks, tat nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik. Give us permission to hand the gift that will pass in your body from the me?tiktatik. God, Jesus, Mary, only one commander God is three persons. Bless what we eat and what we drink and bless in the name of God the father. God, take the gift, me?eštateš."

794 527 [273] [782] [539]

The mayordomos, b'alnialetik, and nakawanehetik then make the sign of the cross. The Cofrade of the Virgin Santa Lucia blesses the liquor, saying, "In God's name, God the father, name of God, God the son, Holy Spirit. Yes, I can endure doing what they did, what our mother and what our father did, with my hand which has sinned and my feet which have sinned. Yes, we are changing office on this holy day, this holy year the holy saint, with the holy oath and in the name of God the Father."

The mayordomos drink four measures of liquor, then raise the rest of the drinks to their lips without drinking and take the glass over to one of the nakawanehetik. In this way they show the restraint to which they have been urged in the speeches. At eleven o'clock they leave for the church, putting their red kerchiefs around their necks along with the rosaries. As they set out, the elder nakawane says so the new mayordomos: "May you all get up and go to the church. May you all enter inside the church. May you take the oath inside the church before the face of the fiscal. After you take the oath, make the sign of the cross before the face of the Tatik Jesus Christ. After you have made the sign of the cross, when you enter inside the door of the church, the mamal new kobraria will give the account to the mamal old kobraria."

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Sitting within the church are the old mayordomos and the fiscal who have remained there after the mass. They are awaiting the new mayordomos. Two of them play the drum and the flute. The new mayordomos enter, the elder and junior mayordomo of each saint walking together, and kneel before the image of Tatik Jesus Christ. The church has been ar-

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776 177 The two groups of spirits differ in their traditional characteristics and functions. The spirits of the heaven "look to see where everyone is going," "look and listen to all that people say," "are very alive," and "are of the world." In contrast to them, the spirits of the church "are not alive," "do not speak," "do not do anything," "are only of the pueblo." Thus the spirits of the heaven are universal; those of the church are particular. The saints' images which are kept in the church of the town are not considered to represent the same person as these same images in other towns. This [171] conception of saints as local and distinct personalities is found in other Maya Indian towns and differs from that of orthodox Catholicism.

The lord spirits of the heaven. The spirits of the heaven are God the Father, *Tios Tatil,* God the Son, *Tios Nič'anil,* and the Holy Spirit, *Spiritusantú.* Table 27 indicates the identification made between these major figures and pre-hispanic spiritual entities.

[192] TABLE 27. Pre- and Post-Hispanic Equivalents of the Lord Spirits of the Heavens

Post-Hispanic spirits		*Pre-Hispanic spirits*
Tios Tatil (God the Father)	=	B'alamilal (The World) B'ankilal (Elder Brother)
Tios Nič'anil (God the Son, Jesus Christ)	=	Sčeb'al B'ankilal (Second Brother)
Spiritusantú (Holy Spirit)	=	Tatik K'ahk'al (The Lord Sun) K'ol (referential, Last Child) Šut (vocative, proper name) ʔihtz'in (Younger Brother)
Meʔ Santú (Virgin Mary)	=	Meʔtikčič ʔu (Our Grandmother the Moon)

776 539 177 The "mystery" of the Trinity is "explained" in the following story in which pre-hispanic deities are identified with the Christian deities.

Many years ago, the Lord Sun [Tatik K'ak'al] *did not walk as now. He was only hanging in the heavens. Our Grandmother the Moon* [Meʔtik Čič ʔu] *bore three sons named God the Father* [Tios Tatil], the Elder *Brother; God the Son, Second Brother; and a third named K'ol, or Last One. The first brother did not turn out bright nor did the second brother. It was the youngest brother, K'ol, who was the brightest. When the Elder*

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Brother was in heaven, there never was night. He never rested from his work.

One day K'oš said to his brother, "Let us go for a walk. We will get honey and eat it. I know where there is a tree." He told his mother to make tortillas to take with them. She made many tortillas for K'oł to eat, and in addition made two small tortillas.

His mother asked K'oš, "Why do you want to go out walking?"

He replied, "I am going to find honey. Wait for me to return."

K'oš and his two older brothers walked until they arrived at the tree with the honey. The Elder Brother said, "I shall climb very high."

K'oš said, "I too will climb."

The Elder Brother said, "Do not climb. Wait and I shall throw the honey down. You cannot climb the tree, Šut" [for this is what they called K'oš].

K'oš just waited for his brother to throw down the honey. K'oł got very angry because the Elder Brother just threw down beeswax.[1] *An animal entered the trunk of the tree and started eating the root. The tree shook, frightening the two brothers. They called out, "What are you doing, Šut?"*

"Nothing. I am not doing anything. Why don't you give me good honey?"

"Go on and drink it," the older brothers said.

"I don't like it. It isn't any good," replied K'oš.

He did nothing for a while. Then the tree fell. K'oš saw the tree fall. He went and got the two small tortillas his mother had packed in his lunch, and he put one on the Elder Brother's nose. His brother turned into a pig. He tried to put the other tortilla on the Second Brother's nose, but he could not seize him. The Second Brother turned into a wild boar, and fled into the forest. He brought the Elder Brother to his house. When he arrived at his house with his little pig, he said to his mother, "Mother, I have brought a little pig to raise."

"Where did you find it?" his mother asked.

"I just brought it," replied K'oš.

1. In recounting this passage, the narrator laughed, and when I asked why, said that the word for beeswax is also the word for excrement. She commented that K'oł was very bright because he would not tolerate this.

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776 *"Is there food for it?" asked his mother.*
539 *"I am going to plant a milpa to feed the little pig. You stay here and*
177 *watch the little pig and I will go."*

"Yes, I will care for it," said his mother.

K'ol went to plant his milpa. As he was leaving, he said to his mother, "I will return in the afternoon."

His mother said, "I shall await you in the afternoon."

When K'ol returned, his mother asked, "How is your milpa?"

He replied, "It isn't ready. Tomorrow I am going to burn it because it is just a forest."

The next day, K'ol returned to his milpa. Everything he had cut had grown back in his milpa. He asked himself, "How did it spring up? I am going to wait and see who is causing the trouble." He waited and saw a bird entering the milpa. The bird said, "I don't want to have the woods burned!"

K'ol said, "I am going to start the fire."

He started the fire, and then he said, "I am going to where the day meets the heaven." He picked up the fire of his milpa, saying, "My brother does not know how to walk. I am going to walk around and return."

Now the day walks in front and the night walks behind.[2]

The story has an aftermath which describes the continuing relationship between the Lord Sun, K'ol, and his mother, Our Grandmother the Moon.

The Lord Sun sees all of our sins and puts them in a book. If anyone has sexual relations in the milpa, he puts it down. When he sees this, he gets angry because he walks alone. He wants to end the world since he does not endure our sins. But Our Grandmother the Moon does not want

[184] 2. There are other versions of this story in neighboring Tzeltal-speaking communities. Castro (1959:24–31) gives an Oxchuk version in which the identification of the three brothers with the Christian Trinity is not made. But, the vocative term used in the Tzo$^{\text{?}}$-ontahal version, is given as the name of the youngest brother, who succeeded in giving a new sun to the world. But in outwitting his brothers with the honey, But killed them rather than turning them into pigs. A Chol version (Whittaker and Warkentin 1965) is closer to that of Oxchuk. [171]

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the sun to kill people. She is afraid that if all the people die, other people will come who have just one hand and one foot. They will not be able to work. Our Grandmother the Moon wants things as they are. So she fights the Sun, and then there is an eclipse. For this reason, people say that she bears our sins.

The tales occasionally try to bring the old gods into focus with the Christian gods and to explain certain cosmological events, for example the eclipse and the movement in the heavens of the sun and the moon. The synthesis is incomplete. First of all, the small part Jesus (Second Brother) plays in the first myth, in which he finally disappears into the forest, shows a failure to fit the three gods into the pre-hispanic format which included only two main characters. Secondly, the myths fail to synthesize the codes of morality stemming from Maya and Christian sources. In Christian mythology, the deities are conceived of as perfect. They are not identified with the sun, but are the power of creation which brought forth the sun and made it move. Destructive forces come from the evil power of the Devil. The deities of the Indians incorporate both good and evil. Cosmological forces are the gods acting directly either to promote or destroy man's work. Even the Grandmother Moon, who shows compassion for her grandchildren, can be piqued into destroying their crops.

In another tale the personification of good and evil in separate characters shows greater influence from Catholicism. Jesus emerges as the hero who, with the collaboration of the Virgin Mary, outwits the Devil.

After Jesus was crucified, the King of the Jews[3] *called upon people to sow a staff to prove who moves the world. Jesus planted the seed, but the Jews did not let them grow. He did it again, and only one leg came out and one hand came out. Therefore the plant did not stand because the "King of Evil" was watching.*

Jesus and his mother had an idea. He spoke to her, saying, "What do you think, Mother?" She replied, "The only thing I can say is, what can we think of?"

The Lord Christ replied, "Our children and offspring [the milpa] do

3. The Devil is alternately called King of the Jews [Statal Jurio], King of Evil [Statal Pukuh], and the Devil in the story.

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776 539 177 *not stand. Only one stands—he who does not respect us." The Virgin Mother said, "Yes, I saw another one who walks well watching our children." Jesus asked, "Did you get a good look where he walks?" His mother replied, "Yes, indeed, I saw him." Christ asked, "If you know, what are we going to do there where he walks?" "I do not know what we shall do," said his mother.*

Then, after a pause, Christ said, "Now I know what we will do! Do you know what hour he passes?" The Virgin answered, "Yes, I do."

"Good. I am going to make a little house and put a Victrola, an accordion, and also a violin in it. I will put a marimba, a guitar, and a harp on each side of the road. And I shall also put trago and beer, everything that is good to drink. When you see him coming, we will begin to play the marimba and guitar and all the music on both sides of the road. When you see the King of Evil, we will begin the dance and drink trago—everything there is—and he will look at what we drink."

The Virgin said, "I will invite him to dance a little." "Yes, you remain here dancing, and I shall go for a moment to see his children [corn plants]. Continue dancing while I go out to look," said Christ. The Virgin answered, "Good. Good."

And so the Devil passed by. When Christ left, the Virgin began to dance with the Devil. They drank more liquor to make him "lose his heart" [get drunk]. The Virgin did not see that the Devil put his tail in half of the bottle. It is because of this that the people say liquor is one-half Devil and one-half God.

Meanwhile, Jesus arrived where the children of the Devil were. He made no more than the sign of the cross, and all the children of the Devil died. It is after the Children of the Devil died that Christ seized control of the world.

And so it is true that we are his children who came out of Jesus Christ.

In this tale, evil is personified in the enemy of the Catholic Church, the King of the Jews who is also the pre-hispanic "King of Evil." The Virgin Mother is concerned with preventing the world from reverting to the situation in which people were born helpless, with just one arm and one leg, as it was when the Devil was in control. To prevent this, when the moon is "sick" or in eclipse, the people must call her back to life. The strategy is

[821] [789]

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to make a great deal of noise by striking hoes, firing rifles, blowing the horns of bulls, and striking gourds. The logic of this behavior can be understood from the following statement of an informant: "The sickness of the moon is a result of the conflict of the sun with the moon. The noise we made frightens the father sun so that he will stop fighting the moon. If he were to win, the people would die, and new people would be born with only one leg and one arm."[4]

We have in this story what appears to be an overlay of post-hispanic mythology, in which the Devil personifies evil forces, superimposed on a prehispanic mythological identification of the powers of both good and evil in single cosmological deities. Whereas in the previous myth it is the Devil, the King of the Jews, who caused all of the children of Jesus to die and to be reborn with only one arm and one leg, in this statement it is the sun who can effect the same reversal of nature. The sun, Tatik K'alik, has the power to cause the milpa to grow, but by staying out too long, it can burn the crop. Similarly lightning, Tatik Ča'uk, may bring rain, but can destroy the milpa with the winds that precede the rain or kill man and destroy his house. Man is responsible for determining how the force of the gods will be directed.

The guardianship of the sun and the moon over the people of the world serves to control or at least restrain the behavior of people. Since both of them "walk alone," without companionship, they become jealous if they see sexual relations performed by people in the milpa. Since all legal sexual relations are carried out in the relative privacy of the house, it is only those who seek illicit relationships who retreat to the milpa, and so this restraint has a prohibitive effect on unsanctioned sexual behavior. If the moon sees someone in the milpa at night, she refuses to retire and stays out, not letting her son the sun rise. Similarly, when the sun sees someone in the milpa in the daytime, he refuses to retire, burning the milpa with his hot rays.

The lord spirits of the east. There is another category of spirits which is ill defined and not many people know. These are the spirits of

4. The same behavior, that of making noise during an eclipse, is found in the Maya Indian community of Cantel, Guatemala, but there it is interpreted as a means of calling the sick grandmother back to life by showing that her grandchildren care about her.

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776 the east. Each of these is responsible for giving something to men: one gave corn, one wheat, one bulls, one horses, and one pigs. These spirits are recognized in the context of the household only: at the end of each household ceremony, the assembled guests stand and look to the East where the gods reside in a place called Santo Arió, somewhere in Guatemala. Since their gifts to mankind are products which are produced and consumed by the household, and since they are recognized in the context of the house, there is some basis for thinking of them as old household gods. Calnek (1962:61) has pointed out that among the ancient Maya, household gods were part of "a hierarchically ordered series of deities, worship or propitiation of which progressively links him not with other individuals conceived particularistically, but to all larger social units of which he is a member."

776 539 177 The only case I know in which an identification is made between these household gods and the saints concerns Santa Teresa:

Once long ago the owners began to harvest their milpas, and they put the corn in a pile. When the harvest was finished, they began to beat the corn from the cob. When they carried off the corn, some of the seed [sb'ak'] *remained.*

A man passed by and heard a saint talking. He asked what she said, and she replied, "Nothing. I said that you should tell the Padre to pick me up and put my body (also sb'ak') in a church. I want a church for myself, and I shall wait here until you come to carry me inside the church. I do not want any companion. I don't want you to throw away the corn seeds, nor do I want you to burn the seeds because they are my bones. Make a good fiesta and bring me into the church with firecrackers and with prayers. Raise me high on a pedestal because I do not want to be kissed, I only want my feet to be kissed."

And now there is a church for Santa Teresa standing in a milpa outside of Comitán, in which she lives alone since there is no companion for her.

776 177 *The lord spirits of the church.* Among the sixteen saints of the church, four "big saints"—Sacramento, San Pedro the Martyr, Santa Lucía, and San Francisco—are distinguished from the others. All four are considered by the Indians to be patron saints of the pueblo, although the

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priest lists only one, San Francisco. Only these top four are hierarchically ordered. The big saints are supposed to be able to make miracles, but there are stories only for San Pedro and Santa Lucía. San Pedro Martyr, *Tatik Martil,* is the only saint possessing a soul. The image of San Pedro shows him with a hatchet in his head, blood dripping over his face. According to legend, San Pedro was the first patron saint of the town. The following story recounts his transformation: 776 177 776 754 539 177

Tatik Martil was of a very foreign kind of heart. He gave permission to the witches to bring sickness. Only those who knew how to make illness spoke with him. They went and asked permission to make the illness continue. People heard he was very evil, and they threw him out of church. They cut off his head, saying, "You only give evil. You do not give any miracles. You have given the old ones permission to give evil."

San Pedro received a new head in Pinola. Now he is good and is of one heart with the Virgin Santa Lucía, with Sacramento, and with San Francisco.

The logic by which San Pedro is cast as leader of the witches is implicit in judgments concerning guilt in cases of homicide. Any man who is killed is referred to as the guilty person, since protecting the village from witchcraft is the main motivation for homicide. When an early priest set up an image of San Pedro in the church, this must have inspired fear and foreboding. He was transmogrified by the people into the leader of the witches, and they burned the church to the ground. (Its foundations are still visible in Alannantik.) Whether the priest at that time (around 1746) convinced the people that, with a new head purchased in Pinola, San Pedro was transformed, or whether the people invented the story, we do not know. Despite his reformation, San Pedro still inspires fear. He is identified with the Lord of Lightning, Tatik Čaʾuk. The following is a typical account of his power: 776 754 177 174 [674] 776 821 539 177

This power comes from his possession of an animal spirit. Whenever the lightning strikes, people know that some sin has been committed. The old people say that he asked a son-in-law to put down a lightning flash. The son-in-law couldn't do it—I don't know why he couldn't do his work—

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776 821 539 177 *and so he returned and the Lord of Lightning gave him another job—that of making lightning flashes.*

San Pedro now gives protection to the people from the power he wields. 776 177 789 During his fiesta, palm crosses are distributed to everyone who attends mass; if a man walks with a cross tucked in his hat or a woman wears one strung on her neck, he or she will not be struck by lightning. The houses are similarly protected with palm crosses.

776 177 Santa Lucía is the only other saint in the local roster who is described as being "very powerful." She is supposed to be able to cure diseases of the eyes. The image of her in the church shows her holding two eyes reflected in a small mirror in the palm of her hand. The story which explains why 776 177 539 821 she holds them was told me with an expression of complete belief, and other informants vouch for its authenticity:

Formerly, Santa Lucía used to "talk with" [a euphemism for "had an affair with"] Santo Tomás of Oxchuk. Santo Tomás loved her because she was pretty. Santa Lucía was so in love with Santo Tomás that she gave him a gift of her eyes. He did not want them—he was frightened by the gift—and he returned them. From then on, she did not speak to him. Now, when a child has sickness of his eyes, his mother buys medicine and takes it to Santa Lucía who gives her blessing, and the child gets well.

They say the lightning struck the church in Oxchuk, and it was the fault of Santa Lucía. But then a few years ago it struck our church. And that was the fault of Santo Tomás. He is very strong.

"I am going to see how she will pay for that!" said Santo Tomás.

And in ten years a storm came and broke the tower of our church. There was a meeting of the principales. They said, "Let's sell the cattle of Santa Lucía so that we can build a new church." The tower was struck another time. All the married men had to contribute forty pesos each. We made it out of metal this time, because Santo Tomás is very strong.

821 776 On a conscious level, most people know that the earth is round, and that the sun revolves around it, but the motivating power behind natural phenomena is still conceived in personalized terms. One informant, when asked why the sun rises and sets, ventured cautiously, "I have heard that our Father, the Sun, revolves and that he goes down below the earth. But

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796 boring towns of Oxchuk, Larraínzar, and Chenalhó. The ceremonial calendar is given in Table 28.

TABLE 28. Ceremonial Calendar

Big fiestas		*Small fiestas*	
Date	*Fiesta*	*Date*	*Fiesta*
Mar. or Apr.	Tatik Kulibal	Jan. 20	Tatik San Karalampio
Apr. 29	Tatik Martil	May 6	Tatik San Migel
July 25	Tatik Santiagú	May 15	Tatik San Isigre
Aug. 29	Tatik San Pransiskú	May 26	Tatik Spiritu Santú
Nov. 29	Santú?	June 11	Tatik San Antonió
Dec. 13	Me?tik Santa Luciá	June 29	San Pegro-San Pablú
		July 15	Tatik Korasón
		July 20	Tatik San Huan
		Oct. 2	Me?tik Rosario
		Nov. 12	Me?tik Guadalupe
		Dec. 12	Tatik Santo Tomás
		Dec. 25	Me?tik Paskú, Tatik Ninyo

[533] In every fiesta drums and flutes are played, liquor is drunk, candles [788] burned, and church bells rung. During a big fiesta, which continues for [794] three days rather than for a single day, these additional activities are [273] added: contributions of 5 pesos per household are collected, the church is adorned with flowers and greens, mass is held (this may occur in minor fiestas as well if the priest happens to be present), a common meal is prepared for the mayordomos, and the people celebrate with firecrackers, saints' processions, dancing, house fiestas in the homes of the alfereces when they were still being installed, and a fiesta in the houses of the kobraria with a bull slaughtered for the meal.

[273] During fiestas, time is measured in liters of liquor consumed and in cig- [276] arettes. The liquor, or "gift of the gods," is the basic element of all fiestas and assures the participants that the celebration will be successful. Safe- [794] guards were built into the management of the fiesta in the role of *alisiles*, who used to act as attendants to the alfereces and who watched to see that the alfereces and the guitarists did not get so drunk that they could not perform.

796 The following story about the origin of liquor illustrates its great impor- 273 tance to the fiesta.
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Well, hear now how liquor first appeared. They were looking and looking for a bullfighter. But there was none to be found. There was no one drunk enough to make a fiesta. With no one to make a fiesta, there was no fiesta. Therefore Santa Lucía and Santiago wanted to make a fiesta. Santa Lucía said, "There is no one to make a fiesta. I better go take a bath. When the water comes to wash me, then we can have a fiesta. It is because now you are very frightened. You cannot mount on horseback. No one will fight the bull because there is no liquor. You are not prepared because you have to have a liter of trago."

"Good," said Santiago. After Santa Lucía and Santiago spoke they took the water from Santa Lucía's bath and took out of it one liter of trago. They distributed one liter to all and we changed. They built a beautiful corral and everyone in the town gathered.

Well, when they had arrived, they gave a little liquid in the little cup. After drinking a little, it gave strength. Well, everyone changed greatly. Those who drank the trago found strength with each drink. But since many drank, no one got drunk. They finished one liter and then another, but no one got drunk. "Better get another," said someone. They got one more liter, and with this they began the fiesta. One after another mounted on horseback, and fought the bull. Thus they fought, one horse tied to another. How they fought that fiesta! Thus they went on, getting more and more drunk, until the women hid it.

It is thus that liquor appeared by the grace of our patron God. It is for this reason that we say in the pat?o?tan "the washings of his legs and of his arms our saint and leader Jesus Christ, the great master holy Jesus Christ, Santiago, Santa Lucía. So we gather at the door, our clay, our mud." We speak these words because of the liquor, because God gave the trago only by washing himself, only by his powerful urine. There was no trago for the old forefathers because the washings were given to their offspring. So it is that liquor appeared according to this story. Later it was related in the pat?o?tan. Now it is the custom for everyone.

This story is somewhat confused since it is Santa Lucía who took the bath and Jesus Christ who is given the credit. Others have told me that the first liquor appeared when Jesus was taken from the cross and his

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796 body was washed. The confusion may come not from error, but from an
539 identification of the patron saints with Jesus. The importance of the story
273 is that liquor, as the gift of the gods, is the medium for releasing people from their fears.

796 The small fiestas are the responsibility of only the two mayordomos, the
794 elder and the junior, who are assigned to the saint. They ring the church bells, light the candles, and play the drum and flute until noon. In the large fiestas all the mayordomos are active, as well as the fiscal and the priest, the prayer-reciters, and formerly the alfereces. The entire pueblo participates in the mass given at the large fiestas and assembles to "see the saints" when they emerge in the procession.

The proceedings of the fiesta take place in the church and the church yard, the house of the cofrade of the major saint whose fiesta it is, the plaza, and formerly, the house of the alférez of that saint. In each of these domains different sets of actors are tied together by acts performed in carrying out responsibilities to the saints. The chain of command is established in each setting: in the church the mayordomos are directed by the fiscal; in the household the eldest nakawane orders the b'alnial and re-
[562] ceives the visitors with the pat'o'tan. He is the master of ceremonies, as in all household gatherings, and his female counterpart is the woman speaker. She orders the women helpers in the preparation of the food, which is then served by the b'alnialetik. Religious officials hold ceremonies in their houses only after they have served five times in office.

796 In the household, religious ceremonies replicate civil ceremonies. A mouthwash is served, followed by coffee and bean tamales, another round of mouthwash, an offering of thanks for the liquor by the nakawane, and
[534] a serving of liquor. Musical instruments played in the household differ from those of the church yard: a guitar and gourd rattle provide the accompaniment to the drinking episode here. Fiestas held in the household of the alfereces were terminated with a dance.

Choosing and Installing the Alférez

794 Formerly the alfereces were the chief figures in maintaining the fiesta
178 cycle. During my stay in 1964 and 1965 the officials were experiencing

794 796 *guests. They borrowed benches from neighbors; they cut juniper and prepared the resting place for the sacred banner; they borrowed seed-gourd rattles and two tables, and they adorned the house with pine branches and fruit. In the afternoon, all the relatives, the compadres, and the neighbors were invited. Two alisiles were appointed (this term is probably a Tzeltal rendition of* alguacil, *in Spanish an office corresponding to high bailiff or peace officer). The alisiles were charged with watching to see that neither the new alférez nor either of his two guitarists got too drunk to carry out his functions.*

794 796 535 562 [626] [154] *The two alisiles called out the women to dance, first asking permission of the woman speaker. The dance was the most important act in the set of performances on the third day, which was sometimes referred to as the "afternoon of the big dance." The dance was a highly charged event because the women were for the first time cast in a public role. Fear and shame, the two conditioning mechanisms of socialization in Tzo?ontahal, had to be overcome when the women became involved in the dance. Special precautions were taken: the alisil formally requested the woman speaker to take the women out:*

[539] *Lord, women who nursed us, give pardon with God, the Virgin Mother. Give holy pardon mother and father with God and with the Virgin Mother. We have gathered here, collected together your child, your offspring, where it is not very pretty, not very flavorful, at the door of your holy poverty, holy suffering, for the holy office, the holy prayer. Again our clay, our mud comes to speak here to the mothers who nursed, who give us fear and embarrassment.*

Then the alfereces took off their hats and kerchiefs and brought them to the women. This act was described by an informant: "The women cover their heads with the kerchief and put on the hat. The girls want the handkerchief and the hat of their husbands in order not to be ashamed to be seen by a boy. They want the kerchief to hide their faces. If they do not want the hat, it is when they are mature women and do not have shame. The wives of the alfereces do not have shame because it is their job." The use of the kerchief which was draped over their head, partially covering

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794 during the fiesta of Santiago and Easter Week. These are described briefly
796 below.

Fiesta of Santiago. *On the third day of the fiesta the new alférez went to "raise" his three companions. First he went to the house of the alférez who had recently served. There he greeted the nakawanehetik with the pat?o?tan, drank a measure of liquor, and went with the third alférez to the house of the second alférez. The same greeting was exchanged with the nakawanehetik, and the two drank another measure of liquor. They went to the house of the first past alférez, and there they exchanged a greeting with the nakawanehetik in which they comment on the "flowery and flavorful" fiesta for "our old saint and commander, the great angel man Señor Santiago." From there they mounted their horses and began the races.*

[276] [273] *Each of the horseback riders was given a quarter-liter of liquor and a cigarette. Three liters of liquor were distributed at the holy cross (site of a cross no longer standing). The four alfereces stood at the cross, removed their hats, which they stacked one on top of the other, and put them nearby. The four took turns kissing and bowing before the others. They said, "Holy good afternoon," and gave two holy thanks for the gift (the liquor), embracing each other. After the four alfereces greeted each other and the three alisiles, the leader of the races gave the pat?o?tan with the past alférez:*

794 796 539

> *And good day. What do you see, Mam compadre? You are alive, word of God this holy afternoon. You have not heard of any sickness behind our heart this holy afternoon, Mam compadre? There is no fear, shame, Mam compadre. Give another pardon Lord with Virgin. Give me holy pardon, Mam compadre. See us gathered before you seated our bodies, our clay, our mud, Mam compadre. What can we do, what can we make here where we have arrived again? Speak, raise godchild, afternoon of holy fiesta godchild afternoon of holy child's fiesta of him our saint, our commander. What can we do, what can we make when we have found this holy hour, this holy day of our lord Santiago Calixtro, for our patron god? Where now is the water of her legs, the water of her hand* [liquor], *our saint, virgin*

mother? There is nothing but holy suffering, holy penitence here 794
before our sinful clay, our sinful mud. Again we gather here where 796
others have gathered before in the company of our ancestors, the holy 539
alisiles with the liquor bearers. It is your burden the four of you, the holy work, your holy office for his godchildren again give his godchild at the gate of the door of the church our saint, our keeper, the great father Señor Santiago Calixtro for our patron God, again we gather before this doorway our bodies, our clay, our mud with the holy alisit with our costume. Only give a little liquor, the gift of [273]
your mothers, your fathers, mam compadre.

The two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik received one liter of liquor, and the 794
same quota was given to the two alfereces of Alannantik. They drank 796
some and poured off most of the measured shots into the bottles carried by [273]
the liquor bearers; then they smoked a cigarette. When they finished this, they raised their banners and entered the plaza on horseback. The bell of the church struck as they entered. About four o'clock, two columns of 794
horsemen formed, one behind the two alfereces of Alannantik and one be- 796
hind the two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik. One year I observed thirty-eight 526
horsemen from Ahk'olnantik and fifteen from Alannantik. The imbalance [621]
in representation for the two sides of the dual division grew sharper each year as the population increased in Ahk'olnantik. Before starting the race, the four alfereces crossed themselves, facing first the church, then the ca-bildo. As the race began, the mayordomos played the drums and flute in [533]
the church yard and the nakawanehetik sat in front of the church wall.

When the racers made four passes across the plaza, they came to drink another trago and smoke two cigarettes in front of the church. At the end [273]
of the race, they again drank and smoked the same measured quantities as [276]
the pat?o?tan was recited by the leader of the races.

On Sk'ak'halel Sk'in, *the same procedures occurred as on the previous day. The final act of the fiesta took place when, after the races, the alfer-eces dismounted and the nakawanehetik went to them and drank one liter* [273]
of liquor before the leader of the races. The two most recently appointed alfereces entered the cabildo, where the banners were laid out on the table among orange and lemon leaves. The president, síndico, two judges, and

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People who fail to conform to the customs of the town are said to lack "reason." This category includes those who do not attend to the advice of their elders. People from outside of town who do not behave in conventional patterns are said to be "of another sort."

Institutionalized patterns of behavior differ as to the degree of explicitness of the association between action and reason. Curing practices are most directly attached to an understanding of why they are performed. Ritual practices in the cult of the spirits are tied to a more general explanatory system in which something should be done "because it was the custom of our ancestors."

Competency. Judgments concerning the intelligence of a person and his ability to adjust to his social and physical environment complement the criteria of morality and reasonableness. Alertness, or intelligence is associated with the possession of more than one soul: a person may have from one to a dozen additional souls. Curers and witches, by virtue of their possession of an animal spirit, are by definition very intelligent. Evaluations of alertness are often made in discussing the personalities of others. In the myth concerning the three brothers and the honey (Chapter 8) God, the Elder Brother, was described as "not very bright," Jesus Christ, the Second Brother, as "a little brighter," and the Holy Ghost, the Youngest Brother as "the brightest." Alertness is usually associated with manipulation for one's own advantage, but is not necessarily antithetical to having a good heart. In the myth mentioned above, the youngest brother outwits his two older brothers to his own advantage, and coincidentally that of the world.

The word *b'ol* is used figuratively to express the opposite of alertness, stupidity. Literally it means one who is mute; the connection is significant. A child born mute is said to have had its soul stolen at birth so that he must exist without speech. The power of speech is highly valued and the prestigeful roles are accorded to those who can speak well in both formal and informal exchanges. It is a dangerous skill, since the ability to talk to the gods gives an advantage to the speaker over the general population. The ability to speak to the earth, a talent which people say the ancestors possessed and which curers in the neighboring town of Chamula still

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APPENDIX I—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
*62 124	13. What time does he begin to raise the officials?		He gets up early about 6 A.M.	
796 624	14. How does the fourth regidor raise the other officials?	First he goes to get the third regidor. Then they go to the second. The three go to collect the first. After all are together, the four go to the house of the first judge	The fourth regidor goes to the house of the third regidor. They leave and go to the house of the second regidor, then to the house of the first regidor. Then they go to the síndico's house. Leave and go to the house of the judge	
*62 124 796 693	15. How do the judges join together?	First the two assistant judges call on the second judge. Then the three go to the house of the first judge	The assistant judge for Ahk'olnantik goes to raise assistant for Alapnantik. The two go to the house of the second judge. Then they go to the house of the first judge	I arrived at 9:30 at the house of the first alcalde. Present were the following (see Chart 3)
[273]	16. What do the judges do in the house of the first judge?	They drink liquor. They await the arrival of the four regidores	They drink liquor	Before serving liquor the first judge gave the benediction for the liquor *(paʔot'an yič smahtanil)* with the first *nakawane*. His godchild *ahijado shalal nupune*, of marriage, and his brother-in-law, Lucian Kut poured liquor. He served cigarettes. Two liters of liquor were drunk here before going to house of president
[292] [576]	17. What do they do then?	They go to the house of the president (see Chart 4)	Go to the house of the president	Assembled company prepared to leave at 10:10. The first judge puts on his plain red kerchief. The assistant judges put on flowered red kerchiefs. First judge said goodbye to the *nakawane*. This formal adieu, the *spat lok'yoʔt'an*. Regidores stood up and came out. Then the assistant judge arrived at the house of President 10:30. (Chart 6)
*62 124 796 693 576	18. What do they do when they enter the house of the president?	The first judge gives the *spat yoʔt'an* with the first nakawane	The first regidor gives the *paʔot'an*	First judge speaks with *meʔil k'op* who stood at door of inner room. The *nakawanchetik* bowed and kissed hands with the first and second alcaldes
[528] [539]	19. How do they give the *spat yoʔt'anik* at his house the president?	They sing what they will do for the year	Holy evening, mamtat, your health. God how does He see you, mamtat. You are alive speak God holy evening. Behind your heart no illness I hear this holy evening.	(See Chart 6 for seating at house of president)

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CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

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(Judge) I live. There is no illness. Lord mamtat give pardon with God with the Virgin Mother (*Tias sok Halal me?tik*). Enter holy pardon lord, give pardon Virgin Mother

Here we are gathered before you where is seated "our soul our mud" (our bodies). What are we going to do to make arrive to fall to happen holy New Year our patron of heaven (*kuh-walnik*)-God. Here in a little dawns the holy hour. Let us go look before our heart where we are going to receive the holy oath inside of the holy cold house the cold hall where we go to receive our suffering our work holy staff, holy wand, It is going to change, holy day, holy year. Thus we do as did in the past our mother our father

20. What do they do after the greeting?

They drink coffee

They drink coffee

At 10:45 served bread set on bowl of coffee and bean tortilla in a cloth wrapping. First served *nakanonehetik* then president, then first and second judge, then first and second regidor, then assistant judge, then visitors. At 10:55 *nakanone* got up and stood before first judge and spoke the *spalan mat* (account of the gruel). Then the first judge spoke the *spalan mat* to second judge. The first two regidores of the past year came in to ask if the new officials were now ready "to raise the change"

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(*K'a?a?alhal yal helal*). They said *pat'at'an* before the *nakanone*. Then bowed and kissed hand (*kue' shale*) with all men in left interior. Went to door and spoke with *me'il k'op, kue' shale* with her.

At 11:15 *Balsaletik* took out the table, laid embroidered cloth on it, put 3 liters of trago and 2 quarts of beer. The first *nakanone* did the *spalanbe makian me'il Bal* with the first judge standing before him. Then the first

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*621 124 796	26. What do they do in the townhall?	They take the oath		
[798]	27. How is the townhall arranged?	The four holy crosses brought by the alfereces and the holy staffs are on the *tatik* table		On the table were 4 banners, new staffs, key of cabildo laid on orange leaves sprinkled about on table.
	28. Who is in the townhall?	There are gathered the old officials *(mamal k'a huʔeletik)* and the two principales *(mamal krinipaletik)* and the four alfereces *(alperenl)*. (See Chart 7)	It is the old officials	(See Chart 8)
	29. What are the old officials doing?	They are seated conversing		
*621 124 796 64	30. How do they take the oath?	They take from the *tatik* table what they give the oath for—the four holy crosses and the four staffs.	Standing, the new officials call the name of God. They form a line before the banners	New president ordered new officials to form a circle around table. Then the martumoreys prayed holding rosary in hand
[782]	31. Who passes the staffs *(sbaratik meʔtiktatik)*?	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials. They encircle hand with rosary and take their staff	Two principales handed out staffs first to president, then first judge, second judge, assistant judge, regidores and police. The second principal was very drunk and had to be directed by former president
[273]				
*621 124 796 641 875 539	32. Who gave the oath?		The secretary	The schoolteacher
	32a. What does the schoolteacher say when he gives the oath?			Gentlemen, by the will of the pueblo, the government of the state leaves us in charge of the officers before us. The president is in charge of the pueblo during the three years from this one on, 1965, -66, -67. This pueblo has the obligation of helping him in the organization of all his works. It has the obligation of respecting his command, and the authorities that are going to work with him also have the obligation of respecting him because he is the first authority. All of us who belong to the pueblo and all the societies have the obligation of respecting him just as the assistant authorities fulfill his orders because he is the primary authority. Raise the right hand, repeat after me: In the name of the government of the state with the honor that characterizes them I swear to fulfill with honor

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APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
#621 124 796 641 [875]				and enthusiasm what the constitution commands us. I want in this moment, under the oath, to designate the position of municipal president of the pueblo
[539]	33. How did new officials respond to oath?			Officials raised hands with rosary in it. Then they put rosary on their necks
#621 124 796	34. What do they do after the oath?		Pass over the papers with the acts, with all the things	Take inventory of communal possessions—3 chairs in bad estate, 2 *codigo viejo*, etc.
	35. Who takes inventory?			The past president
#621 124 794 796 [533] [788]	36. What do they do after they take their staffs the new officials?	The four alferezes go out with their banners	The alferezes go out in a procession with the banners	First alferez came to table, crossed himself, kissed banner with kerchief bound on handle, unfurled banner. He followed with second, third, and fourth alferezes. Flute and drum began as alferezes came out. They turned and faced the townhall. Inclining banners the police went out; knelt, crossed selves at door. Then the regidores, then president, then síndico and judges
#621 124 796 788	37. What time did the procession begin?			1:05
	38. What did the procession look like?	(Chart 9)		(Chart 10)
	39. How many turns do they take?		They take two turns where the fruit is sold (reference to plaza during a ceremony)	Two turns (started behind school house but old *nakawane* redirected them)
	40. What did the alferezes do?			At door of the townhall, drew up horses facing it, dipped banners. Same at church
	41. Where does the procession go?	To the church	They go to the church	They enter the church
#621 124 796 [624]	42. Who remains at the townhall?		The officials come out, leaving all the townhall silent except for the two principales who will await the new officials	The two principales remain within
[782] [794]	43. What do they do in the church?	All the officials speak to God (Chart 11)	They speak to God. They kiss all the saints	They pray at the altar, then kiss the saints as they leave. The alferezes leave their banners in the church

[P 235]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

*621 124 796	44. Where do the old officials go?	To the house of the old president or to the house of the former first judge		
	45. What do they do there?	They go to say goodbye		
	46. What do their hearts say?	Their hearts are very sad		
	47. Why do they kiss all the people present?		Because they want a miracle in order that there be no illness to pass in office	
*621 124 794 796	48. Who is in the church?	The mayordomos are in the church		The mayordomos sit at the bench in back of the church
	49. What are the mayordomos doing?	They are seated at the door of the church. They watch the new officials enter the church		
	50. Why are they seated in the church?	In order to know who will be the new officials to see *(ya l?il)* in the townhall		
*621 124 796	51. Where do the new officials go when they come out of the church?	The new police enter inside the kitchen (Chart 12). The president enters inside the townhall	Leave church and pass to the townhall	The police go to the kitchen attached to the townhall and the rest of the officials go into the townhall
[529] [693]	52. What does the president say to the two principales inside the ostildo?	"Where are you, *Mamal principal?*"	First judge gives *patbeyo?t'an* with the two principales. "Good day, tat. How does God see you, tat. Now you have taken your heart, has spoken your heart. Now you have been before the face of the motherfather. Where you take the holy oath inside the holy cold house, holy cold abode. You saw the procession in the plaza before the temple and inside the holy mother church for the commander lord. There is no fear, no embarrassment. That is all. Go rest your heart	[I was not present for these sessions]
	53. What does the principal reply?	"Enter, Mr. new president *(mamal ?a? presirente)* and enter, Mr. New judges *(?ma-mal ?a? alkaletik)*"		
*621 124	54. What do they do then?	They sit a little each in his own chair	They sit down. They begin to drink liquor	
293 796 693	55. What do they do after they have rested their heart a little?	The first judge and the president order the fourth regidor to go get a liter of trago		
	56. For whom do they get the liter of the gift?	For the new officials		
	57. What do they do with the gift when the regidor arrives?	They put it in the middle *(ta yolil komun)*		

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
*621 124 796 539	58. What do the principales say to the first judge in the cabildo on the New Year?	They give the *spatbeyo?t'an*		
693 273	59. What does the judge say when he gives the gift to the principales?	"Give pardon, mamal *krinipal*. Let a little enter to give warmth to your body"		
	60. What do the principales say?	"Thank you, *two mamal alkal, mamal presirente, mamal sintiku*"		
	61. What does the judge say?	"Pardon and let a little drink warm your body"		
	62. What does the judge say to the regidor?	"Lend me your hand, *mamal rehirol skanebal* (second regidor). Look, pour the gift of the ancestors *(me?tiktatik)* for the *mamal krinipaletik*"		
	63. What does the fourth regidor say as he pours the gift for the principal?	"With your permission, *mamal krinipal, mamal ?alkaletik*, I look and give the gift"		
*621 124	64. Who drinks first on New Year in the townhall?	The two principales		
796	65. Second?	President		
693	66. Third?	Síndico		
273	67. Fourth?	First judge		
	68. Fifth?	Second judge		
	69. Sixth?	Third judge		
	70. Seventh?	Fourth judge		
	71. Eighth?	First regidor		
	72. Ninth?	Second regidor		
	73. Tenth?	Third regidor		
	74. Eleventh?	Fourth regidor		
	75. What do they do after the first round of drinks?	They continue drinking until they get a little drunk		
	76. What happens at noon?	They close the doors of the townhall		
	77. What do the police do in the kitchen?	They enter and sit on a bench		
	78. Where do they sit?	(Chart 11)		
	79. What is the first order that he gives the first new police?	He sends the fourth police to bring a little liquor		
	80. What do they do when the fourth returns?	He orders a police of the colonia to "measure" the liquor		

794 796	19. Where do they drink it?	Behind the church	In the house of the *'ali'bal*
124	20. Where do the old mayordomos eat the common meal?	In the church	In the house of the *'ali'bal*
[273]	21. What do they eat?	Male turkey *(mam koz)*. Beef soup with tortillas and chile	
[264] [262]	22. How do they prepare turkey?	With chile, *yerba buena* and salt	
[263] [252]	23. Who prepares the meal for the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	The *'ali'bal*. The wife of the *Biktal* (minor) mayordomo of San Pedro and San Pablo	
	24. What do they do after the common meal?	They go to their homes	They go home
	25. What do they call the second day of the fiesta?	Wisperei'a	
	26. What do the old mayordomos do first?	They make a fiesta. They beat the drums. They play the flute. They drink trago	They ring the bells three times. The people gather in the church
	27. What time do they begin the fiesta?	Early	At 7 o'clock
	28. What do they do in the church?		The padre gives a Mass for San Pedro and San Pablo
	29. Who collects for the Mass?		The old officials and the new officials and the women
[533]	30. Where do the mayordomos blow the flute and beat the drum?	At the door of the church	In front of the church
	31. Where do the new mayordomos gather first?	At the house of the kobraria Santa Lucia	At the house of the kobraria of Santa Lucia
	32. What do they do first?	They take out the mouthwash	They serve the mouthwash
[273]	33. What do they do then?	They take out a liter to drink	They serve coffee and corn gruel. Then they serve liquor
[272] [262] [273]	34. How much do the new mayordomos drink?	Two drinks each	After two rounds are served, drink is served to the mayordomos who go to the *[illegible]* and offer their drinks. This is done so that the new officials will not be drunk in church
	35. How many of the new mayordomos don't drink liquor?	Three	
[272]	36. What do they drink?	Cold water (soda)	
124 794 796 539	37. What does the kobraria of Santa Lucia say to the kobraria of San Pedro Martyr at his house when they begin to drink?	Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal. Thanks you are alive, his word God, at daybreak. We want to see no illness at daybreak. What we will do what we have done. We have to say what our heart says, our soil, our mud. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our Judge Sanpegro sanpablu? So it is that we	

APPENDIX 2—*continued*

QUESTION	INFORMANT 3	OBSERVATION
794 796 124 539	are here and that we are united in front of the house. Pardon us, it is not much, *me'el tatel*. Where we are gathered together there is nothing flavorful nor is there much. It is only a little to warm your body, of the water to wash his body his hand our old saint San Pedro and San Pablo. God thank mother and father *(me'a ta ta'a)* mam kobraria	
38. What does the kobraria of Santa Lucia say to the Tzeltal-Chiptajero Mayordomos when they all go out?	What are we thinking? How shall we rise to enter the house of kobraria Sakramentu? How is it he wants us not to drink? It is good we would not remember. It is enough. If you will remember you will say little, mayordomos. Are we not ready with our rosaries, with our kerchiefs, for candles? Is there anything you want to say?	
39. What does the kobraria of San Pedro Martyr say?	It is good, I am going to say. Now I am going to say to all if you are ready with your rosary with your cloth to take the holy candles	The mayordomos put on their rosaries and red kerchiefs
40. What do the mayordomos reply?	Yes, good, we are ready thank you. It is only this more I say to you	
41. What does the kobraria say then?	Do not drink much tragu. I do not want you to walk like a mad man *(tuk 'alel likkel)*. I do not want you to say the kobraria said nothing	
42. What do the mayordomos reply?	Yes, thanks. It is good. Let us go now. Let us raise our mud our sal	
43. Where do they go then?	To the house of the kobraria of Sacramento	To the house of the kobraria of Sacramento
44. What do they say there?	"Good day *mamal*," each one	Good day, *mamal ma*
45. What time do they go to the house of the kobraria of Sacramento?	At 8 o'clock	9 A.M.
794 796 124 46. In what order do they speak to the people at his house the kobraria of Sacramento?		First to the two *kabiuls*. Then to the third *nakwana*. Then to the second *nakwana*. Then to the first *nakwana*
47. What do they say after the *sak'ina*?		The kobraria of *Halal me'tsik* gives the *spat ya'i'on* with the first *nakwana*
48. What (does he say) after *spat ya'i'on*?		He goes to give account to the old woman who nursed us *(me'l'akwal)* who is the *me'il k'op* in the house

794 796 124

49. Who is the woman speaker? — She is the first elder sister of the mother of the mam kobraria. She has the same mother and father as the father the mam kobraria

50. Who are the women inside the house of the kobraria of Sacramento? — Two or three sisters of the kobraria

51. What do his sisters (*yermanotak*) do inside his house? — They sit on the bench on the porch

52. What do the mayordomos do after the account with the *meʔlʔukalaletik*? — They sit on the bench on the porch

53. What does the *nakawane* do? — He tells the *balnial* to take out the mouthwash

54. What do they give after the mouthwash? — First the coffee with the bean tortillas

55. What do they give after the coffee? — They give another mouthwash

56. What do the *balnialetik* do after the mouthwash? — They take out the table with the cloth

[273] 57. What do they do then? — They take out 2 or 3 liters of trago with the measure and a little cold water

58. Who orders the women inside? — *Meʔlʔukalal*

59. What do they do before they begin to drink? — The kobraria of the Virgin of Santa Lucia gives the *spathe yoʔtan* He rises to ask permission before the *meʔlʔukalaletik*, all the mayordomos and all the *balnialetik*

[539] 60. What does the kobraria of the Virgin of Santa Lucia say then? — God, mother who nurses us, give permission to us. The water of his body the water of his hand, the gift will pass in your body that which is the mothers' fathers' (*meʔtiktatik*). God speaks, *tat nakawanchetik* and *balnialetik*. Give us permission to hand the gift that will pass in your body from the *meʔtiktatik*. God, Jesus, Mary, only one commander god is three persons. Bless what we eat and what we drink and bless in the name of god the father. God take the gift, *meʔel tatel*

61. What do they do then? — The mayordomos, *balnialetik* and *nakawanetik* measure their noses.

62. What does the *meʔlʔukalal* say? — God thank Mamal Tat

63. Then what does the kobraria of the Virgin Santa Lucia say? — He gives the benediction to the liquor

[539] 64. What is the benediction? — In God's name, God father, name of God, God son, Holy spirit. Yes, I can endure to do what they did, that which the mother, which the father

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX 2—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3	OBSERVATION
794 796 124 [539]			did with the hand which has sinned, the feet which have sinned. Yes, I am changing holy day holy year, holy saint holy oath and the name of the god the father
[213]	65. How much do the mayordomos drink?		They drink four measures. After four measures they do not finish and give the rest to *mamal nakawanehenk*
	66. Why do they do this?		Because it is said they may get drunk
	67. What time do they go to the church?	At 10 o'clock	At 11 left for church. Put on red kerchiefs, rosaries
[539]	68. What does the *nakawane* say to the new mayordomos as they leave to go to church?		May you all get up and go to the church. May you all enter inside the church. May you take the oath inside the church before the face of the fiscal. After you take the oath you measure the nose in the face of the *tatik* Jesus Christ. After you have measured the noses, when you enter inside the door of the church the mamal new kobraria speaks the *palanhenk* to the mamal old kobraria
	69. Who is at the church?	The old mayordomos	The old mayordomos are seated at the door of the church
[523]	70. What are they doing?	They are awaiting the new mayordomos	They play the drum and the flute
	71. How do they take the *haramentu* (oath)?		They enter and kneel each pair, *tatil* and *nit'anil* in front of *tatik* Jesus Christ.
	72. How do they stand?		(Chart 15)
	73. How is the church arranged?		There is a large table with the candles lined up. In the middle of the table stands a little holy Jesus hung on the cross
	74. Who is inside the church?		The priest, the fiscal, the old mayordomos
	75. What does the priest do?		He gives the Mass. He blesses the new and the old mayordomos
	76. What do they do after the blessing?		The fiscal gives the candles wrapped in a napkin
	77. How many candles does he give to each mayordomo?		Nine candles
	78. What are the candles for?		To light for the saints
	79. What does he do with the candles?		Goes and puts them in the elder officeholder's house. Returns and gets his own to bring to his house
	80. Where do they go after the oath?		To the house of the kobraria of [illegible]

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orders the curers to gather together. The curers look for the man who has "brought the heat." And then they kill him. Formerly it was not so.

The statement points to two interacting features of change within the curing profession: (1) the loss of leadership and of control over entry into the profession and (2) the loss of faith in the guardianship function of the curers. The effect of these changes has been to reduce security and the maintenance of social control.

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[521]

Formerly the recognized leader of the curers in each section of the dual division legitimized entry of new curers and expelled those who abused their power. When these curers died, there was no one of sufficient power to replace them. In listing curers who are active today, there is no agreement as to who the leading curers are or even as to whether there are leaders.

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Loss of leadership in the curing profession has led to competition among the curers. There is discussion such as the following concerning who is the strongest:

> When N (a former curer, killed as a witch) was alive, he was land-control officer. When we were half drunk one day, the president asked him: "Tell me who is the strongest of all you who know curing." N replied, "Ah, you want to hear. There is no one who is very strong, only the dead Mamal K and myself." The president said, "But Mam D is good." N said, "Less so. I know because one time we proved it, at a meeting of the curers. I arrived as a sheep, and 'took out' [literal translation of *ilok*'] one black dog. He took out a sheep and a pig and ordered them to run. And I saw that they could not run. After my animals ran a little with his, mine arrived first. It is thus that I saw his were less strong."

[541]

The present competition among the curers to assert their power by telling such stories or by displaying fearlessness in the bullfights held in community fiestas is symptomatic of the disruption caused by the breakdown in the hierarchy of the profession. When curing was a controlled profession, abusive conduct by the curers was minimized, but the new curers are reputed to use their power for their own gain. The following story is typical:

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> J, born in Tetikil, went to live in hot country. A friend invited him to drink. J, who was reputed to be a curer, said to his friend when they were half drunk, "Do you want to 'take out' a girl?" His friend said, "No, how can you?" "*Pendejo!*" J replied, "I can because I have an animal

159 756 *"You won't be afraid if I show it?" Nicolás asked. He then flipped his kotonču four times and a black bull appeared. It disappeared, and they drank some more. Nicolás made the bull appear again.*

Nicolás was ejido commissioner when I was president. We began to talk one day in the cabildo. "Who is the strongest of all the curers?" we asked. One said that now it was the elder brother Nicolás.

Čiko turned to Nico and said, "Tell us who is the strongest of all who know curing." Nico replied, "Ah, you want to hear. There is no one who is strong as the dead Mamal Komesil [elder Gomez] and I." Čiko said, "Mam D. is good."

"Less so," said Nico. "One time we tested it. I took out a sheep and a black dog. He [D.] took out a goat and a pig, and we ordered the animals to run. And I saw that the swayohel of D. could not run. Mine ran well, and his couldn't arrive before mine. It was then that I saw he was not as strong."

541 756 Formerly, when bullfights were held in the town as a feature of the fiesta of Santiago, curers took the great risk of riding the backs of the bulls to demonstrate their bravery. The fight became a symbolic defiance of culturally instilled fears. The fights are organized in this fashion: one man mounts the bull which has no saddle, bridle, or grip of any kind. His feet are tied under the belly of the bull, which increases the hazard if he is thrown since he can easily be dragged under the hooves of the bull. A man stands with a cape before the bull, trying to unseat his opponent. The curer Minko regularly entered the fights as a rider. He drank copiously before mounting the bull. He himself would try to goad the bull into jumping by leaning backward and biting its tail or kicking its sides. People rated even more highly than Minko's performance that of another curer, Bon, who, they said, never even shook when he climbed onto the bull as did Minko. They realized that Minko needed the liquor to face the threat of being crushed by the hooves of the bull, but that Bon was beyond fear. In these displays of fearlessness, some of the curers enjoy a sense of power and freedom from the inhibitions conditioning the behavior of ordinary men.

756 178 578 Competition and the assertion of power among the younger curers is

796 is served when the expectations are that the individual will feel embarrass-
154 ment. These occasions formerly occurred when the company arrived at the
house of the alférez before the dance and when the alfereces mounted
[273] their horses. Cigarettes signal relaxation, and when the first round of ciga-
[276] rettes is served in the house setting, the company abandons formal re-
[522] straints and, led by the chief nakawane, indulges in joking.

541 *Carnival and Easter Week*. Carnival has changed over time more
522 than any other religious ceremonial in the town. Until five years ago, a
177 group of masked jokers visited the houses of the captains of the fiestas.
178 They wore Ladino clothing, including vest, pants, and shoes, and they hid their faces behind masks or painted them black. They danced a "Ladino dance" (paired couples), first in the church and then in the houses of the alfereces. While dancing, they made sexual allusions about unmarried women. Their joking emphasized their strangeness to the villagers; for example one of the jokers might say, "You do not know what type of person I am. An airplane made me." They carried small stuffed animals which they made "cry." Pretending they were the husband of a woman, they would go to her and tell her to take care of her "baby." The woman speaker would sometimes respond to their jokes, saying, "Who are you? You are not good looking, you little black boy. You must be from Germany or from the other side of the water. Maybe you are from Patwitz or Yetawitz, and your father is kurik." People say the custom was discontinued because it was too expensive to give liquor to the jokers.

541 Another carnival custom which has been lost is the "common meal" of
262 squash on the five Fridays of Lent. Formerly the wives of the four kobra-
794 ria brought squash from hot country, cooked it, and brought two gourds
177 each to the church. The assistant divided it, giving two pieces to each of
178 the mayordomos. This custom was stopped during the typhoid epidemic
[731] of 1928 and has never been resumed because, it is said, the people did not want to lose work time. These changes may be a response to the priest's attempts to modify some of the excesses of carnival. Whether or not this is so, the people prefer to attribute change to their own decisions.

796 The events of Easter Week as recounted by an informant are outlined below.

159 622 177 178 partners. He sold a few shares of a truck he and his family owned to Indians, but he retained the controlling interest. His wife was reputed to be [454] a witch, and was an active curer, combining old and new treatments of ill- [754] nesses.

[756] His position was challenged in the 1960s by the Ladino schoolmaster, 159 who had been remarkably unsuccessful from his arrival in 1953 until that 875 time in gaining personal power and influence. His intercession in a local 177 homicide case involving a father's murder of his son outraged the towns- 178 people, some of whom threatened to kill him. His attempts to have water 563 installed aroused the curers against him since they were accustomed to 578 bathing their patients at the source of the spring from which they were de- [312] barred when the plumbing was installed. His demands that children [756] within the legal age limit should not only attend school but should be pro- [871] hibited from marrying until they had completed their schooling caused [582] the anger of parents who wanted to give their daughters in an early and profitable marriage.

159 Gradually, however, the schoolmaster extended his own base of support. 875 He minimized his attack on local customs, adhering only to those laws af- 177 fecting the school population, over which he had a great deal of control. 178 Some of his support came from the orthodox Catholic members of the 563 community; he extended his control through compadre relationships with 557 over eighty members of the community. He showed movies which he ac- [608] quired from the United Nations and other educational film sources and [546] gave away medicines acquired from the health officials in the state capitol [278] who were his friends. From one of these sources of philanthropy he ac- [431] quired wool shawls which he gave to every woman in the town.

The professor demanded no return from the townspeople other than their respect and admiration; he was a person who enjoyed commanding others and needed an arena in which to project his own personality. In his early years in the town, he had to satisfy this need by capturing stray tourists and plying them with soda pop or coffee. His first opportunity to gain [474] leadership in the local sphere came in 1963, when he supported the new truck-owning cooperative. He used the influence of contacts in the state capital, including compadres, friends, and relatives of his wife's family. He promoted the cooperative's attempt to gain the presidency. One of the first

571 tions of community members. We now propose to display some of the ways in which further sets of performances, among them drinking, are associated with those already described.

Roles and the procurement of alcohol

273* 571 178 The procurement of alcohol for drinking involves social relationships which have undergone a change within the period of study. Traditionally, Aguacatenangueros have obtained 273* 439 aguardiente--a distilled sugar cane alcohol--by purchase. For many years aguardiente was manufactured by ladinos in San Cristobal and in Comitan principally for sale to the Indians. Before 1940, one ladino family established a liquor monopoly throughout the highlands and with the aid of government liquor inspectors was able to close down all competitors, which meant that production in Comitan and San Cristobal was completely stopped save for the factories of this family. In the first part of this period, then, Aguacatenangueros bought all their aguardiente from Comitan, and it was and still is known as 273* 548 comiteco by Indians and ladinos throughout the area. With the closing down of the several factories that produced aguardiente, Indians--principally Chamulas--began to manufacture the aguardiente in clandestine stills in mountain areas that were apparently difficult to patrol. The monopoly determined price of about 90 [435] pesos a garafón (18 liters) was cut nearly in half by these clandestine operators.

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438 With the closing of the stills in Comitan came a second economic pressure which sharply changed the Aguacatenangueros' pattern of travel. The trade specialty which Aguacatenango had intensively developed, at least by 1920 and perhaps long before, was the weaving of palm hats. A principal point of trade for these hats was Comitan where the Aguacatenangueros took them.
294 With the advent of the Pan-American highway, the region was
438 flooded with nationally manufactured sombreros, which, in the
439 period of ten years completely destroyed the Aguacatenango mar-
438 ket. As the marketability of palm hats decreased, the Agua-
439 catenangueros stopped going to Comitan; and it was during this
+273 same time that the supply of comiteco was cut off.

+32 The people from Aguacatenango then began to buy their
438 aguardiente from licensed sellers in Pinola (Villa las Rosas)
+272 and Teopisca as well as from clandestine sources, the nearest being in Amatenango and the mountainous area that lay between
548 there and Chanal. The use of clandestine aguardiente was still
687 restricted by the occasional inspection by patrols of soldiers and liquor inspectors who would examine the contents of the houses in Aguacatenango, confiscating the aguardiente for which one did not have a legitimate receipt and taking the holders of such to jail in San Bartolomé de los Llanos. By the end of the 40's, distillation technology had disseminated widely enough among the Indian municipios that a few men in Aguacatenango began

548 687 distilling aguardiente. Distillation of aguardiente continued for a relatively short time (perhaps as long as three to four years) because satisfactory arrangements could not be worked out within the community so that the distillers would not be denounced to the authorities by their neighbors. Unlike Amatenango, where the clandestine distillation of aguardiente continues to the present time, inspectors were able to discover and destroy the four or five stills operated by the men of Aguacatenango. The punishments meted out to the owners were relatively severe, some having to spend as long as a year in jail and having to pay as much as 1000 pesos to secure their release.

273* [178] The pattern of procurement of aguardiente has changed substantially in Aguacatenango since the time we began doing [432] field work there. In 1957, when we were first there, the buying of aguardiente was both situation-and-family-specific. Most of the aguardiente was being bought in Pinola and later in Teopisca and had to be carried on one's back to Aguacatenango. In an- [196] ticipation of each fiesta or other occasion where it was known drinking would take place, each family would bring in three or four liters for that occasion. Beyond this family supply, there was relatively little aguardiente in the community. It was not at all unusual, after a fiesta, to see men inquiring all over town about the possibility of buying, or borrowing, a liter of

cause of the limited capital involved and the fear of discovery with the expansion of the enterprise. A loose syndicate of distillers provides an insurance protection by raising fines for members who are apprehended by federal agents. Security measures are taken to avoid discovery, and the presence of a federal agent is announced in Tzeltal on the loudspeaker system of one of the bars. One federal agent is on the payroll of the four operating bar owners, who give him 5 pesos a week to avoid legal action on the sale of contraband liquor. Individual distillers pay the tariff of 10 pesos or two liters of liquor a year to the civil officials and to the ejido commission, a tariff justified by the fact that they use wood from communally owned land to cook the sugar. The syndicate is a community-wide organization, mobilized in emergencies only.

The New Social Resources

In the course of operating the new enterprises, knowledge of and experience with supralocal institutions and agents are developing social resources in (1) entrepreneurship, (2) management of capital and credit, (3) knowledge of markets, and (4) dealing with government agencies. In entering into these new economic activities, the Indians have not lost a sense of belonging to the local community. Self-identification as poor, indigenous farmers is both a screen of protection and a means of ensuring continuity with local control systems.

Entrepreneurship. Local entrepreneurs explain their motivation in a rhetoric which emphasizes their interest in community welfare. This validates entering into nontraditional activities, but retaining their position in local society inhibits the expansions of their activities. The case of Santos, the promoter of the trucking cooperative is instructive. Santos had picked up some accounting techniques while he served in the army in Michoacán. He returned to the village because his father walked from Chiapas to Michoacán to tell him he should come back and get married. When he returned, he kept careful account of his costs and returns from the milpa. He realized soon that it wasn't "worth his work" (the Indian has not as yet learned the idiom or the value system which goes into the

323 178 442 443 coming from the smaller towns to buy. The Indians still bring pottery to sell retail in towns that they visit during a fiesta. One of these is the barrio of Lok'ibal in the município of Villa Carranza, where people go on the third Friday of Lent to get holy water from the spring.

The Indians have not taken advantage of the truck to buy pottery wholesale and market it directly in the smaller towns, selling from the truck in the plaza as some of the wholesale fruit truckers do. Another operation which they have failed to profit from is buying the wheat harvest and selling to government warehouses, as some of the Ladino truckers do.

44 471 273 443 434 Lack of capital is the major reason for failure to exploit these opportunities. In marketing the contraband liquor, which is the most flourishing of the new enterprises, the Indians have not yet entered into the external markets except in the case of one young unmarried mother. Wholesale purchases are made by Ladinos, primarily women, from other towns who resell the liquor in Comitán and on the coast. There is however, a well-developed home market since all contracts are sealed with the offering of liquor, the "gift of the gods," all court fines are paid in liquor, and the main gift in betrothal is liquor. The cantinas with phonograph players opened by the cooperatives operate very successfully on Saturday night and during fiestas. The internal market for liquor is controlled by a syndicate of the forty-two independent liquor distillers. The price is set at 4 pesos per liter for all buyers, with the buyer providing the bottle.

[675] [681] [583] [275] [216] [548] [435]

241 442 443 Agricultural production is not geared to a market, and Indians do not take advantage of fluctuations in price. Wheat yields a lower return per unit of land than corn, but it is grown for two reasons: the Indians believe that crop rotation of corn and wheat prevents depletion of the soil, and wheat requires less work since no cultivation is needed. Wheat is a cash crop and none of it is milled or consumed directly in town. Poor families sell their wheat "standing" to Teopisca truckers. The price given the grower is usually about 90 pesos per hundred kilograms, and it is resold at 110 or 120 pesos in Tuxtla or to the government storehouses. Wheat is sometimes brought directly to San Cristóbal millers who give 120 per hundred kilograms. Corn is primarily a subsistence crop when grown in the center. Corn grown in hot country ejido land is now sold in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. The local truck cooperative has a special permit which gives

[435] [489]

233 177 178 621 476 312 [685] and adaptive responses. With the expansion of cattle raising, Indians have organized associations adjusted to the traditional dual division. The association for each side of the dual division mobilizes labor for maintaining the watering holes. The failure to organize communal corrals means that inefficient herding techniques, damage to the milpa, and frequent loss or theft of cattle persist. The association reacts to the last problem by hiring killers to get rid of those suspected of theft, but this adaptive response is limited to dealing with particular incidents and has not solved the problem.

548 273 177 178 [435] 694 [681] 621 [561] The manufacturers of contraband liquor have succeeded in organizing a syndicate strong enough to maintain a monopoly price for both the internal and external markets and to provide security for themselves against federal agents. The syndicate mobilizes for specific actions, such as raising the bail bond for imprisoned members or punishing informers. As a community-wide organization ignoring the dual division and age-ranked seniority, it represents an adaptation in response to extra-community pressures.

474 177 178 The cooperatives that have been organized to manage the local store and the trucks provide permanent managerial operations that are an adaptation to growing interaction in extra-community economic activities. Cooperative owners are able to raise the capital to maintain and expand these operations. It is within these structures that entrepreneurial skills are being developed. The organizers gain the advantage not only of socializing the risk of loss but also of making a profit in a community where belief in witchcraft, fostered by envy, is rampant.

474 472 177 178 Activities in the new economic enterprises are not supported by any supernatural belief. In order to gain acceptance for the new enterprises, the entrepreneur Santos, who had organized the trucking cooperative, recognized the need for an ideology. His rhetoric drew upon the sense of deprivation Indians feel in their relations with Ladinos. He justified his own ends as an attempt to gain for all the community the profits that only Ladinos had been able to gain through trucking and crops resales in the regional markets. The ideology he had begun to formulate stressed economic and political independence from both the Ladino entrepreneurs of neighboring towns and government agents who tried to promote welfare

Change of Officials

was done at his order for the school.[11] The new co- 621*
operative was harassed by the old group, since the 578
president did everything in his power to cut down 474
their competition. As fiscal, his other role, he maneu- 494
vered the appointment of the chief business agent of [875]
the new truck cooperative and three other members [622]
as *nicʼanil martomaetik*, junior caretakers of the [794]
saints. This meant that their Sundays were occupied in church affairs and cut into their taxiing of passengers from Tzoʔontahal to Himšol, the neighboring Ladino town.

The nomination of the president was effected by 621*
winning the support of the Partido Revolucionario 665
Institucional (PRI). Supporters of the nominee se- 666
cured over 85 signatures from townspeople; the op- 622
position candidate failed to get more than 28. Once 578
PRI support was obtained, the election on November 20 was assured since one-party rule prevails here as in the capital. This is the first election which has been contested in 10 years. The last contest came when some members of the barrio of Yutʼ hok became members of the minor party, Partido Acción Nacional (PAN). Because this group and their presidential candidate all came from one side of the dual division, Alannantik, those from the other side said that they should have a party representative. They drew up a plan to run a candidate on PRI. The PAN candidate won. The present contest was drawn on [474]
the basis of membership in the truck-owning cooperatives which cut across the dual division.

The present nominee did not want to run for office. 666
Early in the running there were verbal threats on his 622
life. He had never passed in any office other than that 578
of president of the ejido commission, and although the office of president is not a rung in the ladder to office, it is expected that the incumbent would at least have experience as síndico. Three sources of opposi- 666
tion to his candidacy developed. First in importance 622
was the original trucking cooperative, which objected 578
to the competition of the president and his faction 474
in the new cooperative. Second, these members 548
spread the rumor that the new president would bring in federal agents to break up the liquor traffic, which was becoming one of Tzoʔontahal's most important economic self-development projects. Thus all the distillers were apprehensive of their future under his term of office. Third, there was opposition on the

[11] Siverts (1964) describes Ladinos' "competition for each others' Indians in Cancuc."

[P. 223-A]

614 /1/ Cancuc is a Tzeltal town of Chiapas, Mexico, whose
[101] social organization is based on exogamous patrilineal clans.
[776] These clans are intimately related to: 1) the nagual or guardian
[551] spirit, which is given the name of lab among the Indians of this
[613] region; 2) the native surnames that constitute the lineages within
[621] the clans; 3) the "barrios," as the Spanish chroniclers called the endogamous tribal subdivisions (called calpulli among the Aztecs and culibal in Cancuc); 4) the kinship system; and 5) the behavior.

614 All the individuals belonging to a clan consider themselves
601 "legitimate siblings" /Sp. "hermanos legítimos"/, using the terms that designate this class of relatives. This theoretical consanguineous kinship is expressed by means of the word chapomal -- a Cancuquero /a person from Cancuc/ calls another "brother" be-
614 cause he is his chapomal. This form of usage is indicative of
601 common ancestry, something that we were not able to clarify, as
124 our questions on this point only received answers that showed that
829 they had lost any notion of a real or mythical ancestor. Our informants invariably explained this situation with the expressions: "it is the custom," "San Juan /Saint John/ (Patron Saint of Cancuc) ordered it so," or "it was ordered by Manuel (God)." What does constitute a clear concept in the minds of all is that "formerly" each clan lived in a cave, from which its members went out in the form of human beings to populate the earth and in which lived the naguales, or lab, that bound them to their place of origin.
[775] The soul came back to this cave after death. There are as many caves as the number of clans.

614 The children belonged to the paternal clan. A woman who marries does not become a member of the clan of her husband.

/2/ Exogamy is strictly respected; persons belonging to the same clan never marry each other.

[591] The clans are not local, as their members live in all of the places and rancherías.

[178] At present the clans lack chiefs, this institution having dis-
[669] appeared about 30 years ago, according to all our information, when the zone that we are studying underwent a chaotic period due to political revolts.

/4 cont./

614 Juan Jiménez Chan, of the Ijká clan:
539 It was arranged in the times of the old chuneles, when the
776 lab talked it over, there where they live. The chuneles later heard about it through their lab, and they were in agreement.

Tomás Vásquez Coreta, of the Chik clan:
Ants went into the home of the Boj, and the latter went to the home of the Ijká, where they were very well received, and "all are happy." Only the lab spoke, but the chuneles knew and told it to their chapomales.

Domingo López Uax, of the Boj clan; now of the Ijká:
The lab of the Boj and of the Ijká spoke and all was arranged. "Now they are chapomales and cannot marry."

614 The surnames in Cancuc determine the clan to which an
551 individual belongs. There are two of them: a native one which
197 is preceded by a Spanish one (except in various exceptional cases in which there is only a Spanish surname). All the Cancuqueros know their native surname, but most of them do not know the Spanish surname with which it is combined. Upon the uttering of a native surname, all know to which clan it belongs, which does not happen with the Spanish one, because these can be placed before native surnames belonging to one, two, or three clans. Therefore we can say that there is exogamy of the native surname, but not /5/ of the Spanish one, which does not seem to have any function with respect to the clans.

551 In the lists of surnames that we were able to obtain and which
614 in no way pretend to be exhaustive, we find 20 Spanish surnames and 92 native surnames. These last are distributed among the four clans in the following way: 33 of the Chik clan, 31 of the Chejeb, 21 of the Ijká, and 7 of the Boj (now incorporated into the Ijká clan).

/5 cont./

•551 614 The great majority of the native surnames could not be translated by our informants, who asserted that they did not signify anything in the Tzeltal language. Those for which we could obtain the meaning are: Chan ... snake, of the Ijká clan; Chij ... deer, of the Chik clan; Uax ... wildcat, of the Boj clan; Chikin ... ear, of the Chik clan; and Lot ... lie /Sp. mentira, lie, story, error/, of the Ijká clan.

428 424 551 613 614 The surnames are inherited through the paternal line and constitute the lineages within each clan. The lands formerly belonged to the lineage and could not be alienated. This custom is tending to disappear in recent times, but even today we have found several cases in which only an individual belonging to the lineage can occupy land that has been left without an owner when one has died without leaving male descendants.

166 551 553 614 A native from another municipality or group who comes to Cancuc with the aim of settling down in it must be incorporated into one of the clans, for which it is necessary to change his native surname for a Cancuc one. (The different native groups of this central region of the State of Chiapas have surnames that differ among themselves, and it is through them that their place of origin is shown.) Generally he keeps the Spanish surname and takes a native surname that in Cancuc corresponds to that. One Gómez Tzima from Oxchuc became Gómez Uotán of the Chejeb clan of Cancuc. One Aguilar belongs to the Chik clan, like all the Aguilar of Cancuc. One Santis Kujul, the small son of an Oxchuquero and a woman from Cancuc, gave up his surname from Oxchuc when his father died and his mother's family incorporated him into the Ijká clan, changing the native surname Kujul for that of Lul, "so that he will be from here, and have his chapomales here, and marry here," his maternal aunt of the Chik clan explained to us. These cases are rare. We could not find out before whom these incorporations are carried out. One informant, born [829] in Cancuc, whose paternal grandfather /6/ had come from the municipality of Tenejapa, told us that he had heard his father say that "in the old times the old people arranged that."

/6 cont./

621 The native surnames are regarded as belonging to a definite
[551] barrio, two of which exist at present. (In an old document, which
[127] we cannot now locate, reference is made to four barrios of Cancuc. Our informants do not remember this fact and emphatically deny it, but they do refer to a third one, which became incorporated into the two remaining ones a very long time ago.) These two barrios formerly bore the names of Chejeb and Chiklajum, by which they are still known, but today they are preferably called Ajkol-culibal, or "upper barrio," and Alán-culibal, or "lower barrio," respectively. Some informants say "calpul" in referring to the barrios, but not so others, who recognize the word calpul as the one used by other native groups -- "here there is no calpul, only Alán- and Ajkol-culibal," several Cancuqueros explain to us. One informant tells us that formerly there were three culibales, the third being called Alal-bikit-culbal. The dividing line of the barrios passes through the center of the town, located on the crest of a hill, drawn from east to west, the lands of the north belonging to Alán- and those of the south to Ajkol-culibal. The
[361] third one, which has now disappeared, included all the land
[368] to the west of the town, as the dividing line terminated at the point where the building of the Cabildo /town hall/ is located -- to the east of the great plaza, having in front the Iglesia /church/ and the ruins of the ancient "convento." When Alal-bikit-culibal was incorporated into the other two, the line that divided them was extended, separating its lands into two parts: those that remained south of the line being transferred so as to belong to the "upper" culibal, and those of the north to the "lower" one.

621 Even though at present there are persons from one culibal
551 living in the other, they always consider themselves bound to the one from which their surname comes (for this purpose our informants never took into account the third barrio to which we have referred). According to our list of native surnames, we can say
[614] that 54 belong to Ajkol-culibal, and 38 to Alán-culibal. According to the division into three clans, we have the following distribution:

/6 cont./

551 621 614

Ajkol-culibal	Alán-culibal
19 Chik	14 Chik
13 Chejeb	18 Chejeb
22 Ijká	6 Ijká

/7/ Among the Spanish surnames we have 6 that belong exclusively to Alán- and 6 to Ajkol-culibal (not counting the case in which a native surname of the Chik clan is joined to two different Spanish surnames that are found in both culibales). The remaining 14 Spanish surnames are combined with surnames from the two culibales.

621 582 178 174 551 Today the culibal is not endogamous, but we believe it possible that it was in former times (as we have found in recent investigations of the Tzotzil group of San Pablo Chalchihuitán of this region). The present possibility of changing residence and the incorporation of native surnames originating from a culibal (or perhaps two) that have disappeared within the boundaries of the two remaining make the reconstruction of the pre-Hispanic 621 582 551 culibal impossible in this case. According to the data obtained in our census, 62.5 o/o of the marriages were concluded between persons whose native surnames originated from the same culibal. [125] [166] [613] In spite of the low percentage, nevertheless the custom of marriage between people of the same culibal predominates (we should not forget the mobility permitted in recent times, because of which residents of one culibal are persons whose lineages originate from the other), although cases of marriage between persons belonging [614] to the two different culibales also abound. It is almost always preferred to look for a wife among the women of the same place or rancheria, but at present we can say that clan exogamy is the only thing that regulates marriage.

621 622 [631] [614] [65] Each culibal has its own chiefs, elected from and by those members who have filled political-religious positions in the Chakel or Ayuntamiento /municipal government/.. The clans are taken into account in this election, rigorously taking turns. The culibal chiefs assign the communal lands, organize the collective tasks for the benefit of the community, pray for the health and

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

352 utensils pertaining to the other room include three tables of varying form and size. One of these, about 60 cm. high, is called *akhintel*,[23] and serves as a support for the metate (*cha*). Another smaller table (*matzamalté*) has three legs and is circular in form; it is used in making tortillas. The third table (*ucbalté*), also small but quadrangular, is used in serving food. Three benches of hollow logs 415 (*tzantel*) and small chairs (*taburetes*) serve as seats. Deep baskets and gasoline 251 boxes are used for holding clothes. Hanging from the roof is always to be seen a disk made of vines (*likin-nab*). This is used to keep comestibles from the rats. The other implements are the griddle, pots, and other vessels of clay, and calabashes and gourds in various forms and dimensions.

343 Besides the fowl pen (*na-mut*) and the pigpen (*na-chitán*) it is common to [417] see near the house the temazcal, or steam bath (*pus*). It is made of clay and irregularly shaped stones; it is rectangular with a small door in front and a ventilator in the rear. It is usual to cover it with a small shelter of straw. The use of the temazcal [184] is common in the highlands. It is almost not to be found from Ococingo northward.

29 Each village has its own costume; however, local variations conform to a 184 certain pattern which changes according to the altitudes and climate. Thus, in the region of Los Altos the usual pattern of dress is the following: for men, short cotton trousers (*uex*)[24] and cotton shirt (*ku*) reaching to the knees, a sash (*chukichut*) of wool or cotton and in most cases red in color, a poncho (*tzotz*) made of wool and in most cases dark grey in color, a handkerchief (*chuhkil*), a straw hat (*pixol*), and leather sandals (*xanab*). women wear a white blouse (*ku*) and a blue shirt (*tzequel*), both made either of wool or of cotton, and a red woolen sash (*chukichut*). Some women in going out-of-doors add a woolen *rebozo*. Women use also a cotton cloth (*zitz-cal*) to carry small children. They wear no footgear.

In the tierra caliente the dress of the women is almost the same except that it is cleaner. On the other hand that of the men, although equally clean, presents marked differences: the trousers are longer and the shirt shorter, coming to resemble an open blouse or *guayabera*. The sash and the poncho cease to be indispensable [177] garments. It is in this region that there is most use of trousers and shirt in European style.

551 In Tenejapa, Starr found that the Indians had Tzeltal surnames. He says, 582 "We feel sure that these are *not* nicknames, but the old family names still preserved."[25] He does not give examples, and says nothing about any relation between 114 these name-groups and marriage. Blom and LaFarge make no note of such names, and say, "there are no formal restrictions on marriage."[26]

582 Villa found Indian surnames present in Chanal, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc, 551 and was told that marriage is not allowed, or is at least strongly discouraged, between persons of the same Indian surname. In Chanal an informant indicated that such

[184] [23] The names of these objects vary from one village to another, those which are described here were obtained in Chanal.

[24] The names of some of these garments vary likewise from one village to another, here Villa gives names used in Chanal.

[25] Starr, 1902, p. 73.

[26] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

a marriage was incestuous in the same sense as marriage between close relations. These surnames are transmitted patrilineally. Of ten informants in Chanal, nine gave their Indian surnames; the tenth said he had none. Furthermore, in cases where potential spouses have the same Spanish surname but different Indian surnames—and such cases occur—marriage between such persons is similarly discouraged. And in San Martin, Tenango, Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo, where apparently the Indian surnames do not exist, Villa received information to the effect that marriage between persons of the same Spanish surname is disapproved.[17]

Indian surnames noted by Villa, with translations offered him, follow:

CHANAL: Yemue (large mouth), Xampil, Tiib, Calabal, Chicó, Cories, Comistal.

TENEJAPA: Tzurin (sowing?), Hoviltzil (mad dog), Uacax (cow), Chacax (?), Mee-mut (mother hen), Lobal (banana), Ton (stone).

CANCUC: Oxom, Say, Chig-yax, Coreta, Caxlan-pucú, Hokob-canela.

OXCHUC: Chinbac (small bone), Aquilan (from Aquilar), Chichol (tomato), Barsen (*pinto*), Nimail (squash-tip), Holchi (deer head).

In all the highland villages information was given to the effect that each *pueblo* (town, with its rural population, if any) is endogamous; in most instances the endogamy was represented as absolute. As some of the communities include only a few score of households, the matter requires further investigation.

The communities of Cancuc, Oxchuc, and Bachajón (and apparently only these) are divided into antagonistic sub-communities called *calpules*. (Neither Starr nor Blom and LaFarge give information on this point.) In each case an imaginary east-west line across the plaza divides the northern lands of the one calpul from the southern lands of the other. In Cancuc (at least) the lands of the north are considered "hot," those of the south "cold," with corresponding favorable and unfavorable connotations as to their fertility. In Cancuc the northern calpul is called either *muhul calpul* 'large calpul' or else *alankuluhibal*; the southern is called *bikit calpul* 'small calpul' or else *kalankuluhibal*. Each calpul (*barrio* to the Ladinos) had its own government, established by the members of each calpul independently of the formal local government, which, recognized by the state and national authorities, acts for both calpules in matters that must be taken to the outside authorities. In Oxchuc the calpul officers are one *presidente*, two *alcaldes* or *cantakines*, two *gobernadores*, two *catinab* 'very respected chiefs,'

[17] "Among the Lacandons there are patrilineal, totemically named kinships grouped into two exogamous phratries (Soustelle, 1935); it is likely that among the ancient Maya of Yucatan there was surname exogamy. Landa says (Section XXIV), ". . . the Indians consider all of the same name related, and treat them accordingly. . . . Thus also no man or woman marries another of the same name, because this was for them a great infamy" (Gates, 1937, p. 40). Landa also says (Section XXV), ". . . nor did they ever marry one bearing their own name on the father's side, for this was considered a very bad thing." On the subject of Maya names, Roys says, "The Maya family name, which was perpetuated in the male line, survived the Conquest, but the old pagan pre-names were abolished and replaced by Spanish Christian names when the Indians were baptized. Two varieties of pre-names are well known: one indicating a man's profession or office, and the other, derived from his mother and preceded by the prefix Na-. The Maya called the latter the 'mad' and there were also two other classes of pre-names, which they called the 'boy-name' and the 'jesting name.' Many of the 'boy-names' are referable to fauna-names, especially those of birds, while some of the 'jesting names' appear to be descriptive. It seems to have been possible for a single person to have borne all four names" (Roys, 1934, p. 106).

4: Villa Rojas E-4.5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

614 exception, both names (lineage and clan)
613 are inherited from the father.

[178] In the more acculturated communities the
[612] clan and lineage system tends to disappear and to be replaced by the bilateral system,
[582] characteristic of Ladino society. In Aguacatenango, despite the belief that there is a relationship between people of the same
613 Spanish name, they may marry. Moreover, they are starting to be ashamed of using the indigenous name differentiating the lineages. B. Metzger states (1959, p. 18):

[551] Lineage names appear to be used as surnames within the community—as we have discovered
[P. 214 - B]

613 by overhearing them spoken in unguarded mo-
551 ments—but their existence is vigorously denied or only cautiously admitted to outsiders. As a result, we have not been able to discover how these names are distributed in the community, how wide the lineage is, and whether or not kinship terms are applied throughout.

613 In the more conservative municipios the
[614] clans are not centralized but dispersed throughout the parajes. Lineages are now fragmented, and the common ancestor is no longer remembered. Generally these lineages are localized in one or two parajes, but neither can remember its genealogy further

[P. 214-C]

591 clearly an available option. The senior couple then live there
[768] by themselves until one of them dies, in which case the widow(er) moves to the house of some one of the children, or alternatively, the youngest son moves in to the parental house, closing his own.

These, then, constitute the modalities of the pattern of
591 592 residence movement which take place at or near the time of marriage in the preponderance of cases. Other de facto household compositions may be interpreted as variant forms of this pattern with the addition of further particular circumstances of little apparent generality.

We have suggested that the observer may understand something of the nature of household composition in Aguacatenango in terms of consanguineal and affinal relationships of the members involved. We see that individuals join existing households primarily through marriage to some member in the household and that new households are established as the potential marriage slots
571 in the existing household fill up. The organization of members
551 in the household as well as the membership in other enduring groups is expressed in part in terms of names which are assigned to individuals on the basis of absolute and relative characteristics they are perceived, and perceive themselves, to possess. These characteristics serve to define a membership potential for any individual and to exclude him effectively from alternative positions. They are used frequently in the course of interactions

571 between members of the community to identify persons in refer-
551 ences--that is, persons who are not present in the conversation. From the speaker's point of view, they as unambiguously identify individuals as does naming the house in which they live. So, then, turning from a general consideration of the membership of houses, we now consider the variety of intersecting classes in terms of which the individuals in the houses may be identified. This listing will introduce the principal organizing features in the community, each of which will then receive separate treatment.

571 Terms of reference in Aguacatenango include (1) personal
551 names; (2) relationship terms--kinship, ritual kinship or
601
554 compadrazgo and other relationships of a more general nature; (3) "role names," which identify persons in terms of characteristics other than interpersonal relationships; and certain combinations of these three types.

551 <u>Personal names</u>

The major subclass of the set of personal names, identifiable as Christian names, is subdivided on the basis of sex; with a few exceptions, a particular Christian name is appropriate to males or to females but not to both. Christian names may be used with a possessive prefix, e.g. /H-MARIA/, "my Maria," to refer to children of the coordinating person. They can be made diminutive by the addition of /C'IN/, "little."

553 A pair of intersecting principles influences the Christian name which is assigned to a child by the male parent. An important factor in naming is the "saint's day," the parent choosing one of the several patron saints of the day of a child's birth. It appears that in general the name assigned to the child is selected in this way. The choice of one of the appropriate set of saints' names is further conditioned by the preference for assigning the name of some relative of the preceding generation, two such individuals with the same Christian and surnames then standing in a /HELOL/ relationship. The precise interaction of these principles--that is, which overrides the other under what circumstances--is the subject of further investigation.

551 Christian names may be used alone or with surnames in reference to persons; surnames are not used alone. The minor subclass of names which can be identified as surnames reflects family membership in that lineally related males and their female siblings share a surname. The spouses of these individuals will in general not share this surname, nor will they share a single surname among themselves. This distribution of surnames corresponds to the following statement: The offspring of a married couple receive the surname of the male parent.

Three variants on one or another aspect of the above distribution may be noted, though none of them occur in the corpus.

(1) There are contexts in which the Tzeltal surname is

551 transformed into a Spanish equivalent. Thus the offspring of a couple, the male of whom has the surname /*ENTIS/, may refer to himself and be referred to by others as /*ERNANDES/ as well as by the Tzeltal equivalent /*ENTIS/. The variables that determine this variation are unknown to us.

(2) There are contexts in which the offspring of a couple, the male of whom has the surname /MENTES/, will be referred to by two surnames in the order /MENTES TONTON/. Comparison of these examples with the senior lineal equivalents indicates that the second surname is associated with males of the set of lineal kin. This is a low frequency occurrence variant and the conditions of its appearance are unknown to us.

(3) There are contexts in which the offspring of a couple, the male of which has the surname /PERES/, will be referred to by two surnames in the order /PERES HWARES/. Comparison of these examples with the senior lineal equivalents indicates that the second surname is identical with the surname (as previously defined) of the mother. The contexts in which the father's surname plus mother's surname appear are in part determined by the demands of ladinos who prefer a pattern of surnames which resembles their own. So, for example, this variant pattern appears on birth and death certificates, on censuses, and on bills and receipts.

601 The applicability of the affinal terms is limited to spouses' lineals and the respective reciprocals, lineals here defined as siblings, parents, and children. Relations other than these through some marriage tie (e.g., "brother's wife's brother," etc.) are encompassed by the terms of compadrazgo (see below).

Kin terms are often combined with each other or with per-
[561] sonal names to form complex terms of reference. We have mentioned the use of the unpossessed forms of kin terms of 0 and +1 generations with names to indicate age-status of the referent, as in /TATIK TABYANO/, "Octaviano (who is a respected elder)," and /WIX MARIA/, "Maria (who is the age of an elder sister to
[551] me)." Kin terms in their possessed forms are not specified by the personal name of the referent, as in the English usage, "my brother George." Further, simple possessed kin terms are not used to specify each other in a single utterance, although the identification of a person in terms of his several kin relationships to speaker and listener, or to either participant and some absent person, is common in complete conversations. (I.e., while a person may be referred to as "my brother" and as "your uncle" by the same speaker in the course of an extended conversation, the single utterance, "my brother, your uncle," does not
[551] occur.) Possessed kin terms are used with personal names in complex terms which identify the referent in terms of his rela-

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551 tionship to some other absent person (this coordinating person being identified in turn by name). Examples of this kind of reference are /Y-INAM H-MA-TAT/, "my father's wife (not my mother)," /X-NIC'AN HWAN/, "Juan's child," and /S-NEAL MA TATIK HOSE GOMES/ "(respected elder) Jose Gomez' son-in-law." An alternative to the possessive prefix--which is set off by a dash from the kin term in the examples--is an expression with /YU*N/ which is used exclusively in the identification of children of the coordinating person, as in /*AC'IX YU*N PEYRO/, "the girl of Pedro (Pedro's daughter)."

A special case of this coordinating construction is the use of a personal name following /S-TAT/, "his (her) father," or /S-ME*/, "his (her) mother," as in /S-TAT PEYRO/, "Pedro's father," and /S-ME*CUS/, "Jesus' mother." This combination is distinguished by the fact that, unlike simple kin terms, it is often specified by the name of the referent, as in /S-TAT PEYRO LUTERYO/, "Pedro's father, Eleuterio." Also, in contrast to simple kin terms, it is used to specify possessed kin terms, as in /H-BANKIL S-TAT PEYRO LUTERYO/, "my brother, Pedro's father, Eleuterio," and unpossessed kin terms of the age-status set, as in /TA(T) S-TA(T)-HWAN/, "(Mr.) Juan's father." It is also used to identify a referent through a second absent person, as in /X-NIC'AN S-TAT HWAN/, "the child of the father of Juan." Whether specified by the name of the referent or not, this construction

601 conforms to what has been termed teknonymy in the literature.
551 The occurrence of such an expression as /X-NIC'AN S-TAT HWAN/ led us to suppose that not any child is equally candidate for membership in the teknonymous construction. Informants agree that the child who is candidate for the said position has the attributes of "first-born child of a legitimate union who lived long enough to be named." Since the teknonymous candidate is recruited exclusively from the first position in the relative order of own children, it might be appropriate to suggest that teknonymy be hereafter distinguished on the basis of the type and degree of explicit definition of the coordinating person.

Terms of compadrazgo

601 The terminology of compadrazgo, ritual kinship, includes
608 the following forms which are shown in Table 10 (p. 30). The terms /-KUMPRE/ and /KUMRE/ are self-reciprocal except for sex of referent, and thus generation is not one of their characteristics. However, /-KUMPRE/~/KUMRE/ enter into compounds with the modifiers /MUK'UL/ and /C'IN/, these modifiers serving as in kin terms of -1 generation to augment or to depress age relative to the coordinating person.

608 The employment of /-KUMPRE/~/KUMRE/ in reference to known
602 siblings of speakers led to an inquiry regarding the limits of eligibility for compadrazgo relations. Informants state that a

608 sets of terms, then, are mutually exclusive; a single term of
601 reference does not include both /H-KUMPRE/ and /H-BANKIL/, although /H-BANKIL/ may occasionally occur as an alternative term of reference succeeding /H-Kumpre/ in an interchange in which
601 the first term was unclear to the listener. However, /-KUMPRE/
608 does occur in complex terms of reference in which, like kin
551 terms, it is specified by a teknonymous construction, e.g., /H-KUMPRE S-TAT MIGEL DANYEL/, "my compadre the father of Miguel, namely Daniel." Unlike kin terms, /-KUMPRE/ does not combine with personal names in the coordinating constructions of which the teknonymous is one type (i.e., we do not find such a term as "Juan's compadre").

Alos, unlike kin terms, /-KUMPRE/ may be specified by a personal name, e.g., /H-KUMPRE BISENTI/, or by a "role" name, e.g., /H-KUMPRE PRESIDENTE/, "my compadre the president." (The terms of compadrazgo of +1 generations, relatively infrequently used, always occur alone.)

601 The terms of compadrazgo may be further specified as
608 follows:

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(2) /HOY TA YAKBEL/, "drinking companion"

(3) /HOY TA *A*TEL/, "working companion"

(4) /HOY+YAXBEN/, "traveling companion"

(5) /*AMIGO/, "friend"

(6) /BESINO/ /NAHPAL NOCOL/, "neighbor"

(7) /-KONTRA/ /-*ENEMIGO/, "enemy"

(8) /-*AHWAL/, "boss"

Examination of genealogical data, data as to residence, and compadrazgo relations reveals (as might be inferred from the apparent meaning of /HOY/) that the same referent may occupy more than a single one of these associative roles at the same time as well as be kin and/or compadre to the coordinating individual, though in any given reference term only one such identification will be employed. Though formally mutually exclusive (as in the less general case of <u>kin</u> and <u>compadrazgo</u> terms), all of these may intersect in the same individual.

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These general relationship terms combine with names, terms of compadrazgo, and teknonymous constructions, both in terms where the second form specifies the first, e.g. /HOYTIK SIRIL HWARES/, "our companion Cirilo Juarez," and in terms where the second form refers to a cocrdinating person, /S-HOY S-MAGRINA/, "her madrina's companion." The general relationship terms share with kin terms the feature that in complex terms they are always the first of the two forms; terms of compadrazgo combine with

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these two sets of terms only as the second term but always precede names, role names, and teknonymous constructions. General relationship terms are like the terms of compadrazgo in that they may be specified by a personal name (as above).

"Role names"

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The set of terms to which we apply the label "role names" is distinguished by the fact that these terms usually occur unpossessed and are not defined in terms of a relationship to some person. While they occasionally have possessive prefixes, they never occur in the third person in coordinating constructions. Also, when possessed, these forms always carry the agentive prefix /-H-/, which is optional in the unpossessed variants. Thus:

Unpossessed	Possessed
/PRESIRENTE/ /H-PRESIRENTE/ "presidente"	/*AW-AH-PRESIRENTE/ "your presidente"
/H-*UL/ "curandero"	/*AW-AH-*UL/ "your curandero"

Among the forms in this class is /(H)KAX(1)AN(-ETIK)/, "ladinos (as a class)," which contrasts with the elicited from /H-TUL H-LUMAL/, "one of my pueblo (Aguacatenango)." (Both forms are included under the headword /KRISTYANO-ETIK/, "human being," which contrasts with /CAMBALAM-ETIK/, "animals," and /TUTU-TIK/, "things.")

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nic unity extending back to the beginning of time. The people set boundaries by such external symbols as a locally specified costume for men and women, a distinctive dialect of Tzeltal, and specialization in the production of pottery. Implicit boundaries are established by socialization processes that inhibit response to the outside world and that define a code of behavior understandable only in its own context. The completely socialized member of the community is not expected to seek recognition, nor could he find prestige, outside these boundaries. The community comprises the moral universe: cooperation and reciprocity are limited to members of the community, as are most cases of homicide and theft. Lacking concrete evidence, people assume misdeeds to have been committed by someone from the community.

The boundaries that separate these Indians from other Indian communities as well as from non-Indian, or *Ladino*,[1] communities are social artifacts that give a sense of security to members of the in-group. They call themselves "the true men" (*b'atz'il winik*), and their world is defined in "the true word" (*b'atz'il k'op*). The latter is their term for the Tzeltal dialect of Maya which is the language of the house and of the street, the courthouse, and the church in the absence of the Spanish-speaking priest. Tzeltal names differ from Spanish names for most of the surrounding towns, the earth, the heavens, and the cosmological bodies. Catholic saints are incorporated under a Tzeltal name or a Tzeltal version of their Spanish name. All of the members of the community have a Tzeltal patronym in addition to the Spanish surname with which they are baptized. The given name is that of a Spanish saint but is shortened and pronounced with Tzeltal phonemes, and female names have the feminine prefix *I*. Their world is labeled in their own language.

The people assume that their expectations will be met and their projec-

1. The term Ladino has a range of usage throughout Middle America. In Mexico City, people define Ladino as any person who abuses his superior skills to take advantage of others. In Oaxaca, a Zapotec Indian defined Ladino as "an Indian who knows Spanish, has adopted western-style clothing, and takes advantage of other Indians because of his knowledge of the language and ways of life of the non-Indian society. He is like a fox." In Chiapas, the term is applied to any non-Indian without derogatory connotation, and the same is true in Guatemala. In the metalanguage of anthropological monographs, it is used in this latter sense.

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were not affected by the congregación. The fact that there is no mention in the post-Conquest documents of the introduction of dual divisions suggests that the model was indigenous to the area.

The Indians of Tzo'ontahal state that the dividing line of the division was established in its present position when a new church, replacing the first one which was burned, was built on the present site. Judging from a date carved in a beam of the church, this must have been about the year 1746. The endogamous restriction on marriage has not led to a sense of racial distinction between the two populations. Both groups feel that they are descendants of the same ancestor figures and under their guardianship. The same Tzeltal patronyms are distributed on both sides of the division, although there is a clustering of some of them on one or another side. Table 2 shows the distribution of patronyms of 714 male and female adults; 88 percent of the patronyms are found in both divisions.[4]

The functions of the division in organizing social groupings have been eroded, but some survive. Equal representation by civil officials from the upper and lower sections, when there are two or more posts at the same rank, is still in effect. The principle of alternation of the single posts of president and *síndico*, his administrative assistant, so that one term the incumbent is chosen from Ahk'olnantik and the following term from Alannantik has not been a decisive factor since the 1930s, when Indian communities were being drawn into more active participation in national programs of change (Chapter 9).

Residential expansion within the center has been almost entirely in Ahk'olnantik because of the addition of ejido lands formerly belonging to the finca of San Nicolás on this side of town. This one-sided increase in population finally resulted, in 1965, in a breakdown of the principle of equal representation in the ceremonial posts involving high expenses, those of the four *alfereces*. Although attempts were made to find candidates in Alannantik, there were no men with sufficient funds who had not

4. Carrasco (n.d.:5) quotes a document in the *Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla, Guatemala* 16 indicating that Spanish patronyms were given to the heads of calpules and that these were to be extended to all members of the calpul. The present distribution of name groups in the dual divisions cannot support this, nor can it refute the possibility that Spanish patronyms were related to some larger kin or territorial grouping more than three hundred years ago.

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held that post formerly, and all four alfereces were for the first time taken from one side.

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TABLE 2. Patronyms in the Dual Division

Patronym	*Alannantik only*	*Ahk'olnantik only*	*Alannantik and Ahk'olnantik*
Alvarez			37
Arguella Jimenez	1		
Bautista		1	
Bautista Čail			52
Bautista Čo		5	
Bautista Ko'ton			14
Bautista Sa'ben			20
Cepeda			1
Cepeda Čilol			29
Cruz Mendez	1		
Diaz			6
Diaz Čamo			5
Diaz Ton			8
Diaz Uz			42
Gomez		2	
Gomez Bot			39
Gomez Kompaš			73
Gomez Kut			49
Gomez Waris	1		
Gonzalez	1		
Gonzalez Ikob		3	
Guitierrez	1		
Hernandez	1		
Hernandez Čela	1		
Hernandez Tenan	4	1	
Jimenez		2	
Leon		2	
Leon Či			21
Leon Čulik			14
Leon Malatz	2		
Lopez			1
Lopez Lab'	1		
Lopez Lin			31
Lopez Mai	11		
Lopez Pokoš		13	
Lopez Tapiya		5	
Lopez Šunton		18	

Patronym	*Alannantik only*	*Ahk'olnantik only*	*Alannantik and Ahk'olnantik*
Lopez Tz'u?u			12
Lopez Wolto			50
Lopez Yutz			16
Perez			9
Perez Huhan			4
Perez Kam			11
Perez Kantiron			23
Perez Os			17
Perez Otol			16
Perez Tut			18
Perez Ventura			11
Sanchez		3	
Santis Peč	1		
Vasquez		3	
Total	26	58	629

The curing hierarchy was organized on the basis of the dual division until the 1940s. There were two leader curers, one on each side, who were in charge of guarding their own side against intrusion of evil spirits. During the 1940s a breakdown in the hierarchial principle led to some lessening of the power of the group and a collapse of the leadership. People now patronize curers from either section, but there is some feeling that it is safer for the curers if they cure only on their own side.

The dual division persists as a basis of economic organization only in the case of the cattle owner's associations. Pasturage on communal lands is allocated according to residence in the upper or lower division. Since cattle raising for beef has increased the size of herds the cattle owners on each side have formed an association to clear the waterholes and celebrate fiestas at the major waterhole on the Day of the Cross. None of the other new enterprises in town organize on the basis of the territorial division.

In the etiquette of social interaction, the dual division is still taken into account. When a resident of one side walks in the streets of the other side, he is not expected to greet passersby or people in their houses with the usual *b'onme wil* or *b'onme tat* (I go, elder sister or father, or whatever the appropriate extension of kin terms may be). Such street greetings are mandatory on one's own side of the town. It is considered much safer to

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waters. The curer brushes the patients with branches of the cooling bushes and herbs growing near the spring, the same ones used in the fiesta of inauguration and the curing ceremonies conducted in the house. The strategy of making the house spirit happy by providing music, dancing, and drinking is repeated at the spring to make the water spirit happy. Some of the family of the patient must remain in the house as "waiters" (*maliwanehetik*) to receive the spirit if it should arrive before its owner. The maliwanehetik must drink as much liquor as the participants at the spring.

The Cave of the Ancestors. The ancestors, the *me?tiktatik*, were believed to have lived in a cave in the hills lying on the peripheries of the township. In the myth that follows, they are given a historical identity as two brothers, the Shuntonetik. Shunton is one of the Tzeltal patronyms of families still living in the town, and in fact the narrator of this version of the myth is Mariano Shunton, whom people consider a descendant of the ancestors.[6]

Formerly a priest asked for a document to be delivered to Antigua in Guatemala. Two messengers were sent with it, but they did not return. Another messenger went and did not return. Four or five more messengers were sent out and did not come back. Finally they sent a man from the cabildo with his younger brother. They left early in the morning, and the elder brother said as he left the other town officials, "If I succeed, I want a fiesta. Look for my sign of four arches [rainbow]."

The two brothers first went to a hill. There they called upon their swayohelik [*animal spirits*]. *First the animal spirit of the elder brother spoke. He said, "I am a stone." Then the animal spirit of the younger brother said, "I am a stick. Moreover, I am a snake and a maguey plant." The elder brother said, "Then we are well off. Let us go."*

6. The same identification of a lineage patronym with the most important sacred hill is found in other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities (Holland 1963, Hermitte 1964). The pattern may have originated in a period of pre-Conquest expansion when the dominant lineage was assiged a custodial leadership over the new settlement, with their spirits remaining as guardians of the community. Members of the contemporary communities who bear the same patronym do not have any privileged position. These associations of past and contemporary belief are, as Vogt (1964:216) cautions, still hypothetical.

242 *Soil characteristics.* The potential productivity of flat irrigated lands is evaluated on the basis of two criteria: color of the soil and consistency of the soil. The preferred land for cultivation is the black loam mixed with some sand, (*ʔihk'al hiʔiletik lum*). The better, quicker growing corn seed is planted here. These very productive soils are called "hot" [822] lands (*k'ilin lum*). (Heat is associated with fertility in both lands and [843] people: a pregnant woman and her husband are considered to be in a state [842] of heat, and the contrast state of being cold is attributed to someone who is sterile.) The red (*tzab'alum*) yellow (*k'analum*), and white soils (*sak lum*) are poorer soils and the slower seed is planted here. These soils are considered "cold" (*sik*) and are thought to be "tired."

The loss of soil productivity is attributed either to the loss of the soul of [774] the crop or to the fact that the soil gets "tired." Farmers have noticed that in the first five years of planting in Tulanca, the ejido land grant, the soil was "hot" and gave good crops. When this productivity was lost, people said the soul of the crop left. It is considered dangerous to start crops in the lower lands of hot country because when the location of crops is changed, the soul leaves its original residence. The notion of crop soul loss does not conflict with the awareness of natural causes of soil productivity. Fields are left fallow for four or five years when productivity diminishes and the soil is "tired." The irrigated lands are in continuous use because there is some replenishment of fertility with the overflow of the ditch waters. Cattle fertilizers are used sporadically. Those who have many head of [233] cattle construct corrals into which they herd the cattle each night. The location of the corral is changed yearly. Corn and beans are then planted in the old corral with superior results. The dozen or so corrals in the town [596] are owned and worked cooperatively by extended families and are referred [476] to by the Indian patronyms—for example, *skoral Linetik* (corral of the [551] Lins) or *skoral Čailetik* (corral of the Čailes). The one attempt to use [177] commercial fertilizers provided by the Ejido Bank proved a technical success but an administrative failure (chapter 3). Indians noted the increased yields, but none have attempted to purchase fertilizers.

Soil consistency is evaluated on the basis of how easy it is to work. Wet, sticky, or clayey soil (*lučilum*) and stony soil (*kelilum*) are least desirable. Sandy soil is easier to work, but soil productivity depends on a loam

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term derived from compadres; and bersinatak, meaning the neighbors, is derived from *vecinos*. When informants are asked to summarize who participates in rituals, these three groups are always mentioned. They are not exclusive groupings; neighbors or siblings may be chosen as compadres, in which case the reference and vocative terms for compadres are preferred to any previous terminology. Activation of any of these ties depends on choice and convenience. Proximity of residence is of greater importance in day-to-day exchanges of assistance or visiting than closeness of genealogical tie. Interaction rates have been quantified in an earlier study of the community (J. Nash 1960; 1964).

Another way of referring to the yermanotak is with the plural form of the Indian patronym. Members of the Shunton family would, for example, be called the Shuntonetik. Several Indian surnames are linked to a Spanish patronym. For example, the Shunton, along with Lin, Mai, and Wolto? are linked to the name Lopez. In other Tzeltal and Tzotzil-speaking communities, these Indian surname groups have a greater cohesiveness, and in the recent past held corporate lands which they worked in common, as in Larraínzar (Holland 1963), Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947, Siverts 1960) and San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961). In these towns, the Spanish patronym designated a clan marked by exogamy and responsibility of the elders for maintaining social control. In Tzo?ontahal, the tie of descent has given way to an emphasis on collateral links. Exogamy of the Indian name group is the only surviving function of the lineage, and when this has been violated, there are only minor repercussions.

While the Spanish-derived collective terms are restricted to domestic groupings, the Tzeltal collective term for elders, me?iltatil, refers to the three central groups responsible for social control in the community. Derived from the terms for mother, *me?*, and father, *tat*, it is metaphorically extended to include the sponsors in household ceremonies, the curers acting as guardians of their side of the dual division, and the civil officials. Each of the groups is vested with a different level of authority in the community. This is summarized briefly below.

1. Household sponsors: The Spanish institution of ritual godparenthood has been fused with the indigenous system of sponsorship by me?iltatil. When a child is baptized, his god-parents are included as

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787 claim, has been lost, as has been more recently that of speaking with the ancestors. But the curers can still enter into communication with the spirit world and in this lies their power.

461 Industry is valued along with competency. A man is described as indus-
183 trious with the words, "he carries much wood well," and a woman with the words, "she carries much sand well." These expressions are a kind of
[196] synechdoche for general industriousness, since the tasks serve as the measure of willingness to perform one's sexually defined roles.

[476] Judgments made in the choice of working "partners" in the exchange
[602] labor system are based on competence in working as well as on considera-
[608] tions of kin and compadrazgo relationship. Women make judgments of
[323] others' skill in pottery-making on the basis of both the appearance of the pot and its durability proved in use and transportation without breakage to market. Both men and women known to be hard workers are admired
[754] and envied. They may consequently become the objects of witchcraft.

828 Conceptions of personality are one end product of evaluations of per-
157 formances and condition people's expectations of individuals in their social environment. For the Indians, personality traits tend to imply other traits.
125 In order to derive a sense of these implications for Tzoʔontahal, I drew up
157 a checklist to identify some of these associations. Informants were asked to
828 state whether each of the traits listed on the top line in Table 30 was correlated positively, negatively, or not at all with each of the same traits listed vertically. A plus (+) sign indicates positive correlation, a minus (—) sign indicates negative correlation, and an equal (=) sign indicates that
157 there was no correlation. Thus being bright is positively correlated with
828 being beautiful and negatively correlated with being evil, fearful, lazy, foolish, gullible, braggardly, gossipy, and miserly. There is no connection between being bright and being of good heart, aggressive, or honorable. This suggests that the heart and the mind are independent loci for a set of traits that stem from them. Metaphors such as bitter, acid, and straight, when used to describe personality, are similar in connotation to those used in English. As in English, immediate sensory experiences of taste and vision provide by extension a means of talking about character.

157 In studying these personality traits, I sensed that "being" was "doing"
551 things in certain repetitive ways. This impression is corroborated by the

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system of giving nicknames, which is based on behavior typical for an individual but considered unusual by the community (Table 31). Many of these names are acquired in drinking sessions, or they may be passed down from father to son. Women of the community do not have nicknames, perhaps because they do not often drink in groups until they are

TABLE 31. Nicknames

Nickname	*Reason given for nickname*
Mono (Monkey)	He acts like a fool.
Nulkačo (Horn of bull)	He once ate the horn of a bull.
Purga (Purgative)	When he was young, he had a great deal of diarrhea. As he grew older, people asked him how he grew and he said, *"pura purga."*
Soltero (Soldier)	He was once in the army.
Obiskú (Bishop)	When he was young, he made a hat which looked like a bishop's.
Chanal (Town of Chanal)	Formerly he had given lodging to Chanaleños who passed through town.
Mam tiʔel mut (Man bitten by a chicken)	He had a chicken who bit him.
Mam čok (Beggar)	He was always borrowing things and not returning them.
Hwečol (Meal of sausage)	When he was president, he used to collect fines and ask his companions what they wanted to eat. They always replied "sausage," and so they had many a meal of sausage.
Mam sel pat (Torn shoulder)	He always wore an old, torn kotonču because he was afraid someone would steal it if he wore a new one when he was drunk.
Lo čiol (Tomatoes)	He ate a lot of tomatoes.
Heowa (Jehovah)	When he was drunk, he used to say to his companions, "You do not know of God, but his name is Jehovah."
Yakan tz'iʔ (Longbone of dog)	He was an orphan, but he grew quickly like a dog.
Tz'a yok (Short-legged)	He was short.
Rečo (Right [side])	When he was drunk he used to say that others didn't know what the revolution was like, but he did because he was in it. He used to shout, *"Flanko, recho"* (to the right flank).

old and do not have as much opportunity to project their personalities in larger than life terms. Ladinas of the neighboring towns are given nicknames: Me? Sobol for example, was named for her habit of saying when she was drunk, "No soy bola" (I am not drunk); Me? Č'ič'el, meaning Mother Blood, was applied to a woman who sold blood of slaughtered animals. 557 551

Behavior is not believed to be totally dependent on innate traits, and the Indians emphasize the socialization processes. A badly behaved youth was said in court to "behave as though he did not have a mother," and to lack fear of his parents. The sense of shame and fear begin at home, and the community relies on the family to instill these controlling influences on behavior. 861 [828]

Notions of Justice and Compensation

Notions of immanent justice, whether acquired from the priest or indigenous beliefs, are peripheral to the morality system. Crimes should be paid for not in suffering, guilt, or remorse, but in fines exacted by the communal authority. Every crime has its price, and most people agree that it is good to be able to pay in money and be exonerated. The scale of values assigned in the fines for crimes is some index to the relative weight given them: 577 687 685

Stealing a bull: 500 to 1,200 pesos, depending on value of bull.
Stealing a turkey: 40 to 70 pesos, depending on value of turkey.
Stealing a horse: 300 to 500 pesos, depending on value of horse.

The range of fines for each act of theft indicates that justice is exacted on the basis of market value of the item stolen. The fine for murder is 1,600 to 3,000 pesos or two to eight years in prison when a killer is captured by the federal authorities. Local authorities rarely try to find the killer. In the thirty-seven cases of homicide analyzed in the period from 1938 to 1965 (Table 29)[2] only two resulted in federal action. 682

People express doubt about the priest's warning that those who do evil will reap the wages of sin in this life or the next regardless of whether they are found guilty. The pragmatic basis for this conclusion is revealed 577 [682]

1/n (see pp.245-247..Analyst)

121 population, such as an endogamous village, ought to be bilateral societies. This is obviously not so. Even if we assume that our statement is a reductio ad absurdum of Nash's point, there is evidence in the immediate vicinity of Amatenango that other villages, equally concentrated in population, with the same physical set-
114 ting, are not bilateral. J. Nash (1960) compared Amatenango and
361 Aguacatenango in a few paragraphs, and she felt that the evidence
602 supported her theory. However, the data available to her was
592 very unreliable. She quoted a preliminary report of Metzger
591 written before the residence analysis of the community was carried to completion, which contained only impressionistic observations, and gave the impression that residence was neolocal and that agnatically related households were widely spread within the community, which we have shown in chapter vi not to be true.

602 Moreover, Aguacatenango not only has patri-virilocality,
613 but corporate patrilines. The name-groups in Aguacatenango form
592 localized agnatic descent groups (which we above called the
•551 localized clusters of agnatically linked households). The people
621 belonging to a name-group are recognized as relatives or, in Tzeltal, "those who are my family on my father's side." Those individuals have one last name (Indian surname) in common with
174 Ego. Within the Spanish surname, some people are considered in
613 the descent group and some are considered aparte (separate),
551 but a man of the Spanish name Perez, would say that all those Perezetik who are not aparte belong to his family, and any Perez is "closer" to another Perez than to a man of another Spanish name. The reason for the segmentation of the Spanish name-group is lost in the past. When the lineage system was composed of

174 segments of different breadth of inclusion, it is possible that
613 the Indian last name was a smaller lineage segment than the
551 Spanish last name, or, as it occurs in other Chiapas villages, that the Indian name was the lineage name and the Spanish name the clan name, but that clans have disappeared in Aguacatenango. The result is that there are more Indian than Spanish names, and sometimes a Spanish name, such as Hernandez, has within it the patrilines Wayal, Obispo and Chalté, while Perez has the patrilines Ich, Tuluk and Chauk.

613 At the present time, the patriline is very shallow. Connections are lost frequently after the second ascending generation and the localized agnatic line includes only three, or at best four, adjacent generations, when the linking relative in the higher generation is still alive or recently deceased and still remembered.

613 The Indian name, which indicates the patriline, is not
551 known by many people in the younger generation, and older people are reluctant to mention the subject. With the influence of the
[829] Mexican system of naming (which includes both the Spanish last name of the father and the mother), the older villagers are becoming aware that westerners do not have the same descent name system, and are embarrassed to discuss this subject with non-villagers, although in Tzeltal conversations among themselves they identify people through them.

126 We did collect some patriline names (which are Tzeltal
613 words for animals and natural phenomena), but unfortunately the
551 limited field-work season did not allow for more detailed
602

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613
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602 investigation, so that we could not pin down all patriline names to the respective genealogies.

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613 We do have evidence, however, that the patriline is (or
551 was) exogamous. In the first place, the villagers are very in-
582 sistent that "people of the same name should not marry," and at the present time, this rule seems to be influencing the choice of marriage partners even in the Spanish name group; on the other hand, we have one case which explicitly indicates so: one of the village women, Ceveriana, reported that when her present husband asked her to marry, she was very worried that her marriage was going to be "sinful" because both she and her future husband had the same Spanish last names: Hernandez. Not knowing what to do, they consulted a village elder, who asked them for their Indian last names. When he found out that their Indian surnames were different (Wayal and Chalté), he reassured them that it was permitted for them to marry "because they did not have the same Indian name." (See genealogy, Fig. 14.)

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582 Patriline exogamy, however, does not seem to be associated with preferential marriage. In other villages in the highlands of Chiapas, the informants state that it is preferred to marry a woman of one's mother's name group. In Aguacatenango, however, out of 161 marriages in which all the relevant names were known, only twenty-three men had married women of their mother's name group. Even in the case in which preferential marriages would be the ideal choice (and they never have been stated as such), the practice does not follow it.

/5 cont./

551 614 The great majority of the native surnames could not be translated by our informants, who asserted that they did not signify anything in the Tzeltal language. Those for which we could obtain the meaning are: Chan ... snake, of the Ijká clan; Chij ... deer, of the Chik clan; Uax ... wildcat, of the Boj clan; Chikin ... ear, of the Chik clan; and Lot ... lie /Sp. mentira, lie, story, error/, of the Ijká clan.

428 424 551 613 614 The surnames are inherited through the paternal line and constitute the lineages within each clan. The lands formerly belonged to the lineage and could not be alienated. This custom is tending to disappear in recent times, but even today we have found several cases in which only an individual belonging to the lineage can occupy land that has been left without an owner when one has died without leaving male descendants.

166 551 553 614 A native from another municipality or group who comes to Cancuc with the aim of settling down in it must be incorporated into one of the clans, for which it is necessary to change his native surname for a Cancuc one. (The different native groups of this central region of the State of Chiapas have surnames that differ among themselves, and it is through them that their place of origin is shown.) Generally he keeps the Spanish surname and takes a native surname that in Cancuc corresponds to that. One Gómez Tzima from Oxchuc became Gómez Uotán of the Chejeb clan of Cancuc. One Aguilar belongs to the Chik clan, like all the Aguilar of Cancuc. One Santis Kujul, the small son of an Oxchuquero and a woman from Cancuc, gave up his surname from Oxchuc when his father died and his mother's family incorporated him into the Ijká clan, changing the native surname Kujul for that of Lul, "so that he will be from here, and have his chapomales here, and marry here," his maternal aunt of the Chik clan explained to us. These cases are rare. We could not find out before whom these incorporations are carried out. One informant, born [829] in Cancuc, whose paternal grandfather /6/ had come from the municipality of Tenejapa, told us that he had heard his father say that "in the old times the old people arranged that."

844 cloves, and corncake, to keep her "warm
[757] and fertile." The placenta can be burned,
[842] thrown to the dogs, or deeply buried in case
the mother does not want another preg-
[789] nancy soon. The umbilical cord is put under
a three-stone fireplace if the baby is a girl,
on top of a tree if it is a boy so that he may
become brave and agile when adult.

846 A few hours after childbirth, at the latest
515 the next day, both mother and child take a
temascal (steam bath). Some women stay
in the temascal until they feel completely
recovered.

Childhood and Adolescence

789 During the first weeks of life, children are
774 in danger of losing their souls because their
inexperience makes them an easy prey to
the naguales and bad spirits who wander
around. As protection, mothers place a small
[237] piece of beeswax at the back of the child's
head or tie, as a bracelet, a red or blue
thread around the wrist. If none of these
precautions are taken, the mother has to
cover with branches the paths her child
walks, so that his soul can easily find its way
in case he loses it.

789 Because of all these dangers, fathers al-
852 ways try to perform the ceremony of "seed
774 the soul of the child" as soon as possible. It
• [553] is during this ceremony that the child is
given a name, later confirmed according to
Catholic ritual at the ceremonial center. A
[608] very important aspect of the ceremony is
selection of the godparents.

753 *Sickness and Death*

776 Most sicknesses come from infection or
[888] malnutrition. To the natives, however, ill-
nesses have a supernatural cause and are
ascribed either to the anger of gods and
spirits or to old people who have a nagual
or who can throw a spell. The most frequent
explanation is that naguales or supernatural
beings are acting against people. They can
adopt human or animal form or appear as

[P 224-A]

• 553 A pair of intersecting principles influences the Christian name which is assigned to a child by the male parent. An important factor in naming is the "saint's day," the parent choosing one of the several patron saints of the day of a child's birth. It appears that in general the name assigned to the child is selected in this way. The choice of one of the appropriate set of saints' names is further conditioned by the preference for assigning the name of some relative of the preceding generation, two such individuals with the same Christian and surnames then standing in a /HELOL/ relationship. The precise interaction of these principles--that is, which overrides the other under what circumstances--is the subject of further investigation.

551 Christian names may be used alone or with surnames in reference to persons; surnames are not used alone. The minor subclass of names which can be identified as surnames reflects family membership in that lineally related males and their female siblings share a surname. The spouses of these individuals will in general not share this surname, nor will they share a single surname among themselves. This distribution of surnames corresponds to the following statement: The offspring of a married couple receive the surname of the male parent.

Three variants on one or another aspect of the above distribution may be noted, though none of them occur in the corpus.

(1) There are contexts in which the Tzeltal surname is

building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office.

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist.

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first.

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient portable typewriter. Since typing is a new skill for him, he makes many errors, and his retrials are accepted with patience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

/2 cont./

614 The chieftaincy of each clan was filled by the oldest man,
887 who was called chunel. (It seems to have the same meaning as
156 the word catinab, but some informants recognized the latter as
the one used in the adjacent municipality of Oxchuc.) The office
was not hereditary, and upon the death of a chunel the oldest man
156 of the clan was venerated as such. The chief of the clan was re-
614 spected and feared, because he was recognized as endowed with
888 supernatural power which, through his lab, he exercised over all
776 the members of the clan. Two informants of advanced age de-
554 fined the chunel as "the oldest one and the greatest sorcerer."
The lab feeds on souls, and a person who has "done wrong" is
776 "eaten" by the lab of the one offended and dies. In this way
761 social control was exercised on and among the members of the
[784] clan, never going beyond the limits of this. The life of the in-
[626] dividual is intimately bound to the life of the lab, or guardian
776 spirit: the death of one brings with it the death of the other. All
the Cancuqueros have their lab, but they hide it and sometimes
[756] deny it. The curer knows which is the lab of the sick person be-
[827] cause "he hears it in the pulse." The lab reveals itself in dreams
[787] to "its owner," with whom it speaks because "it is his own com-
pany." One person discovers the lab of another "because he sees
it." The lab takes care of its owner, defends him, and is the in-
178 strument of revenge for an injury unjustly received. Today this
614 concept is intimately bound up with the omniscience of the patron
626 saint; only with the permission of San Juan can a lab "eat" the
776 soul of a chapomal, or "clan brother," and this permission is
granted only in the case when the saint is unfavorably impressed
by the conduct of the individual. In any case the lab never
wreaks its vengeance except for a bad act that would fully justify
614 it according to the social morality. As can be seen, social con-
626 trol was not only rooted in the chief of the clan, but this function
extended to the whole group, as happens at present.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P.455-B]

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632 ternated for each three-year term between the
178 upper and lower sections.

But with the recent increase in dealings
621 between the national and regional administra-
632 tive centers and the local communities, re-
178 cruitment into office as president and síndico
554 has come to depend upon the candidates' possessing a knowledge of Spanish, literacy, and familiarity with the ways of Ladino society. Because of the relative scarcity of such skills, selection of these two officials has tended to ignore the former residence requirements
[887] relating to the dual division. Along with this change in the criteria for selecting these officials has come a decrease in the power and the authority exercised by the *principales*—elders from each side of the dual division who rose to their position by passing through all of the lower offices in the hierarchy—and a corresponding increase in the importance of the presidency.

This dual division also affected the structure
621 of the curing profession. The curers are men
632 who can overcome sickness caused by witch-
754 craft because of their possession of an animal
756 spirit (*swayohel*) and their knowledge of ritual. In each of the two sections of the town was a leading curer (*statal ʔuʔul*) who, by virtue of his age, experience, and recognized authority, was able to control entry into the profession. Their function was to prevent as well as cure, for the leading curers were also charged with guarding their section against the entry of
621 witchcraft. In the last two decades, leadership
632 by recognized elder curers from each side of the
756 dual division has been lost, and along with it
178 control over limiting the practicing of curing.

555 ta for minor saints. He alternates between
624 a period of activity and expense and one of
794 quiet and economic recovery. The cargos alternate between church positions and civil government positions, but in communities where Indian tradition is stressed, there is no clear-cut division between civil and religious matters, because of the influence of the sacred and supernatural in daily life.

554 Those functionaries who have a staff of
624 office wield great influence in their calpul.
293 This cane (*nabté*), a sign of important status, is made of pine or other fine wood, and has a silver handle adorned with colored ribbons, primarily yellow, green, and red. The staff is ornamented by the owner and is considered a family object, usually placed on the home altar. Occasionally it is the [708] object of prayers and offerings of incense. [782] People carrying it are called *bastonudos*.

624 It is the duty of the staff-carriers to com-
627 municate to every paraje the orders of the ayuntamiento and those coming from the supreme chief of the calpul; to summon people for communal duties; to apprehend prisoners in cases of crime; and to deal with public problems such as taxation and epidemics. Coping with transgressions such as minor stealing, adultery, disputes, and intrigues are also their responsibility within the paraje, following the traditional form of procuring mutual understanding on both sides, in a calm atmosphere, around a bottle [692] of liquor. If conflict persists, those involved appear before chiefs of the calpul, who are called principales or "cabildos de justicia" even after they have finished their term of office.

794 The cargos from dzunubil on up are sacred and are open only to people with superior knowledge, recognized moral status, and expert experience in church ritual and in the semi-pagan ceremonies practiced in the caves, waterholes, and special mountains. These cargos are thus obtained not by automatic advancement but by special merits which are usually not acquired until advanced age. All such high representatives of

[P. 220-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

114 [192] [554] "Tata" means something like father, and the Indians use the word as a remark of respect to old men. Our old Lázaro had by now become a part of our outfit, always working, looking after the welfare of our animals and ourselves. We had come to regard him as a friend, and the name "Tata" grew out of nowhere, as the natural thing to call him.

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FIG. 197—Toniná, Chis. Monument T-7.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

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the informal chief of one of the semi-separated, turbulent groups already described. He was a well-built, square-faced, sullen yet cunning looking fellow, with a long scar from a machete cut across one cheek, and credited with a number of murders.

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The shamans or medicine-men, *poci'*, although primarily doctors, have a quasi-priestly status, the result of the intimate relation of prayer and healing, of which more will be said later. They are honored accordingly as holy men, as well as for the power conferred by their knowledge of medicine and charms. A shaman obtains his position by some years of study under another, who teaches him both medicines and prayers. His repute largely depends upon the results of his practice.

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Certain older men are selected annually to have charge of the fiestas, or saint's day celebrations; they have charge of all preparations and of the conduct of the fiesta, as well as being usually responsible for the care of the various sacred properties during the year. These officers exist in the hacienda groups as well as in the tribes. At the Finca Tecojá, where a fiesta was observed in progress, they were an amiable pair of rather drunken old men, known as *Caporales,* and at most places, in common with other officers holding posts of Spanish derivation, they were known by Spanish names. Interestingly enough, in the villages with the Governmental organization described above, they rarely coincide with the Government appointees, although this may be partly due to the fact that they are usually selected from among the oldest men. In Guatemala these semi-church officers often are a mask for tribal positions of real power, as was found to be the case with the *tcimaß* of Jacaltenango, who will be described in writing of that place (Chapter XIX). Here their influence and prestige was relatively slight, [554] save during the period when their duties placed them in charge.

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Almost the only trace of pre-Conquest feeling is to be found in the great reverence shown towards all shamans and Government appointees. An ordinary Indian will offer food, drink, or tobacco to all men of authority present before taking anything himself, even though it means the consumption, for instance, of almost all of a bottle of *aguardiente* before he gets any at all. We saw a chief at Tenango, where the same system prevails, take a lighted cigar from an Indian's mouth, giving him instead some unrolled tobacco leaves. When first coming into the presence of such men, or passing them on the road, an Indian will take off his hat, bowing deeply; the chief or shaman touches the Indian's forehead, and he goes on. This is performed with grace and dignity. It is known as *k'ol-tanup,* "head giving" (*k'ol* from *hol,* head). Instances were observed of thus

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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554 "giving the head" to certain elder women, but the reason could not
576 be ascertained.

581 Marriage is an economic and social affair, apparently free of religious significance. Don Arturo Tovilla of Cacate-el, gave us a description of the manner of seeking a wife, which is here paraphrased. It will be seen that the importance, ceremonially, centers on the contract with the parents, while the actual joining in marriage is not stressed.

584 The boy's father goes with the boy to the girl's house, both dressed in their best clothes, and carrying a gift of three bottles (pints) of aguardiente "and some animal." His father tells the girl's father that his son wishes to marry the daughter; to which the answer is to call the girl and ask her if she likes him. She says nothing, but keeps on scratching the wall with her finger and the floor with her toe, thereby indicating that she likes the boy, while showing the proper maidenly modesty. The latter gives her a coloured handkerchief, pearl beads, etc., with which the contract is sealed.

The boy is obligated to bring to her house what the father may ask, such as corn, beans, aguardiente, as well as to help in the work for a year. He makes a social visit each Sunday, which the girl must receive. At the end of the time appointed by the parents, he takes her to his house.

If the girl does not signify her consent in the manner described, the match does not take place.

583 When the parents of one or both parties do not countenance the match, it may happen that the children, taking the law into their own hands, run away. The procedure in this case has become formalized so that, while unpleasant enough to act as a deterrent, it recognizes this as a regular manner of marrying. This description also is para-
[115] phrased from Señor Tovilla.

When the parents forbid, but both children desire the match, after the boy has gone to the girl's house and been refused, his obligation of respect is ended. He builds a house in a retired place in the jungle. He and the girl meet to make their plans where she goes to get water, for which purpose she may often choose a spring a kilometer or more from her house. At an appointed time, they run away.

584 When he has carried her off and hidden her, his parents must go
585 and apologize to hers. The girl's father tells the boy's not to leave before being punished. He, however, finds and brings in the couple, who kneel before the girl's parents. The boy's shirt is taken off, and

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964- NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER II

DRINKING PERFORMANCES AND SOCIAL ROLES

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The scheduling of drinking in Aguacatenango and the internal structure of individual drinking performances can be considered as a code in which information about the roles and statuses of individuals is communicated. A brief look at the inventory of social roles will provide essential background for the description of this code.

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The composition of the Aguacatenango household, in terms of age and sex of members, is patterned as follows: Persons in the household under twenty years of age may be of either sex and any age. The ages of members of this group, relative to each other, are minimally two years apart. Persons over twenty years of age stand in a special age relationship: There is approximately a fifteen-year minimum age difference between individuals of the same sex. Age differences between individuals of opposite sex are such that they will either be the same age or the age rule for same sex members will hold. Finally, there will be no more than one individual of each sex in any of these age slots in any household. An age-sex distribution of a house, then, looks like the following diagram.

571 551 between members of the community to identify persons in references--that is, persons who are not present in the conversation. From the speaker's point of view, they as unambiguously identify individuals as does naming the house in which they live. So, then, turning from a general consideration of the membership of houses, we now consider the variety of intersecting classes in terms of which the individuals in the houses may be identified. This listing will introduce the principal organizing features in the community, each of which will then receive separate treatment.

571 551 601 554 Terms of reference in Aguacatenango include (1) personal names; (2) relationship terms--kinship, ritual kinship or compadrazgo and other relationships of a more general nature; (3) "role names," which identify persons in terms of characteristics other than interpersonal relationships; and certain combinations of these three types.

551 Personal names

The major subclass of the set of personal names, identifiable as Christian names, is subdivided on the basis of sex; with a few exceptions, a particular Christian name is appropriate to males or to females but not to both. Christian names may be used with a possessive prefix, e.g. /H-MARIA/, "my Maria," to refer to children of the coordinating person. They can be made diminutive by the addition of /C'IN/, "little."

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

TABLE 5

KIN, 0 GENERATION

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[562]

	Age relative to coordinating individual	Sex of Referent	Sex of coordinating individual	Relationship specified in head
-BANKIL	0	M	M	ø
-XI*LEL	0	M	F	ø
-WIX	0	F	M/F	ø
-IHZ'IN	Y	M/F	M/F	ø

relationship of a previously mentioned individual is rare, and we are led to hypothesize that precise genealogical relations are not crucial in the use of kin terms of 0 and ± generations. Indeed, 0 and +1 generation terms without a possessive prefix are often used in combination with names or other reference terms to indicate the relative age of the referent (when he is older than the speaker). The ranking of these terms is shown in Table 6 (p. 24).

[554] The terms /TATIK/ and /ME*TIK/ are not used in reference to kin as such, but as a collective compound, /-ME*TIK + TATIK/, they may designate either "respected elders" or "curer" in the appropriate contexts.

As in the -1 generation, modifiers /C'IN/ "little" and /MUK'UL/ "big" operate in the 0 and the +1 generations to depress

571 192 601 551 these two sets of terms only as the second term but always precede names, role names, and teknonymous constructions. General relationship terms are like the terms of compadrazgo in that they may be specified by a personal name (as above).

"Role names"

571 192 554 The set of terms to which we apply the label "role names" is distinguished by the fact that these terms usually occur unpossessed and are not defined in terms of a relationship to some person. While they occasionally have possessive prefixes, they never occur in the third person in coordinating constructions. Also, when possessed, these forms always carry the agentive prefix /-H-/, which is optional in the unpossessed variants. Thus:

Unpossessed	Possessed
/PRESIRENTE/ /H-PRESIRENTE/ "presidente"	/*AW-AH-PRESIRENTE/ "your presidente"
/H-*UL/ "curandero"	/*AW-AH-*UL/ "your curandero"

Among the forms in this class is /(H)KAX(1)AN(-ETIK)/, "ladinos (as a class)," which contrasts with the elicited from /H-TUL H-LUMAL/, "one of my pueblo (Aguacatenango)." (Both forms are included under the headword /KRISTYANO-ETIK/, "human being," which contrasts with /CAMBALAM-ETIK/, "animals," and /TUTU-TIK/, "things.")

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The dimensions of contrast are not simple here, since there is involved as well /H-TUL YAN LUM/, "one of another pueblo" in reference as well to persons other than ladinos. Furthermore, an immediate contrast that suggests itself to the informants when differentiating themselves from ladinos is:

[829]

/H-TUL LUMAL/	/KAXLAN/
/POBR-ETIK/	/K'ULEHETIK/
"the poor ones"	"the rich ones"

Among other forms of the class is a series which represents alternative terms for a single group of people, i.e., native curers:

[056]

/H-*UL~H-POXTAWAN(EH)~H-*AK'-POX/~/H-ME*TIK+TATIK/

which while possibly distinctive (we are unprepared to say until our studies of Tzeltal medicine have proceeded further), share the characteristic performance /PIK C'IC'/ "pulsing." A contrasting form /H-*OKTOR/, "doctor," marks a curer who does not know how to pulse, but who instead gives "consultations." The form /*OKTOR/ differs from the others in this subset in that it may also be used as a modifier, as in /*OKTOR PEYRO/, "Dr. Pedro" (in reference to an Indian nurse) and /*OKTOR+KAXLAN/, "ladino doctor."

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Other terms in the "role-name" class cannot conveniently be lumped under a descriptive head. Some might perhaps be labeled "occupational," but this would result in merely grouping together otherwise distinctive forms in a way which appears "reasonable" to the ethnographer. In this heterogeneous group are the following, all of which have the agentive prefix.

/H.KANAN+LUM/	"overseer of land"
/H.PRINSEPAL KRINSIPAL/	"principal, elder"
/H.GOBYERNO/	"governor (of the state)"
/H.ME*BAL/	"orphan"
/H.LO*LIWANEH/	"liar"

Another subgroup of terms lacks possessive or agentive prefixes, and these share the feature that the referents are persons outside the Indian community. These terms are the following:

/COHWER/	"driver"
/DOKTOR/	"doctor"
/DOKTOR+DENTISTA/	"dentist"
/KARPINTERA/	"carpenter"
/MASTRI/	"teacher"

Two other terms in this class are exceptions to the rule that requires the agentive prefix when possessed; /-*ANZ/, "woman," and /-WINIK/, "man," may be used with the possessive prefix alone,

571
554 and the meanings of the possessed forms are "wife" or "husband"
192 of the coordinating person.

The remainder of the forms in this class are subsumed under the headword /H.*A*TEL-ETIK/, "workers."

571 On the next lower level of contrast, the headword is
554 modified by one of the mutually exclusive post-modifiers
192
621 /TA KABILTO/, "in the cabildo (civil)"; /TA MARTOMIL/, "in the mayordomía (religious)." These in turn constitute head words of two mutually exclusive classes of forms. The set of contrasting forms in the class /H.*A*TEL-ETIK TA KABILTO/ is as follows (in order of ascending rank):

/MAYOR/, "policía" ranked from /XWAXKEBAL/, "eighth," to /BA/, "first" or /HEFE DE KWARTEL/

/SINTIKO/, "síndico"

/REHIDOR/, "regidor" ranked from /XCEBAL/ "second" to /BA/ "first"

/XCEBAL REHIMAL/, "second regimal"

/BA REHIMALA~ SUPLENTE PRESIRENTE/, "first rehimal or assistant presidente"

/PRESIRENTE~ *AHENTE (MUNISIPAL)/, "presidente or ahente munisipal"

/XCEBAL HWES/, "second juez"

/HWES/~ /*ALKAL/, "juez"

571
554 (Several forms not included in this set are nevertheless part of
192
621 the civil administration--/SEKRETARYO/, "secretary," /PRESIRENTE DE EDUKASYON/, "supervisor of education," and /KOMISARYADO *EYHIDAL/, "ejido commissioner.")

The /*A*TEL-ETIK TA KABILTO/ are responsible for the civil business of the community, resolution of conflicts brought before it, the maintenance of community facilities and the making of a limited number of decisions which affect the community as a whole. Its members are recruited yearly for one-year terms
[641] the whole group assuming office in January. Every male in the community is expected to hold office as a civil cargo holder four times in his life, and the order of recruitment to the position for any individual is more or less fixed.

571
554 The forms of the class /H.*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/ are
192 grouped as follows (also in order of ascending rank):
794

The first and lowest set of positions includes:

/MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO/	"mayordomo of San Antonio"
/MARTOMO ME*TIK ROSARYO/	"mayordomo of the Virgin of Rosario"
/MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD/	"mayordomo of the Virgin of Natividad"

By lowest, we mean that set of positions into one of which an individual would initially be co-opted upon entering the mayordomía.

571
554 The saint's name associated with each is that one for whose fiesta
192
794 the mayordomo is primarily responsible. The second and next lowest set of positions includes:

/MARTOMO *ANIMA/	"mayordomo of Todos Santos"
/MARTOMO SAN MARTIN/	"mayordomo of San Martin"

The third set includes the position:

/MARTOMO SANTA CRUS/	"mayordomo of Santa Cruz"

And the fourth set includes the position:

/MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN/	"mayordomo of San Sebastian"

In turn, for each of the saints, there are two mayordomos, ranked relative to each other, the higher in rank being the:

/BA MARTOMO/	"1st mayordomo"

and the other being the:

/CE*BAL MARTOMO/	"2nd mayordomo"

The /*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/ are formally responsible for the correct interpretation of the saints' days celebrated in Aguacatenango. There are seven of these fiestas under the supervision of the mayordomía, and two /MARTOMO-ETIK/ are co-opted for each, the pair serving for one year beginning on the saint's

571 554 192 [794] day for which they serve. Every male in the community is held responsible to be co-opted into four /MARTOMO/ positions before he is freed from any further performaces of this sort, and as was pointed out earlier, these positions must be held earlier.

The various forms of the "role-name" set most often occur as simple terms of reference, often modified by status terms. However, the combination /H-KUMPRE SEKRETARYO/ "my compadre, the secretary" is reported.

Modifiers

In addition to the basic classes of terms of reference, modifiers are important in identifying persons. Among these are enumerators, diminutives (mentioned above), and demonstratives. Two modifiers establish the physical condition of the referent-- [602] /CAM/ and /*AN(I)MA/, both glossed as "dead." One, /MERO/, noted earlier, distinguishes "legitimate" or "real" relationship from terminological equivalence, as in /MERO *ERMANO/, "true brother." 571 554 561 192 [562] Two, differing only by sex of referent, indicate advanced age: /MA MAMAL/ "old" (male referent) and /ME*L/, "old" (female referent). When these two modifiers are used with terms indicating younger persons, the incongruity expresses depreciation or derogation. Other modifiers, most of which are age-status terms like the special kin terms discussed earlier, include the following:

576
• 554 /C'UL/ "holy" honorific titles used with
561 /SENYOR/ "mister" role-names of the
192 /H.*A*TEL-ETIK/ group

/YAN/ "other"

/NEX/ "big"

/SOLTERA/ "unmarried" used with /KEREM/ "boy" and /*AC'IX/ "girl" primarily to establish precise age-status (adolescence)

/DON DONYA/ "mister mrs." used with names of ladinos

/NINYA/ "miss"

571
192 Still another set of modifiers occurs after the noun head rather than before and includes internally complex phrases. These might be termed locatives, and they include /NUN/ "there," /LI*/ "here," and such combinations as /NUN TA HEHC/, "there on the other side (i.e., in the other barrio of Aguacatenango)"; /LI* TA *ALAN/, "here below (i.e., in El Puerto, a closely related village down the mountain)"; /LI* TA TEHKLUM/, "here in the pueblo"; /LI* TA PAT NA/, "here behind the house"; /NUN TA *AHK'OL/, "here above"; and /NUN TA XOHLEH/, "there at the corner."

While the subject of the relationships (position and co-occurrence) between modifiers and between modifiers and noun heads will be deferred until a forthcoming paper, some general

273* [539]

MA* ATUKELUK LA *AWAK' TA *AWO*TAN, MA* *ATUKELUK LA *AWAK' TA *AWAHC' ALEL, LA *ANA* BA*Y AME*, LA *ANA* BA*Y ATAT, KUMPAGRE, HOKOL AWALTIK, KUMPAGRE, KALEBON XC'IN WINKLEL.

You didn't use your wealth by yourself, you didn't consume it by yourself. You remembered your mother, your father, your compadre. Thank you, compadre. Find someone to pour the drinks.

This exchange initiates the ceremonial drinking sequence. (The sequence is composed of a series of acts; a set of drinking sequences constitutes a drinking cycle.) Upon the termination of the speeches, the owner of the aguardiente asks a junior male to take a proffered liter bottle of aguardiente and a shot glass and offer a drink to each of the men present.

The server must initiate the act of drinking with every other male in the group. Whatever the quantity of aguardiente in the liter bottle, it must be equally distributed among all those present including himself. The drink server must estimate the amount of aguardiente in the bottle and fill the shot glass accordingly. The relative order of initiating the drinking act with the several persons present must proceed from persons of greater rank to persons of lesser rank. As has been suggested in the role inventory, there is a near-perfect correlation between age and rank in Aguacatenango. Hence, the oldest male present is served first and the youngest male present is served next to last, the drink pourer himself being served last. Since the drink server is a junior male, his relative position of

273* 554

273 554 drinking is not far from his actual position--that is, he would have been served near the end of the drinking sequence in any case. (It may be the case that the depression of his status by being served last is compensated for by the fact that a person of senior status, the host, serves him.)

When the drink server has offered a drink to each man in the group, he returns the bottle to its owner, and the owner initiates the drinking act with the drink server. This act terminates the drinking sequence. After it is terminated, no drinking acts take place for a period of time generally as long as the drinking sequence itself. All drinking acts, then, take place within drinking sequences.

The relative positioning of drinking acts in the drinking sequence distinguishes the participants by rank. In such a context, the isolatable drinking act encodes one's own rank relative to all other persons present, or, alternatively, each person's rank relative to every other. In the drinking sequence the drinking act assumes symbolic value. It measures one's status. It takes on a code value on the dimension of status. The drinking sequence is a message, then, which encodes an individual's rank, the particular value of rank in this message being determined by the position in the message which any particular individual's coded value falls.

Many if not most of the inferences that human beings draw

273* about the state of their environment are deduced as the result
554 of the communication of information encoded in some one or more media. The determination and certification of an individual's social rank is one type of inference and action that individuals engage in in Aguacatenango. Rank and role are not only encoded in the drinking performances, but also in a variety of other media as well. When we examine the ceremonial drinking cycle as it occurs in the civil and religious hierarchies, it becomes clear that the arrangement of persons in space, modes of greeting, modes of offering toasts, the differential access to settings, etc., all may encode an individual's social position just as do the set of role labels that may be used to identify him.

[578] After the settlement of a dispute, after having agreed
[609] to permit a /HTUL YAN LUMAL/, "foreigner," to settle in the com-
[796]
[621] munity, and on certain saints' days (especially those saints associated with the installation of new civil officers), the /*A*TELETIK TA KABILTO/, or civil hierarchy, is given or secures for itself aguardiente in liter bottles. The aguardiente is equally distributed in shot glass amounts among the members of the /*A*TELETIK/, a particular individual drinking the glass which is offered him; or alternative should he choose not to drink it, taking a sip from it and handing it to some other member of the group who drinks the remaining portion and returns the glass to the first drinker, who in turn returns it to the

273* 554 pourer of drinks. It is in the succession of drink-pouring to the several members that we observe an orderly recurring pattern.

The drink pourer, who is one of the /REHIDOR-ETIK/, proceeds directly to the /HWES/. The REHIDOR/ carefully pours the drink, picking any dirt from the liquid, and hands it to this individual. The /HWES/ then offers the drinking salute: /LISENSYA TAT/, "With your pardon, sir." The other members of the group respond with /*OCAN TAT/, or alternatively /*OCAN TATA*/, "down it, sir," or, "down it, respected sir." The drink pourer /REHIDOR/ then proceeds to serve succeeding persons down the rank order. The rank order may be observed in the seating arrangements displayed in Table 11 (p. 60). Beginning at the door, the relative order of succession is down the page, through the position /SINTIKO/. Then the position just above the door is served and so on through an adjacent succession through the position of /XWAXKEBAL MAYOR/.

*273 796 794 554 One of the important performance correlates of the role of mayordomo is to engage in the drinking of aguardiente. Almost without exception, the mayordomos as a group drink themselves into a state of deep drunkenness on each of the seven fiesta days. The initiation of the drinking takes place on the porch of the annex of the church. Benches run the length of the porch on its inside and outside edges. As the mayordomos as-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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TABLE 11

273*
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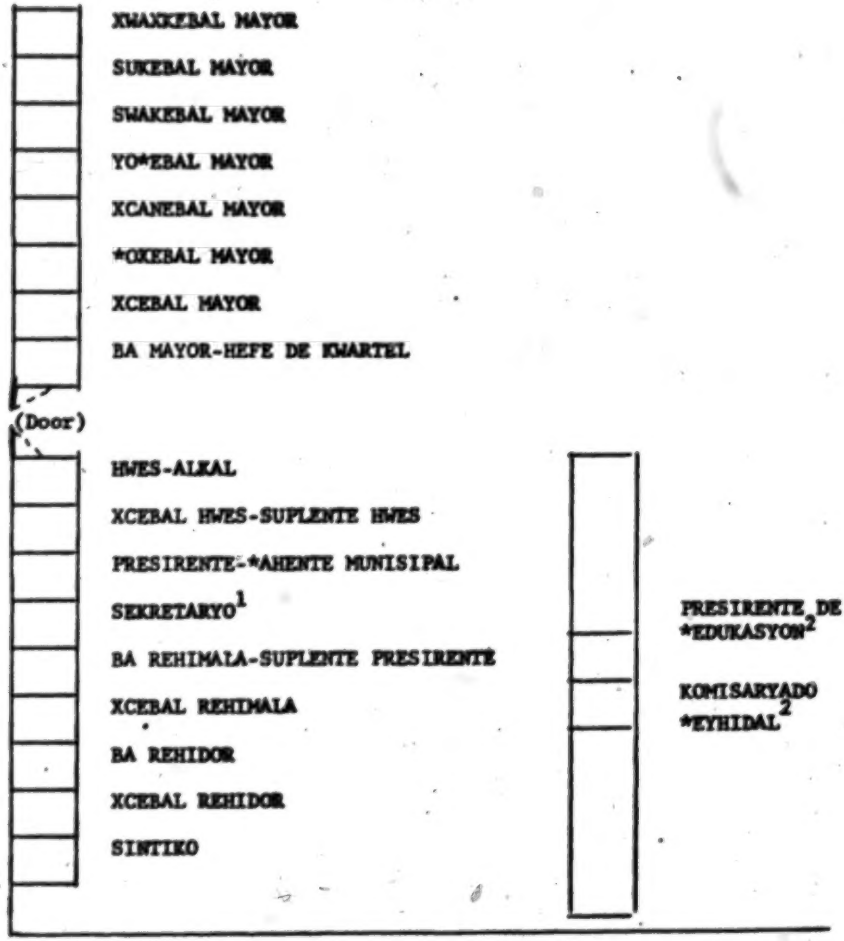
SOME PERFORMANCE CORRELATES OF "RANK" WITHIN /*A*TEL-ETIK TA KABILTO/: SEATING ORDER



[1]The position of secretary is by appointment and is not included in the civil hierarchy.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

TABLE 11--Continued

000 not included in the civil hierarchy.

273* [2]The positions of president of education and ejido
621 commissioner are two-year appointments, and neither is (yet)
554 in the civil hierarchy.

273* semble, they seat themselves initially on the inside of the two
796
794 benches. The relative order of seating is as follows:
554

TABLE 12

SOME PERFORMANCE CORRELATES OF "RANK": SEATING ORDER OF /*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/

BA MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO

XCEBAL MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO

BA MARTOMO ME*TIK ROSARYO

XCEBAL MARTOMO ROSARYO

BA MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD

XCEBAL MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD

BA MARTOMO *ANIMA

XCEBAL MARTOMO *ANIMA

BA MARTOMO SAN MARTIN

XCEBAL MARTOMO SAN MARTIN

BA MARTOMO SANTA CRUS

XCEBAL MARTOMO SANTA CRUS

BA MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN

XCEBAL MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN

273* 796 794 554 The drinking of aguardiente takes place on the porch after the men are seated. Again the aguardiente is distributed in shot glass amounts to each member of the mayordomía. Again, as in the case of the civil officials, a strict relative order of succession of drinking is followed, proceeding from the top of Table 12 (p. 61) to the bottom.

273* 621 794 554 In both the referential sets of civil officials and religious officials, then, there are occasions when both seating arrangements and drinking arrangements uniquely express a relative order property in the relations between members of each set. This relative order property we can call <u>differential rank</u>. While this type of rank is a somewhat special case, it is essentially the same age differential which establishes rank in [561] the community at large. The civil and religious hierarchies are very nearly age-graded, the higher-ranking positions being occupied by older men. A survey of the histories of individuals' cargos indicates that the age grading is more strict in the case of the mayordomos than in the case of the civil officials. In each set of officials, men with adjacent ranks sit next to each other and drink in succession, the man with the higher rank sitting in an arbitrarily defined higher position on the bench and drinking sooner. It is important to note that of a variety of ways in which the aguardiente could be used to express the rank difference (e.g., the distribution of larger amounts to the senior

273* 621 794 554 positions), only relative order of drinking is used. It is the arbitrary selection of order as the medium of communication of roles and ranks that leads us to describe drinking performances as a code.

*273 621 794 554 561 We have observed that on the occasion of ceremonial drinking, not only will the relative age differences of the adult males be expressed in the relative order in which they are served aguardiente, but so also will they arrange themselves spatially in such a way that the drink server will be able to meet the obligation of serving the older person first without skipping anyone in the seating order. In other words, men, in the first stages of ceremonial drinking, will arrange themselves in order of relative age-rank, and thus receive in perfect spatial and temporal succession the aguardiente which they drink.

273* 621 794 554 533 The ceremonial drinking sequence is associated with the presence of a marimba which plays throughout the course of the fiesta and the departure of which signals the termination of the same. While the marimba players are paid to play at the fiesta, with regard to the consumption of aguardiente they are treated as are all other males who are present. In some cases, they will be offered drinks with greater frequency to begin with, as it is supposed by the host that they will play more frequently and will charge less if they are somewhat intoxicated.

000 The ceremonial drinking sequence is regularly associated

273* monial drinking pattern, the curer, no matter what his age rela-
755 tive to the age of others present, is served first.[1]

273* Drinking by participants in the curing ceremony appears
539 in several text fragments as follows:

MAC'ATIK X*ULAH NAL YA HUC' TRAWO X*OC SPAS POX YU*N HIC *AY SPERSA *A.

Those who cure drink trago first before they go in to cure in order to increase their strength.

SPISIL YO*TAN X*OC TA POSTAWANEH.

So that they will be confident when they go in to cure.

HA* LA YAK' BALOR HAL TRAWI.

It's the aguardiente that gives strength.

PERO *AY H*OLIL MA*K YUC'IK TRAWO HIC NAX YA SPAS POSTO, HA* HIC YA SPASIK POX H*ULELTIK *ABI.

But there are some who don't drink trago before they cure, that's the way they are.

Also:

M. TU*L LIHK YU*C'K.

How did they begin to drink?

C. *E HA* XK'O YILIK HAL XC'IN YAHTAL YO*TAN HKUMRE SME* HOSEPA NUN E.

They went to attend the delivery of my comadre, Josefa's mother, over there.

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[1] From this relative positioning of drinking we conclude
[756] that the role of curer in the curing situation has more status
[554] than the role of old man. In most situations, as has been previously noted, the oldest man present is generally served first.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER V

SUMMING THE MATTER UP

273* 554 There are basically two patterns of drinking among the Aguacatenangueros. The first of these we may define as the internally complex unit ± ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking (but at least one of these). The second of these we will define as intermittent non-cumulative drinking--that is, drinking performances which do not lead to deep drunkenness. These two patterns of drinking performances are associated with large classes of the population. The ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking pattern is expressed by married males. The intermittent non-cumulative drinking pattern is expressed by all other persons (unmarried males and all females).[1] When individuals drink, they are constrained to express one pattern or the other as is congruent with their role. By drinking in a particular way, an individual certifies his membership in a particular role class.

273* 571 885 Adult males (equivalent to males married at least once) drink within the limitations of the ceremonial drinking ± in-

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[184] [171] [1]This particular contrast is not general to all Tzeltal-Tzotzil speakers in the Chiapas highlands.

273* Ceremonial drinking-informal drinking performances are deeply imbedded in Aguacatenango life. Another measure of this imbeddedness is the degree to which the performances in drinking operate under a special, well-defined, contrastive set of rules, as compared with performances that are entertainable while individuals are sober. The behavior of drunken individuals requires special interpretation by others and is rarely used as a basis for character judgment.

Ceremonial drinking and informal drinking performances are actively called for in situations of high ritual or ceremonial salience. Under these circumstances all adult males who are present are expected to drink in well measured amounts to a degree that leads to deep drunkenness. Individuals who engage [554] in these performances minimally share the features of being married males. These are required performances, namely performances which no man can either opt to do or not to do. Options occur in informal drinking performances only in the sense that some men extend the informal drinking beyond what counts as a minimal unit.

In the case of required performances, individuals who do not participate in them are told that they will occur. In the case of drinking performances, for example, women are told that the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking pattern will be acted out. They are further told of the known side effects of these performances.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 ~~Tzeltal~~ NV9
~~Aguacatenango~~

273* proper interpretations of drinking behavior can only proceed as rapidly as careful descriptions of drinking behavior are formulated. Drinking performances anywhere in the world occur in more or less well defined contexts which are subject to well ordered descriptions. One cannot judge any individual's drinking performances until and unless he has discovered the contextual rules in terms of which this individual is operating. It has [121] been the intent of this thesis to point to some of these kinds of contextual rules.

273* In Aguacatenango drinking performances reflect important 554 principles of social organization which are elsewhere attested in other performances which are not drinking performances. In drinking performances there is a simultaneous mapping of differences in social status and role as there is a statement of how the wealth in the community should be divided. In any drinking [561] performance, men of senior age and generation drink first, their juniors drinking later. Women and children drink separately and in small amounts. While the relative order of drinking marks the relative status of the men present, all men drink the same amount. Not only does this clearly delineate men's and women's roles but it also expresses the condition that across time, every man can expect to occupy a status position senior to the one he presently has. Such changes in status are not dependent [556] upon the achievement of great wealth since everyone should have

273 this in equal amounts (as mapped by the equal amounts of aguardiente
554 they receive). In fact, as we have earlier observed, drinking
556 performances are regularly scheduled, explicitly verbalized events in which differences in real wealth are leveled.

121 The ethnographic aims of this thesis may be summed up more or less as follows. It is clear, now, that it is possible to describe systems within culture in terms relevant and significant to those who are participants in that culture. This thesis has aimed to formulate such a description of drinking behavior in Aguacatenango. The procedures we have discussed in the earlier chapters are general in the sense that they are, it now appears to us, applicable to any culture, and to most foci or domains therein. One should not be surprised, however, if some varieties of learned behavior are not directly accessible to study in this fashion.

000 Though some notions from structural linguistics seem relevant, the immediate relevance of linguistic data is as an aid in discovering and relating other cultural patterns. McQuown's reading of Whorf's (1941) statement regarding "fashions of speaking" seems relevant here: "This approach [Whorf's] would seem to de-emphasize the role of linguistic patterns as such and to stress the function of language as a medium for the manifestation of other cultural patterns, in which precise formal characteristics of the medium were merely limiting and not determining

342 177 178 434 of witchcraft. Today probably 95 percent of the new roofs are made of tile. Often the old roofs cannot be replaced with tile because the rafters were not built to support them. One result of the change has been the dependence on a carpenter to construct the gables, since they have to be lined up more accurately than they do with thatch or palm roofs. [335]

361 351 434 House lots in the town center are preferred to those on the margins. As residents of house sites on the ejido lands at the margins of the town acquire wealth, one of the first things they try to do is acquire a house closer to the plaza. These lots are smaller, averaging about 500 square meters, while those farther out average 900 square meters. In a sample measurement of 100 house lots, the size ranged from 180 to 1,440 square meters, and the average size was 77 square meters. Considering the advantages of a large lot in growing chile fruits and corn, the preference for smaller central lots reveals the strong prestige factor influencing choice. [554]

352 435 House furnishings include both purchased and homemade items. Sleeping accommodations consist of wooden bedboards, either nailed on a frame or simply laid on blocks and covered with a straw mat. Woolen blankets from Comitán are sold locally at a price of 24 pesos or for 20 pesos in San Cristóbal and 18 pesos in Comitán. Most households own two or three wooden benches which line the walls of the porch and are made locally. Small chairs are purchased from Chamula carpenters at a cost of 2 to 4 pesos, as well as a small table costing about 4. A higher table is provided for the saints' pictures and candle holders, incense burner, and flower vases or tin cans. Hooks are fashioned from the crotch of trees and suspended on the house posts. Wooden boxes are bought from Ladino carpenters in San Cristóbal at a cost of 10 to 20 pesos depending on size and workmanship and are used to store clothing. In addition to the homemade water holders, water carriers, comales, strainers, and bowls, handmade glazed ware from San Cristóbal, factory-made porcelain dishes, metal cooking pots, knives, and spoons are purchased. Gourds provide serving ware for ceremonial occasions. Stone grinding platforms and rollers are purchased in San Cristóbal for about 10 pesos. Two new items have become increasingly popular in the past five years: a metal grinding machine for corn, hand operated and costing from 40 to 60 pesos depending on the size and quality, and a hinged press for tortillas, costing 15 pesos if made [513] [778] [322] 415 435 439 [412] 435 415 177

in the house in which he lives. The midwife, the only person present besides the mother, performs the ritual. She puts cold water in the child's mouth and then goes to the door, saying, "Enter if you arrive, little boy [or little girl]." Then she brushes the child with pine branches dipped in springwater, and smokes with incense of pitch pine the clothing which is then put on the child. The incense "makes a path for the soul to find the body of the child." As she does this, she says, "May your heart be one now that you are in the house." This ceremony is always performed when the child is born outside his parents' residence is order to guide his soul to its proper locale. Three days later, a ceremony called *sti? mut* (eat the chicken) takes place. Only women attend this meal. In one case I observed, the child's mother, her three sisters, mother, and husband's cousin attended. Each woman brings a peso's worth of bread, some chocolate, and ten tortillas. Two hens are cooked in boiling water, and the food is eaten by the women.

Baptism, called "throw the water" (*?iʔ ha?*) occurs as soon as possible after the new-born child's twentieth day of life. If the parents of the child live with either the mother's or the father's family, the grandparents will choose the godparent, or *padrino*. The actual decisions recorded for four families in Table 20 can be compared with statements of preference as to who should be godparents. People say they prefer nonrelatives ("We are not deceived by them"), people of the same section of the dual division ("We like to greet them in the street") and finally people of good reputation. The individual or couple chosen as godparent becomes *compadre* or co-parent to the parents of the child.

People seem to be successful in realizing the preferences they state. 81 percent of compadres are chosen from their own side of the dual division, and only 4 percent are chosen from out of town. 71 percent of compadres are chosen from among nonrelatives. A significant factor in the choice of compadres is maintaining good neighbor relations. Most families surround themselves with a ring of compadres which neutralizes both the fear of being the object of witchcraft and of being accused of witchcraft. Factors of wealth, prestige, and status positions—particularly that of fiscal—are also taken into consideration in choosing a compadre. Most of the padrinos of baptism are chosen from among older members of the community,

761 627 753 might be. The father or closest male kin of the dead person is careful to recount all the consultations he has had with curers, both to absolve himself of the guilt of neglect or unconscious witchcraft and to search for the true culprit.

764 775 A proper burial with holy water, flowers, grave offerings, and prayers assures the survivors that the soul of the deceased will rest and his bones will lie in peace. Lacking any of these features, the dead will disturb the living, as is recounted below:

During the revolution, many were buried without a funeral or without blessed water. On Thursday, the bones burn and cry. You can still see a blue flame rising above the old graveyard on Thursday. You can find money that the ancestors left there, but you have to go at night to dig it up.

An important safeguard to ensure that the soul will lie in peace is burial among people with whom the deceased lived. When a married adult dies, [593] he is buried with his dead spouse. If he had two dead spouses, he is buried with the first spouse on the right hand and the second on the left. A child [603] is buried with the grandparents of the household in which he lived—that is, if he lived with his mother's parents he is buried with them, and if with the father's parents, then with them. When people know that they [763] are going to die, they express their preference as to where they wish to be [593] buried. Usually they will elect to be buried between their dead parents, but [608] if they were unhappy with their parents, they might choose a padrino or [604] uncle. If dissatisfied in its resting place, a soul, even when properly buried, cannot find peace and wanders back to the house. Fearing this, relatives try to comply with the wishes of the dead.

My grandfather used to say that he wanted to be buried between his mother and father. But when he was about to die, he said, "I don't want to be buried there because my father beat me. He will continue beating my soul. I want to go on the side [*of the cemetery*]. *Please don't bury me near my parents." My father said, "All right, we will put you on the side."*

764 554 626 593 The funeral must meet the expectations of the community as well as those of the deceased and his relatives. The mature children of a man who

764
dies are expected to give a funeral appropriate to his station in life and his 554
wealth, as is expressed in the following account: 626
593

When my father got sick, he told his wife not to put him in a black box. 764
He had heard a story that when the dead man is in a black box, his spirit 554
cannot see. He wanted to be in a white box. He told this to his brother. 626
But his brother wanted to get a black box. He bought one black box for 593
three hundred pesos when my father died, because it is the custom of the 435
pueblo to bury adults in a black box. The people would talk if we did not [822]
buy a good box because they knew he had animals. We spent six hundred [775]
pesos for the funeral. We presented the body in church for a mass. We had a singing mass for thirty pesos, and the box cost three hundred pesos. We had a common meal of beef in the house, and we spent two hundred and sixteen pesos for three garrafones of liquor. Each of his sons contributed sixty pesos for that. If we hadn't given him a good funeral, people would have said, "His children are very lax not to buy a good box to bury their father."

The padre says that all bodies should be presented in the church. He says if you don't have money, you don't have to pay for the mass. But we are ashamed if we don't pay because he does work for us. He charged only twenty-five pesos because he said my father worked hard for the town. We took a collection from all the people who were there, and it amounted to one hundred and thirty pesos. We paid the padre for the mass and gave a contribution. All the people in whose houses he had passed when he was alive came to see him. They said, "Ah, his children gave a very nice box for their father."

If all of the family is poor, no one talks if the funeral is not a good one. [432]
But if there is anything that can be sold, it will have to be to make a good funeral. When my father died, he had eighteen horses. We had to sell one, and each of the children gave one hundred pesos.

Some say the souls play the harp and drink liquor when they arrive in 775
heaven. On All Soul's Day they visit the village where they had lived and 769
where they are known. For each member of the household who had died, a specific portion of food is laid out. Special likes are catered to: a bottle of liquor will be set on the table for a deceased father, soda pop for children

756 156 *they will go to the church wedding. The parents of the couple embrace the godparents. They go dance in the house.*

The paranoic fantasies of this young curer, a man in his early thirties, characterize the world of fears, both real and demonic, which the curers sometimes manipulate and by which they are sometimes victimized. The 756 young curers in their thirties and forties tend to have more domestic dis- 156 putes than most men in town. Emilio, a man in his forties who has been 593 trying to assert his stature as leading curer of Alannantik since his prede- 578 cessor was killed for witchcraft, was deserted by his wife. She fled to a neighbor's house. In a drunken rage, he tried to burn it to the ground. When his attempt failed, he threatened to bring "heat" from the Cave of the Star to cause an epidemic after which, he said, he would "eat the souls 756 of the children by the dozen." In the line of duty, curers are often re- 273 quired to get drunk, and drunkenness loosens the cautions which control 156 behavior. Gloating in the power of their swayoheles, there seems to be no limit to the threats or acts they commit. While drinking has probably al- [154] ways been part of curing ceremonies, the behavior noted in the cases described seems to be a response to the growing insecurity on the part of the curers about their status.

756 The curer reveals in his speech and acts the motivation of power. In 156 Tzoʔontahal, power means freedom from one's own fears as well as from the human and supernatural sanctions imposed on those who ignore the norms governing behavior. The proof of his power lies in the ability to inspire fear in others. For this reason, the curer brags of the evil deeds he has committed or is capable of doing, even though this may bring about his own destruction.

Curing Behavior

756 In their role as "doctors" for the individual patient, curers are referred [192] to as *ʔuʔul* and are addressed with the honorific title *tatín*. Despite the de- [594] clining belief in their guardianship function, there has been a retention of [178] belief in their power to overcome witchcraft. Only the curer, because he possesses a swayohel, can deal with illness caused by witchcraft. Even if

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794 may at any time in his career be called upon as alférez. This may occur
[625] even before he has served as a junior mayordomo or policeman since the
[556] post depends on his own or his father's wealth.

The normal career of an official in the traditional hierarchy involves a
621 balance of civil and religious posts. A man enters these posts according to
794 convenience, not in a rigid alternation between civil and religious wings.
561 The rough balancing of posts can be seen in the careers of men over fifty in Table 25. According to informants, a man should start and end his career in the religious wing. By the age of thirty, forty-three men had filled at least one post in the religious hierarchy, and only twenty-four men had served in the civil hierarchy (Table 24). The religious posts are considered less onerous than the civil posts since the incumbents are in attendance only one day a week instead of every day, and their terms in office last only six months.

621 Wealth level, except in cases of extreme poverty, does not limit a man's
794 participation in the traditional hierarchy. Of fourteen men over seventy,
556 eight had completed their civil posts and seven their religious posts. Three who had not followed the traditional career lines had served as president. The town is small enough so that career lines have not followed any polarization of the upper levels of the hierarchy as occurs in towns of larger size (Bunzel 1952, Camara 1952, Cancian 1965). Discrimination is based on residence rather than wealth—those Indians who reside in barrios and colonias cannot reach any post higher than that of assistant judge. Wealth level is a factor, however, in the time span of the individual's career, since at some time before becoming second or first regidor he must have filled the expensive post of alférez. Table 25 lists the careers of men fifty years of age and over in order of wealth. It is possible to finish a career in office by the age of fifty, but if a man has less than one hectare of land, it is unlikely that he will finish before he is sixty-five. The Indians of Tzoʔontahal do not however maximize the importance of passing through the hi-
• [554] erarchy. It is a duty not a goal, and the reward in prestige is minimal.

794 The only post in which wealth has been crucial was that of alférez. The
556 incumbent and the household of which he was a member spent 3,000 pesos
796 to carry out the fiestas with which he was charged in his year in office.
666 The president, the four judges, and the four regidores chose the alférez

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642 The statement of functions of the civil officials as codified in the state
621 constitution contrasts with that of local informants first of all in the brev-
626 ity of the latter. This indicates the lack of functional specificity in the role
• 554 as conceived by Indians in contrast to its Spanish-derived model. The lati-
tude of acceptable performance in the role is best indicated by the statements concerning why a man is relieved of office. A man might be dismissed because he "fights a lot," because he "gets drunk and fights," or because he "steals a lot." The qualification "a lot" suggests the difficulty of actually ridding the town of an incumbent who has caused difficulties while in office. There are only two posts in which deposition actually has occurred: those of president and fiscal. Both these posts represent mediating roles between local and national interest groups. The deposition of the president Augustín recounted in Chapter 9 indicates the kind of community action which can be mobilized. Significantly, failure to perform prescribed duties is not mentioned.

621 Second, it is the presence of the officials, not their specific obligations,
554 which is of significance in the local context. "Sitting" therefore is a central and active duty. Each morning at about seven o'clock the officials gather to sit on the benches on the porch of the town hall. The president and síndico sit inside at the table. They return at six in the evening to sit again. The line-up of the civil authorities at their appointed places each morning and evening is a statement of social control. Their presence gives evidence of an authority ready to act against offenders.

A third feature of contrast is that the local statement of functions includes many of the ceremonial activities of the civil officials. Thus the president has the significant duties of seeing that the banners pass into the town hall at the time of a fiesta, and of going to the house of the alférez when the banners are moved in procession. The holiness of office is associated with the holy symbol of the banners. For the police, collecting the 20-peso portions of meat when a bull is butchered for ceremonial meals is as significant as apprehending criminals.

Ritual Behavior

In ritual behavior, the status of officials is projected in role performance. Relative position in each ceremonial setting is an index to rank.

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Priorities in service and salutations validate the prestige of the incumbent. 621 654 Rituals also provide the occasion for noting social change. Divergencies between expected and enacted sequences are a clue to shifts in authority and prestige. Conflict between competing interests often comes to the surface when structural features are made explicit in ritual performances. This is [273] particularly true in these Indian villages where drinking liquor releases inhibitions. The inaugurations of officials in the civil and religious hierarchies are analyzed below to show how they reflect both continuity and change.

Inauguration of civil officials. Legal provision for the installation 642 of the civil officials is minimally stated in the constitution of the state of 621 Chiapas (Secretaría del Gobierno Departamental de Chiapas, 1841:4):

1. The judges and regidores elected will present on the 30th of December their credentials to the Secretary of the civil branch in order that he will put an account of them in a book.
2. Having verified this, he will give an account to them on the following day in the town hall, for which he will name a commission of three people who will identify the people named.
3. On the 1st of January of each year the first judge will meet in the meeting room and present the oath before the civil officials, chaired by the Prefect or Subprefect along with the remaining members of the group, as is stated in article 164 of the law of the 20th of March, 1837. The form of the oath will be the following:

   "I swear to God to preserve and to have others preserve the constitutional laws decreed and sanctioned by the National Congress in the year of 1836". To which the response will be, "Yes, I swear."

   Concluding the oath, they will take their seats. The outgoing officials will cease their functions, and they will be withdrawn from the place of the meetings.

The elaboration of ritual beyond the requirements of the law in house- 621 hold settings as well as in the town hall reveals the significance of ceremonial acts in these small, endogamous communities. The inauguration is a

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síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges of the barrios, the regidores, the judges of the colonias, the two first police, followed by the rest of the police in pairs. As they enter, they kneel and make the sign of the cross, or "measure their noses" (sp'is sniʔik), *an act which shows respect to the holy banners that the alfereces have delivered from the church and laid on the table in the town hall. On this same table are strewn orange blossoms and leaves of laurel with the newly peeled canes of the police and the old staffs of office of the higher officials. The new officials put on their rosaries as they prepare to receive their staffs.* [788]

The principales, fairly inebriated from drinking all morning as they awaited the arrival of the new officials, pass out the staffs assisted by the old president, who helps direct them as they wander in a daze from the table to the line of waiting officials. The second principal picks the staff from the table and hands it to the first principal who passes it on to the recipient. The act of passing over the staffs is a significant index to their role in the hierarchy. They are the only "permanent" officials—permanent so long as they are in good health and not impoverished. They are the link between the outgoing and incoming officials.

The oath of office was given in Spanish by the Ladino schoolteacher the year I observed the ceremony. Formerly, this was performed by the Ladino secretary, but a contest of power in the community resulted in this shift in role performers [*Chapter* 9]. *The inventory of the town's possessions is read by the "old" president*[4] *and each item is inspected as it is passed on to the "new" president.*

After the ceremony in the town hall, all the old officials scatter to their homes and the new officials, wearing their rosaries, go to the church. The principales wait in the town hall for their return.

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The new officials follow the alfereces out of the town hall in a procession. The four alfereces, holding their banners, line up before the town hall and dip their banners toward the town hall and then toward the church. They lead the procession of new officials two times around the plaza, stopping in front of the church to dip the banners toward it and the town hall. The order of the procession indicates the rank order of the offi-

4. The officials who have completed their year in office are referred to as "old," and the incoming officials are referred to as "new" at this event.

621 527 [788] [554] *cials, from the last policeman to the first and second judges. The procession makes two turns "to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] who the new officials to remain in office are."*

Awaiting the arrival of the new officials in the church are all of the [794] *mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see* [782] *who they are." The new officials enter two by two and proceed to the altar rail where they "speak to God," asking for health so that they can fulfill their obligation to the town. They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father cabildo."*

621 527 273 *The first order of the new president is to ask the fourth regidor to buy two liters of the "gift of the ancestors," contraband liquor. When the liquor arrives, the first judge rises and goes to the principales. Standing before them while they remain seated, he asks permission of God to "receive the gift," or drink the liquor, saying, "Give pardon, Mamal Krinsipal; let a little enter and warm your body."*

The policemen, after leaving the church, enter the kitchen shack attached to the town hall. The first new policeman orders the fourth policeman to bring a little trago, and when he returns with the liquor, the first policeman orders one of the policemen of the colonias to measure the drinks. They drink one liter, after which the first policeman of the lower division addresses the first policeman of the upper division in the pas?o-?tan. After the spatbeyo?tan, *or formal address, the first policeman wonders "whether they can endure a little more. Can they drink more liquor without getting drunk?" It is his responsibility to receive any orders from the president, and he wonders, "What should happen if we get drunk? We won't know if there is an errand for the mamal judge and we cannot help. Better rest a while, and if there is an errand we can help a little. If there is no errand, let us drink a little more until midday." At twelve noon both groups retire to their homes to rest their hearts.*

794 527 *Inauguration of religious officials.* The change of the mayordomos occurs twice annually, once on January 6 and a second time on the Day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29. San Pedro is associated with

794 527 *ranged with a large table in the center, the candles allotted to each mayor-*
domo laid out in bundles of nine. On the table is a little cross of the cruci-
[788] *fied Christ. The priest blesses the new mayordomos and the old mayordo-*
mos. Then the fiscal gives nine candles wrapped in a napkin to each may-
ordomo. The nil'nal, junior mayordomo, of each saint first takes the can-
dles allotted to the tatil to the latter's house, and then takes his own to his
[273] *house. After the oath, the new mayordomos return to the house of the*
Cofrade of Sacramento where they drink until prayer time in the evening.

On the sk'ak'alel Sk'in, *the true day of the fiesta, the new mayordomos go to hear the mass along with women prayer-reciters at seven in the morning. They then go to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento, leav-*
[533] *ing three junior mayordomos to play the drums and flute at the door of the church. In the house of the cofrade, they count the money of the Virgin and of San Pedro the Martyr. This fund of money is passed over from the outgoing officials to the incoming officials along with interest. It is*
[454] *now being loaned out to local entrepreneurs. The Virgin has a fund of 228 pesos, and San Pedro the Martyr has 40 pesos. The fiscal supervises the counting of the money, and records the sum, after which the pat?o?tan is recited and drinks are served.*

621 554 In the behavioral sequences of the inauguration, several features of the structure and functioning of the hierarchy can be noted. First, one can see in the actions of the officials that the hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth step ladder but a segmented order. The categories of officials, the alkaletik, rehiroletik, and mayoletik, act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same area in all the settings. Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth (and in the case of the mayoletik, from first to fifth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They command their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge orders the fourth regidor to get liquor, and the first policeman orders the police from the rural colonia to get liquor. By these behavioral indices one can see the ordering and grouping by age, skill in praying, and territorial identification within the segments of the civil-religious hierarchy. These principles apply, however,

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only to ordering between segments; because of the uneven civil careers of the incumbents, a man in the lower ranks within a segment may be older than another in the same rank because he started his career later. 621 554

A second significant feature of the inauguration behavior is the sacred quality of the acts, indicated by the words of the pat'o'tan—"holy office," "holy cold house," "holy staff, holy wand," "holy day and holy hour." The presence of the alfereces, the observation of the new civil officials by the religious officials, the movement from the town hall to the church and back to the town hall are the behavioral links between "our holy mother church and our holy father cabildo." 621 794 527

The behavioral elements in the inauguration of the religious officials parallel those in the inauguration of the civil officials. As in the case of the latter, the ritual takes place in both domestic and public settings—the house of the new officials and the church. In both inaugurations, the same feature of "raising" (rounding up for gatherings) the officials occurs: those of lower rank gather in the houses of successively higher officials, finally entering the house of the highest official. In each setting, the same ritual acts are performed—the formal greeting, the serving of coffee and bread followed by bean tamales, the request for permission to drink, and the serving of the "gift" of liquor. In the household setting for both civil and religious officials the same role performers—nakawanehetik, b'alnialetik and ʼkoltawanetik—lend their support.

In the religious hierarchy the symbolic "tools" of office of the mayordomos are candles while those in the civil hierarchy are canes. In the case of the inauguration of the religious officials, the inventory involves counting the money collected for each saint rather than accounting for the possessions owned by the town. An inventory of the saints' clothing is not made as in other towns, possibly because the lay sisters living in the town maintain this stock of equipment.

The formalized speech of the pat'o'tan is an important social tool in both public and private ceremonials. Characteristic of the speech are the elaboration of simile and metaphor (*me'ba'al, wokol:* poverty and trouble in reference to one's house; *lumiltik kal'aletik:* clay and mud in reference to bodies; *snuk shoy:* his joined one, his companion in reference to one's wife; *sapil yok' sapil sk'aab k'a santuetik k'a peroltik:* the washings [192]

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The principle of balancing posts according to residence in the dual division is maintained in the traditional civil posts but fails to be effective again in the case of the president. Increasing population in the upper division meant that the expensive post of alférez had to be filled primarily from the side with the highest population. This unbalancing of the sharing of these burdensome posts eventually led to revolt and the post was abolished. Since it was the key post in learning prayers, its loss may mean the end of the traditional rituals in the home.

The hierarchy fails to provide sufficient prestige or power to motivate people voluntarily to undertake some posts. The most vulnerable post was that of alférez. In fulfilling obligations to the saints, alfereces used to spend over 3,000 pesos, twice the normal income of a man in one year. They were assisted by members of their immediate household either in loans or in the sale of pottery to help pay for the house fiestas. The show of wealth at these fiestas, when up to one hundred guests were fed, excited the envy of neighbors, often among the invited guests. It was felt that this provoked witchcraft, and every former alférez I knew maintained that he suffered some catastrophe following his year in office. In the last few years before its demise in 1966 the post was accepted only under duress, and all those who had been nominated at first chose to go to jail. The reason that it survived as long as it did was the insistence of those officials who served in this post that it was essentail to maintaining good fiestas. The resolution of the contradictions by abolishing the post contrast with that of Zinacantan, where men sought the prestige-conferring posts that involved large expenditures of money as a validation of wealth (Cancian 1965).

Another contradition which minimizes the motivation to undertake the traditional posts is that the highest post in the ladder, that of principal, is one associated with embarrassment and shame rather than prestige. Shorn of his roles in decision-making and in guarding public funds, the principal is reduced to holding the plate in which donations for the major fiestas are placed. The ceremonial role of the principales will probably survive, however, since the old men of the community who have retired from active work in the fields enjoy the drinking sessions in the cabildo sufficiently to compensate for the shame associated with the role.

The internal structural contradictions have to be considered in the con-

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text of strong sentiments supporting an independent civil authority. The adaptations which have been made within the existing structure are a tribute to the strength of the sentiments associating survival of tradition with office-holding in the civil-religious hierarchy. Chapter 9 will deal with the capacity of the structure to absorb change.

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fereces to the cabildo, back to the house of the former alférez, and finally to the church, the old alférez was divested of his post and the new alférez took it on. The theme of continuity and change were exemplified by the rotation of this office just as in the case of the other ceremonial offices. The dialectic of role identification could be seen in the final act of relinquishing the role: the old alférez wept at the altar as he thanked the gods for permitting him to carry through the task. In serving in this office, it was said that the alférez "learns some understanding and speaks with understanding." He became eligible to be nakawane in the household celebrations of others; he learned the commitments to office, the fiesta needs in terms of liquor, wood, and money for food. This office, more than any other, was a rite de passage for acquiring the skills and becoming eligible for higher ceremonial office in the household, church, and cabildo settings. Those who had served in office became aware of its significance, and, despite the resistance and finally outright refusal of young men to accept the post, they were convinced of its importance in the comunal life.

An attenuated version of the post of alférez was retained in the barrio of Madronal for the fiesta of San Antonio. Those who had passed in the office in the center referred slightingly to the post in the barrio, pointing out that the alfereces there did not spend as much money, that their clothing was not as elaborate, their pat?o?tan shorter, and the meal given at the house less adequate since they did not kill a bull and then did not have as many nakewanehetik. All these components combined to give the office the prestige it still possessed in the eyes of the villagers. The value of the office was clearly measured in the costs involved; the very factor (money) which made it hard to get recruits gave luster to the post. Scaling down the costs in an attempt to make the post more attractive to those nominated, would probably have diminished its significance and led to a quicker demise.

Other Fiestas

The acts described for the inauguration of the alfereces are carried out for each of the major fiestas: those in honor of Sacramento, Virgin Lucía, San Pedro the Martyr, and San Francisco. The only exceptional acts occur

Chapter 9

The Competition for Power

829 178 177 Changes in the organization of the civil and religious hierarchies since the constitution of 1927 can be traced in a series of events remembered by members of the community. Their selection of significant events and the interpretation they make of them give the best clues to their response to change. In the remembrance of things past people structure their world and project expectations for the future. Behavior in these events lacks the controls operating in the formal rituals of the officials—age-graded authority, hierarchy, and a code of behavior which conceals the open show of power. The strategies employed in these organizational changes reveal other rules or transformation of the old rules characterizing social interaction.

554 621 794 578 177 178 The structure of roles in the civil and religious hierarchies has remained intact. What has changed are the bases for according prestige and authority and allocating roles. The pivotal positions in which change is occurring are the mediating roles between local and national power structures, specifically those of president and secretary in the civil authority and of fiscal and priest in the religious authority.

[212] [191] [756] The contest for power and "control of the town" has centered in five blocks of competition: (1) the opposition of new young leaders with skills in speaking Spanish, literacy, and knowledge of the idiom of behavior in the national culture to the established succession of an age-dominated authority system; (2) the challenge by the civil authority to the control of the curers who rely on power derived from possession of an animal spirit; (3) the struggle for political power among factions based on new economic enterprises; (4) the contest among local caciques for domination; and (5) the conflict among religious functionaries. The series of events in which these contests have crystallized and brought about a reorganization

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of political relations is summarized for each of these conflict areas. Most of the events recorded below are transcriptions of informants' statements given in Tzeltal. I have chosen this method to show how the people interpret incidents and how this leads to cognitive restructuring.

The Conflict among Civil Officials

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In the period of consolidation since the revolution, the crucial issue in determining the allocation of power among local civil authorities has been that of incorporating men who have special abilities to deal with external authority without upsetting an age-ranked system. Prior to the 1950s these skills were rare—in 1920 only four young men could sign their names and read. The civil careers of two men, Ceferino, a native of the town, and Augustín, a revistido Indian from Huistán, illustrate the different courses taken by this new leadership in the post-revolutionary period of the 1930s. Ceferino was included in the given structure of power while Augustín used his skills in dealing with Ladinos to gain personal power. Ceferino was one of the first four men of the town to learn to read and write. The civil authorities recognized his potential usefulness in the town hall, and succeeded in incorporating him in an honorific but powerless position as scribe. He described his introduction into local government:

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After I got out of school, the town saw that I knew how to write. Formerly there was no one who knew how to write. In the town hall the judges and president needed someone to write down the contributions and the payment for the government agents. Therefore, when the civil authority changed in the new year, they talked to my mother. As was the custom then, four regidores came to "raise" me, bringing a bottle of trago as a gift for my mother. She did not drink it alone. Together with the regidores we finished the trago. After finishing the trago, the first regidor began to speak to my mother in the pat?o?tan, saying, "I am going to bring one of your children, one of your offspring to the place where we look and where we see [reference to town hall]. We ask this favor because he knows how to write. Therefore the judges and the president ordered me to come and raise him and take out his soil, his mud, for this duty for this obligation.

[624] [873]

621 423 178 177 [609] ship role in the new political setting. As a result, it was the marginal Indians, outsiders who had come as did Augustín to work as *baldios* (laborers) on the finca near the town, that were the drivng force behind the demand for land. This was the basis for the new leadership in the early days of land reform. The ejido program, conceived of by Cárdenas as a basis for political development of the campesinos, (Brandenburg 1964) gave these marginal Indians the opportunity to rise to positions of influence in local government. The reluctance of the townspeople to take action [754] against Augustín derived in part from fear, since he reputedly backed his use of force with witchcraft—the imported kind of witchcraft in which poisons are used instead of spiritual force.

622 554 177 178 [191] [464] Ceferino, the man who finally deposed Augustín, was a member of the traditional community, but because he had been impoverished by burying four members of his family in the typhoid epidemic of 1928, he had been forced to work in the fincas. There he had learned Spanish and some of the ways of the dominant society. His leadership potential had developed in the role of *caporal*, or gang leader of the pickers in the coffee finca, and he had been a leader in the trek of recruited laborers down to the fincas in Soconusco. Under the old authority structure, in which all officials including the president were recruited through the hierarchy, he would never have reached a prestigious position. But in this crisis, he was the only man willing to confront the incumbent and take over the operation of civil affairs.

622 554 Ceferino did not take advantage of the situation to emerge as a cacique himself. As he explained in his narrative, "The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles." The way in which he had been introduced into the cabildo as scribe had successfully neutralized his own ambitions to attain power, if he had any. He accepted the ideal of a united pueblo, recognizing the authority of the principales.

621 177 178 The increasing scope and frequency of relationships between the nation and the locality since the revolution has emphasized the roles of president and síndico at the expense of the authority and control exercised by the principales. The ceremonial significance of the principales in rituals is retained as a symbol of continuity in the change of officials, but their func-

793 794 [578] *hundred and fifty pesos for a dress. The padre said I couldn't buy it there. He told me to send for one in Mexico that cost five hundred and fifty pesos. He wanted to make the profit.*

The fiscal. As an intermediary between the traditional religious officials and the priest, the fiscal is the target for both sides of the religious controversy. The priest selects the fiscal, but his retention of the post depends on his being accepted by the mayordomos. The tendency in the past [212] [191] fifteen years since a regular priest has been assigned to the community is to choose a man who speaks Spanish and can read and write, but who can 794 be dominated by the priest. The following statement by a man who served in this post in 1929 defines the functions of the fiscal as the Indians see them:

> *When I served as fiscal, I knew how to sell [the Indians use the verb* to sell *in reference to any propaganda—whether commercial, political, or religious] the catechism. After the prayer, I cleaned the patio. I held the key to the church. I saw [in the sense of watch over] all the mayordomos. I bought the candles and incense for the saints. At midday the mayordomos and I left the church and went home. There was no padre living here then, and the padre from San Cristóbal came only on the days of San Francisco, Virgin Santa Lucía, San Pedro the Martyr, and Santiago. Each Sunday, the ten mayordomos and I entered the church and prayed in the true language.*

[782] [191] Prayers are now given in Spanish by the fiscal and the prayer-reciters under the guidance of the lay sisters, who remain most of the time in the convento. The fiscal, as a consequence, is no longer selected on the basis of [554] his ability to recite the pat'o'tan. Since one of the main tasks of the fiscal is to take care of the church, several recent incumbents have been jeered as being like women, cleaning house and responding to the bidding of the priests. Some have suggested that one was a homosexual. They blame the fiscales for letting control over the domain of the church fall into the hands of the priest.

[782] A man who had filled the post himself, described the careers of several former fiscales:

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121 write beliefs that give coherence to these roles. Whether these events continue to be scheduled, and in the process of being presented "prove" the postulates upon which structural relationships are based, depends upon acceptance of the belief system.

183 A fundamental understanding governing behavior in Tzoʔontahal is that people ought to do as the ancestors did. Both "knowing" and "re-
[192] membering" are expressed by the same verb, *ya sna,* while "learning" and "memorizing" are expressed by the verb *ya snop*. The behavioral corollary of this association between knowing and remembering is that one should accept the word of the ancestors as a guide to behavior. The importance of obeying one's elders as the intermediaries in the transfer of ways of behaving from one generation to another is stressed in child training and is restated in the prayers uttered at ritual performances enacting the ways of the ancestors.

128 In this chapter I shall consider the integration of behavior based on roles, personality, codes of morality and etiquette, and the ideological and behavorial changes which are disturbing this system.

The Role System

554 Coherence of the role system in Tzoʔontahal depends upon (1) similar
621 premises for role recruitment and continuity in transition from one role to
182 another; (2) alternation in office and linkage of separate domains by special offices; and (3) standardized etiquette of role interaction. Uniform standards of evaluation of performance provide a sanctioning system ensuring social integration.

561 *Recruitment and transition.* Relative and chronological age com-
554 bined with consideration of sex are the fundamental principles for assign-
562 ing role categories. The age principle categorizes the entire town in role pairs of respect and deference. Sex differentiation is not made in children until after infancy. An infant of either sex is called *ʔunin,* also a term for
[192] the new moon, until the age of eight months. The sex of parent rather
[601] than that of the child is designated: a woman calls her offspring *ʔalal* whether boy or girl, and a man calls his offspring *nil'an*. Sex distinction is

made in speaking of toddlers: boys are called *htatil* and girls *ḳantxil*. After five years of age, a boy is referred to as *č'in ḳerem*, "little boy" and a girl as *č'in ʔačil*, "little girl." The term for younger sibling, *ḳihtx'in*, which is extended to all of the people younger than oneself on one's own side of the dual division, is not sex marked, but the terms for all people older than oneself are. Sexual segregation begins at the age of five in sleeping arrangements as well as in public gatherings, when little boys stand with their fathers. The modifier "č'in" is dropped after the age of nine, and the terms "kerem" and "ačil" are used until marriage. At the age of fifteen, a girl is referred to as *ʔantx wiltal*, "just arriving at womanhood," and when she is married she is classified as an *ʔantx*, or woman. A boy is referred to as a kerem until he is married, when he is called *ač' winiḳ* or "new man." A woman with children is referred to as *meʔelil*, and is a full-fledged member of her sex, the *meʔil*. A man's reference term does not change with paternity. When a young unmarried man dies, people say with sorrow that it was a pity "he did not try out life," and that "he did not try out a woman."

In her youth a woman's role is tied to the reproductive cycle, but after menopause she is released from the restrictions of childbearing women. She need not appear as modest in public, and can drink and dance at fiestas. A noticeable personality change can be seen as women move out of the chrysalis of their reproductive cycle. Some older women begin to take a keen interest in sex, and widows in particular may have sexual relations with young unmarried men. It is after menopause that a woman takes her first role in ceremonials as a woman speaker.

In the man's life cycle, leadership roles are related to age. Paternal roles are the prototype for both familial and public authority positions. Thus the term for father, *tat* is the stem for the term for leader, *statal*.

In the relationship between the sexes, women are considered to be under the control of a male protector, either their father or husband. However, there is a kind of equality between the sexes which is not found in Ladino society. Usually there is only a small age difference between husband and wife, even in second marriages, and parents resist giving a young unmarried girl to an older previously married man. Mutual respect is stressed in the advice given by elders at marriage. There is no double standard for ex-

621 593 581 794 Familial role requirements must be fulfilled in order for public roles to be undertaken. A man must be married in order to enter into even the lowest posts in the civil and religious hierarchies.

794 556 434 554 Only in the case of the alfereces has wealth ever been a criterion for recruitment. These four officials had to be able to spend 3,000 pesos during their year in office. The heavy expenditures failed to give prestige to the official, and the display of wealth excited envy rather than respect. The result was that people called upon to accept the post had to be imprisoned before they would accept.

554 756 Recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on innate qualities; special skills and knowledge are attributes acquired in office or other role positions rather than requirements for undertaking roles. Curers are recruited because they are recognized as having an animal spirit; they learn whatever skills are required after they have been initiated into the profession. The curers' special position in the society rests more on esoteric powers than on esoteric knowledge. Everyone in the com- [218] munity knows the herbs and medicines which are prescribed, and most men can give as comprehensive a taxonomy of illnesses as any practicing curer.

868 241 [857] [883] Economic roles, though largely undifferentiated for each sex, are consciously learned and transmitted. Boys accompany their fathers or elder brothers to the field at about the age of eight and continue working with them until they reach independence. Observation of behavior alone would seem to indicate an unconscious absorption of the role of agricultural worker, but informants recount episodes in which training in field work was explicitly transmitted by their fathers or brothers, and formal approval of their ability to do the tasks announced to their mothers. Parents [871] express fear that school attendance not only interferes with working in the milpa, but that it will cause the child to forget what he has learned in the field. Regardless of what other tasks a man performs, he thinks of himself as a farmer.

868 323 Becoming a potter requires an even more explicit training procedure. The fine linguistic segmentation of each act and movement in the schedule of pottery-making is a clue to the explicit transmission of tasks by the

mother to her daughter. Informants are able to recount the succession of 868
learning of the tasks, the relative difficulty of each task, and the mistakes 323
they made and how their mother corrected them. Being a potter in Tzo'ontahal is as much a part of being a woman as the role of agriculturalist is of being a man.

Special tasks become crystallized as roles only when few people perform 463
them. Jobs such as caponizing, butchering, net and rope weaving, and 554
wood cutting which are done by almost every man do not have role terms. Bonesetting and curing of certain "good" illnesses, such as swelling caused by embarrassment, are semispecialized activities performed by a few women who have "cold" hands. Midwifery is a fully specialized role per- [759]
formed by two women who are referred to as "the grandmothers of the newborn child."

A new occupational role has been created with the purchase of a truck 463
by Indians of the community. There are now two Indian truck drivers. 554
Recruitment of these particular young men was a result of their fathers' 177
importance in the truck-owning cooperatives, and their skill was acquired [493]
in apprenticeship with a Ladino truck driver hired when the truck was first in operation. Both of them are acculturated in clothing and speech. Since they have acquired skills in dealing with the Ladino world, they often act as intermediaries for Indians of the town in their negotiations in the market or the courts of the departmental capital.

The continuity in occupational adjustment from early childhood to 864
adulthood contrasts with the discontinuities in assuming roles in the life cycle. Girls are not advised about menstruation until they see the first signs of it; they describe their reaction to it as one of fear and surprise. Often they have been pregnant several months before they are aware of the condition or its cause, and they have no preparation for the experience
of childbirth before it is upon them. Boys are not considered men until 885
they are married, but in order to arrive at this status, they must enter into 584
the "fight to get a wife," as the betrothal is often called. 585

Since recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on 554
qualities of the person rather than acquired skills, failure to recognize the prerequisite conditions of age and experience undermines the validity of

554 the status. Community integration is achieved at the expense of limiting the range of roles through restricted recruitment and validating mechanisms.

621 794 [182] *Alternation and linkage in office-holding.* The principle of alternation between civil and religious posts serves to integrate these officers in a single functioning system and prevents the development of segmented groups. The alternation of offices between sides of the dual divisions helps to integrate the village by pairing or alternating them in the same office. Some roles served as links between the institutional domaines. Principales are the primary symbolic leaders of both hierarchies since they are chosen from among men who have completed service in both hierarchies. The alfereces formerly symbolized the unity of the civil and religious branches in the transfer of banners from the cabildo to the church and in other ceremonial duties.

621 624 794 [692] [184] The regidores and judges have remained identified with the civil authority in Tzoʔontahal, although in other towns in the area they have become almost exclusively identified with the religious hierarchy (Cancian 1965). The regidores were formerly involved in religious affairs during the household celebration for the installation of the new alférez. At this time they were called personaetik from the Spanish term persona, or personage.

731 756 178 621 Events requiring community action reveal some of the links which unite officials who play roles in different institutional settings. On the occasion of an epidemic, curers are called before the civil authority to "give an account" of who is causing the witchcraft. Formerly the curers were linked to the civil hierarchy by a system of social control in which the principales, as elders, reviewed their actions in guarding the safety and health of the community. This system of checks and balance has been broken by the shift in power from the principales to the president.

794 621 182 The nakawanehetik provide the links between the household and the civil and religious hierarchies. They transmit the knowledge of ritual prayer and acts and officiate at the inauguration of officials. They serve as stage directors in maintaining the traditional household rituals and in ensuring continuity in public ceremonials.

Etiquette of role interaction. The complex system of stereotyped behavior contained in codes of etiquette depends upon role relations. The primary rule of etiquette is to greet people appropriately. In street greetings, one demonstrates that one knows how to "take into account," or show respect to, elders and minors. To elders of the first ascending generation or above, one says, "Good morning, father (or mother)." Those of one's own generation are greeted as elder brother or sister, or younger brother or sister, depending on their relative age. If the encounter is with a compadre, the terms kumpare or kumare take precedence over any other relation. A respected curer is addressed as *tatinal*. Officials are greeted by their titles, preceded by *mam* if they are older. Such greetings are restricted to people who live in the same division of the village. When one enters the other division, it is necessary to greet only compadres or relatives who have passed over after marriage. When younger persons approach elders of prestige, they remove their hats and incline their heads to be touched.

Service of food and drink is strictly ordered by age and sex. At mealtime, small children are fed separately, before or after their elders depending on the child's needs. When they reach the age of reason, about twelve, they are expected to await their turn. The father is served first, followed by his sons in order of age. The mother eats later with the girls.

The etiquette of ceremonial behavior is an extension and elaboration of the everyday forms. Service and greetings are made in order of age and rank, a procedure simplified by the fact that seating arrangements are made in the same order. In house ceremonials, the eldest man sits facing inward, to the right of the door. The rest of the company sits in clockwise order from eldest to youngest on benches lining the porch. Within the house, the seating of women by age begins with the eldest woman sitting at the center post and others sitting in clockwise order.

Preferred modes of behavior in all settings for all roles are "slowness and softness, expressed by a single term, *k'unk'untik*. Deference and respect—"hearing and feeling," *ʃ?awai*—should be shown in all encounters, marked by behavior such as downcast eyes, shawl held over the mouth, avoidance of direct eye contact, as well as verbal signs of agreement and

been made, there is no recourse but to kill the man since he may retaliate by killing his accuser (this occurred in two of the cases noted in Table 29).

Conflict between generations in the role sets father/son and father/son-in-law stems from delay in carrying out role responsibilities. Fathers are expected to provide the money for the costs of betrothal, and to give their children shares of the patrimony including both land and livestock. The scheduling of when this should occur is often a matter of dispute, resulting in at least two cases of homicide in the period analyzed.

New economic enterprises have exacerbated the tensions rising from envy. Foster (1965) has suggested that envy stems from the notion of the "limited good," requiring the strategy of a "zero sum game" (Bennet 1966). The fact that the new wealth is evidence of new opportunities, not a subtraction from a given resource supply, has not entered the cognitive awareness of the people. The prospering leaders of these enterprises feel themselves to be particularly vulnerable to the envy of others and thus to the charge of witchcraft. There have been several open attacks on new leaders accused as witches; the leader of the truck cooperative, for example, was murdered in 1966. Six men have been killed as cattle thieves in the past ten years.

The economic roles created with the introduction of new enterprises have not been integrated in the traditional pattern of recruitment and control. In the association of cattle breeders, leadership tends to be based on the size of the herd; in the case of the truck cooperative, amount of capital invested and entrepreneurial skills have determined the leadership of the enterprise, while driving skill and ability to get along in the Ladino world has been the basis for choice of drivers. Such achievement principles as the basis for recruitment into these envied positions are not accepted in the same way that age and passage through a hierarchy of posts validated higher positions in the old hierarchies. The conspicuous expenditure of wealth in the more expensive posts in the religious hierarchy has also failed to lessen hostility aroused by the increasing disparity in wealth, and in fact those who have served as alférez have been even more subject to witchcraft aroused by envy.

626
"gift of the gods," liquor, to the party whose interests have been slighted. 273
This is done in the case of a suitor who is asking for a woman of the 431
other side of the dual division; he gives the bachelors of that side a gar- 584 621
rafón of liquor in compensation for the loss of a potential mate. Liquor 756
has become a substitute for the sacrifice of a child by a man being initiated 782
into the curing profession. Informal offerings of liquor may be made be- 627
tween neighbors or relatives who have been fighting with each other. Liq- 692
uor is a kind of universal social solvent in disputes, and figures impor- 578
tantly in court cases which are always terminated in a drinking session.

Another technique is simply a payment in money to compensate for 626
damages. In some homicide cases, the payment of "blood money" has com- 682
pensated the family of the victim to avoid legal action. This is never done, 754
however, if the community agrees that the victim was a witch. Payment of fines in court is another such form of compensation. These payments or offerings minimize the bloodshed or personal involvement in conflictual relations. Payment by the man judged guilty will ensure his reincorporation into his customary place in the community without stigma.

While it is impossible to elicit from informants a theory of roles, 554
it is possible to formulate the principles underlying roles. These are 12
deduced from behavioral observations and from evaluations made of the performances of others. They can be summarized in the following 554
propositions: 156

1. There is a clear separation between role and role-bearer. This is seen most clearly in the passage through civil and religious offices with a minimum of "halo" effect. It is also found in the situation of household officials whose authority in directing affairs within a household ceases when the ceremony in which they officiate is over. The separation 621 182
ensures flexibility in a closed social system, enabling people to shift from one role to another. It also permits continuity in a system which requires an almost complete turnover of personnel each year.

2. Function performed is separate from role in which it is per- 554
formed. This applies even in those roles which are designated on the basis of the most important function required of the performer, for example woman speaker, liquor measurer, and basket carrier. All of

554 these role-bearers have other functions to perform, but the term specifies the most significant of these. Other people may unofficially perform these acts but only the officially appointed person has the other prerequisites for and duties of the role.

3. Recruitment into roles depends on age and sex qualifications. Validation of the role emphasizes, in addition to these ascribed characteristics, innate capacity rather than acquired ability. For example, the curers who are respected are assumed to have been born with an animal spirit, while those who are believed to have acquired it are suspected of being witches. Similarly, high civil officials are expected to be innately clever, not just trained for office.

828 4. Evaluation of performance emphasizes the state of the heart and qualifies judgments of the person according to characteristics of the mind and of the soul. The heart governs emotions such as contentment or inner turmoil and determines the moral relations a person has with others. The mind enables a man to deal effectively in his instrumental activities so that he can speak and work well. Possession of a [774] second soul means that one is clever and capable, but it is the third soul which gives power over the life and death of others. The exchange of [154] evaluations about others is a crucial area of concern in the tense atmosphere dominated by fear of whichcraft. In the belief that their very sur- [156] vival depends upon knowledge of the intent of others before it is expressed in witchcraft, the people constantly consult with relatives, compadres, neighbors, or the curers, in order to anticipate changes in their relations with others.

681 5. Sanctions against behavior that fails to meet role expectations depend on the seriousness of the crime rather than on the attitude of the criminal. This means that compensation relieves the wrong-doer of any guilt burden. Most compensation, even for homicide, can be translated into cash payment.

156 6. Ceremonial behavior in everyday interaction as well as in [554] ritual serves to limit the personal involvement in the encounter and to emphasize the role category. This is particularly emphasized in the [273] initial stage of the encounter. Liquor and cigarettes introduce a more [276] informal behavior in which the etiquette of reserve can be relaxed.

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156
Unorthodox behavior after drinking is less subject to censure than that 273
indulged in without this stimulus. 276

The social changes affecting the community have not changed the 621
categories of roles. What has happened is a shift in the power and 554
authority associated with civil roles: the president's role for example 178
has assumed importance over that of the principales. A full account of the changes in the role system requires a discussion of the settings in which they are enacted, the timing which gives them coherence, and the beliefs which give them meaning. Summary statements on role coordination will be given in the final chapter.

Chapter 11

Ordering Behavior by Places

121 554 People act out roles in a space and time matrix that provides the cues for appropriate behavior. Place is a means of patterning three structural dimensions of role: sex, age, and relative prestige. In societies characterized by multiplex relationships, Gluckman (1962:35-36n.) has emphasized the importance of the setting in establishing what role the individual is playing. One's selection of a particular role from the many possible relationships tying people together is supported by observation of official terms of address and reference in these settings. In Tzoʔontahal, the use of place as 554 a designation of role is even more specific since each person occupying a role is given a special place within the setting.

554 342 368 517 The social domains, or fields of activity where major systems of roles are defined in Tzoʔontahal, include the house, the cabildo, the church, and the school. Segmentary role relations are limited to the clinic, the corn-grinding mill, and the store. The house has retained its importance as a ceremonial locus not only for life crisis rituals but also for initiating new officials into the civil and religious hierarchies. The institutional buildings [361] grouped around the plaza—the church, the cabildo, the schoolhouse, the clinic, the mill, and the cooperative store—are the meeting ground for outside representatives of national or supra-local agents and townspeople. These provide the settings in which behavioral adjustments to internal changes and to external standards can be viewed.

The Concept of Space

772 361 Relevant social space is conceived of as a square. The square shape of houses, of the offering hole for the house sacrifice, of the corn field, and of the planting pattern for corn conforms to a notion of the world as a

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meal for the house is buried in the inauguration ceremony (Chapter 1) and the door. Left and right are orientation points viewed from inside facing the door. Women of the house sit on mats near the center post. Female visitors occupy the mats to the left of the post and male visitors sit on benches lining the right wall and the interior wall. If it is a large ceremony for the ritual of inauguration or a celebration by the captain of a fiesta, only women enter the house, and the men sit on borrowed benches lining the walls of the porch. 342 352 562 574 796

Relative age is indicated by position in the seating arrangement. For women the seat of honor, occupied by the oldest woman present, is at the center post; other women of the household sit on a straw mat or board in order of descending age clockwise around the room. This order is modified by the presence of the grandmother who, if not a woman speaker, retires to the left (facing door from inside) corner. Visiting women sit to the right of the center post with the oldest immediately next to the post and those decreasing in age and stature to her right. For men, the seat on the bench nearest the door to the interior is called the "head of the bench"; this is the seat of the leading nakawane. The rest of the nakawanehetik sit along this bench in order of age. On the bench facing them sits the house owner, with his brothers and other visitors to his right in an age-ranked order. The b'alnialetik sit on the right wall bench. 342 352 561 562 574

Since prestigeful roles are usually a concomitant of age, especially in the house ceremonies, there is seldom conflict between age and role status. When conflict does occur, it is only seen at the top level; thus, the grandmother if not active because of age, retires to the corner while the woman speaker, who must order the women in the kitchen and receive visiting dignitaries, takes over this position. I have seen the leader of the č'om take precedence over the leader waiter who was older, because of the important role of the former. 342 561 554 • [574]

When the family is carrying out a ritual, it is felt that the house should never be left vacant. The role of the "waiters" (maliwanehetik) is specifically that of remaining in the house while others of the celebrants are involved in ritual acts outside of the house. When the members of the betrothal party go to the girl's house, for example, the waiters are left behind; or when the patient leaves with the curer and some of the curing 342 796 [584] [755]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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342 party to go to the spring, at least one relative remains in the house to
796 greet the soul if it should precede the curing party.
[584]
[755] Behavior in household rituals is described in Chapters 1, 5, and 8.
[128]

The Cabildo

344 The cabildo, called by the people of the town the "cold house,"[1] was
[196] built following the revolution of 1915, when Piñeda's revolutionary soldiers
[175] destroyed the original colonial structure. The tiles of the roof were confiscated from a finca which the Indians invaded in 1941 in an unsuccessful attempt to gain additional lands. When they were unable to maintain their hold on the land, they burned the owner's house and took the tiles to the town center where they remain as a symbol of their defiant action. They refer to this event with pride. The cabildo houses the jail, equipped with a barred wooden door, in one of its wings, and the Ejido Commission office in the other.

344 Within the cabildo, each official has his established place. The cabildo is
352 furnished with a table at which the president and síndico sit on wooden
621 chairs made in the Indian town of Chamula. Four benches lining the
554 walls on either side of the entry provide seating for the civil officials. On
576 the right side (looking out at the plaza) sit the judges in order of rank;
[693] the regidores, in similar sequence follow them. The principales, and formerly the alfereces, sit on the left side when they appear for ceremonial occasions. This spatial allocation establishes drinking and greeting order as well. Visitors can go directly from one to another in the formal greeting of a handclasp and murmured "good morning, father," or "good afternoon, father," without violating age-respect patterns.

344 During court cases, the claimant and his supporters sit on the bench to
352 the left of the door; on other occasions the bench is occupied by visitors or
695 petitioners. The police sit on one of the two benches lining the outside
[625] wall, or retire to the kitchen, a wooden slat lean-to on the left wing of the

[171] 1. Bunzel (1952) notes that in prayers, the cabildo in Chichicastenango is referred to as "the cold house, the icy house." Although the Quiché term is not given in her manuscript, one can see a similarity in the rhyming couplets and metaphorical allusions in the prayers of the towns.

building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office.

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist.

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first.

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient portable typewriter. Since typing is a new skill for him, he makes many errors, and his retrials are accepted with patience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

876 den on the teacher already laboring with the barrier in communication. Despite these difficulties, the children manage to learn the basics of read-
[875] ing, writing, arithmetic, and Spanish in four years of schooling. The teachers are devoted and spend at least seven hours in the classroom each day.

872 During the recess period the children play individual competitive games
524 except when organized games are introduced by one of the teachers. There is a tendency toward ganging up on weaker individuals in fights, that occur, but I have never seen signs of marked brutality. Since the La-
[563] dino children are a small minority in the school (there are no more than a half a dozen among the three hundred and twenty-four students) the Indian children do not face the discrimination found in schools with a greater proportion of Ladinos (cf. Romney and Romney 1966).

876 Discipline is no longer as strict as it was in the early years of public education. The teacher allows someone who has been hit to hit the aggressor but does not herself intercede. Threat of punishment may be made by the teacher, but I have never seen it carried out, and it is never suggested as a solution to failure to learn.

571 In comparing the domestic, civil, and religious domains of activi-
561 ties, the following features emerge:

554 1. In each domain, a hierarchy of power is present. In the house,
[592] males take precedence over females, and older members over younger.
562 In the cabildo, the power hierarchy takes the form of a rank order co-
621 ordinate with age in most of the offices, while in the schoolhouse, power is polarized with all authority vested in the schoolteacher. In the church,
[875] the conflict between the priest and the cofrades (Chapter 9) has not
[794] been resolved. Within the ranks of the mayordomos, relationships between the elder and junior mayordomo establish a graded ranking system (Chapter 8).

571 2. Behavior in each domain is standardized. Relative rank is re-
554 flected in seating order, greeting order, and drinking order. Autonomous
576 behavior is most marked in the domain of the church. Focused interaction is predominant in the school, where order and control are based on absorbing the attention of the child in a learning task.

3. Categories of role-bearers sit and act together in all the domains. In the home the me'eletik, the nakawanebetik, and the b'alnialetik have established seats and act in concert. Similarly in the cabildo, four ranks of officials, the principales, judges, regidores, and police, move and act together. In the church, elder and younger mayordomos move in pairs of two. 571 554 576

4. Sexual segregation is present in the home, the church, and the cabildo, but is lacking in the school. This rejection of the community standard for a group situation was the basis for some parents holding their children out of school until coerced by the federal authorities backed by the local officials. 562 871 177 178

5. Attendance in all domains involves coercion as well as voluntary action. Coercion is most marked in the school, but resistance by the parents to forced attendance and mixing of the sexes is fast wearing down in this domain. In the cabildo, the defendant is required to attend the court hearing and may even be jailed if he does not pay the fines charged against him. Coercion is covert in the home; the lack of alternative housing arrangements makes residence in the household of orientation or of procreation mandatory.

6. Sacred symbols are present in all the domains. The symbols of the cabildo and of the school relate the community to the nation with the national flags and the portraits of the president. The canes of office which are assumed as each official acquires office are symbols of local authority. The universalistic symbols of the church—the saints images, portraits, and banners—are acquired from Catholic orthodoxy, but have been encapsulated with local sentiments and beliefs. Sacred symbols are treated with respect and avoidance, both in the church and the home. The "holy cross" or banners are touched only with sacred embroidered cloths binding the hands of those who carry them. Saints' images are kissed, but as a mark of respect, not intimacy. The Mexican flag, with which less awe is associated, is saluted. [293] 778 177 178 788 186

Each of the domains provides a setting for the recognition and validation of authority figures in the community. Values which are communally shared or imposed from outside are formally instilled in these settings. Ex- 621 177 178

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621 177 178 tra-institutional supports are still lacking for the school, which is not yet fully incorporated into the community framework.

621 501 177 182 554 Replication of behavior in all of the institutional domains except the school provides a measure of social integration in the community. Patterned behavior, such as the set speeches of the pat'o'tan, the formalized drinking procedure including the blessing of the drink and the serving of it in accordance with age and authority ranking of the participants, the etiquette of greeting and leave-taking, the embrace signifying ritual guardianship, occurs in the home, the town hall, and the church. These sets of stereotyped behavior, specified according to roles, simplify the movement from one institutional setting to another and contribute to continuity in role performance by the individual. The new patterns of behavior introduced in the school—desegregation of the sexes, competition in performance, grading of achievement—are not modes of behavior which have spread. However, as the skills acquired in school assume greater importance in the community, it is likely that the socializing procedures with which they were transmitted may spread to the home.

571 is accepted. Precipitous action on either side reveals a weakness of which
805 the other party might take advantage, or which might even stop pro-
[584] cedures.

Timing of activities is so specific that it can be read as an equation of social relations: People who come to the house after nightfall are either intimate members of the family, or are members of the circle of me'tiktatik invited for a special household celebration—night is the time when spirits wander, not a time for casual visiting. Arrival of the betrothal party at the
[584] house of the girl's parents after ten o'clock in the morning indicates that the suit has been accepted.

571 Sequential timing expresses relative prestige and a sense of priority. In
805 "raising" the officials for the official ceremonies, the lowest ranks of
554 officials rise first to go to the house and awaken each of their companions
562 in order of rank. The sequence in serving order has already been discussed with respect to rank and prestige. Another principle of sequence operates at a more subtle level: women go before men when there is expectation of a fight since their presence evokes less hostility. This is evident in the be-
[584] trothal: the me? c'om precedes the mam c'om in the initial proceedings
[579] when strong resistance and hostility is anticipated. When drunken fights start during house ceremonies, women intercede with calming effect.

641 Time always is on the side of the Indians when they wish to resist na-
829 tional orders. Verbal agreements to pay fines imposed or to assist federal
805 agents in the capture of criminals are frequently followed by deliberate negligence in carrying out the orders. Usually the order is forgotten or in-
[647] terest wanes at a higher level. Government agencies such as the INI learned to bide their time much as the Indians did. Expecting opposition to any proposed change, they waited for the initial reaction to die down, and then proceeded as support from those who benefited overcame internal resistence.

461 When called upon to perform jobs that require regular appointments,
464 the Indians respond easily to the daily scheduling. Resistance comes
512 against scheduled requirements that involve long spans of time and inter-
805 fere with communal and familial ceremonies. Work away from home is undertaken only on the premise that it will be of limited duration. This
[181] control over their own time is a value which Indians will not easily yield.

621 578 177 178 [114] [474] [182] was channeled along existing lines of competition. During my stay in the community from 1964 to 1966, most conflicts were attributed to economic competition between the two trucking cooperatives. Along with this, the waning of the position of the principales has undermined the confidence of the people in the system of checks and balances in which the principales watched over the judges, the judges watched over the curers, the curers watched over the people to see that no one brought in evil, and the ancestors watched over everyone. Curers are more and more often accused of witchcraft and are frequent victims of homicide. The sense that they are the guardians of the pueblo and the agents of the ancestors is nearly dead. They are consulted only because the people feel that, because of the evil in them, they can fight the evil caused by others.

[756]

621 756 177 178 The shift in power from the old leaders to the new has not been accompanied by a shift in ideological allegiance. The new leaders cannot offer the security the people felt when they were living in the eyes of the ancestors. The curers remain as a powerful group because of their claims of being able to fight evil, but there is no longer a legitimate authority controlling their use of destructive forces.

561 554 177 178 A system of authority based on rule by elders is a structural correlative of a behavior pattern in which people act out the ways of the ancestors. This applies to the schematized behavior contained in rituals and in traditional productive activities. The ideology of a seniority-based prestige system persists at the explicit level at the same time that behavioral changes in contradiction to this are occurring.

626 177 178 Social control in a system of behavior based on what was done in the past depends upon the belief that people are carrying out their lives "in the eyes of the ancestors." Ritual behavior in Tzo'ontahal seems to confirm this, but in view of the waning belief in the presence of the ancestors and the loss of confidence in their agents, the curers, this behavior is a kind of social lie designed to perpetuate the old code of morality. In their everyday behavior, people no longer act on the same premises. The social lie is perpetuated because the people who enjoyed power in the old social system—the curers and the elders—do not wish to relinquish it. It will last only so long as they can find successors, and with the abolition of the recruitment through alfereces, this should not be for long.

755 Patient's Wife: *There he was lying down for the day.*
126 Patient: *It is the first day I have stepped foot on soil.*
Patient's Wife: *It is today.*
Patient: *I have endured it for days. So I wanted to go get help from your work. He [Emilio] told me, "Go get the horse to work in the wheat." "Good, I am going to get it. Afterward I am going to leave him in the threshing shelter." When I returned in the afternoon, I could not bear walking.*
Patient's Wife: *I told him, "Better not go yet to caponize your horse."*
Patient: *We had another little horse we were thinking of caponizing this year. But now I couldn't think of it. You have heard how it is with me. Let us see what God says.*
Curer's Wife: *Yes, give another [speaking to liquor pourer who was passing out liquor] to the women.*
[273] [554] *[All the company were given drinks. Drinking order was: father of curer's wife, curer, his two sons, wife of curer, interviewer, patient, his wife, wife of curer's two sons.]*
Curer: *Do you want a little more?*
Patient: *No, it is good.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *With your permission. [Drinks his liquor.]*
Curer [to Father-in-law]: *Enter! [Meaning, "Drink the liquor."]*
[The curer began to bleed the patient. He had eight gourds which he applied three times. He took the basin into which he poured the blood out to the yard and buried it, saying, "We cannot burn it inside because it was witchcraft."]
Curer [to patient]: *Can you endure it again?*
Patient: *I can endure it.*
Patient's Wife: *Please, father.*
Curer: *It is good. You don't have to endure it again.*
[Drinking continues.]
Curer's Father-in-law *[pouring blood into a saucer]*: *Look, it is black.*
Curer's Younger Son [to elder brother]: *It is not good, elder brother. [He had noted that the last gourd did not have much blood.]*
Curer's Father-in-law [to interviewer]: *Ah, God, it is not now as it was before. There is much witchcraft.*
Patient's Wife: *Let us see what came out.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *It is black because the witchcraft is well lodged in his body.*
[Curer points to his son where to make another scratch.]
Curer's Elder Son: *Where truly?*

62 887 888 after for advice in many different events, such as helping to decide the divisions of an inheritance among brothers, giving advice to a drunkard husband, etc. They also have important political functions: they are called in by the Ayuntamiento to help solve the difficult witchcraft cases, and they have to approve the nominations of officers before they are presented to the community as candidates. [154]

621 554 In selecting new officers, age, marital status, seniority rights and previous experience are considered important. The higher a position in the hierarchy, the more respected it is and the more authority and responsibility it carries. While the lower [555] positions can be filled by any man, the higher ones require certain personal skills that not everybody possesses, so it becomes more [624] difficult to find the right man for the job. Some men fail in commanding the respect of their fellow citizens (because they drink, or they fight with their neighbors, or similar breaches of behavior for which they are not selected for cargo), or they become senile, or die before they become pasados, so not every man arrives at the ideal and most reputable role of Principal, which is the top role a man can achieve at the community level.

621 624 554 To be a principal a man has to be able to get along with his kinsmen and neighbors, he should not be suspected of witchcraft, he should be able to deal with outsiders to the community avoiding conflict with them, he should be fast in judging the behavior of others and solving problems, and his word has to be precise and carry the necessary weight to convince others that his opinions are sound (un hombre que "sabe hablar"). Moreover, he can more easily

621 Moreover, he can more easily [54]
624 fulfill these requisites if he had been able in his lifetime to
554 become the jural head of a large and united extended family, be-
596 cause, given the fact that he should be able to control the opinions and actions of many villagers, it is his personal power with other individuals which supports his position as principal, and not the reverse.

621 Town officials, although they are selected by the previous
[623] officers and approved by the principales, have to be ratified in their positions by all the household heads in a public meeting. The different qualifications of some men for the higher posts creates some disparity in the number of cargos held by a particular individual, but the differences are never enough to say that political power is differentially distributed. The following table and figure show the distribution of officerships by age group, in a random sample of married men in Aguacatenango, and it confirms the idea that the villagers themselves have about their access to political officership: any normal, married man with more than one child is capable of achieving, in a hierarchical order, several political posts.[1]

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[184] [1]This system is in contrast with other villages in the area. In the very large communities with paraje type settlements (a nucleated village which functions as a ceremonial and political center surrounded by dispersed hamlets) such as Tenejapa or Zinacantan, although the number of offices is tremendously increased, the population is so large that only a few men from each paraje pass the cargos, and the ideal of every man participating in the hierarchy of power is never attained. In those cases, only the richer obtain office, and the "democratic" aspects of the system are less noticeable. It could be that an egalitarian political organization can only be maintained when the population size is limited, and that a large social group with a centralized organization "needs" differential power distribution, or, rather, cannot avoid the differential distribution of political power among the population groups.

621 571 man bankil (respect term, "elder brother") the other would be his 576 kiht'zin ("younger brother").

621 561 554 Older men are socially superior to younger ones. A man who has passed many cargos has more authority than one who has not served in the community government. A man with many children in a united family commands more respect than a man whose children are embarrassed of him because he is a trouble-maker. A good 562 561 626 talker is better thought of than a boring drunkard. The same differentiation scale, although using some other criteria, also functions for women. Elder ladies have enough social status to be permitted to laugh in public while young married wives are expected to keep quiet. A woman known as a "good mother-in-law" collects the rewards of praise of other women. A wife who keeps her husband clean and well fed can visit around and be well received, while a lazy housekeeper would not be welcomed in other women's houses who fear of being judged "by the company they keep."

554 555 156 621 571 A constellation of factors, therefore, places the individual in a very particular status position, and his personal skill can increase his prestige or destroy it. Moreover, the total performance of an individual in the totality of his roles can not only increase his general status and gain the approval of his fellow men, but would be an important factor in saving him from witchcraft accusations. A man can try to control as much labor and capital as possible in order to maximize profits from his work and minimize its consumption, as long as he does not create enemies, and insures his prestige in as many dimensions as possible: he can give advice to conflicting parties rather than

562 The inheritance rights of women are highly controversial.
428 All the cases of conflict over the inheritance or rights of usu-
578 fruct of land, that we know about, involved a woman in the line
[183] of transmission. But however controversial, they are an estab-
lished pattern. This is shown in the following cases.

Case 1

159 Delfina is about twenty-four years old, and still single.
592 She was raised by her godmother in San Cristóbal, and her aspira-
593 tions are to become a Ladina. She has consistently refused to
562 marry any Indian man, and lives with her parents in a large com-
554 pound. She is economically self-sufficient (perhaps the only
428 woman in the village which is in the same position), because she
434 works for the INI as a sewing teacher, and her status in the
household is quite high due to the fact that she draws a large
salary and that her parents are close to senility and dependent
on her. Until recently, her married brother lived in the compound
with his parents. He insisted that at his parents death he should
inherit everything: land, house and animals. Delfina and his
father were of the opposite opinion: the house should be for
Delfina, since she was supporting them and, as she expressed it:
"she did not get married." Faced with the brother's insistence
about his traditional rights, the father ordered him out of the
household, and he and his wife left town and went to live in
[626] Amatenango. Most villagers, however, think that Delfina is in the
wrong. They say that she is alzada (prideful) and loose in her
relations with Ladino men (the employees of the INI that come to the
village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

MY ELICITING PROCEDURES are described to make explicit the steps in constructing the informant's cognitive model. The first responses given by an informant are most often those which have the greatest significance within a structured system of priorities or of dominance. For example, informants in Tzoʔontahal invariably listed the officials in order of primacy. Another clue to the structuring of social relations is the omission of data in the first interview. This can mean either repression of information or lack of significance for the informant as an individual or for the society. These factors can be sorted out in subsequent interviews. 121 124

When asked, "What are all the kinds of offices in Tzoʔontahal," informants replied, "offices in the *kabiltu*, or townhall, and offices in the *ĉ'ulna*, holy house or church. The question, "What are the kinds of officials in the townhall?" elicited the following three categories: *alkaletik*, alcaldes or judges; *rehiroletik*, regidores; and *mayoletik*, mayores or policemen. These categories are ranked relative to each other; for example, *alkaletik* is of greater prestige (*mas mamališ*, senior), *rehiroletik* next, and *mayoletik* least. Thus there are in the *alkaletik* category: *primero alkal*, first judge; *sčebal alkal*, second judge; *čeb suplente alkal*, two assistant judges. In the *rehiroletik* category there are: *primero rehirol*, first regidor; *sčebal rehirol*, second regidor; *yošebal rehirol*, third regidor; *čanebal rehirol*, fourth regidor. In the *mayoletik* category there are: *primero mayol*, first policeman; *sčebal mayol*, second policeman; *yošebal mayol*, third policeman; *sčanebal mayol*, fourth policeman; and *spoil mayol*, last policeman. 124 621* 693 [794] 554 621* 693 554 624 554 625

Cutting across this ranked hierarchy of officials are two geographical divisions; these align officials according to the side of the dual division in which they reside and which they represent. There is one judge from the upper division, *ahk'olnantik*, and one from the lower division, *alannantik*. The first judge is chosen in alternate years from one or the other of the two divisions, and so on for each rank of judges and regidores. There are two sets of five police, one from each side of the dual division serving in alternating weeks. The two assistant judges are chosen from the barrios Magronal and Bočibal. They never attain the first two positions. In addition to this regular ladder 621* 693 [625] [554]

[P. 213-A]

sented by an elder *tatil martoma* and a junior *niʔanil martoma*, and that the 15 mayordomos were further ranked in terms of the four major saints, the *mas mamalil* or more senior, whose mayordomos are referred to as *kobraria*, cofradías or brotherhoods, and the remaining as mayordomos. The four *kobrarias* were ranked in terms of the importance and expense of the saint whom they support. The order for Tzoʔontahal is Sacramento *(Sakramentu)*, Virgin Santa

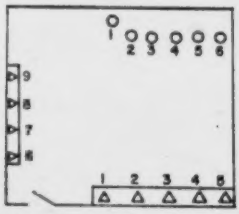

CHART 2 — EVENING, DECEMBER 31, HOUSE OF NEW JUDGE (ELICITED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Meʔil K'op)*
2 Wife of president *(Yinam Presirente)*
3-6 Wives of juniors *(Yinam Niʔanil)*

MEN (triangles):
1 Leading house official *(Statal Nakawane)*
2 New judge *(Alʔ Alkal)*
3-5 Assistants, sons of judge *(Balnialetik)*
6-9 Woodgatherers *(Akniʔetik)*

Lucia *(Halal Meʔtik Santalusia)*, San Pedro Martyr *(Tatik Martil)*, and San Francisco *(Tatik Sanpransisku)*. There was complete agreement among the three informants questioned regarding this rank order, but for rank order of the 12 remaining mayordomos in charge of the 19 lesser saints there was no agreement between informants, and even the same informant was inconsistent in different eliciting sessions.

Outside the traditional hierarchy is the *piskal* (in Spanish *fiscal*), who is the direct assistant of the priest and serves in an advisory capacity in charge of the church activities of the brotherhoods and mayordomos in the absence of the priest. This role was not elicited, but in my questioning about fiestas he was mentioned as performing a certain role. The incumbent in the past three years was serving as president for the third time, showing the scarcity of men with the needed literary skills. The fiscal is usually relieved of other posts while serving in office. Another set of roles external to the hierarchy are the *meʔeletik* (or *resadoras*, the Spanish term for female prayermakers). These are usually widowed or single wo-

men whom the lay sisters assisting the priest have 794
organized to help carry out the Mass and other
church rituals.

Another pair of officials, the *krinsipaletik* or princi- 624
pales, were not mentioned in the category "officials in 554
the townhall" or in that of "officials in the church,"
until I questioned, "Who names the officials?" The
response was, "Principales with the president." In
order to arrive at the higher honorific posts of princi-
pal, one must serve five times in the civil and six
times in the religious posts in the traditional hier-
archy. The principales provide continuity in the [182]
transfer of authority, remaining in the townhall
when the old officials depart to their homes, and pass-
ing over the staffs to the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28,
31). It is a position without power in the day-to-day
administration of affairs. Although the incumbents 624
occupy prestigeful positions and carry out ceremonial 554
acts, many men avoid the office because of the loss of 794
status in carrying out one of their most important
acts, the collection of contributions for the major
fiestas. The two principales must hold the plate into
which the money is turned over by the police, and
this causes "embarrassment." Formerly they were [453]
also bankers, holding the money until it was spent.
This responsibility gave prestige to the act of receiv-
ing the money, now redefined as a sort of begging
operation.

A ceremonial link between the civil and religious 794
wings is the group of officers known as the *alperese-*
tik, alfereces. They are associated with the four major
saints, who are also represented by the *kobrarias* of [776]
Sacramento, Santa Lucia, San Pedro Martyr, and San
Francisco. Their rank order is determined not by the 794
importance of the saint but by the order of entry into 554
office. These are named: *tat pasaro*, the past "father";
šil pasaro, remains past; *sčebal pasaro*, second past;
and *?at' alperes*, new alferez. They sit, move, and are
served in this order wherever they appear. Although 794
tied to a *t'ultat*, spirit father or saint, they function in 554
the townhall in bearing the banners there from the 62 *
church for civil affairs (App. 1, Q. 27), and they pro-
vide the post which is crucial for learning the set 537
speeches useful in all formal occasions, called the
pat?ot'an, 'behind the heart.' Because of the crucial
nature of this speechmaking, no man can progress [624]
into the post of first or second regidor without having
passed through that of alferez. This post is the most 794
difficult to fill because of the high outlay (3000 pesos 434
in one year of average expenditures, about half the 681

[P. 214-B]

average annual earnings of a man in this town); failure to accept the post when it is offered brings a jail sentence. On the following day, during a drinking session in the townhall with the assembled civil officials, the reluctant nominee usually accepts. 794 [434] [681] [273]

The civil career of an individual would be one in which he passed (*sk'as*, which I gloss as 'pass'; it is the same verb as Spanish *pasar*) first as police, then as third or fourth regidor. If he has passed as alferez, he will enter as first or second regidor at this stage, and then go on to second judge and finally become first judge. If not, he will stop as third or fourth regidor. After reaching the peak of his career as first judge, he may return to the police group as *martomorey*. Present leaders of the town consider this an "ugly" custom and say they hope to change it because it puts men of major age in a position of minor importance. Formerly men had to fulfill six turns in civil office, twice as regidor and twice as judge, to be considered free of further obligation. But now, because of increasing population (according to informants), this has been lowered to five required turns. The post which has been eliminated is that of assistant judge, which is now filled by a representative of one of the two barrios. 156 621* 554 693 [794] [829] 624 693 178 156

Throughout his career in office, a household head is expected to alternate between the civil and religious posts. Religious posts are considered less onerous since they require only six months of service, from the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo at the end of June until January 6, and the men are on duty only Sundays and holidays. A balanced number of six turns in each of the branches of the hierarchy was expected, prior to the reduction of the number of civil posts to five, to bring one to the end of one's career. In a census of 311 household heads made in 1964, passage in office shows a balance between posts undertaken in each wing of the hierarchy. Of 13 men over 70 years of age, five had completed service in civil and religious office. Three who had passed as president had served only once or twice in each wing of the hierarchy. The remaining five had a balanced but incomplete career. 621* 156 794 [125]

In the religious hierarchy, a man passes first as *nič'anil kuč haʔ*, 'minor who brings liquor.' Then he will pass as *ʔaliʔbal*, the assistant to the *kobraria*, particularly charged with the slaughter of the bull for the large fiestas. These "servants" were not distinguished from other mayordomos in the initial listing of officers, but were mentioned in the description of fiesta 794 554 156

[P. 215-A]

activities. Following this, he then serves as *tatil* of any saint of minor rank, then as *tatil* of San Pedro Martyr or San Francisco, followed by a turn as *tatil* of the *kobraria* Virgin Santa Lucia, and finally as *tatil* of the *kobraria* Sacramento.

The Tzeltal role terms in both the civil and religious hierarchies reveal the preconquest age-ranking system. This is evident in the use of elder and junior

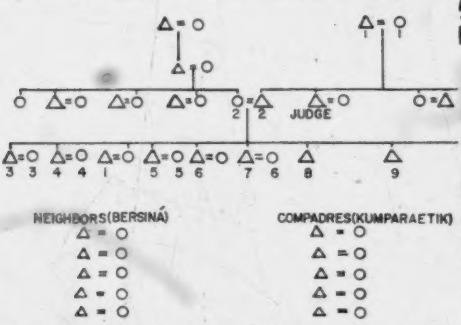

CHART 3 — ASSISTANTS AND PARTICIPANTS IN HOUSE FIESTA OF JUDGE (ELICITED)

Circles indicate women; triangles indicate men. For role term applying to number, see Chart 4.

titles for mayordomos *(tatil* and *nil' anil martoma)* and in the use of *mas mamalis* (more senior) for higher rank offices.

The informant's understanding of the hierarchy is that of a core of officeholders in three ranked segments (Chart 1). This is coded in the group terms for officials. Roles peripheral to the major categories such as those of rural judges, fiscal and women prayer-makers, are elicited only with repeated questioning or with reference to some event in which they function. These roles differ from those mentioned first in that they are either of little significance to the individual informant (this would explain the consistent omission of the rural judge by the people of the center) or are not part of the required posts incumbent upon every male household head to undertake (this might explain the omission of the president, síndico, principales and fiscales in the first eliciting session). Structural principles made explicit by the informants are (1) hierarchical rank, (2) progression from lower to higher posts, and (3) territorial balance in representation of the dual division. An implicit corollary of passage through offices beginning with lower ranks is the age grading of officeholders. Other structural aspects emerged in the description of behavior, described below.

[R 215-B]

INFORMANTS' SEGMENTATION of behavior in the inauguration of civil and religious officials is based on responses to questions in Appendices 1 and 2. The description of the activities is organized in 128 [124]

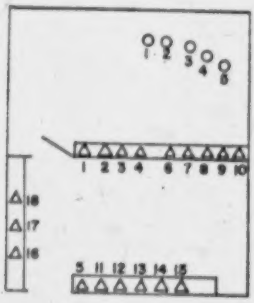

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CHART 4 — MORNING, NEW YEAR'S DAY, HOUSE OF FIRST JUDGE (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Meʔil K'op)*
2 Second woman *(Skebal smeʔ)*
3 Third woman *(Yolebal smeʔ)*
4, 5 Women *(Meʔeletik)*

MEN (triangles):
1-4 Nakawane
5 First judge *(Mam primeró Alkal)*
6 Second judge *(Alkal Skebal)*
7 Assistant judge of La Grandeza *(Hwes Suplente Bolibal)*
8 Assistant judge of Madronal *(Hwes Suplente Magronal)*
9 Assistant judge of San Caralampio *(Hwes Suplente Sankaralampio)*
10 Assistant judge of San Vicente *(Hwes Suplente San Bisente)*
11 First regidor *(Rehirol Primero)*
12 Second regidor *(Rihirol Skebal)*
13 Síndico *(Sintikü)*
14 Third regidor *(Rehirol Yolebal)*
15 Fourth regidor *(Rehirol Skanebal)*
16 *Balniel*
17 Liquor pourer *(P'is Haʔ)*
18 *Balniel*

terms of settings and roles. For each segment of behavior an attempt will be made to analyze how the structural relations and values are spelled out in spatial location, mode of address, and activity. 128

The settings in which the change of civil officials is carried out are (1) the houses of the incoming officials, (2) the townhall, (3) the plaza, and (4) the church. In each arena, the validation and support of 621*

[P-216-A]

male helpers who are usually wives of the *balnialetik*, or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors who come to congratulate the new official. Particularly conspicuous because of their Ladino or non-Indian clothing in the house of the president (Chart 6) were the visitors from the outlying rancherías and colonias of Tzoʔontahal. 621* [592] [574]

Validation in the household setting takes place in two scenes. The first occurs on the eve of New Year. Each new official entertains in his house the men he has chosen as his *nakawanehetik* and as his *balnialetik*. Only those *balnialetik* who are immediately related come to this gathering. The *meʔil k'op*, 'woman speaker,' is present along with the wives of the *balnialetik* (Chart 2). The house is decorated with pine needles and juniper boughs in the afternoon. The visitors arrive with wood and pitchpine to light the house at about eight in the evening and stay until the liquor is finished. Drinking order is from elder to younger, which coincides with the prestige ranking. The *nakawanehetik* are served, then the *nit'anil*. 621* 574 592 [602] [353] [273] [554]

The second household gathering takes place on the morning of the New Year. Major settings for such gatherings are the house of the first judge and the house of the new president. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the three other regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house. They join the president at his house and then proceed to the townhall. The group of five police from *ahk'olnantik* meet separately in the house of the first police of that side, and those of *alannantik* meet in the house of their first police. 621* 574 693 [592]

The assembled officials proceed to the townhall, announcing with rockets to the policemen that they have left. Gathered in the townhall, referred to in the formal address or *patʔot'an* as the *sik na*, 'cold house,'[9] are the 'old officials' *(k'a hu'eletik)* along with the alfereces and the principales. They enter two by two, the president and síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges, and the judges of the barrios and colonias. They kneel and 'measure their noses' *(sp'is sniʔik,)* as they enter, showing respect to the holy banners which the alfereces have delivered from the church. 621* 693 [202] [794] [554] [788] [794]

[9] Bunzel (1952, p. 377) translates a formal speech in which the townhall of Chichicastenango is referred to as that "cold house, the icy house," but the Quiche word is not included. The pattern of double synonyms for nouns is present in these Quiche formal texts as in the Tzeltal. [197]

[P 217-A]

reces have delivered from the church. The presence of the alfereces with their banners proclaims the link between civil and religious office. 621* 794 182

The principales, now fairly inebriated after their long wait for the arrival of the new officials, pass out the staffs, assisted by the old president who helps direct them as they wander in a daze from the table to the new officials. The intoxicated state of the principales is never mentioned in elicited statements. The act of passing over the staffs is a significant index to their role in the hierarchy. As the only "permanent" 621* 624 [273]

621* 554 693

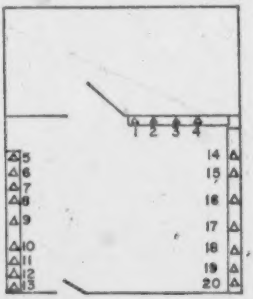

CHART 5 — MORNING, HOUSE OF PRESIDENT, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS (all men):

1 Nakawane
2 President
3, 4 Nakawane
5 First judge
6 Second judge
7 Síndico
8, 9 Assistant judges
10 First regidor
11 Second regidor
12 Third regidor
13 Fourth regidor
14-20 *Balnialetik*

incumbents—permanent so long as they are alive, healthy, and not impoverished—they are the link between the outgoing and incoming officials. When all the old officials have retired to their homes following the ceremony, and the new officials have gone on to the church, the principales wait in the townhall for the new officials to return for the afternoon drinking session in which they will join, as they had done in the morning with the old officials. 621* 624 [273]

Wearing their rosaries, the new officials follow the alfereces out of the townhall in a procession. Holding the holy banners, the alfereces line up before the townhall, dip their banners, and proceed to the 621* 794 788

[P. 217-B]

church where the same reverence is accorded to the church. The order of the procession following them indicates the rank order of the officials, from the *spoil mayol,* the last policeman, to the first and second judge (Chart 9). The precedence of the first two

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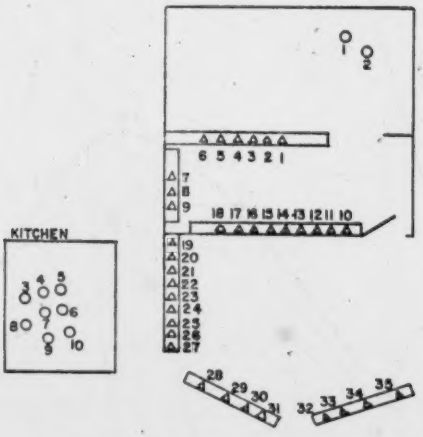

CHART 6 — MORNING, NEW YEAR'S DAY, HOUSE OF NEW PRESIDENT (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):

1 Woman speaker *(Meʔil k'op)*, comadre president
2 Second woman, neighbor
3-10 *Wanehetik*

MEN (triangles):

1 First Nakawane
2 Second Nakawane
3 Third Nakawane, brother of president
4 President
5, 6 Visitors from Colonias
7-9 *Balnialetik*
10 First judge
11 Second judge
12 First regidor
13 Second regidor
14 Third regidor
15 Fourth regidor
16 Assistant judge of Madronal
17 Assistant judge of La Grandeza
18 Assistant judge of San Caralampio
19-35 Visitors

judges over the president and síndico reverses that which was taken as they enter the church. There may be some permissible variation here, since the elicited version of the former president indicates that they should enter last. Possibly the threat of assassination (p. 223) caused them to enter before the judges as a security measure. The procession makes two turns

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[P. 218- A]

621* 788 554 693

"to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] who the new officials to remain in office are."

Awaiting the new officials in the church are all the mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see who they are" (App. 1, Q. 48, 49). The new officials "speak to God," asking for health so that they can complete their obligation to the town. They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father townhall." There they spend the remainder of the afternoon.

621* 794 [782] [788]

The mayordomos go to the kitchen attached to the townhall. The first policeman directs the purchase of liquor and the measuring out of drinks for the ten policemen from the two sides of the dual division and the two rural commissioners. In the townhall the new president's first orders are to the fourth regidor to ask him to buy two liters of "the gift," liquor. The pardon to the ancestors, and the offering of the gift to the principales, is in the hands of the first judge, who knows the *patʔot'an*, and can do the honors. The president is served following the principales in the round of drinking.

621* 273 [794] [625] [693] [782] [431] [537]

The change of religious officials takes place on the fiesta day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29, and on the day of the three Kings, January 6. This provides a six-month term of office. The new officials gather in the homes of the *kobraria* of Halal meʔtik and Sakramentu, and in the church. Thus two settings, home and church, come into play with the change of civil officials, but the townhall, significantly, is not part of this act nor are the alfereces called into action.

794 796

The ceremony lasts three days: first day is *pas kantelero*, 'to make candles,' when the candles are cleaned, and the old mayordomos eat a "common meal" *(komun weʔel)*; second day is *wišperes*, when the oath is taken; final day is *sk'ahk'alel*, when the new mayordomos play the drums or flute.

The first gathering, which took place the year I observed it in the house of the *kobraria* of Halal Meʔtik Santalusia, was cut short because the *kobraria* did not have a porch, and it had begun raining. By local standards, a house without a porch is considered inadequate, and is called 'cow house' *(wakaš naʔ)* since the owner cannot accommodate guests on such occasions. The group therefore lingered longer in the house of the *kobraria* of Sakramentu.

[362]

The speech of the *nakawane* to the "elder new mayordomos" *(mamal ʔač martomaetik)* (App. 2,

[537]

[P. 218-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

Q. 68) is a review of the major activities in which they will take part in the church. The phrase 'before the face of,' *ta sit*, is the orientation he indicates to the new mayordomos to perform these acts. 794 796 [537]

The ceremony in the church when the mayordomos receive their candles is limited to the few words of advice spoken to them by the fiscal and the passing over of the candles. There is no representation by the civil authorities in the ceremonial aspect of installation, although the fiscal, in his dual office as assistant to the priest and as president, indirectly takes this role. The alfereces, who provide the link on other occasions for the civil officers' inauguration, are not active during this changing of the religious officers. Following the ceremony inside the church, the town treasurer and síndico help the fiscal count the money passed over with each *kobraria*. Thus the "integration" of the hierarchy is asymmetrical, providing for a church representation in civil affairs, but only in a limited sense is there the reverse. [621]* [624]

The mayordomos return to the house of the *kobraria* Sakramentu. The *nakawanehetik* have lost their place of honor at the *hol wanku*, 'head of the bench,' and are sleeping under the bench or in the corner. Their presence is no longer socially marked, and it is not a point which was elicited.

The behavior during the inauguration of civil officials showed the following structural features. The hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth stepladder but a segmented order. The categories elicited in the first session with the informant—*alkaletik*, *rehiroletik*, and *mayoletik*—act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same areas in all the settings (App. 1, Q. 14, 15, 51, 64–74). Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They order their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge issues an order to the fourth regidor to get liquor (App. 1, Q. 55) and the first police orders the commissioner from the rural colonias to get liquor for their group (App. 1, Q. 79). In these behavioral indices one can see the segmentation of the civil hierarchy, ordered by age, skill acquired in the expensive office of alferez, and territorial identification. Age grading is absolute only between the segments, and is roughly applicable within each segment. 621* 571 554 156 [561]

In the inauguration of the religious officials, elder and younger officials associated with each saint act 794 561 156

[P 219-A] TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 220-A

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

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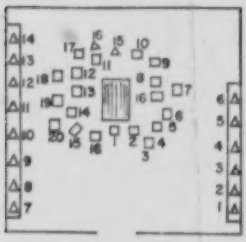


CHART 7 — TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING OATH OF OFFICE (ELICITED)

OLD OFFICIALS (triangles):

1 First principal
2 Second principal
3 Elder past alférez
4 Remaining past alférez
5 Third past alférez
6 Junior alférez
7 First judge
8 Second judge
9 Third judge
10 Fourth judge
11 First regidor
12 Second regidor
13 Third regidor
14 Fourth regidor
15 President
16 Síndico

NEW OFFICIALS (squares):

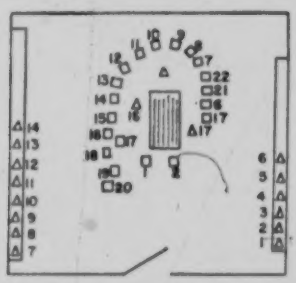
1 President
2 Síndico
3 First judge
4 Second judge
5 Third judge
6 Fourth judge
7 First regidor
8 Second regidor
9 Third regidor
10 Fourth regidor
11 First police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
12 Second police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
13 Third police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
14 Fourth police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
15 Last police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
16 First police *(Alannantik)*
17 Second police *(Alannantik)*
18 Third police *(Alannantik)*
19 Fourth police *(Alannantik)*
20 Fifth police *(Alannantik)*

NOTE: Canes of office are on table near center of room.

[P. 219-B]

as a team. Thus the junior *(nit'anil)* and senior *(tatil)* officials walk and sit in pairs. The senior officials order the junior. Just as in the case of the civil officials, some junior mayordomos may be younger than others who are in lower positions, because they have passed in the lower offices at an earlier age, but all senior mayordomos are older than their paired juniors. 794 561 156

Another important structural feature that became apparent in the behavioral schedules is the household base establishing the officeholders' position in both hierarchies. The new official learns his role obligations from the *nakawanchetik*, the group of elders 621* 156 794 592 [867]



621* 554 693 293

CHART 8 — INSIDE THE TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING THE OATH (OBSERVED)

Old officials are indicated by triangles, new officials by squares. Numbers refer to list on Chart 7. Three officials—the old secretary (17) and two new rural judges (21 and 22)—were not listed in the elicited session, Chart 7. Canes of office are on the table near the center of the room. Numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7.

who assemble in his house and who will assist him in his period in office. The ceremony in the house establishes this as a significant domain in public affairs. Relatives, neighbors, and compadres make up the interlocking network of supporters in the setting of the household. Both husband's and wife's relatives are symmetrically represented (Chart 3; see also J. Nash, 1964b, report on alferez assistants). Because of the expenses and the commitment of time during the period of office, the officials must have this backing to fulfill their obligations. A man with many compadres and godchildren has a firmer base to support his career in office. In the case of the new president, this was mentioned as an important asset by the president's brother. The guest list (Charts 3, 4) reveals the multiple references which establish the individual's role during any event. 621* 156 794 592 [867] 621* 794 592 602 156 [608]

[P 220-A]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS Replication of behavior in both civil and religious inauguration is also seen in the house ceremonies. Prior to setting out to the townhall or to the church, the new officials acquire a sense of the sacred obligations they are about to undertake from the words of the *nakawanehetik*. 621* 794 796 182

The major behavioral schema are established in the settings in which activities occur. In each setting, the actors assert status in a social arrangement by their position in a physical arrangement: seating order clockwise from the door indicates rank order in all settings. The same act has a different significance in each setting. For example, drinking in the townhall differs from drinking in the house because it ties together different sets of actors.[10] As the actors move from one setting to the next, they are accompanied by some of the members linking them to the prior setting, as when the *nakawanehetik* accompany the president to the townhall. 621* 794 156 182 571 554 [273]

The significance of setting in allocating roles is evident in the Tzeltal terms for categories of officials: religious officials are called "officials in the church" (*?a?teletik te ta ɛ'ulna*) and civil officials are called "officials in the townhall" (*?a?teletik te ta ɛ'ulna*). If my guess concerning the derivation of the term *nakawane* from house officials is correct (note 6), then this category derives its name from the locus in which authority is recognized. 621* 794 182 192 156

The analysis of behavior, or roles in action, corroborates some of the understandings gained from eliciting the structure, but requires some modification. The segmentary character of the hierarchy is evidenced in the domain, action, and the timing of action. However, qualifications of the elicited model must be made on the basis of the behavioral data. First, the asymmetry of the links between civil and religious officials in the church setting as compared with the townhall setting requires a qualification of the meaning of the integration for the two wings. 621* 794 182 156

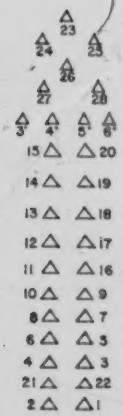
[10] This adds a further caveat to the "behaviorist fallacies" pointed out by Lewin (1951, p. 79) when the psychological setting is ignored in the description of the physical dimension of an act. [114]

[R 221 - A]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
-Tzo?ontahal

Second, the house ceremonials require the addition of this segment to complement the civil and religious structures so that we have a triadic set of officials—civil, religious and household—rather than a dyadic set as is usually described for Mesoamerican communities. 621* 794 182 156

Agent, place, time, and acts, both verbal and motor, 121



621* 794 788 533 554

CHART 9 — PROCESSION, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS:

3-6 Alfereces
23 Guitarist *(alpuhtero)*
24, 25 Firecracker lighters *(tomese ti'bak)*
26 Flautist *(yamai)*
27, 28 Drummers *(stihik sk'ayobik)*

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7, in addition to 21 and 22, rural judges listed in Chart 8.

carefully described, are the pegs on which comparative analysis can be hung. What we lose in literary value in ethnographic accounts, we may gain in making explicit the inductive bases of structural functional analyses. Once we understand the principles involved in the assignment of position or action in any setting, variations from the elicited and observed pattern provide clues to social change within small time periods. 121

[P. 221-B)

MOST ETHNOGRAPHIC REPORTS on the civil-religious hierarchy emphasize status and the functional goal of community integration. What we have failed to impart is the dynamic aspect of status, role. In the divergences between expected and enacted patterns of behavior in those occasions when the individual

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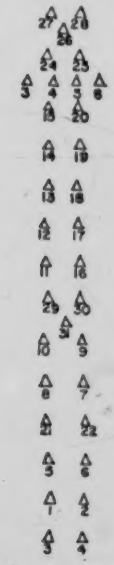

621*
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CHART 10 — NEW YEAR'S DAY PROCESSION OF NEW OFFICIALS (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:
29, 30, 31 Comisarios of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Cruz Quemada

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Charts 7 and 9.

"puts into effect the rights and duties which constitute the status" (Linton, 1936, p. 114), we have micrometers to the measurement of change. The details of change may be small—for example, a shift in the lineup of officials in a procession—but it may be a clue to important organizational changes. The behavioral changes in details of this sort provide cues to eliciting information that will explain the divergences. An important supplement to these cues are the unsolicited comments of informants. Sometimes

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621*
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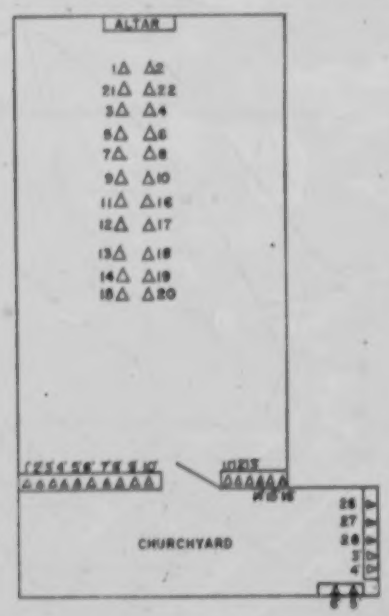
[P 222-A]

Third, there was opposition on the score that the president had never passed in any other public office. The only incident revealing the discontent was the firing of eight shots at (or above) the president's brother following the house festival on the eve of the inauguration. 666 578 622

The principales, who "formerly were the ones who ruled," no longer have a part in the power struggle 624 178



621* 794 554 346

CHART 11 — NEW OFFICIALS INSIDE CHURCH, NEW YEAR'S DAY

OFFICIALS:
1'-16' Mayordomos
Remaining numbers refer to officials listed in Charts 7-9.

which centers on party membership and economic competition. Their ceremonial role in rituals is preserved as a link with the past as well as a sign of continuity between old and new officials. 624 178 [794]

In the inauguration of the religious officials, divergence in the elicited and the observed event (App. 2, column 4) occurred first of all in the shift of locale for the common meal from the churchyard to the house of the *?ali?bal* instead of in the churchyard (App. 2, Q. 19). This was a clue to the power struggle going on in the church. When I questioned my informant about the disparity, he told me the following story: 794 178 578 [264] [793] [273]

[P. 223-B]

"Why don't you call in the civil guard?" 124

They will say we are women, that we are afraid. My brother wants to, however. 578 682

He communicated several things in this deviation from the eliciting schedule:

Many assassinations are committed regularly in Tzoʔontahal.
They usually occur at fiestas.
The only recourse is to kill one's enemy.
I am a killer, therefore I am prepared to protect myself.
Everyone knows I am a killer.
When I killed, it wasn't a murder but an execution.

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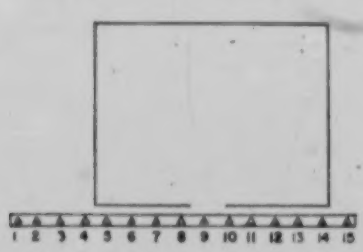

CHART 13 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF THE VIRGIN SANTA LUCIA, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:

1 Cofrade of Virgin Santa Lucia *(Kobraria Halal Meʔtik)*
2 Elder of San Pedro Martyr *(Tatil Yuʔun Martil)*
3 Assistant junior for Sacramento *(Aliʔbal Nil'nal yuʔun Sakramentú)*
4 Assistant junior for Virgin Santa Lucia *(Aliʔbal Nil'nal yuʔun Halal Meʔtik)*
5 Elder for the Christ of the Ascension *(Tatil yuʔun Tatik Sanprannikú)*
6 Elder for San Antonio *(Tatil yuʔun Sanantonió)*
7 Elder for Virgin Rosario *(Tatil Halal Meʔtik Rosario)*
8 Elder for Santiago *(Tatil yuʔun Santiagú)*
9 Elder for San Jose *(Tatil yuʔun Sanhosé)*
10 Junior for San Antonio *(Nil'nal yuʔun Sanantonió)*
11 Junior for Santiago *(Nil'nal yuʔun Santiagú)*
12 Junior for San Pedro Martyr *(Nil'nal yuʔun Martil)*
13 Junior for Virgin Rosario *(Nil'nal yuʔun Meʔtik Rosario)*
14 Junior for San Jose *(Nil'nal yuʔun Sanhosé)*
15 Junior for Christ of the Ascension *(Nil'nal yuʔun Sanprannikú)*

Since the informant expected that there might be an attempt made on his life in the approaching inaugural ceremony, he was advertising his own strength and willingness to defend himself even if it meant killing his enemy. I was an audience for him to try on poses of self-assertion. 124 578 [123]

[P. 225-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

I SUMMARIZE the evidence offered in the inaugural acts first in terms of a functional analysis of the ceremonial behavior and second in terms of structural and organizational changes revealed in the strategies of interaction. The following goals are attained in the rituals of inauguration:

1. *Preservation of continuity.* In the highland Maya Indian communities the problem of maintaining continuity is crucial because most of the offices

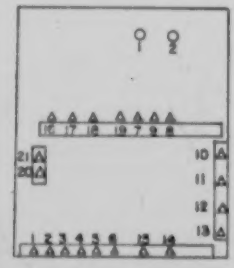

CHART 14 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF SACRAMENTO, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 *Me?il K'op*
2 *Sčebal sme?*

MEN (triangles):
16 Cofrade of Sacramento (*Kobraria Sakramentú*)
17 First Nakawane (*Sba Nakawane*)
18 Second Nakawane (*Sčebal Nakawane*)
19 Third Nakawane (*Yolebal Nakawane*)
20, 21 Guitarist (*Balnial Alpultero*)

Remaining numerals refer to role terms listed in Chart 13.

are changed simultaneously. The emphasis on continuity is evident, first of all, in the repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetitive behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expectation which assures participants in a performance of a link with the past. Bunzel (1952, p. 251) has shown that this familiarity of ritual "sets" in a variety of ceremonials provides linkage with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango. Repetition in behavior is reinforced by verbal references to perform-

ing "what our mothers and fathers did" (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 64). Second, continuity can be seen in the presence of both old and new officials in the townhall. In this setting, the old officials acknowledge acceptance of the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28). Finally, of greatest importance in establishing continuity are the principales, who await the arrival of the new officials with the old officials (App. 1, Q. 28) who pass over the symbol of authority (App. 1, Q. 31), and who remain alone in the townhall for the return of the new officials, when they have gone to church. 621* 105 794 178 18 [624]

2. *Role commitment.* The officials are members of closed corporate communities, integrated in a prior set of kinship and other social relations. They cannot rely on anonymity when acting in their official capacity as judge or policeman. Thus one of the functions of the inauguration as a rite of passage is a disengagement from the preexisting network of obligations and a commitment to the obligations of the office (cf. Parsons, 1951, pp. 80–84; Gluckman, 1962, p. 34; Cancian, 1964). Behaviorally, this function is indicated in the unfailing use of the term *Mam* (elder respect term) in both address and reference. The reference to the holy nature of their task (App. 1, Q. 19) and of the symbol of their authority, the "holy" staff (App. 1, Q. 30) which they always carry when discharging an official errand, establishes the supernatural authority on which the role is based. The effectiveness of these symbolic role identities in neutralizing prior affective commitments can partially be judged in that most dispute cases are brought before the local courts rather than referred to higher courts, suggesting that the complainant expects fair treatment. 621* 105 794 178 18 156 554 [576] [293] [691]

3. *Role learning.* The inauguration provides a setting in which the individual who is about to assume office learns what is expected of him (cf. Fortes, 1962, p. 82). The instruction of the novice officeholder is acquired most importantly in the home from the speeches of the *nakawanehetik* and cofrades (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 38, Q. 64) and in the directions he may be given in the ceremonial setting (App. 2, Q. 39, observation).

4. *Introduction of new officeholders to the villagers.* The new status of the officeholders is made 621* 105 794 178 18 788

[P. 227-B]

public in the procession around the plaza (App. 1, Q. 39). The mayordomos gather in the church specifically to view the new incumbents (App. 1, Q. 50). There is less public display of new officeholders in the case of the religious officials than in the case of civil officials.

The morphological description of the structure of a society is inadequate unless it includes role behavior as well as status positions. The behavioral data pro-

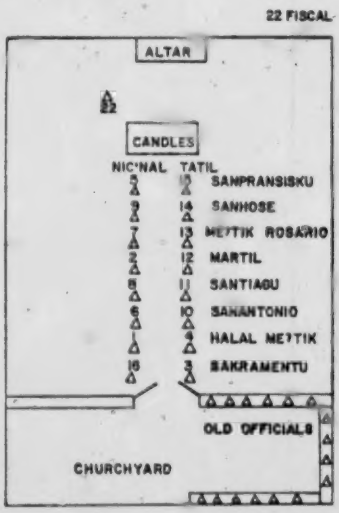

CHART 15 — NEW MAYORDOMOS INSIDE CHURCH, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

vide the basis for describing the physiology of a culture, or how actors and social groups interrelate in carrying out tasks. In the inaugurations, the household emerged in the behavioral descriptions as an important ritual domain supporting the civil and religious hierarchy. Similarly, the asymmetrical relation between the role of religious officials in the civil inauguration and that of civil officials in the religious

[P. 228-A)

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

inauguration is deduced from both elicited and observed behavior. These data complement the elicited material on structure in rounding out the ethnographic model of social reality.

Specification of the behavioral data on which structural and functional statements are made should provide the basis for more precise comparisons over time and between communities. I turn to the observed interaction to summarize the evidence for microchange within the community.

Outside of the formally prescribed behavior scheduled in the inauguration, a struggle for power is going on which is leading to important organizational changes in the town. This was suggested in the substitution of the schoolteacher for the former Ladino secretary in the act of giving the oath. Factional struggle of the leaders of the new enterprises was revealed in this substitution. Further evidence of change is seen in the redefinition of the president's position in relation to that of the principales. The potential power which the post offers to the incumbent and those who back him is now recognized. The risks are higher as the competition for the post increases.

In the religious sphere the priest's increasing control over the domain of the church is seen in the shift of setting for the common meal from the churchyard to the *?ali?bal's* house. This evoked the story of the open confrontation of the priest and cofrades a few years before. Public counting of funds by civil officials suggests an attempt by the new leadership to thwart the priest's dominance over the cofrades.

In the emergent struggle for power within the community, we see not just a defensive reaction to Ladinos by Indians of a corporate community, but a play for stakes in the same world. This suggests that the corporate community, now and in the future, serves not so much as an insulation from the outside world as in the past but as a springboard for the entry of the Indians into fuller participation in the national society.

[P 228-B]

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APPENDIX 3A—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN CIVIL INAUGURATION

	Setting	Role (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	Relationship	Behavior
*621 105 192 554 593 [574]	House, evening of inauguration	*ʔAČ'AʔTEL*, new officials	Ego	Receives guests, sits next to leader *nakawane*
		NAKAWANEHETIK, house officials	Father of new official or elder of neighborhood who has passed in higher offices (first regidor and elder mayordomo)	Initiates greetings; sits in head seat
		BALNIALETIK, assistants	Sons of new officials, husbands of daughters or of sisters	Serve food, measure drinks
[608]		*ʔAK'SIETIK*, wood gatherers	Neighbors, compadres, brothers	Bring wood, eat, drink
		MEʔELETIK, Meʔil K'op, woman speaker Yinam, wife	Mother, or elder relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings
		SKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers		Serves food. Cook food, dish out food, eat
*621 105 192 554 [593] [602] [608] [574]	House, morning of inauguration	*NAKAWANEHETIK*, house officials	Father and/or elder neighbors	Initiates greetings, addresses blessing to liquor
		AʔTELETIK ALKALETIK REHIROLETIK, judges, regidores	Men of village	Receive food and liquor
		BALNIALETIK, assistants	Brothers-in-law, godsons, compadres, fa's sis's sons, brother, comadre's son, neighbors	Serve food, measure drink
		YULATAK, visitors	Men from rural colonias	Give *abrazo*, embrace, to new president, eat, drink
		MEʔELETIK, women Meʔil k'op Sčebal Smeʔ Yoŧebal Smeʔ	Mother or elder relative ? ? ?	Responds to *nakawane's* and *alkal's* greeting. Orders women in serving of food
		ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	(See Chart 3)	Cooks food, dishes out food
	Townhall, morning session, civil inauguration	*K'AʔAʔTELETIK*, old officials	Men of village	Drink; wait for new officials seated
[594]		*ʔALPERESETIK*, alfereces	Men of village	Bring banners from church, drink wait for new officials

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

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	KRINSIPALETIK, principales	Two men who have passed through five offices in civil and six in religious hierarchy	Address greetings to old first judge; drink, greet new officials pass over staffs
	?AČ'?A?TELETIK, new officials	Men of village	Receive oath
	Professor		Gives oath
Plaza, noon	*TĒKLUM*, Village (people) *Spiil Me?eletik*, all the women *Spiil Winketik*, all the men	Men and women of village	Look to see who the new officials are
[188]	*?AC'?A?TELETIK*, new officials		Make two turns in procession
[194]	*?ALPERESETIK*, alfereces		Lead procession with banners
	BALNIALETIK, assistants	Two of president's assistants	Play flute and drum, light firecrackers
[194] Church, noon	*MARTOMAETIK*, mayordomos		Look to see new officials
	PIŠKAL, fiscal		Look to see new official
	?AČ' A?TELETIK, new officials		Speak to God
Townhall, afternoon	*?AČ' A?TELETIK*, new officials		Drink with *krinsipaletik*
	KRINSIPALETIK, principales		Drink with new officials

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX 3B—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN RELIGIOUS INAUGURATION

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SETTING	ROLE (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	RELATIONSHIP	BEHAVIOR
[574] House of kobraria Sacramento, morning of inauguration	KOBRARIA SAKRAMENTU	Ego	Receives guests; sits at first seat on outside wall near door
[604] [605]	NAKAWANEHETIK	Fa's brother and fa's brother's sons	Initiates greetings, sits at head seat
[593] [608]	BALNIALETIK	Sons, sons of campadres, neighbors	Serve liquor, food
[602]	ME?ELETIK, women	Elder female relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings, orders helpers
[608]	Me?ilk'op, woman speaker		
	ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	Comadres, sisters, neighbors	Prepare food, coffee
	MARTOMAETIK 3 KOBRARIA TATILETIK NIČ'ANILETIK		Eat and drink. Listen to advice of *nakawanehetik*
Church, morning of inauguration	PIŠKAL, fiscal KURA, priest ?AČ'MARTOMAETIK, new mayordomos K'A MARTOMAETIK, old mayordomos		Advises mayordomos of duties. Divides up candles brought by mayordomos; hands them to new mayordomos

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

631 the secretario, who is, without exception, a Ladino, for his responsibilities require a good knowledge of the Spanish language as well as office skills, which the Indians usually lack. Actually it is this official who controls all the administrative affairs of the municipio. He imposes fines, collects taxes, assigns communal work, and keeps in con-
[62] tact with the state authorities. After him rank the regidor, síndico, alcalde, police commander, and policemen.

621 Besides these authorities, which are the officially recognized ones, the Indians have their own government system, which in most places is still operating. Oxchuc is
[888] typical of the regional pattern. There the
[887] municipio is divided into two calpules, each of which is a kind of fraternity under the supervision of those old men having the
[776] greatest knowledge and prestige. Each cal-
[796] pul has also its own patron saint, venerated with special feasts and ceremonies throughout the year. (In Oxchuc the calpules are not geographically determined, and its members are spread in different parajes of
62 the territory.) Authority is now integrated in the following officials:

1 katinab, supreme chief of the whole calpul
1 okil kabil, "feet and hands" of the preceding, i.e., secretary
2 dzunubiles, supreme "pulsers" or "curers"
1 alcalde, who carries a staff of office
2 cornales (or governors), who also carry staffs of office
2 síndicos, who also carry staffs of office
4 x-tules (or regidores)

• 555 The four last jobs are reached by strict
624 hierarchy and indicate the progress of each
794 individual in the fulfillment of his social duties. This social-service career begins when the man is not yet married, when he is assigned the cargo of mayordomo of the church, which means that he has to attend to minor affairs connected with the church and to keep it clean. Shortly after his marriage he usually reaches the position of capitán, where he is responsible for the fies-

[P. 220-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

555 624 794 ta for minor saints. He alternates between a period of activity and expense and one of quiet and economic recovery. The cargos alternate between church positions and civil government positions, but in communities where Indian tradition is stressed, there is no clear-cut division between civil and religious matters, because of the influence of the sacred and supernatural in daily life.

554 624 293 Those functionaries who have a staff of office wield great influence in their calpul. This cane (*nabté*), a sign of important status, is made of pine or other fine wood, and has a silver handle adorned with colored ribbons, primarily yellow, green, and red. The staff is ornamented by the owner and is considered a family object, usually placed on the home altar. Occasionally it is the [778] [782] object of prayers and offerings of incense. People carrying it are called *bastonudos*.

624 627 It is the duty of the staff-carriers to communicate to every paraje the orders of the ayuntamiento and those coming from the supreme chief of the calpul; to summon people for communal duties; to apprehend prisoners in cases of crime; and to deal with public problems such as taxation and epidemics. Coping with transgressions such as minor stealing, adultery, disputes, and intrigues are also their responsibility within the paraje, following the traditional form of procuring mutual understanding on both sides, in a calm atmosphere, around a bottle [692] of liquor. If conflict persists, those involved appear before chiefs of the calpul, who are called principales or "cabildos de justicia" even after they have finished their term of office.

794 The cargos from dzunubil on up are sacred and are open only to people with superior knowledge, recognized moral status, and expert experience in church ritual and in the semi-pagan ceremonies practiced in the caves, waterholes, and special mountains. These cargos are thus obtained not by automatic advancement but by special merits which are usually not acquired until advanced age. All such high representatives of

[P 220-B]

hall, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of the new officials. Residents of the barrios and colonias can never rise to any position above that of assistant judge, but once they have served in this post they may become principales in their own localities. One week the first regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the third regidor from Alannantik, and the next week the second regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the fourth regidor from Alannantik. The ten police are ranked in five levels with representatives from each side at every level in the series except for the fourth level, which is occupied by police from the barrios.

These civil officials, called as a group the *hu?eletik*, those who are "able" (in control), constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. To reach a high post, an official must first pass through each of the lower positions in the hierarchy. Outside of this ranked hierarchy, the posts of president and síndico are occupied by young men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy was, until the present generation, limited to a few men in their thirties. With increasing literacy, the competition for these posts is growing.[2] Men who have such skills are called upon as signers of official documents and are called *firmanetik*.

Also existing outside of the traditional hierarchy is the post of secretary which had, until 1965, been occupied by a Ladino. This was the only post which was paid; it also provided opportunity for earning extra income by preparing "acts," or official documents, and fines from court cases. The present incumbent is an Indian of Alannantik.

Because Tzo?ontahal's hierarchy is still a linked series of civil and religious posts, the structure of the civil hierarchy cannot be considered independently from that of the religious hierarchy. The major segments of the religious hierarchy are the *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces or captains of the fiestas. The internal ranking of the sixteen mayordomos depends on the number of religious posts the incumbent has filled and on the rank order of the saints he serves.

The alfereces, or captains of the fiestas, provide a ceremonial link be-

2. Julio de la Fuente (1964:30) has summarized the effect of literacy in breaking the homogeneity of the community since the literate Indians have received greater privileges and release from communal work. When the entire community is educated, the monopoly of literacy is broken.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

554 621 794 578 177 178 [128]

of political relations is summarized for each of these conflict areas. Most of the events recorded below are transcriptions of informants' statements given in Tzeltal. I have chosen this method to show how the people interpret incidents and how this leads to cognitive restructuring.

The Conflict among Civil Officials

621 555 212 177 178

In the period of consolidation since the revolution, the crucial issue in determining the allocation of power among local civil authorities has been that of incorporating men who have special abilities to deal with external authority without upsetting an age-ranked system. Prior to the 1950s these skills were rare—in 1920 only four young men could sign their names and read. The civil careers of two men, Ceferino, a native of the town, and Augustín, a revistido Indian from Huistán, illustrate the different courses taken by this new leadership in the post-revolutionary period of the 1930s. Ceferino was included in the given structure of power while Augustín used his skills in dealing with Ladinos to gain personal power. Ceferino was one of the first four men of the town to learn to read and write. The civil authorities recognized his potential usefulness in the town hall, and succeeded in incorporating him in an honorific but powerless position as scribe. He described his introduction into local government:

159 212 621

After I got out of school, the town saw that I knew how to write. Formerly there was no one who knew how to write. In the town hall the judges and president needed someone to write down the contributions and the payment for the government agents. Therefore, when the civil authority changed in the new year, they talked to my mother. As was the custom then, four regidores came to "raise" me, bringing a bottle of trago as a gift for my mother. She did not drink it alone. Together with the regidores we finished the trago. After finishing the trago, the first regidor began to speak to my mother in the pat?o?tan, saying, "I am going to bring one of your children, one of your offspring to the place where we look and where we see [reference to town hall]. We ask this favor because he knows how to write. Therefore the judges and the president ordered me to come and raise him and take out his soil, his mud, for this duty for this obligation.

[624] [873]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

does not drink or have a record of fighting. Character traits are given 581
more significance than wealth, since the minimal differences which distin- 582
guish rich from poor can be lost within a few months if a man drinks
heavily or does not work. The close identification among siblings means [593]
that in accepting a suit the girl's parents will take into consideration not
only the boy's reputation, but those of his brothers. If they are considered
to be disobedient, lazy, or frequently drunk, their brother may have diffi-
culty finding a woman.

Positions of ceremonial importance in the household celebrations are 794
filled by any of the elders who have acquired knowledge of the prayers. 592
The nakawanehetik are chosen from among any of the bilaterally-ex- 782
tended relatives, compadres, or padrinos who have served five times in reli- 555
gious office. They are selected not only on the basis of how well they 561
know the prayers, but also on their behavior when required to drink. A [273]
man who can hold his liquor and still speak well or who quietly goes to
sleep rather than fighting when drunk is preferred. The me?il k'op is se-
lected from among the female complements of these male relatives. She ac-
quires her knowledge of the prayers in familial settings. The b'alnialetik
are chosen from the kihtz'inal (younger siblings and cousins), or from
among compadres or members of neighboring households. The rank order
between the two sets of roles—the nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik—de-
pends on relative age; thus the older nakawanehetik have greater author-
ity.

Familial roles provide both a pattern and a springboard for other roles 621
in the community. The father-son role pair is extended to the relationships 593
between senior and junior officials in both the religious hierarchy and the 561
curing hierarchy. For each saint, the elder mayordomo is called "father" 794
(*Tatil Martoma*), and the younger is called "son" (*Nic'nal Martoma*). A 192
man must fill the junior post at least two times before taking on the senior
post. For each side of the dual division, the elder curer (when there was a [756]
recognized leader) was called "father" (*Tatil ?u?ul*), and the younger
was called "son" (*Nic'nal ?u?ul*) or sometimes "youth" (*Biktal ?u?ul*).
The term *me?il* (woman who has borne a child) is used in the reference 621
to ceremonial roles played by women in the household, as in the case of 592
me?il k'op (woman speaker) and me?il č'om (mother of the betrothal). 562

62
887 after for advice in many different events, such as helping to
888 decide the divisions of an inheritance among brothers, giving ad-
[754] vice to a drunkard husband, etc. They also have important polit-
ical functions: they are called in by the Ayuntamiento to help solve the difficult witchcraft cases, and they have to approve the nominations of officers before they are presented to the community as candidates.

621
554 In selecting new officers, age, marital status, seniority rights and previous experience are considered important. The higher a position in the hierarchy, the more respected it is and the more authority and responsibility it carries. While the lower
[555] positions can be filled by any man, the higher ones require certain personal skills that not everybody possesses, so it becomes more
[624] difficult to find the right man for the job. Some men fail in commanding the respect of their fellow citizens (because they drink, or they fight with their neighbors, or similar breaches of behavior for which they are not selected for cargo), or they become senile, or die before they become pasados, so not every man arrives at the ideal and most reputable role of Principal, which is the top role a man can achieve at the community level.

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554 To be a principal a man has to be able to get along with his kinsmen and neighbors, he should not be suspected of witchcraft, he should be able to deal with outsiders to the community avoiding conflict with them, he should be fast in judging the behavior of others and solving problems, and his word has to be precise and carry the necessary weight to convince others that his opinions are sound (un hombre que "sabe hablar"). Moreover, he can more easily

621
571 man bankil (respect term, "elder brother") the other would be his
576 kiht'zin ("younger brother").

621 Older men are socially superior to younger ones. A man
561 who has passed many cargos has more authority than one who has not
554 served in the community government. A man with many children in a united family commands more respect than a man whose children are embarrassed of him because he is a trouble-maker. A good
562 talker is better thought of than a boring drunkard. The same dif-
561 ferentiation scale, although using some other criteria, also func-
626 tions for women. Elder ladies have enough social status to be permitted to laugh in public while young married wives are expected to keep quiet. A woman known as a "good mother-in-law" collects the rewards of praise of other women. A wife who keeps her husband clean and well fed can visit around and be well received, while a lazy housekeeper would not be welcomed in other women's houses who fear of being judged "by the company they keep."

554 A constellation of factors, therefore, places the indi-
555 vidual in a very particular status position, and his personal
156 skill can increase his prestige or destroy it. Moreover, the
621 total performance of an individual in the totality of his roles
571 can not only increase his general status and gain the approval of his fellow men, but would be an important factor in saving him from witchcraft accusations. A man can try to control as much labor and capital as possible in order to maximize profits from his work and minimize its consumption, as long as he does not create enemies, and insures his prestige in as many dimensions as possible: he can give advice to conflicting parties rather than

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967
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[P 465-A]

682 only a rise in the tensions that provoke con-
178 flict, but an undermining of the social-control
121 mechanisms for channeling them. The percep-
626 tion of these changes by the members of the
society makes for shifts in the individual cal-
culi, grossly measured in changes in the rate of
[128] behavior. In order to understand the interre-
lated problems of the sources of the increasing
tensions and the reasons homicide is chosen as
a means of resolving them, I have recon-
structed the course of social change in the
period from 1935 to 1965.

178 *Increasing Social Tensions*

556 New economic enterprises have increased
wealth differences in the community. The best
measure of this is in the increase in cattle-
holding, which is a socially approved way of
spending money. Twenty-five years ago, there
were only a half-dozen men with cattle, and
they had only one or two head each. Today,
178 one of the herders in the community has 200
233 head of cattle, and 75 percent of the households
556 have one or more each.

Cattle-herding is a "new" industry in the
sense that instead of just having a team of
oxen to help with agricultural labor, men are
233 breeding cattle for profit. Because the cattle
685 roam freely, there is much loss, and this leads
to accusations of theft. I have never heard
such accusations directed against anyone out-
side the community; crime as well as positive
moral relationships is confined within the
682 boundaries of this corporate community. Sus-
685 pected cattle thieves are killed by the cattle-
[474] owner or by a killer hired by the cooperative of
cattle-owners. Such killings account for six of
the 37 cases analyzed above (Table 1).

178 The illicit distilling of liquor has also added
274 to the town's prosperity. The liquor industry
was introduced about 15 years ago, but the
number of distillers has increased from 5 to 40
[438] in the last five years. From an enterprise
[439] formerly meeting only local market needs,
contraband liquor is now sold as far away as
the coastal area and across the border in
274 Guatemala. A cooperative of distillers has re-
474 duced the frictions that immediately followed
the introduction of liquor-distilling. The
cooperative pays the fines of any member
caught distilling, and in addition threatens to
use group action against informers, who were
formerly tempted to earn the 200 pesos offered
[578] by federal agents. But the envy aroused by the
sight of those who profit from this enterprise,

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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[P. 465-B] Teklum

as with the cattle industry, is a covert cause for personal attacks on other grounds.

A third enterprise, trucking, has caused a realignment of political interests in factions associated with two truck-owning cooperatives. Membership in one of the cooperatives, or patronage of one of the two trucks, arouses the enmity of members of the other cooperative. Several threats have been made on the lives of the owners and the operators, but the only damage done has been to tires.

The tensions resulting from the introduction of these new enterprises cannot be fully measured by the deaths attributed to direct economic conflict. Wealth differences resulting from the new enterprises excite envy, and with it come accusations of witchcraft. In this community, witchcraft killing does not perform the normative function of reducing wealth differentiation that Kluckhohn saw operating among the Navaho (1944), since it is the poor man who is killed as a witch, not the rich man. The slaying of the envious witch exacerbates the economic differentiation that provides the seedbed for conflict.

Another new source of tension is found in the growing demand for political leadership or even independence from the township by the *ejido* colonies formed since land reform went into effect in 1937. The inept maneuvers of two founders of the ejido colonies in hot country resulted in two homicides (cases 12 and 18 in Table 1).[4] The increasing strength of these hamlets will mean that more attempts will be made in the future to gain political equality and/or independence. Whether this will result in increasing homicides will depend on social-control agencies external to the Indian communities.

Homicide occurring as a direct result of economic and political competition represents a new strategy in the community. The decision to kill rather than to use other negative sanctions is related to the social-control mechanisms discussed below.

Changing Mechanisms of Social Control

A system of social control rests not only on the exercise of negative sanctions, but on the sense of personal security derived from confidence in the institutions of control. In Teklum, the maintenance of control was formerly centered in the guardianship against malevolent spirits held by the ancestor spirits and the curers. The "police force," made up of ten

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

443 ket of Tenejapa. Other commercial centers are Ocosingo, Chilon, and Yajalon in the north. These markets are also frequented by Ladinos, but others, located far from the cabecera, are exclusively for Indians. The most important of them is the Saturday market of Yochib near Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc. It draws 300–400 natives, who arrive at dawn carrying agricultural and handcraft products. Most people come from 8 to 10 in the morning, after which they begin to depart; about 2 or 3 P.M. only those staying to drink chicha are left. Transactions
[437] are paid in trade or in money.

Wage Work

444 Because the cold climate and the rugged topography of the region produce little corn, the natives must work periodically as day laborers on the coffee plantations of the Soconusco area on the Pacific coast. About 7000 Tzeltal and a few more Tzotzil work there each year. Natives may go to the coffee plantations any time of the year but prefer to do so during the months the milpa requires less attention (either after planting or after harvest). Between Yajalon and Ocosingo are plantations where men from the neighboring villages are hired for short periods.

Use of Wealth

556 578 829 183 Because of their social organizaton, it is very difficult for these Indians to accumulate wealth. The worst sin an individual can commit against the community is to store up crops, domestic animals, or clothes, or simply to build a better house. Whatever
[754] raises an individual above his fellows—buying a new house, improving an old one, buying a horse—can cause in them a deep fear of being the target of witchcraft (Villa Rojas, 1947).

556 829 183 Those who, enjoying good health, are able to pile up some wealth, are obliged by the community to spend it in banquets and amusements for the community. It is believed that the old men and principales

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556 829 183 know, with the aid of the *naguales* (supernatural spirits), about the wealth each member of the group has; those who have more than necessary must pay for the expenses of fiestas, etc.

Social Organization

Kinship

614 613 The basic elements of the clan system of the ancient Maya can still be found in the most conservative groups. At the present time, the kinship system is divided into patrilineal clans, which are divided into [199] patrilineages. In some cases, the name of the clan is of Spanish origin, the name of the lineage, of indigenous origin. In Oxchuc there are six clans whose names are: Gómez, Santis, López, Méndez, Encines, and Rodríguez. The first two clans are the largest, since the Gómez clan has 37 lineages, the Santis 39. The last two are almost disappearing as they have only one or two lineages. Among the indigenous names for lineages are: Ichílok, Nimail, Akux, Cojton, Chic, Molox, Nich, Antun, Chisná, Tíb, and Mulesh. These designate names of animals, plants, or objects.

A man whose name is Juan Gómez Nich, for example, belongs to the Gómez clan and to the Nich lineage. Generally, the name of the lineage is enough to show to which clan somebody belongs; if his name is Juan Nich, it is immediately known that he is from the Gómez clan. This special characteristic of the indigenous name is designated by the word *Jol s'bij*, which means "head of the name."

[184] In Cancuc (a community next to Oxchuc) clans have special names, such as Chík, Chejeb, Ijká, and Boj. If the indigenous name is known, the clan name is self-evident. The Spanish name has lost its specific function, and, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, pp. 4–5), there are Indians who do not even remember it. However, the Spanish surname designates exogamic units of a patrilineal type throughout the region, without

[P. 213-B]

[Text continues on p. 214-B].

273* proper interpretations of drinking behavior can only proceed as rapidly as careful descriptions of drinking behavior are formulated. Drinking performances anywhere in the world occur in more or less well defined contexts which are subject to well ordered descriptions. One cannot judge any individual's drinking performances until and unless he has discovered the contextual rules in terms of which this individual is operating. It has [121] been the intent of this thesis to point to some of these kinds of contextual rules.

273* 554 In Aguacatenango drinking performances reflect important principles of social organization which are elsewhere attested in other performances which are not drinking performances. In drinking performances there is a simultaneous mapping of differences in social status and role as there is a statement of how the wealth in the community should be divided. In any drinking [561] performance, men of senior age and generation drink first, their juniors drinking later. Women and children drink separately and in small amounts. While the relative order of drinking marks the relative status of the men present, all men drink the same amount. Not only does this clearly delineate men's and women's roles but it also expresses the condition that across time, every man can expect to occupy a status position senior to the one he presently has. Such changes in status are not dependent [556] upon the achievement of great wealth since everyone should have

273 554 556 this in equal amounts (as mapped by the equal amounts of aguardiente they receive). In fact, as we have earlier observed, drinking performances are regularly scheduled, explicitly verbalized events in which differences in real wealth are leveled.

121 The ethnographic aims of this thesis may be summed up more or less as follows. It is clear, now, that it is possible to describe systems within culture in terms relevant and significant to those who are participants in that culture. This thesis has aimed to formulate such a description of drinking behavior in Aguacatenango. The procedures we have discussed in the earlier chapters are general in the sense that they are, it now appears to us, applicable to any culture, and to most foci or domains therein. One should not be surprised, however, if some varieties of learned behavior are not directly accessible to study in this fashion.

000 Though some notions from structural linguistics seem relevant, the immediate relevance of linguistic data is as an aid in discovering and relating other cultural patterns. McQuown's reading of Whorf's (1941) statement regarding "fashions of speaking" seems relevant here: "This approach [Whorf's] would seem to de-emphasize the role of linguistic patterns as such and to stress the function of language as a medium for the manifestation of other cultural patterns, in which precise formal characteristics of the medium were merely limiting and not determining

776 which have the power to mislead, give illness, or capture people to work
[756] for them. Only the most powerful curers and witches, and the very greedy
[754] approach these spirits for they are reputed to be very "live" and mali-
[825] ciously clever. Snakes are the offspring of the hill and do the bidding of the hill-owners.

556 Wealth in the form of livestock, corn, or gold can be gained from some
756 of the cave owners upon request, but there is danger in receiving these
778 gifts since they must be reciprocated. Among the cave owners who give
787 gifts is Don Klabil, a deceased moneylender of the neighboring town. After his death in the 1940s, his spirit went to live in the hill bordering the two towns. People say that when he was alive he used to get money from the true owner of the cave. Those who have been inside the cave say it is filled with animals—cattle, horses, rabbits—which drink at a large interior lake. The appropriate approach for requesting wealth is to go on Thurs-
[782] day, "when the earth is open," and burn candles and incense. When the request is granted, the recipient must light candles at the cave every Thursday, and after his death he must work forever for the cave owner. It is said that at his death his wealth dies with him—usually all has been spent, and in fact children are left poor. Some say the spirit of the firstborn child of the recipient must be given to the owner to work for him. For this reason, there is no envy felt by neighbors when they see the increasing wealth of a man who has visited the caves and received such gains and he is doubly protected because no one can hurt an "enchanted man" (one who has entered the cave) with witchcraft.

756 Ladinos' belief in the cave owners gives support to the Indians' credence
776 in their power. Ladinos inquire of Indians where they can find treasures.
778 Once the request to the hill owners is made, it is essential to follow
[829] through correctly. Everyone in town knows the story of Martin Bautista, a curer who went to speak to the true owner of the hill in which Don Klabil lives.

[539] *He knew how to talk to the owner. The owner told him that at midnight on the following day, he would give him what he wanted. At midnight Maria, his wife, was alone in the house. She heard a noise and the sound of* "Andale, burro!" *Then there was a knock at the door. When the*

When this fails, they turn to the professional help of lawyers rather than to the old caciques with whom they had formerly maintained patron-client relations. The traditional structural alignment of upper and lower barrios is retained as the basis for organizing the growing cattle herds, but the cooperative provides flexibility and power for developing new enterprises. 177 178 474 693 621

The minimal changes in the material environment and the technology of the peasantry are countered by the development of social resources which should facilitate Indian integration in the wider society. In operating the new enterprises independently of Ladino control, they are developing entrepreneurial skills and an awareness of the relationship between capital and profit. The restriction of their operations to nonproductive use of capital for profit, such as buying crops at harvest and reselling as the price rises, reveals the limited dynamics of intracommunal development. The town will look to the regional and national networks for fundamental changes in its economy. 177 178 472

The fear of exciting envy acts as a brake on productive activity and the enjoyment of improved consumption resulting from wealth. Santos' death is a symbolic warning to others who would follow in his footsteps. An earlier case occurred when the ejido land grants were made in the 30s: 626 182 472 556

The brothers Ča?iletik became "very rich" as a result of careful operation of their ejido and privately owned land. They owned ten pair of oxen and about fifty horses. When they brought in their crops on horseback, it looked like a line of ants. They built a good house in Alkob', and a good threshing shelter. The people of the town began to talk about getting them off the land. The ejido commissioner took their land away and turned it over to others in the town. Until this day, the brothers Ča?iletik are without land. Now they do no more than work like other men. They live poorly. All their cattle and horses are sold. 556 433 423 621 626 159

The organization of the cooperatives is one means of diverting envy directed against individuals and permitting some increase in productive efforts, but the society still lacks the means of validating higher consumption standards. The richest man in town eats better than his neighbors, 474 182 626 556

556 626 but his style of living is indistinguishable from theirs. The only difference [23] is the larger number of dogs he[1] keeps to guard his wealth stored in the form of surplus crops in the eaves of his house.

177 178 433 434 621 323 The kind of economic change occurring in Tzo'ontahal fits the model of a moving equilibrium. Tightly controlled behavioral schema preserve the traditional productive activities in pottery and agriculture. They provide the framework into which the new enterprises are fit. Increasing dependence of cosumption choices on external markets is slowly transforming the content but not the pattern of community life. This kind of change is limited to societies that form a distinct corporate group. In an open society where many alternatives are available, the painful process of accommodation of the new to a customary pattern would probably not be undertaken given the tendency for social change to follow the course of least resistence. The absorption of economic innovation in Tzo'ontahal illustrates the ability of closed corporate communities to participate in commercial undertakings and reformulate them to fit their own pattern.

[1] [i.e., the richest man in town. - Analyst]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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TABLE 25. Number of Civil and Religious Offices of Household Heads over 50 Years of Age as Related to Wealth

Age of household head	*Wealth* *Land in hectares*	*Head of cattle*	*No. of civil offices*	*No. of religious offices*
54	3	4	5	3
55	3	8	2	3
65	3	11	6	2
50	2½	2	4	4
75	2½	4	6	6
55	2	8	2	4
55	2		4	3
60	2	2	2	4
65	2		6	6
75	2	7	4	3
78	2	6	2	1
50	2½	2	3	4
50	1½	2	6	5
55	1½	6	2	6
58	1½		1	2
60	1½		6	6
60	1½	4	4	4
60	1½	8	4	5
80	1½		4	5
88	1½	7	6	6
50	1	10	2	3
50	1	1	3	3
54	1	4	6	6
54	1	4	6	6
55	1	6	2	3
56	1	4	3	3
58	1		5	4
60	1	1	5	6
60	1	2	5	6
60	1	2	4	6
65	1	2	3	
65	1		6	6
65	1		3	3
70	1		1	1
75	1		5	5
79	1		5	5
80	1	2	3	
80	1	22	3	1
85	1	6	6	6

Age of household head	Wealth: Land in hectares	Wealth: Head of cattle	No. of civil offices	No. of religious offices
55	½		2	2
55	½		2	2
55	½	2	2	3
60	½		2	3
60	½		1	3
60	½		4	3
62	½	1	2	3
65	½		2	3
65	½	4	4	6
65	½		6	5
75	½		5	6
87	½		4	4

from six to five. The reason given for this is that there are more people now than formerly.

The second course of civil careers is to serve as síndico and go on to president, bypassing the intermediate and lower posts of the hierarchy and never filling the higher traditional posts. Of seven who have served as president, two served as síndico, two had no previous office, and three had been both policeman and síndico (Table 25). None of the former-presidents served in any civil post after being president. Two served as fiscal in their religious careers and had had no other religious service. This is the course pursued by literate men who speak Spanish well. An alternative course is to enter the ejido commission as secretary, treasurer, or president and then serve as síndico, or even directly as president. The president elected in 1964 had served only on the ejido commission. This caused some discontent, but not enough to prevent his election.

The household head enters religious office first as *niḉ'nal* or junior mayordomo, then serves as *?ali?bal,* or assistant, next as *tatil,* or elder mayordomo of a lesser saint. The fourth position is tatil of San Pedro, after which comes *kobraria,* or cofrade, first of San Francisco, then of Santa Lucía or Sacramento. Following his appointment as tatil of San Pedro, the incumbent holds the first gathering of mayordomos in his house. When he completes his term in this office, he may be called upon by neighbors, relatives, and compadres to serve as nakawane in household ceremonials. He

794 may at any time in his career be called upon as alférez. This may occur
[625] even before he has served as a junior mayordomo or policeman since the
[556] post depends on his own or his father's wealth.

621 The normal career of an official in the traditional hierarchy involves a
794 balance of civil and religious posts. A man enters these posts according to
561 convenience, not in a rigid alternation between civil and religious wings. The rough balancing of posts can be seen in the careers of men over fifty in Table 25. According to informants, a man should start and end his career in the religious wing. By the age of thirty, forty-three men had filled at least one post in the religious hierarchy, and only twenty-four men had served in the civil hierarchy (Table 24). The religious posts are considered less onerous than the civil posts since the incumbents are in attendance only one day a week instead of every day, and their terms in office last only six months.

621 Wealth level, except in cases of extreme poverty, does not limit a man's
794 participation in the traditional hierarchy. Of fourteen men over seventy,
556 eight had completed their civil posts and seven their religious posts. Three who had not followed the traditional career lines had served as president. The town is small enough so that career lines have not followed any polarization of the upper levels of the hierarchy as occurs in towns of larger size (Bunzel 1952, Camara 1952, Cancian 1965). Discrimination is based on residence rather than wealth—those Indians who reside in barrios and colonias cannot reach any post higher than that of assistant judge. Wealth level is a factor, however, in the time span of the individual's career, since at some time before becoming second or first regidor he must have filled the expensive post of alférez. Table 25 lists the careers of men fifty years of age and over in order of wealth. It is possible to finish a career in office by the age of fifty, but if a man has less than one hectare of land, it is unlikely that he will finish before he is sixty-five. The Indians of Tzoʔontahal do not however maximize the importance of passing through the hi-
[554] erarchy. It is a duty not a goal, and the reward in prestige is minimal.

794 The only post in which wealth has been crucial was that of alférez. The
556 incumbent and the household of which he was a member spent 3,000 pesos
796 to carry out the fiestas with which he was charged in his year in office.
666 The president, the four judges, and the four regidores chose the alférez

shortly before the fiesta of the saint's day with which he was charged. 794
When the nomination was made, the president sent out the first police- 796
man with the chief policeman to bring the man chosen to the town hall. 556
They expected, and were always confronted with, resistance to the nomi- [666]
nation. In order to gain acceptance they got the nominee drunk in a [273]
drinking session at the town hall. Liquor was measured out, and all the officials drank only a half cup at each round, but the new alférez was required to drink a full cup. The rounds continued until the new alférez [697]
was drunk. If he did not accept at this session, he was put in jail to think [689]
it over. Another drinking session took place the following day.

Nomination to the post of alférez was the only situation in which the 794
jail penalty has been brought into effect, since refusal by nominees to other 556
posts simply means that the officials "look for someone else." The reason 621
given for invoking the punishment was "we know he has the wealth and therefore he should serve." Until 1965 the town had always succeeded in recruiting two of the alfereces from Ahk'olnantik and two from Alannantik. Since the upper division of Ahk'olnantik has grown at a more rapid rate than the lower division, candidates were found only in Ahk'olnantik. This unbalancing of the population ratios undermined the institution of alférez, which had always been the most unpopular position. When I re- [114]
turned to the field in 1967, it had been eliminated.

The Functions of Civil Officials

An analysis of the formally prescribed functions of the civil officials 128
must take into account three sources of data: the functions as prescribed 621
by state legislation, the functions as understood by local officials, and the observed activities of the officials. Table 26 compares the functions of officials as stated in the constitution of the state of Chiapas (Secretaría del Gobierno Departmental de Chiapas, 1828: Decreto 52, Nov. 30, 1825) [3] to statements of informants and to my observations of the carrying out of their official obligations.

3. I have chosen this constitution as the first post-independence statement of the status of local civil administrators.

The principle of balancing posts according to residence in the dual division is maintained in the traditional civil posts but fails to be effective again in the case of the president. Increasing population in the upper division meant that the expensive post of alférez had to be filled primarily from the side with the highest population. This unbalancing of the sharing of these burdensome posts eventually led to revolt and the post was abolished. Since it was the key post in learning prayers, its loss may mean the end of the traditional rituals in the home. 621 794 561 177 178

The hierarchy fails to provide sufficient prestige or power to motivate people voluntarily to undertake some posts. The most vulnerable post was that of alférez. In fulfilling obligations to the saints, alfereces used to spend over 3,000 pesos, twice the normal income of a man in one year. They were assisted by members of their immediate households either in loans or in the sale of pottery to help pay for the house fiestas. The show of wealth at these fiestas, when up to one hundred guests were fed, excited the envy of neighbors, often among the invited guests. It was felt that this provoked witchcraft, and every former alférez I knew maintained that he suffered some catastrophe following his year in office. In the last few years before its demise in 1966 the post was accepted only under duress, and all those who had been nominated at first chose to go to jail. The reason that it survived as long as it did was the insistence of those officials who served in this post that it was essentail to maintaining good fiestas. The resolution of the contradictions by abolishing the post contrast with that of Zinacantan, where men sought the prestige-conferring posts that involved large expenditures of money as a validation of wealth (Cancian 1965). 794 554 434 796 754 178 [556]

Another contradition which minimizes the motivation to undertake the traditional posts is that the highest post in the ladder, that of principal, is one associated with embarrassment and shame rather than prestige. Shorn of his roles in decision-making and in guarding public funds, the principal is reduced to holding the plate in which donations for the major fiestas are placed. The ceremonial role of the principales will probably survive, however, since the old men of the community who have retired from active work in the fields enjoy the drinking sessions in the cabildo sufficiently to compensate for the shame associated with the role. 621 554 178 [273]

The internal structural contradictions have to be considered in the con-

621 593 581 794 Familial role requirements must be fulfilled in order for public roles to be undertaken. A man must be married in order to enter into even the lowest posts in the civil and religious hierarchies.

794 556 434 554 Only in the case of the alfereces has wealth ever been a criterion for recruitment. These four officials had to be able to spend 3,000 pesos during their year in office. The heavy expenditures failed to give prestige to the official, and the display of wealth excited envy rather than respect. The result was that people called upon to accept the post had to be imprisoned before they would accept.

554 756 Recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on innate qualities; special skills and knowledge are attributes acquired in office or other role positions rather than requirements for undertaking roles. Curers are recruited because they are recognized as having an animal spirit; they learn whatever skills are required after they have been initiated into the profession. The curers' special position in the society rests more on esoteric powers than on esoteric knowledge. Everyone in the com- [278] munity knows the herbs and medicines which are prescribed, and most men can give as comprehensive a taxonomy of illnesses as any practicing curer.

868 241 Economic roles, though largely undifferentiated for each sex, are consciously learned and transmitted. Boys accompany their fathers or elder [857] brothers to the field at about the age of eight and continue working with [883] them until they reach independence. Observation of behavior alone would seem to indicate an unconscious absorption of the role of agricultural worker, but informants recount episodes in which training in field work was explicitly transmitted by their fathers or brothers, and formal approval of their ability to do the tasks announced to their mothers. Parents [871] express fear that school attendance not only interferes with working in the milpa, but that it will cause the child to forget what he has learned in the field. Regardless of what other tasks a man performs, he thinks of himself as a farmer.

868 323 Becoming a potter requires an even more explicit training procedure. The fine linguistic segmentation of each act and movement in the schedule of pottery-making is a clue to the explicit transmission of tasks by the

been made, there is no recourse but to kill the man since he may retaliate by killing his accuser (this occurred in two of the cases noted in Table 29).

Conflict between generations in the role sets father/son and father/son-in-law stems from delay in carrying out role responsibilities. Fathers are expected to provide the money for the costs of betrothal, and to give their children shares of the patrimony including both land and livestock. The scheduling of when this should occur is often a matter of dispute, resulting in at least two cases of homicide in the period analyzed.

New economic enterprises have exacerbated the tensions rising from envy. Foster (1965) has suggested that envy stems from the notion of the "limited good," requiring the strategy of a "zero sum game" (Bennet 1966). The fact that the new wealth is evidence of new opportunities, not a subtraction from a given resource supply, has not entered the cognitive awareness of the people. The prospering leaders of these enterprises feel themselves to be particularly vulnerable to the envy of others and thus to the charge of witchcraft. There have been several open attacks on new leaders accused as witches; the leader of the truck cooperative, for example, was murdered in 1966. Six men have been killed as cattle thieves in the past ten years.

The economic roles created with the introduction of new enterprises have not been integrated in the traditional pattern of recruitment and control. In the association of cattle breeders, leadership tends to be based on the size of the herd; in the case of the truck cooperative, amount of capital invested and entrepreneurial skills have determined the leadership of the enterprise, while driving skill and ability to get along in the Ladino world has been the basis for choice of drivers. Such achievement principles as the basis for recruitment into these envied positions are not accepted in the same way that age and passage through a hierarchy of posts validated higher positions in the old hierarchies. The conspicuous expenditure of wealth in the more expensive posts in the religious hierarchy has also failed to lessen hostility aroused by the increasing disparity in wealth, and in fact those who have served as alférez have been even more subject to witchcraft aroused by envy.

621 his children, nor can he keep control of village affairs after his year of service has been fulfilled. Even a man occupying a post of high responsibility and prestige, a juez (judge) for example, becomes just an ordinary citizen after he leaves the office. All the men in the village theoretically, and most of them in practice, become village officers at some time in their life.

An individual starts at the bottom of the hierarchical ladder in the cargo of policía (also called mayor, topil or comisariado), which is a messenger or cleaning and errand boy for both the Mayordomos and Cabildo members. (He is the hands and feet [581] of the government.) The only requirement for this job is to be married. After this position has been "passed," a man is ready to start climbing the ladder to higher officerships, if he fulfills [581] the other requirements. He must have a child, a wife, and the [556] money which he is compelled to spend as part of the job: new clothes, liquor, and perhaps money to pay other men to help him with the agricultural work to which he cannot, being an officer, dedicate his full time.

During his life time, a man is required to pass a certain number of positions in the government, alternating Church and Ayuntamiento posts with rest periods of between one and three 62 years. After he passes the required number of officerships, and 887 by then he would be an old man, he becomes, automatically, a 888 pasado (a man that has passed his service), and can retire to private life, or become a principal, a member of the Elders' Council, a "father of the town." The Principales are the older men in the village, highly respected for their wisdom and sought

621 the outside world, from which, from the community point of view, come the threats to the individual Indian, his family and to the village as a unit.

The mechanisms employed for the preservation of the village as an Indian corporate community are the wealth leveling devices and the sanctioning system described below.

556 Economic Mechanisms

The villagers aim at a better subsistence level, but not at capital reinvestment, and wealth does not command prestige in [433] itself. Extreme wealth differences are not likely to occur because, on the one hand, the marginality of land limits the productive power of the villager, and the low level technology: machete, digging stick, and wooden plow (the last only used in the 621 flat bottom land) limits production and also capital increase. On 423 the other hand, accumulation of land is limited by the Ayuntamiento having control of the ultimate disposal of free land within the community. Therefore, although there is some variation in the amount or variety of land held by a family, for the community as a whole there is a clear tendency toward an equalitarian distribution of parcels, so that in gross terms every household head controls agricultural plots of similar size and quality to every other agriculturalist. (Each household controls land both in cold and hot country, both irrigated and temporal and of equivalent quality.) It is difficult to ascertain the size of each 423 433 particular holding because the people do not think in terms of the size of the parcel itself, but in terms of the amount of grain

423 necessary to plant it. In some land more seed is necessary, so a
433 tablón, a measure of how much seed is planted in a parcel, tends to be about a hectare, but can also be irregular in shape or somewhat larger or smaller.

434 Ideological and Sanctioning Mechanisms

Even if a domestic group manages to accumulate profits from the extra work of its members, the forced assumption of fiesta obligations and cargos (Officerships) inhibits capital accumulation and redistributes the profits back into the community in the form of consumable goods: food, alcohol, cohetes, etc.
621 The assumption of the cargos requires a certain amount of capital
556 to spend on the expenses attached to the post, so it is likely that a household head who has managed to save some extra money is going to be called to perform his duties as an officer rather than the other men with less wealth and equal qualifications.

621 In terms of economic and political bases for differentiation, then, the communities are egalitarian. Villagers insist that everybody is just like everybody else: "we are all equal, we all follow the customs, we are all poor, we are all agriculturalists,
621 we are all Indians, just the same," they say. Nevertheless, they
183 would also admit that some people are good and some "have bad hearts," and therefore would not follow the customs, or would try to become richer by getting involved in economic enterprises which are not Indian (such as buying or selling for high profit, or lending money, or becoming store clerks). They would imitate the Ladinos in their speech, dress or their house layout, become "alzados"

627
578 small; you will leave having paid five or ten pesos. You will forgive each other. If the misdeed is large, then you will give twenty-five or thirty pesos as your fine, so that we can give something to him who has been injured by you. We will cure him, so that he gets well, so that he may not die. Then he also will give pardon. But if we do not cure him, if we do not give medicine to the one you have hit, then you will quarrel, then his heart will be angered. Because here we have two kinds of misdeeds. He who is evil will do
[754] witchcraft. He who does not know witchcraft will give pardon. But he who is evil if he sends sickness to you, then if you get sick, if you die, it is because you did not obey the commandment.

I say this because I am a principal, I am a father [of the town]. I advise you so that the town will go forth in happiness, and in happiness we will increase in our gatherings in the town. But if you are evil, we will not increase, our children will not grow, because there are evil people, there is sickness, there is death from him who knows witchcraft. He who does not know it uses bullets and will kill you that way. Why? Because you sent sickness. So I speak to you thus. Happy, in peace, do not quarrel. It is better.

626
•556 The important aspect of witchcraft as a sanctioning pro-
[754] cedure is in relation to the distribution of wealth in the community.

A man can accumulate a certain amount of money as long as
[454] he is willing to share it with others and spend it in culturally accepted ways, such as buying cohetes for a fiesta, giving a house party for the Saint in the house altar and inviting many
[186] villagers, etc. But he cannot simply save it without being accused of miserliness; spend it all in building too large or too different a house without being accused of being embarrassed of his Indianess (of which he should be proud); nor can he invest in businesses which are not the traditional economic activities of the Indian without the fierce criticism of his fellow villagers. There is, then, a top limit to the accumulation of wealth imposed not only by the environmental and technological factors, but by

626 556 the few economic alternatives offered to an Indian who wants to live an Indian life among other Indians, in peace. In this sense, Amatenangueros and Aguacatecos are no "penny capitalists" of the type described by Sol Tax (1953). But it is also true that, like the Panajachel Indians, they desire to have more for themselves and their children: money for security against sickness, death, [146] bad crops and other misfortunes. They also want better clothing, more meat in their diet (the amount of animal protein in their diet is extremely small by western standards) and small extra luxuries which have been introduced into their culture, little by little, by the local Ladino merchants: flashlights, mirrors, etc.

Nevertheless, a wealthy man brings upon himself the antagonism 627 556 754 [731] of the other villagers, who, in search of a scapegoat during times of stress (such as a village epidemic) would not hesitate to accuse the rich man of being responsible for bringint the misfortune to the town because of his evil spirit, nor hesitate to kill him. Even if people find a man has a good crop, somebody can assume that, because his own crop failed, the other man has "stolen" the soul of his corn or if a man receives a large inheritance, somebody could accuse him of having killed (by witchcraft) the relative from who he inherited it. It takes a good deal of diplomatic skill and a strong control of the sources of gossip to manage to [753] keep oneself clear of such accusations. On the other hand, villagers are afraid of showing excessive wealth (according to community standards) unless they bring upon themselves the other face of witchcraft: supernatural sickness produced by envy. Even

629 a man in good standing, if he has too many goods or money, may
556 fear witchcraft because he "knows" that he is a good target for
754 the envy of those who, possessing powerful and evil souls (nahuales), decide to bewitch him and make him sick or kill his children or ruin his next crop.

626 Thus, the belief in witchcraft operates at two levels:
754 on the one hand the individual lives according to community norms so that he won't be accused of being a witch. On the other hand he lives according to community norms so that he cannot be bewitched.

754 Because witches attack supernaturally, sending out their animal souls while their human body is asleep, it is not possible to know, for certain, the originator of the sickness nor to protect oneself or others from its powers. There are no sorcery spells to counteract it, but people "know" that witches can, sometimes, put "bad medicines" into drinks while a man is drunk or leave little sticks on the road for the victim to step on and acquire the disease which has been sent because of envy. Everybody denies knowing how to bewitch, but everybody suspects others of being able to do it.

[753] One result of this set of beliefs is that the etiology of disease is thought of as being supernatural. Other misfortunes are also explained in metaphysical terms. Sickness is always present in the village, misfortunes do occur which cannot be predicted, and the villager "experiences," then, the effects of witchcraft in everyday life. Therefore, the threat of supernatural

591 the head of the household, it is likely that the younger couple
592 will move to another house after the temporary service period. If a couple has a married daughter or son living in the house, they will not insist, when a second child marries, that the first couple remain in the unit. Apparently, the most efficient work group is a dyad, both for agricultural work and pottery making
[428] (see below). The last child whether male or female will stay in the home and inherit it after the parents' death. It is unlike
[184] Aguacatenango where the rule is that only a male child inherits the house.

591 The choice of which parents' household should be the residence of a new couple requires a separate decision for each particular case. The factors that determine the choice are (1) the economic condition of the parents of each spouse; (2) the presence or absence of other children in each spouse's family of orientation; and (3) the age of the couple.

[556] "A new couple will take up residence quarters with the parents who are economically better off, with more land and cattle"
[693] (Nash, J., 1960:45). The second factor is related to the fact that
[592] if a couple has married children living in the house who can help with the agricultural work and the making of pottery, they are not as anxious to keep their other children as members of the household labor force. The third factor is a personal, rather than a
[582] standard, choice, because if a bride is very young at the time of marriage, "her mother may prevail upon the couple to stay in her home until later, even if the boy is working with his father and is to inherit his homestead" (Nash, J., 1960:45).

184 (4) The reciprocal financial obligations between parents
182
428 and children in Amatenango, and between parents and sons in Agua-
593 catenango, to support each other at different stages of the developmental cycle of their respective domestic groups affect the rule of ultimogeniture.

184 (5) The relative wealth of the natal domestic group of
182 the spouse, measured by the amount of land controlled by the unit
582
591 affects (a) the choice of marriage partner, and (b) the residence
556 of the newly married couple. In Aguacatenango, where residence is normatively patri-virilocal, parents try to marry their daughters within the same economic level of their own households. In Amatenango, marriages occur across wealth lines, and the couple reside with the parents of the spouse who are better off.

184 (6) The relative importance of men versus female co-
182 operative work groups, and/or the difference in structuring of
462
476 work groups affects (a) the sibling bond; (b) the mother-daughter
593 bond; and (c) the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond.
[606] In Aguacatenango, where only men form cooperative work groups, the brother-brother bond is stronger than the sister-sister bond or the brother-sister bond.

In Amatenango, where both males and females form cooperative
[607] work groups, the multilateral sibling bond is reinforced to the point of including siblings-in-law.

184 In Aguacatenango, economic rivalry between siblings tends
593 to disrupt the brother bond with constant conflict. Thus, relation-
578
571 ships are more vertically oriented which is consistent with the
[613] presence of agnatic descent lines (in Amatenango, generational

182 571 based on non-kinship terms would maximize profit or material (602) benefits, which the kinship frame limits considerably. Second, 182 183 the cultural norms imposed on the villager about the types of work which he is allowed to perform, about the maximum wealth which he 461 556 is able to control, and about the distribution of this wealth, are, from a purely financial point of view, "anti-economical." 156 177 But an Indian living in a Ladino town, undoubtedly having the choice of improving his life from an economic point of view, 156 626 556 alienates himself from everything which is dear to him. An Indian attempting to live up to his aspirations of wealth within the community, alienates himself even more, and risks the dangers of witchcraft and social ostracism.

121 The phrase, "man does not live by bread alone," is very much of a truism here. If the primary factor in determining behavior were economical, the villager would have no need to live within the customary standards of living of his community nor would the corporate community persist. Each Indian could become a laborer of some sort, and integrate himself into the national society of Mexico.

But people make choices not only because they are financially advantageous, but because they preserve their standing within their kinship group, they provide satisfaction for their need of the psychological rewards of prestige and positive affection and for their need for "belonging" to a group of similar human beings with similar culture and aspirations.

We have to admit, then, that it is as impossible to analyze social dynamics, only taking into account economic variables, as

18 When a serious illness caused by witchcraft has been cured, the patient
789 must be protected against reentry of the evil by a gift of medicine to the house. Palm crosses are made for the corner posts and the entry, and a medicine consisting of a mixture of garlic and creosote, the seeds of mustard, and *poltan*, a "hot" herb, is mixed. As the crosses are nailed on the posts, the curer marks a cross with the medicine over the palm cross. This "covers the eyes of the evil spirit" so that it will not enter the house.

776 The relationship between house spirit and the spirits of the residents is
342 an uneasy one. Fear is associated with this capricious spirit, who might make an alliance with evil spirits, and whose power is evident only in sickness and in death, never in good deeds. A sense of alienation is conveyed in the fact that the house spirit and the spirits of the spring are conceived of as Ladinos. Spirits of the house and of the landscape are exacting landlords from whom the tenants expect nothing in return for their offerings
[782] but freedom from harm. Acceptance of the offerings seals a contract between spiritual occupants that must continually be renewed in order to maintain the balance of security expressed in the phrase "to be of one heart." The payment of a "tribute" in the form of food, liquor, and enter-
[557] tainment is part of a larger strategy by which these Indians ensure their
[571] survival by appeasement of overlords, demanding government officials,
[782] and the very rats which live in their houses and feed on the corn they store in the eaves.

778 *The springs.* Other meeting grounds for the spirits of people and
312 places are the springs. The major spring, San Nicolás, is located on the southwestern periphery of the town. It provides drinking water and water for irrigating the cultivated lands. A second spring, called Pahaltón, lies closer to the village and provides a smaller stream of water directed into the canals irrigating the fields of the center. Some say the spirit of San Ni-
[776] colás is a small Ladino boy; others say he is a man. The spirit of Pahaltón is a female non-Indian, or *Ladina*. The spirits of these waters are able to ef-
778 fect miraculous cures for patients who have lost their souls or those who
312 are of two hearts because of upset social relations in the home. Male pa-
755 tients are brought to San Nicolás and female patients are brought to Pahaltón to seek a miracle. In the curing ceremony an arch of flowers entwined in pine boughs is constructed as closely as possible to the spring

159 622 177 178 [454] [754] [756] partners. He sold a few shares of a truck he and his family owned to Indians, but he retained the controlling interest. His wife was reputed to be a witch, and was an active curer, combining old and new treatments of illnesses.

His position was challenged in the 1960s by the Ladino schoolmaster, 159 875 177 178 563 508 [312] [756] [871] [582] who had been remarkably unsuccessful from his arrival in 1953 until that time in gaining personal power and influence. His intercession in a local homicide case involving a father's murder of his son outraged the townspeople, some of whom threatened to kill him. His attempts to have water installed aroused the curers against him since they were accustomed to bathing their patients at the source of the spring from which they were debarred when the plumbing was installed. His demands that children within the legal age limit should not only attend school but should be prohibited from marrying until they had completed their schooling caused the anger of parents who wanted to give their daughters in an early and profitable marriage.

159 875 177 178 563 557 [608] [546] [278] [431] Gradually, however, the schoolmaster extended his own base of support. He minimized his attack on local customs, adhering only to those laws affecting the school population, over which he had a great deal of control. Some of his support came from the orthodox Catholic members of the community; he extended his control through compadre relationships with over eighty members of the community. He showed movies which he acquired from the United Nations and other educational film sources and gave away medicines acquired from the health officials in the state capitol who were his friends. From one of these sources of philanthropy he acquired wool shawls which he gave to every woman in the town.

The professor demanded no return from the townspeople other than their respect and admiration; he was a person who enjoyed commanding others and needed an arena in which to project his own personality. In his early years in the town, he had to satisfy this need by capturing stray tourists and plying them with soda pop or coffee. His first opportunity to gain [474] leadership in the local sphere came in 1963, when he supported the new truck-owning cooperative. He used the influence of contacts in the state capital, including compadres, friends, and relatives of his wife's family. He promoted the cooperative's attempt to gain the presidency. One of the first

acts of the new officials was to fire the Ladino secretary and install an Indian for the first time. The schoolmaster had won his battle for recognition. In every legal dispute in which the town became involved, the schoolmaster accompanied the town officials as they went to visit departmental and state leaders, acting as their spokesman. He never accepted even expenses for these trips. His satisfaction was in giving advice to the officials on all matters, in being the man whom outsiders consulted before anything could be accomplished, and in finding an audience.

The schoolmaster consolidated his position by drawing together all his supporters in a parent-teachers association, which served as a captive audience for his extended monologues. I was called upon as a witness to the installation of the members, and I took advantage of the occasion to record some of the schoolmaster's rhetoric as he addressed the "parents." In attendance were the president, his brother, four members of their truck-owning cooperative, and about ten other representatives. The teacher told me that they were the best people in town—not one of them had killed anyone! The excerpt below is not complete, but there was sufficient repetition in the schoolmaster's discourse so that nothing is lost.

Schoolmaster: "I don't fight with anyone. We do not come to fight. A schoolmaster is a guide to teach respect. I have thirty-three years teaching in pueblos of campesinos, poor people like you. I am your brother. I am your teacher. The ignorant people do not want to send their children to school. This is a good school, and there are those of you who have succeeded by learning. Ramon Leon was a boarding school student for two years. He and seven others have received scholarships. They accuse me of not working, but they do not know what is happening in the school. Those who know give congratulations to the school. The children of this school won the competition at the conference of teachers. It is neither a poor school with poor students, nor a rich school with rich students, but all are together. They say we do not teach. Compadre" (to president), "is this so? They say we only dance, but at the conference our students won the prize.

"This school is yours. It is better organized than any other. The flag which we had we gave to Villa Las Rosas because they are campesinos;

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

159 *they are my friends. I prefer to send it there than to Teopisca, because*
875 *they are campesinos.*
871 *"I have proved to you I am a friend of campesinos and of the poor. I*
563 *don't have to say anything if I see that some are killing, that some are dis-*
177 *tilling liquor. This is an affair of the civil authorities, not of me. If some*
178 *come to tell me that so and so has killed someone, I close my ears.*
557 *"What is more important in life is what is in your head, not your cloth-ing. Do you understand me?"*

All reply, "Yes, maestro."

"If we are going to win over Teopisca and Villa Las Rosas, our children have to work hard. I had the luck of receiving a medal because I am one of the principal teachers and know the preparation of teachers. The Jefe of Operation put a medal on my breast and gave me an abrazo. *Here is the picture taken two years ago—Lupe get the rag!" Schoolmaster dusts photograph with rag. "Here you see me with the medal on my breast.*

"Who is more important—the one who accuses me and has to put his finger to sign the declaration, or those of you who can write?

"Now the schoolmaster does not give permission to let the children stay away from school. We do not have authority to release the children except for illness. Those children who go most often to school are those who get ahead. They speak idioma [*native language*] *when they play, but when they enter the school they speak* Castellano [*Spanish*].

"Now you know everything. I am happy with you. If there are some who are not happy that I am here, then I shall go happily. There are schools where schoolmasters hit the children. There is a school where the Indian teacher hit a child three times. This is a crime!

"I know where all this talk comes from. Don Ramon [Ladino secretary who supported opposing candidate mentioned above] has a truck—he and Doña Juana. They buy wheat and corn at half price. If the Indians do not pay off, they get double the return at the next harvest. My compadres have come and told me. Those who are with him are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by him. They have two trucks in Teopisca. They come and ask people to sign a paper supporting their candidate. People sign because they are afraid she [Juana] will use witchcraft."

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

President: "Ramon left her, but then he went back to her because of witchcraft." 159 875

Schoolmaster "This is the group which is against me and is against the pueblo." 871 563

Schoolmaster's wife: "You see how happy the pueblo is." She waves her hand to plaza where marimba is playing for the fiesta. "Everything is well organized. Not as it was formerly when Don Ramon was in town." 177 178 557

President: "You see how the pueblo is learning. The children are learning to knit. Everyone knits."

Schoolmaster, giving oath of office to parents: "In the name of the Secretary of Public Education, I ask you to serve with faithfulness to the pueblo. The school is the defense of the country. It is preparing you for tomorrow. The society of parents of the school represents you. Your children represent the future of the country in the sign of the three colors, and you have the obligation to defend the country. The country will become great when all the children know how to write. When Mexico has need of its children, the children will be prepared to die for the country. You should see that schools prepare the children. See Mexico is a country united.

"I have been here since 1953. It is not now as it was then. We have water, a highway. You are not in the state you were then.

"Today we see a kiosk." He waves hand to plaza. "Tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory. It will be a grand pueblo, a civilized pueblo. There was a schoolmaster here who worked two days a week. I have worked every day since 1953. I secured eight scholarships for the children. If there are some who didn't go, it is because their father does not send them. If there are those who say the school does not function, they are traitors to the pueblo. Honorable Society of Fathers of Families, I am the schoolmaster. I shall explain. Give an applause." Applause.

The schoolmaster's discourse reveals several aspects of his position in the town. He indicates the lesson he has learned in avoiding interference in the town's social control system ("I don't have to say anything if I see that some are killing, that some are taking out trago. This is an affair of the 159 875 563 177 178

3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P. 469-A]

682 183 wider ranges of expression than are usually permitted in the community prompt men to assert the strength of their swayohel, to run races with the animal spirits of others in the assertion of pre-eminence, to boast of their material goods, and to "wake up dead."

682 674 178 578 The increasing rate of homicide is related to the following changes in the community:

(1) Increasing friction resulting both from the introduction of new economic enterprises and from political competition by the recently settled land-reform colonies has introduced a new kind of homicide, in which an opponent is killed either by the person whose interests are threatened or by hired killers. It has also stimulated accusations of witchcraft stemming from envy.

[754] 558 682 674 178 578 756 (2) The curers' loss of leadership and of control over entry into the curing profession has led to competition among them and to a loss of respect for their ability to overcome witchcraft. Curers have become the most frequent suspects of being witches.

754 682 674 178 781 756 626 (3) Loss of faith in the guardian ancestors and in the guardianship functions acquired from them by the curers has further undermined the position of the curers as agents of social control. This has aggravated the sense of insecurity and fear, which provokes the uncontrolled use of individual violence.

682 674 178 621 626 (4) The shift of power from the principales to the town president has led to a breakdown in the system of checks and balances exerted by the principales over the curers, and to a direct confrontation of the curers by civil officials.

756 682 674 756 178 626 683 (5) In the confrontations of the civil authorities and the curers in the '40's and early '50's, the fact that a witchcraft case was officially reviewed and the killing of the witch sanctioned may have served as a brake on the number of such homicides. Since 1953, when this practice was abandoned, those who have felt themselves or their families to be the victims of witchcraft have been left to their own recourse.

178 578 682 [621] [632] [756] The organizational changes summarized here are provoked by structural changes affecting recruitment into the positions of power and the validation of leadership in the exercise of power. The dual division of the town provided an accepted basis for recruiting

166 462 464 [829] women and that Ladino women mistreat their servants. Working in towns is remembered, by those who have done it, as a strange mixture of carefree economic independence and innumerable small humilitations and suffering. Its lack of attractiveness is well reflected in the fact that, from a random sample of sixty-eight households, only fourteen women have worked outside their homes (see Fig. 5).

56 462 434 [464] [275] The only women who are the bread-winners or heads of their homes are forced to do so because they have no male relatives to provide for them. In this case, they have few alternatives open to them, the two most common being: 1) acting as a servant (already discussed above) or 2) selling liquor in their houses to the [552] men of the village. This second occupation is not very well thought of by the villagers, trago sellers being gossiped about as being bold women, "sexy" females who enjoy the company of drunks and men married to other women.

Amatenango

462 323 438 [241] [434] In Amatenango, the division of labor presents a very different picture. The whole village of Amatenango is a pottery factory because, in addition to the household income derived from the agricultural work of the village men, each Amatenango woman is a pottery producer.

Pottery that is made for selling is neither a choice, nor a part-time job, nor an individual specialization, but a town specialty. All women in Amatenango are expected to know how to make pots, and to make them. The women of each household

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER II

DRINKING PERFORMANCES AND SOCIAL ROLES

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554 The scheduling of drinking in Aguacatenango and the internal structure of individual drinking performances can be considered as a code in which information about the roles and statuses of individuals is communicated. A brief look at the inventory of social roles will provide essential background for the description of this code.

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562 The composition of the Aguacatenango household, in terms of age and sex of members, is patterned as follows: Persons in the household under twenty years of age may be of either sex and any age. The ages of members of this group, relative to each other, are minimally two years apart. Persons over twenty years of age stand in a special age relationship: There is approximately a fifteen-year minimum age difference between individuals of the same sex. Age differences between individuals of opposite sex are such that they will either be the same age or the age rule for same sex members will hold. Finally, there will be no more than one individual of each sex in any of these age slots in any household. An age-sex distribution of a house, then, looks like the following diagram.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

TABLE 1

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AGE-SEX MODEL OF MAXIMAL COMPLEMENT OF A HOUSE

Absolute Age = unmarried vs. married

		-20	+20	
		Minimal Relative Age--2 yr. units	(Minimal) Relative Age--15 yr. units	
Sex Indifferent		1 2 . . . 10	1 2 3	
		I h G F e D	C B A*	Male
			c b a	Female

*A and a are mutually exclusive; if one is present the other is absent.

592 Such a description is hardly adequate for the definition of the complement of a house, though it describes fairly the potential age-sex slots that are there to be filled. We begin with this simply because the description is constructed of fairly readily available observables, namely, age and sex. The difficulty one encounters is that there are further defining properties of such a maximal collection of individuals who live in a house. Our informants will not let us assemble households barely

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

Kin terms

Another class of terms of reference can be defined as kin. At the first descending (-1) generation, the basic terms are as follows:

TABLE 2

KIN, -1 GENERATION

	Criterial Attributes			
	Sex of referent	Sex of co-ordinating individual	Absolute age	Relationship specified in head
/-*UNTIKIL/	∅	∅	∅	∅
/-*AL/	∅	F	∅	L
/-NIC'AN/	∅	M	∅	L
/-KEREM/	M	∅	A_1	∅
/-*AC'IX/	F	∅	A_1	∅
/-*ALAL/	∅	∅	A_2	∅

601
561

Among the attributes of these terms, absolute age has two values--(1) older, and (2) younger. The absolute age indicated for /-*ALAL/ is from birth to about three years; that for /-KEREM/ and /-*AC'IX/ is from three to about sixteen years, except that the modifier /C'IN/ depresses the age of either of the latter to less than twelve.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

TABLE 3

MODIFIERS KIN -1 GENERATION

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	Criterial Attributes		
	Sex of referent	Absolute Age	Other
Position 1			
C'IN Ø	Ø	despresses absolute age	
Position 2			
BA CEBAL etc.	Ø	Ø	specify order of birth among referent's own siblings
*ANZ(IL) Ø	F M	Ø Ø	occurs only with terms showing sex of coordinating individual (i.e. /-*AL/ and /-NIC'AN/)
PATIL-K'OX Ø	Ø	expresses recent vs. relative remoteness of birth	
KUCBIL	Ø	distinguishes "babe-in-arms" from "walking child" (with /-*ALAL/)	

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

TABLE 6

AGE-STATUS IN KIN TERMS

601
• [561]

	M	F
Older	TATIK	ME*TIK
↓	TATA*	NANA*
	TAT	ME*
	TAT	NAN
Younger	BANKIL XI*LEL	WIX

or augment age. Thus, /X-C'IN+XI*LELAL/, "her little big-brother," is used in reference to a boy, older than his sister (who is represented by /X-/) but younger than the speaker. /MUK'UL+BANKIL/, "older brother," distinguishes an older brother much advanced in age, while /C'IN+TATA*/ may refer to an older brother of the approximate age of a parent.

The form /MUK'UL/ combines with /TAT/ and /ME*/, however, not merely to augment age, but to set apart the +2 lineal generation. The compounds and their reciprocals (the -2 generation lineals) are shown in Table 7 (p. 25).

While most terms of reference in the 0 and ± generations may be used to specify either lineally or collaterally related individuals and sometimes also affinal kin and non-kin, in the

601 The applicability of the affinal terms is limited to spouses' lineals and the respective reciprocals, lineals here defined as siblings, parents, and children. Relations other than these through some marriage tie (e.g., "brother's wife's brother," etc.) are encompassed by the terms of compadrazgo (see below).

Kin terms are often combined with each other or with per-
[561] sonal names to form complex terms of reference. We have mentioned the use of the unpossessed forms of kin terms of 0 and +1 generations with names to indicate age-status of the referent, as in /TATIK TABYANO/, "Octaviano (who is a respected elder)," and /WIX MARIA/, "Maria (who is the age of an elder sister to
[551] me)." Kin terms in their possessed forms are not specified by the personal name of the referent, as in the English usage, "my brother George." Further, simple possessed kin terms are not used to specify each other in a single utterance, although the identification of a person in terms of his several kin relationships to speaker and listener, or to either participant and some absent person, is common in complete conversations. (I.e., while a person may be referred to as "my brother" and as "your uncle" by the same speaker in the course of an extended conversation, the single utterance, "my brother, your uncle," does not
[551] occur.) Possessed kin terms are used with personal names in complex terms which identify the referent in terms of his rela-

571 554 192 [794] day for which they serve. Every male in the community is held responsible to be co-opted into four /MARTOMO/ positions before he is freed from any further performaces of this sort, and as was pointed out earlier, these positions must be held earlier.

The various forms of the "role-name" set most often occur as simple terms of reference, often modified by status terms. However, the combination /H-KUMPRE SEKRETARYO/ "my compadre, the secretary" is reported.

Modifiers

In addition to the basic classes of terms of reference, modifiers are important in identifying persons. Among these are enumerators, diminutives (mentioned above), and demonstratives. Two modifiers establish the physical condition of the referent-- [602] /CAM/ and /*AN(I)MA/, both glossed as "dead." One, /MERO/, noted earlier, distinguishes "legitimate" or "real" relationship from terminological equivalence, as in /MERO *ERMANO/, "true brother." 571 554 561 192 [562] Two, differing only by sex of referent, indicate advanced age: /MA MAMAL/ "old" (male referent) and /ME*L/, "old" (female referent). When these two modifiers are used with terms indicating younger persons, the incongruity expresses depreciation or derogation. Other modifiers, most of which are age-status terms like the special kin terms discussed earlier, include the following:

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554 /C'UL/ "holy" honorific titles used with
561 /SENYOR/ "mister" role-names of the
192 /H.*A*TEL-ETIK/ group

/YAN/ "other"

/NEK/ "big"

/SOLTERA/ "unmarried" used with /KEREM/ "boy" and /*AC'IX/ "girl" primarily to establish precise age-status (adolescence)

/DON DONYA/ "mister mrs." used with names of ladinos

/NINYA/ "miss"

571
192 Still another set of modifiers occurs after the noun head rather than before and includes internally complex phrases. These might be termed locatives, and they include /NUN/ "there," /LI*/ "here," and such combinations as /NUN TA HEHC/, "there on the other side (i.e., in the other barrio of Aguacatenango)"; /LI* TA *ALAN/, "here below (i.e., in El Puerto, a closely related village down the mountain)"; /LI* TA TEHKLUM/, "here in the pueblo"; /LI* TA PAT NA/, "here behind the house"; /NUN TA *AHK'OL/, "here above"; and /NUN TA XOHLEH/, "there at the corner."

While the subject of the relationships (position and co-occurrence) between modifiers and between modifiers and noun heads will be deferred until a forthcoming paper, some general

273* 796 794 554 The drinking of aguardiente takes place on the porch after the men are seated. Again the aguardiente is distributed in shot glass amounts to each member of the mayordomía. Again, as in the case of the civil officials, a strict relative order of succession of drinking is followed, proceeding from the top of Table 12 (p. 61) to the bottom.

273* 621 794 554 In both the referential sets of civil officials and religious officials, then, there are occasions when both seating arrangements and drinking arrangements uniquely express a relative order property in the relations between members of each set. This relative order property we can call <u>differential rank</u>. While this type of rank is a somewhat special case, it is essentially the same age differential which establishes rank in [561] the community at large. The civil and religious hierarchies are very nearly age-graded, the higher-ranking positions being occupied by older men. A survey of the histories of individuals' cargos indicates that the age grading is more strict in the case of the mayordomos than in the case of the civil officials. In each set of officials, men with adjacent ranks sit next to each other and drink in succession, the man with the higher rank sitting in an arbitrarily defined higher position on the bench and drinking sooner. It is important to note that of a variety of ways in which the aguardiente could be used to express the rank difference (e.g., the distribution of larger amounts to the senior

273* 621 794 554 positions), only relative order of drinking is used. It is the arbitrary selection of order as the medium of communication of roles and ranks that leads us to describe drinking performances as a code.

*273 621 794 559 561 We have observed that on the occasion of ceremonial drinking, not only will the relative age differences of the adult males be expressed in the relative order in which they are served aguardiente, but so also will they arrange themselves spatially in such a way that the drink server will be able to meet the obligation of serving the older person first without skipping anyone in the seating order. In other words, men, in the first stages of ceremonial drinking, will arrange themselves in order of relative age-rank, and thus receive in perfect spatial and temporal succession the aguardiente which they drink.

273* 621 794 554 533 The ceremonial drinking sequence is associated with the presence of a marimba which plays throughout the course of the fiesta and the departure of which signals the termination of the same. While the marimba players are paid to play at the fiesta, with regard to the consumption of aguardiente they are treated as are all other males who are present. In some cases, they will be offered drinks with greater frequency to begin with, as it is supposed by the host that they will play more frequently and will charge less if they are somewhat intoxicated.

000 The ceremonial drinking sequence is regularly associated

273* in the order of drinking. There is no drink server in the informal drinking sequence; a man initiates the drinking act with
273* each other man in turn until his bottle is empty The relative
561 age-ranks of the participants are recognized, however, in that if an older person is present, he is served first. Also, toasting (see the description of drinking by the civil hierarchy) incorporates forms of address--/BANKIL/, /TAT/, and /TATA*/--in which relative age-rank is recognized.

273* The informal drinking sequence, then, is loosely structured internally, and its length is determined by the interaction of the number of participants with the quantity of aguardiente in the bottle. The sequence is terminated when the bottle is empty. A new sequence is initiated when another participant produces another bottle and invites the others to drink. The length of time between sequences varies from virtually no time, when the group is in a bar and a new bottle can be quickly bought, to much longer periods when participants must go to borrow money to buy a bottle or (as happened before the cantinas were established) to find someone who has a bottle to sell. One sequence follows another until all the participants have run out of aguardiente or are unconscious.

[264] No eating--even of regular meals at home--is associated
[533] with the informal drinking sequence. Sometimes a marimba is associated with the informal drinking sequence, but only when the

273* proper interpretations of drinking behavior can only proceed as rapidly as careful descriptions of drinking behavior are formulated. Drinking performances anywhere in the world occur in more or less well defined contexts which are subject to well ordered descriptions. One cannot judge any individual's drinking performances until and unless he has discovered the contextual rules in terms of which this individual is operating. It has [121] been the intent of this thesis to point to some of these kinds of contextual rules.

273* 554 In Aguacatenango drinking performances reflect important principles of social organization which are elsewhere attested in other performances which are not drinking performances. In drinking performances there is a simultaneous mapping of differences in social status and role as there is a statement of how the wealth in the community should be divided. In any drinking [561] performance, men of senior age and generation drink first, their juniors drinking later. Women and children drink separately and in small amounts. While the relative order of drinking marks the relative status of the men present, all men drink the same amount. Not only does this clearly delineate men's and women's roles but it also expresses the condition that across time, every man can expect to occupy a status position senior to the one he presently has. Such changes in status are not dependent [556] upon the achievement of great wealth since everyone should have

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608 members of the me'iltatil along with relatives and sometimes neigh-
571 bors. They are his sponsors at subsequent life crises—rituals of betrothal, marriage, and death. All of these people become co-parents to each other and to the child's parents. This relationship lasts throughout his and their lifetime. If the marriage bond is threatened, the me'iltatil gather to hear the complaints and try to resolve the problems. When a person dies, his me'iltatil go to his wake to watch over his spirit. He in turn is expected to help in the household of his me'iltatil when they have a ceremony by bringing wood or serving food and drink to guests.

624 2. Civil officials: The civil officials as a group may also be called
• 561 the me'iltatil; the term has special reference to the judges who represent the ancestors in their judgment of wrongdoers. In their passage through office from lower to higher positions, they are ranked in age-graded sets of junior officials (policemen), senior officials (regidores), and elder officials (judges), with the highest respect in ceremonial occasions accorded to the principales, two men, one from each side of the dual division, selected from those who have served in all offices. Drinking order, marching order, and seating order reflect the age-ordered rank in all ceremonial occasions.

[192] The link between the me'iltatil of the household and the me'iltatil of the civil authority is provided by a group of officials called the *nakawanehetik*. These men are chosen from among bilaterally related
571 relatives, ritual co-parents, and neighbors who have served in office in
621 the church or the town hall and know the prayers. They direct cere-
602 monies in the house at times of baptism, betrothal, death, and when
794 the household head enters a community office. They are the ones who
608 know how the ancestors did things and "watch and see" that all is done in accord with custom. They instruct the new official in the prayers he
[574] must memorize. Their wives direct the preparation of food by the younger women, and one of them may serve as chief woman speaker greeting guests.

621 3. Curers: Curers are similarly ranked according to age and years
756 in practice. The elder curer on each side of the dual division is charged
561 with guarding his side against the intrusion of evil spirits in the form of his own animal spirit. It is in this function of guardianship that the curers are referred to as me'iltatil.

Compadres, or ritual kin, are the next most important pool from which to draw assistance. The same restrictions on exchanges between actual kin apply to those between ritual kin. The one task which is confined to brothers and not extended to compadres is that of house-building.

Relationships between members of the household are defined by daily work tasks, commensality, sharing a living space, and participation in the same ceremonial events. The same rules which govern behavior in the family are extended to the wider community. The extension of the terms elder brother and elder sister, father and mother, and younger sibling to all of the people in one's own side of the dual division implies a pattern of behavior similar to that of the family. The fundamental equation in social relations is age-respect-deference-prestige.

The bilaterally extended kinship group provides the pattern structuring relations throughout the community. It is a framework allowing wide choice in selecting individuals with whom ceremonial and work relations are contracted. Relative age has superseded generation and descent as the principle governing relationships of authority and respect from the nuclear family to the hierarchy or community officials. These patterns will be traced in other institutions in following chapters.

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Vogt 1965; Wagley 1949; Wisdom 1940; Zabala 1961). Comparison of the structure and functioning of the hierarchy reveals differing applications of the same principles of allocating roles (age, sex, territorial identification, and previous service) and differing assignments of the same tasks (administrative, judgment, and maintenance). 621 171

In this chapter, I shall analyze the civil-religious hierarchy in Tzo'ontahal as a formally prescribed system of roles and behavior. The data on which the analysis is based are: (1) the system of roles and the principles of allocation, (2) careers in office of household heads, (3) instrumental behavior prescribed for officials, and (4) ritual behavior. The following chapter will be concerned with the exercise of power within the limits set by the formal organization of offices. 128 621 794

The Matrix of Roles

Civil officials. Civil offices in Tzo'ontahal are a segmented, ranked set of posts, each of which has an internally age-graded ranking. Outside of these segments are two leadership positions, those of president and his assistant, *síndico,* which are not controlled by the same criteria of entry—service in lower posts of the civil and religious hierarchies and age. Multiple posts at the same level have equal representation of officials from the upper and lower divisions of the center, Ahk'olnantik and Alannantik, and single posts are held alternately by residents of each side. Theoretically, the post of president should alternate as well, but in fact the scarcity of qualified candidates limits consideration of this condition. Since 1948, of the twelve presidents, only four were from Ahk'olnantik. 621 561

The four ranked segments (Fig. 6) from higher to lower are *krinsipaletik,* or principales, *alkaletik,* or judges, *rehiroletik,* or regidores, and *mayoletik,* or policemen. The relative rank of the post is expressed in terms of its power, and the relative rank of the post-holder in terms of age (the term used to describe an older office holder, *mas mamalil,* has the extended meaning of greater power [1]). Age-ranking of officials complements [693]

1. Siverts (1965) points out that in Cancuk the term *mamal,* or elder, was applied to a young man who held a post of high authority because of his skills in literacy and language. By terminological reference, he was graduated into the senior age group.

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621 561 the household principles of authority in which seniority gives one the right to command. This principle is violated in the case of an older man who has served as regidor and sometimes even judge and returns to the lower post of ceremonial leader of the policemen. Some of the officials say that this is an "ugly" custom because it means that the hierarchy "is not a straight road." Due to obstacles in the individual's career in the hierarchy, within any segment there may be older men in the lower posts than in the higher. However, except for the barrio judges, posts within each segment are occupied by men of roughly the same decade in age (Table 23).

[693] A complement of age-grading in the designation of officials is the principle of residence. In the upper two ranks of judges, one is chosen from the upper division, Ahk'olnantik, and one from the lower division, Alannantik. The remaining two judges are chosen from the outlying barrios of Madronal and Bočib'al. Judges representing the colonias of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Cruz Quemada do not regularly attend the town

TABLE 23. Rank and Age of Civil Officials

Post	*Division*	*Age*
Judges (Alkaletik)		
First Judge	Alannantik	75
Second Judge	Ahk'olnantik	52
Barrio Judge	Madronal	42
Barrio Judge	Bočibal	50
Regidores (Rehiroletik)		
First Regidor	Ahk'olnantik	43
Second Regidor	Alannantik	44
Third Regidor	Alannantik	43
Fourth Regidor	Ahk'olnantik	48
Police (Mayoletik)		
First Police	Ahk'olnantik	27
First Police	Alannantik	28
Second Police	Ahk'olnantik	25
Second Police	Alannantik	30
Third Police	Ahk'olnantik	32
Third Police	Alannantik	30
Fourth Police	Madronal	25
Fourth Police	Bočibal	35
Martomorey	Ahk'olnantik	48
Martomorey	Alannantik	48

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hall, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of the new officials. Residents of the barrios and colonias can never rise to any position above that of assistant judge, but once they have served in this post they may become principales in their own localities. One week the first regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the third regidor from Alannantik, and the next week the second regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the fourth regidor from Alannantik. The ten police are ranked in five levels with representatives from each side at every level in the series except for the fourth level, which is occupied by police from the barrios.

These civil officials, called as a group the *hu?eletik*, those who are "able" (in control), constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. To reach a high post, an official must first pass through each of the lower positions in the hierarchy. Outside of this ranked hierarchy, the posts of president and síndico are occupied by young men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy was, until the present generation, limited to a few men in their thirties. With increasing literacy, the competition for these posts is growing.[2] Men who have such skills are called upon as signers of official documents and are called *firmanetik*.

Also existing outside of the traditional hierarchy is the post of secretary which had, until 1965, been occupied by a Ladino. This was the only post which was paid; it also provided opportunity for earning extra income by preparing "acts," or official documents, and fines from court cases. The present incumbent is an Indian of Alannantik.

Because Tzo?ontahal's hierarchy is still a linked series of civil and religious posts, the structure of the civil hierarchy cannot be considered independently from that of the religious hierarchy. The major segments of the religious hierarchy are the *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces or captains of the fiestas. The internal ranking of the sixteen mayordomos depends on the number of religious posts the incumbent has filled and on the rank order of the saints he serves.

The alfereces, or captains of the fiestas, provide a ceremonial link be-

2. Julio de la Fuente (1964:30) has summarized the effect of literacy in breaking the homogeneity of the community since the literate Indians have received greater privileges and release from communal work. When the entire community is educated, the monopoly of literacy is broken.

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síndico, four regidores, ten policemen, four judges, and the "signers" meet in the town hall on the twentieth of November. Except for the post of president, which is now a contested position, each incumbent names his own successor. The president opens the meeting with an address to the principales, saying, "Now, *Mamal* Principales, whom will we name to leave in power in the town hall to pass the year?" The principales reply with the question to each officer: "Whom have you thought of naming?" 621 666

Each officer gives a name, which is written down by the secretary. When the officials have heard who will be the new officials, the first judge speaks with the principales and the "signers" using the formal speech of the pat'o'tan to ask permission to serve the "gift" of trago. Eight days later an assembly of all the male household heads takes place. The president announces the names of the nominated officials in Tzeltal and the secretary announces them in Spanish. The president asks for a show of hands of all those who support the nominations. If the man who is named does not want to take the office, he may request withdrawal of his name. The president accepts refusal by all nominees for civil posts if there is adequate excuse.

The great majority of men begin their careers between the ages of twenty-two and thirty. Only seventeen men, or 5 percent of the 311 household heads censused (Table 24), had reached the age of thirty without serving in any office. Among men fifty and over, only two men had not filled any religious post (Table 25), and all had served in some civil post. 621 561

There are two major channels of mobility in the civil hierarchy. The more common course is for a young married man to enter as a policeman, either at the third or fourth level. Next, he will again be named as policeman, or possibly third or fourth regidor, if he is a poor man and has little hope of rising to the higher posts. If the man or his father is well off, he will be asked to serve as alférez. The appointment may be made with or without prior service in the civil or religious hierarchy, and the main prerequisite is having sufficient money to pay for the expenses. Once he fills this post, he will be eligible for first or second regidor since he will have learned the major speeches required in ritual gatherings. Formerly he took on at this point the post of assistant judge. These positions are now assigned to incumbents from the outlying barrios, and the number of posts a man in the center must fill in order to become a pasado has been reduced 621 794

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

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TABLE 25. Number of Civil and Religious Offices of Household Heads over 50 Years of Age as Related to Wealth

Age of household head	*Wealth* *Land in hectares*	*Head of cattle*	*No. of civil offices*	*No. of religious offices*
54	3	4	5	3
55	3	8	2	3
65	3	11	6	2
50	2½	2	4	4
75	2½	4	6	6
55	2	8	2	4
55	2		4	3
60	2	2	2	4
65	2		6	6
75	2	7	4	3
78	2	6	2	1
50	2½	2	3	4
50	1½	2	6	5
55	1½	6	2	6
58	1½		1	2
60	1½		6	6
60	1½	4	4	4
60	1½	8	4	5
80	1½		4	5
88	1½	7	6	6
50	1	10	2	3
50	1	1	3	3
54	1	4	6	6
54	1	4	6	6
55	1	6	2	3
56	1	4	3	3
58	1		5	4
60	1	1	5	6
60	1	2	5	6
60	1	2	4	6
65	1	2	3	
65	1		6	6
65	1		3	3
70	1		1	1
75	1		5	5
79	1		5	5
80	1	2	3	
80	1	22	3	1
85	1	6	6	6

Age of household head	Wealth: Land in hectares	Wealth: Head of cattle	No. of civil offices	No. of religious offices
55	½		2	2
55	½		2	2
55	½	2	2	3
60	½		2	3
60	½		1	3
60	½		4	3
62	½	1	2	3
65	½		2	3
65	½	4	4	6
65	½		6	5
75	½		5	6
87	½		4	4

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from six to five. The reason given for this is that there are more people now than formerly. 621 794

The second course of civil careers is to serve as síndico and go on to president, bypassing the intermediate and lower posts of the hierarchy and never filling the higher traditional posts. Of seven who have served as president, two served as síndico, two had no previous office, and three had been both policeman and síndico (Table 25). None of the former presidents served in any civil post after being president. Two served as fiscal in their religious careers and had had no other religious service. This is the course pursued by literate men who speak Spanish well. An alternative course is to enter the ejido commission as secretary, treasurer, or president and then serve as síndico, or even directly as president. The president elected in 1964 had served only on the ejido commission. This caused some discontent, but not enough to prevent his election. [212] [191] [423]

The household head enters religious office first as *nič'nal* or junior mayordomo, then serves as *?ali?bal,* or assistant, next as *tatil,* or elder mayordomo of a lesser saint. The fourth position is tatil of San Pedro, after which comes *kobraria,* or cofrade, first of San Francisco, then of Santa Lucía or Sacramento. Following his appointment as tatil of San Pedro, the incumbent holds the first gathering of mayordomos in his house. When he completes his term in this office, he may be called upon by neighbors, relatives, and compadres to serve as nakawane in household ceremonials. He 794 [192]

794 may at any time in his career be called upon as alférez. This may occur
[625] even before he has served as a junior mayordomo or policeman since the
[556] post depends on his own or his father's wealth.

The normal career of an official in the traditional hierarchy involves a
621 balance of civil and religious posts. A man enters these posts according to
794 convenience, not in a rigid alternation between civil and religious wings.
561 The rough balancing of posts can be seen in the careers of men over fifty in Table 25. According to informants, a man should start and end his career in the religious wing. By the age of thirty, forty-three men had filled at least one post in the religious hierarchy, and only twenty-four men had served in the civil hierarchy (Table 24). The religious posts are considered less onerous than the civil posts since the incumbents are in attendance only one day a week instead of every day, and their terms in office last only six months.

621 Wealth level, except in cases of extreme poverty, does not limit a man's
794 participation in the traditional hierarchy. Of fourteen men over seventy,
556 eight had completed their civil posts and seven their religious posts. Three who had not followed the traditional career lines had served as president. The town is small enough so that career lines have not followed any polarization of the upper levels of the hierarchy as occurs in towns of larger size (Bunzel 1952, Camara 1952, Cancian 1965). Discrimination is based on residence rather than wealth—those Indians who reside in barrios and colonias cannot reach any post higher than that of assistant judge. Wealth level is a factor, however, in the time span of the individual's career, since at some time before becoming second or first regidor he must have filled the expensive post of alférez. Table 25 lists the careers of men fifty years of age and over in order of wealth. It is possible to finish a career in office by the age of fifty, but if a man has less than one hectare of land, it is unlikely that he will finish before he is sixty-five. The Indians of Tzoʔontahal do not however maximize the importance of passing through the hi-
[554] erarchy. It is a duty not a goal, and the reward in prestige is minimal.

794 The only post in which wealth has been crucial was that of alférez. The
556 incumbent and the household of which he was a member spent 3,000 pesos
796 to carry out the fiestas with which he was charged in his year in office.
666 The president, the four judges, and the four regidores chose the alférez

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621 794 527 178 newly cut pine canes of the police and the old carved and painted staffs of the higher officials.

621 794 527 273 Order and measure, respect and deference are the social effect achieved in the ritual performance of the inaugurations. In the act of drinking, these principles become behaviorally explicit. The drink is carefully measured out and passed to the first principal, who asks permission to drink it of each set of officials in order of their ranked positions in the hierarchy. Each official must receive the drink, whether he is a teetotaler or not. He will then perform the action of drinking, which is sufficient to express his good will as part of the group. The symbolic act of pretending to drink—receiving the "gift" and raising it to one's lips without imbibing—reveals the importance of acts *as such* in social interaction. This is expressed in the [192] Tzeltal loan term *ʔaksion*, from the Spanish *acción*, the pretended act, which demonstrates in this case one's good will in joining in the communal act. We have a tendency in our culture to downgrade the act, stressing motive specific to the immediate goal of the act. If performance is motivated by other goals, we express it in phrases such as "He is only acting," or "It was all a big act." In Tzoʔontahal, the play is the thing, and everything can be justified by reference to traditional expectations.

621 794 561 177 178 Before describing some of the organizational changes which are affecting the civil-religious hierarchy, I shall at this point assess its viability on the basis of structural criteria. These criteria include the effectiveness of the system in (1) coordinating roles such that conflict is minimized in carrying out tasks, (2) motivating people to enter into office and fulfill obligations, (3) absorbing changes without structural modification.

The primary devices for coordinating roles in the hierarchy are those of relative age and residence in the dual division. The major challenge to the age-respect pattern has been the introduction of young leadership in the roles of president and síndico. This shock to the system has been somewhat overcome by the retention of the ceremonial primacy of the principales. The president and síndico are considered outside the traditional hierarchy. This conceptual isolation of the roles becomes obvious when one asks informants to list the civil officials, for they never include the president and síndico in the first response. They are mentioned in response to repeated enquiries as to whether there are other officials.

The principle of balancing posts according to residence in the dual division is maintained in the traditional civil posts but fails to be effective again in the case of the president. Increasing population in the upper division meant that the expensive post of alférez had to be filled primarily from the side with the highest population. This unbalancing of the sharing of these burdensome posts eventually led to revolt and the post was abolished. Since it was the key post in learning prayers, its loss may mean the end of the traditional rituals in the home.

The hierarchy fails to provide sufficient prestige or power to motivate people voluntarily to undertake some posts. The most vulnerable post was that of alférez. In fulfilling obligations to the saints, alfereces used to spend over 3,000 pesos, twice the normal income of a man in one year. They were assisted by members of their immediate households either in loans or in the sale of pottery to help pay for the house fiestas. The show of wealth at these fiestas, when up to one hundred guests were fed, excited the envy of neighbors, often among the invited guests. It was felt that this provoked witchcraft, and every former alférez I knew maintained that he suffered some catastrophe following his year in office. In the last few years before its demise in 1966 the post was accepted only under duress, and all those who had been nominated at first chose to go to jail. The reason that it survived as long as it did was the insistence of those officials who served in this post that it was essentail to maintaining good fiestas. The resolution of the contradictions by abolishing the post contrast with that of Zinacantan, where men sought the prestige-conferring posts that involved large expenditures of money as a validation of wealth (Cancian 1965).

Another contradition which minimizes the motivation to undertake the traditional posts is that the highest post in the ladder, that of principal, is one associated with embarrassment and shame rather than prestige. Shorn of his roles in decision-making and in guarding public funds, the principal is reduced to holding the plate in which donations for the major fiestas are placed. The ceremonial role of the principales will probably survive, however, since the old men of the community who have retired from active work in the fields enjoy the drinking sessions in the cabildo sufficiently to compensate for the shame associated with the role.

The internal structural contradictions have to be considered in the con-

121 write beliefs that give coherence to these roles. Whether these events continue to be scheduled, and in the process of being presented "prove" the postulates upon which structural relationships are based, depends upon acceptance of the belief system.

183 A fundamental understanding governing behavior in Tzoʔontahal is that people ought to do as the ancestors did. Both "knowing" and "re-
[192] membering" are expressed by the same verb, *ya sna,* while "learning" and "memorizing" are expressed by the verb *ya snop.* The behavioral corollary of this association between knowing and remembering is that one should accept the word of the ancestors as a guide to behavior. The importance of obeying one's elders as the intermediaries in the transfer of ways of behaving from one generation to another is stressed in child training and is restated in the prayers uttered at ritual performances enacting the ways of the ancestors.

128 In this chapter I shall consider the integration of behavior based on roles, personality, codes of morality and etiquette, and the ideological and behavorial changes which are disturbing this system.

The Role System

554 Coherence of the role system in Tzoʔontahal depends upon (1) similar
621 premises for role recruitment and continuity in transition from one role to
182 another; (2) alternation in office and linkage of separate domains by special offices; and (3) standardized etiquette of role interaction. Uniform standards of evaluation of performance provide a sanctioning system ensuring social integration.

561 *Recruitment and transition.* Relative and chronological age com-
554 bined with consideration of sex are the fundamental principles for assign-
562 ing role categories. The age principle categorizes the entire town in role pairs of respect and deference. Sex differentiation is not made in children until after infancy. An infant of either sex is called *ʔunin,* also a term for
[192] the new moon, until the age of eight months. The sex of parent rather
[601] than that of the child is designated: a woman calls her offspring *ʔalal* whether boy or girl, and a man calls his offspring *niʔan.* Sex distinction is

made in speaking of toddlers: boys are called *htatil* and girls *ḳantzil*. After five years of age, a boy is referred to as *č'in ḳerem*, "little boy" and a girl as *č'in ʔačiš*, "little girl." The term for younger sibling, *ḳihtz'in*, which is extended to all of the people younger than oneself on one's own side of the dual division, is not sex marked, but the terms for all people older than oneself are. Sexual segregation begins at the age of five in sleeping arrangements as well as in public gatherings, when little boys stand with their fathers. The modifier "č'in" is dropped after the age of nine, and the terms "kerem" and "ačiš" are used until marriage. At the age of fifteen, a girl is referred to as *ʔantz wiltal*, "just arriving at womanhood," and when she is married she is classified as an *ʔantz*, or woman. A boy is referred to as a kerem until he is married, when he is called *ač' winiḳ* or "new man." A woman with children is referred to as *meʔeliš*, and is a full-fledged member of her sex, the *meʔil*. A man's reference term does not change with paternity. When a young unmarried man dies, people say with sorrow that it was a pity "he did not try out life," and that "he did not try out a woman."

In her youth a woman's role is tied to the reproductive cycle, but after menopause she is released from the restrictions of childbearing women. She need not appear as modest in public, and can drink and dance at fiestas. A noticeable personality change can be seen as women move out of the chrysalis of their reproductive cycle. Some older women begin to take a keen interest in sex, and widows in particular may have sexual relations with young unmarried men. It is after menopause that a woman takes her first role in ceremonials as a woman speaker.

In the man's life cycle, leadership roles are related to age. Paternal roles are the prototype for both familial and public authority positions. Thus the term for father, *tat* is the stem for the term for leader, *statal*.

In the relationship between the sexes, women are considered to be under the control of a male protector, either their father or husband. However, there is a kind of equality between the sexes which is not found in Ladino society. Usually there is only a small age difference between husband and wife, even in second marriages, and parents resist giving a young unmarried girl to an older previously married man. Mutual respect is stressed in the advice given by elders at marriage. There is no double standard for ex-

does not drink or have a record of fighting. Character traits are given more significance than wealth, since the minimal differences which distinguish rich from poor can be lost within a few months if a man drinks heavily or does not work. The close identification among siblings means that in accepting a suit the girl's parents will take into consideration not only the boy's reputation, but those of his brothers. If they are considered to be disobedient, lazy, or frequently drunk, their brother may have difficulty finding a woman.

Positions of ceremonial importance in the household celebrations are filled by any of the elders who have acquired knowledge of the prayers. The nakawanehetik are chosen from among any of the bilaterally-extended relatives, compadres, or padrinos who have served five times in religious office. They are selected not only on the basis of how well they know the prayers, but also on their behavior when required to drink. A man who can hold his liquor and still speak well or who quietly goes to sleep rather than fighting when drunk is preferred. The me?il k'op is selected from among the female complements of these male relatives. She acquires her knowledge of the prayers in familial settings. The b'alnialetik are chosen from the kihtz'inal (younger siblings and cousins), or from among compadres or members of neighboring households. The rank order between the two sets of roles—the nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik—depends on relative age; thus the older nakawanehetik have greater authority.

Familial roles provide both a pattern and a springboard for other roles in the community. The father-son role pair is extended to the relationships between senior and junior officials in both the religious hierarchy and the curing hierarchy. For each saint, the elder mayordomo is called "father" (*Tatil Martoma*), and the younger is called "son" (*Nic'nal Martoma*). A man must fill the junior post at least two times before taking on the senior post. For each side of the dual division, the elder curer (when there was a recognized leader) was called "father" (*Tatil ?u?ul*), and the younger was called "son" (*Nic'nal ?u?ul*) or sometimes "youth" (*Biktal ?u?ul*). The term *me?il* (woman who has borne a child) is used in the reference to ceremonial roles played by women in the household, as in the case of me?il k'op (woman speaker) and me?il c'om (mother of the betrothal).

Etiquette of role interaction. The complex system of stereotyped behavior contained in codes of etiquette depends upon role relations. The primary rule of etiquette is to greet people appropriately. In street greetings, one demonstrates that one knows how to "take into account," or show respect to, elders and minors. To elders of the first ascending generation or above, one says, "Good morning, father (or mother)." Those of one's own generation are greeted as elder brother or sister, or younger brother or sister, depending on their relative age. If the encounter is with a compadre, the terms kumpare or kumare take precedence over any other relation. A respected curer is addressed as *tatinal*. Officials are greeted by their titles, preceded by *mam* if they are older. Such greetings are restricted to people who live in the same division of the village. When one enters the other division, it is necessary to greet only compadres or relatives who have passed over after marriage. When younger persons approach elders of prestige, they remove their hats and incline their heads to be touched.

Service of food and drink is strictly ordered by age and sex. At mealtime, small children are fed separately, before or after their elders depending on the child's needs. When they reach the age of reason, about twelve, they are expected to await their turn. The father is served first, followed by his sons in order of age. The mother eats later with the girls.

The etiquette of ceremonial behavior is an extension and elaboration of the everyday forms. Service and greetings are made in order of age and rank, a procedure simplified by the fact that seating arrangements are made in the same order. In house ceremonials, the eldest man sits facing inward, to the right of the door. The rest of the company sits in clockwise order from eldest to youngest on benches lining the porch. Within the house, the seating of women by age begins with the eldest woman sitting at the center post and others sitting in clockwise order.

Preferred modes of behavior in all settings for all roles are "slowness and softness, expressed by a single term, *k'unk'untik*. Deference and respect—"hearing and feeling," *ʃ?awai*—should be shown in all encounters, marked by behavior such as downcast eyes, shawl held over the mouth, avoidance of direct eye contact, as well as verbal signs of agreement and

meal for the house is buried in the inauguration ceremony (Chapter 1) and the door. Left and right are orientation points viewed from inside facing the door. Women of the house sit on mats near the center post. Female visitors occupy the mats to the left of the post and male visitors sit on benches lining the right wall and the interior wall. If it is a large ceremony for the ritual of inauguration or a celebration by the captain of a fiesta, only women enter the house, and the men sit on borrowed benches lining the walls of the porch. 342 352 562 574 796

Relative age is indicated by position in the seating arrangement. For women the seat of honor, occupied by the oldest woman present, is at the center post; other women of the household sit on a straw mat or board in order of descending age clockwise around the room. This order is modified by the presence of the grandmother who, if not a woman speaker, retires to the left (facing door from inside) corner. Visiting women sit to the right of the center post with the oldest immediately next to the post and those decreasing in age and stature to her right. For men, the seat on the bench nearest the door to the interior is called the "head of the bench"; this is the seat of the leading nakawane. The rest of the nakawanehetik sit along this bench in order of age. On the bench facing them sits the house owner, with his brothers and other visitors to his right in an age-ranked order. The b'alnialetik sit on the right wall bench. 342 352 561 562 574

Since prestigeful roles are usually a concomitant of age, especially in the house ceremonies, there is seldom conflict between age and role status. When conflict does occur, it is only seen at the top level; thus, the grandmother if not active because of age, retires to the corner while the woman speaker, who must order the women in the kitchen and receive visiting dignitaries, takes over this position. I have seen the leader of the C'om take precedence over the leader waiter who was older, because of the important role of the former. 342 561 554 [574]

When the family is carrying out a ritual, it is felt that the house should never be left vacant. The role of the "waiters" (maliwanehetik) is specifically that of remaining in the house while others of the celebrants are involved in ritual acts outside of the house. When the members of the betrothal party go to the girl's house, for example, the waiters are left behind; or when the patient leaves with the curer and some of the curing 342 796 [584] [755]

876 den on the teacher already laboring with the barrier in communication. Despite these difficulties, the children manage to learn the basics of reading, writing, arithmetic, and Spanish in four years of schooling. The [875] teachers are devoted and spend at least seven hours in the classroom each day.

872 During the recess period the children play individual competitive games 524 except when organized games are introduced by one of the teachers. There is a tendency toward ganging up on weaker individuals in fights, that occur, but I have never seen signs of marked brutality. Since the La- [563] dino children are a small minority in the school (there are no more than a half a dozen among the three hundred and twenty-four students) the Indian children do not face the discrimination found in schools with a greater proportion of Ladinos (cf. Romney and Romney 1966).

876 Discipline is no longer as strict as it was in the early years of public education. The teacher allows someone who has been hit to hit the aggressor but does not herself intercede. Threat of punishment may be made by the teacher, but I have never seen it carried out, and it is never suggested as a solution to failure to learn.

571 In comparing the domestic, civil, and religious domains of activi- 561 ties, the following features emerge:

554 1. In each domain, a hierarchy of power is present. In the house, [592] males take precedence over females, and older members over younger. [562] In the cabildo, the power hierarchy takes the form of a rank order co- [621] ordinate with age in most of the offices, while in the schoolhouse, power is polarized with all authority vested in the schoolteacher. In the church, [875] the conflict between the priest and the cofrades (Chapter 9) has not [794] been resolved. Within the ranks of the mayordomos, relationships between the elder and junior mayordomo establish a graded ranking system (Chapter 8).

571 2. Behavior in each domain is standardized. Relative rank is re- 554 flected in seating order, greeting order, and drinking order. Autonomous 576 behavior is most marked in the domain of the church. Focused interaction is predominant in the school, where order and control are based on absorbing the attention of the child in a learning task.

175 632 466 communal projects for the neighboring town as there had been formerly. The peasant is master of his own time.

125 221 512 Tables 33 and 34 summarize the number of days and percentage of time accorded to various activities for men of two households. The first family consists of a man forty-three years of age and his wife. All of their own children died in infancy, and an adopted daughter recently left home to live with her husband and child in a new ejido plot. The second family consists of a man, his wife, two adult sons, and an unmarried daughter. In this family, the father of sixty-five is retired and his two sons perform all of the agricultural work. Table 34 includes only the activities of the sons. 125 221 The two schedules provide some contrasts:

461 462 561 1. The forty-three-year-old man has many more ceremonial obligations than the youths. This is a factor related to the life cycle in which men over thirty-five years of age are involved in more familial and community celebrations. During the year this schedule was taken, the man was serving as a mayordomo.

2. The older man has fewer productively employed days than the youths (only 54 percent of his time is spent in productive activities) in contrast to 76 percent and 79 percent for the youths). The difference is accounted for by wage employment the youths have undertaken. In order to pay for the cost of betrothal, the elder son worked 56 days (37 percent of the time accounted for) in a neighboring sawmill.

3. The youths were not involved in any exchange labor arrangements; until they become independent heads of households working their own fields, the men do not contract reciprocal exchanges.

221 461 462 796 The fact that men spend only 54 to 79 percent of their time (using these tables to provide minimal and maximal limits) on productive activities means that there is a great deal of flexibility in the use of time for ceremonial responsibilities. Everyone takes an average of twenty days off for celebrating fiestas in addition to fifty-two Sundays.

241 461 [796] The high proportion of time spent in family or communal ceremonials suggests the high value placed on them. The preference for leisure to pursue these activities is proved in cases such as that in which the additional profit in cultivating cabbages was not sufficient to motivate one agricultur-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 316]

233 and adaptive responses. With the expansion of cattle raising, Indians have
177 organized associations adjusted to the traditional dual division. The asso-
178 ciation for each side of the dual division mobilizes labor for maintaining
621 the watering holes. The failure to organize communal corrals means that
476 inefficient herding techniques, damage to the milpa, and frequent loss or
312 theft of cattle persist. The association reacts to the last problem by hiring
[685] killers to get rid of those suspected of theft, but this adaptive response is limited to dealing with particular incidents and has not solved the problem.

548 The manufacturers of contraband liquor have succeeded in organizing a
273 syndicate strong enough to maintain a monopoly price for both the inter-
177 nal and external markets and to provide security for themselves against
178 federal agents. The syndicate mobilizes for specific actions, such as raising
[435] the bail bond for imprisoned members or punishing informers. As a com-
694 munity-wide organization ignoring the dual division and age-ranked sen-
[681] iority, it represents an adaptation in response to extra-community pres-
621 sures.
[561]

The cooperatives that have been organized to manage the local store
474 and the trucks provide permanent managerial operations that are an adap-
177 tition to growing interaction in extra-community economic activities.
178 Cooperative owners are able to raise the capital to maintain and expand these operations. It is within these structures that entrepreneurial skills are being developed. The organizers gain the advantage not only of socializing the risk of loss but also of making a profit in a community where belief in witchcraft, fostered by envy, is rampant.

474 Activities in the new economic enterprises are not supported by any su-
472 pernatural belief. In order to gain acceptance for the new enterprises, the
177 entrepreneur Santos, who had organized the trucking cooperative, recog-
178 nized the need for an ideology. His rhetoric drew upon the sense of deprivation Indians feel in their relations with Ladinos. He justified his own ends as an attempt to gain for all the community the profits that only Ladinos had been able to gain through trucking and crops resales in the regional markets. The ideology he had begun to formulate stressed economic and political independence from both the Ladino entrepreneurs of neighboring towns and government agents who tried to promote welfare

programs in the interest of "civilizing" the Indians. This formulation involved a basic contradiction between the goal of moving into regional and national networks and that of keeping the old autonomy and independence of the corporate community. He never had to face that contradiction. Unable to gain adherents other than the small group of profit-sharers in the cooperative he organized, he was killed by opponents within the community.

The Family and Household

The core of the traditional culture lay in the local power hierarchies patterned on the familial model of age-ordered paternal authority institutionalized in the me'iltatil. The me'iltatil of the household have provided a flexible institution for adjusting conflict within the kin group. Their role in directing ritual performances preserves a sense of continuity in life cycle changes.

The institutionalized authority of the elders has not been upset by the trend toward residence based on nuclear families, which is an adjustment to the pressure of limited space in the town center. Kinship ties are continually reinforced by rituals that draw together the me'iltalil as sponsors of ceremonies marking baptism, marriage, and death. This group of sponsoring relatives has absorbed the institution of compadrazgo, adding compadres to the network of affinally-and bilaterally-related kin. The procedures for adjusting conflict among members of the household and extended family networks reinforce the authority of the elders. When adjustive processes in the house and court "arrangements" and in curing ceremonies fail, the only recourse is for one of the disputants to leave the community or commit homicide.

Ceremonies within the household provide a model for the rules of the game that apply to adjustive behavior in the community. The household officials introduce new officials into their role, teaching them the prayers and directing the proceedings. Their authority depends upon age and prestige acquired in office. The me'iltatil, as the elders of the family, are the direct link with the ancestors. They and the nakawane provide the strongest force for preserving the ways of the ancestors.

621 578 177 178 was channeled along existing lines of competition. During my stay in the community from 1964 to 1966, most conflicts were attributed to economic competition between the two trucking cooperatives. Along with this, the [114] [474] [182] waning of the position of the principales has undermined the confidence of the people in the system of checks and balances in which the principales watched over the judges, the judges watched over the curers, the curers watched over the people to see that no one brought in evil, and the ancestors watched over everyone. [756] Curers are more and more often accused of witchcraft and are frequent victims of homicide. The sense that they are the guardians of the pueblo and the agents of the ancestors is nearly dead. They are consulted only because the people feel that, because of the evil in them, they can fight the evil caused by others.

621 756 177 178 The shift in power from the old leaders to the new has not been accompanied by a shift in ideological allegiance. The new leaders cannot offer the security the people felt when they were living in the eyes of the ancestors. The curers remain as a powerful group because of their claims of being able to fight evil, but there is no longer a legitimate authority controlling their use of destructive forces.

561 554 177 178 A system of authority based on rule by elders is a structural correlative of a behavior pattern in which people act out the ways of the ancestors. This applies to the schematized behavior contained in rituals and in traditional productive activities. The ideology of a seniority-based prestige system persists at the explicit level at the same time that behavioral changes in contradiction to this are occurring.

626 177 178 Social control in a system of behavior based on what was done in the past depends upon the belief that people are carrying out their lives "in the eyes of the ancestors." Ritual behavior in Tzo'ontahal seems to confirm this, but in view of the waning belief in the presence of the ancestors and the loss of confidence in their agents, the curers, this behavior is a kind of social lie designed to perpetuate the old code of morality. In their everyday behavior, people no longer act on the same premises. The social lie is perpetuated because the people who enjoyed power in the old social system—the curers and the elders—do not wish to relinquish it. It will last only so long as they can find successors, and with the abolition of the recruitment through alfereces, this should not be for long.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

621 The communal offices of the Ayuntamiento and Mayordomías
623 form a hierarchical age-grade system, with a partially compulsory
794 sequence of cargos (literally burdens, although it can best be
561 translated as offices) which end in the cargo of Principal, who is a member of the community council of elders.

561 The age-grade system does not have corporate groups of the age-set type common in East Africa. The system only places the individual in relation to others who are higher or lower than him in the hierarchy. People belonging to the same level of the hierarchy do not act as a group, nor do they develop special relations with each other.

184 The name and number of officerships differ everywhere in
621 the Chiapas highlands from village to village. Larger towns have
794 a larger number of governmental posts within the hierarchy; in some towns the Church organization is more elaborate (perhaps because it was originally a curato head town, or had a convento in the village), the Mayordomías and Cofradías (religious brotherhoods which carry on some fiesta celebrations) have a larger membership, a more elaborate ritual and carry on a larger number of fiestas, while in other villages the Mayordomías have a secondary role with respect to the civil government. This is not the place to discuss the historical and functional reasons for this extensive variation, which would take a study in its own right, but the important thing is that although the form varies, the basic system of hierarchically graded officerships stays the same in all the Chiapas highlands, including Amatenango and Aguacatenango (see Zabala, 1961 and Figs. 2 and 3).

TABLE 3

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AGUACATENANGO: DISTRIBUTION OF CARGOS
HELD BY MEN IN EACH AGE GROUP

Age Group	Number of Cargos Held									Statistics	
	-	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	$\bar{x}$	s
20-30	8	4	6	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	0.9	0.901
31-40	1	. .	17	5	1	. .	. .	. .	. .	2.2	0.228
41-50	. .	. .	1	4	3	1	1	. .	1	4.1	1.700
51-60	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	2	. .	1	2	6.6	1.517
60 and up	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	1	. .	2	1	6.8	1.260
Sample: 62	9	4	24	9	4	4	1	3	4		

621

Mechanisms to Preserve Community
"Corporateness"

One can say then, that in broad terms, political power is distributed among the households of the village in an egalitarian fashion. The tendency towards internal egalitarianism is also present in the total economic organization of the two communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango. Egalitarianism in the economic and political realms, united with the fact that community norms are to be kept by every village member without discrimination, tends to make the community as a whole an egalitarian, homogeneous society. Homogeneity is preserved by the villagers themselves, who are very interested in keeping the status quo, because the interdependence of the villagers, the lack of specific powers given to individuals to create economic differentiation and/or political factions keeps the village united as a corporation with respect to

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 57 1

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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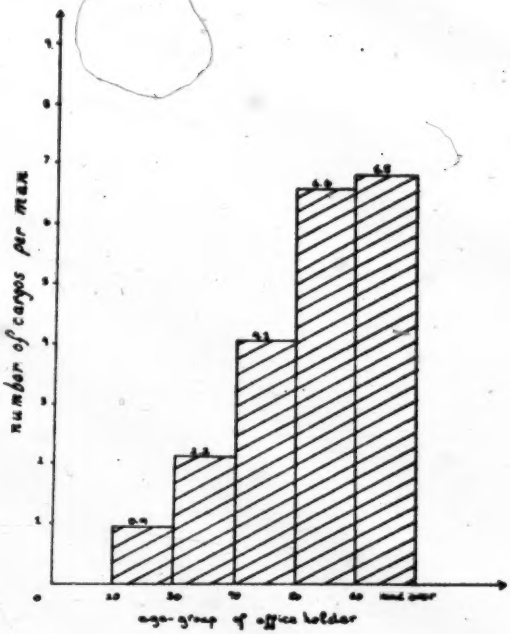

Fig. 4.--Aguacatenango: Distribution of Cargos by Age Group (Arithmetic Means).

621 571 man bankil (respect term, "elder brother") the other would be his
576 kiht'zin ("younger brother").

621 Older men are socially superior to younger ones. A man
561 who has passed many cargos has more authority than one who has not
554 served in the community government. A man with many children in a united family commands more respect than a man whose children are embarrassed of him because he is a trouble-maker. A good
562 talker is better thought of than a boring drunkard. The same dif-
561 ferentiation scale, although using some other criteria, also func-
626 tions for women. Elder ladies have enough social status to be permitted to laugh in public while young married wives are expected to keep quiet. A woman known as a "good mother-in-law" collects the rewards of praise of other women. A wife who keeps her husband clean and well fed can visit around and be well received, while a lazy housekeeper would not be welcomed in other women's houses who fear of being judged "by the company they keep."

554 A constellation of factors, therefore, places the indi-
555 vidual in a very particular status position, and his personal
156 skill can increase his prestige or destroy it. Moreover, the
621 total performance of an individual in the totality of his roles
571 can not only increase his general status and gain the approval of his fellow men, but would be an important factor in saving him from witchcraft accusations. A man can try to control as much labor and capital as possible in order to maximize profits from his work and minimize its consumption, as long as he does not create enemies, and insures his prestige in as many dimensions as possible: he can give advice to conflicting parties rather than

184 60 ones, the terminology consistently emphasizes the distinction between direct and collateral relatives. In that sense, and only in that sense, the terminology usage reflects the consistency between the linguistic realm and the non-linguistic behavior realms, a consistency which has been assumed by many anthropologists to be axiomatic.

The Ordering of Social Relations

561 562 In both communities relative age and sex are important in the structuring of social relations within the household and throughout the community. The exact chronological age of an individual is often unknown, but his relative age, with respect to siblings, cousins, relatives and other people who live close by, is always known. Any two individuals can always place each other in terms of seniority or order of birth.

561 Children are classified as those who are still at the mother's breast and cannot walk (husul 'it), small walking children (kosh kerem), pre-adolescents (hc' iel), and adolescents of marriageable age (tek' el). Married men are distinguished by whether they have children, by whether they have or do not have an independent household, and by the number of cargos they have passed in the government. Mature men are classified as still being active in the civil-religious hierarchy or as being pasados. Pasados are separated into those who are just old (mamal) and those who are principales.

858 Little babies and small children are not always counted as part of the household because they die so easily. They can have their souls "stolen" by other children who are still in their

883 (gang), containing males from the age of about twelve to the time
562 they marry. They usually sleep together in one of the escuadrilla
573 member's house corridor, and spend long nights playing the harmonica, having corn eating competitions or serenading.

562 A man is not considered a full-fledged community member
885 until he marries and has a child (the word for man and father
851 have the same root: tat), which allows him to take the lower
601 post in the government (policía). The government itself is an
621 age-graded organization in which the kinship terms of elder and
621 561 younger brother are used reciprocally, and by extension, by of-
601 ficers in lower and higher posts.

562 With the passing of time, both men and women increase their
593 status by raising a family and by passing to higher positions in
621 the civil-religious hierarchy. Although women do not participate
794 directly in the government, they have some duties as officer's wives (e.g., ironing the Saint's clothes if their husbands are Mayordomos), and they are called by their husband's titles. A man may resign from office if his wife dies and there is no other adult woman in the household who can take care of her part of the officer's performance.

184 The first noticeable difference in the ordering of social
562 relations in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women
592 in the domestic group.

184 In Aguacatenango, the eldest male is the head of the
562 household. He controls the land which the men of the household
462 work, the cattle, the labor of the household members and most of
592 the money obtained through the sale of surplus corn (which is

59 supported by her husband and father-in-law, and lives under their
562 roof. If the husband dies, she is supposed to go back to live
[606] with her parents as she did when she was single or live with a mature son who becomes responsible for her welfare and has some authority over her, as can be seen in the following example.

A woman had two sons by her first husband, the elder of
which, at the time of the events related here, was married. The
first husband died, and the woman married another man with whom she had another son. After a period of common residence, the second marriage broke up. The woman bought some land for a house, saving money for it by working in San Cristóbal and selling trago. She lived in this house with her married son and his wife.

The father of the last child (second marriage) offered to give the boy some new clothes. Before the woman accepted them, she asked her elder son's permission. The clothes were accepted because the woman's son said: "He is his father, and he should give clothes to his son."

The bases for the structure of the social relations within
561 the household are relative age, sex, kinship proximity to the
household head, and economic responsibility for the upkeep of the unit. Elder men have more authority than younger men; elder women more than younger ones. Men have more authority than women (perhaps, on some occasions, with the exception of the mother), and finally, agnatic kin of the household head have more authority
than affinals. The result of this ordering of power within the
606 household is that a daughter-in-law is at the bottom of the

159 come back when the father was home because not even he could sell
592 the pig without his consent. The Ladino was then forced to give up.
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602 A few days later, Juan sold the pig according to his own plans. He kept the money, except for a small amount that he gave to his wife and daughter-in-law, in spite of the fact that Maria had fattened the pig, and that it had been previously said that the pig was the young couple's animal.[1]

592 A woman living with her husband in a separate household
593 has some autonomy within it, but she is still subordinate to her
562 husband. She owns little property. A woman may be given a cow
421 when she marries, but her father is not obliged to do so. It is
[431] simply a regalo (present). She does not own agricultural implements. She can not own land or inherit from her husband, except in cases where she is, in effect, keeping the house in trust for her male children, and it has not been claimed by her husband's father or brothers who have primacy rights over such property.

[561] As she grows older, and with the birth of children, her
[851] position becomes somewhat less dependent. She has more prestige in the eyes of her husband's family and other people, and if her marital relation has developed into a strong emotional bond, her interaction with her husband is less subordinate. He would consult

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[231] [1]The animals are usually said to "belong" to one particular
[421] woman in the household. However, this does not mean that she has
[562] property rights over it; it only means that she is the person in charge of feeding it. Thus, the expression "el cochi de María" (María's pig) means the pig which María has the responsibility to feed every day, and it does not assume that she can sell it, kill it for meat, or do anything about it without the consent of the head of the household.

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602 4. In both villages, among consanguineal sponsors, lineal relatives who have immediate economic duties are preferred as sponsors over collaterals.

5. In Aguacatenango, among consanguineal sponsors, agnatically linked relatives are preferred over non-agnatic relatives, while in Amatenango, any consanguineal relative, a matri- or patrilineal one, is an equally likely choice.

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561 6. In both villages, economic dependency is usually assigned within the parental and the children's generation, rather than within the same generation, the result being that residence sponsors are preferred to be from alternate rather than the same generation, and within the same generation, sponsors are selected in terms of seniority over Ego.

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434 7. In both villages, spouses reside together. In Aguacatenango, the residence sponsor is the husband, while in Amatenango, either husband or wife can be sponsors. Males are the only sponsors when they are the only household members responsible for the support of the unit. Women and men are sponsors where both share the economic burden of supporting the household. Women are sponsors when they are the only ones responsible for the economic demands of the domestic group, and when their husbands work with their fathers.

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602 8. Unmarried children reside with both parents, and work with the parent of the same sex. If the parents are separated when the children are small, they stay with the mother. In Aguacatenango, if the mother is dead, a patrilineal sponsor other than

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621 women tend to stay within the neighborhood in which they are born,
591 or, equally, cross territorial lines at marriage.

121 To be able to derive these simple rules of residence, we
591 had to take into account some aspects of sponsorship which Fischer did not include in his typology. First, Fischer makes the error of assuming that people make residence choices mainly in terms of kinship, and within kinship, in terms of lineage and lineage sponsors.

We have shown that people make residence choices in terms of both kinship links and economic interdependence, and that among kinsmen, unilinearity is not necessarily the basic criterion for
121 choice. Although Fischer's typology can be very useful in analyzing
128 groups in which linearity is strong, such as Aguacatenango, it
602 tends to obscure the analysis of more bilateral groups such as Amatenango.

128
602 To make up for this bias in the taxonomy, we had to add
591 three separate criteria for sponsorship: (1) the sex of the
562 sponsor, independently of his lineage affiliation; (2) the generation
561 of the sponsor; (3) the economic role of the sponsor, independently
571 of his or her sex, and independently of his or her kinship connection with the person being sponsored.

184 At any given time, an individual in Aguacatenango or
591 Amatenango resides in one and only one household, and derives his
592 rights of membership in the unit through kinship or marriage, depending on the importance of his position as a laborer. While in Aguacatenango men derive their membership, as a rule, through descent and women after marriage only through affinality, in

Q. 68) is a review of the major activities in which they will take part in the church. The phrase 'before the face of,' *ta sit*, is the orientation he indicates to the new mayordomos to perform these acts. 794 796 [537]

The ceremony in the church when the mayordomos receive their candles is limited to the few words of advice spoken to them by the fiscal and the passing over of the candles. There is no representation by the civil authorities in the ceremonial aspect of installation, although the fiscal, in his dual office as assistant to the priest and as president, indirectly takes this role. The alfereces, who provide the link on other occasions for the civil officers' inauguration, are not active during this changing of the religious officers. Following the ceremony inside the church, the town treasurer and síndico help the fiscal count the money passed over with each *kobraria*. Thus the "integration" of the hierarchy is asymmetrical, providing for a church representation in civil affairs, but only in a limited sense is there the reverse. [621]* [624]

The mayordomos return to the house of the *kobraria* Sakramentu. The *nakawanehetik* have lost their place of honor at the *hol wanku*, 'head of the bench,' and are sleeping under the bench or in the corner. Their presence is no longer socially marked, and it is not a point which was elicited.

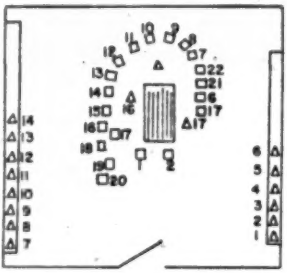
The behavior during the inauguration of civil officials showed the following structural features. The hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth stepladder but a segmented order. The categories elicited in the first session with the informant—*alkaletik*, *rehiroletik*, and *mayoletik*—act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same areas in all the settings (App. 1, Q. 14, 15, 51, 64–74). Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They order their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge issues an order to the fourth regidor to get liquor (App. 1, Q. 55) and the first police orders the commissioner from the rural colonias to get liquor for their group (App. 1, Q. 79). In these behavioral indices one can see the segmentation of the civil hierarchy, ordered by age, skill acquired in the expensive office of alferez, and territorial identification. Age grading is absolute only between the segments, and is roughly applicable within each segment. 621* 571 554 156 [561]

In the inauguration of the religious officials, elder and younger officials associated with each saint act 794 56 56

[P 219-A] TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 220-A

as a team. Thus the junior *(nilʔanil)* and senior *(tatil)* officials walk and sit in pairs. The senior officials order the junior. Just as in the case of the civil officials, some junior mayordomos may be younger than others who are in lower positions, because they have passed in the lower offices at an earlier age, but all senior mayordomos are older than their paired juniors. 794 561 156

Another important structural feature that became apparent in the behavioral schedules is the household base establishing the officeholders' position in both hierarchies. The new official learns his role obligations from the *nakawanehetik*, the group of elders 621* 156 794 592 [867]



621* 554 693 293

CHART 8 — INSIDE THE TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING THE OATH (OBSERVED)

Old officials are indicated by triangles, new officials by squares. Numbers refer to list on Chart 7. Three officials—the old secretary (17) and two new rural judges (21 and 22)—were not listed in the elicited session, Chart 7. Canes of office are on the table near the center of the room. Numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7.

who assemble in his house and who will assist him in his period in office. The ceremony in the house establishes this as a significant domain in public affairs. Relatives, neighbors, and compadres make up the interlocking network of supporters in the setting of the household. Both husband's and wife's relatives are symmetrically represented (Chart 3; see also J. Nash, 1964b, report on alferez assistants). Because of the expenses and the commitment of time during the period of office, the officials must have this backing to fulfill their obligations. A man with many compadres and godchildren has a firmer base to support his career in office. In the case of the new president, this was mentioned as an important asset by the president's brother. The guest list (Charts 3, 4) reveals the multiple references which establish the individual's role during any event. 621* 156 794 592 [867] 621* 794 592 602 156 [608]

[P. 220-A]

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682 156 themselves killed." When they see a man who is abusive while drunk, who brags of his power and of that of his animal spirit, they will remark: "That man is going to wake up dead" (*sakubk'inal čamel*). When such a man is killed, no one complains, even among his immediate relatives (cases 5, 10, 14, 16, 19, 22, 24, 26, 27, 29, 31, and 32 are of this type). When I asked [562] why women do not get killed, the response was, "They don't look for trouble" (*ma sleik smul*).

682 *Setting*

	Total	*Dawn*	*Afternoon*	*Evening*	*Night*	??
Streets of town	11				11	
Milpa, woods, road out of town	10	2	3	2	2	1
Highway	4		1	1	1	1
In cantina	3		1		2	
In houseyard	3			1	2	
In bed	1				1	
Neighboring hamlets & towns	2		1			1
??	3					3
Total	37	2	6	4	19	6

Where the killing takes place and its timing in the diurnal cycle are directly linked. All of the homicides in the streets of the town were committed at night, while those in the roads out of town near the milpa occurred in the late afternoon or evening. In providing privacy and security from discovery, the darkness of night is functionally equivalent to distance from the town center during the daytime. When I suggested that the killings might be reduced if the town would connect the lights that had been installed in the streets, the response was that when they had been in use, killings had increased. The lights helped the killer find his victim, perhaps lying out in the road after a drinking session. He would shoot out the light and then kill his victim. 682 114

682 579 The only killings in which considerations of space or time were ignored were those in the cantina during a drunken brawl, for in contrast to the usual killing their onset was unpremeditated.

682 [527] [579] The timing of homicide is related also to the annual cycle: 14 homicides occurred during the fiestas in the town or in a neighboring town. The drunkenness of the fiestas provides an appropriate occasion for killing an enemy, although a drunken brawl is in itself rarely a sufficient motive (two cases). Other opportune times are after a curing ceremony (six cases) and after the gathering of curers during an [755] [273]

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682 674 656 long, and that the body was suspended 35 centimeters from the ground. He saw that we had raised the act well, and nothing was done.

Who Kills and Why

682 562 The only universal factor among the killers is sex—only men kill (Table 2). Women do not kill nor are they killed in Teklum. This does not mean that they are not subject to as many tensions or abuses as men, or that these have no channels for expression. Women work through men by agitating them to homicide. [593] Sometimes revenge is delayed, for the agents chosen by women may be children who must reach maturity before accomplishing the deed (see case 36, in which the son's animosity toward his father was kindled at his mother's deathbed).

682 683 621 Neighbors are a significant group in witchcraft killing. (Neighbors may be listed in Table 2 under another relationship, for instance as brother-in-law or as cattle owner.) They are the informal judges of suspected witches, and it is frequently they who kill a man considered to be a witch. When the curers accuse a man of causing epidemics, his neighbors are usually the executors. [608] For this reason, most people try to neutralize the hostility of

463 241 handle the milpa. It is rare to find an Indian who does not have a milpa since this is the work that ensures his existence.

Property Rights

423 613 This is a matter that varies according to the degree of acculturation reached by the [177] community. In the most conservative groups [181] (Oxchuc, Cancuc, Tenejapa, Tenango) there are still family property rights, but they seem to depend on lineage rather than on the immediate family (Villa Rojas, 562 1947, ch. 19). As these lineages are patri- 428 lineal, a woman does not count when inheritance is involved. She can own her parcel of land only when she has saved the money to buy it, but this is not frequent. Any man can claim lands that previously belonged to his lineage; it is enough to give back the money paid for them two or three generations ago. Of course, he has to prove by witnesses or documents that those lands were the property of his lineage.

127 According to a document dated 1861, 423 which I found in the possession of the 613 Gómez Ichiloks (they belong to the Gómez 614 clan and to the Ichilok lineage), residents of the paraje of Tzajalchen of the municipio of Oxchuc, this property system seems to be very ancient. The document is of special interest.

000 DOCUMENTO DE TIERRAS DE LOS GÓMEZ ICHILOK A

Por pedimento de los ciudadanos Domingo Gómez Ichílok, Tomás Gomez Ichílok, otro Tomás Gómez Ichílok, Miguel Gómez Ichílok, Diego Gómez Ichílok, otre, Domingo Gómez Ichílok, otro Diego Gómez Ichílok y su hijo Diego Gómez Ichílok y por último su hijo menor Manuel Gómez Ichílok, y como antiguamente se acostumbra en este pueblo que segun los hermanos de una propria familia, se les demarca un retazo de terreno de ejido para que en lo sucesivo no haya pleitos con los vecinos como suele suceder, nosotros los Gobernadores, Auxíliares, Justicias, Escribanos y Testigos, pasamos al paraje denominado Tzajalchén a

[P. 211-A]

A /For a translation by H.R.A.F. of this document, see category 116, p. 225-C--Analyst/

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CHAPTER II

DRINKING PERFORMANCES AND SOCIAL ROLES

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293*
554 The scheduling of drinking in Aguacatenango and the internal structure of individual drinking performances can be considered as a code in which information about the roles and statuses of individuals is communicated. A brief look at the inventory of social roles will provide essential background for the description of this code.

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562 The composition of the Aguacatenango household, in terms of age and sex of members, is patterned as follows: Persons in the household under twenty years of age may be of either sex and any age. The ages of members of this group, relative to each other, are minimally two years apart. Persons over twenty years of age stand in a special age relationship: There is approximately a fifteen-year minimum age difference between individuals of the same sex. Age differences between individuals of opposite sex are such that they will either be the same age or the age rule for same sex members will hold. Finally, there will be no more than one individual of each sex in any of these age slots in any household. An age-sex distribution of a house, then, looks like the following diagram.

TABLE 1

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AGE-SEX MODEL OF MAXIMAL COMPLEMENT OF A HOUSE

Absolute Age = unmarried vs. married

	-20						+20			
	Minimal Relative Age--2 yr. units						(Minimal) Relative Age--15 yr. units			
Sex Indifferent	1	2	.	.	.	10	1	2	3	
	I	h	G	F	e	D	C	B	A*	Male
							c	b	a	Female

*A and a are mutually exclusive; if one is present the other is absent.

592 Such a description is hardly adequate for the definition of the complement of a house, though it describes fairly the potential age-sex slots that are there to be filled. We begin with this simply because the description is constructed of fairly readily available observables, namely, age and sex. The difficulty one encounters is that there are further defining properties of such a maximal collection of individuals who live in a house. Our informants will not let us assemble households barely

591 order, they will also marry and with their spouses live in the house of their father. In general, the older sibling moves out when a younger sibling marries (if not before). The youngest male sibling when he marries is not required to move--he takes "care of" his parents in their old age and becomes sole possessor of the house. The relatively older male siblings are established in houses of their own by the parents as close as can be managed to the parents' house.

Thus, there is discriminable clustering of male siblings in Aguacatenango. The youngest male sibling who is married lives in the parents' house and the older males live in houses which are immediately adjacent to his. The female siblings tend to be scattered more widely throughout the rest of the town.

591 592 562 Should the family fail to procreate male offspring, one of the daughters may remain in the parental home and bring in a husband to live with her there--they in turn become possessors of the house.

591 586 It is not unusual that marriages are broken off in the course of movement through the residence pattern. When such happens, the spouses return to their respective households of origin until remarriage. This reversal of residence pattern in the case of separation does not disturb the major pattern outlined above.

591 There are also cases where the youngest of the male siblings does not remain in the parental house, though this is

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TABLE 3

MODIFIERS KIN -1 GENERATION

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	Criterial Attributes		
	Sex of referent	Absolute Age	Other
Position 1			
C'IN Ø	Ø	despresses absolute age	
Position 2			
BA CEBAL etc.	Ø	Ø	specify order of birth among referent's own siblings
*ANZ(IL) Ø	F M	Ø Ø	occurs only with terms showing sex of coordinating individual (i.e. /-*AL/ and /-NIC'AN/)
PATIL-K'OX Ø	Ø	expresses recent vs. relative remoteness of birth	
KUCBIL	Ø	distinguishes "babe-in-arms" from "walking child" (with /-*ALAL/)	

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TABLE 4

KIN, +1 GENERATION

601

[562]

	Sex of Referent	Relationship specified in head
-TAT	M	ø
-TATA*	M	ø
-ME*	F	ø
-NANA*	F	ø

/-NANA*/, though they may refer to parents, are used primarily to specify a class of persons (including collaterals, affinals, and non-kin) of the approximate age of parents.

Terms of reference at the 0 generation also lack lineality-collaterality as a criterial feature, and while they tend to refer to lineals and collaterals, they may refer to non-kin as well. The 0 generation terms are shown in Table 5 (p. 23).

Lineality-collaterality and kin-non-kin distinctions can be made in Tzeltal by using an appropriate complex term of reference. If one asks, /ME MAC'A TATA*/, "Who is the /TATA*/?," the informant may respond, /XI*LEL H-ME*/, "my mother's older brother." Lineal kin of 0 generation can be further specified as /MERO BANKIL-*ERMANO/ "true brother," or /HUN ME* HUN TAT/, "of one mother, one father." Use of these expressions to resolve ambiguity about the

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TABLE 5

KIN, 0 GENERATION

601
[562]

	Age relative to coordinating individual	Sex of Referent	Sex of coordinating individual	Relationship specified in head
-BANKIL	0	M	M	ø
-XI*LEL	0	M	F	ø
-WLX	0	F	M/F	ø
-IHZ'IN	Y	M/F	M/F	ø

relationship of a previously mentioned individual is rare, and we are led to hypothesize that precise genealogical relations are not crucial in the use of kin terms of 0 and ± generations. Indeed, 0 and +1 generation terms without a possessive prefix are often used in combination with names or other reference terms to indicate the relative age of the referent (when he is older than the speaker). The ranking of these terms is shown in Table 6 (p. 24).

[554] The terms /TATIK/ and /ME*TIK/ are not used in reference to kin as such, but as a collective compound, /-ME*TIK + TATIK/, they may designate either "respected elders" or "curer" in the appropriate contexts.

As in the -1 generation, modifiers /C'IN/ "little" and /MUK'UL/ "big" operate in the 0 and the +1 generations to depress

TABLE 7

601
[562]

KIN, ±2 GENERATIONS

	Generation	Sex of referent	Sex of co-ordinating individual	Relationship specified in head
-MUK'UL+TAT	+2	M	M/F	L
-MUK'UL+ME*	+2	F	M/F	L
-*IL+NIC'AN	-2	M/F	M	L
-*IL+*AL	-2	M/F	F	L

±2 generations, the terms are applied exclusively to lineals of the coordinating individual. (Like the -1 generation terms /-*AL/ and /-NIC'AN/, none of these terms occurs without the possessive prefix.)

TABLE 8

AFFINAL KIN (SPOUSES)

M	F
-MAMILAL	-*INAM
~	~
-WINIKUL(-WINIKIL)	-*ANZ(ELAL)
~	~
-MARIDO	-C'IN+*AC'IX[a]

[a]This form is used only for a very young wife.

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601 The terms of reference for affinal kin share with the ±2 generation kin terms the feature that they are not used without designating the coordinating individual by a possessive prefix. The set of alternative reciprocals used to refer to spouses is shown in Table 8 (p. 25).

The remaining terms in the set are the following:

TABLE 9

AFFINAL KIN

	Criterial Attributes of Heads		
[562]	Sex of referent	Sex of Coordinating individual	Generation
-MA+NEAL	M	M	+1
-ME*L+NEAL	F	M	+1
-MA+*ALIB	M	F	+1
-ME*L+*ALIB	F	F	+1
-BAL	M	M	0
-HAWAN	F	F	0
-MU*	F	M	0
-MU*	M	F	0
-NEAL	M	M/F	-1
-*ALIB	F	M/F	-1

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TABLE 10

COMPADRAZGO

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	Criterial Attributes		
	Sex of referent	Sex of coordinating individual	Generation
-KUMPRE	M	∅	∅
-KUMRE	F	∅	∅
-NIC'AN+SNARYOS-*IHADA	∅	M	-1
-*AL+SNARYOS-*IHADA	∅	F	-1
-TAT+SNARYOS-PAGRINO	M	∅	+1
-ME*+SNARYOS-MAGRINA	F	∅	+1

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602
person may establish the /-KUMPRE/ relationship with any person except his spouse, his own father, his spouse's father, and the spouses of these persons. Related individuals frequently become compadres--particularly as siblings of the father or the mother are often chosen as padrinos (godparents) of a child--and compadre relationships established at weddings (see below) involve some affinally related individuals (e.g., "brother's wife," "sister's husband") for whom kin terms are reported. Where the person stands in a specified kin relation (e.g., /BANKIL/) to the speaker, the compadrazgo relationship assumes priority over the kin term in reference (as well as in address). These two

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[602]

571 554 192 [794] day for which they serve. Every male in the community is held responsible to be co-opted into four /MARTOMO/ positions before he is freed from any further performaces of this sort, and as was pointed out earlier, these positions must be held earlier.

The various forms of the "role-name" set most often occur as simple terms of reference, often modified by status terms. However, the combination /H-KUMPRE SEKRETARYO/ "my compadre, the secretary" is reported.

Modifiers

In addition to the basic classes of terms of reference, modifiers are important in identifying persons. Among these are enumerators, diminutives (mentioned above), and demonstratives. Two modifiers establish the physical condition of the referent-- [602] /CAM/ and /*AN(I)MA/, both glossed as "dead." One, /MERO/, noted earlier, distinguishes "legitimate" or "real" relationship from terminological equivalence, as in /MERO *ERMANO/, "true brother." 571 554 561 192 Two, differing only by sex of referent, indicate advanced age: /MA MAMAL/ "old" (male referent) and /ME*L/, "old" (female referent). When these two modifiers are used with terms indicating [562] younger persons, the incongruity expresses depreciation or derogation. Other modifiers, most of which are age-status terms like the special kin terms discussed earlier, include the following:

275 Some of
178 the effects of this change can be seen in the growing wealth of
434 cantineros, observable in changes in house construction, and a
736 shift to the raising of small livestock (always an alternative strategy) by women who must support themselves. With regard to
*273 drinking performances, the effect of the change in retailers seems
178 to have been an increase in the number of drinking performances--especially for boys and young men, whose limited ceremonial responsibilities have made them relatively infrequent drinkers in the past. In turn, the increase in the number of drinking situations has required slight modification in the timing of the drinking--men seem to drink for shorter periods of time. Thus, for example, drinking on Sunday is becoming more common, but the continuation of drinking on a second day (Monday) has decreased. These matters will be spelled out in more detail in later sections.

Age-sex distribution of drinking

273* Aguardiente is bought by men who have control of money,
[434] and it is drunk almost exclusively by them. Women drink rarely,
[562] and it is considered inappropriate for them to do so. Children
[858] do not drink at all; boys begin to drink on festive occasions at
[883] fifteen or sixteen, and it is probably relevant that by this time they are old enough to work for wages and usually have some money of their own. Old men often give up drinking except when, as of-

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273* Participation in drinking cycles[34] is restricted to adult
• 562 males, and in fact participation signals that such persons are
885 indeed adult males. These are some of the things that participation in drinking cycles "means."

273* Types of drinking cycles

Particular instances of the drinking cycle differ in the degree of "formality" of their organization.

Ceremonial drinking

The full expression of a ceremonial drinking cycle has a number of performance correlates which permit its identification. While it is generally true that ceremonial drinking, in contrast to "informal" drinking, is specifically initiated as a part of one of the rituals just mentioned, its most crucial, i.e., unambiguous characteristic is a formal speech which a senior male of the sponsoring group makes to the receiving group. This speech is responded to with equal formality by a senior male of the receiving group. There are several examples in text of this particular interchange between the sponsor and the receiver. An example of one of these, as reported by Lorenzo Mendez, is given below.

273* 539 *E TYOS KUMPRE, *AK'A LAH PERTON, BA* LA HZO*BEX TALEL, BA* LA HYOMEX TALEL HZ'INUK, H*A K'UK, TA STI*IL HME*BAL HWOKOL. BWENO, SOYOK KALTIK HNIC'ANTIK.

Ay, dios, compadre, excuse me. I have brought you here, gathered you here for a moment, for a little while, at the door of my poor house, with my children and grandchildren.

273* 695 dependent on a most careful and detailed examination of the conditions under which the conflict was originally generated as they are concerned in reaching a decision which fairly expresses the variable jeopardy that each party could reasonably be held accountable for vis-à-vis the other party. In the circumstances that any of the three parties to the conflict are drunk, the case will be postponed, or if it is not postponed it will be considered void, to be retried or else appealed to another court.

273* 695 684 593 There are a few kinds of circumstances in which drinking during the course of conflict settlement is seen to be appropriate though optional to the parties concerned. The type of case is best exemplified by circumstances where a daughter, say, is known by her family to have been promiscuous previous to the trial, and where they are being called by the daughter's husband or suitor to account for their daughter's behavior. In such circumstances the parents of the girl will appear at court. During the trial, each of them will publicly whip the girl. In such a case, where a male parent is certain of his daughter's misbehavior, he may drink aguardiente so as to reduce his feelings of shame at having the affairs of his daughter made public, and, as a result, having to whip her. The mother does not drink [562] in these circumstances, the proscription on women drinking being so strong as to prevent her from indulging in this shame-reducing behavior.

273 753 by means of which a witch causes his victim to ingest poisonous substances. In turn, the drinking of aguardiente is interpreted as a disease process to the extent that individuals take "medicine" to reduce the number of occasions upon which they drink. The text citations which have been inserted above are suggestive of these points. By way of summing up this section, I would like to offer a less easily verifiable interpretation which provides still further context in terms of which the reader can think about the drinking performances in Aguacatenango.

273 183 [562] The first simple set of observations is as follows: Men drink and women don't. Some men drink more than others but all men must drink some. Some men would prefer to drink less than they do. Drinking settings for some men, especially under the informal drinking rules, are settings in which some considerable hostility is expressed. Suppose we take the case of the man who wishes to drink less. He can achieve this end in the short run by either drinking more or not drinking at all. He knows that he will not be able to completely terminate his drinking performances (the ceremonial drinking performances) until he is an old man. Ceremonial drinking performances are required of all men. He can, however, reduce the number of informal drinking performances. If a man wants to reduce the number of informal drinking performances, then, he can do so by increasing the average length of any particular informal drinking performance.

273* concludes by observing that the after-effects of drinking are inevitably bad.

Thus while the drinking performances themselves are highly satisfying experiences, the consequences of drinking may be illness, economic loss, and possible death. Such consequences of any next drinking performance do not, however, appear to prevent that drinking performance from taking place; even though the consequences are the public knowledge of all the men in Aguacatenango.

273* 562 593 The woman's view of the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking sequences is long-suffering (but not necessarily uncomplaining). Women are constrained to complain relatively little as their husbands become ill or abusive and their household resources dwindle. The woman who berates or strikes or abandons her drunken husband is criticized, and desertion of a husband by a wife is never attributed either to his drinking per se nor to his drunken abuse.

273- 539 In the following excerpts from text, a wife complains and her husband belittles or laughs off her concern time after time.

I. MA* LO*ILUK IX A X YAKUB HONC *A ATATAI, *E YES YA*TEL.
Your uncle gets drunk a lot, it's his occupation.

V. HE HE HE.
Ha, Ha, ha!

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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model introduced was faulty or they were not taught to use it properly. Notions about the supernatural relation between souls of crops, man, and the saints do not interfere with experimentation or adaptation at the instrumental level. Obligations with respect to them are carried on as a supplement to other practical measures.

The organization of men's work in agriculture contrasts with that of women's work in pottery. Men's work, when performed cooperatively by two or more of an extended household or exchange labor team, is mechanically organized, in Durkheim's terminology. Each of the men does the same task, working closely in the rows of the milpa. Women's work groups are organically organized since segmentation of the pottery production in the stages described above makes possible specialization within a domestic production group including two or more women. Preferences and special abilities can be taken into account. The potters with more experience do the jobs which require more judgement and skill, such as mixing the clay or making the bases, and then the work is passed on to less proficient workers. Or an older woman can leave the more strenuous tasks, such as mixing clay or building up the sides of the larger pots, to younger women and perform the lighter tasks, such as putting on the neck and handles.

These differences in the organization of male and female work tasks suggest the need for a reformulation of the classification of whole societies as organically or mechanically integrated. In assessing the potential for change, internal variations in the organization of production might provide the clues for implementing development programs.

The division of labor according to sex is nearly absolute: women do not learn to work in the milpa nor do men learn to make pottery or perform household tasks. However, women will gather firewood, and men will transport clay (although they do not collect the clay deposits in balls) and help in firing pottery. Women can live without men in the household economy of the town, but men cannot live without women. This is because male labor is a market commodity while female labor in household activities is not. A widow can hire a man to work her fields, but a man cannot hire a cook. If he is widowed, he must remarry, move into his

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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mother's house, find a wife for a grown son, or find an unattached female relative to live with him. 736 562

Traditional agricultural and pottery production contained within household units has limited specialization and the formation of classes. Whatever exceeded consumption needs was absorbed in a ceremonial fund that served to maintain existing standards. The aim of production was to maintain a given level of "poverty and suffering" as they said in prayers of thanksgiving. These old standards are no longer adequate. Family budgets reflect a range of alternatives requiring an increasing amount of cash expenditure on goods made outside of the community. Because of land limitations, these new preferences are met by wage labor rather than increases in the size of the farm. The new enterprises discussed in the following chapter provide the income streams which are disrupting the present distribution of wealth and the social system based on it. 434 177 464

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by the company truck to replenish supplies they bring with them. Most of the workers are young men in their twenties and thirties. They return Saturday evening in a truck supplied by the company and go back to work on Monday morning. Weekly wage payments have upset the usual controls over budget management. Money earned from crops is handled by women. The sawmill workers have resisted passing over their paychecks to their wives or mothers, and several court cases have been precipitated as a result (Appendix 2b).

All of the work in which men are engaged outside of the community is voluntarily undertaken for cash compensation. Formerly, forced labor of two kinds was frequently demanded of the Indians: communal labor in the neighboring ladino town when Tzo'ontahal was an *agente municipal* of that town, and work in neighboring fincas for wages of 50 cents a day. Forced communal work came to an end when the town became an independent municipio in 1931, and the labor roundups at substandard wages were ended when Indians became conscious of their rights guaranteed in the *Ley Federal del Trabajo* in the late 30s. Copies of the *Colección Jurídica Ley Federal del Trabajo* are sold in the departmental marketplace along with the *Codigo Agraria*. Awareness of their rights as workers is concomitant with increasing entry into wage labor employment outside of the local community. As yet, Indians do not have any organized labor interest groups to champion their rights. The Commissioner of Indian affairs in the departmental capital is an intermediary in individual cases that arise. But wage levels and conditions of work are set in a free market in which the Indian's only control is to refuse to work.

The few special occupations in the town, such as butchering, caponizing, weaving bags, carpentry, and midwifery, have never developed into full-time professions.[2] The failure of the development of specialization is related to the tradition of ritual offerings of gifts of liquor and consumables and to the lack of a marketplace in the town.

Most of the livestock raised in the town is sold to butchers of the neighboring town because of lack of storage or of market facilities for the meat. Pigs and bulls are slaughtered in town only on the occasion of a celebra-

2. Curing is treated in a separate chapter since it is an exceptional case of specialization related to social control.

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up with a swayohel. One man near San Vicente said his friend went there to ask for one. Next day, the enemy died. One man who went there said when he woke up he was sure he had gained a swayohel. He had dreamed of two animals. "Are they my swayoheles?" he asked. They were jaguars. 756 776

When he got to his house, the same two animals came. They thought about how to get his enemies. But when the jaguars had killed his enemies, they were not content. Then they went on to kill many people. Finally the man was shot. The spirits of all those who die as a result of a swayohel received from ?Ahau go to him after their death. [775]

Curers are classified as potentially good or dangerous on the basis of what kind of swayohel they have. Good curers have swayoheles of animals which eat leaves or grass—horses, sheep, bulls, or other herbivorous animals. Potentially dangerous curers have the souls of carnivorous animals —vultures, dogs, cats, mountain lions, coyote, and others. They may not use these swayoheles for evil, but possession of such a soul is a basis for suspicion. Usually the curers keep secret the nature of their swayohel, but sometimes when they are drunk they brag about its power. Good swayoheles fly or walk straight down the main roads of the town, while evil swayoheles lurk at the outskirts of the settled area. 756

Only one woman has a swayohel and practices curing. She is reputed to have acquired her swayohel in the following manner: 756 159 562

There was a woman named Andrea Ča?il and another named Fernanda Ča?il. They were not sisters, but they were of the Ča?iletik. Fernanda died. She was a true elder woman, a very strong woman. She lived in Madronal and Andrea lived in the center.

One day Andrea said, "Let us go collect wood," to two girls.

"Let's go," said the girls. "Where shall we get the wood?"

"Let's go in the woods behind Madronal," replied Andrea. "Let's go."

The women arrived in the mountain to cut wood. When they had the wood, Andrea said she saw a mulberry bush. "Let us eat some berries," she said.

Andrea went to the mulberry bush. She saw a white ball of Čiłol *under the bush. "What kind of an animal is that?" she asked.*

The girls looked at it and said, "We don't know."

756 *Andrea told them to go and eat the mulberries and she would see what*
159 *kind of an animal it was. The animal said, "Come here." But when they*
562 *got there, there was no animal.*

In two or four days, people asked them, "What kind of an animal did you see?"

"It was a dog that we saw. Not a real dog, but the soul of the dead Fernanda. Andrea caught it," the girls said.

"Did you truly see where it was?" the people asked.

"I caught it," said Andrea.

"Why did you catch it," the girls asked.

"I caught it because it is a pity it died. Since there is no one to take it, I grabbed it because it made me sad that she [Fernanda] died."

Now Andrea is a me? u?ul [woman curer]. She fights sickness because she has this extra soul.

756 Ordinarily, soul-catching is dangerous since it is seizure of power which has not been granted at birth by the me?iltatil. Andrea, however, has never been accused of doing harm, and people emphasize that she did it out of sympathy for her dead kinswoman.

756 There is some sentiment that curers should not enter too young into the
578 curing profession. If they do, they should be extremely deferential to the elder curers, and not claim greater powers. The informant quoted above
[754] concerning the initiation of her husband into the curing profession maintains that the older curers did not support her husband when he was accused as a witch because of jealousy of his youth.

159 *My husband was very young when he entered curing. He had gone to*
756 *cure in the house of a man living near Domingo [his enemy]. Domingo*
578 *saw him come out drunk. He had a companion, Lorenzo. About eight*
683 *people gathered. They put a nail in his jaws. He lived three nights. He told me who did it. I went to the cabildo with my father. They got many witnesses to deny they had been near. It was during the fiesta of Carnival.*

My father and I spoke with the authorities in Las Casas. But nothing was done. I did not know how to speak well in Spanish; I went and spoke to Domingo. He told me, "It was your husband's own fault."

"What crime did he have?" I asked.

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794 tween civil and religious authorities. They are in charge of the fiestas for the saints whom they represent: San Francisco, San Pedro the Martyr, Santa Lucía, and Sacramento. The internal ranking of this set of officials is based on time of entry. This varies in the annual cycle since the new alférez enters just before the fiesta for which he will be responsible. He will be expected to give deference to the three who have preceded him during [192] the year. The terms applied to this fluctuating ranking system in order of highest to lowest are *hilon ta pasaro* (remains as past), *pasaro* (past official), *sčebal ʔalʼ ʔalperes* (second new alférez), and *ʔalʼ ʔalperes* (new alférez).

794 Outside of the traditional religious hierarchy are roles performed by
• 562 functionaries on the basis of specific skills. These include the fiscal, assistant to the priest, and the *meʔeletik*, women who serve as prayer-reciters. The fiscal takes orders from the priest when the latter is in town, and in the absence of the priest he directs the activities of the mayordomos within the church. He is chosen on the basis of his knowledge of Spanish and willingness to perform the priests' bidding. He remains in office as long as he wishes, or until he is forcibly retired by the priest or by the mayordomos. When retired, he has an ex officio role saying prayers at funerals, and is often called upon for house ceremonies and as godfather in baptisms. The retired fiscales attend mass more often than the rest of the townspeople and sit in the front near the altar. The prayer-reciters are usually widowed or single women of the town whom the lay sisters have organized as support in responding to the catechism.

621 794 The officials who have served in five posts in the civil hierarchy and six posts in the religious hierarchy become *pasaroetik*, the Tzeltal rendering [192] of *pasados* or former officials. Any one of these men may be eligible to serve as one of two principales, one chosen from Alannantik and one from Ahk'olnantik. They remain in office until they are too old to serve or until death. Each of the outlying barrios has two principales chosen from among men who have served in office.

Entry Into and Exit from Office

621 The constitution assures local autonomy in the election of civil officials.
666 The officials of Tzoʔontahal, including the two principales, president,

796 body was washed. The confusion may come not from error, but from an
539 identification of the patron saints with Jesus. The importance of the story
273 is that liquor, as the gift of the gods, is the medium for releasing people from their fears.

796 The small fiestas are the responsibility of only the two mayordomos, the
794 elder and the junior, who are assigned to the saint. They ring the church bells, light the candles, and play the drum and flute until noon. In the large fiestas all the mayordomos are active, as well as the fiscal and the priest, the prayer-reciters, and formerly the alfereces. The entire pueblo participates in the mass given at the large fiestas and assembles to "see the saints" when they emerge in the procession.

The proceedings of the fiesta take place in the church and the church yard, the house of the cofrade of the major saint whose fiesta it is, the plaza, and formerly, the house of the alférez of that saint. In each of these domains different sets of actors are tied together by acts performed in carrying out responsibilities to the saints. The chain of command is established in each setting: in the church the mayordomos are directed by the fiscal; in the household the eldest nakawane orders the b'alnial and re-
[562] ceives the visitors with the pat'o'tan. He is the master of ceremonies, as in all household gatherings, and his female counterpart is the woman speaker. She orders the women helpers in the preparation of the food, which is then served by the b'alnialetik. Religious officials hold ceremonies in their houses only after they have served five times in office.

796 In the household, religious ceremonies replicate civil ceremonies. A mouthwash is served, followed by coffee and bean tamales, another round of mouthwash, an offering of thanks for the liquor by the nakawane, and
[534] a serving of liquor. Musical instruments played in the household differ from those of the church yard: a guitar and gourd rattle provide the accompaniment to the drinking episode here. Fiestas held in the household of the alfereces were terminated with a dance.

Choosing and Installing the Alférez

794 Formerly the alfereces were the chief figures in maintaining the fiesta
178 cycle. During my stay in 1964 and 1965 the officials were experiencing

794 796 *guests. They borrowed benches from neighbors; they cut juniper and prepared the resting place for the sacred banner; they borrowed seed-gourd rattles and two tables, and they adorned the house with pine branches and fruit. In the afternoon, all the relatives, the compadres, and the neighbors were invited. Two alisiles were appointed (this term is probably a Tzeltal rendition of* alguacil, *in Spanish an office corresponding to high bailiff or peace officer). The alisiles were charged with watching to see that neither the new alférez nor either of his two guitarists got too drunk to carry out his functions.*

794 796 535 562 *The two alisiles called out the women to dance, first asking permission of the woman speaker. The dance was the most important act in the set of performances on the third day, which was sometimes referred to as the "afternoon of the big dance." The dance was a highly charged event because the women were for the first time cast in a public role. Fear and* [626] [154] *shame, the two conditioning mechanisms of socialization in Tzo?ontahal, had to be overcome when the women became involved in the dance. Special precautions were taken: the alisil formally requested the woman speaker to take the women out:*

[539] *Lord, women who nursed us, give pardon with God, the Virgin Mother. Give holy pardon mother and father with God and with the Virgin Mother. We have gathered here, collected together your child, your offspring, where it is not very pretty, not very flavorful, at the door of your holy poverty, holy suffering, for the holy office, the holy prayer. Again our clay, our mud comes to speak here to the mothers who nursed, who give us fear and embarrassment.*

Then the alfereces took off their hats and kerchiefs and brought them to the women. This act was described by an informant: "The women cover their heads with the kerchief and put on the hat. The girls want the handkerchief and the hat of their husbands in order not to be ashamed to be seen by a boy. They want the kerchief to hide their faces. If they do not want the hat, it is when they are mature women and do not have shame. The wives of the alfereces do not have shame because it is their job." The use of the kerchief which was draped over their head, partially covering

their eyes, the posture of dance in which they clasped their hands at their stomach-band—all of these manifested the shame that they were overcoming. Whether they really felt the shame or not was irrelevant since they were being judged in terms of their behavior. The wives circled around with a two-step, their eyes downcast and their hands clasped over their stomach-bands, while their husbands stepped up and down in place in a ring around them, shaking the gourd rattle and joking. 794 796 535 562

When the dancing was terminated, a joking session was initiated by the nakawane. The signal for this was the lighting of the first round of cigarettes. Smoking, like drinking, was required of everyone and was rarely indulged in privately. The women sometimes put aside the cigarettes, but they had to accept them. At midnight a meal of bean tortillas and coffee was served. 794 796 {582 276 562 262}

The fourth day (Šlok' Krus). *The four regidores arrived early in the morning to raise the alférez and take him to the cabildo to receive the oath. In this function the regidores were referred to as* personaetik *or "persons." The Spanish term* persona *signifies the exterior appearance by which men of merit were distinguished, and in its Latin derivation persona is the mask by which role is indicated. I think it is in the sense of assuming a new identity that the Indians incorporated the term as a reference for specific roles assumed by the regidores at this time. The alcaldes, or judges, were on this day referred to as* koronaetik, *or colonels. This reference term evoked the military ranking system, as did also the term alférez or captain, and established the relative ranking of the two sets of officials in the cabildo on the day of receiving the banners. The alfereces were given titles to indicate the order of their entry into office. The seating order of the four in the cabildo followed the succession pattern, with the first to take office sitting nearest to the door.*

The new alférez, with two of his four escorts on either side, sat on the visitor's bench along with the higher officials, themselves once alfereces. The first regidor, or persona, addressed the first judge with the pat?o?tan. The fourth regidor distributed a liter of trago to the assembled officials, first to the judges, then the president and síndico, the alfereces, the person-

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towns and explain small-scale change over short periods of time. The con- 128
textual description of behavioral details may eventually overcome the lack of replicable events available to laboratory science. By specifying all the conditions of the ritual, it is possible to separate the unique from the patterned components. At one level, the analysis consists in indicating the repetitive patterns and the continuity of beliefs which these exemplify. At another level, rituals can be analyzed as psychodramas in which the individual adopts a social role. The dialectical connection between the new official and his role is established in the obligations he carries out.

When people are asked "why" something is done, they continually shift 796
between the social and psychological levels. "We do this because it was the 829
custom of our ancestors," they will frequently say. When pressed further, they reduce their level of response to the individual, saying, "The women don their husband's ceremonial hat because they wish to hide their face because of embarrassment." Both answers are true interpretations, differing only in the level of social complexity at which the enquiry is directed. One can go farther in elaborating the latent significance of the ritual acts. To 796
continue with the same example, the dance drawing the wife into a public 829
performance was performed because, as one informant said, "she too has 562
done work for the fiesta" (she made pottery to raise the money). The dance gains the favor of the saints, as is demonstrated in the Virgin's tactics with the Devil, and in the curing rituals with the spirits of the house and of the springs. Dancing establishes a relationship to the group: the women dancing in the center of the circle formed by their husbands revolving around them are incorporated as an integral part of a sacred social unit.

Rituals provide a key to the psychic dynamics of the group since they 796
deal with these explicitly. The ritual acts are predicated on expected indi- 154
vidual responses. For example, since liquor overcomes embarrassment,[5] it 273

5. Bennett and Zingg (1937) have stated the even more dramatic social significance of liquor among the Tarahumara. Social intercourse in this mountain tribe is impossible without liquor. Conditioned as they are in isolated nuclear family groups to retreat at the sign of an outsider, the Tarahumara need something to relax their embarrassment and fear in large gatherings. Landa (Tozzer 1941) has commented at length on the compulsory drinking at ceremonials of the Yucatecan Maya. [101]

121 write beliefs that give coherence to these roles. Whether these events continue to be scheduled, and in the process of being presented "prove" the postulates upon which structural relationships are based, depends upon acceptance of the belief system.

183 A fundamental understanding governing behavior in Tzoʔontahal is that people ought to do as the ancestors did. Both "knowing" and "re-
[192] membering" are expressed by the same verb, *ya sna,* while "learning" and "memorizing" are expressed by the verb *ya snop*. The behavioral corollary of this association between knowing and remembering is that one should accept the word of the ancestors as a guide to behavior. The importance of obeying one's elders as the intermediaries in the transfer of ways of behaving from one generation to another is stressed in child training and is restated in the prayers uttered at ritual performances enacting the ways of the ancestors.

128 In this chapter I shall consider the integration of behavior based on roles, personality, codes of morality and etiquette, and the ideological and behavorial changes which are disturbing this system.

The Role System

554 621 182 Coherence of the role system in Tzoʔontahal depends upon (1) similar premises for role recruitment and continuity in transition from one role to another; (2) alternation in office and linkage of separate domains by special offices; and (3) standardized etiquette of role interaction. Uniform standards of evaluation of performance provide a sanctioning system ensuring social integration.

561 554 562 *Recruitment and transition.* Relative and chronological age combined with consideration of sex are the fundamental principles for assigning role categories. The age principle categorizes the entire town in role pairs of respect and deference. Sex differentiation is not made in children until after infancy. An infant of either sex is called *ʔunin,* also a term for
[192] the new moon, until the age of eight months. The sex of parent rather
[601] than that of the child is designated: a woman calls her offspring *ʔalal* whether boy or girl, and a man calls his offspring *nil'an*. Sex distinction is

made in speaking of toddlers: boys are called *htatil* and girls *kantzil*. After five years of age, a boy is referred to as *č'in kerem*, "little boy" and a girl as *č'in ʔačil*, "little girl." The term for younger sibling, *kihtz'in*, which is extended to all of the people younger than oneself on one's own side of the dual division, is not sex marked, but the terms for all people older than oneself are. Sexual segregation begins at the age of five in sleeping arrangements as well as in public gatherings, when little boys stand with their fathers. The modifier "č'in" is dropped after the age of nine, and the terms "kerem" and "ačil" are used until marriage. At the age of fifteen, a girl is referred to as *ʔantz wiltal*, "just arriving at womanhood," and when she is married she is classified as an *ʔantz*, or woman. A boy is referred to as a kerem until he is married, when he is called *ač' winik* or "new man." A woman with children is referred to as *meʔelil*, and is a full-fledged member of her sex, the *meʔil*. A man's reference term does not change with paternity. When a young unmarried man dies, people say with sorrow that it was a pity "he did not try out life," and that "he did not try out a woman."

In her youth a woman's role is tied to the reproductive cycle, but after menopause she is released from the restrictions of childbearing women. She need not appear as modest in public, and can drink and dance at fiestas. A noticeable personality change can be seen as women move out of the chrysalis of their reproductive cycle. Some older women begin to take a keen interest in sex, and widows in particular may have sexual relations with young unmarried men. It is after menopause that a woman takes her first role in ceremonials as a woman speaker.

In the man's life cycle, leadership roles are related to age. Paternal roles are the prototype for both familial and public authority positions. Thus the term for father, *tat* is the stem for the term for leader, *statal*.

In the relationship between the sexes, women are considered to be under the control of a male protector, either their father or husband. However, there is a kind of equality between the sexes which is not found in Ladino society. Usually there is only a small age difference between husband and wife, even in second marriages, and parents resist giving a young unmarried girl to an older previously married man. Mutual respect is stressed in the advice given by elders at marriage. There is no double standard for ex-

593 There is no double standard for ex-
562 tramarital sexual relations, although men abuse the prohibition more often
[837] than women, judging from court cases. The ability the women has to assert herself rests on her economic contribution in pottery-making and on the fact that female household help is not part of the labor market.

562 Female sexuality has the connotation of negative power over male sexu-
831 ality. A woman should not step over a man's feet or his clothing since she
[829] could affect his virility. This negative power emanates from the odors of a
[825] woman's body, and is captured by anything in contact with it. A woman's
[755] skirt cast over the head of a bull can tame him, and the water used by a
[752] woman to wash her body, particularly the vagina if she has had children, is drunk to cure snake bites because it is very "cold."

[412] Sexuality is seldom extended beyond persons to material objects. There is some feeling that a man's tools, especially the machete and hoe, are male
[241] and that a woman's tools, especially the grinding stone, are female. Corn is a crop of men, while beans are a woman's crop, identified with the Virgin. But I could not get much farther with such distinctions.

593 The accidents of birth determine the recruitment of successive genera-
597 tions into the family of orientation. There is no outright adoption, but a
861 child may be "lent" to a childless couple, usually by a sibling of one of the
[603] spouses, or a grandchild may take up residence in the house of a grandparent when all the children have moved to separate residences. Parents discipline a badly behaved child with the threat, "I am going to sell you to care for someone's house," but I have never known of a case of outright sale of a child.

581 The selection of a spouse is a decision based on both universalistic as
582 well as particularistic considerations. Both the boy and the girl should be hardworking, sober, and dutiful residents of the same section of the dual division. It is considered to be of greater importance that the boy feel af-
[562] fection toward the girl than vice versa. The "taking of the heart" is a test of the strength and exclusiveness of the boy's interest in his chosen mate, and there is no counterpart for the girl. Although there is no term for romantic love, the closest approximation being "want" or "ask for" a woman, there is an awareness of the importance of a warm, affectionate basis if a marriage relationship is to last "at least until the day after tomorrow." A suitor is accepted if he is known to be a hard worker and if he

does not drink or have a record of fighting. Character traits are given 581
more significance than wealth, since the minimal differences which distin- 582
guish rich from poor can be lost within a few months if a man drinks
heavily or does not work. The close identification among siblings means [593]
that in accepting a suit the girl's parents will take into consideration not only the boy's reputation, but those of his brothers. If they are considered to be disobedient, lazy, or frequently drunk, their brother may have difficulty finding a woman.

Positions of ceremonial importance in the household celebrations are 794
filled by any of the elders who have acquired knowledge of the prayers. 592
The nakawanehetik are chosen from among any of the bilaterally-ex- 782
tended relatives, compadres, or padrinos who have served five times in reli- 555
gious office. They are selected not only on the basis of how well they 561
know the prayers, but also on their behavior when required to drink. A [273]
man who can hold his liquor and still speak well or who quietly goes to sleep rather than fighting when drunk is preferred. The me?il k'op is selected from among the female complements of these male relatives. She acquires her knowledge of the prayers in familial settings. The b'alnialetik are chosen from the kihtz'inal (younger siblings and cousins), or from among compadres or members of neighboring households. The rank order between the two sets of roles—the nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik—depends on relative age; thus the older nakawanehetik have greater authority.

Familial roles provide both a pattern and a springboard for other roles 621
in the community. The father-son role pair is extended to the relationships 593
between senior and junior officials in both the religious hierarchy and the 561
curing hierarchy. For each saint, the elder mayordomo is called "father" 794
(*Tatil Martoma*), and the younger is called "son" (*Nic'nal Martoma*). A 192
man must fill the junior post at least two times before taking on the senior post. For each side of the dual division, the elder curer (when there was a [756]
recognized leader) was called "father" (*Tatil ?u?ul*), and the younger was called "son" (*Nic'nal ?u?ul*) or sometimes "youth" (*Biktal ?u?ul*). The term *me?il* (woman who has borne a child) is used in the reference 621
to ceremonial roles played by women in the household, as in the case of 592
me?il k'op (woman speaker) and me?il č'om (mother of the betrothal). 562

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square. Although this conception is contradicted by knowledge learned in school, the two concepts are not brought into direct opposition. The town still defines the outer limit of most meaningful social relations, and most people are not forced by the circumstances of their lives to deal with an understanding of the world as round. It is enough that the four "sides" of their village be protected by crosses at the points of entry. The important orientation points are the east, referred to as the "coming out of the sun," and the west, referred to as "the sleeping place of the sun." North and south are referred to as lowland and highland because of the topography. Compass orientation is important behaviorally only at death. The body of the deceased is laid out in the cemetery with the head to the east. Indians comment that the Ladinos lay the body out with the head to the west, but Indians of other towns, such as Zinacantan, also do so. The cemetery is located on the western side of the town.

The House

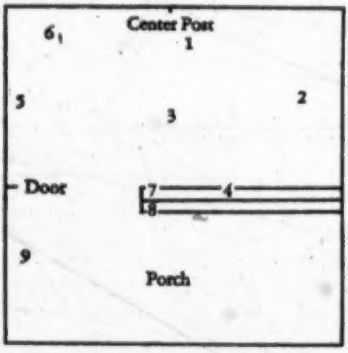
The reference to the house in prayer as "the entry to suffering, inside the poverty" suggests the "cult of poverty" which Wolf (1955:459) points out as characteristic of closed corporate Indian communities. Most people conform to a standard house size of five square meters subdivided into an interior sleeping and living area and a porch (Fig. 8). The walls are made of mud strengthened with lime packed in a framework of poles supported on nine main posts. The roofs are pitched with four sheds rising steeply to a truncated ridge. Tiles are used in most new houses to cover the roof, but there are still many thatched palm or wooden shingle roofs. Corn and beans are stored in the rafters under the eaves of the house.

Inside the house, beds line the two side walls. If there is no cooking shack separate from the house, the hearth is placed in the center of the interior room. The grinding stone, raised on three posts, is placed to the left of the center post.

The porch is the area for ceremonial gatherings and for making and storing pottery. A table with the pictures of household saints set against the inside wall, is adorned with flowers and candles. During house fiestas, men sit on the benches lining the four walls of the porch, while the women sit inside in a semicircle.

342 women sit inside in a semicircle. A house without a closed-in porch is re-
[196] ferred to as a "cattle house" since it is considered inadequate for entertain-
[621] ing guests at ceremonial affairs. Townspeople prefer to choose as higher
[574] officials those who have houses with porches to accommodate visitors.

Fig. 8. Interior of a House



1. Seat of honor for women
2. Bed area for women of house
3. Hearth
4. Bench area for relatives of house
5. Bench area for visiting men
6. Mats or wooden board for visiting women
7. Honor seat for men (when inside house)
8. Honor seat for men outside house
9. Resting areas for male helpers

592 Each member of the household has his place for sleeping, eating, and sit-
[513] ting. The youngest child sleeps with his parents, and older children sleep with siblings of the same sex or with their grandparents. Newly married couples living with their parents prefer to sleep in the cook shack if there
[264] is a separate structure. At mealtime, men and boys sit on small wooden
[352] chairs at a miniature table placed against the wall separating the interior from the porch, while women and girls kneel on straw mats near the hearth.

342 Reference points inside the house (Fig. 8) are the center post where the
352
562
574
796

meal for the house is buried in the inauguration ceremony (Chapter 1) and the door. Left and right are orientation points viewed from inside facing the door. Women of the house sit on mats near the center post. Female visitors occupy the mats to the left of the post and male visitors sit on benches lining the right wall and the interior wall. If it is a large ceremony for the ritual of inauguration or a celebration by the captain of a fiesta, only women enter the house, and the men sit on borrowed benches lining the walls of the porch. 342 352 562 574 796

Relative age is indicated by position in the seating arrangement. For women the seat of honor, occupied by the oldest woman present, is at the center post; other women of the household sit on a straw mat or board in order of descending age clockwise around the room. This order is modified by the presence of the grandmother who, if not a woman speaker, retires to the left (facing door from inside) corner. Visiting women sit to the right of the center post with the oldest immediately next to the post and those decreasing in age and stature to her right. For men, the seat on the bench nearest the door to the interior is called the "head of the bench"; this is the seat of the leading nakawane. The rest of the nakawanehetik sit along this bench in order of age. On the bench facing them sits the house owner, with his brothers and other visitors to his right in an age-ranked order. The b'alnialetik sit on the right wall bench. 342 352 561 562 574

Since prestigeful roles are usually a concomitant of age, especially in the house ceremonies, there is seldom conflict between age and role status. When conflict does occur, it is only seen at the top level; thus, the grandmother if not active because of age, retires to the corner while the woman speaker, who must order the women in the kitchen and receive visiting dignitaries, takes over this position. I have seen the leader of the ʼom take precedence over the leader waiter who was older, because of the important role of the former. 342 561 554 [574]

When the family is carrying out a ritual, it is felt that the house should never be left vacant. The role of the "waiters" (maliwanehetik) is specifically that of remaining in the house while others of the celebrants are involved in ritual acts outside of the house. When the members of the betrothal party go to the girl's house, for example, the waiters are left behind; or when the patient leaves with the curer and some of the curing 342 796 [584] [755]

building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office.

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist.

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first.

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient portable typewriter. Since typing is a new skill for him, he makes many errors, and his retrials are accepted with patience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

The townspeople feel that they own the church, and many resent the intrusion of the priest who resides sometimes two or three days a week in the adjoining rectory. In the past five years, however, the priest has succeeded in asserting more control over the church: he has forbidden drinking in the church or in the courtyard, a prohibition that resulted in an open confrontation with the leading cofrade (Chapter 9); and he now controls the keys to the church and to the money boxes, formerly the responsibility of the fiscal. The two lay sisters who are in residence during the week hold the keys and are in charge of the upkeep of the church. 346 793 794 177 178

People always show respect for the church by removing their hats as they pass the entrance, even when they are at a distance. As they enter the church, they always kneel and cross themselves. They may spit on the floor of the church, for this is not a sign of disrespect. 346 575 788 [514]

The complementarity of church and cabildo is still formally recognized in ceremonial events: participants bow to the church and then to the cabildo during processions. The transfer of sacred symbols from one locale to the other at the time of the inauguration of civil and religious officials ceremonially signifies the integration of civil and religious authority, despite the growing separation in day-to-day functions in each of the domains. 621 794 182

The church serves as a staging platform for the images and symbolic offerings to them in the annual cycle of ceremonies. During the nine days of ceremony accorded to the major saints, their images are moved to the center of the altar or to the center of the nave. The staging effects are particularly notable during the fiesta of Holy Week, when the reenactment of the crucifixion is performed in the nave. The mayordomos, under the direction of the fiscal and the lay sisters, move the saints about and prepare adornments of flowers and pine needles. 346 796 [794]

The church is the locus for the weekly mass given by the priest. The men stand on the left side of the church (facing the altar), while the women kneel or sit on the floor to the right. A few benches near the altar are occupied by the Ladinos of the area who attend the mass. The lay sisters indicate to the congregation when they should kneel and rise in response to the cues of the sermon or mass. [562] [563] [794]

In addition to these scheduled events, the church serves as a locus where 346 776 782

346 776 782 individuals can visit the saints on their own personal missions. Appendix 3A records the visits of groups and individuals on an ordinary Sunday. Their actions in the church are part of the standardized behavior incumbent upon all those who enter the building.

Communication with the saints is ensured either by touching and kissing their images or, if the images are enclosed in glass cases, by tapping the gl with offerings of money. It is believed that one gains an audience [562] by pay..ng for it. When groups larger than individual clusters of visitors enter the church, sexual segregation is observed (for example, when a male child enters with his mother on the occasion of a mass, he remains with her until more people arrive, then leaves her to stand on the male [788] side of the nave). Ritualized wailing is done by women only. After such a [152] demonstration the women show normal composure, since wailing is a standardized mode of communication, not an outburst of uncontrolled emotion. It is private and concerns the individual wailer and the saint to which she appeals; none of the other visitors in the church indicates any sign of response to these displays. Unless there is a focused activity going [794] on, such as a mass or series of baptisms, each visiting group is an autonomous unit, carrying out its own mission.

794 People visit the church most commonly in pairs of two. They congre- 571 gate for mass in a pattern in which women and children enter first, and 562 men, who linger in the plaza until the church is partially filled, enter in clusters and take their places on the male side of the nave. The religious and civil officials enter last, and the mayordomos, whose attendance is one of the obligations of their post, move toward the altar at the front. Men attend church less frequently than do women.

The School

346 Unlike the church, the school is regarded as an alien structure. Assist- 621 ance in reconstruction and maintenance is given under pressure rather 875 than voluntarily. Until fairly recently, schoolteachers too remained unin- [177] grated in the community. In the early years of the school's existence, there [178] was a rapid turnover of teachers. The employment of a schoolmaster with a wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The school has be-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

876 den on the teacher already laboring with the barrier in communication. Despite these difficulties, the children manage to learn the basics of reading, writing, arithmetic, and Spanish in four years of schooling. The [875] teachers are devoted and spend at least seven hours in the classroom each day.

872 524 During the recess period the children play individual competitive games except when organized games are introduced by one of the teachers. There is a tendency toward ganging up on weaker individuals in fights, that occur, but I have never seen signs of marked brutality. Since the Ladino children are a small minority in the school (there are no more than a [563] half a dozen among the three hundred and twenty-four students) the Indian children do not face the discrimination found in schools with a greater proportion of Ladinos (cf. Romney and Romney 1966).

876 Discipline is no longer as strict as it was in the early years of public education. The teacher allows someone who has been hit to hit the aggressor but does not herself intercede. Threat of punishment may be made by the teacher, but I have never seen it carried out, and it is never suggested as a solution to failure to learn.

571 561 554 In comparing the domestic, civil, and religious domains of activities, the following features emerge:

[592] [562] [621] 1. In each domain, a hierarchy of power is present. In the house, males take precedence over females, and older members over younger. In the cabildo, the power hierarchy takes the form of a rank order coordinate with age in most of the offices, while in the schoolhouse, power is polarized with all authority vested in the schoolteacher. In the church, [875] the conflict between the priest and the cofrades (Chapter 9) has not [794] been resolved. Within the ranks of the mayordomos, relationships between the elder and junior mayordomo establish a graded ranking system (Chapter 8).

571 554 576 2. Behavior in each domain is standardized. Relative rank is reflected in seating order, greeting order, and drinking order. Autonomous behavior is most marked in the domain of the church. Focused interaction is predominant in the school, where order and control are based on absorbing the attention of the child in a learning task.

3. Categories of role-bearers sit and act together in all the domains. 571
In the home the me'eletik, the nakawanehetik, and the b'alnialetik have 554
established seats and act in concert. Similarly in the cabildo, four ranks 576
of officials, the principales, judges, regidores, and police, move and act together. In the church, elder and younger mayordomos move in pairs of two.

4. Sexual segregation is present in the home, the church, and the 562
cabildo, but is lacking in the school. This rejection of the community 871
standard for a group situation was the basis for some parents holding 177
their children out of school until coerced by the federal authorities 178
backed by the local officials.

5. Attendance in all domains involves coercion as well as voluntary action. Coercion is most marked in the school, but resistance by the parents to forced attendance and mixing of the sexes is fast wearing down in this domain. In the cabildo, the defendant is required to attend the court hearing and may even be jailed if he does not pay the fines charged against him. Coercion is covert in the home; the lack of alternative housing arrangements makes residence in the household of orientation or of procreation mandatory.

6. Sacred symbols are present in all the domains. The symbols of the cabildo and of the school relate the community to the nation with the national flags and the portraits of the president. The canes of [293]
office which are assumed as each official acquires office are symbols of local authority. The universalistic symbols of the church—the saints im- 778
ages, portraits, and banners—are acquired from Catholic orthodoxy, but 177
have been encapsulated with local sentiments and beliefs. Sacred symbols 178
are treated with respect and avoidance, both in the church and the home. 788
The "holy cross" or banners are touched only with sacred embroidered cloths binding the hands of those who carry them. Saints' images are kissed, but as a mark of respect, not intimacy. The Mexican flag, with 186
which less awe is associated, is saluted.

Each of the domains provides a setting for the recognition and valida- 621
tion of authority figures in the community. Values which are communally 177
shared or imposed from outside are formally instilled in these settings. Ex- 178

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

571 805 [584] is accepted. Precipitous action on either side reveals a weakness of which the other party might take advantage, or which might even stop procedures.

Timing of activities is so specific that it can be read as an equation of social relations: People who come to the house after nightfall are either intimate members of the family, or are members of the circle of me'tiktatik invited for a special household celebration—night is the time when spirits wander, not a time for casual visiting. Arrival of the betrothal party at the [584] house of the girl's parents after ten o'clock in the morning indicates that the suit has been accepted.

571 805 554 562 Sequential timing expresses relative prestige and a sense of priority. In "raising" the officials for the official ceremonies, the lowest ranks of officials rise first to go to the house and awaken each of their companions in order of rank. The sequence in serving order has already been discussed with respect to rank and prestige. Another principle of sequence operates at a more subtle level: women go before men when there is expectation of a fight since their presence evokes less hostility. This is evident in the be- [584] trothal: the me? ɛ'om precedes the mam c'om in the initial proceedings [579] when strong resistance and hostility is anticipated. When drunken fights start during house ceremonies, women intercede with calming effect.

641 829 805 Time always is on the side of the Indians when they wish to resist national orders. Verbal agreements to pay fines imposed or to assist federal agents in the capture of criminals are frequently followed by deliberate negligence in carrying out the orders. Usually the order is forgotten or in- [647] terest wanes at a higher level. Government agencies such as the INI learned to bide their time much as the Indians did. Expecting opposition to any proposed change, they waited for the initial reaction to die down, and then proceeded as support from those who benefited overcame internal resistence.

461 464 512 805 When called upon to perform jobs that require regular appointments, the Indians respond easily to the daily scheduling. Resistance comes against scheduled requirements that involve long spans of time and interfere with communal and familial ceremonies. Work away from home is [181] undertaken only on the premise that it will be of limited duration. This control over their own time is a value which Indians will not easily yield.

621
571 man bankil (respect term, "elder brother") the other would be his
576 kiht'zin ("younger brother").

621 Older men are socially superior to younger ones. A man
561 who has passed many cargos has more authority than one who has not
554 served in the community government. A man with many children in a united family commands more respect than a man whose children are embarrassed of him because he is a trouble-maker. A good
562 talker is better thought of than a boring drunkard. The same dif-
561 ferentiation scale, although using some other criteria, also func-
626 tions for women. Elder ladies have enough social status to be permitted to laugh in public while young married wives are expected to keep quiet. A woman known as a "good mother-in-law" collects the rewards of praise of other women. A wife who keeps her husband clean and well fed can visit around and be well received, while a lazy housekeeper would not be welcomed in other women's houses who fear of being judged "by the company they keep."

554 A constellation of factors, therefore, places the indi-
555 vidual in a very particular status position, and his personal
156 skill can increase his prestige or destroy it. Moreover, the
621 total performance of an individual in the totality of his roles
571 can not only increase his general status and gain the approval of his fellow men, but would be an important factor in saving him from witchcraft accusations. A man can try to control as much labor and capital as possible in order to maximize profits from his work and minimize its consumption, as long as he does not create enemies, and insures his prestige in as many dimensions as possible: he can give advice to conflicting parties rather than

241 592 462 Each man tries to cultivate enough food to make his household self-sufficient the whole year around.

241 868 The younger males of a household are initiated into the agricultural work by their fathers and elder brothers who work with the household head in the same fields. Around the age of ten, they are expected to leave grammar school and the children's playground, and to start learning their life trade: the tech- [582] niques of cultivation. No young male is capable of marrying if he is not capable of bearing on his shoulders the economic burden of supporting a household with his labor in the fields.

241 433 434 In addition to producing enough corn for the consumption of his homestead, a man is expected to cultivate some surplus which the household can exchange in the local markets and stores for the manufactured goods and staples which they need: machetes, candles, needles, coffee and various other commodities. Moreover, [464] if the household is in need of extra cash to pay for the expenses of a burial, a wedding, or any other emergency expenditure, he is expected to earn it by selling his labor to other men in the village for wages, or by working for short periods of time in the sugar cane plantation of Puiiltic. (Usually between one and two weeks of wage work will cover such emergencies. See Fig. 5.)

562 The women of Aguacatenango are economically dependent on their male relatives: father, husband, siblings and adult male 462 children. The women have many responsibilities; they are in charge of cooking and cleaning, sewing the family clothes, gathering [231] firewood for the hearth, and educating the young. They are also [241] in charge of feeding the small livestock which is kept in the

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77

166 462 464 [829] women and that Ladino women mistreat their servants. Working in towns is remembered, by those who have done it, as a strange mixture of carefree economic independence and innumerable small humilitations and suffering. Its lack of attractiveness is well reflected in the fact that, from a random sample of sixty-eight households, only fourteen women have worked outside their homes (see Fig. 5).

562 462 434 [464] [275] The only women who are the bread-winners or heads of their homes are forced to do so because they have no male relatives to provide for them. In this case, they have few alternatives open to them, the two most common being: 1) acting as a servant (already discussed above); or 2) selling liquor in their houses to the [558] men of the village. This second occupation is not very well thought of by the villagers, trago sellers being gossiped about as being bold women, "sexy" females who enjoy the company of drunks and men married to other women.

Amatenango

462 323 438 [241] [434] In Amatenango, the division of labor presents a very different picture. The whole village of Amatenango is a pottery factory because, in addition to the household income derived from the agricultural work of the village men, each Amatenango woman is a pottery producer.

Pottery that is made for selling is neither a choice, nor a part-time job, nor an individual specialization, but a town specialty. All women in Amatenango are expected to know how to make pots, and to make them. The women of each household

then, each season is a question mark, an equally unpredictable year of plenty or a lean year.

In Amatenango, when the crop fails or is poor, the income of the villagers can be compensated by producing more pottery. This is obviously not so in Aguacatenango. If hunger threatens the families, the result is a higher migration rate or an increase in the number of men leaving town to work part-time in the fincas. The result of having an alternative form of income within the homestead in Amatenango is that the village keeps its income more balanced year after year, and that the village as a whole has a reputation of being richer than the other communities.

In Aguacatenango, the women are an economic burden. The men are very aware that they themselves "do all the work." Women have long and leisurely afternoons which are spent sitting on their porches grooming, chatting, or visiting. Men complain of this, saying "Women cannot realize how hard a man has to work. They complain of not having this or that, but they do not know. . . ." In Amatenango, on the contrary, women are important producers, men and women sharing, equally, the responsibility of supporting their families.

Thus, in the one case, Aguacatenango, the work of women has a marginal, undeterminate value in an economic milieu in which they have no cultural alternatives to convert their labor into goods or subsistence necessities; in the other case, Amatenango, the labor input of women represents about half of the total productive efforts of the villagers.

184 This contrasting economic picture has many effects in the
562 structuring of social relations because it places the women of the
462 two villages in very different positions with respect to their
434 male relatives, and at crucial points in the life of an individual, determines, to a large extent, his choice of alternative behavior.

It is important to make clear that I am not suggesting that economic factors are the determinant of all social life. The specialization of Amatenango in pottery making is not only an economic, but a social and historical phenomenon as well. The basic economic organization of the villages of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is treated here as a given cultural factor. There is nothing in the ecology of Aguacatenango or Amatenango, or in the economic system itself, that "requires" that the women of the one village should be marginal producers while the women in the other are not.[1] This is a given fact. The factors that determined the present division of labor in the villages are not known to me, and I do not pretend that it is due to some primary economic cause.

128 But, if I take the division of labor and the economic structure of the village as given variables, then I can ask myself to what extent it is followed by adjustments in other cultural norms. It is here where my problem lies.

I am going to attempt to describe, in the rest of this work, how, and under what circumstances, certain social choices which have become normative are related to the economic life of

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[1]Some of the clay deposits are located in Aguacatenango territory. But, Aguacatecos do not exploit them.

184 60 ones, the terminology consistently emphasizes the distinction between direct and collateral relatives. In that sense, and only in that sense, the terminology usage reflects the consistency between the linguistic realm and the non-linguistic behavior realms, a consistency which has been assumed by many anthropologists to be axiomatic.

561 562 The Ordering of Social Relations

In both communities relative age and sex are important in the structuring of social relations within the household and throughout the community. The exact chronological age of an individual is often unknown, but his relative age, with respect to siblings, cousins, relatives and other people who live close by, is always known. Any two individuals can always place each other in terms of seniority or order of birth.

561 Children are classified as those who are still at the mother's breast and cannot walk (husul 'it), small walking children (kosh kerem), pre-adolescents (hc' iel), and adolescents of marriageable age (tek' el). Married men are distinguished by whether they have children, by whether they have or do not have an independent household, and by the number of cargos they have passed in the government. Mature men are classified as still being active in the civil-religious hierarchy or as being pasados. Pasados are separated into those who are just old (mamal) and those who are principales.

858 Little babies and small children are not always counted as part of the household because they die so easily. They can have their souls "stolen" by other children who are still in their

855 the elder child, except that they allow the child some freedom
862 to run around the sitio, or go outside the sitio with other adults
883 in order to go visiting.[1]

The adolescent children, especially those going to school, have complete freedom of movement within the community. They are sent to visit their grandmothers, to deliver little presents, or they are sent to ask for borrowed things. They also bring news and gossip back and forth between households. Their role as [585] messengers is sometimes formalized, as during weddings when children are sent ahead to announce the arrival of the bride, and her family, to the groom's household.

857 Pre-adolescent girls have the responsibility of caring for
868 their younger siblings, and are initiated into the woman's work
• 542 at an early age. They are trained by their mothers in making tortillas, carrying water, sweeping and sewing. They can go visiting on their own, and play outside the home with other girls before and after school, if they are regular school goers.

882 After the first menstruation (and sometimes a little before
562 if they show signs of maturity), they change from the light cotton
[291] skirt into the traditional dark blue nagua (tubular skirt) and red faja (sash), and are considered marriageable (solteritas or tek' el). At this point, they are expected to stay within the homestead grounds, except if they are told to bring water or if they go with compañía (company) to the afternoon rezo (praying

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[1] In extreme cases, when the elder child shows extreme signs of distress (crying long hours and refusing to eat anything), it will be given to a woman relative living in other household, usually the paternal grandmother or a married sister without children. This, however, is extremely rare.

882 562 584 session in Church). Water carrying is associated with courting, and the bachelors stay around the paths that connect the houses of their sweethearts with the well to which they go to fetch water, expecting to receive some indication of acceptance on their part, and if they are literate, to hand them a love letter. Girls, on these occasions, are expected to behave modestly and to be embarrassed. If not, they are usually judged as alocadas (light-headed) and not fit for marriage.

156 571 The concept of tener su compañía runs throughout all activity, at all ages. Having company means protection from the supernatural on a long trip, help around the house, harmonious social relations with age mates and kinsmen, and insurance against loneliness. Older women who are left alone in a house for several days will "borrow" a younger girl, a son's daughter for example, to keep them company, and a young wife going to market or to get firewood is usually expected to find company to do so. If not, [1153] she can well meet a strange man on the road, and get sick from verguenza (sickness assumed to originate from shame at being placed in an anomalous or embarrassing social situation) or espanto (fear and soul loss).

882 562 Boys (kerem and tek' el) do not have as many restrictions of behavior or of movement as girls after puberty, but they are [868] also expected to have their company. They start working with their fathers around the age of ten, depending on their physical strength, but in the beginning, it is not a serious occupation. 883 As soon as they become regular workers, they spend their free 562 573 time with other bachelors and form a compañía or escuadrilla

883 (gang), containing males from the age of about twelve to the time
•562 they marry. They usually sleep together in one of the escuadrilla
573 member's house corridor, and spend long nights playing the harmonica, having corn eating competitions or serenading.

562 A man is not considered a full-fledged community member
885 until he marries and has a child (the word for man and father
851 have the same root: tat), which allows him to take the lower
601 post in the government (policía). The government itself is an
621 age-graded organization in which the kinship terms of elder and
621 younger brother are used reciprocally, and by extension, by of-
561 ficers in lower and higher posts.
601

562 With the passing of time, both men and women increase their
593 status by raising a family and by passing to higher positions in
621 the civil-religious hierarchy. Although women do not participate
794 directly in the government, they have some duties as officer's wives (e.g., ironing the Saint's clothes if their husbands are Mayordomos), and they are called by their husband's titles. A man may resign from office if his wife dies and there is no other adult woman in the household who can take care of her part of the officer's performance.

184 The first noticeable difference in the ordering of social
562 relations in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women
592 in the domestic group.

184 In Aguacatenango, the eldest male is the head of the
562 household. He controls the land which the men of the household
462 work, the cattle, the labor of the household members and most of
592 the money obtained through the sale of surplus corn (which is

184 562 462 592 used as a cash crop) or livestock. He decides when and where to plant what, who should buy or sell any household property, when to go to market, etc. If a son is living with his father, he 592 593 562 can talk about "our cow," but he is usually referring to his father's animal. In the same way, when a woman who is single talks about "our maize," she is referring to the maize cultivated by her father and brothers and stored by her mother. If she is married, she means the maize produced by her father-in-law and husband, and controlled by her mother-in-law.

592 593 562 [606] The eldest woman in the household has authority over the younger females residing within it, including the daughter-in-law, because during the period in which a married man resides with his parents, the wife, being the younger, is under the direct [251] authority of her husband's mother. The elder woman controls the food given to her by her husband and son, and she keeps it stored in the tapanco (roof granary). She selects the food for the meals, and sets up the housekeeping schedule for the younger women in the homestead.

592 593 434 562 Women "keep" the money that their husbands earn at home. They are supposed to save it, and not spend any of it without the husband's permission. They do control small amounts of cash which they can obtain by selling eggs, fruits or some vegetables that they grow in the garden. They are allowed to spend it on some luxuries: new clothes for a fiesta, a new pot, or something similar, but they are not expected to take care of themselves.

59 562 Before marriage, a woman is supported by her father and brothers, and lives under her father's roof. After marriage, she is

59 supported by her husband and father-in-law, and lives under their
•562 roof. If the husband dies, she is supposed to go back to live
[606] with her parents as she did when she was single or live with a mature son who becomes responsible for her welfare and has some authority over her, as can be seen in the following example.

159 A woman had two sons by her first husband, the elder of
593 which, at the time of the events related here, was married. The
581 first husband died, and the woman married another man with whom
586 she had another son. After a period of common residence, the second marriage broke up. The woman bought some land for a house, saving money for it by working in San Cristóbal and selling trago. She lived in this house with her married son and his wife.

The father of the last child (second marriage) offered to give the boy some new clothes. Before the woman accepted them, she asked her elder son's permission. The clothes were accepted because the woman's son said: "He is his father, and he should give clothes to his son."

592 The bases for the structure of the social relations within
561 the household are relative age, sex, kinship proximity to the
562 household head, and economic responsibility for the upkeep of the
602 unit. Elder men have more authority than younger men; elder women more than younger ones. Men have more authority than women (perhaps, on some occasions, with the exception of the mother), and finally, agnatic kin of the household head have more authority
59 than affinals. The result of this ordering of power within the
606 household is that a daughter-in-law is at the bottom of the

159 come back when the father was home because not even he could sell
592 the pig without his consent. The Ladino was then forced to give up.
437
602 A few days later, Juan sold the pig according to his own plans. He kept the money, except for a small amount that he gave to his wife and daughter-in-law, in spite of the fact that Maria had fattened the pig, and that it had been previously said that the pig was the young couple's animal.[1]

592 A woman living with her husband in a separate household
593 has some autonomy within it, but she is still subordinate to her
562 husband. She owns little property. A woman may be given a cow
421 when she marries, but her father is not obliged to do so. It is
[231] simply a regalo (present). She does not own agricultural implements. She can not own land or inherit from her husband, except in cases where she is, in effect, keeping the house in trust for her male children, and it has not been claimed by her husband's father or brothers who have primacy rights over such property.

[561] As she grows older, and with the birth of children, her
[851] position becomes somewhat less dependent. She has more prestige in the eyes of her husband's family and other people, and if her marital relation has developed into a strong emotional bond, her interaction with her husband is less subordinate. He would consult

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[231] [1]The animals are usually said to "belong" to one particular
[421] woman in the household. However, this does not mean that she has
[562] property rights over it; it only means that she is the person in charge of feeding it. Thus, the expression el cochi de María (María's pig) means the pig which María has the responsibility to feed every day, and it does not assume that she can sell it, kill it for meat, or do anything about it without the consent of the head of the household.

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421 her before making important decisions, and allow her to handle some of the household property, such as the selling of pigs.

562
593 But even under the best conditions, the position of a woman is de facto lower than the position of men. If her husband gets drunk and beats her up, she is not supposed to complain, but accept it as part of her role. One of our informants said that once she scolded her husband for drinking, and he said: "I am not
593 asking you for the money." If he is unfaithful, she has no real
586 way of controlling his behavior except by leaving his house, run-
837 ning away to San Cristóbal to work for a few days as a servant or breaking up the marriage.

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562 In Amatenango, the pottery making village, the situation is quite different. First, women are economically independent,
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592 being able to make a living without a male in the household.
421 Second, they control the profits made by the household from the sale of pottery and from the sale of cash crops such as chayotes which they plant in their gardens. In many cases, they own the house in which they live with their husband and children. They contribute as much as their male siblings to the support of the whole domestic group while they were living in their family's home, and it is possible for them to inherit both land and cattle, a fact which reinforces the equivalent standing between women and their male siblings.

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593 Adultery in Amatenango has strong reactive sanctions for
[837] both men and women, and a "wife is considered within her rights to order an erring husband out of the house." "Women do not tolerate

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 ÑV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

184 "Women do not tolerate
593 beating by their husbands, and they frequently seek justice in
692 the local court if this occurs" (Nash, J., 1960:34).

184 In sum, Aguacatenango women have a dependent role all of
562 their lives, while Amatenango women enjoy a freer and more autonomous life. The people of Aguacatenango say that la mujer se debe a su marido y sus criaturas (a woman is indebted, or bound to obey, her husband and her children), while in Amatenango people believe that women are la fuerza en la casa (the authority or power in the home) (Nash, J., 1960:29). This set of contrasting statements sums up, from their own point of view, the different conceptions of the woman's role and position in the domestic group.

184 The second difference between Amatenango and Aguacatenango
592 is the criteria employed in both places for the recruitment of household personnel. Membership in a household implies both (1) a kinship connection with a sponsor who lives in the unit, and (2) economic interdependency.

Membership in a household changes for the individual at crucial times in his life, and changes in age and marital status give a person the right to attach himself or herself to a particular domestic group. An analysis of residence patterns of the two villages shows how, during the developmental cycle of the household, it changes membership and how particular individuals, according to their age, sex, marital status, kinship connection and economic role, are recruited into the unit.

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602 since she is married and living away from them, while the father
757 believes that he did not make a good choice for his son, selecting a bride who is so much of a problem. While a woman is sick, both pairs of parents will bargain endlessly over whose duty it is to pay for the curing. Sometimes, both sets of parents agree on paying half of the cost, and then the woman stays in her husband's compound. But if this is not possible, the shift in responsibility for the woman is symbolically expressed in the shift in residence.

592 Other reasons, of a psychological nature, bring forth
.562 this residential change. The whole system of emotional ties which a woman has created in her lifetime before marriage is broken at the time she changes households to get married. She is thrown into the midst of a group of people, including her husband, whom she hardly knows, and during the first years of marriage she is an outsider in her husband's household. She must work for a woman
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562 she did not know previously, her mother-in-law, and obey her with-
606 out delay. Although previously she worked for her mother, the role of a mother and of a mother-in-law are not equivalent, especially in their affective content.

606 An interesting triadic relationship develops between a
593 woman, her husband and her mother-in-law, in which she is the one with the smallest amount of social power (see Caplow [1956], Mills [1954], for a discussion on the dynamics of triad coalitions). In spite of the large amount of interaction between the two women, the relationship is not one of friendly collaboration.

592 Command and sanctions are in the hands of the mother-in-
593 law. Obedience is expected from the younger woman. There is a
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423
432 this time arrives. The main reason for selling a house is to
[764] pay for the burial of a family member. Most widows, if the house
is not reclaimed by the husband's agnatic kin (who have rights
[428] over the property if there are no mature sons left by the de-
ceased), will sell the sitio to pay for the husband's burial, and
will move to their natal households with their children. Some
sons will sell the house to pay for the burial of a father. The
selling of the house is also a solution for cases of conflicting
inheritance rights. For example, if two brothers claim rights
to it, and if they both agree about it, they will sell it and the
money obtained would be divided among them.

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591 The fission of the compound household into nuclear house-
518 holds is accepted by the villagers as a traditional pattern of
behavior, but residential changes are always expressed in terms
of on-going conflict between the couples residing in the compound.

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592 A father tries to keep his son living with him for as
464 long as possible because he is an emotional as well as an economic
• 562 asset to him. While a man has his son living with him, he has an
unpaid agricultural worker bound to him by emotional and jural
ties and by his economic dependence, and this allows him to maxi-
mize the labor force of the household and, therefore, increase
production notably. At the same time, he is able to control a
relatively larger amount of land for cultivation. If the son
leaves the compound, he is forced to divide the land holdings
under cultivation and to give him a parcel, a paternal duty which,
in spite of the fact that it is expected of them, they try to
avoid as long as possible. When the son leaves, the household

593 loses his labor and some of its land holdings, while if a daughter
592 leaves, the loss of labor is marginal, there is no loss of land,
464 and her removal is not a drain on the resources of the household,
562 nor does it upset its basic economy.
423

591 The multiple bonds between a father and a son over the
593 patrimonial land of the family, the products of their joint ef-
182 fort, and their common responsibility for setting up the standard of living for the homestead, all foster patrilocality.

423 A young man could, today, obtain land without his father's
425 direct help. He cannot obtain irrigated land (because it is ex-
592 tremely scarce, and privately "owned" by the household heads),
621 but he could obtain land in the communal lands of the village.
[593] This, of course, is not the better land, being temporal and far away from the village. Although the temporal land close to town is not privately owned, it is "earmarked" for use by the heads of each household. That is, the communal lands are distributed to households, not by titles of ownership, but by usufruct rights. Even if he decides to take such a step, he needs (1) the approval of the Ayuntamiento which oversees the distribution of usufruct rights for the community as a whole, and (2) the recruitment of other men to help him clean and fence the parcel.

621 Neither of the two alternatives is easy to carry out in
593 practice. First, if the Ayuntamiento grants land to a man against
423 his father's will, this creates a problem of jurisdiction between
425 the jural rights of the household head and the administrative
578 rights of the Ayuntamiento. We could not predict what consequences such a case would have, because we have no evidence that it has ever occurred (of course, this is based on the case

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621 But a man wants to become independent of his father. While he is living within his parent's compound he is considered by the community to be "a child." He is bound to work his father's land and cannot control the produce of his own labor. Until he sets up his own separate domestic group, and becomes economically independent, he does not have full rights to participation in the political life of the community because (1) he is bound to make political decisions following his father's, and he has no voice in most community affairs which are the concern of household heads, and because (2) he cannot materially afford to take up the expenses of officership.

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606 Women are also usually anxious to set up their own separate domestic group and independent housekeeping because this gives them some autonomy which they cannot achieve otherwise. The bond between a daughter-in-law and a mother-in-law is not expected to be a strong one. We have already discussed how the two women are assumed to be somewhat antagonistic, and their common work of housekeeping is unequally distributed.

While women live in the same compound with their mother-in-law, they have no power to make decisions of their own about their working schedule, their housekeeping, or the food stored by the elder because this is under the control of the elder woman.

[594] A woman cannot freely take time to visit her mother because she is expected to keep her social life within the boundaries of [313] her husband's domestic unit. She cannot even go to gather firewood, which is an activity highly enjoyed by women. Except for getting water from the well or pipes in the street or gathering firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound.

300 firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound.
462 Going to gather wood is a very nice break in the routine, and women
313 usually go in the company of other women with whom they chat, ex-
606 changing news and gossip. A young wife usually stays home cooking
592 while her mother-in-law leaves the house to gather the fuel for the hearth. Even if a woman does go out to gather wood, she is expected to do so with her mother-in-law, rather than with the
[626] women of her own natal family. A woman talking about a bad daughter-in-law will say, "She does not even want to gather firewood with me, she always runs to her mother's."

562 Women look upon having their own homestead as the only so-
592 lution for gaining independence. It is true that, even then, they
885 are under their husband's authority, but they control the food brought by the husband to the home, and they can make their own
[574] decisions about the work schedule. They can also take time to
[572] visit their own female relatives and childhood girl friends, a
[606] habit which is disliked by their mothers-in-law as being a threat to their own position.

592 We can see, then, that there are several factors which
578 provoke structural tensions in the compound home; some are economic, others are related to the ordering of social relations in the kinship domain, and still others depend on the aspirations of the individuals.

In the course of time, the structural tensions accumulate to the point that they precipitate the fission of the household. The triad of a woman, her son and her son's wife, and the dyadic conflict between a father and son dissolves the compound into two

361 the women do so, and while 63 per cent of the men in the village
591 live in close patrilocal proximity, only 40 per cent of the men
434 in Santa Cruz live near their parents (see Table 16).

Residence of Widows

184 Another striking contrast between Aguacatenango and
589 Amatenango is the position of women, in the latter, as household
591 heads, and their residence after they become widows.

562 First, because in many cases a woman owns the house in
589 which she lives with her husband and children, she is not obliged
434 to move out of the site if her husband dies, as she is in Aguaca-
[423] tenango. Second, she does not need an adult man in the household
[768] to be able to support herself and the children because she is
able to meet the economic demands of the domestic groups from her
592 own labor in pottery production. The result of women's economic
562 independence is that many of them are the heads of their own
434 households. Out of 280 households, 39 have female heads, and 25
184 do not contain any adult men (the others contain younger sons-in-
law). This also means that all corn is bought; there is no income
derived from agriculture, but only from pottery sales. In Agua-
catenango, where all income derives directly or indirectly from
agriculture, this situation is inconceivable: there are no house-
holds without men, nor households in which a female is the ab-
solute head of the unit.

The Marriage Transactions and the Household

583 In Aguacatenango, a man selects his future spouse and his
584 father arranges the marriage for him. At the ceremonial visits

583 to reconcile themselves with the wife's parents by paying the agradecimiento (thankfulness payment), half of the established bride-pride. In those cases, it is considered that the full bride-price is not necessary "because the couple was already
[591] living together." It follows that elopement cases are always patri-virilocal in residence.

592 In Amatenango, where women are important laborers, the
562 household considers them an economic asset. They will not marry
582 them off early except in case of extreme need, and they will use
434 their marriage to form economic alliances with households at other levels of wealth. If they are not interested in keeping her because there is another married child in the household but they do not have immediate economic need, they will wait and try to marry her into a richer household. If they are interested in keep-
591 ing her in the unit as a producer, they will marry her to a poorer
583 man and ask him to come and reside uxorilocally. When the residence choice at the time of the marriage is patri-virilocal, the bride-price is much higher than in Aguacatenango: 1,000 pesos rather than 300. Unfortunately, we do not know what the amount of the bride-price is, if it is anything at all, when residence after marriage is matri-uxorilocal.

582 The contrast between the marriage transactions in Aguaca-
191 tenango and Amatenango is not unique to these two villages, but seems to be a recurrent structural pattern when there are differences in the labor market for women. Tax (1953) reports a similar contrast for Guatemala. In Panajachel, where women's labor has a high value, "marriages tend to cross wealth lines, with a man of a

571 and outside the household by the bilateral group of kinsmen of each particular Ego and his or her spouse, which because of the residence pattern, live localized within a neighborhood.

602 In Aguacatenango, on the contrary, most important activi-
592 ties are carried on mainly by agnatically related kin. This, of
562 course, does not mean that matri-kin or affinals are absolutely excluded. But in making decisions for giving or receiving help in work, for example, agnatic kin are preferred, especially for men, because women tend to collaborate mostly with the agnatic kin of their husbands. The reason for this is that activities for women are not determined in terms of the kinship lines, but in terms of household membership: they collaborate with the closest kin of the household in which they reside, and not their own closest kin. A household contributes labor and interacts more often with agnatically linked households than any other.

361 The reason for this difference in emphasis could be said
602 to be a result of the fact that one collaborates more with the
592 people who live the closest. After all, the neighborhood in Aguacatenango tends to be a cluster of agnatically related house-
[114] holds. Nash felt that in Amatenango, "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relations are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130). We disagree with this statement.

323 In Amatenango, pottery making and corn agriculture are the
241 two principal productive enterprises which affect the organization
433 of the domestic group, including the residence choices, so it is
182 not strange that the neighborhood group (or residence clusters
591 within the <u>barrio</u>), made up according to the criteria of selecting
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562 428 598 The inheritance rights of women are highly controversial. All the cases of conflict over the inheritance or rights of usufruct of land, that we know about, involved a woman in the line [183] of transmission. But however controversial, they are an established pattern. This is shown in the following cases.

Case 1

159 592 593 367 562 554 428 434 Delfina is about twenty-four years old, and still single. She was raised by her godmother in San Cristóbal, and her aspirations are to become a Ladina. She has consistently refused to marry any Indian man, and lives with her parents in a large compound. She is economically self-sufficient (perhaps the only woman in the village which is in the same position), because she works for the INI as a sewing teacher, and her status in the household is quite high due to the fact that she draws a large salary and that her parents are close to senility and dependent on her. Until recently, her married brother lived in the compound with his parents. He insisted that at his parents death he should inherit everything: land, house and animals. Delfina and his father were of the opposite opinion: the house should be for Delfina, since she was supporting them and, as she expressed it: "she did not get married." Faced with the brother's insistence about his traditional rights, the father ordered him out of the household, and he and his wife left town and went to live in [626] Amatenango. Most villagers, however, think that Delfina is in the wrong. They say that she is alzada (prideful) and loose in her relations with Ladino men (the employees of the INI that come to the village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

159 Delfina is an unusual woman by village standards, and
156 the anthropologist quickly notices her deviant, from the rest of Aguacatenango women, personal characteristics: domineering, moody
562 and pretentious. But even in other cases, the rights of women to
428 inherit or transmit property are contested often, as the following
578 example will also show.

Case 2

159 Chilola has a son from a marriage previous to her present
428 one. This son is about twenty years old. He is working the land
562 with his stepfather, but wants to have his own milpa. When
578 Chilola's first husband died, they were very poor. Nobody claimed rights on her husband's milpa, so she held it, although her son was not old enough to cultivate it. She tried to sell it to pay for the burial, but nobody wanted to pay her price, so she kept
[592] it. At the time, her mother-in-law, an old woman, was living with
[606] her and being supported by Chilola, but "although she was already
[587] old, went out and looked for her man" (aunque estaba viejita se fué a buscar su hombre), and remarried. Because Chilola's son's milpa was fallow, the second husband of Chilola's mother-in-law took over its cultivation.

From the mother-in-law's late marriage, a daughter was born. This daughter married and her husband took over the milpa.

Now, Chilola's son wants to get his part of it because he is the direct heir of the father, who was the man who originally had the rights over the parcel. At the same time, the man who is

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 191]

159 now cultivating it, and has been doing so for a long time, refuses
428 to return it, even if he is paid half of the value of the land, or
562 only asked to give half of it to Chilola's son.
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The reason for the inheritance rights of the people concerned not being clear is that twice, in the sequence of transmission, women have passed on the property, and as a result, it has left the hands of the original lineage.

Chilola's feelings are quite strong: the land belonged to
[606] her husband. Even if her mother-in-law had rights over the prop-
[736] erty at Chilola's husband's death, she was being supported by Chilola, and certainly, neither her mother-in-law's second husband nor their daughter has primacy rights against her son. (See Genealogy, Fig. 16.)

The case is obviously complicated by the fact that the
[423] property rights are defined not only in terms of inheritance rights, but in terms of usufruct (in a sense, they do not have land tenure, but milpa tenure), and the other men had been taking care of the parcel for a long time, which makes them feel that it is theirs.

159 This type of conflict carries over to other property, such
422 as livestock, as exemplified in the next case.
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Case 3

When Candelario Aguilar married, Juana, his wife received
[113] a regalo from her father: a bull. Candelario sold the bull and bought a cow, which had a calf.

Candelario left town and gave the cow and calf to his father Francisco, so that they would take care of it in his absence.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 193]

178 613 592 621 591 184 group, composed in Amatenango of bilateral relatives, and in Aguacatenango, mainly of agnatic kinsmen, but also including some affinals and non-related people, because contiguous household-to-household localization is an ideal not always realized (we have discussed previously how in some few cases a son lives in a house given to him by his father, but one block distant from his father's own compound).

178 184 591 562 613 The result of this complex set of variables is that the lineage has lost, in Aguacatenango, some of its characteristic functions. The Amatenango case, to extend the example, shows how, even when (1) patri-virilocality disappears (as a consequence of the women participating actively in the economy), and (2) the status of the sexes with regard to inheritance and rights over property becomes equal, the lineage disappears leaving only small traces of its previous presence: name groups without meaning or function.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

42 43 182 571 We can safely arrive at the conclusion that some aspects of the economic system play a very important part in the structuring of social relations in the Chiapas communities. The economic 184 24 323 434 factors which are indicated by the natives themselves and have been assessed by us as being crucial correlates of certain patterns of social behavior are:

(1) The unspecialized agricultural system of one village (Aguacatenango) versus the system of agriculture plus pottery production in the other makes the second one a "richer" town with less wealth fluctuation from year to year.

184 182 462 592 562 434 (2) The relative importance of women as bread-winners and producers in the traditional division of labor in one village (Amatenango), results in the fact that labor of women is crucial for the continuity of the domestic group, whereas in Aguacatenango, it is not. This does not mean that Aguacatenango women do not work. It just means that women's work in Aguacatenango, however exhausting, does not have a market in which it can be sold, and it cannot be transformed into subsistence goods or into money, i.e., it has an undeterminate marginal value. This gives the women in one village (Amatenango) economic independence and a higher status

184 vis-à-vis their husbands and male kinsmen, while in Aguacatenango,
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462 it makes them economically dependent, and subordinates from a jural
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592 point of view. In one case females inherit as men do, in the
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434 other, inheritance follows a male line. In one case, they control
[428]
[421] the same property as men do, in the other, they control only marginal property.

(3) The relative importance of a man is labor versus a
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182 woman's labor within the domestic unit affects residence. In
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434 Aguacatenango, where all important productive activities are in
591 the hands of men, residence is patri-virilocal, and only males are residence sponsors regularly. In Amatenango, where productive activities are in the hands of both males and females, residence is alternately matri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal, and both males and females can become residence sponsors. In Amatenango, house-
[323] holds that depend more on the women's labor in pottery making are
[241] uxorilocal, while households in which the largest part of the domestic group income is derived from agriculture have post-marital patri-virilocal residence of their members.

184 In Aguacatenango, where all household income is derived
182 from agriculture and residence is patri-virilocal, matri-uxorilo-
434 cality occurs sporadically due to some other economic and non-
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593 economic factors: (a) the inheritance of some land in the female
428 line when a daughter structurally replaces a son; (b) the coopera-
562 tive work between father-in-law-son-in-law when they replace the
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606 position of father and son for each other; (c) the payment of
75 curing ceremonies and medicines for a sick married woman by her own kin rather than her husband's.

184 solidarity is stronger than cross-generational solidarity), but
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578 generational conflict tends to disrupt the collateral extension
591 of patriline growth, making every patriline segment a shallow
613 descent group containing few generations in depth, and only few collaterals.

184 (7) Territorial propinquity between households in each
361 village follows the social propinquity established in terms of eco-
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476 nomic reciprocity and work interaction. Thus, in Amatenango residence for individuals, interaction between households and the settlement of a neighborhood follow a bilateral pattern, while in Aguacatenango the three follow the male and agnatic line. The type of economic organization, based on the domestic group, correlates with the type of domestic group formed thereof.

184 The domestic group in Aguacatenango, with an internal
59 economy based on the cooperative work of father and son and the
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562 transmission of property in the male line, is a kinship unit built around a core of agnatically related males with patri-virilocal residence. Among the Aguacatecos, at least one son of the nuclear family remains in the parents' household after marriage. All other children marry and move out, the sons staying close to the father. In this way, the family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of agnatic order, which extends itself in space as a patrilocally localized agnatic line, and perpetuates itself, in time, through the principle of agnatic ultimogeniture.

The domestic group in Amatenango, with an internal economy based on the cooperative work of both a father and son, a mother

184 59 428 562 and daughter, and the transmission of property in a bilateral fashion, is a kinship unit of the utrolateral type (Goody, 1958: 26) with alternate patri-uxorilocal and patri-virilocal residence.

184 59 592 562 Among the people of Amatenango, at least one child of the nuclear family stays at home after marriage, sons or daughter being equally good choices for the perpetuation of the domestic group. In this way, the Amatenango family continues through time, [428] from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of bilateral order, which extends itself territorially in a bilateral fashion, and perpetuates itself through the principle of ultrolateral ultimogeniture..

184 182 591 592 The structuring of the domestic groups as corporate units of a clearly different order is intimately connected with the rules by which residence sponsors are chosen.

184 59 562 1. In Aguacatenango, male sponsors are always preferred over females, independently of the sex, age, or marital status of the individual, while in Amatenango, where women are economically capable of being residence sponsors, they are selected as such as often as males.

184 59 562 602 2. In Aguacatenango, consanguineal sponsors are preferred over affinals or self (neolocality), except for married women, while in Amatenango, married men prefer affinals as much as married women do, under certain conditions.

184 59 602 3. In both villages, residence with a kinsman is preferred to neolocality, usually a kinsman from whom certain economic rights can be claimed (land, house, etc.).

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602 4. In both villages, among consanguineal sponsors, lineal relatives who have immediate economic duties are preferred as sponsors over collaterals.

5. In Aguacatenango, among consanguineal sponsors, agnatically linked relatives are preferred over non-agnatic relatives, while in Amatenango, any consanguineal relative, a matri- or patrilineal one, is an equally likely choice.

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561 6. In both villages, economic dependency is usually assigned within the parental and the children's generation, rather than within the same generation, the result being that residence sponsors are preferred to be from alternate rather than the same generation, and within the same generation, sponsors are selected in terms of seniority over Ego.

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434 7. In both villages, spouses reside together. In Aguacatenango, the residence sponsor is the husband, while in Amatenango, either husband or wife can be sponsors. Males are the only sponsors when they are the only household members responsible for the support of the unit. Women and men are sponsors where both share the economic burden of supporting the household. Women are sponsors when they are the only ones responsible for the economic demands of the domestic group, and when their husbands work with their fathers.

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602 8. Unmarried children reside with both parents, and work with the parent of the same sex. If the parents are separated when the children are small, they stay with the mother. In Aguacatenango, if the mother is dead, a patrilineal sponsor other than

184 591 586 602 the father is preferred, while in Amatenango, both paternal and maternal relatives are equally good choices.

184 736 591 434 9. In Aguacatenango, where widows are incapable of supporting the economic demands of the household by themselves, they choose to reside with a male sponsor in another household, while in Amatenango, they can be self-sponsors and the heads of their own domestic groups.

184 621 582 591 10. In both villages, residence within one's barrio is preferred over residence in any other territorial division. In Amatenango, cross-barrio marriages are accompanied by matri-uxorilocal residence as well as patri-virilocal residence, which results in both men and women residing in a barrio other than their own (11 per cent and 16 per cent respectively). This results in Aguacatenango barrios being related only through the circulation of women between them, while in Amatenango, both men and women are transmitted between families across barrio lines, in both directions.

184 621 602 [592] The structuring of economic and residential sponsorship produces two different types of neighborhoods in the two villages. In Aguacatenango, the neighborhood tends to be a cluster of agnatically linked households, while in Amatenango, it is composed [613] of a set of kindred. The barrio in Aguacatenango, then, is a [562] territorial division containing neighborhoods which are localized agnatic groups, which I call localized patrilines, with few non-relatives and bilateral kinsmen enclaved throughout the blocks; a man does not separate from his territory or barrio, nor from his neighborhood, while a woman circulates within neighborhoods after 184 621 591 marriage and even within barrios. In Amatenango, both men and

184 621 591 women tend to stay within the neighborhood in which they are born, or, equally, cross territorial lines at marriage.

121 591 To be able to derive these simple rules of residence, we had to take into account some aspects of sponsorship which Fischer did not include in his typology. First, Fischer makes the error of assuming that people make residence choices mainly in terms of kinship, and within kinship, in terms of lineage and lineage sponsors.

We have shown that people make residence choices in terms of both kinship links and economic interdependence, and that among kinsmen, unilinearity is not necessarily the basic criterion for 121 choice. Although Fischer's typology can be very useful in analyzing 128 602 groups in which linearity is strong, such as Aguacatenango, it tends to obscure the analysis of more bilateral groups such as Amatenango.

128 602 591 562 561 571 To make up for this bias in the taxonomy, we had to add three separate criteria for sponsorship: (1) the sex of the sponsor, independently of his lineage affiliation; (2) the generation of the sponsor; (3) the economic role of the sponsor, independently of his or her sex, and independently of his or her kinship connection with the person being sponsored.

184 591 592 At any given time, an individual in Aguacatenango or Amatenango resides in one and only one household, and derives his rights of membership in the unit through kinship or marriage, depending on the importance of his position as a laborer. While in Aguacatenango men derive their membership, as a rule, through descent and women after marriage only through affinality, in

571 592 621 developmental cycle of the domestic group; (4) the relations of households within a neighborhood and within the more inclusive kinship groups; (5) the relative strength of the patriline versus the bilateral group; (6) the functions of the larger territorial endogamous divisions or barrios; and (7) the total community.

184 Except for the importance of barrio land tenure in Aguacatenango, and general higher wealth of Amatenango as a whole, the system of production does not seem to affect the structuring of relationships at a level higher than the household and the particular type of rights and duties of members of the extended family of each village.

184 562 The position of women for the village at large is very similar in the two communities. Except for the fact that Amatenango women have the economic power and the legal right to take cases to the Ayuntamiento on their own, neither the women of Aguacatenango nor of Amatenango has rights to political officership, nor to roles outside the domestic domain, which, once more, confirms the anthropological truth that whatever the descent system, or the economic organization, jural authority is ultimately vested in the hands of the males of a society.

182 571 602 Economic factors are not the only factors affecting the interpersonal relations of the villagers. The economic structure is a given historical and cultural fact. Many choices of behavior, which are economic choices in their immediate context, are not so in terms of the long range view of the system. First, the kinship system seems to limit the range of economic alternatives for the individual, independently of the fact that choices

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1936) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

As is the case in the highlands of Guatemala, the outstanding social unit, corresponding to a tribe, is the population of several hundred or several thousand Indians whose activities center in one leading settlement from which the community gets its name. As in Guatemala, these communities vary greatly with respect to the proportion of Indians living permanently in this central settlement. Dr. Tax[16] uses the phrase "town nucleus type" for Guatemalan Indian communities in which all or a large majority of the Indians live in the principal settlement, and the phrase "vacant town type" for those in which most of the Indians live in scattered rural habitations, coming to the town center occasionally for commercial, governmental, or festal reasons. Among the Tzeltals the town-nucleus type is less atypical than it is in Guatemala, and the town-nucleus communities are suffering from a scarcity of land. The following communities may be regarded as of this type: Amatenango, San Martin, Tenango, Sivacá, Petalcingo, and probably also Chanal and Citalá, although at least in the case of the last two, there are also considerable numbers of Indians dwelling in the countryside. The vacant-town type of community is represented by Cancuc, Oxchuc, Bachajón, and Chilón. It will be seen that both types are represented in both highlands and lowlands. With respect to this classification Tenejapa, Guaquitepec, and Yajalon are intermediate, and illustrate Tax's "Type III" in that many of the people live in the town and work their fields closely surrounding it, while many live on their farms and only occasionally come to town. 621 361 632 [101] [171] [619]

As in the highlands of Guatemala, the ethnic distinction between Indian and Ladino is marked, here also the Ladinos are much outnumbered by the Indians, and here too the Ladinos are very predominately town-dwellers. In Chilón and Yajalón the permanent town-dwellers are chiefly Ladinos; the permanent population of Oxchuc consists of about seventy Ladino families; the several thousand Indians live about the town and in the country. In other towns (Tenejapa,[17] Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Petalcingo) a considerable number of Ladino families have become established, although in these communities there are more Indians even among the inhabitants of the town itself than there are Ladinos. A general disposition to exclude Ladinos from permanent settlement in Indian communities is most marked in Cancuc, the site of the uprising of 1712,[18] and where in 1935 some Ladino merchants were slain by the Indians. No Ladinos reside there now. In Amatenango, Chanal, Bachajón, San Martin, Tenango, and Sivacá the Indians are also unfavorable to settlement by Ladinos; in each of the three last-named villages the only Ladino residents are the school-teacher and the government-imposed municipal agent. Recently a few Ladino tradespeople have settled in Bachajón, and a "Center of Native Education" has been established there (as also at Amatenango) by the Mexican national government. In the lowland towns of 563. [669] [871]

[16] Tax, 1937, pp. [illegible]–144.

[17] It is interesting that in Tenejapa, where both Indians and Ladinos live in town, the two groups recognize different patron saints, and there are separate schools for Indians and for Ladinos, whereas in Oxchuc, where all the Indians live outside the town, the same santos are worshipped by both groups, but the Ladinos maintain their own celebration on the day of the festival.

[18] Vicente Pineda, [illegible]

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo relations between Indians and Ladinos are more friendly, and the Indians are regarded as milder and more tractable.

Of the strongly Indian towns, Cancuc is the most conservative, Chanal the most progressive.

In respect to official political organization, these villages are divided according to their importance and the number of their inhabitants, into free municipalities (*municipios libres*) and dependent municipalities (*agencias municipales*). The former are those which have the right to choose their own government, upon which formal administration depends. To this category belong Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Ococingo, Chilón, and Bachajón. Until a short time ago the municipal governments of these settlements were composed of Ladinos in the principal posts and of Indians in the subordinate positions. At the present time the government is seeking to reverse this situation so that the Indians have the greater authority; it is for this reason that the governments of the four villages first mentioned are now headed by Indians. This change has brought about marked alterations in certain places in the social equilibrium that before existed between the two ethnic elements which compose the population.

Villages of the latter category are those which depend, in administrative matters, on a free municipality. In these cases authority is represented in the first place by the *agente municipal*, who is named by the central municipal government. This post is always discharged by a Ladino. In most instances the municipal agent compensates for the meagerness of his salary by controlling the sale of rum in the village which he administers. The other members of the municipal government are chosen almost always from the Indian group.

In several of the highland communities, notably Amatenango, Chanal, and, to a much less extent, Tenejapa, the Indian grows (in addition to the universal maize) a certain amount of wheat for export; the Ladinos of Oxchuc cultivate this crop, but in Cancuc, where there are no Ladinos, wheat is not grown. (Wheat is also grown in the Tzotzil towns of Chamula and Huistán.) Other money crops of the highlands are chickpeas, peas, oranges, and other fruit. Some coffee is grown in San Martín; it is the principal export from Yajalón and Petalcingo. In Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Chilón a principal produce is brown sugar, made locally from sugar cane locally raised. Cancuc is the only village that cultivates cotton commercially; the production in the other communities is insignificant. The local manufacture of loom-woven clothing is rapidly disappearing. Most Tzeltal communities are without beehives, but there is considerable apiculture in Sivacá, and a little beekeeping is also practised in Tenango, Bachajón, and Yajalón. Apparently the bees kept are wild colonies brought to the villages in the sections of hollow log they are made to inhabit. The raising of hogs and poultry is a principal economic recourse in all the Indian settlements. The beef-cattle industry has always been in the hands of Ladinos; however, recently the Government, acting through the Centers of Native Education, has sought to stimulate the industry among the Indians.

177 262 ious meats, and canned foods such as salmon, sardines, and sausages.

231 [222] The keeping of bees is not widespread. The Indians instead take advantage of the wild honey, which is commonly gathered during certain parts of the year. Tenango was the only town where I observed beehives next to the huts. The bees, large and yellow, are called *aja-chab* and are brought from the woods. When a tree is found with one of these beehives, the section containing the hive is cut off and is taken to town; the ends of this section are covered with jícaras, which are stuck on with clay.

Settlement Patterns

Town and Parajes

632 621 361 All the communities consist of a town center and a number of settlements, called parajes, which are scattered over the municipio. The town is the political, religious, and commercial center of the entire community; there the municipal authorities have their offices, [563] and the church and shops are located. In general, the Ladinos reside in the center, their houses arranged in aligned streets, but some communities (Chanal, Amatenango, Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Bachajon) refuse to accept Ladinos in the town permanently. The Indians prefer the parajes, where the huts are dispersed irregularly.

162 As observed by Sol Tax for the highlands of Guatemala (1937), the proportion of Indians who reside in the town center varies. In some communities (Chanal, Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Tenango) nearly all the people live in the capital. In Chanal, with a population of 2,881 persons, 2,386 reside in the center and so it is a "nucleated town," according to Tax's terminology. In contrast, the most common community is the "vacant town." Tenejapa, for example, has only 517 inhabitants of a total 7,750 residing in the center. The least frequent is an intermediate type, where some live in the center and some in the parajes, as typified by

[P. 203-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 205-A]

407

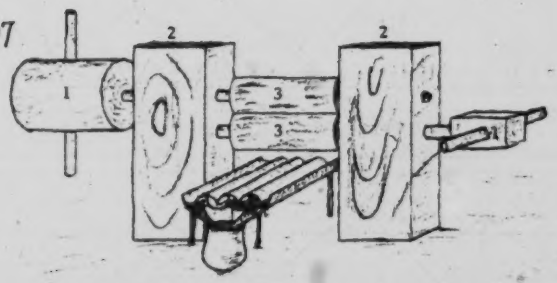

FIG. 6—SUGARCANE PRESS.
1, Kabal-té. 2, Smete-al. 3, S-kab.

184
608 their godchild nor protect him if he be-
736 comes orphaned, but this is only because
431 closer members of the same lineage take
608 care of him. But the padrinos must attend
764 the wake (*kanka-almail*) and the burial
when the godchild dies, as is expected from
608 the godchild when the godparents die. In
182 these communities, compadrazgo constitutes both an important religious obligation and a means of establishing friendship and cooperation between families.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

621 The political and religious patern is the
631 same throughout all the Tzeltal communi-
[184] ties, governed by two groups of authorities whose activities are interrelated. The first group, formed by members of the cabildo and ayuntamiento, manages political affairs of the community. The ayuntamiento maintains relationship between the local gov-
631 ernment and the national authorities. The presidente municipal and the intermediate authorities are popularly elected and then confirmed by the congress of the state.
[563] These authorities must represent both ethnic groups (Indians and Ladinos) to warrant the claim that "justice is equal for everybody." In 1936 the state government ruled that in all municipios where the indigenous population predominates, the presidente municipal should be an Indian.

Next in authority after the presidente is

[P. 219-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Revolutions have since destroyed the herds, and the town now has only a small local trade in sugar and rum. 233

All goods are transported on mule-back over bad trails. Main trails run to Yajalon, San Cristóbal las Casas, and Comitan. Minor trails connect with Tenosique in Tabasco, a ride of five or six days through uninhabited forests. Other small trails lead into the heart of the forests along the Usumacinta river, where there are a few mahogany camps, fourteen days distance on a good mule. 492 491 [313]

The Spanish Conquerors had quickly discovered the richness of the soil and taken possession of it. Therefore, we find but a few Indians around Ocosingo, save at the small town of Sivacá, entirely inhabited by Tzeltal-speaking Indians. From there we secured our labourers, who were summoned by the municipal president and worked for us at the regulation pay of 50 centavos per day. Ocosingo holds sway over the native towns of Sivacá, Tenango, Oschuc, San Martín, and Bachajon. The municipality commands the Indians for all kinds of work, and in many ways lives on what can be pressed from them. As a consequence, the good people of Ocosingo are anything but popular among the Indians, though it appears that the man then in charge, Señor Simon Leon, was quite friendly towards them, and therefore well liked. 175 134 563 [114] 661 829

Geologically, the Ocosingo Valley is a syncline, the valley bottom and the interior mountain ranges being of a coarse red sandstone, and the exterior ranges of limestone. The axis of the valley runs approximately N-80-W to S-80-E, and Ocosingo town is located at an altitude of 900 meters above sea level. 133 [135]

As we rode into the village, La Farge discovered a stone block, carved with hieroglyphs, set in the pavement of the sidewalk, an excellent reception for archaeologists. 172

Our first concern was to find quarters, which we located in a house on the corner of a street leading into the Plaza. Soon our equipment was unloaded, and while we unpacked, the Ladino guide we had acquired in Bachajon went to his house to order food for us. 114 [122]

The restaurant and meal were a surprise, though not pleasant. In a room with a rotten board floor, the plaster falling off the walls, and a huge box full of saints, we were served fried eggs and black beans by an old woman with a large goitre. Though nothing in the house appeared to be either particularly exclusive or clean, the Ladino family seemed to resent that we sat down at the table with our chief guide, the trusty old Indian, Lázaro, now called "Tata" by us.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

133 shadow, another wall far behind. A Mexican told us that Tene-
133 japa lay in the valley thus enclosed. With the cool evening air our
114 animals picked up, taking us along at a good trot. We swung around a green dell, up under one cliff into the opening, over the threshold of a ridge. Some Indians sitting there waved to us. Beyond was a tiny, lush meadow and a brook where some Mexicans were making clay tiles. There was another rocky hillock, around which we swung to find ourselves trotting down a well-cobbled street lined with little white cottages, white-walled gardens, and
361 roses. To us, looking for something yet wilder than the villages we had seen, the neat houses and candle-lit casement windows, the doors of tiny shops, the flowers, and the shingled roofs were an utter surprise. In the streets was a sprinkling of touselled-headed Indians

[346]

FIG. 328—Tenejapa, Chis. Church and Plaza.

and Ladino people of much fairer complexion than the typical, Lowland Mexicans. We rode past a gaunt, high-shouldered stone church into the plaza, a field of about two acres planted with a few trees, and with a fine town fountain of icy water in the middle (fig.
344 328). Along one side ran the Cabildo, a long, one-storied building
531 with a very deep veranda, gorgeously painted in cubist fashion, red,
123 yellow, green and blue. Here we halted to unpack and present our credentials to the *Presidente Municipal*.

361 Tenejapa is really two towns in one. There is the Ladino town,
563 around which lie the houses of some eight thousand Indians, by local

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

estimate, with their own, regular Indian administration under the control of the Ladino government. The *Presidente Municipal*, a most obliging man, got the Indian *Presidente* for us, whom we photographed by the last light of the day (fig. 329). Through this chief, men were sent out to bring in grass; they returned with enormous, green bundles as big as themselves.

The Indian houses outside the town differ from those previously described in the possession of a sort of porch, or part under the roof in front screened with boards, introductory to the house itself.

The Tenejapeños are strongly built, thickset, and short, with enormously powerful calves. In fact the chief industry of the tribe is acting as porters. They go in large bands to places at a considerable distance to take or bring back loads, competing successfully with the Chamula pack-trains. In this the women are as proficient as the men. Their colour is dark, a rich brown, more red than golden, with distinctly pink cheeks showing through in the case of the children and old people. The men are almost beardless. Faces are rather broad and round* (fig. 330).

FIG. 329—Tenejapa, Chia. The chief of the Tenejapeños.

The essential parts of a man's costume are a pair of shorts and a brown and white striped Chamula Indian blanket, worn as a poncho. Two of these blankets may be comfortably worn in that climate. Hats, when used, are also of Chamula make, of straw with a flat brim, and round, close-fitting crown pointed at the top. Usually they are decorated with ribbons. A sash of white material may be worn, the ends of which, hanging down in front, are elaborately embroidered (fig. 331). The

*Hart (1902) made some measurements upon these people, the most important of which are summarized here. They show an interesting variability.

STATURE IN MILLIMETERS

Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range	Below 1600	1600—1650	1650—1700	Above 1700	Total
1,597	1,722	1,400	320	75	15	9	1	100

	Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range
CEPHALIC INDEX	78.8	86.4	68.0	18.3
FACIAL INDEX	81.6	94.5	65.0	29.5
NASAL INDEX	80.5	102.9	64.1	38.8

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

291 shorts are also usually embroidered in red and yellow. The chief had
[123] such a pair, very fine and gaudy, which we asked to see. He took
[293] them off to show us, but when we tried to buy them from him he became furiously angry and abusive. Sandals, when worn, are of the ordinary type. Most of the Indians carry a staff of some kind.

[531] The women wear the typical blue skirt, but the blouse, cut like a poncho, is usually tucked inside and heavily embroidered about the neck and shoulders. This work takes a long time, and the finished blouses are valued very highly. When worn outside they nearly cover the skirts, which are just knee length. Red sashes with a yellow stripe from Tapachula, of the kind worn also around Ocosingo, bind the skirts at the waist. Hair is done in two braids with dark red ribbon, or tied up in a knot over the forehead as at Cancuc.

[342] [231] [854] ←

302 →

301 →

621 563 →

[293] →

FIG. 330—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians in the street.

Men and women alike wear cheap, gay-coloured necklaces, usually rosaries.

The Indians move with great freedom through the town and lounge in company with the Ladinos on the broad porch of the Town Hall. The officials are distinguished by silver-headed canes with black tassels. In lieu of a Maestro, they are directly under the Ladino *Presidente Municipal*, and their disputes are tried by the local judge. Their lawsuits have a mediaeval air, carried on publicly with great clamor on the Town Hall porch, and all concerned speaking with the utmost freedom. A breach of promise case was observed in the course of trial. It went on for at least two hours with never less than two Indians, usually women, speaking at once. One could not but admire the patience of the rather bored and indifferent judge.

695 344

114 The cargadores from Cancuc arrived shortly after dark, still lively despite the long day and steep climb. More remarkable still,

000 133 423 632 133 tóbal. The altitude above sea level varies from 2,000 meters in the hilly periphery to 1,720 meters in the valley where the town center is located. Ejido lands acquired in the 1930s have extended the boundaries of the township to lower lands at 1,500 meters altitude.

Pre-Conquest settlement patterns in the Chiapas highlands were characterized by independent communities occupying the headlands around flat-bottomed valleys (R. M. Adams 1961:341). The choice of sites seems to have been based on defense against invading Toltec or other conquest groups (Calnek 1962:25). The sites investigated by Adams and Culbert (R. M. Adams 1961:347) in Amatenango belong to the late-Classic and early post-Classic period. They were marginal to the centers of Maya civilization in the Yucatán peninsula and Guatemala. Test excavations in the modern town indicate that it was occupied only after colonial times.

172 361

175 361 161 162 The town of Amatenango del Valle is first mentioned in the year 1528 when it was included in tribute lists with both the Nahuatl name, Amatenango, and the Tzeltal name, Tzobontaghal (Calnek n.d.). The tribute lists of 1761 include 33 families in the *parcialidad*, or Spanish political unit based on an indigenous settlement, of Zacatepec in Amatenango and 75 families in the parcialidad of Amatenango (Trens 1957 I:217). The first census done in 1778 shows a total population of 576, with 374 men and 202 women. The racial breakdown is listed as 8 white, 2 negro and mestizo, and 560 Indians (Trens 1957:221). By 1824, the population had increased to 1,620. The present population of 3,179 represents natural growth as well as inclusion of additional outlying settlements added in the latter part of the nineteenth century and during the 1930s with the enactment of the land reform act. The population changes indicate steady but not great increases. The capacity of the town to incorporate additional population has probably passed its peak. The present trend is for out-migration to newly opened ejido lands.

161 632 [423]

128 632 The subdivisions of the town, which provide the framework for administration by the national government, are included in Table 1.

361 [563] *The center.* The center of Tzo'ontahal is called the "center [or navel] of the world." The residents of the center, with the exception of the schoolteacher's family, are all Indian. Although the town center forms

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621 A territorial distinction not recognized by the federal government is the
361 division of the town center into two sections, or sides, by the street running in front of the church. The two sides of the division are called
[192] Ahk'olnantik, upper side, and Alannantik, lower side. The upper side is in the direction of higher lands in the southwest called Ahk'olk'inal, and the lower side is in the direction of lower lands to the northeast, called Alank'inal. The emphasis on relative altitude implicit in place nomenclature is a central fact in the Indians' ecological adjustment. Marriage is en-
[582] dogamous within each division by explicit rule, and in fact 87 percent of
[83] all marriages conform to the rule, according to a census I took in 1958. A
[125] man who marries a girl on the opposite side is forced to make a payment
[583] of eighteen liters of liquor to the bachelors of the opposite division. In addition to regulating competition for marriage partners, the dual division is the basis for allocating civil and religious offices.

174 Whether the dual division was an indigenous trait or not is a moot
621 point. The pattern for dual organizations existed in both Spanish and indigenous societies (Foster 1951:5). There is some speculation that the dual divisions are a product of the Spanish colonial policy of the congregación, when populations of different origins were drawn together. However, local historical accounts indicate that several ethnic groups were introduced at various periods. After the initial congregación, foreign Indians
175 were incorporated in the sixteenth century, in the latter part of the nine-
621 teenth century (Secretaría de Gobierno Constitucional, October 26, 1893),
• 563 and as late as the 1930s in response to the land reform program. As each ethnic group entered the region, it was either incorporated into one of the existing divisions or was isolated. The persistence of polarization must be
621 explained on other grounds. The widespread distribution in the Chiapas
[174] highlands of dual divisions defined by territory and descent in communities of both dispersed and nucleated settlement patterns suggests the indigenous origins of the division. A dual division of upper and lower sections based on endogamy and equal representation is found in San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:64), Chanal (Eva Hunt, NSF II report), Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1946:424), and Cancuk (Siverts 1964). The Nahuatl term *calpul* is applied in some cases to these divisions. The towns where calpulles are found are *paraje*, or vacant center, types (Tax 1937) which

71 Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Ladino butchers in the neighboring town. The cows are not milked either for local consumption or sale. Fertilizers are for the most part wasted since the cattle roam freely in the communal pasture lands except in the case of a few corrals owned by families. Hides are cured rather crudely and are used for saddle packs or protective aprons by the men, but none are sold.

The cooperatives. The notion of a cooperative to mobilize capital had been introduced by the I.N.I. in 1957 with the inauguration of a store owned by over one hundred members of the community. In the first years of its existence, the cooperative had some difficulties, primarily in convincing the Indians that when the returns on shares were lower in any year from prior levels, it did not indicate that the agents were stealing the money.

The cooperative store was bought by the Indians of the town from the I.N.I. in 1964 after the members had some trouble receiving returns on their shares. There are now one hundred and twenty-two members. The profits of 1965 were reinvested in the purchase of the corn-grinding mill. Current profits at the store are lent at 5 percent per month interest. The store grosses 80 to 100 pesos in sales daily, and the mill grosses 100 pesos. The wages paid to the storekeeper are 300 pesos and to the miller 250 per month.

Now that the cooperative is independent of the government, one of the stated policies is not to sell a single share to a Ladino or member of another community. "We do not want to give gifts to the Ladinos," the secretary of the cooperative told me. He added, "There was a Ladino in Teopisca who wanted to join with 5,000 pesos, but we wouldn't let him in. If you let them in, they would come to dominate the pueblo." The cooperative store does not share profits with the consumers but gives dividends. The 11,380-peso assets in the year 1965 were reinvested in stock and in the purchase of corn at harvest which was then sold at one and a half or two times the sale price.

The Indians developed their first independent cooperative in the ownership of a *marimba*, a musical instrument like a xylophone, operated by eight men of the community. This enterprise failed because the players never developed sufficient skill to be commissioned to play outside of town.

hall, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of the new officials. Residents of the barrios and colonias can never rise to any position above that of assistant judge, but once they have served in this post they may become principales in their own localities. One week the first regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the third regidor from Alannantik, and the next week the second regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the fourth regidor from Alannantik. The ten police are ranked in five levels with representatives from each side at every level in the series except for the fourth level, which is occupied by police from the barrios.

These civil officials, called as a group the *hu?eletik*, those who are "able" (in control), constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. To reach a high post, an official must first pass through each of the lower positions in the hierarchy. Outside of this ranked hierarchy, the posts of president and síndico are occupied by young men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy was, until the present generation, limited to a few men in their thirties. With increasing literacy, the competition for these posts is growing.[2] Men who have such skills are called upon as signers of official documents and are called *firmanetik*.

Also existing outside of the traditional hierarchy is the post of secretary which had, until 1965, been occupied by a Ladino. This was the only post which was paid; it also provided opportunity for earning extra income by preparing "acts," or official documents, and fines from court cases. The present incumbent is an Indian of Alannantik.

Because Tzo?ontahal's hierarchy is still a linked series of civil and religious posts, the structure of the civil hierarchy cannot be considered independently from that of the religious hierarchy. The major segments of the religious hierarchy are the *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces or captains of the fiestas. The internal ranking of the sixteen mayordomos depends on the number of religious posts the incumbent has filled and on the rank order of the saints he serves.

The alfereces, or captains of the fiestas, provide a ceremonial link be-

2. Julio de la Fuente (1964:30) has summarized the effect of literacy in breaking the homogeneity of the community since the literate Indians have received greater privileges and release from communal work. When the entire community is educated, the monopoly of literacy is broken.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621 474 493 permission to extend operations to hot country where the Indians of the town held ejido land. This territory had been controlled by the state-wide trucking sindicate whose monopoly was protected by government permits. On the basis that they were poor, nonprofit-making ejidatarios, the Indians were granted the right to truck corn from the ejido colonies to the highlands. Whenever the cooperative leaders planned to go to the depart- [291] mental capital to make their appeals, the schoolmaster counseled them to wear their Indian costume—the white shirt and pants with red sash, sandals, and woolen kotonču—in order to play the role of simple campesinos more convincingly. He was aware of the effectiveness of this pose in pro-Indian governmental circles.

665 The PRI leadership in the department capital is neither aware of nor interested in the local factions which seek their support. Their concern is only that the vote is solidly behind regional and national candidates of the party, and they support the group that can mobilize the largest number of votes. A policy of favoritism toward Indians, based on an ideology of *indigenismo,* pro-Indianism, is coupled with a policy of permitting local autonomy. The national committee's program for promoting literacy has never reached this community nor any that I know of in the area. The party's promotion of Indian welfare consists of supporting demands made by Indian constituents and bringing them to the attention of civil service officials assigned to these functions. Party officials thus act as intermediaries between the voters and the bureaucracy of the government, channeling complaints and demands.

62 177 178 181 In the development of factions around new economic interests, the Indians have shifted from an ideology in which the dialectic of conflict was cast in traditional dual-division opposition to one in which the conflict is seen as Indian versus Ladino domination of enterprises. Since these interests cut across the territorial divisions, the economic factions have not crystallized along territorial lines. It is this shift in perspective which makes [665] for the "qualitative" change in local political organization.

Competition between Caciques

622 563 There are several dimensions to the role of cacique in Tzoʔontahal. First, it is a role created by outside interests and occupied by someone mar-

ginal to the community, either a foreign Indian, as in the case of Augustín, or a Ladino, as in the cases of the secretary and schoolmaster described below. The only indigenous candidate for the role was recently killed. It provokes too much envy for someone socialized in the community; fear of being accused and even killed as a witch or a power-seeker is justified by several such precedents. Those with the skills to become caciques have until recently been effectively incorporated in the existing hierarchy as firmanetik.

Second, the cacique is a gatekeeper, channeling information, goods, and services from the outside to the members of the community. In this capacity, he prefers to pose as a benefactor when he may actually be no more than the distributor of government welfare goods and services.[4]

Third, the role of cacique is one in which the incumbent operates in a local sphere, but depends upon a network of compadrazgo and professional ties outside of the community to assure his position in the community. He must be sufficiently aware of the local idiom in order to avoid making enemies.

Finally, the role is monopolistic. This results in part from the fact that the outside world prefers to deal with a single representative for reasons of expediency. However, new governmental agents are more and more dealing directly with Indians, a factor which has shaken the position of the cacique. The monopolistic quality of the position also stems from the fact that the profit to be gleaned from the community is small. A Ladino from a neighboring town commented that it was worth the time of only one man to exploit an Indian community of the size of Tzoʾontahal. The extractable profit is diminishing as the Indians become more aware of their rights.

The change in character and range of activities of local caciques is illustrated by the recent careers of two residents of Tzoʾontahal. In the 1950s and until 1964, the Ladino secretary, Don Ramon, had filled the role of cacique. He took advantage of this role not only by collecting a salary and a percentage of court fees, but also by earning money for using his influence in Ladino official circles outside the community. He lent money for interest and subsidized some enterprises such as growing cabbages with Indian partners.

4. Goldrich (1965) points to this tactic of politicians who distribute government goods as though they were their own gifts.

159 622 177 178 partners. He sold a few shares of a truck he and his family owned to Indians, but he retained the controlling interest. His wife was reputed to be [454] a witch, and was an active curer, combining old and new treatments of ill- [754] nesses. [756]

His position was challenged in the 1960s by the Ladino schoolmaster, 159 who had been remarkably unsuccessful from his arrival in 1953 until that 875 time in gaining personal power and influence. His intercession in a local 177 homicide case involving a father's murder of his son outraged the towns- 178 people, some of whom threatened to kill him. His attempts to have water 563 578 installed aroused the curers against him since they were accustomed to [312] bathing their patients at the source of the spring from which they were de- [756] barred when the plumbing was installed. His demands that children [871] within the legal age limit should not only attend school but should be pro- [582] hibited from marrying until they had completed their schooling caused the anger of parents who wanted to give their daughters in an early and profitable marriage.

159 Gradually, however, the schoolmaster extended his own base of support. 875 He minimized his attack on local customs, adhering only to those laws af- 177 fecting the school population, over which he had a great deal of control. 178 Some of his support came from the orthodox Catholic members of the 563 community; he extended his control through compadre relationships with 557 over eighty members of the community. He showed movies which he ac- [608] quired from the United Nations and other educational film sources and [546] gave away medicines acquired from the health officials in the state capitol [278] who were his friends. From one of these sources of philanthropy he ac- [431] quired wool shawls which he gave to every woman in the town.

The professor demanded no return from the townspeople other than their respect and admiration; he was a person who enjoyed commanding others and needed an arena in which to project his own personality. In his early years in the town, he had to satisfy this need by capturing stray tourists and plying them with soda pop or coffee. His first opportunity to gain [474] leadership in the local sphere came in 1963, when he supported the new truck-owning cooperative. He used the influence of contacts in the state capital, including compadres, friends, and relatives of his wife's family. He promoted the cooperative's attempt to gain the presidency. One of the first

acts of the new officials was to fire the Ladino secretary and install an Indian for the first time. The schoolmaster had won his battle for recognition. In every legal dispute in which the town became involved, the schoolmaster accompanied the town officials as they went to visit departmental and state leaders, acting as their spokesman. He never accepted even expenses for these trips. His satisfaction was in giving advice to the officials on all matters, in being the man whom outsiders consulted before anything could be accomplished, and in finding an audience.

The schoolmaster consolidated his position by drawing together all his supporters in a parent-teachers association, which served as a captive audience for his extended monologues. I was called upon as a witness to the installation of the members, and I took advantage of the occasion to record some of the schoolmaster's rhetoric as he addressed the "parents." In attendance were the president, his brother, four members of their truck-owning cooperative, and about ten other representatives. The teacher told me that they were the best people in town—not one of them had killed anyone! The excerpt below is not complete, but there was sufficient repetition in the schoolmaster's discourse so that nothing is lost.

Schoolmaster: "I don't fight with anyone. We do not come to fight. A schoolmaster is a guide to teach respect. I have thirty-three years teaching in pueblos of campesinos, poor people like you. I am your brother. I am your teacher. The ignorant people do not want to send their children to school. This is a good school, and there are those of you who have succeeded by learning. Ramon Leon was a boarding school student for two years. He and seven others have received scholarships. They accuse me of not working, but they do not know what is happening in the school. Those who know give congratulations to the school. The children of this school won the competition at the conference of teachers. It is neither a poor school with poor students, nor a rich school with rich students, but all are together. They say we do not teach. Compadre" (to president), "is this so? They say we only dance, but at the conference our students won the prize.

"This school is yours. It is better organized than any other. The flag which we had we gave to Villa Las Rosas because they are campesinos;

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

159 *they are my friends. I prefer to send it there than to Teopisca, because*
895 *they are campesinos.*
871 *"I have proved to you I am a friend of campesinos and of the poor. I*
563 *don't have to say anything if I see that some are killing, that some are dis-*
177 *tilling liquor. This is an affair of the civil authorities, not of me. If some*
178 *come to tell me that so and so has killed someone, I close my ears.*
557 *"What is more important in life is what is in your head, not your cloth-ing. Do you understand me?"*

All reply, "Yes, maestro."

"If we are going to win over Teopisca and Villa Las Rosas, our children have to work hard. I had the luck of receiving a medal because I am one of the principal teachers and know the preparation of teachers. The Jefe of Operation put a medal on my breast and gave me an abrazo. *Here is the picture taken two years ago—Lupe get the rag!" Schoolmaster dusts photograph with rag. "Here you see me with the medal on my breast.*

"Who is more important—the one who accuses me and has to put his finger to sign the declaration, or those of you who can write?

"Now the schoolmaster does not give permission to let the children stay away from school. We do not have authority to release the children except for illness. Those children who go most often to school are those who get ahead. They speak idioma [*native language*] *when they play, but when they enter the school they speak* Castellano [*Spanish*].

"Now you know everything. I am happy with you. If there are some who are not happy that I am here, then I shall go happily. There are schools where schoolmasters hit the children. There is a school where the Indian teacher hit a child three times. This is a crime!

"I know where all this talk comes from. Don Ramon [Ladino secretary who supported opposing candidate mentioned above] has a truck—he and Doña Juana. They buy wheat and corn at half price. If the Indians do not pay off, they get double the return at the next harvest. My compadres have come and told me. Those who are with him are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by him. They have two trucks in Teopisca. They come and ask people to sign a paper supporting their candidate. People sign because they are afraid she [Juana] will use witchcraft."

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

President: "Ramon left her, but then he went back to her because of witchcraft." 159 875

Schoolmaster "This is the group which is against me and is against the pueblo." 871 563

Schoolmaster's wife: "You see how happy the pueblo is." She waves her hand to plaza where marimba is playing for the fiesta. "Everything is well organized. Not as it was formerly when Don Ramon was in town." 177 178 557

President: "You see how the pueblo is learning. The children are learning to knit. Everyone knits."

Schoolmaster, giving oath of office to parents: "In the name of the Secretary of Public Education, I ask you to serve with faithfulness to the pueblo. The school is the defense of the country. It is preparing you for tomorrow. The society of parents of the school represents you. Your children represent the future of the country in the sign of the three colors, and you have the obligation to defend the country. The country will become great when all the children know how to write. When Mexico has need of its children, the children will be prepared to die for the country. You should see that schools prepare the children. See Mexico is a country united.

"I have been here since 1953. It is not now as it was then. We have water, a highway. You are not in the state you were then.

"Today we see a kiosk." He waves hand to plaza. "Tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory. It will be a grand pueblo, a civilized pueblo. There was a schoolmaster here who worked two days a week. I have worked every day since 1953. I secured eight scholarships for the children. If there are some who didn't go, it is because their father does not send them. If there are those who say the school does not function, they are traitors to the pueblo. Honorable Society of Fathers of Families, I am the schoolmaster. I shall explain. Give an applause." Applause.

The schoolmaster's discourse reveals several aspects of his position in the town. He indicates the lesson he has learned in avoiding interference in the town's social control system ("I don't have to say anything if I see that some are killing, that some are taking out trago. This is an affair of the 159 875 563 177 178

159 civil officials, not of me"). He identifies himself with the Indians in the
875 fight against the competitive trucking cooperative ("Those who are with
563 him [Don Ramon] are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by
177 him"). While he does not accuse Ramon's wife directly of witchcraft he
178 implies this in saying that people sign their candidate's nomination peti-
[054] tion for president because they are afraid Juana will use witchcraft. This is
[626] a characteristic mode of attacking one's enemies in the town. He claims credit for all of the innovations in the town which have won public approval—the highway, the water supply, electricity, and so forth.

622 The profit motive is inadequate to explain why Ladinos want to play
875 the role of cacique in these corporate Indian communities. One must seek
563 for an explanation instead in the social status they gain. While their jobs
177 are limited and usually frustrating and they can never be completely inte-
178 grated into the community, political activities offer them a larger arena in which they can derive personal satisfaction. The contrast between the schoolmaster's position in Tzoʔontahal before he became a political leader and his position after finding local supporters illustrates this. In the early days of his residence in town, when he built a chicken coop which extended a few feet beyond the grounds allotted to the schoolhouse, some Indians threatened to kill him. In 1957, I saw him trying to summon a policeman from the town hall, which was adjacent to the schoolhouse, to remove a boulder from the path so that a visiting friend could pass in his automobile. No one heeded his urgent shouts or the whistle he used to call children to school, although they were well aware of what he wanted. But by 1965 there was not a single important transaction which did not require consultation with the schoolteacher. Campesinos from as far as Villa Las Rosas came to request his advice and his help in approaching government agents. In projecting his political role, he gained support for projects which were of interest to him. When he had succeeded in getting the gov-
[653] ernment to install water pipes and electricity, he talked the civil authori-
[312] ties into building a kiosk, or bandstand, in the plaza. This was a fulfill-
[365] ment of his ambition to make the town over in the image of a colonial
[345] Spanish pueblo. His final statement in the speech quoted above, "Today we see a kiosk, tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory!" reveals the symbolic significance it had for him.

The townspeople feel that they own the church, and many resent the intrusion of the priest who resides sometimes two or three days a week in the adjoining rectory. In the past five years, however, the priest has succeeded in asserting more control over the church: he has forbidden drinking in the church or in the courtyard, a prohibition that resulted in an open confrontation with the leading cofrade (Chapter 9); and he now controls the keys to the church and to the money boxes, formerly the responsibility of the fiscal. The two lay sisters who are in residence during the week hold the keys and are in charge of the upkeep of the church. 346 793 794 177 178

People always show respect for the church by removing their hats as they pass the entrance, even when they are at a distance. As they enter the church, they always kneel and cross themselves. They may spit on the floor of the church, for this is not a sign of disrespect. 346 576 788 [514]

The complementarity of church and cabildo is still formally recognized in ceremonial events: participants bow to the church and then to the cabildo during processions. The transfer of sacred symbols from one locale to the other at the time of the inauguration of civil and religious officials ceremonially signifies the integration of civil and religious authority, despite the growing separation in day-to-day functions in each of the domains. 621 794 182

The church serves as a staging platform for the images and symbolic offerings to them in the annual cycle of ceremonies. During the nine days of ceremony accorded to the major saints, their images are moved to the center of the altar or to the center of the nave. The staging effects are particularly notable during the fiesta of Holy Week, when the reenactment of the crucifixion is performed in the nave. The mayordomos, under the direction of the fiscal and the lay sisters, move the saints about and prepare adornments of flowers and pine needles. 346 796 [794]

The church is the locus for the weekly mass given by the priest. The men stand on the left side of the church (facing the altar), while the women kneel or sit on the floor to the right. A few benches near the altar are occupied by the Ladinos of the area who attend the mass. The lay sisters indicate to the congregation when they should kneel and rise in response to the cues of the sermon or mass. [562] [563] [794]

In addition to these scheduled events, the church serves as a locus where 346 796 782

876 den on the teacher already laboring with the barrier in communication. Despite these difficulties, the children manage to learn the basics of reading, writing, arithmetic, and Spanish in four years of schooling. The [875] teachers are devoted and spend at least seven hours in the classroom each day.

872 During the recess period the children play individual competitive games 524 except when organized games are introduced by one of the teachers. There is a tendency toward ganging up on weaker individuals in fights, that occur, but I have never seen signs of marked brutality. Since the La- [563] dino children are a small minority in the school (there are no more than a half a dozen among the three hundred and twenty-four students) the Indian children do not face the discrimination found in schools with a greater proportion of Ladinos (cf. Romney and Romney 1966).

876 Discipline is no longer as strict as it was in the early years of public education. The teacher allows someone who has been hit to hit the aggressor but does not herself intercede. Threat of punishment may be made by the teacher, but I have never seen it carried out, and it is never suggested as a solution to failure to learn.

571 In comparing the domestic, civil, and religious domains of activi-
561 ties, the following features emerge:

554 1. In each domain, a hierarchy of power is present. In the house, [592] males take precedence over females, and older members over younger. [562] In the cabildo, the power hierarchy takes the form of a rank order co- [621] ordinate with age in most of the offices, while in the schoolhouse, power is polarized with all authority vested in the schoolteacher. In the church, [875] the conflict between the priest and the cofrades (Chapter 9) has not [794] been resolved. Within the ranks of the mayordomos, relationships between the elder and junior mayordomo establish a graded ranking system (Chapter 8).

571 2. Behavior in each domain is standardized. Relative rank is re-
554 flected in seating order, greeting order, and drinking order. Autonomous
576 behavior is most marked in the domain of the church. Focused interaction is predominant in the school, where order and control are based on absorbing the attention of the child in a learning task.

T M 175 423 621 The rights over land given to the villages by the Spaniards were not contested by the Mexican Government, but during the last century there have been some redistributions of the boundaries to better fit changes in the size of the population of the different villages in the area. Besides, although it was not legally approved, large chunks of the territory of the communities were taken away by the local ranchers who had the backing of the state politicians. As a result of the land invasion by the ranchers, the villages of Amatenango and Aguacatenango controlled, until recently in this century, very little land, mostly temporal, the better land being in the hands of the local ladino ranchers. After the Mexican Revolution of the twenties, the fincas (ranches) were expropriated by the national government, according to new policies of agrarian reform, and under the presidential regime of Avila Camacho were returned to the villages as Ejidos (cooperatively owned land).

M [661] T 175 423 621 661 563 T 175 423 M 669 423

T 621 423 311 The territory of the villages is divided today, by use, into land for agriculture (?ulabal [irrigated], pomultik [hot-country] and temporal), land for residential sites, and land for lumbering and pasture. Within the communities the over-all authority that controls land is the Ayuntamiento, the body which forms the civil branch of the civil-religious government that is the ultimate authority in village affairs. The Ayuntamiento controls both the communal lands and the Ejido lands.

T 621 423

T 423 621 The Ejidos function very much like the communal lands, in that they are "owned" by the community. Every household head is a member of the ejido cooperative, and has rights to cultivate a parcel within the ejido. According to the Mexican Agrarian Code,

In addition to this regular ladder of officials representing the center and its close-lying barrios are judges representing the *colonias*, or rural settlements, of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Crus Quemada. They do not regularly attend the townhall sessions, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of new officials. Only after I had elicited officials from two informants was I able to get from the third the three judges of the colonias with the question, "Are there any other officials in the cabildo?" 621* 693 632

These civil officials constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. The positions of president and *sintiku* (in Spanish *síndico*), not included in the offices of the townhall as a category by informants, were elicited in response to the question stated above. These posts are occupied by younger men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy, until the present generation, was limited to those in the 30-year age bracket. Those with such skills passed immediately into the *comisario ejidal*, commission for land grants, where they assisted in the control and redistribution of land granted under the ejido program, or went directly into the post of *síndico*. Thus they were able to avoid the onerous and time-consuming functions of the traditional posts and enter into the remunerative post of president, where their authority was recognized at an early age. With improved literacy, the competition for such posts is increasing. Although informants say that the post of president alternates for the two sides of the dual division, case materials do not bear this out. 622 624 [124] [191] [212] [423] [178] [212] 622 621* 114

The only Ladino in the hierarchy is the secretary. For the first time this year (1964) the post of secretary has been taken by an Indian of the town. This is part of the power play described below. 563 624 178

Naming of civil officials is done in November, first in a closed session in the townhall at which each official names his successor, followed by a mass meeting *(Komun K'op)* at which the names are read to the assembled household heads in the plaza. To the question, "What are all the kinds of offices in the church?" the response was given: *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces (or captains, the Spanish term *alfereces* comes from the Arabic). There are 16 mayordomos. Role terms for the mayordomos indicated that each saint was repre- 666 621* 794 [776]

[P 213-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

291 184 a typical outfit with special characteristics. For instance, the men of Tenejapa wear a hat of broad brim and pointed round crown, trimmed with thin ribbons of different colors. They also wear a dark chamarra or poncho with thin white stripes. The characteristic clothes of Cancuc are short, tight pants and a long shirt trimmed with red wool yarn. In Tierra Caliente the wool chamarra is not used nor is the variation in outfit so well defined.

Transportation

482 [484] [487] [492] 482 147 Men and pack animals are the principal carriers in the Tzeltal region, which is crossed in all directions by narrow trails. Men carrying loads of 40–50 kg. usually walk, in one day, as far as 8 leguas (leagues). According to Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:386), the Tzeltal of the highlands are so strong "que ponen en vergüenza a una mula." In 1944 I observed Indians passing by my Yochib camp, carrying chairs [565] on their shoulders, in which a lady or a child of upper-class Ladinos from Ocosingo 492 and Yajalon would be sitting. Pack animals are now becoming common among the Tzeltal, some of whom also have saddle horses.

491 Part of the Tzeltal-Tzotzil region is crossed by the Pan-American Highway joining Guatemala and Mexico City. In recent years, roads called "brechas de penetración" for motor vehicles are being constructed. 474 493 The natives of some communities (Oxchuc and Chanal) have organized cooperatives and purchased their own trucks.

804 *Units of Measure*

The system of measures still retains aboriginal characteristics. The main units are:

Nab: Distance between the end of the thumb and the middle finger extended.

Chutub: Distance between the end of the thumb and the index finger extended. It is equivalent to the jeme. The Indians do not use the cuarta (distance between the thumb and little finger extended).

[P 208-B]

Chapter 10

Roles, Persons, and the Evaluation of Performance

Categories of roles, time, and place structure the expectations of social groups. The following three chapters summarize the preceding data according to these cognitive modes. Role behavior and system, which will be analyzed in the present chapter, provide only a partial explanation of social interaction. It is the "proliferation of behavior beyond roles" (Linn 1967) that is of greater interest for the study of change. Consideration of place and time helps to make role categories explicit and to structure behavior that exceeds role expectations. Changes in the use of space and time can reveal adjustments in role relations before change occurs. Space and time perspectives will therefore be analyzed in the following two chapters.

Cooperation is possible when actors not only take into account the responses of others but also anticipate those responses. Anticipations are based in part upon understanding of conventional roles, but the rights, duties, and obligations invested in roles do not encompass all of the relevant expectations which make coordinated social interaction possible. Individual repetitive behavior in role play gives an image of what kind of person each actor is, and the groups of individuals are further categorized as "kinds of people." As an example of the first kind of classification, we have persons characterized as bright, dull, honest, crafty, etc. The second set of categories puts different personalities in socioeconomic classes such as rich and poor, or in political classes such as radical and conservative. Tzoʔontahal, along with other small societies, emphasizes personality categories since it lacks well-defined socioeconomic or sociopolitical classes.

Social continuity depends upon events which call for the participation of groups defined by roles as well as on socialization processes that under-

621 The government in the communities of Aguacatenango and Amatenango is highly "democratic," meaning by this term two things: (1) The decisions of the governing officials have to be in agreement with the community desires, and it cannot take steps which contradict the written code of rules (norms) or force villagers to spend money, goods or labor outside the areas of maintenance of outside the community. In ultimate instance, the community can overrule the Ayuntamiento, replace particular officers or deny rights to the total body to carry out certain decisions which are against the will of the majority of house heads. Before any important decision is passed, the officers investigate its possible acceptance among the village men, and they would not take steps until there is a margin of security that their word or orders will be taken by them in good will. The officers' concern [627] with the justice of their performance is quite important for them personally, because although a man enjoys immunity while he holds a cargo, he can be threatened with death at the end of his year of service. These threats are delivered by anonymous messages left at the Cabildo (House of the Ayuntamiento) door, specifying the reasons for discontent. Many a presidente municipal has been murdered for trying to introduce into his village some innovation [954] to which the villagers were opposed. Besides direct threats, there is also the "possibility" of being bewitched while not in office.

[565] (2) The second reason why the community government can [602] be called democratic is that there is no ruling class, as in most Mexican-Ladino towns, nor any special kinship group in charge of the town affairs. A man cannot transmit his political power to

241 boiled beans; other tamales (*petul*), which
252 are made from dough and whole beans;
262 and finally, still more atole. The atole is
574 served not in individual *jicaras* but in two
272 or three large ones (*batzil-booch*), which
[415] are passed from person to person. The same is done with the other foods; they are served in one or two large pots (*mucul pulato*) out of which everyone serves himself. This banquet is given only on the first
241 day of the planting, if other days are re-
574 quired, the milpero himself does the planting.

241 Since weeds grow rapidly during the rain season, the milpa must be hoed twice before it reaches maturity. For this the luk or coa is used and also the hoe (*asron*), the same one used to break the soil before planting. The first weeding is done in June, the second between July and August. Women
[462] help their husbands in this chore and some-
[566] times do it entirely themselves, since the
[464] men are in the habit of leaving for Tapachula to work as peons on the coffee plantations.

244 Also in the milpa beans of several varieties are planted: *chuil-chenek* (or *ibes*, according to the Ladinos); *botil*, a large common bean; *xakil-chenek* or *frijol de vara;* and the *x-luumil-chenek* or *frijol de la tierra*, thus called because it is a creeping plant.

Chile is planted on a separate lot, 15–20 m. square. The planting is done during the first weeks of March, in alternate years so that it will not coincide with the year when the people of Cancuc plant cotton. Chile planted by the people of Oxchuc is *dzajalik* or red chile.

241 Toward the end of August, the first fruits are ready (*unimajam* or *jilote*, according to Ladinos). These are received with great joy by the families which are by then lack-
[242] ing food. From each plant, which provides two or three *jilotes*, the farthest down is picked to let the other two grow bigger.
[252] These jilotes are boiled without salt and
[263] are eaten whole, including the husks.
[262] [P 201-A]

591 clearly an available option. The senior couple then live there
768 by themselves until one of them dies, in which case the widow(er) moves to the house of some one of the children, or alternatively, the youngest son moves in to the parental house, closing his own.

These, then, constitute the modalities of the pattern of
591 592 residence movement which take place at or near the time of marriage in the preponderance of cases. Other de facto household compositions may be interpreted as variant forms of this pattern with the addition of further particular circumstances of little apparent generality.

We have suggested that the observer may understand something of the nature of household composition in Aguacatenango in terms of consanguineal and affinal relationships of the members involved. We see that individuals join existing households primarily through marriage to some member in the household and that new households are established as the potential marriage slots
571 in the existing household fill up. The organization of members
557 in the household as well as the membership in other enduring groups is expressed in part in terms of names which are assigned to individuals on the basis of absolute and relative characteristics they are perceived, and perceive themselves, to possess. These characteristics serve to define a membership potential for any individual and to exclude him effectively from alternative positions. They are used frequently in the course of interactions

571 551 between members of the community to identify persons in references--that is, persons who are not present in the conversation. From the speaker's point of view, they as unambiguously identify individuals as does naming the house in which they live. So, then, turning from a general consideration of the membership of houses, we now consider the variety of intersecting classes in terms of which the individuals in the houses may be identified. This listing will introduce the principal organizing features in the community, each of which will then receive separate treatment.

571 551 601 554 Terms of reference in Aguacatenango include (1) personal names; (2) relationship terms--kinship, ritual kinship or compadrazgo and other relationships of a more general nature; (3) "role names," which identify persons in terms of characteristics other than interpersonal relationships; and certain combinations of these three types.

551 <u>Personal names</u>

The major subclass of the set of personal names, identifiable as Christian names, is subdivided on the basis of sex; with a few exceptions, a particular Christian name is appropriate to males or to females but not to both. Christian names may be used with a possessive prefix, e.g. /H-MARIA/, "my Maria," to refer to children of the coordinating person. They can be made diminutive by the addition of /C'IN/, "little."

585 608 sometimes modified by /MUK'UL/ or /C'IN/, as previously shown.
601 602 When, in addition to the exchange of gifts which constitutes the traditional wedding, the couple is married in the church, a pair of padrinos (male and female) is chosen from outside the set of relatives who become compadres in the ceremony just mentioned. These people are referred to as /TAT+SNARYOS~PAGRINO/ and /-ME*+SNARYOS~MAGRINA/ by the married couple (who are called by them, respectively, /-NIC'AN+SNARYOS~IHADA/ and /-*AL+SNARYOS~*IHADA/) and as /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ (self-reciprocally) by the parents of the married partners.

796 608 The fiesta of Noche Buena establishes /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ relations, and no others, between the host of the fiesta and a few other individuals he invites to sponsor the fiesta.

Other relationship terms

• 571 192 There remains a set of terms which, when used with possessive prefixes, identify the referent in terms of a more general relationship to some coordinating person. These terms are as follows:

(1) /HOY/, "companion" (in reference to spouses; one who lives in the same house, including specific kin; and all of the specified kinds of companion below)

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(2) /HOY TA YAKBEL/, "drinking companion"

(3) /HOY TA *A*TEL/, "working companion"

(4) /HOY+YAXBEN/, "traveling companion"

(5) /*AMIGO/, "friend"

(6) /BESINO/ /NAHPAL NOCOL/, "neighbor"

(7) /-KONTRA/ /-*ENEMIGO/, "enemy"

(8) /-*AHWAL/, "boss"

Examination of genealogical data, data as to residence, and compadrazgo relations reveals (as might be inferred from the apparent meaning of /HOY/) that the same referent may occupy more than a single one of these associative roles at the same time as well as be kin and/or compadre to the coordinating individual, though in any given reference term only one such identification will be employed. Though formally mutually exclusive (as in the less general case of kin and compadrazgo terms), all of these may intersect in the same individual.

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These general relationship terms combine with names, terms of compadrazgo, and teknonymous constructions, both in terms where the second form specifies the first, e.g. /HOYTIK SIRIL HWARES/, "our companion Cirilo Juarez," and in terms where the second form refers to a coordinating person, /S-HOY S-MAGRINA/, "her madrina's companion." The general relationship terms share with kin terms the feature that in complex terms they are always the first of the two forms; terms of compadrazgo combine with

571 192 601 551 these two sets of terms only as the second term but always precede names, role names, and teknonymous constructions. General relationship terms are like the terms of compadrazgo in that they may be specified by a personal name (as above).

"Role names"

571 192 554 The set of terms to which we apply the label "role names" is distinguished by the fact that these terms usually occur unpossessed and are not defined in terms of a relationship to some person. While they occasionally have possessive prefixes, they never occur in the third person in coordinating constructions. Also, when possessed, these forms always carry the agentive prefix /-H-/, which is optional in the unpossessed variants. Thus:

Unpossessed	Possessed
/PRESIRENTE/ /H-PRESIRENTE/ "presidente"	/*AW-AH-PRESIRENTE/ "your presidente"
/H-*UL/ "curandero"	/*AW-AH-*UL/ "your curandero"

Among the forms in this class is /(H)KAX(1)AN(-ETIK)/, "ladinos (as a class)," which contrasts with the elicited from /H-TUL H-LUMAL/, "one of my pueblo (Aguacatenango)." (Both forms are included under the headword /KRISTYANO-ETIK/, "human being," which contrasts with /CAMBALAM-ETIK/, "animals," and /TUTU-TIK/, "things.")

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The dimensions of contrast are not simple here, since there is involved as well /H-TUL YAN LUM/, "one of another pueblo" in reference as well to persons other than ladinos. Furthermore, an immediate contrast that suggests itself to the [829] informants when differentiating themselves from ladinos is:

/H-TUL LUMAL/	/KAXLAN/
/POBR-ETIK/	/K'ULEHETIK/
"the poor ones"	"the rich ones"

Among other forms of the class is a series which repre- [056] sents alternative terms for a single group of people, i.e., native curers:

/H-*UL~H-POXTAWAN(EH)~H-*AK'-POX/~/H-ME*TIK+TATIK/

which while possibly distinctive (we are unprepared to say until our studies of Tzeltal medicine have proceeded further), share the characteristic performance /PIK C'IC'/ "pulsing." A contrasting form /H-*OKTOR/, "doctor," marks a curer who does not know how to pulse, but who instead gives "consultations." The form /*OKTOR/ differs from the others in this subset in that it may also be used as a modifier, as in /*OKTOR PEYRO/, "Dr. Pedro" (in reference to an Indian nurse) and /*OKTOR+KAXLAN/, "ladino doctor."

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Other terms in the "role-name" class cannot conveniently be lumped under a descriptive head. Some might perhaps be labeled "occupational," but this would result in merely grouping together otherwise distinctive forms in a way which appears "reasonable" to the ethnographer. In this heterogeneous group are the following, all of which have the agentive prefix.

/H.KANAN+LUM/	"overseer of land"
/H.PRINSEPAL KRINSIPAL/	"principal, elder"
/H.GOBYERNO/	"governor (of the state)"
/H.ME*BAL/	"orphan"
/H.LO*LIWANEH/	"liar"

Another subgroup of terms lacks possessive or agentive prefixes, and these share the feature that the referents are persons outside the Indian community. These terms are the following:

/COHWER/	"driver"
/DOKTOR/	"doctor"
/DOKTOR+DENTISTA/	"dentist"
/KARPINTERA/	"carpenter"
/MASTRI/	"teacher"

Two other terms in this class are exceptions to the rule that requires the agentive prefix when possessed; /-*ANZ/, "woman," and /-WINIK/, "man," may be used with the possessive prefix alone,

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554 and the meanings of the possessed forms are "wife" or "husband"
192 of the coordinating person.

The remainder of the forms in this class are subsumed under the headword /H.*A*TEL-ETIK/, "workers."

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554 On the next lower level of contrast, the headword is
192 modified by one of the mutually exclusive post-modifiers
621 /TA KABILTO/, "in the cabildo (civil)"; /TA MARTOMIL/, "in the mayordomía (religious)." These in turn constitute head words of two mutually exclusive classes of forms. The set of contrasting forms in the class /H.*A*TEL-ETIK TA KABILTO/ is as follows (in order of ascending rank):

/MAYOR/, "policía" ranked from /XWAXKEBAL/, "eighth," to /BA/, "first" or /HEFE DE KWARTEL/

/SINTIKO/, "síndico"

/REHIDOR/, "regidor" ranked from /XCEBAL/ "second" to /BA/ "first"

/XCEBAL REHIMAL/, "second regimal"

/BA REHIMALA~ SUPLENTE PRESIRENTE/, "first rehimal or assistant presidente"

/PRESIRENTE~ *AHENTE (MUNISIPAL)/, "presidente or ahente munisipal"

/XCEBAL HWES/, "second juez"

/HWES/~ /*ALKAL/, "juez"

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554 (Several forms not included in this set are nevertheless part of
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621 the civil administration--/SEKRETARYO/, "secretary," /PRESIRENTE DE EDUKASYON/, "supervisor of education," and /KOMISARYADO *EYHIDAL/, "ejido commissioner.")

The /*A*TEL-ETIK TA KABILTO/ are responsible for the civil business of the community, resolution of conflicts brought before it, the maintenance of community facilities and the making of a limited number of decisions which affect the community as a whole. Its members are recruited yearly for one-year terms
[641] the whole group assuming office in January. Every male in the community is expected to hold office as a civil cargo holder four times in his life, and the order of recruitment to the position for any individual is more or less fixed.

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554 The forms of the class /H.*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/ are
192 grouped as follows (also in order of ascending rank):
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The first and lowest set of positions includes:

/MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO/	"mayordomo of San Antonio"
/MARTOMO ME*TIK ROSARYO/	"mayordomo of the Virgin of Rosario"
/MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD/	"mayordomo of the Virgin of Natividad"

By lowest, we mean that set of positions into one of which an individual would initially be co-opted upon entering the mayordomía.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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554 The saint's name associated with each is that one for whose fiesta
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794 the mayordomo is primarily responsible. The second and next lowest set of positions includes:

/MARTOMO *ANIMA/ "mayordomo of Todos Santos"

/MARTOMO SAN MARTIN/ "mayordomo of San Martin"

The third set includes the position:

/MARTOMO SANTA CRUS/ "mayordomo of Santa Cruz"

And the fourth set includes the position:

/MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN/ "mayordomo of San Sebastian"

In turn, for each of the saints, there are two mayordomos, ranked relative to each other, the higher in rank being the:

/BA MARTOMO/ "1st mayordomo"

and the other being the:

/CE*BAL MARTOMO/ "2nd mayordomo"

The /*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/ are formally responsible for the correct interpretation of the saints' days celebrated in Aguacatenango. There are seven of these fiestas under the supervision of the mayordomía, and two /MARTOMO-ETIK/ are co-opted for each, the pair serving for one year beginning on the saint's

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571 554 192 [794] day for which they serve. Every male in the community is held responsible to be co-opted into four /MARTOMO/ positions before he is freed from any further performaces of this sort, and as was pointed out earlier, these positions must be held earlier.

The various forms of the "role-name" set most often occur as simple terms of reference, often modified by status terms. However, the combination /H-KUMPRE SEKRETARYO/ "my compadre, the secretary" is reported.

Modifiers

In addition to the basic classes of terms of reference, modifiers are important in identifying persons. Among these are enumerators, diminutives (mentioned above), and demonstratives. Two modifiers establish the physical condition of the referent-- [602] /CAM/ and /*AN(I)MA/, both glossed as "dead." One, /MERO/, noted earlier, distinguishes "legitimate" or "real" relationship from terminological equivalence, as in /MERO *ERMANO/, "true brother." 571 554 561 192 [562] Two, differing only by sex of referent, indicate advanced age: /MA MAMAL/ "old" (male referent) and /ME*L/, "old" (female referent). When these two modifiers are used with terms indicating younger persons, the incongruity expresses depreciation or derogation. Other modifiers, most of which are age-status terms like the special kin terms discussed earlier, include the following:

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554 /C'UL/ "holy" honorific titles used with
561 /SENYOR/ "mister" role-names of the
192 /H.*A*TEL-ETIK/ group

/YAN/ "other"

/NEK/ "big"

/SOLTERA/ "unmarried" used with /KEREM/ "boy" and /*AC'IX/ "girl" primarily to establish precise age-status (adolescence)

/DON DONYA/ "mister mrs." used with names of ladinos

/NINYA/ "miss"

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192 Still another set of modifiers occurs after the noun head rather than before and includes internally complex phrases. These might be termed locatives, and they include /NUN/ "there," /LI*/ "here," and such combinations as /NUN TA HEHC/, "there on the other side (i.e., in the other barrio of Aguacatenango)"; /LI* TA *ALAN/, "here below (i.e., in El Puerto, a closely related village down the mountain)"; /LI* TA TEHKLUM/, "here in the pueblo"; /LI* TA PAT NA/, "here behind the house"; /NUN TA *AHK'OL/, "here above"; and /NUN TA XOHLEH/, "there at the corner."

While the subject of the relationships (position and co-occurrence) between modifiers and between modifiers and noun heads will be deferred until a forthcoming paper, some general

571 192 idea about the use of modifiers can be gained from a brief list of examples. These examples are also illustrative of some of the complexity of personal reference in Aguacatenango.

/TE CAM MA TATIK HOSE GOMES/	"the late old Mr. Jose Gomez"
/MA TA(T) S-TA(T) CUS KAYTANO/	"old Mr. Jesus' father, Cayetano"
/H-MA KUMPRE S-TAT CEN/	"my old compadre, Cresencio's father"
/ME*L WIX PETRONA MENTES/	"old (elder sister) Petrona Mendez"
/S-ME*L *INAM/	"his old wife"
/ME*L ME* ZME* H.PINI/	"old Mrs. Delfina's mother"
/H-KUMPRE S-TAT KANT(E)LARYA	"my compadre, Candelario's father here above"
/BANKIL LUTERYO NUN TA *AHK'OL/	"(elder brother) Eleuterio here above"
/TATIK SINTIKO NUN TA *ALAN/	"Mr. Sindico there below"
/SENYOR *AHENTE/	"Mr. agente"
/MA DON MANWEL/	"old Don Manuel"

571 The patterns of social relationships are displayed in the order and arrangement of individuals in households and in the sets of role-names which frequently occur in the conversa-

• 571 tions of community members. We now propose to display some of the ways in which further sets of performances, among them drinking, are associated with those already described.

Roles and the procurement of alcohol

273* 571 178 The procurement of alcohol for drinking involves social relationships which have undergone a change within the period of study. Traditionally, Aguacatenangueros have obtained 273* 439 aguardiente--a distilled sugar cane alcohol--by purchase. For many years aguardiente was manufactured by ladinos in San Cristobal and in Comitan principally for sale to the Indians. Before 1940, one ladino family established a liquor monopoly throughout the highlands and with the aid of government liquor inspectors was able to close down all competitors, which meant that production in Comitan and San Cristobal was completely stopped save for the factories of this family. In the first part of this period, then, Aguacatenangueros bought all their aguardiente from Comitan, and it was and still is known as 273* 548 comiteco by Indians and ladinos throughout the area. With the closing down of the several factories that produced aguardiente, Indians--principally Chamulas--began to manufacture the aguardiente in clandestine stills in mountain areas that were apparently difficult to patrol. The monopoly determined price of about 90 [435] pesos a garafón (18 liters) was cut nearly in half by these clandestine operators.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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*273 887 621 Old men often give up drinking except when, as office holders, they are obligated to participate in drinking performances. Changes in drinking patterns during the life cycle

273* 539 are discussed by Felix Perez as follows:

HTATIK TA HNA *AMETO LEK SYA*BE C'IN TRAWO, HO*TIK X*ATEHOTIK *A MATO HNA*TIK YUC'EL *A C'IN TRAWI.

My father drank aguardiente a lot. We worked, we didn't know how to drink aguardiente.

*EHK STUKEL KOM TA YUC'EL Z'IN *EHK C'IN TRAWI.

Then he himself stopped drinking trago.

*ATEHON HPAS PUERSA NAME TALE MATO KUC'LEK *EHK *A C'IN TRAWI.

I worked, I made an effort for several years. I didn't drink much trago.

YUN Z'IN TE HLIHK HZAK MANYA Z'IN *EHKE, KUC' PERO YUN LA KILIX TEK TE *AY TU*Y KUN Z'IN *EHKE.

Then the madness began to get hold of me, and I drank, but it was because I saw that I had something of my own.

Composition of drinking groups

273* 571 Almost without exception, men drink in groups rather than alone. The importance of companions in the development of a 273* 539 drinking situation is suggested by Sabino Hernandez' description 571 of one such situation:

TAL Z'IN *IL *ABANKIL, STAT CIKO, BETO Z'INI.

In came your elder brother, the father of Francisco, Alberto.

HUL SK'AN HUN KWARTA XC'IN YA*AL.

He came to ask for a cuarto of aguardiente.

273* 539 • 571 HA* Z'INABI; *OC KUC' SOK, Z'INABI.

Then I entered into drinking with him.

LAH Z'IN TE HUN KWARTA Z'IN HC'IN-KA*ALTIK Z'INE.

We finished a cuarto of aguardiente.

HK'AN HUN XAN KWARTA KU*N *EHUK.

I ordered another cuarto for my part.

KUC' SOK Z'INABI.

I drank this with him.

KON SOK Z'INABI YUKUBEL XAN, TAL XAN YAN WINIKETIK.

With that the drunk began, other men came.

LIHK HZOB HBAHTIK XAN...

We began to gather together again . . .

MUK'UBIX LO*L *ABI.

(The drinking situation) began to come out bigger.

Solitary drinking is rare. Speaking of one Antonio who has come repeatedly to his friend's house, already drunk, and has finally gone off alone, Carmen Espinoza laughs:

*E MA*Y SHOK XC'IN-TUKEL, HE-HE-HE-HE-!

And he doesn't have a companion, he's all by himself! Ha, ha, ha.

273* 571 [124] The most frequent response to the question, "How do you begin to drink?" was "when someone invites me." The invitation may come from brothers, compadres, "friends" or "companions" (these classes, as I have noted, tend to intersect in the same

273* individuals), and occasionally one's children. The close association of drinking with household rituals--birth, baptism, marriage, illness and death, the building of a new house, the settling of disputes--is consistent with this pattern, for it is kinsmen and neighbors (often also compadres) who participate in these rituals. Men who are not related become involved together in drinking performances by virtue of the fact that certain roles--those of officeholders in the civil and religious hierarchies--entail ceremonial drinking by definition. Alternatively, men who are not friends or relatives may drink together whenever they choose to continue drinking after their closer companions have stopped. Individual patterns of drinking vary. Of the seventy-six men asked how long they usually continue drinking, once they have begun, six reported that they drink less than a day, thirty-four that they drink a full day or a day and a night, nineteen that they drink two or three days, and nine that they drink four days or more. Thus about 40 per cent of the men questioned reported that once they engage in a drinking performance, they continue drinking for two days or more. This being the case, it is fairly likely that some or all of one's drinking companions of the first day of drinking have chosen to sober up on the second day. The man who cannot find friends to drink with must either stop drinking himself or relax his restrictions on the characteristics of drinking companions. The

273* social distance between drinking companions increases with the
•571 length of time from the original drinking situation, and one finds men who live great distances apart and even men from opposite barrios (who are afraid of each other when sober) sharing a bottle of aguardiente as the days go by.

273* Aguacatenango men drink largely within the community,
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571 and even when men drink in market towns such as Pinola or Teopisca they tend to drink with their traveling companions and not with ladinos. (The one or two reports of Aguacatenangueros drinking with ladinos involved fully bilingual individuals, and they ended with fighting or loss of property by the Aguacatenango men.)

273* Drinking in Aguacatenango is scheduled in terms of the
182 calendar of saints' days and by the occurrence of critical events in the life cycle of individuals--e.g., birth, baptism, marriage (and sometimes divorce), and death. Drinking is also an essential part of the resolution or the escalation of conflict, of illness and curing, of the branding of livestock and of the consecration of new buildings. Participation in a particular drinking cycle is largely determined by--and signifies--an individual's membership in a household group, in the civil or the religious hierarchy, or in the larger, highly relational role set including bilateral kindred, ritual kinsmen, and neigh-
ooo bors. Participation in drinking cycles is restricted to adult

273* 695 Drinking is characteristic in court settlement once the outcome has been decided. One or both parties to the dispute will present one to five liters of aguardiente to the ayuntamiento who with the parties will drink it up, the aguardiente being equally distributed among all persons present, the relative order of drinking being that described in Chapter II.

273* 695 571 While interpretations of the "meaning of drinking" in the terminal period of the settlement of a dispute are by and large speculative, we may observe that such drinking appears to signal that the role relationships specific to the dispute are now dissolved. That is, the court no longer judges, and the disputants are no longer in jeopardy with reference to each other. Rather it is the case that the relationships between those involved have been returned to their pre-conflict state. The enduring relationships between the individuals previous to the conflict again hold. It should also be observed that the gift to the ayuntamiento of aguardiente is a form of payment for having mediated the dispute.

273* 695 Drinking performances in conflict settlement can be easily identified as either ceremonial or informal. The ceremonial drinking expression following conflict settlement begins with the presentation of the aguardiente to the ayuntamiento by one of the parties to the dispute. The ceremonial drinking segment terminates when this aguardiente has been drunk up by those present. Addi-

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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CHAPTER V

SUMMING THE MATTER UP

273* 554 There are basically two patterns of drinking among the Aguacatenangueros. The first of these we may define as the internally complex unit ± ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking (but at least one of these). The second of these we will define as intermittent non-cumulative drinking--that is, drinking performances which do not lead to deep drunkenness. These two patterns of drinking performances are associated with large classes of the population. The ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking pattern is expressed by married males. The intermittent non-cumulative drinking pattern is expressed by all other persons (unmarried males and all females).[1] When individuals drink, they are constrained to express one pattern or the other as is congruent with their role. By drinking in a particular way, an individual certifies his membership in a particular role class.

273* 591 885 Adult males (equivalent to males married at least once) drink within the limitations of the ceremonial drinking ± in-

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[184] [171] [1]This particular contrast is not general to all Tzeltal-Tzotzil speakers in the Chiapas highlands.

273 formal drinking pattern. These limits may be expressed in terms
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[885] of the necessity to drink under those circumstances when one is a member of a group which is engaging in a ceremonial drinking sequence. Every male is a member of several such groups. Under most conditions the ceremonial drinking segment leads to deep drunkenness. Under most conditions the ceremonial drinking segment is followed by an informal drinking segment. Informal drinking segments also lead to deep drunkenness. Following the participation in such segments, a man probably recuperates for a day before he returns to his regular daily routines. Hence a typical drinking performance may be expressed as ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking + recuperating period.

273 527 623 578 755 The ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking pattern is, as we have seen, an essential component of many recurring performances in Aguacatenango. We have described the role of drinking in the celebration of family and community holidays, the certification of civil authority, the resolution of conflict, and the etiology as well as the treatment of illness. The indispensability of drinking to such performances is suggested in the following exchange between the ayuntamiento which is retiring and the ayuntamiento which is entering office (as reported by Juan Perez).

273* these performances. Ceremonial drinking-informal drinking performances involve the careful pacing of drinking so that every member of the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking group is in an equivalent state of drunkenness (insofar as this can be controlled by controlling the distribution of aguardiente). When members of such a group relate to people who are outside it--who have not been drinking--the probability of hostility and [593] violence increases. Women are warned that their husbands, as a result of having participated in a ceremonial drinking performance, will be more "temperamental" in interaction; will be more likely to curse them and strike them for any minor irritation. Proper, relaxed, behavior is possible between individuals who are fellow ceremonial drinking or informal drinking members, or between individuals who are sober, but are more difficult to express between individuals one of whom is drunk and the other of whom is sober.

Ceremonial drinking-informal drinking performances result in side effects which participants would prefer not to accept as the basis for further inference and action. Blows or harsh words, that might be exchanged if these were used to define the quality of interpersonal relations, would exclude other possible transactions such as loaning money or goods, asking favors for curing, exchanging labor and so on. Under such circumstances in Aguacatenango, there is developed a "theory" of

273* ceremonial drinking-informal drinking performances which spe-
• 571 cifically precludes using drunken behavior as a basis for further inference and action. The detectable intent of a drunken man's behavior is irrelevant to one's relationship with him when he is sober. The normal character evaluation procedures which individuals use to form estimates of the behavior potential of others is stopped. This, like all conditions, however, is only proximate as is indicated in a number of texts in which drunken behavior is used as a basis for character evaluation. Nonetheless, such evaluations tend to count for less when some man's character is being summed up.

273* The non-optional character of drinking performances over broad classes of social roles precludes the easy diagnosis of specific "reasons" why any particular individual drinks. Required and customary behavior patterns do not permit a facile explanation as to the intent of a particular individual in engaging in them. In turn, the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking pattern is so general and so recurring across settings and circumstances that it is difficult to conclude the "individuals drink to reduce anxiety" (p. 3 of this thesis) or that "drinking serves a predominantly integrative role" (ibid.) or that drinking is related to "variables indicating a personal rather than a corporate organization" (ibid.). An anthropologist, in the face of conclusions such as these, must point out that

18 When a serious illness In the Eyes of the Ancestors
caused by witchcraft has been cured, the patient
789 must be protected against reentry of the evil by a gift of medicine to the house. Palm crosses are made for the corner posts and the entry, and a medicine consisting of a mixture of garlic and creosote, the seeds of mustard, and *poščan*, a "hot" herb, is mixed. As the crosses are nailed on the posts, the curer marks a cross with the medicine over the palm cross. This "covers the eyes of the evil spirit" so that it will not enter the house.

776 The relationship between house spirit and the spirits of the residents is
342 an uneasy one. Fear is associated with this capricious spirit, who might make an alliance with evil spirits, and whose power is evident only in sickness and in death, never in good deeds. A sense of alienation is conveyed in the fact that the house spirit and the spirits of the spring are conceived of as Ladinos. Spirits of the house and of the landscape are exacting landlords from whom the tenants expect nothing in return for their offerings
[782] but freedom from harm. Acceptance of the offerings seals a contract between spiritual occupants that must continually be renewed in order to maintain the balance of security expressed in the phrase "to be of one heart." The payment of a "tribute" in the form of food, liquor, and enter-
[557] [571] [782] tainment is part of a larger strategy by which these Indians ensure their survival by appeasement of overlords, demanding government officials, and the very rats which live in their houses and feed on the corn they store in the eaves.

778 *The springs.* Other meeting grounds for the spirits of people and
312 places are the springs. The major spring, San Nicolás, is located on the southwestern periphery of the town. It provides drinking water and water for irrigating the cultivated lands. A second spring, called Pahaltón, lies closer to the village and provides a smaller stream of water directed into
[776] the canals irrigating the fields of the center. Some say the spirit of San Nicolás is a small Ladino boy; others say he is a man. The spirit of Pahaltón is a female non-Indian, or *Ladina*. The spirits of these waters are able to ef-
778 fect miraculous cures for patients who have lost their souls or those who
312 are of two hearts because of upset social relations in the home. Male pa-
755 tients are brought to San Nicolás and female patients are brought to Pahaltón to seek a miracle. In the curing ceremony an arch of flowers entwined in pine boughs is constructed as closely as possible to the spring

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The action of the Ejido Commission of the town reveals the knowledge of how to manipulate political and economic power. By sending the 200-peso bribe, they were able to block the independence movement before the leadership had arrived. The extreme tactics used by the independence leaders in killing their opponents approximates the kind of political homicide characteristic of the central plateau (Friedrich 1962). The Indians of the center have been able to maintain their ejido grants intact. However, the political discrimination against residents of both colonias and barrios—no resident of either (except for the Huistecan mentioned above) has been elected president, and they never serve in any post higher than that of assistant judge—will undoubtedly lead to further unrest as the populations expand.

Bureaucratic inefficiency and corruption minimize the potential effectiveness of the ejido organization at local, state, and national levels. Projects undertaken by the national government lose their effectiveness when they are promoted by fraudulent claims, taking advantage of the presumed illiteracy and ignorance of the peasantry. The following case illustrates both the tactics of the ejido agents and the countertactics of the local Indians, resulting in a stalemate in the development projects planned and projected at the national level.

In August, two years ago, the Ejido Bank agents came to town with an offer to lend money on crops. We didn't want to borrow it, but Francisco, carbrón! [*then president of the town*], *said we should do it. "Good," we said. We accepted their terms. They said, "We will give fertilizer. It won't cost you a cent. We have tried it. It will give a good crop. We will give you money every six months, and you will pay the interest of nine percent. We will pay for all the costs. It won't cost you anything for the fertilizer."*

In six months, when the bank agents came to get the interest, they charged us six hundred pesos for the fertilizer. We did not want to receive the second load of fertilizer. We presented our case to the Jefe *and told him, "Why did you say it would not cost anything?" He replied, "No,* muchacho [*boy*], *I told you* [*using the familiar form* te dije] *that the fertilizer is going to cost."*

We used seven bags of fertilizer on each hectare for which they charged

us 65 pesos per bag. It was the first time we had used it and we had very good crops. We got together and decided not to pay for the fertilizer. We called the bank agents and requested that we be relieved of the charge because the crops had failed. We showed him a milpa which is a low plot that is too wet for a good crop. We just throw the seed there but don't work on it because it isn't worth the trouble.

We went to a lawyer in Tuxtla. He told us the bank would have to pay for the fertilizer since they had promised it. The lawyer is the helper of the campesinos [*poor farmers*].

Several points of significance can be noted in this case: (1) the Indians are reluctant to take credit risks because of unfortunate experiences in the past; (2) they react to deception with their own deceptions, showing the engineer the land which had not only not been fertilized but had never been weeded or cared for; and (3) they seek professional legal aid in dealing with government agents in order to equalize the contest in which they feel disadvantaged. These first two behavioral syndromes are culturally conditioned responses; the third represents an innovation. By seeking professional aid for which they pay a fee, the Indians are breaking the monopoly of power held by the caciques to whom they were formerly bound in a network of personal obligations incurred in such transactions.

Recent colonization of national lands since the 1950s has introduced a new kind of ejido settlement. Since most of the lands contiguous to settled towns were absorbed in the early days of the ejido grant, movement has been into lands outside the domain of established centers. This spontaneous colonization of unexploited land has followed the penetration of new highways in Quintana Roo, Campeche, Chiapas, Tabasco, and Vera Cruz (de la Peña 1951:348). In defense of their rights to the new lands, the colonists, often of diverse origins, develop a political consciousness. Mestizos and Indians of different towns work together in securing official ejido status for their lands. Acculturation to the national language and ways of life is much greater in these mixed centers than in the settled populations that were part of the original ejido tracts. Consciousness of their rights under national law and independence from traditional loyalties means that these new settlements may be the basis for welding Indians into the na-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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usual, and seeing the pesos, picked them up. The "spirit of the money" left the village forever. The story reveals not only the sense of deprivation Indians feel in losing wealth to Ladinos (historically land the Indians had lost through fraud or legal trickery during the Porfirio Diaz period), but also their realization of their own responsibility for letting their assets slip out of their control.

Payment of interest on money borrowed is justified in the calculations of the Indians for loans made within as well as outside of the community. Interest, called *shol tak'in*, or "head" of money, makes it possible for the borrower to work, and thus to earn, so the "owner" has the right to charge for the use. The rate on loans made within the pueblo has risen from 2 or 3 pesos a month for 100 pesos to 5 pesos, thus equalizing the rate with that charged in the neighboring Ladino town. The same rate is applied between relatives as nonkin. The advantage of intracommunity borrowing is that the lender does not demand an immediate return, or as high security. Ladinos of the neighboring town tend to demand items of greater value than the debt held as security—one Ladino held title to land worth 1,000 pesos for a 50-peso debt, and threatened to foreclose. Within the pueblo, security of about the same value as the loan is asked except in the case of neighbors and relatives who can be reminded every day of the debt. And they are.

Markets. In marketing, the Indians of Tzoʔontahal have neither extended nor gained control over the selling and buying operations that have been pursued since before the opening of the Pan-American Highway in 1955. The pottery which is produced locally was formerly carried on horseback to the smaller towns within a radius of fifty miles. The pottery was marketed directly by the men of the household which produced it, with no specialization in trading by commercial travelers, as had happened in the Zapotec and other areas of Mexico. Since the penetration of the Pan-American Highway, the men take the pottery produced in their households by bus or on the trucks to either San Cristóbal or Comitán. This tends to polarize trading operations and dry up the traffic into small towns not connected by the highway. As a result, the wholesale trade in San Cristóbal and Comitán has increased in the past decade, with dealers

601 wife, and wife's sister with the term *muʔ*. This same term is used by women to refer to sister's husband, and to husband's brother. Men refer to sister's husband, wife's brother and wife's parents' brothers as *b'al*, while women refer to brother's wife and husband's sister as *haʔwan*. The rule is that siblings-in-law of opposite sex of speaker are classified as muʔ and siblings-in-law of same sex as speaker are differentiated by sex of speaker so that men classify them as b'al and women classify them as haʔwan. Parents-in-law are referred to as *tat niʔal* and *meʔ niʔal* and called father and mother. Wives of sons and brothers' sons are referred to as *ḳalib'* by men.

Fig. 4. Kinship Terms for Affinal Relatives

	Collateral	Lineal		Collateral
+1		Nial Tat	Nial Meʔ	
−1	Bal	(Hmamlal) Kinam		Muʔ
	Kihtz'in			

Underlined term is vocative.

Affinal terminology is not applied to spouses of parents' siblings; the terms for father and mother or elder sister and elder brother, depending on their age relative to ego, are extended to them (Fig. 4).

601 The term for assistant in a ceremony, *b'alniʔal*, using the combined
796 terms for ego's generation and parental generation in-laws, may indicate
794 that this group formerly served in household ceremonies. They are still
174 called upon for assistance, but nonrelated neighbors and compadres or
592 godchildren may also assist and the same term is applied to all.

571 Significant reference groups are designated by the Spanish derived terms
197 *yermanotaḳ*, *ḳumparetaḳ*, and *bersinataḳ*. The yermanotak is comprised
192 of siblings, their spouses, and siblings of parents; the term is derived from the Spanish *hermanos;* kumparetak, meaning the ritual co-parents, is a

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term derived from compadres; and bersinatak, meaning the neighbors, is derived from *vecinos*. When informants are asked to summarize who participates in rituals, these three groups are always mentioned. They are not exclusive groupings; neighbors or siblings may be chosen as compadres, in which case the reference and vocative terms for compadres are preferred to any previous terminology. Activation of any of these ties depends on choice and convenience. Proximity of residence is of greater importance in day-to-day exchanges of assistance or visiting than closeness of genealogical tie. Interaction rates have been quantified in an earlier study of the community (J. Nash 1960; 1964).

Another way of referring to the yermanotak is with the plural form of the Indian patronym. Members of the Shunton family would, for example, be called the Shuntonetik. Several Indian surnames are linked to a Spanish patronym. For example, the Shunton, along with Lin, Mai, and Wolto? are linked to the name Lopez. In other Tzeltal and Tzotzil-speaking communities, these Indian surname groups have a greater cohesiveness, and in the recent past held corporate lands which they worked in common, as in Larraínzar (Holland 1963); Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947, Siverts 1960) and San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961). In these towns, the Spanish patronym designated a clan marked by exogamy and responsibility of the elders for maintaining social control. In Tzo?ontahal, the tie of descent has given way to an emphasis on collateral links. Exogamy of the Indian name group is the only surviving function of the lineage, and when this has been violated, there are only minor repercussions.

While the Spanish-derived collective terms are restricted to domestic groupings, the Tzeltal collective term for elders, me?iltatil, refers to the three central groups responsible for social control in the community. Derived from the terms for mother, *me?*, and father, *tat*, it is metaphorically extended to include the sponsors in household ceremonies, the curers acting as guardians of their side of the dual division, and the civil officials. Each of the groups is vested with a different level of authority in the community. This is summarized briefly below.

1. Household sponsors: The Spanish institution of ritual godparenthood has been fused with the indigenous system of sponsorship by me?iltatil. When a child is baptized, his god-parents are included as

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608 members of the me?iltatil along with relatives and sometimes neigh-
571 bors. They are his sponsors at subsequent life crises—rituals of betrothal, marriage, and death. All of these people become co-parents to each other and to the child's parents. This relationship lasts throughout his and their lifetime. If the marriage bond is threatened, the me?iltatil gather to hear the complaints and try to resolve the problems. When a person dies, his me?iltatil go to his wake to watch over his spirit. He in turn is expected to help in the household of his me?iltatil when they have a ceremony by bringing wood or serving food and drink to guests.

624 2. Civil officials: The civil officials as a group may also be called
561 the me?iltatil; the term has special reference to the judges who represent the ancestors in their judgment of wrongdoers. In their passage through office from lower to higher positions, they are ranked in age-graded sets of junior officials (policemen), senior officials (regidores), and elder officials (judges), with the highest respect in ceremonial occasions accorded to the principales, two men, one from each side of the dual division, selected from those who have served in all offices. Drinking order, marching order, and seating order reflect the age-ordered rank in all ceremonial occasions.

[192] The link between the me?iltatil of the household and the me?iltatil of the civil authority is provided by a group of officials called the *naka-*
571 *wanehetik*. These men are chosen from among bilaterally related
621 relatives, ritual co-parents, and neighbors who have served in office in
602 the church or the town hall and know the prayers. They direct cere-
794 monies in the house at times of baptism, betrothal, death, and when
608 the household head enters a community office. They are the ones who know how the ancestors did things and "watch and see" that all is done in accord with custom. They instruct the new official in the prayers he
[574] must memorize. Their wives direct the preparation of food by the younger women, and one of them may serve as chief woman speaker greeting guests.

621 3. Curers: Curers are similarly ranked according to age and years
756 in practice. The elder curer on each side of the dual division is charged
561 with guarding his side against the intrusion of evil spirits in the form of his own animal spirit. It is in this function of guardianship that the curers are referred to as me?iltatil.

The me'iltatil is the core institution preserving cultural continuity in the community. The exercise of authority and social control depended on a system of checks and balances in which the ancestors watched over the community, the judges watched over the curers to see that they did not abuse their power, and the curers watched over their side of the dual division to see that no witches or evil spirits caused harm. The validation of power is based on the kinship model of age-authority. The recruitment and functions of each of the three manifestations of this ancestral authority will be discussed in the following chapters on life crisis rituals, curing, and civil government. 182 621 602 608 571

The Household and Family 592

The household unit is a crystallization at a given point in time of consanguineously and affinally related people within a wider kinship matrix. It is the most important structural unit providing for economic cooperation, socialization of the young, and care and sustenance of the aged. It provides the setting and the personnel for the transmission of traditional prayers and ritual procedures of the civil and religious hierarchy. The composition of the unit is constantly changing due to internal changes in the life cycles of its members as well as changes in the wider kinship matrix. The decisions made in response to these changes reveal both traditionally established adjustments to life crises and adaptations to social changes originating outside the family. The kinds of choices made in residence after marriage as well as in inheritance and succession to leadership in the household do not always conform to the cultural formulae for handling them. The exigencies of space, time, economic, and social considerations may outweigh the ideological considerations of what ought to be done.

The formula for the developmental cycle of the household is the following: when a man marries, he lives with his bride's family for one year, working in her father's fields. He then returns to his father's household to live and work with him until his father is too old to manage the work in the field. The father then gives equal shares of his land and animals to each of his children, both male and female. The youngest child, or the last one to get married, remains in the parental house, taking care of the aged 591 [425] 591 593

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Compadres, or ritual kin, are the next most important pool from which to draw assistance. The same restrictions on exchanges between actual kin apply to those between ritual kin. The one task which is confined to brothers and not extended to compadres is that of house-building. 476 608 [342] [593]

Relationships between members of the household are defined by daily work tasks, commensality, sharing a living space, and participation in the same ceremonial events. The same rules which govern behavior in the family are extended to the wider community. The extension of the terms elder brother and elder sister, father and mother, and younger sibling to all of the people in one's own side of the dual division implies a pattern of behavior similar to that of the family. The fundamental equation in social relations is age-respect-deference-prestige. 592 601 621 571 561

The bilaterally extended kinship group provides the pattern structuring relations throughout the community. It is a framework allowing wide choice in selecting individuals with whom ceremonial and work relations are contracted. Relative age has superseded generation and descent as the principle governing relationships of authority and respect from the nuclear family to the hierarchy or community officials. These patterns will be traced in other institutions in following chapters. 602 476 561

Chapter 5

Rituals of Life Crisis

571 608 602 The ceremonial occasions marking baptism, betrothal, and death define the network of bilateral relatives, neighbors, and compadres who will guide and help a person throughout his life. These people make up the group called me?iltatil. The constitute a corporate group, but one which is tied to a single transaction. The sense of corporate identity is strengthened by the same group being called upon to act in subsequent household celebrations. But for each set of me?iltatil there is almost always a different membership since the participants are selected for a particular event. The behavior during these ceremonials is marked by formality and replication of a limited number of ceremonial acts. Through this replication, the rituals dramatize continuity with the past and foster a sense of changelessness. The symbolic act establishing the bond is the embrace, called *sme?is-petb'ak*. Within the ritual setting, the child learns whom he can turn to for help and what he is expected to do in his home and community. [192]

Baptism

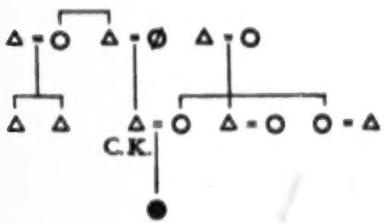
852 774 After a month of seclusion when the child is hidden from public view, the soul is expected to have found its place in the child's body. A ceremony called *ki'n ha?* (water ceremony) then takes place with the mother and grandmother in attendance. The three enter the sweatbath, and the mother and child are bathed in hot water and then cold. [192]

If the child cries frequently, it is suspected that his soul is still not firmly lodged and has been wandering in the streets where it encounters animal spirits that frighten him. This requires a soul-calling ceremony performed

852
608 but on other occasions they are as likely to be chosen from among peers of the parents.

608 The occasions on which the first informant in Table 20 acquired compa-
571 dres are spelled out in the following diagrams to show the growth of the
[128] network of compadrazgo relations in the course of a lifetime.

608 *Compadres of C. K., sixty-five-year-old man.* C. K. chose as com-
571 padres on the occasion of the baptism of his first child an older man who
852 lived in the same section of town. The diagram shows the composition of
608 the baptismal party. The darkened symbol in this and the following dia-
[601] grams represents the child baptized.



C. K. addresses all of the guests by the term "compadre" and refers to the group as "kumparetak." The second child has the same padrino, and the same group of relatives attended the ceremony. For the third child, C. K. chose a Ladino shopkeeper from the neighboring town. He chose him because, "I sold wheat to him, and I saw he was honorable." C. K. had a house fiesta to which the shopkeeper came with his wife. This is somewhat unusual and occurred because the compadre was from another town. C. K. chose as the padrino of his fourth child another Ladino he knew in the same town, but the padrino did not attend the house fiesta to which only his sister, her husband, and her husband's brother came. A woman prayer-reciter of the same section was chosen as *madrina* of his fifth and sixth child when C. K. was fiscal. A younger man of the same section was chosen as the padrino of the seventh child. C. K. helped his son select the padrino of a grandson born in his house, a man from the same section.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 120]

[P. 119]

TABLE 20. Relationship of Individual to Compadres

Informant's family status	Occasion	Residence of compadre: Same section	Opposite section	Other barrio	Neighboring town	Total	Relationship: Relative	Non-relative	Total
65-year-old man, wife, 5 grown children	Baptism of godchild	13	5			18		18	18
	Wedding	31				31	12	19	31
	Baptism of own child	3			2	5		5	5
	Total	47	5		2	54	12	42	54
42-year-old man, wife, adopted daughter	Baptism of godchild	12	1			13	2	11	13
	Wedding	13	3	5		21	6	15	21
	Confirmation		2			2		2	2
	Blessing of loudspeaker	2			2	4		2	2
	Total	27	6	5	2	40	8	30	38
35-year-old man, wife, 5 children	Baptism of godchild	7				7	4	3	7
	Baptism of own child	4			1	5		5	5
	Wedding	4				4		4	4
	House saint	2				2	1	1	2
	Total	17			1	18	5	13	18
34-year-old widow	Baptism of godchild	17	1	1		19	15	4	19
	Wedding	7	3			10	2	8	10
	House saint	2	1		1	4	1	3	4
	Confirmation	1				1	1		1
	Total	27	5	1	1	34	19	15	34
	TOTAL	118	16	6	6	146	44	100	144

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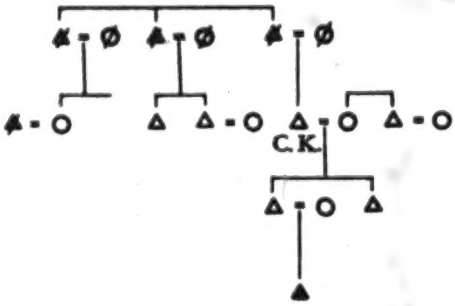
section. Attending this house fiesta was the group of relatives represented in the diagram.



The relatives assembled are essentially the same as those who attended the birth of C. K.'s first child. They are the core of the me?iltatil for his family, a core which expands to include additional compadres and neighbors for special house rituals. The second and third grandchildren had as padrino a man from the opposite section.

In summary, C. K. has chosen four Indian compadres and two Ladino compadres for the baptisms of his own children. Other members of the me?iltatil who became compadres on these occasions include five men and three women who are bilateral and affinal relatives.

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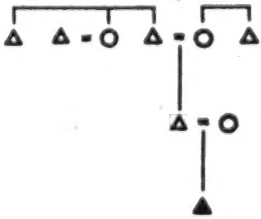
C. K. has been asked to be padrino of baptism by four persons:

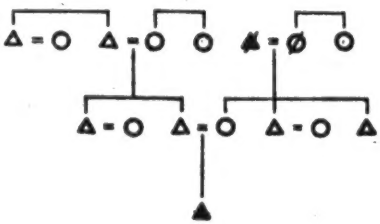
1. A neighbor asked him to be padrino of his child. At a small fiesta, he became compadre of the father and godfather of the child.

2. A man from the opposite section asked him to be padrino of his son's child, and he acquired the group of compadres shown in the diagram.

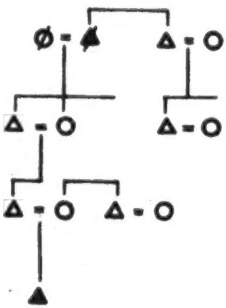
[601]



3. A man of the same section asked him to be padrino, and he acquired 6 compadres and 7 comadres. 608 571 852 601

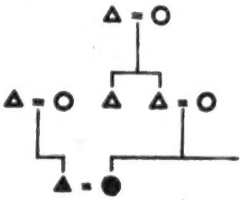


4. A man of same section asked him to be padrino, and he acquired 5 compadres and 5 comadres.



He has been asked to be padrino of marriage ceremonies, also by four parties. The darkneed symbols represent the individuals married. 608 571 585

1. A man of the same section.



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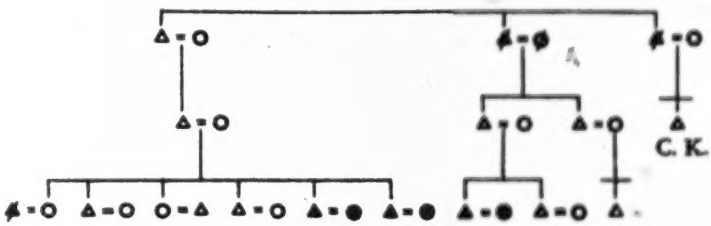
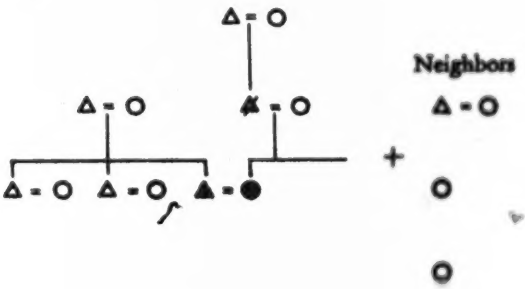
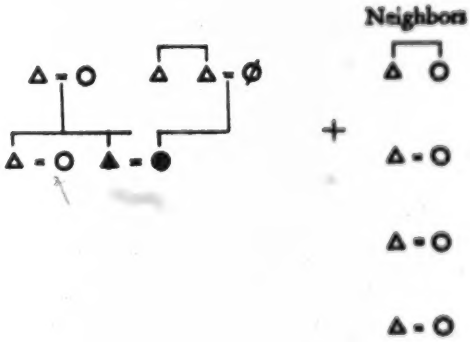
2. The sons of his brother's son.



3. A neighbor's son.



4. A man of the same section.



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In becoming a padrino of baptism and marriage, C. K. has acquired 33 compadres, 31 comadres, 4 godchildren of baptism, and 7 godchildren of marriage, 4 of which are his nephews. Adding to the 6 compadres of baptism for his own children, he has 39 compadres and 37 comadres, a total of 76. Most people by the time they have reached 60 have acquired well over 50 compadres. 608 571 852 586

The relationship between compadres is one of respect, and the referential and vocative terms, *kumpare* and *kumare*, or compadre and comrade in Spanish, take precedence over any other relationship term. The godchild is expected to bring a load of wood to his padrino's house when the latter has a household ceremonial, and when the godchild is old enough, he will serve as b'alnial, or assistant. All the people who attend the household ceremony following the church baptism become compadres and constitute the kumparetak. Compadres attend each other's household ceremonials, acting as nakawanehetik (attendants who are present at all household ceremonials) or b'alnialetik. Compadrazgo is patterned on a pre-Conquest institution establishing ties between attendants in household rituals called maliwanehetik. 852 788 794 592

The relationship of protection and guidance that is to characterize the tie between co-parents, godchildren and their godparents for the rest of their lives is symbolized in the behavior formally prescribed in the baptism ceremony. On the day of baptism, the child is dressed in clothing given by his godparents. The parents and grandparents of the child go together with the godparent to the church. While the child is being baptized by the priest, he is held by his godfather if he is a boy, or by her godmother if a girl. The priest throws water and salt on the child and prays over him, baptizing him in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. After the ceremony the participants embrace the child and each other in front of the church, symbolizing the status they now occupy in respect to the child, his grandparents, and parents. Without this performance, the ritual terms of comadre, compadre, or padrino cannot be used.[1] 852 608 571

1. This behavioral definition of the ritual kinship tie in the sme'ispetb'ak is illustrated in the following incident: The wife of a man who had been asked to be a child's godparent was absent when the priest arrived for the ceremony. Her husband went to the church with the parents and grandparents of the child and embraced them at the church steps. Although

852 The church ceremony is followed by another ceremony in the house of
608 the child's parents. As the group returning from the church enters the
571 house, they are greeted with the pat'o'tan by the maliwanehetik who are
788 waiting for them in the house. As they enter, each of the returning party says, "You go forward, kumpare." They embrace all of the waiting party, an act which establishes their relationship as compadres with the entire company. When the padrinos leave, the grandparents and parents of the
[273] child go to a spot before the eaves outside the house; there the father of
[593] the child serves liquor to the padrinos and the grandparents of the child.
[603] The drink is called "the finale as the compadres leave." The group must finish the entire liter "since it is a gift," and if there are only one or two grandparents, they may get fairly drunk. As the compadres leave, the grandpaernts say, "Over the soil, over the mud where you take your holy
[778] godchild, your holy flower, your holy candle." The child, referred to metaphorically as holy flower, holy candle, is identified with the most sacred symbols of the culture.[2]

608 The emphasis on the group relationship in Tzo'ontahal contrasts with
571 the form of compadrazgo found in the central plateau of Mexico where
171 the dyadic tie between two compadres provides flexibility in achieving instrumental ends in political or economic life.[3] Some of the new leaders in economic enterprises are beginning to emphasize the dyadic contract in their compadrazgo relationships to achieve political support, but its greatest importance is still based on creating or reinforcing group solidarity.

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Betrothal and Marriage

The Indians of Tzo'onthal are initiated into the community of the liv-
584 ing and depart from it with ceremonies deriving from the Spanish colonial
585 culture. The courtship and marriage ceremonies continue indigenous re-

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[852] she later attended the household ceremony, she was never called kumare because of the
[571] omission of this act.
[608] 2. See Laughlin (1962) on the symbolism of the candle and flower in Zinacantan.
[171] 3. In regard to the occasions and the kind of respect relation established, compadrazgo in Tzo'ontahal is similar to the institution in other parts of Mexico (Foster 1963, Nader 1964, Wolf and Mintz 1950). The difference lies in the elaboration of the number of ties acquired through compadrazgo at each event.

tual practices and are carried on in the home. Sometimes a church and/or civil marriage is held in addition, but the union is not consumated until the traditional home marriage has taken place. 584 585

The betrothal, or *č'om*, is an extended series of negotiations in which the boy's representatives plead with the girl's family to accept the suit. Anytime in a boy's late teens or early twenties, he may initiate the suit by speaking to his father, or the father may undertake to find a wife for his son. The parents of the boy then request an older woman who has some skill in speaking the formal speeches to serve as the me? *Č'om*, mother of the betrothal, and an older man to serve as the *statal č'om*, or leader of the betrothal (sometimes he is called mam č'om or grandfather of the betrothal). These intermediaries may or may not be related to the family initiating the request. Nonkin are usually chosen from among compadres or a neighborhood group. When the father requests that they act as intermediaries, he brings a gift of liquor, chocolate, and bread. 584 [192]

Before any negotiations are begun with the girl's family, the boy's family calls together the representatives. These include his grandparents, uncles, and aunts, his padrino of baptism and confirmation, and possibly neighbors or nearby compadres of his parents. The gathering then questions the boy to learn whether his interest in the girl is sincere and exclusive of any other infatuation. In this session, called the *?ič' yo?tan* or "taking of the heart," the boy goes to each of his representatives and kneels before them as they question him, asking him if he wants that girl and only that girl. He is told that marriage is an important relationship, not to be treated "as a toy"; the boy should be interested in only this girl, and if he should cause them to have to go to the cabildo "the day after tomorrow," it would cause embarrassment to the entire company. [602] [608] [571] [192] [581]

At the final gathering, called the *?ič' rason* or "taking of the understanding," the assembled me?iltatil of both the boy and the girl give the couple further advice. The boy is told what is expected of him in the marriage. It is a minimal statement: he should not leave her tomorrow, he should not beat her, he should bring home corn and beans, and all will be well. The girl is told that she should prepare her husband's meals and be waiting for him in the house when he comes home from work. Respect, called "hearing" and "feeling" (both combined in the verb *I?awayi*), is [192] 581 584

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584 there is an increase with each trip. Except for the transfer of money in the
431 last trip, the gift is completely in consumables—chickens, bread, liquor, chocolate, and sugar. With many of the older men becoming teetotalers, soda has become an established part of the gift exchange as well. Two elements of the gift exchange are stable in all marriages—the four chickens each cooked and wrapped in fifteen tortillas with a chile placed inside, and the chocolate. In a traditional exchange system, the quantities of some items of exchange are fixed while those of other items fluctuate; gifts of bread, liquor, and money, for example, are of varying quantity in Tzoʔontahal. The fixed quantities of chicken, chocolate, and tortillas establish conformity to community standards while the fluctuating ones indicate the relative prestige of the family.

TABLE 21. Relation of Members of Betrothal Party to Gifts

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Member of the betrothal party	*Time of participation*	*Function*
608 571 Mother of the betrothal (Meʔ Čʼom)	Initiates action	At first, carries the gift of bread, chocolate, and brown sugar. Burden lightens as others take over these gifts, so that at end she carries only corn gruel and one large piece of bread
Elder of the betrothal (Mam Čʼom)	On fourth visit, accompanies mother of the betrothal	Carries liquor until Measurer of liquor takes over, then carries only sweetened liquor served to women
Measurer of liquor (Pʼ is haʔ)	About seventh visit, accompanies mother and elder of the betrothal when suit is accepted	Carries white liquor served to men and that given as gift
Basket carrier (La smoč, usually wife of Pʼis haʔ)	Accompanies mother and elder of the betrothal and Measurer of liquor when suit is accepted	Carries bread throughout final visits before "taking of the understanding"
Carrier of brown sugar (Čʼup ʔaskah)	On last visit before "taking of the understanding," accompanies mother, elder, measurer, and basket carrier	Carries sweet liquor and soda for last visit and for "taking of the understanding"

The links between members of the me?iltatil of a couple united in marriage are reinforced if another marriage occurs between the two households. While this does not provide a basis for prescribed or preferred mating, those who have such exchanges say they prefer it because the negotiations in the č'om proceed more amicably, especially in the earlier stage. 571 58 608

Solidarity of the group is reinforced when the me?iltatil are called upon to help settle conflicts that arise in the marriage. The household review of marital conflict requires a formal gathering of all the members of the betrothal party who represented both the husband and the wife. Parents of the couple state the evidence and recite the events which led up to the conflict. The husband or wife may interject, speaking in their own defense. The elders suggest how the person judged guilty (usually the man) ought to behave and what his reponsibilities are. A transcription of one such case is included in Appendix 1A. This concerns a couple who had separated two years after the marriage. The following statement of the padrino of the wedding ceremony, speaking in lieu of the leader of the č'om who could not be present, shows the techniques they use to adjust relations: 593 578 608 571 621

Now he [the husband] wants to change for the better. You [speaking to the husband] ought not to drink. It is better to eat meat and vegetables and find corn and beans for your wife and child. Now we have arranged it, and you can take your wife and child to your house.

A successful outcome depends on all people in the dispute accepting the judgment of the elders. If this cannot be achieved, the abused partner seeks redress in the courts. Women are most frequently the plaintiffs. The plaintiff is supported by her parents who appear with her in court and help argue her case. The defendant may appear with his parents, if they support him, but very often they feel shame and do not. 593 578 608 571 692

In court cases, two judges hear the evidence and they, along with the president and other civil officials deliver the verdict. The quality of interpersonal relations does not differ much from that which one finds in the household review, as can be seen in comparing the court review included in Appendix 1B with the household review. In the former case, the woman's wrath had been aroused by her husband occasionally returning to his first wife, and by his failure to give her money for expenses. Since he

593 worked in the sawmill, he was not as willing to hand over his wages to
578 his wife as is the farmer, who according to established custom gives the
608 proceeds from the sale of his crop to his wife. The judges advise the man
571 to stay sober, adding, "If you want a woman, you ought to support her.
692 You shouldn't fight." They entreat the wife to return to her husband's house "and make a fire there." They refuse to release the marriage license, and the woman's father reluctantly agrees. He has the last word, warning the husband: "The day after tomorrow, don't come back here with a couple more children and say, 'I don't want you; go back to your mother's house.' You are lucky to have a wife. If you don't have a wife, you go get drunk every day. But with a wife, life is good. She will give you coffee and corn to eat. Don't go on fighting whether drunk or sober. Both my compadres [referring to the judges] have advised you."

755 The curing ceremony as a means of adjusting interpersonal conflict is
608 discussed at greater length in the following chapter. Padrinos of baptism,
571 compadres, and other members of the patient's me?iltatil attend, both to
578 see that the curer is performing his duties properly and to lend spiritual
182 support. Like the household and court review of conflict, it permits the open airing of grievances and relies on the authority of elders. Drinking
[273] liquor is a means of restoring good feelings, either as a follow-up to the review of court cases or as a continuous measure of goodwill in curing.

182 The responsibility of the me?iltatil for repairing personal relationships
571 in the family underwrites the importance of this institution in the commu-
608 nity. In these institutionalized means of settling conflict the society recog-
578 nizes the inevitability of friction in intimate relations and draws upon the resources of personnel and techniques developed in the life crisis rituals.

182 The me?iltatil are the guardians of individuals. The security that they
156 provide depends upon the individual conforming to the group norms.
608 They are a personal reference group maintaining customary ways of be-
571 having. I shall show in the following chapters how they are linked as the inner core to a system of guardianship provided by curers within each side of the dual division and by civil authorities at the community-wide level.
182 These are the agents who, by providing models of how the progenitors
608 behaved and by channeling responses to social change, maintain the sense
571 of equilibrium and the illusion of changelessness. The sense of continuity

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The sense of continuity with the past is preserved in the ceremonials in which these officials act, but nonceremonial activities no longer reinforce the values symbolized in ritual. 182 608 571 796

Death and Burial

When a person dies, his soul is believed to go out from his tongue. The family is responsible for finding a resting place which will be satisfactory to the soul. If the dead person has died of a "good" (not caused by witchcraft) illness, the soul lingers for eight days and then goes to heaven. If the dead person has been killed, his soul stays in the village for "a month or twenty days." The reason given for this is that "the gods did not choose the hour of death, and the soul doesn't know where to go." During this waiting period the dead person "finishes his heart," or ends his emotional ties with friends and relatives. 763 764 795 [593]

Following the death, a sister of the parents of a child or some other adult woman washes the body and puts a wrap over it. The body is always laid out with the feet toward the door; the eyes are shut, and the jaw is wrapped with a kerchief to hold the mouth closed. Two candles are placed at the head and two at the feet. Flowers and a bowl to collect offerings of 2 pesos from each visitor are placed at the head of the body. The contribution given at the burial assures the giver of a hearing with Christ: 764 764 431

Everyone gives a contribution of 50 cents or a peso. Each one considers how much he can give and gives it. God listens to and speaks to those who give gifts. Those who give a candle or a little contribution of corn or flowers give an account of the dead man's life. If he had no crime on his conscience or only one crime, whoever killed him by violence or by witchcraft bears the guilt. Christ listens to the account of those who have given good contributions. Thus the help is given so that Christ will see that he did a favor to one who is poor and who has nothing to bury himself, not corn, or money, or anything to sell, not land, or cattle, or wheat. Therefore everyone who is a relative or a compadre or a neighbor brings one-fourth [bottle of liquor], a half measure of brown sugar, fifteen or twenty corncobs and one or two candles. And all men who arrive at the grave and

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346 776 782 individuals can visit the saints on their own personal missions. Appendix 3A records the visits of groups and individuals on an ordinary Sunday. Their actions in the church are part of the standardized behavior incumbent upon all those who enter the building.

Communication with the saints is ensured either by touching and kissing their images or, if the images are enclosed in glass cases, by tapping the gl with offerings of money. It is believed that one gains an audience [562] by pay..ng for it. When groups larger than individual clusters of visitors enter the church, sexual segregation is observed (for example, when a male child enters with his mother on the occasion of a mass, he remains with her until more people arrive, then leaves her to stand on the male [788] side of the nave). Ritualized wailing is done by women only. After such a [152] demonstration the women show normal composure, since wailing is a standardized mode of communication, not an outburst of uncontrolled emotion. It is private and concerns the individual wailer and the saint to which she appeals; none of the other visitors in the church indicates any sign of response to these displays. Unless there is a focused activity going [794] on, such as a mass or series of baptisms, each visiting group is an autonomous unit, carrying out its own mission.

794 People visit the church most commonly in pairs of two. They congre- 571 gate for mass in a pattern in which women and children enter first, and 562 men, who linger in the plaza until the church is partially filled, enter in clusters and take their places on the male side of the nave. The religious and civil officials enter last, and the mayordomos, whose attendance is one of the obligations of their post, move toward the altar at the front. Men attend church less frequently than do women.

The School

346 Unlike the church, the school is regarded as an alien structure. Assist- 621 ance in reconstruction and maintenance is given under pressure rather 875 than voluntarily. Until fairly recently, schoolteachers too remained unin- [177] grated in the community. In the early years of the school's existence, there [178] was a rapid turnover of teachers. The employment of a schoolmaster with a wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The school has be-

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876 den on the teacher already laboring with the barrier in communication. Despite these difficulties, the children manage to learn the basics of reading, writing, arithmetic, and Spanish in four years of schooling. The [875] teachers are devoted and spend at least seven hours in the classroom each day.

872 524 During the recess period the children play individual competitive games except when organized games are introduced by one of the teachers. There is a tendency toward ganging up on weaker individuals in fights, that occur, but I have never seen signs of marked brutality. Since the Ladino children are a small minority in the school (there are no more than a [563] half a dozen among the three hundred and twenty-four students) the Indian children do not face the discrimination found in schools with a greater proportion of Ladinos (cf. Romney and Romney 1966).

876 Discipline is no longer as strict as it was in the early years of public education. The teacher allows someone who has been hit to hit the aggressor but does not herself intercede. Threat of punishment may be made by the teacher, but I have never seen it carried out, and it is never suggested as a solution to failure to learn.

571 561 554 In comparing the domestic, civil, and religious domains of activities, the following features emerge:

1. In each domain, a hierarchy of power is present. In the house, [592] males take precedence over females, and older members over younger. [562] In the cabildo, the power hierarchy takes the form of a rank order co- [621] ordinate with age in most of the offices, while in the schoolhouse, power is polarized with all authority vested in the schoolteacher. In the church, [875] the conflict between the priest and the cofrades (Chapter 9) has not [794] been resolved. Within the ranks of the mayordomos, relationships between the elder and junior mayordomo establish a graded ranking system (Chapter 8).

571 554 576 2. Behavior in each domain is standardized. Relative rank is reflected in seating order, greeting order, and drinking order. Autonomous behavior is most marked in the domain of the church. Focused interaction is predominant in the school, where order and control are based on absorbing the attention of the child in a learning task.

3. Categories of role-bearers sit and act together in all the domains. In the home the me?eletik, the nakawanehetik, and the b'alnialetik have established seats and act in concert. Similarly in the cabildo, four ranks of officials, the principales, judges, regidores, and police, move and act together. In the church, elder and younger mayordomos move in pairs of two. 571 554 576

4. Sexual segregation is present in the home, the church, and the cabildo, but is lacking in the school. This rejection of the community standard for a group situation was the basis for some parents holding their children out of school until coerced by the federal authorities backed by the local officials. 562 871 177 178

5. Attendance in all domains involves coercion as well as voluntary action. Coercion is most marked in the school, but resistance by the parents to forced attendance and mixing of the sexes is fast wearing down in this domain. In the cabildo, the defendant is required to attend the court hearing and may even be jailed if he does not pay the fines charged against him. Coercion is covert in the home; the lack of alternative housing arrangements makes residence in the household of orientation or of procreation mandatory.

6. Sacred symbols are present in all the domains. The symbols of the cabildo and of the school relate the community to the nation with the national flags and the portraits of the president. The canes of office which are assumed as each official acquires office are symbols of local authority. The universalistic symbols of the church—the saints images, portraits, and banners—are acquired from Catholic orthodoxy, but have been encapsulated with local sentiments and beliefs. Sacred symbols are treated with respect and avoidance, both in the church and the home. The "holy cross" or banners are touched only with sacred embroidered cloths binding the hands of those who carry them. Saints' images are kissed, but as a mark of respect, not intimacy. The Mexican flag, with which less awe is associated, is saluted. [293] 778 177 178 788 186

Each of the domains provides a setting for the recognition and validation of authority figures in the community. Values which are communally shared or imposed from outside are formally instilled in these settings. Ex- 621 177 178

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621 177 178 tra-institutional supports are still lacking for the school, which is not yet fully incorporated into the community framework.

621 57 177 182 554 Replication of behavior in all of the institutional domains except the school provides a measure of social integration in the community. Patterned behavior, such as the set speeches of the pat'o'tan, the formalized drinking procedure including the blessing of the drink and the serving of it in accordance with age and authority ranking of the participants, the etiquette of greeting and leave-taking, the embrace signifying ritual guardianship, occurs in the home, the town hall, and the church. These sets of stereotyped behavior, specified according to roles, simplify the movement from one institutional setting to another and contribute to continuity in role performance by the individual. The new patterns of behavior introduced in the school—desegregation of the sexes, competition in performance, grading of achievement—are not modes of behavior which have spread. However, as the skills acquired in school assume greater importance in the community, it is likely that the socializing procedures with which they were transmitted may spread to the home.

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The assumption that leisure is a concept unique to highly civilized societies is denied by peasant behavior in this community and many others like it in which the members are masters of the greater part of their time. What differentiates their scheduling of leisure-time activities from that of most western societies is that theirs is based on community decisions rather than individual predilections and that it is set in the frame of sacred rather than secular performances. Community standards are most notable in the way people dress for fiestas: women wear their newest embroidered blouses; their hair is neatly braided with ribbons. Men wear a kotonču with their cleanest shirt and pants. The children, except for the youngest, wear clothes like the adults'. Villagers "care for" the celebration by sitting on their porches, greeting neighbors, smoking and talking. When a public performance is held in the church or plaza, they participate as observers. Arduous work of any kind is proscribed. Special foods are prepared and served at regular mealtimes. A special mark of all days of fiesta is the serving of fermented corn beverage. Meat or chicken is more likely to be served on Sundays and holidays than on other days.

Timing as a Strategy in Interpersonal Relations

The preferred mode of action is "slow and soft." This applies to motion, especially in rituals, as well as to the scheduling of actions in a series of negotiations. The people are sensitive to the use of time in bargaining as an index to the relative resources of the negotiators. Withholding power in the market gives a marked price advantage in the sale of crops. Sale in advance of harvest means a loss of one-quarter to one-half of the price which could be gained if the crop was sold after it was cut, and corn sometimes doubles in value if withheld for six months or more. Interest as a time payment for the use of money is accepted on the basis that the borrower could put it to work. There is no feeling against the evil of usury, although the rates are relatively high in town—five percent per month.

This understanding of time as an indicator of relative strength extends to social functions. Time serves as an interval to build confidence on the part of both parties entering into contractual arrangement. In the betrothal, both parties are prepared for a long series of visits before the suit

571 805 [584] is accepted. Precipitous action on either side reveals a weakness of which the other party might take advantage, or which might even stop procedures.

Timing of activities is so specific that it can be read as an equation of social relations: People who come to the house after nightfall are either intimate members of the family, or are members of the circle of me?tiktatik invited for a special household celebration—night is the time when spirits wander, not a time for casual visiting. Arrival of the betrothal party at the [584] house of the girl's parents after ten o'clock in the morning indicates that the suit has been accepted.

571 805 554 562 Sequential timing expresses relative prestige and a sense of priority. In "raising" the officials for the official ceremonies, the lowest ranks of officials rise first to go to the house and awaken each of their companions in order of rank. The sequence in serving order has already been discussed with respect to rank and prestige. Another principle of sequence operates at a more subtle level: women go before men when there is expectation of a fight since their presence evokes less hostility. This is evident in the be- [584] trothal: the me? č'om precedes the mam c'om in the initial proceedings [579] when strong resistance and hostility is anticipated. When drunken fights start during house ceremonies, women intercede with calming effect.

641 829 805 Time always is on the side of the Indians when they wish to resist national orders. Verbal agreements to pay fines imposed or to assist federal agents in the capture of criminals are frequently followed by deliberate negligence in carrying out the orders. Usually the order is forgotten or in- [647] terest wanes at a higher level. Government agencies such as the INI learned to bide their time much as the Indians did. Expecting opposition to any proposed change, they waited for the initial reaction to die down, and then proceeded as support from those who benefited overcame internal resistence.

461 464 512 805 When called upon to perform jobs that require regular appointments, the Indians respond easily to the daily scheduling. Resistance comes against scheduled requirements that involve long spans of time and interfere with communal and familial ceremonies. Work away from home is undertaken only on the premise that it will be of limited duration. This [181] control over their own time is a value which Indians will not easily yield.

These time and space patterns provide the individual with a cognitive structure which enables him to function appropriately in a given setting and to plan his future actions. Having one piece of information, people can derive the other understandings necessary to adjust their own behavior to the expectations of others.

Time as a measure of value has been affected by changes occurring in the past two decades. Men are less willing to expend time in ceremonial activities than formerly. The first ceremony given up was Carnival, which has not been celebrated for over a decade. Most recently, young men have refused to become alfereces, and their resistance on the basis of loss of time and money was formally recognized in 1966 when the institution was abolished. The resistance parents used to show to their children spending, or wasting their time in school has given way as some of the more modernized parents have seen the advantages of education.

The tempo of life has accelerated with the increasing importance of bus and truck transportation to market. Women's time has always figured as importantly as that of the men because of their pottery production, and they have quickly accepted time-saving innovations such as the tortilla press and the corn-grinding mill. They have not shown any inclination to adopt time-saving technology, such as the potter's wheel, in pottery-making since they have no knowledge of it, and using it would require relearning basic tasks.

The ceremonial cycle still provides the major consideration in programming other activities in the community. The Indian as an agriculturalist remains master of his own time, and he plans his work so that he can fulfill his ceremonial obligations.

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programs in the interest of "civilizing" the Indians. This formulation involved a basic contradiction between the goal of moving into regional and national networks and that of keeping the old autonomy and independence of the corporate community. He never had to face that contradiction. Unable to gain adherents other than the small group of profit-sharers in the cooperative he organized, he was killed by opponents within the community. 474 472 179 178 [682]

The Family and Household

The core of the traditional culture lay in the local power hierarchies patterned on the familial model of age-ordered paternal authority institutionalized in the me'iltatil. The me'iltatil of the household have provided a flexible institution for adjusting conflict within the kin group. Their role in directing ritual performances preserves a sense of continuity in life cycle changes. 608 571 578 182

The institutionalized authority of the elders has not been upset by the trend toward residence based on nuclear families, which is an adjustment to the pressure of limited space in the town center. Kinship ties are continually reinforced by rituals that draw together the me'iltalil as sponsors of ceremonies marking baptism, marriage, and death. This group of sponsoring relatives has absorbed the institution of compadrazgo, adding compadres to the network of affinally-and bilaterally-related kin. The procedures for adjusting conflict among members of the household and extended family networks reinforce the authority of the elders. When adjustive processes in the house and court "arrangements" and in curing ceremonies fail, the only recourse is for one of the disputants to leave the community or commit homicide. 561 182 602 608 591 626 621 578 [681] [762]

Ceremonies within the household provide a model for the rules of the game that apply to adjustive behavior in the community. The household officials introduce new officials into their role, teaching them the prayers and directing the proceedings. Their authority depends upon age and prestige acquired in office. The me'iltatil, as the elders of the family, are the direct link with the ancestors. They and the nakawane provide the strongest force for preserving the ways of the ancestors. 561 182 [769]

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Religious Behavior

Socialization of the child includes teaching him how to adjust to spirits of the house and of the surrounding hills and springs as well as to people in his social environment. He learns the obligations he owes to these spirits in the rituals of house inauguration and curing. Place spirits are given an ethnic identity. The ancestor figures who live in the cave are Indians from whom all the people originate. The Ladino spirits residing in the houses and springs are a mythological projection of a conquered people who have learned to coexist with their conquerors by paying tribute of candles, food, liquor, and entertainment. If the spirits are not won over, they will admit the evil spirits who bring sickness and death. Their presence is known only by the trouble they permit rather than by good occurences; the miracles they perform are an undoing of the harm they have permitted.

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The belief in the potentially dangerous nature of these spirits when their envy or appetite is aroused is linked to an understanding that men and gods alike are jealous and vindictive. It generates behavior that is in conformity with that of the ancestors. A sense of security is reinforced by the protective symbols of incense, the cross of palm hung on the entrance posts of the yard and house, candles which "blind the eye of the devil," and garlic mixed with hot herbs which exude an odor that evil spirits dislike. When the uneasy contract between spiritual and human coresidents is upset, a curing ritual is performed to make everyone "of one heart." Behavior with respect to both spirits and people stems from a policy of appeasement through entertainment and liquor provided in household ceremonials.

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Behavior differs in regard to the category of saints called "spirits in the heaven" and those called "spirits in the church." Spirits of the heavens have incorporated pre-Conquest deities with those introduced by the missions. They are a more powerful force influencing human moral behavior. Illicit sexual relations carried out in the milpa by day are believed to arouse the envy of "Our Father the Sun" who will cause the milpa to burn by refusing to give way to rain. Similarly "Our Grandmother the

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Mariano took out cigarettes, and the group relaxed as all lit up the cigarettes and smoked. They discussed my tape recorder as they listened to the tape replayed. When they came to the section that did not record well, they decided that they should take it out and urinate on it. One man suggested that they should put it in prison, and another said that they should shoot it. This provoked general laughter. They went on to discuss the smoking habits of Ladinos. Pablo remarked that Ladino lawyers do nothing but sit in their offices and talk and smoke. Mariano and Victorio's father joked a great deal, the latter maintaining that Pablo had threatened to castrate him. This was picked up by Pablo who said that then Mariano would be a madrina to his godmother, Martina (the woman speaker in the betrothal negotiations). This provoked a great deal of laughter among the women. They then joked with Mariano about Pablo's other madrina, a Ladina from the neighboring town who sells the blood of slaughtered bulls. They refer to her as *me? Skitsoo,* the fat one. Mariano remarked to the women that Victorio's father must be a witch, and someone would try to kill him on the road. The conversation turned from the danger of going alone in the woods to a discussion of hunting. Feliciano bragged that he had an excellent hunting dog which he bought from a Ladino and which he referred to as "the Ladino dog." Mariano asked what Ladino they bought it from, but Feliciano denied knowledge of who the man was. They suggested it was nothing but a Huistecan Indian who changed his clothing. The joking and drinking continued until midnight, when the assembled company finally broke up. The next day Alberta went to live with her husband in the new house he had built.

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B. Court Arrangement of Separation

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Persons present:

Judge
Father of Plaintiff
Mother of Plaintiff
Plaintiff
Husband of Plaintiff
Regidor
President

This case concerns a husband who had been separated from his wife and wished a settlement so that she would return to him. The man had been married before, and he occasionally returned to his first wife. When he got drunk,

M 563 621 647 T 621 743 647 doctors and officers of the National Indian Institute (INI) who arrive to the villages at irregular intervals. In Amatenango, the INI has established a "clinic" in which a native nurse provides some medical services, such as vaccinations, the selling of aspirin, etc., while in Aguacatenango the native INI nurse provides services in his home.

T 621 647 474 In both the villages the INI has established a cooperative store which sells staples which are not produced in the community, but such stores are in no sense agents of cultural change, selling only commodities which the Indians habitually buy elsewhere. (A reason for the lack of success of such stores is that the Indians have not understood the "cooperative" principle, very few men have joined, and they are disillusioned with the marginal profit obtained through them.) In 1958, Amatenango had water T 621 647 312 114 piped into the village, a project completed by the INI in 1957; while after the author left Aguacatenango in 1958, water pipes were installed there.

M 563 692 Political relations with the Ladinos of a more formal nature occur through the courts of justice and national government offices, and they are characterized by the covert (and at times open) hostility and misunderstanding on the part of both Indians and Ladinos (see D. Metzger, 1956 and Fuente, Julio de la, 1958).

T 628 438 •571 608 582 Relations with other Indian villages are common both for Amatenango and Aguacatenango. They trade with the communities located in different ecological zones the products that do not grow in their territory (ocote from the highlands, sugar cane from the lowlands, etc.) in exchange for their own products and they

628 establish with them the relations of posada and compadrazgo, men-
438 571 tioned above, as well as (in the infrequent cases of inter-com-
608 582 munity marriage), some affinal kinship ties. In the few recorded
628 166 cases of emigration from the village, some members of the com-
602 munity keep communication with a few consanguineal relatives living
in other Indian villages, although social exchanges and the memory
of such relatives tend to die out after a generation or two.

105 With the other Indian communities in the area, Amatenango
and Aguacatenango share a common material culture and belief
system, derived from a Highland Maya cultural tradition, the same
linguistic background, and a subsistence pattern based on agri-
culture. They are peasant, in the sense that they are rural vil-
lages which depend, for survival, not only on agricultural work,
but on economic exchange with other semi-urban and urban centers
(Redfield, 1956:25-28).

438 Aguacatenango buys pottery and chayotes from Amatenango,
[273] whose women come periodically to sell them, and trago (drinking
alcohol) which some Amatenangueros produce illegally. Amatenango
buys from Aguacatenango surplus corn.

628 The two towns have amicable relations, thinking of each
[311] other as neighbors, and sharing the same pasture lands, and
[312] source of water for irrigation. The two communities share the
628 same cultural hero, called Juan Lopez in Aguacatenango and Lopez
766 Shuntón in Amatenango, connected with the corn and with the
"lightening who lives in a cave." For Aguacatenangueros this
personage is the builder of the roads, responsible for the erad-
ication of "cannibalism," the conversion of man-hunting animals

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AT THE VILLAGE LEVEL

Introduction

128 For the purpose of describing the social structure of the two communities compared on this paper, they will be treated at two levels. The level of the macro-structure contains the total community and the community territorial divisions (the barrios); the micro-structural level contains the household, the descent groups, and the informal territorial groupings or neighborhoods.

[621] [184] The main justification for this division of the material is that the macro-structure of the two communities is extremely similar, and there will be very few axes of contrasting comparisons to be found at this level, while the micro-structure is the level at which the most important differences between the two communities discussed in this paper are found.

A second justification is that the definition of roles at one level is separated from the definition of roles at the other level.

128 571 The roles at the macro-structure level are role dyads which include, on the one hand, the individual in the role of a community member, and on the other, any person representing the community at large. The roles at the micro-structure level are

128 pairs of individual roles, highly intense in interaction and
571 performed by people who are tied to each other by many clearly defined and extensive rights and duties. (D. Metzger [1960] defines them as highly relational versus lowly relational roles.) The roles at the micro-structural level form one net, and the quality of the joint performance of the individual, of all the roles which belong to him within this net define him as a good or bad person; the roles at the macro-structural level form a separate independent net which defines the individual as a good or bad community member.

128 For example, a man can spend his household money in long
156 drinking sessions, and while drunk fight with his brother or beat
571 his wife, which will make him a bad brother and husband. But if he shares the liquor he drinks with other men in his barrio (town division), the same activity will define him as a good neighbor, who is neither selfish nor a miser, but willing to share his
[626] profits with other men. On the other hand, a man may refuse to pay his limosna to the Church, risk the community gossip and threats of witchcraft, but this would not make him a less respected father, nor influence the relationship with his wife.

361 The Physical Setting of the Villages

The towns are geographically compact, nucleated communities, as opposed to the vacant-town (and ceremonial center) described first by Tax (1937). The town streets form a grid pattern, more symmetrical in the center than at the edges where streets tend to curve following the accidents of the terrain.

626 754 784 Therefore, the threat of supernatural[64] sanction is powerful as a communal weapon against social deviation.

621 We can see, then, that the structural dynamics of village life are composed of opposing forces. On the one hand, there is a tendency toward egalitarianism which is express ! in the formal organization of political power and the economic life of the village as a unit. On the other hand, there is a tendency toward deviation from the economic norms which is repressed and expressed in the belief system and the sanctioning of deviants. (Obviously, if people would not tend to deviate from the egalitarian norm, witchcraft "specialization" would not be necessary!)

121 There is no society in the world which does not possess criteria for social differentiation. Some criteria are, by nature, universal: the basic biological differences between persons (age, sex) or psychological skills (intelligence, mental deficiency). Some other criteria are culturally determined (age-grade, class, wealth and so on). Even among societies in which the life conditions preclude social stratification, such as the Sirionó, some few cultural criteria of individual social differen-
621 tiation are always present. When I suggest that Amatenango and
571 Aguacatenango tend to be communities which reinforce homogeneity at the economic, political, and cultural levels, I am far from
[576] indicating that individuals are not evaluated differentially. In every social situation, even meeting on the street, Amatenangueros and Aguacatecos make social distinctions and determine their relative position with respect to each other: one would call a

621
571 man bankil (respect term, "elder brother") the other would be his
576 kiht'zin ("younger brother").

621 Older men are socially superior to younger ones. A man
561 who has passed many cargos has more authority than one who has not
554 served in the community government. A man with many children in a united family commands more respect than a man whose children are embarrassed of him because he is a trouble-maker. A good
562 talker is better thought of than a boring drunkard. The same dif-
561 ferentiation scale, although using some other criteria, also func-
626 tions for women. Elder ladies have enough social status to be permitted to laugh in public while young married wives are expected to keep quiet. A woman known as a "good mother-in-law" collects the rewards of praise of other women. A wife who keeps her husband clean and well fed can visit around and be well received, while a lazy housekeeper would not be welcomed in other women's houses who fear of being judged "by the company they keep."

554 A constellation of factors, therefore, places the indi-
555 vidual in a very particular status position, and his personal
156 skill can increase his prestige or destroy it. Moreover, the
621 total performance of an individual in the totality of his roles
571 can not only increase his general status and gain the approval of his fellow men, but would be an important factor in saving him from witchcraft accusations. A man can try to control as much labor and capital as possible in order to maximize profits from his work and minimize its consumption, as long as he does not create enemies, and insures his prestige in as many dimensions as possible: he can give advice to conflicting parties rather than

156
621 getting involved in the fight. He can help relatives in distress
571 pay a debt or give a curing ceremony for a sick child. He can be
426 a "hard worker, ready to offer a hand to a neighbor in need of
155 extra labor" (hel-K'sbal). He can send his wife with small pres-
476 ents of food to other households. He can make many compadres
431 among those whom he suspects of possibly being against him, thereby
608 assuring their friendship and respect. In sum, he can create around himself a long chain of loyal villagers who are bound to him by many different obligations. Then, because he is a 'leKil winiK' (one that behaves well with the people), he can "afford" to become rich by local standards without the immediate fear of punishment.

Every household head manipulates his environment in these terms. People try to accumulate riches and protect their paths in other ways. They also try to avoid distributing their accumulated wealth outside their household and to prevent the envy or gossip of those not so bound by loyalty, by hiding from others the knowledge of their possessions.

The result of the contradiction between the egalitarian values on the one hand, and the individual aspirations and behavior on the other, is expressed in gossip, "witchcraft talk" and a constant realignment of loyalties among villagers. Every man suspects another of being better off than one is led to believe, while at the same time he himself tries to keep others from suspecting him, and would not voluntarily give information on how many horses he owns or how much corn he has grown.

The picture of life in Amatenango and Aguacatenango is

882
562 session in Church). Water carrying is associated with courting,
584 and the bachelors stay around the paths that connect the houses of their sweethearts with the well to which they go to fetch water, expecting to receive some indication of acceptance on their part, and if they are literate, to hand them a love letter. Girls, on these occasions, are expected to behave modestly and to be embarrassed. If not, they are usually judged as alocades (light-headed) and not fit for marriage.

156
571 The concept of tener su compañía runs throughout all activity, at all ages. Having company means protection from the supernatural on a long trip, help around the house, harmonious social relations with age mates and kinsmen, and insurance against loneliness. Older women who are left alone in a house for several days will "borrow" a younger girl, a son's daughter for example, to keep them company, and a young wife going to market or to get firewood is usually expected to find company to do so. If not,
[753] she can well meet a strange man on the road, and get sick from verguenza (sickness assumed to originate from shame at being placed in an anomalous or embarrassing social situation) or espanto (fear and soul loss).

882 Boys (kerem and tek' el) do not have as many restrictions
562 of behavior or of movement as girls after puberty, but they are
[868] also expected to have their company. They start working with their fathers around the age of ten, depending on their physical strength, but in the beginning, it is not a serious occupation.
883 As soon as they become regular workers, they spend their free
562 time with other bachelors and form a compañía or escuadrilla
573

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VI

THE HOUSEHOLD

Definition

184
571 The life of the people of Amatenango and Aguacatenango can be seen as extending in overlapping circles which have a social as well as spatial dimension.

592 The most important of these circles is the domestic group. The domestic group, or independent household, is the basic unit of the social organization, and is the core of the economic, political, and moral life of the villager.

The households are economically independent units, the basic unit that controls production and consumption for the village, and therefore, the primary unit for the recruitment of labor. It is within the household that young community members are socialized. It is the place where adults find the primary focus of social activity and interaction, their most enduring and important emotional ties, and the center of their cultural values. As a child, a person learns work from the other people of the same sex who live in his domestic unit. As an adult, he shares with them his labor, his wealth, his worries and his moments of pleasure. In a sense, all that is important for the individual in his lifetime is centered in his household. There, most of his

351 592 571 [578] When the people in two adjacent sitios have close social ties, they open an interior gate in the common fence, connecting the two yards. June Nash has noticed that if any disagreement occurs between the people residing in the two contiguous sitios, the interior gates are barricaded even more strongly than the remainder of the fence, symbolically severing social communication (Nash, J: 1959).

351 592 [343] [342] Inside the sitios, there are several areas of activity (see Fig. 10): the front yard (ti?naie) where animals are tied when brought to the sitio, where corn is put to dry, etc., and where there are buildings (hna) such as the cook-house and others which serve as sleeping quarters. [241] The back yard is the place where things are stored and where a small garden is cultivated. [415] [252] [343] There are other spots, such as the place for the water jugs, the place for washing the mixtamal (corn mesh used for making tortillas), the sweat bath, etc.

342 The buildings themselves are mainly wattle and daub with thatch or palm roofs in the traditional Mayan pattern. There is, nevertheless, some variation in the use of cane, shingles and planks for walls, or tile roofs, which indicates a desire to imitate ladino ways rather than the wealth of the household. The houses have small porches which serve as "living room," places for receiving visitors, grooming, cleaning corn, or enjoying the twilight after a good day's work (see Figs. 10 and 11).

House Ritual

342 592 The building of a new house is an important social event

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]

342 which usually indicates the emergence of a new domestic group.
592 Its social importance is related to several factors.

342 When the young couple build their first separate house,
591 this symbolizes their right to become a separate domestic group.
592 It means that they have lived together long enough to raise one or more children past the age of weaning, and that they have become economically and jurally independent of their parents.

342 (See later discussion on residence.) The building itself is a
156 material display of a man's good social relations. Although
571 house size does not correlate with the number of people living in it, the villagers think that a house "talks" about its owners. A very small house tells the villagers that it is a "drunk-man house" because his owner spends all his money on liquor and cannot buy materials for building a better place. The house also tells of the amount of industrious effort that a man and his family are able to put into its construction, and it tells about how much his relatives and neighbors are willing to "loan hands" to him (help for house building is not paid for in money, but in
[177] reciprocal labor). A house is also a good indicator of how much "ladino influence" its owner has assimilated. Houses with ladino influence would have internal divisions in the rooms, windows, painted walls and/or tile roofs. (This type of house is not common, as can be seen in Fig. 12 and Table 5.)

342 The building of a house is followed by a "house warming"
[527] ceremony, in which offerings to the Mother-Earth or Saintly Earth
[782] and the house are buried under the floor. The ritual preparation of a new home is part of a complex ideological identification between people and their homestead.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 111]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

TABLE 5

HOUSE TYPES IN AMATENANGO[a]

184
342

Type	Cases	Per Cent
Roof		
Tile	1	1
Shingle	28	24
Thatch	87	75
Wall		
Wattle-and-daub	97	84
Rough Boards	19	16

[a]After Nash, J.: 1959.

342 Houses are a part of the family. They are considered as being alive (they grow old, just as people do) and watching the behavior of humans, toward whom they are somewhat unfriendly. If they are displeased with the behavior of the inhabitants, they can bring nightmares to the adults, death to the children and other misfortunes. Calixta Guiteras-Holmes (1960) has suggested that houses are ideologically connected with the earth, whom one has to please if crops are going to grow steadily, and to the monte (forested hills), where the wood for its construction is gathered. [1118] Thus, because the monte is the residence of the evil spirits, enemies of mankind. the house is a projection of this malevolent world.

342 Even more significant is the house ritual connected with
753 the sickness of a person who lives in it. It is significant
•571
578

because sickness is considered a supernatural expression of disturbed social relations, and this is considered disruptive, not only for the people who inhabit a single dwelling, but also for the building which symbolizes their common residence and interests. As long as the relations of people living in a house are harmonious, the house is kept contented. But if this is not so, both the people and the building have to be ritually cleaned. For example, if a daughter disobeys her mother, she is considered to be suffering from bilis or cólico, and in need of curing. During the curing ceremony, the sick misbehaver has to be instructed about her duties as a good daughter, and is given a speech apropos the misdemeanor. The curing ceremony is not completed if the house is not ritually cured, too. This is done by a curer offering the building some trago, the local brew, asking it to be contented. This offering is then symbolic of both the re-establishment of normal social relations between the individuals living in the house, and between the individuals and their material projection, their house.

The people living in a household are in charge of performing some other rituals which are expected to insure the welfare of the whole group.

A small altar, usually made of a pine table, is kept in the house. It is covered with Catholic Saints' images and printed religious calendars. The table also contains all kinds of other things: petty cash (which is kept there for small purchases), double corncobs (which are "lucky pieces") or unusually colored maize, and any other oddity found by the household members, such

127 every Chiapas Highland community, including some highly accul-
611 turated towns such as Venustiano Carranza (McQuown et al., 1959).

128 Amatenango and Aguacatenango both have patrilineally in-
611 herited name groups and other slight indications of the previously hypothesized patrilineal "bent" (e.g., bride-price). Our problem, however, is not to reconstruct a hypothetical past, nor to assess the possibility of a change from patrilineal to something else. In this study, the discussion of the name groups will be carried on in the context of their functions, if any, at the present time.

Functions

If the theory of functional correlations between residence, kinship terminology, marriage customs, exogamy, etc., has any validity, we would suspect that Amatenango, with a domestic group organized along bilateral lines and matri-uxorilocal and viri-patrilocal residence having equal incidence, would not have unilineal descent groups, while Aguacatenango, with patri-virilocal residence and a domestic group organized around a core of agnatically related males would have preserved or have now (if it ever had, a fact which at the present we cannot emphatically support), an organization based on agnatic lineages, or it will show some aspects of a lineal organization outside the realm of the domestic unit.

• 591 In Amatenango, as suspected, the name groups "are not now
[613] functioning units in the social organization, neither on marriage, inheritance or social control" (Nash, J., 1960:5). Work activities, rituals, participation in community-wide sodality groups or festivities, compadrazgo ties, etc., are carried on by the household

571 and outside the household by the bilateral group of kinsmen of each particular Ego and his or her spouse, which because of the residence pattern, live localized within a neighborhood.

602 592 562 In Aguacatenango, on the contrary, most important activities are carried on mainly by agnatically related kin. This, of course, does not mean that matri-kin or affinals are absolutely excluded. But in making decisions for giving or receiving help in work, for example, agnatic kin are preferred, especially for men, because women tend to collaborate mostly with the agnatic kin of their husbands. The reason for this is that activities for women are not determined in terms of the kinship lines, but in terms of household membership: they collaborate with the closest kin of the household in which they reside, and not their own closest kin. A household contributes labor and interacts more often with agnatically linked households than any other.

361 602 592 The reason for this difference in emphasis could be said to be a result of the fact that one collaborates more with the people who live the closest. After all, the neighborhood in Aguacatenango tends to be a cluster of agnatically related households. [114] Nash felt that in Amatenango, "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relations are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130). We disagree with this statement.

323 241 433 182 591 592 621 In Amatenango, pottery making and corn agriculture are the two principal productive enterprises which affect the organization of the domestic group, including the residence choices, so it is not strange that the neighborhood group (or residence clusters within the barrio), made up according to the criteria of selecting

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango .
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

42 43 182 571 184 241 323 434 We can safely arrive at the conclusion that some aspects of the economic system play a very important part in the structuring of social relations in the Chiapas communities. The economic factors which are indicated by the natives themselves and have been assessed by us as being crucial correlates of certain patterns of social behavior are:

(1) The unspecialized agricultural system of one village (Aguacatenango) versus the system of agriculture plus pottery production in the other makes the second one a "richer" town with less wealth fluctuation from year to year.

184 182 462 592 562 434 (2) The relative importance of women as bread-winners and producers in the traditional division of labor in one village (Amatenango), results in the fact that labor of women is crucial for the continuity of the domestic group, whereas in Aguacatenango, it is not. This does not mean that Aguacatenango women do not work. It just means that women's work in Aguacatenango, however exhausting, does not have a market in which it can be sold, and it cannot be transformed into subsistence goods or into money, i.e., it has an undeterminate marginal value. This gives the women in one village (Amatenango) economic independence and a higher status

184 (4) The reciprocal financial obligations between parents
182
428 and children in Amatenango, and between parents and sons in Agua-
593 catenango, to support each other at different stages of the developmental cycle of their respective domestic groups affect the rule of ultimogeniture.

184 (5) The relative wealth of the natal domestic group of
182 the spouse, measured by the amount of land controlled by the unit
582
591 affects (a) the choice of marriage partner, and (b) the residence
556 of the newly married couple. In Aguacatenango, where residence is normatively patri-virilocal, parents try to marry their daughters within the same economic level of their own households. In Amatenango, marriages occur across wealth lines, and the couple reside with the parents of the spouse who are better off.

184 (6) The relative importance of men versus female co-
182 operative work groups, and/or the difference in structuring of
462
476 work groups affects (a) the sibling bond; (b) the mother-daughter
593 bond; and (c) the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond.
[606] In Aguacatenango, where only men form cooperative work groups, the brother-brother bond is stronger than the sister-sister bond or the brother-sister bond.

In Amatenango, where both males and females form cooperative
[607] work groups, the multilateral sibling bond is reinforced to the point of including siblings-in-law.

184 In Aguacatenango, economic rivalry between siblings tends
593
598 to disrupt the brother bond with constant conflict. Thus, relation-
591 ships are more vertically oriented which is consistent with the
[613] presence of agnatic descent lines (in Amatenango, generational

184 solidarity is stronger than cross-generational solidarity), but
593 generational conflict tends to disrupt the collateral extension
518
591 of patriline growth, making every patriline segment a shallow
613 descent group containing few generations in depth, and only few collaterals.

184 (7) Territorial propinquity between households in each
361 village follows the social propinquity established in terms of eco-
592 nomic reciprocity and work interaction. Thus, in Amatenango resi-
476 dence for individuals, interaction between households and the settlement of a neighborhood follow a bilateral pattern, while in Aguacatenango the three follow the male and agnatic line. The type of economic organization, based on the domestic group, correlates with the type of domestic group formed thereof.

184 The domestic group in Aguacatenango, with an internal
59 economy based on the cooperative work of father and son and the
428 transmission of property in the male line, is a kinship unit built
562 around a core of agnatically related males with patri-virilocal residence. Among the Aguacatecos, at least one son of the nuclear family remains in the parents' household after marriage. All other children marry and move out, the sons staying close to the father. In this way, the family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of agnatic order, which extends itself in space as a patrilocally localized agnatic line, and perpetuates itself, in time, through the principle of agnatic ultimogeniture.

The domestic group in Amatenango, with an internal economy based on the cooperative work of both a father and son, a mother

184
621 women tend to stay within the neighborhood in which they are born,
591 or, equally, cross territorial lines at marriage.

121 To be able to derive these simple rules of residence, we
591 had to take into account some aspects of sponsorship which Fischer did not include in his typology. First, Fischer makes the error of assuming that people make residence choices mainly in terms of kinship, and within kinship, in terms of lineage and lineage sponsors.

We have shown that people make residence choices in terms of both kinship links and economic interdependence, and that among kinsmen, unilinearity is not necessarily the basic criterion for
121 choice. Although Fischer's typology can be very useful in analyzing
128 groups in which linearity is strong, such as Aguacatenango, it
602 tends to obscure the analysis of more bilateral groups such as Amatenango.

128
602 To make up for this bias in the taxonomy, we had to add
591 three separate criteria for sponsorship: (1) the sex of the
562 sponsor, independently of his lineage affiliation; (2) the generation
561 of the sponsor; (3) the economic role of the sponsor, independently
571 of his or her sex, and independently of his or her kinship connection with the person being sponsored.

184 At any given time, an individual in Aguacatenango or
591 Amatenango resides in one and only one household, and derives his
592 rights of membership in the unit through kinship or marriage, depending on the importance of his position as a laborer. While in Aguacatenango men derive their membership, as a rule, through descent and women after marriage only through affinality, in

184 Amatenango both men and women derive their rights to reside in
591
592 particular homesteads through both marriage or birth, as alternate choices.

592 The economic system in itself is not an independent vari-
591 able. Given its present shape, decisions about where to live,
571
181 changes in the composition of the domestic group at crucial points
602 in its development, and the strength of emotional ties between individuals are influenced by it. Most choices which concern the structuring of internal relations within the domestic unit are expressed by the cultural carriers as economic and kinship choices simultaneously, or in other words, as economic choices made within the framework offered by the kinship structure of the domestic unit.

Other factors, however, seem to perform no less important functions. Among these other factors, we have mentioned the following in separate parts of the previous text: (1) the position of the person within the kinship group which forms the core of the household; (2) the number of men and women residing in the unit; (3) the age of the household membership; (4) the temperament and attitudes of the household members with respect to each other; (5) the aspirations of the individual, in terms of the achievement of status, the insurance of positive affection and the need for psychological rewards; and (6) the laws of group interaction.

571 In order of intensity, the economic domain affects (1) the
592
621 individual's status within the family; (2) the membership and organization of the domestic group, both in terms of residence choices and the distribution of authority within the unit; (3) the

571 592 [621] developmental cycle of the domestic group; (4) the relations of households within a neighborhood and within the more inclusive kinship groups; (5) the relative strength of the patriline versus the bilateral group; (6) the functions of the larger territorial endogamous divisions or barrios; and (7) the total community.

[184] Except for the importance of barrio land tenure in Aguacatenango, and general higher wealth of Amatenango as a whole, the system of production does not seem to affect the structuring of relationships at a level higher than the household and the particular type of rights and duties of members of the extended family of each village.

184 562 The position of women for the village at large is very similar in the two communities. Except for the fact that Amatenango women have the economic power and the legal right to take cases to the Ayuntamiento on their own, neither the women of Aguacatenango nor of Amatenango has rights to political officership, nor to roles outside the domestic domain, which, once more, confirms the anthropological truth that whatever the descent system, or the economic organization, jural authority is ultimately vested in the hands of the males of a society.

182 571 602 Economic factors are not the only factors affecting the interpersonal relations of the villagers. The economic structure is a given historical and cultural fact. Many choices of behavior, which are economic choices in their immediate context, are not so in terms of the long range view of the system. First, the kinship system seems to limit the range of economic alternatives for the individual, independently of the fact that choices

182 571 based on non-kinship terms would maximize profit or material
(602) benefits, which the kinship frame limits considerably. Second,
182 the cultural norms imposed on the villager about the types of work
183 which he is allowed to perform, about the maximum wealth which he
461 556 is able to control, and about the distribution of this wealth,
are, from a purely financial point of view, "anti-economical."
156 But an Indian living in a Ladino town, undoubtedly having the
177 choice of improving his life from an economic point of view,
156 alienates himself from everything which is dear to him. An Indian
626 556 attempting to live up to his aspirations of wealth within the community, alienates himself even more, and risks the dangers of witchcraft and social ostracism.

121 The phrase, "man does not live by bread alone," is very much of a truism here. If the primary factor in determining behavior were economical, the villager would have no need to live within the customary standards of living of his community nor would the corporate community persist. Each Indian could become a laborer of some sort, and integrate himself into the national society of Mexico.

But people make choices not only because they are financially advantageous, but because they preserve their standing within their kinship group, they provide satisfaction for their need of the psychological rewards of prestige and positive affection and for their need for "belonging" to a group of similar human beings with similar culture and aspirations.

We have to admit, then, that it is as impossible to analyze social dynamics, only taking into account economic variables, as

121 it is impossible to do it taking into account any other variable in isolation. Social structures are built up around several simultaneously activated domains of phenomena. Kinship (or the biological facts of birth and copulation and the concomitant social facts of descent and affinality) is one domain. Economics (or the system for the production and allocation of rights over material goods and services) is another domain. Territorial allegiances, based on spatial proximity or distance, is another. The domain of the psychological (the inherent needs of human beings for sociality, positive affection, the sharing of moral values with other men [and perhaps the need for controlling others]), is still another domain.

182 796 If we take ritual as a projective system of the importance of social domains, we can see that it involves, in every case, several of them.

• [571] [527] [764] [602] [241] For example, in Aguacatenango and Amatenango, ritual practices are oriented towards: (1) expressing tensions between individuals among whom harmonic relations are re-established through the curing ceremony; (2) expressing the territorial attachments of people, such as the ceremonies for housewarmings and the fact that in the cemetery people are buried according to the place in which they resided (the cemetery is a small replica of the village); (3) expressing kinship bonds, such as the marriage ceremony, the baptisms and compadrazgos, the food given to the ancestors on Todos Santos, etc.; (4) expressing economic needs, such as the rituals performed to insure the success of the harvest.

000 Within the same cultural frame, two social groups can

000 true for more than the specific case studied by them, and it only discusses one set of domains of the family: socialization and its concomitant psychological variables.

It well could be that some societies seem to emphasize structural arrangements in one domain over the others. The more difficult it is for a society to procure the basic biological needs for food, the more the economic domain can be a primary determinant of organization. The more complex a descent system and the more functions it performs in the political and ritual domains (such as the Hopi), the more kinship would tend to be emphasized by the structural arrangements as viewed by the natives themselves. That does not mean that the anthropologists cannot and should not be able to see the concomitant effects of the other domains. A study of any social group has to be, if it is going to contribute anything to our knowledge of human activity and motivations, a multi-variable analysis. A neat analysis based on a single focus of observation may well be an elegant piece of research, and simultaneously, a biased account of human life.

128 184 I think that my study of two Chiapas villages contributes somewhat to the clarification of several problems which were set forth in the Introduction. (1) It shows, I think conclusively, that social variations in Middle American Indian communities are not only the result of acculturation, but also the result of the delicate internal adjustments of their institutions. (2) It shows 128 591 that residence is a system of social coalitions to express both 571 602 kinship and economic interdependency. From the point of view of any one individual and from the point of view of a small group,

128 residence changes through time, in a developmental cycle which is
591 the result of the developmental cycle of the domestic group, both
[57] [602] as a kinship unit and as economic centers of village life. (3) It tries to contribute to the study of residence by showing how a combined methodology, utilizing both Fischer's residence typology and Fortes' developmental cycle analysis, can render more fruitful
128 descriptions than either of the two methods in isolation. (4) It
592 shows how a single institution, the household, is affected by the multiple pressures of several alternate social domains, and how its functioning is adjusted and organized in reference to the multivariable social world.

128 I am aware that the study has suffered at times for lack of depth in the analysis of particular data. I have been unable to discuss carefully the implications of the functions of brideprice in the two communities, because I lack sufficiently objective data to support my ideas or disprove them. The same is true for a more careful analysis of the social dynamics of coalitions between siblings and between individuals living outside each domestic
128 unit. Although June Nash's dissertation offers several complete
114 examples of sibling interaction, and Metzger's field notes have
127 invaluable information in certain kinship roles, I lacked the equivalent materials from the two communities to make a more than superficial comparison.

000 I do not expect, however, this study to be the end of my inquiry into the subject. I propose to continue working in the same area of the world in the future (perhaps in the same

the new officials are publicly defined before overlapping sets of participants and observers. Within each setting, the multiple sets of relationships which determine the individual's selection for a role are indicated in Appendix 3. 621* [571] • [602]

It has often been stated of Guatemalan and Mexican highland Maya communities that public office is an undertaking of the household. The precise dimensions of this support have yet to be defined in an activity context. Visitors and helpers in the household celebration provide one such context in which the parameters of the aid can be defined (Charts 2, 3, 4). Primary support is given by the official's wife, without whom he would not be serving in the hierarchy.[5] She serves him by waiting for him in the house, taking care of the money he might have to guard as a civil official, and watching him while he is drunk from the bouts in the townhall so that he will not harm himself by falling in the fire or be harmed by his enemies. His advisors and councilors in the household are the *nakawanehetik*.[6] These are men who have passed through some of the civil offices —at least those of *alferez* and first regidor—and who are somehow related to the new official.[7] A second group of supporters in the household serve as errand boys and assistants, the *balnialetik*. They are chosen from among brothers, brothers-in-law,[8] sons, *compadres* (ritual co-parents), godchildren, and neighbors. A third group are the *ik̓oltawanehetik*, the fe- 621* 592 [574] [593] [602]

[5] Innumerable instances attest to the significance of the wife in officeholding. For example, at the final ceremony in a betrothal, the boy is advised by his elders that now he will be called to serve the pueblo. Or, in the court case of a judge whose wife wished to leave him because he had beaten her, the other judges counseled her to wait until he had completed his term of office.

[6] The term *nakawanehetik* may be derived from the honorific prefix *nak*, found in other Maya languages (Lafarge, 1947). Another possibility is that it may be the stem *na*, 'house,' plus *kawanehetik*, tentatively glossed as 'officials.' [193]

[7] In the case of the president (in the observed sequence) his father, who had passed through all the offices up to the first judge and had fulfilled his turns in the religious hierarchy as well, was the first *nakawane*.

[8] The term *bal* is generic for brother-in-law, *nial* for father-in-law, but whether this formerly had significance in the selection of assistance I do not know. At present, brothers-in-law are chosen along with others, such as godchildren or neighbors. [601]

[P. 216-8]

Q. 68) is a review of the major activities in which they will take part in the church. The phrase 'before the face of,' *ta sit*, is the orientation he indicates to the new mayordomos to perform these acts. 794 796 [537]

The ceremony in the church when the mayordomos receive their candles is limited to the few words of advice spoken to them by the fiscal and the passing over of the candles. There is no representation by the civil authorities in the ceremonial aspect of installation, although the fiscal, in his dual office as assistant to the priest and as president, indirectly takes this role. The alfereces, who provide the link on other occasions for the civil officers' inauguration, are not active during this changing of the religious officers. Following the ceremony inside the church, the town treasurer and síndico help the fiscal count the money passed over with each *kobraria*. Thus the "integration" of the hierarchy is asymmetrical, providing for a church representation in civil affairs, but only in a limited sense is there the reverse. [621]* [624]

The mayordomos return to the house of the *kobraria* Sakramentu. The *nakawanehetik* have lost their place of honor at the *hol wanku*, 'head of the bench,' and are sleeping under the bench or in the corner. Their presence is no longer socially marked, and it is not a point which was elicited.

The behavior during the inauguration of civil officials showed the following structural features. The hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth stepladder but a segmented order. The categories elicited in the first session with the informant—*alkaletik*, *rehiroletik*, and *mayoletik*—act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same areas in all the settings (App. 1, Q. 14, 15, 51, 64–74). Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They order their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge issues an order to the fourth regidor to get liquor (App. 1, Q. 55) and the first police orders the commissioner from the rural colonias to get liquor for their group (App. 1, Q. 79). In these behavioral indices one can see the segmentation of the civil hierarchy, ordered by age, skill acquired in the expensive office of alferez, and territorial identification. Age grading is absolute only between the segments, and is roughly applicable within each segment. 621* 571 554 156 [561]

In the inauguration of the religious officials, elder and younger officials associated with each saint act 794 556 156

[P 219-A] TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 220-A

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontahal

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS Replication of behavior in both civil and religious inauguration is also seen in the house ceremonies. Prior to setting out to the townhall or to the church, the new officials acquire a sense of the sacred obligations they are about to undertake from the words of the *nakawanehetik*. 621* 794 796 182

The major behavioral schema are established in the settings in which activities occur. In each setting, the actors assert status in a social arrangement by their position in a physical arrangement: seating order clockwise from the door indicates rank order in all settings. The same act has a different significance in each setting. For example, drinking in the townhall differs from drinking in the house because it ties together different sets of actors.[10] As the actors move from one setting to the next, they are accompanied by some of the members linking them to the prior setting, as when the *nakawanehetik* accompany the president to the townhall. 621* 794 156 182 571 554 [273]

The significance of setting in allocating roles is evident in the Tzeltal terms for categories of officials: religious officials are called "officials in the church" *(ʔaʔteletik te ta čʼulna)* and civil officials are called "officials in the townhall" *(ʔaʔteletik te ta čʼulna)*. If my guess concerning the derivation of the term *nakawane* from house officials is correct (note 6), then this category derives its name from the locus in which authority is recognized. 621* 794 182 192 156

The analysis of behavior, or roles in action, corroborates some of the understandings gained from eliciting the structure, but requires some modification. The segmentary character of the hierarchy is evidenced in the domain, action, and the timing of action. However, qualifications of the elicited model must be made on the basis of the behavioral data. First, the asymmetry of the links between civil and religious officials in the church setting as compared with the townhall setting requires a qualification of the meaning of the integration for the two wings. 621* 794 182 156

[10] This adds a further caveat to the "behaviorist fallacies" pointed out by Lewin (1951, p. 79) when the psychological setting is ignored in the description of the physical dimension of an act. [114]

[P 221 - A]

public in the procession around the plaza (App. 1, Q. 39). The mayordomos gather in the church specifically to view the new incumbents (App. 1, Q. 50). There is less public display of new officeholders in the case of the religious officials than in the case of civil officials.

621* 105 794 178 18 [788]

The morphological description of the structure of a society is inadequate unless it includes role behavior as well as status positions. The behavioral data pro-

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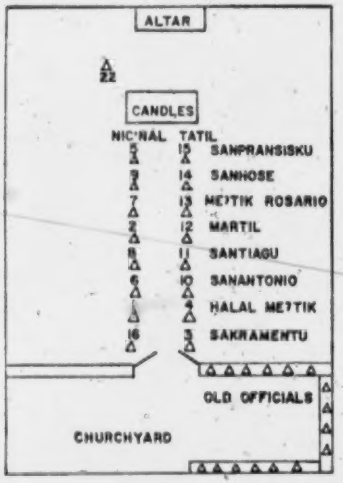
22 FISCAL



794 796 554 346

CHART 15 — NEW MAYORDOMOS INSIDE CHURCH, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

vide the basis for describing the physiology of a culture, or how actors and social groups interrelate in carrying out tasks. In the inaugurations, the household emerged in the behavioral descriptions as an important ritual domain supporting the civil and religious hierarchy. Similarly, the asymmetrical relation between the role of religious officials in the civil inauguration and that of civil officials in the religious

105 121 182 554 571 621* 105 182 794 [592] [571] [554]

[P. 228-A)

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontahal

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inauguration is deduced from both elicited and observed behavior. These data complement the elicited material on structure in rounding out the ethnographic model of social reality.

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Specification of the behavioral data on which structural and functional statements are made should provide the basis for more precise comparisons over time and between communities. I turn to the observed interaction to summarize the evidence for microchange within the community.

[571]
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Outside of the formally prescribed behavior scheduled in the inauguration, a struggle for power is going on which is leading to important organizational changes in the town. This was suggested in the substitution of the schoolteacher for the former Ladino secretary in the act of giving the oath. Factional struggle of the leaders of the new enterprises was revealed in this substitution. Further evidence of change is seen in the redefinition of the president's position in relation to that of the principales. The potential power which the post offers to the incumbent and those who back him is now recognized. The risks are higher as the competition for the post increases.

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In the religious sphere the priest's increasing control over the domain of the church is seen in the shift of setting for the common meal from the churchyard to the *ʔaliʔbal's* house. This evoked the story of the open confrontation of the priest and cofrades a few years before. Public counting of funds by civil officials suggests an attempt by the new leadership to thwart the priest's dominance over the cofrades.

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In the emergent struggle for power within the community, we see not just a defensive reaction to Ladinos by Indians of a corporate community, but a play for stakes in the same world. This suggests that the corporate community, now and in the future, serves not so much as an insulation from the outside world as in the past but as a springboard for the entry of the Indians into fuller participation in the national society.

[P 228-B]

firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound. Going to gather wood is a very nice break in the routine, and women usually go in the company of other women with whom they chat, exchanging news and gossip. A young wife usually stays home cooking while her mother-in-law leaves the house to gather the fuel for the hearth. Even if a woman does go out to gather wood, she is expected to do so with her mother-in-law, rather than with the women of her own natal family. A woman talking about a bad daughter-in-law will say, "She does not even want to gather firewood with me, she always runs to her mother's."

Women look upon having their own homestead as the only solution for gaining independence. It is true that, even then, they are under their husband's authority, but they control the food brought by the husband to the home, and they can make their own decisions about the work schedule. They can also take time to visit their own female relatives and childhood girl friends, a habit which is disliked by their mothers-in-law as being a threat to their own position.

We can see, then, that there are several factors which provoke structural tensions in the compound home; some are economic, others are related to the ordering of social relations in the kinship domain, and still others depend on the aspirations of the individuals.

In the course of time, the structural tensions accumulate to the point that they precipitate the fission of the household. The triad of a woman, her son and her son's wife, and the dyadic conflict between a father and son dissolves the compound into two

621 578 582 them to "overlook" the trespasser, but not many young men are willing to risk the ire of the other barrio bachelors, nor the gossip and sanctions applied to them by their own barrio mates.[1]

621 794 Each barrio plays a role in the political and religious organization of the village by sending an approximately equal number of officers to the Ayuntamiento and the Mayordomías. Although in some years there are more delegates from one barrio, they attempt to correct the imbalance in the succeeding years. [623] The Principales (council of elders) have also equal representation.

621 [573] [575] [312] Escuadrilla groups (adolescent boys' gangs) and unmarried women's Church groups are formed among barrio mates. Women, with few exceptions, used the water wells or pipe lines in their barrio of residence (the exceptions include women who originally came from the other barrio) and who do their washing at places in [476] the river on their barrio side. Men who work together at such tasks as buying and butchering a cow, building a path or clearing an irrigation ditch belong to the same barrio. House parties [527] [123] organized to buy candles for the Church before a special Saint's day are barrio affairs, and no resident of the other barrio (with [575] the exception of the anthropologist) is invited. In the past, there were, in Aguacatenango, religious sororities sponsored by the Catholic Church, and each barrio had a separate one. There

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[581] [587] [1]A man that has married once is considered to have had his share of the available women of the barrio. Second marriages, especially with girls who have never married before, are not well thought of. It is common, then, that second marriages occur across barrio lines. A man finds it easier to cope with the antagonism of the other barrio men (who are expected, in any case, to be antagonistic) than with the bachelors and neighbors in his own barrio, where he has to face the antagonism in every day interaction.

882 562 session in Church). Water carrying is associated with courting, 584 and the bachelors stay around the paths that connect the houses of their sweethearts with the well to which they go to fetch water, expecting to receive some indication of acceptance on their part, and if they are literate, to hand them a love letter. Girls, on these occasions, are expected to behave modestly and to be embarrassed. If not, they are usually judged as alocades (light-headed) and not fit for marriage.

156 571 The concept of tener su compañía runs throughout all activity, at all ages. Having company means protection from the supernatural on a long trip, help around the house, harmonious social relations with age mates and kinsmen, and insurance against loneliness. Older women who are left alone in a house for several days will "borrow" a younger girl, a son's daughter for example, to keep them company, and a young wife going to market or to get firewood is usually expected to find company to do so. If not, [753] she can well meet a strange man on the road, and get sick from verguenza (sickness assumed to originate from shame at being placed in an anomalous or embarrassing social situation) or espanto (fear and soul loss).

882 562 Boys (kerem and tek' el) do not have as many restrictions of behavior or of movement as girls after puberty, but they are [868] also expected to have their company. They start working with their fathers around the age of ten, depending on their physical strength, but in the beginning, it is not a serious occupation. 883 As soon as they become regular workers, they spend their free 562 time with other bachelors and form a compañía or escuadrilla 573

883 (gang), containing males from the age of about twelve to the time
562 they marry. They usually sleep together in one of the escuadrilla
573 member's house corridor, and spend long nights playing the harmonica, having corn eating competitions or serenading.

562 A man is not considered a full-fledged community member
885 until he marries and has a child (the word for man and father
851 have the same root: tat), which allows him to take the lower
601 post in the government (policía). The government itself is an
621 age-graded organization in which the kinship terms of elder and
621 younger brother are used reciprocally, and by extension, by of-
561 ficers in lower and higher posts.
601

562 With the passing of time, both men and women increase their
593 status by raising a family and by passing to higher positions in
621 the civil-religious hierarchy. Although women do not participate
794 directly in the government, they have some duties as officer's wives (e.g., ironing the Saint's clothes if their husbands are Mayordomos), and they are called by their husband's titles. A man may resign from office if his wife dies and there is no other adult woman in the household who can take care of her part of the officer's performance.

184 The first noticeable difference in the ordering of social
562 relations in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women
592 in the domestic group.

184 In Aguacatenango, the eldest male is the head of the
562 household. He controls the land which the men of the household
462 work, the cattle, the labor of the household members and most of
592 the money obtained through the sale of surplus corn (which is

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The boy is expected to live for a year with the girl's parents; then he makes his own home, usually near that of his father. If the boy's parents are sufficiently powerful, they may pay the girl's parents twelve pesos in lieu of the year's service. Villa was informed that a woman unable to pay a debt or a fine may be taken as a secondary wife by any married man who will pay the debt or fine; that a woman who loses her virginity may be bought similarly of her parents for a little rum; and that in the case of any of these polygynous marriages, a single household is maintained. No such household was observed. 583 591 583 592 595 [681]

No information was obtained on birth customs,[30] or on customs in connection with death.[31] 114

Blom and LaFarge describe a church festival held at Tecojá ranch on June 22 and 23.[32] When Villa visited the highland villages the carnival was being celebrated. In Tenejapa on February 20 he witnessed the "Festival of the Flags" (*tahimalkin*). The (annually elected) leaders of the festival, the *alfereces*, assembled in the morning at the church. Each man conveyed a red banner with green edges, fastened to a pole, and each held in his mouth a short hook on which an orange was impaled. Nothing was learned as to the significance of these objects. The alfereces remained for a time inside the church drinking rum and singing. They then went by fours to pray in turn before each of the crosses set up in the village. The rest of the day they spent visiting the house of each one of them in turn; in each house they sang the same song sung in the church; in each the host offered rum, so that by nightfall all were drunk. These acts were to be twice repeated during the days following. They had for their stated purpose the announcement of the days of carnival. On the following Thursday the carnival became generally celebrated, and many natives went out costumed and masked. 796 [114] [574] [533]

The alfereces were accompanied by musicians, and also by three personages carrying the dried bodies of, respectively, a wild cat, a rodent called *saben*, and an iguana. Villa was informed that these animals are used in a later festal pantomime in which the alfereces enact a sowing, and in which these animals are represented as performing their characteristic mischief.[33] [825]

Villa observed other elements of the carnival ritual in Oxchuc. On Thursday, February 24, Indians of the calpul of Santo Tomás assembled in the church where they prayed for a time before the large altar, and then danced and drank rum in the nave. The dance was performed alternately by men and by women, and was accompanied by music from a harp, a guitar, and a rattle made of a calabash and a deer's hoof. On the following day these acts were performed by Indians of the other calpul; on this occasion the music was furnished by two drums and a flute, and the leader (*capitán*) was dressed in red. On this latter day natives of the calpul of Santo Tomás moved in procession through the streets; four individuals bore each a large pole to which were fastened ribbons of various colors; a fifth carried a red banner. [535] [533]

[30] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359.

[31] *Ibid.*, 2:360–362.

[32] *Ibid.*, 2:364–365.

[33] The frequent association, in Middle America, of small animals, especially furred animals, with festivals, in connection with ideas of fertility and of festal buffoonery, has been noted. See Redfield, 1936, pp. 231–243. [171]

241 [412] machete (*machit*) or the *luk*, a sort of curved machete with a long handle, are the implements needed. The cutting of the grass from the plot where the milpa had been the previous year is *selab*; the cutting of bush grown for three or four years is *sok-uej*. The work of cutting the bush is done by the entire family, including children of seven or eight years old.

[221] [412] The planting is done between April and May after the first rains, with a long stick whose tip is hardened by fire or protected by a metal point. [242] The seed must come from large, healthy ears whose tips have been cut off because they have small corn. [824] The *olote*, or corncob, is either kept or thrown away at a distance to avoid its being used as fuel, for this would hurt the milpa which then would produce ears with broken kernels.

241 462 785 834 The task of planting is a very delicate matter, to be performed after fasting and sexual abstinence. It is exclusively a man's affair. 241 574 A great banquet is served at noon, generally outdoors as the hut interiors are small, to the friends and neighbors who will participate as helpers. Sometimes as [476] many as 10 men help to plant a friend's milpa. The meal is offered "precisely when the sun stops for a moment midway on its run and the doors of the Church of Heaven are opened, from where the quality of the banquet is observed." This is *s-uelil-abal* ('meal of the planting').

241 262 272 574 [263] When things are properly done, the meal consists of a number of items. First the *atole* (*pajal-ul*) is served, which is slightly sour and sweetened with *panela*. As "companion" to this atole are tamales (*chenkul-uaj*), which are prepared with cornmeal and ground beans. It is said that both things are to be served together so that "the seed may penetrate deep into the ground."

241 252 262 574 272 After this preliminary snack comes what is considered the main course for each person: a hard-boiled egg in a thick reddish broth prepared from dough and ground chile dissolved in water; a large tortilla;

[P.199-B]

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201-A]

241 boiled beans; other tamales (*petul*), which
252 are made from dough and whole beans;
262 and finally, still more atole. The atole is
574 served not in individual *jícaras* but in two
272 or three large ones (*batzil-booch*), which
[415] are passed from person to person. The same is done with the other foods; they are served in one or two large pots (*mucul pulato*) out of which everyone serves himself. This banquet is given only on the first
241 day of the planting; if other days are re-
574 quired, the milpero himself does the planting.

241 Since weeds grow rapidly during the rain season, the milpa must be hoed twice before it reaches maturity. For this the luk or coa is used and also the hoe (*asron*), the same one used to break the soil before planting. The first weeding is done in June, the second between July and August. Women
[462] help their husbands in this chore and some-
[566] times do it entirely themselves, since the
[464] men are in the habit of leaving for Tapachula to work as peons on the coffee plantations.

244 Also in the milpa beans of several varieties are planted: *chuil-chenek* (or *ibes*, according to the Ladinos); *botil*, a large common bean; *xakil-chenek* or *frijol de vara*; and the *x-luumil-chenek* or *frijol de la tierra*, thus called because it is a creeping plant.

Chile is planted on a separate lot, 15–20 m. square. The planting is done during the first weeks of March, in alternate years so that it will not coincide with the year when the people of Cancuc plant cotton. Chile planted by the people of Oxchuc is *dzajalik* or red chile.

241 Toward the end of August, the first fruits are ready (*unimajam* or *jilote*, according to Ladinos). These are received with great joy by the families which are by then lack-
[242] ing food. From each plant, which provides two or three *jilotes*, the farthest down is picked to let the other two grow bigger.
[252] These jilotes are boiled without salt and
[263] are eaten whole, including the husks.
[262] [P. 201-A]

342 lages of the lowlands where the houses have
[354] small windows, which improve ventilation
342 and illumination slightly. In places like
184 Chanal, where there is abundant lumber, the sides of the houses are built with wooden boards set vertically. The largest and best-built houses are in Tenejapa center.

Generally, the hut is divided into two rooms: the front is parlor and kitchen, the rear is bedroom. In Bachajon the rear room serves as bedroom and kitchen, the front room for sewing and grinding and the re-
[574] ception of visitors. In Amatenango del Valle the front of the house is open and
[323] used as a porch for visits. Ceramic work
[251] is also performed here. In one room of the house a bin of wood or reeds stores corn.
[343] Sometimes, small structures which serve as granaries are built inside the hut.

343 Among the auxiliary structures outside is
515 the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. Not every hut has a *pus* since one is enough to attend the needs of several neighboring families. The *pus* is a small room 1.5 m. high by 2 m. on each side, built of stones and clay. The roof is flat. Inside a hollow forms a hearth for heating stones. Water thrown on these red-hot stones produces the necessary steam. On the floor are boards on which people lie while taking the bath. Among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil the *pus* is
[184] not only for cleanliness but also for the cure
[959] of certain diseases and to strengthen women
[846] after childbirth. Sweat baths are more commonly taken in Tierra Fria than in Tierra Caliente.

417 The other structures near the hut are the chickencoop and the hogpen.

352 Furniture is limited to essential items. In the kitchen are the three hearth stones, the comal (*samet*), the grinding stone (*chá*), a bench or strong table to hold the metate (*ah-ken*), one or two small tables (*matzmalté* or *vebalté*) 25–39 cm. high and 30–40 cm. in diameter, and small benches 15–20 cm. high made of scooped-out tree trunks
415 (*tzanté*). Kitchen equipment includes earthenware (pans, pitchers, and jars) and
[P. 207-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4.5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

613 than three or four generations. In the past, these lineages were localized, and in places like Bachajon, Cancuc, and Oxchuc the exact locations are still remembered.

613 769 778 A few generations ago, the most distinguished members of each lineage were buried in the cave after which the paraje was named, the bones and ashes of the dead being placed in large jugs or urns. The caves were places for ceremonies honoring the ancestors. Blom (1954) made a study of these burials and mapped the distribution of the sites. These caves are still places for worship but not for burials; the cross protecting all members of the lineage is kept there, as well as, in some instances, small crosses belonging to the important members of it (Villa Rojas, 1946, p. 16).

614 The words *chapomal* and *tijinabal* name the members of the clan in general. It is said that "the neighbors of this paraje are all chapomales," or "those cannot get married because they are chapomales." Tijinabal also means neighbor or member of the same paraje. Another word, *patshunk*, is also an equivalent of tijinabal. These words are currently used in Oxchuc, Cancuc, and Bachajon. On the other hand, there is no specific word to designate the lineage.

[835] The main function of the clan is to regulate marriage, as the union of two chapomales is considered incestuous. The clan [574] also gives much self-confidence to the Indian who travels to other parajes, for he can always find hospitality among people of his own clan. It also has a function of social control, exercised by the old men of the group, who punish all transgressors against the established rules. Helped by the nagual (supernatural spirit), they find out about the behavior of the members of the clan and punish according to the crime (Villa Rojas, 1947).

614 626 887

613 428 The lineage relationship is also important in inheritance (especially land), since the plots should always be under the control of individuals of the same Indian name. Only where such persons are absent or missing or

[P 215-A]

583 procedures (*trámites*) of church and civil
584 registry. The traditional marriage is an arrangement between two families. The young man's parents, with his agreement, select the bride and start the visits leading to the
[574] petition. The visits to the girl's house must
[273] be made at dawn, accompanied by two or three bottles of aguardiente. These visits continue for several months, because the girl's parents want to consult the old men or the most important members of the patrilineal clan.

585 The wedding itself is simple, a family ritual concerning the boy's parents, the girl's parents, and old men of the clan she belongs to. Now the boy appears for the first time, bringing articles that will "warm up" the fiesta (Villa Rojas, 1949):

1 garrafón (about 18 liters) of aguardiente
80 cooked eggs
80 tortillas
80 tamales of the *chenkul-uaj type* (corn and bean dough)
10 kilos of pozole with chile
10 kilos of pozole without chile
1 kilo of ground chile
1 almud (4 kilos) of beans

According to my informants from Oxchuc, these items represent what the girl's parents have spent for her during childhood.
[574] This marriage feast is called *beybal-ja* ('the first delivery of aguardiente').

585 These items are presented with the great-
614 est formality to the girl's clan in oral forms that symbolize the wish for everlasting friendship between both families. The oldest member of the girl's clan responds by expressing on behalf of all members their satisfaction in receiving those articles and their good wishes for a successful union. Immediately, the couple kneels on a petate and listens to the oldest member of the clan, who formally announces they are married and recites the duties and obligations of each.

584 Until recently in Cancuc the custom ob-
184 tained of making these marriage arrange-
[P 217-B]

584 ments through a special person (*chunel*)
[184] for each of the four clans, and differed from Oxchuc, where the case is presented to the nearest old man of the clan. In Cancuc, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, p. 3):

> The boy's parents dealt with the *Chunel* of the girl's clan when petitioning her. He received the gifts and gave approval; and then accompanied by the boy and his parents he went into the house of the girl's parents. There, he presented the boy's petition. Nobody could oppose the Chunel's decisions. The girl would die if she didn't obey the decisions of the elder of the clan.

583 Once a marriage feast is finished, the boy stays in his parents-in-law's house to fulfill the bride price (*stojyinam*). This service, which consists in helping the father-in-law in the milpa and in other duties, usually lasts a year, or less if arrangements are made in advance. Frequently during this period the man spends alternate periods of three weeks with his parents-in-law and with his own parents. When he has the means to do it, he builds his own house and starts the new cycle of a nuclear family.

581 After the first year of marriage, if the
585 couple get along together, the man must
574 make a present of two garrafones of aguar-
[273] diente and the same petitionary items of
[614] food, though in larger amounts. This time, more of the girl's clan are present, and so increase the importance of the event. The purpose is to celebrate the success of the couple and the union that will exist between the two families. This big *tertulia*, along with the corresponding meal, is called
[888] *mukel-ja* ('abundance of drink'). Old men of
[273] the clan who cannot attend receive at their homes the portion of aguardiente they
586 should have drunk. On the other hand, if the couple could not get along during the first year and the union is annulled because of the woman's fault, her parents must give back all they have received during the first ritual.

581 Finally, to bring all these duties to an
574 [P. 218-A]

581 end, the husband gives a big meal sometime
574 (even 30 years later) which must be attended by the important members of the wife's clan. Many illnesses in a family are attrib-
[753] uted to the fact that the man did not fulfill this third requirement of a food gift (*oshevuelto-uaj-matz*, 'third delivery of food').

584 Another custom, known as *yajk makte achish* ('cover or secure the girl'), is practiced when the chosen girl is too young (10–12 years) to get married. To secure her in the future, the boy's parents make arrangements with those of the girl, offering them liquor that other members of the girl's clan also share. When she grows older, they proceed with the wedding arrangements and the customary formal ceremonies.

583 Another form of marriage, existing among very traditional groups, begins with the capture of the girl. This happens when she has no father or important man representing the house. The boy and his parents must obtain cooperation from one of the male members of the girl's clan. With this accomplice the men go to the girl's house at midnight, take her, and bring her to the boy's parents either by persuading her mother with liquor or by force. Days later, they try to calm the anger of the important people of her clan, bringing further bottles of liquor. Usually the union becomes formally recognized after this, and the couple settle in their own home with the neighbors' approval. It is thus a sort of institutionalized capture.

581 Among the less conservative communities,
177 these forms of marriage are being replaced
585 by Ladino forms, which regard marriage not as a contract between two lineages or families but as an agreement between two individuals. Furthermore, the Catholic ceremony
583 is considered very important. Premarital sex-
836 ual relations and elopement are frequent. Metzger states that, "in Aguacatenango, to
584 a considerable extent, the marriage choice
[836] is made by the boy and the girl after sexual experimentation and a period of 'going steady.' The boy tells his family about it and they proceed to make the arrangements

[P. 218-B]

584 with the family of the girl. If the boy is accepted, the gifts are received and the marriage takes place.

585 184 [177] In Aguacatenango and Amatenango, the Catholic ceremony is sometimes delayed for several years after the informal marriage, because of the belief that the latter really consolidated the union. On the other hand, in places where the Ladino population is larger (Pinola and San Bartolo) the religious ceremony is considered by the Indians as a very important part of the customs.

184 177 608 The compadrazgo relationship is stressed among these communities where Ladinos have great influence. There are baptism, confirmation, and wedding padrinos. The rights and duties established through this relationship are still respected, especially 608 the compadre relationship. It is the duty of the child's parents to give occasional gifts [736] to the godparents. If the child's parents die, the godparents must take care of him, except when there are closer relatives to the father.

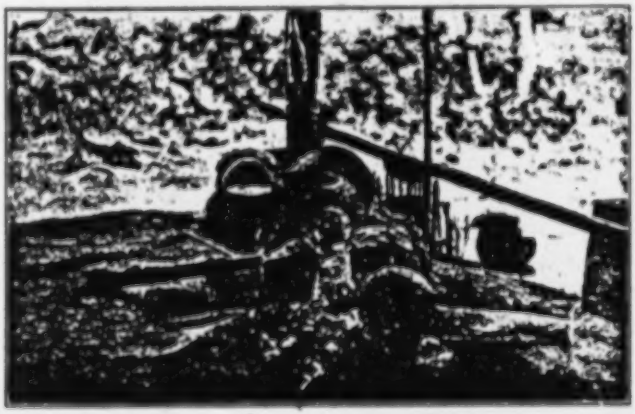
585 608 It is the main duty of the wedding godparents to help the couple maintain a good understanding and to dissolve, by advice, any disagreement. They always receive great respect and affection from their *ahijados*.

608 [851] Among conservative groups, the compadrazgo relationship arises only from the baptism of a child. Sometimes this relationship is established in a very informal way; perhaps during fiesta at the ceremonial center they may take advantage of the priest's presence to ask a very close friend to "embrace" the child. The padrino is then invited 574 608 to have aguardiente. At other times the arrangement is made formally; the parents of the child go to the house of their future [431] compadres to ask them that favor. Exchanges of gifts and dinner invitations are frequent, the child's parents feeling the greater obligation. These meals can be really banquets where many "platillos" and 184 much aguardiente are consumed. Among 608 some groups, padrinos neither give a gift to 431 736 [P. 219-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

necks and round bottoms. Two were full of corn and lime for 415
tortillas, just off the fire. A big Tenango jar, *k'ip*, of the kind to be described at that place, was used for water.

A pottery dish, about 7 centimeters across, *tsets*, is commonly [515]
offered to guests to wash their hands. It is placed on a pottery stand [574]
of an hour-glass shape, about 15 centimeters high, *awaliko* (see fig. 299). The ordinary plates and general vessels are flat gourd dishes, *qai'*, about 20 centimeters across. Gourds as well were used for a dipper, *tuts*, and a water-jar, *tsux*. Two nets hung from the rack. 353
There were three small baskets, *tutemotc*, and four big ones, *mukulmotc*. Hanging on the wall were a pair of the basket-work sandals mentioned before, and selected ears of corn for seed. The wife's 283
textile outfit, more fully described later, consisted of a spindle, *pětět*, 286.



354

FIG. 191—Bachajón Fireplace.

with clay whorl, spun in a gourd bowl, *tsima*, cotton, *t'umin*, hang- 283
ing in leaves, and the loom itself, *holěl*. A sling, made of a forked 286
stick and rubber band with a leather piece to take the clay pellet, 411
finmutc, belonged to the small boy. Bananas were drying on the rack. With them were laid, or hanging in packages of leaves, bees- 353
wax, *tcavek*, blocks, 20 x 20 x 2 centimeters, for trade purposes, 237
used for making candles, a lump of hard red clay, *baq lum* ("bitter [251]
earth"), for washing the hair, and sometimes also eaten, a package of brown loaf sugar, salt, *atsam*, traded down from the Zotzil country, several packages of pimiento pepper, and serpent fat, *junto tcan*, for rubbing on the chest to cure coughs. Under the table was a 353
basket of coarse, blackish-gray clay for making pottery, *tcavek lum* [323]
("beeswax earth"). Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail

273* Informal drinking

An informal drinking cycle may be initiated on a saint's 273* day or on the day following a ceremonial drinking cycle. An 574 individual may also initiate an informal cycle on the occasion of some personal crisis--e.g., desertion by his wife, illness of some member of the household. The formal speech which begins the ceremonial drinking sequence has as its parallel in the informal sequence the simple invitation to drink, /ME MA*K AWUC TRAWO/, "Would you like a drink?" This statement in general does not permit a refusal on the part of the person being so invited. (Expressions of invitation in English also carry some slight obligatory component.)

Following the probably affirmative response on the part of the invited person, a bottle of aguardiente is proffered from which the receiver takes a drink. While aguardiente in the ceremonial drinking sequence is measured in liter bottles, aguardiente in the informal drinking sequence is measured in bottles of smaller size, regularly a quarter-liter bottle, though occasionally the aguardiente will be offered in a liter bottle. As noted above, informal drinking sequences are more likely to involve drinking directly out of the bottle rather than out of a shot glass filled from the bottle. Thus the precise amount of aguardiente drunk by each participant is likely to be unknown to the others. In the ceremonial drinking sequence,

273* 594 all persons drinking receive the same known amount, as measured by the shot glass; since each liter is equally divided, the host may stop serving at any time knowing that all have shared equal amounts. In informal drinking, in contrast, equal distribution of the aguardiente is only approximated by passing the bottle to each in turn. Precision in distribution is perhaps of less concern in informal drinking because there is no single host; each man in turn contributes his own bottle to be shared by the group. Mariano tells how he and his friends shared the expense of a drinking cycle as follows:

[539] M. TAL Z'IN *EHK HOYTIK I, K'EHEL BA YUC'IK *EHUK, TE XBOTIK *A, XU* KU*NTIK *EHUK....

Then some other companions came, we went to drink over there, we went to continue over there also. . . .

TUME HA*T NAX K'AN AWAK'IK XCION, SK'AHK' KO*TANTIK *EHK HC'IN TOHOLTIK I.

"It's not right for you alone to give [aguardiente]," I told them. "Now we will buy some with our money."

TENEX K'OT YAK'IK *OLIL HUHUTUL Z'IN *A PAHAL LA YAK'IK STUBI.

Then and there they began to give a half-liter each, afterward all gave equally.

273* The informal drinking cycle is likely to be initiated by same-sex, same-age peers who consider themselves to be friends. In contrast to the ceremonial drinking sequence, in which persons of various ages and role relations always take part, the informal drinking sequence places little emphasis on the individual's rank

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

608 members of the me'iltatil along with relatives and sometimes neigh-
571 bors. They are his sponsors at subsequent life crises—rituals of betrothal, marriage, and death. All of these people become co-parents to each other and to the child's parents. This relationship lasts throughout his and their lifetime. If the marriage bond is threatened, the me'iltatil gather to hear the complaints and try to resolve the problems. When a person dies, his me'iltatil go to his wake to watch over his spirit. He in turn is expected to help in the household of his me'iltatil when they have a ceremony by bringing wood or serving food and drink to guests.

624 2. Civil officials: The civil officials as a group may also be called
561 the me'iltatil; the term has special reference to the judges who represent the ancestors in their judgment of wrongdoers. In their passage through office from lower to higher positions, they are ranked in age-graded sets of junior officials (policemen), senior officials (regidores), and elder officials (judges), with the highest respect in ceremonial occasions accorded to the principales, two men, one from each side of the dual division, selected from those who have served in all offices. Drinking order, marching order, and seating order reflect the age-ordered rank in all ceremonial occasions.

[192] The link between the me'iltatil of the household and the me'iltatil of the civil authority is provided by a group of officials called the *nakawanehetik*. These men are chosen from among bilaterally related relatives, ritual co-parents, and neighbors who have served in office in the church or the town hall and know the prayers. They direct ceremonies in the house at times of baptism, betrothal, death, and when the household head enters a community office. They are the ones who know how the ancestors did things and "watch and see" that all is done in accord with custom. They instruct the new official in the prayers he must memorize. Their wives direct the preparation of food by the younger women, and one of them may serve as chief woman speaker greeting guests.

571
621
602
794
608
[574]

621 3. Curers: Curers are similarly ranked according to age and years
756 in practice. The elder curer on each side of the dual division is charged
561 with guarding his side against the intrusion of evil spirits in the form of his own animal spirit. It is in this function of guardianship that the curers are referred to as me'iltatil.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

764 [43] *give five or ten pesos are helped by God. Those who give nothing end at their burial with nothing.*

If the death occurs in the night, the body will be buried on the following day. During the wake, called "watching over the dead," relatives of the father, mother, and spouse of the deceased, as well as compadres and neighbors, watch over the body so that the devil cannot enter and steal the [608] soul. If the dead person's padrino is alive, he serves as first *nakawane* and [273] greets the guests. Liquor is served constantly. The women serve coffee and [574] tamales or tortillas to the visitors at midnight.

At midnight the woman who is closest of kin cries for the dead. This is a stylized crying in which the mourner speaks of how the dead man passed his life. If she is his widow, she weeps for the misery she will face. [539] Mourning for herself, she repeats:

How can I eat now with my children?
You will not see how I shall live.
You are of one heart in the ground.
But you do not see how I shall eat with the children.

If the death has been a violent one, the widow may express her sentiments about the blamelessness of her husband, or she may suggest that accusations that he was a witch are true by saying she knew nothing of what he did at night. In any case, people listen carefully to what she sings because it may give some basis for speculating whether there will be an attempt to avenge his death.

On the day of the burial, the coffin is lined with a new straw mat, and all the dead man's used clothing except for his kotonču is placed inside. A gourd drinking cup with *posol,* a spiced corn gruel, is placed near the dead man's mouth along with a tortilla. A metal cup cannot be used to hold water in the coffin because it does not have a soul as does the gourd vessel, which comes from a living plant. If the deceased is a man or boy, his hat is placed next to his head and his sandals are set beside his feet. A cross made of palm is put in the coffin to ward off the devil. If the deceased is a child, his head is adorned witha wreath of paper flowers set on a kerchief which is bound around his head.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621 crucial ceremony for the following reasons: (1) Most of the officials are changed simultaneously, so that, since there is neither carryover in a civil service nor tenure officials, the act of transferring authority carries a greater burden in preserving continuity; (2) The official is integrated in a prior set of kinship and other social relations such that he cannot act anonymously in his official capacity as judge or policeman. Thus one of the functions of the inauguration is a disengagement from the preexisting network of obligations and a priority commitment to the obligations of the office (Parsons, 1951:80–84; Gluckman 1962:34; Cancian 1963); (3) The household ceremony preceding the inauguration provides a setting in which the individual who is about to assume the office learns what is expected of him (Fortes 1959:82).

The inauguration is patterned on a series of acts which symbolically communicate to performers and villagers who participate as observers the desired social goals. The settings in which the change of civil officials is carried out are (1) the house of the incoming official, (2) the town hall, (3) the plaza, and (4) the church. In each arena, the validation and support of the new officials is publicly defined before overlapping sets of participants and observers.

The activities of the inauguration observed in 1965 are recorded below:

621 *On New Year's eve, household celebrations are held in the house of*
527 *each new official. The houses are decorated with pine needles on the floor*
574 *and juniper boughs on the porch. The visitors arrive about eight in the evening bearing pitch pine and wood to light the house and provide fuel for cooking. The helpers and guests who attend the evening celebration in the house of the president include relatives, compadres, and neighbors who will support him in his term of office. Primary support is given by the official's wife, without whom he would not be serving in the hierarchy. His advisors and councilors in the household are the nakawanehetik, or household officials. These are men who have passed through at least four religious offices and who are somehow related to the new official. A second group of supporters in the household setting are the* b'alnialetik, *young men who are either brothers, brothers-n-law, sons, compadres, godchildren, or neighbors of the houseowner, and who serve*

as errand boys and assistants. A third group are the ikoltawanchetik, *the female helpers, usually wives of the b'alnialetik or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors,* yulatak, *who come to congratulate the new official.* [*The visitors at the house of the first judge are shown in Figure 7.*] 621 527 [574]

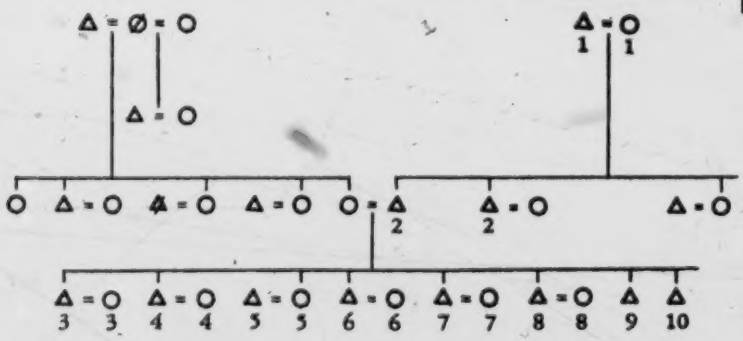
The new official addresses the first nakawane with the following speech: 621 537 527

Official: "Holy evening, Mamtat, to your health."

Nakawane: "Holy evening, Mamtat, to your health."

Official: "Lord, how are you, Mamtat? You are alive, word of God, this holy evening. There is no illness behind your heart."

Fig. 7. Relatives at House of First Judge on Eve of Inauguration [601]



Nakawane: "I live. I feel no illness."

Official: "Lord Mamtat, give pardon with God, with the Virgin Mother. Give holy pardon your mothers, your fathers, with God.

"Give pardon, Lord, give pardon. Virgin mother. Here we are gathered before you where we are seated, our soil, our mud.

"How are we going to succeed in what we will have to do in this holy new year for our patron Lord? Here again in the dawning of the holy hour, let us look into our heart, there where we are going to receive the holy oath inside the holy cold house, the cold hall, where we go receive the work and suffering of the holy staff, the holy wand this holy day, this

621 527 [537] *holy year. And so we shall be able to do what our mothers and what our fathers did here where the holy Father sees us and the holy Mother sees us."*

[782] *The formal prayer, using elements of all the addresses of pat?o?tan, presages the events which will take place and announces the continuity with the past in following out the work the ancestors have done. The civil authorities, like the religious authorities, assert that they are taking on a holy responsibility. There is, in the words of the pat?o?tan, no distinction between profane and sacred obligations toward the village.*

[273] *Following the drinking and prayers, liquor is served. Drinking order always follows the elder to younger pattern which, in household settings, is always coincident with prestige ranking. At midnight, coffee, bread, and bean-filled tamales are served.*

621 527 574 *The second series of household gatherings takes place on the morning of New Year's Day in the houses of the new president, the first judge, and the first policeman. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the other three regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house and are served coffee and liquor. They then proceed to the house of the president. As the judges and regidores arrive there, the visiting group greets all of the assembled guests at the president's house with a prescribed greeting, the* sak'inaltat *and the hand-kissing, called* ?utzk'aab. *The first judge exchanges an extended pat?o?tan with the first nakawane of the president and then liquor is served to all those gathered. The assembled group next stands and "turns toward the rising sun." This is said to be a "defense against the entry of the devil."*

While the higher officials meet in the house of the president, the policemen join togther in the houses of the first policeman on each side of the dual division. Just as in the house of the president, the ceremony consists in serving liquor and coffee. They await the sound of the firecrackers set off in the yard of the president's house before setting out for the town hall. With this announcement of the departure, the officials at the president's house and at the two first policemen's houses set out for the town hall.

621 527 *Gathered in the town hall are the old officials along with the alfereces and the principals. The new officials enter two by two, the president and*

794 796 [252] [262] *bull, and the women prepared beef stew and made tortillas and coffee. The floor of the house was strewn with pine needles.*

At noon, two alfereces led the procession of police, judges, síndico, and principales as they collected money for the fiesta. The alfereces held the banners with an embroidered cloth. The movements of the procession were initiated with church bells ringing and rockets set off by two junior mayordomos as they left the church and as they arrived at and left each of the seven "stands," locations marked by crosses at the intersections of the major streets of the village. When they arrived at each stand, the alfereces stood holding the banners and the other civil and religious officials sat on the side of the road, smoking and drinking. The five police scattered, going to collect 5 pesos from each household. When they returned, the síndico noted the amount received and the principales held the money in a tin tray.

When the group arrived back at the church at two-thirty, the alfereces put the banners in the rear corner of the church. They went to the altar rail, knelt and prayed, crossed themselves and kissed first the image of Santiago, then all the other images. The music of drum and flute was played in the church courtyard, and firecrackers were set off. A table was set up to the right of the door of the church, and there the money was counted. As the officials came out of the church, they made the rounds of the seated officials, greeting them with the pat?o?tan. The officials arranged themselves in the traditional pattern: The fiscal and town treasurer stood at the table counting the money before the assembled officials. The principales and judges, stood immediately before the table watching the fiscal and treasurer; their position indicated their guardian role. Bills of the same denomination were set in piles under stones to prevent their blowing away, and then tied into bundles with palm fronds. When all the money had been counted, the principales put it in a manila folder, and the treasurer wrapped this in a red kerchief. The striking of the church bells announced the end of the counting.

794 796 574 602 *All the relatives—the yermanotak, or "brotherhood" group, including bilaterally-extended brothers and brothers-in-law and their wives, compadres, and neighbors—were invited to partake of the meal in the afternoon at the houses of the alfereces. The nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik, rela-*

tives whose positions in this household fiesta are established on the basis of their age and experience in office, took up the established positions for these roles in the house of the new alférez. The first nakawane blessed the liquor; two bottles were measured into shot glasses and served to the guests. After this the meal was served. [794] [796] [574] [602] [273]

The second day (Wišpereł). *All the nakawanehetik appointed for the new alférez gathered in his house at nine o'clock in the morning to drink. The first and second nakawanehetik went to the cabildo to ask the judge and president when the new alférez must take out the holy banner. The president replied that it would be in two days. The question was rhetorical: everyone knew that the ceremony of taking out the banners occurred on the fourth day of the fiesta, and the day itself was named* Šlok' Krus, *taking out of the cross (the banner has a cross adorning the staff). What was being communicated to the civil officials by the question was the recognition of responsibility to the new alférez by the nakawanehetik. In the afternoon of this day, another meal of beef stew and tortillas was served to the same guests assembled on the previous day.*

The third day (Sk'ak'halel Sk'in). *At cock's crow the parents of the new alférez awakened him. Gathered in the house were the woman speaker, the guitarist, and the nakawanehetik. Under the direction of the woman speaker, the alférez' wife helped him put on his clothing, and the guitarist accompanied this procedure with music. When he was dressed, the new alférez danced a turn before the assembled guests to show his new clothing, and reviewed the pat?o?tan with the nakawanehetik who had taught him. He then went with his guitarist to raise his companions. First he went to the third alférez and awakened him. He greeted the nakawane of the third alférez with the pat?o?tan, and was invited to sit down; he was served coffee and bread, followed by a mouthwash. The third alférez dressed, and after the two were served liquor they danced a turn. In this same fashion, the new alférez raised all of his companions. The assembled group went to the cabildo.* [533] [535] [262]

The nakawanehetik and the b'alnialetik, after drinking coffee and eating bean tortillas, went to collect the things needed to receive official

577 887 sion: "I pay respect to my elders. I greet my brothers and my children [extension of kinship terms]. To all I give respect. Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick."

577 [574] 196 [576] A good man is a generous host, expressed in the phrase, "he gives many tortillas." He serves his community in public office but avoids the appearance of seeking power or self-aggrandizement. When he gives orders, it is in a soft, low tone, supplicating rather than ordering with the phrase, "If you would please lend a hand." He gives thanks readily for any service rendered both to God and to his fellow man. He avoids any show of [578] anger, and is always careful to show consideration of others. Those who are of "another heart" or "two-hearted" are the opposite, seeking disputes, "thinking small," "being miserly," and of a "very black soul."

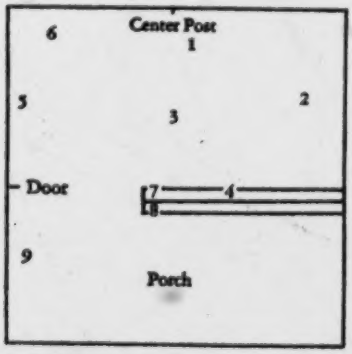
[754] The heightened awareness of the state of the heart of others comes from the ever-present fear of witchcraft. Since the people feel their survival depends upon perception of evil heart before it strikes, they develop an acute sense of the behavioral clues that indicate its presence.

829 183 [192] [828] *Conformity and deviance.* Conventional or preferred behavior is characterized as "reasonable." The phrase "ʔiʦ' rason," to take reason or understanding, is applied to a child who is expected to have reason at the age of twelve years or so, as well as to the arrival at agreement of competing parties, as in the case of betrothal.

Reasonable behavior is any behavior conforming to socially accepted understandings of what the world is. These include what a person of non-Indian culture might characterize as beliefs based on faith. They "know" [776] that there are hill spirits, wood spirits who cut off people's heads, and men who transform themselves into animals. Occasionally they subject given 813 understandings to empirical tests: one woman tested the belief that a [241] woman could rid the milpa of insect pests only by walking through a [825] planted field wearing a new skirt; she walked through the field wearing a worn skirt and her belief was confirmed when she found that the insect pests were not killed but just fled and returned later. Empiricism is not lacking; the difference between the content of their category of what is rational or reasonable and ours is based on the premises, not the process of reasoning.

342 women sit inside in a semicircle. A house without a closed-in porch is re-
[196] ferred to as a "cattle house" since it is considered inadequate for entertain-
[621] ing guests at ceremonial affairs. Townspeople prefer to choose as higher
[574] officials those who have houses with porches to accommodate visitors.

Fig. 8. Interior of a House



1. Seat of honor for women
2. Bed area for women of house
3. Hearth
4. Bench area for relatives of house
5. Bench area for visiting men
6. Mats or wooden board for visiting women
7. Honor seat for men (when inside house)
8. Honor seat for men outside house
9. Resting areas for male helpers

592 Each member of the household has his place for sleeping, eating, and sit-
[513] ting. The youngest child sleeps with his parents, and older children sleep with siblings of the same sex or with their grandparents. Newly married couples living with their parents prefer to sleep in the cook shack if there
[264] is a separate structure. At mealtime, men and boys sit on small wooden
[352] chairs at a miniature table placed against the wall separating the interior from the porch, while women and girls kneel on straw mats near the hearth.

342 Reference points inside the house (Fig. 8) are the center post where the
352
562
574
796

meal for the house is buried in the inauguration ceremony (Chapter 1) and the door. Left and right are orientation points viewed from inside facing the door. Women of the house sit on mats near the center post. Female visitors occupy the mats to the left of the post and male visitors sit on benches lining the right wall and the interior wall. If it is a large ceremony for the ritual of inauguration or a celebration by the captain of a fiesta, only women enter the house, and the men sit on borrowed benches lining the walls of the porch.

Relative age is indicated by position in the seating arrangement. For women the seat of honor, occupied by the oldest woman present, is at the center post; other women of the household sit on a straw mat or board in order of descending age clockwise around the room. This order is modified by the presence of the grandmother who, if not a woman speaker, retires to the left (facing door from inside) corner. Visiting women sit to the right of the center post with the oldest immediately next to the post and those decreasing in age and stature to her right. For men, the seat on the bench nearest the door to the interior is called the "head of the bench"; this is the seat of the leading nakawane. The rest of the nakawanehetik sit along this bench in order of age. On the bench facing them sits the house owner, with his brothers and other visitors to his right in an age-ranked order. The b'alnialetik sit on the right wall bench.

Since prestigeful roles are usually a concomitant of age, especially in the house ceremonies, there is seldom conflict between age and role status. When conflict does occur, it is only seen at the top level; thus, the grandmother if not active because of age, retires to the corner while the woman speaker, who must order the women in the kitchen and receive visiting dignitaries, takes over this position. I have seen the leader of the Ɛ'om take precedence over the leader waiter who was older, because of the important role of the former.

When the family is carrying out a ritual, it is felt that the house should never be left vacant. The role of the "waiters" (maliwanehetik) is specifically that of remaining in the house while others of the celebrants are involved in ritual acts outside of the house. When the members of the betrothal party go to the girl's house, for example, the waiters are left behind; or when the patient leaves with the curer and some of the curing

621 [575] were the Daughters of Holy Mary and the Daughters of Guadalupe.

[574] Visits to households in the other barrio are rare, and when they do occur they are due to unusual circumstances and are accompanied by formal etiquette. A long discussion was observed in Aguacatenango when the members of a household were debating the "correctness" of going to a house in the other barrio to buy milk for a very sick man. Two days later, the anthropologist was present in the house of the cow owners when the wife of the sick man arrived and asked to buy the milk. The senior woman of the house denied that her cow had any. When the visitor left, it was explained that "milk is money, the Ladino schoolteacher pays better for it, and besides . . . the woman came from the other barrio. . . ." When the Ayuntamiento authorities call the household heads to contribute with communal labor and/or discuss village affairs, it is usual that one barrio will send many and the other barrio relatively fewer delegates, depending on which one is more affected by the outcome of the activities involved.

621 423 The only important difference between the barrio organizations of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is their relation with the land tenure system. In Amatenango, the barrio lands are not separate. In Aguacatenango, although the barrios are not land-holding units in the strict sense of possessing separate titles of ownership, rights of usufruct of the village communal and irrigated lands are held separately by the two barrios, the people of

593 592 885 621 But a man wants to become independent of his father. While he is living within his parent's compound he is considered by the community to be "a child." He is bound to work his father's land and cannot control the produce of his own labor. Until he sets up his own separate domestic group, and becomes economically independent, he does not have full rights to participation in the political life of the community because (1) he is bound to make political decisions following his father's, and he has no voice in most community affairs which are the concern of household heads, and because (2) he cannot materially afford to take up the expenses of officership.

562 592 885 606 Women are also usually anxious to set up their own separate domestic group and independent housekeeping because this gives them some autonomy which they cannot achieve otherwise. The bond between a daughter-in-law and a mother-in-law is not expected to be a strong one. We have already discussed how the two women are assumed to be somewhat antagonistic, and their common work of housekeeping is unequally distributed.

While women live in the same compound with their mother-in-law, they have no power to make decisions of their own about their working schedule, their housekeeping, or the food stored by the elder because this is under the control of the elder woman.

[574] A woman cannot freely take time to visit her mother because she is expected to keep her social life within the boundaries of [313] her husband's domestic unit. She cannot even go to gather firewood, which is an activity highly enjoyed by women. Except for getting water from the well or pipes in the street or gathering firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound.

000 firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound.
462 Going to gather wood is a very nice break in the routine, and women
313 usually go in the company of other women with whom they chat, ex-
606 changing news and gossip. A young wife usually stays home cooking
592 while her mother-in-law leaves the house to gather the fuel for the hearth. Even if a woman does go out to gather wood, she is expected to do so with her mother-in-law, rather than with the
[626] women of her own natal family. A woman talking about a bad daughter-in-law will say, "She does not even want to gather firewood with me, she always runs to her mother's."

562 Women look upon having their own homestead as the only so-
592 lution for gaining independence. It is true that, even then, they
885 are under their husband's authority, but they control the food brought by the husband to the home, and they can make their own
[574] decisions about the work schedule. They can also take time to
[572] visit their own female relatives and childhood girl friends, a
[606] habit which is disliked by their mothers-in-law as being a threat to their own position.

592 We can see, then, that there are several factors which
578 provoke structural tensions in the compound home; some are economic, others are related to the ordering of social relations in the kinship domain, and still others depend on the aspirations of the individuals.

In the course of time, the structural tensions accumulate to the point that they precipitate the fission of the household. The triad of a woman, her son and her son's wife, and the dyadic conflict between a father and son dissolves the compound into two

sented by an elder *tatil martoma* and a junior *niℓʔanil martoma*, and that the 15 mayordomos were further ranked in terms of the four major saints, the *mas mamaliĩ* or more senior, whose mayordomos are referred to as *ḳobraria*, cofradías or brotherhoods, and the remaining as mayordomos. The four *ḳobrarias* were ranked in terms of the importance and expense of the saint whom they support. The order for Tzoʔontahal is Sacramento *(Sakramentu)*, Virgin Santa

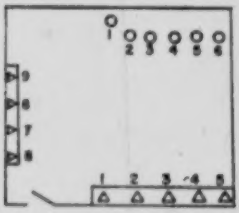


CHART 2 — EVENING, DECEMBER 31, HOUSE OF NEW JUDGE (ELICITED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Meʔil K'op)*
2 Wife of president *(Yinam Presirente)*
3-6 Wives of juniors *(Yinam Niℓʔanil)*

MEN (triangles):
1 Leading house official *(Statal Nakawane)*
2 New judge *(Aℓʔ Alkal)*
3-5 Assistants, sons of judge *(Balnialetik)*
6-9 Woodgatherers *(Akniʔetik)*

Lucia *(Halal Meʔtiḳ Santalusia)*, San Pedro Martyr *(Tatiḳ Martil)*, and San Francisco *(Tatiḳ Sanpransisku)*. There was complete agreement among the three informants questioned regarding this rank order, but for rank order of the 12 remaining mayordomos in charge of the 19 lesser saints there was no agreement between informants, and even the same informant was inconsistent in different eliciting sessions.

Outside the traditional hierarchy is the *piskal* (in Spanish *fiscal*), who is the direct assistant of the priest and serves in an advisory capacity in charge of the church activities of the brotherhoods and mayordomos in the absence of the priest. This role was not elicited, but in my questioning about fiestas he was mentioned as performing a certain role. The incumbent in the past three years was serving as president for the third time, showing the scarcity of men with the needed literary skills. The fiscal is usually relieved of other posts while serving in office. Another set of roles external to the hierarchy are the *meʔeletik* (or *resadoras*, the Spanish term for female prayer-makers). These are usually widowed or single wo-

activities. Following this, he then serves as *tatil* of any saint of minor rank, then as *tatil* of San Pedro Martyr or San Francisco, followed by a turn as *tatil* of the *kobraria* Virgin Santa Lucia, and finally as *tatil* of the *kobraria* Sacramento.

The Tzeltal role terms in both the civil and religious hierarchies reveal the preconquest age-ranking system. This is evident in the use of elder and junior

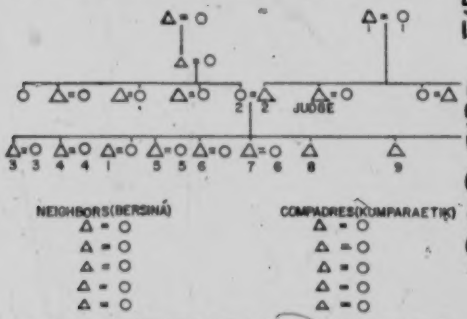


CHART 3 — ASSISTANTS AND PARTICIPANTS IN HOUSE FIESTA OF JUDGE (ELICITED)

Circles indicate women; triangles indicate men. For role term applying to number, see Chart 4.

titles for mayordomos *(tatil* and *nil' anil martoma)* and in the use of *mas mamalil* (more senior) for higher rank offices.

The informant's understanding of the hierarchy is that of a core of officeholders in three ranked segments (Chart 1). This is coded in the group terms for officials. Roles peripheral to the major categories such as those of rural judges, fiscal and women prayer-makers, are elicited only with repeated questioning or with reference to some event in which they function. These roles differ from those mentioned first in that they are either of little significance to the individual informant (this would explain the consistent omission of the rural judge by the people of the center) or are not part of the required posts incumbent upon every male household head to undertake (this might explain the omission of the president, síndico, principales and fiscales in the first eliciting session). Structural principles made explicit by the informants are (1) hierarchical rank, (2) progression from lower to higher posts, and (3) territorial balance in representation of the dual division. An implicit corollary of passage through offices beginning with lower ranks is the age grading of officeholders. Other structural aspects emerged in the description of behavior, described below.

[P. 215-B]

INFORMANTS' SEGMENTATION of behavior in the inauguration of civil and religious officials is based on responses to questions in Appendices 1 and 2. The description of the activities is organized in 128 [124]

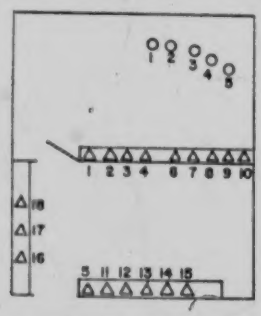


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CHART 4 — MORNING, NEW YEAR'S DAY, HOUSE OF FIRST JUDGE (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Meʔil K'op)*
2 Second woman *(Sčebal smeʔ)*
3 Third woman *(Yolebal smeʔ)*
4, 5 Women *(Meʔeletik)*

MEN (triangles):
1-4 Nakawane
5 First judge *(Mam primeró Alkal)*
6 Second judge *(Alkal Sčebal)*
7 Assistant judge of La Grandeza *(Hwes Suplente Bočibal)*
8 Assistant judge of Madronal *(Hwes Suplente Magronal)*
9 Assistant judge of San Caralampio *(Hwes Suplente Sankaralampio)*
10 Assistant judge of San Vicente *(Hwes Suplente San Bicente)*
11 First regidor *(Rehirol Primero)*
12 Second regidor *(Rihirol Sčebal)*
13 Síndico *(Sintikú)*
14 Third regidor *(Rehirol Yolebal)*
15 Fourth regidor *(Rehirol Sčunebal)*
16 *Balnial*
17 Liquor pourer *(P'is Haʔ)*
18 *Balnial*

terms of settings and roles. For each segment of behavior an attempt will be made to analyze how the structural relations and values are spelled out in spatial location, mode of address, and activity. 128

The settings in which the change of civil officials is carried out are (1) the houses of the incoming officials, (2) the townhall, (3) the plaza, and (4) the church. In each arena, the validation and support of 621*

[P.216-A]

the new officials are publicly defined before overlapping sets of participants and observers. Within each setting, the multiple sets of relationships which determine the individual's selection for a role are indicated in Appendix 3. 621* [571] [602]

It has often been stated of Guatemalan and Mexican highland Maya communities that public office is an undertaking of the household. The precise dimensions of this support have yet to be defined in an activity context. Visitors and helpers in the household celebration provide one such context in which the parameters of the aid can be defined (Charts 2, 3, 4). Primary support is given by the official's wife, without whom he would not be serving in the hierarchy.[5] She serves him by waiting for him in the house, taking care of the money he might have to guard as a civil official, and watching him while he is drunk from the bouts in the townhall so that he will not harm himself by falling in the fire or be harmed by his enemies. His advisors and councilors in the household are the *nakawanehetik*.[6] These are men who have passed through some of the civil offices —at least those of *alferez* and first regidor—and who are somehow related to the new official.[7] A second group of supporters in the household serve as errand boys and assistants, the *balnialetik*. They are chosen from among brothers, brothers-in-law,[8] sons, *compadres* (ritual co-parents), godchildren, and neighbors. A third group are the *ikoltawanehetik*, the fe- 621* 592 [574] [593] [602]

[5] Innumerable instances attest to the significance of the wife in officeholding. For example, at the final ceremony in a betrothal, the boy is advised by his elders that now he will be called to serve the pueblo. Or, in the court case of a judge whose wife wished to leave him because he had beaten her, the other judges counseled her to wait until he had completed his term of office.

[6] The term *nakawanehetik* may be derived from the honorific prefix *nak*, found in other Maya languages (LaFarge, 1947). Another possibility is that it may be the stem *na*, 'house,' plus *kawanehetik*, tentatively glossed as 'officials.' [193]

[7] In the case of the president (in the observed sequence) his father, who had passed through all the offices up to the first judge and had fulfilled his turns in the religious hierarchy as well, was the first *nakawane*.

[8] The term *bal* is generic for brother-in-law, *nial* for father-in-law, but whether this formerly had significance in the selection of assistance I do not know. At present, brothers-in-law are chosen along with others, such as godchildren or neighbors. [601]

[P. 216-B]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

male helpers who are usually wives of the *balnialetik*, or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors who come to congratulate the new official. Particularly conspicuous because of their Ladino or non-Indian clothing in the house of the president (Chart 6) were the visitors from the outlying rancherías and colonias of Tzoʔontahal. 621* [592] [574]

Validation in the household setting takes place in two scenes. The first occurs on the eve of New Year. Each new official entertains in his house the men he has chosen as his *nakawanehetik* and as his *balnialetik*. Only those *balnialetik* who are immediately related come to this gathering. The *meʔil k'op*, 'woman speaker,' is present along with the wives of the *balnialetik* (Chart 2). The house is decorated with pine needles and juniper boughs in the afternoon. The visitors arrive with wood and pitchpine to light the house at about eight in the evening and stay until the liquor is finished. Drinking order is from elder to younger, which coincides with the prestige ranking. The *nakawanehetik* are served, then the *nic'anil*. 621* 574 592 [602] [353] [273] [554]

The second household gathering takes place on the morning of the New Year. Major settings for such gatherings are the house of the first judge and the house of the new president. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the three other regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house. They join the president at his house and then proceed to the townhall. The group of five police from *ahk'olnantik* meet separately in the house of the first police of that side, and those of *alannantik* meet in the house of their first police. 621* 574 693 [592]

The assembled officials proceed to the townhall, announcing with rockets to the policemen that they have left. Gathered in the townhall, referred to in the formal address or *patʔot'an* as the *sik na*, 'cold house,'[9] are the 'old officials' *(k'a hu'eletik)* along with the alfereces and the principales. They enter two by two, the president and síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges, and the judges of the barrios and colonias. They kneel and 'measure their noses' *(sp'is sniʔik,)* as they enter, showing respect to the holy banners which the alfereces have delivered from the church. 621* 693 [202] [794] [554] [788] [794]

[9] Bunzel (1952, p. 377) translates a formal speech in which the townhall of Chichicastenango is referred to as that "cold house, the icy house," but the Quiche word is not included. The pattern of double synonyms for nouns is present in these Quiche formal texts as in the Tzeltal. [197]

[R 217-A]

church where the same reverence is accorded to the church. The order of the procession following them indicates the rank order of the officials, from the *spoil mayol*, the last policeman, to the first and second judge (Chart 9). The precedence of the first two

621* 788 [794] 621* 788 554 583 693 621* 574 693

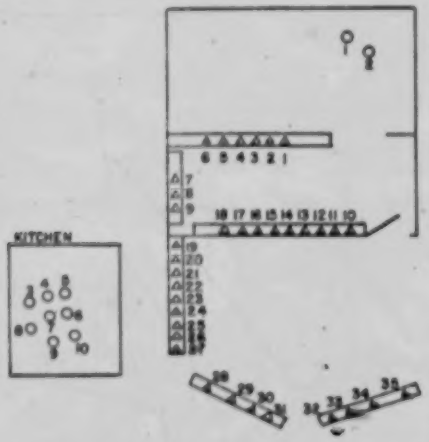

CHART 6 – MORNING, NEW YEAR'S DAY, HOUSE OF NEW PRESIDENT (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker (*Me'il k'op*), outgoing president
2 Second woman, neighbor
3-10 *Wanehenik*

MEN (triangles):
1 First Nakawane
2 Second Nakawane
3 Third Nakawane, brother of president
4 President
5, 6 Visitors from Colonias
7-9 *Balnialenik*
10 First judge
11 Second judge
12 First regidor
13 Second regidor
14 Third regidor
15 Fourth regidor
16 Assistant judge of Madronal
17 Assistant judge of La Grandeza
18 Assistant judge of San Caralampio
19-35 Visitors

judges over the president and síndico reverses that which was taken as they enter the church. There may be some permissible variation here, since the elicited version of the former president indicates that they should enter last. Possibly the threat of assassination (p. 223) caused them to enter before the judges as a security measure. The procession makes two turns

621* 788 693 554

[P. 218-A]

these apparently irrelevant comments reveal the power play going on behind the scene of the ritual. 621* 178

The observed schedule for the civil inauguration (App. 1, column 4) differed from the elicited in four details. The first of these was an item omitted by both informants: after liquor was served in the house of the president, the entire company stood up and "turned toward the wall" (App. 1, Q. 20). When I questioned my informant, he corrected the orientation "toward the wall" and said that they were turning toward the east in deference to the leader of all the saints of the east, led by Santo Açio. He said that it was done in all household celebrations in order "to be sure that the devil does not enter." Belief concerning these saints is fragmentary, and perhaps because of this, behavior relating to them is not easily recalled. These behavioral sherds, when cut off from the belief system they once dramatized, survive in "perpetuating the custom of the ancestors" *(hič sluwar hič likem me?tiktatik)*. 124 [776]

Another detail not mentioned by informants was the presence in the house of the president of the rural colonia inhabitants (Chart 6). This omission is typical of the neglect in reporting the activity or presence of anyone other than residents of the center. When I asked what they were doing there, I was told they came "to know the president." 124 632 622 574

Finally, an important divergence from expected behavior occurred when the schoolteacher, instead of the secretary, delivered the oath of office. This change was evidence of the schoolteacher's success in a factional struggle developing around new economic enterprises in the town. The former Ladino secretary was in close alliance with the former president and had supporters in the group of 20 co-owners, Indians from the village, of the truck when he had purchased. When the incoming president with his brother bought a truck with the assistance of 30 members of a truck-owning cooperative, a new focus for factional strife appeared in the town. The new cooperative was supported by the schoolteacher in his own bid for power. When the truck owners ran into any difficulty with the highway patrol, carrying wood or passengers without permit, the driver would refer them to the schoolteacher, who would then claim it 621* 875 178 578 621* 578 474 875 494

[P. 222-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

Appendix 1 — Change of Officials in the Townhall

	Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: Entry of First Judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
*621 124 796	1. When do they change the officials?	On January 1, *?aℓ ha?bil* (New Year)	First of January	I observed the preparations for the New Year change of office fiesta in the houses of the president and of the new first policeman on December 31, 1964, and January 1, 1965
	2. What do they do first on the fiesta of changing of officials?	They arrange the house of each official	The wife of the first judge puts the bean tortillas on the fire	
[252]	3. When do they do this?	In the afternoon of December 31	In the morning of the last day of December	The women spend most of the morning and afternoon making the bean tortillas
[353]	4. How do they arrange the house?	They get juniper boughs and needles and put them in the house		Around 8 P.M. the visitors arrive. The house is decorated with pine needles on the floor and in the yard, and there are branches of juniper nailed to the posts of the house entry, just as it is done at the entry to the townhall. I was not present at the gathering
[602]	5. Who helps her?		All her relatives (*kermanotak*) with neighbors (see Chart 1)	
	6. What do they do in the afternoon?		The women eat	
*621 124 796	7. What time do the guests gather in the house of the new officials?	On December 31 at 7 P.M.		
574	8. What do they bring?	They arrive with wood and pitchpine	They bring wood or pitchpine	
[272] [262]	9. What do the visitors do?	They drink coffee with bread and bean tortillas	They say greetings. They drink coffee and eat bean tortillas	
[273]	10. What do they do when they finish the coffee?	They drink liquor	They take out liquor, and the judge recites the benediction	
*621 124 796 [693]	11. Who is present in the house of the new official?		*ntatal nakawane*, his leading house official, Baltol Kantipn. The new judge, Santos Kantiron, *balnial*, assistants to pass grust, sons of the new officials *?ak ni?etik*: wood bringers (see Chart 2)	
[624]	12. What do they do first on New Year's day?	The fourth regidor calls everyone together	The fourth regidor raises all the new officials	

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo'ontahal

APPENDIX 3A—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN CIVIL INAUGURATION

Setting	Role (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	Relationship	Behavior
*621 105 192 554 593 [574] House, evening of inauguration	*ʔAČʔAʔTEL*, new officials	Ego	Receives guests, sits next to leader *nakawane*
	NAKAWANEHETIK, house officials	Father of new official or elder of neighborhood who has passed in higher offices (first regidor and elder mayordomo)	Initiates greetings; sits in head seat
	BALNIALETIK, assistants	Sons of new officials, husbands of daughters or of sisters	Serve food, measure drinks
[608]	*ʔAK'SIETIK*, wood gatherers	Neighbors, compadres, brothers	Bring wood, eat, drink
	MEʔELETIK, Meʔil K'op, woman speaker Yinam, wife	Mother, or elder relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings
	SKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers		Serves food. Cook food, dish out food, eat
*621 105 192 554 [593] House, morning of inauguration	*NAKAWANEHETIK*, house officials	Father and/or elder neighbors	Initiates greetings, addresses blessing to liquor
	AʔTELETIK *ALKALETIK* *REHIROLETIK*, judges, regidores	Men of village	Receive food and liquor
[602] [608] [574]	*BALNIALETIK*, assistants	Brothers-in-law, godsons, compadres, fa's sis's sons, brother, comadre's son, neighbors	Serve food, measure drink
	YULATAK, visitors	Men from rural colonias	Give *abrazo*, embrace, to new president, eat, drink
	MEʔELETIK, women Meʔil k'op Sčebal Smeʔ Yočebal Smeʔ	Mother or elder relative ? ? ?	Responds to *nakawane's* and *alkal's* greeting. Orders women in serving of food
	ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	(See Chart 3)	Cooks food, dishes out food
Townhall, morning session, civil inauguration	*K'AʔAʔTELETIK*, old officials	Men of village	Drink; wait for new officials seated
[594]	*ʔALPERESETIK*, alfereces	Men of village	Bring banners from church, drink wait for new officials

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX 3B—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN RELIGIOUS INAUGURATION

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SETTING	ROLE (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	RELATIONSHIP	BEHAVIOR
[574] House of kobraria Sacramento, morning of inauguration	KOBRARIA SAKRAMENTU	Ego	Receives guests; sits at first seat on outside wall near door
[604] [605]	NAKAWANEHETIK	Fa's brother and fa's brother's sons	Initiates greetings, sits at head seat
[593] [608]	BALNIALETIK	Sons, sons of campadres, neighbors	Serve liquor, food
[602]	ME?ELETIK, women	Elder female relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings, orders helpers
[608]	Me?ilk'op, woman speaker		
	ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	Comadres, sisters, neighbors	Prepare food, coffee
	MARTOMAETIK 3 KOBRARIA TATILETIK NIČ'ANILETIK		Eat and drink. Listen to advice of *nakawanehetik*
Church, morning of inauguration	PIŠKAL, fiscal KURA, priest ?AČ'MARTOMAETIK, new mayordomos K'A MARTOMAETIK, old mayordomos		Advises mayordomos of duties. Divides up candles brought by mayordomos; hands them to new mayordomos

Patronym	*Alannantik only*	*Ahk'olnantik only*	*Alannantik and Ahk'olnantik*
Lopez Tz'uʔu			12
Lopez Wolto			50
Lopez Yutz			16
Perez			9
Perez Huhan			4
Perez Kam			11
Perez Kantiron			23
Perez Os			17
Perez Otol			16
Perez Tut			18
Perez Ventura			11
Sanchez		3	
Santis Peč	1		
Vasquez		3	
Total	26	58	629

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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

231 cattle was seized by bandits or soldiers. It is "new" only in the size of the
233 holdings, which have expanded from ownership of one or two head per household, primarily useful as draft animals, to a herd as large as two hundred head belonging to the wealthiest man in town. Cattle rearing is now a capital investment for resale as well as for draft animals in plow agriculture.

233 The increasing herds have stimulated competition for community re-
311 sources. The control of communal grazing and waterhole rights is exer-
312 cised through the traditional dual division of the town, with rights to pas-
621 ture allocated on the basis of residence in the upper or lower barrio of the
575 center. An association of cattle owners has developed in each of the sections, and the leaders of each association call together all members to clean the water holes and repair the troughs. A recent project of the cattle association of the upper section has been the erection of a large cross at the
[789] water hole. The water had dried up the year before, and the installation of the cross was an attempt to ensure a continuous supply of water in the fu-
[796] ture. The priest blessed the cross in the dedication, and the fiscal and prayer-reciters adorn it each year on May 3, the Day of the Cross in the old Catholic calendar, along with other crosses of the village.

233 Cattle grazing is the source of much of the conflict in the town. The cat-
621 tle roam freely in the woods and communal pasture lands, and many are
578 lost or stolen. The cattle association has not fenced in the pasture in order
575 to control it. Their tactics have been punitive; they have raised funds from
627 among members to hire men to kill suspected cattle thieves. In the last twenty years, six men have been killed as cattle thieves, and at least three of those were known to be killed by men hired by the association, which then paid the court fines to set the killers free. The leader of one of the cattle associations was killed after an incident in which he fined a man who had failed to assist in cleaning the water holes. The fine of 2 pesos per head of cattle represented a large fee for the man, who had sixty head. He refused to pay more than half, since he said he had not been notified.
[754] When his daughter later died of illness, he blamed her death on witchcraft exercised by the cattle association leader, and later killed him.

231 Cattle are only minimally exploited as a resource. The cattle are not
434 butchered locally since there is not a large enough market, but are sold to

621 578 582 them to "overlook" the trespasser, but not many young men are willing to risk the ire of the other barrio bachelors, nor the gossip and sanctions applied to them by their own barrio mates.[1]

621 794 Each barrio plays a role in the political and religious organization of the village by sending an approximately equal number of officers to the Ayuntamiento and the Mayordomías. Although in some years there are more delegates from one barrio, they attempt to correct the imbalance in the succeeding years. [623] The Principales (council of elders) have also equal representation.

621 [573] [575] [312] Escuadrilla groups (adolescent boys' gangs) and unmarried women's Church groups are formed among barrio mates. Women, with few exceptions, used the water wells or pipe lines in their barrio of residence (the exceptions include women who originally came from the other barrio) and who do their washing at places in [476] the river on their barrio side. Men who work together at such tasks as buying and butchering a cow, building a path or clearing an irrigation ditch belong to the same barrio. House parties [527] [123] organized to buy candles for the Church before a special Saint's day are barrio affairs, and no resident of the other barrio (with [575] the exception of the anthropologist) is invited. In the past, there were, in Aguacatenango, religious sororities sponsored by the Catholic Church, and each barrio had a separate one. There

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[581] [580] [1]A man that has married once is considered to have had his share of the available women of the barrio. Second marriages, especially with girls who have never married before, are not well thought of. It is common, then, that second marriages occur across barrio lines. A man finds it easier to cope with the antagonism of the other barrio men (who are expected, in any case, to be antagonistic) than with the bachelors and neighbors in his own barrio, where he has to face the antagonism in every day interaction.

621 [575] were the Daughters of Holy Mary and the Daughters of Guadalupe.

[574] Visits to households in the other barrio are rare, and when they do occur they are due to unusual circumstances and are accompanied by formal etiquette. A long discussion was observed in Aguacatenango when the members of a household were debating the "correctness" of going to a house in the other barrio to buy milk for a very sick man. Two days later, the anthropologist was present in the house of the cow owners when the wife of the sick man arrived and asked to buy the milk. The senior woman of the house denied that her cow had any. When the visitor left, it was explained that "milk is money, the Ladino schoolteacher pays better for it, and besides . . . the woman came from the other barrio. . . ." When the Ayuntamiento authorities call the household heads to contribute with communal labor and/or discuss village affairs, it is usual that one barrio will send many and the other barrio relatively fewer delegates, depending on which one is more affected by the outcome of the activities involved.

621 423 The only important difference between the barrio organizations of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is their relation with the land tenure system. In Amatenango, the barrio lands are not separate. In Aguacatenango, although the barrios are not land-holding units in the strict sense of possessing separate titles of ownership, rights of usufruct of the village communal and irrigated lands are held separately by the two barrios, the people of

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Niial	son-in-law
Kalib	daughter-in-law
Niial-mamal	a man's father-in-law
Kalib-mamal	a woman's father-in-law
Niial-meel	a man's mother-in-law
Kalib-meel	a woman's mother-in-law

601 576 The word *tatik* (from *tat*, 'father') is usually applied as a courtesy name to all married males, without distinction of clan or lineage. The same applies to *métik* (from *me*, 'mother'), a term applied to all married females. *Mamtik* (from *mam*, 'grandfather') is the name given to old and also to very respected people.

601 608 The ritual kinship terminology is:

Tzeltal	*English*
Kumpare	compadre (GodFa of ego's children)
Kumale	comadre (GodMo of ego's children)
Jalatat	godfather
Jalamé	godmother
Jala-al	a woman's godson
Jala-nichan	a man's godson

594 *Family Groups*

The nuclear family, formed by a couple and their children, is the basic pattern throughout the region.

[P. 216-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

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the informal chief of one of the semi-separated, turbulent groups already described. He was a well-built, square-faced, sullen yet cunning looking fellow, with a long scar from a machete cut across one cheek, and credited with a number of murders.

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The shamans or medicine-men, *poci'*, although primarily doctors, have a quasi-priestly status, the result of the intimate relation of prayer and healing, of which more will be said later. They are honored accordingly as holy men, as well as for the power conferred by their knowledge of medicine and charms. A shaman obtains his position by some years of study under another, who teaches him both medicines and prayers. His repute largely depends upon the results of his practice.

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Certain older men are selected annually to have charge of the fiestas, or saint's day celebrations; they have charge of all preparations and of the conduct of the fiesta, as well as being usually responsible for the care of the various sacred properties during the year. These officers exist in the hacienda groups as well as in the tribes. At the Finca Tecojá, where a fiesta was observed in progress, they were an amiable pair of rather drunken old men, known as *Caporales,* and at most places, in common with other officers holding posts of Spanish derivation, they were known by Spanish names. Interestingly enough, in the villages with the Governmental organization described above, they rarely coincide with the Government appointees, although this may be partly due to the fact that they are usually selected from among the oldest men. In Guatemala these semi-church officers often are a mask for tribal positions of real power, as was found to be the case with the *tcimañ* of Jacaltenango, who will be described in writing of that place (Chapter XIX). Here their influence and prestige was relatively slight, save during the period when their duties placed them in charge. [554]

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Almost the only trace of pre-Conquest feeling is to be found in the great reverence shown towards all shamans and Government appointees. An ordinary Indian will offer food, drink, or tobacco to all men of authority present before taking anything himself, even though it means the consumption, for instance, of almost all of a bottle of *aguardiente* before he gets any at all. We saw a chief at Tenango, where the same system prevails, take a lighted cigar from an Indian's mouth, giving him instead some unrolled tobacco leaves. When first coming into the presence of such men, or passing them on the road, an Indian will take off his hat, bowing deeply; the chief or shaman touches the Indian's forehead, and he goes on. This is performed with grace and dignity. It is known as *k'ol-tanup,* "head giving" (*k'ol* from *hol,* head). Instances were observed of thus

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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554 "giving the head" to certain elder women, but the reason could not
576 be ascertained.

581 Marriage is an economic and social affair, apparently free of religious significance. Don Arturo Tovilla of Cacate-el, gave us a description of the manner of seeking a wife, which is here paraphrased. It will be seen that the importance, ceremonially, centers on the contract with the parents, while the actual joining in marriage is not stressed.

584 The boy's father goes with the boy to the girl's house, both dressed in their best clothes, and carrying a gift of three bottles (pints) of aguardiente "and some animal." His father tells the girl's father that his son wishes to marry the daughter; to which the answer is to call the girl and ask her if she likes him. She says nothing, but keeps on scratching the wall with her finger and the floor with her toe, thereby indicating that she likes the boy, while showing the proper maidenly modesty. The latter gives her a coloured handkerchief, pearl beads, etc., with which the contract is sealed.

The boy is obligated to bring to her house what the father may ask, such as corn, beans, aguardiente, as well as to help in the work for a year. He makes a social visit each Sunday, which the girl must receive. At the end of the time appointed by the parents, he takes her to his house.

If the girl does not signify her consent in the manner described, the match does not take place.

583 When the parents of one or both parties do not countenance the match, it may happen that the children, taking the law into their own hands, run away. The procedure in this case has become formalized so that, while unpleasant enough to act as a deterrent, it recognizes this as a regular manner of marrying. This description also is para-
[115] phrased from Señor Tovilla.

When the parents forbid, but both children desire the match, after the boy has gone to the girl's house and been refused, his obligation of respect is ended. He builds a house in a retired place in the jungle. He and the girl meet to make their plans where she goes to get water, for which purpose she may often choose a spring a kilometer or more from her house. At an appointed time, they run away.

584 When he has carried her off and hidden her, his parents must go
585 and apologize to hers. The girl's father tells the boy's not to leave before being punished. He, however, finds and brings in the couple, who kneel before the girl's parents. The boy's shirt is taken off, and

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6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

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554 /C'UL/ "holy" honorific titles used with
561 /SENYOR/ "mister" role-names of the
192 /H.*A*TEL-ETIK/ group

/YAN/ "other"

/NEK/ "big"

/SOLTERA/ "unmarried" used with /KEREM/ "boy" and /*AC'IX/ "girl" primarily to establish precise age-status (adolescence)

/DON DONYA/ "mister mrs." used with names of ladinos

/NINYA/ "miss"

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192 Still another set of modifiers occurs after the noun head rather than before and includes internally complex phrases. These might be termed locatives, and they include /NUN/ "there," /LI*/ "here," and such combinations as /NUN TA HEHC/, "there on the other side (i.e., in the other barrio of Aguacatenango)"; /LI* TA *ALAN/, "here below (i.e., in El Puerto, a closely related village down the mountain)"; /LI* TA TEHKLUM/, "here in the pueblo"; /LI* TA PAT NA/, "here behind the house"; /NUN TA *AHK'OL/, "here above"; and /NUN TA XOHLEH/, "there at the corner."

While the subject of the relationships (position and co-occurrence) between modifiers and between modifiers and noun heads will be deferred until a forthcoming paper, some general

Spirits and Places 9

Patronym	*Alannantik only*	*Ahk'olnantik only*	*Alannantik and Ahk'olnantik*
Lopez Tz'u'u			12
Lopez Wolto			50
Lopez Yutz			16
Perez			9
Perez Huhan			4
Perez Kam			11
Perez Kantiron			23
Perez Os			17
Perez Otol			16
Perez Tut			18
Perez Ventura			11
Sanchez		3	
Santis Peč	1		
Vasquez		3	
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Etiquette of role interaction. The complex system of stereotyped 576
behavior contained in codes of etiquette depends upon role relations. The primary rule of etiquette is to greet people appropriately. In street greetings, one demonstrates that one knows how to "take into account," or show respect to, elders and minors. To elders of the first ascending generation or above, one says, "Good morning, father (or mother)." Those of [602]
one's own generation are greeted as elder brother or sister, or younger brother or sister, depending on their relative age. If the encounter is with a [608]
compadre, the terms kumpare or kumare take precedence over any other relation. A respected curer is addressed as *tatinal*. Officials are greeted by [554]
their titles, preceded by *mam* if they are older. Such greetings are restricted to people who live in the same division of the village. When one [621]
enters the other division, it is necessary to greet only compadres or relatives who have passed over after marriage. When younger persons approach elders of prestige, they remove their hats and incline their heads to be touched.

Service of food and drink is strictly ordered by age and sex. At meal- 264
time, small children are fed separately, before or after their elders depending on the child's needs. When they reach the age of reason, about twelve, they are expected to await their turn. The father is served first, followed by his sons in order of age. The mother eats later with the girls.

The etiquette of ceremonial behavior is an extension and elaboration of 576
the everyday forms. Service and greetings are made in order of age and 561
rank, a procedure simplified by the fact that seating arrangements are 554
made in the same order. In house ceremonials, the eldest man sits facing inward, to the right of the door. The rest of the company sits in clockwise order from eldest to youngest on benches lining the porch. Within the house, the seating of women by age begins with the eldest woman sitting at the center post and others sitting in clockwise order.

Preferred modes of behavior in all settings for all roles are "slowness 576
and softness, expressed by a single term, *k'unk'untik*. Deference and re- [192]
spect—"hearing and feeling," *I?awai*—should be shown in all encounters, marked by behavior such as downcast eyes, shawl held over the mouth, avoidance of direct eye contact, as well as verbal signs of agreement and

576 support of whatever is said—repeating the final phrase of the person con-
[535] versing or injecting supportive statements such as "indeed, indeed," or "so it is." In the dance of the alfereces' wives, for example, women were the model of deference, moving in a self-contained pattern before the assembled guests, with slow, tiny steps, eyes downcast, a shawl covering their heads on which they wore their husbands' ceremonial hats.

621 Through recruitment procedures, alternation and linkage in official
182 roles, and leadership validated by age and service in lower positions—principles applying to role relations in all institutions—Tzoʔontahal has remained an integrated community. There is a high degree of stereotyping in behavior from one institution to another, and norms of behavior are the
[682] same for public as for private roles. However, a remarkably high homicide
[578] rate and open conflict in all of the institutional settings indicate basic sources of disruption.

682 Since 1960 the rate of homicide in town has increased from an average
593 of 1 every 2 years to an average of 5 or 6 per year. Table 29 indicates the
607 role relationships of killer to victim in 37 of over 70 homicides occurring
428 between 1937 and 1964. The highest incidence of homicide (7 cases) oc-
578 curred between brothers and brothers-in-law. Male siblings comprise the closest cooperating group. Brothers work together in the milpa until the father dies or divides his property among his children during his lifetime. Bilateral inheritance with equal division of land and houses among female as well as male offspring means that brothers-in-law are potential competitors for the same limited resources. Friction arising among brothers and brothers-in-law does not come from the principle of equal inheritance, but rather because of the fact of differing responsibilities and expenses within the family. For example, the child who has remained with the parents and
[888] thus assumes the burden of care for them in their declining years often feels that he should inherit a greater share. The disputes arise in the decisions concerning how much this disadvantage should be weighted. The
682 suppression of overt competition may in part explain the homicidal acts.
683 Although the tensions in fact stem from suppressed economic competition,
[154] they are translated into witchcraft accusations as soon as anyone in the
[626] family becomes ill. Violence against a witch is condoned by the community and provides a channel for latent hostility. Once the accusation has

(see pp.245-247..Analyst)

577 887 sion: "I pay respect to my elders. I greet my brothers and my children [extension of kinship terms]. To all I give respect. Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick."

577 [574] [196] [576] A good man is a generous host, expressed in the phrase, "he gives many tortillas." He serves his community in public office but avoids the appearance of seeking power or self-aggrandizement. When he gives orders, it is in a soft, low tone, supplicating rather than ordering with the phrase, "If you would please lend a hand." He gives thanks readily for any service rendered both to God and to his fellow man. He avoids any show of [578] anger, and is always careful to show consideration of others. Those who are of "another heart" or "two-hearted" are the opposite, seeking disputes, "thinking small," "being miserly," and of a "very black soul."

[754] The heightened awareness of the state of the heart of others comes from the ever-present fear of witchcraft. Since the people feel their survival depends upon perception of evil heart before it strikes, they develop an acute sense of the behavioral clues that indicate its presence.

829 183 [192] [828] *Conformity and deviance.* Conventional or preferred behavior is characterized as "reasonable." The phrase "?iC' rason," to take reason or understanding, is applied to a child who is expected to have reason at the age of twelve years or so, as well as to the arrival at agreement of competing parties, as in the case of betrothal.

Reasonable behavior is any behavior conforming to socially accepted understandings of what the world is. These include what a person of non-Indian culture might characterize as beliefs based on faith. They "know" [776] that there are hill spirits, wood spirits who cut off people's heads, and men who transform themselves into animals. Occasionally they subject given 813 understandings to empirical tests: one woman tested the belief that a [241] woman could rid the milpa of insect pests only by walking through a [825] planted field wearing a new skirt; she walked through the field wearing a worn skirt and her belief was confirmed when she found that the insect pests were not killed but just fled and returned later. Empiricism is not lacking; the difference between the content of their category of what is rational or reasonable and ours is based on the premises, not the process of reasoning.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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party to go to the spring, at least one relative remains in the house to greet the soul if it should precede the curing party.

Behavior in household rituals is described in Chapters 1, 5, and 8.

The Cabildo

The cabildo, called by the people of the town the "cold house,"[1] was built following the revolution of 1915, when Piñeda's revolutionary soldiers destroyed the original colonial structure. The tiles of the roof were confiscated from a finca which the Indians invaded in 1941 in an unsuccessful attempt to gain additional lands. When they were unable to maintain their hold on the land, they burned the owner's house and took the tiles to the town center where they remain as a symbol of their defiant action. They refer to this event with pride. The cabildo houses the jail, equipped with a barred wooden door, in one of its wings, and the Ejido Commission office in the other.

Within the cabildo, each official has his established place. The cabildo is furnished with a table at which the president and síndico sit on wooden chairs made in the Indian town of Chamula. Four benches lining the walls on either side of the entry provide seating for the civil officials. On the right side (looking out at the plaza) sit the judges in order of rank; the regidores, in similar sequence follow them. The principales, and formerly the alfereces, sit on the left side when they appear for ceremonial occasions. This spatial allocation establishes drinking and greeting order as well. Visitors can go directly from one to another in the formal greeting of a handclasp and murmured "good morning, father," or "good afternoon, father," without violating age-respect patterns.

During court cases, the claimant and his supporters sit on the bench to the left of the door; on other occasions the bench is occupied by visitors or petitioners. The police sit on one of the two benches lining the outside wall, or retire to the kitchen, a wooden slat lean-to on the left wing of the

1. Bunzel (1952) notes that in prayers, the cabildo in Chichicastenango is referred to as "the cold house, the icy house." Although the Quiché term is not given in her manuscript, one can see a similarity in the rhyming couplets and metaphorical allusions in the prayers of the towns.

695 minimum of explicit rules. Very little is ruled out of order, and almost nothing introduced is considered irrelevant. The dialogue is primarily be- [693] tween the judge and claimant and secondarily between judge and defendant. The rural judges join with the regidores, who act as court clerks when a case is heard, in a kind of Greek chorus when consensus is reached regarding statements made by defendant or claimant. The judges indicate clearly their approval or disapproval of the statements being made, and throughout the case, consensual verdicts are made in an apparently spontaneous manner. No one pretends to be impartial. Personal knowledge of the defendant or claimant is introduced into the case.

Courtroom behavior falls into three major acts: (1) the declaration by the claimant, (2) the questioning of the defendant (literally the "taking of the heart"), and (3) the paying of the fine. The judge introduces the first act by asking the claimant to "come and speak" so that they can "listen [576] and hear." This ends formally with the claimant saying, "Good day, Elder Brother." The judge introduces the second act when he turns to the defendant, who stands before the civil officials, and says, "Speak and we shall listen, boy. What goes with you?" The defendant sums up his defense in the questioning period. The president introduces the final act, telling the defendant, "When you give a little fine you will be free."

Both claimant and defendant pay court fees, an acknowledgment of the [641] feeling that both are guilty because they are involved in a dispute. Before [273] the term of the incumbent president began, this was paid in two liters of [178] illegally distilled liquor, a kind of symbolic defiance of federal law. Now, since the president drinks only beer, it is paid in two family-sized bottles of beer. The etiquette of courtroom drinking is prescribed: the bottle, referred to as *smahtan*, or gift, is passed to the judge, who goes to the president and presents it to him with a few words of the pat'o'tan giving thanks for the gift. The fourth regidor then measures out the liquor, giving the first shot to the president, the next to the first judge and so on around the room. If a large fine is paid by the defendant, the president or- [264] ders the police to buy meat, and a "common meal" is prepared and eaten.

693 In this society, there are neither veniremen nor specialized advocates. 695 Civil officials other than the first judge act as jurors, announcing their sentiments in unison. The judge, rather than handing down a decision, sums up the consensus of the group. Kinsmen of the claimant and defendant act

The townspeople feel that they own the church, and many resent the intrusion of the priest who resides sometimes two or three days a week in the adjoining rectory. In the past five years, however, the priest has succeeded in asserting more control over the church: he has forbidden drinking in the church or in the courtyard, a prohibition that resulted in an open confrontation with the leading cofrade (Chapter 9); and he now controls the keys to the church and to the money boxes, formerly the responsibility of the fiscal. The two lay sisters who are in residence during the week hold the keys and are in charge of the upkeep of the church. 346 793 794 177 178

People always show respect for the church by removing their hats as they pass the entrance, even when they are at a distance. As they enter the church, they always kneel and cross themselves. They may spit on the floor of the church, for this is not a sign of disrespect. 346 576 788 [514]

The complementarity of church and cabildo is still formally recognized in ceremonial events: participants bow to the church and then to the cabildo during processions. The transfer of sacred symbols from one locale to the other at the time of the inauguration of civil and religious officials ceremonially signifies the integration of civil and religious authority, despite the growing separation in day-to-day functions in each of the domains. 621 794 182

The church serves as a staging platform for the images and symbolic offerings to them in the annual cycle of ceremonies. During the nine days of ceremony accorded to the major saints, their images are moved to the center of the altar or to the center of the nave. The staging effects are particularly notable during the fiesta of Holy Week, when the reenactment of the crucifixion is performed in the nave. The mayordomos, under the direction of the fiscal and the lay sisters, move the saints about and prepare adornments of flowers and pine needles. 346 796 [794]

The church is the locus for the weekly mass given by the priest. The men stand on the left side of the church (facing the altar), while the women kneel or sit on the floor to the right. A few benches near the altar are occupied by the Ladinos of the area who attend the mass. The lay sisters indicate to the congregation when they should kneel and rise in response to the cues of the sermon or mass. [562] [563] [794]

In addition to these scheduled events, the church serves as a locus where 346 796 782

876 den on the teacher already laboring with the barrier in communication. Despite these difficulties, the children manage to learn the basics of reading, writing, arithmetic, and Spanish in four years of schooling. The [875] teachers are devoted and spend at least seven hours in the classroom each day.

872 During the recess period the children play individual competitive games 524 except when organized games are introduced by one of the teachers. There is a tendency toward ganging up on weaker individuals in fights, that occur, but I have never seen signs of marked brutality. Since the Ladino children are a small minority in the school (there are no more than a [563] half a dozen among the three hundred and twenty-four students) the Indian children do not face the discrimination found in schools with a greater proportion of Ladinos (cf. Romney and Romney 1966).

876 Discipline is no longer as strict as it was in the early years of public education. The teacher allows someone who has been hit to hit the aggressor but does not herself intercede. Threat of punishment may be made by the teacher, but I have never seen it carried out, and it is never suggested as a solution to failure to learn.

571 In comparing the domestic, civil, and religious domains of activi-
561 ties, the following features emerge:

554 1. In each domain, a hierarchy of power is present. In the house, [592] males take precedence over females, and older members over younger. [562] In the cabildo, the power hierarchy takes the form of a rank order co- [621] ordinate with age in most of the offices, while in the schoolhouse, power is polarized with all authority vested in the schoolteacher. In the church, [875] the conflict between the priest and the cofrades (Chapter 9) has not [794] been resolved. Within the ranks of the mayordomos, relationships between the elder and junior mayordomo establish a graded ranking system (Chapter 8).

571 2. Behavior in each domain is standardized. Relative rank is re-
554 flected in seating order, greeting order, and drinking order. Autonomous
• 576 behavior is most marked in the domain of the church. Focused interaction is predominant in the school, where order and control are based on absorbing the attention of the child in a learning task.

3. Categories of role-bearers sit and act together in all the domains. 571
In the home the me'eletik, the nakawanehetik, and the b'alnialetik have 554
established seats and act in concert. Similarly in the cabildo, four ranks 576
of officials, the principales, judges, regidores, and police, move and act together. In the church, elder and younger mayordomos move in pairs of two.

4. Sexual segregation is present in the home, the church, and the 562
cabildo, but is lacking in the school. This rejection of the community 871
standard for a group situation was the basis for some parents holding 177
their children out of school until coerced by the federal authorities 178
backed by the local officials.

5. Attendance in all domains involves coercion as well as voluntary action. Coercion is most marked in the school, but resistance by the parents to forced attendance and mixing of the sexes is fast wearing down in this domain. In the cabildo, the defendant is required to attend the court hearing and may even be jailed if he does not pay the fines charged against him. Coercion is covert in the home; the lack of alternative housing arrangements makes residence in the household of orientation or of procreation mandatory.

6. Sacred symbols are present in all the domains. The symbols of the cabildo and of the school relate the community to the nation with the national flags and the portraits of the president. The canes of [293]
office which are assumed as each official acquires office are symbols of local authority. The universalistic symbols of the church—the saints im- 778
ages, portraits, and banners—are acquired from Catholic orthodoxy, but 177
have been encapsulated with local sentiments and beliefs. Sacred symbols 178
are treated with respect and avoidance, both in the church and the home. 788
The "holy cross" or banners are touched only with sacred embroidered cloths binding the hands of those who carry them. Saints' images are kissed, but as a mark of respect, not intimacy. The Mexican flag, with 186
which less awe is associated, is saluted.

Each of the domains provides a setting for the recognition and valida- 621
tion of authority figures in the community. Values which are communally 177
shared or imposed from outside are formally instilled in these settings. Ex- 178

Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

626 754 784 Therefore, the threat of supernatural sanction is powerful as a communal weapon against social deviation.

621 We can see, then, that the structural dynamics of village life are composed of opposing forces. On the one hand, there is a tendency toward egalitarianism which is expressed in the formal organization of political power and the economic life of the village as a unit. On the other hand, there is a tendency toward deviation from the economic norms which is repressed and expressed in the belief system and the sanctioning of deviants. (Obviously, if people would not tend to deviate from the egalitarian norm, witchcraft "specialization" would not be necessary!)

121 There is no society in the world which does not possess criteria for social differentiation. Some criteria are, by nature, universal: the basic biological differences between persons (age, sex) or psychological skills (intelligence, mental deficiency). Some other criteria are culturally determined (age-grade, class, wealth and so on). Even among societies in which the life conditions preclude social stratification, such as the Sirionó, some few cultural criteria of individual social differentiation are always present. When I suggest that Amatenango and Aguacatenango tend to be communities which reinforce homogeneity at the economic, political, and cultural levels, I am far from indicating that individuals are not evaluated differentially. In every social situation, even meeting on the street, Amatenangueros and Aguacatecos make social distinctions and determine their relative position with respect to each other: one would call a

621 571 [576]

621 571 man bankil (respect term, "elder brother") the other would be his
576 kiht'zin ("younger brother").

621 Older men are socially superior to younger ones. A man
561 who has passed many cargos has more authority than one who has not
554 served in the community government. A man with many children in a united family commands more respect than a man whose children are embarrassed of him because he is a trouble-maker. A good
562 talker is better thought of than a boring drunkard. The same dif-
561 ferentiation scale, although using some other criteria, also func-
626 tions for women. Elder ladies have enough social status to be permitted to laugh in public while young married wives are expected to keep quiet. A woman known as a "good mother-in-law" collects the rewards of praise of other women. A wife who keeps her husband clean and well fed can visit around and be well received, while a lazy housekeeper would not be welcomed in other women's houses who fear of being judged "by the company they keep."

554 A constellation of factors, therefore, places the indi-
555 vidual in a very particular status position, and his personal
156 skill can increase his prestige or destroy it. Moreover, the
621 total performance of an individual in the totality of his roles
571 can not only increase his general status and gain the approval of his fellow men, but would be an important factor in saving him from witchcraft accusations. A man can try to control as much labor and capital as possible in order to maximize profits from his work and minimize its consumption, as long as he does not create enemies, and insures his prestige in as many dimensions as possible: he can give advice to conflicting parties rather than

ing "what our mothers and fathers did" (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 64). Second, continuity can be seen in the presence of both old and new officials in the townhall. In this setting, the old officials acknowledge acceptance of the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28). Finally, of greatest importance in establishing continuity are the principales, who await the arrival of the new officials with the old officials (App. 1, Q. 28) who pass over the symbol of authority (App. 1, Q. 31), and who remain alone in the townhall for the return of the new officials, when they have gone to church. 621* 105 794 178 18 [624]

2. *Role commitment.* The officials are members of closed corporate communities, integrated in a prior set of kinship and other social relations. They cannot rely on anonymity when acting in their official capacity as judge or policeman. Thus one of the functions of the inauguration as a rite of passage is a disengagement from the preexisting network of obligations and a commitment to the obligations of the office (cf. Parsons, 1951, pp. 80–84; Gluckman, 1962, p. 34; Cancian, 1964). Behaviorally, this function is indicated in the unfailing use of the term *Mam* (elder respect term) in both address and reference. The reference to the holy nature of their task (App. 1, Q. 19) and of the symbol of their authority, the "holy" staff (App. 1, Q. 30) which they always carry when discharging an official errand, establishes the supernatural authority on which the role is based. The effectiveness of these symbolic role identities in neutralizing prior affective commitments can partially be judged in that most dispute cases are brought before the local courts rather than referred to higher courts, suggesting that the complainant expects fair treatment. 621* 105 794 178 18 156 554 [576] [293] [691]

3. *Role learning.* The inauguration provides a setting in which the individual who is about to assume office learns what is expected of him (cf. Fortes, 1962, p. 82). The instruction of the novice officeholder is acquired most importantly in the home from the speeches of the *nakawanehetik* and cofrades (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 38, Q. 64) and in the directions he may be given in the ceremonial setting (App. 2, Q. 39, observation).

4. *Introduction of new officeholders to the villagers.* The new status of the officeholders is made 621* 105 794 178 18 788

[p. 227-B]

[p. 231]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

*621
124
796
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• 576
539

(Judge) I live. There is no illness. Lord mamtat give pardon with God with the Virgin Mother *(Tios sok Halal meʔtik)*. Enter holy pardon lord, give pardon Virgin Mother

Here we are gathered before you where is seated "our soil our mud" (our bodies). What are we going to do to make arrive to fall to happen holy New Year our patron of heaven (*kah-waltik*) God. Here in a little dawns the holy hour. Let us go look before our heart where we are going to receive the holy oath inside of the holy cold house the cold hall where we go to receive our suffering our work holy staff, holy wand. It is going to change, holy day, holy year. Thus we do as did in the past our mother our father

20. What do they do after the greeting? They drink coffee

They drink coffee

*621
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At 10:45 served bread set on bowl of coffee and bean tortilla in a cloth wrapping. First served *nakawanehetik* then president, then first and second judge, then first and second regidor, then assistant judge, then visitors. At 10:55 *nakawane* got up and stood before first judge and spoke the *spalanmae* (account of the gruel). Then the first judge spoke the *spalan mae* to second judge. The first two regidores of the past year came in to ask if the new officials were now ready "to raise the change"

*621
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[273]

(*K'a sʔačbal yač helol*). They said *patʔotʔan* before the *nakawane*. Then bowed and kissed hand (*kuč' ibale*) with all men in left interior. Went to door and spoke with *meʔil. k'op, kuč' ibale* with her.

At 11:15 *balnialetik* took out the table, laid embroidered cloth on it, put 3 liters of trago and 2 quarts of beer. The first *nakawane* did the *spalanbe mahtan meʔil tatil* with the first judge standing before him. Then the first

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
*62 124 796 693 576 [788]				judge got up and stood before the second judge and did the *spalanbe soltak tuyipal č'in mahtanil* (account to company for the little gift. He then went to the first *nakawane* with the *sak'inal* (good day greeting). Then all the assembled company stood up and turn to wall and gave the benediction to the gift of the ancestors
	21. Why do they stand and turn to the wall?	Not asked—preceded observation	Not asked.	So that the devil does not enter
*62 124 796 [273] [693]	22. What do they do after they drink coffee?	They drink liquor seated, resting their heart, in the entry of the house of the president	Drink liquor to await the hour they go to the cabildo	Two beers and 2 liters liquor were laid to rest. At 11:55 women came in to get liters of liquor. Put it under a kerchief and took it out to women in kitchen. Judges and regidores put on red kerchiefs. At 12 noon two judges got up and said goodbye, first to the *balnial* then the first judge went to the *nakawane* while the second judge and two regidores followed behind him. Then together the four said goodbye to the *nakawane* and to the *me?il k'op*. Firecrackers were set off to advise police that the group was setting out on their way to the town hall. Police were to meet them at the townhall and had to be advised so that they would arrive at the same time. Two past regidores came to the *me?il k'op* and said goodbye. The group set out together
[202] [625]				
	[23. Omitted.]			
*62 124 788 796 [693]	24. How do they enter the townhall?	They enter two by two. They kneel and cross themselves at the door of the cabildo	They enter two by two, kneel at the door. They rise, enter, arrive, kneel before the *tatik* table	Pair by pair they entered and touched cross of banner with their rosaries. First the president and síndico then first and second judges followed by judges from Madronal, La Grandeza, San Vicente, and Cruz Quemada
	25. Why do they cross themselves?	Because they show respect to the holy cross		

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Evaluations of Behavior

121 The evaluation of individual behavior is related to role categories, but is not circumscribed by them. Some behavior is universally prescribed, and judgments include all categories of people. This is particularly notable in behavior related to the moral code. Etiquette requires an ability to respond appropriately not only to individual "others" in a setting, but to a plurality of "others" categorized in special roles. This ability to respond to others in a setting and to anticipate what their responses will be has been characterized as "complex syntactic behavior" by Hebb and Thompson (1954). Analysis of complex syntactic behavior must go beyond the summation of dyadic interaction within role sets to exploring the shared values and norms on which judgments are made and expectations predicated.

Judgments of behavior are cast in terms of (1) morality, or the acceptance of prescribed behavior, (2) etiquette, or the acceptance of preferred actions, and (3) competence, or the effectiveness of performance. In gossip, in court cases, in allocating roles of responsibility, in judging professional competence, the assessment of a person is made with reference to his action in past incidents. A person is what he does, and the evaluation of a person's repetitive acts (called *yobra* incorporating the Spanish loan word *obra* and the Tzeltal possessive form *y*) encompasses a personal history. [192 193]

196 577 *Morality*. Judgments concerning the moral value of a person are summarized in terms of states of the heart. A person who behaves well is said to be of "very good heart" in contrast to someone of "another heart." A good man is "one-hearted" if he takes other people into account. The description may be put in the negative, as "one who does not know how to seek disputes." The expression "two-hearted" is comparable to what English speakers mean by "two-faced."

577 626 Violations of the moral code are differentiated from violations of the code of convention or etiquette in that the former are said to indicate lack of fear and the latter are said to indicate lack of shame. These two definitions of social transgression point to the major socializing technique of the community: promoting a sense of shame and fear.

The following list of moral transgressions is roughly ordered in terms of the egregiousness of the crime: witchcraft, theft of cattle, theft of corn, "talking with" a woman (this is a euphemism for having an affair), having more than one wife, killing, and disrespect to parents. There is a fair amount of consistency in the rank order given by different informants. Of five people questioned, all ranked witchcraft first, and theft, without qualification as to what was stolen, second. Subjects questioned differentiated the crime of "talking with" a woman according to the status of the woman —it was worse to have relations with a married woman than with an unmarried girl or with a widow. Killing was listed late or not at all by some because it is assumed that the killer has cause unless the contrary is proved. The dead man is referred to as the guilty one. It is considered worse to kill a consanguineous relative than an affinal relative or a nonrelative. One man remarking on an incident in which a person lost his bull said: "It was a punishment of God for killing his father. If it had been his stepfather, it would be different." Wanton killing is said to be absent in the pueblo, and something that the kurik of the colonias do. The three murders in the past ten years resulting from barroom brawls between "friends" have not dispelled this notion.

Disrespect shown to parents is considered a serious violation of morality. A boy who refuses to listen to his father cannot expect to receive the protection and support of his parents, usually offered a child throughout their lifetime, or of the community. If the son abuses his father verbally or physically in public, the father is supported in whatever action he takes. One father, whose son kicked him in one of the local bars, drew applause when he made the sign of the cross in two deep gashes with his machete on his son's forehead. To beat one's father or mother is a great sin, but to beat one's wife is tolerated, particularly if it is done in drunkenness. If a man other than the husband beats a woman for any cause, she may reciprocate by beating him in court "before the eyes of the judges." One woman who was awarded this privilege when her husband's brother beat her said, "If he were my own husband, it would be all right for him to beat me."

The good man is "of one heart" and reveals it by his humility ("very soft heart"). The rules for demonstrating this are given by an old man who is frequently asked to be a nakawane in his section of the dual divi-

577 887 sion: "I pay respect to my elders. I greet my brothers and my children [extension of kinship terms]. To all I give respect. Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick."

577 [574] [196] [576] A good man is a generous host, expressed in the phrase, "he gives many tortillas." He serves his community in public office but avoids the appearance of seeking power or self-aggrandizement. When he gives orders, it is in a soft, low tone, supplicating rather than ordering with the phrase, "If you would please lend a hand." He gives thanks readily for any service rendered both to God and to his fellow man. He avoids any show of [578] anger, and is always careful to show consideration of others. Those who are of "another heart" or "two-hearted" are the opposite, seeking disputes, "thinking small," "being miserly," and of a "very black soul."

[754] The heightened awareness of the state of the heart of others comes from the ever-present fear of witchcraft. Since the people feel their survival depends upon perception of evil heart before it strikes, they develop an acute sense of the behavioral clues that indicate its presence.

829 183 [192] [828] *Conformity and deviance.* Conventional or preferred behavior is characterized as "reasonable." The phrase "ʔič' rason," to take reason or understanding, is applied to a child who is expected to have reason at the age of twelve years or so, as well as to the arrival at agreement of competing parties, as in the case of betrothal.

Reasonable behavior is any behavior conforming to socially accepted understandings of what the world is. These include what a person of non-Indian culture might characterize as beliefs based on faith. They "know" [776] that there are hill spirits, wood spirits who cut off people's heads, and men who transform themselves into animals. Occasionally they subject given 813 understandings to empirical tests: one woman tested the belief that a [241] woman could rid the milpa of insect pests only by walking through a [825] planted field wearing a new skirt; she walked through the field wearing a worn skirt and her belief was confirmed when she found that the insect pests were not killed but just fled and returned later. Empiricism is not lacking; the difference between the content of their category of what is rational or reasonable and ours is based on the premises, not the process of reasoning.

old and do not have as much opportunity to project their personalities in larger than life terms. Ladinas of the neighboring towns are given nicknames: Me? Sobol for example, was named for her habit of saying when she was drunk, "No soy bola" (I am not drunk); Me? Č'ič'el, meaning Mother Blood, was applied to a woman who sold blood of slaughtered animals. 557 551

Behavior is not believed to be totally dependent on innate traits, and the Indians emphasize the socialization processes. A badly behaved youth was said in court to "behave as though he did not have a mother," and to lack fear of his parents. The sense of shame and fear begin at home, and the community relies on the family to instill these controlling influences on behavior. 861 [828]

Notions of Justice and Compensation

Notions of immanent justice, whether acquired from the priest or indigenous beliefs, are peripheral to the morality system. Crimes should be paid for not in suffering, guilt, or remorse, but in fines exacted by the communal authority. Every crime has its price, and most people agree that it is good to be able to pay in money and be exonerated. The scale of values assigned in the fines for crimes is some index to the relative weight given them: 577 681 685

Stealing a bull: 500 to 1,200 pesos, depending on value of bull.
Stealing a turkey: 40 to 70 pesos, depending on value of turkey.
Stealing a horse: 300 to 500 pesos, depending on value of horse.

The range of fines for each act of theft indicates that justice is exacted on the basis of market value of the item stolen. The fine for murder is 1,600 to 3,000 pesos or two to eight years in prison when a killer is captured by the federal authorities. Local authorities rarely try to find the killer. In the thirty-seven cases of homicide analyzed in the period from 1938 to 1965 (Table 29),[1] only two resulted in federal action. 682

People express doubt about the priest's warning that those who do evil will reap the wages of sin in this life or the next regardless of whether they are found guilty. The pragmatic basis for this conclusion is revealed 577 [682]

1 (see pp.245-247..Analyst)

577 682 in the following statement by a man who admitted to me that he had killed two men:

> *The padre said that those who kill will get killed. The one who kills also receives all the guilt of his victim and will have to pay for it in the after-world. But my father said that when he was a policeman, there was a man in Tejonero who killed for nothing when he got drunk. He always carried a knife and would kill anyone around. However, he lived until he was very old. Therefore I do not believe the padre.*

577 775 Concern about the afterworld does not act as a deterrent to action in this world.

783 794 Most men ignore the priest's attempts to persuade them to go to confession. Women, especially the prayer-reciters, confess and take communion. Their confessions, according to the priest, are a recitation of the sins of their husbands or their neighbors.

273 577 Drinking is often given as a defense for failing to meet standards of behavior. While this serves to excuse minor infractions, a man is supposed to be responsible for his actions even when drunk. When one policeman started a fight in public, an elder judge commented to my informant:

> *Look at that, younger brother! I drink liquor when I am very drunk, but I do not fight either my elders or minors. When I passed as president formerly, I used to enter the cabildo, and I spoke well to the judges even if I was drunk. One time I came to your house very drunk and you were half drunk, but you did not say anything to me, nor did I. You did not fight. Thus I walk well. I never fight, nor have I gone to prison, and it is because I give respect to my elders and to my juniors.*

Reflecting on this advice, my informant added:

> *And so it is with me also. I have drunk a great deal in Ahk'olnantik [the opposite section from where he lives] both at day and at night. Whoever speaks to me tells me to go drink with them a little liquor, and sometimes I give them a drink or I take them where they sell liquor and we drink. But I never fight, and I am able to drink wherever I like.*

626 273 431 The community has developed techniques for compensating failure to meet behavioral norms. The most frequently used is an offering of the

/3/

178 There are informants who remember the time when there
584 were chuneles, and the younger ones know about it because their
614 fathers have told them. The social conflict brought about by the disappearance of this institution seems to have its most intense point in what concerns marriage. It was the chunel of the clan of a girl to whom the parents of a boy would go to ask for her in marriage. He received gifts and gave his consent in case he thought it advantageous, and, accompanied by the boy and his parents, he went to the house of her parents, to whom he presented the pleas of the young man. No one could oppose the decision of the chunel. An informant adds: "If the woman does not
[586] love her husband and leaves him and flees, the man advises the chunel and the chúnel eats the woman." She dies if she does not respect the wishes of the oldest man of her clan. Now that there
[578] are no chuneles, a boy, with his parents or without them, is accompanied by any member of the clan to which the girl belongs; generally the parents are opposed, the girl is not willing, and the use of force, which serves instead of the traditional fear and reverence, only gives rise to conflicts, bringing irreconcilable hatreds.

614 Formerly the clans of Cancuc were four: Chik, Chejeb, Ijká, and Boj. At present only the first three exist, the members of the Boj clan having been incorporated into the Ijká clan. This fusion of two clans took place a short time before the political revolts to
[125] which we have referred. While taking the census of the town, we found marriages between individuals belonging to these two clans, concluded before the fusion. Since that date "the Boj know that they are now Ijká," and clan exogamy has prevented these unions: "If a Boj marries an Ijká now, the two will die," say my informants, "because they are chapomales."

614 To an inquiry about the reason for the fusion and the manner
539 of accomplishing it, our informants gave the following explana-
776 tions, which show undeniably the close relationship existing between clan and nagual:

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

621 and four *chuycales*, who are in charge of sacred matters. Certain shamans, called
[756] *dzunubiles*, also participate in calpul government.

621 In Cancuc, Villa did not inquire into the matter, but in Oxchuc and in Bachajón
776 the calpules have separate patron saints and are known, in the case of Bachajón,
184 by the names of San Sebastian and San Geronimo, in the case of Oxchuc, Santo Tomas and La Trinidad. In the church at Bachajón the santos belonging to the north calpul, San Sebastian and two others, stand on the left side of the church, while San Geronimo, San Manuel, and the Virgin, representing the south calpul, stand at the right side. It appears, however, at least in the case of Oxchuc, that the festivals of these saints are maintained by the people of both calpules jointly.

621 The antagonism between the calpules of Cancuc has expressed itself from time
578 to time in violence. During Villa's stay it was rumored that the people of the southern half were about to attack those of the northern half, and indeed, shots were fired. Blom and LaFarge reported "a dragging feud" in this village.[28] Ap-
[582] parently marriages may and do take place between the calpules; there is no indication, however, that they are exogamous.

778 In Oxchuc a principal annual ceremony attends the transfer from one calpul
788 to the other of a certain sacred book. This greatly venerated object was, after
123 some reluctance, shown to Villa. He was requested to deliver to its custodians a
778 dozen rockets, some candles, and some incense; he was then allowed to examine it in the presence of the chiefs and the chuycales of both calpules. It is a notebook of twelve paper sheets, 40 by 20 cm. in size, it has a deerskin cover. Of the twelve pages, nine bear writing, all but one on both sides. The text appears to be a series of orders set down by the Spanish authorities in the year 1674. The book is kept in a black wooden box; before and after removing it the chuycales prayed, kneeling, while incense was burned and the rockets were discharged.

778 The book is called *cahualtic* 'Our Master.' The ceremony of transfer of this
788 sacred object takes place during the thirteen days beginning December 31. The principal members of the government of both calpules—numbering thirteen, assemble in the cabildo. The book is placed on a table with thirteen candles, thirteen rosaries, thirteen calabashes of lime mixed with tobacco, and thirteen vessels of atole. During the thirteen days the men remain segregated in the cabildo without contact with their homes or with women. Many prayers are uttered. At the conclusion of the period the box containing the book is escorted in solemn procession to the place it occupies during the rest of the year—not in the church, but in a special hut on the outskirts of the calpul of La Trinidad.

58 Information which Villa received from Indians of Chanal on the customs
114 attending marriage differs in a number of respects from the account given by Blom and LaFarge,[29] or supplements that account, and therefore may be sum-
584 marized here. There are no professional marriage negotiators. The boy's parents
583 pay, ordinarily, four visits to the girl's parents to complete the agreement. On each visit they bring bread, eggs, fruit, and especially rum. The boy is expected

[28] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 187.

[29] *Ibid.*, 2: 188–190.

682 ceeded along two lines of enquiry. First, I have
674 analyzed the circumstances surrounding the
121 deaths in as many cases as my informants could remember. Variations in the components of homicidal acts—the setting, agents, purpose, and outcome—suggested the different assumptions underlying each case. Secondly, I have correlated the different kinds of homicide with structural and organizational changes in
682 the community. The analysis of cases in Sec-
674 tion I summarizes the patterned components
128 of behavior. The social environment providing the cues to the actors is explored in Section II.

682 165 [128]

I. THE PATTERNED COMPONENTS OF 37 HOMICIDE CASES[3]

The following tabulations and discussion are based on the 37 cases presented in Table 1.

Who Is Killed

Sex:	all male	
Age:	18–22	5
	27–30	7
	34–38	7
	42–48	8
	50	3
	60	2
	65	2
	70	2
	??	1
[463] Occupation:	curer	8
	political leader	1
	farmer	28

One-half the total number of killings occurred to those between the ages of 34 to 50. However, as the six victims aged 60 and over indicate, survival to a late age does not ensure that one will die a nonviolent death. The age of the victim may be correlated with motive, insofar as some events leading to conflict occur
68 only at certain times in the life cycle. Thus,
[578] betrothal conflicts involved only young men, while victims accused of witchcraft were older: 27 was the age of the youngest, and 16 out of the 18 men killed as witches were over 34. Cattle theft, on the other hand, occurred throughout the age range.

682 Eight of the victims—more than one-fifth of
165 them—were curers, a much higher proportion
756 than their share in the total population, for there are only about a dozen now living in the town center of 1,900.

682 There is a personality type recognized by the
156 community as distinctive of those who "get

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum

[p.462-C]

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593
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TABLE 2. SUSPECT, BY MOTIVE FOR HOMICIDE

	Brother	Brother-in-law	Son	Son-in-law	Neighbors	Relative of witchcraft killing	Curers	Cattle owner	Rival for girl	Drunks	Not of community	??	Total
[683] Victim was accused of witchcraft	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	—	—	—	—	8	19
Victim accused suspect of witchcraft	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
[685] Cattle theft	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	4	6
[578] Rivalry over girl	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	3
Abusive behavior	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	2
[579] Drunken quarrel	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
[627] Avenge a death (not caused by witchcraft)	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2
Political conflict	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
"	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Total	3	5	1	1	2	2	1	4	3	2	2	11	37

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682
539
783 Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick.

682 A good man is of one heart, and he shows it by
156 his humility, *ben k'un yo?tan* or "very soft
828 heart." He can drink with friends on either side of the dual division of the town, and he is called upon in many household fiestas to greet the guests of the house-owner.

But the man who is "very strong of heart," *ben toyol yo?tan*, who "fails to take people into account," *ma ?awa ta kwenta*, who "abuses people," *me ya wut*, has means of survival
[608] despite the many threats to his life. He sur-
[756] rounds himself with a circle of *compadres*, or godparents; he especially picks out curers, both to mitigate the use of their power against him, and for them to serve as intermediaries if he should have enemies with animal spirits. When a threat becomes imminent, he may stay within his house or limit his range of activities to a very circumscribed area, always taking a weapon when he does go out. He will usually
[273] try to limit his drinking, or give it up entirely. These short-range rules of avoidance are clearly indicated by the circumstances in which killings occur: in the hills or at night, when the victim is under the influence of liquor.

682 These 37 cases of homicide reveal a regularity in the kinds of people and situations involved. The victims are most often men who
[578] assert power, principally curers, or men who violate standards of behavior by abusiveness or theft. Their killers are often linked to them by kinship or neighborhood, the bonds in which tensions are greatest. The regularity of time and place of homicide suggests the precautions that can be taken to avoid being
682 killed if one has an enemy. The general failure
626 of the community social-control agents to bring negative sanctions against a killer indicates that homicide is an accepted solution for interpersonal conflict. The structural setting that validates this behavior is discussed below.

682 ## II. STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL CONTROL
178
121 Case analysis, useful for discerning certain
626 patterns, is inadequate for understanding the interrelationships among a variety of social changes in the community. An increasing rate of homicide of this magnitude indicates fundamental changes in the social matrix in which individual decisions are made: it suggests not

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682 only a rise in the tensions that provoke con-
178 flict, but an undermining of the social-control
121 mechanisms for channeling them. The percep-
626 tion of these changes by the members of the society makes for shifts in the individual calculi, grossly measured in changes in the rate of
[128] behavior. In order to understand the interrelated problems of the sources of the increasing tensions and the reasons homicide is chosen as a means of resolving them, I have reconstructed the course of social change in the period from 1935 to 1965. . .

Increasing Social Tensions

178 New economic enterprises have increased
556 wealth differences in the community. The best measure of this is in the increase in cattle-holding, which is a socially approved way of spending money. Twenty-five years ago, there were only a half-dozen men with cattle, and they had only one or two head each. Today,
178 one of the herders in the community has 200
233 head of cattle, and 75 percent of the households
556 have one or more each.

Cattle-herding is a "new" industry in the sense that instead of just having a team of oxen to help with agricultural labor, men are
233 breeding cattle for profit. Because the cattle
685 roam freely, there is much loss, and this leads to accusations of theft. I have never heard such accusations directed against anyone outside the community; crime as well as positive moral relationships is confined within the
682 boundaries of this corporate community. Sus-
685 pected cattle thieves are killed by the cattle-
[474] owner or by a killer hired by the cooperative of cattle-owners. Such killings account for six of the 37 cases analyzed above (Table 1).

178 The illicit distilling of liquor has also added
274 to the town's prosperity. The liquor industry was introduced about 15 years ago, but the number of distillers has increased from 5 to 40
[438] in the last five years. From an enterprise formerly meeting only local market needs,
[439] contraband liquor is now sold as far away as the coastal area and across the border in
274 Guatemala. A cooperative of distillers has re-
474 duced the frictions that immediately followed the introduction of liquor-distilling. The cooperative pays the fines of any member caught distilling, and in addition threatens to use group action against informers, who were formerly tempted to earn the 200 pesos offered
[578] by federal agents. But the envy aroused by the sight of those who profit from this enterprise,

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as with the cattle industry, is a covert cause for personal attacks on other grounds.

A third enterprise, trucking, has caused a realignment of political interests in factions associated with two truck-owning cooperatives. Membership in one of the cooperatives, or patronage of one of the two trucks, arouses the enmity of members of the other cooperative. Several threats have been made on the lives of the owners and the operators, but the only damage done has been to tires.

The tensions resulting from the introduction of these new enterprises cannot be fully measured by the deaths attributed to direct economic conflict. Wealth differences resulting from the new enterprises excite envy, and with it come accusations of witchcraft. In this community, witchcraft killing does not perform the normative function of reducing wealth differentiation that Kluckhohn saw operating among the Navaho (1944), since it is the poor man who is killed as a witch, not the rich man. The slaying of the envious witch exacerbates the economic differentiation that provides the seedbed for conflict.

Another new source of tension is found in the growing demand for political leadership or even independence from the township by the *ejido* colonies formed since land reform went into effect in 1937. The inept maneuvers of two founders of the ejido colonies in hot country resulted in two homicides (cases 12 and 18 in Table 1).[4] The increasing strength of these hamlets will mean that more attempts will be made in the future to gain political equality and/or independence. Whether this will result in increasing homicides will depend on social-control agencies external to the Indian communities.

Homicide occurring as a direct result of economic and political competition represents a new strategy in the community. The decision to kill rather than to use other negative sanctions is related to the social-control mechanisms discussed below.

Changing Mechanisms of Social Control

A system of social control rests not only on the exercise of negative sanctions, but on the sense of personal security derived from confidence in the institutions of control. In Teklum, the maintenance of control was formerly centered in the guardianship against malevolent spirits held by the ancestor spirits and the curers. The "police force," made up of ten

178 the cave and that they are in communication
756 with him. But these claims are met with ex-
769 pressions of disbelief by the people. Almost everyone is convinced not only that the curers do not now talk with the ancestors, but that the ancestors no longer look over them from the watchout hill outside their cave.

756 The loss of control by the curers is drama-
178 tized in the long passage quoted above con-
731 trasting the past and present treatment of epidemics. Formerly the two leaders of the curers consulted together and announced to the president that they had rid the town of evil. Now the curers as a group are ordered to come before the civil authority. There, in a [273] long examination called *?iʼ yoʼtan*—"taking the heart"—in which 18 liters of liquor are consumed, the assembled curers and civil authorities decide who among them is responsible for bringing in the witchcraft that is causing the epidemic. Later in the evening, [682] one of the curers is usually killed (cases 11 and 29, Table 1).

756 (2) *Conflict between the curers and the civil*
578 *authority*. The competition between the curers and the civil authority can be traced in a series of incidents beginning in the '30's and culminating in an open confrontation in the spring of 1966.

756 The first incident occurred in 1932, when
578 the town was still part of the neighboring
682 Ladino township:
683
[632]

> F went and asked permission of the authorities to kill his enemy, a curer, who he thought was bewitching his brother-in-law. The president went to the house of the suspected witch with the order to imprison him. He said they were going to take him to the neighboring township center to put him in jail. The group of authorities set off with the suspected witch. On the way, another group met them and asked them where they were going. The president replied, "To H." The group that had encountered them asked if they would like a drink to heat their body. They gave one cup, and then another. Then they cut up the suspected witch with a machete and put his body in the cave of the ancestors. When the widow enquired the next day where her husband was, the president said that the man must have gone to the finca.

The ambush by the killers was prearranged in the town court, and the president covered their deed when questions were asked.

[622] In 1940, the leading curer of the lower section was president. When he killed a man who

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578
682 accused him of being a witch, he was put in
683 the local jail by the judge and then removed to
756 the departmental capital. During his term of
754 imprisonment an epidemic broke out in the
682 town; it was attributed to witchcraft sup-
683 posedly practiced by him and by two other
578 curers who remained in town. These two were then imprisoned. After they were set free, all three men were killed in different episodes involving accusations of witchcraft. Permission to act as executioners was granted by the civil authority.

178 In the past, the public review of a case before
682 a killing probably served to minimize homi-
754 cide, since permission was not always granted.
627 Since 1953, when a large highway first linked the town to the departmental capital and
[491] communication between this center of justice and the local township increased, the civil authority has not given permission, and prior review of witchcraft cases occurs only with epidemics.

756 The final incident in which the civil author-
754 ity confronted the curers occurred in the spring
578 of 1966. The president accused one of the
627 curers of cutting short his life by lighting candles in the mountains. The curers were called together to hear the threat and to go to the hill to look at the evidence. The accused curer remained at home pleading that he was sick. He was warned not to pursue his witchcraft, and as yet there has been no use of
[178] violence on either side. This open confronta-
[622] tion without the use of violence may indicate a change in the strategy of conflict with the growing power of the president.

756 (3) *Breakdown of the dual division.* The loss
178 of internal controls in the curing profession
578 and the conflict for power and control by the
621 civil officials and the curers are related to a
626 more fundamental change in the social structure of the community. Formerly the division of the town into two sections provided a channel for opposition as well as cooperation. Recruitment into leadership positions in both the civil hierarchy and the curing hierarchy was based upon residence. The system provided checks and balances in the exercise of power, for the two principales—one from each section of the dual division—were supposed to act as watchdogs over the curers. The shift in the locus of social control from the principales to the president has been marked by the open confrontation with the curers.

OOO The authority of the president, however,

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The authority of the president, however, depends on the use of legal sanctions of prison sentences and fines imposed by extracommunity enforcement agencies in the departmental capital. The weakness of these sanctions—the fine for homicide is 1,000 to 3,000 pesos or three to five years' imprisonment—means that these threats do not have a controlling effect on people's decisions to act. Homicide, carried out by individuals who feel themselves to be threatened, is a supplementary mechanism for social control. Cast in the idiom of witch-killing, homicide is the quasi-official execution of a community threat.

The breakdown in the former structural controls has not been compensated for by the intervention of extracommunity institutions. Attempts to circumvent killing are made by the priest, who counsels against it, warning that the killer will acquire the sins of the man he kills, and by the talking saint of Ixtapa, whom the Indians consult when they are pressed and who advises them to wait—their enemy will be killed for them. This advice is not sufficient to forestall all killings. Motivated by fear, some men still seek to eliminate the object of their fear.[7] The sense of the guardianship of the ancestors and their intermediaries, the curers, is lost along with the intervention of the civil authorities. The individual reacts, using his own means and trying to get sufficient consensus to avoid reprisal.

III. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Homicide in the community of Teklum can be a statement of the fear of witchcraft, of revenge, or of quasi-official reprisal depending on the circumstances and social relationships involved. Even in this small, self-contained community, homicide does not have a single meaning, analyzable within a single framework of change.

Homicide is part of the expectation pattern of the town. The patterning of the acts of homicide in terms of time, place, and agent makes possible rules of avoidance both in long- and in short-term calculations for survival. The long-range rules require respect behavior to elders, equals, and juniors and the avoidance of abusive or boastful statements. The short-range rules are to avoid walking alone in the woods or milpas far from town, to stay home at night, and to stop drinking.

Despite the grim and expectable outcome of being killed, not all men heed these rules. The love of power and the projection of self into

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682 183 wider ranges of expression than are usually permitted in the community prompt men to assert the strength of their swayohel, to run races with the animal spirits of others in the assertion of pre-eminence, to boast of their material goods, and to "wake up dead."

682 674 178 578 The increasing rate of homicide is related to the following changes in the community:

(1) Increasing friction resulting both from the introduction of new economic enterprises and from political competition by the recently settled land-reform colonies has introduced a new kind of homicide, in which an opponent is killed either by the person whose interests are threatened or by hired killers. It has also stimulated accusations of witchcraft stemming from envy.

[754] 558 682 674 178 578 756 754 (2) The curers' loss of leadership and of control over entry into the curing profession has led to competition among them and to a loss of respect for their ability to overcome witchcraft. Curers have become the most frequent suspects of being witches.

(3) Loss of faith in the guardian ancestors and in the guardianship functions acquired from them by the curers has further undermined the position of the curers as agents of social control. This has aggravated the sense of insecurity and fear, which provokes the uncontrolled use of individual violence.

682 674 178 621 626 756 682 674 756 178 626 683 (4) The shift of power from the principales to the town president has led to a breakdown in the system of checks and balances exerted by the principales over the curers, and to a direct confrontation of the curers by civil officials.

(5) In the confrontations of the civil authorities and the curers in the '40's and early '50's, the fact that a witchcraft case was officially reviewed and the killing of the witch sanctioned may have served as a brake on the number of such homicides. Since 1953, when this practice was abandoned, those who have felt themselves or their families to be the victims of witchcraft have been left to their own recourse.

178 578 682 [621] [632] [756] The organizational changes summarized here are provoked by structural changes affecting recruitment into the positions of power and the validation of leadership in the exercise of power. The dual division of the town provided an accepted basis for recruiting

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leaders, both in the civil authority and in the curing profession. The transition from the old hierarchy of control to the new leadership structure is still in process. In the most recent confrontation of the civil authority and curers, the fact that neither side resorted to violence suggests the transitional nature of homicide as a solution in intracommunal conflict.

This study of homicide indicates that the changing rate of behavior points to structural change, but does not in itself indicate what kind of change occurs or from what motives it stems. Qualitative case analysis related to structural changes within the recall of informants is essential for understanding social process.

NOTES

[1] Field work is based on two periods of residence in the community in 1964 and 1965; it was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health. I am grateful for comments by Paul Friedrich, Richard Henderson, Harold Scheffler, and Peter Wilson, who have improved the original version read at the 1965 meetings of the American Anthropological Association. I remain responsible for the contents of the paper.

[2] Henry and Short (1954:18) analyze both suicide and homicide as undifferentiated aggressive reactions to frustration, the rates of which vary—in the first case inversely and in the second case directly—with the strength of the external control system over behavior. Their assumption that homicide is motivationally a single phenomenon, and not an expression of a variety of motives, stems from the assumption that all cases of aggressive acts are the result of frustration. Straus and Straus (1964:587) apply a similar correlational analysis of homicide and suicide rates with structural features of society in Ceylon, but come to opposite conclusions. They maintain that one would expect greater evidence of homicide in a "loosely structured society," by which they mean one with considerable sanctioning of variation in individual behavior. These studies contradict each other in the conclusions that they reach by similar analytical processes, but they are attempts to move away from such psychoanalytic reasoning as the death wish theory.

[3] Bohannan's (1960) survey of homicide and suicide in African societies represents a useful model for comparing the total pattern of homicide cross-culturally. In presenting the case material here, I have used a similar format, adding to it the circumstances surrounding the killing. In the analysis of these materials, I have diverged from Bohannan's model in trying to demonstrate the linkage among the components—the ratios, to use Burke's (1945) terminology of scene/setting/actor/agent.

[4] The term "witch" is a translation of the Tzeltal term *ʔah'-čamel*, literally "giver of sickness." The term "curer" is a translation of *ʔaʔal*. The power to cure and to give sickness stems from the possession of a *ruuyohel*, or animal spirit.

[5] For a discussion of the tactics of gaining consensus in witch-killings, see Manning Nash (1960).

[6] Political homicide by agrarian leaders, which is so frequent in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962), is a relatively recent phenomenon in the retreat zones of Indian population. The cases analyzed by Friedrich are a strategy of political power stemming from a revolutionary background, and the cultural assumptions to which he points contrast with those underlying witch-killings. My only comparable case is, significantly, found outside the traditional center, in the new ejido colony

[7] Jules Henry (1936) sees the formula of fear and anger as the

162 Amatenango del Valle, a community of 2,529 inhabitants, of which 1,470 reside in the town center.

621 The town centers are divided into two sections, called barrios by Ladinos and calpules by Indians (Oxchuc and Cancuc). The imaginary line which separates one barrio from another passes through the center of the town, sometimes east-west, sometimes north-south, with no fixed orientation.

[776] Each barrio has its own local authorities and sometimes its own patron saint (Oxchuc and Bachajon). The principal function of the barrios was not only political or religious but also social, in regulating mar-

[178] riage. Endogamy was common to all barrios, but today that rule is losing its rigidity. In Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1960, p. 8) tells us that, "The rule of barrio endogamy, which is viable in 86% of the known marriages, contributes to the localization of related families limiting the geographical range of marriage choice." A similar situation obtains in Amatenango (J. Nash, 1959, p. 3), Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes, 1947, p. 7), and Bachajon (Guiteras Holmes, 1961c, p. 167).

[178] In Bachajon, Guiteras Holmes states that: "In the old days there was no marriage be-

[578] tween the *barrios*. If a boy from San Sebastian took a walk through San Geronimo, he was beaten; they would give him a '*maciza*,' as they say. If a boy from a *barrio* approached the waterholes to court a girl, he fared very badly." The calpules of Oxchuc, although they have politico-religious significance, have no influence at all in the selection of wives.

621 The parajes have a few scattered huts
778 among the cultivated fields. Each paraje is
[361] bound by religious ties to a given cave where a cross, the supreme sacred symbol, is kept. The name of the paraje is generally
778 taken from the name of the cave. Sacred
821 caves of secondary importance also exist.
823 This mystical regard for caves is based in the belief that they are the place from which issues the lightning to punish the

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443 ket of Tenejapa. Other commercial centers are Ocosingo, Chilon, and Yajalon in the north. These markets are also frequented by Ladinos, but others, located far from the cabecera, are exclusively for Indians. The most important of them is the Saturday market of Yochib near Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc. It draws 300–400 natives, who arrive at dawn carrying agricultural and handcraft products. Most people come from 8 to 10 in the morning, after which they begin to depart; about 2 or 3 P.M. only those staying to drink chicha are left. Transactions
[439] are paid in trade or in money.

Wage Work

464 Because the cold climate and the rugged topography of the region produce little corn, the natives must work periodically as day laborers on the coffee plantations of the Soconusco area on the Pacific coast. About 7000 Tzeltal and a few more Tzotzil work there each year. Natives may go to the coffee plantations any time of the year but prefer to do so during the months the milpa requires less attention (either after planting or after harvest). Between Yajalon and Ocosingo are plantations where men from the neighboring villages are hired for short periods.

Use of Wealth

556 578 829 183 Because of their social organization, it is very difficult for these Indians to accumulate wealth. The worst sin an individual can commit against the community is to store up crops, domestic animals, or clothes, or simply to build a better house. Whatever
[754] raises an individual above his fellows—buying a new house, improving an old one, buying a horse—can cause in them a deep fear of being the target of witchcraft (Villa Rojas, 1947).

556 829 183 Those who, enjoying good health, are able to pile up some wealth, are obliged by the community to spend it in banquets and amusements for the community. It is believed that the old men and principales

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501 raft, *poi,* to cross rivers or make very short trips. The specimen observed at *Hol-ha'* (Head of the Water), was made of five cork logs averaging 22 centimeters in diameter and 3.25 meters long, held together by two cross-sticks lashed on with lianas. There was some space between each log, the width of the raft being 1.25 meters. It had a definite bow and stern, the logs at the forward end being cut to an edge, "to cut the water." These rafts are propelled by a pole, preferably of mahogany, the one observed being 2.50 meters long. They are moored by thrusting the pole through a crack between two of the logs, into the bottom of the stream.

648 As one would expect, the old, complicated organization of priests and rulers, the aristocracy of pre-Conquest days, has been utterly swept away. Today, in their social organization, one may trace a little of the feeling of the old times, but the system is the creature of Spanish contact. On the haciendas there are no native officials save those who preside over the fiestas. The owner of the hacienda maintains a patriarchal sway over his workmen, governing them in every respect. Among the village tribes at Bachajon and Sivacá life is still influenced by the obligation to work for the government or the ranchers, although the independent nature of the Indians has won for them a good deal of self-government. Those of the Bachajon living on land belonging to ranches find themselves under a dual system, although the scattered location of their dwellings, deep in the jungles, minimizes the power of the Ladinos.

621 The tribes are very different from those of North America. From our brief observation, it appears as though there was none of that deep feeling of loyalty towards the group, of essential, almost mystic unity with the other members that characterizes our own Indians. Similar customs, common interest, and geographical proximity hold each Tzeltal group together; bonds that are easily broken. [609] Should an outsider attack the common weal by seizure of land or [578] by any other infringements, he will find the tribe solidly united against him, but at the same time it may be, and often is divided 627 within itself by many quarrels. The Bachajon carry out long feuds between families and individuals in the form of occasional murders. These have their origin in delayed retribution for some wrong received by one party from the other, for which, in turn, there is retaliation, and so on indefinitely.

For instance, the murder committed while we were at Encanto was the climax of a long-nursed grudge, and almost immediately afterwards there were indications that from that fight would arise 648 many others. Occasional attacks on ranchers are also usually carried

273 554 about the state of their environment are deduced as the result of the communication of information encoded in some one or more media. The determination and certification of an individual's social rank is one type of inference and action that individuals engage in in Aguacatenango. Rank and role are not only encoded in the drinking performances, but also in a variety of other media as well. When we examine the ceremonial drinking cycle as it occurs in the civil and religious hierarchies, it becomes clear that the arrangement of persons in space, modes of greeting, modes of offering toasts, the differential access to settings, etc., all may encode an individual's social position just as do the set of role labels that may be used to identify him.

[578] [609] [596] [621] After the settlement of a dispute, after having agreed to permit a /HTUL YAN LUMAL/, "foreigner," to settle in the community, and on certain saints' days (especially those saints associated with the installation of new civil officers), the /*A*TELETIK TA KABILTO/, or civil hierarchy, is given or secures for itself aguardiente in liter bottles. The aguardiente is equally distributed in shot glass amounts among the members of the /*A*TELETIK/, a particular individual drinking the glass which is offered him; or alternative should he choose not to drink it, taking a sip from it and handing it to some other member of the group who drinks the remaining portion and returns the glass to the first drinker, who in turn returns it to the

273* All of these performances fall within the range of acceptable,
183
[689] though perhaps imperfect, behavior for drunken men; that is, while some of them are considered deplorable and others dangerous, sanctions are usually limited to scolding and the conflict does not persist beyond the drinking situation.

On the other hand, the drunken man may be insulting or physically aggressive, and while these performances may be discounted on occasion, they often bring the individual into conflict which persists beyond the particular drinking situation. For the purposes of this description, we will define the conflict focus as that state which exists when an individual perceives his control over resources to be temporarily placed in increased jeopardy by circumstances some portion of which can be attributed to the action (or failure to take action) of some other individual; the jeopardized party must also perceive that there exists some form of action he can take (some remedy) in relation to the individual "causing" the conflict which will decrease his feeling of vulnerability.

273* Both insults and physical aggression by drunken indi-
578 viduals are verbally proscribed and often physically sanctioned. Aurelia Ramirez, speaking of the drunken insults of a relative who has been living in her house, says:

[539] PURA XC'AB YA YAL TU*L YA YAX YAKUBEL.

He talks of nothing but witchcraft when he is drunk.

273* TYABLO TYABLO NA *I, HOLA CINGADO NA.
598
539 "Curse the house, curse the house!"

TONC YAN XYAKUB TA WINIKIL STUK.

It's inappropriate the way that man drinks.

HAYUN LA YALBE Z'IN SMA*ALIB, XC'OHT TA *AYEL, *A LOK'UK BAEL *A NUHZUK,

So [my daughter] went to her father-in-law and told him to turn them out,

MA*K HK'ANTIKIX *EHUK.

We don't want them any more,

273* In another case, the outcome was more serious for the offender.
754
539 Mariano Juarez describes how the men of the community decided who was the witch responsible for an epidemic of measles as follows:

PERO HIC EHK MAC'A YA XKUC*AK' CAMEL I, YUN YA YAL TA SYAKBEL TE SNA* *AK' CAMEL E.

But they blame that one for the witchcraft, because he says when he's drunk that he knows how to do witchcraft.

MA LA YAK XIW TULAN LA *AY, HA*C YA YAL TA SYAKBEL MAC'A TE SNA* *AK' CAMEL E.

[He says] that he's not afraid, he's strong, that's what he says when he's drunk, that he knows how to do witchcraft.

HAYUN HIC A SKUC *AK' CAMEL YUN KRISTYANETIK I, YUN A YAL TA SYAKBEL.

That's why they blame him for causing the illness among the people, because he says it when he is drunk.

... TA SYAKBEL YA YAL HA*TE MATO KAWAK' *A LIMXNA XCI TA SYAKBEL.

273* 754 539 . . . When he's drunk he says, "you haven't paid your tax yet!" (This is interpreted by our informant as meaning that none of the listener's children has yet died and, further, that the speaker can guarantee that some of them will die.)

HAYUN HIC MA XC'AY TA YO*TANIK HAL KRISTYANETIK I.

And so the hearts of the people don't forget this.

XLIHK CAMEL TA TEHKLUM HA* YA XKUC STUKEL.

When the illness begins in the community they blame him.

... TA SKAHABI YA XLAH TA MILEL YUN SBOLIL.

Because of this they kill him for his foolishness.

MA* TOHUK XYAKUB.

He doesn't get drunk the way one ought to.

273* 518 Physical aggression against drinking companions usually has immediate physical consequences. One fight which occurred between two drunken young men in the cemetery at the fiesta of Todos Santos ended with a broken arm for one of them, and in another fight hospital care was needed for the victim. Sabino Hernandez, on waking up after a night of drinking, is puzzled to find his hand sprained, because, as he remembers,

[539] MAYU*NUK *AY MA*C'A LAH KUT H'A SOK, TONC YU*N TOH LAH KU*C' HAL HC'IN KA*AL I.

I didn't fight with anybody, I just drank my aguardiente the way one ought to.

273* 593 620 Drunken men who beat their wives can expect retaliation in kind only rarely, but a mistreated wife may complain of her husband's behavior to his elders, who will reprimand him and exact a promise to reform.

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M. YA XLIHK KUT HBAHTIK SOK *EHK HBANKILTIK I PERE ...

We start to fight with our brothers too, but . . .

J. *E PE TOH *AY C'IN HNUX I SKAH NAX YAKUBEL *EHK ABI.

But it's easy [to fight] a little on account of drunkenness.

M. YAKUBEL ...

Drunk . . .

J. MA* KUXLEHALUK.

Not sober.

M. SKAH YAKUBEL.

On account of drunkenness.

J. YU*N TONC TONC MOEM A YA*Y STRAWO *EHK ABI.

It's only that one feels like overstepping from the aguardiente.

HAYUN *AY A XMOH TA *AHOLIK Z'IN PE HA*NAX TE*K ABI.

Sometimes it goes to their heads, but only a little [fighting].

M. TOHOL K'OP.

Just talk.

J. MA*K XCAMOTIK YU*N *EHK TOHOL K'OP I.

We don't die from just talk.

Another illustration of the tendency to discount drunken behavior is a discussion in which Aurelia Ramirez reports the insults of the young man whom she had turned out of her house (mentioned in text above):

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* A. NUN TE*K'EL NUN TA YUT C'IN NA E, YA XBON, YA XK'OTON TEME ...
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He stood right over there, inside the little house [and said], "I'm going, I'm going to come". . .

MA* LOMUK A XBON STUK *ILI, YU*N K'AN LAHUK SLA* KO*TAN E.

"I'm not going away just like that, not till my anger is used up."

MA XLAH SLA* KO*TAN TU*L A SNUZONIK LO*L I, YAK'ONIK LO*L E.

"My anger isn't used up, because they turned me out, they sent me away."

TYABLO YA KIL TU*L A XLOK' TUK SLA* KO TAN I, MA*Y BA* XBAHT, XCI.

"The devil! We'll see how my anger will come out, it's not going to go away," he said.

M. *A XCI.

He said that.

A. XCI TONC XCA BA YAL HONC HAL BAHT I.

He said that, he talked a lot of witchcraft when he went away.

M. ME YUN A XYAKUB *A.

Could he have been drunk?

A. MA*K XYAKUB TAT KUXLEHAL A YAL.

273* He wasn't drunk, mister, he said it when he was sober.
578

Mariano, in evaluating Aurelia's remarks, asks the crucial question, "Could he have been drunk?" The fact that he was sober implies that much more weight can be placed on his statements of his power to do witchcraft against others. We may perhaps infer

273* 578 that Mariano will keep this in mind in future transactions with this man--if he believes that Aurelia is telling the truth.

While a man's behavior when he is drunk is usually disregarded in forming character judgments, there are circumstances in which drunken behavior is seen as ambiguous. It is believed, for example, that foreign matter can be put into aguardiente by a member of the drinking group so as to cause the illness or death of one of the other participants. Examples of illness attributed to "poisoned" aguardiente will be offered in the next chapter; here it is sufficient to cite the belief as an indication that "true" aggression may sometimes be expressed when men are drunk. Other aspects of the ambiguity of drunken behavior are suggested in the following text fragment:

273* 578 539 593 F. KILIX TEK TE *AY TU*Y KUN Z'IN *EHK E, PUES HA* Z'IN HBANKIL, *ORA *ILI, LA HKABETIK SLUM TE HKOHT SKAH HTEK"EN BETIK SNA....

Once I had seen that we had accumulated a little wealth, we gave a piece of land to my brother, we gave him a horse, we built him a house. . . .

HO*N YA STI*ON Z'IN HAL BAY NA *IL KUMPRE.

He comes around and bothers me in my house now, compadre.

... HA*Z'IN BA* STA TRAWI, BA* STA POX I, HA*TE XLIHK MOUK TA SOL *A.

. . . That's the way it is when one finds aguardiente, it goes to his head.

YAXC'IN YAL YA*KBIL CAMEL *EHUK, BUENO, HO*N MA* ZAMUK YA KA*Y *EHK HO*N ABI KUMPRE.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* He begins to talk about witchcraft and I don't care for
• 578 that at all, compadre.

539
593 HAL TRAWI, HA* MA HNA*TIK TUT XKALTIK SOK, MA HNA*TIK TUT HLOK'ESTIK SOK, TONC YUN *AY SLUWAR *AY MA* SLUWARIK XK'OPOHOTIK *A.

Because of the aguardiente, we don't know what we are saying, we don't know how to speak, sometimes it's correct and sometimes it's not possible what we are saying.

M. PERE HA* TE YUN MOEM TA HOLTIK YUN TRAWO *A E.

But this only happens when the aguardiente goes to his head.

F. HAIX KEMPRE, YUN MOEM TA HOLTIK MA HNA* TUT XKALTIK PERES TA SKAH TRAWO, SKAH POX *EHK *ABI.

That's right, compadre, it goes to our head and we don't know what we are saying, but it's because of the aguardiente.

MAYUNUK KUXLULUK KO*TANTIK E.

It doesn't happen when we are sober.

BA LA HTATIK HUN KERMANOTIK HUN HBANKILTIK, Z'AHAL BANKIL, Z'AHAL TAT, HA* XCI XK'OPOHOTIK Z'IN ABI, KONTENTO XK'OPOHOTIK SOK MAC'A KAMIGOTIK E.

When we are sober, when we encounter some brothers or uncles we say, "Good day, uncle, good day, sir," we talk contentedly with our friends.

PERO ME *OC Z'IN C'ÜL TRAWO, *E HUN *ORA HNA*TIK HUN *ORA MA HNA*TIK HA*YUN *AWA*Y TUL HIC.

But when aguardiente comes in, part of the time we remember and part of the time we don't remember.

MA* ZAMUK TA *UC'EL *EHK C'UL TRAWO HUN *ORA E.

In a way, it's not good to drink aguardiente.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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In this text fragment, Felix is describing to Mariano how his older brother is threatening him over a matter of inheritance. Felix reports that his brother comes to his house and threatens witchcraft upon the family unless the matter is resolved in his favor. Mariano, in his only appearance in the text excerpt, inquires rather sharply if this does not happen only when the brother is drunk. Felix answers in the affirmative and sketches in his feeling about the ambiguity of the situation: (1) one may threaten while drunk, but the hearer does not know whether what the drunken speaker is saying is, from the speaker's point of view, a statement which is true of his sober condition as well or only of his drunken condition; (2) the ambiguity is further reinforced if, when the speaker is sober, he is properly respectful of the listener, whom he has insulted or threatened while drunk; (3) from the point of view of the drinker himself, one knows that he sometimes remembers his performances and sometimes does not remember them. An unremembered performance has the character of communicating less reliably to the receiver than a remembered performance. The receiver must note, then, that any particular drunken performance may be a member of the unremembered class and hence not entirely useful as a basis for inference and action in relating to the person who is performing it. This characteristic of drunken communication causes Felix to evaluate drinking negatively. It leaves him in doubt as to

273* what his "true" relationship with his older brother is.
• 578
[593] While in principal the intent of a communication sent by a drunken individual under the circumstances noted is subject to modification by him when next he is sober, there occur instances in which the drunken performance is critical in the definition of character. Any expression of hostility (scolding, fighting, stealing) when sober may bring the drunken behavior into focus as an expression of the individual's "true" character. In the case of the young man who "talks pure witchcraft when he is drunk" (mentioned earlier), the decision to make him leave the house was based also on the fact that he quarreled with members of the household and his wife stole chickens, and the decision was later justified, as we have just seen, by the fact that he threatened witchcraft when sober.

It may be the case that hostility or aggressive performances while drinking may be classified into two types as may be seen by the responses to them of other community members. If the basis for hostility can be found in specific antecedent events, then angry words or blows between individuals who are drunk or between a drunk person and a sober person are subject to later apology before any final conclusion is drawn as to the
[754] character of the aggressor. If, on the other hand, no specific antecedent events are known to be the source of the hostility, and the drunken performer's anger seems to be directed at random

273* towards the other members of the town, and/or if hostility is
578 characteristic of the individual even when sober, then a witch-
754 craft component will probably be attributed to his character. If the vernacular of witchcraft is used in expressing hostility in either the first or the second condition, the attribution of witchcraft to the person is made more likely.

273* Occasionally the outcome of drunken fighting is so ex-
578 treme (e.g., when one participant dies) that "bad character" (but not necessarily witchcraft) is attributed to the aggressor regardless of considerations of intent or of his behavior when sober. In the following text fragment, such a case is discussed.

273* (The fact that the pair had been drinking was ascertained from
578 a source other than the text.)
539

J. HA* CAM *ILI *ATATIK I.

The old gentleman died.

M. TU* LA SPAS.

What happened to him?

J. MA*YUK LAH TA MILEL.

I don't know, he was killed.

M. ME MA* CIKNAH.

Have they found out who did it?

J. CIKAN *AY HA* NAX MISMO SNEAL I, HA* HAL MA TATIK KCIK I XCI.

It seems that it was his own son-in-law, they said, that old Francisco [the honorific, used here in reference to a young person, derogates his status].

273* ... HATE YAHWAL NA HATE SWINKLEL Z'INE, *ABOT TON TA
•578 S(H)OL ... HIZ
539

That head of the house, that owner, was hit on the head with a rock.

MA K'OLO MA TONI.

A rock this big around.

HNA*TIK Z'IN, TU*L LIHK TE SK'OPIK Z'INE, LAH SMIL SBAIK.

We don't know how their argument began, he was killed.

... HA* MILAWAN SNEALI.

His son-in-law killed him.

... HATE MAC'A MILAWAN Z'INE, YIP LA HTATIK TAL Z'IN *A TE SMORAL, SMORALI, YIP LA HTABETAL Z'IN *A SOK CEB PIXLAL.

That one killed him, we only found his morral, only his morral and two hats.

... *ORA *ILI MA* TEK'AY *A, *ANIX LO*EL.

He's not here now, he fled.

M. HIC KOLOL Z'IN.

Then he got away.

273* The possibility that an individual when drinking is in fact speaking the truth is an entertainable idea especially under the circumstances that he reports information which individuals have been searching for unsuccessfully.

273* In one text we find Mariano defending himself against
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578 statements he allegedly made while he was drunk. The context in which these statements were made is as follows. The woman who

273* 626 578 leads the prayers in the church (the rezadora) had two anonymous notes left at her door, asserting that her character was incompatible with such a role. The effect of this accusation was sufficiently strong to cause her to withdraw from her position. She and her family tried to discover who the note writers were. Under these circumstances it was not long before a few candidates for this position were being considered.

273* 695 626 578 Rules of evidence for finding the performers of anonymous acts are quite relaxed, though sufficient to the task from the community's point of view. The successful anonymous act is not seen by anyone, hence the reconstruction of the act is made on the basis of motives, and on the succeeding acts which the allegedly guilty person may display. Furthermore, there may be special characteristics of the act which restrict the number of those who may be guilty. If, for example, a man is known to have been killed with a pistol, the assassin is conceded to be limited to one of those who is known to have a pistol. In the present case, a note was written in Spanish, and the author was hence limited to that handful of individuals in the community who can write Spanish. Mariano is perhaps one of the best Spanish writers in the community.

He further damned himself by saying while drunk that he wrote and delivered the note. In this text, he is talking with the rezadora who was forced out of her job, with the full knowledge

273* that she has heard that he made these remarks while drunk and
695
626 knows that he writes Spanish well. He constructs a conversation
578 for her between himself and one Augustin (who also writes Spanish) in which Augustin asks him if he did in fact write the threatening note, as he had claimed in Augustin's presence to have done. (Mariano never admits himself that he made these remarks while drinking.)

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HTAH BA SOK Z'IN HAL *AWSTIN I.

Later I met Augustin.

*ILI ME HIC ME YUN HAT Z'IN LA *APAS HUN I, XYUTON.

"Is it true that you wrote the note?" he asked me.

TU*UN XKUT.

"Why?" I asked him.

HA*BI *AY LA *AWAL TA *AYAKBEL XCI, LA AWAL TA *AYAKBEL *ILI, HO*N LA HPAS HUN I, HO*N LA KAK' HIL TO *AK'EL HIL TA STI* SNA XCIAT.

"Once when you were drunk you said so," he said, "You said, 'I wrote the note, I sent it to her house,' that's what you said," he said.

TU*N BA* LA HTA HBAHTIK XKUT.

"Where did we meet?" I asked him.

*AY LA HTA HBAHTIK TA YAKBEL, HO*N LA HPAS XCAT.

"Once we were drinking together, 'I did it,' you said."

*AYIL C'A*BAN MA HNA* MAC'A LA SPAS *EHK ABI, MA HA*KAT LA *APAS XKUTAT STUK HO*N E.

"'Stop it, be quiet, I don't know who did that. You didn't do it,' I said."

273* 539 578 626 HU*U HO*N LA HPAS XAWUTON HIL XCI.

"'Yes, I did,' you told me," he said.

TENEK *A HUL KAL XAN TA HNA Z'IN.

From there I went home to hear it again.

HA*C LA YAK'IK HKUC ... HA*C LA ... HO*N LA KAL TA HYAKBEL.

"They are blaming you ... ." that I said it when I was drunk.

PASE *AK BA* HTA YAKBEL METO, XKUT AWIX I.

"Don't worry, what I could have done when I was drunk?" I told your aunt.

273* 626 578 In telling his wife not to worry, Mariano implies that the rumor will lose its force since it cannot be true.

Mariano also makes it plain to the rezadora later in the text that he wonders at Augustin's insistence on calling this story to his attention and spreading it around town. He implies that Augustin is being somewhat aggressive in doing this or is trying to cover up his own part in the note-writing act. The rezadora draws the conclusion for Mariano that it is probably Augustin who wrote the note, with which conclusion Mariano agrees. Thereby, in this interaction at least, he not only denies any part in the act but also supplies the rezadora with another person who is probably guilty.

273* 578 Individuals in search of the source of hostile acts are not averse to searching the conversations of men who are drinking deeply. In turn, men who drink deeply may use the privileged

273* communication status of deep drunkenness to brag about brash
• 578 acts they have done and/or to assume authorship for acts they would have liked to do. The aftermath of such performances sometimes requires a delicately balanced conversational gambit to return a relationship to its pre-drunken state.

The resolution of conflict

Where the drunken behavior of an individual is seen by another individual as placing him in jeopardy which persists beyond the limits of the particular drinking situation, the jeopardized person has a choice of actions by which he can decrease his feeling of vulnerability. He may do so either by regaining his pre-conflict control over resources or by placing the person who is the source of the conflict in an equivalent or more serious state of jeopardy. (A fairly detailed description of these two alternate modes of action in response to conflict in Aguacatenango can be found in Metzger 1960.) The distinction between increasing the antagonist's jeopardy and restoring one's own control over the situation serves as the basis for the distinction between what I have termed penalizing and restitutive outcomes of conflict. The principal feature of a restitutive strategy is that it renders the state of jeopardy between individuals "neutral" as a basis for post-conflict interaction between the parties involved. This neutrality is relative:

273* 578 our measures of it are crude, but will perhaps serve as a first approximation. A penalizing strategy, in contrast, remains "active" as a basis for post-conflict interaction between the parties. The pure type of conflict bound by penalty is in fact an infinite series of conflicts operating on the pre-conflict role relationships of the parties so as to transform them, in the extreme case, into a relationship which must be terminated if either is to survive as a "social person." Under some circumstances, a penalizing strategy may call forth a counter-strategy of restitutive nature which breaks the chain before it becomes necessary to terminate interaction.

Among the restitutive strategies used to reduce the effects of drunken behavior is apology or restitution for the jeopardy on which the drunken aggression is based. Felix Perez tells how he has tried to stop his brother from threatening him while drunk:

273* 578 593 539

> PUES HA* Z'IN HBANKIL I *ORA *ILI LA HK'ABETIK HKOT SLUM ESTE HKOT SKA, HKA SLUM, HTEK'EN BETIK SNA....
>
> Well then, we gave my elder brother his piece of land, his horse, his land, we built him a house. . . .
>
> HA* XTI*WAN HIL Z'IN YUN Z'IN TE XTI*WAN KUMPRE.
>
> He kept on bothering me, he kept on bothering me then, compadre.
>
> LA HTATLANOK TA CAMEL YUNTIKILE *E.
>
> His children were taken ill.

273* Z'IN *EHK HO*NE SESNTA SINKWENTA SIEN PESO KA*BE TUTIL XCOP
578 YUNTIKIL I, PE MA SNA* Z'IN HA* LA STI*ON YA*TIK BA*YON *IL,
593 KUMPRE.
539 I gave him sixty, fifty, a hundred pesos to cure his children, but he doesn't recognize that, he goes on bothering me here, compadre.

HA* XTI*WAH YUN NA I.

He bothers me about the house. (Felix, the youngest son, remained with his father and has been promised the house as his inheritance. His elder brother complains that the house should be his.)

... LIHK BENUK XAN KO*TAN Z'IN *E TU*UN *E LAH HCON HKOT C'IN CITAM Z'IN *E TU*UN *E *A KUMPRE *ILI.

I began to think again, and so then I sold a little pig, compadre.

*ABA XAN SIEN PESO XKUT Z'IN HTATIK TA HNA E, LEK'AY *ABI XCI.

"Give him another hundred pesos," I said, and then my father said, "All right."

KA*BE Z'IN YA*BE Z'IN STUKEL YUN Z'IN TE LA HKA*BETIK XAN Z'IN *ABI.

I gave it to him, he gave it to him, then we gave him more.

MA*SK'AN XAN NAXTAK *ABI STI*ON XAN NAXTAK YUN HNA *ILI.

He still didn't like it, he still kept on bothering me about the house.

273* The failure of all these measures to stop the brother's
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[593] drunken threats has led the father to consider building a new house for Felix and giving the family house to the elder brother.

Another strategy is reprimand or punishment, where the jeopardized party has authority over the drunken offender or, alternatively, where the jeopardized party can appeal to such

273* an authority. One example of a reprimand is found in the texts:
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[539]

K'UXIX YU*N HA* MA*K STAIX *AWC*TAN HAL TRAWI, AKUT.

"It's hurting you now, the aguardiente doesn't agree with you," I told him.

*ILA *E HIC PE YU*N YA TO SK'AN HONA XCI, *A SKUT.

"Yes, but my heart still wants more," he said. "All right," I said.

LA LOK' XAN K'AEL.

Then he went out again.

BALOTA *UTEL YU*N TATA* I.

His father reprimanded him.

LOK' XAN K'AL Z'IN.

He went out again afterward.

While the reprimand administered here had no immediate effect on the son's behavior, it was probably repeated when he was sober and was surely a factor in his subsequent avoidance of drinking settings.

273* A father may reprimand a son. A wife, if she has a good
593 relationship with her father-in-law, can have her husband repri-
692
[606] manded by his father. When these measures fail (as in the case of a son who struck his father in response to a reprimand), or when the jeopardized party is not in a position of authority over the offender, resort to the community court is an alternative strategy by which a restitutive outcome may be obtained.

273* In cases of drunken fighting which results in injury, the
683

627 children and without father or brothers to support her, found it
682 impossible either to retaliate or to remain under the eye of the
754 "killer," so she moved to a distant part of the community.

578 More often, breaking interaction is used as a penalizing
627 strategy in less serious conflicts. For example, a daughter-in-law living in her husband's paternal household complained that her father-in-law scolded her when he was drunk and, in order to reduce her vulnerability, left the house and returned to live with her own family. Sometimes, in such a case, the husband will attempt to make restitution in response to the penalty and the conflict will be resolved. Another case, mentioned in text earlier, is that of Aurelia Ramirez and her unwelcome house guest; she appealed to the young man's father-in-law and had him removed from her house. The penalizing nature of this strategy is illustrated in the text which followed (also cited above); the conflict remained "active" in the relationship between Aurelia and the young man in that he returned to threaten her
[692] with witchcraft. Aurelia's next move is instructive; still feel-
[754] ing vulnerable, she sought the judgment of the court. However, this being a case of threat of witchcraft, the court refused to rule. She describes her rebuff as follows:

[539] KIK' Z'IN KALBE LO*L SME*L NEAL, KOMO PRESIDENTE.

I went out to speak to his father-in-law, since he is president.

578
627 MALA TUTA YAL, MALA TUTA SLOK'ES, YU*N HO*N LA HA HLE HK'OP,
539 HO*N LA PIS TYTA KALTLAN LA.

[He said] that he isn't saying anything, that he isn't taking anything, that I'm lying, that I'm the one who's saying it all.

273* In general, persisting conflicts arising from drunken
578 behavior are relatively infrequent among highly relational role pairs--people who live in the same household and/or are tied to each other by extensive obligations, such as parent-child, sibling-sibling, husband-wife, parent-in-law-child-in-law. In this role set, drunken behavior tends to be discounted or excused on later apology by the offender. When persisting conflicts occur, they are usually handled by means of restitutive strategies employed within the family and do not reach the community court. On the other hand, persisting conflicts based on drunken behavior among lowly relational pairs--people whose obligations toward each other are relatively few, such as siblings-in-law, neighbors, persons of opposite barrios (in descending order)--are fairly common. Indeed, all of the fighting and much of the murder and witchcraft in this role set involve drunkenness. Here there is perhaps no basis for discounting drunken behavior or less
[692] opportunity to make apologies. In any case, these conflicts tend to be taken to the community court--the only authority which both parties recognize--for a restitutive outcome when only injury is involved, and they tend to be handled with severe penaliz-

273* ing strategies outside the court (murder or threat of murder)
578
[692] when the jeopardy involves a death.

Patterns of drinking in the expression of and the resolution of conflict

Two sets of circumstances in which drinking occurs in the course of the settlement of conflict can be distinguished. First, there are those circumstances in which conflict is to be bound; that is, reduced as the basis for further inference and action. The second set of circumstances is that in which the conflict is to be escalated; that is, in which individuals are going to engage in aggressive acts in order to reduce their per-
273* ceived state of jeopardy. We will exemplify the first set of
578 circumstances by discussing the role of aguardiente in the settlement of cases in court. We will exemplify the second set of circumstances by discussing the role of alcohol in the performances which lead to anonymous assassination in that circumstance where consensus is that the man to be murdered is a witch.

273* The settlement of conflict in court
695

The process of settling conflicts under the direction of the ayuntamiento is mutually exclusive with required or mandatory drinking performances. However, once the conflict has been settled, the interaction between the members of the ayuntamiento and some, if not all, of the parties of the dis-

273* 695 tional informal drinking segments may follow, but they will not necessarily take place on the cabildo porch, and the group may break up, so that drinking is simultaneously going on in two or three settings. All informal drinking rules hold from then on. The normal drinking performance following dispute settlement includes ceremonial drinking plus informal drinking segments which lead to drunkenness. The probability of this is expressed in text where an elder warns the wives of town officers that their husbands will sometimes return home drunk (see Chapter V for citation of text).

The escalation of conflict

273* 578 731 In the case where conflict is to be "settled" by increasing the jeopardy of the other party, aguardiente is supplied by the individuals who are interested in escalating the conflict. The aguardiente is supplied during the time when the conflict is 273* "settled" rather than afterwards. Such a case is described in 578 731 text as follows:

539

K'ALAL LIHK K'OP E YUN SKA CAMEL SARANPIA YUN BAYAL XCAM *ALALETIK.

The fighting began because many children were dying of measles.

HA* SLIHKIL K'OP *ABI HTIHK' WINIKETIK LA SNOP SK'OPIK, YUN LA *OCEM CAMEL TA TEHKLUM.

The action began in the beginning because a group of men got together to talk about who had put the illness in town.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* HA * HIC LIHK SZOB SPISIL WINIKETIK TA TEHKLUM.
578
731 In this manner all the men in town began to get together.
539

HA* PRIMERA ZOBAWAN MAC'A TE SK'OKIK TA MUKAHEL E.

The first men to get together were those who had been to the funeral [of a boy who had died of measles].

HA* HIC LIHK K'OP *ABI LA YALIK TE YUN *AY MAC'A YOZES E CAMEL TA TEHKLUM.

In this way the action began, and they said that someone had put the illness in the town.

HA*LA YUN HIC BAYAL YA XCAM *ALALETIK.

And for this reason many children died.

HAYAN HIC LA SZOB SBA SPISIL WINIKETIK YUN CAMEL I.

Because of this, all the men got together, because of the illness.

TA SKA TRAWO LIHK YALIK HA* HIC LIHK SZOB SBAIK.

Because of the aguardiente they began to talk, and thus they began to get together.

LIHK YALIK YUN *AY SWINKLEL HAYUN HIC MUK'UB YUNIK HAL K'OP I.

They began to say that the illness had an owner and for this reason the excitement increased.

LIHK YUC'IK TRAWO YUN HIC *AY SPERSIK *A MAYUK XIWEL TA K'OP *A.

They began to drink aguardiente so that they would be strong, so that they would not be afraid to speak.

HAYUN NAL YA XKIXINTES SBAIK TA TRAWO YUN MILAWAN E.

For this reason, first they warm themselves with aguardiente in order to kill a man.

273*
• 578 YUN PLETO HA* HIC MAYUK XIWEL *A.
731
539 In order to fight without being afraid.

753 In conjunction with collateral evidence, this text provides support for the following points. One of the standing beliefs in Aguacatenango is that sickness of god /XCAMEL YU*UN TYOS/ is essentially curable. Measles is classified as such a [754] sickness. When the children die in a measles epidemic, some "witch" must be laying on further illness components which cause the death. One mode of reducing the witchcraft component in the illness is to kill the witch or witches.

754 755 The problem of determining who the witch(es) may be in such a case as this is very difficult. The well-defined and formally correct mode is to call together several of the curers, have them pulse the patient, hear their announcement that the sick person is suffering from witchcraft and insist that they name the witch or witches. The curers are likely to go as far as to indicate that a witchcraft component is involved in the illness, but they most often are unwilling to name an individual, as their name becomes associated with their testimony and the alleged witch and his kinsmen are likely to impose severe 754 penalties on the curer. The search for the witch, then, must go on, under the force of standing beliefs as follows: Individuals in the community may be assigned a witchcraft potential on the basis of a variety of evidence. In this case the text

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539 HA*YU*N MA HNA* MAC'A LAH HAK' NAL C'OHBIL CAMEL I.

For this reason, it isn't known who did the witchcraft.

273* One further reason for drinking in such a situation in-
578
672 volves the belief of Aguacatenangueros that individuals who are drunk must be excused for an act they commit. Thus, the individual who is about to increase the probability that some other members of the community will come into conflict with him (i.e., the immediate family of the witch) becomes drunk, and is thus not responsible for his acts. Acts performed while drunk express less clearly the intent of the actor than similar acts performed while sober.

In the case of drinking performances associated with acts of violence, the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking contrast is not well defined. The persons who most desire that the sanctioning acts be performed supply the aguardiente. They continue to supply aguardiente until their ends have been achieved. The ceremonial drinking segment is determined temporally by the vagaries of events. It may be short or long. It is probably not followed by an informal drinking segment. In fact, it more probably is preceded by either an informal drinking segment or, for that matter, a ceremonial drinking segment. The necessities of the situation override the ceremonial aspects of the performances.

273*
182 Drinking performances are associated with risky forms of

273* formal drinking pattern. These limits may be expressed in terms
571
[885] of the necessity to drink under those circumstances when one is a member of a group which is engaging in a ceremonial drinking sequence. Every male is a member of several such groups. Under most conditions the ceremonial drinking segment leads to deep drunkenness. Under most conditions the ceremonial drinking segment is followed by an informal drinking segment. Informal drinking segments also lead to deep drunkenness. Following the participation in such segments, a man probably recuperates for a day before he returns to his regular daily routines. Hence a typical drinking performance may be expressed as ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking + recuperating period.

273* The ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking pattern is,
527
623 as we have seen, an essential component of many recurring per-
578
755 formances in Aguacatenango. We have described the role of drinking in the celebration of family and community holidays, the certification of civil authority, the resolution of conflict, and the etiology as well as the treatment of illness. The indispensability of drinking to such performances is suggested in the following exchange between the ayuntamiento which is retiring and the ayuntamiento which is entering office (as reported by Juan Perez).

It is considered much safer to drink in a bar on one's own side, but those men who pride themselves on being widely respected brag that they can drink on either side without becoming involved in a fight. When people must pass to the other side of town, they prefer walking on the Pan-American Highway, a socially neutral network, to passing through the streets of the opposite division, where their presence arouses curiosity and comments, such as "He must be looking for a lover!"

The colonias. The six colonias (Table 1) are populations of Indians who have moved from the center to take advantage of the lands granted under the ejido program of 1937 and "foreign Indians" who were formerly workers on the expropriated plantations. The Indians distinguish the close-lying settlements, or *barrios,* of Yetawitz, Pathuitz, B'očib'al, and Te'tikil from the remaining colonias listed in the census (Table 1). The populations of the barrios are more closely identified with the center since they are closer to it and there is a higher proportion of migrants from the parent group. They are linked to the side of the dual division to which they are most closely situated. Marriages can be contracted between members of the two settlements, and house lots can be acquired by residents of the town in the barrio with which they are associated. An exception was made to the association on the basis of proximity in the case of Te'tikil, which lies nearer to Alannantik but was linked with Ahk'ölnantik in order to balance the population ratios at the time of its settlement. Police are appointed from these colonias and serve in the local *cabildo,* or town hall, along with other police from the center. The colonias of San Vicente and San Caralampio are farther away, and the rural judge and police appointed to these populations appear only once a week and during ceremonies in the local cabildo. The foreign Indians of San Vicente, who migrated from Chanal, and of Yetawitz, who came from Huistán to work in the finca of San Nicolás before acquiring ejido lands, are discriminated against in the local political organization. Their representatives never reach the high positions of president and first or second judge.

Ranchos and rancherías. The populations of these small settlements have only the most formal kind of social, economic, and political

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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231 cattle was seized by bandits or soldiers. It is "new" only in the size of the
233 holdings, which have expanded from ownership of one or two head per household, primarily useful as draft animals, to a herd as large as two hundred head belonging to the wealthiest man in town. Cattle rearing is now a capital investment for resale as well as for draft animals in plow agriculture.

233 The increasing herds have stimulated competition for community re-
311 sources. The control of communal grazing and waterhole rights is exer-
312 cised through the traditional dual division of the town, with rights to pas-
621 ture allocated on the basis of residence in the upper or lower barrio of the
575 center. An association of cattle owners has developed in each of the sections, and the leaders of each association call together all members to clean the water holes and repair the troughs. A recent project of the cattle association of the upper section has been the erection of a large cross at the
[789] water hole. The water had dried up the year before, and the installation of the cross was an attempt to ensure a continuous supply of water in the fu-
[796] ture. The priest blessed the cross in the dedication, and the fiscal and prayer-reciters adorn it each year on May 3, the Day of the Cross in the old Catholic calendar, along with other crosses of the village.

233 Cattle grazing is the source of much of the conflict in the town. The cat-
621 tle roam freely in the woods and communal pasture lands, and many are
578 lost or stolen. The cattle association has not fenced in the pasture in order
575 to control it. Their tactics have been punitive; they have raised funds from
627 among members to hire men to kill suspected cattle thieves. In the last twenty years, six men have been killed as cattle thieves, and at least three of those were known to be killed by men hired by the association, which then paid the court fines to set the killers free. The leader of one of the cattle associations was killed after an incident in which he fined a man who had failed to assist in cleaning the water holes. The fine of 2 pesos per head of cattle represented a large fee for the man, who had sixty head. He refused to pay more than half, since he said he had not been notified.
[754] When his daughter later died of illness, he blamed her death on witchcraft exercised by the cattle association leader, and later killed him.

231 Cattle are only minimally exploited as a resource. The cattle are not
434 butchered locally since there is not a large enough market, but are sold to

The truck is the focus of the desire for self-improvement, for fighting the Ladino monopoly of the road, for the antagonisms and factional strife and conflict within the community. When they bought the truck, the Indians hired a Ladino in the neighboring town as chauffeur. One of the conditions of his employment was that he would teach his Indian assistant to drive. The Ladino tried to avoid doing this since he knew it would be the end of his job. But the Indian assistant learned by observation and is now operating the truck with an Indian assistant.

Accounts of the cost and profit of the truck operation indicated a running loss. A new tarpaulin cost 1,200 pesos; there were repairs and bribes to the highway patrol. But the truck was kept in operation because the major shareholders were impressed with the power it gave them. "They [their enemies, the members of the other co-operative owned by the Ladino along with twenty members of the community] are afraid of us because of the truck," one said, and added that it was better than having a *swayohel,* the animal spirit that gives power to the curers. At the time of my last visit in 1967 the truck was making a profit. The owners were thinking of selling it and replacing it with a five-ton model.

Structural realignment has been most marked in the organization of the truck-owning cooperatives. Membership cuts across the dual division for both of the truck-owning cooperatives. The cooperative is the most important factor in local political elections (Chapter 9). The truck has become both the symbol of power and the basis for the contest for power between the factions within the community.

Contraband liquor. The number of distillers has grown in the last ten years from five to forty. The distillation process was learned by Indians from Ladinos in neighboring towns fifteen years ago. There has been no local innovation in the basic process, but a new item, used in distillation, has been introduced into pottery production, a funnel decorated in the traditional manner of the water jars and other vessels. The capital investment in the equipment for operating the still is put up by individuals or partnerships of relatives. The still is rented to people who have charge of the celebration for a saint's day, or who are involved in courtship.

Private enterprise is the favored form of organization of the distillers be-

The links between members of the me?iltatil of a couple united in marriage are reinforced if another marriage occurs between the two households. While this does not provide a basis for prescribed or preferred mating, those who have such exchanges say they prefer it because the negotiations in the ĉ'om proceed more amicably, especially in the earlier stage. 571 58 608

Solidarity of the group is reinforced when the me?iltatil are called upon to help settle conflicts that arise in the marriage. The household review of marital conflict requires a formal gathering of all the members of the betrothal party who represented both the husband and the wife. Parents of the couple state the evidence and recite the events which led up to the conflict. The husband or wife may interject, speaking in their own defense. The elders suggest how the person judged guilty (usually the man) ought to behave and what his reponsibilities are. A transcription of one such case is included in Appendix 1A. This concerns a couple who had separated two years after the marriage. The following statement of the padrino of the wedding ceremony, speaking in lieu of the leader of the ĉ'om who could not be present, shows the techniques they use to adjust relations: 593 578 608 571 621

Now he [the husband] wants to change for the better. You [speaking to the husband] ought not to drink. It is better to eat meat and vegetables and find corn and beans for your wife and child. Now we have arranged it, and you can take your wife and child to your house.

A successful outcome depends on all people in the dispute accepting the judgment of the elders. If this cannot be achieved, the abused partner seeks redress in the courts. Women are most frequently the plaintiffs. The plaintiff is supported by her parents who appear with her in court and help argue her case. The defendant may appear with his parents, if they support him, but very often they feel shame and do not. 593 578 608 571 692

In court cases, two judges hear the evidence and they, along with the president and other civil officials deliver the verdict. The quality of interpersonal relations does not differ much from that which one finds in the household review, as can be seen in comparing the court review included in Appendix 1B with the household review. In the former case, the woman's wrath had been aroused by her husband occasionally returning to his first wife, and by his failure to give her money for expenses. Since he

593 worked in the sawmill, he was not as willing to hand over his wages to
578 his wife as is the farmer, who according to established custom gives the
608 proceeds from the sale of his crop to his wife. The judges advise the man
571 to stay sober, adding, "If you want a woman, you ought to support her.
692 You shouldn't fight." They entreat the wife to return to her husband's house "and make a fire there." They refuse to release the marriage license, and the woman's father reluctantly agrees. He has the last word, warning the husband: "The day after tomorrow, don't come back here with a couple more children and say, 'I don't want you; go back to your mother's house.' You are lucky to have a wife. If you don't have a wife, you go get drunk every day. But with a wife, life is good. She will give you coffee and corn to eat. Don't go on fighting whether drunk or sober. Both my compadres [referring to the judges] have advised you."

755 The curing ceremony as a means of adjusting interpersonal conflict is
608 discussed at greater length in the following chapter. Padrinos of baptism,
571 compadres, and other members of the patient's me?iltatil attend, both to
578 see that the curer is performing his duties properly and to lend spiritual
182 support. Like the household and court review of conflict, it permits the open airing of grievances and relies on the authority of elders. Drinking
[273] liquor is a means of restoring good feelings, either as a follow-up to the review of court cases or as a continuous measure of goodwill in curing.

182 The responsibility of the me?iltatil for repairing personal relationships
571 in the family underwrites the importance of this institution in the commu-
608 nity. In these institutionalized means of settling conflict the society recog-
578 nizes the inevitability of friction in intimate relations and draws upon the resources of personnel and techniques developed in the life crisis rituals.

182 The me?iltatil are the guardians of individuals. The security that they
156 provide depends upon the individual conforming to the group norms.
608 They are a personal reference group maintaining customary ways of be-
571 having. I shall show in the following chapters how they are linked as the inner core to a system of guardianship provided by curers within each side of the dual division and by civil authorities at the community-wide level.

182 These are the agents who, by providing models of how the progenitors
608 behaved and by channeling responses to social change, maintain the sense
571 of equilibrium and the illusion of changelessness. The sense of continuity

Chapter 6

Curing and the Curers

Sickness is a sign of upset relations between the spirits or people and those of relatives, neighbors, or places. In the curing ritual, the curers not only treat the disease, but also try to bring about spiritual readjustment by dramatizing the ill effects of animosity. Because they claim to be able to counteract witchcraft, the curers exercise a great deal of power. This power is limited by institutional requirements controlling entry into the profession and exercise of their skill and knowledge. The breakdown in the authority of elder curers during my study of the community, and their attempts to reinstate themselves, made explicit some of the structural principles of the institution.

The Curing Hierarchy

Recruitment into the hierarchy. Until the 1950s, each side of the dual division had an age-ranked order of curers and recognized the leadership of a single elder, called *statal ?u?ul.* The older, more experienced curers, called the *b'anḳilal,* or elder brothers, had authority over the novice curers, called the *?ihtz'inal,* or younger brothers. With the breakdown of the hierarchy during my stay, this distinction was becoming less clear. In 1964 there were seven curers in Alannantik and six in Ahk'olnantik; on a return visit I made in 1967, their numbers had been reduced by homicide and exile to five in Alannantik and five in Ahk'olnantik.

Entry into the profession occurs during an epidemic when the civil authority calls upon the curers to gather in the town hall to determine who is bringing the "heat" that causes death from disease. The curers decide whether there are any promising young men who have the third soul, swayohel, which gives them the ability to cure. If a young man is deemed

756 159 562 *Andrea told them to go and eat the mulberries and she would see what kind of an animal it was. The animal said, "Come here." But when they got there, there was no animal.*

In two or four days, people asked them, "What kind of an animal did you see?"

"It was a dog that we saw. Not a real dog, but the soul of the dead Fernanda. Andrea caught it," the girls said.

"Did you truly see where it was?" the people asked.

"I caught it," said Andrea.

"Why did you catch it," the girls asked.

"I caught it because it is a pity it died. Since there is no one to take it, I grabbed it because it made me sad that she [Fernanda] died."

Now Andrea is a me? u?ul [woman curer]. She fights sickness because she has this extra soul.

756 Ordinarily, soul-catching is dangerous since it is sezure of power which has not been granted at birth by the me?iltatil. Andrea, however, has never been accused of doing harm, and people emphasize that she did it out of sympathy for her dead kinswoman.

756 578 [754] There is some sentiment that curers should not enter too young into the curing profession. If they do, they should be extremely deferential to the elder curers, and not claim greater powers. The informant quoted above concerning the initiation of her husband into the curing profession maintains that the older curers did not support her husband when he was accused as a witch because of jealousy of his youth.

159 756 578 683 *My husband was very young when he entered curing. He had gone to cure in the house of a man living near Domingo [his enemy]. Domingo saw him come out drunk. He had a companion, Lorenzo. About eight people gathered. They put a nail in his jaws. He lived three nights. He told me who did it. I went to the cabildo with my father. They got many witnesses to deny they had been near. It was during the fiesta of Carnival.*

My father and I spoke with the authorities in Las Casas. But nothing was done. I did not know how to speak well in Spanish; I went and spoke to Domingo. He told me, "It was your husband's own fault."

"What crime did he have?" I asked.

"He looked for trouble!" Domingo replied.
I said, "You killed my husband!"
He said, "It was not I! It was not I!"
It doesn't serve to enter curing early. People will kill you right away. Another young man wanted to enter. The curers did not permit him since they said he was a witch. People heard he was a witch, and they killed him. He was the same age as my husband [*about twenty-seven*].

The curers who have survived to an old age were introduced into the profession by an elder relative. They choose their clients carefully, refusing to cure a man who is on the point of death, and remaining within their own section of the dual division. These rules of survival are ignored by some of the younger men who wish to impress their elders with their powers.

The changing image of the curers. The curers of today are unfavorably compared with those of the past who used their power for good. The prototype of the old curer was the fearful Tatik Čaʾuk, Lord of the Lightning, possibly a local manifestation of the Maya god Chac.[2] The dialectic of power is exemplified in his control over beneficial and destructive forces. His beneficence is demonstrated in his ability to bring rain to crops, while his vengeance is revealed in lightning bolts which can kill people and destroy houses. Anyone who is struck by lightning is believed to have had some sin for which the Tatik Čaʾuk has punished him. His destructive force is equated with a rifle—called "the elder brother of the Lord of Lightning"—and with the "heat" which brings death in illnesses. His habitation is believed to be the Cave of the Star where the heat which causes epidemics is found.

The curers were intermediaries for the Tatik Čaʾuk in their control over both destructive and beneficial forces. Formerly, the swayohel of the curers patrolled the streets of the town to prevent the entry of evildoers bringing heat. It is in this role that they are referred to as me'iltatil. If an epidemic occurred, the two leading curers from each side of the town con-

2. In other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities, the god Čaʾuk is named as the chief figure from pre-Conquest theology (Hermitte 1964, Holland 1963:93).

159 756 *"You won't be afraid if I show it?" Nicolás asked. He then flipped his kotonču four times and a black bull appeared. It disappeared, and they drank some more. Nicolás made the bull appear again.*

Nicolás was ejido commissioner when I was president. We began to talk one day in the cabildo. "Who is the strongest of all the curers?" we asked. One said that now it was the elder brother Nicolás.

Čiko turned to Nico and said, "Tell us who is the strongest of all who know curing." Nico replied, "Ah, you want to hear. There is no one who is strong as the dead Mamal Komesil [elder Gomez] and I." Čiko said, "Mam D. is good."

"Less so," said Nico. "One time we tested it. I took out a sheep and a black dog. He [D.] took out a goat and a pig, and we ordered the animals to run. And I saw that the swayohel of D. could not run. Mine ran well, and his couldn't arrive before mine. It was then that I saw he was not as strong."

541 756 Formerly, when bullfights were held in the town as a feature of the fiesta of Santiago, curers took the great risk of riding the backs of the bulls to demonstrate their bravery. The fight became a symbolic defiance of culturally instilled fears. The fights are organized in this fashion: one man mounts the bull which has no saddle, bridle, or grip of any kind. His feet are tied under the belly of the bull, which increases the hazard if he is thrown since he can easily be dragged under the hooves of the bull. A man stands with a cape before the bull, trying to unseat his opponent. The curer Minko regularly entered the fights as a rider. He drank copiously before mounting the bull. He himself would try to goad the bull into jumping by leaning backward and biting its tail or kicking its sides. People rated even more highly than Minko's performance that of another curer, Bon, who, they said, never even shook when he climbed onto the bull as did Minko. They realized that Minko needed the liquor to face the threat of being crushed by the hooves of the bull, but that Bon was beyond fear. In these displays of fearlessness, some of the curers enjoy a sense of power and freedom from the inhibitions conditioning the behavior of ordinary men.

756 178 578 Competition and the assertion of power among the younger curers is

symptomatic of the present breakdown in the hierarchical controls which formerly maintained the authority of elder curers. Informants say that in the old days there was no such competition, and the leadership of the elder curers was unchallenged.

Another clue to the personality of the curer can be seen in the statement of a young curer, who expressed in a kind of stream-of-consciousness style the fears and worries that plague him. After responding to the questioning about what he did when he cured, he proceeded to talk of his own concerns as he cured patients:

And when I arrive at Pahaltón [curing spring], I set aside my hat and blanket so that they do not get burned. If a dog should come and chew my sandals or if I should leave them outside the house where I am curing and a house rat chews them, then it will cost me thirty pesos to buy a new pair. When I come out late at night, a cat spirit sometimes appears on the road, and I throw a stone at it so it will not carry off my spirit; or a dog comes and I must beat him with my hand because I have no machete with me, or I must throw a broken bottle at the devil. When I get home, I take off my jacket and hat and go to sleep. My woman must tie up the sandals with a string on the rafters so that the rat will not eat them. Then it is the woman's fault if the devil dog gets them.

Late at night the spirits of the curers come to play and go at cock's crow. And at two o'clock the spirit of a sheep comes out with the devil, and these spirits do not go to sleep in their house until dawn. And if they [the curers' spirits] arrive in bed drunk and take off their huaraches and bother their wife she will put them in prison and then they have to pay a fine of two liters of the "gift" [liquor] and one handful of cigarettes. If their woman leaves the curers and they come out of prison, then if they do the same thing again, they send then to Santo Domingo. In prison they make net bags and if they have a wife, she goes and gives them tortillas and coffee. If their wife or father and mother help and give money, then they can pay for a lawyer and get out. Or if they have a daughter, then they receive the gift of a suitor and eat the bread.[3] *Later there will come the chicken and sweet liquor and trago, and then she will marry. Later*

3. "Eating the bread" signifies that the betrothal negotiations are accepted.

756 156 *they will go to the church wedding. The parents of the couple embrace the godparents. They go dance in the house.*

The paranoic fantasies of this young curer, a man in his early thirties, characterize the world of fears, both real and demonic, which the curers sometimes manipulate and by which they are sometimes victimized. The 756 young curers in their thirties and forties tend to have more domestic dis- 156 putes than most men in town. Emilio, a man in his forties who has been 593 trying to assert his stature as leading curer of Alannantik since his prede- • 578 cessor was killed for witchcraft, was deserted by his wife. She fled to a neighbor's house. In a drunken rage, he tried to burn it to the ground. When his attempt failed, he threatened to bring "heat" from the Cave of the Star to cause an epidemic after which, he said, he would "eat the souls 756 of the children by the dozen." In the line of duty, curers are often re- 273 quired to get drunk, and drunkenness loosens the cautions which control 156 behavior. Gloating in the power of their swayoheles, there seems to be no limit to the threats or acts they commit. While drinking has probably al- [154] ways been part of curing ceremonies, the behavior noted in the cases described seems to be a response to the growing insecurity on the part of the curers about their status.

756 The curer reveals in his speech and acts the motivation of power. In 156 Tzoʔontahal, power means freedom from one's own fears as well as from the human and supernatural sanctions imposed on those who ignore the norms governing behavior. The proof of his power lies in the ability to inspire fear in others. For this reason, the curer brags of the evil deeds he has committed or is capable of doing, even though this may bring about his own destruction.

Curing Behavior

756 In their role as "doctors" for the individual patient, curers are referred [192] to as *ʔuʔul* and are addressed with the honorific title *tatin*. Despite the de- [554] clining belief in their guardianship function, there has been a retention of [178] belief in their power to overcome witchcraft. Only the curer, because he possesses a swayohel, can deal with illness caused by witchcraft. Even if

755 753 593 182 578 Sometimes a colicky baby may become the focus of a curing ceremony designed to "cure" the conflict between husband and wife. In one case, the parents of a healthy young wife separated from her husband staged a curing ceremony to dramatize her marital plight to the in-laws.

178 756 608 754 [627] The breakdown of the curing hierarchy and the recruitment procedures which were maintained by the elder leaders (see Chapter 10) has led to a reevaluation of the role of the curers in the community. They have lost their position as me'iltatil representing the ancestors who guard over the community. Curers are increasingly being accused of sorcery, and over ten of them have been killed in the past decade as witches (Nash, J. 1967). Paradoxically, it is the belief in their evil power which leads to their persisting role in the society. Clients feel that the more evil the curer is, the more able he is to combat evil. In a community dominated by belief in witchcraft, they are both feared and valued for their ability to control it. From a position as arbiters of morality, they have become the chief targets as deviants from the moral code. Despite the loss of confidence in curers as guardians, they are still called upon to fight the evil of witchcraft, and nearly every day a ritual is performed. The regimen of the curing ritual has not been upset by the undermining of the curers' position. Tied to a diagnostic system emphasizing the state of the patient's social relations, the same procedures are carried out even when modern medicines are used. [755] [178]

753 156 In curing practices, the Indian sees himself as the key figure in the drama of his own self-victimization. His illnesses come from within his own world, usually from within his family or close neighborhood. They are a mark of guilt for having excited the envy or hatred of associates. While the Indian is often portrayed in the role of passive victim to outside domination, in his own self-projection he sees himself dominated by powers within the community. Greater participation and equality in the wider society may in the future release him from these fear-provoking figures in his own environment.

Chapter 9

The Competition for Power

829 Changes in the organization of the civil and religious hierarchies since the
178 constitution of 1927 can be traced in a series of events remembered by
177 members of the community. Their selection of significant events and the interpretation they make of them give the best clues to their response to change. In the remembrance of things past people structure their world and project expectations for the future. Behavior in these events lacks the controls operating in the formal rituals of the officials—age-graded authority, hierarchy, and a code of behavior which conceals the open show of power. The strategies employed in these organizational changes reveal other rules or transformation of the old rules characterizing social interaction.

554 The structure of roles in the civil and religious hierarchies has remained
621 intact. What has changed are the bases for according prestige and author-
794 ity and allocating roles. The pivotal positions in which change is occurring
578 are the mediating roles between local and national power structures, spe-
177 cifically those of president and secretary in the civil authority and of fiscal
178 and priest in the religious authority.

The contest for power and "control of the town" has centered in five
[212] blocks of competition: (1) the opposition of new young leaders with skills
[191] in speaking Spanish, literacy, and knowledge of the idiom of behavior in
[156] the national culture to the established succession of an age-dominated authority system; (2) the challenge by the civil authority to the control of the curers who rely on power derived from possession of an animal spirit; (3) the struggle for political power among factions based on new economic enterprises; (4) the contest among local caciques for domination; and (5) the conflict among religious functionaries. The series of events in which these contests have crystallized and brought about a reorganization

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554 621 794

of political relations is summarized for each of these conflict areas. Most of the events recorded below are transcriptions of informants' statements given in Tzeltal. I have chosen this method to show how the people interpret incidents and how this leads to cognitive restructuring. 578 177 178 [128]

The Conflict among Civil Officials

In the period of consolidation since the revolution, the crucial issue in determining the allocation of power among local civil authorities has been that of incorporating men who have special abilities to deal with external authority without upsetting an age-ranked system. Prior to the 1950s these skills were rare—in 1920 only four young men could sign their names and read. The civil careers of two men, Ceferino, a native of the town, and Augustín, a revistido Indian from Huistán, illustrate the different courses taken by this new leadership in the post-revolutionary period of the 1930s. Ceferino was included in the given structure of power while Augustín used his skills in dealing with Ladinos to gain personal power. Ceferino was one of the first four men of the town to learn to read and write. The civil authorities recognized his potential usefulness in the town hall, and succeeded in incorporating him in an honorific but powerless position as scribe. He described his introduction into local government: 621 555 212 177 178 159 212 621

After I got out of school, the town saw that I knew how to write. Formerly there was no one who knew how to write. In the town hall the judges and president needed someone to write down the contributions and the payment for the government agents. Therefore, when the civil authority changed in the new year, they talked to my mother. As was the custom then, four regidores came to "raise" me, bringing a bottle of trago as a gift for my mother. She did not drink it alone. Together with the regidores we finished the trago. After finishing the trago, the first regidor began to speak to my mother in the pat?o?tan, saying, "I am going to bring one of your children, one of your offspring to the place where we look and where we see [reference to town hall]. We ask this favor because he knows how to write. Therefore the judges and the president ordered me to come and raise him and take out his soil, his mud, for this duty for this obligation. [624] [273]

622 or abused by leaders from outside the community. Stories by other infor-
661 mants indicate that Augustín took advantage of his power as president.
609 He was accused of charging high fines in court and pocketing the money. Finally a case against him was brought to the Ministerio Publico in the departmental capital. The denunciation is recounted by Ceferino, the scribe, who replaced him as president:

159 *The court's decision was that Augustín had to return the three hundred*
622 *and fifty pesos that he had forced out of Juan in the land case. Augustín*
661 *claimed that it was difficult for him to pay the fine. He said he would pay*
609 *it in installments. Juan wanted it right away. After a month, the money*
[692] *still was not handed over. I spoke to the Ministerio Publico who told Augustín to sell his cattle. The pueblo wanted to seize the cattle. Augustín got frightened, and said he would sell his cattle. He sold them. After this he never returned to work in the pueblo.*

There were no killings in this affair. Eight days after he gave the money, Augustín came to the town hall with a pistol. I noticed it and said, "Better come in an register this pistol." He ignored this and spoke to the judge for a while.

I told a policeman, "Go get the pistol and register it." The policeman was afraid. I asked him, "Why are you afraid?" He said, "I am afraid." I said, "You have turned into a woman."

The policeman seized Augustín's arms. I went behind and took the pistol out of his hand. Augustín said, "Why are you taking my pistol? I have committed no crime."

I replied, "You came to bother the people here." I took away the pistol.

Augustín also knew how to wear a watch. His son bought it from a thief for one hundred and twenty-five pesos. We also took his watch because it was stolen. I told him, "Go look for work and earn money. The Ministerio Publico has given orders that you cannot continue working here. You cannot rob here any more."

He went away for two months, and then came back to get his things and moved to Teopisca.

621 Despite this successful denunciation, Augustín's son, Juan, tried to "get
609 control of the town." He and the other Huistecans of the barrio of Yeta-
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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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witz had formed a small *cacicazgo* (supporters of a cacique) of armed men. Because of their influence with departmental officials since the land grant, they had secured an order to reassign lots in the center, putting one family from Yetawitz in each block. The reaction of the townspeople to this "invasion" of barrio Indians was immediate and conclusive, as Ceferino's account reveals:

The owners of the house lots here objected to having their lots seized. They went to a lawyer in San Cristóbal, and they also had the help of the professor here. He was a good professor. We walked with the professor. The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles. The people from Yetawitz went to another lawyer in San Cristóbal. They got an order that the people of the pueblo would have to admit the people of Yetawitz. We returned to the lawyer. He asked where these people were from. We said they were from Huistán. They were well armed. Because of this, we went to take over their arms.

When we arrived at their house, Juan asked, "What are you here for?"

We answered, "We came to get your rifles."

They refused to give them up, but we seized their property. We tied up the men and carried them up to the pueblo. We dragged them like dogs up to the jail and put them in.

They asked, "Why are you putting us in jail?" and we answered, "Tomorrow we will arrange the case."

Four police stayed there. The next morning I came to see them. They had planned to go to Las Casas, but we ordered the saddles taken off the horses that were in readiness. We tried them, and they no longer bothered the pueblo.

The Huistecan's attempt to seize power reveals several significant factors in the genesis of cummunity political institutions. In the 1930s in Chiapas, the land reform act of 1927 was taking effect. Translation of law into reality in the local community required the drive and leadership of the Indians themselves. Literacy and Spanish-speaking skills were of even greater importance than before. The Indians of the center who had not been forced to work in the fincas and who had sufficient resources to resist contact with the outside economy were not in a position to take a leader-

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Eight men of Alannantik wanted the interim president, Simón to remain as president. But the people of Ahk'olnantik did not want him to remain as president. The townspeople began to talk, saying, "Why should he remain as president since he stole twenty bulls? We don't want him. Let us get another president. We shall walk with Ceferino." 159 621 754 682

They wanted me for president since I was first regidor. It is for this reason that I entered as president, but I didn't think that I would be able to stay on as president. Simón received an order from the [state] government that he should return as president. He came with soldiers, and when they took me out of office, the lieutenant said to Simón, "Now you enter."

And so I gave over the archives and seals and everything in the presidency to Simón, and I left the presidency. And the people saw that it was the order of the government, and they did not say anything. The town remained silent.

The incident is given as it was related to me in Tzeltal. I have sorted out the steps in which the conflict developed in order to clarify its meaning.

1. The traditional checks and balance system of the civil authority over the curers was initially upset by the entry of a leading curer into the post of president.

2. When he committed a murder while in office, the judges seized control and had him put in prison. [682] [692]

3. His replacement by the síndico who was from the same side of the dual division, aroused the opposition of the people of the opposite side, Ahk'olmantik, who believed that the epidemic, which followed the president's removal from power, was caused by the curers of Alannantik under the direction of the president who was in jail. [624] [731] [754]

4. The leaders of the revolt in Ahk'olnantik chose as their replacement the first regidor, Ceferino, who was from their side. [624]

5. Leaders from Alannantik rejected this replacement and were able to get official backing from the state government to replace their representative.

The process illustrates the way in which a conflict, precipitated by a clash between civil authorities and the curers, was cast into the idiom of struc- 621 756 578

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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port. At his death, he had no successor, and "the town remained in peace." 665

In this first political contest, the conflict was interpreted as opposition between the dual divisions. Factional disputes and the sense of political responsibility and control were contained within these parameters, and any conflict was conceived of as a threat to territorial balancing mechanisms. 621 [829] [578]

The new factions that have developed since 1963 are tied to economic rather than territorial competition. In 1960 the first truck-owning cooperative was organized under the leadership of the former Ladino secretary. The twenty shareholders of the town had only a small amount of capital in the truck, and the controlling interest was in the hands of the secretary's wife. The cooperative was merely a device to gain business in carrying pottery and wheat from the town to the market centers. In 1963 a new truck-owning cooperative was organized by local Indians. The two brothers, Santiago and José, secured capital to buy the truck from thirty residents of the town without any assistance from outside. The shareholders of the new cooperative came from both sides of the dual division, and from the outlying barrios. 621 474 471 177 178 494

When the leaders of the new cooperative tried to get permits and certificates to license the car and the operator, they were refused by the town president who was a shareholder of the first cooperative. The Indians then hired a Ladino truck driver from the neighboring town, and the son of one of the shareholders served as assistant. They realized that it was necessary to get control of the local political positions in order to extend their operations. With the help of the schoolteacher, they got eighty-one signatures on the petition for the PRI candicacy of one of the brothers, José, in the presidential nomination of 1964. He was opposed by a ladinoized Indian living in one of the barrios who was backed by the Ladino secretary who was leader of the competing trucking cooperative. The opponent did not have a chance of winning, as the leaders of the new cooperative pointed out, because of two strikes against him: he was not a resident of the center and he had only PAN backing. The Indians are aware that nothing can be gained politically by a PAN-backed president since PRI is now the party in control of regional and national offices. 474 621 666

After José's election, the Indian truck driver was able to get a driving license. With the help of the schoolmaster, the cooperative was able to get 621 474 493

159 622 177 178 partners. He sold a few shares of a truck he and his family owned to Indians, but he retained the controlling interest. His wife was reputed to be [454] a witch, and was an active curer, combining old and new treatments of ill- [754] nesses. [756]

His position was challenged in the 1960s by the Ladino schoolmaster, 159 who had been remarkably unsuccessful from his arrival in 1953 until that 875 time in gaining personal power and influence. His intercession in a local 177 homicide case involving a father's murder of his son outraged the towns- 178 people, some of whom threatened to kill him. His attempts to have water 563 installed aroused the curers against him since they were accustomed to 578 bathing their patients at the source of the spring from which they were de- [312] barred when the plumbing was installed. His demands that children [756] within the legal age limit should not only attend school but should be pro- [871] hibited from marrying until they had completed their schooling caused [582] the anger of parents who wanted to give their daughters in an early and profitable marriage.

Gradually, however, the schoolmaster extended his own base of support. 159 He minimized his attack on local customs, adhering only to those laws af- 875 fecting the school population, over which he had a great deal of control. 177 Some of his support came from the orthodox Catholic members of the 178 community; he extended his control through compadre relationships with 563 over eighty members of the community. He showed movies which he ac- 557 quired from the United Nations and other educational film sources and [608] gave away medicines acquired from the health officials in the state capitol [546] who were his friends. From one of these sources of philanthropy he ac- [278] quired wool shawls which he gave to every woman in the town. [431]

The professor demanded no return from the townspeople other than their respect and admiration; he was a person who enjoyed commanding others and needed an arena in which to project his own personality. In his early years in the town, he had to satisfy this need by capturing stray tourists and plying them with soda pop or coffee. His first opportunity to gain [474] leadership in the local sphere came in 1963, when he supported the new truck-owning cooperative. He used the influence of contacts in the state capital, including compadres, friends, and relatives of his wife's family. He promoted the cooperative's attempt to gain the presidency. One of the first

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Conflict among Religious Functionaries

Conflict in the religious domain stems from the opposition of the traditional religious hierarchy and more recently that of the young leadership in the civil authority to the increasing power of the priest. In this conflict the fiscal is a middleman who often gets knocked by both sides. 578 794

The priest. The priest visits thirty other Indian communities of the department of San Cristóbal Las Casas in addition to Tzoʔontahal. In the fifteen years he has been working regularly in this town, he has gained increasing authority over the cofrades. He is assisted by two lay sisters who maintain the church and lead the evening prayers in his absence. He admits that, without them, his own work in the town would be more difficult because of the sexual jealousy of the townsmen. His relationship to the group of about forty *resadoras,* or female prayer-makers, who attend the evening prayers regularly and are the most vocal respondents in the mass, would be suspect without the presence of the lay sisters. 793 [794]

The priest tries to play the role of parish leader as well as spiritual leader. When medicine is available from missionary sources, he gives it to the sick. In his sermons, he advises people to use injections, which he makes available, against contagious diseases. He attempts to counsel the people, advising them not to kill, to steal, or to have illegal sexual affairs. In his role as pastor, the priest is influenced by missionary efforts of American Catholic organizations which have sent supplies to the area. [797] [278] [751] [797]

In recent years, the priest has challenged the authority of the head cofrade in activities occurring within and at the door of the church. The following incident, recounted by the son of the elder cofrade, marked a shift in control in these domains: 578 793 794 273

In 1961 the elder cofrade of Sacramento was drinking with the other mayordomos at the door of the church. The priest came out and demanded that they stop because this was the house of God. The elder replied that it was the custom of the pueblo, and he and the other men refused to leave. The priest went back into the church and returned with a gun in his hand. The mayordomos seized wood which they had gathered

578 793 794 273 *to cook their meal in the yard of the church. They threatened to beat the priest with the wood, and he retreated into the church. He later announced that he would not give mass, or weddings, or baptism. We did not mind that he did not give the mass or would not give weddings, but the people were frightened if he would not give baptism. The mayordomos had a meeting, and they agreed to give up drinking in the church if the priest would continue to give baptism, but they would no longer care for the pigs or bring wood for him without payment. We pay him fifteen* [465] *pesos for an ordinary mass and forty pesos for a singing mass, so he should pay us for help. The priest was in agreement with the mayordomos.*

[264] As a result of this edict, the drinking has stopped and the mayordomos no longer eat the common meal in the church yard. Drinking was an act linked to eating, since the round of liquor served before the meal was "to prepare the stomach," and the drink after the meal was "to wash down the food." The shift to the house of the cofrade was a ready alternative in this community where the household is a recognized ritual domain.

793 794 178 The priest's control over the church has extended to control over the donation boxes and the saints' images. He now receives the money donated to the saints and does not permit a public accounting of the funds. Because of this, the civil officials accuse him of stealing some of the money. A recent incident recounted below by one of the prayer-reciters led to even more severe censure:

793 776 626 578 178 *The bishop visited our church, and when he looked under the silk robes of the Virgin Santa Lucia he found a wooden dress covered with gold paint. He told the priest to have the cloth dress removed. The people were very upset by this since they are very proud of the dresses bought for the Virgin. One of the prayer-reciters dreamed that the Virgin appeared before her in tears, saying she did not want to appear nude in public. We [the group of prayer-reciters] went to see the bishop to demand that the Virgin should wear her dress in church and that the priest be sent out of the town. The bishop refused. He said the Virgin did not feel cold because she was just a statue. Ha! How could she not feel cold?*

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The issue of the Virgin's clothing has increased the attacks on the priest. These have been aired in public meetings which take place on Sunday. Opposition to the priest has shifted from the old cofrades to the young leadership of the pueblo, men who wish to extend internal control over the church as well as the town hall. They tried to enlist the fiscal's help in getting rid of the priest, but he refused to cooperate. The president's brother, who serves as town treasurer, recounts the following exchange he had with the priest:

I saw Padre Juan take money from the box when I was mayordomo in the church. All of us mayordomos went to talk with him. I asked him how much money was turned in during the fiesta.

"The madres [*lay sisters*] *know," he said, "I don't."*

He called them, and they said, "We haven't counted the money. Come tomorrow."

The priest was very angry that we asked for an account. Pablo [*the fiscal*] *was too afraid to talk with him. When we left the church, I told Pablo, "You are in charge of the church. Why didn't you demand an account of the money in front of the church? We never got an account."*

Then we began to fight. Padre Juan doesn't want to leave the town. He has it too good here. He has a good yard with many fruit trees and a nice house. The Ladinos in Teopisca don't let him stay in their convento overnight. They are sharp, those damned Ladinos! We pay the padre thirty pesos every Sunday. Before he lived here, we used to have good music and more firecrackers for fiestas. Now he wants to stop all this. He was the one who ordered that all the money be collected. We wanted to go buy a gross of firecrackers. He said, "Why do you want firecrackers? It is the mass that has value. The saints don't want firecrackers or music."

He is very smart, the padre. He wants to keep the money for himself. Now we just get two firecrackers each morning of the fiesta and two in the evening. In Teopisca, they fire dozens of firecrackers. Here what is left over from the contributions for the fiesta remains in the box, and he takes it.

I went to get new clothing for the saint. In Comitán they wanted two

793 794 *hundred and fifty pesos for a dress. The padre said I couldn't buy it there.* [578] *He told me to send for one in Mexico that cost five hundred and fifty pesos. He wanted to make the profit.*

The fiscal. As an intermediary between the traditional religious officials and the priest, the fiscal is the target for both sides of the religious controversy. The priest selects the fiscal, but his retention of the post depends on his being accepted by the mayordomos. The tendency in the past [212] fifteen years since a regular priest has been assigned to the community is [191] to choose a man who speaks Spanish and can read and write, but who can 794 be dominated by the priest. The following statement by a man who served in this post in 1929 defines the functions of the fiscal as the Indians see them:

> *When I served as fiscal, I knew how to sell* [*the Indians use the verb* to sell *in reference to any propaganda—whether commercial, political, or religious*] *the catechism. After the prayer, I cleaned the patio. I held the key to the church. I saw* [*in the sense of watch over*] *all the mayordomos. I bought the candles and incense for the saints. At midday the mayordomos and I left the church and went home. There was no padre living here then, and the padre from San Cristóbal came only on the days of San Francisco, Virgin Santa Lucía, San Pedro the Martyr, and Santiago. Each Sunday, the ten mayordomos and I entered the church and prayed in the true language.*

[782] [191] Prayers are now given in Spanish by the fiscal and the prayer-reciters under the guidance of the lay sisters, who remain most of the time in the convento. The fiscal, as a consequence, is no longer selected on the basis of [564] his ability to recite the patʔoʔtan. Since one of the main tasks of the fiscal is to take care of the church, several recent incumbents have been jeered as being like women, cleaning house and responding to the bidding of the priests. Some have suggested that one was a homosexual. They blame the fiscales for letting control over the domain of the church fall into the hands of the priest.

[782] A man who had filled the post himself, described the careers of several former fiscales:

794 while he was fiscal. He let control over the key to the church and the do-
793 nation boxes slip into the hands of the priest. His opponents accused him of weakness and failure to act in the interest of the town. The careers of
[685] these fiscales illustrate the pitfalls for those filling the post. First, there is the temptation for personal gain, since the fiscal has access to the money of the saints: in the past three fiscales have been charged with robbery. Sec-
[178] ond, there is the problem that the fiscal serves two masters, the priest and the head cofrade, each of whom has different standards of conduct for the role: when the selection of the fiscal was in the hands of the cofrades, they chose a man who knew the pat?o?tan and who was to deal directly with the curers in rituals at the cave of the ancestors and in the homes of the cofrades; now he is chosen by the priest who prefers a young, literate man.
793 If the fiscal follows the commands of the priest, he runs into problems
794 with the cofrades. This was the difficulty with Antonio, who was put out
578 of office by the cofrades because he yielded to the priest's demands to improve the convento and the church. As long as the conflict in interests between the priest and the traditional authorities exist, there is no successful position for the fiscal to take.

Conflict and Social Change

621 In the contest for leadership which has and is occurring, the following
177 observations can be made on the basis of the events described.
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[212] 1. The community has successfully incorporated the young, literate men into the framework of the traditional hierarchy. This has been accomplished by expanding the scope of activities of the president and síndico and by relieving them of serving in the lower posts of the hierarchy.

2. The ceremonial role of the principales serves as a symbol of continuity in government both in the tie they have with the past and in the annual changeover of officials.

[609] 3. The threat of foreign Indians in the township misusing their skills in dealing with the outside world has been overcome by removing them from office and preventing them from filling high posts.

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621 756 178 to the loss of belief in the curers. The principales were formerly conceived to be overseers of the curers, men who, because of their advanced age, could determine whether the curers were acting in the interest of the town. With the loss of this social control function, along with the loss of other functions such as holding public funds and helping the judges to interpret the law, they have declined to the level of ceremonial figures dissociated from political action.

621 178 The forms of political organization remain the same, but there has been a shift in the balance of power from leaders whose authority rested on guardianship linked with the ancestors to leaders who can deal with the external power structure. The emergent forms of political organization can be partially assessed in the meaning participants assign to the events which precipitated this process of change. To paraphrase George Herbert Mead (1938:liii) it is the "organization of perspectives" concerning the past events and the present conditions which will effect the emergent forms. The analytical problem can be phrased with the questions, "In what dialectical terms is the conflict cast?" and "What changes do the members of the community perceive as an outcome of the struggle?" Whereas in the colonial period the conflict between the Indians and their Spanish conquerers was seen as a struggle for control between Catholicism and traditional religion, today the conflict is phrased as one of opposed economic interests. In the civil sphere, factional opponents seek the support of extra-communal power holders to gain their ends. In the religious sphere, the Indians see the conflict as one in which their control over the church and the income derived from it is opposed to the priest's growing influence.

829 578 794 621 177 178 [193]

829 621 182 In this reorganization of perspectives, the Indians share some of the goals of the dominant society, but they continue to oppose themselves to the Ladino world. For this reason they are willing to preserve the form of the civil-religious hierarchy as a means of asserting their independence from the dominant society. They see the community not only as a defensive screen against the outside world, but as a springboard for entry into the national economic and political life. They are now consciously taking advantage of pro-Indian sentiment to secure a preferred position in this society. Their awareness of their advantage over the deculturated Indian is

576 support of whatever is said—repeating the final phrase of the person con-
versing or injecting supportive statements such as "indeed, indeed," or "so
[535] it is." In the dance of the alfereces' wives, for example, women were the
model of deference, moving in a self-contained pattern before the assem-
bled guests, with slow, tiny steps, eyes downcast, a shawl covering their
heads on which they wore their husbands' ceremonial hats.

621 Through recruitment procedures, alternation and linkage in official
182 roles, and leadership validated by age and service in lower positions—prin-
ciples applying to role relations in all institutions—Tzoʔontahal has re-
mained an integrated community. There is a high degree of stereotyping
in behavior from one institution to another, and norms of behavior are the
[682] same for public as for private roles. However, a remarkably high homicide
[578] rate and open conflict in all of the institutional settings indicate basic
sources of disruption.

682 Since 1960 the rate of homicide in town has increased from an average
593 of 1 every 2 years to an average of 5 or 6 per year. Table 29 indicates the
609 role relationships of killer to victim in 37 of over 70 homicides occurring
428 between 1937 and 1964. The highest incidence of homicide (7 cases) oc-
578 curred between brothers and brothers-in-law. Male siblings comprise the
closest cooperating group. Brothers work together in the milpa until the
father dies or divides his property among his children during his lifetime.
Bilateral inheritance with equal division of land and houses among female
as well as male offspring means that brothers-in-law are potential competi-
tors for the same limited resources. Friction arising among brothers and
brothers-in-law does not come from the principle of equal inheritance, but
rather because of the fact of differing responsibilities and expenses within
the family. For example, the child who has remained with the parents and
[888] thus assumes the burden of care for them in their declining years often
feels that he should inherit a greater share. The disputes arise in the deci-
sions concerning how much this disadvantage should be weighted. The
682 suppression of overt competition may in part explain the homicidal acts.
683 Although the tensions in fact stem from suppressed economic competition,
[154] they are translated into witchcraft accusations as soon as anyone in the
[626] family becomes ill. Violence against a witch is condoned by the commu-
nity and provides a channel for latent hostility. Once the accusation has

1 (see pp.245-247..Analyst)

been made, there is no recourse but to kill the man since he may retaliate by killing his accuser (this occurred in two of the cases noted in Table 29).

Conflict between generations in the role sets father/son and father/son-in-law stems from delay in carrying out role responsibilities. Fathers are expected to provide the money for the costs of betrothal, and to give their children shares of the patrimony including both land and livestock. The scheduling of when this should occur is often a matter of dispute, resulting in at least two cases of homicide in the period analyzed.

New economic enterprises have exacerbated the tensions rising from envy. Foster (1965) has suggested that envy stems from the notion of the "limited good," requiring the strategy of a "zero sum game" (Bennet 1966). The fact that the new wealth is evidence of new opportunities, not a subtraction from a given resource supply, has not entered the cognitive awareness of the people. The prospering leaders of these enterprises feel themselves to be particularly vulnerable to the envy of others and thus to the charge of witchcraft. There have been several open attacks on new leaders accused as witches; the leader of the truck cooperative, for example, was murdered in 1966. Six men have been killed as cattle thieves in the past ten years.

The economic roles created with the introduction of new enterprises have not been integrated in the traditional pattern of recruitment and control. In the association of cattle breeders, leadership tends to be based on the size of the herd; in the case of the truck cooperative, amount of capital invested and entrepreneurial skills have determined the leadership of the enterprise, while driving skill and ability to get along in the Ladino world has been the basis for choice of drivers. Such achievement principles as the basis for recruitment into these envied positions are not accepted in the same way that age and passage through a hierarchy of posts validated higher positions in the old hierarchies. The conspicuous expenditure of wealth in the more expensive posts in the religious hierarchy has also failed to lessen hostility aroused by the increasing disparity in wealth, and in fact those who have served as alférez have been even more subject to witchcraft aroused by envy.

577 887 sion: "I pay respect to my elders. I greet my brothers and my children [extension of kinship terms]. To all I give respect. Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick."

577 [574] [196] [576] A good man is a generous host, expressed in the phrase, "he gives many tortillas." He serves his community in public office but avoids the appearance of seeking power or self-aggrandizement. When he gives orders, it is in a soft, low tone, supplicating rather than ordering with the phrase, "If you would please lend a hand." He gives thanks readily for any service rendered both to God and to his fellow man. He avoids any show of [578] anger, and is always careful to show consideration of others. Those who are of "another heart" or "two-hearted" are the opposite, seeking disputes, "thinking small," "being miserly," and of a "very black soul."

[754] The heightened awareness of the state of the heart of others comes from the ever-present fear of witchcraft. Since the people feel their survival depends upon perception of evil heart before it strikes, they develop an acute sense of the behavioral clues that indicate its presence.

829 183 [192] [828] *Conformity and deviance.* Conventional or preferred behavior is characterized as "reasonable." The phrase "ʔiʔ rason," to take reason or understanding, is applied to a child who is expected to have reason at the age of twelve years or so, as well as to the arrival at agreement of competing parties, as in the case of betrothal.

Reasonable behavior is any behavior conforming to socially accepted understandings of what the world is. These include what a person of non-Indian culture might characterize as beliefs based on faith. They "know" [706] that there are hill spirits, wood spirits who cut off people's heads, and men who transform themselves into animals. Occasionally they subject given 813 understandings to empirical tests: one woman tested the belief that a [241] woman could rid the milpa of insect pests only by walking through a [825] planted field wearing a new skirt; she walked through the field wearing a worn skirt and her belief was confirmed when she found that the insect pests were not killed but just fled and returned later. Empiricism is not lacking; the difference between the content of their category of what is rational or reasonable and ours is based on the premises, not the process of reasoning.

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"gift of the gods," liquor, to the party whose interests have been slighted. 273
This is done in the case of a suitor who is asking for a woman of the 431
other side of the dual division; he gives the bachelors of that side a gar- 584 621
rafón of liquor in compensation for the loss of a potential mate. Liquor 756
has become a substitute for the sacrifice of a child by a man being initiated 782
into the curing profession. Informal offerings of liquor may be made be- 627
tween neighbors or relatives who have been fighting with each other. Liq- 692
uor is a kind of universal social solvent in disputes, and figures impor- 578
tantly in court cases which are always terminated in a drinking session.

Another technique is simply a payment in money to compensate for 626
damages. In some homicide cases, the payment of "blood money" has com- 682
pensated the family of the victim to avoid legal action. This is never done, 754
however, if the community agrees that the victim was a witch. Payment of fines in court is another such form of compensation. These payments or offerings minimize the bloodshed or personal involvement in conflictual relations. Payment by the man judged guilty will ensure his reincorporation into his customary place in the community without stigma.

While it is impossible to elicit from informants a theory of roles, 554
it is possible to formulate the principles underlying roles. These are 12
deduced from behavioral observations and from evaluations made of the performances of others. They can be summarized in the following 554
propositions: 156

1. There is a clear separation between role and role-bearer. This is seen most clearly in the passage through civil and religious offices with a minimum of "halo" effect. It is also found in the situation of household officials whose authority in directing affairs within a household ceases when the ceremony in which they officiate is over. The separation 62 182
ensures flexibility in a closed social system, enabling people to shift from one role to another. It also permits continuity in a system which requires an almost complete turnover of personnel each year.

2. Function performed is separate from role in which it is per- 554
formed. This applies even in those roles which are designated on the basis of the most important function required of the performer, for example woman speaker, liquor measurer, and basket carrier. All of

come the domain of the schoolmaster, who represents federal influence in the local community. He has rebuilt parts of the structure in the thirteen years he and his family have lived and worked in this building; it was his fortress when the Indians threatened to kill him for building a chicken coop obtruding into the street, and again when he interceded in a case of homicide. He has a small arsenal stored in his bedroom in preparation for any reversal of his position in the community. The school is his platform, the area he controls and from which he shouts to his compadres—the storekeeper, the fiscal, and the president—to come speak with him.

The long building is subdivided into four classrooms and the living quarters of the schoolmaster's family. The classrooms are furnished with crude benches and tables; blackboards and charts of birds, animals, and the alphabet decorate the walls. The back porch, converted to classrooms to accommodate the three hundred and fifty children, overflows with benches. The students' own materials—a notebook, pencil, and erasers—are provided by their parents. When a notebook is filled, the students industriously erase all the marks and reuse the book until it falls apart.

When I was in the village, the schoolmaster often encouraged visitors to share a Coca-Cola with him in his office. Here, surrounded by his books, his collection of artifacts of both genuine and spurious origin, a picture of the district inspector of federal schools pinning a medal on his chest, the flag of the Mexican republic, he could speak freely of the personal attacks and frustrations and of the rare satisfactions he encountered "in bringing civilization to the town." As he began to build up his political power in the community, the president and síndico often consulted with him on town affairs. Agents of the federal or departmental offices who came to town frequently communicated with him directly before going to the cabildo. The school became the arena for working out political programs and strategies. The schoolmaster prided himself on being the primary channel of communication between the outside world and the village.

The conflict of interest between the schoolmaster and the parents of the children over attendance in school has been ameliorated in recent years with the acceptance by some of the parents of education as an advantage. In the early years of compulsory education, physical force was used to round up the children. The traumatic experience of his first day in school

programs in the interest of "civilizing" the Indians. This formulation involved a basic contradiction between the goal of moving into regional and national networks and that of keeping the old autonomy and independence of the corporate community. He never had to face that contradiction. Unable to gain adherents other than the small group of profit-sharers in the cooperative he organized, he was killed by opponents within the community.

The Family and Household

The core of the traditional culture lay in the local power hierarchies patterned on the familial model of age-ordered paternal authority institutionalized in the me?iltatil. The me?iltatil of the household have provided a flexible institution for adjusting conflict within the kin group. Their role in directing ritual performances preserves a sense of continuity in life cycle changes.

The institutionalized authority of the elders has not been upset by the trend toward residence based on nuclear families, which is an adjustment to the pressure of limited space in the town center. Kinship ties are continually reinforced by rituals that draw together the me?iltalil as sponsors of ceremonies marking baptism, marriage, and death. This group of sponsoring relatives has absorbed the institution of compadrazgo, adding compadres to the network of affinally-and bilaterally-related kin. The procedures for adjusting conflict among members of the household and extended family networks reinforce the authority of the elders. When adjustive processes in the house and court "arrangements" and in curing ceremonies fail, the only recourse is for one of the disputants to leave the community or commit homicide.

Ceremonies within the household provide a model for the rules of the game that apply to adjustive behavior in the community. The household officials introduce new officials into their role, teaching them the prayers and directing the proceedings. Their authority depends upon age and prestige acquired in office. The me?iltatil, as the elders of the family, are the direct link with the ancestors. They and the nakawane provide the strongest force for preserving the ways of the ancestors.

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struck by lightning on two occasions. The solution was to rebuild the tower of metal so that Santo Tomás could not demolish it if he struck again, a defensive reaction which is typical of the Indians in their extra-community relations. When an eclipse of "Our Grandmother the Moon" occurred during my stay in town, everyone went to her assistance, banging metal tools and pots, in what was believed to be a fight with the sun.

The emphasis on self-recrimination and guilt in explaining failure minimizes the build-up of protest. Economic hardship attributed to a man's own improvidence in relation to his fellow man and God are accepted as his lot in life. The drama of the curing ritual projects the Indians' sense of their own guilt for the suffering and poverty they endure.

Political Behavior

The structure of the civil hierarchy has been maintained but organizational changes have occurred which have weakened the basis for it. The alternation of offices between church and civil positions survives in the lower levels, but the new leaders in civil affairs now begin in the Ejido Commission, and few of those who pass as president take on posts in the religious hierarchy. The appearance of continuity has been maintained in communal rituals in which the principales provide the link with the past and the alfereces, until 1966, were the link between civil and religious wings; but in the day-to-day running of the town, the officials do not act on these premises. The balance between officials from each side of the dual division has been upset by the population increase on one side. The abolition of the institution of alfereces gives public recognition to the growing awareness of imbalance. Moreover, the factions based on the new trucking cooperatives that cut across the dual division reduce the effectiveness of the dual division in channeling conflict.

Behavioral deviation from the norms is present in all societies and is not in itself an index to structural change. This comes about when new interpretations are given to events that undermine confidence in existing institutions and leaders. Political conflicts in the past were interpreted as a contest between members of the sides of the dual division and hostility

621 578 177 178 was channeled along existing lines of competition. During my stay in the community from 1964 to 1966, most conflicts were attributed to economic competition between the two trucking cooperatives. Along with this, the [114] [474] [182] waning of the position of the principales has undermined the confidence of the people in the system of checks and balances in which the principales watched over the judges, the judges watched over the curers, the curers watched over the people to see that no one brought in evil, and the ancestors watched over everyone. [756] Curers are more and more often accused of witchcraft and are frequent victims of homicide. The sense that they are the guardians of the pueblo and the agents of the ancestors is nearly dead. They are consulted only because the people feel that, because of the evil in them, they can fight the evil caused by others.

621 756 177 178 The shift in power from the old leaders to the new has not been accompanied by a shift in ideological allegiance. The new leaders cannot offer the security the people felt when they were living in the eyes of the ancestors. The curers remain as a powerful group because of their claims of being able to fight evil, but there is no longer a legitimate authority controlling their use of destructive forces.

561 554 177 178 A system of authority based on rule by elders is a structural correlative of a behavior pattern in which people act out the ways of the ancestors. This applies to the schematized behavior contained in rituals and in traditional productive activities. The ideology of a seniority-based prestige system persists at the explicit level at the same time that behavioral changes in contradiction to this are occurring.

626 177 178 Social control in a system of behavior based on what was done in the past depends upon the belief that people are carrying out their lives "in the eyes of the ancestors." Ritual behavior in Tzoʔontahal seems to confirm this, but in view of the waning belief in the presence of the ancestors and the loss of confidence in their agents, the curers, this behavior is a kind of social lie designed to perpetuate the old code of morality. In their everyday behavior, people no longer act on the same premises. The social lie is perpetuated because the people who enjoyed power in the old social system—the curers and the elders—do not wish to relinquish it. It will last only so long as they can find successors, and with the abolition of the recruitment through alfereces, this should not be for long.

Appendix I

Settlement of Domestic Cases

A. House Arrangement of Separation

The following transcription of a tape recording concerns the house arrangement of a domestic dispute involving Alberta, the niece and adopted daughter of Mariano. She left her husband and returned to Mariano's home with her one-year-old child because of her husband's abusive treatment. Mariano invited all of the members of the betrothal party, as well as the maliwanchetik who had assisted in the marriage negotiations and Victorio, Alberta's husband. The leader of the betrothal negotiations was unable to attend because he had been drinking all day at another betrothal party. The arrangement proceeded with the padrino of the wedding, Pablo, and Alvino, Victorio's uncle and another elder in the betrothal negotiations, leading the discussion. I asked Mariano to tape the session so that my presence would not be an interference. In the joking session, the tape recorder became a target for the men's humor when, trying to replay it, they found that one section had not recorded clearly.

Pablo opened the discussion by asking the errant husband's elder representative, Feliciano, if the family wanted to take the girl back. Feliciano agreed that that was their purpose in coming, and that they must hear what happened to cause the dispute between the couple. Maria, the foster mother of Alberta, summarized their complaints against Victorio and his family.

Maria: *It is almost as though the child [Alberta's year-old daughter] has no father. We have been feeding her because we have had to support both of them. When the child became sick with diarrhea the father did nothing to help.*
Pablo: *Yes, we have to think of that. The child was frightened by her father and became ill.*
Maria: *When he came to our house, he fought Alberta, and the child was ill. Alberta went to the courthouse to complain about his behavior.*
Pablo: *It couldn't be arranged in the courthouse. It is better to settle the dispute here in the house.*

C27 Maria: *Whenever he came to see her, he was drunk and came in fighting.*
593 Victorio: *It is a lie. I came, but I was not only fighting. I wasn't always very*
578 *drunk. I came there sober to speak to you. I asked about how my wife was.*
126 *Then I went to see my uncle in Grandeza. He told me that if he couldn't order*
586 *her to come, then I better come here to hear what is said. When I went there, I was sober. I brought two bottles of beer. He said, "Ah, it is you," when I arrived at his house. "Come in and sit down." I sat down. I took off the cap of the beer and measured it out. "What have you come to say?" he asked me. "I am unhappy, father," I said. "What has happened to you?" he said. "I went to see Alberta," I said. He asked me if I had beaten her, and I said, "No, we only spoke a few words."*

Santia: *But if you hadn't hit her, why would she have come back to her father's house?"*

Victorio: *I only wanted to come to an understanding with her.*

Alvino: *So it is, you came to speak to me.*

Victorio: *It was in order to arrive at an understanding as you had told me. But I didn't succeed then.*

Alvino: *You didn't succeed in what you wanted?*

Victorio: *No, nothing.*

Alvino: *Well, when nothing happened, you could have gone later to ask with good words.*

Victorio: *I returned late in the afternoon. I had been drinking a little beer, and I was a little drunk. My father-in-law came with me. He had a fourth of liquor inside his shirt. We arrived at prayertime. My father-in-law was in the church since he was mayordomo at the time. We came in good faith to hear what was wrong.*

Mariano: *But then he came another time. I had gone to hot country to work. He came to the house and wanted to break it. He pulled out two of the tiles in the gate and entered. That was his crime.*

Victorio's father: *That wasn't good. You shouldn't go drunk when you can't understand anything.*

Maria: *We are not at fault. We spoke to him with good words. We told him he could take his wife.*

Elder woman of Victorio's family: *We told him he ought not to come when he was drunk.*

Pablo: *But now he wants to change for the better. You ought not to drink. It is better to eat meat and vegetables, and find corn and beans for your wife and child. Now we have arranged it, and you can take your wife and child to your house.*

Mariano took out cigarettes, and the group relaxed as all lit up the cigarettes and smoked. They discussed my tape recorder as they listened to the tape replayed. When they came to the section that did not record well, they decided that they should take it out and urinate on it. One man suggested that they should put it in prison, and another said that they should shoot it. This provoked general laughter. They went on to discuss the smoking habits of Ladinos. Pablo remarked that Ladino lawyers do nothing but sit in their offices and talk and smoke. Mariano and Victorio's father joked a great deal, the latter maintaining that Pablo had threatened to castrate him. This was picked up by Pablo who said that then Mariano would be a madrina to his godmother, Martina (the woman speaker in the betrothal negotiations). This provoked a great deal of laughter among the women. They then joked with Mariano about Pablo's other madrina, a Ladina from the neighboring town who sells the blood of slaughtered bulls. They refer to her as *me? Skitsoo,* the fat one. Mariano remarked to the women that Victorio's father must be a witch, and someone would try to kill him on the road. The conversation turned from the danger of going alone in the woods to a discussion of hunting. Feliciano bragged that he had an excellent hunting dog which he bought from a Ladino and which he referred to as "the Ladino dog." Mariano asked what Ladino they bought it from, but Feliciano denied knowledge of who the man was. They suggested it was nothing but a Huistecan Indian who changed his clothing. The joking and drinking continued until midnight, when the assembled company finally broke up. The next day Alberta went to live with her husband in the new house he had built.

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B. Court Arrangement of Separation

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Persons present:

Judge
Father of Plaintiff
Mother of Plaintiff
Plaintiff
Husband of Plaintiff
Regidor
President

This case concerns a husband who had been separated from his wife and wished a settlement so that she would return to him. The man had been married before, and he occasionally returned to his first wife. When he got drunk,

695 he announced on the loudspeaker of the cantina that he was a poor man who
593 had to maintain two wives. This caused embarrassment to his second wife,
578 who asked for the hearing in order to separate from him. He was working in
586 the sawmill and had not provided for her support. The text is a translation of
the transcription of a tape recording in Tzeltal.

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593 Judge [to father of Plaintiff]: *Come, Mam compadre, and give evidence of what*
578 *has happened.*
586 Father: *This isn't the first time he has left his wife. It would be different, Mam*
126 *compadre, if he had only left her once, but he has left her several times.*
Judge: *Why do you keep on leaving her and coming back? It would be better to get her out of your system once and for all.*
Mother: *He goes to his mother's house but then comes back just to fight.*
Judge: *You ought to stop your fighting when you go to your wife.*
Father: *So it is, Mam judge. If it had just been a few words or one visit, but he is always coming here to fight. Even if you drink, you should speak well when you come to our house.*
Plaintiff: *He said he had nothing to eat but dry tortillas. I said to him, 'Go heat your tortillas. You're going to have to live like a woman if you get rid of your wife. Who is going to watch for you at the gate since I no longer intend to? There is nothing to eat in the house because there isn't any money."*
Judge: *She says this because she is angry.*
Mother: *She speaks because she isn't a fool. He can't answer that.*
Judge: *They are still young, but they will learn. Also, he ought not to continue drinking.*
Mother: *He doesn't obey me. Eight days later, and he repeats the same abuse.*
Judge [to husband]: *Why do you want to do this?*
Husband: *I want a woman who takes good care of me.*
Father: *Does his wife have a lover, that she leaves the house uncared for?*
Husband: *We're fighting because she is always going off to my mother-in-law's house.*
Plaintiff: *Every time he gets drunk, he comes shouting. Why shouldn't I leave so that the child doesn't see us fighting?*
Husband: *I get drunk because of the fighting. If there wasn't any fighting I would just want a soda.*
Plaintiff: *Who wants that? There wouldn't be any fighting if you didn't come.*
Mother: *God can say that we don't want the embarrassment. I said, "Stop fighting. It isn't good. She doesn't give you tortillas or atole because you are always*

fighting. You ought to speak in sobriety. Why do you always want to fight and argue?" 695

Plaintiff: *At first it was the fault of a little board. For the crime of giving my mother a little piece of wood I had to come here the first time* [*refers to dispute arising over some wood which plaintiff had lent or given to her mother, and for which Husband wanted money*]. 593 578 586 126

Mother: *I am supporting the children he comes and "asks for"* [*refers to the fact that husband impregnates wife, and then does not support the family*]. *The child cried a great deal when we were inside the cabildo. It was I who had to feed him. Why would I want this, my compadre judges? A husband who leaves you . . .*

Father: *How is the child going to grow up? And he keeps asking for another one.*

Mother: *You treat your wife like a mule, like a horse when you go to work. When I asked him to get some wood, he said, "Have I turned into your husband? Don't tell me what to do."*

Plaintiff: *If he gave something it would be good, but he never has supported me or even pays anything when he comes here.*

Mother: *He is never coming back to our house. We have spoken to the Ladino* [*Ramon, the former secretary who wrote out the marriage act*]. *We went to San Cristóbal to see what they would say.* [*Speaking to huband*] *But you don't listen to what he told you. You don't pay any attention because you are a devil. What good is it for us to go up to San Cristóbal?*

Father: *You should go, but you go on fighting as you started.*

Judge: [to husband]: *You should stay sober.*

Mother: *If he came to me sober, I would give him atole or sodas, Mam compadre. I returned the little board he had lent me, but he broke it.*

Plaintiff: *I gave him money for some soap, but he never gave account of that.*

Judge: *Now are you going to go with him?*

Plaintiff: *I am never going to go with him, elder brother. Even if he says he wants to take me back to his house, because I am not in his heart.*

Judge: *Ah, no. Let us explain.*

Mother: *Do you want to hear worse? No one is going to stay just to cook tortillas.*

Father: *It would be good, compadre, if she split with him.*

Judge: *They cannot split up because they are married.*

Father: *Well, compadre, if they* [*husband's family*] *take her back, then I am not going to return here. I am going to have to go to San Cristóbal.*

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695 Regidor: *What has been arranged isn't good. There are small children, and he cannot support them.*

593 Judge: *But what else can they do, compadre? Better go to the man's house and make a fire there [a metaphorical allusion to acting as a wife in keeping the home fires burning].*

578 586 126 Plaintiff: *Although you speak to him, he doesn't listen. He never listened to his father.*

Husband: *What do you want to bring up my dead father for? He never ordered me, nor has any other person.*

Plaintiff: *I am not a fool. You gave me a wound, you broke my tooth. We want to stop all this and finish with the trouble you cause.*

Mother: *Let's come to some understanding. If it is only the trouble with the board, then I will give him the money and see if it is what he says.*

Judge: *This is not good, my compadre. It isn't going to content your heart.*

Mother: *I want to return and take out the marriage paper. It was Don Ramon who married them.*

Judge: *It isn't good for you to go do that. We are trying to arrange things here. The president has charge of the archives.*

Plaintiff: *He told me he was angry. I said, "Why do you want to sell the boards?" [This refers to the wood she had lent her mother.] He said, "I am going to bring more." I asked him again why he wanted to sell the boards. He said he had received money for them. He asked me where the boards were, and I said I had lent them to my mother. "Go get them if you want them," I said. He never gave me back the payment for the soap that I gave him. He spent it for liquor. I said to him, "Where is the soap?" and he said, "I spent it on liquor." When he gets drunk, he begins to fight me. He doesn't want me to talk back, but what does he expect? He said he was going to get another wife, that I was very lazy and very slack. I told him, "Why don't you go out and cut some wood?" He said, "Where do you think I am going to get some wood?" I was ashamed to go before my brother-in-law with my child and ask him. He never wanted to cut wood or ocote.*

Judge: *It is not good what he did. He should do what is necessary in the house.*

Plaintiff: *It is for this reason that I don't want to go with him, Mam Judge. He is always saying that his first wife was a very good worker. If I didn't have a husband or if there were no children, I would bring the wood, but I am not going to do it while he is around.*

Judge: *What would you say if he brought you back to his house?*

Plaintiff: *But I don't want it. What does he want me for? You heard him say I am a whore. He said I was a bitch. He said, "You are an old shit!" I don't want to have anything to do with him. What does he want me for if I am an old whore as he says? He said she [first wife] was a better woman than I.*

Father: *The judge told him before, "Go give your wife some support." We had three settlements before this. Mam Ramon said he was sick of seeing the woman in court so often.*

Judge: *First we will try to settle things here, and if he doesn't go in accord with custom, then you can go up to San Cristóbal.*

Father: *Here me, Mam judges, everyone fights occasionally, maybe makes two or three trips to court. But every time he gets drunk, he looks for a fight. I told him to stop fighting, but he doesn't listen. If I let my daughter go with him, he just takes her and produces more children. I have always had to support her then. He doesn't come around either drunk or sober. If he had come and told me what her fault was, then it would be good. When I had asked him what sins she had committed, he didn't say anything.*

Husband: *She just told me, "Leave me here and you go with your mother. I shall go back to my house."*

Plaintiff: *I left word with him that I was finished because of all the fighting. I don't want to go with a drunkard. [To husband] Even if you drink, you shouldn't beat me.*

Judge: *If you want a woman, you ought to support her. You shouldn't fight.*

Husband: *She told me, "You aren't the only man in the world. There are plenty of men who would want me."*

Plaintiff: *I never said that! You're looking for a fight!*

Husband: *What do you mean you didn't say that? My mother heard it.*

Plaintiff: *Go bring your mother. She didn't want to come because she is ashamed. It isn't the first time we are settling things in court.*

Judge: *You ought to go with him this time, but if it happens again, we will split you up. What else can we do if you don't obey our advice?*

Father: *When he goes to work, Mam compadre, he ought to look and see how much pay he is getting and how it will stretch to support his wife. Then she will make his tortillas for him contentedly, and there won't be any fighting.*

Judge: *We say that when he comes home from work he should ask his wife what she wants to spend for coffee or salt and all the things she will have to buy.*

Plaintiff: *He doesn't give any account of his little pay.*

Husband: *I don't want to say how much there is because there are still debts*

695 *from when I was asking for her* [*refers to betrothal expenses*]. *When the debt*
593 *is paid off, then I can.*
578 Judge [to wife]: *You heard that he will have to pay off the debt. Now go*
586 *with your husband in one heart.* [*To husband*] *Go with your wife. If you have*
126 *enough money, ask your wife if she needs some coffee or if she needs salt and wants the payment of it. You have to give some money in order to live contentedly.*

Father: *So it is, Mam compadre. It is good to be content and see the fire in the hearth. One time he came to my house and I said, "Come in. Let's take a look at what money you have earned." I told him to go save his money, give it to his wife to keep it for him. That is what I said to him.*

Regidor: *And it wasn't to deceive him. It would be good if he would believe* [*obey*] *this advice. They have been paying him double because he is a labor agent.*

Judge [to father]: *So it is, Mam compadre. Let it rest there.*

Regidor [to husband]: *The day after tomorrow, don't come back here with a couple more children and say you don't want her. Go back to your mother's house. You are lucky to have a wife. If you don't have a wife, you go get drunk every day. But with a wife life is good. She will give you coffee and corn to eat. Don't go on fighting when drunk or sober. Both my compadres have advised you* [*refers to judges*].

Mother: *So it is, Mam compadre. I am going now, Mam compadre.* [*Rises and leaves*].

Judge: *Go then, my compadre.*

The father and the husband give money for the fourth regidor to buy beer, and the group of men sit and drink the two family-size bottles which are purchased.

621 tural opposition between the two sides of the dual division. In this case,
756 resolution came with the intercession of federal troops.
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[648] When curing was a controlled profession, with a hierarchy legitimizing
756 entry and exit, the power of the curers was directed toward guarding the
178 village against evil as well as curing. In the 1940s, the loss of one leader by death and the other's jail sentence meant loss of control over entry into the profession. A growing suspicion and discontent with the curers as a
[754] group, laying upon them the responsibility of much of the witchcraft, is reflected in the account of another older informant:

> *Formerly when the curers J. C., A. A., S. K., and J. D. were alive, they walked in common. The people were in accord with the curers because they watched over the peublo. They knew about medicine, and so people of Alannantik went to ask them favors to cure them and also the people of Ahk'olnantik went to ask them favors.*
>
> *But then, after they died [about 1940], the principales did not dare fight the curers because they had animal spirits, and the principales themselves didn't—they were just honorable people.*

621 The doubt about the civil authority's control over the curers has in-
756 creased since young leaders have taken the leadership in the town. One in-
178 formant said, "When there are young people in the cabildo, they can't keep control of the curers, but the old people in the cabildo can." With the relaxation of restrictions on entry into the curing profession, following the loss of leadership and the ranked hierarchy, curers were no longer re-
[213] strained by professional standards. When drunk, they bragged of their
[054] power to do evil as well as to do good. The first killing of a curer accused
683 of being a witch occurred in 1937. He was working in Pinola when he
621 was shot. The dead curer's widow wanted to bring his body back to be
[178] buried in the town cemetery, but the request was refused by the judges. This suggests that the town authorities agreed with the accusation, since it is the custom to return the dead to the town for burial. Other assassinations by individuals occurred in 1943 and in 1950. During this period, the civil officials sanctioned the assassinations of persons accused and convicted of witchcraft. When someone wished to kill a man suspected of witchcraft, they would go to the town hall and ask for permission. After a re-

627 754 questioning of other men, that after the murder the community would take their side. If a man is killed, and community understanding accepts that he was a witch, no individual is identified publicly as the instrument of communal revenge. Solid community [593] silence accepts the verdict. Even the family of the deceased has to make a public rejection of the dead witch, or else they risk being forced to leave town, having their house burned, or similar misfortunes. That is to say, they have to publicly establish their innocence by expressing their lack of identification with the witch. Of course, not all conflict is always expressed in witchcraft terms. Witchcraft is, in a sense, the ultimate recourse for the explanation or settlement of disputes when all other means have failed to accomplish the re-establishment of social harmony. • 578 If one man fights with another in a drunken brawl, for example, 627 he will try, when sober, to make peace with him, rather than let [754] the other man's antagonism become a reason for witchcraft against him. He can try to settle the conflict personally, or the kinsmen of both parties can do it; the case can be taken up by the Ayuntamiento where the man found guilty would pay a fine, and both 627 parties would be lectured on the dangers of quarrelling. Metzger 578 and Kauffman (1961) transcribed and reported one informant's speech which states the case very neatly:

[625] Thus, the mayores, the police, are appointed by the town. You should not quarrel; it is not for the fun of it that they [the town authorities] will come and get you if you look for trouble. They have the commandment of the agente municipal. They have the commandment of the juez municipal, because you have looked for trouble. You will go to jail for one or two days. Then your head and heart will calm down if you did it because of liquor. In clearheadedness you will enter into judgement. If the misdeed is small, the punishment will be

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578 small; you will leave having paid five or ten pesos. You will forgive each other. If the misdeed is large, then you will give twenty-five or thirty pesos as your fine, so that we can give something to him who has been injured by you. We will cure him, so that he gets well, so that he may not die. Then he also will give pardon. But if we do not cure him, if we do not give medicine to the one you have hit, then you will quarrel, then his heart will be angered. Because here we have two kinds of misdeeds. He who is evil will do [754] witchcraft. He who does not know witchcraft will give pardon. But he who is evil if he sends sickness to you, then if you get sick, if you die, it is because you did not obey the commandment.

I say this because I am a principal, I am a father [of the town]. I advise you so that the town will go forth in happiness, and in happiness we will increase in our gatherings in the town. But if you are evil, we will not increase, our children will not grow, because there are evil people, there is sickness, there is death from him who knows witchcraft. He who does not know it uses bullets and will kill you that way. Why? Because you sent sickness. So I speak to you thus. Happy, in peace, do not quarrel. It is better.

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556
[754] The important aspect of witchcraft as a sanctioning procedure is in relation to the distribution of wealth in the community.

A man can accumulate a certain amount of money as long as [454] he is willing to share it with others and spend it in culturally accepted ways, such as buying cohetes for a fiesta, giving a house party for the Saint in the house altar and inviting many [186] villagers, etc. But he cannot simply save it without being accused of miserliness; spend it all in building too large or too different a house without being accused of being embarrassed of his Indianess (of which he should be proud); nor can he invest in businesses which are not the traditional economic activities of the Indian without the fierce criticism of his fellow villagers. There is, then, a top limit to the accumulation of wealth imposed not only by the environmental and technological factors, but by

621 Although the barrio lines are imaginary, they are effective limits for interaction between the inhabitants of the two sections.

621 582 The barrios are ideally, and in practice, endogamous. (Eighty-three per cent of marriages contracted in Amatenango are barrio endogamous marriages, and 86 per cent of Aguacatenango couples have spouses from the same barrio.) The distribution of Inter- and Intra-Barrio marriages is shown in the following table:

TABLE 4

INTER- AND INTRA-BARRIO MARRIAGES

	Amatenango %	Aguacatenango %
Spouse from the same barrio	83	86
Spouse from other barrio	7.5	8
Spouse from other rural settlements	9.5	6

Given the fact that barrios originated from the parcialidades, which were at the time of the reducciones independent communities, it is possible to assume that the endogamy rules are as old as the establishment of the villages.

621 518 582 [114] The latent hostility between the barrios becomes evident when the endogamy rules are broken. Young men trying to flirt with girls of the opposite barrio are reported to be beaten up, and although most informants insist that this custom is a "thing of the past," the Metzgers' field notes (Metzger, 1956-58) on Aguacatenango recorded two contemporary cases. Sometimes an offering of liquor to the single men of the opposite barrio will help

621 578 582 them to "overlook" the trespasser, but not many young men are willing to risk the ire of the other barrio bachelors, nor the gossip and sanctions applied to them by their own barrio mates.[1]

621 794 Each barrio plays a role in the political and religious organization of the village by sending an approximately equal number of officers to the Ayuntamiento and the Mayordomías. Although in some years there are more delegates from one barrio, they attempt to correct the imbalance in the succeeding years. [623] The Principales (council of elders) have also equal representation.

621 [573] [575] [312] Escuadrilla groups (adolescent boys' gangs) and unmarried women's Church groups are formed among barrio mates. Women, with few exceptions, used the water wells or pipe lines in their barrio of residence (the exceptions include women who originally came from the other barrio) and who do their washing at places in [476] the river on their barrio side. Men who work together at such tasks as buying and butchering a cow, building a path or clearing an irrigation ditch belong to the same barrio. House parties [527] [183] organized to buy candles for the Church before a special Saint's day are barrio affairs, and no resident of the other barrio (with [575] the exception of the anthropologist) is invited. In the past, there were, in Aguacatenango, religious sororities sponsored by the Catholic Church, and each barrio had a separate one. There

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[581] [589] [1]A man that has married once is considered to have had his share of the available women of the barrio. Second marriages, especially with girls who have never married before, are not well thought of. It is common, then, that second marriages occur across barrio lines. A man finds it easier to cope with the antagonism of the other barrio men (who are expected, in any case, to be antagonistic) than with the bachelors and neighbors in his own barrio, where he has to face the antagonism in every day interaction.

351 592 571 When the people in two adjacent sitios have close social ties, they open an interior gate in the common fence, connecting the two yards. June Nash has noticed that if any disagreement [578] occurs between the people residing in the two contiguous sitios, the interior gates are barricaded even more strongly than the remainder of the fence, symbolically severing social communication (Nash, J: 1959).

351 592 Inside the sitios, there are several areas of activity (see Fig. 10): the front yard (ti?naie) where animals are tied [343] [342] when brought to the sitio, where corn is put to dry, etc., and where there are buildings (hna) such as the cook-house and others [241] which serve as sleeping quarters. The back yard is the place where things are stored and where a small garden is cultivated. [415] There are other spots, such as the place for the water jugs, the [252] place for washing the mixtamal (corn mesh used for making tortillas), [343] the sweat bath, etc.

342 The buildings themselves are mainly wattle and daub with thatch or palm roofs in the traditional Mayan pattern. There is, nevertheless, some variation in the use of cane, shingles and planks for walls, or tile roofs, which indicates a desire to imitate ladino ways rather than the wealth of the household. The houses have small porches which serve as "living room," places for receiving visitors, grooming, cleaning corn, or enjoying the twilight after a good day's work (see Figs. 10 and 11).

House Ritual

342 592 The building of a new house is an important social event

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

TABLE 5

HOUSE TYPES IN AMATENANGO[a]

184
342

Type	Cases	Per Cent
Roof		
Tile	1	1
Shingle	28	24
Thatch	87	75
Wall		
Wattle-and-daub	97	84
Rough Boards	19	16

[a]After Nash, J.: 1959.

342 Houses are a part of the family. They are considered as being alive (they grow old, just as people do) and watching the behavior of humans, toward whom they are somewhat unfriendly. If they are displeased with the behavior of the inhabitants, they can bring nightmares to the adults, death to the children and other misfortunes. Calixta Guiteras-Holmes (1960) has suggested that houses are ideologically connected with the earth, whom one has to please if crops are going to grow steadily, and to the monte (forested hills), where the wood for its construction is gathered. [008] Thus, because the monte is the residence of the evil spirits, enemies of mankind, the house is a projection of this malevolent world.

342 Even more significant is the house ritual connected with
753 the sickness of a person who lives in it. It is significant
571
508

because sickness is considered a supernatural expression of disturbed social relations, and this is considered disruptive, not only for the people who inhabit a single dwelling, but also for the building which symbolizes their common residence and interests. As long as the relations of people living in a house are harmonious, the house is kept contented. But if this is not so, both the people and the building have to be ritually cleaned. For example, if a daughter disobeys her mother, she is considered to be suffering from bilis or cólico, and in need of curing. During the curing ceremony, the sick misbehaver has to be instructed about her duties as a good daughter, and is given a speech apropos the misdemeanor. The curing ceremony is not completed if the house is not ritually cured, too. This is done by a curer offering the building some trago, the local brew, asking it to be contented. This offering is then symbolic of both the re-establishment of normal social relations between the individuals living in the house, and between the individuals and their material projection, their house.

The people living in a household are in charge of performing some other rituals which are expected to insure the welfare of the whole group.

A small altar, usually made of a pine table, is kept in the house. It is covered with Catholic Saints' images and printed religious calendars. The table also contains all kinds of other things: petty cash (which is kept there for small purchases), double corncobs (which are "lucky pieces") or unusually colored maize, and any other oddity found by the household members, such

423
432 this time arrives. The main reason for selling a house is to
[764] pay for the burial of a family member. Most widows, if the house
is not reclaimed by the husband's agnatic kin (who have rights
[428] over the property if there are no mature sons left by the deceased), will sell the sitio to pay for the husband's burial, and will move to their natal households with their children. Some sons will sell the house to pay for the burial of a father. The selling of the house is also a solution for cases of conflicting inheritance rights. For example, if two brothers claim rights to it, and if they both agree about it, they will sell it and the money obtained would be divided among them.

592
591 The fission of the compound household into nuclear house-
578 holds is accepted by the villagers as a traditional pattern of behavior, but residential changes are always expressed in terms of on-going conflict between the couples residing in the compound.

593
592 A father tries to keep his son living with him for as
464 long as possible because he is an emotional as well as an economic
562 asset to him. While a man has his son living with him, he has an unpaid agricultural worker bound to him by emotional and jural ties and by his economic dependence, and this allows him to maximize the labor force of the household and, therefore, increase production notably. At the same time, he is able to control a relatively larger amount of land for cultivation. If the son leaves the compound, he is forced to divide the land holdings under cultivation and to give him a parcel, a paternal duty which, in spite of the fact that it is expected of them, they try to avoid as long as possible. When the son leaves, the household

593 loses his labor and some of its land holdings, while if a daughter
592 leaves, the loss of labor is marginal, there is no loss of land,
464 and her removal is not a drain on the resources of the household,
562 nor does it upset its basic economy.
423

591 The multiple bonds between a father and a son over the
593 patrimonial land of the family, the products of their joint ef-
182 fort, and their common responsibility for setting up the standard of living for the homestead, all foster patrilocality.

423 A young man could, today, obtain land without his father's
425 direct help. He cannot obtain irrigated land (because it is ex-
592 tremely scarce, and privately "owned" by the household heads),
621 but he could obtain land in the communal lands of the village.
[593] This, of course, is not the better land, being temporal and far away from the village. Although the temporal land close to town is not privately owned, it is "earmarked" for use by the heads of each household. That is, the communal lands are distributed to households, not by titles of ownership, but by usufruct rights. Even if he decides to take such a step, he needs (1) the approval of the Ayuntamiento which oversees the distribution of usufruct rights for the community as a whole, and (2) the recruitment of other men to help him clean and fence the parcel.

621 Neither of the two alternatives is easy to carry out in
593 practice. First, if the Ayuntamiento grants land to a man against
423 his father's will, this creates a problem of jurisdiction between
425 the jural rights of the household head and the administrative
578 rights of the Ayuntamiento. We could not predict what consequences such a case would have, because we have no evidence that it has ever occurred (of course, this is based on the case

593
578 histories collected during the field work season, and it well
[621] could be that a case was missed). Second, if he wants to obtain
[423] help from other men, they risk antagonizing, with their willing-
[476] ness to cooperate, the head of the household in which the young man is residing, and they also risk the concommitant sanctions.

423 The young man could also obtain land without his father's
425 help by leaving the community to work for wages and saving enough
464 money to buy land. Although the selling of parcels is not a
166 common practice in Aguacatenango, the idea of land being a com-
[593] modity that can be bought and sold has been introduced, and some few household heads, in cases of emergency, are willing to sell. Of course, leaving the community to work for wages means voluntary exile for a man and alienation from relatives, friends and the cultural milieu. Also, men insist that it is profitable to work for wages only if one does it for short periods of time and keeps milpa simultaneously. Wage work alone is not enough to buy corn and the other necessities to meet the requirements of the customary standard of living.

593 On the other hand, a man breaking away from his home and
62] refusing to accept his father's authority becomes a deviant, and
156 antagonizes not only his family, but the community.

593 Although it is possible, theoretically, to become eco-
592 nomically independent of one's father against his will, in fact
156 a man can only set up his own household in compliance with the ethical principles and moral conventions of his culture. Therefore, he is only permitted to form his own domestic group when he has demonstrated that he has reached the stage of social maturity which allows him to do so.

300 firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound.
462 Going to gather wood is a very nice break in the routine, and women
313 usually go in the company of other women with whom they chat, ex-
606 changing news and gossip. A young wife usually stays home cooking
592 while her mother-in-law leaves the house to gather the fuel for the hearth. Even if a woman does go out to gather wood, she is expected to do so with her mother-in-law, rather than with the
[626] women of her own natal family. A woman talking about a bad daughter-in-law will say, "She does not even want to gather firewood with me, she always runs to her mother's."

562 Women look upon having their own homestead as the only so-
592 lution for gaining independence. It is true that, even then, they
885 are under their husband's authority, but they control the food brought by the husband to the home, and they can make their own
[574] decisions about the work schedule. They can also take time to
[512] visit their own female relatives and childhood girl friends, a
[606] habit which is disliked by their mothers-in-law as being a threat to their own position.

592 We can see, then, that there are several factors which
578 provoke structural tensions in the compound home; some are economic, others are related to the ordering of social relations in the kinship domain, and still others depend on the aspirations of the individuals.

In the course of time, the structural tensions accumulate to the point that they precipitate the fission of the household. The triad of a woman, her son and her son's wife, and the dyadic conflict between a father and son dissolves the compound into two

592 nuclear households. The dynamics of social conflict, are, how-
578 ever, controlled by the traditional patterns of behavior and by the negative sanctions applied to the deviant. Only in exceptional situations does a couple leave the husband's parents' house before the birth of a child. Even then, the residential
[626] change is expressed by the people in terms of on-going conflict between the women. People say that they moved "because the two women had a fight" and this or similar gossip follows every case of household fission.

593 The break between a father and son is only precipitated by open conflict. Part of this conflict is expressed in tensions between the men. Fathers insist that their sons should stay with them, sons insist that their fathers are selfish and unwilling to help them. But the bond between father and son is, in spite of the standard tensions, a crucial social relation for the society. A man is not judged with sympathy if he does not respect his father and keeps up a "good front" of harmonic relations with him vis-à-vis the community at large.

592 Then, it is not strange that the change of residence is
593 expressed through pointing out the tensions between the women
578 rather than the tensions between father and son. A woman and her
606 daughter-in-law are not members of the same consanguineal group residing in the household, the hoy ta yutil hna (of the same blood who live in the same house), and their antagonism is not viewed by the society as threatening to the unity of the kinship group, while the father-son relation is crucial in this domain. At the same time, the women are the expressive leaders of their

592 respective nuclear families (see Parsons and Bales, Ed., 1955),
593 and in case of conflict it is through their roles that the tensions
578 between the families are verbalized, even if the source of conflict
606 is outside their relationship.

TABLE 11

591 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: UNMARRIED INDIVIDUALS

Living in Type	Number of Cases	Percentage
Patrilocal	8	4.0
Matrilocal	11	5.5
Fratrilocal	3	1.5
Parentilocal	179	89.0
Total	201	100.0

Residence Patterns for Unmarried People

591
593 Children usually reside with their parents wherever the parents live. Sponsorship has been defined here in terms of both parents and the household in which the parents reside. Parentilocal residence is represented by 89 per cent of a sample of 201 unmarried individuals, but other cases are due to a variety of reasons, most often to situations in which one of the parents is dead or separated from the other definitively. Matrilocal sponsorship is met in the cases when the unmarried person is living with the mother on her natal compound or with the mother and a stepfather. Patrilocal sponsorship corresponds to the following cases: one in which the father is the sponsor, living in a nuclear house with his second wife who is the child's stepmother; cases of

606 184 [593] a mother-in-law does not. The affective ties which develop with the nurturant figure are extremely durable, even though they seldom see each other after the daughter marries.

[868] In Amatenango, perhaps because of early marriages which increase the nurturant aspect of the mother-in-law role (she certainly takes part in the socialization of the daughter-in-law by teaching her how to make pottery), and because of the establishment of a relationship before the younger woman had many chances to establish adult affective ties with any woman other than her own mother, the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond is less tense. The women create a strong solidarity bond in their active cooperation in pottery making, and their association is both intense and constant. The result is that "a successful relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is not an authoritarian one, but is rather characterized by mutual cooperation" (Nash, J., 1960: 184 29, 62-67). We can also observe that the residence pattern 591 606 grants, in Aguacatenango, unconditional power to the mother-in-law, 578 while in Amatenango, where a woman after marriage can reside with her own parents if she dislikes her in-laws, a mother-in-law is made to be more careful about her own behavior towards the younger woman. If she is too harsh, she can find herself with no female help in the house, and losing a son at the same time, which means that the household loses two laborers.

593 A man whose brother is
[636] accused of witchcraft is very likely to share the same accusation; if a man beats his wife, he can be blamed by his younger brother because the first one's reputation hinders the chances of the second for getting himself a wife. If a woman is lazy, people will assume that her sister is also lazy, and so on. Paradoxically, at the same time that siblings are equivalent for certain purposes, they are not in relation to each other. An elder sibling has, from early in life, power to scold, punish or control his younger siblings. The older they grow, the more the age difference becomes important. While one could be already working with the father in the fields, the other is still a playing child. While one gets married and becomes a man, the other is still under his father's authority.

The elder brother is always a possible jural replacement
[713] for the father. If the father dies and a man is a bachelor with a married brother, his elder brother replaces the father in terms of jural authority over him, is in charge of supporting him, working with him in the field, paying for his bride-price, etc.

[476] On the one hand, the relationship of brothers is one of
[578] collaboration, intense association for work and mutual dependency; on the other, the differential distribution of authority creates a certain amount of antagonism between the two.

593 This antagonism between brothers is symbolically expressed
578 in myths, legends and tales, many of which contain both a younger
538 and elder brother who spend their time trying to kill each other, being alternately successful until the younger sibling is the final victor.

593 The folk tales reflect, undoubtedly, the pattern of ultimo-
•578 geniture and, perhaps, a switch from primogeniture to ultimogeniture.
538 The meaning of the folk tales becomes obvious because of other elements which enter in the conflict.

428 If a younger son is married at the time of his father's
592 death, he inherits his house, and replaces his father as head of
593 the domestic group, following the norm of agnatic ultimogeniture. But if a younger son is single at the time of his father's death, his elder brother replaces the father and inherits from him. In this last case, it is his duty to provide for his younger brother's support, and at the time that he marries, split the paternal inheritance with him, giving the younger son his share of land, cattle or whatever was left for them.

183 The "rules of the game"[1] are, in the second case, not as
428 explicit as in the normative pattern. Many alternative forms of
592 behavior occur. In some cases, the elder son will move out of
593 the paternal home when his younger brother marries and brings his
[591] wife to the homestead. In other cases, he will expect to be com-
[583] pensated for his brother's bride-price and for having supported him and his mother. He would probably reclaim part of the property, or force his younger brother to sell the house and share the money obtained with him.

In still other cases, he will even refuse to give the younger son his share, or move out of the compound.

593 It is obvious that not all men are alike in temperament
578

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[1]That is, the adjustment between authority rights and succession rights.

593 nor in brotherly love. At times, the transmission of property and
578 authority is smooth; at times it reaches open conflict and extreme hostility.

[754] In several case histories from Aguacatenango, this antagonism between brothers has been expressed by the informants in the "witchcraft" idiom.

593 In one case, for example, a man, while drunk, threatened
578 his younger brother with witchcraft, because their father had not
759 given him a house (the man lived in a house given to him by his
428 wife's relatives), but the younger brother was known to everybody to have been promised his father's sitio. In another case, a man, Miguel, gave his brother, Juan, part of his father's inheritance. Juan divided it among his own sons without consulting Miguel. After a while, one of Juan's sons died, and the people said that it was Miguel, angered by the distribution of property which he considered his own, who had bewitched Juan's son, his own agnatic nephew, in revenge.

593 The antagonism between brothers reaches aspects other than
578 inheritance itself, such as the rights of sons over father's eco-
585 nomic assistance. Church weddings, for example, are considered to be more binding than the traditional local ceremony or civil marriages. In most cases, there is a second marriage ceremony performed after the birth of a child, when the marriage has proved stable and the couple needs to have proof of a religious wedding to get the child baptized.

In one of our case histories from Aguacatenango, the rivalry of two brothers became evident over the matter of a church

593 wedding. One son had married and already lived outside his
578 father's compound. His younger brother was married, but stayed
585 with the father. The younger brother obtained from his father a church wedding and the fiesta which accompanies it. The elder felt cheated. He was older, but he had not been given a church wedding, which he felt he should have had first. The father insisted that the elder son did not deserve it. First, he had not stayed in the house long enough after his marriage because "his wife was a bad daughter-in-law and insisted on moving out taking him away." Second, he was living outside his sitio and, being economically independent, he should have been able to pay for his own church wedding.

[626] The opinions of the villagers were divided. On the one hand, it was clear that only the child who is being supported had the right to get the father's direct economic assistance. On the other hand, the elder son had seniority rights.

593 We do not know the outcome of this particular case, but
578 the evidence is strong enough to suggest that the relationship
428 between brothers, especially in terms of each one's position as an heir with respect to their father, is not clearly resolved by the society, and is (1) a likely place of conflict in the social structure, and (2) a point of fission in the patriline genealogical continuity and depth. Second, the alternative pattern of patri-uxorilocal residence, and the concomitant fact that a man works the land with his affinals and inherits from them, and that a woman can inherit a house site, breaks in some cases the exclusive rights of inheritance within the patriline.

562 The inheritance rights of women are highly controversial.
428
578 All the cases of conflict over the inheritance or rights of usufruct of land, that we know about, involved a woman in the line
[183] of transmission. But however controversial, they are an established pattern. This is shown in the following cases.

Case 1

159 Delfina is about twenty-four years old, and still single.
592 She was raised by her godmother in San Cristóbal, and her aspira-
593 tions are to become a Ladina. She has consistently refused to
562 marry any Indian man, and lives with her parents in a large com-
554 pound. She is economically self-sufficient (perhaps the only
428 woman in the village which is in the same position), because she
434 works for the INI as a sewing teacher, and her status in the household is quite high due to the fact that she draws a large salary and that her parents are close to senility and dependent on her. Until recently, her married brother lived in the compound with his parents. He insisted that at his parents death he should inherit everything: land, house and animals. Delfina and his father were of the opposite opinion: the house should be for Delfina, since she was supporting them and, as she expressed it: "she did not get married." Faced with the brother's insistence about his traditional rights, the father ordered him out of the household, and he and his wife left town and went to live in
[626] Amatenango. Most villagers, however, think that Delfina is in the wrong. They say that she is alzada (prideful) and loose in her relations with Ladino men (the employees of the INI that come to the village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

159 Delfina is an unusual woman by village standards, and
156 the anthropologist quickly notices her deviant, from the rest of Aguacatenango women, personal characteristics: domineering, moody and pretentious. But even in other cases, the rights of women to
562 inherit or transmit property are contested often, as the following
428 578 example will also show.

Case 2

159 Chilola has a son from a marriage previous to her present
428 one. This son is about twenty years old. He is working the land
562 with his stepfather, but wants to have his own milpa. When
578 Chilola's first husband died, they were very poor. Nobody claimed rights on her husband's milpa, so she held it, although her son was not old enough to cultivate it. She tried to sell it to pay for the burial, but nobody wanted to pay her price, so she kept it. At the time, her mother-in-law, an old woman, was living with
[592] her and being supported by Chilola, but "although she was already
[606] old, went out and looked for her man" (aunque estaba viejita se
[587] fué a buscar su hombre), and remarried. Because Chilola's son's milpa was fallow, the second husband of Chilola's mother-in-law took over its cultivation.

From the mother-in-law's late marriage, a daughter was born. This daughter married and her husband took over the milpa.

Now, Chilola's son wants to get his part of it because he is the direct heir of the father, who was the man who originally had the rights over the parcel. At the same time, the man who is

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 191]

159 now cultivating it, and has been doing so for a long time, refuses
428
562 to return it, even if he is paid half of the value of the land, or
578 only asked to give half of it to Chilola's son.

The reason for the inheritance rights of the people concerned not being clear is that twice, in the sequence of transmission, women have passed on the property, and as a result, it has left the hands of the original lineage.

Chilola's feelings are quite strong: the land belonged to
[606] her husband. Even if her mother-in-law had rights over the prop-
[736] erty at Chilola's husband's death, she was being supported by Chilola, and certainly, neither her mother-in-law's second husband nor their daughter has primacy rights against her son. (See Genealogy, Fig. 16.)

The case is obviously complicated by the fact that the
[423] property rights are defined not only in terms of inheritance rights, but in terms of usufruct (in a sense, they do not have land tenure, but milpa tenure), and the other men had been taking care of the parcel for a long time, which makes them feel that it is theirs.

159
422 This type of conflict carries over to other property, such
593 as livestock, as exemplified in the next case.
578

Case 3

When Candelario Aguilar married, Juana, his wife received
[413] a regalo from her father: a bull. Candelario sold the bull and bought a cow, which had a calf.

Candelario left town and gave the cow and calf to his father Francisco, so that they would take care of it in his absence.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 193]

159 During the branding of animals in the village, Francisco received
422 a letter from Candelario asking him to brand the cow and calf for
593 him. Francisco and his son, Epifanio, did so.
578

This started the conflict. Jose Mendez, Juana's brother, felt that the cow and calf did not rightfully belong to Candelario, nor to Francisco or Epifanio, but to him. Epifanio had a fight with Jose, and the latter, insisting on his rights, which were not very clear, stated that Candelario had sold him the cow (which was not true), when they were working in the lowlands together. Casimira, Juana and Jose's mother, supported Jose's claims over the animals, because it was the money obtained from Juana's bull that had paid for the cow that had the calf. The relatives of her daughter's husband had less right over the animal than Juana's brother.

It is possible that Jose felt that the cow and calf had been purchased with the money obtained from selling a bull which was originally his father's, not his sister's. Even if it was his sister's, he felt he had more right to use it than the sister's husband's brother and father. If owner of the bull or the cow had been a brother rather than a sister, the conflict would not have arisen. (For genealogy see Fig. 17.)

177 Third, with the introduction of Catholicism, although the
178 native belief system has preserved many of its early features,
754 it is now, without doubt, a new syncretic elaboration. The per-
796 vasive witchcraft powers are, for example, attributed now to
613 Catholic saints, but the concept that the lineage heads of principales have witchcraft power to punish deviants within their

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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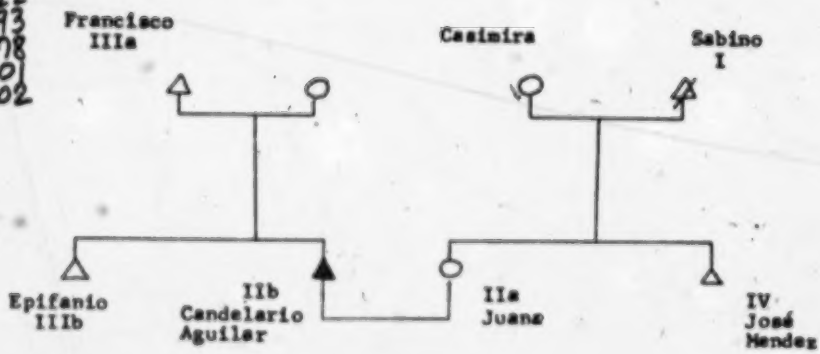

I to IIb indicate the order in which the bull was transmitted.

IIb-IIIb indicate the order in which cow and calf were transmitted.

IV is the man that pretends to have rights over the animals, with his mother's support.

Fig. 17.--Genealogy of Candelario Aguilar

177
178 lineage (which exists today in many other communities such as
754 Oxchuc), has disappeared. Without the basic belief in the super-
776
613 natural controlling powers of the lineage heads, the ritual activities performed by the lineage as a corporation became meaningless, and fell out of use.

592 Finally, from an economic point of view, the large patriline
613
434 household-compound, as a productive unit, is unfunctional, and the
421 characteristic form of the domestic group is now the nuclear house-
578 hold, which also contributes to the weakening of patriline strength. Within the nuclear household, it is difficult for its members to discriminate between the part of the household income that is derived from the household head in his capacity as a worker and that which is from his unmarried sons; between those profits which are derived from the household head as a capitalist who has provided tools and implements, and finally those which come from his capacity as "owner" of land. In a larger household, differences in labor in-put, rivalry between the women about the food controlled by themselves and belonging to their husbands, or between the men about the property rights of the produce derived from their common effort, tend to create conflict and disunity. In the
592
594 nuclear household, the division of labor is explicit, the role ex-
578 actly and minimally distributed, and conflict, in the case of its occurrence, is likely to be more quickly solved because the fission of the nuclear domestic group is equivalent to the disappearance of the household itself.

178
613 The functions before performed by the lineage are now
592 performed by the household, the community, or by the neighborhood
621
591
184

184 182 428 593 (4) The reciprocal financial obligations between parents and children in Amatenango, and between parents and sons in Aguacatenango, to support each other at different stages of the developmental cycle of their respective domestic groups affect the rule of ultimogeniture.

184 182 582 591 556 (5) The relative wealth of the natal domestic group of the spouse, measured by the amount of land controlled by the unit affects (a) the choice of marriage partner, and (b) the residence of the newly married couple. In Aguacatenango, where residence is normatively patri-virilocal, parents try to marry their daughters within the same economic level of their own households. In Amatenango, marriages occur across wealth lines, and the couple reside with the parents of the spouse who are better off.

184 182 462 407 593 (6) The relative importance of men versus female cooperative work groups, and/or the difference in structuring of work groups affects (a) the sibling bond; (b) the mother-daughter bond; and (c) the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond.

[606] In Aguacatenango, where only men form cooperative work groups, the brother-brother bond is stronger than the sister-sister bond or the brother-sister bond.

In Amatenango, where both males and females form cooperative [607] work groups, the multilateral sibling bond is reinforced to the point of including siblings-in-law.

184 593 578 591 In Aguacatenango, economic rivalry between siblings tends to disrupt the brother bond with constant conflict. Thus, relationships are more vertically oriented which is consistent with the [613] presence of agnatic descent lines (in Amatenango, generational

184 solidarity is stronger than cross-generational solidarity), but
593
578 generational conflict tends to disrupt the collateral extension
591 of patriline growth, making every patriline segment a shallow
613 descent group containing few generations in depth, and only few collaterals.

184 (7) Territorial propinquity between households in each
361 village follows the social propinquity established in terms of eco-
592
476 nomic reciprocity and work interaction. Thus, in Amatenango residence for individuals, interaction between households and the settlement of a neighborhood follow a bilateral pattern, while in Aguacatenango the three follow the male and agnatic line. The type of economic organization, based on the domestic group, correlates with the type of domestic group formed thereof.

184 The domestic group in Aguacatenango, with an internal
59 economy based on the cooperative work of father and son and the
428
562 transmission of property in the male line, is a kinship unit built around a core of agnatically related males with patri-virilocal residence. Among the Aguacatecos, at least one son of the nuclear family remains in the parents' household after marriage. All other children marry and move out, the sons staying close to the father. In this way, the family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of agnatic order, which extends itself in space as a patrilocally localized agnatic line, and perpetuates itself, in time, through the principle of agnatic ultimogeniture.

The domestic group in Amatenango, with an internal economy based on the cooperative work of both a father and son, a mother

these apparently irrelevant comments reveal the power play going on behind the scene of the ritual. 621* 178

The observed schedule for the civil inauguration (App. 1, column 4) differed from the elicited in four details. The first of these was an item omitted by both informants: after liquor was served in the house of the president, the entire company stood up and "turned toward the wall" (App. 1, Q. 20). When I questioned my informant, he corrected the orientation "toward the wall" and said that they were turning toward the east in deference to the leader of all the saints of the east, led by Santo Açio. He said that it was done in all household celebrations in order "to be sure that the devil does not enter." Belief concerning these saints is fragmentary, and perhaps because of this, behavior relating to them is not easily recalled. These behavioral sherds, when cut off from the belief system they once dramatized, survive in "perpetuating the custom of the ancestors" *(hič sluwar hič likem meʔtiktatik)*. 124 [776]

Another detail not mentioned by informants was the presence in the house of the president of the rural colonia inhabitants (Chart 6). This omission is typical of the neglect in reporting the activity or presence of anyone other than residents of the center. When I asked what they were doing there, I was told they came "to know the president." 124 632 622 574

Finally, an important divergence from expected behavior occurred when the schoolteacher, instead of the secretary, delivered the oath of office. This change was evidence of the schoolteacher's success in a factional struggle developing around new economic enterprises in the town. The former Ladino secretary was in close alliance with the former president and had supporters in the group of 20 co-owners, Indians from the village, of the truck when he had purchased. When the incoming president with his brother bought a truck with the assistance of 30 members of a truck-owning cooperative, a new focus for factional strife appeared in the town. The new cooperative was supported by the schoolteacher in his own bid for power. When the truck owners ran into any difficulty with the highway patrol, carrying wood or passengers without permit, the driver would refer them to the schoolteacher, who would then claim it 621* 875 178 578 • 621* 578 474 875 494

[P. 222-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontahal

was done at his order for the school.[11] The new co- 621*
operative was harassed by the old group, since the 578
president did everything in his power to cut down 474
their competition. As fiscal, his other role, he maneu- 494
vered the appointment of the chief business agent of [875]
the new truck cooperative and three other members [622]
as *niĉ'anil martomaetik*, junior caretakers of the [794]
saints. This meant that their Sundays were occupied in church affairs and cut into their taxiing of passengers from Tzoʔontahal to Himŏol, the neighboring Ladino town.

The nomination of the president was effected by 621*
winning the support of the Partido Revolucionario 665
Institucional (PRI). Supporters of the nominee se- 666
cured over 85 signatures from townspeople; the op- 622
position candidate failed to get more than 28. Once 578
PRI support was obtained, the election on November 20 was assured since one-party rule prevails here as in the capital. This is the first election which has been contested in 10 years. The last contest came when some members of the barrio of Yut' hok became members of the minor party, Partido Acción Nacional (PAN). Because this group and their presidential candidate all came from one side of the dual division, Alannantik, those from the other side said that they should have a party representative. They drew up a plan to run a candidate on PRI. The PAN candidate won. The present contest was drawn on [474]
the basis of membership in the truck-owning cooperatives which cut across the dual division.

The present nominee did not want to run for office. 666
Early in the running there were verbal threats on his 622
life. He had never passed in any office other than that 578
of president of the ejido commission, and although the office of president is not a rung in the ladder to office, it is expected that the incumbent would at least have experience as síndico. Three sources of opposition to his candidacy developed. First in importance 666
was the original trucking cooperative, which objected 622
to the competition of the president and his faction 578
in the new cooperative. Second, these members 474
spread the rumor that the new president would bring 548
in federal agents to break up the liquor traffic, which was becoming one of Tzoʔontahal's most important economic self-development projects. Thus all the distillers were apprehensive of their future under his term of office. Third, there was opposition on the

[11] Siverts (1964) describes Ladinos' "competition for each others' Indians in Cancuc."

[P. 223-A]

Third, there was opposition on the score that the president had never passed in any other public office. The only incident revealing the discontent was the firing of eight shots at (or above) the president's brother following the house festival on the eve of the inauguration. 666 578 622

The principales, who "formerly were the ones who ruled," no longer have a part in the power struggle 624 178

621* 794 554 346

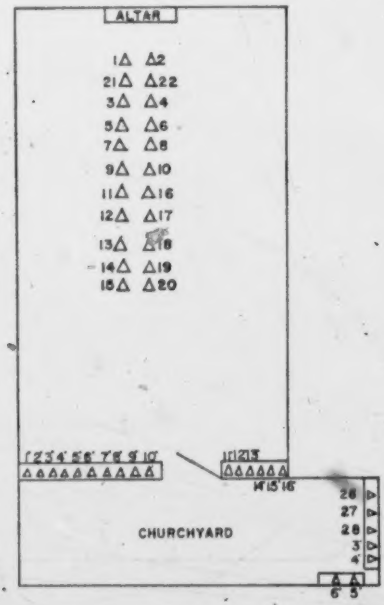

CHART 11 — NEW OFFICIALS INSIDE CHURCH, NEW YEAR'S DAY

OFFICIALS:
1'-16' Mayordomos

Remaining numbers refer to officials listed in Charts 7-9.

which centers on party membership and economic competition. Their ceremonial role in rituals is preserved as a link with the past as well as a sign of continuity between old and new officials. 624 178 [794]

In the inauguration of the religious officials, divergence in the elicited and the observed event (App. 2, column 4) occurred first of all in the shift of locale for the common meal from the churchyard to the house of the *?ali?bal* instead of in the churchyard (App. 2, Q. 19). This was a clue to the power struggle going on in the church. When I questioned my informant about the disparity, he told me the following story: 794 178 578 [264] [793] [273]

[P. 223-B]

Three years before [in 1961] my father was the *tatik* of Sacramento. One day he and the other mayordomos were drinking at the door of the church. The priest came out and demanded that they stop because this was the house of God. The *tatik* replied that it was the custom of the pueblo, and he and the other men refused to leave. The priest went back into the church and returned with a gun in his hand. The mayordomos seized wood which they had gathered in the yard of the church. They threatened the priest with this and he went back into the church. He announced that he would not give Mass, or perform wedding or baptismal ceremonies. We did not mind if he did not give the Mass or would not give weddings, but the people were frightened if he would not give baptism. The mayordomos had a meeting and they agreed to give up drinking in the church if the priest would continue to give baptism, but they

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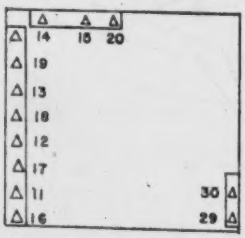

CHART 12 — KITCHEŃ OF POLICE, AFTER CHURCH (ELICITED)

Numbers refer to role terms listed in Charts 7 and 10.

would no longer care for the pigs or bring wood for the priest without payment. We pay him 15 pesos for an ordinary Mass and 40 pesos for a sung Mass, so he should pay us for help. The priest was in agreement with the mayordomos.

My informant had not realized that the ban affected eating in the yard of the church, but it was implied because liquor is served before the meal "to prepare the stomach" *(ya ital skoip we?eletik)* and after the meal "to wash down the food" *(ya?lel we?elil)*. [124]

The statement on who defines what performances, and in what setting, provides an index to the locus of power. The priest is gaining more control over the building, maintenance, and developments around the church. The mayordomos give at least a half-day's labor to the priest's projects each Sunday. When they cannot work, they must pay the elder *kobraria* two pesos for a half-day's work missed, or 4 pesos for a full day. The proceeds are used to buy liquor, which the mayordomos drink. Thus the social control is ex- 000

[P. 224-A]

Thus the social control is exerted through the traditional hierarchy, but the benefits of the labor go toward the priest's projects. The priest speaks with some satisfaction of the increasing control the "church" (he) has over the people. He maintains that this is because the people are more "civilized." For him, the indices to civilization are the facts that there is no drinking in the church, there is greater attendance at Mass, and more people are wearing Ladino clothing.

The second divergence in the elicited and observed accounts for the religious inauguration occurred when the civil officials, including the town secretary and síndico, assisted the religious officials in counting the money collected for the fiesta.

An important supplement to the behavorial data were the unsolicited comments of informants. Their anecdotes often gave me clues to their involvement in the gamesmanship of operating within culturally defined patterns. Although the informant focuses on the formal question, his growing boredom with the sequence (Who sat next to him? What did they do next? Who was there?) leads him to muse about the associated ideas and images which did interest him, often self-damaging or negative aspects of the culture which he might want to hide if questioned directly. The technique resembles that of the astronomer instructing the novice stargazer: "If you want to see the Pleiades, look at Jupiter, and out of the corner of your eye the nebulous cluster of stars of the Pleiades becomes visible."

The following illustrates how this free association emerged in the formal eliciting procedure:

Informant 2 constantly reiterated the danger his brother would encounter in undertaking the post of president as we discussed inauguration procedures. For example, when he gave me a list of participants at the Judge's house when his father took on that post, he mentioned the name of a widow, Cika, and provided the unsolicited information that her husband had been shot on December 16, 1963, the fiesta of Halal Me?tik Santalusia. Informant's statement: "He did not know he had an enemy, and so he walked alone that night. Each fiesta someone is killed. During the fiesta of San Francisco this year, another man in Bočibal was killed. No one knows why. He was knifed with a machete. I never go out alone at night because of the fights with the cooperative. They [the members of the opposing cooperative] are very hard *(ha? ben bolik)*. They claim they will kill us."

What prompted the next revelation was my com-

[P. 224-B]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

ment, engrossed as I was in the task of eliciting the formal sequence of events, "Quiet, S.; let's get on with the fiesta." He persisted in what interested him. 124

Eleven years ago they [who? enemies?] tried to get me. I had a piece of land in hot country. My house here was not ready, but the wood was ready. M. C. a neighbor was jealous [*šil yoʔtan,* 'saw his heart']. He had caused another neighbor's illness. He was my wife's *muʔ* [literally 'brother-in-law,' in this case the informant's wife's fa's sis's husband]. He didn't have corn or beans. He was jealous because of my crops and the big house I was going to build. 124 578 [754] [601] [602]

By now I was asking questions and taking notes. I interposed, "How did you know?" 124 578

I knew because when I got sick, the curer (who was the dead husband of the widow who came to the judges' house) told me. The *cabron* (goat) witches leave their signature in the blood *(yak hilel firma ta čiʔ)*. Then I went to a curer in Chamula who confirmed it. 754 756

"How did he speak to you?"

In Tzotzil. Then I went to Las Casas. Another curer, also a Chamulteco, said, "Here is his signature in your blood. He is working alone." On January 7 I fell in bed. All month from January to the 19th of April I was very sick. I went to Cruz Quemada (colonia of Tzoʔontahal) where F. G. cured me. He burned candles at the curing arch and prayed. 124 578 755 756 [782]

"Whom did he pray to?"

The hills, the holy land. Then I got well, but I was very tired. My Swana [wife, Juana] told me "He is going to kill you." I had a rifle. I filled it and went out, but then I returned. Another day I took two measures of trago, took my rifle and went to his house. He was sleeping with his wife close to him in bed, the way we sleep here. I fired four times. The bullets went in his back and came out front. One entered the arm of his wife. Now people say of me I am a killer. I went to the townhall for the enquiry. The man's wife said the door [of the house] was open. She said she did not see me. Afterward I got well. If I hadn't killed him, I never would have lived. Now I am having more trouble first because of the cooperative, then because of my brother being president, and then the comisario. Let us see what will happen this year. If God lends us our life, there are going to be protests. We will walk with our pistols. Špet [wife of Ladino owner of opposing cooperative] gave 1000 pesos to a man from Magronal to kill me. 124 578 682

"How do you know?"

My compadre came and told me. Who knows how many deaths there will be!

[P 225-A]

"Why don't you call in the civil guard?" 124

They will say we are women, that we are afraid. My brother wants to, however. 578 682

He communicated several things in this deviation from the eliciting schedule:

Many assassinations are committed regularly in Tzoʔontahal.
They usually occur at fiestas.
The only recourse is to kill one's enemy.
I am a killer, therefore I am prepared to protect myself.
Everyone knows I am a killer.
When I killed, it wasn't a murder but an execution.

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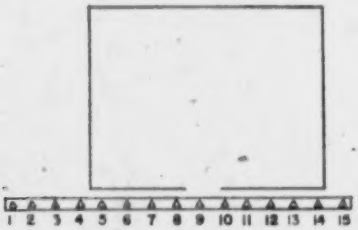

CHART 13 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF THE VIRGIN SANTA LUCIA, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:

1 Cofrade of Virgin Santa Lucia *(Kobraria Halal Meʔtik)*
2 Elder of San Pedro Martyr *(Tatil Yuʔun Martil)*
3 Assistant junior for Sacramento *(Aliʔbal Nilʼnal yuʔun Sakramentú)*
4 Assistant junior for Virgin Santa Lucia *(Aliʔbal Nilʼnal yuʔun Halal Meʔtik)*
5 Elder for the Christ of the Ascension *(Tatil yuʔun Tatik Sanpransiskú)*
6 Elder for San Antonio *(Tatil yuʔun Sanantonió)*
7 Elder for Virgin Rosario *(Tatil Halal Meʔtik Rosario)*
8 Elder for Santiago *(Tatil yuʔun Santiagú)*
9 Elder for San Jose *(Tatil yuʔun Sanhosé)*
10 Junior for San Antonio *(Nilʼnal yuʔun Sanantonió)*
11 Junior for Santiago *(Nilʼnal yuʔun Santiagú)*
12 Junior for San Pedro Martyr *(Nilʼnal yuʔun Martil)*
13 Junior for Virgin Rosario *(Nilʼnal yuʔun Meʔtik Rosario)*
14 Junior for San Jose *(Nilʼnal yuʔun Sanhosé)*
15 Junior for Christ of the Ascension *(Nilʼnal yuʔun Sanpransiskú)*

Since the informant expected that there might be an attempt made on his life in the approaching inaugural ceremony, he was advertising his own strength and willingness to defend himself even if it meant killing his enemy. I was an audience for him to try on poses of self-assertion. 124 578 [123]

[P. 225-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontahal

621*
inauguration is deduced from both elicited and ob- 105
served behavior. These data complement the elicited 182
material on structure in rounding out the ethno- 794
graphic model of social reality. 554
571

Specification of the behavioral data on which struc- 121
tural and functional statements are made should pro-
vide the basis for more precise comparisons over time
and between communities. I turn to the observed in- [571]
teraction to summarize the evidence for microchange [178]
within the community.

Outside of the formally prescribed behavior sched- 621*
uled in the inauguration, a struggle for power is 105
going on which is leading to important organiza- 178
tional changes in the town. This was suggested in the 578
substitution of the schoolteacher for the former La-
dino secretary in the act of giving the oath. Factional
struggle of the leaders of the new enterprises was
revealed in this substitution. Further evidence of
change is seen in the redefinition of the president's
position in relation to that of the principales. The
potential power which the post offers to the incum-
bent and those who back him is now recognized. The
risks are higher as the competition for the post
increases.

In the religious sphere the priest's increasing con- 105
trol over the domain of the church is seen in the shift 793
of setting for the common meal from the churchyard 178
to the *ʔaliʔbal's* house. This evoked the story of the 794
open confrontation of the priest and cofrades a few 578
years before. Public counting of funds by civil officials
suggests an attempt by the new leadership to thwart
the priest's dominance over the cofrades.

In the emergent struggle for power within the com- 621*
munity, we see not just a defensive reaction to La- 105
dinos by Indians of a corporate community, but a 178
play for stakes in the same world. This suggests that 829
the corporate community, now and in the future,
serves not so much as an insulation from the outside
world as in the past but as a springboard for the entry
of the Indians into fuller participation in the national
society.

[P 228-B]

682 156 themselves killed." When they see a man who is abusive while drunk, who brags of his power and of that of his animal spirit, they will remark: "That man is going to wake up dead" (*sakubk'inal čamel*). When such a man is killed, no one complains, even among his immediate relatives (cases 5, 10, 14, 16, 19, 22, 24, 26, 27, 29, 31, and 32 are of this type). When I asked [562] why women do not get killed, the response was, "They don't look for trouble" (*ma sleik smul*).

682 *Setting*

	Total	*Dawn*	*Afternoon*	*Evening*	*Night*	??
Streets of town	11				11	
Milpa, woods, road out of town	10	2	3	2	2	1
Highway	4		1	1	1	1
In cantina	3		1		2	
In houseyard	3			1	2	
In bed	1				1	
Neighboring hamlets & towns	2		1			1
??	3					3
Total	37	2	6	4	19	6

Where the killing takes place and its timing in the diurnal cycle are directly linked. All of the homicides in the streets of the town were committed at night, while those in the roads out of town near the milpa occurred in the late afternoon or evening. In providing privacy and security from discovery, the darkness of night is functionally equivalent to distance from the 682 town center during the daytime. When I suggested that the killings might be reduced if the 114 town would connect the lights that had been installed in the streets, the response was that when they had been in use, killings had increased. The lights helped the killer find his victim, perhaps lying out in the road after a drinking session. He would shoot out the light and then kill his victim.

682 The only killings in which considerations of space or time were ignored were those in the •579 cantina during a drunken brawl, for in contrast to the usual killing their onset was unpremeditated.

682 The timing of homicide is related also to the annual cycle: 14 homicides occurred during the [527] fiestas in the town or in a neighboring town. [579] The drunkenness of the fiestas provides an appropriate occasion for killing an enemy, although a drunken brawl is in itself rarely a [155] sufficient motive (two cases). Other opportune times are after a curing ceremony (six cases) [273] and after the gathering of curers during an

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum

[p.462-C]

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607

TABLE 2. SUSPECT, BY MOTIVE FOR HOMICIDE

		Brother	Brother-in-law	Son	Son-in-law	Neighbors	Relative of witchcraft killing	Curers	Cattle owners	Rival for girl	Drunks	Not of community	??	Totals
[683]	Victim was accused of witchcraft	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	—	—	—	—	8	18
	Victim accused suspect of witchcraft	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
[685]	Cattle theft	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	4
[578]	Rivalry over girl	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	3
	Abusive behavior	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
[579]	Drunken quarrel	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
[627]	Avenge a death (not caused by witchcraft)	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2
	Political conflict	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
	??	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
	Total	3	5	1	1	2	2	1	4	3	2	2	11	37

571 is accepted. Precipitous action on either side reveals a weakness of which
805 the other party might take advantage, or which might even stop pro-
[584] cedures.

Timing of activities is so specific that it can be read as an equation of social relations: People who come to the house after nightfall are either intimate members of the family, or are members of the circle of me'tiktatik invited for a special household celebration—night is the time when spirits wander, not a time for casual visiting. Arrival of the betrothal party at the
[584] house of the girl's parents after ten o'clock in the morning indicates that the suit has been accepted.

571 Sequential timing expresses relative prestige and a sense of priority. In
805 "raising" the officials for the official ceremonies, the lowest ranks of
554 officials rise first to go to the house and awaken each of their companions
562 in order of rank. The sequence in serving order has already been discussed with respect to rank and prestige. Another principle of sequence operates at a more subtle level: women go before men when there is expectation of a fight since their presence evokes less hostility. This is evident in the be-
[584] trothal: the me? č'om precedes the mam c'om in the initial proceedings
[579] when strong resistance and hostility is anticipated. When drunken fights start during house ceremonies, women intercede with calming effect.

641 Time always is on the side of the Indians when they wish to resist na-
829 tional orders. Verbal agreements to pay fines imposed or to assist federal
805 agents in the capture of criminals are frequently followed by deliberate negligence in carrying out the orders. Usually the order is forgotten or in-
[647] terest wanes at a higher level. Government agencies such as the INI learned to bide their time much as the Indians did. Expecting opposition to any proposed change, they waited for the initial reaction to die down, and then proceeded as support from those who benefited overcame internal resistence.

461 When called upon to perform jobs that require regular appointments,
464 the Indians respond easily to the daily scheduling. Resistance comes
512 against scheduled requirements that involve long spans of time and inter-
805 fere with communal and familial ceremonies. Work away from home is
[181] undertaken only on the premise that it will be of limited duration. This control over their own time is a value which Indians will not easily yield.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1936) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

and four *chuycales*, who are in charge of sacred matters. Certain shamans, called *dzunúbiles*, also participate in calpul government.

In Cancuc, Villa did not inquire into the matter, but in Oxchuc and in Bachajón the calpules have separate patron saints and are known, in the case of Bachajón, by the names of San Sebastian and San Geronimo, in the case of Oxchuc, Santo Tomas and La Trinidad. In the church at Bachajón the santos belonging to the north calpul, San Sebastian and two others, stand on the left side of the church, while San Geronimo, San Manuel, and the Virgin, representing the south calpul, stand at the right side. It appears, however, at least in the case of Oxchuc, that the festivals of these saints are maintained by the people of both calpules jointly.

The antagonism between the calpules of Cancuc has expressed itself from time to time in violence. During Villa's stay it was rumored that the people of the southern half were about to attack those of the northern half, and indeed, shots were fired. Blom and LaFarge reported "a dragging feud" in this village.[28] Apparently marriages may and do take place between the calpules; there is no indication, however, that they are exogamous.

In Oxchuc a principal annual ceremony attends the transfer from one calpul to the other of a certain sacred book. This greatly venerated object was, after some reluctance, shown to Villa. He was requested to deliver to its custodians a dozen rockets, some candles, and some incense; he was then allowed to examine it in the presence of the chiefs and the chuycales of both calpules. It is a notebook of twelve paper sheets, 40 by 20 cm. in size; it has a deerskin cover. Of the twelve pages, nine bear writing, all but one on both sides. The text appears to be a series of orders set down by the Spanish authorities in the year 1674. The book is kept in a black wooden box; before and after removing it the chuycales prayed, kneeling, while incense was burned and the rockets were discharged.

The book is called *cuhualtic* "Our Master." The ceremony of transfer of this sacred object takes place during the thirteen days beginning December 31. The principal members of the government of both calpules, numbering thirteen, assemble in the cabildo. The book is placed on a table with thirteen candles, thirteen rosaries, thirteen calabashes of lime mixed with tobacco, and thirteen vessels of atole. During the thirteen days the men remain segregated in the cabildo without contact with their homes or with women. Many prayers are uttered. At the conclusion of the period the box containing the book is escorted in solemn procession to the place it occupies during the rest of the year—not in the church, but in a special hut on the outskirts of the calpul of La Trinidad.

Information which Villa received from Indians of Chanal on the customs attending marriage differs in a number of respects from the account given by Blom and LaFarge,[29] or supplements that account, and therefore may be summarized here. There are no professional marriage negotiators. The boy's parents pay, ordinarily, four visits to the girl's parents to complete the agreement. On each visit they bring bread, eggs, fruit, and especially rum. The boy is expected

[28] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:387.

[29] *Ibid.*, 2:358–359.

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[P.107]

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TABLE 17. Choice Made in Response to Changes in Constitution of Family

Individuals with change in status	*Lives with parents*	*Lives with children in same house*	*Lives with in-laws*	*Lives with married child*	*Lives alone*	*Children of first marriage live with him/her*	*Children live with his/her parents*	*Moved to barrio*	*Moved to another town*	*Total*
Woman separated	6						1			7
Man separated	2									2
Widowed woman	1	14	3	2	1			4	1	26
Widowed man		3		1					1	5
Man remarried	1		1			1		1		4
Woman remarried	1	1				4	1		2	9
Total	11	18	4	3	1	5	2	5	4	53

584 ments through a special person (*chunel*)
[184] for each of the four clans, and differed from Oxchuc, where the case is presented to the nearest old man of the clan. In Cancuc, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, p. 3):

> The boy's parents dealt with the *Chunel* of the girl's clan when petitioning her. He received the gifts and gave approval; and then accompanied by the boy and his parents he went into the house of the girl's parents. There, he presented the boy's petition. Nobody could oppose the Chunel's decisions. The girl would die if she didn't obey the decisions of the elder of the clan.

583 Once a marriage feast is finished, the boy stays in his parents-in-law's house to fulfill the bride price (*stojyinam*). This service, which consists in helping the father-in-law in the milpa and in other duties, usually lasts a year, or less if arrangements are made in advance. Frequently during this period the man spends alternate periods of three weeks with his parents-in-law and with his own parents. When he has the means to do it, he builds his own house and starts the new cycle of a nuclear family.

● 581 After the first year of marriage, if the
585 couple get along together, the man must
574 make a present of two garrafones of aguar-
[273] diente and the same petitionary items of
[614] food, though in larger amounts. This time, more of the girl's clan are present, and so increase the importance of the event. The purpose is to celebrate the success of the couple and the union that will exist between the two families. This big *tertulia*, along with the corresponding meal, is called
[888] *mukel-ja* ('abundance of drink'). Old men of
[273] the clan who cannot attend receive at their homes the portion of aguardiente they
586 should have drunk. On the other hand, if the couple could not get along during the first year and the union is annulled because of the woman's fault, her parents must give back all they have received during the first ritual.

581 Finally, to bring all these duties to an
374 [P. 218-A]

581 574 end, the husband gives a big meal sometime (even 30 years later) which must be attended by the important members of the wife's clan. Many illnesses in a family are attrib- [753] uted to the fact that the man did not fulfill this third requirement of a food gift (*oshevuelto-uaj-matz*, 'third delivery of food').

584 Another custom, known as *yajk makte achish* ('cover or secure the girl'), is practiced when the chosen girl is too young (10–12 years) to get married. To secure her in the future, the boy's parents make arrangements with those of the girl, offering them liquor that other members of the girl's clan also share. When she grows older, they proceed with the wedding arrangements and the customary formal ceremonies.

583 Another form of marriage, existing among very traditional groups, begins with the capture of the girl. This happens when she has no father or important man representing the house. The boy and his parents must obtain cooperation from one of the male members of the girl's clan. With this accomplice the men go to the girl's house at midnight, take her, and bring her to the boy's parents either by persuading her mother with liquor or by force. Days later, they try to calm the anger of the important people of her clan, bringing further bottles of liquor. Usually the union becomes formally recognized after this, and the couple settle in their own home with the neighbors' approval. It is thus a sort of institutionalized capture.

581 177 585 Among the less conservative communities, these forms of marriage are being replaced by Ladino forms, which regard marriage not as a contract between two lineages or families but as an agreement between two individuals. Furthermore, the Catholic ceremony 583 836 is considered very important. Premarital sexual relations and elopement are frequent. Metzger states that, "in Aguacatenango, to 584 a considerable extent, the marriage choice [836] is made by the boy and the girl after sexual experimentation and a period of 'going steady.' The boy tells his family about it and they proceed to make the arrangements

[P 218-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

756 621 554 576 "giving the head" to certain elder women, but the reason could not be ascertained.

581 Marriage is an economic and social affair, apparently free of religious significance. Don Arturo Tovilla of Cacate-el, gave us a description of the manner of seeking a wife, which is here paraphrased. It will be seen that the importance, ceremonially, centers on the contract with the parents, while the actual joining in marriage is not stressed.

584 The boy's father goes with the boy to the girl's house, both dressed in their best clothes, and carrying a gift of three bottles (pints) of aguardiente "and some animal." His father tells the girl's father that his son wishes to marry the daughter; to which the answer is to call the girl and ask her if she likes him. She says nothing, but keeps on scratching the wall with her finger and the floor with her toe, thereby indicating that she likes the boy, while showing the proper maidenly modesty. The latter gives her a coloured handkerchief, pearl beads, etc., with which the contract is sealed.

The boy is obligated to bring to her house what the father may ask, such as corn, beans, aguardiente, as well as to help in the work for a year. He makes a social visit each Sunday, which the girl must receive. At the end of the time appointed by the parents, he takes her to his house.

If the girl does not signify her consent in the manner described, the match does not take place.

583 When the parents of one or both parties do not countenance the match, it may happen that the children, taking the law into their own hands, run away. The procedure in this case has become formalized so that, while unpleasant enough to act as a deterrent, it recognizes this as a regular manner of marrying. This description also is paraphrased from Señor Tovilla. [115]

When the parents forbid, but both children desire the match, after the boy has gone to the girl's house and been refused, his obligation of respect is ended. He builds a house in a retired place in the jungle. He and the girl meet to make their plans where she goes to get water, for which purpose she may often choose a spring a kilometer or more from her house. At an appointed time, they run away.

584 585 When he has carried her off and hidden her, his parents must go and apologize to hers. The girl's father tells the boy's not to leave before being punished. He, however, finds and brings in the couple, who kneel before the girl's parents. The boy's shirt is taken off, and

tual practices and are carried on in the home. Sometimes a church and/or civil marriage is held in addition, but the union is not consumated until the traditional home marriage has taken place. 584 585

The betrothal, or *č'om,* is an extended series of negotiations in which the boy's representatives plead with the girl's family to accept the suit. Anytime in a boy's late teens or early twenties, he may initiate the suit by speaking to his father, or the father may undertake to find a wife for his son. The parents of the boy then request an older woman who has some skill in speaking the formal speeches to serve as the me? *Č'om,* mother of the betrothal, and an older man to serve as the *statal č'om,* or leader of the betrothal (sometimes he is called mam č'om or grandfather of the betrothal). These intermediaries may or may not be related to the family initiating the request. Nonkin are usually chosen from among compadres or a neighborhood group. When the father requests that they act as intermediaries, he brings a gift of liquor, chocolate, and bread. 584 [192]

Before any negotiations are begun with the girl's family, the boy's family calls together the representatives. These include his grandparents, uncles, and aunts, his padrino of baptism and confirmation, and possibly neighbors or nearby compadres of his parents. The gathering then questions the boy to learn whether his interest in the girl is sincere and exclusive of any other infatuation. In this session, called the *?ič' yo?tan* or "taking of the heart," the boy goes to each of his representatives and kneels before them as they question him, asking him if he wants that girl and only that girl. He is told that marriage is an important relationship, not to be treated "as a toy"; the boy should be interested in only this girl, and if he should cause them to have to go to the cabildo "the day after tomorrow," it would cause embarrassment to the entire company. [602] [608] [571] [192] [581]

At the final gathering, called the *?ič' rason* or "taking of the understanding," the assembled me?iltatil of both the boy and the girl give the couple further advice. The boy is told what is expected of him in the marriage. It is a minimal statement: he should not leave her tomorrow, he should not beat her, he should bring home corn and beans, and all will be well. The girl is told that she should prepare her husband's meals and be waiting for him in the house when he comes home from work. Respect, called "hearing" and "feeling" (both combined in the verb *I?awayi*), is [192] 581 584

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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584 [581] stressed for both. The boy is again warned not to bring the me?iltatil embarrassment by causing them to go to the cabildo.

During the six months to a year between the first and the last gatherings, the boy's representatives make up to a dozen visits to the girl's house. The patterning of behavior during these visits reveals cyclical and progressive tendencies of which the participants are consciously aware. These progressions involve time, the number of people involved, and the size of the gift.

584 Time progression affects two aspects of the courtship: the hour of the visit of the boy's mam ɛ'om and me? ɛ'om, which becomes later, and the length of the visit—it is longer each time. The first visit is a tactical maneuver involving the early-bird ploy. The me? ɛ'om, having stayed awake after the all-night ceremony of the "taking of the heart," arrives at the girl's house at the "dawning dusk of the world." She stays only long enough to leave the gift and announce her intention of continuing the suit indefinitely. The timing of the last visit when the "taking of the understanding" occurs contrasts with this in that the members of the boy's wedding party arrive late in the evening and do not leave until four or five in the morning. The time of arrival and departure is plotted for each visit in Figure 5. The progressively later arrival time indicates increasing security on the part of the members of the betrothal party that the girl's family will be there to receive them, while the extended staying time indicates growing confidence and the breaking down of the barriers of reserve. Even up to the last visit, however, the members of the betrothal party take two quick parting shots of liquor as they leave the boy's house to "rid themselves of their embarrassment."

584 431 The increase in the number of members of the betrothal party who go to the girl's house is tied to the increase in the amount of the gift. The role terms of the members of the betrothal party indicate their association to the gift, as shown on Table 21.

Finally, the progression in the value of the gift is the cultural item most commented upon by the people, both within the village and in comparing customs with other Indian towns. This permissible variation indicates the relative wealth of the boy's family and the relative resistence of the girl's family. While the quantities vary from one ɛ'om to another, in all cases

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 128]

The links between members of the me?iltatil of a couple united in marriage are reinforced if another marriage occurs between the two households. While this does not provide a basis for prescribed or preferred mating, those who have such exchanges say they prefer it because the negotiations in the ʔom proceed more amicably, especially in the earlier stage. 571 58 608

Solidarity of the group is reinforced when the me?iltatil are called upon to help settle conflicts that arise in the marriage. The household review of marital conflict requires a formal gathering of all the members of the betrothal party who represented both the husband and the wife. Parents of the couple state the evidence and recite the events which led up to the conflict. The husband or wife may interject, speaking in their own defense. The elders suggest how the person judged guilty (usually the man) ought to behave and what his reponsibilities are. A transcription of one such case is included in Appendix 1A. This concerns a couple who had separated two years after the marriage. The following statement of the padrino of the wedding ceremony, speaking in lieu of the leader of the ʔom who could not be present, shows the techniques they use to adjust relations: 593 578 608 571 621

Now he [the husband] wants to change for the better. You [speaking to the husband] ought not to drink. It is better to eat meat and vegetables and find corn and beans for your wife and child. Now we have arranged it, and you can take your wife and child to your house.

A successful outcome depends on all people in the dispute accepting the judgment of the elders. If this cannot be achieved, the abused partner seeks redress in the courts. Women are most frequently the plaintiffs. The plaintiff is supported by her parents who appear with her in court and help argue her case. The defendant may appear with his parents, if they support him, but very often they feel shame and do not. 593 578 608 571 692

In court cases, two judges hear the evidence and they, along with the president and other civil officials deliver the verdict. The quality of interpersonal relations does not differ much from that which one finds in the household review, as can be seen in comparing the court review included in Appendix 1B with the household review. In the former case, the woman's wrath had been aroused by her husband occasionally returning to his first wife, and by his failure to give her money for expenses. Since he

593 There is no double standard for ex-
562 tramarital sexual relations, although men abuse the prohibition more often
[837] than women, judging from court cases. The ability the women has to assert herself rests on her economic contribution in pottery-making and on the fact that female household help is not part of the labor market.

562 Female sexuality has the connotation of negative power over male sexu-
831 ality. A woman should not step over a man's feet or his clothing since she
[829] could affect his virility. This negative power emanates from the odors of a
[825] woman's body, and is captured by anything in contact with it. A woman's
[755] skirt cast over the head of a bull can tame him, and the water used by a
[752] woman to wash her body, particularly the vagina if she has had children, is drunk to cure snake bites because it is very "cold."

[412] Sexuality is seldom extended beyond persons to material objects. There is some feeling that a man's tools, especially the machete and hoe, are male
[241] and that a woman's tools, especially the grinding stone, are female. Corn is a crop of men, while beans are a woman's crop, identified with the Virgin. But I could not get much farther with such distinctions.

593 The accidents of birth determine the recruitment of successive genera-
597 tions into the family of orientation. There is no outright adoption, but a
861 child may be "lent" to a childless couple, usually by a sibling of one of the
[603] spouses, or a grandchild may take up residence in the house of a grandparent when all the children have moved to separate residences. Parents discipline a badly behaved child with the threat, "I am going to sell you to care for someone's house," but I have never known of a case of outright sale of a child.

581 The selection of a spouse is a decision based on both universalistic as
582 well as particularistic considerations. Both the boy and the girl should be hardworking, sober, and dutiful residents of the same section of the dual division. It is considered to be of greater importance that the boy feel af-
[562] fection toward the girl than vice versa. The "taking of the heart" is a test of the strength and exclusiveness of the boy's interest in his chosen mate, and there is no counterpart for the girl. Although there is no term for romantic love, the closest approximation being "want" or "ask for" a woman, there is an awareness of the importance of a warm, affectionate basis if a marriage relationship is to last "at least until the day after tomorrow." A suitor is accepted if he is known to be a hard worker and if he

does not drink or have a record of fighting. Character traits are given 581 •
more significance than wealth, since the minimal differences which distin- 582
guish rich from poor can be lost within a few months if a man drinks
heavily or does not work. The close identification among siblings means [593]
that in accepting a suit the girl's parents will take into consideration not only the boy's reputation, but those of his brothers. If they are considered to be disobedient, lazy, or frequently drunk, their brother may have difficulty finding a woman.

Positions of ceremonial importance in the household celebrations are 794
filled by any of the elders who have acquired knowledge of the prayers. 592
The nakawanehetik are chosen from among any of the bilaterally-ex- 782
tended relatives, compadres, or padrinos who have served five times in reli- 555
gious office. They are selected not only on the basis of how well they 561
know the prayers, but also on their behavior when required to drink. A [273]
man who can hold his liquor and still speak well or who quietly goes to sleep rather than fighting when drunk is preferred. The me?il k'op is selected from among the female complements of these male relatives. She acquires her knowledge of the prayers in familial settings. The b'alnialetik are chosen from the kihtz'inal (younger siblings and cousins), or from among compadres or members of neighboring households. The rank order between the two sets of roles—the nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik—depends on relative age; thus the older nakawanehetik have greater authority.

Familial roles provide both a pattern and a springboard for other roles 621
in the community. The father-son role pair is extended to the relationships 593
between senior and junior officials in both the religious hierarchy and the 561
curing hierarchy. For each saint, the elder mayordomo is called "father" 794
(*Tatil Martoma*), and the younger is called "son" (*Nic'nal Martoma*). A 192
man must fill the junior post at least two times before taking on the senior post. For each side of the dual division, the elder curer (when there was a [756]
recognized leader) was called "father" (*Tatil ?u?ul*), and the younger was called "son" (*Nic'nal ?u?ul*) or sometimes "youth" (*Biktal ?u?ul*). The term *me?il* (woman who has borne a child) is used in the reference 621
to ceremonial roles played by women in the household, as in the case of 592
me?il k'op (woman speaker) and me?il č'om (mother of the betrothal). 562

621 593 581 794 Familial role requirements must be fulfilled in order for public roles to be undertaken. A man must be married in order to enter into even the lowest posts in the civil and religious hierarchies.

794 556 434 554 Only in the case of the alfereces has wealth ever been a criterion for recruitment. These four officials had to be able to spend 3,000 pesos during their year in office. The heavy expenditures failed to give prestige to the official, and the display of wealth excited envy rather than respect. The result was that people called upon to accept the post had to be imprisoned before they would accept.

554 756 Recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on innate qualities; special skills and knowledge are attributes acquired in office or other role positions rather than requirements for undertaking roles. Curers are recruited because they are recognized as having an animal spirit; they learn whatever skills are required after they have been initiated into the profession. The curers' special position in the society rests more on esoteric powers than on esoteric knowledge. Everyone in the com- [218] munity knows the herbs and medicines which are prescribed, and most men can give as comprehensive a taxonomy of illnesses as any practicing curer.

868 24 [857] [883] Economic roles, though largely undifferentiated for each sex, are consciously learned and transmitted. Boys accompany their fathers or elder brothers to the field at about the age of eight and continue working with them until they reach independence. Observation of behavior alone would seem to indicate an unconscious absorption of the role of agricultural worker, but informants recount episodes in which training in field work was explicitly transmitted by their fathers or brothers, and formal approval of their ability to do the tasks announced to their mothers. Parents [871] express fear that school attendance not only interferes with working in the milpa, but that it will cause the child to forget what he has learned in the field. Regardless of what other tasks a man performs, he thinks of himself as a farmer.

868 323 Becoming a potter requires an even more explicit training procedure. The fine linguistic segmentation of each act and movement in the schedule of pottery-making is a clue to the explicit transmission of tasks by the

621 his children, nor can he keep control of village affairs after his year of service has been fulfilled. Even a man occupying a post of high responsibility and prestige, a juez (judge) for example, becomes just an ordinary citizen after he leaves the office. All the men in the village theoretically, and most of them in practice, become village officers at some time in their life.

An individual starts at the bottom of the hierarchical ladder in the cargo of policía (also called mayor, topil or comisariado), which is a messenger or cleaning and errand boy for both the Mayordomos and Cabildo members. (He is the hands and feet [581] of the government.) The only requirement for this job is to be married. After this position has been "passed," a man is ready to start climbing the ladder to higher officerships, if he fulfills [58] the other requirements. He must have a child, a wife, and the [556] money which he is compelled to spend as part of the job: new clothes, liquor, and perhaps money to pay other men to help him with the agricultural work to which he cannot, being an officer, dedicate his full time.

During his life time, a man is required to pass a certain number of positions in the government, alternating Church and Ayuntamiento posts with rest periods of between one and three 62 years. After he passes the required number of officerships, and 887 by then he would be an old man, he becomes, automatically, a 888 pasado (a man that has passed his service), and can retire to private life, or become a principal, a member of the Elders' Council, a "father of the town." The Principales are the elder men in the village, highly respected for their wisdom and sought

621 578 582 them to "overlook" the trespasser, but not many young men are willing to risk the ire of the other barrio bachelors, nor the gossip and sanctions applied to them by their own barrio mates.[1]

621 794 Each barrio plays a role in the political and religious organization of the village by sending an approximately equal number of officers to the Ayuntamiento and the Mayordomías. Although in some years there are more delegates from one barrio, they attempt to correct the imbalance in the succeeding years. [623] The Principales (council of elders) have also equal representation.

621 [573] [575] [312] Escuadrilla groups (adolescent boys' gangs) and unmarried women's Church groups are formed among barrio mates. Women, with few exceptions, used the water wells or pipe lines in their barrio of residence (the exceptions include women who originally came from the other barrio) and who do their washing at places in [476] the river on their barrio side. Men who work together at such tasks as buying and butchering a cow, building a path or clearing an irrigation ditch belong to the same barrio. House parties [527] [123] organized to buy candles for the Church before a special Saint's day are barrio affairs, and no resident of the other barrio (with [575] the exception of the anthropologist) is invited. In the past, there were, in Aguacatenango, religious sororities sponsored by the Catholic Church, and each barrio had a separate one. There

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[1] [581] [587] A man that has married once is considered to have had his share of the available women of the barrio. Second marriages, especially with girls who have never married before, are not well thought of. It is common, then, that second marriages occur across barrio lines. A man finds it easier to cope with the antagonism of the other barrio men (who are expected, in any case, to be antagonistic) than with the bachelors and neighbors in his own barrio, where he has to face the antagonism in every day interaction.

585 183 593 606 family, that she starts a new life. She now has a new family and a new home where she should learn new ways of doing things from her mother-in-law, and forget the old ones she learned from her mother. Among her duties as a good wife and daughter-in-law she should keep her husband well fed and clean, obey her mother-in-law for whom she should work hard, and respect the head of the household (her father-in-law). She should not visit her family too often, and she should gather firewood with her mother-in-law instead of with her mother.[1] The ceremony indicates two things: [581] (1) the transfer of the wife's reproductive and labor power from her natal home to her husband's; (2) the boundaries of her new role. In a sense, the people of Aguacatenango define the role of a wife in terms of her performance as a worker and as a daughter-in-law, and in terms of her relations with all the members of the household rather than only in terms of her relation to her husband.

593 885 [851] On the other hand, a new husband's performance is under trial. He has to demonstrate that he can get along with his wife, and become a father, before his role as a dependent child is replaced by his role as a married man. At the time of acquiring a wife, a man is regarded by the community as a "child," being both economically and jurally dependent upon his father, who has complete authority over his actions, and is directly responsible for his son's misdeeds.[2]

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[583] [1]One of my informants tells me that although she was robada by her husband (she lived in the other barrio) the night she arrived at her husband's household, her father-in-law gave her a shortened version of the wedding speech. I do not know if this is a common practice.

[592] [672] [2]If a young man commits a crime while living under his father's roof, the father is responsible for his defense and for paying the fines to the Ayuntamiento.

593 885 During the first few years of marriage, he slowly becomes a tat (man). He establishes his own nuclear family, and he is able to take up the first officership in the local government, acquiring thus the rights to political ascension in the civil-religious hierarchy. We could say that the period of patri/virilocal residence has the function of smoothing the transition between bachelorhood and the responsibilities of married life.

581 591 Aguacatecos believe that a marriage has proved stable once children are produced and the man is capable of carrying on the economic burden of a family of his own. At this time, the couple should move to a house of their own, and form an independent household. A father, then, has to provide his son with a house site, in addition to a parcel to grow milpa.

591 [582] Soon, a younger brother (ideally, children marry in order of seniority) will marry and bring his wife into the parental home, starting a new cycle. The last of the sons (the po'h) [593] should stay with the parents until their death, and he and his [428] wife will inherit the parental house. It is preferable to have 591 606 only one daughter-in-law at a time living in the household. One informant suggested that the reason is that the mother-in-law is bound to prefer one of the two women, and this creates jealousy between them and fights.[1]

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[592] [1]When a second son marries, if the first son and his wife stay in the sitio they set up a separate kitchen, and eat their meals separately. In this case, the first daughter-in-law becomes independent of the mother-in-law, and works by herself, no longer under her mother-in-law's direct power. Except for the close spatial proximity, this arrangement functions as if the couple has set up a separate homestead, and the couple forms a separate domestic group within the same sitio (lot). The separate kitchen, or rather,

/6 cont./

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Ajkol-culibal	Alán-culibal
19 Chik	14 Chik
13 Chejeb	18 Chejeb
22 Ijká	6 Ijká

/7/ Among the Spanish surnames we have 6 that belong exclusively to Alán- and 6 to Ajkol-culibal (not counting the case in which a native surname of the Chik clan is joined to two different Spanish surnames that are found in both culibales). The remaining 14 Spanish surnames are combined with surnames from the two culibales.

621 Today the culibal is not endogamous, but we believe it
582 possible that it was in former times (as we have found in recent
178 investigations of the Tzotzil group of San Pablo Chalchihuitán of
174 this region). The present possibility of changing residence and
551 the incorporation of native surnames originating from a culibal (or perhaps two) that have disappeared within the boundaries of the two remaining make the reconstruction of the pre-Hispanic
621 culibal impossible in this case. According to the data obtained
582 in our census, 62.5 o/o of the marriages were concluded between
551 persons whose native surnames originated from the same culibal.
[125] In spite of the low percentage, nevertheless the custom of mar-
[166] riage between people of the same culibal predominates (we should
[613] not forget the mobility permitted in recent times, because of which residents of one culibal are persons whose lineages originate from the other), although cases of marriage between persons belonging
[614] to the two different culibales also abound. It is almost always preferred to look for a wife among the women of the same place or rancheria, but at present we can say that clan exogamy is the only thing that regulates marriage.

621 Each culibal has its own chiefs, elected from and by those
622 members who have filled political-religious positions in the
[631] Chakel or Ayuntamiento /municipal government/. The clans are
[614] taken into account in this election, rigorously taking turns. The
[651] culibal chiefs assign the communal lands, organize the collective tasks for the benefit of the community, pray for the health and

/16/

601 614 The kinship terms, excepting those that extend to all the members of a clan, do not seem to apply to persons outside of those included in the charts (Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4). The terms that designate older siblings are applied to all the members of the paternal clan without taking into account the principle of generation or the age relative to EGO. This custom tends to be applied even among descendants of the same grandparents: an old woman greets the granddaughter of her paternal uncle, calling her uix (older sister) instead of the corresponding kitsín (younger sister), the young girl using the identical reciprocal in her reply. We can say that there is a tendency toward the elimination of the principle of generation and that of age relative to EGO even among close relatives, using only one term for sister, a woman's brother, and a man's brother (uix, xibel, and bankil), except within the limits of the elemental family.

601 602 614 An individual, when born, is related to the members of two clans: the paternal one, which is his own, and the maternal one. Upon contracting marriage, he establishes new relationships, applying, as we have already shown, the terms which designate brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law to all the members of the clan of the spouse. In this manner a Cancuquero can be related to all the members of the tribe or native group, because at present only three clans exist, one of which may be the clan of EGO, another the maternal clan, and the other one the clan of the spouse. This is not always the case, because an individual may have married within the clan of his mother, in which case his kichanes and his siblings-in-law belong to the same clan, preferring then the use of the word bal to that of kichán. The members of the non-related clan receive the title of tatik and meetik (gentleman and lady). [609]

582 587 614 614 595 The clans regulate marriage. Preferred clans with respect to the selection of a spouse do not seem to exist. Upon the death of the wife a man may marry again within the same clan or in the other. One of our informants had three successive wives belonging to the same clan, but this is exceptional. In the three cases of polygyny known to us the wives were not sisters: in one case the

/16 cont./

614 595 two women belonged to the same clan, and in the other two they were women from two different clans. The levirate and sororate 587 exist, but do not constitute a custom practiced /17/ by many; [704] formerly it must have been more frequent, as is proved by the fact of designating the stepfather and stepmother by the same terms used for the father's brother and mother's sister, respectively, 583 and the stepchildren as nephews and nieces. There are several 614 cases of marriage between brother and sister of one clan and sister and brother of another clan. Marriage between cross-cousins is 582 frequent, especially that of a man with the daughter of the mother's brother. Husband and wife always belong to the same generation.

591 Residence is patrilocal, with temporary matrilocal residence for a year after marriage.

593 There still prevails the custom that those who intercede in a 614 direct manner in the preparation of the cadaver and in the in- 764 humation must be members of a different clan. If a married woman who has not had children dies, she is buried with her relatives, without the intervention of her husband.

614 The members of one and the same clan co-operate among themselves and lend each other mutual aid; the younger people obey and respect their elders in the same way that a younger brother respects and obeys his older brother. And we have stressed [626] how "sorcery" is practiced only within the limits of the clan as a [754] means of social control.

Mexico City,
Mexico

101 Note: The materials for the present study were collected 114 during two seasons of field work: May-June, 1945, and June, 1946, 122 financed by the University of Chicago, Instituto Nacional de Antropología de México, and Government of the State of Chiapas.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

352 utensils pertaining to the other room include three tables of varying form and size. One of these, about 60 cm. high, is called *akhintel*,[23] and serves as a support for the metate (*chá*). Another smaller table (*matzamaltié*) has three legs and is circular in form; it is used in making tortillas. The third table (*ucbalté*), also small but quadrangular, is used in serving food. Three benches of hollow logs 415 (*tzantel*) and small chairs (*taburetes*) serve as seats. Deep baskets and gasoline 251 boxes are used for holding clothes. Hanging from the roof is always to be seen a disk made of vines (*iikin-nab*). This is used to keep comestibles from the rats. The other implements are the griddle, pots, and other vessels of clay, and calabashes and gourds in various forms and dimensions.

343 Besides the fowl pen (*na-mut*) and the pigpen (*na-chitán*) it is common to [417] see near the house the temazcal, or steam bath (*pus*). It is made of clay and irregularly shaped stones; it is rectangular with a small door in front and a ventilator in the rear. It is usual to cover it with a small shelter of straw. The use of the temazcal [184] is common in the highlands. It is almost not to be found from Ococingo northward.

29 Each village has its own costume; however, local variations conform to a 184 certain pattern which changes according to the altitudes and climate. Thus, in the region of Los Altos the usual pattern of dress is the following: for men, short cotton trousers (*uex*)[24] and cotton shirt (*kú*) reaching to the knees, a sash (*chukichut*) of wool or cotton and in most cases red in color, a poncho (*tzotz*) made of wool and in most cases dark grey in color, a handkerchief (*chuhkil*), a straw hat (*pixol*), and leather sandals (*xanab*); women wear a white blouse (*kú*) and a blue shirt (*tzequel*), both made either of wool or of cotton, and a red woolen sash (*chukichut*). Some women in going out-of-doors add a woolen *rebozo*. Women use also a cotton cloth (*xitz-cal*) to carry small children. They wear no footgear.

In the tierra caliente the dress of the women is almost the same except that it is cleaner. On the other hand that of the men, although equally clean, presents marked differences: the trousers are longer and the shirt shorter, coming to resemble an open blouse or *guayabera*. The sash and the poncho cease to be indispensable [177] garments. It is in this region that there is most use of trousers and shirt in European style.

551 In Tenejapa, Starr found that the Indians had Tzeltal surnames. He says, 582 "We feel sure that these are *not* nicknames, but the old family names still preserved."[25] He does not give examples, and says nothing about any relation between 114 these name-groups and marriage. Blom and LaFarge make no note of such names, and say, "there are no formal restrictions on marriage."[26]

582 Villa found Indian surnames present in Chanal, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc, 551 and was told that marriage is not allowed, or is at least strongly discouraged, between persons of the same Indian surname. In Chanal an informant indicated that such

[184] [23] The names of these objects vary from one village to another; those which are described here were obtained in Chanal.

[24] The names of some of these garments vary likewise from one village to another; here Villa gives names used in Chanal.

[25] Starr, 1906, p. 73.

[26] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:155.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

a marriage was incestuous in the same sense as marriage between close relations. These surnames are transmitted patrilineally. Of ten informants in Chanal, nine gave their Indian surnames; the tenth said he had none. Furthermore, in cases where potential spouses have the same Spanish surname but different Indian surnames—and such cases occur—marriage between such persons is similarly discouraged. And in San Martin, Tenango, Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo, where apparently the Indian surnames do not exist, Villa received information to the effect that marriage between persons of the same Spanish surname is disapproved."

Indian surnames noted by Villa, with translations offered him, follow:

CHANAL: Yemuc (large mouth), Xampil, Tiib, Calabal, Chicó, Cories, Comistal.

TENEJAPA: Tzurin (sowing?), Hoviltzil (mad dog), Uacax (cow), Chacax (?), Mee-mut (mother hen), Lobal (banana), Ton (stone).

CANCUC: Oxom, Say, Chig-yax, Coreta, Caxlan-pucú, Hokob-canela.

OXCHUC: Chinbac (small bone), Aquilan (from Aquilar), Chichol (tomato), Barsen (*pinto*), Nimail (squash-rip), Holchi (deer head).

In all the highland villages information was given to the effect that each *pueblo* (town, with its rural population, if any) is endogamous; in most instances the endogamy was represented as absolute. As some of the communities include only a few score of households, the matter requires further investigation.

The communities of Cancuc, Oxchuc, and Bachajón (and apparently only these) are divided into antagonistic sub-communities called *calpules*. (Neither Starr nor Blom and LaFarge give information on this point.) In each case an imaginary east-west line across the plaza divides the northern lands of the one calpul from the southern lands of the other. In Cancuc (at least) the lands of the north are considered "hot," those of the south "cold," with corresponding favorable and unfavorable connotations as to their fertility. In Cancuc the northern calpul is called either *muhul calpul* 'large calpul' or else *alankuluhibal;* the southern is called *bikit calpul* 'small calpul' or else *kalankuluhibal*. Each calpul (*barrio* to the Ladinos) had its own government, established by the members of each calpul independently of the formal local government, which, recognized by the state and national authorities, acts for both calpules in matters that must be taken to the outside authorities. In Oxchuc the calpul officers are one *presidente*, two *alcaldes* or *cantakines*, two *gobernadores*, two *eatinab* 'very respected chiefs,'

" Among the Lacandons there are patrilineal, totemically named kinships grouped into two exogamous phratries (Soustelle, 1937). It is likely that among the ancient Maya of Yucatan there was surname exogamy. Landa says (Section XXIV), " . . . the Indians consider all of the same name related, and treat them accordingly. . . . Thus also no man or woman marries another of the same name, because this was for them a great infamy" (Gates, 1937, p. 40). Landa also says (Section XXVI), " . . . nor did they ever marry one bearing their own name on the father's side, for this was considered a very bad thing." On the subject of Maya names, Roys says, 'The Maya family name, which was perpetuated in the male line, survived the Conquest, but the old pagan pre-names were abolished and replaced by Spanish Christian names when the Indians were baptized. Two varieties of pre-names are well known: one indicating a man's profession or office, and the other, derived from his mother and preceded by the prefix Na-. The Maya called the latter the 'mad', and there were also two other classes of pre-names, which they called the 'boy-name' and the 'jesting name.' Many of the 'boy-names' are referable to fauna-names, especially those of birds, while some of the 'jesting names' appear to be descriptive.' It seems to have been possible for a single person to have borne all four names" (Roys, 1934, p. 156).

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

and four *chuycales*, who are in charge of sacred matters. Certain shamans, called *dzunubiles*, also participate in calpul government.

In Cancuc, Villa did not inquire into the matter, but in Oxchuc and in Bachajón the calpules have separate patron saints and are known, in the case of Bachajón, by the names of San Sebastian and San Geronimo, in the case of Oxchuc, Santo Tomás and La Trinidad. In the church at Bachajón the santos belonging to the north calpul, San Sebastian and two others, stand on the left side of the church, while San Geronimo, San Manuel, and the Virgin, representing the south calpul, stand at the right side. It appears, however, at least in the case of Oxchuc, that the festivals of these saints are maintained by the people of both calpules jointly.

The antagonism between the calpules of Cancuc has expressed itself from time to time in violence. During Villa's stay it was rumored that the people of the southern half were about to attack those of the northern half, and indeed, shots were fired. Blom and LaFarge reported "a dragging feud" in this village.[29] Apparently marriages may and do take place between the calpules; there is no indication, however, that they are exogamous.

In Oxchuc a principal annual ceremony attends the transfer from one calpul to the other of a certain sacred book. This greatly venerated object was, after some reluctance, shown to Villa. He was requested to deliver to its custodians a dozen rockets, some candles, and some incense; he was then allowed to examine it in the presence of the chiefs and the chuycales of both calpules. It is a notebook of twelve paper sheets, 40 by 20 cm. in size; it has a deerskin cover. Of the twelve pages, nine bear writing, all but one on both sides. The text appears to be a series of orders set down by the Spanish authorities in the year 1674. The book is kept in a black wooden box; before and after removing it the chuycales prayed, kneeling, while incense was burned and the rockets were discharged.

The book is called *cahualtic* 'Our Master.' The ceremony of transfer of this sacred object takes place during the thirteen days beginning December 31. The principal members of the government of both calpules, numbering thirteen, assemble in the cabildo. The book is placed on a table with thirteen candles, thirteen rosaries, thirteen calabashes of lime mixed with tobacco, and thirteen vessels of atole. During the thirteen days the men remain segregated in the cabildo without contact with their homes or with women. Many prayers are uttered. At the conclusion of the period the box containing the book is escorted in solemn procession to the place it occupies during the rest of the year--not in the church, but in a special hut on the outskirts of the calpul of La Trinidad.

Information which Villa received from Indians of Chanal on the customs attending marriage differs in a number of respects from the account given by Blom and LaFarge,[30] or supplements that account, and therefore may be summarized here. There are no professional marriage negotiators. The boy's parents pay, ordinarily, four visits to the girl's parents to complete the agreement. On each visit they bring bread, eggs, fruit, and especially rum. The boy is expected

[29] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 387.

[30] *Ibid.*, 2: 358–359.

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
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614 exception, both names (lineage and clan)
613 are inherited from the father.

[178] In the more acculturated communities, the
[612] clan and lineage system tends to disappear
and to be replaced by the bilateral system,
[582] characteristic of Ladino society. In Aguaca-
tenango, despite the belief that there is a
relationship between people of the same
613 Spanish name, they may marry. Moreover,
they are starting to be ashamed of using
the indigenous name differentiating the
lineages. B. Metzger states (1959, p. 18):

[551] Lineage names appear to be used as surnames
within the community—as we have discovered
[P 214-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

he is whipped by the girl's father for a thief. The girl is stripped to the waist and whipped by her mother. With this the marriage is legalized. As the first act of their true married life, the girl makes posole and offers it to her parents. The boy is under obligation to bring presents of bread, chocolate, aguardiente, etc., to his parents-in-law. 584 585

There are no formal restrictions of marriage, but the Church exercises a general influence against wedding brother and sister, cousins, or other relatives forbidden by Christian doctrine. In this, owing to the disposition of the Indians, and to the purely tribal character of marriage, which is not regarded by them as a religious or governmental matter, the Church is only partially successful. Informal unions actually do occur between brother and sister, apparently without any ceremony, the pair merely continuing to live together, their family relationship slowly changing into that of a married couple. That such a wife's status has some regularity in their eyes is shown by the fact that she has the same position in funeral rites as an ordinary wife. 587 177 178 588

It is probably due to the negative influence of the Church that the various important crises in the life of an individual, ordinarily marked by such colourful ceremonies among primitive people, here are distinguished by very little of ritualistic observance. For description of the main events in the life course, we were again dependent on Señor Tovilla, whose information, given with little change below, checked entirely with the result of other inquiries. The funeral ceremonies were observed at first hand, after the fight described at El Encanto; for them, accordingly, I have used my own notes. 115 126

When a woman is about to give birth to a child, a midwife—an older woman with some knowledge of herbs—is summoned. A few days before parturition, the woman is carefully tended by the midwife, well fed with choice food, and provided with a little rum. At the moment of giving birth, the midwife prays that the child may be brought forth happily. The mother kneels, and the midwife prepares to receive the child with a new cloth. Meantime the father is told to stay outside the house, or may be allowed to help in minor matters. 844

It is said that at Tenejapa the women go out into the woods to give birth untended, coming back with the child.

The baby is given Christian baptism. 852

A child's soul is considered to be particularly delicate, and therefore liable to magic influence. If the people of the house must go 789 [774]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

789 away, leaving it alone, an ear of yellow corn is left with it, that its soul may not be stolen. There is an interesting parallel here with [171] the ear of corn as a "ceremonial mother" in the Southwestern United States. If somebody expresses too strong admiration of a child, fire must be passed near it, or spittle rubbed over its forehead; otherwise the baby will become ill. Infants are particularly susceptible to the evil eye. To cure one that has been thus cursed, a female shaman is summoned, who passes a whole egg all over the baby's body. This is then opened, and the evil eye will be seen (by the shaman) in the yolk of the egg. They throw the egg into the river, or bury it in a secret place. Almost this same belief was found in Chontal of Tabasco. (Customs of San Fernando, Chapter VI, Volume I).

868 Children's education is simple and direct. As soon as a boy is old enough to work at all—at about five years of age—he is given a worn-down machete and set to cutting and hauling wood. From then on, following his father, he learns the man's duties. Girls are started with a miniature metate, grinding corn.

872 The Government maintains some public schools, such as at Bachajon Village, in which a few children learn to read and write, but in general great difficulty is found in obtaining scholars. As soon as they are old enough to study, they are strong enough to be of material help in the house and the farm; the parents do not like to relinquish what represents the interest on the investment of the price paid by the father for marriage, and the expense of the children's early years. Under the present administration, however, efforts to educate the Indians are being pushed as never before.

881 Puberty is attended by no observances of any kind. Marriage, • 582 which comes fairly early, has been previously described.

764 At death the ceremonial side is greatly emphasized. The funeral rites combine the idea of mourning with a general belief that the soul of the departed lingers for a brief time about his former domicile. When possible, the house of the deceased is abandoned for a short time, during which period, if any small animal is observed about the house, particularly at night, it is supposed to be his soul. No particular powers are ascribed to the soul, as far as could be found out, but it is considered poor company.

As it happened, a man was killed while we were at the Finca Encanto, whose funeral rites we could observe. His wife began mourning for him almost immediately—this being in the middle of the afternoon. His body was taken to another house, neighbour to his own. The true ceremonies began after nightfall. Accompanied [123] by Lazaro and Señor Aguilar, the writer went up with a gift of

592
614 1. A = a, but A or a.

2. B = b, and A = a - B.

3. C = c, and B = b - c.

3. (D o e o F o G o h o I) and C = c - (D . . . I).

A full expression of the maximal household may then be written: A - B / B = b - C / C = c - (D o e o . . . I).

592 The maximal complement of a house expresses one configuration of the residence pattern. Variations in household composition consistent with this configuration occur where a household lacks members in certain age-sex positions--e.g., childless couples, widows, and couples with or without living children, living apart from their parents. The minimal complement of the household is two people, either of same or different generations; no individual lives alone.

One of the variations in household composition which is inconsistent with the above configuration is that of married
591 siblings, with their spouses, living in the same house. Generally speaking, the movement of individuals from one house to another takes place at the time of marriage or soon thereafter.
[582] Siblings marry in an order relative to their relative age, the oldest marrying first. If the marrying sibling is a male, he will bring his wife to live with him in his father's house. If the marrying sibling is a female, she will live with her husband in his father's house. If there are further males in the sibling

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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621 A territorial distinction not recognized by the federal government is the
361 division of the town center into two sections, or sides, by the street running in front of the church. The two sides of the division are called
[192] Ahk'olnantik, upper side, and Alannantik, lower side. The upper side is in the direction of higher lands in the southwest called Ahk'olk'inal, and the lower side is in the direction of lower lands to the northeast, called Alank'inal. The emphasis on relative altitude implicit in place nomenclature is a central fact in the Indians' ecological adjustment. Marriage is en-
[582] dogamous within each division by explicit rule, and in fact 87 percent of
[183] all marriages conform to the rule, according to a census I took in 1958. A
[125] man who marries a girl on the opposite side is forced to make a payment
[583] of eighteen liters of liquor to the bachelors of the opposite division. In addition to regulating competition for marriage partners, the dual division is the basis for allocating civil and religious offices.

174 Whether the dual division was an indigenous trait or not is a moot
621 point. The pattern for dual organizations existed in both Spanish and indigenous societies (Foster 1951:5). There is some speculation that the dual divisions are a product of the Spanish colonial policy of the congregación, when populations of different origins were drawn together. However, local historical accounts indicate that several ethnic groups were introduced at various periods. After the initial congregación, foreign Indians
175 were incorporated in the sixteenth century, in the latter part of the nine-
621 teenth century (Secretaría de Gobierno Constitucional, October 26, 1893),
563 and as late as the 1930s in response to the land reform program. As each ethnic group entered the region, it was either incorporated into one of the existing divisions or was isolated. The persistence of polarization must be
621 explained on other grounds. The widespread distribution in the Chiapas
[174] highlands of dual divisions defined by territory and descent in communities of both dispersed and nucleated settlement patterns suggests the indigenous origins of the division. A dual division of upper and lower sections based on endogamy and equal representation is found in San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:64), Chanal (Eva Hunt, NSF II report), Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1946:424), and Cancuk (Siverts 1964). The Nahuatl term *calpul* is applied in some cases to these divisions. The towns where calpulles are found are *paraje*, or vacant center, types (Tax 1937) which

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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were not affected by the congregación. The fact that there is no mention in the post-Conquest documents of the introduction of dual divisions suggests that the model was indigenous to the area.

The Indians of Tzo'ontahal state that the dividing line of the division was established in its present position when a new church, replacing the first one which was burned, was built on the present site. Judging from a date carved in a beam of the church, this must have been about the year 1746. The endogamous restriction on marriage has not led to a sense of racial distinction between the two populations. Both groups feel that they are descendants of the same ancestor figures and under their guardianship. The same Tzeltal patronyms are distributed on both sides of the division, although there is a clustering of some of them on one or another side. Table 2 shows the distribution of patronyms of 714 male and female adults; 88 percent of the patronyms are found in both divisions.[4]

The functions of the division in organizing social groupings have been eroded, but some survive. Equal representation by civil officials from the upper and lower sections, when there are two or more posts at the same rank, is still in effect. The principle of alternation of the single posts of president and *síndico*, his administrative assistant, so that one term the incumbent is chosen from Ahk'olnantik and the following term from Alannantik has not been a decisive factor since the 1930s, when Indian communities were being drawn into more active participation in national programs of change (Chapter 9).

Residential expansion within the center has been almost entirely in Ahk'olnantik because of the addition of ejido lands formerly belonging to the finca of San Nicolás on this side of town. This one-sided increase in population finally resulted, in 1965, in a breakdown of the principle of equal representation in the ceremonial posts involving high expenses, those of the four *alfereces*. Although attempts were made to find candidates in Alannantik, there were no men with sufficient funds who had not

4. Carrasco (n.d.:5) quotes a document in the *Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla, Guatemala* 16 indicating that Spanish patronyms were given to the heads of calpules and that these were to be extended to all members of the calpul. The present distribution of name groups in the dual divisions cannot support this, nor can it refute the possibility that Spanish patronyms were related to some larger kin or territorial grouping more than three hundred years ago.

It is considered much safer to drink in a bar on one's own side, but those men who pride themselves on being widely respected brag that they can drink on either side without becoming involved in a fight. When people must pass to the other side of town, they prefer walking on the Pan-American Highway, a socially neutral network, to passing through the streets of the opposite division, where their presence arouses curiosity and comments, such as "He must be looking for a lover!"

The colonias. The six colonias (Table 1) are populations of Indians who have moved from the center to take advantage of the lands granted under the ejido program of 1937 and "foreign Indians" who were formerly workers on the expropriated plantations. The Indians distinguish the close-lying settlements, or *barrios,* of Yetawitz, Pathuitz, B'očib'al, and Te'tikil from the remaining colonias listed in the census (Table 1). The populations of the barrios are more closely identified with the center since they are closer to it and there is a higher proportion of migrants from the parent group. They are linked to the side of the dual division to which they are most closely situated. Marriages can be contracted between members of the two settlements, and house lots can be acquired by residents of the town in the barrio with which they are associated. An exception was made to the association on the basis of proximity in the case of Te'tikil, which lies nearer to Alannantik but was linked with Ahk'olnantik in order to balance the population ratios at the time of its settlement. Police are appointed from these colonias and serve in the local *cabildo,* or town hall, along with other police from the center. The colonias of San Vicente and San Caralampio are farther away, and the rural judge and police appointed to these populations appear only once a week and during ceremonies in the local cabildo. The foreign Indians of San Vicente, who migrated from Chanal, and of Yetawitz, who came from Huistán to work in the finca of San Nicolás before acquiring ejido lands, are discriminated against in the local political organization. Their representatives never reach the high positions of president and first or second judge.

Ranchos and rancherías. The populations of these small settlements have only the most formal kind of social, economic, and political

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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perienced potter in the household, sometimes with the help of a trainee. 323
Older women prefer doing the lighter tasks, such as putting on the han- 461
dles and mouth or applying the slip of watered clay, to raising the sides which requires greater force and exertion of the back muscles. A second basis for the division of labor is the kind of item produced: older women for example, make bowls in preference to large water jugs and containers.

Learning to make pottery. A girl begins to make pottery about 323
the age of eleven. First she makes small replicas of the articles her mother 868
produces. Then, under her mother's direction, she learns to prepare the clay. The mother feels the clay with her fingers, telling her daughter to add more sand if this is lacking. She is taught to knead the clay three times. In making the pot, the most difficult phases are mixing the clay, forming the base, and rounding out the walls of the vessel as it is raised. The child is expected to learn slowly and is encouraged gently to improve each step. While the child works on her first pot, the mother makes a similar one; three or four times they exchange vessels, and the mother shapes her daughter's pot into a better form.

About two generations ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve 582
were the rule. Since most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques 178
begins at that age, pottery was taught to the bride by her mother-in-law if 323
she resided in her husband's house (Blom and La Farge 1927). Most mar- [606]
riages now are contracted for girls from fourteen to seventeen years of age. By this time they are already proficient potters and accustomed to working [593]
with their mothers. Therefore there is greater stress on their remaining in [591]
or near the parental home after marriage.

The pottery is fired in the streets of the town outside the house, usually 323
after the women have made four or five dozen items. The pots are set on planks forming a rough square around the fire in the center. Charcoal is added to the fire as the brush or corn husks set between the pots begin to burn. The women tend the pots, turning them every five minutes until the surface is well dried and hardened. Wood is added to the fire, and then the jugs are stacked in a pyramid, each one protected from the one it touches with a broken piece of pottery. The stacking is crucial to permit even firing and must be done carefully so that none are broken. Once the

The relationship of respect and obedience between parents and children 593
is expected to last throughout life. When a boy reaches the age of eight- 582
teen, his parents are expected to provide him with a wife. Wealthier fami- 434
lies tend to fulfill this obligation at an earlier age than do poorer families, 583
in which the boy may have to work in the fincas or in the sawmills to acquire the money for his own marriage.

Instruction in sexual behavior and reproduction is not characterized by 864
continuity, as is instruction about work tasks. Children are given no information about sex prior to marriage, and girls remain entirely innocent. They may be pregnant several months before they are aware of what is happening. The complete sexual segregation in work tasks and play during adolescence makes the relationship between sexes strained.

Even after marriage, the parents are concerned with maintaining their 593
child's marital situation, or, if they judge their child's spouse to be incorri- [586]
gible, to help him get rid of his partner. In the case of women, in particu- [736]
lar, parents continue to provide a refuge in case a daughter's husband should die, be sent to prison, or prove incompatible. Parents usually accompany their children if they are called into court, and failure to attend is tantamount to admitting the guilt of the child.

In successful marriages, the parents-in-law are equivalent to parents and 593
are called "mother" and "father." The parents of both spouses attend the 606
life crisis ceremonies of their children and grandchildren. Grandparents 603
provide support and care for grandchildren if their parents should die or remarry.

When parents reach the age of about sixty-five, they are no longer ex- 593
pected to work actively. A man will then distribute all of his land and ani- 888
mals among his children. He will expect to be taken care of by all of his children, but special responsibility falls on the youngest who will inherit [428]
the house. Sometimes aged parents move from one of their children's [591]
houses to another, spending a few months or years with each. Children are [755]
expected to pay for any curing ceremonies necessary in their parents' old [764]
age and to provide a good funeral appropriate to their wealth. Failure to [626]
do this incurs loss of respect with the neighbors and collateral relatives of the deceased. If the parents die after they have distributed their posses- 593
sions, the crisis following the death is minimal. At the funeral, mature 764
children of a deceased parent exhibit to the community their filial respect.

159 622 177 178 partners. He sold a few shares of a truck he and his family owned to Indians, but he retained the controlling interest. His wife was reputed to be [454] a witch, and was an active curer, combining old and new treatments of ill- [754] nesses.

[756] His position was challenged in the 1960s by the Ladino schoolmaster, 159 who had been remarkably unsuccessful from his arrival in 1953 until that 875 time in gaining personal power and influence. His intercession in a local 177 homicide case involving a father's murder of his son outraged the towns- 178 people, some of whom threatened to kill him. His attempts to have water 563 578 installed aroused the curers against him since they were accustomed to [312] bathing their patients at the source of the spring from which they were de- [756] barred when the plumbing was installed. His demands that children [871] within the legal age limit should not only attend school but should be pro- [582] hibited from marrying until they had completed their schooling caused the anger of parents who wanted to give their daughters in an early and profitable marriage.

159 Gradually, however, the schoolmaster extended his own base of support. 875 He minimized his attack on local customs, adhering only to those laws af- 177 fecting the school population, over which he had a great deal of control. 178 Some of his support came from the orthodox Catholic members of the 563 community; he extended his control through compadre relationships with 558 over eighty members of the community. He showed movies which he ac- [608] quired from the United Nations and other educational film sources and [546] gave away medicines acquired from the health officials in the state capitol [278] who were his friends. From one of these sources of philanthropy he ac- [431] quired wool shawls which he gave to every woman in the town.

The professor demanded no return from the townspeople other than their respect and admiration; he was a person who enjoyed commanding others and needed an arena in which to project his own personality. In his early years in the town, he had to satisfy this need by capturing stray tourists and plying them with soda pop or coffee. His first opportunity to gain [474] leadership in the local sphere came in 1963, when he supported the new truck-owning cooperative. He used the influence of contacts in the state capital, including compadres, friends, and relatives of his wife's family. He promoted the cooperative's attempt to gain the presidency. One of the first

made in speaking of toddlers: boys are called *htatil* and girls *kantzil*. After five years of age, a boy is referred to as *č'in kerem*, "little boy" and a girl as *č'in ?ačiš*, "little girl." The term for younger sibling, *kihtz'in*, which is extended to all of the people younger than oneself on one's own side of the dual division, is not sex marked, but the terms for all people older than oneself are. Sexual segregation begins at the age of five in sleeping arrangements as well as in public gatherings, when little boys stand with their fathers. The modifier "č'in" is dropped after the age of nine, and the terms "kerem" and "ačiš" are used until marriage. At the age of fifteen, a girl is referred to as *?antz wiltal*, "just arriving at womanhood," and when she is married she is classified as an *?antz*, or woman. A boy is referred to as a kerem until he is married, when he is called *ač' winik* or "new man." A woman with children is referred to as *me?eliš*, and is a full-fledged member of her sex, the *me?il*. A man's reference term does not change with paternity. When a young unmarried man dies, people say with sorrow that it was a pity "he did not try out life," and that "he did not try out a woman."

In her youth a woman's role is tied to the reproductive cycle, but after menopause she is released from the restrictions of childbearing women. She need not appear as modest in public, and can drink and dance at fiestas. A noticeable personality change can be seen as women move out of the chrysalis of their reproductive cycle. Some older women begin to take a keen interest in sex, and widows in particular may have sexual relations with young unmarried men. It is after menopause that a woman takes her first role in ceremonials as a woman speaker.

In the man's life cycle, leadership roles are related to age. Paternal roles are the prototype for both familial and public authority positions. Thus the term for father, *tat* is the stem for the term for leader, *stätal*.

In the relationship between the sexes, women are considered to be under the control of a male protector, either their father or husband. However, there is a kind of equality between the sexes which is not found in Ladino society. Usually there is only a small age difference between husband and wife, even in second marriages, and parents resist giving a young unmarried girl to an older previously married man. Mutual respect is stressed in the advice given by elders at marriage. There is no double standard for ex-

There is no double standard for extramarital sexual relations, although men abuse the prohibition more often than women, judging from court cases. The ability the women has to assert herself rests on her economic contribution in pottery-making and on the fact that female household help is not part of the labor market.

Female sexuality has the connotation of negative power over male sexuality. A woman should not step over a man's feet or his clothing since she could affect his virility. This negative power emanates from the odors of a woman's body, and is captured by anything in contact with it. A woman's skirt cast over the head of a bull can tame him, and the water used by a woman to wash her body, particularly the vagina if she has had children, is drunk to cure snake bites because it is very "cold."

Sexuality is seldom extended beyond persons to material objects. There is some feeling that a man's tools, especially the machete and hoe, are male and that a woman's tools, especially the grinding stone, are female. Corn is a crop of men, while beans are a woman's crop, identified with the Virgin. But I could not get much farther with such distinctions.

The accidents of birth determine the recruitment of successive generations into the family of orientation. There is no outright adoption, but a child may be "lent" to a childless couple, usually by a sibling of one of the spouses, or a grandchild may take up residence in the house of a grandparent when all the children have moved to separate residences. Parents discipline a badly behaved child with the threat, "I am going to sell you to care for someone's house," but I have never known of a case of outright sale of a child.

The selection of a spouse is a decision based on both universalistic as well as particularistic considerations. Both the boy and the girl should be hardworking, sober, and dutiful residents of the same section of the dual division. It is considered to be of greater importance that the boy feel affection toward the girl than vice versa. The "taking of the heart" is a test of the strength and exclusiveness of the boy's interest in his chosen mate, and there is no counterpart for the girl. Although there is no term for romantic love, the closest approximation being "want" or "ask for" a woman, there is an awareness of the importance of a warm, affectionate basis if a marriage relationship is to last "at least until the day after tomorrow." A suitor is accepted if he is known to be a hard worker and if he

does not drink or have a record of fighting. Character traits are given more significance than wealth, since the minimal differences which distinguish rich from poor can be lost within a few months if a man drinks heavily or does not work. The close identification among siblings means that in accepting a suit the girl's parents will take into consideration not only the boy's reputation, but those of his brothers. If they are considered to be disobedient, lazy, or frequently drunk, their brother may have difficulty finding a woman. 581 582 [593]

Positions of ceremonial importance in the household celebrations are filled by any of the elders who have acquired knowledge of the prayers. The nakawanehetik are chosen from among any of the bilaterally-extended relatives, compadres, or padrinos who have served five times in religious office. They are selected not only on the basis of how well they know the prayers, but also on their behavior when required to drink. A man who can hold his liquor and still speak well or who quietly goes to sleep rather than fighting when drunk is preferred. The me?il k'op is selected from among the female complements of these male relatives. She acquires her knowledge of the prayers in familial settings. The b'alnialetik are chosen from the kihtz'inal (younger siblings and cousins), or from among compadres or members of neighboring households. The rank order between the two sets of roles—the nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik—depends on relative age; thus the older nakawanehetik have greater authority. 794 592 782 555 561 [273]

Familial roles provide both a pattern and a springboard for other roles in the community. The father-son role pair is extended to the relationships between senior and junior officials in both the religious hierarchy and the curing hierarchy. For each saint, the elder mayordomo is called "father" (*Tatil Martoma*), and the younger is called "son" (*Nic'nal Martoma*). A man must fill the junior post at least two times before taking on the senior post. For each side of the dual division, the elder curer (when there was a recognized leader) was called "father" (*Tatil ?u?ul*), and the younger was called "son" (*Nic'nal ?u?ul*) or sometimes "youth" (*Bik'tal ?u?ul*). The term *me?il* (woman who has borne a child) is used in the reference to ceremonial roles played by women in the household, as in the case of me?il k'op (woman speaker) and me?il č'om (mother of the betrothal). 621 593 561 794 192 [756] 621 592 562

M 563 621 647 T 621 743 647 doctors and officers of the National Indian Institute (INI) who arrive to the villages at irregular intervals. In Amatenango, the INI has established a "clinic" in which a native nurse provides some medical services, such as vaccinations, the selling of aspirin, etc., while in Aguacatenango the native INI nurse provides services in his home.

T 621 647 474 In both the villages the INI has established a cooperative store which sells staples which are not produced in the community, but such stores are in no sense agents of cultural change, selling only commodities which the Indians habitually buy elsewhere. (A reason for the lack of success of such stores is that the Indians have not understood the "cooperative" principle, very few men have joined, and they are disillusioned with the marginal profit obtained through them.) In 1958, Amatenango had water T 621 647 312 114 piped into the village, a project completed by the INI in 1957; while after the author left Aguacatenango in 1958, water pipes were installed there.

M 563 692 Political relations with the Ladinos of a more formal nature occur through the courts of justice and national government offices, and they are characterized by the covert (and at times open) hostility and misunderstanding on the part of both Indians and Ladinos (see D. Metzger, 1956 and Fuente, Julio de la, 1958).

T 628 438 571 608 582 Relations with other Indian villages are common both for Amatenango and Aguacatenango. They trade with the communities located in different ecological zones the products that do not grow in their territory (ocote from the highlands, sugar cane from the lowlands, etc.) in exchange for their own products and they

628 438 571 608 582 628 166 602 establish with them the relations of posada and compadrazgo, mentioned above, as well as (in the infrequent cases of inter-community marriage), some affinal kinship ties. In the few recorded cases of emigration from the village, some members of the community keep communication with a few consanguineal relatives living in other Indian villages, although social exchanges and the memory of such relatives tend to die out after a generation or two.

105 With the other Indian communities in the area, Amatenango and Aguacatenango share a common material culture and belief system, derived from a Highland Maya cultural tradition, the same linguistic background, and a subsistence pattern based on agriculture. They are peasant, in the sense that they are rural villages which depend, for survival, not only on agricultural work, but on economic exchange with other semi-urban and urban centers (Redfield, 1956:25-28).

438 [273] Aguacatenango buys pottery and chayotes from Amatenango, whose women come periodically to sell them, and trago (drinking alcohol) which some Amatenangueros produce illegally. Amatenango buys from Aguacatenango surplus corn.

628 [311] [312] The two towns have amicable relations, thinking of each other as neighbors, and sharing the same pasture lands, and source of water for irrigation. The two communities share the 628 776 same cultural hero, called Juan Lopez in Aguacatenango and Lopez Shuntón in Amatenango, connected with the corn and with the "lightening who lives in a cave." For Aguacatenangueros this personage is the builder of the roads, responsible for the eradication of "cannibalism," the conversion of man-hunting animals

628 into mild forest beasts, the peace made with the "kings of Guate-
776 mala" and the opening of trade with Comitán. He is also in both communities a powerful nahual (supernatural being controlled by the witches or a witch himself), and in Amatenango everyone prays to him on the day of the Santa Cruz (May 3). Both communities agree that he was "an Amatenanguero, born somewhere in the direction of Chiapa de Corzo." There are no compadre relations estab-
[608] lished between the two villages, but two cases of intermarriage
[582] and two of posada relations have been reported (Verbitsky, 1959a).

Both towns criticize the other for its "costumbres," criticisms which are related directly, as will be shown later, to some differences in social structure which will be discussed in this work. Amatenango women criticize Aguacatenango women as being lazy but mistreated by their husbands who make them gather their own firewood, and because they run away from their husbands seeking work in San Cristobal. Aguacatenango men criticize Amatenangueros for being lazy and not seeking work in the fincas, preferring to hunt rats in the cornfields, and their women for being dirty and authoritarian.

621 Although the barrio lines are imaginary, they are effective limits for interaction between the inhabitants of the two sections.

621 The barrios are ideally, and in practice, endogamous.
582 (Eighty-three per cent of marriages contracted in Amatenango are barrio endogamous marriages, and 86 per cent of Aguacatenango couples have spouses from the same barrio.) The distribution of Inter- and Intra-Barrio marriages is shown in the following table:

TABLE 4

INTER- AND INTRA-BARRIO MARRIAGES

	Amatenango %	Aguacatenango %
Spouse from the same barrio	83	86
Spouse from other barrio	7.5	8
Spouse from other rural settlements	9.5	6

Given the fact that barrios originated from the parcialidades, which were at the time of the reducciones independent communities, it is possible to assume that the endogamy rules are as old as the establishment of the villages.

621 The latent hostility between the barrios becomes evident
578 when the endogamy rules are broken. Young men trying to flirt
582 with girls of the opposite barrio are reported to be beaten up,
[714] and although most informants insist that this custom is a "thing of the past," the Metzgers' field notes (Metzger, 1956-58) on Aguacatenango recorded two contemporary cases. Sometimes an offering of liquor to the single men of the opposite barrio will help

621 578 582 them to "overlook" the trespasser, but not many young men are willing to risk the ire of the other barrio bachelors, nor the gossip and sanctions applied to them by their own barrio mates.[1]

621 794 Each barrio plays a role in the political and religious organization of the village by sending an approximately equal number of officers to the Ayuntamiento and the Mayordomías. Although in some years there are more delegates from one barrio, they attempt to correct the imbalance in the succeeding years. [623] The Principales (council of elders) have also equal representation.

621 [573] [575] [312] Escuadrilla groups (adolescent boys' gangs) and unmarried women's Church groups are formed among barrio mates. Women, with few exceptions, used the water wells or pipe lines in their barrio of residence (the exceptions include women who originally came from the other barrio) and who do their washing at places in [476] the river on their barrio side. Men who work together at such tasks as buying and butchering a cow, building a path or clearing an irrigation ditch belong to the same barrio. House parties [527] [123] organized to buy candles for the Church before a special Saint's day are barrio affairs, and no resident of the other barrio (with [575] the exception of the anthropologist) is invited. In the past, there were, in Aguacatenango, religious sororities sponsored by the Catholic Church, and each barrio had a separate one. There

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[1] [581] A man that has married once is considered to have had his share of the available women of the barrio. Second marriages, [587] especially with girls who have never married before, are not well thought of. It is common, then, that second marriages occur across barrio lines. A man finds it easier to cope with the antagonism of the other barrio men (who are expected, in any case, to be antagonistic) than with the bachelors and neighbors in his own barrio, where he has to face the antagonism in every day interaction.

241 Each man tries to cultivate enough food to make his household
592
462 self-sufficient the whole year around.

241 The younger males of a household are initiated into the
868 agricultural work by their fathers and elder brothers who work with the household head in the same fields. Around the age of ten, they are expected to leave grammar school and the children's playground, and to start learning their life trade: the tech-
[582] niques of cultivation. No young male is capable of marrying if he is not capable of bearing on his shoulders the economic burden of supporting a household with his labor in the fields.

241 In addition to producing enough corn for the consumption
433 of his homestead, a man is expected to cultivate some surplus
434 which the household can exchange in the local markets and stores for the manufactured goods and staples which they need: machetes, candles, needles, coffee and various other commodities. Moreover,
[464] if the household is in need of extra cash to pay for the expenses of a burial, a wedding, or any other emergency expenditure, he is expected to earn it by selling his labor to other men in the village for wages, or by working for short periods of time in the sugar cane plantation of Pujiltic. (Usually between one and two weeks of wage work will cover such emergencies. See Fig. 5.)

562 The women of Aguacatenango are economically dependent on their male relatives: father, husband, siblings and adult male
462 children. The women have many responsibilities; they are in charge of cooking and cleaning, sewing the family clothes, gathering
[231] firewood for the hearth, and educating the young. They are also
[241] in charge of feeding the small livestock which is kept in the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77]

593 885 During the first few years of marriage, he slowly becomes a tat (man). He establishes his own nuclear family, and he is able to take up the first officership in the local government, acquiring thus the rights to political ascension in the civil-religious hierarchy. We could say that the period of patri/virilocal residence has the function of smoothing the transition between bachelorhood and the responsibilities of married life.

581 591 Aguacatecos believe that a marriage has proved stable once children are produced and the man is capable of carrying on the economic burden of a family of his own. At this time, the couple should move to a house of their own, and form an independent household. A father, then, has to provide his son with a house site, in addition to a parcel to grow milpa.

591 [582] Soon, a younger brother (ideally, children marry in order of seniority) will marry and bring his wife into the parental home, starting a new cycle. The last of the sons (the po'h) [593] should stay with the parents until their death, and he and his [428] wife will inherit the parental house. It is preferable to have 591 606 only one daughter-in-law at a time living in the household. One informant suggested that the reason is that the mother-in-law is bound to prefer one of the two women, and this creates jealousy between them and fights.[1]

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[592] [1]When a second son marries, if the first son and his wife stay in the sitio they set up a separate kitchen, and eat their meals separately. In this case, the first daughter-in-law becomes independent of the mother-in-law, and works by herself, no longer under her mother-in-law's direct power. Except for the close spatial proximity, this arrangement functions as if the couple has set up a separate homestead, and the couple forms a separate domestic group within the same sitio (lot). The separate kitchen, or rather,

183 591 The preceding figures, when combined with the figures of compounds, show that the patrilocal norms are followed in practice in 95 per cent of all cases (see Tables 8 and 9), while only 64 per cent of the women live with the same degree of proximity to their parents.

The difference in proximity for men and women is not accidental, but statistically significant at the 0.001 level of confidence. This also shows that the community, as expected, is divided into localized clusters of households of agnatically related men. Even the 64 per cent is an inflated figure, since a man tends to marry a woman who lives close to his parental home, following the proverbial adage of "marrying the girl next door."

621 592 602 [582]

183 591 Alternative Norms of Uxorilocal Residence

The percentage of men who do not conform to the patrilocal norm are not exceptions to a rule, but illustrate alternatives available under a flexible pattern. The instances of uxorilocal residence do not depend on arbitrary individual choice, but are socially sanctioned and few in number.

591 A man will go to live with his wife's parents, or live in a house given to him by her father, for the following reasons which everybody in the village knows:

1. When a man is an orphan, that is, when his parents are dead and there is nobody in his family to replace the father as economic mentor and jural authority, a man does not have a household to bring his wife to live in nor a relative to work with and who will give him a house lot. In this case, a man, upon marrying, will move to his wife's parent's compound. He will then work the

[606]

591 the head of the household, it is likely that the younger couple
592 will move to another house after the temporary service period. If a couple has a married daughter or son living in the house, they will not insist, when a second child marries, that the first couple remain in the unit. Apparently, the most efficient work group is a dyad, both for agricultural work and pottery making
[428] (see below). The last child whether male or female will stay in the home and inherit it after the parents' death. It is unlike
[184] Aguacatenango where the rule is that only a male child inherits the house.

591 The choice of which parents' household should be the residence of a new couple requires a separate decision for each particular case. The factors that determine the choice are (1) the economic condition of the parents of each spouse; (2) the presence or absence of other children in each spouse's family of orientation; and (3) the age of the couple.

[556] "A new couple will take up residence quarters with the parents who are economically better off, with more land and cattle"
[693] (Nash, J., 1960:45). The second factor is related to the fact that
[592] if a couple has married children living in the house who can help with the agricultural work and the making of pottery, they are not as anxious to keep their other children as members of the household labor force. The third factor is a personal, rather than a
[582] standard, choice, because if a bride is very young at the time of marriage, "her mother may prevail upon the couple to stay in her home until later, even if the boy is working with his father and is to inherit his homestead" (Nash, J., 1960:45).

423 593 The reasons for keeping a son are not as pressing as the [432] reasons for keeping a daughter. Amatenango land holdings are [184] somewhat smaller than Aguacatenango, and the buying and selling of agricultural parcels, as long as it does not involve outsiders to the village, is a common practice which accounts for approximately 16 per cent of land transactions. The

423 241 592 464 limited land holding units in Amatenango require minimal cooperation in agriculture. Because of fractured land holdings, fewer than one-half of the households have two tablones . . . of land. Therefore, fewer than one-half the households can keep more than one man actively employed. Even in those households with from two to five tablones, a man and his adult son are sufficient labor for most activities except harvest. 592 Women's pottery production, however, requires frequent cooperation. 323 434 868 Two tendencies are reinforcing the cooperation of women, especially of mothers and daughters: (1) with increasing need for cash income to buy products which are not longer produced in the home, or which have been introduced, money [582] is constantly needed. Pottery offers an easy means of acquiring cash with almost immediate returns, and (2) marriages are [178] currently contracted at a later age for girls than formerly. Before, about a generation ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve were the rule. Most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques begins at that age. Consequently, pottery was taught to the daughter by the mother-in-law if the girl [114] was married and resided in the husband's house. (See Frans Blom and Oliver LaFarge [1927] who commented that all pottery was taught by the mother-in-law.) Most marriages now are contracted for girls from 14 to 17 years of age. At this time they are already proficient potters, and accustomed to working with their mother. Therefore, there is a greater stress put on their remaining in or near their parental home after marriage (Nash, J., 1960:47).[1]

592 868 323 The people of Amatenango recognize that during the period in which a woman learns to make pottery, she establishes particular habits of cooperation and a strong solidarity bond with the woman from whom she learns and with whom she works. "Parents say that there is an advantage in early marriages, in that the girl would be more willing to learn the ways of her mother-in-law if she

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[61] [1]It is also important to notice that with the increase in population over the area, the market has increased.

596 takes up residence in her husband's house" (Nash, J., 1960:28)
868 at an age in which she is not fully trained in pottery production.
323 At the same time, "mothers prefer to keep their daughters at home
[582] at least until the age of fourteen if there is no economic necessity in the family" (Nash, J., 1960:28).

592 Pottery production as a source of income is not equally
434 important for all households. (1) Households with more children
433 produce less pottery, because "child care compete with pottery
323 making for a woman's time." (2) Households with more women produce more pottery because the different tasks of the woman: pottery making, child care, and house maintenance, can be best distributed among them during the day. (3) The motivation to work at pottery production is stronger in poorer households, "because alternative sources of income are less, and more of the family subsistence must come from pottery making." (4) Households with more men and land produce less pottery. First, land needs men to work it, and a single man cannot work much, or lay claim to government Ejido land of any considerable size. "In richer households (in terms of land and cattle) there is sufficient milpa raised that corn need not be bought, and the need for continuous cash income is not so pressing. This has also a circular effect: richer households tend to be able to keep more children alive; with more children to care for, women devote less time to pottery." "Conversely, poorer households depend upon pottery income, have fewer children, and less experience with prolonged periods of little or no pottery production" (Nash, M., 1961:188).

000 If the woman's work in pottery is a crucial factor in

583 which are exchanged between future parents-in-law, the bride-
584 price or bocado is paid. The bocado is fixed: 300 pesos in goods.

582 Parents try to marry off their daughters within their own
184 economic level to provide a similar standard of living for them.
434 They will strongly refuse to give them to a poorer household if they are not very poor themselves. If the household is very poor, the first solution is to marry off the daughters, since they are consumers who do not contribute to the household income. If a poor household cannot find a husband for a daughter within the village, they will even give her to an outsider, for example, to a man from La Palizada. This is viewed as an unfortunate, but inevitable, choice. La Palizada is a settlement in the high, cold
[595] country. It is very poor. A woman marrying into it is viewed with pity because La Palizada men are polygamous and their wives work in the cornfields with them. Of two cases of marriages with La Palizada which we know about (one in the past and another that is contemporary), the only reason given for the marriage was the poverty of the households.

582 If a young man in town insists on marrying the daughter of a couple richer than his own household, they will refuse because
583 "the girl is not used to the hardships." If the girl decides on her own that she likes the man, the usual procedure is elopement at night to the boy's house. In this case, a poor man can get a richer bride without the bride-price, but he does not get any of the economic advantages shared by her family. The girl is cut-off from any social interaction with her family of orientation. Later, if the marriage proves stable, the young deviant couple can attempt

583 to reconcile themselves with the wife's parents by paying the agradecimiento (thankfulness payment), half of the established bride-pride. In those cases, it is considered that the full bride-price is not necessary "because the couple was already [591] living together." It follows that elopement cases are always patri-virilocal in residence.

592 562 582 434 In Amatenango, where women are important laborers, the household considers them an economic asset. They will not marry them off early except in case of extreme need, and they will use their marriage to form economic alliances with households at other levels of wealth. If they are not interested in keeping her because there is another married child in the household but they do not have immediate economic need, they will wait and try to marry her into a richer household. If they are interested in keep- 591 583 ing her in the unit as a producer, they will marry her to a poorer man and ask him to come and reside uxorilocally. When the residence choice at the time of the marriage is patri-virilocal, the bride-price is much higher than in Aguacatenango: 1,000 pesos rather than 300. Unfortunately, we do not know what the amount of the bride-price is, if it is anything at all, when residence after marriage is matri-uxorilocal.

582 191 The contrast between the marriage transactions in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is not unique to these two villages, but seems to be a recurrent structural pattern when there are differences in the labor market for women. Tax (1953) reports a similar contrast for Guatemala. In Panajachel, where women's labor has a high value, "marriages tend to cross wealth lines, with a man of a

582 171 richer family marrying a woman of a poorer family" (Tax, 1953: 202). "In only 13 of the 36 cases [reported by Tax] were the two families nearly at the same economic level" (Tax, 1953:203). Also, "exceptional but not uncommon" is that a rich man will marry his daughter to a poorer man and rather than loosing a worker, he gains another. In contrast with Panajachel is the case of Chichicastenango (a neighbor to the north) in that, "the time of women in Chichicastenango has until recently not had cash value. (Increased weaving for the tourist trade may change this.) Therefore, in Chichicastenango as opposed to Panajachel there is encouragement to marry within the same wealth class" (Tax, 1953: 206).

128 Affective Relations Within the Household

We have shown how some of the relationships within the domestic group are affected by the patterns of economic activity. In this section, we will discuss them in a different context; rather than in terms of interaction, we shall discuss them in terms of sentiment (Homans, 1950).

121 Homans (1950) has shown how intimacy and affection increase with increased association and interaction, but he also indicated that a relationship of formal respect and asymmetrical authority discourages confidence and affective ties (1950:247) or "at any rate, the fact of authority seems to turn the relationship into an ambiguous, or as the psychoanalyst would say, an ambivalent one" (1950:244).

121 593 In both Amatenango and Aguacatenango, this type of ambivalence is present in the father-son relation, as we indicated in

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VII

CORPORATE GROUPS WITHIN THE VILLAGE

Historical Perspective

174 611 591 601 583 423 422 It is probable that the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango had, at some time in their past, a patrilineal organization based on agnatic descent, patri-virilocality, a kinship terminology of the Normal Omaha type, and other associated features such as bride-price, groom service, patrilineal control of the rights to land usufruct, and patrilineal inheritance.

174 613 614 621 626 Each agnatic descent group formed segments of a corporate lineage, and several segments formed a sib. Lineages were localized, and they had important social functions. The heads of linear segments formed the local government and had the responsibility of controlling conflict and sanctioning individual behavior through the supernatural. They were believed to "own" powerful animal counterparts of their souls, which patrolled the village during sleep, and punished the misdemeanors of those men belonging to their line of descent. It is also probable that the lineage was [582] an exogamous unit, and there is some scanty evidence which points to the practice of cross-cousin marriage.

127 The evidence to support this hypothetical statement is of two types. On the one hand, there is some historical documentation in published, as well as manuscript, form. On the other hand,

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investigation, so that we could not pin down all patriline names to the respective genealogies.

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We do have evidence, however, that the patriline is (or was) exogamous. In the first place, the villagers are very insistent that "people of the same name should not marry," and at the present time, this rule seems to be influencing the choice of marriage partners even in the Spanish name group; on the other hand, we have one case which explicitly indicates so: one of the village women, Ceveriana, reported that when her present husband asked her to marry, she was very worried that her marriage was going to be "sinful" because both she and her future husband had the same Spanish last names: Hernandez. Not knowing what to do, they consulted a village elder, who asked them for their Indian last names. When he found out that their Indian surnames were different (Wayal and Chalté), he reassured them that it was permitted for them to marry "because they did not have the same Indian name." (See genealogy, Fig. 14.)

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Patriline exogamy, however, does not seem to be associated with preferential marriage. In other villages in the highlands of Chiapas, the informants state that it is preferred to marry a woman of one's mother's name group. In Aguacatenango, however, out of 161 marriages in which all the relevant names were known, only twenty-three men had married women of their mother's name group. Even in the case in which preferential marriages would be the ideal choice (and they never have been stated as such), the practice does not follow it.

184 182 428 593 (4) The reciprocal financial obligations between parents and children in Amatenango, and between parents and sons in Aguacatenango, to support each other at different stages of the developmental cycle of their respective domestic groups affect the rule of ultimogeniture.

184 182 582 591 556 (5) The relative wealth of the natal domestic group of the spouse, measured by the amount of land controlled by the unit affects (a) the choice of marriage partner, and (b) the residence of the newly married couple. In Aguacatenango, where residence is normatively patri-virilocal, parents try to marry their daughters within the same economic level of their own households. In Amatenango, marriages occur across wealth lines, and the couple reside with the parents of the spouse who are better off.

184 182 462 476 593 (6) The relative importance of men versus female cooperative work groups, and/or the difference in structuring of work groups affects (a) the sibling bond; (b) the mother-daughter bond; and (c) the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond.

[606] In Aguacatenango, where only men form cooperative work groups, the brother-brother bond is stronger than the sister-sister bond or the brother-sister bond.

In Amatenango, where both males and females form cooperative [607] work groups, the multilateral sibling bond is reinforced to the point of including siblings-in-law.

184 593 578 591 In Aguacatenango, economic rivalry between siblings tends to disrupt the brother bond with constant conflict. Thus, relationships are more vertically oriented which is consistent with the [613] presence of agnatic descent lines (in Amatenango, generational

184 591 586 602 the father is preferred, while in Amatenango, both paternal and maternal relatives are equally good choices.

184 736 591 434 9. In Aguacatenango, where widows are incapable of supporting the economic demands of the household by themselves, they choose to reside with a male sponsor in another household, while in Amatenango, they can be self-sponsors and the heads of their own domestic groups.

184 621 582 591 10. In both villages, residence within one's barrio is preferred over residence in any other territorial division. In Amatenango, cross-barrio marriages are accompanied by matri-uxorilocal residence as well as patri-virilocal residence, which results in both men and women residing in a barrio other than their own (11 per cent and 16 per cent respectively). This results in Aguacatenango barrios being related only through the circulation of women between them, while in Amatenango, both men and women are transmitted between families across barrio lines, in both directions.

184 621 602 [592] The structuring of economic and residential sponsorship produces two different types of neighborhoods in the two villages. In Aguacatenango, the neighborhood tends to be a cluster of agnatically linked households, while in Amatenango, it is composed [613] of a set of kindred. The barrio in Aguacatenango, then, is a [562] territorial division containing neighborhoods which are localized agnatic groups, which I call localized patrilines, with few non-relatives and bilateral kinsmen enclaved throughout the blocks; a man does not separate from his territory or barrio, nor from his neighborhood, while a woman circulates within neighborhoods after 184 621 591 marriage and even within barrios. In Amatenango, both men and

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614 595 two women belonged to the same clan, and in the other two they were women from two different clans. The levirate and sororate 587 exist, but do not constitute a custom practiced /17/ by many; [574] formerly it must have been more frequent, as is proved by the fact of designating the stepfather and stepmother by the same terms used for the father's brother and mother's sister, respectively, 583 614 and the stepchildren as nephews and nieces. There are several cases of marriage between brother and sister of one clan and sister 582 and brother of another clan. Marriage between cross-cousins is frequent, especially that of a man with the daughter of the mother's brother. Husband and wife always belong to the same generation.

591 Residence is patrilocal, with temporary matrilocal residence for a year after marriage.

593 614 764 There still prevails the custom that those who intercede in a direct manner in the preparation of the cadaver and in the inhumation must be members of a different clan. If a married woman who has not had children dies, she is buried with her relatives, without the intervention of her husband.

614 The members of one and the same clan co-operate among themselves and lend each other mutual aid; the younger people obey and respect their elders in the same way that a younger brother respects and obeys his older brother. And we have stressed [626] how "sorcery" is practiced only within the limits of the clan as a [754] means of social control.

Mexico City,
Mexico

101 114 122 Note: The materials for the present study were collected during two seasons of field work: May-June, 1945, and June, 1946, financed by the University of Chicago, Instituto Nacional de Antropología de México, and Government of the State of Chiapas.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

621 and four *chuycales*, who are in charge of sacred matters. Certain shamans, called
[756] *dzunubiles*, also participate in calpul government.

621 In Cancuc, Villa did not inquire into the matter, but in Oxchuc and in Bachajón
776 the calpules have separate patron saints and are known, in the case of Bachajón,
184 by the names of San Sebastian and San Geronimo, in the case of Oxchuc, Santo Tomas and La Trinidad. In the church at Bachajón the santos belonging to the north calpul, San Sebastian and two others, stand on the left side of the church, while San Geronimo, San Manuel, and the Virgin, representing the south calpul, stand at the right side. It appears, however, at least in the case of Oxchuc, that the festivals of these saints are maintained by the people of both calpules jointly.

621 The antagonism between the calpules of Cancuc has expressed itself from time
578 to time in violence. During Villa's stay it was rumored that the people of the southern half were about to attack those of the northern half, and indeed, shots were fired. Blom and LaFarge reported "a dragging feud" in this village.[28] Ap-
[582] parently marriages may and do take place between the calpules; there is no indication, however, that they are exogamous.

778 In Oxchuc a principal annual ceremony attends the transfer from one calpul
788 to the other of a certain sacred book. This greatly venerated object was, after
123 some reluctance, shown to Villa. He was requested to deliver to its custodians a
778 dozen rockets, some candles, and some incense; he was then allowed to examine it in the presence of the chiefs and the chuycales of both calpules. It is a notebook of twelve paper sheets, 40 by 20 cm. in size; it has a deerskin cover. Of the twelve pages, nine bear writing, all but one on both sides. The text appears to be a series of orders set down by the Spanish authorities in the year 1674. The book is kept in a black wooden box; before and after removing it the chuycales prayed, kneeling, while incense was burned and the rockets were discharged.

778 The book is called *cahualtic* 'Our Master.' The ceremony of transfer of this
788 sacred object takes place during the thirteen days beginning December 31. The principal members of the government of both calpules, numbering thirteen, assemble in the cabildo. The book is placed on a table with thirteen candles, thirteen rosaries, thirteen calabashes of lime mixed with tobacco, and thirteen vessels of atole. During the thirteen days the men remain segregated in the cabildo without contact with their homes or with women. Many prayers are uttered. At the conclusion of the period the box containing the book is escorted in solemn procession to the place it occupies during the rest of the year—not in the church, but in a special hut on the outskirts of the calpul of La Trinidad.

58 Information which Villa received from Indians of Chanal on the customs
114 attending marriage differs in a number of respects from the account given by Blom and LaFarge,[29] or supplements that account, and therefore may be sum-
584 marized here. There are no professional marriage negotiators. The boy's parents
.583 pay, ordinarily, four visits to the girl's parents to complete the agreement. On each visit they bring bread, eggs, fruit, and especially rum. The boy is expected
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[28] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 587.

[29] *Ibid.*, 2: 358–359.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The boy is expected to live for a year with the girl's parents; then he makes his own home, usually near that of his father. If the boy's parents are sufficiently powerful, they may pay the girl's parents twelve pesos in lieu of the year's service. Villa was informed that a woman unable to pay a debt or a fine may be taken as a secondary wife by any married man who will pay the debt or fine; that a woman who loses her virginity may be bought similarly of her parents for a little rum; and that in the case of any of these polygynous marriages, a single household is maintained. No such household was observed.

No information was obtained on birth customs,[30] or on customs in connection with death.[31]

Blom and LaFarge describe a church festival held at Tecojá ranch on June 22 and 23.[32] When Villa visited the highland villages the carnival was being celebrated. In Tenejapa on February 20 he witnessed the "Festival of the Flags" (*tahimalkin*). The (annually elected) leaders of the festival, the *alfereces*, assembled in the morning at the church. Each man conveyed a red banner with green edges, fastened to a pole, and each held in his mouth a short hook on which an orange was impaled. Nothing was learned as to the significance of these objects. The alfereces remained for a time inside the church drinking rum and singing. They then went by fours to pray in turn before each of the crosses set up in the village. The rest of the day they spent visiting the house of each one of them in turn; in each house they sang the same song sung in the church; in each the host offered rum, so that by nightfall all were drunk. These acts were to be twice repeated during the days following. They had for their stated purpose the announcement of the days of carnival. On the following Thursday the carnival became generally celebrated, and many natives went out costumed and masked.

The alfereces were accompanied by musicians, and also by three personages carrying the dried bodies of, respectively, a wild cat, a rodent called *saben*, and an iguana. Villa was informed that these animals are used in a later festal pantomime in which the alfereces enact a sowing, and in which these animals are represented as performing their characteristic mischief.

Villa observed other elements of the carnival ritual in Oxchuc. On Thursday, February 24, Indians of the calpul of Santo Tomás assembled in the church where they prayed for a time before the large altar, and then danced and drank rum in the nave. The dance was performed alternately by men and by women, and was accompanied by music from a harp, a guitar, and a rattle made of a calabash and a deer's hoof. On the following day these acts were performed by Indians of the other calpul; on this occasion the music was furnished by two drums and a flute, and the leader (*capitán*) was dressed in red. On this latter day natives of the calpul of Santo Tomás moved in procession through the streets; four individuals bore each a large pole to which were fastened ribbons of various colors; a fifth carried a red banner.

[30] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359.

[31] *Ibid.* 2:360–362.

[32] *Ibid.* 2:364–365.

[33] The frequent association, in Middle America, of small animals, especially furred animals, with festivals, in connection with ideas of fertility and of festal buffoonery, has been noted. See Redfield, 1936, pp. 231–243.

Though the nuclear family predominates,
591 custom dictates that the house be near mem-
613 bers of the same lineage or patrilineal
[361] group, perhaps because of the patrilineal
[592] system of land inheritance. In the parajes groups of houses in which families composed of mother, father, uncles, and other members of the patriline live are common.
[351] No fences mark the limits of the property; their infrequent presence merely keeps the
591 pigs and chickens under control. This group
592 of houses, easily accessible and inhabited by people related by kinship, constitutes the most important influence in the individual's formation, since it is here that he acquires his first experiences and cultural values, as well as the emotional links that will have the greatest weight in his life. This system of patrilocal residence is observed all through the region, even in compact villages like Aguacatenango, where lack of space favors dispersion. B. Metzger (1959) tells us: "Looking at the nuclear families to trace patrilocality there, we find that in 74 cases where we have adequate data, 39 are in the same block and 12 in adjacent blocks with husband's parents or siblings; 11 in the same block and 8 in adjacent blocks with wife's parents or siblings; 4 are classed to neither spouse's family."

351 In villages or cabeceras of a compact type
591 it is customary to mark family plots by a
592 fence of stones or sticks, with entrance toward the street (Chanal, Sivaca, Amatenango, Aguacatenango.) Occasionally, when the nuclear family is divided because of the marriage of one of the sons, then the "solar" or the "sitio" (as it is called in the region) is subdivided by another fence that separates the portion now belonging to the new family. A door allows easy communication between both families. Sometimes, even three nuclear families live in a large sitio, divided by fences.

• 583 *Types of Marriage*

Types of marriage vary from that following the old traditional to one requiring the
[P. 217-A]

583 procedures (*trámites*) of church and civil registry. The traditional marriage is an ar-
584 rangement between two families. The young man's parents, with his agreement, select the bride and start the visits leading to the
[574] petition. The visits to the girl's house must
[273] be made at dawn, accompanied by two or three bottles of aguardiente. These visits continue for several months, because the girl's parents want to consult the old men or the most important members of the patrilineal clan.

585 The wedding itself is simple, a family ritual concerning the boy's parents, the girl's parents, and old men of the clan she belongs to. Now the boy appears for the first time, bringing articles that will "warm up" the fiesta (Villa Rojas, 1949):

1 garrafón (about 18 liters) of aguardiente
80 cooked eggs
80 tortillas
80 tamales of the *chenkul-uaj type* (corn and bean dough)
10 kilos of pozole with chile
10 kilos of pozole without chile
1 kilo of ground chile
1 almud (4 kilos) of beans

According to my informants from Oxchuc, these items represent what the girl's parents have spent for her during childhood.
[574] This marriage feast is called *beybal-ja* ('the first delivery of aguardiente').

585 These items are presented with the great-
614 est formality to the girl's clan in oral forms that symbolize the wish for everlasting friendship between both families. The oldest member of the girl's clan responds by expressing on behalf of all members their satisfaction in receiving those articles and their good wishes for a successful union. Immediately, the couple kneels on a petate and listens to the oldest member of the clan, who formally announces they are married and recites the duties and obligations of each.

584 Until recently in Cancuc the custom ob-
184 tained of making these marriage arrange-
[P 217-B]

584 [184] ments through a special person (*chunel*) for each of the four clans, and differed from Oxchuc, where the case is presented to the nearest old man of the clan. In Cancuc, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, p. 3):

> The boy's parents dealt with the *Chunel* of the girl's clan when petitioning her. He received the gifts and gave approval; and then accompanied by the boy and his parents he went into the house of the girl's parents. There, he presented the boy's petition. Nobody could oppose the Chunel's decisions. The girl would die if she didn't obey the decisions of the elder of the clan.

583 Once a marriage feast is finished, the boy stays in his parents-in-law's house to fulfill the bride price (*stojyinam*). This service, which consists in helping the father-in-law in the milpa and in other duties, usually lasts a year, or less if arrangements are made in advance. Frequently during this period the man spends alternate periods of three weeks with his parents-in-law and with his own parents. When he has the means to do it, he builds his own house and starts the new cycle of a nuclear family.

581 585 574 [273] [614] After the first year of marriage, if the couple get along together, the man must make a present of two garrafones of aguardiente and the same petitionary items of food, though in larger amounts. This time, more of the girl's clan are present, and so increase the importance of the event. The purpose is to celebrate the success of the couple and the union that will exist between the two families. This big *tertulia*, along with the corresponding meal, is called [888] *mukel-ja* ('abundance of drink'). Old men of [273] the clan who cannot attend receive at their homes the portion of aguardiente they 586 should have drunk. On the other hand, if the couple could not get along during the first year and the union is annulled because of the woman's fault, her parents must give back all they have received during the first ritual.

581 574 Finally, to bring all these duties to an [P. 218-A]

581 end, the husband gives a big meal sometime
574 (even 30 years later) which must be attended by the important members of the wife's
[153] clan. Many illnesses in a family are attributed to the fact that the man did not fulfill this third requirement of a food gift (*oshevuelto-uaj-matz*, 'third delivery of food').

584 Another custom, known as *yajk makte achish* ('cover or secure the girl'), is practiced when the chosen girl is too young (10–12 years) to get married. To secure her in the future, the boy's parents make arrangements with those of the girl, offering them liquor that other members of the girl's clan also share. When she grows older, they proceed with the wedding arrangements and the customary formal ceremonies.

583 Another form of marriage, existing among very traditional groups, begins with the capture of the girl. This happens when she has no father or important man representing the house. The boy and his parents must obtain cooperation from one of the male members of the girl's clan. With this accomplice the men go to the girl's house at midnight, take her, and bring her to the boy's parents either by persuading her mother with liquor or by force. Days later, they try to calm the anger of the important people of her clan, bringing further bottles of liquor. Usually the union becomes formally recognized after this, and the couple settle in their own home with the neighbors' approval. It is thus a sort of institutionalized capture.

581 Among the less conservative communities,
177 these forms of marriage are being replaced
585 by Ladino forms, which regard marriage not as a contract between two lineages or families but as an agreement between two individuals. Furthermore, the Catholic ceremony
583 is considered very important. Premarital sex-
836 ual relations and elopement are frequent. Metzger states that, "in Aguacatenango, to
584 a considerable extent, the marriage choice
[836] is made by the boy and the girl after sexual experimentation and a period of 'going steady.' The boy tells his family about it and they proceed to make the arrangements

[P. 218-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

756 621 554 576 "giving the head" to certain elder women, but the reason could not be ascertained.

581 Marriage is an economic and social affair, apparently free of religious significance. Don Arturo Tovilla of Cacate-el, gave us a description of the manner of seeking a wife, which is here paraphrased. It will be seen that the importance, ceremonially, centers on the contract with the parents, while the actual joining in marriage is not stressed.

584 The boy's father goes with the boy to the girl's house, both dressed in their best clothes, and carrying a gift of three bottles (pints) of aguardiente "and some animal." His father tells the girl's father that his son wishes to marry the daughter; to which the answer is to call the girl and ask her if she likes him. She says nothing, but keeps on scratching the wall with her finger and the floor with her toe, thereby indicating that she likes the boy, while showing the proper maidenly modesty. The latter gives her a coloured handkerchief, pearl beads, etc., with which the contract is sealed.

The boy is obligated to bring to her house what the father may ask, such as corn, beans, aguardiente, as well as to help in the work for a year. He makes a social visit each Sunday, which the girl must receive. At the end of the time appointed by the parents, he takes her to his house.

If the girl does not signify her consent in the manner described, the match does not take place.

583 When the parents of one or both parties do not countenance the match, it may happen that the children, taking the law into their own hands, run away. The procedure in this case has become formalized so that, while unpleasant enough to act as a deterrent, it recognizes this as a regular manner of marrying. This description also is paraphrased from Señor Tovilla. [115]

When the parents forbid, but both children desire the match, after the boy has gone to the girl's house and been refused, his obligation of respect is ended. He builds a house in a retired place in the jungle. He and the girl meet to make their plans where she goes to get water, for which purpose she may often choose a spring a kilometer or more from her house. At an appointed time, they run away.

584 585 When he has carried her off and hidden her, his parents must go and apologize to hers. The girl's father tells the boy's not to leave before being punished. He, however, finds and brings in the couple, who kneel before the girl's parents. The boy's shirt is taken off, and

621 361 A territorial distinction not recognized by the federal government is the division of the town center into two sections, or sides, by the street running in front of the church. The two sides of the division are called [192] Ahk'olnantik, upper side, and Alannantik, lower side. The upper side is in the direction of higher lands in the southwest called Ahk'olk'inal, and the lower side is in the direction of lower lands to the northeast, called Alank'inal. The emphasis on relative altitude implicit in place nomenclature is a central fact in the Indians' ecological adjustment. Marriage is endogamous within each division by explicit rule, and in fact 87 percent of all marriages conform to the rule, according to a census I took in 1958. A man who marries a girl on the opposite side is forced to make a payment of eighteen liters of liquor to the bachelors of the opposite division. In addition to regulating competition for marriage partners, the dual division is the basis for allocating civil and religious offices.

[582] [83] [125] [583]

174 621 Whether the dual division was an indigenous trait or not is a moot point. The pattern for dual organizations existed in both Spanish and indigenous societies (Foster 1951:5). There is some speculation that the dual divisions are a product of the Spanish colonial policy of the congregación, when populations of different origins were drawn together. However, local historical accounts indicate that several ethnic groups were introduced at various periods. After the initial congregación, foreign Indians were incorporated in the sixteenth century, in the latter part of the nineteenth century (Secretaría de Gobierno Constitucional, October 26, 1893), and as late as the 1930s in response to the land reform program. As each ethnic group entered the region, it was either incorporated into one of the existing divisions or was isolated. The persistence of polarization must be explained on other grounds. The widespread distribution in the Chiapas highlands of dual divisions defined by territory and descent in communities of both dispersed and nucleated settlement patterns suggests the indigenous origins of the division. A dual division of upper and lower sections based on endogamy and equal representation is found in San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:64), Chanal (Eva Hunt, NSF II report), Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1946:424), and Cancuk (Siverts 1964). The Nahuatl term *calpul* is applied in some cases to these divisions. The towns where calpulles are found are *paraje*, or vacant center, types (Tax 1937) which

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621 [174]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

434 of the farm by renting additional land, as European peasants typically
464 did,[5] since there is very little land available for rent and the returns are
427 not immediate. Farmers will try to avoid this by acquiring land grants to
241 increase subsistence agriculture.

125 Expenditures and earnings were studied in six families over varying pe-
434 riods of time from ten days to one year. The data are summarized below.

434 Family No. 1, consisting of a husband, his wife, and their married
592 daughter separated from her husband and child, is able to meet all of their
[241] need for corn and brown sugar and most of their need for beans by the crops they raise on one-half hectare of ejido land in hot country, one-half hectare of ejido land in the township, and three-quarters hectare of privately owned, irrigated land in the township. On their irrigated land, they grow one-half hectare of wheat and one-quarter hectare of corn. In hot country they grow corn, beans, and sugar cane on the margins of the field. The cane is ground in a cooperatively owned mill, and their crop in 1965 produced 144 *tapas,* or measures of one kilogram worth 5 pesos. In addition to 200 pesos earned for the wheat crop, 100 pesos for the bean crop, 298 pesos for corn, this farmer earned 808 pesos for outside work. His high
[464] wage income is due to his working for an American at twice the usual
[465] daily pay. The farmer buys coffee by the twenty-five-pound bag costing 62
[435] pesos in hot country, a saving of about one-half the retail price of coffee in the town, where it is sold at 5 or 7 pesos at pound. In twelve months of recorded expenditures, the family spent 609.50 pesos or 83 percent of their budget on food, 40 pesos or 5 percent of their budget on clothing and 82 pesos or 11 percent of their budget on medicine.

The high expenditures in the case of family No. 2, consisting of a man,
[583] his wife, and two mature sons, was due to the fact that one of the boys was carrying on a betrothal suit. The bride-price had been fixed at 500 pesos, toward which the family was contributing whatever excess of income over
[464] expenditures it had. The son who was seeking a wife worked fifty-six days
[465] in the sawmill at a wage of 15 pesos per day during the six-month period recorded, earning 255 pesos. In addition, he and his brother earned 160 pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village.

5. Chayanov (1966:7) demonstrated that Russian peasant families expanded the size of their farms when the subjective needs of the family increased, not as a response to market prices for crops or rents.

323 178 442 443 coming from the smaller towns to buy. The Indians still bring pottery to sell retail in towns that they visit during a fiesta. One of these is the barrio of Lok'ibal in the município of Villa Carranza, where people go on the third Friday of Lent to get holy water from the spring.

The Indians have not taken advantage of the truck to buy pottery wholesale and market it directly in the smaller towns, selling from the truck in the plaza as some of the wholesale fruit truckers do. Another operation which they have failed to profit from is buying the wheat harvest and selling to government warehouses, as some of the Ladino truckers do.

44 471 273 443 434 Lack of capital is the major reason for failure to exploit these opportunities. In marketing the contraband liquor, which is the most flourishing of the new enterprises, the Indians have not yet entered into the external markets except in the case of one young unmarried mother. Wholesale purchases are made by Ladinos, primarily women, from other towns who resell the liquor in Comitán and on the coast. There is however, a well-developed home market since all contracts are sealed with the offering of liquor, the "gift of the gods," all court fines are paid in liquor, and the main gift in betrothal is liquor. The cantinas with phonograph players opened by the cooperatives operate very successfully on Saturday night and during fiestas. The internal market for liquor is controlled by a syndicate of the forty-two independent liquor distillers. The price is set at 4 pesos per liter for all buyers, with the buyer providing the bottle.

[675] [681] [583] [275] [216] [548] [435]

241 442 443 Agricultural production is not geared to a market, and Indians do not take advantage of fluctuations in price. Wheat yields a lower return per unit of land than corn, but it is grown for two reasons: the Indians believe that crop rotation of corn and wheat prevents depletion of the soil, and wheat requires less work since no cultivation is needed. Wheat is a cash crop and none of it is milled or consumed directly in town. Poor families sell their wheat "standing" to Teopisca truckers. The price given the grower is usually about 90 pesos per hundred kilograms, and it is resold at 110 or 120 pesos in Tuxtla or to the government storehouses. Wheat is sometimes brought directly to San Cristóbal millers who give 120 per hundred kilograms. Corn is primarily a subsistence crop when grown in the center. Corn grown in hot country ejido land is now sold in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. The local truck cooperative has a special permit which gives

[435] [489]

The relationship of respect and obedience between parents and children 593
is expected to last throughout life. When a boy reaches the age of eight- 582
teen, his parents are expected to provide him with a wife. Wealthier fami- 434
lies tend to fulfill this obligation at an earlier age than do poorer families, 583
in which the boy may have to work in the fincas or in the sawmills to acquire the money for his own marriage.

Instruction in sexual behavior and reproduction is not characterized by 864
continuity, as is instruction about work tasks. Children are given no information about sex prior to marriage, and girls remain entirely innocent. They may be pregnant several months before they are aware of what is happening. The complete sexual segregation in work tasks and play during adolescence makes the relationship between sexes strained.

Even after marriage, the parents are concerned with maintaining their 593
child's marital situation, or, if they judge their child's spouse to be incorri- [586]
gible, to help him get rid of his partner. In the case of women, in particu- [736]
lar, parents continue to provide a refuge in case a daughter's husband should die, be sent to prison, or prove incompatible. Parents usually accompany their children if they are called into court, and failure to attend is tantamount to admitting the guilt of the child.

In successful marriages, the parents-in-law are equivalent to parents and 593
are called "mother" and "father." The parents of both spouses attend the 606
life crisis ceremonies of their children and grandchildren. Grandparents 603
provide support and care for grandchildren if their parents should die or remarry.

When parents reach the age of about sixty-five, they are no longer ex- 593
pected to work actively. A man will then distribute all of his land and ani- 888
mals among his children. He will expect to be taken care of by all of his
children, but special responsibility falls on the youngest who will inherit [428]
the house. Sometimes aged parents move from one of their children's [591]
houses to another, spending a few months or years with each. Children are [755]
expected to pay for any curing ceremonies necessary in their parents' old [764]
age and to provide a good funeral appropriate to their wealth. Failure to [626]
do this incurs loss of respect with the neighbors and collateral relatives of
the deceased. If the parents die after they have distributed their posses- 593
sions, the crisis following the death is minimal. At the funeral, mature 764
children of a deceased parent exhibit to the community their filial respect.

593 The boy obtains a wife with his father's help. He has
583 usually selected the girl himself, but his father makes the ar-
584 rangements with the girl's parents and pays the bride-price. The bride-price, called the bocado (mouthful), is paid to the household of the future bride and has a fixed value, 300 pesos, given in the form of consumable goods: chocolate, sugar, bread, coffee, cigarettes and trago (the local brew).[1]

585 At the marriage ceremony, the new wife and husband are
183 instructed in the rights and duties of their new role. The young
593 wife is told, in a formal speech given by an elder man of the
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[1]The regular marriage negotiations include several visits to the girl's parents called the pedidas (requests), which can be spread over a period of six months to a year. The last pedida is [585] considered the engagement ceremony, and after that comes the entrega de la muchacha (the giving away of the bride) which is the ceremony referred to here as the marriage ceremony. This ceremony follows the native custom. There are two other marriage ceremonies which can be performed, and are optative. One is the civil marriage at the Ayuntamiento, selected by very few because it is considered an unnecessary expense, although it gives some prestige. The other is a Church wedding, performed by the Catholic priest. This wedding ceremony does not occur until the couple have been married several years and have children. Church weddings are considered to be strong bonds, which are very difficult to break up. In many cases, if a couple is fighting a lot and the wife threatens to leave the homestead, the husband will try to marry her in the Church to force her to stay in the household. Because of its high prestige value, if a boy is rejected by the family of his sweetheart at the pedida, the suitor's family will offer as an extra attraction a Church wedding immediately after the entrega de la muchacha.

In some cases, when the suitor is rejected by the parents of the girl, or if he cannot afford the bride-price but the girl is willing to live with him, the marriage ceremony is not performed. In these cases, the institution of the robo (the stealing of the girl) is common practice. The suitor arranges with his girl-friend to run away together at night, and go to his home. Therefore, robos or huidas occur with the consent of the groom's parents, who have to accept the girl into the home. The robo is [621] common in inter-barrio marriages, where the pedidas ritual is socially impossible to carry on, because the limitations put upon barrio interaction and the rules of barrio endogamy.

585 183 593 606 family, that she starts a new life. She now has a new family and a new home where she should learn new ways of doing things from her mother-in-law, and forget the old ones she learned from her mother. Among her duties as a good wife and daughter-in-law she should keep her husband well fed and clean, obey her mother-in-law for whom she should work hard, and respect the head of the household (her father-in-law). She should not visit her family too often, and she should gather firewood with her mother-in-law instead of with her mother.[1] The ceremony indicates two things: [581] (1) the transfer of the wife's reproductive and labor power from her natal home to her husband's; (2) the boundaries of her new role. In a sense, the people of Aguacatenango define the role of a wife in terms of her performance as a worker and as a daughter-in-law, and in terms of her relations with all the members of the household rather than only in terms of her relation to her husband.

593 885 [851] On the other hand, a new husband's performance is under trial. He has to demonstrate that he can get along with his wife, and become a father, before his role as a dependent child is replaced by his role as a married man. At the time of acquiring a wife, a man is regarded by the community as a "child," being both economically and jurally dependent upon his father, who has complete authority over his actions, and is directly responsible for his son's misdeeds.[2]

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[1] [583] One of my informants tells me that although she was robada by her husband (she lived in the other barrio) the night she arrived at her husband's household, her father-in-law gave her a shortened version of the wedding speech. I do not know if this is a common practice.

[2] [592] [672] If a young man commits a crime while living under his father's roof, the father is responsible for his defense and for paying the fines to the Ayuntamiento.

593 156 62 [583] Aguacatecos expect a man to take the responsibility of setting up his son in "business" as a community member. He pays for his son's bride, teaches him the skills for tilling the soil in order to earn a living, and provides him, at a prudential time, with the means of production: a parcel of land, and perhaps a few animals, and a house where he can live with his wife and children.

593 888 At the same time, a son is expected to take care of his parents when they are old and the father retires from agricultural work because he is too old, sick or weak to do, by himself, all the work necessary for the maintenance of his household as an economically independent unit. The people say that a son should provide for his aged parents because: "Did we not give them everything?"

The primary responsibility for the care of aged parents is usually given to one son in particular, preferably the last one (po'h). The villagers explain that this is his duty, because "if [428] he stays with us when all our other sons marry, get their land and leave, this house will be for him, he will inherit this place." Thus, the villager visualizes his dependency on the last son as an economic exchange between kinsmen: he receives from his son food and shelter, he gives him a house lot and house. The duties of a son toward his parents are expressed both in the kinship idiom

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[592] the separate cooking fire, is the symbol of the unity of one [591] single domestic group. When two couples live within the sitio [606] without dividing it, people are very careful to explain if they still cook together or not, and if they cultivate the land separately or not.

591 2. When a couple have no male children, they try to keep a married daughter living with them, as a replacement for the unachieved son. They will also attempt to do this in a case where all the male children have refused to stay with the parents after the initial years of married life.

593 888 [626] Parents who are unsuccessful in keeping a married son living with them when they are old have very little prestige in the community because it usually means that there is some conflict between them, and they are easy targets for village gossip. It also means that they have no "insurance for the aged," that is, no child to support them when they grow too old to work.

591 583 Therefore, a couple with a single daughter still at home will be eager to keep her after marriage, to replace the sons who have gone away. To obtain this, the parents will request, during the pedidas (the visits to arrange a marriage, called "asking visits"), that the groom should "come to the house as a yerno (son-in-law) of theirs, and stay there indefinitely. Only if the groom agrees to this condition do they give him the daughter as a spouse.

591 These arrangements are very unstable. A man usually agrees to stay with his wife's parents, but after the marriage has been consummated, he will insist on moving away, being anxious to occupy his place as a dutiful son, living and working with his [606] father whose heir he may be. Women look forward to this kind of arrangement, the same way that they look forward to marrying a man whose mother is dead, because these are ways of avoiding the heavy burden of "becoming nueras" (daughter-in-law) or "suffering

591 has not inherited land. The other family living in a borrowed
592 home is a young couple that married without their parents' ap-
423 proval. They eloped and established themselves on the edge of
426 town, in an empty old hut, whose owner does not demand payment. "Borrowings" are temporary arrangements, and as a form of residence, very unstable. Young couples who decide to elope leave town to reside at Colonia del Puerto. We know of two cases which followed this custom. But if they do not leave town, they try to move to a house on the edge of town. From these two cases, we can assume that borrowing is due to economic reasons (poverty of a family who cannot afford to buy a house), or as a consequence of deviant behavior (in the case we have, the husband was an orphan and parental sponsorship by the wife's parents was denied because they disapproved of the marriage).

361 The edge of town is a refuge area for people who in one
156 way or another "do not belong" to the community. Social deviants,
167 like the young couple mentioned above, tend to move to the town boundaries. Recent migrants from other villages also live on the edges. Two complete blocks on the southern boundary of town are inhabited by a large extended patrilocal family which originated from a Chamula Indian who was a peon on a nearby finca until the agrarian revolution. After he became free, he migrated to the village and married a local Indian woman.

125 The above discussion covers all the cases for which we had sample data. We have, however, information on other cases which could not be counted in the statistics because they were part of life histories or concerned individuals who do not live in

125 the village any more. These cases seem to illustrate common alternatives, and we must mention them briefly.

591 593 183 We know of three cases in which a newly married couple moved to the husband's brother's compound. In those cases, the brother was an elder who jurally replaced the father, and it seems that he took the responsibility of paying the bride-price for his

591 603 183 brother's wife. We also had four cases of men who, at the time of their marriage, were living with the mother's mother. It seems that this was the result of the parents being dead, and the fact that no other relative was left in the original compound.

Amatenango Residence

Residence of Married Couples

591 183 In Amatenango, unlike Aguacatenango, there is no "indication of a single general form of residence pattern" which the villagers would verbalize as normative. "At any stage in the developmental cycle alternative choices in residence with the man's or the woman's relatives depends not on the lineal tie, but on economic factors" (Nash, 1960:41).

591 592 583 606 Married couples live with the parents of one of the spouses for a year or two after they marry. During these years, the young husband is expected to give some labor to the wife's father by working with him in his fields, helping him to carry wood to make the hearth in which women burn pottery, and by performing other small services. The couple live only temporarily with the parents. The stability of the compound households depends on several factors. If there are other marriageable children, offspring of

361 the women do so, and while 63 per cent of the men in the village
591 live in close patrilocal proximity, only 40 per cent of the men
434 in Santa Cruz live near their parents (see Table 16).

Residence of Widows

184 589 Another striking contrast between Aguacatenango and
591 Amatenango is the position of women, in the latter, as household heads, and their residence after they become widows.

562 First, because in many cases a woman owns the house in
589 which she lives with her husband and children, she is not obliged
434 to move out of the site if her husband dies, as she is in Aguaca-
[423 768] tenango. Second, she does not need an adult man in the household to be able to support herself and the children because she is able to meet the economic demands of the domestic groups from her
592 own labor in pottery production. The result of women's economic
562 independence is that many of them are the heads of their own
434 households. Out of 280 households, 39 have female heads, and 25
184 do not contain any adult men (the others contain younger sons-in-law). This also means that all corn is bought; there is no income derived from agriculture, but only from pottery sales. In Aguacatenango, where all income derives directly or indirectly from agriculture, this situation is inconceivable: there are no households without men, nor households in which a female is the absolute head of the unit.

The Marriage Transactions and the Household

583 584 In Aguacatenango, a man selects his future spouse and his father arranges the marriage for him. At the ceremonial visits

583 584 which are exchanged between future parents-in-law, the bride-price or bocado is paid. The bocado is fixed: 300 pesos in goods.

582 184 434 Parents try to marry off their daughters within their own economic level to provide a similar standard of living for them. They will strongly refuse to give them to a poorer household if they are not very poor themselves. If the household is very poor, the first solution is to marry off the daughters, since they are consumers who do not contribute to the household income. If a poor household cannot find a husband for a daughter within the village, they will even give her to an outsider, for example, to a man from La Palizada. This is viewed as an unfortunate, but inevitable, choice. La Palizada is a settlement in the high, cold [595] country. It is very poor. A woman marrying into it is viewed with pity because La Palizada men are polygamous and their wives work in the cornfields with them. Of two cases of marriages with La Palizada which we know about (one in the past and another that is contemporary), the only reason given for the marriage was the poverty of the households.

582 If a young man in town insists on marrying the daughter of a couple richer than his own household, they will refuse because 583 "the girl is not used to the hardships." If the girl decides on her own that she likes the man, the usual procedure is elopement at night to the boy's house. In this case, a poor man can get a richer bride without the bride-price, but he does not get any of the economic advantages shared by her family. The girl is cut-off from any social interaction with her family of orientation. Later, if the marriage proves stable, the young deviant couple can attempt

583 to reconcile themselves with the wife's parents by paying the agradecimiento (thankfulness payment), half of the established bride-pride. In those cases, it is considered that the full bride-price is not necessary "because the couple was already [591] living together." It follows that elopement cases are always patri-virilocal in residence.

592 562 582 434 In Amatenango, where women are important laborers, the household considers them an economic asset. They will not marry them off early except in case of extreme need, and they will use their marriage to form economic alliances with households at other levels of wealth. If they are not interested in keeping her because there is another married child in the household but they do not have immediate economic need, they will wait and try to marry her into a richer household. If they are interested in keep- 591 583 ing her in the unit as a producer, they will marry her to a poorer man and ask him to come and reside uxorilocally. When the residence choice at the time of the marriage is patri-virilocal, the bride-price is much higher than in Aguacatenango: 1,000 pesos rather than 300. Unfortunately, we do not know what the amount of the bride-price is, if it is anything at all, when residence after marriage is matri-uxorilocal.

582 191 The contrast between the marriage transactions in Aguaca- tenango and Amatenango is not unique to these two villages, but seems to be a recurrent structural pattern when there are differences in the labor market for women. Tax (1953) reports a similar contrast for Guatemala. In Panajachel, where women's labor has a high value, "marriages tend to cross wealth lines, with a man of a

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VII

CORPORATE GROUPS WITHIN THE VILLAGE

Historical Perspective

174 611 591 601 583 423 428 It is probable that the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango had, at some time in their past, a patrilineal organization based on agnatic descent, patri-virilocality, a kinship terminology of the Normal Omaha type, and other associated features such as bride-price, groom service, patrilineal control of the rights to land usufruct, and patrilineal inheritance.

174 613 614 621 626 Each agnatic descent group formed segments of a corporate lineage, and several segments formed a sib. Lineages were localized, and they had important social functions. The heads of linear segments formed the local government and had the responsibility of controlling conflict and sanctioning individual behavior through the supernatural. They were believed to "own" powerful animal counterparts of their souls, which patrolled the village during sleep, and punished the misdemeanors of those men belonging to their line of descent. It is also probable that the lineage was [582] an exogamous unit, and there is some scanty evidence which points to the practice of cross-cousin marriage.

127 The evidence to support this hypothetical statement is of two types. On the one hand, there is some historical documentation in published, as well as manuscript, form. On the other hand,

593 578 538 The folk tales reflect, undoubtedly, the pattern of ultimogeniture and, perhaps, a switch from primogeniture to ultimogeniture. The meaning of the folk tales becomes obvious because of other elements which enter in the conflict.

428 592 593 If a younger son is married at the time of his father's death, he inherits his house, and replaces his father as head of the domestic group, following the norm of agnatic ultimogeniture. But if a younger son is single at the time of his father's death, his elder brother replaces the father and inherits from him. In this last case, it is his duty to provide for his younger brother's support, and at the time that he marries, split the paternal inheritance with him, giving the younger son his share of land, cattle or whatever was left for them.

183 428 592 593 [591] [583] The "rules of the game"[1] are, in the second case, not as explicit as in the normative pattern. Many alternative forms of behavior occur. In some cases, the elder son will move out of the paternal home when his younger brother marries and brings his wife to the homestead. In other cases, he will expect to be compensated for his brother's bride-price and for having supported him and his mother. He would probably reclaim part of the property, or force his younger brother to sell the house and share the money obtained with him.

In still other cases, he will even refuse to give the younger son his share, or move out of the compound.

It is obvious that not all men are alike in temperament

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[1] That is, the adjustment between authority rights and succession rights.

/3/

178 584 614 There are informants who remember the time when there were chuneles, and the younger ones know about it because their fathers have told them. The social conflict brought about by the disappearance of this institution seems to have its most intense point in what concerns marriage. It was the chunel of the clan of a girl to whom the parents of a boy would go to ask for her in marriage. He received gifts and gave his consent in case he thought it advantageous, and, accompanied by the boy and his parents, he went to the house of her parents, to whom he presented the pleas of the young man. No one could oppose the decision of the chunel. An informant adds: "If the woman does not [586] love her husband and leaves him and flees, the man advises the chunel and the chunel eats the woman." She dies if she does not respect the wishes of the oldest man of her clan. Now that there [578] are no chuneles, a boy, with his parents or without them, is accompanied by any member of the clan to which the girl belongs; generally the parents are opposed, the girl is not willing, and the use of force, which serves instead of the traditional fear and reverence, only gives rise to conflicts, bringing irreconcilable hatreds.

614 Formerly the clans of Cancuc were four: Chik, Chejeb, Ijká, and Boj. At present only the first three exist, the members of the Boj clan having been incorporated into the Ijká clan. This fusion of two clans took place a short time before the political revolts to [125] which we have referred. While taking the census of the town, we found marriages between individuals belonging to these two clans, concluded before the fusion. Since that date "the Boj know that they are now Ijká," and clan exogamy has prevented these unions: "If a Boj marries an Ijká now, the two will die," say my informants, "because they are chapomales."

614 539 776 To an inquiry about the reason for the fusion and the manner of accomplishing it, our informants gave the following explanations, which show undeniably the close relationship existing between clan and nagual:

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

621 and four *chuycales*, who are in charge of sacred matters. Certain shamans, called
[756] *dzunubiles*, also participate in calpul government.

621 776 184 In Cancuc, Villa did not inquire into the matter, but in Oxchuc and in Bachajón the calpules have separate patron saints and are known, in the case of Bachajón, by the names of San Sebastian and San Geronimo, in the case of Oxchuc, Santo Tomás and La Trinidad. In the church at Bachajón the santos belonging to the north calpul, San Sebastian and two others, stand on the left side of the church, while San Geronimo, San Manuel, and the Virgin, representing the south calpul, stand at the right side. It appears, however, at least in the case of Oxchuc, that the festivals of these saints are maintained by the people of both calpules jointly.

621 578 The antagonism between the calpules of Cancuc has expressed itself from time to time in violence. During Villa's stay it was rumored that the people of the southern half were about to attack those of the northern half, and indeed, shots were fired. Blom and LaFarge reported "a dragging feud" in this village.[28] Ap-
[582] parently marriages may and do take place between the calpules; there is no indication, however, that they are exogamous.

778 788 123 778 In Oxchuc a principal annual ceremony attends the transfer from one calpul to the other of a certain sacred book. This greatly venerated object was, after some reluctance, shown to Villa. He was requested to deliver to its custodians a dozen rockets, some candles, and some incense; he was then allowed to examine it in the presence of the chiefs and the chuycales of both calpules. It is a notebook of twelve paper sheets, 40 by 20 cm. in size; it has a deerskin cover. Of the twelve pages, nine bear writing, all but one on both sides. The text appears to be a series of orders set down by the Spanish authorities in the year 1674. The book is kept in a black wooden box; before and after removing it the chuycales prayed, kneeling, while incense was burned and the rockets were discharged.

778 788 The book is called *cahualtic* 'Our Master.' The ceremony of transfer of this sacred object takes place during the thirteen days beginning December 31. The principal members of the government of both calpules, numbering thirteen, assemble in the cabildo. The book is placed on a table with thirteen candles, thirteen rosaries, thirteen calabashes of lime mixed with tobacco, and thirteen vessels of atole. During the thirteen days the men remain segregated in the cabildo without contact with their homes or with women. Many prayers are uttered. At the conclusion of the period the box containing the book is escorted in solemn procession to the place it occupies during the rest of the year—not in the church, but in a special hut on the outskirts of the calpul of La Trinidad.

58 114 Information which Villa received from Indians of Chanal on the customs attending marriage differs in a number of respects from the account given by Blom and LaFarge,[29] or supplements that account, and therefore may be sum-
•584 583 marized here. There are no professional marriage negotiators. The boy's parents pay, ordinarily, four visits to the girl's parents to complete the agreement. On each visit they bring bread, eggs, fruit, and especially rum. The boy is expected

[28] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 187.

[29] *Ibid.* 2: 358–100.

4: Villa Rojas E-4.5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

462 All activities related to curing of disease are also performed by specialized men, though in some places women occasionally participate. Help at childbirth is always as-
[844] signed to experienced female relatives; there
[959] are no professional midwives—nor profes-
[584] sional marriage brokers.

463 Specialization is little developed. Only in the largest centers are there a few individuals concentrated on carpentry, tailoring, trading, masonry, or some other activity.
[241] The families in Tenango and Amatenango who carry on the ceramics industry also

[P. 210-C]

583 procedures (*trámites*) of church and civil registry. The traditional marriage is an ar-
● 584 rangement between two families. The young man's parents, with his agreement, select the bride and start the visits leading to the
[574] petition. The visits to the girl's house must
[273] be made at dawn, accompanied by two or three bottles of aguardiente. These visits continue for several months, because the girl's parents want to consult the old men or the most important members of the patrilineal clan.

585 The wedding itself is simple, a family ritual concerning the boy's parents, the girl's parents, and old men of the clan she belongs to. Now the boy appears for the first time, bringing articles that will "warm up" the fiesta (Villa Rojas, 1949):

1 garrafón (about 18 liters) of aguardiente
80 cooked eggs
80 tortillas
80 tamales of the *chenkul-uaj type* (corn and bean dough)
10 kilos of pozole with chile
10 kilos of pozole without chile
1 kilo of ground chile
1 almud (4 kilos) of beans

According to my informants from Oxchuc, these items represent what the girl's parents have spent for her during childhood.
[574] This marriage feast is called *beybal-ja* ('the first delivery of aguardiente').

585 These items are presented with the great-
614 est formality to the girl's clan in oral forms that symbolize the wish for everlasting friendship between both families. The oldest member of the girl's clan responds by expressing on behalf of all members their satisfaction in receiving those articles and their good wishes for a successful union. Immediately, the couple kneels on a petate and listens to the oldest member of the clan, who formally announces they are married and recites the duties and obligations of each.

584 Until recently in Cancuc the custom ob-
184 tained of making these marriage arrange-
[P 217-B]

584 [184] ments through a special person (*chunel*) for each of the four clans, and differed from Oxchuc, where the case is presented to the nearest old man of the clan. In Cancuc, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, p. 3):

> The boy's parents dealt with the *Chunel* of the girl's clan when petitioning her. He received the gifts and gave approval; and then accompanied by the boy and his parents he went into the house of the girl's parents. There, he presented the boy's petition. Nobody could oppose the Chunel's decisions. The girl would die if she didn't obey the decisions of the elder of the clan.

583 Once a marriage feast is finished, the boy stays in his parents-in-law's house to fulfill the bride price (*stojyinam*). This service, which consists in helping the father-in-law in the milpa and in other duties, usually lasts a year, or less if arrangements are made in advance. Frequently during this period the man spends alternate periods of three weeks with his parents-in-law and with his own parents. When he has the means to do it, he builds his own house and starts the new cycle of a nuclear family.

581 585 574 [273] [614] After the first year of marriage, if the couple get along together, the man must make a present of two garrafones of aguardiente and the same petitionary items of food, though in larger amounts. This time, more of the girl's clan are present, and so increase the importance of the event. The purpose is to celebrate the success of the couple and the union that will exist between the two families. This big *tertulia*, along with the corresponding meal, is called [888] *mukel-ja* ('abundance of drink'). Old men of [273] the clan who cannot attend receive at their homes the portion of aguardiente they should have drunk. On the other hand, if 586 the couple could not get along during the first year and the union is annulled because of the woman's fault, her parents must give back all they have received during the first ritual.

581 574 [P. 218-A] Finally, to bring all these duties to an

581 end, the husband gives a big meal sometime
574 (even 30 years later) which must be attended by the important members of the wife's
[953] clan. Many illnesses in a family are attributed to the fact that the man did not fulfill this third requirement of a food gift (*oshevuelto-uaj-matz*, 'third delivery of food').

584 Another custom, known as *yajk makte achish* ('cover or secure the girl'), is practiced when the chosen girl is too young (10–12 years) to get married. To secure her in the future, the boy's parents make arrangements with those of the girl, offering them liquor that other members of the girl's clan also share. When she grows older, they proceed with the wedding arrangements and the customary formal ceremonies.

583 Another form of marriage, existing among very traditional groups, begins with the capture of the girl. This happens when she has no father or important man representing the house. The boy and his parents must obtain cooperation from one of the male members of the girl's clan. With this accomplice the men go to the girl's house at midnight, take her, and bring her to the boy's parents either by persuading her mother with liquor or by force. Days later, they try to calm the anger of the important people of her clan, bringing further bottles of liquor. Usually the union becomes formally recognized after this, and the couple settle in their own home with the neighbors' approval. It is thus a sort of institutionalized capture.

581 Among the less conservative communities,
177 these forms of marriage are being replaced
585 by Ladino forms, which regard marriage not as a contract between two lineages or families but as an agreement between two individuals. Furthermore, the Catholic ceremony
583 is considered very important. Premarital sex-
836 ual relations and elopement are frequent. Metzger states that, "in Aguacatenango, to
584 a considerable extent, the marriage choice
[836] is made by the boy and the girl after sexual experimentation and a period of 'going steady.' The boy tells his family about it and they proceed to make the arrangements

[P. 218-B]

584 with the family of the girl. If the boy is accepted, the gifts are received and the marriage takes place.

585 184 [177] In Aguacatenango and Amatenango, the Catholic ceremony is sometimes delayed for several years after the informal marriage, because of the belief that the latter really consolidated the union. On the other hand, in places where the Ladino population is larger (Pinola and San Bartolo) the religious ceremony is considered by the Indians as a very important part of the customs.

184 177 608 The compadrazgo relationship is stressed among these communities where Ladinos have great influence. There are baptism, confirmation, and wedding padrinos. The rights and duties established through this relationship are still respected, especially 608 the compadre relationship. It is the duty of the child's parents to give occasional gifts [736] to the godparents. If the child's parents die, the godparents must take care of him, except when there are closer relatives to the father.

585 608 It is the main duty of the wedding godparents to help the couple maintain a good understanding and to dissolve, by advice, any disagreement. They always receive great respect and affection from their *ahijados*.

608 [851] Among conservative groups, the compadrazgo relationship arises only from the baptism of a child. Sometimes this relationship is established in a very informal way; perhaps during fiesta at the ceremonial center they may take advantage of the priest's presence to ask a very close friend to "embrace" the child. The padrino is then invited 574 608 to have aguardiente. At other times the arrangement is made formally; the parents of the child go to the house of their future [431] compadres to ask them that favor. Exchanges of gifts and dinner invitations are frequent, the child's parents feeling the greater obligation. These meals can be really banquets where many "platillos" and 184 much aguardiente are consumed. Among 608 some groups, padrinos neither give a gift to 431 736 [P. 219-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

621
554 "giving the head" to certain elder women, but the reason could not
576 be ascertained.

581 Marriage is an economic and social affair, apparently free of religious significance. Don Arturo Tovilla of Cacate-el, gave us a description of the manner of seeking a wife, which is here paraphrased. It will be seen that the importance, ceremonially, centers on the contract with the parents, while the actual joining in marriage is not stressed.

584 The boy's father goes with the boy to the girl's house, both dressed in their best clothes, and carrying a gift of three bottles (pints) of aguardiente "and some animal." His father tells the girl's father that his son wishes to marry the daughter; to which the answer is to call the girl and ask her if she likes him. She says nothing, but keeps on scratching the wall with her finger and the floor with her toe, thereby indicating that she likes the boy, while showing the proper maidenly modesty. The latter gives her a coloured handkerchief, pearl beads, etc., with which the contract is sealed.

The boy is obligated to bring to her house what the father may ask, such as corn, beans, aguardiente, as well as to help in the work for a year. He makes a social visit each Sunday, which the girl must receive. At the end of the time appointed by the parents, he takes her to his house.

If the girl does not signify her consent in the manner described, the match does not take place.

583 When the parents of one or both parties do not countenance the match, it may happen that the children, taking the law into their own hands, run away. The procedure in this case has become formalized so that, while unpleasant enough to act as a deterrent, it recognizes this as a regular manner of marrying. This description also is para-
[115] phrased from Señor Tovilla.

When the parents forbid, but both children desire the match, after the boy has gone to the girl's house and been refused, his obligation of respect is ended. He builds a house in a retired place in the jungle. He and the girl meet to make their plans where she goes to get water, for which purpose she may often choose a spring a kilometer or more from her house. At an appointed time, they run away.

584 When he has carried her off and hidden her, his parents must go
585 and apologize to hers. The girl's father tells the boy's not to leave before being punished. He, however, finds and brings in the couple, who kneel before the girl's parents. The boy's shirt is taken off, and

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

he is whipped by the girl's father for a thief. The girl is stripped to 584
the waist and whipped by her mother. With this the marriage is 585
legalized. As the first act of their true married life, the girl makes posole and offers it to her parents. The boy is under obligation to bring presents of bread, chocolate, aguardiente, etc., to his parents-in-law.

There are no formal restrictions of marriage, but the Church 582
exercises a general influence against wedding brother and sister, 177
cousins, or other relatives forbidden by Christian doctrine. In this, 178
owing to the disposition of the Indians, and to the purely tribal character of marriage, which is not regarded by them as a religious or governmental matter, the Church is only partially successful. In- 588
formal unions actually do occur between brother and sister, apparently without any ceremony, the pair merely continuing to live together, their family relationship slowly changing into that of a married couple. That such a wife's status has some regularity in their eyes is shown by the fact that she has the same position in funeral rites as an ordinary wife.

It is probably due to the negative influence of the Church that 115
the various important crises in the life of an individual, ordinarily 126
marked by such colourful ceremonies among primitive people, here are distinguished by very little of ritualistic observance. For description of the main events in the life course, we were again dependent on Señor Tovilla, whose information, given with little change below, checked entirely with the result of other inquiries. The funeral ceremonies were observed at first hand, after the fight described at El Encanto; for them, accordingly, I have used my own notes.

When a woman is about to give birth to a child, a midwife—an 844
older woman with some knowledge of herbs—is summoned. A few days before parturition, the woman is carefully tended by the midwife, well fed with choice food, and provided with a little rum. At the moment of giving birth, the midwife prays that the child may be brought forth happily. The mother kneels, and the midwife prepares to receive the child with a new cloth. Meantime the father is told to stay outside the house, or may be allowed to help in minor matters.

It is said that at Tenejapa the women go out into the woods to give birth untended, coming back with the child.

The baby is given Christian baptism. 852

A child's soul is considered to be particularly delicate, and there- 789
fore liable to magic influence. If the people of the house must go [774]

5; Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Tzotzil NV11

Tze 142 Tze 291

The men are tallish and the majority of them have sparse, black beards. They wear plain, white cotton tunics and short trousers, sashes, and hats of the sombrero type. The women wear the usual short, blue skirts. Their blouses are cut with a square neck, around which are embroidered three bands, each about two centimeters wide, of red, yellow and red. At the corners, little imitation tassels are embroidered in the same colours.

Tze 62 623 Tze [115]

We were told, by an unreliable informant, that this village was remarkable for its independence. Its officials are chosen by the natives alone, and run through a regularly prescribed *cursus honorum* from secretary up to president, and then on to the council of elders. Government laws and orders sent to the village are debated by this council and are not published unless approved by them.

Tze 323

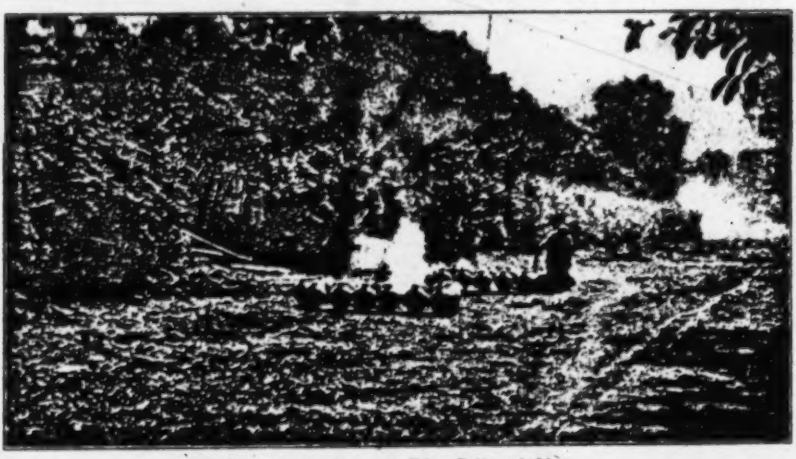

FIG. 333—Amatenango, Chis. Pottery baking.

Tze 584 323 606

We were also told that in case of marriage each party works for his or her prospective in-laws, and that the girl at that time learns pottery making, taking over the mother-in-law's specialty.

Tze 648 434 171

While there was no way of checking up on this information, it is true that there is no Maestro at Amatenango, and that the Indians seem to be an unusually self-respecting and self-reliant lot. Of all the Tzeltal people observed, they were the only ones who seemed to compare with the Zotzil-speaking Chamulas in energy and prosperity.

Tzo 114 137

Returning to ourselves and our trip. We left Tenejapa on the following morning by a winding, broad road climbing to a pass in

852 608 571 788 The church ceremony is followed by another ceremony in the house of the child's parents. As the group returning from the church enters the house, they are greeted with the pat?o?tan by the maliwanehetik who are waiting for them in the house. As they enter, each of the returning party says, "You go forward, kumpare." They embrace all of the waiting party, an act which establishes their relationship as compadres with the entire company. When the padrinos leave, the grandparents and parents of the [273] child go to a spot before the eaves outside the house; there the father of [593] the child serves liquor to the padrinos and the grandparents of the child. [603] The drink is called "the finale as the compadres leave." The group must finish the entire liter "since it is a gift," and if there are only one or two grandparents, they may get fairly drunk. As the compadres leave, the grandpaernts say, "Over the soil, over the mud where you take your holy godchild, your holy flower, your holy candle." [778] The child, referred to metaphorically as holy flower, holy candle, is identified with the most sacred symbols of the culture.[2]

608 571 171 The emphasis on the group relationship in Tzo?ontahal contrasts with the form of compadrazgo found in the central plateau of Mexico where the dyadic tie between two compadres provides flexibility in achieving instrumental ends in political or economic life.[3] Some of the new leaders in economic enterprises are beginning to emphasize the dyadic contract in their compadrazgo relationships to achieve political support, but its greatest importance is still based on creating or reinforcing group solidarity.

796 177

Betrothal and Marriage

584 585 The Indians of Tzo?onthal are initiated into the community of the living and depart from it with ceremonies deriving from the Spanish colonial culture. The courtship and marriage ceremonies continue indigenous re-

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[852] she later attended the household ceremony, she was never called kumare because of the [571] omission of this act.

[608] 2. See Laughlin (1962) on the symbolism of the candle and flower in Zinacantan.

[171] 3. In regard to the occasions and the kind of respect relation established, compadrazgo in Tzo?ontahal is similar to the institution in other parts of Mexico (Foster 1963, Nader 1964, Wolf and Mintz 1950). The difference lies in the elaboration of the number of ties acquired through compadrazgo at each event.

tual practices and are carried on in the home. Sometimes a church and/or civil marriage is held in addition, but the union is not consumated until the traditional home marriage has taken place. 584 585

The betrothal, or *č'om,* is an extended series of negotiations in which the boy's representatives plead with the girl's family to accept the suit. Anytime in a boy's late teens or early twenties, he may initiate the suit by speaking to his father, or the father may undertake to find a wife for his son. The parents of the boy then request an older woman who has some skill in speaking the formal speeches to serve as the me? *Č'om,* mother of the betrothal, and an older man to serve as the *statal č'om,* or leader of the betrothal (sometimes he is called mam č'om or grandfather of the betrothal). These intermediaries may or may not be related to the family initiating the request. Nonkin are usually chosen from among compadres or a neighborhood group. When the father requests that they act as intermediaries, he brings a gift of liquor, chocolate, and bread. 584 [192]

Before any negotiations are begun with the girl's family, the boy's family calls together the representatives. These include his grandparents, uncles, and aunts, his padrino of baptism and confirmation, and possibly neighbors or nearby compadres of his parents. The gathering then questions the boy to learn whether his interest in the girl is sincere and exclusive of any other infatuation. In this session, called the *?ič' yo?tan* or "taking of the heart," the boy goes to each of his representatives and kneels before them as they question him, asking him if he wants that girl and only that girl. He is told that marriage is an important relationship, not to be treated "as a toy"; the boy should be interested in only this girl, and if he should cause them to have to go to the cabildo "the day after tomorrow," it would cause embarrassment to the entire company. [602] [608] [571] [192] [581]

At the final gathering, called the *?ič' rason* or "taking of the understanding," the assembled me?iltatil of both the boy and the girl give the couple further advice. The boy is told what is expected of him in the marriage. It is a minimal statement: he should not leave her tomorrow, he should not beat her, he should bring home corn and beans, and all will be well. The girl is told that she should prepare her husband's meals and be waiting for him in the house when he comes home from work. Respect, called "hearing" and "feeling" (both combined in the verb *I?awayi*), is [192] 581 584

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

584 [581] stressed for both. The boy is again warned not to bring the me?iltatil embarrassment by causing them to go to the cabildo.

During the six months to a year between the first and the last gatherings, the boy's representatives make up to a dozen visits to the girl's house. The patterning of behavior during these visits reveals cyclical and progressive tendencies of which the participants are consciously aware. These progressions involve time, the number of people involved, and the size of the gift.

584 Time progression affects two aspects of the courtship: the hour of the visit of the boy's mam č'om and me? č'om, which becomes later, and the length of the visit—it is longer each time. The first visit is a tactical maneuver involving the early-bird ploy. The me? č'om, having stayed awake after the all-night ceremony of the "taking of the heart," arrives at the girl's house at the "dawning dusk of the world." She stays only long enough to leave the gift and announce her intention of continuing the suit indefinitely. The timing of the last visit when the "taking of the understanding" occurs contrasts with this in that the members of the boy's wedding party arrive late in the evening and do not leave until four or five in the morning. The time of arrival and departure is plotted for each visit in Figure 5. The progressively later arrival time indicates increasing security on the part of the members of the betrothal party that the girl's family will be there to receive them, while the extended staying time indicates growing confidence and the breaking down of the barriers of reserve. Even up to the last visit, however, the members of the betrothal party take two quick parting shots of liquor as they leave the boy's house to "rid themselves of their embarrassment."

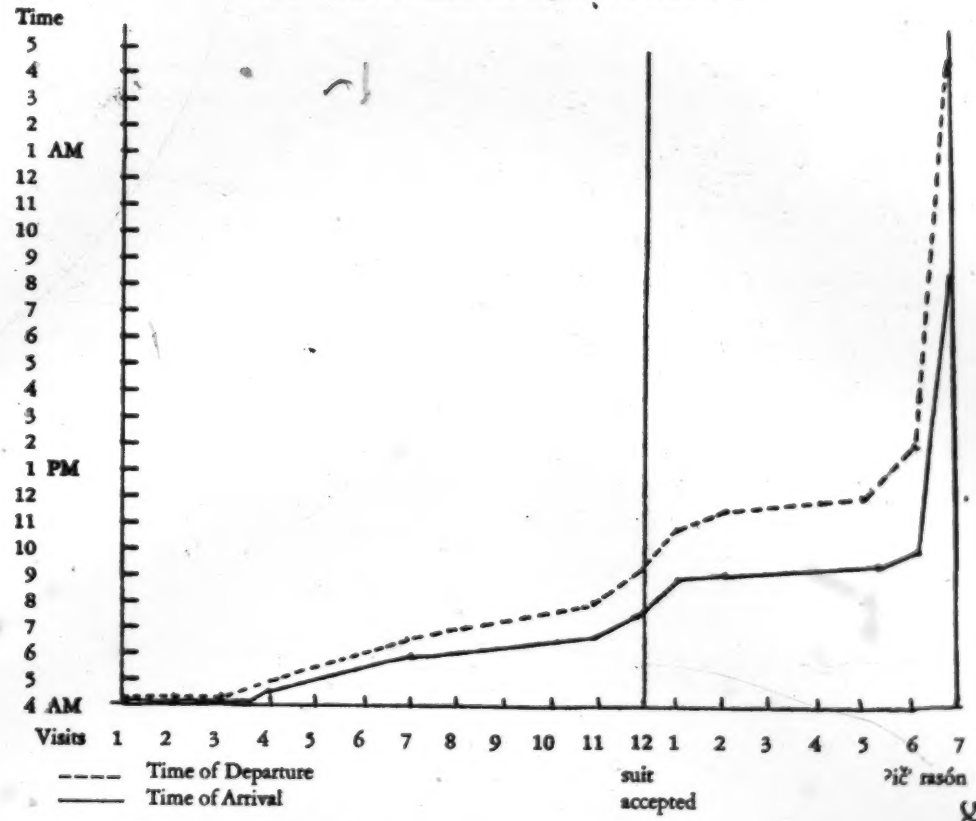
584 431 The increase in the number of members of the betrothal party who go to the girl's house is tied to the increase in the amount of the gift. The role terms of the members of the betrothal party indicate their association to the gift, as shown on Table 21.

Finally, the progression in the value of the gift is the cultural item most commented upon by the people, both within the village and in comparing customs with other Indian towns. This permissible variation indicates the relative wealth of the boy's family and the relative resistence of the girl's family. While the quantities vary from one č'om to another, in all cases

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 128]

[P. 127]

Fig. 5. Timing of Arrival and Departure in C'om Visits



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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

584 431 there is an increase with each trip. Except for the transfer of money in the last trip, the gift is completely in consumables—chickens, bread, liquor, chocolate, and sugar. With many of the older men becoming teetotalers, soda has become an established part of the gift exchange as well. Two elements of the gift exchange are stable in all marriages—the four chickens each cooked and wrapped in fifteen tortillas with a chile placed inside, and the chocolate. In a traditional exchange system, the quantities of some items of exchange are fixed while those of other items fluctuate; gifts of bread, liquor, and money, for example, are of varying quantity in Tzoʔontahal. The fixed quantities of chicken, chocolate, and tortillas establish conformity to community standards while the fluctuating ones indicate the relative prestige of the family.

TABLE 21. Relation of Members of Betrothal Party to Gifts

584 431 608 571

Member of the betrothal party	*Time of participation*	*Function*
Mother of the betrothal (Meʔ čʼom)	Initiates action	At first, carries the gift of bread, chocolate, and brown sugar. Burden lightens as others take over these gifts, so that at end she carries only corn gruel and one large piece of bread
Elder of the betrothal (Mam čʼom)	On fourth visit, accompanies mother of the betrothal	Carries liquor until Measurer of liquor takes over, then carries only sweetened liquor served to women
Measurer of liquor (Pʼ is haʔ)	About seventh visit, accompanies mother and elder of the betrothal when suit is accepted	Carries white liquor served to men and that given as gift
Basket carrier (La smoʔ, usually wife of Pʼis haʔ)	Accompanies mother and elder of the betrothal and Measurer of liquor when suit is accepted	Carries bread throughout final visits before "taking of the understanding"
Carrier of brown sugar (Čʼup ʔaskah)	On last visit before "taking of the understanding," accompanies mother, elder, measurer, and basket carrier	Carries sweet liquor and soda for last visit and for "taking of the understanding"

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

symptomatic of the present breakdown in the hierarchical controls which formerly maintained the authority of elder curers. Informants say that in the old days there was no such competition, and the leadership of the elder curers was unchallenged.

Another clue to the personality of the curer can be seen in the statement of a young curer, who expressed in a kind of stream-of-consciousness style the fears and worries that plague him. After responding to the questioning about what he did when he cured, he proceeded to talk of his own concerns as he cured patients:

And when I arrive at Pahaltón [curing spring], I set aside my hat and blanket so that they do not get burned. If a dog should come and chew my sandals or if I should leave them outside the house where I am curing and a house rat chews them, then it will cost me thirty pesos to buy a new pair. When I come out late at night, a cat spirit sometimes appears on the road, and I throw a stone at it so it will not carry off my spirit; or a dog comes and I must beat him with my hand because I have no machete with me, or I must throw a broken bottle at the devil. When I get home, I take off my jacket and hat and go to sleep. My woman must tie up the sandals with a string on the rafters so that the rat will not eat them. Then it is the woman's fault if the devil dog gets them.

Late at night the spirits of the curers come to play and go at cock's crow. And at two o'clock the spirit of a sheep comes out with the devil, and these spirits do not go to sleep in their house until dawn. And if they [the curers' spirits] arrive in bed drunk and take off their huaraches and bother their wife she will put them in prison and then they have to pay a fine of two liters of the "gift" [liquor] and one handful of cigarettes. If their woman leaves the curers and they come out of prison, then if they do the same thing again, they send then to Santo Domingo. In prison they make net bags and if they have a wife, she goes and gives them tortillas and coffee. If their wife or father and mother help and give money, then they can pay for a lawyer and get out. Or if they have a daughter, then they receive the gift of a suitor and eat the bread.[3] *Later there will come the chicken and sweet liquor and trago, and then she will marry. Later*

3. "Eating the bread" signifies that the betrothal negotiations are accepted.

mother to her daughter. Informants are able to recount the succession of 868
learning of the tasks, the relative difficulty of each task, and the mistakes 323
they made and how their mother corrected them. Being a potter in Tzoʔontahal is as much a part of being a woman as the role of agriculturalist is of being a man.

Special tasks become crystallized as roles only when few people perform 463
them. Jobs such as caponizing, butchering, net and rope weaving, and 554
wood cutting which are done by almost every man do not have role terms. Bonesetting and curing of certain "good" illnesses, such as swelling caused by embarrassment, are semispecialized activities performed by a few women who have "cold" hands. Midwifery is a fully specialized role per- [759]
formed by two women who are referred to as "the grandmothers of the newborn child."

A new occupational role has been created with the purchase of a truck 463
by Indians of the community. There are now two Indian truck drivers. 554
Recruitment of these particular young men was a result of their fathers' 177
importance in the truck-owning cooperatives, and their skill was acquired [493]
in apprenticeship with a Ladino truck driver hired when the truck was first in operation. Both of them are acculturated in clothing and speech. Since they have acquired skills in dealing with the Ladino world, they often act as intermediaries for Indians of the town in their negotiations in the market or the courts of the departmental capital.

The continuity in occupational adjustment from early childhood to 864
adulthood contrasts with the discontinuities in assuming roles in the life cycle. Girls are not advised about menstruation until they see the first signs of it; they describe their reaction to it as one of fear and surprise. Often they have been pregnant several months before they are aware of the condition or its cause, and they have no preparation for the experience
of childbirth before it is upon them. Boys are not considered men until 885
they are married, but in order to arrive at this status, they must enter into 584
the "fight to get a wife," as the betrothal is often called. 585

Since recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on 554
qualities of the person rather than acquired skills, failure to recognize the prerequisite conditions of age and experience undermines the validity of

been made, there is no recourse but to kill the man since he may retaliate by killing his accuser (this occurred in two of the cases noted in Table 29).

Conflict between generations in the role sets father/son and father/son-in-law stems from delay in carrying out role responsibilities. Fathers are expected to provide the money for the costs of betrothal, and to give their children shares of the patrimony including both land and livestock. The scheduling of when this should occur is often a matter of dispute, resulting in at least two cases of homicide in the period analyzed.

New economic enterprises have exacerbated the tensions rising from envy. Foster (1965) has suggested that envy stems from the notion of the "limited good," requiring the strategy of a "zero sum game" (Bennet 1966). The fact that the new wealth is evidence of new opportunities, not a subtraction from a given resource supply, has not entered the cognitive awareness of the people. The prospering leaders of these enterprises feel themselves to be particularly vulnerable to the envy of others and thus to the charge of witchcraft. There have been several open attacks on new leaders accused as witches; the leader of the truck cooperative, for example, was murdered in 1966. Six men have been killed as cattle thieves in the past ten years.

The economic roles created with the introduction of new enterprises have not been integrated in the traditional pattern of recruitment and control. In the association of cattle breeders, leadership tends to be based on the size of the herd; in the case of the truck cooperative, amount of capital invested and entrepreneurial skills have determined the leadership of the enterprise, while driving skill and ability to get along in the Ladino world has been the basis for choice of drivers. Such achievement principles as the basis for recruitment into these envied positions are not accepted in the same way that age and passage through a hierarchy of posts validated higher positions in the old hierarchies. The conspicuous expenditure of wealth in the more expensive posts in the religious hierarchy has also failed to lessen hostility aroused by the increasing disparity in wealth, and in fact those who have served as alférez have been even more subject to witchcraft aroused by envy.

"gift of the gods," liquor, to the party whose interests have been slighted. This is done in the case of a suitor who is asking for a woman of the other side of the dual division; he gives the bachelors of that side a garrafón of liquor in compensation for the loss of a potential mate. Liquor has become a substitute for the sacrifice of a child by a man being initiated into the curing profession. Informal offerings of liquor may be made between neighbors or relatives who have been fighting with each other. Liquor is a kind of universal social solvent in disputes, and figures importantly in court cases which are always terminated in a drinking session.

Another technique is simply a payment in money to compensate for damages. In some homicide cases, the payment of "blood money" has compensated the family of the victim to avoid legal action. This is never done, however, if the community agrees that the victim was a witch. Payment of fines in court is another such form of compensation. These payments or offerings minimize the bloodshed or personal involvement in conflictual relations. Payment by the man judged guilty will ensure his reincorporation into his customary place in the community without stigma.

While it is impossible to elicit from informants a theory of roles, it is possible to formulate the principles underlying roles. These are deduced from behavioral observations and from evaluations made of the performances of others. They can be summarized in the following propositions:

1. There is a clear separation between role and role-bearer. This is seen most clearly in the passage through civil and religious offices with a minimum of "halo" effect. It is also found in the situation of household officials whose authority in directing affairs within a household ceases when the ceremony in which they officiate is over. The separation ensures flexibility in a closed social system, enabling people to shift from one role to another. It also permits continuity in a system which requires an almost complete turnover of personnel each year.

2. Function performed is separate from role in which it is performed. This applies even in those roles which are designated on the basis of the most important function required of the performer, for example woman speaker, liquor measurer, and basket carrier. All of

meal for the house is buried in the inauguration ceremony (Chapter 1) and the door. Left and right are orientation points viewed from inside facing the door. Women of the house sit on mats near the center post. Female visitors occupy the mats to the left of the post and male visitors sit on benches lining the right wall and the interior wall. If it is a large ceremony for the ritual of inauguration or a celebration by the captain of a fiesta, only women enter the house, and the men sit on borrowed benches lining the walls of the porch. 342 352 562 574 796

Relative age is indicated by position in the seating arrangement. For women the seat of honor, occupied by the oldest woman present, is at the center post; other women of the household sit on a straw mat or board in order of descending age clockwise around the room. This order is modified by the presence of the grandmother who, if not a woman speaker, retires to the left (facing door from inside) corner. Visiting women sit to the right of the center post with the oldest immediately next to the post and those decreasing in age and stature to her right. For men, the seat on the bench nearest the door to the interior is called the "head of the bench"; this is the seat of the leading nakawane. The rest of the nakawanehetik sit along this bench in order of age. On the bench facing them sits the house owner, with his brothers and other visitors to his right in an age-ranked order. The b'alnialetik sit on the right wall bench. 342 352 561 562 574

Since prestigeful roles are usually a concomitant of age, especially in the house ceremonies, there is seldom conflict between age and role status. When conflict does occur, it is only seen at the top level; thus, the grandmother if not active because of age, retires to the corner while the woman speaker, who must order the women in the kitchen and receive visiting dignitaries, takes over this position. I have seen the leader of the k'om take precedence over the leader waiter who was older, because of the important role of the former. 342 561 554 [574]

When the family is carrying out a ritual, it is felt that the house should never be left vacant. The role of the "waiters" (maliwanehetik) is specifically that of remaining in the house while others of the celebrants are involved in ritual acts outside of the house. When the members of the betrothal party go to the girl's house, for example, the waiters are left behind; or when the patient leaves with the curer and some of the curing 342 796 [584] [755]

342 party to go to the spring, at least one relative remains in the house to
796 greet the soul if it should precede the curing party.
584 Behavior in household rituals is described in Chapters 1, 5, and 8.
755
128

The Cabildo

344 The cabildo, called by the people of the town the "cold house,"[1] was
196 built following the revolution of 1915, when Piñeda's revolutionary soldiers
175 destroyed the original colonial structure. The tiles of the roof were confiscated from a finca which the Indians invaded in 1941 in an unsuccessful attempt to gain additional lands. When they were unable to maintain their hold on the land, they burned the owner's house and took the tiles to the town center where they remain as a symbol of their defiant action. They refer to this event with pride. The cabildo houses the jail, equipped with a barred wooden door, in one of its wings, and the Ejido Commission office in the other.

344 Within the cabildo, each official has his established place. The cabildo is
352 furnished with a table at which the president and síndico sit on wooden
621 chairs made in the Indian town of Chamula. Four benches lining the
554 walls on either side of the entry provide seating for the civil officials. On
576 the right side (looking out at the plaza) sit the judges in order of rank;
693 the regidores, in similar sequence follow them. The principales, and formerly the alfereces, sit on the left side when they appear for ceremonial occasions. This spatial allocation establishes drinking and greeting order as well. Visitors can go directly from one to another in the formal greeting of a handclasp and murmured "good morning, father," or "good afternoon, father," without violating age-respect patterns.

344 During court cases, the claimant and his supporters sit on the bench to
352 the left of the door; on other occasions the bench is occupied by visitors or
695 petitioners. The police sit on one of the two benches lining the outside
625 wall, or retire to the kitchen, a wooden slat lean-to on the left wing of the

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1. Bunzel (1952) notes that in prayers, the cabildo in Chichicastenango is referred to as "the cold house, the icy house." Although the Quiché term is not given in her manuscript, one can see a similarity in the rhyming couplets and metaphorical allusions in the prayers of the towns.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The assumption that leisure is a concept unique to highly civilized societies is denied by peasant behavior in this community and many others like it in which the members are masters of the greater part of their time. What differentiates their scheduling of leisure-time activities from that of most western societies is that theirs is based on community decisions rather than individual predilections and that it is set in the frame of sacred rather than secular performances. Community standards are most notable in the way people dress for fiestas: women wear their newest embroidered blouses; their hair is neatly braided with ribbons. Men wear a kotonču with their cleanest shirt and pants. The children, except for the youngest, wear clothes like the adults'. Villagers "care for" the celebration by sitting on their porches, greeting neighbors, smoking and talking. When a public performance is held in the church or plaza, they participate as observers. Arduous work of any kind is proscribed. Special foods are prepared and served at regular mealtimes. A special mark of all days of fiesta is the serving of fermented corn beverage. Meat or chicken is more likely to be served on Sundays and holidays than on other days.

461 626 796 [291] [302] [291] [273] [262]

Timing as a Strategy in Interpersonal Relations

571 805

The preferred mode of action is "slow and soft." This applies to motion, especially in rituals, as well as to the scheduling of actions in a series of negotiations. The people are sensitive to the use of time in bargaining as an index to the relative resources of the negotiators. Withholding power in the market gives a marked price advantage in the sale of crops. Sale in advance of harvest means a loss of one-quarter to one-half of the price which could be gained if the crop was sold after it was cut, and corn sometimes doubles in value if withheld for six months or more. Interest as a time payment for the use of money is accepted on the basis that the borrower could put it to work. There is no feeling against the evil of usury, although the rates are relatively high in town—five percent per month.

[461] 571 434 805 571 805 [426]

This understanding of time as an indicator of relative strength extends to social functions. Time serves as an interval to build confidence on the part of both parties entering into contractual arrangement. In the betrothal, both parties are prepared for a long series of visits before the suit

[584]

571 805 [584] is accepted. Precipitous action on either side reveals a weakness of which the other party might take advantage, or which might even stop procedures.

Timing of activities is so specific that it can be read as an equation of social relations: People who come to the house after nightfall are either intimate members of the family, or are members of the circle of me?tiktatik invited for a special household celebration—night is the time when spirits wander, not a time for casual visiting. Arrival of the betrothal party at the [584] house of the girl's parents after ten o'clock in the morning indicates that the suit has been accepted.

571 805 554 562 Sequential timing expresses relative prestige and a sense of priority. In "raising" the officials for the official ceremonies, the lowest ranks of officials rise first to go to the house and awaken each of their companions in order of rank. The sequence in serving order has already been discussed with respect to rank and prestige. Another principle of sequence operates at a more subtle level: women go before men when there is expectation of a fight since their presence evokes less hostility. This is evident in the be- [584] trothal: the me? č'om precedes the mam c'om in the initial proceedings [579] when strong resistance and hostility is anticipated. When drunken fights start during house ceremonies, women intercede with calming effect.

641 829 805 Time always is on the side of the Indians when they wish to resist national orders. Verbal agreements to pay fines imposed or to assist federal agents in the capture of criminals are frequently followed by deliberate negligence in carrying out the orders. Usually the order is forgotten or in- [647] terest wanes at a higher level. Government agencies such as the INI learned to bide their time much as the Indians did. Expecting opposition to any proposed change, they waited for the initial reaction to die down, and then proceeded as support from those who benefited overcame internal resistence.

461 464 512 805 When called upon to perform jobs that require regular appointments, the Indians respond easily to the daily scheduling. Resistance comes against scheduled requirements that involve long spans of time and interfere with communal and familial ceremonies. Work away from home is undertaken only on the premise that it will be of limited duration. This [181] control over their own time is a value which Indians will not easily yield.

882 562 584 session in Church). Water carrying is associated with courting, and the bachelors stay around the paths that connect the houses of their sweethearts with the well to which they go to fetch water, expecting to receive some indication of acceptance on their part, and if they are literate, to hand them a love letter. Girls, on these occasions, are expected to behave modestly and to be embarrassed. If not, they are usually judged as alocades (light-headed) and not fit for marriage.

156 571 The concept of tener su compañía runs throughout all activity, at all ages. Having company means protection from the supernatural on a long trip, help around the house, harmonious social relations with age mates and kinsmen, and insurance against loneliness. Older women who are left alone in a house for several days will "borrow" a younger girl, a son's daughter for example, to keep them company, and a young wife going to market or to get firewood is usually expected to find company to do so. If not, [753] she can well meet a strange man on the road, and get sick from verguenza (sickness assumed to originate from shame at being placed in an anomalous or embarrassing social situation) or espanto (fear and soul loss).

882 562 Boys (kerem and tek' el) do not have as many restrictions of behavior or of movement as girls after puberty, but they are [868] also expected to have their company. They start working with their fathers around the age of ten, depending on their physical strength, but in the beginning, it is not a serious occupation.

883 562 573 As soon as they become regular workers, they spend their free time with other bachelors and form a compañía or escuadrilla

593 583 584 The boy obtains a wife with his father's help. He has usually selected the girl himself, but his father makes the arrangements with the girl's parents and pays the bride-price. The bride-price, called the bocado (mouthful), is paid to the household of the future bride and has a fixed value, 300 pesos, given in the form of consumable goods: chocolate, sugar, bread, coffee, cigarettes and trago (the local brew).[1]

585 183 593 606 At the marriage ceremony, the new wife and husband are instructed in the rights and duties of their new role. The young wife is told, in a formal speech given by an elder man of the

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[1]The regular marriage negotiations include several visits to the girl's parents called the pedidas (requests), which can be spread over a period of six months to a year. The last pedida is [585] considered the engagement ceremony, and after that comes the entrega de la muchacha (the giving away of the bride) which is the ceremony referred to here as the marriage ceremony. This ceremony follows the native custom. There are two other marriage ceremonies which can be performed, and are optative. One is the civil marriage at the Ayuntamiento, selected by very few because it is considered an unnecessary expense, although it gives some prestige. The other is a Church wedding, performed by the Catholic priest. This wedding ceremony does not occur until the couple have been married several years and have children. Church weddings are considered to be strong bonds, which are very difficult to break up. In many cases, if a couple is fighting a lot and the wife threatens to leave the homestead, the husband will try to marry her in the Church to force her to stay in the household. Because of its high prestige value, if a boy is rejected by the family of his sweetheart at the pedida, the suitor's family will offer as an extra attraction a Church wedding immediately after the entrega de la muchacha.

In some cases, when the suitor is rejected by the parents of the girl, or if he cannot afford the bride-price but the girl is willing to live with him, the marriage ceremony is not performed. In these cases, the institution of the robo (the stealing of the girl) is common practice. The suitor arranges with his girl-friend to run away together at night, and go to his home. Therefore, robos or huidas occur with the consent of the groom's parents, who have to accept the girl into the home. The robo is [621] common in inter-barrio marriages, where the pedidas ritual is socially impossible to carry on, because the limitations put upon barrio interaction and the rules of barrio endogamy.

361 591 434 the women do so, and while 63 per cent of the men in the village live in close patrilocal proximity, only 40 per cent of the men in Santa Cruz live near their parents (see Table 16).

Residence of Widows

184 589 591 Another striking contrast between Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women, in the latter, as household heads, and their residence after they become widows.

562 589 434 [423] [768] First, because in many cases a woman owns the house in which she lives with her husband and children, she is not obliged to move out of the site if her husband dies, as she is in Aguacatenango. Second, she does not need an adult man in the household to be able to support herself and the children because she is able to meet the economic demands of the domestic groups from her own labor in pottery production. The result of women's economic independence is that many of them are the heads of their own households. Out of 280 households, 39 have female heads, and 25 do not contain any adult men (the others contain younger sons-in-law). This also means that all corn is bought; there is no income derived from agriculture, but only from pottery sales. In Aguacatenango, where all income derives directly or indirectly from agriculture, this situation is inconceivable: there are no households without men, nor households in which a female is the absolute head of the unit.

592 562 434 184

The Marriage Transactions and the Household

583 584 In Aguacatenango, a man selects his future spouse and his father arranges the marriage for him. At the ceremonial visits

583 which are exchanged between future parents-in-law, the bride-
584 price or bocado is paid. The bocado is fixed: 300 pesos in goods.

582 Parents try to marry off their daughters within their own
184 economic level to provide a similar standard of living for them.
434 They will strongly refuse to give them to a poorer household if they are not very poor themselves. If the household is very poor, the first solution is to marry off the daughters, since they are consumers who do not contribute to the household income. If a poor household cannot find a husband for a daughter within the village, they will even give her to an outsider, for example, to a man from La Palizada. This is viewed as an unfortunate, but inevitable, choice. La Palizada is a settlement in the high, cold
[595] country. It is very poor. A woman marrying into it is viewed with pity because La Palizada men are polygamous and their wives work in the cornfields with them. Of two cases of marriages with La Palizada which we know about (one in the past and another that is contemporary), the only reason given for the marriage was the poverty of the households.

582 If a young man in town insists on marrying the daughter of a couple richer than his own household, they will refuse because
583 "the girl is not used to the hardships." If the girl decides on her own that she likes the man, the usual procedure is elopement at night to the boy's house. In this case, a poor man can get a richer bride without the bride-price, but he does not get any of the economic advantages shared by her family. The girl is cut-off from any social interaction with her family of orientation. Later, if the marriage proves stable, the young deviant couple can attempt

583 procedures (*trámites*) of church and civil
584 registry. The traditional marriage is an arrangement between two families. The young man's parents, with his agreement, select the bride and start the visits leading to the
[574] petition. The visits to the girl's house must
[273] be made at dawn, accompanied by two or three bottles of aguardiente. These visits continue for several months, because the girl's parents want to consult the old men or the most important members of the patrilineal clan.

585 The wedding itself is simple, a family ritual concerning the boy's parents, the girl's parents, and old men of the clan she belongs to. Now the boy appears for the first time, bringing articles that will "warm up" the fiesta (Villa Rojas, 1949):

1 garrafón (about 18 liters) of aguardiente
80 cooked eggs
80 tortillas
80 tamales of the *chenkul-uaj type* (corn and bean dough)
10 kilos of pozole with chile
10 kilos of pozole without chile
1 kilo of ground chile
1 almud (4 kilos) of beans

According to my informants from Oxchuc, these items represent what the girl's parents have spent for her during childhood.
[574] This marriage feast is called *beybal-ja* ('the first delivery of aguardiente').

585 These items are presented with the great-
614 est formality to the girl's clan in oral forms that symbolize the wish for everlasting friendship between both families. The oldest member of the girl's clan responds by expressing on behalf of all members their satisfaction in receiving those articles and their good wishes for a successful union. Immediately, the couple kneels on a petate and listens to the oldest member of the clan, who formally announces they are married and recites the duties and obligations of each.

584 Until recently in Cancuc the custom ob-
184 tained of making these marriage arrange-
[P 217-B]

584 [184] ments through a special person (*chunel*) for each of the four clans, and differed from Oxchuc, where the case is presented to the nearest old man of the clan. In Cancuc, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, p. 3):

> The boy's parents dealt with the *Chunel* of the girl's clan when petitioning her. He received the gifts and gave approval; and then accompanied by the boy and his parents he went into the house of the girl's parents. There, he presented the boy's petition. Nobody could oppose the Chunel's decisions. The girl would die if she didn't obey the decisions of the elder of the clan.

583 Once a marriage feast is finished, the boy stays in his parents-in-law's house to fulfill the bride price (*stojyinam*). This service, which consists in helping the father-in-law in the milpa and in other duties, usually lasts a year, or less if arrangements are made in advance. Frequently during this period the man spends alternate periods of three weeks with his parents-in-law and with his own parents. When he has the means to do it, he builds his own house and starts the new cycle of a nuclear family.

581 585 574 [273] [614] After the first year of marriage, if the couple get along together, the man must make a present of two garrafones of aguardiente and the same petitionary items of food, though in larger amounts. This time, more of the girl's clan are present, and so increase the importance of the event. The purpose is to celebrate the success of the couple and the union that will exist between the two families. This big *tertulia*, along with the corresponding meal, is called [888] *mukel-ja* ('abundance of drink'). Old men of [273] the clan who cannot attend receive at their homes the portion of aguardiente they 586 should have drunk. On the other hand, if the couple could not get along during the first year and the union is annulled because of the woman's fault, her parents must give back all they have received during the first ritual.

581 574 [P. 218-A] Finally, to bring all these duties to an

581 end, the husband gives a big meal sometime
574 (even 30 years later) which must be attended by the important members of the wife's
[753] clan. Many illnesses in a family are attributed to the fact that the man did not fulfill this third requirement of a food gift (*oshevuelto-uaj-matz*, 'third delivery of food').

584 Another custom, known as *yajk makte achish* ('cover or secure the girl'), is practiced when the chosen girl is too young (10–12 years) to get married. To secure her in the future, the boy's parents make arrangements with those of the girl, offering them liquor that other members of the girl's clan also share. When she grows older, they proceed with the wedding arrangements and the customary formal ceremonies.

583 Another form of marriage, existing among very traditional groups, begins with the capture of the girl. This happens when she has no father or important man representing the house. The boy and his parents must obtain cooperation from one of the male members of the girl's clan. With this accomplice the men go to the girl's house at midnight, take her, and bring her to the boy's parents either by persuading her mother with liquor or by force. Days later, they try to calm the anger of the important people of her clan, bringing further bottles of liquor. Usually the union becomes formally recognized after this, and the couple settle in their own home with the neighbors' approval. It is thus a sort of institutionalized capture.

581 Among the less conservative communities,
177 these forms of marriage are being replaced
585 by Ladino forms, which regard marriage not as a contract between two lineages or families but as an agreement between two individuals. Furthermore, the Catholic ceremony
583 is considered very important. Premarital sex-
836 ual relations and elopement are frequent.
584 Metzger states that, "in Aguacatenango, to a considerable extent, the marriage choice
[836] is made by the boy and the girl after sexual experimentation and a period of 'going steady.' The boy tells his family about it and they proceed to make the arrangements

[P. 218-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4.5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

584 with the family of the girl. If the boy is accepted, the gifts are received and the marriage takes place.

585 184 [177] In Aguacatenango and Amatenango, the Catholic ceremony is sometimes delayed for several years after the informal marriage, because of the belief that the latter really consolidated the union. On the other hand, in places where the Ladino population is larger (Pinola and San Bartolo) the religious ceremony is considered by the Indians as a very important part of the customs.

184 177 608 The compadrazgo relationship is stressed among these communities where Ladinos have great influence. There are baptism, confirmation, and wedding padrinos. The rights and duties established through this relationship are still respected, especially 608 the compadre relationship. It is the duty of the child's parents to give occasional gifts [736] to the godparents. If the child's parents die, the godparents must take care of him, except when there are closer relatives to the father.

585 608 It is the main duty of the wedding godparents to help the couple maintain a good understanding and to dissolve, by advice, any disagreement. They always receive great respect and affection from their *ahijados*.

608 [851] Among conservative groups, the compadrazgo relationship arises only from the baptism of a child. Sometimes this relationship is established in a very informal way; perhaps during fiesta at the ceremonial center they may take advantage of the priest's presence to ask a very close friend to "embrace" the child. The padrino is then invited 574 608 to have aguardiente. At other times the arrangement is made formally; the parents of the child go to the house of their future [431] compadres to ask them that favor. Exchanges of gifts and dinner invitations are frequent, the child's parents feeling the greater obligation. These meals can be really banquets where many "platillos" and much aguardiente are consumed. Among 184 608 some groups, padrinos neither give a gift to 431 736 [P 219-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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554 "giving the head" to certain elder women, but the reason could not
576 be ascertained.

581 Marriage is an economic and social affair, apparently free of religious significance. Don Arturo Tovilla of Cacate-el, gave us a description of the manner of seeking a wife, which is here paraphrased. It will be seen that the importance, ceremonially, centers on the contract with the parents, while the actual joining in marriage is not stressed.

584 The boy's father goes with the boy to the girl's house, both dressed in their best clothes, and carrying a gift of three bottles (pints) of aguardiente "and some animal." His father tells the girl's father that his son wishes to marry the daughter; to which the answer is to call the girl and ask her if she likes him. She says nothing, but keeps on scratching the wall with her finger and the floor with her toe, thereby indicating that she likes the boy, while showing the proper maidenly modesty. The latter gives her a coloured handkerchief, pearl beads, etc., with which the contract is sealed.

The boy is obligated to bring to her house what the father may ask, such as corn, beans, aguardiente, as well as to help in the work for a year. He makes a social visit each Sunday, which the girl must receive. At the end of the time appointed by the parents, he takes her to his house.

If the girl does not signify her consent in the manner described, the match does not take place.

583 When the parents of one or both parties do not countenance the match, it may happen that the children, taking the law into their own hands, run away. The procedure in this case has become formalized so that, while unpleasant enough to act as a deterrent, it recognizes this as a regular manner of marrying. This description also is para-
[115] phrased from Señor Tovilla.

When the parents forbid, but both children desire the match, after the boy has gone to the girl's house and been refused, his obligation of respect is ended. He builds a house in a retired place in the jungle. He and the girl meet to make their plans where she goes to get water, for which purpose she may often choose a spring a kilometer or more from her house. At an appointed time, they run away.

584 When he has carried her off and hidden her, his parents must go
585 and apologize to hers. The girl's father tells the boy's not to leave before being punished. He, however, finds and brings in the couple, who kneel before the girl's parents. The boy's shirt is taken off, and

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

he is whipped by the girl's father for a thief. The girl is stripped to 584
the waist and whipped by her mother. With this the marriage is 585
legalized. As the first act of their true married life, the girl makes posole and offers it to her parents. The boy is under obligation to bring presents of bread, chocolate, aguardiente, etc., to his parents-in-law.

There are no formal restrictions of marriage, but the Church 582
exercises a general influence against wedding brother and sister, 177
cousins, or other relatives forbidden by Christian doctrine. In this, 178
owing to the disposition of the Indians, and to the purely tribal character of marriage, which is not regarded by them as a religious or governmental matter, the Church is only partially successful. In- 588
formal unions actually do occur between brother and sister, apparently without any ceremony, the pair merely continuing to live together, their family relationship slowly changing into that of a married couple. That such a wife's status has some regularity in their eyes is shown by the fact that she has the same position in funeral rites as an ordinary wife.

It is probably due to the negative influence of the Church that 115
the various important crises in the life of an individual, ordinarily 126
marked by such colourful ceremonies among primitive people, here are distinguished by very little of ritualistic observance. For description of the main events in the life course, we were again dependent on Señor Tovilla, whose information, given with little change below, checked entirely with the result of other inquiries. The funeral ceremonies were observed at first hand, after the fight described at El Encanto; for them, accordingly, I have used my own notes.

When a woman is about to give birth to a child, a midwife—an 844
older woman with some knowledge of herbs—is summoned. A few days before parturition, the woman is carefully tended by the midwife, well fed with choice food, and provided with a little rum. At the moment of giving birth, the midwife prays that the child may be brought forth happily. The mother kneels, and the midwife prepares to receive the child with a new cloth. Meantime the father is told to stay outside the house, or may be allowed to help in minor matters.

It is said that at Tenejapa the women go out into the woods to give birth untended, coming back with the child.

The baby is given Christian baptism. 852

A child's soul is considered to be particularly delicate, and there- 789
fore liable to magic influence. If the people of the house must go [774]

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

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	/ ... YU*N *IC HA*/, "of baptism"	/ ... YU*N KOMPRE-MASYON/, "of confirmation"	/ ... YU*N NUH-PUNEL/, "of marriage"	/ ... YU*N S*AN NINYO/, "of Christmas"
/H-KUMPRE/ /H-KUMRE/	x	x	x	x
/H-TAT+SNARYOS/ /H-ME*+ SNARYOS/	x	x	*	-
/H-NIC'AN+SNAR-YOS/ /K-AL+ SNARYOS/	x	x	*	-

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Both baptism and confirmation involve ritual relationships across generations. The padrinos (H-TAT+SNARYOS/, etc.) chosen for the child on these occasions become compadres (/-KUMPRE/ ~ /-KUMRE/) of the child's parents and, sometimes, of the child's paternal grandparents as well.

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The traditional (in contrast to church) wedding, on the other hand, establishes no cross-generation ritual relationships. The parents and married siblings of the spouses become /-KUMPRE/ ~ /KUMRE/ to each other, as may even the grandparents and parents' siblings of the married pair. The newlyweds alone do not enter into this relationship with anyone present. The terms of reference to persons so related are the stated /-KUMPRE/ ~ /-KUMRE/,

585 608 601 602 sometimes modified by /MUK'UL/ or /C'IN/ as previously shown. When, in addition to the exchange of gifts which constitutes the traditional wedding, the couple is married in the church, a pair of padrinos (male and female) is chosen from outside the set of relatives who become compadres in the ceremony just mentioned. These people are referred to as /TAT+SNARYOS~PAGRINO/ and /-ME*+SNARYOS~MAGRINA/ by the married couple (who are called by them, respectively, /-NIC'AN+SNARYOS~IHADA/ and /-*AL+SNARYOS~*IHADA/) and as /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ (self-reciprocally) by the parents of the married partners.

796 608 The fiesta of Noche Buena establishes /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ relations, and no others, between the host of the fiesta and a few other individuals he invites to sponsor the fiesta.

Other relationship terms

571 192 There remains a set of terms which, when used with possessive prefixes, identify the referent in terms of a more general relationship to some coordinating person. These terms are as follows:

(1) /HOY/, "companion" (in reference to spouses; one who lives in the same house, including specific kin; and all of the specified kinds of companion below)

[P. 119]

TABLE 20. Relationship of Individual to Compadres

Informant's family status	Occasion	Residence of compadre: Same section	Opposite section	Other barrio	Neighboring town	Total	Relationship: Relative	Non-relative	Total
65-year-old man, wife, 5 grown children	Baptism of godchild	13	5			18		18	18
	Wedding	31				31	12	19	31
	Baptism of own child	3			2	5		5	5
	Total	47	5		2	54	12	42	54
42-year-old man, wife, adopted daughter	Baptism of godchild	12	1			13	2	11	13
	Wedding	13	3	5		21	6	15	21
	Confirmation		2			2		2	2
	Blessing of loudspeaker	2			2	4		2	2
	Total	27	6	5	2	40	8	30	38
35-year-old man, wife, 5 children	Baptism of godchild	7				7	4	3	7
	Baptism of own child	4			1	5		5	5
	Wedding	4				4		4	4
	House saint	2				2	1	1	2
	Total	17			1	18	5	13	18
34-year-old widow	Baptism of godchild	17	1	1		19	15	4	19
	Wedding	7	3			10	2	8	10
	House saint	2	1		1	4	1	3	4
	Confirmation	1				1	1		1
	Total	27	5	1	1	34	19	15	34
	TOTAL	118	16	6	6	146	44	100	144

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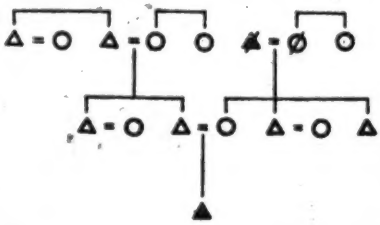
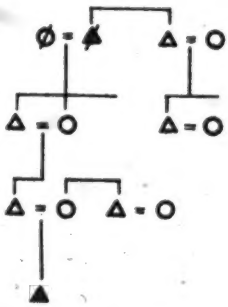
3. A man of the same section asked him to be padrino, and he acquired 6 compadres and 7 comadres. 608 571 852 601

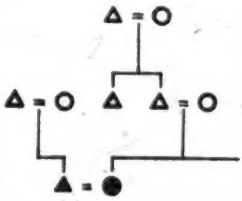


4. A man of same section asked him to be padrino, and he acquired 5 compadres and 5 comadres.



He has been asked to be padrino of marriage ceremonies, also by four parties. The darkneed symbols represent the individuals married. 608 571 585

1. A man of the same section.



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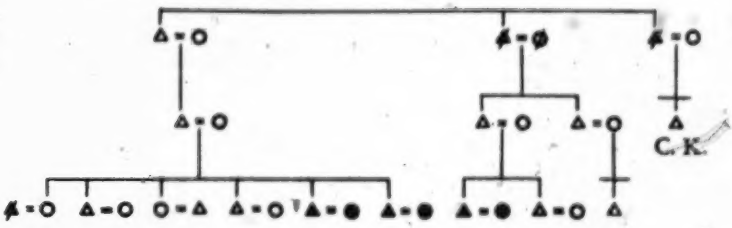
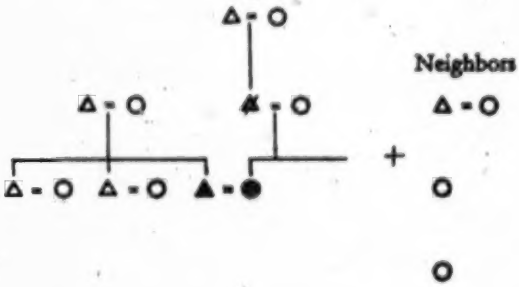
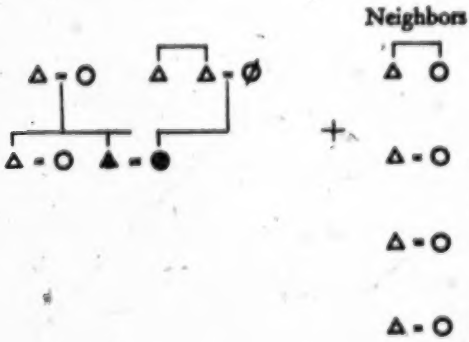
2. The sons of his brother's son.



3. A neighbor's son.



4. A man of the same section.



7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

In becoming a padrino of baptism and marriage, C. K. has acquired 33 compadres, 31 comadres, 4 godchildren of baptism, and 7 godchildren of marriage, 4 of which are his nephews. Adding to the 6 compadres of baptism for his own children, he has 39 compadres and 37 comadres, a total of 76. Most people by the time they have reached 60 have acquired well over 50 compadres. 608 571 [852] [585]

The relationship between compadres is one of respect, and the referential and vocative terms, *kumpare* and *kumare*, or compadre and comrade in Spanish, take precedence over any other relationship term. The godchild is expected to bring a load of wood to his padrino's house when the latter has a household ceremonial, and when the godchild is old enough, he will serve as b'alnial, or assistant. All the people who attend the household ceremony following the church baptism become compadres and constitute the kumparetak. Compadres attend each other's household ceremonials, acting as nakawanehetik (attendants who are present at all household ceremonials) or b'alnialetik. Compadrazgo is patterned on a pre-Conquest institution establishing ties between attendants in household rituals called maliwanehetik. [852] [788] [794] [592]

The relationship of protection and guidance that is to characterize the tie between co-parents, godchildren and their godparents for the rest of their lives is symbolized in the behavior formally prescribed in the baptism ceremony. On the day of baptism, the child is dressed in clothing given by his godparents. The parents and grandparents of the child go together with the godparent to the church. While the child is being baptized by the priest, he is held by his godfather if he is a boy, or by her godmother if a girl. The priest throws water and salt on the child and prays over him, baptizing him in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. After the ceremony the participants embrace the child and each other in front of the church, symbolizing the status they now occupy in respect to the child, his grandparents, and parents. Without this performance, the ritual terms of comadre, compadre, or padrino cannot be used.[1] 852 608 571

1. This behavioral definition of the ritual kinship tie in the sme'ispetb'ak is illustrated in the following incident: The wife of a man who had been asked to be a child's godparent was absent when the priest arrived for the ceremony. Her husband went to the church with the parents and grandparents of the child and embraced them at the church steps. Although

852 The church ceremony is followed by another ceremony in the house of
608 the child's parents. As the group returning from the church enters the
571 house, they are greeted with the pat'o'tan by the maliwanehetik who are
788 waiting for them in the house. As they enter, each of the returning party says, "You go forward, kumpare." They embrace all of the waiting party, an act which establishes their relationship as compadres with the entire company. When the padrinos leave, the grandparents and parents of the
[273] child go to a spot before the eaves outside the house; there the father of
[593] the child serves liquor to the padrinos and the grandparents of the child.
[603] The drink is called "the finale as the compadres leave." The group must finish the entire liter "since it is a gift," and if there are only one or two grandparents, they may get fairly drunk. As the compadres leave, the grandpaernts say, "Over the soil, over the mud where you take your holy godchild, your holy flower, your holy candle." The child, referred to meta-
[778] phorically as holy flower, holy candle, is identified with the most sacred symbols of the culture.[2]

608 The emphasis on the group relationship in Tzo'ontahal contrasts with
571 the form of compadrazgo found in the central plateau of Mexico where
171 the dyadic tie between two compadres provides flexibility in achieving instrumental ends in political or economic life.[3] Some of the new leaders in economic enterprises are beginning to emphasize the dyadic contract in their compadrazgo relationships to achieve political support, but its greatest importance is still based on creating or reinforcing group solidarity.

Betrothal and Marriage

796
177 The Indians of Tzo'onthal are initiated into the community of the liv-
584 ing and depart from it with ceremonies deriving from the Spanish colonial
585 culture. The courtship and marriage ceremonies continue indigenous re-

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[852] she later attended the household ceremony, she was never called kumare because of the
[571] omission of this act.
[608] 2. See Laughlin (1962) on the symbolism of the candle and flower in Zinacantan.
[171] 3. In regard to the occasions and the kind of respect relation established, compadrazgo in Tzo'ontahal is similar to the institution in other parts of Mexico (Foster 1963, Nader 1964, Wolf and Mintz 1950). The difference lies in the elaboration of the number of ties acquired through compadrazgo at each event.

tual practices and are carried on in the home. Sometimes a church and/or civil marriage is held in addition, but the union is not consumated until the traditional home marriage has taken place. 584 585

The betrothal, or *č'om,* is an extended series of negotiations in which the boy's representatives plead with the girl's family to accept the suit. Anytime in a boy's late teens or early twenties, he may initiate the suit by speaking to his father, or the father may undertake to find a wife for his son. The parents of the boy then request an older woman who has some skill in speaking the formal speeches to serve as the me? *Č'om,* mother of the betrothal, and an older man to serve as the *statal č'om,* or leader of the betrothal (sometimes he is called mam č'om or grandfather of the betrothal). These intermediaries may or may not be related to the family initiating the request. Nonkin are usually chosen from among compadres or a neighborhood group. When the father requests that they act as intermediaries, he brings a gift of liquor, chocolate, and bread. 584 [192]

Before any negotiations are begun with the girl's family, the boy's family calls together the representatives. These include his grandparents, uncles, and aunts, his padrino of baptism and confirmation, and possibly neighbors or nearby compadres of his parents. The gathering then questions the boy to learn whether his interest in the girl is sincere and exclusive of any other infatuation. In this session, called the *?il' yo?tan* or "taking of the heart," the boy goes to each of his representatives and kneels before them as they question him, asking him if he wants that girl and only that girl. He is told that marriage is an important relationship, not to be treated "as a toy"; the boy should be interested in only this girl, and if he should cause them to have to go to the cabildo "the day after tomorrow," it would cause embarrassment to the entire company. [602] [608] [571] [192] [581]

At the final gathering, called the *?il' rason* or "taking of the understanding," the assembled me?iltatil of both the boy and the girl give the couple further advice. The boy is told what is expected of him in the marriage. It is a minimal statement: he should not leave her tomorrow, he should not beat her, he should bring home corn and beans, and all will be well. The girl is told that she should prepare her husband's meals and be waiting for him in the house when he comes home from work. Respect, called "hearing" and "feeling" (both combined in the verb *l?awayi*), is [192] 581 584

mother to her daughter. Informants are able to recount the succession of 868
learning of the tasks, the relative difficulty of each task, and the mistakes 323
they made and how their mother corrected them. Being a potter in Tzoʔontahal is as much a part of being a woman as the role of agriculturalist is of being a man.

Special tasks become crystallized as roles only when few people perform 463
them. Jobs such as caponizing, butchering, net and rope weaving, and 554
wood cutting which are done by almost every man do not have role terms. Bonesetting and curing of certain "good" illnesses, such as swelling caused by embarrassment, are semispecialized activities performed by a few women who have "cold" hands. Midwifery is a fully specialized role per- [759]
formed by two women who are referred to as "the grandmothers of the newborn child."

A new occupational role has been created with the purchase of a truck 463
by Indians of the community. There are now two Indian truck drivers. 554
Recruitment of these particular young men was a result of their fathers' 177
importance in the truck-owning cooperatives, and their skill was acquired [493]
in apprenticeship with a Ladino truck driver hired when the truck was first in operation. Both of them are acculturated in clothing and speech. Since they have acquired skills in dealing with the Ladino world, they often act as intermediaries for Indians of the town in their negotiations in the market or the courts of the departmental capital.

The continuity in occupational adjustment from early childhood to 864
adulthood contrasts with the discontinuities in assuming roles in the life cycle. Girls are not advised about menstruation until they see the first signs of it; they describe their reaction to it as one of fear and surprise. Often they have been pregnant several months before they are aware of the condition or its cause, and they have no preparation for the experience
of childbirth before it is upon them. Boys are not considered men until 885
they are married, but in order to arrive at this status, they must enter into 584
the "fight to get a wife," as the betrothal is often called. 585

Since recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on 554
qualities of the person rather than acquired skills, failure to recognize the prerequisite conditions of age and experience undermines the validity of

855 the elder child, except that they allow the child some freedom
862 to run around the sitio, or go outside the sitio with other adults
883 in order to go visiting.[1]

The adolescent children, especially those going to school, have complete freedom of movement within the community. They are sent to visit their grandmothers, to deliver little presents, or they are sent to ask for borrowed things. They also bring news and gossip back and forth between households. Their role as [585] messengers is sometimes formalized, as during weddings when children are sent ahead to announce the arrival of the bride, and her family, to the groom's household.

857 Pre-adolescent girls have the responsibility of caring for
868 their younger siblings, and are initiated into the woman's work
562 at an early age. They are trained by their mothers in making tortillas, carrying water, sweeping and sewing. They can go visiting on their own, and play outside the home with other girls before and after school, if they are regular school goers.

882 After the first menstruation (and sometimes a little before
562 if they show signs of maturity), they change from the light cotton
[291] skirt into the traditional dark blue nagua (tubular skirt) and red faja (sash), and are considered marriageable (solteritas or tek' el). At this point, they are expected to stay within the homestead grounds, except if they are told to bring water or if they go with compañía (company) to the afternoon rezo (praying

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[1] In extreme cases, when the elder child shows extreme signs of distress (crying long hours and refusing to eat anything), it will be given to a woman relative living in other household, usually the paternal grandmother or a married sister without children. This, however, is extremely rare.

593 583 584 The boy obtains a wife with his father's help. He has usually selected the girl himself, but his father makes the arrangements with the girl's parents and pays the bride-price. The bride-price, called the bocado (mouthful), is paid to the household of the future bride and has a fixed value, 300 pesos, given in the form of consumable goods: chocolate, sugar, bread, coffee, cigarettes and trago (the local brew).[1]

585 183 593 606 At the marriage ceremony, the new wife and husband are instructed in the rights and duties of their new role. The young wife is told, in a formal speech given by an elder man of the

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[1]The regular marriage negotiations include several visits to the girl's parents called the pedidas (requests), which can be spread over a period of six months to a year. The last pedida is [585] considered the engagement ceremony, and after that comes the entrega de la muchacha (the giving away of the bride) which is the ceremony referred to here as the marriage ceremony. This ceremony follows the native custom. There are two other marriage ceremonies which can be performed, and are optative. One is the civil marriage at the Ayuntamiento, selected by very few because it is considered an unnecessary expense, although it gives some prestige. The other is a Church wedding, performed by the Catholic priest. This wedding ceremony does not occur until the couple have been married several years and have children. Church weddings are considered to be strong bonds, which are very difficult to break up. In many cases, if a couple is fighting a lot and the wife threatens to leave the homestead, the husband will try to marry her in the Church to force her to stay in the household. Because of its high prestige value, if a boy is rejected by the family of his sweetheart at the pedida, the suitor's family will offer as an extra attraction a Church wedding immediately after the entrega de la muchacha.

In some cases, when the suitor is rejected by the parents of the girl, or if he cannot afford the bride-price but the girl is willing to live with him, the marriage ceremony is not performed. In these cases, the institution of the robo (the stealing of the girl) is common practice. The suitor arranges with his girl-friend to run away together at night, and go to his home. Therefore, robos or huidas occur with the consent of the groom's parents, who have to accept the girl into the home. The robo is [621] common in inter-barrio marriages, where the pedidas ritual is socially impossible to carry on, because the limitations put upon barrio interaction and the rules of barrio endogamy.

585 183 593 606 family, that she starts a new life. She now has a new family and a new home where she should learn new ways of doing things from her mother-in-law, and forget the old ones she learned from her mother. Among her duties as a good wife and daughter-in-law she should keep her husband well fed and clean, obey her mother-in-law for whom she should work hard, and respect the head of the household (her father-in-law). She should not visit her family too often, and she should gather firewood with her mother-in-law instead of with her mother.[1] The ceremony indicates two things: [581] (1) the transfer of the wife's reproductive and labor power from her natal home to her husband's; (2) the boundaries of her new role. In a sense, the people of Aguacatenango define the role of a wife in terms of her performance as a worker and as a daughter-in-law, and in terms of her relations with all the members of the household rather than only in terms of her relation to her husband.

593 885 [851] On the other hand, a new husband's performance is under trial. He has to demonstrate that he can get along with his wife, and become a father, before his role as a dependent child is replaced by his role as a married man. At the time of acquiring a wife, a man is regarded by the community as a "child," being both economically and jurally dependent upon his father, who has complete authority over his actions, and is directly responsible for his son's misdeeds.[2]

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[583] [1]One of my informants tells me that although she was robada by her husband (she lived in the other barrio) the night she arrived at her husband's household, her father-in-law gave her a shortened version of the wedding speech. I do not know if this is a common practice.

[592] [672] [2]If a young man commits a crime while living under his father's roof, the father is responsible for his defense and for paying the fines to the Ayuntamiento.

593 578 nor in brotherly love. At times, the transmission of property and authority is smooth; at times it reaches open conflict and extreme hostility.

[754] In several case histories from Aguacatenango, this antagonism between brothers has been expressed by the informants in the "witchcraft" idiom.

593 578 754 428 In one case, for example, a man, while drunk, threatened his younger brother with witchcraft, because their father had not given him a house (the man lived in a house given to him by his wife's relatives), but the younger brother was known to everybody to have been promised his father's sitio. In another case, a man, Miguel, gave his brother, Juan, part of his father's inheritance. Juan divided it among his own sons without consulting Miguel. After a while, one of Juan's sons died, and the people said that it was Miguel, angered by the distribution of property which he considered his own, who had bewitched Juan's son, his own agnatic nephew, in revenge.

593 578 585 The antagonism between brothers reaches aspects other than inheritance itself, such as the rights of sons over father's economic assistance. Church weddings, for example, are considered to be more binding than the traditional local ceremony or civil marriages. In most cases, there is a second marriage ceremony performed after the birth of a child, when the marriage has proved stable and the couple needs to have proof of a religious wedding to get the child baptized.

In one of our case histories from Aguacatenango, the rivalry of two brothers became evident over the matter of a church

593 578 585 wedding. One son had married and already lived outside his father's compound. His younger brother was married, but stayed with the father. The younger brother obtained from his father a church wedding and the fiesta which accompanies it. The elder felt cheated. He was older, but he had not been given a church wedding, which he felt he should have had first. The father insisted that the elder son did not deserve it. First, he had not stayed in the house long enough after his marriage because "his wife was a bad daughter-in-law and insisted on moving out taking him away." Second, he was living outside his sitio and, being economically independent, he should have been able to pay for his own church wedding.

[26] The opinions of the villagers were divided. On the one hand, it was clear that only the child who is being supported had the right to get the father's direct economic assistance. On the other hand, the elder son had seniority rights.

593 578 428 We do not know the outcome of this particular case, but the evidence is strong enough to suggest that the relationship between brothers, especially in terms of each one's position as an heir with respect to their father, is not clearly resolved by the society, and is (1) a likely place of conflict in the social structure, and (2) a point of fission in the patriline genealogical continuity and depth. Second, the alternative pattern of patri-uxorilocal residence, and the concomitant fact that a man works the land with his affinals and inherits from them, and that a woman can inherit a house site, breaks in some cases the exclusive rights of inheritance within the patriline.

/3/

178 584 614 There are informants who remember the time when there were chuneles, and the younger ones know about it because their fathers have told them. The social conflict brought about by the disappearance of this institution seems to have its most intense point in what concerns marriage. It was the chunel of the clan of a girl to whom the parents of a boy would go to ask for her in marriage. He received gifts and gave his consent in case he thought it advantageous, and, accompanied by the boy and his parents, he went to the house of her parents, to whom he presented the pleas of the young man. No one could oppose the decision of the chunel. An informant adds: "If the woman does not [586] love her husband and leaves him and flees, the man advises the chunel and the chunel eats the woman." She dies if she does not respect the wishes of the oldest man of her clan. Now that there [578] are no chuneles, a boy, with his parents or without them, is accompanied by any member of the clan to which the girl belongs; generally the parents are opposed, the girl is not willing, and the use of force, which serves instead of the traditional fear and reverence, only gives rise to conflicts, bringing irreconcilable hatreds.

614 Formerly the clans of Cancuc were four: Chik, Chejeb, Ijká, and Boj. At present only the first three exist, the members of the Boj clan having been incorporated into the Ijká clan. This fusion of two clans took place a short time before the political revolts to [125] which we have referred. While taking the census of the town, we found marriages between individuals belonging to these two clans, concluded before the fusion. Since that date "the Boj know that they are now Ijká," and clan exogamy has prevented these unions; "If a Boj marries an Ijká now, the two will die," say my informants, "because they are chapomales."

614 539 776 To an inquiry about the reason for the fusion and the manner of accomplishing it, our informants gave the following explanations, which show undeniably the close relationship existing between clan and nagual:

423 In the most acculturated communities
592 (Aguacatenango and Amatenango) individ-
[184] ually held property is more general. The head of the house is the owner of the parcel and he can manage it as he pleases. Referring to Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1980, p. 11) states that:

> In general, land is "owned"—that is, controlled—by the household; as long as the son lives with the father, he may speak of "his land," but in fact he works the land with his father, planting what and when his father de-
> [428] cides. The son who lives apart is usually given a piece of land by his father, and he acquires new land which he, in turn, will pass on to his sons at his death or, if he chooses, before.

[613] At this level the lineage concept has dis-
[593] appeared, and the only recognized connection is the father-son relationship.

423 Irrigated lands ("tierras irrigables"), however, in Aguacatenango and in Amatenango contain parcels belonging to private owners and parcels used in common, which are administered or given by the local authorities to be cultivated. Metzger (*ibid.*) informs us that: "Recently, land has been bought on the edges of the town by each of the two barrios for the exclusive use of their members, while in the irrigable area the holdings of members of the two barrios are separate and watered by separate canals."

[175] Ejido lands exist in almost all the region, distributed according to the Programa Agrario de la Revolución Mexicana since 1914 but in some communities not put into practice until after 1930. These lands are administered by the "comite ejidal" of each municipio, which gives to any individual who needs land the permission to cultivate it. These lands cannot be sold or transferred in any way, because they are considered common property.

421 Family land as well as the house and its
586 equipment belong to the man. When a marriage is dissolved, the woman goes back to her parents without taking anything but

[P 212-A]

421 her own clothes and her backstrap loom.
586 A widow may continue living in the hut and use its equipment only if she has a son. Otherwise, she must leave the house and return to her father's home because the land will be claimed by the brothers or other male relatives of the deceased husband.

Production and Consumption Groups

592 The family controls all matters related
433 to production and consumption. The head
241 of the house, with the help of his wife and other members of the family, takes care of farming and producing the basic food crops.
462 In the most conservative communities, the
476 old custom of planting by a cooperative
241 group, composed of relatives and friends, is still practiced. This is a task for men exclusively, since much skill and strength are required to dig up the ground in carefully
[785] spaced, perfectly straight rows. The owner
[834] of the milpa has to fast and observe sexual abstinence before starting the planting.

462 Only the family shares in the rest of the
592 labor, according to their sex: men take care of tasks requiring much effort; women perform those such as tending domestic ani-
[476] mals. Help from relatives and neighbors may also be asked occasionally, to build up fences around the orchard, to open or improve irrigation systems, etc.

Trade and Markets

438 Tenango and Amatenango concentrate on producing ceramics and trading them to neighboring municipios. Other municipios have a very limited commercial activity: Tenejapa exports a few sleeping mats; Oxchuc, ropes, nets, and pita bags; Cancuc, wooden combs; Bachajon, clay toys. These Tzeltal villages have no specialized merchants as do Zinacantan and Chamula.

443 There are a few markets where a large number of people meet regularly: Teopisca, in the south, has a Sunday market where natives from Aguacatenango, Amatenango, and Pinola meet. In the central part of the region they meet every Sunday at the mar-

584 [184] ments through a special person (*chunel*) for each of the four clans, and differed from Oxchuc, where the case is presented to the nearest old man of the clan. In Cancuc, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, p. 3):

> The boy's parents dealt with the *Chunel* of the girl's clan when petitioning her. He received the gifts and gave approval; and then accompanied by the boy and his parents he went into the house of the girl's parents. There, he presented the boy's petition. Nobody could oppose the Chunel's decisions. The girl would die if she didn't obey the decisions of the elder of the clan.

583 Once a marriage feast is finished, the boy stays in his parents-in-law's house to fulfill the bride price (*stojyinam*). This service, which consists in helping the father-in-law in the milpa and in other duties, usually lasts a year, or less if arrangements are made in advance. Frequently during this period the man spends alternate periods of three weeks with his parents-in-law and with his own parents. When he has the means to do it, he builds his own house and starts the new cycle of a nuclear family.

581 585 574 [273] [614] After the first year of marriage, if the couple get along together, the man must make a present of two garrafones of aguardiente and the same petitionary items of food, though in larger amounts. This time, more of the girl's clan are present, and so increase the importance of the event. The purpose is to celebrate the success of the couple and the union that will exist between the two families. This big *tertulia*, along with the corresponding meal, is called [888] *mukel-ja* ('abundance of drink'). Old men of [273] the clan who cannot attend receive at their homes the portion of aguardiente they should have drunk. On the other hand, if 586 the couple could not get along during the first year and the union is annulled because of the woman's fault, her parents must give back all they have received during the first ritual.

581 574 Finally, to bring all these duties to an [P. 218-A]

591 order, they will also marry and with their spouses live in the house of their father. In general, the older sibling moves out when a younger sibling marries (if not before). The youngest male sibling when he marries is not required to move--he takes "care of" his parents in their old age and becomes sole possessor of the house. The relatively older male siblings are established in houses of their own by the parents as close as can be managed to the parents' house.

Thus, there is discriminable clustering of male siblings in Aguacatenango. The youngest male sibling who is married lives in the parents' house and the older males live in houses which are immediately adjacent to his. The female siblings tend to be scattered more widely throughout the rest of the town.

591 592 562 Should the family fail to procreate male offspring, one of the daughters may remain in the parental home and bring in a husband to live with her there--they in turn become possessors of the house.

591 586 It is not unusual that marriages are broken off in the course of movement through the residence pattern. When such happens, the spouses return to their respective households of origin until remarriage. This reversal of residence pattern in the case of separation does not disturb the major pattern outlined above.

591 There are also cases where the youngest of the male siblings does not remain in the parental house, though this is

000 bly similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now. Just as a
323 man defines himself as an agriculturalist, a woman defines herself as a pot-
462 ter. Men complain if their wives do not produce pottery, and I know of
[593] two cases of separation on the grounds that the woman was not fulfilling
[586] one of her functions as housewife by helping the family budget with pot-
[461] tery production. Most women like to make pottery: it helps them to pass the day, and they say they would be bored without it. Some of the women who have gone with their husbands for extended stays in hot country have tried to make pottery out of clays available there, but because of its inferior quality, they have not had much success. Unlike women of neighboring towns, the women of Tzoʾontahal usually do not accompany their husbands to the fincas "because they have their work at home."

323 *Making pottery.* The women make a wide variety of household
178 and ceremonial objects, but the item which has the widest market distribution is the water storage jar (See Plate 7). They introduce new items in response to local needs, such as the funnel used in channeling liquor into large containers from the retort of the still. One vessel which is disappearing from production is the large ceremonial cooking pot. The only woman who knew how to do this (or who admitted to knowing, since it is unpaid work) died in the 60s, and no one has replaced her. One woman who had a reputation for eccentricity, introduced several elaborate vases and ashtrays. Her creative imagination was best exemplified in a combined ashtray and vase which featured four frogs poised on the lip of the tray, presumably drinking from a fountain. Reina (1962–1963) has pointed out
[171] that women of the Guatemalan community of Chinautla who wish to be
[156] accepted in the community must limit themselves to conventional forms, and the same restriction seems to apply in Tzoʾontahal.

317 The women of a household work as a group in collecting clay and in
592 firing pottery. Clay is free since it is found in the communally owned hills
[323] on the perimeter of the town. It is collected preferably during the rainy
[423] season when it is easier to gather from the open gorges in which it is found, but if the supply runs out, other trips are made. All of the women of the household go, sometimes with neighbors or relatives in groups of
[482] five or six. They collect large clay balls weighing from forty to fifty pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline.

(see plates following p.198..Analyst)

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

592 The household into which an individual is born remains a resource base
59 throughout his life. In nine cases noted in Table 17 in which separations
586 occurred, the spouse returned to his or her natal home. In most cases in-
592 volving the death of a spouse, the widow or widower stays in the house-
736 hold established during the marriage. If the children are too young to be economically useful, the surviving parent may return to the parental household with his or her children, or they may move in with married siblings. If the family was living with the parents of one of the spouses, the surviving members usually remain there even if the elder couple are not the parents of the widow or widower. A young widow living alone is the prey of drunken men during fiestas and requires a protector.

586 The stability of marriage can be seen in the statistics on changes in con-
587 jugal status in the period from the first census in 1958 to the second census
[125] in 1964 (Table 18). Of 264 marriages formed at the time of the first census, only 15, or 5 percent, were voluntarily dissolved; 16 percent were broken by the death of one or both spouses, and another 1 percent by the death of both partners. 10 widowers and 4 widows remarried, an index both to the greater availability of women for remarriage as well as to the necessity for a man to have a woman in the house.

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TABLE 18. Changes in Conjugal Status, 1958–1964

Conjugal status	*Alannantik*	*Ahk'olnantik*	*Total*
Same	92	89	181
Separated	3	11	14
First marriage	28	65	93
Widowed	13	26	39
Two wives		1	1
Remarried			
Widower	6	4	10
Widow	2	2	4
Both died	3	1	4
Returned to wife	3	1	4
Unknown	3	21	24
Total	153	221	374

The relationship of respect and obedience between parents and children 593
is expected to last throughout life. When a boy reaches the age of eight- 582
teen, his parents are expected to provide him with a wife. Wealthier fami- 434
lies tend to fulfill this obligation at an earlier age than do poorer families, 583
in which the boy may have to work in the fincas or in the sawmills to acquire the money for his own marriage.

Instruction in sexual behavior and reproduction is not characterized by 864
continuity, as is instruction about work tasks. Children are given no information about sex prior to marriage, and girls remain entirely innocent. They may be pregnant several months before they are aware of what is happening. The complete sexual segregation in work tasks and play during adolescence makes the relationship between sexes strained.

Even after marriage, the parents are concerned with maintaining their 593
child's marital situation, or, if they judge their child's spouse to be incorri- [586]
gible, to help him get rid of his partner. In the case of women, in particu- [736]
lar, parents continue to provide a refuge in case a daughter's husband should die, be sent to prison, or prove incompatible. Parents usually accompany their children if they are called into court, and failure to attend is tantamount to admitting the guilt of the child.

In successful marriages, the parents-in-law are equivalent to parents and 593
are called "mother" and "father." The parents of both spouses attend the 606
life crisis ceremonies of their children and grandchildren. Grandparents 603
provide support and care for grandchildren if their parents should die or remarry.

When parents reach the age of about sixty-five, they are no longer ex- 593
pected to work actively. A man will then distribute all of his land and ani- 888
mals among his children. He will expect to be taken care of by all of his
children, but special responsibility falls on the youngest who will inherit [428]
the house. Sometimes aged parents move from one of their children's [591]
houses to another, spending a few months or years with each. Children are [755]
expected to pay for any curing ceremonies necessary in their parents' old [764]
age and to provide a good funeral appropriate to their wealth. Failure to [626]
do this incurs loss of respect with the neighbors and collateral relatives of
the deceased. If the parents die after they have distributed their posses- 593
sions, the crisis following the death is minimal. At the funeral, mature 764
children of a deceased parent exhibit to the community their filial respect.

Appendix I

Settlement of Domestic Cases

A. House Arrangement of Separation

The following transcription of a tape recording concerns the house arrangement of a domestic dispute involving Alberta, the niece and adopted daughter of Mariano. She left her husband and returned to Mariano's home with her one-year-old child because of her husband's abusive treatment. Mariano invited all of the members of the betrothal party, as well as the maliwanehetik who had assisted in the marriage negotiations and Victorio, Alberta's husband. The leader of the betrothal negotiations was unable to attend because he had been drinking all day at another betrothal party. The arrangement proceeded with the padrino of the wedding, Pablo, and Alvino, Victorio's uncle and another elder in the betrothal negotiations, leading the discussion. I asked Mariano to tape the session so that my presence would not be an interference. In the joking session, the tape recorder became a target for the men's humor when, trying to replay it, they found that one section had not recorded clearly.

Pablo opened the discussion by asking the errant husband's elder representative, Feliciano, if the family wanted to take the girl back. Feliciano agreed that that was their purpose in coming, and that they must hear what happened to cause the dispute between the couple. Maria, the foster mother of Alberta, summarized their complaints against Victorio and his family.

Maria: *It is almost as though the child [Alberta's year-old daughter] has no father. We have been feeding her because we have had to support both of them. When the child became sick with diarrhea the father did nothing to help.*
Pablo: *Yes, we have to think of that. The child was frightened by her father and became ill.*
Maria: *When he came to our house, he fought Alberta, and the child was ill. Alberta went to the courthouse to complain about his behavior.*
Pablo: *It couldn't be arranged in the courthouse. It is better to settle the dispute here in the house.*

627 Maria: *Whenever he came to see her, he was drunk and came in fighting.*
593 Victorio: *It is a lie. I came, but I was not only fighting. I wasn't always very*
578 *drunk. I came there sober to speak to you. I asked about how my wife was.*
126 *Then I went to see my uncle in Grandena. He told me that if he couldn't order*
586 *her to come, then I better come here to hear what is said. When I went there, I was sober. I brought two bottles of beer. He said, "Ah, it is you," when I arrived at his house. "Come in and sit down." I sat down. I took off the cap of the beer and measured it out. "What have you come to say?" he asked me. "I am unhappy, father," I said. "What has happened to you?" he said. "I went to see Alberta," I said. He asked me if I had beaten her, and I said, "No, we only spoke a few words."*

Santia: *But if you hadn't hit her, why would she have come back to her father's house?"*

Victorio: *I only wanted to come to an understanding with her.*

Alvino: *So it is, you came to speak to me.*

Victorio: *It was in order to arrive at an understanding as you had told me. But I didn't succeed then.*

Alvino: *You didn't succeed in what you wanted?*

Victorio: *No, nothing.*

Alvino: *Well, when nothing happened, you could have gone later to ask with good words.*

Victorio: *I returned late in the afternoon. I had been drinking a little beer, and I was a little drunk. My father-in-law came with me. He had a fourth of liquor inside his shirt. We arrived at prayertime. My father-in-law was in the church since he was mayordomo at the time. We came in good faith to hear what was wrong.*

Mariano: *But then he came another time. I had gone to hot country to work. He came to the house and wanted to break it. He pulled out two of the tiles in the gate and entered. That was his crime.*

Victorio's father: *That wasn't good. You shouldn't go drunk when you can't understand anything.*

Maria: *We are not at fault. We spoke to him with good words. We told him he could take his wife.*

Elder woman of Victorio's family: *We told him he ought not to come when he was drunk.*

Pablo: *But now he wants to change for the better. You ought not to drink. It is better to eat meat and vegetables, and find corn and beans for your wife and child. Now we have arranged it, and you can take your wife and child to your house.*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Mariano took out cigarettes, and the group relaxed as all lit up the cigarettes and smoked. They discussed my tape recorder as they listened to the tape replayed. When they came to the section that did not record well, they decided that they should take it out and urinate on it. One man suggested that they should put it in prison, and another said that they should shoot it. This provoked general laughter. They went on to discuss the smoking habits of Ladinos. Pablo remarked that Ladino lawyers do nothing but sit in their offices and talk and smoke. Mariano and Victorio's father joked a great deal, the latter maintaining that Pablo had threatened to castrate him. This was picked up by Pablo who said that then Mariano would be a madrina to his godmother, Martina (the woman speaker in the betrothal negotiations). This provoked a great deal of laughter among the women. They then joked with Mariano about Pablo's other madrina, a Ladina from the neighboring town who sells the blood of slaughtered bulls. They refer to her as *me? Skitsoo*, the fat one. Mariano remarked to the women that Victorio's father must be a witch, and someone would try to kill him on the road. The conversation turned from the danger of going alone in the woods to a discussion of hunting. Feliciano bragged that he had an excellent hunting dog which he bought from a Ladino and which he referred to as "the Ladino dog." Mariano asked what Ladino they bought it from, but Feliciano denied knowledge of who the man was. They suggested it was nothing but a Huistecan Indian who changed his clothing. The joking and drinking continued until midnight, when the assembled company finally broke up. The next day Alberta went to live with her husband in the new house he had built.

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B. Court Arrangement of Separation

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Persons present:

Judge
Father of Plaintiff
Mother of Plaintiff
Plaintiff
Husband of Plaintiff
Regidor
President

This case concerns a husband who had been separated from his wife and wished a settlement so that she would return to him. The man had been married before, and he occasionally returned to his first wife. When he got drunk,

695 he announced on the loudspeaker of the cantina that he was a poor man who
593 had to maintain two wives. This caused embarrassment to his second wife,
578 who asked for the hearing in order to separate from him. He was working in
586 the sawmill and had not provided for her support. The text is a translation of the transcription of a tape recording in Tzeltal.

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593 Judge [to father of Plaintiff]: *Come, Mam compadre, and give evidence of what*
578 *has happened.*
586 Father: *This isn't the first time he has left his wife. It would be different, Mam*
126 *compadre, if he had only left her once, but he has left her several times.*
Judge: *Why do you keep on leaving her and coming back? It would be better to get her out of your system once and for all.*
Mother: *He goes to his mother's house but then comes back just to fight.*
Judge: *You ought to stop your fighting when you go to your wife.*
Father: *So it is, Mam Judge. If it had just been a few words or one visit, but he is always coming here to fight. Even if you drink, you should speak well when you come to our house.*
Plaintiff: *He said he had nothing to eat but dry tortillas. I said to him, 'Go heat your tortillas. You're going to have to live like a woman if you get rid of your wife. Who is going to watch for you at the gate since I no longer intend to? There is nothing to eat in the house because there isn't any money."*
Judge: *She says this because she is angry.*
Mother: *She speaks because she isn't a fool. He can't answer this.*
Judge: *They are still young, but they will learn. Also, he ought not to continue drinking.*
Mother: *He doesn't obey me. Eight days later, and he repeats the same abuse.*
Judge [to husband]: *Why do you want to do this?*
Husband: *I want a woman who takes good care of me.*
Father: *Does his wife have a lover, that she leaves the house uncared for?*
Husband: *We're fighting because she is always going off to my mother-in-law's house.*
Plaintiff: *Every time he gets drunk, he comes shouting. Why shouldn't I leave so that the child doesn't see us fighting?*
Husband: *I get drunk because of the fighting. If there wasn't any fighting I would just want a soda.*
Plaintiff: *Who wants that? There wouldn't be any fighting if you didn't come.*
Mother: *God can say that we don't want the embarrassment. I said, "Stop fighting. It isn't good. She doesn't give you tortillas or atole because you are always*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

fighting. You ought to speak in sobriety. Why do you always want to fight and argue?" 695 593

Plaintiff: *At first it was the fault of a little board. For the crime of giving my mother a little piece of wood I had to come here the first time [refers to dispute arising over some wood which plaintiff had lent or given to her mother, and for which Husband wanted money].* 578 586 126

Mother: *I am supporting the children he comes and "asks for" [refers to the fact that husband impregnates wife, and then does not support the family]. The child cried a great deal when we were inside the cabildo. It was I who had to feed him. Why would I want this, my compadre judges? A husband who leaves you . . .*

Father: *How is the child going to grow up? And he keeps asking for another one.*

Mother: *You treat your wife like a mule, like a horse when you go to work. When I asked him to get some wood, he said, "Have I turned into your husband? Don't tell me what to do."*

Plaintiff: *If he gave something it would be good, but he never has supported me or even pays anything when he comes here.*

Mother: *He is never coming back to our house. We have spoken to the Ladino [Ramon, the former secretary who wrote out the marriage act]. We went to San Cristóbal to see what they would say. [Speaking to huband] But you don't listen to what he told you. You don't pay any attention because you are a devil. What good is it for us to go up to San Cristóbal?*

Father: *You should go, but you go on fighting as you started.*

Judge: [to husband]: *You should stay sober.*

Mother: *If he came to me sober, I would give him atole or sodas, Mam compadre. I returned the little board he had lent me, but he broke it.*

Plaintiff: *I gave him money for some soap, but he never gave account of that.*

Judge: *Now are you going to go with him?*

Plaintiff: *I am never going to go with him, elder brother. Even if he says he wants to take me back to his house, because I am not in his heart.*

Judge: *Ah, no. Let us explain.*

Mother: *Do you want to hear worse? No one is going to stay just to cook tortillas.*

Father: *It would be good, compadre, if she split with him.*

Judge: *They cannot split up because they are married.*

Father: *Well, compadre, if they [husband's family] take her back, then I am not going to return here. I am going to have to go to San Cristóbal.*

695 Regidor: *What has been arranged isn't good. There are small children, and he*
593 *cannot support them.*
578 Judge: *But what else can they do, compadre? Better go to the man's house and*
586 *make a fire there [a metaphorical allusion to acting as a wife in keeping the*
126 *home fires burning].*

Plaintiff: *Although you speak to him, he doesn't listen. He never listened to his father.*

Husband: *What do you want to bring up my dead father for? He never ordered me, nor has any other person.*

Plaintiff: *I am not a fool. You gave me a wound, you broke my tooth. We want to stop all this and finish with the trouble you cause.*

Mother: *Let's come to some understanding. If it is only the trouble with the board, then I will give him the money and see if it is what he says.*

Judge: *This is not good, my compadre. It isn't going to content your heart.*

Mother: *I want to return and take out the marriage paper. It was Don Ramon who married them.*

Judge: *It isn't good for you to go do that. We are trying to arrange things here. The president has charge of the archives.*

Plaintiff: *He told me he was angry. I said, "Why do you want to sell the boards?" [This refers to the wood she had lent her mother.] He said, "I am going to bring more." I asked him again why he wanted to sell the boards. He said he had received money for them. He asked me where the boards were, and I said I had lent them to my mother. "Go get them if you want them," I said. He never gave me back the payment for the soap that I gave him. He spent it for liquor. I said to him, "Where is the soap?" and he said, "I spent it on liquor." When he gets drunk, he begins to fight me. He doesn't want me to talk back, but what does he expect? He said he was going to get another wife, that I was very lazy and very slack. I told him, "Why don't you go out and cut some wood?" He said, "Where do you think I am going to get some wood?" I was ashamed to go before my brother-in-law with my child and ask him. He never wanted to cut wood or ocote.*

Judge: *It is not good what he did. He should do what is necessary in the house.*

Plaintiff: *It is for this reason that I don't want to go with him, Mam Judge. He is always saying that his first wife was a very good worker. If I didn't have a husband or if there were no children, I would bring the wood, but I am not going to do it while he is around.*

Judge: *What would you say if he brought you back to his house?*

Plaintiff: *But I don't want it. What does he want me for? You heard him say I am a whore. He said I was a bitch. He said, "You are an old shit!" I don't want to have anything to do with him. What does he want me for if I am an old whore as he says? He said she [first wife] was a better woman than I.*

Father: *The judge told him before, "Go give your wife some support." We had three settlements before this. Mam Ramon said he was sick of seeing the woman in court so often.*

Judge: *First we will try to settle things here, and if he doesn't go in accord with custom, then you can go up to San Cristóbal.*

Father: *Here me, Mam judges, everyone fights occasionally, maybe makes two or three trips to court. But every time he gets drunk, he looks for a fight. I told him to stop fighting, but he doesn't listen. If I let my daughter go with him, he just takes her and produces more children. I have always had to support her then. He doesn't come around either drunk or sober. If he had come and told me what her fault was, then it would be good. When I had asked him what sins she had committed, he didn't say anything.*

Husband: *She just told me, "Leave me here and you go with your mother. I shall go back to my house."*

Plaintiff: *I left word with him that I was finished because of all the fighting. I don't want to go with a drunkard. [To husband] Even if you drink, you shouldn't beat me.*

Judge: *If you want a woman, you ought to support her. You shouldn't fight.*

Husband: *She told me, "You aren't the only man in the world. There are plenty of men who would want me."*

Plaintiff: *I never said that! You're looking for a fight!*

Husband: *What do you mean you didn't say that? My mother heard it.*

Plaintiff: *Go bring your mother. She didn't want to come because she is ashamed. It isn't the first time we are settling things in court.*

Judge: *You ought to go with him this time, but if it happens again, we will split you up. What else can we do if you don't obey our advice?*

Father: *When he goes to work, Mam compadre, he ought to look and see how much pay he is getting and how it will stretch to support his wife. Then she will make his tortillas for him contentedly, and there won't be any fighting.*

Judge: *We say that when he comes home from work he should ask his wife what she wants to spend for coffee or salt and all the things she will have to buy.*

Plaintiff: *He doesn't give any account of his little pay.*

Husband: *I don't want to say how much there is because there are still debts*

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from when I was asking for her [refers to betrothal expenses]. When the debt is paid off, then I can.

Judge [to wife]: *You heard that he will have to pay off the debt. Now go with your husband in one heart. [To husband] Go with your wife. If you have enough money, ask your wife if she needs some coffee or if she needs salt and wants the payment of it. You have to give some money in order to live contentedly.*

Father: *So it is, Mam compadre. It is good to be content and see the fire in the hearth. One time he came to my house and I said, "Come in. Let's take a look at what money you have earned." I told him to go save his money, give it to his wife to keep it for him. That is what I said to him.*

Regidor: *And it wasn't to deceive him. It would be good if he would believe [obey] this advice. They have been paying him double because he is a labor agent.*

Judge [to father]: *So it is, Mam compadre. Let it rest there.*

Regidor [to husband]: *The day after tomorrow, don't come back here with a couple more children and say you don't want her. Go back to your mother's house. You are lucky to have a wife. If you don't have a wife, you go get drunk every day. But with a wife life is good. She will give you coffee and corn to eat. Don't go on fighting when drunk or sober. Both my compadres have advised you [refers to judges].*

Mother: *So it is, Mam compadre. I am going now, Mam compadre. [Rises and leaves].*

Judge: *Go then, my compadre.*

The father and the husband give money for the fourth regidor to buy beer, and the group of men sit and drink the two family-size bottles which are purchased.

59 supported by her husband and father-in-law, and lives under their
562 roof. If the husband dies, she is supposed to go back to live
[606] with her parents as she did when she was single or live with a mature son who becomes responsible for her welfare and has some authority over her, as can be seen in the following example.

A woman had two sons by her first husband, the elder of
59 which, at the time of the events related here, was married. The
593 first husband died, and the woman married another man with whom
589 she had another son. After a period of common residence, the
586 second marriage broke up. The woman bought some land for a house, saving money for it by working in San Cristóbal and selling trago. She lived in this house with her married son and his wife.

The father of the last child (second marriage) offered to give the boy some new clothes. Before the woman accepted them, she asked her elder son's permission. The clothes were accepted because the woman's son said: "He is his father, and he should give clothes to his son."

The bases for the structure of the social relations within
592 the household are relative age, sex, kinship proximity to the
561 household head, and economic responsibility for the upkeep of the
562 unit. Elder men have more authority than younger men; elder
602 women more than younger ones. Men have more authority than women (perhaps, on some occasions, with the exception of the mother), and finally, agnatic kin of the household head have more authority
597 than affinals. The result of this ordering of power within the
606 household is that a daughter-in-law is at the bottom of the

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562 her before making important decisions, and allow her to handle
421 some of the household property, such as the selling of pigs.

562 But even under the best conditions, the position of a
593 woman is de facto lower than the position of men. If her husband gets drunk and beats her up, she is not supposed to complain, but accept it as part of her role. One of our informants said that once she scolded her husband for drinking, and he said: "I am not
593 asking you for the money." If he is unfaithful, she has no real
• 586 way of controlling his behavior except by leaving his house, run-
837 ning away to San Cristóbal to work for a few days as a servant or breaking up the marriage.

184 In Amatenango, the pottery making village, the situation
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562 is quite different. First, women are economically independent,
434 being able to make a living without a male in the household.
592 Second, they control the profits made by the household from the
421 sale of pottery and from the sale of cash crops such as chayotes which they plant in their gardens. In many cases, they own the house in which they live with their husband and children. They contribute as much as their male siblings to the support of the whole domestic group while they were living in their family's home, and it is possible for them to inherit both land and cattle, a fact which reinforces the equivalent standing between women and their male siblings.

184 Adultery in Amatenango has strong reactive sanctions for
593 both men and women, and a "wife is considered within her rights to
[837] order an erring husband out of the house." "Women do not tolerate

591 patrilocality at a young age, just as filialocality is the complementary form of female matrilocality. If we compare the percentages of distribution of both forms, we can observe that the complementarity is expressed in similar distributions.

	Per cent		Per cent
Patrilocal	72	Filiolocal	60
Matrilocal	23	Filialocal	20
Other	5	Other	20

This distribution of filiolocality occurs because the norm is to reside with the son to whom one has given the house, but also because in making a choice between relatives with whom to live, it is preferred to choose a male and not a female line. In some cases, consequently, it is preferred to live with a brother rather than with a daughter.

[586] [592] Children of divorced mothers become members of the household where the mother resides after the divorce. If the mother dies while she is still married to the children's father, the 587 children become members of the father's parents' household. When 591 a man remarries, he usually does not bring his children from [183] previous marriages to his wife. We have only one case of a child living with the father after the father's second marriage. The reasons for this anomalous case are individual ones. The child's father's mother is the only other relative alive, besides the father, and she resides in the same household. The fact that the paternal grandmother and not the father is the sponsor of the [601] child, is clear from the information attached to the case. The child, a girl, sleeps with the grandmother and calls her mother.

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602 4. In both villages, among consanguineal sponsors, lineal relatives who have immediate economic duties are preferred as sponsors over collaterals.

5. In Aguacatenango, among consanguineal sponsors, agnatically linked relatives are preferred over non-agnatic relatives, while in Amatenango, any consanguineal relative, a matri- or patrilineal one, is an equally likely choice.

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561 6. In both villages, economic dependency is usually assigned within the parental and the children's generation, rather than within the same generation, the result being that residence sponsors are preferred to be from alternate rather than the same generation, and within the same generation, sponsors are selected in terms of seniority over Ego.

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434 7. In both villages, spouses reside together. In Aguacatenango, the residence sponsor is the husband, while in Amatenango, either husband or wife can be sponsors. Males are the only sponsors when they are the only household members responsible for the support of the unit. Women and men are sponsors where both share the economic burden of supporting the household. Women are sponsors when they are the only ones responsible for the economic demands of the domestic group, and when their husbands work with their fathers.

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602 8. Unmarried children reside with both parents, and work with the parent of the same sex. If the parents are separated when the children are small, they stay with the mother. In Aguacatenango, if the mother is dead, a patrilineal sponsor other than

184 591 586 602 the father is preferred, while in Amatenango, both paternal and maternal relatives are equally good choices.

184 586 591 434 9. In Aguacatenango, where widows are incapable of supporting the economic demands of the household by themselves, they choose to reside with a male sponsor in another household, while in Amatenango, they can be self-sponsors and the heads of their own domestic groups.

184 621 582 591 10. In both villages, residence within one's barrio is preferred over residence in any other territorial division. In Amatenango, cross-barrio marriages are accompanied by matri-uxorilocal residence as well as patri-virilocal residence, which results in both men and women residing in a barrio other than their own (11 per cent and 16 per cent respectively). This results in Aguacatenango barrios being related only through the circulation of women between them, while in Amatenango, both men and women are transmitted between families across barrio lines, in both directions.

184 621 602 [592] The structuring of economic and residential sponsorship produces two different types of neighborhoods in the two villages. In Aguacatenango, the neighborhood tends to be a cluster of agnatically linked households, while in Amatenango, it is composed [613] of a set of kindred. The barrio in Aguacatenango, then, is a [562] territorial division containing neighborhoods which are localized agnatic groups, which I call localized patrilines, with few non-relatives and bilateral kinsmen enclaved throughout the blocks; a man does not separate from his territory or barrio, nor from his neighborhood, while a woman circulates within neighborhoods after 184 621 591 marriage and even within barrios. In Amatenango, both men and

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601 614 The kinship terms, excepting those that extend to all the members of a clan, do not seem to apply to persons outside of those included in the charts (Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4). The terms that designate older siblings are applied to all the members of the paternal clan without taking into account the principle of generation or the age relative to EGO. This custom tends to be applied even among descendants of the same grandparents: an old woman greets the granddaughter of her paternal uncle, calling her uix (older sister) instead of the corresponding kitsín (younger sister), the young girl using the identical reciprocal in her reply. We can say that there is a tendency toward the elimination of the principle of generation and that of age relative to EGO even among close relatives, using only one term for sister, a woman's brother, and a man's brother (uix, xibel, and bankil), except within the limits of the elemental family.

601 602 614 An individual, when born, is related to the members of two clans: the paternal one, which is his own, and the maternal one. Upon contracting marriage, he establishes new relationships, applying, as we have already shown, the terms which designate brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law to all the members of the clan of the spouse. In this manner a Cancuquero can be related to all the members of the tribe or native group, because at present only three clans exist, one of which may be the clan of EGO, another the maternal clan, and the other one the clan of the spouse. This is not always the case, because an individual may have married within the clan of his mother, in which case his kichanes and his siblings-in-law belong to the same clan, preferring then the use [609] of the word bal to that of kichán. The members of the non-related clan receive the title of tatik and meetik (gentleman and lady).

582 587 614 614 595 The clans regulate marriage. Preferred clans with respect to the selection of a spouse do not seem to exist. Upon the death of the wife a man may marry again within the same clan or in the other. One of our informants had three successive wives belonging to the same clan, but this is exceptional. In the three cases of polygyny known to us the wives were not sisters: in one case the

/16 cont./

two women belonged to the same clan, and in the other two they were women from two different clans. The levirate and sororate exist, but do not constitute a custom practiced /17/ by many; formerly it must have been more frequent, as is proved by the fact of designating the stepfather and stepmother by the same terms used for the father's brother and mother's sister, respectively, and the stepchildren as nephews and nieces. There are several cases of marriage between brother and sister of one clan and sister and brother of another clan. Marriage between cross-cousins is frequent, especially that of a man with the daughter of the mother's brother. Husband and wife always belong to the same generation.

Residence is patrilocal, with temporary matrilocal residence for a year after marriage.

There still prevails the custom that those who intercede in a direct manner in the preparation of the cadaver and in the inhumation must be members of a different clan. If a married woman who has not had children dies, she is buried with her relatives, without the intervention of her husband.

The members of one and the same clan co-operate among themselves and lend each other mutual aid; the younger people obey and respect their elders in the same way that a younger brother respects and obeys his older brother. And we have stressed how "sorcery" is practiced only within the limits of the clan as a means of social control.

Mexico City,
Mexico

Note: The materials for the present study were collected during two seasons of field work: May-June, 1945, and June, 1946, financed by the University of Chicago, Instituto Nacional de Antropología de México, and Government of the State of Chiapas.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

592 The household into which an individual is born remains a resource base
591 throughout his life. In nine cases noted in Table 17 in which separations
586 occurred, the spouse returned to his or her natal home. In most cases in-
592 volving the death of a spouse, the widow or widower stays in the house-
736 hold established during the marriage. If the children are too young to be economically useful, the surviving parent may return to the parental household with his or her children, or they may move in with married siblings. If the family was living with the parents of one of the spouses, the surviving members usually remain there even if the elder couple are not the parents of the widow or widower. A young widow living alone is the prey of drunken men during fiestas and requires a protector.

586 The stability of marriage can be seen in the statistics on changes in con-
587 jugal status in the period from the first census in 1958 to the second census
[125] in 1964 (Table 18). Of 264 marriages formed at the time of the first census, only 15, or 5 percent, were voluntarily dissolved; 16 percent were broken by the death of one or both spouses, and another 1 percent by the death of both partners. 10 widowers and 4 widows remarried, an index both to the greater availability of women for remarriage as well as to the necessity for a man to have a woman in the house.

586
587
162

TABLE 18. Changes in Conjugal Status, 1958–1964

Conjugal status	*Alannantik*	*Ahk'olnantik*	*Total*
Same	92	89	181
Separated	3	11	14
First marriage	28	65	93
Widowed	13	26	39
Two wives		1	1
Remarried			
Widower	6	4	10
Widow	2	2	4
Both died	3	1	4
Returned to wife	3	1	4
Unknown	3	21	24
Total	153	221	374

621 578 582 them to "overlook" the trespasser, but not many young men are willing to risk the ire of the other barrio bachelors, nor the gossip and sanctions applied to them by their own barrio mates.[1]

621 794 Each barrio plays a role in the political and religious organization of the village by sending an approximately equal number of officers to the Ayuntamiento and the Mayordomías. Although in some years there are more delegates from one barrio, they attempt to correct the imbalance in the succeeding years. [623] The Principales (council of elders) have also equal representation.

621 [573] [575] [312] Escuadrilla groups (adolescent boys' gangs) and unmarried women's Church groups are formed among barrio mates. Women, with few exceptions, used the water wells or pipe lines in their barrio of residence (the exceptions include women who originally came from the other barrio) and who do their washing at places in [476] the river on their barrio side. Men who work together at such tasks as buying and butchering a cow, building a path or clearing an irrigation ditch belong to the same barrio. House parties [527] [123] organized to buy candles for the Church before a special Saint's day are barrio affairs, and no resident of the other barrio (with [575] the exception of the anthropologist) is invited. In the past, there were, in Aguacatenango, religious sororities sponsored by the Catholic Church, and each barrio had a separate one. There

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[581] [587] [1]A man that has married once is considered to have had his share of the available women of the barrio. Second marriages, especially with girls who have never married before, are not well thought of. It is common, then, that second marriages occur across barrio lines. A man finds it easier to cope with the antagonism of the other barrio men (who are expected, in any case, to be antagonistic) than with the bachelors and neighbors in his own barrio, where he has to face the antagonism in every day interaction.

59 562 [606] supported by her husband and father-in-law, and lives under their roof. If the husband dies, she is supposed to go back to live with her parents as she did when she was single or live with a mature son who becomes responsible for her welfare and has some authority over her, as can be seen in the following example.

159 597 587 586 A woman had two sons by her first husband, the elder of which, at the time of the events related here, was married. The first husband died, and the woman married another man with whom she had another son. After a period of common residence, the second marriage broke up. The woman bought some land for a house, saving money for it by working in San Cristóbal and selling trago. She lived in this house with her married son and his wife.

The father of the last child (second marriage) offered to give the boy some new clothes. Before the woman accepted them, she asked her elder son's permission. The clothes were accepted because the woman's son said: "He is his father, and he should give clothes to his son."

592 561 562 602 The bases for the structure of the social relations within the household are relative age, sex, kinship proximity to the household head, and economic responsibility for the upkeep of the unit. Elder men have more authority than younger men; elder women more than younger ones. Men have more authority than women (perhaps, on some occasions, with the exception of the mother), and finally, agnatic kin of the household head have more authority than affinals. The result of this ordering of power within the 592 606 household is that a daughter-in-law is at the bottom of the

591 736 patrilocality at a young age, just as filialocality is the complementary form of female matrilocality. If we compare the percentages of distribution of both forms, we can observe that the complementarity is expressed in similar distributions.

	Per cent		Per cent
Patrilocal	72	Filiolocal	60
Matrilocal	23	Filialocal	20
Other	5	Other	20

This distribution of filiolocality occurs because the norm is to reside with the son to whom one has given the house, but also because in making a choice between relatives with whom to live, it is preferred to choose a male and not a female line. In some cases, consequently, it is preferred to live with a brother rather than with a daughter.

[586] [592] Children of divorced mothers become members of the household where the mother resides after the divorce. If the mother dies while she is still married to the children's father, the • 587 591 children become members of the father's parents' household. When a man remarries, he usually does not bring his children from [183] previous marriages to his wife. We have only one case of a child living with the father after the father's second marriage. The reasons for this anomalous case are individual ones. The child's father's mother is the only other relative alive, besides the father, and she resides in the same household. The fact that the paternal grandmother and not the father is the sponsor of the [601] child, is clear from the information attached to the case. The child, a girl, sleeps with the grandmother and calls her mother.

591 587 [601] [183] The stepmother refers to her as "my husband's child," and she did not count her, when giving census information, among the children of her household, but as a child living with "my husband's mother." Another characteristic that makes this case [848] anomalous is that this stepchild was born of an extra-marital relation between the father and another woman, while the father was already married to the stepmother.

593 591 587 [428] The rationale given by the people when asked the reasons why a father does not keep his children with him, is that "stepmothers are no good." It is possible that one of the main forces operating behind this arrangement is the possibility of conflict over inheritance rights of stepchildren. By assigning rights and duties towards stepchildren only to stepfathers, it is implied that a man marrying a woman with children takes not only a wife, but the economic and jural responsibilities of being a father, including the duty of making them his heirs. We do not have, at the moment, sufficient information to support this point, and it is only given here as a suggestion for future inquiry.

591 592 423 426 These alternative rules of residence explain the composition of the compound households made up of the remnants of two or more original nuclear families, except for the cases in which people are living in borrowed houses. In one of the two cases in our sample, a house was "borrowed" from a brother of the husband's father. The family living in this compound is a very large one, twelve members, with only two males who are of working age, and very poor by Aguacatenango standards. The male head is an orphan who lived before marriage with his mother's mother and

village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

159 156 Delfina is an unusual woman by village standards, and the anthropologist quickly notices her deviant, from the rest of Aguacatenango women, personal characteristics: domineering, moody and pretentious. But even in other cases, the rights of women to 562 428 inherit or transmit property are contested often, as the following 578 example will also show.

Case 2

159 428 562 578 Chilola has a son from a marriage previous to her present one. This son is about twenty years old. He is working the land with his stepfather, but wants to have his own milpa. When Chilola's first husband died, they were very poor. Nobody claimed rights on her husband's milpa, so she held it, although her son was not old enough to cultivate it. She tried to sell it to pay for the burial, but nobody wanted to pay her price, so she kept it. At the time, her mother-in-law, an old woman, was living with [592] [606] her and being supported by Chilola, but "although she was already [587] old, went out and looked for her man" (aunque estaba viejita se fué a buscar su hombre), and remarried. Because Chilola's son's milpa was fallow, the second husband of Chilola's mother-in-law took over its cultivation.

From the mother-in-law's late marriage, a daughter was born. This daughter married and her husband took over the milpa.

Now, Chilola's son wants to get his part of it because he is the direct heir of the father, who was the man who originally had the rights over the parcel. At the same time, the man who is

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 191

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

he is whipped by the girl's father for a thief. The girl is stripped to 584
the waist and whipped by her mother. With this the marriage is 585
legalized. As the first act of their true married life, the girl makes posole and offers it to her parents. The boy is under obligation to bring presents of bread, chocolate, aguardiente, etc., to his parents-in-law.

There are no formal restrictions of marriage, but the Church 582
exercises a general influence against wedding brother and sister, 177
cousins, or other relatives forbidden by Christian doctrine. In this, 178
owing to the disposition of the Indians, and to the purely tribal character of marriage, which is not regarded by them as a religious or governmental matter, the Church is only partially successful. In- 588
formal unions actually do occur between brother and sister, apparently without any ceremony, the pair merely continuing to live together, their family relationship slowly changing into that of a married couple. That such a wife's status has some regularity in their eyes is shown by the fact that she has the same position in funeral rites as an ordinary wife.

It is probably due to the negative influence of the Church that 115
the various important crises in the life of an individual, ordinarily 126
marked by such colourful ceremonies among primitive people, here are distinguished by very little of ritualistic observance. For description of the main events in the life course, we were again dependent on Señor Tovilla, whose information, given with little change below, checked entirely with the result of other inquiries. The funeral ceremonies were observed at first hand, after the fight described at El Encanto; for them, accordingly, I have used my own notes.

When a woman is about to give birth to a child, a midwife—an 844
older woman with some knowledge of herbs—is summoned. A few days before parturition, the woman is carefully tended by the midwife, well fed with choice food, and provided with a little rum. At the moment of giving birth, the midwife prays that the child may be brought forth happily. The mother kneels, and the midwife prepares to receive the child with a new cloth. Meantime the father is told to stay outside the house, or may be allowed to help in minor matters.

It is said that at Tenejapa the women go out into the woods to give birth untended, coming back with the child.

The baby is given Christian baptism. 852

A child's soul is considered to be particularly delicate, and there- 789
fore liable to magic influence. If the people of the house must go [774]

273* aguardiente. And it was not unusual that they were unable to secure a single liter. In fact, it appears that the termination of drinking performances was in no small amount controlled by
273* the exhausting of the community supply of aguardiente. What re-
432 sale there was of aguardiente in the community was carried on
443
589 by widows who might secure as much as five to six extra liters to resell to men who wished to continue drinking after their own supplies were exhausted. As a business venture, a widow would buy for three pesos the liter which she would sell for five, gaining thus ten pesos every month or six weeks.

273* At the fiesta of the patron saint, ladinos would bring
776
439 in a supply of aguardiente to be sold. The large number of people coming from the neighboring towns made this a profitable
[191] venture for the three or four days of the fiesta. In order to
[216] increase the sale of the aguardiente (and other distilled beverages, as well as beer), ladino vendors set up cantina complexes in the plaza, the cantina consisting of a thatch or canvas shelter, a few tables and chairs, and principally a tocadisco--a loudspeaker system connected to a phonograph as well as a microphone, so that music and announcements could be made which
275 could be heard from blocks around. Typically in this cantina
216
191 pattern, a man from Aguacatenango would sit down with a few friends, drink a liter or two of aguardiente, and during this period, request that pieces be played on the tocadisco for which

361 the women do so, and while 63 per cent of the men in the village
591
434 live in close patrilocal proximity, only 40 per cent of the men in Santa Cruz live near their parents (see Table 16).

184
589 Residence of Widows

Another striking contrast between Aguacatenango and
591 Amatenango is the position of women, in the latter, as household heads, and their residence after they become widows.

562 First, because in many cases a woman owns the house in
589 which she lives with her husband and children, she is not obliged
434 to move out of the site if her husband dies, as she is in Aguaca-
[423] tenango. Second, she does not need an adult man in the household
[768] to be able to support herself and the children because she is able to meet the economic demands of the domestic groups from her
592 own labor in pottery production. The result of women's economic
562 independence is that many of them are the heads of their own
434 households. Out of 280 households, 39 have female heads, and 25
184 do not contain any adult men (the others contain younger sons-in-law). This also means that all corn is bought; there is no income derived from agriculture, but only from pottery sales. In Aguacatenango, where all income derives directly or indirectly from agriculture, this situation is inconceivable: there are no households without men, nor households in which a female is the absolute head of the unit.

583 <u>The Marriage Transactions and the Household</u>
584 In Aguacatenango, a man selects his future spouse and his father arranges the marriage for him. At the ceremonial visits

184 562 462 592 used as a cash crop) or livestock. He decides when and where to plant what, who should buy or sell any household property, when to go to market, etc. If a son is living with his father, he 592 593 562 can talk about "our cow," but he is usually referring to his father's animal. In the same way, when a woman who is single talks about "our maize," she is referring to the maize cultivated by her father and brothers and stored by her mother. If she is married, she means the maize produced by her father-in-law and husband, and controlled by her mother-in-law.

592 593 562 [606] The eldest woman in the household has authority over the younger females residing within it, including the daughter-in-law, because during the period in which a married man resides with his parents, the wife, being the younger, is under the direct [251] authority of her husband's mother. The elder woman controls the food given to her by her husband and son, and she keeps it stored in the tapanco (roof granary). She selects the food for the meals, and sets up the housekeeping schedule for the younger women in the homestead.

592 593 434 562 Women "keep" the money that their husbands earn at home. They are supposed to save it, and not spend any of it without the husband's permission. They do control small amounts of cash which they can obtain by selling eggs, fruits or some vegetables that they grow in the garden. They are allowed to spend it on some luxuries: new clothes for a fiesta, a new pot, or something similar, but they are not expected to take care of themselves. 59 562 Before marriage, a woman is supported by her father and brothers, and lives under her father's roof. After marriage, she is

•59 supported by her husband and father-in-law, and lives under their
562 roof. If the husband dies, she is supposed to go back to live
[606] with her parents as she did when she was single or live with a mature son who becomes responsible for her welfare and has some authority over her, as can be seen in the following example.

159 A woman had two sons by her first husband, the elder of
593 which, at the time of the events related here, was married. The
581 first husband died, and the woman married another man with whom
536 she had another son. After a period of common residence, the second marriage broke up. The woman bought some land for a house, saving money for it by working in San Cristóbal and selling trago. She lived in this house with her married son and his wife.

The father of the last child (second marriage) offered to give the boy some new clothes. Before the woman accepted them, she asked her elder son's permission. The clothes were accepted because the woman's son said: "He is his father, and he should give clothes to his son."

502 The bases for the structure of the social relations within
561 the household are relative age, sex, kinship proximity to the
562 household head, and economic responsibility for the upkeep of the
602 unit. Elder men have more authority than younger men; elder women more than younger ones. Men have more authority than women (perhaps, on some occasions, with the exception of the mother), and finally, agnatic kin of the household head have more authority
592 than affinals. The result of this ordering of power within the
606 household is that a daughter-in-law is at the bottom of the

59 in the house of a mother-in-law" as one informant expressed it.
606 If they did not try to avoid this, they would have unquestioningly to obey their affinal relatives (especially the mother-in-law), live in a place in which they have practically no power to make decisions, and where, for a long time (even after the birth of a first child), they would be considered outsiders. But because the refusal to follow the husband means the end of the marriage, most husbands are successful in changing the place of residence, and few couples remain long in a uxorilocal setting.

059 757 606 3. The third reason for living in the wife's parent's house is a temporary one.

When a woman is living in her husband's parent's house, the household head should take the responsibility for curing if she gets mildly ill, paying the necessary expenses of medicine and curer (or doctors) because she is, by the fact of her residence within the compound, dependent on them.

If a sickness becomes a prolonged or a seriously expensive case, she becomes a burden to the household, without being an economic asset. Both her reproductive and her labor powers become annulled, and her husband's father can refuse to pay for her curing. In this case, she is transferred from her husband's group to her natal household, which becomes responsible for her curing. Usually her husband will move with her, but keep on working the land with his father.

59 602 757 These changes of residence create a certain amount of tension between the parents of the young couple because the woman's parents insist that it is not their duty to care for the daughter,

-59 602 757 since she is married and living away from them, while the father believes that he did not make a good choice for his son, selecting a bride who is so much of a problem. While a woman is sick, both pairs of parents will bargain endlessly over whose duty it is to pay for the curing. Sometimes, both sets of parents agree on paying half of the cost, and then the woman stays in her husband's compound. But if this is not possible, the shift in responsibility for the woman is symbolically expressed in the shift in residence.

592 562 Other reasons, of a psychological nature, bring forth this residential change. The whole system of emotional ties which a woman has created in her lifetime before marriage is broken at the time she changes households to get married. She is thrown into the midst of a group of people, including her husband, whom she hardly knows, and during the first years of marriage she is an outsider in her husband's household. She must work for a woman 592 562 606 she did not know previously, her mother-in-law, and obey her without delay. Although previously she worked for her mother, the role of a mother and of a mother-in-law are not equivalent, especially in their affective content.

606 593 An interesting triadic relationship develops between a woman, her husband and her mother-in-law, in which she is the one with the smallest amount of social power (see Caplow [1956], Mills [1954], for a discussion on the dynamics of triad coalitions). In spite of the large amount of interaction between the two women, the relationship is not one of friendly collaboration.

592 593 606 Command and sanctions are in the hands of the mother-in-law. Obedience is expected from the younger woman. There is a

184 solidarity is stronger than cross-generational solidarity), but
593 generational conflict tends to disrupt the collateral extension
578 of patriline growth, making every patriline segment a shallow
591 descent group containing few generations in depth, and only few
613 collaterals.

184 (7) Territorial propinquity between households in each
361 village follows the social propinquity established in terms of eco-
592 nomic reciprocity and work interaction. Thus, in Amatenango resi-
476 dence for individuals, interaction between households and the settlement of a neighborhood follow a bilateral pattern, while in Aguacatenango the three follow the male and agnatic line. The type of economic organization, based on the domestic group, correlates with the type of domestic group formed thereof.

184 The domestic group in Aguacatenango, with an internal
59 economy based on the cooperative work of father and son and the
428 transmission of property in the male line, is a kinship unit built
562 around a core of agnatically related males with patri-virilocal residence. Among the Aguacatecos, at least one son of the nuclear family remains in the parents' household after marriage. All other children marry and move out, the sons staying close to the father. In this way, the family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of agnatic order, which extends itself in space as a patrilocally localized agnatic line, and perpetuates itself, in time, through the principle of agnatic ultimogeniture.

The domestic group in Amatenango, with an internal economy based on the cooperative work of both a father and son, a mother

and daughter, and the transmission of property in a bilateral fashion, is a kinship unit of the utrolateral type (Goody, 1958: 26) with alternate patri-uxorilocal and patri-virilocal residence.

Among the people of Amatenango, at least one child of the nuclear family stays at home after marriage, sons or daughter being equally good choices for the perpetuation of the domestic group. In this way, the Amatenango family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of bilateral order, which extends itself territorially in a bilateral fashion, and perpetuates itself through the principle of ultrolateral ultimogeniture..

The structuring of the domestic groups as corporate units of a clearly different order is intimately connected with the rules by which residence sponsors are chosen.

1. In Aguacatenango, male sponsors are always preferred over females, independently of the sex, age, or marital status of the individual, while in Amatenango, where women are economically capable of being residence sponsors, they are selected as such as often as males.

2. In Aguacatenango, consanguineal sponsors are preferred over affinals or self (neolocality), except for married women, while in Amatenango, married men prefer affinals as much as married women do, under certain conditions.

3. In both villages, residence with a kinsman is preferred to neolocality, usually a kinsman from whom certain economic rights can be claimed (land, house, etc.).

614 /1/ Cancuc is a Tzeltal town of Chiapas, Mexico, whose
[101] social organization is based on exogamous patrilineal clans.
[176] These clans are intimately related to: 1) the nagual or guardian
[551] spirit, which is given the name of lab among the Indians of this
[613] region; 2) the native surnames that constitute the lineages within
[621] the clans; 3) the "barrios," as the Spanish chroniclers called the endogamous tribal subdivisions (called calpulli among the Aztecs and culibal in Cancuc); 4) the kinship system; and 5) the behavior.

614 All the individuals belonging to a clan consider themselves
601 "legitimate siblings" /Sp. "hermanos legítimos"/, using the terms that designate this class of relatives. This theoretical consanguineous kinship is expressed by means of the word chapomal -- a Cancuquero /a person from Cancuc/ calls another "brother" be-
614 cause he is his chapomal. This form of usage is indicative of
601 common ancestry, something that we were not able to clarify, as
124 our questions on this point only received answers that showed that
829 they had lost any notion of a real or mythical ancestor. Our informants invariably explained this situation with the expressions: "it is the custom," "San Juan /Saint John/ (Patron Saint of Cancuc) ordered it so," or "it was ordered by Manuel (God)." What does constitute a clear concept in the minds of all is that "formerly" each clan lived in a cave, from which its members went out in the form of human beings to populate the earth and in which lived the naguales, or lab, that bound them to their place of origin.
[775] The soul came back to this cave after death. There are as many caves as the number of clans.

614 The children belonged to the paternal clan. A woman who marries does not become a member of the clan of her husband.

/2/ Exogamy is strictly respected; persons belonging to the same clan never marry each other.

[591] The clans are not local, as their members live in all of the places and rancherías.

[178] At present the clans lack chiefs, this institution having dis-
[669] appeared about 30 years ago, according to all our information, when the zone that we are studying underwent a chaotic period due to political revolts.

/16 cont./

614 595 two women belonged to the same clan, and in the other two they were women from two different clans. The levirate and sororate 587 exist, but do not constitute a custom practiced /17/ by many; [174] formerly it must have been more frequent, as is proved by the fact of designating the stepfather and stepmother by the same terms used for the father's brother and mother's sister, respectively, 583 and the stepchildren as nephews and nieces. There are several 614 cases of marriage between brother and sister of one clan and sister and brother of another clan. Marriage between cross-cousins is 582 frequent, especially that of a man with the daughter of the mother's brother. Husband and wife always belong to the same generation.

• 591 Residence is patrilocal, with temporary matrilocal residence for a year after marriage.

593 There still prevails the custom that those who intercede in a 614 direct manner in the preparation of the cadaver and in the in- 764 humation must be members of a different clan. If a married woman who has not had children dies, she is buried with her relatives, without the intervention of her husband.

614 The members of one and the same clan co-operate among themselves and lend each other mutual aid; the younger people obey and respect their elders in the same way that a younger brother respects and obeys his older brother. And we have stressed [626] how "sorcery" is practiced only within the limits of the clan as a [754] means of social control.

Mexico City,
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2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The boy is expected to live for a year with the girl's parents; then he makes his own home, usually near that of his father. If the boy's parents are sufficiently powerful, they may pay the girl's parents twelve pesos in lieu of the year's service. Villa was informed that a woman unable to pay a debt or a fine may be taken as a secondary wife by any married man who will pay the debt or fine; that a woman who loses her virginity may be bought similarly of her parents for a little rum; and that in the case of any of these polygynous marriages, a single household is maintained. No such household was observed.

No information was obtained on birth customs,[30] or on customs in connection with death.[31]

Blom and LaFarge describe a church festival held at Tecojá ranch on June 22 and 23.[32] When Villa visited the highland villages the carnival was being celebrated. In Tenejapa on February 20 he witnessed the "Festival of the Flags" (*tahimalkin*). The (annually elected) leaders of the festival, the *alfereces*, assembled in the morning at the church. Each man conveyed a red banner with green edges, fastened to a pole, and each held in his mouth a short hook on which an orange was impaled. Nothing was learned as to the significance of these objects. The alfereces remained for a time inside the church drinking rum and singing. They then went by fours to pray in turn before each of the crosses set up in the village. The rest of the day they spent visiting the house of each one of them in turn; in each house they sang the same song sung in the church; in each the host offered rum, so that by nightfall all were drunk. These acts were to be twice repeated during the days following. They had for their stated purpose the announcement of the days of carnival. On the following Thursday the carnival became generally celebrated, and many natives went out costumed and masked.

The alfereces were accompanied by musicians, and also by three personages carrying the dried bodies of, respectively, a wild cat, a rodent called *saben*, and an iguana. Villa was informed that these animals are used in a later festal pantomime in which the alfereces enact a sowing, and in which these animals are represented as performing their characteristic mischief.[33]

Villa observed other elements of the carnival ritual in Oxchuc. On Thursday, February 24, Indians of the calpul of Santo Tomás assembled in the church where they prayed for a time before the large altar, and then danced and drank rum in the nave. The dance was performed alternately by men and by women, and was accompanied by music from a harp, a guitar, and a rattle made of a calabash and a deer's hoof. On the following day these acts were performed by Indians of the other calpul; on this occasion the music was furnished by two drums and a flute, and the leader (*capitán*) was dressed in red. On this latter day natives of the calpul of Santo Tomás moved in procession through the streets; four individuals bore each a large pole to which were fastened ribbons of various colors; a fifth carried a red banner.

[30] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359.

[31] *Ibid.*, 2:360–362.

[32] *Ibid.*, 2:364–365.

[33] The frequent association, in Middle America, of small animals, especially furred animals, with festivals, in connection with ideas of fertility and of festal buffoonery, has been noted. See Redfield, 1936, pp. 231–243.

Though the nuclear family predominates,
591 custom dictates that the house be near mem-
613 bers of the same lineage or patrilineal
[361] group, perhaps because of the patrilineal
[592] system of land inheritance. In the parajes groups of houses in which families composed of mother, father, uncles, and other members of the patriline live are common.
[351] No fences mark the limits of the property; their infrequent presence merely keeps the
591 pigs and chickens under control. This group
592 of houses, easily accessible and inhabited by people related by kinship, constitutes the most important influence in the individual's formation, since it is here that he acquires his first experiences and cultural values, as well as the emotional links that will have the greatest weight in his life. This system of patrilocal residence is observed all through the region, even in compact villages like Aguacatenango, where lack of space favors dispersion. B. Metzger (1959) tells us: "Looking at the nuclear families to trace patrilocality there, we find that in 74 cases where we have adequate data, 39 are in the same block and 12 in adjacent blocks with husband's parents or siblings; 11 in the same block and 8 in adjacent blocks with wife's parents or siblings; 4 are classed to neither spouse's family."

351 In villages or cabeceras of a compact type
591 it is customary to mark family plots by a
592 fence of stones or sticks, with entrance toward the street (Chanal, Sivaca, Amatenango, Aguacatenango.) Occasionally, when the nuclear family is divided because of the marriage of one of the sons, then the "solar" or the "sitio" (as it is called in the region) is subdivided by another fence that separates the portion now belonging to the new family. A door allows easy communication between both families. Sometimes, even three nuclear families live in a large sitio, divided by fences.

583 *Types of Marriage*

Types of marriage vary from that following the old traditional to one requiring the

[P. 217-A]

592
614 1. A = a, but A or a.

2. B = b, and A = a - B.

3. C = c, and B = b - c.

3. (D o e o F o G o h o I) and C = c - (D . . . I).

A full expression of the maximal household may then be written: A - B / B = b - C / C = c - (D o e o . . . I).

592 The maximal complement of a house expresses one configuration of the residence pattern. Variations in household composition consistent with this configuration occur where a household lacks members in certain age-sex positions--e.g., childless couples, widows, and couples with or without living children, living apart from their parents. The minimal complement of the household is two people, either of same or different generations; no individual lives alone.

One of the variations in household composition which is inconsistent with the above configuration is that of married
• 591 siblings, with their spouses, living in the same house. Generally speaking, the movement of individuals from one house to another takes place at the time of marriage or soon thereafter.
[582] Siblings marry in an order relative to their relative age, the oldest marrying first. If the marrying sibling is a male, he will bring his wife to live with him in his father's house. If the marrying sibling is a female, she will live with her husband in his father's house. If there are further males in the sibling

591 order, they will also marry and with their spouses live in the house of their father. In general, the older sibling moves out when a younger sibling marries (if not before). The youngest male sibling when he marries is not required to move--he takes "care of" his parents in their old age and becomes sole possessor of the house. The relatively older male siblings are established in houses of their own by the parents as close as can be managed to the parents' house.

Thus, there is discriminable clustering of male siblings in Aguacatenango. The youngest male sibling who is married lives in the parents' house and the older males live in houses which are immediately adjacent to his. The female siblings tend to be scattered more widely throughout the rest of the town.

591 592 562 Should the family fail to procreate male offspring, one of the daughters may remain in the parental home and bring in a husband to live with her there--they in turn become possessors of the house.

591 586 It is not unusual that marriages are broken off in the course of movement through the residence pattern. When such happens, the spouses return to their respective households of origin until remarriage. This reversal of residence pattern in the case of separation does not disturb the major pattern outlined above.

591 There are also cases where the youngest of the male siblings does not remain in the parental house, though this is

591 clearly an available option. The senior couple then live there
[768] by themselves until one of them dies, in which case the widow(er) moves to the house of some one of the children, or alternatively, the youngest son moves in to the parental house, closing his own.

These, then, constitute the modalities of the pattern of
591 592 residence movement which take place at or near the time of marriage in the preponderance of cases. Other de facto household compositions may be interpreted as variant forms of this pattern with the addition of further particular circumstances of little apparent generality.

We have suggested that the observer may understand something of the nature of household composition in Aguacatenango in terms of consanguineal and affinal relationships of the members involved. We see that individuals join existing households primarily through marriage to some member in the household and that new households are established as the potential marriage slots
571 in the existing household fill up. The organization of members
551 in the household as well as the membership in other enduring groups is expressed in part in terms of names which are assigned to individuals on the basis of absolute and relative characteristics they are perceived, and perceive themselves, to possess. These characteristics serve to define a membership potential for any individual and to exclude him effectively from alternative positions. They are used frequently in the course of interactions

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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perienced potter in the household, sometimes with the help of a trainee. 323
Older women prefer doing the lighter tasks, such as putting on the han- 461
dles and mouth or applying the slip of watered clay, to raising the sides which requires greater force and exertion of the back muscles. A second basis for the division of labor is the kind of item produced: older women for example, make bowls in preference to large water jugs and containers.

Learning to make pottery. A girl begins to make pottery about 323
the age of eleven. First she makes small replicas of the articles her mother 868
produces. Then, under her mother's direction, she learns to prepare the clay. The mother feels the clay with her fingers, telling her daughter to add more sand if this is lacking. She is taught to knead the clay three times. In making the pot, the most difficult phases are mixing the clay, forming the base, and rounding out the walls of the vessel as it is raised. The child is expected to learn slowly and is encouraged gently to improve each step. While the child works on her first pot, the mother makes a similar one; three or four times they exchange vessels, and the mother shapes her daughter's pot into a better form.

About two generations ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve 582
were the rule. Since most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques 178
begins at that age, pottery was taught to the bride by her mother-in-law if 323
she resided in her husband's house (Blom and La Farge 1927). Most mar- [606]
riages now are contracted for girls from fourteen to seventeen years of age.
By this time they are already proficient potters and accustomed to working [593]
with their mothers. Therefore there is greater stress on their remaining in [591]
or near the parental home after marriage.

The pottery is fired in the streets of the town outside the house, usually 323
after the women have made four or five dozen items. The pots are set on planks forming a rough square around the fire in the center. Charcoal is added to the fire as the brush or corn husks set between the pots begin to burn. The women tend the pots, turning them every five minutes until the surface is well dried and hardened. Wood is added to the fire, and then the jugs are stacked in a pyramid, each one protected from the one it touches with a broken piece of pottery. The stacking is crucial to permit even firing and must be done carefully so that none are broken. Once the

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The me?iltatil is the core institution preserving cultural continuity in the community. The exercise of authority and social control depended on a system of checks and balances in which the ancestors watched over the community, the judges watched over the curers to see that they did not abuse their power, and the curers watched over their side of the dual division to see that no witches or evil spirits caused harm. The validation of power is based on the kinship model of age-authority. The recruitment and functions of each of the three manifestations of this ancestral authority will be discussed in the following chapters on life crisis rituals, curing, and civil government.

The Household and Family

The household unit is a crystallization at a given point in time of consanguineously and affinally related people within a wider kinship matrix. It is the most important structural unit providing for economic cooperation, socialization of the young, and care and sustenance of the aged. It provides the setting and the personnel for the transmission of traditional prayers and ritual procedures of the civil and religious hierarchy. The composition of the unit is constantly changing due to internal changes in the life cycles of its members as well as changes in the wider kinship matrix. The decisions made in response to these changes reveal both traditionally established adjustments to life crises and adaptations to social changes originating outside the family. The kinds of choices made in residence after marriage as well as in inheritance and succession to leadership in the household do not always conform to the cultural formulae for handling them. The exigencies of space, time, economic, and social considerations may outweigh the ideological considerations of what ought to be done.

The formula for the developmental cycle of the household is the following: when a man marries, he lives with his bride's family for one year, working in her father's fields. He then returns to his father's household to live and work with him until his father is too old to manage the work in the field. The father then gives equal shares of his land and animals to each of his children, both male and female. The youngest child, or the last one to get married, remains in the parental house, taking care of the aged

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593 parents. This role is institutionalized and the youngest child is referred to
[192] as *k'oł*, the last one.

591
593 The choice of residence after marriage is influenced by the following
182 factors:

1. The couple live with whatever family has less pressure from immature siblings remaining in the household. If there is no other child in one family, there is a strong likelihood that the new family will remain in that household.

591
182 2. If there is any wealth difference, the couple tends to live with the
434 richer family. "Wealthy" families prefer to have their children live near them and will make an effort to build a house within their compound or nearby.

Table 15. Trends in Household Composition, 1958–1964

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Family type	*Alanmantik* No. of families	*Alanmantik* Percent of total families	*Ahk'olmantik* No. of families	*Ahk'olmantik* Percent of total families	*Total* No. of families	*Total* Percent of total families
Remained the same						
Nuclear	49	76	38	57	87	67
Virilocal	7	11	11	16	18	14
Uxorilocal	4	6	7	11	11	9
Joint sib	1	2	1	2	2	1
Grandparent-grandchild	1	2	2	3	3	2
Incomplete	2	3	7	11	9	7
Total	64	100	66	100	130	100
Percent of all families		44		34		39
New families created						
Nuclear	16	89	48	88	64	88
Uxorilocal	1	5.5	1	2	2	3
Incomplete	1	5.5	6	10	7	9
Total	18	100	55	100	73	100
Percent of all families		12		28		21
Families which changed *	64	44	74	38	138	40
Total number of families	146	100	195	100	341	100

* Direction of change indicated in Table 16.

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Changes in the household composition in the period from 1958 to 1964 between the two censuses I made in the field indicate some of the trends toward nuclear family units or bilaterally-rather than predominantly patrilineally-extended units (Tables 15 and 16). Comparisons are made between the same household in each period. Comparison of family forms in the six-year period indicates a high rate of change, with 39 percent remaining the same and 40 percent changing. The remaining 21 percent are the newly created families. The direction of change favors nuclear families (40 cases or 29 percent of changes) and virilocal forms (27 cases or 20 percent of changes). Nuclear families were the most stable, with 62 remaining the same and 62 changing to another form. This contrasts with uxorilocal households which are the least stable, with 11 cases remaining the same and 23 changing, and virilocal households which follow a similar pattern with 14 cases remaining the same and 25 changing. Nuclear families account for 88 percent of the new families created by marriage in the period studied. The trend is toward a greater proportion of nuclear families, as measured by the various indices.

TABLE 16. Direction of Change in Household Composition, 1958–1964

	Alannantik		*Ahk'olnantik*		*Total*	
Family type	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*
Change to nuclear from						
Virilocal	14	22	4	5	18	13
Uxorilocal	5	8	9	12	14	10
Joint sib			1	1	1	1
Grandparent-Grandchild			1	1	1	1
Incomplete	1	2	3	4	4	3
Unknown			2	3	2	1
Total	20	32	20	26	40	29
Change to virilocal from						
Nuclear	8	12	10	14	18	13
Uxorilocal	2	3	1	1	3	2
Joint sib			1	1	1	1
Incomplete	1	2	4	5	5	4
Total	11	17	16	21	27	20

(cont.)

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Family type	Alannantik No. of families	Alannantik Percent of total families	Ahk'olnantik No. of families	Ahk'olnantik Percent of total families	Total No. of families	Total Percent of total families
Change to uxorilocal from						
Nuclear	4	6	4	5	8	6
Virilocal	1	2	1	1.5	2	1
Joint sib			1	1.5	1	.7
Grandparent-grandchild			1	1.5	1	.7
Incomplete			1	1.5	1	.7
Unknown			1	1.5	1	.7
Total	5	8	9	12.5	14	10
Change to joint sib from						
Nuclear	1	2			1	.7
Virilocal			1	1.5	1	.7
Uxorilocal			1	1.5	1	.7
Total	1	2	2	3	3	2
Change to grandparent-grandchild from						
Nuclear			1	1.5	1	.7
Total			1	1.5	1	1
Change to incomplete from						
Nuclear	8	12	4	5	12	9
Virilocal	1	2	1	1.5	2	1.4
Uxorilocal	2	3	1	1.5	3	2
Joint sib	1	2			1	1
Unknown			2	3	2	1.4
Total	12	19	8	11	20	15
Change to disintegrated from						
Nuclear	11	17	10	14	21	15
Virilocal	2	3			2	1.4
Uxorilocal			2	3	2	1.4
Grandparent-grandchild			2	3	2	1.4
Incomplete	1	2	4	5	5	4
Total	14	22	18	25	32	23
Change to avunculocal from						
Nuclear	1	2			1	1
Total	64	100	74	100	138	100

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TABLE 17. Choice Made in Response to Changes in Constitution of Family

Individuals with change in status	*Lives with parents*	*Lives with children in same house*	*Lives with in-laws*	*Lives with married child*	*Lives alone*	*Children of first marriage live with him/her*	*Children live with his/her parents*	*Moved to barrio*	*Moved to another town*	*Total*
Woman separated	6						1			7
Man separated	2									2
Widowed woman	1	14	3	2	1			4	1	26
Widowed man		3		1					1	5
Man remarried	1		1			1		1		4
Woman remarried	1	1				4	1		2	9
Total	11	18	4	3	1	5	2	5	4	53

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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592 The household into which an individual is born remains a resource base
59 throughout his life. In nine cases noted in Table 17 in which separations
586 occurred, the spouse returned to his or her natal home. In most cases in-
592 volving the death of a spouse, the widow or widower stays in the house-
736 hold established during the marriage. If the children are too young to be economically useful, the surviving parent may return to the parental household with his or her children, or they may move in with married siblings. If the family was living with the parents of one of the spouses, the surviving members usually remain there even if the elder couple are not the parents of the widow or widower. A young widow living alone is the prey of drunken men during fiestas and requires a protector.

586 The stability of marriage can be seen in the statistics on changes in con-
587 jugal status in the period from the first census in 1958 to the second census
[125] in 1964 (Table 18). Of 264 marriages formed at the time of the first census, only 15, or 5 percent, were voluntarily dissolved; 16 percent were broken by the death of one or both spouses, and another 1 percent by the death of both partners. 10 widowers and 4 widows remarried, an index both to the greater availability of women for remarriage as well as to the necessity for a man to have a woman in the house.

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Table 18. Changes in Conjugal Status, 1958–1964

Conjugal status	*Alamantik*	*Ahk'olosnik*	*Total*
Same	92	89	181
Separated	3	11	14
First marriage	28	65	93
Widowed	13	26	39
Two wives		1	1
Remarried			
Widower	6	4	10
Widow	2	2	4
Both died	3	1	4
Returned to wife	3	1	4
Unknown	3	31	34
Total	153	221	374

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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The relationship of respect and obedience between parents and children 593
is expected to last throughout life. When a boy reaches the age of eight- 582
teen, his parents are expected to provide him with a wife. Wealthier fami- 434
lies tend to fulfill this obligation at an earlier age than do poorer families, 583
in which the boy may have to work in the fincas or in the sawmills to acquire the money for his own marriage.

Instruction in sexual behavior and reproduction is not characterized by 864
continuity, as is instruction about work tasks. Children are given no information about sex prior to marriage, and girls remain entirely innocent. They may be pregnant several months before they are aware of what is happening. The complete sexual segregation in work tasks and play during adolescence makes the relationship between sexes strained.

Even after marriage, the parents are concerned with maintaining their 593
child's marital situation, or, if they judge their child's spouse to be incorri- [586]
gible, to help him get rid of his partner. In the case of women, in particu- [736]
lar, parents continue to provide a refuge in case a daughter's husband should die, be sent to prison, or prove incompatible. Parents usually accompany their children if they are called into court, and failure to attend is tantamount to admitting the guilt of the child.

In successful marriages, the parents-in-law are equivalent to parents and 593
are called "mother" and "father." The parents of both spouses attend the 606
life crisis ceremonies of their children and grandchildren. Grandparents 603
provide support and care for grandchildren if their parents should die or remarry.

When parents reach the age of about sixty-five, they are no longer ex- 593
pected to work actively. A man will then distribute all of his land and ani- 888
mals among his children. He will expect to be taken care of by all of his
children, but special responsibility falls on the youngest who will inherit [428]
the house. Sometimes aged parents move from one of their children's [591]
houses to another, spending a few months or years with each. Children are [755]
expected to pay for any curing ceremonies necessary in their parents' old [764]
age and to provide a good funeral appropriate to their wealth. Failure to [626]
do this incurs loss of respect with the neighbors and collateral relatives of
the deceased. If the parents die after they have distributed their posses- 593
sions, the crisis following the death is minimal. At the funeral, mature 764
children of a deceased parent exhibit to the community their filial respect.

in the house in which he lives. The midwife, the only person present besides the mother, performs the ritual. She puts cold water in the child's mouth and then goes to the door, saying, "Enter if you arrive, little boy [or little girl]." Then she brushes the child with pine branches dipped in springwater, and smokes with incense of pitch pine the clothing which is then put on the child. The incense "makes a path for the soul to find the body of the child." As she does this, she says, "May your heart be one now that you are in the house." This ceremony is always performed when the child is born outside his parents' residence is order to guide his soul to its proper locale. Three days later, a ceremony called *sti? mut* (eat the chicken) takes place. Only women attend this meal. In one case I observed, the child's mother, her three sisters, mother, and husband's cousin attended. Each woman brings a peso's worth of bread, some chocolate, and ten tortillas. Two hens are cooked in boiling water, and the food is eaten by the women.

Baptism, called "throw the water" (*?iš ha?*) occurs as soon as possible after the new-born child's twentieth day of life. If the parents of the child live with either the mother's or the father's family, the grandparents will choose the godparent, or *padrino*. The actual decisions recorded for four families in Table 20 can be compared with statements of preference as to who should be godparents. People say they prefer nonrelatives ("We are not deceived by them"), people of the same section of the dual division ("We like to greet them in the street") and finally people of good reputation. The individual or couple chosen as godparent becomes *compadre* or co-parent to the parents of the child.

People seem to be successful in realizing the preferences they state. 81 percent of compadres are chosen from their own side of the dual division, and only 4 percent are chosen from out of town. 71 percent of compadres are chosen from among nonrelatives. A significant factor in the choice of compadres is maintaining good neighbor relations. Most families surround themselves with a ring of compadres which neutralizes both the fear of being the object of witchcraft and of being accused of witchcraft. Factors of wealth, prestige, and status positions—particularly that of fiscal—are also taken into consideration in choosing a compadre. Most of the padrinos of baptism are chosen from among older members of the community,

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programs in the interest of "civilizing" the Indians. This formulation involved a basic contradiction between the goal of moving into regional and national networks and that of keeping the old autonomy and independence of the corporate community. He never had to face that contradiction. Unable to gain adherents other than the small group of profit-sharers in the cooperative he organized, he was killed by opponents within the community.

The Family and Household

The core of the traditional culture lay in the local power hierarchies patterned on the familial model of age-ordered paternal authority institutionalized in the me'iltatil. The me'iltatil of the household have provided a flexible institution for adjusting conflict within the kin group. Their role in directing ritual performances preserves a sense of continuity in life cycle changes.

The institutionalized authority of the elders has not been upset by the trend toward residence based on nuclear families, which is an adjustment to the pressure of limited space in the town center. Kinship ties are continually reinforced by rituals that draw together the me'iltalil as sponsors of ceremonies marking baptism, marriage, and death. This group of sponsoring relatives has absorbed the institution of compadrazgo, adding compadres to the network of affinally-and bilaterally-related kin. The procedures for adjusting conflict among members of the household and extended family networks reinforce the authority of the elders. When adjustive processes in the house and court "arrangements" and in curing ceremonies fail, the only recourse is for one of the disputants to leave the community or commit homicide.

Ceremonies within the household provide a model for the rules of the game that apply to adjustive behavior in the community. The household officials introduce new officials into their role, teaching them the prayers and directing the proceedings. Their authority depends upon age and prestige acquired in office. The me'iltatil, as the elders of the family, are the direct link with the ancestors. They and the nakawane provide the strongest force for preserving the ways of the ancestors.

592 606 hierarchical order of authority. The following example illustrates this social ordering:

159 591 592 Maria was the daughter-in-law of Margarita, a woman married to Juan Perez, one of the village elders. The sons of Juan Perez and all the daughters had left the compound after marriage, with the exception of Felix, the last son, who was Maria's husband. The couple had decided to stay in the parental house until the death of Felix's parents, and they were promised the inheritance of the sitio as a recompense for their willingness to support Juan and Margarita in their old age (see Fig. 9).

[428]

159 592 437 602 Maria had been fattening a pig, which Juan had decided to sell, and he had been talking about it with a Ladino merchant who was anxious to buy it, but who wanted to pay a lower price for it than Juan was willing to accept.

One afternoon, while the men were in the fields and Margarita was outside the compound gathering firewood, Maria was visited by a Ladino merchant who insisted on taking the pig with him. He offered to pay a price which Maria was not sure was already arranged between the merchant and her father-in-law. She discussed it with him, refusing to give up the animal, until her sister-in-law, Felix's elder sister, arrived to visit her mother.

When Felix's sister arrived, Maria retired from the discussion, and left the elder woman to carry the burden of the interaction.

After a while, Margarita came back with her load of firewood, and she took up the discussion while both her daughter and daughter-in-law conversed among themselves after Crecencia

342 which usually indicates the emergence of a new domestic group.
592 Its social importance is related to several factors.

342 When the young couple build their first separate house,
• 591 this symbolizes their right to become a separate domestic group.
592 It means that they have lived together long enough to raise one or more children past the age of weaning, and that they have become economically and jurally independent of their parents.

342 (See later discussion on residence.) The building itself is a
156 material display of a man's good social relations. Although
571 house size does not correlate with the number of people living in it, the villagers think that a house "talks" about its owners. A very small house tells the villagers that it is a "drunk-man house" because his owner spends all his money on liquor and cannot buy materials for building a better place. The house also tells of the amount of industrious effort that a man and his family are able to put into its construction, and it tells about how much his relatives and neighbors are willing to "loan hands" to him (help for house building is not paid for in money, but in reciprocal labor). A house is also a good indicator of how much [177] "ladino influence" its owner has assimilated. Houses with ladino influence would have internal divisions in the rooms, windows, painted walls and/or tile roofs. (This type of house is not common, as can be seen in Fig. 12 and Table 5.)

342 The building of a house is followed by a "house warming"
[527] ceremony, in which offerings to the Mother-Earth or Saintly Earth
[782] and the house are buried under the floor. The ritual preparation of a new home is part of a complex ideological identification between people and their homestead.

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 111)

592 independent domestic groups: nuclear and compound households. The nuclear household is composed of a nuclear family: a man, his wife and their unmarried children. The compound household is made up of two or more nuclear families, or one nuclear family and the remnants of other nuclear households.

184 592 The characteristic type of residential unit in both communities is the nuclear household because it is the most frequent residential arrangement in terms of total frequencies (70 per cent in Aguacatenango and 72 per cent in Amatenango; the difference in percentage between the two communities is not statistically significant).

121 591 The Method for the Analysis of Residence

Murdock's book, Social Structure (1949), opened a new road for students interested in the problem of residence taxonomy because, although it was an outstanding contribution to the field, the work obviously suffered from the ambiguity of the residence data presented in the anthropological reports on which it was based. The classification of residence types, as utilized in the past, was shown to be defective for the purposes of modern research. The terminology of the field was too all-embracing, ambiguous in meaning, and diffuse in application. Murdock himself was well aware of this problem, and suggested a preliminary revision of the terminology (Murdock, 1949:16-18), but the subject of residence types came under suspicion.

As a result of the controversies aroused by the subject, Murdock (1955) wrote an article wherein he pointed out the

121 necessity for a new typology of residence, and suggested two
• 591 criteria to be utilized in future research: (1) the usefulness of considering the individual's life cycle and the variations of residence that accompany it; (2) the need for understanding the individual's goals in making residential choices.

Among the British social anthropologists concerned with methods for the analysis of social structure, Meyer Fortes (1949) independently of Murdock, approached the same problem of residential analysis in a different fashion. He felt that co-variations in residence choices in time and space were measurable and were susceptible to statistical analysis. Only through such quantitative analysis, Fortes suggested, could one construct the socio-structural abstraction from the "concrete reality" of everyday social life.

Fortes applied his ideas in the specific description of two cases of residence variation among the Ashanti, and his results prove useful not only for the analysis of residence and types of residence groupings, but also for understanding the development of the small social units (e.g., the domestic groups) of a community, and for an approach to problems arising from the study of diversified social groups which are undergoing change. Goody and others, using Fortes' methodology and techniques (Goody, ed.: 1958) with admirable skill, have developed Fortes' initial idea and have tested it with field data from several societies in the world.

Among the American anthropologists, the Goodenough (1956b)-Fischer (1950, 1958) controversy has been highly fruitful in calling the attention of anthropologists to the need for a new

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

121 frame for the analysis of residence. The articles of Goodenough
•591 and Fischer showed how two investigators can arrive at totally discrepant conclusions about the frequency of different "types" of residence in the same community with the same census methods but with ambiguous definitions of residence patterns.

Fortes (1958) considered this controversy the result of overlooking the time factor in the census analysis, and he thought that "the source of the apparent discrepancies is the neglect by both investigators of the developmental dimension" (Fortes 1958: 3) of which he spoke years before (1949).

The result of the Goodenough-Fischer controversy is the publication of Fischer's new typology, a typology which will avoid the ambiguities of the old one, by offering a different set of criteria for classification.

Four main propositions are given by Fischer (1958), as follows:

1. To define marital residence in terms of individuals rather than couples.
2. To report residence for all individuals in a community, not just married ones.
3. To define a person's residence in terms of the composition of the household or other residential reference group at the time of his entry rather than in terms of its current composition.
4. To specify the level of social integration of the residential reference group: household, sub-community or community.

The first proposal is concerned with two sets of terms current in anthropological literature and used interchangeably in most cases: (a) patrilocal and virilocal; (b) matrilocal and uxorilocal.

In the new typology (see Fig. 13), matrilocal and patrilocal refer to residence with the individual's parental generation, while

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 119]

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Typology of individual residence in terms of immediate sponsor

Type	Kin Sponsor
I. Neolocal	Self
II. Consanguineolocal	Any consanguineal relative
a. Patrilocal	Father or male patrilineal relative of ascending generation
b. Matrilocal	Mother or female matrilineal relative of ascending generation
c. Avunculocal	Mother's brother or male matrilineal relative of ascending generation
d. Amitalocal	Father's sister or female patrilineal relative of ascending generation
e. Fratilocal	Brother or male parallel cousin of own generation
f. Sororilocal	Sister or female parallel cousin of own generation
g. Filiolocal	Son or son's son
h. Filialocal	Daughter or daughter's daughter
i. Nepotilocal	Sister's son or other male matrilineal relative of descending generation
j. Heterolocal	Any other consanguineal relative (the number of cases will normally be small, and the exact relative could be specified)
III. Affinolocal	Any affinal relative (almost invariably spouse)
a. Virilocal (women only)	Husband
b. Uxorilocal (men only)	Wife

(When children live with their parents, a sponsor cannot be ranked in importance. Such a situation is classified as parentilocal.)

Fig. 13.--Fischer's Residence Typology

121 uxorilocal and virilocal refer to residence with the spouse of
591 either sex, i.e., residence with affinal relatives of Ego's own generation.

The second proposal emphasizes the already established need for statistical analysis of relevant census materials, as Murdock and Fortes had recommended in their previous statements. Marriage is certainly a crucial element in determining choices of residence. The reason is clear: marriage leads to an actual or incipient split in one or both of the spouses' natal families and households. But there are other social factors such as, for example, place of birth or the economic role of the individual, which are equally important in making residential choices, and it is a matter of considerable interest to understand the rules that organize residential settings for unmarried--as well as for married--people in a community.

The fourth proposal brings out the importance of the size of the residential reference group. Sociologists interested in the study of small groups have indicated the importance of size of the group for variations in social interaction.[1] Anthropologists usually deal with communities which fit perfectly the sociological definition of "small groups." These communities are units of social activity characterized by face-to-face interaction, a common set of norms controlling the behavior of all individual members, group solidarity, and a particular system of

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[1] Articles dealing with the subject are, among others, Simmel (1950), Bales and Borgatta (1955), Hare et al. (1957), Mills (1954).

121 internal status differentiation.[1] Residential groups, conse-
.591 quently, are "small groups"; moreover, they are reference groups of the membership type (Merton, 1949). It is obvious, therefore, that the alignment of kinsmen residing in such a small reference group as the household, will clearly lead to differences in type and frequency of social interaction compared with the interaction of individuals residentially spread over a neighborhood or a whole community.

Fischer's set of procedures provides a frame for studying such variations, by describing residential alignments in terms of "at least three levels of social interaction": the household, the sub-community and the community. The definition of residence including group size enables us to understand clearly the dependency of other social variables on the spatial arrangements of individuals, and it permits us to pinpoint the correlations, attaching them to the corresponding levels to which they belong.

Fischer proposed then in classifying a person's residence that we should utilize the concept of "sponsorship." Sponsor is a relative "who lives in a given residence group and who possesses a special responsibility for the person's residence there" (Fischer, 1958:512).

Raulet (1959) has made on valid criticism of Fischer's typology, by pointing out that one of the problems attached to the concept of "sponsorship" is that sometimes a whole residence group can be a sponsor for a particular individual.

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[1]For the definition of "small groups" see Strodbeck (1954) and Homans (1950).

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591 Another principal criticism of Fischer's typology attaches to his third proposal, which, as Fortes has made clear, disregards the developmental cycle of the households in which individuals reside.

The two approaches, the "developmental" approach and the "sponsorship" approach, are not contradictory but complementary to each other. Each offers a useful framework for a satisfactory analysis. The differences are merely differences in emphasis.

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591 In the analysis of residence in this paper, a combination of both types of analysis are utilized with some modifications which will allow me to describe the results in terms of the norms of residence and the real patterns or distributions, and to elicit the rules that govern residence choices for individuals. The section deals, therefore, both with techniques and method of analysis, and with particular hypotheses.

Aguacatenango Residence

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The Norms

The people of Aguacatenango believe that a newly married couple should live with the boy's parents until they have proved to be successful in procreating and raising, through the weaning period, one or more children. While the young couple lives within the parental compound of the husband, he should work under the direction of his father, under whose direct authority he should act, and every one of whose decisions he should obey because his father lo está manteniendo (is supporting him), and the son está brio su poder (is under the father's power).

593 885 During the first few years of marriage, he slowly becomes a tat (man). He establishes his own nuclear family, and he is able to take up the first officership in the local government, acquiring thus the rights to political ascension in the civil-religious hierarchy. We could say that the period of patri/virilocal residence has the function of smoothing the transition between bachelorhood and the responsibilities of married life.

581 591 Aguacatecos believe that a marriage has proved stable once children are produced and the man is capable of carrying on the economic burden of a family of his own. At this time, the couple should move to a house of their own, and form an independent household. A father, then, has to provide his son with a house site, in addition to a parcel to grow milpa.

591 [582] Soon, a younger brother (ideally, children marry in order of seniority) will marry and bring his wife into the parental home, starting a new cycle. The last of the sons (the po'h) [593] should stay with the parents until their death, and he and his [428] wife will inherit the parental house. It is preferable to have 591 606 only one daughter-in-law at a time living in the household. One informant suggested that the reason is that the mother-in-law is bound to prefer one of the two women, and this creates jealousy between them and fights.[1]

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[592] [1]When a second son marries, if the first son and his wife stay in the sitio they set up a separate kitchen, and eat their meals separately. In this case, the first daughter-in-law becomes independent of the mother-in-law, and works by herself, no longer under her mother-in-law's direct power. Except for the close spatial proximity, this arrangement functions as if the couple has set up a separate homestead, and the couple forms a separate domestic group within the same sitio (lot). The separate kitchen, or rather,

593 156 621 [583] Aguacatecos expect a man to take the responsibility of setting up his son in "business" as a community member. He pays for his son's bride, teaches him the skills for tilling the soil in order to earn a living, and provides him, at a prudential time, with the means of production: a parcel of land, and perhaps a few animals, and a house where he can live with his wife and children.

593 888 At the same time, a son is expected to take care of his parents when they are old and the father retires from agricultural work because he is too old, sick or weak to do, by himself, all the work necessary for the maintenance of his household as an economically independent unit. The people say that a son should provide for his aged parents because: "Did we not give them everything?"

The primary responsibility for the care of aged parents is usually given to one son in particular, preferably the last one (po'h). The villagers explain that this is his duty, because "if [428] he stays with us when all our other sons marry, get their land and leave, this house will be for him, he will inherit this place." Thus, the villager visualizes his dependency on the last son as an economic exchange between kinsmen: he receives from his son food and shelter, he gives him a house lot and house. The duties of a son toward his parents are expressed both in the kinship idiom

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[592] the separate cooking fire, is the symbol of the unity of one [591] single domestic group. When two couples live within the sitio [606] without dividing it, people are very careful to explain if they still cook together or not, and if they cultivate the land separately or not.

592 593 but it is always built around a core of agnatically related men: a father and his sons, united in their common interest in the patrimonial land and the fruits of their joint cooperative labor. To this core of men are attached their children and their wives, all of whom are dependent on them for their food supply, shelter, and the satisfaction of most other needs.

621 591 592 602 When a couple moves outside the parental home, the house site that they are given should be contiguous if possible, or as close as there is a place available, to the husband's father's homestead. Thus, ideally, the town should be settled by clusters of domestic groups forming localized agnatic lines, each containing a man, his parents, his brothers and his married male sons. At the same time, one would find out that women, because they follow their husbands, live much further apart from their agnatic relatives than men do.

593 591 476 241 417 After a man moves from his father's household, he is not expected to work the same parcels with his father, but they do share some work in common. Usually (I don't have the exact number of cases, but enough information to suggest that this is the mode), a man and his sons have contiguous milpas that are fenced together. The fences, which are laboriously built and repaired, are the communal job of all the men, and save them the time and effort of building interior separations between the plots, because the purpose of fencing is to keep cattle from invading the parcels and without fences it is useless to risk planting.

423 241 417 This does not mean that the land is held jointly. Each man

423 241 417 knows his own parcel and its boundaries, which are sometimes marked with a few stones or a less elaborate fence of a few poles.

241 476 The men that fence the land together cooperate with each other in some other agricultural tasks which require more than two hands (e.g., clearing and burning before planting, cleaning irrigation ditches).

183 591 Stating the norms of residence in anthropological language, we can say that the generalized residence pattern, if it reflects the practice of the norms, should be patrilocal for single and married men, patrilocal for single women, virilocal for married women and parentilocal for children (see Fig. 13, Fischer's Typology).

The Residence Patterns

125 To find out how the ideal rules are carried into practice, we analyzed a sample of sixty-eight households containing an average of five people per unit, and a total of 384 individuals. This sample was gathered by the author in the field, in 1958, and covers half of the village in a chess board pattern of blocks (see charts). The data on the sample is complemented by a previous total census of the village, prepared by the Metzgers and the school teacher in 1956, which covered the whole population of the community, but contained less detailed information on some aspects of residence. Both will be augmented by a sample of life histories contained in the field notes.

128 The data will be presented in tables, and in the text, both in number of cases and in relative percentages. When possible,

128 the postulated correlations between residence and some other factor are tested with simple statistical procedures: Chi Square (applying Yate's correction) with the level of significance. The unit of the population is indicated in each table, together with the sample size.

128 The norms for residence that we call the generalized pat-
591 tern are shown to be carried out in practice, by the analysis of
183 census materials. This analysis allows us to display some of the complexities of an elaborate set of residence rules offering certain forms of "first choice of residence," but in addition shows how the norms also offer numerous alternatives for specific cases and particular individual goals and problems.

128 This technique of analysis also permits us to control the
121 normative statements about the "customs" and the "ways" of the people, which are provided by the informants. Such statements reflect the ideal patterns, which any member of the community can verbalize. One of the tasks of the anthropologist is to discover those patterns of behavior which are practiced by a society, but not consciously expressed, because they reveal some of the real dynamics of the social group, in a way that formal statements of an ideal nature cannot, when described in isolation. But the anthropologist is also responsible, as Bohannan has pointed out, for presenting his data in such a fashion as to not do violence to the visualization that the carriers of a culture have about their own life models. A presentation of a social model that would be both parsimonious and elegant from a scientific point of view, and close to the ethno-model, is a necessity in a field in

128 which epistemological discussions have been, up to the present
121 time, if not totally avoided, dismissed for lack of a single frame of reference within which they could be tackled.

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Residence Patterns of Newly Married Individuals in Compound Households

The stated norm of residence for a newly married couple is shown to be followed in practice.

In 1956, there was a total of fifty-six compounds in the community, and forty-eight contained newly married couples. The emphasis on patriwirilocality was strong.

TABLE 6

AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: NEWLY MARRIED COUPLES IN COMPOUNDS, 1956

Residence	Number of Couples	Number of Households	Per Cent
Patri-virilocal	47	36	78
Patri-uxorilocal	13	12	22
Total	60	48	100

These compounds represented 27 per cent of the total number of households in the community. Between the censuses of 1956 and 1958, a large number of compound households became nuclear, changed composition or disappeared, and during the same period of two years, other nuclear households became compound. In spite of the movement in individual households, the percentages of residence did not vary significantly.

TABLE 7

591 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: NEWLY MARRIED COUPLES IN COMPOUNDS, 1958

Residence	Cases	Per Cent
Viri-patrilocal	13	72
Uxor-patrilocal	4	23
Neolocal (Borrowing house)	1	5
Total	18	100

592 593 183 Aguacatenango: Residence Patterns of Old Marriages, Nuclear Households

The composition of nuclear households shows that people live according to their own ideas about who should live separate from their parents. Nuclear households with no children in them represents 7 per cent of the total. Nuclear households with only one child also represent 7 per cent of the cases. Nuclear households with two or more children represent 86 per cent.

125 591 593 Paternal sponsorship after a couple has moved out of the husband's parental compound was measured by (1) degree of proximity between the two households of a man and his son, and (2) father-son transmission of a house site.

361 591 593 The fact that the town is closely settled, especially in the center, makes it increasingly difficult to maintain strict contiguous patrilocal proximity between father and son, so at first glance, many a man seems to be living in a neolocal setting according to Fischer's typology. The problem of applying the concept

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114 of sponsorship is that Fischer indicates that the residence sponsor
591 is a person living in the same household, while in Aguacatenango
593 patrilocal sponsorship is expressed by giving the sons a house site, even if it is not contiguous with the parental one. Therefore, to determine patrilocality of men, the couples in the sample were located (1) territorially, in terms of proximity to the husband's and wife's parents; (2) and in terms of who owned the house site, and from whom it had been obtained.

183 The results of this analysis indicate a statistically sig-
591 nificant emphasis on patrilocal proximity, and a strong bias
[428] towards inheriting the house in the male line.

TABLE 8

AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: PROXIMITY TO PARENTAL HOME.
MARRIED INDIVIDUALS IN NUCLEAR HOUSEHOLDS

	Man				Woman			
	Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent		Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent	
Same block	10	56	84	100	3	14	38	76
Adjacent block	5	28			5	24		
Same barrio	3	16	16		8	38	38	
Different barrio	. . .	. . .	. . .		3	14	24	
Other town	. . .	. . .			2	10		
Total Sample	18	100			21	100		

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591 The preceding figures, when combined with the figures of compounds, show that the patrilocal norms are followed in practice in 95 per cent of all cases (see Tables 8 and 9), while only 64 per cent of the women live with the same degree of proximity to their parents.

The difference in proximity for men and women is not accidental, but statistically significant at the 0.001 level of con-
621 fidence. This also shows that the community, as expected, is
592 divided into localized clusters of households of agnatically re-
602 lated men. Even the 64 per cent is an inflated figure, since a
[582] man tends to marry a woman who lives close to his parental home, following the proverbial adage of "marrying the girl next door."

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591 Alternative Norms of Uxorilocal Residence

The percentage of men who do not conform to the patrilocal norm are not exceptions to a rule, but illustrate alternatives available under a flexible pattern. The instances of uxorilocal residence do not depend on arbitrary individual choice, but are socially sanctioned and few in number.

591 A man will go to live with his wife's parents, or live in a house given to him by her father, for the following reasons which everybody in the village knows:

1. When a man is an orphan, that is, when his parents are dead and there is nobody in his family to replace the father as economic mentor and jural authority, a man does not have a household to bring his wife to live in nor a relative to work with and who will give him a house lot. In this case, a man, upon marrying,
[606] will move to his wife's parent's compound. He will then work the

591 606 land with his father-in-law, and, at the time that the couple is ready to live separately, his father-in-law will provide a house for him and his wife.

TABLE 9

621 591 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: PROXIMITY TO PARENTAL HOME.
ALL MARRIED INDIVIDUALS

	Living In	Man				Woman			
		Cases	Per Cent	Accumulative Per Cent		Cases	Per Cent	Accumulative Per Cent	
I	Same or adjacent compound	40	69	95	100	15	42	64	86
II	Same block	10	17			3	8		
III	Adjacent block	5	9			5	14		
IV	Same town division	3	5	5		8	22	22	
V	Different division	. .	. .	. .		3	8	14	
VI	Other town	. .	. .			2	6		
	Total Sample	58	100			36	100	100	

	+	-
Men	55	3
Women	23	13

I to III = Patrilocal Proximity
I to IV = Barrio Endogamy
I to V = Town Endogamy
VI = Town Exogamy

$x^2 = 12.6, > 10.827$ significance level at 0.001

591 2. When a couple have no male children, they try to keep a married daughter living with them, as a replacement for the unachieved son. They will also attempt to do this in a case where all the male children have refused to stay with the parents after the initial years of married life.

593 888 [626] Parents who are unsuccessful in keeping a married son living with them when they are old have very little prestige in the community because it usually means that there is some conflict between them, and they are easy targets for village gossip. It also means that they have no "insurance for the aged," that is, no child to support them when they grow too old to work.

591 583 Therefore, a couple with a single daughter still at home will be eager to keep her after marriage, to replace the sons who have gone away. To obtain this, the parents will request, during the pedidas (the visits to arrange a marriage, called "asking visits"), that the groom should "come to the house as a verno (son-in-law) of theirs, and stay there indefinitely. Only if the groom agrees to this condition do they give him the daughter as a spouse.

591 These arrangements are very unstable. A man usually agrees to stay with his wife's parents, but after the marriage has been consummated, he will insist on moving away, being anxious to occupy his place as a dutiful son, living and working with his [606] father whose heir he may be. Women look forward to this kind of arrangement, the same way that they look forward to marrying a man whose mother is dead, because these are ways of avoiding the heavy burden of "becoming nueras" (daughter-in-law) or "suffering

• 59 in the house of a mother-in-law" as one informant expressed it.
[606] If they did not try to avoid this, they would have unquestioningly to obey their affinal relatives (especially the mother-in-law), live in a place in which they have practically no power to make decisions, and where, for a long time (even after the birth of a first child), they would be considered outsiders. But because the refusal to follow the husband means the end of the marriage, most husbands are successful in changing the place of residence, and few couples remain long in a uxorilocal setting.

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606 3. The third reason for living in the wife's parent's house is a temporary one.

When a woman is living in her husband's parent's house, the household head should take the responsibility for curing if she gets mildly ill, paying the necessary expenses of medicine and curer (or doctors) because she is, by the fact of her residence within the compound, dependent on them.

If a sickness becomes a prolonged or a seriously expensive case, she becomes a burden to the household, without being an economic asset. Both her reproductive and her labor powers become annulled, and her husband's father can refuse to pay for her curing. In this case, she is transferred from her husband's group to her natal household, which becomes responsible for her curing. Usually her husband will move with her, but keep on working the land with his father.

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757 These changes of residence create a certain amount of tension between the parents of the young couple because the woman's parents insist that it is not their duty to care for the daughter,

592 clear social differentiation in the allocation of authority, and
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606 the relationship is somewhat antagonistic. Many a man finds himself between a mother complaining bitterly of the laziness of his wife, and a wife of the hardness of his mother. This antagonistic relation is attenuated by the presence of other women in the household (which makes for an easy schedule in the allocation of every day work) and by the personalities of the individuals involved.

606 The relation of a woman and her father-in-law is characterized by a very mild form of avoidance. Verbal interaction is initiated usually by the father-in-law, and is formal. At meal [264] times the social distance between the two is expressed in the seating arrangements, the young wife sitting at the edge of the eating space, the farthest apart from her husband's father.

593 Together with the pressures brought about by the structure of these relationships, a woman must go through a process of adjustment with the husband, whom she knew only slightly before marriage.

Given this situation, when she is sick, her natal household offers to her certain emotional attractions that her hus-
591 band's household does not. The change of residence at the time
757 of sickness provides a simple example of what Malinowski called the functional solutions offered by a society for the satisfaction of physical as well as emotional needs of the individual. Three cases of residential change for this reason occurred during the summer of 1958.

000 Independently of the analysis of geographical distribution

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432 this time arrives. The main reason for selling a house is to
[764] pay for the burial of a family member. Most widows, if the house
is not reclaimed by the husband's agnatic kin (who have rights
[428] over the property if there are no mature sons left by the deceased), will sell the sitio to pay for the husband's burial, and will move to their natal households with their children. Some sons will sell the house to pay for the burial of a father. The selling of the house is also a solution for cases of conflicting inheritance rights. For example, if two brothers claim rights to it, and if they both agree about it, they will sell it and the money obtained would be divided among them.

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591 The fission of the compound household into nuclear house-
578 holds is accepted by the villagers as a traditional pattern of behavior, but residential changes are always expressed in terms of on-going conflict between the couples residing in the compound.

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592 A father tries to keep his son living with him for as
464 long as possible because he is an emotional as well as an economic
562 asset to him. While a man has his son living with him, he has an unpaid agricultural worker bound to him by emotional and jural ties and by his economic dependence, and this allows him to maximize the labor force of the household and, therefore, increase production notably. At the same time, he is able to control a relatively larger amount of land for cultivation. If the son leaves the compound, he is forced to divide the land holdings under cultivation and to give him a parcel, a paternal duty which, in spite of the fact that it is expected of them, they try to avoid as long as possible. When the son leaves, the household

593 592 loses his labor and some of its land holdings, while if a daughter 464 leaves, the loss of labor is marginal, there is no loss of land, 562 and her removal is not a drain on the resources of the household, 423 nor does it upset its basic economy.

591 593 182 The multiple bonds between a father and a son over the patrimonial land of the family, the products of their joint effort, and their common responsibility for setting up the standard of living for the homestead, all foster patrilocality.

423 425 592 621 [593] A young man could, today, obtain land without his father's direct help. He cannot obtain irrigated land (because it is extremely scarce, and privately "owned" by the household heads), but he could obtain land in the communal lands of the village. This, of course, is not the better land, being <u>temporal</u> and far away from the village. Although the <u>temporal</u> land close to town is not privately owned, it is "earmarked" for use by the heads of each household. That is, the communal lands are distributed to households, not by titles of ownership, but by usufruct rights. Even if he decides to take such a step, he needs (1) the approval of the <u>Ayuntamiento</u> which oversees the distribution of usufruct rights for the community as a whole, and (2) the recruitment of other men to help him clean and fence the parcel.

621 593 423 425 578 Neither of the two alternatives is easy to carry out in practice. First, if the <u>Ayuntamiento</u> grants land to a man against his father's will, this creates a problem of jurisdiction between the jural rights of the household head and the administrative rights of the <u>Ayuntamiento</u>. We could not predict what consequences such a case would have, because we have no evidence that it has ever occurred (of course, this is based on the case

592 respective nuclear families (see Parsons and Bales, Ed., 1955),
593 and in case of conflict it is through their roles that the tensions
578 between the families are verbalized, even if the source of conflict
606 is outside their relationship.

TABLE 11

591 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: UNMARRIED INDIVIDUALS

Living in Type	Number of Cases	Percentage
Patrilocal	8	4.0
Matrilocal	11	5.5
Fratrilocal	3	1.5
Parentilocal	179	89.0
Total	201	100.0

Residence Patterns for Unmarried People

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593 Children usually reside with their parents wherever the parents live. Sponsorship has been defined here in terms of both parents and the household in which the parents reside. Parentilocal residence is represented by 89 per cent of a sample of 201 unmarried individuals, but other cases are due to a variety of reasons, most often to situations in which one of the parents is dead or separated from the other definitively. Matrilocal sponsorship is met in the cases when the unmarried person is living with the mother on her natal compound or with the mother and a stepfather. Patrilocal sponsorship corresponds to the following cases: one in which the father is the sponsor, living in a nuclear house with his second wife who is the child's stepmother; cases of

591/593 children living in the father's parents' compounds without the father who lives separately; one case of a boy living in his father's brother's compound, without his father who is remarried and lives in another household (mother is dead). Fratrilocal sponsorship (three cases) is due to the death of both parents at a late age in the unmarried individual's life. Adult "orphans" frequently reside with an elder married brother, who in terms of his jural authority and as economic head of the household, replaces the father.

Using Fischer's typology here becomes a real problem. Classifying children as parentilocal or fratrilocal biases the interpretation of the general patterns of residence. In practically all cases, children are sponsored by both parents, but the household in which they reside is a viri-patrilocal homestead. One could as well argue that the children are sponsored not by individual kin, but by a patrilocal household. In this case, patrilocal households will include nearly all of the unmarried population. On the other hand, when a child lives with an elder brother, this man is performing for him the role of father, and fratrilocal sponsorship is not a different type of residence choice, but the incidental effect of an individual's replacement of another man's role.

591/605 Residence Patterns for Ex-married People

The case of nepotilocal residence is an interesting one. In terms of Fischer's typology, we have a man living in his mother's sister's son's house. But from the point of view of this

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man in Aguacatenango, he is living with his brother, because the mother's sister's son is relatively of the same age, and terminologically he is classified as such. From the point of view of Aguacatenangueros, therefore, this man is living in a fratrilocal setting, although not according to the preferential choice of selecting an agnatic kin (i.e., agnatic grandparents or his own elder brother), if the person's own parents are dead and thus are not available.

TABLE 12

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AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: EX-MARRIED INDIVIDUALS[a]

Living in Type	Cases	Percentage
Filiolocal	6	60
Filialocal	2	20
Fratrilocal	1	10
Nepotilocal	1	10
Total	10	100

[a]E.g., widows, widowers and divorced cases.

Widows should go back to their natal households except when their male children are old enough to support the economic demands of the family, that is, when the sons can cultivate enough corn for the year's supply. In such cases, the woman holds the property rights of the house, until her children marry, at which time she becomes a widow living in her child's household (filiocal residence).

Filiolocality is no exception to the previously stated rules, but the complementary form in widowhood, of primary male

•591 736 patrilocality at a young age, just as filialocality is the complementary form of female matrilocality. If we compare the percentages of distribution of both forms, we can observe that the complementarity is expressed in similar distributions.

	Per cent		Per cent
Patrilocal	72	Filiolocal	60
Matrilocal	23	Filialocal	20
Other	5	Other	20

This distribution of filiolocality occurs because the norm is to reside with the son to whom one has given the house, but also because in making a choice between relatives with whom to live, it is preferred to choose a male and not a female line. In some cases, consequently, it is preferred to live with a brother rather than with a daughter.

[586] [592] Children of divorced mothers become members of the household where the mother resides after the divorce. If the mother dies while she is still married to the children's father, the 587 children become members of the father's parents' household. When 591 a man remarries, he usually does not bring his children from [183] previous marriages to his wife. We have only one case of a child living with the father after the father's second marriage. The reasons for this anomalous case are individual ones. The child's father's mother is the only other relative alive, besides the father, and she resides in the same household. The fact that the paternal grandmother and not the father is the sponsor of the [601] child, is clear from the information attached to the case. The child, a girl, sleeps with the grandmother and calls her mother.

•591 587 [601] [183] The stepmother refers to her as "my husband's child," and she did not count her, when giving census information, among the children of her household, but as a child living with "my husband's mother." [848] Another characteristic that makes this case anomalous is that this stepchild was born of an extra-marital relation between the father and another woman, while the father was already married to the stepmother.

593 591 587 [428] The rationale given by the people when asked the reasons why a father does not keep his children with him, is that "stepmothers are no good." It is possible that one of the main forces operating behind this arrangement is the possibility of conflict over inheritance rights of stepchildren. By assigning rights and duties towards stepchildren only to stepfathers, it is implied that a man marrying a woman with children takes not only a wife, but the economic and jural responsibilities of being a father, including the duty of making them his heirs. We do not have, at the moment, sufficient information to support this point, and it is only given here as a suggestion for future inquiry.

591 592 423 426 These alternative rules of residence explain the composition of the compound households made up of the remnants of two or more original nuclear families, except for the cases in which people are living in borrowed houses. In one of the two cases in our sample, a house was "borrowed" from a brother of the husband's father. The family living in this compound is a very large one, twelve members, with only two males who are of working age, and very poor by Aguacatenango standards. The male head is an orphan who lived before marriage with his mother's mother and

591 592 423 426 has not inherited land. The other family living in a borrowed home is a young couple that married without their parents' approval. They eloped and established themselve on the edge of town, in an empty old hut, whose owner does not demand payment. "Borrowings" are temporary arrangements, and as a form of residence, very unstable. Young couples who decide to elope leave town to reside at Colonia del Puerto. We know of two cases which followed this custom. But if they do not leave town, they try to move to a house on the edge of town. From these two cases, we can assume that borrowing is due to economic reasons (poverty of a family who cannot afford to buy a house), or as a consequence of deviant behavior (in the case we have, the husband was an orphan and parental sponsorship by the wife's parents was denied because they disapproved of the marriage).

361 156 167 The edge of town is a refuge area for people who in one way or another "do not belong" to the community. Social deviants, like the young couple mentioned above, tend to move to the town boundaries. Recent migrants from other villages also live on the edges. Two complete blocks on the southern boundary of town are inhabited by a large extended patrilocal family which originated from a Chamula Indian who was a peon on a nearby finca until the agrarian revolution. After he became free, he migrated to the village and married a local Indian woman.

125 The above discussion covers all the cases for which we had sample data. We have, however, information on other cases which could not be counted in the statistics because they were part of life histories or concerned individuals who do not live in

125 the village any more. These cases seem to illustrate common alternatives, and we must mention them briefly.

591 593 183 We know of three cases in which a newly married couple moved to the husband's brother's compound. In those cases, the brother was an elder who jurally replaced the father, and it seems that he took the responsibility of paying the bride-price for his

591 603 183 brother's wife. We also had four cases of men who, at the time of their marriage, were living with the mother's mother. It seems that this was the result of the parents being dead, and the fact that no other relative was left in the original compound.

Amatenango Residence

Residence of Married Couples

591 183 In Amatenango, unlike Aguacatenango, there is no "indication of a single general form of residence pattern" which the villagers would verbalize as normative. "At any stage in the developmental cycle alternative choices in residence with the man's or the woman's relatives depends not on the lineal tie, but on economic factors" (Nash, 1960:41).

591 592 583 606 Married couples live with the parents of one of the spouses for a year or two after they marry. During these years, the young husband is expected to give some labor to the wife's father by working with him in his fields, helping him to carry wood to make the hearth in which women burn pottery, and by performing other small services. The couple live only temporarily with the parents. The stability of the compound households depends on several factors. If there are other marriageable children, offspring of

591 592 the head of the household, it is likely that the younger couple will move to another house after the temporary service period. If a couple has a married daughter or son living in the house, they will not insist, when a second child marries, that the first couple remain in the unit. Apparently, the most efficient work group is a dyad, both for agricultural work and pottery making [428] (see below). The last child whether male or female will stay in the home and inherit it after the parents' death. It is unlike [184] Aguacatenango where the rule is that only a male child inherits the house.

591 The choice of which parents' household should be the residence of a new couple requires a separate decision for each particular case. The factors that determine the choice are (1) the economic condition of the parents of each spouse; (2) the presence or absence of other children in each spouse's family of orientation; and (3) the age of the couple.

[556] "A new couple will take up residence quarters with the parents who are economically better off, with more land and cattle" [593] (Nash, J., 1960:45). The second factor is related to the fact that [592] if a couple has married children living in the house who can help with the agricultural work and the making of pottery, they are not as anxious to keep their other children as members of the household labor force. The third factor is a personal, rather than a [582] standard, choice, because if a bride is very young at the time of marriage, "her mother may prevail upon the couple to stay in her home until later, even if the boy is working with his father and is to inherit his homestead" (Nash, J., 1960:45).

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592 The distribution of couples living in compounds shows that the primary sponsorship by the parents of the man or the woman are perfectly balanced choices for the community as a whole, each one accounting for 50 per cent of the total number of cases. (See Table 13.)

TABLE 13

AMATENANGO RESIDENCE: UXORILOCALITY VERSUS VIRILOCALITY IN COMPOUND HOUSEHOLDS[a]

	Virilocal		Uxorilocal	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Only child living with parents, other siblings married and apart	20	18	18	16
Other immature children living with parents	20	18	15	13
Other married siblings living in the same *sitio*	7	6	9	8
Lives in own house in compound *sitio* with parents	10	8	15	13
Total	57	50	57	50

[a]After Nash, J., 1960.

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361 After a couple has moved out of the parental compound in which they were residing, sponsorship by the parents, measured by the degree of residential proximity to the progenitors of each spouse and by the pattern of house-inheritance, also shows a similar distribution, but there is a statistically significant difference between a woman's proximity to her family of orientation after marriage and a man's: 64 per cent of the men in the community live within a block's distance from their parents, while

591 593 361 only 49 per cent of the women do so (see Table 14). This indicates that patrilocal, patrilineal emphasis is stronger, and the difference needs to be explained.

174 591 It is very possible that the community of Amatenango had, in the near past, patrilocal residence norms, as does Aguacatenango and most communities in the Chiapas Highlands. The patrilocal norms would have been in agreement with the presence of agnatic descent lines of which the only remnant, today, in Amatenango, is the agnatic inheritance of Indian names attached to the Spanish surname of the villagers. If this were so, we could explain the persistence of a patrilocal emphasis in these terms. This is a dangerous enterprise because to accept this explanation is to dismiss the importance of the case by arbitrarily attributing the phenomenon to an historical survival, an intellectual misdemeanor which modern anthropology has seriously questioned. But we do not need to utilize this explanation. In the first place, although 591 428 423 inheritance is bilateral, the inheritance of the house site shows that patrilineal house sponsorship still is stronger than matrilineal.

> In the inheritance of the house site, women received the land in 30 per cent of the cases, men in 34 per cent. Patrilineal inheritance was more frequent in the parental generation. If we take the figures indicating which parent gave the land to the child, mothers passed on the land in 15 per cent of cases known, and fathers passed on the land in 26 per cent of the known 68 cases. (Nash, J., 1960:51).

If the place of residence is inherited from the male line more often than from the female, it is to be expected that viripatrilocal proximity would be stronger. This offers a reasonable explanation for the higher incidence of patrilocal proximity. The

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 157]

TABLE 16

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AMATENANGO RESIDENCE: PROXIMITY TO THE PARENTAL HOME, ALL MARRIED INDIVIDUALS

Living in	Man			Woman		
	Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent	Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent
I Same house	49	33	64	39	23	49
II Same Compound	10	7		15	9	
III Next door	15	10		17	10	
IV Same block	21	14		10	7	
V Same town division	35	24	24	60	35	35
VI Other division	9	11	11	10	16	16
VII Outlying barrios	4			12		
VIII Other town	6			5		
Total	149			178		

	+	-
Men	94.5	54.5
Women	81.5	86.5

$x^2 = 7.11 > 6.635$ Significance level at 0.01

I to IV: Patrilocal Proximity
I to V : Barrio Endogamy
I to VI: Village Endogamy
VII to VIII: Village Exogamy

TABLE 15

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AMATENANGO: HOUSE TRANSACTIONS AND INHERITANCE

	Number	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent
Inherited from the wife's relatives	78	30	30
Inherited from the husband's relatives	79	34	34
Bought	50	19	
Received from Ejido	27	10	30.5
Borrowing	4	1.5	
Inherited from husband	12	4.5	
Inherited from wife	1	.5	5.5
Unmarried orphan, inherited from parents	1	.5	
Total	262	100.0	100.0

591 The
428 fact that this pattern of house sponsorship directly affects the
423 emphasis on patrilocality is compensated for by some recent changes
433 in the economic conditions of the village. In Amatenango, the
593 cooperative bonds between father and son in agricultural work, united with the emphasis on patrilineal inheritance of house sites, foster patrilocality, but, at the same time, the bonds between father and son have entered in competition with the cooperative relation developed between a woman and her daughter in making pottery. If a woman lives close to her mother-in-law, she will assist her more often than her own mother in the firing of pottery--"If a man lives with his wife's family, he will assist his father-in-law in the fields more than he will work with his own father" (Nash, J., 1960:49).

591 If the woman's work in pottery is a crucial factor in
592 making residence choices, then poorer households, which depend
323 more on pottery sales as an important source of income, should
434 also show more emphasis on having the daughters stay at home
361 after marriage, and therefore, the incidence of uxorilocal residence and matrilocal proximity of women should be higher.

361 Within Amatenango "there are clusters of bilaterally re-
602 lated kin which form neighborhood groups. Two of these neighborhoods are spatially set apart from other houses of the barrio
361 and are named" (Nash, J., 1960:52). One of them, the neighbor-
591 hood of Santa Cruz, is composed of households which show greater
434 poverty in comparison with the rest of the village. As it was hypothesized, Santa Cruz also shows a greater incidence of matrilocal proximity. The correlation between lack of household wealth (which increases the importance of woman's pottery making) and residential proximity of a woman to her maternal home is statistically significant at the .001 level (see Table 16).

361 On the other hand, one should also expect the married men
591 to live further apart from their own parents because (1) those who
166 stay at home would reside and work with their wife's relatives,
434 and (2) it is said that some of the men of the neighborhood are
464 forced by their poverty to migrate to the lowlands seeking work in the ranches, and may stay there permanently. This hypotheses is confirmed; the correlation is significant at the .05 level of confidence (see Table 16).

361 The result of poverty in this neighborhood is that while
591 for the community as a whole 49 per cent of the women live in the
434 same neighborhood as their parents, in Santa Cruz 67 per cent of

[Text continued on p. 162]

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TABLE 16

AMATENANGO RESIDENCE: PARENTS AND CHILDREN
PROXIMITY IN SANTA CRUZ[a]

Proximity	Live in:	Men Number	Men Per Cent	Women Number	Women Per Cent
Same Neighborhood	Same house	3	40	7	67
	Next door	2		6	
	Same block	1		1	
	Santa Cruz	5		4	
Different Neighborhood	Same barrio	13	60	7	33
	Other barrio	3		1	
	Other town	1		2	
Total		28	100	28	100

Women

	+	-
Village	81.5	86.5
Santa Cruz	17.5	10.5

$x^2 = 18.786$ 10.827 significance level at .001

Men

	+	-
Village	94.5	54.5
Santa Cruz	11.5	16.5

$x^2 = 4.902$ 3.841 significance level at .05

[a]After Nash, J., 1960.

361 the women do so, and while 63 per cent of the men in the village
591 live in close patrilocal proximity, only 40 per cent of the men
434 in Santa Cruz live near their parents (see Table 16).

184 **Residence of Widows**

589 Another striking contrast between Aguacatenango and
591 Amatenango is the position of women, in the latter, as household heads, and their residence after they become widows.

562 First, because in many cases a woman owns the house in
589 which she lives with her husband and children, she is not obliged
434 to move out of the site if her husband dies, as she is in Aguaca-
[423] tenango. Second, she does not need an adult man in the household
[768] to be able to support herself and the children because she is able to meet the economic demands of the domestic groups from her
592 own labor in pottery production. The result of women's economic
562 independence is that many of them are the heads of their own
434 households. Out of 280 households, 39 have female heads, and 25
184 do not contain any adult men (the others contain younger sons-in-law). This also means that all corn is bought; there is no income derived from agriculture, but only from pottery sales. In Aguacatenango, where all income derives directly or indirectly from agriculture, this situation is inconceivable: there are no households without men, nor households in which a female is the absolute head of the unit.

583 <u>The Marriage Transactions and the Household</u>
584 In Aguacatenango, a man selects his future spouse and his father arranges the marriage for him. At the ceremonial visits

583 to reconcile themselves with the wife's parents by paying the agradecimiento (thankfulness payment), half of the established bride-pride. In those cases, it is considered that the full bride-price is not necessary "because the couple was already [591] living together." It follows that elopement cases are always patri-virilocal in residence.

592 562 582 434 In Amatenango, where women are important laborers, the household considers them an economic asset. They will not marry them off early except in case of extreme need, and they will use their marriage to form economic alliances with households at other levels of wealth. If they are not interested in keeping her because there is another married child in the household but they do not have immediate economic need, they will wait and try to marry her into a richer household. If they are interested in keeping her in the unit as a producer, they will marry her to a poorer man and ask him to come and reside uxorilocally. When the residence choice at the time of the marriage is patri-virilocal, the bride-price is much higher than in Aguacatenango: 1,000 pesos rather than 300. Unfortunately, we do not know what the amount of the bride-price is, if it is anything at all, when residence after marriage is matri-uxorilocal.

591 583

582 191 The contrast between the marriage transactions in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is not unique to these two villages, but seems to be a recurrent structural pattern when there are differences in the labor market for women. Tax (1953) reports a similar contrast for Guatemala. In Panajachel, where women's labor has a high value, "marriages tend to cross wealth lines, with a man of a

606 184 [593] a mother-in-law does not. The affective ties which develop with the nurturant figure are extremely durable, even though they seldom see each other after the daughter marries.

[868] In Amatenango, perhaps because of early marriages which increase the nurturant aspect of the mother-in-law role (she certainly takes part in the socialization of the daughter-in-law by teaching her how to make pottery), and because of the establishment of a relationship before the younger woman had many chances to establish adult affective ties with any woman other than her own mother, the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond is less tense. The women create a strong solidarity bond in their active cooperation in pottery making, and their association is both intense and constant. The result is that "a successful relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is not an authoritarian one, but is rather characterized by mutual cooperation" (Nash, J., 1960: 184 29, 62-67). We can also observe that the residence pattern 591 606 grants, in Aguacatenango, unconditional power to the mother-in-law, 578 while in Amatenango, where a woman after marriage can reside with her own parents if she dislikes her in-laws, a mother-in-law is made to be more careful about her own behavior towards the younger woman. If she is too harsh, she can find herself with no female help in the house, and losing a son at the same time, which means that the household loses two laborers.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VII

CORPORATE GROUPS WITHIN THE VILLAGE

Historical Perspective

174 611 591 601 583 423 428 It is probable that the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango had, at some time in their past, a patrilineal organization based on agnatic descent, patri-virilocality, a kinship terminology of the Normal Omaha type, and other associated features such as bride-price, groom service, patrilineal control of the rights to land usufruct, and patrilineal inheritance.

174 613 614 621 626 Each agnatic descent group formed segments of a corporate lineage, and several segments formed a sib. Lineages were localized, and they had important social functions. The heads of linear segments formed the local government and had the responsibility of controlling conflict and sanctioning individual behavior through the supernatural. They were believed to "own" powerful animal counterparts of their souls, which patrolled the village during sleep, and punished the misdemeanors of those men belonging to their line of descent. It is also probable that the lineage was [582] an exogamous unit, and there is some scanty evidence which points to the practice of cross-cousin marriage.

127 The evidence to support this hypothetical statement is of two types On the one hand, there is some historical documentation in published, as well as manuscript, form. On the other hand,

571 and outside the household by the bilateral group of kinsmen of each particular Ego and his or her spouse, which because of the residence pattern, live localized within a neighborhood.

602 592 562 In Aguacatenango, on the contrary, most important activities are carried on mainly by agnatically related kin. This, of course, does not mean that matri-kin or affinals are absolutely excluded. But in making decisions for giving or receiving help in work, for example, agnatic kin are preferred, especially for men, because women tend to collaborate mostly with the agnatic kin of their husbands. The reason for this is that activities for women are not determined in terms of the kinship lines, but in terms of household membership: they collaborate with the closest kin of the household in which they reside, and not their own closest kin. A household contributes labor and interacts more often with agnatically linked households than any other.

361 602 592 The reason for this difference in emphasis could be said to be a result of the fact that one collaborates more with the people who live the closest. After all, the neighborhood in Aguacatenango tends to be a cluster of agnatically related households. Nash felt that in Amatenango, "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relations are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130). We disagree with this statement.

[114]

323 241 433 182 591 592 621 In Amatenango, pottery making and corn agriculture are the two principal productive enterprises which affect the organization of the domestic group, including the residence choices, so it is not strange that the neighborhood group (or residence clusters within the barrio), made up according to the criteria of selecting

323 producers for the particular domestic groups, seems to be the
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433 originator of bilateral increase in interaction, while it could
182 be equally well said that the bilaterally settled neighborhood in
591
592 Amatenango is a result of the selection of household personnel
621 along both males' and females' kinsmen lines.

114 J. Nash (1960) interpreted the bilaterality of Amatenango
602 as being a result of the residence pattern. Nash assumes that
182
361 kinship and territoriality are two mutually exclusive principles of association, while in reality they are not so. On the one hand, if territoriality (or the spatial placement of the individual in the household) is determined by kinship alignments, both would tend to be symmetrical; on the other hand, even if they are not mutually inclusive (which in this case they are), both are emphasized simultaneously in the same set of choices, so that the principles of spatial proximity and kinship proximity, although independent variables, are concomitant in their effects. Moreover, Nash found out that activities which did not involve immediate reciprocity followed the kinship line exclusively without reference to territorial propinquity.

121 The danger of assuming that "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relationships are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130) becomes evident in a larger theoretical context. If residential propinquity tends to set up interaction along bilateral lines, the opposite, residential dispersion, would tend to emphasize interaction among unilineal relatives. Then, all lineally organized societies ought to be organized in exogamous settlements, or in a dispersed hamlet pattern, and all large concentrations of

121 population, such as an endogamous village, ought to be bilateral societies. This is obviously not so. Even if we assume that our statement is a reductio ad absurdum of Nash's point, there is evidence in the immediate vicinity of Amatenango that other villages, equally concentrated in population, with the same physical setting, are not bilateral. J. Nash (1960) compared Amatenango and Aguacatenango in a few paragraphs, and she felt that the evidence supported her theory. However, the data available to her was very unreliable. She quoted a preliminary report of Metzger written before the residence analysis of the community was carried to completion, which contained only impressionistic observations, and gave the impression that residence was neolocal and that agnatically related households were widely spread within the community, which we have shown in chapter vi not to be true.

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Moreover, Aguacatenango not only has patri-virilocality, but corporate patrilines. The name-groups in Aguacatenango form localized agnatic descent groups (which we above called the localized clusters of agnatically linked households). The people belonging to a name-group are recognized as relatives or, in Tzeltal, "those who are my family on my father's side." Those individuals have one last name (Indian surname) in common with Ego. Within the Spanish surname, some people are considered in the descent group and some are considered aparte (separate), but a man of the Spanish name Perez, would say that all those Perezetik who are not aparte belong to his family, and any Perez is "closer" to another Perez than to a man of another Spanish name. The reason for the segmentation of the Spanish name-group is lost in the past. When the lineage system was composed of

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593 578 538 The folk tales reflect, undoubtedly, the pattern of ultimogeniture and, perhaps, a switch from primogeniture to ultimogeniture. The meaning of the folk tales becomes obvious because of other elements which enter in the conflict.

428 592 593 If a younger son is married at the time of his father's death, he inherits his house, and replaces his father as head of the domestic group, following the norm of agnatic ultimogeniture. But if a younger son is single at the time of his father's death, his elder brother replaces the father and inherits from him. In this last case, it is his duty to provide for his younger brother's support, and at the time that he marries, split the paternal inheritance with him, giving the younger son his share of land, cattle or whatever was left for them.

183 428 592 593 [591] [583] The "rules of the game"[1] are, in the second case, not as explicit as in the normative pattern. Many alternative forms of behavior occur. In some cases, the elder son will move out of the paternal home when his younger brother marries and brings his wife to the homestead. In other cases, he will expect to be compensated for his brother's bride-price and for having supported him and his mother. He would probably reclaim part of the property, or force his younger brother to sell the house and share the money obtained with him.

In still other cases, he will even refuse to give the younger son his share, or move out of the compound.

593 578 It is obvious that not all men are alike in temperament

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[1]That is, the adjustment between authority rights and succession rights.

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178 lineage (which exists today in many other communities such as
754 Oxchuc), has disappeared. Without the basic belief in the super-
776
613 natural controlling powers of the lineage heads, the ritual activities performed by the lineage as a corporation became meaningless, and fell out of use.

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613 Finally, from an economic point of view, the large patriline
434 household-compound, as a productive unit, is unfunctional, and the
421 characteristic form of the domestic group is now the nuclear house-
578 hold, which also contributes to the weakening of patriline strength. Within the nuclear household, it is difficult for its members to discriminate between the part of the household income that is derived from the household head in his capacity as a worker and that which is from his unmarried sons; between those profits which are derived from the household head as a capitalist who has provided tools and implements, and finally those which come from his capacity as "owner" of land. In a larger household, differences in labor in-put, rivalry between the women about the food controlled by themselves and belonging to their husbands, or between the men about the property rights of the produce derived from their common effort, tend to create conflict and disunity. In the
592
594 nuclear household, the division of labor is explicit, the role ex-
578 actly and minimally distributed, and conflict, in the case of its occurrence, is likely to be more quickly solved because the fission of the nuclear domestic group is equivalent to the disappearance of the household itself.

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613 The functions before performed by the lineage are now
592 performed by the household, the community, or by the neighborhood
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178 613 592 621 591 184 group, composed in Amatenango of bilateral relatives, and in Aguacatenango, mainly of agnatic kinsmen, but also including some affinals and non-related people, because contiguous household-to-household localization is an ideal not always realized (we have discussed previously how in some few cases a son lives in a house given to him by his father, but one block distant from his father's own compound).

178 184 591 592 613 The result of this complex set of variables is that the lineage has lost, in Aguacatenango, some of its characteristic functions. The Amatenango case, to extend the example, shows how, even when (1) patri-virilocality disappears (as a consequence of the women participating actively in the economy), and (2) the status of the sexes with regard to inheritance and rights over property becomes equal, the lineage disappears leaving only small traces of its previous presence: name groups without meaning or function.

184 vis-à-vis their husbands and male kinsmen, while in Aguacatenango,
182
462 it makes them economically dependent, and subordinates from a jural
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592 point of view. In one case females inherit as men do, in the
562
434 other, inheritance follows a male line. In one case, they control
[428]
[421] the same property as men do, in the other, they control only marginal property.

184 (3) The relative importance of a man is labor versus a
182 woman's labor within the domestic unit affects residence. In
462
434 Aguacatenango, where all important productive activities are in
591 the hands of men, residence is patri-virilocal, and only males are residence sponsors regularly. In Amatenango, where productive activities are in the hands of both males and females, residence is alternately matri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal, and both males and females can become residence sponsors. In Amatenango, house-
[323]
[241] holds that depend more on the women's labor in pottery making are uxorilocal, while households in which the largest part of the domestic group income is derived from agriculture have post-marital patri-virilocal residence of their members.

184 In Aguacatenango, where all household income is derived
182 from agriculture and residence is patri-virilocal, matri-uxorilo-
434
591 cality occurs sporadically due to some other economic and non-
593 economic factors: (a) the inheritance of some land in the female
428 line when a daughter structurally replaces a son; (b) the coopera-
562
602 tive work between father-in-law-son-in-law when they replace the
606 position of father and son for each other; (c) the payment of
75 curing ceremonies and medicines for a sick married woman by her own kin rather than her husband's.

184 182 428 593 (4) The reciprocal financial obligations between parents and children in Amatenango, and between parents and sons in Aguacatenango, to support each other at different stages of the developmental cycle of their respective domestic groups affect the rule of ultimogeniture.

184 182 582 591 556 (5) The relative wealth of the natal domestic group of the spouse, measured by the amount of land controlled by the unit affects (a) the choice of marriage partner, and (b) the residence of the newly married couple. In Aguacatenango, where residence is normatively patri-virilocal, parents try to marry their daughters within the same economic level of their own households. In Amatenango, marriages occur across wealth lines, and the couple reside with the parents of the spouse who are better off.

184 182 462 476 593 (6) The relative importance of men versus female cooperative work groups, and/or the difference in structuring of work groups affects (a) the sibling bond; (b) the mother-daughter bond; and (c) the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond.

[606] In Aguacatenango, where only men form cooperative work groups, the brother-brother bond is stronger than the sister-sister bond or the brother-sister bond.

In Amatenango, where both males and females form cooperative [607] work groups, the multilateral sibling bond is reinforced to the point of including siblings-in-law.

184 593 578 591 In Aguacatenango, economic rivalry between siblings tends to disrupt the brother bond with constant conflict. Thus, relationships are more vertically oriented which is consistent with the [613] presence of agnatic descent lines (in Amatenango, generational

184 59 428 562 and daughter, and the transmission of property in a bilateral fashion, is a kinship unit of the utrolateral type (Goody, 1958: 26) with alternate patri-uxorilocal and patri-virilocal residence.

184 59 592 562 Among the people of Amatenango, at least one child of the nuclear family stays at home after marriage, sons or daughter being equally good choices for the perpetuation of the domestic [428] group. In this way, the Amatenango family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of bilateral order, which extends itself territorially in a bilateral fashion, and perpetuates itself through the principle of ultrolateral ultimogeniture..

184 182 591 592 The structuring of the domestic groups as corporate units of a clearly different order is intimately connected with the rules by which residence sponsors are chosen.

184 591 562 1. In Aguacatenango, male sponsors are always preferred over females, independently of the sex, age, or marital status of the individual, while in Amatenango, where women are economically capable of being residence sponsors, they are selected as such as often as males.

184 591 562 602 2. In Aguacatenango, consanguineal sponsors are preferred over affinals or self (neolocality), except for married women, while in Amatenango, married men prefer affinals as much as married women do, under certain conditions.

184 591 602 3. In both villages, residence with a kinsman is preferred to neolocality, usually a kinsman from whom certain economic rights can be claimed (land, house, etc.).

184
591
602 4. In both villages, among consanguineal sponsors, lineal relatives who have immediate economic duties are preferred as sponsors over collaterals.

5. In Aguacatenango, among consanguineal sponsors, agnatically linked relatives are preferred over non-agnatic relatives, while in Amatenango, any consanguineal relative, a matri- or patrilineal one, is an equally likely choice.

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561 6. In both villages, economic dependency is usually assigned within the parental and the children's generation, rather than within the same generation, the result being that residence sponsors are preferred to be from alternate rather than the same generation, and within the same generation, sponsors are selected in terms of seniority over Ego.

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434 7. In both villages, spouses reside together. In Aguacatenango, the residence sponsor is the husband, while in Amatenango, either husband or wife can be sponsors. Males are the only sponsors when they are the only household members responsible for the support of the unit. Women and men are sponsors where both share the economic burden of supporting the household. Women are sponsors when they are the only ones responsible for the economic demands of the domestic group, and when their husbands work with their fathers.

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602 8. Unmarried children reside with both parents, and work with the parent of the same sex. If the parents are separated when the children are small, they stay with the mother. In Aguacatenango, if the mother is dead, a patrilineal sponsor other than

184 591 586 602 the father is preferred, while in Amatenango, both paternal and maternal relatives are equally good choices.

184 736 591 434 9. In Aguacatenango, where widows are incapable of supporting the economic demands of the household by themselves, they choose to reside with a male sponsor in another household, while in Amatenango, they can be self-sponsors and the heads of their own domestic groups.

184 621 582 591 10. In both villages, residence within one's barrio is preferred over residence in any other territorial division. In Amatenango, cross-barrio marriages are accompanied by matri-uxorilocal residence as well as patri-virilocal residence, which results in both men and women residing in a barrio other than their own (11 per cent and 16 per cent respectively). This results in Aguacatenango barrios being related only through the circulation of women between them, while in Amatenango, both men and women are transmitted between families across barrio lines, in both directions.

184 621 602 [592] The structuring of economic and residential sponsorship produces two different types of neighborhoods in the two villages. In Aguacatenango, the neighborhood tends to be a cluster of agnatically linked households, while in Amatenango, it is composed [613] of a set of kindred. The barrio in Aguacatenango, then, is a [562] territorial division containing neighborhoods which are localized agnatic groups, which I call localized patrilines, with few non-relatives and bilateral kinsmen enclaved throughout the blocks; a man does not separate from his territory or barrio, nor from his neighborhood, while a woman circulates within neighborhoods after 184 621 591 marriage and even within barrios. In Amatenango, both men and

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621 women tend to stay within the neighborhood in which they are born,
591 or, equally, cross territorial lines at marriage.

121 To be able to derive these simple rules of residence, we
591 had to take into account some aspects of sponsorship which Fischer did not include in his typology. First, Fischer makes the error of assuming that people make residence choices mainly in terms of kinship, and within kinship, in terms of lineage and lineage sponsors.

We have shown that people make residence choices in terms of both kinship links and economic interdependence, and that among kinsmen, unilinearity is not necessarily the basic criterion for
121 choice. Although Fischer's typology can be very useful in analyzing
128 groups in which linearity is strong, such as Aguacatenango, it
602 tends to obscure the analysis of more bilateral groups such as Amatenango.

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602 To make up for this bias in the taxonomy, we had to add
591 three separate criteria for sponsorship: (1) the sex of the
562 sponsor, independently of his lineage affiliation; (2) the generation
561
571 of the sponsor; (3) the economic role of the sponsor, independently of his or her sex, and independently of his or her kinship connection with the person being sponsored.

184 At any given time, an individual in Aguacatenango or
591 Amatenango resides in one and only one household, and derives his
592 rights of membership in the unit through kinship or marriage, depending on the importance of his position as a laborer. While in Aguacatenango men derive their membership, as a rule, through descent and women after marriage only through affinality, in

184 Amatenango both men and women derive their rights to reside in
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592 particular homesteads through both marriage or birth, as alternate choices.

592 The economic system in itself is not an independent vari-
591 able. Given its present shape, decisions about where to live,
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181 changes in the composition of the domestic group at crucial points
602 in its development, and the strength of emotional ties between individuals are influenced by it. Most choices which concern the structuring of internal relations within the domestic unit are expressed by the cultural carriers as economic and kinship choices simultaneously, or in other words, as economic choices made within the framework offered by the kinship structure of the domestic unit.

Other factors, however, seem to perform no less important functions. Among these other factors, we have mentioned the following in separate parts of the previous text: (1) the position of the person within the kinship group which forms the core of the household; (2) the number of men and women residing in the unit; (3) the age of the household membership; (4) the temperament and attitudes of the household members with respect to each other; (5) the aspirations of the individual, in terms of the achievement of status, the insurance of positive affection and the need for psychological rewards; and (6) the laws of group interaction.

571 In order of intensity, the economic domain affects (1) the
592
621 individual's status within the family; (2) the membership and organization of the domestic group, both in terms of residence choices and the distribution of authority within the unit; (3) the

000 true for more than the specific case studied by them, and it only discusses one set of domains of the family: socialization and its concomitant psychological variables.

It well could be that some societies seem to emphasize structural arrangements in one domain over the others. The more difficult it is for a society to procure the basic biological needs for food, the more the economic domain can be a primary determinant of organization. The more complex a descent system and the more functions it performs in the political and ritual domains (such as the Hopi), the more kinship would tend to be emphasized by the structural arrangements as viewed by the natives themselves. That does not mean that the anthropologists cannot and should not be able to see the concomitant effects of the other domains. A study of any social group has to be, if it is going to contribute anything to our knowledge of human activity and motivations, a multi-variable analysis. A neat analysis based on a single focus of observation may well be an elegant piece of research, and simultaneously, a biased account of human life.

128 184 I think that my study of two Chiapas villages contributes somewhat to the clarification of several problems which were set forth in the Introduction. (1) It shows, I think conclusively, that social variations in Middle American Indian communities are not only the result of acculturation, but also the result of the delicate internal adjustments of their institutions. (2) It shows 128 • 591 571 602 that residence is a system of social coalitions to express both kinship and economic interdependency. From the point of view of any one individual and from the point of view of a small group,

128 residence changes through time, in a developmental cycle which is
591 the result of the developmental cycle of the domestic group, both
[57] [602] as a kinship unit and as economic centers of village life. (3) It tries to contribute to the study of residence by showing how a combined methodology, utilizing both Fischer's residence typology and Fortes' developmental cycle analysis, can render more fruitful descriptions than either of the two methods in isolation. (4) It
128 592 shows how a single institution, the household, is affected by the multiple pressures of several alternate social domains, and how its fónctioning is adjusted and organized in reference to the multivariable social world.

128 I am aware that the study has suffered at times for lack of depth in the analysis of particular data. I have been unable to discuss carefully the implications of the functions of bride-price in the two communities, because I lack sufficiently objective data to support my ideas or disprove them. The same is true for a more careful analysis of the social dynamics of coalitions between siblings and between individuals living outside each domestic unit. Although June Nash's dissertation offers several complete
128 114 examples of sibling interaction, and Metzger's field notes have
127 invaluable information in certain kinship roles, I lacked the equivalent materials from the two communities to make a more than superficial comparison.

000 I do not expect, however, this study to be the end of my inquiry into the subject. I propose to continue working in the same area of the world in the future (perhaps in the same

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 N79 Tzeltal N95

The boy is expected to live for a year with the girl's parents; then he makes his own home, usually near that of his father. If the boy's parents are sufficiently powerful, they may pay the girl's parents twelve pesos in lieu of the year's service. Villa was informed that a woman unable to pay a debt or a fine may be taken as a secondary wife by any married man who will pay the debt or fine; that a woman who loses her virginity may be bought similarly of her parents for a little rum; and that in the case of any of these polygynous marriages, a single household is maintained. No such household was observed. 583 591 583 595 595 [681]

No information was obtained on birth customs,[30] or on customs in connection with death.[31] 114

Blom and LaFarge describe a church festival held at Tecojá ranch on June 22 and 23.[32] When Villa visited the highland villages the carnival was being celebrated. In Tenejapa on February 20 he witnessed the "Festival of the Flags" (*tahimalkin*). The (annually elected) leaders of the festival, the *alfereces*, assembled in the morning at the church. Each man conveyed a red banner with green edges, fastened to a pole, and each held in his mouth a short hook on which an orange was impaled. Nothing was learned as to the significance of these objects. The alfereces remained for a time inside the church drinking rum and singing. They then went by fours to pray in turn before each of the crosses set up in the village. The rest of the day they spent visiting the house of each one of them in turn; in each house they sang the same song sung in the church; in each the host offered rum, so that by nightfall all were drunk. These acts were to be twice repeated during the days following. They had for their stated purpose the announcement of the days of carnival. On the following Thursday the carnival became generally celebrated, and many natives went out costumed and masked. 796 [114] [574] [533]

The alfereces were accompanied by musicians, and also by three personages carrying the dried bodies of, respectively, a wild cat, a rodent called *saben*, and an iguana. Villa was informed that these animals are used in a later festal pantomime in which the alfereces enact a sowing, and in which these animals are represented as performing their characteristic mischief.[33] [825]

Villa observed other elements of the carnival ritual in Oxchuc. On Thursday, February 24, Indians of the calpul of Santo Tomas assembled in the church where they prayed for a time before the large altar, and then danced and drank rum in the nave. The dance was performed alternately by men and by women, and was accompanied by music from a harp, a guitar, and a rattle made of a calabash and a deer's hoof. On the following day these acts were performed by Indians of the other calpul; on this occasion the music was furnished by two drums and a flute, and the leader (*capitán*) was dressed in red. On this latter day natives of the calpul of Santo Tomás moved in procession through the streets; four individuals bore each a large pole to which were fastened ribbons of various colors; a fifth carried a red banner. [535] [533]

[30] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359.

[31] *Ibid.*, 2:360–362.

[32] *Ibid.*, 2:364–365.

[33] The frequent association, in Middle America, of small animals, especially furred animals, with festivals, in connection with ideas of fertility and of festal buffoonery, has been noted. See Redfield, 1936, pp. 231–243. [171]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

241 Between September and October, when the tender ears are ready, some are torn loose to prepare atoles and tamales.

Toward the middle of October, when the milpa has reached maturity, all hands proceed to the task of the *dobla*, folding or breaking the stem of the plant so that the ear dries and may later be put into the barn. This is an easy task, in which men, women, and children take part. [462] [857]

The harvest takes place in November and December with the participation of the whole family; it is a joyful task which compensates for all the moments of anxiety in the previous months, when subsistence was scarce. The produce from the milpa is gathered in large nets and later stored in a corner of the house or in some improvised structure nearby. The crop is measured by *zontles*, units of 400 ears, which are formed by counting the ears by fives; two ears are taken in one hand and three in the other until 400 are reached. The family of five members which manages to harvest from 15 to 20 zontles considers itself happy, since that much will last them the entire year, consuming 20 ears a day plus feeding one or two hogs and 10 or 12 chickens. [592] [251] [804] [261] [231]

The milpa also produces various squashes, manioc (*dzinté*), and peanuts, which the Indians call *caxlan-chenek* ('Ladino's bean').

243 184 Exceptional among the Tzeltal is the cultivation of wheat in Amatenango. There the small valley and a creek have favored its development.

241 796 The most important ceremonies take place immediately after planting. They entrust the germination of the seed to the care of God, of the "thirteen holders of Heaven," and of "Tatik Jesucristo." The "thirteen holders of Heaven" refer to the principal saints who are mentioned in the prayers. The ceremonies consist in offerings of prayers and incense before the crosses kept in caves belonging to each paraje, and in one *bikit mixa* ('small Mass'), which the cabildos and principales of the [778] [782]

[P 201-B]

423 In the most acculturated communities
592 (Aguacatenango and Amatenango) individ-
[184] ually held property is more general. The head of the house is the owner of the parcel and he can manage it as he pleases. Referring to Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1960, p. 11) states that:

> In general, land is "owned"—that is, controlled—by the household; as long as the son lives with the father, he may speak of "his land," but in fact he works the land with his father, planting what and when his father de-
> [428] cides. The son who lives apart is usually given a piece of land by his father, and he acquires new land which he, in turn, will pass on to his sons at his death or, if he chooses, before.

[613] At this level the lineage concept has dis-
[593] appeared, and the only recognized connection is the father-son relationship.

423 Irrigated lands ("tierras irrigables"), however, in Aguacatenango and in Amatenango contain parcels belonging to private owners and parcels used in common, which are administered or given by the local authorities to be cultivated. Metzger (*ibid.*) informs us that: "Recently, land has been bought on the edges of the town by each of the two barrios for the exclusive use of their members, while in the irrigable area the holdings of members of the two barrios are separate and watered by separate canals."

[175] Ejido lands exist in almost all the region, distributed according to the Programa Agrario de la Revolución Mexicana since 1914 but in some communities not put into practice until after 1930. These lands are administered by the "comite ejidal" of each municipio, which gives to any individual who needs land the permission to cultivate it. These lands cannot be sold or transferred in any way, because they are considered common property.

421 Family land as well as the house and its
586 equipment belong to the man. When a marriage is dissolved, the woman goes back to her parents without taking anything but

[P 212-A]

421 her own clothes and her backstrap loom.
586 A widow may continue living in the hut and use its equipment only if she has a son. Otherwise, she must leave the house and return to her father's home because the land will be claimed by the brothers or other male relatives of the deceased husband.

Production and Consumption Groups

592 The family controls all matters related
433 to production and consumption. The head
241 of the house, with the help of his wife and other members of the family, takes care of farming and producing the basic food crops.
462 In the most conservative communities, the
476 old custom of planting by a cooperative group, composed of relatives and friends, is
241 still practiced. This is a task for men exclusively, since much skill and strength are required to dig up the ground in carefully
[785] spaced, perfectly straight rows. The owner
[834] of the milpa has to fast and observe sexual abstinence before starting the planting.

Only the family shares in the rest of the
462 labor, according to their sex: men take care
592 of tasks requiring much effort, women perform those such as tending domestic animals. Help from relatives and neighbors
[476] may also be asked occasionally, to build up fences around the orchard, to open or improve irrigation systems, etc.

Trade and Markets

438 Tenango and Amatenango concentrate on producing ceramics and trading them to neighboring municipios. Other municipios have a very limited commercial activity: Tenejapa exports a few sleeping mats; Oxchuc, ropes, nets, and pita bags; Cancuc, wooden combs; Bachajon, clay toys. These Tzeltal villages have no specialized merchants as do Zinacantan and Chamula.

443 There are a few markets where a large number of people meet regularly: Teopisca, in the south, has a Sunday market where natives from Aguacatenango, Amatenango, and Pinola meet. In the central part of the region they meet every Sunday at the mar-

[P. 212-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Oxchuc

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TABLE 3—DOMESTIC COMPOSITION

	Number	Percentage
Nuclear Families:		
Man, wife, no children	4	8.2
Man, wife, children	19	38.8
Man, 2 wives, no children	1	2.0
Man, 2 wives, children	5	10.2
Widow, children	2	4.1
Man, wife, children not own	2	4.1
	33	67.4
592 596 Extended Families:		
Man, wife, married son and wife	6	12.2
Man, wife, married daughter	2	4.1
Widow, married son	6	12.2
Widow, married daughter	1	2.0
Man, wife, married son, and married grandson	1	2.0
	16	32.5

[P 216-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

000 596 throughout the region. There are also compound families in which other members, married or widowed, from the same patrilineal nucleus, plus their children, share the same house or the same kitchen.

[127] Table 3, taken from J. Nash (1959, p. 2), was compiled from data gathered in Oxchuc parajes, where we had our headquarters.

Of the 16 extended families, 13 are formed by married sons living in the parents' house; the married daughters living with their parents derive from the custom that the son-in-law spends a period of service in his father-in-law's house during the first months of marriage.

592 These types of family composition continue even in acculturated communities like Aguacatenango. According to B. Metzger (1959, p. 8), of the 174 homes that constitute this village, 121 are nuclear and 53 are extended families; of the latter, 15 are formed by parents living with their married sons and 10 are formed by widows living with an unmarried son. There are only two instances of parents who live in an unmarried daughter's house. Married brothers very seldom live in the same house.

000 Though the nuclear family predominates,

[P. 216-C]

Though the nuclear family predominates,
591 custom dictates that the house be near mem-
613 bers of the same lineage or patrilineal
[361] group, perhaps because of the patrilineal
[592] system of land inheritance. In the parajes groups of houses in which families composed of mother, father, uncles, and other members of the patriline live are common.
[351] No fences mark the limits of the property; their infrequent presence merely keeps the
591 pigs and chickens under control. This group
592 of houses, easily accessible and inhabited by people related by kinship, constitutes the most important influence in the individual's formation, since it is here that he acquires his first experiences and cultural values, as well as the emotional links that will have the greatest weight in his life. This system of patrilocal residence is observed all through the region, even in compact villages like Aguacatenango, where lack of space favors dispersion. B. Metzger (1959) tells us: "Looking at the nuclear families to trace patrilocality there, we find that in 74 cases where we have adequate data, 39 are in the same block and 12 in adjacent blocks with husband's parents or siblings; 11 in the same block and 8 in adjacent blocks with wife's parents or siblings; 4 are classed to neither spouse's family."

351 In villages or cabeceras of a compact type
591 it is customary to mark family plots by a
592 fence of stones or sticks, with entrance toward the street (Chanal, Sivaca, Amatenango, Aguacatenango.) Occasionally, when the nuclear family is divided because of the marriage of one of the sons, then the "solar" or the "sitio" (as it is called in the region) is subdivided by another fence that separates the portion now belonging to the new family. A door allows easy communication between both families. Sometimes, even three nuclear families live in a large sitio, divided by fences.

583 *Types of Marriage*

Types of marriage vary from that following the old traditional to one requiring the

[P. 217-A]

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER II

DRINKING PERFORMANCES AND SOCIAL ROLES

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554 The scheduling of drinking in Aguacatenango and the internal structure of individual drinking performances can be considered as a code in which information about the roles and statuses of individuals is communicated. A brief look at the inventory of social roles will provide essential background for the description of this code.

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562 The composition of the Aguacatenango household, in terms of age and sex of members, is patterned as follows: Persons in the household under twenty years of age may be of either sex and any age. The ages of members of this group, relative to each other, are minimally two years apart. Persons over twenty years of age stand in a special age relationship: There is approximately a fifteen-year minimum age difference between individuals of the same sex. Age differences between individuals of opposite sex are such that they will either be the same age or the age rule for same sex members will hold. Finally, there will be no more than one individual of each sex in any of these age slots in any household. An age-sex distribution of a house, then, looks like the following diagram.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

TABLE 1

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AGE-SEX MODEL OF MAXIMAL COMPLEMENT OF A HOUSE

Absolute Age = unmarried vs. married

	-20						+20			
	Minimal Relative Age--2 yr. units						(Minimal) Relative Age--15 yr. units			
Sex Indifferent	1	2	.	.	.	10	1	2	3	
	I	h	G	F	e	D	C	B	A*	Male
							c	b	a	Female

*A and a are mutually exclusive; if one is present the other is absent.

592 Such a description is hardly adequate for the definition of the complement of a house, though it describes fairly the potential age-sex slots that are there to be filled. We begin with this simply because the description is constructed of fairly readily available observables, namely, age and sex. The difficulty one encounters is that there are further defining properties of such a maximal collection of individuals who live in a house. Our informants will not let us assemble households barely

592 on the basis of the age and sex characteristics of the candidates, nor do they describe house membership in these terms.

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The two principles in terms of which the Aguacatenangeros would describe the membership of the household are rules of relations. The first rule states that members of the house should be lineally related to some one or more other persons in the house through males. The second rule states that: if the first rule does not apply, then the person in the house is a spouse of one such person to whom the first rule does apply. From the diagram, then, we may construct--with the aid of these two rules and the convention that the "over-under twenty" contrast is equivalent to the "with spouse-without spouse" contrast.

1. A is married to a, but either A is dead or a is dead.
2. B is married to b, and B is a lineal descendant of A.
3. C is married to c, and C is a lineal descendant of B.
4. D through I are unmarried siblings and are the lineal descendants of (most probably) C.

This may be expressed in a slightly more convenient manner by the following expression.[1]

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[104] [1]Capital symbol = male. Small symbol = female. = = married. - = offspring. o = sibling. Slash through letter = deceased. Slash between letters = no relation expressed between letters.

See A. K. Romney's forthcoming work on this subject.

592 614 1. A = a, but A or A.

2. B = b, and A = a - B.

3. C = c, and B = b - c.

3. (D o e o F o G o h o I) and C = c - (D . . . I).

A full expression of the maximal household may then be written: A - B / B = b - C / C = c - (D o e o . . . I).

592 The maximal complement of a house expresses one configuration of the residence pattern. Variations in household composition consistent with this configuration occur where a household lacks members in certain age-sex positions--e.g., childless couples, widows, and couples with or without living children, living apart from their parents. The minimal complement of the household is two people, either of same or different generations; no individual lives alone.

One of the variations in household composition which is inconsistent with the above configuration is that of married
591 siblings, with their spouses, living in the same house. Generally speaking, the movement of individuals from one house to another takes place at the time of marriage or soon thereafter.
[582] Siblings marry in an order relative to their relative age, the oldest marrying first. If the marrying sibling is a male, he will bring his wife to live with him in his father's house. If the marrying sibling is a female, she will live with her husband in his father's house. If there are further males in the sibling

591 order, they will also marry and with their spouses live in the house of their father. In general, the older sibling moves out when a younger sibling marries (if not before). The youngest male sibling when he marries is not required to move--he takes "care of" his parents in their old age and becomes sole possessor of the house. The relatively older male siblings are established in houses of their own by the parents as close as can be managed to the parents' house.

Thus, there is discriminable clustering of male siblings in Aguacatenango. The youngest male sibling who is married lives in the parents' house and the older males live in houses which are immediately adjacent to his. The female siblings tend to be scattered more widely throughout the rest of the town.

591 592 562 Should the family fail to procreate male offspring, one of the daughters may remain in the parental home and bring in a husband to live with her there--they in turn become possessors of the house.

591 586 It is not unusual that marriages are broken off in the course of movement through the residence pattern. When such happens, the spouses return to their respective households of origin until remarriage. This reversal of residence pattern in the case of separation does not disturb the major pattern outlined above.

591 There are also cases where the youngest of the male siblings does not remain in the parental house, though this is

591 clearly an available option. The senior couple then live there
[768] by themselves until one of them dies, in which case the widow(er) moves to the house of some one of the children, or alternatively, the youngest son moves in to the parental house, closing his own.

These, then, constitute the modalities of the pattern of
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592 residence movement which take place at or near the time of marriage in the preponderance of cases. Other de facto household compositions may be interpreted as variant forms of this pattern with the addition of further particular circumstances of little apparent generality.

We have suggested that the observer may understand something of the nature of household composition in Aguacatenango in terms of consanguineal and affinal relationships of the members involved. We see that individuals join existing households primarily through marriage to some member in the household and that new households are established as the potential marriage slots
571 in the existing household fill up. The organization of members
551 in the household as well as the membership in other enduring groups is expressed in part in terms of names which are assigned to individuals on the basis of absolute and relative characteristics they are perceived, and perceive themselves, to possess. These characteristics serve to define a membership potential for any individual and to exclude him effectively from alternative positions. They are used frequently in the course of interactions

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> A culture, under certain conditions, during a period of time can be said to be an open system in a state of stable but moving equilibrium: that is to say, it maintains a boundary, accepts inputs and produces outputs at approximately equal rates, and changes continuously but gradually in internal structure.

The concept of equilibrium is one way to talk about the constraints which make behavior congruent with beliefs. Given a constantly changing ecological setting due to an expanding population and a changing man-land ratio, the stability of the system depends on the adequacy of existing institutions to handle conflict and of shared understandings to explain events. Movement stems from the tension between individual and social goals and the adaptations to bring them into closer harmony. The basic condition for the kind of change characteristic of a moving equilibrium is that conflict is contained within the community.

128 I have organized the data to clarify features maintaining equilibrium and to show the direction in which the society is moving. First I describe formal, prescribed behavior for each institutional complex and relate it to the beliefs that underlie it. Following each of these chapters I analyze strategies formulated in response to changes coming from within or outside the community. The formal behavior providing a framework for continuity is related to place spirits in Chapter 1, to economic activities in Chapter 2, to customs and rituals in the family and neighborhood in Chapters 4 and 5, to civil and religious government in Chapters 7 and 8. Changing strategies are related to economic activities in Chapter 3, to social relations as revealed in curing practices in Chapter 6, and to political relations in Chapter 9.

177 178 [241] [323] Implicit in the organization is an ordering of institutions from most static to most dynamic. In the economy, agricultural technology has been stabilized at the colonial level of adaptation at which the wooden plow, hoe, and machete were added to, but did not displace, the digging stick, while in pottery manufacture, both techniques and products have remained unchanged. [592] [476] [361] The organization of work groups remains limited to the household except for the introduction of cooperatives in recent years. In domestic institutions there has been an adaptation to living in a compact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group.

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base, so the farmers prefer to plant the better, quicker-growing corn seed 242
in a mixed sand and loam soil.

The final evaluation of land is based on results at harvest. The range of 242
variation is large: from 48 liters of yield per liter of seed to 80 litters of 433
yield per liter of seed. Township officials say that the average harvest is
five *fanegas* (1 fanega equals 12 liters) or 60 liters per liter of seed. Market [435]
prices are of less importance in deciding what crops will be planted than
are considerations of what the soil "wants" and what labor is involved.
Corn is grown on all kinds of land, whereas beans and special crops such
as cabbages can be grown only on the more fertile soil. Wheat can be
grown only where there is irrigation. One farmer raised cabbage in coop- [434]
eration with a Ladino and earned 1,000 pesos, four times the amount he
earned with his wheat crop the previous year. Despite the greater return
for cabbage, the farmer did not plant it the next year when the Ladino,
who had supported the first venture, withdrew his support. The reason he
gave for this was the fact that there was more work involved and he could
not accomplish it alone: first the crop had to be planted, then transplanted,
then irrigated every three days in the early growing period, and cultivated
two or three times; every eight days he had to get rid of worms. He esti- [461]
mated that growing cabbage involved well over four times the amount of
work necessary for growing corn.

Labor. Most agricultural work is performed by members of 592
households with exchange or hired labor. There is no specialization of 241
labor when the work force includes two or more men since the men 476
cooperate in doing each task. Communal labor is restricted to the mainte- 464
nance of the main irrigation ditches. Each year the ditches are dug out 241
where the sides have eroded and cleaned of brush and leaves. The presi- 621
dent and judges unite to decide on a time for this work and announce it 476
on a loudspeaker of one of the cantinas. This usually occurs around the
twenty-fifth of December. Formerly, all the men of the community helped
in this work whether or not they owned irrigated fields. In 1958 those who [178]
did not own such land "got smart" and refused to work. [423]

In 1962 the civil officials decided that a cement canal should be installed 653
near the source of the spring. They tried to finance it with contributions 621
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vest. Harvesting is done by all the members of the household, sometimes with the assistance of exchange or hired labor. Women help by going to the fields and degraining the cobs with few kernels of corn so that there will not be an unnecessary burden to carry to the houses.

A small fiesta for the corn is made following the harvest. The purpose of the fiesta is to reciprocate the spiritual owner of the corn by giving him a "gift." Two candles are lit and set on top of the piles of corncobs. Two other candles are placed near the heaps of corn grains gathered by the

Table 7. Stages of Corn Growth and Agricultural Activities

Stages of growth	*Activity*	*Time (after planting)*
Šlihk sčital (begins to grow)	First hoeing	8 days
Čištal lik ʔišim (well-grown; about 4 feet)	Second hoeing	1 month
Čištal stekan sniʔ (begins to form husk)		2 months
B'al tzuto (begins to bud)		
Lok'iš tzutohal (flower comes out)		3 months
Yihiš sk'ab'enal (begins to mature)		4 months
Lok'iš yihkatz (cobs fill out)		
Sčam hol (its head dies)	Pick cobs to eat fresh	5 months
Yihištal sk'anubiš (now more yellow)	Double over stalks	6 months
Yihubiš (more yellow)		
Tahkiniš (dry)		
Sk'ahik lok'el (harvest time)	Pick dried corn	7 months

women. The candles cause the spirit of the corn to rise and give its "gift to the world" in the following harvest. Failure to make a fiesta would mean an end to all corn harvests.

Corn is brought to the house and stored in the rafters, since there are no corn cribs or separate storage facilities of any kind in the village. Most of the houses are infested with rats as a consequence. When the harvest is brought in, there is an attempt to rid the rafters of these "thieves." The men and boys armed with slingshots stand posted in the yard as the children rustle around in the rafters chasing the rats out. Although they are remarkably good shots since they use this tool from early childhood, the houses are never completely free of rats, and the inhabitants learn to put up with them.

000 bly similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now. Just as a
323 man defines himself as an agriculturalist, a woman defines herself as a pot-
462 ter. Men complain if their wives do not produce pottery, and I know of
[593] two cases of separation on the grounds that the woman was not fulfilling
[586] one of her functions as housewife by helping the family budget with pot-
[461] tery production. Most women like to make pottery: it helps them to pass the day, and they say they would be bored without it. Some of the women who have gone with their husbands for extended stays in hot country have tried to make pottery out of clays available there, but because of its inferior quality, they have not had much success. Unlike women of neighboring towns, the women of Tzoʔontahal usually do not accompany their husbands to the fincas "because they have their work at home."

323 *Making pottery.* The women make a wide variety of household
178 and ceremonial objects, but the item which has the widest market distribution is the water storage jar (See Plate 7). They introduce new items in response to local needs, such as the funnel used in channeling liquor into large containers from the retort of the still. One vessel which is disappearing from production is the large ceremonial cooking pot. The only woman who knew how to do this (or who admitted to knowing, since it is unpaid work) died in the 60s, and no one has replaced her. One woman who had a reputation for eccentricity, introduced several elaborate vases and ashtrays. Her creative imagination was best exemplified in a combined ashtray and vase which featured four frogs poised on the lip of the tray, presumably drinking from a fountain. Reina (1962–1963) has pointed out
[171] that women of the Guatemalan community of Chinautla who wish to be
[156] accepted in the community must limit themselves to conventional forms, and the same restriction seems to apply in Tzoʔontahal.

317 The women of a household work as a group in collecting clay and in
592 firing pottery. Clay is free since it is found in the communally owned hills
[323] on the perimeter of the town. It is collected preferably during the rainy
[423] season when it is easier to gather from the open gorges in which it is found, but if the supply runs out, other trips are made. All of the women of the household go, sometimes with neighbors or relatives in groups of five or six. They collect large clay balls weighing from forty to fifty
[482] pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline.

(see plates following p.198..Analyst)

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323 pyramid is complete, wood is laid against the pots in a tepee formation.
[313] When the sawmill in the vicinity was in operation, flat boards—scraps of
[372] cut lengths—were used, but now only logs are available. Corn husks or
[462] dry straw are stuffed between the planks or logs. When a large number of pots are being fired, the men usually help at the final stages to remove the
[476] charred planks with poles. If men are not available, the women of the household often call upon their neighbors for help. In this operation, the
[292] women wear sandals and hats for protection from the heat. When the pots are cooled, the women, sometimes with the help of the men, stack them in net bags, six to a net with straw protecting the pots.

647 About fifteen year ago, a kiln was introduced by the government in the
177 interest of conserving wood. Those who tried it claim that the pottery did
323 not fire well and that many of the pots were broken. I.N.I. (the Instituto
372 Nacional Indigenista) planned to introduce an improved kiln, and while most of the people we questioned expressed a willingness to try it, the proposal was never put into action.

462 The men do most of the marketing of pottery. Loads of one or two
442 dozen may be taken by bus or truck to San Cristóbal or to Comitán.
443 When there is large-scale production throughout the community, as occurs
494 just before major fiestas, truckers come from the neighboring town of Teopisca to contract for delivery.

592 The amount of pottery produced in households varies with the follow-
323 ing factors:
433

1. Household composition: (a) Number of women in the family.
[464] If there is only one woman, very little or no pottery is produced because of the demands of domestic duties. Households with two or more women are able to sustain the ideal output of at least a dozen water jugs a week (I use "ideal" here to suggest their notion of what they produce when asked to guess. As Fig. 2 indicates, this varies considerably during the
[887] year.) (b) Age of women and ages of children. Older women over sixty do not independently undertake pottery production. They may assist in washing pots with corn gruel or making the neck, mouth, and handles, but they are unable to endure the harder task of collecting clay. A woman with infants under two years of age makes little pottery if

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there is no other woman in the house. (c) Number of men in the family. If there are productively employed men, women of the household tend to make less pottery, since they are busy cooking and washing and have their basic subsistence needs supplied. Pottery is then produced to supply cash for fiestas only. Widows make a great deal of pottery since they must either hire men to work in the milpa or buy corn. 592 323 433 [434] [136]

2. Wealth of the family: Relatively wealthy families make almost no pottery. In other cases, the scheduling of production is related to consumption needs. Figure 2 charts the pottery production by type of item produced for a family which included two unmarried women, their mother, father, and grandmother. The peaks in production occur just before the major fiestas when the family wants additional money to buy meat, fruits, and clothing. Although this family produced more pottery than the majority of households because of the presence of four women, its production typifies the high periods of activity relating to the fiestas. Production is also related to the seasonal changes: during the rainy season (from June to October) many households curtail production, except to earn money for the fiesta of Santiago (July 25), because of the difficulty of firing without closed kilns. [434] [796] [132]

Variation in production means that an overall estimate of income from pottery cannot be made. It ranges from none to nearly 90 percent of family income in the case of widows without land or male helpers. I would guess that an average family might earn 200 pesos a year, about 10 to 15 percent of the money value of crops. One family of two widows and five children who work constantly throughout the year averages an income of about 600 pesos, or about one-half what an agriculturist can make on one-half hectare of land. 323 433 434 184

The Motivation to Produce

461 434 182

The motivation to work is tied directly to consumption needs of the household. Failure to meet expenditures with income from agriculture and pottery is met by men hiring out as agricultural workers or as laborers in the sawmill. This alternative is chosen over that of increasing the size [464] 434 464 427 241

434 of the farm by renting additional land, as European peasants typically
464 did,[5] since there is very little land available for rent and the returns are
427 not immediate. Farmers will try to avoid this by acquiring land grants to
241 increase subsistence agriculture.

125 Expenditures and earnings were studied in six families over varying pe-
434 riods of time from ten days to one year. The data are summarized below.

434 Family No. 1, consisting of a husband, his wife, and their married
• 592 daughter separated from her husband and child, is able to meet all of their
[241] need for corn and brown sugar and most of their need for beans by the crops they raise on one-half hectare of ejido land in hot country, one-half hectare of ejido land in the township, and three-quarters hectare of privately owned, irrigated land in the township. On their irrigated land, they grow one-half hectare of wheat and one-quarter hectare of corn. In hot country they grow corn, beans, and sugar cane on the margins of the field. The cane is ground in a cooperatively owned mill, and their crop in 1965 produced 144 *tapas*, or measures of one kilogram worth 5 pesos. In addition to 200 pesos earned for the wheat crop, 100 pesos for the bean crop,
[464] 298 pesos for corn, this farmer earned 808 pesos for outside work. His high
[465] wage income is due to his working for an American at twice the usual
[435] daily pay. The farmer buys coffee by the twenty-five-pound bag costing 62 pesos in hot country, a saving of about one-half the retail price of coffee in the town, where it is sold at 5 or 7 pesos at pound. In twelve months of recorded expenditures, the family spent 609.50 pesos or 83 percent of their budget on food, 40 pesos or 5 percent of their budget on clothing and 82 pesos or 11 percent of their budget on medicine.

The high expenditures in the case of family No. 2, consisting of a man,
[583] his wife, and two mature sons, was due to the fact that one of the boys was carrying on a betrothal suit. The bride-price had been fixed at 500 pesos, toward which the family was contributing whatever excess of income over
[464] expenditures it had. The son who was seeking a wife worked fifty-six days
[465] in the sawmill at a wage of 15 pesos per day during the six-month period recorded, earning 255 pesos. In addition, he and his brother earned 160 pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village.

5. Chayanov (1966:7) demonstrated that Russian peasant families expanded the size of their farms when the subjective needs of the family increased, not as a response to market prices for crops or rents.

pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village. The expenditures of this family on meat, brown sugar, and liquor were required for the house celebrations carried out almost every Sunday. Like family No. 1 they spent 83 percent of their budget on food, a total of 714.80 pesos, and a larger percentage on clothing, 138 pesos. They sold their surplus corn for 292 pesos and their beans for 247 pesos. These crops were produced on one hectare of privately owned, irrigated land, one hectare of privately owned, non-irrigated land and one hectare of ejido land.

Family No. 3 consists of a widow and her widowed daughter-in-law who had five children. The oldest son, aged sixteen, worked their one-half hectare of ejido land and one-half hectare of irrigated land with some hired help during harvest. During the three weeks recorded, there were no returns from their crops, which include wheat and corn, and the family relied entirely on returns from pottery. This household produces more pottery than any of the others recorded, earning 61 pesos in the three weeks, because there are no adult male producers. They spent 63 percent of their budget on food, a total of 42 pesos, and 34 percent or 23 pesos on clothing.

Family No. 4 consists of a married couple with three children seven years of age and under. The husband works occasionally in the sawmill, but since he drinks a great deal, he does not contribute much of his 70-peso weekly wage to the family. He grows wheat on one-half hectare of irrigated land and corn on one-half hectare of ejido land. In the ten days recorded, no money was gained on harvest, but the woman earned 19 pesos from pottery. The family spent 77 percent, or 17.20 pesos of their budget on food and another 22 percent, or 5 pesos such as soap, kerosene, etc.

Family No. 5 consists of a married couple, their married son and daughter-in-law, and three grandchildren. They own one and one-half hectare of irrigated land, on which they grow wheat and corn, and one-half hectare of ejido land. The husband and his son supplement their earning from farming by distilling liquor, earning 108 pesos in the ten days recorded. In addition, the women of the household earned 54 pesos from pottery they made. They spent 143 pesos, or 97 percent of their budget on food and 3 pesos, or 2 percent of their budget, on clothing.

Family No. 6 consists of a young couple with two children. The husband owns one-half hectare of irrigated land, and one-half hectare of non-

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434 592 241 423 464 irrigated land in addition to their one-half hectare of ejido land. He supplements his income with work in the sawmill for some periods of the year, at a wage of 90 pesos a week, making a total of 165 pesos in the ten days recorded. The family spent 81 percent or 36 pesos of the budget on food, 13 percent or 6 pesos on clothing 2.3 percent or 1 peso on household supplies, and 3 percent or 1.20 pesos on medicines.

434 592 241 262 These family budgets show that most of the corn and beans can be supplied by subsistence agriculture. Garden crops of chile, chayote (a green vegetable which produces a fruit and an edible root), and fruit trees, including lime and anone, are raised in the house yard. Tomatoes, fruit, and cabbages are bought in neighboring market towns.

434 592 171 In comparison with household consumption expenditures in the United States and other foreign countries, these budgets show a much higher proportion of cash income spent on food. The percentages of food expenditures range from 63.2 to 97.0 in the families studied, whereas in the United States the average percentage is only 26.3, in Argentina 59.2, and in Zambia 66.5 (Conference Board Economic Almanac 1967). This reflects the fact that the people of Tzoʔontahal have no expenses for house rental, that wood for fuel and light is available in communally owned forests, and that most of the household utensils such as jars, jugs, and bowls, are locally produced. However, failure to report items must also be noted—no 125 one reported purchasing matches although everyone uses them, and only half of the families reported use of soap, although this is universally purchased.

433 241 A gross estimate of the land necessary to fulfill consumption needs of corn for a family of two adults and four children would be approximately one and a half to two hectares. The yearly average consumption of corn for such a family is about 2,000 kilograms. One hectare produces from 1,200 to 2,000 kilograms in addition to 80 kilograms of beans. Of the 299 families whose land ownership is given in Table 5, 142 have only one hectare of ejido land and 85 more have only one-half additional hectare of privately owned land. This means that 227 households, or 61 percent do not 423 433 have enough land to meet their subsistence needs. 160 household heads

601 wife, and wife's sister with the term *muʔ*. This same term is used by women to refer to sister's husband, and to husband's brother. Men refer to sister's husband, wife's brother and wife's parents' brothers as *b'al,* while women refer to brother's wife and husband's sister as *haʔwan*. The rule is that siblings-in-law of opposite sex of speaker are classified as muʔ and siblings-in-law of same sex as speaker are differentiated by sex of speaker so that men classify them as b'al and women classify them as haʔwan. Parents-in-law are referred to as *tat niʔal* and *meʔ niʔal* and called father and mother. Wives of sons and brothers' sons are referred to as *ḳalib'* by men.

Fig. 4. Kinship Terms for Affinal Relatives

	Collateral	Lineal		Collateral
+1		Nial Tat	Nial Meʔ	
−1	Bal	(Hmamlal) Kinam		Muʔ
	Kihtz'in			

Underlined term is vocative.

Affinal terminology is not applied to spouses of parents' siblings; the terms for father and mother or elder sister and elder brother, depending on their age relative to ego, are extended to them (Fig. 4).

601 The term for assistant in a ceremony, *b'alniʔal,* using the combined
796 terms for ego's generation and parental generation in-laws, may indicate
794 that this group formerly served in household ceremonies. They are still
174 called upon for assistance, but nonrelated neighbors and compadres or
• 592 godchildren may also assist and the same term is applied to all.

571 Significant reference groups are designated by the Spanish derived terms
197 *yermanotaḳ, ḳumparetaḳ,* and *bersinataḳ*. The yermanotak is comprised
192 of siblings, their spouses, and siblings of parents; the term is derived from the Spanish *hermanos;* kumparetak, meaning the ritual co-parents, is a

The me?iltatil is the core institution preserving cultural continuity in the community. The exercise of authority and social control depended on a system of checks and balances in which the ancestors watched over the community, the judges watched over the curers to see that they did not abuse their power, and the curers watched over their side of the dual division to see that no witches or evil spirits caused harm. The validation of power is based on the kinship model of age-authority. The recruitment and functions of each of the three manifestations of this ancestral authority will be discussed in the following chapters on life crisis rituals, curing, and civil government. 182 621 602 608 571

The Household and Family

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The household unit is a crystallization at a given point in time of consanguineously and affinally related people within a wider kinship matrix. It is the most important structural unit providing for economic cooperation, socialization of the young, and care and sustenance of the aged. It provides the setting and the personnel for the transmission of traditional prayers and ritual procedures of the civil and religious hierarchy. The composition of the unit is constantly changing due to internal changes in the life cycles of its members as well as changes in the wider kinship matrix. The decisions made in response to these changes reveal both traditionally established adjustments to life crises and adaptations to social changes originating outside the family. The kinds of choices made in residence after marriage as well as in inheritance and succession to leadership in the household do not always conform to the cultural formulae for handling them. The exigencies of space, time, economic, and social considerations may outweigh the ideological considerations of what ought to be done.

The formula for the developmental cycle of the household is the following: when a man marries, he lives with his bride's family for one year, working in her father's fields. He then returns to his father's household to live and work with him until his father is too old to manage the work in the field. The father then gives equal shares of his land and animals to each of his children, both male and female. The youngest child, or the last one to get married, remains in the parental house, taking care of the aged 591 [425] 591 593

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591 593 [192] parents. This role is institutionalized and the youngest child is referred to as *k'ol*, the last one.

591 593 182 The choice of residence after marriage is influenced by the following factors:

1. The couple live with whatever family has less pressure from immature siblings remaining in the household. If there is no other child in one family, there is a strong likelihood that the new family will remain in that household.

591 182 434 2. If there is any wealth difference, the couple tends to live with the richer family. "Wealthy" families prefer to have their children live near them and will make an effort to build a house within their compound or nearby.

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TABLE 15. Trends in Household Composition, 1958–1964

	Alannantik		*Ahk'olnantik*		*Total*	
Family type	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*
Remained the same						
Nuclear	49	76	38	57	87	67
Virilocal	7	11	11	16	18	14
Uxorilocal	4	6	7	11	11	9
Joint sib	1	2	1	2	2	1
Grandparent-grandchild	1	2	2	3	3	2
Incomplete	2	3	7	11	9	7
Total	64	100	66	100	130	100
Percent of all families		44		34		39
New families created						
Nuclear	16	89	48	88	64	88
Uxorilocal	1	5.5	1	2	2	3
Incomplete	1	5.5	6	10	7	9
Total	18	100	55	100	73	100
Percent of all families		12		28		21
Families which changed *	64	44	74	38	138	40
Total number of families	146	100	195	100	341	100

* Direction of change indicated in Table 16.

Changes in the household composition in the period from 1958 to 1964 between the two censuses I made in the field indicate some of the trends toward nuclear family units or bilaterally-rather than predominantly patrilineally-extended units (Tables 15 and 16). Comparisons are made between the same household in each period. Comparison of family forms in the six-year period indicates a high rate of change, with 39 percent remaining the same and 40 percent changing. The remaining 21 percent are the newly created families. The direction of change favors nuclear families (40 cases or 29 percent of changes) and virilocal forms (27 cases or 20 percent of changes). Nuclear families were the most stable, with 62 remaining the same and 62 changing to another form. This contrasts with uxorilocal households which are the least stable, with 11 cases remaining the same and 23 changing, and virilocal households which follow a similar pattern with 14 cases remaining the same and 25 changing. Nuclear families account for 88 percent of the new families created by marriage in the period studied. The trend is toward a greater proportion of nuclear families, as measured by the various indices.

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[125]

Table 16. Direction of Change in Household Composition, 1958–1964

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	Alannantik		*Ahk'olnantik*		*Total*	
Family type	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*
Change to nuclear from						
Virilocal	14	22	4	5	18	13
Uxorilocal	5	8	9	12	14	10
Joint sib			1	1	1	1
Grandparent-Grandchild			1	1	1	1
Incomplete	1	2	3	4	4	3
Unknown			2	3	2	1
Total	20	32	20	26	40	29
Change to virilocal from						
Nuclear	8	12	10	14	18	13
Uxorilocal	2	3	1	1	3	2
Joint sib			1	1	1	1
Incomplete	1	2	4	5	5	4
Total	11	17	16	21	27	20

(*cont.*)

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Family type	Alannantik No. of families	Alannantik Percent of total families	Ahk'olnantik No. of families	Ahk'olnantik Percent of total families	Total No. of families	Total Percent of total families
Change to uxorilocal from						
Nuclear	4	6	4	5	8	6
Virilocal	1	2	1	1.5	2	1
Joint sib			1	1.5	1	.7
Grandparent-grandchild			1	1.5	1	.7
Incomplete			1	1.5	1	.7
Unknown			1	1.5	1	.7
Total	5	8	9	12.5	14	10
Change to joint sib from						
Nuclear	1	2			1	.7
Virilocal			1	1.5	1	.7
Uxorilocal			1	1.5	1	.7
Total	1	2	2	3	3	2
Change to grandparent-grandchild from						
Nuclear			1	1.5	1	.7
Total			1	1.5	1	1
Change to incomplete from						
Nuclear	8	12	4	5	12	9
Virilocal	1	2	1	1.5	2	1.4
Uxorilocal	2	3	1	1.5	3	2
Joint sib	1	2			1	1
Unknown			2	3	2	1.4
Total	12	19	8	11	20	15
Change to disintegrated from						
Nuclear	11	17	10	14	21	15
Virilocal	2	3			2	1.4
Uxorilocal			2	3	2	1.4
Grandparent-grandchild			2	3	2	1.4
Incomplete	1	2	4	5	5	4
Total	14	22	18	25	32	23
Change to avunculocal from						
Nuclear	1	2			1	1
Total	64	100	74	100	138	100

[P.107]

TABLE 17. Choice Made in Response to Changes in Constitution of Family

Individuals with change in status	*Lives with parents*	*Lives with children in same house*	*Lives with in-laws*	*Lives with married child*	*Lives alone*	*Children of first marriage live with him/her*	*Children live with his/her parents*	*Moved to barrio*	*Moved to another town*	*Total*
Woman separated	6						1			7
Man separated	2									2
Widowed woman	1	14	3	2	1			4	1	26
Widowed man		3		1					1	5
Man remarried	1		1			1		1		4
Woman remarried	1	1				4	1		2	9
Total	11	18	4	3	1	5	2	5	4	53

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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

592 The household into which an individual is born remains a resource base
59 throughout his life. In nine cases noted in Table 17 in which separations
586 occurred, the spouse returned to his or her natal home. In most cases in-
592 volving the death of a spouse, the widow or widower stays in the house-
736 hold established during the marriage. If the children are too young to be economically useful, the surviving parent may return to the parental household with his or her children, or they may move in with married siblings. If the family was living with the parents of one of the spouses, the surviving members usually remain there even if the elder couple are not the parents of the widow or widower. A young widow living alone is the prey of drunken men during fiestas and requires a protector.

586 The stability of marriage can be seen in the statistics on changes in con-
587 jugal status in the period from the first census in 1958 to the second census
[125] in 1964 (Table 18). Of 264 marriages formed at the time of the first census, only 15, or 5 percent, were voluntarily dissolved; 16 percent were broken by the death of one or both spouses, and another 1 percent by the death of both partners. 10 widowers and 4 widows remarried, an index both to the greater availability of women for remarriage as well as to the necessity for a man to have a woman in the house.

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TABLE 18. Changes in Conjugal Status, 1958–1964

Conjugal status	*Alannantik*	*Ahk'olnantik*	*Total*
Same	92	89	181
Separated	3	11	14
First marriage	28	65	93
Widowed	13	26	39
Two wives		1	1
Remarried			
Widower	6	4	10
Widow	2	2	4
Both died	3	1	4
Returned to wife	3	1	4
Unknown	3	21	24
Total	153	221	374

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Behavior Defined in the Family

Socialization in the family provides the individual with the idiom for behaving in the wider community. The basic principles ordering behavior are respect and obedience toward those who are older, and care for those who are younger. Obedience, expressed by the verb *ʔun* which means both to believe (or to be gullible) and to obey, is instilled by cultivating a sense of fear and shame. Fear is communicated by the parent to the child by invoking evil spirits and by the threat or use of punishment, especially whipping with a leather strap. Shame is aroused by ridicule, jeering, and chastising. A good child is a quiet child; questioning is discouraged either by refusing to answer the child or by telling him to keep quiet. The negative aspect of good behavior is stressed. Significantly, the phrase "Behave yourself!" is translated into Spanish as "Don't do anything!" Good behavior is not rewarded either by praise or by gifts. The only public demonstration of affection toward children I have seen is by grandparents toward grandchildren: an elder might give his sweet roll at a ceremony to his grandchild and even fondle him. Parents show affection to youngsters under three years of age, although the last child may be coddled somewhat longer. Mothers and young children show intimacy and affection in delousing each other or combing each others' hair. Kissing is not a sign of intimacy but of formal respect in ceremonies.

Beliefs concerning conception show awareness of both the male and the female contribution to the fetus. The man's sperm (*snal*) enters the womb, *yoʔtan*, (also the word for heart) and mixes with the woman's flow, to bring about conception. The blood of a child is believed to come from its mother and the skin, bones, and brains from the father. During pregnancy, the father must have intercourse with his wife because his sperm nourishes the fetus. This continues right up to the birth of the child. Men too are believed to have wombs, and some men have trouble with "dropped wombs" caused by lifting heavy burdens.

The only people in attendance at the birth of a child are the women of the immediate household, the mother of the woman giving birth if she is not a part of the houshold, and the midwife. Children are kept out of the

868 857 the larger ones their mothers make, but their products are usually not [323] commercially saleable until they reach the age of marriage. Their responsi- [312] bility in preadolescence is to bring water from the faucets installed in every other block of the town, and to degrain corn, tend the fire as the *nixtamal,* or corn dough mixed with lime, cooks, and help their mother grind it. The careful assessment of the child's capacity to perform tasks is exemplified by the gradations of water-carrying jars given to each child: the older the child, the larger the jar, with minute variations in scale. The [592] close, usually wordless cooperation between women in a household comes [462] from years of working together and knowing their part in cooperative tasks.

Boys accompany their fathers to the fields after they reach the age of six and when they are not attending school. They do not participate in the work of the milpa until they are eight or older, but they pick up twigs for the fire or gather the wild berries or plants which supplement the diet of [411] the family. They usually carry slingshots with which they kill field rats [262] and birds, which they bring home to cook and eat. Teaching a boy the 868 tasks involved in agriculture is consciously undertaken by older brothers 241 or the father when the child reaches the age of twelve or thirteen. The following reminiscence of this training is given by a man who had been brought up by his widowed mother and brother.

159 *I went to the field with my brother who is eighteen years older than I,*
868 *when I was thirteen years old. My brother brought me to clean the milpa,*
241 *saying, "Let us go and you will learn how to work. See what I do and you do the same. You will learn what I do and you can do the same."*

One day I finished six rows. My brother said when he saw my work, "Good, just give a little more soil at the foot of the corn because the little corn must have a little soil. Now you do it well." "Yes," I said. He saw it was good, and he told me, "You have learned your work. You are going to forget it when you enter school. When you come out of school, go do two or three rows of work. When you hear the bell strike, go back to school."

He told my mother that I had learned to work, and she said, "Good you know how to cultivate." I learned to do my work better by going along with my elder brother in his work so that I would not forget.

Compadres, or ritual kin, are the next most important pool from which to draw assistance. The same restrictions on exchanges between actual kin apply to those between ritual kin. The one task which is confined to brothers and not extended to compadres is that of house-building. 476 608 [342] [593]

Relationships between members of the household are defined by daily work tasks, commensality, sharing a living space, and participation in the same ceremonial events. The same rules which govern behavior in the family are extended to the wider community. The extension of the terms elder brother and elder sister, father and mother, and younger sibling to all of the people in one's own side of the dual division implies a pattern of behavior similar to that of the family. The fundamental equation in social relations is age-respect-deference-prestige. 592 601 621 571 561

The bilaterally extended kinship group provides the pattern structuring relations throughout the community. It is a framework allowing wide choice in selecting individuals with whom ceremonial and work relations are contracted. Relative age has superseded generation and descent as the principle governing relationships of authority and respect from the nuclear family to the hierarchy or community officials. These patterns will be traced in other institutions in following chapters. 602 476 561

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

In becoming a padrino of baptism and marriage, C. K. has acquired 33 compadres, 31 comadres, 4 godchildren of baptism, and 7 godchildren of marriage, 4 of which are his nephews. Adding to the 6 compadres of baptism for his own children, he has 39 compadres and 37 comadres, a total of 76. Most people by the time they have reached 60 have acquired well over 50 compadres.

The relationship between compadres is one of respect, and the referential and vocative terms, *kumpare* and *kumare*, or compadre and comrade in Spanish, take precedence over any other relationship term. The godchild is expected to bring a load of wood to his padrino's house when the latter has a household ceremonial, and when the godchild is old enough, he will serve as b'alnial, or assistant. All the people who attend the household ceremony following the church baptism become compadres and constitute the kumparetak. Compadres attend each other's household ceremonials, acting as nakawanehetik (attendants who are present at all household ceremonials) or b'alnialetik. Compadrazgo is patterned on a pre-Conquest institution establishing ties between attendants in household rituals called maliwanehetik.

The relationship of protection and guidance that is to characterize the tie between co-parents, godchildren and their godparents for the rest of their lives is symbolized in the behavior formally prescribed in the baptism ceremony. On the day of baptism, the child is dressed in clothing given by his godparents. The parents and grandparents of the child go together with the godparent to the church. While the child is being baptized by the priest, he is held by his godfather if he is a boy, or by her godmother if a girl. The priest throws water and salt on the child and prays over him, baptizing him in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. After the ceremony the participants embrace the child and each other in front of the church, symbolizing the status they now occupy in respect to the child, his grandparents, and parents. Without this performance, the ritual terms of comadre, compadre, or padrino cannot be used.[1]

1. This behavioral definition of the ritual kinship tie in the sme'ispetb'ak is illustrated in the following incident: The wife of a man who had been asked to be a child's godparent was absent when the priest arrived for the ceremony. Her husband went to the church with the parents and grandparents of the child and embraced them at the church steps. Although

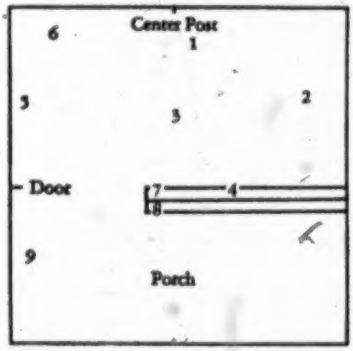
does not drink or have a record of fighting. Character traits are given 581
more significance than wealth, since the minimal differences which distin- 582
guish rich from poor can be lost within a few months if a man drinks
heavily or does not work. The close identification among siblings means [593]
that in accepting a suit the girl's parents will take into consideration not
only the boy's reputation, but those of his brothers. If they are considered
to be disobedient, lazy, or frequently drunk, their brother may have diffi-
culty finding a woman.

Positions of ceremonial importance in the household celebrations are 794
filled by any of the elders who have acquired knowledge of the prayers. 592
The nakawanehetik are chosen from among any of the bilaterally-ex- 782
tended relatives, compadres, or padrinos who have served five times in reli- 555
gious office. They are selected not only on the basis of how well they 561
know the prayers, but also on their behavior when required to drink. A [273]
man who can hold his liquor and still speak well or who quietly goes to
sleep rather than fighting when drunk is preferred. The me?il k'op is se-
lected from among the female complements of these male relatives. She ac-
quires her knowledge of the prayers in familial settings. The b'alnialetik
are chosen from the kihtz'inal (younger siblings and cousins), or from
among compadres or members of neighboring households. The rank order
between the two sets of roles—the nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik—de-
pends on relative age; thus the older nakawanehetik have greater author-
ity.

Familial roles provide both a pattern and a springboard for other roles 621
in the community. The father-son role pair is extended to the relationships 593
between senior and junior officials in both the religious hierarchy and the 561
curing hierarchy. For each saint, the elder mayordomo is called "father" 794
(*Tatil Martoma*), and the younger is called "son" (*Nic'nal Martoma*). A 192
man must fill the junior post at least two times before taking on the senior
post. For each side of the dual division, the elder curer (when there was a [756]
recognized leader) was called "father" (*Tatil ?u?ul*), and the younger
was called "son" (*Nic'nal ?u?ul*) or sometimes "youth" (*Biktal ?u?ul*).
The term *me?il* (woman who has borne a child) is used in the reference 621
to ceremonial roles played by women in the household, as in the case of 592
me?il k'op (woman speaker) and me?il c'om (mother of the betrothal). 562

342 women sit inside in a semicircle. A house without a closed-in porch is re-
[196] ferred to as a "cattle house" since it is considered inadequate for entertain-
[621] ing guests at ceremonial affairs. Townspeople prefer to choose as higher
[574] officials those who have houses with porches to accommodate visitors.

Fig. 8. Interior of a House



1. Seat of honor for women
2. Bed area for women of house
3. Hearth
4. Bench area for relatives of house
5. Bench area for visiting men
6. Mats or wooden board for visiting women
7. Honor seat for men (when inside house)
8. Honor seat for men outside house
9. Resting areas for male helpers

592 Each member of the household has his place for sleeping, eating, and sit-
[513] ting. The youngest child sleeps with his parents, and older children sleep with siblings of the same sex or with their grandparents. Newly married couples living with their parents prefer to sleep in the cook shack if there
[264] is a separate structure. At mealtime, men and boys sit on small wooden
[352] chairs at a miniature table placed against the wall separating the interior from the porch, while women and girls kneel on straw mats near the hearth.

342 Reference points inside the house (Fig. 8) are the center post where the
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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

876 den on the teacher already laboring with the barrier in communication. Despite these difficulties, the children manage to learn the basics of reading, writing, arithmetic, and Spanish in four years of schooling. The [875] teachers are devoted and spend at least seven hours in the classroom each day.

872 During the recess period the children play individual competitive games 524 except when organized games are introduced by one of the teachers. There is a tendency toward ganging up on weaker individuals in fights, that occur, but I have never seen signs of marked brutality. Since the Ladino children are a small minority in the school (there are no more than a [563] half a dozen among the three hundred and twenty-four students) the Indian children do not face the discrimination found in schools with a greater proportion of Ladinos (cf. Romney and Romney 1966).

876 Discipline is no longer as strict as it was in the early years of public education. The teacher allows someone who has been hit to hit the aggressor but does not herself intercede. Threat of punishment may be made by the teacher, but I have never seen it carried out, and it is never suggested as a solution to failure to learn.

571 In comparing the domestic, civil, and religious domains of activi-
561 ties, the following features emerge:

554 1. In each domain, a hierarchy of power is present. In the house, [592] males take precedence over females, and older members over younger. [562] In the cabildo, the power hierarchy takes the form of a rank order co-[624] ordinate with age in most of the offices, while in the schoolhouse, power is polarized with all authority vested in the schoolteacher. In the church, [875] the conflict between the priest and the cofrades (Chapter 9) has not [794] been resolved. Within the ranks of the mayordomos, relationships between the elder and junior mayordomo establish a graded ranking system (Chapter 8).

571 2. Behavior in each domain is standardized. Relative rank is re-
554 flected in seating order, greeting order, and drinking order. Autonomous
576 behavior is most marked in the domain of the church. Focused interaction is predominant in the school, where order and control are based on absorbing the attention of the child in a learning task.

121 the external system, with the aim of investigating internal causation.

[177] The two communites are equally acculturated, measured according to the number of material traits of western introduction, the influence of Catholicism, the degree of Spanish borrowing in the native tongue, the attitudes towards the outside world and the type of relations with this world. Both communities share the same historical past, the language, and the same cultural traditions. Both communities are good examples of Wolf's ideal type of "corporate peasant communities," and both are located in compactly settled villages, under the same ecological conditions.

128 The data to support this treatment of the problem is presented in chapter ii. The third chapter deals mainly with the common aspects of the over-all social structure of the two villages, that is, the larger social frame in which domestic groups or households function as units.

Chapter iv discusses the differences and similarities in the organization of production of the two villages, compares the immediate social effects of the differences, and prepares the ground for the later evaluation of these economic factors in terms of their effects in the developmental cycle of the domestic group. [592] The organization of production is shown to be tied up with the domestic group directly, in the sense that the two major means of production, land and labor, are controlled by the household. Thus, the aspects of the organization of production which are treated throughout this work are: (1) sex and age composition and size of work groups, and (2) rights to land, animals, houses and objects

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango .
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER IV

THE ORGANIZATION OF PRODUCTION

128

Introduction

Up to this page we have been describing the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango, emphasizing the similarities between these two social universes. There is, however, a set of differences between the two which requires separate treatment. It is important to do so because a detailed analysis of the patterned variation in the two villages can show us how, within a very similar social and cultural background, two societies can develop alternative forms of behavior which place the relations between individuals in two contrasting social structures.

Aguacatenango

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592
[621]

Aguacatenango is purely an agricultural village. The whole community is organized into independent domestic groups which are, in a sense, small family farms administered by the males.

Men cultivate the field crops--corn, beans and squash--do other planting and agricultural work, and care for the large livestock with the help of the sons who live under the same roof. Each household has a male head who is the bread-winner; he is responsible for the welfare of those who live in the same sitio.

241 Each man tries to cultivate enough food to make his household
592 462 self-sufficient the whole year around.

241 868 The younger males of a household are initiated into the agricultural work by their fathers and elder brothers who work with the household head in the same fields. Around the age of ten, they are expected to leave grammar school and the children's playground, and to start learning their life trade: the tech-
[582] niques of cultivation. No young male is capable of marrying if he is not capable of bearing on his shoulders the economic burden of supporting a household with his labor in the fields.

241 433 434 In addition to producing enough corn for the consumption of his homestead, a man is expected to cultivate some surplus which the household can exchange in the local markets and stores for the manufactured goods and staples which they need: machetes, candles, needles, coffee and various other commodities. Moreover,
[464] if the household is in need of extra cash to pay for the expenses of a burial, a wedding, or any other emergency expenditure, he is expected to earn it by selling his labor to other men in the village for wages, or by working for short periods of time in the sugar cane plantation of Pujiltic. (Usually between one and two weeks of wage work will cover such emergencies. See Fig. 5.)

562 The women of Aguacatenango are economically dependent on their male relatives: father, husband, siblings and adult male
462 children. The women have many responsibilities; they are in charge of cooking and cleaning, sewing the family clothes, gathering
[231] firewood for the hearth, and educating the young. They are also
[241] in charge of feeding the small livestock which is kept in the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77]

Sample: 68 Households

592
464
166I

		Men	Per Cent
A:			
	Never	12	17
	Pujiltic (sugar cane plantation)	49	71
	Fincas	5	3
	Carretera Construction: (1 month)	2	7
	Napite (school teacher for the INI): (2 1/2 years)	1	1
	Yerba Santa	1	1
	Total	70	100
B:	Period of work in Pujiltik:		
	1 week	29	
	2 weeks	15	
	3 weeks	2	
	1 month	1	
	Unknown	2	
C:	Period of work in Fincas:		
	1 month	2	
	2 months	1	
	5 months	1	
	3 years	1	
D:	Status:		
	Household Head	41	
	Son of household head	15	
	Da. Son of household head	2	
	Total	58	

		Women
II. A:		
	San Cristobal	12
	Teopisca	2
B:	Period of Work:	
	From 3 weeks to 3 years. Average: 12 months.	
C:	Status:	
	Widow	2
	Divorcee	1
	Single	11

Fig. 5.--Migratory Labor in Aguacatenango

883 (gang), containing males from the age of about twelve to the time
562 they marry. They usually sleep together in one of the escuadrilla
573 member's house corridor, and spend long nights playing the harmonica, having corn eating competitions or serenading.

562 A man is not considered a full-fledged community member
885 until he marries and has a child (the word for man and father
851 have the same root: tat), which allows him to take the lower
601 post in the government (policía). The government itself is an
621 age-graded organization in which the kinship terms of elder and
621 younger brother are used reciprocally, and by extension, by of-
561 ficers in lower and higher posts.
601

562 With the passing of time, both men and women increase their
593 status by raising a family and by passing to higher positions in
621 the civil-religious hierarchy. Although women do not participate
794 directly in the government, they have some duties as officer's wives (e.g., ironing the Saint's clothes if their husbands are Mayordomos), and they are called by their husband's titles. A man may resign from office if his wife dies and there is no other adult woman in the household who can take care of her part of the officer's performance.

184 The first noticeable difference in the ordering of social
562 relations in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women
592 in the domestic group.

184 In Aguacatenango, the eldest male is the head of the
562 household. He controls the land which the men of the household
462 work, the cattle, the labor of the household members and most of
592 the money obtained through the sale of surplus corn (which is

184 used as a cash crop) or livestock. He decides when and where to
562 plant what, who should buy or sell any household property, when
462 to go to market, etc. If a son is living with his father, he
592 can talk about "our cow," but he is usually referring to his
592 father's animal. In the same way, when a woman who is single
593 talks about "our maize," she is referring to the maize cultivated
562 by her father and brothers and stored by her mother. If she is married, she means the maize produced by her father-in-law and husband, and controlled by her mother-in-law.

592 The eldest woman in the household has authority over the
593 younger females residing within it, including the daughter-in-
562 law, because during the period in which a married man resides with
[606] his parents, the wife, being the younger, is under the direct
[251] authority of her husband's mother. The elder woman controls the food given to her by her husband and son, and she keeps it stored in the tapanco (roof granary). She selects the food for the meals, and sets up the housekeeping schedule for the younger women in the homestead.

592 Women "keep" the money that their husbands earn at home.
593 They are supposed to save it, and not spend any of it without the
434 husband's permission. They do control small amounts of cash
562 which they can obtain by selling eggs, fruits or some vegetables that they grow in the garden. They are allowed to spend it on some luxuries: new clothes for a fiesta, a new pot, or something similar, but they are not expected to take care of themselves.

59 Before marriage, a woman is supported by her father and brothers,
562 and lives under her father's roof. After marriage, she is

59 supported by her husband and father-in-law, and lives under their
562 roof. If the husband dies, she is supposed to go back to live
[606] with her parents as she did when she was single or live with a mature son who becomes responsible for her welfare and has some authority over her, as can be seen in the following example.

159 A woman had two sons by her first husband, the elder of
592 which, at the time of the events related here, was married. The
584 first husband died, and the woman married another man with whom
586 she had another son. After a period of common residence, the second marriage broke up. The woman bought some land for a house, saving money for it by working in San Cristóbal and selling trago. She lived in this house with her married son and his wife.

The father of the last child (second marriage) offered to give the boy some new clothes. Before the woman accepted them, she asked her elder son's permission. The clothes were accepted because the woman's son said: "He is his father, and he should give clothes to his son."

592 The bases for the structure of the social relations within
561 the household are relative age, sex, kinship proximity to the
562 household head, and economic responsibility for the upkeep of the
602 unit. Elder men have more authority than younger men; elder women more than younger ones. Men have more authority than women (perhaps, on some occasions, with the exception of the mother), and finally, agnatic kin of the household head have more authority
597 than affinals. The result of this ordering of power within the
606 household is that a daughter-in-law is at the bottom of the

592 606 hierarchical order of authority. The following example illustrates this social ordering:

159 591 592 Maria was the daughter-in-law of Margarita, a woman married to Juan Perez, one of the village elders. The sons of Juan Perez and all the daughters had left the compound after marriage, with the exception of Felix, the last son, who was Maria's husband. The couple had decided to stay in the parental house until the death of Felix's parents, and they were promised the inheritance of the sitio as a recompense for their willingness to support Juan and Margarita in their old age (see Fig. 9).

[428]

159 592 437 602 Maria had been fattening a pig, which Juan had decided to sell, and he had been talking about it with a Ladino merchant who was anxious to buy it, but who wanted to pay a lower price for it than Juan was willing to accept.

One afternoon, while the men were in the fields and Margarita was outside the compound gathering firewood, Maria was visited by a Ladino merchant who insisted on taking the pig with him. He offered to pay a price which Maria was not sure was already arranged between the merchant and her father-in-law. She discussed it with him, refusing to give up the animal, until her sister-in-law, Felix's elder sister, arrived to visit her mother.

When Felix's sister arrived, Maria retired from the discussion, and left the elder woman to carry the burden of the interaction.

After a while, Margarita came back with her load of firewood, and she took up the discussion while both her daughter and daughter-in-law conversed among themselves after Crecencia

159 indicated that "she did not live in the house, nor was the boss
592 there." Margarita knew the price at which to sell, but she told
437
602 off the merchant, in quite a rude manner, and even refused to let him see the animal "because she was sure that the man was going to give it the evil eye and get it sick."

[601]

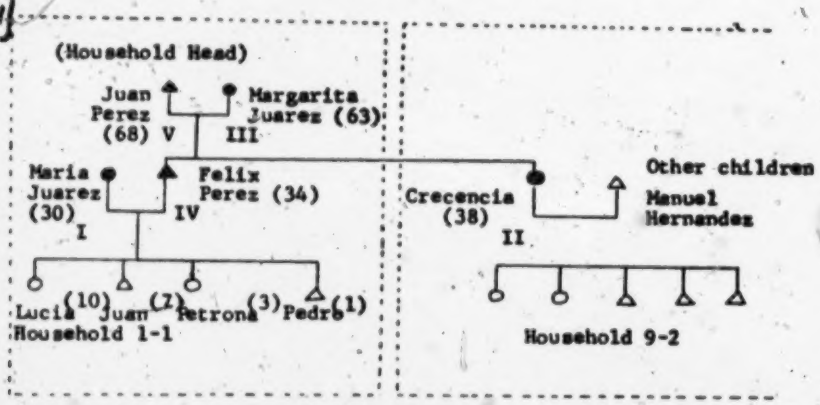

Fig. 9.--Genealogy of Household of Juan Perez

The Ladino merchant utilized every policy of charm and threat, trying to get them to sell the animal, but he began to relize that it was getting him nowhere. None of the women, not even the female head of the household, felt that she could take the responsibility for the business transaction.

When the merchant was ready to leave, Felix arrived. At this point, Felix took up the bargaining. When he could not get the price his father wanted, he resolved that the merchant should

159 come back when the father was home because not even he could sell
592 the pig without his consent. The Ladino was then forced to give up.
437
602 A few days later, Juan sold the pig according to his own plans. He kept the money, except for a small amount that he gave to his wife and daughter-in-law, in spite of the fact that Maria had fattened the pig, and that it had been previously said that the pig was the young couple's animal.[1]

592 A woman living with her husband in a separate household
593 has some autonomy within it, but she is still subordinate to her
562 husband. She owns little property. A woman may be given a cow
421 when she marries, but her father is not obliged to do so. It is
[431] simply a regalo (present). She does not own agricultural implements. She can not own land or inherit from her husband, except in cases where she is, in effect, keeping the house in trust for her male children, and it has not been claimed by her husband's father or brothers who have primacy rights over such property.

[561] As she grows older, and with the birth of children, her
[851] position becomes somewhat less dependent. She has more prestige in the eyes of her husband's family and other people, and if her marital relation has developed into a strong emotional bond, her interaction with her husband is less subordinate. He would consult

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[1]The animals are usually said to "belong" to one particular
[231] woman in the household. However, this does not mean that she has
[42] property rights over it; it only means that she is the person in
[562] charge of feeding it. Thus, the expression el cochi de María (Maria's pig) means the pig which Maria has the responsibility to feed every day, and it does not assume that she can sell it, kill it for meat, or do anything about it without the consent of the head of the household.

592 593 562 421 her before making important decisions, and allow her to handle some of the household property, such as the selling of pigs.

562 593 But even under the best conditions, the position of a woman is de facto lower than the position of men. If her husband gets drunk and beats her up, she is not supposed to complain, but accept it as part of her role. One of our informants said that once she scolded her husband for drinking, and he said: "I am not 593 asking you for the money." If he is unfaithful, she has no real 586 way of controlling his behavior except by leaving his house, run- 837 ning away to San Cristóbal to work for a few days as a servant or breaking up the marriage.

184 In Amatenango, the pottery making village, the situation 562 is quite different. First, women are economically independent, 434 being able to make a living without a male in the household. 592 Second, they control the profits made by the household from the 421 sale of pottery and from the sale of cash crops such as chayotes which they plant in their gardens. In many cases, they own the house in which they live with their husband and children. They contribute as much as their male siblings to the support of the whole domestic group while they were living in their family's home, and it is possible for them to inherit both land and cattle, a fact which reinforces the equivalent standing between women and their male siblings.

184 Adultery in Amatenango has strong reactive sanctions for 593 both men and women, and a "wife is considered within her rights to (837) order an erring husband out of the house." "Women do not tolerate

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

184 "Women do not tolerate
593 beating by their husbands, and they frequently seek justice in
692 the local court if this occurs" (Nash, J., 1960:34).

184 In sum, Aguacatenango women have a dependent role all of
562 their lives, while Amatenango women enjoy a freer and more autonomous life. The people of Aguacatenango say that la mujer se debe a su marido y sus criaturas (a woman is indebted, or bound to obey, her husband and her children), while in Amatenango people believe that women are la fuerza en la casa (the authority or power in the home) (Nash, J., 1960:29). This set of contrasting statements sums up, from their own point of view, the different conceptions of the woman's role and position in the domestic group.

184 The second difference between Amatenango and Aguacatenango
592 is the criteria employed in both places for the recruitment of household personnel. Membership in a household implies both (1) a kinship connection with a sponsor who lives in the unit, and (2) economic interdependency.

Membership in a household changes for the individual at crucial times in his life, and changes in age and marital status give a person the right to attach himself or herself to a particular domestic group. An analysis of residence patterns of the two villages shows how, during the developmental cycle of the household, it changes membership and how particular individuals, according to their age, sex, marital status, kinship connection and economic role, are recruited into the unit.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VI

THE HOUSEHOLD

Definition

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571

The life of the people of Amatenango and Aguacatenango can be seen as extending in overlapping circles which have a social as well as spatial dimension.

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The most important of these circles is the domestic group. The domestic group, or independent household, is the basic unit of the social organization, and is the core of the economic, political, and moral life of the villager.

The households are economically independent units, the basic unit that controls production and consumption for the village, and therefore, the primary unit for the recruitment of labor. It is within the household that young community members are socialized. It is the place where adults find the primary focus of social activity and interaction, their most enduring and important emotional ties, and the center of their cultural values. As a child, a person learns work from the other people of the same sex who live in his domestic unit. As an adult, he shares with them his labor, his wealth, his worries and his moments of pleasure. In a sense, all that is important for the individual in his lifetime is centered in his household. There, most of his

592 decisions are made, most of his life conflicts created and solved. Basically, it is as a member of a particular household that a person relates to people living outside his home. There is no more unhappy position for a person than being an "orphan," a person without relatives who can give him a home.

Moreover, the household functions as a political unit, being the unit of recruitment of personnel for the larger institutions of the village, such as the local government.

Physical Setting

351 592 The domestic territory is the sitio: the land and buildings of a single household. The boundaries of this residential site are delimited by a low fence and a gate facing one street. The fence is made of pickets tied with maguey rope or of thorny branches. The sitio entrance from the street is a trance, a gate made of two large, sliding, horizontal poles attached to a short, vertical column on each side.

The fences and gates are important social symbols, delimiting the territory of the domestic group which resides in it. When a household splits into two separate domestic groups, but keeps on sharing the same original sitio, a new fence is built between them. Occasionally, this fence will not be built for a period of time, but the two domestic groups will build separate living quarters and separate cook-houses. Even then, the households will have their territory within the sitio clearly delimited, if not fenced. In any case, a new gate is opened, symbolizing the independence of the families living within the sitio.

351 592 571 When the people in two adjacent sitios have close social ties, they open an interior gate in the common fence, connecting the two yards. June Nash has noticed that if any disagreement [578] occurs between the people residing in the two contiguous sitios, the interior gates are barricaded even more strongly than the remainder of the fence, symbolically severing social communication (Nash, J: 1959).

351 592 Inside the sitios, there are several areas of activity (see Fig. 10): the front yard (ti?naie) where animals are tied [343] [342] when brought to the sitio, where corn is put to dry, etc., and where there are buildings (hna) such as the cook-house and others [241] which serve as sleeping quarters. The back yard is the place where things are stored and where a small garden is cultivated. [415] [252] [343] There are other spots, such as the place for the water jugs, the place for washing the mixtamal (corn mesh used for making tortillas), the sweat bath, etc.

342 The buildings themselves are mainly wattle and daub with thatch or palm roofs in the traditional Mayan pattern. There is, nevertheless, some variation in the use of cane, shingles and planks for walls, or tile roofs, which indicates a desire to imitate ladino ways rather than the wealth of the household. The houses have small porches which serve as "living room," places for receiving visitors, grooming, cleaning corn, or enjoying the twilight after a good day's work (see Figs. 10 and 11).

House Ritual

342 592 The building of a new house is an important social event

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]

342 which usually indicates the emergence of a new domestic group.
592 Its social importance is related to several factors.

When the young couple build their first separate house,
342 this symbolizes their right to become a separate domestic group.
591 It means that they have lived together long enough to raise one
592 or more children past the age of weaning, and that they have become economically and jurally independent of their parents.
342 (See later discussion on residence.) The building itself is a
156 material display of a man's good social relations. Although
571 house size does not correlate with the number of people living in it, the villagers think that a house "talks" about its owners. A very small house tells the villagers that it is a "drunk-man house" because his owner spends all his money on liquor and cannot buy materials for building a better place. The house also tells of the amount of industrious effort that a man and his family are able to put into its construction, and it tells about how much his relatives and neighbors are willing to "loan hands" to him (help for house building is not paid for in money, but in
[177] reciprocal labor). A house is also a good indicator of how much "ladino influence" its owner has assimilated. Houses with ladino influence would have internal divisions in the rooms, windows, painted walls and/or tile roofs. (This type of house is not common, as can be seen in Fig. 12 and Table 5.)

342 The building of a house is followed by a "house warming"
[527] ceremony, in which offerings to the Mother-Earth or Saintly Earth
[782] and the house are buried under the floor. The ritual preparation of a new home is part of a complex ideological identification between people and their homestead.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 111]

because sickness is considered a supernatural expression of disturbed social relations, and this is considered disruptive, not only for the people who inhabit a single dwelling, but also for the building which symbolizes their common residence and interests. As long as the relations of people living in a house are harmonious, the house is kept contented. But if this is not so, both the people and the building have to be ritually cleaned. For example, if a daughter disobeys her mother, she is considered to be suffering from bilis or cólico, and in need of curing. During the curing ceremony, the sick misbehaver has to be instructed about her duties as a good daughter, and is given a speech apropos the misdemeanor. The curing ceremony is not completed if the house is not ritually cured, too. This is done by a curer offering the building some trago, the local brew, asking it to be contented. This offering is then symbolic of both the re-establishment of normal social relations between the individuals living in the house, and between the individuals and their material projection, their house.

The people living in a household are in charge of performing some other rituals which are expected to insure the welfare of the whole group.

A small altar, usually made of a pine table, is kept in the house. It is covered with Catholic Saints' images and printed religious calendars. The table also contains all kinds of other things: petty cash (which is kept there for small purchases), double corncobs (which are "lucky pieces") or unusually colored maize, and any other oddity found by the household members, such

592 778 as archeological pieces ("things of the people of before"). This altar is usually located in the house corridor. The altar is cleaned regularly and adorned with flowers by the women, and a candle or two is lighted on propitious days of the week, or to ask the house Saints for protection against witchcraft.

592 778 769 342 On the first of November, "day of all the dead" according to the Catholic calendar, a ceremonial offering of food to the spirits of the deceased is placed on this altar. It is in memory of the spirits who lived in the house in the immediate past, and who are supposed to come to enjoy the food and the fact that they are being remembered by the household. The ritual is performed only for the immediate generations. It is not the worshipping of one's ancestors, for it is for people who are not necessarily related by kinship, but for those who resided in the house. (Second wives, for example, are expected to offer food to the deceased first wife of their husbands if they lived in the same dwelling.)

592 769 Afterwards, the food is distributed among the living relatives, compadres and neighbors, and all members of the household go to the cemetery.

[194] At the cemetery, the tombs are cleaned, repaired, adorned with marigolds, fruit and other food, and the family pays for the performance of a responso, funeral oration, read by a part-time specialist in such matters.

592 769 342 If these rituals are not performed, the dead come back to their life stage, the house, and wander aimlessly among the living, scaring people, giving them bad dreams, or taking the lives of children.

592 764 People are buried in the cemetery according to the place in which they resided in life. The burial grounds are a small spatial replica of the town itself, the clusters of tombs representing clusters of households of the living.

592 241 184 The agricultural ritual, which in other villages in Chiapas is performed by specialists (rain makers, principales and cabildos de milpa), is in both Amatenango and Aguacatenango, a household affair. It consists of a small ceremony performed in the milpa at planting and harvesting time by the men who have worked the land together, and consists of the lighting of candles and the burning of incense.

592 The household is the stage where the drama of an individual's life is performed, and therefore where a person lives is very crucial.

Household Membership

The placement of a person in a particular homestead is determined by two factors: (1) the domestic unit is composed of a kinship group and (2) it is the basic unit of production, and of the recruitment of labor. Thus, each individual is placed in a particular household both as a kinsman and as a producer. The two factors are not seen as separate by the villager. The role of a person as a kinsman and the role of a person as a producer are intimately related, but one can express a choice as belonging to the kinship and economic domains, simultaneously, or as belonging alternately to one or the other.

In Amatenango and Aguacatenango, there are two types of households which represent different stages in the development of

592 independent domestic groups: nuclear and compound households. The nuclear household is composed of a nuclear family: a man, his wife and their unmarried children. The compound household is made up of two or more nuclear families, or one nuclear family and the remnants of other nuclear households.

184 592 The characteristic type of residential unit in both communities is the nuclear household because it is the most frequent residential arrangement in terms of total frequencies (70 per cent in Aguacatenango and 72 per cent in Amatenango; the difference in percentage between the two communities is not statistically significant).

121 591 The Method for the Analysis of Residence

Murdock's book, Social Structure (1949), opened a new road for students interested in the problem of residence taxonomy because, although it was an outstanding contribution to the field, the work obviously suffered from the ambiguity of the residence data presented in the anthropological reports on which it was based. The classification of residence types, as utilized in the past, was shown to be defective for the purposes of modern research. The terminology of the field was too all-embracing, ambiguous in meaning, and diffuse in application. Murdock himself was well aware of this problem, and suggested a preliminary revision of the terminology (Murdock, 1949:16-18), but the subject of residence types came under suspicion.

As a result of the controversies aroused by the subject, Murdock (1955) wrote an article wherein he pointed out the

585 183 593 606 family, that she starts a new life. She now has a new family and a new home where she should learn new ways of doing things from her mother-in-law, and forget the old ones she learned from her mother. Among her duties as a good wife and daughter-in-law she should keep her husband well fed and clean, obey her mother-in-law for whom she should work hard, and respect the head of the household (her father-in-law). She should not visit her family too often, and she should gather firewood with her mother-in-law instead of with her mother.[1] The ceremony indicates two things: [581] (1) the transfer of the wife's reproductive and labor power from her natal home to her husband's; (2) the boundaries of her new role. In a sense, the people of Aguacatenango define the role of a wife in terms of her performance as a worker and as a daughter-in-law, and in terms of her relations with all the members of the household rather than only in terms of her relation to her husband.

593 885 [851] On the other hand, a new husband's performance is under trial. He has to demonstrate that he can get along with his wife, and become a father, before his role as a dependent child is replaced by his role as a married man. At the time of acquiring a wife, a man is regarded by the community as a "child," being both economically and jurally dependent upon his father, who has complete authority over his actions, and is directly responsible for his son's misdeeds.[2]

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[583] [1]One of my informants tells me that although she was robada by her husband (she lived in the other barrio) the night she arrived at her husband's household, her father-in-law gave her a shortened version of the wedding speech. I do not know if this is a common practice.

[592] [672] [2]If a young man commits a crime while living under his father's roof, the father is responsible for his defense and for paying the fines to the Ayuntamiento.

593 885 During the first few years of marriage, he slowly becomes a tat (man). He establishes his own nuclear family, and he is able to take up the first officership in the local government, acquiring thus the rights to political ascension in the civil-religious hierarchy. We could say that the period of patri/virilocal residence has the function of smoothing the transition between bachelorhood and the responsibilities of married life.

581 591 Aguacatecos believe that a marriage has proved stable once children are produced and the man is capable of carrying on the economic burden of a family of his own. At this time, the couple should move to a house of their own, and form an independent household. A father, then, has to provide his son with a house site, in addition to a parcel to grow milpa.

591 [582] Soon, a younger brother (ideally, children marry in order of seniority) will marry and bring his wife into the parental home, starting a new cycle. The last of the sons (the po'h) [593] should stay with the parents until their death, and he and his [428] wife will inherit the parental house. It is preferable to have 591 606 only one daughter-in-law at a time living in the household. One informant suggested that the reason is that the mother-in-law is bound to prefer one of the two women, and this creates jealousy between them and fights.[1]

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[592] [1]When a second son marries, if the first son and his wife stay in the sitio they set up a separate kitchen, and eat their meals separately. In this case, the first daughter-in-law becomes independent of the mother-in-law, and works by herself, no longer under her mother-in-law's direct power. Except for the close spatial proximity, this arrangement functions as if the couple has set up a separate homestead, and the couple forms a separate domestic group within the same sitio (lot). The separate kitchen, or rather,

593 156 62 [583] Aguacatecos expect a man to take the responsibility of setting up his son in "business" as a community member. He pays for his son's bride, teaches him the skills for tilling the soil in order to earn a living, and provides him, at a prudential time, with the means of production: a parcel of land, and perhaps a few animals, and a house where he can live with his wife and children.

593 888 At the same time, a son is expected to take care of his parents when they are old and the father retires from agricultural work because he is too old, sick or weak to do, by himself, all the work necessary for the maintenance of his household as an economically independent unit. The people say that a son should provide for his aged parents because: "Did we not give them everything?"

The primary responsibility for the care of aged parents is usually given to one son in particular, preferably the last one (po'h). The villagers explain that this is his duty, because "if [428] he stays with us when all our other sons marry, get their land and leave, this house will be for him, he will inherit this place." Thus, the villager visualizes his dependency on the last son as an economic exchange between kinsmen: he receives from his son food and shelter, he gives him a house lot and house. The duties of a son toward his parents are expressed both in the kinship idiom

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[592] the separate cooking fire, is the symbol of the unity of one [591] single domestic group. When two couples live within the sitio [606] without dividing it, people are very careful to explain if they still cook together or not, and if they cultivate the land separately or not.

593 888 (e.g., the filial piety which is a basic component of the role of son), and in terms of economic rewards.

•592 [183] The ideal pattern is one of reciprocal obligations: an established domestic group "launches into the world" the new domestic groups formed by the male offspring of the household couple, and a well established domestic group is responsible for the welfare of the domestic group from which it originated. Thus, [602] agnatically related domestic groups are expected to perform certain duties with respect to both the domestic group which originate them, and the domestic groups which they originate.

593 888 The concept of mantener (support), meaning to provide for a person's food, shelter and company, is a very important one for the villager. There is no sadder man than the one who has given everything to his sons, who has supported them for many years, and whose sons then refuse the reciprocal duty of caring for him in his old age. Parents who are unsuccessful in keeping one of [626] their married sons living with them are indeed very unhappy. People gossip about them as being "bad people" who did wrong to their children-in-law and mistreated their own. They gossip about the children themselves, accusing them of having a "small [736] heart" and of being envious and selfish. Aguacatecos pity widows (meba' al) and orphans (meba') because "they have nobody to support them." There is nothing as threatening to a couple as not having children, and if this happens, the community looks upon them with commiseration and says: "Poor little people, who is going to support them when they grow old?. . ."

592 593 Thus, the membership of a household changes through time,

592 593 but it is always built around a core of agnatically related men: a father and his sons, united in their common interest in the patrimonial land and the fruits of their joint cooperative labor. To this core of men are attached their children and their wives, all of whom are dependent on them for their food supply, shelter, and the satisfaction of most other needs.

621 591 592 602 When a couple moves outside the parental home, the house site that they are given should be contiguous if possible, or as close as there is a place available, to the husband's father's homestead. Thus, ideally, the town should be settled by clusters of domestic groups forming localized agnatic lines, each containing a man, his parents, his brothers and his married male sons. At the same time, one would find out that women, because they follow their husbands, live much further apart from their agnatic relatives than men do.

593 591 476 241 417 After a man moves from his father's household, he is not expected to work the same parcels with his father, but they do share some work in common. Usually (I don't have the exact number of cases, but enough information to suggest that this is the mode), a man and his sons have contiguous milpas that are fenced together. The fences, which are laboriously built and repaired, are the communal job of all the men, and save them the time and effort of building interior separations between the plots, because the purpose of fencing is to keep cattle from invading the parcels and without fences it is useless to risk planting.

423 241 417 This does not mean that the land is held jointly. Each man

TABLE 7

591 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: NEWLY MARRIED COUPLES IN COMPOUNDS, 1958

Residence	Cases	Per Cent
Viri-patrilocal	13	72
Uxor-patrilocal	4	23
Neolocal (Borrowing house)	1	5
Total	18	100

592 593 183 Aguacatenango: Residence Patterns of Old Marriages, Nuclear Households

The composition of nuclear households shows that people live according to their own ideas about who should live separate from their parents. Nuclear households with no children in them represents 7 per cent of the total. Nuclear households with only one child also represent 7 per cent of the cases. Nuclear households with two or more children represent 86 per cent.

125 591 593 Paternal sponsorship after a couple has moved out of the husband's parental compound was measured by (1) degree of proximity between the two households of a man and his son, and (2) father-son transmission of a house site.

361 591 593 The fact that the town is closely settled, especially in the center, makes it increasingly difficult to maintain strict contiguous patrilocal proximity between father and son, so at first glance, many a man seems to be living in a neolocal setting according to Fischer's typology. The problem of applying the concept

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183 591 The preceding figures, when combined with the figures of compounds, show that the patrilocal norms are followed in practice in 95 per cent of all cases (see Tables 8 and 9), while only 64 per cent of the women live with the same degree of proximity to their parents.

The difference in proximity for men and women is not accidental, but statistically significant at the 0.001 level of confidence. This also shows that the community, as expected, is 621 • 592 602 divided into localized clusters of households of agnatically related men. Even the 64 per cent is an inflated figure, since a [582] man tends to marry a woman who lives close to his parental home, following the proverbial adage of "marrying the girl next door."

183 591 Alternative Norms of Uxorilocal Residence

The percentage of men who do not conform to the patrilocal norm are not exceptions to a rule, but illustrate alternatives available under a flexible pattern. The instances of uxorilocal residence do not depend on arbitrary individual choice, but are socially sanctioned and few in number.

591 A man will go to live with his wife's parents, or live in a house given to him by her father, for the following reasons which everybody in the village knows:

1. When a man is an orphan, that is, when his parents are dead and there is nobody in his family to replace the father as economic mentor and jural authority, a man does not have a household to bring his wife to live in nor a relative to work with and who will give him a house lot. In this case, a man, upon marrying, [606] will move to his wife's parent's compound. He will then work the

59
602 since she is married and living away from them, while the father
757 believes that he did not make a good choice for his son, selecting a bride who is so much of a problem. While a woman is sick, both pairs of parents will bargain endlessly over whose duty it is to pay for the curing. Sometimes, both sets of parents agree on paying half of the cost, and then the woman stays in her husband's compound. But if this is not possible, the shift in responsibility for the woman is symbolically expressed in the shift in residence.

592 Other reasons, of a psychological nature, bring forth
562 this residential change. The whole system of emotional ties which a woman has created in her lifetime before marriage is broken at the time she changes households to get married. She is thrown into the midst of a group of people, including her husband, whom she hardly knows, and during the first years of marriage she is an outsider in her husband's household. She must work for a woman
592 she did not know previously, her mother-in-law, and obey her with-
562 out delay. Although previously she worked for her mother, the
606 role of a mother and of a mother-in-law are not equivalent, especially in their affective content.

606 An interesting triadic relationship develops between a
593 woman, her husband and her mother-in-law, in which she is the one with the smallest amount of social power (see Caplow [1956], Mills [1954], for a discussion on the dynamics of triad coalitions). In spite of the large amount of interaction between the two women, the relationship is not one of friendly collaboration.

592 Command and sanctions are in the hands of the mother-in-
593 law. Obedience is expected from the younger woman. There is a
606

592 clear social differentiation in the allocation of authority, and
593 the relationship is somewhat antagonistic. Many a man finds him-
606 self between a mother complaining bitterly of the laziness of his wife, and a wife of the hardness of his mother. This antagonistic relation is attenuated by the presence of other women in the household (which makes for an easy schedule in the allocation of every day work) and by the personalities of the individuals involved.

606 The relation of a woman and her father-in-law is characterized by a very mild form of avoidance. Verbal interaction is
[264] initiated usually by the father-in-law, and is formal. At meal times the social distance between the two is expressed in the seating arrangements, the young wife sitting at the edge of the eating space, the farthest apart from her husband's father.

593 Together with the pressures brought about by the structure of these relationships, a woman must go through a process of adjustment with the husband, whom she knew only slightly before marriage.

Given this situation, when she is sick, her natal household offers to her certain emotional attractions that her hus-
591 band's household does not. The change of residence at the time
757 of sickness provides a simple example of what Malinowski called the functional solutions offered by a society for the satisfaction of physical as well as emotional needs of the individual. Three cases of residential change for this reason occurred during the summer of 1958.

000 Independently of the analysis of geographical distribution

423
432 this time arrives. The main reason for selling a house is to
[764] pay for the burial of a family member. Most widows, if the house
is not reclaimed by the husband's agnatic kin (who have rights
[428] over the property if there are no mature sons left by the de-
ceased), will sell the sitio to pay for the husband's burial, and
will move to their natal households with their children. Some
sons will sell the house to pay for the burial of a father. The
selling of the house is also a solution for cases of conflicting
inheritance rights. For example, if two brothers claim rights
to it, and if they both agree about it, they will sell it and the
money obtained would be divided among them.

• 592 The fission of the compound household into nuclear house-
591 holds is accepted by the villagers as a traditional pattern of
578 behavior, but residential changes are always expressed in terms
of on-going conflict between the couples residing in the compound.

593 A father tries to keep his son living with him for as
592 long as possible because he is an emotional as well as an economic
464 asset to him. While a man has his son living with him, he has an
562 unpaid agricultural worker bound to him by emotional and jural
ties and by his economic dependence, and this allows him to maxi-
mize the labor force of the household and, therefore, increase
production notably. At the same time, he is able to control a
relatively larger amount of land for cultivation. If the son
leaves the compound, he is forced to divide the land holdings
under cultivation and to give him a parcel, a paternal duty which,
in spite of the fact that it is expected of them, they try to
avoid as long as possible. When the son leaves, the household

593 loses his labor and some of its land holdings, while if a daughter
592 leaves, the loss of labor is marginal, there is no loss of land,
464 and her removal is not a drain on the resources of the household,
562 nor does it upset its basic economy.
423

591 The multiple bonds between a father and a son over the
593 patrimonial land of the family, the products of their joint ef-
182 fort, and their common responsibility for setting up the standard of living for the homestead, all foster patrilocality.

423 A young man could, today, obtain land without his father's
425 direct help. He cannot obtain irrigated land (because it is ex-
592 tremely scarce, and privately "owned" by the household heads),
621 but he could obtain land in the communal lands of the village.
[593] This, of course, is not the better land, being temporal and far away from the village. Although the temporal land close to town is not privately owned, it is "earmarked" for use by the heads of each household. That is, the communal lands are distributed to households, not by titles of ownership, but by usufruct rights. Even if he decides to take such a step, he needs (1) the approval of the Ayuntamiento which oversees the distribution of usufruct rights for the community as a whole, and (2) the recruitment of other men to help him clean and fence the parcel.

621 Neither of the two alternatives is easy to carry out in
593 practice. First, if the Ayuntamiento grants land to a man against
423 his father's will, this creates a problem of jurisdiction between
425 the jural rights of the household head and the administrative
578 rights of the Ayuntamiento. We could not predict what consequences such a case would have, because we have no evidence that it has ever occurred (of course, this is based on the case

histories collected during the field work season, and it well could be that a case was missed). Second, if he wants to obtain help from other men, they risk antagonizing, with their willingness to cooperate, the head of the household in which the young man is residing, and they also risk the concommitant sanctions.

The young man could also obtain land without his father's help by leaving the community to work for wages and saving enough money to buy land. Although the selling of parcels is not a common practice in Aguacatenango, the idea of land being a commodity that can be bought and sold has been introduced, and some few household heads, in cases of emergency, are willing to sell. Of course, leaving the community to work for wages means voluntary exile for a man and alienation from relatives, friends and the cultural milieu. Also, men insist that it is profitable to work for wages only if one does it for short periods of time and keeps milpa simultaneously. Wage work alone is not enough to buy corn and the other necessities to meet the requirements of the customary standard of living.

On the other hand, a man breaking away from his home and refusing to accept his father's authority becomes a deviant, and antagonizes not only his family, but the community.

Although it is possible, theoretically, to become economically independent of one's father against his will, in fact a man can only set up his own household in compliance with the ethical principles and moral conventions of his culture. Therefore, he is only permitted to form his own domestic group when he has demonstrated that he has reached the stage of social maturity which allows him to do so.

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But a man wants to become independent of his father. While he is living within his parent's compound he is considered by the community to be "a child." He is bound to work his father's land and cannot control the produce of his own labor. Until he sets up his own separate domestic group, and becomes economically independent, he does not have full rights to participation in the political life of the community because (1) he is bound to make political decisions following his father's, and he has no voice in most community affairs which are the concern of household heads, and because (2) he cannot materially afford to take up the expenses of officership.

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Women are also usually anxious to set up their own separate domestic group and independent housekeeping because this gives them some autonomy which they cannot achieve otherwise. The bond between a daughter-in-law and a mother-in-law is not expected to be a strong one. We have already discussed how the two women are assumed to be somewhat antagonistic, and their common work of housekeeping is unequally distributed.

While women live in the same compound with their mother-in-law, they have no power to make decisions of their own about their working schedule, their housekeeping, or the food stored by the elder because this is under the control of the elder woman.

[574]
[313]

A woman cannot freely take time to visit her mother because she is expected to keep her social life within the boundaries of her husband's domestic unit. She cannot even go to gather firewood, which is an activity highly enjoyed by women. Except for getting water from the well or pipes in the street or gathering firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound.

000 firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound.
462 Going to gather wood is a very nice break in the routine, and women
313 usually go in the company of other women with whom they chat, ex-
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592 changing news and gossip. A young wife usually stays home cooking while her mother-in-law leaves the house to gather the fuel for the hearth. Even if a woman does go out to gather wood, she is expected to do so with her mother-in-law, rather than with the
[626] women of her own natal family. A woman talking about a bad daughter-in-law will say, "She does not even want to gather firewood with me, she always runs to her mother's."

562 Women look upon having their own homestead as the only so-
592 lution for gaining independence. It is true that, even then, they
885 are under their husband's authority, but they control the food brought by the husband to the home, and they can make their own
[574] decisions about the work schedule. They can also take time to
[572] visit their own female relatives and childhood girl friends, a
[606] habit which is disliked by their mothers-in-law as being a threat to their own position.

592 We can see, then, that there are several factors which
578 provoke structural tensions in the compound home; some are economic, others are related to the ordering of social relations in the kinship domain, and still others depend on the aspirations of the individuals.

In the course of time, the structural tensions accumulate to the point that they precipitate the fission of the household. The triad of a woman, her son and her son's wife, and the dyadic conflict between a father and son dissolves the compound into two

592 578 nuclear households. The dynamics of social conflict, are, however, controlled by the traditional patterns of behavior and by the negative sanctions applied to the deviant. Only in exceptional situations does a couple leave the husband's parents' house before the birth of a child. Even then, the residential [626] change is expressed by the people in terms of on-going conflict between the women. People say that they moved "because the two women had a fight" and this or similar gossip follows every case of household fission.

593 The break between a father and son is only precipitated by open conflict. Part of this conflict is expressed in tensions between the men. Fathers insist that their sons should stay with them, sons insist that their fathers are selfish and unwilling to help them. But the bond between father and son is, in spite of the standard tensions, a crucial social relation for the society. A man is not judged with sympathy if he does not respect his father and keeps up a "good front" of harmonic relations with him vis-à-vis the community at large.

592 593 578 606 Then, it is not strange that the change of residence is expressed through pointing out the tensions between the women rather than the tensions between father and son. A woman and her daughter-in-law are not members of the same consanguineal group residing in the household, the <u>hoy ta yutil hna</u> (of the same blood who live in the same house), and their antagonism is not viewed by the society as threatening to the unity of the kinship group, while the father-son relation is crucial in this domain. At the same time, the women are the expressive leaders of their

592 respective nuclear families (see Parsons and Bales, Ed., 1955),
593 and in case of conflict it is through their roles that the tensions
578 between the families are verbalized, even if the source of conflict
606 is outside their relationship.

TABLE 11

591 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: UNMARRIED INDIVIDUALS

Living in Type	Number of Cases	Percentage
Patrilocal	8	4.0
Matrilocal	11	5.5
Fratrilocal	3	1.5
Parentilocal	179	89.0
Total	201	100.0

591 Residence Patterns for Unmarried People
593 Children usually reside with their parents wherever the parents live. Sponsorship has been defined here in terms of both parents and the household in which the parents reside. Parentilocal residence is represented by 89 per cent of a sample of 201 unmarried individuals, but other cases are due to a variety of reasons, most often to situations in which one of the parents is dead or separated from the other definitively. Matrilocal sponsorship is met in the cases when the unmarried person is living with the mother on her natal compound or with the mother and a stepfather. Patrilocal sponsorship corresponds to the following cases: one in which the father is the sponsor, living in a nuclear house with his second wife who is the child's stepmother; cases of

591 736 patrilocality at a young age, just as filialocality is the complementary form of female matrilocality. If we compare the percentages of distribution of both forms, we can observe that the complementarity is expressed in similar distributions.

	Per cent		Per cent
Patrilocal	72	Filiolocal	60
Matrilocal	23	Filialocal	20
Other	5	Other	20

This distribution of filiolocality occurs because the norm is to reside with the son to whom one has given the house, but also because in making a choice between relatives with whom to live, it is preferred to choose a male and not a female line. In some cases, consequently, it is preferred to live with a brother rather than with a daughter.

[586] [592] Children of divorced mothers become members of the household where the mother resides after the divorce. If the mother dies while she is still married to the children's father, the 587 children become members of the father's parents' household. When 591 a man remarries, he usually does not bring his children from [183] previous marriages to his wife. We have only one case of a child living with the father after the father's second marriage. The reasons for this anomalous case are individual ones. The child's father's mother is the only other relative alive, besides the father, and she resides in the same household. The fact that the paternal grandmother and not the father is the sponsor of the [601] child, is clear from the information attached to the case. The child, a girl, sleeps with the grandmother and calls her mother.

591 587 [601] [183] The stepmother refers to her as "my husband's child," and she did not count her, when giving census information, among the children of her household, but as a child living with "my husband's mother." Another characteristic that makes this case [848] anomalous is that this stepchild was born of an extra-marital relation between the father and another woman, while the father was already married to the stepmother.

593 591 587 [428] The rationale given by the people when asked the reasons why a father does not keep his children with him, is that "stepmothers are no good." It is possible that one of the main forces operating behind this arrangement is the possibility of conflict over inheritance rights of stepchildren. By assigning rights and duties towards stepchildren only to stepfathers, it is implied that a man marrying a woman with children takes not only a wife, but the economic and jural responsibilities of being a father, including the duty of making them his heirs. We do not have, at the moment, sufficient information to support this point, and it is only given here as a suggestion for future inquiry.

591 592 423 426 These alternative rules of residence explain the composition of the compound households made up of the remnants of two or more original nuclear families, except for the cases in which people are living in borrowed houses. In one of the two cases in our sample, a house was "borrowed" from a brother of the husband's father. The family living in this compound is a very large one, twelve members, with only two males who are of working age, and very poor by Aguacatenango standards. The male head is an orphan who lived before marriage with his mother's mother and

591 has not inherited land. The other family living in a borrowed
592 home is a young couple that married without their parents' ap-
423 proval. They eloped and established themselves on the edge of
426 town, in an empty old hut, whose owner does not demand payment.
"Borrowings" are temporary arrangements, and as a form of resi-
[583] dence, very unstable. Young couples who decide to elope leave
town to reside at Colonia del Puerto. We know of two cases which
followed this custom. But if they do not leave town, they try
to move to a house on the edge of town. From these two cases, we
can assume that borrowing is due to economic reasons (poverty of
a family who cannot afford to buy a house), or as a consequence
of deviant behavior (in the case we have, the husband was an
orphan and parental sponsorship by the wife's parents was denied
because they disapproved of the marriage).

361 The edge of town is a refuge area for people who in one
156 way or another "do not belong" to the community. Social deviants,
167 like the young couple mentioned above, tend to move to the town
boundaries. Recent migrants from other villages also live on the
edges. Two complete blocks on the southern boundary of town are
inhabited by a large extended patrilocal family which originated
from a Chamula Indian who was a peon on a nearby finca until the
agrarian revolution. After he became free, he migrated to the
village and married a local Indian woman.

125 The above discussion covers all the cases for which we
had sample data. We have, however, information on other cases
which could not be counted in the statistics because they were
part of life histories or concerned individuals who do not live in

125 the village any more. These cases seem to illustrate common alternatives, and we must mention them briefly.

591 593 183 We know of three cases in which a newly married couple moved to the husband's brother's compound. In those cases, the brother was an elder who jorally replaced the father, and it seems that he took the responsibility of paying the bride-price for his 591 603 183 brother's wife. We also had four cases of men who, at the time of their marriage, were living with the mother's mother. It seems that this was the result of the parents being dead, and the fact that no other relative was left in the original compound.

Amatenango Residence

Residence of Married Couples

591 183 In Amatenango, unlike Aguacatenango, there is no "indication of a single general form of residence pattern" which the villagers would verbalize as normative. "At any stage in the developmental cycle alternative choices in residence with the man's or the woman's relatives depends not on the lineal tie, but on economic factors" (Nash, 1960:41).

591 592 583 606 Married couples live with the parents of one of the spouses for a year or two after they marry. During these years, the young husband is expected to give some labor to the wife's father by working with him in his fields, helping him to carry wood to make the hearth in which women burn pottery, and by performing other small services. The couple live only temporarily with the parents. The stability of the compound households depends on several factors. If there are other marriageable children, offspring of

591 the head of the household, it is likely that the younger couple
592 will move to another house after the temporary service period. If a couple has a married daughter or son living in the house, they will not insist, when a second child marries, that the first couple remain in the unit. Apparently, the most efficient work group is a dyad, both for agricultural work and pottery making (see below). The last child whether male or female will stay in
[428] the home and inherit it after the parents' death. It is unlike
[184] Aguacatenango where the rule is that only a male child inherits the house.

591 The choice of which parents' household should be the residence of a new couple requires a separate decision for each particular case. The factors that determine the choice are (1) the economic condition of the parents of each spouse; (2) the presence or absence of other children in each spouse's family of orientation; and (3) the age of the couple.

[556] "A new couple will take up residence quarters with the parents who are economically better off, with more land and cattle" (Nash, J., 1960:45). The second factor is related to the fact that
[693] if a couple has married children living in the house who can help
[592] with the agricultural work and the making of pottery, they are not as anxious to keep their other children as members of the household labor force. The third factor is a personal, rather than a
[582] standard, choice, because if a bride is very young at the time of marriage, "her mother may prevail upon the couple to stay in her home until later, even if the boy is working with his father and is to inherit his homestead" (Nash, J., 1960:45).

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592 The distribution of couples living in compounds shows that the primary sponsorship by the parents of the man or the woman are perfectly balanced choices for the community as a whole, each one accounting for 50 per cent of the total number of cases. (See Table 13.)

TABLE 13

AMATENANGO RESIDENCE: UXORILOCALITY VERSUS VIRILOCALITY IN COMPOUND HOUSEHOLDS[a]

	Virilocal		Uxorilocal	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Only child living with parents, other siblings married and apart	20	18	18	16
Other immature children living with parents	20	18	15	13
Other married siblings living in the same *sitio*	7	6	9	8
Lives in own house in compound *sitio* with parents	10	8	15	13
Total	57	50	57	50

[a]After Nash, J., 1960.

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361 After a couple has moved out of the parental compound in which they were residing, sponsorship by the parents, measured by the degree of residential proximity to the progenitors of each spouse and by the pattern of house-inheritance, also shows a similar distribution, but there is a statistically significant difference between a woman's proximity to her family of orientation after marriage and a man's: 64 per cent of the men in the community live within a block's distance from their parents, while

423 593 The reasons for keeping a son are not as pressing as the [432] reasons for keeping a daughter. Amatenango land holdings are [184] somewhat smaller than Aguacatenango, and the buying and selling of agricultural parcels, as long as it does not involve outsiders to the village, is a common practice which accounts for approximately 16 per cent of land transactions. The

423 241 •592 464 limited land holding units in Amatenango require minimal cooperation in agriculture. Because of fractured land holdings, fewer than one-half of the households have two tablones . . . of land. Therefore, fewer than one-half the households can keep more than one man actively employed. Even in those households with from two to five tablones, a man and his adult son are sufficient labor for most activities except harvest. 592 323 434 868 Women's pottery production, however, requires frequent cooperation. Two tendencies are reinforcing the cooperation of women, especially of mothers and daughters: (1) with increasing need for cash income to buy products which are not longer produced in the home, or which have been introduced, money [582] [178] is constantly needed. Pottery offers an easy means of acquiring cash with almost immediate returns, and (2) marriages are currently contracted at a later age for girls than formerly. Before, about a generation ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve were the rule. Most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques begins at that age. Consequently, pottery was taught to the daughter by the mother-in-law if the girl was married and resided in the husband's house. (See Frans [114] Blom and Oliver LaFarge [1927] who commented that all pottery was taught by the mother-in-law.) Most marriages now are contracted for girls from 14 to 17 years of age. At this time they are already proficient potters, and accustomed to working with their mother. Therefore, there is a greater stress put on their remaining in or near their parental home after marriage (Nash, J., 1960:47).[1]

592 868 323 The people of Amatenango recognize that during the period in which a woman learns to make pottery, she establishes particular habits of cooperation and a strong solidarity bond with the woman from whom she learns and with whom she works. "Parents say that there is an advantage in early marriages, in that the girl would be more willing to learn the ways of her mother-in-law if she

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[161] [1]It is also important to notice that with the increase in population over the area, the market has increased.

592 868 323 takes up residence in her husband's house" (Nash, J., 1960:28) at an age in which she is not fully trained in pottery production. [592] At the same time, "mothers prefer to keep their daughters at home at least until the age of fourteen if there is no economic necessity in the family" (Nash, J., 1960:28).

592 434 433 323 Pottery production as a source of income is not equally important for all households. (1) Households with more children produce less pottery, because "child care compete with pottery making for a woman's time." (2) Households with more women produce more pottery because the different tasks of the woman: pottery making, child care, and house maintenance, can be best distributed among them during the day. (3) The motivation to work at pottery production is stronger in poorer households, "because alternative sources of income are less, and more of the family subsistence must come from pottery making." (4) Households with more men and land produce less pottery. First, land needs men to work it, and a single man cannot work much, or lay claim to government Ejido land of any considerable size. "In richer households (in terms of land and cattle) there is sufficient milpa raised that corn need not be bought, and the need for continuous cash income is not so pressing. This has also a circular effect: richer households tend to be able to keep more children alive; with more children to care for, women devote less time to pottery." "Conversely, poorer households depend upon pottery income, have fewer children, and less experience with prolonged periods of little or no pottery production" (Nash, M., 1961:188).

000 If the woman's work in pottery is a crucial factor in

591 If the woman's work in pottery is a crucial factor in
592 making residence choices, then poorer households, which depend
323 more on pottery sales as an important source of income, should
434 also show more emphasis on having the daughters stay at home
361 after marriage, and therefore, the incidence of uxorilocal residence and matrilocal proximity of women should be higher.

361 Within Amatenango "there are clusters of bilaterally re-
602 lated kin which form neighborhood groups. Two of these neighborhoods are spatially set apart from other houses of the barrio
361 and are named" (Nash, J., 1960:52). One of them, the neighbor-
591 hood of Santa Cruz, is composed of households which show greater
434 poverty in comparison with the rest of the village. As it was hypothesized, Santa Cruz also shows a greater incidence of matrilocal proximity. The correlation between lack of household wealth (which increases the importance of woman's pottery making) and residential proximity of a woman to her maternal home is statistically significant at the .001 level (see Table 16).

361 On the other hand, one should also expect the married men
591 to live further apart from their own parents because (1) those who
166 stay at home would reside and work with their wife's relatives,
434 and (2) it is said that some of the men of the neighborhood are
464 forced by their poverty to migrate to the lowlands seeking work in the ranches, and may stay there permanently. This hypotheses is confirmed; the correlation is significant at the .05 level of confidence (see Table 16).

361 The result of poverty in this neighborhood is that while
591 for the community as a whole 49 per cent of the women live in the
434 same neighborhood as their parents, in Santa Cruz 67 per cent of

[Text continued on p. 162]

361 591 434 the women do so, and while 63 per cent of the men in the village live in close patrilocal proximity, only 40 per cent of the men in Santa Cruz live near their parents (see Table 16).

Residence of Widows

-184 589 591 Another striking contrast between Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women, in the latter, as household heads, and their residence after they become widows.

562 589 434 [423] [768] First, because in many cases a woman owns the house in which she lives with her husband and children, she is not obliged to move out of the site if her husband dies, as she is in Aguacatenango. Second, she does not need an adult man in the household to be able to support herself and the children because she is able to meet the economic demands of the domestic groups from her own labor in pottery production. The result of women's economic independence is that many of them are the heads of their own households. Out of 280 households, 39 have female heads, and 25 do not contain any adult men (the others contain younger sons-in-law). This also means that all corn is bought; there is no income derived from agriculture, but only from pottery sales. In Aguacatenango, where all income derives directly or indirectly from agriculture, this situation is inconceivable: there are no households without men, nor households in which a female is the absolute head of the unit.

-592 562 434 184

The Marriage Transactions and the Household

583 584 In Aguacatenango, a man selects his future spouse and his father arranges the marriage for him. At the ceremonial visits

583 to reconcile themselves with the wife's parents by paying the agradecimiento (thankfulness payment), half of the established bride-pride. In those cases, it is considered that the full bride-price is not necessary "because the couple was already [591] living together." It follows that elopement cases are always patri-virilocal in residence.

592 In Amatenango, where women are important laborers, the 562 household considers them an economic asset. They will not marry 582 them off early except in case of extreme need, and they will use 434 their marriage to form economic alliances with households at other levels of wealth. If they are not interested in keeping her because there is another married child in the household but they do not have immediate economic need, they will wait and try to marry her into a richer household. If they are interested in keep- 591 ing her in the unit as a producer, they will marry her to a poorer 583 man and ask him to come and reside uxorilocally. When the residence choice at the time of the marriage is patri-virilocal, the bride-price is much higher than in Aguacatenango: 1,000 pesos rather than 300. Unfortunately, we do not know what the amount of the bride-price is, if it is anything at all, when residence after marriage is matri-uxorilocal.

582 The contrast between the marriage transactions in Aguaca- 191 tenango and Amatenango is not unique to these two villages, but seems to be a recurrent structural pattern when there are differences in the labor market for women. Tax (1953) reports a similar contrast for Guatemala. In Panajachel, where women's labor has a high value, "marriages tend to cross wealth lines, with a man of a

571 and outside the household by the bilateral group of kinsmen of each particular Ego and his or her spouse, which because of the residence pattern, live localized within a neighborhood.

602 592 562 In Aguacatenango, on the contrary, most important activities are carried on mainly by agnatically related kin. This, of course, does not mean that matri-kin or affinals are absolutely excluded. But in making decisions for giving or receiving help in work, for example, agnatic kin are preferred, especially for men, because women tend to collaborate mostly with the agnatic kin of their husbands. The reason for this is that activities for women are not determined in terms of the kinship lines, but in terms of household membership: they collaborate with the closest kin of the household in which they reside, and not their own closest kin. A household contributes labor and interacts more often with agnatically linked households than any other.

361 602 592 The reason for this difference in emphasis could be said to be a result of the fact that one collaborates more with the people who live the closest. After all, the neighborhood in Aguacatenango tends to be a cluster of agnatically related households. Nash felt that in Amatenango, "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relations are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130). We disagree with this statement. [114]

323 241 433 182 591 592 621 In Amatenango, pottery making and corn agriculture are the two principal productive enterprises which affect the organization of the domestic group, including the residence choices, so it is not strange that the neighborhood group (or residence clusters within the barrio), made up according to the criteria of selecting

323 241 433 182 591 592 621 producers for the particular domestic groups, seems to be the originator of bilateral increase in interaction, while it could be equally well said that the bilaterally settled neighborhood in Amatenango is a result of the selection of household personnel along both males' and females' kinsmen lines.

114 602 182 361 J. Nash (1960) interpreted the bilaterality of Amatenango as being a result of the residence pattern. Nash assumes that kinship and territoriality are two mutually exclusive principles of association, while in reality they are not so. On the one hand, if territoriality (or the spatial placement of the individual in the household) is determined by kinship alignments, both would tend to be symmetrical; on the other hand, even if they are not mutually inclusive (which in this case they are), both are emphasized simultaneously in the same set of choices, so that the principles of spatial proximity and kinship proximity, although independent variables, are concomitant in their effects. Moreover, Nash found out that activities which did not involve immediate reciprocity followed the kinship line exclusively without reference to territorial propinquity.

121 The danger of assuming that "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relationships are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130) becomes evident in a larger theoretical context. If residential propinquity tends to set up interaction along bilateral lines, the opposite, residential dispersion, would tend to emphasize interaction among unilineal relatives. Then, all lineally organized societies ought to be organized in exogamous settlements, or in a dispersed hamlet pattern, and all large concentrations of

121 population, such as an endogamous village, ought to be bilateral societies. This is obviously not so. Even if we assume that our statement is a reductio ad absurdum of Nash's point, there is evidence in the immediate vicinity of Amatenango that other villages, equally concentrated in population, with the same physical set-
114 ting, are not bilateral. J. Nash (1960) compared Amatenango and
361 Aguacatenango in a few paragraphs, and she felt that the evidence
602
592 supported her theory. However, the data available to her was
591 very unreliable. She quoted a preliminary report of Metzger written before the residence analysis of the community was carried to completion, which contained only impressionistic observations, and gave the impression that residence was neolocal and that agnatically related households were widely spread within the community, which we have shown in chapter vi not to be true.

602 Moreover, Aguacatenango not only has patri-virilocality,
613 but corporate patrilines. The name-groups in Aguacatenango form
592 localized agnatic descent groups (which we above called the
551 localized clusters of agnatically linked households). The people
621 belonging to a name-group are recognized as relatives or, in Tzeltal, "those who are my family on my father's side." Those individuals have one last name (Indian surname) in common with
174 Ego. Within the Spanish surname, some people are considered in
613 the descent group and some are considered aparte (separate),
551 but a man of the Spanish name Perez, would say that all those Perezetik who are not aparte belong to his family, and any Perez is "closer" to another Perez than to a man of another Spanish name. The reason for the segmentation of the Spanish name-group is lost in the past. When the lineage system was composed of

736 linearity. The widow is expected to give back to them the house
613 site and house in which they lived, and go to live in her own
423 parental home. In one case, a woman who had kept the house in trust for her sons, asked permission to sell the lot (which originally had been given to her dead husband) from a living male sibling of the deceased.

613 There are no ritual functions which have to be performed
592 by the patriline. Aguacatenango rituals are carried on by the
796 household, by the part-time ritual specialists (curanderos), or
794 by officially appointed town officers (the Mayordomos).

121 This type of "lineage" seems to fit Homan's definition of
613 "weak" lineage, because he considers the following characteristics as defining a weak lineage: (1) few (less than four) generations in depth; (2) narrow spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) locality limited to a few people; and (4) incest rules pulled towards the smaller local units and mainly restricted to the nuclear family. The characteristics of a strong lineage, in contrast, are: (1) many (more than four) generations in depth; (2) wide spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) maximal localization of residence and maximal sharing of activities within the lineage; and (4) incest rules pushed away from the local units, to embrace all relatives within a lineage (lecture in the Oriental Institute, April 22, 1959, unpublished). However, I prefer to call them patrilines to distinguish them from the more elaborate agnatic descent groups common in Africa, from which they are distinguished by (1) the lack of genealogical depth; (2) the absence of the use of genealogical

000 precisely stated. Today, with the total increase in land holdings,
423 the influence of the Ejido Commission (however minimal) and the
621 introduction of a money economy in which land is becoming more
592 and more of a commodity that can be bought and sold, in terms of
178 contract transactions, land tends to be thought of as individual
household property. There have been several cases in which
[593] brothers have bought land from each other, although they are the people from which a line member can expect to obtain land, or in the absence of it, the necessary help to clear and fence a new parcel in forested communal territory.

178 Other reasons for the constant breaking of linearity,
613 which reduced the patriline to a very shallow group, are inherent
593 in the system itself. First, the antagonism between brothers over
423 property rights tends to make the sibling group weak, and agnatic lines split in each generation.

593 Insofar as siblings occupy an equivalent position with
[592] respect to the elders in the household, their sentiments towards one another are easy and affectionate, but insofar as the elder sibling has jural authority over the younger ones, the relationship is marked by constraint, respect and a certain ambivalence.

Thus, siblings are expected to love each other, to give each other company, to help when necessary, and to share, in some aspects of their life, a common position with respect to the community at large, or what Homans calls the external system (1950: 90-94).

The equivalence of siblings, especially those of the same sex, is evident in many observations. A man whose brother is

593 578 538 The folk tales reflect, undoubtedly, the pattern of ultimogeniture and, perhaps, a switch from primogeniture to ultimogeniture. The meaning of the folk tales becomes obvious because of other elements which enter in the conflict.

428 592 593 If a younger son is married at the time of his father's death, he inherits his house, and replaces his father as head of the domestic group, following the norm of agnatic ultimogeniture. But if a younger son is single at the time of his father's death, his elder brother replaces the father and inherits from him. In this last case, it is his duty to provide for his younger brother's support, and at the time that he marries, split the paternal inheritance with him, giving the younger son his share of land, cattle or whatever was left for them.

183 428 592 593 [591] [583] The "rules of the game"[1] are, in the second case, not as explicit as in the normative pattern. Many alternative forms of behavior occur. In some cases, the elder son will move out of the paternal home when his younger brother marries and brings his wife to the homestead. In other cases, he will expect to be compensated for his brother's bride-price and for having supported him and his mother. He would probably reclaim part of the property, or force his younger brother to sell the house and share the money obtained with him.

In still other cases, he will even refuse to give the younger son his share, or move out of the compound.

593 578 It is obvious that not all men are alike in temperament

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[1]That is, the adjustment between authority rights and succession rights.

562 The inheritance rights of women are highly controversial.
428 All the cases of conflict over the inheritance or rights of usu-
578 fruct of land, that we know about, involved a woman in the line
[183] of transmission. But however controversial, they are an estab-
lished pattern. This is shown in the following cases.

Case 1

159 Delfina is about twenty-four years old, and still single.
592 She was raised by her godmother in San Cristóbal, and her aspira-
593 tions are to become a Ladina. She has consistently refused to
562 marry any Indian man, and lives with her parents in a large com-
554 pound. She is economically self-sufficient (perhaps the only
428 woman in the village which is in the same position), because she
434 works for the INI as a sewing teacher, and her status in the household is quite high due to the fact that she draws a large salary and that her parents are close to senility and dependent on her. Until recently, her married brother lived in the compound with his parents. He insisted that at his parents death he should inherit everything: land, house and animals. Delfina and his father were of the opposite opinion: the house should be for Delfina, since she was supporting them and, as she expressed it: "she did not get married." Faced with the brother's insistence about his traditional rights, the father ordered him out of the household, and he and his wife left town and went to live in
[626] Amatenango. Most villagers, however, think that Delfina is in the wrong. They say that she is alzada (prideful) and loose in her relations with Ladino men (the employees of the INI that come to the village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

159 Delfina is an unusual woman by village standards, and
156 the anthropologist quickly notices her deviant, from the rest of Aguacatenango women, personal characteristics: domineering, moody
562 and pretentious. But even in other cases, the rights of women to
428 inherit or transmit property are contested often, as the following
578 example will also show.

Case 2

159 Chilola has a son from a marriage previous to her present
428 one. This son is about twenty years old. He is working the land
562 with his stepfather, but wants to have his own milpa. When
578 Chilola's first husband died, they were very poor. Nobody claimed rights on her husband's milpa, so she held it, although her son was not old enough to cultivate it. She tried to sell it to pay for the burial, but nobody wanted to pay her price, so she kept
[592] it. At the time, her mother-in-law, an old woman, was living with
[606] her and being supported by Chilola, but "although she was already
[587] old, went out and looked for her man" (aunque estaba viejita se fué a buscar su hombre), and remarried. Because Chilola's son's milpa was fallow, the second husband of Chilola's mother-in-law took over its cultivation.

From the mother-in-law's late marriage, a daughter was born. This daughter married and her husband took over the milpa.

Now, Chilola's son wants to get his part of it because he is the direct heir of the father, who was the man who originally had the rights over the parcel. At the same time, the man who is

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 191]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

Household 24-7

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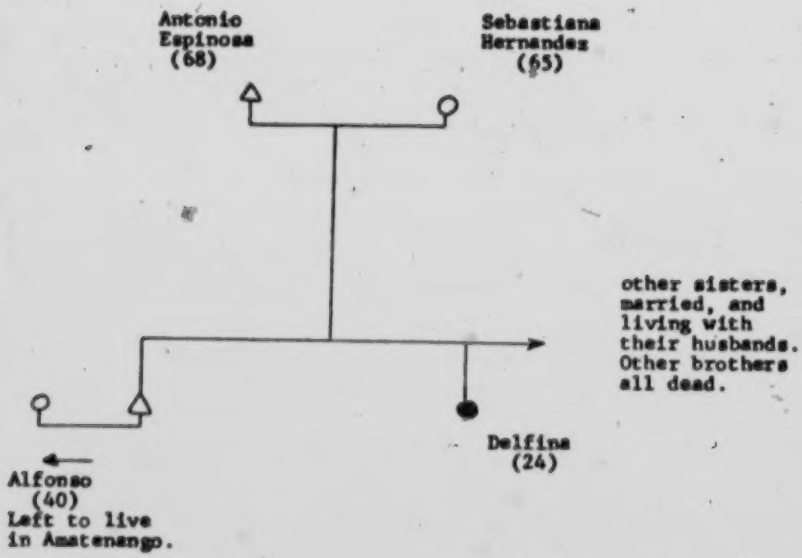

Fig. 15.--Genealogy of Delfina Espinosa

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178 lineage (which exists today in many other communities such as
754 Oxchuc), has disappeared. Without the basic belief in the super-
776
613 natural controlling powers of the lineage heads, the ritual activities performed by the lineage as a corporation became meaningless, and fell out of use.

592
613 Finally, from an economic point of view, the large patriline
434 household-compound, as a productive unit, is unfunctional, and the
421 characteristic form of the domestic group is now the nuclear house-
578 hold, which also contributes to the weakening of patriline strength. Within the nuclear household, it is difficult for its members to discriminate between the part of the household income that is derived from the household head in his capacity as a worker and that which is from his unmarried sons; between those profits which are derived from the household head as a capitalist who has provided tools and implements, and finally those which come from his capacity as "owner" of land. In a larger household, differences in labor in-put, rivalry between the women about the food controlled by themselves and belonging to their husbands, or between the men about the property rights of the produce derived from their common effort, tend to create conflict and disunity. In the
592
594 nuclear household, the division of labor is explicit, the role ex-
578 actly and minimally distributed, and conflict, in the case of its occurrence, is likely to be more quickly solved because the fission of the nuclear domestic group is equivalent to the disappearance of the household itself.

178
613 The functions before performed by the lineage are now
592 performed by the household, the community, or by the neighborhood
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group, composed in Amatenango of bilateral relatives, and in Aguacatenango, mainly of agnatic kinsmen, but also including some affinals and non-related people, because contiguous household-to-household localization is an ideal not always realized (we have discussed previously how in some few cases a son lives in a house given to him by his father, but one block distant from his father's own compound).

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The result of this complex set of variables is that the lineage has lost, in Aguacatenango, some of its characteristic functions. The Amatenango case, to extend the example, shows how, even when (1) patri-virilocality disappears (as a consequence of the women participating actively in the economy), and (2) the status of the sexes with regard to inheritance and rights over property becomes equal, the lineage disappears leaving only small traces of its previous presence: name groups without meaning or function.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

42 43 182 571 We can safely arrive at the conclusion that some aspects of the economic system play a very important part in the structuring of social relations in the Chiapas communities. The economic 184 241 323 434 factors which are indicated by the natives themselves and have been assessed by us as being crucial correlates of certain patterns of social behavior are:

(1) The unspecialized agricultural system of one village (Aguacatenango) versus the system of agriculture plus pottery production in the other makes the second one a "richer" town with less wealth fluctuation from year to year.

184 182 462 592 562 434 (2) The relative importance of women as bread-winners and producers in the traditional division of labor in one village (Amatenango), results in the fact that labor of women is crucial for the continuity of the domestic group, whereas in Aguacatenango, it is not. This does not mean that Aguacatenango women do not work. It just means that women's work in Aguacatenango, however exhausting, does not have a market in which it can be sold, and it cannot be transformed into subsistence goods or into money, i.e., it has an undeterminate marginal value. This gives the women in one village (Amatenango) economic independence and a higher status

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango .
Aguacatenango

184 vis-à-vis their husbands and male kinsmen, while in Aguacatenango,
182 it makes them economically dependent, and subordinates from a jural
462 point of view. In one case females inherit as men do, in the
592 other, inheritance follows a male line. In one case, they control
562 the same property as men do, in the other, they control only
434 marginal property.
[422]
[421]

(3) The relative importance of a man is labor versus a
184 woman's labor within the domestic unit affects residence. In
182 Aguacatenango, where all important productive activities are in
462 the hands of men, residence is patri-virilocal, and only males are
434 residence sponsors regularly. In Amatenango, where productive activities are in the hands of both males and females, residence is alternately matri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal, and both males and females can become residence sponsors. In Amatenango, households that depend more on the women's labor in pottery making are uxorilocal, while households in which the largest part of the domestic group income is derived from agriculture have post-marital patri-virilocal residence of their members.
591
[223]
[241]

184 In Aguacatenango, where all household income is derived
182 from agriculture and residence is patri-virilocal, matri-uxorilo-
434 cality occurs sporadically due to some other economic and non-
591 economic factors: (a) the inheritance of some land in the female
593 line when a daughter structurally replaces a son; (b) the coopera-
428 tive work between father-in-law-son-in-law when they replace the
562 position of father and son for each other; (c) the payment of
602 curing ceremonies and medicines for a sick married woman by her
606 own kin rather than her husband's.
75

184 solidarity is stronger than cross-generational solidarity), but
593
578 generational conflict tends to disrupt the collateral extension
591 of patriline growth, making every patriline segment a shallow
613 descent group containing few generations in depth, and only few collaterals.

184 (7) Territorial propinquity between households in each
361 village follows the social propinquity established in terms of eco-
592
476 nomic reciprocity and work interaction. Thus, in Amatenango residence for individuals, interaction between households and the settlement of a neighborhood follow a bilateral pattern, while in Aguacatenango the three follow the male and agnatic line. The type of economic organization, based on the domestic group, correlates with the type of domestic group formed thereof.

184 The domestic group in Aguacatenango, with an internal
59 economy based on the cooperative work of father and son and the
428
562 transmission of property in the male line, is a kinship unit built around a core of agnatically related males with patri-virilocal residence. Among the Aguacatecos, at least one son of the nuclear family remains in the parents' household after marriage. All other children marry and move out, the sons staying close to the father. In this way, the family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of agnatic order, which extends itself in space as a patrilocally localized agnatic line, and perpetuates itself, in time, through the principle of agnatic ultimogeniture.

The domestic group in Amatenango, with an internal economy based on the cooperative work of both a father and son, a mother

184 59 428 562 and daughter, and the transmission of property in a bilateral fashion, is a kinship unit of the utrolateral type (Goody, 1958: 26) with alternate patri-uxorilocal and patri-virilocal residence.

184 59 592 562 [428] Among the people of Amatenango, at least one child of the nuclear family stays at home after marriage, sons or daughter being equally good choices for the perpetuation of the domestic group. In this way, the Amatenango family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of bilateral order, which extends itself territorially in a bilateral fashion, and perpetuates itself through the principle of ultrolateral ultimogeniture..

184 182 591 592 The structuring of the domestic groups as corporate units of a clearly different order is intimately connected with the rules by which residence sponsors are chosen.

184 591 562 1. In Aguacatenango, male sponsors are always preferred over females, independently of the sex, age, or marital status of the individual, while in Amatenango, where women are economically capable of being residence sponsors, they are selected as such as often as males.

184 591 562 602 2. In Aguacatenango, consanguineal sponsors are preferred over affinals or self (neolocality), except for married women, while in Amatenango, married men prefer affinals as much as married women do, under certain conditions.

184 591 602 3. In both villages, residence with a kinsman is preferred to neolocality, usually a kinsman from whom certain economic rights can be claimed (land, house, etc.).

184 591 586 602 the father is preferred, while in Amatenango, both paternal and maternal relatives are equally good choices.

184 736 591 434 9. In Aguacatenango, where widows are incapable of supporting the economic demands of the household by themselves, they choose to reside with a male sponsor in another household, while in Amatenango, they can be self-sponsors and the heads of their own domestic groups.

184 621 582 591 10. In both villages, residence within one's barrio is preferred over residence in any other territorial division. In Amatenango, cross-barrio marriages are accompanied by matri-uxorilocal residence as well as patri-virilocal residence, which results in both men and women residing in a barrio other than their own (11 per cent and 16 per cent respectively). This results in Aguacatenango barrios being related only through the circulation of women between them, while in Amatenango, both men and women are transmitted between families across barrio lines, in both directions.

184 621 602 The structuring of economic and residential sponsorship produces two different types of neighborhoods in the two villages. [592] In Aguacatenango, the neighborhood tends to be a cluster of agnatically linked households, while in Amatenango, it is composed [613] of a set of kindred. The barrio in Aguacatenango, then, is a [562] territorial division containing neighborhoods which are localized agnatic groups, which I call localized patrilines, with few non-relatives and bilateral kinsmen enclaved throughout the blocks; a man does not separate from his territory or barrio, nor from his neighborhood, while a woman circulates within neighborhoods after 184 621 591 marriage and even within barrios. In Amatenango, both men and

184 621 591 women tend to stay within the neighborhood in which they are born, or, equally, cross territorial lines at marriage.

121 591 To be able to derive these simple rules of residence, we had to take into account some aspects of sponsorship which Fischer did not include in his typology. First, Fischer makes the error of assuming that people make residence choices mainly in terms of kinship, and within kinship, in terms of lineage and lineage sponsors.

We have shown that people make residence choices in terms of both kinship links and economic interdependence, and that among kinsmen, unilinearity is not necessarily the basic criterion for 121 choice. Although Fischer's typology can be very useful in analyzing 128 602 groups in which linearity is strong, such as Aguacatenango, it tends to obscure the analysis of more bilateral groups such as Amatenango.

128 602 To make up for this bias in the taxonomy, we had to add 591 three separate criteria for sponsorship: (1) the sex of the 562 sponsor, independently of his lineage affiliation; (2) the generation 561 571 of the sponsor; (3) the economic role of the sponsor, independently of his or her sex, and independently of his or her kinship connection with the person being sponsored.

184 591 592 At any given time, an individual in Aguacatenango or Amatenango resides in one and only one household, and derives his rights of membership in the unit through kinship or marriage, depending on the importance of his position as a laborer. While in Aguacatenango men derive their membership, as a rule, through descent and women after marriage only through affinality, in

184 Amatenango both men and women derive their rights to reside in
591
592 particular homesteads through both marriage or birth, as alternate choices.

592 The economic system in itself is not an independent vari-
591 able. Given its present shape, decisions about where to live,
571
181 changes in the composition of the domestic group at crucial points
602 in its development, and the strength of emotional ties between individuals are influenced by it. Most choices which concern the structuring of internal relations within the domestic unit are expressed by the cultural carriers as economic and kinship choices simultaneously, or in other words, as economic choices made within the framework offered by the kinship structure of the domestic unit.

Other factors, however, seem to perform no less important functions. Among these other factors, we have mentioned the following in separate parts of the previous text: (1) the position of the person within the kinship group which forms the core of the household; (2) the number of men and women residing in the unit; (3) the age of the household membership; (4) the temperament and attitudes of the household members with respect to each other; (5) the aspirations of the individual, in terms of the achievement of status, the insurance of positive affection and the need for psychological rewards; and (6) the laws of group interaction.

571 In order of intensity, the economic domain affects (1) the
592 individual's status within the family; (2) the membership and
621 organization of the domestic group, both in terms of residence choices and the distribution of authority within the unit; (3) the

571 592 621 developmental cycle of the domestic group; (4) the relations of households within a neighborhood and within the more inclusive kinship groups; (5) the relative strength of the patriline versus the bilateral group; (6) the functions of the larger territorial endogamous divisions or barrios; and (7) the total community.

184 Except for the importance of barrio land tenure in Aguacatenango, and general higher wealth of Amatenango as a whole, the system of production does not seem to affect the structuring of relationships at a level higher than the household and the particular type of rights and duties of members of the extended family of each village.

184 562 The position of women for the village at large is very similar in the two communities. Except for the fact that Amatenango women have the economic power and the legal right to take cases to the Ayuntamiento on their own, neither the women of Aguacatenango nor of Amatenango has rights to political officership, nor to roles outside the domestic domain, which, once more, confirms the anthropological truth that whatever the descent system, or the economic organization, jural authority is ultimately vested in the hands of the males of a society.

182 571 602 Economic factors are not the only factors affecting the interpersonal relations of the villagers. The economic structure is a given historical and cultural fact. Many choices of behavior, which are economic choices in their immediate context, are not so in terms of the long range view of the system. First, the kinship system seems to limit the range of economic alternatives for the individual, independently of the fact that choices

128 residence changes through time, in a developmental cycle which is
591 the result of the developmental cycle of the domestic group, both
[57] as a kinship unit and as economic centers of village life. (3) It
[602] tries to contribute to the study of residence by showing how a combined methodology, utilizing both Fischer's residence typology and Fortes' developmental cycle analysis, can render more fruitful descriptions than either of the two methods in isolation. (4) It
128 shows how a single institution, the household, is affected by the
592 multiple pressures of several alternate social domains, and how its functioning is adjusted and organized in reference to the multivariable social world.

128 I am aware that the study has suffered at times for lack of depth in the analysis of particular data. I have been unable to discuss carefully the implications of the functions of bride-price in the two communities, because I lack sufficiently objective data to support my ideas or disprove them. The same is true for a more careful analysis of the social dynamics of coalitions between siblings and between individuals living outside each domestic unit. Although June Nash's dissertation offers several complete
128 examples of sibling interaction, and Metzger's field notes have
114 invaluable information in certain kinship roles, I lacked the
127 equivalent materials from the two communities to make a more than superficial comparison.

000 I do not expect, however, this study to be the end of my inquiry into the subject. I propose to continue working in the same area of the world in the future (perhaps in the same

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

the new officials are publicly defined before overlapping sets of participants and observers. Within each setting, the multiple sets of relationships which determine the individual's selection for a role are indicated in Appendix 3. 621* [571] [602]

It has often been stated of Guatemalan and Mexican highland Maya communities that public office is an undertaking of the household. The precise dimensions of this support have yet to be defined in an activity context. Visitors and helpers in the household celebration provide one such context in which the parameters of the aid can be defined (Charts 2, 3, 4). Primary support is given by the official's wife, without whom he would not be serving in the hierarchy.[6] She serves him by waiting for him in the house, taking care of the money he might have to guard as a civil official, and watching him while he is drunk from the bouts in the townhall so that he will not harm himself by falling in the fire or be harmed by his enemies. His advisors and councilors in the household are the *nakawanehetik*.[9] These are men who have passed through some of the civil offices —at least those of *alferez* and first regidor—and who are somehow related to the new official.[7] A second group of supporters in the household serve as errand boys and assistants, the *balnialetik*. They are chosen from among brothers, brothers-in-law,[8] sons, *compadres* (ritual co-parents), godchildren, and neighbors. A third group are the *ikoltawanehetik*, the fe- 621* 592 [574] [593] [602]

[6] Innumerable instances attest to the significance of the wife in officeholding. For example, at the final ceremony in a betrothal, the boy is advised by his elders that now he will be called to serve the pueblo. Or, in the court case of a judge whose wife wished to leave him because he had beaten her, the other judges counseled her to wait until he had completed his term of office.

[9] The term *nakawanehetik* may be derived from the honorific prefix *nak*, found in other Maya languages (Lal'arge, 1947). Another possibility is that it may be the stem *na*, 'house,' plus *kawanehetik*, tentatively glossed as 'officials.' [193]

[7] In the case of the president (in the observed sequence) his father, who had passed through all the offices up to the first judge and had fulfilled his turns in the religious hierarchy as well, was the first *nakawanar*.

[8] The term *bal* is generic for brother-in-law, *nial* for father-in-law, but whether this formerly had significance in the selection of assistance I do not know. At present, brothers-in-law are chosen along with others, such as godchildren or neighbors. [601]

[P. 216-B]

male helpers who are usually wives of the *balnialetik*, or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors who come to congratulate the new official. Particularly conspicuous because of their Ladino or non-Indian clothing in the house of the president (Chart 6) were the visitors from the outlying rancherías and colonias of Tzoʔontahal.

Validation in the household setting takes place in two scenes. The first occurs on the eve of New Year. Each new official entertains in his house the men he has chosen as his *nakawanehetik* and as his *balnialetik*. Only those *balnialetik* who are immediately related come to this gathering. The *meʔil k'op*, 'woman speaker,' is present along with the wives of the *balnialetik* (Chart 2). The house is decorated with pine needles and juniper boughs in the afternoon. The visitors arrive with wood and pitchpine to light the house at about eight in the evening and stay until the liquor is finished. Drinking order is from elder to younger, which coincides with the prestige ranking. The *nakawanehetik* are served, then the *nit'anil*.

The second household gathering takes place on the morning of the New Year. Major settings for such gatherings are the house of the first judge and the house of the new president. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the three other regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house. They join the president at his house and then proceed to the townhall. The group of five police from *ahk'olnantik* meet separately in the house of the first police of that side, and those of *alannantik* meet in the house of their first police.

The assembled officials proceed to the townhall, announcing with rockets to the policemen that they have left. Gathered in the townhall, referred to in the formal address or *patʔot'an* as the *sik na*, 'cold house,'[9] are the 'old officials' *(k'a hu'eletik)* along with the alfereces and the principales. They enter two by two, the president and síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges, and the judges of the barrios and colonias. They kneel and 'measure their noses' *(sp'is snīʔik,)* as they enter, showing respect to the holy banners which the alfereces have delivered from the church.

[9] Bunzel (1952, p. 377) translates a formal speech in which the townhall of Chichicastenango is referred to as that "cold house, the icy house," but the Quiche word is not included. The pattern of double synonyms for nouns is present in these Quiche formal texts as in the Tzeltal.

[P 217-A]

as a team. Thus the junior *(nic'anil)* and senior *(tatil)* officials walk and sit in pairs. The senior officials order the junior. Just as in the case of the civil officials, some junior mayordomos may be younger than others who are in lower positions, because they have passed in the lower offices at an earlier age, but all senior mayordomos are older than their paired juniors.

Another important structural feature that became apparent in the behavioral schedules is the household base establishing the officeholders' position in both hierarchies. The new official learns his role obligations from the *nakawanchetik*, the group of elders

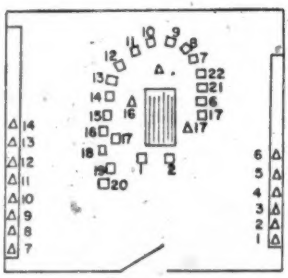

CHART 8 — INSIDE THE TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING THE OATH (OBSERVED)

Old officials are indicated by triangles, new officials by squares. Numbers refer to list on Chart 7. Three officials—the old secretary (17) and two new rural judges (21 and 22)—were not listed in the elicited session, Chart 7. Canes of office are on the table near the center of the room. Numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7.

who assemble in his house and who will assist him in his period in office. The ceremony in the house establishes this as a significant domain in public affairs. Relatives, neighbors, and compadres make up the interlocking network of supporters in the setting of the household. Both husband's and wife's relatives are symmetrically represented (Chart 3; see also J. Nash, 1964b, report on alferez assistants). Because of the expenses and the commitment of time during the period of office, the officials must have this backing to fulfill their obligations. A man with many compadres and godchildren has a firmer base to support his career in office. In the case of the new president, this was mentioned as an important asset by the president's brother. The guest list (Charts 3, 4) reveals the multiple references which establish the individual's role during any event.

[P. 220-A]

public in the procession around the plaza (App. 1, Q. 39). The mayordomos gather in the church specifically to view the new incumbents (App. 1, Q. 50). There is less public display of new officeholders in the case of the religious officials than in the case of civil officials.

The morphological description of the structure of a society is inadequate unless it includes role behavior as well as status positions. The behavioral data pro-

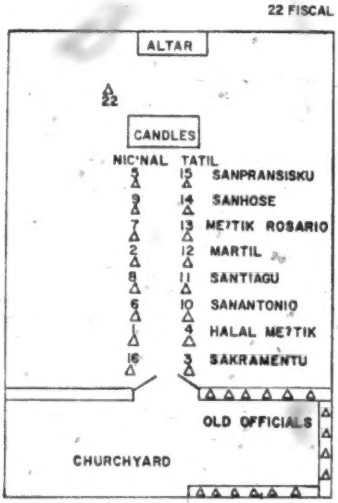

CHART 15 — NEW MAYORDOMOS INSIDE CHURCH, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

vide the basis for describing the physiology of a culture, or how actors and social groups interrelate in carrying out tasks. In the inaugurations, the household emerged in the behavioral descriptions as an important ritual domain supporting the civil and religious hierarchy. Similarly, the asymmetrical relation between the role of religious officials in the civil inauguration and that of civil officials in the religious

[P. 228-A)

/16 cont./

614 595 two women belonged to the same clan, and in the other two they were women from two different clans. The levirate and sororate 587 exist, but do not constitute a custom practiced /17/ by many; [704] formerly it must have been more frequent, as is proved by the fact of designating the stepfather and stepmother by the same terms used for the father's brother and mother's sister, respectively, 583 and the stepchildren as nephews and nieces. There are several 614 cases of marriage between brother and sister of one clan and sister and brother of another clan. Marriage between cross-cousins is 582 frequent, especially that of a man with the daughter of the mother's brother. Husband and wife always belong to the same generation.

591 Residence is patrilocal, with temporary matrilocal residence for a year after marriage.

593 There still prevails the custom that those who intercede in a 614 direct manner in the preparation of the cadaver and in the in- 764 humation must be members of a different clan. If a married woman who has not had children dies, she is buried with her relatives, without the intervention of her husband.

614 The members of one and the same clan co-operate among themselves and lend each other mutual aid; the younger people obey and respect their elders in the same way that a younger brother respects and obeys his older brother. And we have stressed [626] how "sorcery" is practiced only within the limits of the clan as a [754] means of social control.

Mexico City,
Mexico

101 Note: The materials for the present study were collected 114 during two seasons of field work: May-June, 1945, and June, 1946, 122 financed by the University of Chicago, Instituto Nacional de Antropología de México, and Government of the State of Chiapas.

3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.462-A] Teklum

682 674 656 long, and that the body was suspended 35 centimeters from the ground. He saw that we had raised the act well, and nothing was done.

Who Kills and Why

682 562 The only universal factor among the killers is sex—only men kill (Table 2). Women do not kill nor are they killed in Teklum. This does not mean that they are not subject to as many tensions or abuses as men, or that these have no channels for expression. Women work through men by agitating them to homicide. [593] Sometimes revenge is delayed, for the agents chosen by women may be children who must reach maturity before accomplishing the deed (see case 36, in which the son's animosity toward his father was kindled at his mother's deathbed).

682 683 621 Neighbors are a significant group in witchcraft killing. (Neighbors may be listed in Table 2 under another relationship, for instance as brother-in-law or as cattle owner.) They are the informal judges of suspected witches, and it is frequently they who kill a man considered to be a witch. When the curers accuse a man of causing epidemics, his neighbors are usually the executors. [608] For this reason, most people try to neutralize the hostility of

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P462-B]

682 their neighbors by establishing *compadrazgo*, or
683 godparental, relations with them.
621 Ten of the 37 homicides here reported were
608 committed by immediate consanguineal or
682 affinal relatives of the victim. The high fre-
593 quency of killings involving brothers or
607 brothers-in-law (8 cases) suggests a locus of
[602] high tension in these relationships. Male
[476] siblings, the *yermanotak*, comprise the closest cooperating group. Cooperation between brothers is obligatory when wheat is to be threshed, a house built, or a roof rethatched. If a brother or brother-in-law is unavoidably absent, he must pay a substitute. Brothers, or sons and fathers, are the only relationship pairs who work the milpa in common and share
[428] the harvest. Bilateral inheritance, with equal division of land and house to both male and female offspring, means that brothers-in-law are potentially equivalent in the competition for goods as well as in their obligation to cooperate. A man kills his sister's husband if the husband is abusive to the woman or to mem-
682 bers of the family (two cases). The brother
627 figures not only as a lethal opponent, but also
593 as the man who avenges one's own death (case 18, Table 1). When someone has been killed for witchcraft, his brothers are expected to accept the verdict or to avenge the killing.

[Text continues on p. 463-A]

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967

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[p.462-C]

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TABLE 2. SUSPECT, BY MOTIVE FOR HOMICIDE

	Brother	Brother-in-law	Son	Son-in-law	Neighbors	Relative of witchcraft killing	Curers	Cattle owners	Rivals for girl	Drunks	Not of community	??	Totals
[683] Victim was accused of witchcraft	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	—	—	—	—	8	18
Victim accused suspect of witchcraft	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
[585] Cattle theft	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	6
[578] Rivalry over girl	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	3
Abusive behavior	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
[579] Drunken quarrel	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
[627] Avenge a death (not caused by witchcraft)	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2
Political conflict	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
??	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Total	3	5	1	1	2	2	1	4	3	2	2	11	37

682 674 75 these suspicions and kill the witch. If he should kill the witch while the patient is still alive, it is believed that the patient will die.

682 685 674 [463] [697] Killing men for cattle theft (six cases) is a relatively recent occurrence. It has put homicide on the market: the associations of cattle-owners have hired killers in three of the six cases. In addition to the killer's fee, they pay the fine to release him from prison. Fines for homicide have increased in the past five years—from 1,000 to 3,000 pesos—but not sufficiently to price the murder of cattle thieves out of the market. A good bull is worth [435] 1,500 pesos, and the threat of further loss by theft seems to justify the expenditure of fees 685 and fines. When the cattle-owners lose some 787 of their herd, they go to spiritualists or to San 776 Miguel, the talking saint of Ixtapa, to find out who did the stealing. Since such evidence does not hold up in court, legal settlement is not 685 attempted. Legal action, moreover, would 694 create an enemy who might seek revenge. A Ladino secretary of the town center who had lost a bull accused a man of stealing his cattle and demanded 500 pesos in compensation. By receiving the money he jeopardized his safety, and eventually he had to leave town.

The Resolution of the Case

682 69 It is nearly impossible to find witnesses to homicide. Of these 37 cases, 28 resulted in no action being taken by the authorities, and in five cases where the killers went to jail, they were released with the payment of minimal fines. In the calculations of the townspeople, it is hardly worth risking one's neck to get such a minimal revenge.

682 593 626 [683] However, this does not mean that homicide goes unnoticed in the community. After a killing the widow sings of the life of the dead man. If she is in agreement with the verdict arrived at by the killer and others, she will deny knowledge of what he has done, or even suggest that she too was aware of what harm he has caused (one widow implied that her husband, killed as a witch, was responsible for the death of four of her six children). If she objects to the verdict, she sings of what a good man he was and how blameless. She will then air her own suspicions in the following weeks as to who killed her husband.

682 683 627 Following the funeral, when the women have left the cemetary, the men sit at the grave. As they measure out a liter of liquor and pass it around, they advance hypotheses as

423 In the most acculturated communities
592 (Aguacatenango and Amatenango) individ-
[184] ually held property is more general. The head of the house is the owner of the parcel and he can manage it as he pleases. Referring to Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1980, p. 11) states that:

> In general, land is "owned"—that is, controlled—by the household; as long as the son lives with the father, he may speak of "his land," but in fact he works the land with his father, planting what and when his father de-
> [428] cides. The son who lives apart is usually given a piece of land by his father, and he acquires new land which he, in turn, will pass on to his sons at his death or, if he chooses, before.

[613] At this level the lineage concept has dis-
[593] appeared, and the only recognized connection is the father-son relationship.

423 Irrigated lands ("tierras irrigables"), however, in Aguacatenango and in Amatenango contain parcels belonging to private owners and parcels used in common, which are administered or given by the local authorities to be cultivated. Metzger (*ibid.*) informs us that: "Recently, land has been bought on the edges of the town by each of the two barrios for the exclusive use of their members, while in the irrigable area the holdings of members of the two barrios are separate and watered by separate canals."

[175] Ejido lands exist in almost all the region, distributed according to the Programa Agrario de la Revolución Mexicana since 1914 but in some communities not put into practice until after 1930. These lands are administered by the "comite ejidal" of each municipio, which gives to any individual who needs land the permission to cultivate it. These lands cannot be sold or transferred in any way, because they are considered common property.

421 Family land as well as the house and its
586 equipment belong to the man. When a marriage is dissolved, the woman goes back to her parents without taking anything but

[P 212-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

out by a small group bearing a grudge, although in this case the 648
tribe as a whole stands more solidly back of the offenders.

The Bachajon exhibit internal dissension and strife to an un- 628
usual degree. There are many small, outlying sub-groups, some of which are more or less openly at war with the main body. In the description of Zona Sala oil camp (Chapter VIII) something has already been said of the settlement there of men driven away on account of the misbehaviour. They still call themselves Bachajon and maintain some slight intercourse with the tribe, although they are quite inimical in their attitude towards Indians passing through on the way to Palenque. There are other such settlements in different parts of the jungle, although these, having most recently split off, are the most hostile.

What group loyalty the Bachajon have centers around the de- 621
serted village that bears their name. It was described at the begin- 609
ning of this chapter. Founded under compulsion, deserted whenever possible, its church and Cabildo in ruins, none the less it is their focal point, jealously guarded from intrusion. These Indians have had the same experience as our own; the European comes first as a visitor, then a few settle for trade, then comes a host in their footsteps, until soon there is no place for the Indian, and he finds himself an intruder in his own home. Against this sequence of events, so common in our history, the Bachajon protect their land by an attitude of unremitting hostility. Travellers may pass through, but no trader may set up even a lean-to bower under which to display his wares, save during the few days of their main fiestas, although it would be a great convenience for them to have a store nearer than Ocosingo.

The destruction of the Spanish-built church and Cabildo, with 829
the substitution for them of native edifices, is curious. The feeling probably is that when they do congregate in their capital for a fiesta, they do not wish to be confronted by evidences of alien domination.

The strongest actual unit is that of the individual family, the 593
man, his wife, and children. Indians who are forced, for one reason 594
or another, to go into hiding in the jungle, will run great risks to return and fetch their wives and children. Even beyond this smallest 602
group there is a little feeling, a man's relatives by marriage or blood 627
often joining to support him in a feud, or to revenge a wrong done him. Similarly, the relatives of the individual who committed the [672]
wrong are held in some degree liable to punishment, although there is no formal rule of collective responsibility, the action taken depending largely on individual inclination.

273* 754 539 . . . When he's drunk he says, "you haven't paid your tax yet!" (This is interpreted by our informant as meaning that none of the listener's children has yet died and, further, that the speaker can guarantee that some of them will die.)

HAYUN HIC MA XC'AY TA YO*TANIK HAL KRISTYANETIK I.

And so the hearts of the people don't forget this.

XLIHK CAMEL TA TEHKLUM HA* YA XKUC STUKEL.

When the illness begins in the community they blame him.

... TA SKAHABI YA XLAH TA MILEL YUN SBOLIL.

Because of this they kill him for his foolishness.

MA* TOHUK XYAKUB.

He doesn't get drunk the way one ought to.

273* 518 Physical aggression against drinking companions usually has immediate physical consequences. One fight which occurred between two drunken young men in the cemetery at the fiesta of Todos Santos ended with a broken arm for one of them, and in another fight hospital care was needed for the victim. Sabino Hernandez, on waking up after a night of drinking, is puzzled to find his hand sprained, because, as he remembers,

[539] MAYU*NUK *AY MA*C'A LAH KUT H'A SOK, TONC YU*N TOH LAH KU*C' HAL HC'IN KA*AL I.

I didn't fight with anybody, I just drank my aguardiente the way one ought to.

273* 593 620 Drunken men who beat their wives can expect retaliation in kind only rarely, but a mistreated wife may complain of her husband's behavior to his elders, who will reprimand him and exact a promise to reform.

273* exact a promise to reform. Drunken abuse of a wife is specifi-
593 cally proscribed in the counsel given to a young couple during
the wedding ceremony:

[539] HA*T KEREM, K'UXUTA ME AWINAM, MA ME AWUT, MA ME AMAH.

You, boy, esteem your wife, don't scold her, don't strike her.

ME LA *AWUC' POX, TOH ME XAK'AN AWE*EL, TOH ME XAK'AN AMAZ.

When you drink aguardiente, ask for your supper as one ought to, ask for your pozole as one ought to.

273* One wife's attitude toward her husband's aggressiveness when
539 drunk is characteristic of the Aguacatenango woman's view:
593

YU*NEN YIC'O BOLUBEL TA SOL HAL *IX *UTWAN NONC I, WAH.

Maybe he's crazy, since he fights so much! Ha, ha, ha!

TONC YA HZE*LU Z'IN.

Afterward he just laughs.

*AY TYOS, HESUCRISTO, *ABONIK TE*K PERTON, MA*K HNA*, *E XCI Z'IN.

"God, Jesus Christ! Forgive me, I don't remember what I did," he says afterward.

*Y HAYUN HIC MA KAK' TA MUK' Z'IN.

And so I don't pay any attention afterward.

*IP ME KIC' E, KIC' *ABI, *E XCEBAL K'AHAL, *E MA*K HNA*, *E XCI.

Sometimes he hits me, he hits me then, and two days later he says, "I don't remember."

ATUKEL XANA ME KAWAK' PERTONE MA* KAWAK' PERTONE.

"Only you know if you will forgive me or not."

273* 539 *E HIC PERE XK'AXAWON AWU*UN, YA KUT.

593 "I will pardon you, but I am ashamed of you," I tell him.

*E *AYIL MA*K HPASIS HONC *A, SLOT.

"It's all right, I won't do it again," he lies.

YU*N MALAME K'OPOHAN STUK TEME YU*N T'UXAH E.

It's that he doesn't like to hear talking when he's lying down drunk.

YU*N HUN TA *ALAL YU*N C'A*BAL YANE XWAY.

He's just like a baby, he only sleeps if it's quiet.

YAN STUK TEME YAKAT WULWUNEL E, YU*N HWINIK LA KAHMULA HATE XK'OPOHON SOK E.

If I make any noise he says I am talking with my lover.

*E YU*NEN *AY CAWAH TA SOL WAH.

Maybe he's crazy.

TONC YU*N XKUXLEH STUK *ILI.

That's just the way he is.

273* 593 The willingness of the average wife to forgive drunken abuse is an illustration of the fact that, in general, the behavior of an individual when he is drunk is subject to special interpretation by others. A drunken man is generally assumed not to be responsible for his actions; his unsocial behavior is likely to be disregarded. Speaking of a man who is accused of having given his brother a fatal illness by witchcraft because they had fought over an inheritance, Mariano Juarez and Juana Espinoza agree that it is unusual for fighting to have this result.

273* that Mariano will keep this in mind in future transactions with
578 this man--if he believes that Aurelia is telling the truth.

While a man's behavior when he is drunk is usually disregarded in forming character judgments, there are circumstances in which drunken behavior is seen as ambiguous. It is believed, for example, that foreign matter can be put into aguardiente by a member of the drinking group so as to cause the illness or death of one of the other participants. Examples of illness attributed to "poisoned" aguardiente will be offered in the next chapter; here it is sufficient to cite the belief as an indication that "true" aggression may sometimes be expressed when men are drunk. Other aspects of the ambiguity of drunken behavior are suggested in the following text fragment:

273* F. KILIX TEK TE *AY TU*Y KUN Z'IN *EHK E, PUES HA* Z'IN
578 HBANKIL, *ORA *ILI, LA HKABETIK SLUM TE HKOHT SKAH HTEK"EN
539 BETIK SNA....
593

Once I had seen that we had accumulated a little wealth, we gave a piece of land to my brother, we gave him a horse, we built him a house. . . .

HO*N YA STI*ON Z'IN HAL BAY NA *IL KUMPRE.

He comes around and bothers me in my house now, compadre.

... HA*Z'IN BA* STA TRAWI, BA* STA POX I, HA*TE XLEHK MOUK TA SOL *A.

. . . That's the way it is when one finds aguardiente, it goes to his head.

YAXC'IN YAL YA*KBIL CAMEL *EHUK, BUENO, HO*N MA* ZAMUK YA KA*Y *EHK HO*N ABI KUMPRE.

273* He begins to talk about witchcraft and I don't care for
578 that at all, compadre.
539
593 HAL TRAWI, HA* MA HNA*TIK TUT XKALTIK SOK, MA HNA*TIK TUT HLOK'ESTIK SOK, TONC YUN *AY SLUWAR *AY MA* SLUWARUK XK'OPOHOTIK *A.

Because of the aguardiente, we don't know what we are saying, we don't know how to speak, sometimes it's correct and sometimes it's not possible what we are saying.

M. PERE HA* TE YUN HOEM TA HOLTIK YUN TRAWO *A E.

But this only happens when the aguardiente goes to his head.

F. HAIX KEMPRE, YUN HOEM TA HOLTIK MA HNA* TUT XKALTIK PERES TA SKAH TRAWO, SKAH POX *EHK *ABI.

That's right, compadre, it goes to our head and we don't know what we are saying, but it's because of the aguardiente.

MAYUNUK KUXLULUK KO*TANTIK E.

It doesn't happen when we are sober.

BA LA HTATIK HUN KERMANOTIK HUN HBANKILTIK, Z'AHAL BANKIL, Z'AHAL TAT, HA* XCI XK'OPOHOTIK Z'IN ABI, KONTENTO XK'OPOHOTIK SOK MAC'A KAMICOTIK E.

When we are sober, when we encounter some brothers or uncles we say, "Good day, uncle, good day, sir," we talk contentedly with our friends.

PERO ME *OC Z'IN C'UL TRAWO, *E HUN *ORA HNA*TIK HUN *ORA MA HNA*TIK HA*YUN *AWA*Y TUL HIC.

But when aguardiente comes in, part of the time we remember and part of the time we don't remember.

MA* ZAMUK TA *UC'EL *EHK C'UL TRAWO HUN *ORA E.

In a way, it's not good to drink aguardiente.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* 578 • 593 In this text fragment, Felix is describing to Mariano how his older brother is threatening him over a matter of inheritance. Felix reports that his brother comes to his house and threatens witchcraft upon the family unless the matter is resolved in his favor. Mariano, in his only appearance in the text excerpt, inquires rather sharply if this does not happen only when the brother is drunk. Felix answers in the affirmative and sketches in his feeling about the ambiguity of the situation: (1) one may threaten while drunk, but the hearer does not know whether what the drunken speaker is saying is, from the speaker's point of view, a statement which is true of his sober condition as well or only of his drunken condition; (2) the ambiguity is further reinforced if, when the speaker is sober, he is properly respectful of the listener, whom he has insulted or threatened while drunk; (3) from the point of view of the drinker himself, one knows that he sometimes remembers his performances and sometimes does not remember them. An unremembered performance has the character of communicating less reliably to the receiver than a remembered performance. The receiver must note, then, that any particular drunken performance may be a member of the unremembered class and hence not entirely useful as a basis for inference and action in relating to the person who is performing it. This characteristic of drunken communication causes Felix to evaluate drinking negatively. It leaves him in doubt as to

273* what his "true" relationship with his older brother is.
578
[593] While in principal the intent of a communication sent by a drunken individual under the circumstances noted is subject to modification by him when next he is sober, there occur instances in which the drunken performance is critical in the definition of character. Any expression of hostility (scolding, fighting, stealing) when sober may bring the drunken behavior into focus as an expression of the individual's "true" character. In the case of the young man who "talks pure witchcraft when he is drunk" (mentioned earlier), the decision to make him leave the house was based also on the fact that he quarreled with members of the household and his wife stole chickens, and the decision was later justified, as we have just seen, by the fact that he threatened witchcraft when sober.

It may be the case that hostility or aggressive performances while drinking may be classified into two types as may be seen by the responses to them of other community members. If the basis for hostility can be found in specific antecedent events, then angry words or blows between individuals who are drunk or between a drunk person and a sober person are subject to later apology before any final conclusion is drawn as to the
[754] character of the aggressor. If, on the other hand, no specific antecedent events are known to be the source of the hostility, and the drunken performer's anger seems to be directed at random

273* 578 our measures of it are crude, but will perhaps serve as a first approximation. A penalizing strategy, in contrast, remains "active" as a basis for post-conflict interaction between the parties. The pure type of conflict bound by penalty is in fact an infinite series of conflicts operating on the pre-conflict role relationships of the parties so as to transform them, in the extreme case, into a relationship which must be terminated if either is to survive as a "social person." Under some circumstances, a penalizing strategy may call forth a counter-strategy of restitutive nature which breaks the chain before it becomes necessary to terminate interaction.

Among the restitutive strategies used to reduce the effects of drunken behavior is apology or restitution for the jeopardy on which the drunken aggression is based. Felix Perez 273* 578 573 539 tells how he has tried to stop his brother from threatening him while drunk:

> PUES HA* Z'IN HBANKIL I *ORA *ILI LA HK'ABETIK HKOT SLUM ESTE HKOT SKA, HKA SLUM, HTEK'EN BETIK SNA....
>
> Well then, we gave my elder brother his piece of land, his horse, his land, we built him a house. . . .
>
> HA* XTI*WAN HIL Z'IN YUN Z'IN TE XTI*WAN KUMPRE.
>
> He kept on bothering me, he kept on bothering me then, compadre.
>
> LA HTATLANOK TA CAMEL YUNTIKILE *E.
>
> His children were taken ill.

273* Z'IN *EHK HO*NE SESNTA SINKWENTA SIEN PESO KA*BE TUTIL XCOP
578 YUNTIKIL I, PE MA SNA* Z'IN HA* LA STI*ON YA*TIK BA*YON *IL,
593 KUMPRE.
539

I gave him sixty, fifty, a hundred pesos to cure his children, but he doesn't recognize that, he goes on bothering me here, compadre.

HA* XTI*WAH YUN MA I.

He bothers me about the house. (Felix, the youngest son, remained with his father and has been promised the house as his inheritance. His elder brother complains that the house should be his.)

... LIHK BENUK XAN KO*TAN Z'IN *E TU*UN *E LAH HCON HKOT C'IN CITAM Z'IN *E TU*UN *E *A KUMPRE *ILI.

I began to think again, and so then I sold a little pig, compadre.

*ABA XAN SIEN PESO XKUT Z'IN HTATIK TA HNA E, LEK'AY *ABI XCI.

"Give him another hundred pesos," I said, and then my father said, "All right."

KA*BE Z'IN YA*BE Z'IN STUKEL YUN Z'IN TE LA HKA*BETIK XAN Z'IN *ABI.

I gave it to him, he gave it to him, then we gave him more.

MA*SK'AN XAN NAXTAK *ABI STI*ON XAN NAXTAK YUN HNA *ILI.

He still didn't like it, he still kept on bothering me about the house.

273* The failure of all these measures to stop the brother's
578
[593] drunken threats has led the father to consider building a new house for Felix and giving the family house to the elder brother.

Another strategy is reprimand or punishment, where the jeopardized party has authority over the drunken offender or, alternatively, where the jeopardized party can appeal to such

273* an authority. One example of a reprimand is found in the texts:
578
[539]

K'UXIX YU*N HA* MA*K STAIX *AWC*TAN HAL TRAWI, AKUT.

"It's hurting you now, the aguardiente doesn't agree with you," I told him.

*ILA *E HIC PE YU*N YA TO SK'AN HONA XCI, *A SKUT.

"Yes, but my heart still wants more," he said. "All right," I said.

LA LOK' XAN K'AEL.

Then he went out again.

BALOTA *UTEL YU*N TATA* I.

His father reprimanded him.

LOK' XAN K'AL Z'IN.

He went out again afterward.

While the reprimand administered here had no immediate effect on the son's behavior, it was probably repeated when he was sober and was surely a factor in his subsequent avoidance of drinking settings.

273* A father may reprimand a son. A wife, if she has a good
593 relationship with her father-in-law, can have her husband repri-
692
[606] manded by his father. When these measures fail (as in the case of a son who struck his father in response to a reprimand), or when the jeopardized party is not in a position of authority over the offender, resort to the community court is an alternative strategy by which a restitutive outcome may be obtained.

273* In cases of drunken fighting which results in injury, the
683

273* 695 dependent on a most careful and detailed examination of the conditions under which the conflict was originally generated as they are concerned in reaching a decision which fairly expresses the variable jeopardy that each party could reasonably be held accountable for vis-à-vis the other party. In the circumstances that any of the three parties to the conflict are drunk, the case will be postponed, or if it is not postponed it will be considered void, to be retried or else appealed to another court.

273* 695 684 593 There are a few kinds of circumstances in which drinking during the course of conflict settlement is seen to be appropriate though optional to the parties concerned. The type of case is best exemplified by circumstances where a daughter, say, is known by her family to have been promiscuous previous to the trial, and where they are being called by the daughter's husband or suitor to account for their daughter's behavior. In such circumstances the parents of the girl will appear at court. During the trial, each of them will publicly whip the girl. In such a case, where a male parent is certain of his daughter's misbehavior, he may drink aguardiente so as to reduce his feelings of shame at having the affairs of his daughter made public, and, as a result having to whip her. The mother does not drink [562] in these circumstances, the proscription on women drinking being so strong as to prevent her from indulging in this shame-reducing behavior.

273* concludes by observing that the after-effects of drinking are inevitably bad.

Thus while the drinking performances themselves are highly satisfying experiences, the consequences of drinking may be illness, economic loss, and possible death. Such consequences of any next drinking performance do not, however, appear to prevent that drinking performance from taking place; even though the consequences are the public knowledge of all the men in Aguacatenango.

273* 562 593 The woman's view of the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking sequences is long-suffering (but not necessarily uncomplaining). Women are constrained to complain relatively little as their husbands become ill or abusive and their household resources dwindle. The woman who berates or strikes or abandons her drunken husband is criticized, and desertion of a husband by a wife is never attributed either to his drinking per se nor to his drunken abuse.

273 539 In the following excerpts from text, a wife complains and her husband belittles or laughs off her concern time after time.

I. MA* LO*ILUK IX A X YAKUB HONC *A ATATAI, *E YES YA*TEL.

Your uncle gets drunk a lot, it's his occupation.

V. HE HE HE.

Ha, Ha, ha!

273* 571 these performances. Ceremonial drinking-informal drinking performances involve the careful pacing of drinking so that every member of the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking group is in an equivalent state of drunkenness (insofar as this can be controlled by controlling the distribution of aguardiente). When members of such a group relate to people who are outside it--who have not been drinking--the probability of hostility and [593] violence increases. Women are warned that their husbands, as a result of having participated in a ceremonial drinking performance, will be more "temperamental" in interaction; will be more likely to curse them and strike them for any minor irritation. Proper, relaxed, behavior is possible between individuals who are fellow ceremonial drinking or informal drinking members, or between individuals who are sober, but are more difficult to express between individuals one of whom is drunk and the other of whom is sober.

Ceremonial drinking-informal drinking performances result in side effects which participants would prefer not to accept as the basis for further inference and action. Blows or harsh words, that might be exchanged if these were used to define the quality of interpersonal relations, would exclude other possible transactions such as loaning money or goods, asking favors for curing, exchanging labor and so on. Under such circumstances in Aguacatenango, there is developed a "theory" of

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

423 was in a low gully where crops would not grow, and no one within the
432 community would buy it.
609
621

Land is frequently pawned by farmers as security on a loan. The title to
423 the land is left with the lender, who can foreclose on the debt if the inter-
426 est payments of five percent per month are not paid. Often the land pawned may be worth far more than the loan. Loans in town are rarely backed with security, and if something is pawned, it is usually clothing or household items.

178 With the growing significance of ejido lands and land sale, inheritance
423 of land is of less importance in the economic expectations of each succes-
428 sive generation. The rules controlling inheritance are theoretically simple:
593 equal inheritance for all children regardless of sex. The parents usually give some land when the child establishes a separate household; the remainder is then given at the death of the parent or when old age makes it impossible for the parent to work any more. The youngest child remaining at home works his father's land, or if he is living with his wife's family, his father-in-law's land, until the latter's death. His family inherits the house site as well as an equal share of the privately held lands. Complications arise because of modifications of the basic rule of equal inheritance by provisions for care and maintenance of the aged parents. Frequent dis-
[692] putes over inheritance are settled in local courts or passed on to the De-
[647] partment of Indian Affairs in San Cristóbal.

The selection of which crop to grow is related to the kind and amount
241 of land a farmer owns. The most important crops are corn, beans, and wheat. Some squash and sugarcane are grown in the lower ejido lands of San Caralampio. Cabbage is grown by one Indian who possesses fertile irrigated lands in the center. Most Indians, however, are unwilling to undertake the risk of raising a cash crop since there is greater chance of the crop being stolen and they cannot afford a bad market price when they harvest.

241 Relating the size of holding to the crop grown, according to figures in
423 the Mexican census of 1960[3] (Table 4) one can see that in privately
433

[659] 3. The census figures are based on estimates received from town officials, who submit them monthly to the census bureau. The officials of the town question the household heads as they see them in the streets or in their houses about how much seed they planted. They then estimate what the yield per almud for good and bad land is, from their own crops.

000 bly similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now. Just as a
323 man defines himself as an agriculturalist, a woman defines herself as a pot-
462 ter. Men complain if their wives do not produce pottery, and I know of
[593] two cases of separation on the grounds that the woman was not fulfilling
[586] one of her functions as housewife by helping the family budget with pot-
[461] tery production. Most women like to make pottery: it helps them to pass the day, and they say they would be bored without it. Some of the women who have gone with their husbands for extended stays in hot country have tried to make pottery out of clays available there, but because of its inferior quality, they have not had much success. Unlike women of neighboring towns, the women of Tzoʔontahal usually do not accompany their husbands to the fincas "because they have their work at home."

323 *Making pottery.* The women make a wide variety of household
178 and ceremonial objects, but the item which has the widest market distribution is the water storage jar (See Plate 7). They introduce new items in response to local needs, such as the funnel used in channeling liquor into large containers from the retort of the still. One vessel which is disappearing from production is the large ceremonial cooking pot. The only woman who knew how to do this (or who admitted to knowing, since it is unpaid work) died in the 60s, and no one has replaced her. One woman who had a reputation for eccentricity, introduced several elaborate vases and ashtrays. Her creative imagination was best exemplified in a combined ashtray and vase which featured four frogs poised on the lip of the tray, presumably drinking from a fountain. Reina (1962–1963) has pointed out
[171] that women of the Guatemalan community of Chinautla who wish to be
[156] accepted in the community must limit themselves to conventional forms, and the same restriction seems to apply in Tzoʔontahal.

317 The women of a household work as a group in collecting clay and in
592 firing pottery. Clay is free since it is found in the communally owned hills
[323] on the perimeter of the town. It is collected preferably during the rainy
[423] season when it is easier to gather from the open gorges in which it is found, but if the supply runs out, other trips are made. All of the women of the household go, sometimes with neighbors or relatives in groups of
[482] five or six. They collect large clay balls weighing from forty to fifty pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline.

(see plates following p.198..Analyst)

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perienced potter in the household, sometimes with the help of a trainee. 323
Older women prefer doing the lighter tasks, such as putting on the han- 461
dles and mouth or applying the slip of watered clay, to raising the sides which requires greater force and exertion of the back muscles. A second basis for the division of labor is the kind of item produced: older women for example, make bowls in preference to large water jugs and containers.

Learning to make pottery. A girl begins to make pottery about 323
the age of eleven. First she makes small replicas of the articles her mother 868
produces. Then, under her mother's direction, she learns to prepare the clay. The mother feels the clay with her fingers, telling her daughter to add more sand if this is lacking. She is taught to knead the clay three times. In making the pot, the most difficult phases are mixing the clay, forming the base, and rounding out the walls of the vessel as it is raised. The child is expected to learn slowly and is encouraged gently to improve each step. While the child works on her first pot, the mother makes a similar one; three or four times they exchange vessels, and the mother shapes her daughter's pot into a better form.

About two generations ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve 582
were the rule. Since most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques 178
begins at that age, pottery was taught to the bride by her mother-in-law if 323
she resided in her husband's house (Blom and La Farge 1927). Most mar- [606]
riages now are contracted for girls from fourteen to seventeen years of age.
By this time they are already proficient potters and accustomed to working [593]
with their mothers. Therefore there is greater stress on their remaining in [591]
or near the parental home after marriage.

The pottery is fired in the streets of the town outside the house, usually 323
after the women have made four or five dozen items. The pots are set on planks forming a rough square around the fire in the center. Charcoal is added to the fire as the brush or corn husks set between the pots begin to burn. The women tend the pots, turning them every five minutes until the surface is well dried and hardened. Wood is added to the fire, and then the jugs are stacked in a pyramid, each one protected from the one it touches with a broken piece of pottery. The stacking is crucial to permit even firing and must be done carefully so that none are broken. Once the

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tional economy and polity at a more rapid pace than has ever occurred in the past. Typical of this new movement is the recently established ejido of Brindis, formed by a core of landless Indians from the town working with acculturated Indians from Teopisca. Whether the political unity which has developed in the course of establishing their claim to the land will continue to provide a base for community development will depend on the encouragement and support by national institutions.

Within Indian communities of highland Chiapas, the ejido program has weakened age-authority principles in the family and in the civil hierarchy (Day n.d., Edel n.d.). Sons are no longer primarily dependent on their fathers for acquiring economic independence. Ejido Commission leaders have broken the monopoly of power by a gerontocracy of principales. Outside of the community, however, the political and economic potential of the ejido has not yet been fully realized. As the new ejidos such as Brindis develop, they may break the old community boundaries that contained and limited the power of the ejidatarios. With rising literacy, many Indians now read the *Codigo Agraria* sold in neighboring markets, and they are increasingly conscious of their rights. If unity across township boundaries could be achieved, the new ejidos might become an effective political force in regional and national spheres.

Wage Labor and Occupational Specialties

The agriculturalists of the community do work as both exchange and paid laborers in the following forms: reciprocal exchange, part time labor and part-time independent agricultural work, and forestry.[1] Wage work is considered only a supplement to independent self-employment for all but twenty agricultural employees who work full-time on a finca within the township.

Payments for agricultural labor within the community are lower than the prevailing rate outside of the town and are higher in the fincas of hot country than in the highlands. When men work on the fincas of landowners in the neighboring township, they prefer payment by the task (*tarea*) rather than by the day, since they can usually complete two tareas by

1. See Richard N. Adams (1964:48) for a discussion of the forms of rural labor.

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The me?iltatil is the core institution preserving cultural continuity in the community. The exercise of authority and social control depended on a system of checks and balances in which the ancestors watched over the community, the judges watched over the curers to see that they did not abuse their power, and the curers watched over their side of the dual division to see that no witches or evil spirits caused harm. The validation of power is based on the kinship model of age-authority. The recruitment and functions of each of the three manifestations of this ancestral authority will be discussed in the following chapters on life crisis rituals, curing, and civil government. 182 621 602 608 571

The Household and Family 592

The household unit is a crystallization at a given point in time of consanguineously and affinally related people within a wider kinship matrix. It is the most important structural unit providing for economic cooperation, socialization of the young, and care and sustenance of the aged. It provides the setting and the personnel for the transmission of traditional prayers and ritual procedures of the civil and religious hierarchy. The composition of the unit is constantly changing due to internal changes in the life cycles of its members as well as changes in the wider kinship matrix. The decisions made in response to these changes reveal both traditionally established adjustments to life crises and adaptations to social changes originating outside the family. The kinds of choices made in residence after marriage as well as in inheritance and succession to leadership in the household do not always conform to the cultural formulae for handling them. The exigencies of space, time, economic, and social considerations may outweigh the ideological considerations of what ought to be done.

The formula for the developmental cycle of the household is the following: when a man marries, he lives with his bride's family for one year, working in her father's fields. He then returns to his father's household to live and work with him until his father is too old to manage the work in the field. The father then gives equal shares of his land and animals to each of his children, both male and female. The youngest child, or the last one to get married, remains in the parental house, taking care of the aged 591 [425] 591 593

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591
593 parents. This role is institutionalized and the youngest child is referred to
[192] as *k'ol*, the last one.

591
593 The choice of residence after marriage is influenced by the following
182 factors:

1. The couple live with whatever family has less pressure from immature siblings remaining in the household. If there is no other child in one family, there is a strong likelihood that the new family will remain in that household.

591
182 2. If there is any wealth difference, the couple tends to live with the
434 richer family. "Wealthy" families prefer to have their children live near them and will make an effort to build a house within their compound or nearby.

592
178 TABLE 15. Trends in Household Composition, 1958–1964
591
162

	Alannantik		*Ahk'olnantik*		*Total*	
Family type	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*
Remained the same						
Nuclear	49	76	38	57	87	67
Virilocal	7	11	11	16	18	14
Uxorilocal	4	6	7	11	11	9
Joint sib	1	2	1	2	2	1
Grandparent-grandchild	1	2	2	3	3	2
Incomplete	2	3	7	11	9	7
Total	64	100	66	100	130	100
Percent of all families		44		34		39
New families created						
Nuclear	16	89	48	88	64	88
Uxorilocal	1	5.5	1	2	2	3
Incomplete	1	5.5	6	10	7	9
Total	18	100	55	100	73	100
Percent of all families		12		28		21
Families which changed *	64	44	74	38	138	40
Total number of families	146	100	195	100	341	100

* Direction of change indicated in Table 16.

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Behavior Defined in the Family

Socialization in the family provides the individual with the idiom for behaving in the wider community. The basic principles ordering behavior are respect and obedience toward those who are older, and care for those who are younger. Obedience, expressed by the verb *ɛ'un* which means both to believe (or to be gullible) and to obey, is instilled by cultivating a sense of fear and shame. Fear is communicated by the parent to the child by invoking evil spirits and by the threat or use of punishment, especially whipping with a leather strap. Shame is aroused by ridicule, jeering, and chastising. A good child is a quiet child; questioning is discouraged either by refusing to answer the child or by telling him to keep quiet. The negative aspect of good behavior is stressed. Significantly, the phrase "Behave yourself!" is translated into Spanish as "Don't do anything!" Good behavior is not rewarded either by praise or by gifts. The only public demonstration of affection toward children I have seen is by grandparents toward grandchildren: an elder might give his sweet roll at a ceremony to his grandchild and even fondle him. Parents show affection to youngsters under three years of age, although the last child may be coddled somewhat longer. Mothers and young children show intimacy and affection in delousing each other or combing each others' hair. Kissing is not a sign of intimacy but of formal respect in ceremonies.

Beliefs concerning conception show awareness of both the male and the female contribution to the fetus. The man's sperm (*snal*) enters the womb, *yoʔtan,* (also the word for heart) and mixes with the woman's flow, to bring about conception. The blood of a child is believed to come from its mother and the skin, bones, and brains from the father. During pregnancy, the father must have intercourse with his wife because his sperm nourishes the fetus. This continues right up to the birth of the child. Men too are believed to have wombs, and some men have trouble with "dropped wombs" caused by lifting heavy burdens.

The only people in attendance at the birth of a child are the women of the immediate household, the mother of the woman giving birth if she is not a part of the houshold, and the midwife. Children are kept out of the

The relationship of respect and obedience between parents and children 593
is expected to last throughout life. When a boy reaches the age of eight- 582
teen, his parents are expected to provide him with a wife. Wealthier fami- 434
lies tend to fulfill this obligation at an earlier age than do poorer families, 583
in which the boy may have to work in the fincas or in the sawmills to acquire the money for his own marriage.

Instruction in sexual behavior and reproduction is not characterized by 864
continuity, as is instruction about work tasks. Children are given no information about sex prior to marriage, and girls remain entirely innocent. They may be pregnant several months before they are aware of what is happening. The complete sexual segregation in work tasks and play during adolescence makes the relationship between sexes strained.

Even after marriage, the parents are concerned with maintaining their 593
child's marital situation, or, if they judge their child's spouse to be incorri- [586]
gible, to help him get rid of his partner. In the case of women, in particu- [736]
lar, parents continue to provide a refuge in case a daughter's husband should die, be sent to prison, or prove incompatible. Parents usually accompany their children if they are called into court, and failure to attend is tantamount to admitting the guilt of the child.

In successful marriages, the parents-in-law are equivalent to parents and 593
are called "mother" and "father." The parents of both spouses attend the 606
life crisis ceremonies of their children and grandchildren. Grandparents 603
provide support and care for grandchildren if their parents should die or remarry.

When parents reach the age of about sixty-five, they are no longer ex- 593
pected to work actively. A man will then distribute all of his land and ani- 888
mals among his children. He will expect to be taken care of by all of his
children, but special responsibility falls on the youngest who will inherit [428]
the house. Sometimes aged parents move from one of their children's [591]
houses to another, spending a few months or years with each. Children are [755]
expected to pay for any curing ceremonies necessary in their parents' old [764]
age and to provide a good funeral appropriate to their wealth. Failure to [626]
do this incurs loss of respect with the neighbors and collateral relatives of
the deceased. If the parents die after they have distributed their posses- 593
sions, the crisis following the death is minimal. At the funeral, mature 764
children of a deceased parent exhibit to the community their filial respect.

602 Kinship is one of several bases for recruiting reciprocal or cooperative
476 labor. Table 19 compares kinship with nonkinship-defined work groups
626 in terms of the kinds of exchanges, the type of work done, the time span permitted for reciprocity, and the sanctions against failure to reciprocate.

TABLE 19. Labor Exchanges of Kinship- and Nonkinship-Defined Groups

Conditions	*Within household*	*Beyond household, within community*	
		With kin (ritual, compadre, affinal and consanguineal)	*With nonkin*
Interchange	"Cooperation"—reciprocity based on implicit understandings	Reciprocity—explicit, defined by traditional expectations	Reciprocity—explicit, often defined by contract as well as tradition
Sanctions	Authority of elder member, male in men's work group, female in women's work group	Authority of elders of bilaterally-extended kin group; Recourse to cabildo if no strong elder	Informal—fear of gossip of neighbors; formal—reliance on local judges and president or recourse to district courts
Time Span	Extended, indefinite	Extended, usually some defined limit on repeated tasks (harvest); no limit for non-repeated tasks (house-building)	Immediate return expected, or explicitly stated time allowance
Kind of Task	Pottery-making, milpa agriculture, care of cattle, preparation of food	Ploughing, cultivating, harvesting, firing pottery, housebuilding	Same.

593 Fathers and sons, or sons-in-laws may work together on family-owned
476 property. Because all men can acquire ejido land after marriage, and since
423 47 percent of the households claim to have only this land, the cooperative
621 tie between fathers and sons is not based on inheritance. If they work well
[606] together, they may continue to cooperate after the son has become inde-
476 pendent. Father and sons, brothers and brothers-in-law are expected to
342 cooperate with each other in building a house, rethatching a roof, and
607 threshing wheat. In the case of house-building or maintenance, they must
593 pay for a substitute if they are unable to fulfill the obligation.
241

Compadres, or ritual kin, are the next most important pool from which 476
to draw assistance. The same restrictions on exchanges between actual kin 608
apply to those between ritual kin. The one task which is confined to broth- [342]
ers and not extended to compadres is that of house-building. [593]

Relationships between members of the household are defined by daily 592
work tasks, commensality, sharing a living space, and participation in the 601
same ceremonial events. The same rules which govern behavior in the 621
family are extended to the wider community. The extension of the terms elder brother and elder sister, father and mother, and younger sibling to all of the people in one's own side of the dual division implies a pattern of behavior similar to that of the family. The fundamental equation in so- 571
cial relations is age-respect-deference-prestige. 561

The bilaterally extended kinship group provides the pattern structuring 602
relations throughout the community. It is a framework allowing wide 476
choice in selecting individuals with whom ceremonial and work relations 561
are contracted. Relative age has superseded generation and descent as the principle governing relationships of authority and respect from the nuclear family to the hierarchy or community officials. These patterns will be traced in other institutions in following chapters.

852 608 571 788 The church ceremony is followed by another ceremony in the house of the child's parents. As the group returning from the church enters the house, they are greeted with the pat'o'tan by the maliwanehetik who are waiting for them in the house. As they enter, each of the returning party says, "You go forward, kumpare." They embrace all of the waiting party, an act which establishes their relationship as compadres with the entire company. When the padrinos leave, the grandparents and parents of the [273] child go to a spot before the eaves outside the house; there the father of [593] the child serves liquor to the padrinos and the grandparents of the child. [603] The drink is called "the finale as the compadres leave." The group must finish the entire liter "since it is a gift," and if there are only one or two grandparents, they may get fairly drunk. As the compadres leave, the grandpaernts say, "Over the soil, over the mud where you take your holy [778] godchild, your holy flower, your holy candle." The child, referred to metaphorically as holy flower, holy candle, is identified with the most sacred symbols of the culture.[2]

608 571 171 The emphasis on the group relationship in Tzo'ontahal contrasts with the form of compadrazgo found in the central plateau of Mexico where the dyadic tie between two compadres provides flexibility in achieving instrumental ends in political or economic life.[3] Some of the new leaders in economic enterprises are beginning to emphasize the dyadic contract in their compadrazgo relationships to achieve political support, but its greatest importance is still based on creating or reinforcing group solidarity.

796 177

Betrothal and Marriage

The Indians of Tzo'onthal are initiated into the community of the liv-
584 ing and depart from it with ceremonies deriving from the Spanish colonial
585 culture. The courtship and marriage ceremonies continue indigenous re-

[852] she later attended the household ceremony, she was never called kumare because of the
[571] omission of this act.
[608] 2. See Laughlin (1962) on the symbolism of the candle and flower in Zinacantan.
[171] 3. In regard to the occasions and the kind of respect relation established, compadrazgo in Tzo'ontahal is similar to the institution in other parts of Mexico (Foster 1963, Nader 1964, Wolf and Mintz 1950). The difference lies in the elaboration of the number of ties acquired through compadrazgo at each event.

The links between members of the me?iltatil of a couple united in marriage are reinforced if another marriage occurs between the two households. While this does not provide a basis for prescribed or preferred mating, those who have such exchanges say they prefer it because the negotiations in the ĉ'om proceed more amicably, especially in the earlier stage. 571 581 608

Solidarity of the group is reinforced when the me?iltatil are called upon to help settle conflicts that arise in the marriage. The household review of marital conflict requires a formal gathering of all the members of the betrothal party who represented both the husband and the wife. Parents of the couple state the evidence and recite the events which led up to the conflict. The husband or wife may interject, speaking in their own defense. The elders suggest how the person judged guilty (usually the man) ought to behave and what his reponsibilities are. A transcription of one such case is included in Appendix 1A. This concerns a couple who had separated two years after the marriage. The following statement of the padrino of the wedding ceremony, speaking in lieu of the leader of the ĉ'om who could not be present, shows the techniques they use to adjust relations: 593 578 608 571 621

Now he [the husband] wants to change for the better. You [speaking to the husband] ought not to drink. It is better to eat meat and vegetables and find corn and beans for your wife and child. Now we have arranged it, and you can take your wife and child to your house.

A successful outcome depends on all people in the dispute accepting the judgment of the elders. If this cannot be achieved, the abused partner seeks redress in the courts. Women are most frequently the plaintiffs. The plaintiff is supported by her parents who appear with her in court and help argue her case. The defendant may appear with his parents, if they support him, but very often they feel shame and do not. 593 578 608 571 692

In court cases, two judges hear the evidence and they, along with the president and other civil officials deliver the verdict. The quality of interpersonal relations does not differ much from that which one finds in the household review, as can be seen in comparing the court review included in Appendix 1B with the household review. In the former case, the woman's wrath had been aroused by her husband occasionally returning to his first wife, and by his failure to give her money for expenses. Since he

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593 worked in the sawmill, he was not as willing to hand over his wages to
578 his wife as is the farmer, who according to established custom gives the
608 proceeds from the sale of his crop to his wife. The judges advise the man
571 to stay sober, adding, "If you want a woman, you ought to support her.
692 You shouldn't fight." They entreat the wife to return to her husband's house "and make a fire there." They refuse to release the marriage license, and the woman's father reluctantly agrees. He has the last word, warning the husband: "The day after tomorrow, don't come back here with a couple more children and say, 'I don't want you; go back to your mother's house.' You are lucky to have a wife. If you don't have a wife, you go get drunk every day. But with a wife, life is good. She will give you coffee and corn to eat. Don't go on fighting whether drunk or sober. Both my compadres [referring to the judges] have advised you."

755 The curing ceremony as a means of adjusting interpersonal conflict is
608 discussed at greater length in the following chapter. Padrinos of baptism,
571 compadres, and other members of the patient's me'iltatil attend, both to
578 see that the curer is performing his duties properly and to lend spiritual
182 support. Like the household and court review of conflict, it permits the open airing of grievances and relies on the authority of elders. Drinking
[273] liquor is a means of restoring good feelings, either as a follow-up to the review of court cases or as a continuous measure of goodwill in curing.

182 The responsibility of the me'iltatil for repairing personal relationships
571 in the family underwrites the importance of this institution in the commu-
608 nity. In these institutionalized means of settling conflict the society recog-
578 nizes the inevitability of friction in intimate relations and draws upon the resources of personnel and techniques developed in the life crisis rituals.

182 The me'iltatil are the guardians of individuals. The security that they
156 provide depends upon the individual conforming to the group norms.
608 They are a personal-reference group maintaining customary ways of be-
571 having. I shall show in the following chapters how they are linked as the inner core to a system of guardianship provided by curers within each side of the dual division and by civil authorities at the community-wide level.

182 These are the agents who, by providing models of how the progenitors
608 behaved and by channeling responses to social change, maintain the sense
571 of equilibrium and the illusion of changelessness. The sense of continuity

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The sense of continuity
with the past is preserved in the ceremonials in which these officials act, but nonceremonial activities no longer reinforce the values symbolized in ritual. 182 608 571 796

Death and Burial

When a person dies, his soul is believed to go out from his tongue. The family is responsible for finding a resting place which will be satisfactory to the soul. If the dead person has died of a "good" (not caused by witchcraft) illness, the soul lingers for eight days and then goes to heaven. If the dead person has been killed, his soul stays in the village for "a month or twenty days." The reason given for this is that "the gods did not choose the hour of death, and the soul doesn't know where to go." During this waiting period the dead person "finishes his heart," or ends his emotional ties with friends and relatives. 763 764 775 [593].

Following the death, a sister of the parents of a child or some other adult woman washes the body and puts a wrap over it. The body is always laid out with the feet toward the door; the eyes are shut, and the jaw is wrapped with a kerchief to hold the mouth closed. Two candles are placed at the head and two at the feet. Flowers and a bowl to collect offerings of 2 pesos from each visitor are placed at the head of the body. The contribution given at the burial assures the giver of a hearing with Christ: 764 764 431

Everyone gives a contribution of 50 cents or a peso. Each one considers how much he can give and gives it. God listens to and speaks to those who give gifts. Those who give a candle or a little contribution of corn or flowers give an account of the dead man's life. If he had no crime on his conscience or only one crime, whoever killed him by violence or by witchcraft bears the guilt. Christ listens to the account of those who have given good contributions. Thus the help is given so that Christ will see that he did a favor to one who is poor and who has nothing to bury himself, not corn, or money, or anything to sell, not land, or cattle, or wheat. Therefore everyone who is a relative or a compadre or a neighbor brings one-fourth [bottle of liquor], a half measure of brown sugar, fifteen or twenty corncobs and one or two candles. And all men who arrive at the grave and

761 might be. The father or closest male kin of the dead person is careful to
627 recount all the consultations he has had with curers, both to absolve him-
753 self of the guilt of neglect or unconscious witchcraft and to search for the true culprit.

764 A proper burial with holy water, flowers, grave offerings, and prayers as-
775 sures the survivors that the soul of the deceased will rest and his bones will lie in peace. Lacking any of these features, the dead will disturb the living, as is recounted below:

During the revolution, many were buried without a funeral or without blessed water. On Thursday, the bones burn and cry. You can still see a blue flame rising above the old graveyard on Thursday. You can find money that the ancestors left there, but you have to go at night to dig it up.

An important safeguard to ensure that the soul will lie in peace is burial among people with whom the deceased lived. When a married adult dies,
[593] he is buried with his dead spouse. If he had two dead spouses, he is buried with the first spouse on the right hand and the second on the left. A child
[603] is buried with the grandparents of the household in which he lived—that is, if he lived with his mother's parents he is buried with them, and if with the father's parents, then with them. When people know that they
[763] are going to die, they express their preference as to where they wish to be
[593] buried. Usually they will elect to be buried between their dead parents, but
[608] if they were unhappy with their parents, they might choose a padrino or
[604] uncle. If dissatisfied in its resting place, a soul, even when properly buried, cannot find peace and wanders back to the house. Fearing this, relatives try to comply with the wishes of the dead.

My grandfather used to say that he wanted to be buried between his mother and father. But when he was about to die, he said, "I don't want to be buried there because my father beat me. He will continue beating my soul. I want to go on the side [*of the cemetery*]. *Please don't bury me near my parents." My father said, "All right, we will put you on the side."*

764 The funeral must meet the expectations of the community as well as
554 those of the deceased and his relatives. The mature children of a man who
626
593

dies are expected to give a funeral appropriate to his station in life and his wealth, as is expressed in the following account:

When my father got sick, he told his wife not to put him in a black box. He had heard a story that when the dead man is in a black box, his spirit cannot see. He wanted to be in a white box. He told this to his brother. But his brother wanted to get a black box. He bought one black box for three hundred pesos when my father died, because it is the custom of the pueblo to bury adults in a black box. The people would talk if we did not buy a good box because they knew he had animals. We spent six hundred pesos for the funeral. We presented the body in church for a mass. We had a singing mass for thirty pesos, and the box cost three hundred pesos. We had a common meal of beef in the house, and we spent two hundred and sixteen pesos for three garrafones of liquor. Each of his sons contributed sixty pesos for that. If we hadn't given him a good funeral, people would have said, "His children are very lax not to buy a good box to bury their father."

The padre says that all bodies should be presented in the church. He says if you don't have money, you don't have to pay for the mass. But we are ashamed if we don't pay because he does work for us. He charged only twenty-five pesos because he said my father worked hard for the town. We took a collection from all the people who were there, and it amounted to one hundred and thirty pesos. We paid the padre for the mass and gave a contribution. All the people in whose houses he had passed when he was alive came to see him. They said, "Ah, his children gave a very nice box for their father."

If all of the family is poor, no one talks if the funeral is not a good one. But if there is anything that can be sold, it will have to be to make a good funeral. When my father died, he had eighteen horses. We had to sell one, and each of the children gave one hundred pesos.

Some say the souls play the harp and drink liquor when they arrive in heaven. On All Soul's Day they visit the village where they had lived and where they are known. For each member of the household who had died, a specific portion of food is laid out. Special likes are catered to: a bottle of liquor will be set on the table for a deceased father, soda pop for children

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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they will go to the church wedding. The parents of the couple embrace the godparents. They go dance in the house.

The paranoic fantasies of this young curer, a man in his early thirties, characterize the world of fears, both real and demonic, which the curers sometimes manipulate and by which they are sometimes victimized. The young curers in their thirties and forties tend to have more domestic disputes than most men in town. Emilio, a man in his forties who has been trying to assert his stature as leading curer of Alannantik since his predecessor was killed for witchcraft, was deserted by his wife. She fled to a neighbor's house. In a drunken rage, he tried to burn it to the ground. When his attempt failed, he threatened to bring "heat" from the Cave of the Star to cause an epidemic after which, he said, he would "eat the souls of the children by the dozen." In the line of duty, curers are often required to get drunk, and drunkenness loosens the cautions which control behavior. Gloating in the power of their swayoheles, there seems to be no limit to the threats or acts they commit. While drinking has probably always been part of curing ceremonies, the behavior noted in the cases described seems to be a response to the growing insecurity on the part of the curers about their status.

The curer reveals in his speech and acts the motivation of power. In Tzo?ontahal, power means freedom from one's own fears as well as from the human and supernatural sanctions imposed on those who ignore the norms governing behavior. The proof of his power lies in the ability to inspire fear in others. For this reason, the curer brags of the evil deeds he has committed or is capable of doing, even though this may bring about his own destruction.

Curing Behavior

In their role as "doctors" for the individual patient, curers are referred to as *?u?ul* and are addressed with the honorific title *tatin*. Despite the declining belief in their guardianship function, there has been a retention of belief in their power to overcome witchcraft. Only the curer, because he possesses a swayohel, can deal with illness caused by witchcraft. Even if

755 753 593 182 578 Sometimes a colicky baby may become the focus of a curing ceremony designed to "cure" the conflict between husband and wife. In one case, the parents of a healthy young wife separated from her husband staged a curing ceremony to dramatize her marital plight to the in-laws.

178 756 608 754 [627] The breakdown of the curing hierarchy and the recruitment procedures which were maintained by the elder leaders (see Chapter 10) has led to a reevaluation of the role of the curers in the community. They have lost their position as me'iltatil representing the ancestors who guard over the community. Curers are increasingly being accused of sorcery, and over ten of them have been killed in the past decade as witches (Nash, J. 1967). Paradoxically, it is the belief in their evil power which leads to their persisting role in the society. Clients feel that the more evil the curer is, the more able he is to combat evil. In a community dominated by belief in witchcraft, they are both feared and valued for their ability to control it. From a position as arbiters of morality, they have become the chief targets as deviants from the moral code. Despite the loss of confidence in curers as guardians, they are still called upon to fight the evil of witchcraft, and nearly every day a ritual is performed. The regimen of the curing ritual has not been upset by the undermining of the curers' position. Tied to a diagnostic system emphasizing the state of the patient's social relations, the same procedures are carried out even when modern medicines are used. [755] [278]

753 156 In curing practices, the Indian sees himself as the key figure in the drama of his own self-victimization. His illnesses come from within his own world, usually from within his family or close neighborhood. They are a mark of guilt for having excited the envy or hatred of associates. While the Indian is often portrayed in the role of passive victim to outside domination, in his own self-projection he sees himself dominated by powers within the community. Greater participation and equality in the wider society may in the future release him from these fear-provoking figures in his own environment.

159
212 *We shall go with your child, your offspring to pass the holy day, the holy*
621 *year. Thank you, thanks to your heart that you permit your child, your offspring to go. Now we go to receive the holy post with all the elders. The spirit of your child, your offspring shall learn."*

When the fourth regidor finished the pat?o?tan, my mother spoke: "Thank you, Take care of him. I do not want him to return to me drunk. He hasn't yet learned to drink."

I went out with two of the regidores on my right side and the other two on the left. When we arrived, the first judge spoke to us in the pat?o?tan: "You have brought before us our writer. It is well that you arrived with him. Enter and sit down."

I sat down in the middle of the regidores. When we sat down, the first judge and the president began to speak. All were gathered in the town hall. [Ceferino then listed all the civil officials by name, a feat of memory which I shall not repeat here.]

[273] *We sat down and they brought in two liters of trago. They began the pat?o?tan, and after the pat?o?tan the third regidor came to measure the trago. He gave the first measure to the president, the second to the first judge, the third to the second judge, the fourth to me, the writer. And I was not accustomed much to drink liquor. I took the trago and I drank it. It was killing me. It came out my nose. The judges and regidores saw my suffering when it came out my nose. They patted my back, and with some difficulty the trago went down. Thus with suffering and with trouble, I learned to drink trago. But then I got drunk. I felt drunk, and I told the judge and regidores that I was going to die. The first judge ordered the regidor to go with me to my house.*

He said, "Go leave him in his house because his mother said that I should return him to his house. See that you hand over her poor son to his mother."

[593] *Since I did not have a wife—I was a bachelor—they gave me to my mother. My mother said, "Thank you." They ordered my mother to send me the next day because we had to see how another day passed.*

When I left in 1925, I didn't return to the town hall until 1936 when the pueblo asked me to stay as president.

made in speaking of toddlers: boys are called *htatil* and girls *kantzil*. After five years of age, a boy is referred to as *č'in kerem*, "little boy" and a girl as *č'in ʔačiš*, "little girl." The term for younger sibling, *kihtz'in*, which is extended to all of the people younger than oneself on one's own side of the dual division, is not sex marked, but the terms for all people older than oneself are. Sexual segregation begins at the age of five in sleeping arrangements as well as in public gatherings, when little boys stand with their fathers. The modifier "č'in" is dropped after the age of nine, and the terms "kerem" and "ačiš" are used until marriage. At the age of fifteen, a girl is referred to as *ʔantz wištal*, "just arriving at womanhood," and when she is married she is classified as an *ʔantz*, or woman. A boy is referred to as a kerem until he is married, when he is called *ač' winik* or "new man." A woman with children is referred to as *meʔeliš*, and is a full-fledged member of her sex, the *meʔil*. A man's reference term does not change with paternity. When a young unmarried man dies, people say with sorrow that it was a pity "he did not try out life," and that "he did not try out a woman."

In her youth a woman's role is tied to the reproductive cycle, but after menopause she is released from the restrictions of childbearing women. She need not appear as modest in public, and can drink and dance at fiestas. A noticeable personality change can be seen as women move out of the chrysalis of their reproductive cycle. Some older women begin to take a keen interest in sex, and widows in particular may have sexual relations with young unmarried men. It is after menopause that a woman takes her first role in ceremonials as a woman speaker.

In the man's life cycle, leadership roles are related to age. Paternal roles are the prototype for both familial and public authority positions. Thus the term for father, *tat* is the stem for the term for leader, *statal*.

In the relationship between the sexes, women are considered to be under the control of a male protector, either their father or husband. However, there is a kind of equality between the sexes which is not found in Ladino society. Usually there is only a small age difference between husband and wife, even in second marriages, and parents resist giving a young unmarried girl to an older previously married man. Mutual respect is stressed in the advice given by elders at marriage. There is no double standard for ex-

There is no double standard for extramarital sexual relations, although men abuse the prohibition more often than women, judging from court cases. The ability the women has to assert herself rests on her economic contribution in pottery-making and on the fact that female household help is not part of the labor market.

Female sexuality has the connotation of negative power over male sexuality. A woman should not step over a man's feet or his clothing since she could affect his virility. This negative power emanates from the odors of a woman's body, and is captured by anything in contact with it. A woman's skirt cast over the head of a bull can tame him, and the water used by a woman to wash her body, particularly the vagina if she has had children, is drunk to cure snake bites because it is very "cold."

Sexuality is seldom extended beyond persons to material objects. There is some feeling that a man's tools, especially the machete and hoe, are male and that a woman's tools, especially the grinding stone, are female. Corn is a crop of men, while beans are a woman's crop, identified with the Virgin. But I could not get much farther with such distinctions.

The accidents of birth determine the recruitment of successive generations into the family of orientation. There is no outright adoption, but a child may be "lent" to a childless couple, usually by a sibling of one of the spouses, or a grandchild may take up residence in the house of a grandparent when all the children have moved to separate residences. Parents discipline a badly behaved child with the threat, "I am going to sell you to care for someone's house," but I have never known of a case of outright sale of a child.

The selection of a spouse is a decision based on both universalistic as well as particularistic considerations. Both the boy and the girl should be hardworking, sober, and dutiful residents of the same section of the dual division. It is considered to be of greater importance that the boy feel affection toward the girl than vice versa. The "taking of the heart" is a test of the strength and exclusiveness of the boy's interest in his chosen mate, and there is no counterpart for the girl. Although there is no term for romantic love, the closest approximation being "want" or "ask for" a woman, there is an awareness of the importance of a warm, affectionate basis if a marriage relationship is to last "at least until the day after tomorrow." A suitor is accepted if he is known to be a hard worker and if he

does not drink or have a record of fighting. Character traits are given 581
more significance than wealth, since the minimal differences which distin- 582
guish rich from poor can be lost within a few months if a man drinks
heavily or does not work. The close identification among siblings means [593]
that in accepting a suit the girl's parents will take into consideration not only the boy's reputation, but those of his brothers. If they are considered to be disobedient, lazy, or frequently drunk, their brother may have difficulty finding a woman.

Positions of ceremonial importance in the household celebrations are 794
filled by any of the elders who have acquired knowledge of the prayers. 592
The nakawanehetik are chosen from among any of the bilaterally-ex- 782
tended relatives, compadres, or padrinos who have served five times in reli- 555
gious office. They are selected not only on the basis of how well they 561
know the prayers, but also on their behavior when required to drink. A [273]
man who can hold his liquor and still speak well or who quietly goes to sleep rather than fighting when drunk is preferred. The me?il k'op is selected from among the female complements of these male relatives. She acquires her knowledge of the prayers in familial settings. The b'alnialetik are chosen from the kihtz'inal (younger siblings and cousins), or from among compadres or members of neighboring households. The rank order between the two sets of roles—the nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik—depends on relative age; thus the older nakawanehetik have greater authority.

Familial roles provide both a pattern and a springboard for other roles 621
in the community. The father-son role pair is extended to the relationships 593
between senior and junior officials in both the religious hierarchy and the 561
curing hierarchy. For each saint, the elder mayordomo is called "father" 794
(*Tatil Martoma*), and the younger is called "son" (*Nic'nal Martoma*). A 192
man must fill the junior post at least two times before taking on the senior post. For each side of the dual division, the elder curer (when there was a [756]
recognized leader) was called "father" (*Tatil ?u?ul*), and the younger was called "son" (*Nic'nal ?u?ul*) or sometimes "youth" (*Biktal ?u?ul*). The term *me?il* (woman who has borne a child) is used in the reference 621
to ceremonial roles played by women in the household, as in the case of 592
me?il k'op (woman speaker) and me?il č'om (mother of the betrothal). 562

621 593 Familial role requirements must be fulfilled in order for public roles to be
581 undertaken. A man must be married in order to enter into even the lowest
794 posts in the civil and religious hierarchies.

794 Only in the case of the alfereces has wealth ever been a criterion for re-
556 cruitment. These four officials had to be able to spend 3,000 pesos during
434 their year in office. The heavy expenditures failed to give prestige to the
554 official, and the display of wealth excited envy rather than respect. The result was that people called upon to accept the post had to be imprisoned before they would accept.

554 Recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on in-
756 nate qualities; special skills and knowledge are attributes acquired in office or other role positions rather than requirements for undertaking roles. Curers are recruited because they are recognized as having an animal spirit; they learn whatever skills are required after they have been initiated into the profession. The curers' special position in the society rests more on esoteric powers than on esoteric knowledge. Everyone in the com-
[298] munity knows the herbs and medicines which are prescribed, and most men can give as comprehensive a taxonomy of illnesses as any practicing curer.

868 Economic roles, though largely undifferentiated for each sex, are con-
241 sciously learned and transmitted. Boys accompany their fathers or elder
[857] brothers to the field at about the age of eight and continue working with
[883] them until they reach independence. Observation of behavior alone would seem to indicate an unconscious absorption of the role of agricultural worker, but informants recount episodes in which training in field work was explicitly transmitted by their fathers or brothers, and formal approval of their ability to do the tasks announced to their mothers. Parents
[871] express fear that school attendance not only interferes with working in the milpa, but that it will cause the child to forget what he has learned in the field. Regardless of what other tasks a man performs, he thinks of himself as a farmer.

868 Becoming a potter requires an even more explicit training procedure.
323 The fine linguistic segmentation of each act and movement in the schedule of pottery-making is a clue to the explicit transmission of tasks by the

576 support of whatever is said—repeating the final phrase of the person con-
versing or injecting supportive statements such as "indeed, indeed," or "so
[535] it is." In the dance of the alfereces' wives, for example, women were the
model of deference, moving in a self-contained pattern before the assem-
bled guests, with slow, tiny steps, eyes downcast, a shawl covering their
heads on which they wore their husbands' ceremonial hats.

621 Through recruitment procedures, alternation and linkage in official
182 roles, and leadership validated by age and service in lower positions—prin-
ciples applying to role relations in all institutions—Tzoʔontahal has re-
mained an integrated community. There is a high degree of stereotyping
in behavior from one institution to another, and norms of behavior are the
[682] same for public as for private roles. However, a remarkably high homicide
[578] rate and open conflict in all of the institutional settings indicate basic
sources of disruption.

682 Since 1960 the rate of homicide in town has increased from an average
593 of 1 every 2 years to an average of 5 or 6 per year. Table 29 indicates the
609 role relationships of killer to victim in 37 of over 70 homicides occurring
428 between 1937 and 1964. The highest incidence of homicide (7 cases) oc-
578 curred between brothers and brothers-in-law. Male siblings comprise the
closest cooperating group. Brothers work together in the milpa until the
father dies or divides his property among his children during his lifetime.
Bilateral inheritance with equal division of land and houses among female
as well as male offspring means that brothers-in-law are potential competi-
tors for the same limited resources. Friction arising among brothers and
brothers-in-law does not come from the principle of equal inheritance, but
rather because of the fact of differing responsibilities and expenses within
the family. For example, the child who has remained with the parents and
[888] thus assumes the burden of care for them in their declining years often
feels that he should inherit a greater share. The disputes arise in the deci-
sions concerning how much this disadvantage should be weighted. The
682 suppression of overt competition may in part explain the homicidal acts.
683 Although the tensions in fact stem from suppressed economic competition,
[154] they are translated into witchcraft accusations as soon as anyone in the
[626] family becomes ill. Violence against a witch is condoned by the commu-
nity and provides a channel for latent hostility. Once the accusation has

1 (see pp.245-247..Analyst)

been made, there is no recourse but to kill the man since he may retaliate by killing his accuser (this occurred in two of the cases noted in Table 29).

Conflict between generations in the role sets father/son and father/son-in-law stems from delay in carrying out role responsibilities. Fathers are expected to provide the money for the costs of betrothal, and to give their children shares of the patrimony including both land and livestock. The scheduling of when this should occur is often a matter of dispute, resulting in at least two cases of homicide in the period analyzed.

New economic enterprises have exacerbated the tensions rising from envy. Foster (1965) has suggested that envy stems from the notion of the "limited good," requiring the strategy of a "zero sum game" (Bennet 1966). The fact that the new wealth is evidence of new opportunities, not a subtraction from a given resource supply, has not entered the cognitive awareness of the people. The prospering leaders of these enterprises feel themselves to be particularly vulnerable to the envy of others and thus to the charge of witchcraft. There have been several open attacks on new leaders accused as witches; the leader of the truck cooperative, for example, was murdered in 1966. Six men have been killed as cattle thieves in the past ten years.

The economic roles created with the introduction of new enterprises have not been integrated in the traditional pattern of recruitment and control. In the association of cattle breeders, leadership tends to be based on the size of the herd; in the case of the truck cooperative, amount of capital invested and entrepreneurial skills have determined the leadership of the enterprise, while driving skill and ability to get along in the Ladino world has been the basis for choice of drivers. Such achievement principles as the basis for recruitment into these envied positions are not accepted in the same way that age and passage through a hierarchy of posts validated higher positions in the old hierarchies. The conspicuous expenditure of wealth in the more expensive posts in the religious hierarchy has also failed to lessen hostility aroused by the increasing disparity in wealth, and in fact those who have served as alférez have been even more subject to witchcraft aroused by envy.

The following list of moral transgressions is roughly ordered in terms of the egregiousness of the crime: witchcraft, theft of cattle, theft of corn, "talking with" a woman (this is a euphemism for having an affair), having more than one wife, killing, and disrespect to parents. There is a fair amount of consistency in the rank order given by different informants. Of five people questioned, all ranked witchcraft first, and theft, without qualification as to what was stolen, second. Subjects questioned differentiated the crime of "talking with" a woman according to the status of the woman —it was worse to have relations with a married woman than with an unmarried girl or with a widow. Killing was listed late or not at all by some because it is assumed that the killer has cause unless the contrary is proved. The dead man is referred to as the guilty one. It is considered worse to kill a consanguineous relative than an affinal relative or a nonrelative. One man remarking on an incident in which a person lost his bull said: "It was a punishment of God for killing his father. If it had been his stepfather, it would be different." Wanton killing is said to be absent in the pueblo, and something that the kurik of the colonias do. The three murders in the past ten years resulting from barroom brawls between "friends" have not dispelled this notion.

Disrespect shown to parents is considered a serious violation of morality. A boy who refuses to listen to his father cannot expect to receive the protection and support of his parents, usually offered a child throughout their lifetime, or of the community. If the son abuses his father verbally or physically in public, the father is supported in whatever action he takes. One father, whose son kicked him in one of the local bars, drew applause when he made the sign of the cross in two deep gashes with his machete on his son's forehead. To beat one's father or mother is a great sin, but to beat one's wife is tolerated, particularly if it is done in drunkenness. If a man other than the husband beats a woman for any cause, she may reciprocate by beating him in court "before the eyes of the judges." One woman who was awarded this privilege when her husband's brother beat her said, "If he were my own husband, it would be all right for him to beat me."

The good man is "of one heart" and reveals it by his humility ("very soft heart"). The rules for demonstrating this are given by an old man who is frequently asked to be a nakawane in his section of the dual divi-

as lawyers. The defendant is sometimes accompanied by supporters who 693
feel that he has a case. The failure of parents to accompany a defendant, 695
regardless of his age, is attributed to their shame over their child's misbe- [593]
havior and their own failure to train him properly. The judge does not limit himself to passing judgment but also counsels the defendant as to how he should behave.

The town hall is usually shut and locked at noon unless some business 621
requires more time. In the evening about six, the officials return to take [344]
their same posts. They sit with their arms drawn inside their woolen jack- [516]
ets for warmth. After a half an hour they drift home. People rely on the [626]
presence of officials rather than particular actions to maintain social control, and it is their appearance at regular hours that assures the villagers that the town is being well run.

Local autonomy depends primarily on retaining social control functions. 621
Civil officials try to settle disputes locally and avoid the entry of Ladino of- 692
ficials from the departmental capital, although the judges and president 631
will threaten the defendant with taking the case to the department if they cannot get compliance. The number of cases referred to the capital has been increasing since 1950 as Table 32 shows. In 1951 the federal government began to fine local officials who failed to report homicide cases and accidental death. The local officials complied, but departmental courts were unable to bring action in over half the cases. No action was taken in 72 cases, or 54 percent, in comparison with 62 cases, or 46 percent, in which action was taken. Domestic cases, except for one of adultery, are adequately handled in local courts and do not appear in the departmental records. The trend shows an increasing number of cases of crimes against [674]
persons in comparison to crimes against property, an index to the break- [182]
down in social control processes.

The Church

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The church has been built and on two occasions rebuilt—when the [794]
tower was struck by lightning—with funds collected locally from house- [821]
hold heads. Damage to the church was attributed to the patron saint of [796]
the neighboring town of Oxchuk who, the people say, was fighting with their patroness, Santa Lucía. The townspeople feel that they own the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 301]

Appendix 1

Settlement of Domestic Cases

A. House Arrangement of Separation

The following transcription of a tape recording concerns the house arrangement of a domestic dispute involving Alberta, the niece and adopted daughter of Mariano. She left her husband and returned to Mariano's home with her one-year-old child because of her husband's abusive treatment. Mariano invited all of the members of the betrothal party, as well as the maliwanehetik who had assisted in the marriage negotiations and Victorio, Alberta's husband. The leader of the betrothal negotiations was unable to attend because he had been drinking all day at another betrothal party. The arrangement proceeded with the padrino of the wedding, Pablo, and Alvino, Victorio's uncle and another elder in the betrothal negotiations, leading the discussion. I asked Mariano to tape the session so that my presence would not be an interference. In the joking session, the tape recorder became a target for the men's humor when, trying to replay it, they found that one section had not recorded clearly.

Pablo opened the discussion by asking the errant husband's elder representative, Feliciano, if the family wanted to take the girl back. Feliciano agreed that that was their purpose in coming, and that they must hear what happened to cause the dispute between the couple. Maria, the foster mother of Alberta, summarized their complaints against Victorio and his family.

Maria: *It is almost as though the child [Alberta's year-old daughter] has no father. We have been feeding her because we have had to support both of them. When the child became sick with diarrhea the father did nothing to help.*
Pablo: *Yes, we have to think of that. The child was frightened by her father and became ill.*
Maria: *When he came to our house, he fought Alberta, and the child was ill. Alberta went to the courthouse to complain about his behavior.*
Pablo: *It couldn't be arranged in the courthouse. It is better to settle the dispute here in the house.*

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627 Maria: *Whenever he came to see her, he was drunk and came in fighting.*
593 Victorio: *It is a lie. I came, but I was not only fighting. I wasn't always very*
578 *drunk. I came there sober to speak to you. I asked about how my wife was.*
126 *Then I went to see my uncle in Grandeza. He told me that if he couldn't order*
586 *her to come, then I better come here to hear what is said. When I went there, I was sober. I brought two bottles of beer. He said, "Ah, it is you," when I arrived at his house. "Come in and sit down." I sat down. I took off the cap of the beer and measured it out. "What have you come to say?" he asked me. "I am unhappy, father," I said. "What has happened to you?" he said. "I went to see Alberta," I said. He asked me if I had beaten her, and I said, "No, we only spoke a few words."*

Santia: *But if you hadn't hit her, why would she have come back to her father's house?"*

Victorio: *I only wanted to come to an understanding with her.*

Alvino: *So it is, you came to speak to me.*

Victorio: *It was in order to arrive at an understanding as you had told me. But I didn't succeed then.*

Alvino: *You didn't succeed in what you wanted?*

Victorio: *No, nothing.*

Alvino: *Well, when nothing happened, you could have gone later to ask with good words.*

Victorio: *I returned late in the afternoon. I had been drinking a little beer, and I was a little drunk. My father-in-law came with me. He had a fourth of liquor inside his shirt. We arrived at prayertime. My father-in-law was in the church since he was mayordomo at the time. We came in good faith to hear what was wrong.*

Mariano: *But then he came another time. I had gone to hot country to work. He came to the house and wanted to break it. He pulled out two of the tiles in the gate and entered. That was his crime.*

Victorio's father: *That wasn't good. You shouldn't go drunk when you can't understand anything.*

Maria: *We are not at fault. We spoke to him with good words. We told him he could take his wife.*

Elder woman of Victorio's family: *We told him he ought not to come when he was drunk.*

Pablo: *But now he wants to change for the better. You ought not to drink. It is better to eat meat and vegetables, and find corn and beans for your wife and child. Now we have arranged it, and you can take your wife and child to your house.*

Mariano took out cigarettes, and the group relaxed as all lit up the cigarettes and smoked. They discussed my tape recorder as they listened to the tape replayed. When they came to the section that did not record well, they decided that they should take it out and urinate on it. One man suggested that they should put it in prison, and another said that they should shoot it. This provoked general laughter. They went on to discuss the smoking habits of Ladinos. Pablo remarked that Ladino lawyers do nothing but sit in their offices and talk and smoke. Mariano and Victorio's father joked a great deal, the latter maintaining that Pablo had threatened to castrate him. This was picked up by Pablo who said that then Mariano would be a madrina to his godmother, Martina (the woman speaker in the betrothal negotiations). This provoked a great deal of laughter among the women. They then joked with Mariano about Pablo's other madrina, a Ladina from the neighboring town who sells the blood of slaughtered bulls. They refer to her as *me? Skitaoo,* the fat one. Mariano remarked to the women that Victorio's father must be a witch, and someone would try to kill him on the road. The conversation turned from the danger of going alone in the woods to a discussion of hunting. Feliciano bragged that he had an excellent hunting dog which he bought from a Ladino and which he referred to as "the Ladino dog." Mariano asked what Ladino they bought it from, but Feliciano denied knowledge of who the man was. They suggested it was nothing but a Huistecan Indian who changed his clothing. The joking and drinking continued until midnight, when the assembled company finally broke up. The next day Alberta went to live with her husband in the new house he had built.

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B. Court Arrangement of Separation

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Persons present:

- Judge
- Father of Plaintiff
- Mother of Plaintiff
- Plaintiff
- Husband of Plaintiff
- Regidor
- President

This case concerns a husband who had been separated from his wife and wished a settlement so that she would return to him. The man had been married before, and he occasionally returned to his first wife. When he got drunk,

695 he announced on the loudspeaker of the cantina that he was a poor man who
593 had to maintain two wives. This caused embarrassment to his second wife,
578 who asked for the hearing in order to separate from him. He was working in
586 the sawmill and had not provided for her support. The text is a translation of the transcription of a tape recording in Tzeltal.

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593 Judge [to father of Plaintiff]: *Come, Mam compadre, and give evidence of what*
578 *has happened.*
586 Father: *This isn't the first time he has left his wife. It would be different, Mam*
126 *compadre, if he had only left her once, but he has left her several times.*
Judge: *Why do you keep on leaving her and coming back? It would be better to get her out of your system once and for all.*
Mother: *He goes to his mother's house but then comes back just to fight.*
Judge: *You ought to stop your fighting when you go to your wife.*
Father: *So it is, Mam judge. If it had just been a few words or one visit, but he is always coming here to fight. Even if you drink, you should speak well when you come to our house.*
Plaintiff: *He said he had nothing to eat but dry tortillas. I said to him, 'Go heat your tortillas. You're going to have to live like a woman if you get rid of your wife. Who is going to watch for you at the gate since I no longer intend to? There is nothing to eat in the house because there isn't any money."*
Judge: *She says this because she is angry.*
Mother: *She speaks because she isn't a fool. He can't answer that.*
Judge: *They are still young, but they will learn. Also, he ought not to continue drinking.*
Mother: *He doesn't obey me. Eight days later, and he repeats the same abuse.*
Judge [to husband]: *Why do you want to do this?*
Husband: *I want a woman who takes good care of me.*
Father: *Does his wife have a lover, that she leaves the house uncared for?*
Husband: *We're fighting because she is always going off to my mother-in-law's house.*
Plaintiff: *Every time he gets drunk, he comes shouting. Why shouldn't I leave so that the child doesn't see us fighting?*
Husband: *I get drunk because of the fighting. If there wasn't any fighting I would just want a soda.*
Plaintiff: *Who wants that? There wouldn't be any fighting if you didn't come.*
Mother: *God can say that we don't want the embarrassment. I said, "Stop fighting. It isn't good. She doesn't give you tortillas or atole because you are always*

fighting. You ought to speak in sobriety. Why do you always want to fight and argue?" 695 593 578 586 126

Plaintiff: *At first it was the fault of a little board. For the crime of giving my mother a little piece of wood I had to come here the first time* [*refers to dispute arising over some wood which plaintiff had lent or given to her mother, and for which Husband wanted money*].

Mother: *I am supporting the children he comes and "asks for"* [*refers to the fact that husband impregnates wife, and then does not support the family*]. *The child cried a great deal when we were inside the cabildo. It was I who had to feed him. Why would I want this, my compadre judges? A husband who leaves you . . .*

Father: *How is the child going to grow up? And he keeps asking for another one.*

Mother: *You treat your wife like a mule, like a horse when you go to work. When I asked him to get some wood, he said, "Have I turned into your husband? Don't tell me what to do."*

Plaintiff: *If he gave something it would be good, but he never has supported me or even pays anything when he comes here.*

Mother: *He is never coming back to our house. We have spoken to the Ladino* [*Ramon, the former secretary who wrote out the marriage act*]. *We went to San Cristóbal to see what they would say.* [*Speaking to huband*] *But you don't listen to what he told you. You don't pay any attention because you are a devil. What good is it for us to go up to San Cristóbal?*

Father: *You should go, but you go on fighting as you started.*

Judge: [to husband]: *You should stay sober.*

Mother: *If he came to me sober, I would give him atole or sodas, Mam compadre. I returned the little board he had lent me, but he broke it.*

Plaintiff: *I gave him money for some soap, but he never gave account of that.*

Judge: *Now are you going to go with him?*

Plaintiff: *I am never going to go with him, elder brother. Even if he says he wants to take me back to his house, because I am not in his heart.*

Judge: *Ah, no. Let us explain.*

Mother: *Do you want to hear worse? No one is going to stay just to cook tortillas.*

Father: *It would be good, compadre, if she split with him.*

Judge: *They cannot split up because they are married.*

Father: *Well, compadre, if they* [*husband's family*] *take her back, then I am not going to return here. I am going to have to go to San Cristóbal.*

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Regidor: *What has been arranged isn't good. There are small children, and he cannot support them.*

Judge: *But what else can they do, compadre? Better go to the man's house and make a fire there [a metaphorical allusion to acting as a wife in keeping the home fires burning].*

Plaintiff: *Although you speak to him, he doesn't listen. He never listened to his father.*

Husband: *What do you want to bring up my dead father for? He never ordered me, nor has any other person.*

Plaintiff: *I am not a fool. You gave me a wound, you broke my tooth. We want to stop all this and finish with the trouble you cause.*

Mother: *Let's come to some understanding. If it is only the trouble with the board, then I will give him the money and see if it is what he says.*

Judge: *This is not good, my compadre. It isn't going to content your heart.*

Mother: *I want to return and take out the marriage paper. It was Don Ramon who married them.*

Judge: *It isn't good for you to go do that. We are trying to arrange things here. The president has charge of the archives.*

Plaintiff: *He told me he was angry. I said, "Why do you want to sell the boards?" [This refers to the wood she had lent her mother.] He said, "I am going to bring more." I asked him again why he wanted to sell the boards. He said he had received money for them. He asked me where the boards were, and I said I had lent them to my mother. "Go get them if you want them," I said. He never gave me back the payment for the soap that I gave him. He spent it for liquor. I said to him, "Where is the soap?" and he said, "I spent it on liquor." When he gets drunk, he begins to fight me. He doesn't want me to talk back, but what does he expect? He said he was going to get another wife, that I was very lazy and very slack. I told him, "Why don't you go out and cut some wood?" He said, "Where do you think I am going to get some wood?" I was ashamed to go before my brother-in-law with my child and ask him. He never wanted to cut wood or ocote.*

Judge: *It is not good what he did. He should do what is necessary in the house.*

Plaintiff: *It is for this reason that I don't want to go with him, Mam Judge. He is always saying that his first wife was a very good worker. If I didn't have a husband or if there were no children, I would bring the wood, but I am not going to do it while he is around.*

Judge: *What would you say if he brought you back to his house?*

Plaintiff: *But I don't want it. What does he want me for? You heard him say I am a whore. He said I was a bitch. He said, "You are an old shit!" I don't want to have anything to do with him. What does he want me for if I am an old whore as he says? He said she [first wife] was a better woman than I.*

Father: *The judge told him before, "Go give your wife some support." We had three settlements before this. Mam Ramon said he was sick of seeing the woman in court so often.*

Judge: *First we will try to settle things here, and if he doesn't go in accord with custom, then you can go up to San Cristóbal.*

Father: *Here me, Mam judges, everyone fights occasionally, maybe makes two or three trips to court. But every time he gets drunk, he looks for a fight. I told him to stop fighting, but he doesn't listen. If I let my daughter go with him, he just takes her and produces more children. I have always had to support her then. He doesn't come around either drunk or sober. If he had come and told me what her fault was, then it would be good. When I had asked him what fins she had committed, he didn't say anything.*

Husband: *She just told me, "Leave me here and you go with your mother. I shall go back to my house."*

Plaintiff: *I left word with him that I was finished because of all the fighting. I don't want to go with a drunkard. [To husband] Even if you drink, you shouldn't beat me.*

Judge: *If you want a woman, you ought to support her. You shouldn't fight.*

Husband: *She told me, "You aren't the only man in the world. There are plenty of men who would want me."*

Plaintiff: *I never said that! You're looking for a fight!*

Husband: *What do you mean you didn't say that? My mother heard it.*

Plaintiff: *Go bring your mother. She didn't want to come because she is ashamed. It isn't the first time we are settling things in court.*

Judge: *You ought to go with him this time, but if it happens again, we will split you up. What else can we do if you don't obey our advice?*

Father: *When he goes to work, Mam compadre, he ought to look and see how much pay he is getting and how it will stretch to support his wife. Then she will make his tortillas for him contentedly, and there won't be any fighting.*

Judge: *We say that when he comes home from work he should ask his wife what she wants to spend for coffee or salt and all the things she will have to buy.*

Plaintiff: *He doesn't give any account of his little pay.*

Husband: *I don't want to say how much there is because there are still debts*

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from when I was asking for her [*refers to betrothal expenses*]. *When the debt is paid off, then I can.*

Judge [to wife]: *You heard that he will have to pay off the debt. Now go with your husband in one heart.* [*To husband*] *Go with your wife. If you have enough money, ask your wife if she needs some coffee or if she needs salt and wants the payment of it. You have to give some money in order to live contentedly.*

Father: *So it is, Mam compadre. It is good to be content and see the fire in the hearth. One time he came to my house and I said, "Come in. Let's take a look at what money you have earned." I told him to go save his money, give it to his wife to keep it for him. That is what I said to him.*

Regidor: *And it wasn't to deceive him. It would be good if he would believe* [*obey*] *this advice. They have been paying him double because he is a labor agent.*

Judge [to father]: *So it is, Mam compadre. Let it rest there.*

Regidor [to husband]: *The day after tomorrow, don't come back here with a couple more children and say you don't want her. Go back to your mother's house. You are lucky to have a wife. If you don't have a wife, you go get drunk every day. But with a wife life is good. She will give you coffee and corn to eat. Don't go on fighting when drunk or sober. Both my compadres have advised you* [*refers to judges*].

Mother: *So it is, Mam compadre. I am going now, Mam compadre.* [*Rises and leaves*].

Judge: *Go then, my compadre.*

The father and the husband give money for the fourth regidor to buy beer, and the group of men sit and drink the two family-size bottles which are purchased.

627 754 questioning of other men, that after the murder the community would take their side. If a man is killed, and community understanding accepts that he was a witch, no individual is identified publicly as the instrument of communal revenge. Solid community [573] silence accepts the verdict. Even the family of the deceased has to make a public rejection of the dead witch, or else they risk being forced to leave town, having their house burned, or similar misfortunes. That is to say, they have to publicly establish their innocence by expressing their lack of identification with the witch. Of course, not all conflict is always expressed in witchcraft terms. Witchcraft is, in a sense, the ultimate recourse for the explanation or settlement of disputes when all other means have failed to accomplish the re-establishment of social harmony. 578 If one man fights with another in a drunken brawl, for example, 627 he will try, when sober, to make peace with him, rather than let [754] the other man's antagonism become a reason for witchcraft against him. He can try to settle the conflict personally, or the kinsmen of both parties can do it; the case can be taken up by the Ayuntamiento where the man found guilty would pay a fine, and both 627 parties would be lectured on the dangers of quarrelling. Metzger 578 and Kauffman (1961) transcribed and reported one informant's speech which states the case very neatly:

[625] Thus, the mayores, the police, are appointed by the town. You should not quarrel; it is not for the fun of it that they [the town authorities] will come and get you if you look for trouble? They have the commandment of the agente municipal. They have the commandment of the juez municipal, because you have looked for trouble. You will go to jail for one or two days. Then your head and heart will calm down if you did it because of liquor. In clearheadedness you will enter into judgement. If the misdeed is small, the punishment will be

883 (gang), containing males from the age of about twelve to the time
562 they marry. They usually sleep together in one of the escuadrilla
573 member's house corridor, and spend long nights playing the harmonica, having corn eating competitions or serenading.

562 A man is not considered a full-fledged community member
885 until he marries and has a child (the word for man and father
851 have the same root: tat), which allows him to take the lower
601 post in the government (policía). The government itself is an
621 age-graded organization in which the kinship terms of elder and
621 younger brother are used reciprocally, and by extension, by of-
561 ficers in lower and higher posts.
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562 With the passing of time, both men and women increase their
•593 status by raising a family and by passing to higher positions in
621 the civil-religious hierarchy. Although women do not participate
794 directly in the government, they have some duties as officer's wives (e.g., ironing the Saint's clothes if their husbands are Mayordomos), and they are called by their husband's titles. A man may resign from office if his wife dies and there is no other adult woman in the household who can take care of her part of the officer's performance.

184 The first noticeable difference in the ordering of social
562 relations in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women
592 in the domestic group.

184 In Aguacatenango, the eldest male is the head of the
562 household. He controls the land which the men of the household
462 work, the cattle, the labor of the household members and most of
592 the money obtained through the sale of surplus corn (which is

184 562 462 592 592 593 562 used as a cash crop) or livestock. He decides when and where to plant what, who should buy or sell any household property, when to go to market, etc. If a son is living with his father, he can talk about "our cow," but he is usually referring to his father's animal. In the same way, when a woman who is single talks about "our maize," she is referring to the maize cultivated by her father and brothers and stored by her mother. If she is married, she means the maize produced by her father-in-law and husband, and controlled by her mother-in-law.

592 593 562 [606] The eldest woman in the household has authority over the younger females residing within it, including the daughter-in-law, because during the period in which a married man resides with his parents, the wife, being the younger, is under the direct authority of her husband's mother. The elder woman controls the [251] food given to her by her husband and son, and she keeps it stored in the tapanco (roof granary). She selects the food for the meals, and sets up the housekeeping schedule for the younger women in the homestead.

592 593 434 562 Women "keep" the money that their husbands earn at home. They are supposed to save it, and not spend any of it without the husband's permission. They do control small amounts of cash which they can obtain by selling eggs, fruits or some vegetables that they grow in the garden. They are allowed to spend it on some luxuries: new clothes for a fiesta, a new pot, or something similar, but they are not expected to take care of themselves.

59 562 Before marriage, a woman is supported by her father and brothers, and lives under her father's roof. After marriage, she is

59 supported by her husband and father-in-law, and lives under their
562 roof. If the husband dies, she is supposed to go back to live
[606] with her parents as she did when she was single or live with a mature son who becomes responsible for her welfare and has some authority over her, as can be seen in the following example.

159 A woman had two sons by her first husband, the elder of
573 which, at the time of the events related here, was married. The
586 first husband died, and the woman married another man with whom she had another son. After a period of common residence, the second marriage broke up. The woman bought some land for a house, saving money for it by working in San Cristóbal and selling trago. She lived in this house with her married son and his wife.

The father of the last child (second marriage) offered to give the boy some new clothes. Before the woman accepted them, she asked her elder son's permission. The clothes were accepted because the woman's son said: "He is his father, and he should give clothes to his son."

592 The bases for the structure of the social relations within
561 the household are relative age, sex, kinship proximity to the
562 household head, and economic responsibility for the upkeep of the
602 unit. Elder men have more authority than younger men; elder women more than younger ones. Men have more authority than women (perhaps, on some occasions, with the exception of the mother), and finally, agnatic kin of the household head have more authority
592 than affinals. The result of this ordering of power within the
606 household is that a daughter-in-law is at the bottom of the

159 come back when the father was home because not even he could sell
592 the pig without his consent. The Ladino was then forced to give up.
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602 A few days later, Juan sold the pig according to his own plans. He kept the money, except for a small amount that he gave to his wife and daughter-in-law, in spite of the fact that Maria had fattened the pig, and that it had been previously said that the pig was the young couple's animal.[1]

592 A woman living with her husband in a separate household
593 has some autonomy within it, but she is still subordinate to her
562 husband. She owns little property. A woman may be given a cow
421 *when she marries, but her father is not obliged to do so.* It is
[431] simply a regalo (present). She does not own agricultural implements. She can not own land or inherit from her husband, except in cases where she is, in effect, keeping the house in trust for her male children, and it has not been claimed by her husband's father or brothers who have primacy rights over such property.

[561] As she grows older, and with the birth of children, her
[851] position becomes somewhat less dependent. She has more prestige in the eyes of her husband's family and other people, and if her marital relation has developed into a strong emotional bond, her interaction with her husband is less subordinate. He would consult

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[1] The animals are usually said to "belong" to one particular
[231] woman in the household. However, this does not mean that she has
[421] property rights over it; it only means that she is the person in
[562] charge of feeding it. Thus, the expression el cochi de María (María's pig) means the pig which María has the responsibility to feed every day, and it does not assume that she can sell it, kill it for meat, or do anything about it without the consent of the head of the household.

592 593 562 421 her before making important decisions, and allow her to handle some of the household property, such as the selling of pigs.

562 593 But even under the best conditions, the position of a woman is de facto lower than the position of men. If her husband gets drunk and beats her up, she is not supposed to complain, but accept it as part of her role. One of our informants said that once she scolded her husband for drinking, and he said: "I am not 593 586 837 asking you for the money." If he is unfaithful, she has no real way of controlling his behavior except by leaving his house, running away to San Cristóbal to work for a few days as a servant or breaking up the marriage.

184 562 434 592 421 In Amatenango, the pottery making village, the situation is quite different. First, women are economically independent, being able to make a living without a male in the household. Second, they control the profits made by the household from the sale of pottery and from the sale of cash crops such as chayotes which they plant in their gardens. In many cases, they own the house in which they live with their husband and children. They contribute as much as their male siblings to the support of the whole domestic group while they were living in their family's home, and it is possible for them to inherit both land and cattle, a fact which reinforces the equivalent standing between women and their male siblings.

184 593 [837] Adultery in Amatenango has strong reactive sanctions for both men and women, and a "wife is considered within her rights to order an erring husband out of the house." "Women do not tolerate

184 "Women do not tolerate
593 beating by their husbands, and they frequently seek justice in
692 the local court if this occurs" (Nash, J., 1960:34).

184 In sum, Aguacatenango women have a dependent role all of
562 their lives, while Amatenango women enjoy a freer and more autonomous life. The people of Aguacatenango say that la mujer se debe a su marido y sus criaturas (a woman is indebted, or bound to obey, her husband and her children), while in Amatenango people believe that women are la fuerza en la casa (the authority or power in the home) (Nash, J., 1960:29). This set of contrasting statements sums up, from their own point of view, the different conceptions of the woman's role and position in the domestic group.

184 The second difference between Amatenango and Aguacatenango
592 is the criteria employed in both places for the recruitment of household personnel. Membership in a household implies both (1) a kinship connection with a sponsor who lives in the unit, and (2) economic interdependency.

Membership in a household changes for the individual at crucial times in his life, and changes in age and marital status give a person the right to attach himself or herself to a particular domestic group. An analysis of residence patterns of the two villages shows how, during the developmental cycle of the household, it changes membership and how particular individuals, according to their age, sex, marital status, kinship connection and economic role, are recruited into the unit.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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591 Another principal criticism of Fischer's typology attaches to his third proposal, which, as Fortes has made clear, disregards the developmental cycle of the households in which individuals reside.

The two approaches, the "developmental" approach and the "sponsorship" approach, are not contradictory but complementary to each other. Each offers a useful framework for a satisfactory analysis. The differences are merely differences in emphasis.

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591 In the analysis of residence in this paper, a combination of both types of analysis are utilized with some modifications which will allow me to describe the results in terms of the norms of residence and the real patterns or distributions, and to elicit the rules that govern residence choices for individuals. The section deals, therefore, both with techniques and method of analysis, and with particular hypotheses.

Aguacatenango Residence

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The Norms

The people of Aguacatenango believe that a newly married couple should live with the boy's parents until they have proved to be successful in procreating and raising, through the weaning period, one or more children. While the young couple lives within the parental compound of the husband, he should work under the direction of his father, under whose direct authority he should act, and every one of whose decisions he should obey because his father lo está manteniendo (is supporting him), and the son está brio su poder (is under the father's power).

593 The boy obtains a wife with his father's help. He has
583 usually selected the girl himself, but his father makes the ar-
584 rangements with the girl's parents and pays the bride-price. The bride-price, called the bocado (mouthful), is paid to the household of the future bride and has a fixed value, 300 pesos, given in the form of consumable goods: chocolate, sugar, bread, coffee, cigarettes and trago (the local brew).[1]

585 At the marriage ceremony, the new wife and husband are
183 instructed in the rights and duties of their new role. The young
593 wife is told, in a formal speech given by an elder man of the
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[1]The regular marriage negotiations include several visits to the girl's parents called the pedidas (requests), which can be spread over a period of six months to a year. The last pedida is [585] considered the engagement ceremony, and after that comes the entrega de la muchacha (the giving away of the bride) which is the ceremony referred to here as the marriage ceremony. This ceremony follows the native custom. There are two other marriage ceremonies which can be performed, and are optative. One is the civil marriage at the Ayuntamiento, selected by very few because it is considered an unnecessary expense, although it gives some prestige. The other is a Church wedding, performed by the Catholic priest. This wedding ceremony does not occur until the couple have been married several years and have children. Church weddings are considered to be strong bonds, which are very difficult to break up. In many cases, if a couple is fighting a lot and the wife threatens to leave the homestead, the husband will try to marry her in the Church to force her to stay in the household. Because of its high prestige value, if a boy is rejected by the family of his sweetheart at the pedida, the suitor's family will offer as an extra attraction a Church wedding immediately after the entrega de la muchacha.

In some cases, when the suitor is rejected by the parents of the girl, or if he cannot afford the bride-price but the girl is willing to live with him, the marriage ceremony is not performed. In these cases, the institution of the robo (the stealing of the girl) is common practice. The suitor arranges with his girl-friend to run away together at night, and go to his home. Therefore, robos or huidas occur with the consent of the groom's parents, who have to accept the girl into the home. The robo is [621] common in inter-barrio marriages, where the pedidas ritual is socially impossible to carry on, because the limitations put upon barrio interaction and the rules of barrio endogamy.

585 183 593 606 family, that she starts a new life. She now has a new family and a new home where she should learn new ways of doing things from her mother-in-law, and forget the old ones she learned from her mother. Among her duties as a good wife and daughter-in-law she should keep her husband well fed and clean, obey her mother-in-law for whom she should work hard, and respect the head of the household (her father-in-law). She should not visit her family too often, and she should gather firewood with her mother-in-law instead of with her mother.[1] The ceremony indicates two things: [581] (1) the transfer of the wife's reproductive and labor power from her natal home to her husband's; (2) the boundaries of her new role. In a sense, the people of Aguacatenango define the role of a wife in terms of her performance as a worker and as a daughter-in-law, and in terms of her relations with all the members of the household rather than only in terms of her relation to her husband.

593 885 [851] On the other hand, a new husband's performance is under trial. He has to demonstrate that he can get along with his wife, and become a father, before his role as a dependent child is replaced by his role as a married man. At the time of acquiring a wife, a man is regarded by the community as a "child," being both economically and jurally dependent upon his father, who has complete authority over his actions, and is directly responsible for his son's misdeeds.[2]

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[583] [1]One of my informants tells me that although she was robada by her husband (she lived in the other barrio) the night she arrived at her husband's household, her father-in-law gave her a shortened version of the wedding speech. I do not know if this is a common practice.

[592] [672] [2]If a young man commits a crime while living under his father's roof, the father is responsible for his defense and for paying the fines to the Ayuntamiento.

593 885 During the first few years of marriage, he slowly becomes a tat (man). He establishes his own nuclear family, and he is able to take up the first officership in the local government, acquiring thus the rights to political ascension in the civil-religious hierarchy. We could say that the period of patri/virilocal residence has the function of smoothing the transition between bachelorhood and the responsibilities of married life.

581 591 Aguacatecos believe that a marriage has proved stable once children are produced and the man is capable of carrying on the economic burden of a family of his own. At this time, the couple should move to a house of their own, and form an independent household. A father, then, has to provide his son with a house site, in addition to a parcel to grow milpa.

591 [582] Soon, a younger brother (ideally, children marry in order of seniority) will marry and bring his wife into the parental home, starting a new cycle. The last of the sons (the po'h) [593] should stay with the parents until their death, and he and his [428] wife will inherit the parental house. It is preferable to have 591 606 only one daughter-in-law at a time living in the household. One informant suggested that the reason is that the mother-in-law is bound to prefer one of the two women, and this creates jealousy between them and fights.[1]

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[592] [1]When a second son marries, if the first son and his wife stay in the sitio they set up a separate kitchen, and eat their meals separately. In this case, the first daughter-in-law becomes independent of the mother-in-law, and works by herself, no longer under her mother-in-law's direct power. Except for the close spatial proximity, this arrangement functions as if the couple has set up a separate homestead, and the couple forms a separate domestic group within the same sitio (lot). The separate kitchen, or rather,

593 156 621 [583] Aguacatecos expect a man to take the responsibility of setting up his son in "business" as a community member. He pays for his son's bride, teaches him the skills for tilling the soil in order to earn a living, and provides him, at a prudential time, with the means of production: a parcel of land, and perhaps a few animals, and a house where he can live with his wife and children.

593 888 At the same time, a son is expected to take care of his parents when they are old and the father retires from agricultural work because he is too old, sick or weak to do, by himself, all the work necessary for the maintenance of his household as an economically independent unit. The people say that a son should provide for his aged parents because: "Did we not give them everything?"

The primary responsibility for the care of aged parents is usually given to one son in particular, preferably the last one (po'h). The villagers explain that this is his duty, because "if [428] he stays with us when all our other sons marry, get their land and leave, this house will be for him, he will inherit this place." Thus, the villager visualizes his dependency on the last son as an economic exchange between kinsmen: he receives from his son food and shelter, he gives him a house lot and house. The duties of a son toward his parents are expressed both in the kinship idiom

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[592] the separate cooking fire, is the symbol of the unity of one [591] single domestic group. When two couples live within the sitio [606] without dividing it, people are very careful to explain if they still cook together or not, and if they cultivate the land separately or not.

•593 888 (e.g., the filial piety which is a basic component of the role of son), and in terms of economic rewards.

592 [183] The ideal pattern is one of reciprocal obligations: an established domestic group "launches into the world" the new domestic groups formed by the male offspring of the household couple, and a well established domestic group is responsible for the welfare of the domestic group from which it originated. Thus, [602] agnatically related domestic groups are expected to perform certain duties with respect to both the domestic group which originate them, and the domestic groups which they originate.

593 888 The concept of mantener (support), meaning to provide for a person's food, shelter and company, is a very important one for the villager. There is no sadder man than the one who has given everything to his sons, who has supported them for many years, and whose sons then refuse the reciprocal duty of caring for him in his old age. Parents who are unsuccessful in keeping one of [526] their married sons living with them are indeed very unhappy. People gossip about them as being "bad people" who did wrong to their children-in-law and mistreated their own. They gossip about the children themselves, accusing them of having a "small [936] heart" and of being envious and selfish. Aguacatecos pity widows (meba' al) and orphans (meba') because "they have nobody to support them." There is nothing as threatening to a couple as not having children, and if this happens, the community looks upon them with commiseration and says: "Poor little people, who is going to support them when they grow old?. . ."

592 593 Thus, the membership of a household changes through time,

592 but it is always built around a core of agnatically related men:
593 a father and his sons, united in their common interest in the patrimonial land and the fruits of their joint cooperative labor. To this core of men are attached their children and their wives, all of whom are dependent on them for their food supply, shelter, and the satisfaction of most other needs.

621 When a couple moves outside the parental home, the house
591 site that they are given should be contiguous if possible, or as
592 close as there is a place available, to the husband's father's
602 homestead. Thus, ideally, the town should be settled by clusters of domestic groups fo[illegible]ng localized agnatic lines, each containing a man, his parents, his brothers and his married male sons. At the same time, one would find out that women, because they follow their husbands, live much further apart from their agnatic relatives than men do.

593 After a man moves from his father's household, he is not
591 expected to work the same parcels with his father, but they do
476 share some work in common. Usually (I don't have the exact num-
241 ber of cases, but enough information to suggest that this is the
417 mode), a man and his sons have contiguous milpas that are fenced together. The fences, which are laboriously built and repaired, are the communal job of all the men, and save them the time and effort of building interior separations between the plots, because the purpose of fencing is to keep cattle from invading the parcels and without fences it is useless to risk planting.

423 This does not mean that the land is held jointly. Each man
241
417

TABLE 7

591 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: NEWLY MARRIED COUPLES IN COMPOUNDS, 1958

Residence	Cases	Per Cent
Viri-patrilocal	13	72
Uxor-patrilocal	4	23
Neolocal (Borrowing house)	1	5
Total	18	100

592 593 183 Aguacatenango: Residence Patterns of Old Marriages, Nuclear Households

The composition of nuclear households shows that people live according to their own ideas about who should live separate from their parents. Nuclear households with no children in them represents 7 per cent of the total. Nuclear households with only one child also represent 7 per cent of the cases. Nuclear households with two or more children represent 86 per cent.

125 591 593 Paternal sponsorship after a couple has moved out of the husband's parental compound was measured by (1) degree of proximity between the two households of a man and his son, and (2) father-son transmission of a house site.

361 591 593 The fact that the town is closely settled, especially in the center, makes it increasingly difficult to maintain strict contiguous patrilocal proximity between father and son, so at first glance, many a man seems to be living in a neolocal setting according to Fischer's typology. The problem of applying the concept

114 591 593

114 of sponsorship is that Fischer indicates that the residence sponsor
591
593 is a person living in the same household, while in Aguacatenango patrilocal sponsorship is expressed by giving the sons a house site, even if it is not contiguous with the parental one. Therefore, to determine patrilocality of men, the couples in the sample were located (1) territorially, in terms of proximity to the husband's and wife's parents; (2) and in terms of who owned the house site, and from whom it had been obtained.

183 The results of this analysis indicate a statistically sig-
591 nificant emphasis on patrilocal proximity, and a strong bias
[428] towards inheriting the house in the male line.

TABLE 8

AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: PROXIMITY TO PARENTAL HOME.
MARRIED INDIVIDUALS IN NUCLEAR HOUSEHOLDS

	Man				Woman			
	Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent		Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent	
Same block	10	56	84	100	3	14	38	76
Adjacent block	5	28			5	24		
Same barrio	3	16	16		8	38	38	
Different barrio	. . .	. . .	. . .		3	14	24	
Other town	. . .	. . .			2	10		
Total Sample	18	100			21	100		

591 2. When a couple have no male children, they try to keep a married daughter living with them, as a replacement for the unachieved son. They will also attempt to do this in a case where all the male children have refused to stay with the parents after the initial years of married life.

593 888 [626] Parents who are unsuccessful in keeping a married son living with them when they are old have very little prestige in the community because it usually means that there is some conflict between them, and they are easy targets for village gossip. It also means that they have no "insurance for the aged," that is, no child to support them when they grow too old to work.

591 583 Therefore, a couple with a single daughter still at home will be eager to keep her after marriage, to replace the sons who have gone away. To obtain this, the parents will request, during the pedidas (the visits to arrange a marriage, called "asking visits"), that the groom should "come to the house as a yerno (son-in-law) of theirs, and stay there indefinitely. Only if the groom agrees to this condition do they give him the daughter as a spouse.

591 These arrangements are very unstable. A man usually agrees to stay with his wife's parents, but after the marriage has been consummated, he will insist on moving away, being anxious to occupy his place as a dutiful son, living and working with his [606] father whose heir he may be. Women look forward to this kind of arrangement, the same way that they look forward to marrying a man whose mother is dead, because these are ways of avoiding the heavy burden of "becoming nueras" (daughter-in-law) or "suffering

59
602 since she is married and living away from them, while the father
757 believes that he did not make a good choice for his son, selecting a bride who is so much of a problem. While a woman is sick, both pairs of parents will bargain endlessly over whose duty it is to pay for the curing. Sometimes, both sets of parents agree on paying half of the cost, and then the woman stays in her husband's compound. But if this is not possible, the shift in responsibility for the woman is symbolically expressed in the shift in residence.

592 Other reasons, of a psychological nature, bring forth
562 this residential change. The whole system of emotional ties which a woman has created in her lifetime before marriage is broken at the time she changes households to get married. She is thrown into the midst of a group of people, including her husband, whom she hardly knows, and during the first years of marriage she is
592 an outsider in her husband's household. She must work for a woman
562 she did not know previously, her mother-in-law, and obey her with-
606 out delay. Although previously she worked for her mother, the role of a mother and of a mother-in-law are not equivalent, especially in their affective content.

606 An interesting triadic relationship develops between a
593 woman, her husband and her mother-in-law, in which she is the one with the smallest amount of social power (see Caplow [1956], Mills [1954], for a discussion on the dynamics of triad coalitions). In spite of the large amount of interaction between the two women, the relationship is not one of friendly collaboration.

592 Command and sanctions are in the hands of the mother-in-
593 law. Obedience is expected from the younger woman. There is a
606

592 clear social differentiation in the allocation of authority, and
593 the relationship is somewhat antagonistic. Many a man finds him-
606 self between a mother complaining bitterly of the laziness of his wife, and a wife of the hardness of his mother. This antagonistic relation is attenuated by the presence of other women in the household (which makes for an easy schedule in the allocation of every day work) and by the personalities of the individuals involved.

606 The relation of a woman and her father-in-law is characterized by a very mild form of avoidance. Verbal interaction is
[264] initiated usually by the father-in-law, and is formal. At meal times the social distance between the two is expressed in the seating arrangements, the young wife sitting at the edge of the eating space, the farthest apart from her husband's father.

593 Together with the pressures brought about by the structure of these relationships, a woman must go through a process of adjustment with the husband, whom she knew only slightly before marriage.

Given this situation, when she is sick, her natal household offers to her certain emotional attractions that her hus-
591 band's household does not. The change of residence at the time
757 of sickness provides a simple example of what Malinowski called the functional solutions offered by a society for the satisfaction of physical as well as emotional needs of the individual. Three cases of residential change for this reason occurred during the summer of 1958.

000 Independently of the analysis of geographical distribution

593 423 Independently of the analysis of[139] geographical distribution of individuals, in most cases a couple depends on the family of the husband for obtaining a house site of their own. Looking at the available data in household transactions, regular sponsorship in the male line appears as the statistical mode, the most frequently followed pattern. To explain the 16 per cent of sponsorship in the female line, we refer the reader to the section 1 of the reasons for uxorilocal residence, p. 133.

TABLE 10

423 AGUACATENANGO: HOUSE TRANSACTIONS AND INHERITANCE

	Cases	Percentage
House-land bought	22	32
House-land obtained through the husband's relatives	33	49
House-land obtained through the wife's relatives	11	16
Family borrowing the house	2	3
Total number of households for which information was available	68	100

423 432 593 [183] The norms for house sponsorship are not always followed, for other reasons: land within the town, houseplots, is one of the forms of land which has a monetary value in Aguacatenango. Lots are bought and sold for money, and are used constantly as a resource of income when one is in need of a large amount of cash. Ideally, [428] most parents think that they will give contiguous houses to their male sons, and that their house will be inherited by the last male son who stays in the house until his parents' 423 432 death.[1] In practice, many times the house has to be sold before

[1]Other property is expected to be inherited in equal shares by all sons.

423
432 this time arrives. The main reason for selling a house is to
[764] pay for the burial of a family member. Most widows, if the house
is not reclaimed by the husband's agnatic kin (who have rights
[428] over the property if there are no mature sons left by the de-
ceased), will sell the sitio to pay for the husband's burial, and
will move to their natal households with their children. Some
sons will sell the house to pay for the burial of a father. The
selling of the house is also a solution for cases of conflicting
inheritance rights. For example, if two brothers claim rights
to it, and if they both agree about it, they will sell it and the
money obtained would be divided among them.

592
591 The fission of the compound household into nuclear house-
578 holds is accepted by the villagers as a traditional pattern of
behavior, but residential changes are always expressed in terms
of on-going conflict between the couples residing in the compound.

•593 A father tries to keep his son living with him for as
592 long as possible because he is an emotional as well as an economic
464 asset to him. While a man has his son living with him, he has an
562 unpaid agricultural worker bound to him by emotional and jural
ties and by his economic dependence, and this allows him to maxi-
mize the labor force of the household and, therefore, increase
production notably. At the same time, he is able to control a
relatively larger amount of land for cultivation. If the son
leaves the compound, he is forced to divide the land holdings
under cultivation and to give him a parcel, a paternal duty which,
in spite of the fact that it is expected of them, they try to
avoid as long as possible. When the son leaves, the household

593 loses his labor and some of its land holdings, while if a daughter
592 leaves, the loss of labor is marginal, there is no loss of land,
464 and her removal is not a drain on the resources of the household,
562 nor does it upset its basic economy.
423

591 The multiple bonds between a father and a son over the
593 patrimonial land of the family, the products of their joint ef-
182 fort, and their common responsibility for setting up the standard of living for the homestead, all foster patrilocality.

423 A young man could, today, obtain land without his father's
425 direct help. He cannot obtain irrigated land (because it is ex-
592 tremely scarce, and privately "owned" by the household heads),
621 but he could obtain land in the communal lands of the village.
[593] This, of course, is not the better land, being temporal and far away from the village. Although the temporal land close to town is not privately owned, it is "earmarked" for use by the heads of each household. That is, the communal lands are distributed to households, not by titles of ownership, but by usufruct rights. Even if he decides to take such a step, he needs (1) the approval of the Ayuntamiento which oversees the distribution of usufruct rights for the community as a whole, and (2) the recruitment of other men to help him clean and fence the parcel.

621 Neither of the two alternatives is easy to carry out in
593 practice. First, if the Ayuntamiento grants land to a man against
423 his father's will, this creates a problem of jurisdiction between
425 the jural rights of the household head and the administrative
578 rights of the Ayuntamiento. We could not predict what consequences such a case would have, because we have no evidence that it has ever occurred (of course, this is based on the case

histories collected during the field work season, and it well could be that a case was missed). Second, if he wants to obtain help from other men, they risk antagonizing, with their willingness to cooperate, the head of the household in which the young man is residing, and they also risk the concommitant sanctions.

The young man could also obtain land without his father's help by leaving the community to work for wages and saving enough money to buy land. Although the selling of parcels is not a common practice in Aguacatenango, the idea of land being a commodity that can be bought and sold has been introduced, and some few household heads, in cases of emergency, are willing to sell. Of course, leaving the community to work for wages means voluntary exile for a man and alienation from relatives, friends and the cultural milieu. Also, men insist that it is profitable to work for wages only if one does it for short periods of time and keeps milpa simultaneously. Wage work alone is not enough to buy corn and the other necessities to meet the requirements of the customary standard of living.

On the other hand, a man breaking away from his home and refusing to accept his father's authority becomes a deviant, and antagonizes not only his family, but the community.

Although it is possible, theoretically, to become economically independent of one's father against his will, in fact a man can only set up his own household in compliance with the ethical principles and moral conventions of his culture. Therefore, he is only permitted to form his own domestic group when he has demonstrated that he has reached the stage of social maturity which allows him to do so.

593 592 885 621 But a man wants to become independent of his father. While he is living within his parent's compound he is considered by the community to be "a child." He is bound to work his father's land and cannot control the produce of his own labor. Until he sets up his own separate domestic group, and becomes economically independent, he does not have full rights to participation in the political life of the community because (1) he is bound to make political decisions following his father's, and he has no voice in most community affairs which are the concern of household heads, and because (2) he cannot materially afford to take up the expenses of officership.

562 592 885 606 Women are also usually anxious to set up their own separate domestic group and independent housekeeping because this gives them some autonomy which they cannot achieve otherwise. The bond between a daughter-in-law and a mother-in-law is not expected to be a strong one. We have already discussed how the two women are assumed to be somewhat antagonistic, and their common work of housekeeping is unequally distributed.

While women live in the same compound with their mother-in-law, they have no power to make decisions of their own about their working schedule, their housekeeping, or the food stored by the elder because this is under the control of the elder women.

[574] A woman cannot freely take time to visit her mother because [313] she is expected to keep her social life within the boundaries of her husband's domestic unit. She cannot even go to gather firewood, which is an activity highly enjoyed by women. Except for getting water from the well or pipes in the street or gathering firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound.

592 578 nuclear households. The dynamics of social conflict, are, however, controlled by the traditional patterns of behavior and by the negative sanctions applied to the deviant. Only in exceptional situations does a couple leave the husband's parents' house before the birth of a child. Even then, the residential change is expressed by the people in terms of on-going conflict [626] between the women. People say that they moved "because the two women had a fight" and this or similar gossip follows every case of household fission.

593 The break between a father and son is only precipitated by open conflict. Part of this conflict is expressed in tensions between the men. Fathers insist that their sons should stay with them, sons insist that their fathers are selfish and unwilling to help them. But the bond between father and son is, in spite of the standard tensions, a crucial social relation for the society. A man is not judged with sympathy if he does not respect his father and keeps up a "good front" of harmonic relations with him vis-à-vis the community at large.

592 593 578 606 Then, it is not strange that the change of residence is expressed through pointing out the tensions between the women rather than the tensions between father and son. A woman and her daughter-in-law are not members of the same consanguineal group residing in the household, the hoy ta yutil hna (of the same blood who live in the same house), and their antagonism is not viewed by the society as threatening to the unity of the kinship group, while the father-son relation is crucial in this domain. At the same time, the women are the expressive leaders of their

592 respective nuclear families (see Parsons and Bales, Ed., 1955),
593 and in case of conflict it is through their roles that the tensions
578 between the families are verbalized, even if the source of conflict
606 is outside their relationship.

TABLE 11

591 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: UNMARRIED INDIVIDUALS

Living in Type	Number of Cases	Percentage
Patrilocal	8	4.0
Matrilocal	11	5.5
Fratrilocal	3	1.5
Parentilocal	179	89.0
Total	201	100.0

Residence Patterns for Unmarried People

591
593 Children usually reside with their parents wherever the parents live. Sponsorship has been defined here in terms of both parents and the household in which the parents reside. Parentilocal residence is represented by 89 per cent of a sample of 201 unmarried individuals, but other cases are due to a variety of reasons, most often to situations in which one of the parents is dead or separated from the other definitively. Matrilocal sponsorship is met in the cases when the unmarried person is living with the mother on her natal compound or with the mother and a stepfather. Patrilocal sponsorship corresponds to the following cases: one in which the father is the sponsor, living in a nuclear house with his second wife who is the child's stepmother; cases of

591 children living in the father's parents' compounds without the
593 father who lives separately; one case of a boy living in his father's brother's compound, without his father who is remarried and lives in another household (mother is dead). Fratrilocal sponsorship (three cases) is due to the death of both parents at a late age in the unmarried individual's life. Adult "orphans" frequently reside with an elder married brother, who in terms of his jural authority and as economic head of the household, replaces the father.

Using Fischer's typology here becomes a real problem. Classifying children as parentilocal or fratrilocal biases the interpretation of the general patterns of residence. In practically all cases, children are sponsored by both parents, but the household in which they reside is a viri-patrilocal homestead. One could as well argue that the children are sponsored not by individual kin, but by a patrilocal household. In this case, patrilocal households will include nearly all of the unmarried population. On the other hand, when a child lives with an elder brother, this man is performing for him the role of father, and fratrilocal sponsorship is not a different type of residence choice, but the incidental effect of an individual's replacement of another man's role.

591
605 Residence Patterns for Ex-married People

The case of nepotilocal residence is an interesting one. In terms of Fischer's typology, we have a man living in his mother's sister's son's house. But from the point of view of this

591 587 [601] [183] The stepmother refers to her as "my husband's child," and she did not count her, when giving census information, among the children of her household, but as a child living with "my husband's mother." Another characteristic that makes this case [848] anomalous is that this stepchild was born of an extra-marital relation between the father and another woman, while the father was already married to the stepmother.

593 591 587 [428] The rationale given by the people when asked the reasons why a father does not keep his children with him, is that "stepmothers are no good." It is possible that one of the main forces operating behind this arrangement is the possibility of conflict over inheritance rights of stepchildren. By assigning rights and duties towards stepchildren only to stepfathers, it is implied that a man marrying a woman with children takes not only a wife, but the economic and jural responsibilities of being a father, including the duty of making them his heirs. We do not have, at the moment, sufficient information to support this point, and it is only given here as a suggestion for future inquiry.

591 592 423 426 These alternative rules of residence explain the composition of the compound households made up of the remnants of two or more original nuclear families, except for the cases in which people are living in borrowed houses. In one of the two cases in our sample, a house was "borrowed" from a brother of the husband's father. The family living in this compound is a very large one, twelve members, with only two males who are of working age, and very poor by Aguacatenango standards. The male head is an orphan who lived before marriage with his mother's mother and

125 the village any more. These cases seem to illustrate common alternatives, and we must mention them briefly.

591 We know of three cases in which a newly married couple
593 moved to the husband's brother's compound. In those cases, the
183 brother was an elder who jurally replaced the father, and it seems that he took the responsibility of paying the bride-price for his
591 brother's wife. We also had four cases of men who, at the time
603 of their marriage, were living with the mother's mother. It
183 seems that this was the result of the parents being dead, and the fact that no other relative was left in the original compound.

Amatenango Residence

Residence of Married Couples

591
183 In Amatenango, unlike Aguacatenango, there is no "indication of a single general form of residence pattern" which the villagers would verbalize as normative. "At any stage in the developmental cycle alternative choices in residence with the man's or the woman's relatives depends not on the lineal tie, but on economic factors" (Nash, 1960:41).

591 Married couples live with the parents of one of the spouses
592 for a year or two after they marry. During these years, the young
583 husband is expected to give some labor to the wife's father by
606 working with him in his fields, helping him to carry wood to make the hearth in which women burn pottery, and by performing other small services. The couple live only temporarily with the parents. The stability of the compound households depends on several factors. If there are other marriageable children, offspring of

591 the head of the household, it is likely that the younger couple
592 will move to another house after the temporary service period. If a couple has a married daughter or son living in the house, they will not insist, when a second child marries, that the first couple remain in the unit. Apparently, the most efficient work group is a dyad, both for agricultural work and pottery making (see below). The last child whether male or female will stay in
[428] the home and inherit it after the parents' death. It is unlike
[184] Aguacatenango where the rule is that only a male child inherits the house.

591 The choice of which parents' household should be the residence of a new couple requires a separate decision for each particular case. The factors that determine the choice are (1) the economic condition of the parents of each spouse; (2) the presence or absence of other children in each spouse's family of orientation, and (3) the age of the couple.

[556] "A new couple will take up residence quarters with the parents who are economically better off, with more land and cattle" (Nash, J., 1960:45). The second factor is related to the fact that
[593] if a couple has married children living in the house who can help
[592] with the agricultural work and the making of pottery, they are not as anxious to keep their other children as members of the household labor force. The third factor is a personal, rather than a
[582] standard, choice, because if a bride is very young at the time of marriage, "her mother may prevail upon the couple to stay in her home until later, even if the boy is working with his father and is to inherit his homestead" (Nash, J., 1960:45).

591
592 The distribution of couples living in compounds shows that the primary sponsorship by the parents of the man or the woman are perfectly balanced choices for the community as a whole, each one accounting for 50 per cent of the total number of cases. (See Table 13.)

TABLE 13

AMATENANGO RESIDENCE: UXORILOCALITY VERSUS VIRILOCALITY IN COMPOUND HOUSEHOLDS[a]

	Virilocal		Uxorilocal	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Only child living with parents, other siblings married and apart	20	18	18	16
Other immature children living with parents	20	18	15	13
Other married siblings living in the same *sitio*	7	6	9	8
Lives in own house in compound *sitio* with parents	10	8	15	13
Total	57	50	57	50

[a]After Nash, J., 1960.

591
593
361 After a couple has moved out of the parental compound in which they were residing, sponsorship by the parents, measured by the degree of residential proximity to the progenitors of each spouse and by the pattern of house-inheritance, also shows a similar distribution, but there is a statistically significant difference between a woman's proximity to her family of orientation after marriage and a man's: 64 per cent of the men in the community live within a block's distance from their parents, while

591 only 49 per cent of the women do so (see Table 14). This indi-
593 cates that patrilocal, patrilineal emphasis is stronger, and the
361 difference needs to be explained.

174 It is very possible that the community of Amatenango had,
591 in the near past, patrilocal residence norms, as does Aguacatenango and most communities in the Chiapas Highlands. The patrilocal norms would have been in agreement with the presence of agnatic descent lines of which the only remnant, today, in Amatenango, is the agnatic inheritance of Indian names attached to the Spanish surname of the villagers. If this were so, we could explain the persistence of a patrilocal emphasis in these terms. This is a dangerous enterprise because to accept this explanation is to dismiss the importance of the case by arbitrarily attributing the phenomenon to an historical survival, an intellectual misdemeanor which modern anthropology has seriously questioned. But we do
591 not need to utilize this explanation. In the first place, although
428 inheritance is bilateral, the inheritance of the house site shows
423 that patrilineal house sponsorship still is stronger than matrilineal.

> In the inheritance of the house site, women received the land in 30 per cent of the cases, men in 34 per cent. Patrilineal inheritance was more frequent in the parental generation. If we take the figures indicating which parent gave the land to the child, mothers passed on the land in 15 per cent of cases known, and fathers passed on the land in 26 per cent of the known 68 cases. (Nash, J., 1960:51).

If the place of residence is inherited from the male line more often than from the female, it is to be expected that viripatrilocal proximity would be stronger. This offers a reasonable explanation for the higher incidence of patrilocal proximity. The

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 157]

TABLE 15

423
428

AMATENANGO: HOUSE TRANSACTIONS AND INHERITANCE

	Number	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent
Inherited from the wife's relatives	78	30	30
Inherited from the husband's relatives	79	34	34
Bought	50	19	
Received from Ejido	27	10	30.5
Borrowing	4	1.5	
Inherited from husband	12	4.5	
Inherited from wife	1	.5	5.5
Unmarried orphan, inherited from parents	1	.5	
Total	262	100.0	100.0

591 The
428 fact that this pattern of house sponsorship directly affects the
423 emphasis on patrilocality is compensated for by some recent changes
433
593 in the economic conditions of the village. In Amatenango, the cooperative bonds between father and son in agricultural work, united with the emphasis on patrilineal inheritance of house sites, foster patrilocality, but, at the same time, the bonds between father and son have entered in competition with the cooperative relation developed between a woman and her daughter in making pottery. If a woman lives close to her mother-in-law, she will assist her more often than her own mother in the firing of pottery--"If a man lives with his wife's family, he will assist his father-in-law in the fields more than he will work with his own father" (Nash, J., 1960:49).

423 593 The reasons for keeping a son are not as pressing as the [432] reasons for keeping a daughter. Amatenango land holdings are [184] somewhat smaller than Aguacatenango, and the buying and selling of agricultural parcels, as long as it does not involve outsiders to the village, is a common practice which accounts for approximately 16 per cent of land transactions. The

423 241 592 464 limited land holding units in Amatenango require minimal cooperation in agriculture. Because of fractured land holdings, fewer than one-half of the households have two tablones . . . of land. Therefore, fewer than one-half the households can keep more than one man actively employed. Even in those households with from two to five tablones, a man and his adult son are sufficient labor for most activities except harvest. 592 323 434 868 Women's pottery production, however, requires frequent cooperation. Two tendencies are reinforcing the cooperation of women, especially of mothers and daughters: (1) with increasing need for cash income to buy products which are not longer produced in the home, or which have been introduced, money [582] is constantly needed. Pottery offers an easy means of acquiring cash with almost immediate returns, and (2) marriages are [178] currently contracted at a later age for girls than formerly. Before, about a generation ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve were the rule. Most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques begins at that age. Consequently, pottery was taught to the daughter by the mother-in-law if the girl was married and resided in the husband's house. (See Frans [114] Blom and Oliver LaFarge [1927] who commented that all pottery was taught by the mother-in-law.) Most marriages now are contracted for girls from 14 to 17 years of age. At this time they are already proficient potters, and accustomed to working with their mother. Therefore, there is a greater stress put on their remaining in or near their parental home after marriage (Nash, J., 1960:47).[1]

592 868 323 The people of Amatenango recognize that during the period in which a woman learns to make pottery, she establishes particular habits of cooperation and a strong solidarity bond with the woman from whom she learns and with whom she works. "Parents say that there is an advantage in early marriages, in that the girl would be more willing to learn the ways of her mother-in-law if she

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[161] [1]It is also important to notice that with the increase in population over the area, the market has increased.

TABLE 16

AMATENANGO RESIDENCE: PARENTS AND CHILDREN
PROXIMITY IN SANTA CRUZ[a]

361
591
.593

Proximity	Live in:	Men		Women	
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Same Neighborhood	Same house	3	40	7	67
	Next door	2		6	
	Same block	1		1	
	Santa Cruz	5		4	
Different Neighborhood	Same barrio	13	60	7	33
	Other barrio	3		1	
	Other town	1		2	
Total		28	100	28	100

	Women +	Women -
Village	81.5	86.5
Santa Cruz	17.5	10.5

$x^2 = 18.786$ 10.827 significance level at .001

	Men +	Men -
Village	94.5	54.5
Santa Cruz	11.5	16.5

$x^2 = 4.902$ 3.841 significance level at .05

[a]After Nash, J., 1960.

582 richer family marrying a woman of a poorer family" (Tax, 1953:
171 202). "In only 13 of the 36 cases [reported by Tax] were the two families nearly at the same economic level" (Tax, 1953:203). Also, "exceptional but not uncommon" is that a rich man will marry his daughter to a poorer man and rather than loosing a worker, he gains another. In contrast with Panajachel is the case of Chichicastenango (a neighbor to the north) in that, "the time of women in Chichicastenango has until recently not had cash value. (Increased weaving for the tourist trade may change this.) Therefore, in Chichicastenango as opposed to Panajachel there is encouragement to marry within the same wealth class" (Tax, 1953: 206).

128 Affective Relations Within the Household

We have shown how some of the relationships within the domestic group are affected by the patterns of economic activity. In this section, we will discuss them in a different context; rather than in terms of interaction, we shall discuss them in terms of sentiment (Homans, 1950).

121 Homans (1950) has shown how intimacy and affection increase with increased association and interaction, but he also indicated that a relationship of formal respect and asymmetrical authority discourages confidence and affective ties (1950:247) or "at any rate, the fact of authority seems to turn the relationship into an ambiguous, or as the psychoanalyst would say, an ambivalent one" (1950:244).

121 In both Amatenango and Aguacatenango, this type of ambiva-
593 lence is present in the father-son relation, as we indicated in

121 previous pages. Homans points out that this ambiguity is neither
593 accidental, nor "natural," but "tends to reappear in societies all over the world in which the family is an important productive unit and the father is the boss" (Homans, 1950:245).

593 The relation son-mother, however, ought to be different
[184] in the two communities. In Aguacatenango, a mother has less and less authority over a son the older he grows. While a man is a child, she controls him without discussion, but as he becomes more and more mature, his role as a man, a superior, makes for conflicting social power. On the one hand the mother is older, and therefore has more authority. Yet on the other hand, she is a female, and therefore the son (a male) has more authority. The balancing of authority between the two cancels it out. A son can, if he wishes, completely alienate himself from his mother. She has not much power to punish or sanction him, no property she can withdraw from him. If he misbehaves, she can only try to advise him or complain to her husband. On the other hand, the absence of authority between the two makes the relationship highly affectionate. If a son stays at home or close-by after marriage, the interaction mother-son is frequent and friendly. In many cases the mother will make a coalition with the son against her husband, defending the younger man. Mothers tend to be very partial towards the judgement of their sons' behavior, and sons obtain what they want from the fathers through their mothers.

In Amatenango, the mother has more economic power over the
[434] son. She can give him cash for extra needs, and he can inherit
[428] land or a house from her, as well as from his father.

128 593 One would expect, then, that the affective distance between mother and son in Amatenango would be larger. It is unfortunate that this hypothesis cannot be tested at the moment. This author does not have available the relevant information to make the comparison reliable.

593 184 There is evidence, nonetheless, that the sibling bond is different.

In Aguacatenango, the important sibling bond after marriage is only between the siblings who have cooperative tasks to carry out in common: brothers. The relationships of brothers with [607] sisters is respectful and distant, and brothers-in-law are not equated, in behavioral terms, with brothers. Sisters, after marriage, have little chance to see each other, except at fiestas, and they become quite alien to each other.

In Amatenango, on the contrary, the sibling bond is multilateral. Sisters and sisters collaborate with each other, brothers with brothers, and siblings of different sex also do so. Moreover, [607] siblings-in-law are equated with siblings, and they form a complex generational set of group relations.

606 184 A final difference in the affective content of role relations within the domestic group is the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law relations.

606 593 184 In Aguacatenango, there is a striking contrast between the relation mother-daughter and the relation daughter-in-law-mother-in-law. We have discussed extensively how antagonistic and asymmetrical it is. Although the mother has authority over the daughter, she plays (has played) a nurturant role for her, which

606 184 a mother-in-law does not. The affective ties which develop with
[593] the nurturant figure are extremely durable, even though they seldom see each other after the daughter marries.

[868] In Amatenango, perhaps because of early marriages which increase the nurturant aspect of the mother-in-law role (she certainly takes part in the socialization of the daughter-in-law by teaching her how to make pottery), and because of the establishment of a relationship before the younger woman had many chances to establish adult affective ties with any woman other than her own mother, the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond is less tense. The women create a strong solidarity bond in their active cooperation in pottery making, and their association is both intense and constant. The result is that "a successful relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is not an authoritarian one, but is rather characterized by mutual cooperation" (Nash, J., 1960:
184 29, 62-67). We can also observe that the residence pattern
591 grants, in Aguacatenango, unconditional power to the mother-in-law,
606 while in Amatenango, where a woman after marriage can reside with
578 her own parents if she dislikes her in-laws, a mother-in-law is made to be more careful about her own behavior towards the younger woman. If she is too harsh, she can find herself with no female help in the house, and losing a son at the same time, which means that the household loses two laborers.

000 precisely stated. Today, with the total increase in land holdings,
423 the influence of the Ejido Commission (however minimal) and the
621
592 introduction of a money economy in which land is becoming more
178 and more of a commodity that can be bought and sold, in terms of contract transactions, land tends to be thought of as individual
[593] household property. There have been several cases in which brothers have bought land from each other, although they are the people from which a line member can expect to obtain land, or in the absence of it, the necessary help to clear and fence a new parcel in forested communal territory.

178 Other reasons for the constant breaking of linearity,
613 which reduced the patriline to a very shallow group, are inherent
593 in the system itself. First, the antagonism between brothers over
423 property rights tends to make the sibling group weak, and agnatic lines split in each generation.

593 Insofar as siblings occupy an equivalent position with
[592] respect to the elders in the household, their sentiments towards one another are easy and affectionate, but insofar as the elder sibling has jural authority over the younger ones, the relationship is marked by constraint, respect and a certain ambivalence.

Thus, siblings are expected to love each other, to give each other company, to help when necessary, and to share, in some aspects of their life, a common position with respect to the community at large, or what Homans calls the external system (1950: 90-94).

The equivalence of siblings, especially those of the same sex, is evident in many observations. A man whose brother is

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

593 [620] A man whose brother is accused of witchcraft is very likely to share the same accusation; if a man beats his wife, he can be blamed by his younger brother because the first one's reputation hinders the chances of the second for getting himself a wife. If a woman is lazy, people will assume that her sister is also lazy, and so on. Paradoxically, at the same time that siblings are equivalent for certain purposes, they are not in relation to each other. An elder sibling has, from early in life, power to scold, punish or control his younger siblings. The older they grow, the more the age difference becomes important. While one could be already working with the father in the fields, the other is still a playing child. While one gets married and becomes a man, the other is still under his father's authority.

The elder brother is always a possible jural replacement [736] for the father. If the father dies and a man is a bachelor with a married brother, his elder brother replaces the father in terms of jural authority over him, is in charge of supporting him, working with him in the field, paying for his bride-price, etc.

[410] [578] On the one hand, the relationship of brothers is one of collaboration, intense association for work and mutual dependency; on the other, the differential distribution of authority creates a certain amount of antagonism between the two.

593 578 538 This antagonism between brothers is symbolically expressed in myths, legends and tales, many of which contain both a younger and elder brother who spend their time trying to kill each other, being alternately successful until the younger sibling is the final victor.

593 578 538 The folk tales reflect, undoubtedly, the pattern of ultimogeniture and, perhaps, a switch from primogeniture to ultimogeniture. The meaning of the folk tales becomes obvious because of other elements which enter in the conflict.

428 592 593 If a younger son is married at the time of his father's death, he inherits his house, and replaces his father as head of the domestic group, following the norm of agnatic ultimogeniture. But if a younger son is single at the time of his father's death, his elder brother replaces the father and inherits from him. In this last case, it is his duty to provide for his younger brother's support, and at the time that he marries, split the paternal inheritance with him, giving the younger son his share of land, cattle or whatever was left for them.

183 428 592 593 [591] [583] The "rules of the game"[1] are, in the second case, not as explicit as in the normative pattern. Many alternative forms of behavior occur. In some cases, the elder son will move out of the paternal home when his younger brother marries and brings his wife to the homestead. In other cases, he will expect to be compensated for his brother's bride-price and for having supported him and his mother. He would probably reclaim part of the property, or force his younger brother to sell the house and share the money obtained with him.

In still other cases, he will even refuse to give the younger son his share, or move out of the compound.

593 578 It is obvious that not all men are alike in temperament

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[1]That is, the adjustment between authority rights and succession rights.

593 578 nor in brotherly love. At times, the transmission of property and authority is smooth; at times it reaches open conflict and extreme hostility.

[754] In several case histories from Aguacatenango, this antagonism between brothers has been expressed by the informants in the "witchcraft" idiom.

593 578 759 428 In one case, for example, a man, while drunk, threatened his younger brother with witchcraft, because their father had not given him a house (the man lived in a house given to him by his wife's relatives), but the younger brother was known to everybody to have been promised his father's sitio. In another case, a man, Miguel, gave his brother, Juan, part of his father's inheritance. Juan divided it among his own sons without consulting Miguel. After a while, one of Juan's sons died, and the people said that it was Miguel, angered by the distribution of property which he considered his own, who had bewitched Juan's son, his own agnatic nephew, in revenge.

593 578 325 The antagonism between brothers reaches aspects other than inheritance itself, such as the rights of sons over father's economic assistance. Church weddings, for example, are considered to be more binding than the traditional local ceremony or civil marriages. In most cases, there is a second marriage ceremony performed after the birth of a child, when the marriage has proved stable and the couple needs to have proof of a religious wedding to get the child baptized.

In one of our case histories from Aguacatenango, the rivalry of two brothers became evident over the matter of a church

593 578 585 wedding. One son had married and already lived outside his father's compound. His younger brother was married, but stayed with the father. The younger brother obtained from his father a church wedding and the fiesta which accompanies it. The elder felt cheated. He was older, but he had not been given a church wedding, which he felt he should have had first. The father insisted that the elder son did not deserve it. First, he had not stayed in the house long enough after his marriage because "his wife was a bad daughter-in-law and insisted on moving out taking him away." Second, he was living outside his sitio and, being economically independent, he should have been able to pay for his own church wedding.

[626] The opinions of the villagers were divided. On the one hand, it was clear that only the child who is being supported had the right to get the father's direct economic assistance. On the other hand, the elder son had seniority rights.

593 578 428 We do not know the outcome of this particular case, but the evidence is strong enough to suggest that the relationship between brothers, especially in terms of each one's position as an heir with respect to their father, is not clearly resolved by the society, and is (1) a likely place of conflict in the social structure, and (2) a point of fission in the patriline genealogical continuity and depth. Second, the alternative pattern of patri-uxorilocal residence, and the concomitant fact that a man works the land with his affinals and inherits from them, and that a woman can inherit a house site, breaks in some cases the exclusive rights of inheritance within the patriline.

562 428 598 The inheritance rights of women are highly controversial. All the cases of conflict over the inheritance or rights of usufruct of land, that we know about, involved a woman in the line [183] of transmission. But however controversial, they are an established pattern. This is shown in the following cases.

Case 1

159 592 593 562 554 428 434 Delfina is about twenty-four years old, and still single. She was raised by her godmother in San Cristóbal, and her aspirations are to become a Ladina. She has consistently refused to marry any Indian man, and lives with her parents in a large compound. She is economically self-sufficient (perhaps the only woman in the village which is in the same position), because she works for the INI as a sewing teacher, and her status in the household is quite high due to the fact that she draws a large salary and that her parents are close to senility and dependent on her. Until recently, her married brother lived in the compound with his parents. He insisted that at his parents death he should inherit everything: land, house and animals. Delfina and his father were of the opposite opinion: the house should be for Delfina, since she was supporting them and, as she expressed it: "she did not get married." Faced with the brother's insistence about his traditional rights, the father ordered him out of the household, and he and his wife left town and went to live in [626] Amatenango. Most villagers, however, think that Delfina is in the wrong. They say that she is alzada (prideful) and loose in her relations with Ladino men (the employees of the INI that come to the village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

159 now cultivating it, and has been doing so for a long time, refuses
428
562 to return it, even if he is paid half of the value of the land, or
578 only asked to give half of it to Chilola's son.

The reason for the inheritance rights of the people concerned not being clear is that twice, in the sequence of transmission, women have passed on the property, and as a result, it has left the hands of the original lineage.

Chilola's feelings are quite strong: the land belonged to
[606] her husband. Even if her mother-in-law had rights over the prop-
[736] erty at Chilola's husband's death, she was being supported by Chilola, and certainly, neither her mother-in-law's second husband nor their daughter has primacy rights against her son. (See Genealogy, Fig. 16.)

[423] The case is obviously complicated by the fact that the property rights are defined not only in terms of inheritance rights, but in terms of usufruct (in a sense, they do not have land tenure, but milpa tenure), and the other men had been taking care of the parcel for a long time, which makes them feel that it is theirs.

159
422 This type of conflict carries over to other property, such
593 as livestock, as exemplified in the next case.
578

Case 3

When Candelario Aguilar married, Juana, his wife received
[131] a regalo from her father: a bull. Candelario sold the bull and bought a cow, which had a calf.

Candelario left town and gave the cow and calf to his father Francisco, so that they would take care of it in his absence.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 193]

159 During the branding of animals in the village, Francisco received
422 a letter from Candelario asking him to brand the cow and calf for
593 him. Francisco and his son, Epifanio, did so.
578

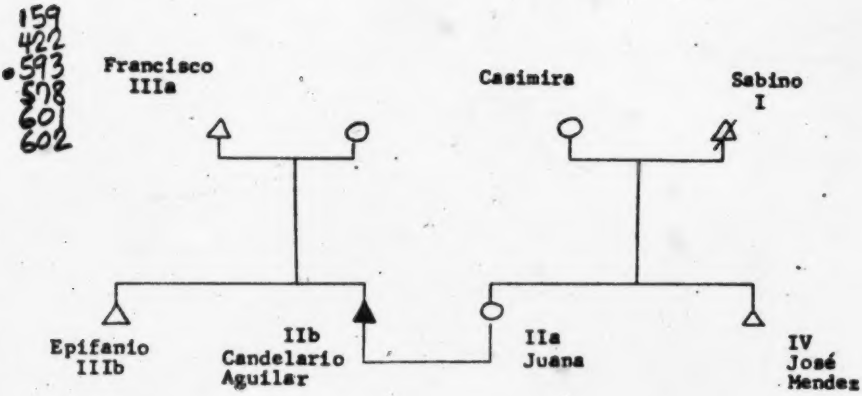
This started the conflict. Jose Mendez, Juana's brother, felt that the cow and calf did not rightfully belong to Candelario, nor to Francisco or Epifanio, but to him. Epifanio had a fight with Jose, and the latter, insisting on his rights, which were not very clear, stated that Candelario had sold him the cow (which was not true), when they were working in the lowlands together. Casimira, Juana and Jose's mother, supported Jose's claims over the animals, because it was the money obtained from Juana's bull that had paid for the cow that had the calf. The relatives of her daughter's husband had less right over the animal than Juana's brother.

It is possible that Jose felt that the cow and calf had been purchased with the money obtained from selling a bull which was originally his father's, not his sister's. Even if it was his sister's, he felt he had more right to use it than the sister's husband's brother and father. If owner of the bull or the cow had been a brother rather than a sister, the conflict would not have arisen. (For genealogy see Fig. 17.)

177 Third, with the introduction of Catholicism, although the
178 native belief system has preserved many of its early features,
754 it is now, without doubt, a new syncretic elaboration. The per-
796 vasive witchcraft powers are, for example, attributed now to
613 Catholic saints, but the concept that the lineage heads of <u>principales</u> have witchcraft power to punish deviants within their

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango



I to IIb indicate the order in which the bull was transmitted.

IIb-IIIb indicate the order in which cow and calf were transmitted.

IV is the man that pretends to have rights over the animals, with his mother's support.

Fig. 17.--Genealogy of Candelario Aguilar

184 vis-à-vis their husbands and male kinsmen, while in Aguacatenango,
182 it makes them economically dependent, and subordinates from a jural
462 point of view. In one case females inherit as men do, in the
592 other, inheritance follows a male line. In one case, they control
562 the same property as men do, in the other, they control only
434 marginal property.
[428]
[421]

(3) The relative importance of a man is labor versus a
184 woman's labor within the domestic unit affects residence. In
182 Aguacatenango, where all important productive activities are in
462 the hands of men, residence is patri-virilocal, and only males are
434 residence sponsors regularly. In Amatenango, where productive activities are in the hands of both males and females, residence is alternately matri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal, and both males and females can become residence sponsors. In Amatenango, households that depend more on the women's labor in pottery making are uxorilocal, while households in which the largest part of the domestic group income is derived from agriculture have post-marital patri-virilocal residence of their members.
591
[323]
[241]

184 In Aguacatenango, where all household income is derived
182 from agriculture and residence is patri-virilocal, matri-uxorilo-
434 cality occurs sporadically due to some other economic and non-
591 economic factors: (a) the inheritance of some land in the female
593 line when a daughter structurally replaces a son; (b) the coopera-
428 tive work between father-in-law-son-in-law when they replace the
562 position of father and son for each other; (c) the payment of
602 curing ceremonies and medicines for a sick married woman by her
606 own kin rather than her husband's.
75

184 (4) The reciprocal financial obligations between parents
182
428 and children in Amatenango, and between parents and sons in Agua-
593 catenango, to support each other at different stages of the developmental cycle of their respective domestic groups affect the rule of ultimogeniture.

184 (5) The relative wealth of the natal domestic group of
182 the spouse, measured by the amount of land controlled by the unit
582
591 affects (a) the choice of marriage partner, and (b) the residence
556 of the newly married couple. In Aguacatenango, where residence is normatively patri-virilocal, parents try to marry their daughters within the same economic level of their own households. In Amatenango, marriages occur across wealth lines, and the couple reside with the parents of the spouse who are better off.

184 (6) The relative importance of men versus female co-
182 operative work groups, and/or the difference in structuring of
462 work groups affects (a) the sibling bond; (b) the mother-daughter
476
593 bond; and (c) the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond.
[606] In Aguacatenango, where only men form cooperative work groups, the brother-brother bond is stronger than the sister-sister bond or the brother-sister bond.

In Amatenango, where both males and females form cooperative
[607] work groups, the multilateral sibling bond is reinforced to the point of including siblings-in-law.

184 In Aguacatenango, economic rivalry between siblings tends
593 to disrupt the brother bond with constant conflict. Thus, relation-
578
591 ships are more vertically oriented which is consistent with the
[613] presence of agnatic descent lines (in Amatenango, generational

184 solidarity is stronger than cross-generational solidarity), but
593 generational conflict tends to disrupt the collateral extension
578
591 of patriline growth, making every patriline segment a shallow
613 descent group containing few generations in depth, and only few collaterals.

184 (7) Territorial propinquity between households in each
361 village follows the social propinquity established in terms of eco-
592 nomic reciprocity and work interaction. Thus, in Amatenango resi-
476 dence for individuals, interaction between households and the settlement of a neighborhood follow a bilateral pattern, while in Aguacatenango the three follow the male and agnatic line. The type of economic organization, based on the domestic group, correlates with the type of domestic group formed thereof.

184 The domestic group in Aguacatenango, with an internal
59 economy based on the cooperative work of father and son and the
428 transmission of property in the male line, is a kinship unit built
562 around a core of agnatically related males with patri-virilocal residence. Among the Aguacatecos, at least one son of the nuclear family remains in the parents' household after marriage. All other children marry and move out, the sons staying close to the father. In this way, the family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of agnatic order, which extends itself in space as a patrilocally localized agnatic line, and perpetuates itself, in time, through the principle of agnatic ultimogeniture.

The domestic group in Amatenango, with an internal economy based on the cooperative work of both a father and son, a mother

the new officials are publicly defined before overlapping sets of participants and observers. Within each setting, the multiple sets of relationships which determine the individual's selection for a role are indicated in Appendix 3. 621* [571] [602]

It has often been stated of Guatemalan and Mexican highland Maya communities that public office is an undertaking of the household. The precise dimensions of this support have yet to be defined in an activity context. Visitors and helpers in the household celebration provide one such context in which the parameters of the aid can be defined (Charts 2, 3, 4). Primary support is given by the official's wife, without whom he would not be serving in the hierarchy.[5] She serves him by waiting for him in the house, taking care of the money he might have to guard as a civil official, and watching him while he is drunk from the bouts in the townhall so that he will not harm himself by falling in the fire or be harmed by his enemies. His advisors and councilors in the household are the *nakawanehetik*.[6] These are men who have passed through some of the civil offices —at least those of *alferez* and first regidor—and who are somehow related to the new official.[7] A second group of supporters in the household serve as errand boys and assistants, the *balnialetik*. They are chosen from among brothers, brothers-in-law,[8] sons, *compadres* (ritual co-parents), godchildren, and neighbors. A third group are the *ʔikoltawanehetik*, the fe- 621* 592 [574] [593] [602]

[5] Innumerable instances attest to the significance of the wife in officeholding. For example, at the final ceremony in a betrothal, the boy is advised by his elders that now he will be called to serve the pueblo. Or, in the court case of a judge whose wife wished to leave him because he had beaten her, the other judges counseled her to wait until he had completed his term of office.

[6] The term *nakawanehetik* may be derived from the honorific prefix *nak*, found in other Maya languages (Laʔarge, 1947). Another possibility is that it may be the stem *na*, 'house,' plus *kawanehetik*, tentatively glossed as 'officials.' [193]

[7] In the case of the president (in the observed sequence) his father, who had passed through all the offices up to the first judge and had fulfilled his turns in the religious hierarchy as well, was the first *nakawane*.

[8] The term *bal* is generic for brother-in-law, *nial* for father-in-law, but whether this formerly had significance in the selection of assistance I do not know. At present, brothers-in-law are chosen along with others, such as godchildren or neighbors. [601]

[P. 216-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX 3A—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN CIVIL INAUGURATION

	Setting	Role (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	Relationship	Behavior
*621 105 192 554 593 [574]	House, evening of inauguration	*?AČ'A?TEL*, new officials	Ego	Receives guests, sits next to leader *nakawane*
		NAKAWANEHETIK, house officials	Father of new official or elder of neighborhood who has passed in higher offices (first regidor and elder mayordomo)	Initiates greetings; sits in head seat
		BALNIALETIK, assistants	Sons of new officials, husbands of daughters or of sisters	Serve food, measure drinks
[608]		*?AK'SIETIK*, wood gatherers	Neighbors, compadres, brothers	Bring wood, eat, drink
		ME?ELETIK, Me?il K'op, woman speaker Yinam, wife	Mother, or elder relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings
		SKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers		Serves food. Cook food, dish out food, eat
*621 105 192 554 [593]	House, morning of inauguration	*NAKAWANEHETIK*, house officials	Father and/or elder neighbors	Initiates greetings, addresses blessing to liquor
		A?TELETIK ALKALETIK REHIROLETIK, judges, regidores	Men of village	Receive food and liquor
[602] [608]		*BALNIALETIK*, assistants	Brothers-in-law, godsons, compadres, fa's sis's sons, brother, comadre's son, neighbors	Serve food, measure drink
[574]		*YULATAK*, visitors	Men from rural colonias	Give *abrazo*, embrace, to new president, eat, drink
		ME?ELETIK, women Me?il k'op Sžebal Sme? Yolebal Sme?	Mother or elder relative ? ? ?	Responds to *nakawane's* and *alkal's* greeting. Orders women in serving of food
		ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	(See Chart 3)	Cooks food, dishes out food
	Townhall, morning session, civil inauguration	*K'A?A?TELETIK*, old officials	Men of village	Drink; wait for new officials seated
[594]		*?ALPERESETIK*, alfereces	Men of village	Bring banners from church, drink wait for new officials

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzoʔontahal

APPENDIX 3B—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN RELIGIOUS INAUGURATION

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554
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SETTING	ROLE (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	RELATIONSHIP	BEHAVIOR
[574] House of kobraria Sacramento, morning of inauguration	KOBRARIA SAKRAMENTU	Ego	Receives guests; sits at first seat on outside wall near door
[604] [605]	NAKAWANEHETIK	Fa's brother and fa's brother's sons	Initiates greetings, sits at head seat
[593] [608]	BALNIALETIK	Sons, sons of campadres, neighbors	Serve liquor, food
[602] [608]	MEʔELETIK, women Meʔilk'op, woman speaker	Elder female relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings, orders helpers
	ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	Comadres, sisters, neighbors	Prepare food, coffee
	MARTOMAETIK 3 KOBRARIA TATILETIK NIČ'ANILETIK		Eat and drink. Listen to advice of *nakawanehetik*
Church, morning of inauguration	PÍŠKAL, fiscal KURA, priest ʔAČ'MARTOMAETIK, new mayordomos K'A MARTOMAETIK, old mayordomos		Advises mayordomos of duties. Divides up candles brought by mayordomos; hands them to new mayordomos

778 natural elements (hail, wind, storms),
821 which often threaten and destroy the corn-
823 fields.

Distribution of Huts

621 In the parajes as well as in the centers the tendency to cluster huts in patrilineal nuclei is strong. One perceives this tendency also where lineage or clan ties still persist (Oxchuc).

[594] The majority of households consist of the elementary family, a couple and their
342 offspring. The habitations include a hut,
343 which serves as dormitory and kitchen, plus
[417] chickencoop, pigpen, and, sometimes, the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths.
343 Among industrious families another small hut serves exclusively as a kitchen. Seldom
417 does a fence separate this nucleus from its neighbors, but it may protect a vegetable patch from animals. In the capital, however, each family must fence its lot.

Relationships between Communities

628 Communities establish commercial and other ties according to their ecological distribution and cultural condition. In the southern zone, Amatenango and Aguacatenango form a kind of unit, based on physical proximity and cultural affinity. Their residents meet frequently at the Sunday market of Teopisca. In the central zone, Oxchuc, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Tenango, which more or less share ways of life and natural environment, form another informal association, contacts resulting from the weekly markets of Tenejaya and Yochib. In the northern zone, Sitala and Guaquitepec form another unit. Ocosingo, Chilon, and Yajalon are centers of commercial and political importance, occupied largely by Ladinos but used as trade centers by Indians throughout the northern zone.

412 TECHNOLOGY

Tools and Techniques

Farming tools are the most important: axe

[P 205-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Oxchuc

TABLE 3—DOMESTIC COMPOSITION

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	Number	Percentage
Nuclear Families:		
Man, wife, no children	4	8.2
Man, wife, children	19	38.8
Man, 2 wives, no children	1	2.0
Man, 2 wives, children	5	10.2
Widow, children	2	4.1
Man, wife, children not own	2	4.1
	33	67.4
592 596 Extended Families:		
Man, wife, married son and wife	6	12.2
Man, wife, married daughter	2	4.1
Widow, married son	6	12.2
Widow, married daughter	1	2.0
Man, wife, married son, and married grandson	1	2.0
	16	32.5

[P. 216-A]

601

Nial	son-in-law
Kalib	daughter-in-law
Nial-mamal	a man's father-in-law
Kalib-mamal	a woman's father-in-law
Nial-meel	a man's mother-in-law
Kalib-meel	a woman's mother-in-law

601 576 The word *tatik* (from *tat*, 'father') is usually applied as a courtesy name to all married males, without distinction of clan or lineage. The same applies to *metik* (from *me*, 'mother'), a term applied to all married females. *Mamtik* (from *mam*, 'grandfather') is the name given to old and also to very respected people.

601 608 The ritual kinship terminology is:

Tzeltal	*English*
Kumpare	compadre (GodFa of ego's children)
Kumale	comadre (GodMo of ego's children)
Jalatat	godfather
Jalamé	godmother
Jala-al	a woman's godson
Jala-nichan	a man's godson

594 *Family Groups*

The nuclear family, formed by a couple and their children, is the basic pattern throughout the region.
[P. 216-B]

out by a small group bearing a grudge, although in this case the 648
tribe as a whole stands more solidly back of the offenders.

The Bachajon exhibit internal dissension and strife to an un- 628
usual degree. There are many small, outlying sub-groups, some of which are more or less openly at war with the main body. In the description of Zona Sala oil camp (Chapter VIII) something has already been said of the settlement there of men driven away on account of the misbehaviour. They still call themselves Bachajon and maintain some slight intercourse with the tribe, although they are quite inimical in their attitude towards Indians passing through on the way to Palenque. There are other such settlements in different parts of the jungle, although these, having most recently split off, are the most hostile.

What group loyalty the Bachajon have centers around the de- 621
serted village that bears their name. It was described at the begin- 609
ning of this chapter. Founded under compulsion, deserted whenever possible, its church and Cabildo in ruins, none the less it is their focal point, jealously guarded from intrusion. These Indians have had the same experience as our own; the European comes first as a visitor, then a few settle for trade, then comes a host in their footsteps, until soon there is no place for the Indian, and he finds himself an intruder in his own home. Against this sequence of events, so common in our history, the Bachajon protect their land by an attitude of unremitting hostility. Travellers may pass through, but no trader may set up even a lean-to bower under which to display his wares, save during the few days of their main fiestas, although it would be a great convenience for them to have a store nearer than Ocosingo.

The destruction of the Spanish-built church and Cabildo, with 829
the substitution for them of native edifices, is curious. The feeling probably is that when they do congregate in their capital for a fiesta, they do not wish to be confronted by evidences of alien domination.

The strongest actual unit is that of the individual family, the 593
man, his wife, and children. Indians who are forced, for one reason 594
or another, to go into hiding in the jungle, will run great risks to return and fetch their wives and children. Even beyond this smallest 602
group there is a little feeling, a man's relatives by marriage or blood 627
often joining to support him in a feud, or to revenge a wrong done him. Similarly, the relatives of the individual who committed the [672]
wrong are held in some degree liable to punishment, although there is no formal rule of collective responsibility, the action taken depending largely on individual inclination.

177
178 lineage (which exists today in many other communities such as
754 Oxchuc), has disappeared. Without the basic belief in the super-
776
613 natural controlling powers of the lineage heads, the ritual activities performed by the lineage as a corporation became meaningless, and fell out of use.

592
613 Finally, from an economic point of view, the large patriline
434 household-compound, as a productive unit, is unfunctional, and the
421 characteristic form of the domestic group is now the nuclear house-
578 hold, which also contributes to the weakening of patriline strength. Within the nuclear household, it is difficult for its members to discriminate between the part of the household income that is derived from the household head in his capacity as a worker and that which is from his unmarried sons; between those profits which are derived from the household head as a capitalist who has provided tools and implements, and finally those which come from his capacity as "owner" of land. In a larger household, differences in labor input, rivalry between the women about the food controlled by themselves and belonging to their husbands, or between the men about the property rights of the produce derived from their common effort, tend to create conflict and disunity. In the
592
594 nuclear household, the division of labor is explicit, the role ex-
578 actly and minimally distributed, and conflict, in the case of its occurrence, is likely to be more quickly solved because the fission of the nuclear domestic group is equivalent to the disappearance of the household itself.

178
613 The functions before performed by the lineage are now
592 performed by the household, the community, or by the neighborhood
621
591
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/16/

601 614 The kinship terms, excepting those that extend to all the members of a clan, do not seem to apply to persons outside of those included in the charts (Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4). The terms that designate older siblings are applied to all the members of the paternal clan without taking into account the principle of generation or the age relative to EGO. This custom tends to be applied even among descendants of the same grandparents: an old woman greets the granddaughter of her paternal uncle, calling her uix (older sister) instead of the corresponding kitsín (younger sister), the young girl using the identical reciprocal in her reply. We can say that there is a tendency toward the elimination of the principle of generation and that of age relative to EGO even among close relatives, using only one term for sister, a woman's brother, and a man's brother (uix, xibel, and bankil), except within the limits of the elemental family.

601 602 614 An individual, when born, is related to the members of two clans: the paternal one, which is his own, and the maternal one. Upon contracting marriage, he establishes new relationships, applying, as we have already shown, the terms which designate brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law to all the members of the clan of the spouse. In this manner a Cancuquero can be related to all the members of the tribe or native group, because at present only three clans exist, one of which may be the clan of EGO, another the maternal clan, and the other one the clan of the spouse. This is not always the case, because an individual may have married within the clan of his mother, in which case his kichanes and his siblings-in-law belong to the same clan, preferring then the use [609] of the word bal to that of kichán. The members of the non-related clan receive the title of tatik and meetik (gentleman and lady).

582 587 614 614 595 The clans regulate marriage. Preferred clans with respect to the selection of a spouse do not seem to exist. Upon the death of the wife a man may marry again within the same clan or in the other. One of our informants had three successive wives belonging to the same clan, but this is exceptional. In the three cases of polygyny known to us the wives were not sisters: in one case the

/16 cont./

614 595 two women belonged to the same clan, and in the other two they were women from two different clans. The levirate and sororate 587 exist, but do not constitute a custom practiced /17/ by many; [174] formerly it must have been more frequent, as is proved by the fact of designating the stepfather and stepmother by the same terms used for the father's brother and mother's sister, respectively, 583 and the stepchildren as nephews and nieces. There are several 614 cases of marriage between brother and sister of one clan and sister and brother of another clan. Marriage between cross-cousins is 582 frequent, especially that of a man with the daughter of the mother's brother. Husband and wife always belong to the same generation.

591 Residence is patrilocal, with temporary matrilocal residence for a year after marriage.

593 There still prevails the custom that those who intercede in a 614 direct manner in the preparation of the cadaver and in the in- 964 humation must be members of a different clan. If a married woman who has not had children dies, she is buried with her relatives, without the intervention of her husband.

614 The members of one and the same clan co-operate among themselves and lend each other mutual aid; the younger people obey and respect their elders in the same way that a younger brother respects and obeys his older brother. And we have stressed [626] how "sorcery" is practiced only within the limits of the clan as a [754] means of social control.

Mexico City,
Mexico

101 Note: The materials for the present study were collected 114 during two seasons of field work: May-June, 1945, and June, 1946, 122 financed by the University of Chicago, Instituto Nacional de Antropología de México, and Government of the State of Chiapas.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The boy is expected to live for a year with the girl's parents; then he makes his own home, usually near that of his father. If the boy's parents are sufficiently powerful, they may pay the girl's parents twelve pesos in lieu of the year's service. Villa was informed that a woman unable to pay a debt or a fine may be taken as a secondary wife by any married man who will pay the debt or fine; that a woman who loses her virginity may be bought similarly of her parents for a little rum; and that in the case of any of these polygynous marriages, a single household is maintained. No such household was observed. 583 591 583 591 596 595 [681]

No information was obtained on birth customs,[30] or on customs in connection with death.[31] 114

Blom and LaFarge describe a church festival held at Tecojá ranch on June 22 and 23.[32] When Villa visited the highland villages the carnival was being celebrated. In Tenejapa on February 20 he witnessed the "Festival of the Flags" (*tahimalkin*). The (annually elected) leaders of the festival, the *alfereces*, assembled in the morning at the church. Each man conveyed a red banner with green edges, fastened to a pole, and each held in his mouth a short hook on which an orange was impaled. Nothing was learned as to the significance of these objects. The alfereces remained for a time inside the church drinking rum and singing. They then went by fours to pray in turn before each of the crosses set up in the village. The rest of the day they spent visiting the house of each one of them in turn; in each house they sang the same song sung in the church; in each the host offered rum, so that by nightfall all were drunk. These acts were to be twice repeated during the days following. They had for their stated purpose the announcement of the days of carnival. On the following Thursday the carnival became generally celebrated, and many natives went out costumed and masked. [796] [114] [574] [533]

The alfereces were accompanied by musicians, and also by three personages carrying the dried bodies of, respectively, a wild cat, a rodent called *saben*, and an iguana. Villa was informed that these animals are used in a later festal pantomime in which the alfereces enact a sowing, and in which these animals are represented as performing their characteristic mischief. [825]

Villa observed other elements of the carnival ritual in Oxchuc. On Thursday, February 24, Indians of the calpul of Santo Tomás assembled in the church where they prayed for a time before the large altar, and then danced and drank rum in the nave. The dance was performed alternately by men and by women, and was accompanied by music from a harp, a guitar, and a rattle made of a calabash and a deer's hoof. On the following day these acts were performed by Indians of the other calpul; on this occasion the music was furnished by two drums and a flute, and the leader (*capitán*) was dressed in red. On this latter day natives of the calpul of Santo Tomás moved in procession through the streets; four individuals bore each a large pole to which were fastened ribbons of various colors; a fifth carried a red banner. [535] [533]

[30] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359.

[31] *Ibid.*, 2:360–362.

[32] *Ibid.*, 2:364–368.

[33] The frequent association, in Middle America, of small animals, especially furred animals, with festivals, in connection with ideas of fertility and of festal buffoonery, has been noted. See Redfield, 1936, pp. 231–243. [171]

583 which are exchanged between future parents-in-law, the bride-
584 price or bocado is paid. The bocado is fixed: 300 pesos in goods.

582 Parents try to marry off their daughters within their own
184 economic level to provide a similar standard of living for them.
434 They will strongly refuse to give them to a poorer household if they are not very poor themselves. If the household is very poor, the first solution is to marry off the daughters, since they are consumers who do not contribute to the household income. If a poor household cannot find a husband for a daughter within the village, they will even give her to an outsider, for example, to a man from La Palizada. This is viewed as an unfortunate, but inevitable, choice. La Palizada is a settlement in the high, cold
[595] country. It is very poor. A woman marrying into it is viewed with pity because La Palizada men are polygamous and their wives work in the cornfields with them. Of two cases of marriages with La Palizada which we know about (one in the past and another that is contemporary), the only reason given for the marriage was the poverty of the households.

582 If a young man in town insists on marrying the daughter of a couple richer than his own household, they will refuse because
583 "the girl is not used to the hardships." If the girl decides on her own that she likes the man, the usual procedure is elopement at night to the boy's house. In this case, a poor man can get a richer bride without the bride-price, but he does not get any of the economic advantages shared by her family. The girl is cut-off from any social interaction with her family of orientation. Later, if the marriage proves stable, the young deviant couple can attempt

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Oxchuc

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Man, 2 wives, no children	1	2.0
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	33	67.4
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Widow, married daughter	1	2.0
Man, wife, married son, and married grandson	1	2.0
	16	32.5

[P 216-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

000 throughout the region. There are also com-
596 pound families in which other members, married or widowed, from the same patrilineal nucleus, plus their children, share the same house or the same kitchen.

[129] Table 3, taken from J. Nash (1959, p. 2), was compiled from data gathered in Oxchuc parajes, where we had our headquarters.

Of the 16 extended families, 13 are formed by married sons living in the parents' house; the married daughters living with their parents derive from the custom that the son-in-law spends a period of service in his father-in-law's house during the first months of marriage.

592 These types of family composition continue even in acculturated communities like Aguacatenango. According to B. Metzger (1959, p. 8), of the 174 homes that constitute this village, 121 are nuclear and 53 are extended families; of the latter, 15 are formed by parents living with their married sons and 10 are formed by widows living with an unmarried son. There are only two instances of parents who live in an unmarried daughter's house. Married brothers very seldom live in the same house.

000 Though the nuclear family predominates,

[P 216-C]

242 *Soil characteristics.* The potential productivity of flat irrigated lands is evaluated on the basis of two criteria: color of the soil and consistency of the soil. The preferred land for cultivation is the black loam mixed with some sand, (*?ihk'al hi?iletik lum*). The better, quicker growing corn seed is planted here. These very productive soils are called "hot" lands (*k'išin lum*). (Heat is associated with fertility in both lands and people: a pregnant woman and her husband are considered to be in a state of heat, and the contrast state of being cold is attributed to someone who is sterile.) The red (*tzab'alum*) yellow (*k'analum*), and white soils (*sak lum*) are poorer soils and the slower seed is planted here. These soils are considered "cold" (*sik*) and are thought to be "tired."

The loss of soil productivity is attributed either to the loss of the soul of the crop or to the fact that the soil gets "tired." Farmers have noticed that in the first five years of planting in Tulanca, the ejido land grant, the soil was "hot" and gave good crops. When this productivity was lost, people said the soul of the crop left. It is considered dangerous to start crops in the lower lands of hot country because when the location of crops is changed, the soul leaves its original residence. The notion of crop soul loss does not conflict with the awareness of natural causes of soil productivity. Fields are left fallow for four or five years when productivity diminishes and the soil is "tired." The irrigated lands are in continuous use because there is some replenishment of fertility with the overflow of the ditch waters. Cattle fertilizers are used sporadically. Those who have many head of cattle construct corrals into which they herd the cattle each night. The location of the corral is changed yearly. Corn and beans are then planted in the old corral with superior results. The dozen or so corrals in the town are owned and worked cooperatively by extended families and are referred to by the Indian patronyms—for example, *skoral Linetik* (corral of the Lins) or *skoral Čailetik* (corral of the Čailes). The one attempt to use commercial fertilizers provided by the Ejido Bank proved a technical success but an administrative failure (chapter 3). Indians noted the increased yields, but none have attempted to purchase fertilizers.

Soil consistency is evaluated on the basis of how easy it is to work. Wet, sticky, or clayey soil (*šučilum*) and stony soil (*kešilum*) are least desirable. Sandy soil is easier to work, but soil productivity depends on a loam

621 Moreover, he can more easily [54]
624 fulfill these requisites if he had been able in his lifetime to
554 become the jural head of a large and united extended family, be-
596 cause, given the fact that he should be able to control the opinions and actions of many villagers, it is his personal power with other individuals which supports his position as principal, and not the reverse.

621 Town officials, although they are selected by the previous
[623] officers and approved by the principales, have to be ratified in their positions by all the household heads in a public meeting. The different qualifications of some men for the higher posts creates some disparity in the number of cargos held by a particular individual, but the differences are never enough to say that political power is differentially distributed. The following table and figure show the distribution of officerships by age group, in a random sample of married men in Aguacatenango, and it confirms the idea that the villagers themselves have about their access to political officership: any normal, married man with more than one child is capable of achieving, in a hierarchical order, several political posts.[1]

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[184] [1]This system is in contrast with other villages in the area. In the very large communities with paraje type settlements (a nucleated village which functions as a ceremonial and political center surrounded by dispersed hamlets) such as Tenejapa or Zinacantan, although the number of offices is tremendously increased, the population is so large that only a few men from each paraje pass the cargos, and the ideal of every man participating in the hierarchy of power is never attained. In those cases, only the richer obtain office, and the "democratic" aspects of the system are less noticeable. It could be that an egalitarian political organization can only be maintained when the population size is limited, and that a large social group with a centralized organization "needs" differential power distribution, or, rather, cannot avoid the differential distribution of political power among the population groups.

593 There is no double standard for ex-
562 tramarital sexual relations, although men abuse the prohibition more often
[837] than women, judging from court cases. The ability the women has to assert herself rests on her economic contribution in pottery-making and on the fact that female household help is not part of the labor market.

562 Female sexuality has the connotation of negative power over male sexu-
831 ality. A woman should not step over a man's feet or his clothing since she
[829] could affect his virility. This negative power emanates from the odors of a
[825] woman's body, and is captured by anything in contact with it. A woman's
[755] skirt cast over the head of a bull can tame him, and the water used by a
[752] woman to wash her body, particularly the vagina if she has had children, is drunk to cure snake bites because it is very "cold."

[412] Sexuality is seldom extended beyond persons to material objects. There is some feeling that a man's tools, especially the machete and hoe, are male
[241] and that a woman's tools, especially the grinding stone, are female. Corn is a crop of men, while beans are a woman's crop, identified with the Virgin. But I could not get much farther with such distinctions.

593 The accidents of birth determine the recruitment of successive genera-
• 597 tions into the family of orientation. There is no outright adoption, but a
861 child may be "lent" to a childless couple, usually by a sibling of one of the
[603] spouses, or a grandchild may take up residence in the house of a grandparent when all the children have moved to separate residences. Parents discipline a badly behaved child with the threat, "I am going to sell you to care for someone's house," but I have never known of a case of outright sale of a child.

581 The selection of a spouse is a decision based on both universalistic as
582 well as particularistic considerations. Both the boy and the girl should be hardworking, sober, and dutiful residents of the same section of the dual division. It is considered to be of greater importance that the boy feel af-
[562] fection toward the girl than vice versa. The "taking of the heart" is a test of the strength and exclusiveness of the boy's interest in his chosen mate, and there is no counterpart for the girl. Although there is no term for romantic love, the closest approximation being "want" or "ask for" a woman, there is an awareness of the importance of a warm, affectionate basis if a marriage relationship is to last "at least until the day after tomorrow." A suitor is accepted if he is known to be a hard worker and if he

614 /1/ Cancuc is a Tzeltal town of Chiapas, Mexico, whose
[101] social organization is based on exogamous patrilineal clans.
[176] These clans are intimately related to: 1) the nagual or guardian
[551] spirit, which is given the name of lab among the Indians of this
[613] region; 2) the native surnames that constitute the lineages within
[621] the clans; 3) the "barrios," as the Spanish chroniclers called the endogamous tribal subdivisions (called calpulli among the Aztecs and culibal in Cancuc); 4) the kinship system; and 5) the behavior.

614 All the individuals belonging to a clan consider themselves
• 601 "legitimate siblings" /Sp. "hermanos legítimos"/, using the terms that designate this class of relatives. This theoretical consanguineous kinship is expressed by means of the word chapomal -- a Cancuquero /a person from Cancuc/ calls another "brother" be-
614 cause he is his chapomal. This form of usage is indicative of
601 common ancestry, something that we were not able to clarify, as
124 our questions on this point only received answers that showed that
829 they had lost any notion of a real or mythical ancestor. Our informants invariably explained this situation with the expressions: "it is the custom," "San Juan /Saint John/ (Patron Saint of Cancuc) ordered it so," or "it was ordered by Manuel (God)." What does constitute a clear concept in the minds of all is that "formerly" each clan lived in a cave, from which its members went out in the form of human beings to populate the earth and in which lived the naguales, or lab, that bound them to their place of origin.
[775] The soul came back to this cave after death. There are as many caves as the number of clans.

614 The children belonged to the paternal clan. A woman who marries does not become a member of the clan of her husband.

/2/ Exogamy is strictly respected; persons belonging to the same clan never marry each other.

[591] The clans are not local, as their members live in all of the places and rancherias.

[178] At present the clans lack chiefs, this institution having dis-
[669] appeared about 30 years ago, according to all our information, when the zone that we are studying underwent a chaotic period due to political revolts.

/7 cont./

621 the harvests of all on the appointed days, and collect the taxes
622 on the lands of the culibal, which they take to the seat of the
[651] municipality of Ocosingo, from which Cancuc depends in the capacity of municipal agency. An order given by a chief is obeyed without discussion by all the members of the correspond-
[614] ing culibal. The men of each culibal participate in the local government in equal number and category, just as also in the filling of religious positions, the clans always taking turns.

/8/ Kinship System

601 Below we shall see the kinship system, intimately related to the social organization based on exogamous patrilineal clans.

601 188

Kinship Terms of Cancuc*

*This list presents the kinship terms with their significant primaries /Sp. primarios/. Some have the possessive prefix of the first person, but we have preferred to retain this form because this is how they are obtained in the genealogies and how they are heard in the common language in the forms of usage and because we use the charts of EGO, which are the ones of more common use. Due to the lack of printing types representing the phonemic signs, we have chosen the Spanish orthography.

601

bankil	a man's older brother
xibel	a woman's older brother
uix	older sister; father's sister
kitsín	younger siblings of both sexes
tat	father
me	mother
nichán	a man's children
kaal	a woman's children

/8 cont./

601

ta-jún	father's brother
mee-jún	mother's sister
nicha-jún	a man's brother's children
kaal-jún	a woman's sister's children
kichán	mother's brother; a man's sister's children
cha-mam	a man's grandchildren
kil-al	a woman's grandchildren
mam	grandfather
meel-kuj	grandmother
mamalal	husband
kinam	wife
bal	a man's brother-in-law
jauán	a woman's sister-in-law
mu	brother-in-law or sister-in-law of opposite sex
nial	son-in-law
kalib	daughter-in-law
nial-mamal	a man's father-in-law
kalib-mamal	a woman's father-in-law
nial-meel	a man's mother-in-law
kalib-meel	a woman's mother-in-law

Siblings. -- In the nomenclature for this class of relatives, they take into account the age relative to EGO and the sex of the latter and that of the relative when /9/ the latter is older than EGO. A man calls his older brother bankil and a woman calls him xibel. As for the younger siblings, both the male EGO and the female one use the term kitsín without distinguishing the sex of them. The three terms above are applied to parallel cousins. Those that designate older siblings are extended to all the members of the clan to which EGO belongs.

The same terms as for siblings are used for half-siblings, adding the prefix cha-. By half-siblings are meant the children of the mother by a man from a clan different from that to which the father of EGO belongs or belonged; thus, the children of the father by another woman and the children of the mother by a man of EGO's father's clan are considered true siblings.

/9 cont./

•601 Parents-children. -- Both sexes use the same terms to designate the father (tat) and the mother (me). As for the children, we find different terms according to the sex of EGO: the children of a man are nichán, and those of a woman, kaal.

Uncles and aunts -- nephews and nieces. -- There are four terms used for this class of relatives: father's brother, mother's sister, father's sister, mother's brother. The first two are designated with the same terms with which the father and the mother are named, adding the suffix -jún; thus we have ta-jún for the father's brother and mee-jún for the mother's sister. The stepfather and stepmother are also designated in the same way. On the other hand, the father's sister is also the sister of EGO -- older or younger, taking into account her age in relation to EGO and not in relation to the age of the father of EGO -- being designated with the terms suitable for this class of relatives. The mother's brother is designated by the term kichán, the same as his male descendants through the male line, there being a tendency to apply it to all the members of the maternal clan.

With respect to the nephews and nieces, we distinguish between parallel and cross, the first being the children of a man's brother and the children of a woman's sister, and the second being the children of a man's sister and the children of a woman's brother. The parallel nephews and nieces are designated with the same terms with which one's own children are named, adding the suffix -jún, as are the stepchildren. With regard to the cross-nephews and cross-nieces, we find differences based on the sex of EGO and the sex of the relative of the connection. A /10/ man calls the children of his sister kichán, without distinguishing their sex, extending the term to the children of the women of his clan, while a woman calls the children of her brother in the same manner as her own brothers.

Cousins. -- Here we also find a marked difference between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, the first being the children of the father's brother and the children of the mother's sister, and the second, the children of the father's sister and the children of the mother's brother. The parallel cousins are named in the same manner as own brothers and sisters, making distinctions with

/10 cont./

•601 respect to the sex of EGO, the sex of the relative, and the age relative to EGO, the same as for this class of relatives. With regard to the cross-cousins, we find differences according to whether it is a matter of a male or female EGO. A man designates the children of the father's sister with the term kichán, like the sister's children, that is to say, he calls nephews and nieces and cross-cousins by the same term, which is consistent with the act of calling father's sister sister. For this same reason a woman calls the children of the father's sister kaal-jún, like the children of her own sister. The children of the mother's brother are named in the same manner as the mother's siblings, that is to say, distinguishing the sex of the relative: the son is designated by the same term that is used for the mother's brother (kichán), and the daughter by the term applied to the mother's sister (mee-jún).

Grandparents-grandchildren. -- The term that designates both the paternal grandfather and the maternal one is mam, without distinguishing the sex of EGO. The grandmothers are designated by the term meel-kuj in the same manner. The siblings of the grandparents receive the same title, as do the great-grandparents too. The reciprocals are: cha-mam or mam (grandchildren of a man) and kil-al (grandchildren of a woman); the great-grandchildren are named in like manner, as are the grandchildren of siblings. Frequently an old person applies these terms to a child and vice versa, even if this relationship is not maintained between them.

System of affinity. -- Kinam designates the wife, and mamalal the husband, these terms being used exclusively for such relatives. The wife of the father's brother is designated with the same term as the mother's sister, and the husband of the latter by the same one as the father's brother. The husband of the father's sister is designated with the terms bal (brother-in-law of a man) /11/ and mu (brother-in-law of a woman), according to the sex of EGO. The wife of the mother's brother is called simply meechú or meetik, which means "lady" /Sp. "señora"/, as she is not considered a relative. In case this lady belongs to the clan of EGO, she is called uix or uixín (sister), and the mother's brother is called bal

/11 cont./

60 and mu (brother-in-law) instead of kichán, preference being given to the relationship through the paternal lineage or clan over the term corresponding to this consanguineous relative, but of the maternal clan. This rule is applied to any relative by affinity, with the exception of parents-in-law, sons-in-law, and daughters-in-law, even though in referring to these relatives one hears said: "my mother-in-law is my sister" or "my father-in-law is my chapomal." The terms that designate the son-in-law (nial) and the daughter-in-law (kalib) are used by both EGOS; but not their reciprocals, which not only take into account the sex of the relative, but also the sex of EGO. These reciprocals are compound forms, formed by the above plus the suffixes mamal (old man) and meel (old woman) for father-in-law and mother-in-law, respectively: nial-mamal (father-in-law) and nial-meel (mother-in-law) for parents-in-law of a male EGO, and kalib-mamal (father-in-law) and kalib-meel (mother-in-law) for parents-in-law of a female EGO. The brothers of parents-in-law are named in the same way, even though there is a tendency to limit this nomenclature to the collateral parents-in-law, calling the father-in-law's sister "sister-in-law," and the mother-in-law's brother simply "gentleman" /Sp. "señor"/ (tatik), the same as a non-relative. The terms used in the designation of the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are three: a man calls his wife's brother and his sister's husband bal; a woman calls her husband's sister and her brother's wife jauán, and mu is ~~used by a man~~ and a woman to designate a sibling-in-law of the opposite sex, that is to say, wife's sister, a woman's sister's husband, the husband's brother, and a man's brother's wife. The terms for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are extended so far as to include all of the members of the clan to which the spouse belongs.

[614] [613] In this kinship system we see how the nomenclature is primordially based on the grouping into exogamous clans, stressing the paternal and maternal lineages so far as to include all the members of the two clans to which these lineages belong. The parallel and cross lines are markedly differentiated. We can say that there is fusion between lineal and collateral relatives --

/11 cont./

601 father and his brother, mother and her sister -- using for this class of relatives the /12/ same terms, even though making use of a suffix that distinguishes real parents from the classificatory ones, and in the same way among their reciprocals, as we have noted above. In ordinary conversation the suffix may be eliminated, thus confusing the real relatives with the classificatory ones. The children of these relatives are all brothers and sisters among themselves.

601 This type of system seems to have its origin in the one
611 known by the name of "Omaha," whose most outstanding characteristic is the classification of the male descendants of the mother's brother, through the male line, with the mother's brother, and the classification of the female descendants, through the male line, of this same relative with the mother's sister. Nevertheless, in Cancuc there is a marked tendency to designate by means of the term kichán both the male and female descendants of the mother's brother, through the male line, without any distinction of sex, which, according to the rule of the uniform reciprocals, brings with it on the part of a female EGO the designation of kichán for the children of the father's sister, in place of the kaal-jún used by a woman for this class of relatives. Furthermore, we are faced with the fact that the descendants of the mother's brother through the female line are no longer considered as relatives; that is to say, the descendants of a woman who is designated by the term mee-jún, and who, according to the rule of uniform descent, should
601 receive the title of "siblings," are not considered as such. This
614 disequilibrium tends to disappear with the elimination of the term mee-jún for this class of relatives and the extension of the term kichán for the designation of the same, embracing all the members of the maternal clan, that is to say, all those whom the mother of EGO calls "brother" and "sister." The term kichán, which formerly denoted "man of my mother's clan," would now mean "every person of my mother's clan."

[114] We have not been able to obtain the kinship terms corresponding to the descendants of the grandparents' siblings, since in the genealogies that we possess these terms do not appear because of having been replaced by those applied to clan siblings, or chapomales, or to members of the maternal clan, due to marriages concluded with persons belonging to these clans, there existing, as we have already indicated, a preference for these terms over those.

1: Guiteras Holmes--15 E-5 (1945-1946)1947 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

•601

/13/

Kinship System of Cancuc

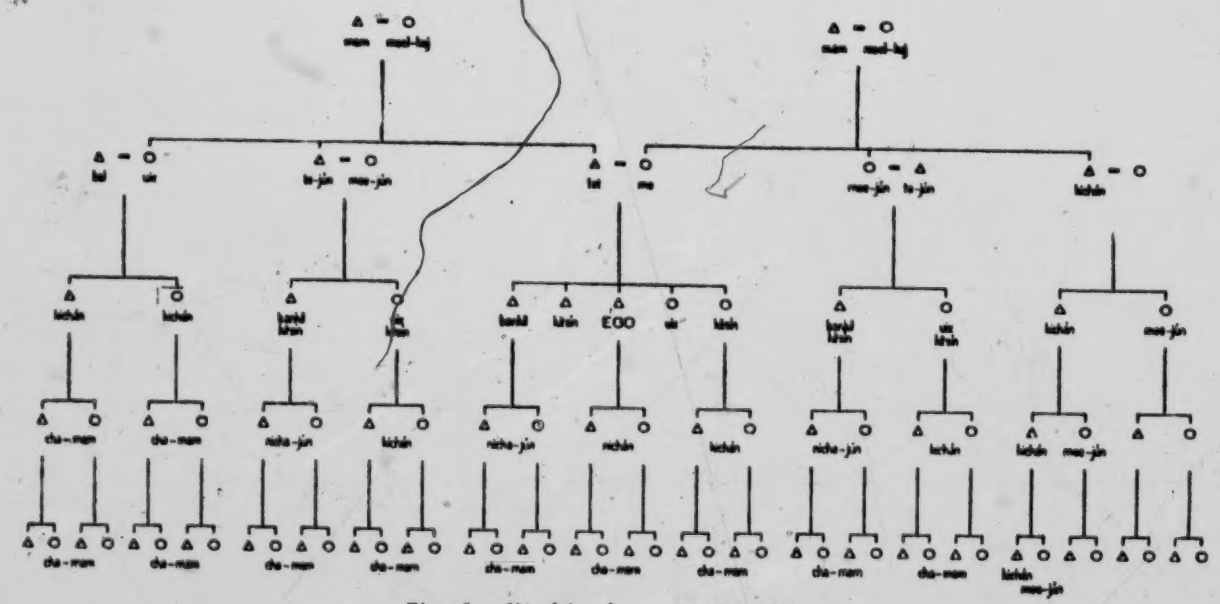

Fig. 1. Kinship chart. Male EGO.

1: Gulteras Holmes--16 E-5 (1945-1946)1947 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

/14/

•601

Kinship System of Cancuc

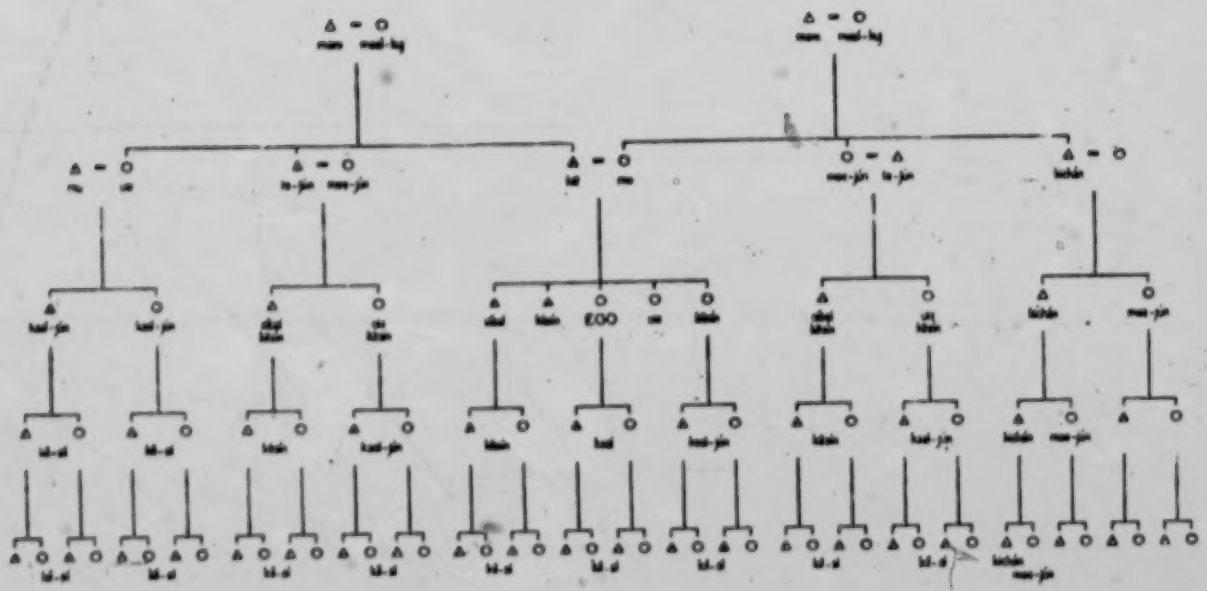

Fig. 2. Kinship chart. Female EGO.

/15/

601

Kinship System of Cancuc

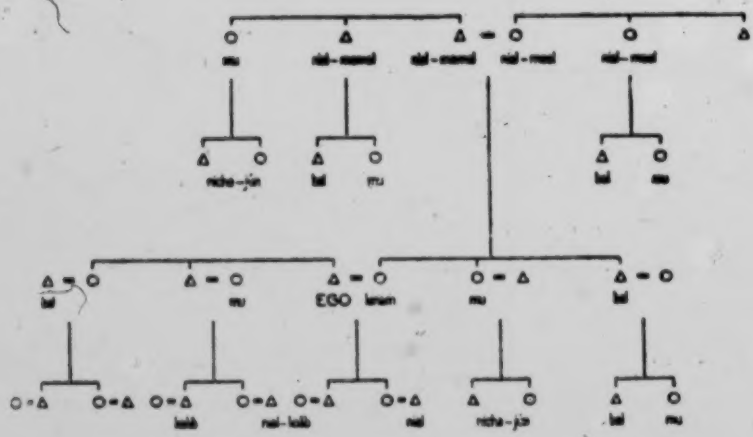

Fig. 3. Kinship chart for affinity. Male EGO.

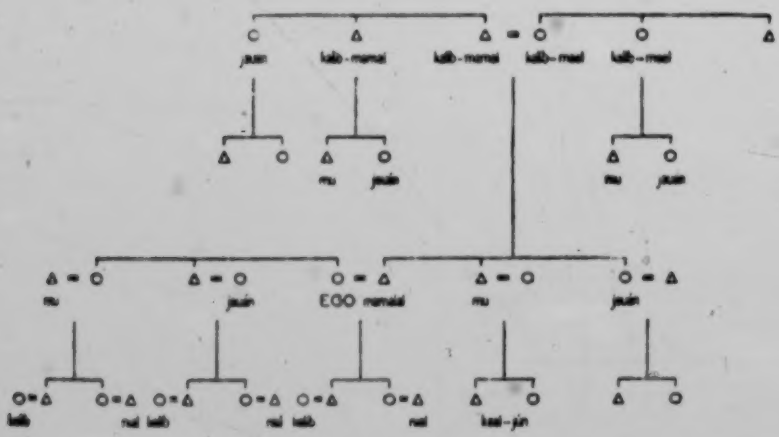

Fig. 4. Kinship chart for affinity. Female EGO.

/16/

601 614 The kinship terms, excepting those that extend to all the members of a clan, do not seem to apply to persons outside of those included in the charts (Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4). The terms that designate older siblings are applied to all the members of the paternal clan without taking into account the principle of generation or the age relative to EGO. This custom tends to be applied even among descendants of the same grandparents: an old woman greets the granddaughter of her paternal uncle, calling her uix (older sister) instead of the corresponding kitsín (younger sister), the young girl using the identical reciprocal in her reply. We can say that there is a tendency toward the elimination of the principle of generation and that of age relative to EGO even among close relatives, using only one term for sister, a woman's brother, and a man's brother (uix, xibel, and bankil), except within the limits of the elemental family.

601 602 614 An individual, when born, is related to the members of two clans: the paternal one, which is his own, and the maternal one. Upon contracting marriage, he establishes new relationships, applying, as we have already shown, the terms which designate brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law to all the members of the clan of the spouse. In this manner a Cancuquero can be related to all the members of the tribe or native group, because at present only three clans exist, one of which may be the clan of EGO, another the maternal clan, and the other one the clan of the spouse. This is not always the case, because an individual may have married within the clan of his mother, in which case his kichanes and his siblings-in-law belong to the same clan, preferring then the use [609] of the word bal to that of kichán. The members of the non-related clan receive the title of tatik and meetik (gentleman and lady).

582 587 614 614 595 The clans regulate marriage. Preferred clans with respect to the selection of a spouse do not seem to exist. Upon the death of the wife a man may marry again within the same clan or in the other. One of our informants had three successive wives belonging to the same clan, but this is exceptional. In the three cases of polygyny known to us the wives were not sisters: in one case the

682 683 627 to who did it. The consultations with curers prior to the death of the supposed victims of a witch will be introduced as evidence. (Some degree of consensus may have been built up beforehand, in witch-killings, by the public broadcast of accusations noted above.[8]) The focus of the discussion is not so much on who killed the dead man, but whether he was indeed a witch. This kind of mock trial occurs after every funeral, since it must be decided [953] who caused the sickness. Emotions run very high as the liquor is passed around, and accusa- [152] tions are made, sometimes against those pres- [273] ent. It was after a funeral that one man killed his son (not included in Table 1) for accusing him of having caused the death of the son's child, who was being buried.

682 In the weeks following a homicide, it is dis- [521] cussed at all the drinking sessions in the homes or in the town hall. Eventually an authoritative version begins to emerge. Those who have defended the victim then keep silent, and the 682 affair "rests in peace." Avenging the death of a 683 man judged to have been a witch, so far as I [627] know, has never been done. In one case (no. 36, Table 1) the widow of a man killed as a witch vigorously denied the legitimacy of the act and built up a case against the killer. She spread word that it was without doubt the dead man's son by a prior marriage. When the son was killed shortly after (case 37, Table 1), everyone assumed that he had been killed by the widow's son by *her* prior marriage. However, the authoritative version concerning the second killing was that it was an accident: he had been mistaken for his brother, whom the killer was after because of rivalry over a girl.

682 183 *Rules for Surviving*

The patterning of the selection of victims and the circumstances of homicide provide the basis for formulating a set of rules that can 682 ensure survival. The long-range rules of sur- 539 vival, in the words of an elder at the occasion of 183 the death of his godchild, are:

lekoñ kak'o ta kwenta me?tal
I pay respect to my elders.

hun ku kikta'in kalnican
[601] I greet my younger brothers and my children (classificatory extension of kinship terms).

spisil kak' ta kwenta
To all I give respect.

ha? hil lekotik. Ma taltik milel ma taltik čamel

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5. (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

613 [428] have no interest in the land is preference given to the chapomales of other lineages. The importance of the lineage is stressed again during events such as curing ceremonies, conflicts, weddings, burials, fiestas, or banquets, where members of the same lineage should be invited first, then the chapomales.

601 The Omaha type of terminology still predominates in the more conservative municipios, where the same names are used for children of the father's sister as well as for children of the ego's sister, while children of the mother's brother are considered to be uncles and aunts on the matrilineal side (Murdock, 1949, p. 102; Guiteras Holmes, 1947, pp. 13–15; J. Nash, 1959, pp. 4–7).

The name *kichan*, given to the mother's brother, is also given to all the patrilineal descendants, stressing the concept that they are regarded as persons from another clan.

The most common kin terms collected in Cancuc by Guiteras Holmes (1947, p. 8) and in Oxchuc by Siverts (1955, pp. 16–20) are practically the same.

Tzeltal	*English*
Bankil	older brother of a man
Xibel	older brother of a woman
uish	older sister; father's sister
Kitzin	youngest brother or sister
Tat	father
Me	mother
Nichán	a man's children
Kaal	a woman's children
Ta-jun	father's brother
Mee-jun	mother's sister
Nicha-jun	the children of a man's brother
Kaal-jun	the children of a woman's sister
Kichán	mother's brother; children of a man's sister
Cha-mam	a man's grandchildren
Kil-al	a woman's grandchildren
Mam	grandfather
Meel-kuj	grandmother
Mamalal	husband
Kinam	wife
Bal	a man's brother-in-law
Jauan	a woman's sister-in-law
Mu	siblings-in-law of opposite sex

[P. 215-B]

[Text continues on p. 216-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4.5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

601

Nial	son-in-law
Kalib	daughter-in-law
Nial-mamal	a man's father-in-law
Kalib-mamal	a woman's father-in-law
Nial-meel	a man's mother-in-law
Kalib-meel	a woman's mother-in-law

601 576 The word *tatik* (from *tat*, 'father') is usually applied as a courtesy name to all married males, without distinction of clan or lineage. The same applies to *metik* (from *me*, 'mother'), a term applied to all married females. *Mamtik* (from *mam*, 'grandfather') is the name given to old and also to very respected people.

601 The ritual kinship terminology is:

608

Tzeltal	*English*
Kumpare	compadre (GodFa of ego's children)
Kumale	comadre (GodMo of ego's children)
Jalatat	godfather
Jalamé	godmother
Jala-al	a woman's godson
Jala-nichan	a man's godson

594 *Family Groups*

The nuclear family, formed by a couple and their children, is the basic pattern throughout the region.

[P. 216-B]

571 551 between members of the community to identify persons in references--that is, persons who are not present in the conversation. From the speaker's point of view, they as unambiguously identify individuals as does naming the house in which they live. So, then, turning from a general consideration of the membership of houses, we now consider the variety of intersecting classes in terms of which the individuals in the houses may be identified. This listing will introduce the principal organizing features in the community, each of which will then receive separate treatment.

571 551 601 554 Terms of reference in Aguacatenango include (1) personal names; (2) relationship terms--kinship, ritual kinship or compadrazgo and other relationships of a more general nature; (3) "role names," which identify persons in terms of characteristics other than interpersonal relationships; and certain combinations of these three types.

551 Personal names

The major subclass of the set of personal names, identifiable as Christian names, is subdivided on the basis of sex; with a few exceptions, a particular Christian name is appropriate to males or to females but not to both. Christian names may be used with a possessive prefix, e.g. /H-MARIA/, "my Maria," to refer to children of the coordinating person. They can be made diminutive by the addition of /C'IN/, "little."

Kin terms

Another class of terms of reference can be defined as kin. At the first descending (-1) generation, the basic terms are as follows:

TABLE 2

KIN, -1 GENERATION

	Criterial Attributes			
	Sex of referent	Sex of co-ordinating individual	Absolute age	Relationship specified in head
/-*UNTIKIL/	∅	∅	∅	∅
/-*AL/	∅	F	∅	L
/-NIC'AN/	∅	M	∅	L
/-KEREM/	M	∅	A_1	∅
/-*AC'IX/	F	∅	A_1	∅
/-*ALAL/	∅	∅	A_2	∅

601
561

Among the attributes of these terms, absolute age has two values--(1) older, and (2) younger. The absolute age indicated for /-*ALAL/ is from birth to about three years; that for /-KEREM/ and /-*AC'IX/ is from three to about sixteen years, except that the modifier /C'IN/ depresses the age of either of the latter to less than twelve.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

TABLE 3

MODIFIERS KIN -1 GENERATION

601
561
562

	Criterial Attributes		
	Sex of referent	Absolute Age	Other
Position 1			
C'IN ø	ø	despresses absolute age	
Position 2			
BA CEBAL etc.	ø	ø	specify order of birth among referent's own siblings
*ANZ(IL) ø	F M	ø ø	occurs only with terms showing sex of coordinating individual (i.e. /-*AL/ and /-NIC'AN/)
PATIL-K'OX ø	ø	expresses recent vs. relative remoteness of birth	
KUCBIL	ø	distinguishes "babe-in-arms" from "walking child" (with /-*ALAL/)	

• 601

Lineal relationship (L) is an attribute of only two of these terms, /-*AL/ and /-NIC'AN/, "own child" of a female and of a male, respectively. The special nature of these two terms is reflected in the fact that while all of the other terms in this set may occur either with or without a possessive prefix, /-*AL/ and /-NIC'AN/ never occur unpossessed. While /-*AL/ and /-NIC'AN/ always refer to own children of a particular person, each of the other terms may refer, if possessed, to the child of any parent, the parent being specified by name or possessive affix, or, if unpossessed, simply to a child with relationship unspecified.

The terms of reference at the -1 generation are often accompanied by modifiers which express differences in absolute age, birth order, or sex. These modifiers and their attributes are shown in Table 3 (p. 20).

Position 2 modifiers may be preceded by a position 1 modifier, but no more than one position 2 modifier occurs at a time.

The reciprocals of -1 Generation terms are labeled +1 Generation and are shown in Table 4 (p. 22).

As in the case of most of the terms at -1 generation, lineality-collaterality is not a criterial attribute of these terms. However, /-TAT/ and /-ME*/ are appliedmarly exclusively to own parents of the coordinating individual, while /TATA*/ and

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

TABLE 4

KIN, +1 GENERATION

601

[562]

	Sex of Referent	Relationship specified in head
-TAT	M	ø
-TATA*	M	ø
-ME*	F	ø
-NANA*	F	ø

/-NANA*/, though they may refer to parents, are used primarily to specify a class of persons (including collaterals, affinals, and non-kin) of the approximate age of parents.

Terms of reference at the 0 generation also lack lineality-collaterality as a criterial feature, and while they tend to refer to lineals and collaterals, they may refer to non-kin as well. The 0 generation terms are shown in Table 5 (p. 23).

Lineality-collaterality and kin-non-kin distinctions can be made in Tzeltal by using an appropriate complex term of reference. If one asks, /ME MAC'A TATA*/, "Who is the /TATA*/?," the informant may respond, /XI*LEL H-ME*/, "my mother's older brother." Lineal kin of 0 generation can be further specified as /MERO BANKIL-*ERMANO/ "true brother," or /HUN ME* HUN TAT/, "of one mother, one father." Use of these expressions to resolve ambiguity about the

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

TABLE 5

KIN, 0 GENERATION

• 601
[562]

	Age relative to coordinating individual	Sex of Referent	Sex of coordinating individual	Relationship specified in head
-BANKIL	0	M	M	ø
-XI*LEL	0	M	F	ø
-WIX	0	F	M/F	ø
-IHZ'IN	Y	M/F	M/F	ø

relationship of a previously mentioned individual is rare, and we are led to hypothesize that precise genealogical relations are not crucial in the use of kin terms of 0 and ± generations. Indeed, 0 and +1 generation terms without a possessive prefix are often used in combination with names or other reference terms to indicate the relative age of the referent (when he is older than the speaker). The ranking of these terms is shown in Table 6 (p. 24).

[554] The terms /TATIK/ and /ME*TIK/ are not used in reference to kin as such, but as a collective compound, /-ME*TIK + TATIK/, they may designate either "respected elders" or "curer" in the appropriate contexts.

As in the -1 generation, modifiers /C'IN/ "little" and /MUK'UL/ "big" operate in the 0 and the +1 generations to depress

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

TABLE 6

AGE-STATUS IN KIN TERMS

601
[561]

	M	F
Older	TATIK	ME*TIK
↓	TATA*	NANA*
	TAT	ME*
	TAT	NAN
Younger	BANKIL XI*LEL	WIX

or augment age. Thus, /X-C'IN+XI*LELAL/, "her little big-brother," is used in reference to a boy, older than his sister (who is represented by /X-/) but younger than the speaker. /MUK'UL+BANKIL/, "older brother," distinguishes an older brother much advanced in age, while /C'IN+TATA*/ may refer to an older brother of the approximate age of a parent.

The form /MUK'UL/ combines with /TAT/ and /ME*/, however, not merely to augment age, but to set apart the +2 lineal generation. The compounds and their reciprocals (the -2 generation lineals) are shown in Table 7 (p. 25).

While most terms of reference in the 0 and ± generations may be used to specify either lineally or collaterally related individuals and sometimes also affinal kin and non-kin, in the

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

TABLE 7

KIN, ±2 GENERATIONS

	Generation	Sex of referent	Sex of co-ordinating individual	Relationship specified in head
-MUK'UL+TAT	+2	M	M/F	L
-MUK'UL+ME*	+2	F	M/F	L
-*IL+NIC'AN	-2	M/F	M	L
-*IL+*AL	-2	M/F	F	L

±2 generations, the terms are applied exclusively to lineals of the coordinating individual. (Like the -1 generation terms /-*AL/ and /-NIC'AN/, none of these terms occurs without the possessive prefix.)

TABLE 8

AFFINAL KIN (SPOUSES)

M	F
-MAMILAL	-*INAM
-WINIKUL(-WINIKIL)	-*ANZ(ELAL)
-MARIDO	-C'IN+*AC'IX[a]

[a]This form is used only for a very young wife.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

601 The terms of reference for affinal kin share with the ±2 generation kin terms the feature that they are not used without designating the coordinating individual by a possessive prefix. The set of alternative reciprocals used to refer to spouses is shown in Table 8 (p. 25).

The remaining terms in the set are the following:

TABLE 9

AFFINAL KIN

[562]

	Criterial Attributes of Heads		
	Sex of referent	Sex of Coordinating individual	Generation
-MA+NEAL	M	M	+1
-ME*L+NEAL	F	M	+1
-MA+*ALIB	M	F	+1
-ME*L+*ALIB	F	F	+1
-BAL	M	M	0
-HAWAN	F	F	0
-MU*	F	M	0
-MU*	M	F	0
-NEAL	M	M/F	-1
-*ALIB	F	M/F	-1

• 601 The applicability of the affinal terms is limited to spouses' lineals and the respective reciprocals, lineals here defined as siblings, parents, and children. Relations other than these through some marriage tie (e.g., "brother's wife's brother," etc.) are encompassed by the terms of compadrazgo (see below).

Kin terms are often combined with each other or with per-
[561] sonal names to form complex terms of reference. We have mentioned the use of the unpossessed forms of kin terms of 0 and +1 generations with names to indicate age-status of the referent, as in /TATIK TABYANO/, "Octaviano (who is a respected elder)," and /WIX MARIA/, "Maria (who is the age of an elder sister to
[551] me)." Kin terms in their possessed forms are not specified by the personal name of the referent, as in the English usage, "my brother George." Further, simple possessed kin terms are not used to specify each other in a single utterance, although the identification of a person in terms of his several kin relationships to speaker and listener, or to either participant and some absent person, is common in complete conversations. (I.e., while a person may be referred to as "my brother" and as "your uncle" by the same speaker in the course of an extended conversation, the single utterance, "my brother, your uncle," does not
[551] occur.) Possessed kin terms are used with personal names in complex terms which identify the referent in terms of his rela-

*601
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tionship to some other absent person (this coordinating person being identified in turn by name). Examples of this kind of reference are /Y-INAM H-MA-TAT/, "my father's wife (not my mother)," /X-NIC'AN HWAN/, "Juan's child," and /S-NEAL MA TATIK HOSE GOMES/ "(respected elder) Jose Gomez' son-in-law." An alternative to the possessive prefix--which is set off by a dash from the kin term in the examples--is an expression with /YU*N/ which is used exclusively in the identification of children of the coordinating person, as in /*AC'IX YU*N PEYRO/, "the girl of Pedro (Pedro's daughter)."

A special case of this coordinating construction is the use of a personal name following /S-TAT/, "his (her) father," or /S-ME*/, "his (her) mother," as in /S-TAT PEYRO/, "Pedro's father," and /S-ME*CUS/, "Jesus' mother." This combination is distinguished by the fact that, unlike simple kin terms, it is often specified by the name of the referent, as in /S-TAT PEYRO LUTERYO/, "Pedro's father, Eleuterio." Also, in contrast to simple kin terms, it is used to specify possessed kin terms, as in /H-BANKIL S-TAT PEYRO LUTERYO/, "my brother, Pedro's father, Eleuterio," and unpossessed kin terms of the age-status set, as in /TA(T) S-TA(T)-HWAN/, "(Mr.) Juan's father." It is also used to identify a referent through a second absent person, as in /X-NIC'AN S-TAT HWAN/, "the child of the father of Juan." Whether specified by the name of the referent or not, this construction

601 conforms to what has been termed teknonymy in the literature.
551 The occurrence of such an expression as /X-NIC'AN S-TAT HMAN/ led us to suppose that not any child is equally candidate for membership in the teknonymous construction. Informants agree that the child who is candidate for the said position has the attributes of "first-born child of a legitimate union who lived long enough to be named." Since the teknonymous candidate is recruited exclusively from the first position in the relative order of own children, it might be appropriate to suggest that teknonymy be hereafter distinguished on the basis of the type and degree of explicit definition of the coordinating person.

Terms of compadrazgo

601 The terminology of compadrazgo, ritual kinship, includes
608 the following forms which are shown in Table 10 (p. 30). The terms /-KUMPRE/ and /KUMRE/ are self-reciprocal except for sex of referent, and thus generation is not one of their characteristics. However, /-KUMPRE/~/KUMRE/ enter into compounds with the modifiers /MUK'UL/ and /C'IN/, these modifiers serving as in kin terms of -1 generation to augment or to depress age relative to the coordinating person.

608 The employment of /-KUMPRE/~/KUMRE/ in reference to known
602 siblings of speakers led to an inquiry regarding the limits of eligibility for compadrazgo relations. Informants state that a

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

TABLE 10

COMPADRAZGO

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	Criterial Attributes		
	Sex of referent	Sex of coordinating individual	Generation
-KUMPRE	M	∅	∅
-KUMRE	F	∅	∅
-NIC'AN+SNARYOS-*IHADA	∅	M	-1
-*AL+SNARYOS-*IHADA	∅	F	-1
-TAT+SNARYOS-PAGRINO	M	∅	+1
-ME*+SNARYOS-MAGRINA	F	∅	+1

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person may establish the /-KUMPRE/ relationship with any person except his spouse, his own father, his spouse's father, and the spouses of these persons. Related individuals frequently become compadres--particularly as siblings of the father or the mother are often chosen as padrinos (godparents) of a child--and compadre relationships established at weddings (see below) involve some affinally related individuals (e.g., "brother's wife," "sister's husband") for whom kin terms are reported. Where the person stands in a specified kin relation (e.g., /BANKIL/) to the speaker, the compadrazgo relationship assumes priority over the kin term in reference (as well as in address). These two

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[602]

608 sets of terms, then, are mutually exclusive; a single term of
601 reference does not include both /H-KUMPRE/ and /H-BANKIL/, although /H-BANKIL/ may occasionally occur as an alternative term of reference succeeding /H-Kumpre/ in an interchange in which
601 the first term was unclear to the listener. However, /-KUMPRE/
608 does occur in complex terms of reference in which, like kin
551 terms, it is specified by a teknonymous construction, e.g., /H-KUMPRE S-TAT MIGEL DANYEL/, "my compadre the father of Miguel, namely Daniel." Unlike kin terms, /-KUMPRE/ does not combine with personal names in the coordinating constructions of which the teknonymous is one type (i.e., we do not find such a term as "Juan's compadre").

Alos, unlike kin terms, /-KUMPRE/ may be specified by a personal name, e.g., /H-KUMPRE BISENTI/, or by a "role" name, e.g., /H-KUMPRE PRESIDENTE/, "my compadre the president." (The terms of compadrazgo of +1 generations, relatively infrequently used, always occur alone.)

601 The terms of compadrazgo may be further specified as
608 follows:

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• 601

	/ ... YU*H *IC HA*/, "of baptism"	/ ... YU*H KUMPRE-MASYON/, "of confirmation"	/ ... YU*H NUH-PUNEL/, "of marriage"	/ ... YU*H S*AN NINYO/, "of Christmas"
/H-KUMPRE/ /H-KUMRE/	x	x	x	x
/H-TAT+SNARYOS/ /H-ME*+ SNARYOS/	x	x	*	-
/H-NIC'AN+SNAR-YOS/ /K-AL+ SNARYOS/	x	x	*	–

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Both baptism and confirmation involve ritual relationships across generations. The padrinos (H-TAT+SNARYOS/, etc.) chosen for the child on these occasions become compadres (/-KUMPRE/ ~ /-KUMRE/) of the child's parents and, sometimes, of the child's paternal grandparents as well.

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The traditional (in contrast to church) wedding, on the other hand, establishes no cross-generation ritual relationships. The parents and married siblings of the spouses become /-KUMPRE/ ~ /KUMRE/ to each other, as may even the grandparents and parents' siblings of the married pair. The newlyweds alone do not enter into this relationship with anyone present. The terms of reference to persons so related are the stated /-KUMPRE/ ~ /-KUMRE/,

585 sometimes modified by /MUK'UL/ or /C'IN/ as previously shown.
608
601 When, in addition to the exchange of gifts which constitutes
602 the traditional wedding, the couple is married in the church, a pair of padrinos (male and female) is chosen from outside the set of relatives who become compadres in the ceremony just mentioned. These people are referred to as /TAT+SNARYOS~PAGRINO/ and /-ME*+SNARYOS~MAGRINA/ by the married couple (who are called by them, respectively, /-NIC'AN+SNARYOS—IHADA/ and /-*AL+SNARYOS~ *IHADA/) and as /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ (self-reciprocally) by the parents of the married partners.

796 The fiesta of Noche Buena establishes /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/
608 relations, and no others, between the host of the fiesta and a few other individuals he invites to sponsor the fiesta.

Other relationship terms

571 There remains a set of terms which, when used with pos-
192 sessive prefixes, identify the referent in terms of a more general relationship to some coordinating person. These terms are as follows:

(1) /HOY/, "companion" (in reference to spouses; one who lives in the same house, including specific kin; and all of the specified kinds of companion below)

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(2) /HOY TA YAXBEL/, "drinking companion"

(3) /HOY TA *A*TEL/, "working companion"

(4) /HOY+YAXBEN/, "traveling companion"

(5) /*AMIGO/, "friend"

(6) /BESINO/ /NAHPAL NOCOL/, "neighbor"

(7) /-KONTRA/ /-*ENEMIGO/, "enemy"

(8) /-*AHWAL/, "boss"

Examination of genealogical data/ data as to residence, and compadrazgo relations reveals (as might be inferred from the apparent meaning of /HOY/) that the same referent may occupy more than a single one of these associative roles at the same time as well as be kin and/or compadre to the coordinating individual, though in any given reference term only one such identification will be employed. Though formally mutually exclusive (as in the less general case of kin and compadrazgo terms), all of these may intersect in the same individual.

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These general relationship terms combine with names, terms of compadrazgo, and teknonymous constructions, both in terms where the second form specifies the first, e.g. /HOYTIK SIRIL HWARES/, "our companion Cirilo Juarez," and in terms where the second form refers to a cocrdinating person, /S-HOY S-MAGRINA/, "her madrina's companion." The general relationship terms share with kin terms the feature that in complex terms they are always the first of the two forms; terms of compadrazgo combine with

571 192 601 551 these two sets of terms only as the second term but always precede names, role names, and teknonymous constructions. General relationship terms are like the terms of compadrazgo in that they may be specified by a personal name (as above).

"Role names"

571 192 554 The set of terms to which we apply the label "role names" is distinguished by the fact that these terms usually occur unpossessed and are not defined in terms of a relationship to some person. While they occasionally have possessive prefixes, they never occur in the third person in coordinating constructions. Also, when possessed, these forms always carry the agentive prefix /-H-/, which is optional in the unpossessed variants. Thus:

Unpossessed	Possessed
/PRESIRENTE/ /H-PRESIRENTE/ "presidente"	/*AW-AH-PRESIRENTE/ "your presidente"
/H-*UL/ "curandero"	/*AW-AH-*UL/ "your curandero"

Among the forms in this class is /(H)KAX(1)AN(-ETIK)/, "ladinos (as a class)," which contrasts with the elicited from /H-TUL H-LUMAL/, "one of my pueblo (Aguacatenango)." (Both forms are included under the headword /KRISTYANO-ETIK/, "human being," which contrasts with /CAMBALAM-ETIK/, "animals," and /TUTU-TIK/, "things.")

Chapter 4

Family Authority and Community Control

All residents of the center consider themselves to be "true men" descended 186
from the ancestors who lived in the cave. In Murdock's terminology 621
(1965:63), the Indian community constitutes a *deme*, or local group of ge- 626
nealogically related residents who cannot trace the exact kinship tie. This [614]
sense of kinship sustains a model of paternal authority for assigning positions of power and prestige in the wider community. The key to persistence of the Indians as a culturally distinct population lies in these age-ordered hierarchies sanctioned by the ancestors and the elders who act as their intermediaries. The reward for remaining within the social control system is security and the right to their guardianship; the sanction against violating the norms is exile or exposure to the evil spirits they hold at bay.

The bilateral extension of age-relative collateral terms to all members of 621
the same side of the dual division is a successful adaptation of the kinship 601
model to the government of a compact nucleated community. The system of terminology is similar to that of the neighboring nucleated settlement of Aguacatenango which shares many of the same features of behavior (Hunt n.d., Metzger in Romney 1967:231). These systems are closer to 621
those of the Coatlan Mixe (Merrifield and Hoogshagen 1961) and the 601
Chinantec of Palantla (Merrifield 1959) than they are to the nearby Tzel- 171
tal-speaking communities of Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes 1947) and Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947). In the case of the Mixe and Chinantec, the strong emphasis on relative age is correlated with age-graded positions in the polit- [613]
ical-religious hierarchy (Merrifield 1959, Merrifield and Hoogshagen [614]
1961:225).[1] The lineage-clan pattern found in the vacant center, or *paraje*,

1. In the Coatlán, Oaxaca case of Mixe Indians cited by Merrifield and Hoogshagen [601]
(1961) they state that the classificatory terms utilizing the criteria of age relative to ego [171]

613 614 621 171 601 type of communitives such as Oxchuk and Cancuc depends on communal land holding and contiguity in residence of the agnatic kin. The corporate identity of these groups is breaking down with the fragmentation of land holdings and movement of men from the paraje of their fathers (Guiteras Holmes 1947, Villa Rojas 1946).

601 602 Symmetrical bilateral extension of kinship terms can be seen in Figure 3. Relative age modifies generation in terms for collaterals. In ego's generation, older brother and sister are distinguished from younger siblings. In parents' generation, siblings of father younger than father are referred to and called elder brother or sister, and those older than father are called father or mother. In grandparent's generation, siblings older than grandparent are called grandfather or grandmother, and those younger than grandparent are called father and mother. If the grandparent should die, leaving only a younger sibling, the term grandparent is used referentially and vocatively. There is no sex distinction made between siblings or collaterals [193] younger than ego in the referential terminology. Referential terminology for lineals younger than ego does not make sex distinctions, but the distinction may be made with one's own children by using the possessive form of the vocative term, such as "my little man" (*htatil*) or "my little woman" (*ḳantzil*). Women refer to their children with the term *ʔalal*. The stem *ʔal* signifies the verb to give birth. Men refer to their children as *nič'an*. The collective term for children of both parents combines the two terms in a possessive form, *ḳalnič'an*, our children.

The bilateral system of Amatenango is not in conformity with the Spanish model. Along with similar systems mentioned for Aguacatenango, Coatlan, and Palantla, it differs from the Spanish model in that collaterals in ascending generations are classified with lineal relatives, and age rela- [174] tive to ego modifies generational separation. These systems appear to be an

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obscures that of generation. Just as in Tzoʔontahal, all members of the community address [601] [171] others they meet on the street with the term indicating age relationship to ego, and grandfather and grandmother terms are reserved for the very old. The authors conclude that this terminological behavior reflects the rigid age-grading found in social groups throughout the community. I would venture a generalization that requires further research to the effect that age-grading provides a pattern for appropriate behavior among members of endogamous, closely settled communities whereby conflict is reduced by channeling competition for prestigeful positions.

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adaptation to conditions imposed by nucleated compact settlement which 601 602
may have been prehispanic.

Terminology for affinals differs according to the sex of speaker and the 601
age and generation of referent. Men refer to brother's wife, wife's brother's

Fig. 3. Kinship Terms for Consanguineal Relatives

Generation	Collateral Male	Lineal Male	Lineal Female	Collateral Female
Older than grandparent	Mam	Mam	Me'čč	Me'čč
Younger than grandparent +2	Tat			Me'
Older than parent	Tat	Tat	Me'	Me'
Younger than parent +1	Bankil (Šiʔlel)			Wil
Older than ego	Bankil (Šiʔlel)	EGO		Wil
Younger than ego −1	Kihtz'in			Kihtz'in
−2	Kihtz'in	Nič'an (Alal)		Kihtz'in
	Kihtz'in	Mam nič'an		Kihtz'in

Terms in parentheses are female spoken terms.

601 wife, and wife's sister with the term *mu?*. This same term is used by women to refer to sister's husband, and to husband's brother. Men refer to sister's husband, wife's brother and wife's parents' brothers as *b'al*, while women refer to brother's wife and husband's sister as *ha?wan*. The rule is that siblings-in-law of opposite sex of speaker are classified as mu? and siblings-in-law of same sex as speaker are differentiated by sex of speaker so that men classify them as b'al and women classify them as ha?wan. Parents-in-law are referred to as *tat ni?al* and *me? ni?al* and called father and mother. Wives of sons and brothers' sons are referred to as *kalib'* by men.

Fig. 4. Kinship Terms for Affinal Relatives

	Collateral	Lineal	Lineal	Collateral
+1		Nial Tat	Nial Me?	
−1	Bal	(Hmamlal) Kinam		Mu?
	Kihtz'in			

Underlined term is vocative.

Affinal terminology is not applied to spouses of parents' siblings; the terms for father and mother or elder sister and elder brother, depending on their age relative to ego, are extended to them (Fig. 4).

601 The term for assistant in a ceremony, *b'alni?al*, using the combined
796 terms for ego's generation and parental generation in-laws, may indicate
794 that this group formerly served in household ceremonies. They are still
174 called upon for assistance, but nonrelated neighbors and compadres or
592 godchildren may also assist and the same term is applied to all.

571 Significant reference groups are designated by the Spanish derived terms
197 *yermanotak*, *kumparetak*, and *bersinatak*. The yermanotak is comprised
192 of siblings, their spouses, and siblings of parents; the term is derived from the Spanish *hermanos;* kumparetak, meaning the ritual co-parents, is a

Compadres, or ritual kin, are the next most important pool from which to draw assistance. The same restrictions on exchanges between actual kin apply to those between ritual kin. The one task which is confined to brothers and not extended to compadres is that of house-building. 476 608 342 593

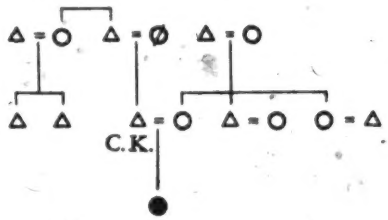
Relationships between members of the household are defined by daily work tasks, commensality, sharing a living space, and participation in the same ceremonial events. The same rules which govern behavior in the family are extended to the wider community. The extension of the terms elder brother and elder sister, father and mother, and younger sibling to all of the people in one's own side of the dual division implies a pattern of behavior similar to that of the family. The fundamental equation in social relations is age-respect-deference-prestige. 592 601 621 571 561

The bilaterally extended kinship group provides the pattern structuring relations throughout the community. It is a framework allowing wide choice in selecting individuals with whom ceremonial and work relations are contracted. Relative age has superseded generation and descent as the principle governing relationships of authority and respect from the nuclear family to the hierarchy or community officials. These patterns will be traced in other institutions in following chapters. 602 476 561

but on other occasions they are as likely to be chosen from among peers of the parents.

The occasions on which the first informant in Table 20 acquired compadres are spelled out in the following diagrams to show the growth of the network of compadrazgo relations in the course of a lifetime.

Compadres of C. K., sixty-five-year-old man. C. K. chose as compadres on the occasion of the baptism of his first child an older man who lived in the same section of town. The diagram shows the composition of the baptismal party. The darkened symbol in this and the following diagrams represents the child baptized.

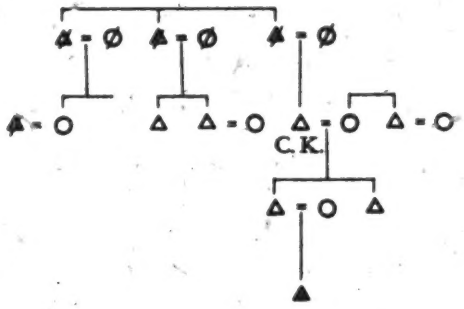


C. K. addresses all of the guests by the term "compadre" and refers to the group as "kumparetak." The second child has the same padrino, and the same group of relatives attended the ceremony. For the third child, C. K. chose a Ladino shopkeeper from the neighboring town. He chose him because, "I sold wheat to him, and I saw he was honorable." C. K. had a house fiesta to which the shopkeeper came with his wife. This is somewhat unusual and occurred because the compadre was from another town. C. K. chose as the padrino of his fourth child another Ladino he knew in the same town, but the padrino did not attend the house fiesta to which only his sister, her husband, and her husband's brother came. A woman prayer-reciter of the same section was chosen as *madrina* of his fifth and sixth child when C. K. was fiscal. A younger man of the same section was chosen as the padrino of the seventh child. C. K. helped his son select the padrino of a grandson born in his house, a man from the same section.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 120]

608 571 602 852 [601]

section. Attending this house fiesta was the group of relatives represented in the diagram.



The relatives assembled are essentially the same as those who attended the birth of C. K.'s first child. They are the core of the me?iltatil for his family, a core which expands to include additional compadres and neighbors for special house rituals. The second and third grandchildren had as padrino a man from the opposite section.

In summary, C. K. has chosen four Indian compadres and two Ladino compadres for the baptisms of his own children. Other members of the me?iltatil who became compadres on these occasions include five men and three women who are bilateral and affinal relatives.

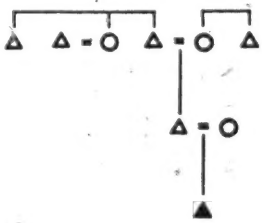
608 852 571

C. K. has been asked to be padrino of baptism by four persons:

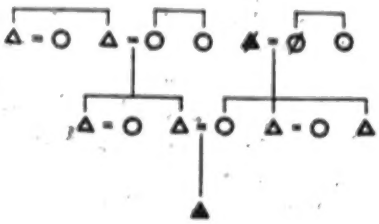
1. A neighbor asked him to be padrino of his child. At a small fiesta, he became compadre of the father and godfather of the child.

2. A man from the opposite section asked him to be padrino of his son's child, and he acquired the group of compadres shown in the diagram.

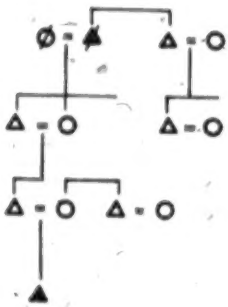
[601]



3. A man of the same section asked him to be padrino, and he acquired 6 compadres and 7 comadres. 608 571 852 601

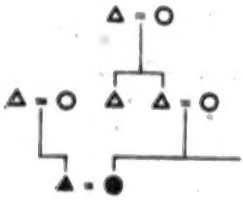


4. A man of same section asked him to be padrino, and he acquired 5 compadres and 5 comadres.



He has been asked to be padrino of marriage ceremonies, also by four parties. The darkneed symbols represent the individuals married. 608 571 585

1. A man of the same section.



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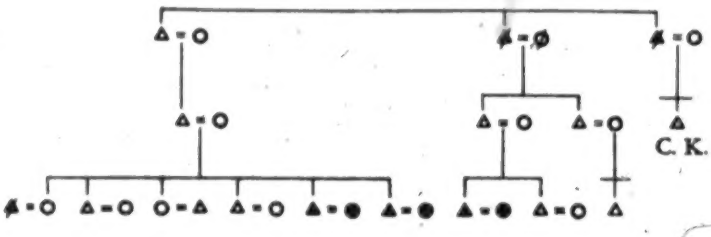
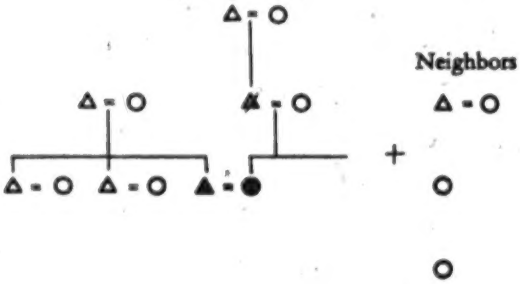
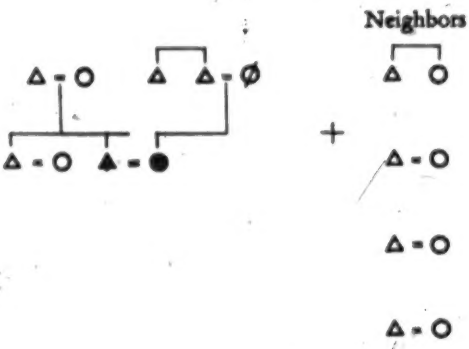
2. The sons of his brother's son.



3. A neighbor's son.



4. A man of the same section.



7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

as errand boys and assistants. A third group are the ŠKoltawanehetik, *the female helpers, usually wives of the b'alnialetik or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors,* yulatak, *who come to congratulate the new official.* [*The visitors at the house of the first judge are shown in Figure 7.*]

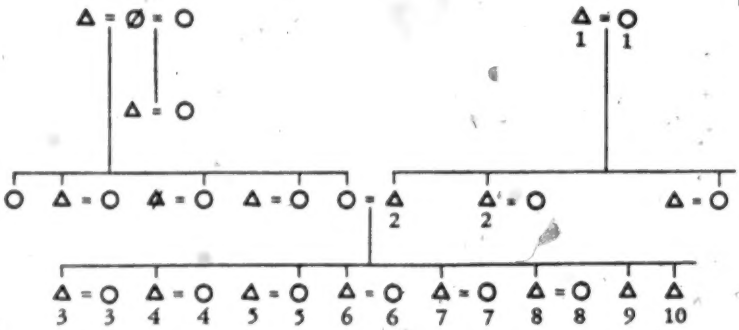
The new official addresses the first nakawane with the following speech:

Official: "Holy evening, Mamtat, to your health."

Nakawane: "Holy evening, Mamtat, to your health."

Official: "Lord, how are you, Mamtat? You are alive, word of God, this holy evening. There is no illness behind your heart."

Fig. 7. Relatives at House of First Judge on Eve of Inauguration



Nakawane: "I live. I feel no illness."

Official: "Lord Mamtat, give pardon with God, with the Virgin Mother. Give holy pardon your mothers, your fathers, with God.

"Give pardon, Lord, give pardon. Virgin mother. Here we are gathered before you where we are seated, our soil, our mud.

"How are we going to succeed in what we will have to do in this holy new year for our patron Lord? Here again in the dawning of the holy hour, let us look into our heart, there where we are going to receive the holy oath inside the holy cold house, the cold hall, where we go receive the work and suffering of the holy staff, the holy wand this holy day, this

121 write beliefs that give coherence to these roles. Whether these events continue to be scheduled, and in the process of being presented "prove" the postulates upon which structural relationships are based, depends upon acceptance of the belief system.

183 A fundamental understanding governing behavior in Tzoʔontahal is that people ought to do as the ancestors did. Both "knowing" and "re-
[192] membering" are expressed by the same verb, *ya sna,* while "learning" and "memorizing" are expressed by the verb *ya snop*. The behavioral corollary of this association between knowing and remembering is that one should accept the word of the ancestors as a guide to behavior. The importance of obeying one's elders as the intermediaries in the transfer of ways of behaving from one generation to another is stressed in child training and is restated in the prayers uttered at ritual performances enacting the ways of the ancestors.

128 In this chapter I shall consider the integration of behavior based on roles, personality, codes of morality and etiquette, and the ideological and behavorial changes which are disturbing this system.

The Role System

554 Coherence of the role system in Tzoʔontahal depends upon (1) similar
621 premises for role recruitment and continuity in transition from one role to
182 another; (2) alternation in office and linkage of separate domains by special offices; and (3) standardized etiquette of role interaction. Uniform standards of evaluation of performance provide a sanctioning system ensuring social integration.

561 *Recruitment and transition.* Relative and chronological age com-
554 bined with consideration of sex are the fundamental principles for assign-
562 ing role categories. The age principle categorizes the entire town in role pairs of respect and deference. Sex differentiation is not made in children until after infancy. An infant of either sex is called *ʔunin,* also a term for
[192] the new moon, until the age of eight months. The sex of parent rather
[601] than that of the child is designated: a woman calls her offspring *ʔalal* whether boy or girl, and a man calls his offspring *nicʔan*. Sex distinction is

made in speaking of toddlers: boys are called *htatil* and girls *ḳantzil*. 554
After five years of age, a boy is referred to as *č'in ḳerem*, "little boy" and a 561
girl as *č'in ʔačiš*, "little girl." The term for younger sibling, *ḳihtz'in*, 562
which is extended to all of the people younger than oneself on one's own 192
side of the dual division, is not sex marked, but the terms for all people 801
older than oneself are. Sexual segregation begins at the age of five in sleep- 513
ing arrangements as well as in public gatherings, when little boys stand 593
with their fathers. The modifier "č'in" is dropped after the age of nine, and the terms "kerem" and "ačiš" are used until marriage. At the age of fifteen, a girl is referred to as *ʔantz wiltal*, "just arriving at womanhood," and when she is married she is classified as an *ʔantz*, or woman. A boy is referred to as a kerem until he is married, when he is called *ač' winiḳ* or "new man." A woman with children is referred to as *meʔeliš*, and is a full-fledged member of her sex, the *meʔil*. A man's reference term does not change with paternity. When a young unmarried man dies, people say with sorrow that it was a pity "he did not try out life," and that "he did not try out a woman."

In her youth a woman's role is tied to the reproductive cycle, but after 554
menopause she is released from the restrictions of childbearing women. 561
She need not appear as modest in public, and can drink and dance at fies- 562
tas. A noticeable personality change can be seen as women move out of the chrysalis of their reproductive cycle. Some older women begin to take 831
a keen interest in sex, and widows in particular may have sexual relations with young unmarried men. It is after menopause that a woman takes her first role in ceremonials as a woman speaker.

In the man's life cycle, leadership roles are related to age. Paternal roles 593
are the prototype for both familial and public authority positions. Thus 621
the term for father, *tat* is the stem for the term for leader, *statal*. 192

In the relationship between the sexes, women are considered to be under 562
the control of a male protector, either their father or husband. However, 593
there is a kind of equality between the sexes which is not found in Ladino society. Usually there is only a small age difference between husband and 582
wife, even in second marriages, and parents resist giving a young unmarried girl to an older previously married man. Mutual respect is stressed in the advice given by elders at marriage. There is no double standard for ex-

121 terminology from seven axioms. Goodenough (1951, 1956a, 1957) worked out a theoretical frame and its application to Trukese data and Pehrson's Lapp kinship data. Lounsbury (1956) analyzed Morgan's Pawnees schedule mainly as a linguistic exercise in the semantic aspects of the method. Romney (1957), Romney and Metzger (1957) and Romney and Epling (1958) discussed some of the relationships between operational principles, and presented a substantive analysis of data utilizing this frame, on the Zuni and Kariera. In Europe, a close approximation to the componential analysis method was applied by Meeussen and LeCoste (1955) on the Ngwana, and Vansina (1957) on the Bushoong.

121 128 In this paper the method is utilized only briefly, mainly because the presentation of the kinship terminology in a paradigmatic form simplifies the comparison between Amatenango and Aguacatenango (see Figs. 7 and 8). I do not claim, as have some of the previous authors, that the method generates an analysis of denotative semantics, nor that it is a truer picture of the whole kinship system.

128 601 I discuss the consanguineal address terminology because it is the only one used regularly by the villagers, and does not differ, except for the exclusion of two or three affinal terms, from the reference terminology.

121 The universe of kinship is a discrete unit only for the anthropologist. In some societies in the world, the number of individuals who receive the treatment of kinsmen is arbitrarily limited with some criteria other than the two basic biological elements of copulation and birth, and the social concomitants

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 88

601

generation	male reference	female reference		female reference	seniority
2+	mukʔul tat	mukʔul mal	t'in nana	t'in tatat	older than ego's father
1+	tatat (tat)	nana (ma²)			younger than ego's father and older than ego
> ego ⊕ <	bankil (m.s) kilel (f.s)	wis		ebankil (m.s) ekilel (f.s)	
	tata	nana (kilpʔan)		tata	younger than ego
1-	wiʔan (m.s) kʔal (f.s)				
2-	mamaʔan (m.s) kʔlal (f.s)				
	linsal (or diresal)		collaterals and non-kinsmen		

(s) term repeated
(m.s) male speaker
(f.s) female speaker

Fig. 7.--Aguacatenango Kinship Paradigm

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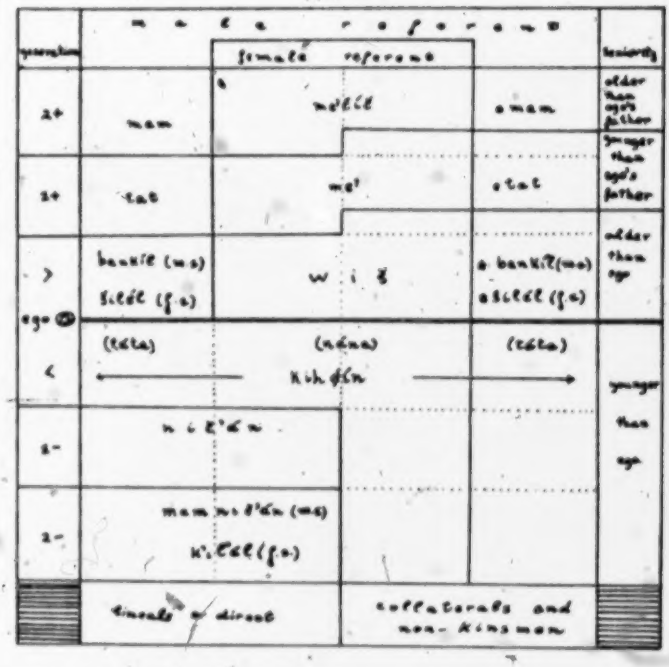

(#) term repeated
(m.s) male speaker
(f.s) female speaker

Fig. 8.--Amatenango Kinship Paradigm

121 descent and affinal relations derived therefrom. But for some other societies, the number of persons and the distance (biological or social) between people to which kinship terms can be applied is infinite. Furthermore, some societies do not distinguish between the criteria of kinship and territoriality in defining group relationships, or the application of kinship terms. Among the Nuer, for example, an individual thinks of distance between lineages in terms of both descent links and territorial propinquity. Among the Chamula of Chiapas, the word for kinsman (meaning my family) and the word for co-villagers (other Chamulas) is the same. Homonyms do not necessarily imply that the people connect the two concepts expressed in the same word, nor that there is a single concept to cover both, but in the Nuer as well as the Chamula case, this is so.

601 The way in which the kinship terminology is applied in Amatenango and Aguacatenango suggests an infinite extension of the kinship terminology into the universe of non-kinsmen. For this reason, we will indicate how each kinship term is applied by the natives for "real kinsmen" (that is, to those recognized by the natives as such, and genealogically connected through birth and/or marriage) and to other villagers by extension or analogy. This becomes an important distinction because the kinship terminology is not, as anthropologists assume for most other cases, a terminological system to isolate, on the basis of linguistics, the kinsmen from the non-kinsmen. In Amatenango and Aguacatenango, the so-called kinship terminology is both kinship terminology and a terminological system to indicate social

601 differentiation based on some other criteria which are not descent or affinity.

[114] The "kinship terms" of Amatenango and Aguacatenango form a Hawaiian type (Murdock, 1949) system, and do not suggest, as Murdock indicated for the Tzeltal as a whole, the characteristics of a Normal Omaha (Murdock, 1955:228-31).

The main emphasis on classifying others from the point of view of Ego are relative age (seniority and generation) and sex. All discriminations made in the addressing of individuals are of a bilateral nature. More contrasts are made for the older than for the younger generation of Ego. This gives the impression that the societies face "upwards," which is confirmed by the behavior of the villagers in many dimensions of their social action, by being consistent with the terminological usages within and outside the kin group.

The classificatory principles which underlie the uses of terms are, for the society at large: seniority, generation relative to Ego, and sex, both of addressee and speaker.

When the terms are restricted to "real kinsmen," the number of terminological distinctions is expanded, so some other principles are used. The principles are:

1. Seniority
   a) Younger than Ego
   b) Older than Ego, younger than Ego's father
   c) Older than Ego, older than Ego's father
2. Sex of the addressee
3. Lineal versus collateral

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

601

4. Generation

5. Sex of the speaker

Seniority combines in Aguacatenango with generation and linearity to separate Ego's own parents, Ego's own grandparents, Ego's own children and grandchildren from collaterals of the same relative ages and from non-kinsmen, but brothers and sisters are not distinguished from cousins or from other kinsmen or non-kinsmen of the same relative age and generation.

In Amatenango, only Ego's own children and grandchildren are distinguished from collaterals or others, which merges the core of the conjugal family (father and mother) and the domestic group with the rest of the kinsmen.

The most important distinction, among those lineals of Ego's own generation and collaterals, is the relative order of birth with respect to Ego and Ego's father. The sex of both the speaker and the addressee is added to relative age.

The extension of the kinship terms to non-kinsmen (i.e., those who are not included in the particular kinship group recognized by Ego) is on a society-wide basis. People are addressed by "kin terms" for a multitude of purposes: (1) to show respect in greeting; (2) to suggest that the person addressed with the kin term is expected to behave somewhat like the kinsmen who, according to genealogical placement, is called by the term; (3) to indicate social distance to juniors, and the expected deference and obedience from them, etc. It is common, for example, to salute an elderly woman with the term <u>cinnaná</u>, or to call a man from whom one is asking a favor by the term <u>bankil</u>.

601 In Aguacatenango, where the distinction between collaterals and lineals is implicit in the terminology, non-kinsmen are usually addressed by the collateral terms, thus indicating distance between lineal relatives and others.

The terminological system is so widely applied that there is no possibility of separating the range of kinsmen from non-kinsmen by observing only terminological usages. The only way to make the distinction is: (1) to observe the particular behavior of Ego towards others; (2) to ask each particular Ego whom, among those which he addresses with kin terms, he considers genealogically connected with him. This any Ego is able to do. So therefore, although the terminology used suggests that kinship is not the main differentiation, in terms of other behavior the distinction is clearly specified.

The use of affinal terms is presently restricted to parents and children-in-law, and the others are merged with the consanguineal terms. Even then, if the relationship between in-laws is affectionate and they live in the same household or in close proximity, they address each other with the consanguineal terms.

184 601 Although the terminology in the two villages is practically identical, the Amatenango kinship usages suggest a more emphatic bilateral-generation systematization of kinship terms for both kin and non-kin. I can suggest that the relationships established in the household (core of the kin group) in Amatenango, are consistent with more emphasis in bilaterality, while in Aguacatenango, where the basic kinship relations of the individual are lineal

184 ones, the terminology consistently emphasizes the distinction
60 between direct and collateral relatives. In that sense, and only in that sense, the terminology usage reflects the consistency between the linguistic realm and the non-linguistic behavior realms, a consistency which has been assumed by many anthropologists to be axiomatic.

561 562 The Ordering of Social Relations

In both communities relative age and sex are important in the structuring of social relations within the household and throughout the community. The exact chronological age of an individual is often unknown, but his relative age, with respect to siblings, cousins, relatives and other people who live close by, is always known. Any two individuals can always place each other in terms of seniority or order of birth.

561 Children are classified as those who are still at the mother's breast and cannot walk (husul 'it), small walking children (kosh kerem), pre-adolescents (hc' iel), and adolescents of marriageable age (tek' el). Married men are distinguished by whether they have children, by whether they have or do not have an independent household, and by the number of cargos they have passed in the government. Mature men are classified as still being active in the civil-religious hierarchy or as being pasados. Pasados are separated into those who are just old (mamal) and those who are principales.

858 Little babies and small children are not always counted as part of the household because they die so easily. They can have their souls "stolen" by other children who are still in their

883 (gang), containing males from the age of about twelve to the time
562 they marry. They usually sleep together in one of the escuadrilla
573 member's house corridor, and spend long nights playing the harmonica, having corn eating competitions or serenading.

562 A man is not considered a full-fledged community member
885 until he marries and has a child (the word for man and father
851 have the same root: tat), which allows him to take the lower
601 post in the government (policía). The government itself is an
621 age-graded organization in which the kinship terms of elder and
561 younger brother are used reciprocally, and by extension, by of-
601 ficers in lower and higher posts.

562 With the passing of time, both men and women increase their
593 status by raising a family and by passing to higher positions in
621 the civil-religious hierarchy. Although women do not participate
794 directly in the government, they have some duties as officer's wives (e.g., ironing the Saint's clothes if their husbands are Mayordomos), and they are called by their husband's titles. A man may resign from office if his wife dies and there is no other adult woman in the household who can take care of her part of the officer's performance.

184 The first noticeable difference in the ordering of social
562 relations in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women
592 in the domestic group.

184 In Aguacatenango, the eldest male is the head of the
562 household. He controls the land which the men of the household
462 work, the cattle, the labor of the household members and most of
592 the money obtained through the sale of surplus corn (which is

159 indicated that "she did not live in the house, nor was the boss
592 there." Margarita knew the price at which to sell, but she told
437 off the merchant, in quite a rude manner, and even refused to
602 let him see the animal "because she was sure that the man was going to give it the evil eye and get it sick."

[601]

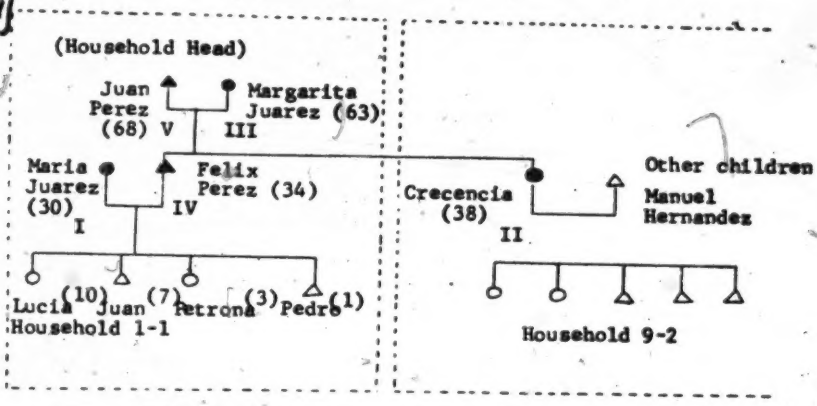

Fig. 9.--Genealogy of Household of Juan Perez

The Ladino merchant utilized every policy of charm and threat, trying to get them to sell the animal, but he began to relize that it was getting him nowhere. None of the women, not even the female head of the household, felt that she could take the responsibility for the business transaction.

When the merchant was ready to leave, Felix arrived. At this point, Felix took up the bargaining. When he could not get the price his father wanted, he resolved that the merchant should

591 patrilocality at a young age, just as filialocality is the complementary form of female matrilocality. If we compare the percentages of distribution of both forms, we can observe that the complementarity is expressed in similar distributions.

	Per cent		Per cent
Patrilocal	72	Filiolocal	60
Matrilocal	23	Filialocal	20
Other	5	Other	20

This distribution of filiolocality occurs because the norm is to reside with the son to whom one has given the house, but also because in making a choice between relatives with whom to live, it is preferred to choose a male and not a female line. In some cases, consequently, it is preferred to live with a brother rather than with a daughter.

[586] [592] Children of divorced mothers become members of the household where the mother resides after the divorce. If the mother dies while she is still married to the children's father, the 587 children become members of the father's parents' household. When 591 a man remarries, he usually does not bring his children from [183] previous marriages to his wife. We have only one case of a child living with the father after the father's second marriage. The reasons for this anomalous case are individual ones. The child's father's mother is the only other relative alive, besides the father, and she resides in the same household. The fact that the paternal grandmother and not the father is the sponsor of the [601] child, is clear from the information attached to the case. The child, a girl, sleeps with the grandmother and calls her mother.

591 587 The stepmother refers to her as "my husband's child," and she [601] [183] did not count her, when giving census information, among the children of her household, but as a child living with "my husband's mother." Another characteristic that makes this case [848] anomalous is that this stepchild was born of an extra-marital relation between the father and another woman, while the father was already married to the stepmother.

593 591 587 The rationale given by the people when asked the reasons why a father does not keep his children with him, is that "stepmothers are no good." It is possible that one of the main forces [428] operating behind this arrangement is the possibility of conflict over inheritance rights of stepchildren. By assigning rights and duties towards stepchildren only to stepfathers, it is implied that a man marrying a woman with children takes not only a wife, but the economic and jural responsibilities of being a father, including the duty of making them his heirs. We do not have, at the moment, sufficient information to support this point, and it is only given here as a suggestion for future inquiry.

591 592 423 426 These alternative rules of residence explain the composition of the compound households made up of the remnants of two or more original nuclear families, except for the cases in which people are living in borrowed houses. In one of the two cases in our sample, a house was "borrowed" from a brother of the husband's father. The family living in this compound is a very large one, twelve members, with only two males who are of working age, and very poor by Aguacatenango standards. The male head is an orphan who lived before marriage with his mother's mother and

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VII

CORPORATE GROUPS WITHIN THE VILLAGE

Historical Perspective

174 611 591 601 583 423 428 It is probable that the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango had, at some time in their past, a patrilineal organization based on agnatic descent, patri-virilocality, a kinship terminology of the Normal Omaha type, and other associated features such as bride-price, groom service, patrilineal control of the rights to land usufruct, and patrilineal inheritance.

174 613 614 621 626 Each agnatic descent group formed segments of a corporate lineage, and several segments formed a sib. Lineages were localized, and they had important social functions. The heads of linear segments formed the local government and had the responsibility of controlling conflict and sanctioning individual behavior through the supernatural. They were believed to "own" powerful animal counterparts of their souls, which patrolled the village during sleep, and punished the misdemeanors of those men belonging to their line of descent. It is also probable that the lineage was [582] an exogamous unit, and there is some scanty evidence which points to the practice of cross-cousin marriage.

127 The evidence to support this hypothetical statement is of two types. On the one hand, there is some historical documentation in published, as well as manuscript, form. On the other hand,

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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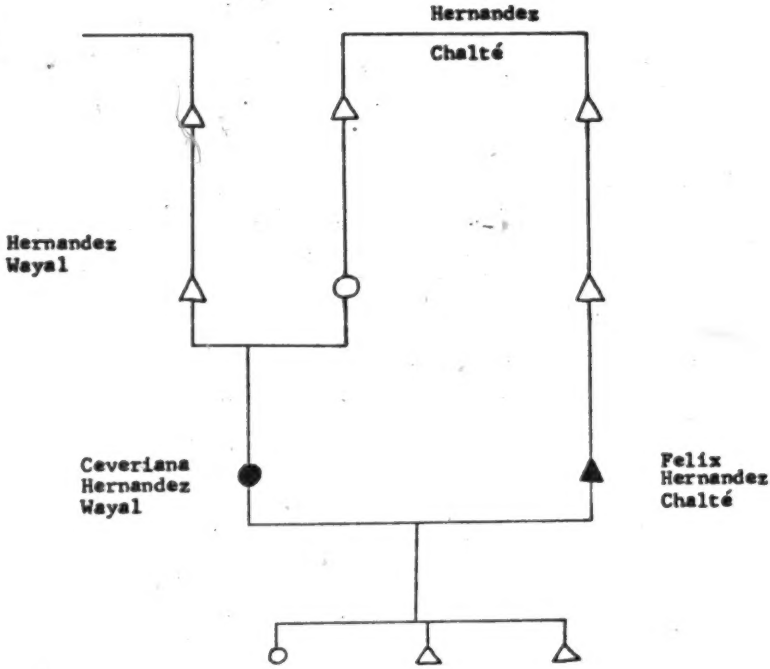

Fig. 14.--Genealogy of Hernandez

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

Household 24-7

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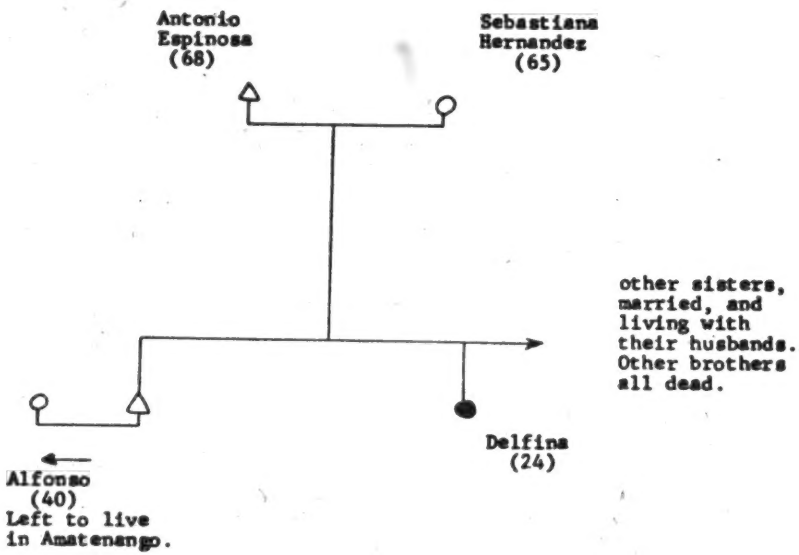

Fig. 15.--Genealogy of Delfina Espinosa

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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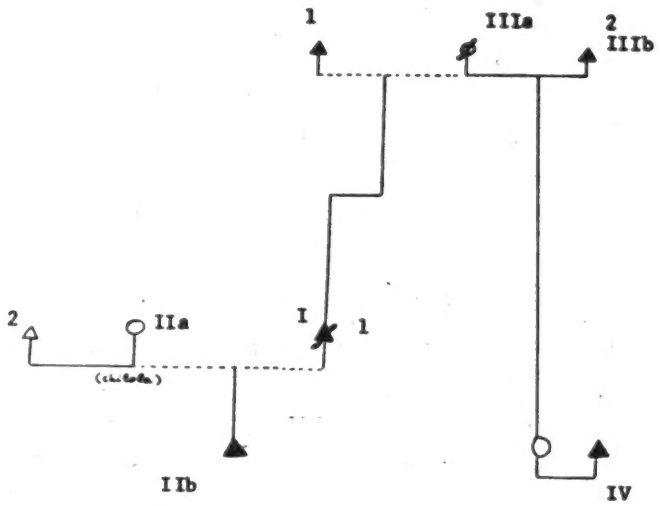

= men that claimed rights over the land.

I to IV indicate the order in which the land has been transmitted. The two men in the youngest generation are the ones contesting each other's rights.

Fig. 16.--Genealogy of Chilola M.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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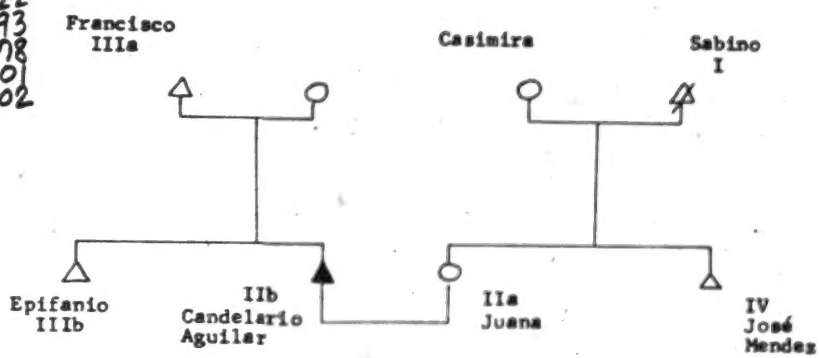

I to IIb indicate the order in which the bull was transmitted.

IIb-IIIb indicate the order in which cow and calf were transmitted.

IV is the man that pretends to have rights over the animals, with his mother's support.

Fig. 17.--Genealogy of Candelario Aguilar

activities. Following this, he then serves as *tatil* of any 794
saint of minor rank, then as *tatil* of San Pedro Martyr 554
or San Francisco, followed by a turn as *tatil* of the 156
kobraria Virgin Santa Lucia, and finally as *tatil* of the
kobraria Sacramento.

The Tzeltal role terms in both the civil and reli- 621*
gious hierarchies reveal the preconquest age-ranking 554
system. This is evident in the use of elder and junior 794
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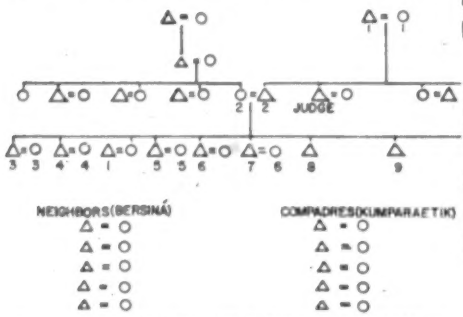

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CHART 3 — ASSISTANTS AND PARTICIPANTS IN HOUSE FIESTA OF JUDGE (ELICITED)

Circles indicate women; triangles indicate men. For role term applying to number, see Chart 4.

titles for mayordomos (*tatil* and *nil' anil martoma*) 621*
and in the use of *mas mamalil* (more senior) for 554
higher rank offices. 794
561
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The informant's understanding of the hierarchy is
that of a core of officeholders in three ranked seg- 124
ments (Chart 1). This is coded in the group terms for 621*
officials. Roles peripheral to the major categories such 794
as those of rural judges, fiscal and women prayer- 554
makers, are elicited only with repeated questioning
or with reference to some event in which they func-
tion. These roles differ from those mentioned first in
that they are either of little significance to the indi-
vidual informant (this would explain the consistent
omission of the rural judge by the people of the cen-
ter) or are not part of the required posts incumbent
upon every male household head to undertake (this
might explain the omission of the president, síndico,
principales and fiscales in the first eliciting session).
Structural principles made explicit by the informants
are (1) hierarchical rank, (2) progression from
lower to higher posts, and (3) territorial balance in
representation of the dual division. An implicit corol-
lary of passage through offices beginning with lower
ranks is the age grading of officeholders. Other struc-
tural aspects emerged in the description of behavior,
described below.

[P 215-B]

the new officials are publicly defined before overlapping sets of participants and observers. Within each setting, the multiple sets of relationships which determine the individual's selection for a role are indicated in Appendix 3. 621* [571] [602]

It has often been stated of Guatemalan and Mexican highland Maya communities that public office is an undertaking of the household. The precise dimensions of this support have yet to be defined in an activity context. Visitors and helpers in the household celebration provide one such context in which the parameters of the aid can be defined (Charts 2, 3, 4). Primary support is given by the official's wife, without whom he would not be serving in the hierarchy.[5] She serves him by waiting for him in the house, taking care of the money he might have to guard as a civil official, and watching him while he is drunk from the bouts in the townhall so that he will not harm himself by falling in the fire or be harmed by his enemies. His advisors and councilors in the household are the *nakawanehetik*.[6] These are men who have passed through some of the civil offices —at least those of *alferez* and first regidor—and who are somehow related to the new official.[7] A second group of supporters in the household serve as errand boys and assistants, the *balnialetik*. They are chosen from among brothers, brothers-in-law,[8] sons, *compadres* (ritual co-parents), godchildren, and neighbors. A third group are the *ʔkoltawanehetik*, the fe- 621* 592 [574] [593] [602]

[5] Innumerable instances attest to the significance of the wife in officeholding. For example, at the final ceremony in a betrothal, the boy is advised by his elders that now he will be called to serve the pueblo. Or, in the court case of a judge whose wife wished to leave him because he had beaten her, the other judges counseled her to wait until he had completed his term of office.

[6] The term *nakawanehetik* may be derived from the honorific prefix *nak*, found in other Maya languages (LaFarge, 1947). Another possibility is that it may be the stem *na*, 'house,' plus *kawanehetik*, tentatively glossed as 'officials.' [193]

[7] In the case of the president (in the observed sequence) his father, who had passed through all the offices up to the first judge and had fulfilled his turns in the religious hierarchy as well, was the first *nakawane*.

[8] The term *bal* is generic for brother-in-law, *nial* for father-in-law, but whether this formerly had significance in the selection of assistance I do not know. At present, brothers-in-law are chosen along with others, such as godchildren or neighbors. [601]

[P. 216-B]

ment, engrossed as I was in the task of eliciting the formal sequence of events, "Quiet, S.; let's get on with the fiesta." He persisted in what interested him. 124

Eleven years ago they [who? enemies?] tried to get me. I had a piece of land in hot country. My house here was not ready, but the wood was ready. M. C. a neighbor was jealous [*šil yoʔtan*, 'saw his heart']. He had caused another neighbor's illness. He was my wife's *muʔ* [literally 'brother-in-law,' in this case the informant's wife's fa's sis's husband]. He didn't have corn or beans. He was jealous because of my crops and the big house I was going to build. 124 578 [754] [601] [602]

By now I was asking questions and taking notes. I interposed, "How did you know?" 124 578

I knew because when I got sick, the curer (who was the dead husband of the widow who came to the judges' house) told me. The *cabron* (goat) witches leave their signature in the blood (*yak hilel firma ta čičʔ*). Then I went to a curer in Chamula who confirmed it. 754 756

"How did he speak to you?" 124

In Tzotzil. Then I went to Las Casas. Another curer, also a Chamulteco, said, "Here is his signature in your blood. He is working alone." On January 7 I fell in bed. All month from January to the 19th of April I was very sick. I went to Cruz Quemada (colonia of Tzoʔontahal) where F. G. cured me. He burned candles at the curing arch and prayed. 578 755 756 [782]

"Whom did he pray to?"

The hills, the holy land. Then I got well, but I was very tired. My Swana [wife, Juana] told me "He is going to kill you." I had a rifle. I filled it and went out, but then I returned. Another day I took two measures of trago, took my rifle and went to his house. He was sleeping with his wife close to him in bed, the way we sleep here. I fired four times. The bullets went in his back and came out front. One entered the arm of his wife. Now people say of me I am a killer. I went to the townhall for the enquiry. The man's wife said the door [of the house] was open. She said she did not see me. Afterward I got well. If I hadn't killed him, I never would have lived. Now I am having more trouble first because of the cooperative, then because of my brother being president, and then the comisario. Let us see what will happen this year. If God lends us our life, there are going to be protests. We will walk with our pistols. Spet [wife of Ladino owner of opposing cooperative] gave 1000 pesos to a man from Magronal to kill me. 124 578 682

"How do you know?"

My compadre came and told me. Who knows how many deaths there will be!

[P. 225-A]

/16/

601 614 The kinship terms, excepting those that extend to all the members of a clan, do not seem to apply to persons outside of those included in the charts (Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4). The terms that designate older siblings are applied to all the members of the paternal clan without taking into account the principle of generation or the age relative to EGO. This custom tends to be applied even among descendants of the same grandparents: an old woman greets the granddaughter of her paternal uncle, calling her uix (older sister) instead of the corresponding kitsín (younger sister), the young girl using the identical reciprocal in her reply. We can say that there is a tendency toward the elimination of the principle of generation and that of age relative to EGO even among close relatives, using only one term for sister, a woman's brother, and a man's brother (uix, xibel, and bankil), except within the limits of the elemental family.

601 602 614 An individual, when born, is related to the members of two clans: the paternal one, which is his own, and the maternal one. Upon contracting marriage, he establishes new relationships, applying, as we have already shown, the terms which designate brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law to all the members of the clan of the spouse. In this manner a Cancuquero can be related to all the members of the tribe or native group, because at present only three clans exist, one of which may be the clan of EGO, another the maternal clan, and the other one the clan of the spouse. This is not always the case, because an individual may have married within the clan of his mother, in which case his kichanes and his siblings-in-law belong to the same clan, preferring then the use [609] of the word bal to that of kichán. The members of the non-related clan receive the title of tatik and meetik (gentleman and lady).

582 587 614 614 595 The clans regulate marriage. Preferred clans with respect to the selection of a spouse do not seem to exist. Upon the death of the wife a man may marry again within the same clan or in the other. One of our informants had three successive wives belonging to the same clan, but this is exceptional. In the three cases of polygyny known to us the wives were not sisters: in one case the

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P.462-B]

682 their neighbors by establishing *compadrazgo*, or
683 godparental, relations with them.
621
608 Ten of the 37 homicides here reported were committed by immediate consanguineal or
682 affinal relatives of the victim. The high fre-
593 quency of killings involving brothers or
607 brothers-in-law (8 cases) suggests a locus of high tension in these relationships. Male
[602] siblings, the *yermanotak*, comprise the closest cooperating group. Cooperation between
[476] brothers is obligatory when wheat is to be threshed, a house built, or a roof rethatched. If a brother or brother-in-law is unavoidably absent, he must pay a substitute. Brothers, or sons and fathers, are the only relationship pairs who work the milpa in common and share
[428] the harvest. Bilateral inheritance, with equal division of land and house to both male and female offspring, means that brothers-in-law are potentially equivalent in the competition for goods as well as in their obligation to cooperate. A man kills his sister's husband if the husband is abusive to the woman or to mem-
682 bers of the family (two cases). The brother
627 figures not only as a lethal opponent, but also
593 as the man who avenges one's own death (case 18, Table 1). When someone has been killed for witchcraft, his brothers are expected to accept the verdict or to avenge the killing.

[Text continues on p. 463-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

out by a small group bearing a grudge, although in this case the tribe as a whole stands more solidly back of the offenders. 648

The Bachajon exhibit internal dissension and strife to an unusual degree. There are many small, outlying sub-groups, some of which are more or less openly at war with the main body. In the description of Zona Sala oil camp (Chapter VIII) something has already been said of the settlement there of men driven away on account of the misbehaviour. They still call themselves Bachajon and maintain some slight intercourse with the tribe, although they are quite inimical in their attitude towards Indians passing through on the way to Palenque. There are other such settlements in different parts of the jungle, although these, having most recently split off, are the most hostile. 628

What group loyalty the Bachajon have centers around the deserted village that bears their name. It was described at the beginning of this chapter. Founded under compulsion, deserted whenever possible, its church and Cabildo in ruins, none the less it is their focal point, jealously guarded from intrusion. These Indians have had the same experience as our own; the European comes first as a visitor, then a few settle for trade, then comes a host in their footsteps, until soon there is no place for the Indian, and he finds himself an intruder in his own home. Against this sequence of events, so common in our history, the Bachajon protect their land by an attitude of unremitting hostility. Travellers may pass through, but no trader may set up even a lean-to bower under which to display his wares, save during the few days of their main fiestas, although it would be a great convenience for them to have a store nearer than Ocosingo. 621 609

The destruction of the Spanish-built church and Cabildo, with the substitution for them of native edifices, is curious. The feeling probably is that when they do congregate in their capital for a fiesta, they do not wish to be confronted by evidences of alien domination. 829

The strongest actual unit is that of the individual family, the man, his wife, and children. Indians who are forced, for one reason or another, to go into hiding in the jungle, will run great risks to return and fetch their wives and children. Even beyond this smallest group there is a little feeling, a man's relatives by marriage or blood often joining to support him in a feud, or to revenge a wrong done him. Similarly, the relatives of the individual who committed the wrong are held in some degree liable to punishment, although there is no formal rule of collective responsibility, the action taken depending largely on individual inclination. 593 594 602 627 [672]

601 conforms to what has been termed teknonymy in the literature.
551 The occurrence of such an expression as /X-NIC'AN S-TAT HWAN/ led us to suppose that not any child is equally candidate for membership in the teknonymous construction. Informants agree that the child who is candidate for the said position has the attributes of "first-born child of a legitimate union who lived long enough to be named." Since the teknonymous candidate is recruited exclusively from the first position in the relative order of own children, it might be appropriate to suggest that teknonymy be hereafter distinguished on the basis of the type and degree of explicit definition of the coordinating person.

Terms of compadrazgo

601 The terminology of compadrazgo, ritual kinship, includes
608 the following forms which are shown in Table 10 (p. 30). The terms /-KUMPRE/ and /KUMRE/ are self-reciprocal except for sex of referent, and thus generation is not one of their characteristics. However, /-KUMPRE/~/KUMRE/ enter into compounds with the modifiers /MUK'UL/ and /C'IN/, these modifiers serving as in kin terms of -1 generation to augment or to depress age relative to the coordinating person.

608 The employment of /-KUMPRE/~/KUMRE/ in reference to known
602 siblings of speakers led to an inquiry regarding the limits of eligibility for compadrazgo relations. Informants state that a

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

TABLE 10

COMPADRAZGO

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	Criterial Attributes		
	Sex of referent	Sex of coordinating individual	Generation
-KUMPRE	M	∅	∅
-KUMRE	F	∅	∅
-NIC'AN+SNARYOS-*IHADA	∅	M	-1
-*AL+SNARYOS-*IHADA	∅	F	-1
-TAT+SNARYOS-PAGRINO	M	∅	+1
-ME*+SNARYOS-MAGRINA	F	∅	+1

608
602 person may establish the /-KUMPRE/ relationship with any person except his spouse, his own father, his spouse's father, and the spouses of these persons. Related individuals frequently become compadres--particularly as siblings of the father or the mother are often chosen as padrinos (godparents) of a child--and compadre relationships established at weddings (see below) involve some affinally related individuals (e.g., "brother's wife," "sister's husband") for whom kin terms are reported. Where the person stands in a specified kin relation (e.g., /BANKIL/) to the speaker, the compadrazgo relationship assumes priority over the kin term in reference (as well as in address). These two

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601
[602]

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601

	/ ... YU*N *IC HA*/, "of baptism"	/ ... YU*N KOMPRE-MASYON/, "of confirmation"	/ ... YU*N NUH-PUNEL/, "of marriage"	/ ... YU*N S*AN NINYO/, "of Christmas"
/H-KUMPRE/ /H-KUMRE/	x	x	x	x
/H-TAT+SNARYOS/ /H-ME*+ SNARYOS/	x	x	*	-
/H-NIC'AN+SNAR-YOS/ /K-AL+ SNARYOS/	x	x	*	_

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851
1794
602

Both baptism and confirmation involve ritual relationships across generations. The padrinos (H-TAT+SNARYOS/, etc.) chosen for the child on these occasions become compadres (/-KUMPRE/ ~ /-KUMRE/) of the child's parents and, sometimes, of the child's paternal grandparents as well.

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The traditional (in contrast to church) wedding, on the other hand, establishes no cross-generation ritual relationships. The parents and married siblings of the spouses become /-KUMPRE/ ~ /KUMRE/ to each other, as may even the grandparents and parents' siblings of the married pair. The newlyweds alone do not enter into this relationship with anyone present. The terms of reference to persons so related are the stated /-KUMPRE/ ~ /-KUMRE/,

585 608 sometimes modified by /MUK'UL/ or /C'IN/ as previously shown.
601 When, in addition to the exchange of gifts which constitutes
• 602 the traditional wedding, the couple is married in the church, a pair of padrinos (male and female) is chosen from outside the set of relatives who become compadres in the ceremony just mentioned. These people are referred to as /-TAT+SNARYOS~PAGRINO/ and /-ME*+SNARYOS~MAGRINA/ by the married couple (who are called by them, respectively, /-NIC'AN+SNARYOS~IHADA/ and /-*AL+SNARYOS~*IHADA/) and as /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ (self-reciprocally) by the parents of the married partners.

796 608 The fiesta of Noche Buena establishes /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ relations, and no others, between the host of the fiesta and a few other individuals he invites to sponsor the fiesta.

Other relationship terms

591 192 There remains a set of terms which, when used with possessive prefixes, identify the referent in terms of a more general relationship to some coordinating person. These terms are as follows:

(1) /HOY/, "companion" (in reference to spouses; one who lives in the same house, including specific kin; and all of the specified kinds of companion below)

571 554 192 [794] day for which they serve. Every male in the community is held responsible to be co-opted into four /MARTOMO/ positions before he is freed from any further performaces of this sort, and as was pointed out earlier, these positions must be held earlier.

The various forms of the "role-name" set most often occur as simple terms of reference, often modified by status terms. However, the combination /H-KUMPRE SEKRETARYO/ "my compadre, the secretary" is reported.

Modifiers

In addition to the basic classes of terms of reference, modifiers are important in identifying persons. Among these are enumerators, diminutives (mentioned above), and demonstratives. Two modifiers establish the physical condition of the referent-- [602] /CAM/ and /*AN(I)MA/, both glossed as "dead." One, /MERO/, noted earlier, distinguishes "legitimate" or "real" relationship from terminological equivalence, as in /MERO *ERMANO/, "true brother." 571 554 561 192 [562] Two, differing only by sex of referent, indicate advanced age: /MA MAMAL/ "old" (male referent) and /ME*L/, "old" (female referent). When these two modifiers are used with terms indicating younger persons, the incongruity expresses depreciation or derogation. Other modifiers, most of which are age-status terms like the special kin terms discussed earlier, include the following:

342 527 789 *First house fiesta.* In preparation for the fiesta to inaugurate the wooden frame of the house, the older men of the household and the curers make palm crosses called *Tatik Martil,* another reference to San Pedro Martyr. Older men are chosen to do this task because their procreative powers will not be endangered by handling this powerful symbol. Branches of the bushes growing near the springwater of San Nicolás are cut by the younger men of the household to be arranged in an arch, while the women make incense burners and clay candle holders. The protective symbols used in the fiesta—the arch of branches and flowers, the candles, liquor, handrolled cigarettes, palm crosses, and springwater in a gourd—are arranged before the center post of the back wall of the house.

Fig. 1. Relatives Present at House Fiesta

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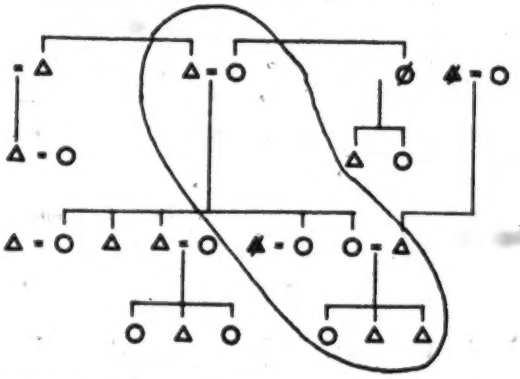

Encircled group will live in house.

342 527 The activities of a house fiesta observed in 1966 are described below.

756 788 *The future occupants of the house sat in a row facing the curing arch. Two curers officiated, the elder a resident of the side of the dual division in which the houseowner lives and the second from the barrio in which his son-in-law, Santiago, was born. The elder curer lit the candles at the center post of the back wall, while the younger curer lit those at the center post in the middle wall. The mother of Santiago lit the incense and placed*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The truck is the focus of the desire for self-improvement, for fighting the Ladino monopoly of the road, for the antagonisms and factional strife and conflict within the community. When they bought the truck, the Indians hired a Ladino in the neighboring town as chauffeur. One of the conditions of his employment was that he would teach his Indian assistant to drive. The Ladino tried to avoid doing this since he knew it would be the end of his job. But the Indian assistant learned by observation and is now operating the truck with an Indian assistant.

Accounts of the cost and profit of the truck operation indicated a running loss. A new tarpaulin cost 1,200 pesos; there were repairs and bribes to the highway patrol. But the truck was kept in operation because the major shareholders were impressed with the power it gave them. "They [their enemies, the members of the other co-operative owned by the Ladino along with twenty members of the community] are afraid of us because of the truck," one said, and added that it was better than having a *swayohel,* the animal spirit that gives power to the curers. At the time of my last visit in 1967 the truck was making a profit. The owners were thinking of selling it and replacing it with a five-ton model.

Structural realignment has been most marked in the organization of the truck-owning cooperatives. Membership cuts across the dual division for both of the truck-owning cooperatives. The cooperative is the most important factor in local political elections (Chapter 9). The truck has become both the symbol of power and the basis for the contest for power between the factions within the community.

Contraband liquor. The number of distillers has grown in the last ten years from five to forty. The distillation process was learned by Indians from Ladinos in neighboring towns fifteen years ago. There has been no local innovation in the basic process, but a new item, used in distillation, has been introduced into pottery production, a funnel decorated in the traditional manner of the water jars and other vessels. The capital investment in the equipment for operating the still is put up by individuals or partnerships of relatives. The still is rented to people who have charge of the celebration for a saint's day, or who are involved in courtship.

Private enterprise is the favored form of organization of the distillers be-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

usual, and seeing the pesos, picked them up. The "spirit of the money" left the village forever. The story reveals not only the sense of deprivation Indians feel in losing wealth to Ladinos (historically land the Indians had lost through fraud or legal trickery during the Porfirio Diaz period), but also their realization of their own responsibility for letting their assets slip out of their control.

Payment of interest on money borrowed is justified in the calculations of the Indians for loans made within as well as outside of the community. Interest, called *shol tak'in,* or "head" of money, makes it possible for the borrower to work, and thus to earn, so the "owner" has the right to charge for the use. The rate on loans made within the pueblo has risen from 2 or 3 pesos a month for 100 pesos to 5 pesos, thus equalizing the rate with that charged in the neighboring Ladino town. The same rate is applied between relatives as nonkin. The advantage of intracommunity borrowing is that the lender does not demand an immediate return, or as high security. Ladinos of the neighboring town tend to demand items of greater value than the debt held as security—one Ladino held title to land worth 1,000 pesos for a 50-peso debt, and threatened to foreclose. Within the pueblo, security of about the same value as the loan is asked except in the case of neighbors and relatives who can be reminded every day of the debt. And they are.

Markets. In marketing, the Indians of Tzoʔontahal have neither extended nor gained control over the selling and buying operations that have been pursued since before the opening of the Pan-American Highway in 1955. The pottery which is produced locally was formerly carried on horseback to the smaller towns within a radius of fifty miles. The pottery was marketed directly by the men of the household which produced it, with no specialization in trading by commercial travelers, as had happened in the Zapotec and other areas of Mexico. Since the penetration of the Pan-American Highway, the men take the pottery produced in their households by bus or on the trucks to either San Cristóbal or Comitán. This tends to polarize trading operations and dry up the traffic into small towns not connected by the highway. As a result, the wholesale trade in San Cristóbal and Comitán has increased in the past decade, with dealers

613 614 621 171 601 type of communitives such as Oxchuk and Cancuc depends on communal land holding and contiguity in residence of the agnatic kin. The corporate identity of these groups is breaking down with the fragmentation of land holdings and movement of men from the paraje of their fathers (Guiteras Holmes 1947, Villa Rojas 1946).

601 602 Symmetrical bilateral extension of kinship terms can be seen in Figure 3. Relative age modifies generation in terms for collaterals. In ego's generation, older brother and sister are distinguished from younger siblings. In parents' generation, siblings of father younger than father are referred to and called elder brother or sister, and those older than father are called father or mother. In grandparent's generation, siblings older than grandparent are called grandfather or grandmother, and those younger than grandparent are called father and mother. If the grandparent should die, leaving only a younger sibling, the term grandparent is used referentially and vocatively. There is no sex distinction made between siblings or collaterals [193] younger than ego in the referential terminology. Referential terminology for lineals younger than ego does not make sex distinctions, but the distinction may be made with one's own children by using the possessive form of the vocative term, such as "my little man" (*htatil*) or "my little woman" (*ḳantzil*). Women refer to their children with the term *ʔalal*. The stem *ʔal* signifies the verb to give birth. Men refer to their children as *niḱ'an*. The collective term for children of both parents combines the two terms in a possessive form, *ḳalniḱ'an*, our children.

The bilateral system of Amatenango is not in conformity with the Spanish model. Along with similar systems mentioned for Aguacatenango, Coatlan, and Palantla, it differs from the Spanish model in that collaterals in ascending generations are classified with lineal relatives, and age rela- [174] tive to ego modifies generational separation. These systems appear to be an

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obscures that of generation. Just as in Tzoʔontahal, all members of the community address [601] [171] others they meet on the street with the term indicating age relationship to ego, and grandfather and grandmother terms are reserved for the very old. The authors conclude that this terminological behavior reflects the rigid age-grading found in social groups throughout the community. I would venture a generalization that requires further research to the effect that age-grading provides a pattern for appropriate behavior among members of endogamous, closely settled communities whereby conflict is reduced by channeling competition for prestigeful positions.

174
adaptation to conditions imposed by nucleated compact settlement which 601
may have been prehispanic. 602.

Terminology for affinals differs according to the sex of speaker and the 601
age and generation of referent. Men refer to brother's wife, wife's brother's

Fig. 3. Kinship Terms for Consanguineal Relatives

Generation	Collateral Male	Lineal Male	Lineal Female	Collateral Female
Older than grandparent	Mam	Mam	Meʔčč	Meʔčč
Younger than grandparent	Tat			Meʔ
+2				
Older than parent	Tat	Tat	Meʔ	Meʔ
Younger than parent	Bankil (šiʔlel)			Wil
+1				
Older than ego	Bankil (šiʔlel)	EGO		Wil
Younger than ego	Kihtz'in			Kihtz'in
−1				
	Kihtz'in	Nič'an (Alal)		Kihtz'in
−2				
	Kihtz'in	Mam nič'an		Kihtz'in

Terms in parentheses are female spoken terms.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

608 members of the me?iltatil along with relatives and sometimes neigh-
571 bors. They are his sponsors at subsequent life crises—rituals of betrothal, marriage, and death. All of these people become co-parents to each other and to the child's parents. This relationship lasts throughout his and their lifetime. If the marriage bond is threatened, the me?iltatil gather to hear the complaints and try to resolve the problems. When a person dies, his me?iltatil go to his wake to watch over his spirit. He in turn is expected to help in the household of his me?iltatil when they have a ceremony by bringing wood or serving food and drink to guests.

624 2. Civil officials: The civil officials as a group may also be called
561 the me?iltatil; the term has special reference to the judges who represent the ancestors in their judgment of wrongdoers. In their passage through office from lower to higher positions, they are ranked in age-graded sets of junior officials (policemen), senior officials (regidores), and elder officials (judges), with the highest respect in ceremonial occasions accorded to the principales, two men, one from each side of the dual division, selected from those who have served in all offices. Drinking order, marching order, and seating order reflect the age-ordered rank in all ceremonial occasions.

[192] The link between the me?iltatil of the household and the me?iltatil
of the civil authority is provided by a group of officials called the *naka-*
571 *wanehetik*. These men are chosen from among bilaterally related
621 relatives, ritual co-parents, and neighbors who have served in office in
602 the church or the town hall and know the prayers. They direct cere-
794 monies in the house at times of baptism, betrothal, death, and when
608 the household head enters a community office. They are the ones who know how the ancestors did things and "watch and see" that all is done in accord with custom. They instruct the new official in the prayers he
[574] must memorize. Their wives direct the preparation of food by the younger women, and one of them may serve as chief woman speaker greeting guests.

621 3. Curers: Curers are similarly ranked according to age and years
756 in practice. The elder curer on each side of the dual division is charged
561 with guarding his side against the intrusion of evil spirits in the form of his own animal spirit. It is in this function of guardianship that the curers are referred to as me?iltatil.

The me?iltatil is the core institution preserving cultural continuity in the community. The exercise of authority and social control depended on a system of checks and balances in which the ancestors watched over the community, the judges watched over the curers to see that they did not abuse their power, and the curers watched over their side of the dual division to see that no witches or evil spirits caused harm. The validation of power is based on the kinship model of age-authority. The recruitment and functions of each of the three manifestations of this ancestral authority will be discussed in the following chapters on life crisis rituals, curing, and civil government. 182 621 602 608 571

The Household and Family 592

The household unit is a crystallization at a given point in time of consanguineously and affinally related people within a wider kinship matrix. It is the most important structural unit providing for economic cooperation, socialization of the young, and care and sustenance of the aged. It provides the setting and the personnel for the transmission of traditional prayers and ritual procedures of the civil and religious hierarchy. The composition of the unit is constantly changing due to internal changes in the life cycles of its members as well as changes in the wider kinship matrix. The decisions made in response to these changes reveal both traditionally established adjustments to life crises and adaptations to social changes originating outside the family. The kinds of choices made in residence after marriage as well as in inheritance and succession to leadership in the household do not always conform to the cultural formulae for handling them. The exigencies of space, time, economic, and social considerations may outweigh the ideological considerations of what ought to be done.

The formula for the developmental cycle of the household is the following: when a man marries, he lives with his bride's family for one year, working in her father's fields. He then returns to his father's household to live and work with him until his father is too old to manage the work in the field. The father then gives equal shares of his land and animals to each of his children, both male and female. The youngest child, or the last one to get married, remains in the parental house, taking care of the aged 591 [425] 591 593

602 Kinship is one of several bases for recruiting reciprocal or cooperative
476 labor. Table 19 compares kinship with nonkinship-defined work groups
626 in terms of the kinds of exchanges, the type of work done, the time span permitted for reciprocity, and the sanctions against failure to reciprocate.

TABLE 19. Labor Exchanges of Kinship- and Nonkinship-Defined Groups

Conditions	*Within household*	*Beyond household, within community*	
		With kin (ritual, compadre, affinal and consanguineal)	*With nonkin*
Interchange	"Cooperation"—reciprocity based on implicit understandings	Reciprocity—explicit, defined by traditional expectations	Reciprocity—explicit, often defined by contract as well as tradition
Sanctions	Authority of elder member, male in men's work group, female in women's work group	Authority of elders of bilaterally-extended kin group; Recourse to cabildo if no strong elder	Informal—fear of gossip of neighbors; formal—reliance on local judges and president or recourse to district courts
Time Span	Extended, indefinite	Extended, usually some defined limit on repeated tasks (harvest); no limit for nonrepeated tasks (housebuilding)	Immediate return expected, or explicitly stated time allowance
Kind of Task	Pottery-making, milpa agriculture, care of cattle, preparation of food	Ploughing, cultivating, harvesting, firing pottery, housebuilding	Same.

593 Fathers and sons, or sons-in-laws may work together on family-owned
476 property. Because all men can acquire ejido land after marriage, and since
423 47 percent of the households claim to have only this land, the cooperative
621 tie between fathers and sons is not based on inheritance. If they work well
[606] together, they may continue to cooperate after the son has become inde-
476 pendent. Father and sons, brothers and brothers-in-law are expected to
342 cooperate with each other in building a house, rethatching a roof, and
607 threshing wheat. In the case of house-building or maintenance, they must
593 pay for a substitute if they are unable to fulfill the obligation.
241

Compadres, or ritual kin, are the next most important pool from which to draw assistance. The same restrictions on exchanges between actual kin apply to those between ritual kin. The one task which is confined to brothers and not extended to compadres is that of house-building. 476 608 [342] [593]

Relationships between members of the household are defined by daily work tasks, commensality, sharing a living space, and participation in the same ceremonial events. The same rules which govern behavior in the family are extended to the wider community. The extension of the terms elder brother and elder sister, father and mother, and younger sibling to all of the people in one's own side of the dual division implies a pattern of behavior similar to that of the family. The fundamental equation in social relations is age-respect-deference-prestige. 592 601 621 571 561

The bilaterally extended kinship group provides the pattern structuring relations throughout the community. It is a framework allowing wide choice in selecting individuals with whom ceremonial and work relations are contracted. Relative age has superseded generation and descent as the principle governing relationships of authority and respect from the nuclear family to the hierarchy or community officials. These patterns will be traced in other institutions in following chapters. 602 476 561

Chapter 5

Rituals of Life Crisis

571 608 602 The ceremonial occasions marking baptism, betrothal, and death define the network of bilateral relatives, neighbors, and compadres who will guide and help a person throughout his life. These people make up the group called me?iltatil. The constitute a corporate group, but one which is tied to a single transaction. The sense of corporate identity is strengthened by the same group being called upon to act in subsequent household celebrations. But for each set of me?iltatil there is almost always a different membership since the participants are selected for a particular event. The behavior during these ceremonials is marked by formality and replication of a limited number of ceremonial acts. Through this replication, the rituals dramatize continuity with the past and foster a sense of changelessness. [192] The symbolic act establishing the bond is the embrace, called *sme?is-petb'ak*. Within the ritual setting, the child learns whom he can turn to for help and what he is expected to do in his home and community.

Baptism

852 774 After a month of seclusion when the child is hidden from public view, the soul is expected to have found its place in the child's body. A ceremony called *ki'n ha?* (water ceremony) [192] then takes place with the mother and grandmother in attendance. The three enter the sweatbath, and the mother and child are bathed in hot water and then cold.

If the child cries frequently, it is suspected that his soul is still not firmly lodged and has been wandering in the streets where it encounters animal spirits that frighten him. This requires a soul-calling ceremony performed

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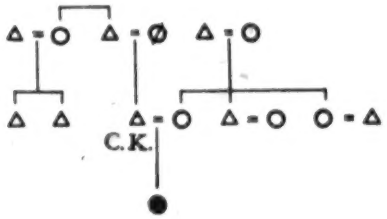
852 608 but on other occasions they are as likely to be chosen from among peers of the parents.

608 The occasions on which the first informant in Table 20 acquired compa-
571 dres are spelled out in the following diagrams to show the growth of the
[128] network of compadrazgo relations in the course of a lifetime.

608 *Compadres of C. K., sixty-five-year-old man.* C. K. chose as com-
571 padres on the occasion of the baptism of his first child an older man who
852 lived in the same section of town. The diagram shows the composition of
608 the baptismal party. The darkened symbol in this and the following dia-
[601] grams represents the child baptized.



C. K. addresses all of the guests by the term "compadre" and refers to the group as "kumparetak." The second child has the same padrino, and the same group of relatives attended the ceremony. For the third child, C. K. chose a Ladino shopkeeper from the neighboring town. He chose him because, "I sold wheat to him, and I saw he was honorable." C. K. had a house fiesta to which the shopkeeper came with his wife. This is somewhat unusual and occurred because the compadre was from another town. C. K. chose as the padrino of his fourth child another Ladino he knew in the same town, but the padrino did not attend the house fiesta to which only his sister, her husband, and her husband's brother came. A woman prayer-reciter of the same section was chosen as *madrina* of his fifth and sixth child when C. K. was fiscal. A younger man of the same section was chosen as the padrino of the seventh child. C. K. helped his son select the padrino of a grandson born in his house, a man from the same section.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 120]

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TABLE 20. Relationship of Individual to Compadres

Informant's family status	Occasion	Residence of compadre: Same section	Opposite section	Other barrio	Neighboring town	Total	Relationship: Relative	Non-relative	Total
65-year-old man, wife, 5 grown children	Baptism of godchild	13	5			18		18	18
	Wedding	31				31	12	19	31
	Baptism of own child	3			2	5		5	5
	Total	47	5		2	54	12	42	54
42-year-old man, wife, adopted daughter	Baptism of godchild	12	1			13	2	11	13
	Wedding	13	3	5		21	6	15	21
	Confirmation		2			2		2	2
	Blessing of loudspeaker	2			2	4		2	2
	Total	27	6	5	2	40	8	30	38
35-year-old man, wife, 5 children	Baptism of godchild	7				7	4	3	7
	Baptism of own child	4			1	5		5	5
	Wedding	4				4		4	4
	House saint	2				2	1	1	2
	Total	17			1	18	5	13	18
34-year-old widow	Baptism of godchild	17	1	1		19	15	4	19
	Wedding	7	3			10	2	8	10
	House saint	2	1		1	4	1	3	4
	Confirmation	1				1	1		1
	Total	27	5	1	1	34	19	15	34
	TOTAL	118	16	6	6	146	44	100	144

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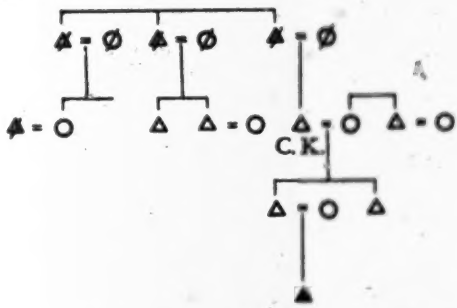
section. Attending this house fiesta was the group of relatives represented in the diagram.



The relatives assembled are essentially the same as those who attended the birth of C. K.'s first child. They are the core of the me?iltatil for his family, a core which expands to include additional compadres and neighbors for special house rituals. The second and third grandchildren had as padrino a man from the opposite section.

In summary, C. K. has chosen four Indian compadres and two Ladino compadres for the baptisms of his own children. Other members of the me?iltatil who became compadres on these occasions include five men and three women who are bilateral and affinal relatives.

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C. K. has been asked to be padrino of baptism by four persons:

1. A neighbor asked him to be padrino of his child. At a small fiesta, he became compadre of the father and godfather of the child.

2. A man from the opposite section asked him to be padrino of his son's child, and he acquired the group of compadres shown in the diagram.

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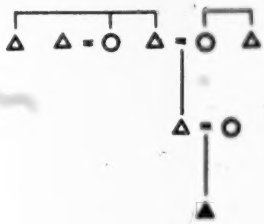

tual practices and are carried on in the home. Sometimes a church and/or civil-marriage is held in addition, but the union is not consumated until the traditional home marriage has taken place. 584 585

The betrothal, or *Ĉ'om,* is an extended series of negotiations in which the boy's representatives plead with the girl's family to accept the suit. Anytime in a boy's late teens or early twenties, he may initiate the suit by speaking to his father, or the father may undertake to find a wife for his son. The parents of the boy then request an older woman who has some skill in speaking the formal speeches to serve as the me? *Ĉ'om,* mother of the betrothal, and an older man to serve as the *statal Ĉ'om,* or leader of the betrothal (sometimes he is called mam Ĉ'om or grandfather of the betrothal). These intermediaries may or may not be related to the family initiating the request. Nonkin are usually chosen from among compadres or a neighborhood group. When the father requests that they act as intermediaries, he brings a gift of liquor, chocolate, and bread. 584 [192]

Before any negotiations are begun with the girl's family, the boy's family calls together the representatives. These include his grandparents, uncles, and aunts, his padrino of baptism and confirmation, and possibly neighbors or nearby compadres of his parents. The gathering then questions the boy to learn whether his interest in the girl is sincere and exclusive of any other infatuation. In this session, called the *?il' yo?tan* or "taking of the heart," the boy goes to each of his representatives and kneels before them as they question him, asking him if he wants that girl and only that girl. He is told that marriage is an important relationship, not to be treated "as a toy"; the boy should be interested in only this girl, and if he should cause them to have to go to the cabildo "the day after tomorrow," it would cause embarrassment to the entire company. [602] [608] [571] [192] [581]

At the final gathering, called the *?il' rason* or "taking of the understanding," the assembled me?iltatil of both the boy and the girl give the couple further advice. The boy is told what is expected of him in the marriage. It is a minimal statement: he should not leave her tomorrow, he should not beat her, he should bring home corn and beans, and all will be well. The girl is told that she should prepare her husband's meals and be waiting for him in the house when he comes home from work. Respect, called "hearing" and "feeling" (both combined in the verb *I?awayi*), is [192] 581 584

794 *bull, and the women prepared beef stew and made tortillas and coffee. The*
796 *floor of the house was strewn with pine needles.*
[252]
[262] *At noon, two alfereces led the procession of police, judges, síndico, and principales as they collected money for the fiesta. The alfereces held the banners with an embroidered cloth. The movements of the procession were initiated with church bells ringing and rockets set off by two junior mayordomos as they left the church and as they arrived at and left each of the seven "stands," locations marked by crosses at the intersections of the major streets of the village. When they arrived at each stand, the alfereces stood holding the banners and the other civil and religious officials sat on the side of the road, smoking and drinking. The five police scattered, going to collect 5 pesos from each household. When they returned, the síndico noted the amount received and the principales held the money in a tin tray.*

When the group arrived back at the church at two-thirty, the alfereces put the banners in the rear corner of the church. They went to the altar rail, knelt and prayed, crossed themselves and kissed first the image of Santiago, then all the other images. The music of drum and flute was played in the church courtyard, and firecrackers were set off. A table was set up to the right of the door of the church, and there the money was counted. As the officials came out of the church, they made the rounds of the seated officials, greeting them with the pat?o?tan. The officials arranged themselves in the traditional pattern: The fiscal and town treasurer stood at the table counting the money before the assembled officials. The principales and judges, stood immediately before the table watching the fiscal and treasurer; their position indicated their guardian role. Bills of the same denomination were set in piles under stones to prevent their blowing away, and then tied into bundles with palm fronds. When all the money had been counted, the principales put it in a manila folder, and the treasurer wrapped this in a red kerchief. The striking of the church bells announced the end of the counting.

794 *All the relatives—the yermanotak, or "brotherhood" group, including bi-*
796 *laterally-extended brothers and brothers-in-law and their wives, compa-*
574 *dres, and neighbors—were invited to partake of the meal in the afternoon*
602 *at the houses of the alfereces. The nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik, rela-*

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tives whose positions in this household fiesta are established on the basis of their age and experience in office, took up the established positions for these roles in the house of the new alférez. The first nakawane blessed the liquor; two bottles were measured into shot glasses and served to the guests. After this the meal was served.

The second day (Wišpereš). *All the nakawanehetik appointed for the new alférez gathered in his house at nine o'clock in the morning to drink. The first and second nakawanehetik went to the cabildo to ask the judge and president when the new alférez must take out the holy banner. The president replied that it would be in two days. The question was rhetorical: everyone knew that the ceremony of taking out the banners occurred on the fourth day of the fiesta, and the day itself was named* Šlok' Krus, *taking out of the cross (the banner has a cross adorning the staff). What was being communicated to the civil officials by the question was the recognition of responsibility to the new alférez by the nakawanehetik. In the afternoon of this day, another meal of beef stew and tortillas was served to the same guests assembled on the previous day.*

The third day (Sk'ak'halel Sk'in). *At cock's crow the parents of the new alférez awakened him. Gathered in the house were the woman speaker, the guitarist, and the nakawanehetik. Under the direction of the woman speaker, the alférez' wife helped him put on his clothing, and the guitarist accompanied this procedure with music. When he was dressed, the new alférez danced a turn before the assembled guests to show his new clothing, and reviewed the pat?o?tan with the nakawanehetik who had taught him. He then went with his guitarist to raise his companions. First he went to the third alférez and awakened him. He greeted the nakawane of the third alférez with the pat?o?tan, and was invited to sit down; he was served coffee and bread, followed by a mouthwash. The third alférez dressed, and after the two were served liquor they danced a turn. In this same fashion, the new alférez raised all of his companions. The assembled group went to the cabildo.*

The nakawanehetik and the b'alnialetik, after drinking coffee and eating bean tortillas, went to collect the things needed to receive official

Etiquette of role interaction. The complex system of stereotyped behavior contained in codes of etiquette depends upon role relations. The primary rule of etiquette is to greet people appropriately. In street greetings, one demonstrates that one knows how to "take into account," or show respect to, elders and minors. To elders of the first ascending generation or above, one says, "Good morning, father (or mother)." Those of one's own generation are greeted as elder brother or sister, or younger brother or sister, depending on their relative age. If the encounter is with a compadre, the terms kumpare or kumare take precedence over any other relation. A respected curer is addressed as *tatinal.* Officials are greeted by their titles, preceded by *mam* if they are older. Such greetings are restricted to people who live in the same division of the village. When one enters the other division, it is necessary to greet only compadres or relatives who have passed over after marriage. When younger persons approach elders of prestige, they remove their hats and incline their heads to be touched.

Service of food and drink is strictly ordered by age and sex. At mealtime, small children are fed separately, before or after their elders depending on the child's needs. When they reach the age of reason, about twelve, they are expected to await their turn. The father is served first, followed by his sons in order of age. The mother eats later with the girls.

The etiquette of ceremonial behavior is an extension and elaboration of the everyday forms. Service and greetings are made in order of age and rank, a procedure simplified by the fact that seating arrangements are made in the same order. In house ceremonials, the eldest man sits facing inward, to the right of the door. The rest of the company sits in clockwise order from eldest to youngest on benches lining the porch. Within the house, the seating of women by age begins with the eldest woman sitting at the center post and others sitting in clockwise order.

Preferred modes of behavior in all settings for all roles are "slowness and softness, expressed by a single term, *k'unk'untik.* Deference and respect—"hearing and feeling," *ʔawai*—should be shown in all encounters, marked by behavior such as downcast eyes, shawl held over the mouth, avoidance of direct eye contact, as well as verbal signs of agreement and

The following list of moral transgressions is roughly ordered in terms of the egregiousness of the crime: witchcraft, theft of cattle, theft of corn, "talking with" a woman (this is a euphemism for having an affair), having more than one wife, killing, and disrespect to parents. There is a fair amount of consistency in the rank order given by different informants. Of five people questioned, all ranked witchcraft first, and theft, without qualification as to what was stolen, second. Subjects questioned differentiated the crime of "talking with" a woman according to the status of the woman —it was worse to have relations with a married woman than with an unmarried girl or with a widow. Killing was listed late or not at all by some because it is assumed that the killer has cause unless the contrary is proved. The dead man is referred to as the guilty one. It is considered worse to kill a consanguineous relative than an affinal relative or a nonrelative. One man remarking on an incident in which a person lost his bull said: "It was a punishment of God for killing his father. If it had been his stepfather, it would be different." Wanton killing is said to be absent in the pueblo, and something that the kurik of the colonias do. The three murders in the past ten years resulting from barroom brawls between "friends" have not dispelled this notion.

Disrespect shown to parents is considered a serious violation of morality. A boy who refuses to listen to his father cannot expect to receive the protection and support of his parents, usually offered a child throughout their lifetime, or of the community. If the son abuses his father verbally or physically in public, the father is supported in whatever action he takes. One father, whose son kicked him in one of the local bars, drew applause when he made the sign of the cross in two deep gashes with his machete on his son's forehead. To beat one's father or mother is a great sin, but to beat one's wife is tolerated, particularly if it is done in drunkenness. If a man other than the husband beats a woman for any cause, she may reciprocate by beating him in court "before the eyes of the judges." One woman who was awarded this privilege when her husband's brother beat her said, "If he were my own husband, it would be all right for him to beat me."

The good man is "of one heart" and reveals it by his humility ("very soft heart"). The rules for demonstrating this are given by an old man who is frequently asked to be a nakawane in his section of the dual divi-

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787 claim, has been lost, as has been more recently that of speaking with the ancestors. But the curers can still enter into communication with the spirit world and in this lies their power.

461 Industry is valued along with competency. A man is described as indus-
183 trious with the words, "he carries much wood well," and a woman with the words, "she carries much sand well." These expressions are a kind of
[196] synechdoche for general industriousness, since the tasks serve as the measure of willingness to perform one's sexually defined roles.

[476] Judgments made in the choice of working "partners" in the exchange
[602] labor system are based on competence in working as well as on considera-
[608] tions of kin and compadrazgo relationship. Women make judgments of
[323] others' skill in pottery-making on the basis of both the appearance of the pot and its durability proved in use and transportation without breakage to market. Both men and women known to be hard workers are admired
[754] and envied. They may consequently become the objects of witchcraft.

828 *Conceptions of personality are one end product of evaluations of per-*
157 formances and condition people's expectations of individuals in their social environment. For the Indians, personality traits tend to imply other traits.
125 In order to derive a sense of these implications for Tzoʔontahal, I drew up
157 a checklist to identify some of these associations. Informants were asked to
828 state whether each of the traits listed on the top line in Table 30 was correlated positively, negatively, or not at all with each of the same traits listed vertically. A plus (+) sign indicates positive correlation, a minus (−) sign indicates negative correlation, and an equal (=) sign indicates that
157 there was no correlation. Thus being bright is positively correlated with
828 being beautiful and negatively correlated with being evil, fearful, lazy, foolish, gullible, braggardly, gossipy, and miserly. There is no connection between being bright and being of good heart, aggressive, or honorable. This suggests that the heart and the mind are independent loci for a set of traits that stem from them. Metaphors such as bitter, acid, and straight, when used to describe personality, are similar in connotation to those used in English. As in English, immediate sensory experiences of taste and vision provide by extension a means of talking about character.

157 In studying these personality traits, I sensed that "being" was "doing"
551 things in certain repetitive ways. This impression is corroborated by the

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programs in the interest of "civilizing" the Indians. This formulation involved a basic contradiction between the goal of moving into regional and national networks and that of keeping the old autonomy and independence of the corporate community. He never had to face that contradiction. Unable to gain adherents other than the small group of profit-sharers in the cooperative he organized, he was killed by opponents within the community. 474 472 177 178 [682]

The Family and Household

The core of the traditional culture lay in the local power hierarchies patterned on the familial model of age-ordered paternal authority institutionalized in the me?iltatil. The me?iltatil of the household have provided a flexible institution for adjusting conflict within the kin group. Their role in directing ritual performances preserves a sense of continuity in life cycle changes. 608 571 578 182

The institutionalized authority of the elders has not been upset by the trend toward residence based on nuclear families, which is an adjustment to the pressure of limited space in the town center. Kinship ties are continually reinforced by rituals that draw together the me?iltalil as sponsors of ceremonies marking baptism, marriage, and death. This group of sponsoring relatives has absorbed the institution of compadrazgo, adding compadres to the network of affinally-and bilaterally-related kin. The procedures for adjusting conflict among members of the household and extended family networks reinforce the authority of the elders. When adjustive processes in the house and court "arrangements" and in curing ceremonies fail, the only recourse is for one of the disputants to leave the community or commit homicide. 561 182 602 608 591 626 621 578 [681] [762]

Ceremonies within the household provide a model for the rules of the game that apply to adjustive behavior in the community. The household officials introduce new officials into their role, teaching them the prayers and directing the proceedings. Their authority depends upon age and prestige acquired in office. The me?iltatil, as the elders of the family, are the direct link with the ancestors. They and the nakawane provide the strongest force for preserving the ways of the ancestors. 561 182 [769]

628 438 establish with them the relations of posada and compadrazgo, mentioned above, as well as (in the infrequent cases of inter-community marriage), some affinal kinship ties. In the few recorded cases of emigration from the village, some members of the community keep communication with a few consanguineal relatives living in other Indian villages, although social exchanges and the memory of such relatives tend to die out after a generation or two.

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105 With the other Indian communities in the area, Amatenango and Aguacatenango share a common material culture and belief system, derived from a Highland Maya cultural tradition, the same linguistic background, and a subsistence pattern based on agriculture. They are peasant, in the sense that they are rural villages which depend, for survival, not only on agricultural work, but on economic exchange with other semi-urban and urban centers (Redfield, 1956:25-28).

438 [273] Aguacatenango buys pottery and chayotes from Amatenango, whose women come periodically to sell them, and trago (drinking alcohol) which some Amatenangueros produce illegally. Amatenango buys from Aguacatenango surplus corn.

628 [311] [312] The two towns have amicable relations, thinking of each other as neighbors, and sharing the same pasture lands, and source of water for irrigation. The two communities share the same cultural hero, called Juan Lopez in Aguacatenango and Lopez Shuntón in Amatenango, connected with the corn and with the "lightening who lives in a cave." For Aguacatenangueros this personage is the builder of the roads, responsible for the eradication of "cannibalism," the conversion of man-hunting animals

628 776

621 The government in the communities of Aguacatenango and Amatenango is highly "democratic," meaning by this term two things: (1) The decisions of the governing officials have to be in agreement with the community desires, and it cannot take steps which contradict the written code of rules (norms) or force villagers to spend money, goods or labor outside the areas of maintenance of outside the community. In ultimate instance, the community can overrule the Ayuntamiento, replace particular officers or deny rights to the total body to carry out certain decisions which are against the will of the majority of house heads. Before any important decision is passed, the officers investigate its possible acceptance among the village men, and they would not take steps until there is a margin of security that their word or orders will be taken by them in good will. The officers' concern [627] with the justice of their performance is quite important for them personally, because although a man enjoys immunity while he holds a cargo, he can be threatened with death at the end of his year of service. These threats are delivered by anonymous messages left at the Cabildo (House of the Ayuntamiento) door, specifying the reasons for discontent. Many a presidente municipal has been murdered for trying to introduce into his village some innovation [054] to which the villagers were opposed. Besides direct threats, there is also the "possibility" of being bewitched while not in office.

[565] (2) The second reason why the community government can [602] be called democratic is that there is no ruling class, as in most Mexican-Ladino towns, nor any special kinship group in charge of the town affairs. A man cannot transmit his political power to

59 supported by her husband and father-in-law, and lives under their
562 roof. If the husband dies, she is supposed to go back to live
[606] with her parents as she did when she was single or live with a mature son who becomes responsible for her welfare and has some authority over her, as can be seen in the following example.

159 A woman had two sons by her first husband, the elder of
593 which, at the time of the events related here, was married. The
589 first husband died, and the woman married another man with whom
586 she had another son. After a period of common residence, the second marriage broke up. The woman bought some land for a house, saving money for it by working in San Cristóbal and selling trago. She lived in this house with her married son and his wife.

The father of the last child (second marriage) offered to give the boy some new clothes. Before the woman accepted them, she asked her elder son's permission. The clothes were accepted because the woman's son said: "He is his father, and he should give clothes to his son."

592 The bases for the structure of the social relations within
561 the household are relative age, sex, kinship proximity to the
562 household head, and economic responsibility for the upkeep of the
602 unit. Elder men have more authority than younger men; elder women more than younger ones. Men have more authority than women (perhaps, on some occasions, with the exception of the mother), and finally, agnatic kin of the household head have more authority
59 than affinals. The result of this ordering of power within the
606 household is that a daughter-in-law is at the bottom of the

592 606 hierarchical order of authority. The following example illustrates this social ordering:

159 591 592 Maria was the daughter-in-law of Margarita, a woman married to Juan Perez, one of the village elders. The sons of Juan Perez and all the daughters had left the compound after marriage, with the exception of Felix, the last son, who was Maria's hus-

[428] band. The couple had decided to stay in the parental house until the death of Felix's parents, and they were promised the inheritance of the sitio as a recompense for their willingness to support Juan and Margarita in their old age (see Fig. 9).

159 592 437 602 Maria had been fattening a pig, which Juan had decided to sell, and he had been talking about it with a Ladino merchant who was anxious to buy it, but who wanted to pay a lower price for it than Juan was willing to accept.

One afternoon, while the men were in the fields and Margarita was outside the compound gathering firewood, Maria was visited by a Ladino merchant who insisted on taking the pig with him. He offered to pay a price which Maria was not sure was already arranged between the merchant and her father-in-law. She discussed it with him, refusing to give up the animal, until her sister-in-law, Felix's elder sister, arrived to visit her mother.

When Felix's sister arrived, Maria retired from the discussion, and left the elder woman to carry the burden of the interaction.

After a while, Margarita came back with her load of firewood, and she took up the discussion while both her daughter and daughter-in-law conversed among themselves after Crecencia

159 indicated that "she did not live in the house, nor was the boss
592 there." Margarita knew the price at which to sell, but she told
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•602 off the merchant, in quite a rude manner, and even refused to
let him see the animal "because she was sure that the man was
going to give it the evil eye and get it sick."

[601]

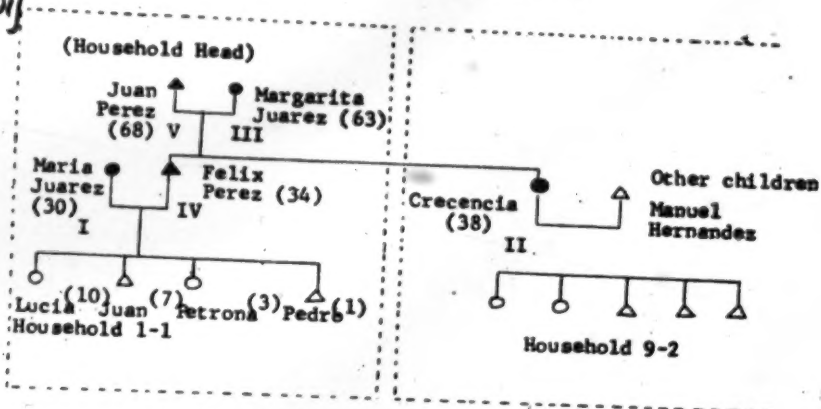

Fig. 9.--Genealogy of Household of Juan Perez

The Ladino merchant utilized every policy of charm and threat, trying to get them to sell the animal, but he began to relize that it was getting him nowhere. None of the women, not even the female head of the household, felt that she could take the responsibility for the business transaction.

When the merchant was ready to leave, Felix arrived. At this point, Felix took up the bargaining. When he could not get the price his father wanted, he resolved that the merchant should

159 come back when the father was home because not even he could sell
592 the pig without his consent. The Ladino was then forced to give up.
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602 A few days later, Juan sold the pig according to his own plans. He kept the money, except for a small amount that he gave to his wife and daughter-in-law, in spite of the fact that Maria had fattened the pig, and that it had been previously said that the pig was the young couple's animal.[1]

592 A woman living with her husband in a separate household
593 has some autonomy within it, but she is still subordinate to her
562 husband. She owns little property. A woman may be given a cow
421 when she marries, but her father is not obliged to do so. It is
[431] simply a regalo (present). She does not own agricultural implements. She can not own land or inherit from her husband, except in cases where she is, in effect, keeping the house in trust for her male children, and it has not been claimed by her husband's father or brothers who have primacy rights over such property.

[561] As she grows older, and with the birth of children, her
[851] position becomes somewhat less dependent. She has more prestige in the eyes of her husband's family and other people, and if her marital relation has developed into a strong emotional bond, her interaction with her husband is less subordinate. He would consult

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[231] [1]The animals are usually said to "belong" to one particular
[421] woman in the household. However, this does not mean that she has
[562] property rights over it; it only means that she is the person in charge of feeding it. Thus, the expression el cochi de María (María's pig) means the pig which María has the responsibility to feed every day, and it does not assume that she can sell it, kill it for meat, or do anything about it without the consent of the head of the household.

593 888 (e.g., the filial piety which is a basic component of the role of son), and in terms of economic rewards.

592 [783] The ideal pattern is one of reciprocal obligations: an established domestic group "launches into the world" the new domestic groups formed by the male offspring of the household couple, and a well established domestic group is responsible for the welfare of the domestic group from which it originated. Thus, [602] agnatically related domestic groups are expected to perform certain duties with respect to both the domestic group which originate them, and the domestic groups which they originate.

593 888 The concept of mantener (support), meaning to provide for a person's food, shelter and company, is a very important one for the villager. There is no sadder man than the one who has given everything to his sons, who has supported them for many years, and whose sons then refuse the reciprocal duty of caring for him in his old age. Parents who are unsuccessful in keeping one of [626] their married sons living with them are indeed very unhappy. People gossip about them as being "bad people" who did wrong to their children-in-law and mistreated their own. They gossip about the children themselves, accusing them of having a "small [736] heart" and of being envious and selfish. Aguacatecos pity widows (meba' al) and orphans (meba') because "they have nobody to support them." There is nothing as threatening to a couple as not having children, and if this happens, the community looks upon them with commiseration and says: "Poor little people, who is going to support them when they grow old?. . ."

592 593 Thus, the membership of a household changes through time,

592 593 but it is always built around a core of agnatically related men: a father and his sons, united in their common interest in the patrimonial land and the fruits of their joint cooperative labor. To this core of men are attached their children and their wives, all of whom are dependent on them for their food supply, shelter, and the satisfaction of most other needs.

621 591 592 602 When a couple moves outside the parental home, the house site that they are given should be contiguous if possible, or as close as there is a place available, to the husband's father's homestead. Thus, ideally, the town should be settled by clusters of domestic groups forming localized agnatic lines, each containing a man, his parents, his brothers and his married male sons. At the same time, one would find out that women, because they follow their husbands, live much further apart from their agnatic relatives than men do.

593 591 476 241 417 After a man moves from his father's household, he is not expected to work the same parcels with his father, but they do share some work in common. Usually (I don't have the exact number of cases, but enough information to suggest that this is the mode), a man and his sons have contiguous milpas that are fenced together. The fences, which are laboriously built and repaired, are the communal job of all the men, and save them the time and effort of building interior separations between the plots, because the purpose of fencing is to keep cattle from invading the parcels and without fences it is useless to risk planting.

423 241 417 This does not mean that the land is held jointly. Each man

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591 The preceding figures, when combined with the figures of compounds, show that the patrilocal norms are followed in practice in 95 per cent of all cases (see Tables 8 and 9), while only 64 per cent of the women live with the same degree of proximity to their parents.

The difference in proximity for men and women is not accidental, but statistically significant at the 0.001 level of con-
621 fidence. This also shows that the community, as expected, is
592 divided into localized clusters of households of agnatically re-
602 lated men. Even the 64 per cent is an inflated figure, since a
[582] man tends to marry a woman who lives close to his parental home, following the proverbial adage of "marrying the girl next door."

183
591 Alternative Norms of Uxorilocal Residence

The percentage of men who do not conform to the patrilocal norm are not exceptions to a rule, but illustrate alternatives available under a flexible pattern. The instances of uxorilocal residence do not depend on arbitrary individual choice, but are socially sanctioned and few in number.

591 A man will go to live with his wife's parents, or live in a house given to him by her father, for the following reasons which everybody in the village knows:

1. When a man is an orphan, that is, when his parents are dead and there is nobody in his family to replace the father as economic mentor and jural authority, a man does not have a household to bring his wife to live in nor a relative to work with and who will give him a house lot. In this case, a man, upon marrying,
[606] will move to his wife's parent's compound. He will then work the

591 in the house of a mother-in-law" as one informant expressed it.
[606] If they did not try to avoid this, they would have unquestioningly to obey their affinal relatives (especially the mother-in-law), live in a place in which they have practically no power to make decisions, and where, for a long time (even after the birth of a first child), they would be considered outsiders. But because the refusal to follow the husband means the end of the marriage, most husbands are successful in changing the place of residence, and few couples remain long in a uxorilocal setting.

59 757 606 3. The third reason for living in the wife's parent's house is a temporary one.

When a woman is living in her husband's parent's house, the household head should take the responsibility for curing if she gets mildly ill, paying the necessary expenses of medicine and curer (or doctors) because she is, by the fact of her residence within the compound, dependent on them.

If a sickness becomes a prolonged or a seriously expensive case, she becomes a burden to the household, without being an economic asset. Both her reproductive and her labor powers become annulled, and her husband's father can refuse to pay for her curing. In this case, she is transferred from her husband's group to her natal household, which becomes responsible for her curing. Usually her husband will move with her, but keep on working the land with his father.

59 • 602 757 These changes of residence create a certain amount of tension between the parents of the young couple because the woman's parents insist that it is not their duty to care for the daughter,

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602 since she is married and living away from them, while the father
757 believes that he did not make a good choice for his son, selecting a bride who is so much of a problem. While a woman is sick, both pairs of parents will bargain endlessly over whose duty it is to pay for the curing. Sometimes, both sets of parents agree on paying half of the cost, and then the woman stays in her husband's compound. But if this is not possible, the shift in responsibility for the woman is symbolically expressed in the shift in residence.

592 Other reasons, of a psychological nature, bring forth
562 this residential change. The whole system of emotional ties which a woman has created in her lifetime before marriage is broken at the time she changes households to get married. She is thrown into the midst of a group of people, including her husband, whom she hardly knows, and during the first years of marriage she is an outsider in her husband's household. She must work for a woman
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562 she did not know previously, her mother-in-law, and obey her with-
606 out delay. Although previously she worked for her mother, the role of a mother and of a mother-in-law are not equivalent, especially in their affective content.

606 An interesting triadic relationship develops between a
593 woman, her husband and her mother-in-law, in which she is the one with the smallest amount of social power (see Caplow [1956], Mills [1954], for a discussion on the dynamics of triad coalitions). In spite of the large amount of interaction between the two women, the relationship is not one of friendly collaboration.

592 Command and sanctions are in the hands of the mother-in-
593 law. Obedience is expected from the younger woman. There is a
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591 If the woman's work in pottery is a crucial factor in
592 making residence choices, then poorer households, which depend
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434 more on pottery sales as an important source of income, should
361 also show more emphasis on having the daughters stay at home after marriage, and therefore, the incidence of uxorilocal residence and matrilocal proximity of women should be higher.

361 Within Amatenango "there are clusters of bilaterally re-
602 lated kin which form neighborhood groups. Two of these neighborhoods are spatially set apart from other houses of the barrio
361 and are named" (Nash, J., 1960:52). One of them, the neighbor-
591 hood of Santa Cruz, is composed of households which show greater
434 poverty in comparison with the rest of the village. As it was hypothesized, Santa Cruz also shows a greater incidence of matrilocal proximity. The correlation between lack of household wealth (which increases the importance of woman's pottery making) and residential proximity of a woman to her maternal home is statistically significant at the .001 level (see Table 16).

361 On the other hand, one should also expect the married men
591 to live further apart from their own parents because (1) those who
166 stay at home would reside and work with their wife's relatives,
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464 and (2) it is said that some of the men of the neighborhood are forced by their poverty to migrate to the lowlands seeking work in the ranches, and may stay there permanently. This hypotheses is confirmed; the correlation is significant at the .05 level of confidence (see Table 16).

361 The result of poverty in this neighborhood is that while
591 for the community as a whole 49 per cent of the women live in the
434 same neighborhood as their parents, in Santa Cruz 67 per cent of

[Text continued on p. 162]

571 and outside the household by the bilateral group of kinsmen of each particular Ego and his or her spouse, which because of the residence pattern, live localized within a neighborhood.

602 592 562 In Aguacatenango, on the contrary, most important activities are carried on mainly by agnatically related kin. This, of course, does not mean that matri-kin or affinals are absolutely excluded. But in making decisions for giving or receiving help in work, for example, agnatic kin are preferred, especially for men, because women tend to collaborate mostly with the agnatic kin of their husbands. The reason for this is that activities for women are not determined in terms of the kinship lines, but in terms of household membership: they collaborate with the closest kin of the household in which they reside, and not their own closest kin. A household contributes labor and interacts more often with agnatically linked households than any other.

361 602 592 The reason for this difference in emphasis could be said to be a result of the fact that one collaborates more with the people who live the closest. After all, the neighborhood in Aguacatenango tends to be a cluster of agnatically related households. [114] Nash felt that in Amatenango, "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relations are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130). We disagree with this statement.

323 241 433 182 591 592 621 In Amatenango, pottery making and corn agriculture are the two principal productive enterprises which affect the organization of the domestic group, including the residence choices, so it is not strange that the neighborhood group (or residence clusters within the barrio), made up according to the criteria of selecting

323 241 433 182 591 592 621 producers for the particular domestic groups, seems to be the originator of bilateral increase in interaction, while it could be equally well said that the bilaterally settled neighborhood in Amatenango is a result of the selection of household personnel along both males' and females' kinsmen lines.

114 602 182 361 J. Nash (1960) interpreted the bilaterality of Amatenango as being a result of the residence pattern. Nash assumes that kinship and territoriality are two mutually exclusive principles of association, while in reality they are not so. On the one hand, if territoriality (or the spatial placement of the individual in the household) is determined by kinship alignments, both would tend to be symmetrical; on the other hand, even if they are not mutually inclusive (which in this case they are), both are emphasized simultaneously in the same set of choices, so that the principles of spatial proximity and kinship proximity, although independent variables, are concomitant in their effects. Moreover, Nash found out that activities which did not involve immediate reciprocity followed the kinship line exclusively without reference to territorial propinquity.

121 The danger of assuming that "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relationships are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130) becomes evident in a larger theoretical context. If residential propinquity tends to set up interaction along bilateral lines, the opposite, residential dispersion, would tend to emphasize interaction among unilineal relatives. Then, all lineally organized societies ought to be organized in exogamous settlements, or in a dispersed hamlet pattern, and all large concentrations of

121 population, such as an endogamous village, ought to be bilateral societies. This is obviously not so. Even if we assume that our statement is a reductio ad absurdum of Nash's point, there is evidence in the immediate vicinity of Amatenango that other villages, equally concentrated in population, with the same physical set-
114 ting, are not bilateral. J. Nash (1960) compared Amatenango and
361 Aguacatenango in a few paragraphs, and she felt that the evidence
602 supported her theory. However, the data available to her was
592 very unreliable. She quoted a preliminary report of Metzger
591 written before the residence analysis of the community was carried to completion, which contained only impressionistic observations, and gave the impression that residence was neolocal and that agnatically related households were widely spread within the community, which we have shown in chapter vi not to be true.

602 Moreover, Aguacatenango not only has patri-virilocality,
613 but corporate patrilines. The name-groups in Aguacatenango form
592 localized agnatic descent groups (which we above called the
551 localized clusters of agnatically linked households). The people
621 belonging to a name-group are recognized as relatives or, in Tzeltal, "those who are my family on my father's side." Those individuals have one last name (Indian surname) in common with
174 Ego. Within the Spanish surname, some people are considered in
613 the descent group and some are considered aparte (separate),
551 but a man of the Spanish name Perez, would say that all those Perezetik who are not aparte belong to his family, and any Perez is "closer" to another Perez than to a man of another Spanish name. The reason for the segmentation of the Spanish name-group is lost in the past. When the lineage system was composed of

174 segments of different breadth of inclusion, it is possible that
613 the Indian last name was a smaller lineage segment than the
551 Spanish last name, or, as it occurs in other Chiapas villages, that the Indian name was the lineage name and the Spanish name the clan name, but that clans have disappeared in Aguacatenango. The result is that there are more Indian than Spanish names, and sometimes a Spanish name, such as Hernandez, has within it the patrilines Wayal, Obispo and Chalté, while Perez has the patrilines Ich, Tuluk and Chauk.

613 At the present time, the patriline is very shallow. Connections are lost frequently after the second ascending generation and the localized agnatic line includes only three, or at best four, adjacent generations, when the linking relative in the higher generation is still alive or recently deceased and still remembered.

613 The Indian name, which indicates the patriline, is not
551 known by many people in the younger generation, and older people are reluctant to mention the subject. With the influence of the
[829] Mexican system of naming (which includes both the Spanish last name of the father and the mother), the older villagers are becoming aware that westerners do not have the same descent name system, and are embarrassed to discuss this subject with non-villagers, although in Tzeltal conversations among themselves they identify people through them.

126 We did collect some patriline names (which are Tzeltal
613 words for animals and natural phenomena), but unfortunately the
551 limited field-work season did not allow for more detailed
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602 investigation, so that we could not pin down all patriline names to the respective genealogies.

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582 We do have evidence, however, that the patriline is (or was) exogamous. In the first place, the villagers are very insistent that "people of the same name should not marry," and at the present time, this rule seems to be influencing the choice of marriage partners even in the Spanish name group; on the other hand, we have one case which explicitly indicates so: one of the village women, Ceveriana, reported that when her present husband asked her to marry, she was very worried that her marriage was going to be "sinful" because both she and her future husband had the same Spanish last names: Hernandez. Not knowing what to do, they consulted a village elder, who asked them for their Indian last names. When he found out that their Indian surnames were different (Wayal and Chalté), he reassured them that it was permitted for them to marry "because they did not have the same Indian name." (See genealogy, Fig. 14.)

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582 Patriline exogamy, however, does not seem to be associated with preferential marriage. In other villages in the highlands of Chiapas, the informants state that it is preferred to marry a woman of one's mother's name group. In Aguacatenango, however, out of 161 marriages in which all the relevant names were known, only twenty-three men had married women of their mother's name group. Even in the case in which preferential marriages would be the ideal choice (and they never have been stated as such), the practice does not follow it.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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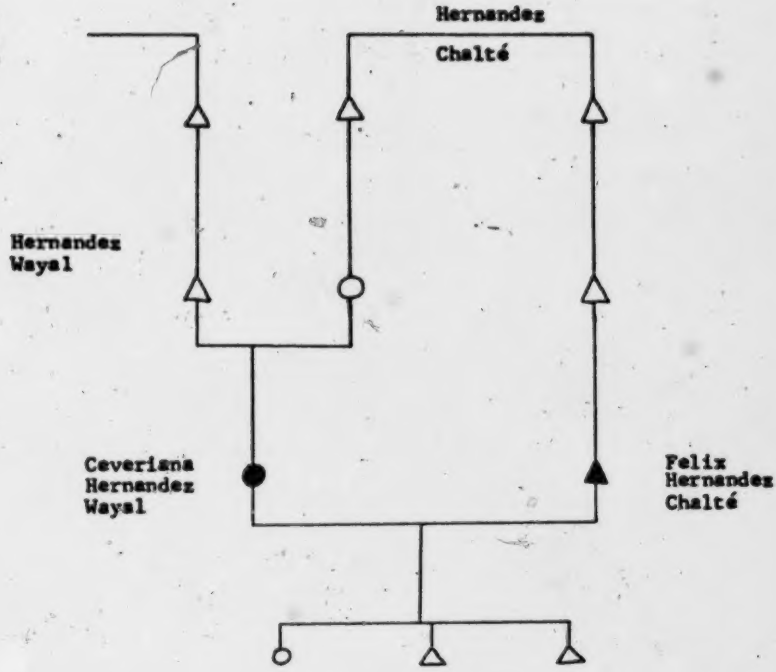

Fig. 14.--Genealogy of Hernandez

613 476 [602] The patrilines function in several dimensions. Work groups, although invariably containing some bilateral and affinal relatives, recruit members mainly among agnatic kinsmen. Men fence their fields with the help of their brothers, father and sons; when villagers get together to buy a cow for a town fiesta celebration, each cow is bought by a group which contains agnatically related men. In one case, seventeen men who bought a cow together belonged to four patrilines which were neighbors among themselves. In another case, in which several men got together to build a house, nine were agnatic kinsmen, three were affinals (the son's wife's brother, the daughter's husband and the wife's brother), three were compadres and one a neighbor from across the street. The women who prepared the meal for the housewarming were: nine agnatically related to the household head; two agnatically related to the wife of the household head; three affinals of the household head; two affinals of the wife; and two neighbors. In another case, a man and his two sons, one of whom was living in a separate domestic group, helped in the construction, and several other men were contracted to help with the payment, although the daughter's husband, who was a carpenter, was called in to give advice and help.

613 621 476 [432] [462]

613 476 626 627 Individuals, in time of trouble, seek advice from the elders of the patriline, which is the largest unit in which kinship solidarity functions as a controlling social force outside the domestic group. The patriline also exercises control in the form of moral pressure: gossip, accusations of witchcraft, and responsibility for vengeance when a patriline member has been

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

Household 24-7

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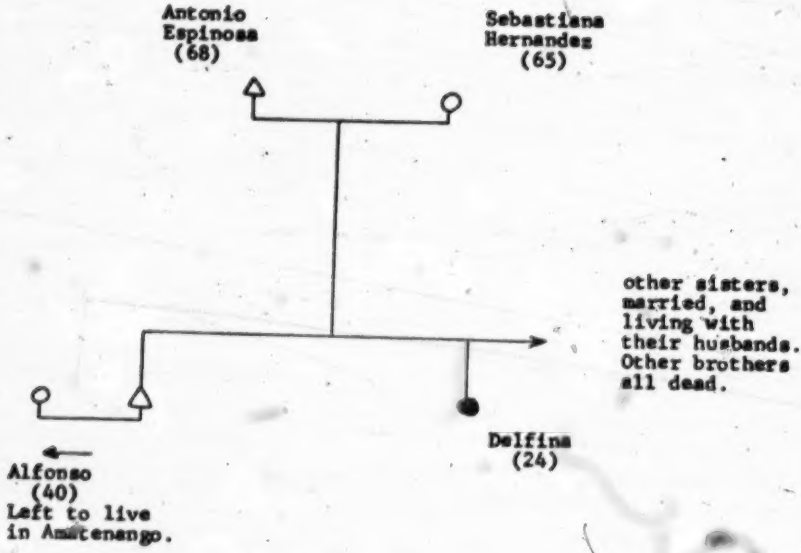

Fig. 15.--Genealogy of Delfina Espinosa

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Amatenango .
Aguacatenango

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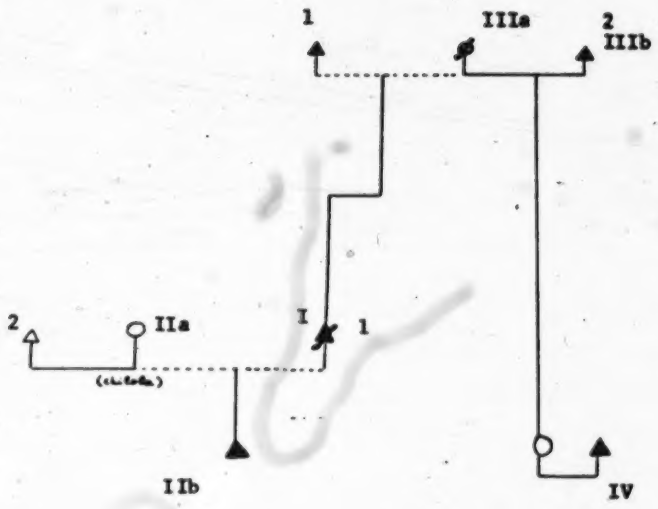

= men that claimed rights over the land.

I to IV indicate the order in which the land has been transmitted. The two men in the youngest generation are the ones contesting each other's rights.

Fig. 16.--Genealogy of Chilola M.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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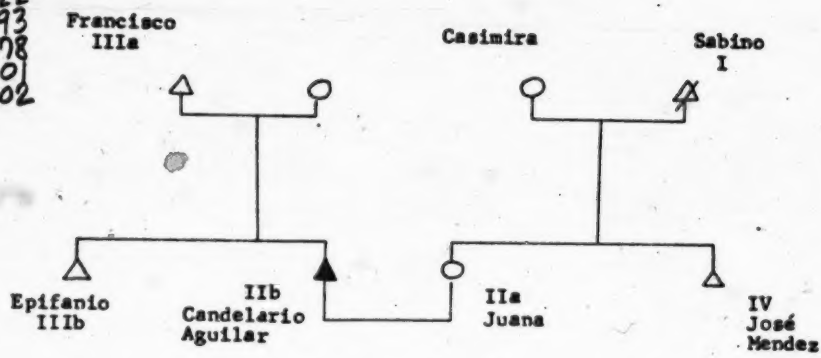

I to IIb indicate the order in which the bull was transmitted.

IIb-IIIb indicate the order in which cow and calf were transmitted.

IV is the man that pretends to have rights over the animals, with his mother's support.

Fig. 17.--Genealogy of Candelario Aguilar

184 vis-à-vis their husbands and male kinsmen, while in Aguacatenango,
182 it makes them economically dependent, and subordinates from a jural
462 point of view. In one case females inherit as men do, in the
592 other, inheritance follows a male line. In one case, they control
562 the same property as men do, in the other, they control only
434 marginal property.
[428]
[421]

(3) The relative importance of a man is labor versus a
184 woman's labor within the domestic unit affects residence. In
182 Aguacatenango, where all important productive activities are in
462 the hands of men, residence is patri-virilocal, and only males are
434 residence sponsors regularly. In Amatenango, where productive ac-
591 tivities are in the hands of both males and females, residence is alternately matri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal, and both males and females can become residence sponsors. In Amatenango, house-
[323] holds that depend more on the women's labor in pottery making are
[241] uxorilocal, while households in which the largest part of the domestic group income is derived from agriculture have post-marital patri-virilocal residence of their members.

184 In Aguacatenango, where all household income is derived
182 from agriculture and residence is patri-virilocal, matri-uxorilo-
434 cality occurs sporadically due to some other economic and non-
591 economic factors: (a) the inheritance of some land in the female
593 line when a daughter structurally replaces a son; (b) the coopera-
428 tive work between father-in-law-son-in-law when they replace the
562 position of father and son for each other; (c) the payment of
602 curing ceremonies and medicines for a sick married woman by her
606 own kin rather than her husband's.
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184 59 428 562 and daughter, and the transmission of property in a bilateral fashion, is a kinship unit of the utrolateral type (Goody, 1958: 26) with alternate patri-uxorilocal and patri-virilocal residence.

184 59 592 562 [428] Among the people of Amatenango, at least one child of the nuclear family stays at home after marriage, sons or daughter being equally good choices for the perpetuation of the domestic group. In this way, the Amatenango family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of bilateral order, which extends itself territorially in a bilateral fashion, and perpetuates itself through the principle of ultrolateral ultimogeniture..

184 182 591 592 The structuring of the domestic groups as corporate units of a clearly different order is intimately connected with the rules by which residence sponsors are chosen.

184 591 562 1. In Aguacatenango, male sponsors are always preferred over females, independently of the sex, age, or marital status of the individual, while in Amatenango, where women are economically capable of being residence sponsors, they are selected as such as often as males.

184 591 562 602 2. In Aguacatenango, consanguineal sponsors are preferred over affinals or self (neolocality), except for married women, while in Amatenango, married men prefer affinals as much as married women do, under certain conditions.

184 591 602 3. In both villages, residence with a kinsman is preferred to neolocality, usually a kinsman from whom certain economic rights can be claimed (land, house, etc.).

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602 4. In both villages, among consanguineal sponsors, lineal relatives who have immediate economic duties are preferred as sponsors over collaterals.

5. In Aguacatenango, among consanguineal sponsors, agnatically linked relatives are preferred over non-agnatic relatives, while in Amatenango, any consanguineal relative, a matri- or patrilineal one, is an equally likely choice.

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561 6. In both villages, economic dependency is usually assigned within the parental and the children's generation, rather than within the same generation, the result being that residence sponsors are preferred to be from alternate rather than the same generation, and within the same generation, sponsors are selected in terms of seniority over Ego.

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434 7. In both villages, spouses reside together. In Aguacatenango, the residence sponsor is the husband, while in Amatenango, either husband or wife can be sponsors. Males are the only sponsors when they are the only household members responsible for the support of the unit. Women and men are sponsors where both share the economic burden of supporting the household. Women are sponsors when they are the only ones responsible for the economic demands of the domestic group, and when their husbands work with their fathers.

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602 8. Unmarried children reside with both parents, and work with the parent of the same sex. If the parents are separated when the children are small, they stay with the mother. In Aguacatenango, if the mother is dead, a patrilineal sponsor other than

184 591 586 the father is preferred, while in Amatenango, both paternal and
602 maternal relatives are equally good choices.

184 736 591 434 9. In Aguacatenango, where widows are incapable of supporting the economic demands of the household by themselves, they choose to reside with a male sponsor in another household, while in Amatenango, they can be self-sponsors and the heads of their own domestic groups.

184 621 582 591 10. In both villages, residence within one's barrio is preferred over residence in any other territorial division. In Amatenango, cross-barrio marriages are accompanied by matri-uxorilocal residence as well as patri-virilocal residence, which results in both men and women residing in a barrio other than their own (11 per cent and 16 per cent respectively). This results in Aguacatenango barrios being related only through the circulation of women between them, while in Amatenango, both men and women are transmitted between families across barrio lines, in both directions.

184 621 602 [592] The structuring of economic and residential sponsorship produces two different types of neighborhoods in the two villages. In Aguacatenango, the neighborhood tends to be a cluster of agnatically linked households, while in Amatenango, it is composed [613] of a set of kindred. The barrio in Aguacatenango, then, is a [562] territorial division containing neighborhoods which are localized agnatic groups, which I call localized patrilines, with few non-relatives and bilateral kinsmen enclaved throughout the blocks; a man does not separate from his territory or barrio, nor from his neighborhood, while a woman circulates within neighborhoods after 184 621 591 marriage and even within barrios. In Amatenango, both men and

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621 women tend to stay within the neighborhood in which they are born,
591 or, equally, cross territorial lines at marriage.

121 To be able to derive these simple rules of residence, we
591 had to take into account some aspects of sponsorship which Fischer did not include in his typology. First, Fischer makes the error of assuming that people make residence choices mainly in terms of kinship, and within kinship, in terms of lineage and lineage sponsors.

We have shown that people make residence choices in terms of both kinship links and economic interdependence, and that among kinsmen, unilinearity is not necessarily the basic criterion for
121 choice. Although Fischer's typology can be very useful in analyzing
128 groups in which linearity is strong, such as Aguacatenango, it
602 tends to obscure the analysis of more bilateral groups such as Amatenango.

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602 To make up for this bias in the taxonomy, we had to add
591 three separate criteria for sponsorship: (1) the sex of the
562 sponsor, independently of his lineage affiliation; (2) the generation
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571 of the sponsor; (3) the economic role of the sponsor, independently of his or her sex, and independently of his or her kinship connection with the person being sponsored.

184 At any given time, an individual in Aguacatenango or
591 Amatenango resides in one and only one household, and derives his
592 rights of membership in the unit through kinship or marriage, depending on the importance of his position as a laborer. While in Aguacatenango men derive their membership, as a rule, through descent and women after marriage only through affinality, in

184 Amatenango both men and women derive their rights to reside in
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592 particular homesteads through both marriage or birth, as alternate choices.

592 The economic system in itself is not an independent vari-
591 able. Given its present shape, decisions about where to live,
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181 changes in the composition of the domestic group at crucial points
602 in its development, and the strength of emotional ties between individuals are influenced by it. Most choices which concern the structuring of internal relations within the domestic unit are expressed by the cultural carriers as economic and kinship choices simultaneously, or in other words, as economic choices made within the framework offered by the kinship structure of the domestic unit.

Other factors, however, seem to perform no less important functions. Among these other factors, we have mentioned the following in separate parts of the previous text: (1) the position of the person within the kinship group which forms the core of the household; (2) the number of men and women residing in the unit; (3) the age of the household membership; (4) the temperament and attitudes of the household members with respect to each other; (5) the aspirations of the individual, in terms of the achievement of status, the insurance of positive affection and the need for psychological rewards; and (6) the laws of group interaction.

571 In order of intensity, the economic domain affects (1) the
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621 individual's status within the family; (2) the membership and organization of the domestic group, both in terms of residence choices and the distribution of authority within the unit; (3) the

571 592 [821] developmental cycle of the domestic group; (4) the relations of households within a neighborhood and within the more inclusive kinship groups; (5) the relative strength of the patriline versus the bilateral group; (6) the functions of the larger territorial endogamous divisions or barrios; and (7) the total community.

[184] Except for the importance of barrio land tenure in Aguacatenango, and general higher wealth of Amatenango as a whole, the system of production does not seem to affect the structuring of relationships at a level higher than the household and the particular type of rights and duties of members of the extended family of each village.

184 562 The position of women for the village at large is very similar in the two communities. Except for the fact that Amatenango women have the economic power and the legal right to take cases to the Ayuntamiento on their own, neither the women of Aguacatenango nor of Amatenango has rights to political officership, nor to roles outside the domestic domain, which, once more, confirms the anthropological truth that whatever the descent system, or the economic organization, jural authority is ultimately vested in the hands of the males of a society.

182 571 602 Economic factors are not the only factors affecting the interpersonal relations of the villagers. The economic structure is a given historical and cultural fact. Many choices of behavior, which are economic choices in their immediate context, are not so in terms of the long range view of the system. First, the kinship system seems to limit the range of economic alternatives for the individual, independently of the fact that choices

182 571 based on non-kinship terms would maximize profit or material
(602) benefits, which the kinship frame limits considerably. Second,
182 the cultural norms imposed on the villager about the types of work
183 which he is allowed to perform, about the maximum wealth which he
461 556 is able to control, and about the distribution of this wealth,
are, from a purely financial point of view, "anti-economical."
156 But an Indian living in a Ladino town, undoubtedly having the
177 choice of improving his life from an economic point of view,
156 alienates himself from everything which is dear to him. An Indian
626 556 attempting to live up to his aspirations of wealth within the community, alienates himself even more, and risks the dangers of witchcraft and social ostracism.

121 The phrase, "man does not live by bread alone," is very much of a truism here. If the primary factor in determining behavior were economical, the villager would have no need to live within the customary standards of living of his community nor would the corporate community persist. Each Indian could become a laborer of some sort, and integrate himself into the national society of Mexico.

But people make choices not only because they are financially advantageous, but because they preserve their standing within their kinship group, they provide satisfaction for their need of the psychological rewards of prestige and positive affection and for their need for "belonging" to a group of similar human beings with similar culture and aspirations.

We have to admit, then, that it is as impossible to analyze social dynamics, only taking into account economic varisbles, as

121 it is impossible to do it taking into account any other variable in isolation. Social structures are built up around several simultaneously activated domains of phenomena. Kinship (or the biological facts of birth and copulation and the concomitant social facts of descent and affinality) is one domain. Economics (or the system for the production and allocation of rights over material goods and services) is another domain. Territorial allegiances, based on spatial proximity or distance, is another. The domain of the psychological (the inherent needs of human beings for sociality, positive affection, the sharing of moral values with other men [and perhaps the need for controlling others]), is still another domain.

182 796 If we take ritual as a projective system of the importance of social domains, we can see that it involves, in every case, several of them.

[571] [527] [764] [602] [241] For example, in Aguacatenango and Amatenango, ritual practices are oriented towards: (1) expressing tensions between individuals among whom harmonic relations are re-established through the curing ceremony; (2) expressing the territorial attachments of people, such as the ceremonies for housewarmings and the fact that in the cemetery people are buried according to the place in which they resided (the cemetery is a small replica of the village); (3) expressing kinship bonds, such as the marriage ceremony, the baptisms and compadrazgos, the food given to the ancestors on Todos Santos, etc.; (4) expressing economic needs, such as the rituals performed to insure the success of the harvest.

000 Within the same cultural frame, two social groups can

000 true for more than the specific case studied by them, and it only discusses one set of domains of the family: socialization and its concomitant psychological variables.

It well could be that some societies seem to emphasize structural arrangements in one domain over the others. The more difficult it is for a society to procure the basic biological needs for food, the more the economic domain can be a primary determinant of organization. The more complex a descent system and the more functions it performs in the political and ritual domains (such as the Hopi), the more kinship would tend to be emphasized by the structural arrangements as viewed by the natives themselves. That does not mean that the anthropologists cannot and should not be able to see the concomitant effects of the other domains. A study of any social group has to be, if it is going to contribute anything to our knowledge of human activity and motivations, a multi-variable analysis. A neat analysis based on a single focus of observation may well be an elegant piece of research, and simultaneously, a biased account of human life.

128 184 I think that my study of two Chiapas villages contributes somewhat to the clarification of several problems which were set forth in the Introduction. (1) It shows, I think conclusively, that social variations in Middle American Indian communities are not only the result of acculturation, but also the result of the delicate internal adjustments of their institutions. (2) It shows 128 591 that residence is a system of social coalitions to express both 571 602 kinship and economic interdependency. From the point of view of any one individual and from the point of view of a small group,

128 residence changes through time, in a developmental cycle which is
591 the result of the developmental cycle of the domestic group, both
[571] [602] as a kinship unit and as economic centers of village life. (3) It tries to contribute to the study of residence by showing how a combined methodology, utilizing both Fischer's residence typology and Fortes' developmental cycle analysis, can render more fruitful
128 descriptions than either of the two methods in isolation. (4) It
592 shows how a single institution, the household, is affected by the multiple pressures of several alternate social domains, and how its functioning is adjusted and organized in reference to the multivariable social world.

128 I am aware that the study has suffered at times for lack of depth in the analysis of particular data. I have been unable to discuss carefully the implications of the functions of bride-price in the two communities, because I lack sufficiently objective data to support my ideas or disprove them. The same is true for a more careful analysis of the social dynamics of coalitions between siblings and between individuals living outside each domestic
128 unit. Although June Nash's dissertation offers several complete
114 examples of sibling interaction, and Metzger's field notes have
127 invaluable information in certain kinship roles, I lacked the equivalent materials from the two communities to make a more than superficial comparison.

000 I do not expect, however, this study to be the end of my inquiry into the subject. I propose to continue working in the same area of the world in the future (perhaps in the same

the new officials are publicly defined before overlap- 621*
ping sets of participants and observers. Within each [571]
setting, the multiple sets of relationships which de- [602]
termine the individual's selection for a role are indi-
cated in Appendix 3.

It has often been stated of Guatemalan and Mexi- 621*
can highland Maya communities that public office is 592
an undertaking of the household. The precise dimen-
sions of this support have yet to be defined in an
activity context. Visitors and helpers in the household [574]
celebration provide one such context in which the
parameters of the aid can be defined (Charts 2, 3,
4). Primary support is given by the official's wife, [593]
without whom he would not be serving in the hier-
archy.[5] She serves him by waiting for him in the
house, taking care of the money he might have to
guard as a civil official, and watching him while he
is drunk from the bouts in the townhall so that he
will not harm himself by falling in the fire or be
harmed by his enemies. His advisors and councilors
in the household are the *nakawanehetik*.[6] These are [602]
men who have passed through some of the civil offices
—at least those of *alferez* and first regidor—and who
are somehow related to the new official.[7] A second
group of supporters in the household serve as errand
boys and assistants, the *balnialetik*. They are chosen
from among brothers, brothers-in-law,[8] sons, *com-*
padres (ritual co-parents), godchildren, and neigh-
bors. A third group are the *ik̓oltawanehetik*, the fe-

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[5] Innumerable instances attest to the significance of the wife in officeholding. For example, at the final ceremony in a betrothal, the boy is advised by his elders that now he will be called to serve the pueblo. Or, in the court case of a judge whose wife wished to leave him because he had beaten her, the other judges counseled her to wait until he had completed his term of office.

[6] The term *nakunwanehetik* may be derived from the honorific prefix *nak*, found in other Maya languages (Lal?arge, 1947). Another possibility is that it may be the stem *na*, 'house,' plus *k̓awanehetik*, tentatively glossed as 'officials.' [193]

[7] In the case of the president (in the observed sequence) his father, who had passed through all the offices up to the first judge and had fulfilled his turns in the religious hierarchy as well, was the first *nakawane*.

[8] The term *bal* is generic for brother-in-law, *nial* for father-in-law, but whether this formerly had significance in the selection of assistance I do not know. At present, brothers-in-law are chosen along with others, such as godchildren or neighbors. [601]

[P. 216-B]

male helpers who are usually wives of the *balnialetik*, or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors who come to congratulate the new official. Particularly conspicuous because of their Ladino or non-Indian clothing in the house of the president (Chart 6) were the visitors from the outlying rancherías and colonias of Tzoʔontahal. 621* [592] [574]

Validation in the household setting takes place in two scenes. The first occurs on the eve of New Year. Each new official entertains in his house the men he has chosen as his *nakawanehetik* and as his *balnialetik*. Only those *balnialetik* who are immediately related come to this gathering. The *meʔil k'op*, 'woman speaker,' is present along with the wives of the *balnialetik* (Chart 2). The house is decorated with pine needles and juniper boughs in the afternoon. The visitors arrive with wood and pitchpine to light the house at about eight in the evening and stay until the liquor is finished. Drinking order is from elder to younger, which coincides with the prestige ranking. The *nakawanehetik* are served, then the *nič'anil*. 621* 574 592 [602] [353] [273] [554]

The second household gathering takes place on the morning of the New Year. Major settings for such gatherings are the house of the first judge and the house of the new president. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the three other regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house. They join the president at his house and then proceed to the townhall. The group of five police from *ahk'olnantik* meet separately in the house of the first police of that side, and those of *alannantik* meet in the house of their first police. 621* 574 693 [592]

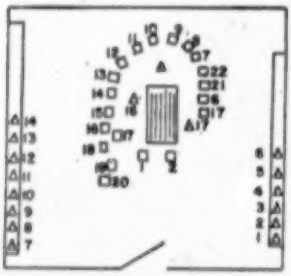
The assembled officials proceed to the townhall, announcing with rockets to the policemen that they have left. Gathered in the townhall, referred to in the formal address or *patʔot'an* as the *sik na*, 'cold house,'[9] are the 'old officials' *(k'a hu'eletik)* along with the alfereces and the principales. They enter two by two, the president and síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges, and the judges of the barrios and colonias. They kneel and 'measure their noses' *(sp'is sniʔik,)* as they enter, showing respect to the holy banners which the alfereces have delivered from the church. 621* 693 [202] [794] [554] [788] [794]

[9] Bunzel (1952, p. 377) translates a formal speech in which the townhall of Chichicastenango is referred to as that "cold house, the icy house," but the Quiche word is not included. The pattern of double synonyms for nouns is present in these Quiche formal texts as in the Tzeltal. [197]

[P 217-A]

as a team. Thus the junior *(niʔapil)* and senior *(tatil)* officials walk and sit in pairs. The senior officials order the junior. Just as in the case of the civil officials, some junior mayordomos may be younger than others who are in lower positions, because they have passed in the lower offices at an earlier age, but all senior mayordomos are older than their paired juniors. 794 561 156

Another important structural feature that became apparent in the behavioral schedules is the household base establishing the officeholders' position in both hierarchies. The new official learns his role obligations from the *nakawanchetik*, the group of elders 621* 156 794 592 [867]



621* 554 693 293

CHART 8 — INSIDE THE TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING THE OATH (OBSERVED)

Old officials are indicated by triangles, new officials by squares. Numbers refer to list on Chart 7. Three officials—the old secretary (17) and two new rural judges (21 and 22)—were not listed in the elicited session, Chart 7. Canes of office are on the table near the center of the room. Numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7.

who assemble in his house and who will assist him in his period in office. The ceremony in the house establishes this as a significant domain in public affairs. Relatives, neighbors, and compadres make up the interlocking network of supporters in the setting of the household. Both husband's and wife's relatives are symmetrically represented (Chart 3; see also J. Nash, 1964b, report on alferez assistants). Because of the expenses and the commitment of time during the period of office, the officials must have this backing to fulfill their obligations. A man with many compadres and godchildren has a firmer base to support his career in office. In the case of the new president, this was mentioned as an important asset by the president's brother. The guest list (Charts 3, 4) reveals the multiple references which establish the individual's role during any event. 621* 156 794 592 [867] 621* 794 592 602 156 [608]

[P. 220-A]

ment, engrossed as I was in the task of eliciting the formal sequence of events, "Quiet, S.; let's get on with the fiesta." He persisted in what interested him. 124

Eleven years ago they [who? enemies?] tried to get me. I had a piece of land in hot country. My house here was not ready, but the wood was ready. M. C. a neighbor was jealous [*šil yoʔtan*, 'saw his heart']. He had caused another neighbor's illness. He was my wife's *muʔ* [literally 'brother-in-law,' in this case the informant's wife's fa's sis's husband]. He didn't have corn or beans. He was jealous because of my crops and the big house I was going to build. 124 578 [754] [601] [602]

By now I was asking questions and taking notes. I interposed, "How did you know?" 124 578

I knew because when I got sick, the curer (who was the dead husband of the widow who came to the judges' house) told me. The *cabron* (goat) witches leave their signature in the blood (*yak hilel firma ta čiʔ*). Then I went to a curer in Chamula who confirmed it. 754 756

"How did he speak to you?"

In Tzotzil. Then I went to Las Casas. Another curer, also a Chamulteco, said, "Here is his signature in your blood. He is working alone." On January 7 I fell in bed. All month from January to the 19th of April I was very sick. I went to Cruz Quemada (colonia of Tzoʔontahal) where F. G. cured me. He burned candles at the curing arch and prayed. 124 578 755 756 [782]

"Whom did he pray to?"

The hills, the holy land. Then I got well, but I was very tired. My Šwana [wife, Juana] told me "He is going to kill you." I had a rifle. I filled it and went out, but then I returned. Another day I took two measures of trago, took my rifle and went to his house. He was sleeping with his wife close to him in bed, the way we sleep here. I fired four times. The bullets went in his back and came out front. One entered the arm of his wife. Now people say of me I am a killer. I went to the townhall for the enquiry. The man's wife said the door [of the house] was open. She said she did not see me. Afterward I got well. If I hadn't killed him, I never would have lived. Now I am having more trouble first because of the cooperative, then because of my brother being president, and then the comisario. Let us see what will happen this year. If God lends us our life, there are going to be protests. We will walk with our pistols. Špet [wife of Ladino owner of opposing cooperative] gave 1000 pesos to a man from Magronal to kill me. 124 578 682

"How do you know?"

My compadre came and told me. Who knows how many deaths there will be!

[P 225-A]

9:Nash E-S (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

Appendix 1 — CHANGE OF OFFICIALS IN THE TOWNHALL

	Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
*621 124 796	1. When do they change the officials?	On January 1, *?ak ha?bil* (New Year)	First of January	I observed the preparations for the New Year change of office fiesta in the houses of the president and of the new first policeman on December 31, 1964, and January 1, 1965
	2. What do they do first on the fiesta of changing of officials?	They arrange the house of each official	The wife of the first judge puts the bean tortillas on the fire	
[252]	3. When do they do this?	In the afternoon of December 31	In the morning of the last day of December	The women spend most of the morning and afternoon making the bean tortillas
[353]	4. How do they arrange the house?	They get juniper boughs and needles and put them in the house		Around 8 P.M. the visitors arrive. The house is decorated with pine needles on the floor and in the yard, and there are branches of juniper nailed to the posts of the house entry, just as it is done at the entry to the townhall. I was not present at the gathering
[602]	5. Who helps her?		All her relatives (*kermanotak*) with neighbors (see Chart 1)	
	6. What do they do in the afternoon?		The women eat	
*621 124 796	7. What time do the guests gather in the house of the new officials?	On December 31 at 7 P.M.		
514	8. What do they bring?	They arrive with wood and pitchpine	They bring wood or pitchpine	
[272] [242]	9. What do the visitors do?	They drink coffee with bread and bean tortillas	They say greetings. They drink coffee and eat bean tortillas	
[273]	10. What do they do when they finish the coffee?	They drink liquor	They take out liquor, and the judge recites the benediction	
*621 124 796 [693]	11. Who is present in the house of the new official?		*stasil nakawane*, his leading house official, Baltol Kantiron. The new judge, Santos Kantiron, *balnial*, assistants to pāli gruel, sons of the new officials *?ak n?etik*: wood bringers (see Chart 2)	
[624]	12. What do they do first on New Year's day?	The fourth regidor calls everyone together	The fourth regidor raises all the new officials	

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX 3A—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN CIVIL INAUGURATION

	Setting	Role (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	Relationship	Behavior
*621 105 192 554 593 [574]	House, evening of inauguration	ʔAČʔAʔTEL, new officials	Ego	Receives guests, sits next to leader *nakawane*
		NAKAWANEHETIK, house officials	Father of new official or elder of neighborhood who has passed in higher offices (first regidor and elder mayordomo)	Initiates greetings; sits in head seat
		BALNIALETIK, assistants	Sons of new officials, husbands of daughters or of sisters	Serve food, measure drinks
[608]		ʔAKʔSIETIK, wood gatherers	Neighbors, compadres, brothers	Bring wood, eat, drink
		MEʔELETIK, Me?il K'op, woman speaker Yinam, wife	Mother, or elder relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings
		SKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers		Serves food. Cook food, dish out food, eat
*621 105 192 554 [593]	House, morning of inauguration	*NAKAWANEHETIK*, house officials	Father and/or elder neighbors	Initiates greetings, addresses blessing to liquor
		AʔTELETIK ALKALETIK REHIROLETIK, judges, regidores	Men of village	Receive food and liquor
[602] [608]		*BALNIALETIK*, assistants	Brothers-in-law, godsons, compadres, fa's sis's sons, brother, comadre's son, neighbors	Serve food, measure drink
[574]		*YULATAK*, visitors	Men from rural colonias	Give *abrazo*, embrace, to new president, eat, drink
		MEʔELETIK, women Me?il k'op Sčebal Sme? Yolebal Sme?	Mother or elder relative ? ? ?	Responds to *nakawane's* and *alkal's* greeting. Orders women in serving of food
		SKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	(See Chart 3)	Cooks food, dishes out food
	Townhall, morning session, civil inauguration	*KʔAʔTELETIK*, old officials	Men of village	Drink; wait for new officials seated
[194]		ʔALPERESETIK, alferecs	Men of village	Bring banners from church, drink wait for new officials

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX 3a—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN RELIGIOUS INAUGURATION

105
192
554
794

SETTING	ROLE (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	RELATIONSHIP	BEHAVIOR
[574] House of kobraria Sacramento, morning of inauguration	KOBRARIA SAKRAMENTU	Ego	Receives guests; sits at first seat on outside wall near door
[604] [605]	NAKAWANEHETIK	Fa's brother and fa's brother's sons	Initiates greetings, sits at head seat
[593] [608]	BALNIALETIK	Sons, sons of campadres, neighbors	Serve liquor, food
[602]	ME?ELETIK, women	Elder female relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings, orders helpers
[608]	Me?ilk'op, woman speaker		
	ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	Comadres, sisters, neighbors	Prepare food, coffee
	MARTOMAETIK 3 KOBRARIA TATILETIK NIČ'ANILETIK		Eat and drink. Listen to advice of *nakawanehetik*
Church, morning of inauguration	PIŠKAL, fiscal KURA, priest ?AČ'MARTOMAETIK, new mayordomos K'A MARTOMAETIK, old mayordomos		Advises mayordomos of duties. Divides up candles brought by mayordomos; hands them to new mayordomos

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Behavior Defined in the Family

Socialization in the family provides the individual with the idiom for behaving in the wider community. The basic principles ordering behavior are respect and obedience toward those who are older, and care for those who are younger. Obedience, expressed by the verb *ɛ'un* which means both to believe (or to be gullible) and to obey, is instilled by cultivating a sense of fear and shame. Fear is communicated by the parent to the child by invoking evil spirits and by the threat or use of punishment, especially whipping with a leather strap. Shame is aroused by ridicule, jeering, and chastising. A good child is a quiet child; questioning is discouraged either by refusing to answer the child or by telling him to keep quiet. The negative aspect of good behavior is stressed. Significantly, the phrase "Behave yourself!" is translated into Spanish as "Don't do anything!" Good behavior is not rewarded either by praise or by gifts. The only public demonstration of affection toward children I have seen is by grandparents toward grandchildren: an elder might give his sweet roll at a ceremony to his grandchild and even fondle him. Parents show affection to youngsters under three years of age, although the last child may be coddled somewhat longer. Mothers and young children show intimacy and affection in delousing each other or combing each others' hair. Kissing is not a sign of intimacy but of formal respect in ceremonies.

Beliefs concerning conception show awareness of both the male and the female contribution to the fetus. The man's sperm (*snal*) enters the womb, *yoʔtan,* (also the word for heart) and mixes with the woman's flow, to bring about conception. The blood of a child is believed to come from its mother and the skin, bones, and brains from the father. During pregnancy, the father must have intercourse with his wife because his sperm nourishes the fetus. This continues right up to the birth of the child. Men too are believed to have wombs, and some men have trouble with "dropped wombs" caused by lifting heavy burdens.

The only people in attendance at the birth of a child are the women of the immediate household, the mother of the woman giving birth if she is not a part of the houshold, and the midwife. Children are kept out of the

The relationship of respect and obedience between parents and children 593
is expected to last throughout life. When a boy reaches the age of eight- 582
teen, his parents are expected to provide him with a wife. Wealthier fami- 434
lies tend to fulfill this obligation at an earlier age than do poorer families, 583
in which the boy may have to work in the fincas or in the sawmills to acquire the money for his own marriage.

Instruction in sexual behavior and reproduction is not characterized by 864
continuity, as is instruction about work tasks. Children are given no information about sex prior to marriage, and girls remain entirely innocent. They may be pregnant several months before they are aware of what is happening. The complete sexual segregation in work tasks and play during adolescence makes the relationship between sexes strained.

Even after marriage, the parents are concerned with maintaining their 593
child's marital situation, or, if they judge their child's spouse to be incorri- [586]
gible, to help him get rid of his partner. In the case of women, in particu- [736]
lar, parents continue to provide a refuge in case a daughter's husband should die, be sent to prison, or prove incompatible. Parents usually accompany their children if they are called into court, and failure to attend is tantamount to admitting the guilt of the child.

In successful marriages, the parents-in-law are equivalent to parents and 593
are called "mother" and "father." The parents of both spouses attend the 606
life crisis ceremonies of their children and grandchildren. Grandparents 603
provide support and care for grandchildren if their parents should die or remarry.

When parents reach the age of about sixty-five, they are no longer ex- 593
pected to work actively. A man will then distribute all of his land and ani- 888
mals among his children. He will expect to be taken care of by all of his
children, but special responsibility falls on the youngest who will inherit [428]
the house. Sometimes aged parents move from one of their children's [591]
houses to another, spending a few months or years with each. Children are [755]
expected to pay for any curing ceremonies necessary in their parents' old [764]
age and to provide a good funeral appropriate to their wealth. Failure to [626]
do this incurs loss of respect with the neighbors and collateral relatives of
the deceased. If the parents die after they have distributed their posses- 593
sions, the crisis following the death is minimal. At the funeral, mature 764
children of a deceased parent exhibit to the community their filial respect.

in the house in which he lives. The midwife, the only person present besides the mother, performs the ritual. She puts cold water in the child's mouth and then goes to the door, saying, "Enter if you arrive, little boy [or little girl]." Then she brushes the child with pine branches dipped in springwater, and smokes with incense of pitch pine the clothing which is then put on the child. The incense "makes a path for the soul to find the body of the child." As she does this, she says, "May your heart be one now that you are in the house." This ceremony is always performed when the child is born outside his parents' residence is order to guide his soul to its proper locale. Three days later, a ceremony called *sti? mut* (eat the chicken) takes place. Only women attend this meal. In one case I observed, the child's mother, her three sisters, mother, and husband's cousin attended. Each woman brings a peso's worth of bread, some chocolate, and ten tortillas. Two hens are cooked in boiling water, and the food is eaten by the women.

Baptism, called "throw the water" (*?ič ha?*) occurs as soon as possible after the new-born child's twentieth day of life. If the parents of the child live with either the mother's or the father's family, the grandparents will choose the godparent, or *padrino*. The actual decisions recorded for four families in Table 20 can be compared with statements of preference as to who should be godparents. People say they prefer nonrelatives ("We are not deceived by them"), people of the same section of the dual division ("We like to greet them in the street") and finally people of good reputation. The individual or couple chosen as godparent becomes *compadre* or co-parent to the parents of the child.

People seem to be successful in realizing the preferences they state. 81 percent of compadres are chosen from their own side of the dual division, and only 4 percent are chosen from out of town. 71 percent of compadres are chosen from among nonrelatives. A significant factor in the choice of compadres is maintaining good neighbor relations. Most families surround themselves with a ring of compadres which neutralizes both the fear of being the object of witchcraft and of being accused of witchcraft. Factors of wealth, prestige, and status positions—particularly that of fiscal—are also taken into consideration in choosing a compadre. Most of the padrinos of baptism are chosen from among older members of the community,

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

852 608 571 788 The church ceremony is followed by another ceremony in the house of the child's parents. As the group returning from the church enters the house, they are greeted with the pat'o'tan by the maliwanehetik who are waiting for them in the house. As they enter, each of the returning party says, "You go forward, kumpare." They embrace all of the waiting party, an act which establishes their relationship as compadres with the entire company. When the padrinos leave, the grandparents and parents of the [273] child go to a spot before the eaves outside the house; there the father of [593] the child serves liquor to the padrinos and the grandparents of the child. [603] The drink is called "the finale as the compadres leave." The group must finish the entire liter "since it is a gift," and if there are only one or two grandparents, they may get fairly drunk. As the compadres leave, the grandpaernts say, "Over the soil, over the mud where you take your holy [778] godchild, your holy flower, your holy candle." The child, referred to metaphorically as holy flower, holy candle, is identified with the most sacred symbols of the culture.[2]

608 571 171 The emphasis on the group relationship in Tzo'ontahal contrasts with the form of compadrazgo found in the central plateau of Mexico where the dyadic tie between two compadres provides flexibility in achieving instrumental ends in political or economic life.[3] Some of the new leaders in economic enterprises are beginning to emphasize the dyadic contract in their compadrazgo relationships to achieve political support, but its greatest importance is still based on creating or reinforcing group solidarity.

Betrothal and Marriage

796 177 The Indians of Tzo'onthal are initiated into the community of the living and depart from it with ceremonies deriving from the Spanish colonial 584 585 culture. The courtship and marriage ceremonies continue indigenous re-

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[852] she later attended the household ceremony, she was never called kumare because of the [571] omission of this act.

[608] 2. See Laughlin (1962) on the symbolism of the candle and flower in Zinacantan.

[171] 3. In regard to the occasions and the kind of respect relation established, compadrazgo in Tzo'ontahal is similar to the institution in other parts of Mexico (Foster 1963, Nader 1964, Wolf and Mintz 1950). The difference lies in the elaboration of the number of ties acquired through compadrazgo at each event.

761 might be. The father or closest male kin of the dead person is careful to
627 recount all the consultations he has had with curers, both to absolve him-
753 self of the guilt of neglect or unconscious witchcraft and to search for the true culprit.

764 A proper burial with holy water, flowers, grave offerings, and prayers as-
775 sures the survivors that the soul of the deceased will rest and his bones will lie in peace. Lacking any of these features, the dead will disturb the living, as is recounted below:

During the revolution, many were buried without a funeral or without blessed water. On Thursday, the bones burn and cry. You can still see a blue flame rising above the old graveyard on Thursday. You can find money that the ancestors left there, but you have to go at night to dig it up.

An important safeguard to ensure that the soul will lie in peace is burial among people with whom the deceased lived. When a married adult dies,
[593] he is buried with his dead spouse. If he had two dead spouses, he is buried with the first spouse on the right hand and the second on the left. A child
[603] is buried with the grandparents of the household in which he lived—that is, if he lived with his mother's parents he is buried with them, and if with the father's parents, then with them. When people know that they
[763] are going to die, they express their preference as to where they wish to be
[593] buried. Usually they will elect to be buried between their dead parents, but
[608] if they were unhappy with their parents, they might choose a padrino or
[604] uncle. If dissatisfied in its resting place, a soul, even when properly buried, cannot find peace and wanders back to the house. Fearing this, relatives try to comply with the wishes of the dead.

My grandfather used to say that he wanted to be buried between his mother and father. But when he was about to die; he said, "I don't want to be buried there because my father beat me. He will continue beating my soul. I want to go on the side [*of the cemetery*]. *Please don't bury me near my parents." My father said, "All right, we will put you on the side."*

764 The funeral must meet the expectations of the community as well as
554 those of the deceased and his relatives. The mature children of a man who
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593 There is no double standard for ex-
562 tramarital sexual relations, although men abuse the prohibition more often
[839] than women, judging from court cases. The ability the women has to assert herself rests on her economic contribution in pottery-making and on the fact that female household help is not part of the labor market.

562 Female sexuality has the connotation of negative power over male sexu-
831 ality. A woman should not step over a man's feet or his clothing since she
[827] could affect his virility. This negative power emanates from the odors of a
[825] woman's body, and is captured by anything in contact with it. A woman's
[755] skirt cast over the head of a bull can tame him, and the water used by a
[752] woman to wash her body, particularly the vagina if she has had children, is drunk to cure snake bites because it is very "cold."

[412] Sexuality is seldom extended beyond persons to material objects. There is some feeling that a man's tools, especially the machete and hoe, are male
[241] and that a woman's tools, especially the grinding stone, are female. Corn is a crop of men, while beans are a woman's crop, identified with the Virgin. But I could not get much farther with such distinctions.

593 The accidents of birth determine the recruitment of successive genera-
597 tions into the family of orientation. There is no outright adoption, but a
861 child may be "lent" to a childless couple, usually by a sibling of one of the
[603] spouses, or a grandchild may take up residence in the house of a grandparent when all the children have moved to separate residences. Parents discipline a badly behaved child with the threat, "I am going to sell you to care for someone's house," but I have never known of a case of outright sale of a child.

581 The selection of a spouse is a decision based on both universalistic as
582 well as particularistic considerations. Both the boy and the girl should be hardworking, sober, and dutiful residents of the same section of the dual division. It is considered to be of greater importance that the boy feel af-
[562] fection toward the girl than vice versa. The "taking of the heart" is a test of the strength and exclusiveness of the boy's interest in his chosen mate, and there is no counterpart for the girl. Although there is no term for romantic love, the closest approximation being "want" or "ask for" a woman, there is an awareness of the importance of a warm, affectionate basis if a marriage relationship is to last "at least until the day after tomorrow." A suitor is accepted if he is known to be a hard worker and if he

125 the village any more. These cases seem to illustrate common alternatives, and we must mention them briefly.

591 593 183 We know of three cases in which a newly married couple moved to the husband's brother's compound. In those cases, the brother was an elder who jurally replaced the father, and it seems that he took the responsibility of paying the bride-price for his

591 603 183 brother's wife. We also had four cases of men who, at the time of their marriage, were living with the mother's mother. It seems that this was the result of the parents being dead, and the fact that no other relative was left in the original compound.

Amatenango Residence

Residence of Married Couples

591 183 In Amatenango, unlike Aguacatenango, there is no "indication of a single general form of residence pattern" which the villagers would verbalize as normative. "At any stage in the developmental cycle alternative choices in residence with the man's or the woman's relatives depends not on the lineal tie, but on economic factors" (Nash, 1960:41).

591 592 583 606 Married couples live with the parents of one of the spouses for a year or two after they marry. During these years, the young husband is expected to give some labor to the wife's father by working with him in his fields, helping him to carry wood to make the hearth in which women burn pottery, and by performing other small services. The couple live only temporarily with the parents. The stability of the compound households depends on several factors. If there are other marriageable children, offspring of

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

761 might be. The father or closest male kin of the dead person is careful to
627 recount all the consultations he has had with curers, both to absolve him-
753 self of the guilt of neglect or unconscious witchcraft and to search for the true culprit.

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9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX 3B—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN RELIGIOUS INAUGURATION

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SETTING	ROLE (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	RELATIONSHIP	BEHAVIOR
[574] House of kobraria Sacramento, morning of inauguration	KOBRARIA SAKRAMENTU	Ego	Receives guests; sits at first seat on outside wall near door
[604] [605]	NAKAWANEHETIK	Fa's brother and fa's brother's sons	Initiates greetings, sits at head seat
[593] [608]	BALNIALETIK	Sons, sons of campadres, neighbors	Serve liquor, food
[602] [608]	ME?ELETIK, women Me?ilk'op, woman speaker	Elder female relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings, orders helpers
	ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	Comadres, sisters, neighbors	Prepare food, coffee
	MARTOMAETIK 3 KOBRARIA TATILETIK NIČ'ANILETIK		Eat and drink. Listen to advice of *nakawanehetik*
Church, morning of inauguration	PIŠKAL, fiscal KURA, priest ?AČMARTOMAETIK, new mayordomos K'A MARTOMAETIK, old mayordomos		Advises mayordomos of duties. Divides up candles brought by mayordomos; hands them to new mayordomos

591 593 children living in the father's parents' compounds without the father who lives separately; one case of a boy living in his father's brother's compound, without his father who is remarried and lives in another household (mother is dead). Fratrilocal sponsorship (three cases) is due to the death of both parents at a late age in the unmarried individual's life. Adult "orphans" frequently reside with an elder married brother, who in terms of his jural authority and as economic head of the household, replaces the father.

Using Fischer's typology here becomes a real problem. Classifying children as parentilocal or fratrilocal biases the interpretation of the general patterns of residence. In practically all cases, children are sponsored by both parents, but the household in which they reside is a viri-patrilocal homestead. One could as well argue that the children are sponsored not by individual kin, but by a patrilocal household. In this case, patrilocal households will include nearly all of the unmarried population. On the other hand, when a child lives with an elder brother, this man is performing for him the role of father, and fratrilocal sponsorship is not a different type of residence choice, but the incidental effect of an individual's replacement of another man's role.

591 605 Residence Patterns for Ex-married People

The case of nepotilocal residence is an interesting one. In terms of Fischer's typology, we have a man living in his mother's sister's son's house. But from the point of view of this

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man in Aguacatenango, he is living with his brother, because the mother's sister's son is relatively of the same age, and terminologically he is classified as such. From the point of view of Aguacatenangueros, therefore, this man is living in a fratrilocal setting, although not according to the preferential choice of selecting an agnatic kin (i.e., agnatic grandparents or his own elder brother), if the person's own parents are dead and thus are not available.

TABLE 12

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AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: EX-MARRIED INDIVIDUALS[a]

Living in Type	Cases	Percentage
Filiolocal	6	60
Filialocal	2	20
Fratrilocal	1	10
Nepotilocal	1	10
Total	10	100

[a]E.g., widows, widowers and divorced cases.

Widows should go back to their natal households except when their male children are old enough to support the economic demands of the family, that is, when the sons can cultivate enough corn for the year's supply. In such cases, the woman holds the property rights of the house, until her children marry, at which time she becomes a widow living in her child's household (filiolocal residence).

Filiolocality is no exception to the previously stated rules, but the complementary form in widowhood, of primary male

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontahal

APPENDIX 3a—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN RELIGIOUS INAUGURATION

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554
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	MARTOMAETIK 3 KOBRARIA TATILETIK NIČ'ANILETIK		Eat and drink. Listen to advice of *nakawanehetik*
Church, morning of inauguration	PIŠKAL, fiscal KURA, priest ʔAČ'MARTOMAETIK, new mayordomos K'A MARTOMAETIK, old mayordomos		Advises mayordomos of duties. Divides up candles brought by mayordomos; hands them to new mayordomos

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum

[p.462-C]

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TABLE 2. SUSPECT, BY MOTIVE FOR HOMICIDE

	Brother	Brother-in-law	Son	Son-in-law	Neighbors	Relative of witchcraft killing	Curers	Cattle owners	Rival for girl	Drunks	Not of community	??	Totals
[682] Victim was accused of witchcraft	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	—	—	—	—	8	18
Victim accused suspect of witchcraft	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
[685] Cattle theft	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	1	6
[578] Rivalry over girl	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	3
Abusive behavior	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
[579] Drunken quarrel	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
[627] Avenge a death (not caused by witchcraft)	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2
Political conflict	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
??	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Total	3	5	1	1	2	2	1	4	3	2	2	11	37

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Tzotzil NV11

Tze 142 Tze 291

The men are tallish and the majority of them have sparse, black beards. They wear plain, white cotton tunics and short trousers, sashes, and hats of the sombrero type. The women wear the usual short, blue skirts. Their blouses are cut with a square neck, around which are embroidered three bands, each about two centimeters wide, of red, yellow and red. At the corners, little imitation tassels are embroidered in the same colours.

Tze 62 623 Tze [115]

We were told, by an unreliable informant, that this village was remarkable for its independence. Its officials are chosen by the natives alone, and run through a regularly prescribed *cursus honorum* from secretary up to president, and then on to the council of elders. Government laws and orders sent to the village are debated by this council and are not published unless approved by them.

Tze 323

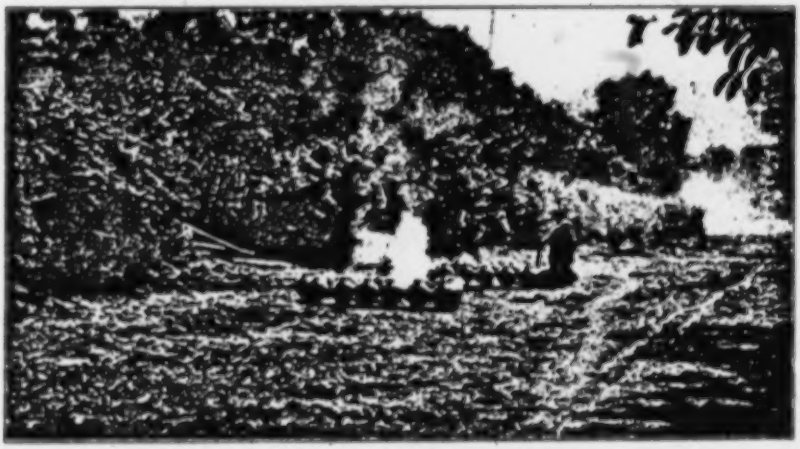

FIG. 333—Amatenango, Chis. Pottery baking.

Tze 584 323 606

We were also told that in case of marriage each party works for his or her prospective in-laws, and that the girl at that time learns pottery making, taking over the mother-in-law's specialty.

Tze 648 434 171

While there was no way of checking up on this information, it is true that there is no Maestro at Amatenango, and that the Indians seem to be an unusually self-respecting and self-reliant lot. Of all the Tzeltal people observed, they were the only ones who seemed to compare with the Zotzil-speaking Chamulas in energy and prosperity.

Tzo 114 137

Returning to ourselves and our trip. We left Tenejapa on the following morning by a winding, broad road climbing to a pass in

273* 578 [539] an authority. One example of a reprimand is found in the texts:

K'UXIX YU*N HA* MA*K STAIX *AWC*TAN HAL TRAWI, AKUT.

"It's hurting you now, the aguardiente doesn't agree with you," I told him.

*ILA *E HIC PE YU*N YA TO SK'AN HONA XCI, *A SKUT.

"Yes, but my heart still wants more," he said. "All right," I said.

LA LOK' XAN K'AEL.

Then he went out again.

BALOTA *UTEL YU*N TATA* I.

His father reprimanded him.

LOK' XAN K'AL Z'IN.

He went out again afterward.

While the reprimand administered here had no immediate effect on the son's behavior, it was probably repeated when he was sober and was surely a factor in his subsequent avoidance of drinking settings.

273* 593 692 [606] A father may reprimand a son. A wife, if she has a good relationship with her father-in-law, can have her husband reprimanded by his father. When these measures fail (as in the case of a son who struck his father in response to a reprimand), or when the jeopardized party is not in a position of authority over the offender, resort to the community court is an alternative strategy by which a restitutive outcome may be obtained.

273* 683 In cases of drunken fighting which results in injury, the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

perienced potter in the household, sometimes with the help of a trainee. 323
Older women prefer doing the lighter tasks, such as putting on the han- 461
dles and mouth or applying the slip of watered clay, to raising the sides which requires greater force and exertion of the back muscles. A second basis for the division of labor is the kind of item produced: older women for example, make bowls in preference to large water jugs and containers.

Learning to make pottery. A girl begins to make pottery about 323
the age of eleven. First she makes small replicas of the articles her mother 868
produces. Then, under her mother's direction, she learns to prepare the clay. The mother feels the clay with her fingers, telling her daughter to add more sand if this is lacking. She is taught to knead the clay three times. In making the pot, the most difficult phases are mixing the clay, forming the base, and rounding out the walls of the vessel as it is raised. The child is expected to learn slowly and is encouraged gently to improve each step. While the child works on her first pot, the mother makes a similar one; three or four times they exchange vessels, and the mother shapes her daughter's pot into a better form.

About two generations ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve 582
were the rule. Since most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques 178
begins at that age, pottery was taught to the bride by her mother-in-law if 323
she resided in her husband's house (Blom and La Farge 1927). Most mar- [606]
riages now are contracted for girls from fourteen to seventeen years of age.
By this time they are already proficient potters and accustomed to working [593]
with their mothers. Therefore there is greater stress on their remaining in [591]
or near the parental home after marriage.

The pottery is fired in the streets of the town outside the house, usually 323
after the women have made four or five dozen items. The pots are set on planks forming a rough square around the fire in the center. Charcoal is added to the fire as the brush or corn husks set between the pots begin to burn. The women tend the pots, turning them every five minutes until the surface is well dried and hardened. Wood is added to the fire, and then the jugs are stacked in a pyramid, each one protected from the one it touches with a broken piece of pottery. The stacking is crucial to permit even firing and must be done carefully so that none are broken. Once the

The relationship of respect and obedience between parents and children 593
is expected to last throughout life. When a boy reaches the age of eight- 582
teen, his parents are expected to provide him with a wife. Wealthier fami- 434
lies tend to fulfill this obligation at an earlier age than do poorer families, 583
in which the boy may have to work in the fincas or in the sawmills to acquire the money for his own marriage.

Instruction in sexual behavior and reproduction is not characterized by 864
continuity, as is instruction about work tasks. Children are given no information about sex prior to marriage, and girls remain entirely innocent. They may be pregnant several months before they are aware of what is happening. The complete sexual segregation in work tasks and play during adolescence makes the relationship between sexes strained.

Even after marriage, the parents are concerned with maintaining their 593
child's marital situation, or, if they judge their child's spouse to be incorri- [586]
gible, to help him get rid of his partner. In the case of women, in particu- [736]
lar, parents continue to provide a refuge in case a daughter's husband should die, be sent to prison, or prove incompatible. Parents usually accompany their children if they are called into court, and failure to attend is tantamount to admitting the guilt of the child.

In successful marriages, the parents-in-law are equivalent to parents and 593
are called "mother" and "father." The parents of both spouses attend the 606
life crisis ceremonies of their children and grandchildren. Grandparents 603
provide support and care for grandchildren if their parents should die or remarry.

When parents reach the age of about sixty-five, they are no longer ex- 593
pected to work actively. A man will then distribute all of his land and ani- 888
mals among his children. He will expect to be taken care of by all of his
children, but special responsibility falls on the youngest who will inherit [428]
the house. Sometimes aged parents move from one of their children's [591]
houses to another, spending a few months or years with each. Children are [755]
expected to pay for any curing ceremonies necessary in their parents' old [764]
age and to provide a good funeral appropriate to their wealth. Failure to [626]
do this incurs loss of respect with the neighbors and collateral relatives of
the deceased. If the parents die after they have distributed their posses- 593
sions, the crisis following the death is minimal. At the funeral, mature 764
children of a deceased parent exhibit to the community their filial respect.

602 Kinship is one of several bases for recruiting reciprocal or cooperative
476 labor. Table 19 compares kinship with nonkinship-defined work groups
626 in terms of the kinds of exchanges, the type of work done, the time span permitted for reciprocity, and the sanctions against failure to reciprocate.

TABLE 19. Labor Exchanges of Kinship- and Nonkinship-Defined Groups

Conditions	*Within household*	*Beyond household, within community*	
		With kin (ritual, compadre, affinal and consanguineal)	*With nonkin*
Interchange	"Cooperation"—reciprocity based on implicit understandings	Reciprocity—explicit, defined by traditional expectations	Reciprocity—explicit, often defined by contract as well as tradition
Sanctions	Authority of elder member, male in men's work group, female in women's work group	Authority of elders of bilaterally-extended kin group; Recourse to cabildo if no strong elder	Informal—fear of gossip of neighbors; formal—reliance on local judges and president or recourse to district courts
Time Span	Extended, indefinite	Extended, usually some defined limit on repeated tasks (harvest); no limit for non-repeated tasks (house-building)	Immediate return expected, or explicitly stated time allowance
Kind of Task	Pottery-making, milpa agriculture, care of cattle, preparation of food	Ploughing, cultivating, harvesting, firing pottery, housebuilding	Same.

593 Fathers and sons, or sons-in-laws may work together on family-owned
476 property. Because all men can acquire ejido land after marriage, and since
423 47 percent of the households claim to have only this land, the cooperative
621 tie between fathers and sons is not based on inheritance. If they work well
• [606] together, they may continue to cooperate after the son has become inde-
476 pendent. Father and sons, brothers and brothers-in-law are expected to
342 cooperate with each other in building a house, rethatching a roof, and
607 threshing wheat. In the case of house-building or maintenance, they must
593 pay for a substitute if they are unable to fulfill the obligation.
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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

been made, there is no recourse but to kill the man since he may retaliate by killing his accuser (this occurred in two of the cases noted in Table 29).

Conflict between generations in the role sets father/son and father/son-in-law stems from delay in carrying out role responsibilities. Fathers are expected to provide the money for the costs of betrothal, and to give their children shares of the patrimony including both land and livestock. The scheduling of when this should occur is often a matter of dispute, resulting in at least two cases of homicide in the period analyzed.

New economic enterprises have exacerbated the tensions rising from envy. Foster (1965) has suggested that envy stems from the notion of the "limited good," requiring the strategy of a "zero sum game" (Bennet 1966). The fact that the new wealth is evidence of new opportunities, not a subtraction from a given resource supply, has not entered the cognitive awareness of the people. The prospering leaders of these enterprises feel themselves to be particularly vulnerable to the envy of others and thus to the charge of witchcraft. There have been several open attacks on new leaders accused as witches; the leader of the truck cooperative, for example, was murdered in 1966. Six men have been killed as cattle thieves in the past ten years.

The economic roles created with the introduction of new enterprises have not been integrated in the traditional pattern of recruitment and control. In the association of cattle breeders, leadership tends to be based on the size of the herd; in the case of the truck cooperative, amount of capital invested and entrepreneurial skills have determined the leadership of the enterprise, while driving skill and ability to get along in the Ladino world has been the basis for choice of drivers. Such achievement principles as the basis for recruitment into these envied positions are not accepted in the same way that age and passage through a hierarchy of posts validated higher positions in the old hierarchies. The conspicuous expenditure of wealth in the more expensive posts in the religious hierarchy has also failed to lessen hostility aroused by the increasing disparity in wealth, and in fact those who have served as alférez have been even more subject to witchcraft aroused by envy.

184 562 462 592 used as a cash crop) or livestock. He decides when and where to plant what, who should buy or sell any household property, when to go to market, etc. If a son is living with his father, he can talk about "our cow," but he is usually referring to his father's animal. In the same way, when a woman who is single talks about "our maize," she is referring to the maize cultivated by her father and brothers and stored by her mother. If she is married, she means the maize produced by her father-in-law and husband, and controlled by her mother-in-law.

592 593 562 [606] [251] The eldest woman in the household has authority over the younger females residing within it, including the daughter-in-law, because during the period in which a married man resides with his parents, the wife, being the younger, is under the direct authority of her husband's mother. The elder woman controls the food given to her by her husband and son, and she keeps it stored in the tapanco (roof granary). She selects the food for the meals, and sets up the housekeeping schedule for the younger women in the homestead.

592 593 434 562 Women "keep" the money that their husbands earn at home. They are supposed to save it, and not spend any of it without the husband's permission. They do control small amounts of cash which they can obtain by selling eggs, fruits or some vegetables that they grow in the garden. They are allowed to spend it on some luxuries: new clothes for a fiesta, a new pot, or something similar, but they are not expected to take care of themselves.

59 562 Before marriage, a woman is supported by her father and brothers, and lives under her father's roof. After marriage, she is

59 562 [606] supported by her husband and father-in-law, and lives under their roof. If the husband dies, she is supposed to go back to live with her parents as she did when she was single or live with a mature son who becomes responsible for her welfare and has some authority over her, as can be seen in the following example.

159 593 589 586 A woman had two sons by her first husband, the elder of which, at the time of the events related here, was married. The first husband died, and the woman married another man with whom she had another son. After a period of common residence, the second marriage broke up. The woman bought some land for a house, saving money for it by working in San Cristóbal and selling trago. She lived in this house with her married son and his wife.

The father of the last child (second marriage) offered to give the boy some new clothes. Before the woman accepted them, she asked her elder son's permission. The clothes were accepted because the woman's son said: "He is his father, and he should give clothes to his son."

592 561 562 602 The bases for the structure of the social relations within the household are relative age, sex, kinship proximity to the household head, and economic responsibility for the upkeep of the unit. Elder men have more authority than younger men; elder women more than younger ones. Men have more authority than women (perhaps, on some occasions, with the exception of the mother), and finally, agnatic kin of the household head have more authority than affinals. The result of this ordering of power within the 592 606 household is that a daughter-in-law is at the bottom of the

592 606 hierarchical order of authority. The following example illustrates this social ordering:

159 591 592 Maria was the daughter-in-law of Margarita, a woman married to Juan Perez, one of the village elders. The sons of Juan Perez and all the daughters had left the compound after marriage, with the exception of Felix, the last son, who was Maria's hus-

[428] band. The couple had decided to stay in the parental house until the death of Felix's parents, and they were promised the inheritance of the sitio as a recompense for their willingness to support Juan and Margarita in their old age (see Fig. 9).

159 592 437 602 Maria had been fattening a pig, which Juan had decided to sell, and he had been talking about it with a Ladino merchant who was anxious to buy it, but who wanted to pay a lower price for it than Juan was willing to accept.

One afternoon, while the men were in the fields and Margarita was outside the compound gathering firewood, Maria was visited by a Ladino merchant who insisted on taking the pig with him. He offered to pay a price which Maria was not sure was already arranged between the merchant and her father-in-law. She discussed it with him, refusing to give up the animal, until her sister-in-law, Felix's elder sister, arrived to visit her mother.

When Felix's sister arrived, Maria retired from the discussion, and left the elder woman to carry the burden of the interaction.

After a while, Margarita came back with her load of firewood, and she took up the discussion while both her daughter and daughter-in-law conversed among themselves after Crecencia

593 583 584 The boy obtains a wife with his father's help. He has usually selected the girl himself, but his father makes the arrangements with the girl's parents and pays the bride-price. The bride-price, called the bocado (mouthful), is paid to the household of the future bride and has a fixed value, 300 pesos, given in the form of consumable goods: chocolate, sugar, bread, coffee, cigarettes and trago (the local brew).[1]

585 183 593 606 At the marriage ceremony, the new wife and husband are instructed in the rights and duties of their new role. The young wife is told, in a formal speech given by an elder man of the

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[1]The regular marriage negotiations include several visits to the girl's parents called the pedidas (requests), which can be spread over a period of six months to a year. The last pedida is [585] considered the engagement ceremony, and after that comes the entrega de la muchacha (the giving away of the bride) which is the ceremony referred to here as the marriage ceremony. This ceremony follows the native custom. There are two other marriage ceremonies which can be performed, and are optative. One is the civil marriage at the Ayuntamiento, selected by very few because it is considered an unnecessary expense, although it gives some prestige. The other is a Church wedding, performed by the Catholic priest. This wedding ceremony does not occur until the couple have been married several years and have children. Church weddings are considered to be strong bonds, which are very difficult to break up. In many cases, if a couple is fighting a lot and the wife threatens to leave the homestead, the husband will try to marry her in the Church to force her to stay in the household. Because of its high prestige value, if a boy is rejected by the family of his sweetheart at the pedida, the suitor's family will offer as an extra attraction a Church wedding immediately after the entrega de la muchacha.

In some cases, when the suitor is rejected by the parents of the girl, or if he cannot afford the bride-price but the girl is willing to live with him, the marriage ceremony is not performed. In these cases, the institution of the robo (the stealing of the girl) is common practice. The suitor arranges with his girl-friend to run away together at night, and go to his home. Therefore, robos or huidas occur with the consent of the groom's parents, who have to accept the girl into the home. The robo is [621] common in inter-barrio marriages, where the pedidas ritual is socially impossible to carry on, because the limitations put upon barrio interaction and the rules of barrio endogamy.

585 183 593 606 family, that she starts a new life. She now has a new family and a new home where she should learn new ways of doing things from her mother-in-law, and forget the old ones she learned from her mother. Among her duties as a good wife and daughter-in-law she should keep her husband well fed and clean, obey her mother-in-law for whom she should work hard, and respect the head of the household (her father-in-law). She should not visit her family too often, and she should gather firewood with her mother-in-law instead of with her mother.[1] The ceremony indicates two things: [581] (1) the transfer of the wife's reproductive and labor power from her natal home to her husband's; (2) the boundaries of her new role. In a sense, the people of Aguacatenango define the role of a wife in terms of her performance as a worker and as a daughter-in-law, and in terms of her relations with all the members of the household rather than only in terms of her relation to her husband.

593 885 [851] On the other hand, a new husband's performance is under trial. He has to demonstrate that he can get along with his wife, and become a father, before his role as a dependent child is replaced by his role as a married man. At the time of acquiring a wife, a man is regarded by the community as a "child," being both economically and jurally dependent upon his father, who has complete authority over his actions, and is directly responsible for his son's misdeeds.[2]

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[583] [1]One of my informants tells me that although she was robada by her husband (she lived in the other barrio) the night she arrived at her husband's household, her father-in-law gave her a shortened version of the wedding speech. I do not know if this is a common practice.

[592] [672] [2]If a young man commits a crime while living under his father's roof, the father is responsible for his defense and for paying the fines to the Ayuntamiento.

593 885 During the first few years of marriage, he slowly becomes a tat (man). He establishes his own nuclear family, and he is able to take up the first officership in the local government, acquiring thus the rights to political ascension in the civil-religious hierarchy. We could say that the period of patri/virilocal residence has the function of smoothing the transition between bachelorhood and the responsibilities of married life.

581 591 Aguacatecos believe that a marriage has proved stable once children are produced and the man is capable of carrying on the economic burden of a family of his own. At this time, the couple should move to a house of their own, and form an independent household. A father, then, has to provide his son with a house site, in addition to a parcel to grow milpa.

591 [582] Soon, a younger brother (ideally, children marry in order of seniority) will marry and bring his wife into the parental home, starting a new cycle. The last of the sons (the po'h) [593] should stay with the parents until their death, and he and his [428] wife will inherit the parental house. It is preferable to have 591 606 only one daughter-in-law at a time living in the household. One informant suggested that the reason is that the mother-in-law is bound to prefer one of the two women, and this creates jealousy between them and fights.[1]

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[592] [1]When a second son marries, if the first son and his wife stay in the sitio they set up a separate kitchen, and eat their meals separately. In this case, the first daughter-in-law becomes independent of the mother-in-law, and works by herself, no longer under her mother-in-law's direct power. Except for the close spatial proximity, this arrangement functions as if the couple has set up a separate homestead, and the couple forms a separate domestic group within the same sitio (lot). The separate kitchen, or rather,

593 156 62 [583] Aguacatecos expect a man to take the responsibility of setting up his son in "business" as a community member. He pays for his son's bride, teaches him the skills for tilling the soil in order to earn a living, and provides him, at a prudential time, with the means of production: a parcel of land, and perhaps a few animals, and a house where he can live with his wife and children.

593 888 At the same time, a son is expected to take care of his parents when they are old and the father retires from agricultural work because he is too old, sick or weak to do, by himself, all the work necessary for the maintenance of his household as an economically independent unit. The people say that a son should provide for his aged parents because: "Did we not give them everything?"

The primary responsibility for the care of aged parents is usually given to one son in particular, preferably the last one (po'h). The villagers explain that this is his duty, because "if [428] he stays with us when all our other sons marry, get their land and leave, this house will be for him, he will inherit this place." Thus, the villager visualizes his dependency on the last son as an economic exchange between kinsmen: he receives from his son food and shelter, he gives him a house lot and house. The duties of a son toward his parents are expressed both in the kinship idiom

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[592] the separate cooking fire, is the symbol of the unity of one [591] single domestic group. When two couples live within the sitio without dividing it, people are very careful to explain if they [606] still cook together or not, and if they cultivate the land separately or not.

183 591 The preceding figures, when combined with the figures of compounds, show that the patrilocal norms are followed in practice in 95 per cent of all cases (see Tables 8 and 9), while only 64 per cent of the women live with the same degree of proximity to their parents.

The difference in proximity for men and women is not accidental, but statistically significant at the 0.001 level of confidence. This also shows that the community, as expected, is divided into localized clusters of households of agnatically related men. Even the 64 per cent is an inflated figure, since a man tends to marry a woman who lives close to his parental home, following the proverbial adage of "marrying the girl next door."

621 592 602 [582]

183 591 Alternative Norms of Uxorilocal Residence

The percentage of men who do not conform to the patrilocal norm are not exceptions to a rule, but illustrate alternatives available under a flexible pattern. The instances of uxorilocal residence do not depend on arbitrary individual choice, but are socially sanctioned and few in number.

591 A man will go to live with his wife's parents, or live in a house given to him by her father, for the following reasons which everybody in the village knows:

1. When a man is an orphan, that is, when his parents are dead and there is nobody in his family to replace the father as economic mentor and jural authority, a man does not have a household to bring his wife to live in nor a relative to work with and who will give him a house lot. In this case, a man, upon marrying, will move to his wife's parent's compound. He will then work the

[606]

591 land with his father-in-law, and, at the time that the couple is
•606 ready to live separately, his father-in-law will provide a house for him and his wife.

TABLE 9

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AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: PROXIMITY TO PARENTAL HOME.
ALL MARRIED INDIVIDUALS

	Living In	Men				Woman			
		Cases	Per Cent	Accumulative Per Cent		Cases	Per Cent	Accumulative Per Cent	
I	Same or adjacent compound	40	69	95	100	15	42	64	86
II	Same block	10	17			3	8		
III	Adjacent block	5	9			5	14		
IV	Same town division	3	5	5		8	22	22	
V	Different division	. .	. .	. .		3	8	14	
VI	Other town	. .	. .			2	6		
	Total Sample	58	100			36	100	100	

	+	-
Men	55	3
Women	23	13

I to III = Patrilocal Proximity
I to IV = Barrio Endogamy
I to V = Town Endogamy
VI = Town Exogamy

$x^2 = 12.6, > 10.827$ significance level at 0.001

591 2. When a couple have no male children, they try to keep a married daughter living with them, as a replacement for the unachieved son. They will also attempt to do this in a case where all the male children have refused to stay with the parents after the initial years of married life.

593 888 [626] Parents who are unsuccessful in keeping a married son living with them when they are old have very little prestige in the community because it usually means that there is some conflict between them, and they are easy targets for village gossip. It also means that they have no "insurance for the aged," that is, no child to support them when they grow too old to work.

591 583 Therefore, a couple with a single daughter still at home will be eager to keep her after marriage, to replace the sons who have gone away. To obtain this, the parents will request, during the pedidas (the visits to arrange a marriage, called "asking visits"), that the groom should "come to the house as a yerno (son-in-law) of theirs, and stay there indefinitely. Only if the groom agrees to this condition do they give him the daughter as a spouse.

591 These arrangements are very unstable. A man usually agrees to stay with his wife's parents, but after the marriage has been consummated, he will insist on moving away, being anxious to occupy his place as a dutiful son, living and working with his [606] father whose heir he may be. Women look forward to this kind of arrangement, the same way that they look forward to marrying a man whose mother is dead, because these are ways of avoiding the heavy burden of "becoming nueras" (daughter-in-law) or "suffering

59 in the house of a mother-in-law" as one informant expressed it.
606 If they did not try to avoid this, they would have unquestioningly to obey their affinal relatives (especially the mother-in-law), live in a place in which they have practically no power to make decisions, and where, for a long time (even after the birth of a first child), they would be considered outsiders. But because the refusal to follow the husband means the end of the marriage, most husbands are successful in changing the place of residence, and few couples remain long in a uxorilocal setting.

59 757 606 3. The third reason for living in the wife's parent's house is a temporary one.

When a woman is living in her husband's parent's house, the household head should take the responsibility for curing if she gets mildly ill, paying the necessary expenses of medicine and curer (or doctors) because she is, by the fact of her residence within the compound, dependent on them.

If a sickness becomes a prolonged or a seriously expensive case, she becomes a burden to the household, without being an economic asset. Both her reproductive and her labor powers become annulled, and her husband's father can refuse to pay for her curing. In this case, she is transferred from her husband's group to her natal household, which becomes responsible for her curing. Usually her husband will move with her, but keep on working the land with his father.

59 602 757 These changes of residence create a certain amount of tension between the parents of the young couple because the woman's parents insist that it is not their duty to care for the daughter,

59 since she is married and living away from them, while the father
602 believes that he did not make a good choice for his son, selecting
757 a bride who is so much of a problem. While a woman is sick, both pairs of parents will bargain endlessly over whose duty it is to pay for the curing. Sometimes, both sets of parents agree on paying half of the cost, and then the woman stays in her husband's compound. But if this is not possible, the shift in responsibility for the woman is symbolically expressed in the shift in residence.

592 Other reasons, of a psychological nature, bring forth
562 this residential change. The whole system of emotional ties which a woman has created in her lifetime before marriage is broken at the time she changes households to get married. She is thrown into the midst of a group of people, including her husband, whom she hardly knows, and during the first years of marriage she is an outsider in her husband's household. She must work for a woman
592 she did not know previously, her mother-in-law, and obey her with-
562 out delay. Although previously she worked for her mother, the
606 role of a mother and of a mother-in-law are not equivalent, especially in their affective content.

606 An interesting triadic relationship develops between a
593 woman, her husband and her mother-in-law, in which she is the one with the smallest amount of social power (see Caplow [1956], Mills [1954], for a discussion on the dynamics of triad coalitions). In spite of the large amount of interaction between the two women, the relationship is not one of friendly collaboration.

592 Command and sanctions are in the hands of the mother-in-
593 law. Obedience is expected from the younger woman. There is a
606

592 clear social differentiation in the allocation of authority, and
593 the relationship is somewhat antagonistic. Many a man finds him-
606 self between a mother complaining bitterly of the laziness of his wife, and a wife of the hardness of his mother. This antagonistic relation is attenuated by the presence of other women in the household (which makes for an easy schedule in the allocation of every day work) and by the personalities of the individuals involved.

606 The relation of a woman and her father-in-law is characterized by a very mild form of avoidance. Verbal interaction is
[264] initiated usually by the father-in-law, and is formal. At meal times the social distance between the two is expressed in the seating arrangements, the young wife sitting at the edge of the eating space, the farthest apart from her husband's father.

593 Together with the pressures brought about by the structure of these relationships, a woman must go through a process of adjustment with the husband, whom she knew only slightly before marriage.

Given this situation, when she is sick, her natal household offers to her certain emotional attractions that her hus-
591 band's household does not. The change of residence at the time
757 of sickness provides a simple example of what Malinowski called the functional solutions offered by a society for the satisfaction of physical as well as emotional needs of the individual. Three cases of residential change for this reason occurred during the summer of 1958.

000 Independently of the analysis of geographical distribution

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885
621 But a man wants to become independent of his father. While he is living within his parent's compound he is considered by the community to be "a child." He is bound to work his father's land and cannot control the produce of his own labor. Until he sets up his own separate domestic group, and becomes economically independent, he does not have full rights to participation in the political life of the community because (1) he is bound to make political decisions following his father's, and he has no voice in most community affairs which are the concern of household heads, and because (2) he cannot materially afford to take up the expenses of officership.

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•606 Women are also usually anxious to set up their own separate domestic group and independent housekeeping because this gives them some autonomy which they cannot achieve otherwise. The bond between a daughter-in-law and a mother-in-law is not expected to be a strong one. We have already discussed how the two women are assumed to be somewhat antagonistic, and their common work of housekeeping is unequally distributed.

While women live in the same compound with their mother-in-law, they have no power to make decisions of their own about their working schedule, their housekeeping, or the food stored by the elder because this is under the control of the elder woman.

[574] A woman cannot freely take time to visit her mother because she is expected to keep her social life within the boundaries of [313] her husband's domestic unit. She cannot even go to gather firewood, which is an activity highly enjoyed by women. Except for getting water from the well or pipes in the street or gathering firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound.

300 firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound.
462 Going to gather wood is a very nice break in the routine, and women
313 usually go in the company of other women with whom they chat, ex-
606 changing news and gossip. A young wife usually stays home cooking
592 while her mother-in-law leaves the house to gather the fuel for the hearth. Even if a woman does go out to gather wood, she is expected to do so with her mother-in-law, rather than with the
[626] women of her own natal family. A woman talking about a bad daughter-in-law will say, "She does not even want to gather firewood with me, she always runs to her mother's."

562 Women look upon having their own homestead as the only so-
592 lution for gaining independence. It is true that, even then, they
885 are under their husband's authority, but they control the food brought by the husband to the home, and they can make their own
[574] decisions about the work schedule. They can also take time to
[572] visit their own female relatives and childhood girl friends, a
[606] habit which is disliked by their mothers-in-law as being a threat to their own position.

592 We can see, then, that there are several factors which
578 provoke structural tensions in the compound home; some are economic, others are related to the ordering of social relations in the kinship domain, and still others depend on the aspirations of the individuals.

In the course of time, the structural tensions accumulate to the point that they precipitate the fission of the household. The triad of a woman, her son and her son's wife, and the dyadic conflict between a father and son dissolves the compound into two

592 578 nuclear households. The dynamics of social conflict, are, however, controlled by the traditional patterns of behavior and by the negative sanctions applied to the deviant. Only in exceptional situations does a couple leave the husband's parents' house before the birth of a child. Even then, the residential change is expressed by the people in terms of on-going conflict [626] between the women. People say that they moved "because the two women had a fight" and this or similar gossip follows every case of household fission.

593 The break between a father and son is only precipitated by open conflict. Part of this conflict is expressed in tensions between the men. Fathers insist that their sons should stay with them, sons insist that their fathers are selfish and unwilling to help them. But the bond between father and son is, in spite of the standard tensions, a crucial social relation for the society. A man is not judged with sympathy if he does not respect his father and keeps up a "good front" of harmonic relations with him vis-à-vis the community at large.

592 593 578 606 Then, it is not strange that the change of residence is expressed through pointing out the tensions between the women rather than the tensions between father and son. A woman and her daughter-in-law are not members of the same consanguineal group residing in the household, the hoy ta yutil hna (of the same blood who live in the same house), and their antagonism is not viewed by the society as threatening to the unity of the kinship group, while the father-son relation is crucial in this domain. At the same time, the women are the expressive leaders of their

592 respective nuclear families (see Parsons and Bales, Ed., 1955),
593 and in case of conflict it is through their roles that the tensions
578 between the families are verbalized, even if the source of conflict
606 is outside their relationship.

TABLE 11

591 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: UNMARRIED INDIVIDUALS

Living in Type	Number of Cases	Percentage
Patrilocal	8	4.0
Matrilocal	11	5.5
Fratrilocal	3	1.5
Parentilocal	179	89.0
Total	201	100.0

Residence Patterns for Unmarried People

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593 Children usually reside with their parents wherever the parents live. Sponsorship has been defined here in terms of both parents and the household in which the parents reside. Parentilocal residence is represented by 89 per cent of a sample of 201 unmarried individuals, but other cases are due to a variety of reasons, most often to situations in which one of the parents is dead or separated from the other definitively. Matrilocal sponsorship is met in the cases when the unmarried person is living with the mother on her natal compound or with the mother and a stepfather. Patrilocal sponsorship corresponds to the following cases: one in which the father is the sponsor, living in a nuclear house with his second wife who is the child's stepmother; cases of

125 the village any more. These cases seem to illustrate common alternatives, and we must mention them briefly.

591 593 183 We know of three cases in which a newly married couple moved to the husband's brother's compound. In those cases, the brother was an elder who jurally replaced the father, and it seems that he took the responsibility of paying the bride-price for his

591 603 183 brother's wife. We also had four cases of men who, at the time of their marriage, were living with the mother's mother. It seems that this was the result of the parents being dead, and the fact that no other relative was left in the original compound.

Amatenango Residence

Residence of Married Couples

591 183 In Amatenango, unlike Aguacatenango, there is no "indication of a single general form of residence pattern" which the villagers would verbalize as normative. "At any stage in the developmental cycle alternative choices in residence with the man's or the woman's relatives depends not on the lineal tie, but on economic factors" (Nash, 1960:41).

591 592 583 606 Married couples live with the parents of one of the spouses for a year or two after they marry. During these years, the young husband is expected to give some labor to the wife's father by working with him in his fields, helping him to carry wood to make the hearth in which women burn pottery, and by performing other small services. The couple live only temporarily with the parents. The stability of the compound households depends on several factors. If there are other marriageable children, offspring of

128 593 One would expect, then, that the affective distance between mother and son in Amatenango would be larger. It is unfortunate that this hypothesis cannot be tested at the moment. This author does not have available the relevant information to make the comparison reliable.

593 184 There is evidence, nonetheless, that the sibling bond is different.

In Aguacatenango, the important sibling bond after marriage is only between the siblings who have cooperative tasks to carry out in common: brothers. The relationships of brothers with [607] sisters is respectful and distant, and brothers-in-law are not equated, in behavioral terms, with brothers. Sisters, after marriage, have little chance to see each other, except at fiestas, and they become quite alien to each other.

In Amatenango, on the contrary, the sibling bond is multilateral. Sisters and sisters collaborate with each other, brothers with brothers, and siblings of different sex also do so. Moreover, [607] siblings-in-law are equated with siblings, and they form a complex generational set of group relations.

606 184 A final difference in the affective content of role relations within the domestic group is the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law relations.

606 593 184 In Aguacatenango, there is a striking contrast between the relation mother-daughter and the relation daughter-in-law-mother-in-law. We have discussed extensively how antagonistic and asymmetrical it is. Although the mother has authority over the daughter, she plays (has played) a nurturant role for her, which

• 606 184 [593] a mother-in-law does not. The affective ties which develop with the nurturant figure are extremely durable, even though they seldom see each other after the daughter marries.

[868] In Amatenango, perhaps because of early marriages which increase the nurturant aspect of the mother-in-law role (she certainly takes part in the socialization of the daughter-in-law by teaching her how to make pottery), and because of the establishment of a relationship before the younger woman had many chances to establish adult affective ties with any woman other than her own mother, the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond is less tense. The women create a strong solidarity bond in their active cooperation in pottery making, and their association is both intense and constant. The result is that "a successful relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is not an authoritarian one, but is rather characterized by mutual cooperation" (Nash, J., 1960: 184 29, 62-67). We can also observe that the residence pattern 591 606 578 grants, in Aguacatenango, unconditional power to the mother-in-law, while in Amatenango, where a woman after marriage can reside with her own parents if she dislikes her in-laws, a mother-in-law is made to be more careful about her own behavior towards the younger woman. If she is too harsh, she can find herself with no female help in the house, and losing a son at the same time, which means that the household loses two laborers.

village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

159 156 Delfina is an unusual woman by village standards, and the anthropologist quickly notices her deviant, from the rest of Aguacatenango women, personal characteristics: domineering, moody and pretentious. But even in other cases, the rights of women to 562 428 578 inherit or transmit property are contested often, as the following example will also show.

Case 2

159 428 562 578 Chilola has a son from a marriage previous to her present one. This son is about twenty years old. He is working the land with his stepfather, but wants to have his own milpa. When Chilola's first husband died, they were very poor. Nobody claimed rights on her husband's milpa, so she held it, although her son was not old enough to cultivate it. She tried to sell it to pay for the burial, but nobody wanted to pay her price, so she kept it. At the time, her mother-in-law, an old woman, was living with [592] [606] [587] her and being supported by Chilola, but "although she was already old, went out and looked for her man" (aunque estaba viejita se fué a buscar su hombre), and remarried. Because Chilola's son's milpa was fallow, the second husband of Chilola's mother-in-law took over its cultivation.

From the mother-in-law's late marriage, a daughter was born. This daughter married and her husband took over the milpa.

Now, Chilola's son wants to get his part of it because he is the direct heir of the father, who was the man who originally had the rights over the parcel. At the same time, the man who is

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 191]

159 now cultivating it, and has been doing so for a long time, refuses
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562 to return it, even if he is paid half of the value of the land, or
578 only asked to give half of it to Chilola's son.

The reason for the inheritance rights of the people concerned not being clear is that twice, in the sequence of transmission, women have passed on the property, and as a result, it has left the hands of the original lineage.

Chilola's feelings are quite strong: the land belonged to
[606] her husband. Even if her mother-in-law had rights over the prop-
[736] erty at Chilola's husband's death, she was being supported by Chilola, and certainly, neither her mother-in-law's second husband nor their daughter has primacy rights against her son. (See Genealogy, Fig. 16.)

The case is obviously complicated by the fact that the
[423] property rights are defined not only in terms of inheritance rights, but in terms of usufruct (in a sense, they do not have land tenure, but milpa tenure), and the other men had been taking care of the parcel for a long time, which makes them feel that it is theirs.

159
422 This type of conflict carries over to other property, such
593 as livestock, as exemplified in the next case.
578

Case 3

When Candelario Aguilar married, Juana, his wife received
[431] a regalo from her father: a bull. Candelario sold the bull and bought a cow, which had a calf.

Candelario left town and gave the cow and calf to his father Francisco, so that they would take care of it in his absence.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 193]

184 vis-à-vis their husbands and male kinsmen, while in Aguacatenango,
182 it makes them economically dependent, and subordinates from a jural
462 point of view. In one case females inherit as men do, in the
592 other, inheritance follows a male line. In one case, they control
562 the same property as men do, in the other, they control only
434 marginal property.
[428]
[421]

(3) The relative importance of a man is labor versus a
184 woman's labor within the domestic unit affects residence. In
182 Aguacatenango, where all important productive activities are in
462 the hands of men, residence is patri-virilocal, and only males are
434 residence sponsors regularly. In Amatenango, where productive activities are in the hands of both males and females, residence is alternately matri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal, and both males and females can become residence sponsors. In Amatenango, households that depend more on the women's labor in pottery making are uxorilocal, while households in which the largest part of the domestic group income is derived from agriculture have post-marital patri-virilocal residence of their members.
591
[323]
[241]

184 In Aguacatenango, where all household income is derived
182 from agriculture and residence is patri-virilocal, matri-uxorilo-
434 cality occurs sporadically due to some other economic and non-
591 economic factors: (a) the inheritance of some land in the female
593 line when a daughter structurally replaces a son; (b) the coopera-
428 tive work between father-in-law-son-in-law when they replace the
562 position of father and son for each other; (c) the payment of
602 curing ceremonies and medicines for a sick married woman by her
606 own kin rather than her husband's.
75

184 (4) The reciprocal financial obligations between parents
182 and children in Amatenango, and between parents and sons in Agua-
428 catenango, to support each other at different stages of the de-
593 velopmental cycle of their respective domestic groups affect the rule of ultimogeniture.

184 (5) The relative wealth of the natal domestic group of
182 the spouse, measured by the amount of land controlled by the unit
582 affects (a) the choice of marriage partner, and (b) the residence
591 of the newly married couple. In Aguacatenango, where residence
556 is normatively patri-virilocal, parents try to marry their daughters within the same economic level of their own households. In Amatenango, marriages occur across wealth lines, and the couple reside with the parents of the spouse who are better off.

184 (6) The relative importance of men versus female co-
182 operative work groups, and/or the difference in structuring of
462 work groups affects (a) the sibling bond; (b) the mother-daughter
476 bond; and (c) the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond.
593

[606] In Aguacatenango, where only men form cooperative work groups, the brother-brother bond is stronger than the sister-sister bond or the brother-sister bond.

In Amatenango, where both males and females form cooperative
[607] work groups, the multilateral sibling bond is reinforced to the point of including siblings-in-law.

184 In Aguacatenango, economic rivalry between siblings tends
593 to disrupt the brother bond with constant conflict. Thus, relation-
598 ships are more vertically oriented which is consistent with the
591 presence of agnatic descent lines (in Amatenango, generational
[613]

682 their neighbors by establishing *compadrazgo*, or
683 godparental, relations with them.
681
688 Ten of the 37 homicides here reported were committed by immediate consanguineal or
682 affinal relatives of the victim. The high fre-
593 quency of killings involving brothers or
607 brothers-in-law (8 cases) suggests a locus of high tension in these relationships. Male
602 siblings, the *yermanotak*, comprise the closest
[476] cooperating group. Cooperation between brothers is obligatory when wheat is to be threshed, a house built, or a roof rethatched. If a brother or brother-in-law is unavoidably absent, he must pay a substitute. Brothers, or sons and fathers, are the only relationship pairs who work the milpa in common and share
[428] the harvest. Bilateral inheritance, with equal division of land and house to both male and female offspring, means that brothers-in-law are potentially equivalent in the competition for goods as well as in their obligation to cooperate. A man kills his sister's husband if the husband is abusive to the woman or to mem-
682 bers of the family (two cases). The brother
627 figures not only as a lethal opponent, but also
593 as the man who avenges one's own death (case 18, Table 1). When someone has been killed for witchcraft, his brothers are expected to accept the verdict or to avenge the killing.

[Text continues on p. 463-A]

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum

[P.462-C]

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TABLE 2. SUSPECT, BY MOTIVE FOR HOMICIDE

	Brother	Brother-in-law	Son	Son-in-law	Neighbors	Relative of witchcraft killing	Curers	Cattle owners	Rival for girl	Drunks	Not of community	??	Totals
[683] Victim was accused of witchcraft	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	—	—	—	—	8	18
Victim accused suspect of witchcraft	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
[685] Cattle theft	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	1	6
[578] Rivalry over girl	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	3
Abusive behavior	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
[579] Drunken quarrel	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
[627] Avenge a death (not caused by witchcraft)	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2
Political conflict	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
??	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Total	3	5	1	1	2	2	1	4	3	2	2	11	37

602 Kinship is one of several bases for recruiting reciprocal or cooperative
476 labor. Table 19 compares kinship with nonkinship-defined work groups
626 in terms of the kinds of exchanges, the type of work done, the time span permitted for reciprocity, and the sanctions against failure to reciprocate.

TABLE 19. Labor Exchanges of Kinship- and Nonkinship-Defined Groups

Conditions	*Within household*	*Beyond household, within community*	
		With kin (ritual, compadre, affinal and consanguineal)	*With nonkin*
Interchange	"Cooperation"—reciprocity based on implicit understandings	Reciprocity—explicit, defined by traditional expectations	Reciprocity—explicit, often defined by contract as well as tradition
Sanctions	Authority of elder member, male in men's work group, female in women's work group	Authority of elders of bilaterally-extended kin group; Recourse to cabildo if no strong elder	Informal—fear of gossip of neighbors; formal—reliance on local judges and president or recourse to district courts
Time Span	Extended, indefinite	Extended, usually some defined limit on repeated tasks (harvest); no limit for non-repeated tasks (house-building)	Immediate return expected, or explicitly stated time allowance
Kind of Task	Pottery-making, milpa agriculture, care of cattle, preparation of food	Ploughing, cultivating, harvesting, firing pottery, housebuilding	Same.

593 Fathers and sons, or sons-in-laws may work together on family-owned
476 property. Because all men can acquire ejido land after marriage, and since
423 47 percent of the households claim to have only this land, the cooperative
621 tie between fathers and sons is not based on inheritance. If they work well
[606] together, they may continue to cooperate after the son has become independent. Father and sons, brothers and brothers-in-law are expected to
476 cooperate with each other in building a house, rethatching a roof, and
342 threshing wheat. In the case of house-building or maintenance, they must
607 pay for a substitute if they are unable to fulfill the obligation.
593
241

576 support of whatever is said—repeating the final phrase of the person con-
versing or injecting supportive statements such as "indeed, indeed," or "so
[535] it is." In the dance of the alfereces' wives, for example, women were the
model of deference, moving in a self-contained pattern before the assem-
bled guests, with slow, tiny steps, eyes downcast, a shawl covering their
heads on which they wore their husbands' ceremonial hats.

621 Through recruitment procedures, alternation and linkage in official
182 roles, and leadership validated by age and service in lower positions—prin-
ciples applying to role relations in all institutions—Tzo'ontahal has re-
mained an integrated community. There is a high degree of stereotyping
in behavior from one institution to another, and norms of behavior are the
[682] same for public as for private roles. However, a remarkably high homicide
[578] rate and open conflict in all of the institutional settings indicate basic
sources of disruption.

682 Since 1960 the rate of homicide in town has increased from an average
593 of 1 every 2 years to an average of 5 or 6 per year. Table 29 indicates the
609 role relationships of killer to victim in 37 of over 70 homicides occurring
428 between 1937 and 1964. The highest incidence of homicide (7 cases) oc-
578 curred between brothers and brothers-in-law. Male siblings comprise the
closest cooperating group. Brothers work together in the milpa until the
father dies or divides his property among his children during his lifetime.
Bilateral inheritance with equal division of land and houses among female
as well as male offspring means that brothers-in-law are potential competi-
tors for the same limited resources. Friction arising among brothers and
brothers-in-law does not come from the principle of equal inheritance, but
rather because of the fact of differing responsibilities and expenses within
the family. For example, the child who has remained with the parents and
[888] thus assumes the burden of care for them in their declining years often
feels that he should inherit a greater share. The disputes arise in the deci-
sions concerning how much this disadvantage should be weighted. The
682 suppression of overt competition may in part explain the homicidal acts.
683 Although the tensions in fact stem from suppressed economic competition,
[154] they are translated into witchcraft accusations as soon as anyone in the
[626] family becomes ill. Violence against a witch is condoned by the commu-
nity and provides a channel for latent hostility. Once the accusation has

(see pp.245-247..Analyst)

The following list of moral transgressions is roughly ordered in terms of the egregiousness of the crime: witchcraft, theft of cattle, theft of corn, "talking with" a woman (this is a euphemism for having an affair), having more than one wife, killing, and disrespect to parents. There is a fair amount of consistency in the rank order given by different informants. Of five people questioned, all ranked witchcraft first, and theft, without qualification as to what was stolen, second. Subjects questioned differentiated the crime of "talking with" a woman according to the status of the woman —it was worse to have relations with a married woman than with an unmarried girl or with a widow. Killing was listed late or not at all by some because it is assumed that the killer has cause unless the contrary is proved. The dead man is referred to as the guilty one. It is considered worse to kill a consanguineous relative than an affinal relative or a nonrelative. One man remarking on an incident in which a person lost his bull said: "It was a punishment of God for killing his father. If it had been his stepfather, it would be different." Wanton killing is said to be absent in the pueblo, and something that the kurik of the colonias do. The three murders in the past ten years resulting from barroom brawls between "friends" have not dispelled this notion.

Disrespect shown to parents is considered a serious violation of morality. A boy who refuses to listen to his father cannot expect to receive the protection and support of his parents, usually offered a child throughout their lifetime, or of the community. If the son abuses his father verbally or physically in public, the father is supported in whatever action he takes. One father, whose son kicked him in one of the local bars, drew applause when he made the sign of the cross in two deep gashes with his machete on his son's forehead. To beat one's father or mother is a great sin, but to beat one's wife is tolerated, particularly if it is done in drunkenness. If a man other than the husband beats a woman for any cause, she may reciprocate by beating him in court "before the eyes of the judges." One woman who was awarded this privilege when her husband's brother beat her said, "If he were my own husband, it would be all right for him to beat me."

The good man is "of one heart" and reveals it by his humility ("very soft heart"). The rules for demonstrating this are given by an old man who is frequently asked to be a nakawane in his section of the dual divi-

128 593 One would expect, then, that the affective distance between mother and son in Amatenango would be larger. It is unfortunate that this hypothesis cannot be tested at the moment. This author does not have available the relevant information to make the comparison reliable.

593 184 There is evidence, nonetheless, that the sibling bond is different.

In Aguacatenango, the important sibling bond after marriage is only between the siblings who have cooperative tasks to carry out in common: brothers. The relationships of brothers with [607] sisters is respectful and distant, and brothers-in-law are not equated, in behavioral terms, with brothers. Sisters, after marriage, have little chance to see each other, except at fiestas, and they become quite alien to each other.

In Amatenango, on the contrary, the sibling bond is multilateral. Sisters and sisters collaborate with each other, brothers with brothers, and siblings of different sex also do so. Moreover, [607] siblings-in-law are equated with siblings, and they form a complex generational set of group relations.

606 184 A final difference in the affective content of role relations within the domestic group is the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law relations.

606 593 184 In Aguacatenango, there is a striking contrast between the relation mother-daughter and the relation daughter-in-law-mother-in-law. We have discussed extensively how antagonistic and asymmetrical it is. Although the mother has authority over the daughter, she plays (has played) a nurturant role for her, which

184 182 428 593 (4) The reciprocal financial obligations between parents and children in Amatenango, and between parents and sons in Aguacatenango, to support each other at different stages of the developmental cycle of their respective domestic groups affect the rule of ultimogeniture.

184 182 582 591 556 (5) The relative wealth of the natal domestic group of the spouse, measured by the amount of land controlled by the unit affects (a) the choice of marriage partner, and (b) the residence of the newly married couple. In Aguacatenango, where residence is normatively patri-virilocal, parents try to marry their daughters within the same economic level of their own households. In Amatenango, marriages occur across wealth lines, and the couple reside with the parents of the spouse who are better off.

184 182 462 476 593 [606] (6) The relative importance of men versus female cooperative work groups, and/or the difference in structuring of work groups affects (a) the sibling bond; (b) the mother-daughter bond; and (c) the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond.

In Aguacatenango, where only men form cooperative work groups, the brother-brother bond is stronger than the sister-sister bond or the brother-sister bond.

In Amatenango, where both males and females form cooperative [607] work groups, the multilateral sibling bond is reinforced to the point of including siblings-in-law.

184 593 578 571 [613] In Aguacatenango, economic rivalry between siblings tends to disrupt the brother bond with constant conflict. Thus, relationships are more vertically oriented which is consistent with the presence of agnatic descent lines (in Amatenango, generational

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.462-A]

682 674 656 long, and that the body was suspended 35 centimeters from the ground. He saw that we had raised the act well, and nothing was done.

682 562 *Who Kills and Why*

The only universal factor among the killers is sex—only men kill (Table 2). Women do not kill nor are they killed in Teklum. This does not mean that they are not subject to as many tensions or abuses as men, or that these have no channels for expression. Women work through men by agitating them to homicide. [593] Sometimes revenge is delayed, for the agents chosen by women may be children who must reach maturity before accomplishing the deed (see case 36, in which the son's animosity toward his father was kindled at his mother's deathbed).

682 683 621 Neighbors are a significant group in witchcraft killing. (Neighbors may be listed in Table 2 under another relationship, for instance as brother-in-law or as cattle owner.) They are the informal judges of suspected witches, and it is frequently they who kill a man considered to be a witch. When the curers accuse a man of causing epidemics, his neighbors are usually the executors. [608] For this reason, most people try to neutralize the hostility of

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P.462-B]

682 683 621 their neighbors by establishing *compadrazgo*, or godparental, relations with them.

688 Ten of the 37 homicides here reported were committed by immediate consanguineal or affinal relatives of the victim. The high frequency of killings involving brothers or brothers-in-law (8 cases) suggests a locus of high tension in these relationships. Male siblings, the *yermanotak*, comprise the closest cooperating group. Cooperation between brothers is obligatory when wheat is to be threshed, a house built, or a roof rethatched. If a brother or brother-in-law is unavoidably absent, he must pay a substitute. Brothers, or sons and fathers, are the only relationship pairs who work the milpa in common and share the harvest. Bilateral inheritance, with equal division of land and house to both male and female offspring, means that brothers-in-law are potentially equivalent in the competition for goods as well as in their obligation to cooperate. A man kills his sister's husband if the husband is abusive to the woman or to members of the family (two cases). The brother figures not only as a lethal opponent, but also as the man who avenges one's own death (case 18, Table 1). When someone has been killed for witchcraft, his brothers are expected to accept the verdict or to avenge the killing.

682 593 607 [602] [476] [428] 682 627 593

[Text continues on p. 463-A]

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 464-B] Teklum

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Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick.

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A good man is of one heart, and he shows it by his humility, *ben k'un yo'lan* or "very soft heart." He can drink with friends on either side of the dual division of the town, and he is called upon in many household fiestas to greet the guests of the house-owner.

But the man who is "very strong of heart," *ben toyal yo'lan*, who "fails to take people into account," *ma l'aus ta kuenta*, who "abuses people," *me yo wul*, has means of survival despite the many threats to his life. He sur-
• [808] [756] rounds himself with a circle of *compadres*, or godparents; he especially picks out curers, both to mitigate the use of their power against him, and for them to serve as intermediaries if he should have enemies with animal spirits. When a threat becomes imminent, he may a within his house or limit his range of acti ir to a very circumscribed area, always taking weapon when he does go out. He will usu ally
[273] try to limit his drinking, or give it up entirely. These short-range rules of avoidance are clearly indicated by the circumstances in which killings occur: in the hills or at night, when the victim is under the influence of liquor.

682

These 37 cases of homicide reveal a regularity in the kinds of people and situations involved. The victims are most often men who
[578] assert power, principally curers, or men who violate standards of behavior by abusiveness or theft. Their killers are often linked to them by kinship or neighborhood, the bonds in which tensions are greatest. The regularity of time and place of homicide suggests the precautions that can be taken to avoid being
682 626 killed if one has an enemy. The general failure of the community social-control agents to bring negative sanctions against a killer indicates that homicide is an accepted solution for interpersonal conflict. The structural setting that validates this behavior is discussed below.

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II. STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Case analysis, useful for discerning certain patterns, is inadequate for understanding the interrelationships among a variety of social changes in the community. An increasing rate of homicide of this magnitude indicates fundamental changes in the social matrix in which individual decisions are made: it suggests not

4: Villa Rojas E-4.5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

601

Nial	son-in-law
Kalib	daughter-in-law
Nial-mamal	a man's father-in-law
Kalib-mamal	a woman's father-in-law
Nial-meel	a man's mother-in-law
Kalib-meel	a woman's mother-in-law

601 576 The word *tatik* (from *tat*, 'father') is usually applied as a courtesy name to all married males, without distinction of clan or lineage. The same applies to *metik* (from *me*, 'mother'), a term applied to all married females. *Mamtik* (from *mam*, 'grandfather') is the name given to old and also to very respected people.

601 608 The ritual kinship terminology is:

Tzeltal	*English*
Kumpare	compadre (GodFa of ego's children)
Kumale	comadre (GodMo of ego's children)
Jalatat	godfather
Jalamé	godmother
Jala-al	a woman's godson
Jala-nichan	a man's godson

594 *Family Groups*

The nuclear family, formed by a couple and their children, is the basic pattern [P. 216-B] throughout the region.

584 with the family of the girl. If the boy is accepted, the gifts are received and the marriage takes place.

585 184 [177] In Aguacatenango and Amatenango, the Catholic ceremony is sometimes delayed for several years after the informal marriage, because of the belief that the latter really consolidated the union. On the other hand, in places where the Ladino population is larger (Pinola and San Bartolo) the religious ceremony is considered by the Indians as a very important part of the customs.

184 177 608 The compadrazgo relationship is stressed among these communities where Ladinos have great influence. There are baptism, confirmation, and wedding padrinos. The rights and duties established through this relationship are still respected, especially 608 the compadre relationship. It is the duty of the child's parents to give occasional gifts [736] to the godparents. If the child's parents die, the godparents must take care of him, except when there are closer relatives to the father.

585 608 It is the main duty of the wedding godparents to help the couple maintain a good understanding and to dissolve, by advice, any disagreement. They always receive great respect and affection from their *ahijados*.

608 [851] Among conservative groups, the compadrazgo relationship arises only from the baptism of a child. Sometimes this relationship is established in a very informal way; perhaps during fiesta at the ceremonial center they may take advantage of the priest's presence to ask a very close friend to "embrace" the child. The padrino is then invited 574 608 to have aguardiente. At other times the arrangement is made formally; the parents of the child go to the house of their future [431] compadres to ask them that favor. Exchanges of gifts and dinner invitations are frequent, the child's parents feeling the greater obligation. These meals can be really banquets where many "platillos" and much aguardiente are consumed. Among 184 608 some groups, padrinos neither give a gift to 43 736 [P. 219-A]

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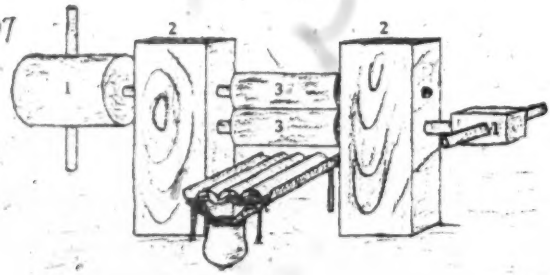

FIG. 6—SUGARCANE PRESS.
1, Kabal-té. 2, Smete-al. 3, S-kab.

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608 their godchild nor protect him if he be-
736 comes orphaned, but this is only because
431 closer members of the same lineage take
608 care of him. But the padrinos must attend
764 the wake (*kanka-almail*) and the burial when the godchild dies, as is expected from the godchild when the godparents die. In
608 these communities, compadrazgo consti-
182 tutes both an important religious obligation and a means of establishing friendship and cooperation between families.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

621 The political and religious patern is the
631 same throughout all the Tzeltal communi-
[184] ties, governed by two groups of authorities whose activities are interrelated. The first group, formed by members of the cabildo and ayuntamiento, manages political affairs of the community. The ayuntamiento maintains relationship between the local gov-
631 ernment and the national authorities. The presidente municipal and the intermediate authorities are popularly elected and then confirmed by the congress of the state.
[563] These authorities must represent both ethnic groups (Indians and Ladinos) to warrant the claim that "justice is equal for everybody." In 1936 the state government ruled that in all municipios where the indigenous population predominates, the presidente municipal should be an Indian.

Next in authority after the presidente is

[P. 219-B]

844 cloves, and corncake, to keep her "warm
[757] and fertile." The placenta can be burned,
[842] thrown to the dogs, or deeply buried in case
the mother does not want another preg-
[789] nancy soon. The umbilical cord is put under
a three-stone fireplace if the baby is a girl,
on top of a tree if it is a boy so that he may
become brave and agile when adult.

846 A few hours after childbirth, at the latest
515 the next day, both mother and child take a
temascal (steam bath). Some women stay
in the temascal until they feel completely
recovered.

Childhood and Adolescence

789 During the first weeks of life, children are
774 in danger of losing their souls because their
inexperience makes them an easy prey to
the naguales and bad spirits who wander
around. As protection, mothers place a small
[237] piece of beeswax at the back of the child's
head or tie, as a bracelet, a red or blue
thread around the wrist. If none of these
precautions are taken, the mother has to
cover with branches the paths her child
walks, so that his soul can easily find its way
in case he loses it.

789 Because of all these dangers, fathers al-
852 ways try to perform the ceremony of "seed
774 the soul of the child" as soon as possible. It
[553] is during this ceremony that the child is
given a name, later confirmed according to
Catholic ritual at the ceremonial center. A
[608] very important aspect of the ceremony is
selection of the godparents.

753 *Sickness and Death*

776 Most sicknesses come from infection or
[888] malnutrition. To the natives, however, ill-
nesses have a supernatural cause and are
ascribed either to the anger of gods and
spirits or to old people who have a nagual
or who can throw a spell. The most frequent
explanation is that naguales or supernatural
beings are acting against people. They can
adopt human or animal form or appear as

[P 224-A]

601 conforms to what has been termed teknonymy in the literature.
551 The occurrence of such an expression as /X-NIC'AN S-TAT HMAN/ led us to suppose that not any child is equally candidate for membership in the teknonymous construction. Informants agree that the child who is candidate for the said position has the attributes of "first-born child of a legitimate union who lived long enough to be named." Since the teknonymous candidate is recruited exclusively from the first position in the relative order of own children, it might be appropriate to suggest that teknonymy be hereafter distinguished on the basis of the type and degree of explicit definition of the coordinating person.

Terms of compadrazgo

601 The terminology of compadrazgo, ritual kinship, includes
608 the following forms which are shown in Table 10 (p. 30). The terms /-KUMPRE/ and /KUMRE/ are self-reciprocal except for sex of referent, and thus generation is not one of their characteristics. However, /-KUMPRE/~/KUMRE/ enter into compounds with the modifiers /MUK'UL/ and /C'IN/, these modifiers serving as in kin terms of -1 generation to augment or to depress age relative to the coordinating person.

608 The employment of /-KUMPRE/~/KUMRE/ in reference to known
602 siblings of speakers led to an inquiry regarding the limits of eligibility for compadrazgo relations. Informants state that a

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

TABLE 10

COMPADRAZGO

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	Criterial Attributes		
	Sex of referent	Sex of coordinating individual	Generation
-KUMPRE	M	Ø	Ø
-KUMRE	F	Ø	Ø
-NIC'AN+SNARYOS-*IHADA	Ø	M	-1
-*AL+SNARYOS-*IHADA	Ø	F	-1
-TAT+SNARYOS-PAGRINO	M	Ø	+1
-ME*+SNARYOS-MAGRINA	F	Ø	+1

608
602
person may establish the /-KUMPRE/ relationship with any person except his spouse, his own father, his spouse's father, and the spouses of these persons. Related individuals frequently become compadres--particularly as siblings of the father or the mother are often chosen as padrinos (godparents) of a child--and compadre relationships established at weddings (see below) involve some affinally related individuals (e.g., "brother's wife," "sister's husband") for whom kin terms are reported. Where the person stands in a specified kin relation (e.g., /BANKIL/) to the speaker, the compadrazgo relationship assumes priority over the kin term in reference (as well as in address). These two

608
601
[602]

608 sets of terms, then, are mutually exclusive; a single term of
601 reference does not include both /H-KUMPRE/ and /H-BANKIL/, although /H-BANKIL/ may occasionally occur as an alternative term of reference succeeding /H-Kumpre/ in an interchange in which
601 the first term was unclear to the listener. However, /-KUMPRE/
608 does occur in complex terms of reference in which, like kin
551 terms, it is specified by a teknonymous construction, e.g., /H-KUMPRE S-TAT MIGEL DANYEL/, "my compadre the father of Miguel, namely Daniel." Unlike kin terms, /-KUMPRE/ does not combine with personal names in the coordinating constructions of which the teknonymous is one type (i.e., we do not find such a term as "Juan's compadre").

Alos, unlike kin terms, /-KUMPRE/ may be specified by a personal name, e.g., /H-KUMPRE BISENTI/, or by a "role" name, e.g., /H-KUMPRE PRESIDENTE/, "my compadre the president." (The terms of compadrazgo of +1 generations, relatively infrequently used, always occur alone.)

601 The terms of compadrazgo may be further specified as
608 follows:

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

	/ ... YU*N *IC HA*/, "of baptism"	/ ... YU*N KOMPRE-MASYON/, "of confirmation"	/ ... YU*N NUH-PUNEL/, "of marriage"	/ ... YU*N S*AN NINYO/, "of Christmas"
/H-KUMPRE/ /H-KUMRE/	x	x	x	x
/H-TAT+SNARYOS/ /H-ME*+ SNARYOS/	x	x	*	-
/H-NIC'AN+SNAR-YOS/ /K-AL+ SNARYOS/	x	x	*	-

Both baptism and confirmation involve ritual relationships across generations. The padrinos (H-TAT+SNARYOS/, etc.) chosen for the child on these occasions become compadres (/-KUMPRE/ ~ /-KUMRE/) of the child's parents and, sometimes, of the child's paternal grandparents as well.

The traditional (in contrast to church) wedding, on the other hand, establishes no cross-generation ritual relationships. The parents and married siblings of the spouses become /-KUMPRE/ ~ /KUMRE/ to each other, as may even the grandparents and parents' siblings of the married pair. The newlyweds alone do not enter into this relationship with anyone present. The terms of reference to persons so related are the stated /-KUMPRE/ ~ /-KUMRE/,

585 sometimes modified by /MUK'UL/ or /C'IN/ as previously shown.
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601 When, in addition to the exchange of gifts which constitutes
602 the traditional wedding, the couple is married in the church, a pair of padrinos (male and female) is chosen from outside the set of relatives who become compadres in the ceremony just mentioned. These people are referred to as /TAT+SNARYOS~PAGRINO/ and /-ME*+SNARYOS~MAGRINA/ by the married couple (who are called by them, respectively, /-NIC'AN+SNARYOS~IHADA/ and /-*AL+SNARYOS~ *IHADA/) and as /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ (self-reciprocally) by the parents of the married partners.

796 The fiesta of Noche Buena establishes /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/
608 relations, and no others, between the host of the fiesta and a few other individuals he invites to sponsor the fiesta.

Other relationship terms

571 There remains a set of terms which, when used with pos-
192 sessive prefixes, identify the referent in terms of a more general relationship to some coordinating person. These terms are as follows:

(1) /HOY/, "companion" (in reference to spouses; one who lives in the same house, including specific kin; and all of the specified kinds of companion below)

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(2) /HOY TA YAKBEL/, "drinking companion"

(3) /HOY TA *A*TEL/, "working companion"

(4) /HOY+YAXBEN/, "traveling companion"

(5) /*AMIGO/, "friend"

(6) /BESINO/ /NAHPAL NOCOL/, "neighbor"

(7) /-KONTRA/ /-*ENEMIGO/, "enemy"

(8) /-*AHWAL/, "boss"

Examination of genealogical data, data as to residence, and compadrazgo relations reveals (as might be inferred from the apparent meaning of /HOY/) that the same referent may occupy more than a single one of these associative roles at the same time as well as be kin and/or compadre to the coordinating individual, though in any given reference term only one such identification will be employed. Though formally mutually exclusive (as in the less general case of kin and compadrazgo terms), all of these may intersect in the same individual.

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[551]
[608]

These general relationship terms combine with names, terms of compadrazgo, and teknonymous constructions, both in terms where the second form specifies the first, e.g. /HOYTIK SIRIL HWARES/, "our companion Cirilo Juarez," and in terms where the second form refers to a cocrdinating person, /S-HOY S-MAGRINA/, "her madrina's companion." The general relationship terms share with kin terms the feature that in complex terms they are always the first of the two forms; terms of compadrazgo combine with

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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term derived from compadres; and bersinatak, meaning the neighbors, is derived from *vecinos*. When informants are asked to summarize who participates in rituals, these three groups are always mentioned. They are not exclusive groupings; neighbors or siblings may be chosen as compadres, in which case the reference and vocative terms for compadres are preferred to any previous terminology. Activation of any of these ties depends on choice and convenience. Proximity of residence is of greater importance in day-to-day exchanges of assistance or visiting than closeness of genealogical tie. Interaction rates have been quantified in an earlier study of the community (J. Nash 1960; 1964).

Another way of referring to the yermanotak is with the plural form of the Indian patronym. Members of the Shunton family would, for example, be called the Shuntonetik. Several Indian surnames are linked to a Spanish patronym. For example, the Shunton, along with Lin, Mai, and Wolto? are linked to the name Lopez. In other Tzeltal and Tzotzil-speaking communities, these Indian surname groups have a greater cohesiveness, and in the recent past held corporate lands which they worked in common, as in Larraínzar (Holland 1963), Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947, Siverts 1960) and San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961). In these towns, the Spanish patronym designated a clan marked by exogamy and responsibility of the elders for maintaining social control. In Tzo?ontahal, the tie of descent has given way to an emphasis on collateral links. Exogamy of the Indian name group is the only surviving function of the lineage, and when this has been violated, there are only minor repercussions.

While the Spanish-derived collective terms are restricted to domestic groupings, the Tzeltal collective term for elders, me?iltatil, refers to the three central groups responsible for social control in the community. Derived from the terms for mother, *me?*, and father, *tat*, it is metaphorically extended to include the sponsors in household ceremonies, the curers acting as guardians of their side of the dual division, and the civil officials. Each of the groups is vested with a different level of authority in the community. This is summarized briefly below.

1. Household sponsors: The Spanish institution of ritual godparenthood has been fused with the indigenous system of sponsorship by me?iltatil. When a child is baptized, his god-parents are included as

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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608 members of the me'iltatil along with relatives and sometimes neigh-
571 bors. They are his sponsors at subsequent life crises—rituals of betrothal, marriage, and death. All of these people become co-parents to each other and to the child's parents. This relationship lasts throughout his and their lifetime. If the marriage bond is threatened, the me'iltatil gather to hear the complaints and try to resolve the problems. When a person dies, his me'iltatil go to his wake to watch over his spirit. He in turn is expected to help in the household of his me'iltatil when they have a ceremony by bringing wood or serving food and drink to guests.

624 2. Civil officials: The civil officials as a group may also be called
561 the me'iltatil; the term has special reference to the judges who represent the ancestors in their judgment of wrongdoers. In their passage through office from lower to higher positions, they are ranked in age-graded sets of junior officials (policemen), senior officials (regidores), and elder officials (judges), with the highest respect in ceremonial occasions accorded to the principales, two men, one from each side of the dual division, selected from those who have served in all offices. Drinking order, marching order, and seating order reflect the age-ordered rank in all ceremonial occasions.

[192] The link between the me'iltatil of the household and the me'iltatil of the civil authority is provided by a group of officials called the *nakawanehetik*. These men are chosen from among bilaterally related
571 relatives, ritual co-parents, and neighbors who have served in office in
621 the church or the town hall and know the prayers. They direct cere-
602 monies in the house at times of baptism, betrothal, death, and when
794 the household head enters a community office. They are the ones who
608 know how the ancestors did things and "watch and see" that all is done in accord with custom. They instruct the new official in the prayers he
[574] must memorize. Their wives direct the preparation of food by the younger women, and one of them may serve as chief woman speaker greeting guests.

621 3. Curers: Curers are similarly ranked according to age and years
756 in practice. The elder curer on each side of the dual division is charged
561 with guarding his side against the intrusion of evil spirits in the form of his own animal spirit. It is in this function of guardianship that the curers are referred to as me'iltatil.

The me?iltatil is the core institution preserving cultural continuity in the community. The exercise of authority and social control depended on a system of checks and balances in which the ancestors watched over the community, the judges watched over the curers to see that they did not abuse their power, and the curers watched over their side of the dual division to see that no witches or evil spirits caused harm. The validation of power is based on the kinship model of age-authority. The recruitment and functions of each of the three manifestations of this ancestral authority will be discussed in the following chapters on life crisis rituals, curing, and civil government.

The Household and Family

The household unit is a crystallization at a given point in time of consanguineously and affinally related people within a wider kinship matrix. It is the most important structural unit providing for economic cooperation, socialization of the young, and care and sustenance of the aged. It provides the setting and the personnel for the transmission of traditional prayers and ritual procedures of the civil and religious hierarchy. The composition of the unit is constantly changing due to internal changes in the life cycles of its members as well as changes in the wider kinship matrix. The decisions made in response to these changes reveal both traditionally established adjustments to life crises and adaptations to social changes originating outside the family. The kinds of choices made in residence after marriage as well as in inheritance and succession to leadership in the household do not always conform to the cultural formulae for handling them. The exigencies of space, time, economic, and social considerations may outweigh the ideological considerations of what ought to be done.

The formula for the developmental cycle of the household is the following: when a man marries, he lives with his bride's family for one year, working in her father's fields. He then returns to his father's household to live and work with him until his father is too old to manage the work in the field. The father then gives equal shares of his land and animals to each of his children, both male and female. The youngest child, or the last one to get married, remains in the parental house, taking care of the aged

Compadres, or ritual kin, are the next most important pool from which to draw assistance. The same restrictions on exchanges between actual kin apply to those between ritual kin. The one task which is confined to brothers and not extended to compadres is that of house-building. 476 608 [342] [593]

Relationships between members of the household are defined by daily work tasks, commensality, sharing a living space, and participation in the same ceremonial events. The same rules which govern behavior in the family are extended to the wider community. The extension of the terms elder brother and elder sister, father and mother, and younger sibling to all of the people in one's own side of the dual division implies a pattern of behavior similar to that of the family. The fundamental equation in social relations is age-respect-deference-prestige. 592 601 621 571 561

The bilaterally extended kinship group provides the pattern structuring relations throughout the community. It is a framework allowing wide choice in selecting individuals with whom ceremonial and work relations are contracted. Relative age has superseded generation and descent as the principle governing relationships of authority and respect from the nuclear family to the hierarchy or community officials. These patterns will be traced in other institutions in following chapters. 602 476 561

Chapter 5

Rituals of Life Crisis

571 The ceremonial occasions marking baptism, betrothal, and death define
• 608 the network of bilateral relatives, neighbors, and compadres who will
602 guide and help a person throughout his life. These people make up the group called me?iltatil. The constitute a corporate group, but one which is tied to a single transaction. The sense of corporate identity is strengthened by the same group being called upon to act in subsequent household celebrations. But for each set of me?iltatil there is almost always a different membership since the participants are selected for a particular event. The behavior during these ceremonials is marked by formality and replication of a limited number of ceremonial acts. Through this replication, the rituals dramatize continuity with the past and foster a sense of changelessness. The symbolic act establishing the bond is the embrace, called *sme?is-*
[192] *petb'ak*. Within the ritual setting, the child learns whom he can turn to for help and what he is expected to do in his home and community.

Baptism

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774 After a month of seclusion when the child is hidden from public view, the soul is expected to have found its place in the child's body. A cere-
[192] mony called *ki'n ha?* (water ceremony) then takes place with the mother and grandmother in attendance. The three enter the sweatbath, and the mother and child are bathed in hot water and then cold.

If the child cries frequently, it is suspected that his soul is still not firmly lodged and has been wandering in the streets where it encounters animal spirits that frighten him. This requires a soul-calling ceremony performed

in the house in which he lives. The midwife, the only person present besides the mother, performs the ritual. She puts cold water in the child's mouth and then goes to the door, saying, "Enter if you arrive, little boy [or little girl]." Then she brushes the child with pine branches dipped in springwater, and smokes with incense of pitch pine the clothing which is then put on the child. The incense "makes a path for the soul to find the body of the child." As she does this, she says, "May your heart be one now that you are in the house." This ceremony is always performed when the child is born outside his parents' residence is order to guide his soul to its proper locale. Three days later, a ceremony called *sti? mut* (eat the chicken) takes place. Only women attend this meal. In one case I observed, the child's mother, her three sisters, mother, and husband's cousin attended. Each woman brings a peso's worth of bread, some chocolate, and ten tortillas. Two hens are cooked in boiling water, and the food is eaten by the women.

Baptism, called "throw the water" (*?iʔ ha?*) occurs as soon as possible after the new-born child's twentieth day of life. If the parents of the child live with either the mother's or the father's family, the grandparents will choose the godparent, or *padrino*. The actual decisions recorded for four families in Table 20 can be compared with statements of preference as to who should be godparents. People say they prefer nonrelatives ("We are not deceived by them"), people of the same section of the dual division ("We like to greet them in the street") and finally people of good reputation. The individual or couple chosen as godparent becomes *compadre* or co-parent to the parents of the child.

People seem to be successful in realizing the preferences they state. 81 percent of compadres are chosen from their own side of the dual division, and only 4 percent are chosen from out of town. 71 percent of compadres are chosen from among nonrelatives. A significant factor in the choice of compadres is maintaining good neighbor relations. Most families surround themselves with a ring of compadres which neutralizes both the fear of being the object of witchcraft and of being accused of witchcraft. Factors of wealth, prestige, and status positions—particularly that of fiscal—are also taken into consideration in choosing a compadre. Most of the padrinos of baptism are chosen from among older members of the community,

but on other occasions they are as likely to be chosen from among peers of the parents.

The occasions on which the first informant in Table 20 acquired compadres are spelled out in the following diagrams to show the growth of the network of compadrazgo relations in the course of a lifetime.

Compadres of C. K., sixty-five-year-old man. C. K. chose as compadres on the occasion of the baptism of his first child an older man who lived in the same section of town. The diagram shows the composition of the baptismal party. The darkened symbol in this and the following diagrams represents the child baptized.

C. K. addresses all of the guests by the term "compadre" and refers to the group as "kumparetak." The second child has the same padrino, and the same group of relatives attended the ceremony. For the third child, C. K. chose a Ladino shopkeeper from the neighboring town. He chose him because, "I sold wheat to him, and I saw he was honorable." C. K. had a house fiesta to which the shopkeeper came with his wife. This is somewhat unusual and occurred because the compadre was from another town. C. K. chose as the padrino of his fourth child another Ladino he knew in the same town, but the padrino did not attend the house fiesta to which only his sister, her husband, and her husband's brother came. A woman prayer-reciter of the same section was chosen as *madrina* of his fifth and sixth child when C. K. was fiscal. A younger man of the same section was chosen as the padrino of the seventh child. C. K. helped his son select the padrino of a grandson born in his house, a man from the same section.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 120]

[P.119]

TABLE 20. Relationship of Individual to Compadres

Informant's family status	Occasion	Residence of compadre: Same section	Opposite section	Other barrio	Neighboring town	Total	Relationship: Relative	Non-relative	Total
65-year-old man, wife, 5 grown children	Baptism of godchild	13	5			18		18	18
	Wedding	31				31	12	19	31
	Baptism of own child	3			2	5		5	5
	Total	47	5		2	54	12	42	54
42-year-old man, wife, adopted daughter	Baptism of godchild	12	1			13	2	11	13
	Wedding	13	3	5		21	6	15	21
	Confirmation		2			2		2	2
	Blessing of loudspeaker	2			2	4		2	2
	Total	27	6	5	2	40	8	30	38
35-year-old man, wife, 5 children	Baptism of godchild	7				7	4	3	7
	Baptism of own child	4			1	5		5	5
	Wedding	4				4		4	4
	House saint	2				2	1	1	2
	Total	17			1	18	5	13	18
34-year-old widow	Baptism of godchild	17	1	1		19	15	4	19
	Wedding	7	3			10	2	8	10
	House saint	2	1		1	4	1	3	4
	Confirmation	1				1	1		1
	Total	27	5	1	1	34	19	15	34
	TOTAL	118	16	6	6	146	44	100	144

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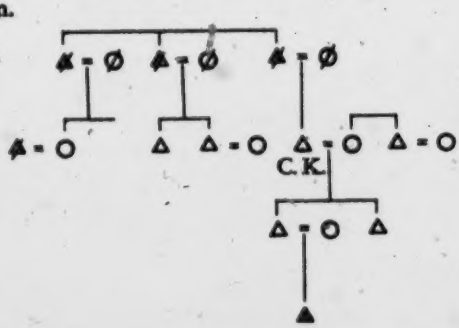
section. Attending this house fiesta was the group of relatives represented in the diagram.



The relatives assembled are essentially the same as those who attended the birth of C. K.'s first child. They are the core of the me?iltatil for his family, a core which expands to include additional compadres and neighbors for special house rituals. The second and third grandchildren had as padrino a man from the opposite section.

In summary, C. K. has chosen four Indian compadres and two Ladino compadres for the baptisms of his own children. Other members of the me?iltatil who became compadres on these occasions include five men and three women who are bilateral and affinal relatives.

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C. K. has been asked to be padrino of baptism by four persons:

1. A neighbor asked him to be padrino of his child. At a small fiesta, he became compadre of the father and godfather of the child.

2. A man from the opposite section asked him to be padrino of his son's child, and he acquired the group of compadres shown in the diagram.

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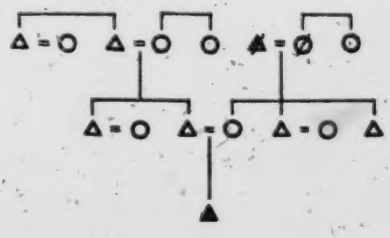
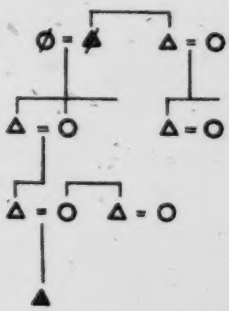
3. A man of the same section asked him to be padrino, and he acquired 6 compadres and 7 comadres. 608 571 ~~852~~ 601

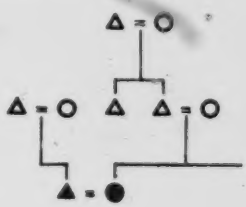


4. A man of same section asked him to be padrino, and he acquired 5 compadres and 5 comadres.



He has been asked to be padrino of marriage ceremonies, also by four parties. The darkneed symbols represent the individuals married. 608 571 585

1. A man of the same section.



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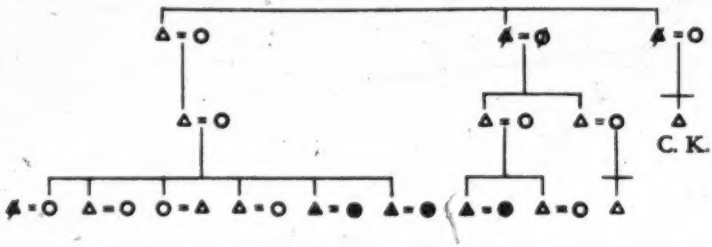
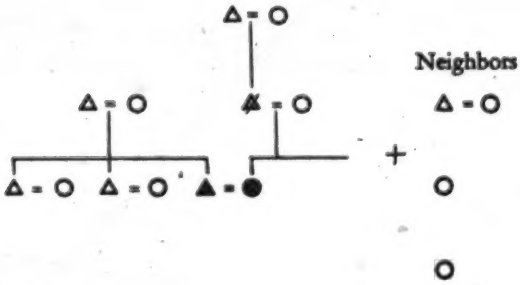
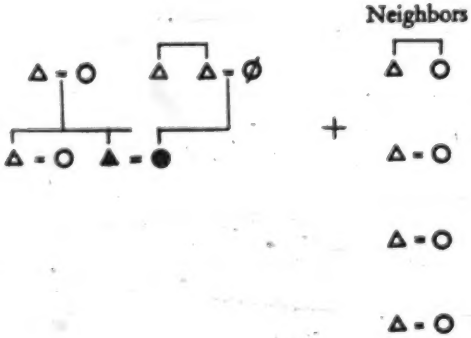
2. The sons of his brother's son.



3. A neighbor's son.



4. A man of the same section.



7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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In becoming a padrino of baptism and marriage, C. K. has acquired 33 compadres, 31 comadres, 4 godchildren of baptism, and 7 godchildren of marriage, 4 of which are his nephews. Adding to the 6 compadres of baptism for his own children, he has 39 compadres and 37 comadres, a total of 76. Most people by the time they have reached 60 have acquired well over 50 compadres.

The relationship between compadres is one of respect, and the referential and vocative terms, *kumpare* and *kumare*, or compadre and comrade in Spanish, take precedence over any other relationship term. The godchild is expected to bring a load of wood to his padrino's house when the latter has a household ceremonial, and when the godchild is old enough, he will serve as b'alnial, or assistant. All the people who attend the household ceremony following the church baptism become compadres and constitute the kumparetak. Compadres attend each other's household ceremonials, acting as nakawanehetik (attendants who are present at all household ceremonials) or b'alnialetik. Compadrazgo is patterned on a pre-Conquest institution establishing ties between attendants in household rituals called maliwanehetik.

The relationship of protection and guidance that is to characterize the tie between co-parents, godchildren and their godparents for the rest of their lives is symbolized in the behavior formally prescribed in the baptism ceremony. On the day of baptism, the child is dressed in clothing given by his godparents. The parents and grandparents of the child go together with the godparent to the church. While the child is being baptized by the priest, he is held by his godfather if he is a boy, or by her godmother if a girl. The priest throws water and salt on the child and prays over him, baptizing him in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. After the ceremony the participants embrace the child and each other in front of the church, symbolizing the status they now occupy in respect to the child, his grandparents, and parents. Without this performance, the ritual terms of comadre, compadre, or padrino cannot be used.[1]

1. This behavioral definition of the ritual kinship tie in the sme?ispetb'ak is illustrated in the following incident: The wife of a man who had been asked to be a child's godparent was absent when the priest arrived for the ceremony. Her husband went to the church with the parents and grandparents of the child and embraced them at the church steps. Although

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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852 608 571 788 The church ceremony is followed by another ceremony in the house of the child's parents. As the group returning from the church enters the house, they are greeted with the pat'o'tan by the maliwanehetik who are waiting for them in the house. As they enter, each of the returning party says, "You go forward, kumpare." They embrace all of the waiting party, an act which establishes their relationship as compadres with the entire company. When the padrinos leave, the grandparents and parents of the [273] child go to a spot before the eaves outside the house; there the father of [593] the child serves liquor to the padrinos and the grandparents of the child. [603] The drink is called "the finale as the compadres leave." The group must finish the entire liter "since it is a gift," and if there are only one or two grandparents, they may get fairly drunk. As the compadres leave, the grandpaernts say, "Over the soil, over the mud where you take your holy godchild, your holy flower, your holy candle." [778] The child, referred to metaphorically as holy flower, holy candle, is identified with the most sacred symbols of the culture.[2]

608 571 171 The emphasis on the group relationship in Tzo'ontahal contrasts with the form of compadrazgo found in the central plateau of Mexico where the dyadic tie between two compadres provides flexibility in achieving instrumental ends in political or economic life.[3] Some of the new leaders in economic enterprises are beginning to emphasize the dyadic contract in their compadrazgo relationships to achieve political support, but its greatest importance is still based on creating or reinforcing group solidarity.

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Betrothal and Marriage

584 585 The Indians of Tzo'onthal are initiated into the community of the living and depart from it with ceremonies deriving from the Spanish colonial culture. The courtship and marriage ceremonies continue indigenous re-

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[852] she later attended the household ceremony, she was never called kumare because of the [571] omission of this act.

[608] 2. See Laughlin (1962) on the symbolism of the candle and flower in Zinacantan.

[171] 3. In regard to the occasions and the kind of respect relation established, compadrazgo in Tzo'ontahal is similar to the institution in other parts of Mexico (Foster 1963, Nader 1964, Wolf and Mintz 1950). The difference lies in the elaboration of the number of ties acquired through compadrazgo at each event.

tual practices and are carried on in the home. Sometimes a church and/or civil marriage is held in addition, but the union is not consumated until the traditional home marriage has taken place. 584 585

The betrothal, or *č'om,* is an extended series of negotiations in which the boy's representatives plead with the girl's family to accept the suit. Anytime in a boy's late teens or early twenties, he may initiate the suit by speaking to his father, or the father may undertake to find a wife for his son. The parents of the boy then request an older woman who has some skill in speaking the formal speeches to serve as the me? *Č'om,* mother of the betrothal, and an older man to serve as the *statal č'om,* or leader of the betrothal (sometimes he is called mam č'om or grandfather of the betrothal). These intermediaries may or may not be related to the family initiating the request. Nonkin are usually chosen from among compadres or a neighborhood group. When the father requests that they act as intermediaries, he brings a gift of liquor, chocolate, and bread. 584 [192]

Before any negotiations are begun with the girl's family, the boy's family calls together the representatives. These include his grandparents, uncles, and aunts, his padrino of baptism and confirmation, and possibly neighbors or nearby compadres of his parents. The gathering then questions the boy to learn whether his interest in the girl is sincere and exclusive of any other infatuation. In this session, called the *?ič' yo?tan* or "taking of the heart," the boy goes to each of his representatives and kneels before them as they question him, asking him if he wants that girl and only that girl. He is told that marriage is an important relationship, not to be treated "as a toy"; the boy should be interested in only this girl, and if he should cause them to have to go to the cabildo "the day after tomorrow," it would cause embarrassment to the entire company. [602] [608] [571] [192] [581]

At the final gathering, called the *?ič' rason* or "taking of the understanding," the assembled me?iltatil of both the boy and the girl give the couple further advice. The boy is told what is expected of him in the marriage. It is a minimal statement: he should not leave her tomorrow, he should not beat her, he should bring home corn and beans, and all will be well. The girl is told that she should prepare her husband's meals and be waiting for him in the house when he comes home from work. Respect, called "hearing" and "feeling" (both combined in the verb *ł?awayi*), is [192] 581 584

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584 there is an increase with each trip. Except for the transfer of money in the
431 last trip, the gift is completely in consumables—chickens, bread, liquor, chocolate, and sugar. With many of the older men becoming teetotalers, soda has become an established part of the gift exchange as well. Two elements of the gift exchange are stable in all marriages—the four chickens each cooked and wrapped in fifteen tortillas with a chile placed inside, and the chocolate. In a traditional exchange system, the quantities of some items of exchange are fixed while those of other items fluctuate; gifts of bread, liquor, and money, for example, are of varying quantity in Tzoʔontahal. The fixed quantities of chicken, chocolate, and tortillas establish conformity to community standards while the fluctuating ones indicate the relative prestige of the family.

Table 21. Relation of Members of Betrothal Party to Gifts

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Member of the betrothal party	*Time of participation*	*Function*
Mother of the betrothal (Meʔ Čʼom)	Initiates action	At first, carries the gift of bread, chocolate, and brown sugar. Burden lightens as others take over these gifts, so that at end she carries only corn gruel and one large piece of bread
Elder of the betrothal (Mam Čʼom)	On fourth visit, accompanies mother of the betrothal	Carries liquor until Measurer of liquor takes over, then carries only sweetened liquor served to women
Measurer of liquor (Pʼ is haʔ)	About seventh visit, accompanies mother and elder of the betrothal when suit is accepted	Carries white liquor served to men and that given as gift
Basket carrier (La smoč, usually wife of Pʼis haʔ)	Accompanies mother and elder of the betrothal and Measurer of liquor when suit is accepted	Carries bread throughout final visits before "taking of the understanding"
Carrier of brown sugar (Čʼup ʔaskah)	On last visit before "taking of the understanding," accompanies mother, elder, measurer, and basket carrier	Carries sweet liquor and soda for last visit and for "taking of the understanding"

The links between members of the me?iltatil of a couple united in marriage are reinforced if another marriage occurs between the two households. While this does not provide a basis for prescribed or preferred mating, those who have such exchanges say they prefer it because the negotiations in the ɛ'om proceed more amicably, especially in the earlier stage. 571 58 608

Solidarity of the group is reinforced when the me?iltatil are called upon to help settle conflicts that arise in the marriage. The household review of marital conflict requires a formal gathering of all the members of the betrothal party who represented both the husband and the wife. Parents of the couple state the evidence and recite the events which led up to the conflict. The husband or wife may interject, speaking in their own defense. The elders suggest how the person judged guilty (usually the man) ought to behave and what his reponsibilities are. A transcription of one such case is included in Appendix 1A. This concerns a couple who had separated two years after the marriage. The following statement of the padrino of the wedding ceremony, speaking in lieu of the leader of the ɛ'om who could not be present, shows the techniques they use to adjust relations: 593 578 608 571 621

Now he [the husband] wants to change for the better. You [speaking to the husband] ought not to drink. It is better to eat meat and vegetables and find corn and beans for your wife and child. Now we have arranged it, and you can take your wife and child to your house.

A successful outcome depends on all people in the dispute accepting the judgment of the elders. If this cannot be achieved, the abused partner seeks redress in the courts. Women are most frequently the plaintiffs. The plaintiff is supported by her parents who appear with her in court and help argue her case. The defendant may appear with his parents, if they support him, but very often they feel shame and do not. 593 578 608 571 692

In court cases, two judges hear the evidence and they, along with the president and other civil officials deliver the verdict. The quality of interpersonal relations does not differ much from that which one finds in the household review, as can be seen in comparing the court review included in Appendix 1B with the household review. In the former case, the woman's wrath had been aroused by her husband occasionally returning to his first wife, and by his failure to give her money for expenses. Since he

593 worked in the sawmill, he was not as willing to hand over his wages to
578 his wife as is the farmer, who according to established custom gives the
608 proceeds from the sale of his crop to his wife. The judges advise the man
571 to stay sober, adding, "If you want a woman, you ought to support her.
692 You shouldn't fight." They entreat the wife to return to her husband's house "and make a fire there." They refuse to release the marriage license, and the woman's father reluctantly agrees. He has the last word, warning the husband: "The day after tomorrow, don't come back here with a couple more children and say, 'I don't want you; go back to your mother's house.' You are lucky to have a wife. If you don't have a wife, you go get drunk every day. But with a wife, life is good. She will give you coffee and corn to eat. Don't go on fighting whether drunk or sober. Both my compadres [referring to the judges] have advised you."

755 The curing ceremony as a means of adjusting interpersonal conflict is
608 discussed at greater length in the following chapter. Padrinos of baptism,
571 compadres, and other members of the patient's me?iltatil attend, both to
578 see that the curer is performing his duties properly and to lend spiritual
182 support. Like the household and court review of conflict, it permits the open airing of grievances and relies on the authority of elders. Drinking
[273] liquor is a means of restoring good feelings, either as a follow-up to the review of court cases or as a continuous measure of goodwill in curing.

182 The responsibility of the me?iltatil for repairing personal relationships
571 in the family underwrites the importance of this institution in the commu-
608 nity. In these institutionalized means of settling conflict the society recog-
578 nizes the inevitability of friction in intimate relations and draws upon the resources of personnel and techniques developed in the life crisis rituals.

182 The me?iltatil are the guardians of individuals. The security that they
156 provide depends upon the individual conforming to the group norms.
608 They are a personal reference group maintaining customary ways of be-
571 having. I shall show in the following chapters how they are linked as the inner core to a system of guardianship provided by curers within each side of the dual division and by civil authorities at the community-wide level.

182 These are the agents who, by providing models of how the progenitors
608 behaved and by channeling responses to social change, maintain the sense
571 of equilibrium and the illusion of changelessness. The sense of continuity

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The sense of continuity
with the past is preserved in the ceremonials in which these officials act, but nonceremonial activities no longer reinforce the values symbolized in ritual.

182 608 571 796

Death and Burial

When a person dies, his soul is believed to go out from his tongue. The family is responsible for finding a resting place which will be satisfactory to the soul. If the dead person has died of a "good" (not caused by witchcraft) illness, the soul lingers for eight days and then goes to heaven. If the dead person has been killed, his soul stays in the village for "a month or twenty days." The reason given for this is that "the gods did not choose the hour of death, and the soul doesn't know where to go." During this waiting period the dead person "finishes his heart," or ends his emotional ties with friends and relatives.

763 764 795 [593]

Following the death, a sister of the parents of a child or some other adult woman washes the body and puts a wrap over it. The body is always laid out with the feet toward the door; the eyes are shut, and the jaw is wrapped with a kerchief to hold the mouth closed. Two candles are placed at the head and two at the feet. Flowers and a bowl to collect offerings of 2 pesos from each visitor are placed at the head of the body. The contribution given at the burial assures the giver of a hearing with Christ:

764 764 431

Everyone gives a contribution of 50 cents or a peso. Each one considers how much he can give and gives it. God listens to and speaks to those who give gifts. Those who give a candle or a little contribution of corn or flowers give an account of the dead man's life. If he had no crime on his conscience or only one crime, whoever killed him by violence or by witchcraft bears the guilt. Christ listens to the account of those who have given good contributions. Thus the help is given so that Christ will see that he did a favor to one who is poor and who has nothing to bury himself, not corn, or money, or anything to sell, not land, or cattle, or wheat. Therefore everyone who is a relative or a compadre or a neighbor brings one-fourth [bottle of liquor], a half measure of brown sugar, fifteen or twenty corncobs and one or two candles. And all men who arrive at the grave and

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764 [43] *give five or ten pesos are helped by God. Those who give nothing end at their burial with nothing.*

If the death occurs in the night, the body will be buried on the following day. During the wake, called "watching over the dead," relatives of the father, mother, and spouse of the deceased, as well as compadres and neighbors, watch over the body so that the devil cannot enter and steal the soul. If the dead person's padrino is alive, he serves as first *nakawane* and greets the guests. Liquor is served constantly. The women serve coffee and tamales or tortillas to the visitors at midnight.

[608] [273] [574]

At midnight the woman who is closest of kin cries for the dead. This is a stylized crying in which the mourner speaks of how the dead man passed his life. If she is his widow, she weeps for the misery she will face. Mourning for herself, she repeats:

[539]

How can I eat now with my children?
You will not see how I shall live.
You are of one heart in the ground.
But you do not see how I shall eat with the children.

If the death has been a violent one, the widow may express her sentiments about the blamelessness of her husband, or she may suggest that accusations that he was a witch are true by saying she knew nothing of what he did at night. In any case, people listen carefully to what she sings because it may give some basis for speculating whether there will be an attempt to avenge his death.

On the day of the burial, the coffin is lined with a new straw mat, and all the dead man's used clothing except for his kotonču is placed inside. A gourd drinking cup with *posol,* a spiced corn gruel, is placed near the dead man's mouth along with a tortilla. A metal cup cannot be used to hold water in the coffin because it does not have a soul as does the gourd vessel, which comes from a living plant. If the deceased is a man or boy, his hat is placed next to his head and his sandals are set beside his feet. A cross made of palm is put in the coffin to ward off the devil. If the deceased is a child, his head is adorned witha wreath of paper flowers set on a kerchief which is bound around his head.

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The funeral procession leaves for the cemetery about three in the afternoon. Attending the body are the padrinos, parents, aunts, and uncles. If the deceased is a child under two years of age, he is carried by his madrina. One of the former fiscales or someone who knows how to pray goes along. Smaller siblings or children of the dead are left at home with the maliwanehetik, who in this case are chosen from among the more distant relatives, compadres, and neighbors not attending the funeral. As they walk, the women cry and the "owner of the dead," the woman closest of kin, wails constantly in the stylized mourning cry. She stops wailing only when the company stops to pray at the cross at the exit of the town and just before entering the graveyard. At each resting point, the fiscal, who holds a rosary, reads the prayer book, while a neighbor or compadre uses a geranium to sprinkle holy water on the spot. An older male relative holds a palm cross.

When the party arrives at the opened grave, the godmother sits down near the coffin to make the final arrangements. The grave has been opened prior to the arrival of the party, but sometimes the men widen the hole. If they come across a bone, the fiscal shakes holy water over it with the geranium. When a nursing child is buried, the mother leans over the coffin and puts her breast in the child's mouth just before he is lowered into the grave. This is done so that the child's spirit will not think any longer of returning. The godparent or some other attendant dips the geranium in water and shakes it over the body. Handfuls of dirt are then thrown into the coffin. It is at this point that the assembled group, including the men, breaks into loud wails. The wails of the funeral party, though they do not lack feeling, are most important as a controlled communication, uttered when it is appropriate and by particular persons who are expected to cry before a select audience.

As the neighbors who have come to help the bereaved relatives shovel dirt on the grave, the padrino of the deceased approaches the fiscal and recites the pat'o'tan of blessing for the gift of liquor. The liquor is measured in a shot glass and passed around to the company. The women leave soon, and the men remain drinking. At this point a kind of trial is held to see who is responsible for the death. Since almost all sickness is believed to be caused by witchcraft, it is important to decide who the guilty person

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761 might be. The father or closest male kin of the dead person is careful to
627 recount all the consultations he has had with curers, both to absolve him-
753 self of the guilt of neglect or unconscious witchcraft and to search for the true culprit.

764 A proper burial with holy water, flowers, grave offerings, and prayers as-
775 sures the survivors that the soul of the deceased will rest and his bones will lie in peace. Lacking any of these features, the dead will disturb the living, as is recounted below:

During the revolution, many were buried without a funeral or without blessed water. On Thursday, the bones burn and cry. You can still see a blue flame rising above the old graveyard on Thursday. You can find money that the ancestors left there, but you have to go at night to dig it up.

An important safeguard to ensure that the soul will lie in peace is burial among people with whom the deceased lived. When a married adult dies,
[593] he is buried with his dead spouse. If he had two dead spouses, he is buried with the first spouse on the right hand and the second on the left. A child
[603] is buried with the grandparents of the household in which he lived—that is, if he lived with his mother's parents he is buried with them, and if with the father's parents, then with them. When people know that they
[763] are going to die, they express their preference as to where they wish to be
[593] buried. Usually they will elect to be buried between their dead parents, but
[608] if they were unhappy with their parents, they might choose a padrino or
[604] uncle. If dissatisfied in its resting place, a soul, even when properly buried, cannot find peace and wanders back to the house. Fearing this, relatives try to comply with the wishes of the dead.

My grandfather used to say that he wanted to be buried between his mother and father. But when he was about to die, he said, "I don't want to be buried there because my father beat me. He will continue beating my soul. I want to go on the side [*of the cemetery*]. *Please don't bury me near my parents." My father said, "All right, we will put you on the side."*

764 The funeral must meet the expectations of the community as well as
554 those of the deceased and his relatives. The mature children of a man who
626
593

755 753 593 182 578 Sometimes a colicky baby may become the focus of a curing ceremony designed to "cure" the conflict between husband and wife. In one case, the parents of a healthy young wife separated from her husband staged a curing ceremony to dramatize her marital plight to the in-laws.

178 756 608 754 [627] The breakdown of the curing hierarchy and the recruitment procedures which were maintained by the elder leaders (see Chapter 10) has led to a reevaluation of the role of the curers in the community. They have lost their position as me'iltatil representing the ancestors who guard over the community. Curers are increasingly being accused of sorcery, and over ten of them have been killed in the past decade as witches (Nash, J. 1967). Paradoxically, it is the belief in their evil power which leads to their persisting role in the society. Clients feel that the more evil the curer is, the more able he is to combat evil. In a community dominated by belief in witchcraft, they are both feared and valued for their ability to control it. From a position as arbiters of morality, they have become the chief targets as deviants from the moral code. Despite the loss of confidence in curers as guardians, they are still called upon to fight the evil of witchcraft, and nearly every day a ritual is performed. The regimen of the curing ritual has not been upset by the undermining of the curers' position. Tied to a diagnostic system emphasizing the state of the patient's social relations, the same procedures are carried out even when modern medicines are used.

[755] [278]

753 156 In curing practices, the Indian sees himself as the key figure in the drama of his own self-victimization. His illnesses come from within his own world, usually from within his family or close neighborhood. They are a mark of guilt for having excited the envy or hatred of associates. While the Indian is often portrayed in the role of passive victim to outside domination, in his own self-projection he sees himself dominated by powers within the community. Greater participation and equality in the wider society may in the future release him from these fear-provoking figures in his own environment.

159 partners. He sold a few shares of a truck he and his family owned to In-
622 dians, but he retained the controlling interest. His wife was reputed to be
177 a witch, and was an active curer, combining old and new treatments of ill-
178 nesses.
[454]
[754]
[756]

His position was challenged in the 1960s by the Ladino schoolmaster, who had been remarkably unsuccessful from his arrival in 1953 until that time in gaining personal power and influence. His intercession in a local homicide case involving a father's murder of his son outraged the townspeople, some of whom threatened to kill him. His attempts to have water installed aroused the curers against him since they were accustomed to bathing their patients at the source of the spring from which they were debarred when the plumbing was installed. His demands that children within the legal age limit should not only attend school but should be prohibited from marrying until they had completed their schooling caused the anger of parents who wanted to give their daughters in an early and profitable marriage.

159 875 177 178 563 578 [312] [756] [871] [582]

Gradually, however, the schoolmaster extended his own base of support. He minimized his attack on local customs, adhering only to those laws affecting the school population, over which he had a great deal of control. Some of his support came from the orthodox Catholic members of the community; he extended his control through compadre relationships with over eighty members of the community. He showed movies which he acquired from the United Nations and other educational film sources and gave away medicines acquired from the health officials in the state capitol who were his friends. From one of these sources of philanthropy he acquired wool shawls which he gave to every woman in the town.

159 875 177 178 563 558 [608] [546] [278] [431]

The professor demanded no return from the townspeople other than their respect and admiration; he was a person who enjoyed commanding others and needed an arena in which to project his own personality. In his early years in the town, he had to satisfy this need by capturing stray tourists and plying them with soda pop or coffee. His first opportunity to gain leadership in the local sphere came in 1963, when he supported the new truck-owning cooperative. He used the influence of contacts in the state capital, including compadres, friends, and relatives of his wife's family. He promoted the cooperative's attempt to gain the presidency. One of the first

[474]

Etiquette of role interaction. The complex system of stereotyped behavior contained in codes of etiquette depends upon role relations. The primary rule of etiquette is to greet people appropriately. In street greetings, one demonstrates that one knows how to "take into account," or show respect to, elders and minors. To elders of the first ascending generation or above, one says, "Good morning, father (or mother)." Those of one's own generation are greeted as elder brother or sister, or younger brother or sister, depending on their relative age. If the encounter is with a compadre, the terms kumpare or kumare take precedence over any other relation. A respected curer is addressed as *tatinal*. Officials are greeted by their titles, preceded by *mam* if they are older. Such greetings are restricted to people who live in the same division of the village. When one enters the other division, it is necessary to greet only compadres or relatives who have passed over after marriage. When younger persons approach elders of prestige, they remove their hats and incline their heads to be touched.

Service of food and drink is strictly ordered by age and sex. At mealtime, small children are fed separately, before or after their elders depending on the child's needs. When they reach the age of reason, about twelve, they are expected to await their turn. The father is served first, followed by his sons in order of age. The mother eats later with the girls.

The etiquette of ceremonial behavior is an extension and elaboration of the everyday forms. Service and greetings are made in order of age and rank, a procedure simplified by the fact that seating arrangements are made in the same order. In house ceremonials, the eldest man sits facing inward, to the right of the door. The rest of the company sits in clockwise order from eldest to youngest on benches lining the porch. Within the house, the seating of women by age begins with the eldest woman sitting at the center post and others sitting in clockwise order.

Preferred modes of behavior in all settings for all roles are "slowness and softness, expressed by a single term, *k'unk'untik*. Deference and respect—"hearing and feeling," *ʔawai*—should be shown in all encounters, marked by behavior such as downcast eyes, shawl held over the mouth, avoidance of direct eye contact, as well as verbal signs of agreement and

827
787 claim, has been lost, as has been more recently that of speaking with the ancestors. But the curers can still enter into communication with the spirit world and in this lies their power.

461 Industry is valued along with competency. A man is described as indus-
183 trious with the words, "he carries much wood well," and a woman with the words, "she carries much sand well." These expressions are a kind of
[196] synechdoche for general industriousness, since the tasks serve as the measure of willingness to perform one's sexually defined roles.

[476] Judgments made in the choice of working "partners" in the exchange
[602] labor system are based on competence in working as well as on considera-
[608] tions of kin and compadrazgo relationship. Women make judgments of
[323] others' skill in pottery-making on the basis of both the appearance of the pot and its durability proved in use and transportation without breakage to market. Both men and women known to be hard workers are admired
[754] and envied. They may consequently become the objects of witchcraft.

828 Conceptions of personality are one end product of evaluations of per-
157 formances and condition people's expectations of individuals in their social environment. For the Indians, personality traits tend to imply other traits.
125 In order to derive a sense of these implications for Tzoʔontahal, I drew up
157 a checklist to identify some of these associations. Informants were asked to
828 state whether each of the traits listed on the top line in Table 30 was correlated positively, negatively, or not at all with each of the same traits listed vertically. A plus (+) sign indicates positive correlation, a minus (—) sign indicates negative correlation, and an equal (=) sign indicates that
157 there was no correlation. Thus being bright is positively correlated with
828 being beautiful and negatively correlated with being evil, fearful, lazy, foolish, gullible, braggardly, gossipy, and miserly. There is no connection between being bright and being of good heart, aggressive, or honorable. This suggests that the heart and the mind are independent loci for a set of traits that stem from them. Metaphors such as bitter, acid, and straight, when used to describe personality, are similar in connotation to those used in English. As in English, immediate sensory experiences of taste and vision provide by extension a means of talking about character.

157 In studying these personality traits, I sensed that "being" was "doing"
551 things in certain repetitive ways. This impression is corroborated by the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 286]

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programs in the interest of "civilizing" the Indians. This formulation involved a basic contradiction between the goal of moving into regional and national networks and that of keeping the old autonomy and independence of the corporate community. He never had to face that contradiction. Unable to gain adherents other than the small group of profit-sharers in the cooperative he organized, he was killed by opponents within the community.

The Family and Household

The core of the traditional culture lay in the local power hierarchies patterned on the familial model of age-ordered paternal authority institutionalized in the me'iltatil. The me'iltatil of the household have provided a flexible institution for adjusting conflict within the kin group. Their role in directing ritual performances preserves a sense of continuity in life cycle changes.

The institutionalized authority of the elders has not been upset by the trend toward residence based on nuclear families, which is an adjustment to the pressure of limited space in the town center. Kinship ties are continually reinforced by rituals that draw together the me'iltalil as sponsors of ceremonies marking baptism, marriage, and death. This group of sponsoring relatives has absorbed the institution of compadrazgo, adding compadres to the network of affinally-and bilaterally-related kin. The procedures for adjusting conflict among members of the household and extended family networks reinforce the authority of the elders. When adjustive processes in the house and court "arrangements" and in curing ceremonies fail, the only recourse is for one of the disputants to leave the community or commit homicide.

Ceremonies within the household provide a model for the rules of the game that apply to adjustive behavior in the community. The household officials introduce new officials into their role, teaching them the prayers and directing the proceedings. Their authority depends upon age and prestige acquired in office. The me'iltatil, as the elders of the family, are the direct link with the ancestors. They and the nakawane provide the strongest force for preserving the ways of the ancestors.

M 563 627 647 T 621 743 647

doctors and officers of the National Indian Institute (INI) who arrive to the villages at irregular intervals. In Amatenango, the INI has established a "clinic" in which a native nurse provides some medical services, such as vaccinations, the selling of aspirin, etc., while in Aguacatenango the native INI nurse provides services in his home.

T 621 647 474

In both the villages the INI has established a cooperative store which sells staples which are not produced in the community, but such stores are in no sense agents of cultural change, selling only commodities which the Indians habitually buy elsewhere. (A reason for the lack of success of such stores is that the Indians have not understood the "cooperative" principle, very few men have joined, and they are disillusioned with the marginal profit obtained through them.) In 1958, Amatenango had water piped into the village, a project completed by the INI in 1957; while after the author left Aguacatenango in 1958, water pipes were installed there.

T 621 647 312 114

M 563 692

Political relations with the Ladinos of a more formal nature occur through the courts of justice and national government offices, and they are characterized by the covert (and at times open) hostility and misunderstanding on the part of both Indians and Ladinos (see D. Metzger, 1956 and Fuente, Julio de la, 1958).

T 628 438 571 •608 582

Relations with other Indian villages are common both for Amatenango and Aguacatenango. They trade with the communities located in different ecological zones the products that do not grow in their territory (ocote from the highlands, sugar cane from the lowlands, etc.) in exchange for their own products and they

628 438 571 608 582 628 166 602 establish with them the relations of posada and compadrazgo, mentioned above, as well as (in the infrequent cases of inter-community marriage), some affinal kinship ties. In the few recorded cases of emigration from the village, some members of the community keep communication with a few consanguineal relatives living in other Indian villages, although social exchanges and the memory of such relatives tend to die out after a generation or two.

105 With the other Indian communities in the area, Amatenango and Aguacatenango share a common material culture and belief system, derived from a Highland Maya cultural tradition, the same linguistic background, and a subsistence pattern based on agriculture. They are peasant, in the sense that they are rural villages which depend, for survival, not only on agricultural work, but on economic exchange with other semi-urban and urban centers (Redfield, 1956:25-28).

438 [273] Aguacatenango buys pottery and chayotes from Amatenango, whose women come periodically to sell them, and trago (drinking alcohol) which some Amatenangueros produce illegally. Amatenango buys from Aguacatenango surplus corn.

628 [311] [312] 628 776 The two towns have amicable relations, thinking of each other as neighbors, and sharing the same pasture lands, and source of water for irrigation. The two communities share the same cultural hero, called Juan Lopez in Aguacatenango and Lopez Shuntón in Amatenango, connected with the corn and with the "lightening who lives in a cave." For Aguacatenangueros this personage is the builder of the roads, responsible for the eradication of "cannibalism," the conversion of man-hunting animals

628 776 into mild forest beasts, the peace made with the "kings of Guatemala" and the opening of trade with Comitán. He is also in both communities a powerful nahual (supernatural being controlled by the witches or a witch himself), and in Amatenango everyone prays to him on the day of the Santa Cruz (May 3). Both communities agree that he was "an Amatenanguero, born somewhere in the direction of Chiapa de Corzo." There are no compadre relations established between the two villages, but two cases of intermarriage [608] [582] and two of posada relations have been reported (Verbitsky, 1959a).

Both towns criticize the other for its "costumbres," criticisms which are related directly, as will be shown later, to some differences in social structure which will be discussed in this work. Amatenango women criticize Aguacatenango women as being lazy but mistreated by their husbands who make them gather their own firewood, and because they run away from their husbands seeking work in San Cristobal. Aguacatenango men criticize Amatenangueros for being lazy and not seeking work in the fincas, preferring to hunt rats in the cornfields, and their women for being dirty and authoritarian.

156 621 571 [426] [755] [476] [431] [608] getting involved in the fight. He can help relatives in distress pay a debt or give a curing ceremony for a sick child. He can be a "hard worker, ready to offer a hand to a neighbor in need of extra labor" (hel-K'abal). He can send his wife with small presents of food to other households. He can make many compadres among those whom he suspects of possibly being against him, thereby assuring their friendship and respect. In sum, he can create around himself a long chain of loyal villagers who are bound to him by many different obligations. Then, because he is a 'leKil winiK' (one that behaves well with the people), he can "afford" to become rich by local standards without the immediate fear of punishment.

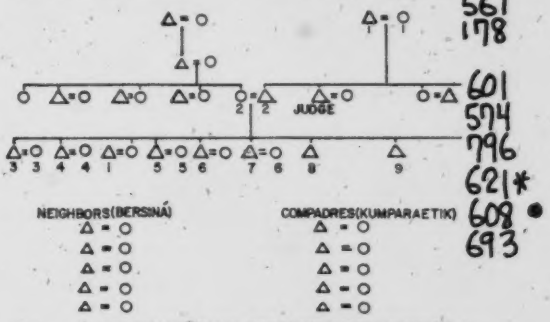
Every household head manipulates his environment in these terms. People try to accumulate riches and protect their paths in other ways. They also try to avoid distributing their accumulated wealth outside their household and to prevent the envy or gossip of those not so bound by loyalty, by hiding from others the knowledge of their possessions.

The result of the contradiction between the egalitarian values on the one hand, and the individual aspirations and behavior on the other, is expressed in gossip, "witchcraft talk" and a constant realignment of loyalties among villagers. Every man suspects another of being better off than one is led to believe, while at the same time he himself tries to keep others from suspecting him, and would not voluntarily give information on how many horses he owns or how much corn he has grown.

The picture of life in Amatenango and Aguacatenango is

activities. Following this, he then serves as *tatil* of any 794
saint of minor rank, then as *tatil* of San Pedro Martyr 554
or San Francisco, followed by a turn as *tatil* of the 156
kobraria Virgin Santa Lucia, and finally as *tatil* of the
kobraria Sacramento.

The Tzeltal role terms in both the civil and reli- 621*
gious hierarchies reveal the preconquest age-ranking 554
system. This is evident in the use of elder and junior 794
561
178



601
574
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621*
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693

CHART 3 — ASSISTANTS AND PARTICIPANTS IN HOUSE FIESTA OF JUDGE (ELICITED)

Circles indicate women; triangles indicate men. For role term applying to number, see Chart 4.

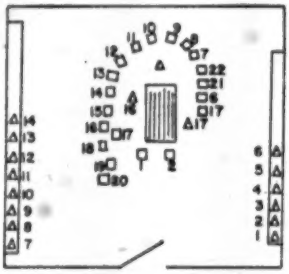
titles for mayordomos *(tatil* and *niḉ' anil martoma)* 621*
554
and in the use of *mas mamališ* (more senior) for 794
higher rank offices. 561
178

The informant's understanding of the hierarchy is
that of a core of officeholders in three ranked seg- 124
ments (Chart 5). This is coded in the group terms for 621*
officials. Roles peripheral to the major categories such 794
as those of rural judges, fiscal and women prayer- 554
makers, are elicited only with repeated questioning
or with reference to some event in which they func-
tion. These roles differ from those mentioned first in
that they are either of little significance to the indi-
vidual informant (this would explain the consistent
omission of the rural judge by the people of the cen-
ter) or are not part of the required posts incumbent
upon every male household head to undertake (this
might explain the omission of the president, síndico,
principales and fiscales in the first eliciting session).
Structural principles made explicit by the informants
are (1) hierarchical rank, (2) progression from
lower to higher posts, and (3) territorial balance in
representation of the dual division. An implicit coro-
lary of passage through offices beginning with lower
ranks is the age grading of officeholders. Other struc-
tural aspects emerged in the description of behavior,
described below.

[P 215-B]

as a team. Thus the junior *(niẽʔanil)* and senior *(tatil)* officials walk and sit in pairs. The senior officials order the junior. Just as in the case of the civil officials, some junior mayordomos may be younger than others who are in lower positions, because they have passed in the lower offices at an earlier age, but all senior mayordomos are older than their paired juniors. 794 561 156

Another important structural feature that became apparent in the behavioral schedules is the household base establishing the officeholders' position in both hierarchies. The new official learns his role obligations from the *nakawanehetik*, the group of elders 621* 156 794 592 [867]



621* 554 693 293

CHART 8 — INSIDE THE TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING THE OATH (OBSERVED)

Old officials are indicated by triangles, new officials by squares. Numbers refer to list on Chart 7. Three officials—the old secretary (17) and two new rural judges (21 and 22)—were not listed in the elicited session, Chart 7. Canes of office are on the table near the center of the room. Numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7.

who assemble in his house and who will assist him in his period in office. The ceremony in the house establishes this as a significant domain in public affairs. Relatives, neighbors, and compadres make up the interlocking network of supporters in the setting of the household. Both husband's and wife's relatives are symmetrically represented (Chart 3; see also J. Nash, 1964b, report on alferez assistants). Because of the expenses and the commitment of time during the period of office, the officials must have this backing to fulfill their obligations. A man with many compadres and godchildren has a firmer base to support his career in office. In the case of the new president, this was mentioned as an important asset by the president's brother. The guest list (Charts 3, 4) reveals the multiple references which establish the individual's role during any event. 621* 156 794 592 [867] 621* 794 592 602 156 [608]

[P. 220-A]

"Why don't you call in the civil guard?" 124

They will say we are women, that we are afraid. My brother wants to, however. 578 682

He communicated several things in this deviation from the eliciting schedule:

Many assassinations are committed regularly in Tzoʔontahal.
They usually occur at fiestas.
The only recourse is to kill one's enemy.
I am a killer, therefore I am prepared to protect myself.
Everyone knows I am a killer.
When I killed, it wasn't a murder but an execution.

796 794 608 554

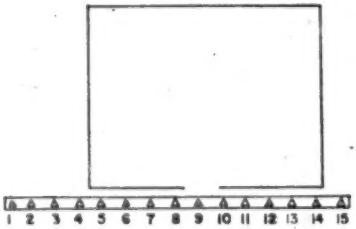


CHART 13 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF THE VIRGIN SANTA LUCIA, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:

1 Cofrade of Virgin Santa Lucia *(Kobraria Halal Meʔtik)*
2 Elder of San Pedro Martyr *(Tatil Yuʔun Martil)*
3 Assistant junior for Sacramento *(Aliʔbal Niℓʔnal yuʔun Sakramentú)*
4 Assistant junior for Virgin Santa Lucia *(Aliʔbal Niℓʔnal yuʔun Halal Meʔtik)*
5 Elder for the Christ of the Ascension *(Tatil yuʔun Tatik Sanprannisků)*
6 Elder for San Antonio *(Tatil yuʔun Sanantonió)*
7 Elder for Virgin Rosario *(Tatil Halal Meʔtik Rosario)*
8 Elder for Santiago *(Tatil yuʔun Santiagú)*
9 Elder for San Jose *(Tatil yuʔun Sanhosé)*
10 Junior for San Antonio *(Niℓʔnal yuʔun Sanantonió)*
11 Junior for Santiago *(Niℓʔnal yuʔun Santiagú)*
12 Junior for San Pedro Martyr *(Niℓʔnal yuʔun Martil)*
13 Junior for Virgin Rosario *(Niℓʔnal yuʔun Meʔtik Rosario)*
14 Junior for San Jose *(Niℓʔnal yuʔun Sanhosé)*
15 Junior for Christ of the Ascension *(Niℓʔnal yuʔun Sanprannisků)*

Since the informant expected that there might be an attempt made on his life in the approaching inaugural ceremony, he was advertising his own strength and willingness to defend himself even if it meant killing his enemy. I was an audience for him to try on poses of self-assertion. 124 578 [123]

[p. 225-B]

621* 105 794 178 18 [128]

I SUMMARIZE the evidence offered in the inaugural acts first in terms of a functional analysis of the ceremonial behavior and second in terms of structural and organizational changes revealed in the strategies of interaction. The following goals are attained in the rituals of inauguration:

1. *Preservation of continuity.* In the highland Maya Indian communities the problem of maintaining continuity is crucial because most of the offices

796 794 608 554 533

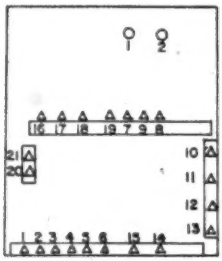


CHART 14 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF SACRAMENTO, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 *Meʔil K'op*
2 *Sčebal smeʔ*

MEN (triangles):
16 Cofrade of Sacramento (*Kobraria Sakramentú*)
17 First Nakawane (*Sba Nakawane*)
18 Second Nakawane (*Sčebal Nakawane*)
19 Third Nakawane (*Yolebal Nakawane*)
20, 21 Guitarist (*Balnial Alpultero*)

Remaining numerals refer to role terms listed in Chart 13.

621* 105 794 178 18

are changed simultaneously. The emphasis on continuity is evident, first of all, in the repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetitive behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expectation which assures participants in a performance of a link with the past. Bunzel (1952, p. 251) has shown that this familiarity of ritual "sets" in a variety of ceremonials provides linkage with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango. Repetition in behavior is reinforced by verbal references to perform-

[p. 227 - A]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzoʔontahal

APPENDIX 3A—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN CIVIL INAUGURATION

	Setting	Role (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	Relationship	Behavior
*621 105 192 554 593 [574]	House, evening of inauguration	*ʔAČʔAʔTEL*, new officials	Ego	Receives guests, sits next to leader *nakawane*
		NAKAWANEHETIK, house officials	Father of new official or elder of neighborhood who has passed in higher offices (first regidor and elder mayordomo)	Initiates greetings; sits in head seat
		BALNIALETIK, assistants	Sons of new officials, husbands of daughters or of sisters	Serve food, measure drinks
[608]		*ʔAK'SIETIK*, wood gatherers	Neighbors, compadres, brothers	Bring wood, eat, drink
		MEʔELETIK, Meʔil K'op, woman speaker Yinam, wife	Mother, or elder relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings
		SKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers		Serves food. Cook food, dish out food, eat
*621 105 192 554 [593] [602] [608] [574]	House, morning of inauguration	*NAKAWANEHETIK*, house officials	Father and/or elder neighbors	Initiates greetings, addresses blessing to liquor
		AʔTELETIK *ALKALETIK* *REHIROLETIK*, judges, regidores	Men of village	Receive food and liquor
		BALNIALETIK, assistants	Brothers-in-law, godsons, compadres, fa's sis's sons, brother, comadre's son, neighbors	Serve food, measure drink
		YULATAK, visitors	Men from rural colonias	Give *abrazo*, embrace, to new president, eat, drink
		MEʔELETIK, women Meʔil k'op Sčebal Smeʔ Yoičebal Smeʔ	Mother or elder relative ? ? ?	Responds to *nakawane's* and *alkal's* greeting. Orders women in serving of food
		ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	(See Chart 3)	Cooks food, dishes out food
	Townhall, morning session, civil inauguration	*K'AʔAʔTELETIK*, old officials	Men of village	Drink; wait for new officials seated
[994]		*ʔALPERESETIK*, alfereces	Men of village	Bring banners from church, drink wait for new officials

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzoʔontahal

APPENDIX 3B—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN RELIGIOUS INAUGURATION

105
192
554
794

SETTING	ROLE (terms in CAPITAL LETTERS refer to groups)	RELATIONSHIP	BEHAVIOR
[574] House of kobraria Sacramento, morning of inauguration	KOBRARIA SAKRAMENTU	Ego	Receives guests; sits at first seat on outside wall near door
[604] [605]	NAKAWANEHETIK	Fa's brother and fa's brother's sons	Initiates greetings, sits at head seat
[593]	BALNIALETIK	Sons, sons of campadres, neighbors	Serve liquor, food
[608] [602]	MEʔELETIK, women Meʔilk'op, woman speaker	Elder female relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings, orders helpers
[608]	ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	Comadres, sisters, neighbors	Prepare food, coffee
	MARTOMAETIK 3 KOBRARIA TATILETIK NIČʔANILETIK		Eat and drink. Listen to advice of *nakawanehetik*
Church, morning of inauguration	PIŠKAL, fiscal KURA, priest ʔAČʔMARTOMAETIK, new mayordomos K'A MARTOMAETIK, old mayordomos		Advises mayordomos of duties. Divides up candles brought by mayordomos; hands them to new mayordomos

/16/

601 614 The kinship terms, excepting those that extend to all the members of a clan, do not seem to apply to persons outside of those included in the charts (Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4). The terms that designate older siblings are applied to all the members of the paternal clan without taking into account the principle of generation or the age relative to EGO. This custom tends to be applied even among descendants of the same grandparents: an old woman greets the granddaughter of her paternal uncle, calling her uix (older sister) instead of the corresponding kitsín (younger sister), the young girl using the identical reciprocal in her reply. We can say that there is a tendency toward the elimination of the principle of generation and that of age relative to EGO even among close relatives, using only one term for sister, a woman's brother, and a man's brother (uix, xibel, and bankil), except within the limits of the elemental family.

601 602 614 An individual, when born, is related to the members of two clans: the paternal one, which is his own, and the maternal one. Upon contracting marriage, he establishes new relationships, applying, as we have already shown, the terms which designate brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law to all the members of the clan of the spouse. In this manner a Cancuquero can be related to all the members of the tribe or native group, because at present only three clans exist, one of which may be the clan of EGO, another the maternal clan, and the other one the clan of the spouse. This is not always the case, because an individual may have married within the clan of his mother, in which case his kichanes and his siblings-in-law belong to the same clan, preferring then the use of the word bal to that of kichán. [609] The members of the non-related clan receive the title of tatik and meetik (gentleman and lady).

582 587 614 614 595 The clans regulate marriage. Preferred clans with respect to the selection of a spouse do not seem to exist. Upon the death of the wife a man may marry again within the same clan or in the other. One of our informants had three successive wives belonging to the same clan, but this is exceptional. In the three cases of polygyny known to us the wives were not sisters: in one case the

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

is negative. Among the Bachajon, face hair was very slight, or 142
negative, even on men of past middle age. At Sivacá the Alcalde, an elderly man, had a small beard. This is more commonly found among the Indians further in the Highlands. A slightly taller and more heavily boned type here also suggests the Highland influence (figs. 279-280-281-282-283).

Temperamentally, the Bachajon were by far the least pleasant 152
Indians with whom we had to deal. They are drunken, revengeful, and murderous. The murders, usually the sudden outburst of a long-nursed feud, are sometimes so appallingly brutal that one would think them committed by an abnormal or degenerate people.

291

FIG. 279—Huxumachital, Chis. Bachajon men.

Yet, at the same time, these were the most independent Indians we 648
met, controlling their own lives and way of living, and are left very much alone by the neighbouring Ladinos.

All the Indians are outwardly restrained, at least in the presence 609
of strangers, although an accident, such as a narrow escape, shows 152
them to be volatile and ready to express emotion. At home, they are cheerful, and laugh willingly. In bursts of feeling, as during an uprising, or one of the murders mentioned above, capable of any outrage, ordinarily they are not a cruel people. They showed them- 123
selves always responsive to friendly advances on our part.

501 raft, *poi*, to cross rivers or make very short trips. The specimen observed at *Hol-ha'* (Head of the Water), was made of five cork logs averaging 22 centimeters in diameter and 3.25 meters long, held together by two cross-sticks lashed on with lianas. There was some space between each log, the width of the raft being 1.25 meters. It had a definite bow and stern, the logs at the forward end being cut to an edge, "to cut the water." These rafts are propelled by a pole, preferably of mahogany, the one observed being 2.50 meters long. They are moored by thrusting the pole through a crack between two of the logs, into the bottom of the stream.

648 As one would expect, the old, complicated organization of priests and rulers, the aristocracy of pre-Conquest days, has been utterly swept away. Today, in their social organization, one may trace a little of the feeling of the old times, but the system is the creature of Spanish contact. On the haciendas there are no native officials save those who preside over the fiestas. The owner of the hacienda maintains a patriarchal sway over his workmen, governing them in every respect. Among the village tribes at Bachajon and Sivacá life is still influenced by the obligation to work for the government or the ranchers, although the independent nature of the Indians has won for them a good deal of self-government. Those of the Bachajon living on land belonging to ranches find themselves under a dual system, although the scattered location of their dwellings, deep in the jungles, minimizes the power of the Ladinos.

621 The tribes are very different from those of North America. From our brief observation, it appears as though there was none of that deep feeling of loyalty towards the group, of essential, almost mystic unity with the other members that characterizes our own Indians. Similar customs, common interest, and geographical proximity hold each Tzeltal group together; bonds that are easily broken. [609] Should an outsider attack the common weal by seizure of land or [578] by any other infringements, he will find the tribe solidly united against him, but at the same time it may be, and often is divided 627 within itself by many quarrels. The Bachajon carry out long feuds between families and individuals in the form of occasional murders. These have their origin in delayed retribution for some wrong received by one party from the other, for which, in turn, there is retaliation, and so on indefinitely.

For instance, the murder committed while we were at Encanto was the climax of a long-nursed grudge, and almost immediately afterwards there were indications that from that fight would arise 648 many others. Occasional attacks on ranchers are also usually carried

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

out by a small group bearing a grudge, although in this case the 648
tribe as a whole stands more solidly back of the offenders.

The Bachajon exhibit internal dissension and strife to an un- 628
usual degree. There are many small, outlying sub-groups, some of which are more or less openly at war with the main body. In the description of Zona Sala oil camp (Chapter VIII) something has already been said of the settlement there of men driven away on account of the misbehaviour. They still call themselves Bachajon and maintain some slight intercourse with the tribe, although they are quite inimical in their attitude towards Indians passing through on the way to Palenque. There are other such settlements in different parts of the jungle, although these, having most recently split off, are the most hostile.

What group loyalty the Bachajon have centers around the de- 621
serted village that bears their name. It was described at the begin- 609
ning of this chapter. Founded under compulsion, deserted whenever possible, its church and Cabildo in ruins, none the less it is their focal point, jealously guarded from intrusion. These Indians have had the same experience as our own; the European comes first as a visitor, then a few settle for trade, then comes a host in their footsteps, until soon there is no place for the Indian, and he finds himself an intruder in his own home. Against this sequence of events, so common in our history, the Bachajon protect their land by an attitude of unremitting hostility. Travellers may pass through, but no trader may set up even a lean-to bower under which to display his wares, save during the few days of their main fiestas, although it would be a great convenience for them to have a store nearer than Ocosingo.

The destruction of the Spanish-built church and Cabildo, with 829
the substitution for them of native edifices, is curious. The feeling probably is that when they do congregate in their capital for a fiesta, they do not wish to be confronted by evidences of alien domination.

The strongest actual unit is that of the individual family, the 593
man, his wife, and children. Indians who are forced, for one reason 594
or another, to go into hiding in the jungle, will run great risks to return and fetch their wives and children. Even beyond this smallest 602
group there is a little feeling, a man's relatives by marriage or blood 627
often joining to support him in a feud, or to revenge a wrong done him. Similarly, the relatives of the individual who committed the [672]
wrong are held in some degree liable to punishment, although there is no formal rule of collective responsibility, the action taken depending largely on individual inclination.

273* 554 about the state of their environment are deduced as the result of the communication of information encoded in some one or more media. The determination and certification of an individual's social rank is one type of inference and action that individuals engage in in Aguacatenango. Rank and role are not only encoded in the drinking performances, but also in a variety of other media as well. When we examine the ceremonial drinking cycle as it occurs in the civil and religious hierarchies, it becomes clear that the arrangement of persons in space, modes of greeting, modes of offering toasts, the differential access to settings, etc., all may encode an individual's social position just as do the set of role labels that may be used to identify him.

[578] [609] [796] [621] After the settlement of a dispute, after having agreed to permit a /HTUL YAN LUMAL/, "foreigner," to settle in the community, and on certain saints' days (especially those saints associated with the installation of new civil officers), the /*A*TELETIK TA KABILTO/, or civil hierarchy, is given or secures for itself aguardiente in liter bottles. The aguardiente is equally distributed in shot glass amounts among the members of the /*A*TELETIK/, a particular individual drinking the glass which is offered him; or alternative should he choose not to drink it, taking a sip from it and handing it to some other member of the group who drinks the remaining portion and returns the glass to the first drinker, who in turn returns it to the

273* While the rules for second day drinking are no different than for first day drinking, the drinkers face some changing conditions. Also, they express their drinking role in a slightly different fashion. As was observed in the survey, only half as many men report drinking for two days as report drinking for only one day. No man drinks privately, that is, only in the presence of his family (except to "cure" a hangover, as noted above). But his friends may not have chosen to continue drinking on the second day. Not finding one's friends (either before or after the brace-up) decreases the probability of second day drinking, but a man determined to drink--one whose "heart wants" more aguardiente--will make a persistent search for friends before he either gives up or settles (as I have suggested earlier) for drinking companions whom he knows less well. [609] (Drinking with strangers is believed to be dangerous, for reasons to be given in the next chapters, and perhaps even drunks keep this belief in mind to some extent.) A friend of Juan Hernandez came twice to his house to look for him and "went right in there where the corn grinder is [the kitchen]," /*OC'K'AL NUN TA BA*Y MOLINE/. On hearing this, Juan says, "How could he be sober? He's drunk!" /BA*NBA KUXUK *ULEM/, implying that he would not otherwise have come uninvited into the kitchen.

Since it is difficult if not impossible for a man to

Although the town center forms a rough rectangle on Map 1, the people think of it as being a square.[2] 361 This conforms to the cultural ideal of a square applied in house, milpa, village, and probably world, although when anyone is asked about the last, he cautiously answers, "I have heard that it is round." The center is the unit that the people think of when they say *hteklum*, my land or my village. House lots are not sold to outsiders, particularly Ladinos, but the prohibition applies as well to other Indians living within the limits of the township.

The residents of the center identify themselves with the former residents of the two pre-Conquest sites occupying the hill of Amawitz[3] northwest of the center, and the hill of San Nicolás (called Lelem in Tzeltal) to the southeast. The following account is given of the founding of the present town in the valley:

Our ancestors lived in Amawitz. There wasn't enough water there, but there was a great deal that passed here in the valley. The ancestors came out of their cave to look at where the people should move. They told the people where they should go. The people "thought in common." They cut the trees here; then, when it was dry, they burned it with fire as they do for milpa. When it was cleared, they began to build their houses. Others saw this and came to build their houses. When they finished building their houses, everyone began to think of building a church. The first church was built in Alannantik [the low side] for San Pedro the Martyr. This was torn down because the witches used to come to get the permission of San Pedro to do witchcraft. When the new church was built, there was a division of the town into the upper and lower sections.

It is significant that the people attribute the initiative in the resettlement to the mythical ancestors, although archaeological evidence indicates that the present center was settled after the Conquest. The Conquest is not a part of their mythico-historic past. The ancestors are given credit for establishing everything.

2. The pre-Conquest term for local center was Tzamgholal (Calnek 1962:25), signifying "square head." "Head" town was possibly a ceremonial center.

3. Hermitte (1964:48) notes that in Pinola the "police" of the spiritual government are sent to outposts in Amawitz and Me?wakal in Amatenango. This suggests that it may be considered the ancestral home of other Indians of the area.

It is considered much safer to drink in a bar on one's own side, but those men who pride themselves on being widely respected brag that they can drink on either side without becoming involved in a fight. When people must pass to the other side of town, they prefer walking on the Pan-American Highway, a socially neutral network, to passing through the streets of the opposite division, where their presence arouses curiosity and comments, such as "He must be looking for a lover!"

The colonias. The six colonias (Table 1) are populations of Indians who have moved from the center to take advantage of the lands granted under the ejido program of 1937 and "foreign Indians" who were formerly workers on the expropriated plantations. The Indians distinguish the close-lying settlements, or *barrios,* of Yetawitz, Pathuitz, B'očib'al, and Te'tikil from the remaining colonias listed in the census (Table 1). The populations of the barrios are more closely identified with the center since they are closer to it and there is a higher proportion of migrants from the parent group. They are linked to the side of the dual division to which they are most closely situated. Marriages can be contracted between members of the two settlements, and house lots can be acquired by residents of the town in the barrio with which they are associated. An exception was made to the association on the basis of proximity in the case of Te'tikil, which lies nearer to Alannantik but was linked with Ahk'olnantik in order to balance the population ratios at the time of its settlement. Police are appointed from these colonias and serve in the local *cabildo,* or town hall, along with other police from the center. The colonias of San Vicente and San Caralampio are farther away, and the rural judge and police appointed to these populations appear only once a week and during ceremonies in the local cabildo. The foreign Indians of San Vicente, who migrated from Chanal, and of Yetawitz, who came from Huistán to work in the finca of San Nicolás before acquiring ejido lands, are discriminated against in the local political organization. Their representatives never reach the high positions of president and first or second judge.

Ranchos and rancherías. The populations of these small settlements have only the most formal kind of social, economic, and political

000 maximum market price for wheat of 124 pesos per 100 kgs. The Indians
435 usually sell their wheat at 90 pesos per 100 kgs. to Teopisca truckers, or at
442 best gain 110 pesos per 100 kgs. by bringing it to the mills themselves.
241 From their perspective corn is the more valuable crop, not only from the point of view of subsistence, but also for sale since if they hold it in storage they can sell it at double the price at which the values are calculated in the census (.60 peso per kg.). They do not have facilities to store wheat in order to take maximum advantage of price changes.

125 The census I made in 1964 of land ownership and use by the 304 fami-
423 lies living in the center of the township (Table 5) shows that 47 percent
161 of the households have no land other than the ejido grant of one hectare. Because of the growing population, the land per household has decreased. A comparison with the 1958 census of land ownership of 280 households in the center indicates that 89 families now have less land than they had at that date, 72 have the same amount, and 44 have more land; 99 unknown cases include new families which have been created since the earlier date, families which were no longer in existence in 1964, and households in which there is a lack of data on the question of landholding.

423 The strong sentiment against the sale of one's own land, well docu-
432 mented in the monographic literature,[2] is expressed here:

If a man sells his land without sickness, people say he is lazy. The best thing to buy if you have money is land. Unlike cattle, it does not die, it does not get lost, and it does not need watching. It is not the same with a horse. When you buy one, you have to watch it and care for it and when it dies, all is over. You lose all your money. But with land, in two years you have the land paid for and it remains as a gift. It gives us what we eat.

423 Land is rarely sold to outsiders. If a man needs money and has a buyer
432 from out of town, the civil authorities raise the money and buy the plot,
609 selling it in pieces as they find buyers. Only one small plot of land has
621 been sold to an outsider in my knowledge of the community. This plot

2. See Tax (1957), Wagley (1941). Oscar Lewis (1963:125 indicates that in Tepotzlan the breakdown of the resistance to selling land was associated with a growing awareness of profits to be made in the regional and national economy.

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423 432 was in a low gully where crops would not grow, and no one within the 609 community would buy it. 621

Land is frequently pawned by farmers as security on a loan. The title to 423 the land is left with the lender, who can foreclose on the debt if the inter- 426 est payments of five percent per month are not paid. Often the land pawned may be worth far more than the loan. Loans in town are rarely backed with security, and if something is pawned, it is usually clothing or household items.

178 With the growing significance of ejido lands and land sale, inheritance 423 of land is of less importance in the economic expectations of each succes- 428 sive generation. The rules controlling inheritance are theoretically simple: 593 equal inheritance for all children regardless of sex. The parents usually give some land when the child establishes a separate household; the remainder is then given at the death of the parent or when old age makes it impossible for the parent to work any more. The youngest child remaining at home works his father's land, or if he is living with his wife's family, his father-in-law's land, until the latter's death. His family inherits the house site as well as an equal share of the privately held lands. Complications arise because of modifications of the basic rule of equal inheritance by provisions for care and maintenance of the aged parents. Frequent dis- [692] putes over inheritance are settled in local courts or passed on to the De- [647] partment of Indian Affairs in San Cristóbal.

The selection of which crop to grow is related to the kind and amount 241 of land a farmer owns. The most important crops are corn, beans, and wheat. Some squash and sugarcane are grown in the lower ejido lands of San Caralampio. Cabbage is grown by one Indian who possesses fertile irrigated lands in the center. Most Indians, however, are unwilling to undertake the risk of raising a cash crop since there is greater chance of the crop being stolen and they cannot afford a bad market price when they harvest.

241 Relating the size of holding to the crop grown, according to figures in 423 the Mexican census of 1960[3] (Table 4) one can see that in privately 433

[659] 3. The census figures are based on estimates received from town officials, who submit them monthly to the census bureau. The officials of the town question the household heads as they see them in the streets or in their houses about how much seed they planted. They then estimate what the yield per almud for good and bad land is, from their own crops.

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159 edge not only of how to manage money, but also of how to *manejarlo*, or
472 drive it, and to "make it grow" indicated an insight into capital operations
621 which made him a leader in local enterprises. In his post as shopkeeper, he
45 invested the store's capital in corn bought at harvest.

159 Santos' career as an entrepreneur was ended when a bullet was fired
472 into his back in 1966. He had relaxed his observation of the rules which permit survival for those who challenge traditional ways: no drinking, no trips to the mountain alone, and no boasting of gains. As yet, he has had no parallel in the community, but the truck drivers are becoming aware of the possibilites for profit in trade and commercial deals.

426 *Capital and credit.* The Indians' knowledge of capital and credit
609 operations has been acquired in the role of debtor, not creditor. In the leg-
538 ends concerning money the creditor is an outsider, a *pukuh* or devil, usually a Ladino. I had accepted a story about a Don Klabil, owner of a mountain in the town adjacent to the neighboring Ladino town Teopisca, as being of ancient origin. It fit with the many stories collected in Mesoamerica of owners of the hills who give out money on request to those who come knocking at the entrances to their caves. After their death, the recipients spend their spirit life in the mountain, working off the debt. Don Klabil was said to be responsible for the wealth of one of the outstandingly wealthy men in town who had gone to his hill and asked for cattle and money. Once while riding in a bus from Tzoʾontahal to Las Casas, I was engaged in conversation with a woman of Teopisca, who was dressed in widow's weeds. I commented on the story of Don Klabil as we passed the hill, and she said, "Oh, yes. That was Don David, my husband. He used to lend money to the Indians." When he died, the Indians say he went to live in the cave from which he got money when he was alive.

The Indians feel at a disadvantage to Ladinos when they enter into capital and credit operations. They tell a story of how, many years ago, when all the Indians of Tzoʾontahal were rich, the mayordomos got drunk on *Paswamal*, the day of gathering flowers and greens to decorate the church. When the true day of the fiesta came, they looked about them and realized that the church was undecorated, so they strewed green peso notes on the floor of the church. The Ladinos from Teopisca came for the fiesta as

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usual, and seeing the pesos, picked them up. The "spirit of the money" left the village forever. The story reveals not only the sense of deprivation Indians feel in losing wealth to Ladinos (historically land the Indians had lost through fraud or legal trickery during the Porfirio Diaz period), but also their realization of their own responsibility for letting their assets slip out of their control.

Payment of interest on money borrowed is justified in the calculations of the Indians for loans made within as well as outside of the community. Interest, called *shol tak'in*, or "head" of money, makes it possible for the borrower to work, and thus to earn, so the "owner" has the right to charge for the use. The rate on loans made within the pueblo has risen from 2 or 3 pesos a month for 100 pesos to 5 pesos, thus equalizing the rate with that charged in the neighboring Ladino town. The same rate is applied between relatives as nonkin. The advantage of intracommunity borrowing is that the lender does not demand an immediate return, or as high security. Ladinos of the neighboring town tend to demand items of greater value than the debt held as security—one Ladino held title to land worth 1,000 pesos for a 50-peso debt, and threatened to foreclose. Within the pueblo, security of about the same value as the loan is asked except in the case of neighbors and relatives who can be reminded every day of the debt. And they are.

Markets. In marketing, the Indians of Tzo'ontahal have neither extended nor gained control over the selling and buying operations that have been pursued since before the opening of the Pan-American Highway in 1955. The pottery which is produced locally was formerly carried on horseback to the smaller towns within a radius of fifty miles. The pottery was marketed directly by the men of the household which produced it, with no specialization in trading by commercial travelers, as had happened in the Zapotec and other areas of Mexico. Since the penetration of the Pan-American Highway, the men take the pottery produced in their households by bus or on the trucks to either San Cristóbal or Comitán. This tends to polarize trading operations and dry up the traffic into small towns not connected by the highway. As a result, the wholesale trade in San Cristóbal and Comitán has increased in the past decade, with dealers

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In the strategy of incorporating new leadership, these tactics are employed. 621

1. The four regidores are assigned the task of bringing the novice scribe to the town authorities. They are the official recruiters for civil and religious office. [624]

2. The request is made to the parent of the appointed scribe in the formal speech of the patʔoʔtan. The appeal is cast in terms of the sacred nature of the task with reference to the "holy" nature of the post to be undertaken on this "holy hour, holy day and holy year."

3. The contractual relationship is initiated as always with a drinking session. The scribe is introduced into the drinking order as fourth in rank. The officials show solicitude as he is taught to drink "the gift of the gods and the ancestors." Once the gift of liquor has been accepted, the recipient has no recourse except to fulfill the obligation. [273]

These tactics, used also in other contractual arrangements, were inadequate to the task of inducting foreign Indians living in the township into the traditional hierarchy. In 1929, a Huistecan Indian, Augustín, who had worked as a laborer in a finca within the township, became president. Although he could not read, he was able to speak Spanish fluently. He succeeded in getting the first ejido grant under the land reform act of 1927. 621 609 622 191 423

During his term of office, Augustín was accused of abusing his authority on several occasions, as the following account shows:

When I was very young, my father told me about this land case. Augustín was president then. He tried to get land from my uncle's father-in-law, Juan. My uncle, Bartolo, defended his father-in-law's right to the land because he had good friends in Tuxtla. Augustín spoke Spanish very well, but he did not know how to read. Since my uncle knew how to read well, he gained the case. Augustín was angry. He invited all the curers to the town hall and ordered the police to bring in my uncle. My uncle was given something in a cup of liquor, and in three days he died. 159 622 661

Even if this story is untrue, or distorted because of the family relationship of the narrator and the victim, it reveals the sense of being exploited 622 661 609

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622 or abused by leaders from outside the community. Stories by other infor-
661 mants indicate that Augustín took advantage of his power as president.
• 609 He was accused of charging high fines in court and pocketing the money. Finally a case against him was brought to the Ministerio Publico in the departmental capital. The denunciation is recounted by Ceferino, the scribe, who replaced him as president:

159 *The court's decision was that Augustín had to return the three hundred*
622 *and fifty pesos that he had forced out of Juan in the land case. Augustín*
661 *claimed that it was difficult for him to pay the fine. He said he would pay*
609 *it in installments. Juan wanted it right away. After a month, the money*
[692] *still was not handed over. I spoke to the Ministerio Publico who told Augustín to sell his cattle. The pueblo wanted to seize the cattle. Augustín got frightened, and said he would sell his cattle. He sold them. After this he never returned to work in the pueblo.*

There were no killings in this affair. Eight days after he gave the money, Augustín came to the town hall with a pistol. I noticed it and said, "Better come in an register this pistol." He ignored this and spoke to the judge for a while.

I told a policeman, "Go get the pistol and register it." The policeman was afraid. I asked him, "Why are you afraid?" He said, "I am afraid." I said, "You have turned into a woman."

The policeman seized Augustín's arms. I went behind and took the pistol out of his hand. Augustín said, "Why are you taking my pistol? I have committed no crime."

I replied, "You came to bother the people here." I took away the pistol.

Augustín also knew how to wear a watch. His son bought it from a thief for one hundred and twenty-five pesos. We also took his watch because it was stolen. I told him, "Go look for work and earn money. The Ministerio Publico has given orders that you cannot continue working here. You cannot rob here any more."

He went away for two months, and then came back to get his things and moved to Teopisca.

621 Despite this successful denunciation, Augustín's son, Juan, tried to "get
609 control of the town." He and the other Huistecans of the barrio of Yeta-
578

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witz had formed a small *cacicazgo* (supporters of a cacique) of armed men. Because of their influence with departmental officials since the land grant, they had secured an order to reassign lots in the center, putting one family from Yetawitz in each block. The reaction of the townspeople to this "invasion" of barrio Indians was immediate and conclusive, as Ceferino's account reveals:

The owners of the house lots here objected to having their lots seized. They went to a lawyer in San Cristóbal, and they also had the help of the professor here. He was a good professor. We walked with the professor. The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles. The people from Yetawitz went to another lawyer in San Cristóbal. They got an order that the people of the pueblo would have to admit the people of Yetawitz. We returned to the lawyer. He asked where these people were from. We said they were from Huistán. They were well armed. Because of this, we went to take over their arms.

When we arrived at their house, Juan asked, "What are you here for?"

We answered, "We came to get your rifles."

They refused to give them up, but we seized their property. We tied up the men and carried them up to the pueblo. We dragged them like dogs up to the jail and put them in.

They asked, "Why are you putting us in jail?" and we answered, "Tomorrow we will arrange the case."

Four police stayed there. The next morning I came to see them. They had planned to go to Las Casas, but we ordered the saddles taken off the horses that were in readiness. We tried them, and they no longer bothered the pueblo.

The Huistecan's attempt to seize power reveals several significant factors in the genesis of cummunity political institutions. In the 1930s in Chiapas, the land reform act of 1927 was taking effect. Translation of law into reality in the local community required the drive and leadership of the Indians themselves. Literacy and Spanish-speaking skills were of even greater importance than before. The Indians of the center who had not been forced to work in the fincas and who had sufficient resources to resist contact with the outside economy were not in a position to take a leader-

621 423 178 177 [609] ship role in the new political setting. As a result, it was the marginal Indians, outsiders who had come as did Augustín to work as *baldios* (laborers) on the finca near the town, that were the drivng force behind the demand for land. This was the basis for the new leadership in the early days of land reform. The ejido program, conceived of by Cárdenas as a basis for political development of the campesinos, (Brandenburg 1964) gave these marginal Indians the opportunity to rise to positions of influence in local government. The reluctance of the townspeople to take action [754] against Augustín derived in part from fear, since he reputedly backed his use of force with witchcraft—the imported kind of witchcraft in which poisons are used instead of spiritual force.

622 554 177 178 [191] [464] Ceferino, the man who finally deposed Augustín, was a member of the traditional community, but because he had been impoverished by burying four members of his family in the typhoid epidemic of 1928, he had been forced to work in the fincas. There he had learned Spanish and some of the ways of the dominant society. His leadership potential had developed in the role of *caporal,* or gang leader of the pickers in the coffee finca, and he had been a leader in the trek of recruited laborers down to the fincas in Soconusco. Under the old authority structure, in which all officials including the president were recruited through the hierarchy, he would never have reached a prestigious position. But in this crisis, he was the only man willing to confront the incumbent and take over the operation of civil affairs.

622 554 Ceferino did not take advantage of the situation to emerge as a cacique himself. As he explained in his narrative, "The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles." The way in which he had been introduced into the cabildo as scribe had successfully neutralized his own ambitions to attain power, if he had any. He accepted the ideal of a united pueblo, recognizing the authority of the principales.

621 177 178 The increasing scope and frequency of relationships between the nation and the locality since the revolution has emphasized the roles of president and síndico at the expense of the authority and control exercised by the principales. The ceremonial significance of the principales in rituals is retained as a symbol of continuity in the change of officials, but their func-

776 The belief in power derived
174 from animal spirits was probably influenced by the Toltec belief in nahualism, or transformation of people after death into animals (Calnek 1962:22). The Toltec belief originated in the period of Mexican influence but had many local indigenous manifestations (Foster 1944). The integra-
793 tion of the two systems of power was brought about by calendar priests
787 controlling the distribution of animal spirits (Calnek 1962:19). The degree
754 of retention of calendrical knowledge and of belief in witchcraft gives us
177 one of the best indices of acculturation in the area.[2] In Tzoʔontahal there
178 is no remnant of calendar divination for ceremonial or predictive use.
776 However, witchcraft based on belief in animal spirits continues to be an important factor in the contest for power. The technique of secrecy, of pre-
[621] senting a united front in the face of attempts by the outside Ladinos to
• [609] tamper with the local social control system, persists to this day in the town.

621 An endemic problem in communities dominated by belief in witchcraft
626 is control over the evil power of witches. The traditional control system in
754 Tzoʔontahal operated through the guardianship of three sets of power-
769 holders who checked up on each other: the ancestors, the curers, and the
756 judges. The guardianship of the ancestors consisted in preventing any
177 child possessed of a swayohel from the devil from growing up to abuse his
178 power and in keeping any evil spirits from entering the town. The curers,

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[754] the Indians, whether out of cowardice or deceit, withdraw their accusation or claims,
[171] so that it is impossible to convict the evildoers for punishment; and for lack of sufficient proof they cannot be punished, or if there is enough basis to put them in prison, they sometimes disappear and flee to another jurisdiction and hide, denying their place of origin or changing their names.

2. In Oxchuk, calendar experts with the ability to divine the future still set the days for carrying out Catholic fiestas according to the twenty-day Maya ceremonial cycle. Each of the spirits symbolizing the twenty days wielded the power of good or evil. This provided the basis for predicting. When Villa Rojas studied the town in the 1940s, elders of patrilineal lineages controlled the behavior of members by causing sickness brought by their *lab*, or animal spirit (Villa Rojas 1947). In San Pedro Chenalhó, the principales exercise power through their *wayhel*, or animal spirit (Guiteras Holmes 1961). Nahuales of leaders of the patrilineages and principales are feared and respected in Larraínzar, although there is a growing discontent with their oppressive control (Holland 1963). Men believed to have thirteen nahuales figure as guardians and avengers for individuals in Pinola society, although the Indians of this community no longer have a hierarchy of civil offices through which their prestige can be publicly validated (Hermitte 1964).

while he was fiscal. He let control over the key to the church and the donation boxes slip into the hands of the priest. His opponents accused him of weakness and failure to act in the interest of the town. The careers of these fiscales illustrate the pitfalls for those filling the post. First, there is the temptation for personal gain, since the fiscal has access to the money of the saints: in the past three fiscales have been charged with robbery. Second, there is the problem that the fiscal serves two masters, the priest and the head cofrade, each of whom has different standards of conduct for the role: when the selection of the fiscal was in the hands of the cofrades, they chose a man who knew the pat?o?tan and who was to deal directly with the curers in rituals at the cave of the ancestors and in the homes of the cofrades; now he is chosen by the priest who prefers a young, literate man. If the fiscal follows the commands of the priest, he runs into problems with the cofrades. This was the difficulty with Antonio, who was put out of office by the cofrades because he yielded to the priest's demands to improve the convento and the church. As long as the conflict in interests between the priest and the traditional authorities exist, there is no successful position for the fiscal to take.

Conflict and Social Change

In the contest for leadership which has and is occurring, the following observations can be made on the basis of the events described.

1. The community has successfully incorporated the young, literate men into the framework of the traditional hierarchy. This has been accomplished by expanding the scope of activities of the president and síndico and by relieving them of serving in the lower posts of the hierarchy.

2. The ceremonial role of the principales serves as a symbol of continuity in government both in the tie they have with the past and in the annual changeover of officials.

3. The threat of foreign Indians in the township misusing their skills in dealing with the outside world has been overcome by removing them from office and preventing them from filling high posts.

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People who fail to conform to the customs of the town are said to lack "reason." This category includes those who do not attend to the advice of their elders. People from outside of town who do not behave in conventional patterns are said to be "of another sort."

Institutionalized patterns of behavior differ as to the degree of explicitness of the association between action and reason. Curing practices are most directly attached to an understanding of why they are performed. Ritual practices in the cult of the spirits are tied to a more general explanatory system in which something should be done "because it was the custom of our ancestors."

Competency. Judgments concerning the intelligence of a person and his ability to adjust to his social and physical environment complement the criteria of morality and reasonableness. Alertness, or intelligence is associated with the possession of more than one soul: a person may have from one to a dozen additional souls. Curers and witches, by virtue of their possession of an animal spirit, are by definition very intelligent. Evaluations of alertness are often made in discussing the personalities of others. In the myth concerning the three brothers and the honey (Chapter 8) God, the Elder Brother, was described as "not very bright," Jesus Christ, the Second Brother, as "a little brighter," and the Holy Ghost, the Youngest Brother as "the brightest." Alertness is usually associated with manipulation for one's own advantage, but is not necessarily antithetical to having a good heart. In the myth mentioned above, the youngest brother outwits his two older brothers to his own advantage, and coincidentally that of the world.

The word *b'ol* is used figuratively to express the opposite of alertness, stupidity. Literally it means one who is mute; the connection is significant. A child born mute is said to have had its soul stolen at birth so that he must exist without speech. The power of speech is highly valued and the prestigeful roles are accorded to those who can speak well in both formal and informal exchanges. It is a dangerous skill, since the ability to talk to the gods gives an advantage to the speaker over the general population. The ability to speak to the earth, a talent which people say the ancestors possessed and which curers in the neighboring town of Chamula still

156 accused of having an evil supernatural spirit. (A consequence of
754 this is that recent immigrants to the village, not well known by
[609] the community at large, or solitary characters that keep to themselves, are more likely to be thought of as witches even if they do not break community norms.)

621 The Macro-Structure: Barrios

Amatenango and Aguacatenango are both divided into two barrios which are territorial divisions separated by an imaginary line that cuts across the villages through their central plazas. The barrios of Amatenango are called Aconantik and Anantik (Upper and Lower) while the Aguacatenango barrios have Saint's names.

[171] This dual barrio division is common to many Indian settlements in the Tzeltal-Tzotzil region of the highlands of Chiapas, as opposed to the multiple barrio system of the mixed Indian and Ladino towns.

In the community of Oxchuc, the barrios (kalpuletik) function, according to Siverts (1960), as non-exogamous moieties with important political and ritual functions. In the opinion of this author, these barrios are just pseudo-moieties (Murdock, 1949; 47) not being based on rules of descent, but cutting across the lineage, sib and phratry units to which Oxchuqueros belong (Guiteras Holmes, C. 1952; Villa Rojas, 1945). This definition as pseudo-moieties holds true for the barrios of both Amatenango and Aguacatenango. They are not directly connected with any descent groups, but are territorial units with functions similar to those of real moieties.

/11 cont./

601 father and his brother, mother and her sister -- using for this class of relatives the /12/ same terms, even though making use of a suffix that distinguishes real parents from the classificatory ones, and in the same way among their reciprocals, as we have noted above. In ordinary conversation the suffix may be eliminated, thus confusing the real relatives with the classificatory ones. The children of these relatives are all brothers and sisters among themselves.

601 This type of system seems to have its origin in the one
• 611 known by the name of "Omaha," whose most outstanding characteristic is the classification of the male descendants of the mother's brother, through the male line, with the mother's brother, and the classification of the female descendants, through the male line, of this same relative with the mother's sister. Nevertheless, in Cancuc there is a marked tendency to designate by means of the term kichán both the male and female descendants of the mother's brother, through the male line, without any distinction of sex, which, according to the rule of the uniform reciprocals, brings with it on the part of a female EGO the designation of kichán for the children of the father's sister, in place of the kaal-jún used by a woman for this class of relatives. Furthermore, we are faced with the fact that the descendants of the mother's brother through the female line are no longer considered as relatives; that is to say, the descendants of a woman who is designated by the term mee-jún, and who, according to the rule of uniform descent, should
601 receive the title of "siblings," are not considered as such. This
614 disequilibrium tends to disappear with the elimination of the term mee-jún for this class of relatives and the extension of the term kichán for the designation of the same, embracing all the members of the maternal clan, that is to say, all those whom the mother of EGO calls "brother" and "sister." The term kichán, which formerly denoted "man of my mother's clan," would now mean "every person of my mother's clan."

[114] We have not been able to obtain the kinship terms corresponding to the descendants of the grandparents' siblings, since in the genealogies that we possess these terms do not appear because of having been replaced by those applied to clan siblings, or chapomales, or to members of the maternal clan, due to marriages concluded with persons belonging to these clans, there existing, as we have already indicated, a preference for these terms over those.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

a marriage was incestuous in the same sense as marriage between close relations. These surnames are transmitted patrilineally. Of ten informants in Chanal, nine gave their Indian surnames; the tenth said he had none. Furthermore, in cases where potential spouses have the same Spanish surname but different Indian surnames—and such cases occur—marriage between such persons is similarly discouraged. And in San Martin, Tenango, Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo, where apparently the Indian surnames do not exist, Villa received information to the effect that marriage between persons of the same Spanish surname is disapproved.[71]

Indian surnames noted by Villa, with translations offered him, follow:

CHANAL: Yemuc (large mouth), Xampil, Tiib, Calabal, Chicó, Cories, Comistal.
TENEJAPA: Tzurin (sowing?), Hoviltzil (mad dog), Uacax (cow), Chacax (?), Mee-mut (mother hen), Lobal (banana), Ton (stone).
CANCUC: Oxom, Say, Chig-yax, Coreta, Caxlan-pucú, Hokob-canela.
OXCHUC: Chinbac (small bone), Aquilan (from Aquilar), Chichol (tomato), Barsen (*pinto*), Nimail (squash-tip), Holchi (deer head).

In all the highland villages information was given to the effect that each *pueblo* (town, with its rural population, if any) is endogamous; in most instances the endogamy was represented as absolute. As some of the communities include only a few score of households, the matter requires further investigation.

The communities of Cancuc, Oxchuc, and Bachajón (and apparently only these) are divided into antagonistic sub-communities called *calpules*. (Neither Starr nor Blom and LaFarge give information on this point.) In each case an imaginary east-west line across the plaza divides the northern lands of the one calpul from the southern lands of the other. In Cancuc (at least) the lands of the north are considered "hot," those of the south "cold," with corresponding favorable and unfavorable connotations as to their fertility. In Cancuc the northern calpul is called either *muhul calpul* 'large calpul' or else *alankuluhibal;* the southern is called *bikit calpul* 'small calpul' or else *kalankuluhibal*. Each calpul (*barrio* to the Ladinos) had its own government, established by the members of each calpul independently of the formal local government, which, recognized by the state and national authorities, acts for both calpules in matters that must be taken to the outside authorities. In Oxchuc the calpul officers are one *presidente*, two *alcaldes* or *cantakines*, two *gobernadores*, two *catinab* 'very respected chiefs,'

[71] Among the Lacandons there are patrilineal, totemically named kinships grouped into two exogamous phratries (Soustelle, 1935); it is likely that among the ancient Maya of Yucatan there was surname exogamy. Landa says (Section XXIV), "... the Indians consider all of the same name related, and treat them accordingly. ... Thus also no man or woman marries another of the same name, because this was for them a great infamy" (Gates, 1937, p. 30). Landa also says (Section XXV), "... nor did they ever marry one bearing their own name on the father's side, for this was considered a very bad thing." On the subject of Maya names, Roys says, "The Maya family name, which was perpetuated on the male line, survived the Conquest, but the old pagan pre-names were abolished and replaced by Spanish Christian names when the Indians were baptized. Two varieties of pre-names are well known, one indicating a man's profession or office, and the other, derived from his mother and preceded by the prefix Na-. The Maya called the latter the 'mat,' and there were also two other classes of pre-names, which they called the 'boy-name' and the 'jesting name.' Many of the 'boy-names' are referable to fauna-names, especially those of birds, while some of the 'jesting names' appear to be descriptive. It seems to have been possible for a single person to have borne all four names" (Roys, 1934, p. 106).

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VII

CORPORATE GROUPS WITHIN THE VILLAGE

Historical Perspective

174 611 591 601 583 423 428 It is probable that the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango had, at some time in their past, a patrilineal organization based on agnatic descent, patri-virilocality, a kinship terminology of the Normal Omaha type, and other associated features such as bride-price, groom service, patrilineal control of the rights to land usufruct, and patrilineal inheritance.

174 613 614 621 626 Each agnatic descent group formed segments of a corporate lineage, and several segments formed a sib. Lineages were localized, and they had important social functions. The heads of linear segments formed the local government and had the responsibility of controlling conflict and sanctioning individual behavior through the supernatural. They were believed to "own" powerful animal counterparts of their souls, which patrolled the village during sleep, and punished the misdemeanors of those men belonging to their line of descent. It is also probable that the lineage was [582] an exogamous unit, and there is some scanty evidence which points to the practice of cross-cousin marriage.

127 The evidence to support this hypothetical statement is of two types. On the one hand, there is some historical documentation in published, as well as manuscript, form. On the other hand,

127 014 Although Murdock's statement takes a position which is not fully supported by the historical evidence, all information, however incomplete, points in the same direction.

127 611 Baroco (1959b), working with the Register of Civil Marriages of the state of Chiapas from 1880 for Chanal, and the censuses of the same village for 1957, noticed that several patrilineal inherited Indian names were attached to a single Spanish surname. The Indian name functioned in regulating marriages. Moreover, through some of the realignments (in time depth) of name groups, he pointed out that the fusion and fission of the lineal segments could be traced historically, not only for one village, but for several villages sharing the same lineage names and suspected clans (represented by the Spanish name groups).

In another unpublished article, Baroco (1959a) indicated that according to the sixteenth and eighteenth century documents, including a book of baptisms, patrilineal name groups were associated with the naming of children with calendrical personal names, that is, names of the Mayan calendar, a custom reported in all early Mayan sources (see Barrera Vazguez, Ed. 1948; Recinos, A., Ed. 1950; Ximenez, Ed. 1857).

Contemporary evidence shows that several communities in the Chiapas highlands still preserve a strong patrilineal bent. Localized agnatic lineages and clans have been reported for Oxchuc (Villa Rojas, 1945; Siverts, H., 1960) where they have both ritual political and land-tenure regulatory functions, and Cancuc (Guiteras-Holmes, 1952). Patrilineally inherited name groups with restricted corporate functions are present in practically

127 every Chiapas Highland community, including some highly acculturated towns such as Venustiano Carranza (McQuown et al., 1959).
611

128 Amatenango and Aguacatenango both have patrilineally inherited name groups and other slight indications of the previously hypothesized patrilineal "bent" (e.g., bride-price). Our problem, however, is not to reconstruct a hypothetical past, nor to assess the possibility of a change from patrilineal to something else. In this study, the discussion of the name groups will be carried on in the context of their functions, if any, at the present time.
611

Functions

If the theory of functional correlations between residence, kinship terminology, marriage customs, exogamy, etc., has any validity, we would suspect that Amatenango, with a domestic group organized along bilateral lines and matri-uxorilocal and viri-patrilocal residence having equal incidence, would not have unilineal descent groups, while Aguacatenango, with patri-virilocal residence and a domestic group organized around a core of agnatically related males would have preserved or have now (if it ever had, a fact which at the present we cannot emphatically support), an organization based on agnatic lineages, or it will show some aspects of a lineal organization outside the realm of the domestic unit.

571 In Amatenango, as suspected, the name groups "are not now
[613] functioning units in the social organization, neither on marriage, inheritance or social control" (Nash, J., 1960:5). Work activities, rituals, participation in community-wide sodality groups or festivities, compadrazgo ties, etc., are carried on by the household

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

614 exception, both names (lineage and clan)
613 are inherited from the father.

[178] In the more acculturated communities the
[612] clan and lineage system tends to disappear and to be replaced by the bilateral system,
[582] characteristic of Ladino society. In Aguacatenango, despite the belief that there is a relationship between people of the same
613 Spanish name, they may marry. Moreover, they are starting to be ashamed of using the indigenous name differentiating the lineages. B. Metzger states (1959, p. 18):

[551] Lineage names appear to be used as surnames within the community—as we have discovered
[P 214-B]

614 /1/ Cancuc is a Tzeltal town of Chiapas, Mexico, whose
[101] social organization is based on exogamous patrilineal clans.
[776] These clans are intimately related to: 1) the nagual or guardian
[551] spirit, which is given the name of lab among the Indians of this
[613] region; 2) the native surnames that constitute the lineages within
[621] the clans; 3) the "barrios," as the Spanish chroniclers called the endogamous tribal subdivisions (called calpulli among the Aztecs and culibal in Cancuc); 4) the kinship system; and 5) the behavior.

614 All the individuals belonging to a clan consider themselves
601 "legitimate siblings" /Sp. "hermanos legítimos"/, using the terms that designate this class of relatives. This theoretical consanguineous kinship is expressed by means of the word chapomal -- a Cancuquero /a person from Cancuc/ calls another "brother" be-
614 cause he is his chapomal. This form of usage is indicative of
601 common ancestry, something that we were not able to clarify, as
124 our questions on this point only received answers that showed that
829 they had lost any notion of a real or mythical ancestor. Our informants invariably explained this situation with the expressions: "it is the custom," "San Juan /Saint John/ (Patron Saint of Cancuc) ordered it so," or "it was ordered by Manuel (God)." What does constitute a clear concept in the minds of all is that "formerly" each clan lived in a cave, from which its members went out in the form of human beings to populate the earth and in which lived the naguales, or lab, that bound them to their place of origin.
[775] The soul came back to this cave after death. There are as many caves as the number of clans.

614 The children belonged to the paternal clan. A woman who marries does not become a member of the clan of her husband.

/2/ Exogamy is strictly respected; persons belonging to the same clan never marry each other.

[591] The clans are not local, as their members live in all of the places and rancherias.

[178] At present the clans lack chiefs, this institution having dis-
[669] appeared about 30 years ago, according to all our information, when the zone that we are studying underwent a chaotic period due to political revolts.

/5 cont./

551 614 The great majority of the native surnames could not be translated by our informants, who asserted that they did not signify anything in the Tzeltal language. Those for which we could obtain the meaning are: Chan ... snake, of the Ijká clan; Chij ... deer, of the Chik clan; Uax ... wildcat, of the Boj clan; Chikin ... ear, of the Chik clan; and Lot ... lie /Sp. mentira, lie, story, error/, of the Ijká clan.

428 424 551 613 614 The surnames are inherited through the paternal line and constitute the lineages within each clan. The lands formerly belonged to the lineage and could not be alienated. This custom is tending to disappear in recent times, but even today we have found several cases in which only an individual belonging to the lineage can occupy land that has been left without an owner when one has died without leaving male descendants.

166 551 553 614 A native from another municipality or group who comes to Cancuc with the aim of settling down in it must be incorporated into one of the clans, for which it is necessary to change his native surname for a Cancuc one. (The different native groups of this central region of the State of Chiapas have surnames that differ among themselves, and it is through them that their place of origin is shown.) Generally he keeps the Spanish surname and takes a native surname that in Cancuc corresponds to that. One Gómez Tzima from Oxchuc became Gómez Uotán of the Chejeb clan of Cancuc. One Aguilar belongs to the Chik clan, like all the Aguilar of Cancuc. One Santis Kujul, the small son of an Oxchuquero and a woman from Cancuc, gave up his surname from Oxchuc when his father died and his mother's family incorporated him into the Ijká clan, changing the native surname Kujul for that of Lul, "so that he will be from here, and have his chapomales here, and marry here," his maternal aunt of the Chik clan explained to us. These cases are rare. We could not find out before whom these incorporations are carried out. One informant, born [829] in Cancuc, whose paternal grandfather /6/ had come from the municipality of Tenejapa, told us that he had heard his father say that "in the old times the old people arranged that."

/6 cont./

551 621 614

Ajkol-culibal	Alán-culibal
19 Chik	14 Chik
13 Chejeb	18 Chejeb
22 Ijká	6 Ijká

/7/ Among the Spanish surnames we have 6 that belong exclusively to Alán- and 6 to Ajkol-culibal (not counting the case in which a native surname of the Chik clan is joined to two different Spanish surnames that are found in both culibales). The remaining 14 Spanish surnames are combined with surnames from the two culibales.

621 582 178 174 551 Today the culibal is not endogamous, but we believe it possible that it was in former times (as we have found in recent investigations of the Tzotzil group of San Pablo Chalchihuitán of this region). The present possibility of changing residence and the incorporation of native surnames originating from a culibal (or perhaps two) that have disappeared within the boundaries of the two remaining make the reconstruction of the pre-Hispanic 621 582 551 culibal impossible in this case. According to the data obtained in our census, 62.5 o/o of the marriages were concluded between persons whose native surnames originated from the same culibal. [125] [166] [613] In spite of the low percentage, nevertheless the custom of marriage between people of the same culibal predominates (we should not forget the mobility permitted in recent times, because of which residents of one culibal are persons whose lineages originate from the other), although cases of marriage between persons belonging [614] to the two different culibales also abound. It is almost always preferred to look for a wife among the women of the same place or rancheria, but at present we can say that clan exogamy is the only thing that regulates marriage.

621 622 [631] [614] [651] Each culibal has its own chiefs, elected from and by those members who have filled political-religious positions in the Chakel or Ayuntamiento /municipal government/. The clans are taken into account in this election, rigorously taking turns. The culibal chiefs assign the communal lands, organize the collective tasks for the benefit of the community, pray for the health and

/11 cont./

60 and mu (brother-in-law) instead of kichán, preference being given to the relationship through the paternal lineage or clan over the term corresponding to this consanguineous relative, but of the maternal clan. This rule is applied to any relative by affinity, with the exception of parents-in-law, sons-in-law, and daughters-in-law, even though in referring to these relatives one hears said: "my mother-in-law is my sister" or "my father-in-law is my chapomal." The terms that designate the son-in-law (nial) and the daughter-in-law (kalib) are used by both EGOS; but not their reciprocals, which not only take into account the sex of the relative, but also the sex of EGO. These reciprocals are compound forms, formed by the above plus the suffixes mamal (old man) and meel (old woman) for father-in-law and mother-in-law, respectively: nial-mamal (father-in-law) and nial-meel (mother-in-law) for parents-in-law of a male EGO, and kalib-mamal (father-in-law) and kalib-meel (mother-in-law) for parents-in-law of a female EGO. The brothers of parents-in-law are named in the same way, even though there is a tendency to limit this nomenclature to the collateral parents-in-law, calling the father-in-law's sister "sister-in-law," and the mother-in-law's brother simply "gentleman" /Sp. "señor"/ (tatik), the same as a non-relative. The terms used in the designation of the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are three: a man calls his wife's brother and his sister's husband bal; a woman calls her husband's sister and her brother's wife jauán, and mu is used by a man and a woman to designate a sibling-in-law of the opposite sex, that is to say, wife's sister, a woman's sister's husband, the husband's brother, and a man's brother's wife. The terms for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are extended so far as to include all of the members of the clan to which the spouse belongs.

[614] [613] In this kinship system we see how the nomenclature is primordially based on the grouping into exogamous clans, stressing the paternal and maternal lineages so far as to include all the members of the two clans to which these lineages belong. The parallel and cross lines are markedly differentiated. We can say that there is fusion between lineal and collateral relatives --

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

463 241 handle the milpa. It is rare to find an Indian who does not have a milpa since this is the work that ensures his existence.

Property Rights

423 613 This is a matter that varies according to the degree of acculturation reached by the community. In the most conservative groups [177] [181] (Oxchuc, Cancuc, Tenejapa, Tenango) there are still family property rights, but they seem to depend on lineage rather than on the immediate family (Villa Rojas, 562 1947, ch. 19). As these lineages are patri- 428 lineal, a woman does not count when inheritance is involved. She can own her parcel of land only when she has saved the money to buy it, but this is not frequent. Any man can claim lands that previously belonged to his lineage, it is enough to give back the money paid for them two or three generations ago. Of course, he has to prove by witnesses or documents that those lands were the property of his lineage.

127 According to a document dated 1861, 423 which I found in the possession of the 613 Gómez Ichiloks (they belong to the Gómez 614 clan and to the Ichilok lineage), residents of the paraje of Tzajalchen of the municipio of Oxchuc, this property system seems to be very ancient. The document is of special interest.

000 DOCUMENTO DE TIERRAS DE LOS GÓMEZ ICHILOK [A]

Por pedimento de los ciudadanos Domingo Gómez Ichílok, Tomás Gomez Ichílok, otro Tomás Gómez Ichílok, Miguel Gómez Ichílok, Diego Gómez Ichílok, otre, Domingo Gómez Ichílok, otro Diego Gómez Ichílok y su hijo Diego Gómez Ichilok y por último su hijo menor Manuel Gómez Ichílok, y como antiguamente se acostumbra en este pueblo que segun los hermanos de una propria familia, se les demarca un retazo de terreno de ejido para que en lo sucesivo no haya pleitos con los vecinos como suele suceder, nosotros los Gobernadores, Auxiliares, Justicias, Escribanos y Testigos, pasamos al paraje denominado Tzajalchén a

[P. 211-A]

[A] /For a translation by H.R.A.F. of this document, see category 116, p. 225-C--Analyst/

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

000 ponerles sus mojones y a darles al posesión que les corresponde segun el número de ellos.

"Donde principió parar primer mojón *Busulton Pacton* que está en el camino derecho; 2° mojón *Oxloton* que está en el camino; 3er. mojón *Tzovilton*; 4° mojón *Tequelton*, mojón con Pedro Moreno; 5° mojón *Yolilnelej Lomchen*; 6° mojón de acuerdo con Juan Gómez Bet y Martin Sanchez Chelap se llama la raya *Teguel Canté* que es también la raya con Manuel Chinbak; 7° mojón *Tequelton* raya única con Marcos Hernandez López y Diego López y Diego Giron Vázquez; 8° mojón y último *Basulton Pacton*.

"Habiendo quedado todos los vecinos colindantes contentos, ofreciendo ambos que en lo sucesive no tendrán el menor disgusto, pues, son nativos de su propio pueblo, bajo el concepto que si alguno delinquiese en trastornar el orden en que han quedado, el agraviado lo pondrá en conocimiento del Juez para aberiguarlo y aplicarle la pena que merezca, para acuya seguridad son testigos Lorenzo Ichilok, Martin Solel, Miguel Gómez Ichilok y Gobernadores Diego Méndez Chizna y Nicolas Jiménez Acux. Por los testigos y Gobernadores que no saben firmar. Abril 12 de 1861 y como testigo y escribano Alonso Santis.

423 613 614 The descendants of the Gómez Ichiloks still live in the same paraje of Tzajalchen and share the same parcel. In other lineages the original parcel was subdivided on agree-
[178] ment between the interested parties. In this way single individuals now own pieces of land, a type of property ownership that is becoming more general as the old social organization based on clans and lineages gradually breaks up.

423 427 The parcels can be rented to people of other lineages and of other communities. Often the Tzeltal of Oxchuc rent their parcels to natives from Tenejapa or Cancuc
[613] who are their immediate neighbors. Pay-
[614] ment, made with food, chicha, and money, must be shared by the most important members of the same clan other than the ones of the same lineage (Villa Rojas, 1947, ch. 19).

[P 211-B]

423 592 [184] In the most acculturated communities (Aguacatenango and Amatenango) individually held property is more general. The head of the house is the owner of the parcel and he can manage it as he pleases. Referring to Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1980, p. 11) states that:

> In general, land is "owned"—that is, controlled—by the household; as long as the son lives with the father, he may speak of "his land," but in fact he works the land with his father, planting what and when his father de-
> [428] cides. The son who lives apart is usually given a piece of land by his father, and he acquires new land which he, in turn, will pass on to his sons at his death or, if he chooses, before.

[613] [593] At this level the lineage concept has disappeared, and the only recognized connection is the father-son relationship.

423 Irrigated lands ("tierras irrigables"), however, in Aguacatenango and in Amatenango contain parcels belonging to private owners and parcels used in common, which are administered or given by the local authorities to be cultivated. Metzger (*ibid.*) informs us that: "Recently, land has been bought on the edges of the town by each of the two barrios for the exclusive use of their members, while in the irrigable area the holdings of members of the two barrios are separate and watered by separate canals."

[175] Ejido lands exist in almost all the region, distributed according to the Programa Agrario de la Revolución Mexicana since 1914 but in some communities not put into practice until after 1930. These lands are administered by the "comite ejidal" of each municipio, which gives to any individual who needs land the permission to cultivate it. These lands cannot be sold or transferred in any way, because they are considered common property.

421 586 Family land as well as the house and its equipment belong to the man. When a marriage is dissolved, the woman goes back to her parents without taking anything but

[P 212-A]

556 829 183 know, with the aid of the *naguales* (supernatural spirits), about the wealth each member of the group has; those who have more than necessary must pay for the expenses of fiestas, etc.

Social Organization

Kinship

614 613 The basic elements of the clan system of the ancient Maya can still be found in the most conservative groups. At the present time, the kinship system is divided into patrilineal clans, which are divided into [199] patrilineages. In some cases, the name of the clan is of Spanish origin; the name of the lineage, of indigenous origin. In Oxchuc there are six clans whose names are: Gómez, Santis, López, Méndez, Encines, and Rodríguez. The first two clans are the largest, since the Gómez clan has 37 lineages, the Santis 39. The last two are almost disappearing as they have only one or two lineages. Among the indigenous names for lineages are: Ichilok, Nimail, Akux, Cojton, Chic, Molox, Nich, Antun, Chisná, Tib, and Mulesh. These designate names of animals, plants, or objects.

A man whose name is Juan Gómez Nich, for example, belongs to the Gómez clan and to the Nich lineage. Generally, the name of the lineage is enough to show to which clan somebody belongs; if his name is Juan Nich, it is immediately known that he is from the Gómez clan. This special characteristic of the indigenous name is designated by the word *Jol s'bij*, which means 'head of the name.'

[184] In Cancuc (a community next to Oxchuc) clans have special names, such as Chik, Chejeb, Ijká, and Boj. If the indigenous name is known, the clan name is self-evident. The Spanish name has lost its specific function, and, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, pp. 4–5), there are Indians who do not even remember it. However, the Spanish surname designates exogamic units of a patrilineal type throughout the region; without

[P. 213-B]

[Text continues on p. 214-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

614 exception, both names (lineage and clan)
613 are inherited from the father.

[178] In the more acculturated communities the
[612] clan and lineage system tends to disappear and to be replaced by the bilateral system,
[582] characteristic of Ladino society. In Aguacatenango, despite the belief that there is a relationship between people of the same
613 Spanish name, they may marry. Moreover, they are starting to be ashamed of using the indigenous name differentiating the lineages. B. Metzger states (1959, p. 18):

[551] Lineage names appear to be used as surnames within the community—as we have discovered
[P. 214-B]

613 551 by overhearing them spoken in unguarded moments—but their existence is vigorously denied or only cautiously admitted to outsiders. As a result, we have not been able to discover how these names are distributed in the community, how wide the lineage is, and whether or not kinship terms are applied throughout.

613 [614] In the more conservative municipios the clans are not centralized but dispersed throughout the parajes. Lineages are now fragmented, and the common ancestor is no longer remembered. Generally these lineages are localized in one or two parajes, but neither can remember its genealogy further

[P. 214-C]

613 than three or four generations. In the past, these lineages were localized, and in places like Bachajon, Cancuc, and Oxchuc the exact locations are still remembered.

613 769 778 A few generations ago, the most distinguished members of each lineage were buried in the cave after which the paraje was named, the bones and ashes of the dead being placed in large jugs or urns. The caves were places for ceremonies honoring the ancestors. Blom (1954) made a study of these burials and mapped the distribution of the sites. These caves are still places for worship but not for burials; the cross protecting all members of the lineage is kept there, as well as, in some instances, small crosses belonging to the important members of it (Villa Rojas, 1946, p. 16).

614 The words *chapomal* and *tijinabal* name the members of the clan in general. It is said that "the neighbors of this paraje are all chapomales," or "those cannot get married because they are chapomales." Tijinabal also means neighbor or member of the same paraje. Another word, *patshunk*, is also an equivalent of tijinabal. These words are currently used in Oxchuc, Cancuc, and Bachajon. On the other hand, there is no specific word to designate the lineage.

[835] The main function of the clan is to regulate marriage, as the union of two chapomales is considered incestuous. The clan [574] also gives much self-confidence to the Indian who travels to other parajes, for he can always find hospitality among people of his own clan. It also has a function of social control, exercised by the old men of the group, who punish all transgressors against the established rules. Helped by the nagual (supernatural spirit), they find out about the behavior of the members of the clan and punish according to the crime (Villa Rojas, 1947).

614 626 887

613 428 The lineage relationship is also important in inheritance (especially land), since the plots should always be under the control of individuals of the same Indian name. Only where such persons are absent or missing or

[P 215-A]

613 [428] have no interest in the land is preference given to the chapomales of other lineages. The importance of the lineage is stressed again during events such as curing ceremonies, conflicts, weddings, burials, fiestas, or banquets, where members of the same lineage should be invited first, then the chapomales.

601 The Omaha type of terminology still predominates in the more conservative municipios, where the same names are used for children of the father's sister as well as for children of the ego's sister, while children of the mother's brother are considered to be uncles and aunts on the matrilineal side (Murdock, 1949, p. 102; Guiteras Holmes, 1947, pp. 13–15; J. Nash, 1959, pp. 4–7).

The name *kichan*, given to the mother's brother, is also given to all the patrilineal descendants, stressing the concept that they are regarded as persons from another clan.

The most common kin terms collected in Cancuc by Guiteras Holmes (1947, p. 8) and in Oxchuc by Siverts (1955, pp. 16–20) are practically the same.

Tzeltal	*English*
Bankil	older brother of a man
Xibel	older brother of a woman
uish	older sister; father's sister
Kitzin	youngest brother or sister
Tat	father
Me	mother
Nichán	a man's children
Kaal	a woman's children
Ta-jun	father's brother
Mee-jun	mother's sister
Nicha-jun	the children of a man's brother
Kaal-jun	the children of a woman's sister
Kichán	mother's brother; children of a man's sister
Cha-mam	a man's grandchildren
Kil-al	a woman's grandchildren
Mam	grandfather
Meel-kuj	grandmother
Mamalal	husband
Kinam	wife
Bal	a man's brother-in-law
Jauan	a woman's sister-in-law
Mu	siblings-in-law of opposite sex

[P. 215-B]

[Text continues on p. 216-B]

Though the nuclear family predominates,

591 custom dictates that the house be near mem-
613 bers of the same lineage or patrilineal
[361] group, perhaps because of the patrilineal
[592] system of land inheritance. In the parajes groups of houses in which families composed of mother, father, uncles, and other members of the patriline live are common.
[351] No fences mark the limits of the property; their infrequent presence merely keeps the
591 pigs and chickens under control. This group
592 of houses, easily accessible and inhabited by people related by kinship, constitutes the most important influence in the individual's formation, since it is here that he acquires his first experiences and cultural values, as well as the emotional links that will have the greatest weight in his life. This system of patrilocal residence is observed all through the region, even in compact villages like Aguacatenango, where lack of space favors dispersion. B. Metzger (1959) tells us: "Looking at the nuclear families to trace patrilocality there, we find that in 74 cases where we have adequate data, 39 are in the same block and 12 in adjacent blocks with husband's parents or siblings; 11 in the same block and 8 in adjacent blocks with wife's parents or siblings; 4 are classed to neither spouse's family."

351 In villages or cabeceras of a compact type
591 it is customary to mark family plots by a
592 fence of stones or sticks, with entrance toward the street (Chanal, Sivaca, Amatenango, Aguacatenango.) Occasionally, when the nuclear family is divided because of the marriage of one of the sons, then the "solar" or the "sitio" (as it is called in the region) is subdivided by another fence that separates the portion now belonging to the new family. A door allows easy communication between both families. Sometimes, even three nuclear families live in a large sitio, divided by fences.

583 *Types of Marriage*

Types of marriage vary from that following the old traditional to one requiring the

[P. 217-A]

753 thunder, wind, or lightning. All the men
776 who occupy or have occupied cargos in the
[794] political or religious organization are sup-
[888] posed to have a nagual, as do the older
[613] members of the lineage. They consider it their duty to punish those members of the group who have sinned and use their nagual, who can devour the soul of the victim little by little.

774 According to this idea, everybody has two
776 souls: one which can be eaten by the naguales, and one which follows the destiny that its patron saint has planned for it.
761 When death comes, the naguales take away
775 the first soul and have a banquet up in the
776 mountains. In this feast, the naguales of the old people of the clan participate, joined by others induced to comradeship.

761 It is a widespread belief that at midyear
773 the naguales go to a place in heaven called
776 Atimaltik, where an old man who possesses the Book of Life lives. Since in this book he keeps account of the time each person can live, it is a source of information for the naguales, who thus can know who is close to death. When the signature of a person disappears from the book, this means that the person died.

764 People have to keep watch over the body for two days and two nights. It is placed on a wooden plank in the middle of the house after being washed or just given a change of clothes. Two candles are placed at the head. At night friends and neighbors come to keep company with the family. They play harp and guitar and drink chicha and aguardiente. At dawn, the men go home and the women remain crying near the corpse.

[613] Following the ancient custom, the dead are buried near the graves of other men of
[184] the same lineage. In Cancuc, however, dead are buried inside the house.

The bottom and sides of the grave are covered with slabs to form a coffin. The corpse, bundled up in a petate, is placed inside. His clothes and other articles he may

[P. 224-B]

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/Document of Lands of the Gómez Ichilok

On account of the petition of the citizens Domingo Gómez Ichilok, Tomás Gómez Ichilok, another Tomás Gómez Ichilok, Miguel Gómez Ichilok, Diego Gómez Ichilok, another Domingo Gómez Ichilok, another Diego Gómez Ichilok and his son Diego Gómez Ichilok, and lastly his minor son, Manuel Gómez Ichilok, and as formerly was the custom in this town that, according to the brothers of one family, a piece of common land is marked off for them so that in the future there will be no disputes with the neighbors as is usually the case, we the Governors, Auxiliaries, Justices, Scribes and Witnesses, give the paraje /place/ called Tzajalchén for them to put their landmarks on and to give them the possession that corresponds to them according to their number.

"Where began to stand the first landmark Busulton Pacton which is on the road to the right; 2nd landmark Oxloton which is on the road; 3rd landmark Tzovilton; 4th landmark Tequelton, landmark with Pedro Moreno; 5th landmark Yolilnelej Lomchen; 6th landmark in accord with Juan Gómez Bet and Martin Sanchez Chelap is called the line Teguel Cante which is also the line with Manuel Chinbak; 7th landmark Tequelton only line with Marcos Hernandez López and Diego Lopez and Diego Giron Vásquez; 8th and last landmark Basulton Pacton.

"Having left all the bordering neighbors content, offering both that in the future they will not have the least disagreement, as they are natives of their own town, under the judgment that if anyone is guilty in upsetting the order in which it has been left, the injured party will put in the cognizance of the Judge to investigate it and to apply the punishment that it deserves, for whose security the witnesses are Lorenzo Ichilok, Martin Solel, Miguel Gómez Ichilok and Governors Diego Méndez Chizna and Nicolas Jiménez Acux. For the witnesses and Governors who do not know how to sign their names. April 12 of 1861 and as witness and scribe Alonso Santis./

[P 225-C]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

waters. The curer brushes the patients with branches of the cooling bushes and herbs growing near the spring, the same ones used in the fiesta of inauguration and the curing ceremonies conducted in the house. The strategy of making the house spirit happy by providing music, dancing, and drinking is repeated at the spring to make the water spirit happy. Some of the family of the patient must remain in the house as "waiters" (*maliwanehetik*) to receive the spirit if it should arrive before its owner. The maliwanehetik must drink as much liquor as the participants at the spring.

The Cave of the Ancestors. The ancestors, the *me?tiktatik*, were believed to have lived in a cave in the hills lying on the peripheries of the township. In the myth that follows, they are given a historical identity as two brothers, the Shuntonetik. Shunton is one of the Tzeltal patronyms of families still living in the town, and in fact the narrator of this version of the myth is Mariano Shunton, whom people consider a descendant of the ancestors.[6]

Formerly a priest asked for a document to be delivered to Antigua in Guatemala. Two messengers were sent with it, but they did not return. Another messenger went and did not return. Four or five more messengers were sent out and did not come back. Finally they sent a man from the cabildo with his younger brother. They left early in the morning, and the elder brother said as he left the other town officials, "If I succeed, I want a fiesta. Look for my sign of four arches [rainbow]."

The two brothers first went to a hill. There they called upon their swayohelik [*animal spirits*]. *First the animal spirit of the elder brother spoke. He said, "I am a stone." Then the animal spirit of the younger brother said, "I am a stick. Moreover, I am a snake and a maguey plant." The elder brother said, "Then we are well off. Let us go."*

6. The same identification of a lineage patronym with the most important sacred hill is found in other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities (Holland 1963, Hermitte 1964). The pattern may have originated in a period of pre-Conquest expansion when the dominant lineage was assiged a custodial leadership over the new settlement, with their spirits remaining as guardians of the community. Members of the contemporary communities who bear the same patronym do not have any privileged position. These associations of past and contemporary belief are, as Vogt (1964:216) cautions, still hypothetical.

Chapter 4

Family Authority and Community Control

All residents of the center consider themselves to be "true men" descended from the ancestors who lived in the cave. In Murdock's terminology (1965:63), the Indian community constitutes a *deme*, or local group of genealogically related residents who cannot trace the exact kinship tie. This sense of kinship sustains a model of paternal authority for assigning positions of power and prestige in the wider community. The key to persistence of the Indians as a culturally distinct population lies in these age-ordered hierarchies sanctioned by the ancestors and the elders who act as their intermediaries. The reward for remaining within the social control system is security and the right to their guardianship; the sanction against violating the norms is exile or exposure to the evil spirits they hold at bay.

The bilateral extension of age-relative collateral terms to all members of the same side of the dual division is a successful adaptation of the kinship model to the government of a compact nucleated community. The system of terminology is similar to that of the neighboring nucleated settlement of Aguacatenango which shares many of the same features of behavior (Hunt n.d., Metzger in Romney 1967:231). These systems are closer to those of the Coatlan Mixe (Merrifield and Hoogshagen 1961) and the Chinantec of Palantla (Merrifield 1959) than they are to the nearby Tzeltal-speaking communities of Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes 1947) and Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947). In the case of the Mixe and Chinantec, the strong emphasis on relative age is correlated with age-graded positions in the political-religious hierarchy (Merrifield 1959, Merrifield and Hoogshagen 1961:225).[1] The lineage-clan pattern found in the vacant center, or *paraje*,

1. In the Coatlán, Oaxaca case of Mixe Indians cited by Merrifield and Hoogshagen (1961) they state that the classificatory terms utilizing the criteria of age relative to ego

613 614 621 171 601 type of communitives such as Oxchuk and Cancuc depends on communal land holding and contiguity in residence of the agnatic kin. The corporate identity of these groups is breaking down with the fragmentation of land holdings and movement of men from the paraje of their fathers (Guiteras Holmes 1947, Villa Rojas 1946).

601 602 Symmetrical bilateral extension of kinship terms can be seen in Figure 3. Relative age modifies generation in terms for collaterals. In ego's generation, older brother and sister are distinguished from younger siblings. In parents' generation, siblings of father younger than father are referred to and called elder brother or sister, and those older than father are called father or mother. In grandparent's generation, siblings older than grandparent are called grandfather or grandmother, and those younger than grandparent are called father and mother. If the grandparent should die, leaving only a younger sibling, the term grandparent is used referentially and vocatively. There is no sex distinction made between siblings or collaterals younger than ego in the referential terminology. Referential terminology [193] for lineals younger than ego does not make sex distinctions, but the distinction may be made with one's own children by using the possessive form of the vocative term, such as "my little man" (*htatil*) or "my little woman" (*kantzil*). Women refer to their children with the term *ʔalal*. The stem *ʔal* signifies the verb to give birth. Men refer to their children as *nic'an*. The collective term for children of both parents combines the two terms in a possessive form, *kalnic'an*, our children.

The bilateral system of Amatenango is not in conformity with the Spanish model. Along with similar systems mentioned for Aguacatenango, Coatlan, and Palantla, it differs from the Spanish model in that collaterals in ascending generations are classified with lineal relatives, and age rela- [174] tive to ego modifies generational separation. These systems appear to be an

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obscures that of generation. Just as in Tzoʔontahal, all members of the community address [601] others they meet on the street with the term indicating age relationship to ego, and grand- [171] father and grandmother terms are reserved for the very old. The authors conclude that this terminological behavior reflects the rigid age-grading found in social groups throughout the community. I would venture a generalization that requires further research to the effect that age-grading provides a pattern for appropriate behavior among members of endogamous, closely settled communities whereby conflict is reduced by channeling competition for prestigeful positions.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

term derived from compadres; and bersinatak, meaning the neighbors, is derived from *vecinos*. When informants are asked to summarize who participates in rituals, these three groups are always mentioned. They are not exclusive groupings; neighbors or siblings may be chosen as compadres, in which case the reference and vocative terms for compadres are preferred to any previous terminology. Activation of any of these ties depends on choice and convenience. Proximity of residence is of greater importance in day-to-day exchanges of assistance or visiting than closeness of genealogical tie. Interaction rates have been quantified in an earlier study of the community (J. Nash 1960; 1964).

Another way of referring to the yermanotak is with the plural form of the Indian patronym. Members of the Shunton family would, for example, be called the Shuntonetik. Several Indian surnames are linked to a Spanish patronym. For example, the Shunton, along with Lin, Mai, and Wolto? are linked to the name Lopez. In other Tzeltal and Tzotzil-speaking communities, these Indian surname groups have a greater cohesiveness, and in the recent past held corporate lands which they worked in common, as in Larraínzar (Holland 1963), Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947, Siverts 1960) and San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961). In these towns, the Spanish patronym designated a clan marked by exogamy and responsibility of the elders for maintaining social control. In Tzo?ontahal, the tie of descent has given way to an emphasis on collateral links. Exogamy of the Indian name group is the only surviving function of the lineage, and when this has been violated, there are only minor repercussions.

While the Spanish-derived collective terms are restricted to domestic groupings, the Tzeltal collective term for elders, me?iltatil, refers to the three central groups responsible for social control in the community. Derived from the terms for mother, *me?*, and father, *tat*, it is metaphorically extended to include the sponsors in household ceremonies, the curers acting as guardians of their side of the dual division, and the civil officials. Each of the groups is vested with a different level of authority in the community. This is summarized briefly below.

1. Household sponsors: The Spanish institution of ritual godparenthood has been fused with the indigenous system of sponsorship by me?iltatil. When a child is baptized, his god-parents are included as

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VII

CORPORATE GROUPS WITHIN THE VILLAGE

Historical Perspective

174 611 591 601 583 423 422 It is probable that the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango had, at some time in their past, a patrilineal organization based on agnatic descent, patri-virilocality, a kinship terminology of the Normal Omaha type, and other associated features such as bride-price, groom service, patrilineal control of the rights to land usufruct, and patrilineal inheritance.

174 613 614 621 626 Each agnatic descent group formed segments of a corporate lineage, and several segments formed a sib. Lineages were localized, and they had important social functions. The heads of linear segments formed the local government and had the responsibility of controlling conflict and sanctioning individual behavior through the supernatural. They were believed to "own" powerful animal counterparts of their souls, which patrolled the village during sleep, and punished the misdemeanors of those men belonging to their line of descent. It is also probable that the lineage was [522] an exogamous unit, and there is some scanty evidence which points to the practice of cross-cousin marriage.

127 The evidence to support this hypothetical statement is of two types. On the one hand, there is some historical documentation in published, as well as manuscript, form. On the other hand,

127 every Chiapas Highland community, including some highly accul-
611 turated towns such as Venustiano Carranza (McQuown et al., 1959).
128 Amatenango and Aguacatenango both have patrilineally in-
611 herited name groups and other slight indications of the previously hypothesized patrilineal "bent" (e.g., bride-price). Our problem, however, is not to reconstruct a hypothetical past, nor to assess the possibility of a change from patrilineal to something else. In this study, the discussion of the name groups will be carried on in the context of their functions, if any, at the present time.

Functions

If the theory of functional correlations between residence, kinship terminology, marriage customs, exogamy, etc., has any validity, we would suspect that Amatenango, with a domestic group organized along bilateral lines and matri-uxorilocal and viri-patrilocal residence having equal incidence, would not have unilineal descent groups, while Aguacatenango, with patri-virilocal residence and a domestic group organized around a core of agnatically related males would have preserved or have now (if it ever had, a fact which at the present we cannot emphatically support), an organization based on agnatic lineages, or it will show some aspects of a lineal organization outside the realm of the domestic unit.

571 In Amatenango, as suspected, the name groups "are not now
[613] functioning units in the social organization, neither on marriage, inheritance or social control" (Nash, J., 1960:5). Work activities, rituals, participation in community-wide sodality groups or festivities, compadrazgo ties, etc., are carried on by the household

121 population, such as an endogamous village, ought to be bilateral societies. This is obviously not so. Even if we assume that our statement is a reductio ad absurdum of Nash's point, there is evidence in the immediate vicinity of Amatenango that other villages, equally concentrated in population, with the same physical set-
114 ting, are not bilateral. J. Nash (1960) compared Amatenango and
361 Aguacatenango in a few paragraphs, and she felt that the evidence
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592 supported her theory. However, the data available to her was
591 very unreliable. She quoted a preliminary report of Metzger written before the residence analysis of the community was carried to completion, which contained only impressionistic observations, and gave the impression that residence was neolocal and that agnatically related households were widely spread within the community, which we have shown in chapter vi not to be true.

602 Moreover, Aguacatenango not only has patri-virilocality,
613 but corporate patrilines. The name-groups in Aguacatenango form
592 localized agnatic descent groups (which we above called the
551 localized clusters of agnatically linked households). The people
621 belonging to a name-group are recognized as relatives or, in Tzeltal, "those who are my family on my father's side." Those individuals have one last name (Indian surname) in common with
174 Ego. Within the Spanish surname, some people are considered in
613 the descent group and some are considered aparte (separate),
551 but a man of the Spanish name Perez, would say that all those Perezetik who are not aparte belong to his family, and any Perez is "closer" to another Perez than to a man of another Spanish name. The reason for the segmentation of the Spanish name-group is lost in the past. When the lineage system was composed of

174 segments of different breadth of inclusion, it is possible that
613 the Indian last name was a smaller lineage segment than the
551 Spanish last name, or, as it occurs in other Chiapas villages, that the Indian name was the lineage name and the Spanish name the clan name, but that clans have disappeared in Aguacatenango. The result is that there are more Indian than Spanish names, and sometimes a Spanish name, such as Hernandez, has within it the patrilines Wayal, Obispo and Chalté, while Perez has the patrilines Ich, Tuluk and Chauk.

613 At the present time, the patriline is very shallow. Connections are lost frequently after the second ascending generation and the localized agnatic line includes only three, or at best four, adjacent generations, when the linking relative in the higher generation is still alive or recently deceased and still remembered.

613 The Indian name, which indicates the patriline, is not
551 known by many people in the younger generation, and older people are reluctant to mention the subject. With the influence of the
[829] Mexican system of naming (which includes both the Spanish last name of the father and the mother), the older villagers are becoming aware that westerners do not have the same descent name system, and are embarrassed to discuss this subject with non-villagers, although in Tzeltal conversations among themselves they identify people through them.

126 We did collect some patriline names (which are Tzeltal
613 words for animals and natural phenomena), but unfortunately the
551 limited field-work season did not allow for more detailed
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613 investigation, so that we could not pin down all patriline names
551
602 to the respective genealogies.

174 We do have evidence, however, that the patriline is (or
613 was) exogamous. In the first place, the villagers are very in-
551 sistent that "people of the same name should not marry," and at
582 the present time, this rule seems to be influencing the choice of marriage partners even in the Spanish name group; on the other hand, we have one case which explicitly indicates so: one of the village women, Ceveriana, reported that when her present husband asked her to marry, she was very worried that her marriage was going to be "sinful" because both she and her future husband had the same Spanish last names: Hernandez. Not knowing what to do, they consulted a village elder, who asked them for their Indian last names. When he found out that their Indian surnames were different (Wayal and Chalté), he reassured them that it was permitted for them to marry "because they did not have the same Indian name." (See genealogy, Fig. 14.)

613 Patriline exogamy, however, does not seem to be associated
551
582 with preferential marriage. In other villages in the highlands of Chiapas, the informants state that it is preferred to marry a woman of one's mother's name group. In Aguacatenango, however, out of 161 marriages in which all the relevant names were known, only twenty-three men had married women of their mother's name group. Even in the case in which preferential marriages would be the ideal choice (and they never have been stated as such), the practice does not follow it.

• 613 476 [602] The patrilines function in several dimensions. Work groups, although invariably containing some bilateral and affinal relatives, recruit members mainly among agnatic kinsmen. Men fence their fields with the help of their brothers, father and sons; when villagers get together to buy a cow for a town fiesta celebration, each cow is bought by a group which contains agnatically related men. In one case, seventeen men who bought a cow together belonged to four patrilines which were neighbors among themselves. In another case, in which several men got together to build a house, nine were agnatic kinsmen, three were affinals (the son's wife's brother, the daughter's husband and the wife's brother), three were compadres and one a neighbor from across the street. The women who prepared the meal for the housewarming were: nine agnatically related to the household head; two agnatically related to the wife of the household head; three affinals of the household head; two affinals of the wife; and two neighbors. In another case, a man and his two sons, one of whom was living in a separate domestic group, helped in the construction, and several other men were contracted to help with the payment, although the daughter's husband, who was a carpenter, was called in to give advice and help.

613 476 626 627 Individuals, in time of trouble, seek advice from the elders of the patriline, which is the largest unit in which kinship solidarity functions as a controlling social force outside the domestic group. The patriline also exercises control in the form of moral pressure: gossip, accusations of witchcraft, and responsibility for vengeance when a patriline member has been

613 621 476 [432] [462]

613 476 murdered. Informants declare that "all the Mendeztik will get
626 together against the Perezetik if a Perez kills a Mendez." We have
627 witnessed cases of "talk of revenge," but never any case of the
613 lineal solidarity functioning in this way in practice. In a case
736 where the father of a man dies, it is within the agnatic line that
a man finds a sponsor to live with, to pay his bride-price, and to
613 work the land with. If there is conflict over an adulterous wife,
837 or over the distribution of an inheritance among brothers, it is the
428 duty of the elder members of the agnatic line to give advice, witness the distribution of the property, etc.

613 The patriline is not a land holding unit, in the sense that
423 there is no land that is said to belong to the line as a corporation, but the group of agnatically related men have control over the distribution of it, and its inheritance. If a man dies without adult sons, the closest agnatic kin (father, brother, or in some cases a father's brother if the other two are dead or have enough land) will take over the cultivated fields that he has left. According to the Mexican Agrarian Code, Ejido land can only be transmitted to people that live in the same domestic unit, and communal land cannot be transmitted at all: at the death of the person who held usufruct rights over a parcel, the land should revert to the Ayuntamiento, which has the power to re-distribute it as it considers convenient. In practice, in Aguacatenango, if the household fails to provide heirs, the parcels (both ejido and communal) are re-allocated among agnatic kin. Therefore, although the patriline does not "own" land, some land is allocated through linearity.

736 linearity. The widow is expected to give back to them the house
•613 site and house in which they lived, and go to live in her own
423 parental home. In one case, a woman who had kept the house in trust for her sons, asked permission to sell the lot (which originally had been given to her dead husband) from a living male sibling of the deceased.

613 There are no ritual functions which have to be performed
592 by the patriline. Aguacatenango rituals are carried on by the
796 household, by the part-time ritual specialists (curanderos), or
794 by officially appointed town officers (the Mayordomos).

121 This type of "lineage" seems to fit Homan's definition of
613 "weak" lineage, because he considers the following characteristics as defining a weak lineage: (1) few (less than four) generations in depth; (2) narrow spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) locality limited to a few people; and (4) incest rules pulled towards the smaller local units and mainly restricted to the nuclear family. The characteristics of a strong lineage, in contrast, are: (1) many (more than four) generations in depth; (2) wide spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) maximal localization of residence and maximal sharing of activities within the lineage; and (4) incest rules pushed away from the local units, to embrace all relatives within a lineage (lecture in the Oriental Institute, April 22, 1959, unpublished). However, I prefer to call them patrilines to distinguish them from the more elaborate agnatic descent groups common in Africa, from which they are distinguished by (1) the lack of genealogical depth; (2) the absence of the use of genealogical

121 manipulations for political purposes; and (3) their restricted
613 functions.

174 Why is the patriline this weak? There are reasons of
613 an historical nature, as well as functional reasons. First, with the centralization of political power created by the Spanish colony, in which each household head, independently of lineage affiliation, became a tributario (tax payer) and had rights of participation in the political structure, the political functions or the lineage
613 became debilitated. At the present time, it is only through the
624 principales that the patriline as a unit has political representation. The principales are usually the elders of the largest patrilines in the community. To make decisions, they have to have the backing of the men they represent. Belonging to a larger line indicates that a man is capable of controlling a larger number of household heads and, therefore, has stronger political support. That being the head of a large patriline gives a man authority in village affairs is shown not only by the fact that principales are thus supported, but also by the fact that patriline elders, even if they are not officially principales, on occasions can act as such, and they are sought after for advice in making Ayuntamiento decisions, by their own people and by other villagers.

174 Second, with the relocation of the lineages at the time
423 that the village was reducido, and the control of the lands by the
613 Encomienda and the Spanish crown and later by the fincas, some of the lineage control over its lands was lost. It is possible, however, that before the agrarian reform, when the village lands were scarcer, the land holding rights of the patriline were more precisely stated.

000 precisely stated. Today, with the total increase in land holdings,
423 the influence of the Ejido Commission (however minimal) and the
621 introduction of a money economy in which land is becoming more
592 and more of a commodity that can be bought and sold, in terms of
178 contract transactions, land tends to be thought of as individual
household property. There have been several cases in which
[593] brothers have bought land from each other, although they are the
people from which a line member can expect to obtain land, or in
the absence of it, the necessary help to clear and fence a new
parcel in forested communal territory.

178 Other reasons for the constant breaking of linearity,
613 which reduced the patriline to a very shallow group, are inherent
593 in the system itself. First, the antagonism between brothers over
423 property rights tends to make the sibling group weak, and agnatic
lines split in each generation.

593 Insofar as siblings occupy an equivalent position with
[592] respect to the elders in the household, their sentiments towards
one another are easy and affectionate, but insofar as the elder
sibling has jural authority over the younger ones, the relationship
is marked by constraint, respect and a certain ambivalence.

Thus, siblings are expected to love each other, to give each other company, to help when necessary, and to share, in some aspects of their life, a common position with respect to the community at large, or what Homans calls the external system (1950: 90-94).

The equivalence of siblings, especially those of the same sex, is evident in many observations. A man whose brother is

159 During the branding of animals in the village, Francisco received
422 a letter from Candelario asking him to brand the cow and calf for
593 him. Francisco and his son, Epifanio, did so.
578

This started the conflict. Jose Mendez, Juana's brother, felt that the cow and calf did not rightfully belong to Candelario, nor to Francisco or Epifanio, but to him. Epifanio had a fight with Jose, and the latter, insisting on his rights, which were not very clear, stated that Candelario had sold him the cow (which was not true), when they were working in the lowlands together. Casimira, Juana and Jose's mother, supported Jose's claims over the animals, because it was the money obtained from Juana's bull that had paid for the cow that had the calf. The relatives of her daughter's husband had less right over the animal than Juana's brother.

It is possible that Jose felt that the cow and calf had been purchased with the money obtained from selling a bull which was originally his father's, not his sister's. Even if it was his sister's, he felt he had more right to use it than the sister's husband's brother and father. If owner of the bull or the cow had been a brother rather than a sister, the conflict would not have arisen. (For genealogy see Fig. 17.)

177 Third, with the introduction of Catholicism, although the
178 native belief system has preserved many of its early features,
754 it is now, without doubt, a new syncretic elaboration. The per-
796 vasive witchcraft powers are, for example, attributed now to
613 Catholic saints, but the concept that the lineage heads of <u>principales</u> have witchcraft power to punish deviants within their

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195

177
178 lineage (which exists today in many other communities such as
754 Oxchuc), has disappeared. Without the basic belief in the super-
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613 natural controlling powers of the lineage heads, the ritual activities performed by the lineage as a corporation became meaningless, and fell out of use.

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613 Finally, from an economic point of view, the large patriline
434 household-compound, as a productive unit, is unfunctional, and the
421 characteristic form of the domestic group is now the nuclear house-
578 hold, which also contributes to the weakening of patriline strength. Within the nuclear household, it is difficult for its members to discriminate between the part of the household income that is derived from the household head in his capacity as a worker and that which is from his unmarried sons; between those profits which are derived from the household head as a capitalist who has provided tools and implements, and finally those which come from his capacity as "owner" of land. In a larger household, differences in labor in-put, rivalry between the women about the food controlled by themselves and belonging to their husbands, or between the men about the property rights of the produce derived from their common effort, tend to create conflict and disunity. In the
592
594 nuclear household, the division of labor is explicit, the role ex-
578 actly and minimally distributed, and conflict, in the case of its occurrence, is likely to be more quickly solved because the fission of the nuclear domestic group is equivalent to the disappearance of the household itself.

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613 The functions before performed by the lineage are now
592 performed by the household, the community, or by the neighborhood
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613 group, composed in Amatenango of bilateral relatives, and in
592
621 Aguacatenango, mainly of agnatic kinsmen, but also including some
591 affinals and non-related people, because contiguous household-to-
184 household localization is an ideal not always realized (we have discussed previously how in some few cases a son lives in a house given to him by his father, but one block distant from his father's own compound).

178
184 The result of this complex set of variables is that the
591 lineage has lost, in Aguacatenango, some of its characteristic
562 functions. The Amatenango case, to extend the example, shows how,
613 even when (1) patri-virilocality disappears (as a consequence of the women participating actively in the economy), and (2) the status of the sexes with regard to inheritance and rights over property becomes equal, the lineage disappears leaving only small traces of its previous presence: name groups without meaning or function.

184 182 428 592 (4) The reciprocal financial obligations between parents and children in Amatenango, and between parents and sons in Aguacatenango, to support each other at different stages of the developmental cycle of their respective domestic groups affect the rule of ultimogeniture.

184 182 582 591 556 (5) The relative wealth of the natal domestic group of the spouse, measured by the amount of land controlled by the unit affects (a) the choice of marriage partner, and (b) the residence of the newly married couple. In Aguacatenango, where residence is normatively patri-virilocal, parents try to marry their daughters within the same economic level of their own households. In Amatenango, marriages occur across wealth lines, and the couple reside with the parents of the spouse who are better off.

184 182 462 476 593 (6) The relative importance of men versus female cooperative work groups, and/or the difference in structuring of work groups affects (a) the sibling bond; (b) the mother-daughter bond; and (c) the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond.

[606] In Aguacatenango, where only men form cooperative work groups, the brother-brother bond is stronger than the sister-sister bond or the brother-sister bond.

In Amatenango, where both males and females form cooperative [607] work groups, the multilateral sibling bond is reinforced to the point of including siblings-in-law.

184 593 578 591 In Aguacatenango, economic rivalry between siblings tends to disrupt the brother bond with constant conflict. Thus, relationships are more vertically oriented which is consistent with the [613] presence of agnatic descent lines (in Amatenango, generational

184 solidarity is stronger than cross-generational solidarity), but
593 generational conflict tends to disrupt the collateral extension
578
591 of patriline growth, making every patriline segment a shallow
613 descent group containing few generations in depth, and only few collaterals.

184 (7) Territorial propinquity between households in each
361 village follows the social propinquity established in terms of eco-
592
476 nomic reciprocity and work interaction. Thus, in Amatenango residence for individuals, interaction between households and the settlement of a neighborhood follow a bilateral pattern, while in Aguacatenango the three follow the male and agnatic line. The type of economic organization, based on the domestic group, correlates with the type of domestic group formed thereof.

184 The domestic group in Aguacatenango, with an internal
59 economy based on the cooperative work of father and son and the
428
562 transmission of property in the male line, is a kinship unit built around a core of agnatically related males with patri-virilocal residence. Among the Aguacatecos, at least one son of the nuclear family remains in the parents' household after marriage. All other children marry and move out, the sons staying close to the father. In this way, the family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of agnatic order, which extends itself in space as a patrilocally localized agnatic line, and perpetuates itself, in time, through the principle of agnatic ultimogeniture.

The domestic group in Amatenango, with an internal economy based on the cooperative work of both a father and son, a mother

184 591 586 602 the father is preferred, while in Amatenango, both paternal and maternal relatives are equally good choices.

184 736 591 434 9. In Aguacatenango, where widows are incapable of supporting the economic demands of the household by themselves, they choose to reside with a male sponsor in another household, while in Amatenango, they can be self-sponsors and the heads of their own domestic groups.

184 621 582 591 10. In both villages, residence within one's barrio is preferred over residence in any other territorial division. In Amatenango, cross-barrio marriages are accompanied by matri-uxorilocal residence as well as patri-virilocal residence, which results in both men and women residing in a barrio other than their own (11 per cent and 16 per cent respectively). This results in Aguacatenango barrios being related only through the circulation of women between them, while in Amatenango, both men and women are transmitted between families across barrio lines, in both directions.

184 621 602 [592] The structuring of economic and residential sponsorship produces two different types of neighborhoods in the two villages. In Aguacatenango, the neighborhood tends to be a cluster of agnatically linked households, while in Amatenango, it is composed of a set of kindred. The barrio in Aguacatenango, then, is a [613] [562] territorial division containing neighborhoods which are localized agnatic groups, which I call localized patrilines, with few non-relatives and bilateral kinsmen enclaved throughout the blocks; a man does not separate from his territory or barrio, nor from his neighborhood, while a woman circulates within neighborhoods after marriage and even within barrios. In Amatenango, both men and

184 621 591

• 614 /1/ Cancuc is a Tzeltal town of Chiapas, Mexico, whose
[101] social organization is based on exogamous patrilineal clans.
[776] These clans are intimately related to: 1) the nagual or guardian
[551] spirit, which is given the name of lab among the Indians of this
[613] region; 2) the native surnames that constitute the lineages within
[621] the clans; 3) the "barrios," as the Spanish chroniclers called the endogamous tribal subdivisions (called calpulli among the Aztecs and culibal in Cancuc); 4) the kinship system; and 5) the behavior.

614 All the individuals belonging to a clan consider themselves
601 "legitimate siblings" /Sp. "hermanos legítimos"/, using the terms that designate this class of relatives. This theoretical consanguineous kinship is expressed by means of the word chapomal -- a Cancuquero /a person from Cancuc/ calls another "brother" be-
614 cause he is his chapomal. This form of usage is indicative of
601 common ancestry, something that we were not able to clarify, as
124 our questions on this point only received answers that showed that
829 they had lost any notion of a real or mythical ancestor. Our informants invariably explained this situation with the expressions: "it is the custom," "San Juan /Saint John/ (Patron Saint of Cancuc) ordered it so," or "it was ordered by Manuel (God)." What does constitute a clear concept in the minds of all is that "formerly" each clan lived in a cave, from which its members went out in the form of human beings to populate the earth and in which lived the naguales, or lab, that bound them to their place of origin.
[775] The soul came back to this cave after death. There are as many caves as the number of clans.

614 The children belonged to the paternal clan. A woman who marries does not become a member of the clan of her husband.

/2/ Exogamy is strictly respected; persons belonging to the same clan never marry each other.

[591] The clans are not local, as their members live in all of the places and rancherias.

[178] At present the clans lack chiefs, this institution having dis-
[669] appeared about 30 years ago, according to all our information, when the zone that we are studying underwent a chaotic period due to political revolts.

/2 cont./

614 887 156 The chieftaincy of each clan was filled by the oldest man, who was called chunel. (It seems to have the same meaning as the word catinab, but some informants recognized the latter as the one used in the adjacent municipality of Oxchuc.) The office was not hereditary, and upon the death of a chunel the oldest man 156 of the clan was venerated as such. The chief of the clan was re- 614 spected and feared, because he was recognized as endowed with 888 supernatural power which, through his lab, he exercised over all 776 the members of the clan. Two informants of advanced age de- 554 fined the chunel as "the oldest one and the greatest sorcerer." The lab feeds on souls, and a person who has "done wrong" is 776 "eaten" by the lab of the one offended and dies. In this way 761 social control was exercised on and among the members of the [784] clan, never going beyond the limits of this. The life of the in- [626] dividual is intimately bound to the life of the lab, or guardian 776 spirit: the death of one brings with it the death of the other. All the Cancuqueros have their lab, but they hide it and sometimes [756] deny it. The curer knows which is the lab of the sick person be- [827] cause "he hears it in the pulse." The lab reveals itself in dreams [787] to "its owner," with whom it speaks because "it is his own company." One person discovers the lab of another "because he sees it." The lab takes care of its owner, defends him, and is the in- 178 strument of revenge for an injury unjustly received. Today this 614 concept is intimately bound up with the omniscience of the patron 626 saint; only with the permission of San Juan can a lab "eat" the 776 soul of a chapomal, or "clan brother," and this permission is granted only in the case when the saint is unfavorably impressed by the conduct of the individual. In any case the lab never wreaks its vengeance except for a bad act that would fully justify 614 it according to the social morality. As can be seen, social con- 626 trol was not only rooted in the chief of the clan, but this function extended to the whole group, as happens at present.

/3/

178 584 •614 There are informants who remember the time when there were chuneles, and the younger ones know about it because their fathers have told them. The social conflict brought about by the disappearance of this institution seems to have its most intense point in what concerns marriage. It was the chunel of the clan of a girl to whom the parents of a boy would go to ask for her in marriage. He received gifts and gave his consent in case he thought it advantageous, and, accompanied by the boy and his parents, he went to the house of her parents, to whom he presented the pleas of the young man. No one could oppose the decision of the chunel. An informant adds: "If the woman does not [586] love her husband and leaves him and flees, the man advises the chunel and the chunel eats the woman." She dies if she does not respect the wishes of the oldest man of her clan. Now that there [578] are no chuneles, a boy, with his parents or without them, is accompanied by any member of the clan to which the girl belongs: generally the parents are opposed, the girl is not willing, and the use of force, which serves instead of the traditional fear and reverence, only gives rise to conflicts, bringing irreconcilable hatreds.

614 Formerly the clans of Cancuc were four: Chik, Chejeb, Ijká, and Boj. At present only the first three exist, the members of the Boj clan having been incorporated into the Ijká clan. This fusion of two clans took place a short time before the political revolts to [125] which we have referred. While taking the census of the town, we found marriages between individuals belonging to these two clans, concluded before the fusion. Since that date "the Boj know that they are now Ijká," and clan exogamy has prevented these unions: "If a Boj marries an Ijká now, the two will die," say my informants, "because they are chapomales."

614 539 776 To an inquiry about the reason for the fusion and the manner of accomplishing it, our informants gave the following explanations, which show undeniably the close relationship existing between clan and nagual:

/3 cont./

614 539 776 Esteban Santis Pin, of the Ijká clan:

Many ants entered the home of the Boj and they asked the Ijká to lend them a home, and they joined there, becoming like chaponales /sic/ to each other since then. The ants did not enter the homes of the "Christian" (people), but the home of the lab; "the people did not talk it over, only the lab talked it over."

/4/ Mateo López Chij, of the Chik clan:

Lightning hit the home of the Boj "because it is very high on the hill." "The lab left" and they took refuge in the home of the Ijká. The members of the clans know this because it is in the home of the lab where "the chuleles (souls) are brought up." Before there were four homes and now there are three, because since that day the Boj and the Ijká live together. The homes are caves.

Diego Domínguez Tzul, of the Ijká clan:

The Boj were ill and the Ijká went to help them and to cure them. The Boj said: "It is good that we join the Ijká." It was the lab that spoke, not the Christians; "but the lab speak the same as people do, that is why they drank, talked, and gathered together." The people know this because those of them who have lab told them. The Boj were those who wanted the union with the Ijká, "and they said that when the lab became drunk."

Miguel Ordóñez, of the Chik clan:

"The lab of the Boj talked and drank with the lab of the Ijká, and presently they joined. Perhaps someone with a lab dreamed about this and then told it to his companions."

/4 cont./

614 Juan Jiménez Chan, of the Ijká clan:
539 It was arranged in the times of the old chuneles, when the
776 lab talked it over, there where they live. The chuneles later heard about it through their lab, and they were in agreement.

Tomás Vásquez Coreta, of the Chik clan:
Ants went into the home of the Boj, and the latter went to the home of the Ijká, where they were very well received, and "all are happy." Only the lab spoke, but the chuneles knew and told it to their chapomales.

Domingo López Uax, of the Boj clan; now of the Ijká:
The lab of the Boj and of the Ijká spoke and all was arranged. "Now they are chapomales and cannot marry."

614 The surnames in Cancuc determine the clan to which an
551 individual belongs. There are two of them: a native one which
177 is preceded by a Spanish one (except in various exceptional cases in which there is only a Spanish surname). All the Cancuqueros know their native surname, but most of them do not know the Spanish surname with which it is combined. Upon the uttering of a native surname, all know to which clan it belongs, which does not happen with the Spanish one, because these can be placed before native surnames belonging to one, two, or three clans. Therefore we can say that there is exogamy of the native surname, but not /5/ of the Spanish one, which does not seem to have any function with respect to the clans.

551 In the lists of surnames that we were able to obtain and which
614 in no way pretend to be exhaustive, we find 20 Spanish surnames and 92 native surnames. These last are distributed among the four clans in the following way: 33 of the Chik clan, 31 of the Chejeb, 21 of the Ijká, and 7 of the Boj (now incorporated into the Ijká clan).

/5 cont./

551 The great majority of the native surnames could not be
614 translated by our informants, who asserted that they did not signify anything in the Tzeltal language. Those for which we could obtain the meaning are: Chan ... snake, of the Ijká clan; Chij ... deer, of the Chik clan; Uax ... wildcat, of the Boj clan; Chikin ... ear, of the Chik clan; and Lot ... lie /Sp. mentira, lie, story, error/, of the Ijká clan.

428 The surnames are inherited through the paternal line and
424 constitute the lineages within each clan. The lands formerly
551 belonged to the lineage and could not be alienated. This cus-
613 tom is tending to disappear in recent times, but even today we
614 have found several cases in which only an individual belonging to the lineage can occupy land that has been left without an owner when one has died without leaving male descendants.

166 A native from another municipality or group who comes to
551 Cancuc with the aim of settling down in it must be incorporated
553 into one of the clans, for which it is necessary to change his
614 native surname for a Cancuc one. (The different native groups of this central region of the State of Chiapas have surnames that differ among themselves, and it is through them that their place of origin is shown.) Generally he keeps the Spanish surname and takes a native surname that in Cancuc corresponds to that. One Gómez Tzima from Oxchuc became Gómez Uotán of the Chejeb clan of Cancuc. One Aguilar belongs to the Chik clan, like all the Aguilar of Cancuc. One Santis Kujul, the small son of an Oxchuquero and a woman from Cancuc, gave up his surname from Oxchuc when his father died and his mother's family incorporated him into the Ijká clan, changing the native surname Kujul for that of Lul, "so that he will be from here, and have his chapomales here, and marry here," his maternal aunt of the Chik clan explained to us. These cases are rare. We could not find out before whom these incorporations are carried out. One informant, born
[829] in Cancuc, whose paternal grandfather /6/ had come from the municipality of Tenejapa, told us that he had heard his father say that "in the old times the old people arranged that."

/6 cont./

621 The native surnames are regarded as belonging to a definite
[551] barrio, two of which exist at present. (In an old document, which
[127] we cannot now locate, reference is made to four barrios of Cancuc. Our informants do not remember this fact and emphatically deny it, but they do refer to a third one, which became incorporated into the two remaining ones a very long time ago.) These two barrios formerly bore the names of Chejeb and Chiklajum, by which they are still known, but today they are preferably called Ajkol-culibal, or "upper barrio," and Alán-culibal, or "lower barrio," respectively. Some informants say "calpul" in referring to the barrios, but not so others, who recognize the word calpul as the one used by other native groups -- "here there is no calpul, only Alán- and Ajkol-culibal," several Cancuqueros explain to us. One informant tells us that formerly there were three culibales, the third being called Alal-bikit-culbal. The dividing line of the barrios passes through the center of the town, located on the crest of a hill, drawn from east to west, the lands of the north belonging to Alán- and those of the south to Ajkol-culibal. The
[361] third one, which has now disappeared, included all the land
[368] to the west of the town, as the dividing line terminated at the point where the building of the Cabildo /town hall/ is located -- to the east of the great plaza, having in front the Iglesia /church/ and the ruins of the ancient "convento." When Alal-bikit-culibal was incorporated into the other two, the line that divided them was extended, separating its lands into two parts: those that remained south of the line being transferred so as to belong to the "upper" culibal, and those of the north to the "lower" one.

621 Even though at present there are persons from one culibal
551 living in the other, they always consider themselves bound to the one from which their surname comes (for this purpose our informants never took into account the third barrio to which we have referred). According to our list of native surnames, we can say
[614] that 54 belong to Ajkol-culibal, and 38 to Alán-culibal. According to the division into three clans, we have the following distribution:

/6 cont./

551 621 614

Ajkol-culibal	Alán-culibal
19 Chik	14 Chik
13 Chejeb	18 Chejeb
22 Ijká	6 Ijká

/7/ Among the Spanish surnames we have 6 that belong exclusively to Alán- and 6 to Ajkol-culibal (not counting the case in which a native surname of the Chik clan is joined to two different Spanish surnames that are found in both culibales). The remaining 14 Spanish surnames are combined with surnames from the two culibales.

621 582 178 174 551 Today the culibal is not endogamous, but we believe it possible that it was in former times (as we have found in recent investigations of the Tzotzil group of San Pablo Chalchihuitán of this region). The present possibility of changing residence and the incorporation of native surnames originating from a culibal (or perhaps two) that have disappeared within the boundaries of the two remaining make the reconstruction of the pre-Hispanic 621 582 551 culibal impossible in this case. According to the data obtained in our census, 62.5 o/o of the marriages were concluded between persons whose native surnames originated from the same culibal. [125] [166] [613] In spite of the low percentage, nevertheless the custom of marriage between people of the same culibal predominates (we should not forget the mobility permitted in recent times, because of which residents of one culibal are persons whose lineages originate from the other), although cases of marriage between persons belonging [614] to the two different culibales also abound. It is almost always preferred to look for a wife among the women of the same place or rancheria, but at present we can say that clan exogamy is the only thing that regulates marriage.

621 622 [631] [614] [651] Each culibal has its own chiefs, elected from and by those members who have filled political-religious positions in the Chakel or Ayuntamiento /municipal government/. The clans are taken into account in this election, rigorously taking turns. The culibal chiefs assign the communal lands, organize the collective tasks for the benefit of the community, pray for the health and

/7 cont./

621 the harvests of all on the appointed days, and collect the taxes
622 on the lands of the culibal, which they take to the seat of the
[651] municipality of Ocosingo, from which Cancuc depends in the capacity of municipal agency. An order given by a chief is obeyed without discussion by all the members of the correspond-
[614] ing culibal. The men of each culibal participate in the local government in equal number and category, just as also in the filling of religious positions, the clans always taking turns.

/8/ Kinship System

601 Below we shall see the kinship system, intimately related to the social organization based on exogamous patrilineal clans.

601 128 Kinship Terms of Cancuc*

*This list presents the kinship terms with their significant primaries /Sp. primarios/. Some have the possessive prefix of the first person, but we have preferred to retain this form because this is how they are obtained in the genealogies and how they are heard in the common language in the forms of usage and because we use the charts of EGO, which are the ones of more common use. Due to the lack of printing types representing the phonemic signs, we have chosen the Spanish orthography.

601

bankil	a man's older brother
xibel	a woman's older brother
uix	older sister; father's sister
kitsín	younger siblings of both sexes
tat	father
me	mother
nichán	a man's children
kaal	a woman's children

/11 cont./

60 | and mu (brother-in-law) instead of kichán, preference being given to the relationship through the paternal lineage or clan over the term corresponding to this consanguineous relative, but of the maternal clan. This rule is applied to any relative by affinity, with the exception of parents-in-law, sons-in-law, and daughters-in-law, even though in referring to these relatives one hears said: "my mother-in-law is my sister" or "my father-in-law is my chapomal." The terms that designate the son-in-law (nial) and the daughter-in-law (kalib) are used by both EGOS; but not their reciprocals, which not only take into account the sex of the relative, but also the sex of EGO. These reciprocals are compound forms, formed by the above plus the suffixes mamal (old man) and meel (old woman) for father-in-law and mother-in-law, respectively: nial-mamal (father-in-law) and nial-meel (mother-in-law) for parents-in-law of a male EGO, and kalib-mamal (father-in-law) and kalib-meel (mother-in-law) for parents-in-law of a female EGO. The brothers of parents-in-law are named in the same way, even though there is a tendency to limit this nomenclature to the collateral parents-in-law, calling the father-in-law's sister "sister-in-law," and the mother-in-law's brother simply "gentleman" /Sp. "señor"/ (tatik), the same as a non-relative. The terms used in the designation of the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are three: a man calls his wife's brother and his sister's husband bal; a woman calls her husband's sister and her brother's wife jauán, and mu is used by a man and a woman to designate a sibling-in-law of the opposite sex, that is to say, wife's sister, a woman's sister's husband, the husband's brother, and a man's brother's wife. The terms for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are extended so far as to include all of the members of the clan to which the spouse belongs.

[614] [613] In this kinship system we see how the nomenclature is primordially based on the grouping into exogamous clans, stressing the paternal and maternal lineages so far as to include all the members of the two clans to which these lineages belong. The parallel and cross lines are markedly differentiated. We can say that there is fusion between lineal and collateral relatives --

/11 cont./

601 father and his brother, mother and her sister -- using for this class of relatives the /12/ same terms, even though making use of a suffix that distinguishes real parents from the classificatory ones, and in the same way among their reciprocals, as we have noted above. In ordinary conversation the suffix may be eliminated, thus confusing the real relatives with the classificatory ones. The children of these relatives are all brothers and sisters among themselves.

601 611 This type of system seems to have its origin in the one known by the name of "Omaha," whose most outstanding characteristic is the classification of the male descendants of the mother's brother, through the male line, with the mother's brother, and the classification of the female descendants, through the male line, of this same relative with the mother's sister. Nevertheless, in Cancuc there is a marked tendency to designate by means of the term kichán both the male and female descendants of the mother's brother, through the male line, without any distinction of sex, which, according to the rule of the uniform reciprocals, brings with it on the part of a female EGO the designation of kichán for the children of the father's sister, in place of the kaal-jún used by a woman for this class of relatives. Furthermore, we are faced with the fact that the descendants of the mother's brother through the female line are no longer considered as relatives; that is to say, the descendants of a woman who is designated by the term mee-jún, and who, according to the rule of uniform descent, should 601 receive the title of "siblings," are not considered as such. This •614 disequilibrium tends to disappear with the elimination of the term mee-jún for this class of relatives and the extension of the term kichán for the designation of the same, embracing all the members of the maternal clan, that is to say, all those whom the mother of EGO calls "brother" and "sister." The term kichán, which formerly denoted "man of my mother's clan," would now mean "every person of my mother's clan."

[114] We have not been able to obtain the kinship terms corresponding to the descendants of the grandparents' siblings, since in the genealogies that we possess these terms do not appear because of having been replaced by those applied to clan siblings, or chapomales, or to members of the maternal clan, due to marriages concluded with persons belonging to these clans, there existing, as we have already indicated, a preference for these terms over those.

/16/

601 The kinship terms, excepting those that extend to all the
•614 members of a clan, do not seem to apply to persons outside of those included in the charts (Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4). The terms that designate older siblings are applied to all the members of the paternal clan without taking into account the principle of generation or the age relative to EGO. This custom tends to be applied even among descendants of the same grandparents: an old woman greets the granddaughter of her paternal uncle, calling her uix (older sister) instead of the corresponding kitsín (younger sister), the young girl using the identical reciprocal in her reply. We can say that there is a tendency toward the elimination of the principle of generation and that of age relative to EGO even among close relatives, using only one term for sister, a woman's brother, and a man's brother (uix, xibel, and bankil), except within the limits of the elemental family.

601 An individual, when born, is related to the members of
602 two clans: the paternal one, which is his own, and the maternal
614 one. Upon contracting marriage, he establishes new relationships, applying, as we have already shown, the terms which designate brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law to all the members of the clan of the spouse. In this manner a Cancuquero can be related to all the members of the tribe or native group, because at present only three clans exist, one of which may be the clan of EGO, another the maternal clan, and the other one the clan of the spouse. This is not always the case, because an individual may have married within the clan of his mother, in which case his kichanes and his siblings-in-law belong to the same clan, preferring then the use
[609] of the word bal to that of kichán. The members of the non-related clan receive the title of tatik and meetik (gentleman and lady).

582 The clans regulate marriage. Preferred clans with respect
587 to the selection of a spouse do not seem to exist. Upon the death of
614 the wife a man may marry again within the same clan or in the other. One of our informants had three successive wives belong-
614 ing to the same clan, but this is exceptional. In the three cases of
595 polygyny known to us the wives were not sisters: in one case the

/16 cont./

614 595 two women belonged to the same clan, and in the other two they were women from two different clans. The levirate and sororate 587 exist, but do not constitute a custom practiced /17/ by many; [174] formerly it must have been more frequent, as is proved by the fact of designating the stepfather and stepmother by the same terms used for the father's brother and mother's sister, respectively, 583 and the stepchildren as nephews and nieces. There are several 614 cases of marriage between brother and sister of one clan and sister and brother of another clan. Marriage between cross-cousins is 582 frequent, especially that of a man with the daughter of the mother's brother. Husband and wife always belong to the same generation.

591 Residence is patrilocal, with temporary matrilocal residence for a year after marriage.

593 There still prevails the custom that those who intercede in a 614 direct manner in the preparation of the cadaver and in the in- 764 humation must be members of a different clan. If a married woman who has not had children dies, she is buried with her relatives, without the intervention of her husband.

614 The members of one and the same clan co-operate among themselves and lend each other mutual aid; the younger people obey and respect their elders in the same way that a younger brother respects and obeys his older brother. And we have stressed [626] how "sorcery" is practiced only within the limits of the clan as a [754] means of social control.

Mexico City,
Mexico

101 Note: The materials for the present study were collected 114 during two seasons of field work: May-June, 1945, and June, 1946, 122 financed by the University of Chicago, Instituto Nacional de Antropología de México, and Government of the State of Chiapas.

463 241 handle the milpa. It is rare to find an Indian who does not have a milpa since this is the work that ensures his existence.

Property Rights

423 613 This is a matter that varies according to the degree of acculturation reached by the [177] [181] community. In the most conservative groups (Oxchuc, Cancuc, Tenejapa, Tenango) there are still family property rights, but they seem to depend on lineage rather than on the immediate family (Villa Rojas, 562 428 1947, ch. 19). As these lineages are patrilineal, a woman does not count when inheritance is involved. She can own her parcel of land only when she has saved the money to buy it, but this is not frequent. Any man can claim lands that previously belonged to his lineage; it is enough to give back the money paid for them two or three generations ago. Of course, he has to prove by witnesses or documents that those lands were the property of his lineage.

127 423 613 614 According to a document dated 1861, which I found in the possession of the Gómez Ichiloks (they belong to the Gómez clan and to the Ichilok lineage), residents of the paraje of Tzajalchen of the municipio of Oxchuc, this property system seems to be very ancient. The document is of special interest.

000 DOCUMENTO DE TIERRAS DE LOS GÓMEZ ICHILOK A

Por pedimento de los ciudadanos Domingo Gómez Ichilok, Tomás Gomez Ichílok, otro Tomás Gómez Ichílok, Miguel Gómez Ichilok, Diego Gómez Ichílok, otre, Domingo Gómez Ichilok, otro Diego Gómez Ichilok y su hijo Diego Gómez Ichilok y por último su hijo menor Manuel Gómez Ichilok, y como antiguamente se acostumbra en este pueblo que segun los hermanos de una propria família, se les demarca un retazo de terreno de ejido para que en lo sucesivo no haya pleitos con los vecinos como suele suceder, nosotros los Gobernadores, Auxíliares, Justicias, Escribanos y Testigos, pasamos al paraje denominado Tzajalchén a

[P. 211-A]

A /For a translation by H.R.A.F. of this document, see category 116, p. 225-C--Analyst/

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

000 ponerles sus mojones y a darles al posesión que les corresponde segun el número de ellos.

"Donde principio parar primer mojón *Busulton Pacton* que está en el camino derecho; 2° mojón *Oxloton* que está en el camino; 3er. mojon *Tzovilton*. 4° mojón *Tequelton*, mojón con Pedro Moreno; 5° mojón *Yolilnelej Lomchen*; 6° mojón de acuerdo con Juan Gómez Bet y Martin Sanchez Chelap se llama la raya *Teguel Canté* que es también la raya con Manuel Chinbak; 7° mojón *Tequelton* raya única con Marcos Hernandez Lopez y Diego Lopez y Diego Giron Vázquez; 8° mojón y último *Basulton Pacton*.

"Habiendo quedado todos los vecinos colindantes contentos, ofreciendo ambos que en lo sucesive no tendrán el menor disgusto, pues, son nativos de su propio pueblo, bajo el concepto que si alguno delinquiese en trastornar el orden en que han quedado, el agraviado lo pondrá en conocimiento del Juez para aberiguarlo y aplicarle la pena que merezca, para acuya seguridad son testigos Lorenzo Ichilok, Martin Solel, Miguel Gomez Ichilok y Gobernadores Diego Méndez Chizna y Nicolas Jiménez Acux. Por los testigos y Gobernadores que no saben firmar. Abril 12 de 1861 y como testigo y escribano Alonso Santis

423 613 614 The descendants of the Gómez Ichiloks still live in the same paraje of Tzajalchen and share the same parcel. In other lineages the original parcel was subdivided on agree-
[178] ment between the interested parties. In this way single individuals now own pieces of land, a type of property ownership that is becoming more general as the old social organization based on clans and lineages gradually breaks up.

423 427 The parcels can be rented to people of other lineages and of other communities. Often the Tzeltal of Oxchuc rent their parcels to natives from Tenejapa or Cancuc
[613] who are their immediate neighbors. Pay-
[614] ment, made with food, chicha, and money, must be shared by the most important members of the same clan other than the ones of the same lineage (Villa Rojas, 1947, ch. 19).

[P 211-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

556 829 183 know, with the aid of the *naguales* (supernatural spirits), about the wealth each member of the group has; those who have more than necessary must pay for the expenses of fiestas, etc.

Social Organization

Kinship

614 613 The basic elements of the clan system of the ancient Maya can still be found in the most conservative groups. At the present time, the kinship system is divided into patrilineal clans, which are divided into patrilineages. In some cases, the name of the clan is of Spanish origin; the name of the lineage, of indigenous origin. In Oxchuc there are six clans whose names are: Gómez, Santis, López, Méndez, Encines, and Rodriguez. The first two clans are the largest, since the Gómez clan has 37 lineages, the Santis 39. The last two are almost disappearing as they have only one or two lineages. Among the indigenous names for lineages are: Ichilok, Nimail, Akux, Cojton, Chic, Molox, Nich, Antun, Chisná, Tib, and Mulesh. These designate names of animals, plants, or objects.

A man whose name is Juan Gómez Nich, for example, belongs to the Gómez clan and to the Nich lineage. Generally, the name of the lineage is enough to show to which clan somebody belongs; if his name is Juan Nich, it is immediately known that he is from the Gómez clan. This special characteristic of the indigenous name is designated by the word *Jol s'bij*, which means 'head of the name.'

[184] In Cancuc (a community next to Oxchuc) clans have special names, such as Chik, Chejeb, Ijká, and Boj. If the indigenous name is known, the clan name is self-evident. The Spanish name has lost its specific function, and, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, pp. 4–5), there are Indians who do not even remember it. However, the Spanish surname designates exogamic units of a patrilineal type throughout the region; without

[P. 213-B]

[Text continues on p. 214-B]

614 exception, both names (lineage and clan)
613 are inherited from the father.

[178] In the more acculturated communities the
[612] clan and lineage system tends to disappear and to be replaced by the bilateral system,
[582] characteristic of Ladino society. In Aguacatenango, despite the belief that there is a relationship between people of the same
613 Spanish name, they may marry. Moreover, they are starting to be ashamed of using the indigenous name differentiating the lineages. B. Metzger states (1959, p. 18):

[551] Lineage names appear to be used as surnames within the community—as we have discovered
[P 214-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

613 by overhearing them spoken in unguarded mo-
551 ments—but their existence is vigorously denied or only cautiously admitted to outsiders. As a result, we have not been able to discover how these names are distributed in the community, how wide the lineage is, and whether or not kinship terms are applied throughout.

613 In the more conservative municipios the
[614] clans are not centralized but dispersed throughout the parajes. Lineages are now fragmented, and the common ancestor is no longer remembered. Generally these lineages are localized in one or two parajes, but neither can remember its genealogy further

[P. 214-C]

613 than three or four generations. In the past, these lineages were localized, and in places like Bachajon, Cancuc, and Oxchuc the exact locations are still remembered.

613 769 778 A few generations ago, the most distinguished members of each lineage were buried in the cave after which the paraje was named, the bones and ashes of the dead being placed in large jugs or urns. The caves were places for ceremonies honoring the ancestors. Blom (1954) made a study of these burials and mapped the distribution of the sites. These caves are still places for worship but not for burials; the cross protecting all members of the lineage is kept there, as well as, in some instances, small crosses belonging to the important members of it (Villa Rojas, 1946, p. 16).

• 614 The words *chapomal* and *tijinabal* name the members of the clan in general. It is said that "the neighbors of this paraje are all chapomales," or "those cannot get married because they are chapomales." Tijinabal also means neighbor or member of the same paraje. Another word, *patshunk*, is also an equivalent of tijinabal. These words are currently used in Oxchuc, Cancuc, and Bachajon. On the other hand, there is no specific word to designate the lineage.

[835] The main function of the clan is to regulate marriage, as the union of two chapomales is considered incestuous. The clan [574] also gives much self-confidence to the Indian who travels to other parajes, for he can always find hospitality among people of his own clan. It also has a function of social 614 626 887 control, exercised by the old men of the group, who punish all transgressors against the established rules. Helped by the nagual (supernatural spirit), they find out about the behavior of the members of the clan and punish according to the crime (Villa Rojas, 1947).

613 428 The lineage relationship is also important in inheritance (especially land), since the plots should always be under the control of individuals of the same Indian name. Only where such persons are absent or missing or

[P 215-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

583 procedures (*trámites*) of church and civil registry. The traditional marriage is an ar-
584 rangement between two families. The young man's parents, with his agreement, select the bride and start the visits leading to the petition. The visits to the girl's house must
[574] be made at dawn, accompanied by two or
[273] three bottles of aguardiente. These visits continue for several months, because the girl's parents want to consult the old men or the most important members of the patrilineal clan.

585 The wedding itself is simple, a family ritual concerning the boy's parents, the girl's parents, and old men of the clan she belongs to. Now the boy appears for the first time, bringing articles that will "warm up" the fiesta (Villa Rojas, 1949):

1 garrafón (about 18 liters) of aguardiente
80 cooked eggs
80 tortillas
80 tamales of the *chenkul-uaj type* (corn and bean dough)
10 kilos of pozole with chile
10 kilos of pozole without chile
1 kilo of ground chile
1 almud (4 kilos) of beans

According to my informants from Oxchuc, these items represent what the girl's parents have spent for her during childhood.
[574] This marriage feast is called *beybal-ja* ('the first delivery of aguardiente').

585 These items are presented with the great-
614 est formality to the girl's clan in oral forms that symbolize the wish for everlasting friendship between both families. The oldest member of the girl's clan responds by expressing on behalf of all members their satisfaction in receiving those articles and their good wishes for a successful union. Immediately, the couple kneels on a petate and listens to the oldest member of the clan, who formally announces they are married and recites the duties and obligations of each.

584 Until recently in Cancuc the custom ob-
184 tained of making these marriage arrange-
[P 217-B]

584 [184] ments through a special person (*chunel*) for each of the four clans, and differed from Oxchuc, where the case is presented to the nearest old man of the clan. In Cancuc, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, p. 3):

> The boy's parents dealt with the *Chunel* of the girl's clan when petitioning her. He received the gifts and gave approval; and then accompanied by the boy and his parents he went into the house of the girl's parents. There, he presented the boy's petition. Nobody could oppose the Chunel's decisions. The girl would die if she didn't obey the decisions of the elder of the clan.

583 Once a marriage feast is finished, the boy stays in his parents-in-law's house to fulfill the bride price (*stojyinam*). This service, which consists in helping the father-in-law in the milpa and in other duties, usually lasts a year, or less if arrangements are made in advance. Frequently during this period the man spends alternate periods of three weeks with his parents-in-law and with his own parents. When he has the means to do it, he builds his own house and starts the new cycle of a nuclear family.

581 585 574 [273] [614] After the first year of marriage, if the couple get along together, the man must make a present of two garrafones of aguardiente and the same petitionary items of food, though in larger amounts. This time, more of the girl's clan are present, and so increase the importance of the event. The purpose is to celebrate the success of the couple and the union that will exist between the two families. This big *tertulia*, along with the corresponding meal, is called [888] *mukel-ja* ('abundance of drink'). Old men of [273] the clan who cannot attend receive at their homes the portion of aguardiente they 586 should have drunk. On the other hand, if the couple could not get along during the first year and the union is annulled because of the woman's fault, her parents must give back all they have received during the first ritual.

581 574 Finally, to bring all these duties to an [P. 218-A]

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/Document of Lands of the Gómez Ichilok

On account of the petition of the citizens Domingo Gómez Ichilok, Tomás Gómez Ichilok, another Tomás Gómez Ichilok, Miguel Gómez Ichilok, Diego Gómez Ichilok, another Domingo Gómez Ichilok, another Diego Gómez Ichilok and his son Diego Gómez Ichilok, and lastly his minor son, Manuel Gómez Ichilok, and as formerly was the custom in this town that, according to the brothers of one family, a piece of common land is marked off for them so that in the future there will be no disputes with the neighbors as is usually the case, we the Governors, Auxiliaries, Justices, Scribes and Witnesses, give the paraje /place/ called Tzajalchén for them to put their landmarks on and to give them the possession that corresponds to them according to their number.

"Where began to stand the first landmark Busulton Pacton which is on the road to the right; 2nd landmark Oxloton which is on the road; 3rd landmark Tzovilton; 4th landmark Tequelton, landmark with Pedro Moreno; 5th landmark Yolilnelej Lomchen; 6th landmark in accord with Juan Gómez Bet and Martin Sanchez Chelap is called the line Teguel Cante which is also the line with Manuel Chinbak; 7th landmark Tequelton only line with Marcos Hernandez López and Diego Lopez and Diego Giron Vásquez; 8th and last landmark Basulton Pacton.

"Having left all the bordering neighbors content, offering both that in the future they will not have the least disagreement, as they are natives of their own town, under the judgment that if anyone is guilty in upsetting the order in which it has been left, the injured party will put in the cognizance of the Judge to investigate it and to apply the punishment that it deserves, for whose security the witnesses are Lorenzo Ichilok, Martin Solel, Miguel Gómez Ichilok and Governors Diego Méndez Chizna and Nicolas Jiménez Acux. For the witnesses and Governors who do not know how to sign their names. April 12 of 1861 and as witness and scribe Alonso Santis./

[P. 225-C]

592 on the basis of the age and sex characteristics of the candidates, nor do they describe house membership in these terms.

592 614 The two principles in terms of which the Aguacatenangeros would describe the membership of the household are rules of relations. The first rule states that members of the house should be lineally related to some one or more other persons in the house through males. The second rule states that: if the first rule does not apply, then the person in the house is a spouse of one such person to whom the first rule does apply. From the diagram, then, we may construct--with the aid of these two rules and the convention that the "over-under twenty" contrast is equivalent to the "with spouse-without spouse" contrast.

1. A is married to a, but either A is dead or a is dead.
2. B is married to b, and B is a lineal descendant of A.
3. C is married to c, and C is a lineal descendant of B.
4. D through I are unmarried siblings and are the lineal descendants of (most probably) C.

This may be expressed in a slightly more convenient manner by the following expression.[1]

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[104] [1]Capital symbol = male. Small symbol = female. = = married. - = offspring. o = sibling. Slash through letter = deceased. Slash between letters = no relation expressed between letters.

See A. K. Romney's forthcoming work on this subject.

592 614 1. A = a, but A or a.

2. B = b, and A = a - B.

3. C = c, and B = b - c.

3. (D o e o F o G o h o I) and C = c - (D . . . I).

A full expression of the maximal household may then be written: A - B / B = b - C / C = c - (D o e o . . . I).

592 The maximal complement of a house expresses one configuration of the residence pattern. Variations in household composition consistent with this configuration occur where a household lacks members in certain age-sex positions--e.g., childless couples, widows, and couples with or without living children, living apart from their parents. The minimal complement of the household is two people, either of same or different generations; no individual lives alone.

One of the variations in household composition which is inconsistent with the above configuration is that of married
591 siblings, with their spouses, living in the same house. Generally speaking, the movement of individuals from one house to another takes place at the time of marriage or soon thereafter.
[582] Siblings marry in an order relative to their relative age, the oldest marrying first. If the marrying sibling is a male, he will bring his wife to live with him in his father's house. If the marrying sibling is a female, she will live with her husband in his father's house. If there are further males in the sibling

Chapter 4

Family Authority and Community Control

All residents of the center consider themselves to be "true men" descended from the ancestors who lived in the cave. In Murdock's terminology (1965:63), the Indian community constitutes a *deme*, or local group of genealogically related residents who cannot trace the exact kinship tie. This sense of kinship sustains a model of paternal authority for assigning positions of power and prestige in the wider community. The key to persistence of the Indians as a culturally distinct population lies in these age-ordered hierarchies sanctioned by the ancestors and the elders who act as their intermediaries. The reward for remaining within the social control system is security and the right to their guardianship; the sanction against violating the norms is exile or exposure to the evil spirits they hold at bay.

The bilateral extension of age-relative collateral terms to all members of the same side of the dual division is a successful adaptation of the kinship model to the government of a compact nucleated community. The system of terminology is similar to that of the neighboring nucleated settlement of Aguacatenango which shares many of the same features of behavior (Hunt n.d., Metzger in Romney 1967:231). These systems are closer to those of the Coatlan Mixe (Merrifield and Hoogshagen 1961) and the Chinantec of Palantla (Merrifield 1959) than they are to the nearby Tzeltal-speaking communities of Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes 1947) and Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947). In the case of the Mixe and Chinantec, the strong emphasis on relative age is correlated with age-graded positions in the political-religious hierarchy (Merrifield 1959, Merrifield and Hoogshagen 1961:225).[1] The lineage-clan pattern found in the vacant center, or *paraje*,

1. In the Coatlán, Oaxaca case of Mixe Indians cited by Merrifield and Hoogshagen (1961) they state that the classificatory terms utilizing the criteria of age relative to ego

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•614 type of communitives such as Oxchuk and Cancuc depends on communal
621 land holding and contiguity in residence of the agnatic kin. The corporate
191 identity of these groups is breaking down with the fragmentation of land
601 holdings and movement of men from the paraje of their fathers (Guiteras Holmes 1947, Villa Rojas 1946).

601 Symmetrical bilateral extension of kinship terms can be seen in Figure 3.
602 Relative age modifies generation in terms for collaterals. In ego's generation, older brother and sister are distinguished from younger siblings. In parents' generation, siblings of father younger than father are referred to and called elder brother or sister, and those older than father are called father or mother. In grandparent's generation, siblings older than grandparent are called grandfather or grandmother, and those younger than grandparent are called father and mother. If the grandparent should die, leaving only a younger sibling, the term grandparent is used referentially and vocatively. There is no sex distinction made between siblings or collaterals
[193] younger than ego in the referential terminology. Referential terminology for lineals younger than ego does not make sex distinctions, but the distinction may be made with one's own children by using the possessive form of the vocative term, such as "my little man" (*htatil*) or "my little woman" (*ḳantzil*). Women refer to their children with the term *ʔalal*. The stem *ʔal* signifies the verb to give birth. Men refer to their children as *niʼʼan*. The collective term for children of both parents combines the two terms in a possessive form, *ḳalniʼʼan*, our children.

The bilateral system of Amatenango is not in conformity with the Spanish model. Along with similar systems mentioned for Aguacatenango, Coatlan, and Palantla, it differs from the Spanish model in that collaterals in ascending generations are classified with lineal relatives, and age rela-
[174] tive to ego modifies generational separation. These systems appear to be an

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obscures that of generation. Just as in Tzoʔontahal, all members of the community address
[601] others they meet on the street with the term indicating age relationship to ego, and grand-
[171] father and grandmother terms are reserved for the very old. The authors conclude that this terminological behavior reflects the rigid age-grading found in social groups throughout the community. I would venture a generalization that requires further research to the effect that age-grading provides a pattern for appropriate behavior among members of endogamous, closely settled communities whereby conflict is reduced by channeling competition for prestigeful positions.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VII

CORPORATE GROUPS WITHIN THE VILLAGE

Historical Perspective

174 611 591 601 583 423 428 It is probable that the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango had, at some time in their past, a patrilineal organization based on agnatic descent, patri-virilocality, a kinship terminology of the Normal Omaha type, and other associated features such as bride-price, groom service, patrilineal control of the rights to land usufruct, and patrilineal inheritance.

174 613 614 621 626 Each agnatic descent group formed segments of a corporate lineage, and several segments formed a sib. Lineages were localized, and they had important social functions. The heads of linear segments formed the local government and had the responsibility of controlling conflict and sanctioning individual behavior through the supernatural. They were believed to "own" powerful animal counterparts of their souls, which patrolled the village during sleep, and punished the misdemeanors of those men belonging to their line of descent. It is also probable that the lineage was [582] an exogamous unit, and there is some scanty evidence which points to the practice of cross-cousin marriage.

127 The evidence to support this hypothetical statement is of two types. On the one hand, there is some historical documentation in published, as well as manuscript, form. On the other hand,

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1936) 1939 NW: Tzeltal NW9

As is the case in the highlands of Guatemala, the outstanding social unit, corresponding to a tribe, is the population of several hundred or several thousand Indians whose activities center in one leading settlement from which the community gets its name. As in Guatemala, these communities vary greatly with respect to the proportion of Indians living permanently in this central settlement. Dr. Tax[4] uses the phrase "town nucleus type" for Guatemalan Indian communities in which all or a large majority of the Indians live in the principal settlement, and the phrase "vacant town type" for those in which most of the Indians live in scattered rural habitations, coming to the town center occasionally for commercial, governmental, or festal reasons. Among the Tzeltals the town-nucleus type is less atypical than it is in Guatemala, and the town-nucleus communities are suffering from a scarcity of land. The following communities may be regarded as of this type: Amatenango, San Martin, Tenango, Sivacá, Petalcingo, and probably also Chanal and Citalá, although at least in the case of the last two, there are also considerable numbers of Indians dwelling in the countryside. The vacant-town type of community is represented by Cancuc, Oxchuc, Bachajón, and Chilón. It will be seen that both types are represented in both highlands and lowlands. With respect to this classification Tenejapa, Guaquitepec, and Yajalon are intermediate, and illustrate Tax's "Type III" in that many of the people live in the town and work their fields closely surrounding it, while many live on their farms and only occasionally come to town. 621 361 632 [101] [171] [619]

As in the highlands of Guatemala, the ethnic distinction between Indian and Ladino is marked, here also the Ladinos are much outnumbered by the Indians, and here too the Ladinos are very predominately town-dwellers. In Chilón and Yajalon the permanent town-dwellers are chiefly Ladinos; the permanent population of Oxchuc consists of about seventy Ladino families, the several thousand Indians live about the town and in the country. In other towns (Tenejapa,[5] Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Petalcingo) a considerable number of Ladino families have become established, although in these communities there are more Indians even among the inhabitants of the town itself than there are Ladinos. A general disposition to exclude Ladinos from permanent settlement in Indian communities is most marked in Cancuc, the site of the uprising of 1712,[6] and where in 1935 some Ladino merchants were slain by the Indians. No Ladinos reside there now. In Amatenango, Chanal, Bachajón, San Martin, Tenango, and Sivacá the Indians are also unfavorable to settlement by Ladinos; in each of the three last-named villages the only Ladino residents are the school-teacher and the government-imposed municipal agent. Recently a few Ladino tradespeople have settled in Bachajón, and a "Center of Native Education" has been established there (as also at Amatenango) by the Mexican national government. In the lowland towns of 563 [669] [871]

[4] Tax, 1937, pp. 421–444.

[5] It is interesting that in Tenejapa, where both Indians and Ladinos live in town, the two groups recognize different saints as patron saints and there are separate schools for Indians and for Ladinos, whereas in Oxchuc, where all the Indians live outside the town, the same santos are worshipped by both groups, but the Ladinos maintain their own celebration on the days of the festival.

[6] Vicente Pineda, 1888.

631 the secretario, who is, without exception, a Ladino, for his responsibilities require a good knowledge of the Spanish language as well as office skills, which the Indians usually lack. Actually it is this official who controls all the administrative affairs of the municipio. He imposes fines, collects taxes, assigns communal work, and keeps in con-
[62] tact with the state authorities. After him rank the regidor, síndico, alcalde, police commander, and policemen.

621 Besides these authorities, which are the officially recognized ones, the Indians have their own government system, which in most places is still operating. Oxchuc is
[888] typical of the regional pattern. There the
[887] municipio is divided into two calpules, each of which is a kind of fraternity under the supervision of those old men having the
[776] greatest knowledge and prestige. Each cal-
[796] pul has also its own patron saint, venerated with special feasts and ceremonies throughout the year. (In Oxchuc the calpules are not geographically determined, and its members are spread in different parajes of
62 the territory.) Authority is now integrated in the following officials:

1 katinab, supreme chief of the whole calpul
1 okil kabil, "feet and hands" of the preceding, i.e., secretary
2 dzunubiles, supreme "pulsers" or "curers"
1 alcalde, who carries a staff of office
2 cornales (or governors), who also carry staffs of office
2 síndicos, who also carry staffs of office
4 a-tules (or regidores)

555 The four last jobs are reached by strict
624 hierarchy and indicate the progress of each
794 individual in the fulfillment of his social duties. This social-service career begins when the man is not yet married, when he is assigned the cargo of mayordomo of the church, which means that he has to attend to minor affairs connected with the church and to keep it clean. Shortly after his marriage he usually reaches the position of capitán, where he is responsible for the fies-

[P. 220-A]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

were not affected by the congregación. The fact that there is no mention in the post-Conquest documents of the introduction of dual divisions suggests that the model was indigenous to the area.

The Indians of Tzo'ontahal state that the dividing line of the division was established in its present position when a new church, replacing the first one which was burned, was built on the present site. Judging from a date carved in a beam of the church, this must have been about the year 1746. The endogamous restriction on marriage has not led to a sense of racial distinction between the two populations. Both groups feel that they are descendants of the same ancestor figures and under their guardianship. The same Tzeltal patronyms are distributed on both sides of the division, although there is a clustering of some of them on one or another side. Table 2 shows the distribution of patronyms of 714 male and female adults; 88 percent of the patronyms are found in both divisions.[4]

The functions of the division in organizing social groupings have been eroded, but some survive. Equal representation by civil officials from the upper and lower sections, when there are two or more posts at the same rank, is still in effect. The principle of alternation of the single posts of president and *síndico*, his administrative assistant, so that one term the incumbent is chosen from Ahk'olnantik and the following term from Alannantik has not been a decisive factor since the 1930s, when Indian communities were being drawn into more active participation in national programs of change (Chapter 9).

Residential expansion within the center has been almost entirely in Ahk'olnantik because of the addition of ejido lands formerly belonging to the finca of San Nicolás on this side of town. This one-sided increase in population finally resulted, in 1965, in a breakdown of the principle of equal representation in the ceremonial posts involving high expenses, those of the four *alfereces*. Although attempts were made to find candidates in Alannantik, there were no men with sufficient funds who had not

4. Carrasco (n.d.:5) quotes a document in the *Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla, Guatemala* 16 indicating that Spanish patronyms were given to the heads of calpules and that these were to be extended to all members of the calpul. The present distribution of name groups in the dual divisions cannot support this, nor can it refute the possibility that Spanish patronyms were related to some larger kin or territorial grouping more than three hundred years ago.

building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office.

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist.

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first.

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient portable typewriter. Since typing is a new skill for him, he makes many errors, and his retrials are accepted with patience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

621 his children, nor can he keep control of village affairs after his year of service has been fulfilled. Even a man occupying a post of high responsibility and prestige, a juez (judge) for example, becomes just an ordinary citizen after he leaves the office. All the men in the village theoretically, and most of them in practice, become village officers at some time in their life.

An individual starts at the bottom of the hierarchical ladder in the cargo of policía (also called mayor, topil or comisariado), which is a messenger or cleaning and errand boy for both the Mayordomos and Cabildo members. (He is the hands and feet [581] of the government.) The only requirement for this job is to be married. After this position has been "passed," a man is ready to start climbing the ladder to higher officerships, if he fulfills [581] the other requirements. He must have a child, a wife, and the [556] money which he is compelled to spend as part of the job: new clothes, liquor, and perhaps money to pay other men to help him with the agricultural work to which he cannot, being an officer, dedicate his full time.

During his life time, a man is required to pass a certain number of positions in the government, alternating Church and Ayuntamiento posts with rest periods of between one and three 62 years. After he passes the required number of officerships, and 887 by then he would be an old man, he becomes, automatically, a 888 pasado (a man that has passed his service), and can retire to private life, or become a principal, a member of the Elders' Council, a "father of the town." The Principales are the elder men in the village, highly respected for their wisdom and sought

•62 887 888 after for advice in many different events, such as helping to decide the divisions of an inheritance among brothers, giving advice to a drunkard husband, etc. They also have important political functions: they are called in by the Ayuntamiento to help solve the difficult witchcraft cases, and they have to approve the nominations of officers before they are presented to the community as candidates.

621 554 In selecting new officers, age, marital status, seniority rights and previous experience are considered important. The higher a position in the hierarchy, the more respected it is and the more authority and responsibility it carries. While the lower positions can be filled by any man, the higher ones require certain personal skills that not everybody possesses, so it becomes more difficult to find the right man for the job. Some men fail in commanding the respect of their fellow citizens (because they drink, or they fight with their neighbors, or similar breaches of behavior for which they are not selected for cargo), or they become senile, or die before they become pasados, so not every man arrives at the ideal and most reputable role of Principal, which is the top role a man can achieve at the community level.

621 624 554 To be a principal a man has to be able to get along with his kinsmen and neighbors, he should not be suspected of witchcraft, he should be able to deal with outsiders to the community avoiding conflict with them, he should be fast in judging the behavior of others and solving problems, and his word has to be precise and carry the necessary weight to convince others that his opinions are sound (un hombre que "sabe hablar"). Moreover, he can more easily

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

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CHART 1 – CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS OFFICIALS

Officials in the Townhall	*Officials Who Link Townhall and Church*	*Officials in the Church*
Principales (*Krinnpolenk*) First Principal (*Sba Krinnpal*) Second Principal (*Sbebal Krinnpal*) President (*Presirente*) Secretary (*Secretarió*) Síndico (*Sinikó*)		Fiscal (*Pilkal*)
Judges (*Alkalenk*) First Judge, Alannanik (*Sba Alkal* or *Primeró Alkal*) Second Judge, Ahk'olnannk (*Sbebal Alkal*) Assistant Judge, La Grandeza (*Alkal Suplente Bobibal*) Assistant Judge, Madronal (*Alkal Suplente Magronal*)		Mayordomos (*Martomaetik*) Cofrades or Brothers (*Kobrarietik*) Cofráde of Sacramento (*Kobraria Sakramentó*) Cofrade of Sta. Lucía (*Kobraria Halal Me?nik*) Cofrade of San Pedro Martyr (*Kobraria Tatik Martil*) Cofrade of San Francisco (*Kobraria Sanprannikó*) Elders (*Tatik*) Elder of Santiago (*Tatik Santiagó*) Elder of San Antonio (*Tatil Tatik Sanantonió*) Elder of Virgin Rosario (*Tatil Me?nik Rosarió*) Elder of San José (*Tatil Tatik Sanhosé*) Assistants to Cofrades (*Ali?bal Kobrarietik*) Assistant to Sacramento (*Ali?bal Sakramentó*) Assistant to Virgin Santa Lucia (*Ali?bal Halal Me?nik*) Junior Mayordomos (*Nil?nal Martomaetik*) Junior of San Pedro Martyr (*Nil?nal Tatik Martil*) Junior of San Francisco (*Nil?nal Sanprannikó*) Junior of Santiago (*Nil?nal Santiagó*) Junior of San Antonio (*Nil?nal Tatik Sanantonió*) Junior of Santiago (*Nil?nal Tatik Santiagó*) Junior of Rosario (*Nil?nal Me?nik Rosarió*)
Regidores (*Rehiroienk*) First Regidor (*Primeró Rehirol*) Second Regidor (*Sbebal Rehirol*) Third Regidor (*Yolebal Rehirol*) Fourth Regidor (*Shanebal Rehirol*)	Alferecs (*Alperesenik*) Elder Past (*Tat Pasaró*) Remains Past (*Šil Pasaró*) Second Past (*Sbebal Pasaró*) New Alférez (*AP Alperés*)	
Policemen (*Mayolenik*) 2 First Police (*Primeró Mayol*)* 2 Second Police (*Sbebal Mayol*) 2 Third Police (*Yolebal Mayol*) 2 Fourth Police (*Shanebal Mayol*) 2 Last Police (*Spool Mayol*)		

*Also called Martomaetik.

[P. 212]

614 /1/ Cancuc is a Tzeltal town of Chiapas, Mexico, whose
[101] social organization is based on exogamous patrilineal clans.
[176] These clans are intimately related to: 1) the nagual or guardian
[551] spirit, which is given the name of lab among the Indians of this
[613] region; 2) the native surnames that constitute the lineages within
[621] the clans; 3) the "barrios," as the Spanish chroniclers called the endogamous tribal subdivisions (called calpulli among the Aztecs and culibal in Cancuc); 4) the kinship system; and 5) the behavior.

614 All the individuals belonging to a clan consider themselves
601 "legitimate siblings" /Sp. "hermanos legítimos"/, using the terms that designate this class of relatives. This theoretical consanguineous kinship is expressed by means of the word chapomal -- a Cancuquero /a person from Cancuc/ calls another "brother" be-
614 cause he is his chapomal. This form of usage is indicative of
601 common ancestry, something that we were not able to clarify, as
124 our questions on this point only received answers that showed that
829 they had lost any notion of a real or mythical ancestor. Our informants invariably explained this situation with the expressions: "it is the custom," "San Juan /Saint John/ (Patron Saint of Cancuc) ordered it so," or "it was ordered by Manuel (God)." What does constitute a clear concept in the minds of all is that "formerly" each clan lived in a cave, from which its members went out in the form of human beings to populate the earth and in which lived the naguales, or lab, that bound them to their place of origin.
[775] The soul came back to this cave after death. There are as many caves as the number of clans.

614 The children belonged to the paternal clan. A woman who marries does not become a member of the clan of her husband.

/2/ Exogamy is strictly respected; persons belonging to the same clan never marry each other.

[591] The clans are not local, as their members live in all of the places and rancherias.

[178] At present the clans lack chiefs, this institution having dis-
[669] appeared about 30 years ago, according to all our information, when the zone that we are studying underwent a chaotic period due to political revolts.

/6 cont./

621 The native surnames are regarded as belonging to a definite
[551] barrio, two of which exist at present. (In an old document, which
[127] we cannot now locate, reference is made to four barrios of Cancuc. Our informants do not remember this fact and emphatically deny it, but they do refer to a third one, which became incorporated into the two remaining ones a very long time ago.) These two barrios formerly bore the names of Chejeb and Chiklajum, by which they are still known, but today they are preferably called Ajkol-culibal, or "upper barrio," and Alán-culibal, or "lower barrio," respectively. Some informants say "calpul" in referring to the barrios, but not so others, who recognize the word calpul as the one used by other native groups -- "here there is no calpul, only Alán- and Ajkol-culibal," several Cancuqueros explain to us. One informant tells us that formerly there were three culibales, the third being called Alal-bikit-culbal. The dividing line of the barrios passes through the center of the town, located on the crest of a hill, drawn from east to west, the lands of the north belonging to Alán- and those of the south to Ajkol-culibal. The
[361] third one, which has now disappeared, included all the land
[368] to the west of the town, as the dividing line terminated at the point where the building of the Cabildo /town hall/ is located -- to the east of the great plaza, having in front the Iglesia /church/ and the ruins of the ancient "convento." When Alal-bikit-culibal was incorporated into the other two, the line that divided them was extended, separating its lands into two parts: those that remained south of the line being transferred so as to belong to the "upper" culibal, and those of the north to the "lower" one.

621 Even though at present there are persons from one culibal
551 living in the other, they always consider themselves bound to the one from which their surname comes (for this purpose our informants never took into account the third barrio to which we have referred). According to our list of native surnames, we can say
[614] that 54 belong to Ajkol-culibal, and 38 to Alán-culibal. According to the division into three clans, we have the following distribution:

/6 cont./

551 621 614

Ajkol-culibal	Alán-culibal
19 Chik	14 Chik
13 Chejeb	18 Chejeb
22 Ijká	6 Ijká

/7/ Among the Spanish surnames we have 6 that belong exclusively to Alán- and 6 to Ajkol-culibal (not counting the case in which a native surname of the Chik clan is joined to two different Spanish surnames that are found in both culibales). The remaining 14 Spanish surnames are combined with surnames from the two culibales.

621 582 178 174 551 Today the culibal is not endogamous, but we believe it possible that it was in former times (as we have found in recent investigations of the Tzotzil group of San Pablo Chalchihuitán of this region). The present possibility of changing residence and the incorporation of native surnames originating from a culibal (or perhaps two) that have disappeared within the boundaries of the two remaining make the reconstruction of the pre-Hispanic 621 582 551 culibal impossible in this case. According to the data obtained in our census, 62.5 o/o of the marriages were concluded between persons whose native surnames originated from the same culibal. [125] [166] [613] In spite of the low percentage, nevertheless the custom of marriage between people of the same culibal predominates (we should not forget the mobility permitted in recent times, because of which residents of one culibal are persons whose lineages originate from the other), although cases of marriage between persons belonging [614] to the two different culibales also abound. It is almost always preferred to look for a wife among the women of the same place or rancheria, but at present we can say that clan exogamy is the only thing that regulates marriage.

621 622 [631] [614] [651] Each culibal has its own chiefs, elected from and by those members who have filled political-religious positions in the Chakel or Ayuntamiento /municipal government/. The clans are taken into account in this election, rigorously taking turns. The culibal chiefs assign the communal lands, organize the collective tasks for the benefit of the community, pray for the health and

/7 cont./

•621 the harvests of all on the appointed days, and collect the taxes
622 on the lands of the culibal, which they take to the seat of the
[651] municipality of Ocosingo, from which Cancuc depends in the capacity of municipal agency. An order given by a chief is obeyed without discussion by all the members of the correspond-
[614] ing culibal. The men of each culibal participate in the local government in equal number and category, just as also in the filling of religious positions, the clans always taking turns.

/8/ Kinship System

601 Below we shall see the kinship system, intimately related to the social organization based on exogamous patrilineal clans.

Kinship Terms of Cancuc*

601
128

*This list presents the kinship terms with their significant primaries /Sp. primarios/. Some have the possessive prefix of the first person, but we have preferred to retain this form because this is how they are obtained in the genealogies and how they are heard in the common language in the forms of usage and because we use the charts of EGO, which are the ones of more common use. Due to the lack of printing types representing the phonemic signs, we have chosen the Spanish orthography.

601

bankil	a man's older brother
xibel	a woman's older brother
uix	older sister; father's sister
kitsín	younger siblings of both sexes
tat	father
me	mother
nichán	a man's children
kaal	a woman's children

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

As is the case in the highlands of Guatemala, the outstanding social unit, corresponding to a tribe, is the population of several hundred or several thousand Indians whose activities center in one leading settlement from which the community gets its name. As in Guatemala, these communities vary greatly with respect to the proportion of Indians living permanently in this central settlement. Dr. Tax[16] uses the phrase "town nucleus type" for Guatemalan Indian communities in which all or a large majority of the Indians live in the principal settlement, and the phrase "vacant town type" for those in which most of the Indians live in scattered rural habitations, coming to the town center occasionally for commercial, governmental, or festal reasons. Among the Tzeltals the town-nucleus type is less atypical than it is in Guatemala, and the town-nucleus communities are suffering from a scarcity of land. The following communities may be regarded as of this type: Amatenango, San Martin, Tenango, Sivacá, Petalcingo, and probably also Chanal and Citalá, although at least in the case of the last two, there are also considerable numbers of Indians dwelling in the countryside. The vacant-town type of community is represented by Cancuc, Oxchuc, Bachajon, and Chilón. It will be seen that both types are represented in both highlands and lowlands. With respect to this classification Tenejapa, Guaquitepec, and Yajalon are intermediate, and illustrate Tax's "Type III" in that many of the people live in the town and work their fields closely surrounding it, while many live on their farms and only occasionally come to town. 621. 361 632 [101] [171] [619]

As in the highlands of Guatemala, the ethnic distinction between Indian and Ladino is marked, here also the Ladinos are much outnumbered by the Indians, and here too the Ladinos are very predominately town-dwellers. In Chilón and Yajalon the permanent town-dwellers are chiefly Ladinos; the permanent population of Oxchuc consists of about seventy Ladino families; the several thousand Indians live about the town and in the country. In other towns (Tenejapa,[17] Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Petalcingo) a considerable number of Ladino families have become established, although in these communities there are more Indians even among the inhabitants of the town itself than there are Ladinos. A general disposition to exclude Ladinos from permanent settlement in Indian communities is most marked in Cancuc, the site of the uprising of 1712,[18] and where in 1935 some Ladino merchants were slain by the Indians. No Ladinos reside there now. In Amatenango, Chanal, Bachajon, San Martin, Tenango, and Sivacá the Indians are also unfavorable to settlement by Ladinos; in each of the three last-named villages the only Ladino residents are the school-teacher and the government-imposed municipal agent. Recently a few Ladino tradespeople have settled in Bachajón, and a "Center of Native Education" has been established there (as also at Amatenango) by the Mexican national government. In the lowland towns of 563 [669] [871]

[16] Tax, 1937, op. cit., 144.

[17] It is interesting that in Tenejapa, where both Indians and Ladinos live in town, the two groups recognize different patron saints, and there are separate schools for Indians and for Ladinos; whereas in Oxchuc, where all the Indians live outside the town, the same saints are worshipped by both groups, but the Ladinos maintain their own celebration on the day of the festival.

[18] Vicente Pineda, op. cit.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1936) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

a marriage was incestuous in the same sense as marriage between close relations. These surnames are transmitted patrilineally. Of ten informants in Chanal, nine gave their Indian surnames; the tenth said he had none. Furthermore, in cases where potential spouses have the same Spanish surname but different Indian surnames—and such cases occur—marriage between such persons is similarly discouraged. And in San Martin, Tenango, Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo, where apparently the Indian surnames do not exist, Villa received information to the effect that marriage between persons of the same Spanish surname is disapproved."

Indian surnames noted by Villa, with translations offered him, follow:

CHANAL: Yemuc (large mouth), Xampil, Tiib, Calabal, Chicó, Cories, Comistal.
TENEJAPA: Tzurin (sowing?), Hoviltzil (mad dog), Uacax (cow), Chacax (?), Mee-mut (mother hen), Lobal (banana), Ton (stone).
CANCUC: Oxom, Say, Chig-yax, Coreta, Caxlan-pucú, Hokob-canela.
OXCHUC: Chinbac (small bone), Aquilan (from Aquilar), Chichol (tomato), Barsen (*pinto*), Nimail (squash-tip), Holchi (deer head).

In all the highland villages information was given to the effect that each *pueblo* (town, with its rural population, if any) is endogamous; in most instances the endogamy was represented as absolute. As some of the communities include only a few score of households, the matter requires further investigation.

The communities of Cancuc, Oxchuc, and Bachajón (and apparently only these) are divided into antagonistic sub-communities called *calpules*. (Neither Starr nor Blom and LaFarge give information on this point.) In each case an imaginary east-west line across the plaza divides the northern lands of the one calpul from the southern lands of the other. In Cancuc (at least) the lands of the north are considered "hot," those of the south "cold," with corresponding favorable and unfavorable connotations as to their fertility. In Cancuc the northern calpul is called either *muhul calpul* 'large calpul' or else *alankuluhibal;* the southern is called *bikit calpul* 'small calpul' or else *kalankuluhibal*. Each calpul (*barrio* to the Ladinos) had its own government, established by the members of each calpul independently of the formal local government, which, recognized by the state and national authorities, acts for both calpules in matters that must be taken to the outside authorities. In Oxchuc the calpul officers are one *presidente*, two *alcaldes* or *cantakines*, two *gobernadores*, two *catinab* 'very respected chiefs,'

"Among the Lacandons there are patrilineal, totemically named kinships grouped into two exogamous phratries (Soustelle, 1935); it is likely that among the ancient Maya of Yucatan there was surname exogamy. Landa says (Section XXIV), ". . . the Indians consider all of the same name related, and treat them accordingly. Thus also no man or woman marries another of the same name, because this was for them a great infamy" (Gates, 1937, p. 40). Landa also says (Section XXV), ". . . nor did they ever marry one bearing their own name on the father's side, for this was considered a very bad thing." On the subject of Maya names, Roys says, "The Maya family name, which was perpetuated in the male line, survived the Conquest, but the old pagan pre-names were abolished and replaced by Spanish Christian names when the Indians were baptized. Two varieties of pre-names are well known: one indicating a man's profession or office, and the other, derived from his mother and preceded by the prefix Na-. The Maya called the latter the 'naal,' and there were also two other classes of pre-names, which they called the 'boy-name' and the 'jesting name.' Many of the 'boy-names' are referable to fauna-names, especially those of birds, while some of the 'jesting names' appear to be descriptive. It seems to have been possible for a single person to have borne all four names" (Roys, 1934, p. 106).

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

621 and four *chuycales*, who are in charge of sacred matters. Certain shamans, called [756] *dzunubiles*, also participate in calpul government.

621 776 184 In Cancuc, Villa did not inquire into the matter, but in Oxchuc and in Bachajón the calpules have separate patron saints and are known, in the case of Bachajón, by the names of San Sebastian and San Geronimo, in the case of Oxchuc, Santo Tomás and La Trinidad. In the church at Bachajón the santos belonging to the north calpul, San Sebastian and two others, stand on the left side of the church, while San Geronimo, San Manuel, and the Virgin, representing the south calpul, stand at the right side. It appears, however, at least in the case of Oxchuc, that the festivals of these saints are maintained by the people of both calpules jointly.

621 578 The antagonism between the calpules of Cancuc has expressed itself from time to time in violence. During Villa's stay it was rumored that the people of the southern half were about to attack those of the northern half, and indeed, shots were fired. Blom and LaFarge reported "a dragging feud" in this village.[29] Ap- [582] parently marriages may and do take place between the calpules; there is no indication, however, that they are exogamous.

778 788 123 778 In Oxchuc a principal annual ceremony attends the transfer from one calpul to the other of a certain sacred book. This greatly venerated object was, after some reluctance, shown to Villa. He was requested to deliver to its custodians a dozen rockets, some candles, and some incense; he was then allowed to examine it in the presence of the chiefs and the chuycales of both calpules. It is a notebook of twelve paper sheets, 40 by 20 cm. in size; it has a deerskin cover. Of the twelve pages, nine bear writing, all but one on both sides. The text appears to be a series of orders set down by the Spanish authorities in the year 1674. The book is kept in a black wooden box; before and after removing it the chuycales prayed, kneeling, while incense was burned and the rockets were discharged.

778 788 The book is called *cuhualtic* 'Our Master.' The ceremony of transfer of this sacred object takes place during the thirteen days beginning December 31. The principal members of the government of both calpules, numbering thirteen, assemble in the cabildo. The book is placed on a table with thirteen candles, thirteen rosaries, thirteen calabashes of lime mixed with tobacco, and thirteen vessels of atole. During the thirteen days the men remain segregated in the cabildo without contact with their homes or with women. Many prayers are uttered. At the conclusion of the period the box containing the book is escorted in solemn procession to the place it occupies during the rest of the year—not in the church, but in a special hut on the outskirts of the calpul of La Trinidad.

58 114 584 583 000 Information which Villa received from Indians of Chanal on the customs attending marriage differs in a number of respects from the account given by Blom and LaFarge,[30] or supplements that account, and therefore may be summarized here. There are no professional marriage negotiators. The boy's parents pay, ordinarily, four visits to the girl's parents to complete the agreement. On each visit they bring bread, eggs, fruit, and especially rum. The boy is expected

[29] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:387.

[30] *Ibid.*, 2:358–359.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[p.455-A]

Death as a Way of Life: The Increasing Resort to Homicide in a Maya Indian Community[1]

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The breaking-down of a social-control system based on belief in the guardianship of the spiritual ancestors and their temporal agents, the curers, is reflected in a rising homicide rate as people turn to individual sanctions when threatened. The acts of homicide differ in their social significance according to who is killed, the context, the agency, and the motivation of the killer. Thirty-seven homicides between 1938 and 1965, analyzed in terms of these component variables, reflect the conflicts arising from competition in new economic enterprises, the rising suspicion of curers' abuse of their supernatural power, and the loss of belief in the guardianship of the ancestors.

121 682 [762] THE social impact of homicide has caused some analysts[2] to treat it and its supposed inverted complement, suicide, as one kind of behavior with a single meaning, ignoring Durkheim's caveat that behavioral rubrics categorize diverse phenomena. Here I shall [101] analyze the variety of strategies involved in killing in a Mexican community, which I shall call Teklum (the Tzeltal term for village), and endeavor to show how rules of behavior are expressed in killing and in attempts to avoid being killed. Further, I shall endeavor to point out what these indicate about structural and organizational changes both within the community and in its relations with the wider society. Since suicide is absent, except for a [762] single case of a madman, I have restricted my enquiry to homicide.

161 162 [101] 621 Teklum is a predominantly Indian township of Mexico. The population of the town center—about 1,900—includes only one Ladino, or non-Indian, family, that of the schoolteacher. The sense of community is limited to people living in the center and in the four nearby hamlets (*barrios*).

621 632 The town center is divided physically and socially into two endogamous sections, called "upper" and "lower." The outlying hamlets are linked to the nearest section by social and economic ties. The civil and religious posts of the town are, in local theory, apportioned evenly between the sections. This was in fact true until the 1950's; for each of the ranked posts had a paired complement, so that both sides of the dual division were represented, and the single posts of president and *síndico* (the president's administrative assistant) were al-

621 632 178

3:Nah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P.455-B]

621
632 ternated for each three-year term between the
178 upper and lower sections.

But with the recent increase in dealings
621 between the national and regional administra-
632 tive centers and the local communities, re-
178 cruitment into office as president and síndico
554 has come to depend upon the candidates' possessing a knowledge of Spanish, literacy, and familiarity with the ways of Ladino society. Because of the relative scarcity of such skills, selection of these two officials has tended to ignore the former residence requirements
[887] relating to the dual division. Along with this change in the criteria for selecting these officials has come a decrease in the power and the authority exercised by the *principales*—elders from each side of the dual division who rose to their position by passing through all of the lower offices in the hierarchy—and a corresponding increase in the importance of the presidency.

621 This dual division also affected the structure
632 of the curing profession. The curers are men
754 who can overcome sickness caused by witch-
756 craft because of their possession of an animal spirit (*swayohel*) and their knowledge of ritual. In each of the two sections of the town was a leading curer (*stalal ʔuʔul*) who, by virtue of his age, experience, and recognized authority, was able to control entry into the profession. Their function was to prevent as well as cure, for the leading curers were also charged with guarding their section against the entry of
621 witchcraft. In the last two decades, leadership
632 by recognized elder curers from each side of the
756 dual division has been lost, and along with it
178 control over limiting the practicing of curing.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.456-A] Teklum

121
621 It is in the context of these structural divi-
632 sions that social change and its behavioral indices must be analyzed.

682 Homicide—an act viewed as a delict in na-
182 tional Mexican law—has in the past two decades become an accepted strategy in social interaction. It is part of the expectations of the society upon which members predicate their own code of behavior and in terms of which
[626] they react to others. Gossip not only fails to
[521] suppress homicide, but serves to create a consensual base for condoning it. The corpse is re-
[764] ferred to as "the one who had the guilt," *Pa stukel smul*, and even when knowledge of the particular act is lacking, certain assumptions are made: the killer was someone in the community; the victim provoked the killer. In list-
682 ing crimes, informants sometimes failed to
674 mention killing, or they included it after wi-
[124] craft, theft, or adultery. Homicide is [illegible]sidered a *reaction* to crime, not a crime in it[illegible]

The rate is phenomenally high—up to 2[illegible] per 100,000 (when adjusted to bring the whole township's population of a little over 3,000 to the base for measuring international rates)—and it is increasing. This compares with national rates of 4.8 for the United States, 31.9 for Mexico (United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1964), and 36.2 for a nearby town (Favre 1964).

The following tabulation summarizes the homicides by decades since 1915, the earliest date for which records are available.

1915–1924	4
1925–1934	5
1935–1944	19
1945–1954	9
1955–1964	35

[114] Figures prior to 1950 are not apt to be accurate, for only since that time have there been adequate reporting and checking of township records. In the following tabulation, the marked increase in the annual number of homicides since 1960 represents a real increase.

1950	1	1958	1
1951	0	1959	1
1952	1	1960	4
1953	1	1961	7
1954	1	1962	6
1955	0	1963	7
1956	1	1964	4
1957	4	1965	9

682 In order to assess the meaning of its remark-
674 able increase during the 1960's, I have pro-
121

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.462-A]

682 674 656 long, and that the body was suspended 35 centimeters from the ground. He saw that we had raised the act well, and nothing was done.

Who Kills and Why

682 562 The only universal factor among the killers is sex—only men kill (Table 2). Women do not kill nor are they killed in Teklum. This does not mean that they are not subject to as many tensions or abuses as men, or that these have no channels for expression. Women work through men by agitating them to homicide. [593] Sometimes revenge is delayed, for the agents chosen by women may be children who must reach maturity before accomplishing the deed (see case 36, in which the son's animosity toward his father was kindled at his mother's deathbed).

682 683 621 Neighbors are a significant group in witchcraft killing. (Neighbors may be listed in Table 2 under another relationship, for instance as brother-in-law or as cattle owner.) They are the informal judges of suspected witches, and it is frequently they who kill a man considered to be a witch. When the curers accuse a man of causing epidemics, his neighbors are usually the executors. [608] For this reason, most people try to neutralize the hostility of

682 their neighbors by establishing *compadrazgo*, or
683 godparental, relations with them.
621
608 Ten of the 37 homicides here reported were committed by immediate consanguineal or
682 affinal relatives of the victim. The high fre-
593 quency of killings involving brothers or
607 brothers-in-law (8 cases) suggests a locus of
[602] high tension in these relationships. Male siblings, the *yermanotak*, comprise the closest
[476] cooperating group. Cooperation between brothers is obligatory when wheat is to be threshed, a house built, or a roof rethatched. If a brother or brother-in-law is unavoidably absent, he must pay a substitute. Brothers, or sons and fathers, are the only relationship pairs who work the milpa in common and share
[428] the harvest. Bilateral inheritance, with equal division of land and house to both male and female offspring, means that brothers-in-law are potentially equivalent in the competition for goods as well as in their obligation to cooperate. A man kills his sister's husband if the husband is abusive to the woman or to mem-
682 bers of the family (two cases). The brother
627 figures not only as a lethal opponent, but also
593 as the man who avenges one's own death (case 18, Table 1). When someone has been killed for witchcraft, his brothers are expected to accept the verdict or to avenge the killing.

[Text continues on p. 463-A]

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 466-B] Teklum

626 178 756 orders the curers to gather together. The curers look for the man who has "brought the heat." And then they kill him. Formerly it was not so.

The statement points to two interacting features of change within the curing profession: (1) the loss of leadership and of control over entry into the profession and (2) the loss of faith in the guardianship function of the curers. The effect of these changes has been to reduce security and the maintenance of social control.

756 178 [621] Formerly the recognized leader of the curers in each section of the dual division legitimized entry of new curers and expelled those who abused their power. When these curers died, there was no one of sufficient power to replace them. In listing curers who are active today, there is no agreement as to who the leading curers are or even as to whether there are leaders.

756 Loss of leadership in the curing profession has led to competition among the curers. There is discussion such as the following concerning who is the strongest:

> When N (a former curer, killed as a witch) was alive, he was land-control officer. When we were half drunk one day, the president asked him: "Tell me who is the strongest of all you who know curing." N replied, "Ah, you want to hear. There is no one who is very strong, only the dead Mamal K and myself." The president said, "But Mam D is good." N said, "Less so. I know because one time we proved it, at a meeting of the curers. I arrived as a sheep, and 'took out' [literal translation of *lok'*] one black dog. He took out a sheep and a pig and ordered them to run. And I saw that they could not run. After my animals ran a little with his, mine arrived first. It is thus that I saw his were less strong."

[541] The present competition among the curers to assert their power by telling such stories or by displaying fearlessness in the bullfights held in community fiestas is symptomatic of the disruption caused by the breakdown in the hierarchy of the profession. When curing was a controlled profession, abusive conduct by the curers was minimized, but the new curers are reputed to use their power for their own gain. The following story is typical:

756 539 J, born in Tetikil, went to live in hot country. A friend invited him to drink. J, who was reputed to be a curer, said to his friend when they were half drunk, "Do you want to 'take out' a girl?" His friend said, "No, how can you?" "*Pendejo!*" J replied, "I can because I have an animal

3:Nah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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[P.468-A]

accused him of being a witch, he was put in the local jail by the judge and then removed to the departmental capital. During his term of imprisonment an epidemic broke out in the town; it was attributed to witchcraft supposedly practiced by him and by two other curers who remained in town. These two were then imprisoned. After they were set free, all three men were killed in different episodes involving accusations of witchcraft. Permission to act as executioners was granted by the civil authority.

In the past, the public review of a case before a killing probably served to minimize homicide, since permission was not always granted. Since 1953, when a large highway first linked the town to the departmental capital and communication between this center of justice and the local township increased, the civil authority has not given permission, and prior review of witchcraft cases occurs only with epidemics.

The final incident in which the civil authority confronted the curers occurred in the spring of 1966. The president accused one of the curers of cutting short his life by lighting candles in the mountains. The curers were called together to hear the threat and to go to the hill to look at the evidence. The accused curer remained at home pleading that he was sick. He was warned not to pursue his witchcraft, and as yet there has been no use of violence on either side. This open confrontation without the use of violence may indicate a change in the strategy of conflict with the growing power of the president.

(J) *Breakdown of the dual division.* The loss of internal controls in the curing profession and the conflict for power and control by the civil officials and the curers are related to a more fundamental change in the social structure of the community. Formerly the division of the town into two sections provided a channel for opposition as well as cooperation. Recruitment into leadership positions in both the civil hierarchy and the curing hierarchy was based upon residence. The system provided checks and balances in the exercise of power, for the two principales—one from each section of the dual division—were supposed to act as watchdogs over the curers. The shift in the locus of social control from the principales to the president has been marked by the open confrontation with the curers.

The authority of the president, however,

3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965) 1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P 469-A]

682 183 wider ranges of expression than are usually permitted in the community prompt men to assert the strength of their swayobel, to run races with the animal spirits of others in the assertion of pre-eminence, to boast of their material goods, and to "wake up dead."

682 674 178 578 The increasing rate of homicide is related to the following changes in the community:

(1) Increasing friction resulting both from the introduction of new economic enterprises and from political competition by the recently settled land-reform colonies has introduced a new kind of homicide, in which an opponent is killed either by the person whose interests are threatened or by hired killers. It has also stimulated accusations of witchcraft stemming from envy. [754] 558

682 674 178 578 756 (2) The curers' loss of leadership and of control over entry into the curing profession has led to competition among them and to a loss of respect for their ability to overcome witchcraft. Curers have become the most frequent suspects of being witches.

754 682 674 178 769 776 626 (3) Loss of faith in the guardian ancestors and in the guardianship functions acquired from them by the curers has further undermined the position of the curers as agents of social control. This has aggravated the sense of insecurity and fear, which provokes the uncontrolled use of individual violence.

682 674 178 621 626 (4) The shift of power from the principales to the town president has led to a breakdown in the system of checks and balances exerted by the principales over the curers, and to a direct confrontation of the curers by civil officials.

756 682 674 756 178 626 683 (5) In the confrontations of the civil authorities and the curers in the '40's and early '50's, the fact that a witchcraft case was officially reviewed and the killing of the witch sanctioned may have served as a brake on the number of such homicides. Since 1953, when this practice was abandoned, those who have felt themselves or their families to be the victims of witchcraft have been left to their own recourse.

178 578 682 [621 632 756] The organizational changes summarized here are provoked by structural changes affecting recruitment into the positions of power and the validation of leadership in the exercise of power. The dual division of the town provided an accepted basis for recruiting

3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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[P.469-B]

leaders, both in the civil authority and in the curing profession. The transition from the old hierarchy of control to the new leadership structure is still in process. In the most recent confrontation of the civil authority and curers, the fact that neither side resorted to violence suggests the transitional nature of homicide as a solution in intracommunal conflict.

This study of homicide indicates that the changing rate of behavior points to structural change, but does not in itself indicate what kind of change occurs or from what motives it stems. Qualitative case analysis related to structural changes within the recall of informants is essential for understanding social process.

NOTES

[1] Field work is based on two periods of residence in the community in 1964 and 1965; it was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health. I am grateful for comments by Paul Friedrich, Richard Henderson, Harold Scheffler, and Peter Wilson, who have improved the original version read at the 1965 meetings of the American Anthropological Association. I remain responsible for the contents of the paper.

[2] Henry and Short (1954:18) analyze both suicide and homicide as undifferentiated aggressive reactions to frustration, the rates of which vary—in the first case inversely and in the second case directly—with the strength of the external control system over behavior. Their assumption that homicide is motivationally a single phenomenon, and not an expression of a variety of motives, stems from the assumption that all cases of aggressive acts are the result of frustration. Straus and Straus (1964:587) apply a similar correlational analysis of homicide and suicide rates with structural features of society in Ceylon, but come to opposite conclusions. They maintain that one would expect greater evidence of homicide in a "loosely structured society," by which they mean one with considerable sanctioning of variation in individual behavior. These studies contradict each other in the conclusions that they reach by similar analytical processes, but they are attempts to move away from such psychoanalytic reasoning as the death-wish theory.

[3] Bohannan's (1960) survey of homicide and suicide in African societies represents a useful model for comparing the total pattern of homicide cross-culturally. In presenting the case material here, I have used a similar format, adding to it the circumstances surrounding the killing. In the analysis of these materials, I have diverged from Bohannan's model in trying to demonstrate the linkage among the components—the ratios, to use Burke's (1945) terminology of scene/setting/actor/agent.

[4] The term "witch" is a translation of the Tzeltal term *ʔsb'ʔawal*, literally "giver of sickness." The term "curer" is a translation of *ʔuʔul*. The power to cure and to give sickness stems from the possession of a *ruuyohel*, or animal spirit.

[5] For a discussion of the tactics of gaining consensus in witch-killings, see Manning Nash (1960).

[6] Political homicide by agrarian leaders, which is so frequent in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962), is a relatively recent phenomenon in the retreat zones of Indian population. The cases analyzed by Friedrich are a strategy of political power stemming from a revolutionary background, and the cultural assumptions to which he points contrast with those underlying witch-killings. My only comparable case is, significantly, found outside the traditional center, in the new ejido colony.

[7] Jules Henry (1936) sees the formula of fear and anger as the

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Their slender-
147 ness is deceptive, for their great strength lies
[482] in their legs, back, and neck, seen in their ability to carry loads of 45 kilograms (100 lbs.) and upwards, all day up and down hill without
142 undue fatigue . . . Hair form is straight, coarse, and black. Gray hair or baldness are very unusual. Body hair, as far as could be observed, is negative.

143 As many as 99.56 per cent of Tzeltal belong to blood type O, which is one of the highest frequencies registered in the Ma-
143 yance area. According to Matson and Swan-
144 son (1959, p. 50), "In general the more isolated peoples such as the Lacandon, Tzeltal, Tzotzil and Cakchiquel show the highest frequency of the O gene." This condition is attributed to the absence of racial mixture.

Cultural Configuration

621 Like the Indians in the highlands of Gua-
[171] temala (Tax, 1937), the Tzeltal group themselves in communities which are distinct social and cultural units, as is characteristic
621 of the tribe. Each community has its well-
184 defined lands, its own dialect forms, wearing apparel, kinship system, politico-religious organization, economic resources, crafts, and other cultural features. Any native of the region finds it easy to identify the origin of other Indians by noting their speech, wearing apparel, or the goods they
621 sell. Solidarity between the members of each community is strong and becomes manifest in times of conflict with outside groups or in their way of gathering according to their "nationality" on fiestas or market days when people of other communities attend. On the other hand, no ethnic solidar-
[628] ity whatsoever exists. Each community restricts itself to its own affairs and nothing else; whatever happens to the other Tzeltal communities is something altogether apart.
621 The territorial limits of these communi-
632 ties do not always coincide with those of
[171] the municipalities, as in Guatemala. Various well-defined communities exist (in the terms described above) which belong to
[P 197-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

621 632 other municipalities (Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Tenango, San Martin, Sivaca, Guaquitepec, and Bachajon). Petalcingo belongs to the municipality of Tila, where Chol is spoken. The reason for these heterogeneous municipalities is that, within the political constitution of the state, only communities containing a sufficient number of inhabitants may achieve the status of municipality; the rest are considered merely as agencies of the municipality to which they have been assigned.

18 177 191 361 Another cultural variation stems from its ecological location. Communities of the southern zone, which have good lands, roads, mechanized transportation, and therefore greater contacts with the outside world, occupy a more advanced place in the process of acculturation, which is revealed by the scant number of monolingual Indian residents and by their better economic condition. Communities of the central zone, of irregular landscape and high demographic pressure, isolated, and without economic opportunities, are the poorest, most conservative, and most untrusting of the entire region. The northern zone has a high index of Indianness because of the number of those who do not know Spanish, but their economic condition is better than that of the central zone, because there is more opportunity to cultivate coffee and work on the plantations.

Historical Antecedents

175 177 648 I shall mention only the periods of greatest social significance in the past four centuries. The dates are approximate.

The period of the conquest, from 1524 to 1545, saw the most violent encounters and occasional skirmishes between Indians and Spaniards. The fortress of Chamula was taken by Captain Luis Marín in 1524, and four years later Ciudad Real (now San Cristobal de las Casas), destined to be the politico-religious center of the region, was founded.

The period of catechization and consoli-

[P. 197-B]

241 paraje perform before the altar of the
782 church in the ceremonial center. All prayers
796 are said in Tzeltal; some are Christian in
[778] origin, others entirely pagan. This prayer
[177] I recorded in 1944:

241
796 Here we come to bring you your food, to
782 light your candles, to play the harp, to play the
539 guitar. Here we come to perform your fiesta,
[534] so you may be happy, so you will not abandon us.

We have already planted the milpas; the seed is already in the soil. Father, do not forsake us; let the rains come properly; let them not be abundant nor deficient. Let there be a little sunshine and a few clouds. Let the soil be happy.

Father, let no hail come; let no wind come; let no locust come; let no harmful animals come; let no robbers come, lest they steal from us and leave us in poverty.

Father, let the year come well; let the corn turn out well; let the beans turn out well. Let there be no sickness; let there be no sorrow. Father, the mouthful has already entered; the word had already entered.

The word "mouthful" refers to all the gifts, "word" to all the prayer.

796 A similar ceremony is the *mukul mixa*
[621] ('great Mass'), organized by members of
[776] each calpul. Each calpul has its own patron
[622] saint and its own chiefs. For this ceremony
[534] many more people gather, for representatives and musicians (flute, drum, harp, and guitar) come from all places. The candles offered as "mouthfuls" are greater in number and size.

778 Household ceremonies follow as the head
78 of the household, in private, prepares the small home altar, where the cross which
[834] protects the home is always found. He adorns it with *juncia* and five candles; he says appropriate prayers at 6 o'clock in the morning or at midday, as he observes fasting and sexual abstinence. These family prayers may be repeated occasionally, depending on the condition of the milpa.

241 At the beginning of the month called
782 [P. 202-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4.5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

177 262 ious meats, and canned foods such as salmon, sardines, and sausages.

231 [222] The keeping of bees is not widespread. The Indians instead take advantage of the wild honey, which is commonly gathered during certain parts of the year. Tenango was the only town where I observed beehives next to the huts. The bees, large and yellow, are called *aja-chab* and are brought from the woods. When a tree is found with one of these beehives, the section containing the hive is cut off and is taken to town; the ends of this section are covered with jícaras, which are stuck on with clay.

Settlement Patterns

Town and Parajes

632 621 361 All the communities consist of a town center and a number of settlements, called parajes, which are scattered over the municipio. The town is the political, religious, and commercial center of the entire community; there the municipal authorities have their offices, [563] and the church and shops are located. In general, the Ladinos reside in the center, their houses arranged in aligned streets, but some communities (Chanal, Amatenango, Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Bachajon) refuse to accept Ladinos in the town permanently. The Indians prefer the parajes, where the huts are dispersed irregularly.

162 As observed by Sol Tax for the highlands of Guatemala (1937), the proportion of Indians who reside in the town center varies. In some communities (Chanal, Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Tenango) nearly all the people live in the capital. In Chanal, with a population of 2,881 persons, 2,386 reside in the center and so it is a "nucleated town," according to Tax's terminology. In contrast, the most common community is the "vacant town." Tenejapa, for example, has only 517 inhabitants of a total 7,750 residing in the center. The least frequent is an intermediate type, where some live in the center and some in the parajes, as typified by

[P. 203-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 205-A]

162 Amatenango del Valle, a community of 3,529 inhabitants, of which 1,470 reside in the town center.

621 The town centers are divided into two sections, called barrios by Ladinos and calpules by Indians (Oxchuc and Cancuc). The imaginary line which separates one barrio from another passes through the center of the town, sometimes east-west, sometimes north-south, with no fixed orientation.

[776] Each barrio has its own local authorities and sometimes its own patron saint (Oxchuc and Bachajon). The principal function of the barrios was not only political or religious but also social, in regulating mar-
[178] riage. Endogamy was common to all barrios, but today that rule is losing its rigidity. In Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1960, p. 8) tells us that, "The rule of barrio endogamy, which is viable in 86% of the known marriages, contributes to the localization of related families limiting the geographical range of marriage choice." A similar situation obtains in Amatenango (J. Nash, 1959, p. 3), Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes, 1947, p. 7), and Bachajon (Guiteras Holmes, 1961c, p. 167).

[178] In Bachajon, Guiteras Holmes states that: "In the old days there was no marriage be-
[578] tween the *barrios*. If a boy from San Sebastian took a walk through San Geronimo, he was beaten, they would give him a '*maciza*,' as they say. If a boy from a *barrio* approached the waterholes to court a girl, he fared very badly." The calpules of Oxchuc, although they have politico-religious significance, have no influence at all in the selection of wives.

621 The parajes have a few scattered huts
778 among the cultivated fields. Each paraje is
[361] bound by religious ties to a given cave where a cross, the supreme sacred symbol, is kept. The name of the paraje is generally
778 taken from the name of the cave. Sacred
821 caves of secondary importance also exist.
823 This mystical regard for caves is based in the belief that they are the place from which issues the lightning to punish the

[P 205-A]

778 821 823 natural elements (hail, wind, storms), which often threaten and destroy the cornfields.

Distribution of Huts

621 In the parajes as well as in the centers the tendency to cluster huts in patrilineal nuclei is strong. One perceives this tendency also where lineage or clan ties still persist (Oxchuc).

[594] The majority of households consist of the elementary family, a couple and their offspring. The habitations include a hut, which serves as dormitory and kitchen, plus chickencoop, pigpen, and, sometimes, the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. Among industrious families another small hut serves exclusively as a kitchen. Seldom does a fence separate this nucleus from its neighbors, but it may protect a vegetable patch from animals. In the capital, however, each family must fence its lot.

342 343 [417] 343 417

Relationships between Communities

628 Communities establish commercial and other ties according to their ecological distribution and cultural condition. In the southern zone, Amatenango and Aguacatenango form a kind of unit, based on physical proximity, and cultural affinity. Their residents meet frequently at the Sunday market of Teopisca. In the central zone, Oxchuc, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Tenango, which more or less share ways of life and natural environment, form another informal association, contacts resulting from the weekly markets of Tenejaya and Yochib. In the northern zone, Sitala and Guaquitepec form another unit. Ocosingo, Chilon, and Yajalon are centers of commercial and political importance, occupied largely by Ladinos but used as trade centers by Indians throughout the northern zone.

412 TECHNOLOGY

Tools and Techniques

Farming tools are the most important: axe

[P 205-B]

407

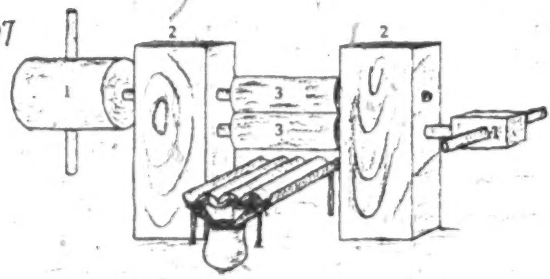

FIG. 6—SUGARCANE PRESS.
1, Kabal-té. 2, Smete-al. 3, S-kab.

184
608 their godchild nor protect him if he be-
736 comes orphaned, but this is only because
431 closer members of the same lineage take
608 care of him. But the padrinos must attend
764 the wake (*kanka-almail*) and the burial when the godchild dies, as is expected from the godchild when the godparents die. In
608 these communities, compadrazgo consti-
182 tutes both an important religious obligation and a means of establishing friendship and cooperation between families.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

621 The political and religious patern is the
631 same throughout all the Tzeltal communi-
[184] ties, governed by two groups of authorities whose activities are interrelated. The first group, formed by members of the cabildo and ayuntamiento, manages political affairs of the community. The ayuntamiento maintains relationship between the local gov-
631 ernment and the national authorities. The presidente municipal and the intermediate authorities are popularly elected and then confirmed by the congress of the state.
[563] These authorities must represent both ethnic groups (Indians and Ladinos) to warrant the claim that "justice is equal for everybody." In 1936 the state government ruled that in all municipios where the indigenous population predominates, the presidente municipal should be an Indian.

Next in authority after the presidente is

[P. 219-B]

631 the secretario, who is, without exception, a Ladino, for his responsibilities require a good knowledge of the Spanish language as well as office skills, which the Indians usually lack. Actually it is this official who controls all the administrative affairs of the municipio. He imposes fines, collects taxes, assigns communal work, and keeps in con-
[62] tact with the state authorities. After him rank the regidor, síndico, alcalde, police commander, and policemen.

621 Besides these authorities, which are the officially recognized ones, the Indians have their own government system, which in most places is still operating. Oxchuc is
[888] typical of the regional pattern. There the
[887] municipio is divided into two calpules, each of which is a kind of fraternity under the supervision of those old men having the
[776] greatest knowledge and prestige. Each cal-
[796] pul has also its own patron saint, venerated with special feasts and ceremonies throughout the year. (In Oxchuc the calpules are not geographically determined, and its members are spread in different parajes of
62 the territory.) Authority is now integrated in the following officials:

1 katinab, supreme chief of the whole calpul
1 ókil kabil, "feet and hands" of the preceding, i.e., secretary
2 dzunubiles, supreme "pulsers" or "curers"
1 alcalde, who carries a staff of office
2 cornales (or governors), who also carry staffs of office
2 síndicos, who also carry staffs of office
4 x-tules (or regidores)

555 The four last jobs are reached by strict
624 hierarchy and indicate the progress of each
794 individual in the fulfillment of his social duties. This social-service career begins when the man is not yet married, when he is assigned the cargo of mayordomo of the church, which means that he has to attend to minor affairs connected with the church and to keep it clean. Shortly after his marriage he usually reaches the position of capitán, where he is responsible for the fies-

[P. 220-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

The country near the village has been farmed out long ago; now the fields lie at a distance in the jungle. After every concentration, the Indians drift away again like blown smoke. Today most of the houses are rotten, sagging, with gaping doors. The paths are grown up with weeds, huge, old moss-covered crosses lean at crazy angles by the main trails. Over all broods the frame of the sacked church, huge stone walls with rank vegetation around them, and a twisted, unhealthy oak-tree on one side, like a composition by Piranesi.

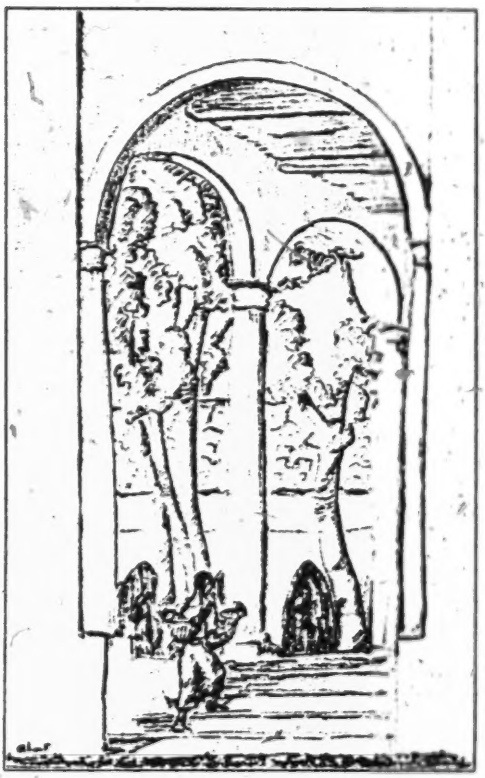

FIG. 277—Ocosingo, Chis. Colonnade on the Plaza.

Ocosingo Valley and its neighbours furnish a transition towards the real highlands. The valleys are fertile and green, ringed in with ranges of steep, rich hills. The soil in the lower parts is light; here palms and pines grow together, with a luxuriance of rich grass that makes an ideal grazing country. Through the valleys are large and small ranches of Ladinos and old Spanish families. The bigger ones, such as San Antonio, Quechil, and Achin in the Ocosingo Valley, San José Reforma and El Real beyond the San José Pass, and Tecojá in its own valley, each has a village of Indian labourers attached to them. The natives' houses are rather better that the average, and often tile-roofed (fig. 278). The Indians of each ranch function more or less as a tribe, governed by the owner of the ranch, conducting their own worship at its chapel. A few Indians own scattered, independent farms. Sivacá (*sivak ha'*, "Gunpowder Water"), near Ocosingo on the trail to Tenango, is a true village, self-governing, with its own *alcalde*, under the supervision of a Ladino *maestro*. All these groups come together at

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

501 raft, *poi*, to cross rivers or make very short trips. The specimen observed at *Hol-ha'* (Head of the Water), was made of five cork logs averaging 22 centimeters in diameter and 3.25 meters long, held together by two cross-sticks lashed on with lianas. There was some space between each log, the width of the raft being 1.25 meters. It had a definite bow and stern, the logs at the forward end being cut to an edge, "to cut the water." These rafts are propelled by a pole, preferably of mahogany, the one observed being 2.50 meters long. They are moored by thrusting the pole through a crack between two of the logs, into the bottom of the stream.

648 As one would expect, the old, complicated organization of priests and rulers, the aristocracy of pre-Conquest days, has been utterly swept away. Today, in their social organization, one may trace a little of the feeling of the old times, but the system is the creature of Spanish contact. On the haciendas there are no native officials save those who preside over the fiestas. The owner of the hacienda maintains a patriarchal sway over his workmen, governing them in every respect. Among the village tribes at Bachajon and Sivacá life is still influenced by the obligation to work for the government or the ranchers, although the independent nature of the Indians has won for them a good deal of self-government. Those of the Bachajon living on land belonging to ranches find themselves under a dual system, although the scattered location of their dwellings, deep in the jungles, minimizes the power of the Ladinos.

621 The tribes are very different from those of North America. From our brief observation, it appears as though there was none of that deep feeling of loyalty towards the group, of essential, almost mystic unity with the other members that characterizes our own Indians. Similar customs, common interest, and geographical proximity hold each Tzeltal group together; bonds that are easily broken. [609] Should an outsider attack the common weal by seizure of land or [578] by any other infringements, he will find the tribe solidly united against him, but at the same time it may be, and often is divided 627 within itself by many quarrels. The Bachajon carry out long feuds between families and individuals in the form of occasional murders. These have their origin in delayed retribution for some wrong received by one party from the other, for which, in turn, there is retaliation, and so on indefinitely.

For instance, the murder committed while we were at Encanto was the climax of a long-nursed grudge, and almost immediately afterwards there were indications that from that fight would arise 648 many others. Occasional attacks on ranchers are also usually carried

out by a small group bearing a grudge, although in this case the 648
tribe as a whole stands more solidly back of the offenders.

The Bachajón exhibit internal dissension and strife to an un- 628
usual degree. There are many small, outlying sub-groups, some of which are more or less openly at war with the main body. In the description of Zona Sala oil camp (Chapter VIII) something has already been said of the settlement there of men driven away on account of the misbehaviour. They still call themselves Bachajon and maintain some slight intercourse with the tribe, although they are quite inimical in their attitude towards Indians passing through on the way to Palenque. There are other such settlements in different parts of the jungle, although these, having most recently split off, are the most hostile.

What group loyalty the Bachajon have centers around the de- 621
serted village that bears their name. It was described at the begin- 609
ning of this chapter. Founded under compulsion, deserted whenever possible, its church and Cabildo in ruins, none the less it is their focal point, jealously guarded from intrusion. These Indians have had the same experience as our own; the European comes first as a visitor, then a few settle for trade, then comes a host in their footsteps, until soon there is no place for the Indian, and he finds himself an intruder in his own home. Against this sequence of events, so common in our history, the Bachajon protect their land by an attitude of unremitting hostility. Travellers may pass through, but no trader may set up even a lean-to bower under which to display his wares, save during the few days of their main fiestas, although it would be a great convenience for them to have a store nearer than Ocosingo.

The destruction of the Spanish-built church and Cabildo, with 829
the substitution for them of native edifices, is curious. The feeling probably is that when they do congregate in their capital for a fiesta, they do not wish to be confronted by evidences of alien domination.

The strongest actual unit is that of the individual family, the 593
man, his wife, and children. Indians who are forced, for one reason 594
or another, to go into hiding in the jungle, will run great risks to return and fetch their wives and children. Even beyond this smallest 602
group there is a little feeling, a man's relatives by marriage or blood 627
often joining to support him in a feud, or to revenge a wrong done him. Similarly, the relatives of the individual who committed the [672]
wrong are held in some degree liable to punishment, although there is no formal rule of collective responsibility, the action taken depending largely on individual inclination.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón
Sivacá

621 Bachajon and Sivacá are governed through native officials selected from among the men of repute in the tribe by the Mexican Government, more or less in accordance with the Indians' wishes. They serve for definite terms, usually two years, and may be reappointed. Bachajon Village, organized when the whole tribe was concentrated there, has two complete administrations, each with a 624 president, council, and secretary. At Sivacá the only official is the *alcalde*, who carries as insignia a staff, *barra*, 1.50 meters long, decorated with a double cross in black at the head. The secretaries [212] are chosen primarily for literacy; the others are older men of influence in the tribe. The great respect with which they are treated by the natives indicates that the selections accord fairly well with those they would make themselves.

648 Each group is in the charge of a resident Mexican official called 651 the *Maestro*, corresponding to our Reservation Agent. He is appointed by the Presidente Municipal of the local government. He is paid with taxes collected by himself from the Indians in produce or money, to which he adds commissions obtained from his services as a labour agent, the profits of trade in a few staples, and receipts from travelers, for whom his house is the official guest-house.

648 Ordinarily the *Maestro* does not give his orders directly to the 622 Indians, but works through the native president, who may openly 621 oppose him if he see fit, though he is in some degree bound to obey. The influence and power of the *Maestro* depends upon the individual, and on the temper of the Indians under him. In extreme cases he will send for troops, a measure greatly dreaded, as the soldiers, once arrived, may stay indefinitely, helping themselves freely to the pigs and chickens of the natives, and generally making themselves objectionable.

648 In addition to those appointed by the Government, the Indians 622 accord obedience and respect to a considerable body of purely 624 native officials. The only ones fulfilling a civic function are the class known as *Principales*, who exist chiefly among the Bachajon. They are men who know how to read and write Spanish, living in places more available to the outlying Indians than the Secretaries at Bachajon Village, and are usually men in whom confidence is reposed. Although they hold their position without official selection, but by general consent, they are recognized by the Mexicans with whom they deal as holding a sort of power of attorney for their people. They examine and sign written documents, and compose communications from the Indians to the Government. Through this they gain an influence with which, if they be men of force, they may become leaders of real power in their own districts. A *Principale* whom we met at El Encanto, where he had come in to buy salt, was

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

the informal chief of one of the semi-separated, turbulent groups already described. He was a well-built, square-faced, sullen yet cunning looking fellow, with a long scar from a machete cut across one cheek, and credited with a number of murders. 648 622 624

The shamans or medicine-men, *poci'*, although primarily doctors, have a quasi-priestly status, the result of the intimate relation of prayer and healing, of which more will be said later. They are honored accordingly as holy men, as well as for the power conferred by their knowledge of medicine and charms. A shaman obtains his position by some years of study under another, who teaches him both medicines and prayers. His repute largely depends upon the results of his practice. 756 554

Certain older men are selected annually to have charge of the fiestas, or saint's day celebrations; they have charge of all preparations and of the conduct of the fiesta, as well as being usually responsible for the care of the various sacred properties during the year. These officers exist in the hacienda groups as well as in the tribes. At the Finca Tecojá, where a fiesta was observed in progress, they were an amiable pair of rather drunken old men, known as *Caporales,* and at most places, in common with other officers holding posts of Spanish derivation, they were known by Spanish names. Interestingly enough, in the villages with the Governmental organization described above, they rarely coincide with the Government appointees, although this may be partly due to the fact that they are usually selected from among the oldest men. In Guatemala these semi-church officers often are a mask for tribal positions of real power, as was found to be the case with the *tcimañ* of Jacaltenango, who will be described in writing of that place (Chapter XIX). Here their influence and prestige was relatively slight, save during the period when their duties placed them in charge. 794 796 [554]

Almost the only trace of pre-Conquest feeling is to be found in the great reverence shown towards all shamans and Government appointees. An ordinary Indian will offer food, drink, or tobacco to all men of authority present before taking anything himself, even though it means the consumption, for instance, of almost all of a bottle of *aguardiente* before he gets any at all. We saw a chief at Tenango, where the same system prevails, take a lighted cigar from an Indian's mouth, giving him instead some unrolled tobacco leaves. When first coming into the presence of such men, or passing them on the road, an Indian will take off his hat, bowing deeply; the chief or shaman touches the Indian's forehead, and he goes on. This is performed with grace and dignity. It is known as *k'ol-tanup,* "head giving" (*k'ol* from *hol,* head). Instances were observed of thus 756 621 554 576

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

756 621 554 576 "giving the head" to certain elder women, but the reason could not be ascertained.

581 Marriage is an economic and social affair, apparently free of religious significance. Don Arturo Tovilla of Cacate-el, gave us a description of the manner of seeking a wife, which is here paraphrased. It will be seen that the importance, ceremonially, centers on the contract with the parents, while the actual joining in marriage is not stressed.

584 The boy's father goes with the boy to the girl's house, both dressed in their best clothes, and carrying a gift of three bottles (pints) of aguardiente "and some animal." His father tells the girl's father that his son wishes to marry the daughter; to which the answer is to call the girl and ask her if she likes him. She says nothing, but keeps on scratching the wall with her finger and the floor with her toe, thereby indicating that she likes the boy, while showing the proper maidenly modesty. The latter gives her a coloured handkerchief, pearl beads, etc., with which the contract is sealed.

The boy is obligated to bring to her house what the father may ask, such as corn, beans, aguardiente, as well as to help in the work for a year. He makes a social visit each Sunday, which the girl must receive. At the end of the time appointed by the parents, he takes her to his house.

If the girl does not signify her consent in the manner described, the match does not take place.

583 When the parents of one or both parties do not countenance the match, it may happen that the children, taking the law into their own hands, run away. The procedure in this case has become formalized so that, while unpleasant enough to act as a deterrent, it recognizes this as a regular manner of marrying. This description also is paraphrased from Señor Tovilla. [115]

When the parents forbid, but both children desire the match, after the boy has gone to the girl's house and been refused, his obligation of respect is ended. He builds a house in a retired place in the jungle. He and the girl meet to make their plans where she goes to get water, for which purpose she may often choose a spring a kilometer or more from her house. At an appointed time, they run away.

584 585 When he has carried her off and hidden her, his parents must go and apologize to hers. The girl's father tells the boy's not to leave before being punished. He, however, finds and brings in the couple, who kneel before the girl's parents. The boy's shirt is taken off, and

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

We had a better chance here than anywhere else to look over the village government. It being Sunday, all were present, the *Presidente Municipal*, the *Secretario*, and council of *Regidores*, elderly men, grave of mien, with small, black goatees. The ordinary villagers treated them with the greatest respect. Each official carried a silver-headed cane with a red ribbon tied to it and the name of his office inscribed on the head. They are appointed to their offices by the government with the ratification of the village. The Maestro works entirely through them, and their orders are absolutely obeyed. Indeed, owing to the independent nature of the Tenangeros, the Maestro is rather like the ambassador of a powerful foreign nation persuading the local government, through tact and very gentle pressure, to behave.

We finished our survey about noon, the Indians appearing unwilling to have us enter their houses. For the rest of that day we spent our time working up our notes into good shape, then teaching the gift chickens to do tricks until Lazaro claimed them for the pot, and in dodging the local officials who, having got themselves slightly tipsy in honour of the Sabbath, came importuning us to give them cigarettes, of which we ourselves were short.

Both that night and the night before, traveling traders built their little pine fires on the mud verandah of the Cabildo. In one case it was a Mexican and an Indian, in the other two Mexicans, to be distinguished from Indians only by the cut of their trousers and a donkey. They travelled with their big packs on a tump-line, long staff in hand, for all the world like a living re-incarnation of the traders shown in the pre-Columbian drawings of the codices (fig. 320). In old times they traded parrots, macaws, obsidian, textiles, jade, and later, gold and copper. Now it is a business of cheap watches, gaudy cloths, and ten-cent jewelry, bringing Connecticut, Hamburg, and Orizaba down to a fiesta in Bachajon village, following the old trade-route along which we were going, in the other direction, to San Cristóbal. Very few of the present Indian tribes

FIG. 320—Travelling Aztec Merchant. Drawing after the Codex Laud.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

291 shorts are also usually embroidered in red and yellow. The chief had such a pair, very fine and gaudy, which we asked to see. He took [123] them off to show us, but when we tried to buy them from him he [293] became furiously angry and abusive. Sandals, when worn, are of the ordinary type. Most of the Indians carry a staff of some kind.

The women wear the typical blue skirt, but the blouse, cut like [531] a poncho, is usually tucked inside and heavily embroidered about the neck and shoulders. This work takes a long time, and the finished blouses are valued very highly. When worn outside they nearly cover the skirts, which are just knee length. Red sashes with a yellow stripe from Tapachula, of the kind worn also around Ocosingo, bind the skirts at the waist. Hair is done in two braids with dark red ribbon, or tied up in a knot over the forehead as at Cancuc.

[342] [231] [854] ← 302 → 301 → 621 563 → [293] →

Fig. 89—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians in the street.

Men and women alike wear cheap, gay-coloured necklaces, usually rosaries.

The Indians move with great freedom through the town and lounge in company with the Ladinos on the broad porch of the Town Hall. The officials are distinguished by silver-headed canes with black tassels. In lieu of a Maestro, they are directly under the Ladino *Presidente Municipal,* and their disputes are tried by the local judge. Their lawsuits have a mediaeval air, carried on publicly with great clamor on the Town Hall porch, and all concerned speaking with the utmost freedom. A breach of promise case was observed in the course of trial. It went on for at least two hours with never less than two Indians, usually women, speaking at once. One could not but admire the patience of the rather bored and indifferent judge.

695 344

114 The cargadores from Cancuc arrived shortly after dark, still lively despite the long day and steep climb. More remarkable still,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Tzotzil NV11

The men are tallish and the majority of them have sparse, black beards. They wear plain, white cotton tunics and short trousers, sashes, and hats of the sombrero type. The women wear the usual short, blue skirts. Their blouses are cut with a square neck, around which are embroidered three bands, each about two centimeters wide, of red, yellow and red. At the corners, little imitation tassels are embroidered in the same colours.

We were told, by an unreliable informant, that this village was remarkable for its independence. Its officials are chosen by the natives alone, and run through a regularly prescribed *cursus honorum* from secretary up to president, and then on to the council of elders. Government laws and orders sent to the village are debated by this council and are not published unless approved by them.

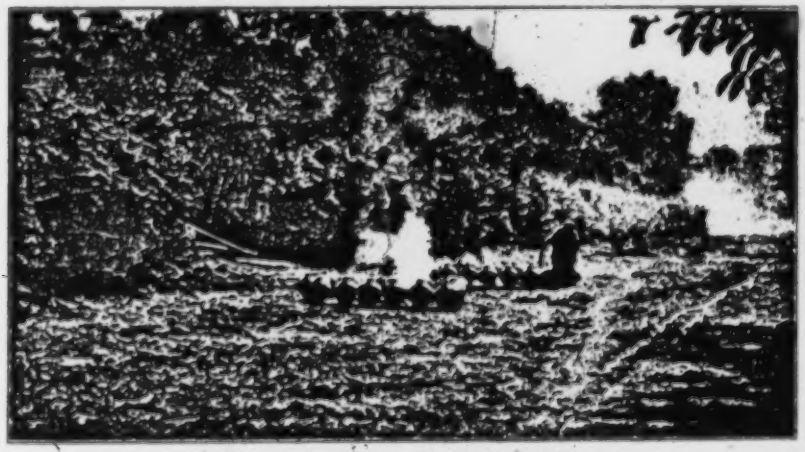

FIG. 333—Amatenango, Chis. Pottery baking.

We were also told that in case of marriage each party works for his or her prospective in-laws, and that the girl at that time learns pottery making, taking over the mother-in-law's specialty.

While there was no way of checking up on this information, it is true that there is no Maestro at Amatenango, and that the Indians seem to be an unusually self-respecting and self-reliant lot. Of all the Tzeltal people observed, they were the only ones who seemed to compare with the Zotzil-speaking Chamulas in energy and prosperity.

Returning to ourselves and our trip. We left Tenejapa on the following morning by a winding, broad road climbing to a pass in

571
554 and the meanings of the possessed forms are "wife" or "husband"
192 of the coordinating person.

The remainder of the forms in this class are subsumed under the headword /H.*A*TEL-ETIK/, "workers."

571
554 On the next lower level of contrast, the headword is
192
621 modified by one of the mutually exclusive post-modifiers /TA KABILTO/, "in the cabildo (civil)"; /TA MARTOMIL/, "in the mayordomía (religious)." These in turn constitute head words of two mutually exclusive classes of forms. The set of contrasting forms in the class /H.*A*TEL-ETIK TA KABILTO/ is as follows (in order of ascending rank):

/MAYOR/, "policia" ranked from /XWAXKEBAL/, "eighth," to /BA/, "first" or /HEFE DE KWARTEL/

/SINTIKO/, "sindico"

/REHIDOR/, "regidor" ranked from /XCEBAL/ "second" to /BA/ "first"

/XCEBAL REHIMAL/, "second regimal"

/BA REHIMALA~ SUPLENTE PRESIRENTE/, "first rehimal or assistant presidente"

/PRESIRENTE~ *AHENTE (MUNISIPAL)/, "presidente or ahente munisipal"

/XCEBAL HWES/, "second juez"

/HWES/~ /*ALKAL/, "juez"

571
554 (Several forms not included in this set are nevertheless part of
192
621 the civil administration--/SEKRETARYO/, "secretary," /PRESIRENTE DE EDUKASYON/, "supervisor of education," and /KOMISARYADO *EYHIDAL/, "ejido commissioner.")

The /*A*TEL-ETIK TA KABILTO/ are responsible for the civil business of the community, resolution of conflicts brought before it, the maintenance of community facilities and the making of a limited number of decisions which affect the community as a whole. Its members are recruited yearly for one-year terms
[641] the whole group assuming office in January. Every male in the community is expected to hold office as a civil cargo holder four times in his life, and the order of recruitment to the position for any individual is more or less fixed.

571
554 The forms of the class /H.*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/ are
192 grouped as follows (also in order of ascending rank):
794

The first and lowest set of positions includes:

/MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO/	"mayordomo of San Antonio"
/MARTOMO ME*TIK ROSARYO/	"mayordomo of the Virgin of Rosario"
/MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD/	"mayordomo of the Virgin of Natividad"

By lowest, we mean that set of positions into one of which an individual would initially be co-opted upon entering the mayordomía.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

*273 887 621 Old men often give up drinking except when, as of-
fice holders, they are obligated to participate in drinking per-
formances. Changes in drinking patterns during the life cycle
273* 539 are discussed by Felix Perez as follows:

HTATIK TA HNA *AMETO LEK SYA*BE C'IN TRAWO, HO*TIK X*ATEHOTIK *A MATO HNA*TIK YUC'EL *A C'IN TRAWI.

My father drank aguardiente a lot. We worked, we didn't know how to drink aguardiente.

*EHK STUKEL KOM TA YUC'EL Z'IN *EHK C'IN TRAWI.

Then he himself stopped drinking trago.

*ATEHON HPAS PUERSA NAME TALE MATO KUC'LEK *EHK *A C'IN TRAWI.

I worked, I made an effort for several years. I didn't drink much trago.

YUN Z'IN TE HLIHK HZAK MANYA Z'IN *EHKE, KUC' PERO YUN LA KILIX TEK TE *AY TU*Y KUN Z'IN *EHKE.

Then the madness began to get hold of me, and I drank, but it was because I saw that I had something of my own.

Composition of drinking groups

273* 571 Almost without exception, men drink in groups rather than
alone. The importance of companions in the development of a
273* 539 571 drinking situation is suggested by Sabino Hernandez' description
of one such situation:

TAL Z'IN *IL *ABANKIL, STAT CIKO, BETO Z'INI.

In came your elder brother, the father of Francisco, Alberto.

HUL SK'AN HUN KWARTA XC'IN YA*AL.

He came to ask for a cuarto of aguardiente.

273* 571 social distance between drinking companions increases with the length of time from the original drinking situation, and one finds men who live great distances apart and even men from opposite barrios (who are afraid of each other when sober) sharing a bottle of aguardiente as the days go by.

273* 621 571 Aguacatenango men drink largely within the community, and even when men drink in market towns such as Pinola or Teopisca they tend to drink with their traveling companions and not with ladinos. (The one or two reports of Aguacatenangueros drinking with ladinos involved fully bilingual individuals, and they ended with fighting or loss of property by the Aguacatenango men.)

273* 182 Drinking in Aguacatenango is scheduled in terms of the calendar of saints' days and by the occurrence of critical events in the life cycle of individuals--e.g., birth, baptism, marriage (and sometimes divorce), and death. Drinking is also an essential part of the resolution or the escalation of conflict, of illness and curing, of the branding of livestock and of the consecration of new buildings. Participation in a particular drinking cycle is largely determined by--and signifies--an individual's membership in a household group, in the civil or the religious hierarchy, or in the larger, highly relational role set including bilateral kindred, ritual kinsmen, and neighbors. Participation in drinking cycles is restricted to adult

273* 554 about the state of their environment are deduced as the result of the communication of information encoded in some one or more media. The determination and certification of an individual's social rank is one type of inference and action that individuals engage in in Aguacatenango. Rank and role are not only encoded in the drinking performances, but also in a variety of other media as well. When we examine the ceremonial drinking cycle as it occurs in the civil and religious hierarchies, it becomes clear that the arrangement of persons in space, modes of greeting, modes of offering toasts, the differential access to settings, etc., all may encode an individual's social position just as do the set of role labels that may be used to identify him.

After the settlement of a dispute, after having agreed [578] [609] [796] [621] to permit a /HTUL YAN LUMAL/, "foreigner," to settle in the community, and on certain saints' days (especially those saints associated with the installation of new civil officers), the /*A*TELETIK TA KABILTO/, or civil hierarchy, is given or secures for itself aguardiente in liter bottles. The aguardiente is equally distributed in shot glass amounts among the members of the /*A*TELETIK/, a particular individual drinking the glass which is offered him; or alternative should he choose not to drink it, taking a sip from it and handing it to some other member of the group who drinks the remaining portion and returns the glass to the first drinker, who in turn returns it to the

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

TABLE 11

273*
621
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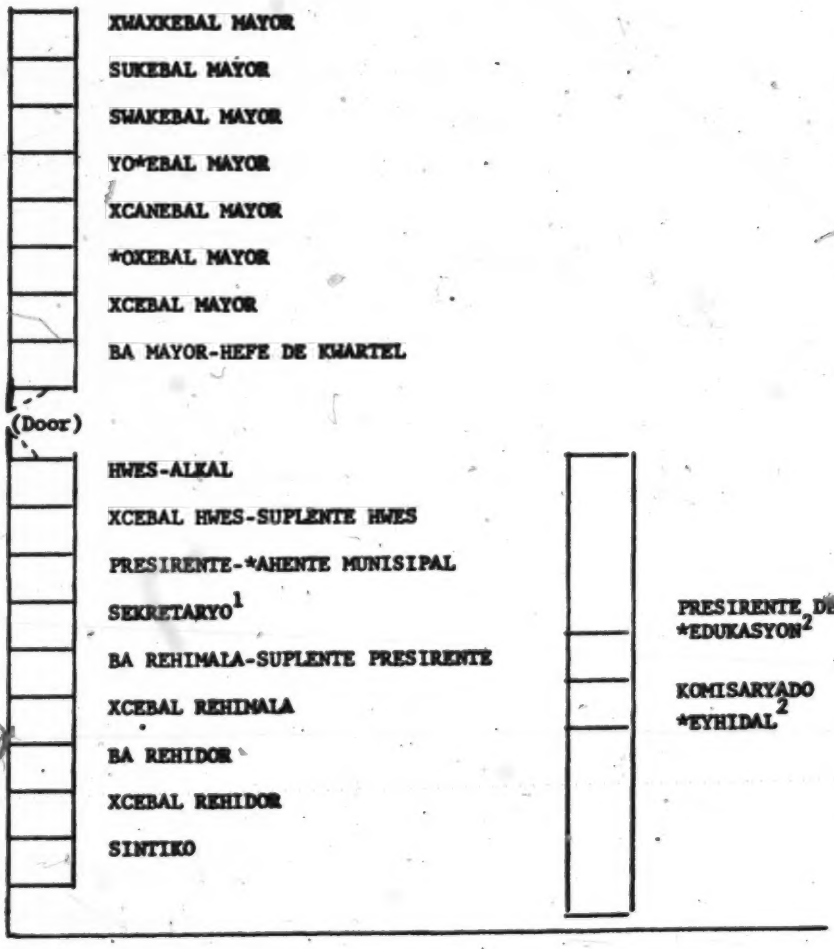
SOME PERFORMANCE CORRELATES OF "RANK" WITHIN /*A*TEL-ETIK TA KABILTO/: SEATING ORDER



[1]The position of secretary is by appointment and is not included in the civil hierarchy.

6. Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

TABLE 11--Continued

000 not included in the civil hierarchy.

273* [2]The positions of president of education and ejido
621 commissioner are two-year appointments, and neither is (yet)
554 in the civil hierarchy.

273* semble, they seat themselves initially on the inside of the two
796 benches. The relative order of seating is as follows:
794
554

TABLE 12

SOME PERFORMANCE CORRELATES OF "RANK": SEATING ORDER OF /*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/

BA MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO

XCEBAL MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO

BA MARTOMO ME*TIK ROSARYO

XCEBAL MARTOMO ROSARYO

BA MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD

XCEBAL MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD

BA MARTOMO *ANIMA

XCEBAL MARTOMO *ANIMA

BA MARTOMO SAN MARTIN

XCEBAL MARTOMO SAN MARTIN

BA MARTOMO SANTA CRUS

XCEBAL MARTOMO SANTA CRUS

BA MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN

XCEBAL MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN

273*
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794
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The drinking of aguardiente takes place on the porch after the men are seated. Again the aguardiente is distributed in shot glass amounts to each member of the mayordomía. Again, as in the case of the civil officials, a strict relative order of succession of drinking is followed, proceeding from the top of Table 12 (p. 61) to the bottom.

273*
621
794
554

In both the referential sets of civil officials and religious officials, then, there are occasions when both seating arrangements and drinking arrangements uniquely express a relative order property in the relations between members of each set. This relative order property we can call <u>differential rank</u>. While this type of rank is a somewhat special case, it is essentially the same age differential which establishes rank in [561] the community at large. The civil and religious hierarchies are very nearly age-graded, the higher-ranking positions being occupied by older men. A survey of the histories of individuals' cargos indicates that the age grading is more strict in the case of the mayordomos than in the case of the civil officials. In each set of officials, men with adjacent ranks sit next to each other and drink in succession, the man with the higher rank sitting in an arbitrarily defined higher position on the bench and drinking sooner. It is important to note that of a variety of ways in which the aguardiente could be used to express the rank difference (e.g., the distribution of larger amounts to the senior

273*
621 positions), only relative order of drinking is used. It is the
794
554 arbitrary selection of order as the medium of communication of roles and ranks that leads us to describe drinking performances as a code.

*273 We have observed that on the occasion of ceremonial
621
794 drinking, not only will the relative age differences of the
554
561 adult males be expressed in the relative order in which they are served aguardiente, but so also will they arrange themselves spatially in such a way that the drink server will be able to meet the obligation of serving the older person first without skipping anyone in the seating order. In other words, men, in the first stages of ceremonial drinking, will arrange themselves in order of relative age-rank, and thus receive in perfect spatial and temporal succession the aguardiente which they drink.

273* The ceremonial drinking sequence is associated with the
621
794 presence of a marimba which plays throughout the course of the
554
533 fiesta and the departure of which signals the termination of the same. While the marimba players are paid to play at the fiesta, with regard to the consumption of aguardiente they are treated as are all other males who are present. In some cases, they will be offered drinks with greater frequency to begin with, as it is supposed by the host that they will play more frequently and will charge less if they are somewhat intoxicated.

000 The ceremonial drinking sequence is regularly associated

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

177 very adjustments and adaptations that make economic survival possible.
178 Cut off from other Indian communities around them since the Conquest, when their ceremonial centers were destroyed and the political hierarchy which drew them into a single polity was replaced, the Indians were able to retain a sense of cultural independence within the corporate communi-
[621] ties (Wolf 1957b). Each community developed a distinctive style of life in which the old pre-Conquest beliefs and customs were reworked with the colonial Spanish introductions. Validation of their behavior lay in the be-
[769] lief that they were doing as the ancestors did, and that they were living "in the eyes of our ancestors."

[769] This social fiction is now threatened by a growing disbelief in the presence of these supernatural figures. The crisis caused by the disjunction between belief and behavior is forcing the Indians to reassess their present condition. Awareness of the contradictions between what they do and what they think they ought to do is forced upon them by events over which they have no control.

121 This study of a Maya Indian community in the state of Chiapas, Mexico, deals with the problem of the relation between belief and behavior in a changing world. It is a problem that we have failed to solve in our own society, if the labels of our time—The Age of Anxiety, The Society of Alienation—have meaning. I have studied this small Indian society not in search of a solution but as a way of phrasing the problem in the widest possible context.

I selected Tzoʔontahal because the people seemed to have retained a traditional Indian culture even though the community is on the Pan-American Highway linking them with the departmental and national capitals. The question of what changes had affected their lives and how they had responded to them was relevant to my interest in the effects of national changes on local groups. In the last year of my study my interest broadened from an enquiry into responses to external changes to a study of the meanings assigned to both internal and external changes.

621 Like many other predominantly Mayan communities of the Chiapas highlands, the community is the context of all meaningful social relations. Endogamy and a belief that the people who live in the center and the nearby barrios are descended from the same ancestors give a sense of eth-

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nic unity extending back to the beginning of time. The people set boundaries by such external symbols as a locally specified costume for men and women, a distinctive dialect of Tzeltal, and specialization in the production of pottery. Implicit boundaries are established by socialization processes that inhibit response to the outside world and that define a code of behavior understandable only in its own context. The completely socialized member of the community is not expected to seek recognition, nor could he find prestige, outside these boundaries. The community comprises the moral universe: cooperation and reciprocity are limited to members of the community, as are most cases of homicide and theft. Lacking concrete evidence, people assume misdeeds to have been committed by someone from the community.

The boundaries that separate these Indians from other Indian communities as well as from non-Indian, or *Ladino*,[1] communities are social artifacts that give a sense of security to members of the in-group. They call themselves "the true men" (*b'atz'il winik*), and their world is defined in "the true word" (*b'atz'il k'op*). The latter is their term for the Tzeltal dialect of Maya which is the language of the house and of the street, the courthouse, and the church in the absence of the Spanish-speaking priest. Tzeltal names differ from Spanish names for most of the surrounding towns, the earth, the heavens, and the cosmological bodies. Catholic saints are incorporated under a Tzeltal name or a Tzeltal version of their Spanish name. All of the members of the community have a Tzeltal patronym in addition to the Spanish surname with which they are baptized. The given name is that of a Spanish saint but is shortened and pronounced with Tzeltal phonemes, and female names have the feminine prefix *i*. Their world is labeled in their own language.

The people assume that their expectations will be met and their projec-

1. The term Ladino has a range of usage throughout Middle America. In Mexico City, people define Ladino as any person who abuses his superior skills to take advantage of others. In Oaxaca, a Zapotec Indian defined Ladino as "an Indian who knows Spanish, has adopted western-style clothing, and takes advantage of other Indians because of his knowledge of the language and ways of life of the non-Indian society. He is like a fox." In Chiapas, the term is applied to any non-Indian without derogatory connotation, and the same is true in Guatemala. In the metalanguage of anthropological monographs, it is used in this latter sense.

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621 361 [192] A territorial distinction not recognized by the federal government is the division of the town center into two sections, or sides, by the street running in front of the church. The two sides of the division are called Ahk'olnantik, upper side, and Alannantik, lower side. The upper side is in the direction of higher lands in the southwest called Ahk'olk'inal, and the lower side is in the direction of lower lands to the northeast, called Alank'inal. The emphasis on relative altitude implicit in place nomenclature is a central fact in the Indians' ecological adjustment. Marriage is endogamous within each division by explicit rule, and in fact 87 percent of all marriages conform to the rule, according to a census I took in 1958. A man who marries a girl on the opposite side is forced to make a payment of eighteen liters of liquor to the bachelors of the opposite division. In addition to regulating competition for marriage partners, the dual division is the basis for allocating civil and religious offices.

[582] [183] [125] [583]

174 621 Whether the dual division was an indigenous trait or not is a moot point. The pattern for dual organizations existed in both Spanish and indigenous societies (Foster 1951:5). There is some speculation that the dual divisions are a product of the Spanish colonial policy of the congregación, when populations of different origins were drawn together. However, local historical accounts indicate that several ethnic groups were introduced at various periods. After the initial congregación, foreign Indians were incorporated in the sixteenth century, in the latter part of the nineteenth century (Secretaría de Gobierno Constitucional, October 26, 1893), and as late as the 1930s in response to the land reform program. As each ethnic group entered the region, it was either incorporated into one of the existing divisions or was isolated. The persistence of polarization must be explained on other grounds. The widespread distribution in the Chiapas highlands of dual divisions defined by territory and descent in communities of both dispersed and nucleated settlement patterns suggests the indigenous origins of the division. A dual division of upper and lower sections based on endogamy and equal representation is found in San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:64), Chanal (Eva Hunt, NSF II report), Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1946:424), and Cancuk (Siverts 1964). The Nahuatl term *calpul* is applied in some cases to these divisions. The towns where calpulles are found are *paraje,* or vacant center, types (Tax 1937) which

175 621 563 621 [174]

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were not affected by the congregación. The fact that there is no mention in the post-Conquest documents of the introduction of dual divisions suggests that the model was indigenous to the area.

The Indians of Tzo'ontahal state that the dividing line of the division was established in its present position when a new church, replacing the first one which was burned, was built on the present site. Judging from a date carved in a beam of the church, this must have been about the year 1746. The endogamous restriction on marriage has not led to a sense of racial distinction between the two populations. Both groups feel that they are descendants of the same ancestor figures and under their guardianship. The same Tzeltal patronyms are distributed on both sides of the division, although there is a clustering of some of them on one or another side. Table 2 shows the distribution of patronyms of 714 male and female adults; 88 percent of the patronyms are found in both divisions.[4]

The functions of the division in organizing social groupings have been eroded, but some survive. Equal representation by civil officials from the upper and lower sections, when there are two or more posts at the same rank, is still in effect. The principle of alternation of the single posts of president and *síndico,* his administrative assistant, so that one term the incumbent is chosen from Ahk'olnantik and the following term from Alannantik has not been a decisive factor since the 1930s, when Indian communities were being drawn into more active participation in national programs of change (Chapter 9).

Residential expansion within the center has been almost entirely in Ahk'olnantik because of the addition of ejido lands formerly belonging to the finca of San Nicolás on this side of town. This one-sided increase in population finally resulted, in 1965, in a breakdown of the principle of equal representation in the ceremonial posts involving high expenses, those of the four *alfereces*. Although attempts were made to find candidates in Alannantik, there were no men with sufficient funds who had not

4. Carrasco (n.d.:5) quotes a document in the *Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla, Guatemala* 16 indicating that Spanish patronyms were given to the heads of calpules and that these were to be extended to all members of the calpul. The present distribution of name groups in the dual divisions cannot support this, nor can it refute the possibility that Spanish patronyms were related to some larger kin or territorial grouping more than three hundred years ago.

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held that post formerly, and all four alfereces were for the first time taken from one side.

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TABLE 2. Patronyms in the Dual Division

Patronym	*Alannantik only*	*Ahk'olnantik only*	*Alannantik and Ahk'olnantik*
Alvarez			37
Arguella Jimenez	1		
Bautista		1	
Bautista Čail			52
Bautista Čo		5	
Bautista Ko'ton			14
Bautista Sa'ben			20
Cepeda			1
Cepeda Čilol			29
Cruz Mendez	1		
Diaz			6
Diaz Čamo			5
Diaz Ton			8
Diaz Uz			42
Gomez		2	
Gomez Bot			39
Gomez Kompaš			73
Gomez Kut			49
Gomez Waris	1		
Gonzalez	1		
Gonzalez Ikob		3	
Guitierrez	1		
Hernandez	1		
Hernandez Čela	1		
Hernandez Tenan	4	1	
Jimenez		2	
Leon		2	
Leon Či			21
Leon Čulik			14
Leon Malatz	2		
Lopez			1
Lopez Lab'	1		
Lopez Lin			31
Lopez Mai	11		
Lopez Pokoł		13	
Lopez Tapiya		5	
Lopez Šunton		18	

Spirits and Places 9

Patronym	*Alannantik only*	*Ahk'olnantik only*	*Alannantik and Ahk'olnantik*
Lopez Tz'uʔu			12
Lopez Wolto			50
Lopez Yutz			16
Perez			9
Perez Huhan			4
Perez Kam			11
Perez Kantiro			23
Perez Os			17
Perez Otol			16
Perez Tut			18
Perez Ventura			11
Sanchez		3	
Santis Peč	1		
Vasquez		3	
Total	26	58	629

The curing hierarchy was organized on the basis of the dual division until the 1940s. There were two leader curers, one on each side, who were in charge of guarding their own side against intrusion of evil spirits. During the 1940s a breakdown in the hierarchial principle led to some lessening of the power of the group and a collapse of the leadership. People now patronize curers from either section, but there is some feeling that it is safer for the curers if they cure only on their own side.

The dual division persists as a basis of economic organization only in the case of the cattle owner's associations. Pasturage on communal lands is allocated according to residence in the upper or lower division. Since cattle raising for beef has increased the size of herds the cattle owners on each side have formed an association to clear the waterholes and celebrate fiestas at the major waterhole on the Day of the Cross. None of the other new enterprises in town organize on the basis of the territorial division.

In the etiquette of social interaction, the dual division is still taken into account. When a resident of one side walks in the streets of the other side, he is not expected to greet passersby or people in their houses with the usual *b'onme wiš* or *b'onme tat* (I go, elder sister or father, or whatever the appropriate extension of kin terms may be). Such street greetings are mandatory on one's own side of the town. It is considered much safer to

It is considered much safer to drink in a bar on one's own side, but those men who pride themselves on being widely respected brag that they can drink on either side without becoming involved in a fight. When people must pass to the other side of town, they prefer walking on the Pan-American Highway, a socially neutral network, to passing through the streets of the opposite division, where their presence arouses curiosity and comments, such as "He must be looking for a lover!"

The colonias. The six colonias (Table 1) are populations of Indians who have moved from the center to take advantage of the lands granted under the ejido program of 1937 and "foreign Indians" who were formerly workers on the expropriated plantations. The Indians distinguish the close-lying settlements, or *barrios,* of Yetawitz, Pathuitz, B'očib'al, and Te'tikil from the remaining colonias listed in the census (Table 1). The populations of the barrios are more closely identified with the center since they are closer to it and there is a higher proportion of migrants from the parent group. They are linked to the side of the dual division to which they are most closely situated. Marriages can be contracted between members of the two settlements, and house lots can be acquired by residents of the town in the barrio with which they are associated. An exception was made to the association on the basis of proximity in the case of Te'tikil, which lies nearer to Alannantik but was linked with Ahk'olnantik in order to balance the population ratios at the time of its settlement. Police are appointed from these colonias and serve in the local *cabildo,* or town hall, along with other police from the center. The colonias of San Vicente and San Caralampio are farther away, and the rural judge and police appointed to these populations appear only once a week and during ceremonies in the local cabildo. The foreign Indians of San Vicente, who migrated from Chanal, and of Yetawitz, who came from Huistán to work in the finca of San Nicolás before acquiring ejido lands, are discriminated against in the local political organization. Their representatives never reach the high positions of president and first or second judge.

Ranchos and rancherías. The populations of these small settlements have only the most formal kind of social, economic, and political

ties to the center. They register births and deaths in the township center, 632
but they do not have any representation in the cabildo. The populations 621
have no identification with Indian subgroups, speak Spanish, and are oriented to the regional rather than the local economic center. The plantations remaining in the area, classified as *ranchos* in the national census, employ Indians from the center. Their only relationship to the central au- [464]
thority is to get help in recruiting additional laborers. Recruitment of [241]
labor is no longer coercive as it was prior to the 1930s when the low wage rate could not attract the help needed. Announcements of the need for workers are made by the president on the loudspeaker system of the town, and men voluntarily go to the plantations.

Spirit Domains

The link between people and place is through the media of the spirits 776
(*ʼuleletik*) of persons and of locale. The relationship is maintained 778
through a set of rules governing the behavior among spirits of people and of places. These rules derive from myths and stories of encounters which define the character of the spirits in each of the domains. Danger is localized in a series of caves which are avoided. Benevolent, or guardian, spirits inhabit a different set of sites, where ceremonies are conducted that maintain the well-being of the individual and of the community. By locating [182]
and circumscribing places of danger and guardianship, the members of the community can supplicate helpful spirits and avoid evil; they are delivered from fear of the unknown and provided with a rationale for dealing with fear of the known.

The places where spirits meet are outlined in Table 3. The first group [128]
includes spirits which are supplicated, the second, dangerous spirits which are avoided or approached only by powerful persons.

The house spirits. The spirits of inhabitants and of the house 776
meet at the center post at the rear wall of the house. The spirit of the 342
house lives in this post. Those who claim to have seen the house spirit say he is a small Ladino child. He is capricious, and if he is not happy, he may admit the evil spirits who will eat the souls of the inmates. His appe- [753]

773 *"Good."*
778 *They waited a while and the water came. "Are you going to drink?"*
539 *They drank, and then they made the sign of the rainbow. The president*
769 *sent his síndico to meet them. The síndico got drunk on the way. He sat down halfway in the road. The brothers met him there. They were angry that a fiesta was not prepared for them. And for this they left town, and went to live in Chiapas.*

773 This tale is known to everyone in town, and there is no doubt as to its au-
778 thenticity expressed by those who have given versions of it. When I took
769 some of the Indians on a trip to Guatemala, they pointed out the rocks
123 where the brothers encountered the devil. When they arrived in Guatemala and saw a bus marked Antigua they expressed amazement that the town was still in existence.

769 Some people claim to have seen the ancestors, whom they describe as
778 wearing the old style costume—a long shirt with the hat now worn by the alfereces. The ancestors are believed to have watched over the village from a mound rising abruptly before the mouth of the cave, called Hol Shan, or Head of Palm, because of the trees growing on it (Plate 1). From this eminence they could watch the streets of the village and see whether anyone was trying to bring in evil (Plate 2). They were able to discern the power of evil in the souls of the newborn and could snatch the soul before its possessor grew up to cause evil. Their human agents in guarding the town
[756] against evil were the curers (*?u?uletik*), who in the context of guardianship were called *me?iltatil*.[7]

796 Each year on the Day of the Cross, May 3d in the Catholic calendar,[8] a
769 fiesta is held in honor of the ancestors. It refers back to the fiesta which
62 ought to have been held for the returning Shuntonetik, and is performed in the interest of the whole community as a means of ensuring good relations with the ancestors.

[756] Formerly the curers were responsible for conducting this fiesta. An informant recalled the ritual:

7. The guardianship role of the curers is related to the functions of pre-Conquest officials, called *ghcanalum*, "caretakers of the soil" (Calnek 1962:25).

8. The date of the Day of the Cross was changed by the Vatican in 1965. When the
[778] local priest tried to reschedule the fiesta in the community, he encountered strong opposition. The Indians continue to celebrate the Day of the Cross on May 3d.

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000 maximum market price for wheat of 124 pesos per 100 kgs. The Indians
435 usually sell their wheat at 90 pesos per 100 kgs. to Teopisca truckers, or at
442 best gain 110 pesos per 100 kgs. by bringing it to the mills themselves.
241 From their perspective corn is the more valuable crop, not only from the point of view of subsistence, but also for sale since if they hold it in storage they can sell it at double the price at which the values are calculated in the census (.60 peso per kg.). They do not have facilities to store wheat in order to take maximum advantage of price changes.

125 The census I made in 1964 of land ownership and use by the 304 fami-
423 lies living in the center of the township (Table 5) shows that 47 percent
161 of the households have no land other than the ejido grant of one hectare. Because of the growing population, the land per household has decreased. A comparison with the 1958 census of land ownership of 280 households in the center indicates that 89 families now have less land than they had at that date, 72 have the same amount, and 44 have more land; 99 unknown cases include new families which have been created since the earlier date, families which were no longer in existence in 1964, and households in which there is a lack of data on the question of landholding.

423 The strong sentiment against the sale of one's own land, well docu-
432 mented in the monographic literature,[2] is expressed here:

If a man sells his land without sickness, people say he is lazy. The best thing to buy if you have money is land. Unlike cattle, it does not die, it does not get lost, and it does not need watching. It is not the same with a horse. When you buy one, you have to watch it and care for it and when it dies, all is over. You lose all your money. But with land, in two years you have the land paid for and it remains as a gift. It gives us what we eat.

423 Land is rarely sold to outsiders. If a man needs money and has a buyer
432 from out of town, the civil authorities raise the money and buy the plot,
609 selling it in pieces as they find buyers. Only one small plot of land has
621 been sold to an outsider in my knowledge of the community. This plot

2. See Tax (1957), Wagley (1941). Oscar Lewis (1963:125 indicates that in Tepoztlan the breakdown of the resistance to selling land was associated with a growing awareness of profits to be made in the regional and national economy.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 32]

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423 was in a low gully where crops would not grow, and no one within the
432 community would buy it.
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Land is frequently pawned by farmers as security on a loan. The title to
423 the land is left with the lender, who can foreclose on the debt if the inter-
426 est payments of five percent per month are not paid. Often the land pawned may be worth far more than the loan. Loans in town are rarely backed with security, and if something is pawned, it is usually clothing or household items.

178 With the growing significance of ejido lands and land sale, inheritance
423 of land is of less importance in the economic expectations of each succes-
428 sive generation. The rules controlling inheritance are theoretically simple:
593 equal inheritance for all children regardless of sex. The parents usually give some land when the child establishes a separate household; the remainder is then given at the death of the parent or when old age makes it impossible for the parent to work any more. The youngest child remaining at home works his father's land, or if he is living with his wife's family, his father-in-law's land, until the latter's death. His family inherits the house site as well as an equal share of the privately held lands. Complications arise because of modifications of the basic rule of equal inheritance by provisions for care and maintenance of the aged parents. Frequent dis-
[692] putes over inheritance are settled in local courts or passed on to the De-
[647] partment of Indian Affairs in San Cristóbal.

The selection of which crop to grow is related to the kind and amount
241 of land a farmer owns. The most important crops are corn, beans, and wheat. Some squash and sugarcane are grown in the lower ejido lands of San Caralampio. Cabbage is grown by one Indian who possesses fertile irrigated lands in the center. Most Indians, however, are unwilling to undertake the risk of raising a cash crop since there is greater chance of the crop being stolen and they cannot afford a bad market price when they harvest.

241 Relating the size of holding to the crop grown, according to figures in
423 the Mexican census of 1960[3] (Table 4) one can see that in privately
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[659] 3. The census figures are based on estimates received from town officials, who submit them monthly to the census bureau. The officials of the town question the household heads as they see them in the streets or in their houses about how much seed they planted. They then estimate what the yield per almud for good and bad land is, from their own crops.

base, so the farmers prefer to plant the better, quicker-growing corn seed 242
in a mixed sand and loam soil.

The final evaluation of land is based on results at harvest. The range of 242
variation is large: from 48 liters of yield per liter of seed to 80 litters of 433
yield per liter of seed. Township officials say that the average harvest is
five *fanegas* (1 fanega equals 12 liters) or 60 liters per liter of seed. Market [435]
prices are of less importance in deciding what crops will be planted than
are considerations of what the soil "wants" and what labor is involved.
Corn is grown on all kinds of land, whereas beans and special crops such
as cabbages can be grown only on the more fertile soil. Wheat can be
grown only where there is irrigation. One farmer raised cabbage in coop- [434]
eration with a Ladino and earned 1,000 pesos, four times the amount he
earned with his wheat crop the previous year. Despite the greater return
for cabbage, the farmer did not plant it the next year when the Ladino,
who had supported the first venture, withdrew his support. The reason he
gave for this was the fact that there was more work involved and he could
not accomplish it alone: first the crop had to be planted, then transplanted,
then irrigated every three days in the early growing period, and cultivated
two or three times; every eight days he had to get rid of worms. He esti- [461]
mated that growing cabbage involved well over four times the amount of
work necessary for growing corn.

Labor. Most agricultural work is performed by members of 592
households with exchange or hired labor. There is no specialization of 24
labor when the work force includes two or more men since the men 476
cooperate in doing each task. Communal labor is restricted to the mainte- 464
nance of the main irrigation ditches. Each year the ditches are dug out 241
where the sides have eroded and cleaned of brush and leaves. The presi- 621
dent and judges unite to decide on a time for this work and announce it 476
on a loudspeaker of one of the cantinas. This usually occurs around the
twenty-fifth of December. Formerly, all the men of the community helped
in this work whether or not they owned irrigated fields. In 1958 those who [178]
did not own such land "got smart" and refused to work. [423]

In 1962 the civil officials decided that a cement canal should be installed 653
near the source of the spring. They tried to finance it with contributions 621
423
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653 621 241 423 from all men of the township, but again they were refused by the farmers who did not own irrigated land. The officials then sold trees in the communally owned lands to support the project, which cost 2,000 pesos. The farmers without irrigated lands still bore the cost although indirectly since community resources were expended in subsidizing the work.

241 The scheduling of agricultural activities follows an annual cycle for the three major crops, corn, wheat, and beans.

243 242 *Corn*. In corn production, the greatest discrimination comes in the selection of seed.[4] Seed is chosen from cobs which have the most grain. The farmer must look carefully to see that none of it is rotten, since if one grain is bad, the entire five grains put into each hillock will rot. There are two major kinds of corn: a quick-growing variety and a slow-growing variety. The first is preferred, but not all soils "want" it. The bitter soil "wants" the slow corn which must be planted about the first of February. [177] A new corn seed introduced by some developmental engineers in 1957 yielded more grain, but it was not as flinty as the old variety and rotted quickly.

243 The soil is prepared by cross-plowing the land three times in one direction and two times in the other. Those who do not own their own oxen team do it just once because of the additional expense. In planting, the farmer is careful to measure rows evenly, five handspans between rows, and five handspans between each hillock, forming a square which permits the maximum growth of each plant. Five seeds are placed in each hillock. In hot country, the land has not been worked over as well, and as a result it cannot be measured as accurately because of rocks and trees. This upsets the agriculturalist's sense of symmetry and beauty.

Once the corn has been planted, the scheduling of activities is based on the maturation of the plant rather than on a calendrical sequence. The scheduling of activities in corn production is shown in Table 6. The starges of growth in the corn plant and the activities related to them are listed in Table 7.

Cultivation is performed twice, to kill the weeds and to pile up earth at

4. The botanist Anderson (quoted in Lévi-Strauss 1966:73) points out that the careful separation of seed planted in each plot distinguished Indian from non-Indian agriculturalists in other Middle American communities.

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highly stratified primitive society, which remains static: it lacks the flexibility and mobility that exists in modern societies. 423

The history of the ejido program in Tzo'ontahal in the first few years after it was organized in 1937 seemed to confirm this conclusion. Its immediate effect was to block the flow of labor and goods in the regional and national markets. The ejidatarios were no longer forced to sell their labor at the prevailing rate of 25 cents a day, a wage which was not enough to supply the needs of even one man much less those of a household. Children and women formerly had to work with their husbands in the coffee fincas in order to meet their most immediate consumption needs. The independence that the ejido tract gave meant that men could withhold their own labor and that of the subordinate members of the family from such exploitation. The second harvests coming from the ejido plots in low country freed the Indians from having to buy corn in July, August, and September at the inflated market prices which took advantage of the scarcity of this basic necessity. 175 423 182 464 [465] [241] [435]

The political effect of the ejido in the early days was to fortify the corporate community against the shocks of the outside world. The first lands acquired were primarily allotments of corporate lands alienated by the laws of 1856 and 1876. Populations remained in situ, whether they were foreign Indians working on the expropriated estates, or residential communities created in the sixteenth century as crown towns. 175 423 621

The township of Amatenango acquired its first ejido land grant in 1937. One of the early promoters of the ejido, a *revestido* Indian (one who has adopted western clothing) from Huistán who had been a laborer on one of the fincas within the township limits, threatened to become a rural *cacique,* or local boss, comparable to those who emerged from the agrarian revolt in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962). This leader was elected president, but during his term of office he was expelled because of his attempt to secure house plots in the center for himself and other Huistecan Indians residing in the barrio of Yetawitz (Chapter 9). [177]

The stabilizing effects of the ejido in its earlier phase have been upset in recent years. As the population of the center expanded, new families migrated to the nearby barrios contiguous to the town center. These new set- 423 621 166

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423 tlements were assigned to one of the two sections of the division in the
• 621 center with an attempt being made to maintain a demographic balance.
166 Incorporation of the new settlements was more effective in the case of the barrios than in the case of the colonias, which were farther away from the town center and included Indians of diverse communities. The process of
175 breaking away from the old community is illustrated by the 1961 move for
423 independence made by the original settlers of the colonia of Caralampio.
621 The following account was given by a man who was then secretary of the
661 ejido:
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The first settlers of San Caralampio, José, Pablo, Luciano, and Santos were self-appointed principales, *or head men, of the colony. Santos and Luciano were from the town center, and José and Pablo had worked on the ranch when it was privately owned. The colony was well populated and the people lived well—there were no fights nor any problems. In 1956 the four principales decided that they should separate from the center. They told the people that if each person would contribute twenty-five pesos, they would raise the issue of the division in the* Departamento Agraria Mixta. *José invited Mateo, a man who knew how to read and write, to help them.*

"Let's divide from the town so that we alone will run the colony," he told them.

The principales took the money contributed and went to Tuxtla. There, in the Liga de Communidad Agraria *they asked for the separation, and were referred to the* Departamento Agraria Mixta. *When they arrived there with their request, the commissioner said that he would have to communicate with the chief in Mexico.*

After this, Pablo came one day to the center. He spoke to the ejido commission: "Look here, José, Luciano and Mateo went to Tuxtla."

"What for?" asked the ejido president.

"They asked for a division from the town."

"Que pendejo!" *said the president. "What happened?"*

"What do you think?" asked Pablo.

"We are against it. If it was a new center, we would support you. But

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we are against division," said the president. "How much did you have to contribute?" he asked Pablo.

"Twenty-five pesos. They told us if we do not give money, we will be thrown out of the colonia."

We advised him that it would be better not to continue giving money to the principales. "You can't make this division," we told him.

One Sunday all the pueblo united in a mass meeting. Everyone was present. People asked about the affair of San Caralampio, and the Ejido Commission explained to them what had happened. The people said, "Let's get rid of them [the four principales of San Caralampio]."

When the three principales returned to San Caralampio from Tuxtla they asked each household head to contribute fifty pesos in order to send them to Mexico to talk personally with the Chief of the Ejido Division. Pablo came the next day to talk to the president in the center and advised them that the principales had gone out. There was another meeting. The president's decision was to get a contribution of one peso from each person in the center so that they would have six hundred pesos to prevent the division. They feared that if this occurred the people of the center couldn't work down there.

When the leaders of the central Ejido Commission had received the money, they went to the departmental capital to explain to the chief of the ejido zone what had happened. They said that the leaders of the colonia had gone to Mexico.

"Let's to go work!" said the chief. "Did you bring the money?"

"Yes, we have six hundred pesos."

"Go to the bank and change it into one-hundred-peso bills," said the chief. "Let us send two hundred pesos to the chief of the division in Mexico so that he will prevent the division."

We sent the money airmail. Before the principales of San Caralampio had arrived, we had their way blocked. Our money went to work for us. In five days, the chief in Las Casas said the money had been well received, and the leaders of San Caralampio had not been received.

A week later, Pablo came to see how the affair had proceeded. We asked Pablo if he had contributed money. He said no. We told him,

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175 423 621 661 159 *"Don't give any more money. The Ejido Commission won't let the division happen since we are the same pueblo."*

The four principales returned from Mexico. They said that they had a paper and that an engineer would come. They asked for another contribution of 25 pesos. They said that those who wouldn't pay would be thrown out. Pablo came and told us. We told him not to be afraid. The principales now knew that Pablo was with us. He had two brothers, Pancho and Ignacio, whom he advised not to go along with the principales since he knew that they would not win the case. When the principales returned to ask for more money for their trips to Tuxtla, both brothers refused.

175 423 621 661 682 159 *Since these three brothers did not cooperate, the principales got angry and decided to kill Pablo. One day, when Pablo was on his way to Teopisca, he was shot in the back. He continued riding 76 meters. The horse returned to his house. His wife ran to tell his two brothers that the horse had come home without a rider. The brothers ran out and found Pablo dead. The civil authorities of the town went. A few days passed. The brothers never asked for justice. But since they knew who did it, one of them took Pablo's 16-centimeter rifle. Pablo's wife had been thinking of selling it to pay for the expenses of the funeral. Pancho [Pablo's brother] said, "No wait. I will buy it as soon as I have money."*

He borrowed it for several years. One Sunday there was an order for all of the people of San Caralampio to go to the pueblo. They got up early and wakened all the others with a horn. Pancho got up with his rifle. He went to Juan's house and shot him. Luciano had Pancho jailed in the department capitol. He declared his crime, and said that he had killed Juan because the latter had shot his brother. He made a good statement. For this reason, he got out very cheaply—1500 pesos—which he paid with his crop of beans and corn. He was in prison in San Caralampio three months. Now he lives in Teopisca. His sons go to work there, but he doesn't. One day, Pancho was shot in the back—I don't know how many centimeters the bullet penetrated, but he did not die. The brothers of Juan and José have all left the colonia.

José was the one who caused all of the trouble. His wife was the younger sister of Pablo and she left him. Now José is going around begging for food to eat.

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The action of the Ejido Commission of the town reveals the knowledge of how to manipulate political and economic power. By sending the 200-peso bribe, they were able to block the independence movement before the leadership had arrived. The extreme tactics used by the independence leaders in killing their opponents approximates the kind of political homicide characteristic of the central plateau (Friedrich 1962a). The Indians of the center have been able to maintain their ejido grants intact. However, the political discrimination against residents of both colonias and barrios—no resident of either (except for the Huistecan mentioned above) has been elected president, and they never serve in any post higher than that of assistant judge—will undoubtedly lead to further unrest as the populations expand.

Bureaucratic inefficiency and corruption minimize the potential effectiveness of the ejido organization at local, state, and national levels. Projects undertaken by the national government lose their effectiveness when they are promoted by fraudulent claims, taking advantage of the presumed illiteracy and ignorance of the peasantry. The following case illustrates both the tactics of the ejido agents and the countertactics of the local Indians, resulting in a stalemate in the development projects planned and projected at the national level.

In August, two years ago, the Ejido Bank agents came to town with an offer to lend money on crops. We didn't want to borrow it, but Francisco, carbrón! [*then president of the town*], *said we should do it. "Good," we said. We accepted their terms. They said, "We will give fertilizer. It won't cost you a cent. We have tried it. It will give a good crop. We will give you money every six months, and you will pay the interest of nine percent. We will pay for all the costs. It won't cost you anything for the fertilizer."*

In six months, when the bank agents came to get the interest, they charged us six hundred pesos for the fertilizer. We did not want to receive the second load of fertilizer. We presented our case to the Jefe *and told him, "Why did you say it would not cost anything?" He replied, "No,* muchacho [*boy*], *I told you* [*using the familiar form* te dije] *that the fertilizer is going to cost."*

We used seven bags of fertilizer on each hectare for which they charged

us 65 pesos per bag. It was the first time we had used it and we had very good crops. We got together and decided not to pay for the fertilizer. We called the bank agents and requested that we be relieved of the charge because the crops had failed. We showed him a milpa which is a low plot that is too wet for a good crop. We just throw the seed there, but don't work on it because it isn't worth the trouble.

We went to a lawyer in Tuxtla. He told us the bank would have to pay for the fertilizer since they had promised it. The lawyer is the helper of the campesinos [*poor farmers*].

Several points of significance can be noted in this case: (1) the Indians are reluctant to take credit risks because of unfortunate experiences in the past; (2) they react to deception with their own deceptions, showing the engineer the land which had not only not been fertilized but had never been weeded or cared for; and (3) they seek professional legal aid in dealing with government agents in order to equalize the contest in which they feel disadvantaged. These first two behavioral syndromes are culturally conditioned responses; the third represents an innovation. By seeking professional aid for which they pay a fee, the Indians are breaking the monopoly of power held by the caciques to whom they were formerly bound in a network of personal obligations incurred in such transactions.

Recent colonization of national lands since the 1950s has introduced a new kind of ejido settlement. Since most of the lands contiguous to settled towns were absorbed in the early days of the ejido grant, movement has been into lands outside the domain of established centers. This spontaneous colonization of unexploited land has followed the penetration of new highways in Quintana Roo, Campeche, Chiapas, Tabasco, and Vera Cruz (de la Peña 1951:348). In defense of their rights to the new lands, the colonists, often of diverse origins, develop a political consciousness. Mestizos and Indians of different towns work together in securing official ejido status for their lands. Acculturation to the national language and ways of life is much greater in these mixed centers than in the settled populations that were part of the original ejido tracts. Consciousness of their rights under national law and independence from traditional loyalties means that these new settlements may be the basis for welding Indians into the na-

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tional economy and polity at a more rapid pace than has ever occurred in the past. Typical of this new movement is the recently established ejido of Brindis, formed by a core of landless Indians from the town working with acculturated Indians from Teopisca. Whether the political unity which has developed in the course of establishing their claim to the land will continue to provide a base for community development will depend on the encouragement and support by national institutions.

Within Indian communities of highland Chiapas, the ejido program has weakened age-authority principles in the family and in the civil hierarchy (Day n.d., Edel n.d.). Sons are no longer primarily dependent on their fathers for acquiring economic independence. Ejido Commission leaders have broken the monopoly of power by a gerontocracy of principales. Outside of the community, however, the political and economic potential of the ejido has not yet been fully realized. As the new ejidos such as Brindis develop, they may break the old community boundaries that contained and limited the power of the ejidatarios. With rising literacy, many Indians now read the *Codigo Agraria* sold in neighboring markets, and they are increasingly conscious of their rights. If unity across township boundaries could be achieved, the new ejidos might become an effective political force in regional and national spheres.

Wage Labor and Occupational Specialties

The agriculturalists of the community do work as both exchange and paid laborers in the following forms: reciprocal exchange, part time labor and part-time independent agricultural work, and forestry.[1] Wage work is considered only a supplement to independent self-employment for all but twenty agricultural employees who work full-time on a finca within the township.

Payments for agricultural labor within the community are lower than the prevailing rate outside of the town and are higher in the fincas of hot country than in the highlands. When men work on the fincas of landowners in the neighboring township, they prefer payment by the task (*tarea*) rather than by the day, since they can usually complete two tareas by

1. See Richard N. Adams (1964:48) for a discussion of the forms of rural labor.

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231 cattle was seized by bandits or soldiers. It is "new" only in the size of the
233 holdings, which have expanded from ownership of one or two head per household, primarily useful as draft animals, to a herd as large as two hundred head belonging to the wealthiest man in town. Cattle rearing is now a capital investment for resale as well as for draft animals in plow agriculture.

233 The increasing herds have stimulated competition for community re-
311 sources. The control of communal grazing and waterhole rights is exer-
312 cised through the traditional dual division of the town, with rights to pas-
621 ture allocated on the basis of residence in the upper or lower barrio of the
575 center. An association of cattle owners has developed in each of the sections, and the leaders of each association call together all members to clean the water holes and repair the troughs. A recent project of the cattle association of the upper section has been the erection of a large cross at the
[789] water hole. The water had dried up the year before, and the installation of the cross was an attempt to ensure a continuous supply of water in the fu-
[796] ture. The priest blessed the cross in the dedication, and the fiscal and prayer-reciters adorn it each year on May 3, the Day of the Cross in the old Catholic calendar, along with other crosses of the village.

233 Cattle grazing is the source of much of the conflict in the town. The cat-
621 tle roam freely in the woods and communal pasture lands, and many are
578 lost or stolen. The cattle association has not fenced in the pasture in order
575 to control it. Their tactics have been punitive; they have raised funds from
627 among members to hire men to kill suspected cattle thieves. In the last twenty years, six men have been killed as cattle thieves, and at least three of those were known to be killed by men hired by the association, which then paid the court fines to set the killers free. The leader of one of the cattle associations was killed after an incident in which he fined a man who had failed to assist in cleaning the water holes. The fine of 2 pesos per head of cattle represented a large fee for the man, who had sixty head. He refused to pay more than half, since he said he had not been notified.
[754] When his daughter later died of illness, he blamed her death on witchcraft exercised by the cattle association leader, and later killed him.

231 Cattle are only minimally exploited as a resource. The cattle are not
434 butchered locally since there is not a large enough market, but are sold to

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The truck is the focus of the desire for self-improvement, for fighting the Ladino monopoly of the road, for the antagonisms and factional strife and conflict within the community. When they bought the truck, the Indians hired a Ladino in the neighboring town as chauffeur. One of the conditions of his employment was that he would teach his Indian assistant to drive. The Ladino tried to avoid doing this since he knew it would be the end of his job. But the Indian assistant learned by observation and is now operating the truck with an Indian assistant.

Accounts of the cost and profit of the truck operation indicated a running loss. A new tarpaulin cost 1,200 pesos; there were repairs and bribes to the highway patrol. But the truck was kept in operation because the major shareholders were impressed with the power it gave them. "They [their enemies, the members of the other co-operative owned by the Ladino along with twenty members of the community] are afraid of us because of the truck," one said, and added that it was better than having a *swayohel,* the animal spirit that gives power to the curers. At the time of my last visit in 1967 the truck was making a profit. The owners were thinking of selling it and replacing it with a five-ton model.

Structural realignment has been most marked in the organization of the truck-owning cooperatives. Membership cuts across the dual division for both of the truck-owning cooperatives. The cooperative is the most important factor in local political elections (Chapter 9). The truck has become both the symbol of power and the basis for the contest for power between the factions within the community.

Contraband liquor. The number of distillers has grown in the last ten years from five to forty. The distillation process was learned by Indians from Ladinos in neighboring towns fifteen years ago. There has been no local innovation in the basic process, but a new item, used in distillation, has been introduced into pottery production, a funnel decorated in the traditional manner of the water jars and other vessels. The capital investment in the equipment for operating the still is put up by individuals or partnerships of relatives. The still is rented to people who have charge of the celebration for a saint's day, or who are involved in courtship.

Private enterprise is the favored form of organization of the distillers be-

273 cause of the limited capital involved and the fear of discovery with the ex-
472 pansion of the enterprise. A loose syndicate of distillers provides an insur-
273 ance protection by raising fines for members who are apprehended by fed-
548 eral agents. Security measures are taken to avoid discovery, and the pres-
661 ence of a federal agent is announced in Tzeltal on the loudspeaker system of one of the bars. One federal agent is on the payroll of the four operating bar owners, who give him 5 pesos a week to avoid legal action on the sale of contraband liquor. Individual distillers pay the tariff of 10 pesos or two liters of liquor a year to the civil officials and to the ejido commission, a tariff justified by the fact that they use wood from communally owned land to cook the sugar. The syndicate is a community-wide organization, mobilized in emergencies only.

The New Social Resources

177 In the course of operating the new enterprises, knowledge of and experi-
178 ence with supralocal institutions and agents are developing social re-
43 sources in (1) entrepreneurship, (2) management of capital and credit,
44 (3) knowledge of markets, and (4) dealing with government agencies. In
621 entering into these new economic activities, the Indians have not lost a
156 sense of belonging to the local community. Self-identification as poor, indigenous farmers is both a screen of protection and a means of ensuring continuity with local control systems.

472 *Entrepreneurship*. Local entrepreneurs explain their motivation in
621 a rhetoric which emphasizes their interest in community welfare. This val-
156 idates entering into nontraditional activities, but retaining their position in local society inhibits the expansions of their activities. The case of Santos,
159 the promoter of the trucking cooperative is instructive. Santos had picked
472 up some accounting techniques while he served in the army in Mi-
621 choacán. He returned to the village because his father walked from Chia-
45 pas to Michoacán to tell him he should come back and get married. When he returned, he kept careful account of his costs and returns from the milpa. He realized soon that it wasn't "worth his work" (the Indian has not as yet learned the idiom or the value system which goes into the

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phrase "worth my time"). He therefore persuaded a Ladino of Teopisca to lend him 5,000 pesos. He went down to hot country and bought corn when it was scarce in the village, brought it up the hill, sold a little to pay for his needs, but held the rest until the price went up in the next three months. In a two year period of buying and selling with his 5,000 peso investment, he grossed 400,000 pesos. Afterwards he began to hire men to work in his milpa. At a meeting of the cooperative association in 1966, Santos defended his investments of the association's funds by showing his carefully kept accounts. He held up his pencil saying proudly, "This is my machete! This is my hoe!" The phrasing is an imitation of Ladino rhetoric of the provinces.

Santos served as treasurer of the ejido commission and of the town. In 1965 he was made a *nič'nal martoma*, or junior religious official in charge of caring for the saints. His appointment was an attempt made by the former president, a member of the Ladino-owned trucking concern, to cut down Santo's operations in passenger traffic on Sunday by keeping him occupied in religious activities. While in office, Santos began an enquiry into the use of the funds collected in donations to the saints. The priest had gained control over these funds, and had not subjected the collection to the public review and accounting procedures by which funds had been handled by the civil administration. Santos demanded an explanation by the priest, who refused to make a statement. The issue was raised in a general assembly of the men of the community which occurs sporadically on Sundays. Meanwhile Santos was taking advantage of the money associated with each of the major saints. In the cargo system for the care of saints, a fund of money is passed over in the installation ceremony from the outgoing mayordomos to the incoming mayordomo. This fund has always been passed over to the incoming officials with an increment of about 10 pesos. Santos requested the use of these funds to "make them grow," and he thus gained uncontested access to low interest funds which he used in his brokerage activities. In addition to the interest, he gave a gift of clothing to the saint to maintain good credit relations.

Santos' administration of funds in his public capacity as town treasurer, storekeeper, and treasurer of both the ejido commission and the truck cooperative won him a reputation of honesty and reliability. His knowl-

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159 edge not only of how to manage money, but also of how to *manejarlo*, or
472 drive it, and to "make it grow" indicated an insight into capital operations
621 which made him a leader in local enterprises. In his post as shopkeeper, he
45 invested the store's capital in corn bought at harvest.

159 Santos' career as an entrepreneur was ended when a bullet was fired
472 into his back in 1966. He had relaxed his observation of the rules which permit survival for those who challenge traditional ways: no drinking, no trips to the mountain alone, and no boasting of gains. As yet, he has had no parallel in the community, but the truck drivers are becoming aware of the possibilites for profit in trade and commercial deals.

426 *Capital and credit.* The Indians' knowledge of capital and credit
609 operations has been acquired in the role of debtor, not creditor. In the leg-
538 ends concerning money the creditor is an outsider, a *pukuh* or devil, usually a Ladino. I had accepted a story about a Don Klabil, owner of a mountain in the town adjacent to the neighboring Ladino town Teopisca, as being of ancient origin. It fit with the many stories collected in Mesoamerica of owners of the hills who give out money on request to those who come knocking at the entrances to their caves. After their death, the recipients spend their spirit life in the mountain, working off the debt. Don Klabil was said to be responsible for the wealth of one of the outstandingly wealthy men in town who had gone to his hill and asked for cattle and money. Once while riding in a bus from Tzoʔontahal to Las Casas, I was engaged in conversation with a woman of Teopisca, who was dressed in widow's weeds. I commented on the story of Don Klabil as we passed the hill, and she said, "Oh, yes. That was Don David, my husband. He used to lend money to the Indians." When he died, the Indians say he went to live in the cave from which he got money when he was alive.

The Indians feel at a disadvantage to Ladinos when they enter into capital and credit operations. They tell a story of how, many years ago, when all the Indians of Tzoʔontahal were rich, the mayordomos got drunk on *Paswamal,* the day of gathering flowers and greens to decorate the church. When the true day of the fiesta came, they looked about them and realized that the church was undecorated, so they strewed green peso notes on the floor of the church. The Ladinos from Teopisca came for the fiesta as

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usual, and seeing the pesos, picked them up. The "spirit of the money" left the village forever. The story reveals not only the sense of deprivation Indians feel in losing wealth to Ladinos (historically land the Indians had lost through fraud or legal trickery during the Porfirio Diaz period), but also their realization of their own responsibility for letting their assets slip out of their control.

Payment of interest on money borrowed is justified in the calculations of the Indians for loans made within as well as outside of the community. Interest, called *shol tak'in*, or "head" of money, makes it possible for the borrower to work, and thus to earn, so the "owner" has the right to charge for the use. The rate on loans made within the pueblo has risen from 2 or 3 pesos a month for 100 pesos to 5 pesos, thus equalizing the rate with that charged in the neighboring Ladino town. The same rate is applied between relatives as nonkin. The advantage of intracommunity borrowing is that the lender does not demand an immediate return, or as high security. Ladinos of the neighboring town tend to demand items of greater value than the debt held as security—one Ladino held title to land worth 1,000 pesos for a 50-peso debt, and threatened to foreclose. Within the pueblo, security of about the same value as the loan is asked except in the case of neighbors and relatives who can be reminded every day of the debt. And they are.

Markets. In marketing, the Indians of Tzo'ontahal have neither extended nor gained control over the selling and buying operations that have been pursued since before the opening of the Pan-American Highway in 1955. The pottery which is produced locally was formerly carried on horseback to the smaller towns within a radius of fifty miles. The pottery was marketed directly by the men of the household which produced it, with no specialization in trading by commercial travelers, as had happened in the Zapotec and other areas of Mexico. Since the penetration of the Pan-American Highway, the men take the pottery produced in their households by bus or on the trucks to either San Cristóbal or Comitán. This tends to polarize trading operations and dry up the traffic into small towns not connected by the highway. As a result, the wholesale trade in San Cristóbal and Comitán has increased in the past decade, with dealers

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474 The strategies the cooperative members have developed in their frequent
648 tangles with state police illustrate the combination of custom and innova-
661 tion. When caught red-handed, they may respond by playing the stereotype Indian role. "We don't know anything. We are just poor Indians. How do you expect us to do what the law says?" This is hard for the Ladino authorities to resist, since it feeds their own sense of superiority. But it does not always work, and so the Indians have devised secondary resources. They put the departmental police at each terminal of their usual route between Las Casas and Comitán on a regular monthly mordida pay-
[693] roll of 50 pesos each. When trying to extend their operations, they hire a lawyer. A recent coup has been the acquisition of a permit to truck corn from Villa las Rosas and other ejido settlements that have been recently colonized. The appeal was made on the basis that they are a nonprofit cooperative of ejidatarios. With the permit, they now undercut the price of their own competitors in the town as well as of the large companies. Law-
474 yers are beginning to advertise themselves in newspapers as "Friends of
693 the Indians" and are in some cases specializing in this new patronage, which they receive from other communities as well as Tzoʔontahal. The professional relationship bypasses personal ties which formerly limited the development of Indian leadership.

177 The self-development occurring in Tzoʔontahal may appear paradoxical
178 if we do not understand the internal dynamics by which change is con-
474 tained within an existing equilibrium. The cooperative association has
621 been adopted as a technique for socializing the risk of making a profit.
648 The truck, although currently used in an uneconomic operation, is a sym-
[493] bol of power in the struggle for a position in the regional markets and in the intracommunity factional strifes. The usual patron-client system is being reversed as the Indian puts the Ladino on his payroll to secure evasion from the law. In the changes which are occuring, the defensive structure of the corporate community is a means by which the Indians are entering into national life not on the lowest rung of the social ladder, but on terms they are setting for themselves. In the new enterprises, the Indians combine old ploys with new strategies. Confronted with legal threats from the outside world, they play the colonial game of defensive ignorance.

When this fails, they turn to the professional help of lawyers rather than to the old caciques with whom they had formerly maintained patron-client relations. The traditional structural alignment of upper and lower barrios is retained as the basis for organizing the growing cattle herds, but the cooperative provides flexibility and power for developing new enterprises.

The minimal changes in the material environment and the technology of the peasantry are countered by the development of social resources which should facilitate Indian integration in the wider society. In operating the new enterprises independently of Ladino control, they are developing entrepreneurial skills and an awareness of the relationship between capital and profit. The restriction of their operations to nonproductive use of capital for profit, such as buying crops at harvest and reselling as the price rises, reveals the limited dynamics of intracommunal development. The town will look to the regional and national networks for fundamental changes in its economy.

The fear of exciting envy acts as a brake on productive activity and the enjoyment of improved consumption resulting from wealth. Santos' death is a symbolic warning to others who would follow in his footsteps. An earlier case occurred when the ejido land grants were made in the 30s:

The brothers Ča?iletik became "very rich" as a result of careful operation of their ejido and privately owned land. They owned ten pair of oxen and about fifty horses. When they brought in their crops on horseback, it looked like a line of ants. They built a good house in Alkob', and a good threshing shelter. The people of the town began to talk about getting them off the land. The ejido commissioner took their land away and turned it over to others in the town. Until this day, the brothers Ča?iletik are without land. Now they do no more than work like other men. They live poorly. All their cattle and horses are sold.

The organization of the cooperatives is one means of diverting envy directed against individuals and permitting some increase in productive efforts, but the society still lacks the means of validating higher consumption standards. The richest man in town eats better than his neighbors,

556 626 but his style of living is indistinguishable from theirs. The only difference [23] is the larger number of dogs he[1] keeps to guard his wealth stored in the form of surplus crops in the eaves of his house.

177 178 433 434 621 323 The kind of economic change occurring in Tzo'ontahal fits the model of a moving equilibrium. Tightly controlled behavioral schema preserve the traditional productive activities in pottery and agriculture. They provide the framework into which the new enterprises are fit. Increasing dependence of cosumption choices on external markets is slowly transforming the content but not the pattern of community life. This kind of change is limited to societies that form a distinct corporate group. In an open society where many alternatives are available, the painful process of accommodation of the new to a customary pattern would probably not be undertaken given the tendency for social change to follow the course of least resistence. The absorption of economic innovation in Tzo'ontahal illustrates the ability of closed corporate communities to participate in commercial undertakings and reformulate them to fit their own pattern.

[1] [i.e., the richest man in town. - Analyst]

Chapter 4

Family Authority and Community Control

All residents of the center consider themselves to be "true men" descended from the ancestors who lived in the cave. In Murdock's terminology (1965:63), the Indian community constitutes a *deme*, or local group of genealogically related residents who cannot trace the exact kinship tie. This sense of kinship sustains a model of paternal authority for assigning positions of power and prestige in the wider community. The key to persistence of the Indians as a culturally distinct population lies in these age-ordered hierarchies sanctioned by the ancestors and the elders who act as their intermediaries. The reward for remaining within the social control system is security and the right to their guardianship; the sanction against violating the norms is exile or exposure to the evil spirits they hold at bay.

The bilateral extension of age-relative collateral terms to all members of the same side of the dual division is a successful adaptation of the kinship model to the government of a compact nucleated community. The system of terminology is similar to that of the neighboring nucleated settlement of Aguacatenango which shares many of the same features of behavior (Hunt n.d., Metzger in Romney 1967:231). These systems are closer to those of the Coatlan Mixe (Merrifield and Hoogshagen 1961) and the Chinantec of Palantla (Merrifield 1959) than they are to the nearby Tzeltal-speaking communities of Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes 1947) and Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947). In the case of the Mixe and Chinantec, the strong emphasis on relative age is correlated with age-graded positions in the political-religious hierarchy (Merrifield 1959, Merrifield and Hoogshagen 1961:225).[1] The lineage-clan pattern found in the vacant center, or *paraje*,

1. In the Coatlán, Oaxaca case of Mixe Indians cited by Merrifield and Hoogshagen (1961) they state that the classificatory terms utilizing the criteria of age relative to ego

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613 614 621 171 601 type of communitives such as Oxchuk and Cancuc depends on communal land holding and contiguity in residence of the agnatic kin. The corporate identity of these groups is breaking down with the fragmentation of land holdings and movement of men from the paraje of their fathers (Guiteras Holmes 1947, Villa Rojas 1946).

601 602 Symmetrical bilateral extension of kinship terms can be seen in Figure 3. Relative age modifies generation in terms for collaterals. In ego's generation, older brother and sister are distinguished from younger siblings. In parents' generation, siblings of father younger than father are referred to and called elder brother or sister, and those older than father are called father or mother. In grandparent's generation, siblings older than grandparent are called grandfather or grandmother, and those younger than grandparent are called father and mother. If the grandparent should die, leaving only a younger sibling, the term grandparent is used referentially and vocatively. There is no sex distinction made between siblings or collaterals [193] younger than ego in the referential terminology. Referential terminology for lineals younger than ego does not make sex distinctions, but the distinction may be made with one's own children by using the possessive form of the vocative term, such as "my little man" (*ḥtatil*) or "my little woman" (*ḳantzil*). Women refer to their children with the term *ʔalal*. The stem *ʔal* signifies the verb to give birth. Men refer to their children as *niʼʼan*. The collective term for children of both parents combines the two terms in a possessive form, *ḳalniʼʼan*, our children.

The bilateral system of Amatenango is not in conformity with the Spanish model. Along with similar systems mentioned for Aguacatenango, Coatlan, and Palantla, it differs from the Spanish model in that collaterals in ascending generations are classified with lineal relatives, and age rela- [174] tive to ego modifies generational separation. These systems appear to be an

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obscures that of generation. Just as in Tzoʔontahal, all members of the community address [601] others they meet on the street with the term indicating age relationship to ego, and grand- [171] father and grandmother terms are reserved for the very old. The authors conclude that this terminological behavior reflects the rigid age-grading found in social groups throughout the community. I would venture a generalization that requires further research to the effect that age-grading provides a pattern for appropriate behavior among members of endogamous, closely settled communities whereby conflict is reduced by channeling competition for prestigeful positions.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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608 members of the me'iltatil along with relatives and sometimes neigh-
571 bors. They are his sponsors at subsequent life crises—rituals of betrothal, marriage, and death. All of these people become co-parents to each other and to the child's parents. This relationship lasts throughout his and their lifetime. If the marriage bond is threatened, the me'iltatil gather to hear the complaints and try to resolve the problems. When a person dies, his me'iltatil go to his wake to watch over his spirit. He in turn is expected to help in the household of his me'iltatil when they have a ceremony by bringing wood or serving food and drink to guests.

624 2. Civil officials: The civil officials as a group may also be called
561 the me'iltatil; the term has special reference to the judges who represent the ancestors in their judgment of wrongdoers. In their passage through office from lower to higher positions, they are ranked in age-graded sets of junior officials (policemen), senior officials (regidores), and elder officials (judges), with the highest respect in ceremonial occasions accorded to the principales, two men, one from each side of the dual division, selected from those who have served in all offices. Drinking order, marching order, and seating order reflect the age-ordered rank in all ceremonial occasions.

[192] The link between the me'iltatil of the household and the me'iltatil of the civil authority is provided by a group of officials called the *nakawanehetik*. These men are chosen from among bilaterally related
571 621 relatives, ritual co-parents, and neighbors who have served in office in
602 the church or the town hall and know the prayers. They direct cere-
794 monies in the house at times of baptism, betrothal, death, and when
608 the household head enters a community office. They are the ones who know how the ancestors did things and "watch and see" that all is done in accord with custom. They instruct the new official in the prayers he
[574] must memorize. Their wives direct the preparation of food by the younger women, and one of them may serve as chief woman speaker greeting guests.

621 3. Curers: Curers are similarly ranked according to age and years
756 in practice. The elder curer on each side of the dual division is charged
561 with guarding his side against the intrusion of evil spirits in the form of his own animal spirit. It is in this function of guardianship that the curers are referred to as me'iltatil.

The me?iltatil is the core institution preserving cultural continuity in the community. The exercise of authority and social control depended on a system of checks and balances in which the ancestors watched over the community, the judges watched over the curers to see that they did not abuse their power, and the curers watched over their side of the dual division to see that no witches or evil spirits caused harm. The validation of power is based on the kinship model of age-authority. The recruitment and functions of each of the three manifestations of this ancestral authority will be discussed in the following chapters on life crisis rituals, curing, and civil government. 182 621 602 608 571

The Household and Family 592

The household unit is a crystallization at a given point in time of consanguineously and affinally related people within a wider kinship matrix. It is the most important structural unit providing for economic cooperation, socialization of the young, and care and sustenance of the aged. It provides the setting and the personnel for the transmission of traditional prayers and ritual procedures of the civil and religious hierarchy. The composition of the unit is constantly changing due to internal changes in the life cycles of its members as well as changes in the wider kinship matrix. The decisions made in response to these changes reveal both traditionally established adjustments to life crises and adaptations to social changes originating outside the family. The kinds of choices made in residence after marriage as well as in inheritance and succession to leadership in the household do not always conform to the cultural formulae for handling them. The exigencies of space, time, economic, and social considerations may outweigh the ideological considerations of what ought to be done.

The formula for the developmental cycle of the household is the following: when a man marries, he lives with his bride's family for one year, working in her father's fields. He then returns to his father's household to live and work with him until his father is too old to manage the work in the field. The father then gives equal shares of his land and animals to each of his children, both male and female. The youngest child, or the last one to get married, remains in the parental house, taking care of the aged 591 [425] 591 593

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602 Kinship is one of several bases for recruiting reciprocal or cooperative
476 labor. Table 19 compares kinship with nonkinship-defined work groups
626 in terms of the kinds of exchanges, the type of work done, the time span permitted for reciprocity, and the sanctions against failure to reciprocate.

TABLE 19. Labor Exchanges of Kinship- and Nonkinship-Defined Groups

Conditions	*Within household*	*Beyond household, within community*	
		With kin (ritual, compadre, affinal and consanguineal)	*With nonkin*
Interchange	"Cooperation"—reciprocity based on implicit understandings	Reciprocity—explicit, defined by traditional expectations	Reciprocity—explicit, often defined by contract as well as tradition
Sanctions	Authority of elder member, male in men's work group, female in women's work group	Authority of elders of bilaterally-extended kin group; Recourse to cabildo if no strong elder	Informal—fear of gossip of neighbors; formal—reliance on local judges and president or recourse to district courts
Time Span	Extended, indefinite	Extended, usually some defined limit on repeated tasks (harvest); no limit for non-repeated tasks (house-building)	Immediate return expected, or explicitly stated time allowance
Kind of Task	Pottery-making, milpa agriculture, care of cattle, preparation of food	Ploughing, cultivating, harvesting, firing pottery, housebuilding	Same.

593 Fathers and sons, or sons-in-laws may work together on family-owned
476 property. Because all men can acquire ejido land after marriage, and since
423 47 percent of the households claim to have only this land, the cooperative
621 tie between fathers and sons is not based on inheritance. If they work well
[606] together, they may continue to cooperate after the son has become independent. Father and sons, brothers and brothers-in-law are expected to
476 cooperate with each other in building a house, rethatching a roof, and
342 threshing wheat. In the case of house-building or maintenance, they must
607 pay for a substitute if they are unable to fulfill the obligation.
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Compadres, or ritual kin, are the next most important pool from which to draw assistance. The same restrictions on exchanges between actual kin apply to those between ritual kin. The one task which is confined to brothers and not extended to compadres is that of house-building.

Relationships between members of the household are defined by daily work tasks, commensality, sharing a living space, and participation in the same ceremonial events. The same rules which govern behavior in the family are extended to the wider community. The extension of the terms elder brother and elder sister, father and mother, and younger sibling to all of the people in one's own side of the dual division implies a pattern of behavior similar to that of the family. The fundamental equation in social relations is age-respect-deference-prestige.

The bilaterally extended kinship group provides the pattern structuring relations throughout the community. It is a framework allowing wide choice in selecting individuals with whom ceremonial and work relations are contracted. Relative age has superseded generation and descent as the principle governing relationships of authority and respect from the nuclear family to the hierarchy or community officials. These patterns will be traced in other institutions in following chapters.

in the house in which he lives. The midwife, the only person present besides the mother, performs the ritual. She puts cold water in the child's mouth and then goes to the door, saying, "Enter if you arrive, little boy [or little girl]." Then she brushes the child with pine branches dipped in springwater, and smokes with incense of pitch pine the clothing which is then put on the child. The incense "makes a path for the soul to find the body of the child." As she does this, she says, "May your heart be one now that you are in the house." This ceremony is always performed when the child is born outside his parents' residence is order to guide his soul to its proper locale. Three days later, a ceremony called *sti? mut* (eat the chicken) takes place. Only women attend this meal. In one case I observed, the child's mother, her three sisters, mother, and husband's cousin attended. Each woman brings a peso's worth of bread, some chocolate, and ten tortillas. Two hens are cooked in boiling water, and the food is eaten by the women.

Baptism, called "throw the water" (*?ič ha?*) occurs as soon as possible after the new-born child's twentieth day of life. If the parents of the child live with either the mother's or the father's family, the grandparents will choose the godparent, or *padrino*. The actual decisions recorded for four families in Table 20 can be compared with statements of preference as to who should be godparents. People say they prefer nonrelatives ("We are not deceived by them"), people of the same section of the dual division ("We like to greet them in the street") and finally people of good reputation. The individual or couple chosen as godparent becomes *compadre* or co-parent to the parents of the child.

People seem to be successful in realizing the preferences they state. 81 percent of compadres are chosen from their own side of the dual division, and only 4 percent are chosen from out of town. 71 percent of compadres are chosen from among nonrelatives. A significant factor in the choice of compadres is maintaining good neighbor relations. Most families surround themselves with a ring of compadres which neutralizes both the fear of being the object of witchcraft and of being accused of witchcraft. Factors of wealth, prestige, and status positions—particularly that of fiscal—are also taken into consideration in choosing a compadre. Most of the padrinos of baptism are chosen from among older members of the community,

TABLE 20. Relationship of Individual to Compadres

Informant's family status	Occasion	Residence of compadre: Same section	Opposite section	Other barrio	Neighboring town	Total	Relationship: Relative	Non-relative	Total
65-year-old man, wife, 5 grown children	Baptism of godchild	13	5			18		18	18
	Wedding	31				31	12	19	31
	Baptism of own child	3			2	5		5	5
	Total	47	5		2	54	12	42	54
42-year-old man, wife, adopted daughter	Baptism of godchild	12	1			13	2	11	13
	Wedding	13	3	5		21	6	15	21
	Confirmation		2			2		2	2
	Blessing of loudspeaker	2			2	4		2	2
	Total	27	6	5	2	40	8	30	38
35-year-old man, wife, 5 children	Baptism of godchild	7				7	4	3	7
	Baptism of own child	4			1	5		5	5
	Wedding	4				4		4	4
	House saint	2				2	1	1	2
	Total	17			1	18	5	13	18
34-year-old widow	Baptism of godchild	17	1	1		19	15	4	19
	Wedding	7	3			10	2	8	10
	House saint	2	1		1	4	1	3	4
	Confirmation	1				1	1		1
	Total	27	5	1	1	34	19	15	34
	TOTAL	118	16	6	6	146	44	100	144

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The links between members of the me?iltatil of a couple united in marriage are reinforced if another marriage occurs between the two households. While this does not provide a basis for prescribed or preferred mating, those who have such exchanges say they prefer it because the negotiations in the č'om proceed more amicably, especially in the earlier stage. 571 58 608

Solidarity of the group is reinforced when the me?iltatil are called upon to help settle conflicts that arise in the marriage. The household review of marital conflict requires a formal gathering of all the members of the betrothal party who represented both the husband and the wife. Parents of the couple state the evidence and recite the events which led up to the conflict. The husband or wife may interject, speaking in their own defense. The elders suggest how the person judged guilty (usually the man) ought to behave and what his reponsibilities are. A transcription of one such case is included in Appendix 1A. This concerns a couple who had separated two years after the marriage. The following statement of the padrino of the wedding ceremony, speaking in lieu of the leader of the č'om who could not be present, shows the techniques they use to adjust relations: 593 578 608 571 621

Now he [the husband] wants to change for the better. You [speaking to the husband] ought not to drink. It is better to eat meat and vegetables and find corn and beans for your wife and child. Now we have arranged it, and you can take your wife and child to your house.

A successful outcome depends on all people in the dispute accepting the judgment of the elders. If this cannot be achieved, the abused partner seeks redress in the courts. Women are most frequently the plaintiffs. The plaintiff is supported by her parents who appear with her in court and help argue her case. The defendant may appear with his parents, if they support him, but very often they feel shame and do not. 593 578 608 571 692

In court cases, two judges hear the evidence and they, along with the president and other civil officials deliver the verdict. The quality of interpersonal relations does not differ much from that which one finds in the household review, as can be seen in comparing the court review included in Appendix 1B with the household review. In the former case, the woman's wrath had been aroused by her husband occasionally returning to his first wife, and by his failure to give her money for expenses. Since he

Chapter 6

Curing and the Curers

Sickness is a sign of upset relations between the spirits or people and those of relatives, neighbors, or places. In the curing ritual, the curers not only treat the disease, but also try to bring about spiritual readjustment by dramatizing the ill effects of animosity. Because they claim to be able to counteract witchcraft, the curers exercise a great deal of power. This power is limited by institutional requirements controlling entry into the profession and exercise of their skill and knowledge. The breakdown in the authority of elder curers during my study of the community, and their attempts to reinstate themselves, made explicit some of the structural principles of the institution.

The Curing Hierarchy

Recruitment into the hierarchy. Until the 1950s, each side of the dual division had an age-ranked order of curers and recognized the leadership of a single elder, called *statal ʔuʔul.* The older, more experienced curers, called the *b'anḳilal,* or elder brothers, had authority over the novice curers, called the *ʔihtz'inal,* or younger brothers. With the breakdown of the hierarchy during my stay, this distinction was becoming less clear. In 1964 there were seven curers in Alannantik and six in Ahk'olnantik; on a return visit I made in 1967, their numbers had been reduced by homicide and exile to five in Alannantik and five in Ahk'olnantik.

Entry into the profession occurs during an epidemic when the civil authority calls upon the curers to gather in the town hall to determine who is bringing the "heat" that causes death from disease. The curers decide whether there are any promising young men who have the third soul, swayohel, which gives them the ability to cure. If a young man is deemed

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"He looked for trouble!" Domingo replied.
I said, "You killed my husband!"
He said, "It was not I! It was not I!"
It doesn't serve to enter curing early. People will kill you right away. Another young man wanted to enter. The curers did not permit him since they said he was a witch. People heard he was a witch, and they killed him. He was the same age as my husband [*about twenty-seven*].

The curers who have survived to an old age were introduced into the profession by an elder relative. They choose their clients carefully, refusing to cure a man who is on the point of death, and remaining within their own section of the dual division. These rules of survival are ignored by some of the younger men who wish to impress their elders with their powers. 756 [621]

The changing image of the curers. The curers of today are unfavorably compared with those of the past who used their power for good. The prototype of the old curer was the fearful Tatik Ča'uk, Lord of the Lightning, possibly a local manifestation of the Maya god Chac.[2] The dialectic of power is exemplified in his control over beneficial and destructive forces. His beneficence is demonstrated in his ability to bring rain to crops, while his vengeance is revealed in lightning bolts which can kill people and destroy houses. Anyone who is struck by lightning is believed to have had some sin for which the Tatik Ča'uk has punished him. His destructive force is equated with a rifle—called "the elder brother of the Lord of Lightning"—and with the "heat" which brings death in illnesses. His habitation is believed to be the Cave of the Star where the heat which causes epidemics is found. 756 776 [178]

The curers were intermediaries for the Tatik Ča'uk in their control over both destructive and beneficial forces. Formerly, the swayohel of the curers patrolled the streets of the town to prevent the entry of evildoers bringing heat. It is in this role that they are referred to as me'iltatil. If an epidemic occurred, the two leading curers from each side of the town con- 756 731

2. In other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities, the god Ča'uk is named as the chief figure from pre-Conquest theology (Hermitte 1964, Holland 1963:93). [171]

Chapter 7

The Formal Organization of Local Government

The formal organization of civil and religious offices in Tzo'ontahal is based on the pattern of a locally independent, democratically elected officialdom introduced by the Spaniards. Variations in the pattern from that of other towns of the highlands have resulted from differences of interpretation of the functions, the range of power, and the course of succession of offices. This flexibility has preserved structural continuity as organizational adjustments are made. The Indians have transformed an alien governing mechanism into one that meets their changing needs and contributes to their independence in the modern world.

The independence of the local township has a base in the pre-Conquest social organization of Chiapas. Robert Adams (1961:347) has noted the absence of architectural or other features indicative of functional specialization that would arise in a politically integrated region. At the time of the Conquest, Chiapas was divided into warring principalities, revealing the extreme political fragmentation of the area (Calnek 1962:8). Each town was divided from the neighboring town by *mojones,* hilled-up boundaries (ibid:36). A minimum of political unity was achieved by holding certain towns subject to the dominance of others (ibid:27); local autonomy persisted, however, in the administration of landholding as a community enterprise.

During the colonial period the Spanish Crown established the independence of towns directly under their control and provided them with a civil-religious hierarchy which has persisted as the form of government to the present (Carrasco 1961: Wolf 1957b).

Comparative studies of the civil-religious hierarchy indicate the range of

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variation on the Spanish colonial model (Camara 1952; Cancian 1963, 1965; Carrasco 1961; Siverts 1964; Tax 1964). In the many community studies of the highland Maya, we have reports of the roles and functions of the hierarchy as they are played out in a specific context (Adams 1957; Bunzel 1952; Guiteras Holmes 1961; La Farge 1947; La Farge and Byers 1931; MacArthur 1961; M. Nash 1955; Siverts 1960, 1964; Valladares 1957;

Fig. 6. Civil and Religious Officials *

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Officials in the town hall
- President
- Secretary
- Síndico

Officials in the church
- Fiscal
- Women Prayer-reciters

Principales (Krinsipaletik)
- Second Principal
- First Principal

Judges (Alkaletik)
- First Judge, Alannantik
- Second Judge, Ahk'olnantik
- Assistant Judge, La Grandeza
- Assistant Judge, Madronal

Regidores (Rehiroletik)
- First Regidor
- Second Regidor
- Third Regidor
- Fourth Regidor

Policemen (Mayoletik)
- 2 First Police
- 2 Second Police
- 2 Third Police
- 2 Fourth Police
- 2 Last Police

Cofrades (Kobrarietik)
- Cofrade of Sacramento
- Cofrade of Santa Lucía
- Cofrade of San Pedro the Martyr
- Cofrade of San Francisco

Mayordomos (Martomaetik)
- Mayordomo of Christ of Ascension
- Mayordomo of San Antonio
- Mayordomo of Virgin Rosario
- Mayordomo of San José
- Mayordomo of Santiago

Alfereces † (Alperesetik)
- First Past Alférez
- Remains Past Alférez
- Second Past Alférez
- New Alférez

Assistants to cofrades (alib'aletik)
- Assistant to Sacramento
- Assistant to Virgin Santa Lucía

Assistants to elders for lesser saints (Nič'aniletik)

* Boxed-in terms refer to age-graded hierarchies. Other posts are outside of this "ladder" as explained in text.

† Alfereces may be chosen after taking higher posts in the religious hierarchy, but cannot become first or second regidor before serving in this post.

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Vogt 1965; Wagley 1949; Wisdom 1940; Zabala 1961). Comparison of the structure and functioning of the hierarchy reveals differing applications of the same principles of allocating roles (age, sex, territorial identification, and previous service) and differing assignments of the same tasks (administrative, judgment, and maintenance). 621 171

In this chapter, I shall analyze the civil-religious hierarchy in Tzoʔontahal as a formally prescribed system of roles and behavior. The data on which the analysis is based are: (1) the system of roles and the principles of allocation, (2) careers in office of household heads, (3) instrumental behavior prescribed for officials, and (4) ritual behavior. The following chapter will be concerned with the exercise of power within the limits set by the formal organization of offices. 128 621 794

The Matrix of Roles

Civil officials. Civil offices in Tzoʔontahal are a segmented, ranked set of posts, each of which has an internally age-graded ranking. Outside of these segments are two leadership positions, those of president and his assistant, *síndico,* which are not controlled by the same criteria of entry—service in lower posts of the civil and religious hierarchies and age. Multiple posts at the same level have equal representation of officials from the upper and lower divisions of the center, Ahk'olnantik and Alannantik, and single posts are held alternately by residents of each side. Theoretically, the post of president should alternate as well, but in fact the scarcity of qualified candidates limits consideration of this condition. Since 1948, of the twelve presidents, only four were from Ahk'olnantik. 621 561

The four ranked segments (Fig. 6) from higher to lower are *krinsipaletik,* or principales, *alkaletik,* or judges, *rehiroletik,* or regidores, and *mayoletik,* or policemen. The relative rank of the post is expressed in terms of its power, and the relative rank of the post-holder in terms of age (the term used to describe an older office holder, *mas mamalil,* has the extended meaning of greater power [1]). Age-ranking of officials complements [693]

1. Siverts (1965) points out that in Cancuk the term *mamal,* or elder, was applied to a young man who held a post of high authority because of his skills in literacy and language. By terminological reference, he was graduated into the senior age group.

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621 561 the household principles of authority in which seniority gives one the right to command. This principle is violated in the case of an older man who has served as regidor and sometimes even judge and returns to the lawer post of ceremonial leader of the policemen. Some of the officials say that this is an "ugly" custom because it means that the hierarchy "is not a straight road." Due to obstacles in the individual's career in the hierarchy, within any segment there may be older men in the lower posts than in the higher. However, except for the barrio judges, posts within each segment are occupied by men of roughly the same decade in age (Table 23).

[693] A complement of age-grading in the designation of officials is the principle of residence. In the upper two ranks of judges, one is chosen from the upper division, Ahk'olnantik, and one from the lower division, Alannantik. The remaining two judges are chosen from the outlying barrios of Madronal and Bočib'al. Judges representing the colonias of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Cruz Quemada do not regularly attend the town

TABLE 23. Rank and Age of Civil Officials

Post	*Division*	*Age*
Judges (Alkaletik)		
First Judge	Alannantik	75
Second Judge	Ahk'olnantik	52
Barrio Judge	Madronal	42
Barrio Judge	Bočibal	50
Regidores (Rehiroletik)		
First Regidor	Ahk'olnantik	43
Second Regidor	Alannantik	44
Third Regidor	Alannantik	43
Fourth Regidor	Ahk'olnantik	48
Police (Mayoletik)		
First Police	Ahk'olnantik	27
First Police	Alannantik	28
Second Police	Ahk'olnantik	25
Second Police	Alannantik	30
Third Police	Ahk'olnantik	32
Third Police	Alannantik	30
Fourth Police	Madronal	25
Fourth Police	Bočibal	35
Martomorey	Ahk'olnantik	48
Martomorey	Alannantik	48

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hall, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of the new officials. Residents of the barrios and colonias can never rise to any position above that of assistant judge, but once they have served in this post they may become principales in their own localities. One week the first regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the third regidor from Alannantik, and the next week the second regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the fourth regidor from Alannantik. The ten police are ranked in five levels with representatives from each side at every level in the series except for the fourth level, which is occupied by police from the barrios.

These civil officials, called as a group the *hu?eletik*, those who are "able" (in control), constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. To reach a high post, an official must first pass through each of the lower positions in the hierarchy. Outside of this ranked hierarchy, the posts of president and síndico are occupied by young men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy was, until the present generation, limited to a few men in their thirties. With increasing literacy, the competition for these posts is growing.[2] Men who have such skills are called upon as signers of official documents and are called *firmanetik*.

Also existing outside of the traditional hierarchy is the post of secretary which had, until 1965, been occupied by a Ladino. This was the only post which was paid; it also provided opportunity for earning extra income by preparing "acts," or official documents, and fines from court cases. The present incumbent is an Indian of Alannantik.

Because Tzo?ontahal's hierarchy is still a linked series of civil and religious posts, the structure of the civil hierarchy cannot be considered independently from that of the religious hierarchy. The major segments of the religious hierarchy are the *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces or captains of the fiestas. The internal ranking of the sixteen mayordomos depends on the number of religious posts the incumbent has filled and on the rank order of the saints he serves.

The alfereces, or captains of the fiestas, provide a ceremonial link be-

2. Julio de la Fuente (1964:30) has summarized the effect of literacy in breaking the homogeneity of the community since the literate Indians have received greater privileges and release from communal work. When the entire community is educated, the monopoly of literacy is broken.

794 tween civil and religious authorities. They are in charge of the fiestas for the saints whom they represent: San Francisco, San Pedro the Martyr, Santa Lucía, and Sacramento. The internal ranking of this set of officials is based on time of entry. This varies in the annual cycle since the new alférez enters just before the fiesta for which he will be responsible. He will be expected to give deference to the three who have preceded him during [192] the year. The terms applied to this fluctuating ranking system in order of highest to lowest are *hilon ta pasaro* (remains as past), *pasaro* (past official), *sčebal ʔalʼ ʔalperes* (second new alférez), and *ʔalʼ ʔalperes* (new alférez).

794 562 Outside of the traditional religious hierarchy are roles performed by functionaries on the basis of specific skills. These include the fiscal, assistant to the priest, and the *meʔeletik*, women who serve as prayer-reciters. The fiscal takes orders from the priest when the latter is in town, and in the absence of the priest he directs the activities of the mayordomos within the church. He is chosen on the basis of his knowledge of Spanish and willingness to perform the priests' bidding. He remains in office as long as he wishes, or until he is forcibly retired by the priest or by the mayordomos. When retired, he has an ex officio role saying prayers at funerals, and is often called upon for house ceremonies and as godfather in baptisms. The retired fiscales attend mass more often than the rest of the townspeople and sit in the front near the altar. The prayer-reciters are usually widowed or single women of the town whom the lay sisters have organized as support in responding to the catechism.

621 794 The officials who have served in five posts in the civil hierarchy and six posts in the religious hierarchy become *pasaroetik*, the Tzeltal rendering [192] of *pasados* or former officials. Any one of these men may be eligible to serve as one of two principales, one chosen from Alannantik and one from Ahk'olnantik. They remain in office until they are too old to serve or until death. Each of the outlying barrios has two principales chosen from among men who have served in office.

Entry Into and Exit from Office

621 666 The constitution assures local autonomy in the election of civil officials. The officials of Tzoʔontahal, including the two principales, president,

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síndico, four regidores, ten policemen, four judges, and the "signers" meet in the town hall on the twentieth of November. Except for the post of president, which is now a contested position, each incumbent names his own successor. The president opens the meeting with an address to the principales, saying, "Now, *Mamal* Principales, whom will we name to leave in power in the town hall to pass the year?" The principales reply with the question to each officer: "Whom have you thought of naming?" 621 666

Each officer gives a name, which is written down by the secretary. When the officials have heard who will be the new officials, the first judge speaks with the principales and the "signers" using the formal speech of the pat'o'tan to ask permission to serve the "gift" of trago. Eight days later an assembly of all the male household heads takes place. The president announces the names of the nominated officials in Tzeltal and the secretary announces them in Spanish. The president asks for a show of hands of all those who support the nominations. If the man who is named does not want to take the office, he may request withdrawal of his name. The president accepts refusal by all nominees for civil posts if there is adequate excuse.

The great majority of men begin their careers between the ages of twenty-two and thirty. Only seventeen men, or 5 percent of the 311 household heads censused (Table 24), had reached the age of thirty without serving in any office. Among men fifty and over, only two men had not filled any religious post (Table 25), and all had served in some civil post. 621 561

There are two major channels of mobility in the civil hierarchy. The more common course is for a young married man to enter as a policeman, either at the third or fourth level. Next, he will again be named as policeman, or possibly third or fourth regidor, if he is a poor man and has little hope of rising to the higher posts. If the man or his father is well off, he will be asked to serve as alférez. The appointment may be made with or without prior service in the civil or religious hierarchy, and the main prerequisite is having sufficient money to pay for the expenses. Once he fills this post, he will be eligible for first or second regidor since he will have learned the major speeches required in ritual gatherings. Formerly he took on at this point the post of assistant judge. These positions are now assigned to incumbents from the outlying barrios, and the number of posts a man in the center must fill in order to become a pasado has been reduced 621 794

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

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TABLE 24. Civil and Religious Careers of Household Heads

(*Civil*)

Age of household head	*No office*	*Police (1 term)*	*Police (2 terms)*	*Síndico*	*Síndico, police*	*Police, regidor*	*Police, regidor, judge*	*Police, regidor, judge (2 terms)*	*Police, síndico, president*	*Síndico, president*	*President*	*Unknown*
19	2											
20	20	3										
21	6											
22	11	1										
23	1	2										
24	7											
25	19	2										
26	6	1										
27	1	2										
28	11	5										
29	1	2										
30	6	6		2								
31	2											
32	5	1		2								
33		2										
34		2		1								
35	6	9	2		1	1						
36	1	5			1	3						

[P.167]

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TABLE 24. Civil and Religious Careers of Household Heads

(*Religious*)

Age of house-hold head	*No office*	*Niʔnal (1 term)*	*Niʔnal (2 terms)*	*Aliʔbal, niʔnal*	*Niʔnal, tatil*	*Niʔnal, aliʔbal, tatil*	*Niʔnal, aliʔbal, tatil (2 terms)*	*Niʔnal, aliʔbal, tatil (2 terms), kobraria*	*Niʔnal, aliʔbal, tatil (2 terms), kobraria (2 terms)*	*Fiscal*	*Un-known*
19	2										
20	18	5									
21	6										
22	11	1									
23	1	11	1								
24	5	2									
25	11	10									
26	3	3		1							
27	1	2									
28	16	9	1								
29	2	1									
30	2	9	1	1	1						
31	2										
32	2	5		1							
33				1	1						
34		3									
35	3	11	2	1	1	1					
36	1	4		3	1	1					

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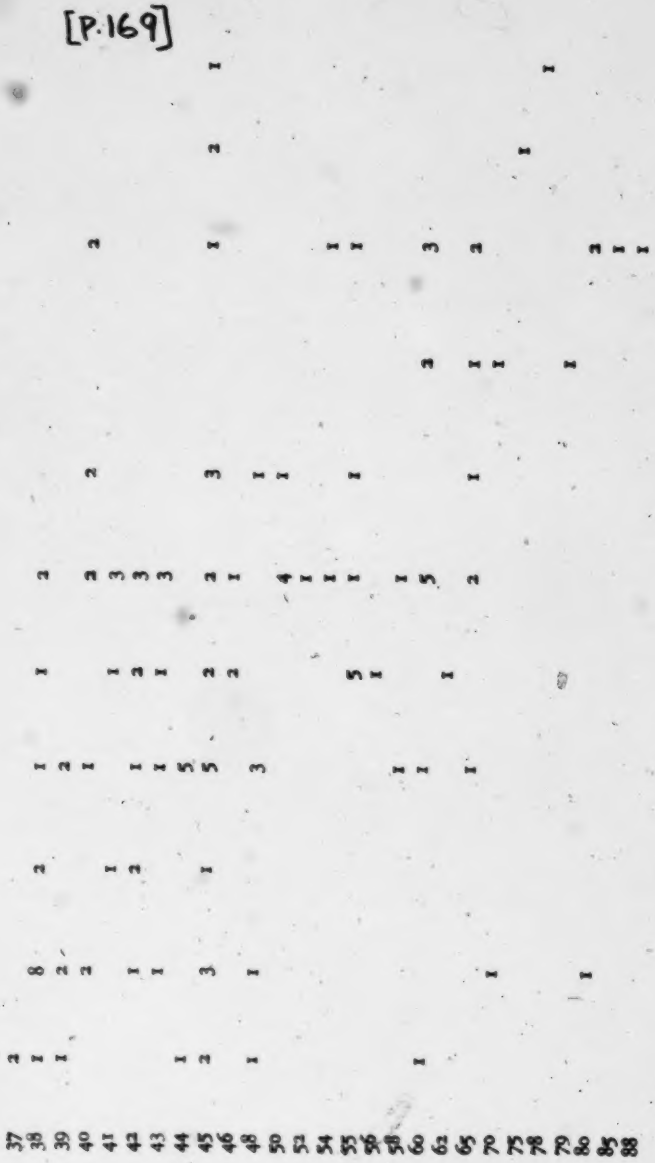

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TABLE 25. Number of Civil and Religious Offices of Household Heads over 50 Years of Age as Related to Wealth

Age of household head	*Wealth* *Land in hectares*	*Head of cattle*	*No. of civil offices*	*No. of religious offices*
54	3	4	5	3
55	3	8	2	3
65	3	11	6	2
50	2½	2	4	4
75	2½	4	6	6
55	2	8	2	4
55	2		4	3
60	2	2	2	4
65	2		6	6
75	2	7	4	3
78	2	6	2	1
50	2½	2	3	4
50	1½	2	6	5
55	1½	6	2	6
58	1½		1	2
60	1½		6	6
60	1½	4	4	4
60	1½	8	4	5
80	1½		4	5
88	1½	7	6	6
50	1	10	2	3
50	1	1	3	3
54	1	4	6	6
54	1	4	6	6
55	1	6	2	3
56	1	4	3	3
58	1		5	4
60	1	1	5	6
60	1	2	5	6
60	1	2	4	6
65	1	2	3	
65	1		6	6
65	1		3	3
70	1		1	1
75	1		5	5
79	1		5	5
80	1	2	3	
80	1	22	3	1
85	1	6	6	6

Age of household head	Wealth: Land in hectares	Wealth: Head of cattle	No. of civil offices	No. of religious offices
55	½		2	2
55	½		2	2
55	½	2	2	3
60	½		2	3
60	½		1	3
60	½		4	3
62	½	1	2	3
65	½		2	3
65	½	4	4	6
65	½		6	5
75	½		5	6
87	½		4	4

621 794 556 423 231 561

from six to five. The reason given for this is that there are more people now than formerly. 621 794

The second course of civil careers is to serve as síndico and go on to president, bypassing the intermediate and lower posts of the hierarchy and never filling the higher traditional posts. Of seven who have served as president, two served as síndico, two had no previous office, and three had been both policeman and síndico (Table 25). None of the former presidents served in any civil post after being president. Two served as fiscal in their religious careers and had had no other religious service. This is the course pursued by literate men who speak Spanish well. An alternative course is to enter the ejido commission as secretary, treasurer, or president and then serve as síndico, or even directly as president. The president elected in 1964 had served only on the ejido commission. This caused some discontent, but not enough to prevent his election. [212] [91] [423]

The household head enters religious office first as *nic'nal* or junior mayordomo, then serves as *?ali?bal,* or assistant, next as *tatil,* or elder mayordomo of a lesser saint. The fourth position is tatil of San Pedro, after which comes *kobraria,* or cofrade, first of San Francisco, then of Santa Lucía or Sacramento. Following his appointment as tatil of San Pedro, the incumbent holds the first gathering of mayordomos in his house. When he completes his term in this office, he may be called upon by neighbors, relatives, and compadres to serve as nakawane in household ceremonials. He 794 [192]

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794 may at any time in his career be called upon as alférez. This may occur
[625] even before he has served as a junior mayordomo or policeman since the
[556] post depends on his own or his father's wealth.

• 621 The normal career of an official in the traditional hierarchy involves a
794 balance of civil and religious posts. A man enters these posts according to
561 convenience, not in a rigid alternation between civil and religious wings. The rough balancing of posts can be seen in the careers of men over fifty in Table 25. According to informants, a man should start and end his career in the religious wing. By the age of thirty, forty-three men had filled at least one post in the religious hierarchy, and only twenty-four men had served in the civil hierarchy (Table 24). The religious posts are considered less onerous than the civil posts since the incumbents are in attendance only one day a week instead of every day, and their terms in office last only six months.

621 Wealth level, except in cases of extreme poverty, does not limit a man's
794 participation in the traditional hierarchy. Of fourteen men over seventy,
556 eight had completed their civil posts and seven their religious posts. Three who had not followed the traditional career lines had served as president. The town is small enough so that career lines have not followed any polarization of the upper levels of the hierarchy as occurs in towns of larger size (Bunzel 1952, Camara 1952, Cancian 1965). Discrimination is based on residence rather than wealth—those Indians who reside in barrios and colonias cannot reach any post higher than that of assistant judge. Wealth level is a factor, however, in the time span of the individual's career, since at some time before becoming second or first regidor he must have filled the expensive post of alférez. Table 25 lists the careers of men fifty years of age and over in order of wealth. It is possible to finish a career in office by the age of fifty, but if a man has less than one hectare of land, it is unlikely that he will finish before he is sixty-five. The Indians of Tzoʔontahal do not however maximize the importance of passing through the hi-
[554] erarchy. It is a duty not a goal, and the reward in prestige is minimal.

794 The only post in which wealth has been crucial was that of alférez. The
556 incumbent and the household of which he was a member spent 3,000 pesos
796 to carry out the fiestas with which he was charged in his year in office.
666 The president, the four judges, and the four regidores chose the alférez

shortly before the fiesta of the saint's day with which he was charged. 794
When the nomination was made, the president sent out the first police- 796
man with the chief policeman to bring the man chosen to the town hall. 556
They expected, and were always confronted with, resistance to the nomi- [666]
nation. In order to gain acceptance they got the nominee drunk in a [273]
drinking session at the town hall. Liquor was measured out, and all the officials drank only a half cup at each round, but the new alférez was required to drink a full cup. The rounds continued until the new alférez [697]
was drunk. If he did not accept at this session, he was put in jail to think [689]
it over. Another drinking session took place the following day.

Nomination to the post of alférez was the only situation in which the 794
jail penalty has been brought into effect, since refusal by nominees to other 556
posts simply means that the officials "look for someone else." The reason 621
given for invoking the punishment was "we know he has the wealth and therefore he should serve." Until 1965 the town had always succeeded in recruiting two of the alfereces from Ahk'olnantik and two from Alannantik. Since the upper division of Ahk'olnantik has grown at a more rapid rate than the lower division, candidates were found only in Ahk'olnantik. This unbalancing of the population ratios undermined the institution of alférez, which had always been the most unpopular position. When I re- [114]
turned to the field in 1967, it had been eliminated.

The Functions of Civil Officials

An analysis of the formally prescribed functions of the civil officials 128
must take into account three sources of data: the functions as prescribed 621
by state legislation, the functions as understood by local officials, and the observed activities of the officials. Table 26 compares the functions of officials as stated in the constitution of the state of Chiapas (Secretaría del Gobierno Departmental de Chiapas, 1828: Decreto 52, Nov. 30, 1825) [3] to statements of informants and to my observations of the carrying out of their official obligations.

3. I have chosen this constitution as the first post-independence statement of the status of local civil administrators.

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642 The statement of functions of the civil officials as codified in the state
• 621 constitution contrasts with that of local informants first of all in the brev-
626 ity of the latter. This indicates the lack of functional specificity in the role
554 as conceived by Indians in contrast to its Spanish-derived model. The latitude of acceptable performance in the role is best indicated by the statements concerning why a man is relieved of office. A man might be dismissed because he "fights a lot," because he "gets drunk and fights," or because he "steals a lot." The qualification "a lot" suggests the difficulty of actually ridding the town of an incumbent who has caused difficulties while in office. There are only two posts in which deposition actually has occurred: those of president and fiscal. Both these posts represent mediating roles between local and national interest groups. The deposition of the president Augustín recounted in Chapter 9 indicates the kind of community action which can be mobilized. Significantly, failure to perform prescribed duties is not mentioned.

621 Second, it is the presence of the officials, not their specific obligations,
554 which is of significance in the local context. "Sitting" therefore is a central and active duty. Each morning at about seven o'clock the officials gather to sit on the benches on the porch of the town hall. The president and síndico sit inside at the table. They return at six in the evening to sit again. The line-up of the civil authorities at their appointed places each morning and evening is a statement of social control. Their presence gives evidence of an authority ready to act against offenders.

A third feature of contrast is that the local statement of functions includes many of the ceremonial activities of the civil officials. Thus the president has the significant duties of seeing that the banners pass into the town hall at the time of a fiesta, and of going to the house of the alférez when the banners are moved in procession. The holiness of office is associated with the holy symbol of the banners. For the police, collecting the 20-peso portions of meat when a bull is butchered for ceremonial meals is as significant as apprehending criminals.

Ritual Behavior

In ritual behavior, the status of officials is projected in role performance. Relative position in each ceremonial setting is an index to rank.

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Priorities in service and salutations validate the prestige of the incumbent. Rituals also provide the occasion for noting social change. Divergencies between expected and enacted sequences are a clue to shifts in authority and prestige. Conflict between competing interests often comes to the surface when structural features are made explicit in ritual performances. This is particularly true in these Indian villages where drinking liquor releases inhibitions. The inaugurations of officials in the civil and religious hierarchies are analyzed below to show how they reflect both continuity and change.

Inauguration of civil officials. Legal provision for the installation of the civil officials is minimally stated in the constitution of the state of Chiapas (Secretaría del Gobierno Departamental de Chiapas, 1841:4):

1. The judges and regidores elected will present on the 30th of December their credentials to the Secretary of the civil branch in order that he will put an account of them in a book.
2. Having verified this, he will give an account to them on the following day in the town hall, for which he will name a commission of three people who will identify the people named.
3. On the 1st of January of each year the first judge will meet in the meeting room and present the oath before the civil officials, chaired by the Prefect or Subprefect along with the remaining members of the group, as is stated in article 164 of the law of the 20th of March, 1837. The form of the oath will be the following:

   "I swear to God to preserve and to have others preserve the constitutional laws decreed and sanctioned by the National Congress in the year of 1836". To which the response will be, "Yes, I swear."

   Concluding the oath, they will take their seats. The outgoing officials will cease their functions, and they will be withdrawn from the place of the meetings.

The elaboration of ritual beyond the requirements of the law in household settings as well as in the town hall reveals the significance of ceremonial acts in these small, endogamous communities. The inauguration is a

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621 crucial ceremony for the following reasons: (1) Most of the officials are changed simultaneously, so that, since there is neither carryover in a civil service nor tenure officials, the act of transferring authority carries a greater burden in preserving continuity; (2) The official is integrated in a prior set of kinship and other social relations such that he cannot act anonymously in his official capacity as judge or policeman. Thus one of the functions of the inauguration is a disengagement from the preexisting network of obligations and a priority commitment to the obligations of the office (Parsons, 1951:80–84; Gluckman 1962:34; Cancian 1963); (3) The household ceremony preceding the inauguration provides a setting in which the individual who is about to assume the office learns what is expected of him (Fortes 1959:82).

The inauguration is patterned on a series of acts which symbolically communicate to performers and villagers who participate as observers the desired social goals. The settings in which the change of civil officials is carried out are (1) the house of the incoming official, (2) the town hall, (3) the plaza, and (4) the church. In each arena, the validation and support of the new officials is publicly defined before overlapping sets of participants and observers.

The activities of the inauguration observed in 1965 are recorded below:

621 527 574 *On New Year's eve, household celebrations are held in the house of each new official. The houses are decorated with pine needles on the floor and juniper boughs on the porch. The visitors arrive about eight in the evening bearing pitch pine and wood to light the house and provide fuel for cooking. The helpers and guests who attend the evening celebration in the house of the president include relatives, compadres, and neighbors who will support him in his term of office. Primary support is given by the official's wife, without whom he would not be serving in the hierarchy. His advisors and councilors in the household are the nakawanehetik, or household officials. These are men who have passed through at least four religious offices and who are somehow related to the new official. A second group of supporters in the household setting are the* b'alnialetik, *young men who are either brothers, brothers-n-law, sons, compadres, godchildren, or neighbors of the houseowner, and who serve*

as errand boys and assistants. A third group are the školtawanehetik, *the female helpers, usually wives of the b'alnialetik or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors,* yulatak, *who come to congratulate the new official.* [*The visitors at the house of the first judge are shown in Figure 7.*] 621 527 [574]

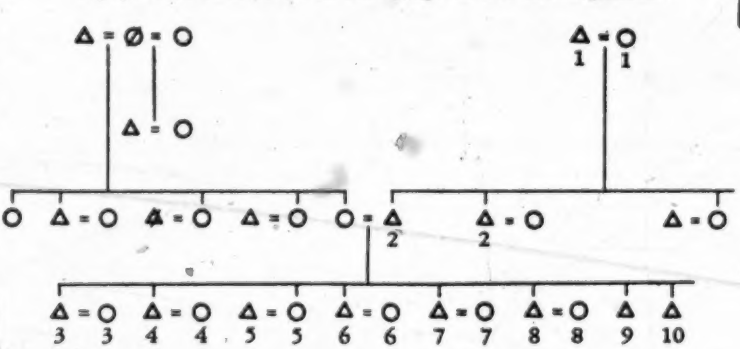
The new official addresses the first nakawane with the following speech: 621 537 527

Official: "Holy evening, Mamtat, to your health."

Nakawane: "Holy evening, Mamtat, to your health."

Official: "Lord, how are you, Mamtat? You are alive, word of God, this holy evening. There is no illness behind your heart."

Fig. 7. Relatives at House of First Judge on Eve of Inauguration [601]



Nakawane: "I live. I feel no illness."

Official: "Lord Mamtat, give pardon with God, with the Virgin Mother. Give holy pardon your mothers, your fathers, with God.

"Give pardon, Lord, give pardon. Virgin mother. Here we are gathered before you where we are seated, our soil, our mud.

"How are we going to succeed in what we will have to do in this holy new year for our patron Lord? Here again in the dawning of the holy hour, let us look into our heart, there where we are going to receive the holy oath inside the holy cold house, the cold hall, where we go receive the work and suffering of the holy staff, the holy wand this holy day, this

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621 527 [537] *holy year. And so we shall be able to do what our mothers and what our fathers did here where the holy Father sees us and the holy Mother sees us."*

[782] *The formal prayer, using elements of all the addresses of pat?o?tan, presages the events which will take place and announces the continuity with the past in following out the work the ancestors have done. The civil authorities, like the religious authorities, assert that they are taking on a holy responsibility. There is, in the words of the pat?o?tan, no distinction between profane and sacred obligations toward the village.*

[273] *Following the drinking and prayers, liquor is served. Drinking order always follows the elder to younger pattern which, in household settings, is always coincident with prestige ranking. At midnight, coffee, bread, and bean-filled tamales are served.*

621 527 574 *The second series of household gatherings takes place on the morning of New Year's Day in the houses of the new president, the first judge, and the first policeman. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the other three regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house and are served coffee and liquor. They then proceed to the house of the president. As the judges and regidores arrive there, the visiting group greets all of the assembled guests at the president's house with a prescribed greeting, the* sak'inaltat *and the hand-kissing, called* ?utzk'aab. *The first judge exchanges an extended pat?o?tan with the first nakawane of the president and then liquor is served to all those gathered. The assembled group next stands and "turns toward the rising sun." This is said to be a "defense against the entry of the devil."*

While the higher officials meet in the house of the president, the policemen join togther in the houses of the first policeman on each side of the dual division. Just as in the house of the president, the ceremony consists in serving liquor and coffee. They await the sound of the firecrackers set off in the yard of the president's house before setting out for the town hall. With this announcement of the departure, the officials at the president's house and at the two first policemen's houses set out for the town hall.

621 527 *Gathered in the town hall are the old officials along with the alfereces and the principals. The new officials enter two by two, the president and*

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621 527 [788]

síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges of the barrios, the regidores, the judges of the colonias, the two first police, followed by the rest of the police in pairs. As they enter, they kneel and make the sign of the cross, or "measure their noses" (sp'is sni'ik), *an act which shows respect to the holy banners that the alfereces have delivered from the church and laid on the table in the town hall. On this same table are strewn orange blossoms and leaves of laurel with the newly peeled canes of the police and the old staffs of office of the higher officials. The new officials put on their rosaries as they prepare to receive their staffs.*

The principales, fairly inebriated from drinking all morning as they awaited the arrival of the new officials, pass out the staffs assisted by the old president, who helps direct them as they wander in a daze from the table to the line of waiting officials. The second principal picks the staff from the table and hands it to the first principal who passes it on to the recipient. The act of passing over the staffs is a significant index to their role in the hierarchy. They are the only "permanent" officials—permanent so long as they are in good health and not impoverished. They are the link between the outgoing and incoming officials.

The oath of office was given in Spanish by the Ladino schoolteacher the year I observed the ceremony. Formerly, this was performed by the Ladino secretary, but a contest of power in the community resulted in this shift in role performers [*Chapter* 9]. *The inventory of the town's possessions is read by the "old" president*[4] *and each item is inspected as it is passed on to the "new" president.*

After the ceremony in the town hall, all the old officials scatter to their homes and the new officials, wearing their rosaries, go to the church. The principales wait in the town hall for their return.

621 527 788 [794] [554]

The new officials follow the alfereces out of the town hall in a procession. The four alfereces, holding their banners, line up before the town hall and dip their banners toward the town hall and then toward the church. They lead the procession of new officials two times around the plaza, stopping in front of the church to dip the banners toward it and the town hall. The order of the procession indicates the rank order of the offi-

4. The officials who have completed their year in office are referred to as "old," and the incoming officials are referred to as "new" at this event.

621 527 [788] [554] *cials, from the last policeman to the first and second judges. The procession makes two turns "to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] who the new officials to remain in office are."*

Awaiting the arrival of the new officials in the church are all of the [794] *mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see who they are." The new officials enter two by two and proceed to the* [782] *altar rail where they "speak to God," asking for health so that they can fulfill their obligation to the town. They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father cabildo."*

621 527 273 *The first order of the new president is to ask the fourth regidor to buy two liters of the "gift of the ancestors," contraband liquor. When the liquor arrives, the first judge rises and goes to the principales. Standing before them while they remain seated, he asks permission of God to "receive the gift," or drink the liquor, saying, "Give pardon, Mamal Krinsipal; let a little enter and warm your body."*

The policemen, after leaving the church, enter the kitchen shack attached to the town hall. The first new policeman orders the fourth policeman to bring a little trago, and when he returns with the liquor, the first policeman orders one of the policemen of the colonias to measure the drinks. They drink one liter, after which the first policeman of the lower division addresses the first policeman of the upper division in the pat?o-?tan. After the spatbeyo?tan, *or formal address, the first policeman wonders "whether they can endure a little more. Can they drink more liquor without getting drunk?" It is his responsibility to receive any orders from the president, and he wonders, "What should happen if we get drunk? We won't know if there is an errand for the mamal judge and we cannot help. Better rest a while, and if there is an errand we can help a little. If there is no errand, let us drink a little more until midday." At twelve noon both groups retire to their homes to rest their hearts.*

794 527 *Inauguration of religious officials.* The change of the mayordomos occurs twice annually, once on January 6 and a second time on the Day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29. San Pedro is associated with

794 527 *ranged with a large table in the center, the candles allotted to each mayor-*
domo laid out in bundles of nine. On the table is a little cross of the cruci-
[788] *fied Christ. The priest blesses the new mayordomos and the old mayordo-*
mos. Then the fiscal gives nine candles wrapped in a napkin to each may-
ordomo. The nit'nal, junior mayordomo, of each saint first takes the can-
dles allotted to the tatil to the latter's house, and then takes his own to his
[273] *house. After the oath, the new mayordomos return to the house of the*
Cofrade of Sacramento where they drink until prayer time in the evening.

On the sk'ak'alel Sk'in, *the true day of the fiesta, the new mayordomos go to hear the mass along with women prayer-reciters at seven in the morning. They then go to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento, leav-*
[533] *ing three junior mayordomos to play the drums and flute at the door of the church. In the house of the cofrade, they count the money of the Virgin and of San Pedro the Martyr. This fund of money is passed over from*
[454] *the outgoing officials to the incoming officials along with interest. It is now being loaned out to local entrepreneurs. The Virgin has a fund of 228 pesos, and San Pedro the Martyr has 40 pesos. The fiscal supervises the counting of the money, and records the sum, after which the pat?o?tan is recited and drinks are served.*

621 554 In the behavioral sequences of the inauguration, several features of the structure and functioning of the hierarchy can be noted. First, one can see in the actions of the officials that the hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth step ladder but a segmented order. The categories of officials, the alkaletik, rehiroletik, and mayoletik, act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same area in all the settings. Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth (and in the case of the mayoletik, from first to fifth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They command their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge orders the fourth regidor to get liquor, and the first policeman orders the police from the rural colonia to get liquor. By these behavioral indices one can see the ordering and grouping by age, skill in praying, and territorial identification within the segments of the civil-religious hierarchy. These principles apply, however,

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only to ordering between segments; because of the uneven civil careers of the incumbents, a man in the lower ranks within a segment may be older than another in the same rank because he started his career later. 621 554

A second significant feature of the inauguration behavior is the sacred quality of the acts, indicated by the words of the patʔoʔtan—"holy office," "holy cold house," "holy staff, holy wand," "holy day and holy hour." The presence of the alfereces, the observation of the new civil officials by the religious officials, the movement from the town hall to the church and back to the town hall are the behavioral links between "our holy mother church and our holy father cabildo." 621 794 527

The behavioral elements in the inauguration of the religious officials parallel those in the inauguration of the civil officials. As in the case of the latter, the ritual takes place in both domestic and public settings—the house of the new officials and the church. In both inaugurations, the same feature of "raising" (rounding up for gatherings) the officials occurs: those of lower rank gather in the houses of successively higher officials, finally entering the house of the highest official. In each setting, the same ritual acts are performed—the formal greeting, the serving of coffee and bread followed by bean tamales, the request for permission to drink, and the serving of the "gift" of liquor. In the household setting for both civil and religious officials the same role performers—nakawanehetik, b'alnialetik and ʎkoltawanetik—lend their support.

In the religious hierarchy the symbolic "tools" of office of the mayordomos are candles while those in the civil hierarchy are canes. In the case of the inauguration of the religious officials, the inventory involves counting the money collected for each saint rather than accounting for the possessions owned by the town. An inventory of the saints' clothing is not made as in other towns, possibly because the lay sisters living in the town maintain this stock of equipment.

The formalized speech of the patʔoʔtan is an important social tool in both public and private ceremonials. Characteristic of the speech are the elaboration of simile and metaphor (*meʔbaʔal, wokol:* poverty and trouble in reference to one's house; *lumiltik kal'aletik:* clay and mud in reference to bodies; *snuk shoy:* his joined one, his companion in reference to one's wife; *sapil yok' sapil sk'aab k'a santuetik k'a peroltik:* the washings [192]

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621 794 527 of the legs and arms of our patron lord, Jesus, in reference to liquor). The prayer-like intonation, together with repeated invocation of the gods, gives [192] a sacred quality to the words.

[203] Liquor, referred to as "the gift of God" or "gift of the ancestors," is of crucial significance in both civil and religious ritual. Receiving an offering of liquor is tantamount to accepting part of the spiritual essence of the donor. Drinking in each of the domains—the house, the town hall, and the church—serves to tie together different sets of participants in the obligation system of service to the community. In Mauss' terms (1954:11) receiving the gift defines "a pattern of spiritual bonds between things which are to some extent parts of persons, and persons and groups, that behave in some measure as if they were things."

[203] In both inaugurations an attempt is made to control the intake of liquor so that the officials can function in the ritual. This is shown in the civil inauguration when the first policeman thinks about whether the police can take another drink and still carry out their duties. It is more explicit in the religious inaugurations when the cofrades warn the mayordomos that they should not drink so much that they "walk like madmen." The mayordomos then pass on the drinks served to them to the nakawanehetik who drink them and fall into a stupor.

621 794 527 793 875 In noting the difference between elicited and performed ritual, minimal changes in behavior provided clues to structural change. The change of custom as to where the meal of the mayordomos takes place (it now is given at the house of the cofrade rather than in the courtyard of the church) indicates a significant shift in the relation between the priest and the local religious leadership. The priest has gained control over the church since he has taken up residence in the parish house. The incident in which the confrontation took place is described in Chapter 9. Divergence of the performed from the expected ritual in the inauguration of the civil authority occurred when the schoolteacher delivered the oath instead of the former Ladino secretary. This revealed the schoolteacher's increasing power in his competition with the former cacique.

621 794 527 The rituals of both civil and religious inaugurations reveal the sense of the sacred obligation to the ancestors. Although both the roles and the scheduling of events are derived from outside the culture, the necessity for

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undertaking the burden of office is still phrased as a means of maintaining the internal system of security. Tying the new official to personal supporters in the household setting is a significant means of integrating the Spanish governmental system with the preexisting authority systems. 621 794 527

The emphasis on continuity is evident in the prescribed pattern of behavior stressing repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetition of behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expectations which links the present with the past.[5] The nakawanehetik, who are the repositories of knowledge of the customs of the ancestors, are stage directors of acts performed in the house. Behavioral replication is reinforced by verbal references in the patʔoʔtan to performing "that which our mothers, that which our fathers did." When any act has lost the wider context of belief in which it must at one time have been embedded, the reason given for the performance is simply "so was the custom of our ancestors." As an example of this, the officials in the president's house on the day of the inauguration stand and bow in the direction of the rising sun. A few informants have heard of the God of the East, Santo Ariyó, the saint in charge of household gods who gave to the people corn, wheat, beans, and cattle, and they say that it is in recognition of him that people turn to the East and bow their heads in all household performances. They further state that in this act they defend the house against the entry of the devil. But the mythological context which might explain the logic of this association is lost. These behavioral sherds, when cut off from the belief system which they dramatized, survive in perpetuating the customs of the ancestors. 621 794 527 177 178

The link with the past is also seen in the presence of both new and old officials in the town hall, providing a setting in which the succession of the new officials is acknowledged by the old. The role of the principales is of the greatest importance in establishing continuity, significantly emphasized in the fact that it is they who hand over the symbol of authority, the 621 794 527 178

5. Bunzel (1952:251) has pointed to this familiarity of ritual sets in a variety of ceremonials as providing ties with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango, and Vogt (1966) has shown the significance of replication in the ceremonials of Zinacantan. Another function served by behavorial replication is that which Leach (1967:2) pointed out for verbal replication in myths and prayers: it overcomes the "static" of less significant background interference. [171]

621 794 527 178 newly cut pine canes of the police and the old carved and painted staffs of the higher officials.

621 794 527 273 Order and measure, respect and deference are the social effect achieved in the ritual performance of the inaugurations. In the act of drinking, these principles become behaviorally explicit. The drink is carefully measured out and passed to the first principal, who asks permission to drink it of each set of officials in order of their ranked positions in the hierarchy. Each official must receive the drink, whether he is a teetotaler or not. He will then perform the action of drinking, which is sufficient to express his good will as part of the group. The symbolic act of pretending to drink—receiving the "gift" and raising it to one's lips without imbibing—reveals the importance of acts *as such* in social interaction. This is expressed in the Tzeltal loan term *ʔaksion,* from the Spanish *acción,* the pretended act, [192] which demonstrates in this case one's good will in joining in the communal act. We have a tendency in our culture to downgrade the act, stressing motive specific to the immediate goal of the act. If performance is motivated by other goals, we express it in phrases such as "He is only acting," or "It was all a big act." In Tzoʔontahal, the play is the thing, and everything can be justified by reference to traditional expectations.

621 794 561 177 178 Before describing some of the organizational changes which are affecting the civil-religious hierarchy, I shall at this point assess its viability on the basis of structural criteria. These criteria include the effectiveness of the system in (1) coordinating roles such that conflict is minimized in carrying out tasks, (2) motivating people to enter into office and fulfill obligations, (3) absorbing changes without structural modification.

The primary devices for coordinating roles in the hierarchy are those of relative age and residence in the dual division. The major challenge to the age-respect pattern has been the introduction of young leadership in the roles of president and síndico. This shock to the system has been somewhat overcome by the retention of the ceremonial primacy of the principales. The president and síndico are considered outside the traditional hierarchy. This conceptual isolation of the roles becomes obvious when one asks informants to list the civil officials, for they never include the president and síndico in the first response. They are mentioned in response to repeated enquiries as to whether there are other officials.

The principle of balancing posts according to residence in the dual division is maintained in the traditional civil posts but fails to be effective again in the case of the president. Increasing population in the upper division meant that the expensive post of alférez had to be filled primarily from the side with the highest population. This unbalancing of the sharing of these burdensome posts eventually led to revolt and the post was abolished. Since it was the key post in learning prayers, its loss may mean the end of the traditional rituals in the home.

The hierarchy fails to provide sufficient prestige or power to motivate people voluntarily to undertake some posts. The most vulnerable post was that of alférez. In fulfilling obligations to the saints, alfereces used to spend over 3,000 pesos, twice the normal income of a man in one year. They were assisted by members of their immediate households either in loans or in the sale of pottery to help pay for the house fiestas. The show of wealth at these fiestas, when up to one hundred guests were fed, excited the envy of neighbors, often among the invited guests. It was felt that this provoked witchcraft, and every former alférez I knew maintained that he suffered some catastrophe following his year in office. In the last few years before its demise in 1966 the post was accepted only under duress, and all those who had been nominated at first chose to go to jail. The reason that it survived as long as it did was the insistence of those officials who served in this post that it was essentail to maintaining good fiestas. The resolution of the contradictions by abolishing the post contrast with that of Zinacantan, where men sought the prestige-conferring posts that involved large expenditures of money as a validation of wealth (Cancian 1965).

Another contradition which minimizes the motivation to undertake the traditional posts is that the highest post in the ladder, that of principal, is one associated with embarrassment and shame rather than prestige. Shorn of his roles in decision-making and in guarding public funds, the principal is reduced to holding the plate in which donations for the major fiestas are placed. The ceremonial role of the principales will probably survive, however, since the old men of the community who have retired from active work in the fields enjoy the drinking sessions in the cabildo sufficiently to compensate for the shame associated with the role.

The internal structural contradictions have to be considered in the con-

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text of strong sentiments supporting an independent civil authority. The adaptations which have been made within the existing structure are a tribute to the strength of the sentiments associating survival of tradition with office-holding in the civil-religious hierarchy. Chapter 9 will deal with the capacity of the structure to absorb change.

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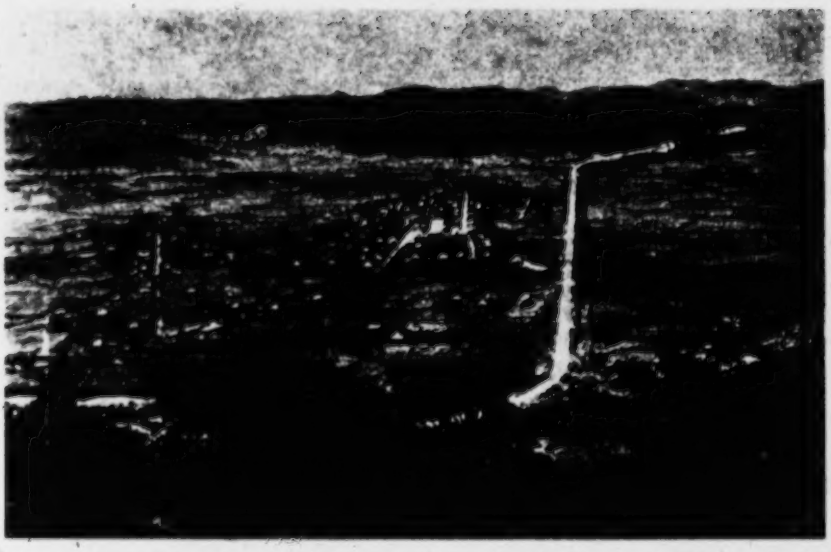

Plate 2. The view the ancestors had of the town from the Head of Palm shows the proximity of the village center to the Pan-American Highway just to the right of center. The church, which can be discerned in the center of the major settlement, is the dividing marker for the dual division. The barrio of Yetawitz is shown just to the left of the major settlement. The barrios of Madronal and La Grandeza are found at the mid-level of the hill in the far left, on the other side of the road which goes to Pinola and "hot country." The Ladino town of Teopisca lies just beyond the hills to the right along the Pan-American Highway. From this site, the ancestors were able to see clearly all of the thoroughfares within the town and guard against the entry of evil.

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more and more resistance from those named to undertake the post. Finally, in 1966 the officials were able to recruit only from the growing division of Ahk'olnantik. There had always been two representatives from each side in the past, and the role was a symbol of the division and of its unity in ceremonial occasions. I predicted at that time that the institution would not survive because the imbalance in representation destroyed the structural premises of the role. When I returned for a brief visit in 1967 I was told that indeed 1966 was the last year the alfereces were inaugurated and that the institution had died. I would expect this to further weaken the structural opposition of the dual division. This case of structural breakdown is a good example of the behavioral feedback one can analyze with an equilibrium model of change. The following description of the fiesta is based on an inauguration I witnessed in 1965.

794 178 [621] 794 796

Formerly, the role of alférez involved both civil and religious functions. At the time that I observed the institution in action, it provided the ceremonial link between the civil and the religious hierarchies, but the duties of the alfereces were only ceremonial. In the words of one informant, their function was "to put on a good fiesta, to drink, and to dance, and to bear the sacred banners in processions."

The alférez was chosen by the four judges and the four regidores with the help of the president and the síndico. About two months before the installation of a new alférez, which occurred during the fiesta for the one of the four saints with which he was associated, the civil officers sent out the first policeman and the martomorey, or elder policeman, to bring in the appointed alférez. The martomorey greeted the alférez with the pat?o-?tan, and the appointment was made known. The standard response of the chosen alférez was, "I don't want it. I have no money. I cannot bear it [the post]." The martomorey and first policeman said, "Good, we shall return another day." On their return, if the nominee still refused to accept the post, they brought him to the jail, where they left him for two or three days before bringing him before the civil officials. There they "took his heart" to see if he would accept. A fairly standardized conversation ensued:

Nominee: "I do not want it; I cannot bear it."

mother? There is nothing but holy suffering, holy penitence here before our sinful clay, our sinful mud. Again we gather here where others have gathered before in the company of our ancestors, the holy alisiles with the liquor bearers. It is your burden the four of you, the holy work, your holy office for his godchildren again give his godchild at the gate of the door of the church our saint, our keeper, the great father Señor Santiago Calixtro for our patron God, again we gather before this doorway our bodies, our clay, our mud with the holy alisil with our costume. Only give a little liquor, the gift of your mothers, your fathers, mam compadre.

The two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik received one liter of liquor, and the same quota was given to the two alfereces of Alannantik. They drank some and poured off most of the measured shots into the bottles carried by the liquor bearers; then they smoked a cigarette. When they finished this, they raised their banners and entered the plaza on horseback. The bell of the church struck as they entered. About four o'clock, two columns of horsemen formed, one behind the two alfereces of Alannantik and one behind the two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik. One year I observed thirty-eight horsemen from Ahk'olnantik and fifteen from Alannantik. The imbalance in representation for the two sides of the dual division grew sharper each year as the population increased in Ahk'olnantik. Before starting the race, the four alfereces crossed themselves, facing first the church, then the cabildo. As the race began, the mayordomos played the drums and flute in the church yard and the nakawanehetik sat in front of the church wall.

When the racers made four passes across the plaza, they came to drink another trago and smoke two cigarettes in front of the church. At the end of the race, they again drank and smoked the same measured quantities as the pat?o?tan was recited by the leader of the races.

On Sk'ak'halel Sk'in, *the same procedures occurred as on the previous day. The final act of the fiesta took place when, after the races, the alfereces dismounted and the nakawanehetik went to them and drank one liter of liquor before the leader of the races. The two most recently appointed alfereces entered the cabildo, where the banners were laid out on the table among orange and lemon leaves. The president, síndico, two judges, and*

Chapter 9

The Competition for Power

829 Changes in the organization of the civil and religious hierarchies since the
178 constitution of 1927 can be traced in a series of events remembered by
177 members of the community. Their selection of significant events and the interpretation they make of them give the best clues to their response to change. In the remembrance of things past people structure their world and project expectations for the future. Behavior in these events lacks the controls operating in the formal rituals of the officials—age-graded authority, hierarchy, and a code of behavior which conceals the open show of power. The strategies employed in these organizational changes reveal other rules or transformation of the old rules characterizing social interaction.

554 The structure of roles in the civil and religious hierarchies has remained
621 intact. What has changed are the bases for according prestige and author-
794 ity and allocating roles. The pivotal positions in which change is occurring
578 are the mediating roles between local and national power structures, spe-
177 cifically those of president and secretary in the civil authority and of fiscal
178 and priest in the religious authority.

The contest for power and "control of the town" has centered in five
[212] blocks of competition: (1) the opposition of new young leaders with skills
[191] in speaking Spanish, literacy, and knowledge of the idiom of behavior in
[756] the national culture to the established succession of an age-dominated authority system; (2) the challenge by the civil authority to the control of the curers who rely on power derived from possession of an animal spirit; (3) the struggle for political power among factions based on new economic enterprises; (4) the contest among local caciques for domination; and (5) the conflict among religious functionaries. The series of events in which these contests have crystallized and brought about a reorganization

554 621 794 578 177 178 [128]

of political relations is summarized for each of these conflict areas. Most of the events recorded below are transcriptions of informants' statements given in Tzeltal. I have chosen this method to show how the people interpret incidents and how this leads to cognitive restructuring.

The Conflict among Civil Officials

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In the period of consolidation since the revolution, the crucial issue in determining the allocation of power among local civil authorities has been that of incorporating men who have special abilities to deal with external authority without upsetting an age-ranked system. Prior to the 1950s these skills were rare—in 1920 only four young men could sign their names and read. The civil careers of two men, Ceferino, a native of the town, and Augustín, a revistido Indian from Huistán, illustrate the different courses taken by this new leadership in the post-revolutionary period of the 1930s. Ceferino was included in the given structure of power while Augustín used his skills in dealing with Ladinos to gain personal power. Ceferino was one of the first four men of the town to learn to read and write. The civil authorities recognized his potential usefulness in the town hall, and succeeded in incorporating him in an honorific but powerless position as scribe. He described his introduction into local government:

159 212 621

After I got out of school, the town saw that I knew how to write. Formerly there was no one who knew how to write. In the town hall the judges and president needed someone to write down the contributions and the payment for the government agents. Therefore, when the civil authority changed in the new year, they talked to my mother. As was the custom then, four regidores came to "raise" me, bringing a bottle of trago as a gift for my mother. She did not drink it alone. Together with the regidores we finished the trago. After finishing the trago, the first regidor began to speak to my mother in the pat?o?tan, saying, "I am going to bring one of your children, one of your offspring to the place where we look and where we see [reference to town hall]. We ask this favor because he knows how to write. Therefore the judges and the president ordered me to come and raise him and take out his soil, his mud, for this duty for this obligation.

[624] [273]

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212 *We shall go with your child, your offspring to pass the holy day, the holy*
• 621 *year. Thank you, thanks to your heart that you permit your child, your offspring to go. Now we go to receive the holy post with all the elders. The spirit of your child, your offspring shall learn."*

When the fourth regidor finished the pat?o?tan, my mother spoke: "Thank you, Take care of him. I do not want him to return to me drunk. He hasn't yet learned to drink."

I went out with two of the regidores on my right side and the other two on the left. When we arrived, the first judge spoke to us in the pat?o?tan: "You have brought before us our writer. It is well that you arrived with him. Enter and sit down."

I sat down in the middle of the regidores. When we sat down, the first judge and the president began to speak. All were gathered in the town hall. [Ceferino then listed all the civil officials by name, a feat of memory which I shall not repeat here.]

[273] *We sat down and they brought in two liters of trago. They began the pat?o?tan, and after the pat?o?tan the third regidor came to measure the trago. He gave the first measure to the president, the second to the first judge, the third to the second judge, the fourth to me, the writer. And I was not accustomed much to drink liquor. I took the trago and I drank it. It was killing me. It came out my nose. The judges and regidores saw my suffering when it came out my nose. They patted my back, and with some difficulty the trago went down. Thus with suffering and with trouble, I learned to drink trago. But then I got drunk. I felt drunk, and I told the judge and regidores that I was going to die. The first judge ordered the regidor to go with me to my house.*

He said, "Go leave him in his house because his mother said that I should return him to his house. See that you hand over her poor son to his mother."

[593] *Since I did not have a wife—I was a bachelor—they gave me to my mother. My mother said, "Thank you." They ordered my mother to send me the next day because we had to see how another day passed.*

When I left in 1925, I didn't return to the town hall until 1936 when the pueblo asked me to stay as president.

In the strategy of incorporating new leadership, these tactics are employed. 621

1. The four regidores are assigned the task of bringing the novice scribe to the town authorities. They are the official recruiters for civil and religious office. [624]

2. The request is made to the parent of the appointed scribe in the formal speech of the pat?o?tan. The appeal is cast in terms of the sacred nature of the task with reference to the "holy" nature of the post to be undertaken on this "holy hour, holy day and holy year."

3. The contractual relationship is initiated as always with a drinking session. The scribe is introduced into the drinking order as fourth in rank. The officials show solicitude as he is taught to drink "the gift of the gods and the ancestors." Once the gift of liquor has been accepted, the recipient has no recourse except to fulfill the obligation. [623]

These tactics, used also in other contractual arrangements, were inadequate to the task of inducting foreign Indians living in the township into the traditional hierarchy. In 1929, a Huistecan Indian, Augustín, who had worked as a laborer in a finca within the township, became president. Although he could not read, he was able to speak Spanish fluently. He succeeded in getting the first ejido grant under the land reform act of 1927. 621 609 622 191 423

During his term of office, Augustín was accused of abusing his authority on several occasions, as the following account shows:

When I was very young, my father told me about this land case. Augustín was president then. He tried to get land from my uncle's father-in-law, Juan. My uncle, Bartolo, defended his father-in-law's right to the land because he had good friends in Tuxtla. Augustín spoke Spanish very well, but he did not know how to read. Since my uncle knew how to read well, he gained the case. Augustín was angry. He invited all the curers to the town hall and ordered the police to bring in my uncle. My uncle was given something in a cup of liquor, and in three days he died. 159 622 661

Even if this story is untrue, or distorted because of the family relationship of the narrator and the victim, it reveals the sense of being exploited 622 661 609

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622 or abused by leaders from outside the community. Stories by other infor-
661 mants indicate that Augustín took advantage of his power as president.
609 He was accused of charging high fines in court and pocketing the money. Finally a case against him was brought to the Ministerio Publico in the departmental capital. The denunciation is recounted by Ceferino, the scribe, who replaced him as president:

159 *The court's decision was that Augustín had to return the three hundred*
622 *and fifty pesos that he had forced out of Juan in the land case. Augustín*
661 *claimed that it was difficult for him to pay the fine. He said he would pay*
609 *it in installments. Juan wanted it right away. After a month, the money*
[692] *still was not handed over. I spoke to the Ministerio Publico who told Augustín to sell his cattle. The pueblo wanted to seize the cattle. Augustín got frightened, and said he would sell his cattle. He sold them. After this he never returned to work in the pueblo.*

There were no killings in this affair. Eight days after he gave the money, Augustín came to the town hall with a pistol. I noticed it and said, "Better come in an register this pistol." He ignored this and spoke to the judge for a while.

I told a policeman, "Go get the pistol and register it." The policeman was afraid. I asked him, "Why are you afraid?" He said, "I am afraid." I said, "You have turned into a woman."

The policeman seized Augustín's arms. I went behind and took the pistol out of his hand. Augustín said, "Why are you taking my pistol? I have committed no crime."

I replied, "You came to bother the people here." I took away the pistol.

Augustín also knew how to wear a watch. His son bought it from a thief for one hundred and twenty-five pesos. We also took his watch because it was stolen. I told him, "Go look for work and earn money. The Ministerio Publico has given orders that you cannot continue working here. You cannot rob here any more."

He went away for two months, and then came back to get his things and moved to Teopisca.

• 621 Despite this successful denunciation, Augustín's son, Juan, tried to "get
609 control of the town." He and the other Huistecans of the barrio of Yeta-
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witz had formed a small *cacicazgo* (supporters of a cacique) of armed men. Because of their influence with departmental officials since the land grant, they had secured an order to reassign lots in the center, putting one family from Yetawitz in each block. The reaction of the townspeople to this "invasion" of barrio Indians was immediate and conclusive, as Ceferino's account reveals:

The owners of the house lots here objected to having their lots seized. They went to a lawyer in San Cristóbal, and they also had the help of the professor here. He was a good professor. We walked with the professor. The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles. The people from Yetawitz went to another lawyer in San Cristóbal. They got an order that the people of the pueblo would have to admit the people of Yetawitz. We returned to the lawyer. He asked where these people were from. We said they were from Huistán. They were well armed. Because of this, we went to take over their arms.

When we arrived at their house, Juan asked, "What are you here for?" We answered, "We came to get your rifles."

They refused to give them up, but we seized their property. We tied up the men and carried them up to the pueblo. We dragged them like dogs up to the jail and put them in.

They asked, "Why are you putting us in jail?" and we answered, "Tomorrow we will arrange the case."

Four police stayed there. The next morning I came to see them. They had planned to go to Las Casas, but we ordered the saddles taken off the horses that were in readiness. We tried them, and they no longer bothered the pueblo.

The Huistecan's attempt to seize power reveals several significant factors in the genesis of cummunity political institutions. In the 1930s in Chiapas, the land reform act of 1927 was taking effect. Translation of law into reality in the local community required the drive and leadership of the Indians themselves. Literacy and Spanish-speaking skills were of even greater importance than before. The Indians of the center who had not been forced to work in the fincas and who had sufficient resources to resist contact with the outside economy were not in a position to take a leader-

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621 423 178 177 [609] ship role in the new political setting. As a result, it was the marginal Indians, outsiders who had come as did Augustín to work as *baldios* (laborers) on the finca near the town, that were the drivng force behind the demand for land. This was the basis for the new leadership in the early days of land reform. The ejido program, conceived of by Cárdenas as a basis for political development of the campesinos, (Brandenburg 1964) gave these marginal Indians the opportunity to rise to positions of influence in local government. The reluctance of the townspeople to take action [154] against Augustín derived in part from fear, since he reputedly backed his use of force with witchcraft—the imported kind of witchcraft in which poisons are used instead of spiritual force.

622 554 177 178 [191] [464] Ceferino, the man who finally deposed Augustín, was a member of the traditional community, but because he had been impoverished by burying four members of his family in the typhoid epidemic of 1928, he had been forced to work in the fincas. There he had learned Spanish and some of the ways of the dominant society. His leadership potential had developed in the role of *caporal,* or gang leader of the pickers in the coffee finca, and he had been a leader in the trek of recruited laborers down to the fincas in Soconusco. Under the old authority structure, in which all officials including the president were recruited through the hierarchy, he would never have reached a prestigious position. But in this crisis, he was the only man willing to confront the incumbent and take over the operation of civil affairs.

622 554 Ceferino did not take advantage of the situation to emerge as a cacique himself. As he explained in his narrative, "The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles." The way in which he had been introduced into the cabildo as scribe had successfully neutralized his own ambitions to attain power, if he had any. He accepted the ideal of a united pueblo, recognizing the authority of the principales.

621 177 178 The increasing scope and frequency of relationships between the nation and the locality since the revolution has emphasized the roles of president and síndico at the expense of the authority and control exercised by the principales. The ceremonial significance of the principales in rituals is retained as a symbol of continuity in the change of officials, but their func-

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tions have decreased. Their major responsibility is to hold the plate in which the contributions for the fiestas are deposited by the police. Formerly, the fact that the principales also held the money until it was spent lent dignity and prestige to this function. Now that the money is turned over to the treasurer, who also keeps the accounts, passing the plate gives them a sense of shame. When I asked why the principales lost authority, the first response was cast in terms of behavior: my informant, a former president, pointed out that it was because they did not attend the town hall every day. When I asked why they did not appear, the reply was reformulated in functional terms: they did not come because the laws and acts that are raised and interpreted in the town hall are written in Spanish, and the principales could not read or write. As a consequence, the balance of power has shifted to the posts of president and síndico, while the framework in which the officials act has remained.

Challenge by the Civil Officials of the Power of the Curers

The autonomy of the highland Indian corporate community has rested on the retention of social control by local leaders. This local leadership, which has survived over four hundred years of domination by Spanish colonial and national rule, is based on power derived from two sources: (1) control over life and death by men who claim to possess an animal spirit and/or (2) ability to devine or predict the future, such as the calendar priests have (Nuñez de la Vega 1702:19).[1] The belief in power derived

1. Bishop Nuñez de la Vega repeatedly inveighs against the "maestros Nahualistas." This is summarized in an excerpt, which I have translated, from his book (1702:19):

> Almost two hundred years after the light of evangelism dawned, the Indians in most of the Kingdom of New Spain and Guatemala are found full of their primitive errors, superstitions, and misdeeds such that there is hardly a single pueblo where each year there are not deaths brought about by witches, and houses and families known to have, as an inheritance acquired from father to son, evil powers so abominable that they are viewed with great fear by the rest of the Indians. With only a glance and certain words, with which they invoke the Devil, they can end life or cause their victim to go mad with great pains and stupendous illnesses, and the result is that they inflict their rivals for very slight pretexts. We exile them and other spiritual performers from the church, and when the ministers and judges try to verify what happened to the sick ones, all

776 The belief in power derived
174 from animal spirits was probably influenced by the Toltec belief in nahualism, or transformation of people after death into animals (Calnek 1962:22). The Toltec belief originated in the period of Mexican influence but had many local indigenous manifestations (Foster 1944). The integra-
793 tion of the two systems of power was brought about by calendar priests
787 controlling the distribution of animal spirits (Calnek 1962:19). The degree
754 of retention of calendrical knowledge and of belief in witchcraft gives us
177 one of the best indices of acculturation in the area.[2] In Tzoʔontahal there
178 is no remnant of calendar divination for ceremonial or predictive use.
776 However, witchcraft based on belief in animal spirits continues to be an important factor in the contest for power. The technique of secrecy, of pre-
[621] senting a united front in the face of attempts by the outside Ladinos to
[609] tamper with the local social control system, persists to this day in the town.

621 An endemic problem in communities dominated by belief in witchcraft
626 is control over the evil power of witches. The traditional control system in
754 Tzoʔontahal operated through the guardianship of three sets of power-
769 holders who checked up on each other: the ancestors, the curers, and the
756 judges. The guardianship of the ancestors consisted in preventing any
177 child possessed of a swayohel from the devil from growing up to abuse his
178 power and in keeping any evil spirits from entering the town. The curers,

[754] the Indians, whether out of cowardice or deceit, withdraw their accusation or claims,
[171] so that it is impossible to convict the evildoers for punishment; and for lack of sufficient proof they cannot be punished, or if there is enough basis to put them in prison, they sometimes disappear and flee to another jurisdiction and hide, denying their place of origin or changing their name.

2. In Oxchuk, calendar experts with the ability to divine the future still set the days for carrying out Catholic fiestas according to the twenty-day Maya ceremonial cycle. Each of the spirits symbolizing the twenty days wielded the power of good or evil. This provided the basis for predicting. When Villa Rojas studied the town in the 1940s, elders of patrilineal lineages controlled the behavior of members by causing sickness brought by their *lab*, or animal spirit (Villa Rojas 1947). In San Pedro Chenalhó, the principales exercise power through their *wayhel*, or animal spirit (Guiteras Holmes 1961). Nahuales of leaders of the patrilineages and principales are feared and respected in Larraínzar, although there is a growing discontent with their oppressive control (Holland 1963). Men believed to have thirteen nahuales figure as guardians and avengers for individuals in Pinola society, although the Indians of this community no longer have a hierarchy of civil offices through which their prestige can be publicly validated (Hermitte 1964).

as the direct agents of the ancestors, guarded the streets of their own side of the dual division. The judges, with the supervision of the principales, were responsible for guarding against the abuse of power by the curers or others possessing a swayohel in their review of witchcraft cases in the town hall. The three sets of functionaries—ancestors, curers, and judges—are classified in a lexicon of role function in the stem *me? . . tat . . ,* common to the terms applied to them, me?tiktatik, me?iltatil, and me?eštateš.[3]

The system of control over the use of power has been in a state of uneasy tension. In a series of incidents recounted below, the growing suspicion that the judges and the principales were not countering the witches because of their fear of falling victim to them, and that the curers themselves were exercising the witchcraft becomes apparent.

In the following case, the system of checks and balances was upset by the entry into the presidency in 1940 of Mam Nicolás, the leading curer of Allannantik. Nicolás combined the skills of operating in the traditional culture with those of dealing with the Ladino world. Despite the fact that he was a graduate of the boarding school operating in the town in the 1930s, which had far more extensive effects in acculturation as well as formal education than any prior school, he practiced curing. The case is recounted by Ceferino, the scribe:

Formerly the dead president Mam Nicolás left at midday from the town hall and went to his house where he ate a meal. A neighbor, Francisco, came to talk to him. They drank a half a liter of trago, and then began to drink a second and got drunk. They began to say goodbye, and Francisco left Nicolás' house. When Nicolás saw that Francisco went out, he grabbed his shotgun. He saw that Francisco was now far away, and he fired many shots. One got him right in his back. When Francisco felt it, he shouted. The police heard him and went to get the judges who came to see also. His [Francisco's] wife came. She raised his head and cried when she saw he was dead. An elder sister brought a new mat to carry him.

3. The suffixes *-el,* and *-tik* refer to pronominal forms, as in "you judges" and "our ancestors." *-il* is an article, as in "the curers." In prayer, the ancestors may be addressed in the second person, or the judges may be referred to with the first-person-plural possessive, but these forms are rare in those contexts.

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159 *carry him. When the new mat arrived, the judge ordered that he be*
• 621 *brought to his house. The judges saw that the shot had entered well.*
754 *They ordered the police to seize Nicolás and put him in prison. They saw*
682 *that Francisco died.*

The night entered, and the judges ordered the police to guard the killer throughout the night. At dawn he remained in prison and stayed there the entire day. On the third day, they "took his heart" [questioned him] to see what his crime was. He said that Francisco had blamed him for giving witchcraft and that it was not his fault, that he was not a witch. He got angry and shot Francisco. The judge heard the case and raised an act. They sent him to San Cristóbal and the síndico, Simón, took over the presidency. He remained in power in the pueblo.

People heard that the new president could not arrange things in the town hall. Illness entered the pueblo. Word was left that Juan, Ebaristo, and Antonio had brought in the illness. All those who "knew how to make fiestas" [reference to curers functioning in curing ritual] gathered together in the town hall. The two leading curers came with a garrafón of liquor. The curers drank until nighttime.

The president remained in prison. When the night had entered well, he slept. And although he had heard many rumors about what was going to happen, he slept well. At dawn, the president was "of one heart" [content]. A policeman arrived and said that Antonio had been brought to jail.

"Why?" asked the president. "For what crime has he been put in prison?"

The policeman said that it was for witchcraft, and that they had gone out to get the other witch Juan, but he had escaped into the Cave of the Star. Although there were fifteen men after him, they couldn't seize him. They had also gone to catch Ebaristo, but he was not in his house, and they did not find him. The crime of the three was that they had brought in the illness.

Meanwhile, everyone was saying that Nicolás was also responsible for letting the illness in the town. People said that he had vowed that if the authorities seized him, he would let in the illness. The townspeople got drunk.

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Eight men of Alannantik wanted the interim president, Simón to remain as president. But the people of Ahk'olnantik did not want him to remain as president. The townspeople began to talk, saying, "Why should he remain as president since he stole twenty bulls? We don't want him. Let us get another president. We shall walk with Ceferino." 159 621 754 682

They wanted me for president since I was first regidor. It is for this reason that I entered as president, but I didn't think that I would be able to stay on as president. Simón received an order from the [state] government that he should return as president. He came with soldiers, and when they took me out of office, the lieutenant said to Simón, "Now you enter."

And so I gave over the archives and seals and everything in the presidency to Simón, and I left the presidency. And the people saw that it was the order of the government, and they did not say anything. The town remained silent.

The incident is given as it was related to me in Tzeltal. I have sorted out the steps in which the conflict developed in order to clarify its meaning.

1. The traditional checks and balance system of the civil authority over the curers was initially upset by the entry of a leading curer into the post of president.

2. When he committed a murder while in office, the judges seized control and had him put in prison. [682] [692]

3. His replacement by the síndico who was from the same side of the dual division, aroused the opposition of the people of the opposite side, Ahk'olmantik, who believed that the epidemic, which followed the president's removal from power, was caused by the curers of Alannantik under the direction of the president who was in jail. [624] [731] [754]

4. The leaders of the revolt in Ahk'olnantik chose as their replacement the first regidor, Ceferino, who was from their side. [624]

5. Leaders from Alannantik rejected this replacement and were able to get official backing from the state government to replace their representative.

The process illustrates the way in which a conflict, precipitated by a clash between civil authorities and the curers, was cast into the idiom of struc- 621 756 578

621 756 578 [648] tural opposition between the two sides of the dual division. In this case, resolution came with the intercession of federal troops.

When curing was a controlled profession, with a hierarchy legitimizing 756 178 entry and exit, the power of the curers was directed toward guarding the village against evil as well as curing. In the 1940s, the loss of one leader by death and the other's jail sentence meant loss of control over entry into the profession. A growing suspicion and discontent with the curers as a [754] group, laying upon them the responsibility of much of the witchcraft, is reflected in the account of another older informant:

> *Formerly when the curers J. C., A. A., S. K., and J. D. were alive, they walked in common. The people were in accord with the curers because they watched over the peublo. They knew about medicine, and so people of Alannantik went to ask them favors to cure them and also the people of Ahk'olnantik went to ask them favors.*
>
> *But then, after they died [about 1940], the principales did not dare fight the curers because they had animal spirits, and the principales themselves didn't—they were just honorable people.*

621 756 178 The doubt about the civil authority's control over the curers has increased since young leaders have taken the leadership in the town. One informant said, "When there are young people in the cabildo, they can't keep control of the curers, but the old people in the cabildo can." With the relaxation of restrictions on entry into the curing profession, following the loss of leadership and the ranked hierarchy, curers were no longer re- [273] strained by professional standards. When drunk, they bragged of their [754] power to do evil as well as to do good. The first killing of a curer accused of being a witch occurred in 1937. He was working in Pinola when he 683 621 was shot. The dead curer's widow wanted to bring his body back to be [178] buried in the town cemetery, but the request was refused by the judges. This suggests that the town authorities agreed with the accusation, since it is the custom to return the dead to the town for burial. Other assassinations by individuals occurred in 1943 and in 1950. During this period, the civil officials sanctioned the assassinations of persons accused and convicted of witchcraft. When someone wished to kill a man suspected of witchcraft, they would go to the town hall and ask for permission. After a re-

view of the case by the judges and the other civil authorities, the president would have the suspected witch locked up in the local jail and then give the key to his enemy. The following story illustrates this procedure: 683 621

When we were still part of the township of Teopisca [sometime before 1931] F. went and asked permission of the authorities to kill his enemy, a curer, whom he thought was bewitching his brother-in-law. The president arrived at the house of the suspected witch with the order to imprison him. He said that they were going to Teopisca to put him in jail. The group of authorities set off with the suspected witch. On the way another group met them and asked them where they were going. The President replied, "To Teopisca." The group which had encountered them asked them if they would like a drink to "heat their body." They gave one cup and then another. They then cut up the suspected witch with a machete and put his body in the cave of me?tiktatik that goes to Chiapa de Corzo. When the widow enquired the next day where her husband was, the president said that the man must have gone to the finca.

After telling this story, my informant concluded, "Therefore, little by little, the pueblo is getting better because we scared the curers with the permission of the president to kill them." He felt that this was the point at which the power of the curers, who were more and more frequently being accused as witches, was broken. [829]

While the usual course of action, once a man was accused of witchcraft, was to kill him so that there would be no danger of revenge, the following case illustrates punishment by beating. 756 627 [683]

The time was 1935. There was a very bad curer who stole much cattle. One man who heard that he had stolen his cattle wanted to kill him, but the curer met the man and killed him in an old house. The town authorities seized the curer and forced him to pay one thousand pesos for the bull. The principales punished him by tying him to a tree and beating him five or six times. They beat him well for the town. After they beat him they brought him to prison in San Cristóbal and gave him over to the Ministerio Publico to arrange the case. He did not return to the pueblo but went to another place. In five years he returned to his pueblo.

756 627 *When he arrived here, he did not hear any word that they would kill him. He persisted in his custom of stealing. And the pueblo seized him and put him in prison. The whole town seized him although he had heard no word.*

They tied him to a tree and said to him, "You do not have shame. You are a curer, father of the pueblo, [respect term for curer], and yet you behaved badly and truly stole. The town sees you are a bad man, Emilio. They call you their father, but now I am going to tell you that you ought not to be called father. You're a bad one."

He wanted to be called father, but he was only a bad one. He returned again to San Cristóbal because of two crimes. He did not hear the words. He remained in prison, and when he came out someone else came and killed him.

756 682 178 Since 1938, nine of the thirty-seven homicide cases on which I collected data (Table 29) were killings of curers. The increasing frequency of such killings reveals the loss of faith in the guardianship role of the curers, but along with this, retention of belief in their power to work evil.

731 756 754 627 621 In the series of successful confrontations, the civil authority has gained strength and overcome some of the fear of the people. In May 1964, during a severe contagion of measles, a rumor started that the disease was being spread because of witchcraft. The president called together the curers. The consensus of this gathering was that a certain curer of Alannantik had buried the "heat" which was causing the deaths in the milpa of his enemy. The people of Alannantik gathered with the curers and the civil officials in the milpa of the "enemy" to dig it out. The curers dug out a charcoal brazier which is the sign of illness and threw it in the Cave of the Star. [683] That evening the suspected witch was killed, presumably by his neighbors.

756 621 627 754 In the most recent confrontation between the civil authorities and an individual curer, in March 1966, the civil authorities showed a united front in denouncing the use of witchcraft to threaten any official. The entire group of practicing curers from both sides of the dual division were called to witness the denunciation before the assembled civil officials in the town hall. The only one absent was the curer accused of attempting to cut short the life of the president because of envy of his position. The assembled

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group walked to the hill where the curer had been reported practicing his witchcraft. There they collected the evidence: fourteen candles of all colors, crosses of wire placed on a photograph, and a gourd. The curers present lifted the evidence and threw it in the river to get rid of the evil. A transcription of the proceedings in the town hall is given below:

President: "We are gathered together here because something which is not good has happened. See here, Tatinel [*to the leading curer*], *we do not know if it is witchcraft or not."*

First Curer Feliciano, of Yetawitz: "The old men [*elder curers*] *have pulsed our children. All the pueblo has helped. We have just brought in the candles. He is a very bad witch. We walked out there and we found it. For this we have gathered together, but if there is an owner of the witchcraft, we have not heard."*

Second Curer Emilio, of Alannantik: "But this owner is not good. Thus spoke my compadre. This is not good. So my compadre and Mam Pelise [*Feliciano, first curer to speak*] *have spoken. Whoever did it has not advised us. The ancestors did not want this. Now who wants it? Who speaks with the holy word? You do not announce whether it is a curer or whether it is or not. We do not know where it is or what it is that he did. But when someone does give an illness, it is a good custom to see where this comes from. This we do not know. It is for this we went to the cave to know where he found it."*

President: "Therefore we had to look for it and see who did it; whether it is someone who knows how to do both witchcraft and curing. But he will pay here in the presidency for what he did, because we are going to announce it, we are going to reveal the crime. Now your hearts are content and truly you cannot do it. Now we know a little, compadre. Truly we have seen and know where it [*the magic*] *was kept."*

Feliciano: "Now you speak a little to God who gave his little child. And what if tomorrow you should come? Now is the time we speak to God, we speak to the Virgin Mother. Don't kill and don't give suffering. Better not do anything. Please don't do anything at night; please do nothing as I have told you. Thus your children [*the younger curers*] *have*

heard our hearts. The people will hear that we didn't do anything. The true curers looked. We came to the place and we found it." 756 621

The curers left the town hall, one by one, saying the pat?o?tan to the judges as they left. The judges remained. 627 754

President: "We have heard clearly what we waited here to hear. They have brought back a little soda."

Judge: "So it is for your work [referring to the soda], what you went to do there [in the hills]."

President: "It is good what you did, but you are afraid because of that." Judges laugh.

The curers in public performances nominally recognize as leading curers the two major speakers for the group, Feliciano of Yetawitz and Emilio of Alannantik. However, these men are not recognized as true leaders. Feliciano lives in the despised barrio of Yetawitz and is associated with the kuriketik, (the inhabitants of the colonia of San Vicente), while Emilio himself has been accused of witchcraft. But the situation required someone to represent the group from each side, and so there was compliance with this temporary role. 756 621

In the public gathering, the curers refrained from accusing anyone, and denied that they had knowledge of the witch. The older curer (not recognized as leader but serving in the place of an elder) warned the group not to kill anyone as a result of the meeting. That evening, the president and his brother announced on the loudspeaker of the cantina that they did know who was trying to murder the president, that it was the curer who was absent, and that he should desist. The curer responded by announcing on another cantina loudspeaker that he was innocent. On the following day, the accused appeared in the town hall with two family-sized bottles of beer. He said that he did not want the president to continue accusing him, since he was not guilty and had truly been sick. (He had consulted the I.N.I. clinic nurse rather than one of his colleagues and had received treatment for a headache. This was commented upon by his opponents, who interpreted it as showing his lack of faith in traditional curing practices.) 756 754 621 627 [156]

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756 754 621 627 The open confrontation by the civil authorities with the suspected witch, in which they warned him to stop before violence resulted, represents a new strategy in the contest between officials and curers. Formerly even when there was strong suspicion against a man, the principales and judges kept quiet. If they acted, it was to kill the suspect without forewarning. The new strategy reveals the position of strength from which they now operate. That the president could joke in the town hall about the fear of the judges in dealing with the accused curer (see his final remark above) is indicative of a changed attitude. Incidents such as that of the curer consulting the clinic nurse instead of his fellow curers, which was noted and commented upon by the brother of the president, may further serve to undermine the townspeople's belief in the power of the curers.

In the weeks following the incident, the president and his brother discussed the incident, pointing out their fearlessness in openly confronting the witch. The curers clearly tried to deny any responsibility as a group with the remark: "Whoever did it did not advise us." They expressed the feeling that it is against professional ethics: "Whoever did it is a very bad witch"; but they refuse to name him or admit knowledge of who did it. "We do not know where it is or what it is that he did." The behavior of the curers in this incident is clearly defensive and stems from their loss of control and initiative.

Political Parties and Factions

665 621 In 1950 the first contest for the post of president was started by two brothers who had secured the backing of the Partido Acción Nacional (PAN). Never before had anyone initiated his own candidacy outside the traditional nomination procedure through the old officials in the town hall. The brothers lived in the new barrio of Yut Hok, the ejido land grant of Ahk'olnantik. The candidacy disturbed the customary alternation of posts between Ahk'olnantik and Alannantik. Threatened by the imbalance, the leaders of Alannantik secured the backing of the Partido Revolucionario Institutionalizado (PRI) for their candidate. The PAN candidate won the election. However, he was never able to consolidate political sup-

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port. At his death, he had no successor, and "the town remained in peace." 665

In this first political contest, the conflict was interpreted as opposition between the dual divisions. Factional disputes and the sense of political responsibility and control were contained within these parameters, and any conflict was conceived of as a threat to territorial balancing mechanisms. 621 [829] [578]

The new factions that have developed since 1963 are tied to economic rather than territorial competition. In 1960 the first truck-owning cooperative was organized under the leadership of the former Ladino secretary. The twenty shareholders of the town had only a small amount of capital in the truck, and the controlling interest was in the hands of the secretary's wife. The cooperative was merely a device to gain business in carrying pottery and wheat from the town to the market centers. In 1963 a new truck-owning cooperative was organized by local Indians. The two brothers, Santiago and José, secured capital to buy the truck from thirty residents of the town without any assistance from outside. The shareholders of the new cooperative came from both sides of the dual division, and from the outlying barrios. 621 474 471 177 178 494

When the leaders of the new cooperative tried to get permits and certificates to license the car and the operator, they were refused by the town president who was a shareholder of the first cooperative. The Indians then hired a Ladino truck driver from the neighboring town, and the son of one of the shareholders served as assistant. They realized that it was necessary to get control of the local political positions in order to extend their operations. With the help of the schoolteacher, they got eighty-one signatures on the petition for the PRI candicacy of one of the brothers, José, in the presidential nomination of 1964. He was opposed by a ladinoized Indian living in one of the barrios who was backed by the Ladino secretary who was leader of the competing trucking cooperative. The opponent did not have a chance of winning, as the leaders of the new cooperative pointed out, because of two strikes against him: he was not a resident of the center and he had only PAN backing. The Indians are aware that nothing can be gained politically by a PAN-backed president since PRI is now the party in control of regional and national offices. 474 621 666

After José's election, the Indian truck driver was able to get a driving license. With the help of the schoolmaster, the cooperative was able to get 621 474 493

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621 474 493 permission to extend operations to hot country where the Indians of the town held ejido land. This territory had been controlled by the state-wide trucking sindicate whose monopoly was protected by government permits. On the basis that they were poor, nonprofit-making ejidatarios, the Indians were granted the right to truck corn from the ejido colonies to the highlands. Whenever the cooperative leaders planned to go to the depart- [291] mental capital to make their appeals, the schoolmaster counseled them to wear their Indian costume—the white shirt and pants with red sash, sandals, and woolen kotonču—in order to play the role of simple campesinos more convincingly. He was aware of the effectiveness of this pose in pro-Indian governmental circles.

665 The PRI leadership in the department capital is neither aware of nor interested in the local factions which seek their support. Their concern is only that the vote is solidly behind regional and national candidates of the party, and they support the group that can mobilize the largest number of votes. A policy of favoritism toward Indians, based on an ideology of *indigenismo,* pro-Indianism, is coupled with a policy of permitting local autonomy. The national committee's program for promoting literacy has never reached this community nor any that I know of in the area. The party's promotion of Indian welfare consists of supporting demands made by Indian constituents and bringing them to the attention of civil service officials assigned to these functions. Party officials thus act as intermediaries between the voters and the bureaucracy of the government, channeling complaints and demands.

621 177 178 181 In the development of factions around new economic interests, the Indians have shifted from an ideology in which the dialectic of conflict was cast in traditional dual-division opposition to one in which the conflict is seen as Indian versus Ladino domination of enterprises. Since these interests cut across the territorial divisions, the economic factions have not crystallized along territorial lines. It is this shift in perspective which makes [665] for the "qualitative" change in local political organization.

Competition between Caciques

622 563 There are several dimensions to the role of cacique in Tzoʔontahal. First, it is a role created by outside interests and occupied by someone mar-

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while he was fiscal. He let control over the key to the church and the donation boxes slip into the hands of the priest. His opponents accused him of weakness and failure to act in the interest of the town. The careers of these fiscales illustrate the pitfalls for those filling the post. First, there is the temptation for personal gain, since the fiscal has access to the money of the saints: in the past three fiscales have been charged with robbery. Second, there is the problem that the fiscal serves two masters, the priest and the head cofrade, each of whom has different standards of conduct for the role: when the selection of the fiscal was in the hands of the cofrades, they chose a man who knew the pat'o'tan and who was to deal directly with the curers in rituals at the cave of the ancestors and in the homes of the cofrades; now he is chosen by the priest who prefers a young, literate man. If the fiscal follows the commands of the priest, he runs into problems with the cofrades. This was the difficulty with Antonio, who was put out of office by the cofrades because he yielded to the priest's demands to improve the convento and the church. As long as the conflict in interests between the priest and the traditional authorities exist, there is no successful position for the fiscal to take.

Conflict and Social Change

In the contest for leadership which has and is occurring, the following observations can be made on the basis of the events described.

1. The community has successfully incorporated the young, literate men into the framework of the traditional hierarchy. This has been accomplished by expanding the scope of activities of the president and síndico and by relieving them of serving in the lower posts of the hierarchy.

2. The ceremonial role of the principales serves as a symbol of continuity in government both in the tie they have with the past and in the annual changeover of officials.

3. The threat of foreign Indians in the township misusing their skills in dealing with the outside world has been overcome by removing them from office and preventing them from filling high posts.

 621 177 178

4. In a series of confrontations, the civil officials have challenged the social control functions of the curers. Witch-killings in which many of the victims have been curers have minimized but not overcome the power of these men. [756]

5. The priest has succeeded in establishing control over the church, but the Indians may yet succeed in deposing him, a plan they were putting into effect when I left town. [193]

The Indians are now aware of their rights to limit—or eliminate if necessary—the self-appointed caciques. The new cacique promotes the community welfare not only in his rhetoric but in the services he performs for the officials. His involvement in political affairs is tolerated, not encouraged, and the officials are ready to turn to alternative sources of aid in their activities. 641 622 177 178

The involvement of the PRI in local elections has not introduced a new center of power in the political arena. Political factions are based on economic interests contained within the town, and the autonomy of the town has in no way been affected by leadership from party headquarters in the state capitol. The community and the party use each other for their own ends in almost complete ignorance of what is occurring in the domain of the other. 665 621 178

The system of beliefs and understandings has changed along with these organizational changes. The most significant change has been the waning belief in the guardianship of the ancestors. The absence of the curers at the fiesta of the caves means that they no longer have this ritual occasion to validate their claims by communicating with the ancestors. The loss of leadership and of a hierarchy of prestige within the ranks of curers has removed internal controls over the profession and further undermined their position. The diminishing respect with which they are treated in the town hall and the increasing number of murders of curers accused of witchcraft is directly related to the loss of belief in their power as guardians. Since they were not an integral part of the civil-religious hierarchy, as the curers were in Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947), this has not upset the hierarchy, but it has changed the balance of power in the wider community. 769 756 178 [683]

The diminishing significance of the leadership of the principales is tied 621 756 178

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621 756 178 to the loss of belief in the curers. The principales were formerly conceived to be overseers of the curers, men who, because of their advanced age, could determine whether the curers were acting in the interest of the town. With the loss of this social control function, along with the loss of other functions such as holding public funds and helping the judges to interpret the law, they have declined to the level of ceremonial figures dissociated from political action.

621 178 The forms of political organization remain the same, but there has been a shift in the balance of power from leaders whose authority rested on guardianship linked with the ancestors to leaders who can deal with the external power structure. The emergent forms of political organization can be partially assessed in the meaning participants assign to the events which precipitated this process of change. To paraphrase George Herbert Mead (1938:liii) it is the "organization of perspectives" concerning the past events and the present conditions which will effect the emergent forms. The analytical problem can be phrased with the questions, "In what dialectical terms is the conflict cast?" and "What changes do the members of the community perceive as an outcome of the struggle?" Whereas in the colonial period the conflict between the Indians and their Spanish conquerers was seen as a struggle for control between Catholicism and traditional religion, today the conflict is phrased as one of opposed economic interests. In the civil sphere, factional opponents seek the support of extra-communal power holders to gain their ends. In the religious sphere, the Indians see the conflict as one in which their control over the church and the income derived from it is opposed to the priest's growing influence.

829 578 794 621 177 178 [193]

829 621 182 In this reorganization of perspectives, the Indians share some of the goals of the dominant society, but they continue to oppose themselves to the Ladino world. For this reason they are willing to preserve the form of the civil-religious hierarchy as a means of asserting their independence from the dominant society. They see the community not only as a defensive screen against the outside world, but as a springboard for entry into the national economic and political life. They are now consciously taking advantage of pro-Indian sentiment to secure a preferred position in this society. Their awareness of their advantage over the deculturated Indian is

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made explicit in the contrasts they make between their conditions and those of the migratory mestizo laborers who work in the sawmills and fincas in the area. They comment on the fact that these workers have no political representation and that they and their children are illiterate and do not attend school. The significant factor is that the Indians of the corporate communities not only have advantages over the mestizo worker, but they perceive these advantages and are acting in terms of them. The preservation of community traditions is seen as a means of retaining community-owned assets and of maintaining a sense of self which is threatened or destroyed when the individual Indian enters into the national society.

The rules of strategy for moving in the direction of change are a transformation of the rules of the game that the Indians hve played in the four and a half centuries since the Conquest. The overall strategy is still defensive and aimed at preserving local independence, but their tactics include new skills acquired from Ladinos. In opposing the old power elite of the curing hierarchy, the present leadership uses the same tactics of the witch-hunt that their opponents used in the past to punish deviates, but they are beginning to confront them openly when sorcery is suspected. Leaders of the new cooperatives state that their aim is to increase opportunities for the whole community, not to make individual profit.

Because the conflict has been contained within community boundaries, the statement of goals remains the same. These goals include the retention of control by local leaders over judgment of guilt or innocence, in ceremonial affairs, and by all townspeople over land. This retention of local control is the key feature of a moving equilibrium in a model of change that puts the emphasis on continuous adjustments and adaptations. In the usual models for discussing modernization, the confrontation is conceived as one between the indigenous society and the outsider representing western influence. In Tzoʔontahal, young leaders within the community have confronted old in the stated interest of preserving tradition. Occasionally they may make alliances with the old leaders as in the conflict with the priest.

These "shifts in the focus of political power within a given system" (Leach 1964:9) are the prelude to structural change. Tzoʔontahal as a case

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621 example demonstrates the large input of local energies in bringing about
177 change, both the changes that lead to internal restructuring of the distribu-
178 tion of power as well as those necessary in the introduction of new technology and organization of economic activity. It defeats the notion of the non-western segment of the world as a passive recipient of the gifts of the West.

121 write beliefs that give coherence to these roles. Whether these events continue to be scheduled, and in the process of being presented "prove" the postulates upon which structural relationships are based, depends upon acceptance of the belief system.

183 A fundamental understanding governing behavior in Tzoʔontahal is that people ought to do as the ancestors did. Both "knowing" and "re-
[192] membering" are expressed by the same verb, *ya sna,* while "learning" and "memorizing" are expressed by the verb *ya snop*. The behavioral corollary of this association between knowing and remembering is that one should accept the word of the ancestors as a guide to behavior. The importance of obeying one's elders as the intermediaries in the transfer of ways of behaving from one generation to another is stressed in child training and is restated in the prayers uttered at ritual performances enacting the ways of the ancestors.

128 In this chapter I shall consider the integration of behavior based on roles, personality, codes of morality and etiquette, and the ideological and behavorial changes which are disturbing this system.

The Role System

554 621 Coherence of the role system in Tzoʔontahal depends upon (1) similar
182 premises for role recruitment and continuity in transition from one role to another; (2) alternation in office and linkage of separate domains by special offices; and (3) standardized etiquette of role interaction. Uniform standards of evaluation of performance provide a sanctioning system ensuring social integration.

561 *Recruitment and transition.* Relative and chronological age com-
554 bined with consideration of sex are the fundamental principles for assign-
562 ing role categories. The age principle categorizes the entire town in role pairs of respect and deference. Sex differentiation is not made in children until after infancy. An infant of either sex is called *ʔunin,* also a term for
[192] the new moon, until the age of eight months. The sex of parent rather
[601] than that of the child is designated: a woman calls her offspring *ʔalal* whether boy or girl, and a man calls his offspring *nilʔan*. Sex distinction is

made in speaking of toddlers: boys are called *htatil* and girls *ḳantzil*. After five years of age, a boy is referred to as *č'in ḳerem*, "little boy" and a girl as *č'in ʔačil*, "little girl." The term for younger sibling, *ḳihtz'in*, which is extended to all of the people younger than oneself on one's own side of the dual division, is not sex marked, but the terms for all people older than oneself are. Sexual segregation begins at the age of five in sleeping arrangements as well as in public gatherings, when little boys stand with their fathers. The modifier "č'in" is dropped after the age of nine, and the terms "kerem" and "ačil" are used until marriage. At the age of fifteen, a girl is referred to as *ʔantz wiltal*, "just arriving at womanhood," and when she is married she is classified as an *ʔantz*, or woman. A boy is referred to as a kerem until he is married, when he is called *ač' winiḳ* or "new man." A woman with children is referred to as *meʔelil*, and is a full-fledged member of her sex, the *meʔil*. A man's reference term does not change with paternity. When a young unmarried man dies, people say with sorrow that it was a pity "he did not try out life," and that "he did not try out a woman."

In her youth a woman's role is tied to the reproductive cycle, but after menopause she is released from the restrictions of childbearing women. She need not appear as modest in public, and can drink and dance at fiestas. A noticeable personality change can be seen as women move out of the chrysalis of their reproductive cycle. Some older women begin to take a keen interest in sex, and widows in particular may have sexual relations with young unmarried men. It is after menopause that a woman takes her first role in ceremonials as a woman speaker.

In the man's life cycle, leadership roles are related to age. Paternal roles are the prototype for both familial and public authority positions. Thus the term for father, *tat* is the stem for the term for leader, *statal*.

In the relationship between the sexes, women are considered to be under the control of a male protector, either their father or husband. However, there is a kind of equality between the sexes which is not found in Ladino society. Usually there is only a small age difference between husband and wife, even in second marriages, and parents resist giving a young unmarried girl to an older previously married man. Mutual respect is stressed in the advice given by elders at marriage. There is no double standard for ex-

does not drink or have a record of fighting. Character traits are given 581
more significance than wealth, since the minimal differences which distin- 582
guish rich from poor can be lost within a few months if a man drinks
heavily or does not work. The close identification among siblings means [593]
that in accepting a suit the girl's parents will take into consideration not only the boy's reputation, but those of his brothers. If they are considered to be disobedient, lazy, or frequently drunk, their brother may have difficulty finding a woman.

Positions of ceremonial importance in the household celebrations are 794
filled by any of the elders who have acquired knowledge of the prayers. 592
The nakawanehetik are chosen from among any of the bilaterally-ex- 782
tended relatives, compadres, or padrinos who have served five times in reli- 555
gious office. They are selected not only on the basis of how well they 561
know the prayers, but also on their behavior when required to drink. A [273]
man who can hold his liquor and still speak well or who quietly goes to sleep rather than fighting when drunk is preferred. The me?il k'op is selected from among the female complements of these male relatives. She acquires her knowledge of the prayers in familial settings. The b'alnialetik are chosen from the kihtz'inal (younger siblings and cousins), or from among compadres or members of neighboring households. The rank order between the two sets of roles—the nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik—depends on relative age; thus the older nakawanehetik have greater authority.

Familial roles provide both a pattern and a springboard for other roles 621
in the community. The father-son role pair is extended to the relationships 593
between senior and junior officials in both the religious hierarchy and the 561
curing hierarchy. For each saint, the elder mayordomo is called "father" 794
(*Tatil Martoma*), and the younger is called "son" (*Niĉ'nál Martoma*). A 192
man must fill the junior post at least two times before taking on the senior post. For each side of the dual division, the elder curer (when there was a [756]
recognized leader) was called "father" (*Tatil ?u?ul*), and the younger was called "son" (*Niĉ'nal ?u?ul*) or sometimes "youth" (*Biktal ?u?ul*). The term *me?il* (woman who has borne a child) is used in the reference 621
to ceremonial roles played by women in the household, as in the case of 592
me?il k'op (woman speaker) and me?il ĉ'om (mother of the betrothal). 562

621 593 581 794 Familial role requirements must be fulfilled in order for public roles to be undertaken. A man must be married in order to enter into even the lowest posts in the civil and religious hierarchies.

794 556 434 554 Only in the case of the alfereces has wealth ever been a criterion for recruitment. These four officials had to be able to spend 3,000 pesos during their year in office. The heavy expenditures failed to give prestige to the official, and the display of wealth excited envy rather than respect. The result was that people called upon to accept the post had to be imprisoned before they would accept.

554 756 Recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on innate qualities; special skills and knowledge are attributes acquired in office or other role positions rather than requirements for undertaking roles. Curers are recruited because they are recognized as having an animal spirit; they learn whatever skills are required after they have been initiated into the profession. The curers' special position in the society rests more on esoteric powers than on esoteric knowledge. Everyone in the community knows the herbs and medicines which are prescribed, and most men can give as comprehensive a taxonomy of illnesses as any practicing curer.

[278]

868 241 [857] [883] Economic roles, though largely undifferentiated for each sex, are consciously learned and transmitted. Boys accompany their fathers or elder brothers to the field at about the age of eight and continue working with them until they reach independence. Observation of behavior alone would seem to indicate an unconscious absorption of the role of agricultural worker, but informants recount episodes in which training in field work was explicitly transmitted by their fathers or brothers, and formal approval of their ability to do the tasks announced to their mothers. Parents express fear that school attendance not only interferes with working in the milpa, but that it will cause the child to forget what he has learned in the field. Regardless of what other tasks a man performs, he thinks of himself as a farmer.

[871]

868 323 Becoming a potter requires an even more explicit training procedure. The fine linguistic segmentation of each act and movement in the schedule of pottery-making is a clue to the explicit transmission of tasks by the

554 the status. Community integration is achieved at the expense of limiting the range of roles through restricted recruitment and validating mechanisms.

621 794 [182] *Alternation and linkage in office-holding.* The principle of alternation between civil and religious posts serves to integrate these officers in a single functioning system and prevents the development of segmented groups. The alternation of offices between sides of the dual divisions helps to integrate the village by pairing or alternating them in the same office. Some roles served as links between the institutional domaines. Principales are the primary symbolic leaders of both hierarchies since they are chosen from among men who have completed service in both hierarchies. The alfereces formerly symbolized the unity of the civil and religious branches in the transfer of banners from the cabildo to the church and in other ceremonial duties.

621 624 794 [392] [184] The regidores and judges have remained identified with the civil authority in Tzoʔontahal, although in other towns in the area they have become almost exclusively identified with the religious hierarchy (Cancian 1965). The regidores were formerly involved in religious affairs during the household celebration for the installation of the new alférez. At this time they were called personaetik from the Spanish term persona, or personage.

731 756 178 621 Events requiring community action reveal some of the links which unite officials who play roles in different institutional settings. On the occasion of an epidemic, curers are called before the civil authority to "give an account" of who is causing the witchcraft. Formerly the curers were linked to the civil hierarchy by a system of social control in which the principales, as elders, reviewed their actions in guarding the safety and health of the community. This system of checks and balance has been broken by the shift in power from the principales to the president.

794 621 182 The nakawanehetik provide the links between the household and the civil and religious hierarchies. They transmit the knowledge of ritual prayer and acts and officiate at the inauguration of officials. They serve as stage directors in maintaining the traditional household rituals and in ensuring continuity in public ceremonials.

Etiquette of role interaction. The complex system of stereotyped behavior contained in codes of etiquette depends upon role relations. The primary rule of etiquette is to greet people appropriately. In street greetings, one demonstrates that one knows how to "take into account," or show respect to, elders and minors. To elders of the first ascending generation or above, one says, "Good morning, father (or mother)." Those of one's own generation are greeted as elder brother or sister, or younger brother or sister, depending on their relative age. If the encounter is with a compadre, the terms kumpare or kumare take precedence over any other relation. A respected curer is addressed as *tatinal*. Officials are greeted by their titles, preceded by *mam* if they are older. Such greetings are restricted to people who live in the same division of the village. When one enters the other division, it is necessary to greet only compadres or relatives who have passed over after marriage. When younger persons approach elders of prestige, they remove their hats and incline their heads to be touched.

Service of food and drink is strictly ordered by age and sex. At mealtime, small children are fed separately, before or after their elders depending on the child's needs. When they reach the age of reason, about twelve, they are expected to await their turn. The father is served first, followed by his sons in order of age. The mother eats later with the girls.

The etiquette of ceremonial behavior is an extension and elaboration of the everyday forms. Service and greetings are made in order of age and rank, a procedure simplified by the fact that seating arrangements are made in the same order. In house ceremonials, the eldest man sits facing inward, to the right of the door. The rest of the company sits in clockwise order from eldest to youngest on benches lining the porch. Within the house, the seating of women by age begins with the eldest woman sitting at the center post and others sitting in clockwise order.

Preferred modes of behavior in all settings for all roles are "slowness and softness, expressed by a single term, *k'unk'untik*. Deference and respect—"hearing and feeling," *ʔawai*—should be shown in all encounters, marked by behavior such as downcast eyes, shawl held over the mouth, avoidance of direct eye contact, as well as verbal signs of agreement and

576 support of whatever is said—repeating the final phrase of the person con-
[535] versing or injecting supportive statements such as "indeed, indeed," or "so it is." In the dance of the alfereces' wives, for example, women were the model of deference, moving in a self-contained pattern before the assembled guests, with slow, tiny steps, eyes downcast, a shawl covering their heads on which they wore their husbands' ceremonial hats.

621 Through recruitment procedures, alternation and linkage in official
182 roles, and leadership validated by age and service in lower positions—principles applying to role relations in all institutions—Tzo'ontahal has remained an integrated community. There is a high degree of stereotyping in behavior from one institution to another, and norms of behavior are the
[682] same for public as for private roles. However, a remarkably high homicide
[578] rate and open conflict in all of the institutional settings indicate basic sources of disruption.

682 Since 1960 the rate of homicide in town has increased from an average
593 of 1 every 2 years to an average of 5 or 6 per year. Table 29 indicates the
609 role relationships of killer to victim in 37 of over 70 homicides occurring
428 between 1937 and 1964. The highest incidence of homicide (7 cases) oc-
578 curred between brothers and brothers-in-law. Male siblings comprise the closest cooperating group. Brothers work together in the milpa until the father dies or divides his property among his children during his lifetime. Bilateral inheritance with equal division of land and houses among female as well as male offspring means that brothers-in-law are potential competitors for the same limited resources. Friction arising among brothers and brothers-in-law does not come from the principle of equal inheritance, but rather because of the fact of differing responsibilities and expenses within the family. For example, the child who has remained with the parents and
[888] thus assumes the burden of care for them in their declining years often feels that he should inherit a greater share. The disputes arise in the decisions concerning how much this disadvantage should be weighted. The
682 suppression of overt competition may in part explain the homicidal acts.
683 Although the tensions in fact stem from suppressed economic competition,
[154] they are translated into witchcraft accusations as soon as anyone in the
[626] family becomes ill. Violence against a witch is condoned by the community and provides a channel for latent hostility. Once the accusation has

1 (see pp.245-247..Analyst)

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been made, there is no recourse but to kill the man since he may retaliate by killing his accuser (this occurred in two of the cases noted in Table 29).

Conflict between generations in the role sets father/son and father/son-in-law stems from delay in carrying out role responsibilities. Fathers are expected to provide the money for the costs of betrothal, and to give their children shares of the patrimony including both land and livestock. The scheduling of when this should occur is often a matter of dispute, resulting in at least two cases of homicide in the period analyzed.

New economic enterprises have exacerbated the tensions rising from envy. Foster (1965) has suggested that envy stems from the notion of the "limited good," requiring the strategy of a "zero sum game" (Bennet 1966). The fact that the new wealth is evidence of new opportunities, not a subtraction from a given resource supply, has not entered the cognitive awareness of the people. The prospering leaders of these enterprises feel themselves to be particularly vulnerable to the envy of others and thus to the charge of witchcraft. There have been several open attacks on new leaders accused as witches; the leader of the truck cooperative, for example, was murdered in 1966. Six men have been killed as cattle thieves in the past ten years.

The economic roles created with the introduction of new enterprises have not been integrated in the traditional pattern of recruitment and control. In the association of cattle breeders, leadership tends to be based on the size of the herd; in the case of the truck cooperative, amount of capital invested and entrepreneurial skills have determined the leadership of the enterprise, while driving skill and ability to get along in the Ladino world has been the basis for choice of drivers. Such achievement principles as the basis for recruitment into these envied positions are not accepted in the same way that age and passage through a hierarchy of posts validated higher positions in the old hierarchies. The conspicuous expenditure of wealth in the more expensive posts in the religious hierarchy has also failed to lessen hostility aroused by the increasing disparity in wealth, and in fact those who have served as alférez have been even more subject to witchcraft aroused by envy.

"gift of the gods," liquor, to the party whose interests have been slighted. This is done in the case of a suitor who is asking for a woman of the other side of the dual division; he gives the bachelors of that side a garrafón of liquor in compensation for the loss of a potential mate. Liquor has become a substitute for the sacrifice of a child by a man being initiated into the curing profession. Informal offerings of liquor may be made between neighbors or relatives who have been fighting with each other. Liquor is a kind of universal social solvent in disputes, and figures importantly in court cases which are always terminated in a drinking session.

Another technique is simply a payment in money to compensate for damages. In some homicide cases, the payment of "blood money" has compensated the family of the victim to avoid legal action. This is never done, however, if the community agrees that the victim was a witch. Payment of fines in court is another such form of compensation. These payments or offerings minimize the bloodshed or personal involvement in conflictual relations. Payment by the man judged guilty will ensure his reincorporation into his customary place in the community without stigma.

While it is impossible to elicit from informants a theory of roles, it is possible to formulate the principles underlying roles. These are deduced from behavioral observations and from evaluations made of the performances of others. They can be summarized in the following propositions:

1. There is a clear separation between role and role-bearer. This is seen most clearly in the passage through civil and religious offices with a minimum of "halo" effect. It is also found in the situation of household officials whose authority in directing affairs within a household ceases when the ceremony in which they officiate is over. The separation ensures flexibility in a closed social system, enabling people to shift from one role to another. It also permits continuity in a system which requires an almost complete turnover of personnel each year.

2. Function performed is separate from role in which it is performed. This applies even in those roles which are designated on the basis of the most important function required of the performer, for example woman speaker, liquor measurer, and basket carrier. All of

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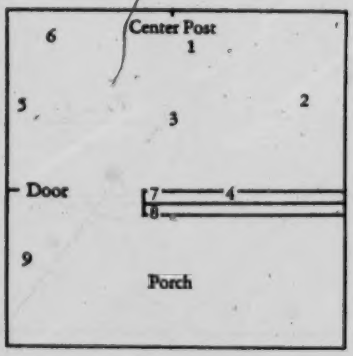
Unorthodox behavior after drinking is less subject to censure than that indulged in without this stimulus.

The social changes affecting the community have not changed the categories of roles. What has happened is a shift in the power and authority associated with civil roles: the president's role for example has assumed importance over that of the principales. A full account of the changes in the role system requires a discussion of the settings in which they are enacted, the timing which gives them coherence, and the beliefs which give them meaning. Summary statements on role coordination will be given in the final chapter.

342 women sit inside in a semicircle. A house without a closed-in porch is re-
[196] ferred to as a "cattle house" since it is considered inadequate for entertain-
[621] ing guests at ceremonial affairs. Townspeople prefer to choose as higher
[574] officials those who have houses with porches to accommodate visitors.

Fig. 8. Interior of a House



1. Seat of honor for women
2. Bed area for women of house
3. Hearth
4. Bench area for relatives of house
5. Bench area for visiting men
6. Mats or wooden board for visiting women
7. Honor seat for men (when inside house)
8. Honor seat for men outside house
9. Resting areas for male helpers

592 Each member of the household has his place for sleeping, eating, and sit-
[513] ting. The youngest child sleeps with his parents, and older children sleep with siblings of the same sex or with their grandparents. Newly married couples living with their parents prefer to sleep in the cook shack if there
[264] is a separate structure. At mealtime, men and boys sit on small wooden
[352] chairs at a miniature table placed against the wall separating the interior from the porch, while women and girls kneel on straw mats near the hearth.

342 Reference points inside the house (Fig. 8) are the center post where the
352
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342 party to go to the spring, at least one relative remains in the house to
796 greet the soul if it should precede the curing party.
[584]
[755] Behavior in household rituals is described in Chapters 1, 5, and 8.
[128]

The Cabildo

344 The cabildo, called by the people of the town the "cold house,"[1] was
[196] built following the revolution of 1915, when Piñeda's revolutionary soldiers
[175] destroyed the original colonial structure. The tiles of the roof were confiscated from a finca which the Indians invaded in 1941 in an unsuccessful attempt to gain additional lands. When they were unable to maintain their hold on the land, they burned the owner's house and took the tiles to the town center where they remain as a symbol of their defiant action. They refer to this event with pride. The cabildo houses the jail, equipped with a barred wooden door, in one of its wings, and the Ejido Commission office in the other.

344 Within the cabildo, each official has his established place. The cabildo is
352 furnished with a table at which the president and síndico sit on wooden
621 chairs made in the Indian town of Chamula. Four benches lining the
554 walls on either side of the entry provide seating for the civil officials. On
576 the right side (looking out at the plaza) sit the judges in order of rank;
[693] the regidores, in similar sequence follow them. The principales, and formerly the alfereces, sit on the left side when they appear for ceremonial occasions. This spatial allocation establishes drinking and greeting order as well. Visitors can go directly from one to another in the formal greeting of a handclasp and murmured "good morning, father," or "good afternoon, father," without violating age-respect patterns.

344 During court cases, the claimant and his supporters sit on the bench to
352 the left of the door; on other occasions the bench is occupied by visitors or
695 petitioners. The police sit on one of the two benches lining the outside
[625] wall, or retire to the kitchen, a wooden slat lean-to on the left wing of the

[171] 1. Bunzel (1952) notes that in prayers, the cabildo in Chichicastenango is referred to as "the cold house, the icy house." Although the Quiché term is not given in her manuscript, one can see a similarity in the rhyming couplets and metaphorical allusions in the prayers of the towns.

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building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office.

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist.

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first.

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient portable typewriter. Since typing is a new skill for him, he makes many errors, and his retrials are accepted with patience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

as lawyers. The defendant is sometimes accompanied by supporters who feel that he has a case. The failure of parents to accompany a defendant, regardless of his age, is attributed to their shame over their child's misbehavior and their own failure to train him properly. The judge does not limit himself to passing judgment but also counsels the defendant as to how he should behave.

The town hall is usually shut and locked at noon unless some business requires more time. In the evening about six, the officials return to take their same posts. They sit with their arms drawn inside their woolen jackets for warmth. After a half an hour they drift home. People rely on the presence of officials rather than particular actions to maintain social control, and it is their appearance at regular hours that assures the villagers that the town is being well run.

Local autonomy depends primarily on retaining social control functions. Civil officials try to settle disputes locally and avoid the entry of Ladino officials from the departmental capital, although the judges and president will threaten the defendant with taking the case to the department if they cannot get compliance. The number of cases referred to the capital has been increasing since 1950 as Table 32 shows. In 1951 the federal government began to fine local officials who failed to report homicide cases and accidental death. The local officials complied, but departmental courts were unable to bring action in over half the cases. No action was taken in 72 cases, or 54 percent, in comparison with 62 cases, or 46 percent, in which action was taken. Domestic cases, except for one of adultery, are adequately handled in local courts and do not appear in the departmental records. The trend shows an increasing number of cases of crimes against persons in comparison to crimes against property, an index to the breakdown in social control processes.

The Church

The church has been built and on two occasions rebuilt—when the tower was struck by lightning—with funds collected locally from household heads. Damage to the church was attributed to the patron saint of the neighboring town of Oxchuk who, the people say, was fighting with their patroness, Santa Lucía. The townspeople feel that they own the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 301]

The townspeople feel that they own the church, and many resent the intrusion of the priest who resides sometimes two or three days a week in the adjoining rectory. In the past five years, however, the priest has succeeded in asserting more control over the church: he has forbidden drinking in the church or in the courtyard, a prohibition that resulted in an open confrontation with the leading cofrade (Chapter 9); and he now controls the keys to the church and to the money boxes, formerly the responsibility of the fiscal. The two lay sisters who are in residence during the week hold the keys and are in charge of the upkeep of the church. 346 793 794 177 178

People always show respect for the church by removing their hats as they pass the entrance, even when they are at a distance. As they enter the church, they always kneel and cross themselves. They may spit on the floor of the church, for this is not a sign of disrespect. 346 577 188 [514]

The complementarity of church and cabildo is still formally recognized in ceremonial events: participants bow to the church and then to the cabildo during processions. The transfer of sacred symbols from one locale to the other at the time of the inauguration of civil and religious officials ceremonially signifies the integration of civil and religious authority, despite the growing separation in day-to-day functions in each of the domains. 621 794 182

The church serves as a staging platform for the images and symbolic offerings to them in the annual cycle of ceremonies. During the nine days of ceremony accorded to the major saints, their images are moved to the center of the altar or to the center of the nave. The staging effects are particularly notable during the fiesta of Holy Week, when the reenactment of the crucifixion is performed in the nave. The mayordomos, under the direction of the fiscal and the lay sisters, move the saints about and prepare adornments of flowers and pine needles. 346 776 [794]

The church is the locus for the weekly mass given by the priest. The men stand on the left side of the church (facing the altar), while the women kneel or sit on the floor to the right. A few benches near the altar are occupied by the Ladinos of the area who attend the mass. The lay sisters indicate to the congregation when they should kneel and rise in response to the cues of the sermon or mass. [562] [563] [794]

In addition to these scheduled events, the church serves as a locus where 346 776 782

346 776 782 individuals can visit the saints on their own personal missions. Appendix 3A records the visits of groups and individuals on an ordinary Sunday. Their actions in the church are part of the standardized behavior incumbent upon all those who enter the building.

Communication with the saints is ensured either by touching and kissing their images or, if the images are enclosed in glass cases, by tapping the gl. with offerings of money. It is believed that one gains an audience [562] by pay..ig for it. When groups larger than individual clusters of visitors enter the church, sexual segregation is observed (for example, when a male child enters with his mother on the occasion of a mass, he remains with her until more people arrive, then leaves her to stand on the male [788] side of the nave). Ritualized wailing is done by women only. After such a [152] demonstration the women show normal composure, since wailing is a standardized mode of communication, not an outburst of uncontrolled emotion. It is private and concerns the individual wailer and the saint to which she appeals; none of the other visitors in the church indicates any sign of response to these displays. Unless there is a focused activity going [794] on, such as a mass or series of baptisms, each visiting group is an autonomous unit, carrying out its own mission.

794 571 562 People visit the church most commonly in pairs of two. They congregate for mass in a pattern in which women and children enter first, and men, who linger in the plaza until the church is partially filled, enter in clusters and take their places on the male side of the nave. The religious and civil officials enter last, and the mayordomos, whose attendance is one of the obligations of their post, move toward the altar at the front. Men attend church less frequently than do women.

The School

346 621 875 [177] [178] Unlike the church, the school is regarded as an alien structure. Assistance in reconstruction and maintenance is given under pressure rather than voluntarily. Until fairly recently, schoolteachers too remained unintegrated in the community. In the early years of the school's existence, there was a rapid turnover of teachers. The employment of a schoolmaster with a wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The school has be-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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come the domain of the schoolmaster, who represents federal influence in the local community. He has rebuilt parts of the structure in the thirteen years he and his family have lived and worked in this building; it was his fortress when the Indians threatened to kill him for building a chicken coop obtruding into the street, and again when he interceded in a case of homicide. He has a small arsenal stored in his bedroom in preparation for any reversal of his position in the community. The school is his platform, the area he controls and from which he shouts to his compadres—the storekeeper, the fiscal, and the president—to come speak with him. 346 621 875

The long building is subdivided into four classrooms and the living quarters of the schoolmaster's family. The classrooms are furnished with crude benches and tables; blackboards and charts of birds, animals, and the alphabet decorate the walls. The back porch, converted to classrooms to accommodate the three hundred and fifty children, overflows with benches. The students' own materials—a notebook, pencil, and erasers—are provided by their parents. When a notebook is filled, the students industriously erase all the marks and reuse the book until it falls apart. 346 352 353 872

When I was in the village, the schoolmaster often encouraged visitors to share a Coca-Cola with him in his office. Here, surrounded by his books, his collection of artifacts of both genuine and spurious origin, a picture of the district inspector of federal schools pinning a medal on his chest, the flag of the Mexican republic, he could speak freely of the personal attacks and frustrations and of the rare satisfactions he encountered "in bringing civilization to the town." As he began to build up his political power in the community, the president and síndico often consulted with him on town affairs. Agents of the federal or departmental offices who came to town frequently communicated with him directly before going to the cabildo. The school became the arena for working out political programs and strategies. The schoolmaster prided himself on being the primary channel of communication between the outside world and the village. 621 875 [346] [353]

The conflict of interest between the schoolmaster and the parents of the children over attendance in school has been ameliorated in recent years with the acceptance by some of the parents of education as an advantage. In the early years of compulsory education, physical force was used to round up the children. The traumatic experience of his first day in school 872 875 578 177 178 872 177

876 den on the teacher already laboring with the barrier in communication.
Despite these difficulties, the children manage to learn the basics of read-
[875] ing, writing, arithmetic, and Spanish in four years of schooling. The teachers are devoted and spend at least seven hours in the classroom each day.

872 During the recess period the children play individual competitive games
524 except when organized games are introduced by one of the teachers. There is a tendency toward ganging up on weaker individuals in fights, that occur, but I have never seen signs of marked brutality. Since the La-
[563] dino children are a small minority in the school (there are no more than a half a dozen among the three hundred and twenty-four students) the Indian children do not face the discrimination found in schools with a greater proportion of Ladinos (cf. Romney and Romney 1966).

876 Discipline is no longer as strict as it was in the early years of public education. The teacher allows someone who has been hit to hit the aggressor but does not herself intercede. Threat of punishment may be made by the teacher, but I have never seen it carried out, and it is never suggested as a solution to failure to learn.

571 In comparing the domestic, civil, and religious domains of activi-
561 ties, the following features emerge:

554 1. In each domain, a hierarchy of power is present. In the house,
[592] males take precedence over females, and older members over younger.
[562] In the cabildo, the power hierarchy takes the form of a rank order co-
[621] ordinate with age in most of the offices, while in the schoolhouse, power is polarized with all authority vested in the schoolteacher. In the church,
[875] the conflict between the priest and the cofrades (Chapter 9) has not
[794] been resolved. Within the ranks of the mayordomos, relationships between the elder and junior mayordomo establish a graded ranking system (Chapter 8).

571 2. Behavior in each domain is standardized. Relative rank is re-
554 flected in seating order, greeting order, and drinking order. Autonomous
576 behavior is most marked in the domain of the church. Focused interaction is predominant in the school, where order and control are based on absorbing the attention of the child in a learning task.

3. Categories of role-bearers sit and act together in all the domains. In the home the me?eletik, the nakawanehetik, and the b'alnialetik have established seats and act in concert. Similarly in the cabildo, four ranks of officials, the principales, judges, regidores, and police, move and act together. In the church, elder and younger mayordomos move in pairs of two. 571 554 576

4. Sexual segregation is present in the home, the church, and the cabildo, but is lacking in the school. This rejection of the community standard for a group situation was the basis for some parents holding their children out of school until coerced by the federal authorities backed by the local officials. 562 871 177 178

5. Attendance in all domains involves coercion as well as voluntary action. Coercion is most marked in the school, but resistance by the parents to forced attendance and mixing of the sexes is fast wearing down in this domain. In the cabildo, the defendant is required to attend the court hearing and may even be jailed if he does not pay the fines charged against him. Coercion is covert in the home; the lack of alternative housing arrangements makes residence in the household of orientation or of procreation mandatory.

6. Sacred symbols are present in all the domains. The symbols of the cabildo and of the school relate the community to the nation with the national flags and the portraits of the president. The canes of office which are assumed as each official acquires office are symbols of local authority. The universalistic symbols of the church—the saints images, portraits, and banners—are acquired from Catholic orthodoxy, but have been encapsulated with local sentiments and beliefs. Sacred symbols are treated with respect and avoidance, both in the church and the home. The "holy cross" or banners are touched only with sacred embroidered cloths binding the hands of those who carry them. Saints' images are kissed, but as a mark of respect, not intimacy. The Mexican flag, with which less awe is associated, is saluted. [293] 778 177 178 788 186

Each of the domains provides a setting for the recognition and validation of authority figures in the community. Values which are communally shared or imposed from outside are formally instilled in these settings. Ex- 621 177 178

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621 tra-institutional supports are still lacking for the school, which is not yet
177 fully incorporated into the community framework.
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Replication of behavior in all of the institutional domains except the
621 school provides a measure of social integration in the community. Pat-
571 terned behavior, such as the set speeches of the pat'o'tan, the formalized
177 drinking procedure including the blessing of the drink and the serving of
182 it in accordance with age and authority ranking of the participants, the eti-
554 quette of greeting and leave-taking, the embrace signifying ritual guardianship, occurs in the home, the town hall, and the church. These sets of stereotyped behavior, specified according to roles, simplify the movement from one institutional setting to another and contribute to continuity in role performance by the individual. The new patterns of behavior introduced in the school—desegregation of the sexes, competition in performance, grading of achievement—are not modes of behavior which have spread. However, as the skills acquired in school assume greater importance in the community, it is likely that the socializing procedures with which they were transmitted may spread to the home.

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Chapter 13

Belief and Behavior in a Changing Society

Continuity is the theme stressed in the rules of the game that apply to living in the square world of the community. The framework of continuity is the landscape itself with the ancestral hills and devils' caves reminding people of the moral order of the past. Repetitive behavior in rituals symbolically projects the past into the future, and behavioral schema in pottery and agricultural production reinforce the belief that all remains the same. The conditions making for change stem from the very attempts to preserve the existing equilibrium. A rising population on a limited land base using colonial techniques of cultivation is bringing about an increasing reliance on outside markets for the sale of labor and the purchase of goods. The ejido program which has perpetuated the system of subsistence cultivation has at the same time increased the dependency on external political influence and undermined dependency on parents. Some of the rules of strategy that have developed in response to changes coming from outside the community can no longer be justified by the beliefs that govern behavior within its boundaries. The community is now in crisis: people are losing faith in the old beliefs and have not yet developed a meaningful ideology for new strategies.

The crisis does not affect all institutions equally. It is absent in the traditional economic activities of milpa cultivation and pottery production. It is incipient in the households, especially where there are wage-workers in nonagricultural jobs. It is more apparent in the civil than in the religious sphere, and it is most manifest in the new economic activities. The school, as an externally imposed institution, generates awareness of the conflict between old beliefs and the ideology of nationalism, but until recently receptivity to these ideas has been limited. The behavior described for each in-

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The behavior described for each institution in earlier chapters will be summarized as a mode of adjustment or adaptation in relation to the beliefs that give it meaning and purpose. 128

Economic Activities

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Learning agricultural tasks and pottery-making in the household is part of adjusting to membership in the community. Parents are responsible for teaching the value of industriousness and are held accountable throughout the life of the child. Agricultural tasks are scheduled in a yearly cycle that provides sufficient flexibility for a man to carry out community and familial ceremonial responsibilities. In milpa agriculture, there is no specialization of tasks. Small-plot agricultural production with a simple technology has been reinforced by the land reform program. Since the lands incorporated under the Ejido Commission in the 1930s were attached to the community, agriculturalists were not forced to adjust to new ecological conditions. Politicalization was minimal since the local commission operated within the old civil hierarchy. In the recent expansion of ejido colonies in hot country, Indians from the community have developed alliances with non-Indians in asserting claims to the land. Without any preexisting civil hierarchy, these ejidatarios have not had to adjust their activities to a given structure of authority, but have developed independent political organizations as an adaptation to their new environment.

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Women's work in pottery is less subject to changes in techniques and organization than is men's. The schema of production in simple tasks in a fixed sequence makes it easier to teach girls each process and reinforces a given pottery tradition. My guess would be that if wheel production were introduced, it would liberate the creativity of each potter by freeing her of established routines.

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Pottery production is not surrounded, as is agricultural production, by ceremonials. There is no god to whom one lights candles or gives offerings to ensure success, although there are hazards in production, particularly at the time of firing. Agricultural productivity, on the other hand, is thought to depend on the proper relation between the spirits of the heaven and of the church with the spirits of crops.

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[796]

In the new economic activities, the Indians have shown both adjustive

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233 177 178 621 476 312 [685] and adaptive responses. With the expansion of cattle raising, Indians have organized associations adjusted to the traditional dual division. The association for each side of the dual division mobilizes labor for maintaining the watering holes. The failure to organize communal corrals means that inefficient herding techniques, damage to the milpa, and frequent loss or theft of cattle persist. The association reacts to the last problem by hiring killers to get rid of those suspected of theft, but this adaptive response is limited to dealing with particular incidents and has not solved the problem.

548 273 177 178 [435] 594 [681] [621] [561] The manufacturers of contraband liquor have succeeded in organizing a syndicate strong enough to maintain a monopoly price for both the internal and external markets and to provide security for themselves against federal agents. The syndicate mobilizes for specific actions, such as raising the bail bond for imprisoned members or punishing informers. As a community-wide organization ignoring the dual division and age-ranked seniority, it represents an adaptation in response to extra-community pressures.

474 177 178 The cooperatives that have been organized to manage the local store and the trucks provide permanent managerial operations that are an adaptition to growing interaction in extra-community economic activities. Cooperative owners are able to raise the capital to maintain and expand these operations. It is within these structures that entrepreneurial skills are being developed. The organizers gain the advantage not only of socializing the risk of loss but also of making a profit in a community where belief in witchcraft, fostered by envy, is rampant.

474 472 177 178 Activities in the new economic enterprises are not supported by any supernatural belief. In order to gain acceptance for the new enterprises, the entrepreneur Santos, who had organized the trucking cooperative, recognized the need for an ideology. His rhetoric drew upon the sense of deprivation Indians feel in their relations with Ladinos. He justified his own ends as an attempt to gain for all the community the profits that only Ladinos had been able to gain through trucking and crops resales in the regional markets. The ideology he had begun to formulate stressed economic and political independence from both the Ladino entrepreneurs of neighboring towns and government agents who tried to promote welfare

programs in the interest of "civilizing" the Indians. This formulation involved a basic contradiction between the goal of moving into regional and national networks and that of keeping the old autonomy and independence of the corporate community. He never had to face that contradiction. Unable to gain adherents other than the small group of profit-sharers in the cooperative he organized, he was killed by opponents within the community.

The Family and Household

The core of the traditional culture lay in the local power hierarchies patterned on the familial model of age-ordered paternal authority institutionalized in the me?iltatil. The me?iltatil of the household have provided a flexible institution for adjusting conflict within the kin group. Their role in directing ritual performances preserves a sense of continuity in life cycle changes.

The institutionalized authority of the elders has not been upset by the trend toward residence based on nuclear families, which is an adjustment to the pressure of limited space in the town center. Kinship ties are continually reinforced by rituals that draw together the me?iltalil as sponsors of ceremonies marking baptism, marriage, and death. This group of sponsoring relatives has absorbed the institution of compadrazgo, adding compadres to the network of affinally-and bilaterally-related kin. The procedures for adjusting conflict among members of the household and extended family networks reinforce the authority of the elders. When adjustive processes in the house and court "arrangements" and in curing ceremonies fail, the only recourse is for one of the disputants to leave the community or commit homicide.

Ceremonies within the household provide a model for the rules of the game that apply to adjustive behavior in the community. The household officials introduce new officials into their role, teaching them the prayers and directing the proceedings. Their authority depends upon age and prestige acquired in office. The me?iltatil, as the elders of the family, are the direct link with the ancestors. They and the nakawane provide the strongest force for preserving the ways of the ancestors.

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struck by lightning on two occasions. The solution was to rebuild the tower of metal so that Santo Tomás could not demolish it if he struck again, a defensive reaction which is typical of the Indians in their extra-community relations. When an eclipse of "Our Grandmother the Moon" occurred during my stay in town, everyone went to her assistance, banging metal tools and pots, in what was believed to be a fight with the sun.

The emphasis on self-recrimination and guilt in explaining failure minimizes the build-up of protest. Economic hardship attributed to a man's own improvidence in relation to his fellow man and God are accepted as his lot in life. The drama of the curing ritual projects the Indians' sense of their own guilt for the suffering and poverty they endure.

Political Behavior

The structure of the civil hierarchy has been maintained but organizational changes have occurred which have weakened the basis for it. The alternation of offices between church and civil positions survives in the lower levels, but the new leaders in civil affairs now begin in the Ejido Commission, and few of those who pass as president take on posts in the religious hierarchy. The appearance of continuity has been maintained in communal rituals in which the principales provide the link with the past and the alfereces, until 1966, were the link between civil and religious wings; but in the day-to-day running of the town, the officials do not act on these premises. The balance between officials from each side of the dual division has been upset by the population increase on one side. The abolition of the institution of alfereces gives public recognition to the growing awareness of imbalance. Moreover, the factions based on the new trucking cooperatives that cut across the dual division reduce the effectiveness of the dual division in channeling conflict.

Behavioral deviation from the norms is present in all societies and is not in itself an index to structural change. This comes about when new interpretations are given to events that undermine confidence in existing institutions and leaders. Political conflicts in the past were interpreted as a contest between members of the sides of the dual division and hostility

621 578 177 178 was channeled along existing lines of competition. During my stay in the community from 1964 to 1966, most conflicts were attributed to economic competition between the two trucking cooperatives. Along with this, the [114] [474] [182] waning of the position of the principales has undermined the confidence of the people in the system of checks and balances in which the principales watched over the judges, the judges watched over the curers, the curers watched over the people to see that no one brought in evil, and the ancestors watched over everyone. Curers are more and more often accused of [756] witchcraft and are frequent victims of homicide. The sense that they are the guardians of the pueblo and the agents of the ancestors is nearly dead. They are consulted only because the people feel that, because of the evil in them, they can fight the evil caused by others.

621 756 177 178 The shift in power from the old leaders to the new has not been accompanied by a shift in ideological allegiance. The new leaders cannot offer the security the people felt when they were living in the eyes of the ancestors. The curers remain as a powerful group because of their claims of being able to fight evil, but there is no longer a legitimate authority controlling their use of destructive forces.

561 554 177 178 A system of authority based on rule by elders is a structural correlative of a behavior pattern in which people act out the ways of the ancestors. This applies to the schematized behavior contained in rituals and in traditional productive activities. The ideology of a seniority-based prestige system persists at the explicit level at the same time that behavioral changes in contradiction to this are occurring.

626 177 178 Social control in a system of behavior based on what was done in the past depends upon the belief that people are carrying out their lives "in the eyes of the ancestors." Ritual behavior in Tzoʔontahal seems to confirm this, but in view of the waning belief in the presence of the ancestors and the loss of confidence in their agents, the curers, this behavior is a kind of social lie designed to perpetuate the old code of morality. In their everyday behavior, people no longer act on the same premises. The social lie is perpetuated because the people who enjoyed power in the old social system—the curers and the elders—do not wish to relinquish it. It will last only so long as they can find successors, and with the abolition of the recruitment through alfereces, this should not be for long.

172 the density of occupational refuse suggests to him that the populations were concentrated on the hill sites themselves.

During the Post Classic period the valleys of Amatenango and Aguacatenango were apparently unoccupied. This correlates with a shift in the total settlement pattern of the area, from small well defended valleys to large, more strategic positions such as the ones on the Plateau Summit of San Cristobal de las Casas.

Ethnohistory

175 Historical documents tend to confirm that the valleys of Amatenango and Aguacatenango were not occupied by any large nucleated settlements upon the arrival of the Spaniards. They do not appear in the first accounts of the Conquistadores. The earliest reference to Amatenango is 1586 and to Aguacatenango 1605, perhaps indicating that the former inhabitants were reducidos (concentrated in villages by the Spaniards) somewhat earlier. These first references occur in connection with grants of encomienda (i.e., they were tributaries of a Spanish lord, or Encomendero) (Simpson, L., 1929:1950).

175 361 621 648 Both communities were formed, as far as we can tell from the scanty evidence in the primary sources, by the Spaniards, in agreement with the policy of reducciones (concentration of population in villages) of the encomiendas initiated in the sixteenth century (Calnek, 1961, Appendix III). Each one of these settlements was formed of two separate pueblos, one incorporated within the other, which later appear in other documents as parcialidades.

175 361 621 648 Thus, the village of Aguacatenango was created by joining the parcialidades of Aguacatenango and Quesaltepec, while Amatenango was composed of the parcialidades of Amatenango and Sacatepec. It is not possible at present to identify more closely the social groups that the Spaniards called parcialidades.

[797] It is probable that each parcialidad was composed of several lineages and clans, but up to the present time no one has done a comparative study of name distributions on available censuses or other similar materials, nor has any record been found, which explains the procedures used by the Dominican Friars (who controlled the reducciones in the area) when they reorganized 175 the populations of the territory.[1] In central Mexico the term 171 parcialidad refers, in the primary sources, to the four divisions 621 of Tenochtitlan, the Aztec Capital, but they also refer to the 175 barrios or calpuls (Caso, A., 1959). In Chiapas it is normally 621 used to mean the sub-divisions of pueblos reducidos. It is known, 648 however, that the parcialidades were originally separate groups of people which were independent social units. Even after the reducciones they kept important elements of their organization separate, including their political officers, who were responsible for complying with demands made by the Spaniards for tribute and labor. Some of the separate political functions have been re- 174 tained up to the present. It is also safe to assume that each one 621 of the parcialidades was an endogamous group; both Aguacatenango

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[1]The new documents are still unavailable. They have been reported by Edward Calnek in the National Archives in Guatemala, and by Dr. Vicenta Cortez in the Madrid Archives, Spain.

174 and Amatenango are at present divided into two endogamous barrios, remnants of these parcialidades.

173 The origin myth of Aguacatenango seems to agree with the 101 historical evidence, both indicating that the Amatenango settlement was founded somewhat earlier. According to the people of Aguacatenango their ancestors came from a place named "Bahuitz," close to the region of Oxchuc. The elders of the group chose a place about 1,000 feet lower than the present location of the town. They had to move from this place (which now is the colonia of El Puerto, where Aguacatenango owns land for cultivation) because "they were bitten by insects and disliked the climate."

They arrived at the site of their present location, and asked for permission to occupy it from the people of Amatenango, from whom they obtained the land. While they were clearing the land for their houses, some men from Amatenango arrived to ask what they were doing. "We are cutting down the trees," they answered, and thus "Feté," which means "cutting down," became their name. When they finished their work they sent some men to visit the Amatenango men and they found them gathering firewood. They asked again "What are you doing?" "Hob'tah," "gathering" the other responded, and that became their name. Both villages today call themselves and each other by these names.

Linguistics

174 197 The legend summarized above seems to imply that the two villages were populated by people who could speak to each other in the same language. This is confirmed by linguistic evidence.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

197 The inhabitants of both villages speak closely related dialects of the Tzeltal language, one of the two groups forming the Tzeltal-Tzotzil, which split linguistically from the parent stock of the Mayan Family around the beginning of the Classic Period of Maya Civilization (McQuown , 1959).

Lexicostatistical counts and isoglosses show that the two communities cluster together, in dialect cores of less than 500 years of separation, as against several others in the study area of the Chiapas Project of the University of Chicago. Several indices were used for the count, including degree of Spanish borrowing (McQuown, 1956; 1959). They indicate the same degree of linguistic acculturation.

191 At present Tzeltal-Spanish bilingualism is common, perhaps with the exception of elder women, although the Spanish spoken is mainly "market-Spanish" and reduced in vocabulary.

Demography

175 During the Colonial Period and the Independence both
• 621 villages remained stable, being endogamous, economically self-
166 sufficient communities with fairly restricted ranges of territorial movement; this is in contrast with the present day situation in which settlements tend to split into separate communities through local migrations (McQuown et al., 1959, Section 2, Part I, page 6).

175 A comparison of censuses available for the eighteenth and
161 nineteenth centuries suggests a high degree of demographic continuity with a slow, steady increase in population, although there is some evidence of population declines which took place in the

175 161 area as a result of recurring epidemics. It has taken 180 years for the villages to double their population while Mexico as a whole has tripled it in 144 years, from 1793 to 1937 (Simpson, W., 1937: 149).

TABLE 1

DEMOGRAPHY: POPULATION INCREASE

Year	Amatenango	Aguacatenango
1778	576	568
1958	1,337	1,034

• 621 166 More recently both communities have sent out some of their population to form colonias (small dependent settlements) in their rural periphery. Amatenango has formed four separate rural barrios (La Grandeza, Madronal, Yetahwitz and Patzhwitz) situated within view of the town, and two colonias (San Vicente and San Caralampio). Aguacatenango now has one colonia, called El Puerto. Most of its inhabitants are related to those of Aguacatanango; they moved down to El Puerto in the last thirty years, after the community lands had been expanded in that direction.

Political History

175 648 During Colonial times and the Independence period both villages shared the same types of relations with the outside world; these were mainly the payment of tribute in kind and services to the Spanish and Ladinò (Local Mexican) authorities.

When first mentioned, the villages appear to have been

175 648 under the administrative jurisdiction of the Provincia de los Llanos.[1] They were, and still are, part of the same Curato of [093] the local Catholic Church, which was under secular clergy, as opposed to most villages in the area which were under Dominican jurisdiction. Up until 1854 they were subjected to the same changes with respect to the administrative districts of the State of Chiapas (districts which were rearranged practically every time 175 there was a change of government). In 1854, however, the local •621 648 631 districts were reorganized into Municipalidades (the closest English equivalent being a county); Amatenango became attached to Teopisca, the nearest Ladino-Indian town, as a part of the ninth Municipio, while Aguacatenango became dependent upon the fourth Municipio of Comitan, together with the towns of San Bartolomé (also a mixed Ladino-Indian town), Totolapa and Concordia (Trens, 1942).

631 621 At the present time Amatenango is an independent Municipio, having been separated from Teopisca in 1937, while Aguacatenango is an Agencia of the Municipio of Venustiano Carranza. Both com- [692] munities are, however, attached to the equivalent ladino towns in [651] similar ways because of their economic dependence, because such disputes as are not solved within the confines of the village are sent to the juzados of the towns, and because the offices of the Tax Collectors and Ejidos are situated in these ladino towns.

175 669 621 631 Neither of the two communities became directly involved in the Indian Uprisings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,

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[1] San Bartolome de los Llanos; today known as Venustiano Carranza.

175 669 called by the historians the Wars of the Castes (Pineda, 1888; 621 Molina, C., 1934; Kline, H., 1960), and both of them voted to join 631 Mexico when the State of Chiapas was contemplating annexation to either Mexico or Guatemala (Trens, 1942:274).

TABLE 2

175 631 621 AMATENANGO AND AGUATENANGO: POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE JURISDICTIONS

Time	Amatenango	Aguacatenango
1600 to 1778	Obispado de Ciudad Real Provincia de los Llanos	
1829	Departamento del Sur Partido de los Llanos	
1844	Distrito del Centro Partido de Las Casas o San Cristobal	
1854	Municipio de San Cristobal 9th Municipio	Distrito de Comitan 4th Municipio
1937-1958	Municipio de Amatenango	Municipio de V. Carranza

175 177 286 In the end of the eighteenth century (1792) the Bishop Francisco Gabriel de Olivares y Benito tried to specialize Amatenango, Teopisca and Aguacatenango as small textile centers (cotton) by giving the weaving materials to widows and young female children to process and sell. A school for the training of weavers [874] was established in the same year, but the project ended unsuccessfully in the beginning of the nineteenth century (Trens, 1942: 175-6).

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Relations with the Outside World

Amatenango and Aguacatenango can be considered independent societies for the purposes of describing them, in terms of their internal features. Each one can be analyzed in terms of "the entities that compose it and their interrelationships" (Redfield, 1955:19). They have their own ecological adaptations and a set of cultural norms that preserve their style of life and justify it at the ideological level. They have their own "personality" and "life history." In a sense, they are those unique wholes which Redfield defined in "The Little Community" (1955): "a small settlement of people self-contained and distinct from all other" (Redfield, 1955:113). But because this is so, a description of their general outlines of life would not be complete without indicating their place in the larger society of which they form a part.

The Indian villages of Chiapas, such as Amatenango and Aguacatenango and many others, form part of a world larger than themselves, an extremely complex one, both socially and culturally.

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On the one hand, the Indian villages live within a local society which also contains settlements of Ladinos, local Mexicans who have a separate cultural tradition and social organization. On the other hand, although the Indian villages and the Ladinos' settlements are two quite distinct social types, one cannot be understood without the other.

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Mexico is a multiple society, characterized by two distinct cultural traditions, each significantly different in the extent of integration. Only part of the population of the country

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doctors and officers of the National Indian Institute (INI) who arrive to the villages at irregular intervals. In Amatenango, the INI has established a "clinic" in which a native nurse provides some medical services, such as vaccinations, the selling of aspirin, etc., while in Aguacatenango the native INI nurse provides services in his home.

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In both the villages the INI has established a cooperative store which sells staples which are not produced in the community, but such stores are in no sense agents of cultural change, selling only commodities which the Indians habitually buy elsewhere. (A reason for the lack of success of such stores is that the Indians have not understood the "cooperative" principle, very few men have joined, and they are disillusioned with the marginal profit obtained through them.) In 1958, Amatenango had water piped into the village, a project completed by the INI in 1957; while after the author left Aguacatenango in 1958, water pipes were installed there.

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Political relations with the Ladinos of a more formal nature occur through the courts of justice and national government offices, and they are characterized by the covert (and at times open) hostility and misunderstanding on the part of both Indians and Ladinos (see D. Metzger, 1956 and Fuente, Julio de la, 1956).

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Relations with other Indian villages are common both for Amatenango and Aguacatenango. They trade with the communities located in different ecological zones the products that do not grow in their territory (ocote from the highlands, sugar cane from the lowlands, etc.) in exchange for their own products and they

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AT THE VILLAGE LEVEL

Introduction

128 For the purpose of describing the social structure of the two communities compared on this paper, they will be treated at two levels. The level of the macro-structure contains the total community and the community territorial divisions (the barrios); the micro-structural level contains the household, the descent groups, and the informal territorial groupings or neighborhoods.

[621] [184] The main justification for this division of the material is that the macro-structure of the two communities is extremely similar, and there will be very few axes of contrasting comparisons to be found at this level, while the micro-structure is the level at which the most important differences between the two communities discussed in this paper are found.

A second justification is that the definition of roles at one level is separated from the definition of roles at the other level.

128 571 The roles at the macro-structure level are role dyads which include, on the one hand, the individual in the role of a community member, and on the other, any person representing the community at large. The roles at the micro-structure level are

- 8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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The Social Setting of the Villages

Introduction

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The villages of Aguacatenango and Amatenango can best be described as corporate peasant communities, following Eric Wolf (1955: 452-71).

First of all, the villages are small, independent social systems, with clearly defined geographic and social boundaries, "in relation to both outsiders and insiders" (Wolf, 1955:456).

The Land

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In the spatial dimension, the main characteristic of the villages is that they lay claim to a territory, a land base over which they hold exclusive rights of usufruct, and which has clearly demarked geographical dimensions. The rights over this territory are communal rights, every villager being a co-owner of the community territory, in the sense that membership in the village gives to a man the rights of usufruct of land within the village boundaries.

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We do not know what the characteristic features of the pre-hispanic land tenure system of the Tzeltal-Tzotzils were. At the beginning of the Spanish occupation of the area, the Indians were relocated in villages and assigned to a particular encomendero and encomienda. (The encomienda was an institution by which a Spanish lord was assigned a number of villagers from whom he had the right to collect services and tribute.) At the same time, the villages were allotted land of two kinds: municipal, administered by the town officials and used to pay taxes and tribute to

T M 175 423 621 The rights over land given to the villages by the Spaniards were not contested by the Mexican Government, but during the last century there have been some redistributions of the boundaries to better fit changes in the size of the population of the different villages in the area. Besides, although it was not legally approved, large chunks of the territory of the communities were taken away by the local ranchers who had the backing of the state politicians. As a result of the land invasion by the ranchers, the villages of Amatenango and Aguacatenango controlled, until recently in this century, very little land, mostly temporal, the better land being in the hands of the local ladino ranchers. After the Mexican Revolution of the twenties, the fincas (ranches) were expropriated by the national government, according to new policies of agrarian reform, and under the presidential regime of Avila Camacho were returned to the villages as Ejidos (cooperatively owned land).

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The territory of the villages is divided today, by use, into land for agriculture (?ulabal [irrigated], pomultik [hot-country] and temporal), land for residential sites, and land for lumbering and pasture. Within the communities the over-all authority that controls land is the Ayuntamiento, the body which forms the civil branch of the civil-religious government that is the ultimate authority in village affairs. The Ayuntamiento controls both the communal lands and the Ejido lands.

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The Ejidos function very much like the communal lands, in that they are "owned" by the community. Every household head is a member of the ejido cooperative, and has rights to cultivate a parcel within the ejido. According to the Mexican Agrarian Code,

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423 621 the Eiido should be administered by a Commission, the head of which is the Comisario Eiidal. In Amatenango and Aguacatenango, however, there is no distinction between the administration of the communal lands and the eiido parcels. Although there is a Comisario Eiidal, he is usually a young man whose word can be overruled by the Ayuntamiento with whom he must work in agreement, and although the position of Comisario does not count in the escalafón of the civil-religious hierarchy for seniority rights, the post has been informally assimilated into the Ayuntamiento officerships.

Through the legal assignment of a limited territory for each village, the size of the land owned by the community has been, at the moment, frozen. The community lands can neither be expanded, nor alienated from it, except under very special circumstances defined by law.

[642] Under the Mexican Agrarian Code only the State can reclaim land from the community, and only under special conditions: need to establish urban centers, means of communication, and the constructions of hydraulic works for public benefit. Of these, only the second is likely to occur at the present time in this rural, marginal area, which has no modern urban center, little water supply, and a scarcity of good land, so that the construction of a dam is not worth undertaking.

On the other hand, community lands can be expanded for cultivation in three ways:

1) Buying land from nearby fincas, which now cannot be expropriated because they are within the size limits of inalienable property (propiedad inafectable) set up by the government.

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2) Extending the rights of usufruct in the already available communal lands which are still covered with timber.

3) Petitioning the Ejido Commission if there are more than twenty individuals without parcels. In this case, the Ejido Commission is responsible for providing land by seeking further expropriation of large latifundios. This, again, is not likely to occur, because the size of the surrounding private properties is smaller, now, than the maximum size permitted by law, and cannot be reclaimed. Many finqueros, in other areas, have large properties which they have managed to keep untouched by registering the land in the name of several family members with separate ownership titles, so each one is smaller than the size permitted by law (Montagu, 1960). If necessary, the government could claim that this practice is illegal. But in the valleys of Aguacatenango and Amatenango this type of finca does not exist, being common only in the more fertile lowland territories such as the area of Ocosingo.

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Some communities in the Chiapas highlands have been expanding their territories by invading the lands of bordering villages, the best example of this being the Chamulas into Huistec land, north of San Cristóbal de las Casas (Pozas, 1959). But in Amatenango and Aguacatenango, although from time to time they have had conflict over the exact boundaries of their territories with other neighboring villages (Pinola, for example), this type of expansion has not occurred. The demands for parcels by the villagers can be met from the already available land because of the

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423 621 recent grants of land, and also because the whole region of Amatenango and Aguacatenango has less population pressure than the overpopulated Chamula area.

Membership

621 In the social dimension, one of the basic features of the corporate communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is their criteria for membership: to become a member of Amatenango of Aguacatenango one has to be born in the village, or marry a village member.

Contractual membership, although rare, may occur, and has, but only for Indians, and with concensual acceptance by the whole [166] community. When the nearby fincas were closed after the Mexican [175] Revolution, some of the Indian peones attached to them asked for and obtained land from Amatenango and Aguacatenango and became full members of these communities with the same rights and duties as any other community member. Although people can indicate who is a member of a new or old family, this distinction tends to be forgotten, even by the families themselves, after the next generation has been born and married into the village.

628 621 423 [651] A man from another Indian community may receive an agricultural plot if he makes a petition to the Ayuntamiento, is willing to pay the ejido taxes and the limosna (tax levied against the household heads to support the expenses of celebration of village holidays) and a small payment to the Ayuntamiento (20 pesos) for handling his case. Even then, he has to bring witnesses to testify

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621 to his good conduct, plus demonstrate that he is not able to culti-
423 vate within the confines of his own village lands.

621 Membership in the community requires residence within its
423 territorial boundaries. If a person moves away from the village
166 he loses the attached rights of membership, although at his return he can claim such rights back.

621 Maintenance of membership involves clearly specified duties (e.g., paying communal taxes), and the general obligation of living and acting in agreement with the cultural norms.

Government

All the male members of the community, ideally, and most of them in practice, participate (at some time in their lives) in the government machinery of the village.

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794 Amatenango and Aguacatenango each have two governmental bodies, the Ayuntamiento (or civil body) and the Mayordomias (or religious body). (The distinction between civil and religious is not a sharp one drawn by the community members themselves. It is an analytical device to label the different functions of these two bodies which are clearly separate and require different skills on the part of the incumbents.)

621 The Ayuntamiento deals with secular matters: it administers the land, the relations with the outside world and the village taxations, and is in charge of the maintenance of social control through the application of the native system of justice (as against, and separate from, National or State Mexican law; see Metzger, D., 1956). Among its duties are those of keeping vital statistics for

621 Among its duties are those of keeping vital statistics for
[659] the National Population Bureau which are sent to the state office,
[390] solving cases of adultery and theft, collecting the fiesta and
[351] Ejido taxes, keeping the streets clean, building and repairing
[362] roads and public buildings, and also taking charge of the local
[491] jail. Ayuntamiento officers are also called in to prevent or solve
[344] witchcraft cases and give advice and reprimands to misbehaving
[754] wives, sons and other relatives when the household or the responsible
[626] relatives cannot deal with the case on their own.

621 423 432 434 The Ayuntamiento also keeps its own corn field, worked by communal labor, whose crop is sold to collect funds for its own expenses.

794 The Mayordomia, or religious body, performs the formal activities on the religious holidays, is the custodian of the sacred objects (rockets, church keys, bells) connected with the Church, and the authority which carries out the tasks required by all of man's peaceful relations with the supernatural on the village level.

They are responsible as a group for the upkeep of the Church building and saint images, and the preparations for and the performance of Church Fiestas, regular church meetings, etc. Among their duties are those of providing meals for the priest while he is in town, helping during mass, contracting musicians and collecting the Church limosna during mass.

621 This structural level lacks monopoly of either of these functions in relation to other less inclusive social units. Social control and religious activity are carried on at the level of the barrio, the extended family, and within the household, and religious activity can be carried on by individuals.

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627 Many cases of adultery never go outside the fences of the sitio, and many witchcraft cases come to the Ayuntamiento only after a murder has been committed in "revenge," in which case the Ayuntamiento is only called in to re-establish order and calm down the relatives of the deceased, trying to avoid further revenge and bloodshed.

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776 The Mayordomos, on the other hand, have no control over the household Saints which are "owned" by each family and kept in the house in a special altar, nor do they relate directly, within the Church organization, to the many supernatural beings which populate the belief system of the villagers. The "owners of the hills," spirits which inhabit the caves, rivers and wells, the mythological creatures such as the Sombrerón (frightening ghost which appears to tempt people in isolated spots) or Juan Lopez (the local culture hero), and the evil and powerful souls of witches
794 are in a separate domain. These can be controlled only by the
624 curanderos, who have powerful souls, or by the principales. This
774 last group (principales) is also "in charge" of taking care of
776 the health of the village, and do so by having their own souls patrol the boundaries of the community at night and by forbidding entrance to sickness and plagues. The men capable of such supernatural performances "own" animal spirits (nahuales) which help them in their task. Mayordomos, on the contrary, can be men without such powers, and do not need to belong to the select group which deals with the supernatural outside the realms specified by the Catholic Church.

000 The communal offices of the Ayuntamiento and Mayordomías

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

621 The communal offices of the Ayuntamiento and Mayordomías
623 form a hierarchical age-grade system, with a partially compulsory
794 sequence of cargos (literally burdens, although it can best be
561 translated as offices) which end in the cargo of Principal, who is a member of the community council of elders.

561 The age-grade system does not have corporate groups of the age-set type common in East Africa. The system only places the individual in relation to others who are higher or lower than him in the hierarchy. People belonging to the same level of the hierarchy do not act as a group, nor do they develop special relations with each other.

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794 The name and number of officerships differ everywhere in the Chiapas highlands from village to village. Larger towns have a larger number of governmental posts within the hierarchy; in some towns the Church organization is more elaborate (perhaps because it was originally a curato head town, or had a convento in the village), the Mayordomías and Cofradías (religious brotherhoods which carry on some fiesta celebrations) have a larger membership, a more elaborate ritual and carry on a larger number of fiestas, while in other villages the Mayordomías have a secondary role with respect to the civil government. This is not the place to discuss the historical and functional reasons for this extensive variation, which would take a study in its own right, but the important thing is that although the form varies, the basic system of hierarchically graded officerships stays the same in all the Chiapas highlands, including Amatenango and Aguacatenango (see Zabala, 1961 and Figs. 2 and 3).

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

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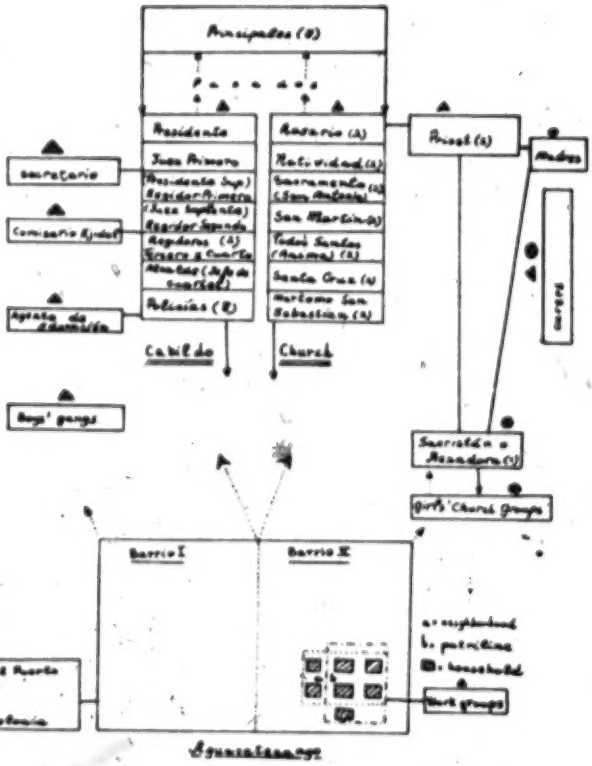

Fig. 2.--Hierarchy Structure in Aguacatenango

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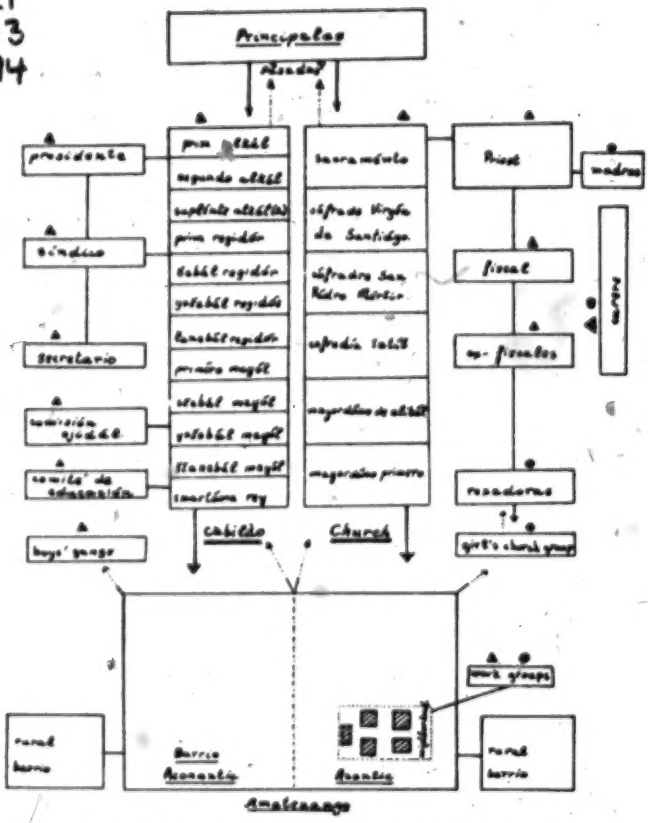

Fig. 3.--Hierarchy Structure in Amatenango

• 621 The government in the communities of Aguacatenango and Amatenango is highly "democratic," meaning by this term two things: (1) The decisions of the governing officials have to be in agreement with the community desires, and it cannot take steps which contradict the written code of rules (norms) or force villagers to spend money, goods or labor outside the areas of maintenance of outside the community. In ultimate instance, the community can overrule the Ayuntamiento, replace particular officers or deny rights to the total body to carry out certain decisions which are against the will of the majority of house heads. Before any important decision is passed, the officers investigate its possible acceptance among the village men, and they would not take steps until there is a margin of security that their word or orders will be taken by them in good will. The officers' concern [627] with the justice of their performance is quite important for them personally, because although a man enjoys immunity while he holds a cargo, he can be threatened with death at the end of his year of service. These threats are delivered by anonymous messages left at the Cabildo (House of the Ayuntamiento) door, specifying the reasons for discontent. Many a presidente municipal has been murdered for trying to introduce into his village some innovation [054] to which the villagers were opposed. Besides direct threats, there is also the "possibility" of being bewitched while not in office.

[565] (2) The second reason why the community government can [602] be called democratic is that there is no ruling class, as in most Mexican-Ladino towns, nor any special kinship group in charge of the town affairs. A man cannot transmit his political power to

621 his children, nor can he keep control of village affairs after his year of service has been fulfilled. Even a man occupying a post of high responsibility and prestige, a juez (judge) for example, becomes just an ordinary citizen after he leaves the office. All the men in the village theoretically, and most of them in practice, become village officers at some time in their life.

An individual starts at the bottom of the hierarchical ladder in the cargo of policía (also called mayor, topil or comisariado), which is a messenger or cleaning and errand boy for both the Mayordomos and Cabildo members. (He is the hands and feet [581] of the government.) The only requirement for this job is to be married. After this position has been "passed," a man is ready to start climbing the ladder to higher officerships, if he fulfills [581] the other requirements. He must have a child, a wife, and the [556] money which he is compelled to spend as part of the job: new clothes, liquor, and perhaps money to pay other men to help him with the agricultural work to which he cannot, being an officer, dedicate his full time.

During his life time, a man is required to pass a certain number of positions in the government, alternating Church and Ayuntamiento posts with rest periods of between one and three 62 years. After he passes the required number of officerships, and 887 by then he would be an old man, he becomes, automatically, a 888 pasado (a man that has passed his service), and can retire to private life, or become a principal, a member of the Elders' Council, a "father of the town." The Principales are the elder men in the village, highly respected for their wisdom and sought

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887 after for advice in many different events, such as helping to
888 decide the divisions of an inheritance among brothers, giving ad-
vice to a drunkard husband, etc. They also have important polit-
[1154] ical functions: they are called in by the Ayuntamiento to help
solve the difficult witchcraft cases, and they have to approve the
nominations of officers before they are presented to the community
as candidates.

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554 In selecting new officers, age, marital status, seniority
rights and previous experience are considered important. The
higher a position in the hierarchy, the more respected it is and
the more authority and responsibility it carries. While the lower
[555] positions can be filled by any man, the higher ones require certain
personal skills that not everybody possesses, so it becomes more
[624] difficult to find the right man for the job. Some men fail in
commanding the respect of their fellow citizens (because they drink,
or they fight with their neighbors, or similar breaches of behavior
for which they are not selected for cargo), or they become senile,
or die before they become pasados, so not every man arrives at the
ideal and most reputable role of Principal, which is the top role
a man can achieve at the community level.

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624 To be a principal a man has to be able to get along with
554 his kinsmen and neighbors, he should not be suspected of witchcraft,
he should be able to deal with outsiders to the community avoiding
conflict with them, he should be fast in judging the behavior of
others and solving problems, and his word has to be precise and
carry the necessary weight to convince others that his opinions are
sound (un hombre que "sabe hablar"). Moreover, he can more easily

621 Moreover, he can more easily 54
624 fulfill these requisites if he had been able in his lifetime to
554 become the jural head of a large and united extended family, be-
596 cause, given the fact that he should be able to control the opinions and actions of many villagers, it is his personal power with other individuals which supports his position as principal, and not the reverse.

621 Town officials, although they are selected by the previous
[623] officers and approved by the principales, have to be ratified in their positions by all the household heads in a public meeting. The different qualifications of some men for the higher posts creates some disparity in the number of cargos held by a particular individual, but the differences are never enough to say that political power is differentially distributed. The following table and figure show the distribution of officerships by age group, in a random sample of married men in Aguacatenango, and it confirms the idea that the villagers themselves have about their access to political officership: any normal, married man with more than one child is capable of achieving, in a hierarchical order, several political posts.[1]

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[184] [1] This system is in contrast with other villages in the area. In the very large communities with paraje type settlements (a nucleated village which functions as a ceremonial and political center surrounded by dispersed hamlets) such as Tenejapa or Zinacantan, although the number of offices is tremendously increased, the population is so large that only a few men from each paraje pass the cargos, and the ideal of every man participating in the hierarchy of power is never attained. In those cases, only the richer obtain office, and the "democratic" aspects of the system are less noticeable. It could be that an egalitarian political organization can only be maintained when the population size is limited, and that a large social group with a centralized organization "needs" differential power distribution, or, rather, cannot avoid the differential distribution of political power among the population groups.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

TABLE 3

AGUACATENANGO: DISTRIBUTION OF CARGOS
HELD BY MEN IN EACH AGE GROUP

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Age Group	Number of Cargos Held									Statistics	
	-	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	$\bar{x}$	s
20-30	8	4	6	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	0.9	0.901
31-40	1	. .	17	5	1	. .	. .	. .	. .	2.2	0.228
41-50	. .	. .	1	4	3	1	1	. .	1	4.1	1.700
51-60	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	2	. .	1	2	6.6	1.517
60 and up	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	1	. .	2	1	6.8	1.260
Sample: 62	9	4	24	9	4	4	1	3	4		

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Mechanisms to Preserve Community
"Corporateness"

One can say then, that in broad terms, political power is distributed among the households of the village in an egalitarian fashion. The tendency towards internal egalitarianism is also present in the total economic organization of the two communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango. Egalitarianism in the economic and political realms, united with the fact that community norms are to be kept by every village member without discrimination, tends to make the community as a whole an egalitarian, homogeneous society. Homogeneity is preserved by the villagers themselves, who are very interested in keeping the status quo, because the interdependence of the villagers, the lack of specific powers given to individuals to create economic differentiation and/or political factions keeps the village united as a corporation with respect to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 57]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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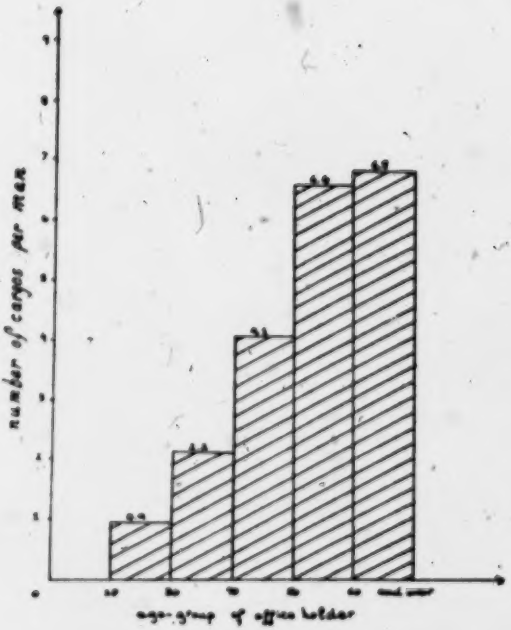

Fig. 4.--Aguacatenango: Distribution of Cargos by Age Group (Arithmetic Means).

621 the outside world, from which, from the community point of view, come the threats to the individual Indian, his family and to the village as a unit.

The mechanisms employed for the preservation of the village as an Indian corporate community are the wealth leveling devices and the sanctioning system described below.

556 Economic Mechanisms

The villagers aim at a better subsistence level, but not at capital reinvestment, and wealth does not command prestige in [433] itself. Extreme wealth differences are not likely to occur because, on the one hand, the marginality of land limits the productive power of the villager, and the low level technology: machete, digging stick, and wooden plow (the last only used in the 621 flat bottom land) limits production and also capital increase. On 423 the other hand, accumulation of land is limited by the Ayuntamiento having control of the ultimate disposal of free land within the community. Therefore, although there is some variation in the amount or variety of land held by a family, for the community as a whole there is a clear tendency toward an equalitarian distribution of parcels, so that in gross terms every household head controls agricultural plots of similar size and quality to every other agriculturalist. (Each household controls land both in cold and hot country, both irrigated and temporal and of equivalent quality.) 423 It is difficult to ascertain the size of each 433 particular holding because the people do not think in terms of the size of the parcel itself, but in terms of the amount of grain

423 necessary to plant it. In some land more seed is necessary, so a
433 tablón, a measure of how much seed is planted in a parcel, tends to be about a hectare, but can also be irregular in shape or somewhat larger or smaller.

434 Ideological and Sanctioning Mechanisms

Even if a domestic group manages to accumulate profits from the extra work of its members, the forced assumption of fiesta obligations and cargos (Officerships) inhibits capital accumulation and redistributes the profits back into the community in the form of consumable goods: food, alcohol, cohetes, etc.
•621 The assumption of the cargos requires a certain amount of capital
556 to spend on the expenses attached to the post, so it is likely that a household head who has managed to save some extra money is going to be called to perform his duties as an officer rather than the other men with less wealth and equal qualifications.

621 In terms of economic and political bases for differentiation, then, the communities are egalitarian. Villagers insist that everybody is just like everybody else: "we are all equal, we all follow the customs, we are all poor, we are all agriculturalists,
621 we are all Indians, just the same," they say. Nevertheless, they
183 would also admit that some people are good and some "have bad hearts," and therefore would not follow the customs, or would try to become richer by getting involved in economic enterprises which are not Indian (such as buying or selling for high profit, or lending money, or becoming store clerks). They would imitate the Ladinos in their speech, dress or their house layout, become "alzados"

621 183 (prideful and authoritarian with equals) and commit other misdemeanors against the village norms.

621 156 Individuals as well as families can be accused of having a "bad heart" or "small heart." In a sense, any social deviant (even a person who possesses peculiar physical characteristics) can be accused of having a "small heart," and, therefore, of being a witch if he abuses his political power while in office, or gets involved in deals with Ladinos, or refuses to spend his capital in community enterprises (not only by refusing cargos, but even if he insists on not paying a limosna).

627 754 If an individual is considered a witch, the villagers can try to get rid of him by bewitching him in exchange, and this failing (witches, they think, are difficult to attack because they have powerful souls), can be "condemned" to death. Murders which are witchcraft "revenge" cases occur regularly in the communities. Vengeance against witchcraft is a community affair. If a man develops a reputation as a witch, he knows he cannot count on the support of anybody. Fear and hatred isolate him and his family. He knows that he can be killed, and has to do everything possible to counter-attack the slow but certain build-up of village antagonism which will end in his death, at the most propitious occasion.

The usual procedure in eliminating a witch is for several men, usually those who for particular reasons (such as several recent deaths in their households) feel that they have been personally attacked by the witch, to agree on killing him. This is done in secret, but even then they try to insure, by subtle

626 754 784 Therefore, the threat of supernatural sanction is powerful as a communal weapon against social deviation.

621 We can see, then, that the structural dynamics of village life are composed of opposing forces. On the one hand, there is a tendency toward egalitarianism which is expressed in the formal organization of political power and the economic life of the village as a unit. On the other hand, there is a tendency toward deviation from the economic norms which is repressed and expressed in the belief system and the sanctioning of deviants. (Obviously, if people would not tend to deviate from the egalitarian norm, witchcraft "specialization" would not be necessary!)

121 There is no society in the world which does not possess criteria for social differentiation. Some criteria are, by nature, universal: the basic biological differences between persons (age, sex) or psychological skills (intelligence, mental deficiency). Some other criteria are culturally determined (age-grade, class, wealth and so on). Even among societies in which the life conditions preclude social stratification, such as the Sirionó, some few cultural criteria of individual social differentiation are always present. When I suggest that Amatenango and Aguacatenango tend to be communities which reinforce homogeneity at the economic, political, and cultural levels, I am far from indicating that individuals are not evaluated differentially. In every social situation, even meeting on the street, Amatenangueros and Aguacatecos make social distinctions and determine their relative position with respect to each other: one would call a

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•621
571 man bankil (respect term, "elder brother") the other would be his
576 kiht'zin ("younger brother").

621 Older men are socially superior to younger ones. A man
561 who has passed many cargos has more authority than one who has not
554 served in the community government. A man with many children in a united family commands more respect than a man whose children are embarrassed of him because he is a trouble-maker. A good
562 talker is better thought of than a boring drunkard. The same dif-
561 ferentiation scale, although using some other criteria, also func-
626 tions for women. Elder ladies have enough social status to be permitted to laugh in public while young married wives are expected to keep quiet. A woman known as a "good mother-in-law" collects the rewards of praise of other women. A wife who keeps her husband clean and well fed can visit around and be well received, while a lazy housekeeper would not be welcomed in other women's houses who fear of being judged "by the company they keep."

554 A constellation of factors, therefore, places the indi-
555 vidual in a very particular status position, and his personal
156 skill can increase his prestige or destroy it. Moreover, the
621 total performance of an individual in the totality of his roles
571 can not only increase his general status and gain the approval of his fellow men, but would be an important factor in saving him from witchcraft accusations. A man can try to control as much labor and capital as possible in order to maximize profits from his work and minimize its consumption, as long as he does not create enemies, and insures his prestige in as many dimensions as possible: he can give advice to conflicting parties rather than

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621 getting involved in the fight. He can help relatives in distress
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[426] pay a debt or give a curing ceremony for a sick child. He can be
[155] a "hard worker, ready to offer a hand to a neighbor in need of
[476] extra labor" (hel-K'abal). He can send his wife with small pres-
[431] ents of food to other households. He can make many compadres
[608] among those whom he suspects of possibly being against him, thereby assuring their friendship and respect. In sum, he can create around himself a long chain of loyal villagers who are bound to him by many different obligations. Then, because he is a 'leKil winiK' (one that behaves well with the people), he can "afford" to become rich by local standards without the immediate fear of punishment.

Every household head manipulates his environment in these terms. People try to accumulate riches and protect their paths in other ways. They also try to avoid distributing their accumulated wealth outside their household and to prevent the envy or gossip of those not so bound by loyalty, by hiding from others the knowledge of their possessions.

The result of the contradiction between the egalitarian values on the one hand, and the individual aspirations and behavior on the other, is expressed in gossip, "witchcraft talk" and a constant realignment of loyalties among villagers. Every man suspects another of being better off than one is led to believe, while at the same time he himself tries to keep others from suspecting him, and would not voluntarily give information on how many horses he owns or how much corn he has grown.

The picture of life in Amatenango and Aguacatenango is

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

156 The picture of life in Amatenango and Aguacatenango is
62 not, however, from the ideological point of view of the community
754 members, spread only into sanctions of negative dimensions. There
777 are some justifications for wealth or success which are as intimate a part of the world view of the villagers as witchcraft is, because witchcraft has a positive counterpart: suerte (luck).

777 Suerte, as witchcraft power, is also a supernatural power given to the particular individual without the person's will having control over its possession. Some people are born with good suerte, some people with bad suerte. Some people can be "given" a particular suerte by a supernatural being[1] at some time in their life to keep until his death or for some period of time. Of course, a man cannot give his suerte away or transmit it to his children. The suerte is not a general power, but has specific dimensions. For example, a man has suerte to raise cattle, which would, then, grow and reproduce tremendously in his lifetime. But, he may very well have bad bean crops. His children, at his death,

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[1]The suerte can be given by many different supernatural
[776] beings. Some informants say it is Dios (God), or the Virgin Mary, some say it is the Sombreron, or owner of the deer and caves, to whom one has to promise to give one's soul at death, some others indicate that it is written in one's destiny at birth to have a particular type of suerte. The variations in the belief are many, and in a system of ideology without a Church body to create, and control the diffusion of dogma, this is to be expected.

[779] The only organized dogma available to the villager is the
[538] local Catholic Church, but this dogma leaves out a series of beliefs such as suerte and brujeria as unacceptable. Therefore, these beliefs are only transmitted informally, together with folk-tales, myths and the like. Because dreams are of great importance in relation to these beliefs, each individual can contribute, through
[787] his personal dream experiences, to the general pool of ideology of
[771] the community. Therefore, tales and myth, dream experiences, the "true" stories that people are told in the evening by particular relatives or friends, all tend to produce a mushrooming of alternative versions of the same or similar sets of beliefs.

accused of having an evil supernatural spirit. (A consequence of this is that recent immigrants to the village, not well known by the community at large, or solitary characters that keep to themselves, are more likely to be thought of as witches even if they do not break community norms.)

The Macro-Structure: Barrios

Amatenango and Aguacatenango are both divided into two barrios which are territorial divisions separated by an imaginary line that cuts across the villages through their central plazas. The barrios of Amatenango are called Aconantik and Anwtik (Upper and Lower) while the Aguacatenango barrios have Saint's names.

This dual barrio division is common to many Indian settlements in the Tzeltal-Tzotzil region of the highlands of Chiapas, as opposed to the multiple barrio system of the mixed Indian and Ladino towns.

In the community of Oxchuc, the barrios (kalpuletik) function, according to Siverts (1960), as non-exogamous moieties with important political and ritual functions. In the opinion of this author, these barrios are just pseudo-moieties (Murdock, 1949; 47) not being based on rules of descent, but cutting across the lineage, sib and phratry units to which Oxchuqueros belong (Guiteras Holmes, C. 1952; Villa Rojas, 1945). This definition as pseudo-moieties holds true for the barrios of both Amatenango and Aguacatenango. They are not directly connected with any descent groups, but are territorial units with functions similar to those of real moieties.

621 Although the barrio lines are imaginary, they are effective limits for interaction between the inhabitants of the two sections.

621 582 The barrios are ideally, and in practice, endogamous. (Eighty-three per cent of marriages contracted in Amatenango are barrio endogamous marriages, and 86 per cent of Aguacatenango couples have spouses from the same barrio.) The distribution of Inter- and Intra-Barrio marriages is shown in the following table:

TABLE 4

INTER- AND INTRA-BARRIO MARRIAGES

	Amatenango %	Aguacatenango %
Spouse from the same barrio	83	86
Spouse from other barrio	7.5	8
Spouse from other rural settlements	9.5	6

Given the fact that barrios originated from the parcialidades, which were at the time of the reducciones independent communities, it is possible to assume that the endogamy rules are as old as the establishment of the villages.

621 518 582 [114] The latent hostility between the barrios becomes evident when the endogamy rules are broken. Young men trying to flirt with girls of the opposite barrio are reported to be beaten up, and although most informants insist that this custom is a "thing of the past," the Metzgers' field notes (Metzger, 1956-58) on Aguacatenango recorded two contemporary cases. Sometimes an offering of liquor to the single men of the opposite barrio will help

621 578 582 them to "overlook" the trespasser, but not many young men are willing to risk the ire of the other barrio bachelors, nor the gossip and sanctions applied to them by their own barrio mates.[1]

621 794 Each barrio plays a role in the political and religious organization of the village by sending an approximately equal number of officers to the Ayuntamiento and the Mayordomías. Although in some years there are more delegates from one barrio, they attempt to correct the imbalance in the succeeding years. [623] The Principales (council of elders) have also equal representation.

621 [573] [575] [312] Escuadrilla groups (adolescent boys' gangs) and unmarried women's Church groups are formed among barrio mates. Women, with few exceptions, used the water wells or pipe lines in their barrio of residence (the exceptions include women who originally came from the other barrio) and who do their washing at places in [476] the river on their barrio side. Men who work together at such tasks as buying and butchering a cow, building a path or clearing an irrigation ditch belong to the same barrio. House parties [527] [123] organized to buy candles for the Church before a special Saint's day are barrio affairs, and no resident of the other barrio (with [575] the exception of the anthropologist) is invited. In the past, there were, in Aguacatenango, religious sororities sponsored by the Catholic Church, and each barrio had a separate one. There

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[581] [589] [1]A man that has married once is considered to have had his share of the available women of the barrio. Second marriages, especially with girls who have never married before, are not well thought of. It is common, then, that second marriages occur across barrio lines. A man finds it easier to cope with the antagonism of the other barrio men (who are expected, in any case, to be antagonistic) than with the bachelors and neighbors in his own barrio, where he has to face the antagonism in every day interaction.

621 [575] were the Daughters of Holy Mary and the Daughters of Guadalupe.

[574] Visits to households in the other barrio are rare, and when they do occur they are due to unusual circumstances and are accompanied by formal etiquette. A long discussion was observed in Aguacatenango when the members of a household were debating the "correctness" of going to a house in the other barrio to buy milk for a very sick man. Two days later, the anthropologist was present in the house of the cow owners when the wife of the sick man arrived and asked to buy the milk. The senior woman of the house denied that her cow had any. When the visitor left, it was explained that "milk is money, the Ladino schoolteacher pays better for it, and besides . . . the woman came from the other barrio. . . ." When the Ayuntamiento authorities call the household heads to contribute with communal labor and/or discuss village affairs, it is usual that one barrio will send many and the other barrio relatively fewer delegates, depending on which one is more affected by the outcome of the activities involved.

621 423 The only important difference between the barrio organizations of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is their relation with the land tenure system. In Amatenango, the barrio lands are not separate. In Aguacatenango, although the barrios are not land-holding units in the strict sense of possessing separate titles of ownership, rights of usufruct of the village communal and irrigated lands are held separately by the two barrios, the people of

G21 423 [312]

each barrio prolonging their cornfields towards "their side." Aguacatenango irrigated land is divided and allocated so that men from one barrio have their plots separate from men from the other barrio, the barrio plots being watered by separate canals.

The same way that the community as a whole holds exclusive titles of ownership and rights of usufruct against other communities, the barrio has a monopoly of certain town lands, over which it holds, if not ownership titles, rights to plant their crops, gather palms for the roofs of the houses and espino for the fences.

In 1956, a group of men from one barrio bought land from a nearby finca (ranch). A month later, the other barrio bought land from another finca owner. The meetings which planned the purchases were closed and maintained in semi-secrecy. There was some conflict over the rights of the "other barrio" to use the pastures included in the new lands of the other, and gossip on the subject lasted almost two years, revealing, once more, the traditional separation between the two village factions.

That the barrio as a land-holding unit is more significant in Aguacatenango should not be a surprise: Aguacatenango is much more dependent on land for its subsistence, since agriculture is the only large-scale productive enterprise of the community. Therefore, conflict and competition for land tends to acquire greater proportions than in Amatenango where people have other important sources of income. One of the ways in which possible conflicts between village factions over land and its products is handled, is by delimiting the territorial rights held by the people who belong to such factions.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER IV

THE ORGANIZATION OF PRODUCTION

128

Introduction

Up to this page we have been describing the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango, emphasizing the similarities between these two social universes. There is, however, a set of differences between the two which requires separate treatment. It is important to do so because a detailed analysis of the patterned variation in the two villages can show us how, within a very similar social and cultural background, two societies can develop alternative forms of behavior which place the relations between individuals in two contrasting social structures.

Aguacatenango

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[621]

Aguacatenango is purely an agricultural village. The whole community is organized into independent domestic groups which are, in a sense, small family farms administered by the males.

Men cultivate the field crops--corn, beans and squash--do other planting and agricultural work, and care for the large livestock with the help of the sons who live under the same roof. Each household has a male head who is the bread-winner; he is responsible for the welfare of those who live in the same sitio.

241 433 then, each season is a question mark, an equally unpredictable year of plenty or a lean year.

184 323 241 433 434 In Amatenango, when the crop fails or is poor, the income of the villagers can be compensated by producing more pottery. This is obviously not so in Aguacatenango. If hunger threatens the families, the result is a higher migration rate or an increase 184 166 464 731 in the number of men leaving town to work part-time in the fincas. The result of having an alternative form of income within the 184 434 621 homestead in Amatenango is that the village keeps its income more balanced year after year, and that the village as a whole has a reputation of being richer than the other communities.

184 434 462 562 In Aguacatenango, the women are an economic burden. The men are very aware that they themselves "do all the work." Women have long and leisurely afternoons which are spent sitting on their porches grooming, chatting, or visiting. Men complain of this, saying "Women cannot realize how hard a man has to work. They complain of not having this or that, but they do not know. . . ." In Amatenango, on the contrary, women are important producers, men and women sharing, equally, the responsibility of supporting their families.

Thus, in the one case, Aguacatenango, the work of women has a marginal, undeterminate value in an economic milieu in which they have no cultural alternatives to convert their labor into goods or subsistence necessities; in the other case, Amatenango, the labor input of women represents about half of the total productive efforts of the villagers.

883 (gang), containing males from the age of about twelve to the time
562 they marry. They usually sleep together in one of the escuadrilla
573 member's house corridor, and spend long nights playing the harmonica, having corn eating competitions or serenading.

562 A man is not considered a full-fledged community member
885 until he marries and has a child (the word for man and father
851 have the same root: tat), which allows him to take the lower
601 post in the government (policía). The government itself is an
621 age-graded organization in which the kinship terms of elder and
621 younger brother are used reciprocally, and by extension, by officers in lower and higher posts.
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601

562 With the passing of time, both men and women increase their
593 status by raising a family and by passing to higher positions in
621 the civil-religious hierarchy. Although women do not participate
794 directly in the government, they have some duties as officer's wives (e.g., ironing the Saint's clothes if their husbands are Mayordomos), and they are called by their husband's titles. A man may resign from office if his wife dies and there is no other adult woman in the household who can take care of her part of the officer's performance.

184 The first noticeable difference in the ordering of social
562 relations in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women
592 in the domestic group.

184 In Aguacatenango, the eldest male is the head of the
562 household. He controls the land which the men of the household
462 work, the cattle, the labor of the household members and most of
592 the money obtained through the sale of surplus corn (which is

593 583 584 The boy obtains a wife with his father's help. He has usually selected the girl himself, but his father makes the arrangements with the girl's parents and pays the bride-price. The bride-price, called the bocado (mouthful), is paid to the household of the future bride and has a fixed value, 300 pesos, given in the form of consumable goods: chocolate, sugar, bread, coffee, cigarettes and trago (the local brew).[1]

585 183 593 606 At the marriage ceremony, the new wife and husband are instructed in the rights and duties of their new role. The young wife is told, in a formal speech given by an elder man of the

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[1]The regular marriage negotiations include several visits to the girl's parents called the pedidas (requests), which can be spread over a period of six months to a year. The last pedida is [585] considered the engagement ceremony, and after that comes the entrega de la muchacha (the giving away of the bride) which is the ceremony referred to here as the marriage ceremony. This ceremony follows the native custom. There are two other marriage ceremonies which can be performed, and are optative. One is the civil marriage at the Ayuntamiento, selected by very few because it is considered an unnecessary expense, although it gives some prestige. The other is a Church wedding, performed by the Catholic priest. This wedding ceremony does not occur until the couple have been married several years and have children. Church weddings are considered to be strong bonds, which are very difficult to break up. In many cases, if a couple is fighting a lot and the wife threatens to leave the homestead, the husband will try to marry her in the Church to force her to stay in the household. Because of its high prestige value, if a boy is rejected by the family of his sweetheart at the pedida, the suitor's family will offer as an extra attraction a Church wedding immediately after the entrega de la muchacha.

In some cases, when the suitor is rejected by the parents of the girl, or if he cannot afford the bride-price but the girl is willing to live with him, the marriage ceremony is not performed. In these cases, the institution of the robo (the stealing of the girl) is common practice. The suitor arranges with his girl-friend to run away together at night, and go to his home. Therefore, robos or huidas occur with the consent of the groom's parents, who have to accept the girl into the home. The robo is [621] common in inter-barrio marriages, where the pedidas ritual is socially impossible to carry on, because the limitations put upon barrio interaction and the rules of barrio endogamy.

593 156 62 [583] Aguacatecos expect a man to take the responsibility of setting up his son in "business" as a community member. He pays for his son's bride, teaches him the skills for tilling the soil in order to earn a living, and provides him, at a prudential time, with the means of production: a parcel of land, and perhaps a few animals, and a house where he can live with his wife and children.

593 888 At the same time, a son is expected to take care of his parents when they are old and the father retires from agricultural work because he is too old, sick or weak to do, by himself, all the work necessary for the maintenance of his household as an economically independent unit. The people say that a son should provide for his aged parents because: "Did we not give them everything?"

The primary responsibility for the care of aged parents is usually given to one son in particular, preferably the last one (po'h). The villagers explain that this is his duty, because "if [428] he stays with us when all our other sons marry, get their land and leave, this house will be for him, he will inherit this place." Thus, the villager visualizes his dependency on the last son as an economic exchange between kinsmen: he receives from his son food and shelter, he gives him a house lot and house. The duties of a son toward his parents are expressed both in the kinship idiom

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[592] the separate cooking fire, is the symbol of the unity of one [591] single domestic group. When two couples live within the sitio [606] without dividing it, people are very careful to explain if they still cook together or not, and if they cultivate the land separately or not.

592 but it is always built around a core of agnatically related men:
593 a father and his sons, united in their common interest in the patrimonial land and the fruits of their joint cooperative labor. To this core of men are attached their children and their wives, all of whom are dependent on them for their food supply, shelter, and the satisfaction of most other needs.

621 When a couple moves outside the parental home, the house
591 site that they are given should be contiguous if possible, or as
592 close as there is a place available, to the husband's father's
602 homestead. Thus, ideally, the town should be settled by clusters of domestic groups forming localized agnatic lines, each containing a man, his parents, his brothers and his married male sons. At the same time, one would find out that women, because they follow their husbands, live much further apart from their agnatic relatives than men do.

593 After a man moves from his father's household, he is not
591 expected to work the same parcels with his father, but they do
476 share some work in common. Usually (I don't have the exact num-
241 ber of cases, but enough information to suggest that this is the
417 mode), a man and his sons have contiguous milpas that are fenced together. The fences, which are laboriously built and repaired, are the communal job of all the men, and save them the time and effort of building interior separations between the plots, because the purpose of fencing is to keep cattle from invading the parcels and without fences it is useless to risk planting.

423 This does not mean that the land is held jointly. Each man
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183 591 The preceding figures, when combined with the figures of compounds, show that the patrilocal norms are followed in practice in 95 per cent of all cases (see Tables 8 and 9), while only 64 per cent of the women live with the same degree of proximity to their parents.

The difference in proximity for men and women is not accidental, but statistically significant at the 0.001 level of confidence. This also shows that the community, as expected, is divided into localized clusters of households of agnatically related men. Even the 64 per cent is an inflated figure, since a man tends to marry a woman who lives close to his parental home, following the proverbial adage of "marrying the girl next door."

621 592 602 [582]

183 591 Alternative Norms of Uxorilocal Residence

The percentage of men who do not conform to the patrilocal norm are not exceptions to a rule, but illustrate alternatives available under a flexible pattern. The instances of uxorilocal residence do not depend on arbitrary individual choice, but are socially sanctioned and few in number.

591 A man will go to live with his wife's parents, or live in a house given to him by her father, for the following reasons which everybody in the village knows:

1. When a man is an orphan, that is, when his parents are dead and there is nobody in his family to replace the father as economic mentor and jural authority, a man does not have a household to bring his wife to live in nor a relative to work with and who will give him a house lot. In this case, a man, upon marrying, will move to his wife's parent's compound. He will then work the

[606]

591 606 land with his father-in-law, and, at the time that the couple is ready to live separately, his father-in-law will provide a house for him and his wife.

TABLE 9

•621 591 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: PROXIMITY TO PARENTAL HOME.
ALL MARRIED INDIVIDUALS

	Living In	Man				Woman			
		Cases	Per Cent	Accumulative Per Cent		Cases	Per Cent	Accumulative Per Cent	
I	Same or adjacent compound	40	69	95	100	15	42	64	86
II	Same block	10	17			3	8		
III	Adjacent block	5	9			5	14		
IV	Same town division	3	5	5		8	22	22	
V	Different division	. .	. .	. .		3	8	14	
VI	Other town	. .	. .			2	6		
	Total Sample	58	100			36	100	100	

	+	-
Men	55	3
Women	23	13

I to III = Patrilocal Proximity
I to IV = Barrio Endogamy
I to V = Town Endogamy
VI = Town Exogamy

$x^2 = 12.6, > 10.827$ significance level at 0.001

593 592 464 562 423 loses his labor and some of its land holdings, while if a daughter leaves, the loss of labor is marginal, there is no loss of land, and her removal is not a drain on the resources of the household, nor does it upset its basic economy.

591 593 182 The multiple bonds between a father and a son over the patrimonial land of the family, the products of their joint effort, and their common responsibility for setting up the standard of living for the homestead, all foster patrilocality.

423 425 592 621 [593] A young man could, today, obtain land without his father's direct help. He cannot obtain irrigated land (because it is extremely scarce, and privately "owned" by the household heads), but he could obtain land in the communal lands of the village. This, of course, is not the better land, being temporal and far away from the village. Although the temporal land close to town is not privately owned, it is "earmarked" for use by the heads of each household. That is, the communal lands are distributed to households, not by titles of ownership, but by usufruct rights. Even if he decides to take such a step, he needs (1) the approval of the Ayuntamiento which oversees the distribution of usufruct rights for the community as a whole, and (2) the recruitment of other men to help him clean and fence the parcel.

621 593 423 425 578 Neither of the two alternatives is easy to carry out in practice. First, if the Ayuntamiento grants land to a man against his father's will, this creates a problem of jurisdiction between the jural rights of the household head and the administrative rights of the Ayuntamiento. We could not predict what consequences such a case would have, because we have no evidence that it has ever occurred (of course, this is based on the case

593 histories collected during the field work season, and it well
578 could be that a case was missed). Second, if he wants to obtain
621 help from other men, they risk antagonizing, with their willing-
423 ness to cooperate, the head of the household in which the young
476 man is residing, and they also risk the concommitant sanctions.

423 The young man could also obtain land without his father's
425 help by leaving the community to work for wages and saving enough
464 money to buy land. Although the selling of parcels is not a
166 common practice in Aguacatenango, the idea of land being a com-
593 modity that can be bought and sold has been introduced, and some few household heads, in cases of emergency, are willing to sell. Of course, leaving the community to work for wages means voluntary exile for a man and alienation from relatives, friends and the cultural milieu. Also, men insist that it is profitable to work for wages only if one does it for short periods of time and keeps milpa simultaneously. Wage work alone is not enough to buy corn and the other necessities to meet the requirements of the customary standard of living.

593 On the other hand, a man breaking away from his home and
62 refusing to accept his father's authority becomes a deviant, and
156 antagonizes not only his family, but the community.

593 Although it is possible, theoretically, to become eco-
592 nomically independent of one's father against his will, in fact
156 a man can only set up his own household in compliance with the ethical principles and moral conventions of his culture. Therefore, he is only permitted to form his own domestic group when he has demonstrated that he has reached the stage of social maturity which allows him to do so.

593 592 885 621 But a man wants to become independent of his father. While he is living within his parent's compound he is considered by the community to be "a child." He is bound to work his father's land and cannot control the produce of his own labor. Until he sets up his own separate domestic group, and becomes economically independent, he does not have full rights to participation in the political life of the community because (1) he is bound to make political decisions following his father's, and he has no voice in most community affairs which are the concern of household heads, and because (2) he cannot materially afford to take up the expenses of officership.

562 592 885 606 Women are also usually anxious to set up their own separate domestic group and independent housekeeping because this gives them some autonomy which they cannot achieve otherwise. The bond between a daughter-in-law and a mother-in-law is not expected to be a strong one. We have already discussed how the two women are assumed to be somewhat antagonistic, and their common work of housekeeping is unequally distributed.

While women live in the same compound with their mother-in-law, they have no power to make decisions of their own about their working schedule, their housekeeping, or the food stored by the elder because this is under the control of the elder woman.

[574] A woman cannot freely take time to visit her mother because she is expected to keep her social life within the boundaries of [313] her husband's domestic unit. She cannot even go to gather firewood, which is an activity highly enjoyed by women. Except for getting water from the well or pipes in the street or gathering firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VII

CORPORATE GROUPS WITHIN THE VILLAGE

Historical Perspective

174 611 591 601 583 423 428 It is probable that the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango had, at some time in their past, a patrilineal organization based on agnatic descent, patri-virilocality, a kinship terminology of the Normal Omaha type, and other associated features such as bride-price, groom service, patrilineal control of the rights to land usufruct, and patrilineal inheritance.

174 613 614 621 626 Each agnatic descent group formed segments of a corporate lineage, and several segments formed a sib. Lineages were localized, and they had important social functions. The heads of linear segments formed the local government and had the responsibility of controlling conflict and sanctioning individual behavior through the supernatural. They were believed to "own" powerful animal counterparts of their souls, which patrolled the village during sleep, and punished the misdemeanors of those men belonging to their line of descent. It is also probable that the lineage was [582] an exogamous unit, and there is some scanty evidence which points to the practice of cross-cousin marriage.

127 The evidence to support this hypothetical statement is of two types. On the one hand, there is some historical documentation in published, as well as manuscript, form. On the other hand,

571 and outside the household by the bilateral group of kinsmen of each particular Ego and his or her spouse, which because of the residence pattern, live localized within a neighborhood.

602 592 562 In Aguacatenango, on the contrary, most important activities are carried on mainly by agnatically related kin. This, of course, does not mean that matri-kin or affinals are absolutely excluded. But in making decisions for giving or receiving help in work, for example, agnatic kin are preferred, especially for men, because women tend to collaborate mostly with the agnatic kin of their husbands. The reason for this is that activities for women are not determined in terms of the kinship lines, but in terms of household membership: they collaborate with the closest kin of the household in which they reside, and not their own closest kin. A household contributes labor and interacts more often with agnatically linked households than any other.

361 602 592 The reason for this difference in emphasis could be said to be a result of the fact that one collaborates more with the people who live the closest. After all, the neighborhood in Aguacatenango tends to be a cluster of agnatically related households. Nash felt that in Amatenango, "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relations are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130). We disagree with this statement.

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323 241 933 182 591 592 621 In Amatenango, pottery making and corn agriculture are the two principal productive enterprises which affect the organization of the domestic group, including the residence choices, so it is not strange that the neighborhood group (or residence clusters within the barrio), made up according to the criteria of selecting

323 producers for the particular domestic groups, seems to be the
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433 originator of bilateral increase in interaction, while it could
182 be equally well said that the bilaterally settled neighborhood in
591
592 Amatenango is a result of the selection of household personnel
621 along both males' and females' kinsmen lines.

114 J. Nash (1960) interpreted the bilaterality of Amatenango
602 as being a result of the residence pattern. Nash assumes that
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361 kinship and territoriality are two mutually exclusive principles of association, while in reality they are not so. On the one hand, if territoriality (or the spatial placement of the individual in the household) is determined by kinship alignments, both would tend to be symmetrical; on the other hand, even if they are not mutually inclusive (which in this case they are), both are emphasized simultaneously in the same set of choices, so that the principles of spatial proximity and kinship proximity, although independent variables, are concomitant in their effects. Moreover, Nash found out that activities which did not involve immediate reciprocity followed the kinship line exclusively without reference to territorial propinquity.

121 The danger of assuming that "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relationships are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130) becomes evident in a larger theoretical context. If residential propinquity tends to set up interaction along bilateral lines, the opposite, residential dispersion, would tend to emphasize interaction among unilineal relatives. Then, all lineally organized societies ought to be organized in exogamous settlements, or in a dispersed hamlet pattern, and all large concentrations of

121 population, such as an endogamous village, ought to be bilateral societies. This is obviously not so. Even if we assume that our statement is a reductio ad absurdum of Nash's point, there is evidence in the immediate vicinity of Amatenango that other villages, equally concentrated in population, with the same physical setting, are not bilateral. J. Nash (1960) compared Amatenango and Aguacatenango in a few paragraphs, and she felt that the evidence supported her theory. However, the data available to her was very unreliable. She quoted a preliminary report of Metzger written before the residence analysis of the community was carried to completion, which contained only impressionistic observations, and gave the impression that residence was neolocal and that agnatically related households were widely spread within the community, which we have shown in chapter vi not to be true.

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Moreover, Aguacatenango not only has patri-virilocality, but corporate patrilines. The name-groups in Aguacatenango form localized agnatic descent groups (which we above called the localized clusters of agnatically linked households). The people belonging to a name-group are recognized as relatives or, in Tzeltal, "those who are my family on my father's side." Those individuals have one last name (Indian surname) in common with Ego. Within the Spanish surname, some people are considered in the descent group and some are considered aparte (separate), but a man of the Spanish name Perez, would say that all those Perezetik who are not aparte belong to his family, and any Perez is "closer" to another Perez than to a man of another Spanish name. The reason for the segmentation of the Spanish name-group is lost in the past. When the lineage system was composed of

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[602] The patrilines function in several dimensions. Work groups, although invariably containing some bilateral and affinal relatives, recruit members mainly among agnatic kinsmen. Men fence their fields with the help of their brothers, father and sons; when villagers get together to buy a cow for a town fiesta celebration, each cow is bought by a group which contains agnatically related men. In one case, seventeen men who bought a cow together belonged to four patrilines which were neighbors among themselves. In another case, in which several men got together to build a house, nine were agnatic kinsmen, three were affinals (the son's wife's brother, the daughter's husband and the wife's brother), three were compadres and one a neighbor from across the street. The women who prepared the meal for the housewarming were: nine agnatically related to the household head; two agnatically related to the wife of the household head; three affinals of the household head; two affinals of the wife; and two neighbors. In another case, a man and his two sons, one of whom was living in a separate domestic group, helped in the construction, and several other men were contracted to help with the payment, although the daughter's husband, who was a carpenter, was called in to give advice and help.

613 [432] 613 621 476 [462]

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Individuals, in time of trouble, seek advice from the elders of the patriline, which is the largest unit in which kinship solidarity functions as a controlling social force outside the domestic group. The patriline also exercises control in the form of moral pressure: gossip, accusations of witchcraft, and responsibility for vengeance when a patriline member has been

000 precisely stated. Today, with the total increase in land holdings,
423 the influence of the Ejido Commission (however minimal) and the
621 introduction of a money economy in which land is becoming more
592 and more of a commodity that can be bought and sold, in terms of
178 contract transactions, land tends to be thought of as individual
household property. There have been several cases in which
[593] brothers have bought land from each other, although they are the
people from which a line member can expect to obtain land, or in
the absence of it, the necessary help to clear and fence a new
parcel in forested communal territory.

178 Other reasons for the constant breaking of linearity,
613 which reduced the patriline to a very shallow group, are inherent
593 in the system itself. First, the antagonism between brothers over
423 property rights tends to make the sibling group weak, and agnatic
lines split in each generation.

593 Insofar as siblings occupy an equivalent position with
[592] respect to the elders in the household, their sentiments towards
one another are easy and affectionate, but insofar as the elder
sibling has jural authority over the younger ones, the relationship
is marked by constraint, respect and a certain ambivalence.

Thus, siblings are expected to love each other, to give each other company, to help when necessary, and to share, in some aspects of their life, a common position with respect to the community at large, or what Homans calls the external system (1950: 90-94).

The equivalence of siblings, especially those of the same sex, is evident in many observations. A man whose brother is

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178 lineage (which exists today in many other communities such as
754 Oxchuc), has disappeared. Without the basic belief in the super-
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613 natural controlling powers of the lineage heads, the ritual activities performed by the lineage as a corporation became meaningless, and fell out of use.

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613 Finally, from an economic point of view, the large patriline
434 household-compound, as a productive unit, is unfunctional, and the
421 characteristic form of the domestic group is now the nuclear house-
578 hold, which also contributes to the weakening of patriline strength. Within the nuclear household, it is difficult for its members to discriminate between the part of the household income that is derived from the household head in his capacity as a worker and that which is from his unmarried sons; between those profits which are derived from the household head as a capitalist who has provided tools and implements, and finally those which come from his capacity as "owner" of land. In a larger household, differences in labor in-put, rivalry between the women about the food controlled by themselves and belonging to their husbands, or between the men about the property rights of the produce derived from their common effort, tend to create conflict and disunity. In the
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594 nuclear household, the division of labor is explicit, the role ex-
578 actly and minimally distributed, and conflict, in the case of its occurrence, is likely to be more quickly solved because the fission of the nuclear domestic group is equivalent to the disappearance of the household itself.

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613 The functions before performed by the lineage are now
592 performed by the household, the community, or by the neighborhood
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group, composed in Amatenango of bilateral relatives, and in Aguacatenango, mainly of agnatic kinsmen, but also including some affinals and non-related people, because contiguous household-to-household localization is an ideal not always realized (we have discussed previously how in some few cases a son lives in a house given to him by his father, but one block distant from his father's own compound).

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The result of this complex set of variables is that the lineage has lost, in Aguacatenango, some of its characteristic functions. The Amatenango case, to extend the example, shows how, even when (1) patri-virilocality disappears (as a consequence of the women participating actively in the economy), and (2) the status of the sexes with regard to inheritance and rights over property becomes equal, the lineage disappears leaving only small traces of its previous presence: name groups without meaning or function.

184 591 586 the father is preferred, while in Amatenango, both paternal and 602 maternal relatives are equally good choices.

184 736 591 434 9. In Aguacatenango, where widows are incapable of supporting the economic demands of the household by themselves, they choose to reside with a male sponsor in another household, while in Amatenango, they can be self-sponsors and the heads of their own domestic groups.

184 621 582 591 10. In both villages, residence within one's barrio is preferred over residence in any other territorial division. In Amatenango, cross-barrio marriages are accompanied by matri-uxorilocal residence as well as patri-virilocal residence, which results in both men and women residing in a barrio other than their own (11 per cent and 16 per cent respectively). This results in Aguacatenango barrios being related only through the circulation of women between them, while in Amatenango, both men and women are transmitted between families across barrio lines, in both directions.

184 621 602 [592] The structuring of economic and residential sponsorship produces two different types of neighborhoods in the two villages. In Aguacatenango, the neighborhood tends to be a cluster of agnatically linked households, while in Amatenango, it is composed [613] of a set of kindred. The barrio in Aguacatenango, then, is a [562] territorial division containing neighborhoods which are localized agnatic groups, which I call localized patrilines, with few non-relatives and bilateral kinsmen enclaved throughout the blocks; a man does not separate from his territory or barrio, nor from his neighborhood, while a woman circulates within neighborhoods after 184 621 591 marriage and even within barrios. In Amatenango, both men and

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621 women tend to stay within the neighborhood in which they are born,
591 or, equally, cross territorial lines at marriage.

121 To be able to derive these simple rules of residence, we
591 had to take into account some aspects of sponsorship which Fischer did not include in his typology. First, Fischer makes the error of assuming that people make residence choices mainly in terms of kinship, and within kinship, in terms of lineage and lineage sponsors.

We have shown that people make residence choices in terms of both kinship links and economic interdependence, and that among kinsmen, unilinearity is not necessarily the basic criterion for
121 choice. Although Fischer's typology can be very useful in analyzing
128 groups in which linearity is strong, such as Aguacatenango, it
602 tends to obscure the analysis of more bilateral groups such as Amatenango.

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602 To make up for this bias in the taxonomy, we had to add
591 three separate criteria for sponsorship: (1) the sex of the
562 sponsor, independently of his lineage affiliation; (2) the generation
561 of the sponsor; (3) the economic role of the sponsor, independently
571 of his or her sex, and independently of his or her kinship connection with the person being sponsored.

184 At any given time, an individual in Aguacatenango or
591 Amatenango resides in one and only one household, and derives his
592 rights of membership in the unit through kinship or marriage, depending on the importance of his position as a laborer. While in Aguacatenango men derive their membership, as a rule, through descent and women after marriage only through affinality, in

184 Amatenango both men and women derive their rights to reside in
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592 particular homesteads through both marriage or birth, as alternate choices.

592 The economic system in itself is not an independent vari-
591 able. Given its present shape, decisions about where to live,
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181 changes in the composition of the domestic group at crucial points
602 in its development, and the strength of emotional ties between individuals are influenced by it. Most choices which concern the structuring of internal relations within the domestic unit are expressed by the cultural carriers as economic and kinship choices simultaneously, or in other words, as economic choices made within the framework offered by the kinship structure of the domestic unit.

Other factors, however, seem to perform no less important functions. Among these other factors, we have mentioned the following in separate parts of the previous text: (1) the position of the person within the kinship group which forms the core of the household; (2) the number of men and women residing in the unit; (3) the age of the household membership; (4) the temperament and attitudes of the household members with respect to each other; (5) the aspirations of the individual, in terms of the achievement of status, the insurance of positive affection and the need for psychological rewards; and (6) the laws of group interaction.

571 In order of intensity, the economic domain affects (1) the
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621 individual's status within the family; (2) the membership and organization of the domestic group, both in terms of residence choices and the distribution of authority within the unit; (3) the

571 592 [821] developmental cycle of the domestic group; (4) the relations of households within a neighborhood and within the more inclusive kinship groups; (5) the relative strength of the patriline versus the bilateral group; (6) the functions of the larger territorial endogamous divisions or barrios; and (7) the total community.

[184] Except for the importance of barrio land tenure in Aguacatenango, and general higher wealth of Amatenango as a whole, the system of production does not seem to affect the structuring of relationships at a level higher than the household and the particular type of rights and duties of members of the extended family of each village.

184 562 The position of women for the village at large is very similar in the two communities. Except for the fact that Amatenango women have the economic power and the legal right to take cases to the Ayuntamiento on their own, neither the women of Aguacatenango nor of Amatenango has rights to political officership, nor to roles outside the domestic domain, which, once more, confirms the anthropological truth that whatever the descent system, or the economic organization, jural authority is ultimately vested in the hands of the males of a society.

182 571 602 Economic factors are not the only factors affecting the interpersonal relations of the villagers. The economic structure is a given historical and cultural fact. Many choices of behavior, which are economic choices in their immediate context, are not so in terms of the long range view of the system. First, the kinship system seems to limit the range of economic alternatives for the individual, independently of the fact that choices

9: Nash

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

• 621

[For the function of various socio-political officials in civil inauguration ceremonies in Tzo?ontahal, see category I16, pp. 213-223, 224-B, 226-B, 227-237, and 244-245.]

/6 cont./

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Ajkol-culibal	Alán-culibal
19 Chik	14 Chik
13 Chejeb	18 Chejeb
22 Ijká	6 Ijká

/7/ Among the Spanish surnames we have 6 that belong exclusively to Alán- and 6 to Ajkol-culibal (not counting the case in which a native surname of the Chik clan is joined to two different Spanish surnames that are found in both culibales). The remaining 14 Spanish surnames are combined with surnames from the two culibales.

621 Today the culibal is not endogamous, but we believe it
582 possible that it was in former times (as we have found in recent
178 investigations of the Tzotzil group of San Pablo Chalchihuitán of
174 this region). The present possibility of changing residence and
551 the incorporation of native surnames originating from a culibal (or perhaps two) that have disappeared within the boundaries of the two remaining make the reconstruction of the pre-Hispanic
621 culibal impossible in this case. According to the data obtained
582 in our census, 62.5 o/o of the marriages were concluded between
551 persons whose native surnames originated from the same culibal.
[125] In spite of the low percentage, nevertheless the custom of mar-
[166] riage between people of the same culibal predominates (we should
[613] not forget the mobility permitted in recent times, because of which residents of one culibal are persons whose lineages originate from the other), although cases of marriage between persons belonging
[614] to the two different culibales also abound. It is almost always preferred to look for a wife among the women of the same place or rancheria, but at present we can say that clan exogamy is the only thing that regulates marriage.

621 Each culibal has its own chiefs, elected from and by those
622 members who have filled political-religious positions in the
[631] Chakel or Ayuntamiento /municipal government/. The clans are
[614] taken into account in this election, rigorously taking turns. The
[651] culibal chiefs assign the communal lands, organize the collective tasks for the benefit of the community, pray for the health and

/7 cont./

621 the harvests of all on the appointed days, and collect the taxes
• 622 on the lands of the culibal, which they take to the seat of the
[651] municipality of Ocosingo, from which Cancuc depends in the capacity of municipal agency. An order given by a chief is obeyed without discussion by all the members of the correspond-
[614] ing culibal. The men of each culibal participate in the local government in equal number and category, just as also in the filling of religious positions, the clans always taking turns.

/8/ Kinship System

601 Below we shall see the kinship system, intimately related to the social organization based on exogamous patrilineal clans.

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Kinship Terms of Cancuc*

*This list presents the kinship terms with their significant primaries /Sp. primarios/. Some have the possessive prefix of the first person, but we have preferred to retain this form because this is how they are obtained in the genealogies and how they are heard in the common language in the forms of usage and because we use the charts of EGO, which are the ones of more common use. Due to the lack of printing types representing the phonemic signs, we have chosen the Spanish orthography.

601

bankil	a man's older brother.
xibel	a woman's older brother
uix	older sister; father's sister
kitsín	younger siblings of both sexes
tat	father
me	mother
nichán	a man's children
kaal	a woman's children

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P 467-B] Teklum

178 the cave and that they are in communication
756 with him. But these claims are met with ex-
769 pressions of disbelief by the people. Almost everyone is convinced not only that the curers do not now talk with the ancestors, but that the ancestors no longer look over them from the watchout hill outside their cave.

756 The loss of control by the curers is drama-
178 tized in the long passage quoted above con-
731 trasting the past and present treatment of epidemics. Formerly the two leaders of the curers consulted together and announced to the president that they had rid the town of evil. Now the curers as a group are ordered to come before the civil authority. There, in a
[273] long examination called *ʔiʔ yoʔtan*—"taking the heart"—in which 18 liters of liquor are consumed, the assembled curers and civil authorities decide who among them is responsible for bringing in the witchcraft that is causing the epidemic. Later in the evening,
[682] one of the curers is usually killed (cases 11 and 29, Table 1).

756 (2) *Conflict between the curers and the civil*
578 *authority*. The competition between the curers and the civil authority can be traced in a series of incidents beginning in the '30's and culminating in an open confrontation in the spring of 1966.

756 The first incident occurred in 1932, when
578 the town was still part of the neighboring
682 Ladino township:

683 F went and asked permission of the authorities to
[632] kill his enemy, a curer, who he thought was bewitching his brother-in-law. The president went to the house of the suspected witch with the order to imprison him. He said they were going to take him to the neighboring township center to put him in jail. The group of authorities set off with the suspected witch. On the way, another group met them and asked them where they were going. The president replied, "To H." The group that had encountered them asked if they would like a drink to heat their body. They gave one cup, and then another. Then they cut up the suspected witch with a machete and put his body in the cave of the ancestors. When the widow enquired the next day where her husband was, the president said that the man must have gone to the finca.

The ambush by the killers was prearranged in the town court, and the president covered their deed when questions were asked.

[622] In 1940, the leading curer of the lower section was president. When he killed a man who

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P.468-A]

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682 accused him of being a witch, he was put in
683 the local jail by the judge and then removed to
756 the departmental capital. During his term of
754 imprisonment an epidemic broke out in the
682 town; it was attributed to witchcraft sup-
683 posedly practiced by him and by two other
578 curers who remained in town. These two were then imprisoned. After they were set free, all three men were killed in different episodes involving accusations of witchcraft. Permission to act as executioners was granted by the civil authority.

178 In the past, the public review of a case before
682 a killing probably served to minimize homi-
754 cide, since permission was not always granted.
627 Since 1953, when a large highway first linked
[491] the town to the departmental capital and communication between this center of justice and the local township increased, the civil authority has not given permission, and prior review of witchcraft cases occurs only with epidemics.

756 The final incident in which the civil author-
754 ity confronted the curers occurred in the spring
578 of 1966. The president accused one of the
627 curers of cutting short his life by lighting candles in the mountains. The curers were called together to hear the threat and to go to the hill to look at the evidence. The accused curer remained at home pleading that he was sick. He was warned not to pursue his witchcraft, and as yet there has been no use of
[178] violence on either side. This open confronta-
[622] tion without the use of violence may indicate a change in the strategy of conflict with the growing power of the president.

756 (3) *Breakdown of the dual division.* The loss
178 of internal controls in the curing profession
578 and the conflict for power and control by the
621 civil officials and the curers are related to a
626 more fundamental change in the social structure of the community. Formerly the division of the town into two sections provided a channel for opposition as well as cooperation. Recruitment into leadership positions in both the civil hierarchy and the curing hierarchy was based upon residence. The system provided checks and balances in the exercise of power, for the two principales—one from each section of the dual division—were supposed to act as watchdogs over the curers. The shift in the locus of social control from the principales to the president has been marked by the open confrontation with the curers.

OOO The authority of the president, however,

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 468-B]

The authority of the president, however, depends on the use of legal sanctions of prison sentences and fines imposed by extracommunity enforcement agencies in the departmental capital. The weakness of these sanctions—the fine for homicide is 1,000 to 3,000 pesos or three to five years' imprisonment—means that these threats do not have a controlling effect on people's decisions to act. Homicide, carried out by individuals who feel themselves to be threatened, is a supplementary mechanism for social control. Cast in the idiom of witch-killing, homicide is the quasi-official execution of a community threat.

The breakdown in the former structural controls has not been compensated for by the intervention of extracommunity institutions. Attempts to circumvent killing are made by the priest, who counsels against it, warning that the killer will acquire the sins of the man he kills, and by the talking saint of Ixtapa, whom the Indians consult when they are pressed and who advises them to wait—their enemy will be killed for them. This advice is not sufficient to forestall all killings. Motivated by fear, some men still seek to eliminate the object of their fear.[7] The sense of the guardianship of the ancestors and their intermediaries, the curers, is lost along with the intervention of the civil authorities. The individual reacts, using his own means and trying to get sufficient consensus to avoid reprisal.

III. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Homicide in the community of Teklum can be a statement of the fear of witchcraft, of revenge, or of quasi-official reprisal depending on the circumstances and social relationships involved. Even in this small, self-contained community, homicide does not have a single meaning, analyzable within a single framework of change.

Homicide is part of the expectation pattern of the town. The patterning of the acts of homicide in terms of time, place, and agent makes possible rules of avoidance both in long- and in short-term calculations for survival. The long-range rules require respect behavior to elders, equals, and juniors and the avoidance of abusive or boastful statements. The short-range rules are to avoid walking alone in the woods or milpas far from town, to stay home at night, and to stop drinking.

Despite the grim and expectable outcome of being killed, not all men heed these rules. The love of power and the projection of self into

241 paraje perform before the altar of the
782 church in the ceremonial center. All prayers
796 are said in Tzeltal; some are Christian in
[778] origin, others entirely pagan. This prayer
[177] I recorded in 1944:

241
796 Here we come to bring you your food, to
782 light your candles, to play the harp, to play the
539 guitar. Here we come to perform your fiesta,
[534] so you may be happy, so you will not abandon us.

We have already planted the milpas; the seed is already in the soil. Father, do not forsake us; let the rains come properly; let them not be abundant nor deficient. Let there be a little sunshine and a few clouds. Let the soil be happy.

Father, let no hail come; let no wind come; let no locust come; let no harmful animals come; let no robbers come, lest they steal from us and leave us in poverty.

Father, let the year come well; let the corn turn out well; let the beans turn out well. Let there be no sickness; let there be no sorrow. Father, the mouthful has already entered; the word had already entered.

The word "mouthful" refers to all the gifts, "word" to all the prayer.

796 A similar ceremony is the *mukul mixa*
[621] ('great Mass'), organized by members of
[776] each calpul. Each calpul has its own patron
[622] saint and its own chiefs. For this ceremony
[534] many more people gather, for representatives and musicians (flute, drum, harp, and guitar) come from all places. The candles offered as "mouthfuls" are greater in number and size.

778 Household ceremonies follow as the head
78 of the household, in private, prepares the small home altar, where the cross which
[834] protects the home is always found. He adorns it with *juncia* and five candles; he says appropriate prayers at 6 o'clock in the morning or at midday, as he observes fasting and sexual abstinence. These family prayers may be repeated occasionally, depending on the condition of the milpa.

241 At the beginning of the month called
782 [P. 202-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

The country near the village has been farmed out long ago; now 361
the fields lie at a distance in the jungle. After every concentration, 311
the Indians drift away again like blown smoke. Today most of the [241]
houses are rotten, sagging, with gaping doors. The paths are grown up with weeds, huge, old moss-covered crosses lean at crazy angles by the main trails. Over all broods the frame of the sacked church, huge stone walls with rank vegetation around them, and a twisted, unhealthy oak-tree on one side, like a composition by Piranesi.

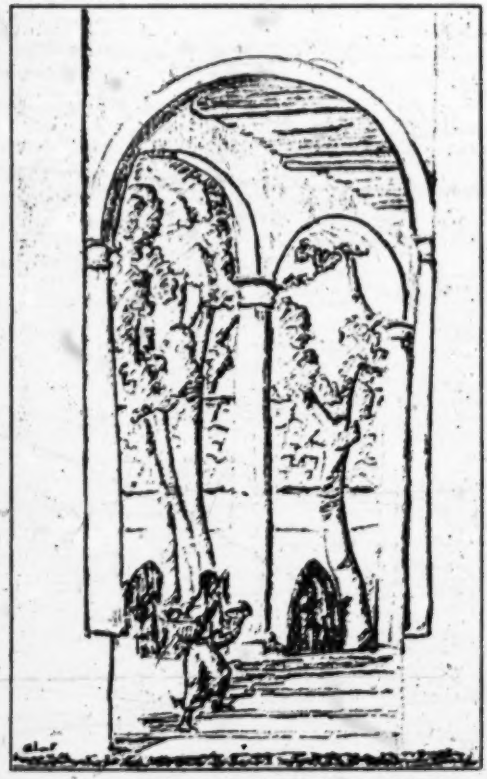


FIG. 277—Ocosingo, Chia. Colonnade on the Plaza.

Ocosingo Valley and 133
its neighbours furnish a transition towards the real highlands. The valleys are fertile and green, ringed in with ranges of steep, rich hills. The soil 134
in the lower parts is 137
light; here palms and pines grow together, with a luxuriance of rich grass that makes an ideal grazing country. Through 361
the valleys are large and small ranches of Ladinos and old Spanish families. The bigger ones, such as San Antonio, Quechil, and Achin in the Ocosingo Valley, San José Reforma and El Real beyond the San José Pass, and Tecojá in its own valley, each has a village of Indian labourers attached to them. The 342
natives' houses are rather better that the average, and often tile-roofed (fig. 278). The In- 241
dians of each ranch function more or less as a tribe, governed by 648
the owner of the ranch, conducting their own worship at its chapel. A few Indians own scattered, independent farms. Sivacá (*sivak* 361
ha', "Gunpowder Water"), near Ocosingo on the trail to Tenango, 621
is a true village, self-governing, with its own *alcalde*, under the su- 622
pervision of a Ladino *maestro*. All these groups come together at 628
796

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón
Sivacá

621 Bachajon and Sivacá are governed through native officials selected from among the men of repute in the tribe by the Mexican Government, more or less in accordance with the Indians' wishes. They serve for definite terms, usually two years, and may be reappointed. Bachajon Village, organized when the whole tribe was concentrated there, has two complete administrations, each with a 624 president, council, and secretary. At Sivacá the only official is the *alcalde*, who carries as insignia a staff, *barra*, 1.50 meters long, decorated with a double cross in black at the head. The secretaries [212] are chosen primarily for literacy; the others are older men of influence in the tribe. The great respect with which they are treated by the natives indicates that the selections accord fairly well with those they would make themselves.

648 Each group is in the charge of a resident Mexican official called 651 the *Maestro*, corresponding to our Reservation Agent. He is appointed by the Presidente Municipal of the local government. He is paid with taxes collected by himself from the Indians in produce or money, to which he adds commissions obtained from his services as a labour agent, the profits of trade in a few staples, and receipts from travelers, for whom his house is the official guest-house.

648 Ordinarily the *Maestro* does not give his orders directly to the 622 Indians, but works through the native president, who may openly 621 oppose him if he see fit, though he is in some degree bound to obey. The influence and power of the *Maestro* depends upon the individual, and on the temper of the Indians under him. In extreme cases he will send for troops, a measure greatly dreaded, as the soldiers, once arrived, may stay indefinitely, helping themselves freely to the pigs and chickens of the natives, and generally making themselves objectionable.

648 In addition to those appointed by the Government, the Indians 622 accord obedience and respect to a considerable body of purely 624 native officials. The only ones fulfilling a civic function are the class known as *Principales*, who exist chiefly among the Bachajon. They are men who know how to read and write Spanish, living in places more available to the outlying Indians than the Secretaries at Bachajon Village, and are usually men in whom confidence is reposed. Although they hold their position without official selection, but by general consent, they are recognized by the Mexicans with whom they deal as holding a sort of power of attorney for their people. They examine and sign written documents, and compose communications from the Indians to the Government. Through this they gain an influence with which, if they be men of force, they may become leaders of real power in their own districts. A *Principale* whom we met at El Encanto, where he had come in to buy salt, was

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

the informal chief of one of the semi-separated, turbulent groups already described. He was a well-built, square-faced, sullen yet cunning looking fellow, with a long scar from a machete cut across one cheek, and credited with a number of murders. 648 622 624

The shamans or medicine-men, *poci'*, although primarily doctors, have a quasi-priestly status, the result of the intimate relation of prayer and healing, of which more will be said later. They are honored accordingly as holy men, as well as for the power conferred by their knowledge of medicine and charms. A shaman obtains his position by some years of study under another, who teaches him both medicines and prayers. His repute largely depends upon the results of his practice. 756 554

Certain older men are selected annually to have charge of the fiestas, or saint's day celebrations; they have charge of all preparations and of the conduct of the fiesta, as well as being usually responsible for the care of the various sacred properties during the year. These officers exist in the hacienda groups as well as in the tribes. At the Finca Tecojá, where a fiesta was observed in progress, they were an amiable pair of rather drunken old men, known as *Caporales,* and at most places, in common with other officers holding posts of Spanish derivation, they were known by Spanish names. Interestingly enough, in the villages with the Governmental organization described above, they rarely coincide with the Government appointees, although this may be partly due to the fact that they are usually selected from among the oldest men. In Guatemala these semi-church officers often are a mask for tribal positions of real power, as was found to be the case with the *tcimañ* of Jacaltenango, who will be described in writing of that place (Chapter XIX). Here their influence and prestige was relatively slight, save during the period when their duties placed them in charge. 794 796 [554]

Almost the only trace of pre-Conquest feeling is to be found in the great reverence shown towards all shamans and Government appointees. An ordinary Indian will offer food, drink, or tobacco to all men of authority present before taking anything himself, even though it means the consumption, for instance, of almost all of a bottle of *aguardiente* before he gets any at all. We saw a chief at Tenango, where the same system prevails, take a lighted cigar from an Indian's mouth, giving him instead some unrolled tobacco leaves. When first coming into the presence of such men, or passing them on the road, an Indian will take off his hat, bowing deeply; the chief or shaman touches the Indian's forehead, and he goes on. This is performed with grace and dignity. It is known as *k'ol-tanup,* "head giving" (*k'ol* from *hol,* head). Instances were observed of thus 756 621 554 576

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

estimate, with their own, regular Indian administration under the control of the Ladino government. The *Presidente Municipal*, a most obliging man, got the Indian *Presidente* for us, whom we photographed by the last light of the day (fig. 329). Through this chief, men were sent out to bring in grass; they returned with enormous, green bundles as big as themselves.

The Indian houses outside the town differ from those previously described in the possession of a sort of porch, or part under the roof in front screened with boards, introductory to the house itself.

The Tenejapeños are strongly built, thickset, and short, with enormously powerful calves. In fact the chief industry of the tribe is acting as porters. They go in large bands to places at a considerable distance to take or bring back loads, competing successfully with the Chamula packtrains. In this the women are as proficient as the men. Their colour is dark, a rich brown, more red than golden, with distinctly pink cheeks showing through in the case of the children and old people. The men are almost beardless. Faces are rather broad and round* (fig. 330).

FIG. 329—Tenejapa, Chia. The chief of the Tenejapeños.

The essential parts of a man's costume are a pair of shorts and a brown and white striped Chamula Indian blanket, worn as a poncho. Two of these blankets may be comfortably worn in that climate. Hats, when used, are also of Chamula make, of straw with a flat brim, and round, close-fitting crown pointed at the top. Usually they are decorated with ribbons. A sash of white material may be worn, the ends of which, hanging down in front, are elaborately embroidered (fig. 331). The

*Starr (1902) made some measurements upon these people, the most important of which are summarized here. They show an interesting variability.

STATURE IN MILLIMETERS

Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range	Below 1600	1600—1650	1650—1700	Above 1700	Total
1,587	1,722	1,403	320	75	18	6	1	100

	Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range
CEPHALIC INDEX	76.5	86.4	69.0	16.5
FACIAL INDEX	81.6	94.5	65.6	28.6
NASAL INDEX	88.8	102.2	64.1	38.1

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

TABLE 26. The Functions of Civil Officials

Constitution of Chiapas, 1825 *	*Interpretation of functions by villagers*	*Actual functions, as observed*
642 President:		
622 To open and close the sessions at the hour designated in the ruling.	To order the judges.	Sits in on court cases; assigns fines.
To raise the order of the discussion, yielding the floor for or against individuals who solicit it.	To pass the banners in the town-hall.	Orders the police to bring in criminals, assigns tasks for them.
To designate the affairs which ought to be discussed, giving preference to those of greater importance and interest.	To go to the house of the alférez to pass the banners.	Announces government edicts on loudspeaker of cantinas (formerly police played drum and announced these at street corners).
To decree to the appropriate commissions the means or projects which are initiated by the members of the corporation or by individuals, in the cases that the law determines.		In sale of land, goes with síndico and police to plots of land to measure them.
To maintain decorum in the discussions, calling those who disrupt or use harsh expressions in which they lack respect and consideration owed, without loosing the moderate liberty which they ought to have in discussions.		Draws up official acts concerning cases of homicide, sale of communal land, etc.
To call extraordinary sessions when he judges it convenient or when some circumstances make it necessary.		Receives government officials.
To care for the present ruling; to impose fines of 4 reales up to 2 pesos to those individuals who without permission or motive do not attend sessions or do not arrive at the fixed hour, to those who commit some faults in them, or are remiss or lacking in diligence in fulfilling their obligations.		Signs birth and death certificates; consults calendar to name child.
To handle official correspon-		Initiates communal projects such as building the kiosk.
		Signs acts of matrimony and, recently, divorce.
		Orders police to bring in debtors.
		Consults with department officials in matters pertaining to community resources such as forest and irrigation canal.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Constitution of Chiapas, 1825 *	*Interpretation of functions by villagers*	*Actual functions, as observed* 642 622
dence and to sign the communications that the corporation makes.		
To sign along with other members of the civil officials all the acts of the sessions that are included in the book.		
To read orders of payment against the funds of the town, previously agreed upon by the civil authority in which they will specify the quantity and the object of its destination.		
To watch that the police assigned to the civil authority care for the papers of the archive and keep them in the best order possible, not allowing omissions in the correspondence.		
To demand fines of those who break these orders, previously agreed by the civil authority in the cases that are necessary, and to deposit receipts in the treasury of the town.		
Síndico:		
The síndico will have a voice and vote in the civil authority. His duties are:	To sit at the table.	Attends president in all above functions.
To raise his voice in the sessions.	To accompany the president when he calls upon him.	Notes contributions made in communal fiestas by each household head.
To ask and promote before the civil authority what is agreeable to the rights of the people.	To wait until there is a fight to arrange it.	Helps fiscal and treasurer count funds collected.
To intervene and censure whatever touches on the good administration and investment of municipal funds.		Succeeds president if latter cannot fulfill term of office.
To examine the accounts which the treasurer ought to present annually, to the effect that they		

(*cont.*)

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

642
622

Constitution of Chiapas, 1825 *	*Interpretation of functions by villagers*	*Actual functions, as observed*
should fulfill all the specifications following the statement of the respective commission.		
To promote the prompt dispatch of such duties which affect immediately the interest of the public.		
To represent the civil authority in all those judgements which promote the welfare or in which there is some demand.		
To watch over all the objects that are under the inspection of the civil authority, denouncing to them the omissions and faults of fulfillment which are noted.		
The síndico should be heard in all the serious affairs and when there is a plea for permission to invest municipal funds which is greater than that covered in the plans. In the naming of the commissions he will have the consideration of the síndico, in attention to the importance and extension of the objects which are under his inspection and care.		
Alcaldes:		
Exercise the office of conciliators.	Greet the principales with the pat?o?tan.	Initiate proceedings in courtroom, delivers verdict.
Handle civil cases which do not exceed 100 pesos, and criminal cases on injuries and light misdeeds which require only slight punishment and verbal judgement.	Hear trials.	Greet the principales with the pat?o?tan during ceremonies.
Bring culprits to justice. Advise judges.		Sign official documents involving court cases.
Set fines up to 100 pesos and labor payment up to 15 days in public works.		Hear court cases.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

In the strategy of incorporating new leadership, these tactics are employed. 621

1. The four regidores are assigned the task of bringing the novice scribe to the town authorities. They are the official recruiters for civil and religious office. [624]

2. The request is made to the parent of the appointed scribe in the formal speech of the pat?o?tan. The appeal is cast in terms of the sacred nature of the task with reference to the "holy" nature of the post to be undertaken on this "holy hour, holy day and holy year."

3. The contractual relationship is initiated as always with a drinking session. The scribe is introduced into the drinking order as fourth in rank. The officials show solicitude as he is taught to drink "the gift of the gods and the ancestors." Once the gift of liquor has been accepted, the recipient has no recourse except to fulfill the obligation. [203]

These tactics, used also in other contractual arrangements, were inadequate to the task of inducting foreign Indians living in the township into the traditional hierarchy. In 1929, a Huistecan Indian, Augustín, who had worked as a laborer in a finca within the township, became president. Although he could not read, he was able to speak Spanish fluently. He succeeded in getting the first ejido grant under the land reform act of 1927. 621 609 622 191 423

During his term of office, Augustín was accused of abusing his authority on several occasions, as the following account shows:

When I was very young, my father told me about this land case. Augustín was president then. He tried to get land from my uncle's father-in-law, Juan. My uncle, Bartolo, defended his father-in-law's right to the land because he had good friends in Tuxtla. Augustín spoke Spanish very well, but he did not know how to read. Since my uncle knew how to read well, he gained the case. Augustín was angry. He invited all the curers to the town hall and ordered the police to bring in my uncle. My uncle was given something in a cup of liquor, and in three days he died. 159 622 661

Even if this story is untrue, or distorted because of the family relationship of the narrator and the victim, it reveals the sense of being exploited 622 661 609

622 or abused by leaders from outside the community. Stories by other informants indicate that Augustín took advantage of his power as president. He was accused of charging high fines in court and pocketing the money. Finally a case against him was brought to the Ministerio Publico in the departmental capital. The denunciation is recounted by Ceferino, the scribe, who replaced him as president:

The court's decision was that Augustín had to return the three hundred and fifty pesos that he had forced out of Juan in the land case. Augustín claimed that it was difficult for him to pay the fine. He said he would pay it in installments. Juan wanted it right away. After a month, the money still was not handed over. I spoke to the Ministerio Publico who told Augustín to sell his cattle. The pueblo wanted to seize the cattle. Augustín got frightened, and said he would sell his cattle. He sold them. After this he never returned to work in the pueblo.

There were no killings in this affair. Eight days after he gave the money, Augustín came to the town hall with a pistol. I noticed it and said, "Better come in an register this pistol." He ignored this and spoke to the judge for a while.

I told a policeman, "Go get the pistol and register it." The policeman was afraid. I asked him, "Why are you afraid?" He said, "I am afraid." I said, "You have turned into a woman."

The policeman seized Augustín's arms. I went behind and took the pistol out of his hand. Augustín said, "Why are you taking my pistol? I have committed no crime."

I replied, "You came to bother the people here." I took away the pistol.

Augustín also knew how to wear a watch. His son bought it from a thief for one hundred and twenty-five pesos. We also took his watch because it was stolen. I told him, "Go look for work and earn money. The Ministerio Publico has given orders that you cannot continue working here. You cannot rob here any more."

He went away for two months, and then came back to get his things and moved to Teopisca.

Despite this successful denunciation, Augustín's son, Juan, tried to "get control of the town." He and the other Huistecans of the barrio of Yeta-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621 423 178 177 [609] ship role in the new political setting. As a result, it was the marginal Indians, outsiders who had come as did Augustín to work as *baldios* (laborers) on the finca near the town, that were the drivng force behind the demand for land. This was the basis for the new leadership in the early days of land reform. The ejido program, conceived of by Cárdenas as a basis for political development of the campesinos, (Brandenburg 1964) gave these marginal Indians the opportunity to rise to positions of influence in local government. The reluctance of the townspeople to take action [154] against Augustín derived in part from fear, since he reputedly backed his use of force with witchcraft—the imported kind of witchcraft in which poisons are used instead of spiritual force.

622 554 177 178 [191] [464] Ceferino, the man who finally deposed Augustín, was a member of the traditional community, but because he had been impoverished by burying four members of his family in the typhoid epidemic of 1928, he had been forced to work in the fincas. There he had learned Spanish and some of the ways of the dominant society. His leadership potential had developed in the role of *caporal,* or gang leader of the pickers in the coffee finca, and he had been a leader in the trek of recruited laborers down to the fincas in Soconusco. Under the old authority structure, in which all officials including the president were recruited through the hierarchy, he would never have reached a prestigious position. But in this crisis, he was the only man willing to confront the incumbent and take over the operation of civil affairs.

622 554 Ceferino did not take advantage of the situation to emerge as a cacique himself. As he explained in his narrative, "The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles." The way in which he had been introduced into the cabildo as scribe had successfully neutralized his own ambitions to attain power, if he had any. He accepted the ideal of a united pueblo, recognizing the authority of the principales.

621 177 178 The increasing scope and frequency of relationships between the nation and the locality since the revolution has emphasized the roles of president and síndico at the expense of the authority and control exercised by the principales. The ceremonial significance of the principales in rituals is retained as a symbol of continuity in the change of officials, but their func-

621 474 493 permission to extend operations to hot country where the Indians of the town held ejido land. This territory had been controlled by the state-wide trucking sindicate whose monopoly was protected by government permits. On the basis that they were poor, nonprofit-making ejidatarios, the Indians were granted the right to truck corn from the ejido colonies to the highlands. Whenever the cooperative leaders planned to go to the depart- [291] mental capital to make their appeals, the schoolmaster counseled them to wear their Indian costume—the white shirt and pants with red sash, sandals, and woolen kotonču—in order to play the role of simple campesinos more convincingly. He was aware of the effectiveness of this pose in pro-Indian governmental circles.

665 The PRI leadership in the department capital is neither aware of nor interested in the local factions which seek their support. Their concern is only that the vote is solidly behind regional and national candidates of the party, and they support the group that can mobilize the largest number of votes. A policy of favoritism toward Indians, based on an ideology of *indigenismo,* pro-Indianism, is coupled with a policy of permitting local autonomy. The national committee's program for promoting literacy has never reached this community nor any that I know of in the area. The party's promotion of Indian welfare consists of supporting demands made by Indian constituents and bringing them to the attention of civil service officials assigned to these functions. Party officials thus act as intermediaries between the voters and the bureaucracy of the government, channeling complaints and demands.

621 177 178 181 In the development of factions around new economic interests, the Indians have shifted from an ideology in which the dialectic of conflict was cast in traditional dual-division opposition to one in which the conflict is seen as Indian versus Ladino domination of enterprises. Since these interests cut across the territorial divisions, the economic factions have not crystallized along territorial lines. It is this shift in perspective which makes [665] for the "qualitative" change in local political organization.

Competition between Caciques

622 563 There are several dimensions to the role of cacique in Tzoʾontahal. First, it is a role created by outside interests and occupied by someone mar-

ginal to the community, either a foreign Indian, as in the case of Augustín, or a Ladino, as in the cases of the secretary and schoolmaster described below. The only indigenous candidate for the role was recently killed. It provokes too much envy for someone socialized in the community; fear of being accused and even killed as a witch or a power-seeker is justified by several such precedents. Those with the skills to become caciques have until recently been effectively incorporated in the existing hierarchy as firmanetik.

Second, the cacique is a gatekeeper, channeling information, goods, and services from the outside to the members of the community. In this capacity, he prefers to pose as a benefactor when he may actually be no more than the distributor of government welfare goods and services.[4]

Third, the role of cacique is one in which the incumbent operates in a local sphere, but depends upon a network of compadrazgo and professional ties outside of the community to assure his position in the community. He must be sufficiently aware of the local idiom in order to avoid making enemies.

Finally, the role is monopolistic. This results in part from the fact that the outside world prefers to deal with a single representative for reasons of expediency. However, new governmental agents are more and more dealing directly with Indians, a factor which has shaken the position of the cacique. The monopolistic quality of the position also stems from the fact that the profit to be gleaned from the community is small. A Ladino from a neighboring town commented that it was worth the time of only one man to exploit an Indian community of the size of Tzoʔontahal. The extractable profit is diminishing as the Indians become more aware of their rights.

The change in character and range of activities of local caciques is illustrated by the recent careers of two residents of Tzoʔontahal. In the 1950s and until 1964, the Ladino secretary, Don Ramon, had filled the role of cacique. He took advantage of this role not only by collecting a salary and a percentage of court fees, but also by earning money for using his influence in Ladino official circles outside the community. He lent money for interest and subsidized some enterprises such as growing cabbages with Indian partners.

4. Goldrich (1965) points to this tactic of politicians who distribute government goods as though they were their own gifts.

159 622 177 178 partners. He sold a few shares of a truck he and his family owned to Indians, but he retained the controlling interest. His wife was reputed to be [454] a witch, and was an active curer, combining old and new treatments of ill- [754] nesses. [756]

His position was challenged in the 1960s by the Ladino schoolmaster, 159 who had been remarkably unsuccessful from his arrival in 1953 until that 875 time in gaining personal power and influence. His intercession in a local 177 homicide case involving a father's murder of his son outraged the towns- 178 people, some of whom threatened to kill him. His attempts to have water 563 578 installed aroused the curers against him since they were accustomed to [312] bathing their patients at the source of the spring from which they were de- [756] barred when the plumbing was installed. His demands that children [871] within the legal age limit should not only attend school but should be pro- [582] hibited from marrying until they had completed their schooling caused the anger of parents who wanted to give their daughters in an early and profitable marriage.

159 Gradually, however, the schoolmaster extended his own base of support. 875 He minimized his attack on local customs, adhering only to those laws af- 177 fecting the school population, over which he had a great deal of control. 178 Some of his support came from the orthodox Catholic members of the 563 community; he extended his control through compadre relationships with 557 over eighty members of the community. He showed movies which he ac- [608] quired from the United Nations and other educational film sources and [546] gave away medicines acquired from the health officials in the state capitol [278] who were his friends. From one of these sources of philanthropy he ac- [431] quired wool shawls which he gave to every woman in the town.

The professor demanded no return from the townspeople other than their respect and admiration; he was a person who enjoyed commanding others and needed an arena in which to project his own personality. In his early years in the town, he had to satisfy this need by capturing stray tourists and plying them with soda pop or coffee. His first opportunity to gain [404] leadership in the local sphere came in 1963, when he supported the new truck-owning cooperative. He used the influence of contacts in the state capital, including compadres, friends, and relatives of his wife's family. He promoted the cooperative's attempt to gain the presidency. One of the first

159 civil officials, not of me"). He identifies himself with the Indians in the
875 fight against the competitive trucking cooperative ("Those who are with
563 him [Don Ramon] are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by
177 him"). While he does not accuse Ramon's wife directly of witchcraft he
178 implies this in saying that people sign their candidate's nomination peti-
[754] tion for president because they are afraid Juana will use witchcraft. This is
[626] a characteristic mode of attacking one's enemies in the town. He claims credit for all of the innovations in the town which have won public approval—the highway, the water supply, electricity, and so forth.

622 The profit motive is inadequate to explain why Ladinos want to play
875 the role of cacique in these corporate Indian communities. One must seek
563 for an explanation instead in the social status they gain. While their jobs
177 are limited and usually frustrating and they can never be completely inte-
178 grated into the community, political activities offer them a larger arena in which they can derive personal satisfaction. The contrast between the schoolmaster's position in Tzoʔontahal before he became a political leader and his position after finding local supporters illustrates this. In the early days of his residence in town, when he built a chicken coop which extended a few feet beyond the grounds allotted to the schoolhouse, some Indians threatened to kill him. In 1957, I saw him trying to summon a policeman from the town hall, which was adjacent to the schoolhouse, to remove a boulder from the path so that a visiting friend could pass in his automobile. No one heeded his urgent shouts or the whistle he used to call children to school, although they were well aware of what he wanted. But by 1965 there was not a single important transaction which did not require consultation with the schoolteacher. Campesinos from as far as Villa Las Rosas came to request his advice and his help in approaching government agents. In projecting his political role, he gained support for projects which were of interest to him. When he had succeeded in getting the gov-
[653] ernment to install water pipes and electricity, he talked the civil authori-
[312] ties into building a kiosk, or bandstand, in the plaza. This was a fulfill-
[365] ment of his ambition to make the town over in the image of a colonial
[345] Spanish pueblo. His final statement in the speech quoted above, "Today we see a kiosk, tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory!" reveals the symbolic significance it had for him.

In 1912, Bernardo was fiscal. He knew how to pray well. About nine in the morning, the girls [prayer-reciters] gathered in the church and heard prayer in common. Then he borrowed money from the church and did not return it. He left for the finca with his father and three men. His wife went with her children. He fled because he didn't have the money, and he never returned. He sold his house in town to buy food. He died there in the finca. The girls remembered him because he was a friend, and they bought a candle for twenty cents. 794 782

Another fiscal, Antonio, began to give prayers to the same girls who accompanied him. He knew how to pray very well, and he prayed each Sunday. Then he died.

Then Carlos passed as fiscal. He knew how to pray from memory. The same girls learned, and all sang the prayer. Then that fiscal sold the tablecloths; he sold the candle holders; he sold everything. Therefore the cofrades did not want him. They said, "Go away because you are not good." God was going to punish him because he sold everything in the church.

In 1929 the pueblo named Ceferino [the informant, who refers to himself in the third person]. He served until he was made president in 1937.

In 1938, Antonio was chosen by the pueblo, but soon they did not want him because he was always ordering the pueblo to do work. He charged a lot for the fiestas, but he did not buy firecrackers or clothing for the saints. In a mass meeting they asked him to leave.

In 1939 Miguel put himself in office. The pueblo did not choose him. He did not know how to pray. He knew a little by memory because he heard what Antonio had said in his prayers, but he did not know the catechism. He didn't want to leave the church, but the pueblo spoke much against him.

The padre was against Miguel because he had begun to take advantage of the trips with the priest to sell the contraband liquor that he distilled. Some maintain that it was during his period as fiscal that the power shifted from the cofrades to the priest. He was accused of stealing the money donated to the saint, a sum of about 300 pesos. Although the money was returned, he is still considered guilty. 794 [793] [685]

Miguel's successor, the present incumbent Pablo, served as president while he was fiscal. [622]

 621 177 178

4. In a series of confrontations, the civil officials have challenged the social control functions of the curers. Witch-killings in which many of the victims have been curers have minimized but not overcome the power of these men. [756]

5. The priest has succeeded in establishing control over the church, but the Indians may yet succeed in deposing him, a plan they were putting into effect when I left town. [193]

The Indians are now aware of their rights to limit—or eliminate if necessary—the self-appointed caciques. The new cacique promotes the community welfare not only in his rhetoric but in the services he performs for the officials. His involvement in political affairs is tolerated, not encouraged, and the officials are ready to turn to alternative sources of aid in their activities. 641 622 177 178

The involvement of the PRI in local elections has not introduced a new center of power in the political arena. Political factions are based on economic interests contained within the town, and the autonomy of the town has in no way been affected by leadership from party headquarters in the state capitol. The community and the party use each other for their own ends in almost complete ignorance of what is occurring in the domain of the other. 665 621 178

The system of beliefs and understandings has changed along with these organizational changes. The most significant change has been the waning belief in the guardianship of the ancestors. The absence of the curers at the fiesta of the caves means that they no longer have this ritual occasion to validate their claims by communicating with the ancestors. The loss of leadership and of a hierarchy of prestige within the ranks of curers has removed internal controls over the profession and further undermined their position. The diminishing respect with which they are treated in the town hall and the increasing number of murders of curers accused of witchcraft is directly related to the loss of belief in their power as guardians. Since they were not an integral part of the civil-religious hierarchy, as the curers were in Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947), this has not upset the hierarchy, but it has changed the balance of power in the wider community. 769 756 178 [683]

The diminishing significance of the leadership of the principales is tied 621 756 178

building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office.

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist.

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first.

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient portable typewriter. Since typing is a [illegible] skill for him, he makes many errors, and his retrials are accepted wi[illegible]atience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

In addition to this regular ladder of officials representing the center and its close-lying barrios are judges representing the *colonias*, or rural settlements, of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Crus Quemada. They do not regularly attend the townhall sessions, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of new officials. Only after I had elicited officials from two informants was I able to get from the third the three judges of the colonias with the question, "Are there any other officials in the cabildo?" 621* 693 632

These civil officials constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. The positions of president and *sintiku* (in Spanish *síndico*), not included in the offices of the townhall as a category by informants, were elicited in response to the question stated above. These posts are occupied by younger men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy, until the present generation, was limited to those in the 30-year age bracket. Those with such skills passed immediately into the *comisario ejidal*, commission for land grants, where they assisted in the control and redistribution of land granted under the ejido program, or went directly into the post of *síndico*. Thus they were able to avoid the onerous and time-consuming functions of the traditional posts and enter into the remunerative post of president, where their authority was recognized at an early age. With improved literacy, the competition for such posts is increasing. Although informants say that the post of president alternates for the two sides of the dual division, case materials do not bear this out. 622 624 [124] [191] [212] [423] [178] [212] 622 621* 114.

The only Ladino in the hierarchy is the secretary. For the first time this year (1964) the post of secretary has been taken by an Indian of the town. This is part of the power play described below. 563 624 178

Naming of civil officials is done in November, first in a closed session in the townhall at which each official names his successor, followed by a mass meeting *(Komun K'op)* at which the names are read to the assembled household heads in the plaza. To the question, "What are all the kinds of offices in the church?" the response was given: *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces (or captains, the Spanish term *alfereces* comes from the Arabic). There are 16 mayordomos. Role terms for the mayordomos indicated that each saint was repre- 666 621* 794 [776]

[P 213-B]

sented by an elder *tatil martoma* and a junior *niĉʔanil martoma*, and that the 15 mayordomos were further ranked in terms of the four major saints, the *mas mamalil* or more senior, whose mayordomos are referred to as *kobraria*, cofradías or brotherhoods, and the remaining as mayordomos. The four *kobrarias* were ranked in terms of the importance and expense of the saint whom they support. The order for Tzoʔontahal is Sacramento *(Sakramentu)*, Virgin Santa

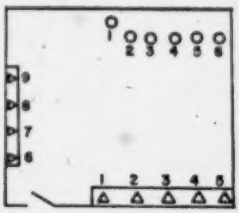


CHART 2 — EVENING, DECEMBER 31, HOUSE OF NEW JUDGE (ELICITED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Meʔil K'op)*
2 Wife of president *(Yinam Presirente)*
3-6 Wives of juniors *(Yinam Niĉʔanil)*

MEN (triangles):
1 Leading house official *(Stetal Nakawane)*
2 New judge *(Alʔ Alkal)*
3-5 Assistants, sons of judge *(Balnialetik)*
6-9 Woodgatherers *(Akniʔetik)*

Lucia *(Halal Meʔtik Santalusia)*, San Pedro Martyr *(Tatik Martil)*, and San Francisco *(Tatik Sanpranisku)*. There was complete agreement among the three informants questioned regarding this rank order, but for rank order of the 12 remaining mayordomos in charge of the 19 lesser saints there was no agreement between informants, and even the same informant was inconsistent in different eliciting sessions.

Outside the traditional hierarchy is the *piikal* (in Spanish *fiscal*), who is the direct assistant of the priest and serves in an advisory capacity in charge of the church activities of the brotherhoods and mayordomos in the absence of the priest. This role was not elicited, but in my questioning about fiestas he was mentioned as performing a certain role. The incumbent in the past three years was serving as president for the third time, showing the scarcity of men with the needed literary skills. The fiscal is usually relieved of other posts while serving in office. Another set of roles external to the hierarchy are the *meʔeletik* (or *resadoras*, the Spanish term for female prayermakers). These are usually widowed or single wo-

these apparently irrelevant comments reveal the power play going on behind the scene of the ritual. 621* 178

The observed schedule for the civil inauguration (App. 1, column 4) differed from the elicited in four details. The first of these was an item omitted by both informants: after liquor was served in the house of the president, the entire company stood up and "turned toward the wall" (App. 1, Q. 20). When I questioned my informant, he corrected the orientation "toward the wall" and said that they were turning toward the east in deference to the leader of all the saints of the east, led by Santo Açio. He said that it was done in all household celebrations in order "to be sure that the devil does not enter." Belief concerning these saints is fragmentary, and perhaps because of this, behavior relating to them is not easily recalled. These behavioral sherds, when cut off from the belief system they once dramatized, survive in "perpetuating the custom of the ancestors" *(hič sluwar hič likem meʔtiktatik)*. 124 [176]

Another detail not mentioned by informants was the presence in the house of the president of the rural colonia inhabitants (Chart 6). This omission is typical of the neglect in reporting the activity or presence of anyone other than residents of the center. When I asked what they were doing there, I was told they came "to know the president." 124 632 622 574

Finally, an important divergence from expected behavior occurred when the schoolteacher, instead of the secretary, delivered the oath of office. This change was evidence of the schoolteacher's success in a factional struggle developing around new economic enterprises in the town. The former Ladino secretary was in close alliance with the former president and had supporters in the group of 20 co-owners, Indians from the village, of the truck when he had purchased. When the incoming president with his brother bought a truck with the assistance of 30 members of a truck-owning cooperative, a new focus for factional strife appeared in the town. The new cooperative was supported by the schoolteacher in his own bid for power. When the truck owners ran into any difficulty with the highway patrol, carrying wood or passengers without permit, the driver would refer them to the schoolteacher, who would then claim it 621* 875 178 578 621* 578 474 875 494

[P. 222-B]

was done at his order for the school.[11] The new co- 621*
operative was harassed by the old group, since the 578
president did everything in his power to cut down 474
their competition. As fiscal, his other role, he maneu- 494
vered the appointment of the chief business agent of [875]
the new truck cooperative and three other members [622]
as *nič'anil martomaetik*, junior caretakers of the [794]
saints. This meant that their Sundays were occupied
in church affairs and cut into their taxiing of passen-
gers from Tzoʔontahal to Himšol, the neighboring
Ladino town.

The nomination of the president was effected by 621*
winning the support of the Partido Revolucionario 665
Institucional (PRI). Supporters of the nominee se- 666
cured over 85 signatures from townspeople; the op- 622
position candidate failed to get more than 28. Once 578
PRI support was obtained, the election on November
20 was assured since one-party rule prevails here as
in the capital. This is the first election which has been
contested in 10 years. The last contest came when
some members of the barrio of Yut' hok became
members of the minor party, Partido Acción Na-
cional (PAN). Because this group and their presi-
dential candidate all came from one side of the dual
division, Alannantik, those from the other side said
that they should have a party representative. They
drew up a plan to run a candidate on PRI. The PAN
candidate won. The present contest was drawn on [474]
the basis of membership in the truck-owning coopera-
tives which cut across the dual division.

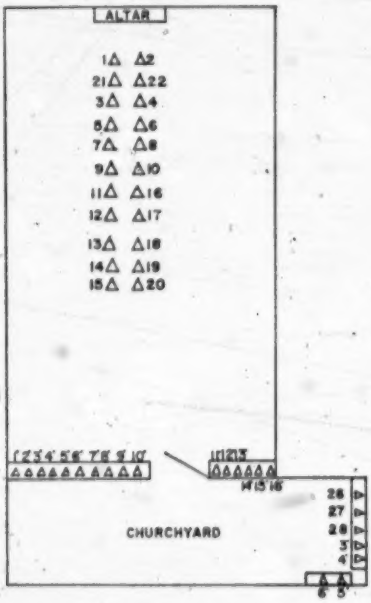
The present nominee did not want to run for office. 666
Early in the running there were verbal threats on his 622
life. He had never passed in any office other than that 578
of president of the ejido commission, and although
the office of president is not a rung in the ladder to
office, it is expected that the incumbent would at least
have experience as síndico. Three sources of opposi- 666
tion to his candidacy developed. First in importance 622
was the original trucking cooperative, which objected 578
to the competition of the president and his faction 474
in the new cooperative. Second, these members 548
spread the rumor that the new president would bring
in federal agents to break up the liquor traffic, which
was becoming one of Tzoʔontahal's most important
economic self-development projects. Thus all the dis-
tillers were apprehensive of their future under his
term of office. Third, there was opposition on the

[11] Siverts (1964) describes Ladinos' "competition for each others' Indians in Cancuc."

[P. 223-A]

Third, there was opposition on the score that the president had never passed in any other public office. The only incident revealing the discontent was the firing of eight shots at (or above) the president's brother following the house festival on the eve of the inauguration. 666 578 622

The principales, who "formerly were the ones who ruled," no longer have a part in the power struggle 624 178



621* 794 554 346

CHART 11 — NEW OFFICIALS INSIDE CHURCH, NEW YEAR'S DAY

OFFICIALS:
1'-16' Mayordomos

Remaining numbers refer to officials listed in Charts 7-9.

which centers on party membership and economic competition. Their ceremonial role in rituals is preserved as a link with the past as well as a sign of continuity between old and new officials. 624 178 [794]

In the inauguration of the religious officials, divergence in the elicited and the observed event (App. 2, column 4) occurred first of all in the shift of locale for the common meal from the churchyard to the house of the *ʔaliʔbal* instead of in the churchyard (App. 2, Q. 19). This was a clue to the power struggle going on in the church. When I questioned my informant about the disparity, he told me the following story: 794 178 578 [264] [793] [273]

[P. 223-B]

•623 Tzeltal NV9
888
887

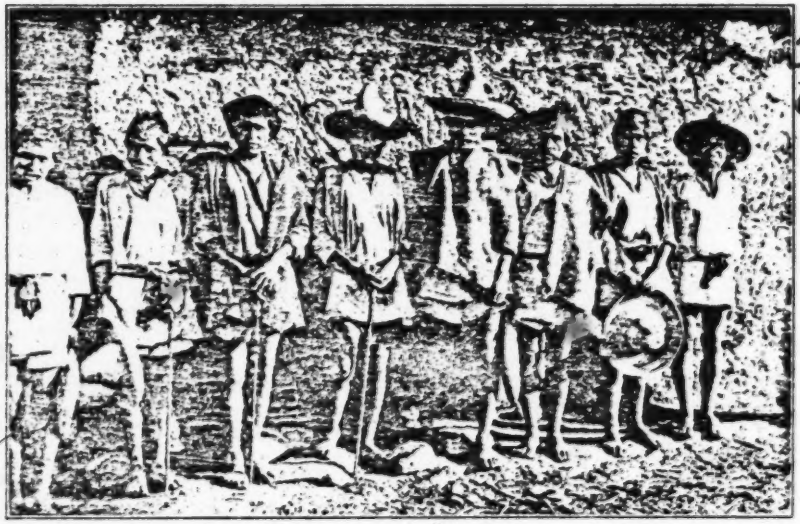
[Information on the role of the "principales" in Tzeltal society has been filed in categories 624 and/or 794.]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

Physically, the people are taller and somewhat heavier boned than the Bachajon. The older men have small beards, close to their chins, of sparse, wiry black hair. Moustaches are faint. The men wear their hair longer on the backs of their necks and over the tops of their ears (fig. 313). 142 302

The men's costume is like that of Ocosingo Valley, a long, V-necked tunic without buttons, coming down nearly to their knees, but the trousers are usually rolled up until almost hidden. A plain red sash is worn knotted in front with ends hanging. 291

We had great difficulty in getting a look at any of the women until finally the officials arranged for a few of them to come and 126 123



142 291 302 623

FIG. 313—Tenango, Chia. The Village Elders.

be photographed with their husbands (fig. 314). Nothing could have brought them alone. They were very strange and stiff about the whole thing, and showed more genuine fear of the camera than we saw anywhere else. The women of marriageable age draw their hair together at the back of the head. Around it a long, red, woolen ribbon, about three centimeters wide, is wrapped until it forms a disk standing out like a halo, the exact size being a matter of coquetry. The hair is then turned back and laid along the edge of the disk and wrapped in the last few rounds of ribbon. The result is that it comes out from the head through the center of the disk in a thick mass, then forms a flat elbow where it is doubled back to the 126 123 302 [301]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Tzotzil NV11

Tze 142

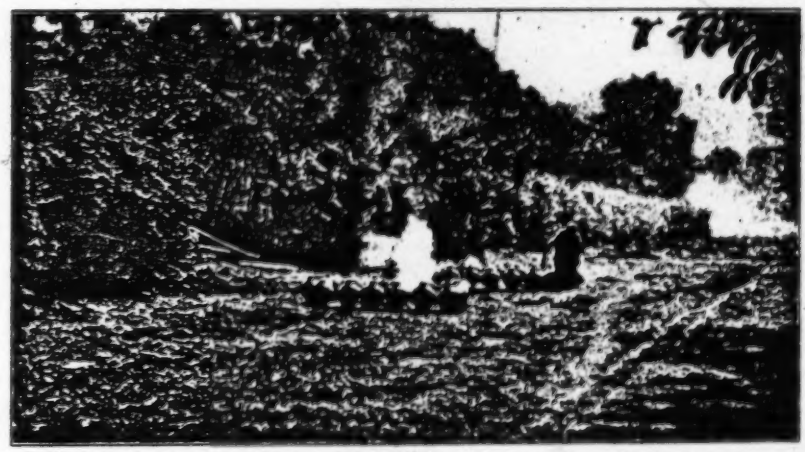
The men are tallish and the majority of them have sparse, black beards. They wear plain, white cotton tunics and short trousers, sashes, and hats of the sombrero type. The women wear the usual short, blue skirts. Their blouses are cut with a square neck, around which are embroidered three bands, each about two centimeters wide, of red, yellow and red. At the corners, little imitation tassels are embroidered in the same colours.

Tze 291

Tze 623

We were told, by an unreliable informant, that this village was remarkable for its independence. Its officials are chosen by the natives alone, and run through a regularly prescribed *cursus honorum* from secretary up to president, and then on to the council of elders. Government laws and orders sent to the village are debated by this council and are not published unless approved by them.

Tze 115



Tze 323

FIG. 339—Amatenango, Chis. Pottery baking.

Tze 584 323 606

We were also told that in case of marriage each party works for his or her prospective in-laws, and that the girl at that time learns pottery making, taking over the mother-in-law's specialty.

Tze 648 434 171

While there was no way of checking up on this information, it is true that there is no Maestro at Amatenango, and that the Indians seem to be an unusually self-respecting and self-reliant lot. Of all the Tzeltal people observed, they were the only ones who seemed to compare with the Zotzil-speaking Chamulas in energy and prosperity.

Tzo 114 137

Returning to ourselves and our trip. We left Tenejapa on the following morning by a winding, broad road climbing to a pass in

273* formal drinking pattern. These limits may be expressed in terms
571
[885] of the necessity to drink under those circumstances when one is a member of a group which is engaging in a ceremonial drinking sequence. Every male is a member of several such groups. Under most conditions the ceremonial drinking segment leads to deep drunkenness. Under most conditions the ceremonial drinking segment is followed by an informal drinking segment. Informal drinking segments also lead to deep drunkenness. Following the participation in such segments, a man probably recuperates for a day before he returns to his regular daily routines. Hence a typical drinking performance may be expressed as ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking + recuperating period.

273* The ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking pattern is,
527
• 623 as we have seen, an essential component of many recurring per-
578
755 formances in Aguacatenango. We have described the role of drinking in the celebration of family and community holidays, the certification of civil authority, the resolution of conflict, and the etiology as well as the treatment of illness. The indispensability of drinking to such performances is suggested in the following exchange between the ayuntamiento which is retiring and the ayuntamiento which is entering office (as reported by Juan Perez).

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle
Mexico NU1

Preface

T
782
539
623

And so we shall be able to do what our mothers
did and what our fathers did here where our
Holy Father sees us and our Holy Mother sees us.

From the prayer said at the
time of taking offices in
the civil hierarchy

In all societies, some of the ideology and behavior of the past persists after 000
their relevance to current problems has ended. How much this continuity eases the absorption of change by providing meaning and motivation and how much it hinders the ability to deal with current issues and to plan for the future is a long-standing social problem. It is of special relevance to developing nations undergoing changes that transform all social institutions. Developing nations have focused their planning on economic change in the hope that other institutions will respond automatically. This hope has not been justified.

M
185

Mexico has shown a growing awareness of the strength to be drawn from its rich cultural heritage in the five decades of development since the revolution. The changes that were transforming the cities a generation ago are now drawing enclaves of Indian populations into the mainstream of national development. In the 1930s government policy was directed toward transforming Indians into modern nationals. Since the 1950s there has been an increasing effort to incorporate Indians without suppressing their distinctive customs and languages. The old melting pot policy has given way to a new policy of selective adaptation.

T
177
178

For the Indians, adhering to the ways of the ancestors is the means of surviving as a people. Their sense of cultural survival is threatened by the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

pact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group. The authority of the elders in settling conflicts in the family and the community is weakened, although the hierarchy remains intact. In religious institutions, the personnel has remained the same, but the authority of the religious officials has weakened and the belief in the deities and ancestral figures has been undermined.

Political leadership is the most dynamic area of change. The power of the *principales* had already been taken over by young civil officials when I first went to the town in 1957. The curers, who retained the power derived from belief in their control over the supernatural, were the core of resistance to change in the decade that I knew the community. But this control was being challenged by civil officials and factional leaders, who were aware of its repressive effect. The dynamic aspect of the political sector is linked to the fact that the new leaders saw the necessity of seizing power from those who were privileged in the traditional society. They were reworking the social structure to pave the way for the acceptance of development opportunities being offered by the national government.

In Chapters 10, 11, and 12 I have summarized the structuring of behavior in roles, place, and time and described how these patterns have been affected by change. The following questions are raised in the summary chapters:

1. The role system: How are people recruited into roles? How are roles coordinated? How are performances evaluated? The matrix of roles provides the patterned expectations of what others will do in a given situation. Some of the decisions made in assigning people to roles allow little room for choice. In other cases, new functions, such as those imposed upon governing officials, have replaced traditional bases for making decisions and in turn upset the balance of power between elders, curers, and leaders in civil office. (Continuity and change in the role structure are analyzed in Chapter 10.)

2. The setting: How is appropriate behavior defined for each institutional setting? What kinds of behavior are replicated in each setting? How are changes in role relations reflected in positions assumed in each setting? Observations of behavior in the church and the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

phrase "worth my time"). He therefore persuaded a Ladino of Teopisca to lend him 5,000 pesos. He went down to hot country and bought corn when it was scarce in the village, brought it up the hill, sold a little to pay for his needs, but held the rest until the price went up in the next three months. In a two year period of buying and selling with his 5,000 peso investment, he grossed 400,000 pesos. Afterwards he began to hire men to work in his milpa. At a meeting of the cooperative association in 1966, Santos defended his investments of the association's funds by showing his carefully kept accounts. He held up his pencil saying proudly, "This is my machete! This is my hoe!" The phrasing is an imitation of Ladino rhetoric of the provinces.

Santos served as treasurer of the ejido commission and of the town. In 1965 he was made a *nič'nal martoma,* or junior religious official in charge of caring for the saints. His appointment was an attempt made by the former president, a member of the Ladino-owned trucking concern, to cut down Santo's operations in passenger traffic on Sunday by keeping him occupied in religious activities. While in office, Santos began an enquiry into the use of the funds collected in donations to the saints. The priest had gained control over these funds, and had not subjected the collection to the public review and accounting procedures by which funds had been handled by the civil administration. Santos demanded an explanation by the priest, who refused to make a statement. The issue was raised in a general assembly of the men of the community which occurs sporadically on Sundays. Meanwhile Santos was taking advantage of the money associated with each of the major saints. In the cargo system for the care of saints, a fund of money is passed over in the installation ceremony from the outgoing mayordomos to the incoming mayordomo. This fund has always been passed over to the incoming officials with an increment of about 10 pesos. Santos requested the use of these funds to "make them grow," and he thus gained uncontested access to low interest funds which he used in his brokerage activities. In addition to the interest, he gave a gift of clothing to the saint to maintain good credit relations.

Santos' administration of funds in his public capacity as town treasurer, storekeeper, and treasurer of both the ejido commission and the truck cooperative won him a reputation of honesty and reliability. His knowl-

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

621 The communal offices of the Ayuntamiento and Mayordomías
623 form a hierarchical age-grade system, with a partially compulsory
794 sequence of cargos (literally burdens, although it can best be
561 translated as offices) which end in the cargo of Principal, who is a member of the community council of elders.

561 The age-grade system does not have corporate groups of the age-set type common in East Africa. The system only places the individual in relation to others who are higher or lower than him in the hierarchy. People belonging to the same level of the hierarchy do not act as a group, nor do they develop special relations with each other.

184 The name and number of officerships differ everywhere in
621 the Chiapas highlands from village to village. Larger towns have
794 a larger number of governmental posts within the hierarchy; in some towns the Church organization is more elaborate (perhaps because it was originally a curato head town, or had a convento in the village), the Mayordomías and Cofradías (religious brotherhoods which carry on some fiesta celebrations) have a larger membership, a more elaborate ritual and carry on a larger number of fiestas, while in other villages the Mayordomías have a secondary role with respect to the civil government. This is not the place to discuss the historical and functional reasons for this extensive variation, which would take a study in its own right, but the important thing is that although the form varies, the basic system of hierarchically graded officerships stays the same in all the Chiapas highlands, including Amatenango and Aguacatenango (see Zabala, 1961 and Figs. 2 and 3).

621 Moreover, he can more easily
624 fulfill these requisites if he had been able in his lifetime to
554 become the jural head of a large and united extended family, be-
596 cause, given the fact that he should be able to control the opinions and actions of many villagers, it is his personal power with other individuals which supports his position as principal, and not the reverse.

621 Town officials, although they are selected by the previous
[623] officers and approved by the principales, have to be ratified in their positions by all the household heads in a public meeting. The different qualifications of some men for the higher posts creates some disparity in the number of cargos held by a particular individual, but the differences are never enough to say that political power is differentially distributed. The following table and figure show the distribution of officerships by age group, in a random sample of married men in Aguacatenango, and it confirms the idea that the villagers themselves have about their access to political officership: any normal, married man with more than one child is capable of achieving, in a hierarchical order, several political posts.[1]

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[184] [1]This system is in contrast with other villages in the area. In the very large communities with paraje type settlements (a nucleated village which functions as a ceremonial and political center surrounded by dispersed hamlets) such as Tenejapa or Zinacantan, although the number of offices is tremendously increased, the population is so large that only a few men from each paraje pass the cargos, and the ideal of every man participating in the hierarchy of power is never attained. In those cases, only the richer obtain office, and the "democratic" aspects of the system are less noticeable. It could be that an egalitarian political organization can only be maintained when the population size is limited, and that a large social group with a centralized organization "needs" differential power distribution, or, rather, cannot avoid the differential distribution of political power among the population groups.

621 578 582 them to "overlook" the trespasser, but not many young men are willing to risk the ire of the other barrio bachelors, nor the gossip and sanctions applied to them by their own barrio mates.[1]

621 794 Each barrio plays a role in the political and religious organization of the village by sending an approximately equal number of officers to the Ayuntamiento and the Mayordomías. Although in some years there are more delegates from one barrio, they attempt to correct the imbalance in the succeeding years. [623] The Principales (council of elders) have also equal representation.

621 [503] [575] [312] Escuadrilla groups (adolescent boys' gangs) and unmarried women's Church groups are formed among barrio mates. Women, with few exceptions, used the water wells or pipe lines in their barrio of residence (the exceptions include women who originally came from the other barrio) and who do their washing at places in [476] the river on their barrio side. Men who work together at such tasks as buying and butchering a cow, building a path or clearing an irrigation ditch belong to the same barrio. House parties [527] [123] organized to buy candles for the Church before a special Saint's day are barrio affairs, and no resident of the other barrio (with [575] the exception of the anthropologist) is invited. In the past, there were, in Aguacatenango, religious sororities sponsored by the Catholic Church, and each barrio had a separate one. There

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[581] [527] [1]A man that has married once is considered to have had his share of the available women of the barrio. Second marriages, especially with girls who have never married before, are not well thought of. It is common, then, that second marriages occur across barrio lines. A man finds it easier to cope with the antagonism of the other barrio men (who are expected, in any case, to be antagonistic) than with the bachelors and neighbors in his own barrio, where he has to face the antagonism in every day interaction.

/For specific information on the judicial role of the alcaldes, who frequently function as a justice of the peace, bailiff, or constable or sheriff, see also category 693./

631 the secretario, who is, without exception, a Ladino, for his responsibilities require a good knowledge of the Spanish language as well as office skills, which the Indians usually lack. Actually it is this official who controls all the administrative affairs of the municipio. He imposes fines, collects taxes, assigns communal work, and keeps in con-
[62] tact with the state authorities. After him rank the regidor, síndico, alcalde, police commander, and policemen.

621 Besides these authorities, which are the officially recognized ones, the Indians have their own government system, which in most places is still operating. Oxchuc is
[888] typical of the regional pattern. There the
[887] municipio is divided into two calpules, each of which is a kind of fraternity under the supervision of those old men having the
[776] greatest knowledge and prestige. Each cal-
[796] pul has also its own patron saint, venerated with special feasts and ceremonies throughout the year. (In Oxchuc the calpules are not geographically determined, and its members are spread in different parajes of
62 the territory.) Authority is now integrated in the following officials:

1 katinab, supreme chief of the whole calpul
1 okil kabil, "feet and hands" of the preceding, i.e., secretary
2 dzunubiles, supreme "pulsers" or "curers"
1 alcalde, who carries a staff of office
2 cornales (or governors), who also carry staffs of office
2 síndicos, who also carry staffs of office
4 x-tules (or regidores)

555 The four last jobs are reached by strict
624 hierarchy and indicate the progress of each
794 individual in the fulfillment of his social duties. This social-service career begins when the man is not yet married, when he is assigned the cargo of mayordomo of the church, which means that he has to attend to minor affairs connected with the church and to keep it clean. Shortly after his marriage he usually reaches the position of capitán, where he is responsible for the fies-

[P. 220-A]

555 ta for minor saints. He alternates between
624 a period of activity and expense and one of
794 quiet and economic recovery. The cargos alternate between church positions and civil government positions, but in communities where Indian tradition is stressed, there is no clear-cut division between civil and religious matters, because of the influence of the sacred and supernatural in daily life.

554 Those functionaries who have a staff of
624 office wield great influence in their calpul.
293 This cane (*nabté*), a sign of important status, is made of pine or other fine wood, and has a silver handle adorned with colored ribbons, primarily yellow, green, and red. The staff is ornamented by the owner and is considered a family object, usually placed
[778] on the home altar. Occasionally it is the
[782] object of prayers and offerings of incense. People carrying it are called *bastonudos*.

624 It is the duty of the staff-carriers to com-
627 municate to every paraje the orders of the ayuntamiento and those coming from the supreme chief of the calpul; to summon people for communal duties; to apprehend prisoners in cases of crime; and to deal with public problems such as taxation and epidemics. Coping with transgressions such as minor stealing, adultery, disputes, and intrigues are also their responsibility within the paraje, following the traditional form of procuring mutual understanding on both sides, in a calm atmosphere, around a bottle
[692] of liquor. If conflict persists, those involved appear before chiefs of the calpul, who are called principales or "cabildos de justicia" even after they have finished their term of office.

794 The cargos from dzunubil on up are sacred and are open only to people with superior knowledge, recognized moral status, and expert experience in church ritual and in the semi-pagan ceremonies practiced in the caves, waterholes, and special mountains. These cargos are thus obtained not by automatic advancement but by special merits which are usually not acquired until advanced age. All such high representatives of

[P 220-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

323 She formed the base of her pot rapidly in a saucer-like clay form, *hutstahibe* ("rest"). When the bottom was finished, she took it out and laid it on a broad leaf. The work progressed surprisingly quickly and without pause, the potter's hands moving with great speed and precision; the slapping sound as she patted the clay into position was unceasing. The clay was put on in slabs and built upwards, contrary to the coiling technique of the Southwest, the bowl on its leaf being turned rapidly as she worked around the sides. The finishing was done with her hands. The completed bowl was symmetrical, but not very smooth. It was then set in the sun to dry (fig. 298).

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342
624

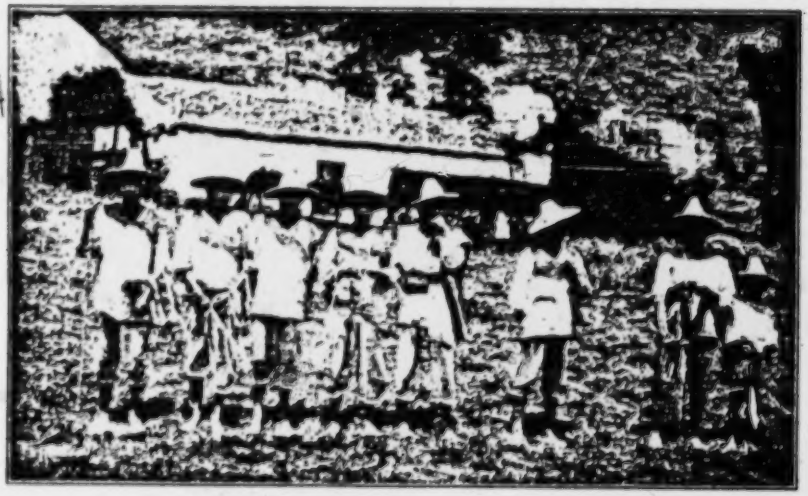

FIG. 297—Sivacá, Chia. The men of the town with the Alcalde on the left.

323 The larger forms are started in a flat, gourd dish, and the *tsets* bowls (see below) in an ordinary drinking gourd. Large tubs, when drying, are protected by leaves covering the rim, and are placed on leaves in the gourd dishes used as forms. The leaves are to prevent their drying too quickly and cracking. When cracks do occur, they are filled in with fresh clay. After enough pots are ready, there is a baking, apparently a community affair. I was told that the pottery was ranged in a line, the pine-fuel being laid up in an A-roof over it, forming a long tunnel, through which the draft ensures a brisk fire. One would expect from such a process that the vessels would be much blackened from contact with the fuel, which was not the case in the new ones that I examined, all having an even

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón
Sivacá

621 Bachajon and Sivacá are governed through native officials selected from among the men of repute in the tribe by the Mexican Government, more or less in accordance with the Indians' wishes. They serve for definite terms, usually two years, and may be reappointed. Bachajon Village, organized when the whole tribe was concentrated there, has two complete administrations, each with a • 624 president, council, and secretary. At Sivacá the only official is the *alcalde*, who carries as insignia a staff, *barra*, 1.50 meters long, decorated with a double cross in black at the head. The secretaries [212] are chosen primarily for literacy; the others are older men of influence in the tribe. The great respect with which they are treated by the natives indicates that the selections accord fairly well with those they would make themselves.

648 651 Each group is in the charge of a resident Mexican official called the *Maestro*, corresponding to our Reservation Agent. He is appointed by the Presidente Municipal of the local government. He is paid with taxes collected by himself from the Indians in produce or money, to which he adds commissions obtained from his services as a labour agent, the profits of trade in a few staples, and receipts from travelers, for whom his house is the official guest-house.

648 622 621 Ordinarily the *Maestro* does not give his orders directly to the Indians, but works through the native president, who may openly oppose him if he see fit, though he is in some degree bound to obey. The influence and power of the *Maestro* depends upon the individual, and on the temper of the Indians under him. In extreme cases he will send for troops, a measure greatly dreaded, as the soldiers, once arrived, may stay indefinitely, helping themselves freely to the pigs and chickens of the natives, and generally making themselves objectionable.

648 622 624 In addition to those appointed by the Government, the Indians accord obedience and respect to a considerable body of purely native officials. The only ones fulfilling a civic function are the class known as *Principales*, who exist chiefly among the Bachajon. They are men who know how to read and write Spanish, living in places more available to the outlying Indians than the Secretaries at Bachajon Village, and are usually men in whom confidence is reposed. Although they hold their position without official selection, but by general consent, they are recognized by the Mexicans with whom they deal as holding a sort of power of attorney for their people. They examine and sign written documents, and compose communications from the Indians to the Government. Through this they gain an influence with which, if they be men of force, they may become leaders of real power in their own districts. A *Principale* whom we met at El Encanto, where he had come in to buy salt, was

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

648 622 624

the informal chief of one of the semi-separated, turbulent groups already described. He was a well-built, square-faced, sullen yet cunning looking fellow, with a long scar from a machete cut across one cheek, and credited with a number of murders.

756 554

The shamans or medicine-men, *poci'*, although primarily doctors, have a quasi-priestly status, the result of the intimate relation of prayer and healing, of which more will be said later. They are honored accordingly as holy men, as well as for the power conferred by their knowledge of medicine and charms. A shaman obtains his position by some years of study under another, who teaches him both medicines and prayers. His repute largely depends upon the results of his practice.

794 796

Certain older men are selected annually to have charge of the fiestas, or saint's day celebrations; they have charge of all preparations and of the conduct of the fiesta, as well as being usually responsible for the care of the various sacred properties during the year. These officers exist in the hacienda groups as well as in the tribes. At the Finca Tecojá, where a fiesta was observed in progress, they were an amiable pair of rather drunken old men, known as *Caporales,* and at most places, in common with other officers holding posts of Spanish derivation, they were known by Spanish names. Interestingly enough, in the villages with the Governmental organization described above, they rarely coincide with the Government appointees, although this may be partly due to the fact that they are usually selected from among the oldest men. In Guatemala these semi-church officers often are a mask for tribal positions of real power, as was found to be the case with the *tcimañ* of Jacaltenango, who will be described in writing of that place (Chapter XIX). Here their influence and prestige was relatively slight, save during the period when their duties placed them in charge. [554]

756 621 554 576

Almost the only trace of pre-Conquest feeling is to be found in the great reverence shown towards all shamans and Government appointees. An ordinary Indian will offer food, drink, or tobacco to all men of authority present before taking anything himself, even though it means the consumption, for instance, of almost all of a bottle of *aguardiente* before he gets any at all. We saw a chief at Tenango, where the same system prevails, take a lighted cigar from an Indian's mouth, giving him instead some unrolled tobacco leaves. When first coming into the presence of such men, or passing them on the road, an Indian will take off his hat, bowing deeply; the chief or shaman touches the Indian's forehead, and he goes on. This is performed with grace and dignity. It is known as *k'ol-tanup,* "head giving" (*k'ol* from *hol,* head). Instances were observed of thus

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

We had a better chance here than anywhere else to look over 621
the village government. It being Sunday, all were present, the 624
Presidente Municipal, the *Secretario,* and council of *Regidores,* elderly men, grave of mien, with small, black goatees. The ordinary villagers treated them with the greatest respect. Each official carried a silver-headed cane with a red ribbon tied to it and the name of his office inscribed on the head. They are appointed to their offices by the government with the ratification of the village. The Maestro works entirely through them, and their orders are ab- 624
solutely obeyed. Indeed, owing to the independent nature of the 648
Tenangeros, the Maestro is rather like the ambassador of a powerful foreign nation persuading the local government, through tact and very gentle pressure, to behave.

We finished our survey about noon, the Indians appearing un- 126
willing to have us enter their houses. For the rest of that day we 123
spent our time working up our notes into good shape, then teaching the gift chickens to do tricks until Lazaro claimed them for the pot, and in dodging the local officials who, having got themselves slightly tipsy in honour of the Sabbath, came importuning us to give them cigarettes, of which we ourselves were short.

Both that night and the night before, traveling traders built 443
their little pine fires on the mud verandah of the Cabildo. In one case it was a Mexican and an Indian, in the other two Mexicans, to be distinguished from Indians only by the cut of their trousers and a donkey. They travelled with their big packs on a tump-line, long staff in hand, for all the world like a living re-incarnation of the traders shown in the pre-Columbian drawings of the codices (fig. 320). In old times they traded parrots, macaws, obsidian, textiles,

FIG. 320—Travelling Aztec Merchant. Drawing after the Codex Laud.

jade, and later, gold and copper. Now it is a business of cheap 443
watches, gaudy cloths, and ten-cent jewelry, bringing Connecticut, 439
Hamburg, and Orizaba down to a fiesta in Bachajon village, following the old trade-route along which we were going, in the other direction, to San Cristóbal. Very few of the present Indian tribes

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

608 members of the me'iltatil along with relatives and sometimes neigh-
571 bors. They are his sponsors at subsequent life crises—rituals of betrothal, marriage, and death. All of these people become co-parents to each other and to the child's parents. This relationship lasts throughout his and their lifetime. If the marriage bond is threatened, the me'iltatil gather to hear the complaints and try to resolve the problems. When a person dies, his me'iltatil go to his wake to watch over his spirit. He in turn is expected to help in the household of his me'iltatil when they have a ceremony by bringing wood or serving food and drink to guests.

• 624 2. Civil officials: The civil officials as a group may also be called
561 the me'iltatil; the term has special reference to the judges who represent the ancestors in their judgment of wrongdoers. In their passage through office from lower to higher positions, they are ranked in age-graded sets of junior officials (policemen), senior officials (regidores), and elder officials (judges), with the highest respect in ceremonial occasions accorded to the principales, two men, one from each side of the dual division, selected from those who have served in all offices. Drinking order, marching order, and seating order reflect the age-ordered rank in all ceremonial occasions.

[192] The link between the me'iltatil of the household and the me'iltatil
of the civil authority is provided by a group of officials called the *naka-*
571 *wanehetik*. These men are chosen from among bilaterally related
621 relatives, ritual co-parents, and neighbors who have served in office in
602 the church or the town hall and know the prayers. They direct cere-
794 monies in the house at times of baptism, betrothal, death, and when
608 the household head enters a community office. They are the ones who know how the ancestors did things and "watch and see" that all is done in accord with custom. They instruct the new official in the prayers he
[574] must memorize. Their wives direct the preparation of food by the younger women, and one of them may serve as chief woman speaker greeting guests.

621 3. Curers: Curers are similarly ranked according to age and years
756 in practice. The elder curer on each side of the dual division is charged
561 with guarding his side against the intrusion of evil spirits in the form of his own animal spirit. It is in this function of guardianship that the curers are referred to as me'iltatil.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Constitution of Chiapas, 1825 *	*Interpretation of functions by villagers*	*Actual functions, as observed*
Have the responsibility of publishing the laws and edicts of the government. Announce to the townspeople the days for electoral meetings.		
Regidores: †	Sit on the benches inside the town hall. If there is no judge, regidores order police. Arrange dispute cases with the president and judges.	Bring in officials nominated by the civil authority. Greet them in their houses with the pat?o?tan. Transmit orders of the president to the policemen. Pour liquor in the town hall for the other civil officials. Sit in on court cases.
Police: Care for the streets, markets, and public plazas, hospitals and other public places. Inspect the quality of foods of all kinds in the interest of the public and the sellers. Care for the drainage of swampy places and free standing and unhealthy waters. Name a permanent commission charged with maintaining the health of the place. Ensure that the public fountains are well kept up and have abundant water. Ensure the punctual attendance of the children in school. See that the equipment distributed by the army is done with equality. Help the alcaldes tend to the execution of the laws, rulings, and agreements of the civil officials.	Sit on the benches, outside the town hall. Summon children absent from school. Maintain public buildings and streets. Distribute portions of bull slaughtered for a fiesta to those who have paid 20 pesos.	Maintain town hall, plaza, road from highway to town. Adorn town hall for fiestas. Cook common meal for civil officials following court cases when fines have been collected. Collect money for fiestas from each household. Buy liquor for use in town hall. Round up truant school children. Bring in criminals.

(cont.)

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

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• 624

Constitution of Chiapas, 1825	*Interpretation of functions by villagers*	*Actual functions, as observed*
Secretary:		
In each civil administration they should have a secretary who will earn an annual salary of 144 pesos.	If there is a major task for the pueblo, the secretary does it.	Writes all official documents. Attends president and síndico in most official trips out of town.
To attend the office on non-holidays.	Call the secretary to write the act.	Writes official documents such as birth and marriage certificates.
To be present all the time that the sessions last.	Arrange things if there is a homicide.	
To take notes in order to draw up acts and minutes.	Take a culprit to San Cristóbal if there is no settlement in court.	
To set in a book the acts after approved and signed by all the individuals of the civil administration that are persent at each session.		
To pass on to the respective commissions the affairs with which the civil authority gives accounts, setting down the understanding in the corresponding book, and taking care to note in the margin when it is undertaken.		
To give account of all the negotiations that occur in the following order: (1) the acts of the former meeting, (2) the official communications that they receive, (3) the proposals that the members of the civil authority make, (4) the representatives that say the particulars, (5) the dictations of the commission.		
To sign in union with the president all the official communications, arranging them in order to form them in the points agreed to by the civil authority.		
To put in the best possible		

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Constitution of Chiapas, 1825 *	*Interpretation of functions by villagers*	*Actual functions, as observed* 642 624
arrangement and with an exact inventory all the books, acts, and papers of the archive, not permitting that anyone take them without express permission of the municipality and leaving the corresponding understanding in order to know where it was stopped and to take it up in the appropriate time.		
To present each month a list of the affairs that have passed in the commissions, of those that have been dispatched and those that are hanging.		
To pass each month to the municipal president a list of the individuals who had failed to meet in the sessions without legitimate cause in order that they can exact the fine corresponding, arranging for that in the acts.		
To meet in the extraordinary sessions when called by the president.		
When the secretaries fail in some of their obligations, mentioned in the former articles, they can be fined by the civil authority 2 to 10 pesos without prejudice from the remaining punishments to which they make credits.		
As to the election and replacement of the secretaries they will be covered in article 162 of the law of the 20th of March, 1837.		

* Translation and paraphrasing of Constitution of Chiapas, 1825.
† Not given in this constitution, perhaps because of the ceremonial nature of the post.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The informant failed to mention the following actions which I observed: 796

1. In raising the figure of Christ on the cross, the four regidores, in this context called *apultol* (probably from apostles), entered the church. Two of them stood at the head of the cross to receive the image raised from below by the other two. [624]

2. The image was always handled with cloths so that no one's hand would be in contact with the surface.

3. The priest, standing behind a cloth screen, guided the figure up on the cross. 796 793

4. The priest gave a sermon about the significance of Easter and the life and death of Christ. He spoke of the crime of the Jews in killing Christ.[6]

In comparing the elicited and observed accounts, one can see clearly the censoring of the priest's role in the perception of the people. Even while the ceremony is in process, they ignore his appeals. For example, as the body of Christ was lowered from the cross, the priest exhorted the congregation to cry and give vent freely to their emotions in this most holy moment. There was no response from the audience, even after he waited several moments, pleading with them again not to feel embarrassment at their show of emotion, and becoming visibly annoyed at their impassivity. Finally, a woman dressed in Ladina clothing, rewarded him with the stylized wail of mourning.

Observation of the ceremony reveals evidence of attitude and belief coded in the staging, the costuming, the postures and gestures of respect or derision which cannot be elicited. Each element is an interpretative comment by those who direct and act the play. We are told that the Jew is the anti-Christ, but we learn that he is also a Ladino through his clothing, the cigarette, and the horseback ride. The Indians do not state that they castrate him in hoisting him upon the church, but their comments and ac- 796 182 829

6. Despite the fact that the Vatican had exonerated the Jews of the guilt for the murder of Christ the year before (1965), the priest spoke of the crime of the Jews. This time lag in communicating doctrine to the hinterlands would be an interesting problem to investigate. [779]

.7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

of political relations is summarized for each of these conflict areas. Most of the events recorded below are transcriptions of informants' statements given in Tzeltal. I have chosen this method to show how the people interpret incidents and how this leads to cognitive restructuring.

The Conflict among Civil Officials

In the period of consolidation since the revolution, the crucial issue in determining the allocation of power among local civil authorities has been that of incorporating men who have special abilities to deal with external authority without upsetting an age-ranked system. Prior to the 1950s these skills were rare—in 1920 only four young men could sign their names and read. The civil careers of two men, Ceferino, a native of the town, and Augustín, a revistido Indian from Huistán, illustrate the different courses taken by this new leadership in the post-revolutionary period of the 1930s. Ceferino was included in the given structure of power while Augustín used his skills in dealing with Ladinos to gain personal power. Ceferino was one of the first four men of the town to learn to read and write. The civil authorities recognized his potential usefulness in the town hall, and succeeded in incorporating him in an honorific but powerless position as scribe. He described his introduction into local government:

After I got out of school, the town saw that I knew how to write. Formerly there was no one who knew how to write. In the town hall the judges and president needed someone to write down the contributions and the payment for the government agents. Therefore, when the civil authority changed in the new year, they talked to my mother. As was the custom then, four regidores came to "raise" me, bringing a bottle of trago as a gift for my mother. She did not drink it alone. Together with the regidores we finished the trago. After finishing the trago, the first regidor began to speak to my mother in the pat?o?tan, saying, "I am going to bring one of your children, one of your offspring to the place where we look and where we see [reference to town hall]. We ask this favor because he knows how to write. Therefore the judges and the president ordered me to come and raise him and take out his soil, his mud, for this duty for this obligation.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

In the strategy of incorporating new leadership, these tactics are employed. 621

1. The four regidores are assigned the task of bringing the novice scribe to the town authorities. They are the official recruiters for civil and religious office. [624]

2. The request is made to the parent of the appointed scribe in the formal speech of the pat?o?tan. The appeal is cast in terms of the sacred nature of the task with reference to the "holy" nature of the post to be undertaken on this "holy hour, holy day and holy year."

3. The contractual relationship is initiated as always with a drinking session. The scribe is introduced into the drinking order as fourth in rank. The officials show solicitude as he is taught to drink "the gift of the gods and the ancestors." Once the gift of liquor has been accepted, the recipient has no recourse except to fulfill the obligation. [203]

These tactics, used also in other contractual arrangements, were inadequate to the task of inducting foreign Indians living in the township into the traditional hierarchy. In 1929, a Huistecan Indian, Augustín, who had worked as a laborer in a finca within the township, became president. Although he could not read, he was able to speak Spanish fluently. He succeeded in getting the first ejido grant under the land reform act of 1927. 621 609 622 191 423

During his term of office, Augustín was accused of abusing his authority on several occasions, as the following account shows:

When I was very young, my father told me about this land case. Augustín was president then. He tried to get land from my uncle's father-in-law, Juan. My uncle, Bartolo, defended his father-in-law's right to the land because he had good friends in Tuxtla. Augustín spoke Spanish very well, but he did not know how to read. Since my uncle knew how to read well, he gained the case. Augustín was angry. He invited all the curers to the town hall and ordered the police to bring in my uncle. My uncle was given something in a cup of liquor, and in three days he died. 159 622 661

Even if this story is untrue, or distorted because of the family relationship of the narrator and the victim, it reveals the sense of being exploited 622 661 609

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Eight men of Alannantik wanted the interim president, Simón to remain as president. But the people of Ahk'olnantik did not want him to remain as president. The townspeople began to talk, saying, "Why should he remain as president since he stole twenty bulls? We don't want him. Let us get another president. We shall walk with Ceferino." 159 621 754 682

They wanted me for president since I was first regidor. It is for this reason that I entered as president, but I didn't think that I would be able to stay on as president. Simón received an order from the [state] government that he should return as president. He came with soldiers, and when they took me out of office, the lieutenant said to Simón, "Now you enter."

And so I gave over the archives and seals and everything in the presidency to Simón, and I left the presidency. And the people saw that it was the order of the government, and they did not say anything. The town remained silent.

The incident is given as it was related to me in Tzeltal. I have sorted out the steps in which the conflict developed in order to clarify its meaning.

1. The traditional checks and balance system of the civil authority over the curers was initially upset by the entry of a leading curer into the post of president.

2. When he committed a murder while in office, the judges seized control and had him put in prison. [682] [692]

3. His replacement by the síndico who was from the same side of the dual division, aroused the opposition of the people of the opposite side, Ahk'olmantik, who believed that the epidemic, which followed the president's removal from power, was caused by the curers of Alannantik under the direction of the president who was in jail. [624] [731] [754]

4. The leaders of the revolt in Ahk'olnantik chose as their replacement the first regidor, Ceferino, who was from their side. [624]

5. Leaders from Alannantik rejected this replacement and were able to get official backing from the state government to replace their representative.

The process illustrates the way in which a conflict, precipitated by a clash between civil authorities and the curers, was cast into the idiom of struc- 621 756 578

554 the status. Community integration is achieved at the expense of limiting the range of roles through restricted recruitment and validating mechanisms.

621 794 [182] *Alternation and linkage in office-holding.* The principle of alternation between civil and religious posts serves to integrate these officers in a single functioning system and prevents the development of segmented groups. The alternation of offices between sides of the dual divisions helps to integrate the village by pairing or alternating them in the same office. Some roles served as links between the institutional domaines. Principales are the primary symbolic leaders of both hierarchies since they are chosen from among men who have completed service in both hierarchies. The alfereces formerly symbolized the unity of the civil and religious branches in the transfer of banners from the cabildo to the church and in other ceremonial duties.

621 624 794 [692] [184] The regidores and judges have remained identified with the civil authority in Tzoʔontahal, although in other towns in the area they have become almost exclusively identified with the religious hierarchy (Cancian 1965). The regidores were formerly involved in religious affairs during the household celebration for the installation of the new alférez. At this time they were called personaetik from the Spanish term persona, or personage.

731 756 178 621 Events requiring community action reveal some of the links which unite officials who play roles in different institutional settings. On the occasion of an epidemic, curers are called before the civil authority to "give an account" of who is causing the witchcraft. Formerly the curers were linked to the civil hierarchy by a system of social control in which the principales, as elders, reviewed their actions in guarding the safety and health of the community. This system of checks and balance has been broken by the shift in power from the principales to the president.

794 621 182 The nakawanehetik provide the links between the household and the civil and religious hierarchies. They transmit the knowledge of ritual prayer and acts and officiate at the inauguration of officials. They serve as stage directors in maintaining the traditional household rituals and in ensuring continuity in public ceremonials.

621
627 Many cases of adultery never go outside the fences of the sitio, and many witchcraft cases come to the Ayuntamiento only after a murder has been committed in "revenge," in which case the Ayuntamiento is only called in to re-establish order and calm down the relatives of the deceased, trying to avoid further revenge and bloodshed.

794
776 The Mayordomos, on the other hand, have no control over the household Saints which are "owned" by each family and kept in the house in a special altar, nor do they relate directly, within the Church organization, to the many supernatural beings which populate the belief system of the villagers. The "owners of the hills," spirits which inhabit the caves, rivers and wells, the mythological creatures such as the Sombrerón (frightening ghost which appears to tempt people in isolated spots) or Juan Lopez (the local culture hero), and the evil and powerful souls of witches
794 are in a separate domain. These can be controlled only by the
624 curanderos, who have powerful souls, or by the principales. This
774 last group (principales) is also "in charge" of taking care of
776 the health of the village, and do so by having their own souls patrol the boundaries of the community at night and by forbidding entrance to sickness and plagues. The men capable of such supernatural performances "own" animal spirits (nahuales) which help them in their task. Mayordomos, on the contrary, can be men without such powers, and do not need to belong to the select group which deals with the supernatural outside the realms specified by the Catholic Church.

000 The communal offices of the Ayuntamiento and Mayordomías

62
887
888 after for advice in many different events, such as helping to decide the divisions of an inheritance among brothers, giving advice to a drunkard husband, etc. They also have important political functions: they are called in by the Ayuntamiento to help solve the difficult witchcraft cases, and they have to approve the nominations of officers before they are presented to the community as candidates.

621
554 In selecting new officers, age, marital status, seniority rights and previous experience are considered important. The higher a position in the hierarchy, the more respected it is and the more authority and responsibility it carries. While the lower positions can be filled by any man, the higher ones require certain personal skills that not everybody possesses, so it becomes more difficult to find the right man for the job. Some men fail in commanding the respect of their fellow citizens (because they drink, or they fight with their neighbors, or similar breaches of behavior for which they are not selected for cargo), or they become senile, or die before they become pasados, so not every man arrives at the ideal and most reputable role of Principal, which is the top role a man can achieve at the community level.

621
624
554 To be a principal a man has to be able to get along with his kinsmen and neighbors, he should not be suspected of witchcraft, he should be able to deal with outsiders to the community avoiding conflict with them, he should be fast in judging the behavior of others and solving problems, and his word has to be precise and carry the necessary weight to convince others that his opinions are sound (un hombre que "sabe hablar"). Moreover, he can more easily

621 Moreover, he can more easily 54
624 fulfill these requisites if he had been able in his lifetime to
554 become the jural head of a large and united extended family, be-
596 cause, given the fact that he should be able to control the opinions and actions of many villagers, it is his personal power with other individuals which supports his position as principal, and not the reverse.

621 Town officials, although they are selected by the previous
[623] officers and approved by the principales, have to be ratified in their positions by all the household heads in a public meeting. The different qualifications of some men for the higher posts creates some disparity in the number of cargos held by a particular individual, but the differences are never enough to say that political power is differentially distributed. The following table and figure show the distribution of officerships by age group, in a random sample of married men in Aguacatenango, and it confirms the idea that the villagers themselves have about their access to political officership: any normal, married man with more than one child is capable of achieving, in a hierarchical order, several political posts.[1]

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[184] [1]This system is in contrast with other villages in the area. In the very large communities with paraje type settlements (a nucleated village which functions as a ceremonial and political center surrounded by dispersed hamlets) such as Tenejapa or Zinacantan, although the number of offices is tremendously increased, the population is so large that only a few men from each paraje pass the cargos, and the ideal of every man participating in the hierarchy of power is never attained. In those cases, only the richer obtain office, and the "democratic" aspects of the system are less noticeable. It could be that an egalitarian political organization can only be maintained when the population size is limited, and that a large social group with a centralized organization "needs" differential power distribution, or, rather, cannot avoid the differential distribution of political power among the population groups.

121 manipulations for political purposes; and (3) their restricted
613 functions.

174 Why is the patriline this weak? There are reasons of
613 an historical nature, as well as functional reasons. First, with the centralization of political power created by the Spanish colony, in which each household head, independently of lineage affiliation, became a tributario (tax payer) and had rights of participation in the political structure, the political functions or the lineage
613 became debilitated. At the present time, it is only through the
624 principales that the patriline as a unit has political representation. The principales are usually the elders of the largest patrilines in the community. To make decisions, they have to have the backing of the men they represent. Belonging to a larger line indicates that a man is capable of controlling a larger number of household heads and, therefore, has stronger political support. That being the head of a large patriline gives a man authority in village affairs is shown not only by the fact that principales are thus supported, but also by the fact that patriline elders, even if they are not officially principales, on occasions can act as such, and they are sought after for advice in making Ayuntamiento decisions, by their own people and by other villagers.

174 Second, with the relocation of the lineages at the time
423 that the village was reducido, and the control of the lands by the
613 Encomienda and the Spanish crown and later by the fincas, some of the lineage control over its lands was lost. It is possible, however, that before the agrarian reform, when the village lands were scarcer, the land holding rights of the patriline were more precisely stated.

My eliciting procedures are described to make explicit the steps in constructing the informant's cognitive model. The first responses given by an informant are most often those which have the greatest significance within a structured system of priorities or of dominance. For example, informants in Tzoʔontahal invariably listed the officials in order of primacy. Another clue to the structuring of social relations is the omission of data in the first interview. This can mean either repression of information or lack of significance for the informant as an individual or for the society. These factors can be sorted out in subsequent interviews. 121 124

When asked, "What are all the kinds of offices in Tzoʔontahal," informants replied, "offices in the *kabiltu*, or townhall, and offices in the *č'ulna*, holy house or church. The question, "What are the kinds of officials in the townhall?" elicited the following three categories: *alkaletik*, alcaldes or judges; *rehiroletik*, regidores; and *mayoletik*, mayores or policemen. These categories are ranked relative to each other; for example, *alkaletik* is of greater prestige (*mas mamališ*, senior), *rehiroletik* next, and *mayoletik* least. Thus there are in the *alkaletik* category: *primero alkal*, first judge; *sčebal alkal*, second judge; *čeb suplente alkal*, two assistant judges. In the *rehiroletik* category there are: *primero rehirol*, first regidor; *sčebal rehirol*, second regidor; *yošebal rehirol*, third regidor; *čanebal rehirol*, fourth regidor. In the *mayoletik* category there are: *primero mayol*, first policeman; *sčebal mayol*, second policeman; *yošebal mayol*, third policeman; *sčanebal mayol*, fourth policeman; and *spoil mayol*, last policeman. 124 621* 693 [794] 554 621* 693 554 624 554 625

Cutting across this ranked hierarchy of officials are two geographical divisions; these align officials according to the side of the dual division in which they reside and which they represent. There is one judge from the upper division, *ahk'olnantik*, and one from the lower division, *alannantik*. The first judge is chosen in alternate years from one or the other of the two divisions, and so on for each rank of judges and regidores. There are two sets of five police, one from each side of the dual division serving in alternating weeks. The two assistant judges are chosen from the barrios Magronal and Bočibal. They never attain the first two positions. In addition to this regular ladder 621* 693 [625] [554]

[P. 213-A]

In addition to this regular ladder of officials representing the center and its close-lying barrios are judges representing the *colonias*, or rural settlements, of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Crus Quemada. They do not regularly attend the townhall sessions, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of new officials. Only after I had elicited officials from two informants was I able to get from the third the three judges of the colonias with the question, "Are there any other officials in the cabildo?" 621* 693 632

These civil officials constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. The positions of president and *sintiku* (in Spanish *síndico*), not included in the offices of the townhall as a category by informants, were elicited in response to the question stated above. These posts are occupied by younger men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy, until the present generation, was limited to those in the 30-year age bracket. Those with such skills passed immediately into the *comisario ejidal*, commission for land grants, where they assisted in the control and redistribution of land granted under the ejido program, or went directly into the post of *síndico*. Thus they were able to avoid the onerous and time-consuming functions of the traditional posts and enter into the remunerative post of president, where their authority was recognized at an early age. With improved literacy, the competition for such posts is increasing. Although informants say that the post of president alternates for the two sides of the dual division, case materials do not bear this out. 622 624 • [124] [191] [212] [423] [178] [212] 622 621* 114

The only Ladino in the hierarchy is the secretary. For the first time this year (1964) the post of secretary has been taken by an Indian of the town. This is part of the power play described below. 563 624 178

Naming of civil officials is done in November, first in a closed session in the townhall at which each official names his successor, followed by a mass meeting *(Komun K'op)* at which the names are read to the assembled household heads in the plaza. To the question, "What are all the kinds of offices in the church?" the response was given: *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces (or captains, the Spanish term *alfereces* comes from the Arabic). There are 16 mayordomos. Role terms for the mayordomos indicated that each saint was repre- 666 621* 794 [776]

[P 213-B]

men whom the lay sisters assisting the priest have organized to help carry out the Mass and other church rituals. 794

Another pair of officials, the *krinsipaletik* or principales, were not mentioned in the category "officials in the townhall" or in that of "officials in the church," until I questioned, "Who names the officials?" The response was, "Principales with the president." In order to arrive at the higher honorific posts of principal, one must serve five times in the civil and six times in the religious posts in the traditional hierarchy. The principales provide continuity in the transfer of authority, remaining in the townhall when the old officials depart to their homes, and passing over the staffs to the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28, 31). It is a position without power in the day-to-day administration of affairs. Although the incumbents occupy prestigeful positions and carry out ceremonial acts, many men avoid the office because of the loss of status in carrying out one of their most important acts, the collection of contributions for the major fiestas. The two principales must hold the plate into which the money is turned over by the police, and this causes "embarrassment." Formerly they were also bankers, holding the money until it was spent. This responsibility gave prestige to the act of receiving the money, now redefined as a sort of begging operation. 624 554 [182] 624 554 794 [453]

A ceremonial link between the civil and religious wings is the group of officers known as the *alperesetik*, alfereces. They are associated with the four major saints, who are also represented by the *kobrarias* of Sacramento, Santa Lucia, San Pedro Martyr, and San Francisco. Their rank order is determined not by the importance of the saint but by the order of entry into office. These are named: *tat pasaro*, the past "father"; *?il pasaro*, remains past; *sk'ebal pasaro*, second past; and *?ok' alperes*, new alferez. They sit, move, and are served in this order wherever they appear. Although tied to a *k'ulsat*, spirit father or saint, they function in the townhall in bearing the banners there from the church for civil affairs (App. 1, Q. 27), and they provide the post which is crucial for learning the set speeches useful in all formal occasions, called the *pat?ot'an*, 'behind the heart.' Because of the crucial nature of this speechmaking, no man can progress into the post of first or second regidor without having passed through that of alferez. This post is the most difficult to fill because of the high outlay (3000 pesos in one year of average expenditures, about half the 794 [776] 794 554 794 554 62 537 [624] 794 434 681

[P. 214-B]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

average annual earnings of a man in this town); failure to accept the post when it is offered brings a jail sentence. On the following day, during a drinking session in the townhall with the assembled civil officials, the reluctant nominee usually accepts. 794 [434] [681] [273]

The civil career of an individual would be one in which he passed (*sk'as*, which I gloss as 'pass'; it is the same verb as Spanish *pasar*) first as police, then as third or fourth regidor. If he has passed as alferez, he will enter as first or second regidor at this stage, and then go on to second judge and finally become first judge. If not, he will stop as third or fourth regidor. After reaching the peak of his career as first judge, he may return to the police group as *martomorey*. Present leaders of the town consider this an "ugly" custom and say they hope to change it because it puts men of major age in a position of minor importance. Formerly men had to fulfill six turns in civil office, twice as regidor and twice as judge, to be considered free of further obligation. But now, because of increasing population (according to informants), this has been lowered to five required turns. The post which has been eliminated is that of assistant judge, which is now filled by a representative of one of the two barrios. 156 621* 554 693 [794] [829] 624 693 178 156

Throughout his career in office, a household head is expected to alternate between the civil and religious posts. Religious posts are considered less onerous since they require only six months of service, from the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo at the end of June until January 6, and the men are on duty only Sundays and holidays. A balanced number of six turns in each of the branches of the hierarchy was expected, prior to the reduction of the number of civil posts to five, to bring one to the end of one's career. In a census of 311 household heads made in 1964, passage in office shows a balance between posts undertaken in each wing of the hierarchy. Of 13 men over 70 years of age, five had completed service in civil and religious office. Three who had passed as president had served only once or twice in each wing of the hierarchy. The remaining five had a balanced but incomplete career. 621* 156 794 [125]

In the religious hierarchy, a man passes first as *nił'anil ḳuč ha?*, 'minor who brings liquor.' Then he will pass as *?ali?bal*, the assistant to the *ḳobraria*, particularly charged with the slaughter of the bull for the large fiestas. These "servants" were not distinguished from other mayordomos in the initial listing of officers, but were mentioned in the description of fiesta 794 554 156

[P. 215-A]

reces have delivered from the church. The presence of the alfereces with their banners proclaims the link between civil and religious office. 621* 794 182

The principales, now fairly inebriated after their long wait for the arrival of the new officials, pass out the staffs, assisted by the old president who helps direct them as they wander in a daze from the table to the new officials. The intoxicated state of the principales is never mentioned in elicited statements. The act of passing over the staffs is a significant index to their role in the hierarchy. As the only "permanent" 621* 624 [273]

621* 554 693

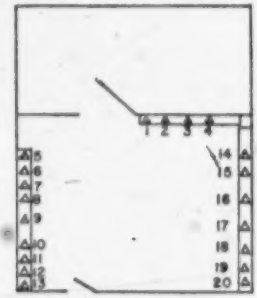

CHART 5 — MORNING, HOUSE OF PRESIDENT, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS (all men):

1 Nakawane
2 President
3, 4 Nakawane
5 First judge
6 Second judge
7 Síndico
8, 9 Assistant judges
10 First regidor
11 Second regidor
12 Third regidor
13 Fourth regidor
14-20 *Balnialetik*

incumbents—permanent so long as they are alive, healthy, and not impoverished—they are the link between the outgoing and incoming officials. When all the old officials have retired to their homes following the ceremony, and the new officials have gone on to the church, the principales wait in the townhall for the new officials to return for the afternoon drinking session in which they will join, as they had done in the morning with the old officials. 621* 624 [273]

Wearing their rosaries, the new officials follow the alfereces out of the townhall in a procession. Holding the holy banners, the alfereces line up before the townhall, dip their banners, and proceed to the 621* 794 788

[P. 217-B]

Q. 68) is a review of the major activities in which they will take part in the church. The phrase 'before the face of,' *ta sit*, is the orientation he indicates to the new mayordomos to perform these acts. 794 796 [537]

The ceremony in the church when the mayordomos receive their candles is limited to the few words of advice spoken to them by the fiscal and the passing over of the candles. There is no representation by the civil authorities in the ceremonial aspect of installation, although the fiscal, in his dual office as assistant to the priest and as president, indirectly takes this role. The alfereces, who provide the link on other occasions for the civil officers' inauguration, are not active during this changing of the religious officers. Following the ceremony inside the church, the town treasurer and síndico help the fiscal count the money passed over with each *kobraria*. Thus the "integration" of the hierarchy is asymmetrical, providing for a church representation in civil affairs, but only in a limited sense is there the reverse. [621]* [624] •

The mayordomos return to the house of the *kobraria* Sakramentu. The *nakawanehetik* have lost their place of honor at the *hol wanku*, 'head of the bench,' and are sleeping under the bench or in the corner. Their presence is no longer socially marked, and it is not a point which was elicited.

The behavior during the inauguration of civil officials showed the following structural features. The hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth stepladder but a segmented order. The categories elicited in the first session with the informant—*alkaletik*, *rehiroletik*, and *mayoletik*—act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same areas in all the settings (App. 1, Q. 14, 15, 51, 64–74). Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They order their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge issues an order to the fourth regidor to get liquor (App. 1, Q. 55) and the first police orders the commissioner from the rural colonias to get liquor for their group (App. 1, Q. 79). In these behavioral indices one can see the segmentation of the civil hierarchy, ordered by age, skill acquired in the expensive office of alferez, and territorial identification. Age grading is absolute only between the segments, and is roughly applicable within each segment. 621* 571 554 156 [561]

In the inauguration of the religious officials, elder and younger officials associated with each saint act 794 561 156

[P 219-A] TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 220-A

Change of Officials

The degree of integration of the civil and religious wings of the hierarchy can be described behaviorally. The following acts (App. 1) indicate this structural feature. 621* 794 182

Q. 24. The civil officials kneel and "measure their noses" as they enter the townhall in deference to the banners. [788]

Q. 27. Sacred objects, such as the holy banners of the *kobrarias*, are present on the table in the townhall as the officers take the oath of office. Officials carry rosaries as they accept oath and wear them in the procession to the church. [778]

Q. 28. The alfereces are present in the townhall to witness the ceremony. As bearers of the four major saints of the town, their role is primarily defined in a religious context.

Q. 41. Officials go to the church immediately following their procession in the plaza to pray for health to carry out their responsibilities. [782]

Q. 48. The religious officials are present in church on New Year's day to witness the arrival of new officials of the civil wing.

The alfereces link the two wings of the hierarchy in the following acts: 794 182

Q. 36. They carry the sacred banners to the townhall on the day of the inauguration.

Chart 9. They lead the parade of new officials of the civil wing.

Q. 28. They witness ("look at") the inauguration of the civil officials in the townhall.

Q. 36. In emerging from the townhall, they bow and incline their banners first before the townhall, then before the church. [788]

In the inauguration of the religious officials the only act uniting officials of the two wings of the hierarchies is that of counting the money (App. 2, Q. 90) when the town treasurer and síndico assist the church officials. The integration of the civil and religious wings in Tzo?ontahal is asymmetrical. The church officials as a group are involved in the civil inauguration, but the civil officials are only peripherally involved in the religious inauguration. 621* 794 182 [624]

Another behavioral basis for stating the dimensions of the civil and religious integration is found in the replication of symbols and acts in each inauguration. In taking the oath, the term *yič huramentu* is used in both settings. The staff as symbol of civil office has its counterpart in the candles handed over to the mayordomos. In both ceremonies, officials of the townhall and of the church wear red kerchiefs and carry rosaries when receiving the oath of office. 621* 794 182 782 788 [641] [292] [293]

Replication of behavior in both civil and religious 000

[P. 220—B]

Third, there was opposition on the score that the president had never passed in any other public office. The only incident revealing the discontent was the firing of eight shots at (or above) the president's brother following the house festival on the eve of the inauguration. 666 578 622

The principales, who "formerly were the ones who ruled," no longer have a part in the power struggle 624 178

621* 794 554 346

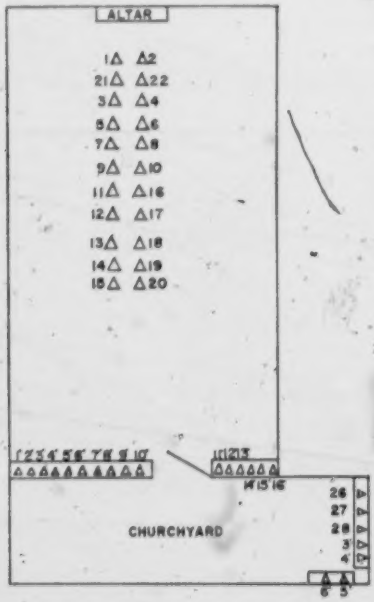

CHART 11 — NEW OFFICIALS INSIDE CHURCH, NEW YEAR'S DAY

OFFICIALS:
1'-16' Mayordomos

Remaining numbers refer to officials listed in Charts 7-9.

which centers on party membership and economic competition. Their ceremonial role in rituals is preserved as a link with the past as well as a sign of continuity between old and new officials. 624 178 [794]

In the inauguration of the religious officials, divergence in the elicited and the observed event (App. 2, column 4) occurred first of all in the shift of locale for the common meal from the churchyard to the house of the *?ali?bal* instead of in the churchyard (App. 2, Q. 19). This was a clue to the power struggle going on in the church. When I questioned my informant about the disparity, he told me the following story: 794 178 578 [264] [793] [273]

[P. 223-B]

ing "what our mothers and fathers did" (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 64). Second, continuity can be seen in the presence of both old and new officials in the townhall. In this setting, the old officials acknowledge acceptance of the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28). Finally, of greatest importance in establishing continuity are the principales, who await the arrival of the new officials with the old officials (App. 1, Q. 28) who pass over the symbol of authority (App. 1, Q. 31), and who remain alone in the townhall for the return of the new officials, when they have gone to church. 621* 105 794 178 18 [624]

2. *Role commitment.* The officials are members of closed corporate communities, integrated in a prior set of kinship and other social relations. They cannot rely on anonymity when acting in their official capacity as judge or policeman. Thus one of the functions of the inauguration as a rite of passage is a disengagement from the preexisting network of obligations and a commitment to the obligations of the office (cf. Parsons, 1951, pp. 80–84; Gluckman, 1962, p. 34; Cancian, 1964). Behaviorally, this function is indicated in the unfailing use of the term *Mam* (elder respect term) in both address and reference. The reference to the holy nature of their task (App. 1, Q. 19) and of the symbol of their authority, the "holy" staff (App. 1, Q. 30) which they always carry when discharging an official errand, establishes the supernatural authority on which the role is based. The effectiveness of these symbolic role identities in neutralizing prior affective commitments can partially be judged in that most dispute cases are brought before the local courts rather than referred to higher courts, suggesting that the complainant expects fair treatment. 621* 105 794 178 18 156 554 [576] [293] [691]

3. *Role learning.* The inauguration provides a setting in which the individual who is about to assume office learns what is expected of him (cf. Fortes, 1962, p. 82). The instruction of the novice officeholder is acquired most importantly in the home from the speeches of the *nakawanehetik* and cofrades (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 38, Q. 64) and in the directions he may be given in the ceremonial setting (App. 2, Q. 39, observation).

4. *Introduction of new officeholders to the villagers.* The new status of the officeholders is made 621* 105 794 178 18 788

[p. 227-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzoʔontahal

Appendix 1 — CHANGE OF OFFICIALS IN THE TOWNHALL

	Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
*621 124 796	1. When do they change the officials?	On January 1, *ʔač haʔbil* (New Year)	First of January	I observed the preparations for the New Year change of office fiesta in the houses of the president and of the new first policeman on December 31, 1964, and January 1, 1965
	2. What do they do first on the fiesta of changing of officials?	They arrange the house of each official	The wife of the first judge puts the bean tortillas on the fire	
[252]	3. When do they do this?	In the afternoon of December 31	In the morning of the last day of December	The women spend most of the morning and afternoon making the bean tortillas
[353]	4. How do they arrange the house?	They get juniper boughs and needles and put them in the house		Around 8 P.M. the visitors arrive. The house is decorated with pine needles on the floor and in the yard, and there are branches of juniper nailed to the posts of the house entry, just as it is done at the entry to the townhall. I was not present at the gathering
[602]	5. Who helps her?		All her relatives (*kermanotak*) with neighbors (see Chart 1)	
	6. What do they do in the afternoon?		The women eat	
*621 124 796	7. What time do the guests gather in the house of the new officials?	On December 31 at 7 P.M.		
514	8. What do they bring?	They arrive with wood and pitchpine	They bring wood or pitchpine	
[292] [262]	9. What do the visitors do?	They drink coffee with bread and bean tortillas	They say greetings. They drink coffee and eat bean tortillas	
[273]	10. What do they do when they finish the coffee?	They drink liquor	They take out liquor, and the judge recites the benediction	
*621 124 796 [693]	11. Who is present in the house of the new official?		*stasal nakawane*, his leading house official, Baltol Kantiron. The new judge, Santos Kantiron, *balnial*, assistants to pass gruel, sons of the new officials *ʔak niʔetik*: wood bringers (see Chart 2)	
[624]	12. What do they do first on New Year's day?	The fourth regidor calls everyone together	The fourth regidor raises all the new officials	

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzoʔontahal

APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
*62 124	13. What time does he begin to raise the officials?		He gets up early about 6 A.M.	
796 624	14. How does the fourth regidor raise the other officials?	First he goes to get the third regidor. Then they go to the second. The three go to collect the first. After all are together, the four go to the house of the first judge	The fourth regidor goes to the house of the third regidor. They leave and go to the house of the second regidor, then to the house of the first regidor. Then they go to the síndico's house. Leave and go to the house of the judge	
*62 124 796 693	15. How do the judges join together?	First the two assistant judges call on the second judge. Then the three go to the house of the first judge	The assistant judge for Ahk'olnantik goes to raise assistant for Alannantik. The two go to the house of the second judge. Then they go to the house of the first judge	I arrived at 9:30 at the house of the first alcalde. Present were the following (see Chart 3)
[272]	16. What do the judges do in the house of the first judge?	They drink liquor. They await the arrival of the four regidores	They drink liquor	Before serving liquor the first judge gave the benediction for the liquor *(patʔot'an yiʔ smahtanil)* with the first *nakawane*. His godchild *ahijado shalal nupune*, of marriage, and his brother-in-law Lucian Kut poured liquor. He served cigarettes. Two liters of liquor were drunk here before going to house of president
[292] [576]	17. What do they do then?	They go to the house of the president (see Chart 4)	Go to the house of the president	Assembled company prepared to leave at 10:10. The first judge puts on his plain red kerchief. The assistant judges put on flowered red kerchiefs. First judge said goodbye to the *nakawane*. This formal adieu, the *spat lokʼyoʔtʼan*. Regidores stood up and came out. Then the assistant judge arrived at the house of President 10:30. (Chart 6)
*62 124 796 693 576	18. What do they do when they enter the house of the president?	The first judge gives the *spat yoʔtʼan* with the first nakawane	The first regider gives the *patʔotʼan*	First judge speaks with *meʔil kʼop* who stood at door of inner room. The *nakawanehetik* bowed and kissed hands with the first and second alcaldes
[538] [539]	19. How do they give the *spat yoʔtʼanik* at his house the president?	They sing what they will do for the year	Holy evening, mamtat, your health. God how does He see you, mamtat. You are alive speak God holy evening. Behind your heart no illness I hear this holy evening.	(See Chart 6 for seating at house of president)

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzoʔontahal

APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: Entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
#621 124 796 641 [875]				and enthusiasm what the constitution commands us. I want in this moment, under the oath, to designate the position of municipal president of the pueblo
[539]	33. How did new officials respond to oath?			Officials raised hands with rosary in it. Then they put rosary on their necks
#621 124 796	34. What do they do after the oath?		Pass over the papers with the acts, with all the things	Take inventory of communal possessions—5 chairs in bad estate, 2 *codigo viejo*, etc.
	35. Who takes inventory?			The past president
#621 124 794 796 [533] [788]	36. What do they do after they take their staffs the new officials?	The four alfereces go out with their banners	The alfereces go out in a procession with the banners	First alferez came to table, crossed himself, kissed banner with kerchief bound on handle, unfurled banner. He followed with second, third, and fourth alfereces. Flute and drum began as alfereces came out. They turned and faced the townhall. Inclining banners the police went out, knelt, crossed selves at door. Then the regidores, then president, then síndico and judges
#621 124 796 788	37. What time did the procession begin?			1:05
	38. What did the procession look like?	(Chart 9)		(Chart 10)
	39. How many turns do they take?		They take two turns where the fruit is sold (reference to plaza during a ceremony)	Two turns (started behind school house but old *nakawane* redirected them)
	40. What did the alfereces do?			At door of the townhall, drew up horses facing it, dipped banners. Same at church
	41. Where does the procession go?	To the church	They go to the church	They enter the church
#621 124 796	42. Who remains at the townhall?		The officials come out, leaving all the townhall silent except for the two principales who will await the new officials	The two principales remain within
[624] [782] [794]	43. What do they do in the church?	All the officials speak to God (Chart 11)	They speak to God. They kiss all the saints	They pray at the altar, then kiss the saints as they leave. The alfereces leave their banners in the church

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo'ontahal

794	81. What do they do?		They drink
796	82. What time do they leave his house?		Prayer time *(oración)*
124 [273]	83. Where do they go?		To their house
	84. What do they do first on *sk'ahk'alel?*		Go to hear Mass
	85. Who is in the church to hear Mass?		All the new mayordomos, the women, the prayer leaders
	86. What time is the Mass?		At 7 o'clock
	87. What do they do when they come out of Mass?		Go to the house of the kobraria of Sacramento
	88. How many go?		Thirteen
	89. What do the rest do?		Three juniors *(nil'amil)* remain play drum at door of church
	90. What do they do at the house of the kobraria of Sacramento?		Count the money of the Virgin and San Pedro Martyr
[426]	91. What do they do with the money?		They want to lend it in order to get interest because they want to increase it *(ya sk'an smahanik yu'un ya'be ɣol yu'un sk'an solin hilel)*
	92. How much money is there for the virgin?		Two hundred twenty-eight pesos
[624]	93. Who counts it?	Fiscal with two kobraria	The town treasurer, the síndico and secretary assisted the fiscal in the accounting of funds. The principales sat on the bench to observe proceedings
	94. How much money is there for San Pedro?	Forty pesos	
[624] [537]	95. What do they do after they count the money?	Begins the *pat'ot'an* with the kobraria of Sacramento	The principales recite the *pat'o'tan* with the kobraria of Sacramento
[273]	96. What do they do afterward?	They drink liquor	They drink liquor

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Teklum
[P. 466-A]

625 The "police force", made up of ten
626 Indians of the town who served without pay for a year, acted as errand boys more than as guardians of public safety. The townspeople conformed to the cultural code of behavior because of a sense that their welfare was being cared for.

626 More recently, the breakdown of certain
178 structural features and competition between
756 new and old leaders have undermined non-
[128] violent methods for the maintenance of social control. These changes will be discussed in terms of (1) the organization of the curing profession, (2) conflict between the curers and the civil authority, and (3) how both the curing profession and the civil authority are affected by the breakdown of the old dual division of the town.

(1) Organization of the curing profession.
[124] Perception of structural changes in the curing profession and their effect on attitudes are indicated in the following statement by an informant:

> Formerly there were not many curers. Only two—one in the low side and the other in the high side. They alone spoke together. They walked every night, looking and watching over the pueblo to see that no illness was brought in, checking to see who was bringing it and to see if there was any illness of God [reference to contagious diseases]. They saw which of the children had a soul
> [174] [reference to the third soul, the swayohel or animal spirit, which gives the power to cure and to do evil].
>
> If anyone wanted to be cured, they bathed them, cured them, and in a little while people got better because there was good illness only. If later on it turned into a disease of the devil, with their animal spirit they seized the force of the illness.
>
> When there was a contagious disease, and a witch "brought heat," and the children began to die, the two curers alone consulted and waited to see who had brought the evil and where they lived. One of them went to the town hall and gave an account of the fact that they had taken care of the evil and gotten rid of it. It was not necessary to gather together the pueblo—only the two knew what was the matter and how to care for it.
>
> The [two] leader curers of each section [*statal ʔuʔuletik*] alone ordered other curers. No one else could enter curing until permitted by the leaders. They continued in power until they died, and then one of the younger curers took over.
>
> Beginning in 1940, more curers started to enter on their own accord. The elder curer had died, and his successor was not recognized. People saw that someone could pulse, and so they would ask him to cure.
>
> Now when there is an epidemic, the president

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

hall, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of the new officials. Residents of the barrios and colonias can never rise to any position above that of assistant judge, but once they have served in this post they may become principales in their own localities. One week the first regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the third regidor from Alannantik, and the next week the second regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the fourth regidor from Alannantik. The ten police are ranked in five levels with representatives from each side at every level in the series except for the fourth level, which is occupied by police from the barrios.

These civil officials, called as a group the *huʔeletik*, those who are "able" (in control), constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. To reach a high post, an official must first pass through each of the lower positions in the hierarchy. Outside of this ranked hierarchy, the posts of president and síndico are occupied by young men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy was, until the present generation, limited to a few men in their thirties. With increasing literacy, the competition for these posts is growing.[2] Men who have such skills are called upon as signers of official documents and are called *firmanetik*.

Also existing outside of the traditional hierarchy is the post of secretary which had, until 1965, been occupied by a Ladino. This was the only post which was paid; it also provided opportunity for earning extra income by preparing "acts," or official documents, and fines from court cases. The present incumbent is an Indian of Alannantik.

Because Tzoʔontahal's hierarchy is still a linked series of civil and religious posts, the structure of the civil hierarchy cannot be considered independently from that of the religious hierarchy. The major segments of the religious hierarchy are the *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces or captains of the fiestas. The internal ranking of the sixteen mayordomos depends on the number of religious posts the incumbent has filled and on the rank order of the saints he serves.

The alfereces, or captains of the fiestas, provide a ceremonial link be-

2. Julio de la Fuente (1964:30) has summarized the effect of literacy in breaking the homogeneity of the community since the literate Indians have received greater privileges and release from communal work. When the entire community is educated, the monopoly of literacy is broken.

794 may at any time in his career be called upon as alférez. This may occur
[625] even before he has served as a junior mayordomo or policeman since the
[556] post depends on his own or his father's wealth.

The normal career of an official in the traditional hierarchy involves a
621 balance of civil and religious posts. A man enters these posts according to
794 convenience, not in a rigid alternation between civil and religious wings.
561 The rough balancing of posts can be seen in the careers of men over fifty in Table 25. According to informants, a man should start and end his career in the religious wing. By the age of thirty, forty-three men had filled at least one post in the religious hierarchy, and only twenty-four men had served in the civil hierarchy (Table 24). The religious posts are considered less onerous than the civil posts since the incumbents are in attendance only one day a week instead of every day, and their terms in office last only six months.

621 Wealth level, except in cases of extreme poverty, does not limit a man's
794 participation in the traditional hierarchy. Of fourteen men over seventy,
556 eight had completed their civil posts and seven their religious posts. Three who had not followed the traditional career lines had served as president. The town is small enough so that career lines have not followed any polarization of the upper levels of the hierarchy as occurs in towns of larger size (Bunzel 1952, Camara 1952, Cancian 1965). Discrimination is based on residence rather than wealth—those Indians who reside in barrios and colonias cannot reach any post higher than that of assistant judge. Wealth level is a factor, however, in the time span of the individual's career, since at some time before becoming second or first regidor he must have filled the expensive post of alférez. Table 25 lists the careers of men fifty years of age and over in order of wealth. It is possible to finish a career in office by the age of fifty, but if a man has less than one hectare of land, it is unlikely that he will finish before he is sixty-five. The Indians of Tzoʔontahal do not however maximize the importance of passing through the hi-
[554] erarchy. It is a duty not a goal, and the reward in prestige is minimal.

794 The only post in which wealth has been crucial was that of alférez. The
556 incumbent and the household of which he was a member spent 3,000 pesos
796 to carry out the fiestas with which he was charged in his year in office.
666 The president, the four judges, and the four regidores chose the alférez

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Constitution of Chiapas, 1825 *	*Interpretation of functions by villagers*	*Actual functions, as observed*	
Have the responsibility of publishing the laws and edicts of the government. Announce to the townspeople the days for electoral meetings.			642 693
Regidores: †	Sit on the benches inside the town hall. If there is no judge, regidores order police. Arrange dispute cases with the president and judges.	Bring in officials nominated by the civil authority. Greet them in their houses with the pat?o?tan. Transmit orders of the president to the policemen. Pour liquor in the town hall for the other civil officials. Sit in on court cases.	642 624
Police: Care for the streets, markets, and public plazas, hospitals and other public places. Inspect the quality of foods of all kinds in the interest of the public and the sellers. Care for the drainage of swampy places and free standing and unhealthy waters. Name a permanent commission charged with maintaining the health of the place. Ensure that the public fountains are well kept up and have abundant water. Ensure the punctual attendance of the children in school. See that the equipment distributed by the army is done with equality. Help the alcaldes tend to the execution of the laws, rulings, and agreements of the civil officials.	Sit on the benches, outside the town hall. Summon children absent from school. Maintain public buildings and streets. Distribute portions of bull slaughtered for a fiesta to those who have paid 20 pesos.	Maintain town hall, plaza, road from highway to town. Adorn town hall for fiestas. Cook common meal for civil officials following court cases when fines have been collected. Collect money for fiestas from each household. Buy liquor for use in town hall. Round up truant school children. Bring in criminals.	642 625

(cont.)

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

342 party to go to the spring, at least one relative remains in the house to
796 greet the soul if it should precede the curing party.
[584]
[755] Behavior in household rituals is described in Chapters 1, 5, and 8.
[128]

The Cabildo

344 The cabildo, called by the people of the town the "cold house,"[1] was
[196] built following the revolution of 1915, when Piñeda's revolutionary soldiers
[175] destroyed the original colonial structure. The tiles of the roof were confiscated from a finca which the Indians invaded in 1941 in an unsuccessful attempt to gain additional lands. When they were unable to maintain their hold on the land, they burned the owner's house and took the tiles to the town center where they remain as a symbol of their defiant action. They refer to this event with pride. The cabildo houses the jail, equipped with a barred wooden door, in one of its wings, and the Ejido Commission office in the other.

344 Within the cabildo, each official has his established place. The cabildo is
352 furnished with a table at which the president and síndico sit on wooden
621 chairs made in the Indian town of Chamula. Four benches lining the
554 walls on either side of the entry provide seating for the civil officials. On
576 the right side (looking out at the plaza) sit the judges in order of rank;
[693] the regidores, in similar sequence follow them. The principales, and formerly the alfereces, sit on the left side when they appear for ceremonial occasions. This spatial allocation establishes drinking and greeting order as well. Visitors can go directly from one to another in the formal greeting of a handclasp and murmured "good morning, father," or "good afternoon, father," without violating age-respect patterns.

344 During court cases, the claimant and his supporters sit on the bench to
352 the left of the door; on other occasions the bench is occupied by visitors or
695 petitioners. The police sit on one of the two benches lining the outside
[625] wall, or retire to the kitchen, a wooden slat lean-to on the left wing of the

[171] 1. Bunzel (1952) notes that in prayers, the cabildo in Chichicastenango is referred to as "the cold house, the icy house." Although the Quiché term is not given in her manuscript, one can see a similarity in the rhyming couplets and metaphorical allusions in the prayers of the towns.

building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office.

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist.

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first.

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient portable typewriter. Since typing is a new skill for him, he makes many errors, and his retrials are accepted with patience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

627 754 questioning of other men, that after the murder the community would take their side. If a man is killed, and community understanding accepts that he was a witch, no individual is identified publicly as the instrument of communal revenge. Solid community [593] silence accepts the verdict. Even the family of the deceased has to make a public rejection of the dead witch, or else they risk being forced to leave town, having their house burned, or similar misfortunes. That is to say, they have to publicly establish their innocence by expressing their lack of identification with the witch. Of course, not all conflict is always expressed in witchcraft terms. Witchcraft is, in a sense, the ultimate recourse for the explanation or settlement of disputes when all other means have failed to accomplish the re-establishment of social harmony. 578 If one man fights with another in a drunken brawl, for example, 627 he will try, when sober, to make peace with him, rather than let [754] the other man's antagonism become a reason for witchcraft against him. He can try to settle the conflict personally, or the kinsmen of both parties can do it; the case can be taken up by the Ayuntamiento where the man found guilty would pay a fine, and both 627 parties would be lectured on the dangers of quarrelling. Metzger 578 and Kauffman (1961) transcribed and reported one informant's speech which states the case very neatly:

[625] Thus, the mayores, the police, are appointed by the town. You should not quarrel; it is not for the fun of it that they [the town authorities] will come and get you if you look for trouble. They have the commandment of the agente municipal. They have the commandment of the juez municipal, because you have looked for trouble. You will go to jail for one or two days. Then your head and heart will calm down if you did it because of liquor. In clearheadedness you will enter into judgement. If the misdeed is small, the punishment will be

My eliciting procedures are described to make explicit the steps in constructing the informant's cognitive model. The first responses given by an informant are most often those which have the greatest significance within a structured system of priorities or of dominance. For example, informants in Tzoʔontahal invariably listed the officials in order of primacy. Another clue to the structuring of social relations is the omission of data in the first interview. This can mean either repression of information or lack of significance for the informant as an individual or for the society. These factors can be sorted out in subsequent interviews. 121 124

When asked, "What are all the kinds of offices in Tzoʔontahal," informants replied, "offices in the *kabiltu,* or townhall, and offices in the *čʼulna,* holy house or church. The question, "What are the kinds of officials in the townhall?" elicited the following three categories: *alkaletik,* alcaldes or judges; *rehiroletik,* regidores; and *mayoletik,* mayores or policemen. These categories are ranked relative to each other; for example, *alkaletik* is of greater prestige (*mas mamališ,* senior), *rehiroletik* next, and *mayoletik* least. Thus there are in the *alkaletik* category: *primero alkal,* first judge; *sčebal alkal,* second judge; *čeb suplente alkal,* two assistant judges. In the *rehiroletik* category there are: *primero rehirol,* first regidor; *sčebal rehirol,* second regidor; *yošebal rehirol,* third regidor; *čunebal rehirol,* fourth regidor. In the *mayoletik* category there are: *primero mayol,* first policeman; *sčebal mayol,* second policeman; *yošebal mayol,* third policeman; *sčunebal mayol,* fourth policeman; and *spoil mayol,* last policeman. 124 621* 693 [794] 554 621* 693 554 624 554 625

Cutting across this ranked hierarchy of officials are two geographical divisions; these align officials according to the side of the dual division in which they reside and which they represent. There is one judge from the upper division, *ahkʼolnantik,* and one from the lower division, *alannantik.* The first judge is chosen in alternate years from one or the other of the two divisions, and so on for each rank of judges and regidores. There are two sets of five police, one from each side of the dual division serving in alternating weeks. The two assistant judges are chosen from the barrios Magronal and Bočibal. They never attain the first two positions. In addition to this regular ladder 621* 693 [625] [554]

[P. 213-A]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

621*
"to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] 788
who the new officials to remain in office are." 554
693

Awaiting the new officials in the church are all the 621*
mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials
as they enter to see who they are" (App. 1, Q. 48, 49). 794
The new officials "speak to God," asking for health [782]
so that they can complete their obligation to the town.
They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave [788]
the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father townhall." There they spend the remainder of the afternoon.

The mayordomos go to the kitchen attached to the 621*
townhall. The first policeman directs the purchase of 273
liquor and the measuring out of drinks for the ten [794]
policemen from the two sides of the dual division and [625]
the two rural commissioners. In the townhall the new president's first orders are to the fourth regidor to ask
him to buy two liters of "the gift," liquor. The par- [693]
don to the ancestors, and the offering of the gift to the [782]
principales, is in the hands of the first judge, who [431]
knows the *pat?ot'an*, and can do the honors. The [537]
president is served following the principales in the round of drinking.

The change of religious officials takes place on the 794
fiesta day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29, and 796
on the day of the three Kings, January 6. This provides a six-month term of office. The new officials gather in the homes of the *kobraria* of Halal me?tik and Sakramentu, and in the church. Thus two settings, home and church, come into play with the change of civil officials, but the townhall, significantly, is not part of this act nor are the alfereces called into action.

The ceremony lasts three days: first day is *pas kantelero*, 'to make candles,' when the candles are cleaned, and the old mayordomos eat a "common meal" *(komun we?el)*; second day is *wišperes*, when the oath is taken; final day is *sk'ahk'alel*, when the new mayordomos play the drums or flute.

The first gathering, which took place the year I observed it in the house of the *kobraria* of Halal Me?tik Santalusia, was cut short because the *kobraria* did
not have a porch, and it had begun raining. By local [362]
standards, a house without a porch is considered inadequate, and is called 'cow house' *(wakaš na?)* since the owner cannot accommodate guests on such occasions. The group therefore lingered longer in the house of the *kobraria* of Sakramentu.

The speech of the *nakawane* to the "elder new [537]
mayordomos" *(mamal ?aš martomaetik)* (App. 2,

[P. 218 - B]

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APPENDIX I—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
#62 124 796 693 576 [788]				judge got up and stood before the second judge and did the *spalambe soltak tuyipal Ch'mahtenil* (account to company for the little gift. He then went to the first *nakawane* with the *sak'inal* (good day greeting). Then all the assembled company stood up and turn to wall and gave the benediction to the gift of the ancestors
	21. Why do they stand and turn to the wall?	Not asked—preceded observation	Not asked	So that the devil does not enter
#62 124 796 [273] [693]	22. What do they do after they drink coffee?	They drink liquor seated, resting their heart, in the entry of the house of the president	Drink liquor to await the hour they go to the cabildo	Two beers and 2 liters liquor were laid to rest. At 11:55 women came in to get liters of liquor. Put it under a kerchief and took it out to women in kitchen. Judges and regidores put on red kerchiefs. At 12 noon two judges got up and said goodbye, first to the *balsal* then the first judge went to the *nakawane* while the second judge and two regidores followed behind him. Then together the four said goodbye to the *nakawane* and to the *mo'ol k'op*. Firecrackers were set off to advise police that the group was setting out on their way to the town hall. Police were to meet them at the townhall and had to be advised so that they would arrive at the same time. Two past regidores came to the *mo'ol k'op* and said goodbye. The group set out together
[202] [625]				
	[23. Omitted.]			
#62 124 788 796 [693]	24. How do they enter the townhall?	They enter two by two. They kneel and cross themselves at the door of the cabildo	They enter two by two, kneel at the door. They rise, enter, arrive, kneel before the *sak'k* table	Pair by pair they entered and touched cross of banner with their rosaries. First the president and síndico then first and second judges followed by judges from Madronal, La Grandeza, San Vicente, and Cruz Quemada
	25. Why do they cross themselves?	Because they show respect to the holy cross		

/2 cont./

614 The chieftaincy of each clan was filled by the oldest man,
887 who was called chunel. (It seems to have the same meaning as
156 the word catinab, but some informants recognized the latter as
the one used in the adjacent municipality of Oxchuc.) The office
was not hereditary, and upon the death of a chunel the oldest man
156 of the clan was venerated as such. The chief of the clan was re-
614 spected and feared, because he was recognized as endowed with
888 supernatural power which, through his lab, he exercised over all
776 the members of the clan. Two informants of advanced age de-
554 fined the chunel as "the oldest one and the greatest sorcerer."
The lab feeds on souls, and a person who has "done wrong" is
776 "eaten" by the lab of the one offended and dies. In this way
761 social control was exercised on and among the members of the
[784] clan, never going beyond the limits of this. The life of the in-
[626] dividual is intimately bound to the life of the lab, or guardian
776 spirit; the death of one brings with it the death of the other. All
the Cancuqueros have their lab, but they hide it and sometimes
[756] deny it. The curer knows which is the lab of the sick person be-
[827] cause "he hears it in the pulse." The lab reveals itself in dreams
[787] to "its owner," with whom it speaks because "it is his own com-
pany." One person discovers the lab of another "because he sees
it." The lab takes care of its owner, defends him, and is the in-
178 strument of revenge for an injury unjustly received. Today this
614 concept is intimately bound up with the omniscience of the patron
626 saint; only with the permission of San Juan can a lab "eat" the
776 soul of a chapomal, or "clan brother," and this permission is
granted only in the case when the saint is unfavorably impressed
by the conduct of the individual. In any case the lab never
wreaks its vengeance except for a bad act that would fully justify
614 it according to the social morality. As can be seen, social con-
626 trol was not only rooted in the chief of the clan, but this function
extended to the whole group, as happens at present.

/16 cont./

614 595 two women belonged to the same clan, and in the other two they were women from two different clans. The levirate and sororate 587 exist, but do not constitute a custom practiced /17/ by many; [174] formerly it must have been more frequent, as is proved by the fact of designating the stepfather and stepmother by the same terms used for the father's brother and mother's sister, respectively, 583 and the stepchildren as nephews and nieces. There are several 614 cases of marriage between brother and sister of one clan and sister and brother of another clan. Marriage between cross-cousins is 582 frequent, especially that of a man with the daughter of the mother's brother. Husband and wife always belong to the same generation.

591 Residence is patrilocal, with temporary matrilocal residence for a year after marriage.

593 There still prevails the custom that those who intercede in a 614 direct manner in the preparation of the cadaver and in the in- 964 humation must be members of a different clan. If a married woman who has not had children dies, she is buried with her relatives, without the intervention of her husband.

614 The members of one and the same clan co-operate among themselves and lend each other mutual aid; the younger people obey and respect their elders in the same way that a younger brother respects and obeys his older brother. And we have stressed [626] how "sorcery" is practiced only within the limits of the clan as a [754] means of social control.

Mexico City,
Mexico

101 Note: The materials for the present study were collected 114 during two seasons of field work: May-June, 1945, and June, 1946, 122 financed by the University of Chicago, Instituto Nacional de Antropología de México, and Government of the State of Chiapas.

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121
621 It is in the context of these structural divi-
632 sions that social change and its behavioral in-
dices must be analyzed.

682 Homicide—an act viewed as a delict in na-
182 tional Mexican law—has in the past two dec-
ades become an accepted strategy in social in-
teraction. It is part of the expectations of the
society upon which members predicate their
own code of behavior and in terms of which
[626] they react to others. Gossip not only fails to
[521] suppress homicide, but serves to create a con-
sensual base for condoning it. The corpse is re-
[764] ferred to as "the one who had the guilt," *?a*
stukel smul, and even when knowledge of the
particular act is lacking, certain assumptions
are made: the killer was someone in the com-
munity; the victim provoked the killer. In list-
682 ing crimes, informants sometimes failed to
674 mention killing, or they included it after witch-
[124] craft, theft, or adultery. Homicide is con-
sidered a *reaction* to crime, not a crime in itself.

The rate is phenomenally high—up to 251.2 per 100,000 (when adjusted to bring the whole township's population of a little over 3,000 to the base for measuring international rates)—and it is increasing. This compares with national rates of 4.8 for the United States, 31.9 for Mexico (United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1964), and 36.2 for a nearby town (Favre 1964).

The following tabulation summarizes the homicides by decades since 1915, the earliest date for which records are available.

1915–1924	4
1925–1934	5
1935–1944	19
1945–1954	9
1955–1964	35

[114] Figures prior to 1950 are not apt to be accurate, for only since that time have there been adequate reporting and checking of township records. In the following tabulation, the marked increase in the annual number of homicides since 1960 represents a real increase.

1950	1	1958	1
1951	0	1959	1
1952	1	1960	4
1953	1	1961	7
1954	1	1962	6
1955	0	1963	7
1956	1	1964	4
1957	4	1965	9

682 In order to assess the meaning of its remark-
674 able increase during the 1960's, I have pro-
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682 these suspicions and kill the witch. If he should
674 kill the witch while the patient is still alive, it
75 is believed that the patient will die.

682 Killing men for cattle theft (six cases) is a
685 relatively recent occurrence. It has put hom-
674 icide on the market: the associations of
[463] cattle-owners have hired killers in three of the
[697] six cases. In addition to the killer's fee, they pay the fine to release him from prison. Fines for homicide have increased in the past five years—from 1,000 to 3,000 pesos—but not sufficiently to price the murder of cattle
[435] thieves out of the market. A good bull is worth 1,500 pesos, and the threat of further loss by theft seems to justify the expenditure of fees
685 and fines. When the cattle-owners lose some
787 of their herd, they go to spiritualists or to San
776 Miguel, the talking saint of Ixtapa, to find out who did the stealing. Since such evidence does not hold up in court, legal settlement is not
685 attempted. Legal action, moreover, would
694 create an enemy who might seek revenge. A Ladino secretary of the town center who had lost a bull accused a man of stealing his cattle and demanded 500 pesos in compensation. By receiving the money he jeopardized his safety, and eventually he had to leave town.

The Resolution of the Case

682 It is nearly impossible to find witnesses to
69 homicide. Of these 37 cases, 28 resulted in no action being taken by the authorities, and in five cases where the killers went to jail, they were released with the payment of minimal fines. In the calculations of the townspeople, it is hardly worth risking one's neck to get such a minimal revenge.

682 However, this does not mean that homicide
593 goes unnoticed in the community. After a
626 killing the widow sings of the life of the dead
[683] man. If she is in agreement with the verdict arrived at by the killer and others, she will deny knowledge of what he has done, or even suggest that she too was aware of what harm he has caused (one widow implied that her husband, killed as a witch, was responsible for the death of four of her six children). If she objects to the verdict, she sings of what a good man he was and how blameless. She will then air her own suspicions in the following weeks as to who killed her husband.

682 Following the funeral, when the women
683 have left the cemetary, the men sit at the
627 grave. As they measure out a liter of liquor and pass it around, they advance hypotheses as

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783 Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick.

682 A good man is of one heart, and he shows it by
156 his humility, *ben k'un yo?tan* or "very soft
828 heart." He can drink with friends on either side of the dual division of the town, and he is called upon in many household fiestas to greet the guests of the house owner.

But the man who is "very strong of heart," *ben toyol yo?tan*, who "fails to take people into account," *ma ?awa ta kuenta*, who "abuses people," *me ya wul*, has means of survival despite the many threats to his life. He surrounds himself with a circle of *compadres*, or godparents; he especially picks out curers, both to mitigate the use of their power against him, and for them to serve as intermediaries if he should have enemies with animal spirits. When a threat becomes imminent, he may stay within his house or limit his range of activities to a very circumscribed area, always taking a weapon when he does go out. He will usually try to limit his drinking, or give it up entirely. These short-range rules of avoidance are clearly indicated by the circumstances in which killings occur: in the hills or at night, when the victim is under the influence of liquor.

[608]
[756]
[273]

682 These 37 cases of homicide reveal a regularity in the kinds of people and situations involved. The victims are most often men who assert power, principally curers, or men who violate standards of behavior by abusiveness or theft. Their killers are often linked to them by kinship or neighborhood, the bonds in which tensions are greatest. The regularity of time and place of homicide suggests the precautions that can be taken to avoid being killed if one has an enemy. The general failure of the community social-control agents to bring negative sanctions against a killer indicates that homicide is an accepted solution for interpersonal conflict. The structural setting that validates this behavior is discussed below.

[578]
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II. STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

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Case analysis, useful for discerning certain patterns, is inadequate for understanding the interrelationships among a variety of social changes in the community. An increasing rate of homicide of this magnitude indicates fundamental changes in the social matrix in which individual decisions are made: it suggests not

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682 only a rise in the tensions that provoke con-
178 flict, but an undermining of the social-control
121 mechanisms for channeling them. The percep-
626 tion of these changes by the members of the
society makes for shifts in the individual cal-
culi, grossly measured in changes in the rate of
[128] behavior. In order to understand the interre-
lated problems of the sources of the increasing
tensions and the reasons homicide is chosen as
a means of resolving them, I have recon-
structed the course of social change in the
period from 1935 to 1965.

Increasing Social Tensions

178 New economic enterprises have increased
556 wealth differences in the community. The best
measure of this is in the increase in cattle-
holding, which is a socially approved way of
spending money. Twenty-five years ago, there
were only a half-dozen men with cattle, and
178 they had only one or two head each. Today,
233 one of the herders in the community has 200
556 head of cattle, and 75 percent of the households
have one or more each.

Cattle-herding is a "new" industry in the
sense that instead of just having a team of
oxen to help with agricultural labor, men are
233 breeding cattle for profit. Because the cattle
685 roam freely, there is much loss, and this leads
to accusations of theft. I have never heard
such accusations directed against anyone out-
side the community; crime as well as positive
moral relationships is confined within the
682 boundaries of this corporate community. Sus-
685 pected cattle thieves are killed by the cattle-
[474] owner or by a killer hired by the cooperative of
cattle-owners. Such killings account for six of
the 37 cases analyzed above (Table 1).

178 The illicit distilling of liquor has also added
274 to the town's prosperity. The liquor industry
was introduced about 15 years ago, but the
number of distillers has increased from 5 to 40
[438] in the last five years. From an enterprise
[439] formerly meeting only local market needs,
contraband liquor is now sold as far away as
the coastal area and across the border in
274 Guatemala. A cooperative of distillers has re-
474 duced the frictions that immediately followed
the introduction of liquor-distilling. The
cooperative pays the fines of any member
caught distilling, and in addition threatens to
use group action against informers, who were
formerly tempted to earn the 200 pesos offered
[578] by federal agents. But the envy aroused by the
sight of those who profit from this enterprise,

as with the cattle industry, is a covert cause for personal attacks on other grounds.

A third enterprise, trucking, has caused a realignment of political interests in factions associated with two truck-owning cooperatives. Membership in one of the cooperatives, or patronage of one of the two trucks, arouses the enmity of members of the other cooperative. Several threats have been made on the lives of the owners and the operators, but the only damage done has been to tires.

The tensions resulting from the introduction of these new enterprises cannot be fully measured by the deaths attributed to direct economic conflict. Wealth differences resulting from the new enterprises excite envy, and with it come accusations of witchcraft. In this community, witchcraft killing does not perform the normative function of reducing wealth differentiation that Kluckhohn saw operating among the Navaho (1944), since it is the poor man who is killed as a witch, not the rich man. The slaying of the envious witch exacerbates the economic differentiation that provides the seedbed for conflict.

Another new source of tension is found in the growing demand for political leadership or even independence from the township by the *ejido* colonies formed since land reform went into effect in 1937. The inept maneuvers of two founders of the ejido colonies in hot country resulted in two homicides (cases 12 and 18 in Table 1).[4] The increasing strength of these hamlets will mean that more attempts will be made in the future to gain political equality and/or independence. Whether this will result in increasing homicides will depend on social-control agencies external to the Indian communities.

Homicide occurring as a direct result of economic and political competition represents a new strategy in the community. The decision to kill rather than to use other negative sanctions is related to the social-control mechanisms discussed below.

Changing Mechanisms of Social Control

A system of social control rests not only on the exercise of negative sanctions, but on the sense of personal security derived from confidence in the institutions of control. In Teklum, the maintenance of control was formerly centered in the guardianship against malevolent spirits held by the ancestor spirits and the curers. The "police force," made up of ten

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625 The "police force", made up of ten
• 626 Indians of the town who served without pay for a year, acted as errand boys more than as guardians of public safety. The townspeople conformed to the cultural code of behavior because of a sense that their welfare was being cared for.

626 More recently, the breakdown of certain
178 structural features and competition between
756 new and old leaders have undermined non-
[128] violent methods for the maintenance of social control. These changes will be discussed in terms of (1) the organization of the curing profession, (2) conflict between the curers and the civil authority, and (3) how both the curing profession and the civil authority are affected by the breakdown of the old dual division of the town.

(*1*) *Organization of the curing profession.*
[124] Perception of structural changes in the curing profession and their effect on attitudes are indicated in the following statement by an informant:

> Formerly there were not many curers. Only two—one in the low side and the other in the high side. They alone spoke together. They walked every night, looking and watching over the pueblo to see that no illness was brought in, checking to see who was bringing it and to see if there was any illness of God [reference to contagious diseases]. They saw which of the children had a soul
> [774] [reference to the third soul, the swayohel or animal spirit, which gives the power to cure and to do evil].
>
> If anyone wanted to be cured, they bathed them, cured them, and in a little while people got better because there was good illness only. If later on it turned into a disease of the devil, with their animal spirit they seized the force of the illness.
>
> When there was a contagious disease, and a witch "brought heat," and the children began to die, the two curers alone consulted and waited to see who had brought the evil and where they lived. One of them went to the town hall and gave an account of the fact that they had taken care of the evil and gotten rid of it. It was not necessary to gather together the pueblo—only the two knew what was the matter and how to care for it.
>
> The [two] leader curers of each section [*statal ʔuʔuletik*] alone ordered other curers. No one else could enter curing until permitted by the leaders. They continued in power until they died, and then one of the younger curers took over.
>
> Beginning in 1940, more curers started to enter on their own accord. The elder curer had died, and his successor was not recognized. People saw that someone could pulse, and so they would ask him to cure.
>
> Now when there is an epidemic, the president

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• 626 178 756 orders the curers to gather together. The curers look for the man who has "brought the heat." And then they kill him. Formerly it was not so.

The statement points to two interacting features of change within the curing profession: (1) the loss of leadership and of control over entry into the profession and (2) the loss of faith in the guardianship function of the curers. The effect of these changes has been to reduce security and the maintenance of social control.

756 178 [621] Formerly the recognized leader of the curers in each section of the dual division legitimized entry of new curers and expelled those who abused their power. When these curers died, there was no one of sufficient power to replace them. In listing curers who are active today, there is no agreement as to who the leading curers are or even as to whether there are leaders.

756 Loss of leadership in the curing profession has led to competition among the curers. There is discussion such as the following concerning who is the strongest:

> When N (a former curer, killed as a witch) was alive, he was land-control officer. When we were half drunk one day, the president asked him: "Tell me who is the strongest of all you who know curing." N replied, "Ah, you want to hear. There is no one who is very strong, only the dead Mamal K and myself." The president said, "But Mam D is good." N said, "Less so. I know because one time we proved it, at a meeting of the curers. I arrived as a sheep, and 'took out' [literal translation of *Slok*] one black dog. He took out a sheep and a pig and ordered them to run. And I saw that they could not run. After my animals ran a little with his, mine arrived first. It is thus that I saw his were less strong."

[541] The present competition among the curers to assert their power by telling such stories or by displaying fearlessness in the bullfights held in community fiestas is symptomatic of the disruption caused by the breakdown in the hierarchy of the profession. When curing was a controlled profession, abusive conduct by the curers was minimized, but the new curers are reputed to use their power for their own gain. The following story is typical:

756 539 J, born in Tetikil, went to live in hot country. A friend invited him to drink. J, who was reputed to be a curer, said to his friend when they were half drunk, "Do you want to 'take out' a girl?" His friend said, "No, how can you?" "*Pendejo!*" J replied, "I can because I have an animal

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accused him of being a witch, he was put in the local jail by the judge and then removed to the departmental capital. During his term of imprisonment an epidemic broke out in the town; it was attributed to witchcraft supposedly practiced by him and by two other curers who remained in town. These two were then imprisoned. After they were set free, all three men were killed in different episodes involving accusations of witchcraft. Permission to act as executioners was granted by the civil authority.

In the past, the public review of a case before a killing probably served to minimize homicide, since permission was not always granted. Since 1953, when a large highway first linked the town to the departmental capital and communication between this center of justice and the local township increased, the civil authority has not given permission, and prior review of witchcraft cases occurs only with epidemics.

The final incident in which the civil authority confronted the curers occurred in the spring of 1966. The president accused one of the curers of cutting short his life by lighting candles in the mountains. The curers were called together to hear the threat and to go to the hill to look at the evidence. The accused curer remained at home pleading that he was sick. He was warned not to pursue his witchcraft, and as yet there has been no use of violence on either side. This open confrontation without the use of violence may indicate a change in the strategy of conflict with the growing power of the president.

(3) *Breakdown of the dual division.* The loss of internal controls in the curing profession and the conflict for power and control by the civil officials and the curers are related to a more fundamental change in the social structure of the community. Formerly the division of the town into two sections provided a channel for opposition as well as cooperation. Recruitment into leadership positions in both the civil hierarchy and the curing hierarchy was based upon residence. The system provided checks and balances in the exercise of power, for the two principales—one from each section of the dual division—were supposed to act as watchdogs over the curers. The shift in the locus of social control from the principales to the president has been marked by the open confrontation with the curers.

The authority of the president, however,

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The authority of the president, however, depends on the use of legal sanctions of prison sentences and fines imposed by extracommunity enforcement agencies in the departmental capital. The weakness of these sanctions—the fine for homicide is 1,000 to 3,000 pesos or three to five years' imprisonment—means that these threats do not have a controlling effect on people's decisions to act. Homicide, carried out by individuals who feel themselves to be threatened, is a supplementary mechanism for social control. Cast in the idiom of witch-killing, homicide is the quasi-official execution of a community threat.

The breakdown in the former structural controls has not been compensated for by the intervention of extracommunity institutions. Attempts to circumvent killing are made by the priest, who counsels against it, warning that the killer will acquire the sins of the man he kills, and by the talking saint of Ixtapa, whom the Indians consult when they are pressed and who advises them to wait—their enemy will be killed for them. This advice is not sufficient to forestall all killings. Motivated by fear, some men still seek to eliminate the object of their fear.[7] The sense of the guardianship of the ancestors and their intermediaries, the curers, is lost along with the intervention of the civil authorities. The individual reacts, using his own means and trying to get sufficient consensus to avoid reprisal.

III. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Homicide in the community of Teklum can be a statement of the fear of witchcraft, of revenge, or of quasi-official reprisal depending on the circumstances and social relationships involved. Even in this small, self-contained community, homicide does not have a single meaning, analyzable within a single framework of change.

Homicide is part of the expectation pattern of the town. The patterning of the acts of homicide in terms of time, place, and agent makes possible rules of avoidance both in long- and in short-term calculations for survival. The long-range rules require respect behavior to elders, equals, and juniors and the avoidance of abusive or boastful statements. The short-range rules are to avoid walking alone in the woods or milpas far from town, to stay home at night, and to stop drinking.

Despite the grim and expectable outcome of being killed, not all men heed these rules. The love of power and the projection of self into

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682 wider ranges of expression than are usually
183 permitted in the community prompt men to assert the strength of their swayobel, to run races with the animal spirits of others in the assertion of pre-eminence, to boast of their material goods, and to "wake up dead."

682 The increasing rate of homicide is related to
674 the following changes in the community:

178 (1) Increasing friction resulting both from the
578 introduction of new economic enterprises and from political competition by the recently settled land-reform colonies has introduced a new kind of homicide, in which an opponent is killed either by the person whose interests are threatened or by hired killers. It has also stimulated accusations of witchcraft stemming from envy.

[754]
558
682 (2) The curers' loss of leadership and of con-
674 trol over entry into the curing profession
178 has led to competition among them and to
578 a loss of respect for their ability to over-
756 come witchcraft. Curers have become the most frequent suspects of being witches.

754 (3) Loss of faith in the guardian ancestors and
682 in the guardianship functions acquired
674 from them by the curers has further under-
178 mined the position of the curers as agents
769 of social control. This has aggravated the
776 sense of insecurity and fear, which pro-
626 vokes the uncontrolled use of individual violence.

(4) The shift of power from the principales to
682 the town president has led to a breakdown
674 in the system of checks and balances
178 exerted by the principales over the curers,
621 and to a direct confrontation of the curers
626 by civil officials.

756 (5) In the confrontations of the civil authori-
682 ties and the curers in the '40's and early
674 '50's, the fact that a witchcraft case was
756 officially reviewed and the killing of the
178 witch sanctioned may have served as a
626 brake on the number of such homicides.
683 Since 1953, when this practice was abandoned, those who have felt themselves or their families to be the victims of witchcraft have been left to their own recourse.

178 The organizational changes summarized
578 here are provoked by structural changes
682 affecting recruitment into the positions of
[621] power and the validation of leadership in the exercise of power. The dual division of the
[632] town provided an accepted basis for recruiting
[756]

613 than three or four generations. In the past, these lineages were localized, and in places like Bachajon, Cancuc, and Oxchuc the exact locations are still remembered.

613 769 778 A few generations ago, the most distinguished members of each lineage were buried in the cave after which the paraje was named, the bones and ashes of the dead being placed in large jugs or urns. The caves were places for ceremonies honoring the ancestors. Blom (1954) made a study of these burials and mapped the distribution of the sites. These caves are still places for worship but not for burials; the cross protecting all members of the lineage is kept there, as well as, in some instances, small crosses belonging to the important members of it (Villa Rojas, 1946, p. 16).

614 The words *chapomal* and *tijinabal* name the members of the clan in general. It is said that "the neighbors of this paraje are all chapomales," or "those cannot get married because they are chapomales." Tijinabal also means neighbor or member of the same paraje. Another word, *patshunk*, is also an equivalent of tijinabal. These words are currently used in Oxchuc, Cancuc, and Bachajon. On the other hand, there is no specific word to designate the lineage.

[835] The main function of the clan is to regulate marriage, as the union of two chapomales is considered incestuous. The clan [574] also gives much self-confidence to the Indian who travels to other parajes, for he can always find hospitality among people of his own clan. It also has a function of social 614 626 887 control, exercised by the old men of the group, who punish all transgressors against the established rules. Helped by the nagual (supernatural spirit), they find out about the behavior of the members of the clan and punish according to the crime (Villa Rojas, 1947).

613 428 The lineage relationship is also important in inheritance (especially land), since the plots should always be under the control of individuals of the same Indian name. Only where such persons are absent or missing or

[P 215-A]

273* 578 539 ... HATE YAHWAL NA HATE SWINKLEL Z'INE, *ABOT TON TA S(H)OL ... HIZ

That head of the house, that owner, was hit on the head with a rock.

MA K'OLO MA TONI.

A rock this big around.

HNA*TIK Z'IN, TU*L LIHK TE SK'OPIK Z'INE, LAH SMIL SBAIK.

We don't know how their argument began, he was killed.

... HA* MILAWAN SNEALI.

His son-in-law killed him.

... HATE MAC'A MILAWAN Z'INE, YIP LA HTATIK TAL Z'IN *A TE SMORAL, SMORALI, YIP LA HTABETAL Z'IN *A SOK CEB PIXLAL.

That one killed him, we only found his morral, only his morral and two hats.

... *ORA *ILI MA* TEK'AY *A, *ANIX LO*EL.

He's not here now, he fled.

M. HIC KOLOL Z'IN.

Then he got away.

273* The possibility that an individual when drinking is in fact speaking the truth is an entertainable idea especially under the circumstances that he reports information which individuals have been searching for unsuccessfully.

273* 626 578 In one text we find Mariano defending himself against statements he allegedly made while he was drunk. The context in which these statements were made is as follows. The woman who

273* leads the prayers in the church (the rezadora) had two anonymous
• 626
578 notes left at her door, asserting that her character was incompatible with such a role. The effect of this accusation was sufficiently strong to cause her to withdraw from her position. She and her family tried to discover who the note writers were. Under these circumstances it was not long before a few candidates for this position were being considered.

273* Rules of evidence for finding the performers of anonymous
695
626 acts are quite relaxed, though sufficient to the task from the
578 community's point of view. The successful anonymous act is not seen by anyone, hence the reconstruction of the act is made on the basis of motives, and on the succeeding acts which the allegedly guilty person may display. Furthermore, there may be special characteristics of the act which restrict the number of those who may be guilty. If, for example, a man is known to have been killed with a pistol, the assassin is conceded to be limited to one of those who is known to have a pistol. In the present case, a note was written in Spanish, and the author was hence limited to that handful of individuals in the community who can write Spanish. Mariano is perhaps one of the best Spanish writers in the community.

He further damned himself by saying while drunk that he wrote and delivered the note. In this text, he is talking with the rezadora who was forced out of her job, with the full knowledge

273* that she has heard that he made these remarks while drunk and
695
626 knows that he writes Spanish well. He constructs a conversation
578 for her between himself and one Augustin (who also writes Spanish) in which Augustin asks him if he did in fact write the threatening note, as he had claimed in Augustin's presence to have done. (Mariano never admits himself that he made these remarks while drinking.)

273*
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HTAH BA SOK Z'IN HAL *AWSTIN I.

Later I met Augustin.

*ILI ME HIC ME YUN HAT Z'IN LA *APAS HUN I, XYUTON.

"Is it true that you wrote the note?" he asked me.

TU*UN XKUT.

"Why?" I asked him.

HA*BI *AY LA *AWAL TA *AYAKBEL XCI, LA AWAL TA *AYAKBEL *ILI, HO*N LA HPAS HUN I, HO*N LA KAK' HIL TO *AK'E HIL TA STI* SNA XCIAT.

"Once when you were drunk you said so," he said, "You said, 'I wrote the note, I sent it to her house,' that's what you said," he said.

TU*N BA* LA HTA HBAHTIK XKUT.

"Where did we meet?" I asked him.

*AY LA HTA HBAHTIK TA YAKBEL, HO*N LA HPAS XCAT.

"Once we were drinking together, 'I did it,' you said."

*AYIL C'A*BAN MA HNA* MAC'A LA SPAS *EHK ABI, MA HA*KAT LA *APAS XKUTAT STUK HO*N E.

"'Stop it, be quiet, I don't know who did that. You didn't do it,' I said."

273* 539 578 626 HU*U HO*N LA HPAS XAWUTON HIL XCI.

"'Yes, I did,' you told me," he said.

TENEX *A HUL KAL XAN TA HNA Z'IN.

From there I went home to hear it again.

HA*C LA YAK'IK HKUC ... HA*C LA ... HO*N LA KAL TA HYAKBEL.

"They are blaming you ... ." that I said it when I was drunk.

PASE *AK BA* HTA YAKBEL METO, XKUT AWIX I.

"Don't worry, what I could have done when I was drunk?" I told your aunt.

273* 626 578 In telling his wife not to worry, Mariano implies that the rumor will lose its force since it cannot be true.

Mariano also makes it plain to the rezadora later in the text that he wonders at Augustin's insistence on calling this story to his attention and spreading it around town. He implies that Augustin is being somewhat aggressive in doing this or is trying to cover up his own part in the note-writing act. The rezadora draws the conclusion for Mariano that it is probably Augustin who wrote the note, with which conclusion Mariano agrees. Thereby, in this interaction at least, he not only denies any part in the act but also supplies the rezadora with another person who is probably guilty.

273* 578 Individuals in search of the source of hostile acts are not averse to searching the conversations of men who are drinking deeply. In turn, men who drink deeply may use the privileged

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nic unity extending back to the beginning of time. The people set boundaries by such external symbols as a locally specified costume for men and women, a distinctive dialect of Tzeltal, and specialization in the production of pottery. Implicit boundaries are established by socialization processes that inhibit response to the outside world and that define a code of behavior understandable only in its own context. The completely socialized member of the community is not expected to seek recognition, nor could he find prestige, outside these boundaries. The community comprises the moral universe: cooperation and reciprocity are limited to members of the community, as are most cases of homicide and theft. Lacking concrete evidence, people assume misdeeds to have been committed by someone from the community.

The boundaries that separate these Indians from other Indian communities as well as from non-Indian, or *Ladino*,[1] communities are social artifacts that give a sense of security to members of the in-group. They call themselves "the true men" (*b'atz'il winik*), and their world is defined in "the true word" (*b'atz'il k'op*). The latter is their term for the Tzeltal dialect of Maya which is the language of the house and of the street, the courthouse, and the church in the absence of the Spanish-speaking priest. Tzeltal names differ from Spanish names for most of the surrounding towns, the earth, the heavens, and the cosmological bodies. Catholic saints are incorporated under a Tzeltal name or a Tzeltal version of their Spanish name. All of the members of the community have a Tzeltal patronym in addition to the Spanish surname with which they are baptized. The given name is that of a Spanish saint but is shortened and pronounced with Tzeltal phonemes, and female names have the feminine prefix *s*. Their world is labeled in their own language.

The people assume that their expectations will be met and their projec-

1. The term Ladino has a range of usage throughout Middle America. In Mexico City, people define Ladino as any person who abuses his superior skills to take advantage of others. In Oaxaca, a Zapotec Indian defined Ladino as "an Indian who knows Spanish, has adopted western-style clothing, and takes advantage of other Indians because of his knowledge of the language and ways of life of the non-Indian society. He is like a fox." In Chiapas, the term is applied to any non-Indian without derogatory connotation, and the same is true in Guatemala. In the metalanguage of anthropological monographs, it is used in this latter sense.

465 working long hours. Thus they receive 12 pesos for about one and a half times as many hours as is worked locally for the prevailing wage of 6 pesos (ten hours in comparison with the usual day's work of six to seven hours in the town). For this reason they maximize the effort expended in getting to fields outside of their own township. The lower payment in [476] town entails an obligation on the owner's part to reciprocate the labor, but the payment relieves him of an immediate demand on his time. Exchange 476 labor without payment requires reciprocity within the same activity schedule: thus if a man assists someone else during harvesting, he expects that person to assist him during the same harvest period. If, however, he will be unable to reciprocate immediately, the payment of 6 pesos terminates [465] an immediate obligation, but he will be expected to respond when he can if other requests should be made by this same farmer. Exchange labor without payment is contracted between relatives, compadres, and neighbors, using the network of established social ties to reinforce the obligation to reciprocate.

464 Agricultural work in the fincas in hot country is undertaken only when [434] there is extreme need for supplementary income, or when a man is escap- [754] ing the threat of being killed as a witch. In the 1920s, when the Indians had limited land resources and prevailing wages were low, some were forced to go to the fincas of the Argentino and Aregovia near Tapachula. [626] Despite the economic necessity for their undertaking this work, the social pressure was so strong against it that they would leave early in the morning to avoid being jeered as they passed in the street. The women rarely [462] accompanied them because they could produce pottery at home and supplement earnings. The prevailing rate now is 15 to 18 pesos per tarea, a [465] half-day's work, but Indians work in the finca only when urgently pressed.

Nonagricultural labor in the sawmills is a source of employment for twenty-two Indians of the town. Lumber companies operating in the forested areas of Montebello Lake have employed Indians of the town for [465] the past year. The wage offered, from 15 to 18 pesos a day, exceeds the 12-peso wage paid to agricultural laborers in the immediate area, but corresponds to that paid in hot country. The men must live at the sawmill, and supplies of tortillas made by their families are brought in on Wednesdays

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000 town. However, other cooperatives have been successfully organized to
474 finance small-scale oeprations. Five record players with loudspeakers have
275 been installed in the houses of members who sell liquor. Once the initial
216 investment is made, the operating costs are low: 27 pesos for electricity, 25
454 pesos for a liquor license, 30 pesos for *haciends* or state tax, and 10 pesos
434 for the township tax. Liquor bought at 60 pesos for an 18-liter jug is resold at 72 pesos. The total monthly cost of 92 pesos yields a net profit of about 300 pesos. The cost of the installation, 5,000 pesos, was low enough for some of the richer members of the community to finance individually, but as one of the operators told me, it was too risky—that is, too profitable.
474 The envy the neighbors would feel on seeing the profits made would
434 never result in witchcraft against all of the members, whereas an individ-
626 ual owner could expect that he himself or a member of his household
754 would become ill or die as the victim of witchcraft. These early entrepreneurs recognize the value of the cooperative in overcoming the force of envy which has effectively inhibited acquisition or display in these corporate Indian communities. Instead of socializing losses, one of its functions
[182] in modern capital organizations, the cooperative in Tzo'ontahal serves to socialize gains.

474 The most enterprising action of the new cooperatives has been the pur-
493 chase of a truck, initiated by the entrepreneur, Santos. The purchase of the
452 truck was inspired by the example of the Ladino secretary, who with his wife and son had a monopoly on the transportation of pottery, people, and wheat out of the village. Furthermore, in the neighboring town of Zinacantan the Indians were successfully operating two trucks. Santos went with his brother to the director of the I.N.I. in Las Casas to ask for a co-signer on the installment purchase of a Chevrolet truck, since without a Ladino sponsor Indians could not get credit with the company. According to one informant, I.N.I. officials advised them that they would not be able to profit from this venture and that they should buy a tractor with their money. The brothers persisted and went to the Dodge company in the state capital. The company agreed to sell to the Indians without Ladino co-signers on the basis of a down payment of 10,000 pesos. The initial payment was raised with thirty Indians putting up the money. Some gave no more than 150 pesos, but as the instigators of the purchase remarked, "The more members we have, the more power it gives us."

When this fails, they turn to the professional help of lawyers rather than to the old caciques with whom they had formerly maintained patron-client relations. The traditional structural alignment of upper and lower barrios is retained as the basis for organizing the growing cattle herds, but the cooperative provides flexibility and power for developing new enterprises.

The minimal changes in the material environment and the technology of the peasantry are countered by the development of social resources which should facilitate Indian integration in the wider society. In operating the new enterprises independently of Ladino control, they are developing entrepreneurial skills and an awareness of the relationship between capital and profit. The restriction of their operations to nonproductive use of capital for profit, such as buying crops at harvest and reselling as the price rises, reveals the limited dynamics of intracommunal development. The town will look to the regional and national networks for fundamental changes in its economy.

The fear of exciting envy acts as a brake on productive activity and the enjoyment of improved consumption resulting from wealth. Santos' death is a symbolic warning to others who would follow in his footsteps. An earlier case occurred when the ejido land grants were made in the 30s:

The brothers Ča?iletik became "very rich" as a result of careful operation of their ejido and privately owned land. They owned ten pair of oxen and about fifty horses. When they brought in their crops on horseback, it looked like a line of ants. They built a good house in Alkob', and a good threshing shelter. The people of the town began to talk about getting them off the land. The ejido commissioner took their land away and turned it over to others in the town. Until this day, the brothers Ča?iletik are without land. Now they do no more than work like other men. They live poorly. All their cattle and horses are sold.

The organization of the cooperatives is one means of diverting envy directed against individuals and permitting some increase in productive efforts, but the society still lacks the means of validating higher consumption standards. The richest man in town eats better than his neighbors,

556 622 but his style of living is indistinguishable from theirs. The only difference [23] is the larger number of dogs he[1] keeps to guard his wealth stored in the form of surplus crops in the eaves of his house.

177 178 433 434 621 323 The kind of economic change occurring in Tzo'ontahal fits the model of a moving equilibrium. Tightly controlled behavioral schema preserve the traditional productive activities in pottery and agriculture. They provide the framework into which the new enterprises are fit. Increasing dependence of cosumption choices on external markets is slowly transforming the content but not the pattern of community life. This kind of change is limited to societies that form a distinct corporate group. In an open society where many alternatives are available, the painful process of accommodation of the new to a customary pattern would probably not be undertaken given the tendency for social change to follow the course of least resistence. The absorption of economic innovation in Tzo'ontahal illustrates the ability of closed corporate communities to participate in commercial undertakings and reformulate them to fit their own pattern.

[1] [i.e., the richest man in town. - Analyst]

Chapter 4

Family Authority and Community Control

All residents of the center consider themselves to be "true men" descended from the ancestors who lived in the cave. In Murdock's terminology (1965:63), the Indian community constitutes a *deme,* or local group of genealogically related residents who cannot trace the exact kinship tie. This sense of kinship sustains a model of paternal authority for assigning positions of power and prestige in the wider community. The key to persistence of the Indians as a culturally distinct population lies in these age-ordered hierarchies sanctioned by the ancestors and the elders who act as their intermediaries. The reward for remaining within the social control system is security and the right to their guardianship; the sanction against violating the norms is exile or exposure to the evil spirits they hold at bay.

The bilateral extension of age-relative collateral terms to all members of the same side of the dual division is a successful adaptation of the kinship model to the government of a compact nucleated community. The system of terminology is similar to that of the neighboring nucleated settlement of Aguacatenango which shares many of the same features of behavior (Hunt n.d., Metzger in Romney 1967:231). These systems are closer to those of the Coatlan Mixe (Merrifield and Hoogshagen 1961) and the Chinantec of Palantla (Merrifield 1959) than they are to the nearby Tzeltal-speaking communities of Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes 1947) and Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947). In the case of the Mixe and Chinantec, the strong emphasis on relative age is correlated with age-graded positions in the political-religious hierarchy (Merrifield 1959, Merrifield and Hoogshagen 1961:225).[1] The lineage-clan pattern found in the vacant center, or *paraje,*

1. In the Coatlán, Oxaca case of Mixe Indians cited by Merrifield and Hoogshagen (1961) they state that the classificatory terms utilizing the criteria of age relative to ego

The relationship of respect and obedience between parents and children 593
is expected to last throughout life. When a boy reaches the age of eight- 582
teen, his parents are expected to provide him with a wife. Wealthier fami- 434
lies tend to fulfill this obligation at an earlier age than do poorer families, 583
in which the boy may have to work in the fincas or in the sawmills to acquire the money for his own marriage.

Instruction in sexual behavior and reproduction is not characterized by 864
continuity, as is instruction about work tasks. Children are given no information about sex prior to marriage, and girls remain entirely innocent. They may be pregnant several months before they are aware of what is happening. The complete sexual segregation in work tasks and play during adolescence makes the relationship between sexes strained.

Even after marriage, the parents are concerned with maintaining their 593
child's marital situation, or, if they judge their child's spouse to be incorri- [586]
gible, to help him get rid of his partner. In the case of women, in particu- [736]
lar, parents continue to provide a refuge in case a daughter's husband should die, be sent to prison, or prove incompatible. Parents usually accompany their children if they are called into court, and failure to attend is tantamount to admitting the guilt of the child.

In successful marriages, the parents-in-law are equivalent to parents and 593
are called "mother" and "father." The parents of both spouses attend the 606
life crisis ceremonies of their children and grandchildren. Grandparents 603
provide support and care for grandchildren if their parents should die or remarry.

When parents reach the age of about sixty-five, they are no longer ex- 593
pected to work actively. A man will then distribute all of his land and ani- 888
mals among his children. He will expect to be taken care of by all of his
children, but special responsibility falls on the youngest who will inherit [428]
the house. Sometimes aged parents move from one of their children's [591]
houses to another, spending a few months or years with each. Children are [755]
expected to pay for any curing ceremonies necessary in their parents' old [764]
age and to provide a good funeral appropriate to their wealth. Failure to [626]
do this incurs loss of respect with the neighbors and collateral relatives of
the deceased. If the parents die after they have distributed their posses- 593
sions, the crisis following the death is minimal. At the funeral, mature 764
children of a deceased parent exhibit to the community their filial respect.

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602 Kinship is one of several bases for recruiting reciprocal or cooperative
476 labor. Table 19 compares kinship with nonkinship-defined work groups
626 in terms of the kinds of exchanges, the type of work done, the time span permitted for reciprocity, and the sanctions against failure to reciprocate.

TABLE 19. Labor Exchanges of Kinship- and Nonkinship-Defined Groups

Conditions	*Within household*	*Beyond household, within community*	
		With kin (ritual, compadre, affinal and consanguineal)	*With nonkin*
Interchange	"Cooperation"—reciprocity based on implicit understandings	Reciprocity—explicit, defined by traditional expectations	Reciprocity—explicit, often defined by contract as well as tradition
Sanctions	Authority of elder member, male in men's work group, female in women's work group	Authority of elders of bilaterally-extended kin group; Recourse to cabildo if no strong elder	Informal—fear of gossip of neighbors; formal—reliance on local judges and president or recourse to district courts
Time Span	Extended, indefinite	Extended, usually some defined limit on repeated tasks (harvest); no limit for nonrepeated tasks (housebuilding)	Immediate return expected, or explicitly stated time allowance
Kind of Task	Pottery-making, milpa agriculture, care of cattle, preparation of food	Ploughing, cultivating, harvesting, firing pottery, housebuilding	Same.

593 Fathers and sons, or sons-in-laws may work together on family-owned
476 property. Because all men can acquire ejido land after marriage, and since
423 47 percent of the households claim to have only this land, the cooperative
621 tie between fathers and sons is not based on inheritance. If they work well
[606] together, they may continue to cooperate after the son has become inde-
476 pendent. Father and sons, brothers and brothers-in-law are expected to
342 cooperate with each other in building a house, rethatching a roof, and
607 threshing wheat. In the case of house-building or maintenance, they must
593 pay for a substitute if they are unable to fulfill the obligation.
241

761 might be. The father or closest male kin of the dead person is careful to
627 recount all the consultations he has had with curers, both to absolve him-
753 self of the guilt of neglect or unconscious witchcraft and to search for the true culprit.

764 A proper burial with holy water, flowers, grave offerings, and prayers as-
775 sures the survivors that the soul of the deceased will rest and his bones will lie in peace. Lacking any of these features, the dead will disturb the living, as is recounted below:

During the revolution, many were buried without a funeral or without blessed water. On Thursday, the bones burn and cry. You can still see a blue flame rising above the old graveyard on Thursday. You can find money that the ancestors left there, but you have to go at night to dig it up.

An important safeguard to ensure that the soul will lie in peace is burial among people with whom the deceased lived. When a married adult dies,
[593] he is buried with his dead spouse. If he had two dead spouses, he is buried with the first spouse on the right hand and the second on the left. A child
[603] is buried with the grandparents of the household in which he lived—that is, if he lived with his mother's parents he is buried with them, and if with the father's parents, then with them. When people know that they
[763] are going to die, they express their preference as to where they wish to be
[593] buried. Usually they will elect to be buried between their dead parents, but
[608] if they were unhappy with their parents, they might choose a padrino or
[604] uncle. If dissatisfied in its resting place, a soul, even when properly buried, cannot find peace and wanders back to the house. Fearing this, relatives try to comply with the wishes of the dead.

My grandfather used to say that he wanted to be buried between his mother and father. But when he was about to die, he said, "I don't want to be buried there because my father beat me. He will continue beating my soul. I want to go on the side [of the cemetery]. Please don't bury me near my parents." My father said, "All right, we will put you on the side."

764 The funeral must meet the expectations of the community as well as
554 those of the deceased and his relatives. The mature children of a man who
626
593

dies are expected to give a funeral appropriate to his station in life and his wealth, as is expressed in the following account:

When my father got sick, he told his wife not to put him in a black box. He had heard a story that when the dead man is in a black box, his spirit cannot see. He wanted to be in a white box. He told this to his brother. But his brother wanted to get a black box. He bought one black box for three hundred pesos when my father died, because it is the custom of the pueblo to bury adults in a black box. The people would talk if we did not buy a good box because they knew he had animals. We spent six hundred pesos for the funeral. We presented the body in church for a mass. We had a singing mass for thirty pesos, and the box cost three hundred pesos. We had a common meal of beef in the house, and we spent two hundred and sixteen pesos for three garrafones of liquor. Each of his sons contributed sixty pesos for that. If we hadn't given him a good funeral, people would have said, "His children are very lax not to buy a good box to bury their father."

The padre says that all bodies should be presented in the church. He says if you don't have money, you don't have to pay for the mass. But we are ashamed if we don't pay because he does work for us. He charged only twenty-five pesos because he said my father worked hard for the town. We took a collection from all the people who were there, and it amounted to one hundred and thirty pesos. We paid the padre for the mass and gave a contribution. All the people in whose houses he had passed when he was alive came to see him. They said, "Ah, his children gave a very nice box for their father."

If all of the family is poor, no one talks if the funeral is not a good one. But if there is anything that can be sold, it will have to be to make a good funeral. When my father died, he had eighteen horses. We had to sell one, and each of the children gave one hundred pesos.

Some say the souls play the harp and drink liquor when they arrive in heaven. On All Soul's Day they visit the village where they had lived and where they are known. For each member of the household who had died, a specific portion of food is laid out. Special likes are catered to: a bottle of liquor will be set on the table for a deceased father, soda pop for children

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642 621 626 554 The statement of functions of the civil officials as codified in the state constitution contrasts with that of local informants first of all in the brevity of the latter. This indicates the lack of functional specificity in the role as conceived by Indians in contrast to its Spanish-derived model. The latitude of acceptable performance in the role is best indicated by the statements concerning why a man is relieved of office. A man might be dismissed because he "fights a lot," because he "gets drunk and fights," or because he "steals a lot." The qualification "a lot" suggests the difficulty of actually ridding the town of an incumbent who has caused difficulties while in office. There are only two posts in which deposition actually has occurred: those of president and fiscal. Both these posts represent mediating roles between local and national interest groups. The deposition of the president Augustín recounted in Chapter 9 indicates the kind of community action which can be mobilized. Significantly, failure to perform prescribed duties is not mentioned.

621 554 Second, it is the presence of the officials, not their specific obligations, which is of significance in the local context. "Sitting" therefore is a central and active duty. Each morning at about seven o'clock the officials gather to sit on the benches on the porch of the town hall. The president and síndico sit inside at the table. They return at six in the evening to sit again. The line-up of the civil authorities at their appointed places each morning and evening is a statement of social control. Their presence gives evidence of an authority ready to act against offenders.

A third feature of contrast is that the local statement of functions includes many of the ceremonial activities of the civil officials. Thus the president has the significant duties of seeing that the banners pass into the town hall at the time of a fiesta, and of going to the house of the alférez when the banners are moved in procession. The holiness of office is associated with the holy symbol of the banners. For the police, collecting the 20-peso portions of meat when a bull is butchered for ceremonial meals is as significant as apprehending criminals.

Ritual Behavior

In ritual behavior, the status of officials is projected in role performance. Relative position in each ceremonial setting is an index to rank.

794 796 *guests. They borrowed benches from neighbors; they cut juniper and prepared the resting place for the sacred banner; they borrowed seed-gourd rattles and two tables, and they adorned the house with pine branches and fruit. In the afternoon, all the relatives, the compadres, and the neighbors were invited. Two alisiles were appointed (this term is probably a Tzeltal rendition of* alguacil, *in Spanish an office corresponding to high bailiff or peace officer). The alisiles were charged with watching to see that neither the new alférez nor either of his two guitarists got too drunk to carry out his functions.*

794 796 535 562 [626] [154] *The two alisiles called out the women to dance, first asking permission of the woman speaker. The dance was the most important act in the set of performances on the third day, which was sometimes referred to as the "afternoon of the big dance." The dance was a highly charged event because the women were for the first time cast in a public role. Fear and shame, the two conditioning mechanisms of socialization in Tzo?ontahal, had to be overcome when the women became involved in the dance. Special precautions were taken: the alisil formally requested the woman speaker to take the women out:*

[539] *Lord, women who nursed us, give pardon with God, the Virgin Mother. Give holy pardon mother and father with God and with the Virgin Mother. We have gathered here, collected together your child, your offspring, where it is not very pretty, not very flavorful, at the door of your holy poverty, holy suffering, for the holy office, the holy prayer. Again our clay, our mud comes to speak here to the mothers who nursed, who give us fear and embarrassment.*

Then the alfereses took off their hats and kerchiefs and brought them to the women. This act was described by an informant: "The women cover their heads with the kerchief and put on the hat. The girls want the handkerchief and the hat of their husbands in order not to be ashamed to be seen by a boy. They want the kerchief to hide their faces. If they do not want the hat, it is when they are mature women and do not have shame. The wives of the alfereces do not have shame because it is their job." The use of the kerchief which was draped over their head, partially covering

The belief in power derived from animal spirits was probably influenced by the Toltec belief in nahualism, or transformation of people after death into animals (Calnek 1962:22). The Toltec belief originated in the period of Mexican influence but had many local indigenous manifestations (Foster 1944). The integration of the two systems of power was brought about by calendar priests controlling the distribution of animal spirits (Calnek 1962:19). The degree of retention of calendrical knowledge and of belief in witchcraft gives us one of the best indices of acculturation in the area.[2] In Tzoʔontahal there is no remnant of calendar divination for ceremonial or predictive use. However, witchcraft based on belief in animal spirits continues to be an important factor in the contest for power. The technique of secrecy, of presenting a united front in the face of attempts by the outside Ladinos to tamper with the local social control system, persists to this day in the town.

An endemic problem in communities dominated by belief in witchcraft is control over the evil power of witches. The traditional control system in Tzoʔontahal operated through the guardianship of three sets of powerholders who checked up on each other: the ancestors, the curers, and the judges. The guardianship of the ancestors consisted in preventing any child possessed of a swayohel from the devil from growing up to abuse his power and in keeping any evil spirits from entering the town. The curers,

the Indians, whether out of cowardice or deceit, withdraw their accusation or claims, so that it is impossible to convict the evildoers for punishment; and for lack of sufficient proof they cannot be punished, or if there is enough basis to put them in prison, they sometimes disappear and flee to another jurisdiction and hide, denying their place of origin or changing their name.

2. In Oxchuk, calendar experts with the ability to divine the future still set the days for carrying out Catholic fiestas according to the twenty-day Maya ceremonial cycle. Each of the spirits symbolizing the twenty days wielded the power of good or evil. This provided the basis for predicting. When Villa Rojas studied the town in the 1940s, elders of patrilineal lineages controlled the behavior of members by causing sickness brought by their *lab*, or animal spirit (Villa Rojas 1947). In San Pedro Chenalhó, the principales exercise power through their *wayhel*, or animal spirit (Guiteras Holmes 1961). Nahuales of leaders of the patrilineages and principales are feared and respected in Larraínzar, although there is a growing discontent with their oppressive control (Holland 1963). Men believed to have thirteen nahuales figure as guardians and avengers for individuals in Pinola society, although the Indians of this community no longer have a hierarchy of civil offices through which their prestige can be publicly validated (Hermitte 1964).

as the direct agents of the ancestors, guarded the streets of their own side of the dual division. The judges, with the supervision of the principales, were responsible for guarding against the abuse of power by the curers or others possessing a swayohel in their review of witchcraft cases in the town hall. The three sets of functionaries—ancestors, curers, and judges—are classified in a lexicon of role function in the stem *me? . . tat . . ,* common to the terms applied to them, me?tiktatik, me?iltatil, and me?eštatek.[3]

The system of control over the use of power has been in a state of uneasy tension. In a series of incidents recounted below, the growing suspicion that the judges and the principales were not countering the witches because of their fear of falling victim to them, and that the curers themselves were exercising the witchcraft becomes apparent.

In the following case, the system of checks and balances was upset by the entry into the presidency in 1940 of Mam Nicolás, the leading curer of Allannantik. Nicolás combined the skills of operating in the traditional culture with those of dealing with the Ladino world. Despite the fact that he was a graduate of the boarding school operating in the town in the 1930s, which had far more extensive effects in acculturation as well as formal education than any prior school, he practiced curing. The case is recounted by Ceferino, the scribe:

Formerly the dead president Mam Nicolás left at midday from the town hall and went to his house where he ate a meal. A neighbor, Francisco, came to talk to him. They drank a half a liter of trago, and then began to drink a second and got drunk. They began to say goodbye, and Francisco left Nicolás' house. When Nicolás saw that Francisco went out, he grabbed his shotgun. He saw that Francisco was now far away, and he fired many shots. One got him right in his back. When Francisco felt it, he shouted. The police heard him and went to get the judges who came to see also. His [Francisco's] wife came. She raised his head and cried when she saw he was dead. An elder sister brought a new mat to carry him.

3. The suffixes *-el,* and *-tik* refer to pronominal forms, as in "you judges" and "our ancestors." *-il* is an article, as in "the curers." In prayer, the ancestors may be addressed in the second person, or the judges may be referred to with the first-person-plural possessive, but these forms are rare in those contexts.

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ginal to the community, either a foreign Indian, as in the case of Augustín, or a Ladino, as in the cases of the secretary and schoolmaster described below. The only indigenous candidate for the role was recently killed. It provokes too much envy for someone socialized in the community; fear of being accused and even killed as a witch or a power-seeker is justified by several such precedents. Those with the skills to become caciques have until recently been effectively incorporated in the existing hierarchy as firmanetik.

Second, the cacique is a gatekeeper, channeling information, goods, and services from the outside to the members of the community. In this capacity, he prefers to pose as a benefactor when he may actually be no more than the distributor of government welfare goods and services.[4]

Third, the role of cacique is one in which the incumbent operates in a local sphere, but depends upon a network of compadrazgo and professional ties outside of the community to assure his position in the community. He must be sufficiently aware of the local idiom in order to avoid making enemies.

Finally, the role is monopolistic. This results in part from the fact that the outside world prefers to deal with a single representative for reasons of expediency. However, new governmental agents are more and more dealing directly with Indians, a factor which has shaken the position of the cacique. The monopolistic quality of the position also stems from the fact that the profit to be gleaned from the community is small. A Ladino from a neighboring town commented that it was worth the time of only one man to exploit an Indian community of the size of Tzoʔontahal. The extractable profit is diminishing as the Indians become more aware of their rights.

The change in character and range of activities of local caciques is illustrated by the recent careers of two residents of Tzoʔontahal. In the 1950s and until 1964, the Ladino secretary, Don Ramon, had filled the role of cacique. He took advantage of this role not only by collecting a salary and a percentage of court fees, but also by earning money for using his influence in Ladino official circles outside the community. He lent money for interest and subsidized some enterprises such as growing cabbages with Indian partners.

4. Goldrich (1965) points to this tactic of politicians who distribute government goods as though they were their own gifts.

159 civil officials, not of me"). He identifies himself with the Indians in the
875 fight against the competitive trucking cooperative ("Those who are with
563 him [Don Ramon] are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by
177 him"). While he does not accuse Ramon's wife directly of witchcraft he
178 implies this in saying that people sign their candidate's nomination peti-
[754] tion for president because they are afraid Juana will use witchcraft. This is
[626] a characteristic mode of attacking one's enemies in the town. He claims credit for all of the innovations in the town which have won public approval—the highway, the water supply, electricity, and so forth.

622 The profit motive is inadequate to explain why Ladinos want to play
875 the role of cacique in these corporate Indian communities. One must seek
563 for an explanation instead in the social status they gain. While their jobs
177 are limited and usually frustrating and they can never be completely inte-
178 grated into the community, political activities offer them a larger arena in which they can derive personal satisfaction. The contrast between the schoolmaster's position in Tzoʔontahal before he became a political leader and his position after finding local supporters illustrates this. In the early days of his residence in town, when he built a chicken coop which extended a few feet beyond the grounds allotted to the schoolhouse, some Indians threatened to kill him. In 1957, I saw him trying to summon a policeman from the town hall, which was adjacent to the schoolhouse, to remove a boulder from the path so that a visiting friend could pass in his automobile. No one heeded his urgent shouts or the whistle he used to call children to school, although they were well aware of what he wanted. But by 1965 there was not a single important transaction which did not require consultation with the schoolteacher. Campesinos from as far as Villa Las Rosas came to request his advice and his help in approaching government agents. In projecting his political role, he gained support for projects which were of interest to him. When he had succeeded in getting the gov-
[653] ernment to install water pipes and electricity, he talked the civil authori-
[312] ties into building a kiosk, or bandstand, in the plaza. This was a fulfill-
[365] ment of his ambition to make the town over in the image of a colonial
[345] Spanish pueblo. His final statement in the speech quoted above, "Today we see a kiosk, tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory!" reveals the symbolic significance it had for him.

578 793 794 273 *to cook their meal in the yard of the church. They threatened to beat the priest with the wood, and he retreated into the church. He later announced that he would not give mass, or weddings, or baptism. We did not mind that he did not give the mass or would not give weddings, but the people were frightened if he would not give baptism. The mayordomos had a meeting, and they agreed to give up drinking in the church if the priest would continue to give baptism, but they would no longer care for the pigs or bring wood for him without payment. We pay him fifteen* [465] *pesos for an ordinary mass and forty pesos for a singing mass, so he should pay us for help. The priest was in agreement with the mayordomos.*

[264] As a result of this edict, the drinking has stopped and the mayordomos no longer eat the common meal in the church yard. Drinking was an act linked to eating, since the round of liquor served before the meal was "to prepare the stomach," and the drink after the meal was "to wash down the food." The shift to the house of the cofrade was a ready alternative in this community where the household is a recognized ritual domain.

793 794 178 The priest's control over the church has extended to control over the donation boxes and the saints' images. He now receives the money donated to the saints and does not permit a public accounting of the funds. Because of this, the civil officials accuse him of stealing some of the money. A recent incident recounted below by one of the prayer-reciters led to even more severe censure:

793 776 626 578 178 *The bishop visited our church, and when he looked under the silk robes of the Virgin Santa Lucía he found a wooden dress covered with gold paint. He told the priest to have the cloth dress removed. The people were very upset by this since they are very proud of the dresses bought for the Virgin. One of the prayer-reciters dreamed that the Virgin appeared before her in tears, saying she did not want to appear nude in public. We [the group of prayer-reciters] went to see the bishop to demand that the Virgin should wear her dress in church and that the priest be sent out of the town. The bishop refused. He said the Virgin did not feel cold because she was just a statue. Ha! How could she not feel cold?*

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The issue of the Virgin's clothing has increased the attacks on the priest. These have been aired in public meetings which take place on Sunday. Opposition to the priest has shifted from the old cofrades to the young leadership of the pueblo, men who wish to extend internal control over the church as well as the town hall. They tried to enlist the fiscal's help in getting rid of the priest, but he refused to cooperate. The president's brother, who serves as town treasurer, recounts the following exchange he had with the priest:

I saw Padre Juan take money from the box when I was mayordomo in the church. All of us mayordomos went to talk with him. I asked him how much money was turned in during the fiesta.

"The madres [*lay sisters*] *know," he said, "I don't."*

He called them, and they said, "We haven't counted the money. Come tomorrow."

The priest was very angry that we asked for an account. Pablo [*the fiscal*] *was too afraid to talk with him. When we left the church, I told Pablo, "You are in charge of the church. Why didn't you demand an account of the money in front of the church? We never got an account."*

Then we began to fight. Padre Juan doesn't want to leave the town. He has it too good here. He has a good yard with many fruit trees and a nice house. The Ladinos in Teopisca don't let him stay in their convento overnight. They are sharp, those damned Ladinos! We pay the padre thirty pesos every Sunday. Before he lived here, we used to have good music and more firecrackers for fiestas. Now he wants to stop all this. He was the one who ordered that all the money be collected. We wanted to go buy a gross of firecrackers. He said, "Why do you want firecrackers? It is the mass that has value. The saints don't want firecrackers or music."

He is very smart, the padre. He wants to keep the money for himself. Now we just get two firecrackers each morning of the fiesta and two in the evening. In Teopisca, they fire dozens of firecrackers. Here what is left over from the contributions for the fiesta remains in the box, and he takes it.

I went to get new clothing for the saint. In Comitán they wanted two

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made explicit in the contrasts they make between their conditions and those of the migratory mestizo laborers who work in the sawmills and fincas in the area. They comment on the fact that these workers have no political representation and that they and their children are illiterate and do not attend school. The significant factor is that the Indians of the corporate communities not only have advantages over the mestizo worker, but they perceive these advantages and are acting in terms of them. The preservation of community traditions is seen as a means of retaining community-owned assets and of maintaining a sense of self which is threatened or destroyed when the individual Indian enters into the national society.

The rules of strategy for moving in the direction of change are a transformation of the rules of the game that the Indians hve played in the four and a half centuries since the Conquest. The overall strategy is still defensive and aimed at preserving local independence, but their tactics include new skills acquired from Ladinos. In opposing the old power elite of the curing hierarchy, the present leadership uses the same tactics of the witch-hunt that their opponents used in the past to punish deviates, but they are beginning to confront them openly when sorcery is suspected. Leaders of the new cooperatives state that their aim is to increase opportunities for the whole community, not to make individual profit.

Because the conflict has been contained within community boundaries, the statement of goals remains the same. These goals include the retention of control by local leaders over judgment of guilt or innocence, in ceremonial affairs, and by all townspeople over land. This retention of local control is the key feature of a moving equilibrium in a model of change that puts the emphasis on continuous adjustments and adaptations. In the usual models for discussing modernization, the confrontation is conceived as one between the indigenous society and the outsider representing western influence. In Tzoʔontahal, young leaders within the community have confronted old in the stated interest of preserving tradition. Occasionally they may make alliances with the old leaders as in the conflict with the priest.

These "shifts in the focus of political power within a given system" (Leach 1964:9) are the prelude to structural change. Tzoʔontahal as a case

576 support of whatever is said—repeating the final phrase of the person con-
versing or injecting supportive statements such as "indeed, indeed," or "so
[535] it is." In the dance of the alfereces' wives, for example, women were the
model of deference, moving in a self-contained pattern before the assem-
bled guests, with slow, tiny steps, eyes downcast, a shawl covering their
heads on which they wore their husbands' ceremonial hats.

621 Through recruitment procedures, alternation and linkage in official
182 roles, and leadership validated by age and service in lower positions—prin-
ciples applying to role relations in all institutions—Tzoʔontahal has re-
mained an integrated community. There is a high degree of stereotyping
in behavior from one institution to another, and norms of behavior are the
[682] same for public as for private roles. However, a remarkably high homicide
[578] rate and open conflict in all of the institutional settings indicate basic
sources of disruption.

682 Since 1960 the rate of homicide in town has increased from an average
593 of 1 every 2 years to an average of 5 or 6 per year. Table 29 indicates the
607 role relationships of killer to victim in 37 of over 70 homicides occurring
428 between 1937 and 1964. The highest incidence of homicide (7 cases) oc-
578 curred between brothers and brothers-in-law. Male siblings comprise the
closest cooperating group. Brothers work together in the milpa until the
father dies or divides his property among his children during his lifetime.
Bilateral inheritance with equal division of land and houses among female
as well as male offspring means that brothers-in-law are potential competi-
tors for the same limited resources. Friction arising among brothers and
brothers-in-law does not come from the principle of equal inheritance, but
rather because of the fact of differing responsibilities and expenses within
the family. For example, the child who has remained with the parents and
[888] thus assumes the burden of care for them in their declining years often
feels that he should inherit a greater share. The disputes arise in the deci-
sions concerning how much this disadvantage should be weighted. The
682 suppression of overt competition may in part explain the homicidal acts.
683 Although the tensions in fact stem from suppressed economic competition,
[154] they are translated into witchcraft accusations as soon as anyone in the
[626] family becomes ill. Violence against a witch is condoned by the commu-
nity and provides a channel for latent hostility. Once the accusation has

(see pp.245-247..Analyst)

Evaluations of Behavior

121 The evaluation of individual behavior is related to role categories, but is not circumscribed by them. Some behavior is universally prescribed, and judgments include all categories of people. This is particularly notable in behavior related to the moral code. Etiquette requires an ability to respond appropriately not only to individual "others" in a setting, but to a plurality of "others" categorized in special roles. This ability to respond to others in a setting and to anticipate what their responses will be has been characterized as "complex syntactic behavior" by Hebb and Thompson (1954). Analysis of complex syntactic behavior must go beyond the summation of dyadic interaction within role sets to exploring the shared values and norms on which judgments are made and expectations predicated.

Judgments of behavior are cast in terms of (1) morality, or the acceptance of prescribed behavior, (2) etiquette, or the acceptance of preferred actions, and (3) competence, or the effectiveness of performance. In gossip, in court cases, in allocating roles of responsibility, in judging professional competence, the assessment of a person is made with reference to his action in past incidents. A person is what he does, and the evaluation [192] of a person's repetitive acts (called *yobra* incorporating the Spanish loan [193] word *obra* and the Tzeltal possessive form *y*) encompasses a personal history.

196 577 *Morality*. Judgments concerning the moral value of a person are summarized in terms of states of the heart. A person who behaves well is said to be of "very good heart" in contrast to someone of "another heart." A good man is "one-hearted" if he takes other people into account. The description may be put in the negative, as "one who does not know how to seek disputes." The expression "two-hearted" is comparable to what English speakers mean by "two-faced."

577 626 Violations of the moral code are differentiated from violations of the code of convention or etiquette in that the former are said to indicate lack of fear and the latter are said to indicate lack of shame. These two definitions of social transgression point to the major socializing technique of the community: promoting a sense of shame and fear.

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The following list of moral transgressions is roughly ordered in terms of the egregiousness of the crime: witchcraft, theft of cattle, theft of corn, "talking with" a woman (this is a euphemism for having an affair), having more than one wife, killing, and disrespect to parents. There is a fair amount of consistency in the rank order given by different informants. Of five people questioned, all ranked witchcraft first, and theft, without qualification as to what was stolen, second. Subjects questioned differentiated the crime of "talking with" a woman according to the status of the woman —it was worse to have relations with a married woman than with an unmarried girl or with a widow. Killing was listed late or not at all by some because it is assumed that the killer has cause unless the contrary is proved. The dead man is referred to as the guilty one. It is considered worse to kill a consanguineous relative than an affinal relative or a nonrelative. One man remarking on an incident in which a person lost his bull said: "It was a punishment of God for killing his father. If it had been his stepfather, it would be different." Wanton killing is said to be absent in the pueblo, and something that the kurik of the colonias do. The three murders in the past ten years resulting from barroom brawls between "friends" have not dispelled this notion.

Disrespect shown to parents is considered a serious violation of morality. A boy who refuses to listen to his father cannot expect to receive the protection and support of his parents, usually offered a child throughout their lifetime, or of the community. If the son abuses his father verbally or physically in public, the father is supported in whatever action he takes. One father, whose son kicked him in one of the local bars, drew applause when he made the sign of the cross in two deep gashes with his machete on his son's forehead. To beat one's father or mother is a great sin, but to beat one's wife is tolerated, particularly if it is done in drunkenness. If a man other than the husband beats a woman for any cause, she may reciprocate by beating him in court "before the eyes of the judges." One woman who was awarded this privilege when her husband's brother beat her said, "If he were my own husband, it would be all right for him to beat me."

The good man is "of one heart" and reveals it by his humility ("very soft heart"). The rules for demonstrating this are given by an old man who is frequently asked to be a nakawane in his section of the dual divi-

577 682 in the following statement by a man who admitted to me that he had killed two men:

The padre said that those who kill will get killed. The one who kills also receives all the guilt of his victim and will have to pay for it in the after-world. But my father said that when he was a policeman, there was a man in Tejonero who killed for nothing when he got drunk. He always carried a knife and would kill anyone around. However, he lived until he was very old. Therefore I do not believe the padre.

577 775 Concern about the afterworld does not act as a deterrent to action in this world.

783 794 Most men ignore the priest's attempts to persuade them to go to confession. Women, especially the prayer-reciters, confess and take communion. Their confessions, according to the priest, are a recitation of the sins of their husbands or their neighbors.

273 577 Drinking is often given as a defense for failing to meet standards of behavior. While this serves to excuse minor infractions, a man is supposed to be responsible for his actions even when drunk. When one policeman started a fight in public, an elder judge commented to my informant:

Look at that, younger brother! I drink liquor when I am very drunk, but I do not fight either my elders or minors. When I passed as president formerly, I used to enter the cabildo, and I spoke well to the judges even if I was drunk. One time I came to your house very drunk and you were half drunk, but you did not say anything to me, nor did I. You did not fight. Thus I walk well. I never fight, nor have I gone to prison, and it is because I give respect to my elders and to my juniors.

Reflecting on this advice, my informant added:

And so it is with me also. I have drunk a great deal in Ahk'olnantik [the opposite section from where he lives] both at day and at night. Whoever speaks to me tells me to go drink with them a little liquor, and sometimes I give them a drink or I take them where they sell liquor and we drink. But I never fight, and I am able to drink wherever I like.

626 273 431 The community has developed techniques for compensating failure to meet behavioral norms. The most frequently used is an offering of the

"gift of the gods," liquor, to the party whose interests have been slighted. This is done in the case of a suitor who is asking for a woman of the other side of the dual division; he gives the bachelors of that side a garrafón of liquor in compensation for the loss of a potential mate. Liquor has become a substitute for the sacrifice of a child by a man being initiated into the curing profession. Informal offerings of liquor may be made between neighbors or relatives who have been fighting with each other. Liquor is a kind of universal social solvent in disputes, and figures importantly in court cases which are always terminated in a drinking session.

Another technique is simply a payment in money to compensate for damages. In some homicide cases, the payment of "blood money" has compensated the family of the victim to avoid legal action. This is never done, however, if the community agrees that the victim was a witch. Payment of fines in court is another such form of compensation. These payments or offerings minimize the bloodshed or personal involvement in conflictual relations. Payment by the man judged guilty will ensure his reincorporation into his customary place in the community without stigma.

While it is impossible to elicit from informants a theory of roles, it is possible to formulate the principles underlying roles. These are deduced from behavioral observations and from evaluations made of the performances of others. They can be summarized in the following propositions:

1. There is a clear separation between role and role-bearer. This is seen most clearly in the passage through civil and religious offices with a minimum of "halo" effect. It is also found in the situation of household officials whose authority in directing affairs within a household ceases when the ceremony in which they officiate is over. The separation ensures flexibility in a closed social system, enabling people to shift from one role to another. It also permits continuity in a system which requires an almost complete turnover of personnel each year.

2. Function performed is separate from role in which it is performed. This applies even in those roles which are designated on the basis of the most important function required of the performer, for example woman speaker, liquor measurer, and basket carrier. All of

as lawyers. The defendant is sometimes accompanied by supporters who 693
feel that he has a case. The failure of parents to accompany a defendant, 695
regardless of his age, is attributed to their shame over their child's misbe- [593]
havior and their own failure to train him properly. The judge does not limit himself to passing judgment but also counsels the defendant as to how he should behave.

The town hall is usually shut and locked at noon unless some business 621
requires more time. In the evening about six, the officials return to take [344]
their same posts. They sit with their arms drawn inside their woolen jack- [516]
ets for warmth. After a half an hour they drift home. People rely on the [626]
presence of officials rather than particular actions to maintain social control, and it is their appearance at regular hours that assures the villagers that the town is being well run.

Local autonomy depends primarily on retaining social control functions. 621
Civil officials try to settle disputes locally and avoid the entry of Ladino of- 692
ficials from the departmental capital, although the judges and president 631
will threaten the defendant with taking the case to the department if they cannot get compliance. The number of cases referred to the capital has been increasing since 1950 as Table 32 shows. In 1951 the federal government began to fine local officials who failed to report homicide cases and accidental death. The local officials complied, but departmental courts were unable to bring action in over half the cases. No action was taken in 72 cases, or 54 percent, in comparison with 62 cases, or 46 percent, in which action was taken. Domestic cases, except for one of adultery, are adequately handled in local courts and do not appear in the departmental records. The trend shows an increasing number of cases of crimes against [674]
persons in comparison to crimes against property, an index to the break- [182]
down in social control processes.

The Church

346
The church has been built and on two occasions rebuilt—when the [794]
tower was struck by lightning—with funds collected locally from house- [821]
hold heads. Damage to the church was attributed to the patron saint of [796]
the neighboring town of Oxchuk who, the people say, was fighting with their patroness, Santa Lucía. The townspeople feel that they own the

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The assumption that leisure is a concept unique to highly civilized societies is denied by peasant behavior in this community and many others like it in which the members are masters of the greater part of their time. What differentiates their scheduling of leisure-time activities from that of most western societies is that theirs is based on community decisions rather than individual predilections and that it is set in the frame of sacred rather than secular performances. Community standards are most notable in the way people dress for fiestas: women wear their newest embroidered blouses; their hair is neatly braided with ribbons. Men wear a kotonču with their cleanest shirt and pants. The children, except for the youngest, wear clothes like the adults'. Villagers "care for" the celebration by sitting on their porches, greeting neighbors, smoking and talking. When a public performance is held in the church or plaza, they participate as observers. Arduous work of any kind is proscribed. Special foods are prepared and served at regular mealtimes. A special mark of all days of fiesta is the serving of fermented corn beverage. Meat or chicken is more likely to be served on Sundays and holidays than on other days.

Timing as a Strategy in Interpersonal Relations

The preferred mode of action is "slow and soft." This applies to motion, especially in rituals, as well as to the scheduling of actions in a series of negotiations. The people are sensitive to the use of time in bargaining as an index to the relative resources of the negotiators. Withholding power in the market gives a marked price advantage in the sale of crops. Sale in advance of harvest means a loss of one-quarter to one-half of the price which could be gained if the crop was sold after it was cut, and corn sometimes doubles in value if withheld for six months or more. Interest as a time payment for the use of money is accepted on the basis that the borrower could put it to work. There is no feeling against the evil of usury, although the rates are relatively high in town—five percent per month.

This understanding of time as an indicator of relative strength extends to social functions. Time serves as an interval to build confidence on the part of both parties entering into contractual arrangement. In the betrothal, both parties are prepared for a long series of visits before the suit

programs in the interest of "civilizing" the Indians. This formulation involved a basic contradiction between the goal of moving into regional and national networks and that of keeping the old autonomy and independence of the corporate community. He never had to face that contradiction. Unable to gain adherents other than the small group of profit-sharers in the cooperative he organized, he was killed by opponents within the community. 474 472 177 178 [682]

The Family and Household

The core of the traditional culture lay in the local power hierarchies patterned on the familial model of age-ordered paternal authority institutionalized in the me'iltatil. The me'iltatil of the household have provided a flexible institution for adjusting conflict within the kin group. Their role in directing ritual performances preserves a sense of continuity in life cycle changes. 608 571 578 182

The institutionalized authority of the elders has not been upset by the trend toward residence based on nuclear families, which is an adjustment to the pressure of limited space in the town center. Kinship ties are continually reinforced by rituals that draw together the me'iltalil as sponsors of ceremonies marking baptism, marriage, and death. This group of sponsoring relatives has absorbed the institution of compadrazgo, adding compadres to the network of affinally-and bilaterally-related kin. The procedures for adjusting conflict among members of the household and extended family networks reinforce the authority of the elders. When adjustive processes in the house and court "arrangements" and in curing ceremonies fail, the only recourse is for one of the disputants to leave the community or commit homicide. 561 182 602 608 591 626 621 578 [681] [762]

Ceremonies within the household provide a model for the rules of the game that apply to adjustive behavior in the community. The household officials introduce new officials into their role, teaching them the prayers and directing the proceedings. Their authority depends upon age and prestige acquired in office. The me'iltatil, as the elders of the family, are the direct link with the ancestors. They and the nakawane provide the strongest force for preserving the ways of the ancestors. 561 182 [769]

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621 578 177 178 was channeled along existing lines of competition. During my stay in the community from 1964 to 1966, most conflicts were attributed to economic competition between the two trucking cooperatives. Along with this, the [114] [474] [182] waning of the position of the principales has undermined the confidence of the people in the system of checks and balances in which the principales watched over the judges, the judges watched over the curers, the curers watched over the people to see that no one brought in evil, and the ancestors watched over everyone. [756] Curers are more and more often accused of witchcraft and are frequent victims of homicide. The sense that they are the guardians of the pueblo and the agents of the ancestors is nearly dead. They are consulted only because the people feel that, because of the evil in them, they can fight the evil caused by others.

621 756 177 178 The shift in power from the old leaders to the new has not been accompanied by a shift in ideological allegiance. The new leaders cannot offer the security the people felt when they were living in the eyes of the ancestors. The curers remain as a powerful group because of their claims of being able to fight evil, but there is no longer a legitimate authority controlling their use of destructive forces.

561 554 177 178 A system of authority based on rule by elders is a structural correlative of a behavior pattern in which people act out the ways of the ancestors. This applies to the schematized behavior contained in rituals and in traditional productive activities. The ideology of a seniority-based prestige system persists at the explicit level at the same time that behavioral changes in contradiction to this are occurring.

626 177 178 Social control in a system of behavior based on what was done in the past depends upon the belief that people are carrying out their lives "in the eyes of the ancestors." Ritual behavior in Tzoʔontahal seems to confirm this, but in view of the waning belief in the presence of the ancestors and the loss of confidence in their agents, the curers, this behavior is a kind of social lie designed to perpetuate the old code of morality. In their everyday behavior, people no longer act on the same premises. The social lie is perpetuated because the people who enjoyed power in the old social system—the curers and the elders—do not wish to relinquish it. It will last only so long as they can find successors, and with the abolition of the recruitment through alfereces, this should not be for long.

128 pairs of individual roles, highly intense in interaction and
571 performed by people who are tied to each other by many clearly defined and extensive rights and duties. (D. Metzger [1960] defines them as highly relational versus lowly relational roles.) The roles at the micro-structural level form one net, and the quality of the joint performance of the individual, of all the roles which belong to him within this net define him as a good or bad person; the roles at the macro-structural level form a separate independent net which defines the individual as a good or bad community member.

128 For example, a man can spend his household money in long
156 drinking sessions, and while drunk fight with his brother or beat
571 his wife, which will make him a bad brother and husband. But if he shares the liquor he drinks with other men in his barrio (town division), the same activity will define him as a good neighbor, who is neither selfish nor a miser, but willing to share his
[626] profits with other men. On the other hand, a man may refuse to pay his limosna to the Church, risk the community gossip and threats of witchcraft, but this would not make him a less respected father, nor influence the relationship with his wife.

361 The Physical Setting of the Villages

The towns are geographically compact, nucleated communities, as opposed to the vacant-town (and ceremonial center) described first by Tax (1937). The town streets form a grid pattern, more symmetrical in the center than at the edges where streets tend to curve following the accidents of the terrain.

621 Among its duties are those of keeping vital statistics for
659 the National Population Bureau which are sent to the state office,
692 solving cases of adultery and theft, collecting the fiesta and
651 Ejido taxes, keeping the streets clean, building and repairing
363 roads and public buildings, and also taking charge of the local
491 jail. Ayuntamiento officers are also called in to prevent or solve
499 witchcraft cases and give advice and reprimands to misbehaving
344 wives, sons and other relatives when the household or the responsible
754 relatives cannot deal with the case on their own.
626

621 The Ayuntamiento also keeps its own corn field, worked by
423 communal labor, whose crop is sold to collect funds for its own
432 expenses.
434

794 The Mayordomia, or religious body, performs the formal activities on the religious holidays, is the custodian of the sacred objects (rockets, church keys, bells) connected with the Church, and the authority which carries out the tasks required by all of man's peaceful relations with the supernatural on the village level.

They are responsible as a group for the upkeep of the Church building and saint images, and the preparations for and the performance of Church Fiestas, regular church meetings, etc. Among their duties are those of providing meals for the priest while he is in town, helping during mass, contracting musicians and collecting the Church limosna during mass.

621 This structural level lacks monopoly of either of these functions in relation to other less inclusive social units. Social control and religious activity are carried on at the level of the barrio, the extended family, and within the household, and religious activity can be carried on by individuals.

627
578 small; you will leave having paid five or ten pesos. You will forgive each other. If the misdeed is large, then you will give twenty-five or thirty pesos as your fine, so that we can give something to him who has been injured by you. We will cure him, so that he gets well, so that he may not die. Then he also will give pardon. But if we do not cure him, if we do not give medicine to the one you have hit, then you will quarrel, then his heart will be angered. Because here we have two kinds of misdeeds. He who is evil will do [754] witchcraft. He who does not know witchcraft will give pardon. But he who is evil if he sends sickness to you, then if you get sick, if you die, it is because you did not obey the commandment.

I say this because I am a principal, I am a father [of the town]. I advise you so that the town will go forth in happiness, and in happiness we will increase in our gatherings in the town. But if you are evil, we will not increase, our children will not grow, because there are evil people, there is sickness, there is death from him who knows witchcraft. He who does not know it uses bullets and will kill you that way. Why? Because you sent sickness. So I speak to you thus. Happy, in peace, do not quarrel. It is better.

•626
556
[754] The important aspect of witchcraft as a sanctioning procedure is in relation to the distribution of wealth in the community.

A man can accumulate a certain amount of money as long as [454] he is willing to share it with others and spend it in culturally accepted ways, such as buying cohetes for a fiesta, giving a house party for the Saint in the house altar and inviting many [186] villagers, etc. But he cannot simply save it without being accused of miserliness; spend it all in building too large or too different a house without being accused of being embarrassed of his Indianess (of which he should be proud); nor can he invest in businesses which are not the traditional economic activities of the Indian without the fierce criticism of his fellow villagers. There is, then, a top limit to the accumulation of wealth imposed not only by the environmental and technological factors, but by

626 556 the few economic alternatives offered to an Indian who wants to live an Indian life among other Indians, in peace. In this sense, Amatenangueros and Aguacatecos are no "penny capitalists" of the type described by Sol Tax (1953). But it is also true that, like the Panajachel Indians, they desire to have more for themselves and their children: money for security against sickness, death, [146] bad crops and other misfortunes. They also want better clothing, more meat in their diet (the amount of animal protein in their diet is extremely small by western standards) and small extra luxuries which have been introduced into their culture, little by little, by the local Ladino merchants: flashlights, mirrors, etc.

627 556 754 [731] Nevertheless, a wealthy man brings upon himself the antagonism of the other villagers, who, in search of a scapegoat during times of stress (such as a village epidemic) would not hesitate to accuse the rich man of being responsible for bringint the misfortune to the town because of his evil spirit, nor hesitate to kill him. Even if people find a man has a good crop, somebody can assume that, because his own crop failed, the other man has "stolen" the soul of his corn or if a man receives a large inheritance, somebody could accuse him of having killed (by witchcraft) the relative from who he inherited it. It takes a good deal of diplomatic skill and a strong control of the sources of gossip to manage to [753] keep oneself clear of such accusations. On the other hand, villagers are afraid of showing excessive wealth (according to community standards) unless they bring upon themselves the other face of witchcraft: supernatural sickness produced by envy. Even

627 556 754 a man in good standing, if he has too many goods or money, may fear witchcraft because he "knows" that he is a good target for the envy of those who, possessing powerful and evil souls (nahuales), decide to bewitch him and make him sick or kill his children or ruin his next crop.

626 754 Thus, the belief in witchcraft operates at two levels: on the one hand the individual lives according to community norms so that he won't be accused of being a witch. On the other hand he lives according to community norms so that he cannot be bewitched.

754 Because witches attack supernaturally, sending out their animal souls while their human body is asleep, it is not possible to know, for certain, the originator of the sickness nor to protect oneself or others from its powers. There are no sorcery spells to counteract it, but people "know" that witches can, sometimes, put "bad medicines" into drinks while a man is drunk or leave little sticks on the road for the victim to step on and acquire the disease which has been sent because of envy. Everybody denies knowing how to bewitch, but everybody suspects others of being able to do it.

[753] One result of this set of beliefs is that the etiology of disease is thought of as being supernatural. Other misfortunes are also explained in metaphysical terms. Sickness is always present in the village, misfortunes do occur which cannot be predicted, and the villager "experiences," then, the effects of witchcraft in everyday life. Therefore, the threat of supernatural

626 754 784 Therefore, the threat of supernatural[64] sanction is powerful as a communal weapon against social deviation.

621 We can see, then, that the structural dynamics of village life are composed of opposing forces. On the one hand, there is a tendency toward egalitarianism which is expressed in the formal organization of political power and the economic life of the village as a unit. On the other hand, there is a tendency toward deviation from the economic norms which is repressed and expressed in the belief system and the sanctioning of deviants. (Obviously, if people would not tend to deviate from the egalitarian norm, witchcraft "specialization" would not be necessary!)

121 There is no society in the world which does not possess criteria for social differentiation. Some criteria are, by nature, universal: the basic biological differences between persons (age, sex) or psychological skills (intelligence, mental deficiency). Some other criteria are culturally determined (age-grade, class, wealth and so on). Even among societies in which the life conditions preclude social stratification, such as the Sirionó, some few cultural criteria of individual social differentiation are always present. When I suggest that Amatenango and 621 571 Aguacatenango tend to be communities which reinforce homogeneity at the economic, political, and cultural levels, I am far from [576] indicating that individuals are not evaluated differentially. In every social situation, even meeting on the street, Amatenangueros and Aguacatecos make social distinctions and determine their relative position with respect to each other: one would call a

621
571 man bankil (respect term, "elder brother") the other would be his
576 kiht'zin ("younger brother").

621 Older men are socially superior to younger ones. A man
561 who has passed many cargos has more authority than one who has not
554 served in the community government. A man with many children in a united family commands more respect than a man whose children are embarrassed of him because he is a trouble-maker. A good
562 talker is better thought of than a boring drunkard. The same dif-
561 ferentiation scale, although using some other criteria, also func-
626 tions for women. Elder ladies have enough social status to be permitted to laugh in public while young married wives are expected to keep quiet. A woman known as a "good mother-in-law" collects the rewards of praise of other women. A wife who keeps her husband clean and well fed can visit around and be well received, while a lazy housekeeper would not be welcomed in other women's houses who fear of being judged "by the company they keep."

554 A constellation of factors, therefore, places the indi-
555 vidual in a very particular status position, and his personal
156 skill can increase his prestige or destroy it. Moreover, the
621 total performance of an individual in the totality of his roles
571 can not only increase his general status and gain the approval of his fellow men, but would be an important factor in saving him from witchcraft accusations. A man can try to control as much labor and capital as possible in order to maximize profits from his work and minimize its consumption, as long as he does not create enemies, and insures his prestige in as many dimensions as possible: he can give advice to conflicting parties rather than

593 888 (e.g., the filial piety which is a basic component of the role of son), and in terms of economic rewards.

592 [183] The ideal pattern is one of reciprocal obligations: an established domestic group "launches into the world" the new domestic groups formed by the male offspring of the household couple, and a well established domestic group is responsible for the welfare of the domestic group from which it originated. Thus, [602] agnatically related domestic groups are expected to perform certain duties with respect to both the domestic group which originate them, and the domestic groups which they originate.

593 888 The concept of mantener (support), meaning to provide for a person's food, shelter and company, is a very important one for the villager. There is no sadder man than the one who has given everything to his sons, who has supported them for many years, and whose sons then refuse the reciprocal duty of caring for him in his old age. Parents who are unsuccessful in keeping one of [826] their married sons living with them are indeed very unhappy. People gossip about them as being "bad people" who did wrong to their children-in-law and mistreated their own. They gossip about the children themselves, accusing them of having a "small [936] heart" and of being envious and selfish. Aguacatecos pity widows (meba' al) and orphans (meba') because "they have nobody to support them." There is nothing as threatening to a couple as not having children, and if this happens, the community looks upon them with commiseration and says: "Poor little people, who is going to support them when they grow old?. . ."

592 593 Thus, the membership of a household changes through time,

591 2. When a couple have no male children, they try to keep a married daughter living with them, as a replacement for the unachieved son. They will also attempt to do this in a case where all the male children have refused to stay with the parents after the initial years of married life.

593 888 [626] Parents who are unsuccessful in keeping a married son living with them when they are old have very little prestige in the community because it usually means that there is some conflict between them, and they are easy targets for village gossip. It also means that they have no "insurance for the aged," that is, no child to support them when they grow too old to work.

591 583 Therefore, a couple with a single daughter still at home will be eager to keep her after marriage, to replace the sons who have gone away. To obtain this, the parents will request, during the pedidas (the visits to arrange a marriage, called "asking visits"), that the groom should "come to the house as a yerno (son-in-law) of theirs, and stay there indefinitely. Only if the groom agrees to this condition do they give him the daughter as a spouse.

591 These arrangements are very unstable. A man usually agrees to stay with his wife's parents, but after the marriage has been consummated, he will insist on moving away, being anxious to occupy his place as a dutiful son, living and working with his [606] father whose heir he may be. Women look forward to this kind of arrangement, the same way that they look forward to marrying a man whose mother is dead, because these are ways of avoiding the heavy burden of "becoming nueras" (daughter-in-law) or "suffering

300 firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound.
462 Going to gather wood is a very nice break in the routine, and women
313 usually go in the company of other women with whom they chat, ex-
606
592 changing news and gossip. A young wife usually stays home cooking while her mother-in-law leaves the house to gather the fuel for the hearth. Even if a woman does go out to gather wood, she is expected to do so with her mother-in-law, rather than with the
[626] women of her own natal family. A woman talking about a bad daughter-in-law will say, "She does not even want to gather firewood with me, she always runs to her mother's."

562 Women look upon having their own homestead as the only so-
592 lution for gaining independence. It is true that, even then, they
885 are under their husband's authority, but they control the food brought by the husband to the home, and they can make their own
[574] decisions about the work schedule. They can also take time to
[572] visit their own female relatives and childhood girl friends, a
[606] habit which is disliked by their mothers-in-law as being a threat to their own position.

592 We can see, then, that there are several factors which
578 provoke structural tensions in the compound home; some are economic, others are related to the ordering of social relations in the kinship domain, and still others depend on the aspirations of the individuals.

In the course of time, the structural tensions accumulate to the point that they precipitate the fission of the household. The triad of a woman, her son and her son's wife, and the dyadic conflict between a father and son dissolves the compound into two

592 578 nuclear households. The dynamics of social conflict, are, however, controlled by the traditional patterns of behavior and by the negative sanctions applied to the deviant. Only in exceptional situations does a couple leave the husband's parents' house before the birth of a child. Even then, the residential change is expressed by the people in terms of on-going conflict [626] between the women. People say that they moved "because the two women had a fight" and this or similar gossip follows every case of household fission.

593 The break between a father and son is only precipitated by open conflict. Part of this conflict is expressed in tensions between the men. Fathers insist that their sons should stay with them, sons insist that their fathers are selfish and unwilling to help them. But the bond between father and son is, in spite of the standard tensions, a crucial social relation for the society. A man is not judged with sympathy if he does not respect his father and keeps up a "good front" of harmonic relations with him vis-à-vis the community at large.

592 593 578 606 Then, it is not strange that the change of residence is expressed through pointing out the tensions between the women rather than the tensions between father and son. A woman and her daughter-in-law are not members of the same consanguineal group residing in the household, the hoy ta yutil hna (of the same blood who live in the same house), and their antagonism is not viewed by the society as threatening to the unity of the kinship group, while the father-son relation is crucial in this domain. At the same time, the women are the expressive leaders of their

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VII

CORPORATE GROUPS WITHIN THE VILLAGE

Historical Perspective

174 611 591 601 583 423 428 It is probable that the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango had, at some time in their past, a patrilineal organization based on agnatic descent, patri-virilocality, a kinship terminology of the Normal Omaha type, and other associated features such as bride-price, groom service, patrilineal control of the rights to land usufruct, and patrilineal inheritance.

174 613 614 621 626 Each agnatic descent group formed segments of a corporate lineage, and several segments formed a sib. Lineages were localized, and they had important social functions. The heads of linear segments formed the local government and had the responsibility of controlling conflict and sanctioning individual behavior through the supernatural. They were believed to "own" powerful animal counterparts of their souls, which patrolled the village during sleep, and punished the misdemeanors of those men belonging to their line of descent. It is also probable that the lineage was [582] an exogamous unit, and there is some scanty evidence which points to the practice of cross-cousin marriage.

127 The evidence to support this hypothetical statement is of two types. On the one hand, there is some historical documentation in published, as well as manuscript, form. On the other hand,

613 476 [602] The patrilines function in several dimensions. Work groups, although invariably containing some bilateral and affinal relatives, recruit members mainly among agnatic kinsmen. Men fence their fields with the help of their brothers, father and sons; when villagers get together to buy a cow for a town fiesta celebration, each cow is bought by a group which contains agnatically related men. In one case, seventeen men who bought a cow together belonged to four patrilines which were neighbors among themselves. In another case, in which several men got together to build a house, nine were agnatic kinsmen, three were affinals (the son's wife's brother, the daughter's husband and the wife's brother), three were compadres and one a neighbor from across the street. The women who prepared the meal for the housewarming were: nine agnatically related to the household head; two agnatically related to the wife of the household head; three affinals of the household head; two affinals of the wife; and two neighbors. In another case, a man and his two sons, one of whom was living in a separate domestic group, helped in the construction, and several other men were contracted to help with the payment, although the daughter's husband, who was a carpenter, was called in to give advice and help.

613 621 476 [432] [462]

613 476 626 627 Individuals, in time of trouble, seek advice from the elders of the patriline, which is the largest unit in which kinship solidarity functions as a controlling social force outside the domestic group. The patriline also exercises control in the form of moral pressure: gossip, accusations of witchcraft, and responsibility for vengeance when a patriline member has been

613 476 murdered. Informants declare that "all the Mendeztik will get
626 together against the Perezetik if a Perez kills a Mendez." We have
627 witnessed cases of "talk of revenge," but never any case of the
613 lineal solidarity functioning in this way in practice. In a case
736 where the father of a man dies, it is within the agnatic line that
a man finds a sponsor to live with, to pay his bride-price, and to
613 work the land with. If there is conflict over an adulterous wife,
837 or over the distribution of an inheritance among brothers, it is the
428 duty of the elder members of the agnatic line to give advice, witness the distribution of the property, etc.

613 The patriline is not a land holding unit, in the sense that
423 there is no land that is said to belong to the line as a corporation, but the group of agnatically related men have control over the distribution of it, and its inheritance. If a man dies without adult sons, the closest agnatic kin (father, brother, or in some cases a father's brother if the other two are dead or have enough land) will take over the cultivated fields that he has left. According to the Mexican Agrarian Code, Eiido land can only be transmitted to people that live in the same domestic unit, and communal land cannot be transmitted at all: at the death of the person who held usufruct rights over a parcel, the land should revert to the Ayuntamiento, which has the power to re-distribute it as it considers convenient. In practice, in Aguacatenango, if the household fails to provide heirs, the parcels (both eiido and communal) are re-allocated among agnatic kin. Therefore, although the patriline does not "own" land, some land is allocated through linearity.

593 [626] A man whose brother is accused of witchcraft is very likely to share the same accusation; if a man beats his wife, he can be blamed by his younger brother because the first one's reputation hinders the chances of the second for getting himself a wife. If a woman is lazy, people will assume that her sister is also lazy, and so on. Paradoxically, at the same time that siblings are equivalent for certain purposes, they are not in relation to each other. An elder sibling has, from early in life, power to scold, punish or control his younger siblings. The older they grow, the more the age difference becomes important. While one could be already working with the father in the fields, the other is still a playing child. While one gets married and becomes a man, the other is still under his father's authority.

The elder brother is always a possible jural replacement [726] for the father. If the father dies and a man is a bachelor with a married brother, his elder brother replaces the father in terms of jural authority over him, is in charge of supporting him, working with him in the field, paying for his bride-price, etc.

[476] [578] On the one hand, the relationship of brothers is one of collaboration, intense association for work and mutual dependency; on the other, the differential distribution of authority creates a certain amount of antagonism between the two.

593 578 538 This antagonism between brothers is symbolically expressed in myths, legends and tales, many of which contain both a younger and elder brother who spend their time trying to kill each other, being alternately successful until the younger sibling is the final victor.

593 578 585 wedding. One son had married and already lived outside his father's compound. His younger brother was married, but stayed with the father. The younger brother obtained from his father a church wedding and the fiesta which accompanies it. The elder felt cheated. He was older, but he had not been given a church wedding, which he felt he should have had first. The father insisted that the elder son did not deserve it. First, he had not stayed in the house long enough after his marriage because "his wife was a bad daughter-in-law and insisted on moving out taking him away." Second, he was living outside his sitio and, being economically independent, he should have been able to pay for his own church wedding.

[626] The opinions of the villagers were divided. On the one hand, it was clear that only the child who is being supported had the right to get the father's direct economic assistance. On the other hand, the elder son had seniority rights.

593 578 428 We do not know the outcome of this particular case, but the evidence is strong enough to suggest that the relationship between brothers, especially in terms of each one's position as an heir with respect to their father, is not clearly resolved by the society, and is (1) a likely place of conflict in the social structure, and (2) a point of fission in the patriline genealogical continuity and depth. Second, the alternative pattern of patri-uxorilocal residence, and the concomitant fact that a man works the land with his affinals and inherits from them, and that a woman can inherit a house site, breaks in some cases the exclusive rights of inheritance within the patriline.

562 The inheritance rights of women are highly controversial.
428 All the cases of conflict over the inheritance or rights of usu-
578 fruct of land, that we know about, involved a woman in the line
[183] of transmission. But however controversial, they are an estab-
lished pattern. This is shown in the following cases.

Case 1

159 Delfina is about twenty-four years old, and still single.
592 She was raised by her godmother in San Cristóbal, and her aspira-
593 tions are to become a Ladina. She has consistently refused to
562 marry any Indian man, and lives with her parents in a large com-
554 pound. She is economically self-sufficient (perhaps the only
428 woman in the village which is in the same position), because she
434 works for the INI as a sewing teacher, and her status in the household is quite high due to the fact that she draws a large salary and that her parents are close to senility and dependent on her. Until recently, her married brother lived in the compound with his parents. He insisted that at his parents death he should inherit everything: land, house and animals. Delfina and his father were of the opposite opinion: the house should be for Delfina, since she was supporting them and, as she expressed it: "she did not get married." Faced with the brother's insistence about his traditional rights, the father ordered him out of the household, and he and his wife left town and went to live in
• [626] Amatenango. Most villagers, however, think that Delfina is in the wrong. They say that she is alzada (prideful) and loose in her relations with Ladino men (the employees of the INI that come to the village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

182 571 based on non-kinship terms would maximize profit or material (602) benefits, which the kinship frame limits considerably. Second, 182 the cultural norms imposed on the villager about the types of work 183 which he is allowed to perform, about the maximum wealth which he 461 556 is able to control, and about the distribution of this wealth, are, from a purely financial point of view, "anti-economical." 156 But an Indian living in a Ladino town, undoubtedly having the 177 choice of improving his life from an economic point of view, 156 alienates himself from everything which is dear to him. An Indian 626 attempting to live up to his aspirations of wealth within the com- 556 munity, alienates himself even more, and risks the dangers of witchcraft and social ostracism.

121 The phrase, "man does not live by bread alone," is very much of a truism here. If the primary factor in determining behavior were economical, the villager would have no need to live within the customary standards of living of his community nor would the corporate community persist. Each Indian could become a laborer of some sort, and integrate himself into the national society of Mexico.

But people make choices not only because they are financially advantageous, but because they preserve their standing within their kinship group, they provide satisfaction for their need of the psychological rewards of prestige and positive affection and for their need for "belonging" to a group of similar human beings with similar culture and aspirations.

We have to admit, then, that it is as impossible to analyze social dynamics, only taking into account economic variables, as

Thus the social control is exerted through the traditional hierarchy, but the benefits of the labor go toward the priest's projects. The priest speaks with some satisfaction of the increasing control the "church" (he) has over the people. He maintains that this is because the people are more "civilized." For him, the indices to civilization are the facts that there is no drinking in the church, there is greater attendance at Mass, and more people are wearing Ladino clothing. 794 793 178 [626]

The second divergence in the elicited and observed accounts for the religious inauguration occurred when the civil officials, including the town secretary and síndico, assisted the religious officials in counting the money collected for the fiesta. 621 794 182

An important supplement to the behavorial data were the unsolicited comments of informants. Their anecdotes often gave me clues to their involvement in the gamesmanship of operating within culturally defined patterns. Although the informant focuses on the formal question, his growing boredom with the sequence (Who sat next to him? What did they do next? Who was there?) leads him to muse about the associated ideas and images which did interest him, often self-damaging or negative aspects of the culture which he might want to hide if questioned directly. The technique resembles that of the astronomer instructing the novice stargazer: "If you want to see the Pleiades, look at Jupiter, and out of the corner of your eye the nebulous cluster of stars of the Pleiades becomes visible." 124

The following illustrates how this free association emerged in the formal eliciting procedure: 124 578 682

Informant 2 constantly reiterated the danger his brother would encounter in undertaking the post of president as we discussed inauguration procedures. For example, when he gave me a list of participants at the Judge's house when his father took on that post, he mentioned the name of a widow, Cika, and provided the unsolicited information that her husband had been shot on December 16, 1963, the fiesta of Halal Me?tik Santalusia. Informant's statement: "He did not know he had an enemy, and so he walked alone that night. Each fiesta someone is killed. During the fiesta of San Francisco this year, another man in Bočibal was killed. No one knows why. He was knifed with a machete. I never go out alone at night because of the fights with the cooperative. They [the members of the opposing cooperative] are very hard *(ha? ben bolik)*. They claim they will kill us."

What prompted the next revelation was my com- 124
[P. 224-B]

682 their neighbors by establishing *compadrazgo*, or
683 godparental, relations with them.
621
608 Ten of the 37 homicides here reported were committed by immediate consanguineal or
682 affinal relatives of the victim. The high fre-
593 quency of killings involving brothers or
607 brothers-in-law (8 cases) suggests a locus of high tension in these relationships. Male
[602] siblings, the *yermanotak*, comprise the closest
[476] cooperating group. Cooperation between brothers is obligatory when wheat is to be threshed, a house built, or a roof rethatched. If a brother or brother-in-law is unavoidably absent, he must pay a substitute. Brothers, or sons and fathers, are the only relationship pairs who work the milpa in common and share
[428] the harvest. Bilateral inheritance, with equal division of land and house to both male and female offspring, means that brothers-in-law are potentially equivalent in the competition for goods as well as in their obligation to cooperate. A man kills his sister's husband if the husband is abusive to the woman or to mem-
682 bers of the family (two cases). The brother
627 figures not only as a lethal opponent, but also
593 as the man who avenges one's own death (case 18, Table 1). When someone has been killed for witchcraft, his brothers are expected to accept the verdict or to avenge the killing.

[Text continues on p. 463-A]

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum

[p.462-C]

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TABLE 2. SUSPECT, BY MOTIVE FOR HOMICIDE

		Brother	Brother-in-law	Son	Son-in-law	Neighbors	Relative of witchcraft killing	Curers	Cattle owners	Rival for girl	Drunks	Not of community	??	Totals
[688]	Victim was accused of witchcraft	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	—	—	—	—	8	18
	Victim accused suspect of witchcraft	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
[585]	Cattle theft	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	4
[578]	Rivalry over girl	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	3
	Abusive behavior	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
[579]	Drunken quarrel	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
[627]	Avenge a death (not caused by witchcraft)	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2
	Political conflict	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
	??	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
	Total	3	5	1	1	2	2	1	4	3	2	2	11	37

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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682 these suspicions and kill the witch. If he should
674 kill the witch while the patient is still alive, it
75 is believed that the patient will die.

682 Killing men for cattle theft (six cases) is a
685 relatively recent occurrence. It has put hom-
674 icide on the market: the associations of
[463] cattle-owners have hired killers in three of the
[697] six cases. In addition to the killer's fee, they
pay the fine to release him from prison. Fines
for homicide have increased in the past five
years—from 1,000 to 3,000 pesos—but not
sufficiently to price the murder of cattle
[435] thieves out of the market. A good bull is worth
1,500 pesos, and the threat of further loss by
685 theft seems to justify the expenditure of fees
787 and fines. When the cattle-owners lose some
776 of their herd, they go to spiritualists or to San
Miguel, the talking saint of Ixtapa, to find out
who did the stealing. Since such evidence does
685 not hold up in court, legal settlement is not
694 attempted. Legal action, moreover, would
create an enemy who might seek revenge. A
Ladino secretary of the town center who had
lost a bull accused a man of stealing his cattle
and demanded 500 pesos in compensation. By
receiving the money he jeopardized his safety,
and eventually he had to leave town.

The Resolution of the Case

682 It is nearly impossible to find witnesses to
69 homicide. Of these 37 cases, 28 resulted in no
action being taken by the authorities, and in
five cases where the killers went to jail, they
were released with the payment of minimal
fines. In the calculations of the townspeople, it
is hardly worth risking one's neck to get such a
minimal revenge.

682 However, this does not mean that homicide
593 goes unnoticed in the community. After a
626 killing the widow sings of the life of the dead
[683] man. If she is in agreement with the verdict
arrived at by the killer and others, she will
deny knowledge of what he has done, or even
suggest that she too was aware of what harm
he has caused (one widow implied that her
husband, killed as a witch, was responsible for
the death of four of her six children). If she
objects to the verdict, she sings of what a good
man he was and how blameless. She will then
air her own suspicions in the following weeks as
to who killed her husband.

682 Following the funeral, when the women
683 have left the cemetary, the men sit at the
● 627 grave. As they measure out a liter of liquor and
pass it around, they advance hypotheses as

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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682 683 627 to who did it. The consultations with curers prior to the death of the supposed victims of a witch will be introduced as evidence. (Some degree of consensus may have been built up beforehand, in witch-killings, by the public broadcast of accusations noted above.[8]) The focus of the discussion is not so much on who killed the dead man, but whether he was indeed a witch. This kind of mock trial occurs after every funeral, since it must be decided [153] who caused the sickness. Emotions run very high as the liquor is passed around, and accusations are made, sometimes against those pres- [152] ent. It was after a funeral that one man killed his son (not included in Table 1) for accusing him of having caused the death of the son's child, who was being buried. [213]

682 In the weeks following a homicide, it is discussed at all the drinking sessions in the homes [52] or in the town hall. Eventually an authoritative version begins to emerge. Those who have defended the victim then keep silent, and the affair "rests in peace." Avenging the death of a 682 683 man judged to have been a witch, so far as I know, has never been done. In one case (no. 36, [627] Table 1) the widow of a man killed as a witch vigorously denied the legitimacy of the act and built up a case against the killer. She spread word that it was without doubt the dead man's son by a prior marriage. When the son was killed shortly after (case 37, Table 1), everyone assumed that he had been killed by the widow's son by *her* prior marriage. However, the authoritative version concerning the second killing was that it was an accident: he had been mistaken for his brother, whom the killer was after because of rivalry over a girl.

682 183 *Rules for Surviving*

The patterning of the selection of victims and the circumstances of homicide provide the basis for formulating a set of rules that can 682 ensure survival. The long-range rules of sur- 539 vival, in the words of an elder at the occasion of 183 the death of his godchild, are:

lekon kak'o ta kwenta me?tat
I pay respect to my elders.

hun ku kikts'in kalnižan
[601] I greet my younger brothers and my children (classificatory extension of kinship terms).

spiṣil kak' ta kwenta
To all I give respect.

ho? kiž lakotik. Ma taltik wilal ma taltik ẓomal

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682 accused him of being a witch, he was put in
683 the local jail by the judge and then removed to
756 the departmental capital. During his term of
754 imprisonment an epidemic broke out in the
682 town; it was attributed to witchcraft sup-
683 posedly practiced by him and by two other
578 curers who remained in town. These two were then imprisoned. After they were set free, all three men were killed in different episodes involving accusations of witchcraft. Permission to act as executioners was granted by the civil authority.

178 In the past, the public review of a case before
682 a killing probably served to minimize homi-
754 cide, since permission was not always granted.
627 Since 1953, when a large highway first linked
[491] the town to the departmental capital and communication between this center of justice and the local township increased, the civil authority has not given permission, and prior review of witchcraft cases occurs only with epidemics.

756 The final incident in which the civil author-
754 ity confronted the curers occurred in the spring
578 of 1966. The president accused one of the
627 curers of cutting short his life by lighting candles in the mountains. The curers were called together to hear the threat and to go to the hill to look at the evidence. The accused curer remained at home pleading that he was sick. He was warned not to pursue his witchcraft, and as yet there has been no use of
[178] violence on either side. This open confronta-
[622] tion without the use of violence may indicate a change in the strategy of conflict with the growing power of the president.

756 (3) *Breakdown of the dual division.* The loss
178 of internal controls in the curing profession
578 and the conflict for power and control by the
621 civil officials and the curers are related to a more fundamental change in the social structure of the community. Formerly the division
626 of the town into two sections provided a channel for opposition as well as cooperation. Recruitment into leadership positions in both the civil hierarchy and the curing hierarchy was based upon residence. The system provided checks and balances in the exercise of power, for the two principales—one from each section of the dual division—were supposed to act as watchdogs over the curers. The shift in the locus of social control from the principales to the president has been marked by the open confrontation with the curers.

OOO The authority of the president, however,

555 ta for minor saints. He alternates between
624 a period of activity and expense and one of
794 quiet and economic recovery. The cargos alternate between church positions and civil government positions, but in communities where Indian tradition is stressed, there is no clear-cut division between civil and religious matters, because of the influence of the sacred and supernatural in daily life.

554 Those functionaries who have a staff of
624 office wield great influence in their calpul.
293 This cane (*nabté*), a sign of important status, is made of pine or other fine wood, and has a silver handle adorned with colored ribbons, primarily yellow, green, and red. The staff is ornamented by the owner and is considered a family object, usually placed on the home altar. Occasionally it is the [778] [782] object of prayers and offerings of incense. People carrying it are called *bastonudos*.

624 It is the duty of the staff-carriers to com-
627 municate to every paraje the orders of the ayuntamiento and those coming from the supreme chief of the calpul; to summon people for communal duties; to apprehend prisoners in cases of crime; and to deal with public problems such as taxation and epidemics. Coping with transgressions such as minor stealing, adultery, disputes, and intrigues are also their responsibility within the paraje, following the traditional form of procuring mutual understanding on both sides, in a calm atmosphere, around a bottle [692] of liquor. If conflict persists, those involved appear before chiefs of the calpul, who are called principales or "cabildos de justicia" even after they have finished their term of office.

794 The cargos from dzunubil on up are sacred and are open only to people with superior knowledge, recognized moral status, and expert experience in church ritual and in the semi-pagan ceremonies practiced in the cáves, waterholes, and special mountains. These cargos are thus obtained not by automatic advancement but by special merits which are usually not acquired until advanced age. All such high representatives of

[P 220-B]

501 raft, *poi*, to cross rivers or make very short trips. The specimen observed at *Hol-ha'* (Head of the Water), was made of five cork logs averaging 22 centimeters in diameter and 3.25 meters long, held together by two cross-sticks lashed on with lianas. There was some space between each log, the width of the raft being 1.25 meters. It had a definite bow and stern, the logs at the forward end being cut to an edge, "to cut the water." These rafts are propelled by a pole, preferably of mahogany, the one observed being 2.50 meters long. They are moored by thrusting the pole through a crack between two of the logs, into the bottom of the stream.

648 As one would expect, the old, complicated organization of priests and rulers, the aristocracy of pre-Conquest days, has been utterly swept away. Today, in their social organization, one may trace a little of the feeling of the old times, but the system is the creature of Spanish contact. On the haciendas there are no native officials save those who preside over the fiestas. The owner of the hacienda maintains a patriarchal sway over his workmen, governing them in every respect. Among the village tribes at Bachajon and Sivacá life is still influenced by the obligation to work for the government or the ranchers, although the independent nature of the Indians has won for them a good deal of self-government. Those of the Bachajon living on land belonging to ranches find themselves under a dual system, although the scattered location of their dwellings, deep in the jungles, minimizes the power of the Ladinos.

621 The tribes are very different from those of North America. From our brief observation, it appears as though there was none of that deep feeling of loyalty towards the group, of essential, almost mystic unity with the other members that characterizes our own Indians. Similar customs, common interest, and geographical proximity hold each Tzeltal group together; bonds that are easily broken. [609] Should an outsider attack the common weal by seizure of land or [578] by any other infringements, he will find the tribe solidly united against him, but at the same time it may be, and often is divided • 627 within itself by many quarrels. The Bachajon carry out long feuds between families and individuals in the form of occasional murders. These have their origin in delayed retribution for some wrong received by one party from the other, for which, in turn, there is retaliation, and so on indefinitely.

For instance, the murder committed while we were at Encanto was the climax of a long-nursed grudge, and almost immediately afterwards there were indications that from that fight would arise 648 many others. Occasional attacks on ranchers are also usually carried

out by a small group bearing a grudge, although in this case the 648
tribe as a whole stands more solidly back of the offenders.

The Bachajon exhibit internal dissension and strife to an un- 628
usual degree. There are many small, outlying sub-groups, some of which are more or less openly at war with the main body. In the description of Zona Sala oil camp (Chapter VIII) something has already been said of the settlement there of men driven away on account of the misbehaviour. They still call themselves Bachajon and maintain some slight intercourse with the tribe, although they are quite inimical in their attitude towards Indians passing through on the way to Palenque. There are other such settlements in different parts of the jungle, although these, having most recently split off, are the most hostile.

What group loyalty the Bachajon have centers around the de- 621
serted village that bears their name. It was described at the begin- 609
ning of this chapter. Founded under compulsion, deserted whenever possible, its church and Cabildo in ruins, none the less it is their focal point, jealously guarded from intrusion. These Indians have had the same experience as our own; the European comes first as a visitor, then a few settle for trade, then comes a host in their footsteps, until soon there is no place for the Indian, and he finds himself an intruder in his own home. Against this sequence of events, so common in our history, the Bachajon protect their land by an attitude of unremitting hostility. Travellers may pass through, but no trader may set up even a lean-to bower under which to display his wares, save during the few days of their main fiestas, although it would be a great convenience for them to have a store nearer than Ocosingo.

The destruction of the Spanish-built church and Cabildo, with 829
the substitution for them of native edifices, is curious. The feeling probably is that when they do congregate in their capital for a fiesta, they do not wish to be confronted by evidences of alien domination.

The strongest actual unit is that of the individual family, the 593
man, his wife, and children. Indians who are forced, for one reason 594
or another, to go into hiding in the jungle, will run great risks to return and fetch their wives and children. Even beyond this smallest 602
group there is a little feeling, a man's relatives by marriage or blood 627
often joining to support him in a feud, or to revenge a wrong done him. Similarly, the relatives of the individual who committed the [672]
wrong are held in some degree liable to punishment, although there is no formal rule of collective responsibility, the action taken depending largely on individual inclination.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

boulders with care. It still is broad in most places, and has reasonable grades. We climbed to a rather desolate upland of wind-swept grass with a few crooked trees. There was some traffic on the road. We passed a group of Tenejapeños going down to the hot country to carry sugar. The men were ragged and woolly, like those we had seen at Salto de Agua, and their women, in short blue skirts and white blouses gorgeously ornamented with gold and crimson silk, were remarkable for their very pink cheeks showing through dark brown colouring.

The town of Cancuc (*kank'uk*) lies on the rounded shoulder of a long ridge that juts up above the high moors commanding a tremendous view North, West, and South over a jumbled mass of mountain ranges, like a herd of great elephants shouldering away to the horizon. A wind blows day and night, the trees are small and stunted, and the general effect is one of bleakness and height. At an altitude of 1,440 meters, with the unresting wind, it is always cold. The highroad climbs from a ravine up into the village where a small plaza is laid out on a level place. On our left was the big, white church, still well preserved. Opposite it, the Cabildo surprised us, a neat building with tile roof and white columned portico, built in President Diaz' time. Round about were some tumbling and ruined huts, and behind, the village rose on rough terraces crudely faced with stone.

Cancuc has a stormy history. It was the center of the famous rebellion of 1712, the subject of Brinton's "Maria Candelaria."* According to Starr (1904) who passed through here, there is a tradition that the men's long hair, covering their ears, is so worn in memory of the clipped ears which their ancestors received at that time. Recently, there has been political dissension in the form of a dragging feud, and a series of small fights and murders has resulted in those left of the defeated party abandoning the village and setting up their houses in the bush. It is from this that one sees so many huts deserted and beginning to disintegrate, adding to the general cheerless aspect of the place.

We were well received at the Cabildo, where the village officials with their silver-headed canes turned up shortly to look us over. They were younger men than most of the officials we had met previously, and a pretty tough looking crew, much what one would expect of a group that had attained office largely by means of the machete. The people on the whole rather resemble the Bachajon physically, being of a small-limbed type with an average height for men of about 160 centimeters, and nearly beardless. The men wear tunics cut as at Tenango, but decorated with red and yellow em-

*Brinton, 1887; Pineda, 1888.

273* 754 539 . . . When he's drunk he says, "you haven't paid your tax yet!" (This is interpreted by our informant as meaning that none of the listener's children has yet died and, further, that the speaker can guarantee that some of them will die.)

HAYUN HIC MA XC'AY TA YO*TANIK HAL KRISTYANETIK I.

And so the hearts of the people don't forget this.

XLIHK CAMEL TA TEHKLUM HA* YA XKUC STUKEL.

When the illness begins in the community they blame him.

... TA SKAHABI YA XLAH TA MILEL YUN SBOLIL.

Because of this they kill him for his foolishness.

MA* TOHUK XYAKUB.

He doesn't get drunk the way one ought to.

273* 518 Physical aggression against drinking companions usually has immediate physical consequences. One fight which occurred between two drunken young men in the cemetery at the fiesta of Todos Santos ended with a broken arm for one of them, and in another fight hospital care was needed for the victim. Sabino Hernandez, on waking up after a night of drinking, is puzzled to find his hand sprained, because, as he remembers,

[539] MAYU*NUK *AY MA*C'A LAH KUT H'A SOK, TONC YU*N TOH LAH KU*C' HAL HC'IN KA*AL I.

I didn't fight with anybody, I just drank my aguardiente the way one ought to.

273* 593 620 Drunken men who beat their wives can expect retaliation in kind only rarely, but a mistreated wife may complain of her husband's behavior to his elders, who will reprimand him and exact a promise to reform.

273* 683 court usually demands a nominal fine (10 pesos--about a day's wages--being the customary amount), and sometimes the defendant will apologize as well. In one such case, the plaintiff had to have hospital care, and the defendant was ordered to pay the bill (30 pesos) instead of a fine. Where the fighting ended in 273* 682 a death, both fine and damages are charged, as in the murder [539] case already mentioned in text above:

M. PERO ME LAHWAN YAK' TAK'IN TOHUBEH.

I wonder how much money it was settled for.

J. KINYENTOS PESO LAH YAK' HIL.

He handed over five hundred pesos.

M. ME HA* LAH SMUK Z'IN TE MAC'A CAM E.

Did he pay for the funeral of the dead man?

J. PUES MA HNA*TIK, MA YU*N LAH YA*BE SIYERO TRESYENTOS PESO.

Well, I don't know, maybe he gave him something like three hundred pesos.

M. APARTE XAN Z'IN TE KINYENTO LAH YAK'HIL E.

Apart from the five hundred that he handed over?

J. APARTE Z'IN *EHK HATE KINYENTOS PE E LAH YAK' HIL TA KABILTA.

Apart from the five hundred pesos that he handed over to the court.

682 It is important that in this case, the murderer not only paid 627 the fine and damages (through his wife) but also found it advisable to leave the community. Murder and witchcraft do not

682 admit of truly restitutive outcomes in Aguacatenango; an indi-
• 627 vidual is dead and cannot be reclaimed, and from the point of view of the Aguacatenanguero, nothing can reduce the survivors' sense of vulnerability except another life. Furthermore, any sanction short of death or permanent expulsion from the community
682 might result in reprisals. The Aguacatenango court has no popu-
627 lar mandate and hence no power or desire to hand down a death
692 sentence to a community member; the most severe sanction it can employ for a murder is a heavy fine-plus-damages. Since this sanction falls short of the family's needs, the court is rarely consulted in such cases; when such cases do come to court, they are often dismissed (sometimes on the basis of lack of evidence, for murders and witchcraft are not often observed by witnesses) or referred to the municipio court.

627 Murder and witchcraft are usually dealt with by means of
682 penalizing strategies, most often murder or the threat of it which
754 will drive the individual permanently out of the community. A lesser penalizing strategy--breaking off interaction--is sometimes used in such cases, particularly if the jeopardized party is weak or the evidence is inconclusive. For example, Josefa Lopez' husband was accused of doing witchcraft against a neighbor's wife. When her husband was later killed while drinking, nobody saw the killing but Josefa "knew" that the dead woman's son had done it out of vengeance. Josefa, now a widow with small

627 children and without father or brothers to support her, found it
682 impossible either to retaliate or to remain under the eye of the
754 "killer," so she moved to a distant part of the community.

578 More often, breaking interaction is used as a penalizing
627 strategy in less serious conflicts. For example, a daughter-in-law living in her husband's paternal household complained that her father-in-law scolded her when he was drunk and, in order to reduce her vulnerability, left the house and returned to live with her own family. Sometimes, in such a case, the husband will attempt to make restitution in response to the penalty and the conflict will be resolved. Another case, mentioned in text earlier, is that of Aurelia Ramirez and her unwelcome house guest; she appealed to the young man's father-in-law and had him removed from her house. The penalizing nature of this strategy is illustrated in the text which followed (also cited above); the conflict remained "active" in the relationship between Aurelia and the young man in that he returned to threaten her
[692] with witchcraft. Aurelia's next move is instructive; still feel-
[754] ing vulnerable, she sought the judgment of the court. However, this being a case of threat of witchcraft, the court refused to rule. She describes her rebuff as follows:

[539] KIK' Z'IN KALBE LO*L SME*L NEAL, KOMO PRESIDENTE.

I went out to speak to his father-in-law, since he is president.

578
627 MALA TUTA YAL, MALA TUTA SLOK'ES, YU*N HO*N LA HA HLE HK'OP,
539 HO*N LA PIS TYTA KALTLAN LA.

[He said] that he isn't saying anything, that he isn't taking anything, that I'm lying, that I'm the one who's saying it all.

273 * In general, persisting conflicts arising from drunken
578 behavior are relatively infrequent among highly relational role pairs--people who live in the same household and/or are tied to each other by extensive obligations, such as parent-child, sibling-sibling, husband-wife, parent-in-law-child-in-law. In this role set, drunken behavior tends to be discounted or excused on later apology by the offender. When persisting conflicts occur, they are usually handled by means of restitutive strategies employed within the family and do not reach the community court. On the other hand, persisting conflicts based on drunken behavior among lowly relational pairs--people whose obligations toward each other are relatively few, such as siblings-in-law, neighbors, persons of opposite barrios (in descending order)--are fairly common. Indeed, all of the fighting and much of the murder and witchcraft in this role set involve drunkenness. Here there is perhaps no basis for discounting drunken behavior or less
[692] opportunity to make apologies. In any case, these conflicts tend to be taken to the community court--the only authority which both parties recognize--for a restitutive outcome when only injury is involved, and they tend to be handled with severe penaliz-

754 mentions that the man (one Margarito Mendez) claimed to be a witch while he was drinking. Hence without knowing whether Margarito Mendez was the witch in this particular case, but knowing that he was thought to be a witch in general, the men attributed the deaths to him.

754 627 *273 To kill a witch is a dangerous undertaking. The community should be in agreement, and the mode of killing must be sure or the coalition of the witch will defend him and take counter action against the assassins. In this context, drinking places the individuals in that condition of lack of fear in which they can complete the affair without undue consideration of its effects on their further plans.

754 539 An example of the specific statement of the fear reflex in naming witches appears in Ausencio Espinoza's monologue, where one finds the assertions (made at the funeral of a youth who was presumed to have died of witchcraft):

HA* Z'IN ABI YA YAL SPISIL MAC'ATIK XK'OK TA MUKAHEL I,

And afterward, all those who went to the funeral said,

CIKAN *AY MA*C'A LAH HAK'HOL CAMEL I, PERO MA SPAS TA HALEL MAC'A LA YAK', TA REPENTA ME LA YA*BOTIK *EHK E.

"We know who caused the illness, but we can't say who did it, for he might quickly make us ill also."

HA*YU*N MA SPAS YALEL PORKE YAN K'OP XI'BINTIK SBA XCILIK HAL WINIKETIK I.

"For this reason, it isn't possible to say it, because it's bad talk, it's dangerous," said the men.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Acknowledgments

My study of the people of Tzo'ontahal was made in four field sessions, the first in 1957 with return trips in 1958, 1964, and 1965, for a total of eighteen months. Brief visits were made in 1966 and 1967. With each returning visit it was possible to penetrate more deeply into the lives and experiences of the villagers, most of whom were highly resistant to an outsider on the first contact. I began writing the book in 1966, and some of the predictions I made came true before I finished it in 1968. These included the demise of the ceremonial leadership of the *alfereces*—the officials in charge of religious celebrations—the waning of the community status of curers, and the killing of one of my principal informants who had taken a leadership role before acquiring the traditional validation of age and experience in office. The transformations over the period of my study in this community created difficulties in recording and organizing my material. I owe whatever clarification has emerged to the efforts of Jane Olson and Gale Griffin of Yale University Press.

I am indebted to the National Institutes of Mental Health, which made possible the research for this study. I owe an intellectual debt to Sol Tax, who introduced me to the problems and potentialities of the area as a locus for field study, to Norman McQuown, who gave me the first instruction in Tzeltal and provided a grammar which facilitated learning the language, and to Manning Nash, who provided some of the earlier formulations of the culture from which I have borrowed. I am grateful to Duane Metzger and Gerald Williams, who generously provided equipment and facilities for work with informants in San Cristóbal Las Casas in the summer of 1964. Alfonso Villa Rojas, who was director of the Instituto Nacional Indígenista, was of great assistance in the first summer's field trip, introducing me to leaders within the town and in the Instituto's headquarters in Las Casas.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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pact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group. The authority of the elders in settling conflicts in the family and the community is weakened, although the hierarchy remains intact. In religious institutions, the personnel has remained the same, but the authority of the religious officials has weakened and the belief in the deities and ancestral figures has been undermined.

Political leadership is the most dynamic area of change. The power of the *principales* had already been taken over by young civil officials when I first went to the town in 1957. The curers, who retained the power derived from belief in their control over the supernatural, were the core of resistance to change in the decade that I knew the community. But this control was being challenged by civil officials and factional leaders, who were aware of its repressive effect. The dynamic aspect of the political sector is linked to the fact that the new leaders saw the necessity of seizing power from those who were privileged in the traditional society. They were reworking the social structure to pave the way for the acceptance of development opportunities being offered by the national government.

In Chapters 10, 11, and 12 I have summarized the structuring of behavior in roles, place, and time and described how these patterns have been affected by change. The following questions are raised in the summary chapters:

1. The role system: How are people recruited into roles? How are roles coordinated? How are performances evaluated? The matrix of roles provides the patterned expectations of what others will do in a given situation. Some of the decisions made in assigning people to roles allow little room for choice. In other cases, new functions, such as those imposed upon governing officials, have replaced traditional bases for making decisions and in turn upset the balance of power between elders, curers, and leaders in civil office. (Continuity and change in the role structure are analyzed in Chapter 10.)

2. The setting: How is appropriate behavior defined for each institutional setting? What kinds of behavior are replicated in each setting? How are changes in role relations reflected in positions assumed in each setting? Observations of behavior in the church and the

231 cattle was seized by bandits or soldiers. It is "new" only in the size of the
233 holdings, which have expanded from ownership of one or two head per household, primarily useful as draft animals, to a herd as large as two hundred head belonging to the wealthiest man in town. Cattle rearing is now a capital investment for resale as well as for draft animals in plow agriculture.

233 The increasing herds have stimulated competition for community re-
311 sources. The control of communal grazing and waterhole rights is exer-
312 cised through the traditional dual division of the town, with rights to pas-
621 ture allocated on the basis of residence in the upper or lower barrio of the
575 center. An association of cattle owners has developed in each of the sections, and the leaders of each association call together all members to clean the water holes and repair the troughs. A recent project of the cattle association of the upper section has been the erection of a large cross at the
[789] water hole. The water had dried up the year before, and the installation of the cross was an attempt to ensure a continuous supply of water in the fu-
[796] ture. The priest blessed the cross in the dedication, and the fiscal and prayer-reciters adorn it each year on May 3, the Day of the Cross in the old Catholic calendar, along with other crosses of the village.

233 Cattle grazing is the source of much of the conflict in the town. The cat-
621 tle roam freely in the woods and communal pasture lands, and many are
578 lost or stolen. The cattle association has not fenced in the pasture in order
575 to control it. Their tactics have been punitive; they have raised funds from
627 among members to hire men to kill suspected cattle thieves. In the last twenty years, six men have been killed as cattle thieves, and at least three of those were known to be killed by men hired by the association, which then paid the court fines to set the killers free. The leader of one of the cattle associations was killed after an incident in which he fined a man who had failed to assist in cleaning the water holes. The fine of 2 pesos per head of cattle represented a large fee for the man, who had sixty head. He refused to pay more than half, since he said he had not been notified.
[754] When his daughter later died of illness, he blamed her death on witchcraft exercised by the cattle association leader, and later killed him.

231 Cattle are only minimally exploited as a resource. The cattle are not
434 butchered locally since there is not a large enough market, but are sold to

The funeral procession leaves for the cemetery about three in the afternoon. Attending the body are the padrinos, parents, aunts, and uncles. If the deceased is a child under two years of age, he is carried by his madrina. One of the former fiscales or someone who knows how to pray goes along. Smaller siblings or children of the dead are left at home with the maliwanehetik, who in this case are chosen from among the more distant relatives, compadres, and neighbors not attending the funeral. As they walk, the women cry and the "owner of the dead," the woman closest of kin, wails constantly in the stylized mourning cry. She stops wailing only when the company stops to pray at the cross at the exit of the town and just before entering the graveyard. At each resting point, the fiscal, who holds a rosary, reads the prayer book, while a neighbor or compadre uses a geranium to sprinkle holy water on the spot. An older male relative holds a palm cross.

When the party arrives at the opened grave, the godmother sits down near the coffin to make the final arrangements. The grave has been opened prior to the arrival of the party, but sometimes the men widen the hole. If they come across a bone, the fiscal shakes holy water over it with the geranium. When a nursing child is buried, the mother leans over the coffin and puts her breast in the child's mouth just before he is lowered into the grave. This is done so that the child's spirit will not think any longer of returning. The godparent or some other attendant dips the geranium in water and shakes it over the body. Handfuls of dirt are then thrown into the coffin. It is at this point that the assembled group, including the men, breaks into loud wails. The wails of the funeral party, though they do not lack feeling, are most important as a controlled communication, uttered when it is appropriate and by particular persons who are expected to cry before a select audience.

As the neighbors who have come to help the bereaved relatives shovel dirt on the grave, the padrino of the deceased approaches the fiscal and recites the pat?o?tan of blessing for the gift of liquor. The liquor is measured in a shot glass and passed around to the company. The women leave soon, and the men remain drinking. At this point a kind of trial is held to see who is responsible for the death. Since almost all sickness is believed to be caused by witchcraft, it is important to decide who the guilty person

761 might be. The father or closest male kin of the dead person is careful to
627 recount all the consultations he has had with curers, both to absolve him-
753 self of the guilt of neglect or unconscious witchcraft and to search for the true culprit.

764 A proper burial with holy water, flowers, grave offerings, and prayers as-
775 sures the survivors that the soul of the deceased will rest and his bones will lie in peace. Lacking any of these features, the dead will disturb the living, as is recounted below:

During the revolution, many were buried without a funeral or without blessed water. On Thursday, the bones burn and cry. You can still see a blue flame rising above the old graveyard on Thursday. You can find money that the ancestors left there, but you have to go at night to dig it up.

An important safeguard to ensure that the soul will lie in peace is burial among people with whom the deceased lived. When a married adult dies,
[593] he is buried with his dead spouse. If he had two dead spouses, he is buried with the first spouse on the right hand and the second on the left. A child
[603] is buried with the grandparents of the household in which he lived—that is, if he lived with his mother's parents he is buried with them, and if with the father's parents, then with them. When people know that they
[763] are going to die, they express their preference as to where they wish to be
[593] buried. Usually they will elect to be buried between their dead parents, but
[608] if they were unhappy with their parents, they might choose a padrino or
[604] uncle. If dissatisfied in its resting place, a soul, even when properly buried, cannot find peace and wanders back to the house. Fearing this, relatives try to comply with the wishes of the dead.

My grandfather used to say that he wanted to be buried between his mother and father. But when he was about to die, he said, "I don't want to be buried there because my father beat me. He will continue beating my soul. I want to go on the side [*of the cemetery*]. *Please don't bury me near my parents." My father said, "All right, we will put you on the side."*

764 The funeral must meet the expectations of the community as well as
554 those of the deceased and his relatives. The mature children of a man who
627
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756 sulted with each other to determine who was bringing in the heat. They
731 privately disposed of the evil by causing the evildoer to die of an illness.
[E27] At the time of my stay, suspicion of the curers meant that a public hearing was held in the town hall to determine who the guilty person was; usually one of the curers themselves was suspected (Chapter 9).

756 The curers formerly demonstrated their beneficial power by bringing
796 rain during a fiesta held in the cave of the ancestors. This is described by
778 an informant:
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[794] *When the pueblo lacked rain in the growing season of corn in May and June, the leading curers went with the other curers, the fiscal, the alfereces, the mayordomos, and the women prayer-reciters to the cave. All the women carried candles of a peso or fifty-cent size and incense burners. They drank a great deal of liquor at the mouth of the cave and then entered to dance. The mayordomos played the guitar, the drum, and flute as the women danced and the curers prayed to the me?tiktatik. There used to be a spring in this cave, people say, and the ancestors granted water from it when they were given a fiesta.*

The last fiesta for rain occurred about 1950. The whole town contributed two pesos for the liquor and candles. The leading curer then was Juliano, a man recognized for his powers in curing and in bringing rain. He told the people that he spoke to the me?tiktatik who, he said, were dressed in the old style [a shirt worn over short cotton pants still used by older men of the town, and the handwoven hat worn by alfereces today]. The curers told the people that it would rain, and the afternoon of the fiesta, it came down hard.

178 There is no longer faith that the ancestors live in the cave, nor that the
769 present curers could speak to them if they did.
756

The growing discontent with the curers, the suspicion that they are re-
756 sponsible for much of the witchcraft, is reflected in the account of an older
754 informant.
[178]

[774] *The curer O. K. told me that the curers ate the spirits of sick people who were going to die. The sick people would come to ask the curers for*

755 Sometimes a colicky baby
753 may become the focus of a curing ceremony designed to "cure" the conflict
593 between husband and wife. In one case, the parents of a healthy young
182 wife separated from her husband staged a curing ceremony to dramatize
578 her marital plight to the in-laws.

178 The breakdown of the curing hierarchy and the recruitment procedures
756 which were maintained by the elder leaders (see Chapter 10) has led to a
608 reevaluation of the role of the curers in the community. They have lost
754 their position as me'iltatil representing the ancestors who guard over the
[627] community. Curers are increasingly being accused of sorcery, and over ten of them have been killed in the past decade as witches (Nash, J. 1967). Paradoxically, it is the belief in their evil power which leads to their persisting role in the society. Clients feel that the more evil the curer is, the more able he is to combat evil. In a community dominated by belief in witchcraft, they are both feared and valued for their ability to control it. From a position as arbiters of morality, they have become the chief targets as deviants from the moral code. Despite the loss of confidence in curers as guardians, they are still called upon to fight the evil of witchcraft, and nearly every day a ritual is performed. The regimen of the curing ritual has not been upset by the undermining of the curers' position. Tied to a
[755 diagnostic system emphasizing the state of the patient's social relations, the
208] same procedures are carried out even when modern medicines are used.

753 In curing practices, the Indian sees himself as the key figure in the
156 drama of his own self-victimization. His illnesses come from within his own world, usually from within his family or close neighborhood. They are a mark of guilt for having excited the envy or hatred of associates. While the Indian is often portrayed in the role of passive victim to outside domination, in his own self-projection he sees himself dominated by powers within the community. Greater participation and equality in the wider society may in the future release him from these fear-provoking figures in his own environment.

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view of the case by the judges and the other civil authorities, the president would have the suspected witch locked up in the local jail and then give the key to his enemy. The following story illustrates this procedure: 683 621

When we were still part of the township of Teopisca [sometime before 1931] F. went and asked permission of the authorities to kill his enemy, a curer, whom he thought was bewitching his brother-in-law. The president arrived at the house of the suspected witch with the order to imprison him. He said that they were going to Teopisca to put him in jail. The group of authorities set off with the suspected witch. On the way another group met them and asked them where they were going. The President replied, "To Teopisca." The group which had encountered them asked them if they would like a drink to "heat their body." They gave one cup and then another. They then cut up the suspected witch with a machete and put his body in the cave of me?tiktatik that goes to Chiapa de Corzo. When the widow enquired the next day where her husband was, the president said that the man must have gone to the finca.

After telling this story, my informant concluded, "Therefore, little by little, the pueblo is getting better because we scared the curers with the permission of the president to kill them." He felt that this was the point at which the power of the curers, who were more and more frequently being accused as witches, was broken. [829]

While the usual course of action, once a man was accused of witchcraft, was to kill him so that there would be no danger of revenge, the following case illustrates punishment by beating. 756 627 [683]

The time was 1935. There was a very bad curer who stole much cattle. One man who heard that he had stolen his cattle wanted to kill him, but the curer met the man and killed him in an old house. The town authorities seized the curer and forced him to pay one thousand pesos for the bull. The principales punished him by tying him to a tree and beating him five or six times. They beat him well for the town. After they beat him they brought him to prison in San Cristóbal and gave him over to the Ministerio Publico to arrange the case. He did not return to the pueblo but went to another place. In five years he returned to his pueblo.

756 627 *When he arrived here, he did not hear any word that they would kill him. He persisted in his custom of stealing. And the pueblo seized him and put him in prison. The whole town seized him although he had heard no word.*

They tied him to a tree and said to him, "You do not have shame. You are a curer, father of the pueblo, [respect term for curer], and yet you behaved badly and truly stole. The town sees you are a bad man, Emilio. They call you their father, but now I am going to tell you that you ought not to be called father. You're a bad one."

He wanted to be called father, but he was only a bad one. He returned again to San Cristóbal because of two crimes. He did not hear the words. He remained in prison, and when he came out someone else came and killed him.

756 682 178 Since 1938, nine of the thirty-seven homicide cases on which I collected data (Table 29) were killings of curers. The increasing frequency of such killings reveals the loss of faith in the guardianship role of the curers, but along with this, retention of belief in their power to work evil.

731 756 754 627 621 In the series of successful confrontations, the civil authority has gained strength and overcome some of the fear of the people. In May 1964, during a severe contagion of measles, a rumor started that the disease was being spread because of witchcraft. The president called together the curers. The consensus of this gathering was that a certain curer of Alannantik had buried the "heat" which was causing the deaths in the milpa of his enemy. The people of Alannantik gathered with the curers and the civil officials in the milpa of the "enemy" to dig it out. The curers dug out a charcoal brazier which is the sign of illness and threw it in the Cave of the Star. [683] That evening the suspected witch was killed, presumably by his neighbors.

756 621 627 754 In the most recent confrontation between the civil authorities and an individual curer, in March 1966, the civil authorities showed a united front in denouncing the use of witchcraft to threaten any official. The entire group of practicing curers from both sides of the dual division were called to witness the denunciation before the assembled civil officials in the town hall. The only one absent was the curer accused of attempting to cut short the life of the president because of envy of his position. The assembled

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 248]

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TABLE 29. Time, Victim, Suspects, Crime, and Outcome in Selected Homicide Cases, 1938–1965

	Victim				
	Curer or other	*Age*	*Killer*	*Suspected crime of victim*	*Outcome*
1938 *	Other	50	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one apprehended
1945	Other	65	Drinking companions	Drunken quarrel	Two companions went to jail
1946	Curer	48	Brothers: 1 elder, 2 younger	Witchcraft	One brother went to jail for five years
1946 *	Other	38	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one complained to authorities
1946	Curer	45	Unknown	Witchcraft	No punishment; no suspect apprehended
1946	Curer	50	Unknown	Witchcraft	Wife of victim complained, but no witness would testify
1958	Curer	27	Father of boy who had died of witchcraft	Witchcraft	Before dying, dead man revealed name of killer. Wife reported it to authorities, but no action taken
1960 *	Other	60	Son-in-law	Witchcraft	Son-in-law fled town
1960	Other	24	Cattle owners' paid killer	Stole cattle	Released killer on bail
1960	Curer	60	Brother-in-law	Witchcraft	No one apprehended
1961	Curer	70	Neighbors	Witchcraft	Neighbors, who felt he was responsible for contagion, were not apprehended
1961 *	Other	30	Wife's brother	Very abusive, fought when drunk	Suspect fled town

(*cont.*)

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	Victim Curer or other	Age	Killer	Suspected crime of victim	Outcome
1961 *	Other	45	Neighbors	Witchcraft	No one apprehended
1961 *	Other	37	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one apprehended; wife agreed he was a witch
1962	Other	18	Rival for girl	Fought over girl	No one accused
1962	Other	20	Cattle owners' paid killer	Stole cattle	Went to jail but released on bail
1962	Other	35	Brother-in-law	Revenge for death of brother; political conflict	Killer declared he had killed, paid fine and was released
1962 *	Other	20	Rival for girl	Fought over girl	No one accused
1962 *	Other	50	Leader of cattle association	Stole cattle	Unknown
1963 *	Curer	36	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one apprehended, but victim's brother tried to find killer
1963	Curer	45	Indian of neighboring town whom victim had accused of witchcraft	False accusation	No action taken
1963 *	Other	Unknown	Drinking companions	Barroom brawl	One of assailants went to jail, and other two bailed out
1963	Other	70	Sons of a man whom he was accused of having killed	Witchcraft	No action taken
1964 *	Other	30	Killer paid by victim's brothers	Stole cattle	Brother fled town but jailed when he returned
1964 *	Other	34	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one accused
1964	Other	30	Ladino liquor distiller of another town	Denounced distiller to authorities	No action taken

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	Victim: Curer or other	Victim: Age	Killer	Suspected crime of victim	Outcome
1964	Other	30	Brothers	Witchcraft	One brother fled; other put in jail but he claimed first brother did it
1964	Curer	65	Neighbors	Witchcraft in contagion	No action taken
1964	Other	22	Close friend of victim, hired by cattle owners	Stole cattle	Killer freed on bail
1965	Other	45	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one accused
1965 *	Other	45	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one apprehended
1965	Other	42	Unknown	Unknown	No one accused
1965	Other	27	Brother-in-law	Had relations with 14-year-old sister-in-law	Brother-in-law tried but not sufficient evidence
1965 *	Other	35	Unknown	Stole cattle and corn	No action taken
1965	Other	42	Son by first marriage	Failed to provide dowery; also witchcraft	Widow spread rumors against step-son, but insufficient evidence
1965	Other	20	Rival for brother's girl	Mistaken identity—brother's rival took him for competitor	Unknown

* Occurred during a fiesta.

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group walked to the hill where the curer had been reported practicing his witchcraft. There they collected the evidence: fourteen candles of all colors, crosses of wire placed on a photograph, and a gourd. The curers present lifted the evidence and threw it in the river to get rid of the evil. A transcription of the proceedings in the town hall is given below:

President: "We are gathered together here because something which is not good has happened. See here, Tatinel [*to the leading curer*], *we do not know if it is witchcraft or not."*

First Curer Feliciano, of Yetawitz: "The old men [*elder curers*] *have pulsed our children. All the pueblo has helped. We have just brought in the candles. He is a very bad witch. We walked out there and we found it. For this we have gathered together, but if there is an owner of the witchcraft, we have not heard."*

Second Curer Emilio, of Alannantik: "But this owner is not good. Thus spoke my compadre. This is not good. So my compadre and Mam Pelise [*Feliciano, first curer to speak*] *have spoken. Whoever did it has not advised us. The ancestors did not want this. Now who wants it? Who speaks with the holy word? You do not announce whether it is a curer or whether it is or not. We do not know where it is or what it is that he did. But when someone does give an illness, it is a good custom to see where this comes from. This we do not know. It is for this we went to the cave to know where he found it."*

President: "Therefore we had to look for it and see who did it; whether it is someone who knows how to do both witchcraft and curing. But he will pay here in the presidency for what he did, because we are going to announce it, we are going to reveal the crime. Now your hearts are content and truly you cannot do it. Now we know a little, compadre. Truly we have seen and know where it [*the magic*] *was kept."*

Feliciano: "Now you speak a little to God who gave his little child. And what if tomorrow you should come? Now is the time we speak to God, we speak to the Virgin Mother. Don't kill and don't give suffering. Better not do anything. Please don't do anything at night; please do nothing as I have told you. Thus your children [*the younger curers*] *have*

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heard our hearts. The people will hear that we didn't do anything. The true curers looked. We came to the place and we found it." 756 621

The curers left the town hall, one by one, saying the pat?o?tan to the judges as they left. The judges remained. 627 754

President: "We have heard clearly what we waited here to hear. They have brought back a little soda."

Judge: "So it is for your work [referring to the soda], what you went to do there [in the hills]."

President: "It is good what you did, but you are afraid because of that." Judges laugh.

The curers in public performances nominally recognize as leading curers the two major speakers for the group, Feliciano of Yetawitz and Emilio of Alannantik. However, these men are not recognized as true leaders. Feliciano lives in the despised barrio of Yetawitz and is associated with the kurikétik, (the inhabitants of the colonia of San Vicente), while Emilio himself has been accused of witchcraft. But the situation required someone to represent the group from each side, and so there was compliance with this temporary role. 756 621

In the public gathering, the curers refrained from accusing anyone, and denied that they had knowledge of the witch. The older curer (not recognized as leader but serving in the place of an elder) warned the group not to kill anyone as a result of the meeting. That evening, the president and his brother announced on the loudspeaker of the cantina that they did know who was trying to murder the president, that it was the curer who was absent, and that he should desist. The curer responded by announcing on another cantina loudspeaker that he was innocent. On the following day, the accused appeared in the town hall with two family-sized bottles of beer. He said that he did not want the president to continue accusing him, since he was not guilty and had truly been sick. (He had consulted the I.N.I. clinic nurse rather than one of his colleagues and had received treatment for a headache. This was commented upon by his opponents, who interpreted it as showing his lack of faith in traditional curing practices.) 756 754 621 627 [156]

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The open confrontation by the civil authorities with the suspected witch, in which they warned him to stop before violence resulted, represents a new strategy in the contest between officials and curers. Formerly even when there was strong suspicion against a man, the principales and judges kept quiet. If they acted, it was to kill the suspect without forewarning. The new strategy reveals the position of strength from which they now operate. That the president could joke in the town hall about the fear of the judges in dealing with the accused curer (see his final remark above) is indicative of a changed attitude. Incidents such as that of the curer consulting the clinic nurse instead of his fellow curers, which was noted and commented upon by the brother of the president, may further serve to undermine the townspeople's belief in the power of the curers.

In the weeks following the incident, the president and his brother discussed the incident, pointing out their fearlessness in openly confronting the witch. The curers clearly tried to deny any responsibility as a group with the remark: "Whoever did it did not advise us." They expressed the feeling that it is against professional ethics: "Whoever did it is a very bad witch"; but they refuse to name him or admit knowledge of who did it. "We do not know where it is or what it is that he did." The behavior of the curers in this incident is clearly defensive and stems from their loss of control and initiative.

Political Parties and Factions

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In 1950 the first contest for the post of president was started by two brothers who had secured the backing of the Partido Acción Nacional (PAN). Never before had anyone initiated his own candidacy outside the traditional nomination procedure through the old officials in the town hall. The brothers lived in the new barrio of Yut Hok, the ejido land grant of Ahk'olnantik. The candidacy disturbed the customary alternation of posts between Ahk'olnantik and Alannantik. Threatened by the imbalance, the leaders of Alannantik secured the backing of the Partido Revolucionario Institutionalizado (PRI) for their candidate. The PAN candidate won the election. However, he was never able to consolidate political sup-

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"gift of the gods," liquor, to the party whose interests have been slighted. 273
This is done in the case of a suitor who is asking for a woman of the 431
other side of the dual division; he gives the bachelors of that side a gar- 584
rafón of liquor in compensation for the loss of a potential mate. Liquor 621
has become a substitute for the sacrifice of a child by a man being initiated 756
into the curing profession. Informal offerings of liquor may be made be- 782
tween neighbors or relatives who have been fighting with each other. Liq- 627
uor is a kind of universal social solvent in disputes, and figures impor- 692
tantly in court cases which are always terminated in a drinking session. 578

Another technique is simply a payment in money to compensate for 626
damages. In some homicide cases, the payment of "blood money" has com- 682
pensated the family of the victim to avoid legal action. This is never done, 754
however, if the community agrees that the victim was a witch. Payment of fines in court is another such form of compensation. These payments or offerings minimize the bloodshed or personal involvement in conflictual relations. Payment by the man judged guilty will ensure his reincorporation into his customary place in the community without stigma.

While it is impossible to elicit from informants a theory of roles, 554
it is possible to formulate the principles underlying roles. These are 12
deduced from behavioral observations and from evaluations made of the performances of others. They can be summarized in the following 554
propositions: 156

1. There is a clear separation between role and role-bearer. This is seen most clearly in the passage through civil and religious offices with a minimum of "halo" effect. It is also found in the situation of household officials whose authority in directing affairs within a household ceases when the ceremony in which they officiate is over. The separation 621
ensures flexibility in a closed social system, enabling people to shift from 182
one role to another. It also permits continuity in a system which requires an almost complete turnover of personnel each year.

2. Function performed is separate from role in which it is per- 554
formed. This applies even in those roles which are designated on the basis of the most important function required of the performer, for example woman speaker, liquor measurer, and basket carrier. All of

Appendix 1

Settlement of Domestic Cases

A. House Arrangement of Separation

The following transcription of a tape recording concerns the house arrangement of a domestic dispute involving Alberta, the niece and adopted daughter of Mariano. She left her husband and returned to Mariano's home with her one-year-old child because of her husband's abusive treatment. Mariano invited all of the members of the betrothal party, as well as the maliwanehetik who had assisted in the marriage negotiations and Victorio, Alberta's husband. The leader of the betrothal negotiations was unable to attend because he had been drinking all day at another betrothal party. The arrangement proceeded with the padrino of the wedding, Pablo, and Alvino, Victorio's uncle and another elder in the betrothal negotiations, leading the discussion. I asked Mariano to tape the session so that my presence would not be an interference. In the joking session, the tape recorder became a target for the men's humor when, trying to replay it, they found that one section had not recorded clearly.

Pablo opened the discussion by asking the errant husband's elder representative, Feliciano, if the family wanted to take the girl back. Feliciano agreed that that was their purpose in coming, and that they must hear what happened to cause the dispute between the couple. Maria, the foster mother of Alberta, summarized their complaints against Victorio and his family.

Maria: *It is almost as though the child [Alberta's year-old daughter] has no father. We have been feeding her because we have had to support both of them. When the child became sick with diarrhea the father did nothing to help.*
Pablo: *Yes, we have to think of that. The child was frightened by her father and became ill.*
Maria: *When he came to our house, he fought Alberta, and the child was ill. Alberta went to the courthouse to complain about his behavior.*
Pablo: *It couldn't be arranged in the courthouse. It is better to settle the dispute here in the house.*

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C27 Maria: *Whenever he came to see her, he was drunk and came in fighting.*
593 Victorio: *It is a lie. I came, but I was not only fighting. I wasn't always very*
578 *drunk. I came there sober to speak to you. I asked about how my wife was.*
126 *Then I went to see my uncle in Grandeza. He told me that if he couldn't order*
586 *her to come, then I better come here to hear what is said. When I went there, I was sober. I brought two bottles of beer. He said, "Ah, it is you," when I arrived at his house. "Come in and sit down." I sat down. I took off the cap of the beer and measured it out. "What have you come to say?" he asked me. "I am unhappy, father," I said. "What has happened to you?" he said. "I went to see Alberta," I said. He asked me if I had beaten her, and I said, "No, we only spoke a few words."*

Santia: *But if you hadn't hit her, why would she have come back to her father's house?"*

Victorio: *I only wanted to come to an understanding with her.*

Alvino: *So it is, you came to speak to me.*

Victorio: *It was in order to arrive at an understanding as you had told me. But I didn't succeed then.*

Alvino: *You didn't succeed in what you wanted?*

Victorio: *No, nothing.*

Alvino: *Well, when nothing happened, you could have gone later to ask with good words.*

Victorio: *I returned late in the afternoon. I had been drinking a little beer, and I was a little drunk. My father-in-law came with me. He had a fourth of liquor inside his shirt. We arrived at prayertime. My father-in-law was in the church since he was mayordomo at the time. We came in good faith to hear what was wrong.*

Mariano: *But then he came another time. I had gone to hot country to work. He came to the house and wanted to break it. He pulled out two of the tiles in the gate and entered. That was his crime.*

Victorio's father: *That wasn't good. You shouldn't go drunk when you can't understand anything.*

Maria: *We are not at fault. We spoke to him with good words. We told him he could take his wife.*

Elder woman of Victorio's family: *We told him he ought not to come when he was drunk.*

Pablo: *But now he wants to change for the better. You ought not to drink. It is better to eat meat and vegetables, and find corn and beans for your wife and child. Now we have arranged it, and you can take your wife and child to your house.*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Mariano took out cigarettes, and the group relaxed as all lit up the cigarettes and smoked. They discussed my tape recorder as they listened to the tape replayed. When they came to the section that did not record well, they decided that they should take it out and urinate on it. One man suggested that they should put it in prison, and another said that they should shoot it. This provoked general laughter. They went on to discuss the smoking habits of Ladinos. Pablo remarked that Ladino lawyers do nothing but sit in their offices and talk and smoke. Mariano and Victorio's father joked a great deal, the latter maintaining that Pablo had threatened to castrate him. This was picked up by Pablo who said that then Mariano would be a madrina to his godmother, Martina (the woman speaker in the betrothal negotiations). This provoked a great deal of laughter among the women. They then joked with Mariano about Pablo's other madrina, a Ladina from the neighboring town who sells the blood of slaughtered bulls. They refer to her as *me? Skitsoo,* the fat one. Mariano remarked to the women that Victorio's father must be a witch, and someone would try to kill him on the road. The conversation turned from the danger of going alone in the woods to a discussion of hunting. Feliciano bragged that he had an excellent hunting dog which he bought from a Ladino and which he referred to as "the Ladino dog." Mariano asked what Ladino they bought it from, but Feliciano denied knowledge of who the man was. They suggested it was nothing but a Huistecan Indian who changed his clothing. The joking and drinking continued until midnight, when the assembled company finally broke up. The next day Alberta went to live with her husband in the new house he had built.

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B. Court Arrangement of Separation

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Persons present:

Judge
Father of Plaintiff
Mother of Plaintiff
Plaintiff
Husband of Plaintiff
Regidor
President

This case concerns a husband who had been separated from his wife and wished a settlement so that she would return to him. The man had been married before, and he occasionally returned to his first wife. When he got drunk,

621
627 Many cases of adultery never go outside the fences of the sitio, and many witchcraft cases come to the Ayuntamiento only after a murder has been committed in "revenge," in which case the Ayuntamiento is only called in to re-establish order and calm down the relatives of the deceased, trying to avoid further revenge and bloodshed.

794
776 The Mayordomos, on the other hand, have no control over the household Saints which are "owned" by each family and kept in the house in a special altar, nor do they relate directly, within the Church organization, to the many supernatural beings which populate the belief system of the villagers. The "owners of the hills," spirits which inhabit the caves, rivers and wells, the mythological creatures such as the Sombrerón (frightening ghost which appears to tempt people in isolated spots) or Juan Lopez (the local culture hero), and the evil and powerful souls of witches
794 are in a separate domain. These can be controlled only by the
624 curanderos, who have powerful souls, or by the principales. This
774 last group (principales) is also "in charge" of taking care of
776 the health of the village, and do so by having their own souls patrol the boundaries of the community at night and by forbidding entrance to sickness and plagues. The men capable of such supernatural performances "own" animal spirits (nahuales) which help them in their task. Mayordomos, on the contrary, can be men without such powers, and do not need to belong to the select group which deals with the supernatural outside the realms specified by the Catholic Church.

000 The communal offices of the Ayuntamiento and Mayordomías

621 The government in the communities of Aguacatenango and Amatenango is highly "democratic," meaning by this term two things: (1) The decisions of the governing officials have to be in agreement with the community desires, and it cannot take steps which contradict the written code of rules (norms) or force villagers to spend money, goods or labor outside the areas of maintenance of outside the community. In ultimate instance, the community can overrule the Ayuntamiento, replace particular officers or deny rights to the total body to carry out certain decisions which are against the will of the majority of house heads. Before any important decision is passed, the officers investigate its possible acceptance among the village men, and they would not take steps until there is a margin of security that their word or orders will be taken by them in good will. The officers' concern [627] with the justice of their performance is quite important for them personally, because although a man enjoys immunity while he holds a cargo, he can be threatened with death at the end of his year of service. These threats are delivered by anonymous messages left at the Cabildo (House of the Ayuntamiento) door, specifying the reasons for discontent. Many a presidente municipal has been murdered for trying to introduce into his village some innovation [754] to which the villagers were opposed. Besides direct threats, there is also the "possibility" of being bewitched while not in office.

[565] (2) The second reason why the community government can [602] be called democratic is that there is no ruling class, as in most Mexican-Ladino towns, nor any special kinship group in charge of the town affairs. A man cannot transmit his political power to

621 183 (prideful and authoritarian with equals) and commit other misdemeanors against the village norms.

621 156 Individuals as well as families can be accused of having a "bad heart" or "small heart." In a sense, any social deviant (even a person who possesses peculiar physical characteristics) can be accused of having a "small heart," and, therefore, of being a witch if he abuses his political power while in office, or gets involved in deals with Ladinos, or refuses to spend his capital in community enterprises (not only by refusing cargos, but even if he insists on not paying a limosna).

• 627 754 If an individual is considered a witch, the villagers can try to get rid of him by bewitching him in exchange, and this failing (witches, they think, are difficult to attack because they have powerful souls), can be "condemned" to death. Murders which are witchcraft "revenge" cases occur regularly in the communities. Vengeance against witchcraft is a community affair. If a man develops a reputation as a witch, he knows he cannot count on the support of anybody. Fear and hatred isolate him and his family. He knows that he can be killed, and has to do everything possible to counter-attack the slow but certain build-up of village antagonism which will end in his death, at the most propitious occasion.

The usual procedure in eliminating a witch is for several men, usually those who for particular reasons (such as several recent deaths in their households) feel that they have been personally attacked by the witch, to agree on killing him. This is done in secret, but even then they try to insure, by subtle

627 754 questioning of other men, that after the murder the community would take their side. If a man is killed, and community understanding accepts that he was a witch, no individual is identified publicly as the instrument of communal revenge. Solid community [593] silence accepts the verdict. Even the family of the deceased has to make a public rejection of the dead witch, or else they risk being forced to leave town, having their house burned, or similar misfortunes. That is to say, they have to publicly establish their innocence by expressing their lack of identification with the witch. Of course, not all conflict is always expressed in witchcraft terms. Witchcraft is, in a sense, the ultimate recourse for the explanation or settlement of disputes when all other means have failed to accomplish the re-establishment of social harmony. 578 If one man fights with another in a drunken brawl, for example, 627 he will try, when sober, to make peace with him, rather than let [754] the other man's antagonism become a reason for witchcraft against him. He can try to settle the conflict personally, or the kinsmen of both parties can do it; the case can be taken up by the Ayuntamiento where the man found guilty would pay a fine, and both 627 parties would be lectured on the dangers of quarrelling. Metzger 578 and Kauffman (1961) transcribed and reported one informant's speech which states the case very neatly:

[625] Thus, the mayores, the police, are appointed by the town. You should not quarrel; it is not for the fun of it that they [the town authorities] will come and get you if you look for trouble. They have the commandment of the agente municipal. They have the commandment of the juez municipal, because you have looked for trouble. You will go to jail for one or two days. Then your head and heart will calm down if you did it because of liquor. In clearheadedness you will enter into judgement. If the misdeed is small, the punishment will be

•627 578 small; you will leave having paid five or ten pesos. You will forgive each other. If the misdeed is large, then you will give twenty-five or thirty pesos as your fine, so that we can give something to him who has been injured by you. We will cure him, so that he gets well, so that he may not die. Then he also will give pardon. But if we do not cure him, if we do not give medicine to the one you have hit, then you will quarrel, then his heart will be angered. Because here we have two kinds of misdeeds. He who is evil will do [754] witchcraft. He who does not know witchcraft will give pardon. But he who is evil if he sends sickness to you, then if you get sick, if you die, it is because you did not obey the commandment.

I say this because I am a principal, I am a father [of the town]. I advise you so that the town will go forth in happiness, and in happiness we will increase in our gatherings in the town. But if you are evil, we will not increase, our children will not grow, because there are evil people, there is sickness, there is death from him who knows witchcraft. He who does not know it uses bullets and will kill you that way. Why? Because you sent sickness. So I speak to you thus. Happy, in peace, do not quarrel. It is better.

626 556 The important aspect of witchcraft as a sanctioning pro- [754] cedure is in relation to the distribution of wealth in the community.

A man can accumulate a certain amount of money as long as [454] he is willing to share it with others and spend it in culturally accepted ways, such as buying cohetes for a fiesta, giving a house party for the Saint in the house altar and inviting many [186] villagers, etc. But he cannot simply save it without being accused of miserliness; spend it all in building too large or too different a house without being accused of being embarrassed of his Indianess (of which he should be proud); nor can he invest in businesses which are not the traditional economic activities of the Indian without the fierce criticism of his fellow villagers. There is, then, a top limit to the accumulation of wealth imposed not only by the environmental and technological factors, but by

626 556 the few economic alternatives offered to an Indian who wants to live an Indian life among other Indians, in peace. In this sense, Amatenangueros and Aguacatecos are no "penny capitalists" of the type described by Sol Tax (1953). But it is also true that, like the Panajachel Indians, they desire to have more for themselves and their children: money for security against sickness, death, [146] bad crops and other misfortunes. They also want better clothing, more meat in their diet (the amount of animal protein in their diet is extremely small by western standards) and small extra luxuries which have been introduced into their culture, little by little, by the local Ladino merchants: flashlights, mirrors, etc.

627 556 754 [731] Nevertheless, a wealthy man brings upon himself the antagonism of the other villagers, who, in search of a scapegoat during times of stress (such as a village epidemic) would not hesitate to accuse the rich man of being responsible for bringint the misfortune to the town because of his evil spirit, nor hesitate to kill him. Even if people find a man has a good crop, somebody can assume that, because his own crop failed, the other man has "stolen" the soul of his corn or if a man receives a large inheritance, somebody could accuse him of having killed (by witchcraft) the relative from who he inherited it. It takes a good deal of diplomatic skill and a strong control of the sources of gossip to manage to [753] keep oneself clear of such accusations. On the other hand, villagers are afraid of showing excessive wealth (according to community standards) unless they bring upon themselves the other face of witchcraft: supernatural sickness produced by envy. Even

•627 556 754 a man in good standing, if he has too many goods or money, may fear witchcraft because he "knows" that he is a good target for the envy of those who, possessing powerful and evil souls (nahuales), decide to bewitch him and make him sick or kill his children or ruin his next crop.

626 754 Thus, the belief in witchcraft operates at two levels: on the one hand the individual lives according to community norms so that he won't be accused of being a witch. On the other hand he lives according to community norms so that he cannot be bewitched.

754 Because witches attack supernaturally, sending out their animal souls while their human body is asleep, it is not possible to know, for certain, the originator of the sickness nor to protect oneself or others from its powers. There are no sorcery spells to counteract it, but people "know" that witches can, sometimes, put "bad medicines" into drinks while a man is drunk or leave little sticks on the road for the victim to step on and acquire the disease which has been sent because of envy. Everybody denies knowing how to bewitch, but everybody suspects others of being able to do it.

[753] One result of this set of beliefs is that the etiology of disease is thought of as being supernatural. Other misfortunes are also explained in metaphysical terms. Sickness is always present in the village, misfortunes do occur which cannot be predicted, and the villager "experiences," then, the effects of witchcraft in everyday life. Therefore, the threat of supernatural

613 476 [602] The patrilines function in several dimensions. Work groups, although invariably containing some bilateral and affinal relatives, recruit members mainly among agnatic kinsmen. Men fence their fields with the help of their brothers, father and sons; when villagers get together to buy a cow for a town fiesta celebration, each cow is bought by a group which contains agnatically related men. In one case, seventeen men who bought a cow together belonged to four patrilines which were neighbors among themselves. In another case, in which several men got together to build a house, nine were agnatic kinsmen, three were affinals (the son's wife's brother, the daughter's husband and the wife's brother), three were compadres and one a neighbor from across the street. The women who prepared the meal for the housewarming were: nine agnatically related to the household head; two agnatically related to the wife of the household head; three affinals of the household head; two affinals of the wife; and two neighbors. In another case, a man and his two sons, one of whom was living in a separate domestic group, helped in the construction, and several other men were contracted to help with the payment, although the daughter's husband, who was a carpenter, was called in to give advice and help.

613 621 476 [432]

[462]

613 476 626 627 Individuals, in time of trouble, seek advice from the elders of the patriline, which is the largest unit in which kinship solidarity functions as a controlling social force outside the domestic group. The patriline also exercises control in the form of moral pressure: gossip, accusations of witchcraft, and responsibility for vengeance when a patriline member has been

613 476 murdered. Informants declare that "all the Mendeztik will get
626 together against the Perezetik if a Perez kills a Mendez." We have
627 witnessed cases of "talk of revenge," but never any case of the
613 lineal solidarity functioning in this way in practice. In a case
736 where the father of a man dies, it is within the agnatic line that
a man finds a sponsor to live with, to pay his bride-price, and to
613 work the land with. If there is conflict over an adulterous wife,
837 or over the distribution of an inheritance among brothers, it is the
428 duty of the elder members of the agnatic line to give advice, witness the distribution of the property, etc.

613 The patriline is not a land holding unit, in the sense that
423 there is no land that is said to belong to the line as a corporation, but the group of agnatically related men have control over the distribution of it, and its inheritance. If a man dies without adult sons, the closest agnatic kin (father, brother, or in some cases a father's brother if the other two are dead or have enough land) will take over the cultivated fields that he has left. According to the Mexican Agrarian Code, Eiido land can only be transmitted to people that live in the same domestic unit, and communal land cannot be transmitted at all: at the death of the person who held usufruct rights over a parcel, the land should revert to the Ayuntamiento, which has the power to re-distribute it as it considers convenient. In practice, in Aguacatenango, if the household fails to provide heirs, the parcels (both eiido and communal) are re-allocated among agnatic kin. Therefore, although the patriline does not "own" land, some land is allocated through linearity.

Their slender-
147 ness is deceptive, for their great strength lies
[482] in their legs, back, and neck, seen in their ability to carry loads of 45 kilograms (100 lbs.) and upwards, all day up and down hill without
142 undue fatigue . . . Hair form is straight, coarse, and black. Gray hair or baldness are very unusual. Body hair, as far as could be observed, is negative.

143 As many as 99.56 per cent of Tzeltal belong to blood type O, which is one of the highest frequencies registered in the Ma-
143 yance area. According to Matson and Swan-
144 son (1959, p. 50), "In general the more isolated peoples such as the Lacandon, Tzeltal, Tzotzil and Cakchiquel show the highest frequency of the O gene." This condition is attributed to the absence of racial mixture.

CULTURAL CONFIGURATION

621 Like the Indians in the highlands of Gua-
[171] temala (Tax, 1937), the Tzeltal group themselves in communities which are distinct social and cultural units, as is characteristic
621 of the tribe. Each community has its well-
184 defined lands, its own dialect forms, wearing apparel, kinship system, politico-religious organization, economic resources, crafts, and other cultural features. Any native of the region finds it easy to identify the origin of other Indians by noting their speech, wearing apparel, or the goods they
621 sell. Solidarity between the members of each community is strong and becomes manifest in times of conflict with outside groups or in their way of gathering according to their "nationality" on fiestas or market days when people of other communities attend. On the other hand, no ethnic solidar-
[628] ity whatsoever exists. Each community restricts itself to its own affairs and nothing else; whatever happens to the other Tzeltal communities is something altogether apart.
621 The territorial limits of these communi-
632 ties do not always coincide with those of
[171] the municipalities, as in Guatemala. Various well-defined communities exist (in the terms described above) which belong to
[P. 197-A]

778 natural elements (hail, wind, storms),
821 which often threaten and destroy the corn-
823 fields.

Distribution of Huts

621 In the parajes as well as in the centers the tendency to cluster huts in patrilineal nuclei is strong. One perceives this tendency also where lineage or clan ties still persist (Oxchuc).

[594] The majority of households consist of the elementary family, a couple and their
342 offspring. The habitations include a hut,
343 which serves as dormitory and kitchen, plus
[417] chickencoop, pigpen, and, sometimes, the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths.
343 Among industrious families another small hut serves exclusively as a kitchen. Seldom
417 does a fence separate this nucleus from its neighbors, but it may protect a vegetable patch from animals. In the capital, however, each family must fence its lot.

Relationships between Communities

628 Communities establish commercial and other ties according to their ecological distribution and cultural condition. In the southern zone, Amatenango and Aguacatenango form a kind of unit, based on physical proximity and cultural affinity. Their residents meet frequently at the Sunday market of Teopisca. In the central zone, Oxchuc, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Tenango, which more or less share ways of life and natural environment, form another informal association, contacts resulting from the weekly markets of Tenejaya and Yochib. In the northern zone, Sitala and Guaquitepec form another unit. Ocosingo, Chilon, and Yajalon are centers of commercial and political importance, occupied largely by Ladinos but used as trade centers by Indians throughout the northern zone.

412 TECHNOLOGY

Tools and Techniques

Farming tools are the most important: axe

[P 205-B]

131 the Guatemala border, which it overlaps at Gracias á Dios. They
101 do not reach the highest part of the mountains. For the most part, they live in isolated tribal groups, although in some places, notably in Ocosingo Valley, they are attached to *haciendas* and *fincas*. Much of the easternmost country marked in the maps as belonging to them and the Chol is actually uninhabited wilderness, or, if occupied at all, is Lacandone territory.

101 Their immediate neighbours of the Highlands are the Zotzil and
197 Chaneabal. The former speak a language differentiated from Tzeltal only by a shift of *a, e,* and *b* to Zotzil *o, i,* and *m*, respectively.* Chaneabal is spoken by a small group near Comitan. The people of that place say that the language is simply Tzeltal influenced by Mames contact. The list given in Appendix III, seems to bear this out. To the north, and around Tumbalá, are the Chol Indians, whose language is quite distinct, but, of all the other Mayance tongues, probably the nearest to the Highland group.

197 The language itself has been variously named Cendal, Tzendal, Cendales, Tzental, and Tzeltal. I have taken the latter form, as it most nearly represents the Indians' own form, *ts'eltal*, varied in careless speech to *tceltal*. The villages are spoken of as tribes, because each one forms a separate, self-governing unit. There is no
197 evidence of cohesion within the language-group as a whole save
628 during certain periods of uprisings. Individual villages may resemble tribes of another speech more closely than they do those of
[104] their own. The Mexican spelling of Tzeltal names is given first, followed by the phonetic spelling (See Appendix III), and the translation, if known.

101 The Bachajon live on the threshold of the pine country. Their
[131] farms may be found hidden away in the thick jungle land of ma-
[137] hogany and palms, through which their little hidden trails lead to houses tucked away out of sight of alien travelers. Altogether, they
[161] are estimated at five thousand families, but it is doubtful whether evidences of more than fifty farms could be seen by one passing along the trail through the heart of their country. The capital, Bachajon Village, is among the pines. There, periodically, the
[648] Spaniards used to round them up, that they might be more easily policed, and for the benefit of the church established there. Once
[346] there was a fine, stone church and a neat Cabildo with white walls, colonnade, and tiled roof. Both have been wrecked by the Indians,
[344] apparently because they did not like to be reminded of alien domination, for from the wreckage of the old church, they took tiles to roof their new one, and they have a straw-thatched Cabildo for the Maestro, or government agent.

*Starr (1903) quoting Sanchez (1899).

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

The country near the village has been farmed out long ago; now the fields lie at a distance in the jungle. After every concentration, the Indians drift away again like blown smoke. Today most of the houses are rotten, sagging, with gaping doors. The paths are grown up with weeds, huge, old moss-covered crosses lean at crazy angles by the main trails. Over all broods the frame of the sacked church, huge stone walls with rank vegetation around them, and a twisted, unhealthy oak-tree on one side, like a composition by Piranesi.

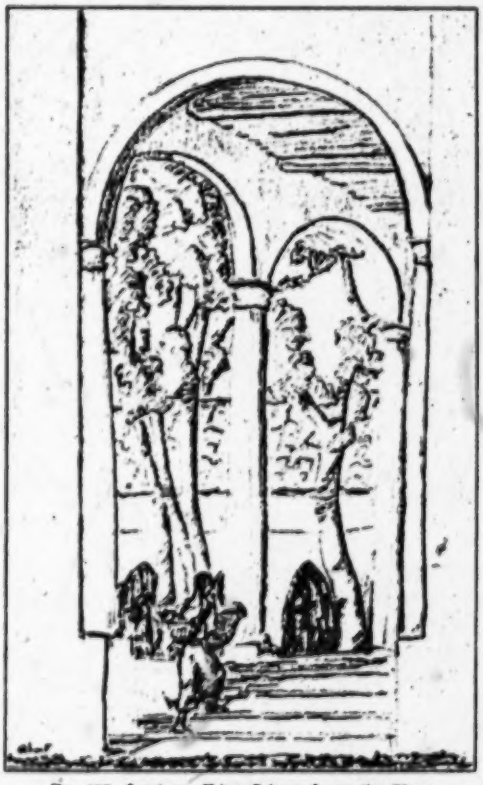

FIG. 277—Ocosingo, Chis. Colonnade on the Plaza.

Ocosingo Valley and its neighbours furnish a transition towards the real highlands. The valleys are fertile and green, ringed in with ranges of steep, rich hills. The soil in the lower parts is light; here palms and pines grow together, with a luxuriance of rich grass that makes an ideal grazing country. Through the valleys are large and small ranches of Ladinos and old Spanish families. The bigger ones, such as San Antonio, Quechil, and Achin in the Ocosingo Valley, San José Reforma and El Real beyond the San José Pass, and Tecojá in its own valley, each has a village of Indian labourers attached to them. The natives' houses are rather better that the average, and often tile-roofed (fig. 278). The Indians of each ranch function more or less as a tribe, governed by the owner of the ranch, conducting their own worship at its chapel. A few Indians own scattered, independent farms. Sivacá (*sivak ha'*, "Gunpowder Water"), near Ocosingo on the trail to Tenango, is a true village, self-governing, with its own *alcalde*, under the supervision of a Ladino *maestro*. All these groups come together at

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

628
796 certain times of the year for ceremonies, such as those at Chakalchib, and formerly at Campomtik, to be mentioned later. The Bachajon hold their own ceremonies at their village.

141 Physically, the Tzeltal, like all the Mayance Indians, are short, averaging probably about 160 centimeters (5 feet, 4 inches) for the
142 men, and slightly less for the women. Their build is slender, with stringy muscles, except for a good development of the calves. Hands and feet are small and well-formed. Their slenderness is
147 deceptive, for their great strength lies in their legs, back, and neck, seen in their ability to carry loads of 45 kilograms (100 lbs.) and upwards, all day up and down hill without undue fatigue. Taking in a tump-line a load under which they cannot rise from the floor.

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FIG. 276—Finca Tecujá, Chis. Houses of Indians attached to the Finca.

147 without help, they will carry it with ease. The lifting power of their arms is less than that of Americans or Ladinos. Their headform is
142 meso- to brachycephalic, and the cranium is small. Deformation in
[304] the shape of a marked depression just above the juncture of the hair-line and the forehead, due to the use of a tump-line from early infancy, may be responsible for the conical appearance of the top of the skull. Noses are, on the whole, mesorrhine and small, with little appearance of the famous "Maya Nose," and then in a narrow form, lacking the width of nostril seen in pre-historic figures. Prognathism is slight, alveolar proganthism being the more common, particularly in children. Hair form is straight, coarse, and black. Gray hair or baldness are very unusual. Body hair, as far as could be observed,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

out by a small group bearing a grudge, although in this case the 648
tribe as a whole stands more solidly back of the offenders.

The Bachajon exhibit internal dissension and strife to an un- 628
usual degree. There are many small, outlying sub-groups, some of which are more or less openly at war with the main body. In the description of Zona Sala oil camp (Chapter VIII) something has already been said of the settlement there of men driven away on account of the misbehaviour. They still call themselves Bachajon and maintain some slight intercourse with the tribe, although they are quite inimical in their attitude towards Indians passing through on the way to Palenque. There are other such settlements in different parts of the jungle, although these, having most recently split off, are the most hostile.

What group loyalty the Bachajon have centers around the de- 621
serted village that bears their name. It was described at the begin- 609
ning of this chapter. Founded under compulsion, deserted whenever possible, its church and Cabildo in ruins, none the less it is their focal point, jealously guarded from intrusion. These Indians have had the same experience as our own; the European comes first as a visitor, then a few settle for trade, then comes a host in their footsteps, until soon there is no place for the Indian, and he finds himself an intruder in his own home. Against this sequence of events, so common in our history, the Bachajon protect their land by an attitude of unremitting hostility. Travellers may pass through, but no trader may set up even a lean-to bower under which to display his wares, save during the few days of their main fiestas, although it would be a great convenience for them to have a store nearer than Ocosingo.

The destruction of the Spanish-built church and Cabildo, with 829
the substitution for them of native edifices, is curious. The feeling probably is that when they do congregate in their capital for a fiesta, they do not wish to be confronted by evidences of alien domination.

The strongest actual unit is that of the individual family, the 593
man, his wife, and children. Indians who are forced, for one reason 594
or another, to go into hiding in the jungle, will run great risks to return and fetch their wives and children. Even beyond this smallest 602
group there is a little feeling, a man's relatives by marriage or blood 627
often joining to support him in a feud, or to revenge a wrong done him. Similarly, the relatives of the individual who committed the [672]
wrong are held in some degree liable to punishment, although there is no formal rule of collective responsibility, the action taken depending largely on individual inclination.

hilltop with a digging stick. He knelt and prayed, asking for rain. At that very moment, the rain came. He put the seeds in the holes he made, and from then on people have been planting in the hills.

Other saints are charged with providing rainfall. The saint of greatest importance in this respect is Santo Tomás, the patron saint of Oxchuk. Some Indians have gone to the church there to light a candle and ask for rain, and on their return the rains came. During an extended drought in August 1967, over one hundred people walked to Oxchuk to pray for rain. The people of Tzo?ontahal are somewhat bitter about the Oxchuqueños' neglect of Santo Tomás since over half of the town has converted to Protestantism. Whenever there is a drought, they blame it on the failure of the people of Oxchuk to take care of Santo Tomás.

In addition to the Catholic saints, the ancestor spirits help man to watch over the land. They are responsible for giving the rains in the planting period and early growing season. The fiesta on the Day of the Cross (Chapter 1) is primarily a plea for rain. Until the 1950s, the curers would hold a celebration at the Cave of the Ancestors to ask for rain during a drought. The waning belief in the presence of the ancestor spirits in the town has meant that there is less attention given to such fiestas. Some go to seek the ancestors in Chiapa de Corzo in the cave in which they are supposed to reside, as the following story illustrates:

One time my three brothers-in-law went to Chiapas to ask the ancestors for better crops. When they arrived there, nobody knew where the cave was. They said only a certain mayordomo there could find it.

Another time, two of the prayer-reciters went to the cave. They talked to the guard of the cave, saying, "May we speak to our ancestors?" The guard said, "Are you prepared? Did you bring two liters of trago? The ancestors like to drink."

The prayer-reciters went to get two liters of trago and all three drank it. While they were drinking, they saw a cow and chickens appear. The guardian said that if they came back in May with "food" for the ancestors —candles, incense, and firecrackers—they would get rich crops. I think the prayer-reciters succeeded because now they have a cow and chickens and a horse. They are afraid of the envy of their neighbors.

628 People with lands in hot country recount that during droughts the In-
796 dians from the neighboring town of Chamula have held rainmaking fies-
782 tas for which they solicit contributions from other Indians.

821 *The Chamulteco came to us and said, "Let all of us who have milpas*
731 *contribute five pesos for a fiesta." He brought the candles. In the little hill there the people brought drums and flute. We ate chickens and drank liquor. For eleven hours he prayed, and in the afternoon it rained.*

628 The *kuriketik*, rural inhabitants of the colonia of San Vicente who
241 migrated to Amatenango from Chanal, have no irrigated lands and de-
789 pend directly on rainfall throughout the growing season. Indians of the center know of their practice of sticking their digging sticks into the ground with the points toward the sky "to puncture the clouds" when they have planted their milpa, but they do not imitate this practice. Control over the supply of water in the irrigated lands has apparently led to the neglect of supernatural appeals even where the canals do not supply water. Under pressure of extended drought, they will resort to spiritual intercession through Chamula or Oxchuk practitioners in whom they have some faith.

241 Acquiring the protection of the gods does not obviate the practical activ-
776 ities necessary in the cultivation of crops. Fiestas for the saints are a repay-
782 ment for services rendered in watching over the milpa. The sponsorship of
796 fiestas for the saints by the community ensures the protection for all of the crops, and general crop failure due to drought or high winds is explained as a result of mismanagement of these community-wide fiestas. The offering of candles to the spiritual owner of one's own milpa is a kind of individual insurance policy for future crops as well as a repayment for the gift of the corn harvest. The peasant notion of surplus value is implicit in this reciprocal relation: the payment, or gift, of two candles to the milpa spirit is far less than the value of the harvest. But the account is balanced by the expenditure of this surplus in communal fiestas.

Pottery Production

323 Making pottery has been a speciality of the town since pre-Conquest
178 days. The old site of the town contains sherds of pottery which is remarka-
172 bly similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now.

Chapter 7

The Formal Organization of Local Government

The formal organization of civil and religious offices in Tzo'ontahal is based on the pattern of a locally independent, democratically elected officialdom introduced by the Spaniards. Variations in the pattern from that of other towns of the highlands have resulted from differences of interpretation of the functions, the range of power, and the course of succession of offices. This flexibility has preserved structural continuity as organizational adjustments are made. The Indians have transformed an alien governing mechanism into one that meets their changing needs and contributes to their independence in the modern world.

The independence of the local township has a base in the pre-Conquest social organization of Chiapas. Robert Adams (1961:347) has noted the absence of architectural or other features indicative of functional specialization that would arise in a politically integrated region. At the time of the Conquest, Chiapas was divided into warring principalities, revealing the extreme political fragmentation of the area (Calnek 1962:8). Each town was divided from the neighboring town by *mojones*, hilled-up boundaries (ibid:36). A minimum of political unity was achieved by holding certain towns subject to the dominance of others (ibid:27); local autonomy persisted, however, in the administration of landholding as a community enterprise.

During the colonial period the Spanish Crown established the independence of towns directly under their control and provided them with a civil-religious hierarchy which has persisted as the form of government to the present (Carrasco 1961: Wolf 1957b).

Comparative studies of the civil-religious hierarchy indicate the range of

M 563 621 647 T 621 743 647

doctors and officers of the National Indian Institute (INI) who arrive to the villages at irregular intervals. In Amatenango, the INI has established a "clinic" in which a native nurse provides some medical services, such as vaccinations, the selling of aspirin, etc., while in Aguacatenango the native INI nurse provides services in his home.

T 621 647 474

In both the villages the INI has established a cooperative store which sells staples which are not produced in the community, but such stores are in no sense agents of cultural change, selling only commodities which the Indians habitually buy elsewhere. (A reason for the lack of success of such stores is that the Indians have not understood the "cooperative" principle, very few men have joined, and they are disillusioned with the marginal profit obtained through them.) In 1958, Amatenango had water piped into the village, a project completed by the INI in 1957; while after the author left Aguacatenango in 1958, water pipes were installed there.

T 621 647 312 114

M 563 692

Political relations with the Ladinos of a more formal nature occur through the courts of justice and national government offices, and they are characterized by the covert (and at times open) hostility and misunderstanding on the part of both Indians and Ladinos (see D. Metzger, 1956 and Fuente, Julio de la, 1958).

T 628 438 571 608 582

Relations with other Indian villages are common both for Amatenango and Aguacatenango. They trade with the communities located in different ecological zones the products that do not grow in their territory (ocote from the highlands, sugar cane from the lowlands, etc.) in exchange for their own products and they

•628 establish with them the relations of posada and compadrazgo, men-
438 tioned above, as well as (in the infrequent cases of inter-com-
571 munity marriage), some affinal kinship ties. In the few recorded
608 cases of emigration from the village, some members of the com-
582 munity keep communication with a few consanguineal relatives living
628 in other Indian villages, although social exchanges and the memory
166 of such relatives tend to die out after a generation or two.
602

105 With the other Indian communities in the area, Amatenango and Aguacatenango share a common material culture and belief system, derived from a Highland Maya cultural tradition, the same linguistic background, and a subsistence pattern based on agriculture. They are peasant, in the sense that they are rural villages which depend, for survival, not only on agricultural work, but on economic exchange with other semi-urban and urban centers (Redfield, 1956:25-28).

438 Aguacatenango buys pottery and chayotes from Amatenango,
[273] whose women come periodically to sell them, and trago (drinking alcohol) which some Amatenangueros produce illegally. Amatenango buys from Aguacatenango surplus corn.

628 The two towns have amicable relations, thinking of each
[311] other as neighbors, and sharing the same pasture lands, and
[312] source of water for irrigation. The two communities share the
628 same cultural hero, called Juan Lopez in Aguacatenango and Lopez
776 Shuntón in Amatenango, connected with the corn and with the "lightening who lives in a cave." For Aguacatenangueros this personage is the builder of the roads, responsible for the eradication of "cannibalism," the conversion of man-hunting animals

628 776 into mild forest beasts, the peace made with the "kings of Guatemala" and the opening of trade with Comitán. He is also in both communities a powerful nahual (supernatural being controlled by the witches or a witch himself), and in Amatenango everyone prays to him on the day of the Santa Cruz (May 3). Both communities agree that he was "an Amatenanguero, born somewhere in the direction of Chiapa de Corzo." There are no compadre relations established between the two villages, but two cases of intermarriage [608] [582] and two of posada relations have been reported (Verbitsky, 1959a).

Both towns criticize the other for its "costumbres," criticisms which are related directly, as will be shown later, to some differences in social structure which will be discussed in this work. Amatenango women criticize Aguacatenango women as being lazy but mistreated by their husbands who make them gather their own firewood, and because they run away from their husbands seeking work in San Cristobal. Aguacatenango men criticize Amatenangueros for being lazy and not seeking work in the fincas, preferring to hunt rats in the cornfields, and their women for being dirty and authoritarian.

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2) Extending the rights of usufruct in the already available communal lands which are still covered with timber.

3) Petitioning the Ejido Commission if there are more than twenty individuals without parcels. In this case, the Ejido Commission is responsible for providing land by seeking further expropriation of large latifundios. This, again, is not likely to occur, because the size of the surrounding private properties is smaller, now, than the maximum size permitted by law, and cannot be reclaimed. Many finqueros, in other areas, have large properties which they have managed to keep untouched by registering the land in the name of several family members with separate ownership titles, so each one is smaller than the size permitted by law (Montagu, 1960). If necessary, the government could claim that this practice is illegal. But in the valleys of Aguacatenango and Amatenango this type of finca does not exist, being common only in the more fertile lowland territories such as the area of Ocosingo.

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Some communities in the Chiapas highlands have been expanding their territories by invading the lands of bordering villages, the best example of this being the Chamulas into Huistec land, north of San Cristóbal de las Casas (Pozas, 1959). But in Amatenango and Aguacatenango, although from time to time they have had conflict over the exact boundaries of their territories with other neighboring villages (Pinola, for example), this type of expansion has not occurred. The demands for parcels by the villagers can be met from the already available land because of the

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423 recent grants of land, and also because the whole region of
621 Amatenango and Aguacatenango has less population pressure than the overpopulated Chamula area.

Membership

621 In the social dimension, one of the basic features of the corporate communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is their criteria for membership: to become a member of Amatenango of Aguacatenango one has to be born in the village, or marry a village member.

Contractual membership, although rare, may occur, and has, but only for Indians, and with concensual acceptance by the whole
[166] community. When the nearby fincas were closed after the Mexican
[175] Revolution, some of the Indian peones attached to them asked for and obtained land from Amatenango and Aguacatenango and became full members of these communities with the same rights and duties as any other community member. Although people can indicate who is a member of a new or old family, this distinction tends to be forgotten, even by the families themselves, after the next generation has been born and married into the village.

628 A man from another Indian community may receive an agri-
621 cultural plot if he makes a petition to the Ayuntamiento, is willing
423 to pay the ejido taxes and the limosna (tax levied against the
[651] household heads to support the expenses of celebration of village holidays) and a small payment to the Ayuntamiento (20 pesos) for handling his case. Even then, he has to bring witnesses to testify

628 621 423 to his good conduct, plus demonstrate that he is not able to culti-
vate within the confines of his own village lands.

621 423 166 Membership in the community requires residence within its territorial boundaries. If a person moves away from the village he loses the attached rights of membership, although at his return he can claim such rights back.

621 Maintenance of membership involves clearly specified duties (e.g., paying communal taxes), and the general obligation of living and acting in agreement with the cultural norms.

Government

All the male members of the community, ideally, and most of them in practice, participate (at some time in their lives) in the government machinery of the village.

621 794 Amatenango and Aguacatenango each have two governmental bodies, the Ayuntamiento (or civil body) and the Mayordomias (or religious body). (The distinction between civil and religious is not a sharp one drawn by the community members themselves. It is an analytical device to label the different functions of these two bodies which are clearly separate and require different skills on the part of the incumbents.)

621 The Ayuntamiento deals with secular matters: it administers the land, the relations with the outside world and the village taxations, and is in charge of the maintenance of social control through the application of the native system of justice (as against, and separate from, National or State Mexican law; see Metzger, D., 1956). Among its duties are those of keeping vital statistics for

/6 cont./

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Ajkol-culibal	Alán-culibal
19 Chik	14 Chik
13 Chejeb	18 Chejeb
22 Ijká	6 Ijká

/7/ Among the Spanish surnames we have 6 that belong exclusively to Alán- and 6 to Ajkol-culibal (not counting the case in which a native surname of the Chik clan is joined to two different Spanish surnames that are found in both culibales). The remaining 14 Spanish surnames are combined with surnames from the two culibales.

621 Today the culibal is not endogamous, but we believe it
582 possible that it was in former times (as we have found in recent
178 investigations of the Tzotzil group of San Pablo Chalchihuitán of
174 this region). The present possibility of changing residence and
551 the incorporation of native surnames originating from a culibal (or perhaps two) that have disappeared within the boundaries of the two remaining make the reconstruction of the pre-Hispanic
621 culibal impossible in this case. According to the data obtained
582 in our census, 62.5 o/o of the marriages were concluded between
551 persons whose native surnames originated from the same culibal.
[125] In spite of the low percentage, nevertheless the custom of mar-
[166] riage between people of the same culibal predominates (we should
[613] not forget the mobility permitted in recent times, because of which residents of one culibal are persons whose lineages originate from the other), although cases of marriage between persons belonging
[614] to the two different culibales also abound. It is almost always preferred to look for a wife among the women of the same place or rancheria, but at present we can say that clan exogamy is the only thing that regulates marriage.

621 Each culibal has its own chiefs, elected from and by those
622 members who have filled political-religious positions in the
[631] Chakel or Ayuntamiento /municipal government/. The clans are
[614] taken into account in this election, rigorously taking turns. The
[651] culibal chiefs assign the communal lands, organize the collective tasks for the benefit of the community, pray for the health and

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

563 Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo relations between Indians and Ladinos are more friendly, and the Indians are regarded as milder and more tractable.

181 Of the strongly Indian towns, Cancuc is the most conservative, Chanal the most progressive.

In respect to official political organization, these villages are divided according •631 to their importance and the number of their inhabitants, into free municipalities 563 (*municipios libres*) and dependent municipalities (*agencias municipales*). The former are those which have the right to choose their own government, upon which formal administration depends. To this category belong Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Ococingo, Chilón, and Bachajón. Until a short time ago the municipal governments of these settlements were composed of Ladinos in the principal posts and of Indians in the subordinate positions. At the present time the government is seeking to reverse this situation so that the Indians have the greater authority; it is for this reason that the governments of the four villages first mentioned are now headed by Indians. This change has brought about marked [177] alterations in certain places in the social equilibrium that before existed between the two ethnic elements which compose the population.

Villages of the latter category are those which depend, in administrative matters, on a free municipality. In these cases authority is represented in the first place by the *agente municipal*, who is named by the central municipal government. This post is always discharged by a Ladino. In most instances the municipal agent compensates for the meagerness of his salary by controlling the sale of rum in the village which he administers. The other members of the municipal government are chosen almost always from the Indian group.

184 In several of the highland communities, notably Amatenango, Chanal, and, 243 to a much less extent, Tenejapa, the Indian grows (in addition to the universal 439 maize) a certain amount of wheat for export; the Ladinos of Oxchuc cultivate this crop, but in Cancuc, where there are no Ladinos, wheat is not grown. (Wheat is 433 also grown in the Tzotzil towns of Chamula and Huistán.) Other money crops 241 of the highlands are chickpeas, peas, oranges, and other fruit. Some coffee is grown in San Martín; it is the principal export from Yajalón and Petalcingo. In Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Chilón a principal produce is brown sugar, made locally from sugar cane locally raised. Cancuc is the only village that cultivates cotton commercially; the production in the other communities is insignificant. The local [286] manufacture of loom-woven clothing is rapidly disappearing. Most Tzeltal com- [178] munities are without beehives, but there is considerable apiculture in Sivacá, and 231 a little beekeeping is also practised in Tenango, Bachajón, and Yajalón. Apparently 184 the bees kept are wild colonies brought to the villages in the sections of hollow log they are made to inhabit. The raising of hogs and poultry is a principal economic 233 recourse in all the Indian settlements. The beef cattle industry has always been [654] in the hands of Ladinos; however, recently the Government, acting through the Centers of Native Education, has sought to stimulate the industry among the Indians.

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

9. The Tzeltal

ALFONSO VILLA ROJAS

133 flows through the eastern part of the region, the latter through the western, both draining large basins.

161 162 According to the census of 1950, the population of the zone totals 76,617 individuals, distributed over 15,970 sq. km. Of these 49,053 persons are Indian, 27,564 are Ladino. This population is distributed according to Table 1.

[128] San Cristobal de las Casas is omitted from the table because its population is predominantly Ladino (19,758 individuals) and because the Indians who live there (3,296) are of the Tzotzil tongue. Socoltenango and Nicolas Ruiz are also omitted because they no longer have an Indian-speaking population.

161 631 The central region has the municipalities of the highest density of population: Oxchuc with 129 inhabitants per sq. km., and Tenejapa with 115. The northern part has an [134] area seven times as large with only twice as much population; the municipality of Ocosingo has hardly one inhabitant per sq. km. in spite of the fact that its lands are the most fertile of the entire region. Although it

[P. 195-B]
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 196-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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TABLE 1—DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY MUNICIPALITIES
(Census of 1950)

Municipalities	Area in sq. km.	Tzeltal-speakers	Spanish-speakers	Total Population
North Zone:				
Sitala	550	5,435	1,385	6,821
Yajalon	145	6,026	4,010	10,036
Chilon	462	9,049	2,070	11,118
Ocosingo	12,143	9,170	3,770	12,940
Subtotal	13,300	29,680	11,235	40,915
Central Zone:				
Chanal	192	2,328	553	2,881
Oxchuc	42	4,074	1,338	5,412
Tenejapa	67	6,215	1,535	7,750
Altamirano	1,559	2,945	1,810	4,655
Subtotal	1,860	15,462	5,236	20,698
South Zone:				
Teopisca	270	754	4,601	5,355
Amatenango	355	1,773	756	2,529
Pinola	185	1,384	5,736	7,120
Subtotal	810	3,911	11,093	15.004
GRAND TOTAL	15,970	49,053	27,564	76,617

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TABLE 2—SPEAKERS OF TZELTAL
(Distribution by Zones)

Zones	Monolingual	Bilingual	Total
North Zone	23,429	8,251	31,680
Central Zone	11,291	4,171	15,462
South Zone	323	3,588	3,911
TOTAL	35,043	16,010	51,053

[P. 196-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Although it
161 has an average of 19 inhabitants per sq. km.. [241] the southern zone has lands that are suitable [631] for agriculture and for irrigation, such as in [128] Amatenango. Later I shall discuss the influence of these factors on the uneven economic and social development of the three zones.

161 The figures on Indians are based exclu-
162 sively on use of the Indian language and
197 so include both monolinguals and bilin-
191 guals. To differentiate each group, however, I have made corrections based on field work as shown in Table 2.

141 The average height of these Indians ranges from 1.55 to 1.60 m. Referring to

[P. 196 - B]

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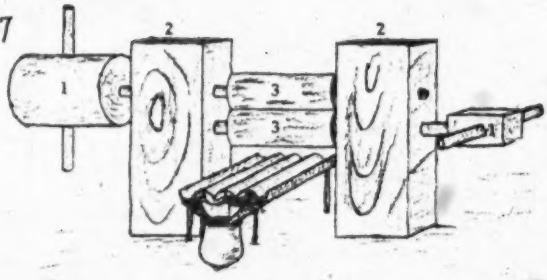

FIG. 6—SUGARCANE PRESS.
1, Kabal-té. 2, Smete-al. 3, S-kab.

184
608 their godchild nor protect him if he be-
736 comes orphaned, but this is only because
431 closer members of the same lineage take
608 care of him. But the padrinos must attend
764 the wake (*kanka-almail*) and the burial when the godchild dies, as is expected from the godchild when the godparents die. In
608 these communities, compadrazgo consti-
182 tutes both an important religious obligation and a means of establishing friendship and cooperation between families.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

621 The political and religious patern is the
631 same throughout all the Tzeltal communi-
[184] ties, governed by two groups of authorities whose activities are interrelated. The first group, formed by members of the cabildo and ayuntamiento, manages political affairs of the community. The ayuntamiento maintains relationship between the local gov-
631 ernment and the national authorities. The presidente municipal and the intermediate authorities are popularly elected and then confirmed by the congress of the state.
[563] These authorities must represent both ethnic groups (Indians and Ladinos) to warrant the claim that "justice is equal for everybody." In 1936 the state government ruled that in all municipios where the indigenous population predominates, the presidente municipal should be an Indian.

Next in authority after the presidente is

[P. 219-B]

• 631 the secretario, who is, without exception, a Ladino, for his responsibilities require a good knowledge of the Spanish language as well as office skills, which the Indians usually lack. Actually it is this official who controls all the administrative affairs of the municipio. He imposes fines, collects taxes, assigns communal work, and keeps in con-
[62] tact with the state authorities. After him rank the regidor, síndico, alcalde, police commander, and policemen.

621 Besides these authorities, which are the officially recognized ones, the Indians have their own government system, which in most places is still operating. Oxchuc is
[888] typical of the regional pattern. There the
[887] municipio is divided into two calpules, each of which is a kind of fraternity under the supervision of those old men having the
[776] greatest knowledge and prestige. Each cal-
[796] pul has also its own patron saint, venerated with special feasts and ceremonies throughout the year. (In Oxchuc the calpules are not geographically determined, and its members are spread in different parajes of
62 the territory.) Authority is now integrated in the following officials:

1 katinab, supreme chief of the whole calpul
1 okil kabil, "feet and hands" of the preceding, i.e., secretary
2 dzunubiles, supreme "pulsers" or "curers"
1 alcalde, who carries a staff of office
2 corniales (or governors), who also carry staffs of office
2 síndicos, who also carry staffs of office
4 x-tules (or regidores)

555 The four last jobs are reached by strict
624 hierarchy and indicate the progress of each
794 individual in the fulfillment of his social duties. This social-service career begins when the man is not yet married, when he is assigned the cargo of mayordomo of the church, which means that he has to attend to minor affairs connected with the church and to keep it clean. Shortly after his marriage he usually reaches the position of capitán, where he is responsible for the fies-

[P. 220-A]

7: Nash

NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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/For information on the "cacique", a role created by outside interests and occupied by someone marginal to the community -- a foreign Indian or Ladino -- see category 622./

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

as lawyers. The defendant is sometimes accompanied by supporters who feel that he has a case. The failure of parents to accompany a defendant, regardless of his age, is attributed to their shame over their child's misbehavior and their own failure to train him properly. The judge does not limit himself to passing judgment but also counsels the defendant as to how he should behave. 693 695 [593]

The town hall is usually shut and locked at noon unless some business requires more time. In the evening about six, the officials return to take their same posts. They sit with their arms drawn inside their woolen jackets for warmth. After a half an hour they drift home. People rely on the presence of officials rather than particular actions to maintain social control, and it is their appearance at regular hours that assures the villagers that the town is being well run. 621 [344] [516] [626]

Local autonomy depends primarily on retaining social control functions. Civil officials try to settle disputes locally and avoid the entry of Ladino officials from the departmental capital, although the judges and president will threaten the defendant with taking the case to the department if they cannot get compliance. The number of cases referred to the capital has been increasing since 1950 as Table 32 shows. In 1951 the federal government began to fine local officials who failed to report homicide cases and accidental death. The local officials complied, but departmental courts were unable to bring action in over half the cases. No action was taken in 72 cases, or 54 percent, in comparison with 62 cases, or 46 percent, in which action was taken. Domestic cases, except for one of adultery, are adequately handled in local courts and do not appear in the departmental records. The trend shows an increasing number of cases of crimes against persons in comparison to crimes against property, an index to the breakdown in social control processes. 621 692 631 [674] [182]

The Church

The church has been built and on two occasions rebuilt—when the tower was struck by lightning—with funds collected locally from household heads. Damage to the church was attributed to the patron saint of the neighboring town of Oxchuk who, the people say, was fighting with their patroness, Santa Lucía. The townspeople feel that they own the 346 [794] [821] [926]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 301]

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[P.300]

TABLE 32. Cases Brought to Departmental Court

	Homicide	Rape	Robbery	Complaint Property damage	Assault	Adultery	Liquor distilling	Accident	Misc.	Action yes	Action no	Action unresolved	Total
1950													
1951	2	1	1							3	1		4
1952	4	1		1						3	3		6
1953	1		1	1	4	1				6	2		8
1954	3		3	1	1		2			6	3	1	10
1955	2		3		2				5	8	1	3	12
1956	3		3	1	2					7	1	1	9
1957	5				3				2	4	3	3	10
1958	4		3		3				2	5	4	3	12
1959	1				4		1	1	1	2	2	4	8
1960	2	2			2		1	2	1	5	2	3	10
1961	4				1			2		1	2	4	7
1962	5				2				1	5	1	2	8
1963	6				3					3	1	5	9
1964	5			1	4					4	2	4	10
1965	9								2		2	9	11
TOTAL	56	4	14	5	31	1	4	5	14	62	30	42	134

175 648 under the administrative jurisdiction of the Provincia de los Llanos.[1] They were, and still are, part of the same Curato of [793] the local Catholic Church, which was under secular clergy, as opposed to most villages in the area which were under Dominican jurisdiction. Up until 1854 they were subjected to the same changes with respect to the administrative districts of the State of Chiapas (districts which were rearranged practically every time 175 there was a change of government). In 1854, however, the local 621 648 districts were reorganized into Municipalidades (the closest 631 English equivalent being a county); Amatenango became attached to Teopisca, the nearest Ladino-Indian town, as a part of the ninth Municipio, while Aguacatenango became dependent upon the fourth Municipio of Comitan, together with the towns of San Bartolomé (also a mixed Ladino-Indian town), Totolapa and Concordia (Trens, 1942).

631 621 At the present time Amatenango is an independent Municipio, having been separated from Teopisca in 1937, while Aguacatenango is an Agencia of the Municipio of Venustiano Carranza. Both com- [692] munities are, however, attached to the equivalent ladino towns in [651] similar ways because of their economic dependence, because such disputes as are not solved within the confines of the village are sent to the juzgados of the towns, and because the offices of the Tax Collectors and Ejidos are situated in these ladino towns.

175 669 621 631 Neither of the two communities became directly involved in the Indian Uprisings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,

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[1] San Bartolome de los Llanos; today known as Venustiano Carranza.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

175 called by the historians the Wars of the Castes (Pineda, 1888;
669 Molina, C., 1934; Kline, H., 1960), and both of them voted to join
621 Mexico when the State of Chiapas was contemplating annexation to
631 either Mexico or Guatemala (Trens, 1942:274).

TABLE 2

175 AMATENANGO AND AGUATENANGO: POLITICAL AND
631 ADMINISTRATIVE JURISDICTIONS
621

Time	Amatenango	Aguacatenango
1600 to 1778	Obispado de Ciudad Real Provincia de los Llanos	
1829	Departamento del Sur Partido de los Llanos	
1844	Distrito del Centro Partido de Las Casas o San Cristobal	
1854	Municipio de San Cristobal 9th Municipio	Distrito de Comitan 4th Municipio
1937-1958	Municipio de Amatenango	Municipio de V. Carranza

175 In the end of the eighteenth century (1792) the Bishop
177 Francisco Gabriel de Olivares y Benito tried to specialize
286 Amatenango, Teopisca and Aguacatenango as small textile centers (cotton) by giving the weaving materials to widows and young female children to process and sell. A school for the training of weavers
[274] was established in the same year, but the project ended unsuccessfully in the beginning of the nineteenth century (Trens, 1942: 175-6).

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

As is the case in the highlands of Guatemala, the outstanding social unit, corresponding to a tribe, is the population of several hundred or several thousand Indians whose activities center in one leading settlement from which the community gets its name. As in Guatemala, these communities vary greatly with respect to the proportion of Indians living permanently in this central settlement. Dr. Tax[14] uses the phrase "town nucleus type" for Guatemalan Indian communities in which all or a large majority of the Indians live in the principal settlement, and the phrase "vacant town type" for those in which most of the Indians live in scattered rural habitations, coming to the town center occasionally for commercial, governmental, or festal reasons. Among the Tzeltals the town-nucleus type is less atypical than it is in Guatemala, and the town-nucleus communities are suffering from a scarcity of land. The following communities may be regarded as of this type: Amatenango, San Martin, Tenango, Sivacá, Petalcingo, and probably also Chanal and Citalá, although at least in the case of the last two, there are also considerable numbers of Indians dwelling in the countryside. The vacant-town type of community is represented by Cancuc, Oxchuc, Bachajón, and Chilón. It will be seen that both types are represented in both highlands and lowlands. With respect to this classification Tenejapa, Guaquitepec, and Yajalon are intermediate, and illustrate Tax's "Type III" in that many of the people live in the town and work their fields closely surrounding it, while many live on their farms and only occasionally come to town.

As in the highlands of Guatemala, the ethnic distinction between Indian and Ladino is marked, here also the Ladinos are much outnumbered by the Indians, and here too the Ladinos are very predominately town-dwellers. In Chilón and Yajalon the permanent town-dwellers are chiefly Ladinos; the permanent population of Oxchuc consists of about seventy Ladino families; the several thousand Indians live about the town and in the country. In other towns (Tenejapa,[15] Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Petalcingo) a considerable number of Ladino families have become established, although in these communities there are more Indians even among the inhabitants of the town itself than there are Ladinos. A general disposition to exclude Ladinos from permanent settlement in Indian communities is most marked in Cancuc, the site of the uprising of 1712,[16] and where in 1935 some Ladino merchants were slain by the Indians. No Ladinos reside there now. In Amatenango, Chanal, Bachajón, San Martin, Tenango, and Sivacá the Indians are also unfavorable to settlement by Ladinos; in each of the three last-named villages the only Ladino residents are the school-teacher and the government-imposed municipal agent. Recently a few Ladino tradespeople have settled in Bachajón, and a "Center of Native Education" has been established there (as also at Amatenango) by the Mexican national government. In the lowland towns of

[14] Tax, 1937, pp. 44, 444.

[15] It is interesting that in Tenejapa, where both Indians and Ladinos live in town, the two groups recognize different saints, 'patron saints' and there are separate schools for Indians and for Ladinos, whereas in Oxchuc, where all the Indians live outside the town, the same santos are worshipped by both groups, but the Ladinos maintain their own celebration on the day of the festival.

[16] Vicente Pineda, 1888.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[p.455-A] Teklum

Death as a Way of Life: The Increasing Resort to Homicide in a Maya Indian Community[1]

JUNE NASH
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The breaking-down of a social-control system based on belief in the guardianship of the spiritual ancestors and their temporal agents, the curers, is reflected in a rising homicide rate as people turn to individual sanctions when threatened. The acts of homicide differ in their social significance according to who is killed, the context, the agency, and the motivation of the killer. Thirty-seven homicides between 1938 and 1965, analyzed in terms of these component variables, reflect the conflicts arising from competition in new economic enterprises, the rising suspicion of curers' abuse of their supernatural power, and the loss of belief in the guardianship of the ancestors.

121 682 [762] THE social impact of homicide has caused some analysts[2] to treat it and its supposed inverted complement, suicide, as one kind of behavior with a single meaning, ignoring Durkheim's caveat that behavioral rubrics categorize diverse phenomena. Here I shall [101] analyze the variety of strategies involved in killing in a Mexican community, which I shall call Teklum (the Tzeltal term for village), and endeavor to show how rules of behavior are expressed in killing and in attempts to avoid being killed. Further, I shall endeavor to point out what these indicate about structural and organizational changes both within the community and in its relations with the wider society. Since suicide is absent, except for a [762] single case of a madman, I have restricted my enquiry to homicide.

161 162 [101] 621 Teklum is a predominantly Indian township of Mexico. The population of the town center—about 1,900—includes only one Ladino, or non-Indian, family, that of the schoolteacher. The sense of community is limited to people living in the center and in the four nearby hamlets (*barrios*).

621 632 The town center is divided physically and socially into two endogamous sections, called "upper" and "lower." The outlying hamlets are linked to the nearest section by social and economic ties. The civil and religious posts of 621 632 the town are, in local theory, apportioned evenly between the sections. This was in fact 178 true until the 1950's; for each of the ranked posts had a paired complement, so that both sides of the dual division were represented, and the single posts of president and *síndico* (the president's administrative assistant) were al-

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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[P.455-B]

621
632 ternated for each three-year term between the
178 upper and lower sections.

But with the recent increase in dealings
621 between the national and regional administra-
632 tive centers and the local communities, re-
178 cruitment into office as president and síndico
554 has come to depend upon the candidates' possessing a knowledge of Spanish, literacy, and familiarity with the ways of Ladino society. Because of the relative scarcity of such skills, selection of these two officials has tended to ignore the former residence requirements
[887] relating to the dual division. Along with this change in the criteria for selecting these officials has come a decrease in the power and the authority exercised by the *principales*—elders from each side of the dual division who rose to their position by passing through all of the lower offices in the hierarchy—and a corresponding increase in the importance of the presidency.

621 This dual division also affected the structure
632 of the curing profession. The curers are men
754 who can overcome sickness caused by witch-
756 craft because of their possession of an animal spirit (*swayohel*) and their knowledge of ritual. In each of the two sections of the town was a leading curer (*statal ʔuʔul*) who, by virtue of his age, experience, and recognized authority, was able to control entry into the profession. Their function was to prevent as well as cure, for the leading curers were also charged with guarding their section against the entry of
621 witchcraft. In the last two decades, leadership
632 by recognized elder curers from each side of the
756 dual division has been lost, and along with it
178 control over limiting the practicing of curing.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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[p. 456-A) Teklum

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It is in the context of these structural divisions that social change and its behavioral indices must be analyzed.

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Homicide—an act viewed as a delict in national Mexican law—has in the past two decades become an accepted strategy in social interaction. It is part of the expectations of the society upon which members predicate their own code of behavior and in terms of which they react to others. Gossip not only fails to suppress homicide, but serves to create a consensual base for condoning it. The corpse is referred to as "the one who had the guilt," *?a stukel smul*, and even when knowledge of the particular act is lacking, certain assumptions are made: the killer was someone in the community; the victim provoked the killer. In listing crimes, informants sometimes failed to mention killing, or they included it after witchcraft, theft, or adultery. Homicide is considered a *reaction* to crime, not a crime in itself.

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[521]
[764]
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The rate is phenomenally high—up to 251.2 per 100,000 (when adjusted to bring the whole township's population of a little over 3,000 to the base for measuring international rates)—and it is increasing. This compares with national rates of 4.8 for the United States, 31.9 for Mexico (United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1964), and 36.2 for a nearby town (Favre 1964).

The following tabulation summarizes the homicides by decades since 1915, the earliest date for which records are available.

1915–1924	4
1925–1934	5
1935–1944	19
1945–1954	9
1955–1964	35

[114]

Figures prior to 1950 are not apt to be accurate, for only since that time have there been adequate reporting and checking of township records. In the following tabulation, the marked increase in the annual number of homicides since 1960 represents a real increase.

1950	1	1958	1
1951	0	1959	1
1952	1	1960	4
1953	1	1961	7
1954	1	1962	6
1955	0	1963	7
1956	1	1964	4
1957	4	1965	9

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674
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In order to assess the meaning of its remarkable increase during the 1960's, I have pro-

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P 467-B]

178 the cave and that they are in communication
756 with him. But these claims are met with ex-
769 pressions of disbelief by the people. Almost everyone is convinced not only that the curers do not now talk with the ancestors, but that the ancestors no longer look over them from the watchout hill outside their cave.

756 The loss of control by the curers is drama-
178 tized in the long passage quoted above con-
731 trasting the past and present treatment of epidemics. Formerly the two leaders of the curers consulted together and announced to the president that they had rid the town of evil. Now the curers as a group are ordered to come before the civil authority. There, in a
[273] long examination called *?it yo?tan*—"taking the heart"—in which 18 liters of liquor are consumed, the assembled curers and civil authorities decide who among them is responsible for bringing in the witchcraft that is causing the epidemic. Later in the evening,
[682] one of the curers is usually killed (cases 11 and 29, Table 1).

756 (2) *Conflict between the curers and the civil*
578 *authority*. The competition between the curers and the civil authority can be traced in a series of incidents beginning in the '30's and culminating in an open confrontation in the spring of 1966.

756 The first incident occurred in 1932, when
578 the town was still part of the neighboring
682 Ladino township:

683 I went and asked permission of the authorities to
[632] kill his enemy, a curer, who he thought was bewitching his brother-in-law. The president went to the house of the suspected witch with the order to imprison him. He said they were going to take him to the neighboring township center to put him in jail. The group of authorities set off with the suspected witch. On the way, another group met them and asked them where they were going. The president replied, "To H." The group that had encountered them asked if they would like a drink to beat their body. They gave one cup, and then another. Then they cut up the suspected witch with a machete and put his body in the cave of the ancestors. When the widow enquired the next day where her husband was, the president said that the man must have gone to the finca.

The ambush by the killers was prearranged in the town court, and the president covered their deed when questions were asked.

[622] In 1940, the leading curer of the lower section was president. When he killed a man who

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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682 wider ranges of expression than are usually
183 permitted in the community prompt men to assert the strength of their swayobel, to run races with the animal spirits of others in the assertion of pre-eminence, to boast of their material goods, and to "wake up dead."

682 The increasing rate of homicide is related to
674 the following changes in the community:
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(1) Increasing friction resulting both from the introduction of new economic enterprises and from political competition by the recently settled land-reform colonies has introduced a new kind of homicide, in which an opponent is killed either by the person whose interests are threatened or
[754] by hired killers. It has also stimulated accusations of witchcraft stemming from envy.

558
687 (2) The curers' loss of leadership and of con-
674 trol over entry into the curing profession has led to competition among them and to
178 a loss of respect for their ability to over-
528 come witchcraft. Curers have become the
756 most frequent suspects of being witches.
754 (3) Loss of faith in the guardian ancestors and
682 in the guardianship functions acquired
674 from them by the curers has further under-
178 mined the position of the curers as agents
781 of social control. This has aggravated the
776 sense of insecurity and fear, which pro-
626 vokes the uncontrolled use of individual violence.

(4) The shift of power from the principales to
682 the town president has led to a breakdown
674 in the system of checks and balances
178 exerted by the principales over the curers,
621 and to a direct confrontation of the curers
756 by civil officials.

756 (5) In the confrontations of the civil authori-
682 ties and the curers in the '40's and early
674 '50's, the fact that a witchcraft case was
756 officially reviewed and the killing of the
178 witch sanctioned may have served as a
626 brake on the number of such homicides.
683 Since 1953, when this practice was aban-
178 doned, those who have felt themselves or
578 their families to be the victims of witch-
682 craft have been left to their own recourse.

The organizational changes summarized
[621] here are provoked by structural changes
[632] affecting recruitment into the positions of
[756] power and the validation of leadership in the exercise of power. The dual division of the town provided an accepted basis for recruiting

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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leaders, both in the civil authority and in the curing profession. The transition from the old hierarchy of control to the new leadership structure is still in process. In the most recent confrontation of the civil authority and curers, the fact that neither side resorted to violence suggests the transitional nature of homicide as a solution in intracommunal conflict.

This study of homicide indicates that the changing rate of behavior points to structural change, but does not in itself indicate what kind of change occurs or from what motives it stems. Qualitative case analysis related to structural changes within the recall of informants is essential for understanding social process.

NOTES

[1] Field work is based on two periods of residence in the community in 1964 and 1965; it was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health. I am grateful for comments by Paul Friedrich, Richard Henderson, Harold Scheffler, and Peter Wilson, who have improved the original version read at the 1965 meetings of the American Anthropological Association. I remain responsible for the contents of the paper.

[2] Henry and Short (1954:18) analyze both suicide and homicide as undifferentiated aggressive reactions to frustration, the rates of which vary—in the first case inversely and in the second case directly—with the strength of the external control system over behavior. Their assumption that homicide is motivationally a single phenomenon, and not an expression of a variety of motives, stems from the assumption that all cases of aggressive acts are the result of frustration. Straus and Straus (1964:587) apply a similar correlational analysis of homicide and suicide rates with structural features of society in Ceylon, but come to opposite conclusions. They maintain that one would expect greater evidence of homicide in a "loosely structured society," by which they mean one with considerable sanctioning of variation in individual behavior. These studies contradict each other in the conclusions that they reach by similar analytical processes, but they are attempts to move away from such psychoanalytic reasoning as the death-wish theory.

[3] Bohannan's (1960) survey of homicide and suicide in African societies represents a useful model for comparing the total pattern of homicide cross-culturally. In presenting the case material here, I have used a similar format, adding to it the circumstances surrounding the killing. In the analysis of these materials, I have diverged from Bohannan's model in trying to demonstrate the linkage among the components—the ratios, to use Burke's (1945) terminology of scene/setting/actor/agent.

[4] The term "witch" is a translation of the Tzeltal term *ʔaʔ'-Zomel*, literally "giver of sickness." The term "curer" is a translation of *ʔuʔul*. The power to cure and to give sickness stems from the possession of a *nuyohel*, or animal spirit.

[5] For a discussion of the tactics of gaining consensus in witch-killings, see Manning Nash (1960).

[6] Political homicide by agrarian leaders, which is so frequent in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962), is a relatively recent phenomenon in the retreat zones of Indian population. The cases analyzed by Friedrich are a strategy of political power stemming from a revolutionary background, and the cultural assumptions to which he points contrast with those underlying witch-killings. My only comparable case is, significantly, found outside the traditional center, in the new ejido colony.

[7] Jules Henry (1936) sees the formula of fear and anger as the

Their slender-
147 ness is deceptive, for their great strength lies
[482] in their legs, back, and neck, seen in their ability to carry loads of 45 kilograms (100 lbs.) and upwards, all day up and down hill without
142 undue fatigue . . . Hair form is straight, coarse, and black. Gray hair or baldness are very unusual. Body hair, as far as could be observed, is negative.

143 As many as 99.56 per cent of Tzeltal belong to blood type O, which is one of the highest frequencies registered in the Ma-
143 yance area. According to Matson and Swan-
144 son (1959, p. 50), "In general the more isolated peoples such as the Lacandon, Tzeltal, Tzotzil and Cakchiquel show the highest frequency of the O gene." This condition is attributed to the absence of racial mixture.

Cultural Configuration

621 Like the Indians in the highlands of Gua-
[171] temala (Tax, 1937), the Tzeltal group themselves in communities which are distinct social and cultural units, as is characteristic
621 of the tribe. Each community has its well-
184 defined lands, its own dialect forms, wearing apparel, kinship system, politico-religious organization, economic resources, crafts, and other cultural features. Any native of the region finds it easy to identify the origin of other Indians by noting their speech, wearing apparel, or the goods they
621 sell. Solidarity between the members of each community is strong and becomes manifest in times of conflict with outside groups or in their way of gathering according to their "nationality" on fiestas or market days when people of other communities attend. On the other hand, no ethnic solidar-
[628] ity whatsoever exists. Each community restricts itself to its own affairs and nothing else; whatever happens to the other Tzeltal communities is something altogether apart.

621 The territorial limits of these communi-
632 ties do not always coincide with those of
[171] the municipalities, as in Guatemala. Various well-defined communities exist (in the terms described above) which belong to

[P. 197-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

621 other municipalities (Aguacatenango, Can-
632 cuc, Tenango, San Martin, Sivaca, Guaqui-
tepec, and Bachajon). Petalcingo belongs to the municipality of Tila, where Chol is spoken. The reason for these heterogeneous municipalities is that, within the political constitution of the state, only communities containing a sufficient number of inhabitants may achieve the status of municipality; the rest are considered merely as agencies of the municipality to which they have been assigned.

18 Another cultural variation stems from its
177 ecological location. Communities of the
191 southern zone, which have good lands,
361 roads, mechanized transportation, and therefore greater contacts with the outside world, occupy a more advanced place in the process of acculturation, which is revealed by the scant number of monolingual Indian residents and by their better economic condition. Communities of the central zone, of irregular landscape and high demographic pressure, isolated, and without economic opportunities, are the poorest, most conservative, and most untrusting of the entire region. The northern zone has a high index of Indianness because of the number of those who do not know Spanish, but their economic condition is better than that of the central zone, because there is more opportunity to cultivate coffee and work on the plantations.

Historical Antecedents

175 I shall mention only the periods of greatest
177 social significance in the past four centuries.
648 The dates are approximate.

The period of the conquest, from 1524 to 1545, saw the most violent encounters and occasional skirmishes between Indians and Spaniards. The fortress of Chamula was taken by Captain Luis Marin in 1524, and four years later Ciudad Real (now San Cristobal de las Casas), destined to be the politico-religious center of the region, was founded.

The period of catechization and consoli-

[P. 197-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

177 262 ious meats, and canned foods such as salmon, sardines, and sausages.

231 [222] The keeping of bees is not widespread. The Indians instead take advantage of the wild honey, which is commonly gathered during certain parts of the year. Tenango was the only town where I observed beehives next to the huts. The bees, large and yellow, are called *aja-chab* and are brought from the woods. When a tree is found with one of these beehives, the section containing the hive is cut off and is taken to town; the ends of this section are covered with jicaras, which are stuck on with clay.

Settlement Patterns

Town and Parajes

632 621 361 All the communities consist of a town center and a number of settlements, called parajes, which are scattered over the municipio. The town is the political, religious, and commercial center of the entire community; there the municipal authorities have their offices, [563] and the church and shops are located. In general, the Ladinos reside in the center, their houses arranged in aligned streets, but some communities (Chanal, Amatenango, Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Bachajon) refuse to accept Ladinos in the town permanently. The Indians prefer the parajes, where the huts are dispersed irregularly.

162 As observed by Sol Tax for the highlands of Guatemala (1937), the proportion of Indians who reside in the town center varies. In some communities (Chanal, Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Tenango) nearly all the people live in the capital. In Chanal, with a population of 2,881 persons, 2,386 reside in the center and so it is a "nucleated town," according to Tax's terminology. In contrast, the most common community is the "vacant town." Tenejapa, for example, has only 517 inhabitants of a total 7,750 residing in the center. The least frequent is an intermediate type, where some live in the center and some in the parajes, as typified by

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 205-A]

000 133 tóbal. The altitude above sea level varies from 2,000 meters in the hilly periphery to 1,720 meters in the valley where the town center is located. Ejido 423 632 lands acquired in the 1930s have extended the boundaries of the township 183 to lower lands at 1,500 meters altitude.

172 361 Pre-Conquest settlement patterns in the Chiapas highlands were characterized by independent communities occupying the headlands around flat-bottomed valleys (R. M. Adams 1961:341). The choice of sites seems to have been based on defense against invading Toltec or other conquest groups (Calnek 1962:25). The sites investigated by Adams and Culbert (R. M. Adams 1961:347) in Amatenango belong to the late-Classic and early post-Classic period. They were marginal to the centers of Maya civilization in the Yucatán peninsula and Guatemala. Test excavations in the modern town indicate that it was occupied only after colonial times.

175 361 16 162 The town of Amatenango del Valle is first mentioned in the year 1528 when it was included in tribute lists with both the Nahuatl name, Amatenango, and the Tzeltal name, Tzobontaghal (Calnek n.d.). The tribute lists of 1761 include 33 families in the *parcialidad*, or Spanish political unit based on an indigenous settlement, of Zacatepec in Amatenango and 75 families in the parcialidad of Amatenango (Trens 1957 I:217). The first census done in 1778 shows a total population of 576, with 374 men and 202 women. The racial breakdown is listed as 8 white, 2 negro and mestizo, and 560 Indians (Trens 1957:221). By 1824, the population had increased 161 632 [423] to 1,620. The present population of 3,179 represents natural growth as well as inclusion of additional outlying settlements added in the latter part of the nineteenth century and during the 1930s with the enactment of the land reform act. The population changes indicate steady but not great increases. The capacity of the town to incorporate additional population has probably passed its peak. The present trend is for out-migration to newly opened ejido lands.

128 632 The subdivisions of the town, which provide the framework for administration by the national government, are included in Table 1.

361 [563] *The center.* The center of Tzoʾontahal is called the "center [or navel] of the world." The residents of the center, with the exception of the schoolteacher's family, are all Indian. Although the town center forms

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

TABLE 1. Population of Political Subdivisions of the Township of Amatenango del Valle

Name of subdivision	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Center			
Tzo?ontahal	938	894	1,832
Colonias			
Bočibal	109	113	222
Te?tikil	81	91	172
Pathuitz	36	30	66
San Caralampio	50	46	96
San Vicente	46	48	94
Ranchos and rancherias			
Buena Vista	1	5	6
Candelaria	5	3	8
Carmen	8	9	17
Carmen las Delicias	6	7	13
Cruz Quemada	5	10	15
El Porvenir	12	13	25
El Rabinal	11	9	20
El Rosario	12	17	29
La Esperanza	3	6	9
La Libertad	3	4	7
La Merced Buena Vista	4	5	9
Llano Grande	11	16	27
Porvenir	2	6	8
Rosario Tulanca	3	2	5
San Agustín	11	9	20
San Antonio Buena Vista (a)	63	76	139
San Antonio Buena Vista (b)	12	7	19
San Caralampio	8	9	17
San José Cruz Quemada	14	14	28
San José La Reforma	10	10	20
San José Yujulum	10	8	18
San Pedro Soledad	12	10	22
San Ramon Buena Vista	4	5	9
San Salvador	12	11	23
San Sebastian	1	1	2
Santa Anita	6	3	9
Santiago Buena Vista	11	10	21
Tulanca	5	6	11
Fincas			
San Nicolás	26	28	54
Tejonera	8	5	13
Total	1,559	1,546	3,105

SOURCE: 1960 census.

It is considered much safer to drink in a bar on one's own side, but those men who pride themselves on being widely respected brag that they can drink on either side without becoming involved in a fight. When people must pass to the other side of town, they prefer walking on the Pan-American Highway, a socially neutral network, to passing through the streets of the opposite division, where their presence arouses curiosity and comments, such as "He must be looking for a lover!"

The colonias. The six colonias (Table 1) are populations of Indians who have moved from the center to take advantage of the lands granted under the ejido program of 1937 and "foreign Indians" who were formerly workers on the expropriated plantations. The Indians distinguish the close-lying settlements, or *barrios,* of Yetawitz, Pathuitz, B'očib'al, and Te?tikil from the remaining colonias listed in the census (Table 1). The populations of the barrios are more closely identified with the center since they are closer to it and there is a higher proportion of migrants from the parent group. They are linked to the side of the dual division to which they are most closely situated. Marriages can be contracted between members of the two settlements, and house lots can be acquired by residents of the town in the barrio with which they are associated. An exception was made to the association on the basis of proximity in the case of Te?tikil, which lies nearer to Alannantik but was linked with Ahk'olnantik in order to balance the population ratios at the time of its settlement. Police are appointed from these colonias and serve in the local *cabildo,* or town hall, along with other police from the center. The colonias of San Vicente and San Caralampio are farther away, and the rural judge and police appointed to these populations appear only once a week and during ceremonies in the local cabildo. The foreign Indians of San Vicente, who migrated from Chanal, and of Yetawitz, who came from Huistán to work in the finca of San Nicolás before acquiring ejido lands, are discriminated against in the local political organization. Their representatives never reach the high positions of president and first or second judge.

Ranchos and rancherías. The populations of these small settlements have only the most formal kind of social, economic, and political

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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ties to the center. They register births and deaths in the township center, but they do not have any representation in the cabildo. The populations have no identification with Indian subgroups, speak Spanish, and are oriented to the regional rather than the local economic center. The plantations remaining in the area, classified as *ranchos* in the national census, employ Indians from the center. Their only relationship to the central authority is to get help in recruiting additional laborers. Recruitment of labor is no longer coercive as it was prior to the 1930s when the low wage rate could not attract the help needed. Announcements of the need for workers are made by the president on the loudspeaker system of the town, and men voluntarily go to the plantations.

Spirit Domains

The link between people and place is through the media of the spirits (*E'uleletik*) of persons and of locale. The relationship is maintained through a set of rules governing the behavior among spirits of people and of places. These rules derive from myths and stories of encounters which define the character of the spirits in each of the domains. Danger is localized in a series of caves which are avoided. Benevolent, or guardian, spirits inhabit a different set of sites, where ceremonies are conducted that maintain the well-being of the individual and of the community. By locating and circumscribing places of danger and guardianship, the members of the community can supplicate helpful spirits and avoid evil; they are delivered from fear of the unknown and provided with a rationale for dealing with fear of the known.

The places where spirits meet are outlined in Table 3. The first group includes spirits which are supplicated, the second, dangerous spirits which are avoided or approached only by powerful persons.

The house spirits. The spirits of inhabitants and of the house meet at the center post at the rear wall of the house. The spirit of the house lives in this post. Those who claim to have seen the house spirit say he is a small Ladino child. He is capricious, and if he is not happy, he may admit the evil spirits who will eat the souls of the inmates. His appe-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Chapter 7

The Formal Organization of Local Government

The formal organization of civil and religious offices in Tzo?ontahal is based on the pattern of a locally independent, democratically elected officialdom introduced by the Spaniards. Variations in the pattern from that of other towns of the highlands have resulted from differences of interpretation of the functions, the range of power, and the course of succession of offices. This flexibility has preserved structural continuity as organizational adjustments are made. The Indians have transformed an alien governing mechanism into one that meets their changing needs and contributes to their independence in the modern world.

The independence of the local township has a base in the pre-Conquest social organization of Chiapas. Robert Adams (1961:347) has noted the absence of architectural or other features indicative of functional specialization that would arise in a politically integrated region. At the time of the Conquest, Chiapas was divided into warring principalities, revealing the extreme political fragmentation of the area (Calnek 1962:8). Each town was divided from the neighboring town by *mojones*, hilled-up boundaries (ibid:36). A minimum of political unity was achieved by holding certain towns subject to the dominance of others (ibid:27); local autonomy persisted, however, in the administration of landholding as a community enterprise.

During the colonial period the Spanish Crown established the independence of towns directly under their control and provided them with a civil-religious hierarchy which has persisted as the form of government to the present (Carrasco 1961: Wolf 1957b).

Comparative studies of the civil-religious hierarchy indicate the range of

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Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

175 632 466 communal projects for the neighboring town as there had been formerly. The peasant is master of his own time.

125 221 512 Tables 33 and 34 summarize the number of days and percentage of time accorded to various activities for men of two households. The first family consists of a man forty-three years of age and his wife. All of their own children died in infancy, and an adopted daughter recently left home to live with her husband and child in a new ejido plot. The second family consists of a man, his wife, two adult sons, and an unmarried daughter. In this family, the father of sixty-five is retired and his two sons perform all of the agricultural work. Table 34 includes only the activities of the sons. 125 221 The two schedules provide some contrasts:

461 462 561 1. The forty-three-year-old man has many more ceremonial obligations than the youths. This is a factor related to the life cycle in which men over thirty-five years of age are involved in more familial and community celebrations. During the year this schedule was taken, the man was serving as a mayordomo.

2. The older man has fewer productively employed days than the youths (only 54 percent of his time is spent in productive activities) in contrast to 76 percent and 79 percent for the youths). The difference is accounted for by wage employment the youths have undertaken. In order to pay for the cost of betrothal, the elder son worked 56 days (37 percent of the time accounted for) in a neighboring sawmill.

3. The youths were not involved in any exchange labor arrangements; until they become independent heads of households working their own fields, the men do not contract reciprocal exchanges.

221 461 462 796 The fact that men spend only 54 to 79 percent of their time (using these tables to provide minimal and maximal limits) on productive activities means that there is a great deal of flexibility in the use of time for ceremonial responsibilities. Everyone takes an average of twenty days off for celebrating fiestas in addition to fifty-two Sundays.

241 461 [796] The high proportion of time spent in family or communal ceremonials suggests the high value placed on them. The preference for leisure to pursue these activities is proved in cases such as that in which the additional profit in cultivating cabbages was not sufficient to motivate one agricultur-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 316]

In addition to this regular ladder of officials representing the center and its close-lying barrios are judges representing the *colonias*, or rural settlements, of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Crus Quemada. They do not regularly attend the townhall sessions, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of new officials. Only after I had elicited officials from two informants was I able to get from the third the three judges of the colonias with the question, "Are there any other officials in the cabildo?" 621* 693 632

These civil officials constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. The positions of president and *sintiku* (in Spanish *síndico*), not included in the offices of the townhall as a category by informants, were elicited in response to the question stated above. These posts are occupied by younger men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy, until the present generation, was limited to those in the 30-year age bracket. Those with such skills passed immediately into the *comisario ejidal*, commission for land grants, where they assisted in the control and redistribution of land granted under the ejido program, or went directly into the post of *síndico*. Thus they were able to avoid the onerous and time-consuming functions of the traditional posts and enter into the remunerative post of president, where their authority was recognized at an early age. With improved literacy, the competition for such posts is increasing. Although informants say that the post of president alternates for the two sides of the dual division, case materials do not bear this out. 622 624 [124] [191] [212] [423] [178] [212] 622 621* 114

The only Ladino in the hierarchy is the secretary. For the first time this year (1964) the post of secretary has been taken by an Indian of the town. This is part of the power play described below. 563 624 178

Naming of civil officials is done in November, first in a closed session in the townhall at which each official names his successor, followed by a mass meeting *(Komun K'op)* at which the names are read to the assembled household heads in the plaza. To the question, "What are all the kinds of offices in the church?" the response was given: *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces (or captains, the Spanish term *alfereces* comes from the Arabic). There are 16 mayordomos. Role terms for the mayordomos indicated that each saint was repre- 666 621* 794 [776]

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these apparently irrelevant comments reveal the 621*
power play going on behind the scene of the ritual. 178

The observed schedule for the civil inauguration 124
(App. 1, column 4) differed from the elicited in four details. The first of these was an item omitted by both informants: after liquor was served in the house of the president, the entire company stood up and "turned toward the wall" (App. 1, Q. 20). When I questioned my informant, he corrected the orientation "toward the wall" and said that they were turning toward the east in deference to the leader of all the saints of the east, led by Santo Aṭio. He said that it was done in all household celebrations in order "to be sure that the devil does not enter." Belief concerning these saints is fragmentary, and perhaps because [776] of this, behavior relating to them is not easily recalled. These behavioral sherds, when cut off from the belief system they once dramatized, survive in "perpetuating the custom of the ancestors" *(hič sluwar hič lik̦em me?tik̦tatik̦)*.

Another detail not mentioned by informants was 124
the presence in the house of the president of the rural 632 •
colonia inhabitants (Chart 6). This omission is typi- 622
cal of the neglect in reporting the activity or presence 574
of anyone other than residents of the center. When I asked what they were doing there, I was told they came "to know the president."

Finally, an important divergence from expected 621*
behavior occurred when the schoolteacher, instead of 875
the secretary, delivered the oath of office. This change 178
was evidence of the schoolteacher's success in a fac- 578
tional struggle developing around new economic enterprises in the town. The former Ladino secretary 621*
was in close alliance with the former president and 578
had supporters in the group of 20 co-owners, In- 474
dians from the village, of the truck when he had 875
purchased. When the incoming president with his 494
brother bought a truck with the assistance of 30 members of a truck-owning cooperative, a new focus for factional strife appeared in the town. The new cooperative was supported by the schoolteacher in his own bid for power. When the truck owners ran into any difficulty with the highway patrol, carrying wood or passengers without permit, the driver would refer them to the schoolteacher, who would then claim it

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571
554 (Several forms not included in this set are nevertheless part of
192
621 the civil administration--/SEKRETARYO/, "secretary," /PRESIRENTE DE EDUKASYON/, "supervisor of education," and /KOMISARYADO *EYHIDAL/, "ejido commissioner.")

The /*A*TEL-ETIK TA KABILTO/ are responsible for the civil business of the community, resolution of conflicts brought before it, the maintenance of community facilities and the making of a limited number of decisions which affect the community as a whole. Its members are recruited yearly for one-year terms
[641] the whole group assuming office in January. Every male in the community is expected to hold office as a civil cargo holder four times in his life, and the order of recruitment to the position for any individual is more or less fixed.

571
554 The forms of the class /H.*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/ are
192 grouped as follows (also in order of ascending rank):
794

The first and lowest set of positions includes:

/MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO/	"mayordomo of San Antonio"
/MARTOMO ME*TIK ROSARYO/	"mayordomo of the Virgin of Rosario"
/MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD/	"mayordomo of the Virgin of Natividad"

By lowest, we mean that set of positions into one of which an individual would initially be co-opted upon entering the mayordomía.

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tional economy and polity at a more rapid pace than has ever occurred in the past. Typical of this new movement is the recently established ejido of Brindis, formed by a core of landless Indians from the town working with acculturated Indians from Teopisca. Whether the political unity which has developed in the course of establishing their claim to the land will continue to provide a base for community development will depend on the encouragement and support by national institutions.

Within Indian communities of highland Chiapas, the ejido program has weakened age-authority principles in the family and in the civil hierarchy (Day n.d., Edel n.d.). Sons are no longer primarily dependent on their fathers for acquiring economic independence. Ejido Commission leaders have broken the monopoly of power by a gerontocracy of principales. Outside of the community, however, the political and economic potential of the ejido has not yet been fully realized. As the new ejidos such as Brindis develop, they may break the old community boundaries that contained and limited the power of the ejidatarios. With rising literacy, many Indians now read the *Codigo Agraria* sold in neighboring markets, and they are increasingly conscious of their rights. If unity across township boundaries could be achieved, the new ejidos might become an effective political force in regional and national spheres.

Wage Labor and Occupational Specialties

The agriculturalists of the community do work as both exchange and paid laborers in the following forms: reciprocal exchange, part time labor and part-time independent agricultural work, and forestry.[1] Wage work is considered only a supplement to independent self-employment for all but twenty agricultural employees who work full-time on a finca within the township.

Payments for agricultural labor within the community are lower than the prevailing rate outside of the town and are higher in the fincas of hot country than in the highlands. When men work on the fincas of landowners in the neighboring township, they prefer payment by the task (*tarea*) rather than by the day, since they can usually complete two tareas by

1. See Richard N. Adams (1964:48) for a discussion of the forms of rural labor.

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by the company truck to replenish supplies they bring with them. Most of the workers are young men in their twenties and thirties. They return Saturday evening in a truck supplied by the company and go back to work on Monday morning. Weekly wage payments have upset the usual controls over budget management. Money earned from crops is handled by women. The sawmill workers have resisted passing over their paychecks to their wives or mothers, and several court cases have been precipitated as a result (Appendix 2b).

All of the work in which men are engaged outside of the community is voluntarily undertaken for cash compensation. Formerly, forced labor of two kinds was frequently demanded of the Indians: communal labor in the neighboring ladino town when Tzoʔontahal was an *agente municipal* of that town, and work in neighboring fincas for wages of 50 cents a day. Forced communal work came to an end when the town became an independent municipio in 1931, and the labor roundups at substandard wages were ended when Indians became conscious of their rights guaranteed in the *Ley Federal del Trabajo* in the late 30s. Copies of the *Colección Jurídica Ley Federal del Trabajo* are sold in the departmental marketplace along with the *Codigo Agraria*. Awareness of their rights as workers is concomitant with increasing entry into wage labor employment outside of the local community. As yet, Indians do not have any organized labor interest groups to champion their rights. The Commissioner of Indian affairs in the departmental capital is an intermediary in individual cases that arise. But wage levels and conditions of work are set in a free market in which the Indian's only control is to refuse to work.

The few special occupations in the town, such as butchering, caponizing, weaving bags, carpentry, and midwifery, have never developed into full-time professions.[2] The failure of the development of specialization is related to the tradition of ritual offerings of gifts of liquor and consumables and to the lack of a marketplace in the town.

Most of the livestock raised in the town is sold to butchers of the neighboring town because of lack of storage or of market facilities for the meat. Pigs and bulls are slaughtered in town only on the occasion of a celebra-

2. Curing is treated in a separate chapter since it is an exceptional case of specialization related to social control.

 621 177 178

4. In a series of confrontations, the civil officials have challenged the social control functions of the curers. Witch-killings in which many of the victims have been curers have minimized but not overcome the power of these men. [756]

5. The priest has succeeded in establishing control over the church, but the Indians may yet succeed in deposing him, a plan they were putting into effect when I left town. [693]

The Indians are now aware of their rights to limit—or eliminate if necessary—the self-appointed caciques. The new cacique promotes the community welfare not only in his rhetoric but in the services he performs for the officials. His involvement in political affairs is tolerated, not encouraged, and the officials are ready to turn to alternative sources of aid in their activities. 641 622 177 178

The involvement of the PRI in local elections has not introduced a new center of power in the political arena. Political factions are based on economic interests contained within the town, and the autonomy of the town has in no way been affected by leadership from party headquarters in the state capitol. The community and the party use each other for their own ends in almost complete ignorance of what is occurring in the domain of the other. 665 621 178

The system of beliefs and understandings has changed along with these organizational changes. The most significant change has been the waning belief in the guardianship of the ancestors. The absence of the curers at the fiesta of the caves means that they no longer have this ritual occasion to validate their claims by communicating with the ancestors. The loss of leadership and of a hierarchy of prestige within the ranks of curers has removed internal controls over the profession and further undermined their position. The diminishing respect with which they are treated in the town hall and the increasing number of murders of curers accused of witchcraft is directly related to the loss of belief in their power as guardians. Since they were not an integral part of the civil-religious hierarchy, as the curers were in Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947), this has not upset the hierarchy, but it has changed the balance of power in the wider community. 769 756 178 [683]

The diminishing significance of the leadership of the principales is tied 621 756 178

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695 minimum of explicit rules. Very little is ruled out of order, and almost nothing introduced is considered irrelevant. The dialogue is primarily be-
[693] tween the judge and claimant and secondarily between judge and defendant. The rural judges join with the regidores, who act as court clerks when a case is heard, in a kind of Greek chorus when consensus is reached regarding statements made by defendant or claimant. The judges indicate clearly their approval or disapproval of the statements being made, and throughout the case, consensual verdicts are made in an apparently spontaneous manner. No one pretends to be impartial. Personal knowledge of the defendant or claimant is introduced into the case.

Courtroom behavior falls into three major acts: (1) the declaration by the claimant, (2) the questioning of the defendant (literally the "taking of the heart"), and (3) the paying of the fine. The judge introduces the first act by asking the claimant to "come and speak" so that they can "listen
[576] and hear." This ends formally with the claimant saying, "Good day, Elder Brother." The judge introduces the second act when he turns to the defendant, who stands before the civil officials, and says, "Speak and we shall listen, boy. What goes with you?" The defendant sums up his defense in the questioning period. The president introduces the final act, telling the defendant, "When you give a little fine you will be free."

[641] Both claimant and defendant pay court fees, an acknowledgment of the
[273] feeling that both are guilty because they are involved in a dispute. Before the term of the incumbent president began, this was paid in two liters of
[178] illegally distilled liquor, a kind of symbolic defiance of federal law. Now, since the president drinks only beer, it is paid in two family-sized bottles of beer. The etiquette of courtroom drinking is prescribed: the bottle, referred to as *smahtan*, or gift, is passed to the judge, who goes to the president and presents it to him with a few words of the pat?o?tan giving thanks for the gift. The fourth regidor then measures out the liquor, giving the first shot to the president, the next to the first judge and so on around the room. If a large fine is paid by the defendant, the president or-
[264] ders the police to buy meat, and a "common meal" is prepared and eaten.

693 In this society, there are neither veniremen nor specialized advocates.
695 Civil officials other than the first judge act as jurors, announcing their sentiments in unison. The judge, rather than handing down a decision, sums up the consensus of the group. Kinsmen of the claimant and defendant act

571 805 [584] is accepted. Precipitous action on either side reveals a weakness of which the other party might take advantage, or which might even stop procedures.

Timing of activities is so specific that it can be read as an equation of social relations: People who come to the house after nightfall are either intimate members of the family, or are members of the circle of me'tiktatik invited for a special household celebration—night is the time when spirits wander, not a time for casual visiting. Arrival of the betrothal party at the [584] house of the girl's parents after ten o'clock in the morning indicates that the suit has been accepted.

571 805 554 562 Sequential timing expresses relative prestige and a sense of priority. In "raising" the officials for the official ceremonies, the lowest ranks of officials rise first to go to the house and awaken each of their companions in order of rank. The sequence in serving order has already been discussed with respect to rank and prestige. Another principle of sequence operates at a more subtle level: women go before men when there is expectation of a fight since their presence evokes less hostility. This is evident in the be- [584] trothal: the me? ĉ'om precedes the mam c'om in the initial proceedings [579] when strong resistance and hostility is anticipated. When drunken fights start during house ceremonies, women intercede with calming effect.

641 829 805 Time always is on the side of the Indians when they wish to resist national orders. Verbal agreements to pay fines imposed or to assist federal agents in the capture of criminals are frequently followed by deliberate negligence in carrying out the orders. Usually the order is forgotten or in- [647] terest wanes at a higher level. Government agencies such as the INI learned to bide their time much as the Indians did. Expecting opposition to any proposed change, they waited for the initial reaction to die down, and then proceeded as support from those who benefited overcame internal resistence.

461 464 512 805 When called upon to perform jobs that require regular appointments, the Indians respond easily to the daily scheduling. Resistance comes against scheduled requirements that involve long spans of time and interfere with communal and familial ceremonies. Work away from home is undertaken only on the premise that it will be of limited duration. This [181] control over their own time is a value which Indians will not easily yield.

Change of Officials

The degree of integration of the civil and religious wings of the hierarchy can be described behaviorally. The following acts (App. 1) indicate this structural feature. 621* 794 182

Q. 24. The civil officials kneel and "measure their noses" as they enter the townhall in deference to the banners. [788]

Q. 27. Sacred objects, such as the holy banners of the *kobrarias*, are present on the table in the townhall as the officers take the oath of office. Officials carry rosaries as they accept oath and wear them in the procession to the church. [778]

Q. 28. The alfereces are present in the townhall to witness the ceremony. As bearers of the four major saints of the town, their role is primarily defined in a religious context.

Q. 41. Officials go to the church immediately following their procession in the plaza to pray for health to carry out their responsibilities. [782]

Q. 48. The religious officials are present in church on New Year's day to witness the arrival of new officials of the civil wing.

The alfereces link the two wings of the hierarchy in the following acts: 794 182

Q. 36. They carry the sacred banners to the townhall on the day of the inauguration.

Chart 9. They lead the parade of new officials of the civil wing.

Q. 28. They witness ("look at") the inauguration of the civil officials in the townhall.

Q. 36. In emerging from the townhall, they bow and incline their banners first before the townhall, then before the church. [788]

In the inauguration of the religious officials the only act uniting officials of the two wings of the hierarchies is that of counting the money (App. 2, Q. 90) when the town treasurer and síndico assist the church officials. The integration of the civil and religious wings in Tzo?ontahal is asymmetrical. The church officials as a group are involved in the civil inauguration, but the civil officials are only peripherally involved in the religious inauguration. 621* 794 182 [624]

Another behavioral basis for stating the dimensions of the civil and religious integration is found in the replication of symbols and acts in each inauguration. In taking the oath, the term *yiʔ huramentu* is used in both settings. The staff as symbol of civil office has its counterpart in the candles handed over to the mayordomos. In both ceremonies, officials of the townhall and of the church wear red kerchiefs and carry rosaries when receiving the oath of office. 621* 794 182 782 788 [641] [292] [293]

Replication of behavior in both civil and religious 000

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*621 124 796	26. What do they do in the townhall?	They take the oath		
[798]	27. How is the townhall arranged?	The four holy crosses brought by the alfereces and the holy staffs are on the *tatik* table		On the table were 4 banners, new staffs, key of cabildo laid on orange leaves sprinkled about on table.
	28. Who is in the townhall?	There are gathered the old officials *(mamal k'a hu?cletik)* and the two principales *(mamal krinsipaletik)* and the four alfereces *(alperesil)*. (See Chart 7)	It is the old officials	(See Chart 8)
	29. What are the old officials doing?	They are seated conversing		
*621 124 796 64	30. How do they take the oath?	They take from the *tatik* table what they give the oath for—the four holy crosses and the four staffs.	Standing, the new officials call the name of God. They form a line before the banners	New president ordered new officials to form a circle around table. Then the martomoreys prayed holding rosary in hand
[782]	31. Who passes the staffs *(sbaratik me?tiktatik)*?	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials. They encircle hand with rosary and take their staff	Two principales handed out staffs first to president, then first judge, second judge, assistant judge, regidores and police. The second principal was very drunk and had to be directed by former president
[273]				
*621 124 796 641 875 539	32. Who gave the oath?		The secretary	The schoolteacher
	32a. What does the schoolteacher say when he gives the oath?			Gentlemen, by the will of the pueblo, the government of the state leaves us in charge of the officers before us. The president is in charge of the pueblo during the three years from this one on, 1965, –66, –67. This pueblo has the obligation of helping him in the organization of all his works. It has the obligation of respecting his command, and the authorities that are going to work with him also have the obligation of respecting him because he is the first authority. All of us who belong to the pueblo and all the societies have the obligation of respecting him just as the assistant authorities fulfill his orders because he is the primary authority. Raise the right hand, repeat after me: In the name of the government of the state with the honor that characterizes them I swear to fulfill with honor

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APPENDIX I—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
#621 124 796 641 [875]				and enthusiasm what the constitution commands us. I want in this moment, under the oath, to designate the position of municipal president of the pueblo
[539]	33. How did new officials respond to oath?			Officials raised hands with rosary in it. Then they put rosary on their necks
#621 124 796	34. What do they do after the oath?		Pass over the papers with the acts, with all the things	Take inventory of communal possessions—5 chairs in bad estate, 2 *codigo viejo*, etc.
	35. Who takes inventory?			The past president
#621 124 794 796 [539] [788]	36. What do they do after they take their staffs the new officials?	The four alfereces go out with their banners	The alfereces go out in a procession with the banners	First alferez came to table, crossed himself, kissed banner with kerchief bound on handle, unfurled banner. He followed with second, third, and fourth alfereces. Flute and drum began as alfereces came out. They turned and faced the townhall. Inclining banners the police went out, knelt, crossed selves at door. Then the regidores, then president, then síndico and judges
#621 124 796 788	37. What time did the procession begin?			1:05
	38. What did the procession look like?	(Chart 9)		(Chart 10)
	39. How many turns do they take?		They take two turns where the fruit is sold (reference to plaza during a ceremony)	Two turns (started behind school house but old *nakawane* redirected them)
	40. What did the alfereces do?			At door of the townhall, drew up horses facing it, dipped banners. Same at church
	41. Where does the procession go?	To the church	They go to the church	They enter the church
#621 124 796 [624]	42. Who remains at the townhall?		The officials come out, leaving all the townhall silent except for the two principales who will await the new officials	The two principales remain within
[782] [794]	43. What do they do in the church?	All the officials speak to God (Chart 11)	They speak to God. They kiss all the saints	They pray at the altar, then kiss the saints as they leave. The alfereces leave their banners in the church

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TABLE 26. The Functions of Civil Officials

Constitution of Chiapas, 1825 *	*Interpretation of functions by villagers*	*Actual functions, as observed*
President:		
To open and close the sessions at the hour designated in the ruling.	To order the judges.	Sits in on court cases; assigns fines.
To raise the order of the discussion, yielding the floor for or against individuals who solicit it.	To pass the banners in the town-hall.	Orders the police to bring in criminals, assigns tasks for them.
To designate the affairs which ought to be discussed, giving preference to those of greater importance and interest.	To go to the house of the alférez to pass the banners.	Announces government edicts on loudspeaker of cantinas (formerly police played drum and announced these at street corners).
To decree to the appropriate commissions the means or projects which are initiated by the members of the corporation or by individuals, in the cases that the law determines.		In sale of land, goes with síndico and police to plots of land to measure them.
To maintain decorum in the discussions, calling those who disrupt or use harsh expressions in which they lack respect and consideration owed, without loosing the moderate liberty which they ought to have in discussions.		Draws up official acts concerning cases of homicide, sale of communal land, etc.
To call extraordinary sessions when he judges it convenient or when some circumstances make it necessary.		Receives government officials.
To care for the present ruling; to impose fines of 4 reales up to 2 pesos to those individuals who without permission or motive do not attend sessions or do not arrive at the fixed hour, to those who commit some faults in them, or are remiss or lacking in diligence in fulfilling their obligations.		Signs birth and death certificates; consults calendar to name child.
To handle official correspon-		Initiates communal projects such as building the kiosk.
		Signs acts of matrimony and, recently, divorce.
		Orders police to bring in debtors.
		Consults with department officials in matters pertaining to community resources such as forest and irrigation canal.

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Constitution of Chiapas, 1825 *	*Interpretation of functions by villagers*	*Actual functions, as observed*
dence and to sign the communications that the corporation makes.		
To sign along with other members of the civil officials all the acts of the sessions that are included in the book.		
To read orders of payment against the funds of the town, previously agreed upon by the civil authority in which they will specify the quantity and the object of its destination.		
To watch that the police assigned to the civil authority care for the papers of the archive and keep them in the best order possible, not allowing omissions in the correspondence.		
To demand fines of those who break these orders, previously agreed by the civil authority in the cases that are necessary, and to deposit receipts in the treasury of the town.		
Síndico:		
The síndico will have a voice and vote in the civil authority. His duties are:	To sit at the table.	Attends president in all above functions.
To raise his voice in the sessions.	To accompany the president when he calls upon him.	Notes contributions made in communal fiestas by each household head.
To ask and promote before the civil authority what is agreeable to the rights of the people.	To wait until there is a fight to arrange it.	Helps fiscal and treasurer count funds collected.
To intervene and censure whatever touches on the good administration and investment of municipal funds.		Succeeds president if latter cannot fulfill term of office.
To examine the accounts which the treasurer ought to present annually, to the effect that they		

(*cont.*)

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Constitution of Chiapas, 1825 •	*Interpretation of functions by villagers*	*Actual functions, as observed*
should fulfill all the specifications following the statement of the respective commission.		
To promote the prompt dispatch of such duties which affect immediately the interest of the public.		
To represent the civil authority in all those judgements which promote the welfare or in which there is some demand.		
To watch over all the objects that are under the inspection of the civil authority, denouncing to them the omissions and faults of fulfillment which are noted.		
The síndico should be heard in all the serious affairs and when there is a plea for permission to invest municipal funds which is greater than that covered in the plans. In the naming of the commissions he will have the consideration of the síndico, in attention to the importance and extension of the objects which are under his inspection and care.		
Alcaldes:		
Exercise the office of conciliators.	Greet the principales with the pat?o?tan.	Initiate proceedings in courtroom, delivers verdict.
Handle civil cases which do not exceed 100 pesos, and criminal cases on injuries and light misdeeds which require only slight punishment and verbal judgement.	Hear trials.	Greet the principales with the pat?o?tan during ceremonies.
Bring culprits to justice. Advise judges.		Sign official documents involving court cases.
Set fines up to 100 pesos and labor payment up to 15 days in public works.		Hear court cases.

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Constitution of Chiapas, 1825 *	*Interpretation of functions by villagers*	*Actual functions, as observed*	642* 643
Have the responsibility of publishing the laws and edicts of the government. Announce to the townspeople the days for electoral meetings.			
Regidores: †	Sit on the benches inside the town hall. If there is no judge, regidores order police. Arrange dispute cases with the president and judges.	Bring in officials nominated by the civil authority. Greet them in their houses with the pat?o?tan. Transmit orders of the president to the policemen. Pour liquor in the town hall for the other civil officials. Sit in on court cases.	642 624
Police: Care for the streets, markets, and public plazas, hospitals and other public places. Inspect the quality of foods of all kinds in the interest of the public and the sellers. Care for the drainage of swampy places and free standing and unhealthy waters. Name a permanent commission charged with maintaining the health of the place. Ensure that the public fountains are well kept up and have abundant water. Ensure the punctual attendance of the children in school. See that the equipment distributed by the army is done with equality. Help the alcaldes tend to the execution of the laws, rulings, and agreements of the civil officials.	Sit on the benches, outside the town hall. Summon children absent from school. Maintain public buildings and streets. Distribute portions of bull slaughtered for a fiesta to those who have paid 20 pesos.	Maintain town hall, plaza, road from highway to town. Adorn town hall for fiestas. Cook common meal for civil officials following court cases when fines have been collected. Collect money for fiestas from each household. Buy liquor for use in town hall. Round up truant school children. Bring in criminals.	642 625

(*cont.*)

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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Constitution of Chiapas, 1825 *	*Interpretation of functions by villagers*	*Actual functions, as observed*
Secretary:		
In each civil administration they should have a secretary who will earn an annual salary of 144 pesos.	If there is a major task for the pueblo, the secretary does it.	Writes all official documents. Attends president and síndico in most official trips out of town.
To attend the office on non-holidays.	Call the secretary to write the act.	Writes official documents such as birth and marriage certificates.
To be present all the time that the sessions last.	Arrange things if there is a homicide.	
To take notes in order to draw up acts and minutes.	Take a culprit to San Cristóbal if there is no settlement in court.	
To set in a book the acts after approved and signed by all the individuals of the civil administration that are persent at each session.		
To pass on to the respective commissions the affairs with which the civil authority gives accounts, setting down the understanding in the corresponding book, and taking care to note in the margin when it is undertaken.		
To give account of all the negotiations that occur in the following order: (1) the acts of the former meeting, (2) the official communications that they receive, (3) the proposals that the members of the civil authority make, (4) the representatives that say the particulars, (5) the dictations of the commission.		
To sign in union with the president all the official communications, arranging them in order to form them in the points agreed to by the civil authority.		
To put in the best possible		

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Constitution of Chiapas, 1825 *	*Interpretation of functions by villagers*	*Actual functions, as observed*
arrangement and with an exact inventory all the books, acts, and papers of the archive, not permitting that anyone take them without express permission of the municipality and leaving the corresponding understanding in order to know where it was stopped and to take it up in the appropriate time.		
To present each month a list of the affairs that have passed in the commissions, of those that have been dispatched and those that are hanging.		
To pass each month to the municipal president a list of the individuals who had failed to meet in the sessions without legitimate cause in order that they can exact the fine corresponding, arranging for that in the acts.		
To meet in the extraordinary sessions when called by the president.		
When the secretaries fail in some of their obligations, mentioned in the former articles, they can be fined by the civil authority 2 to 10 pesos without prejudice from the remaining punishments to which they make credits.		
As to the election and replacement of the secretaries they will be covered in article 162 of the law of the 20th of March, 1837.		

* Translation and paraphrasing of Constitution of Chiapas, 1825.
† Not given in this constitution, perhaps because of the ceremonial nature of the post.

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642 621 626 554 The statement of functions of the civil officials as codified in the state constitution contrasts with that of local informants first of all in the brevity of the latter. This indicates the lack of functional specificity in the role as conceived by Indians in contrast to its Spanish-derived model. The latitude of acceptable performance in the role is best indicated by the statements concerning why a man is relieved of office. A man might be dismissed because he "fights a lot," because he "gets drunk and fights," or because he "steals a lot." The qualification "a lot" suggests the difficulty of actually ridding the town of an incumbent who has caused difficulties while in office. There are only two posts in which deposition actually has occurred: those of president and fiscal. Both these posts represent mediating roles between local and national interest groups. The deposition of the president Augustín recounted in Chapter 9 indicates the kind of community action which can be mobilized. Significantly, failure to perform prescribed duties is not mentioned.

621 554 Second, it is the presence of the officials, not their specific obligations, which is of significance in the local context. "Sitting" therefore is a central and active duty. Each morning at about seven o'clock the officials gather to sit on the benches on the porch of the town hall. The president and síndico sit inside at the table. They return at six in the evening to sit again. The line-up of the civil authorities at their appointed places each morning and evening is a statement of social control. Their presence gives evidence of an authority ready to act against offenders.

A third feature of contrast is that the local statement of functions includes many of the ceremonial activities of the civil officials. Thus the president has the significant duties of seeing that the banners pass into the town hall at the time of a fiesta, and of going to the house of the alférez when the banners are moved in procession. The holiness of office is associated with the holy symbol of the banners. For the police, collecting the 20-peso portions of meat when a bull is butchered for ceremonial meals is as significant as apprehending criminals.

Ritual Behavior

In ritual behavior, the status of officials is projected in role performance. Relative position in each ceremonial setting is an index to rank.

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Priorities in service and salutations validate the prestige of the incumbent. Rituals also provide the occasion for noting social change. Divergencies between expected and enacted sequences are a clue to shifts in authority and prestige. Conflict between competing interests often comes to the surface when structural features are made explicit in ritual performances. This is particularly true in these Indian villages where drinking liquor releases inhibitions. The inaugurations of officials in the civil and religious hierarchies are analyzed below to show how they reflect both continuity and change.

Inauguration of civil officials. Legal provision for the installation of the civil officials is minimally stated in the constitution of the state of Chiapas (Secretaría del Gobierno Departamental de Chiapas, 1841:4):

1. The judges and regidores elected will present on the 30th of December their credentials to the Secretary of the civil branch in order that he will put an account of them in a book.
2. Having verified this, he will give an account to them on the following day in the town hall, for which he will name a commission of three people who will identify the people named.
3. On the 1st of January of each year the first judge will meet in the meeting room and present the oath before the civil officials, chaired by the Prefect or Subprefect along with the remaining members of the group, as is stated in article 164 of the law of the 20th of March, 1837. The form of the oath will be the following:

   "I swear to God to preserve and to have others preserve the constitutional laws decreed and sanctioned by the National Congress in the year of 1836". To which the response will be, "Yes, I swear."

   Concluding the oath, they will take their seats. The outgoing officials will cease their functions, and they will be withdrawn from the place of the meetings.

The elaboration of ritual beyond the requirements of the law in household settings as well as in the town hall reveals the significance of ceremonial acts in these small, endogamous communities. The inauguration is a

423 621 the Ejido should be administered by a Commission, the head of which is the Comisario Ejidal. In Amatenango and Aguacatenango, however, there is no distinction between the administration of the communal lands and the ejido parcels. Although there is a Comisario Ejidal, he is usually a young man whose word can be overruled by the Ayuntamiento with whom he must work in agreement, and although the position of Comisario does not count in the escalafón of the civil-religious hierarchy for seniority rights, the post has been informally assimilated into the Ayuntamiento officerships.

Through the legal assignment of a limited territory for each village, the size of the land owned by the community has been, at the moment, frozen. The community lands can neither be expanded, nor alienated from it, except under very special circumstances defined by law.

[642] Under the Mexican Agrarian Code only the State can reclaim land from the community, and only under special conditions: need to establish urban centers, means of communication, and the constructions of hydraulic works for public benefit. Of these, only the second is likely to occur at the present time in this rural, marginal area, which has no modern urban center, little water supply, and a scarcity of good land, so that the construction of a dam is not worth undertaking.

On the other hand, community lands can be expanded for cultivation in three ways:

1) Buying land from nearby fincas, which now cannot be expropriated because they are within the size limits of inalienable property (propiedad inafectable) set up by the government.

423 was in a low gully where crops would not grow, and no one within the
458 community would buy it.
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621

Land is frequently pawned by farmers as security on a loan. The title to
423 the land is left with the lender, who can foreclose on the debt if the inter-
426 est payments of five percent per month are not paid. Often the land pawned may be worth far more than the loan. Loans in town are rarely backed with security, and if something is pawned, it is usually clothing or household items.

178 With the growing significance of ejido lands and land sale, inheritance
423 of land is of less importance in the economic expectations of each succes-
428 sive generation. The rules controlling inheritance are theoretically simple:
593 equal inheritance for all children regardless of sex. The parents usually give some land when the child establishes a separate household; the remainder is then given at the death of the parent or when old age makes it impossible for the parent to work any more. The youngest child remaining at home works his father's land, or if he is living with his wife's family, his father-in-law's land, until the latter's death. His family inherits the house site as well as an equal share of the privately held lands. Complications arise because of modifications of the basic rule of equal inheritance by provisions for care and maintenance of the aged parents. Frequent dis-
[592] putes over inheritance are settled in local courts or passed on to the De-
[647] partment of Indian Affairs in San Cristóbal.

The selection of which crop to grow is related to the kind and amount
241 of land a farmer owns. The most important crops are corn, beans, and wheat. Some squash and sugarcane are grown in the lower ejido lands of San Caralampio. Cabbage is grown by one Indian who possesses fertile irrigated lands in the center. Most Indians, however, are unwilling to undertake the risk of raising a cash crop since there is greater chance of the crop being stolen and they cannot afford a bad market price when they harvest.

241 Relating the size of holding to the crop grown, according to figures in
423 the Mexican census of 1960[3] (Table 4) one can see that in privately
433

[659] 3. The census figures are based on estimates received from town officials, who submit them monthly to the census bureau. The officials of the town question the household heads as they see them in the streets or in their houses about how much seed they planted. They then estimate what the yield per almud for good and bad land is, from their own crops.

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323 pyramid is complete, wood is laid against the pots in a tepee formation.
[313] When the sawmill in the vicinity was in operation, flat boards—scraps of
[372] cut lengths—were used, but now only logs are available. Corn husks or
[462] dry straw are stuffed between the planks or logs. When a large number of pots are being fired, the men usually help at the final stages to remove the
[476] charred planks with poles. If men are not available, the women of the household often call upon their neighbors for help. In this operation, the
[292] women wear sandals and hats for protection from the heat. When the pots are cooled, the women, sometimes with the help of the men, stack them in net bags, six to a net with straw protecting the pots.

• 647 About fifteen year ago, a kiln was introduced by the government in the
177 interest of conserving wood. Those who tried it claim that the pottery did
323 not fire well and that many of the pots were broken. I.N.I. (the Instituto
372 Nacional Indigenista) planned to introduce an improved kiln, and while most of the people we questioned expressed a willingness to try it, the proposal was never put into action.

462 The men do most of the marketing of pottery. Loads of one or two
442 dozen may be taken by bus or truck to San Cristóbal or to Comitán.
443 When there is large-scale production throughout the community, as occurs
494 just before major fiestas, truckers come from the neighboring town of Teopisca to contract for delivery.

592 The amount of pottery produced in households varies with the follow-
323 ing factors:
433

1. Household composition: (a) Number of women in the family.
[464] If there is only one woman, very little or no pottery is produced because of the demands of domestic duties. Households with two or more women are able to sustain the ideal output of at least a dozen water jugs a week (I use "ideal" here to suggest their notion of what they produce when asked to guess. As Fig. 2 indicates, this varies considerably during the
[887] year.) (b) Age of women and ages of children. Older women over sixty do not independently undertake pottery production. They may assist in washing pots with corn gruel or making the neck, mouth, and handles, but they are unable to endure the harder task of collecting clay. A woman with infants under two years of age makes little pottery if

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342 construction used thatch or palm leaves carried from hot country. These
177 cost only the price of renting a horse, if it was necessary, for transporta-
435 tion. Roofs made of these materials have to be replaced every seven or
[492] eight years. Each rethatching requires three days' work with four or five helpers, and the houseowner must provide a meal for them and their families. He spends about 25 pesos for meat and uses two or three liters of corn; the total cost is about 75 pesos. Another kind of roof is made of wooden shingles bought in the neighboring town. These are fixed to the housetops with wooden pegs, and the total cost is about 200 pesos. This lasts ten or twelve years with replacement of individual shingles. Tile roofs have the highest initial cost, 800 pesos, but the lowest maintenance in labor.

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TABLE 13. Construction Costs for House, 1965

	Cost (pesos)
Supplies	
Roof tiles (1,000)	800
Posts and poles	*
Planks	40
Door	100
Window frame	30
Services	
Transportation of tiles	30
Transportation of posts and poles	206
Carpenter	50
Food for helpers	75
TOTAL	1,331

* Obtained free from communal woods.

342 House walls are preferably made of mud mixed with lime poured into an interlacing of cane poles set between the house posts and tied with a handmade fiber rope. Another temporary type of construction, which does not offer as good insulation, is made of board planks. Sweatbaths are
343 made by digging out a floor about 2.5 meters square, raising stones in an
[514] oval shape over this, and plastering them with mud. The I.N.I. tried to in-
[647] troduce latrines, but no more than a half dozen of the cement toilet seats
[177] they gave away as demonstrators were put into use. Latrines are considered to be dirty since the pigs and dogs
[231] cannot scavenge the feces.

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by the company truck to replenish supplies they bring with them. Most of the workers are young men in their twenties and thirties. They return Saturday evening in a truck supplied by the company and go back to work on Monday morning. Weekly wage payments have upset the usual controls over budget management. Money earned from crops is handled by women. The sawmill workers have resisted passing over their paychecks to their wives or mothers, and several court cases have been precipitated as a result (Appendix 2b).

All of the work in which men are engaged outside of the community is voluntarily undertaken for cash compensation. Formerly, forced labor of two kinds was frequently demanded of the Indians: communal labor in the neighboring ladino town when Tzo?ontahal was an *agente municipal* of that town, and work in neighboring fincas for wages of 50 cents a day. Forced communal work came to an end when the town became an independent municipio in 1931, and the labor roundups at substandard wages were ended when Indians became conscious of their rights guaranteed in the *Ley Federal del Trabajo* in the late 30s. Copies of the *Colección Jurídica Ley Federal del Trabajo* are sold in the departmental marketplace along with the *Codigo Agraria*. Awareness of their rights as workers is concomitant with increasing entry into wage labor employment outside of the local community. As yet, Indians do not have any organized labor interest groups to champion their rights. The Commissioner of Indian affairs in the departmental capital is an intermediary in individual cases that arise. But wage levels and conditions of work are set in a free market in which the Indian's only control is to refuse to work.

The few special occupations in the town, such as butchering, caponizing, weaving bags, carpentry, and midwifery, have never developed into full-time professions.[2] The failure of the development of specialization is related to the tradition of ritual offerings of gifts of liquor and consumables and to the lack of a marketplace in the town.

Most of the livestock raised in the town is sold to butchers of the neighboring town because of lack of storage or of market facilities for the meat. Pigs and bulls are slaughtered in town only on the occasion of a celebra-

2. Curing is treated in a separate chapter since it is an exceptional case of specialization related to social control.

Ladino butchers in the neighboring town. The cows are not milked either for local consumption or sale. Fertilizers are for the most part wasted since the cattle roam freely in the communal pasture lands except in the case of a few corrals owned by families. Hides are cured rather crudely and are used for saddle packs or protective aprons by the men, but none are sold.

The cooperatives. The notion of a cooperative to mobilize capital had been introduced by the I.N.I. in 1957 with the inauguration of a store owned by over one hundred members of the community. In the first years of its existence, the cooperative had some difficulties, primarily in convincing the Indians that when the returns on shares were lower in any year from prior levels, it did not indicate that the agents were stealing the money.

The cooperative store was bought by the Indians of the town from the I.N.I. in 1964 after the members had some trouble receiving returns on their shares. There are now one hundred and twenty-two members. The profits of 1965 were reinvested in the purchase of the corn-grinding mill. Current profits at the store are lent at 5 percent per month interest. The store grosses 80 to 100 pesos in sales daily, and the mill grossess 100 pesos. The wages paid to the storekeeper are 300 pesos and to the miller 250 per month.

Now that the cooperative is independent of the government, one of the stated policies is not to sell a single share to a Ladino or member of another community. "We do not want to give gifts to the Ladinos," the secretary of the cooperative told me. He added, "There was a Ladino in Teopisca who wanted to join with 5,000 pesos, but we wouldn't let him in. If you let them in, they would come to dominate the pueblo." The cooperative store does not share profits with the consumers but gives dividends. The 11,380-peso assets in the year 1965 were reinvested in stock and in the purchase of corn at harvest which was then sold at one and a half or two times the sale price.

The Indians developed their first independent cooperative in the ownership of a *marimba*, a musical instrument like a xylophone, operated by eight men of the community. This enterprise failed because the players never developed sufficient skill to be commissioned to play outside of town.

building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office.

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist.

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first.

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient portable typewriter. Since typing is a new skill for him, he makes many errors, and his retrials are accepted with patience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

571 805 [584] is accepted. Precipitous action on either side reveals a weakness of which the other party might take advantage or which might even stop procedures.

Timing of activities is so specific that it can be read as an equation of social relations: People who come to the house after nightfall are either intimate members of the family, or are members of the circle of me?tiktatik invited for a special household celebration—night is the time when spirits wander, not a time for casual visiting. Arrival of the betrothal party at the [584] house of the girl's parents after ten o'clock in the morning indicates that the suit has been accepted.

571 805 554 562 Sequential timing expresses relative prestige and a sense of priority. In "raising" the officials for the official ceremonies, the lowest ranks of officials rise first to go to the house and awaken each of their companions in order of rank. The sequence in serving order has already been discussed with respect to rank and prestige. Another principle of sequence operates at a more subtle level: women go before men when there is expectation of a fight since their presence evokes less hostility. This is evident in the be- [584] trothal: the me? č'om precedes the mam c'om in the initial proceedings [579] when strong resistance and hostility is anticipated. When drunken fights start during house ceremonies, women intercede with calming effect.

641 829 805 Time always is on the side of the Indians when they wish to resist national orders. Verbal agreements to pay fines imposed or to assist federal agents in the capture of criminals are frequently followed by deliberate negligence in carrying out the orders. Usually the order is forgotten or in- terest wanes at a higher level. Government agencies such as the INI [647] learned to bide their time much as the Indians did. Expecting opposition to any proposed change, they waited for the initial reaction to die down, and then proceeded as support from those who benefited overcame internal resistence.

461 464 512 805 When called upon to perform jobs that require regular appointments, the Indians respond easily to the daily scheduling. Resistance comes against scheduled requirements that involve long spans of time and interfere with communal and familial ceremonies. Work away from home is undertaken only on the premise that it will be of limited duration. This [181] control over their own time is a value which Indians will not easily yield.

M 563 621 647 T 621 743 647

doctors and officers of the National Indian Institute (INI) who arrive to the villages at irregular intervals. In Amatenango, the INI has established a "clinic" in which a native nurse provides some medical services, such as vaccinations, the selling of aspirin, etc., while in Aguacatenango the native INI nurse provides services in his home.

T 621 647 474

In both the villages the INI has established a cooperative store which sells staples which are not produced in the community, but such stores are in no sense agents of cultural change, selling only commodities which the Indians habitually buy elsewhere. (A reason for the lack of success of such stores is that the Indians have not understood the "cooperative" principle, very few men have joined, and they are disillusioned with the marginal profit obtained through them.) In 1958, Amatenango had water piped into the village, a project completed by the INI in 1957; while after the author left Aguacatenango in 1958, water pipes were installed there.

T 621 647 312 114

M 563 692

Political relations with the Ladinos of a more formal nature occur through the courts of justice and national government offices, and they are characterized by the covert (and at times open) hostility and misunderstanding on the part of both Indians and Ladinos (see D. Metzger, 1956 and Fuente, Julio de la, 1958).

T 628 438 571 608 582

Relations with other Indian villages are common both for Amatenango and Aguacatenango. They trade with the communities located in different ecological zones the products that do not grow in their territory (ocote from the highlands, sugar cane from the lowlands, etc.) in exchange for their own products and they

621 other municipalities (Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Tenango, San Martin, Sivaca, Guaquitepec, and Bachajon). Petalcingo belongs
632 to the municipality of Tila, where Chol is spoken. The reason for these heterogeneous municipalities is that, within the political constitution of the state, only communities containing a sufficient number of inhabitants may achieve the status of municipality; the rest are considered merely as agencies of the municipality to which they have been assigned.

18 Another cultural variation stems from its
177 ecological location. Communities of the
191 southern zone, which have good lands,
361 roads, mechanized transportation, and therefore greater contacts with the outside world, occupy a more advanced place in the process of acculturation, which is revealed by the scant number of monolingual Indian residents and by their better economic condition. Communities of the central zone, of irregular landscape and high demographic pressure, isolated, and without economic opportunities, are the poorest, most conservative, and most untrusting of the entire region. The northern zone has a high index of Indianness because of the number of those who do not know Spanish, but their economic condition is better than that of the central zone, because there is more opportunity to cultivate coffee and work on the plantations.

Historical Antecedents

175 I shall mention only the periods of greatest
177 social significance in the past four centuries.
648 The dates are approximate.

The period of the conquest, from 1524 to 1545, saw the most violent encounters and occasional skirmishes between Indians and Spaniards. The fortress of Chamula was taken by Captain Luis Marin in 1524, and four years later Ciudad Real (now San Cristobal de las Casas), destined to be the politico-religious center of the region, was founded.

The period of catechization and consoli-

[P 197-B]

175 *dation of the Spanish dominance* lasted from
177 1545 (when Fray Bartolomé de las Casas
648 arrived with 17 Dominican friars) until
[166] 1600. During this period a vast movement of population took place characterized by changes in location of some towns, reductions, and congregations.

During the entire 17th and early 18th centuries, the *period of slavery and royal land grants*, Indians were subjected to heavy tributes and to forced labor on the plantations and in transporation systems of the encomenderos, as *tememes* or carriers. Great caravans of 300–400 Indians, at the command of 10 or 12 Spaniards, transported goods the 1000 km from San Cristobal de las Casas to Veracruz. Many died from excessive loads and lack of food (B. Metzger, 1960, p. 19).

175 From about 1720 to about 1850 may be
177 considered the *period of resurgence and*
648 *autonomy of the Indian community*, when
797 the system of royal land grants was suppressed, the Order of Dominicans was weakened, and Spanish authority became relaxed and even indifferent. Bishop Polanco sent a report in 1781 to the Royal Court of Justice of Guatemala, complaining of the abandonment of the Indians (Trens, 1942, p. 200).

> It is wondrous that in the town of Chamula, contiguous to Ciudad Real, Indians have need of interpreter to defend themselves or to beg for what they desire. So that they are as they were twenty years after their conquest: in such a state of blindness and ignorance they find themselves. In the town of San Andres, next to Chamula, there are many saints, old and indecent, whom I thought of burning. I did not do it because those evil souls say that they make them see clearly and alleviate their needs. I suspected a not without having assistance.
>
> Oh, my Lord, their audacity and shamelessness are such, that they even come to command in the church, without respect for the priest. They hold to the idea that the third person of the Holy Trinity is the Sun, because, they say, it was thus taught to them by the old fathers.

[P 198-A]

4: Villa Rojas, E. A. S. (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9 4

175 The mistakes, lack of attention and preten-
177 sions of the Indians in regard to the Christian
648 doctrine, who they say they know, and the
797 ones instructed best in them, say as many heretic words as Christian, is consequence or necessary sequel of the lack of care in the secular and ecclesiastical government.

This situation became more and more acute owing largely to the political unrest which absorbed the attention of the authorities, unrest which culminated in the separation of Chiapas from Guatemala and in 1824 its incorporation with Mexico.

175 The next period, *invasion of lands by*
177 *Ladinos*, extends from about 1850 to 1911,
648 when the first sparks of the Mexican Revolution reached Chiapas. In this period Ladinos began to invade lands of the Indian communities by bribery or by force. Toward 1856 the Indians complained against the invasion of lands in San Martin, San Miguel Mitontic, San Pedro Chenalo, Cuncuc, and Tenejapa, but failed to halt Ladino inroads (Trens, 1942, pp. 274–75).

The history of recent times, from 1920 on, is marked by increasing support from federal authorities throughout the entire
[178] republic. In the Tzeltal area progress has been slow but constantly improving (see LaFarge, 1940; Beals, 1951).

Ethnographic Studies of the Region

114 In his first trip through the Mayance area
[101] in 1839 and 1840, Stephens (1841) visited the northern zone of the Tzeltal, from Ocosingo to Yajalon, going through Bachajon and Chilon.

Traveling the same route two decades later in the opposite direction, the French explorer Désiré Charnay recorded his impressions in a small book (1863).

In 1901 Frederick Starr (1902), from the University of Chicago, made a short visit to the region.

In 1925 Blom and LaFarge traversed from north to south a large part of Tzeltal territory, publishing their data in three chapters of their *Tribes and Temples* (1926–

[P 198-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

137 Change in soil is
134 probably the reason for change in vegetation. The tropical forest grows on black humus soil and the pine country is underlain by a red sandstone which weathers into a heavy red clay. The contact of this sandstone with the limestone country on which leaf trees grow lies about an hour's ride north of the village of Bachajon.

[133] The pine country is very hilly, the trees are scattered over a carpet of vivid green grass cut by the strong red line of the soil of the trail like a scar (fig. 195).

114 It was like riding through a magnificent park, up and down the hills and across small streams. Our poor animals had a hard time on the slippery trail. La Farge's horse gave out, and he had to change his saddle to a spare animal.

361 The Bachajon Indian village came in sight, lying on a hill in the
342 middle of the valley. It was well after noon when we reached the
346 dilapidated, grass-roofed and mud-walled huts clustered around the huge ruin of an old Spanish stone church. The Indians use a new church which they have built of the same material as their houses.

122 The house of the Government agent lies in the middle of the
344 village and here we were quartered in a room, the floor of which had just been covered with a carpet of fresh pine needles.

123 The Bachajon Indians are reputed to be unfriendly to all travellers, so we were not surprised when the Indian chief of the village told us that he could not furnish fodder for our animals or men to carry some of our cargo. To all our questions he answered "Mayuk," or in English, "Ain't got none." But when the chief, a little later, heard from our Encanto men that we had been friendly to them, and that furthermore, we were friends of the big father President in Mexico City, he changed his attitude.

648 The Government agent is sent to the Indian village by the civil
[651] authorities of the neighbouring Mexican town of Ocosingo. He is supposed to collect certain taxes, raise labourers for public works
[653] in the Mexican town, and help the Indians with their affairs. He is highly unpopular among the Indians, who counteract his orders through a remarkable system of passive resistance. They say "yes" to everything and do nothing. The only reason the Indians tolerate
[273] him is because he keeps a small store and sells liquor. The Indian is very fond of sugar-cane rum, and every Saturday and Sunday all the villagers generally get drunk. The agent complained bit-
[123] terly that the Indians were not selling him any food supplies and was astonished when they sold us chickens and eggs.

361 Most of the Bachajon Indians live hidden away in the bush. Only the families of the chief and the village officials live around the old church ruins.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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the old church ruins. The chief and the officials all spoke Spanish, but the only one who knew how to read and write was the town secretary, a 15-year old boy.

After dark the Indians gathered in front of the municipal house and presently some of the elders made signs that they wanted to talk to us. We followed them into the dark out of earshot of the agent, where the Indians told us of all their sorrows and difficulties, asking if we could not help them. They said that the agent tried to raise unjust taxes, that they were forced to do much work for the Municipal President of Ocosingo and did not have time to look after their own corn fields, and also that they were molested by the managers of the neighbouring properties. They asked us to bring their complaints before the Central Government, which we have done.

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From there our route followed the main trail, or Camino Real, between Chilon and Ocosingo. A few hours ride through pine forest brought us to the top of a pass from where we had a magnificent view over the Ocosingo Valley. We could see the Indian village of Sivacá, and the white walled, red tiled houses of the Mexican town Ocosingo, lying on a green carpet of extensive grazing land. Down over the mountain side we scrambled towards the valley bottom, and by noon the hoofs of our animals clattered against the cobbled stones of Ocosingo's streets.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

131 the Guatemala border, which it overlaps at Gracias á Dios. They
101 do not reach the highest part of the mountains. For the most part, they live in isolated tribal groups, although in some places, notably in Ocosingo Valley, they are attached to *haciendas* and *fincas*. Much of the easternmost country marked in the maps as belonging to them and the Chol is actually uninhabited wilderness, or, if occupied at all, is Lacandone territory.

101 Their immediate neighbours of the Highlands are the Zotzil and
197 Chaneabal. The former speak a language differentiated from Tzeltal only by a shift of *a, e,* and *b* to Zotzil *o, i,* and *m,* respectively.* Chaneabal is spoken by a small group near Comitan. The people of that place say that the language is simply Tzeltal influenced by Mames contact. The list given in Appendix III, seems to bear this out. To the north, and around Tumbalá, are the Chol Indians, whose language is quite distinct, but, of all the other Mayance tongues, probably the nearest to the Highland group.

197 The language itself has been variously named Cendal, Tzendal, Cendales, Tzental, and Tzeltal. I have taken the latter form, as it most nearly represents the Indians' own form, *ts'eltal,* varied in careless speech to *tceltal.* The villages are spoken of as tribes, be-
197 cause each one forms a separate, self-governing unit. There is no evidence of cohesion within the language-group as a whole save
628 during certain periods of uprisings. Individual villages may resemble tribes of another speech more closely than they do those of
[104] their own. The Mexican spelling of Tzeltal names is given first, followed by the phonetic spelling (See Appendix III), and the translation, if known.

101 The Bachajon live on the threshold of the pine country. Their
[131] farms may be found hidden away in the thick jungle land of ma-
[137] hogany and palms, through which their little hidden trails lead to houses tucked away out of sight of alien travelers. Altogether, they
[161] are estimated at five thousand families, but it is doubtful whether evidences of more than fifty farms could be seen by one passing along the trail through the heart of their country. The capital, Bachajon Village, is among the pines. There, periodically, the
[648] Spaniards used to round them up, that they might be more easily policed, and for the benefit of the church established there. Once
[346] there was a fine, stone church and a neat Cabildo with white walls, colonnade, and tiled roof. Both have been wrecked by the Indians,
[344] apparently because they did not like to be reminded of alien domination, for from the wreckage of the old church, they took tiles to roof their new one, and they have a straw-thatched Cabildo for the Maestro, or government agent.

*Starr (1902) quoting Sanchez (1890).

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

The country near the village has been farmed out long ago; now the fields lie at a distance in the jungle. After every concentration, the Indians drift away again like blown smoke. Today most of the houses are rotten, sagging, with gaping doors. The paths are grown up with weeds, huge, old moss-covered crosses lean at crazy angles by the main trails. Over all broods the frame of the sacked church, huge stone walls with rank vegetation around them, and a twisted, unhealthy oak-tree on one side, like a composition by Piranesi.

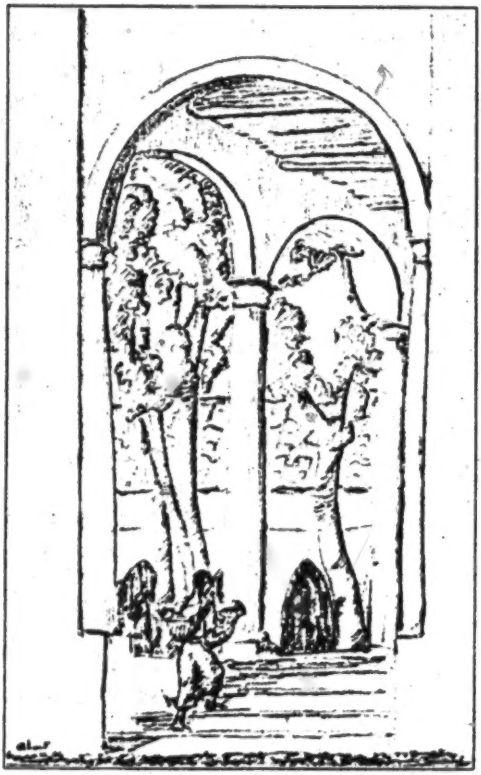

FIG. 277—Ocosingo, Chia. Colonnade on the Plaza.

Ocosingo Valley and its neighbours furnish a transition towards the real highlands. The valleys are fertile and green, ringed in with ranges of steep, rich hills. The soil in the lower parts is light; here palms and pines grow together, with a luxuriance of rich grass that makes an ideal grazing country. Through the valleys are large and small ranches of Ladinos and old Spanish families. The bigger ones, such as San Antonio, Quechil, and Achin in the Ocosingo Valley, San José Reforma and El Real beyond the San José Pass, and Tecojá in its own valley, each has a village of Indian labourers attached to them. The natives' houses are rather better that the average, and often tile-roofed (fig. 278). The Indians of each ranch function more or less as a tribe, governed by the owner of the ranch, conducting their own worship at its chapel. A few Indians own scattered, independent farms. Sivacá (*sivak ha'*, "Gunpowder Water"), near Ocosingo on the trail to Tenango, is a true village, self-governing, with its own *alcalde*, under the supervision of a Ladino *maestro*. All these groups come together at

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Báchajón

628 796 certain times of the year for ceremonies, such as those at Chakálchib, and formerly at Campomtik, to be mentioned later. The Bachajon hold their own ceremonies at their village.

141 Physically, the Tzeltal, like all the Mayance Indians, are short, averaging probably about 160 centimeters (5 feet, 4 inches) for the 142 men, and slightly less for the women. Their build is slender, with stringy muscles, except for a good development of the calves. Hands and feet are small and well-formed. Their slenderness is 147 deceptive, for their great strength lies in their legs, back, and neck, seen in their ability to carry loads of 45 kilograms (100 lbs.) and upwards, all day up and down hill without undue fatigue. Taking in a tump-line a load under which they cannot rise from the floor.

342 241 648

FIG. 278—Finca Tecojá, Chis. Houses of Indians attached to the Finca.

147 without help, they will carry it with ease. The lifting power of their arms is less than that of Americans or Ladinos. Their headform is 142 meso- to brachycephalic, and the cranium is small. Deformation in [304] the shape of a marked depression just above the juncture of the hair-line and the forehead, due to the use of a tump-line from early infancy, may be responsible for the conical appearance of the top of the skull. Noses are, on the whole, mesorrhine and small, with little appearance of the famous "Maya Nose," and then in a narrow form, lacking the width of nostril seen in pre-historic figures. Prognathism is slight, alveolar proganthism being the more common, particularly in children. Hair form is straight, coarse, and black. Gray hair or baldness are very unusual. Body hair, as far as could be observed,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

is negative. Among the Bachajon, face hair was very slight, or 142
negative, even on men of past middle age. At Sivacá the Alcalde, an elderly man, had a small beard. This is more commonly found among the Indians further in the Highlands. A slightly taller and more heavily boned type here also suggests the Highland influence (figs. 279-280-281-282-283).

Temperamentally, the Bachajon were by far the least pleasant 152
Indians with whom we had to deal. They are drunken, revengeful, and murderous. The murders, usually the sudden outburst of a long-nursed feud, are sometimes so appallingly brutal that one would think them committed by an abnormal or degenerate people.

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FIG. 279—Huxumachital, Chis. Bachajon men.

Yet, at the same time, these were the most independent Indians we 648
met, controlling their own lives and way of living, and are left very much alone by the neighbouring Ladinos.

All the Indians are outwardly restrained, at least in the presence 609
of strangers, although an accident, such as a narrow escape, shows 152
them to be volatile and ready to express emotion. At home, they are cheerful, and laugh willingly. In bursts of feeling, as during an uprising, or one of the murders mentioned above, capable of any outrage, ordinarily they are not a cruel people. They showed them- 123
selves always responsive to friendly advances on our part.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

000 An excellent discussion of the character of the neighbouring Indians of Guatemala, which applies well to these, by one who has lived long among them, is found in Sapper's "Der Charakter der Mittelamerikanisch Indianer."

648 771 793 Before passing on to the native culture, a little must be said of the outside influences that do so much to mould it — the Church, the Government, and the Hacienda. The first of these occupies a very curious position indeed. While the Indians are ostensibly Christian, as will be shown later, in many ways they are still unconverted. It may be said, briefly, that they acknowledge two antagonistic worships. Of these, the Christian has publicly the upper hand. The Priests, accordingly, wield a tremendous influence among them, and did even more so in the past, when supported by the State. Our experience on this trip was that, on the whole, this influence was intelligently and beneficially used. To the Priests the Indians confide their troubles, to them they accord the greatest honour on the occasions of their visits to the villages. Yet, at the same time, the Indians conceal from them one-half of their worship, knowing them to be sworn to stamp it out.

[142] [291] [301] [302] →

[142] [291] [302] →

Fig. 199—El Encanto, Chia. Bachajon girls.

Fig. 201—El Encanto, Chia. Bachajon man and boy.

648 241 361 466 The Hacienda system has caused the formation of many small villages, as has been said above. In other cases, as with the Bachajon on the Encanto property, the Indians living at large on the distant lands of the

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 192.7 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

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hacienda, are held liable for a certain amount of labour each year, in lieu of rent. Should one of them fail to do his share, the owners are considered free to arrest him and bring him in. While so working, they are paid, largely in credit at the local store, and fed. On the haciendas with regular village establishments, and in other parts of Mexico, this system has worked smoothly in the past, because the workers found themselves cared and provided for, corn laid up for the future, money or credit ready for festive occasions, and so forth. But the more independent Bachajones seem amply able to take care of themselves, and do not relish working for a ranch miles from their homes, even when they acknowledge its ownership of the jungle in which they dwell.

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The payment of labour is seen again in relations of the Indians with the Government, which holds them liable to road-mending and municipal work, as a form of tax. Commonly, crimes are also punished by fines of such work. The system is irregularly applied. For instance, some Indians from Cancuc, who were carrying part of our outfit to San Cristóbal, were held up for two hours road-work at one point. Every Indian that came that way was similarly held. Starr (1902) reports the same experience. In San Cristóbal the right to collect any Indian for labor has been so abused as materially to harm the trade of the town. Quite serious crimes, as long as only committed by one Indian against another, are relatively lightly punished in this manner. It may be said, as far as concerns the tax-*corvée*, that the right of the Indians to go home again before staying away long enough to cause their crops to suffer is generally recognized, and the Indians themselves know when it is time to announce that they must leave. The whole system, however, leads to a certain amount of hard feeling on the Indians' part.

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Fig. 283—El Encanto, Chia. Bachajon men.

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Interwoven with these specific factors must be considered the Ladino's general attitude towards the Indian. To him, especially the town-dweller, the natives are barbarous in all respects, legiti-

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5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

648 mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

829 The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We received many small favours and [123] acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

FIG. 283—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

241 In their culture these people [181] belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend [433] primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the [291] staple crop. Calabashes, melons, [301] beans, tobacco, bananas, and cotton are raised. The farming is [302] carried on by the same wasteful "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old [178] Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment [166] of many cities. In the case of the Bachajon, it has already become one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn 262 boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates 252 which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and 411 weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but al- 412 ways made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most 184 amazing industries in the world. 177

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

123 Visiting such a house is not a mere, simple social affair. Here,
• 648 on a steep-sided and slippery natural hill, lived a family belonging to a notoriously exclusive people. Our hostess seemed suspicious of the visit at first, although one visitor was a "Melicano," one of the pair who had already acquired a good reputation with the Indians, and his guide, Señor Aguilar, was known to be a friend. Men in felt hats and boots seldom visited those houses for good purposes; at the best, they might be expected to make off with a quantity of eggs and tortillas without paying their value—at the worst, the head of the house might be haled away for forced labour, or there might be a fight, the pigs killed, and the little hut set afire. The family consisted of a married couple their small son, and two grown girls. On our first visit the wife alone was there. She was at first sullen and a little frightened, but becoming reassured by degrees, showed herself to be a placid, dignified woman, pleasant, neat, and in many ways an ideal type of the traditional housewife. After we had given medicine to one of the girls for cold, and to the husband for mild fever, with a gaudy chromo of a saint to decorate the family altar, they came [342] to take us for granted, and allowed us to see unfolding the harmonious, dignified family life, with its feeling of unvoiced yet real affection that is so typical of the American Indian where European contact has been slight. The 342 little house, only half walled, and small—about 15 x 13½ feet—was [353] always neat, its dirt floor swept clean, each small posession in its [356] place. There was a faint smell of wood-smoke and earth, with the scent of the rich jungle drifting in, the sound of low-voiced talk, wind in grass, or the grind and thump of the metates, now and then laughter.

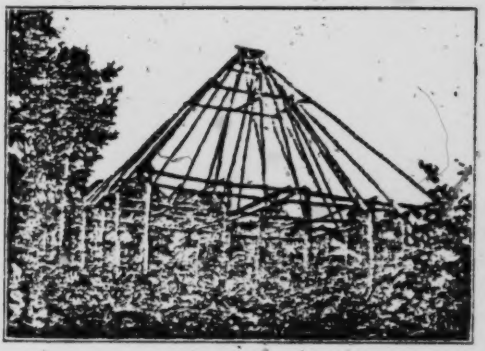

FIG. 287—Cancuc, Chis. Frame of house, illustrating type used in whole area.

The house was a rectangle, 4.90 x 4.20 meters (figs. 288-289), the front of the house being on a short side. The back and slightly less than half of the sides were walled with close-planted, upright [352] poles, without plastering. To wooden beds, *waixyivel,* like low tables, were built into the corners thus framed. Four corner-posts,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

501 raft, *poi,* to cross rivers or make very short trips. The specimen observed at *Hol-ha'* (Head of the Water), was made of five cork logs averaging 22 centimeters in diameter and 3.25 meters long, held together by two cross-sticks lashed on with lianas. There was some space between each log, the width of the raft being 1.25 meters. It had a definite bow and stern, the logs at the forward end being cut to an edge, "to cut the water." These rafts are propelled by a pole, preferably of mahogany, the one observed being 2.50 meters long. They are moored by thrusting the pole through a crack between two of the logs, into the bottom of the stream.

648 As one would expect, the old, complicated organization of priests and rulers, the aristocracy of pre-Conquest days, has been utterly swept away. Today, in their social organization, one may trace a little of the feeling of the old times, but the system is the creature of Spanish contact. On the haciendas there are no native officials save those who preside over the fiestas. The owner of the hacienda maintains a patriarchal sway over his workmen, governing them in every respect. Among the village tribes at Bachajon and Sivacá life is still influenced by the obligation to work for the government or the ranchers, although the independent nature of the Indians has won for them a good deal of self-government. Those of the Bachajon living on land belonging to ranches find themselves under a dual system, although the scattered location of their dwellings, deep in the jungles, minimizes the power of the Ladinos.

621 The tribes are very different from those of North America. From our brief observation, it appears as though there was none of that deep feeling of loyalty towards the group, of essential, almost mystic unity with the other members that characterizes our own Indians. Similar customs, common interest, and geographical proximity hold each Tzeltal group together; bonds that are easily broken. [609] Should an outsider attack the common weal by seizure of land or [578] by any other infringements, he will find the tribe solidly united against him, but at the same time it may be, and often is divided 627 within itself by many quarrels. The Bachajon carry out long feuds between families and individuals in the form of occasional murders. These have their origin in delayed retribution for some wrong received by one party from the other, for which, in turn, there is retaliation, and so on indefinitely.

For instance, the murder committed while we were at Encanto was the climax of a long-nursed grudge, and almost immediately afterwards there were indications that from that fight would arise 648 many others. Occasional attacks on ranchers are also usually carried

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

out by a small group bearing a grudge, although in this case the tribe as a whole stands more solidly back of the offenders. 648

The Bachajon exhibit internal dissension and strife to an unusual degree. There are many small, outlying sub-groups, some of which are more or less openly at war with the main body. In the description of Zona Sala oil camp (Chapter VIII) something has already been said of the settlement there of men driven away on account of the misbehaviour. They still call themselves Bachajon and maintain some slight intercourse with the tribe, although they are quite inimical in their attitude towards Indians passing through on the way to Palenque. There are other such settlements in different parts of the jungle, although these, having most recently split off, are the most hostile. 628

What group loyalty the Bachajon have centers around the deserted village that bears their name. It was described at the beginning of this chapter. Founded under compulsion, deserted whenever possible, its church and Cabildo in ruins, none the less it is their focal point, jealously guarded from intrusion. These Indians have had the same experience as our own; the European comes first as a visitor, then a few settle for trade, then comes a host in their footsteps, until soon there is no place for the Indian, and he finds himself an intruder in his own home. Against this sequence of events, so common in our history, the Bachajon protect their land by an attitude of unremitting hostility. Travellers may pass through, but no trader may set up even a lean-to bower under which to display his wares, save during the few days of their main fiestas, although it would be a great convenience for them to have a store nearer than Ocosingo. 621 609

The destruction of the Spanish-built church and Cabildo, with the substitution for them of native edifices, is curious. The feeling probably is that when they do congregate in their capital for a fiesta, they do not wish to be confronted by evidences of alien domination. 829

The strongest actual unit is that of the individual family, the man, his wife, and children. Indians who are forced, for one reason or another, to go into hiding in the jungle, will run great risks to return and fetch their wives and children. Even beyond this smallest group there is a little feeling, a man's relatives by marriage or blood often joining to support him in a feud, or to revenge a wrong done him. Similarly, the relatives of the individual who committed the wrong are held in some degree liable to punishment, although there is no formal rule of collective responsibility, the action taken depending largely on individual inclination. 593 594 602 627 [672]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Bachajón
Sivacá

621 Bachajon and Sivacá are governed through native officials selected from among the men of repute in the tribe by the Mexican Government, more or less in accordance with the Indians' wishes. They serve for definite terms, usually two years, and may be reappointed. Bachajon Village, organized when the whole tribe was concentrated there, has two complete administrations, each with a 624 president, council, and secretary. At Sivacá the only official is the *alcalde*, who carries as insignia a staff, *barra*, 1.50 meters long, decorated with a double cross in black at the head. The secretaries [212] are chosen primarily for literacy; the others are older men of influence in the tribe. The great respect with which they are treated by the natives indicates that the selections accord fairly well with those they would make themselves.

648 651 Each group is in the charge of a resident Mexican official called the *Maestro*, corresponding to our Reservation Agent. He is appointed by the Presidente Municipal of the local government. He is paid with taxes collected by himself from the Indians in produce or money, to which he adds commissions obtained from his services as a labour agent, the profits of trade in a few staples, and receipts from travelers, for whom his house is the official guest-house.

648 622 621 Ordinarily the *Maestro* does not give his orders directly to the Indians, but works through the native president, who may openly oppose him if he see fit, though he is in some degree bound to obey. The influence and power of the *Maestro* depends upon the individual, and on the temper of the Indians under him. In extreme cases he will send for troops, a measure greatly dreaded, as the soldiers, once arrived, may stay indefinitely, helping themselves freely to the pigs and chickens of the natives, and generally making themselves objectionable.

648 622 624 In addition to those appointed by the Government, the Indians accord obedience and respect to a considerable body of purely native officials. The only ones fulfilling a civic function are the class known as *Principales*, who exist chiefly among the Bachajon. They are men who know how to read and write Spanish, living in places more available to the outlying Indians than the Secretaries at Bachajon Village, and are usually men in whom confidence is reposed. Although they hold their position without official selection, but by general consent, they are recognized by the Mexicans with whom they deal as holding a sort of power of attorney for their people. They examine and sign written documents, and compose communications from the Indians to the Government. Through this they gain an influence with which, if they be men of force, they may become leaders of real power in their own districts. A *Principale* whom we met at El Encanto, where he had come in to buy salt, was

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

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the informal chief of one of the semi-separated, turbulent groups already described. He was a well-built, square-faced, sullen yet cunning looking fellow, with a long scar from a machete cut across one cheek, and credited with a number of murders.

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The shamans or medicine-men, *poci'*, although primarily doctors, have a quasi-priestly status, the result of the intimate relation of prayer and healing, of which more will be said later. They are honored accordingly as holy men, as well as for the power conferred by their knowledge of medicine and charms. A shaman obtains his position by some years of study under another, who teaches him both medicines and prayers. His repute largely depends upon the results of his practice.

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Certain older men are selected annually to have charge of the fiestas, or saint's day celebrations; they have charge of all preparations and of the conduct of the fiesta, as well as being usually responsible for the care of the various sacred properties during the year. These officers exist in the hacienda groups as well as in the tribes. At the Finca Tecojá, where a fiesta was observed in progress, they were an amiable pair of rather drunken old men, known as *Caporales,* and at most places, in common with other officers holding posts of Spanish derivation, they were known by Spanish names. Interestingly enough, in the villages with the Governmental organization described above, they rarely coincide with the Government appointees, although this may be partly due to the fact that they are usually selected from among the oldest men. In Guatemala these semi-church officers often are a mask for tribal positions of real power, as was found to be the case with the *tcimañ* of Jacaltenango, who will be described in writing of that place (Chapter XIX). Here their influence and prestige was relatively slight, [554] save during the period when their duties placed them in charge.

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Almost the only trace of pre-Conquest feeling is to be found in the great reverence shown towards all shamans and Government appointees. An ordinary Indian will offer food, drink, or tobacco to all men of authority present before taking anything himself, even though it means the consumption, for instance, of almost all of a bottle of *aguardiente* before he gets any at all. We saw a chief at Tenango, where the same system prevails, take a lighted cigar from an Indian's mouth, giving him instead some unrolled tobacco leaves. When first coming into the presence of such men, or passing them on the road, an Indian will take off his hat, bowing deeply; the chief or shaman touches the Indian's forehead, and he goes on. This is performed with grace and dignity. It is known as *k'ol-tanup,* "head giving" (*k'ol* from *hol,* head). Instances were observed of thus

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

778 paper, brightened with colour added by a cigarette package, a label from a tin of beets in a deep red, a joke in German about the fall of the mark, of which the prevailing tone was pure viridian, and a page of advertising from the Saturday Evening Post. We gave [123] this family a chromo of a saint, which was immediately framed with a sort of wooden box, and set up beside the cross. The table below was used for laying odds and ends on, such as the spindle and a couple of empty aguardiente bottles.

782 Incense, *pom*, and candles, both extensively used by the Indians 788 today, had a place in the old Maya ritual similar to that of the 177 Catholic Church.
178

The Priest is an important figure to the Indians. They come to 793 him with respect to tell him their troubles, and receive him into their villages with rejoicing. At the same time, there is no doubt that they deliberately hoodwink him as to the orthodoxy of their faith.

796 Although it includes several non-Christian elements, a description of the fiesta observed at Tecojá will give a fair idea of the Tzeltal's church observances. Tecojá ranch has a village of about [241] twenty houses attached to it. The fiesta was held on the twenty- [648] second and twenty-third of June. By custom, the ranch had to allow the Indians this time off, as well as accepting the lowered efficiency on the following "cold grey dawn of the morning after." The owners had, moreover, to provide the rum for the whole celebration, in this case, two demi-johns.

The ranch chapel was thrown open and decorated with fir branches and streamers. The proceedings were in charge of two [794] older men, called *caporales*, who were distinguished by a cross-belting of red handkerchiefs. One house was set aside for the celebrations, in front of which was a table and three triangular, crimson banners with gold edges. By these drumming and flute-playing went on irregularly. Here was the official dispensary for rum, which was given out by the *caporales*. Inside the house, a palm-thatched one with stick walls, about fifteen feet square, some thirty [534] Indians, men and women, were squatting against the walls. There was an orchestra of a guitar and a mouth-organ, occasionally augmented by the piper, who would wander in from outside. This individual, although most amazingly drunk, managed to maintain his [533] musical ability until he fell asleep. The tune they played was like a rather wistful jig, but the time was lively. To this four couples [535] danced, the men facing the women, with a shuffling step not unlike waltzing. They kept very much in one place, but occasionally changed sides. The dancing was evidently a serious affair. This type is called in Spanish *zapatea*, in Tzeltal, *ahk'Out*.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

We had a better chance here than anywhere else to look over 621
the village government. It being Sunday, all were present, the 624
Presidente Municipal, the *Secretario*, and council of *Regidores*, elderly men, grave of mien, with small, black goatees. The ordinary villagers treated them with the greatest respect. Each official carried a silver-headed cane with a red ribbon tied to it and the name of his office inscribed on the head. They are appointed to their offices by the government with the ratification of the village. The Maestro works entirely through them, and their orders are ab- 624
solutely obeyed. Indeed, owing to the independent nature of the 643
Tenangeros, the Maestro is rather like the ambassador of a powerful foreign nation persuading the local government, through tact and very gentle pressure, to behave.

We finished our survey about noon, the Indians appearing un- 126
willing to have us enter their houses. For the rest of that day we 123
spent our time working up our notes into good shape, then teaching the gift chickens to do tricks until Lazaro claimed them for the pot, and in dodging the local officials who, having got themselves slightly tipsy in honour of the Sabbath, came importuning us to give them cigarettes, of which we ourselves were short.

Both that night and the night before, traveling traders built 443
their little pine fires on the mud verandah of the Cabildo. In one case it was a Mexican and an Indian, in the other two Mexicans, to be distinguished from Indians only by the cut of their trousers and a donkey. They travelled with their big packs on a tump-line, long staff in hand, for all the world like a living re-incarnation of the traders shown in the pre-Columbian drawings of the codices (fig. 320). In old times they traded parrots, macaws, obsidian, textiles, jade, and later, gold and copper. Now it is a business of cheap 443
watches, gaudy cloths, and ten-cent jewelry, bringing Connecticut, 439
Hamburg, and Orizaba down to a fiesta in Bachajon village, following the old trade-route along which we were going, in the other direction, to San Cristóbal. Very few of the present Indian tribes

Fig. 320.—Travelling Aztec Merchant. Drawing after the Codex Laud.

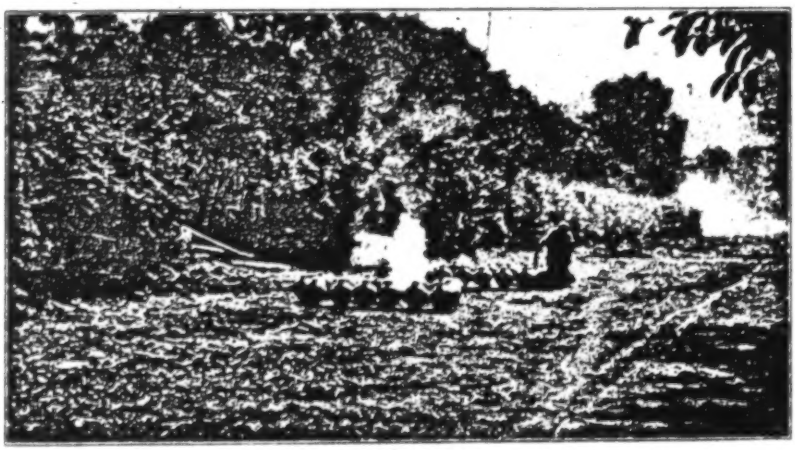
5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Tzotzil NV11

Tze 142 Tze 291

The men are tallish and the majority of them have sparse, black beards. They wear plain, white cotton tunics and short trousers, sashes, and hats of the sombrero type. The women wear the usual short, blue skirts. Their blouses are cut with a square neck, around which are embroidered three bands, each about two centimeters wide, of red, yellow and red. At the corners, little imitation tassels are embroidered in the same colours.

Tze 621 623 Tze 115

We were told, by an unreliable informant, that this village was remarkable for its independence. Its officials are chosen by the natives alone, and run through a regularly prescribed *cursus honorum* from secretary up to president, and then on to the council of elders. Government laws and orders sent to the village are debated by this council and are not published unless approved by them.



Tze 323

FIG. 339—Amatenango, Chis. Pottery baking.

Tze 584 323 606

We were also told that in case of marriage each party works for his or her prospective in-laws, and that the girl at that time learns pottery making, taking over the mother-in-law's specialty.

Tze 648 434 171

While there was no way of checking up on this information, it is true that there is no Maestro at Amatenango, and that the Indians seem to be an unusually self-respecting and self-reliant lot. Of all the Tzeltal people observed, they were the only ones who seemed to compare with the Zotzil-speaking Chamulas in energy and prosperity.

Tzo 114 137

Returning to ourselves and our trip. We left Tenejapa on the following morning by a winding, broad road climbing to a pass in

241 members entry to the ejido colony, an area where traffic was formerly ex- 442 cluded because of the monopoly by the large trucking companies. Both the 443 fruit and root of chayote are sold in August by some families who have a [489] supply over consumption needs. It is brought along with pottery to the market of San Cristóbal where it is sold to *regatones,* retail sellers who have stalls.

Decisions as to what crops to plant are not responsive to market fluctuation. With the major emphasis on subsistence crops, the farmers have little margin of land on which to experiment with profitable but risky ventures. They have little knowledge or experience. There are no full-time specialists in market operations, although the truck drivers may gradually assume a greater role in this respect.

Very few Indians of the region, and none of those in Tzoʔontahal sell 241 corn to the National Warehouses (Almacenes Nacionales de Deposito), al- 442 though the warehouses offer prices higher than the going market price for 443 corn. (940 pesos per ton in comparison to 500 to 600 pesos at harvest or 800 439 pesos offered a few months later by wholesalers who come to town). The [489] reason for their failure to take advantage of the higher market price is that they do not have sufficiently large crops to pay the transportation costs of 28.75 pesos or the "tip" to ensure that their crops will not be declared substandard because of impurities, rotten kernels, insects, or excessive water content. In addition to that, they must spend time at the warehouses and in traveling. The alternative to the sale of crops to national warehouses is sale to wholesalers.

Dealing with external agencies. Entering into competitive areas 471 where they were formerly excluded, the Indians are encountering opposi- 648 tion from competitors and are the prey of departmental and state government agents. The reduplication of bureaucracies at the state and departmental level means that they will be subject to the double "bite" or *mordida* if they pursue their enterprises. Operating on minimal capital, they are not able to fulfill all the requirements, or buy all the necessary permits and licenses. Because of monopolization of certain traffic by the larger syn- [494] dicates of truck owners, they proceed without permits and are often caught.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

474 The strategies the cooperative members have developed in their frequent
648 tangles with state police illustrate the combination of custom and innova-
661 tion. When caught red-handed, they may respond by playing the stereotype Indian role. "We don't know anything. We are just poor Indians. How do you expect us to do what the law says?" This is hard for the Ladino authorities to resist, since it feeds their own sense of superiority. But it does not always work, and so the Indians have devised secondary resources. They put the departmental police at each terminal of their usual route between Las Casas and Comitán on a regular monthly mordida pay-
[693] roll of 50 pesos each. When trying to extend their operations, they hire a lawyer. A recent coup has been the acquisition of a permit to truck corn from Villa las Rosas and other ejido settlements that have been recently colonized. The appeal was made on the basis that they are a nonprofit cooperative of ejidatarios. With the permit, they now undercut the price of their own competitors in the town as well as of the large companies. Law-
474 yers are beginning to advertise themselves in newspapers as "Friends of
693 the Indians" and are in some cases specializing in this new patronage, which they receive from other communities as well as Tzo'ontahal. The professional relationship bypasses personal ties which formerly limited the development of Indian leadership.

177 The self-development occurring in Tzo'ontahal may appear paradoxical
178 if we do not understand the internal dynamics by which change is con-
474 tained within an existing equilibrium. The cooperative association has
621 been adopted as a technique for socializing the risk of making a profit.
648 The truck, although currently used in an uneconomic operation, is a sym-
[493] bol of power in the struggle for a position in the regional markets and in the intracommunity factional strifes. The usual patron-client system is being reversed as the Indian puts the Ladino on his payroll to secure evasion from the law. In the changes which are occuring, the defensive structure of the corporate community is a means by which the Indians are entering into national life not on the lowest rung of the social ladder, but on terms they are setting for themselves. In the new enterprises, the Indians combine old ploys with new strategies. Confronted with legal threats from the outside world, they play the colonial game of defensive ignorance.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621 tural opposition between the two sides of the dual division. In this case,
578 resolution came with the intercession of federal troops.
[648] When curing was a controlled profession, with a hierarchy legitimizing
756 entry and exit, the power of the curers was directed toward guarding the
178 village against evil as well as curing. In the 1940s, the loss of one leader by death and the other's jail sentence meant loss of control over entry into the profession. A growing suspicion and discontent with the curers as a
[754] group, laying upon them the responsibility of much of the witchcraft, is reflected in the account of another older informant:

> *Formerly when the curers J. C., A. A., S. K., and J. D. were alive, they walked in common. The people were in accord with the curers because they watched over the peublo. They knew about medicine, and so people of Alannantik went to ask them favors to cure them and also the people of Ahk'olnantik went to ask them favors.*
>
> *But then, after they died [about 1940], the principales did not dare fight the curers because they had animal spirits, and the principales themselves didn't—they were just honorable people.*

621 The doubt about the civil authority's control over the curers has in-
756 creased since young leaders have taken the leadership in the town. One in-
178 formant said, "When there are young people in the cabildo, they can't keep control of the curers, but the old people in the cabildo can." With the relaxation of restrictions on entry into the curing profession, following the loss of leadership and the ranked hierarchy, curers were no longer re-
[273] strained by professional standards. When drunk, they bragged of their
[654] power to do evil as well as to do good. The first killing of a curer accused of being a witch occurred in 1937. He was working in Pinola when he
683 was shot. The dead curer's widow wanted to bring his body back to be
621 buried in the town cemetery, but the request was refused by the judges.
[178] This suggests that the town authorities agreed with the accusation, since it is the custom to return the dead to the town for burial. Other assassinations by individuals occurred in 1943 and in 1950. During this period, the civil officials sanctioned the assassinations of persons accused and convicted of witchcraft. When someone wished to kill a man suspected of witchcraft, they would go to the town hall and ask for permission. After a re-

000 animals. The domesticated animals include dogs, horses, burros,
231 cattle,[1] hogs and chickens.

311 To summarize, the villages are located in the same ecological zone. In addition to this, both villages have extended their cultivated lands into the lowlands, down to about 1,500 meters above sea level, where semi-tropical and tropical products are grown (Kaplan, 1956-57, 1958; Wagner, 1959, Part II, Section 5).

Archeology

172 Although the Chiapas Highlands seem to have been occupied from the late Pre Classic, Local Phase Sak (Adams, R.; 1961:342) the first evidence of occupation within the valleys belongs to the Late Classic and Early Post Classic. A few archeological sites of this period are located on the tops of small hills and ridges around the flat-bottomed areas in which today's towns are located.

Adams (1961) interprets the sites as having been independent communities, characterized architecturally by a lack of attention to ceremonial structures, conspicuous absence of sculpture, and a certain emphasis on fortifications and defensive positions, indications of some sort of warfare. Surrounding the sites there is evidence of small hamlets and of agricultural terracing, but

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[1] Cattle were introduced in the area a long time ago, but
[231] were not adopted by the Indians of Amatenango and Aguacatenango
[177] until very recently. They are more and more of a problem for the
• [648] milpa agriculturalist, because with the system of open range grazing, the cattle constantly invade the milpas, and are a continuous threat for the villager, plus a source of friction between Indian and Ladinos, especially cattle ranch owners.

172 the density of occupational refuse suggests to him that the populations were concentrated on the hill sites themselves.

During the Post Classic period the valleys of Amatenango and Aguacatenango were apparently unoccupied. This correlates with a shift in the total settlement pattern of the area, from small well defended valleys to large, more strategic positions such as the ones on the Plateau Summit of San Cristobal de las Casas.

Ethnohistory

175 Historical documents tend to confirm that the valleys of Amatenango and Aguacatenango were not occupied by any large nucleated settlements upon the arrival of the Spaniards. They do not appear in the first accounts of the Conquistadores. The earliest reference to Amatenango is 1586 and to Aguacatenango 1605, perhaps indicating that the former inhabitants were reducidos (concentrated in villages by the Spaniards) somewhat earlier. These first references occur in connection with grants of encomienda (i.e., they were tributaries of a Spanish lord, or Encomendero) (Simpson, L., 1929:1950).

175 361 621 648 Both communities were formed, as far as we can tell from the scanty evidence in the primary sources, by the Spaniards, in agreement with the policy of reducciones (concentration of population in villages) of the encomiendas initiated in the sixteenth century (Calnek, 1961, Appendix III). Each one of these settlements was formed of two separate pueblos, one incorporated within the other, which later appear in other documents as parcialidades.

175 361 621 648 Thus, the village of Aguacatenango was created by joining the parcialidades of Aguacatenango and Quesaltepec, while Amatenango was composed of the parcialidades of Amatenango and Sacatepec. It is not possible at present to identify more closely the social groups that the Spaniards called parcialidades.

[797] It is probable that each parcialidad was composed of several lineages and clans, but up to the present time no one has done a comparative study of name distributions on available censuses or other similar materials, nor has any record been found, which explains the procedures used by the Dominican Friars (who controlled the reducciones in the area) when they reorganized 175 the populations of the territory.[1] In central Mexico the term 171 621 parcialidad refers, in the primary sources, to the four divisions of Tenochtitlan, the Aztec Capital, but they also refer to the 175 621 648 barrios or calpuls (Caso, A., 1959). In Chiapas it is normally used to mean the sub-divisions of pueblos reducidos. It is known, however, that the parcialidades were originally separate groups of people which were independent social units. Even after the reducciones they kept important elements of their organization separate, including their political officers, who were responsible for complying with demands made by the Spaniards for tribute and labor. Some of the separate political functions have been re- 174 621 tained up to the present. It is also safe to assume that each one of the parcialidades was an endogamous group; both Aguacatenango

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[1] The new documents are still unavailable. They have been reported by Edward Calnek in the National Archives in Guatemala, and by Dr. Vicenta Cortez in the Madrid Archives, Spain.

175 161 area as a result of recurring epidemics. It has taken 180 years for the villages to double their population while Mexico as a whole has tripled it in 144 years, from 1793 to 1937 (Simpson, W., 1937: 149).

TABLE 1

DEMOGRAPHY: POPULATION INCREASE

Year	Amatenango	Aguacatenango
1778	576	568
1958	1,337	1,034

621 166 More recently both communities have sent out some of their population to form colonias (small dependent settlements) in their rural periphery. Amatenango has formed four separate rural barrios (La Grandeza, Madronal, Yetahwitz and Patzhwitz) situated within view of the town, and two colonias (San Vicente and San Caralampio). Aguacatenango now has one colonia, called El Puerto. Most of its inhabitants are related to those of Aguacatanango; they moved down to El Puerto in the last thirty years, after the community lands had been expanded in that direction.

Political History

175 648 During Colonial times and the Independence period both villages shared the same types of relations with the outside world; these were mainly the payment of tribute in kind and services to the Spanish and Ladino (Local Mexican) authorities.

When first mentioned, the villages appear to have been

175 under the administrative jurisdiction of the Provincia de los
648 Llanos.[1] They were, and still are, part of the same Curato of
[693] the local Catholic Church, which was under secular clergy, as opposed to most villages in the area which were under Dominican jurisdiction. Up until 1854 they were subjected to the same changes with respect to the administrative districts of the State of Chiapas (districts which were rearranged practically every time
175 there was a change of government). In 1854, however, the local
621 districts were reorganized into Municipalidades (the closest
648
631 English equivalent being a county); Amatenango became attached to Teopisca, the nearest Ladino-Indian town, as a part of the ninth Municipio, while Aguacatenango became dependent upon the fourth Municipio of Comitan, together with the towns of San Bartolomé (also a mixed Ladino-Indian town), Totolapa and Concordia (Trens, 1942).

631 At the present time Amatenango is an independent Municipio,
621 having been separated from Teopisca in 1937, while Aguacatenango is an Agencia of the Municipio of Venustiano Carranza. Both com-
[692] munities are, however, attached to the equivalent ladino towns in
[651] similar ways because of their economic dependence, because such disputes as are not solved within the confines of the village are sent to the juzados of the towns, and because the offices of the Tax Collectors and Ejidos are situated in these ladino towns.

175 Neither of the two communities became directly involved in
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621 the Indian Uprisings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,
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[1] San Bartolome de los Llanos; today known as Venustiano Carranza.

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Relations with the Outside World

Amatenango and Aguacatenango can be considered independent societies for the purposes of describing them, in terms of their internal features. Each one can be analyzed in terms of "the entities that compose it and their interrelationships" (Redfield, 1955:19). They have their own ecological adaptations and a set of cultural norms that preserve their style of life and justify it at the ideological level. They have their own "personality" and "life history." In a sense, they are those unique wholes which Redfield defined in "The Little Community" (1955): "a small settlement of people self-contained and distinct from all other" (Redfield, 1955:113). But because this is so, a description of their general outlines of life would not be complete without indicating their place in the larger society of which they form a part.

The Indian villages of Chiapas, such as Amatenango and Aguacatenango and many others, form part of a world larger than themselves, an extremely complex one, both socially and culturally.

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On the one hand, the Indian villages live within a local society which also contains settlements of Ladinos, local Mexicans who have a separate cultural tradition and social organization. On the other hand, although the Indian villages and the Ladinos' settlements are two quite distinct social types, one cannot be understood without the other.

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Mexico is a multiple society, characterized by two distinct cultural traditions, each significantly different in the extent of integration. Only part of the population of the country

/6 cont./

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Ajkol-culibal	Alán-culibal
19 Chik	14 Chik
13 Chejeb	18 Chejeb
22 Ijká	6 Ijká

/7/ Among the Spanish surnames we have 6 that belong exclusively to Alán- and 6 to Ajkol-culibal (not counting the case in which a native surname of the Chik clan is joined to two different Spanish surnames that are found in both culibales). The remaining 14 Spanish surnames are combined with surnames from the two culibales.

621 Today the culibal is not endogamous, but we believe it
582 possible that it was in former times (as we have found in recent
178 investigations of the Tzotzil group of San Pablo Chalchihuitán of
174 this region). The present possibility of changing residence and
551 the incorporation of native surnames originating from a culibal (or perhaps two) that have disappeared within the boundaries of the two remaining make the reconstruction of the pre-Hispanic
621 culibal impossible in this case. According to the data obtained
582 in our census, 62.5 o/o of the marriages were concluded between
551 persons whose native surnames originated from the same culibal.
[125] In spite of the low percentage, nevertheless the custom of mar-
[166] riage between people of the same culibal predominates (we should
[613] not forget the mobility permitted in recent times, because of which residents of one culibal are persons whose lineages originate from the other), although cases of marriage between persons belonging
[614] to the two different culibales also abound. It is almost always preferred to look for a wife among the women of the same place or rancheria, but at present we can say that clan exogamy is the only thing that regulates marriage.

621 Each culibal has its own chiefs, elected from and by those
622 members who have filled political-religious positions in the
[631] Chakel or Ayuntamiento /municipal government/. The clans are
[614] taken into account in this election, rigorously taking turns. The
[651] culibal chiefs assign the communal lands, organize the collective tasks for the benefit of the community, pray for the health and

/7 cont./

621 the harvests of all on the appointed days, and collect the taxes
622 on the lands of the culibal, which they take to the seat of the
• [651] municipality of Ocosingo, from which Cancuc depends in the capacity of municipal agency. An order given by a chief is obeyed without discussion by all the members of the correspond-
[614] ing culibal. The men of each culibal participate in the local government in equal number and category, just as also in the filling of religious positions, the clans always taking turns.

/8/ Kinship System

601 Below we shall see the kinship system, intimately related to the social organization based on exogamous patrilineal clans.

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Kinship Terms of Cancuc*

*This list presents the kinship terms with their significant primaries /Sp. primarios/. Some have the possessive prefix of the first person, but we have preferred to retain this form because this is how they are obtained in the genealogies and how they are heard in the common language in the forms of usage and because we use the charts of EGO, which are the ones of more common use. Due to the lack of printing types representing the phonemic signs, we have chosen the Spanish orthography.

601

bankil	a man's older brother
xibel	a woman's older brother
uix	older sister; father's sister
kitsín	younger siblings of both sexes
tat	father
me	mother
michán	a man's children
kaal	a woman's children

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

137 Change in soil is
134 probably the reason for change in vegetation. The tropical forest grows on black humus soil and the pine country is underlain by a red sandstone which weathers into a heavy red clay. The contact of this sandstone with the limestone country on which leaf trees grow lies about an hour's ride north of the village of Bachajon.

[133] The pine country is very hilly, the trees are scattered over a carpet of vivid green grass cut by the strong red line of the soil of the trail like a scar (fig. 195).

114 It was like riding through a magnificent park, up and down the hills and across small streams. Our poor animals had a hard time on the slippery trail. La Farge's horse gave out, and he had to change his saddle to a spare animal.

361 The Bachajon Indian village came in sight, lying on a hill in the
342 middle of the valley. It was well after noon when we reached the
346 dilapidated, grass-roofed and mud-walled huts clustered around the huge ruin of an old Spanish stone church. The Indians use a new church which they have built of the same material as their houses.

122 The house of the Government agent lies in the middle of the
344 village and here we were quartered in a room, the floor of which had just been covered with a carpet of fresh pine needles.

123 The Bachajon Indians are reputed to be unfriendly to all travellers, so we were not surprised when the Indian chief of the village told us that he could not furnish fodder for our animals or men to carry some of our cargo. To all our questions he answered "Mayuk," or in English, "Ain't get none." But when the chief, a little later, heard from our Encanto men that we had been friendly to them, and that furthermore, we were friends of the big father President in Mexico City, he changed his attitude.

648 The Government agent is sent to the Indian village by the civil
[651] authorities of the neighbouring Mexican town of Ocosingo. He is supposed to collect certain taxes, raise labourers for public works
[653] in the Mexican town, and help the Indians with their affairs. He is highly unpopular among the Indians, who counteract his orders through a remarkable system of passive resistance. They say "yes" to everything and do nothing. The only reason the Indians tolerate
[273] him is because he keeps a small store and sells liquor. The Indian is very fond of sugar-cane rum, and every Saturday and Sunday all the villagers generally get drunk. The agent complained bit-
[123] terly that the Indians were not selling him any food supplies and was astonished when they sold us chickens and eggs.

361 Most of the Bachajon Indians live hidden away in the bush. Only the families of the chief and the village officials live around the old church ruins.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón
Sivacá

621 Bachajon and Sivacá are governed through native officials selected from among the men of repute in the tribe by the Mexican Government, more or less in accordance with the Indians' wishes. They serve for definite terms, usually two years, and may be reappointed. Bachajon Village, organized when the whole tribe was concentrated there, has two complete administrations, each with a
624 president, council, and secretary. At Sivacá the only official is the *alcalde*, who carries as insignia a staff, *barra*, 1.50 meters long, decorated with a double cross in black at the head. The secretaries
[212] are chosen primarily for literacy; the others are older men of influence in the tribe. The great respect with which they are treated by the natives indicates that the selections accord fairly well with those they would make themselves.

648 Each group is in the charge of a resident Mexican official called
651 the *Maestro*, corresponding to our Reservation Agent. He is appointed by the Presidente Municipal of the local government. He is paid with taxes collected by himself from the Indians in produce or money, to which he adds commissions obtained from his services as a labour agent, the profits of trade in a few staples, and receipts from travelers, for whom his house is the official guest-house.

648 Ordinarily the *Maestro* does not give his orders directly to the
622 Indians, but works through the native president, who may openly
621 oppose him if he see fit, though he is in some degree bound to obey. The influence and power of the *Maestro* depends upon the individual, and on the temper of the Indians under him. In extreme cases he will send for troops, a measure greatly dreaded, as the soldiers, once arrived, may stay indefinitely, helping themselves freely to the pigs and chickens of the natives, and generally making themselves objectionable.

648 In addition to those appointed by the Government, the Indians
622 accord obedience and respect to a considerable body of purely
624 native officials. The only ones fulfilling a civic function are the class known as *Principales*, who exist chiefly among the Bachajon. They are men who know how to read and write Spanish, living in places more available to the outlying Indians than the Secretaries at Bachajon Village, and are usually men in whom confidence is reposed. Although they hold their position without official selection, but by general consent, they are recognized by the Mexicans with whom they deal as holding a sort of power of attorney for their people. They examine and sign written documents, and compose communications from the Indians to the Government. Through this they gain an influence with which, if they be men of force, they may become leaders of real power in their own districts. A *Principale* whom we met at El Encanto, where he had come in to buy salt, was

of metal and 10 pesos if made of wood. These are lined with waxed paper which the local storekeeper cuts from cracker-box wrappers and sells for 5 cents each. 435 415 177

Electricity, first used in the cooperative store and later in the liquor shops, is now being installed in houses. 83 families had electricity installed in their homes by 1967. Street lights have been in operation since 1966, although the first attempt to install them was blocked by residents on the streets to be lighted who did not want to pay the tax of 1 peso per month per household to meet the cost to the community of 75 pesos a month. Most people have a flashlight, and lighting in the house is provided by pitch pine or by small kerosene lamps. Candles are used only in ceremonies. 365 [651] 354 [416]

The inventory of items sold in the cooperative store in town includes the most frequently purchased items of consumption. Hardward includes buckets, hoes, kerosene lamps, batteries, Gillette blades, shotgun bullets, canned goods such as sardines, chiles, and powdered milk. Packaged foods include rice, sugar, salt, oatmeal, cornstarch, flour, coffee, biscuits, cookies, gum, and candy. Beer is sold along with soft drinks and cigarettes. Household supplies include candles, soap, D.D.T. powder, thread, matches, and kerosene. Medicines dispensed most frequently include sulphur pills, aralin, Desenfriol, Alka-Seltzer, and Sonrisal. Yard goods for shawls, children's wraps, and men's clothing are sold along with manufactured shirts, blouses for girls, and rubber capes. Eggs as well as money are taken in payment and then sold. Except for one can of Chocomilk, which sat on the shelves for a year, all of the items are in constant demand, and provide an index to the level of living and dependency on external markets. 444 [436]

The preferences in changing consumption are limited by communal standards of what is appropriate. I once asked a man who was acquiring more than the usual income by brokerage activities what he would buy with more money. He replied, "I would get more land and cattle." I interrupted to ask what he would do to improve his standard of living. "I wouldn't get better clothing—what would I need that for? I would get a house built with good materials like this [the government-built clinic] with a cement floor. But I couldn't get it now because of envy. When my children grow up, they [the neighbors] will see them working and maybe 434 178 177 [156]

175 648 under the administrative jurisdiction of the Provincia de los Llanos.[1] They were, and still are, part of the same Curato of [093] the local Catholic Church, which was under secular clergy, as opposed to most villages in the area which were under Dominican jurisdiction. Up until 1854 they were subjected to the same changes with respect to the administrative districts of the State of Chiapas (districts which were rearranged practically every time 175 there was a change of government). In 1854, however, the local 621 648 631 districts were reorganized into Municipalidades (the closest English equivalent being a county); Amatenango became attached to Teopisca, the nearest Ladino-Indian town, as a part of the ninth Municipio, while Aguacatenango became dependent upon the fourth Municipio of Comitan, together with the towns of San Bartolomé (also a mixed Ladino-Indian town), Totolapa and Concordia (Trens, 1942).

631 621 At the present time Amatenango is an independent Municipio, having been separated from Teopisca in 1937, while Aguacatenango is an Agencia of the Municipio of Venustiano Carranza. Both com- [692] munities are, however, attached to the equivalent ladino towns in [651] similar ways because of their economic dependence, because such disputes as are not solved within the confines of the village are sent to the juzados of the towns, and because the offices of the Tax Collectors and Ejidos are situated in these ladino towns.

175 669 621 631 Neither of the two communities became directly involved in the Indian Uprisings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,

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[1] San Bartolome de los Llanos; today known as Venustiano Carranza.

423 recent grants of land, and also because the whole region of
621 Amatenango and Aguacatenango has less population pressure than the overpopulated Chamula area.

Membership

621 In the social dimension, one of the basic features of the corporate communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is their criteria for membership: to become a member of Amatenango of Aguacatenango one has to be born in the village, or marry a village member.

Contractual membership, although rare, may occur, and has, but only for Indians, and with concensual acceptance by the whole
[166] community. When the nearby fincas were closed after the Mexican
[175] Revolution, some of the Indian peones attached to them asked for and obtained land from Amatenango and Aguacatenango and became full members of these communities with the same rights and duties as any other community member. Although people can indicate who is a member of a new or old family, this distinction tends to be forgotten, even by the families themselves, after the next generation has been born and married into the village.

628 A man from another Indian community may receive an agri-
621 cultural plot if he makes a petition to the Ayuntamiento, is willing
423 to pay the ejido taxes and the limosna (tax levied against the
[651] household heads to support the expenses of celebration of village holidays) and a small payment to the Ayuntamiento (20 pesos) for handling his case. Even then, he has to bring witnesses to testify

621 Among its duties are those of keeping vital statistics for
659 the National Population Bureau which are sent to the state office,
692 solving cases of adultery and theft, collecting the fiesta and
351 Ejido taxes, keeping the streets clean, building and repairing
363
491 roads and public buildings, and also taking charge of the local
499
344 jail. Ayuntamiento officers are also called in to prevent or solve
054 witchcraft cases and give advice and reprimands to misbehaving
626 wives, sons and other relatives when the household or the responsible relatives cannot deal with the case on their own.

621
423 The Ayuntamiento also keeps its own corn field, worked by
432 communal labor, whose crop is sold to collect funds for its own
434 expenses.

794 The Mayordomia, or religious body, performs the formal activities on the religious holidays, is the custodian of the sacred objects (rockets, church keys, bells) connected with the Church, and the authority which carries out the tasks required by all of man's peaceful relations with the supernatural on the village level.

They are responsible as a group for the upkeep of the Church building and saint images, and the preparations for and the performance of Church Fiestas, regular church meetings, etc. Among their duties are those of providing meals for the priest while he is in town, helping during mass, contracting musicians and collecting the Church limosna during mass.

621 This structural level lacks monopoly of either of these functions in relation to other less inclusive social units. Social control and religious activity are carried on at the level of the barrio, the extended family, and within the household, and religious activity can be carried on by individuals.

The action of the Ejido Commission of the town reveals the knowledge of how to manipulate political and economic power. By sending the 200-peso bribe, they were able to block the independence movement before the leadership had arrived. The extreme tactics used by the independence leaders in killing their opponents approximates the kind of political homicide characteristic of the central plateau (Friedrich 1962). The Indians of the center have been able to maintain their ejido grants intact. However, the political discrimination against residents of both colonias and barrios—no resident of either (except for the Huistecan mentioned above) has been elected president, and they never serve in any post higher than that of assistant judge—will undoubtedly lead to further unrest as the populations expand.

Bureaucratic inefficiency and corruption minimize the potential effectiveness of the ejido organization at local, state, and national levels. Projects undertaken by the national government lose their effectiveness when they are promoted by fraudulent claims, taking advantage of the presumed illiteracy and ignorance of the peasantry. The following case illustrates both the tactics of the ejido agents and the countertactics of the local Indians, resulting in a stalemate in the development projects planned and projected at the national level.

In August, two years ago, the Ejido Bank agents came to town with an offer to lend money on crops. We didn't want to borrow it, but Francisco, carbrón! [*then president of the town*], *said we should do it. "Good," we said. We accepted their terms. They said, "We will give fertilizer. It won't cost you a cent. We have tried it. It will give a good crop. We will give you money every six months, and you will pay the interest of nine percent. We will pay for all the costs. It won't cost you anything for the fertilizer."*

In six months, when the bank agents came to get the interest, they charged us six hundred pesos for the fertilizer. We did not want to receive the second load of fertilizer. We presented our case to the Jefe *and told him, "Why did you say it would not cost anything?" He replied, "No,* muchacho [*boy*], *I told you* [*using the familiar form* te dije] *that the fertilizer is going to cost."*

We used seven bags of fertilizer on each hectare for which they charged

us 65 pesos per bag. It was the first time we had used it and we had very good crops. We got together and decided not to pay for the fertilizer. We called the bank agents and requested that we be relieved of the charge because the crops had failed. We showed him a milpa which is a low plot that is too wet for a good crop. We just throw the seed there, but don't work on it because it isn't worth the trouble.

We went to a lawyer in Tuxtla. He told us the bank would have to pay for the fertilizer since they had promised it. The lawyer is the helper of the campesinos [*poor farmers*].

Several points of significance can be noted in this case: (1) the Indians are reluctant to take credit risks because of unfortunate experiences in the past; (2) they react to deception with their own deceptions, showing the engineer the land which had not only not been fertilized but had never been weeded or cared for; and (3) they seek professional legal aid in dealing with government agents in order to equalize the contest in which they feel disadvantaged. These first two behavioral syndromes are culturally conditioned responses; the third represents an innovation. By seeking professional aid for which they pay a fee, the Indians are breaking the monopoly of power held by the caciques to whom they were formerly bound in a network of personal obligations incurred in such transactions.

Recent colonization of national lands since the 1950s has introduced a new kind of ejido settlement. Since most of the lands contiguous to settled towns were absorbed in the early days of the ejido grant, movement has been into lands outside the domain of established centers. This spontaneous colonization of unexploited land has followed the penetration of new highways in Quintana Roo, Campeche, Chiapas, Tabasco, and Vera Cruz (de la Peña 1951:348). In defense of their rights to the new lands, the colonists, often of diverse origins, develop a political consciousness. Mestizos and Indians of different towns work together in securing official ejido status for their lands. Acculturation to the national language and ways of life is much greater in these mixed centers than in the settled populations that were part of the original ejido tracts. Consciousness of their rights under national law and independence from traditional loyalties means that these new settlements may be the basis for welding Indians into the na-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

137 Change in soil is
134 probably the reason for change in vegetation. The tropical forest grows on black humus soil and the pine country is underlain by a red sandstone which weathers into a heavy red clay. The contact of this sandstone with the limestone country on which leaf trees grow lies about an hour's ride north of the village of Bachajon.

[133] The pine country is very hilly, the trees are scattered over a carpet of vivid green grass cut by the strong red line of the soil of the trail like a scar (fig. 195).

114 It was like riding through a magnificent park, up and down the hills and across small streams. Our poor animals had a hard time on the slippery trail. La Farge's horse gave out, and he had to change his saddle to a spare animal.

361 The Bachajon Indian village came in sight, lying on a hill in the
342 middle of the valley. It was well after noon when we reached the
346 dilapidated, grass-roofed and mud-walled huts clustered around the huge ruin of an old Spanish stone church. The Indians use a new church which they have built of the same material as their houses.

122 The house of the Government agent lies in the middle of the
344 village and here we were quartered in a room, the floor of which had just been covered with a carpet of fresh pine needles.

123 The Bachajon Indians are reputed to be unfriendly to all travellers, so we were not surprised when the Indian chief of the village told us that he could not furnish fodder for our animals or men to carry some of our cargo. To all our questions he answered "Mayuk," or in English, "Ain't got none." But when the chief, a little later, heard from our Encanto men that we had been friendly to them, and that furthermore, we were friends of the big father President in Mexico City, he changed his attitude.

648 The Government agent is sent to the Indian village by the civil
[651] authorities of the neighbouring Mexican town of Ocosingo. He is supposed to collect certain taxes, raise labourers for public works
[653] in the Mexican town, and help the Indians with their affairs. He is highly unpopular among the Indians, who counteract his orders through a remarkable system of passive resistance. They say "yes" to everything and do nothing. The only reason the Indians tolerate
[273] him is because he keeps a small store and sells liquor. The Indian is very fond of sugar-cane rum, and every Saturday and Sunday all the villagers generally get drunk. The agent complained bit-
[123] terly that the Indians were not selling him any food supplies and was astonished when they sold us chickens and eggs.

361 Most of the Bachajon Indians live hidden away in the bush. Only the families of the chief and the village officials live around the old church ruins.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

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hacienda, are held liable for a certain amount of labour each year, in lieu of rent. Should one of them fail to do his share, the owners are considered free to arrest him and bring him in. While so working, they are paid, largely in credit at the local store, and fed. On the haciendas with regular village establishments, and in other parts of Mexico, this system has worked smoothly in the past, because the workers found themselves cared and provided for, corn laid up for the future, money or credit ready for festive occasions, and so forth. But the more independent Bachajones seem amply able to take care of themselves, and do not relish working for a ranch miles from their homes, even when they acknowledge its ownership of the jungle in which they dwell.

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The payment of labour is seen again in relations of the Indians with the Government, which holds them liable to road-mending and municipal work, as a form of tax. Commonly, crimes are also punished by fines of such work. The system is irregularly applied. For instance, some Indians from Cancuc, who were carrying part of our outfit to San Cristóbal, were held up for two hours road-work at one point. Every Indian that came that way was similarly held. Starr (1902) reports the same experience. In San Cristóbal the right to collect any Indian for labor has been so abused as materially to harm the trade of the town. Quite serious crimes, as long as only committed by one Indian against another, are relatively lightly punished in this manner. It may be said, as far as concerns the tax-*corvée*, that the right of the Indians to go home again before staying away long enough to cause their crops to suffer is generally recognized, and the Indians themselves know when it is time to announce that they must leave. The whole system, however, leads to a certain amount of hard feeling on the Indians' part.

FIG. 282—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon men.

[829]

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Interwoven with these specific factors must be considered the Ladino's general attitude towards the Indian. To him, especially the town-dweller, the natives are barbarous in all respects, legiti-

base, so the farmers prefer to plant the better, quicker-growing corn seed 242
in a mixed sand and loam soil.

The final evaluation of land is based on results at harvest. The range of 242
variation is large: from 48 liters of yield per liter of seed to 80 litters of 433
yield per liter of seed. Township officials say that the average harvest is
five *fanegas* (1 fanega equals 12 liters) or 60 liters per liter of seed. Market [435]
prices are of less importance in deciding what crops will be planted than
are considerations of what the soil "wants" and what labor is involved.
Corn is grown on all kinds of land, whereas beans and special crops such
as cabbages can be grown only on the more fertile soil. Wheat can be
grown only where there is irrigation. One farmer raised cabbage in coop- [434]
eration with a Ladino and earned 1,000 pesos, four times the amount he
earned with his wheat crop the previous year. Despite the greater return
for cabbage, the farmer did not plant it the next year when the Ladino,
who had supported the first venture, withdrew his support. The reason he
gave for this was the fact that there was more work involved and he could
not accomplish it alone: first the crop had to be planted, then transplanted,
then irrigated every three days in the early growing period, and cultivated
two or three times; every eight days he had to get rid of worms. He esti- [461]
mated that growing cabbage involved well over four times the amount of
work necessary for growing corn.

Labor. Most agricultural work is performed by members of 592
households with exchange or hired labor. There is no specialization of 241
labor when the work force includes two or more men since the men 476
cooperate in doing each task. Communal labor is restricted to the mainte- 464
nance of the main irrigation ditches. Each year the ditches are dug out 241
where the sides have eroded and cleaned of brush and leaves. The presi- 621
dent and judges unite to decide on a time for this work and announce it 476
on a loudspeaker of one of the cantinas. This usually occurs around the
twenty-fifth of December. Formerly, all the men of the community helped
in this work whether or not they owned irrigated fields. In 1958 those who [178]
did not own such land "got smart" and refused to work. [423]

In 1962 the civil officials decided that a cement canal should be installed 653
near the source of the spring. They tried to finance it with contributions 621
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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

653 621 241 423 from all men of the township, but again they were refused by the farmers who did not own irrigated land. The officials then sold trees in the communally owned lands to support the project, which cost 2,000 pesos. The farmers without irrigated lands still bore the cost although indirectly since community resources were expended in subsidizing the work.

241 The scheduling of agricultural activities follows an annual cycle for the three major crops, corn, wheat, and beans.

243 242 *Corn.* In corn production, the greatest discrimination comes in the selection of seed.[4] Seed is chosen from cobs which have the most grain. The farmer must look carefully to see that none of it is rotten, since if one grain is bad, the entire five grains put into each hillock will rot. There are two major kinds of corn: a quick-growing variety and a slow-growing variety. The first is preferred, but not all soils "want" it. The bitter soil "wants" the slow corn which must be planted about the first of February. [177] A new corn seed introduced by some developmental engineers in 1957 yielded more grain, but it was not as flinty as the old variety and rotted quickly.

243 The soil is prepared by cross-plowing the land three times in one direction and two times in the other. Those who do not own their own oxen team do it just once because of the additional expense. In planting, the farmer is careful to measure rows evenly, five handspans between rows, and five handspans between each hillock, forming a square which permits the maximum growth of each plant. Five seeds are placed in each hillock. In hot country, the land has not been worked over as well, and as a result it cannot be measured as accurately because of rocks and trees. This upsets the agriculturalist's sense of symmetry and beauty.

Once the corn has been planted, the scheduling of activities is based on the maturation of the plant rather than on a calendrical sequence. The scheduling of activities in corn production is shown in Table 6. The starges of growth in the corn plant and the activities related to them are listed in Table 7.

Cultivation is performed twice, to kill the weeds and to pile up earth at

4. The botanist Anderson (quoted in Lévi-Strauss 1966:73) points out that the careful separation of seed planted in each plot distinguished Indian from non-Indian agriculturalists in other Middle American communities.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

by the company truck to replenish supplies they bring with them. Most of the workers are young men in their twenties and thirties. They return Saturday evening in a truck supplied by the company and go back to work on Monday morning. Weekly wage payments have upset the usual controls over budget management. Money earned from crops is handled by women. The sawmill workers have resisted passing over their paychecks to their wives or mothers, and several court cases have been precipitated as a result (Appendix 2b).

All of the work in which men are engaged outside of the community is voluntarily undertaken for cash compensation. Formerly, forced labor of two kinds was frequently demanded of the Indians: communal labor in the neighboring ladino town when Tzoʔontahal was an *agente municipal* of that town, and work in neighboring fincas for wages of 50 cents a day. Forced communal work came to an end when the town became an independent municipio in 1931, and the labor roundups at substandard wages were ended when Indians became conscious of their rights guaranteed in the *Ley Federal del Trabajo* in the late 30s. Copies of the *Colección Jurídica Ley Federal del Trabajo* are sold in the departmental marketplace along with the *Codigo Agraria*. Awareness of their rights as workers is concomitant with increasing entry into wage labor employment outside of the local community. As yet, Indians do not have any organized labor interest groups to champion their rights. The Commissioner of Indian affairs in the departmental capital is an intermediary in individual cases that arise. But wage levels and conditions of work are set in a free market in which the Indian's only control is to refuse to work.

The few special occupations in the town, such as butchering, caponizing, weaving bags, carpentry, and midwifery, have never developed into full-time professions.[2] The failure of the development of specialization is related to the tradition of ritual offerings of gifts of liquor and consumables and to the lack of a marketplace in the town.

Most of the livestock raised in the town is sold to butchers of the neighboring town because of lack of storage or of market facilities for the meat. Pigs and bulls are slaughtered in town only on the occasion of a celebra-

2. Curing is treated in a separate chapter since it is an exceptional case of specialization related to social control.

159 civil officials, not of me"). He identifies himself with the Indians in the
875 fight against the competitive trucking cooperative ("Those who are with
563 him [Don Ramon] are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by
177 him"). While he does not accuse Ramon's wife directly of witchcraft he
178 implies this in saying that people sign their candidate's nomination peti-
[754] tion for president because they are afraid Juana will use witchcraft. This is
[626] a characteristic mode of attacking one's enemies in the town. He claims credit for all of the innovations in the town which have won public approval—the highway, the water supply, electricity, and so forth.

622 The profit motive is inadequate to explain why Ladinos want to play
875 the role of cacique in these corporate Indian communities. One must seek
563 for an explanation instead in the social status they gain. While their jobs
177 are limited and usually frustrating and they can never be completely inte-
178 grated into the community, political activities offer them a larger arena in which they can derive personal satisfaction. The contrast between the schoolmaster's position in Tzoʔontahal before he became a political leader and his position after finding local supporters illustrates this. In the early days of his residence in town, when he built a chicken coop which extended a few feet beyond the grounds allotted to the schoolhouse, some Indians threatened to kill him. In 1957, I saw him trying to summon a policeman from the town hall, which was adjacent to the schoolhouse, to remove a boulder from the path so that a visiting friend could pass in his automobile. No one heeded his urgent shouts or the whistle he used to call children to school, although they were well aware of what he wanted. But by 1965 there was not a single important transaction which did not require consultation with the schoolteacher. Campesinos from as far as Villa Las Rosas came to request his advice and his help in approaching government agents. In projecting his political role, he gained support for projects which were of interest to him. When he had succeeded in getting the gov-
[653] ernment to install water pipes and electricity, he talked the civil authori-
312 ties into building a kiosk, or bandstand, in the plaza. This was a fulfill-
365 ment of his ambition to make the town over in the image of a colonial
[345] Spanish pueblo. His final statement in the speech quoted above, "Today we see a kiosk, tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory!" reveals the symbolic significance it had for him.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

563 Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo relations between Indians and Ladinos are more friendly, and the Indians are regarded as milder and more tractable.

181 Of the strongly Indian towns, Cancuc is the most conservative, Chanal the most progressive.

631 563 In respect to official political organization, these villages are divided according to their importance and the number of their inhabitants, into free municipalities (*municipios libres*) and dependent municipalities (*agencias municipales*). The former are those which have the right to choose their own government, upon which formal administration depends. To this category belong Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Ococingo, Chilón, and Bachajón. Until a short time ago the municipal governments of these settlements were composed of Ladinos in the principal posts and of Indians in the subordinate positions. At the present time the government is seeking to reverse this situation so that the Indians have the greater authority; it is for this reason that the governments of the four villages first mentioned are now headed by Indians. This change has brought about marked [177] alterations in certain places in the social equilibrium that before existed between the two ethnic elements which compose the population.

Villages of the latter category are those which depend, in administrative matters, on a free municipality. In these cases authority is represented in the first place by the *agente municipal*, who is named by the central municipal government. This post is always discharged by a Ladino. In most instances the municipal agent compensates for the meagerness of his salary by controlling the sale of rum in the village which he administers. The other members of the municipal government are chosen almost always from the Indian group.

184 243 439 In several of the highland communities, notably Amatenango, Chanal, and, to a much less extent, Tenejapa, the Indian grows (in addition to the universal maize) a certain amount of wheat for export; the Ladinos of Oxchuc cultivate this crop, but in Cancuc, where there are no Ladinos, wheat is not grown. (Wheat is 433 also grown in the Tzotzil towns of Chamula and Huistán.) Other money crops 241 of the highlands are chickpeas, peas, oranges, and other fruit. Some coffee is grown in San Martín; it is the principal export from Yajalón and Petalcingo. In Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Chilón a principal produce is brown sugar, made locally from sugar cane locally raised. Cancuc is the only village that cultivates cotton commercially; the production in the other communities is insignificant. The local [286] manufacture of loom-woven clothing is rapidly disappearing. Most Tzeltal com- [178] munities are without beehives, but there is considerable apiculture in Sivacá, and 231 a little beekeeping is also practised in Tenango, Bachajón, and Yajalón. Apparently 184 the bees kept are wild colonies brought to the villages in the sections of hollow log they are made to inhabit. The raising of hogs and poultry is a principal economic 233 recourse in all the Indian settlements. The beef cattle industry has always been in the hands of Ladinos; however, recently the Government, acting through the [654] Centers of Native Education, has sought to stimulate the industry among the Indians.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[p.461-B]

682 704 756 location of the soul, *sč'ulel*, in the tongue, *yat*, wherein lies the particular power of the curer. This possibly suggested the mode of attack.

682 411 412 [223] [224] The instruments used to kill are carried by the farmers of this area most of the time. The men go to their milpa with a machete strapped to their side, a shotgun slung over their shoulder, and sometimes even a knife stuck in their waistband. They frequently interrupt work to hunt birds, rabbits, and deer. The shotgun does not excite suspicion or comment when it is seen. The men of Teklum are technologically prepared to kill in the course of an ordinary day's work.

682 [152] [683] The number of wounds and the thoroughness with which the job is done (see Table 1) suggest not so much the fury of the assailants as the fear motivating their act. In a witch-killing, it appears to be thought necessary to hack up the victim completely so that his power is effectively ended: one witch was cut into 32 pieces; another had 166 wounds.

682 674 656 The death acts drawn up in the local courthouse have been increasingly specific in their statements as to the wounds inflicted ever since the government's intervention in the case of an accidental death in 1950. The local authorities were threatened with a fine of 600 pesos if the details were not properly recorded. The careful measurement of the body in relation to the road and to neighboring milpas and the measurement of the size and depth of the wounds provide the screen of complicity that wards off further investigation by federal authorities and preserves local independence. There is never any questioning of suspects or attempt to solve the crime by officials. The success of the ploy is illustrated in the following account:

> Pedro had animals at the spring and had gone out early with ropes in his bag to lasso them. He was found with a rope tied around his neck hung from a *čikinib* tree. We went out and measured the length and thickness of the rope and how many centimeters it penetrated his neck. We put all these facts in the report, which gave the cause of death as suicide.
>
> At that time we had a schoolteacher in town who asked the dead man's wife why the town didn't investigate who killed him because someone must have done it. He went with the widow to the Ministerio Publico in the capital. Well, when they came out, there were all the facts in the death act. [Informant laughed heartily as he recalled this success.] He saw that we had discovered the body at 3 P.M., that the rope was 15 meters

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.462-A] Teklum

682 674 656 long, and that the body was suspended 35 centimeters from the ground. He saw that we had raised the act well, and nothing was done.

Who Kills and Why

682 562 The only universal factor among the killers is sex—only men kill (Table 2). Women do not kill nor are they killed in Teklum. This does not mean that they are not subject to as many tensions or abuses as men, or that these have no channels for expression. Women work through men by agitating them to homicide. [593] Sometimes revenge is delayed, for the agents chosen by women may be children who must reach maturity before accomplishing the deed (see case 36, in which the son's animosity toward his father was kindled at his mother's deathbed).

682 683 621 Neighbors are a significant group in witchcraft killing. (Neighbors may be listed in Table 2 under another relationship, for instance as brother-in-law or as cattle owner.) They are the informal judges of suspected witches, and it is frequently they who kill a man considered to be a witch. When the curers accuse a man of causing epidemics, his neighbors are usually the executors. [608] For this reason, most people try to neutralize the hostility of

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423 432 609 621 was in a low gully where crops would not grow, and no one within the community would buy it.

Land is frequently pawned by farmers as security on a loan. The title to 423 426 the land is left with the lender, who can foreclose on the debt if the interest payments of five percent per month are not paid. Often the land pawned may be worth far more than the loan. Loans in town are rarely backed with security, and if something is pawned, it is usually clothing or household items.

178 423 428 593 With the growing sighificance of ejido lands and land sale, inheritance of land is of less importance in the economic expectations of each successive generation. The rules controlling inheritance are theoretically simple: equal inheritance for all children regardless of sex. The parents usually give some land when the child establishes a separate household; the remainder is then given at the death of the parent or when old age makes it impossible for the parent to work any more. The youngest child remaining at home works his father's land, or if he is living with his wife's family, his father-in-law's land, until the latter's death. His family inherits the house site as well as an equal share of the privately held lands. Complications arise because of modifications of the basic rule of equal inheritance by provisions for care and maintenance of the aged parents. Frequent disputes over inheritance are settled in local courts or passed on to the Department of Indian Affairs in San Cristóbal. [692] [647]

241 The selection of which crop to grow is related to the kind and amount of land a farmer owns. The most important crops are corn, beans, and wheat. Some squash and sugarcane are grown in the lower ejido lands of San Caralampio. Cabbage is grown by one Indian who possesses fertile irrigated lands in the center. Most Indians, however, are unwilling to undertake the risk of raising a cash crop since there is greater chance of the crop being stolen and they cannot afford a bad market price when they harvest.

241 423 433 Relating the size of holding to the crop grown, according to figures in the Mexican census of 1960[3] (Table 4) one can see that in privately

[659] 3. The census figures are based on estimates received from town officials, who submit them monthly to the census bureau. The officials of the town question the household heads as they see them in the streets or in their houses about how much seed they planted. They then estimate what the yield per almud for good and bad land is, from their own crops.

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owned plots of less than five hectares, corn is clearly the major crop, with 83 percent of the land devoted to its production. In the ejido lands, it is cultivated on less than 50 percent of the land, with wheat and beans sharing the remaining lands. Included in the category of ownership of five hectares or more are three large fincas where cattle fodder is grown. These fincas employ eighty-three laborers, some of whom live in the town center.

Since the Mexican census figures do not take into account the total land holdings of the household, I shall refer to the data on land use from my own census in 1964 (Table 5). Beans are grown (except in three cases) only if the household has more than the one hectare of ejido land grant. Corn and beans are grown together only on irrigated lands, both in high lands and in low country. Most farmers with ejido land grow wheat in addition to corn only when the land is in continual production, since it is believed that wheat gives "heat" to the land and improves the soil. This belief is supported by the real value of crop rotation.

Decisions concerning what crops to plant where are based on two sets of criteria: topology and soil characteristics. These criteria, furthermore, are the basis for determining what kinds of seed should be planted and what techniques of cultivation should be utilized.

Topological criteria. Because of the relative wealth of land resources, the steep hills are left uncultivated. All of the steep hills are communally owned, and the second growth of pine and scrub oak provides firewood. Tall pine growing in the higher lands of the colonia of San Vicente is sold by the community to private lumber companies.

The "belly of the land," the mound-like hillocks at the bottom of the hills, are sometimes cultivated or used for pasturage. On hilly lands farmers put rocks in the banks or curve the rows of corn to avoid erosion. The very low lands of the valley floor must be drained by digging ditches.

The flat irrigated lands of the valley floor are the most desirable lands for cultivation. The Indians are reluctant to sell these lands, and hold on to them until they are forced to sell.

When the officials reach concensus on what the mean yield (or *medio calculo* as they call it) is, they multiply this by the known amount of seed planted. Every six years a house-to-house census of what was planted is made.

621 Among its duties are those of keeping vital statistics for
659 the National Population Bureau which are sent to the state office,
392 solving cases of adultery and theft, collecting the fiesta and
351 Ejido taxes, keeping the streets clean, building and repairing
363 roads and public buildings, and also taking charge of the local
491 jail. Ayuntamiento officers are also called in to prevent or solve
499 witchcraft cases and give advice and reprimands to misbehaving
344 wives, sons and other relatives when the household or the responsible
754 relatives cannot deal with the case on their own.
626

621 The Ayuntamiento also keeps its own corn field, worked by
423 communal labor, whose crop is sold to collect funds for its own
432 expenses.
434

794 The Mayordomia, or religious body, performs the formal activities on the religious holidays, is the custodian of the sacred objects (rockets, church keys, bells) connected with the Church, and the authority which carries out the tasks required by all of man's peaceful relations with the supernatural on the village level.

They are responsible as a group for the upkeep of the Church building and saint images, and the preparations for and the performance of Church Fiestas, regular church meetings, etc. Among their duties are those of providing meals for the priest while he is in town, helping during mass, contracting musicians and collecting the Church limosna during mass.

621 This structural level lacks monopoly of either of these functions in relation to other less inclusive social units. Social control and religious activity are carried on at the level of the barrio, the extended family, and within the household, and religious activity can be carried on by individuals.

5; Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Revolutions have since destroyed the herds, and the town now has only a small local trade in sugar and rum. 233

All goods are transported on mule-back over bad trails. Main trails run to Yajalon, San Cristóbal las Casas, and Comitan. Minor trails connect with Tenosique in Tabasco, a ride of five or six days through uninhabited forests. Other small trails lead into the heart of the forests along the Usumacinta river, where there are a few mahogany camps, fourteen days distance on a good mule. 492 491 [313]

The Spanish Conquerors had quickly discovered the richness of the soil and taken possession of it. Therefore, we find but a few Indians around Ocosingo, save at the small town of Sivacá, entirely inhabited by Tzeltal-speaking Indians. From there we secured our labourers, who were summoned by the municipal president and worked for us at the regulation pay of 50 centavos per day. Ocosingo holds sway over the native towns of Sivacá, Tenango, Oschuc, San Martin, and Bachajon. The municipality commands the Indians for all kinds of work, and in many ways lives on what can be pressed from them. As a consequence, the good people of Ocosingo are anything but popular among the Indians, though it appears that the man then in charge, Señor Simon Leon, was quite friendly towards them, and therefore well liked. 175 134 563 [114] 661 829

Geologically, the Ocosingo Valley is a syncline, the valley bottom and the interior mountain ranges being of a coarse red sandstone, and the exterior ranges of limestone. The axis of the valley runs approximately N-80-W to S-80-E, and Ocosingo town is located at an altitude of 900 meters above sea level. 133 [135]

As we rode into the village, La Farge discovered a stone block, carved with hieroglyphs, set in the pavement of the sidewalk, an excellent reception for archaeologists. 172

Our first concern was to find quarters, which we located in a house on the corner of a street leading into the Plaza. Soon our equipment was unloaded, and while we unpacked, the Ladino guide we had acquired in Bachajon went to his house to order food for us. 114 [122]

The restaurant and meal were a surprise, though not pleasant. In a room with a rotten board floor, the plaster falling off the walls, and a huge box full of saints, we were served fried eggs and black beans by an old woman with a large goitre. Though nothing in the house appeared to be either particularly exclusive or clean, the Ladino family seemed to resent that we sat down at the table with our chief guide, the trusty old Indian, Lázaro, now called "Tata" by us.

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423 tlements were assigned to one of the two sections of the division in the
621 center with an attempt being made to maintain a demographic balance.
166 Incorporation of the new settlements was more effective in the case of the barrios than in the case of the colonias, which were farther away from the town center and included Indians of diverse communities. The process of
175 breaking away from the old community is illustrated by the 1961 move for
423 independence made by the original settlers of the colonia of Caralampio.
621 The following account was given by a man who was then secretary of the
661 ejido:
159

> *The first settlers of San Caralampio, José, Pablo, Luciano, and Santos were self-appointed* principales, *or head men, of the colony. Santos and Luciano were from the town center, and José and Pablo had worked on the ranch when it was privately owned. The colony was well populated and the people lived well—there were no fights nor any problems. In 1956 the four principales decided that they should separate from the center. They told the people that if each person would contribute twenty-five pesos, they would raise the issue of the division in the* Departamento Agraria Mixta. *José invited Mateo, a man who knew how to read and write, to help them.*
>
> *"Let's divide from the town so that we alone will run the colony," he told them.*
>
> *The principales took the money contributed and went to Tuxtla. There, in the* Liga de Communidad Agraria *they asked for the separation, and were referred to the* Departamento Agraria Mixta. *When they arrived there with their request, the commissioner said that he would have to communicate with the chief in Mexico.*
>
> *After this, Pablo came one day to the center. He spoke to the ejido commission: "Look here, José, Luciano and Mateo went to Tuxtla."*
>
> *"What for?" asked the ejido president.*
>
> *"They asked for a division from the town."*
>
> "Que pendejo!" *said the president. "What happened?"*
>
> *"What do you think?" asked Pablo.*
>
> *"We are against it. If it was a new center, we would support you. But*

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we are against division," said the president. "How much did you have to contribute?" he asked Pablo.

"Twenty-five pesos. They told us if we do not give money, we will be thrown out of the colonia."

We advised him that it would be better not to continue giving money to the principales. "You can't make this division," we told him.

One Sunday all the pueblo united in a mass meeting. Everyone was present. People asked about the affair of San Caralampio, and the Ejido Commission explained to them what had happened. The people said, "Let's get rid of them [the four principales of San Caralampio]."

When the three principales returned to San Caralampio from Tuxtla they asked each household head to contribute fifty pesos in order to send them to Mexico to talk personally with the Chief of the Ejido Division. Pablo came the next day to talk to the president in the center and advised them that the principales had gone out. There was another meeting. The president's decision was to get a contribution of one peso from each person in the center so that they would have six hundred pesos to prevent the division. They feared that if this occurred the people of the center couldn't work down there.

When the leaders of the central Ejido Commission had received the money, they went to the departmental capital to explain to the chief of the ejido zone what had happened. They said that the leaders of the colonia had gone to Mexico.

"Let's to go work!" said the chief. "Did you bring the money?"

"Yes, we have six hundred pesos."

"Go to the bank and change it into one-hundred-peso bills," said the chief. "Let us send two hundred pesos to the chief of the division in Mexico so that he will prevent the division."

We sent the money airmail. Before the principales of San Caralampio had arrived, we had their way blocked. Our money went to work for us. In five days, the chief in Las Casas said the money had been well received, and the leaders of San Caralampio had not been received.

A week later, Pablo came to see how the affair had proceeded. We asked Pablo if he had contributed money. He said no. We told him,

175 423 621 661 159 *"Don't give any more money. The Ejido Commission won't let the division happen since we are the same pueblo."*

The four principales returned from Mexico. They said that they had a paper and that an engineer would come. They asked for another contribution of 25 pesos. They said that those who wouldn't pay would be thrown out. Pablo came and told us. We told him not to be afraid. The principales now knew that Pablo was with us. He had two brothers, Pancho and Ignacio, whom he advised not to go along with the principales since he knew that they would not win the case. When the principales returned to ask for more money for their trips to Tuxtla, both brothers refused.

175 423 621 661 682 159 *Since these three brothers did not cooperate, the principales got angry and decided to kill Pablo. One day, when Pablo was on his way to Teopisca, he was shot in the back. He continued riding 76 meters. The horse returned to his house. His wife ran to tell his two brothers that the horse had come home without a rider. The brothers ran out and found Pablo dead. The civil authorities of the town went. A few days passed. The brothers never asked for justice. But since they knew who did it, one of them took Pablo's 16-centimeter rifle. Pablo's wife had been thinking of selling it to pay for the expenses of the funeral. Pancho [Pablo's brother] said, "No wait. I will buy it as soon as I have money."*

He borrowed it for several years. One Sunday there was an order for all of the people of San Caralampio to go to the pueblo. They got up early and wakened all the others with a horn. Pancho got up with his rifle. He went to Juan's house and shot him. Luciano had Pancho jailed in the department capitol. He declared his crime, and said that he had killed Juan because the latter had shot his brother. He made a good statement. For this reason, he got out very cheaply—1500 pesos—which he paid with his crop of beans and corn. He was in prison in San Caralampio three months. Now he lives in Teopisca. His sons go to work there, but he doesn't. One day, Pancho was shot in the back—I don't know how many centimeters the bullet penetrated, but he did not die. The brothers of Juan and José have all left the colonia.

José was the one who caused all of the trouble. His wife was the younger sister of Pablo and she left him. Now José is going around begging for food to eat.

The action of the Ejido Commission of the town reveals the knowledge of how to manipulate political and economic power. By sending the 200-peso bribe, they were able to block the independence movement before the leadership had arrived. The extreme tactics used by the independence leaders in killing their opponents approximates the kind of political homicide characteristic of the central plateau (Friedrich 1962). The Indians of the center have been able to maintain their ejido grants intact. However, the political discrimination against residents of both colonias and barrios—no resident of either (except for the Huistecan mentioned above) has been elected president, and they never serve in any post higher than that of assistant judge—will undoubtedly lead to further unrest as the populations expand.

Bureaucratic inefficiency and corruption minimize the potential effectiveness of the ejido organization at local, state, and national levels. Projects undertaken by the national government lose their effectiveness when they are promoted by fraudulent claims, taking advantage of the presumed illiteracy and ignorance of the peasantry. The following case illustrates both the tactics of the ejido agents and the countertactics of the local Indians, resulting in a stalemate in the development projects planned and projected at the national level.

In August, two years ago, the Ejido Bank agents came to town with an offer to lend money on crops. We didn't want to borrow it, but Francisco, carbrón! [*then president of the town*], *said we should do it. "Good," we said. We accepted their terms. They said, "We will give fertilizer. It won't cost you a cent. We have tried it. It will give a good crop. We will give you money every six months, and you will pay the interest of nine percent. We will pay for all the costs. It won't cost you anything for the fertilizer."*

In six months, when the bank agents came to get the interest, they charged us six hundred pesos for the fertilizer. We did not want to receive the second load of fertilizer. We presented our case to the Jefe *and told him, "Why did you say it would not cost anything?" He replied, "No,* muchacho [*boy*], *I told you* [*using the familiar form* te dije] *that the fertilizer is going to cost."*

We used seven bags of fertilizer on each hectare for which they charged

T 661 652 621 571 241 *us 65 pesos per bag. It was the first time we had used it and we had very good crops. We got together and decided not to pay for the fertilizer. We called the bank agents and requested that we be relieved of the charge because the crops had failed. We showed him a milpa which is a low plot that is too wet for a good crop. We just throw the seed there, but don't work on it because it isn't worth the trouble.*

T [693] *We went to a lawyer in Tuxtla. He told us the bank would have to pay for the fertilizer since they had promised it. The lawyer is the helper of* the campesinos [*poor farmers*].

T 178 661 621 571 [426] [693] Several points of significance can be noted in this case: (1) the Indians are reluctant to take credit risks because of unfortunate experiences in the past; (2) they react to deception with their own deceptions, showing the engineer the land which had not only been fertilized but had never been weeded or cared for; and (3) they seek professional legal aid in dealing with government agents in order to equalize the contest in which they feel disadvantaged. These first two behavioral syndromes are culturally conditioned responses; the third represents an innovation. By seeking professional aid for which they pay a fee, the Indians are breaking the monopoly of power held by the caciques to whom they were formerly bound in a network of personal obligations incurred in such transactions.

T [177] [178]

M 423 361 Recent colonization of national lands since the 1950s has introduced a new kind of ejido settlement. Since most of the lands contiguous to settled towns were absorbed in the early days of the ejido grant, movement has been into lands outside the domain of established centers. This spontaneous colonization of unexploited land has followed the penetration of new highways in Quintana Roo, Campeche, Chiapas, Tabasco, and Vera Cruz (de la Peña 1951:348). In defense of their rights to the new lands, the colonists, often of diverse origins, develop a political consciousness. Mestizos and Indians of different towns work together in securing official ejido status for their lands. Acculturation to the national language and ways of life is much greater in these mixed centers than in the settled populations that were part of the original ejido tracts. Consciousness of their rights under national law and independence from traditional loyalties means that these new settlements may be the basis for welding Indians into the na-

M [491]

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cause of the limited capital involved and the fear of discovery with the expansion of the enterprise. A loose syndicate of distillers provides an insurance protection by raising fines for members who are apprehended by federal agents. Security measures are taken to avoid discovery, and the presence of a federal agent is announced in Tzeltal on the loudspeaker system of one of the bars. One federal agent is on the payroll of the four operating bar owners, who give him 5 pesos a week to avoid legal action on the sale of contraband liquor. Individual distillers pay the tariff of 10 pesos or two liters of liquor a year to the civil officials and to the ejido commission, a tariff justified by the fact that they use wood from communally owned land to cook the sugar. The syndicate is a community-wide organization, mobilized in emergencies only.

The New Social Resources

In the course of operating the new enterprises, knowledge of and experience with supralocal institutions and agents are developing social resources in (1) entrepreneurship, (2) management of capital and credit, (3) knowledge of markets, and (4) dealing with government agencies. In entering into these new economic activities, the Indians have not lost a sense of belonging to the local community. Self-identification as poor, indigenous farmers is both a screen of protection and a means of ensuring continuity with local control systems.

Entrepreneurship. Local entrepreneurs explain their motivation in a rhetoric which emphasizes their interest in community welfare. This validates entering into nontraditional activities, but retaining their position in local society inhibits the expansions of their activities. The case of Santos, the promoter of the trucking cooperative is instructive. Santos had picked up some accounting techniques while he served in the army in Michoacán. He returned to the village because his father walked from Chiapas to Michoacán to tell him he should come back and get married. When he returned, he kept careful account of his costs and returns from the milpa. He realized soon that it wasn't "worth his work" (the Indian has not as yet learned the idiom or the value system which goes into the

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474 The strategies the cooperative members have developed in their frequent
648 tangles with state police illustrate the combination of custom and innova-
661 tion. When caught red-handed, they may respond by playing the stereotype Indian role. "We don't know anything. We are just poor Indians. How do you expect us to do what the law says?" This is hard for the Ladino authorities to resist, since it feeds their own sense of superiority. But it does not always work, and so the Indians have devised secondary resources. They put the departmental police at each terminal of their usual route between Las Casas and Comitán on a regular monthly mordida pay-
[693] roll of 50 pesos each. When trying to extend their operations, they hire a lawyer. A recent coup has been the acquisition of a permit to truck corn from Villa las Rosas and other ejido settlements that have been recently colonized. The appeal was made on the basis that they are a nonprofit cooperative of ejidatarios. With the permit, they now undercut the price of their own competitors in the town as well as of the large companies. Law-
474 yers are beginning to advertise themselves in newspapers as "Friends of
693 the Indians" and are in some cases specializing in this new patronage, which they receive from other communities as well as Tzoʔontahal. The professional relationship bypasses personal ties which formerly limited the development of Indian leadership.

177 The self-development occurring in Tzoʔontahal may appear paradoxical
178 if we do not understand the internal dynamics by which change is con-
474 tained within an existing equilibrium. The cooperative association has
621 been adopted as a technique for socializing the risk of making a profit.
648 The truck, although currently used in an uneconomic operation, is a sym-
[493] bol of power in the struggle for a position in the regional markets and in the intracommunity factional strifes. The usual patron-client system is being reversed as the Indian puts the Ladino on his payroll to secure evasion from the law. In the changes which are occuring, the defensive structure of the corporate community is a means by which the Indians are entering into national life not on the lowest rung of the social ladder, but on terms they are setting for themselves. In the new enterprises, the Indians combine old ploys with new strategies. Confronted with legal threats from the outside world, they play the colonial game of defensive ignorance.

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In the strategy of incorporating new leadership, these tactics are employed. 621

1. The four regidores are assigned the task of bringing the novice scribe to the town authorities. They are the official recruiters for civil and religious office. [624]

2. The request is made to the parent of the appointed scribe in the formal speech of the pat?o?tan. The appeal is cast in terms of the sacred nature of the task with reference to the "holy" nature of the post to be undertaken on this "holy hour, holy day and holy year."

3. The contractual relationship is initiated as always with a drinking session. The scribe is introduced into the drinking order as fourth in rank. The officials show solicitude as he is taught to drink "the gift of the gods and the ancestors." Once the gift of liquor has been accepted, the recipient has no recourse except to fulfill the obligation. [273]

These tactics, used also in other contractual arrangements, were inadequate to the task of inducting foreign Indians living in the township into the traditional hierarchy. In 1929, a Huistecan Indian, Augustín, who had worked as a laborer in a finca within the township, became president. Although he could not read, he was able to speak Spanish fluently. He succeeded in getting the first ejido grant under the land reform act of 1927. 621 609 622 191 423

During his term of office, Augustín was accused of abusing his authority on several occasions, as the following account shows:

When I was very young, my father told me about this land case. Augustín was president then. He tried to get land from my uncle's father-in-law, Juan. My uncle, Bartolo, defended his father-in-law's right to the land because he had good friends in Tuxtla. Augustín spoke Spanish very well, but he did not know how to read. Since my uncle knew how to read well, he gained the case. Augustín was angry. He invited all the curers to the town hall and ordered the police to bring in my uncle. My uncle was given something in a cup of liquor, and in three days he died. 159 622 661

Even if this story is untrue, or distorted because of the family relationship of the narrator and the victim, it reveals the sense of being exploited 622 661 609

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622 or abused by leaders from outside the community. Stories by other infor-
661 mants indicate that Augustín took advantage of his power as president.
609 He was accused of charging high fines in court and pocketing the money. Finally a case against him was brought to the Ministerio Publico in the departmental capital. The denunciation is recounted by Ceferino, the scribe, who replaced him as president:

159 *The court's decision was that Augustín had to return the three hundred*
622 *and fifty pesos that he had forced out of Juan in the land case. Augustín*
661 *claimed that it was difficult for him to pay the fine. He said he would pay*
609 *it in installments. Juan wanted it right away. After a month, the money*
[692] *still was not handed over. I spoke to the Ministerio Publico who told Augustín to sell his cattle. The pueblo wanted to seize the cattle. Augustín got frightened, and said he would sell his cattle. He sold them. After this he never returned to work in the pueblo.*

There were no killings in this affair. Eight days after he gave the money, Augustín came to the town hall with a pistol. I noticed it and said, "Better come in an register this pistol." He ignored this and spoke to the judge for a while.

I told a policeman, "Go get the pistol and register it." The policeman was afraid. I asked him, "Why are you afraid?" He said, "I am afraid." I said, "You have turned into a woman."

The policeman seized Augustín's arms. I went behind and took the pistol out of his hand. Augustín said, "Why are you taking my pistol? I have committed no crime."

I replied, "You came to bother the people here." I took away the pistol.

Augustín also knew how to wear a watch. His son bought it from a thief for one hundred and twenty-five pesos. We also took his watch because it was stolen. I told him, "Go look for work and earn money. The Ministerio Publico has given orders that you cannot continue working here. You cannot rob here any more."

He went away for two months, and then came back to get his things and moved to Teopisca.

621 Despite this successful denunciation, Augustín's son, Juan, tried to "get
609 control of the town." He and the other Huistecans of the barrio of Yeta-
578

T M 175 423 621 The rights over land given to the villages by the Spaniards were not contested by the Mexican Government, but during the last century there have been some redistributions of the boundaries to better fit changes in the size of the population of the different villages in the area. Besides, although it was not legally approved, large chunks of the territory of the communities were taken away by the local ranchers who had the backing of the state politicians. As a result of the land invasion by the ranchers, the villages of Amatenango and Aguacatenango controlled, until recently in this century, very little land, mostly temporal, the better land being in the hands of the local ladino ranchers. After the Mexican Revolution of the twenties, the fincas (ranches) were expropriated by the national government, according to new policies of agrarian reform, and under the presidential regime of Avila Camacho were returned to the villages as Ejidos (cooperatively owned land).

M [661] T 175 423 621 661 423

T 175 423 M 669 423

The territory of the villages is divided today, by use, into land for agriculture (?ulabal [irrigated], pomultik [hot-country] and temporal), land for residential sites, and land for lumbering and pasture. Within the communities the over-all authority that controls land is the Ayuntamiento, the body which forms the civil branch of the civil-religious government that is the ultimate authority in village affairs. The Ayuntamiento controls both the communal lands and the Ejido lands.

T 621 423 311 T 621 423

The Ejidos function very much like the communal lands, in that they are "owned" by the community. Every household head is a member of the ejido cooperative, and has rights to cultivate a parcel within the ejido. According to the Mexican Agrarian Code,

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The open confrontation by the civil authorities with the suspected witch, in which they warned him to stop before violence resulted, represents a new strategy in the contest between officials and curers. Formerly even when there was strong suspicion against a man, the principales and judges kept quiet. If they acted, it was to kill the suspect without forewarning. The new strategy reveals the position of strength from which they now operate. That the president could joke in the town hall about the fear of the judges in dealing with the accused curer (see his final remark above) is indicative of a changed attitude. Incidents such as that of the curer consulting the clinic nurse instead of his fellow curers, which was noted and commented upon by the brother of the president, may further serve to undermine the townspeople's belief in the power of the curers.

In the weeks following the incident, the president and his brother discussed the incident, pointing out their fearlessness in openly confronting the witch. The curers clearly tried to deny any responsibility as a group with the remark: "Whoever did it did not advise us." They expressed the feeling that it is against professional ethics: "Whoever did it is a very bad witch"; but they refuse to name him or admit knowledge of who did it. "We do not know where it is or what it is that he did." The behavior of the curers in this incident is clearly defensive and stems from their loss of control and initiative.

Political Parties and Factions

665 621

In 1950 the first contest for the post of president was started by two brothers who had secured the backing of the Partido Acción Nacional (PAN). Never before had anyone initiated his own candidacy outside the traditional nomination procedure through the old officials in the town hall. The brothers lived in the new barrio of Yut Hok, the ejido land grant of Ahk'olnantik. The candidacy disturbed the customary alternation of posts between Ahk'olnantik and Alannantik. Threatened by the imbalance, the leaders of Alannantik secured the backing of the Partido Revolucionario Institutionalizado (PRI) for their candidate. The PAN candidate won the election. However, he was never able to consolidate political sup-

71 Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

port. At his death, he had no successor, and "the town remained in peace." 665 621

In this first political contest, the conflict was interpreted as opposition between the dual divisions. Factional disputes and the sense of political responsibility and control were contained within these parameters, and any conflict was conceived of as a threat to territorial balancing mechanisms. [829] [578]

The new factions that have developed since 1963 are tied to economic rather than territorial competition. In 1960 the first truck-owning cooperative was organized under the leadership of the former Ladino secretary. The twenty shareholders of the town had only a small amount of capital in the truck, and the controlling interest was in the hands of the secretary's wife. The cooperative was merely a device to gain business in carrying pottery and wheat from the town to the market centers. In 1963 a new truck-owning cooperative was organized by local Indians. The two brothers, Santiago and José, secured capital to buy the truck from thirty residents of the town without any assistance from outside. The shareholders of the new cooperative came from both sides of the dual division, and from the outlying barrios. 621 474 471 177 178 494

When the leaders of the new cooperative tried to get permits and certificates to license the car and the operator, they were refused by the town president who was a shareholder of the first cooperative. The Indians then hired a Ladino truck driver from the neighboring town, and the son of one of the shareholders served as assistant. They realized that it was necessary to get control of the local political positions in order to extend their operations. With the help of the schoolteacher, they got eighty-one signatures on the petition for the PRI candicacy of one of the brothers, José, in the presidential nomination of 1964. He was opposed by a ladinoized Indian living in one of the barrios who was backed by the Ladino secretary who was leader of the competing trucking cooperative. The opponent did not have a chance of winning, as the leaders of the new cooperative pointed out, because of two strikes against him: he was not a resident of the center and he had only PAN backing. The Indians are aware that nothing can be gained politically by a PAN-backed president since PRI is now the party in control of regional and national offices. 474 621 666

After José's election, the Indian truck driver was able to get a driving license. With the help of the schoolmaster, the cooperative was able to get 621 474 493

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permission to extend operations to hot country where the Indians of the town held ejido land. This territory had been controlled by the state-wide trucking sindicate whose monopoly was protected by government permits. On the basis that they were poor, nonprofit-making ejidatarios, the Indians were granted the right to truck corn from the ejido colonies to the highlands. Whenever the cooperative leaders planned to go to the departmental capital to make their appeals, the schoolmaster counseled them to wear their Indian costume—the white shirt and pants with red sash, sandals, and woolen kotonču—in order to play the role of simple campesinos more convincingly. He was aware of the effectiveness of this pose in pro-Indian governmental circles.

[291]

665 The PRI leadership in the department capital is neither aware of nor interested in the local factions which seek their support. Their concern is only that the vote is solidly behind regional and national candidates of the party, and they support the group that can mobilize the largest number of votes. A policy of favoritism toward Indians, based on an ideology of *indigenismo,* pro-Indianism, is coupled with a policy of permitting local autonomy. The national committee's program for promoting literacy has never reached this community nor any that I know of in the area. The party's promotion of Indian welfare consists of supporting demands made by Indian constituents and bringing them to the attention of civil service officials assigned to these functions. Party officials thus act as intermediaries between the voters and the bureaucracy of the government, channeling complaints and demands.

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In the development of factions around new economic interests, the Indians have shifted from an ideology in which the dialectic of conflict was cast in traditional dual-division opposition to one in which the conflict is seen as Indian versus Ladino domination of enterprises. Since these interests cut across the territorial divisions, the economic factions have not crystallized along territorial lines. It is this shift in perspective which makes for the "qualitative" change in local political organization.

[665]

Competition between Caciques

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There are several dimensions to the role of cacique in Tzoʾontahal. First, it is a role created by outside interests and occupied by someone mar-

 621 177 178

4. In a series of confrontations, the civil officials have challenged the social control functions of the curers. Witch-killings in which many of the victims have been curers have minimized but not overcome the power of these men. [756]

5. The priest has succeeded in establishing control over the church, but the Indians may yet succeed in deposing him, a plan they were putting into effect when I left town. [193]

The Indians are now aware of their rights to limit—or eliminate if necessary—the self-appointed caciques. The new cacique promotes the community welfare not only in his rhetoric but in the services he performs for the officials. His involvement in political affairs is tolerated, not encouraged, and the officials are ready to turn to alternative sources of aid in their activities. 641 622 177 178

The involvement of the PRI in local elections has not introduced a new center of power in the political arena. Political factions are based on economic interests contained within the town, and the autonomy of the town has in no way been affected by leadership from party headquarters in the state capitol. The community and the party use each other for their own ends in almost complete ignorance of what is occurring in the domain of the other. 665 621 178

The system of beliefs and understandings has changed along with these organizational changes. The most significant change has been the waning belief in the guardianship of the ancestors. The absence of the curers at the fiesta of the caves means that they no longer have this ritual occasion to validate their claims by communicating with the ancestors. The loss of leadership and of a hierarchy of prestige within the ranks of curers has removed internal controls over the profession and further undermined their position. The diminishing respect with which they are treated in the town hall and the increasing number of murders of curers accused of witchcraft is directly related to the loss of belief in their power as guardians. Since they were not an integral part of the civil-religious hierarchy, as the curers were in Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947), this has not upset the hierarchy, but it has changed the balance of power in the wider community. 769 756 178 [683]

The diminishing significance of the leadership of the principales is tied 621 756 178

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontahal

was done at his order for the school.[11] The new co- 621*
operative was harassed by the old group, since the 578
president did everything in his power to cut down 474
their competition. As fiscal, his other role, he maneu- 494
vered the appointment of the chief business agent of [875]
the new truck cooperative and three other members [622]
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The present nominee did not want to run for office. 666
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life. He had never passed in any office other than that 578
of president of the ejido commission, and although
the office of president is not a rung in the ladder to office, it is expected that the incumbent would at least have experience as síndico. Three sources of opposition to his candidacy developed. First in importance 666
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in the new cooperative. Second, these members 474
spread the rumor that the new president would bring 548
in federal agents to break up the liquor traffic, which
was becoming one of Tzoʔontahal's most important economic self-development projects. Thus all the distillers were apprehensive of their future under his term of office. Third, there was opposition on the

[11] Siverts (1964) describes Ladinos' "competition for each others' Indians in Cancuc."

[P. 223-A]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

794 tween civil and religious authorities. They are in charge of the fiestas for the saints whom they represent: San Francisco, San Pedro the Martyr, Santa Lucía, and Sacramento. The internal ranking of this set of officials is based on time of entry. This varies in the annual cycle since the new alférez enters just before the fiesta for which he will be responsible. He will be expected to give deference to the three who have preceded him during [192] the year. The terms applied to this fluctuating ranking system in order of highest to lowest are *hilon ta pasaro* (remains as past), *pasaro* (past official), *sčebal ʔač' ʔalperes* (second new alférez), and *ʔač' ʔalperes* (new alférez).

794 562 Outside of the traditional religious hierarchy are roles performed by functionaries on the basis of specific skills. These include the fiscal, assistant to the priest, and the *meʔeletik*, women who serve as prayer-reciters. The fiscal takes orders from the priest when the latter is in town, and in the absence of the priest he directs the activities of the mayordomos within the church. He is chosen on the basis of his knowledge of Spanish and willingness to perform the priests' bidding. He remains in office as long as he wishes, or until he is forcibly retired by the priest or by the mayordomos. When retired, he has an ex officio role saying prayers at funerals, and is often called upon for house ceremonies and as godfather in baptisms. The retired fiscales attend mass more often than the rest of the townspeople and sit in the front near the altar. The prayer-reciters are usually widowed or single women of the town whom the lay sisters have organized as 621 support in responding to the catechism.

794 The officials who have served in five posts in the civil hierarchy and six posts in the religious hierarchy become *pasaroetik*, the Tzeltal rendering [192] of *pasados* or former officials. Any one of these men may be eligible to serve as one of two principales, one chosen from Alannantik and one from Ahk'olnantik. They remain in office until they are too old to serve or until death. Each of the outlying barrios has two principales chosen from among men who have served in office.

Entry Into and Exit from Office

621 The constitution assures local autonomy in the election of civil officials.
666 The officials of Tzoʔontahal, including the two principales, president,

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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síndico, four regidores, ten policemen, four judges, and the "signers" meet in the town hall on the twentieth of November. Except for the post of president, which is now a contested position, each incumbent names his own successor. The president opens the meeting with an address to the principales, saying, "Now, *Mamal* Principales, whom will we name to leave in power in the town hall to pass the year?" The principales reply with the question to each officer: "Whom have you thought of naming?"

Each officer gives a name, which is written down by the secretary. When the officials have heard who will be the new officials, the first judge speaks with the principales and the "signers" using the formal speech of the pat'o'tan to ask permission to serve the "gift" of trago. Eight days later an assembly of all the male household heads takes place. The president announces the names of the nominated officials in Tzeltal and the secretary announces them in Spanish. The president asks for a show of hands of all those who support the nominations. If the man who is named does not want to take the office, he may request withdrawal of his name. The president accepts refusal by all nominees for civil posts if there is adequate excuse.

The great majority of men begin their careers between the ages of twenty-two and thirty. Only seventeen men, or 5 percent of the 311 household heads censused (Table 24), had reached the age of thirty without serving in any office. Among men fifty and over, only two men had not filled any religious post (Table 25), and all had served in some civil post.

There are two major channels of mobility in the civil hierarchy. The more common course is for a young married man to enter as a policeman, either at the third or fourth level. Next, he will again be named as policeman, or possibly third or fourth regidor, if he is a poor man and has little hope of rising to the higher posts. If the man or his father is well off, he will be asked to serve as alférez. The appointment may be made with or without prior service in the civil or religious hierarchy, and the main prerequisite is having sufficient money to pay for the expenses. Once he fills this post, he will be eligible for first or second regidor since he will have learned the major speeches required in ritual gatherings. Formerly he took on at this point the post of assistant judge. These positions are now assigned to incumbents from the outlying barrios, and the number of posts a man in the center must fill in order to become a pasado has been reduced

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

794 may at any time in his career be called upon as alférez. This may occur
[625] even before he has served as a junior mayordomo or policeman since the
[556] post depends on his own or his father's wealth.

The normal career of an official in the traditional hierarchy involves a
621 balance of civil and religious posts. A man enters these posts according to
794 convenience, not in a rigid alternation between civil and religious wings.
561 The rough balancing of posts can be seen in the careers of men over fifty in Table 25. According to informants, a man should start and end his career in the religious wing. By the age of thirty, forty-three men had filled at least one post in the religious hierarchy, and only twenty-four men had served in the civil hierarchy (Table 24). The religious posts are considered less onerous than the civil posts since the incumbents are in attendance only one day a week instead of every day, and their terms in office last only six months.

621 Wealth level, except in cases of extreme poverty, does not limit a man's
794 participation in the traditional hierarchy. Of fourteen men over seventy,
556 eight had completed their civil posts and seven their religious posts. Three who had not followed the traditional career lines had served as president. The town is small enough so that career lines have not followed any polarization of the upper levels of the hierarchy as occurs in towns of larger size (Bunzel 1952, Camara 1952, Cancian 1965). Discrimination is based on residence rather than wealth—those Indians who reside in barrios and colonias cannot reach any post higher than that of assistant judge. Wealth level is a factor, however, in the time span of the individual's career, since at some time before becoming second or first regidor he must have filled the expensive post of alférez. Table 25 lists the careers of men fifty years of age and over in order of wealth. It is possible to finish a career in office by the age of fifty, but if a man has less than one hectare of land, it is unlikely that he will finish before he is sixty-five. The Indians of Tzoʔontahal do not however maximize the importance of passing through the hi-
[554] erarchy. It is a duty not a goal, and the reward in prestige is minimal.

794 The only post in which wealth has been crucial was that of alférez. The
556 incumbent and the household of which he was a member spent 3,000 pesos
796 to carry out the fiestas with which he was charged in his year in office.
666 The president, the four judges, and the four regidores chose the alférez

shortly before the fiesta of the saint's day with which he was charged. When the nomination was made, the president sent out the first policeman with the chief policeman to bring the man chosen to the town hall. They expected, and were always confronted with, resistance to the nomination. In order to gain acceptance they got the nominee drunk in a drinking session at the town hall. Liquor was measured out, and all the officials drank only a half cup at each round, but the new alférez was required to drink a full cup. The rounds continued until the new alférez was drunk. If he did not accept at this session, he was put in jail to think it over. Another drinking session took place the following day.

Nomination to the post of alférez was the only situation in which the jail penalty has been brought into effect, since refusal by nominees to other posts simply means that the officials "look for someone else." The reason given for invoking the punishment was "we know he has the wealth and therefore he should serve." Until 1965 the town had always succeeded in recruiting two of the alfereces from Ahk'olnantik and two from Alannantik. Since the upper division of Ahk'olnantik has grown at a more rapid rate than the lower division, candidates were found only in Ahk'olnantik. This unbalancing of the population ratios undermined the institution of alférez, which had always been the most unpopular position. When I returned to the field in 1967, it had been eliminated.

The Functions of Civil Officials

An analysis of the formally prescribed functions of the civil officials must take into account three sources of data: the functions as prescribed by state legislation, the functions as understood by local officials, and the observed activities of the officials. Table 26 compares the functions of officials as stated in the constitution of the state of Chiapas (Secretaría del Gobierno Departmental de Chiapas, 1828: Decreto 52, Nov. 30, 1825) [3] to statements of informants and to my observations of the carrying out of their official obligations.

3. I have chosen this constitution as the first post-independence statement of the status of local civil administrators.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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port. At his death, he had no successor, and "the town remained in peace." 665

In this first political contest, the conflict was interpreted as opposition between the dual divisions. Factional disputes and the sense of political responsibility and control were contained within these parameters, and any conflict was conceived of as a threat to territorial balancing mechanisms. 621 [829] [578]

The new factions that have developed since 1963 are tied to economic rather than territorial competition. In 1960 the first truck-owning cooperative was organized under the leadership of the former Ladino secretary. The twenty shareholders of the town had only a small amount of capital in the truck, and the controlling interest was in the hands of the secretary's wife. The cooperative was merely a device to gain business in carrying pottery and wheat from the town to the market centers. In 1963 a new truck-owning cooperative was organized by local Indians. The two brothers, Santiago and José, secured capital to buy the truck from thirty residents of the town without any assistance from outside. The shareholders of the new cooperative came from both sides of the dual division, and from the outlying barrios. 621 474 471 177 178 494

When the leaders of the new cooperative tried to get permits and certificates to license the car and the operator, they were refused by the town president who was a shareholder of the first cooperative. The Indians then hired a Ladino truck driver from the neighboring town, and the son of one of the shareholders served as assistant. They realized that it was necessary to get control of the local political positions in order to extend their operations. With the help of the schoolteacher, they got eighty-one signatures on the petition for the PRI candicacy of one of the brothers, José, in the presidential nomination of 1964. He was opposed by a ladinoized Indian living in one of the barrios who was backed by the Ladino secretary who was leader of the competing trucking cooperative. The opponent did not have a chance of winning, as the leaders of the new cooperative pointed out, because of two strikes against him: he was not a resident of the center and he had only PAN backing. The Indians are aware that nothing can be gained politically by a PAN-backed president since PRI is now the party in control of regional and national offices. 474 621 666

After José's election, the Indian truck driver was able to get a driving license. With the help of the schoolmaster, the cooperative was able to get 621 474 493

In addition to this regular ladder of officials representing the center and its close-lying barrios are judges representing the *colonias*, or rural settlements, of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Crus Quemada. They do not regularly attend the townhall sessions, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of new officials. Only after I had elicited officials from two informants was I able to get from the third the three judges of the colonias with the question, "Are there any other officials in the cabildo?" 621* 693 632

These civil officials constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. The positions of president and *sintiku* (in Spanish *síndico*), not included in the offices of the townhall as a category by informants, were elicited in response to the question stated above. These posts are occupied by younger men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy, until the present generation, was limited to those in the 30-year age bracket. Those with such skills passed immediately into the *comisario ejidal*, commission for land grants, where they assisted in the control and redistribution of land granted under the ejido program, or went directly into the post of *síndico*. Thus they were able to avoid the onerous and time-consuming functions of the traditional posts and enter into the remunerative post of president, where their authority was recognized at an early age. With improved literacy, the competition for such posts is increasing. Although informants say that the post of president alternates for the two sides of the dual division, case materials do not bear this out. 622 624 [124] [191] [212] [423] [178] [212] 622 621* 114

The only Ladino in the hierarchy is the secretary. For the first time this year (1964) the post of secretary has been taken by an Indian of the town. This is part of the power play described below. 563 624 178

Naming of civil officials is done in November, first in a closed session in the townhall at which each official names his successor, followed by a mass meeting *(Komun K'op)* at which the names are read to the assembled household heads in the plaza. To the question, "What are all the kinds of offices in the church?" the response was given: *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces (or captains, the Spanish term *alfereces* comes from the Arabic). There are 16 mayordomos. Role terms for the mayordomos indicated that each saint was repre- 666 621* 794 [776]

[P 213-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontahal

was done at his order for the school.[11] The new co- 621*
operative was harassed by the old group, since the 578
president did everything in his power to cut down 474
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the basis of membership in the truck-owning coopera-
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Early in the running there were verbal threats on his 622
life. He had never passed in any office other than that 578
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spread the rumor that the new president would bring in federal agents to break up the liquor traffic, which was becoming one of Tzoʔontahal's most important economic self-development projects. Thus all the distillers were apprehensive of their future under his term of office. Third, there was opposition on the

[11] Siverts (1964) describes Ladinos' "competition for each others' Indians in Cancuc."

[P. 223-A]

Third, there was opposition on the score that the president had never passed in any other public office. The only incident revealing the discontent was the firing of eight shots at (or above) the president's brother following the house festival on the eve of the inauguration. 666 578 622

The principales, who "formerly were the ones who ruled," no longer have a part in the power struggle 624 178

621* 794 554 346

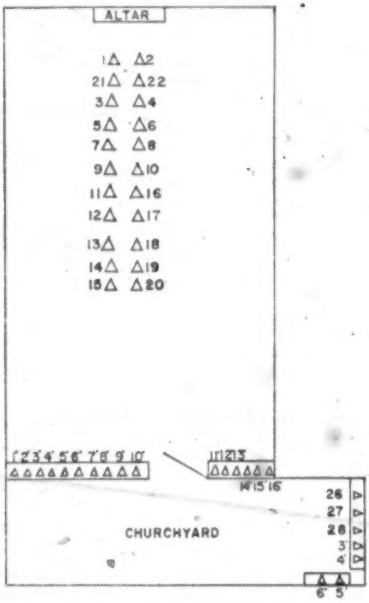

CHART 11 — NEW OFFICIALS INSIDE CHURCH, NEW YEAR'S DAY

OFFICIALS:
1'-16' Mayordomos

Remaining numbers refer to officials listed in Charts 7-9.

which centers on party membership and economic competition. Their ceremonial role in rituals is preserved as a link with the past as well as a sign of continuity between old and new officials. 624 178 [794]

In the inauguration of the religious officials, divergence in the elicited and the observed event (App. 2, column 4) occurred first of all in the shift of locale for the common meal from the churchyard to the house of the *ʔaliʔbal* instead of in the churchyard (App. 2, Q. 19). This was a clue to the power struggle going on in the church. When I questioned my informant about the disparity, he told me the following story: 794 178 578 [264] [793] [273]

[P. 223-B]

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[For details on the inauguration of various civil and religious officials, see categories 621 and 794 respectively.]

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[p. 465-B]

as with the cattle industry, is a covert cause for personal attacks on other grounds.

A third enterprise, trucking, has caused a realignment of political interests in factions associated with two truck-owning cooperatives. Membership in one of the cooperatives, or patronage of one of the two trucks, arouses the enmity of members of the other cooperative. Several threats have been made on the lives of the owners and the operators, but the only damage done has been to tires.

The tensions resulting from the introduction of these new enterprises cannot be fully measured by the deaths attributed to direct economic conflict. Wealth differences resulting from the new enterprises excite envy, and with it come accusations of witchcraft. In this community, witchcraft killing does not perform the normative function of reducing wealth differentiation that Kluckhohn saw operating among the Navaho (1944), since it is the poor man who is killed as a witch, not the rich man. The slaying of the envious witch exacerbates the economic differentiation that provides the seedbed for conflict.

Another new source of tension is found in the growing demand for political leadership or even independence from the township by the *ejido* colonies formed since land reform went into effect in 1937. The inept maneuvers of two founders of the ejido colonies in hot country resulted in two homicides (cases 12 and 18 in Table 1).[8] The increasing strength of these hamlets will mean that more attempts will be made in the future to gain political equality and/or independence. Whether this will result in increasing homicides will depend on social-control agencies external to the Indian communities.

Homicide occurring as a direct result of economic and political competition represents a new strategy in the community. The decision to kill rather than to use other negative sanctions is related to the social-control mechanisms discussed below.

Changing Mechanisms of Social Control

A system of social control rests not only on the exercise of negative sanctions, but on the sense of personal security derived from confidence in the institutions of control. In Teklum, the maintenance of control was formerly centered in the guardianship against malevolent spirits held by the ancestor spirits and the curers. The "police force," made up of ten

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P.469-B]

leaders, both in the civil authority and in the curing profession. The transition from the old hierarchy of control to the new leadership structure is still in process. In the most recent confrontation of the civil authority and curers, the fact that neither side resorted to violence suggests the transitional nature of homicide as a solution in intracommunal conflict.

This study of homicide indicates that the changing rate of behavior points to structural change, but does not in itself indicate what kind of change occurs or from what motives it stems. Qualitative case analysis related to structural changes within the recall of informants is essential for understanding social process.

NOTES

[1] Field work is based on two periods of residence in the community in 1964 and 1965; it was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health. I am grateful for comments by Paul Friedrich, Richard Henderson, Harold Scheffler, and Peter Wilson, who have improved the original version read at the 1965 meetings of the American Anthropological Association. I remain responsible for the contents of the paper.

[2] Henry and Short (1954:18) analyze both suicide and homicide as undifferentiated aggressive reactions to frustration, the rates of which vary—in the first case inversely and in the second case directly—with the strength of the external control system over behavior. Their assumption that homicide is motivationally a single phenomenon, and not an expression of a variety of motives, stems from the assumption that all cases of aggressive acts are the result of frustration. Straus and Straus (1964:587) apply a similar correlational analysis of homicide and suicide rates with structural features of society in Ceylon, but come to opposite conclusions. They maintain that one would expect greater evidence of homicide in a "loosely structured society," by which they mean one with considerable sanctioning of variation in individual behavior. These studies contradict each other in the conclusions that they reach by similar analytical processes, but they are attempts to move away from such psychoanalytic reasoning as the death-wish theory.

[3] Bohannan's (1960) survey of homicide and suicide in African societies represents a useful model for comparing the total pattern of homicide cross-culturally. In presenting the case material here, I have used a similar format, adding to it the circumstances surrounding the killing. In the analysis of these materials, I have diverged from Bohannan's model in trying to demonstrate the linkage among the components—the ratios, to use Burke's (1945) terminology of scene/setting/actor/agent.

[4] The term "witch" is a translation of the Tzeltal term *ʔah'-Xamal*, literally "giver of sickness." The term "curse" is a translation of *ʔuʔul*. The power to cure and to give sickness stems from the possession of a *ruuyokal*, or animal spirit.

[5] For a discussion of the tactics of gaining consensus in witch-killings, see Manning Nash (1960).

[6] Political homicide by agrarian leaders, which is so frequent in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962), is a relatively recent phenomenon in the retreat zones of Indian population. The cases analyzed by Friedrich are a strategy of political power stemming from a revolutionary background, and the cultural assumptions to which he points contrast with those underlying witch-killings. My only comparable case is, significantly, found outside the traditional center, in the new ejido colony.

[7] Jules Henry (1936) sees the formula of fear and anger as the

614 /1/ Cancuc is a Tzeltal town of Chiapas, Mexico, whose
[101] social organization is based on exogamous patrilineal clans.
[776] These clans are intimately related to: 1) the nagual or guardian
[551] spirit, which is given the name of lab among the Indians of this
[613] region; 2) the native surnames that constitute the lineages within
[621] the clans; 3) the "barrios," as the Spanish chroniclers called the endogamous tribal subdivisions (called calpulli among the Aztecs and culibal in Cancuc); 4) the kinship system; and 5) the behavior.

614 All the individuals belonging to a clan consider themselves
601 "legitimate siblings" /Sp. "hermanos legítimos"/, using the terms that designate this class of relatives. This theoretical consanguineous kinship is expressed by means of the word chapomal -- a Cancuquero /a person from Cancuc/ calls another "brother" be-
614 cause he is his chapomal. This form of usage is indicative of
601 common ancestry, something that we were not able to clarify, as
124 our questions on this point only received answers that showed that
829 they had lost any notion of a real or mythical ancestor. Our informants invariably explained this situation with the expressions: "it is the custom," "San Juan /Saint John/ (Patron Saint of Cancuc) ordered it so," or "it was ordered by Manuel (God)." What does constitute a clear concept in the minds of all is that "formerly" each clan lived in a cave, from which its members went out in the form of human beings to populate the earth and in which lived the naguales, or lab, that bound them to their place of origin.
[775] The soul came back to this cave after death. There are as many caves as the number of clans.

614 The children belonged to the paternal clan. A woman who marries does not become a member of the clan of her husband.

/2/ Exogamy is strictly respected; persons belonging to the same clan never marry each other.

[591] The clans are not local, as their members live in all of the places and rancherias.

[178] At present the clans lack chiefs, this institution having dis-
[669] appeared about 30 years ago, according to all our information, when the zone that we are studying underwent a chaotic period due to political revolts.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

NOTES ON THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF TZELTAL COMMUNITIES OF CHIAPAS

In February and March of 1938, Alfonso Villa Rojas made an ethnological reconnaissance of Tzeltal settlements in northeastern Chiapas, Mexico. The work was done under the auspices of Carnegie Institution of Washington as a guide to the planning of more intensive field work. San Cristobal de las Casas, where Mr. Villa arrived on the first of February, served naturally as a base. A short trip was taken to Teopizca and Amatenango, and a second to visit the ruins of San Gregorio[1] and the village of Chanal. On the fourteenth of that month, Mr. Villa started northward from Las Casas, visiting fifteen Tzeltal settlements, and then entered Chol country at Tila and left Chiapas by airplane from Salto de Agua.

In Mexico City Mr. Villa was provided with a letter of introduction from Ing. Ignacio Marquina, head of the Department of Prehistoric Monuments, of the Secretariat of Public Education. In Tuxtla Gutierrez the Governor of Chiapas, Ing. Efrain Gutierrez, received Mr. Villa and heard from him explanation of Mr. Villa's interests and purposes. Mr. Frans Blom had given Mr. Villa a letter of introduction, but the person addressed was not in Las Casas when Mr. Villa arrived. In Las Casas Mr. Villa received great help from Don José Villanueva. To all these persons who extended kindness and help, grateful acknowledgment is made. Dr. Ruth Bunzel kindly wrote information on the region to Mr. Villa before he began his journey.

The Tzeltal communities, given in the order in which they were visited and with indication of the length of time spent in each, were as follows: Amatenango (2 days), Chanal (2 days), Tenejapa (3 days), Cancuc (1 day), Oxchuc (5 days), San Martin (1 day), Tenango (2 days), Sivacá (1 day), Ococingo (6 days), Bachajón (2 days), Citalá (2 days), Guaquitepec (2½ days), Chilón (2 days), Yajalón (2 days), Petalcingo (½ day).

These villages have been the locus of a number of Indian uprisings,[2] and disturbances have occurred recently, in 1914, 1917, and 1930. Therefore the inhabitants of Spanish culture (Ladinos) are not infrequently uneasy. In Cancuc and Oxchuc Mr. Villa's work was impeded by a revival of this uneasiness, the Ladinos fearing that the celebrations of the carnival season might lead the Indians to acts of violence. With this exception, however, Mr. Villa found the Indians accessible and conditions of work favorable. The information reported herein was obtained in almost every instance from Indians, not Ladinos. Mr. Villa used an interpreter in cases where the Indians did not speak Spanish; although he has a command of Yucatec, and has done ethnological work in Yucatan,[3] he does not speak Tzeltal.

The notes Starr[4] collected on the Tzeltal in 1901 were apparently[5] obtained

[1] For a short description of these ruins, see Schuman, 1936, pp. 296–305.
[2] Vicente Pineda, 1888.
[3] Redfield and Villa, 1934.
[4] Starr, 1902.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 69–72.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

As is the case in the highlands of Guatemala, the outstanding social unit, corresponding to a tribe, is the population of several hundred or several thousand Indians whose activities center in one leading settlement from which the community gets its name. As in Guatemala, these communities vary greatly with respect to the proportion of Indians living permanently in this central settlement. Dr. Tax[14] uses the phrase "town nucleus type" for Guatemalan Indian communities in which all or a large majority of the Indians live in the principal settlement, and the phrase "vacant town type" for those in which most of the Indians live in scattered rural habitations, coming to the town center occasionally for commercial, governmental, or festal reasons. Among the Tzeltals the town-nucleus type is less atypical than it is in Guatemala, and the town-nucleus communities are suffering from a scarcity of land. The following communities may be regarded as of this type: Amatenango, San Martín, Tenango, Sivacá, Petalcingo, and probably also Chanal and Citalá, although at least in the case of the last two, there are also considerable numbers of Indians dwelling in the countryside. The vacant-town type of community is represented by Cancuc, Oxchuc, Bachajón, and Chilón. It will be seen that both types are represented in both highlands and lowlands. With respect to this classification Tenejapa, Guaquitepec, and Yajalon are intermediate, and illustrate Tax's "Type III" in that many of the people live in the town and work their fields closely surrounding it, while many live on their farms and only occasionally come to town. 621 361 632 [101] [171] [619]

As in the highlands of Guatemala, the ethnic distinction between Indian and Ladino is marked, here also the Ladinos are much outnumbered by the Indians, and here too the Ladinos are very predominately town-dwellers. In Chilón and Yajalón the permanent town-dwellers are chiefly Ladinos; the permanent population of Oxchuc consists of about seventy Ladino families; the several thousand Indians live about the town and in the country. In other towns (Tenejapa,[15] Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Petalcingo) a considerable number of Ladino families have become established, although in these communities there are more Indians even among the inhabitants of the town itself, than there are Ladinos. A general disposition to exclude Ladinos from permanent settlement in Indian communities is most marked in Cancuc, the site of the uprising of 1712,[16] and where in 1935 some Ladino merchants were slain by the Indians. No Ladinos reside there now. In Amatenango, Chanal, Bachajón, San Martín, Tenango, and Sivacá the Indians are also unfavorable to settlement by Ladinos; in each of the three last-named villages the only Ladino residents are the school-teacher and the government-imposed municipal agent. Recently a few Ladino tradespeople have settled in Bachajón, and a "Center of Native Education" has been established there (as also at Amatenango) by the Mexican national government. In the lowland towns of 563 [669] [871]

[14] Tax, 1937, pp. 40-44.

[15] It is interesting that in Tenejapa, where both Indians and Ladinos live in town, the two groups recognize different patron saints, and there are separate schools for Indians and for Ladinos, whereas in Oxchuc, where all the Indians live outside the town, the same saints are worshipped by both groups, but the Ladinos maintain their own celebration on the day of the festival.

[16] Vicente Pineda, 1888.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

224 411 The Chief weapon used in hunting is the muzzle-loading smooth-bore gun, really a shot-gun, usually loaded with shot. Both flint-locks and percussion caps are known, and occasionally match-locks are made by the Indians themselves, the barrels being bought in the towns, or taken from old guns. Powder is carried in a cow's horn, which sometimes also serves as a flask.

Wild boar is sometimes hunted with spears, *mojara,* made of sticks with points hardened in the fire, although iron-headed spears are known, having been used in the Uprising of 1868. The latter form, however, does not appear to be made at present. Spears left over from the Uprising are highly valued and cannot be bought. [669] That they were brought out of hiding during a period of unrest at Bachajon in 1915 is considered one of the proofs that a real revolt was planned at that time.

224 231 Dogs take part in the chase, their use being connected with some curious superstitions. It is a common practice in Mexico to cut a

224

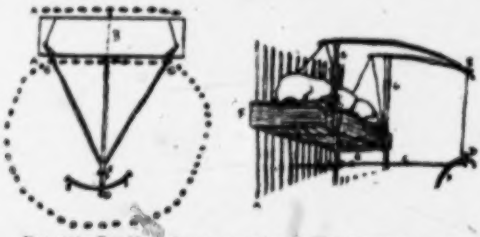

FIG. 308—Deadfall, from a rat trap at El Encanto, Chis. A. Plan. B. Sketch of essential parts.

224 231 piece off a dog's ear and keep it in the house if he shows a tendency to roam, or to go hunting alone. If he will not follow a trail, a similar piece is cut off and thrown on it. The Indians keep jaw-bones or other trophies of animals killed with the dogs' help hung in a conspicuous place under the eaves of the house; the object being to remind the dogs of their achievements, and to keep them from losing heart during a period of no hunting.

223 Birds, as well as being hunted, are caught with snares and with limed twigs.

224 Dead-falls, *yakul,* are used to trap animals, both for game, and to protect the fields. They are substantially all of one pattern, the drawing for which was taken from a rat-trap in the house at El Encanto (fig. 308). The deadfall consists essentially of a log, F, weighted with stones, held suspended in two slings, which hang from the ends of two sticks, EE, resting over two forked uprights, GG. The two sticks cross each other at the further end, where they are

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

boulders with care. It still is broad in most places, and has reasonable grades. We climbed to a rather desolate upland of wind-swept grass with a few crooked trees. There was some traffic on the road. We passed a group of Tenejapeños going down to the hot country to carry sugar. The men were ragged and woolly, like those we had seen at Salto de Agua, and their women, in short blue skirts and white blouses gorgeously ornamented with gold and crimson silk, were remarkable for their very pink cheeks showing through dark brown colouring.

The town of Cancuc (*kank'uk*) lies on the rounded shoulder of a long ridge that juts up above the high moors commanding a tremendous view North, West, and South over a jumbled mass of mountain ranges, like a herd of great elephants shouldering away to the horizon. A wind blows day and night, the trees are small and stunted, and the general effect is one of bleakness and height. At an altitude of 1,440 meters, with the unresting wind, it is always cold. The highroad climbs from a ravine up into the village where a small plaza is laid out on a level place. On our left was the big, white church, still well preserved. Opposite it, the Cabildo surprised us, a neat building with tile roof and white columned portico, built in President Diaz' time. Round about were some tumbling and ruined huts, and behind, the village rose on rough terraces crudely faced with stone.

Cancuc has a stormy history. It was the center of the famous rebellion of 1712, the subject of Brinton's "Maria Candelaria."* According to Starr (1904) who passed through here, there is a tradition that the men's long hair, covering their ears, is so worn in memory of the clipped ears which their ancestors received at that time. Recently, there has been political dissension in the form of a dragging feud, and a series of small fights and murders has resulted in those left of the defeated party abandoning the village and setting up their houses in the bush. It is from this that one sees so many huts deserted and beginning to disintegrate, adding to the general cheerless aspect of the place.

We were well received at the Cabildo, where the village officials with their silver-headed canes turned up shortly to look us over. They were younger men than most of the officials we had met previously, and a pretty tough looking crew, much what one would expect of a group that had attained office largely by means of the machete. The people on the whole rather resemble the Bachajon physically, being of a small-limbed type with an average height for men of about 160 centimeters, and nearly beardless. The men wear tunics cut as at Tenango, but decorated with red and yellow em-

*Brinton, 1887; Pineda, 1888.

175 648 under the administrative jurisdiction of the Provincia de los Llanos.[1] They were, and still are, part of the same Curato of [793] the local Catholic Church, which was under secular clergy, as opposed to most villages in the area which were under Dominican jurisdiction. Up until 1854 they were subjected to the same changes with respect to the administrative districts of the State of Chiapas (districts which were rearranged practically every time 175 there was a change of government). In 1854, however, the local 621 648 631 districts were reorganized into Municipalidades (the closest English equivalent being a county); Amatenango became attached to Teopisca, the nearest Ladino-Indian town, as a part of the ninth Municipio, while Aguacatenango became dependent upon the fourth Municipio of Comitan, together with the towns of San Bartolomé (also a mixed Ladino-Indian town), Totolapa and Concordia (Trens, 1942).

631 621 At the present time Amatenango is an independent Municipio, having been separated from Teopisca in 1937, while Aguacatenango is an Agencia of the Municipio of Venustiano Carranza. Both com- [692] munities are, however, attached to the equivalent ladino towns in [651] similar ways because of their economic dependence, because such disputes as are not solved within the confines of the village are sent to the juzgados of the towns, and because the offices of the Tax Collectors and Ejidos are situated in these ladino towns.

175 669 621 631 Neither of the two communities became directly involved in the Indian Uprisings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,

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[1] San Bartolome de los Llanos; today known as Venustiano Carranza.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

175 called by the historians the Wars of the Castes (Pineda, 1888;
169 Molina, C., 1934; Kline, H., 1960), and both of them voted to join
621 Mexico when the State of Chiapas was contemplating annexation to
631 either Mexico or Guatemala (Trens, 1942:274).

TABLE 2

175 AMATENANGO AND AGUATENANGO: POLITICAL AND
631 ADMINISTRATIVE JURISDICTIONS
621

Time	Amatenango	Aguacatenango
1600 to 1778	Obispado de Ciudad Real Provincia de los Llanos	
1829	Departamento del Sur Partido de los Llanos	
1844	Distrito del Centro Partido de Las Casas o San Cristobal	
1854	Municipio de San Cristobal 9th Municipio	Distrito de Comitan 4th Municipio
1937-1958	Municipio de Amatenango	Municipio de V. Carranza

175 In the end of the eighteenth century (1792) the Bishop
177 Francisco Gabriel de Olivares y Benito tried to specialize
286 Amatenango, Teopisca and Aguacatenango as small textile centers
(cotton) by giving the weaving materials to widows and young female
children to process and sell. A school for the training of weavers
[874] was established in the same year, but the project ended unsuccessfully in the beginning of the nineteenth century (Trens, 1942: 175-6).

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

out by a small group bearing a grudge, although in this case the 648
tribe as a whole stands more solidly back of the offenders.

The Bachajon exhibit internal dissension and strife to an un- 628
usual degree. There are many small, outlying sub-groups, some of which are more or less openly at war with the main body. In the description of Zona Sala oil camp (Chapter VIII) something has already been said of the settlement there of men driven away on account of the misbehaviour. They still call themselves Bachajon and maintain some slight intercourse with the tribe, although they are quite inimical in their attitude towards Indians passing through on the way to Palenque. There are other such settlements in different parts of the jungle, although these, having most recently split off, are the most hostile.

What group loyalty the Bachajon have centers around the de- 621
serted village that bears their name. It was described at the begin- 609
ning of this chapter. Founded under compulsion, deserted whenever possible, its church and Cabildo in ruins, none the less it is their focal point, jealously guarded from intrusion. These Indians have had the same experience as our own; the European comes first as a visitor, then a few settle for trade, then comes a host in their footsteps, until soon there is no place for the Indian, and he finds himself an intruder in his own home. Against this sequence of events, so common in our history, the Bachajon protect their land by an attitude of unremitting hostility. Travellers may pass through, but no trader may set up even a lean-to bower under which to display his wares, save during the few days of their main fiestas, although it would be a great convenience for them to have a store nearer than Ocosingo.

The destruction of the Spanish-built church and Cabildo, with 829
the substitution for them of native edifices, is curious. The feeling probably is that when they do congregate in their capital for a fiesta, they do not wish to be confronted by evidences of alien domination.

The strongest actual unit is that of the individual family, the 593
man, his wife, and children. Indians who are forced, for one reason 594
or another, to go into hiding in the jungle, will run great risks to return and fetch their wives and children. Even beyond this smallest 602
group there is a little feeling, a man's relatives by marriage or blood 627
often joining to support him in a feud, or to revenge a wrong done him. Similarly, the relatives of the individual who committed the [672]
wrong are held in some degree liable to punishment, although there is no formal rule of collective responsibility, the action taken depending largely on individual inclination.

754
539 HA*YU*N MA HNA* MAC'A LAH HAK' NAL C'OHBIL CAMEL I.

For this reason, it isn't known who did the witchcraft.

273* One further reason for drinking in such a situation in-
578
• 672 volves the belief of Aguacatenangueros that individuals who are drunk must be excused for an act they commit. Thus, the individual who is about to increase the probability that some other members of the community will come into conflict with him (i.e., the immediate family of the witch) becomes drunk, and is thus not responsible for his acts. Acts performed while drunk express less clearly the intent of the actor than similar acts performed while sober.

In the case of drinking performances associated with acts of violence, the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking contrast is not well defined. The persons who most desire that the sanctioning acts be performed supply the aguardiente. They continue to supply aguardiente until their ends have been achieved. The ceremonial drinking segment is determined temporally by the vagaries of events. It may be short or long. It is probably not followed by an informal drinking segment. In fact, it more probably is preceded by either an informal drinking segment or, for that matter, a ceremonial drinking segment. The necessities of the situation override the ceremonial aspects of the performances.

273*
182 Drinking performances are associated with risky forms of

585 183 593 606 family, that she starts a new life. She now has a new family and a new home where she should learn new ways of doing things from her mother-in-law, and forget the old ones she learned from her mother. Among her duties as a good wife and daughter-in-law she should keep her husband well fed and clean, obey her mother-in-law for whom she should work hard, and respect the head of the household (her father-in-law). She should not visit her family too often, and she should gather firewood with her mother-in-law instead of with her mother.[1] The ceremony indicates two things: [581] (1) the transfer of the wife's reproductive and labor power from her natal home to her husband's; (2) the boundaries of her new role. In a sense, the people of Aguacatenango define the role of a wife in terms of her performance as a worker and as a daughter-in-law, and in terms of her relations with all the members of the household rather than only in terms of her relation to her husband.

593 885 [851] On the other hand, a new husband's performance is under trial. He has to demonstrate that he can get along with his wife, and become a father, before his role as a dependent child is replaced by his role as a married man. At the time of acquiring a wife, a man is regarded by the community as a "child," being both economically and jurally dependent upon his father, who has complete authority over his actions, and is directly responsible for his son's misdeeds.[2]

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[583] [1]One of my informants tells me that although she was robada by her husband (she lived in the other barrio) the night she arrived at her husband's household, her father-in-law gave her a shortened version of the wedding speech. I do not know if this is a common practice.

[592] [672] [2]If a young man commits a crime while living under his father's roof, the father is responsible for his defense and for paying the fines to the Ayuntamiento.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 456-A) Teklum

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621
632

It is in the context of these structural divisions that social change and its behavioral indices must be analyzed.

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182

Homicide—an act viewed as a delict in national Mexican law—has in the past two decades become an accepted strategy in social interaction. It is part of the expectations of the society upon which members predicate their own code of behavior and in terms of which they react to others. Gossip not only fails to suppress homicide, but serves to create a consensual base for condoning it. The corpse is referred to as "the one who had the guilt," *Pa stukel smul*, and even when knowledge of the particular act is lacking, certain assumptions are made: the killer was someone in the community; the victim provoked the killer. In listing crimes, informants sometimes failed to mention killing, or they included it after witchcraft, theft, or adultery. Homicide is considered a *reaction* to crime, not a crime in itself.

[626]
[521]
[764]
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674
[124]

The rate is phenomenally high—up to 251.2 per 100,000 (when adjusted to bring the whole township's population of a little over 3,000 to the base for measuring international rates)—and it is increasing. This compares with national rates of 4.8 for the United States, 31.9 for Mexico (United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1964), and 36.2 for a nearby town (Favre 1964).

The following tabulation summarizes the homicides by decades since 1915, the earliest date for which records are available.

1915–1924	4
1925–1934	5
1935–1944	19
1945–1954	9
1955–1964	35

[114]

Figures prior to 1950 are not apt to be accurate, for only since that time have there been adequate reporting and checking of township records. In the following tabulation, the marked increase in the annual number of homicides since 1960 represents a real increase.

1950	1	1958	1
1951	0	1959	1
1952	1	1960	4
1953	1	1961	7
1954	1	1962	6
1955	0	1963	7
1956	1	1964	4
1957	4	1965	9

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674
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In order to assess the meaning of its remarkable increase during the 1960's, I have pro-

3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.456-B] Teklum

682 ceeded along two lines of enquiry. First, I have
674 analyzed the circumstances surrounding the
12 deaths in as many cases as my informants could remember. Variations in the components of homicidal acts—the setting, agents, purpose, and outcome—suggested the different assumptions underlying each case. Secondly, I have correlated the different kinds of homicide with structural and organizational changes in
682 the community. The analysis of cases in Sec-
674 tion I summarizes the patterned components
128 of behavior. The social environment providing the cues to the actors is explored in Section II.

682 ## I. THE PATTERNED COMPONENTS OF
165 37 HOMICIDE CASES[3]

[128] The following tabulations and discussion are based on the 37 cases presented in Table 1.

Who Is Killed

Sex:	all male	
Age:	18–22	5
	27–30	7
	34–38	7
	42–48	8
	50	3
	60	2
	65	2
	70	2
	??	1
[463] Occupation:	curer	8
	political leader	1
	farmer	28

One-half the total number of killings occurred to those between the ages of 34 to 50. However, as the six victims aged 60 and over indicate, survival to a late age does not ensure that one will die a nonviolent death. The age of the victim may be correlated with motive, insofar as some events leading to conflict occur
68 only at certain times in the life cycle. Thus,
[578] betrothal conflicts involved only young men, while victims accused of witchcraft were older: 27 was the age of the youngest, and 16 out of the 18 men killed as witches were over 34. Cattle theft, on the other hand, occurred throughout the age range.

682 Eight of the victims—more than one-fifth of
165 them—were curers, a much higher proportion
756 than their share in the total population, for there are only about a dozen now living in the town center of 1,900.

682 There is a personality type recognized by the
156 community as distinctive of those who "get

3:Mach E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 NY9 Tzeltal NY9
[P.458] Tekium
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682
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TABLE 1. CASE ANALYSIS OF HOMICIDES OCCURRING FROM 1938 TO 1965
(AS RECALLED FROM MEMORY BY THREE INFORMANTS)*

CASE No.	DATE	AGE	WEAPON	WOUNDS	PLACE	TIME	SUSPECTS	MOTIVE	OUTCOME
1	1938—fiesta in neighboring town	50	pistol, machete	head cut off	in houseyard of borrowed house in neighboring town	afternoon	?	Accused of witchcraft	No one apprehended.
2	1945	65	pistol	shot between eyes	in street	night	two drinking companions (relatives of victim)	Drunken quarrel	Two companions went to jail. While in jail, with help of witch from neighboring town, set fire to four houses in pueblo.
3	1946	48	machete (brothers disarmed him of shotgun)	?	road at outskirts of town, at cross	dawn (5 A.M.)	brothers: 1 elder, 2 younger	Curer, suspected of being witch.	One brother went to jail for five years.
4	1946	45	machete	well chopped up	neighboring hamlet	?	?	"I don't know what crime he had. He was a curer."	No one went to jail.
5	1946—fiesta San Francisco	38	machete and gun	well cut up, head and neck	in woods	?	?	Accused of witchcraft.	No one complained.
6	1946	50	shotgun	?	in street	night, after curing ceremony, very drunk	?	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	Wife complained, but no witness.
7	1958	27	nail	in throat	in street	night, after curing ceremony	father of boy who died of witchcraft	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	Before dying, victim revealed name of killer, but local authorities would not arrest him. Case went to higher court, but no witnesses.
8	1960—11/28	60	machete	cut off head	in street	night, after curing ceremony	son-in-law	Accused of witchcraft by curer at ceremony for daughter.	Son-in-law fled town.
9	1960—12/18 fiesta, Sta. Lucia	28	knife, machete	heart, throat, stomach	?	?	killer paid by cattle owners	Stole cattle.	Released killer on bail of 2,500 pesos paid by cattle owners.

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10	1960—12/18 fiesta, Sta. Lucia	60	shotgun	shot in back—bullet entered lung	houseyard, two feet from house	7 P.M., after curing ceremony	brother-in-law	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	No one apprehended.
11	1961—6/16	70	machete	many wounds	near highway	9 P.M., after gathering of curers	neighbors	Curer, accused by other curers of being witch causing epidemic.	Neighbors were not identified.
12	1961	35	shotgun	shot in back	highway	?	leader of political independance movement (wife's brother)	Refused to pay tribute to independence leaders.	Killer's wife (victim's sister) left husband. No one jailed. Later, killer killed by victim's brother (case 18).
13	1961—7/26 fiesta in neighboring hamlet	30	?	?	street, near cantina	late at night	wife's brother	Very abusive, fought drunks.	Wife's brother fled town.
14	1961—10/24 fiesta in neighboring hamlet	45	knife	many wounds	?	?	neighbors	Accused of being witch by neighbors.	No one apprehended.
15	1961—12/15 fiesta, Sta. Lucia	37	gun	?	cantina	late at night	?	Accused of witchcraft.	Wife agreed he was witch.
16	1962—9/25	18	?	?	?	?	rival for girl	Fought over girl.	No one accused.
17	1962—9/25	20	knife	stabs	in street	night (1 A.M.)	cattle owners	Accused of stealing cattle.	Went to jail, but released on bail put up by cattle owners.
18	1962—9/26	35	gun	shot in heart	highway	(4 P.M.)	brother-in-law's brother	Revenge—victim had killed his own brother-in-law (case 12).	Killer declared he had killed. Paid fine and went free.
19	1962—11/15 fiesta, All Saints	20	knife, gun	stabbed in heart and shot	drinking in cantina	late at night	rival for girl	Fought over girl.	No one accused.
20	1962—12/24 fiesta, Christmas Eve	50	gun	shot between eyes	road outside town	dawn (6 A.M.)	leader of cattle association	Accused of stealing cattle.	?
21	1963—4/4	36	hatchet	head	in woods, given drink by killers	5 P.M.	?	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	No one apprehended. Brother did some investigating.
22	1963—7/24	45	?	?	in bed	night, after curing ceremony	Curer from neighboring town	Victim had accused suspect of being a witch when curing a patient.	Nothing.

* Two more homicides were recalled for 1964 than official records show. They most probably occurred in a previous year.

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TABLE 1—(CONT.)

Case No.	Date	Age	Weapon	Wounds	Place	Time	Suspects	Motive	Outcome
23	1963—8/28 fiesta, San Augustin	?	sandals	kicked to death	in cantina	afternoon	drinking companions	Barroom brawl	One of two assailants arrested, bailed out.
24	1963—9/25	70	shotgun	forehead	in field	late afternoon	sons of man whom he was accused of having killed by witchcraft	Accused by curers in neighboring towns of having caused sickness	Nothing.
25	1964—1/2 fiesta, New Years	30	machete, gun	?	street outside house of new president	night (11 P.M.)	killer paid by brothers	Accused of stealing cattle.	Brother fled, but was jailed when he returned.
26	1964—1/3 Carnival	14	gun, machete	chopped up with machete	street, one block from house	night (11 P.M.)	?	Accused of witchcraft by neighbors.	No one accused.
27	1964—5/14	50	gun	forehead	highway	afternoon	Ladino liquor distiller, not of community	Victim had denounced distiller to federal authorities.	No one accused.
28	1964—9/1	30	gun	?	milpa, after his brothers gave him drink	afternoon	his brothers	Accused of witchcraft.	One brother fled. The other was killed but claimed the first one did it.
29	1964 9/14	65	knives	many knife wounds	street, three blocks from house	late at night, after gathering of curers	curers	Curer, accused by other curers of being witch causing epidemic	No one accused.
30	1964	22	?	?	eight meters from his house	night (1 A.M.)	close friend, hired by cattle owners, brothers of killer	Accused of stealing cattle.	Freed on bail.
31	1965—2/14	42	machete	head cut off	road to neighboring hamlet	night (3 A.M.)	?—at first thought it was wood spirit, until they found head	?	No one accused.
32	1965—2/22	45	knife, stone	stabbed in heart, head bashed	street near house	night	?	Accused of witchcraft by neighbors.	No one accused.
33	1965—3/21 Carnival	45	shotgun	?	street	night	?	Accused of witchcraft.	No one apprehended.

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34	1965—4/24	27	gun	?	found in woods, body dragged there from town	night (1 A.M.)	brother-in-law	He had relations with 14-year-old sister-in-law. When he tried reconciliation, became drunk, abusive.	No witness, no blood found in in-laws' house.
35	1965—5/30 fiesta, just before San Francisco	35	shotgun	three shots entered back	road	afternoon	?	Stole cattle, corn.	Killers left note saying old man did it, but no one believed it.
36	1965—6/13	42	machete	head severed, side wounds	road to milpa	6 P.M.	son by first marriage	Failed to help son get a wife; accused by dying wife of causing her death by witchcraft.	Widow spread rumors that it was his son, but refused to testify.
37	1965—10/7	20	shotgun	back	in houseyard	6 P.M.	rival for girl	Accident—killer mistook him for his brother, who was challenging killer's suit for a girl.	?

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682 704 756 location of the soul, *sč'ulel*, in the tongue, *yal*, wherein lies the particular power of the curer. This possibly suggested the mode of attack.

682 411 412 [223] [224] The instruments used to kill are carried by the farmers of this area most of the time. The men go to their milpa with a machete strapped to their side, a shotgun slung over their shoulder, and sometimes even a knife stuck in their waistband. They frequently interrupt work to hunt birds, rabbits, and deer. The shotgun does not excite suspicion or comment when it is seen. The men of Teklum are technologically prepared to kill in the course of an ordinary day's work.

682 [152] [683] The number of wounds and the thoroughness with which the job is done (see Table 1) suggest not so much the fury of the assailants as the fear motivating their act. In a witch-killing, it appears to be thought necessary to hack up the victim completely so that his power is effectively ended: one witch was cut into 32 pieces; another had 166 wounds.

682 674 656 The death acts drawn up in the local courthouse have been increasingly specific in their statements as to the wounds inflicted ever since the government's intervention in the case of an accidental death in 1950. The local authorities were threatened with a fine of 600 pesos if the details were not properly recorded. The careful measurement of the body in relation to the road and to neighboring milpas and the measurement of the size and depth of the wounds provide the screen of complicity that wards off further investigation by federal authorities and preserves local independence. There is never any questioning of suspects or attempt to solve the crime by officials. The success of the ploy is illustrated in the following account:

> Pedro had animals at the spring and had gone out early with ropes in his bag to lasso them. He was found with a rope tied around his neck hung from a *čikinib* tree. We went out and measured the length and thickness of the rope and how many centimeters it penetrated his neck. We put all these facts in the report, which gave the cause of death as suicide.
>
> At that time we had a schoolteacher in town who asked the dead man's wife why the town didn't investigate who killed him because someone must have done it. He went with the widow to the Ministerio Publico in the capital. Well, when they came out, there were all the facts in the death act. [Informant laughed heartily as he recalled this success.] He saw that we had discovered the body at 3 P.M., that the rope was 15 meters

682 674 656 long, and that the body was suspended 35 centimeters from the ground. He saw that we had raised the act well, and nothing was done.

Who Kills and Why

682 562 The only universal factor among the killers is sex—only men kill (Table 2). Women do not kill nor are they killed in Teklum. This does not mean that they are not subject to as many tensions or abuses as men, or that these have no channels for expression. Women work through men by agitating them to homicide. [593] Sometimes revenge is delayed, for the agents chosen by women may be children who must reach maturity before accomplishing the deed (see case 36, in which the son's animosity toward his father was kindled at his mother's deathbed).

682 683 621 Neighbors are a significant group in witchcraft killing. (Neighbors may be listed in Table 2 under another relationship, for instance as brother-in-law or as cattle owner.) They are the informal judges of suspected witches, and it is frequently they who kill a man considered to be a witch. When the curers accuse a man of causing epidemics, his neigh- [608] bors are usually the executors. For this reason, most people try to neutralize the hostility of

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TABLE 2. SUSPECT, BY MOTIVE FOR HOMICIDE

		Brother	Brother-in-law	Son	Son-in-law	Neighbors	Relative of witchcraft killing	Curers	Cattle owners	Rival for girl	Drunks	Not of community	??	Totals
[688]	Victim was accused of witchcraft	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	—	—	—	—	8	18
	Victim accused suspect of witchcraft	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
[685]	Cattle theft	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	1	6
[578]	Rivalry over girl	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	3
	Abusive behavior	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
[579]	Drunken quarrel	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
[627]	Avenge a death (not caused by witchcraft)	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2
	Political conflict	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
	??	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
	Total	3	5	1	1	2	2	1	4	3	2	3	11	37

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000 cept the verdict or to avenge the killing.

682 In selecting a single motive in categorizing
•674 the killer and the reason for his act, I have dis-
128 torted reality more than in the other tabula-
tions. Motivations include both the instru-
mental reason and the rationalization for the
act. The complexity of motivation is correlated
with the multiplicity of social ties existing be-
tween any two people. For example, when a
man shoots his father for failure to provide him
with his bride price, but feels justified and ex-
pects social approval because his mother on her
deathbed accused the father of having pro-
voked her illness by witchcraft (case 36, Table
1), it is impossible to assign a single primary
cause. However, in order to correlate the fac-
tors of agent and motive, I have been forced to
select only a single feature in categorizing
them.

682 In one-half of all the cases reported, the
674 motive attributed for homicide is suspicion of
75 witchcraft. (Whether or not witchcraft is ever
practiced here is irrelevant since men act in
terms of their interpretation of an event, not of
the event itself.) Almost all sickness in the
community is believed to be caused by witch-
craft (the term for witch and witchcraft,
ʔak'ʔamel, means "giver of sickness"). The
family of a sick person consults the local
curers, who pulse the patient. The witch "has
left his signature in the blood" of the patient,
and by pulsing him the curer can "hear and
feel" who the witch is. His procedure is to ask
the patient to tell what troubles he has had
with his neighbors and relatives, and as the
patient recites the names of the people with
whom he has had conflict, the pulse jumps. As
in the use of the lie detector, this indicates
where there is high affect; in Teklum it is inter-
preted as positive indicator of the guilty per-
son, the witch. If the curer gets drunk enough,
he may reveal the name of the witch, but he
usually prefers not to—I know of at least three
cases, one of which is reported here, in which
the man who announced the name of the witch
was killed by the person he accused. The fam-
ily may then check the consultation with
curers in neighboring towns or even in the de-
partmental capital. Since these distant curers
are not inhibited by fear of the witch, they
name the guilty one. The family, or the pa-
tient, may broadcast their suspicions, even
announcing the consultation over the loud-
speakers in the local liquor shops. If the pa-
tient dies, a member of the family may act on

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682 674 75 these suspicions and kill the witch. If he should kill the witch while the patient is still alive, it is believed that the patient will die.

682 685 674 [463] [697] Killing men for cattle theft (six cases) is a relatively recent occurrence. It has put homicide on the market: the associations of cattle-owners have hired killers in three of the six cases. In addition to the killer's fee, they pay the fine to release him from prison. Fines for homicide have increased in the past five years—from 1,000 to 3,000 pesos—but not sufficiently to price the murder of cattle thieves out of the market. A good bull is worth [435] 1,500 pesos, and the threat of further loss by theft seems to justify the expenditure of fees 685 and fines. When the cattle-owners lose some 787 of their herd, they go to spiritualists or to San 776 Miguel, the talking saint of Ixtapa, to find out who did the stealing. Since such evidence does not hold up in court, legal settlement is not 685 attempted. Legal action, moreover, would 694 create an enemy who might seek revenge. A Ladino secretary of the town center who had lost a bull accused a man of stealing his cattle and demanded 500 pesos in compensation. By receiving the money he jeopardized his safety, and eventually he had to leave town.

The Resolution of the Case

682 69 It is nearly impossible to find witnesses to homicide. Of these 37 cases, 28 resulted in no action being taken by the authorities, and in five cases where the killers went to jail, they were released with the payment of minimal fines. In the calculations of the townspeople, it is hardly worth risking one's neck to get such a minimal revenge.

682 593 626 [683] However, this does not mean that homicide goes unnoticed in the community. After a killing the widow sings of the life of the dead man. If she is in agreement with the verdict arrived at by the killer and others, she will deny knowledge of what he has done, or even suggest that she too was aware of what harm he has caused (one widow implied that her husband, killed as a witch, was responsible for the death of four of her six children). If she objects to the verdict, she sings of what a good man he was and how blameless. She will then air her own suspicions in the following weeks as to who killed her husband.

682 683 627 Following the funeral, when the women have left the cemetary, the men sit at the grave. As they measure out a liter of liquor and pass it around, they advance hypotheses as

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The authority of the president, however, depends on the use of legal sanctions of prison sentences and fines imposed by extracommunity enforcement agencies in the departmental capital. The weakness of these sanctions—the fine for homicide is 1,000 to 3,000 pesos or three to five years' imprisonment—means that these threats do not have a controlling effect on people's decisions to act. Homicide, carried out by individuals who feel themselves to be threatened, is a supplementary mechanism for social control. Cast in the idiom of witch-killing, homicide is the quasi-official execution of a community threat.

The breakdown in the former structural controls has not been compensated for by the intervention of extracommunity institutions. Attempts to circumvent killing are made by the priest, who counsels against it, warning that the killer will acquire the sins of the man he kills, and by the talking saint of Ixtapa, whom the Indians consult when they are pressed and who advises them to wait—their enemy will be killed for them. This advice is not sufficient to forestall all killings. Motivated by fear, some men still seek to eliminate the object of their fear.[7] The sense of the guardianship of the ancestors and their intermediaries, the curers, is lost along with the intervention of the civil authorities. The individual reacts, using his own means and trying to get sufficient consensus to avoid reprisal.

III. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Homicide in the community of Teklum can be a statement of the fear of witchcraft, of revenge, or of quasi-official reprisal depending on the circumstances and social relationships involved. Even in this small, self-contained community, homicide does not have a single meaning, analyzable within a single framework of change.

Homicide is part of the expectation pattern of the town. The patterning of the acts of homicide in terms of time, place, and agent makes possible rules of avoidance both in long- and in short-term calculations for survival. The long-range rules require respect behavior to elders, equals, and juniors and the avoidance of abusive or boastful statements. The short-range rules are to avoid walking alone in the woods or milpas far from town, to stay home at night, and to stop drinking.

Despite the grim and expectable outcome of being killed, not all men heed these rules. The love of power and the projection of self into

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682 183 wider ranges of expression than are usually permitted in the community prompt men to assert the strength of their swayobel, to run races with the animal spirits of others in the assertion of pre-eminence, to boast of their material goods, and to "wake up dead."

682 674 178 578 The increasing rate of homicide is related to the following changes in the community.

(1) Increasing friction resulting both from the introduction of new economic enterprises and from political competition by the recently settled land-reform colonies has introduced a new kind of homicide, in which an opponent is killed either by the person whose interests are threatened or by hired killers. It has also stimulated accusations of witchcraft stemming from envy.

[754] 558 682 674 178 578 756 754 (2) The curers' loss of leadership and of control over entry into the curing profession has led to competition among them and to a loss of respect for their ability to overcome witchcraft. Curers have become the most frequent suspects of being witches.

(3) Loss of faith in the guardian ancestors and in the guardianship functions acquired from them by the curers has further undermined the position of the curers as agents of social control. This has aggravated the sense of insecurity and fear, which provokes the uncontrolled use of individual violence.

682 674 178 621 626 (4) The shift of power from the principales to the town president has led to a breakdown in the system of checks and balances exerted by the principales over the curers, and to a direct confrontation of the curers by civil officials.

756 682 674 756 178 626 683 (5) In the confrontations of the civil authorities and the curers in the '40's and early '50's, the fact that a witchcraft case was officially reviewed and the killing of the witch sanctioned may have served as a brake on the number of such homicides. Since 1953, when this practice was abandoned, those who have felt themselves or their families to be the victims of witchcraft have been left to their own recourse.

178 578 682 [621] [632] [756] The organizational changes summarized here are provoked by structural changes affecting recruitment into the positions of power and the validation of leadership in the exercise of power. The dual division of the town provided an accepted basis for recruiting

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priest lists only one, San Francisco. Only these top four are hierarchically ordered. The big saints are supposed to be able to make miracles, but there are stories only for San Pedro and Santa Lucía. San Pedro Martyr, *Tatik Martil,* is the only saint possessing a soul. The image of San Pedro shows him with a hatchet in his head, blood dripping over his face. According to legend, San Pedro was the first patron saint of the town. The following story recounts his transformation: 776 177 776 754 539 177

Tatik Martil was of a very foreign kind of heart. He gave permission to the witches to bring sickness. Only those who knew how to make illness spoke with him. They went and asked permission to make the illness continue. People heard he was very evil, and they threw him out of church. They cut off his head, saying, "You only give evil. You do not give any miracles. You have given the old ones permission to give evil."

San Pedro received a new head in Pinola. Now he is good and is of one heart with the Virgin Santa Lucía, with Sacramento, and with San Francisco.

The logic by which San Pedro is cast as leader of the witches is implicit in judgments concerning guilt in cases of homicide. Any man who is killed is referred to as the guilty person, since protecting the village from witchcraft is the main motivation for homicide. When an early priest set up an image of San Pedro in the church, this must have inspired fear and foreboding. He was transmogrified by the people into the leader of the witches, and they burned the church to the ground. (Its foundations are still visible in Alannantik.) Whether the priest at that time (around 1746) convinced the people that, with a new head purchased in Pinola, San Pedro was transformed, or whether the people invented the story, we do not know. Despite his reformation, San Pedro still inspires fear. He is identified with the Lord of Lightning, Tatik Čaʾuk. The following is a typical account of his power: 776 754 177 174 [674] 776 821 539 177

This power comes from his possession of an animal spirit. Whenever the lightning strikes, people know that some sin has been committed. The old people say that he asked a son-in-law to put down a lightning flash. The son-in-law couldn't do it—I don't know why he couldn't do his work—

The following list of moral transgressions is roughly ordered in terms of the egregiousness of the crime: witchcraft, theft of cattle, theft of corn, "talking with" a woman (this is a euphemism for having an affair), having more than one wife, killing, and disrespect to parents. There is a fair amount of consistency in the rank order given by different informants. Of five people questioned, all ranked witchcraft first, and theft, without qualification as to what was stolen, second. Subjects questioned differentiated the crime of "talking with" a woman according to the status of the woman —it was worse to have relations with a married woman than with an unmarried girl or with a widow. Killing was listed late or not at all by some because it is assumed that the killer has cause unless the contrary is proved. The dead man is referred to as the guilty one. It is considered worse to kill a consanguineous relative than an affinal relative or a nonrelative. One man remarking on an incident in which a person lost his bull said: "It was a punishment of God for killing his father. If it had been his stepfather, it would be different." Wanton killing is said to be absent in the pueblo, and something that the kurik of the colonias do. The three murders in the past ten years resulting from barroom brawls between "friends" have not dispelled this notion.

Disrespect shown to parents is considered a serious violation of morality. A boy who refuses to listen to his father cannot expect to receive the protection and support of his parents, usually offered a child throughout their lifetime, or of the community. If the son abuses his father verbally or physically in public, the father is supported in whatever action he takes. One father, whose son kicked him in one of the local bars, drew applause when he made the sign of the cross in two deep gashes with his machete on his son's forehead. To beat one's father or mother is a great sin, but to beat one's wife is tolerated, particularly if it is done in drunkenness. If a man other than the husband beats a woman for any cause, she may reciprocate by beating him in court "before the eyes of the judges." One woman who was awarded this privilege when her husband's brother beat her said, "If he were my own husband, it would be all right for him to beat me."

The good man is "of one heart" and reveals it by his humility ("very soft heart"). The rules for demonstrating this are given by an old man who is frequently asked to be a nakawane in his section of the dual divi-

as lawyers. The defendant is sometimes accompanied by supporters who feel that he has a case. The failure of parents to accompany a defendant, regardless of his age, is attributed to their shame over their child's misbehavior and their own failure to train him properly. The judge does not limit himself to passing judgment but also counsels the defendant as to how he should behave.

The town hall is usually shut and locked at noon unless some business requires more time. In the evening about six, the officials return to take their same posts. They sit with their arms drawn inside their woolen jackets for warmth. After a half an hour they drift home. People rely on the presence of officials rather than particular actions to maintain social control, and it is their appearance at regular hours that assures the villagers that the town is being well run.

Local autonomy depends primarily on retaining social control functions. Civil officials try to settle disputes locally and avoid the entry of Ladino officials from the departmental capital, although the judges and president will threaten the defendant with taking the case to the department if they cannot get compliance. The number of cases referred to the capital has been increasing since 1950 as Table 32 shows. In 1951 the federal government began to fine local officials who failed to report homicide cases and accidental death. The local officials complied, but departmental courts were unable to bring action in over half the cases. No action was taken in 72 cases, or 54 percent, in comparison with 62 cases, or 46 percent, in which action was taken. Domestic cases, except for one of adultery, are adequately handled in local courts and do not appear in the departmental records. The trend shows an increasing number of cases of crimes against persons in comparison to crimes against property, an index to the breakdown in social control processes.

The Church

The church has been built and on two occasions rebuilt—when the tower was struck by lightning—with funds collected locally from household heads. Damage to the church was attributed to the patron saint of the neighboring town of Oxchuk who, the people say, was fighting with their patroness, Santa Lucía. The townspeople feel that they own the

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TABLE 32. Cases Brought to Departmental Court

	Homicide	Rape	Robbery	Complaint Property damage	Assault	Adultery	Liquor distilling	Accident	Misc.	Action yes	Action no	Action unresolved	Total
1950													
1951	2	1	1							3	1		4
1952	4	1		1						3	3		6
1953	1		1	1	4	1				6	2		8
1954	3		3	1	1		2			6	3	1	10
1955	2		3		2				5	8	1	3	12
1956	3		3	1	2					7	1	1	9
1957	5				3				2	4	3	3	10
1958	4		3		3				2	5	4	3	12
1959	1				4		1	1	1	2	2	4	8
1960	2	2			2		1	2	1	5	2	3	10
1961	4				1			2		1	2	4	7
1962	5				2				1	5	1	2	8
1963	6				3					3	1	5	9
1964	5			1	4					4	2	4	10
1965	9								2		2	9	11
TOTAL	56	4	14	5	31	1	4	5	14	62	30	42	134

323 coming from the smaller towns to buy. The Indians still bring pottery to
178 sell retail in towns that they visit during a fiesta. One of these is the barrio
442 of Lok'ibal in the município of Villa Carranza, where people go on the
443 third Friday of Lent to get holy water from the spring.

The Indians have not taken advantage of the truck to buy pottery wholesale and market it directly in the smaller towns, selling from the truck in the plaza as some of the wholesale fruit truckers do. Another operation which they have failed to profit from is buying the wheat harvest and selling to government warehouses, as some of the Ladino truckers do.

44 Lack of capital is the major reason for failure to exploit these opportuni-
471 ties. In marketing the contraband liquor, which is the most flourishing of
273 the new enterprises, the Indians have not yet entered into the external
443 markets except in the case of one young unmarried mother. Wholesale
434 purchases are made by Ladinos, primarily women, from other towns who resell the liquor in Comitán and on the coast. There is however, a well-de-
[675] veloped home market since all contracts are sealed with the offering of liq-
[681] uor, the "gift of the gods," all court fines are paid in liquor, and the main
[583] gift in betrothal is liquor. The cantinas with phonograph players opened
[275] by the cooperatives operate very successfully on Saturday night and during
[216] fiestas. The internal market for liquor is controlled by a syndicate of the
[548] forty-two independent liquor distillers. The price is set at 4 pesos per liter
[435] for all buyers, with the buyer providing the bottle.

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442 unit of land than corn, but it is grown for two reasons: the Indians believe
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[435] grower is usually about 90 pesos per hundred kilograms, and it is resold at 110 or 120 pesos in Tuxtla or to the government storehouses. Wheat is sometimes brought directly to San Cristóbal millers who give 120 per hundred kilograms. Corn is primarily a subsistence crop when grown in the center. Corn grown in hot country ejido land is now sold in Teopisca and
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3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.456-B] Teklum

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674 analyzed the circumstances surrounding the
121 deaths in as many cases as my informants could remember. Variations in the components of homicidal acts—the setting, agents, purpose, and outcome—suggested the different assumptions underlying each case. Secondly, I have correlated the different kinds of homicide with structural and organizational changes in
682 the community. The analysis of cases in Sec-
674 tion I summarizes the patterned components
128 of behavior. The social environment providing the cues to the actors is explored in Section II.

682 165 [128]

I. THE PATTERNED COMPONENTS OF 37 HOMICIDE CASES[9]

The following tabulations and discussion are based on the 37 cases presented in Table 1.

Who Is Killed

Sex:	all male	
Age:	18–22	5
	27–30	7
	34–38	7
	42–48	8
	50	3
	60	2
	65	2
	70	2
	??	1
Occupation:	curer	8
	political leader	1
	farmer	28

[463]

One-half the total number of killings occurred to those between the ages of 34 to 50. However, as the six victims aged 60 and over indicate, survival to a late age does not ensure that one will die a nonviolent death. The age of the victim may be correlated with motive, insofar as some events leading to conflict occur
• 68 only at certain times in the life cycle. Thus,
[578] betrothal conflicts involved only young men, while victims accused of witchcraft were older: 27 was the age of the youngest, and 16 out of the 18 men killed as witches were over 34. Cattle theft, on the other hand, occurred throughout the age range.

682 Eight of the victims—more than one-fifth of
165 them—were curers, a much higher proportion
756 than their share in the total population, for there are only about a dozen now living in the town center of 1,900.

682 There is a personality type recognized by the
156 community as distinctive of those who "get

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The boy is expected to live for a year with the girl's parents; then he makes his own home, usually near that of his father. If the boy's parents are sufficiently powerful, they may pay the girl's parents twelve pesos in lieu of the year's service. Villa was informed that a woman unable to pay a debt or a fine may be taken as a secondary wife by any married man who will pay the debt or fine; that a woman who loses her virginity may be bought similarly of her parents for a little rum; and that in the case of any of these polygynous marriages, a single household is maintained. No such household was observed.

No information was obtained on birth customs,[90] or on customs in connection with death.[91]

Blom and LaFarge describe a church festival held at Tecojá ranch on June 22 and 23.[92] When Villa visited the highland villages the carnival was being celebrated. In Tenejapa on February 20 he witnessed the "Festival of the Flags" (*tahimalkin*). The (annually elected) leaders of the festival, the *alfereces*, assembled in the morning at the church. Each man conveyed a red banner with green edges, fastened to a pole, and each held in his mouth a short hook on which an orange was impaled. Nothing was learned as to the significance of these objects. The alfereces remained for a time inside the church drinking rum and singing. They then went by fours to pray in turn before each of the crosses set up in the village. The rest of the day they spent visiting the house of each one of them in turn; in each house they sang the same song sung in the church; in each the host offered rum, so that by nightfall all were drunk. These acts were to be twice repeated during the days following. They had for their stated purpose the announcement of the days of carnival. On the following Thursday the carnival became generally celebrated, and many natives went out costumed and masked.

The alfereces were accompanied by musicians, and also by three personages carrying the dried bodies of, respectively, a wild cat, a rodent called *saben*, and an iguana. Villa was informed that these animals are used in a later festal pantomime in which the alfereces enact a sowing, and in which these animals are represented as performing their characteristic mischief.[93]

Villa observed other elements of the carnival ritual in Oxchuc. On Thursday, February 24, Indians of the calpul of Santo Tomás assembled in the church where they prayed for a time before the large altar, and then danced and drank rum in the nave. The dance was performed alternately by men and by women, and was accompanied by music from a harp, a guitar, and a rattle made of a calabash and a deer's hoof. On the following day these acts were performed by Indians of the other calpul; on this occasion the music was furnished by two drums and a flute, and the leader (*capitán*) was dressed in red. On this latter day natives of the calpul of Santo Tomás moved in procession through the streets; four individuals bore each a large pole to which were fastened ribbons of various colors; a fifth carried a red banner.

[90] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:559.

[91] *Ibid.* 2:560–562.

[92] *Ibid.* 2:564–565.

[93] The frequent association, in Middle America, of small animals, especially furred animals, with festivals, in connection with ideas of fertility and of festal buffoonery, has been noted. See Redfield, 1936, pp. 231–243.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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[P. 468-B]

The authority of the president, however, depends on the use of legal sanctions of prison sentences and fines imposed by extracommunity enforcement agencies in the departmental capital. The weakness of these sanctions—the fine for homicide is 1,000 to 3,000 pesos or three to five years' imprisonment—means that these threats do not have a controlling effect on people's decisions to act. Homicide, carried out by individuals who feel themselves to be threatened, is a supplementary mechanism for social control. Cast in the idiom of witch-killing, homicide is the quasi-official execution of a community threat.

The breakdown in the former structural controls has not been compensated for by the intervention of extracommunity institutions. Attempts to circumvent killing are made by the priest, who counsels against it, warning that the killer will acquire the sins of the man he kills, and by the talking saint of Ixtapa, whom the Indians consult when they are pressed and who advises them to wait—their enemy will be killed for them. This advice is not sufficient to forestall all killings. Motivated by fear, some men still seek to eliminate the object of their fear.[7] The sense of the guardianship of the ancestors and their intermediaries, the curers, is lost along with the intervention of the civil authorities. The individual reacts, using his own means and trying to get sufficient consensus to avoid reprisal.

III. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Homicide in the community of Teklum can be a statement of the fear of witchcraft, of revenge, or of quasi-official reprisal depending on the circumstances and social relationships involved. Even in this small, self-contained community, homicide does not have a single meaning, analyzable within a single framework of change.

Homicide is part of the expectation pattern of the town. The patterning of the acts of homicide in terms of time, place, and agent makes possible rules of avoidance both in long- and in short-term calculations for survival. The long-range rules require respect behavior to elders, equals, and juniors and the avoidance of abusive or boastful statements. The short-range rules are to avoid walking alone in the woods or milpas far from town, to stay home at night, and to stop drinking.

Despite the grim and expectable outcome of being killed, not all men heed these rules. The love of power and the projection of self into

323 178 442 443 coming from the smaller towns to buy. The Indians still bring pottery to sell retail in towns that they visit during a fiesta. One of these is the barrio of Lok'ibal in the município of Villa Carranza, where people go on the third Friday of Lent to get holy water from the spring.

The Indians have not taken advantage of the truck to buy pottery wholesale and market it directly in the smaller towns, selling from the truck in the plaza as some of the wholesale fruit truckers do. Another operation which they have failed to profit from is buying the wheat harvest and selling to government warehouses, as some of the Ladino truckers do.

44 471 273 443 434 Lack of capital is the major reason for failure to exploit these opportunities. In marketing the contraband liquor, which is the most flourishing of the new enterprises, the Indians have not yet entered into the external markets except in the case of one young unmarried mother. Wholesale purchases are made by Ladinos, primarily women, from other towns who resell the liquor in Comitán and on the coast. There is however, a well-developed home market since all contracts are sealed with the offering of liquor, the "gift of the gods," all court fines are paid in liquor, and the main gift in betrothal is liquor. The cantinas with phonograph players opened by the cooperatives operate very successfully on Saturday night and during fiestas. The internal market for liquor is controlled by a syndicate of the forty-two independent liquor distillers. The price is set at 4 pesos per liter for all buyers, with the buyer providing the bottle.

[675] [681] [583] [275] [216] [548] [435]

Agricultural production is not geared to a market, and Indians do not take advantage of fluctuations in price. Wheat yields a lower return per unit of land than corn, but it is grown for two reasons: the Indians believe that crop rotation of corn and wheat prevents depletion of the soil, and wheat requires less work since no cultivation is needed. Wheat is a cash crop and none of it is milled or consumed directly in town. Poor families sell their wheat "standing" to Teopisca truckers. The price given the grower is usually about 90 pesos per hundred kilograms, and it is resold at 110 or 120 pesos in Tuxtla or to the government storehouses. Wheat is sometimes brought directly to San Cristóbal millers who give 120 per hundred kilograms. Corn is primarily a subsistence crop when grown in the center. Corn grown in hot country ejido land is now sold in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. The local truck cooperative has a special permit which gives

241 442 443 [435] [489]

old and do not have as much opportunity to project their personalities in larger than life terms. Ladinas of the neighboring towns are given nicknames: Meʔ Sobol for example, was named for her habit of saying when she was drunk, "No soy bola" (I am not drunk); Meʔ Čʼičʼel, meaning Mother Blood, was applied to a woman who sold blood of slaughtered animals. 157 551

Behavior is not believed to be totally dependent on innate traits, and the Indians emphasize the socialization processes. A badly behaved youth was said in court to "behave as though he did not have a mother," and to lack fear of his parents. The sense of shame and fear begin at home, and the community relies on the family to instill these controlling influences on behavior. 861 [828]

Notions of Justice and Compensation

Notions of immanent justice, whether acquired from the priest or indigenous beliefs, are peripheral to the morality system. Crimes should be paid for not in suffering, guilt, or remorse, but in fines exacted by the communal authority. Every crime has its price, and most people agree that it is good to be able to pay in money and be exonerated. The scale of values assigned in the fines for crimes is some index to the relative weight given them: 577 681 685

Stealing a bull: 500 to 1,200 pesos, depending on value of bull.
Stealing a turkey: 40 to 70 pesos, depending on value of turkey.
Stealing a horse: 300 to 500 pesos, depending on value of horse.

The range of fines for each act of theft indicates that justice is exacted on the basis of market value of the item stolen. The fine for murder is 1,600 to 3,000 pesos or two to eight years in prison when a killer is captured by the federal authorities. Local authorities rarely try to find the killer. In the thirty-seven cases of homicide analyzed in the period from 1938 to 1965 (Table 29)[1] only two resulted in federal action. 682

People express doubt about the priest's warning that those who do evil will reap the wages of sin in this life or the next regardless of whether they are found guilty. The pragmatic basis for this conclusion is revealed 577 [682]

1 (see pp.245-247..Analyst)

554 these role-bearers have other functions to perform, but the term specifies the most significant of these. Other people may unofficially perform these acts but only the officially appointed person has the other prerequisites for and duties of the role.

3. Recruitment into roles depends on age and sex qualifications. Validation of the role emphasizes, in addition to these ascribed characteristics, innate capacity rather than acquired ability. For example, the curers who are respected are assumed to have been born with an animal spirit, while those who are believed to have acquired it are suspected of being witches. Similarly, high civil officials are expected to be innately clever, not just trained for office.

828 4. Evaluation of performance emphasizes the state of the heart and qualifies judgments of the person according to characteristics of the mind and of the soul. The heart governs emotions such as contentment or inner turmoil and determines the moral relations a person has with others. The mind enables a man to deal effectively in his instrumental activities so that he can speak and work well. Possession of a [774] second soul means that one is clever and capable, but it is the third soul which gives power over the life and death of others. The exchange of [754] evaluations about others is a crucial area of concern in the tense atmosphere dominated by fear of whichcraft. In the belief that their very sur- [156] vival depends upon knowledge of the intent of others before it is expressed in witchcraft, the people constantly consult with relatives, compadres, neighbors, or the curers, in order to anticipate changes in their relations with others.

681 5. Sanctions against behavior that fails to meet role expectations depend on the seriousness of the crime rather than on the attitude of the criminal. This means that compensation relieves the wrong-doer of any guilt burden. Most compensation, even for homicide, can be translated into cash payment.

156 6. Ceremonial behavior in everyday interaction as well as in- [554] ritual serves to limit the personal involvement in the encounter and to emphasize the role category. This is particularly emphasized in the [273] initial stage of the encounter. Liquor and cigarettes introduce a more [276] informal behavior in which the etiquette of reserve can be relaxed.

233
177 and adaptive responses. With the expansion of cattle raising, Indians have
178 organized associations adjusted to the traditional dual division. The asso-
62 ciation for each side of the dual division mobilizes labor for maintaining
476 the watering holes. The failure to organize communal corrals means that
312 inefficient herding techniques, damage to the milpa, and frequent loss or
[685] theft of cattle persist. The association reacts to the last problem by hiring killers to get rid of those suspected of theft, but this adaptive response is limited to dealing with particular incidents and has not solved the problem.

548 The manufacturers of contraband liquor have succeeded in organizing a
253 syndicate strong enough to maintain a monopoly price for both the inter-
177 nal and external markets and to provide security for themselves against
178 federal agents. The syndicate mobilizes for specific actions, such as raising
[435] the bail bond for imprisoned members or punishing informers. As a com-
[694] munity-wide organization ignoring the dual division and age-ranked sen-
[681] iority, it represents an adaptation in response to extra-community pres-
[621] sures.
[561]

The cooperatives that have been organized to manage the local store
474 and the trucks provide permanent managerial operations that are an adap-
177 tition to growing interaction in extra-community economic activities.
178 Cooperative owners are able to raise the capital to maintain and expand these operations. It is within these structures that entrepreneurial skills are being developed. The organizers gain the advantage not only of socializing the risk of loss but also of making a profit in a community where belief in witchcraft, fostered by envy, is rampant.

474 Activities in the new economic enterprises are not supported by any su-
472 pernatural belief. In order to gain acceptance for the new enterprises, the
177 entrepreneur Santos, who had organized the trucking cooperative, recog-
178 nized the need for an ideology. His rhetoric drew upon the sense of deprivation Indians feel in their relations with Ladinos. He justified his own ends as an attempt to gain for all the community the profits that only Ladinos had been able to gain through trucking and crops resales in the regional markets. The ideology he had begun to formulate stressed economic and political independence from both the Ladino entrepreneurs of neighboring towns and government agents who tried to promote welfare

programs in the interest of "civilizing" the Indians. This formulation involved a basic contradiction between the goal of moving into regional and national networks and that of keeping the old autonomy and independence of the corporate community. He never had to face that contradiction. Unable to gain adherents other than the small group of profit-sharers in the cooperative he organized, he was killed by opponents within the community. 474 472 177 178 [682]

The Family and Household

The core of the traditional culture lay in the local power hierarchies patterned on the familial model of age-ordered paternal authority institutionalized in the me'iltatil. The me'iltatil of the household have provided a flexible institution for adjusting conflict within the kin group. Their role in directing ritual performances preserves a sense of continuity in life cycle changes. 608 571 578 182

The institutionalized authority of the elders has not been upset by the trend toward residence based on nuclear families, which is an adjustment to the pressure of limited space in the town center. Kinship ties are continually reinforced by rituals that draw together the me'iltalil as sponsors of ceremonies marking baptism, marriage, and death. This group of sponsoring relatives has absorbed the institution of compadrazgo, adding compadres to the network of affinally-and bilaterally-related kin. The procedures for adjusting conflict among members of the household and extended family networks reinforce the authority of the elders. When adjustive processes in the house and court "arrangements" and in curing ceremonies fail, the only recourse is for one of the disputants to leave the community or commit homicide. 561 182 602 608 591 626 221 578 [681] [762]

Ceremonies within the household provide a model for the rules of the game that apply to adjustive behavior in the community. The household officials introduce new officials into their role, teaching them the prayers and directing the proceedings. Their authority depends upon age and prestige acquired in office. The me'iltatil, as the elders of the family, are the direct link with the ancestors. They and the nakawane provide the strongest force for preserving the ways of the ancestors. 561 182 [769]

men whom the lay sisters assisting the priest have 794
organized to help carry out the Mass and other
church rituals.

Another pair of officials, the *k'rinipaletik* or princi- 624
pales, were not mentioned in the category "officials in 554
the townhall" or in that of "officials in the church,"
until I questioned, "Who names the officials?" The
response was, "Principales with the president." In
order to arrive at the higher honorific posts of princi-
pal, one must serve five times in the civil and six
times in the religious posts in the traditional hier-
archy. The principales provide continuity in the [182]
transfer of authority, remaining in the townhall
when the old officials depart to their homes, and pass-
ing over the staffs to the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28,
31). It is a position without power in the day-to-day
administration of affairs. Although the incumbents 624
occupy prestigeful positions and carry out ceremonial 554
acts, many men avoid the office because of the loss of 794
status in carrying out one of their most important
acts, the collection of contributions for the major
fiestas. The two principales must hold the plate into
which the money is turned over by the police, and
this causes "embarrassment." Formerly they were [453]
also bankers, holding the money until it was spent.
This responsibility gave prestige to the act of receiv-
ing the money, now redefined as a sort of begging
operation.

A ceremonial link between the civil and religious 794
wings is the group of officers known as the *alperesetik*,
alfereces. They are associated with the four major [776]
saints, who are also represented by the *k'obrarias* of
Sacramento, Santa Lucia, San Pedro Martyr, and San
Francisco. Their rank order is determined not by the 794
importance of the saint but by the order of entry into 554
office. These are named: *tat pasaro*, the past "father";
lil pasaro, remains past; *st'ebal pasaro*, second past;
and *ʔal' alperes*, new alferez. They sit, move, and are
served in this order wherever they appear. Although 794
tied to a *k'ultat*, spirit father or saint, they function in 554
the townhall in bearing the banners there from the 62 *
church for civil affairs (App. 1, Q. 27), and they pro-
vide the post which is crucial for learning the set 537
speeches useful in all formal occasions, called the
pat'ot'an, 'behind the heart.' Because of the crucial [624]
nature of this speechmaking, no man can progress
into the post of first or second regidor without having
passed through that of alferez. This post is the most 794
difficult to fill because of the high outlay (3000 pesos 434
in one year of average expenditures, about half the 681 •

[P. 214-B]

average annual earnings of a man in this town); failure to accept the post when it is offered brings a jail sentence. On the following day, during a drinking session in the townhall with the assembled civil officials, the reluctant nominee usually accepts. 794 [434] [681] [273]

The civil career of an individual would be one in which he passed (*sk'as*, which I gloss as 'pass'; it is the same verb as Spanish *pasar*) first as police, then as third or fourth regidor. If he has passed as alferez, he will enter as first or second regidor at this stage, and then go on to second judge and finally become first judge. If not, he will stop as third or fourth regidor. After reaching the peak of his career as first judge, he may return to the police group as *martomorey*. Present leaders of the town consider this an "ugly" custom and say they hope to change it because it puts men of major age in a position of minor importance. Formerly men had to fulfill six turns in civil office, twice as regidor and twice as judge, to be considered free of further obligation. But now, because of increasing population (according to informants), this has been lowered to five required turns. The post which has been eliminated is that of assistant judge, which is now filled by a representative of one of the two barrios. 156 621* 554 693 [794] [829] 624 693 178 156

Throughout his career in office, a household head is expected to alternate between the civil and religious posts. Religious posts are considered less onerous since they require only six months of service, from the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo at the end of June until January 6, and the men are on duty only Sundays and holidays. A balanced number of six turns in each of the branches of the hierarchy was expected, prior to the reduction of the number of civil posts to five, to bring one to the end of one's career. In a census of 311 household heads made in 1964, passage in office shows a balance between posts undertaken in each wing of the hierarchy. Of 13 men over 70 years of age, five had completed service in civil and religious office. Three who had passed as president had served only once or twice in each wing of the hierarchy. The remaining five had a balanced but incomplete career. 621* 156 794 [125]

In the religious hierarchy, a man passes first as *nič'anil kuč haʔ*, 'minor who brings liquor.' Then he will pass as *ʔaliʔbal*, the assistant to the *kobraria*, particularly charged with the slaughter of the bull for the large fiestas. These "servants" were not distinguished from other mayordomos in the initial listing of officers, but were mentioned in the description of fiesta 794 554 156

[P. 215-A]

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[p.455-A]

Death as a Way of Life: The Increasing Resort to Homicide in a Maya Indian Community[1]

JUNE NASH
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105

The breaking-down of a social-control system based on belief in the guardianship of the spiritual ancestors and their temporal agents, the curers, is reflected in a rising homicide rate as people turn to individual sanctions when threatened. The acts of homicide differ in their social significance according to who is killed, the context, the agency, and the motivation of the killer. Thirty-seven homicides between 1938 and 1965, analyzed in terms of these component variables, reflect the conflicts arising from competition in new economic enterprises, the rising suspicion of curers' abuse of their supernatural power, and the loss of belief in the guardianship of the ancestors.

121 682 [762] THE social impact of homicide has caused some analysts[2] to treat it and its supposed inverted complement, suicide, as one kind of behavior with a single meaning, ignoring Durkheim's caveat that behavioral rubrics categorize diverse phenomena. Here I shall [101] analyze the variety of strategies involved in killing in a Mexican community, which I shall call Teklum (the Tzeltal term for village), and endeavor to show how rules of behavior are expressed in killing and in attempts to avoid being killed. Further, I shall endeavor to point out what these indicate about structural and organizational changes both within the community and in its relations with the wider society. Since suicide is absent, except for a [762] single case of a madman, I have restricted my enquiry to homicide.

161 162 [101] 621 Teklum is a predominantly Indian township of Mexico. The population of the town center—about 1,900—includes only one Ladino, or non-Indian, family, that of the schoolteacher. The sense of community is limited to people living in the center and in the four nearby hamlets (*barrios*).

621 632 The town center is divided physically and socially into two endogamous sections, called "upper" and "lower." The outlying hamlets are linked to the nearest section by social and economic ties. The civil and religious posts of 621 632 178 the town are, in local theory, apportioned evenly between the sections. This was in fact true until the 1950's; for each of the ranked posts had a paired complement, so that both sides of the dual division were represented, and the single posts of president and *síndico* (the president's administrative assistant) were al-

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 456-A) Teklum

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It is in the context of these structural divisions that social change and its behavioral indices must be analyzed.

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Homicide—an act viewed as a delict in national Mexican law—has in the past two decades become an accepted strategy in social interaction. It is part of the expectations of the society upon which members predicate their own code of behavior and in terms of which they react to others. Gossip not only fails to suppress homicide, but serves to create a consensual base for condoning it. The corpse is referred to as "the one who had the guilt," *?a stukel smul*, and even when knowledge of the particular act is lacking, certain assumptions are made: the killer was someone in the community; the victim provoked the killer. In listing crimes, informants sometimes failed to mention killing, or they included it after witchcraft, theft, or adultery. Homicide is considered a *reaction* to crime, not a crime in itself.

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The rate is phenomenally high—up to 251.2 per 100,000 (when adjusted to bring the whole township's population of a little over 3,000 to the base for measuring international rates)—and it is increasing. This compares with national rates of 4.8 for the United States, 31.9 for Mexico (United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1964), and 36.2 for a nearby town (Favre 1964).

The following tabulation summarizes the homicides by decades since 1915, the earliest date for which records are available.

1915–1924	4
1925–1934	5
1935–1944	19
1945–1954	9
1955–1964	35

[114]

Figures prior to 1950 are not apt to be accurate, for only since that time have there been adequate reporting and checking of township records. In the following tabulation, the marked increase in the annual number of homicides since 1960 represents a real increase.

1950	1	1958	1
1951	0	1959	1
1952	1	1960	4
1953	1	1961	7
1954	1	1962	6
1955	0	1963	7
1956	1	1964	4
1957	4	1965	9

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In order to assess the meaning of its remarkable increase during the 1960's, I have pro-

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
N79 Tzeltal N79
[P.456-B] Teklum

682 ceeded along two lines of enquiry. First, I have
674 analyzed the circumstances surrounding the
121 deaths in as many cases as my informants could remember. Variations in the components of homicidal acts—the setting, agents, purpose, and outcome—suggested the different assumptions underlying each case. Secondly, I have correlated the different kinds of homicide with structural and organizational changes in
682 the community. The analysis of cases in Sec-
674 tion I summarizes the patterned components
128 of behavior. The social environment providing the cues to the actors is explored in Section II.

682 165 [128]

I. THE PATTERNED COMPONENTS OF 37 HOMICIDE CASES[3]

The following tabulations and discussion are based on the 37 cases presented in Table 1.

Who Is Killed

Sex:	all male	
Age:	18–22	5
	27–30	7
	34–38	7
	42–48	8
	50	3
	60	2
	65	2
	70	2
	??	1
Occupation:	curer	8
	political leader	1
	farmer	28

[463]

One-half the total number of killings occurred to those between the ages of 34 to 50. However, as the six victims aged 60 and over indicate, survival to a late age does not ensure that one will die a nonviolent death. The age of the victim may be correlated with motive, insofar as some events leading to conflict occur only at certain times in the life cycle. Thus,
68 betrothal conflicts involved only young men,
[578] while victims accused of witchcraft were older: 27 was the age of the youngest, and 16 out of the 18 men killed as witches were over 34. Cattle theft, on the other hand, occurred throughout the age range.

682 Eight of the victims—more than one-fifth of
165 them—were curers, a much higher proportion
756 than their share in the total population, for there are only about a dozen now living in the town center of 1,900.

682 There is a personality type recognized by the
156 community as distinctive of those who "get

682 156 themselves killed." When they see a man who is abusive while drunk, who brags of his power and of that of his animal spirit, they will remark: "That man is going to wake up dead" (*sakubk'inal čamel*). When such a man is killed, no one complains, even among his immediate relatives (cases 5, 10, 14, 16, 19, 22, 24, 26, 27, 29, 31, and 32 are of this type). When I asked [562] why women do not get killed, the response was, "They don't look for trouble" (*mo sleik smul*).

682 *Setting*

	Total	Dawn	Afternoon	Evening	Night	??
Streets of town	11				11	
Milpa, woods, road out of town	10	2	3	2	2	1
Highway	4		1	1	1	1
In cantina	3		1		2	
In houseyard	3			1	2	
In bed	1				1	
Neighboring hamlets & towns	2		1			1
??	3					3
Total	37	2	6	4	19	6

Where the killing takes place and its timing in the diurnal cycle are directly linked. All of the homicides in the streets of the town were committed at night, while those in the roads out of town near the milpa occurred in the late afternoon or evening. In providing privacy and security from discovery, the darkness of night is functionally equivalent to distance from the town center during the daytime. When I suggested that the killings might be reduced if the 682 114 town would connect the lights that had been installed in the streets, the response was that when they had been in use, killings had increased. The lights helped the killer find his victim, perhaps lying out in the road after a drinking session. He would shoot out the light and then kill his victim.

682 579 The only killings in which considerations of space or time were ignored were those in the cantina during a drunken brawl, for in contrast to the usual killing their onset was unpremeditated.

682 [527] The timing of homicide is related also to the annual cycle: 14 homicides occurred during the fiestas in the town or in a neighboring town. [579] The drunkenness of the fiestas provides an appropriate occasion for killing an enemy, although a drunken brawl is in itself rarely a [755] sufficient motive (two cases). Other opportune [273] times are after a curing ceremony (six cases) and after the gathering of curers during an

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682 epidemic (two cases), when people have drunk
[755] a great deal and their motive is fresh in their
[273] mind.

The settings in which homicides occur indi-
682 cate that a killer is expressing not his own
152 bravery but rather his fears. Wounds are fre-
154 quently inflicted from the rear, and often the
[273] victim is outnumbered and set upon by a group. The victim is sometimes invited to drink with his killer(s), and in this session he is disarmed psychologically and physically. Alcohol reduces the chance of his effective reaction, and this is important when a knife or machete is used. Shotgun killings are done at a distance and do not require this tactic, al-
682 though it may still be employed. For drinking
273 serves to reduce the killer's own fears. Drink
152 "heats the blood" and makes unusual behavior possible. One killer, in recounting his act, was not trying to prove bravery, but rather his own good judgment and cool-headedness. The killer fired at the victim while he was sleeping, his back turned to the door, and killed him. The shot also entered the arm of the
[695] sleeping man's wife. She saw the killer as he left the scene, but testified in court that she
[683] had seen no one. She was, in effect, accepting his verdict that her husband was a witch.[4] This homicide was not regarded by the killer or by anyone else as a heroic act, nor was the killer in recounting it attempting to emphasize anything other than the necessity of the act.

682 *Instrumentality: Weapons and Wounds*
411

gun	14
machete	6
gun and machete	4
knife	3
knife and gun	1
knife and machete	1
knife and stone	1
hatchet	1
nail	1
sandals	1
??	4

The variety of weapons reduces the question of any technological determinism to a minimum. The actual weapon used seems to be a matter of convenience. When more than one is used, it is usually evidence that the assailant had helpers. The nail is unusual. It was hammered into the jaws of a man who had entered the curing profession at an age considered too
682 young. The attack on the jaws of the victim
774 seems related to the power of speech and to the
756 [text continues on p. 461-B]

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TABLE 1. CASE ANALYSIS OF HOMICIDES OCCURRING FROM 1938 TO 1965
(AS RECALLED FROM MEMORY BY THREE INFORMANTS)*

CASE No.	DATE	AGE	WEAPON	WOUNDS	PLACE	TIME	SUSPECTS	MOTIVE	OUTCOME
1	1938—fiesta in neighboring town	50	pistol, machete	head cut off	in bouryard of borrowed house in neighboring town	afternoon	?	Accused of witchcraft	No one apprehended.
2	1943	65	pistol	shot between eyes	in street	night	two drinking companions (relatives of victim)	Drunken quarrel	Two companions went to jail. While in jail, with help of witch from neighboring town, set fire to four houses in pueblo.
3	1946	48	machete (brothers disarmed him of shotgun)	?	road at outskirts of town, at cross	dawn (5 A.M.)	brothers: 1 elder, 2 younger	Curer, suspected of being witch.	One brother went to jail for five years.
4	1946	45	machete	well chopped up	neighboring hamlet	?	?	"I don't know what crime he had. He was a curer."	No one went to jail.
5	1946—fiesta San Francisco	38	machete and gun	well cut up, head and neck	in woods	?	?	Accused of witchcraft.	No one complained.
6	1946	50	shotgun	?	in street	night, after curing ceremony, very drunk	?	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	Wife complained, but no witness.
7	1958	27	nail	in throat	in street	night, after curing ceremony	father of boy who died of witchcraft	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	Before dying, victim revealed name of killer, but local authorities would not arrest him. Case went to higher court, but no witnesses.
8	1960—11/28	60	machete	cut off head	in street	night, after curing ceremony	son-in-law	Accused of witchcraft by curer at ceremony for daughter.	Son-in-law fled town.
9	1960—12/18 fiesta, Sta. Lucia	28	knife, machete	heart, throat, stomach	?	?	killer paid by cattle owners	Stole cattle.	Released killer on bail of 2,500 pesos paid by cattle owners.

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10	1960—12/18 fiesta, Sta. Lucia	60	shotgun	shot in back—bullet entered lung	houseyard, two feet from house	7 P.M., after curing ceremony	brother-in-law	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	No one apprehended.
11	1961—6/16	70	machete	many wounds	near highway	9 P.M., after gathering of curers	neighbors	Curer, accused by other curers of being witch causing epidemic.	Neighbors were not identified.
12	1961	33	shotgun	shot in back	highway	?	leader of political independence movement (wife's brother)	Refused to pay tribute to independence leaders.	Killer's wife (victim's sister) left husband. No one jailed. Later, killer killed by victim's brother (case 18).
13	1961—7/26 fiesta in neighboring hamlet	30	?	?	street, near cantina	late at night	wife's brother	Very abusive, fought drunks.	Wife's brother fled town.
14	1961—10/24 fiesta in neighboring hamlet	45	knife	many wounds	?	?	neighbors	Accused of being witch by neighbors.	No one apprehended.
15	1961—12/15 fiesta, Sta. Lucia	37	gun	?	cantina	late at night	?	Accused of witchcraft.	Wife agreed he was witch.
16	1962—9/25	18	?	?	?	?	rival for girl	Fought over girl.	No one accused.
17	1962—9/25	20	knife	stabs	in street	night (1 A.M.)	cattle owners	Accused of stealing cattle.	Went to jail, but released on bail put up by cattle owners.
18	1962—9/26	35	gun	shot in head	highway	(4 P.M.)	brother-in-law's brother	Revenge—victim had killed his own brother-in-law (case 17).	Killer declared he had killed. Paid fine and went free.
19	1962—11/15 fiesta, All Saints	30	knife, gun	stabbed in heart and shot	drinking in cantina	late at night	rival for girl	Fought over girl.	No one accused.
20	1962—12/24 fiesta, Christmas Eve	50	gun	shot between eyes	road outside town	dawn (6 A.M.)	leader of cattle association	Accused of stealing cattle.	?
21	1963—4/4	36	hatchet	head	in woods, given drink by killers	5 P.M.	?	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	No one apprehended. Brother did some investigating.
22	1963—7/24	45	?	?	in bed	night, after curing ceremony	Curer from neighboring town	Victim had accused suspect of being a witch when curing a patient.	Nothing.

* Two more homicides were recalled for 1964 than official records show. They must probably occurred in a previous year.

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TABLE 1 (*Cont.*)

CASE No.	DATE	AGE	WEAPON	WOUNDS	PLACE	TIME	SUSPECTS	MOTIVE	OUTCOME
23	1963—8/28 fiesta, San Augustin	?	sandals	kicked to death	in cantina	afternoon	drinking companions	Barroom brawl	One of two assailants arrested, bailed out.
24	1963—9/25	70	shotgun	forehead	in field	late afternoon	sons of man whom he was accused of having killed by witchcraft	Accused by curers in neighboring towns of having caused sickness.	Nothing.
25	1964—1/2 fiesta, New Years	30	machete, gun	?	street outside house of new president	night (11 P.M.)	killer paid by brothers	Accused of stealing cattle.	Brother fled, but was jailed when he returned.
26	1964—3/3 Carnival	34	gun, machete	chopped up with machete	street, one block from house	night (11 P.M.)	?	Accused of witchcraft by neighbors.	No one accused.
27	1964—5/11	30	gun	forehead	highway	afternoon	Ladino liquor distiller, not of community	Victim had denounced distiller to federal authorities.	No one accused.
28	1964—9/1	30	gun	?	milpa, after his brothers gave him drink	afternoon	his brothers	Accused of witchcraft	One brother fled. The other was jailed but claimed the first one did it.
29	1964—9/14	65	knives	many knife wounds	street, three blocks from house	late at night, after gathering of curers	curers	Curer, accused by other curers of being witch causing epidemic.	No one accused.
30	1964	22	?	?	eight meters from his house	night (1 A.M.)	close friend, hired by cattle owners, brothers of killer	Accused of stealing cattle.	Freed on bail.
31	1965—2/14	42	machete	head cut off	road to neighboring hamlet	night (3 A.M.)	?—at first thought it was wood spirit, until they found head	?	No one accused.
32	1965—2/22	45	knife, stone	stabbed in heart, head bashed	street near house	night	?	Accused of witchcraft by neighbors.	No one accused.
33	1965—3/31 Carnival	45	shotgun	?	street	night	?	Accused of witchcraft.	No one apprehended.

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34	1965 4/24	27	gun	?	found in woods, body dragged there from town	night (1 a.m.)	brother-in-law	He had relations with 14-year-old sister-in-law. When he tried reconciliation, became drunk, abusive.	No witness, no blood found in in-laws' house.
35	1965 5/30 Santa, just before San Francisco	35	shotgun	three shots entered back	road	afternoon	?	Stole cattle, cars.	Killers left note saying old man did it, but no one believed it.
36	1965 8/13	42	machete	head severed, side wounds	road to milpa	6 P.M.	son by first marriage	Failed to help son get a wife; accused by dying wife of causing her death by witchcraft.	Widow spread rumors that it was his son, but refused to testify.
37	1965—10/7	30	shotgun	back	in homeyard	6 P.M.	rival for girl	Accident—killer mistook him for his brother, who was challenging killer's suit for a girl.	?

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682 704 756 location of the soul, *sč'ulel*, in the tongue, *yat*, wherein lies the particular power of the curer. This possibly suggested the mode of attack.

682 411 412 [223] [224] The instruments used to kill are carried by the farmers of this area most of the time. The men go to their milpa with a machete strapped to their side, a shotgun slung over their shoulder, and sometimes even a knife tuck in their waistband. They frequently interrupt work to hunt birds, rabbits, and deer. The shotgun does not excite suspicion or comment when it is seen. The men of Teklum are technologically prepared to kill in the course of an ordinary day's work.

682 [152] [683] The number of wounds and the thoroughness with which the job is done (see Table 1) suggest not so much the fury of the assailants as the fear motivating their act. In a witch-killing, it appears to be thought necessary to hack up the victim completely so that his power is effectively ended: one witch was cut into 32 pieces; another had 166 wounds.

682 674 656 The death acts drawn up in the local courthouse have been increasingly specific in their statements as to the wounds inflicted ever since the government's intervention in the case of an accidental death in 1950. The local authorities were threatened with a fine of 600 pesos if the details were not properly recorded. The careful measurement of the body in relation to the road and to neighboring milpas and the measurement of the size and depth of the wounds provide the screen of complicity that wards off further investigation by federal authorities and preserves local independence. There is never any questioning of suspects or attempt to solve the crime by officials. The success of the ploy is illustrated in the following account:

> Pedro had animals at the spring and had gone out early with ropes in his bag to lasso them. He was found with a rope tied around his neck hung from a *čikinib* tree. We went out and measured the length and thickness of the rope and how many centimeters it penetrated his neck. We put all these facts in the report, which gave the cause of death as suicide.
>
> At that time we had a schoolteacher in town who asked the dead man's wife why the town didn't investigate who killed him because someone must have done it. He went with the widow to the Ministerio Publico in the capital. Well, when they came out, there were all the facts in the death act. [Informant laughed heartily as he recalled this success.] He saw that we had discovered the body at 3 P.M., that the rope was 15 meters

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682 674 656 long, and that the body was suspended 35 centimeters from the ground. He saw that we had raised the act well, and nothing was done.

Who Kills and Why

682 562 The only universal factor among the killers is sex—only men kill (Table 2). Women do not kill nor are they killed in Teklum. This does not mean that they are not subject to as many tensions or abuses as men, or that these have no channels for expression. Women work through men by agitating them to homicide. [593] Sometimes revenge is delayed, for the agents chosen by women may be children who must reach maturity before accomplishing the deed (see case 36, in which the son's animosity toward his father was kindled at his mother's deathbed).

682 683 621 Neighbors are a significant group in witchcraft killing. (Neighbors may be listed in Table 2 under another relationship, for instance as brother-in-law or as cattle owner.) They are the informal judges of suspected witches, and it is frequently they who kill a man considered to be a witch. When the curers accuse a man of causing epidemics, his neigh- [608] bors are usually the executors. For this reason, most people try to neutralize the hostility of

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682 683 621 608 682 593 607 [602] [476] [428] 682 627 593

their neighbors by establishing *compadrazgo*, or godparental, relations with them.

Ten of the 37 homicides here reported were committed by immediate consanguineal or affinal relatives of the victim. The high frequency of killings involving brothers or brothers-in-law (8 cases) suggests a locus of high tension in these relationships. Male siblings, the *yermanotak*, comprise the closest cooperating group. Cooperation between brothers is obligatory when wheat is to be threshed, a house built, or a roof rethatched. If a brother or brother-in-law is unavoidably absent, he must pay a substitute. Brothers, or sons and fathers, are the only relationship pairs who work the milpa in common and share the harvest. Bilateral inheritance, with equal division of land and house to both male and female offspring, means that brothers-in-law are potentially equivalent in the competition for goods as well as in their obligation to cooperate. A man kills his sister's husband if the husband is abusive to the woman or to members of the family (two cases). The brother figures not only as a lethal opponent, but also as the man who avenges one's own death (case 18, Table 1). When someone has been killed for witchcraft, his brothers are expected to accept the verdict or to avenge the killing.

[Text continues on p. 463-A]

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TABLE 2. SUSPECT, BY MOTIVE FOR HOMICIDE

	Brother	Brothers-in-law	Son	Son-in-law	Neighbors	Relative of witch-craft killing	Curers	Cattle ownership	Rival for girl	Drunkenness	Not of community	??	Totals
[683] Victim was accused of witchcraft	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	—	—	—	—	8	18
Victim accused suspect of witchcraft	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
[585] Cattle theft	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	1	6
[578] Rivalry over girl	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	3
Abusive behavior	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
[579] Drunken quarrel	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
[627] Avenge a death (not caused by witchcraft)	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2
Political conflict	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
??	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Total	3	5	1	1	2	2	1	4	3	2	2	11	31

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000 cept the verdict or to avenge the killing.

• 682 674 128 In selecting a single motive in categorizing the killer and the reason for his act, I have distorted reality more than in the other tabulations. Motivations include both the instrumental reason and the rationalization for the act. The complexity of motivation is correlated with the multiplicity of social ties existing between any two people. For example, when a man shoots his father for failure to provide him with his bride price, but feels justified and expects social approval because his mother on her deathbed accused the father of having provoked her illness by witchcraft (case 36, Table 1), it is impossible to assign a single primary cause. However, in order to correlate the factors of agent and motive, I have been forced to select only a single feature in categorizing them.

682 674 75 In one-half of all the cases reported, the motive attributed for homicide is suspicion of witchcraft. (Whether or not witchcraft is ever practiced here is irrelevant since men act in terms of their interpretation of an event, not of the event itself.) Almost all sickness in the community is believed to be caused by witchcraft (the term for witch and witchcraft, *ʔak'lomel*, means "giver of sickness"). The family of a sick person consults the local curers, who pulse the patient. The witch "has left his signature in the blood" of the patient, and by pulsing him the curer can "hear and feel" who the witch is. His procedure is to ask the patient to tell what troubles he has had with his neighbors and relatives, and as the patient recites the names of the people with whom he has had conflict, the pulse jumps. As in the use of the lie detector, this indicates where there is high affect; in Teklum it is interpreted as positive indicator of the guilty person, the witch. If the curer gets drunk enough, he may reveal the name of the witch, but he usually prefers not to—I know of at least three cases, one of which is reported here, in which the man who announced the name of the witch was killed by the person he accused. The family may then check the consultation with curers in neighboring towns or even in the departmental capital. Since these distant curers are not inhibited by fear of the witch, they name the guilty one. The family, or the patient, may broadcast their suspicions, even announcing the consultation over the loudspeakers in the local liquor shops. If the patient dies, a member of the family may act on

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682 674 75 these suspicions and kill the witch. If he should kill the witch while the patient is still alive, it is believed that the patient will die.

682 685 674 [463] [697] Killing men for cattle theft (six cases) is a relatively recent occurrence. It has put homicide on the market: the associations of cattle-owners have hired killers in three of the six cases. In addition to the killer's fee, they pay the fine to release him from prison. Fines for homicide have increased in the past five years—from 1,000 to 3,000 pesos—but not sufficiently to price the murder of cattle thieves out of the market. A good bull is worth [435] 1,500 pesos, and the threat of further loss by theft seems to justify the expenditure of fees 685 787 776 and fines. When the cattle-owners lose some of their herd, they go to spiritualists or to San Miguel, the talking saint of Ixtapa, to find out who did the stealing. Since such evidence does not hold up in court, legal settlement is not 685 694 attempted. Legal action, moreover, would create an enemy who might seek revenge. A Ladino secretary of the town center who had lost a bull accused a man of stealing his cattle and demanded 500 pesos in compensation. By receiving the money he jeopardized his safety, and eventually he had to leave town.

The Resolution of the Case

682 69 It is nearly impossible to find witnesses to homicide. Of these 37 cases, 28 resulted in no action being taken by the authorities, and in five cases where the killers went to jail, they were released with the payment of minimal fines. In the calculations of the townspeople, it is hardly worth risking one's neck to get such a minimal revenge.

682 593 626 [683] However, this does not mean that homicide goes unnoticed in the community. After a killing the widow sings of the life of the dead man. If she is in agreement with the verdict arrived at by the killer and others, she will deny knowledge of what he has done, or even suggest that she too was aware of what harm he has caused (one widow implied that her husband, killed as a witch, was responsible for the death of four of her six children). If she objects to the verdict, she sings of what a good man he was and how blameless. She will then air her own suspicions in the following weeks as to who killed her husband.

682 683 627 Following the funeral, when the women have left the cemetary, the men sit at the grave. As they measure out a liter of liquor and pass it around, they advance hypotheses as

682 683 627 to who did it. The consultations with curers prior to the death of the supposed victims of a witch will be introduced as evidence. (Some degree of consensus may have been built up beforehand, in witch-killings, by the public broadcast of accusations noted above.[8]) The focus of the discussion is not so much on who killed the dead man, but whether he was indeed a witch. This kind of mock trial occurs after every funeral, since it must be decided [153] who caused the sickness. Emotions run very [152] high as the liquor is passed around, and accusations are made, sometimes against those pres- [275] ent. It was after a funeral that one man killed his son (not included in Table 1) for accusing him of having caused the death of the son's child, who was being buried.

682 In the weeks following a homicide, it is dis- [52] cussed at all the drinking sessions in the homes or in the town hall. Eventually an authoritative version begins to emerge. Those who have defended the victim then keep silent, and the 682 affair "rests in peace." Avenging the death of a 683 man judged to have been a witch, so far as I [627] know, has never been done. In one case (no. 36, Table 1) the widow of a man killed as a witch vigorously denied the legitimacy of the act and built up a case against the killer. She spread word that it was without doubt the dead man's son by a prior marriage. When the son was killed shortly after (case 37, Table 1), everyone assumed that he had been killed by the widow's son by *her* prior marriage. However, the authoritative version concerning the second killing was that it was an accident: he had been mistaken for his brother, whom the killer was after because of rivalry over a girl.

682 183 *Rules for Surviving*

The patterning of the selection of victims and the circumstances of homicide provide the basis for formulating a set of rules that can 682 ensure survival. The long-range rules of sur- 539 vival, in the words of an elder at the occasion of 183 the death of his godchild, are:

lekon kak'o ta kwenta me?tat
I pay respect to my elders.

hun ku kikts'in kalničan
[601] I greet my younger brothers and my children (classificatory extension of kinship terms).

spisil kak' ta kwenta
To all I give respect.

ka? hil lekotik. Ma taltik milel ma taltik čomel

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Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick.

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A good man is of one heart, and he shows it by his humility, *ben k'un yoʔtan* or "very soft heart." He can drink with friends on either side of the dual division of the town, and he is called upon in many household fiestas to greet the guests of the house-owner.

But the man who is "very strong of heart," *ben toyol yoʔtan*, who "fails to take people into account," *ma ʒʔawa ta kwenta*, who "abuses people," *me ya wul*, has means of survival despite the many threats to his life. He surrounds himself with a circle of *compadres*, or godparents; he especially picks out curers, both to mitigate the use of their power against him, and for them to serve as intermediaries if he should have enemies with animal spirits. When a threat becomes imminent, he may stay within his house or limit his range of activities to a very circumscribed area, always taking a weapon when he does go out. He will usually try to limit his drinking, or give it up entirely. These short-range rules of avoidance are clearly indicated by the circumstances in which killings occur: in the hills or at night, when the victim is under the influence of liquor.

[608]
[756]
[273]

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These 37 cases of homicide reveal a regularity in the kinds of people and situations involved. The victims are most often men who assert power, principally curers, or men who violate standards of behavior by abusiveness or theft. Their killers are often linked to them by kinship or neighborhood, the bonds in which tensions are greatest. The regularity of time and place of homicide suggests the precautions that can be taken to avoid being killed if one has an enemy. The general failure of the community social-control agents to bring negative sanctions against a killer indicates that homicide is an accepted solution for interpersonal conflict. The structural setting that validates this behavior is discussed below.

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II. STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Case analysis, useful for discerning certain patterns, is inadequate for understanding the interrelationships among a variety of social changes in the community. An increasing rate of homicide of this magnitude indicates fundamental changes in the social matrix in which individual decisions are made: it suggests not

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682 only a rise in the tensions that provoke con-
178 flict, but an undermining of the social-control
121 mechanisms for channeling them. The percep-
626 tion of these changes by the members of the
society makes for shifts in the individual cal-
culi, grossly measured in changes in the rate of
behavior. In order to understand the interre-
[128] lated problems of the sources of the increasing
tensions and the reasons homicide is chosen as
a means of resolving them, I have recon-
structed the course of social change in the
period from 1935 to 1965.

178 *Increasing Social Tensions*

556 New economic enterprises have increased
wealth differences in the community. The best
measure of this is in the increase in cattle-
holding, which is a socially approved way of
spending money. Twenty-five years ago, there
were only a half-dozen men with cattle, and
178 they had only one or two head each. Today,
233 one of the herders in the community has 200
556 head of cattle, and 75 percent of the households
have one or more each.

Cattle-herding is a "new" industry in the
sense that instead of just having a team of
oxen to help with agricultural labor, men are
233 breeding cattle for profit. Because the cattle
685 roam freely, there is much loss, and this leads
to accusations of theft. I have never heard
such accusations directed against anyone out-
side the community, crime as well as positive
moral relationships is confined within the
682 boundaries of this corporate community. Sus-
685 pected cattle thieves are killed by the cattle-
[474] owner or by a killer hired by the cooperative of
cattle-owners. Such killings account for six of
the 37 cases analyzed above (Table 1).

178 The illicit distilling of liquor has also added
274 to the town's prosperity. The liquor industry
was introduced about 15 years ago, but the
number of distillers has increased from 5 to 40
[438] in the last five years. From an enterprise
[439] formerly meeting only local market needs,
contraband liquor is now sold as far away as
the coastal area and across the border in
274 Guatemala. A cooperative of distillers has re-
474 duced the frictions that immediately followed
the introduction of liquor-distilling. The
cooperative pays the fines of any member
caught distilling, and in addition threatens to
use group action against informers, who were
formerly tempted to earn the 200 pesos offered
[578] by federal agents. But the envy aroused by the
sight of those who profit from this enterprise,

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as with the cattle industry, is a covert cause for personal attacks on other grounds.

A third enterprise, trucking, has caused a realignment of political interests in factions associated with two truck-owning cooperatives. Membership in one of the cooperatives, or patronage of one of the two trucks, arouses the enmity of members of the other cooperative. Several threats have been made on the lives of the owners and the operators, but the only damage done has been to tires.

The tensions resulting from the introduction of these new enterprises cannot be fully measured by the deaths attributed to direct economic conflict. Wealth differences resulting from the new enterprises excite envy, and with it come accusations of witchcraft. In this community, witchcraft killing does not perform the normative function of reducing wealth differentiation that Kluckhohn saw operating among the Navaho (1944), since it is the poor man who is killed as a witch, not the rich man. The slaying of the envious witch exacerbates the economic differentiation that provides the seedbed for conflict.

Another new source of tension is found in the growing demand for political leadership or even independence from the township by the *ejido* colonies formed since land reform went into effect in 1937. The inept maneuvers of two founders of the ejido colonies in hot country resulted in two homicides (cases 12 and 18 in Table 1).[8] The increasing strength of these hamlets will mean that more attempts will be made in the future to gain political equality and/or independence. Whether this will result in increasing homicides will depend on social-control agencies external to the Indian communities.

Homicide occurring as a direct result of economic and political competition represents a new strategy in the community. The decision to kill rather than to use other negative sanctions is related to the social-control mechanisms discussed below.

Changing Mechanisms of Social Control

A system of social control rests not only on the exercise of negative sanctions, but on the sense of personal security derived from confidence in the institutions of control. In Teklum, the maintenance of control was formerly centered in the guardianship against malevolent spirits held by the ancestor spirits and the curers. The "police force," made up of ten

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756 539 [swayobel]." "What one?" asked his friend. "You won't be afraid?" asked J. And then he put his shirt and hat on the floor, spoke three words (my friend didn't say what), and raised his hat and shirt, and a horse appeared. He did this again and a bull appeared. He was a great *?ak'čamal* [witch]. [682] He stole a great deal. He was killed by five bullets.

756 Such stories of curers "who walk on both sides" (*šbe?en ta ča mehč*) are favorites in the [152] drinking sessions of Teklum. The power of curers inspires fear, so much so that some of the town presidents have been afraid of putting them in prison.

The open competition between curers serves 756 to undermine the faith of the people in their 776 guardianship function. This function was [133] believed to have been acquired by the leaders from the *me?tiktatik*, the ancestors, who were [769] said to live in a hill near the town, from which came the progenitors of the present townspeople. To carry out this guardianship function, the animal spirits of the two leading curers roamed the streets at night, when the evil spirits were out, each one remaining within the limits of his own side of the dual division. In this role, the two major curers were called the *me?ilčatiletik*, a term derived from the one referring to the ancestors.

178 The loss of faith in the guardianship func- 776 tion of the curers was coincident with the loss 756 of belief in the presence of the me?tiktatik. 769 Some deny that the me?tiktatik live in the cave anymore, and others say they just appear on [796] the day of their fiesta, the Day of the Cross in the Catholic calendar. This fiesta formerly was 796 an important event in establishing the guard- 776 ian power of the leader curers, since they were 756 the only ones who dared enter the cave and 178 talk to the ancestors. But this fear and this 769 belief have gone. In 1960 one young man of the pueblo entered the cave on the day of the fiesta, when the curers were "deceiving the people" in claiming that they were talking to the ancestors; the fact that he dared enter the cave indicates an ambient distrust (in part resulting from verbal attacks by the priest, who at that time was gaining more power in [794] the town). By now, on the Day of the Cross [793] the church and civil officials, the women prayermakers, and an assistant of the priest, the *fiscal*, go to the cave, but the curers are no 178 longer present, even as bystanders. The 756 curers have tried to buttress belief in the 769 guardianship of the ancestors by claiming that a nephew of the ancestors is now in residence in

178 the cave and that they are in communication
756 with him. But these claims are met with ex-
769 pressions of disbelief by the people. Almost everyone is convinced not only that the curers do not now talk with the ancestors, but that the ancestors no longer look over them from the watchout hill outside their cave.

756 The loss of control by the curers is drama-
178 tized in the long passage quoted above con-
731 trasting the past and present treatment of epidemics. Formerly the two leaders of the curers consulted together and announced to the president that they had rid the town of evil. Now the curers as a group are ordered to come before the civil authority. There, in a
[273] long examination called *?it yo?tan*—"taking the heart"—in which 18 liters of liquor are consumed, the assembled curers and civil authorities decide who among them is responsible for bringing in the witchcraft that is causing the epidemic. Later in the evening,
[682] one of the curers is usually killed (cases 11 and 29, Table 1).

756 (2) *Conflict between the curers and the civil*
578 *authority*. The competition between the curers and the civil authority can be traced in a series of incidents beginning in the '30's and culminating in an open confrontation in the spring of 1966.

756 The first incident occurred in 1932, when
578 the town was still part of the neighboring
682 Ladino township:

683 F went and asked permission of the authorities to
[632] kill his enemy, a curer, who he thought was bewitching his brother-in-law. The president went to the house of the suspected witch with the order to imprison him. He said they were going to take him to the neighboring township center to put him in jail. The group of authorities set off with the suspected witch. On the way, another group met them and asked them where they were going. The president replied, "To H." The group that had encountered them asked if they would like a drink to heat their body. They gave one cup, and then another. Then they cut up the suspected witch with a machete and put his body in the cave of the ancestors. When the widow enquired the next day where her husband was, the president said that the man must have gone to the finca.

The ambush by the killers was prearranged in the town court, and the president covered their deed when questions were asked.

[622] In 1940, the leading curer of the lower section was president. When he killed a man who

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578
682 accused him of being a witch, he was put in
683 the local jail by the judge and then removed to
756 the departmental capital. During his term of
754 imprisonment an epidemic broke out in the
682 town; it was attributed to witchcraft sup-
683 posedly practiced by him and by two other
578 curers who remained in town. These two were then imprisoned. After they were set free, all three men were killed in different episodes involving accusations of witchcraft. Permission to act as executioners was granted by the civil authority.

178 In the past, the public review of a case before
682 a killing probably served to minimize homi-
754 cide, since permission was not always granted.
627 Since 1953, when a large highway first linked
[491] the town to the departmental capital and communication between this center of justice and the local township increased, the civil authority has not given permission, and prior review of witchcraft cases occurs only with epidemics.

756 The final incident in which the civil author-
754 ity confronted the curers occurred in the spring
578 of 1966. The president accused one of the
627 curers of cutting short his life by lighting candles in the mountains. The curers were called together to hear the threat and to go to the hill to look at the evidence. The accused curer remained at home pleading that he was sick. He was warned not to pursue his witchcraft, and as yet there has been no use of
[178] violence on either side. This open confronta-
[622] tion without the use of violence may indicate a change in the strategy of conflict with the growing power of the president.

756 (3) *Breakdown of the dual division.* The loss
178 of internal controls in the curing profession
578 and the conflict for power and control by the
621 civil officials and the curers are related to a
626 more fundamental change in the social structure of the community. Formerly the division of the town into two sections provided a channel for opposition as well as cooperation. Recruitment into leadership positions in both the civil hierarchy and the curing hierarchy was based upon residence. The system provided checks and balances in the exercise of power, for the two principales—one from each section of the dual division—were supposed to act as watchdogs over the curers. The shift in the locus of social control from the principales to the president has been marked by the open confrontation with the curers.

OOO The authority of the president, however,

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The authority of the president, however, depends on the use of legal sanctions of prison sentences and fines imposed by extracommunity enforcement agencies in the departmental capital. The weakness of these sanctions—the fine for homicide is 1,000 to 3,000 pesos or three to five years' imprisonment—means that these threats do not have a controlling effect on people's decisions to act. Homicide, carried out by individuals who feel themselves to be threatened, is a supplementary mechanism for social control. Cast in the idiom of witch-killing, homicide is the quasi-official execution of a community threat.

The breakdown in the former structural controls has not been compensated for by the intervention of extracommunity institutions. Attempts to circumvent killing are made by the priest, who counsels against it, warning that the killer will acquire the sins of the man he kills, and by the talking saint of Ixtapa, whom the Indians consult when they are pressed and who advises them to wait—their enemy will be killed for them. This advice is not sufficient to forestall all killings. Motivated by fear, some men still seek to eliminate the object of their fear.[7] The sense of the guardianship of the ancestors and their intermediaries, the curers, is lost along with the intervention of the civil authorities. The individual reacts, using his own means and trying to get sufficient consensus to avoid reprisal.

III. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Homicide in the community of Teklum can be a statement of the fear of witchcraft, of revenge, or of quasi-official reprisal depending on the circumstances and social relationships involved. Even in this small, self-contained community, homicide does not have a single meaning, analyzable within a single framework of change.

Homicide is part of the expectation pattern of the town. The patterning of the acts of homicide in terms of time, place, and agent makes possible rules of avoidance both in long- and in short-term calculations for survival. The long-range rules require respect behavior to elders, equals, and juniors and the avoidance of abusive or boastful statements. The short-range rules are to avoid walking alone in the woods or milpas far from town, to stay home at night, and to stop drinking.

Despite the grim and expectable outcome of being killed, not all men heed these rules. The love of power and the projection of self into

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682 183 wider ranges of expression than are usually permitted in the community prompt men to assert the strength of their swayohel, to run races with the animal spirits of others in the assertion of pre-eminence, to boast of their material goods, and to "wake up dead."

682 674 178 578 The increasing rate of homicide is related to the following changes in the community:

(1) Increasing friction resulting both from the introduction of new economic enterprises and from political competition by the recently settled land-reform colonies has introduced a new kind of homicide, in which an opponent is killed either by the person whose interests are threatened or by hired killers. It has also stimulated accusations of witchcraft stemming from envy. [754]

558 682 674 178 578 756 754 (2) The curers' loss of leadership and of control over entry into the curing profession has led to competition among them and to a loss of respect for their ability to overcome witchcraft. Curers have become the most frequent suspects of being witches.

(3) Loss of faith in the guardian ancestors and in the guardianship functions acquired from them by the curers has further undermined the position of the curers as agents of social control. This has aggravated the sense of insecurity and fear, which provokes the uncontrolled use of individual violence. 682 674 178 789 786 626

(4) The shift of power from the principales to the town president has led to a breakdown in the system of checks and balances exerted by the principales over the curers, and to a direct confrontation of the curers by civil officials. 682 674 178 621 632

(5) In the confrontations of the civil authorities and the curers in the '40's and early '50's, the fact that a witchcraft case was officially reviewed and the killing of the witch sanctioned may have served as a brake on the number of such homicides. Since 1953, when this practice was abandoned, those who have felt themselves or their families to be the victims of witchcraft have been left to their own recourse. 756 682 674 756 178 626 683

178 578 682 621 632 756 The organizational changes summarized here are provoked by structural changes affecting recruitment into the positions of power and the validation of leadership in the exercise of power. The dual division of the town provided an accepted basis for recruiting

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leaders, both in the civil authority and in the curing profession. The transition from the old hierarchy of control to the new leadership structure is still in process. In the most recent confrontation of the civil authority and curers, the fact that neither side resorted to violence suggests the transitional nature of homicide as a solution in intracommunal conflict.

This study of homicide indicates that the changing rate of behavior points to structural change, but does not in itself indicate what kind of change occurs or from what motives it stems. Qualitative case analysis related to structural changes within the recall of informants is essential for understanding social process.

NOTES

[1] Field work is based on two periods of residence in the community in 1964 and 1965; it was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health. I am grateful for comments by Paul Friedrich, Richard Henderson, Harold Scheffler, and Peter Wilson, who have improved the original version read at the 1965 meetings of the American Anthropological Association. I remain responsible for the contents of the paper.

[2] Henry and Short (1954:18) analyze both suicide and homicide as undifferentiated aggressive reactions to frustration, the rates of which vary—in the first case inversely and in the second case directly—with the strength of the external control system over behavior. Their assumption that homicide is motivationally a single phenomenon, and not an expression of a variety of motives, stems from the assumption that all cases of aggressive acts are the result of frustration. Straus and Straus (1964:587) apply a similar correlational analysis of homicide and suicide rates with structural features of society in Ceylon, but come to opposite conclusions. They maintain that one would expect greater evidence of homicide in a "loosely structured society," by which they mean one with considerable sanctioning of variation in individual behavior. These studies contradict each other in the conclusions that they reach by similar analytical processes, but they are attempts to move away from such psychoanalytic reasoning as the death-wish theory.

[3] Bohannan's (1960) survey of homicide and suicide in African societies represents a useful model for comparing the total pattern of homicide cross-culturally. In presenting the case material here, I have used a similar format, adding to it the circumstances surrounding the killing. In the analysis of these materials, I have diverged from Bohannan's model in trying to demonstrate the linkage among the components—the ratios, to use Burke's (1945) terminology of scene/setting/actor/agent.

[4] The term "witch" is a translation of the Tzeltal term *?ah'-/omal*, literally "giver of sickness." The term "curer" is a translation of *?a?al*. The power to cure and to give sickness stems from the possession of a *snapehel*, or animal spirit.

[5] For a discussion of the tactics of gaining consensus in witch-killings, see Manning Nash (1960).

[6] Political homicide by agrarian leaders, which is so frequent in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962), is a relatively recent phenomenon in the retreat zones of Indian population. The cases analyzed by Friedrich are a strategy of political power stemming from a revolutionary background, and the cultural assumptions to which he points contrast with those underlying witch-killings. My only comparable case is, significantly, found outside the traditional center, in the new *ejido* colony.

[7] Jules Henry (1936) sees the formula of fear and anger as the

273* 683 court usually demands a nominal fine (10 pesos--about a day's wages--being the customary amount), and sometimes the defendant will apologize as well. In one such case, the plaintiff had to have hospital care, and the defendant was ordered to pay the bill (30 pesos) instead of a fine. Where the fighting ended in 273* 682 a death, both fine and damages are charged, as in the murder [539] case already mentioned in text above:

M. PERO ME LAHWAN YAK' TAK'IN TOHUBEH.

I wonder how much money it was settled for.

J. KINYENTOS PESO LAH YAK' HIL.

He handed over five hundred pesos.

M. ME HA* LAH SMUK Z'IN TE MAC'A CAM E.

Did he pay for the funeral of the dead man?

J. PUES MA HNA*TIK, MA YU*N LAH YA*BE SIYERO TRESYENTOS PESO.

Well, I don't know, maybe he gave him something like three hundred pesos.

M. APARTE XAN Z'IN TE KINYENTO LAH YAK'HIL E.

Apart from the five hundred that he handed over?

J. APARTE Z'IN *EHK HATE KINYENTOS PE E LAH YAK' HIL TA KABILTA.

Apart from the five hundred pesos that he handed over to the court.

682 629 It is important that in this case, the murderer not only paid the fine and damages (through his wife) but also found it advisable to leave the community. Murder and witchcraft do not

682 627 admit of truly restitutive outcomes in Aguacatenango; an individual is dead and cannot be reclaimed, and from the point of view of the Aguacatenanguero, nothing can reduce the survivors' sense of vulnerability except another life. Furthermore, any sanction short of death or permanent expulsion from the community 682 627 692 might result in reprisals. The Aguacatenango court has no popular mandate and hence no power or desire to hand down a death sentence to a community member; the most severe sanction it can employ for a murder is a heavy fine-plus-damages. Since this sanction falls short of the family's needs, the court is rarely consulted in such cases; when such cases do come to court, they are often dismissed (sometimes on the basis of lack of evidence, for murders and witchcraft are not often observed by witnesses) or referred to the municipio court.

627 682 754 Murder and witchcraft are usually dealt with by means of penalizing strategies, most often murder or the threat of it which will drive the individual permanently out of the community. A lesser penalizing strategy--breaking off interaction--is sometimes used in such cases, particularly if the jeopardized party is weak or the evidence is inconclusive. For example, Josefa Lopez' husband was accused of doing witchcraft against a neighbor's wife. When her husband was later killed while drinking, nobody saw the killing but Josefa "knew" that the dead woman's son had done it out of vengeance. Josefa, now a widow with small

627 children and without father or brothers to support her, found it
682 impossible either to retaliate or to remain under the eye of the
754 "killer," so she moved to a distant part of the community.

598 More often, breaking interaction is used as a penalizing
627 strategy in less serious conflicts. For example, a daughter-in-law living in her husband's paternal household complained that her father-in-law scolded her when he was drunk and, in order to reduce her vulnerability, left the house and returned to live with her own family. Sometimes, in such a case, the husband will attempt to make restitution in response to the penalty and the conflict will be resolved. Another case, mentioned in text earlier, is that of Aurelia Ramirez and her unwelcome house guest; she appealed to the young man's father-in-law and had him removed from her house. The penalizing nature of this strategy is illustrated in the text which followed (also cited above); the conflict remained "active" in the relationship between Aurelia and the young man in that he returned to threaten her
[692] with witchcraft. Aurelia's next move is instructive; still feel-
[754] ing vulnerable, she sought the judgment of the court. However, this being a case of threat of witchcraft, the court refused to rule. She describes her rebuff as follows:

[539] KIK' Z'IN KALBE LO*L SME*L NEAL, KOMO PRESIDENTE.

I went out to speak to his father-in-law, since he is president.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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175 423 621 661 159 *"Don't give any more money. The Ejido Commission won't let the division happen since we are the same pueblo."*

The four principales returned from Mexico. They said that they had a paper and that an engineer would come. They asked for another contribution of 25 pesos. They said that those who wouldn't pay would be thrown out. Pablo came and told us. We told him not to be afraid. The principales now knew that Pablo was with us. He had two brothers, Pancho and Ignacio, whom he advised not to go along with the principales since he knew that they would not win the case. When the principales returned to ask for more money for their trips to Tuxtla, both brothers refused.

175 423 621 661 682 159 *Since these three brothers did not cooperate, the principales got angry and decided to kill Pablo. One day, when Pablo was on his way to Teopisca, he was shot in the back. He continued riding 76 meters. The horse returned to his house. His wife ran to tell his two brothers that the horse had come home without a rider. The brothers ran out and found Pablo dead. The civil authorities of the town went. A few days passed. The brothers never asked for justice. But since they knew who did it, one of them took Pablo's 16-centimeter rifle. Pablo's wife had been thinking of selling it to pay for the expenses of the funeral. Pancho [Pablo's brother] said, "No wait. I will buy it as soon as I have money."*

He borrowed it for several years. One Sunday there was an order for all of the people of San Caralampio to go to the pueblo. They got up early and wakened all the others with a horn. Pancho got up with his rifle. He went to Juan's house and shot him. Luciano had Pancho jailed in the department capitol. He declared his crime, and said that he had killed Juan because the latter had shot his brother. He made a good statement. For this reason, he got out very cheaply—1500 pesos—which he paid with his crop of beans and corn. He was in prison in San Caralampio three months. Now he lives in Teopisca. His sons go to work there, but he doesn't. One day, Pancho was shot in the back—I don't know how many centimeters the bullet penetrated, but he did not die. The brothers of Juan and José have all left the colonia.

José was the one who caused all of the trouble. His wife was the younger sister of Pablo and she left him. Now José is going around begging for food to eat.

as the direct agents of the ancestors, guarded the streets of their own side of the dual division. The judges, with the supervision of the principales, were responsible for guarding against the abuse of power by the curers or others possessing a swayohel in their review of witchcraft cases in the town hall. The three sets of functionaries—ancestors, curers, and judges—are classified in a lexicon of role function in the stem *me? . . tat . . ,* common to the terms applied to them, me?tiktatik, me?iltatil, and me?ełtatel.[3]

The system of control over the use of power has been in a state of uneasy tension. In a series of incidents recounted below, the growing suspicion that the judges and the principales were not countering the witches because of their fear of falling victim to them, and that the curers themselves were exercising the witchcraft becomes apparent.

In the following case, the system of checks and balances was upset by the entry into the presidency in 1940 of Mam Nicolás, the leading curer of Allannantik. Nicolás combined the skills of operating in the traditional culture with those of dealing with the Ladino world. Despite the fact that he was a graduate of the boarding school operating in the town in the 1930s, which had far more extensive effects in acculturation as well as formal education than any prior school, he practiced curing. The case is recounted by Ceferino, the scribe:

Formerly the dead president Mam Nicolás left at midday from the town hall and went to his house where he ate a meal. A neighbor, Francisco, came to talk to him. They drank a half a liter of trago, and then began to drink a second and got drunk. They began to say goodbye, and Francisco left Nicolás' house. When Nicolás saw that Francisco went out, he grabbed his shotgun. He saw that Francisco was now far away, and he fired many shots. One got him right in his back. When Francisco felt it, he shouted. The police heard him and went to get the judges who came to see also. His [Francisco's] wife came. She raised his head and cried when she saw he was dead. An elder sister brought a new mat to carry him.

3. The suffixes *-el,* and *-nik* refer to pronominal forms, as in "you judges" and "our ancestors." *-il* is an article, as in "the curers." In prayer, the ancestors may be addressed in the second person, or the judges may be referred to with the first-person-plural possessive, but these forms are rare in those contexts.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

159 621 754 682

carry him. When the new mat arrived, the judge ordered that he be brought to his house. The judges saw that the shot had entered well. They ordered the police to seize Nicolás and put him in prison. They saw that Francisco died.

The night entered, and the judges ordered the police to guard the killer throughout the night. At dawn he remained in prison and stayed there the entire day. On the third day, they "took his heart" [questioned him] to see what his crime was. He said that Francisco had blamed him for giving witchcraft and that it was not his fault, that he was not a witch. He got angry and shot Francisco. The judge heard the case and raised an act. They sent him to San Cristóbal and the síndico, Simón, took over the presidency. He remained in power in the pueblo.

People heard that the new president could not arrange things in the town hall. Illness entered the pueblo. Word was left that Juan, Ebaristo, and Antonio had brought in the illness. All those who "knew how to make fiestas" [reference to curers functioning in curing ritual] gathered together in the town hall. The two leading curers came with a garrafón of liquor. The curers drank until nighttime.

The president remained in prison. When the night had entered well, he slept. And although he had heard many rumors about what was going to happen, he slept well. At dawn, the president was "of one heart" [content]. A policeman arrived and said that Antonio had been brought to jail.

"Why?" asked the president. "For what crime has he been put in prison?"

The policeman said that it was for witchcraft, and that they had gone out to get the other witch Juan, but he had escaped into the Cave of the Star. Although there were fifteen men after him, they couldn's seize him. They had also gone to catch Ebaristo, but he was not in his house, and they did not find him. The crime of the three was that they had brought in the illness.

Meanwhile, everyone was saying that Nicolás was also responsible for letting the illness in the town. People said that he had vowed that if the authorities seized him, he would let in the illness. The townspeople got drunk.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Eight men of Alannantik wanted the interim president, Simón to remain as president. But the people of Ahk'olnantik did not want him to remain as president. The townspeople began to talk, saying, "Why should he remain as president since he stole twenty bulls? We don't want him. Let us get another president. We shall walk with Ceferino." 159 621 754 682

They wanted me for president since I was first regidor. It is for this reason that I entered as president, but I didn't think that I would be able to stay on as president. Simón received an order from the [state] government that he should return as president. He came with soldiers, and when they took me out of office, the lieutenant said to Simón, "Now you enter."

And so I gave over the archives and seals and everything in the presidency to Simón, and I left the presidency. And the people saw that it was the order of the government, and they did not say anything. The town remained silent.

The incident is given as it was related to me in Tzeltal. I have sorted out the steps in which the conflict developed in order to clarify its meaning.

1. The traditional checks and balance system of the civil authority over the curers was initially upset by the entry of a leading curer into the post of president.

2. When he committed a murder while in office, the judges seized control and had him put in prison. [682] [692]

3. His replacement by the síndico who was from the same side of the dual division, aroused the opposition of the people of the opposite side, Ahk'olmantik, who believed that the epidemic, which followed the president's removal from power, was caused by the curers of Alannantik under the direction of the president who was in jail. [624] [731] [754]

4. The leaders of the revolt in Ahk'olnantik chose as their replacement the first regidor, Ceferino, who was from their side. [624]

5. Leaders from Alannantik rejected this replacement and were able to get official backing from the state government to replace their representative.

The process illustrates the way in which a conflict, precipitated by a clash between civil authorities and the curers, was cast into the idiom of struc- 621 756 578

756 627 *When he arrived here, he did not hear any word that they would kill him. He persisted in his custom of stealing. And the pueblo seized him and put him in prison. The whole town seized him although he had heard no word.*

They tied him to a tree and said to him, "You do not have shame. You are a curer, father of the pueblo, [respect term for curer], and yet you behaved badly and truly stole. The town sees you are a bad man, Emilio. They call you their father, but now I am going to tell you that you ought not to be called father. You're a bad one."

He wanted to be called father, but he was only a bad one. He returned again to San Cristóbal because of two crimes. He did not hear the words. He remained in prison, and when he came out someone else came and killed him.

756 682 178 Since 1938, nine of the thirty-seven homicide cases on which I collected data (Table 29) were killings of curers. The increasing frequency of such killings reveals the loss of faith in the guardianship role of the curers, but along with this, retention of belief in their power to work evil.

731 756 754 627 621 In the series of successful confrontations, the civil authority has gained strength and overcome some of the fear of the people. In May 1964, during a severe contagion of measles, a rumor started that the disease was being spread because of witchcraft. The president called together the curers. The consensus of this gathering was that a certain curer of Alannantik had buried the "heat" which was causing the deaths in the milpa of his enemy. The people of Alannantik gathered with the curers and the civil officials in the milpa of the "enemy" to dig it out. The curers dug out a charcoal brazier which is the sign of illness and threw it in the Cave of the Star. [683] That evening the suspected witch was killed, presumably by his neighbors.

756 621 627 754 In the most recent confrontation between the civil authorities and an individual curer, in March 1966, the civil authorities showed a united front in denouncing the use of witchcraft to threaten any official. The entire group of practicing curers from both sides of the dual division were called to witness the denunciation before the assembled civil officials in the town hall. The only one absent was the curer accused of attempting to cut short the life of the president because of envy of his position. The assembled

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 248]

576 support of whatever is said—repeating the final phrase of the person con-
versing or injecting supportive statements such as "indeed, indeed," or "so
[535] it is." In the dance of the alfereces' wives, for example, women were the
model of deference, moving in a self-contained pattern before the assem-
bled guests, with slow, tiny steps, eyes downcast, a shawl covering their
heads on which they wore their husbands' ceremonial hats.

621 Through recruitment procedures, alternation and linkage in official
182 roles, and leadership validated by age and service in lower positions—prin-
ciples applying to role relations in all institutions—Tzoʔontahal has re-
mained an integrated community. There is a high degree of stereotyping
in behavior from one institution to another, and norms of behavior are the
[682] same for public as for private roles. However, a remarkably high homicide
[578] rate and open conflict in all of the institutional settings indicate basic
sources of disruption.

682 Since 1960 the rate of homicide in town has increased from an average
593 of 1 every 2 years to an average of 5 or 6 per year. Table 20 indicates the
607 role relationships of killer to victim in 37 of over 70 homicides occurring
428 between 1937 and 1964. The highest incidence of homicide (7 cases) oc-
578 curred between brothers and brothers-in-law. Male siblings comprise the
closest cooperating group. Brothers work together in the milpa until the
father dies or divides his property among his children during his lifetime.
Bilateral inheritance with equal division of land and houses among female
as well as male offspring means that brothers-in-law are potential competi-
tors for the same limited resources. Friction arising among brothers and
brothers-in-law does not come from the principle of equal inheritance, but
rather because of the fact of differing responsibilities and expenses within
the family. For example, the child who has remained with the parents and
[888] thus assumes the burden of care for them in their declining years often
feels that he should inherit a greater share. The disputes arise in the deci-
sions concerning how much this disadvantage should be weighted. The
682 suppression of overt competition may in part explain the homicidal acts.
683 Although the tensions in fact stem from suppressed economic competition,
[154] they are translated into witchcraft accusations as soon as anyone in the
[626] family becomes ill. Violence against a witch is condoned by the commu-
nity and provides a channel for latent hostility. Once the accusation has

1/1 (see pp.245-247..Analyst)

been made, there is no recourse but to kill the man since he may retaliate by killing his accuser (this occurred in two of the cases noted in Table 29).

Conflict between generations in the role sets father/son and father/son-in-law stems from delay in carrying out role responsibilities. Fathers are expected to provide the money for the costs of betrothal, and to give their children shares of the patrimony including both land and livestock. The scheduling of when this should occur is often a matter of dispute, resulting in at least two cases of homicide in the period analyzed.

New economic enterprises have exacerbated the tensions rising from envy. Foster (1965) has suggested that envy stems from the notion of the "limited good," requiring the strategy of a "zero sum game" (Bennet 1966). The fact that the new wealth is evidence of new opportunities, not a subtraction from a given resource supply, has not entered the cognitive awareness of the people. The prospering leaders of these enterprises feel themselves to be particularly vulnerable to the envy of others and thus to the charge of witchcraft. There have been several open attacks on new leaders accused as witches; the leader of the truck cooperative, for example, was murdered in 1966. Six men have been killed as cattle thieves in the past ten years.

The economic roles created with the introduction of new enterprises have not been integrated in the traditional pattern of recruitment and control. In the association of cattle breeders, leadership tends to be based on the size of the herd; in the case of the truck cooperative, amount of capital invested and entrepreneurial skills have determined the leadership of the enterprise, while driving skill and ability to get along in the Ladino world has been the basis for choice of drivers. Such achievement principles as the basis for recruitment into these envied positions are not accepted in the same way that age and passage through a hierarchy of posts validated higher positions in the old hierarchies. The conspicuous expenditure of wealth in the more expensive posts in the religious hierarchy has also failed to lessen hostility aroused by the increasing disparity in wealth, and in fact those who have served as alférez have been even more subject to witchcraft aroused by envy.

The following list of moral transgressions is roughly ordered in terms of 674
the egregiousness of the crime: witchcraft, theft of cattle, theft of corn, "talking with" a woman (this is a euphemism for having an affair), having more than one wife, killing, and disrespect to parents. There is a fair amount of consistency in the rank order given by different informants. Of [124]
five people questioned, all ranked witchcraft first, and theft, without quali- [754]
fication as to what was stolen, second. Subjects questioned differentiated [837]
the crime of "talking with" a woman according to the status of the woman [836]
—it was worse to have relations with a married woman than with an unmarried girl or with a widow. Killing was listed late or not at all by [682]
some because it is assumed that the killer has cause unless the contrary is proved. The dead man is referred to as the guilty one. It is considered [602]
worse to kill a consanguineous relative than an affinal relative or a nonrelative. One man remarking on an incident in which a person lost his bull said: "It was a punishment of God for killing his father. If it had been his stepfather, it would be different." Wanton killing is said to be absent in the pueblo, and something that the kurik of the colonias do. The three murders in the past ten years resulting from barroom brawls between "friends" have not dispelled this notion.

Disrespect shown to parents is considered a serious violation of morality. 593
A boy who refuses to listen to his father cannot expect to receive the pro- 577
tection and support of his parents, usually offered a child throughout their lifetime, or of the community. If the son abuses his father verbally or phys- [626]
ically in public, the father is supported in whatever action he takes. One father, whose son kicked him in one of the local bars, drew applause when he made the sign of the cross in two deep gashes with his machete on his son's forehead. To beat one's father or mother is a great sin, but to beat one's wife is tolerated, particularly if it is done in drunkenness. If a man 683
other than the husband beats a woman for any cause, she may reciprocate by beating him in court "before the eyes of the judges." One woman who [607]
was awarded this privilege when her husband's brother beat her said, "If [593]
he were my own husband, it would be all right for him to beat me." [577]

The good man is "of one heart" and reveals it by his humility ("very 577
soft heart"). The rules for demonstrating this are given by an old man 887
who is frequently asked to be a nakawane in his section of the dual divi-

old and do not have as much opportunity to project their personalities in larger than life terms. Ladinas of the neighboring towns are given nicknames: Me? Sobol for example, was named for her habit of saying when she was drunk, "No soy bola" (I am not drunk); Me? Č'ič'el, meaning Mother Blood, was applied to a woman who sold blood of slaughtered animals. 157 551

Behavior is not believed to be totally dependent on innate traits, and the Indians emphasize the socialization processes. A badly behaved youth was said in court to "behave as though he did not have a mother," and to lack fear of his parents. The sense of shame and fear begin at home, and the community relies on the family to instill these controlling influences on behavior. 861 [828]

Notions of Justice and Compensation

Notions of immanent justice, whether acquired from the priest or indigenous beliefs, are peripheral to the morality system. Crimes should be paid for not in suffering, guilt, or remorse, but in fines exacted by the communal authority. Every crime has its price, and most people agree that it is good to be able to pay in money and be exonerated. The scale of values assigned in the fines for crimes is some index to the relative weight given them: 577 687 685

Stealing a bull: 500 to 1,200 pesos, depending on value of bull.
Stealing a turkey: 40 to 70 pesos, depending on value of turkey.
Stealing a horse: 300 to 500 pesos, depending on value of horse.

The range of fines for each act of theft indicates that justice is exacted on the basis of market value of the item stolen. The fine for murder is 1,600 to 3,000 pesos or two to eight years in prison when a killer is captured by the federal authorities. Local authorities rarely try to find the killer. In the thirty-seven cases of homicide analyzed in the period from 1938 to 1965 (Table 29)[1] only two resulted in federal action. 682

People express doubt about the priest's warning that those who do evil will reap the wages of sin in this life or the next regardless of whether they are found guilty. The pragmatic basis for this conclusion is revealed 577 [682]

1 (see pp.245-247..Analyst)

577 in the following statement by a man who admitted to me that he had
682 killed two men:

The padre said that those who kill will get killed. The one who kills also receives all the guilt of his victim and will have to pay for it in the after-world. But my father said that when he was a policeman, there was a man in Tejonero who killed for nothing when he got drunk. He always carried a knife and would kill anyone around. However, he lived until he was very old. Therefore I do not believe the padre.

577 Concern about the afterworld does not act as a deterrent to action in this
775 world.

783 Most men ignore the priest's attempts to persuade them to go to confes-
794 sion. Women, especially the prayer-reciters, confess and take communion. Their confessions, according to the priest, are a recitation of the sins of their husbands or their neighbors.

273 Drinking is often given as a defense for failing to meet standards of be-
577 havior. While this serves to excuse minor infractions, a man is supposed to be responsible for his actions even when drunk. When one policeman started a fight in public, an elder judge commented to my informant:

Look at that, younger brother! I drink liquor when I am very drunk, but I do not fight either my elders or minors. When I passed as president formerly, I used to enter the cabildo, and I spoke well to the judges even if I was drunk. One time I came to your house very drunk and you were half drunk, but you did not say anything to me, nor did I. You did not fight. Thus I walk well. I never fight, nor have I gone to prison, and it is because I give respect to my elders and to my juniors.

Reflecting on this advice, my informant added:

And so it is with me also. I have drunk a great deal in Ahk'olnantik [the opposite section from where he lives] both at day and at night. Whoever speaks to me tells me to go drink with them a little liquor, and sometimes I give them a drink or I take them where they sell liquor and we drink. But I never fight, and I am able to drink wherever I like.

626 The community has developed techniques for compensating failure to
273 meet behavioral norms. The most frequently used is an offering of the
431

7: Nash .E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

"gift of the gods," liquor, to the party whose interests have been slighted. This is done in the case of a suitor who is asking for a woman of the other side of the dual division; he gives the bachelors of that side a garrafón of liquor in compensation for the loss of a potential mate. Liquor has become a substitute for the sacrifice of a child by a man being initiated into the curing profession. Informal offerings of liquor may be made between neighbors or relatives who have been fighting with each other. Liquor is a kind of universal social solvent in disputes, and figures importantly in court cases which are always terminated in a drinking session.

Another technique is simply a payment in money to compensate for damages. In some homicide cases, the payment of "blood money" has compensated the family of the victim to avoid legal action. This is never done, however, if the community agrees that the victim was a witch. Payment of fines in court is another such form of compensation. These payments or offerings minimize the bloodshed or personal involvement in conflictual relations. Payment by the man judged guilty will ensure his reincorporation into his customary place in the community without stigma.

While it is impossible to elicit from informants a theory of roles, it is possible to formulate the principles underlying roles. These are deduced from behavioral observations and from evaluations made of the performances of others. They can be summarized in the following propositions:

1. There is a clear separation between role and role-bearer. This is seen most clearly in the passage through civil and religious offices with a minimum of "halo" effect. It is also found in the situation of household officials whose authority in directing affairs within a household ceases when the ceremony in which they officiate is over. The separation ensures flexibility in a closed social system, enabling people to shift from one role to another. It also permits continuity in a system which requires an almost complete turnover of personnel each year.

2. Function performed is separate from role in which it is performed. This applies even in those roles which are designated on the basis of the most important function required of the performer, for example woman speaker, liquor measurer, and basket carrier. All of

programs in the interest of "civilizing" the Indians. This formulation involved a basic contradiction between the goal of moving into regional and national networks and that of keeping the old autonomy and independence of the corporate community. He never had to face that contradiction. Unable to gain adherents other than the small group of profit-sharers in the cooperative he organized, he was killed by opponents within the community.

The Family and Household

The core of the traditional culture lay in the local power hierarchies patterned on the familial model of age-ordered paternal authority institutionalized in the me'iltatil. The me'iltatil of the household have provided a flexible institution for adjusting conflict within the kin group. Their role in directing ritual performances preserves a sense of continuity in life cycle changes.

The institutionalized authority of the elders has not been upset by the trend toward residence based on nuclear families, which is an adjustment to the pressure of limited space in the town center. Kinship ties are continually reinforced by rituals that draw together the me'iltalil as sponsors of ceremonies marking baptism, marriage, and death. This group of sponsoring relatives has absorbed the institution of compadrazgo, adding compadres to the network of affinally-and bilaterally-related kin. The procedures for adjusting conflict among members of the household and extended family networks reinforce the authority of the elders. When adjustive processes in the house and court "arrangements" and in curing ceremonies fail, the only recourse is for one of the disputants to leave the community or commit homicide.

Ceremonies within the household provide a model for the rules of the game that apply to adjustive behavior in the community. The household officials introduce new officials into their role, teaching them the prayers and directing the proceedings. Their authority depends upon age and prestige acquired in office. The me'iltatil, as the elders of the family, are the direct link with the ancestors. They and the nakawane provide the strongest force for preserving the ways of the ancestors.

Thus the social control is exerted through the traditional hierarchy, but the benefits of the labor go toward the priest's projects. The priest speaks with some satisfaction of the increasing control the "church" (he) has over the people. He maintains that this is because the people are more "civilized." For him, the indices to civilization are the facts that there is no drinking in the church, there is greater attendance at Mass, and more people are wearing Ladino clothing. 794 793 178 [626]

The second divergence in the elicited and observed accounts for the religious inauguration occurred when the civil officials, including the town secretary and síndico, assisted the religious officials in counting the money collected for the fiesta. 621 * 794 182

An important supplement to the behavorial data were the unsolicited comments of informants. Their anecdotes often gave me clues to their involvement in the gamesmanship of operating within culturally defined patterns. Although the informant focuses on the formal question, his growing boredom with the sequence (Who sat next to him? What did they do next? Who was there?) leads him to muse about the associated ideas and images which did interest him, often self-damaging or negative aspects of the culture which he might want to hide if questioned directly. The technique resembles that of the astronomer instructing the novice stargazer: "If you want to see the Pleiades, look at Jupiter, and out of the corner of your eye the nebulous cluster of stars of the Pleiades becomes visible." 124

The following illustrates how this free association emerged in the formal eliciting procedure: 124 578

Informant 2 constantly reiterated the danger his brother would encounter in undertaking the post of president as we discussed inauguration procedures. For example, when he gave me a list of participants at the Judge's house when his father took on that post, he mentioned the name of a widow, Cika, and provided the unsolicited information that her husband had been shot on December 16, 1963, the fiesta of Halal Meʔtik Santalusia. Informant's statement: "He did not know he had an enemy, and so he walked alone that night. Each fiesta someone is killed. During the fiesta of San Francisco this year, another man in Bočibal was killed. No one knows why. He was knifed with a machete. I never go out alone at night because of the fights with the cooperative. They [the members of the opposing cooperative] are very hard *(haʔ ben bolik)*. They claim they will kill us." 682 •

What prompted the next revelation was my com- 124
[P. 224-B]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

ment, engrossed as I was in the task of eliciting the formal sequence of events, "Quiet, S.; let's get on with the fiesta." He persisted in what interested him. 124

Eleven years ago they [who? enemies?] tried to get me. I had a piece of land in hot country. My house here was not ready, but the wood was ready. M. C. a neighbor was jealous [*šil yoʔtan*, 'saw his heart']. He had caused another neighbor's illness. He was my wife's *muʔ* [literally 'brother-in-law,' in this case the informant's wife's fa's sis's husband]. He didn't have corn or beans. He was jealous because of my crops and the big house I was going to build. 124 578 [754] [601] [602]

By now I was asking questions and taking notes. I interposed, "How did you know?" 124 578

I knew because when I got sick, the curer (who was the dead husband of the widow who came to the judges' house) told me. The *cabron* (goat) witches leave their signature in the blood (*yak hilel firma ta čiʔ*). Then I went to a curer in Chamula who confirmed it. 754 756

"How did he speak to you?"

In Tzotzil. Then I went to Las Casas. Another curer, also a Chamulteco, said, "Here is his signature in your blood. He is working alone." On January 7 I fell in bed. All month from January to the 19th of April I was very sick. I went to Cruz Quemada (colonia of Tzoʔontahal) where F. G. cured me. He burned candles at the curing arch and prayed. 124 578 755 756 [782]

"Whom did he pray to?"

The hills, the holy land. Then I got well, but I was very tired. My Swana [wife, Juana] told me "He is going to kill you." I had a rifle. I filled it and went out, but then I returned. Another day I took two measures of trago, took my rifle and went to his house. He was sleeping with his wife close to him in bed, the way we sleep here. I fired four times. The bullets went in his back and came out front. One entered the arm of his wife. Now people say of me I am a killer. I went to the townhall for the enquiry. The man's wife said the door [of the house] was open. She said she did not see me. Afterward I got well. If I hadn't killed him, I never would have lived. Now I am having more trouble first because of the cooperative, then because of my brother being president, and then the comisario. Let us see what will happen this year. If God lends us our life, there are going to be protests. We will walk with our pistols. Špet [wife of Ladino owner of opposing cooperative] gave 1000 pesos to a man from Magronal to kill me. 124 578 682

"How do you know?"

My compadre came and told me. Who knows how many deaths there will be!

[P. 225-A]

"Why don't you call in the civil guard?" 124

They will say we are women, that we are afraid. My brother wants to, however. 578 682

He communicated several things in this deviation from the eliciting schedule:

Many assassinations are committed regularly in Tzoʔontahal.
They usually occur at fiestas.
The only recourse is to kill one's enemy.
I am a killer, therefore I am prepared to protect myself.
Everyone knows I am a killer.
When I killed, it wasn't a murder but an execution.

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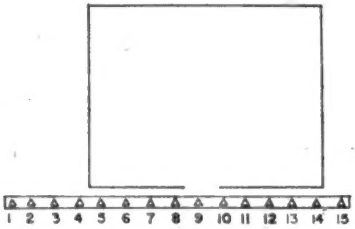

CHART 13 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF THE VIRGIN SANTA LUCIA, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:

1 Cofrade of Virgin Santa Lucia *(Kobraria Halal Meʔtik)*
2 Elder of San Pedro Martyr *(Tatil Yuʔun Martil)*
3 Assistant junior for Sacramento *(Aliʔbal NiɁnal yuʔun Sakramentú)*
4 Assistant junior for Virgin Santa Lucia *(Aliʔbal NiɁnal yuʔun Halal Meʔtik)*
5 Elder for the Christ of the Ascension *(Tatil yuʔun Tatik Sanprantisků)*
6 Elder for San Antonio *(Tatil yuʔun Sanantonió)*
7 Elder for Virgin Rosarió *(Tatil Halal Meʔtik Rosario)*
8 Elder for Santiago *(Tatil yuʔun Santiagú)*
9 Elder for San Jose *(Tatil yuʔun Sanhosé)*
10 Junior for San Antonio *(NiɁnal yuʔun Sanantonió)*
11 Junior for Santiago *(NiɁnal yuʔun Santiagú)*
12 Junior for San Pedro Martyr *(NiɁnal yuʔun Martil)*
13 Junior for Virgin Rosario *(NiɁnal yuʔun Meʔtik Rosario)*
14 Junior for San Jose *(NiɁnal yuʔun Sanhosé)*
15 Junior for Christ of the Ascension *(NiɁnal yuʔun Sanprantisků)*

Since the informant expected that there might be an attempt made on his life in the approaching inaugural ceremony, he was advertising his own strength and willingness to defend himself even if it meant killing his enemy. I was an audience for him to try on poses of self-assertion. 124 578 [123]

[P. 225-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontahal

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

The struggle for political office within the community is a response to regional and national power centers. Behavior in this struggle is alien to responses controlled in ritual or structured performances. The strategies developed in these situations fit the pattern of political homicide more typical of the Indian towns of the central plateau (Friedrich, 1964) than of the highland Chiapas area.

621 * 178 156 [682] • [171]

[P 226-B]

682 epidemic (two cases), when people have drunk
[755] a great deal and their motive is fresh in their
[273] mind.

The settings in which homicides occur indi-
682 cate that a killer is expressing not his own
152 bravery but rather his fears. Wounds are fre-
154 quently inflicted from the rear, and often the
[273] victim is outnumbered and set upon by a group. The victim is sometimes invited to drink with his killer(s), and in this session he is disarmed psychologically and physically. Alcohol reduces the chance of his effective reaction, and this is important when a knife or machete is used. Shotgun killings are done at a distance and do not require this tactic, al-
682 though it may still be employed. For drinking
273 serves to reduce the killer's own fears. Drink
152 "heats the blood" and makes unusual behavior possible. One killer, in recounting his act, was not trying to prove bravery, but rather his own good judgment and cool-headedness. The killer fired at the victim while he was sleeping, his back turned to the door, and killed him. The shot also entered the arm of the
[695] sleeping man's wife. She saw the killer as he left the scene, but testified in court that she
• [683] had seen no one. She was, in effect, accepting his verdict that her husband was a witch.[4] This homicide was not regarded by the killer or by anyone else as a heroic act, nor was the killer in recounting it attempting to emphasize anything other than the necessity of the act.

682 *Instrumentality: Weapons and Wounds*
411

gun	14
machete	6
gun and machete	4
knife	3
knife and gun	1
knife and machete	1
knife and stone	1
hatchet	1
nail	1
sandals	1
??	4

The variety of weapons reduces the question of any technological determinism to a minimum. The actual weapon used seems to be a matter of convenience. When more than one is used, it is usually evidence that the assailant had helpers. The nail is unusual. It was hammered into the jaws of a man who had entered the curing profession at an age considered too
682 young. The attack on the jaws of the victim
774 seems related to the power of speech and to the
756 [text continues on p. 461-B]

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 MY9 Tzeltal MY9
[P.458] Teklum
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411
674
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TABLE 1. CASE ANALYSIS OF HOMICIDES OCCURRING FROM 1938 TO 1965
(AS RECALLED FROM MEMORY BY THREE INFORMANTS)*

CASE NO.	DATE	AGE	WEAPON	WOUNDS	PLACE	TIME	SUSPECTS	MOTIVE	OUTCOME
1	1938—fiesta in neighboring town	50	pistol, machete	head cut off	in houseyard of borrowed house in neighboring town	afternoon	?	Accused of witchcraft	No one apprehended.
2	1945	65	pistol	shot between eyes	in street	night	two drinking companions (relatives of victim)	Drunken quarrel	Two companions went to jail. While in jail, with help of witch from neighboring town, set fire to four houses in pueblo.
3	1946	48	machete (brothers disarmed him of shotgun)	?	road at outskirts of town, at cross	dawn (5 A.M.)	brothers: 1 elder, 2 younger	Curer, suspected of being witch.	One brother went to jail for five years.
4	1946	45	machete	well chopped up	neighboring hamlet	?	?	"I don't know what crime he had. He was a curer."	No one went to jail.
5	1946—fiesta San Francisco	38	machete and gun	well cut up, head and neck	in woods	?	?	Accused of witchcraft.	No one complained.
6	1946	50	shotgun	?	in street	night, after curing ceremony, very drunk	?	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	Wife complained, but no witness.
7	1958	27	nail	in throat	in street	night, after curing ceremony	father of boy who died of witchcraft	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	Before dying, victim revealed name of killer, but local authorities would not arrest him. Case went to higher court, but no witnesses.
8	1960—11/28	60	machete	cut off head	in street	night, after curing ceremony	son-in-law	Accused of witchcraft by curer at ceremony for daughter.	Son-in-law fled town.
9	1960—12/18 fiesta, Sta. Lucia	28	knife, machete	heart, throat, stomach	?	?	killer paid by cattle owners	Stole cattle.	Released killer on bail of 2,500 pesos paid by cattle owners.

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•683
1124
411
674
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3:Mah B-5 (1964-1965) 1967 MY9 Tzeltal MY9
[P.459] Tekum

10	1960—12/18 fiesta, Sta. Lucia	60	shotgun	shot in back—bullet entered lung	houseyard, two feet from house	7 P.M., after curing ceremony	brother-in-law	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	No one apprehended.
11	1961—6/16	70	machete	many wounds	near highway	9 P.M., after gathering of curers	neighbors	Curer, accused by other curers of being witch causing epidemic.	Neighbors were not identified.
12	1961	35	shotgun	shot in back	highway	?	leader of political independence movement (wife's brother)	Refused to pay tribute to independence leaders.	Killer's wife (victim's sister) left husband. No one jailed. Later, killer killed by victim's brother [case 18].
13	1961—7/26 fiesta in neighboring hamlet	30	?	?	street, near cantina	late at night	wife's brother	Very abusive, fought drunks.	Wife's brother fled town.
14	1961—10/24 fiesta in neighboring hamlet	45	knife	many wounds	?	?	neighbors	Accused of being witch by neighbors.	No one apprehended.
15	1961—12/15 fiesta, Sta. Lucia	37	gun	?	cantina	late at night	?	Accused of witchcraft.	Wife agreed he was witch.
16	1962—9/25	18	?	?	?	?	rival for girl	Fought over girl.	No one accused.
17	1962—9/25	20	knife	stabs	in street	night (1 A.M.)	cattle owners	Accused of stealing cattle.	Went to jail, but released on bail put up by cattle owners.
18	1962—9/26	35	gun	shot in heart	highway	(4 P.M.)	brother-in-law's brother	Revenge—victim had killed his own brother-in-law [case 12].	Killer declared he had killed. Paid fine and went free.
19	1962—11/15 fiesta, All Saints	20	knife, gun	stabbed in heart and shot	drinking in cantina	late at night	rival for girl	Fought over girl.	No one accused.
20	1962—12/24 fiesta, Christmas Eve	50	gun	shot between eyes	road outside town	dawn (6 A.M.)	leader of cattle association	Accused of stealing cattle.	?
21	1963—4/4	36	hatchet	head	in woods, given drink by killers	5 P.M.	?	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	No one apprehended. Brother did some investigating.
22	1963—7/24	45	?	?	in bed	night, after curing ceremony	Curer from neighboring town	Victim had accused suspect of being a witch when curing a patient.	Nothing.

* Two more homicides were recalled for 1964 than official records show. They most probably occurred in a previous year.

3:Rmab E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 NY9 Tzeltal NY9
[P460] Teklum

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TABLE 1 (Cont.)

Case No.	Date	Age	Weapon	Wounds	Place	Time	Suspects	Motive	Outcome
23	1963—8/24 fiesta, San Augustin	?	machete	kicked to death	in cantina	afternoon	drinking companions	Barroom brawl	One of two assailants arrested, bailed out.
24	1963—9/25	30	shotgun	forehead	in field	late afternoon	sons of man whom he was accused of having killed by witchcraft	Accused by curers in neighboring towns of having caused sick men	Nothing.
25	1964—1/2 fiesta, New Years	30	machete, gun	?	street outside house of new president	night (11 P.M.)	killer paid by brothers	Accused of stealing cattle.	Brother fled, but was jailed when he returned.
26	1964—3/3 Carnival	16	gun, machete	chopped up with machete	street, one block from house	night (11 P.M.)	?	Accused of witchcraft by neighbors.	No one accused.
27	1964—5/14	90	gun	forehead	highway	afternoon	Ladino liquor distiller, not of community	Victim had denounced distiller to federal authorities.	No one accused
28	1964—9/1	30	gun	?	milpa, after his brothers gave him drink	afternoon	his brothers	Accused of witchcraft.	One brother fled. The other was jailed but claimed the first one did it.
29	1964 9/14	65	knives	many knife wounds	street, three blocks from house	late at night, after gathering of curers	curers	Curer, accused by other curers of being witch causing epidemic	No one accused.
30	1964	22	?	?	eight meters from his house	night (1 A.M.)	close friend, hired by cattle owners, brothers of killer	Accused of stealing cattle	Freed on bail.
31	1965—2/14	42	machete	head cut off	road to neighboring hamlet	night (3 A.M.)	?—at first thought it was wood spirit, until they found head	?	No one accused.
32	1965—2/22	45	knife, stone	stabbed in heart, head bashed	street near house	night	?	Accused of witchcraft by neighbors.	No one accused.
33	1965—3/21 Carnival	45	shotgun	?	street	night	?	Accused of witchcraft.	No one apprehended.

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34	1965 4/24	27	gun	?	found in woods, body dragged there from town	night (1 A.M.)	brother-in-law	He had relations with 14-year-old sister-in-law. When he tried reconciliation, became drunk, abusive.	No witness, no blood found in in-laws' house.
35	1965 5/30 fiesta, just before San Francisco	35	shotgun	three shots entered back	road	afternoon	?	Stole cattle, corn.	Killers left note saying old man did it, but no one believed it.
36	1965 8/11	42	machete	head severed, side wounds	road to milpa	6 P.M.	son by first marriage	Failed to help son get a wife; accused by dying wife of causing her death by witchcraft.	Widow spread rumors that it was his son, but refused to testify.
37	1965 10/?	30	shotgun	back	in houseyard	6 P.M.	rival for girl	Accident—killer mistook him for his brother, who was challenging killer's suit for a girl.	?

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682 704 756 location of the soul, *sč'ulel*, in the tongue, *yat*, wherein lies the particular power of the curer. This possibly suggested the mode of attack.

682 411 412 [223] [224] The instruments used to kill are carried by the farmers of this area most of the time. The men go to their milpa with a machete strapped to their side, a shotgun slung over their shoulder, and sometimes even a knife stuck in their waistband. They frequently interrupt work to hunt birds, rabbits, and deer. The shotgun does not excite suspicion or comment when it is seen. The men of Teklum are technologically prepared to kill in the course of an ordinary day's work.

682 [152] [683] The number of wounds and the thoroughness with which the job is done (see Table 1) suggest not so much the fury of the assailants as the fear motivating their act. In a witch-killing, it appears to be thought necessary to hack up the victim completely so that his power is effectively ended: one witch was cut into 32 pieces; another had 166 wounds.

682 674 656 The death acts drawn up in the local courthouse have been increasingly specific in their statements as to the wounds inflicted ever since the government's intervention in the case of an accidental death in 1950. The local authorities were threatened with a fine of 600 pesos if the details were not properly recorded. The careful measurement of the body in relation to the road and to neighboring milpas and the measurement of the size and depth of the wounds provide the screen of complicity that wards off further investigation by federal authorities and preserves local independence. There is never any questioning of suspects or attempt to solve the crime by officials. The success of the ploy is illustrated in the following account:

> Pedro had animals at the spring and had gone out early with ropes in his bag to lasso them. He was found with a rope tied around his neck hung from a *čikinib* tree. We went out and measured the length and thickness of the rope and how many centimeters it penetrated his neck. We put all these facts in the report, which gave the cause of death as suicide.
>
> At that time we had a schoolteacher in town who asked the dead man's wife why the town didn't investigate who killed him because someone must have done it. He went with the widow to the Ministerio Publico in the capital. Well, when they came out, there were all the facts in the death act. [Informant laughed heartily as he recalled this success.] He saw that we had discovered the body at 3 P.M., that the rope was 15 meters

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682 674 656 long, and that the body was suspended 35 centimeters from the ground. He saw that we had raised the act well, and nothing was done.

Who Kills and Why

682 562 The only universal factor among the killers is sex—only men kill (Table 2). Women do not kill nor are they killed in Teklum. This does not mean that they are not subject to as many tensions or abuses as men, or that these have no channels for expression. Women work through men by agitating them to homicide. [593] Sometimes revenge is delayed, for the agents chosen by women may be children who must reach maturity before accomplishing the deed (see case 36, in which the son's animosity toward his father was kindled at his mother's deathbed).

682 •683 621 Neighbors are a significant group in witchcraft killing. (Neighbors may be listed in Table 2 under another relationship, for instance as brother-in-law or as cattle owner.) They are the informal judges of suspected witches, and it is frequently they who kill a man considered to be a witch. When the curers accuse a man of causing epidemics, his neigh- [608] bors are usually the executors. For this reason, most people try to neutralize the hostility of

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682 683 their neighbors by establishing *compadrazgo*, or godparental, relations with them.

621 688 Ten of the 37 homicides here reported were committed by immediate consanguineal or affinal relatives of the victim. The high frequency of killings involving brothers or brothers-in-law (8 cases) suggests a locus of high tension in these relationships. Male siblings, the *yermanotak*, comprise the closest cooperating group. Cooperation between brothers is obligatory when wheat is to be threshed, a house built, or a roof rethatched. If a brother or brother-in-law is unavoidably absent, he must pay a substitute. Brothers, or sons and fathers, are the only relationship pairs who work the milpa in common and share the harvest. Bilateral inheritance, with equal division of land and house to both male and female offspring, means that brothers-in-law are potentially equivalent in the competition for goods as well as in their obligation to cooperate. A man kills his sister's husband if the husband is abusive to the woman or to members of the family (two cases). The brother figures not only as a lethal opponent, but also as the man who avenges one's own death (case 18, Table 1). When someone has been killed for witchcraft, his brothers are expected to accept the verdict or to avenge the killing.

682 593 607 [602] [476] [428] 682 627 593

[Text continues on p. 463-A]

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TABLE 2. SUSPECT, BY MOTIVE FOR HOMICIDE

	Brother	Brother-in-law	Son	Son-in-law	Neighbors	Relative of witchcraft killing	Curers	Cattle owners	Rival for girl	Drunks	Not of community	??	Totals
[683] Victim was accused of witchcraft	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	—	—	—	—	8	18
Victim accused suspect of witchcraft	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
[685] Cattle theft	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	1	6
[578] Rivalry over girl	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	3
Abusive behavior	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
[579] Drunken quarrel	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
[627] Avenge a death (not caused by witchcraft)	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2
Political conflict	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
??	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Total	3	5	1	1	2	2	1	4	3	2	2	11	37

682 674 75 these suspicions and kill the witch. If he should kill the witch while the patient is still alive, it is believed that the patient will die.

682 685 674 [463] [697] Killing men for cattle theft (six cases) is a relatively recent occurrence. It has put homicide on the market: the associations of cattle-owners have hired killers in three of the six cases. In addition to the killer's fee, they pay the fine to release him from prison. Fines for homicide have increased in the past five years—from 1,000 to 3,000 pesos—but not sufficiently to price the murder of cattle thieves out of the market. A good bull is worth [435] 1,500 pesos, and the threat of further loss by theft seems to justify the expenditure of fees and fines. 685 787 776 When the cattle-owners lose some of their herd, they go to spiritualists or to San Miguel, the talking saint of Ixtapa, to find out who did the stealing. Since such evidence does not hold up in court, legal settlement is not 685 694 attempted. Legal action, moreover, would create an enemy who might seek revenge. A Ladino secretary of the town center who had lost a bull accused a man of stealing his cattle and demanded 500 pesos in compensation. By receiving the money he jeopardized his safety, and eventually he had to leave town.

The Resolution of the Case

682 69 It is nearly impossible to find witnesses to homicide. Of these 37 cases, 28 resulted in no action being taken by the authorities, and in five cases where the killers went to jail, they were released with the payment of minimal fines. In the calculations of the townspeople, it is hardly worth risking one's neck to get such a minimal revenge.

682 593 626 [683] However, this does not mean that homicide goes unnoticed in the community. After a killing the widow sings of the life of the dead man. If she is in agreement with the verdict arrived at by the killer and others, she will deny knowledge of what he has done, or even suggest that she too was aware of what harm he has caused (one widow implied that her husband, killed as a witch, was responsible for the death of four of her six children). If she objects to the verdict, she sings of what a good man he was and how blameless. She will then air her own suspicions in the following weeks as to who killed her husband.

682 683 627 Following the funeral, when the women have left the cemetary, the men sit at the grave. As they measure out a liter of liquor and pass it around, they advance hypotheses as

682 to who did it. The consultations with curers
683 prior to the death of the supposed victims of a
627 witch will be introduced as evidence. (Some degree of consensus may have been built up beforehand, in witch-killings, by the public broadcast of accusations noted above.[9]) The focus of the discussion is not so much on who killed the dead man, but whether he was indeed a witch. This kind of mock trial occurs
[753] after every funeral, since it must be decided who caused the sickness. Emotions run very
[152] high as the liquor is passed around, and accusations are made, sometimes against those pres-
[273] ent. It was after a funeral that one man killed his son (not included in Table 1) for accusing him of having caused the death of the son's child, who was being buried.

682 In the weeks following a homicide, it is dis-
[52] cussed at all the drinking sessions in the homes or in the town hall. Eventually an authoritative version begins to emerge. Those who have defended the victim then keep silent, and the
682 affair "rests in peace." Avenging the death of a
683 man judged to have been a witch, so far as I
[627] know, has never been done. In one case (no. 36, Table 1) the widow of a man killed as a witch vigorously denied the legitimacy of the act and built up a case against the killer. She spread word that it was without doubt the dead man's son by a prior marriage. When the son was killed shortly after (case 37, Table 1), everyone assumed that he had been killed by the widow's son by *her* prior marriage. However, the authoritative version concerning the second killing was that it was an accident: he had been mistaken for his brother, whom the killer was after because of rivalry over a girl.

682 *Rules for Surviving*
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The patterning of the selection of victims and the circumstances of homicide provide the basis for formulating a set of rules that can
682 ensure survival. The long-range rules of sur-
539 vival, in the words of an elder at the occasion of
183 the death of his godchild, are:

lekon kak'o ta kwenta me?tal
I pay respect to my elders.

hun ku kihta'in kalnican
[601] I greet my younger brothers and my children (classificatory extension of kinship terms).

spisil kak' ta kwenta
To all I give respect.

ha? hil lekotik. Ma taltik milal ma taltik čomal

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274 as with the cattle industry, is a covert cause
474 for personal attacks on other grounds.
578

A third enterprise, trucking, has caused a
494 realignment of political interests in factions
474 associated with two truck-owning cooperatives.
578 Membership in one of the cooperatives, or patronage of one of the two trucks, arouses the enmity of members of the other cooperative. Several threats have been made on the lives of the owners and the operators, but the only damage done has been to tires.

682 The tensions resulting from the introduction
578 of these new enterprises cannot be fully measured by the deaths attributed to direct economic conflict. Wealth differences resulting
682 from the new enterprises excite envy, and with
578 it come accusations of witchcraft. In this com-
556 munity, witchcraft killing does not perform
754 the normative function of reducing wealth differentiation that Kluckhohn saw operating
[114] among the Navaho (1944), since it is the poor man who is killed as a witch, not the rich man.
[683] The slaying of the envious witch exacerbates the economic differentiation that provides the seedbed for conflict.

578 Another new source of tension is found in the
423 growing demand for political leadership or
668 even independence from the township by the *ejido* colonies formed since land reform went into effect in 1937. The inept maneuvers of two
[682] founders of the ejido colonies in hot country resulted in two homicides (cases 12 and 18 in
[178] Table 1).[8] The increasing strength of these hamlets will mean that more attempts will be made in the future to gain political equality and/or independence. Whether this will result in increasing homicides will depend on social-control agencies external to the Indian communities.

682 Homicide occurring as a direct result of
578 economic and political competition represents a new strategy in the community. The decision
[626] to kill rather than to use other negative sanctions is related to the social-control mechanisms discussed below.

Changing Mechanisms of Social Control

626 A system of social control rests not only on
182 the exercise of negative sanctions, but on the sense of personal security derived from confi-
[756] dence in the institutions of control. In Teklum, the maintenance of control was formerly
[769] centered in the guardianship against malev-
000 olent spirits held by the ancestor spirits and the curers. The "police force," made up of ten

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178 the cave and that they are in communication
756 with him. But these claims are met with ex-
769 pressions of disbelief by the people. Almost everyone is convinced not only that the curers do not now talk with the ancestors, but that the ancestors no longer look over them from the watchout [illegible] side their cave.

756 The loss of control by the curers is drama-
178 tized in the long passage quoted above con-
731 trasting the past and present treatment of epidemics. Formerly the two leaders of the curers consulted together and announced to the president that they had rid the town of evil. Now the curers as a group are ordered to come before the civil authority. There, in a
[273] long examination called *?iʔ yoʔtan*—"taking the heart"—in which 18 liters of liquor are consumed, the assembled curers and civil authorities decide who among them is responsible for bringing in the witchcraft that is causing the epidemic. Later in the evening,
[682] one of the curers is usually killed (cases 11 and 29, Table 1).

756 (2) *Conflict between the curers and the civil*
578 *authority*. The competition between the curers and the civil authority can be traced in a series of incidents beginning in the '30's and culminating in an open confrontation in the spring of 1966.

756 The first incident occurred in 1932, when
578 the town was still part of the neighboring
682 Ladino township:

683 He went and asked permission of the authorities to
[632] kill his enemy, a curer, who he thought was bewitching his brother-in-law. The president went to the house of the suspected witch with the order to imprison him. He said they were going to take him to the neighboring township center to put him in jail. The group of authorities set off with the suspected witch. On the way, another group met them and asked them where they were going. The president replied, "To H." The group that had encountered them asked if they would like a drink to heat their body. They gave one cup, and then another. Then they cut up the suspected witch with a machete and put his body in the cave of the ancestors. When the widow enquired the next day where her husband was, the president said that the man must have gone to the finca.

The ambush by the killers was prearranged in the town court, and the president covered their deed when questions were asked.

[622] In 1940, the leading curer of the lower section was president. When he killed a man who

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682 accused him of being a witch, he was put in
683 the local jail by the judge and then removed to
756 the departmental capital. During his term of
754 imprisonment an epidemic broke out in the
682 town; it was attributed to witchcraft sup-
683 posedly practiced by him and by two other
578 curers who remained in town. These two were then imprisoned. After they were set free, all three men were killed in different episodes involving accusations of witchcraft. Permission to act as executioners was granted by the civil authority.

178 In the past, the public review of a case before
682 a killing probably served to minimize homi-
754 cide, since permission was not always granted.
627 Since 1953, when a large highway first linked
[491] the town to the departmental capital and communication between this center of justice and the local township increased, the civil authority has not given permission, and prior review of witchcraft cases occurs only with epidemics.

756 The final incident in which the civil author-
754 ity confronted the curers occurred in the spring
578 of 1966. The president accused one of the
627 curers of cutting short his life by lighting candles in the mountains. The curers were called together to hear the threat and to go to the hill to look at the evidence. The accused curer remained at home pleading that he was sick. He was warned not to pursue his witchcraft, and as yet there has been no use of
[178] violence on either side. This open confronta-
[622] tion without the use of violence may indicate a change in the strategy of conflict with the growing power of the president.

756 (3) *Breakdown of the dual division.* The loss
178 of internal controls in the curing profession
578 and the conflict for power and control by the
621 civil officials and the curers are related to a more fundamental change in the social struc-
626 ture of the community. Formerly the division of the town into two sections provided a channel for opposition as well as cooperation. Recruitment into leadership positions in both the civil hierarchy and the curing hierarchy was based upon residence. The system provided checks and balances in the exercise of power, for the two principales—one from each section of the dual division—were supposed to act as watchdogs over the curers. The shift in the locus of social control from the principales to the president has been marked by the open confrontation with the curers.

OOO The authority of the president, however,

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682 183 wider ranges of expression than are usually permitted in the community prompt men to assert the strength of their swayohel, to run races with the animal spirits of others in the assertion of pre-eminence, to boast of their material goods, and to "wake up dead."

682 674 178 578 The increasing rate of homicide is related to the following changes in the community:

(1) Increasing friction resulting both from the introduction of new economic enterprises and from political competition by the recently settled land-reform colonies has introduced a new kind of homicide, in which an opponent is killed either by the person whose interests are threatened or by hired killers. It has also stimulated accusations of witchcraft stemming from envy. [754] 558

682 674 178 578 756 754 (2) The curers' loss of leadership and of control over entry into the curing profession has led to competition among them and to a loss of respect for their ability to overcome witchcraft. Curers have become the most frequent suspects of being witches.

682 674 178 769 756 626 (3) Loss of faith in the guardian ancestors and in the guardianship functions acquired from them by the curers has further undermined the position of the curers as agents of social control. This has aggravated the sense of insecurity and fear, which provokes the uncontrolled use of individual violence.

682 674 178 621 626 (4) The shift of power from the principales to the town president has led to a breakdown in the system of checks and balances exerted by the principales over the curers, and to a direct confrontation of the curers by civil officials.

756 682 674 756 178 626 683 (5) In the confrontations of the civil authorities and the curers in the '40's and early '50's, the fact that a witchcraft case was officially reviewed and the killing of the witch sanctioned may have served as a brake on the number of such homicides. Since 1953, when this practice was abandoned, those who have felt themselves or their families to be the victims of witchcraft have been left to their own recourse.

178 578 682 [621] [632] [756] The organizational changes summarized here are provoked by structural changes affecting recruitment into the positions of power and the validation of leadership in the exercise of power. The dual division of the town provided an accepted basis for recruiting

273* 578 [539] an authority. One example of a reprimand is found in the texts:

K'UXIX YU*N HA* MA*K STAIX *AWO*TAN HAL TRAWI, AKUT.

"It's hurting you now, the aguardiente doesn't agree with you," I told him.

*ILA *E HIC PE YU*N YA TO SK'AN HONA XCI, *A SKUT.

"Yes, but my heart still wants more," he said. "All right," I said.

LA LOK' XAN K'AEL.

Then he went out again.

BALOTA *UTEL YU*N TATA* I.

His father reprimanded him.

LOK' XAN K'AL Z'IN.

He went out again afterward.

While the reprimand administered here had no immediate effect on the son's behavior, it was probably repeated when he was sober and was surely a factor in his subsequent avoidance of drinking settings.

273* 593 692 [606] A father may reprimand a son. A wife, if she has a good relationship with her father-in-law, can have her husband reprimanded by his father. When these measures fail (as in the case of a son who struck his father in response to a reprimand), or when the jeopardized party is not in a position of authority over the offender, resort to the community court is an alternative strategy by which a restitutive outcome may be obtained.

273* 683 In cases of drunken fighting which results in injury, the

273* court usually demands a nominal fine (10 pesos--about a day's
683 wages--being the customary amount), and sometimes the defendant will apologize as well. In one such case, the plaintiff had to have hospital care, and the defendant was ordered to pay the bill (30 pesos) instead of a fine. Where the fighting ended in
273* 682 a death, both fine and damages are charged, as in the murder
[539] case already mentioned in text above:

M. PERO ME BUHWAN YAK' TAK'IN TOHUBEH.

I wonder how much money it was settled for.

J. KINYENTOS PESO LAH YAK' HIL.

He handed over five hundred pesos.

M. ME HA* LAH SMUK Z'IN TE MAC'A CAM E.

Did he pay for the funeral of the dead man?

J. PUES MA HNA*TIK, MA YU*N LAH YA*BE SIYERO TRESYENTOS PESO.

Well, I don't know, maybe he gave him something like three hundred pesos.

M. APARTE XAN Z'IN TE KINYENTO LAH YAK'HIL E.

Apart from the five hundred that he handed over?

J. APARTE Z'IN *EHK HATE KINYENTOS PE E LAH YAK' HIL TA KABILTA.

Apart from the five hundred pesos that he handed over to the court.

682 It is important that in this case, the murderer not only paid
629 the fine and damages (through his wife) but also found it advisable to leave the community. Murder and witchcraft do not

756 159 562 *Andrea told them to go and eat the mulberries and she would see what kind of an animal it was. The animal said, "Come here." But when they got there, there was no animal.*

In two or four days, people asked them, "What kind of an animal did you see?"

"It was a dog that we saw. Not a real dog, but the soul of the dead Fernanda. Andrea caught it," the girls said.

"Did you truly see where it was?" the people asked.

"I caught it," said Andrea.

"Why did you catch it," the girls asked.

"I caught it because it is a pity it died. Since there is no one to take it, I grabbed it because it made me sad that she [Fernanda] died."

Now Andrea is a me? u?ul [woman curer]. She fights sickness because she has this extra soul.

756 Ordinarily, soul-catching is dangerous since it is sezure of power which has not been granted at birth by the me?iltatil. Andrea, however, has never been accused of doing harm, and people emphasize that she did it out of sympathy for her dead kinswoman.

756 578 [154] There is some sentiment that curers should not enter too young into the curing profession. If they do, they should be extremely deferential to the elder curers, and not claim greater powers. The informant quoted above concerning the initiation of her husband into the curing profession maintains that the older curers did not support her husband when he was accused as a witch because of jealousy of his youth.

159 756 578 683 *My husband was very young when he entered curing. He had gone to cure in the house of a man living near Domingo [his enemy]. Domingo saw him come out drunk. He had a companion, Lorenzo. About eight people gathered. They put a nail in his jaws. He lived three nights. He told me who did it. I went to the cabildo with my father. They got many witnesses to deny they had been near. It was during the fiesta of Carnival.*

My father and I spoke with the authorities in Las Casas. But nothing was done. I did not know how to speak well in Spanish; I went and spoke to Domingo. He told me, "It was your husband's own fault."

"What crime did he have?" I asked.

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"He looked for trouble!" Domingo replied.
I said, "You killed my husband!"
He said, "It was not I! It was not I!"
It doesn't serve to enter curing early. People will kill you right away. Another young man wanted to enter. The curers did not permit him since they said he was a witch. People heard he was a witch, and they killed him. He was the same age as my husband [*about twenty-seven*].

The curers who have survived to an old age were introduced into the profession by an elder relative. They choose their clients carefully, refusing to cure a man who is on the point of death, and remaining within their own section of the dual division. These rules of survival are ignored by some of the younger men who wish to impress their elders with their powers. 756 [621]

The changing image of the curers. The curers of today are unfavorably compared with those of the past who used their power for good. The prototype of the old curer was the fearful Tatik Čaʾuk, Lord of the Lightning, possibly a local manifestation of the Maya god Chac.[2] The dialectic of power is exemplified in his control over beneficial and destructive forces. His beneficence is demonstrated in his ability to bring rain to crops, while his vengeance is revealed in lightning bolts which can kill people and destroy houses. Anyone who is struck by lightning is believed to have had some sin for which the Tatik Čaʾuk has punished him. His destructive force is equated with a rifle—called "the elder brother of the Lord of Lightning"—and with the "heat" which brings death in illnesses. His habitation is believed to be the Cave of the Star where the heat which causes epidemics is found. 756 776 [178]

The curers were intermediaries for the Tatik Čaʾuk in their control over both destructive and beneficial forces. Formerly, the swayohel of the curers patrolled the streets of the town to prevent the entry of evildoers bringing heat. It is in this role that they are referred to as meʾiltatil. If an epidemic occurred, the two leading curers from each side of the town con- 756 731

2. In other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities, the god Čaʾuk is named as the chief figure from pre-Conquest theology (Hermitte 1964, Holland 1963:93). [171]

621 tural opposition between the two sides of the dual division. In this case,
756 resolution came with the intercession of federal troops.
578
[648] When curing was a controlled profession, with a hierarchy legitimizing
756 entry and exit, the power of the curers was directed toward guarding the
178 village against evil as well as curing. In the 1940s, the loss of one leader by death and the other's jail sentence meant loss of control over entry into the profession. A growing suspicion and discontent with the curers as a
[754] group, laying upon them the responsibility of much of the witchcraft, is reflected in the account of another older informant:

> *Formerly when the curers J. C., A. A., S. K., and J. D. were alive, they walked in common. The people were in accord with the curers because they watched over the peublo. They knew about medicine, and so people of Alannantik went to ask them favors to cure them and also the people of Ahk'olnantik went to ask them favors.*
>
> *But then, after they died [about 1940], the principales did not dare fight the curers because they had animal spirits, and the principales themselves didn't—they were just honorable people.*

621 The doubt about the civil authority's control over the curers has in-
756 creased since young leaders have taken the leadership in the town. One in-
178 formant said, "When there are young people in the cabildo, they can't keep control of the curers, but the old people in the cabildo can." With the relaxation of restrictions on entry into the curing profession, following the loss of leadership and the ranked hierarchy, curers were no longer re-
[213] strained by professional standards. When drunk, they bragged of their
[054] power to do evil as well as to do good. The first killing of a curer accused
• 683 of being a witch occurred in 1937. He was working in Pinola when he
621 was shot. The dead curer's widow wanted to bring his body back to be
[178] buried in the town cemetery, but the request was refused by the judges. This suggests that the town authorities agreed with the accusation, since it is the custom to return the dead to the town for burial. Other assassinations by individuals occurred in 1943 and in 1950. During this period, the civil officials sanctioned the assassinations of persons accused and convicted of witchcraft. When someone wished to kill a man suspected of witchcraft, they would go to the town hall and ask for permission. After a re-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

view of the case by the judges and the other civil authorities, the president would have the suspected witch locked up in the local jail and then give the key to his enemy. The following story illustrates this procedure: 683 621

When we were still part of the township of Teopisca [sometime before 1931] F. went and asked permission of the authorities to kill his enemy, a curer, whom he thought was bewitching his brother-in-law. The president arrived at the house of the suspected witch with the order to imprison him. He said that they were going to Teopisca to put him in jail. The group of authorities set off with the suspected witch. On the way another group met them and asked them where they were going. The President replied, "To Teopisca." The group which had encountered them asked them if they would like a drink to "heat their body." They gave one cup and then another. They then cut up the suspected witch with a machete and put his body in the cave of me?tiktatik that goes to Chiapa de Corzo. When the widow enquired the next day where her husband was, the president said that the man must have gone to the finca.

After telling this story, my informant concluded, "Therefore, little by little, the pueblo is getting better because we scared the curers with the permission of the president to kill them." He felt that this was the point at which the power of the curers, who were more and more frequently being accused as witches, was broken. [829]

While the usual course of action, once a man was accused of witchcraft, was to kill him so that there would be no danger of revenge, the following case illustrates punishment by beating. 756 627 [683]

The time was 1935. There was a very bad curer who stole much cattle. One man who heard that he had stolen his cattle wanted to kill him, but the curer met the man and killed him in an old house. The town authorities seized the curer and forced him to pay one thousand pesos for the bull. The principales punished him by tying him to a tree and beating him five or six times. They beat him well for the town. After they beat him they brought him to prison in San Cristóbal and gave him over to the Ministerio Publico to arrange the case. He did not return to the pueblo but went to another place. In five years he returned to his pueblo.

756 627 *When he arrived here, he did not hear any word that they would kill him. He persisted in his custom of stealing. And the pueblo seized him and put him in prison. The whole town seized him although he had heard no word.*

They tied him to a tree and said to him, "You do not have shame. You are a curer, father of the pueblo, [respect term for curer], and yet you behaved badly and truly stole. The town sees you are a bad man, Emilio. They call you their father, but now I am going to tell you that you ought not to be called father. You're a bad one."

He wanted to be called father, but he was only a bad one. He returned again to San Cristóbal because of two crimes. He did not hear the words. He remained in prison, and when he came out someone else came and killed him.

756 682 178 Since 1938, nine of the thirty-seven homicide cases on which I collected data (Table 29) were killings of curers. The increasing frequency of such killings reveals the loss of faith in the guardianship role of the curers, but along with this, retention of belief in their power to work evil.

731 756 754 627 621 In the series of successful confrontations, the civil authority has gained strength and overcome some of the fear of the people. In May 1964, during a severe contagion of measles, a rumor started that the disease was being spread because of witchcraft. The president called together the curers. The consensus of this gathering was that a certain curer of Alannantik had buried the "heat" which was causing the deaths in the milpa of his enemy. The people of Alannantik gathered with the curers and the civil officials in the milpa of the "enemy" to dig it out. The curers dug out a charcoal brazier which is the sign of illness and threw it in the Cave of the Star. [683] That evening the suspected witch was killed, presumably by his neighbors.

756 621 627 754 In the most recent confrontation between the civil authorities and an individual curer, in March 1966, the civil authorities showed a united front in denouncing the use of witchcraft to threaten any official. The entire group of practicing curers from both sides of the dual division were called to witness the denunciation before the assembled civil officials in the town hall. The only one absent was the curer accused of attempting to cut short the life of the president because of envy of his position. The assembled

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 248]

 621 177 178

4. In a series of confrontations, the civil officials have challenged the social control functions of the curers. Witch-killings in which many of the victims have been curers have minimized but not overcome the power of these men. [756]

5. The priest has succeeded in establishing control over the church, but the Indians may yet succeed in deposing him, a plan they were putting into effect when I left town. [193]

The Indians are now aware of their rights to limit—or eliminate if necessary—the self-appointed caciques. The new cacique promotes the community welfare not only in his rhetoric but in the services he performs for the officials. His involvement in political affairs is tolerated, not encouraged, and the officials are ready to turn to alternative sources of aid in their activities. 641 622 177 178

The involvement of the PRI in local elections has not introduced a new center of power in the political arena. Political factions are based on economic interests contained within the town, and the autonomy of the town has in no way been affected by leadership from party headquarters in the state capitol. The community and the party use each other for their own ends in almost complete ignorance of what is occurring in the domain of the other. 665 621 178

The system of beliefs and understandings has changed along with these organizational changes. The most significant change has been the waning belief in the guardianship of the ancestors. The absence of the curers at the fiesta of the caves means that they no longer have this ritual occasion to validate their claims by communicating with the ancestors. The loss of leadership and of a hierarchy of prestige within the ranks of curers has removed internal controls over the profession and further undermined their position. The diminishing respect with which they are treated in the town hall and the increasing number of murders of curers accused of witchcraft is directly related to the loss of belief in their power as guardians. Since they were not an integral part of the civil-religious hierarchy, as the curers were in Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947), this has not upset the hierarchy, but it has changed the balance of power in the wider community. 769 756 178 [683]

The diminishing significance of the leadership of the principales is tied 621 756 178

576 support of whatever is said—repeating the final phrase of the person con-
versing or injecting supportive statements such as "indeed, indeed," or "so
[535] it is." In the dance of the alfereces' wives, for example, women were the
model of deference, moving in a self-contained pattern before the assem-
bled guests, with slow, tiny steps, eyes downcast, a shawl covering their
heads on which they wore their husbands' ceremonial hats.

621 Through recruitment procedures, alternation and linkage in official
182 roles, and leadership validated by age and service in lower positions—prin-
ciples applying to role relations in all institutions—Tzo'ontahal has re-
mained an integrated community. There is a high degree of stereotyping
in behavior from one institution to another, and norms of behavior are the
[682] same for public as for private roles. However, a remarkably high homicide
[578] rate and open conflict in all of the institutional settings indicate basic
sources of disruption.

682 Since 1960 the rate of homicide in town has increased from an average
593 of 1 every 2 years to an average of 5 or 6 per year. Table 29 indicates the
609 role relationships of killer to victim in 37 of over 70 homicides occurring
428 between 1937 and 1964. The highest incidence of homicide (7 cases) oc-
578 curred between brothers and brothers-in-law. Male siblings comprise the
closest cooperating group. Brothers work together in the milpa until the
father dies or divides his property among his children during his lifetime.
Bilateral inheritance with equal division of land and houses among female
as well as male offspring means that brothers-in-law are potential competi-
tors for the same limited resources. Friction arising among brothers and
brothers-in-law does not come from the principle of equal inheritance, but
rather because of the fact of differing responsibilities and expenses within
the family. For example, the child who has remained with the parents and
[888] thus assumes the burden of care for them in their declining years often
feels that he should inherit a greater share. The disputes arise in the deci-
sions concerning how much this disadvantage should be weighted. The
682 suppression of overt competition may in part explain the homicidal acts.
683 Although the tensions in fact stem from suppressed economic competition,
[154] they are translated into witchcraft accusations as soon as anyone in the
[626] family becomes ill. Violence against a witch is condoned by the commu-
nity and provides a channel for latent hostility. Once the accusation has

1/A (see pp.245-247..Analyst)

been made, there is no recourse but to kill the man since he may retaliate by killing his accuser (this occurred in two of the cases noted in Table 29).

Conflict between generations in the role sets father/son and father/son-in-law stems from delay in carrying out role responsibilities. Fathers are expected to provide the money for the costs of betrothal, and to give their children shares of the patrimony including both land and livestock. The scheduling of when this should occur is often a matter of dispute, resulting in at least two cases of homicide in the period analyzed.

New economic enterprises have exacerbated the tensions rising from envy. Foster (1965) has suggested that envy stems from the notion of the "limited good," requiring the strategy of a "zero sum game" (Bennet 1966). The fact that the new wealth is evidence of new opportunities, not a subtraction from a given resource supply, has not entered the cognitive awareness of the people. The prospering leaders of these enterprises feel themselves to be particularly vulnerable to the envy of others and thus to the charge of witchcraft. There have been several open attacks on new leaders accused as witches; the leader of the truck cooperative, for example, was murdered in 1966. Six men have been killed as cattle thieves in the past ten years.

The economic roles created with the introduction of new enterprises have not been integrated in the traditional pattern of recruitment and control. In the association of cattle breeders, leadership tends to be based on the size of the herd; in the case of the truck cooperative, amount of capital invested and entrepreneurial skills have determined the leadership of the enterprise, while driving skill and ability to get along in the Ladino world has been the basis for choice of drivers. Such achievement principles as the basis for recruitment into these envied positions are not accepted in the same way that age and passage through a hierarchy of posts validated higher positions in the old hierarchies. The conspicuous expenditure of wealth in the more expensive posts in the religious hierarchy has also failed to lessen hostility aroused by the increasing disparity in wealth, and in fact those who have served as alférez have been even more subject to witchcraft aroused by envy.

The following list of moral transgressions is roughly ordered in terms of 674
the egregiousness of the crime: witchcraft, theft of cattle, theft of corn,
"talking with" a woman (this is a euphemism for having an affair), hav-
ing more than one wife, killing, and disrespect to parents. There is a fair
amount of consistency in the rank order given by different informants. Of [124]
five people questioned, all ranked witchcraft first, and theft, without quali- [754]
fication as to what was stolen, second. Subjects questioned differentiated [837]
the crime of "talking with" a woman according to the status of the woman [836]
—it was worse to have relations with a married woman than with an
unmarried girl or with a widow. Killing was listed late or not at all by [682]
some because it is assumed that the killer has cause unless the contrary is
proved. The dead man is referred to as the guilty one. It is considered [602]
worse to kill a consanguineous relative than an affinal relative or a nonrel-
ative. One man remarking on an incident in which a person lost his bull
said: "It was a punishment of God for killing his father. If it had been his
stepfather, it would be different." Wanton killing is said to be absent in
the pueblo, and something that the kurik of the colonias do. The three
murders in the past ten years resulting from barroom brawls between
"friends" have not dispelled this notion.

Disrespect shown to parents is considered a serious violation of morality. 593
A boy who refuses to listen to his father cannot expect to receive the pro- 577
tection and support of his parents, usually offered a child throughout their
lifetime, or of the community. If the son abuses his father verbally or phys- [626]
ically in public, the father is supported in whatever action he takes. One
father, whose son kicked him in one of the local bars, drew applause when
he made the sign of the cross in two deep gashes with his machete on his
son's forehead. To beat one's father or mother is a great sin, but to beat
one's wife is tolerated, particularly if it is done in drunkenness. If a man 683
other than the husband beats a woman for any cause, she may reciprocate
by beating him in court "before the eyes of the judges." One woman who [607]
was awarded this privilege when her husband's brother beat her said, "If [593]
he were my own husband, it would be all right for him to beat me." [577]

The good man is "of one heart" and reveals it by his humility ("very 577
soft heart"). The rules for demonstrating this are given by an old man 887
who is frequently asked to be a nakawane in his section of the dual divi-

273* 695 dependent on a most careful and detailed examination of the conditions under which the conflict was originally generated as they are concerned in reaching a decision which fairly expresses the variable jeopardy that each party could reasonably be held accountable for vis-à-vis the other party. In the circumstances that any of the three parties to the conflict are drunk, the case will be postponed, or if it is not postponed it will be considered void, to be retried or else appealed to another court.

273* 695 684 593 There are a few kinds of circumstances in which drinking during the course of conflict settlement is seen to be appropriate though optional to the parties concerned. The type of case is best exemplified by circumstances where a daughter, say, is known by her family to have been promiscuous previous to the trial, and where they are being called by the daughter's husband or suitor to account for their daughter's behavior. In such circumstances the parents of the girl will appear at court. During the trial, each of them will publicly whip the girl. In such a case, where a male parent is certain of his daughter's misbehavior, he may drink aguardiente so as to reduce his feelings of shame at having the affairs of his daughter made public, and, as a result having to whip her. The mother does not drink [562] in these circumstances, the proscription on women drinking being so strong as to prevent her from indulging in this shame-reducing behavior.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum

[p.462-C]

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TABLE 2. SUSPECT, BY MOTIVE FOR HOMICIDE

	Brother	Brother-in-law	Son	Son-in-law	Neighbors	Relative of witchcraft killing	Curers	Cattle owners	Rival for girl	Drunks	Not of community	??	Totals
[683] Victim was accused of witchcraft	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	—	—	—	—	8	18
Victim accused suspect of witchcraft	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
[685] Cattle theft	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	4
[578] Rivalry over girl	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	3
Abusive behavior	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
[579] Drunken quarrel	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
[627] Avenge a death (not caused by witchcraft)	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2
Political conflict	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
??	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Total	3	5	1	1	2	2	1	4	3	2	2	11	37

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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[P. 463 - B] Teklum

682 these suspicions and kill the witch. If he should
674 kill the witch while the patient is still alive, it
75 is believed that the patient will die.

682 Killing men for cattle theft (six cases) is a relatively recent occurrence. It has put hom-
685 icide on the market: the associations of
674 cattle-owners have hired killers in three of the
[463] six cases. In addition to the killer's fee, they
[697] pay the fine to release him from prison. Fines for homicide have increased in the past five years—from 1,000 to 3,000 pesos—but not sufficiently to price the murder of cattle
[435] thieves out of the market. A good bull is worth 1,500 pesos, and the threat of further loss by theft seems to justify the expenditure of fees
685 and fines. When the cattle-owners lose some
787 of their herd, they go to spiritualists or to San
776 Miguel, the talking saint of Ixtapa, to find out who did the stealing. Since such evidence does not hold up in court, legal settlement is not
685 attempted. Legal action, moreover, would
694 create an enemy who might seek revenge. A Ladino secretary of the town center who had lost a bull accused a man of stealing his cattle and demanded 500 pesos in compensation. By receiving the money he jeopardized his safety, and eventually he had to leave town.

The Resolution of the Case

682 It is nearly impossible to find witnesses to
69 homicide. Of these 37 cases, 28 resulted in no action being taken by the authorities, and in five cases where the killers went to jail, they were released with the payment of minimal fines. In the calculations of the townspeople, it is hardly worth risking one's neck to get such a minimal revenge.

682 However, this does not mean that homicide goes unnoticed in the community. After a
593 killing the widow sings of the life of the dead
626 man. If she is in agreement with the verdict arrived at by the killer and others, she will
[683] deny knowledge of what he has done, or even suggest that she too was aware of what harm he has caused (one widow implied that her husband, killed as a witch, was responsible for the death of four of her six children). If she objects to the verdict, she sings of what a good man he was and how blameless. She will then air her own suspicions in the following weeks as to who killed her husband.

682 Following the funeral, when the women
683 have left the cemetary, the men sit at the
627 grave. As they measure out a liter of liquor and pass it around, they advance hypotheses as

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.465-A] Teklum

682 only a rise in the tensions that provoke con-
178 flict, but an undermining of the social-control
121 mechanisms for channeling them. The perception of these changes by the members of the
626 society makes for shifts in the individual calculi, grossly measured in changes in the rate of
[128] behavior. In order to understand the interrelated problems of the sources of the increasing tensions and the reasons homicide is chosen as a means of resolving them, I have reconstructed the course of social change in the period from 1935 to 1965.

178 *Increasing Social Tensions*

556 New economic enterprises have increased wealth differences in the community. The best measure of this is in the increase in cattle-holding, which is a socially approved way of spending money. Twenty-five years ago, there were only a half-dozen men with cattle, and they had only one or two head each. Today,
178 one of the herders in the community has 200
233 head of cattle, and 75 percent of the households
556 have one or more each.

Cattle-herding is a "new" industry in the sense that instead of just having a team of oxen to help with agricultural labor, men are
233 breeding cattle for profit. Because the cattle
685 roam freely, there is much loss, and this leads to accusations of theft. I have never heard such accusations directed against anyone outside the community; crime as well as positive moral relationships is confined within the
682 boundaries of this corporate community. Sus-
685 pected cattle thieves are killed by the cattle-
[474] owner or by a killer hired by the cooperative of cattle-owners. Such killings account for six of the 37 cases analyzed above (Table 1).

178 The illicit distilling of liquor has also added
274 to the town's prosperity. The liquor industry was introduced about 15 years ago, but the number of distillers has increased from 5 to 40
[438] in the last five years. From an enterprise
[439] formerly meeting only local market needs, contraband liquor is now sold as far away as the coastal area and across the border in
274 Guatemala. A cooperative of distillers has re-
474 duced the frictions that immediately followed the introduction of liquor-distilling. The cooperative pays the fines of any member caught distilling, and in addition threatens to use group action against informers, who were formerly tempted to earn the 200 pesos offered
[578] by federal agents. But the envy aroused by the sight of those who profit from this enterprise,

In 1912, Bernardo was fiscal. He knew how to pray well. About nine in the morning, the girls [prayer-reciters] gathered in the church and heard prayer in common. Then he borrowed money from the church and did not return it. He left for the finca with his father and three men. His wife went with her children. He fled because he didn't have the money, and he never returned. He sold his house in town to buy food. He died there in the finca. The girls remembered him because he was a friend, and they bought a candle for twenty cents. 794 782

Another fiscal, Antonio, began to give prayers to the same girls who accompanied him. He knew how to pray very well, and he prayed each Sunday. Then he died.

Then Carlos passed as fiscal. He knew how to pray from memory. The same girls learned, and all sang the prayer. Then that fiscal sold the tablecloths; he sold the candle holders; he sold everything. Therefore the cofrades did not want him. They said, "Go away because you are not good." God was going to punish him because he sold everything in the church.

In 1929 the pueblo named Ceferino [the informant, who refers to himself in the third person]. He served until he was made president in 1937.

In 1938, Antonio was chosen by the pueblo, but soon they did not want him because he was always ordering the pueblo to do work. He charged a lot for the fiestas, but he did not buy firecrackers or clothing for the saints. In a mass meeting they asked him to leave.

In 1939 Miguel put himself in office. The pueblo did not choose him. He did not know how to pray. He knew a little by memory because he heard what Antonio had said in his prayers, but he did not know the catechism. He didn't want to leave the church, but the pueblo spoke much against him.

The padre was against Miguel because he had begun to take advantage of the trips with the priest to sell the contraband liquor that he distilled. 794 [193] Some maintain that it was during his period as fiscal that the power shifted from the cofrades to the priest. He was accused of stealing the money donated to the saint, a sum of about 300 pesos. Although the money was returned, he is still considered guilty. [685]

Miguel's successor, the present incumbent Pablo, served as president while he was fiscal. [622]

794 while he was fiscal. He let control over the key to the church and the do-
793 nation boxes slip into the hands of the priest. His opponents accused him of weakness and failure to act in the interest of the town. The careers of
[685] these fiscales illustrate the pitfalls for those filling the post. First, there is the temptation for personal gain, since the fiscal has access to the money of the saints: in the past three fiscales have been charged with robbery. Sec-
[178] ond, there is the problem that the fiscal serves two masters, the priest and the head cofrade, each of whom has different standards of conduct for the role: when the selection of the fiscal was in the hands of the cofrades, they chose a man who knew the pat'o'tan and who was to deal directly with the curers in rituals at the cave of the ancestors and in the homes of the cofrades; now he is chosen by the priest who prefers a young, literate man.
793 If the fiscal follows the commands of the priest, he runs into problems
794 with the cofrades. This was the difficulty with Antonio, who was put out
578 of office by the cofrades because he yielded to the priest's demands to improve the convento and the church. As long as the conflict in interests between the priest and the traditional authorities exist, there is no successful position for the fiscal to take.

Conflict and Social Change

621 In the contest for leadership which has and is occurring, the following
177 observations can be made on the basis of the events described.
178

[212] 1. The community has successfully incorporated the young, literate men into the framework of the traditional hierarchy. This has been accomplished by expanding the scope of activities of the president and síndico and by relieving them of serving in the lower posts of the hierarchy.

2. The ceremonial role of the principales serves as a symbol of continuity in government both in the tie they have with the past and in the annual changeover of officials.

[609] 3. The threat of foreign Indians in the township misusing their skills in dealing with the outside world has been overcome by removing them from office and preventing them from filling high posts.

been made, there is no recourse but to kill the man since he may retaliate by killing his accuser (this occurred in two of the cases noted in Table 29).

Conflict between generations in the role sets father/son and father/son-in-law stems from delay in carrying out role responsibilities. Fathers are expected to provide the money for the costs of betrothal, and to give their children shares of the patrimony including both land and livestock. The scheduling of when this should occur is often a matter of dispute, resulting in at least two cases of homicide in the period analyzed.

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old and do not have as much opportunity to project their personalities in larger than life terms. Ladinas of the neighboring towns are given nicknames: Me? Sobol for example, was named for her habit of saying when she was drunk, "No soy bola" (I am not drunk); Me? Č'ič'el, meaning Mother Blood, was applied to a woman who sold blood of slaughtered animals. 157 551

Behavior is not believed to be totally dependent on innate traits, and the Indians emphasize the socialization processes. A badly behaved youth was said in court to "behave as though he did not have a mother," and to lack fear of his parents. The sense of shame and fear begin at home, and the community relies on the family to instill these controlling influences on behavior. 861 [828]

Notions of Justice and Compensation

577 681

Notions of immanent justice, whether acquired from the priest or indigenous beliefs, are peripheral to the morality system. Crimes should be paid for not in suffering, guilt, or remorse, but in fines exacted by the communal authority. Every crime has its price, and most people agree that it is good to be able to pay in money and be exonerated. The scale of values assigned in the fines for crimes is some index to the relative weight given them: 685

Stealing a bull: 500 to 1,200 pesos, depending on value of bull.
Stealing a turkey: 40 to 70 pesos, depending on value of turkey.
Stealing a horse: 300 to 500 pesos, depending on value of horse.

The range of fines for each act of theft indicates that justice is exacted on the basis of market value of the item stolen. The fine for murder is 1,600 to 3,000 pesos or two to eight years in prison when a killer is captured by the federal authorities. Local authorities rarely try to find the killer. In the thirty-seven cases of homicide analyzed in the period from 1938 to 1965 (Table 29)[1] only two resulted in federal action. 682

People express doubt about the priest's warning that those who do evil will reap the wages of sin in this life or the next regardless of whether they are found guilty. The pragmatic basis for this conclusion is revealed 577 [682]

1 (see pp.245-247..Analyst)

233 and adaptive responses. With the expansion of cattle raising, Indians have
177 organized associations adjusted to the traditional dual division. The asso-
178 ciation for each side of the dual division mobilizes labor for maintaining
621 the watering holes. The failure to organize communal corrals means that
476 inefficient herding techniques, damage to the milpa, and frequent loss or
312 theft of cattle persist. The association reacts to the last problem by hiring
[685] killers to get rid of those suspected of theft, but this adaptive response is limited to dealing with particular incidents and has not solved the problem.

548 The manufacturers of contraband liquor have succeeded in organizing a
273 syndicate strong enough to maintain a monopoly price for both the inter-
177 nal and external markets and to provide security for themselves against
178 federal agents. The syndicate mobilizes for specific actions, such as raising
[435] the bail bond for imprisoned members or punishing informers. As a com-
694 munity-wide organization ignoring the dual division and age-ranked sen-
[681] iority, it represents an adaptation in response to extra-community pres-
[621] sures.
[561]

The cooperatives that have been organized to manage the local store
474 and the trucks provide permanent managerial operations that are an adap-
177 tition to growing interaction in extra-community economic activities.
178 Cooperative owners are able to raise the capital to maintain and expand these operations. It is within these structures that entrepreneurial skills are being developed. The organizers gain the advantage not only of socializing the risk of loss but also of making a profit in a community where belief in witchcraft, fostered by envy, is rampant.

474 Activities in the new economic enterprises are not supported by any su-
472 pernatural belief. In order to gain acceptance for the new enterprises, the
177 entrepreneur Santos, who had organized the trucking cooperative, recog-
178 nized the need for an ideology. His rhetoric drew upon the sense of deprivation Indians feel in their relations with Ladinos. He justified his own ends as an attempt to gain for all the community the profits that only Ladinos had been able to gain through trucking and crops resales in the regional markets. The ideology he had begun to formulate stressed economic and political independence from both the Ladino entrepreneurs of neighboring towns and government agents who tried to promote welfare

294
438 With the closing of the stills in Comitan came a second economic pressure which sharply changed the Aguacatenangueros' pattern of travel. The trade specialty which Aguacatenango had intensively developed, at least by 1920 and perhaps long before, was the weaving of palm hats. A principal point of trade for these hats was Comitan where the Aguacatenangueros took them.

294 With the advent of the Pan-American highway, the region was
438 flooded with nationally manufactured sombreros, which, in the
434 period of ten years completely destroyed the Aguacatenango mar-
438 ket. As the marketability of palm hats decreased, the Agua-
439 catenangueros stopped going to Comitan; and it was during this
+273 same time that the supply of comiteco was cut off.

432 The people from Aguacatenango then began to buy their
438 aguardiente from licensed sellers in Pinola (Villa las Rosas)
+273 and Teopisca as well as from clandestine sources, the nearest being in Amatenango and the mountainous area that lay between
548 there and Chanal. The use of clandestine aguardiente was still
687 restricted by the occasional inspection by patrols of soldiers and liquor inspectors who would examine the contents of the houses in Aguacatenango, confiscating the aguardiente for which one did not have a legitimate receipt and taking the holders of such to jail in San Bartolomé de los Llanos. By the end of the 40's, distillation technology had disseminated widely enough among the Indian municipios that a few men in Aguacatenango began

548 distilling aguardiente. Distillation of aguardiente continued
• 687 for a relatively short time (perhaps as long as three to four years) because satisfactory arrangements could not be worked out within the community so that the distillers would not be denounced to the authorities by their neighbors. Unlike Amatenango, where the clandestine distillation of aguardiente continues to the present time, inspectors were able to discover and destroy the four or five stills operated by the men of Aguacatenango. The punishments meted out to the owners were relatively severe, some having to spend as long as a year in jail and having to pay as much as 1000 pesos to secure their release.

273* The pattern of procurement of aguardiente has changed
[178] substantially in Aguacatenango since the time we began doing
[432] field work there. In 1957, when we were first there, the buying of aguardiente was both situation-and-family-specific. Most of the aguardiente was being bought in Pinola and later in Teopisca and had to be carried on one's back to Aguacatenango. In an-
[796] ticipation of each fiesta or other occasion where it was known drinking would take place, each family would bring in three or four liters for that occasion. Beyond this family supply, there was relatively little aguardiente in the community. It was not at all unusual, after a fiesta, to see men inquiring all over town about the possibility of buying, or borrowing, a liter of

273* All of these performances fall within the range of acceptable,
183
[689] though perhaps imperfect, behavior for drunken men; that is, while some of them are considered deplorable and others dangerous, sanctions are usually limited to scolding and the conflict does not persist beyond the drinking situation.

On the other hand, the drunken man may be insulting or physically aggressive, and while these performances may be discounted on occasion, they often bring the individual into conflict which persists beyond the particular drinking situation. For the purposes of this description, we will define the conflict focus as that state which exists when an individual perceives his control over resources to be temporarily placed in increased jeopardy by circumstances some portion of which can be attributed to the action (or failure to take action) of some other individual; the jeopardized party must also perceive that there exists some form of action he can take (some remedy) in relation to the individual "causing" the conflict which will decrease his feeling of vulnerability.

273* Both insults and physical aggression by drunken indi-
578 viduals are verbally proscribed and often physically sanctioned. Aurelia Ramirez, speaking of the drunken insults of a relative who has been living in her house, says:

[539] PURA XC'AB YA YAL TU*L YA YAX YAKUBEL.

He talks of nothing but witchcraft when he is drunk.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

shortly before the fiesta of the saint's day with which he was charged. When the nomination was made, the president sent out the first policeman with the chief policeman to bring the man chosen to the town hall. They expected, and were always confronted with, resistance to the nomination. In order to gain acceptance they got the nominee drunk in a drinking session at the town hall. Liquor was measured out, and all the officials drank only a half cup at each round, but the new alférez was required to drink a full cup. The rounds continued until the new alférez was drunk. If he did not accept at this session, he was put in jail to think it over. Another drinking session took place the following day.

Nomination to the post of alférez was the only situation in which the jail penalty has been brought into effect, since refusal by nominees to other posts simply means that the officials "look for someone else." The reason given for invoking the punishment was "we know he has the wealth and therefore he should serve." Until 1965 the town had always succeeded in recruiting two of the alfereces from Ahk'olnantik and two from Alannantik. Since the upper division of Ahk'olnantik has grown at a more rapid rate than the lower division, candidates were found only in Ahk'olnantik. This unbalancing of the population ratios undermined the institution of alférez, which had always been the most unpopular position. When I returned to the field in 1967, it had been eliminated.

The Functions of Civil Officials

An analysis of the formally prescribed functions of the civil officials must take into account three sources of data: the functions as prescribed by state legislation, the functions as understood by local officials, and the observed activities of the officials. Table 26 compares the functions of officials as stated in the constitution of the state of Chiapas (Secretaría del Gobierno Departmental de Chiapas, 1828: Decreto 52, Nov. 30, 1825) [3] to statements of informants and to my observations of the carrying out of their official obligations.

3. I have chosen this constitution as the first post-independence statement of the status of local civil administrators.

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3:Peach E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 NY9 Treltal NY9
[P.458] Teklum

TABLE 1. CASE ANALYSIS OF HOMICIDES OCCURRING FROM 1938 TO 1965
(AS RECALLED FROM MEMORY BY THREE INFORMANTS)*

CASE No.	DATE	AGE	WEAPON	WOUNDS	PLACE	TIME	SUSPECTS	MOTIVE	OUTCOME
1	1938—fiesta in neighboring town	50	pistol, machete	head cut off	in bonevard of borrowed house in neighboring town	afternoon	?	Accused of witchcraft	No one apprehended.
2	1945	65	pistol	shot between eyes	in street	night	two drinking companions (relatives of victim)	Drunken quarrel	Two companions went to jail. While in jail, with help of witch from neighboring town, set fire to four houses in pueblo.
3	1946	48	machete (brothers disarmed him of shotgun)	?	road at outskirts of town, at cross	dawn (5 A.M.)	brothers: 1 elder, 2 younger	Curer, suspected of being witch.	One brother went to jail for five years.
4	1948	45	machete	well chopped up	neighboring hamlet	?	?	"I don't know what crime he had. He was a curer."	No one went to jail.
5	1946—fiesta San Francisco	38	machete and gun	well cut up, head and neck	in woods	?	?	Accused of witchcraft.	No one complained.
6	1946	50	shotgun	?	in street	night, after curing ceremony, very drunk	?	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	Wife complained, but no witness.
7	1958	27	nail	in throat	in street	night, after curing ceremony	father of boy who died of witchcraft	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	Before dying, victim revealed name of killer, but local authorities would not arrest him. Case went to higher court, but no witnesses.
8	1960—11/28	60	machete	cut off head	in street	night, after curing ceremony	son-in-law	Accused of witchcraft by curer at ceremony for daughter.	Son-in-law fled town.
9	1960—12/18 fiesta, Sta. Lucia	28	knife, machete	heart, throat, stomach	?	?	killer paid by cattle owners	Stole cattle.	Released killer on bail of 50 pesos paid by cattle owners.

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3:Mach E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 NW9 Tzeltal NW9
[P.459] Teklum

10	1960—12/13 fiesta, Sta. Lucia	60	shotgun	shot in back—bullet entered lung	houseyard, two feet from house	7 P.M., after curing ceremony	brother-in-law	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	No one apprehended
11	1961—6/16	70	machete	many wounds	near highway	9 P.M., after gathering of curers	neighbors	Curer, accused by other curers of being witch causing epidemic.	Neighbors were not identified.
12	1961	35	shotgun	shot in back	highway	?	leader of political independence movement (wife's brother)	Refused to pay tribute to independence leaders.	Killer's wife (victim's sister) left husband. No one jailed. Later, killer killed by victim's brother (case 18).
13	1961—7/26 fiesta in neighboring hamlet	30	?	?	street, near cantina	late at night	wife's brother	Very abusive, fought drunks.	Wife's brother fled town.
14	1961—10/24 fiesta in neighboring hamlet	45	knife	many wounds	?	?	neighbors	Accused of being witch by neighbors.	No one apprehended.
15	1961—12/15 fiesta, Sta. Lucia	37	gun	?	cantina	late at night	?	Accused of witchcraft.	Wife agreed he was witch.
16	1962—9/25	18	?	?	?	?	rival for girl	Fought over girl.	No one accused.
17	1962—9/25	20	knife	stabs	in street	night (1 A.M.)	cattle owners	Accused of stealing cattle.	Went to jail, but released on bail set up by cattle owners.
18	1962—9/26	35	gun	shot in heart	highway	(4 P.M.)	brother-in-law's brother	Revenge—victim had killed his own brother-in-law (case 12).	Killer declared he had killed. Paid fine and went free.
19	1962—11/15 fiesta, All Saints	20	knife, gun	stabbed in heart and shot	drinking in cantina	late at night	rival for girl	Fought over girl.	No one accused.
20	1962—12/24 fiesta, Christmas Eve	50	gun	shot between eyes	road outside town	dawn (6 A.M.)	leader of cattle association	Accused of stealing cattle.	?
21	1963—4/4	36	hatchet	head	in woods, given drink by killers	5 P.M.	?	Curer, accused of witchcraft.	No one apprehended. Brother did some investigating.
22	1963—7/24	45	?	?	in bed	night, after curing ceremony	Curer from neighboring town	Victim had accused suspect of being a witch when curing a patient.	Nothing.

* Two more homicides were recalled for 1964 than official records show. They most probably occurred in a previous year.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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TABLE 1 (*Cont.*)

Case No.	Date	Age	Weapon	Wounds	Place	Time	Suspects	Motive	Outcome
23	1963—8/28 fiesta, San Augustin	?	sandals	kicked to death	in cantina	afternoon	drinking companions	Barroom brawl	One of two assailants arrested, bailed out.
24	1963—9/25	70	shotgun	forehead	in field	late afternoon	son of man whom he was accused of having killed by witchcraft	Accused by curers in neighboring towns of having caused sickness	Nothing.
25	1964—1/2 fiesta, New Years	50	machete, gun	?	street outside house of new president	night (11 P.M.)	killer paid by brothers	Accused of stealing cattle.	Brother fled, but was jailed when he returned.
26	1964—3/3 Carnival	54	gun, machete	chopped up with machete	street, one block from house	night (11 P.M.)	?	Accused of witchcraft by neighbors.	No one accused.
27	1964—5/14	90	gun	forehead	highway	afternoon	Ladino liquor distiller, not of community	Victim had denounced distiller to federal authorities.	No one accused.
28	1964—9/1	50	gun	?	milpa, after his brothers gave him drink	afternoon	his brothers	Accused of witchcraft.	One brother fled. The other was jailed but claimed the first one did it.
29	1964—9/14	65	knives	many knife wounds	street, three blocks from house	late at night, after gathering of curers	curers	Curer, accused by other curers of being witch causing epidemic.	No one accused.
30	1964	22	?	?	eight meters from his house	night (1 A.M.)	close friend, hired by cattle owners, brothers of killer	Accused of stealing cattle.	Freed on bail.
31	1965—2/14	42	machete	head cut off	road to neighboring hamlet	night (3 A.M.)	?—at first thought it was wood spirit, until they found head	?	No one accused.
32	1965—2/22	45	knife, stone	stabbed in heart, head bashed	street near house	night	?	Accused of witchcraft by neighbors.	No one accused.
33	1965—3/21 Carnival	45	shotgun	?	street	night	?	Accused of witchcraft.	No one apprehended.

3:Mach E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P-461-A] Teklum

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34	1965 4/24	27	gun	?	found in woods, body dragged there from town	night (1 A.M.)	brother-in-law	He had relations with 14-year-old sister-in-law. When he tried reconciliation, became drunk, abusive.	No witness, no blood found in in-laws' house.
35	1965 5/30 fiesta, just before San Francisco	35	shotgun	three shots entered back	road	afternoon	?	Stole cattle, corn.	Killers left note saying old man did it, but no one believed
36	1965 8/15	42	machete	head severed, side wounds	road to milpa	6 P.M.	son by first marriage	Failed to help son get a wife; accused by dying wife of causing her death by witchcraft.	Widow spread rumors that it was his son, but refused to testify.
37	1965 10/?	20	shotgun	back	in houseyard	6 P.M.	rival for girl	Accident—killer mistook him for his brother, who was challenging killer's suit for a girl.	?

682 674 75 these suspicions and kill the witch. If he should kill the witch while the patient is still alive, it is believed that the patient will die.

682 685 674 [463] [697] Killing men for cattle theft (six cases) is a relatively recent occurrence. It has put homicide on the market: the associations of cattle-owners have hired killers in three of the six cases. In addition to the killer's fee, they pay the fine to release him from prison. Fines for homicide have increased in the past five years—from 1,000 to 3,000 pesos—but not sufficiently to price the murder of cattle thieves out of the market. A good bull is worth [435] 1,500 pesos, and the threat of further loss by theft seems to justify the expenditure of fees 685 and fines. When the cattle-owners lose some 787 of their herd, they go to spiritualists or to San 776 Miguel, the talking saint of Ixtapa, to find out who did the stealing. Since such evidence does not hold up in court, legal settlement is not 685 attempted. Legal action, moreover, would 694 create an enemy who might seek revenge. A Ladino secretary of the town center who had lost a bull accused a man of stealing his cattle and demanded 500 pesos in compensation. By receiving the money he jeopardized his safety, and eventually he had to leave town.

The Resolution of the Case

682 •69 It is nearly impossible to find witnesses to homicide. Of these 37 cases, 28 resulted in no action being taken by the authorities, and in five cases where the killers went to jail, they were released with the payment of minimal fines. In the calculations of the townspeople, it is hardly worth risking one's neck to get such a minimal revenge.

682 593 626 [683] However, this does not mean that homicide goes unnoticed in the community. After a killing the widow sings of the life of the dead man. If she is in agreement with the verdict arrived at by the killer and others, she will deny knowledge of what he has done, or even suggest that she too was aware of what harm he has caused (one widow implied that her husband, killed as a witch, was responsible for the death of four of her six children). If she objects to the verdict, she sings of what a good man he was and how blameless. She will then air her own suspicions in the following weeks as to who killed her husband.

682 683 627 Following the funeral, when the women have left the cemetary, the men sit at the grave. As they measure out a liter of liquor and pass it around, they advance hypotheses as

building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office.

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist.

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first.

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient portable typewriter. Since typing is a new skill for him, he makes many errors, and his retrials are accepted with patience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

ing "what our mothers and fathers did" (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 64). Second, continuity can be seen in the presence of both old and new officials in the townhall. In this setting, the old officials acknowledge acceptance of the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28). Finally, of greatest importance in establishing continuity are the principales, who await the arrival of the new officials with the old officials (App. 1, Q. 28) who pass over the symbol of authority (App. 1, Q. 31), and who remain alone in the townhall for the return of the new officials, when they have gone to church. 621* 105 794 178 18 [624]

2. *Role commitment.* The officials are members of closed corporate communities, integrated in a prior set of kinship and other social relations. They cannot rely on anonymity when acting in their official capacity as judge or policeman. Thus one of the functions of the inauguration as a rite of passage is a disengagement from the preexisting network of obligations and a commitment to the obligations of the office (cf. Parsons, 1951, pp. 80–84; Gluckman, 1962, p. 34; Cancian, 1964). Behaviorally, this function is indicated in the unfailing use of the term *Mam* (elder respect term) in both address and reference. The reference to the holy nature of their task (App. 1, Q. 19) and of the symbol of their authority, the "holy" staff (App. 1, Q. 30) which they always carry when discharging an official errand, establishes the supernatural authority on which the role is based. The effectiveness of these symbolic role identities in neutralizing prior affective commitments can partially be judged in that most dispute cases are brought before the local courts rather than referred to higher courts, suggesting that the complainant expects fair treatment. 621* 105 794 178 18 156 554 [576] [293] [691]

3. *Role learning.* The inauguration provides a setting in which the individual who is about to assume office learns what is expected of him (cf. Fortes, 1962, p. 82). The instruction of the novice officeholder is acquired most importantly in the home from the speeches of the *nakawanehetik* and cofrades (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 38, Q. 64) and in the directions he may be given in the ceremonial setting (App. 2, Q. 39, observation).

4. *Introduction of new officeholders to the villagers.* The new status of the officeholders is made 621* 105 794 178 18 788

[P. 227-8]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

555 ta for minor saints. He alternates between
624 a period of activity and expense and one of
794 quiet and economic recovery. The cargos alternate between church positions and civil government positions, but in communities where Indian tradition is stressed, there is no clear-cut division between civil and religious matters, because of the influence of the sacred and supernatural in daily life.

554 Those functionaries who have a staff of
624 office wield great influence in their calpul.
293 This cane (*nabté*), a sign of important status, is made of pine or other fine wood, and has a silver handle adorned with colored ribbons, primarily yellow, green, and red. The staff is ornamented by the owner and is considered a family object, usually placed on the home altar. Occasionally it is the [778] object of prayers and offerings of incense. [782] People carrying it are called *bastonudos*.

624 It is the duty of the staff-carriers to com-
627 municate to every paraje the orders of the ayuntamiento and those coming from the supreme chief of the calpul; to summon people for communal duties; to apprehend prisoners in cases of crime; and to deal with public problems such as taxation and epidemics. Coping with transgressions such as minor stealing, adultery, disputes, and intrigues are also their responsibility within the paraje, following the traditional form of procuring mutual understanding on both sides, in a calm atmosphere, around a bottle [692] of liquor. If conflict persists, those involved appear before chiefs of the calpul, who are called principales or "cabildos de justicia" even after they have finished their term of office.

794 The cargos from dzunubil on up are sacred and are open only to people with superior knowledge, recognized moral status, and expert experience in church ritual and in the semi-pagan ceremonies practiced in the caves, waterholes, and special mountains. These cargos are thus obtained not by automatic advancement but by special merits which are usually not acquired until advanced age. All such high representatives of

[P 220-B]

273* 578 [539] an authority. One example of a reprimand is found in the texts:

K'UXIX YU*N HA* MA*K STAIX *AWC*TAN HAL TRAWI, AKUT.

"It's hurting you now, the aguardiente doesn't agree with you," I told him.

*ILA *E HIC PE YU*N YA TO SK'AN HONA XCI, *A SKUT.

"Yes, but my heart still wants more," he said. "All right," I said.

LA LOK' XAN K'AEL.

Then he went out again.

BALOTA *UTEL YU*N TATA* I.

His father reprimanded him.

LOK' XAN K'AL Z'IN.

He went out again afterward.

While the reprimand administered here had no immediate effect on the son's behavior, it was probably repeated when he was sober and was surely a factor in his subsequent avoidance of drinking settings.

273* 593 692 [606] A father may reprimand a son. A wife, if she has a good relationship with her father-in-law, can have her husband reprimanded by his father. When these measures fail (as in the case of a son who struck his father in response to a reprimand), or when the jeopardized party is not in a position of authority over the offender, resort to the community court is an alternative strategy by which a restitutive outcome may be obtained.

273* 683 In cases of drunken fighting which results in injury, the

682 admit of truly restitutive outcomes in Aguacatenango; an indi-
627 vidual is dead and cannot be reclaimed, and from the point of view of the Aguacatenanguero, nothing can reduce the survivors' sense of vulnerability except another life. Furthermore, any sanction short of death or permanent expulsion from the community
682 might result in reprisals. The Aguacatenango court has no popu-
627 lar mandate and hence no power or desire to hand down a death
692 sentence to a community member; the most severe sanction it can employ for a murder is a heavy fine-plus-damages. Since this sanction falls short of the family's needs, the court is rarely consulted in such cases; when such cases do come to court, they are often dismissed (sometimes on the basis of lack of evidence, for murders and witchcraft are not often observed by witnesses) or referred to the municipio court.

627 Murder and witchcraft are usually dealt with by means of
682 penalizing strategies, most often murder or the threat of it which
754 will drive the individual permanently out of the community. A lesser penalizing strategy--breaking off interaction--is sometimes used in such cases, particularly if the jeopardized party is weak or the evidence is inconclusive. For example, Josefa Lopez' husband was accused of doing witchcraft against a neighbor's wife. When her husband was later killed while drinking, nobody saw the killing but Josefa "knew" that the dead woman's son had done it out of vengeance. Josefa, now a widow with small

627 children and without father or brothers to support her, found it
682 impossible either to retaliate or to remain under the eye of the
754 "killer," so she moved to a distant part of the community.

578 More often, breaking interaction is used as a penalizing
627 strategy in less serious conflicts. For example, a daughter-in-law living in her husband's paternal household complained that her father-in-law scolded her when he was drunk and, in order to reduce her vulnerability, left the house and returned to live with her own family. Sometimes, in such a case, the husband will attempt to make restitution in response to the penalty and the conflict will be resolved. Another case, mentioned in text earlier, is that of Aurelia Ramirez and her unwelcome house guest; she appealed to the young man's father-in-law and had him removed from her house. The penalizing nature of this strategy is illustrated in the text which followed (also cited above); the conflict remained "active" in the relationship between Aurelia and the young man in that he returned to threaten her
[692] with witchcraft. Aurelia's next move is instructive; still feel-
[754] ing vulnerable, she sought the judgment of the court. However, this being a case of threat of witchcraft, the court refused to rule. She describes her rebuff as follows:

[539] KIK' Z'IN KALBE LO*L SME*L NEAL, KOMO PRESIDENTE.

I went out to speak to his father-in-law, since he is president.

578
627 MALA TUTA YAL, MALA TUTA SLOK'ES, YU*N HO*N LA HA HLE HK'OP,
539 HO*N LA PIS TYTA KALTLAN LA.

[He said] that he isn't saying anything, that he isn't taking anything, that I'm lying, that I'm the one who's saying it all.

273* In general, persisting conflicts arising from drunken
578 behavior are relatively infreqoent among highly relational role pairs--people who live in the same household and/or are tied to each other by extensive obligations, such as parent-child, sibling-sibling, husband-wife, parent-in-law-child-in-law. In this role set, drunken behavior tends to be discounted or excused on later apology by the offender. When persisting conflicts occur, they are usually handled by means of restitutive strategies employed within the family and do not reach the community court. On the other hand, persisting conflicts based on drunken behavior among lowly relational pairs--people whose obligations toward each other are relatively few, such as siblings-in-law, neighbors, persons of opposite barrios (in descending order)--are fairly common. Indeed, all of the fighting and much of the murder and witchcraft in this role set involve drunkenness. Here there is perhaps no basis for discounting drunken behavior or less
[692] opportunity to make apologies. In any case, these conflicts tend to be taken to the community court--the only authority which both parties recognize--for a restitutive outcome when only injury is involved, and they tend to be handled with severe penaliz-

273* 578 ing strategies outside the court (murder or threat of murder) [692] when the jeopardy involves a death.

Patterns of drinking in the expression of and the resolution of conflict

Two sets of circumstances in which drinking occurs in the course of the settlement of conflict can be distinguished. First, there are those circumstances in which conflict is to be bound; that is, reduced as the basis for further inference and action. The second set of circumstances is that in which the conflict is to be escalated; that is, in which individuals are going to engage in aggressive acts in order to reduce their per-
273* 578 ceived state of jeopardy. We will exemplify the first set of circumstances by discussing the role of aguardiente in the settlement of cases in court. We will exemplify the second set of circumstances by discussing the role of alcohol in the performances which lead to anonymous assassination in that circumstance where consensus is that the man to be murdered is a witch.

273 695 *The settlement of conflict in court

The process of settling conflicts under the direction of the ayuntamiento is mutually exclusive with required or mandatory drinking performances. However, once the conflict has been settled, the interaction between the members of the ayuntamiento and some, if not all, of the parties of the dis-

423 432 609 621 was in a low gully where crops would not grow, and no one within the community would buy it.

Land is frequently pawned by farmers as security on a loan. The title to 423 426 the land is left with the lender, who can foreclose on the debt if the interest payments of five percent per month are not paid. Often the land pawned may be worth far more than the loan. Loans in town are rarely backed with security, and if something is pawned, it is usually clothing or household items.

178 423 428 593 With the growing significance of ejido lands and land sale, inheritance of land is of less importance in the economic expectations of each successive generation. The rules controlling inheritance are theoretically simple: equal inheritance for all children regardless of sex. The parents usually give some land when the child establishes a separate household; the remainder is then given at the death of the parent or when old age makes it impossible for the parent to work any more. The youngest child remaining at home works his father's land, or if he is living with his wife's family, his father-in-law's land, until the latter's death. His family inherits the house site as well as an equal share of the privately held lands. Complications arise because of modifications of the basic rule of equal inheritance by provisions for care and maintenance of the aged parents. Frequent disputes over inheritance are settled in local courts or passed on to the Department of Indian Affairs in San Cristóbal. [692] [647]

241 The selection of which crop to grow is related to the kind and amount of land a farmer owns. The most important crops are corn, beans, and wheat. Some squash and sugarcane are grown in the lower ejido lands of San Caralampio. Cabbage is grown by one Indian who possesses fertile irrigated lands in the center. Most Indians, however, are unwilling to undertake the risk of raising a cash crop since there is greater chance of the crop being stolen and they cannot afford a bad market price when they harvest.

241 423 433 Relating the size of holding to the crop grown, according to figures in the Mexican census of 1960[3] (Table 4) one can see that in privately

[659] 3. The census figures are based on estimates received from town officials, who submit them monthly to the census bureau. The officials of the town question the household heads as they see them in the streets or in their houses about how much seed they planted. They then estimate what the yield per almud for good and bad land is, from their own crops.

The links between members of the me?iltatil of a couple united in marriage are reinforced if another marriage occurs between the two households. While this does not provide a basis for prescribed or preferred mating, those who have such exchanges say they prefer it because the negotiations in the ʔom proceed more amicably, especially in the earlier stage. 571 581 608

Solidarity of the group is reinforced when the me?iltatil are called upon to help settle conflicts that arise in the marriage. The household review of marital conflict requires a formal gathering of all the members of the betrothal party who represented both the husband and the wife. Parents of the couple state the evidence and recite the events which led up to the conflict. The husband or wife may interject, speaking in their own defense. The elders suggest how the person judged guilty (usually the man) ought to behave and what his reponsibilities are. A transcription of one such case is included in Appendix 1A. This concerns a couple who had separated two years after the marriage. The following statement of the padrino of the wedding ceremony, speaking in lieu of the leader of the ʔom who could not be present, shows the techniques they use to adjust relations: 593 578 608 571 621

Now he [the husband] wants to change for the better. You [speaking to the husband] ought not to drink. It is better to eat meat and vegetables and find corn and beans for your wife and child. Now we have arranged it, and you can take your wife and child to your house.

A successful outcome depends on all people in the dispute accepting the judgment of the elders. If this cannot be achieved, the abused partner seeks redress in the courts. Women are most frequently the plaintiffs. The plaintiff is supported by her parents who appear with her in court and help argue her case. The defendant may appear with his parents, if they support him, but very often they feel shame and do not. 593 578 608 571 692

In court cases, two judges hear the evidence and they, along with the president and other civil officials deliver the verdict. The quality of interpersonal relations does not differ much from that which one finds in the household review, as can be seen in comparing the court review included in Appendix 1B with the household review. In the former case, the woman's wrath had been aroused by her husband occasionally returning to his first wife, and by his failure to give her money for expenses. Since he

593 worked in the sawmill, he was not as willing to hand over his wages to
578 his wife as is the farmer, who according to established custom gives the
608 proceeds from the sale of his crop to his wife. The judges advise the man
571 to stay sober, adding, "If you want a woman, you ought to support her.
692 You shouldn't fight." They entreat the wife to return to her husband's house "and make a fire there." They refuse to release the marriage license, and the woman's father reluctantly agrees. He has the last word, warning the husband: "The day after tomorrow, don't come back here with a couple more children and say, 'I don't want you; go back to your mother's house.' You are lucky to have a wife. If you don't have a wife, you go get drunk every day. But with a wife, life is good. She will give you coffee and corn to eat. Don't go on fighting whether drunk or sober. Both my compadres [referring to the judges] have advised you."

755 The curing ceremony as a means of adjusting interpersonal conflict is
608 discussed at greater length in the following chapter. Padrinos of baptism,
571 compadres, and other members of the patient's me?iltatil attend, both to
578 see that the curer is performing his duties properly and to lend spiritual
182 support. Like the household and court review of conflict, it permits the open airing of grievances and relies on the authority of elders. Drinking
[273] liquor is a means of restoring good feelings, either as a follow-up to the review of court cases or as a continuous measure of goodwill in curing.

182 The responsibility of the me?iltatil for repairing personal relationships
571 in the family underwrites the importance of this institution in the commu-
608 nity. In these institutionalized means of settling conflict the society recog-
578 nizes the inevitability of friction in intimate relations and draws upon the resources of personnel and techniques developed in the life crisis rituals.

182 The me?iltatil are the guardians of individuals. The security that they
156 provide depends upon the individual conforming to the group norms.
608 They are a personal reference group maintaining customary ways of be-
571 having. I shall show in the following chapters how they are linked as the inner core to a system of guardianship provided by curers within each side of the dual division and by civil authorities at the community-wide level.

182 These are the agents who, by providing models of how the progenitors
608 behaved and by channeling responses to social change, maintain the sense
571 of equilibrium and the illusion of changelessness. The sense of continuity

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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622 or abused by leaders from outside the community. Stories by other infor-
661 mants indicate that Augustín took advantage of his power as president.
609 He was accused of charging high fines in court and pocketing the money. Finally a case against him was brought to the Ministerio Publico in the departmental capital. The denunciation is recounted by Ceferino, the scribe, who replaced him as president:

159 *The court's decision was that Augustín had to return the three hundred*
622 *and fifty pesos that he had forced out of Juan in the land case. Augustín*
661 *claimed that it was difficult for him to pay the fine. He said he would pay*
609 *it in installments. Juan wanted it right away. After a month, the money*
[692] *still was not handed over. I spoke to the Ministerio Publico who told Augustín to sell his cattle. The pueblo wanted to seize the cattle. Augustín got frightened, and said he would sell his cattle. He sold them. After this he never returned to work in the pueblo.*

There were no killings in this affair. Eight days after he gave the money, Augustín came to the town hall with a pistol. I noticed it and said, "Better come in an register this pistol." He ignored this and spoke to the judge for a while.

I told a policeman, "Go get the pistol and register it." The policeman was afraid. I asked him, "Why are you afraid?" He said, "I am afraid." I said, "You have turned into a woman."

The policeman seized Augustín's arms. I went behind and took the pistol out of his hand. Augustín said, "Why are you taking my pistol? I have committed no crime."

I replied, "You came to bother the people here." I took away the pistol.

Augustín also knew how to wear a watch. His son bought it from a thief for one hundred and twenty-five pesos. We also took his watch because it was stolen. I told him, "Go look for work and earn money. The Ministerio Publico has given orders that you cannot continue working here. You cannot rob here any more."

He went away for two months, and then came back to get his things and moved to Teopisca.

621 Despite this successful denunciation, Augustín's son, Juan, tried to "get
609 control of the town." He and the other Huistecans of the barrio of Yeta-
578

as the direct agents of the ancestors, guarded the streets of their own side of the dual division. The judges, with the supervision of the principales, were responsible for guarding against the abuse of power by the curers or others possessing a swayohel in their review of witchcraft cases in the town hall. The three sets of functionaries—ancestors, curers, and judges—are classified in a lexicon of role function in the stem *me? . . tat . . ,* common to the terms applied to them, me?tiktatik, me?iltatil, and me?eštatel.[3]

The system of control over the use of power has been in a state of uneasy tension. In a series of incidents recounted below, the growing suspicion that the judges and the principales were not countering the witches because of their fear of falling victim to them, and that the curers themselves were exercising the witchcraft becomes apparent.

In the following case, the system of checks and balances was upset by the entry into the presidency in 1940 of Mam Nicolás, the leading curer of Allannantik. Nicolás combined the skills of operating in the traditional culture with those of dealing with the Ladino world. Despite the fact that he was a graduate of the boarding school operating in the town in the 1930s, which had far more extensive effects in acculturation as well as formal education than any prior school, he practiced curing. The case is recounted by Ceferino, the scribe:

Formerly the dead president Mam Nicolás left at midday from the town hall and went to his house where he ate a meal. A neighbor, Francisco, came to talk to him. They drank a half a liter of trago, and then began to drink a second and got drunk. They began to say goodbye, and Francisco left Nicolás' house. When Nicolás saw that Francisco went out, he grabbed his shotgun. He saw that Francisco was now far away, and he fired many shots. One got him right in his back. When Francisco felt it, he shouted. The police heard him and went to get the judges who came to see also. His [Francisco's] wife came. She raised his head and cried when she saw he was dead. An elder sister brought a new mat to carry him.

3. The suffixes *-el,* and *-tik* refer to pronominal forms, as in "you judges" and "our ancestors." *-il* is an article, as in "the curers." In prayer, the ancestors may be addressed in the second person, or the judges may be referred to with the first-person-plural possessive, but these forms are rare in those contexts.

Eight men of Alannantik wanted the interim president, Simón to remain as president. But the people of Ahk'olnantik did not want him to remain as president. The townspeople began to talk, saying, "Why should he remain as president since he stole twenty bulls? We don't want him. Let us get another president. We shall walk with Ceferino." 159 621 754 682

They wanted me for president since I was first regidor. It is for this reason that I entered as president, but I didn't think that I would be able to stay on as president. Simón received an order from the [state] government that he should return as president. He came with soldiers, and when they took me out of office, the lieutenant said to Simón, "Now you enter."

And so I gave over the archives and seals and everything in the presidency to Simón, and I left the presidency. And the people saw that it was the order of the government, and they did not say anything. The town remained silent.

The incident is given as it was related to me in Tzeltal. I have sorted out the steps in which the conflict developed in order to clarify its meaning.

1. The traditional checks and balance system of the civil authority over the curers was initially upset by the entry of a leading curer into the post of president.

2. When he committed a murder while in office, the judges seized control and had him put in prison. [682] [692]

3. His replacement by the síndico who was from the same side of the dual division, aroused the opposition of the people of the opposite side, Ahk'olmantik, who believed that the epidemic, which followed the president's removal from power, was caused by the curers of Alannantik under the direction of the president who was in jail. [624] [731] [754]

4. The leaders of the revolt in Ahk'olnantik chose as their replacement the first regidor, Ceferino, who was from their side. [624]

5. Leaders from Alannantik rejected this replacement and were able to get official backing from the state government to replace their representative.

The process illustrates the way in which a conflict, precipitated by a clash between civil authorities and the curers, was cast into the idiom of struc- 621 754 578

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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554 the status. Community integration is achieved at the expense of limiting the range of roles through restricted recruitment and validating mechanisms.

621 794 [182] *Alternation and linkage in office-holding.* The principle of alternation between civil and religious posts serves to integrate these officers in a single functioning system and prevents the development of segmented groups. The alternation of offices between sides of the dual divisions helps to integrate the village by pairing or alternating them in the same office. Some roles served as links between the institutional domaines. Principales are the primary symbolic leaders of both hierarchies since they are chosen from among men who have completed service in both hierarchies. The alfereces formerly symbolized the unity of the civil and religious branches in the transfer of banners from the cabildo to the church and in other ceremonial duties.

621 624 794 [642] [84] The regidores and judges have remained identified with the civil authority in Tzoʔontahal, although in other towns in the area they have become almost exclusively identified with the religious hierarchy (Cancian 1965). The regidores were formerly involved in religious affairs during the household celebration for the installation of the new alférez. At this time they were called personaetik from the Spanish term persona, or personage.

731 756 178 621 Events requiring community action reveal some of the links which unite officials who play roles in different institutional settings. On the occasion of an epidemic, curers are called before the civil authority to "give an account" of who is causing the witchcraft. Formerly the curers were linked to the civil hierarchy by a system of social control in which the principales, as elders, reviewed their actions in guarding the safety and health of the community. This system of checks and balance has been broken by the shift in power from the principales to the president.

794 621 182 The nakawanehetik provide the links between the household and the civil and religious hierarchies. They transmit the knowledge of ritual prayer and acts and officiate at the inauguration of officials. They serve as stage directors in maintaining the traditional household rituals and in ensuring continuity in public ceremonials.

626
"gift of the gods," liquor, to the party whose interests have been slighted. 273
This is done in the case of a suitor who is asking for a woman of the 431
other side of the dual division; he gives the bachelors of that side a gar- [584]
rafón of liquor in compensation for the loss of a potential mate. Liquor [621]
has become a substitute for the sacrifice of a child by a man being initiated [756]
into the curing profession. Informal offerings of liquor may be made be- [782]
tween neighbors or relatives who have been fighting with each other. Liq- [627]
uor is a kind of universal social solvent in disputes, and figures impor- [692]
tantly in court cases which are always terminated in a drinking session. [578]

Another technique is simply a payment in money to compensate for 626
damages. In some homicide cases, the payment of "blood money" has com- 682
pensated the family of the victim to avoid legal action. This is never done, [754]
however, if the community agrees that the victim was a witch. Payment of fines in court is another such form of compensation. These payments or offerings minimize the bloodshed or personal involvement in conflictual relations. Payment by the man judged guilty will ensure his reincorporation into his customary place in the community without stigma.

While it is impossible to elicit from informants a theory of roles, 554
it is possible to formulate the principles underlying roles. These are 12
deduced from behavioral observations and from evaluations made of the performances of others. They can be summarized in the following 554
propositions: 156

1. There is a clear separation between role and role-bearer. This is seen most clearly in the passage through civil and religious offices with a minimum of "halo" effect. It is also found in the situation of household officials whose authority in directing affairs within a household ceases when the ceremony in which they officiate is over. The separation [621]
ensures flexibility in a closed social system, enabling people to shift from [182]
one role to another. It also permits continuity in a system which requires an almost complete turnover of personnel each year.

2. Function performed is separate from role in which it is per- 554
formed. This applies even in those roles which are designated on the basis of the most important function required of the performer, for example woman speaker, liquor measurer, and basket carrier. All of

as lawyers. The defendant is sometimes accompanied by supporters who feel that he has a case. The failure of parents to accompany a defendant, regardless of his age, is attributed to their shame over their child's misbehavior and their own failure to train him properly. The judge does not limit himself to passing judgment but also counsels the defendant as to how he should behave.

The town hall is usually shut and locked at noon unless some business requires more time. In the evening about six, the officials return to take their same posts. They sit with their arms drawn inside their woolen jackets for warmth. After a half an hour they drift home. People rely on the presence of officials rather than particular actions to maintain social control, and it is their appearance at regular hours that assures the villagers that the town is being well run.

Local autonomy depends primarily on retaining social control functions. Civil officials try to settle disputes locally and avoid the entry of Ladino officials from the departmental capital, although the judges and president will threaten the defendant with taking the case to the department if they cannot get compliance. The number of cases referred to the capital has been increasing since 1950 as Table 32 shows. In 1951 the federal government began to fine local officials who failed to report homicide cases and accidental death. The local officials complied, but departmental courts were unable to bring action in over half the cases. No action was taken in 72 cases, or 54 percent, in comparison with 62 cases, or 46 percent, in which action was taken. Domestic cases, except for one of adultery, are adequately handled in local courts and do not appear in the departmental records. The trend shows an increasing number of cases of crimes against persons in comparison to crimes against property, an index to the breakdown in social control processes.

The Church

The church has been built and on two occasions rebuilt—when the tower was struck by lightning—with funds collected locally from household heads. Damage to the church was attributed to the patron saint of the neighboring town of Oxchuk who, the people say, was fighting with their patroness, Santa Lucía. The townspeople feel that they own the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 301]

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692
631

[P.300]

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TABLE 32. Cases Brought to Departmental Court

	Complaint									Action			
	Homicide	*Rape*	*Robbery*	*Property damage*	*Assault*	*Adultery*	*Liquor distilling*	*Accident*	*Misc.*	*yes*	*no*	*unre-solved*	*Total*
1950													
1951	2	1	1							3	1		4
1952	4	1		1						3	3		6
1953	1		1	1	4	1				6	2		8
1954	3		3	1	1		2			6	3	1	10
1955	2		3		2				5	8	1	3	12
1956	3		3	1	2					7	1	1	9
1957	5				3				2	4	3	3	10
1958	4		3		3				2	5	4	3	12
1959	1				4		1	1	1	2	2	4	8
1960	2	2			2		1	2	1	5	2	3	10
1961	4				1			2		1	2	4	7
1962	5				2				1	5	1	2	8
1963	6				3					3	1	5	9
1964	5			1	4					4	2	4	10
1965	9								2		2	9	11
TOTAL	56	4	14	5	31	1	4	5	14	62	30	42	134

175 648 under the administrative jurisdiction of the Provincia de los Llanos.[1] They were, and still are, part of the same Curato of [093] the local Catholic Church, which was under secular clergy, as opposed to most villages in the area which were under Dominican jurisdiction. Up until 1854 they were subjected to the same changes with respect to the administrative districts of the State of Chiapas (districts which were rearranged practically every time 175 there was a change of government). In 1854, however, the local 621 648 631 districts were reorganized into Municipalidades (the closest English equivalent being a county); Amatenango became attached to Teopisca, the nearest Ladino-Indian town, as a part of the ninth Municipio, while Aguacatenango became dependent upon the fourth Municipio of Comitan, together with the towns of San Bartolomé (also a mixed Ladino-Indian town), Totolapa and Concordia (Trens, 1942).

631 621 At the present time Amatenango is an independent Municipio, having been separated from Teopisca in 1937, while Aguacatenango is an Agencia of the Municipio of Venustiano Carranza. Both com- [692] munities are, however, attached to the equivalent ladino towns in [651] similar ways because of their economic dependence, because such disputes as are not solved within the confines of the village are sent to the juzgados of the towns, and because the offices of the Tax Collectors and Ejidos are situated in these ladino towns.

175 669 621 631 Neither of the two communities became directly involved in the Indian Uprisings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,

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[1] San Bartolome de los Llanos; today known as Venustiano Carranza.

621 Among its duties are those of 46 keeping vital statistics for
659 the National Population Bureau which are sent to the state office,
692 solving cases of adultery and theft, collecting the fiesta and
351 Ejido taxes, keeping the streets clean, building and repairing
363 roads and public buildings, and also taking charge of the local
491 jail. Ayuntamiento officers are also called in to prevent or solve
499 witchcraft cases and give advice and reprimands to misbehaving
344 wives, sons and other relatives when the household or the responsible
754 relatives cannot deal with the case on their own.
626

621 The Ayuntamiento also keeps its own corn field, worked by
423 communal labor, whose crop is sold to collect funds for its own
432 expenses.
434

794 The Mayordomia, or religious body, performs the formal activities on the religious holidays, is the custodian of the sacred objects (rockets, church keys, bells) connected with the Church, and the authority which carries out the tasks required by all of man's peaceful relations with the supernatural on the village level.

They are responsible as a group for the upkeep of the Church building and saint images, and the preparations for and the performance of Church Fiestas, regular church meetings, etc. Among their duties are those of providing meals for the priest while he is in town, helping during mass, contracting musicians and collecting the Church limosna during mass.

621 This structural level lacks monopoly of either of these functions in relation to other less inclusive social units. Social control and religious activity are carried on at the level of the barrio, the extended family, and within the household, and religious activity can be carried on by individuals.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

184 "Women do not tolerate
593 beating by their husbands, and they frequently seek justice in
692 the local court if this occurs" (Nash, J., 1960:34).

184 In sum, Aguacatenango women have a dependent role all of
562 their lives, while Amatenango women enjoy a freer and more autonomous life. The people of Aguacatenango say that la mujer se debe a su marido y sus criaturas (a woman is indebted, or bound to obey, her husband and her children), while in Amatenango people believe that women are la fuerza en la casa (the authority or power in the home) (Nash, J., 1960:29). This set of contrasting statements sums up, from their own point of view, the different conceptions of the woman's role and position in the domestic group.

184 The second difference between Amatenango and Aguacatenango
592 is the criteria employed in both places for the recruitment of household personnel. Membership in a household implies both (1) a kinship connection with a sponsor who lives in the unit, and (2) economic interdependency.

Membership in a household changes for the individual at crucial times in his life, and changes in age and marital status give a person the right to attach himself or herself to a particular domestic group. An analysis of residence patterns of the two villages shows how, during the developmental cycle of the household, it changes membership and how particular individuals, according to their age, sex, marital status, kinship connection and economic role, are recruited into the unit.

/For general information on the office of the alcaldes in the community see also category 624./

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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T 661 652 621 571 241 *us 65 pesos per bag. It was the first time we had used it and we had very good crops. We got together and decided not to pay for the fertilizer. We called the bank agents and requested that we be relieved of the charge because the crops had failed. We showed him a milpa which is a low plot that is too wet for a good crop. We just throw the seed there, but don't work on it because it isn't worth the trouble.*

T [693] *We went to a lawyer in Tuxtla. He told us the bank would have to pay for the fertilizer since they had promised it. The lawyer is the helper of* the campesinos [*poor farmers*].

T 178 661 621 571 [426] [693] Several points of significance can be noted in this case: (1) the Indians are reluctant to take credit risks because of unfortunate experiences in the past; (2) they react to deception with their own deceptions, showing the engineer the land which had not only not been fertilized but had never been weeded or cared for; and (3) they seek professional legal aid in dealing with government agents in order to equalize the contest in which they feel disadvantaged. These first two behavioral syndromes are culturally T [177 178] conditioned responses; the third represents an innovation. By seeking professional aid for which they pay a fee, the Indians are breaking the monopoly of power held by the caciques to whom they were formerly bound in a network of personal obligations incurred in such transactions.

M 423 361 Recent colonization of national lands since the 1950s has introduced a new kind of ejido settlement. Since most of the lands contiguous to settled towns were absorbed in the early days of the ejido grant, movement has been into lands outside the domain of established centers. This spontaneous colonization of unexploited land has followed the penetration of M [491] new highways in Quintana Roo, Campeche, Chiapas, Tabasco, and Vera Cruz (de la Peña 1951:348). In defense of their rights to the new lands, the M 423 621 colonists, often of diverse origins, develop a political consciousness. Mestizos and Indians of different towns work together in securing official ejido 563 status for their lands. Acculturation to the national language and ways of [197] life is much greater in these mixed centers than in the settled populations that were part of the original ejido tracts. Consciousness of their rights M 641 under national law and independence from traditional loyalties means that 563 these new settlements may be the basis for welding Indians into the na-

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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474 The strategies the cooperative members have developed in their frequent
648 tangles with state police illustrate the combination of custom and innova-
661 tion. When caught red-handed, they may respond by playing the stereotype Indian role. "We don't know anything. We are just poor Indians. How do you expect us to do what the law says?" This is hard for the Ladino authorities to resist, since it feeds their own sense of superiority. But it does not always work, and so the Indians have devised secondary resources. They put the departmental police at each terminal of their usual route between Las Casas and Comitán on a regular monthly mordida payroll of 50 pesos each. When trying to extend their operations, they hire a lawyer. A recent coup has been the acquisition of a permit to truck corn from Villa las Rosas and other ejido settlements that have been recently colonized. The appeal was made on the basis that they are a nonprofit cooperative of ejidatarios. With the permit, they now undercut the price of their own competitors in the town as well as of the large companies. Law-
474 yers are beginning to advertise themselves in newspapers as "Friends of
693 the Indians" and are in some cases specializing in this new patronage, which they receive from other communities as well as Tzoʔontahal. The professional relationship bypasses personal ties which formerly limited the development of Indian leadership.

177 The self-development occurring in Tzoʔontahal may appear paradoxical
178 if we do not understand the internal dynamics by which change is con-
474 tained within an existing equilibrium. The cooperative association has
621 been adopted as a technique for socializing the risk of making a profit.
648 The truck, although currently used in an uneconomic operation, is a sym-
[493] bol of power in the struggle for a position in the regional markets and in the intracommunity factional strifes. The usual patron-client system is being reversed as the Indian puts the Ladino on his payroll to secure evasion from the law. In the changes which are occuring, the defensive structure of the corporate community is a means by which the Indians are entering into national life not on the lowest rung of the social ladder, but on terms they are setting for themselves. In the new enterprises, the Indians combine old ploys with new strategies. Confronted with legal threats from the outside world, they play the colonial game of defensive ignorance.

When this fails, they turn to the professional help of lawyers rather than to the old caciques with whom they had formerly maintained patron-client relations. The traditional structural alignment of upper and lower barrios is retained as the basis for organizing the growing cattle herds, but the cooperative provides flexibility and power for developing new enterprises. 177 178 474 693 621

The minimal changes in the material environment and the technology of the peasantry are countered by the development of social resources which should facilitate Indian integration in the wider society. In operating the new enterprises independently of Ladino control, they are developing entrepreneurial skills and an awareness of the relationship between capital and profit. The restriction of their operations to nonproductive use of capital for profit, such as buying crops at harvest and reselling as the price rises, reveals the limited dynamics of intracommunal development. The town will look to the regional and national networks for fundamental changes in its economy. 177 178 472

The fear of exciting envy acts as a brake on productive activity and the enjoyment of improved consumption resulting from wealth. Santos' death is a symbolic warning to others who would follow in his footsteps. An earlier case occurred when the ejido land grants were made in the 30s: 626 182 472 556

The brothers Ča?iletik became "very rich" as a result of careful operation of their ejido and privately owned land. They owned ten pair of oxen and about fifty horses. When they brought in their crops on horseback, it looked like a line of ants. They built a good house in Alkob', and a good threshing shelter. The people of the town began to talk about getting them off the land. The ejido commissioner took their land away and turned it over to others in the town. Until this day, the brothers Ča?iletik are without land. Now they do no more than work like other men. They live poorly. All their cattle and horses are sold. 556 433 423 621 626 159

The organization of the cooperatives is one means of diverting envy directed against individuals and permitting some increase in productive efforts, but the society still lacks the means of validating higher consumption standards. The richest man in town eats better than his neighbors, 474 182 626 556

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Vogt 1965; Wagley 1949; Wisdom 1940; Zabala 1961). Comparison of the structure and functioning of the hierarchy reveals differing applications of the same principles of allocating roles (age, sex, territorial identification, and previous service) and differing assignments of the same tasks (administrative, judgment, and maintenance). 621 171

In this chapter, I shall analyze the civil-religious hierarchy in Tzoʾontahal as a formally prescribed system of roles and behavior. The data on which the analysis is based are: (1) the system of roles and the principles of allocation, (2) careers in office of household heads, (3) instrumental behavior prescribed for officials, and (4) ritual behavior. The following chapter will be concerned with the exercise of power within the limits set by the formal organization of offices. 128 621 794

The Matrix of Roles

Civil officials. Civil offices in Tzoʾontahal are a segmented, ranked set of posts, each of which has an internally age-graded ranking. Outside of these segments are two leadership positions, those of president and his assistant, *síndico,* which are not controlled by the same criteria of entry—service in lower posts of the civil and religious hierarchies and age. Multiple posts at the same level have equal representation of officials from the upper and lower divisions of the center, Ahk'olnantik and Alannantik, and single posts are held alternately by residents of each side. Theoretically, the post of president should alternate as well, but in fact the scarcity of qualified candidates limits consideration of this condition. Since 1948, of the twelve presidents, only four were from Ahk'olnantik. 621 561

The four ranked segments (Fig. 6) from higher to lower are *krinsipaletik,* or principales, *alkaletik,* or judges, *rehiroletik,* or regidores, and *mayoletik,* or policemen. The relative rank of the post is expressed in terms of its power, and the relative rank of the post-holder in terms of age (the term used to describe an older office holder, *mas mamalil,* has the extended meaning of greater power [1]). Age-ranking of officials complements [693]

1. Siverts (1965) points out that in Cancuk the term *mamal,* or elder, was applied to a young man who held a post of high authority because of his skills in literacy and language. By terminological reference, he was graduated into the senior age group.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621
561 the household principles of authority in which seniority gives one the right to command. This principle is violated in the case of an older man who has served as regidor and sometimes even judge and returns to the lower post of ceremonial leader of the policemen. Some of the officials say that this is an "ugly" custom because it means that the hierarchy "is not a straight road." Due to obstacles in the individual's career in the hierarchy, within any segment there may be older men in the lower posts than in the higher. However, except for the barrio judges, posts within each segment are occupied by men of roughly the same decade in age (Table 23).

[693] A complement of age-grading in the designation of officials is the principle of residence. In the upper two ranks of judges, one is chosen from the upper division, Ahk'olnantik, and one from the lower division, Alannantik. The remaining two judges are chosen from the outlying barrios of Madronal and Bočib'al. Judges representing the colonias of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Cruz Quemada do not regularly attend the town

TABLE 23. Rank and Age of Civil Officials

Post	*Division*	*Age*
Judges (Alkaletik)		
First Judge	Alannantik	75
Second Judge	Ahk'olnantik	52
Barrio Judge	Madronal	42
Barrio Judge	Bočibal	50
Regidores (Rehiroletik)		
First Regidor	Ahk'olnantik	43
Second Regidor	Alannantik	44
Third Regidor	Alannantik	43
Fourth Regidor	Ahk'olnantik	48
Police (Mayoletik)		
First Police	Ahk'olnantik	27
First Police	Alannantik	28
Second Police	Ahk'olnantik	25
Second Police	Alannantik	30
Third Police	Ahk'olnantik	32
Third Police	Alannantik	30
Fourth Police	Madronal	25
Fourth Police	Bočibal	35
Martomorey	Ahk'olnantik	48
Martomorey	Alannantik	48

hall, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of the new officials. Residents of the barrios and colonias can never rise to any position above that of assistant judge, but once they have served in this post they may become principales in their own localities. One week the first regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the third regidor from Alannantik, and the next week the second regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the fourth regidor from Alannantik. The ten police are ranked in five levels with representatives from each side at every level in the series except for the fourth level, which is occupied by police from the barrios.

These civil officials, called as a group the *hu?eletik*, those who are "able" (in control), constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. To reach a high post, an official must first pass through each of the lower positions in the hierarchy. Outside of this ranked hierarchy, the posts of president and síndico are occupied by young men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy was, until the present generation, limited to a few men in their thirties. With increasing literacy, the competition for these posts is growing.[2] Men who have such skills are called upon as signers of official documents and are called *firmanetik*.

Also existing outside of the traditional hierarchy is the post of secretary which had, until 1965, been occupied by a Ladino. This was the only post which was paid; it also provided opportunity for earning extra income by preparing "acts," or official documents, and fines from court cases. The present incumbent is an Indian of Alannantik.

Because Tzo?ontahal's hierarchy is still a linked series of civil and religious posts, the structure of the civil hierarchy cannot be considered independently from that of the religious hierarchy. The major segments of the religious hierarchy are the *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces or captains of the fiestas. The internal ranking of the sixteen mayordomos depends on the number of religious posts the incumbent has filled and on the rank order of the saints he serves.

The alfereces, or captains of the fiestas, provide a ceremonial link be-

2. Julio de la Puente (1964:30) has summarized the effect of literacy in breaking the homogeneity of the community since the literate Indians have received greater privileges and release from communal work. When the entire community is educated, the monopoly of literacy is broken.

Constitution of Chiapas, 1825 *	*Interpretation of functions by villagers*	*Actual functions, as observed*	642 693 •
Have the responsibility of publishing the laws and edicts of the government. Announce to the townspeople the days for electoral meetings.			
Regidores: †	Sit on the benches inside the town hall. If there is no judge, regidores order police. Arrange dispute cases with the president and judges.	Bring in officials nominated by the civil authority. Greet them in their houses with the pat?o?tan. Transmit orders of the president to the policemen. Pour liquor in the town hall for the other civil officials. Sit in on court cases.	642 624
Police: Care for the streets, markets, and public plazas, hospitals and other public places. Inspect the quality of foods of all kinds in the interest of the public and the sellers. Care for the drainage of swampy places and free standing and unhealthy waters. Name a permanent commission charged with maintaining the health of the place. Ensure that the public fountains are well kept up and have abundant water. Ensure the punctual attendance of the children in school. See that the equipment distributed by the army is done with equality. Help the alcaldes tend to the execution of the laws, rulings, and agreements of the civil officials.	Sit on the benches, outside the town hall. Summon children absent from school. Maintain public buildings and streets. Distribute portions of bull slaughtered for a fiesta to those who have paid 20 pesos.	Maintain town hall, plaza, road from highway to town. Adorn town hall for fiestas. Cook common meal for civil officials following court cases when fines have been collected. Collect money for fiestas from each household. Buy liquor for use in town hall. Round up truant school children. Bring in criminals.	642 625

(*cont.*)

342 party to go to the spring, at least one relative remains in the house to
796 greet the soul if it should precede the curing party.
[584]
[755] Behavior in household rituals is described in Chapters 1, 5, and 8.
[128]

The Cabildo

344 The cabildo, called by the people of the town the "cold house,"[1] was
[196] built following the revolution of 1915, when Piñeda's revolutionary soldiers
[175] destroyed the original colonial structure. The tiles of the roof were confiscated from a finca which the Indians invaded in 1941 in an unsuccessful attempt to gain additional lands. When they were unable to maintain their hold on the land, they burned the owner's house and took the tiles to the town center where they remain as a symbol of their defiant action. They refer to this event with pride. The cabildo houses the jail, equipped with a barred wooden door, in one of its wings, and the Ejido Commission office in the other.

344 Within the cabildo, each official has his established place. The cabildo is
352 furnished with a table at which the president and síndico sit on wooden
621 chairs made in the Indian town of Chamula. Four benches lining the
554 walls on either side of the entry provide seating for the civil officials. On
576 the right side (looking out at the plaza) sit the judges in order of rank;
[693] the regidores, in similar sequence follow them. The principales, and formerly the alfereces, sit on the left side when they appear for ceremonial occasions. This spatial allocation establishes drinking and greeting order as well. Visitors can go directly from one to another in the formal greeting of a handclasp and murmured "good morning, father," or "good afternoon, father," without violating age-respect patterns.

344 During court cases, the claimant and his supporters sit on the bench to
352 the left of the door; on other occasions the bench is occupied by visitors or
695 petitioners. The police sit on one of the two benches lining the outside
[625] wall, or retire to the kitchen, a wooden slat lean-to on the left wing of the

[171] 1. Bunzel (1952) notes that in prayers, the cabildo in Chichicastenango is referred to as "the cold house, the icy house." Although the Quiché term is not given in her manuscript, one can see a similarity in the rhyming couplets and metaphorical allusions in the prayers of the towns.

building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office.

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist.

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first.

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient portable typewriter. Since typing is a new skill for him, he makes many errors, and his retrials are accepted with patience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

695 minimum of explicit rules. Very little is ruled out of order, and almost nothing introduced is considered irrelevant. The dialogue is primarily be- [693] tween the judge and claimant and secondarily between judge and defendant. The rural judges join with the regidores, who act as court clerks when a case is heard, in a kind of Greek chorus when consensus is reached regarding statements made by defendant or claimant. The judges indicate clearly their approval or disapproval of the statements being made, and throughout the case, consensual verdicts are made in an apparently spontaneous manner. No one pretends to be impartial. Personal knowledge of the defendant or claimant is introduced into the case.

Courtroom behavior falls into three major acts: (1) the declaration by the claimant, (2) the questioning of the defendant (literally the "taking of the heart"), and (3) the paying of the fine. The judge introduces the first act by asking the claimant to "come and speak" so that they can "listen [576] and hear." This ends formally with the claimant saying, "Good day, Elder Brother." The judge introduces the second act when he turns to the defendant, who stands before the civil officials, and says, "Speak and we shall listen, boy. What goes with you?" The defendant sums up his defense in the questioning period. The president introduces the final act, telling the defendant, "When you give a little fine you will be free."

[641] Both claimant and defendant pay court fees, an acknowledgment of the [273] feeling that both are guilty because they are involved in a dispute. Before [178] the term of the incumbent president began, this was paid in two liters of illegally distilled liquor, a kind of symbolic defiance of federal law. Now, since the president drinks only beer, it is paid in two family-sized bottles of beer. The etiquette of courtroom drinking is prescribed: the bottle, referred to as *smahtan*, or gift, is passed to the judge, who goes to the president and presents it to him with a few words of the pat?o?tan giving thanks for the gift. The fourth regidor then measures out the liquor, giving the first shot to the president, the next to the first judge and so on around the room. If a large fine is paid by the defendant, the president or- [264] ders the police to buy meat, and a "common meal" is prepared and eaten.

693 In this society, there are neither veniremen nor specialized advocates.
695 Civil officials other than the first judge act as jurors, announcing their sentiments in unison. The judge, rather than handing down a decision, sums up the consensus of the group. Kinsmen of the claimant and defendant act

as lawyers. The defendant is sometimes accompanied by supporters who 693
feel that he has a case. The failure of parents to accompany a defendant, 695
regardless of his age, is attributed to their shame over their child's misbe- [593]
havior and their own failure to train him properly. The judge does not limit himself to passing judgment but also counsels the defendant as to how he should behave.

The town hall is usually shut and locked at noon unless some business 621
requires more time. In the evening about six, the officials return to take [344]
their same posts. They sit with their arms drawn inside their woolen jack- [516]
ets for warmth. After a half an hour they drift home. People rely on the [626]
presence of officials rather than particular actions to maintain social control, and it is their appearance at regular hours that assures the villagers that the town is being well run.

Local autonomy depends primarily on retaining social control functions. 621
Civil officials try to settle disputes locally and avoid the entry of Ladino of- 692
ficials from the departmental capital, although the judges and president 631
will threaten the defendant with taking the case to the department if they cannot get compliance. The number of cases referred to the capital has been increasing since 1950 as Table 32 shows. In 1951 the federal government began to fine local officials who failed to report homicide cases and accidental death. The local officials complied, but departmental courts were unable to bring action in over half the cases. No action was taken in 72 cases, or 54 percent, in comparison with 62 cases, or 46 percent, in which action was taken. Domestic cases, except for one of adultery, are adequately handled in local courts and do not appear in the departmental records. The trend shows an increasing number of cases of crimes against [674]
persons in comparison to crimes against property, an index to the break- [182]
down in social control processes.

The Church

346
The church has been built and on two occasions rebuilt—when the [794]
tower was struck by lightning—with funds collected locally from house- [821]
hold heads. Damage to the church was attributed to the patron saint of [976]
the neighboring town of Oxchuk who, the people say, was fighting with their patroness, Santa Lucía. The townspeople feel that they own the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 301]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

62
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693

CHART 4 — CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS OFFICIALS

Officials in the Townhall	*Officials Who Link Townhall and Church*	*Officials in the Church*
Principales *(Krinnipaletik)* First Principal *(Sba Krinnipal)* Second Principal *(Sčebal Krinnipal)* President *(Presirente)* Secretary *(Secretarió)* Síndico *(Sinnikó)*		Fiscal *(Pilkal)*
Judges *(Alkaletik)* First Judge, Alannantik *(Sba Alkal or Primero Alkal)* Second Judge, Ahk'olnantik *(Sčebal Alkal)* Assistant Judge, La Grandeza *(Alkal Suplente Bobibal)* Assistant Judge, Madronal *(Alkal Suplente Magronal)*		Mayordomos *(Martomastik)* Cofrades or Brothers *(Kobrarietik)* Cofrade of Sacramento *(Kobraria Sakramentó)* Cofrade of Sta. Lucía *(Kobraria Halal Me?tik)* Cofrade of San Pedro Martyr *(Kobraria Tatik Martil)* Cofrade of San Francisco *(Kobraria Sanprannisko)* Elders *(Tatik)* Elder of Santiago *(Tatik Santiagó)* Elder of San Antonio *(Tatil Tatik Senantonió)* Elder of Virgin Rosario *(Tatil Me?tik Rosarió)* Elder of San José *(Tatil Tatik Sanhosé)* Assistants to Cofrades *(Ali?bal Kobrarietik)* Assistant to Sacramento *(Ali?bal Sakramentó)* Assistant to Virgin Santa Lucia *(Ali?bal Halal Me?tik)* Junior Mayordomos *(Nil'nal Martomastik)* Junior of San Pedro Martyr *(Nil'nal Tatik Martil)* Junior of San Francisco *(Nil'nal Sanprannisko)* Junior of Santiago *(Nil'nal Santiagó)* Junior of San Antonio *(Nil'nal Tatik Senantonió)* Junior of Santiago *(Nil'nal Tatik Santiagó)* Junior of Rosario *(Nil'nal Me?tik Rosarió)*
Regidores *(Rehiroletik)* First Regidor *(Primeró Rehirol)* Second Regidor *(Sčebal Rehirol)* Third Regidor *(Yolebal Rehirol)* Fourth Regidor *(Sčanebal Rehirol)*	Alfereces *(Alperezetik)* Elder Past *(Tat Pasaró)* Remains Past *(Šil Pasaró)* Second Past *(Sčebal Pasaró)* New Alférez *(Al' Alperés)*	
Policemen *(Mayalenik)* 2 First Police *(Primeró Mayoj)** 2 Second Police *(Sčebal Mayol)* 2 Third Police *(Yolebal Mayol)* 2 Fourth Police *(Sčanebal Mayol)* 2 Last Police *(Spoil Mayol)*		

*Also called Maromoroy.

[P. 212]

My eliciting procedures are described to make explicit the steps in constructing the informant's cognitive model. The first responses given by an informant are most often those which have the greatest significance within a structured system of priorities or of dominance. For example, informants in Tzoʔontahal invariably listed the officials in order of primacy. Another clue to the structuring of social relations is the omission of data in the first interview. This can mean either repression of information or lack of significance for the informant as an individual or for the society. These factors can be sorted out in subsequent interviews. 121 124

When asked, "What are all the kinds of offices in Tzoʔontahal," informants replied, "offices in the *ḳabiltu*, or townhall, and offices in the *č'ulna*, holy house or church. The question, "What are the kinds of officials in the townhall?" elicited the following three categories: *alḳaletiḳ*, alcaldes or judges; *rehiroletiḳ*, regidores; and *mayoletiḳ*, mayores or policemen. These categories are ranked relative to each other; for example, *alḳaletiḳ* is of greater prestige (*mas ṃamališ*, senior), *rehiroletiḳ* next, and *mayoletiḳ* least. Thus there are in the *alḳaletiḳ* category: *primero alḳal*, first judge; *sčebal alḳal*, second judge; *čeb suplente alḳal*, two assistant judges. In the *rehiroletiḳ* category there are: *primero rehirol*, first regidor; *sčebal rehirol*, second regidor; *yošebal rehirol*, third regidor; *čanebal rehirol*, fourth regidor. In the *mayoletiḳ* category there are: *primero mayol*, first policeman; *sčebal mayol*, second policeman; *yošebal mayol*, third policeman; *sčanebal mayol*, fourth policeman; and *spoil mayol*, last policeman. 124 621* 693 [794] 554 621* 693 554 624 554 625

Cutting across this ranked hierarchy of officials are two geographical divisions; these align officials according to the side of the dual division in which they reside and which they represent. There is one judge from the upper division, *ahḳ'olnantiḳ*, and one from the lower division, *alannantiḳ*. The first judge is chosen in alternate years from one or the other of the two divisions, and so on for each rank of judges and regidores. There are two sets of five police, one from each side of the dual division serving in alternating weeks. The two assistant judges are chosen from the barrios Magronal and Bočibal. They never attain the first two positions. In addition to this regular ladder 621* 693 [625] [554]

[P. 213-A]

In addition to this regular ladder of officials representing the center and its close-lying barrios are judges representing the *colonias*, or rural settlements, of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Crus Quemada. They do not regularly attend the townhall sessions, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of new officials. Only after I had elicited officials from two informants was I able to get from the third the three judges of the colonias with the question, "Are there any other officials in the cabildo?" 621* 693• 632

These civil officials constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. The positions of president and *sintiku* (in Spanish *síndico*), not included in the offices of the townhall as a category by informants, were elicited in response to the question stated above. These posts are occupied by younger men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy, until the present generation, was limited to those in the 30-year age bracket. Those with such skills passed immediately into the *comisario ejidal*, commission for land grants, where they assisted in the control and redistribution of land granted under the ejido program, or went directly into the post of *síndico*. Thus they were able to avoid the onerous and time-consuming functions of the traditional posts and enter into the remunerative post of president, where their authority was recognized at an early age. With improved literacy, the competition for such posts is increasing. Although informants say that the post of president alternates for the two sides of the dual division, case materials do not bear this out. 622 624 [124] [191] [212] [423] [178] [212] 622 621* 114

The only Ladino in the hierarchy is the secretary. For the first time this year (1964) the post of secretary has been taken by an Indian of the town. This is part of the power play described below. 563 624 178

Naming of civil officials is done in November, first in a closed session in the townhall at which each official names his successor, followed by a mass meeting *(Komun K'op)* at which the names are read to the assembled household heads in the plaza. To the question, "What are all the kinds of offices in the church?" the response was given: *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces (or captains, the Spanish term *alfereces* comes from the Arabic). There are 16 mayordomos. Role terms for the mayordomos indicated that each saint was repre- 666 621* 794 [776]

[P 213-B]

sented by an elder *tatil martoma* and a junior *niĉʼanil martoma*, and that the 15 mayordomos were further ranked in terms of the four major saints, the *mas mamališ* or more senior, whose mayordomos are referred to as *ḳobraria*, cofradías or brotherhoods, and the remaining as mayordomos. The four *ḳobrarias* were ranked in terms of the importance and expense of the saint whom they support. The order for Tzoʔontahal is Sacramento *(Saḳramentu)*, Virgin Santa

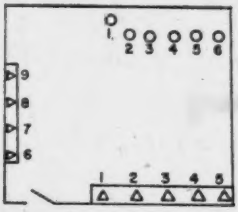

CHART 2 — EVENING, DECEMBER 31, HOUSE OF NEW JUDGE (ELICITED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Meʔil K'op)*
2 Wife of president *(Yinam Presirente)*
3-6 Wives of juniors *(Yinam Niĉʼanil)*

MEN (triangles):
1 Leading house official *(Statal Nakawane)*
2 New judge *(Aĉʼ Alkal)*
3-5 Assistants, sons of judge *(Balnialetik)*
6-9 Woodgatherers *(Akniʔetik)*

Lucia *(Halal Meʔtiḳ Santalusia)*, San Pedro Martyr *(Tatiḳ Martil)*, and San Francisco *(Tatiḳ Sanpransisku)*. There was complete agreement among the three informants questioned regarding this rank order, but for rank order of the 12 remaining mayordomos in charge of the 19 lesser saints there was no agreement between informants, and even the same informant was inconsistent in different eliciting sessions.

Outside the traditional hierarchy is the *piškal* (in Spanish *fiscal*), who is the direct assistant of the priest and serves in an advisory capacity in charge of the church activities of the brotherhoods and mayordomos in the absence of the priest. This role was not elicited, but in my questioning about fiestas he was mentioned as performing a certain role. The incumbent in the past three years was serving as president for the third time, showing the scarcity of men with the needed literary skills. The fiscal is usually relieved of other posts while serving in office. Another set of roles external to the hierarchy are the *meʔeletiḳ* (or *resadoras*, the Spanish term for female prayer-makers). These are usually widowed or single wo-

average annual earnings of a man in this town); failure to accept the post when it is offered brings a jail sentence. On the following day, during a drinking session in the townhall with the assembled civil officials, the reluctant nominee usually accepts. 794 [434] [681] [273]

The civil career of an individual would be one in which he passed (*sk'as*, which I gloss as 'pass'; it is the same verb as Spanish *pasar*) first as police, then as third or fourth regidor. If he has passed as alferez, he will enter as first or second regidor at this stage, and then go on to second judge and finally become first judge. If not, he will stop as third or fourth regidor. After reaching the peak of his career as first judge, he may return to the police group as *martomorey*. Present leaders of the town consider this an "ugly" custom and say they hope to change it because it puts men of major age in a position of minor importance. Formerly men had to fulfill six turns in civil office, twice as regidor and twice as judge, to be considered free of further obligation. But now, because of increasing population (according to informants), this has been lowered to five required turns. The post which has been eliminated is that of assistant judge, which is now filled by a sepresentative of one of the two barrios. 156 621* 554 693 [794] [829] 624 693 178 156

Throughout his career in office, a household head is expected to alternate between the civil and religious posts. Religious posts are considered less onerous since they require only six months of service, from the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo at the end of June until January 6, and the men are on duty only Sundays and holidays. A balanced number of six turns in each of the branches of the hierarchy was expected, prior to the reduction of the number of civil posts to five, to bring one to the end of one's career. In a census of 311 household heads made in 1964, passage in office shows a balance between posts undertaken in each wing of the hierarchy. Of 13 men over 70 years of age, five had completed service in civil and religious office. Three who had passed as president had served only once or twice in each wing of the hierarchy. The remaining five had a balanced but incomplete career. 621* 156 794 [125]

In the religious hierarchy, a man passes first as *nil'anil kuč haʔ*, 'minor who brings liquor.' Then he will pass as *ʔaliʔbal*, the assistant to the *kobraria*, particularly charged with the slaughter of the bull for the large fiestas. These "servants" were not distinguished from other mayordomos in the initial listing of officers, but were mentioned in the description of fiesta 794 554 156

[P. 215-A]

activities. Following this, he then serves as *tatil* of any 794
saint of minor rank, then as *tatil* of San Pedro Martyr 554
or San Francisco, followed by a turn as *tatil* of the 156
k̓obraria Virgin Santa Lucia, and finally as *tatil* of the
k̓obraria Sacramento.

The Tzeltal role terms in both the civil and religious hierarchies reveal the preconquest age-ranking system. This is evident in the use of elder and junior

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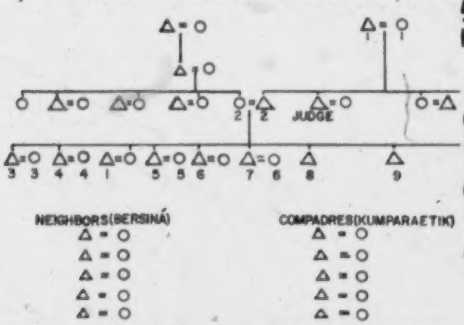

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621*
608
693

CHART 3 — ASSISTANTS AND PARTICIPANTS IN HOUSE FIESTA OF JUDGE (ELICITED)

Circles indicate women; triangles indicate men. For role term applying to number, see Chart 4.

titles for mayordomos *(tatil* and *niḉ' anil martoma)* 621*
and in the use of *mas mamališ* (more senior) for 554
higher rank offices. 794
561
178

The informant's understanding of the hierarchy is that of a core of officeholders in three ranked segments (Chart 1). This is coded in the group terms for 124
officials. Roles peripheral to the major categories such 621*
as those of rural judges, fiscal and women prayer- 794
makers, are elicited only with repeated questioning 554
or with reference to some event in which they function. These roles differ from those mentioned first in that they are either of little significance to the individual informant (this would explain the consistent omission of the rural judge by the people of the center) or are not part of the required posts incumbent upon every male household head to undertake (this might explain the omission of the president, síndico, principales and fiscales in the first eliciting session). Structural principles made explicit by the informants are (1) hierarchical rank, (2) progression from lower to higher posts, and (3) territorial balance in representation of the dual division. An implicit corollary of passage through offices beginning with lower ranks is the age grading of officeholders. Other structural aspects emerged in the description of behavior, described below.

[P. 215-B]

INFORMANTS' SEGMENTATION of behavior in the inauguration of civil and religious officials is based on responses to questions in Appendices 1 and 2. The description of the activities is organized in 128 [124]

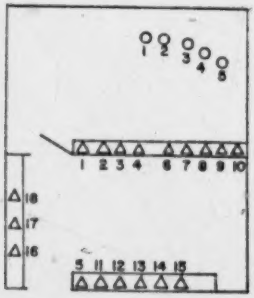

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CHART 4 — MORNING, NEW YEAR'S DAY, HOUSE OF FIRST JUDGE (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Me?il K'op)*
2 Second woman *(Sčebal sme?)*
3 Third woman *(Yolebal sme?)*
4, 5 Women *(Me?eletik)*

MEN (triangles):
1-4 Nakawane
5 First judge *(Mam primeró Alkal)*
6 Second judge *(Alkal Sčebal)*
7 Assistant judge of La Grandeza *(Hwes Suplente Bolibil)*
8 Assistant judge of Madronal *(Hwes Suplente Magronal)*
9 Assistant judge of San Caralampio *(Hwes Suplente Sankaralampio)*
10 Assistant judge of San Vicente *(Hwes Suplente San Bicente)*
11 First regidor *(Rehirol Primero)*
12 Second regidor *(Rihirol Sčebal)*
13 Síndico *(Sintiki)*
14 Third regidor *(Rehirol Yolebal)*
15 Fourth regidor *(Rehirol Sčunebal)*
16 *Balnial*
17 Liquor pourer *(P'is Ha?)*
18 *Balnial*

terms of settings and roles. For each segment of behavior an attempt will be made to analyze how the structural relations and values are spelled out in spatial location, mode of address, and activity. 128

The settings in which the change of civil officials is carried out are (1) the houses of the incoming officials, (2) the townhall, (3) the plaza, and (4) the church. In each arena, the validation and support of 621*

[P.216-A]

male helpers who are usually wives of the *balnialetik*, or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors who come to congratulate the new official. Particularly conspicuous because of their Ladino or non-Indian clothing in the house of the president (Chart 6) were the visitors from the outlying rancherías and colonias of Tzoʔontahal. 621* [592] [574]

Validation in the household setting takes place in two scenes. The first occurs on the eve of New Year. Each new official entertains in his house the men he has chosen as his *nakawanehetik* and as his *balnialetik*. Only those *balnialetik* who are immediately related come to this gathering. The *meʔil k'op*, 'woman speaker,' is present along with the wives of the *balnialetik* (Chart 2). The house is decorated with pine needles and juniper boughs in the afternoon. The visitors arrive with wood and pitchpine to light the house at about eight in the evening and stay until the liquor is finished. Drinking order is from elder to younger, which coincides with the prestige ranking. The *nakawanehetik* are served, then the *nit'anil*. 621* 574 592 [602] [353] [273] [554]

The second household gathering takes place on the morning of the New Year. Major settings for such gatherings are the house of the first judge and the house of the new president. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the three other regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house. They join the president at his house and then proceed to the townhall. The group of five police from *ahk'olnantik* meet separately in the house of the first police of that side, and those of *alannantik* meet in the house of their first police. 621* 574 693 [592]

The assembled officials proceed to the townhall, announcing with rockets to the policemen that they have left. Gathered in the townhall, referred to in the formal address or *patʔot'an* as the *sik na*, 'cold house,'[9] are the 'old officials' *(k'a hu'eletik)* along with the alfereces and the principales. They enter two by two, the president and síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges, and the judges of the barrios and colonias. They kneel and 'measure their noses' *(sp'is sniʔik,)* as they enter, showing respect to the holy banners which the alfereces have delivered from the church. 621* 693 [202] [794] [554] [788] [794]

[9] Bunzel (1952, p. 377) translates a formal speech in which the townhall of Chichicastenango is referred to as that "cold house, the icy house," but the Quiche word is not included. The pattern of double synonyms for nouns is present in these Quiche formal texts as in the Tzeltal. [197]

[P 217-A]

reces have delivered from the church. The presence of the alfereces with their banners proclaims the link between civil and religious office. 621* 794 182

The principales, now fairly inebriated after their long wait for the arrival of the new officials, pass out the staffs, assisted by the old president who helps direct them as they wander in a daze from the table to the new officials. The intoxicated state of the principales is never mentioned in elicited statements. The act of passing over the staffs is a significant index to their role in the hierarchy. As the only "permanent" 621* 624 [273]

621* 554 693

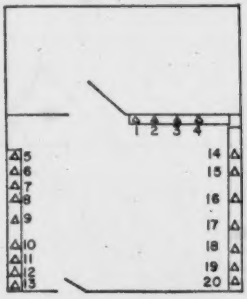

CHART 5 — MORNING, HOUSE OF PRESIDENT, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS (all men):

1 Nakawane
2 President
3, 4 Nakawane
5 First judge
6 Second judge
7 Síndico
8, 9 Assistant judges
10 First regidor
11 Second regidor
12 Third regidor
13 Fourth regidor
14-20 *Balnialetik*

incumbents—permanent so long as they are alive, healthy, and not impoverished—they are the link between the outgoing and incoming officials. When all the old officials have retired to their homes following the ceremony, and the new officials have gone on to the church, the principales wait in the townhall for the new officials to return for the afternoon drinking session in which they will join, as they had done in the morning with the old officials. 621* 624 [273]

Wearing their rosaries, the new officials follow the alfereces out of the townhall in a procession. Holding the holy banners, the alfereces line up before the townhall, dip their banners, and proceed to the 621* 794 788

[P. 217-B]

church where the same reverence is accorded to the church. The order of the procession following them indicates the rank order of the officials, from the *spoil mayol*, the last policeman, to the first and second judge (Chart 9). The precedence of the first two

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621*
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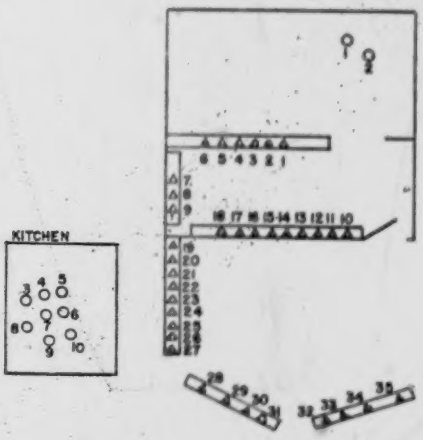

CHART 6—MORNING, NEW YEAR'S DAY, HOUSE OF NEW PRESIDENT (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):

1 Woman speaker *(Meʔil k'op)*, comadre president
2 Second woman, neighbor
3-10 *Wanehetik*

MEN (triangles):

1 First Nakawane
2 Second Nakawane
3 Third Nakawane, brother of president
4 President
5, 6 Visitors from Colonias
7-9 *Balnialetik*
10 First judge
11 Second judge
12 First regidor
13 Second regidor
14 Third regidor
15 Fourth regidor
16 Assistant judge of Madronal
17 Assistant judge of La Grandeza
18 Assistant judge of San Caralampio
19-35 Visitors

judges over the president and síndico reverses that which was taken as they enter the church. There may be some permissible variation here, since the elicited version of the former president indicates that they should enter last. Possibly the threat of assassination (p. 223) caused them to enter before the judges as a security measure. The procession makes two turns

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[P. 218-A]

621*
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"to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] who the new officials to remain in office are."

Awaiting the new officials in the church are all the mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see who they are" (App. 1, Q. 48, 49). The new officials "speak to God," asking for health so that they can complete their obligation to the town. They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father townhall." There they spend the remainder of the afternoon.

621* 794 [782] [788]

The mayordomos go to the kitchen attached to the townhall. The first policeman directs the purchase of liquor and the measuring out of drinks for the ten policemen from the two sides of the dual division and the two rural commissioners. In the townhall the new president's first orders are to the fourth regidor to ask him to buy two liters of "the gift," liquor. The pardon to the ancestors, and the offering of the gift to the principales, is in the hands of the first judge, who knows the *patʔot'an*, and can do the honors. The president is served following the principales in the round of drinking.

621* 273 [794] [625] [693] [782] [431] [537]

The change of religious officials takes place on the fiesta day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29, and on the day of the three Kings, January 6. This provides a six-month term of office. The new officials gather in the homes of the *kobraria* of Halal meʔtik and Sakramentu, and in the church. Thus two settings, home and church, come into play with the change of civil officials, but the townhall, significantly, is not part of this act nor are the alfereces called into action.

794 796

The ceremony lasts three days: first day is *pas kantelero*, 'to make candles,' when the candles are cleaned, and the old mayordomos eat a "common meal" *(komun weʔel)*; second day is *wilperes*, when the oath is taken; final day is *sk'ahk'ale*, when the new mayordomos play the drums or flute.

The first gathering, which took place the year I observed it in the house of the *kobraria* of Halal Meʔtik Santalusia, was cut short because the *kobraria* did not have a porch, and it had begun raining. By local standards, a house without a porch is considered inadequate, and is called 'cow house' *(wakaʔ naʔ)* since the owner cannot accommodate guests on such occasions. The group therefore lingered longer in the house of the *kobraria* of Sakramentu.

[362]

The speech of the *nakawane* to the "elder new mayordomos" *(mamal ʔaʔ martomaetik)* (App. 2, [537]

[P. 218-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontahal

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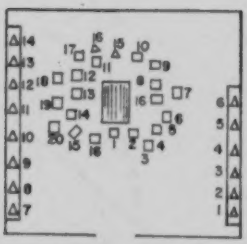

CHART 7 — TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING OATH OF OFFICE (ELICITED)

OLD OFFICIALS (triangles):
1 First principal
2 Second principal
3 Elder past alférez
4 Remaining past alférez
5 Third past alférez
6 Junior alférez
7 First judge
8 Second judge
9 Third judge
10 Fourth judge
11 First regidor
12 Second regidor
13 Third regidor
14 Fourth regidor
15 President
16 Síndico

NEW OFFICIALS (squares):
1 President
2 Síndico
3 First judge
4 Second judge
5 Third judge
6 Fourth judge
7 First regidor
8 Second regidor
9 Third regidor
10 Fourth regidor
11 First police (*Ahk'olnantik*)
12 Second police (*Ahk'olnantik*)
13 Third police (*Ahk'olnantik*)
14 Fourth police (*Ahk'olnantik*)
15 Last police (*Ahk'olnantik*)
16 First police (*Alannantik*)
17 Second police (*Alannantik*)
18 Third police (*Alannantik*)
19 Fourth police (*Alannantik*)
20 Fifth police (*Alannantik*)

NOTE: Canes of office are on table near center of room.

[P. 219-B]

as a team. Thus the junior *(niẽʔanil)* and senior *(tatil)* officials walk and sit in pairs. The senior officials order the junior. Just as in the case of the civil officials, some junior mayordomos may be younger than others who are in lower positions, because they have passed in the lower offices at an earlier age, but all senior mayordomos are older than their paired juniors. 794 561 156

Another important structural feature that became apparent in the behavioral schedules is the household base establishing the officeholders' position in both hierarchies. The new official learns his role obligations from the *nakawanehetik*, the group of elders 621* 156 794 592 [867]

621* 554 693 293

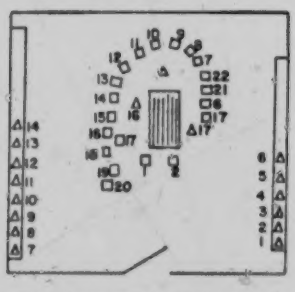

CHART 8 — INSIDE THE TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING THE OATH (OBSERVED)

Old officials are indicated by triangles, new officials by squares. Numbers refer to list on Chart 7. Three officials—the old secretary (17) and two new rural judges (21 and 22)—were not listed in the elicited session, Chart 7. Canes of office are on the table near the center of the room. Numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7.

who assemble in his house and who will assist him in his period in office. The ceremony in the house establishes this as a significant domain in public affairs. Relatives, neighbors, and compadres make up the interlocking network of supporters in the setting of the household. Both husband's and wife's relatives are symmetrically represented (Chart 3; see also J. Nash, 1964b, report on alferez assistants). Because of the expenses and the commitment of time during the period of office, the officials must have this backing to fulfill their obligations. A man with many compadres and godchildren has a firmer base to support his career in office. In the case of the new president, this was mentioned as an important asset by the president's brother. The guest list (Charts 3, 4) reveals the multiple references which establish the individual's role during any event. 621* 156 794 592 [867] 621* 794 592 602 156 [608]

[P. 220-A]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

Appendix 1 — CHANGE OF OFFICIALS IN THE TOWNHALL

	Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
*621 124 796	1. When do they change the officials?	On January 1, *?ak' ha?bil* (New Year)	First of January	I observed the preparations for the New Year change of office fiesta in the houses of the president and of the new first policeman on December 31, 1964, and January 1, 1965
	2. What do they do first on the fiesta of changing of officials?	They arrange the house of each official	The wife of the first judge puts the bean tortillas on the fire	
[252]	3. When do they do this?	In the afternoon of December 31	In the morning of the last day of December	The women spend most of the morning and afternoon making the bean tortillas
[353]	4. How do they arrange the house?	They get juniper boughs and needles and put them in the house		Around 8 P.M. the visitors arrive. The house is decorated with pine needles on the floor and in the yard, and there are branches of juniper nailed to the posts of the house entry, just as it is done at the entry to the townhall. I was not present at the gathering
[602]	5. Who helps her?		All her relatives (*kermanotak*) with neighbors (see Chart 1)	
	6. What do they do in the afternoon?		The women eat	
*621 124 796	7. What time do the guests gather in the house of the new officials?	On December 31 at 7 P.M.		
574	8. What do they bring?	They arrive with wood and pitchpine	They bring wood or pitchpine	
[272] [242]	9. What do the visitors do?	They drink coffee with bread and bean tortillas	They say greetings. They drink coffee and eat bean tortillas	
[273]	10. What do they do when they finish the coffee?	They drink liquor	They take out liquor, and the judge recites the benediction	
*621 124 796 [693]	11. Who is present in the house of the new official?		*stasal nakawane*, his leading house official, Baltol Kantiron. The new judge, Santos Kantiron, *balnial*, assistants to pass gruel, sons of the new officials *?ak' si?etik*: wood bringers (see Chart 2)	
[624]	12. What do they do first on New Year's day?	The fourth regidor calls everyone together	The fourth regidor raises all the new officials	

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
*62 124	13. What time does he begin to raise the officials?		He gets up early about 6 A.M.	
796 624	14. How does the fourth regidor raise the other officials?	First he goes to get the third regidor. Then they go to the second. The three go to collect the first. After all are together, the four go to the house of the first judge	The fourth regidor goes to the house of the third regidor. They leave and go to the house of the second regidor, then to the house of the first regidor. Then they go to the síndico's house. Leave and go to the house of the judge	
*62 124 796 693	15. How do the judges join together?	First the two assistant judges call on the second judge. Then the three go to the house of the first judge	The assistant judge for Ahk'olnantik goes to raise assistant for Alanhantik. The two go to the house of the second judge. Then they go to the house of the first judge	I arrived at 9:30 at the house of the first alcalde. Present were the following (see Chart 3)
[272]	16. What do the judges do in the house of the first judge?	They drink liquor. They await the arrival of the four regidores	They drink liquor	Before serving liquor the first judge gave the benediction for the liquor (*pat?o'on yel mukiunil*) with the first *nakawane*. His godchild *ahijado chalal nupune*, of marriage, and his brother-in-law Lucion Kut poured liquor. He served cigarettes. Two liters of liquor were drunk here before going to house of president
[292] [576]	17. What do they do then?	They go to the house of the president (see Chart 4)	Go to the house of the president	Assembled company prepared to leave at 10:10. The first judge puts on his plain red kerchief. The assistant judges put on flowered red kerchiefs. First judge said goodbye to the *nakawane*. This formal adieu, the *spat lok'yo?t'an*. Regidores stood up and came out. Then the assistant judge arrived at the house of President 10:30. (Chart 6)
*62 124 796 693 576	18. What do they do when they enter the house of the president?	The first judge gives the *spat yo?t'an* with the first nakawane	The first regidor gives the *pat?o'on*	First judge speaks with *me?il k'op* who stood at door of inner room. The *nakawanchetik* bowed and kissed hands with the first and second alcaldes
[538] [539]	19. How do they give the *spat yo?t'anik* at his house the president?	They sing what they will do for the year	Holy evening, mamtat, your health. God how does He see you, mamtat. You are alive speak God holy evening. Behind your heart no illness I hear this holy evening.	(See Chart 6 for seating at house of president)

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CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

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(Judge) I live. There is no illness. Lord mamat give pardon with God with the Virgin Mother (*Tios sok Halal me'tik*). Enter holy pardon lord, give pardon Virgin Mother

Here we are gathered before you where is seated "our soil our mud" (our bodies). What are we going to do to make arrive to fall to happen holy New Year our patron of heaven (*kak-wolik*) God. Here in a little dawns the holy hour. Let us go look before our heart where we are going to receive the holy oath inside of the holy cold house the cold hall where we go to receive our suffering our work holy staff, holy wand. It is going to change, holy day, holy year. Thus we do as did in the past our mother our father.

20. What do they do after the greeting?

They drink coffee

They drink coffee

#621
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At 10:45 served bread set on bowl of coffee and bean tortilla in a cloth wrapping. First served *nakawanchetik* then president, then first and second judge, then first and second regidor, then assistant judge, then visitors. At 10:55 *nakawane* got up and stood before first judge and spoke the *spalan mat* (account of the gruel). Then the first judge spoke the *spalan mat* to second judge. The first two regidores of the past year came in to ask if the new officials were now ready "to raise the change"

(*K'a s'albal yal helol*). They said *pat'ot'ew* before the *nakawane*. Then bowed and kissed hand (*kut' ihale*) with all men in left interior. Went to door and spoke with *me'il k'op, kut' ihale* with her.'

At 11:15 *balmiletik* took out the table, laid embroidered cloth on it, put 3 liters of trago and 2 quarts of beer. The first *nakawane* did the *spalanhe'mahton me'il tsul* with the first judge standing before him. Then the first

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[273]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo°ontahal

APPENDIX 1—*continued*

QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
#621 124 796 693 576 [788]			judge got up and stood before the second judge and did the *spalambe xolsak tuxipal k'in mahtanil* (account to company for the little gift. He then went to the first *nakawane* with the *xak'inal* (good day greeting). Then all the assembled company stood up and turn to wall and gave the benediction to the gift of the ancestors
21. Why do they stand and turn to the wall?	Not asked—preceded observation	Not asked	So that the devil does not enter
#621 124 796 [273] [693]	22. What do they do after they drink coffee?	They drink liquor seated, resting their heart, in the entry of the house of the president	Drink liquor to await the hour they go to the cabildo
[202] [625]			Two beers and 2 liters liquor were laid to rest. At 11:55 women came in to get liters of liquor. Put it under a kerchief and took it out to women in kitchen. Judges and regidores put on red kerchiefs. At 12 noon two judges got up and said goodbye, first to the *balnial* then the first judge went to the *nakawane* while the second judge and two regidores followed behind him. Then together the four said goodbye to the *nakawane* and to the *me°il k'op*. Firecrackers were set off to advise police that the group was setting out on their way to the town hall. Police were to meet them at the townhall and had to be advised so that they would arrive at the same time. Two past regidores came to the *me°il k'op* and said goodbye. The group set out together
[23. Omitted.]			
#621 124 788 796 [693]	24. How do they enter the townhall?	They enter two by two. They kneel and cross themselves at the door of the cabildo	They enter two by two, kneel at the door. They rise, enter, arrive, kneel before the *santi* table
25. Why do they cross themselves?	Because they show respect to the holy cross		

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CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

#62 124 796	44. Where do the old officials go?	To the house of the old president or to the house of the former first judge		
	45. What do they do there?	They go to say goodbye		
	46. What do their hearts say?	Their hearts are very sad		
	47. Why do they kiss all the people present?		Because they want a miracle in order that there be no illness to pass in office	
#62 124 794 796	48. Who is in the church?	The mayordomos are in the church		The mayordomos sit at the bench in back of the church
	49. What are the mayordomos doing?	They are seated at the door of the church. They watch the new officials enter the church		
	50. Why are they seated in the church?	In order to know who will be the new officials to see *(ya i'il)* in the townhall		
#62 124 796	51. Where do the new officials go when they come out of the church?	The new police enter inside the kitchen (Chart 12). The president enters inside the townhall	Leave church and pass to the townhall	The police go to the kitchen attached to the townhall and the rest of the officials go into the townhall
[539] [693]	52. What does the president say to the two principales inside the cabildo?	"Where are you, *Mamal principal?*"	First judge gives *patbeyo'r'an* with the two principales. "Good day, tat. How does God see you, tat. Now you have taken your heart, has spoken your heart. Now you have been before the face of the motherfather. Where you take the holy oath inside the holy cold house, holy cold abode. You saw the procession in the plaza before the temple and inside the holy mother church for the commander lord. There is no fear, no embarrassment. That is all. Go rest your heart	[I was not present for these sessions]
	53. What does the principal reply?	"Enter, Mr. new president *(mamal 'al' prenrente)* and enter, Mr. New judges *(mamal 'al' alkaletik)*"		
#62 124 273 796 693	54. What do they do then?	They sit a little each in his own chair	They sit down. They begin to drink liquor	
	55. What do they do after they have rested their heart a little?	The first judge and the president order the fourth regidor to go get a liter of trago		
	56. For whom do they get the liter of the gift?	For the new officials		
	57. What do they do with the gift when the regidor arrives?	They put it in the middle *(ta yolil komun)*		

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
*621 124 796 539	58. What do the principales say to the first judge in the cabildo on the New Year?	They give the *spatbeyo?t'an*		
693 273	59. What does the judge say when he gives the gift to the principales?	"Give pardon, mamal *krinipal*. Let a little enter to give warmth to your body"		
	60. What do the principales say?	"Thank you, *tuvo mamal alkal, mamal prenrente, mamal sintiku*"		
	61. What does the judge say?	"Pardon and let a little drink warm your body"		
	62. What does the judge say to the regidor?	"Lend me your hand, *mamal rehirol stanebal* (second regidor). Look, pour the gift of the ancestors (*me?tiktanik*) for the *mamal krinnipaletik*"		
	63. What does the fourth regidor say as he pours the gift for the principal?	"With your permission, *mamal krinnipal, mamal ?alkaletik*, I look and give the gift"		
*621 124 796	64. Who drinks first on New Year in the townhall?	The two principales		
	65. Second?	President		
693	66. Third?	Síndico		
273	67. Fourth?	First judge		
	68. Fifth?	Second judge		
	69. Sixth?	Third judge		
	70. Seventh?	Fourth judge		
	71. Eighth?	First regidor		
	72. Ninth?	Second regidor		
	73. Tenth?	Third regidor		
	74. Eleventh?	Fourth regidor		
	75. What do they do after the first round of drinks?	They continue drinking until they get a little drunk		
	76. What happens at noon?	They close the doors of the townhall		
	77. What do the police do in the kitchen?	They enter and sit on a bench		
	78. Where do they sit?	(Chart 11)		
	79. What is the first order that he gives the first new police?	He sends the fourth police to bring a little liquor		
	80. What do they do when the fourth returns?	He orders a police of the colonia to "measure" the liquor		

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[p. 463-B] Teklum

682 674 75 these suspicions and kill the witch. If he should kill the witch while the patient is still alive, it is believed that the patient will die.

682 685 674 [463] [697] Killing men for cattle theft (six cases) is a relatively recent occurrence. It has put homicide on the market: the associations of cattle-owners have hired killers in three of the six cases. In addition to the killer's fee, they pay the fine to release him from prison. Fines for homicide have increased in the past five years—from 1,000 to 3,000 pesos—but not sufficiently to price the murder of cattle thieves out of the market. A good bull is worth [435] 1,500 pesos, and the threat of further loss by theft seems to justify the expenditure of fees 685 787 776 and fines. When the cattle-owners lose some of their herd, they go to spiritualists or to San Miguel, the talking saint of Ixtapa, to find out who did the stealing. Since such evidence does not hold up in court, legal settlement is not 685 694 attempted. Legal action, moreover, would create an enemy who might seek revenge. A Ladino secretary of the town center who had lost a bull accused a man of stealing his cattle and demanded 500 pesos in compensation. By receiving the money he jeopardized his safety, and eventually he had to leave town.

The Resolution of the Case

682 69 It is nearly impossible to find witnesses to homicide. Of these 37 cases, 28 resulted in no action being taken by the authorities, and in five cases where the killers went to jail, they were released with the payment of minimal fines. In the calculations of the townspeople, it is hardly worth risking one's neck to get such a minimal revenge.

682 593 626 [683] However, this does not mean that homicide goes unnoticed in the community. After a killing the widow sings of the life of the dead man. If she is in agreement with the verdict arrived at by the killer and others, she will deny knowledge of what he has done, or even suggest that she too was aware of what harm he has caused (one widow implied that her husband, killed as a witch, was responsible for the death of four of her six children). If she objects to the verdict, she sings of what a good man he was and how blameless. She will then air her own suspicions in the following weeks as to who killed her husband.

682 683 627 Following the funeral, when the women have left the cemetary, the men sit at the grave. As they measure out a liter of liquor and pass it around, they advance hypotheses as

233 177 178 62 476 312 [685] and adaptive responses. With the expansion of cattle raising, Indians have organized associations adjusted to the traditional dual division. The association for each side of the dual division mobilizes labor for maintaining the watering holes. The failure to organize communal corrals means that inefficient herding techniques, damage to the milpa, and frequent loss or theft of cattle persist. The association reacts to the last problem by hiring killers to get rid of those suspected of theft, but this adaptive response is limited to dealing with particular incidents and has not solved the problem.

548 273 177 178 [435] 894 [681] [621] [561] The manufacturers of contraband liquor have succeeded in organizing a syndicate strong enough to maintain a monopoly price for both the internal and external markets and to provide security for themselves against federal agents. The syndicate mobilizes for specific actions, such as raising the bail bond for imprisoned members or punishing informers. As a community-wide organization ignoring the dual division and age-ranked seniority, it represents an adaptation in response to extra-community pressures.

474 177 178 The cooperatives that have been organized to manage the local store and the trucks provide permanent managerial operations that are an adaptition to growing interaction in extra-community economic activities. Cooperative owners are able to raise the capital to maintain and expand these operations. It is within these structures that entrepreneurial skills are being developed. The organizers gain the advantage not only of socializing the risk of loss but also of making a profit in a community where belief in witchcraft, fostered by envy, is rampant.

474 472 177 178 Activities in the new economic enterprises are not supported by any supernatural belief. In order to gain acceptance for the new enterprises, the entrepreneur Santos, who had organized the trucking cooperative, recognized the need for an ideology. His rhetoric drew upon the sense of deprivation Indians feel in their relations with Ladinos. He justified his own ends as an attempt to gain for all the community the profits that only Ladinos had been able to gain through trucking and crops resales in the regional markets. The ideology he had begun to formulate stressed economic and political independence from both the Ladino entrepreneurs of neighboring towns and government agents who tried to promote welfare

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[p.457-B] Teklum

682 epidemic (two cases), when people have drunk
[755] a great deal and their motive is fresh in their
[273] mind.

The settings in which homicides occur indi-
682 cate that a killer is expressing not his own
152 bravery but rather his fears. Wounds are fre-
154 quently inflicted from the rear, and often the
[273] victim is outnumbered and set upon by a group. The victim is sometimes invited to drink with his killer(s), and in this session he is disarmed psychologically and physically. Alcohol reduces the chance of his effective reaction, and this is important when a knife or machete is used. Shotgun killings are done at a distance and do not require this tactic, al-
682 though it may still be employed. For drinking
273 serves to reduce the killer's own fears. Drink
152 "heats the blood" and makes unusual behavior possible. One killer, in recounting his act, was not trying to prove bravery, but rather his own good judgment and cool-headedness. The killer fired at the victim while he was sleeping, his back turned to the door, and killed him. The shot also entered the arm of the
• [695] sleeping man's wife. She saw the killer as he
[683] left the scene, but testified in court that she had seen no one. She was, in effect, accepting his verdict that her husband was a witch.[4] This homicide was not regarded by the killer or by anyone else as a heroic act, nor was the killer in recounting it attempting to emphasize anything other than the necessity of the act.

682 *Instrumentality: Weapons and Wounds*
411

gun	14
machete	6
gun and machete	4
knife	3
knife and gun	1
knife and machete	1
knife and stone	1
hatchet	1
nail	1
sandals	1
??	4

The variety of weapons reduces the question of any technological determinism to a minimum. The actual weapon used seems to be a matter of convenience. When more than one is used, it is usually evidence that the assailant had helpers. The nail is unusual. It was hammered into the jaws of a man who had entered the curing profession at an age considered too
682 young. The attack on the jaws of the victim
774 seems related to the power of speech and to the
756 [text continues on p. 461-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

291 shorts are also usually embroidered in red and yellow. The chief had such a pair, very fine and gaudy, which we asked to see. He took [123] them off to show us, but when we tried to buy them from him he [293] became furiously angry and abusive. Sandals, when worn, are of the ordinary type. Most of the Indians carry a staff of some kind.

The women wear the typical blue skirt, but the blouse, cut like [531] a poncho, is usually tucked inside and heavily embroidered about the neck and shoulders. This work takes a long time, and the finished blouses are valued very highly. When worn outside they nearly cover the skirts, which are just knee length. Red sashes with a yellow stripe from Tapachula, of the kind worn also around Ocosingo, bind the skirts at the waist. Hair is done in two braids with dark red ribbon, or tied up in a knot over the forehead as at Cancuc.

[342] [231] [854] ←

302 →

301 →

621 563 →

[293] →

FIG. 330—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians in the street.

Men and women alike wear cheap, gay-coloured necklaces, usually rosaries.

The Indians move with great freedom through the town and lounge in company with the Ladinos on the broad porch of the Town Hall. The officials are distinguished by silver-headed canes with black tassels. In lieu of a Maestro, they are directly under the Ladino *Presidente Municipal,* and their disputes are tried by the local judge. Their lawsuits have a mediaeval air, carried on publicly with great clamor on the Town Hall porch, and all concerned speaking with the utmost freedom. A breach of promise case was observed in the course of trial. It went on for at least two hours with never less than two Indians, usually women, speaking at once. One could not but admire the patience of the rather bored and indifferent judge.

695 344

114 The cargadores from Cancuc arrived shortly after dark, still lively despite the long day and steep climb. More remarkable still,

273* leads the prayers in the church (the rezadora) had two anonymous
626
578 notes left at her door, asserting that her character was incompatible with such a role. The effect of this accusation was sufficiently strong to cause her to withdraw from her position. She and her family tried to discover who the note writers were. Under these circumstances it was not long before a few candidates for this position were being considered.

273* Rules of evidence for finding the performers of anonymous
695
626 acts are quite relaxed, though sufficient to the task from the
578 community's point of view. The successful anonymous act is not seen by anyone, hence the reconstruction of the act is made on the basis of motives, and on the succeeding acts which the allegedly guilty person may display. Furthermore, there may be special characteristics of the act which restrict the number of those who may be guilty. If, for example, a man is known to have been killed with a pistol, the assassin is conceded to be limited to one of those who is known to have a pistol. In the present case, a note was written in Spanish, and the author was hence limited to that handful of individuals in the community who can write Spanish. Mariano is perhaps one of the best Spanish writers in the community.

He further damned himself by saying while drunk that he wrote and delivered the note. In this text, he is talking with the rezadora who was forced out of her job, with the full knowledge

273* that she has heard that he made these remarks while drunk and
• 695
626 knows that he writes Spanish well. He constructs a conversation
578 for her between himself and one Augustin (who also writes Spanish) in which Augustin asks him if he did in fact write the threatening note, as he had claimed in Augustin's presence to have done. (Mariano never admits himself that he made these remarks while drinking.)

273* HTAH BA SOK Z'IN HAL *AWSTIN I.
578
539 Later I met Augustin.
626

*ILI ME HIC ME YUN HAT Z'IN LA *APAS HUN I, XYUTON.

"Is it true that you wrote the note?" he asked me.

TU*UN XKUT.

"Why?" I asked him.

HA*BI *AY LA *AWAL TA *AYAKBEL XCI, LA AWAL TA *AYAKBEL *ILI, HO*N LA HPAS HUN I, HO*N LA KAK' HIL TO *AK'EL HIL TA STI* SNA XCIAT.

"Once when you were drunk you said so," he said, "You said, 'I wrote the note, I sent it to her house,' that's what you said," he said.

TU*N BA* LA HTA HBAHTIK XKUT.

"Where did we meet?" I asked him.

*AY LA HTA HBAHTIK TA YAKBEL, HO*N LA HPAS XCAT.

"Once we were drinking together, 'I did it,' you said."

*AYIL C'A*BAN MA HNA* MAC'A LA SPAS *EHK ABI, MA HA*KAT LA *APAS XKUTAT STUK HO*N E.

"'Stop it, be quiet, I don't know who did that. You didn't do it,' I said."

273* ing strategies outside the court (murder or threat of murder)
578
[692] when the jeopardy involves a death.

Patterns of drinking in the expression of and the resolution of conflict

Two sets of circumstances in which drinking occurs in the course of the settlement of conflict can be distinguished. First, there are those circumstances in which conflict is to be bound; that is, reduced as the basis for further inference and action. The second set of circumstances is that in which the conflict is to be escalated; that is, in which individuals are going to engage in aggressive acts in order to reduce their per-
273* ceived state of jeopardy. We will exemplify the first set of
578 circumstances by discussing the role of aguardiente in the settlement of cases in court. We will exemplify the second set of circumstances by discussing the role of alcohol in the performances which lead to anonymous assassination in that circumstance where consensus is that the man to be murdered is a witch.

*The settlement of conflict in court
273
• 695 The process of settling conflicts under the direction of the ayuntamiento is mutually exclusive with required or mandatory drinking performances. However, once the conflict has been settled, the interaction between the members of the ayuntamiento and some, if not all, of the parties of the dis-

273* 695 pute cannot be terminated until drinking has taken place. Search procedures used by the court such as testimony, the cross-examination of witnesses, the handling of material evidence, debating points of law, none of these are thought to operate at all well unless the parties to the dispute, and the court, are sober.

It is nonetheless the case that the court often entertains a set of disputants while one or more of the relevant parties is substantially intoxicated. For informal drinking is so usual that at least some of the members of the set of those who will participate in the conflict settlement are drunk. Furthermore, it appears to be the case that sometimes an individual who does not wish to be bound by the court's decision and the public certification of the conflict will use drunkenness as a strategy to delay the proceedings. Under such circumstances, the court will initiate the proceedings, but will drag them out over a period of several days so that individuals who were drunk initially will have the opportunity to sober up. In turn, individuals who are drinking for other purposes, for example, to delay the trial, will be separated out and their behavior sanctioned. Sometimes they will be sent off, and the decision made without the benefit of their presence.

To sum this up, we may say then, that the parties to the conflict and the court must remain sober. Court outcomes are

273* 695 dependent on a most careful and detailed examination of the conditions under which the conflict was originally generated as they are concerned in reaching a decision which fairly expresses the variable jeopardy that each party could reasonably be held accountable for vis-à-vis the other party. In the circumstances that any of the three parties to the conflict are drunk, the case will be postponed, or if it is not postponed it will be considered void, to be retried or else appealed to another court.

273* 695 684 593 There are a few kinds of circumstances in which drinking during the course of conflict settlement is seen to be appropriate though optional to the parties concerned. The type of case is best exemplified by circumstances where a daughter, say, is known by her family to have been promiscuous previous to the trial, and where they are being called by the daughter's husband or suitor to account for their daughter's behavior. In such circumstances the parents of the girl will appear at court. During the trial, each of them will publicly whip the girl. In such a case, where a male parent is certain of his daughter's misbehavior, he may drink aguardiente so as to reduce his feelings of shame at having the affairs of his daughter made public, and, as a result having to whip her. The mother does not drink [562] in these circumstances, the proscription on women drinking being so strong as to prevent her from indulging in this shame-reducing behavior.

273* 695 Drinking is characteristic in court settlement once the outcome has been decided. One or both parties to the dispute will present one to five liters of aguardiente to the ayuntamiento who with the parties will drink it up, the aguardiente being equally distributed among all persons present, the relative order of drinking being that described in Chapter II.

273* 695 571 While interpretations of the "meaning of drinking" in the terminal period of the settlement of a dispute are by and large speculative, we may observe that such drinking appears to signal that the role relationships specific to the dispute are now dissolved. That is, the court no longer judges, and the disputants are no longer in jeopardy with reference to each other. Rather it is the case that the relationships between those involved have been returned to their pre-conflict state. The enduring relationships between the individuals previous to the conflict again hold. It should also be observed that the gift to the ayuntamiento of aguardiente is a form of payment for having mediated the dispute.

273* 695 Drinking performances in conflict settlement can be easily identified as either ceremonial or informal. The ceremonial drinking expression following conflict settlement begins with the presentation of the aguardiente to the ayuntamiento by one of the parties to the dispute. The ceremonial drinking segment terminates when this aguardiente has been drunk up by those present. Addi-

273* 695 tional informal drinking segments may follow, but they will not necessarily take place on the cabildo porch, and the group may break up, so that drinking is simultaneously going on in two or three settings. All informal drinking rules hold from then on. The normal drinking performance following dispute settlement includes ceremonial drinking plus informal drinking segments which lead to drunkenness. The probability of this is expressed in text where an elder warns the wives of town officers that their husbands will sometimes return home drunk (see Chapter V for citation of text).

The escalation of conflict

273* 578 731 In the case where conflict is to be "settled" by increasing the jeopardy of the other party, aguardiente is supplied by the individuals who are interested in escalating the conflict. The aguardiente is supplied during the time when the conflict is 273* 578 731 "settled" rather than afterwards. Such a case is described in 529 text as follows:

K'ALAL LIHK K'OP E YUN SKA CAMEL SARANPIA YUN BAYAL XCAM *ALALETIK.

The fighting began because many children were dying of measles.

HA* SLIHKIL K'OP *ABI HTIHK' WINIKETIK LA SNOP SK'OPIK, YUN LA *OCEM CAMEL TA TENKLUM.

The action began in the beginning because a group of men got together to talk about who had put the illness in town.

342 party to go to the spring, at least one relative remains in the house to
796 greet the soul if it should precede the curing party.
[584]
[755] Behavior in household rituals is described in Chapters 1, 5, and 8.
[128]

The Cabildo

344 The cabildo, called by the people of the town the "cold house,"[1] was
[196] built following the revolution of 1915, when Piñeda's revolutionary soldiers
[175] destroyed the original colonial structure. The tiles of the roof were confiscated from a finca which the Indians invaded in 1941 in an unsuccessful attempt to gain additional lands. When they were unable to maintain their hold on the land, they burned the owner's house and took the tiles to the town center where they remain as a symbol of their defiant action. They refer to this event with pride. The cabildo houses the jail, equipped with a barred wooden door, in one of its wings, and the Ejido Commission office in the other.

344 Within the cabildo, each official has his established place. The cabildo is
352 furnished with a table at which the president and síndico sit on wooden
621 chairs made in the Indian town of Chamula. Four benches lining the
554 walls on either side of the entry provide seating for the civil officials. On
576 the right side (looking out at the plaza) sit the judges in order of rank;
[693] the regidores, in similar sequence follow them. The principales, and formerly the alfereces, sit on the left side when they appear for ceremonial occasions. This spatial allocation establishes drinking and greeting order as well. Visitors can go directly from one to another in the formal greeting of a handclasp and murmured "good morning, father," or "good afternoon, father," without violating age-respect patterns.

344 During court cases, the claimant and his supporters sit on the bench to
352 the left of the door; on other occasions the bench is occupied by visitors or
695 petitioners. The police sit on one of the two benches lining the outside
[625] wall, or retire to the kitchen, a wooden slat lean-to on the left wing of the

[171] 1. Bunzel (1952) notes that in prayers, the cabildo in Chichicastenango is referred to as "the cold house, the icy house." Although the Quiché term is not given in her manuscript, one can see a similarity in the rhyming couplets and metaphorical allusions in the prayers of the towns.

building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office.

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist.

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first.

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient portable typewriter. Since typing is a new skill for him, he makes many errors, and his retrials are accepted with patience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

695 minimum of explicit rules. Very little is ruled out of order, and almost nothing introduced is considered irrelevant. The dialogue is primarily between the judge and claimant and secondarily between judge and defendant. The rural judges join with the regidores, who act as court clerks when a case is heard, in a kind of Greek chorus when consensus is reached regarding statements made by defendant or claimant. The judges indicate clearly their approval or disapproval of the statements being made, and throughout the case, consensual verdicts are made in an apparently spontaneous manner. No one pretends to be impartial. Personal knowledge of the defendant or claimant is introduced into the case.

[693]

Courtroom behavior falls into three major acts: (1) the declaration by the claimant, (2) the questioning of the defendant (literally the "taking of the heart"), and (3) the paying of the fine. The judge introduces the first act by asking the claimant to "come and speak" so that they can "listen and hear." This ends formally with the claimant saying, "Good day, Elder Brother." The judge introduces the second act when he turns to the defendant, who stands before the civil officials, and says, "Speak and we shall listen, boy. What goes with you?" The defendant sums up his defense in the questioning period. The president introduces the final act, telling the defendant, "When you give a little fine you will be free."

[576]

Both claimant and defendant pay court fees, an acknowledgment of the feeling that both are guilty because they are involved in a dispute. Before the term of the incumbent president began, this was paid in two liters of illegally distilled liquor, a kind of symbolic defiance of federal law. Now, since the president drinks only beer, it is paid in two family-sized bottles of beer. The etiquette of courtroom drinking is prescribed: the bottle, referred to as *smahtan*, or gift, is passed to the judge, who goes to the president and presents it to him with a few words of the pat?o?tan giving thanks for the gift. The fourth regidor then measures out the liquor, giving the first shot to the president, the next to the first judge and so on around the room. If a large fine is paid by the defendant, the president orders the police to buy meat, and a "common meal" is prepared and eaten.

[641] [273] [178] [264]

693 695 In this society, there are neither veniremen nor specialized advocates. Civil officials other than the first judge act as jurors, announcing their sentiments in unison. The judge, rather than handing down a decision, sums up the consensus of the group. Kinsmen of the claimant and defendant act

as lawyers. The defendant is sometimes accompanied by supporters who feel that he has a case. The failure of parents to accompany a defendant, regardless of his age, is attributed to their shame over their child's misbehavior and their own failure to train him properly. The judge does not limit himself to passing judgment but also counsels the defendant as to how he should behave.

The town hall is usually shut and locked at noon unless some business requires more time. In the evening about six, the officials return to take their same posts. They sit with their arms drawn inside their woolen jackets for warmth. After a half an hour they drift home. People rely on the presence of officials rather than particular actions to maintain social control, and it is their appearance at regular hours that assures the villagers that the town is being well run.

Local autonomy depends primarily on retaining social control functions. Civil officials try to settle disputes locally and avoid the entry of Ladino officials from the departmental capital, although the judges and president will threaten the defendant with taking the case to the department if they cannot get compliance. The number of cases referred to the capital has been increasing since 1950 as Table 32 shows. In 1951 the federal government began to fine local officials who failed to report homicide cases and accidental death. The local officials complied, but departmental courts were unable to bring action in over half the cases. No action was taken in 72 cases, or 54 percent, in comparison with 62 cases, or 46 percent, in which action was taken. Domestic cases, except for one of adultery, are adequately handled in local courts and do not appear in the departmental records. The trend shows an increasing number of cases of crimes against persons in comparison to crimes against property, an index to the breakdown in social control processes.

The Church

The church has been built and on two occasions rebuilt—when the tower was struck by lightning—with funds collected locally from household heads. Damage to the church was attributed to the patron saint of the neighboring town of Oxchuk who, the people say, was fighting with their patroness, Santa Lucía. The townspeople feel that they own the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 301]

Mariano took out cigarettes, and the group relaxed as all lit up the cigarettes and smoked. They discussed my tape recorder as they listened to the tape replayed. When they came to the section that did not record well, they decided that they should take it out and urinate on it. One man suggested that they should put it in prison, and another said that they should shoot it. This provoked general laughter. They went on to discuss the smoking habits of Ladinos. Pablo remarked that Ladino lawyers do nothing but sit in their offices and talk and smoke. Mariano and Victorio's father joked a great deal, the latter maintaining that Pablo had threatened to castrate him. This was picked up by Pablo who said that then Mariano would be a madrina to his godmother, Martina (the woman speaker in the betrothal negotiations). This provoked a great deal of laughter among the women. They then joked with Mariano about Pablo's other madrina, a Ladina from the neighboring town who sells the blood of slaughtered bulls. They refer to her as *me? Skitsoo*, the fat one. Mariano remarked to the women that Victorio's father must be a witch, and someone would try to kill him on the road. The conversation turned from the danger of going alone in the woods to a discussion of hunting. Feliciano bragged that he had an excellent hunting dog which he bought from a Ladino and which he referred to as "the Ladino dog." Mariano asked what Ladino they bought it from, but Feliciano denied knowledge of who the man was. They suggested it was nothing but a Huistecan Indian who changed his clothing. The joking and drinking continued until midnight, when the assembled company finally broke up. The next day Alberta went to live with her husband in the new house he had built.

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B. Court Arrangement of Separation

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Persons present:

Judge
Father of Plaintiff
Mother of Plaintiff
Plaintiff
Husband of Plaintiff
Regidor
President

This case concerns a husband who had been separated from his wife and wished a settlement so that she would return to him. The man had been married before, and he occasionally returned to his first wife. When he got drunk,

695 he announced on the loudspeaker of the cantina that he was a poor man who
593 had to maintain two wives. This caused embarrassment to his second wife,
578 who asked for the hearing in order to separate from him. He was working in
586 the sawmill and had not provided for her support. The text is a translation of the transcription of a tape recording in Tzeltal.

695
593 Judge [to father of Plaintiff]: *Come, Mam compadre, and give evidence of what*
578 *has happened.*
586 Father: *This isn't the first time he has left his wife. It would be different, Mam*
126 *compadre, if he had only left her once, but he has left her several times.*
Judge: *Why do you keep on leaving her and coming back? It would be better to get her out of your system once and for all.*
Mother: *He goes to his mother's house but then comes back just to fight.*
Judge: *You ought to stop your fighting when you go to your wife.*
Father: *So is is, Mam judge. If it had just been a few words or one visit, but he is always coming here to fight. Even if you drink, you should speak well when you come to our house.*
Plaintiff: *He said he had nothing to eat but dry tortillas. I said to him, 'Go heat your tortillas. You're going to have to live like a woman if you get rid of your wife. Who is going to watch for you at the gate since I no longer intend to? There is nothing to eat in the house because there isn't any money."*
Judge: *She says this because she is angry.*
Mother: *She speaks because she isn't a fool. He can't answer that.*
Judge: *They are still young, but they will learn. Also, he ought not to continue drinking.*
Mother: *He doesn't obey me. Eight days later, and he repeats the same abuse.*
Judge [to husband]: *Why do you want to do this?*
Husband: *I want a woman who takes good care of me.*
Father: *Does his wife have a lover, that she leaves the house uncared for?*
Husband: *We're fighting because she is always going off to my mother-in-law's house.*
Plaintiff: *Every time he gets drunk, he comes shouting. Why shouldn't I leave so that the child doesn't see us fighting?*
Husband: *I get drunk because of the fighting. If there wasn't any fighting I would just want a soda.*
Plaintiff: *Who wants that? There wouldn't be any fighting if you didn't come.*
Mother: *God can say that we don't want the embarrassment. I said, "Stop fighting. It isn't good. She doesn't give you tortillas or atole because you are always*

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fighting. You ought to speak in sobriety. Why do you always want to fight and argue?" 695 593 578 586 126

Plaintiff: *At first it was the fault of a little board. For the crime of giving my mother a little piece of wood I had to come here the first time* [*refers to dispute arising over some wood which plaintiff had lent or given to her mother, and for which Husband wanted money*].

Mother: *I am supporting the children he comes and "asks for"* [*refers to the fact that husband impregnates wife, and then does not support the family*]. *The child cried a great deal when we were inside the cabildo. It was I who had to feed him. Why would I want this, my compadre judges? A husband who leaves you . . .*

Father: *How is the child going to grow up? And he keeps asking for another one.*

Mother: *You treat your wife like a mule, like a horse when you go to work. When I asked him to get some wood, he said, "Have I turned into your husband? Don't tell me what to do."*

Plaintiff: *If he gave something it would be good, but he never has supported me or even pays anything when he comes here.*

Mother: *He is never coming back to our house. We have spoken to the Ladino* [*Ramon, the former secretary who wrote out the marriage act*]. *We went to San Cristóbal to see what they would say.* [*Speaking to huband*] *But you don't listen to what he told you. You don't pay any attention because you are a devil. What good is it for us to go up to San Cristóbal?*

Father: *You should go, but you go on fighting as you started.*

Judge: [to husband]: *You should stay sober.*

Mother: *If he came to me sober, I would give him atole or sodas, Mam compadre. I returned the little board he had lent me, but he broke it.*

Plaintiff: *I gave him money for some soap, but he never gave account of that.*

Judge: *Now are you going to go with him?*

Plaintiff: *I am never going to go with him, elder brother. Even if he says he wants to take me back to his house, because I am not in his heart.*

Judge: *Ah, no. Let us explain.*

Mother: *Do you want to hear worse? No one is going to stay just to cook tortillas.*

Father: *It would be good, compadre, if she split with him.*

Judge: *They cannot split up because they are married.*

Father: *Well, compadre, if they* [*husband's family*] *take her back, then I am not going to return here. I am going to have to go to San Cristóbal.*

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695 593 578 586 126

Regidor: *What has been arranged isn't good. There are small children, and he cannot support them.*

Judge: *But what else can they do, compadre? Better go to the man's house and make a fire there [a metaphorical allusion to acting as a wife in keeping the home fires burning].*

Plaintiff: *Although you speak to him, he doesn't listen. He never listened to his father.*

Husband: *What do you want to bring up my dead father for? He never ordered me, nor has any other person.*

Plaintiff: *I am not a fool. You gave me a wound, you broke my tooth. We want to stop all this and finish with the trouble you cause.*

Mother: *Let's come to some understanding. If it is only the trouble with the board, then I will give him the money and see if it is what he says.*

Judge: *This is not good, my compadre. It isn't going to content your heart.*

Mother: *I want to return and take out the marriage paper. It was Don Ramon who married them.*

Judge: *It isn't good for you to go do that. We are trying to arrange things here. The president has charge of the archives.*

Plaintiff: *He told me he was angry. I said, "Why do you want to sell the boards?" [This refers to the wood she had lent her mother.] He said, "I am going to bring more." I asked him again why he wanted to sell the boards. He said he had received money for them. He asked me where the boards were, and I said I had lent them to my mother. "Go get them if you want them," I said. He never gave me back the payment for the soap that I gave him. He spent it for liquor. I said to him, "Where is the soap?" and he said, "I spent it on liquor." When he gets drunk, he begins to fight me. He doesn't want me to talk back, but what does he expect? He said he was going to get another wife, that I was very lazy and very slack. I told him, "Why don't you go out and cut some wood?" He said, "Where do you think I am going to get some wood?" I was ashamed to go before my brother-in-law with my child and ask him. He never wanted to cut wood or ocote.*

Judge: *It is not good what he did. He should do what is necessary in the house.*

Plaintiff: *It is for this reason that I don't want to go with him, Mam Judge. He is always saying that his first wife was a very good worker. If I didn't have a husband or if there were no children, I would bring the wood, but I am not going to do it while he is around.*

Judge: *What would you say if he brought you back to his house?*

Plaintiff: *But I don't want it. What does he want me for? You heard him say I am a whore. He said I was a bitch. He said, "You are an old shit!" I don't want to have anything to do with him. What does he want me for if I am an old whore as he says? He said she [first wife] was a better woman than I.* 695 593 578 586 126

Father: *The judge told him before, "Go give your wife some support." We had three settlements before this. Mam Ramon said he was sick of seeing the woman in court so often.*

Judge: *First we will try to settle things here, and if he doesn't go in accord with custom, then you can go up to San Cristóbal.*

Father: *Here me, Mam judges, everyone fights occasionally, maybe makes two or three trips to court. But every time he gets drunk, he looks for a fight. I told him to stop fighting, but he doesn't listen. If I let my daughter go with him, he just takes her and produces more children. I have always had to support her then. He doesn't come around either drunk or sober. If he had come and told me what her fault was, then it would be good. When I had asked him what sins she had committed, he didn't say anything.*

Husband: *She just told me, "Leave me here and you go with your mother. I shall go back to my house."*

Plaintiff: *I left word with him that I was finished because of all the fighting. I don't want to go with a drunkard. [To husband] Even if you drink, you shouldn't beat me.*

Judge: *If you want a woman, you ought to support her. You shouldn't fight.*

Husband: *She told me, "You aren't the only man in the world. There are plenty of men who would want me."*

Plaintiff: *I never said that! You're looking for a fight!*

Husband: *What do you mean you didn't say that? My mother heard it.*

Plaintiff: *Go bring your mother. She didn't want to come because she is ashamed. It isn't the first time we are settling things in court.*

Judge: *You ought to go with him this time, but if it happens again, we will split you up. What else can we do if you don't obey our advice?*

Father: *When he goes to work, Mam compadre, he ought to look and see how much pay he is getting and how it will stretch to support his wife. Then she will make his tortillas for him contentedly, and there won't be any fighting.*

Judge: *We say that when he comes home from work he should ask his wife what she wants to spend for coffee or salt and all the things she will have to buy.*

Plaintiff: *He doesn't give any account of his little pay.*

Husband: *I don't want to say how much there is because there are still debts*

695 593 678 586 126 *from when I was asking for her* [*refers to betrothal expenses*]. *When the debt is paid off, then I can.*

Judge [to wife]: *You heard that he will have to pay off the debt. Now go with your husband in one heart.* [*To husband*] *Go with your wife. If you have enough money, ask your wife if she needs some coffee or if she needs salt and wants the payment of it. You have to give some money in order to live contentedly.*

Father: *So it is, Mam compadre. It is good to be content and see the fire in the hearth. One time he came to my house and I said, "Come in. Let's take a look at what money you have earned." I told him to go save his money, give it to his wife to keep it for him. That is what I said to him.*

Regidor: *And it wasn't to deceive him. It would be good if he would believe* [*obey*] *this advice. They have been paying him double because he is a labor agent.*

Judge [to father]: *So it is, Mam compadre. Let it rest there.*

Regidor [to husband]: *The day after tomorrow, don't come back here with a couple more children and say you don't want her. Go back to your mother's house. You are lucky to have a wife. If you don't have a wife, you go get drunk every day. But with a wife life is good. She will give you coffee and corn to eat. Don't go on fighting when drunk or sober. Both my compadres have advised you* [*refers to judges*].

Mother: *So it is, Mam compadre. I am going now, Mam compadre.* [*Rises and leaves*].

Judge: *Go then, my compadre.*

The father and the husband give money for the fourth regidor to buy beer, and the group of men sit and drink the two family-size bottles which are purchased.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967
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682 674 75 these suspicions and kill the witch. If he should kill the witch while the patient is still alive, it is believed that the patient will die.

682 685 674 [463] [697] Killing men for cattle theft (six cases) is a relatively recent occurrence. It has put homicide on the market: the associations of cattle-owners have hired killers in three of the six cases. In addition to the killer's fee, they pay the fine to release him from prison. Fines for homicide have increased in the past five years—from 1,000 to 3,000 pesos—but not sufficiently to price the murder of cattle thieves out of the market. A good bull is worth [435] 1,500 pesos, and the threat of further loss by theft seems to justify the expenditure of fees 685 787 776 and fines. When the cattle-owners lose some of their herd, they go to spiritualists or to San Miguel, the talking saint of Ixtapa, to find out who did the stealing. Since such evidence does not hold up in court, legal settlement is not 685 694 attempted. Legal action, moreover, would create an enemy who might seek revenge. A Ladino secretary of the town center who had lost a bull accused a man of stealing his cattle and demanded 500 pesos in compensation. By receiving the money he jeopardized his safety, and eventually he had to leave town.

The Resolution of the Case

682 69 It is nearly impossible to find witnesses to homicide. Of these 37 cases, 28 resulted in no action being taken by the authorities, and in five cases where the killers went to jail, they were released with the payment of minimal fines. In the calculations of the townspeople, it is hardly worth risking one's neck to get such a minimal revenge.

682 593 626 [683] However, this does not mean that homicide goes unnoticed in the community. After a killing the widow sings of the life of the dead man. If she is in agreement with the verdict arrived at by the killer and others, she will deny knowledge of what he has done, or even suggest that she too was aware of what harm he has caused (one widow implied that her husband, killed as a witch, was responsible for the death of four of her six children). If she objects to the verdict, she sings of what a good man he was and how blameless. She will then air her own suspicions in the following weeks as to who killed her husband.

682 683 627 Following the funeral, when the women have left the cemetary, the men sit at the grave. As they measure out a liter of liquor and pass it around, they advance hypotheses as

shortly before the fiesta of the saint's day with which he was charged. When the nomination was made, the president sent out the first policeman with the chief policeman to bring the man chosen to the town hall. They expected, and were always confronted with, resistance to the nomination. In order to gain acceptance they got the nominee drunk in a drinking session at the town hall. Liquor was measured out, and all the officials drank only a half cup at each round, but the new alférez was required to drink a full cup. The rounds continued until the new alférez was drunk. If he did not accept at this session, he was put in jail to think it over. Another drinking session took place the following day.

Nomination to the post of alférez was the only situation in which the jail penalty has been brought into effect, since refusal by nominees to other posts simply means that the officials "look for someone else." The reason given for invoking the punishment was "we know he has the wealth and therefore he should serve." Until 1965 the town had always succeeded in recruiting two of the alfereces from Ahk'olnantik and two from Alannantik. Since the upper division of Ahk'olnantik has grown at a more rapid rate than the lower division, candidates were found only in Ahk'olnantik. This unbalancing of the population ratio undermined the institution of alférez, which had always been the most unpopular position. When I returned to the field in 1967, it had been eliminated.

The Functions of Civil Officials

An analysis of the formally prescribed functions of the civil officials must take into account three sources of data: the functions as prescribed by state legislation, the functions as understood by local officials, and the observed activities of the officials. Table 26 compares the functions of officials as stated in the constitution of the state of Chiapas (Secretaría del Gobierno Departmental de Chiapas, 1828: Decreto 52, Nov. 30, 1825) [3] to statements of informants and to my observations of the carrying out of their official obligations.

3. I have chosen this constitution as the first post-independence statement of the status of local civil administrators.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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178 the cave and that they are in communication
756 with him. But these claims are met with ex-
769 pressions of disbelief by the people. Almost everyone is convinced not only that the curers do not now talk with the ancestors but that the ancestors no longer look over them from the watchout hill outside their cave.

756 The loss of control by the curers is drama-
178 tized in the long passage quoted above con-
731 trasting the past and present treatment of epidemics. Formerly the two leaders of the curers consulted together and announced to the president that they had rid the town of evil. Now the curers as a group are ordered to come before the civil authority. There, in a
[273] long examination called *?il yo?tan*—"taking the heart"—in which 18 liters of liquor are consumed, the assembled curers and civil authorities decide who among them is responsible for bringing in the witchcraft that is causing the epidemic. Later in the evening,
[682] one of the curers is usually killed (cases 11 and 29, Table 1).

756 (2) *Conflict between the curers and the civil*
578 *authority*. The competition between the curers and the civil authority can be traced in a series of incidents beginning in the '30's and culminating in an open confrontation in the spring of 1966.

756 The first incident occurred in 1932, when
578 the town was still part of the neighboring
682 Ladino township.

683 F went and asked permission of the authorities to
[632] kill his enemy, a curer, who he thought was bewitching his brother-in-law. The president went to the house of the suspected witch with the order to imprison him. He said they were going to take him to the neighboring township center to put him in jail. The group of authorities set off with the suspected witch. On the way, another group met them and asked them where they were going. The president replied, "To H." The group that had encountered them asked if they would like a drink to heat their body. They gave one cup, and then another. Then they cut up the suspected witch with a machete and put his body in the cave of the ancestors. When the widow enquired the next day where her husband was, the president said that the man must have gone to the finca.

The ambush by the killers was prearranged in the town court, and the president covered their deed when questions were asked.

[622] In 1940, the leading curer of the lower section was president. When he killed a man who

273* 695 tional informal drinking segments may follow, but they will not necessarily take place on the cabildo porch, and the group may break up, so that drinking is simultaneously going on in two or three settings. All informal drinking rules hold from then on. The normal drinking performance following dispute settlement includes ceremonial drinking plus informal drinking segments which lead to drunkenness. The probability of this is expressed in text where an elder warns the wives of town officers that their husbands will sometimes return home drunk (see Chapter V for citation of text).

The escalation of conflict

273* 578 731 In the case where conflict is to be "settled" by increasing the jeopardy of the other party, aguardiente is supplied by the individuals who are interested in escalating the conflict. The aguardiente is supplied during the time when the conflict is 273* 578 731 "settled" rather than afterwards. Such a case is described in text as follows:

539 K'ALAL LIHK K'OP E YUN SKA CAMEL SARANPIA YUN BAYAL XCAM *ALALETIK.

The fighting began because many children were dying of measles.

HA* SLIHKIL K'OP *ABI HTIHK' WINIKETIK LA SNOP SK'OPIK, YUN LA *OCEM CAMEL TA TEHKLUM.

The action began in the beginning because a group of men got together to talk about who had put the illness in town.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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273* HA * HIC LIHK SZOB SPISIL WINIKETIK TA TEHKLUM.
578
* 731 In this manner all the men in town began to get together.
539

HA* PRIMERA ZOBAWAN MAC'A TE SK'OKIK TA MUKAHEL E.

The first men to get together were those who had been to the funeral [of a boy who had died of measles].

HA* HIC LIHK K'OP *ABI LA YALIK TE YUN *AY MAC'A YOZES E CAMEL TA TEHKLUM.

In this way the action began, and they said that someone had put the illness in the town.

HA*LA YUN HIC BAYAL YA XCAM *ALALETIK.

And for this reason many children died.

HAYAN HIC LA SZOB SBA SPISIL WINIKETIK YUN CAMEL I.

Because of this, all the men got together, because of the illness.

TA SKA TRAWO LIHK YALIK HA* HIC LIHK SZOB SBAIK.

Because of the aguardiente they began to talk, and thus they began to get together.

LIHK YALIK YUN *AY SWINKLEL HAYUN HIC MUK'UB YUNIK HAL K'OP I.

They began to say that the illness had an owner and for this reason the excitement increased.

LIHK YUC'IK TRAWO YUN HIC *AY SPERSIK *A MAYUK XIWEL TA K'OP *A.

They began to drink aguardiente so that they would be strong, so that they would not be afraid to speak.

HAYUN NAL YA XKIXINTES SBAIK TA TRAWO YUN MILAWAN E.

For this reason, first they warm themselves with aguardiente in order to kill a man.

273*
578 YUN PLETO HA* HIC MAYUK XIWEL *A.
731
539 In order to fight without being afraid.

753 In conjunction with collateral evidence, this text provides support for the following points. One of the standing beliefs in Aguacatenango is that sickness of god /XCAMEL YU*UN TYOS/ is essentially curable. Measles is classified as such a [754] sickness. When the children die in a measles epidemic, some "witch" must be laying on further illness components which cause the death. One mode of reducing the witchcraft component in the illness is to kill the witch or witches.

754 755 The problem of determining who the witch(es) may be in such a case as this is very difficult. The well-defined and formally correct mode is to call together several of the curers, have them pulse the patient, hear their announcement that the sick person is suffering from witchcraft and insist that they name the witch or witches. The curers are likely to go as far as to indicate that a witchcraft component is involved in the illness, but they most often are unwilling to name an individual, as their name becomes associated with their testimony and the alleged witch and his kinsmen are likely to impose severe 754 penalties on the curer. The search for the witch, then, must go on, under the force of standing beliefs as follows: Individuals in the community may be assigned a witchcraft potential on the basis of a variety of evidence. In this case the text

hilltop with a digging stick. He knelt and prayed, asking for rain. At that very moment, the rain came. He put the seeds in the holes he made, and from then on people have been planting in the hills.

Other saints are charged with providing rainfall. The saint of greatest importance in this respect is Santo Tomás, the patron saint of Oxchuk. Some Indians have gone to the church there to light a candle and ask for rain, and on their return the rains came. During an extended drought in August 1967, over one hundred people walked to Oxchuk to pray for rain. The people of Tzoʔontahal are somewhat bitter about the Oxchuqueños' neglect of Santo Tomás since over half of the town has converted to Protestantism. Whenever there is a drought, they blame it on the failure of the people of Oxchuk to take care of Santo Tomás.

In addition to the Catholic saints, the ancestor spirits help man to watch over the land. They are responsible for giving the rains in the planting period and early growing season. The fiesta on the Day of the Cross (Chapter 1) is primarily a plea for rain. Until the 1950s, the curers would hold a celebration at the Cave of the Ancestors to ask for rain during a drought. The waning belief in the presence of the ancestor spirits in the town has meant that there is less attention given to such fiestas. Some go to seek the ancestors in Chiapa de Corzo in the cave in which they are supposed to reside, as the following story illustrates:

One time my three brothers-in-law went to Chiapas to ask the ancestors for better crops. When they arrived there, nobody knew where the cave was. They said only a certain mayordomo there could find it.

Another time, two of the prayer-reciters went to the cave. They talked to the guard of the cave, saying, "May we speak to our ancestors?" The guard said, "Are you prepared? Did you bring two liters of trago? The ancestors like to drink."

The prayer-reciters went to get two liters of trago and all three drank it. While they were drinking, they saw a cow and chickens appear. The guardian said that if they came back in May with "food" for the ancestors —candles, incense, and firecrackers—they would get rich crops. I think the prayer-reciters succeeded because now they have a cow and chickens and a horse. They are afraid of the envy of their neighbors.

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628 People with lands in hot country recount that during droughts the In-
796 dians from the neighboring town of Chamula have held rainmaking fies-
782 tas for which they solicit contributions from other Indians.

821 *The Chamulteco came to us and said, "Let all of us who have milpas*
• 731 *contribute five pesos for a fiesta." He brought the candles. In the little hill there the people brought drums and flute. We ate chickens and drank liquor. For eleven hours he prayed, and in the afternoon it rained.*

628 The *kuriketik*, rural inhabitants of the colonia of San Vicente who
241 migrated to Amatenango from Chanal, have no irrigated lands and de-
789 pend directly on rainfall throughout the growing season. Indians of the center know of their practice of sticking their digging sticks into the ground with the points toward the sky "to puncture the clouds" when they have planted their milpa, but they do not imitate this practice. Control over the supply of water in the irrigated lands has apparently led to the neglect of supernatural appeals even where the canals do not supply water. Under pressure of extended drought, they will resort to spiritual intercession through Chamula or Oxchuk practitioners in whom they have some faith.

241 Acquiring the protection of the gods does not obviate the practical activ-
796 ities necessary in the cultivation of crops. Fiestas for the saints are a repay-
782 ment for services rendered in watching over the milpa. The sponsorship of
796 fiestas for the saints by the community ensures the protection for all of the crops, and general crop failure due to drought or high winds is explained as a result of mismanagement of these community-wide fiestas. The offering of candles to the spiritual owner of one's own milpa is a kind of individual insurance policy for future crops as well as a repayment for the gift of the corn harvest. The peasant notion of surplus value is implicit in this reciprocal relation: the payment, or gift, of two candles to the milpa spirit is far less than the value of the harvest. But the account is balanced by the expenditure of this surplus in communal fiestas.

Pottery Production

323
178 Making pottery has been a speciality of the town since pre-Conquest
172 days. The old site of the town contains sherds of pottery which is remarkably similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now.

Chapter 6

Curing and the Curers

Sickness is a sign of upset relations between the spirits or people and those of relatives, neighbors, or places. In the curing ritual, the curers not only treat the disease, but also try to bring about spiritual readjustment by dramatizing the ill effects of animosity. Because they claim to be able to counteract witchcraft, the curers exercise a great deal of power. This power is limited by institutional requirements controlling entry into the profession and exercise of their skill and knowledge. The breakdown in the authority of elder curers during my study of the community, and their attempts to reinstate themselves, made explicit some of the structural principles of the institution.

The Curing Hierarchy

Recruitment into the hierarchy. Until the 1950s, each side of the dual division had an age-ranked order of curers and recognized the leadership of a single elder, called *statal ?u?ul.* The older, more experienced curers, called the *b'ankilal,* or elder brothers, had authority over the novice curers, called the *?ihtz'inal,* or younger brothers. With the breakdown of the hierarchy during my stay, this distinction was becoming less clear. In 1964 there were seven curers in Alannantik and six in Ahk'olnantik; on a return visit I made in 1967, their numbers had been reduced by homicide and exile to five in Alannantik and five in Ahk'olnantik.

Entry into the profession occurs during an epidemic when the civil authority calls upon the curers to gather in the town hall to determine who is bringing the "heat" that causes death from disease. The curers decide whether there are any promising young men who have the third soul, swayohel, which gives them the ability to cure. If a young man is deemed

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suitable, the president and judges give permission to the curers to allow him to enter the profession at this time. The novice provides three liters of liquor which are drunk "in common" by the curers and the civil officials.

There is some evidence that, formerly, novice curers were asked to yield the soul of one of their children:

My dead husband was given permission by Julian Gomez, the leader of the curers of Ahk'olnantik, to enter the curing profession. When my husband told me he wanted to cure, he said that Julian had asked him for a child "for the ancestors to eat." My husband was going to give a child of his brother since we didn't have any, but I said it would be a pity. Then he said he would give trago. This he did. I forget how many liters.

When the contagion came, the curers went to take out the heat. A policeman called my dead husband, and he went. The policeman said the leading curer had called him. The judges told him, "It is better for you to enter in common with the other curers."

He began to cure. The curers then asked what offering we were going to give.

"We have no children," said my husband. "We will give you liquor. I cannot give my brother's child or my sister's children."

He must have brought them about ten or twelve liters of trago and two packs of cigarettes.

The third soul, swayohel, may be acquired, or one may be born with it. Those who acquire the third soul by capture of the soul of a dead person within twenty days after the death are considered to be potentially dangerous. They are more likely to use the soul for evil than those who have acquired it from the ancestors at birth. Swayoheles can be acquired from a saint named ʔAhau in the neighboring town of Oxchuk.[1] The following account illustrates how one asks this saint for a swayohel:

If you go to the saint with a black face named ʔAhau with two candles of twenty cents you can ask for a swayohel. You say, "I want one ʔulel that is very strong. I have an enemy. I need one." You sleep there, and wake

1. Lombardo Otero (1944:73) says that in Oxchuk, Mukulajau, or Chulajau, is identified with Trinidad, and is associated with the pigeon, which is the animal spirit of powerful curers.

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"He looked for trouble!" Domingo replied.
I said, "You killed my husband!"
He said, "It was not I! It was not I!"
It doesn't serve to enter curing early. People will kill you right away. Another young man wanted to enter. The curers did not permit him since they said he was a witch. People heard he was a witch, and they killed him. He was the same age as my husband [about twenty-seven].

The curers who have survived to an old age were introduced into the profession by an elder relative. They choose their clients carefully, refusing to cure a man who is on the point of death, and remaining within their own section of the dual division. These rules of survival are ignored by some of the younger men who wish to impress their elders with their powers. 756 [621]

The changing image of the curers. The curers of today are unfavorably compared with those of the past who used their power for good. The prototype of the old curer was the fearful Tatik Čaʾuk, Lord of the Lightning, possibly a local manifestation of the Maya god Chac.[2] The dialectic of power is exemplified in his control over beneficial and destructive forces. His beneficence is demonstrated in his ability to bring rain to crops, while his vengeance is revealed in lightning bolts which can kill people and destroy houses. Anyone who is struck by lightning is believed to have had some sin for which the Tatik Čaʾuk has punished him. His destructive force is equated with a rifle—called "the elder brother of the Lord of Lightning"—and with the "heat" which brings death in illnesses. His habitation is believed to be the Cave of the Star where the heat which causes epidemics is found. 756 776 [178]

The curers were intermediaries for the Tatik Čaʾuk in their control over both destructive and beneficial forces. Formerly, the swayohel of the curers patrolled the streets of the town to prevent the entry of evildoers bringing heat. It is in this role that they are referred to as me'iltatil. If an epidemic occurred, the two leading curers from each side of the town con- 756 731

2. In other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities, the god Čaʾuk is named as the chief figure from pre-Conquest theology (Hermitte 1964, Holland 1963:93). [171]

756 sulted with each other to determine who was bringing in the heat. They
• 731 privately disposed of the evil by causing the evildoer to die of an illness.
[827] At the time of my stay, suspicion of the curers meant that a public hearing was held in the town hall to determine who the guilty person was; usually one of the curers themselves was suspected (Chapter 9).

756 The curers formerly demonstrated their beneficial power by bringing
796 rain during a fiesta held in the cave of the ancestors. This is described by
708 an informant:
789
769
[794] *When the pueblo lacked rain in the growing season of corn in May and June, the leading curers went with the other curers, the fiscal, the alfereces, the mayordomos, and the women prayer-reciters to the cave. All the women carried candles of a peso or fifty-cent size and incense burners. They drank a great deal of liquor at the mouth of the cave and then entered to dance. The mayordomos played the guitar, the drum, and flute as the women danced and the curers prayed to the me?tiktatik. There used to be a spring in this cave, people say, and the ancestors granted water from it when they were given a fiesta.*

The last fiesta for rain occurred about 1950. The whole town contributed two pesos for the liquor and candles. The leading curer then was Juljano, a man recognized for his powers in curing and in bringing rain. He told the people that he spoke to the me?tiktatik who, he said, were dressed in the old style [a shirt worn over short cotton pants still used by older men of the town, and the handwoven hat worn by alfereces today]. The curers told the people that it would rain, and the afternoon of the fiesta, it came down hard.

178 There is no longer faith that the ancestors live in the cave, nor that the
769 present curers could speak to them if they did.
756 The growing discontent with the curers, the suspicion that they are re-
756 sponsible for much of the witchcraft, is reflected in the account of an older
754 informant.
[178]

[774] *The curer O. K. told me that the curers ate the spirits of sick people who were going to die. The sick people would come to ask the curers for*

796 is served when the expectations are that the individual will feel embarrass-
154 ment. These occasions formerly occurred when the company arrived at the
[273] house of the alférez before the dance and when the alfereces mounted
[276] their horses. Cigarettes signal relaxation, and when the first round of ciga-
[522] rettes is served in the house setting, the company abandons formal re-
straints and, led by the chief nakáwane, indulges in joking.

541 *Carnival and Easter Week.* Carnival has changed over time more
522 than any other religious ceremonial in the town. Until five years ago, a
177 group of masked jokers visited the houses of the captains of the fiestas.
178 They wore Ladino clothing, including vest, pants, and shoes, and they hid their faces behind masks or painted them black. They danced a "Ladino dance" (paired couples), first in the church and then in the houses of the alfereces. While dancing, they made sexual allusions about unmarried women. Their joking emphasized their strangeness to the villagers; for example one of the jokers might say, "You do not know what type of person I am. An airplane made me." They carried small stuffed animals which they made "cry." Pretending they were the husband of a woman, they would go to her and tell her to take care of her "baby." The woman speaker would sometimes respond to their jokes, saying, "Who are you? You are not good looking, you little black boy. You must be from Germany or from the other side of the water. Maybe you are from Patwitz or Yetawitz, and your father is kurik." People say the custom was discontinued because it was too expensive to give liquor to the jokers.

541 Another carnival custom which has been lost is the "common meal" of
262 squash on the five Fridays of Lent. Formerly the wives of the four kobra-
794 ria brought squash from hot country, cooked it, and brought two gourds
177 each to the church. The assistant divided it, giving two pieces to each of
178 the mayordomos. This custom was stopped during the typhoid epidemic
of 1928 and has never been resumed because, it is said, the people did not
[131] want to lose work time. These changes may be a response to the priest's attempts to modify some of the excesses of carnival. Whether or not this is so, the people prefer to attribute change to their own decisions.

796 The events of Easter Week as recounted by an informant are outlined below.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Eight men of Alannantik wanted the interim president, Simón to remain as president. But the people of Ahk'olnantik did not want him to remain as president. The townspeople began to talk, saying, "Why should he remain as president since he stole twenty bulls? We don't want him. Let us get another president. We shall walk with Ceferino." 159 621 754 682

They wanted me for president since I was first regidor. It is for this reason that I entered as president, but I didn't think that I would be able to stay on as president. Simón received an order from the [state] government that he should return as president. He came with soldiers, and when they took me out of office, the lieutenant said to Simón, "Now you enter."

And so I gave over the archives and seals and everything in the presidency to Simón, and I left the presidency. And the people saw that it was the order of the government, and they did not say anything. The town remained silent.

The incident is given as it was related to me in Tzeltal. I have sorted out the steps in which the conflict developed in order to clarify its meaning.

1. The traditional checks and balance system of the civil authority over the curers was initially upset by the entry of a leading curer into the post of president.

2. When he committed a murder while in office, the judges seized control and had him put in prison. [682] [692]

3. His replacement by the síndico who was from the same side of the dual division, aroused the opposition of the people of the opposite side, Ahk'olmantik, who believed that the epidemic, which followed the president's removal from power, was caused by the curers of Alannantik under the direction of the president who was in jail. [624] [731] [754]

4. The leaders of the revolt in Ahk'olnantik chose as their replacement the first regidor, Ceferino, who was from their side. [624]

5. Leaders from Alannantik rejected this replacement and were able to get official backing from the state government to replace their representative.

The process illustrates the way in which a conflict, precipitated by a clash between civil authorities and the curers, was cast into the idiom of struc- 621 756 578

756 627 *When he arrived here, he did not hear any word that they would kill him. He persisted in his custom of stealing. And the pueblo seized him and put him in prison. The whole town seized him although he had heard no word.*

They tied him to a tree and said to him, "You do not have shame. You are a curer, father of the pueblo, [respect term for curer], and yet you behaved badly and truly stole. The town sees you are a bad man, Emilio. They call you their father, but now I am going to tell you that you ought not to be called father. You're a bad one."

He wanted to be called father, but he was only a bad one. He returned again to San Cristóbal because of two crimes. He did not hear the words. He remained in prison, and when he came out someone else came and killed him.

756 682 178 Since 1938, nine of the thirty-seven homicide cases on which I collected data (Table 29) were killings of curers. The increasing frequency of such killings reveals the loss of faith in the guardianship role of the curers, but along with this, retention of belief in their power to work evil.

731 756 754 627 621 In the series of successful confrontations, the civil authority has gained strength and overcome some of the fear of the people. In May 1964, during a severe contagion of measles, a rumor started that the disease was being spread because of witchcraft. The president called together the curers. The consensus of this gathering was that a certain curer of Alannantik had buried the "heat" which was causing the deaths in the milpa of his enemy. The people of Alannantik gathered with the curers and the civil officials in the milpa of the "enemy" to dig it out. The curers dug out a charcoal brazier which is the sign of illness and threw it in the Cave of the Star. [683] That evening the suspected witch was killed, presumably by his neighbors.

756 621 627 754 In the most recent confrontation between the civil authorities and an individual curer, in March 1966, the civil authorities showed a united front in denouncing the use of witchcraft to threaten any official. The entire group of practicing curers from both sides of the dual division were called to witness the denunciation before the assembled civil officials in the town hall. The only one absent was the curer accused of attempting to cut short the life of the president because of envy of his position. The assembled

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 248]

554 the status. Community integration is achieved at the expense of limiting the range of roles through restricted recruitment and validating mechanisms.

621 794 [182] *Alternation and linkage in office-holding.* The principle of alternation between civil and religious posts serves to integrate these officers in a single functioning system and prevents the development of segmented groups. The alternation of offices between sides of the dual divisions helps to integrate the village by pairing or alternating them in the same office. Some roles served as links between the institutional domaines. Principales are the primary symbolic leaders of both hierarchies since they are chosen from among men who have completed service in both hierarchies. The alfereces formerly symbolized the unity of the civil and religious branches in the transfer of banners from the cabildo to the church and in other ceremonial duties.

621 624 794 [692] [184] The regidores and judges have remained identified with the civil authority in Tzoʔontahal, although in other towns in the area they have become almost exclusively identified with the religious hierarchy (Cancian 1965). The regidores were formerly involved in religious affairs during the household celebration for the installation of the new alférez. At this time they were called personaetik from the Spanish term persona, or personage.

731 756 178 621 Events requiring community action reveal some of the links which unite officials who play roles in different institutional settings. On the occasion of an epidemic, curers are called before the civil authority to "give an account" of who is causing the witchcraft. Formerly the curers were linked to the civil hierarchy by a system of social control in which the principales, as elders, reviewed their actions in guarding the safety and health of the community. This system of checks and balance has been broken by the shift in power from the principales to the president.

794 621 182 The nakawanehetik provide the links between the household and the civil and religious hierarchies. They transmit the knowledge of ritual prayer and acts and officiate at the inauguration of officials. They serve as stage directors in maintaining the traditional household rituals and in ensuring continuity in public ceremonials.

773 credit to insects who carried it from the hills. Still another myth synthe-
179 sizes both pre-Conquest and Catholic agents: San Antonio, seeing an in-
178 sect bearing a kernel of corn, persuaded a woodpecker to break open the rock which blocked the entrance to the hill where the corn was stored and then organized the insects to bring forth the corn. The contradictions in these myths do not motivate the people to bring the several versions into line with one another because the rituals associated with beliefs concerning
776 crops provide an overall insurance rather than a specific contract. The In-
782 dians do not trust their security to any one saint or even group of deities.
177 The two candles lit in the milpa following the harvest are an offering to
178 the "owner of the earth"; along with this, offerings of corncobs are made
[825] to the saints in the church and to the house saint. Even the birds are left an offering of corn kernels in the fields after the harvest so that they will not be jealous of the farmer.

773 These myths fail to provide specific charters for action. What they do
771 provide is a set of dispositions to behave in certain ways. The underlying
182 disposition is that of self-imposed guilt and recrimination. The ancestors left their cave because the people failed to give them a fiesta; the spirit of money left the town because the religious officials in the past failed to adorn the church and improvidently strewed the floor with green peso notes in place of pine needles. Sickness and poverty are attributed to their own failures.

771 Another disposition is that of appeasement through ceremonial enter-
796 tainment. This is carried out in the fiestas for the spirits of the church and
73 the spirits of the heaven just as for the spirits of the house, caves, springs,
182 and hills surrounding the town. Community-wide disaster is interpreted as a direct result of failure to perform rituals establishing reciprocity with the spirits. When individuals face crop loss, they review their own ritual obligations to see what went wrong. The curing ceremony is an-
[755] other effort to appease the devil whom the witch has persuaded to give illness to his victim.

771 A third such disposition is to project human conflict into the superna-
776 tural sphere. The conflict between Santa Lucía and the patron saint of Ox-
821 chuk, Santo Tomás was taken to be the reason for the church tower being
182

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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181 support for cultural independence as economic interdependence grows.

105 3. *The stability of the society varies directly with the effectiveness*
182 *of its procedures for transforming old power positions into ceremonial posts.* The community demonstrated the effectiveness of its technique of cooling off old power-holders as new leader usurped the authority of the principales. The struggle going on between the curers and the new civil leadership had not been resolved in ceremonial absorption of the curers' power when I left the community. The community was ridding itself of these fear-provoking agents of the supernatural by resorting to homicide. The loss of the institution of the alferez marked the waning of these old techniques of ceremonially incorporating leadership into a traditional hierarchy and linking civil office with religious obligations.

4. *The lability of the society varies directly with the gap between expectations and experience.* The Indians condition themselves to expect the worst and so are not disappointed by it. They pray only that they may maintain a given level of suffering and poverty. They are not caught up in that revolution of rising expectations that makes for discontent when experience does not match them. The Indians know they
[175] are better off than they were, and they contrast their present prosperity
[731] with the famine of 1915 when revolution and banditry depleted their crops and cattle, and with the typhoid epidemic of 1928 when hundreds died and the rest did not have the money to bury them properly. An attitude of pessimism about the future limits the problem of adjusting to it or of making adaptations to improve it. One could predict neither revolution nor moral collapse.

5. *The lability of the society varies directly with the degree of dissonance between traditional and contemporary interpretations of events.* The old explanations are still applied to current events. Disaster is blamed on individual or communal failure to carry out ceremonials. Sickness and death are attributed to witchcraft motivated by envy or malice. The paranoic theories of human nature are confirmed by every illness or death that occurs. Even the gods are characterized as envious and vindictive. Containment of blame for misfortune within the community minimizes the political involvement of Indians in the wider society and limits the changes that might affect them.

626 556 the few economic alternatives offered to an Indian who wants to, live an Indian life among other Indians, in peace. In this sense, Amatenangueros and Aguacatecos are no "penny capitalists" of the type described by Sol Tax (1953). But it is also true that, like the Panajachel Indians, they desire to have more for themselves and their children: money for security against sickness, death, [146] bad crops and other misfortunes. They also want better clothing, more meat in their diet (the amount of animal protein in their diet is extremely small by western standards) and small extra luxuries which have been introduced into their culture, little by little, by the local Ladino merchants: flashlights, mirrors, etc.

627 556 754 [731] Nevertheless, a wealthy man brings upon himself the antagonism of the other villagers, who, in search of a scapegoat during times of stress (such as a village epidemic) would not hesitate to accuse the rich man of being responsible for bringing the misfortune to the town because of his evil spirit, nor hesitate to kill him. Even if people find a man has a good crop, somebody can assume that, because his own crop failed, the other man has "stolen" the soul of his corn or if a man receives a large inheritance, somebody could accuse him of having killed (by witchcraft) the relative from who he inherited it. It takes a good deal of diplomatic skill and a strong control of the sources of gossip to manage to [753] keep oneself clear of such accusations. On the other hand, villagers are afraid of showing excessive wealth (according to community standards) unless they bring upon themselves the other face of witchcraft: supernatural sickness produced by envy. Even

241 433 then, each season is a question mark, an equally unpredictable year of plenty or a lean year.

184 323 241 433 434 184 166 464 731 184 434 621 In Amatenango, when the crop fails or is poor, the income of the villagers can be compensated by producing more pottery. This is obviously not so in Aguacatenango. If hunger threatens the families, the result is a higher migration rate or an increase in the number of men leaving town to work part-time in the fincas. The result of having an alternative form of income within the homestead in Amatenango is that the village keeps its income more balanced year after year, and that the village as a whole has a reputation of being richer than the other communities.

184 434 462 562 In Aguacatenango, the women are an economic burden. The men are very aware that they themselves "do all the work." Women have long and leisurely afternoons which are spent sitting on their porches grooming, chatting, or visiting. Men complain of this, saying "Women cannot realize how hard a man has to work. They complain of not having this or that, but they do not know. . . ." In Amatenango, on the contrary, women are important producers, men and women sharing, equally, the responsibility of supporting their families.

Thus, in the one case, Aguacatenango, the work of women has a marginal, undeterminate value in an economic milieu in which they have no cultural alternatives to convert their labor into goods or subsistence necessities; in the other case, Amatenango, the labor input of women represents about half of the total productive efforts of the villagers.

415 containers made of jícara (*boch*) or teco-
352 mate (*tzu*). In the bedroom is a bed
[513] (*uaybal*) made of boards placed on four
[735] forked poles, usually with a sleeping mat
[415] on it. Only the very poor sleep on mats on the floor. Small chairs, wooden chests for clothes, baskets of all shapes and sizes, pita bags and nets, shelves made of wood ribs, and pegs for hanging clothes are scattered around the hut without order.

353 The most important article is the altar
798 with the family cross. Its construction varies in different areas: it may be a plain small table made of tree trunks or better material. The altar is generally ornamented with pine needles. Occasionally, the figure of a saint is placed by the cross.

Clothing and Ornaments

291 Each community has its own style of
184 clothing, which gives a sense of unity to its members and permits the observer to identify easily the groups during fiestas or market days. This variety applies only to a few items of clothing, which is basically the
291 same for the entire region. Men's costume consists of short pants (*uesh*) and a long shirt (*nátil-kú*) which reaches the knee, both made of cloth that women weave; a red sash or belt (*chuj-chut*) of cotton, 10–15 cm. wide by 1.5 m. long; a palm hat (*pishol*); and leather sandals (*shanabil*). Residents of cold areas wear a woolen chamarra which is manufactured by the Chamulas. Women's costume consists of a skirt made of wool (*tzek*) or blue thick cloth, made in one piece and wrapped around the body with two pleats in front; it is belted at the waist by a red wool sash, which the Chamulas manufacture. Occasionally, they
301 wear a wool rebozo. They tie their hair with a red woolen ribbon (*malal*) and wear earrings (*yulel-chikinil*) and glass necklaces
291 (*ual*) bought in the city. Women always go barefoot, even during long trips. When outdoors they cover their heads with a cloth or wool fabric.

[184] Each municipio has made of these clothes
[P. 208-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

584 with the family of the girl. If the boy is accepted, the gifts are received and the marriage takes place.

585 184 [177] In Aguacatenango and Amatenango, the Catholic ceremony is sometimes delayed for several years after the informal marriage, because of the belief that the latter really consolidated the union. On the other hand, in places where the Ladino population is larger (Pinola and San Bartolo) the religious ceremony is considered by the Indians as a very important part of the customs.

184 177 608 The compadrazgo relationship is stressed among these communities where Ladinos have great influence. There are baptism, confirmation, and wedding padrinos. The rights and duties established through this relationship are still respected, especially 608 the compadre relationship. It is the duty of the child's parents to give occasional gifts [736] to the godparents. If the child's parents die, the godparents must take care of him, except when there are closer relatives to the father.

585 608 It is the main duty of the wedding godparents to help the couple maintain a good understanding and to dissolve, by advice, any disagreement. They always receive great respect and affection from their *ahijados*.

608 [851] Among conservative groups, the compadrazgo relationship arises only from the baptism of a child. Sometimes this relationship is established in a very informal way; perhaps during fiesta at the ceremonial center they may take advantage of the priest's presence to ask a very close friend to "embrace" the child. The padrino is then invited 574 608 to have aguardiente. At other times the arrangement is made formally; the parents of the child go to the house of their future [431] compadres to ask them that favor. Exchanges of gifts and dinner invitations are frequent, the child's parents feeling the greater obligation. These meals can be really banquets where many "platillos" and 184 much aguardiente are consumed. Among 608 some groups, padrinos neither give a gift to 431 736 [P. 219-A]

407

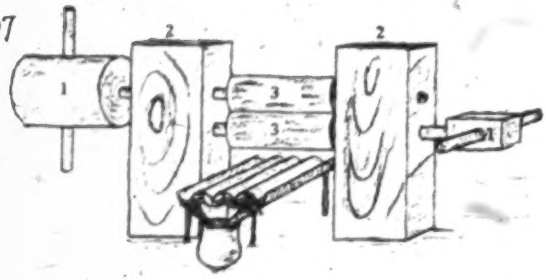

FIG. 6—SUGARCANE PRESS.
1, Kabal-té. 2, Smete-al. 3, S-kab.

184
608 their godchild nor protect him if he be-
736 comes orphaned, but this is only because
431 closer members of the same lineage take
608 care of him. But the padrinos must attend
764 the wake (*kanka-almail*) and the burial when the godchild dies, as is expected from
608 the godchild when the godparents die. In
182 these communities, compadrazgo constitutes both an important religious obligation and a means of establishing friendship and cooperation between families.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

621 The political and religious patern is the
631 same throughout all the Tzeltal communi-
[184] ties, governed by two groups of authorities whose activities are interrelated. The first group, formed by members of the cabildo and ayuntamiento, manages political affairs of the community. The ayuntamiento maintains relationship between the local gov-
631 ernment and the national authorities. The presidente municipal and the intermediate authorities are popularly elected and then confirmed by the congress of the state.
[563] These authorities must represent both ethnic groups (Indians and Ladinos) to warrant the claim that "justice is equal for everybody." In 1936 the state government ruled that in all municipios where the indigenous population predominates, the presidente municipal should be an Indian.

Next in authority after the presidente is

[P. 219-B]

Some of the effects of this change can be seen in the growing wealth of cantineros, observable in changes in house construction, and a shift to the raising of small livestock (always an alternative strategy) by women who must support themselves. With regard to drinking performances, the effect of the change in retailers seems to have been an increase in the number of drinking performances--especially for boys and young men, whose limited ceremonial responsibilities have made them relatively infrequent drinkers in the past. In turn, the increase in the number of drinking situations has required slight modification in the timing of the drinking--men seem to drink for shorter periods of time. Thus, for example, drinking on Sunday is becoming more common, but the continuation of drinking on a second day (Monday) has decreased. These matters will be spelled out in more detail in later sections.

Age-sex distribution of drinking

Aguardiente is bought by men who have control of money, and it is drunk almost exclusively by them. Women drink rarely, and it is considered inappropriate for them to do so. Children do not drink at all; boys begin to drink on festive occasions at fifteen or sixteen, and it is probably relevant that by this time they are old enough to work for wages and usually have some money of their own. Old men often give up drinking except when, as of-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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there is no other woman in the house. (c) Number of men in the family. If there are productively employed men, women of the household tend to make less pottery, since they are busy cooking and washing and have their basic subsistence needs supplied. Pottery is then produced to supply cash for fiestas only. Widows make a great deal of pottery since they must either hire men to work in the milpa or buy corn.

2. Wealth of the family: Relatively wealthy families make almost no pottery. In other cases, the scheduling of production is related to consumption needs. Figure 2 charts the pottery production by type of item produced for a family which included two unmarried women, their mother, father, and grandmother. The peaks in production occur just before the major fiestas when the family wants additional money to buy meat, fruits, and clothing. Although this family produced more pottery than the majority of households because of the presence of four women, its production typifies the high periods of activity relating to the fiestas. Production is also related to the seasonal changes: during the rainy season (from June to October) many households curtail production, except to earn money for the fiesta of Santiago (July 25), because of the difficulty of firing without closed kilns.

Variation in production means that an overall estimate of income from pottery cannot be made. It ranges from none to nearly 90 percent of family income in the case of widows without land or male helpers. I would guess that an average family might earn 200 pesos a year, about 10 to 15 percent of the money value of crops. One family of two widows and five children who work constantly throughout the year averages an income of about 600 pesos, or about one-half what an agriculturist can make on one-half hectare of land.

The Motivation to Produce

The motivation to work is tied directly to consumption needs of the household. Failure to meet expenditures with income from agriculture and pottery is met by men hiring out as agricultural workers or as laborers in the sawmill. This alternative is chosen over that of increasing the size

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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model introduced was faulty or they were not taught to use it properly. Notions about the supernatural relation between souls of crops, man, and the saints do not interfere with experimentation or adaptation at the instrumental level. Obligations with respect to them are carried on as a supplement to other practical measures.

The organization of men's work in agriculture contrasts with that of women's work in pottery. Men's work, when performed cooperatively by two or more of an extended household or exchange labor team, is mechanically organized, in Durkheim's terminology. Each of the men does the same task, working closely in the rows of the milpa. Women's work groups are organically organized since segmentation of the pottery production in the stages described above makes possible specialization within a domestic production group including two or more women. Preferences and special abilities can be taken into account. The potters with more experience do the jobs which require more judgement and skill, such as mixing the clay or making the bases, and then the work is passed on to less proficient workers. Or an older woman can leave the more strenuous tasks, such as mixing clay or building up the sides of the larger pots, to younger women and perform the lighter tasks, such as putting on the neck and handles.

These differences in the organization of male and female work tasks suggest the need for a reformulation of the classification of whole societies as organically or mechanically integrated. In assessing the potential for change, internal variations in the organization of production might provide the clues for implementing development programs.

The division of labor according to sex is nearly absolute: women do not learn to work in the milpa nor do men learn to make pottery or perform household tasks. However, women will gather firewood, and men will transport clay (although they do not collect the clay deposits in balls) and help in firing pottery. Women can live without men in the household economy of the town, but men cannot live without women. This is because male labor is a market commodity while female labor in household activities is not. A widow can hire a man to work her fields, but a man cannot hire a cook. If he is widowed, he must remarry, move into his

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

mother's house, find a wife for a grown son, or find an unattached female relative to live with him. 736 562

Traditional agricultural and pottery production contained within household units has limited specialization and the formation of classes. Whatever exceeded consumption needs was absorbed in a ceremonial fund that served to maintain existing standards. The aim of production was to maintain a given level of "poverty and suffering" as they said in prayers of thanksgiving. These old standards are no longer adequate. Family budgets reflect a range of alternatives requiring an increasing amount of cash expenditure on goods made outside of the community. Because of land limitations, these new preferences are met by wage labor rather than increases in the size of the farm. The new enterprises discussed in the following chapter provide the income streams which are disrupting the present distribution of wealth and the social system based on it. 434 177 464

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

592 The household into which an individual is born remains a resource base
591 throughout his life. In nine cases noted in Table 17 in which separations
586 occurred, the spouse returned to his or her natal home. In most cases in-
592 volving the death of a spouse, the widow or widower stays in the house-
736 hold established during the marriage. If the children are too young to be economically useful, the surviving parent may return to the parental household with his or her children, or they may move in with married siblings. If the family was living with the parents of one of the spouses, the surviving members usually remain there even if the elder couple are not the parents of the widow or widower. A young widow living alone is the prey of drunken men during fiestas and requires a protector.

586 The stability of marriage can be seen in the statistics on changes in con-
587 jugal status in the period from the first census in 1958 to the second census
[125] in 1964 (Table 18). Of 264 marriages formed at the time of the first census, only 15, or 5 percent, were voluntarily dissolved; 16 percent were broken by the death of one or both spouses, and another 1 percent by the death of both partners. 10 widowers and 4 widows remarried, an index both to the greater availability of women for remarriage as well as to the necessity for a man to have a woman in the house.

586
587
162

TABLE 18. Changes in Conjugal Status, 1958–1964

Conjugal status	*Alannantik*	*Ahk'olnantik*	*Total*
Same	92	89	181
Separated	3	11	14
First marriage	28	65	93
Widowed	13	26	39
Two wives		1	1
Remarried			
Widower	6	4	10
Widow	2	2	4
Both died	3	1	4
Returned to wife	3	1	4
Unknown	3	21	24
Total	153	221	374

The relationship of respect and obedience between parents and children 593
is expected to last throughout life. When a boy reaches the age of eight- 582
teen, his parents are expected to provide him with a wife. Wealthier fami- 434
lies tend to fulfill this obligation at an earlier age than do poorer families, 583
in which the boy may have to work in the fincas or in the sawmills to acquire the money for his own marriage.

Instruction in sexual behavior and reproduction is not characterized by 864
continuity, as is instruction about work tasks. Children are given no information about sex prior to marriage, and girls remain entirely innocent. They may be pregnant several months before they are aware of what is happening. The complete sexual segregation in work tasks and play during adolescence makes the relationship between sexes strained.

Even after marriage, the parents are concerned with maintaining their 593
child's marital situation, or, if they judge their child's spouse to be incorri- [586]
gible, to help him get rid of his partner. In the case of women, in particu- [736]
lar, parents continue to provide a refuge in case a daughter's husband should die, be sent to prison, or prove incompatible. Parents usually accompany their children if they are called into court, and failure to attend is tantamount to admitting the guilt of the child.

In successful marriages, the parents-in-law are equivalent to parents and 593
are called "mother" and "father." The parents of both spouses attend the 606
life crisis ceremonies of their children and grandchildren. Grandparents 603
provide support and care for grandchildren if their parents should die or remarry.

When parents reach the age of about sixty-five, they are no longer ex- 593
pected to work actively. A man will then distribute all of his land and ani- 888
mals among his children. He will expect to be taken care of by all of his
children, but special responsibility falls on the youngest who will inherit [428]
the house. Sometimes aged parents move from one of their children's [591]
houses to another, spending a few months or years with each. Children are [755]
expected to pay for any curing ceremonies necessary in their parents' old [764]
age and to provide a good funeral appropriate to their wealth. Failure to [626]
do this incurs loss of respect with the neighbors and collateral relatives of
the deceased. If the parents die after they have distributed their posses- 593
sions, the crisis following the death is minimal. At the funeral, mature 764
children of a deceased parent exhibit to the community their filial respect.

593 888 (e.g., the filial piety which is a basic component of the role of son), and in terms of economic rewards.

592 [183] The ideal pattern is one of reciprocal obligations: an established domestic group "launches into the world" the new domestic groups formed by the male offspring of the household couple, and a well established domestic group is responsible for the welfare of the domestic group from which it originated. Thus, [602] agnatically related domestic groups are expected to perform certain duties with respect to both the domestic group which originate them, and the domestic groups which they originate.

593 888 The concept of mantener (support), meaning to provide for a person's food, shelter and company, is a very important one for the villager. There is no sadder man than the one who has given everything to his sons, who has supported them for many years, and whose sons then refuse the reciprocal duty of caring for him in his old age. Parents who are unsuccessful in keeping one of [526] their married sons living with them are indeed very unhappy. People gossip about them as being "bad people" who did wrong to their children-in-law and mistreated their own. They gossip about the children themselves, accusing them of having a "small [736] heart" and of being envious and selfish. Aguacatecos pity widows (meba' al) and orphans (meba') because "they have nobody to support them." There is nothing as threatening to a couple as not having children, and if this happens, the community looks upon them with commiseration and says: "Poor little people, who is going to support them when they grow old?. . ."

592 593 Thus, the membership of a household changes through time,

591
605

man in Aguacatenango, he is living with his brother, because the mother's sister's son is relatively of the same age, and terminologically he is classified as such. From the point of view of Aguacatenangueros, therefore, this man is living in a fratrilocal setting, although not according to the preferential choice of selecting an agnatic kin (i.e., agnatic grandparents or his own elder brother), if the person's own parents are dead and thus are not available.

TABLE 12

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AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: EX-MARRIED INDIVIDUALS[a]

Living in Type	Cases	Percentage
Filiolocal	6	60
Filialocal	2	20
Fratrilocal	1	10
Nepotilocal	1	10
Total	10	100

[a]E.g., widows, widowers and divorced cases.

Widows should go back to their natal households except when their male children are old enough to support the economic demands of the family, that is, when the sons can cultivate enough corn for the year's supply. In such cases, the woman holds the property rights of the house, until her children marry, at which time she becomes a widow living in her child's household (filiocal residence).

Filiolocality is no exception to the previously stated rules, but the complementary form in widowhood, of primary male

591 patrilocality at a young age, just as filialocality is the complementary form of female matrilocality. If we compare the percentages of distribution of both forms, we can observe that the complementarity is expressed in similar distributions.

	Per cent		Per cent
Patrilocal	72	Filiolocal	60
Matrilocal	23	Filialocal	20
Other	5	Other	20

This distribution of filiolocality occurs because the norm is to reside with the son to whom one has given the house, but also because in making a choice between relatives with whom to live, it is preferred to choose a male and not a female line. In some cases, consequently, it is preferred to live with a brother rather than with a daughter.

[586] [592] Children of divorced mothers become members of the household where the mother resides after the divorce. If the mother dies while she is still married to the children's father, the 587 children become members of the father's parents' household. When 591 a man remarries, he usually does not bring his children from [183] previous marriages to his wife. We have only one case of a child living with the father after the father's second marriage. The reasons for this anomalous case are individual ones. The child's father's mother is the only other relative alive, besides the father, and she resides in the same household. The fact that the paternal grandmother and not the father is the sponsor of the [601] child, is clear from the information attached to the case. The child, a girl, sleeps with the grandmother and calls her mother.

613
476 murdered. Informants declare that "all the Mendeztik will get
626 together against the Perezetik if a Perez kills a Mendez." We have
627 witnessed cases of "talk of revenge," but never any case of the
613 lineal solidarity functioning in this way in practice. In a case
736 where the father of a man dies, it is within the agnatic line that
a man finds a sponsor to live with, to pay his bride-price, and to
613 work the land with. If there is conflict over an adulterous wife,
837 or over the distribution of an inheritance among brothers, it is the
428 duty of the elder members of the agnatic line to give advice, witness the distribution of the property, etc.

613 The patriline is not a land holding unit, in the sense that
423 there is no land that is said to belong to the line as a corporation, but the group of agnatically related men have control over the distribution of it, and its inheritance. If a man dies without adult sons, the closest agnatic kin (father, brother, or in some cases a father's brother if the other two are dead or have enough land) will take over the cultivated fields that he has left. According to the Mexican Agrarian Code, Eiido land can only be transmitted to people that live in the same domestic unit, and communal land cannot be transmitted at all: at the death of the person who held usufruct rights over a parcel, the land should revert to the Ayuntamiento, which has the power to re-distribute it as it considers convenient. In practice, in Aguacatenango, if the household fails to provide heirs, the parcels (both eiido and communal) are re-allocated among agnatic kin. Therefore, although the patriline does not "own" land, some land is allocated through linearity.

•736 linearity. The widow is expected to give back to them the house
613 site and house in which they lived, and go to live in her own
423 parental home. In one case, a woman who had kept the house in trust for her sons, asked permission to sell the lot (which originally had been given to her dead husband) from a living male sibling of the deceased.

613 There are no ritual functions which have to be performed
592 by the patriline. Aguacatenango rituals are carried on by the
796 household, by the part-time ritual specialists (curanderos), or
794 by officially appointed town officers (the Mayordomos).

121 This type of "lineage" seems to fit Homan's definition of
613 "weak" lineage, because he considers the following characteristics as defining a weak lineage: (1) few (less than four) generations in depth; (2) narrow spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) locality limited to a few people; and (4) incest rules pulled towards the smaller local units and mainly restricted to the nuclear family. The characteristics of a strong lineage, in contrast, are: (1) many (more than four) generations in depth; (2) wide spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) maximal localization of residence and maximal sharing of activities within the lineage; and (4) incest rules pushed away from the local units, to embrace all relatives within a lineage (lecture in the Oriental Institute, April 22, 1959, unpublished). However, I prefer to call them patrilines to distinguish them from the more elaborate agnatic descent groups common in Africa, from which they are distinguished by (1) the lack of genealogical depth; (2) the absence of the use of genealogical

593 A man whose brother is
[326] accused of witchcraft is very likely to share the same accusation; if a man beats his wife, he can be blamed by his younger brother. because the first one's reputation hinders the chances of the second for getting himself a wife. If a woman is lazy, people will assume that her sister is also lazy, and so on. Paradoxically, at the same time that siblings are equivalent for certain purposes, they are not in relation to each other. An elder sibling has, from early in life, power to scold, punish or control his younger siblings. The older they grow, the more the age difference becomes important. While one could be already working with the father in the fields, the other is still a playing child. While one gets married and becomes a man, the other is still under his father's authority.

The elder brother is always a possible jural replacement
[736] for the father. If the father dies and a man is a bachelor with a married brother, his elder brother replaces the father in terms of jural authority over him, is in charge of supporting him, working with him in the field, paying for his bride-price, etc.

[476] On the one hand, the relationship of brothers is one of
[518] collaboration, intense association for work and mutual dependency; on the other, the differential distribution of authority creates a certain amount of antagonism between the two.

593 This antagonism between brothers is symbolically expressed
578 in myths, legends and tales, many of which contain both a younger
538 and elder brother who spend their time trying to kill each other, being alternately successful until the younger sibling is the final victor.

159 now cultivating it, and has been doing so for a long time, refuses
428
562 to return it, even if he is paid half of the value of the land, or
578 only asked to give half of it to Chilola's son.

The reason for the inheritance rights of the people concerned not being clear is that twice, in the sequence of transmission, women have passed on the property, and as a result, it has left the hands of the original lineage.

Chilola's feelings are quite strong: the land belonged to
[606] her husband. Even if her mother-in-law had rights over the prop-
[736] erty at Chilola's husband's death, she was being supported by Chilola, and certainly, neither her mother-in-law's second husband nor their daughter has primacy rights against her son. (See Genealogy, Fig. 16.)

[423] The case is obviously complicated by the fact that the property rights are defined not only in terms of inheritance rights, but in terms of usufruct (in a sense, they do not have land tenure, but milpa tenure), and the other men had been taking care of the parcel for a long time, which makes them feel that it is theirs.

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422 This type of conflict carries over to other property, such
593 as livestock, as exemplified in the next case.
578

Case 3

When Candelario Aguilar married, Juana, his wife received
[431] a regalo from her father: a bull. Candelario sold the bull and bought a cow, which had a calf.

Candelario left town and gave the cow and calf to his father Francisco, so that they would take care of it in his absence.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 193]

184 591 586 602 the father is preferred, while in Amatenango, both paternal and maternal relatives are equally good choices.

184 736 591 434 9. In Aguacatenango, where widows are incapable of supporting the economic demands of the household by themselves, they choose to reside with a male sponsor in another household, while in Amatenango, they can be self-sponsors and the heads of their own domestic groups.

184 621 582 591 10. In both villages, residence within one's barrio is preferred over residence in any other territorial division. In Amatenango, cross-barrio marriages are accompanied by matri-uxorilocal residence as well as patri-virilocal residence, which results in both men and women residing in a barrio other than their own (11 per cent and 16 per cent respectively). This results in Aguacatenango barrios being related only through the circulation of women between them, while in Amatenango, both men and women are transmitted between families across barrio lines, in both directions.

184 621 602 [592] The structuring of economic and residential sponsorship produces two different types of neighborhoods in the two villages. In Aguacatenango, the neighborhood tends to be a cluster of agnatically linked households, while in Amatenango, it is composed [613] of a set of kindred. The barrio in Aguacatenango, then, is a [562] territorial division containing neighborhoods which are localized agnatic groups, which I call localized patrilines, with few non-relatives and bilateral kinsmen enclaved throughout the blocks; a man does not separate from his territory or barrio, nor from his neighborhood, while a woman circulates within neighborhoods after 184 621 591 marriage and even within barrios. In Amatenango, both men and

M 563 621 647 doctors and officers of the National Indian Institute (INI) who arrive to the villages at irregular intervals. In Amatenango, T 621 743 647 the INI has established a "clinic" in which a native nurse provides some medical services, such as vaccinations, the selling of aspirin, etc., while in Aguacatenango the native INI nurse provides services in his home.

T 621 647 474 In both the villages the INI has established a cooperative store which sells staples which are not produced in the community, but such stores are in no sense agents of cultural change, selling only commodities which the Indians habitually buy elsewhere. (A reason for the lack of success of such stores is that the Indians have not understood the "cooperative" principle, very few men have joined, and they are disillusioned with the marginal profit obtained through them.) T 621 647 312 114 In 1958, Amatenango had water piped into the village, a project completed by the INI in 1957; while after the author left Aguacatenango in 1958, water pipes were installed there.

M 563 692 Political relations with the Ladinos of a more formal nature occur through the courts of justice and national government offices, and they are characterized by the covert (and at times open) hostility and misunderstanding on the part of both Indians and Ladinos (see D. Metzger, 1956 and Fuente, Julio de la, 1958).

T 628 438 571 608 582 Relations with other Indian villages are common both for Amatenango and Aguacatenango. They trade with the communities located in different ecological zones the products that do not grow in their territory (ocote from the highlands, sugar cane from the lowlands, etc.) in exchange for their own products and they

3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 463-A]

000 cept the verdict or to avenge the killing.

682 674 128 In selecting a single motive in categorizing the killer and the reason for his act, I have distorted reality more than in the other tabulations. Motivations include both the instrumental reason and the rationalization for the act. The complexity of motivation is correlated with the multiplicity of social ties existing between any two people. For example, when a man shoots his father for failure to provide him with his bride price, but feels justified and expects social approval because his mother on her deathbed accused the father of having provoked her illness by witchcraft (case 36, Table 1), it is impossible to assign a single primary cause. However, in order to correlate the factors of agent and motive, I have been forced to select only a single feature in categorizing them.

682 674 • 175 In one-half of all the cases reported, the motive attributed for homicide is suspicion of witchcraft. (Whether or not witchcraft is ever practiced here is irrelevant since men act in terms of their interpretation of an event, not of the event itself.) Almost all sickness in the community is believed to be caused by witchcraft (the term for witch and witchcraft, *?ak'?amel*, means "giver of sickness"). The family of a sick person consults the local curers, who pulse the patient. The witch "has left his signature in the blood" of the patient, and by pulsing him the curer can "hear and feel" who the witch is. His procedure is to ask the patient to tell what troubles he has had with his neighbors and relatives, and as the patient recites the names of the people with whom he has had conflict, the pulse jumps. As in the use of the lie detector, this indicates where there is high affect; in Teklum it is interpreted as positive indicator of the guilty person, the witch. If the curer gets drunk enough, he may reveal the name of the witch, but he usually prefers not to—I know of at least three cases, one of which is reported here, in which the man who announced the name of the witch was killed by the person he accused. The family may then check the consultation with curers in neighboring towns or even in the departmental capital. Since these distant curers are not inhibited by fear of the witch, they name the guilty one. The family, or the patient, may broadcast their suspicions, even announcing the consultation over the loudspeakers in the local liquor shops. If the patient dies, a member of the family may act on

682 these suspicions and kill the witch. If he should
674 kill the witch while the patient is still alive, it
• 75 is believed that the patient will die.

Killing men for cattle theft (six cases) is a
682 relatively recent occurrence. It has put hom-
685 icide on the market: the associations of
674 cattle-owners have hired killers in three of the
[463] six cases. In addition to the killer's fee, they
[697] pay the fine to release him from prison. Fines
for homicide have increased in the past five
years—from 1,000 to 3,000 pesos—but not
sufficiently to price the murder of cattle
[435] thieves out of the market. A good bull is worth
1,500 pesos, and the threat of further loss by
theft seems to justify the expenditure of fees
685 and fines. When the cattle-owners lose some
787 of their herd, they go to spiritualists or to San
776 Miguel, the talking saint of Ixtapa, to find out
who did the stealing. Since such evidence does
not hold up in court, legal settlement is not
685 attempted. Legal action, moreover, would
694 create an enemy who might seek revenge. A
Ladino secretary of the town center who had
lost a bull accused a man of stealing his cattle
and demanded 500 pesos in compensation. By
receiving the money he jeopardized his safety,
and eventually he had to leave town.

The Resolution of the Case

682 It is nearly impossible to find witnesses to
69 homicide. Of these 37 cases, 28 resulted in no
action being taken by the authorities, and in
five cases where the killers went to jail, they
were released with the payment of minimal
fines. In the calculations of the townspeople, it
is hardly worth risking one's neck to get such a
minimal revenge.

682 However, this does not mean that homicide
593 goes unnoticed in the community. After a
626 killing the widow sings of the life of the dead
[683] man. If she is in agreement with the verdict
arrived at by the killer and others, she will
deny knowledge of what he has done, or even
suggest that she too was aware of what harm
he has caused (one widow implied that her
husband, killed as a witch, was responsible for
the death of four of her six children). If she
objects to the verdict, she sings of what a good
man he was and how blameless. She will then
air her own suspicions in the following weeks as
to who killed her husband.

.682 Following the funeral, when the women
683 have left the cemetary, the men sit at the
627 grave. As they measure out a liter of liquor and
pass it around, they advance hypotheses as

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER IV

DRINKING PATTERNS ASSOCIATED WITH GETTING SICK AND DYING

• 75 Illness is probably the least well-controlled variable in Aguacatenango planning. As such, it is a recurrent event in the lives of Aguacatenangueros, and its implications are serious.

The household, the most complex and long-enduring organizational effort of Aguacatenangueros, may be destroyed by the death of one of its adult members. Extreme illness may cause a family to close up its house and leave town altogether. Any illness is potentially a severe strain on family resources. 273* Drinking is intimately associated with illness: it figures in 753 the etiology of illness; it is central in the procedures used [1964] to reduce illness as a basis for inference and action; and finally, it is an important instrument of expression of mourning should the ill individual die. After a brief description of the [128] "theory of illness" in Aguacatenango, we will show how drinking is related to this theory and to its behavioral expression.

753 Or, "the man is suffering from malaria which he got in hot country the last time he went to the fincas." Or, "the man's spirit is being eaten by a witch, Mr. X, who is angry with him because he did not pay back the money he owed." Every after-the-fact description of antecedent conditions implies a cause and effect relation such that the cause can be manipulated so as the patient will recover from the illness. After-the-fact descriptions of the sources of disease processes are never final since they are always dependent on (a) the further development of the disease process in the patient and (b) the confirmation in the identification of the source of illness by a successful attempt to reduce the effect of the source. If manipulation of the hypothesized source reduces the illness, the diagnosis of source is concluded to be correct; if not, further source potentials are searched for.

There is relatively little explicit procedural apparatus for adding to the inventory of after-the-fact explanations, and there are relatively few devices for modifying the modes of identification of the cause of the disease process. If a change capability is built into this theory of illness in Aguacatenango, it is not easy to detect wherein it lies.[1]

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[1]The modes of change that we have observed in Aguacatenangueros' response to illness have involved shifts from known medical practitioners to others, where the theory remains relatively unexplicated and the results of the medical practitioner's

753 Informants report experiencing a variety of sensed states as a disease process begins. Among these are depression (mental), cough, dry throat, diarrhea, fever, vomiting, stomach ache, loss

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75 177 178 progress are used to judge the probability of opting some particular medical practitioner for a cure rather than some other. Response to illness involves the principle of exhaustion of resources. In severe illness, the family of the patient may exhaust all known medical practitioners who are thought to have sufficient knowledge and skill and also may exhaust all means for motivating curers to come and perform the cure. With the diminution of resources and exhaustion of the most proper curers, the family of the patient explores curing sources whose potential for curing may be lower, but still appreciable. Successful curing under such circumstances raises the probability that this family will use some newly successful medical practitioner sooner in the next onset of illness, that is, he will be called upon before they have exhausted their resources. The introduction of INI medical practice into Aguacatenango has been in these terms, namely, that patients and their families have turned to INI medical personnel upon the exhaustion of their resources. INI procedures have maintained a ratio of successes over failures in these curing circumstances such that they have continued to be called upon, in some cases under less extreme conditions. The ratio of successes over failures has not been so great, however, that INI is seen to be a totally satisfactory replacement for the more well established practitioners. Furthermore, INI treats only a small proportion of the total range of "illnesses" that occur in the community. INI will increase the proportion of cases it treats as it modifies the Aguacatenangueros' perception of the success'failure ratio and as it increases the classes of illness that it deals with. It may be the case that INI has at present a maximal investment in time and resources in maintaining its present range and success proportion, so future severe changes may not be expected from them. There is, however, some generalization to other INI type of curers--namely, doctors in San Cristobal. The generalization here may increase the use of doctors over curers. There is the further possibility that curers are incorporating into their theories some of the simpler strategies used by doctors. This is done so crudely that it hardly involves change of beliefs at any detailed level, but rather involves a simple increase of the inventories of medicine by means of which the curer implements his theory.

753 statement would be that the names of illnesses are reflexes of all these pressures.

757 Curing strategies more or less line up with this symptom-illness distinction. The early stages of a disease process are handled by medicine, the appropriate form of which and access to which, most adults in Aguacatenango control. For example: for stomach gas, give bicarbonate soda with lime (to drink); for a cough, give boiled brown sugar (to drink); for nausea and headache give té limon. As the combination of "symptoms" increases in the later stages of a disease process, most adults lose control over knowledge of the proper array of medicines and rituals. These in turn become combinatorially more complex. It is at these later stages of the disease process that curers and doctors are called in.

756 759 Curers and doctors differ most obviously in that doctors are ladinos and curers tend to be Indians (although ladino curers are known). In addition, they deal with illnesses in sufficiently contrastive ways so that two role identifying labels must be 75 maintained. They are both recognized to be able to reduce illness (as a basis for further inference and action) by prescribing medicines that can be purchased in the pharmacy. These may be taken orally, injected, or applied as a salve. The doctor further prescribes and may himself perform some minor surgery, X-ray examinations, and other traditional Western-European

75 strategies for diagnosing and reducing illness. The curer does not engage in surgery, nor does he prescribe any of the more complex testing procedures whose results he does not imagine himself to be able to interpret. Instead, he recommends additional substances he purchased from the pharmacy such as tallow, wines, herbs in aguardientes as well as substances which are sometimes found in domesticated state, and more often found wild in the general vicinity of Aguacatenango. These include some kinds of flowers, bark, leaves, roots, stems, flesh of animals and fishes, animal waste products, eggs and so on. These substances are variously taken orally, applied externally, or inhaled as steam. Unlike doctors, curers practice bleeding and cupping; they also administer some medications in the form of steam while the patient is seated on a platform over a fire. They incorporate adornment of the sick-bed into curing ritual. The ritual may also include prayer. Most important, perhaps, the curers undertake to examine the recent life history of the individual who is ill, in terms of the possibility that the individual has encountered some disease producing entity which can explain, in his particular case, the onset of the disease process. There is no illness for which the curer does not have an explanation together with a set of strategies for dealing with it. At present, at least one curer, when confronted with very serious cases, will refer his patient to a doctor, but this does

75 not yet appear to be a popular alternative. Generally, the doctor is the last of all medical practitioners referred to in exhausting the curing options in Aguacatenango, though individuals who have had a successful relationship with the doctor are more
756 likely to pursue that option sooner. The only other major class of medical practitioner is the talking saint. Talking saints are more or less representational images of saints who, in conjunction with their "owners" can actively consult with human beings about their trials and tribulations in the world. The most powerful of this class, San Miguel of Soyaló, is about an eight hour trip and a 200 peso fee from Aguacatenango. Talking saints share more features with the curers than they do with doctors. They, like the curers, are predestined by God to their role,
[755] but they more directly represent God's omniscience. The cure of the talking saint is more powerful as can be measured by the greater expenditure of funds for such a cure, or as can be measured by his greater ability to divine in the life history of the patient the principal sources of illness.

128 Admitting then, that illness has general characteristics as described above, we turn our attention to the multiple relations between illness and the drinking of aguardiente.

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[P.154]

TABLE 22. Types of Diseases, Medication, and Curing Agents

Category of disease	*Etiology*	*Cure*	*Medication*	*Curing*
Bad illnesses				
Hot illnesses				
madness	Witchcraft	"Taking out the evil"	Cold medicines and bathing with cold herbs	Curer doctor, and/or druggist
headache, dysentery, diarrhea, yellow fever	Caused from start by witchcraft. May start as "good disease," and become entry for witchcraft	tamohel (soul calling)		
Cold illnesses				
swelling	Caused from start by witchcraft	tamohel		
diarrhea, white	May begin as "good disease" and become entry for witchcraft	tamohel and bleeding		
rheumatism				
Hot and cold illnesses				
chills and fever	May start as "good disease" and become entry for witchcraft	tamohel	Alternating hot and cold liquids	
Good illnesses				
Hot illnesses				
toothache			Apply cold leaves, remove tooth	I.N.I. nurse

[P.155]

"embarrassment"	Any embarrassing incident will later result in swelling of limbs or surface cuts	bathing in springwater		
Cold illnesses				
broken bones		pull, tie with splint		Bone-setter
"two hearts"	Spiritual depression and malaise resulting in illness	tamohel		Curer
"soul fear"	Fearful incident, fall, may result in fear of soul or loss of soul	tamohel		Curer
Illnesses of God				
Hot illnesses				
contagious diseases: measles, whooping cough, influenza	Given by God	Formerly required tamohel. Now only a few call in curer	Patent medicines: aspirin penicillin	I.N.I. doctor, and curer
epidemic illnesses	Given by God, but when many begin to die, suspect witchcraft	Gathering of curers to "take out evil"	Patent medicines: aspirin penicillin	Curer

184 vis-à-vis their husbands and male kinsmen, while in Aguacatenango,
182 it makes them economically dependent, and subordinates from a jural
462 point of view. In one case females inherit as men do, in the
592 other, inheritance follows a male line. In one case, they control
562 the same property as men do, in the other, they control only
434 marginal property.
[428]
[421]

(3) The relative importance of a man is labor versus a
184 woman's labor within the domestic unit affects residence. In
182 Aguacatenango, where all important productive activities are in
462 the hands of men, residence is patri-virilocal, and only males are
434 residence sponsors regularly. In Amatenango, where productive ac-
591 tivities are in the hands of both males and females, residence is alternately matri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal, and both males and females can become residence sponsors. In Amatenango, house-
[323] holds that depend more on the women's labor in pottery making are
[241] uxorilocal, while households in which the largest part of the domestic group income is derived from agriculture have post-marital patri-virilocal residence of their members.

184 In Aguacatenango, where all household income is derived
182 from agriculture and residence is patri-virilocal, matri-uxorilo-
434 cality occurs sporadically due to some other economic and non-
591 economic factors: (a) the inheritance of some land in the female
593 line when a daughter structurally replaces a son; (b) the coopera-
428 tive work between father-in-law-son-in-law when they replace the
562 position of father and son for each other; (c) the payment of
602 curing ceremonies and medicines for a sick married woman by her
606 own kin rather than her husband's.
75

have recently sought additional lands in the ejido of Brindis to meet these minimal requirements. This preference for expanding subsistence agriculture to hiring out as laborers is the best index to the persistence of traditional economic pursuits. 423 433 178 241 464

Farmers who do not have a cash crop in wheat may be forced to sell corn even when there is no surplus. Because they usually need the cash as soon as they harvest their crop, they must sell when the prices are low. Thus their consumption needs exacerbate the disadvantage they face in the market. 434 435

Clothing, whether traditional or modern in style, requires cash outlays. Women have kept the traditional costume while men are modifying their clothing. Even when they go to hot country, older women wear the heavy cotton skirt bound with a thick sash and topped by an embroidered blouse; some younger women have adopted the long cotton dirndl skirt and peasant blouse. A white cotton shawl is added for ceremonial events or for warmth in the evening. All of their clothing is either bought or made of materials woven on looms in Comitán or San Bartolomé. The navy blue skirt, which they say is black, and the red and yellow sash are sold for 40 to 50 pesos by Ladina vendors who come to town. The blouse is made from two meters of heavy white cotton sold in the local stores or in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. Most prefer the more expensive cotton woven on bed looms in San Bartolomé, but it is not always available. They embroider the wide bands of yellow and red around the neckline with embroidery floss sold in the local store. The fringed shawl from Comitán is also sold locally, but is often purchased during the annual fiestas in the town. These items are replaced every two or three years, depending on the wealth of the family. The newer clothing is worn on ceremonial occasions, and the older clothing is worn every day. Women wear sandals and hats for protection only when they are firing pottery. For jewelry they wear bead necklaces, sometimes with crosses attached. Their hair is braided with ribbons for fiestas, or simply left hanging when they work. 434 291 178 [439] [435] [294] [292] [751] [301] [302]

Men buy a woolen jacket called *kotonču*, which is brought illegally from the Department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala, where it is made, 434 291 439

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Conflict among Religious Functionaries

578 794

Conflict in the religious domain stems from the opposition of the traditional religious hierarchy and more recently that of the young leadership in the civil authority to the increasing power of the priest. In this conflict the fiscal is a middleman who often gets knocked by both sides.

The priest. The priest visits thirty other Indian communities of the department of San Cristóbal Las Casas in addition to Tzoʔontahal. In the fifteen years he has been working regularly in this town, he has gained increasing authority over the cofrades. He is assisted by two lay sisters who maintain the church and lead the evening prayers in his absence. He admits that, without them, his own work in the town would be more difficult because of the sexual jealousy of the townsmen. His relationship to the group of about forty *resadoras,* or female prayer-makers, who attend the evening prayers regularly and are the most vocal respondents in the mass, would be suspect without the presence of the lay sisters. 793 [794]

The priest tries to play the role of parish leader as well as spiritual leader. When medicine is available from missionary sources, he gives it to the sick. In his sermons, he advises people to use injections, which he makes available, against contagious diseases. He attempts to counsel the people, advising them not to kill, to steal, or to have illegal sexual affairs. In his role as pastor, the priest is influenced by missionary efforts of American Catholic organizations which have sent supplies to the area. [797] [278] [751] [797]

In recent years, the priest has challenged the authority of the head cofrade in activities occurring within and at the door of the church. The following incident, recounted by the son of the elder cofrade, marked a shift in control in these domains: 578 793 794 273

In 1961 the elder cofrade of Sacramento was drinking with the other mayordomos at the door of the church. The priest came out and demanded that they stop because this was the house of God. The elder replied that it was the custom of the pueblo, and he and the other men refused to leave. The priest went back into the church and returned with a gun in his hand. The mayordomos seized wood which they had gathered

There is no double standard for ex-
593 562 [837] tramarital sexual relations, although men abuse the prohibition more often than women, judging from court cases. The ability the women has to assert herself rests on her economic contribution in pottery-making and on the fact that female household help is not part of the labor market.

562 831 Female sexuality has the connotation of negative power over male sexuality. A woman should not step over a man's feet or his clothing since she [827] could affect his virility. This negative power emanates from the odors of a [825] woman's body, and is captured by anything in contact with it. A woman's [755] skirt cast over the head of a bull can tame him, and the water used by a [752] woman to wash her body, particularly the vagina if she has had children, is drunk to cure snake bites because it is very "cold."

[412] Sexuality is seldom extended beyond persons to material objects. There is some feeling that a man's tools, especially the machete and hoe, are male [241] and that a woman's tools, especially the grinding stone, are female. Corn is a crop of men, while beans are a woman's crop, identified with the Virgin. But I could not get much farther with such distinctions.

593 597 861 [603] The accidents of birth determine the recruitment of successive generations into the family of orientation. There is no outright adoption, but a child may be "lent" to a childless couple, usually by a sibling of one of the spouses, or a grandchild may take up residence in the house of a grandparent when all the children have moved to separate residences. Parents discipline a badly behaved child with the threat, "I am going to sell you to care for someone's house," but I have never known of a case of outright sale of a child.

581 582 The selection of a spouse is a decision based on both universalistic as well as particularistic considerations. Both the boy and the girl should be hardworking, sober, and dutiful residents of the same section of the dual division. It is considered to be of greater importance that the boy feel af- [562] fection toward the girl than vice versa. The "taking of the heart" is a test of the strength and exclusiveness of the boy's interest in his chosen mate, and there is no counterpart for the girl. Although there is no term for romantic love, the closest approximation being "want" or "ask for" a woman, there is an awareness of the importance of a warm, affectionate basis if a marriage relationship is to last "at least until the day after tomorrow." A suitor is accepted if he is known to be a hard worker and if he

682 to who did it. The consultations with curers
683 prior to the death of the supposed victims of a
627 witch will be introduced as evidence. (Some degree of consensus may have been built up beforehand, in witch-killings, by the public broadcast of accusations noted above.[8]) The focus of the discussion is not so much on who killed the dead man, but whether he was indeed a witch. This kind of mock trial occurs
[753] after every funeral, since it must be decided who caused the sickness. Emotions run very
[152] high as the liquor is passed around, and accusations are made, sometimes against those pres-
[273] ent. It was after a funeral that one man killed his son (not included in Table 1) for accusing him of having caused the death of the son's child, who was being buried.

682 In the weeks following a homicide, it is dis-
[521] cussed at all the drinking sessions in the homes or in the town hall. Eventually an authoritative version begins to emerge. Those who have defended the victim then keep silent, and the
682 affair "rests in peace." Avenging the death of a
683 man judged to have been a witch, so far as I
[627] know, has never been done. In one case (no. 36, Table 1) the widow of a man killed as a witch vigorously denied the legitimacy of the act and built up a case against the killer. She spread word that it was without doubt the dead man's son by a prior marriage. When the son was killed shortly after (case 37, Table 1), everyone assumed that he had been killed by the widow's son by *her* prior marriage. However, the authoritative version concerning the second killing was that it was an accident: he had been mistaken for his brother, whom the killer was after because of rivalry over a girl.

682 *Rules for Surviving*
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The patterning of the selection of victims and the circumstances of homicide provide the basis for formulating a set of rules that can
682 ensure survival. The long-range rules of sur-
539 vival, in the words of an elder at the occasion of
183 the death of his godchild, are:

lakon kak'o ta kuenta me'lat
I pay respect to my elders.

hun ku kiñts'in kuluičan
[601] I greet my younger brothers and my children (classificatory extension of kinship terms).

spisil kak' ta kuenta
To all I give respect.

ha' kil lekotik. Ma taltik milo' me taltik tsimal

581 end, the husband gives a big meal sometime
574 (even 30 years later) which must be attended by the important members of the wife's clan. Many illnesses in a family are attributed to the fact that the man did not fulfill this third requirement of a food gift (*oshevuelto-uaj-matz*, 'third delivery of food').

[753]

584 Another custom, known as *yajk makte achish* ('cover or secure the girl'), is practiced when the chosen girl is too young (10–12 years) to get married. To secure her in the future, the boy's parents make arrangements with those of the girl, offering them liquor that other members of the girl's clan also share. When she grows older, they proceed with the wedding arrangements and the customary formal ceremonies.

583 Another form of marriage, existing among very traditional groups, begins with the capture of the girl. This happens when she has no father or important man representing the house. The boy and his parents must obtain cooperation from one of the male members of the girl's clan. With this accomplice the men go to the girl's house at midnight, take her, and bring her to the boy's parents either by persuading her mother with liquor or by force. Days later, they try to calm the anger of the important people of her clan, bringing further bottles of liquor. Usually the union becomes formally recognized after this, and the couple settle in their own home with the neighbors' approval. It is thus a sort of institutionalized capture.

581 Among the less conservative communities,
177 these forms of marriage are being replaced
585 by Ladino forms, which regard marriage not as a contract between two lineages or families but as an agreement between two individuals. Furthermore, the Catholic ceremony
583 is considered very important. Premarital sex-
836 ual relations and elopement are frequent. Metzger states that, "in Aguacatenango, to
584 a considerable extent, the marriage choice
[836] is made by the boy and the girl after sexual experimentation and a period of 'going steady.' The boy tells his family about it and they proceed to make the arrangements

[P. 218-B]

844 cloves, and corncake, to keep her "warm
[757] and fertile." The placenta can be burned,
[842] thrown to the dogs, or deeply buried in case
the mother does not want another preg-
[789] nancy soon. The umbilical cord is put under
a three-stone fireplace if the baby is a girl,
on top of a tree if it is a boy so that he may
become brave and agile when adult.

846 A few hours after childbirth, at the latest
515 the next day, both mother and child take a
temascal (steam bath). Some women stay
in the temascal until they feel completely
recovered.

Childhood and Adolescence

789 During the first weeks of life, children are
774 in danger of losing their souls because their
inexperience makes them an easy prey to
the naguales and bad spirits who wander
around. As protection, mothers place a small
[237] piece of beeswax at the back of the child's
head or tie, as a bracelet, a red or blue
thread around the wrist. If none of these
precautions are taken, the mother has to
cover with branches the paths her child
walks, so that his soul can easily find its way
in case he loses it.

789 Because of all these dangers, fathers al-
852 ways try to perform the ceremony of "seed
774 the soul of the child" as soon as possible. It
[553] is during this ceremony that the child is
given a name, later confirmed according to
Catholic ritual at the ceremonial center. A
[608] very important aspect of the ceremony is
selection of the godparents.

753 *Sickness and Death*

776 Most sicknesses come from infection or
[888] malnutrition. To the natives, however, ill-
nesses have a supernatural cause and are
ascribed either to the anger of gods and
spirits or to old people who have a nagual
or who can throw a spell. The most frequent
explanation is that naguales or supernatural
beings are acting against people. They can
adopt human or animal form or appear as
[P. 224-A]

753 776 [794] [888] [613] thunder, wind, or lightning. All the men who occupy or have occupied cargos in the political or religious organization are supposed to have a nagual, as do the older members of the lineage. They consider it their duty to punish those members of the group who have sinned and use their nagual, who can devour the soul of the victim little by little.

774 776 According to this idea, everybody has two souls: one which can be eaten by the naguales, and one which follows the destiny that its patron saint has planned for it. 761 775 776 When death comes, the naguales take away the first soul and have a banquet up in the mountains. In this feast, the naguales of the old people of the clan participate, joined by others induced to comradeship.

761 773 776 It is a widespread belief that at midyear the naguales go to a place in heaven called Atimaltik, where an old man who possesses the Book of Life lives. Since in this book he keeps account of the time each person can live, it is a source of information for the naguales, who thus can know who is close to death. When the signature of a person disappears from the book, this means that the person died.

764 People have to keep watch over the body for two days and two nights. It is placed on a wooden plank in the middle of the house after being washed or just given a change of clothes. Two candles are placed at the head. At night friends and neighbors come to keep company with the family. They play harp and guitar and drink chicha and aguardiente. At dawn, the men go home and the women remain crying near the corpse.

[613] [184] Following the ancient custom, the dead are buried near the graves of other men of the same lineage. In Cancuc, however, dead are buried inside the house.

The bottom and sides of the grave are covered with slabs to form a coffin. The corpse, bundled up in a petate, is placed inside. His clothes and other articles he may

[P. 224-B]

273* YUN PLETO HA* HIC MAYUK XIWEL *A.
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731
539 In order to fight without being afraid.

753 In conjunction with collateral evidence, this text provides support for the following points. One of the standing beliefs in Aguacatenango is that sickness of god /XCAMEL YU*UN TYOS/ is essentially curable. Measles is classified as such a
[754] sickness. When the children die in a measles epidemic, some "witch" must be laying on further illness components which cause the death. One mode of reducing the witchcraft component in the illness is to kill the witch or witches.

754 755 The problem of determining who the witch(es) may be in such a case as this is very difficult. The well-defined and formally correct mode is to call together several of the curers, have them pulse the patient, hear their announcement that the sick person is suffering from witchcraft and insist that they name the witch or witches. The curers are likely to go as far as to indicate that a witchcraft component is involved in the illness, but they most often are unwilling to name an individual, as their name becomes associated with their testimony and the alleged witch and his kinsmen are likely to impose severe
754 penalties on the curer. The search for the witch, then, must go on, under the force of standing beliefs as follows: Individuals in the community may be assigned a witchcraft potential on the basis of a variety of evidence. In this case the text

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER IV

DRINKING PATTERNS ASSOCIATED WITH GETTING SICK AND DYING

75 Illness is probably the least well-controlled variable in Aguacatenango planning. As such, it is a recurrent event in the lives of Aguacatenangueros, and its implications are serious.

The household, the most complex and long-enduring organizational effort of Aguacatenangueros, may be destroyed by the death of one of its adult members. Extreme illness may cause a family to close up its house and leave town altogether. Any illness is potentially a severe strain on family resources. 273* Drinking is intimately associated with illness: it figures in 753 the etiology of illness; it is central in the procedures used [764] to reduce illness as a basis for inference and action; and finally, it is an important instrument of expression of mourning should the ill individual die. After a brief description of the [128] "theory of illness" in Aguacatenango, we will show how drinking is related to this theory and to its behavioral expression.

121 that the attribute space relevant to material objects is going to be easily searchable.[1]

(3) Most theories that individuals have about causal relationships in the real world are documented by events which have already taken place. They are of the type: X is true because Y has happened; or, alternatively, since Y, then X. Garfinkel has called this the documentary method (Garfinkel n.d.). It is characteristic of the documentary method that there is hardly ever a set of past events which deny some set of infer-
121 ences the documentary method provides.[2] Thus, in Aguacatenango,
753 an epidemic stops because the witch who was causing it has been killed; if, on the other hand, the epidemic does not stop with the killing of a witch, then another witch must be responsible. Again, a sick person gets well because a curing ceremony has been performed; if he does not get well after the ceremony, then his illness must be witchcraft and the witch more powerful than
121 the curer. The documentary method is never wrong. This may be

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[1]See Conklin (1955).

[2]This characteristic of the documentary method is explicated in an experiment by Garfinkel (op. cit.). Subjects were told that they should report by phone to counselors serious problems they were experiencing. Whenever the subject thought of a question to which the counselor could answer yes or no, he was instructed to ask the question. The counselor then answered each question yes or no. The subjects were required to interpret the counselor's response. In every case the subjects were able to "make sense" out of the counselor's response. The counselors' responses were drawn from a table of random numbers.

121 one reason most "primitive" belief systems require so much pressure before they can be brought under our documentary rules.

The beginnings of a theory of illness for Aguacatenango

In order to develop a theory of illness, one must have a way for directing the informant's attention to this domain or focus; or, alternatively, the ethnographer must be able to detect in the set of observables he has available to him, those which are, to some extent, conditioned by the salience of illness in one or another of its forms to the performers. In the present case we depend upon verbal contexts to establish relevance from the informant's point of view, and we use verbal contexts to test non-simulated performances in order to determine the salience of illness in the record of any situation we may be examining. One general measure of relevance is expressed in the Tzeltal question: /TUT LA SPAS/ "What happened to him" literally "What was he doing?" A further probe such as: /TUT+A CAMELIL YA YA*I*/ "What illness does he feel?" if it can be made relevant, is fairly likely to put the observer into the domain of illness as it is being experienced by some participant. If the illness is a non-simulated performance, further eliciting will produce further reports of states relevant in that domain. If the illness is a simulated performance, further well controlled eliciting will produce further relevant responses to

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753 the initial simulated performance. Such material, in conjunction with texts, constitutes the basis for the following survey of beliefs about illness.

753 The conditions which precede the onset of illness are many and varied. While some of them are known to be antecedent to illness in the sense that if an individual experiences one of these conditions the probability is increased that he will become ill, there are nonetheless many conditions which become diagnostic of the illness only after the individual defines himself and is defined as being ill. Types of experiences which lead the individual to anticipate illness include either becoming angry or being an object of anger; experiencing extreme fright, as when one has had dreams, or has seen the image of some malevolent non-human force (i.e., a ladino dressed in black riding a tall horse); and drinking aguardiente. These and similar experiences carry permanent associations with illness; the individual expects to become ill and often does so. Conditions which are used to explain illness only after-the-fact tend to be more properly theoretical in that they explain at once the necessary and sufficient conditions for some non-hypothetical occurrence of some disease process.

Among the after-the-fact explanations one finds statements such as, "the patient is suffering from soul loss, his soul presently residing in the Owner of the Cave's soul pool."

753 Or, "the man is suffering from malaria which he got in hot country the last time he went to the fincas." Or, "the man's spirit is being eaten by a witch, Mr. X, who is angry with him because he did not pay back the money he owed." Every after-the-fact description of antecedent conditions implies a cause and effect relation such that the cause can be manipulated so as the patient will recover from the illness. After-the-fact descriptions of the sources of disease processes are never final since they are always dependent on (a) the further development of the disease process in the patient and (b) the confirmation in the identification of the source of illness by a successful attempt to reduce the effect of the source. If manipulation of the hypothesized source reduces the illness, the diagnosis of source is concluded to be correct; if not, further source potentials are searched for.

There is relatively little explicit procedural apparatus for adding to the inventory of after-the-fact explanations, and there are relatively few devices for modifying the modes of identification of the cause of the disease process. If a change capability is built into this theory of illness in Aguacatenango, it is not easy to detect wherein it lies.[1]

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[1]The modes of change that we have observed in Aguacatenangueros' response to illness have involved shifts from known medical practitioners to others, where the theory remains relatively unexplicated and the results of the medical practitioner's

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

753 Informants report experiencing a variety of sensed states as a disease process begins. Among these are depression (mental), cough, dry throat, diarrhea, fever, vomiting, stomach ache, loss

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75 177 178 progress are used to judge the probability of opting some particular medical practitioner for a cure rather than some other. Response to illness involves the principle of exhaustion of resources. In severe illness, the family of the patient may exhaust all known medical practitioners who are thought to have sufficient knowledge and skill and also may exhaust all means for motivating curers to come and perform the cure. With the diminution of resources and exhaustion of the most proper curers, the family of the patient explores curing sources whose potential for curing may be lower, but still appreciable. Successful curing under such circumstances raises the probability that this family will use some newly successful medical practitioner sooner in the next onset of illness, that is, he will be called upon before they have exhausted their resources. The introduction of INI medical practice into Aguacatenango has been in these terms, namely, that patients and their families have turned to INI medical personnel upon the exhaustion of their resources. INI procedures have maintained a ratio of successes over failures in these curing circumstances such that they have continued to be called upon, in some cases under less extreme conditions. The ratio of successes over failures has not been so great, however, that INI is seen to be a totally satisfactory replacement for the more well established practitioners. Furthermore, INI treats only a small proportion of the total range of "illnesses" that occur in the community. INI will increase the proportion of cases it treats as it modifies the Aguacatenangueros' perception of the success'failure ratio and as it increases the classes of illness that it deals with. It may be the case that INI has at present a maximal investment in time and resources in maintaining its present range and success proportion, so future severe changes may not be expected from them. There is, however, some generalization to other INI type of curers--namely, doctors in San Cristobal. The generalization here may increase the use of doctors over curers. There is the further possibility that curers are incorporating into their theories some of the simpler strategies used by doctors. This is done so crudely that it hardly involves change of beliefs at any detailed level, but rather involves a simple increase of the inventories of medicine by means of which the curer implements his theory.

753 of appetite, swelling, headache. At this stage in the disease process, no one, least of all the patient, knows what developments of successive units of time will be like. That is, the patient may have a headache and it will disappear (that is, no longer be reported) in some successive unit of time. On the other hand, the headache may be compounded with a stomach ache in some successive unit of time, resulting in a redefinition of the disease process. Generally speaking, sensed states which occur early in the disease process and which are not divisible into other sensed states are equivalent to symptoms, whereas sensed states which occur later in the disease process and which are a sum of other sensed states may be equivalent to illnesses. Illnesses are unit characterizations of the disease process which are sufficiently contrastive with each other so that alternative strategies for reducing the illness (as a basis of inference and action) are pursued, depending upon which (identified) illness is present in any particular case.

It is at present still unclear to what degree well-defined illnesses such as /SAK *OBAL/ "tuberculosis" are defined strictly in terms of combinations of symptoms appearing through the disease process rather than in combination with the manner in which the disease process responds to the sequential curing segments, and the ultimate explanations assigned to the disease process (e.g., witchcraft). It is probably that a more adequate

753 statement would be that the names of illnesses are reflexes of all these pressures.

757 Curing strategies more or less line up with this symptom-illness distinction. The early stages of a disease process are handled by medicine, the appropriate form of which and access to which, most adults in Aguacatenango control. For example: for stomach gas, give bicarbonate soda with lime (to drink); for a cough, give boiled brown sugar (to drink); for nausea and headache give té limon. As the combination of "symptoms" increases in the later stages of a disease process, most adults lose control over knowledge of the proper array of medicines and rituals. These in turn become combinatorially more complex. It is at these later stages of the disease process that curers and doctors are called in.

756 759 Curers and doctors differ most obviously in that doctors are ladinos and curers tend to be Indians (although ladino curers are known). In addition, they deal with illnesses in sufficiently contrastive ways so that two role identifying labels must be 75 maintained. They are both recognized to be able to reduce illness (as a basis for further inference and action) by prescribing medicines that can be purchased in the pharmacy. These may be taken orally, injected, or applied as a salve. The doctor further prescribes and may himself perform some minor surgery, X-ray examinations, and other traditional Western-European

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* 753 **The role of drinking performances in the onset of illness**

Informants report that drinking may result in illness. One can distinguish, in the case of consequent illness two rather distinct constellations of features which lead to illness. The first involves the enchanting of the aguardiente by some bad-intentioned person, a substance being inserted in the aguardiente which causes severe illness or death to the person who drinks it. The second state involves interpretation of the supposed results of drunkenness, the universal result of the consumption of aguardiente in substantial amounts.

273* 753 539 An example of the first condition appears in a text fragment of Ausencio Espinoza, as follows:

NAL PRIMERA LIHKE YU*N LOK' TA PAXEAL HUN *AHK'BAL SOK SOTAK.

This began when he went out to party with his friends.

BAYAL XK'OKIL BA STOHIK SK'INIK SLOK'ESLAN SBILIK TA BOSINA.

There were several of them who paid for their music and they announced their names on the loud speaker.

PERO SUNUL *AHK'BAL PAXYAHIK.

They partied all night.

TA XCE'BAL K'AHAL LIHK YA'Y K'UX TA SBE YIK' MA*K SNA* STOHOL TUT *AY TE K'UX E.

The next day he began to feel a pain in his throat and he didn't understand what it was from.

BAHT TA *A*TEL.

He went to work.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* 753 539 TE TA YA*TEL E MA LA X HU* YA YA*Y I TONC LA YA YA*Y TE MA*YUK SPERSE.

He went to work and he was not able to do it, for he felt very weak.

XCE*BAL K'AHAL HA* NAX HIC.

The next day he felt the same.

YOXEBAL K'AHAL HA* NAX HIC.

On the third day he felt the same.

TE*BEHTIK *UNINOT TONC HA* K'UX LI* TA SBE YIK' I.

Little by little the illness dominated him, what gave him pain was his throat.

MA SPAS XWE* SOYOK MA SPAS X KO HNUXUK SBAL XC'UHT TONC YAKB YU*UN TE ZK'UXUL SNUK' E.

He was not able to eat, and he began to grow thin for the pain in his throat.

HA* HIC LIHK XCAMEL ABI.

In this way his illness began.

TONC LIHK Z'IN PURA YA*AL TI*IL LIHK MALMUNEL HONA.

Afterwards he was spitting a lot of phlegm.

MA X MAHK LIHK *IPAHUK LEK.

It didn't stop, it got worse.

*OC TA POXTAYEL WEHT YAH*UL LA XPOXTA PURO MANBILIL POX LA YA*BE.

They began to cure him. The curer used only medicines that were purchased.

PERO MA* TOHOL CAMELUK HA* SAK *OBAL I.

But it was not a simple illness, it was tuberculosis.

273* X*OBEINAHE MA X LOK' HAL *OBAL I.
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539 When he coughed the phlegm did not come up.

HA* HIC CAM HAL KEREM BONIPASY I.

In this manner Bonifacio died.

X K'OK TA POXTAYEL TA MUK'UL *AKIL PERO MA HNA* MAC'A TE POXTAWANEH MA* TOHUB YU*N YAHCAMEL E.

He went to Pinola to cure himself. I don't know who it was that tried to cure him, but he failed.

*A LA PERSA CAM K'ALAL CAM E, BAYAL X K'OK SMUKEL.

Inevitably, he died. Many went to his funeral.

HA* Z'IN ABI YA YAL SPISIL MAC'ATIK XK'OK TA MUKAHEL I, CIKAN *AY MA*C'A LAH HAK' HOL CAMEL I, PERO MA SPAS TA HALEL MAC'A LA YAK', TA REPENTA ME LA YA*BOTIK *EHK E.

And afterward, all those who went to the funeral said, "We know who caused the illness, but we can't say who did it, for he might quickly make us ill also."

273* So, Bonifacio is reported to have been carousing with
753 his friends for the course of an evening. The specific behaviors which are mentioned include: (a) making a party (in a bar) for one night. The specific features of the party-making include: (1) paying the barkeeper to play music over the loudspeaker system; and (2) announcing their names over this same loudspeaker system. While drinking is not mentioned in the text, it is none the less the case well confirmed by informants that it is unlikely that drinking did not go on in this setting.

The next day Bonifacio went to work. In a matter of weeks Bonifacio died of tuberculosis, an illness whose etiology

273* 753 carries a strong witchcraft component. The conclusion apparent in the text is that Bonifacio was subject to this witchcraft contamination the night of the party, a point which informants confirm.

The party context, then, is one which may make the individual particularly susceptible to witchcraft. One reason for this may be that the party-goer becomes drunk and is thus less well aware of potentially threatening performances around him. A second is that he is ingesting substances (like aguardiente) the precise character of which he does not know; they being brought to the party by his companions or bought at the bar. It is a standing belief that a witch can cause trago to accept poisonous material which will kill the man who drinks it. Thus Bonifacio was killed at the party, the method being unknown (but not unlikely by using aguardiente as a medium), the killer being unknown but probably a member of the party group.

273* 753 539 A further example from text picks up a few more of the features of the drinking situation which is likely to be associated with witchcraft.

M. HINC*A, CAWAH TA HOL.

Yeah, I'm crazy in my head.

C. HAL LA STIH TRAWO *EHK I.

The trago brought that on.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* M. HA* MA* KA*YTIK BA* YA KUC'TIK TUT'IL *ULEMOTIK I.
753
539

We lose track of where we are drinking when we are good and drunk.

YU*N HO*N MA* KA*YIX K'OP *A, HA*WAN LA HTAIX *A HATE YU*N KUXEBAL E.

It's because I didn't obey; perhaps I got it during Holy Week.

*E LA KAK'HBA TA *ILEL TA *ORA, MANIX KAK' TA MUK' *EHK *ABI.

I tried to cure myself right away but it didn't do any good.

TONC YUN C'ABAL YA KA*Y TONC STUBI YUN LEK-*AN YA KA*Y TU*L NIX *AYINON *A.

I hear a lot of silence, and nothing is well with me as I have always been.

LIHK KA*BE XAN Z'IN HAL YUN K'IN E, HUNYO E.

I began to drink again in the fiesta in June.

YUN TE LA SAPUYONIK XAN *A TE MAC'A NIX YA YIL BIHINON *A E.

He bewitched me again, the same guy who had bothered me before.

TE LA POHOL HIL HXANAB *A, TE POHOL HIL HPOKO *A, PERE MA*Y XC'ULEL HNUXUK.

I left my sandals lying there, my flashlight lying there, I just didn't remember a thing.

MA* BA C'IN HPAS HA*IC.

This has never happened to me before.

*OCON K'OL TA HNA Z'IN TONC BOLBOLTIKIX HBA Z'IN *A, TONC YANATIK TUTA KALIX *A TO *OCON K'OL E.

I arrived in my house afterwards half crazy. I saw things wildly strange when I got there.

273* 753 This informant relates the kind of association between his mental disturbance and the drinking of aguardiente. In this case, the disease did not stem directly from the aguardiente but from the experience he had while drinking the trago; namely that someone bewitched him. Having had the illness cured he began to drink again, which was a mistake since the witch knowing of his drunken condition, was able to cast the same spell on him again. Under this spell, his loss of consciousness was more penetrating than anything he had ever experienced as the result of drinking.

This informant reports that his ability to resist the witchcraft attack was greatly reduced while he was drinking. We speculate that such a loss of control involves the individual's loss of ability to control the alters with whom he associates, the locations he moves into, and the substances he drinks.

273* 753 539 A more specific example of the introduction of witchcraft substances into the aguardiente can be found in the text fragment of Josefa Lopez, the relevant parts of which appear in the citation below.

NAL PRIMERE LA* HTIKUN KAL TA RESAL.

It began when I sent him to Rosary.

LA KALBE BAN TA RESAL TATA, BAN *AK'A AC'IN LIMKNA ZUNA AC'IN KANTELA XKUT.

I told him, "Go to Rosary, my son, take a little candle as an offering."

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* KO XCI, BAHT Z'IN.
• 753
539 "All right," he said, then he went.

LAH RESAL Z'IN LA STA SBA SOK XC'IN HOTAK BAHTIK TA IL K'IN.

After the Rosary, he chanced on some of his friends and they went to watch the fiesta.

YUN SK'IN ME*TIK PASKO BA YILIK BA* *AN C'IN NINO TYOS TA SNA MIGUEL MENTES.

It was the fiesta of Christ's birth and they went to see the Christ-child at the house of Miguel Mendez.

BA YILIK HU* *AHK'OT *I TE LA *ABOTIK C'IN HPIS TRAWO *A XCOLET LA TAL TE HP'IS TRAWE.

They went to watch the dance, and there my son was given a shot of aguardiente along with all of the men as the drink pourer moved around the group.

*ABOT LA Z'IN *EHUK PERO MALA KOK YU*UN TA *UC'EL.

They gave him another but he was not able to drink it.

LI* LA MAHK HIL LI*TA SNUK I.

It got stuck here in his throat.

HUN LA TA C'INIK BAK *IXIM K'ATAL HIL TA SNUK I.

It seemed as though little grains of corn were stuck in his throat.

LAH LA YO*BENTA MALA XLOK.

He coughed but it did not go away.

HA* Z'INABI K'OT YALBON *ORA *ILI LA HTAIX CAMEL.

He came home and told me that he had just got sick.

MAHNA* TY*N BON TA RESAL I LA SMONONIK TA *IL K'IN HOL HOTAK I.

"I don't know why, I went to Rosary and my friends invited me to watch the fiesta."

273* PERO LA YA*BONIK KUC' HPIS TRAWO PERO MA* KO XCI HULEL TA HNA.
• 753
539 "But they gave me a shot of trago and it didn't go down," he said upon arriving home.

MATO *AK K'AHAL Z'IN *A TUHXA TA CAMEL *ABOT K'AHK'.

Not many days afterwards he fell sick with fever.

E HA Z'INABI K'AX HAL K'AHK' I, TONC MA* HAHC LIHK K'UXUBUK SNUHKLEL.

After the fever passed, he was unable to get up, his body began to ache.

LIHK YA*Y XTI*LAHAN SNUHKLEL X HUN LA TA STI*AW XANIC MALA XU* YAN LA HA YA*I.

He began to feel pain in his body as though ants were biting him and this was very depressing.

LIHK NIKOTUK TA SIK, MA*YUK SPERSA YA YA*I, TONC *IPA HONA.

He began to tremble with cold; he felt weak; he got very much worse.

BA HK'AN PAWOR SOK HME*HTATIK.

I went to ask assistance of the curers.

LA KAK'TA PIKEL XC'IC'EL LA YAL Z'IN LA YU*C' TRAWO TA BA* XK'OK TA *IL K'INE.

I let them pulse him, and afterward [the curer] said, "He drank aguardiente where he went to the fiesta."

*ABOT HPIS TRAWO YU*C' XC'IN MAHTAN, PERO *AY MA* C'A *ILOWAN LA SPAS *IL *OTAN O LA SPAS PUKUHIL.

"They gave him a shot of aguardiente as a gift, but there was someone who looked evil or who did the evil thing."

HA*HIC LA STA CAMEL C'IN KEREM I XCI.

"That is how the boy became sick," he said.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* HA* C'OHBIL CAHEL I LOM TULAN *AY MAXU* TA HTUL YAH*UL YA
• 753 SK'AN CA*TUL YAH*UL HA* HIC SPAS TA POXTAYEL *A XCI HAL
539 H*UL I.

"This witchcraft is very strong, he won't get well with only one curer. He needs two curers to get well," he said.

*OC TA POXTAYEL Z'IN PERO MA*YUK HTAKIN *A.

The curer began to cure him, but I didn't have any money.

HAWAL NUHUL LO'ON TA MAHAN TA*K'IN YUN POX.

I hurried to borrow money in order to buy the medicine.

LAH TA POXTAYEL Z'IN, C'IN KALKALTIK TE*K HIL.

After the cure was over, he was a little better.

PERO HA* NAX CE* *OXE* K'AHAL I LIHK LA KUXUBUK A YA*Y LI*TA SBE YI*K I.

But only for two or three days, and then began to feel the pain in his throat.

MALA SPAS YA SBIK' YA*L STI*, MA SPAS XKO SWE*EL KUXLAHA YA*Y HONA.

He couldn't swallow his saliva, he couldn't swallow his food, it hurt so much.

MAHNATIK TU*LA XBAHT, ME XCOHP *O ME MA XCOHP.

We don't know whether he is going to get well or not.

*A YAK'WIL TA TYOS TU*LA X BAHT E.

We'll see what God says.

273* Many other informants relate having narrowly escaped
753 witchcraft by avoiding drinking from some particular bottle of trago. If the man who is drinking is very much alive to this possibility, he will be able to observe swirling hair-like ma-

273* 753 terial in the bottom of the bottle or glass. In a recent instance of this, a bottle with this alleged character was broken and the man who offered it to be drunk was beaten up.

I have not been able to determine any other substance orally ingested by means of which illness can be sent to the drinker. This may be associated with the fact that the membership of the drinking group in Aguacatenango is least well defined and hence the one where enemies are most likely to be encountered. Likewise it is the one in which aggressive performances are most likely to occur.[1]

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[1] This interpretation would have it that aguardiente becomes a physical medium by means of which the anger of the witch is transmitted to his target. Most aguardiente I have drunk has swirling hair in it; so foreign substance is not uncommon and thus available for potential interpretation. To restate the matter slightly, we may say: there is a language of aguardiente which depends upon the visual cues in examining the liquid. It is a one information bit language. The bit reads: If the aguardiente is clear when one is offered a drink, drink it and thank the drinker. If the aguardiente is "swirling-hairful," and one is offered a drink, break the glass or bottle and beat the offerer up. One general performance the drink pourer engages in on most occasions I have observed is as follows: He pours the drink into the shot glass, then examines the liquid to see if it is clean or not. If it is not clean, he will attempt to clean it by picking out the foreign substance (sticks, leaves, hair, dirt, etc.). This cleaing response may be conditioned in part by the one bit language mentioned above. (See drinking performance of ayuntamiento where this has been mentioned before.)

273* 753 **Circumstances under which the drinking of aguardiente can directly cause illness**

Not only does aguardiente in some contexts serve as medium by means of which witchcraft can be communicated, but also it has a certain disease producing potential of its own when it is taken in certain amounts within a certain time period. (The ceremonial drinking plus one or more adjacent informal drinking units.) We will now review a few of the disease processes which are interpreted as beginning immediately
273* 164 adjacent to drinking performances. The most common illness that results from drinking is a state that may be glossed as a "hangover" /GOMA, XCAMEL YU*UN TRAWO/. This is a minor illness which involves the symptoms of "headache, loss of appetite, dehydration, vomiting, diarrhea, trembling," the response to
273* 757 461 which is selected from the following alternative set. The condition of GOMA is nearly exclusive with the ability to engage in routine agricultural performances. This means that the day after a ceremonial drinking plus informal drinking segment, a man does not work. He has the choice, then, of staying around the house or leaving the house to perform some minor tasks such as gathering poles to support chayote vines, looking at his cattle, of any other task that takes him out of the household setting. This is an important distinction since if a man stays around the house he increases the probability that he will con-

273 *other hand, one wishes to stop drinking, he will drink coca cola
757 and leave the house.

Normally, a cure for a hangover, if it is not followed by more drinking, is successful in a one day time period. The length of a drinking performance can be computed as ceremonial
273 *drinking plus informal drinking plus one day. If some symptons
753 of the hangover continue on successive days, or if the hangover
757 has unusual symptoms, individuals are alerted to the fact that the drinking performance is about to cause more serious conse-
*273 quences. There follow some text fragments in which the more
753 serious consequences are displayed and discussed by informants.
757
539

M. HA* YA HK'AN HTAMTIK RASON TY*L LIHK HATE X.HAL *IK TA SBAKEL HTATA I.

I want to ask the reason why my uncle's backache began.

D. *AX TA YOXEBAL HA*WIL, ME TA XCANEBAL HA*WIL HONC HATE LA STA E.

It began about three or four years ago.

PERE HUN TA TE ...TA K'AXIX ... TA XK'AXEL KUXEBAL YU*N *IP LEK YAKUB HONAX.

It seems that . . . a while ago . . . it was just after Holy Week, because he drank so much.

TONC BAZ'IL LAH YAK' HONC HATE HUN *U MA* BEN E.

For one month he couldn't walk, he really had it.

HUN LAH TA YU*N XIHIL TE* A YA*Y STUK TA YOK I.

It was as though there was a splinter in his foot.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* YA YAK' HONC HU*N K'AS YU*N TONC YU'N HIC XKOTLAHAN YA X
753 LOK' E.
757
539 It hurt a lot. He had to crawl to go out.

YU*NEN TA TRAWO LA HTA XCI.

Perhaps I got it from the trago," he said.

YU*NEN POX YA SK'AN HONC YU*N AK' TAK'IN E XCI.

"Perhaps it needs medicine, if only there were some money," he said.

X TAL AWA*Y Z'IN E, LI* LA XBAHT TA SBAKEL I.

The next thing he knew, it was here in his back.

WOKOL STUK *IL TAT TONAX YU*N SZ'IKOHONC HEHK STUK TU*L TA *A*TEL I.

It's not a little that he suffers, especially as he is now a mayordomo.

M. MA*YUK YA YAK' SBAH TA POXTAYEL.

Isn't he being cured?

HA*YUN MA*K XCOHP.

That's why it's not getting better.

273* In this particular case, the illness being referred to
753 had already lasted three or four years, according to the text. The association of drinking with the onset of this illness was strong enough, then, to be remembered by the sick man's wife after a period of years.

273* In the following text fragment, we see another example
753
539 of this reasoning about the relationship between illness and drinking.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* M. HA* YA HLE HCAMEL YU*N *EHK YAKBEL I.
• 753
539 I looked for my illness in a big drunk.

LA KA*BE LEK.

I drank a lot.

YAN SOK MA*K WAN XLIHK HIC MA*K KUC'.

It's bad, and it wouldn't begin if I didn't drink.

HA* HATE YU*N MA* HUNUK NAX K'AHAL YA KUC' *EHK E.

It's because I don't drink for only one day.

YA YAC' HUN SEMNA HA* YUN TONC TE....

I drink for a week, and that's the reason. . . .

MA*K XWE*ON SOK TAK HA* YUN ... TRAWO KUXULOH *A.

I don't eat with it, that's way . . . I live on trago.

HA* YU*N TE STIH HCAMEL Z'IN *A.

It's for this reason that the illness begins.

273* 753 In this example, not only do we see evidence for associating drinking with illness, but we also observe the particular type of drinking which caused the illness, namely drinking which goes on for a week. An associated feature of the drinking that caused Mariano to become sick, and that in general is perceived to cause illness, is that drinking and eating are usually mutually exclusive.

In the following remarks of Cirilo Hernandez we see further evidence of the association of illness with drinking.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273*
953 HIC MO TAXL K'AHAL E, TEMA* LAHIX HMA TAT E.
539 A few days ago, my father barely escaped dying.

*E K'UX C'UHTUL.

It was stomach ache.

HA BA YIC' TA K'OLAL YUN LA YUC' TRAWI.

He got sick because he drank aguardiente.

HUN *U LA YUC'.

He drank for a month.

TONAX YUN HA* *AN *EHK SME*L *INAM I, TONAX HUN *U SMIL SBA YUN TRAWO LI*I.

His wife left him and he killed himself drinking for a whole month.

TEMA* LAH.

He nearly died.

E SLA YO*TAN WAN.

It was from bitter anger and shame.

*AHTAL *O*TAN H*OLIL I, TEY YIHIX *ILI, TEY TRAWO NAX TAK LOM NAHT' LA YA*BE TRAWI.

On the one hand, it was from sadness; besides, he's already an old man, and he drank for a very long time.

K'AHAL *AHK'BAL, TONC *AY TA STI* HAL TRAWI XAHC TA SAK K'INAL YUC' XAHC TA SAK K'INAL YUC'.

Night and day, all that went into his mouth was trago; he started drinking as soon as he got up.

LA STOH LEK HONAX, K'O YA*Y HONC KUX HONC Z'IN I.

He paid plenty for it, he felt the effects a lot, he suffered a lot afterward.

273* KALBAT MA XAWUC'IX *A K'A KA*Y AKOMEL, HA* SNAEL TUT KAPAS
753 *ILI, XCUT.
539 I told him, "Don't go on drinking so much, you feel so bad because of your drinking," I said.

Again, in a text fragment of Juan Mendez:

J. LA *IL HA YUN K'IN I, KUC' KA*AL.

And then I drank during the fiesta.

K'AXAN K'IN NAXTAK I, HAL KA*BE XAN HUN TA KA* XAN HUN TA CE* XAN K'AHAL KA*BE XAN K'A XAN K'IN NAXTAK I, YUN MAYUNUK TRAWO STIHBON TAL MA *IK' Z'IN I.

After the fiesta, it seems to me that I drank for two days more. Don't you suppose that this rheumatism began because of the trago?

M. YUN *AY LOM K'UN HNUHKLELTIK *A HAYUN *ORA X TASWAN K'AHK' I.

Sometimes our body gets very weak and then we are taken with fever.

HTE* NAX TE*K MA *AY BA* HMAH HBAHTIK TA *IK', K'IXNAHEM HNUHKLELTIK *A E.

If our body is just a little hot, rheumatism will hit us. [Note: Aguardiente is believed to "heat" the body.]

273* 539 Extended drinking can cause fantastically frightening experiences. Jose Mendez describes one as follows:

J. HATE LIHK HONC *A TAT *ILI, LA HKUC' HC'IN KA*AL YU*N SK'IN SANTO.

It all began because I drank aguardiente on All Souls' Day.

KUC' HC'IN KA*AL *AY KA*TEL TA SNARYOS *A YU*N SLAHIB *ATEL *ABI TAT.

I drank because I was mayordomo--my last cargo.

273* 539 M. *A MA* BA YUC', HA* XANIX TEME YUN A SMAK TE*K E.

Ah, he hasn't drunk since. It's good if it stops him for a while.

I. *E HAYUN HIC A KAL, TEME SPAS TE*K POX TU*L A YUC' TATIK SEKRETARYI.

That's what I mean, if it works like the remedy the Secretary took.

*IPAL HA*WIL TE*K MA*K YUC' HAL A YUC'BE XPOXIL *ILE.

He hasn't drunk for many years, he took medicine.

M. HIC STUK *ILE HUH*U.

You're right about him.

HA* TONIX PERSA STUK C'IN POX LEHTIK (YUC'E)

Those of us who drink are very much interested in such a medicine.

273* 757 The general characteristics of the medicine for reducing the strength and number of one's drinking performances, as perceived by Aguacatenangueros, are the physical effects if one continues to drink after taking it. Illness and even death may be expected, as has been suggested in the texts cited. The medicine thus overrides all social and psychological "reasons" for drinking. One can tell whether or not the medicine is effective by attempting to continue to drink. If one wishes to drink and feels no unusually bad effects therefrom, it is clear that the medicine is not working.

273* 753 Aguardiente is illness-producing either directly because of its substance, or symbolically because it is one of the media

273* 753 by means of which a witch causes his victim to ingest poisonous substances. In turn, the drinking of aguardiente is interpreted as a disease process to the extent that individuals take "medicine" to reduce the number of occasions upon which they drink. The text citations which have been inserted above are suggestive of these points. By way of summing up this section, I would like to offer a less easily verifiable interpretation which provides still further context in terms of which the reader can think about the drinking performances in Aguacatenango.

273* The first simple set of observations is as follows: Men drink and women don't. Some men drink more than others but all men must drink some. Some men would prefer to drink less than they do. Drinking settings for some men, especially under the informal drinking rules, are settings in which some considerable hostility is expressed. Suppose we take the case of the man who wishes to drink less. He can achieve this end in the short run by either drinking more or not drinking at all. He knows that he will not be able to completely terminate his drinking performances (the ceremonial drinking performances) until he is an old man. Ceremonial drinking performances are required of all men. He can, however, reduce the number of informal drinking performances. If a man wants to reduce the number of informal drinking performances, then, he can do so by increasing the average length of any particular informal drinking performance.

273 183 [562]

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* 183 [153] Increasing the length of an informal drinking performance increases the probability that the individual will become ill (as well as exhaust all his resources, anger the members of his household, and so on). Upon the next occasion when some individual invites him to start an informal drinking performance, he can respond by saying, "I am afraid to start an informal drinking performance with you since my style of informal drinking performance results for me in severe illness, alienates my family, causes economic catastrophe to my household." The person inviting must allow that this is true, in view of the fact that he observed ego engaging in such extended performances within the past year, say. On the other hand, an individual can stop engaging in informal drinking performances by reporting that he has taken medicine for drinking, which medicine will cause his death if he drinks. It is not unusual for a man to take medicine and then become very sick by way of telling the community that it was real medicine with strong disease producing effects. If a man goes on drinking in the informal drinking after he has taken the medicine, it is proof that the medicine did not have the desired effect. The common feature of either response to the desire to reduce amount of drinking: increasing the length of the informal drinking performances or taking medicine puts the individual in that context which allows him to say,

273* 183 "If I drink I will die." We believe that it is only by citing such severe effects as this that an individual can, over the long run, control his response to the invitation to drink.[1]

Some men prefer to drink more in the informal drinking performances than do most men. These men can increase number and length of informal drinking performances by seeking out the existing informal drinking groups on any particular day. The rule is that anyone may join any informal drinking group at the beginning of an informal drinking performance if, and only if, he can contribute a proportional amount of the aguardiente which is being drunk. It is the case that as an informal drinking group approaches deep drunkenness, it becomes easier for any man to join the informal drinking group without paying his proportional share of the drinking expenses.

273* 753 It appears to be the case, then, that individuals must get sick in order to reduce their number of informal drinking performances. Individuals also may get sick as the result of drinking under any circumstances. Long informal drinking performances allow individuals to behave as though they were ex-

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[1] In the short run, a man can avoid any particular, highly probable informal drinking performance by leaving the field, as was suggested above. That is, by knowing which days informal drinking performances are more likely to occur on than other days (the ten day time zone around some major fiesta, or Sundays, for example), he can arrange to be "away on business."

273* 753 periencing strong aversive physical effects. It is likely that individuals who wish to reduce the number of informal drinking performances manipulate the informal drinking segment length, because of standing beliefs about the relationship between drinking and illness. The only way a man can get out of his social obligations is to place himself in the special condition of being particularly prone to illness. Procedures for inducing illness are then likely to become strategies in controlling participation in informal drinking performances.

Aguardiente and curing

273* 755 There is considerable variation in the use of aguardiente in the curing ceremonies in Aguacatenango. Two classes of use may be distinguished. The first of these may be called medicinal use. The second class involves drinking by the participants of the curing ceremony other than the patient himself. These two classes of use may be relatively easily distinguished as follows: aguardiente as it is administered to the patient is generally mixed with other substances, although occasionally the curer will give the patient a straight draught of aguardiente. The participants (male, married drink deeply; all others drink an intermittent, non-intoxicating amount) on the other hand drink in the ceremonial drinking pattern. In violation of the cere-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

ties to the center. They register births and deaths in the township center, 632
but they do not have any representation in the cabildo. The populations 621
have no identification with Indian subgroups, speak Spanish, and are oriented to the regional rather than the local economic center. The plantations remaining in the area, classified as *ranchos* in the national census, employ Indians from the center. Their only relationship to the central au- [464]
thority is to get help in recruiting additional laborers. Recruitment of [241]
labor is no longer coercive as it was prior to the 1930s when the low wage rate could not attract the help needed. Announcements of the need for workers are made by the president on the loudspeaker system of the town, and men voluntarily go to the plantations.

Spirit Domains

The link between people and place is through the media of the spirits 776
(*E'uleletik*) of persons and of locale. The relationship is maintained 778
through a set of rules governing the behavior among spirits of people and of places. These rules derive from myths and stories of encounters which define the character of the spirits in each of the domains. Danger is localized in a series of caves which are avoided. Benevolent, or guardian, spirits inhabit a different set of sites, where ceremonies are conducted that maintain the well-being of the individual and of the community. By locating [182]
and circumscribing places of danger and guardianship, the members of the community can supplicate helpful spirits and avoid evil; they are delivered from fear of the unknown and provided with a rationale for dealing with fear of the known.

The places where spirits meet are outlined in Table 3. The first group [128]
includes spirits which are supplicated, the second, dangerous spirits which are avoided or approached only by powerful persons.

The house spirits. The spirits of inhabitants and of the house 776
meet at the center post at the rear wall of the house. The spirit of the 342
house lives in this post. Those who claim to have seen the house spirit say he is a small Ladino child. He is capricious, and if he is not happy, he may admit the evil spirits who will eat the souls of the inmates. His appe- [753]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

342 tite must be satisfied when the house is first occupied and when the chil-
776 dren of the house fall ill from a sickness diagnosed by a curer as a result of
753 their souls being eaten. The souls of the inmates of the house hover near the center post when they are not in the body. The soul calling ceremony
342 is held near this center post. If someone is cured in a house not his own,
755 he must not sit near this post because his soul will be confused with those of the inmates of the house. The curing arch is erected directly before the center post, over the square hole in which the ceremonial offering of a sheep's head is buried when the house is built. A live chicken is buried in this spot if the illness is severe.

776
778 TABLE 3. Spirits and Places
769

Place	*Place spirit*	*Person spirit*
Loci of spirits to be supplicated		
House	Spirit of the house (*sʔulel na*)	Spirits of children (*sʔuleletik yuntikil*)
Spring of San Nicolás	Little Ladino (*čʔin kailan*)	Spirits of male patients (*sʔuleletik yuʔun keremetik*)
Spring of Pahaltón	Little Ladina (*čʔin linlan*)	Spirits of female patients (*sʔuleletik yuʔun ʔaʔiletik*)
Cave of Ancestors	Lopez brothers (*Šuntonetik*)	Spirits of townspeople (*sʔuleletik spisil teklum*)
Loci of spirits to be avoided		
Cave of Don David	Ladino moneylender (*Klabil*)	Petitioners for wealth
Cave of the Black Man	Devil, or black man (*ʔihkʼal winik*)	Witches
Cave of Juan Santos	Deceased recipient of wealth from Cave Hwan Santil	Petitioners for wealth
Stone Cave	Owner of cave (*Yahwal sʔen*)	Petitioners for wealth
Cave of Elotes	Owner of cave (*Yahwal sʔen*)	Petitioners for wealth
Cave of the Star	Owner of star (*Yahwal ʔekʼ*)	Curers and witches

434 178 177 I can get one then. Last year I bought a transistor radio for nine hundred and ninety pesos. My wife said she would leave me if I got it because all [053] the children would get sick. But I got it anyway and no one was sick. I am stronger than my enemies."

Innovation on the consumption level is adding a stimulus to innovation in economic activities. The successful innovator must invent a rationale for his improved standards of living and then prove that he can survive the possible evil consequences of envy. The process of adoption is one of a shift in the incidence of choices made in the direction of improving levels of living. The new is often incorporated with the old rather than replacing it. For example, after the rough preparation has been done with the mill, [252] grinding stones are used for the final grinding of corn to get the dough [415] into the preferred consistency for making tortillas. Tin plates are used along with crockery and gourds. Some items are linked in change: for ex- [291] ample, tailored pants are worn only with buttoned shirts and belts and [096] with zippered jackets. The old forms are continued in a ceremonial con- [415] text: kotonču is preferred when a man undertakes an official role, and gourds are preferred to any other container for ceremonial foods. The technology of production lags behind the changes in consumption that have increased the need for greater income—agricultural tools have not been modified since the colonial period when the wooden plow, metal hoe, machete, and plow used with draft animals were added. Changes in consumption needs rather than in productive technology are expanding the economic horizons of the Indians.

Choices and Strategies in Agricultural Production

241 In agricultural and pottery production, decision-making concerning the use of land and labor resources is controlled not only by a traditional technology but more importantly by a given state of cognitive orientations that determines, in Goodenough's words (1966:54), "what states of affairs they have learned to discern, what they believe to be the relations between them, and what they understand to be the processes by which one state can be transformed into another." Agriculturalists have a fine perception

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

844 house, and the men usually leave the scene. Women are ashamed of their husbands seeing the afterbirth because they joke about it with other men. [522] [833] (I do not know what the joking is about—possibly it is related to the frequency of sexual intercourse during pregnancy, since the placenta is believed to be increased by male sperm.)

There is no ceremony attending childbirth. Although some women are assisted by one female relative, most call in a midwife, who is referred to as "grandmother of the child" and who comes when the birth pangs begin. [759] There is only one recognized midwife in Tzoʔontahal; she is the sister of one of the practicing curers and a niece of one of the former leading curers of Alannantik. She has patients on both sides of the dual division. On rare occasions, caused by witchcraft the Indians believe, a woman [845] [756] fails to give birth after two or three days of labor, and then a curer is called in.

The child is delivered with the mother kneeling on the floor. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord with a knife, and the child's navel is tied with a cord. The child is wrapped in cloths which have been smoked over incense, and then a woman's sash is wrapped around him from shoulders to feet, firmly binding the arms and legs so that they cannot move. It is felt that if this is not done, the child will snatch at everything and eventually 846 become a thief. The body remains bound in this way for fifteen days. The umbilical cord and placenta are buried in the houseyard. Some say that a boy's umbilical cord may be tied in a tree "so that when the child grows, he can climb trees and cut fruit." The mother is given a drink of coffee, and the midwife binds her stomach with a band. Three days later the woman enters the sweatbath to cleanse herself. The midwife goes in with her and rubs her with branches of orange leaves and massages her stomach. If the child is born away from his own house, he is brought to it with great care so that his soul will not be dislodged from his body. The midwife makes a pad with branches of bushes growing near the springs, and the father sprays the child's body with springwater from his mouth.

[753] In the first "twenty days or one month" of life, the child's contacts with the world are limited to the immediate family in order to guard against soul-loss and illness from "hot" glances of outsiders. When anyone not of the household approaches the house in which there is a newborn child, he

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The funeral procession leaves for the cemetery about three in the afternoon. Attending the body are the padrinos, parents, aunts, and uncles. If the deceased is a child under two years of age, he is carried by his madrina. One of the former fiscales or someone who knows how to pray goes along. Smaller siblings or children of the dead are left at home with the maliwanehetik, who in this case are chosen from among the more distant relatives, compadres, and neighbors not attending the funeral. As they walk, the women cry and the "owner of the dead," the woman closest of kin, wails constantly in the stylized mourning cry. She stops wailing only when the company stops to pray at the cross at the exit of the town and just before entering the graveyard. At each resting point, the fiscal, who holds a rosary, reads the prayer book, while a neighbor or compadre uses a geranium to sprinkle holy water on the spot. An older male relative holds a palm cross.

When the party arrives at the opened grave, the godmother sits down near the coffin to make the final arrangements. The grave has been opened prior to the arrival of the party, but sometimes the men widen the hole. If they come across a bone, the fiscal shakes holy water over it with the geranium. When a nursing child is buried, the mother leans over the coffin and puts her breast in the child's mouth just before he is lowered into the grave. This is done so that the child's spirit will not think any longer of returning. The godparent or some other attendant dips the geranium in water and shakes it over the body. Handfuls of dirt are then thrown into the coffin. It is at this point that the assembled group, including the men, breaks into loud wails. The wails of the funeral party, though they do not lack feeling, are most important as a controlled communication, uttered when it is appropriate and by particular persons who are expected to cry before a select audience.

As the neighbors who have come to help the bereaved relatives shovel dirt on the grave, the padrino of the deceased approaches the fiscal and recites the pat'o'tan of blessing for the gift of liquor. The liquor is measured in a shot glass and passed around to the company. The women leave soon, and the men remain drinking. At this point a kind of trial is held to see who is responsible for the death. Since almost all sickness is believed to be caused by witchcraft, it is important to decide who the guilty person

761 627 753 might be. The father or closest male kin of the dead person is careful to recount all the consultations he has had with curers, both to absolve himself of the guilt of neglect or unconscious witchcraft and to search for the true culprit.

764 775 A proper burial with holy water, flowers, grave offerings, and prayers assures the survivors that the soul of the deceased will rest and his bones will lie in peace. Lacking any of these features, the dead will disturb the living, as is recounted below:

During the revolution, many were buried without a funeral or without blessed water. On Thursday, the bones burn and cry. You can still see a blue flame rising above the old graveyard on Thursday. You can find money that the ancestors left there, but you have to go at night to dig it up.

An important safeguard to ensure that the soul will lie in peace is burial among people with whom the deceased lived. When a married adult dies, [593] he is buried with his dead spouse. If he had two dead spouses, he is buried with the first spouse on the right hand and the second on the left. A child [603] is buried with the grandparents of the household in which he lived—that is, if he lived with his mother's parents he is buried with them, and if with the father's parents, then with them. When people know that they [763] are going to die, they express their preference as to where they wish to be [593] buried. Usually they will elect to be buried between their dead parents, but [608] if they were unhappy with their parents, they might choose a padrino or [604] uncle. If dissatisfied in its resting place, a soul, even when properly buried, cannot find peace and wanders back to the house. Fearing this, relatives try to comply with the wishes of the dead.

My grandfather used to say that he wanted to be buried between his mother and father. But when he was about to die, he said, "I don't want to be buried there because my father beat me. He will continue beating my soul. I want to go on the side [of the cemetery]. Please don't bury me near my parents." My father said, "All right, we will put you on the side."

764 554 626 593 The funeral must meet the expectations of the community as well as those of the deceased and his relatives. The mature children of a man who

Chapter 6

Curing and the Curers

Sickness is a sign of upset relations between the spirits or people and those of relatives, neighbors, or places. In the curing ritual, the curers not only treat the disease, but also try to bring about spiritual readjustment by dramatizing the ill effects of animosity. Because they claim to be able to counteract witchcraft, the curers exercise a great deal of power. This power is limited by institutional requirements controlling entry into the profession and exercise of their skill and knowledge. The breakdown in the authority of elder curers during my study of the community, and their attempts to reinstate themselves, made explicit some of the structural principles of the institution.

The Curing Hierarchy

Recruitment into the hierarchy. Until the 1950s, each side of the dual division had an age-ranked order of curers and recognized the leadership of a single elder, called *statal ʔuʔul*. The older, more experienced curers, called the *b'ankilal,* or elder brothers, had authority over the novice curers, called the *ʔihtz'inal,* or younger brothers. With the breakdown of the hierarchy during my stay, this distinction was becoming less clear. In 1964 there were seven curers in Alannantik and six in Ahk'olnantik; on a return visit I made in 1967, their numbers had been reduced by homicide and exile to five in Alannantik and five in Ahk'olnantik.

Entry into the profession occurs during an epidemic when the civil authority calls upon the curers to gather in the town hall to determine who is bringing the "heat" that causes death from disease. The curers decide whether there are any promising young men who have the third soul, swayohel, which gives them the ability to cure. If a young man is deemed

756 boring community who is reputed to practice both witchcraft and curing receives fees of 200 to 300 pesos regularly. She has been accused of killing more than one patient in giving injections.

• 753 Since most diseases are not static conditions, a master classification must take into account physiological process. The only absolutely evil diseases are those which are found to be incurable. When diseases which start out as apparently "good," or not caused by evil intent, fail to respond to patent medicines, the patient or his family begin to suspect witchcraft. They then turn to the curer who will diagnose this. Category 1 of Table 22 includes those diseases which, depending on duration and intensity, indicate the presence of evil.

In the case of the illnesses of God, Category 3 of Table 22, an additional complication enters. As in the case of Category 1 diseases, they may begin as "good" diseases, but the introduction of evil by a witch means that the illness can cause death to many people. This category includes the contagious diseases, the most common ones being measles, whooping cough, and heat, which may refer to typhoid, grippe, or to an increase in the virulence of other contagious diseases.

[177] The designation "sickness of God" is one inspired by the priest. He has been active in trying to discourage witch-killing and has insisted that the contagious diseases are sent by God. The villagers have accepted this as far as the origin of the disease is concerned, but as the deaths mount, people begin to suspect witchcraft.

753 761 Sudden attacks causing almost immediate death are classified as judgments of the ancestors rather than as illness. These include "seizure, because the very cold leg and arm of the ancestors touch the body [of the victim]" and "ancestors grab the soul." Asphyxiation and heart attack may be some of the modern classifications for such diseases. If a child should die suddenly, the logic applied in Tzoʔontahal is that the *meʔiltatil ḳanatay lum,* the mother-father ancestors who care for earth, see a potential danger in the soul of the child and seize it so that he will not develop into a witch. These are the only deaths I know of which are not attributed to witchcraft.

?1 Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The Logic of Curing

Diagnosis of illness in Tzoʔontahal is a kind of checklisting against a native taxonomic hierarchy of disease (Frake 1963). The curer is concerned primarily with establishing whether the illness is evil or good, secondarily whether cold or hot, and his prestige depends upon his ability to classify the disease at these highest levels of contrast. 755 753

In questioning the meaning of each act, I encountered no hesitation in giving answers, as I have in investigating other performances. Each act is understood in terms of the part its plays in the diagnosis and curing of the patient, and is in turn tied into a cognitive reference scheme which takes into account the patient's relations with kin and neighbors, environmental conditions, and the state of the patient's constitution. The notion of process underlying the classification of diseases explains some apparent contradictions in behavior. Good illness may so weaken the patient that he is vulnerable to the invasion of evil, and the tactic must shift to counter witchcraft. The alternation of chills and fever means that cold medicines must be administered followed by hot. The curer maintains communication with the blood in frequent pulsing to check whether he has overcome the evil and to ascertain what the blood wants.

The logical premises underlying diagnosis can be summarized as follows: Social relationships are primary causes of illness, while the conditions of the environment, such as cold wind or rain in which the patient gets drenched, provide conditions favorable to the entry of the disease. The effect of the evil projected depends upon the condition of the patient. Thus a mature adult may have the internal resistance to reject disease, while children, the aged, or women after childbirth are more vulnerable. Accidental wounds may render the victim more vulnerable to witchcraft as well as to "sickness of God." The malefactor achieves his goal if any member of the household or even a chicken or cow of the person against whom he has a grudge falls ill. [754]

The emphasis on the origin of illness means that the study of symptoms is of little significance. People involved in some conflict may define themselves as patients or be defined as such by their intimate social group even without having any apparent physical illness. Sometimes a colicky baby

755 Sometimes a colicky baby
753 may become the focus of a curing ceremony designed to "cure" the conflict
593 between husband and wife. In one case, the parents of a healthy young
182 wife separated from her husband staged a curing ceremony to dramatize
578 her marital plight to the in-laws.

178 The breakdown of the curing hierarchy and the recruitment procedures
756 which were maintained by the elder leaders (see Chapter 10) has led to a
608 reevaluation of the role of the curers in the community. They have lost
754 their position as me'iltatil representing the ancestors who guard over the
[627] community. Curers are increasingly being accused of sorcery, and over ten of them have been killed in the past decade as witches (Nash, J. 1967). Paradoxically, it is the belief in their evil power which leads to their persisting role in the society. Clients feel that the more evil the curer is, the more able he is to combat evil. In a community dominated by belief in witchcraft, they are both feared and valued for their ability to control it. From a position as arbiters of morality, they have become the chief targets as deviants from the moral code. Despite the loss of confidence in curers as guardians, they are still called upon to fight the evil of witchcraft, and nearly every day a ritual is performed. The regimen of the curing ritual has not been upset by the undermining of the curers' position. Tied to a
[755] diagnostic system emphasizing the state of the patient's social relations, the
[278] same procedures are carried out even when modern medicines are used.

753 In curing practices, the Indian sees himself as the key figure in the
156 drama of his own self-victimization. His illnesses come from within his own world, usually from within his family or close neighborhood. They are a mark of guilt for having excited the envy or hatred of associates. While the Indian is often portrayed in the role of passive victim to outside domination, in his own self-projection he sees himself dominated by powers within the community. Greater participation and equality in the wider society may in the future release him from these fear-provoking figures in his own environment.

626 556 the few economic alternatives offered to an Indian who wants to live an Indian life among other Indians, in peace. In this sense, Amatenangueros and Aguacatecos are no "penny capitalists" of the type described by Sol Tax (1953). But it is also true that, like the Panajachel Indians, they desire to have more for themselves and their children: money for security against sickness, death, [146] bad crops and other misfortunes. They also want better clothing, more meat in their diet (the amount of animal protein in their diet is extremely small by western standards) and small extra luxuries which have been introduced into their culture, little by little, by the local Ladino merchants: flashlights, mirrors, etc.

627 556 754 [731] Nevertheless, a wealthy man brings upon himself the antagonism of the other villagers, who, in search of a scapegoat during times of stress (such as a village epidemic) would not hesitate to accuse the rich man of being responsible for bringint the misfortune to the town because of his evil spirit, nor hesitate to kill him. Even if people find a man has a good crop, somebody can assume that, because his own crop failed, the other man has "stolen" the soul of his corn or if a man receives a large inheritance, somebody could accuse him of having killed (by witchcraft) the relative from who he inherited it. It takes a good deal of diplomatic skill and a strong control of the sources of gossip to manage to [753] keep oneself clear of such accusations. On the other hand, villagers are afraid of showing excessive wealth (according to community standards) unless they bring upon themselves the other face of witchcraft: supernatural sickness produced by envy. Even

627 556 754 a man in good standing, if he has too many goods or money, may fear witchcraft because he "knows" that he is a good target for the envy of those who, possessing powerful and evil souls (nahuales), decide to bewitch him and make him sick or kill his children or ruin his next crop.

626 754 Thus, the belief in witchcraft operates at two levels: on the one hand the individual lives according to community norms so that he won't be accused of being a witch. On the other hand he lives according to community norms so that he cannot be bewitched.

754 Because witches attack supernaturally, sending out their animal souls while their human body is asleep, it is not possible to know, for certain, the originator of the sickness nor to protect oneself or others from its powers. There are no sorcery spells to counteract it, but people "know" that witches can, sometimes, put "bad medicines" into drinks while a man is drunk or leave little sticks on the road for the victim to step on and acquire the disease which has been sent because of envy. Everybody denies knowing how to bewitch, but everybody suspects others of being able to do it.

[753] One result of this set of beliefs is that the etiology of disease is thought of as being supernatural. Other misfortunes are also explained in metaphysical terms. Sickness is always present in the village, misfortunes do occur which cannot be predicted, and the villager "experiences," then, the effects of witchcraft in everyday life. Therefore, the threat of supernatural

882
562 session in Church). Water carrying is associated with courting,
584 and the bachelors stay around the paths that connect the houses of their sweethearts with the well to which they go to fetch water, expecting to receive some indication of acceptance on their part, and if they are literate, to hand them a love letter. Girls, on these occasions, are expected to behave modestly and to be embarrassed. If not, they are usually judged as alocades (light-headed) and not fit for marriage.

156
571 The concept of tener su compañía runs throughout all activity, at all ages. Having company means protection from the supernatural on a long trip, help around the house, harmonious social relations with age mates and kinsmen, and insurance against loneliness. Older women who are left alone in a house for several days will "borrow" a younger girl, a son's daughter for example, to keep them company, and a young wife going to market or to get firewood is usually expected to find company to do so. If not,
• [153] she can well meet a strange man on the road, and get sick from verguenza (sickness assumed to originate from shame at being placed in an anomalous or embarrassing social situation) or espanto (fear and soul loss).

882 Boys (kerem and tek' el) do not have as many restrictions
562 of behavior or of movement as girls after puberty, but they are
[868] also expected to have their company. They start working with their fathers around the age of ten, depending on their physical strength, but in the beginning, it is not a serious occupation.
883 As soon as they become regular workers, they spend their free
562 time with other bachelors and form a compañía or escuadrilla
573

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

TABLE 5

HOUSE TYPES IN AMATENANGO[a]

184
342

Type	Cases	Per Cent
Roof		
Tile	1	1
Shingle	28	24
Thatch	87	75
Wall		
Wattle-and-daub	97	84
Rough Boards	19	16

[a]After Nash, J.: 1959.

342 Houses are a part of the family. They are considered as being alive (they grow old, just as people do) and watching the behavior of humans, toward whom they are somewhat unfriendly. If they are displeased with the behavior of the inhabitants, they can bring nightmares to the adults, death to the children and other misfortunes. Calixta Guiteras-Holmes (1960) has suggested that houses are ideologically connected with the earth, whom one has to please if crops are going to grow steadily, and to the monte (forested hills), where the wood for its construction is gathered. [118] Thus, because the monte is the residence of the evil spirits, enemies of mankind, the house is a projection of this malevolent world.

342 Even more significant is the house ritual connected with
753 the sickness of a person who lives in it. It is significant
571
578

342 because sickness is considered a supernatural expression of dis-
753 turbed social relations, and this is considered disruptive, not
571 only for the people who inhabit a single dwelling, but also for
578 the building which symbolizes their common residence and interests. As long as the relations of people living in a house are harmonious, the house is kept contented. But if this is not so, both the people
342 and the building have to be ritually cleaned. For example, if a
753 daughter disobeys her mother, she is considered to be suffering
578 from bilis or cólico, and in need of curing. During the curing
783 ceremony, the sick misbehaver has to be instructed about her
782 duties as a good daughter, and is given a speech apropos the misdemeanor. The curing ceremony is not completed if the house is not ritually cured, too. This is done by a curer offering the building some trago, the local brew, asking it to be contented. This offering is then symbolic of both the re-establishment of normal social relations between the individuals living in the house, and between the individuals and their material projection, their house.

572 The people living in a household are in charge of per-
778 forming some other rituals which are expected to insure the welfare of the whole group.

A small altar, usually made of a pine table, is kept in the house. It is covered with Catholic Saints' images and printed religious calendars. The table also contains all kinds of other things: petty cash (which is kept there for small purchases), double corncobs (which are "lucky pieces") or unusually colored maize, and any other oddity found by the household members, such

/16 cont./

614 two women belonged to the same clan, and in the other two they
595 were women from two different clans. The levirate and sororate
587 exist, but do not constitute a custom practiced /17/ by many;
[174] formerly it must have been more frequent, as is proved by the fact of designating the stepfather and stepmother by the same terms used for the father's brother and mother's sister, respectively,
583 and the stepchildren as nephews and nieces. There are several
614 cases of marriage between brother and sister of one clan and sister and brother of another clan. Marriage between cross-cousins is
582 frequent, especially that of a man with the daughter of the mother's brother. Husband and wife always belong to the same generation.

591 Residence is patrilocal, with temporary matrilocal residence for a year after marriage.

593 There still prevails the custom that those who intercede in a
614 direct manner in the preparation of the cadaver and in the in-
764 humation must be members of a different clan. If a married woman who has not had children dies, she is buried with her relatives, without the intervention of her husband.

614 The members of one and the same clan co-operate among themselves and lend each other mutual aid; the younger people obey and respect their elders in the same way that a younger brother respects and obeys his older brother. And we have stressed
[626] how "sorcery" is practiced only within the limits of the clan as a
[754] means of social control.

Mexico City,
Mexico

101 Note: The materials for the present study were collected
114 during two seasons of field work: May-June, 1945, and June, 1946,
122 financed by the University of Chicago, Instituto Nacional de Antropología de México, and Government of the State of Chiapas.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 .NV9 Tzeltal NV9

by Blom and LaFarge.[37] At Tenejapa and again at Guaquitepec, Villa met persons terrified by fears of witchcraft; it is apparent that the subject is important throughout the region. The word for witch is *agchamel*, and the phrase used is to the effect that the witch "eats" his victim. Villa understood this to refer to the belief that a person's soul may be lured away from his body, a notion consistent with facts reported by Blom and LaFarge.[38]

Villa's notes establish the fact that the nineteen-month pagan calendar is in current use in the highlands, at least in Chanal, Cancuc, and Oxchuc. In 1702 Nuñez de la Vega[39] published the names of twenty days of the month; these have apparently not been reported since. In 1845 Emeterio Pineda[40] gave for the first time (but for the Tzotzils) the names of the months, omitting only the name *chayquin* for the five-day period. In 1888 Vicente Pineda[41] furnished a complete list of the months for the Tzeltals. Villa was informed that the month *Yaxkin* ended in November so that the new year would begin in the second week of January. Starr[42] says that the first twenty-day period (*Tzin*) begins January 1. Becerra[43] says that the year should begin with the winter solstice. However, he gives, based on information received from the Indians themselves, a table[44] correlating the variations from village to village; thus, the month *Batzul*, first of the year, begins in Oxchuc on January 1, in Cancuc on the second and in Tenejapa on the third. Furthermore, according to this author, there is a marked difference between the correlation followed by the Tzeltals and that followed by the Tzotzils; thus the month *Olalti*[45] begins among the Tzeltals on March 27 and among the Tzotzils on April 12. The list of months Villa secured differs from both Starr's and Pineda's list, but agrees with that of Becerra.

Batzul	(Time of harvest)
Zakilab	(Clearing the milpa begins)
Agelchac	(The clearing continues)
Mac	(Time of sowing)
Olalti	(Time of sowing)
Julpol	(Time of sowing)
Uec-cachaquin	(No work)
Jóquen-ahau	(Time of sowing in the tierra caliente)
Chin-uch	(Time of weeding)
Mucul-uch	(Time of weeding)
Juc-uinquil	(Time of resting)
Uac-uinquil	?
Jo-uinquil	?
Chan-uinquil	?
Ox-uinquil	?
Pom (Octubre)	(When the new ear forms)
Yax-kin (termina con Noviembre)	?
Mux	?
Tzun	?

[37] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 369–371
[38] *Ibid.*, 2: 371
[39] Nuñez de la Vega, 1702
[40] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 111
[41] Vicente Pineda, 1888, pp. 130–131
[42] Starr, 1908, p. 177
[43] Becerra, 1935, p. 80.
[44] *Ibid.*, Table 8.
[45] *Ibid.*, Table 10.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.455-B]

Teklum

621
632 ternated for each three-year term between the
178 upper and lower sections.

But with the recent increase in dealings
621 between the national and regional administra-
632 tive centers and the local communities, re-
178 cruitment into office as president and síndico
554 has come to depend upon the candidates' possessing a knowledge of Spanish, literacy, and familiarity with the ways of Ladino society. Because of the relative scarcity of such skills, selection of these two officials has tended to ignore the former residence requirements
[887] relating to the dual division. Along with this change in the criteria for selecting these officials has come a decrease in the power and the authority exercised by the *principales*—elders from each side of the dual division who rose to their position by passing through all of the lower offices in the hierarchy—and a corresponding increase in the importance of the presidency.

This dual division also affected the structure
621 of the curing profession. The curers are men
632 who can overcome sickness caused by witch-
754 craft because of their possession of an animal
756 spirit (*swayohel*) and their knowledge of ritual. In each of the two sections of the town was a leading curer (*statal ʔuʔul*) who, by virtue of his age, experience, and recognized authority, was able to control entry into the profession. Their function was to prevent as well as cure, for the leading curers were also charged with guarding their section against the entry of
621 witchcraft. In the last two decades, leadership
632 by recognized elder curers from each side of the
756 dual division has been lost, and along with it
178 control over limiting the practicing of curing.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.465-B] Teklum

as with the cattle industry, is a covert cause for personal attacks on other grounds.

A third enterprise, trucking, has caused a realignment of political interests in factions associated with two truck-owning cooperatives. Membership in one of the cooperatives, or patronage of one of the two trucks, arouses the enmity of members of the other cooperative. Several threats have been made on the lives of the owners and the operators, but the only damage done has been to tires.

The tensions resulting from the introduction of these new enterprises cannot be fully measured by the deaths attributed to direct economic conflict. Wealth differences resulting from the new enterprises excite envy, and with it come accusations of witchcraft. In this community, witchcraft killing does not perform the normative function of reducing wealth differentiation that Kluckhohn saw operating among the Navaho (1944), since it is the poor man who is killed as a witch, not the rich man. The slaying of the envious witch exacerbates the economic differentiation that provides the seedbed for conflict.

Another new source of tension is found in the growing demand for political leadership or even independence from the township by the *ejido* colonies formed since land reform went into effect in 1937. The inept maneuvers of two founders of the ejido colonies in hot country resulted in two homicides (cases 12 and 18 in Table 1).[8] The increasing strength of these hamlets will mean that more attempts will be made in the future to gain political equality and/or independence. Whether this will result in increasing homicides will depend on social-control agencies external to the Indian communities.

Homicide occurring as a direct result of economic and political competition represents a new strategy in the community. The decision to kill rather than to use other negative sanctions is related to the social-control mechanisms discussed below.

Changing Mechanisms of Social Control

A system of social control rests not only on the exercise of negative sanctions, but on the sense of personal security derived from confidence in the institutions of control. In Teklum, the maintenance of control was formerly centered in the guardianship against malevolent spirits held by the ancestor spirits and the curers. The "police force," made up of ten

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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[P468-A]

756
578
683 accused him of being a witch, he was put in
883 the local jail by the judge and then removed to
756 the departmental capital. During his term of
754 imprisonment an epidemic broke out in the
682 town: it was attributed to witchcraft sup-
683 posedly practiced by him and by two other
578 curers who remained in town. These two were then imprisoned. After they were set free, all three men were killed in different episodes involving accusations of witchcraft. Permission to act as executioners was granted by the civil authority.

178 In the past, the public review of a case before
687 a killing probably served to minimize homi-
754 cide, since permission was not always granted.
627 Since 1953, when a large highway first linked
[491] the town to the departmental capital and communication between this center of justice and the local township increased, the civil authority has not given permission, and prior review of witchcraft cases occurs only with epidemics.

756 The final incident in which the civil author-
754 ity confronted the curers occurred in the spring
578 of 1966. The president accused one of the
627 curers of cutting short his life by lighting candles in the mountains. The curers were called together to hear the threat and to go to the hill to look at the evidence. The accused curer remained at home pleading that he was sick. He was warned not to pursue his witchcraft, and as yet there has been no use of
[178] violence on either side. This open confronta-
[622] tion without the use of violence may indicate a change in the strategy of conflict with the growing power of the president.

756 (3) *Breakdown of the dual division.* The loss
178 of internal controls in the curing profession
578 and the conflict for power and control by the
621 civil officials and the curers are related to a
626 more fundamental change in the social structure of the community. Formerly the division of the town into two sections provided a channel for opposition as well as cooperation. Recruitment into leadership positions in both the civil hierarchy and the curing hierarchy was based upon residence. The system provided checks and balances in the exercise of power, for the two principales—one from each section of the dual division—were supposed to act as watchdogs over the curers. The shift in the locus of social control from the principales to the president has been marked by the open confrontation with the curers.

OOO The authority of the president, however,

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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[P 469-A]

682 183 wider ranges of expression than are usually permitted in the community prompt men to assert the strength of their swayohel, to run races with the animal spirits of others in the assertion of pre-eminence, to boast of their material goods, and to "wake up dead."

682 674 178 578 The increasing rate of homicide is related to the following changes in the community:

(1) Increasing friction resulting both from the introduction of new economic enterprises and from political competition by the recently settled land-reform colonies has introduced a new kind of homicide, in which an opponent is killed either by the person whose interests are threatened or by hired killers. It has also stimulated accusations of witchcraft stemming from envy.

[754] 558 682 674 178 578 756 (2) The curers' loss of leadership and of control over entry into the curing profession has led to competition among them and to a loss of respect for their ability to overcome witchcraft. Curers have become the most frequent suspects of being witches.

754 682 674 178 769 776 626 (3) Loss of faith in the guardian ancestors and in the guardianship functions acquired from them by the curers has further undermined the position of the curers as agents of social control. This has aggravated the sense of insecurity and fear, which provokes the uncontrolled use of individual violence.

682 674 178 621 626 (4) The shift of power from the principales to the town president has led to a breakdown in the system of checks and balances exerted by the principales over the curers, and to a direct confrontation of the curers by civil officials.

756 682 674 756 178 626 683 (5) In the confrontations of the civil authorities and the curers in the '40's and early '50's, the fact that a witchcraft case was officially reviewed and the killing of the witch sanctioned may have served as a brake on the number of such homicides. Since 1953, when this practice was abandoned, those who have felt themselves or their families to be the victims of witchcraft have been left to their own recourse.

178 578 682 [621] [632] [756] The organizational changes summarized here are provoked by structural changes affecting recruitment into the positions of power and the validation of leadership in the exercise of power. The dual division of the town provided an accepted basis for recruiting

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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leaders, both in the civil authority and in the curing profession. The transition from the old hierarchy of control to the new leadership structure is still in process. In the most recent confrontation of the civil authority and curers, the fact that neither side resorted to violence suggests the transitional nature of homicide as a solution in intracommunal conflict.

This study of homicide indicates that the changing rate of behavior points to structural change, but does not in itself indicate what kind of change occurs or from what motives it stems. Qualitative case analysis related to structural changes within the recall of informants is essential for understanding social process.

NOTES

[1] Field work is based on two periods of residence in the community in 1964 and 1965; it was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health. I am grateful for comments by Paul Friedrich, Richard Henderson, Harold Scheffler, and Peter Willson, who have improved the original version read at the 1965 meetings of the American Anthropological Association. I remain responsible for the contents of the paper.

[2] Henry and Short (1954:18) analyze both suicide and homicide as undifferentiated aggressive reactions to frustration, the rates of which vary—in the first case inversely and in the second case directly—with the strength of the external control system over behavior. Their assumption that homicide is motivationally a single phenomenon, and not an expression of a variety of motives, stems from the assumption that all cases of aggressive acts are the result of frustration. Straus and Straus (1964:587) apply a similar correlational analysis of homicide and suicide rates with structural features of society in Ceylon, but come to opposite conclusions. They maintain that one would expect greater evidence of homicide in a "loosely structured society," by which they mean one with considerable sanctioning of variation in individual behavior. These studies contradict each other in the conclusions that they reach by similar analytical processes, but they are attempts to move away from such psychoanalytic reasoning as the death-wish theory.

[3] Bohannan's (1960) survey of homicide and suicide in African societies represents a useful model for comparing the total pattern of homicide cross-culturally. In presenting the case material here, I have used a similar format, adding to it the circumstances surrounding the killing. In the analysis of these materials, I have diverged from Bohannan's model in trying to demonstrate the linkage among the components—the ratios, to use Burke's (1945) terminology of scene/setting, actor/agent.

[4] The term "witch" is a translation of the Tzeltal term *ʔaʔ-ʔawal*, literally "giver of sickness." The term "curer" is a translation of *ʔaʔal*. The power to cure and to give sickness stems from the possession of a *ʔmayohel*, or animal spirit.

[5] For a discussion of the tactics of gaining consensus in witch-killings, see Manning Nash (1960).

[6] Political homicide by agrarian leaders, which is so frequent in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962), is a relatively recent phenomenon in the retreat zones of Indian population. The cases analyzed by Friedrich are a strategy of political power stemming from a revolutionary background, and the cultural assumptions to which he points contrast with those underlying witch-killings. My only comparable case is, significantly, found outside the traditional center, in the new ejido colony.

[7] Jules Henry (1936) sees the formula of fear and anger as the

443 ket of Tenejapa. Other commercial centers are Ocosingo, Chilon, and Yajalon in the north. These markets are also frequented by Ladinos, but others, located far from the cabecera, are exclusively for Indians. The most important of them is the Saturday market of Yochib near Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc. It draws 300–400 natives, who arrive at dawn carrying agricultural and handcraft products. Most people come from 8 to 10 in the morning, after which they begin to depart; about 2 or 3 P.M. only those staying to drink chicha are left. Transactions
[437] are paid in trade or in money.

Wage Work

464 Because the cold climate and the rugged topography of the region produce little corn, the natives must work periodically as day laborers on the coffee plantations of the Soconusco area on the Pacific coast. About 7000 Tzeltal and a few more Tzotzil work there each year. Natives may go to the coffee plantations any time of the year but prefer to do so during the months the milpa requires less attention (either after planting or after harvest). Between Yajalon and Ocosingo are plantations where men from the neighboring villages are hired for short periods.

Use of Wealth

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578
829
183 Because of their social organization, it is very difficult for these Indians to accumulate wealth. The worst sin an individual can commit against the community is to store up crops, domestic animals, or clothes, or simply to build a better house. Whatever
[754] raises an individual above his fellows—buying a new house, improving an old one, buying a horse—can cause in them a deep fear of being the target of witchcraft (Villa Rojas, 1947).

556
829
183 Those who, enjoying good health, are able to pile up some wealth, are obliged by the community to spend it in banquets and amusements for the community. It is believed that the old men and principales

[P. 213-A]

273* TYABLO TYABLO NA *I, HOLA CINGADO NA.
598
539 "Curse the house, curse the house!"

TONC YAN XYAKUB TA WINIKIL STUK.

It's inappropriate the way that man drinks.

HAYUN LA YALBE Z'IN SMA*ALIB, XC'OHT TA *AYEL, *A LOK'UK BAEL *A NUHZUK,

So [my daughter] went to her father-in-law and told him to turn them out,

MA*K HK'ANTIKIX *EHUK.

We don't want them any more,

273* In another case, the outcome was more serious for the offender.
754
539 Mariano Juarez describes how the men of the community decided who was the witch responsible for an epidemic of measles as follows:

PERO HIC EHK MAC'A YA XKUC *AK' CAMEL I, YUN YA YAL TA SYAKBEL TE SNA* *AK' CAMEL E.

But they blame that one for the witchcraft, because he says when he's drunk that he knows how to do witchcraft.

MA LA YAK XIW TULAN LA *AY, HA*C YA YAL TA SYAKBEL MAC'A TE SNA* *AK' CAMEL E.

[He says] that he's not afraid, he's strong, that's what he says when he's drunk, that he knows how to do witchcraft.

HAYUN HIC A SKUC *AK' CAMEL YUN KRISTYANETIK I, YUN A YAL TA SYAKBEL.

That's why they blame him for causing the illness among the people, because he says it when he is drunk.

... TA SYAKBEL YA YAL HA*TE MATO KAWAK' *A LIMKNA XCI TA SYAKBEL.

273* . . . When he's drunk he says, "you haven't paid your tax
754 yet!" (This is interpreted by our informant as meaning that
539 none of the listener's children has yet died and, further, that the speaker can guarantee that some of them will die.)

HAYUN HIC MA XC'AY TA YO*TANIK HAL KRISTYANETIK I.

And so the hearts of the people don't forget this.

XLIHK CAMEL TA TEHKLUM HA* YA XKUC STUKEL.

When the illness begins in the community they blame him.

... TA SKAHABI YA XLAH TA MILEL YUN SBOLIL.

Because of this they kill him for his foolishness.

MA* TOHUK XYAKUB.

He doesn't get drunk the way one ought to.

273* Physical aggression against drinking companions usually
518 has immediate physical consequences. One fight which occurred between two drunken young men in the cemetery at the fiesta of Todos Santos ended with a broken arm for one of them, and in another fight hospital care was needed for the victim. Sabino Hernandez, on waking up after a night of drinking, is puzzled to find his hand sprained, because, as he remembers,

[539] MAYU*NUK *AY MA*C'A LAH KUT H'A SOK, TONC YU*N TOH LAH KU*C' HAL HC'IN KA*AL I.

I didn't fight with anybody, I just drank my aguardiente the way one ought to.

273* Drunken men who beat their wives can expect retaliation
593 in kind only rarely, but a mistreated wife may complain of her
627 husband's behavior to his elders, who will reprimand him and exact a promise to reform.

273* what his "true" relationship with his older brother is.
578
[593]

While in principal the intent of a communication sent by a drunken individual under the circumstances noted is subject to modification by him when next he is sober, there occur instances in which the drunken performance is critical in the definition of character. Any expression of hostility (scolding, fighting, stealing) when sober may bring the drunken behavior into focus as an expression of the individual's "true" character. In the case of the young man who "talks pure witchcraft when he is drunk" (mentioned earlier), the decision to make him leave the house was based also on the fact that he quarreled with members of the household and his wife stole chickens, and the decision was later justified, as we have just seen, by the fact that he threatened witchcraft when sober.

It may be the case that hostility or aggressive performances while drinking may be classified into two types as may be seen by the responses to them of other community members. If the basis for hostility can be found in specific antecedent events, then angry words or blows between individuals who are drunk or between a drunk person and a sober person are subject to later apology before any final conclusion is drawn as to the [754] character of the aggressor. If, on the other hand, no specific antecedent events are known to be the source of the hostility, and the drunken performer's anger seems to be directed at random

273* towards the other members of the town, and/or if hostility is
578
754 characteristic of the individual even when sober, then a witch-
craft component will probably be attributed to his character.
If the vernacular of witchcraft is used in expressing hostility
in either the first or the second condition, the attribution of
witchcraft to the person is made more likely.

273* Occasionally the outcome of drunken fighting is so ex-
578
treme (e.g., when one participant dies) that "bad character"
(but not necessarily witchcraft) is attributed to the aggressor
regardless of considerations of intent or of his behavior when
sober. In the following text fragment, such a case is discussed.

273* (The fact that the pair had been drinking was ascertained from
578
539 a source other than the text.)

J. HA* CAM *ILI *ATATIK I.

The old gentleman died.

M. TU* LA SPAS.

What happened to him?

J. MA*YUK LAH TA MILEL.

I don't know, he was killed.

M. ME MA* CIKNAH.

Have they found out who did it?

J. CIKAN *AY HA* NAX MISMO SNEAL I, HA* HAL MA TATIK KCIK I XCI.

It seems that it was his own son-in-law, they said, that old Francisco [the honorific, used here in reference to a young person, derogates his status].

682 admit of truly restitutive outcomes in Aguacatenango; an indi-
627 vidual is dead and cannot be reclaimed, and from the point of view of the Aguacatenanguero, nothing can reduce the survivors' sense of vulnerability except another life. Furthermore, any sanction short of death or permanent expulsion from the community
682 might result in reprisals. The Aguacatenango court has no popu-
627 lar mandate and hence no power or desire to hand down a death
692 sentence to a community member; the most severe sanction it can employ for a murder is a heavy fine-plus-damages. Since this sanction falls short of the family's needs, the court is rarely consulted in such cases; when such cases do come to court, they are often dismissed (sometimes on the basis of lack of evidence, for murders and witchcraft are not often observed by witnesses) or referred to the municipio court.

627 Murder and witchcraft are usually dealt with by means of
682 penalizing strategies, most often murder or the threat of it which
754 will drive the individual permanently out of the community. A lesser penalizing strategy--breaking off interaction--is sometimes used in such cases, particularly if the jeopardized party is weak or the evidence is inconclusive. For example, Josefa Lopez' husband was accused of doing witchcraft against a neighbor's wife. When her husband was later killed while drinking, nobody saw the killing but Josefa "knew" that the dead woman's son had done it out of vengeance. Josefa, now a widow with small

627 children and without father or brothers to support her, found it
682
754 impossible either to retaliate or to remain under the eye of the "killer," so she moved to a distant part of the community.

578 More often, breaking interaction is used as a penalizing
627 strategy in less serious conflicts. For example, a daughter-in-law living in her husband's paternal household complained that her father-in-law scolded her when he was drunk and, in order to reduce her vulnerability, left the house and returned to live with her own family. Sometimes, in such a case, the husband will attempt to make restitution in response to the penalty and the conflict will be resolved. Another case, mentioned in text earlier, is that of Aurelia Ramirez and her unwelcome house guest; she appealed to the young man's father-in-law and had him removed from her house. The penalizing nature of this strategy is illustrated in the text which followed (also cited above); the conflict remained "active" in the relationship between Aurelia and the young man in that he returned to threaten her with witchcraft. Aurelia's next move is instructive; still feel-
[692]
[754] ing vulnerable, she sought the judgment of the court. However, this being a case of threat of witchcraft, the court refused to rule. She describes her rebuff as follows:

[539] KIK' Z'IN KALBE LO*L SME*L NEAL, KOMO PRESIDENTE.

I went out to speak to his father-in-law, since he is president.

273* YUN PLETO HA* HIC MAYUK XIWEL *A.
578
731
539 In order to fight without being afraid.

753 In conjunction with collateral evidence, this text provides support for the following points. One of the standing beliefs in Aguacatenango is that sickness of god /XCAMEL YU*UN TYOS/ is essentially curable. Measles is classified as such a sickness. When the children die in a measles epidemic, some [754] "witch" must be laying on further illness components which cause the death. One mode of reducing the witchcraft component in the illness is to kill the witch or witches.

754 755 The problem of determining who the witch(es) may be in such a case as this is very difficult. The well-defined and formally correct mode is to call together several of the curers, have them pulse the patient, hear their announcement that the sick person is suffering from witchcraft and insist that they name the witch or witches. The curers are likely to go as far as to indicate that a witchcraft component is involved in the illness, but they most often are unwilling to name an individual, as their name becomes associated with their testimony and the alleged witch and his kinsmen are likely to impose severe 754 penalties on the curer. The search for the witch, then, must go on, under the force of standing beliefs as follows: Individuals in the community may be assigned a witchcraft potential on the basis of a variety of evidence. In this case the text

754 mentions that the man (one Margarito Mendez) claimed to be a witch while he was drinking. Hence without knowing whether Margarito Mendez was the witch in this particular case, but knowing that he was thought to be a witch in general, the men attributed the deaths to him.

754 627 *273 To kill a witch is a dangerous undertaking. The community should be in agreement, and the mode of killing must be sure or the coalition of the witch will defend him and take counter action against the assassins. In this context, drinking places the individuals in that condition of lack of fear in which they can complete the affair without undue consideration of its effects on their further plans.

754 539 An example of the specific statement of the fear reflex in naming witches appears in Ausencio Espinoza's monologue, where one finds the assertions (made at the funeral of a youth who was presumed to have died of witchcraft):

HA* Z'IN ABI YA YAL SPISIL MAC'ATIK XK'OK TA MUKAHEL I,

And afterward, all those who went to the funeral said,

CIKAN *AY MA*C'A LAH HAK'HOL CAMEL I, PERO MA SPAS TA HALEL MAC'A LA YAK', TA REPENTA ME LA YA*BOTIK *EHK E.

"We know who caused the illness, but we can't say who did it, for he might quickly make us ill also."

HA*YU*N MA SPAS YALEL PORKE YAN K'OP XI'BINTIK SBA XCILIK HAL WINIKETIK I.

"For this reason, it isn't possible to say it, because it's bad talk, it's dangerous," said the men.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

754
539 HA*YU*N MA HNA* MAC'A LAH HAK' NAL C'OHBIL CAMEL I.

For this reason, it isn't known who did the witchcraft.

273* One further reason for drinking in such a situation in-
578
672 volves the belief of Aguacatenangueros that individuals who are drunk must be excused for an act they commit. Thus, the individual who is about to increase the probability that some other members of the community will come into conflict with him (i.e., the immediate family of the witch) becomes drunk, and is thus not responsible for his acts. Acts performed while drunk express less clearly the intent of the actor than similar acts performed while sober.

In the case of drinking performances associated with acts of violence, the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking contrast is not well defined. The persons who most desire that the sanctioning acts be performed supply the aguardiente. They continue to supply aguardiente until their ends have been achieved. The ceremonial drinking segment is determined temporally by the vagaries of events. It may be short or long. It is probably not followed by an informal drinking segment. In fact, it more probably is preceded by either an informal drinking segment or, for that matter, a ceremonial drinking segment. The necessities of the situation override the ceremonial aspects of the performances.

273*
182 Drinking performances are associated with risky forms of

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

776 which have the power to mislead, give illness, or capture people to work for them. Only the most powerful curers and witches, and the very greedy [756] approach these spirits for they are reputed to be very "live" and mali- [754] ciously clever. Snakes are the offspring of the hill and do the bidding of [825] the hill owners.

556 Wealth in the form of livestock, corn, or gold can be gained from some 756 of the cave owners upon request, but there is danger in receiving these 778 gifts since they must be reciprocated. Among the cave owners who give 787 gifts is Don Klabil, a deceased moneylender of the neighboring town. After his death in the 1940s, his spirit went to live in the hill bordering the two towns. People say that when he was alive he used to get money from the true owner of the cave. Those who have been inside the cave say it is filled with animals—cattle, horses, rabbits—which drink at a large interior lake. The appropriate approach for requesting wealth is to go on Thurs- [782] day, "when the earth is open," and burn candles and incense. When the request is granted, the recipient must light candles at the cave every Thursday, and after his death he must work forever for the cave owner. It is said that at his death his wealth dies with him—usually all has been spent, and in fact children are left poor. Some say the spirit of the firstborn child of the recipient must be given to the owner to work for him. For this reason, there is no envy felt by neighbors when they see the increasing wealth of a man who has visited the caves and received such gains and he is doubly protected because no one can hurt an "enchanted man" (one who has entered the cave) with witchcraft.

756 Ladinos' belief in the cave owners gives support to the Indians' credence 776 in their power. Ladinos inquire of Indians where they can find treasures. 778 Once the request to the hill owners is made, it is essential to follow [829] through correctly. Everyone in town knows the story of Martin Bautista, a curer who went to speak to the true owner of the hill in which Don Klabil lives.

[539] *He knew how to talk to the owner. The owner told him that at midnight on the following day, he would give him what he wanted. At midnight Maria, his wife, was alone in the house. She heard a noise and the sound of* "Andale, burro!" *Then there was a knock at the door. When the*

ered to be dirty since the pigs and dogs cannot scavenge the feces. Mothers train their children to have bowel movements in the evening when darkness offers them privacy in the houseyard.

Changes in house types in the seven-year period from my first census in 1958 to the second in 1964 are tabulated in Table 14. There has been a general improvement in the standards: tile roofs have increased from 1 to 20.1 percent. The increase has been at the expense of both wood shingle (declined 8.3 percent) and of thatch and palm leaf (declined 9.8 percent).

TABLE 14. Types of House Construction

	1958*		1964†	
	Number of houses	*Percent of all houses*	*Number of houses*	*Percent of all houses*
Roofs				
Tile	1	1	58	20
Shingle	27	23	41	14
Thatch or palm	87	76	190	66
Walls				
Board plank	17	15	66	23
Wattle and daub	98	85	223	77
Sweatbath				
Have	60	52	120	42
Have not	54	47	169	58
Unknown	1	1		

* Based on sample of 115 houses.
† Based on total survey of houses in center with 22 unspecified.

The numbers of houses with wood plank walls has increased from 14.8 percent to 22.8 percent. This is a temporary arrangement, and the planks are usually replaced with wattle and daub, so the increase may simply reflect new construction. The percentage of houses having sweatbaths has declined from 52.1 to 41.5. No new sweatbaths have been made for the last ten years or so, and many of those recorded are not in use.

The changes in housing type reflect the greater prosperity of the town as well as the increasing receptivity to outside influence. The increase in tile roofs means a greater dependency on external markets. Ten years before the final census, a man who put on a tile roof feared the consequences of witchcraft.

465 working long hours. Thus they receive 12 pesos for about one and a half times as many hours as is worked locally for the prevailing wage of 6 pesos (ten hours in comparison with the usual day's work of six to seven hours in the town). For this reason they maximize the effort expended in getting to fields outside of their own township. The lower payment in [476] town entails an obligation on the owner's part to reciprocate the labor, but the payment relieves him of an immediate demand on his time. Exchange 476 labor without payment requires reciprocity within the same activity schedule: thus if a man assists someone else during harvesting, he expects that person to assist him during the same harvest period. If, however, he will be unable to reciprocate immediately, the payment of 6 pesos terminates [465] an immediate obligation, but he will be expected to respond when he can if other requests should be made by this same farmer. Exchange labor without payment is contracted between relatives, compadres, and neighbors, using the network of established social ties to reinforce the obligation to reciprocate.

464 Agricultural work in the fincas in hot country is undertaken only when [434] there is extreme need for supplementary income, or when a man is escap- [154] ing the threat of being killed as a witch. In the 1920s, when the Indians had limited land resources and prevailing wages were low, some were forced to go to the fincas of the Argentino and Aregovia near Tapachula. [626] Despite the economic necessity for their undertaking this work, the social pressure was so strong against it that they would leave early in the morning to avoid being jeered as they passed in the street. The women rarely [462] accompanied them because they could produce pottery at home and supplement earnings. The prevailing rate now is 15 to 18 pesos per tarea, a [465] half-day's work, but Indians work in the finca only when urgently pressed.

Nonagricultural labor in the sawmills is a source of employment for twenty-two Indians of the town. Lumber companies operating in the forested areas of Montebello Lake have employed Indians of the town for [465] the past year. The wage offered, from 15 to 18 pesos a day, exceeds the 12-peso wage paid to agricultural laborers in the immediate area, but corresponds to that paid in hot country. The men must live at the sawmill, and supplies of tortillas made by their families are brought in on Wednesdays

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

231 cattle was seized by bandits or soldiers. It is "new" only in the size of the
233 holdings, which have expanded from ownership of one or two head per household, primarily useful as draft animals, to a herd as large as two hundred head belonging to the wealthiest man in town. Cattle rearing is now a capital investment for resale as well as for draft animals in plow agriculture.

233 The increasing herds have stimulated competition for community re-
311 sources. The control of communal grazing and waterhole rights is exer-
312 cised through the traditional dual division of the town, with rights to pas-
621 ture allocated on the basis of residence in the upper or lower barrio of the
575 center. An association of cattle owners has developed in each of the sections, and the leaders of each association call together all members to clean the water holes and repair the troughs. A recent project of the cattle association of the upper section has been the erection of a large cross at the
[789] water hole. The water had dried up the year before, and the installation of the cross was an attempt to ensure a continuous supply of water in the fu-
[796] ture. The priest blessed the cross in the dedication, and the fiscal and prayer-reciters adorn it each year on May 3, the Day of the Cross in the old Catholic calendar, along with other crosses of the village.

233 Cattle grazing is the source of much of the conflict in the town. The cat-
621 tle roam freely in the woods and communal pasture lands, and many are
578 lost or stolen. The cattle association has not fenced in the pasture in order
575 to control it. Their tactics have been punitive; they have raised funds from
627 among members to hire men to kill suspected cattle thieves. In the last twenty years, six men have been killed as cattle thieves, and at least three of those were known to be killed by men hired by the association, which then paid the court fines to set the killers free. The leader of one of the cattle associations was killed after an incident in which he fined a man who had failed to assist in cleaning the water holes. The fine of 2 pesos per head of cattle represented a large fee for the man, who had sixty head. He refused to pay more than half, since he said he had not been notified.
[754] When his daughter later died of illness, he blamed her death on witchcraft exercised by the cattle association leader, and later killed him.

231 Cattle are only minimally exploited as a resource. The cattle are not
434 butchered locally since there is not a large enough market, but are sold to

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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000 town. However, other cooperatives have been successfully organized to
474 finance small-scale oeprations. Five record players with loudspeakers have
275 been installed in the houses of members who sell liquor. Once the initial
216 investment is made, the operating costs are low: 27 pesos for electricity, 25
454 pesos for a liquor license, 30 pesos for *hacienda* or state tax, and 10 pesos
434 for the township tax. Liquor bought at 60 pesos for an 18-liter jug is resold at 72 pesos. The total monthly cost of 92 pesos yields a net profit of about 300 pesos. The cost of the installation, 5,000 pesos, was low enough for some of the richer members of the community to finance individually, but as one of the operators told me, it was too risky—that is, too profitable.
474 The envy the neighbors would feel on seeing the profits made would
434 never result in witchcraft against all of the members, whereas an individ-
626 ual owner could expect that he himself or a member of his household
754 would become ill or die as the victim of witchcraft. These early entrepreneurs recognize the value of the cooperative in overcoming the force of envy which has effectively inhibited acquisition or display in these corpo-
[182] rate Indian communities. Instead of socializing losses, one of its functions in modern capital organizations, the cooperative in Tzoʔontahal serves to socialize gains.

474 The most enterprising action of the new cooperatives has been the pur-
493 chase of a truck, initiated by the entrepreneur, Santos. The purchase of the
452 truck was inspired by the example of the Ladino secretary, who with his wife and son had a monopoly on the transportation of pottery, people, and wheat out of the village. Furthermore, in the neighboring town of Zinacantan the Indians were successfully operating two trucks. Santos went with his brother to the director of the I.N.I. in Las Casas to ask for a co-signer on the installment purchase of a Chevrolet truck, since without a Ladino sponsor Indians could not get credit with the company. According to one informant, I.N.I. officials advised them that they would not be able to profit from this venture and that they should buy a tractor with their money. The brothers persisted and went to the Dodge company in the state capital. The company agreed to sell to the Indians without Ladino co-signers on the basis of a down payment of 10,000 pesos. The initial payment was raised with thirty Indians putting up the money. Some gave no more than 150 pesos, but as the instigators of the purchase remarked, "The more members we have, the more power it gives us."

in the house in which he lives. The midwife, the only person present besides the mother, performs the ritual. She puts cold water in the child's mouth and then goes to the door, saying, "Enter if you arrive, little boy [or little girl]." Then she brushes the child with pine branches dipped in springwater, and smokes with incense of pitch pine the clothing which is then put on the child. The incense "makes a path for the soul to find the body of the child." As she does this, she says, "May your heart be one now that you are in the house." This ceremony is always performed when the child is born outside his parents' residence is order to guide his soul to its proper locale. Three days later, a ceremony called *sti? mut* (eat the chicken) takes place. Only women attend this meal. In one case I observed, the child's mother, her three sisters, mother, and husband's cousin attended. Each woman brings a peso's worth of bread, some chocolate, and ten tortillas. Two hens are cooked in boiling water, and the food is eaten by the women.

Baptism, called "throw the water" (*?iʦ ha?*) occurs as soon as possible after the new-born child's twentieth day of life. If the parents of the child live with either the mother's or the father's family, the grandparents will choose the godparent, or *padrino*. The actual decisions recorded for four families in Table 20 can be compared with statements of preference as to who should be godparents. People say they prefer nonrelatives ("We are not deceived by them"), people of the same section of the dual division ("We like to greet them in the street") and finally people of good reputation. The individual or couple chosen as godparent becomes *compadre* or co-parent to the parents of the child.

People seem to be successful in realizing the preferences they state. 81 percent of compadres are chosen from their own side of the dual division, and only 4 percent are chosen from out of town. 71 percent of compadres are chosen from among nonrelatives. A significant factor in the choice of compadres is maintaining good neighbor relations. Most families surround themselves with a ring of compadres which neutralizes both the fear of being the object of witchcraft and of being accused of witchcraft. Factors of wealth, prestige, and status positions—particularly that of fiscal—are also taken into consideration in choosing a compadre. Most of the padrinos of baptism are chosen from among older members of the community,

756 *Andrea told them to go and eat the mulberries and she would see what*
159 *kind of an animal it was. The animal said, "Come here." But when they*
562 *got there, there was no animal.*

In two or four days, people asked them, "What kind of an animal did you see?"

"It was a dog that we saw. Not a real dog, but the soul of the dead Fernanda. Andrea caught it," the girls said.

"Did you truly see where it was?" the people asked.

"I caught it," said Andrea.

"Why did you catch it," the girls asked.

"I caught it because it is a pity it died. Since there is no one to take it, I grabbed it because it made me sad that she [Fernanda] died."

Now Andrea is a me? u?ul [woman curer]. She fights sickness because she has this extra soul.

756 Ordinarily, soul-catching is dangerous since it is sezure of power which has not been granted at birth by the me?iltatil. Andrea, however, has never been accused of doing harm, and people emphasize that she did it out of sympathy for her dead kinswoman.

756 There is some sentiment that curers should not enter too young into the
578 curing profession. If they do, they should be extremely deferential to the elder curers, and not claim greater powers. The informant quoted above
• [754] concerning the initiation of her husband into the curing profession maintains that the older curers did not support her husband when he was accused as a witch because of jealousy of his youth.

159 *My husband was very young when he entered curing. He had gone to*
756 *cure in the house of a man living near Domingo [his enemy]. Domingo*
578 *saw him come out drunk. He had a companion, Lorenzo. About eight*
683 *people gathered. They put a nail in his jaws. He lived three nights. He told me who did it. I went to the cabildo with my father. They got many witnesses to deny they had been near. It was during the fiesta of Carnival.*

My father and I spoke with the authorities in Las Casas. But nothing was done. I did not know how to speak well in Spanish; I went and spoke to Domingo. He told me, "It was your husband's own fault."

"What crime did he have?" I asked.

756 sulted with each other to determine who was bringing in the heat. They
731 privately disposed of the evil by causing the evildoer to die of an illness.
[E27] At the time of my stay, suspicion of the curers meant that a public hearing was held in the town hall to determine who the guilty person was; usually one of the curers themselves was suspected (Chapter 9).

756 The curers formerly demonstrated their beneficial power by bringing
796 rain during a fiesta held in the cave of the ancestors. This is described by
778 an informant:
789
769
[794] *When the pueblo lacked rain in the growing season of corn in May and June, the leading curers went with the other curers, the fiscal, the alfereces, the mayordomos, and the women prayer-reciters to the cave. All the women carried candles of a peso or fifty-cent size and incense burners. They drank a great deal of liquor at the mouth of the cave and then entered to dance. The mayordomos played the guitar, the drum, and flute as the women danced and the curers prayed to the me?tiktatik. There used to be a spring in this cave, people say, and the ancestors granted water from it when they were given a fiesta.*

The last fiesta for rain occurred about 1950. The whole town contributed two pesos for the liquor and candles. The leading curer then was Juliano, a man recognized for his powers in curing and in bringing rain. He told the people that he spoke to the me?tiktatik who, he said, were dressed in the old style [a shirt worn over short cotton pants still used by older men of the town, and the handwoven hat worn by alfereces today]. The curers told the people that it would rain, and the afternoon of the fiesta, it came down hard.

178 There is no longer faith that the ancestors live in the cave, nor that the
769 present curers could speak to them if they did.
756

The growing discontent with the curers, the suspicion that they are re-
756 sponsible for much of the witchcraft, is reflected in the account of an older
754 informant.
[778]

[774] *The curer O. K. told me that the curers ate the spirits of sick people who were going to die. The sick people would come to ask the curers for*

medicine. But why should they ask for medicine if the curers were going to eat their souls as he told me? I asked him, "How do you eat their souls?" He said that the five or six curers would make a common meal. They looked for a frying pan, and when it was well cooked, they would call all the curers and say, "Come, let us eat in common." When people came to ask for medicine, they would say, "Please, give us medicine." The curers would give the medicine, but the sick ones did not get well. The curers were only deceiving them. How could they get well if they wanted to eat their souls? They only wasted their money.

It is this that O. K. said to me. He told me himself that he had eaten the souls. Then I felt that he was bad because of what he himself had told me. To this day, I believe that he himself did the evil to his patients.

The personality of the curer. In view of the hazards of entering the curing profession and the low material rewards, the question of what motivates a curer to practice is of some interest. The older curers claim that God spoke to them in a dream and made known His desire that they cure. They conceive of it as a responsibility to the people, and maintain that their power comes from God. This contradicts parallel statements made by the same curers that their power comes from their swayohel. The younger curers say that the curers of their side selected them because they saw that they had a swayohel.

Direct questioning yields only limited understanding of what motivates these extraordinary people. The behavior of some of the curers reveals facets of the role which could not be elicited from them in questioning. Curers are able to defy tenets of the moral code of the community which stress softness and slowness, a moderation which is fundamentally based on fear of the world of spirits and of men. When drunk, the curers brag about their strength and fearlessness. They try to avoid the usual negative sanctions to such behavior by asserting the strength of their swayoheles and their imperviousness to harm.

My elder brother Albino was drinking with the dead Nicolás, leader of the curers of Alannantik. When both were half drunk, my elder brother asked Niholás what swayohel he had.

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The Logic of Curing

Diagnosis of illness in Tzoʔontahal is a kind of checklisting against a 755
native taxonomic hierarchy of disease (Frake 1963). The curer is concerned 753
primarily with establishing whether the illness is evil or good, secondarily whether cold or hot, and his prestige depends upon his ability to classify the disease at these highest levels of contrast.

In questioning the meaning of each act, I encountered no hesitation in giving answers, as I have in investigating other performances. Each act is understood in terms of the part its plays in the diagnosis and curing of the patient, and is in turn tied into a cognitive reference scheme which takes into account the patient's relations with kin and neighbors, environmental conditions, and the state of the patient's constitution. The notion of process underlying the classification of diseases explains some apparent contradictions in behavior. Good illness may so weaken the patient that he is vulnerable to the invasion of evil, and the tactic must shift to counter witchcraft. The alternation of chills and fever means that cold medicines must be administered followed by hot. The curer maintains communication with the blood in frequent pulsing to check whether he has overcome the evil and to ascertain what the blood wants.

The logical premises underlying diagnosis can be summarized as follows: Social relationships are primary causes of illness, while the conditions of the environment, such as cold wind or rain in which the patient gets drenched, provide conditions favorable to the entry of the disease. The effect of the evil projected depends upon the condition of the patient. Thus a mature adult may have the internal resistance to reject disease, while children, the aged, or women after childbirth are more vulnerable. Accidental wounds may render the victim more vulnerable to witchcraft [754]
as well as to "sickness of God." The malefactor achieves his goal if any member of the household or even a chicken or cow of the person against whom he has a grudge falls ill.

The emphasis on the origin of illness means that the study of symptoms is of little significance. People involved in some conflict may define themselves as patients or be defined as such by their intimate social group even without having any apparent physical illness. Sometimes a colicky baby

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755 Sometimes a colicky baby
753 may become the focus of a curing ceremony designed to "cure" the conflict
593 between husband and wife. In one case, the parents of a healthy young
182 wife separated from her husband staged a curing ceremony to dramatize
578 her marital plight to the in-laws.

178 The breakdown of the curing hierarchy and the recruitment procedures
756 which were maintained by the elder leaders (see Chapter 10) has led to a
608 reevaluation of the role of the curers in the community. They have lost
754 their position as me?iltatil representing the ancestors who guard over the
[627] community. Curers are increasingly being accused of sorcery, and over ten of them have been killed in the past decade as witches (Nash, J. 1967). Paradoxically, it is the belief in their evil power which leads to their persisting role in the society. Clients feel that the more evil the curer is, the more able he is to combat evil. In a community dominated by belief in witchcraft, they are both feared and valued for their ability to control it. From a position as arbiters of morality, they have become the chief targets as deviants from the moral code. Despite the loss of confidence in curers as guardians, they are still called upon to fight the evil of witchcraft, and nearly every day a ritual is performed. The regimen of the curing ritual has not been upset by the undermining of the curers' position. Tied to a
[755 diagnostic system emphasizing the state of the patient's social relations, the
608] same procedures are carried out even when modern medicines are used.

753 In curing practices, the Indian sees himself as the key figure in the
156 drama of his own self-victimization. His illnesses come from within his own world, usually from within his family or close neighborhood. They are a mark of guilt for having excited the envy or hatred of associates. While the Indian is often portrayed in the role of passive victim to outside domination, in his own self-projection he sees himself dominated by powers within the community. Greater participation and equality in the wider society may in the future release him from these fear-provoking figures in his own environment.

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The principle of balancing posts according to residence in the dual division is maintained in the traditional civil posts but fails to be effective again in the case of the president. Increasing population in the upper division meant that the expensive post of alférez had to be filled primarily from the side with the highest population. This unbalancing of the sharing of these burdensome posts eventually led to revolt and the post was abolished. Since it was the key post in learning prayers, its loss may mean the end of the traditional rituals in the home.

794 561 177 178

The hierarchy fails to provide sufficient prestige or power to motivate people voluntarily to undertake some posts. The most vulnerable post was that of alférez. In fulfilling obligations to the saints, alfereces used to spend over 3,000 pesos, twice the normal income of a man in one year. They were assisted by members of their immediate households either in loans or in the sale of pottery to help pay for the house fiestas. The show of wealth at these fiestas, when up to one hundred guests were fed, excited the envy of neighbors, often among the invited guests. It was felt that this provoked witchcraft, and every former alférez I knew maintained that he suffered some catastrophe following his year in office. In the last few years before its demise in 1966 the post was accepted only under duress, and all those who had been nominated at first chose to go to jail. The reason that it survived as long as it did was the insistence of those officials who served in this post that it was essentail to maintaining good fiestas. The resolution of the contradictions by abolishing the post contrast with that of Zinacantán, where men sought the prestige-conferring posts that involved large expenditures of money as a validation of wealth (Cancian 1965).

794 554 434 796 754 178 [556]

Another contradition which minimizes the motivation to undertake the traditional posts is that the highest post in the ladder, that of principal, is one associated with embarrassment and shame rather than prestige. Shorn of his roles in decision-making and in guarding public funds, the principal is reduced to holding the plate in which donations for the major fiestas are placed. The ceremonial role of the principales will probably survive, however, since the old men of the community who have retired from active work in the fields enjoy the drinking sessions in the cabildo sufficiently to compensate for the shame associated with the role.

621 554 178 [273]

The internal structural contradictions have to be considered in the con-

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priest lists only one, San Francisco. Only these top four are hierarchically ordered. The big saints are supposed to be able to make miracles, but there are stories only for San Pedro and Santa Lucía. San Pedro Martyr, *Tatik Martil,* is the only saint possessing a soul. The image of San Pedro shows him with a hatchet in his head, blood dripping over his face. According to legend, San Pedro was the first patron saint of the town. The following story recounts his transformation:

Tatik Martil was of a very foreign kind of heart. He gave permission to the witches to bring sickness. Only those who knew how to make illness spoke with him. They went and asked permission to make the illness continue. People heard he was very evil, and they threw him out of church. They cut off his head, saying, "You only give evil. You do not give any miracles. You have given the old ones permission to give evil."

San Pedro received a new head in Pinola. Now he is good and is of one heart with the Virgin Santa Lucía, with Sacramento, and with San Francisco.

The logic by which San Pedro is cast as leader of the witches is implicit in judgments concerning guilt in cases of homicide. Any man who is killed is referred to as the guilty person, since protecting the village from witchcraft is the main motivation for homicide. When an early priest set up an image of San Pedro in the church, this must have inspired fear and foreboding. He was transmogrified by the people into the leader of the witches, and they burned the church to the ground. (Its foundations are still visible in Alannantik.) Whether the priest at that time (around 1746) convinced the people that, with a new head purchased in Pinola, San Pedro was transformed, or whether the people invented the story, we do not know. Despite his reformation, San Pedro still inspires fear. He is identified with the Lord of Lightning, Tatik Čaʔuk. The following is a typical account of his power:

This power comes from his possession of an animal spirit. Whenever the lightning strikes, people know that some sin has been committed. The old people say that he asked a son-in-law to put down a lightning flash. The son-in-law couldn't do it—I don't know why he couldn't do his work—

796 tions betray the intent. As he is hauled up by ropes and hung from the
182 bell tower "to show the world that he killed Christ," the mayordomos on
829 the ground who are assisting those up in the bell tower jab him with long poles. In this horseplay they symbolically castrate him: I heard one mayordomo say, *"Me?čunun,"* (transvestite) as one well-directed blow struck Judas. On Saturday, he is let down and given a ride on horseback around town. Formerly riding a horse was the prerogative only of Ladinos in the department of San Cristóbal Las Casas (Colby and Van den Berghe 1961). Placing Judas on a horse possibly has a symbolic value in identifying him as one of the hated dominant group who asserted this privilege.
[794] As he rides around town, the mayordomos solicit gifts from the people.
[756] Everyone gives fruits except the curers, who donate money. This transac-
[754] tion may indicate an obligation they feel toward Judas as one source of their power over witchcraft-derived illnesses. The money is used to buy liquor, called the "washing of the arms and legs of our Lord Eskipulas." The drinking is mandatory for all the mayordomos who have participated in the hanging of Judas.

The Judas figure, which was the church's symbol of the hated Semite, is made to appear as the enemy of the Indians, the Ladino. He symbolizes the sexual license of Ladinos with Indian women, the oppression of Indians by Ladinos, and the killer of Christ. In retaliation, the Indian symbolically castrate and hang him, and finally burn his body, thus dramatically vanquishing the alien in their midst. So far as I know, the priest is
[793] unaware of the identification Indians make between the Jew and the Ladino. He prevented the ride from taking place the year I witnessed the Easter Week ceremonial on grounds that it was a pagan ritual; when he left town on Sunday, the mayordomos took Judas on his customary rounds.

796 The attitude toward Jesus, as the hero of the morality play, is ambiva-
796 lent. Martyrdom is not the way to win in Indian society. The feeling is
182 that power goes to the one who makes the sacrifice, and since Jesus was a
829 Ladino sacrifice, they have more power than the Indians. During the
[181] Caste War in Chiapas in 1868, the Indians crucified an Indian youth in
[782] the hope that they would find a savior as powerful as Jesus. To this day,
[175] Indians of To?ontahal seem not to identify Jesus as one of themselves,

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621 423 178 177 [609] ship role in the new political setting. As a result, it was the marginal Indians, outsiders who had come as did Augustín to work as *baldios* (laborers) on the finca near the town, that were the drivng force behind the demand for land. This was the basis for the new leadership in the early days of land reform. The ejido program, conceived of by Cárdenas as a basis for political development of the campesinos, (Brandenburg 1964) gave these marginal Indians the opportunity to rise to positions of influence in local government. The reluctance of the townspeople to take action against Augustín derived in part from fear, since he reputedly backed his use of force with witchcraft—the imported kind of witchcraft in which poisons are used instead of spiritual force. [154]

622 554 177 178 [191] [464] Ceferino, the man who finally deposed Augustín, was a member of the traditional community, but because he had been impoverished by burying four members of his family in the typhoid epidemic of 1928, he had been forced to work in the fincas. There he had learned Spanish and some of the ways of the dominant society. His leadership potential had developed in the role of *caporal,* or gang leader of the pickers in the coffee finca, and he had been a leader in the trek of recruited laborers down to the fincas in Soconusco. Under the old authority structure, in which all officials including the president were recruited through the hierarchy, he would never have reached a prestigious position. But in this crisis, he was the only man willing to confront the incumbent and take over the operation of civil affairs.

622 554 Ceferino did not take advantage of the situation to emerge as a cacique himself. As he explained in his narrative, "The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles." The way in which he had been introduced into the cabildo as scribe had successfully neutralized his own ambitions to attain power, if he had any. He accepted the ideal of a united pueblo, recognizing the authority of the principales.

621 177 178 The increasing scope and frequency of relationships between the nation and the locality since the revolution has emphasized the roles of president and síndico at the expense of the authority and control exercised by the principales. The ceremonial significance of the principales in rituals is retained as a symbol of continuity in the change of officials, but their func-

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tions have decreased. Their major responsibility is to hold the plate in which the contributions for the fiestas are deposited by the police. Formerly, the fact that the principales also held the money until it was spent lent dignity and prestige to this function. Now that the money is turned over to the treasurer, who also keeps the accounts, passing the plate gives them a sense of shame. When I asked why the principales lost authority, the first response was cast in terms of behavior: my informant, a former president, pointed out that it was because they did not attend the town hall every day. When I asked why they did not appear, the reply was reformulated in functional terms: they did not come because the laws and acts that are raised and interpreted in the town hall are written in Spanish, and the principales could not read or write. As a consequence, the balance of power has shifted to the posts of president and síndico, while the framework in which the officials act has remained.

Challenge by the Civil Officials of the Power of the Curers

The autonomy of the highland Indian corporate community has rested on the retention of social control by local leaders. This local leadership, which has survived over four hundred years of domination by Spanish colonial and national rule, is based on power derived from two sources: (1) control over life and death by men who claim to possess an animal spirit and/or (2) ability to devine or predict the future, such as the calendar priests have (Nuñez de la Vega 1702:19).[1] The belief in power derived

1. Bishop Nuñez de la Vega repeatedly inveighs against the "maestros Nahualistas." This is summarized in an excerpt, which I have translated, from his book (1702:19):

> Almost two hundred years after the light of evangelism dawned, the Indians in most of the Kingdom of New Spain and Guatemala are found full of their primitive errors, superstitions, and misdeeds such that there is hardly a single pueblo where each year there are not deaths brought about by witches, and houses and families known to have, as an inheritance acquired from father to son, evil powers so abominable that they are viewed with great fear by the rest of the Indians. With only a glance and certain words, with which they invoke the Devil, they can end life or cause their victim to go mad with great pains and stupendous illnesses, and the result is that they inflict their rivals for very slight pretexts. We exile them and other spiritual performers from the church, and when the ministers and judges try to verify what happened to the sick ones, all

776 The belief in power derived
174 from animal spirits was probably influenced by the Toltec belief in nahualism, or transformation of people after death into animals (Calnek 1962:22). The Toltec belief originated in the period of Mexican influence but had many local indigenous manifestations (Foster 1944). The integra-
793 tion of the two systems of power was brought about by calendar priests
787 controlling the distribution of animal spirits (Calnek 1962:19). The degree
754 of retention of calendrical knowledge and of belief in witchcraft gives us
177 one of the best indices of acculturation in the area.[2] In Tzoʔontahal there
178 is no remnant of calendar divination for ceremonial or predictive use.
776 However, witchcraft based on belief in animal spirits continues to be an important factor in the contest for power. The technique of secrecy, of pre-
[621] [609] senting a united front in the face of attempts by the outside Ladinos to tamper with the local social control system, persists to this day in the town.

621 An endemic problem in communities dominated by belief in witchcraft
626 is control over the evil power of witches. The traditional control system in
754 Tzoʔontahal operated through the guardianship of three sets of power-
769 holders who checked up on each other: the ancestors, the curers, and the
756 judges. The guardianship of the ancestors consisted in preventing any
177 child possessed of a swayohel from the devil from growing up to abuse his
178 power and in keeping any evil spirits from entering the town. The curers,

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[754] [171] the Indians, whether out of cowardice or deceit, withdraw their accusation or claims, so that it is impossible to convict the evildoers for punishment; and for lack of sufficient proof they cannot be punished, or if there is enough basis to put them in prison, they sometimes disappear and flee to another jurisdiction and hide, denying their place of origin or changing their name.

2. In Oxchuk, calendar experts with the ability to divine the future still set the days for carrying out Catholic fiestas according to the twenty-day Maya ceremonial cycle. Each of the spirits symbolizing the twenty days wielded the power of good or evil. This provided the basis for predicting. When Villa Rojas studied the town in the 1940s, elders of patrilineal lineages controlled the behavior of members by causing sickness brought by their *lab*, or animal spirit (Villa Rojas 1947). In San Pedro Chenalhó, the principales exercise power through their *wayhel*, or animal spirit (Guiteras Holmes 1961). Nahuales of leaders of the patrilineages and principales are feared and respected in Larraínzar, although there is a growing discontent with their oppressive control (Holland 1963). Men believed to have thirteen nahuales figure as guardians and avengers for individuals in Pinola society, although the Indians of this community no longer have a hierarchy of civil offices through which their prestige can be publicly validated (Hermitte 1964).

as the direct agents of the ancestors, guarded the streets of their own side of the dual division. The judges, with the supervision of the principales, were responsible for guarding against the abuse of power by the curers or others possessing a swayohel in their review of witchcraft cases in the town hall. The three sets of functionaries—ancestors, curers, and judges—are classified in a lexicon of role function in the stem *me? . . tat . . ,* common to the terms applied to them, me?tiktatik, me?iltatil, and me?eštatel.[3]

The system of control over the use of power has been in a state of uneasy tension. In a series of incidents recounted below, the growing suspicion that the judges and the principales were not countering the witches because of their fear of falling victim to them, and that the curers themselves were exercising the witchcraft becomes apparent.

In the following case, the system of checks and balances was upset by the entry into the presidency in 1940 of Mam Nicolás, the leading curer of Allannantik. Nicolás combined the skills of operating in the traditional culture with those of dealing with the Ladino world. Despite the fact that he was a graduate of the boarding school operating in the town in the 1930s, which had far more extensive effects in acculturation as well as formal education than any prior school, he practiced curing. The case is recounted by Ceferino, the scribe:

Formerly the dead president Mam Nicolás left at midday from the town hall and went to his house where he ate a meal. A neighbor, Francisco, came to talk to him. They drank a half a liter of trago, and then began to drink a second and got drunk. They began to say goodbye, and Francisco left Nicolás' house. When Nicolás saw that Francisco went out, he grabbed his shotgun. He saw that Francisco was now far away, and he fired many shots. One got him right in his back. When Francisco felt it, he shouted. The police heard him and went to get the judges who came to see also. His [Francisco's] wife came. She raised his head and cried when she saw he was dead. An elder sister brought a new mat to carry him.

3. The suffixes *-el,* and *-ik* refer to pronominal forms, as in "you judges" and "our ancestors." *-il* is an article, as in "the curers." In prayer, the ancestors may be addressed in the second person, or the judges may be referred to with the first-person-plural possessive, but these forms are rare in those contexts.

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carry him. When the new mat arrived, the judge ordered that he be brought to his house. The judges saw that the shot had entered well. They ordered the police to seize Nicolás and put him in prison. They saw that Francisco died.

The night entered, and the judges ordered the police to guard the killer throughout the night. At dawn he remained in prison and stayed there the entire day. On the third day, they "took his heart" [questioned him] to see what his crime was. He said that Francisco had blamed him for giving witchcraft and that it was not his fault, that he was not a witch. He got angry and shot Francisco. The judge heard the case and raised an act. They sent him to San Cristóbal and the síndico, Simón, took over the presidency. He remained in power in the pueblo.

People heard that the new president could not arrange things in the town hall. Illness entered the pueblo. Word was left that Juan, Ebaristo, and Antonio had brought in the illness. All those who "knew how to make fiestas" [reference to curers functioning in curing ritual] gathered together in the town hall. The two leading curers came with a garrafón of liquor. The curers drank until nighttime.

The president remained in prison. When the night had entered well, he slept. And although he had heard many rumors about what was going to happen, he slept well. At dawn, the president was "of one heart" [content]. A policeman arrived and said that Antonio had been brought to jail.

"Why?" asked the president. "For what crime has he been put in prison?"

The policeman said that it was for witchcraft, and that they had gone out to get the other witch Juan, but he had escaped into the Cave of the Star. Although there were fifteen men after him, they couldn't seize him. They had also gone to catch Ebaristo, but he was not in his house, and they did not find him. The crime of the three was that they had brought in the illness.

Meanwhile, everyone was saying that Nicolás was also responsible for letting the illness in the town. People said that he had vowed that if the authorities seized him, he would let in the illness. The townspeople got drunk.

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Eight men of Alannantik wanted the interim president, Simón to remain as president. But the people of Ahk'olnantik did not want him to remain as president. The townspeople began to talk, saying, "Why should he remain as president since he stole twenty bulls? We don't want him. Let us get another president. We shall walk with Ceferino." 159 621 754 682

They wanted me for president since I was first regidor. It is for this reason that I entered as president, but I didn't think that I would be able to stay on as president. Simón received an order from the [state] government that he should return as president. He came with soldiers, and when they took me out of office, the lieutenant said to Simón, "Now you enter."

And so I gave over the archives and seals and everything in the presidency to Simón, and I left the presidency. And the people saw that it was the order of the government, and they did not say anything. The town remained silent.

The incident is given as it was related to me in Tzeltal. I have sorted out the steps in which the conflict developed in order to clarify its meaning.

1. The traditional checks and balance system of the civil authority over the curers was initially upset by the entry of a leading curer into the post of president.

2. When he committed a murder while in office, the judges seized control and had him put in prison. [682] [692]

3. His replacement by the síndico who was from the same side of the dual division, aroused the opposition of the people of the opposite side, Ahk'olmantik, who believed that the epidemic, which followed the president's removal from power, was caused by the curers of Alannantik under the direction of the president who was in jail. [624] [731] [754]

4. The leaders of the revolt in Ahk'olnantik chose as their replacement the first regidor, Ceferino, who was from their side. [624]

5. Leaders from Alannantik rejected this replacement and were able to get official backing from the state government to replace their representative.

The process illustrates the way in which a conflict, precipitated by a clash between civil authorities and the curers, was cast into the idiom of struc- 621 756 578

621 756 578 [648] tural opposition between the two sides of the dual division. In this case, resolution came with the intercession of federal troops.

When curing was a controlled profession, with a hierarchy legitimizing 756 178 entry and exit, the power of the curers was directed toward guarding the village against evil as well as curing. In the 1940s, the loss of one leader by death and the other's jail sentence meant loss of control over entry into the profession. A growing suspicion and discontent with the curers as a [754] group, laying upon them the responsibility of much of the witchcraft, is reflected in the account of another older informant:

> *Formerly when the curers J. C., A. A., S. K., and J. D. were alive, they walked in common. The people were in accord with the curers because they watched over the peublo. They knew about medicine, and so people of Alannantik went to ask them favors to cure them and also the people of Ahk'olnantik went to ask them favors.*
>
> *But then, after they died [about 1940], the principales did not dare fight the curers because they had animal spirits, and the principales themselves didn't—they were just honorable people.*

621 756 178 The doubt about the civil authority's control over the curers has increased since young leaders have taken the leadership in the town. One informant said, "When there are young people in the cabildo, they can't keep control of the curers, but the old people in the cabildo can." With the relaxation of restrictions on entry into the curing profession, following the loss of leadership and the ranked hierarchy, curers were no longer re- [273] [054] strained by professional standards. When drunk, they bragged of their power to do evil as well as to do good. The first killing of a curer accused 683 of being a witch occurred in 1937. He was working in Pinola when he 621 was shot. The dead curer's widow wanted to bring his body back to be [178] buried in the town cemetery, but the request was refused by the judges. This suggests that the town authorities agreed with the accusation, since it is the custom to return the dead to the town for burial. Other assassinations by individuals occurred in 1943 and in 1950. During this period, the civil officials sanctioned the assassinations of persons accused and convicted of witchcraft. When someone wished to kill a man suspected of witchcraft, they would go to the town hall and ask for permission. After a re-

756 627 *When he arrived here, he did not hear any word that they would kill him. He persisted in his custom of stealing. And the pueblo seized him and put him in prison. The whole town seized him although he had heard no word.*

They tied him to a tree and said to him, "You do not have shame. You are a curer, father of the pueblo, [respect term for curer], and yet you behaved badly and truly stole. The town sees you are a bad man, Emilio. They call you their father, but now I am going to tell you that you ought not to be called father. You're a bad one."

He wanted to be called father, but he was only a bad one. He returned again to San Cristóbal because of two crimes. He did not hear the words. He remained in prison, and when he came out someone else came and killed him.

756 682 178 Since 1938, nine of the thirty-seven homicide cases on which I collected data (Table 29) were killings of curers. The increasing frequency of such killings reveals the loss of faith in the guardianship role of the curers, but along with this, retention of belief in their power to work evil.

731 756 754 627 621 In the series of successful confrontations, the civil authority has gained strength and overcome some of the fear of the people. In May 1964, during a severe contagion of measles, a rumor started that the disease was being spread because of witchcraft. The president called together the curers. The consensus of this gathering was that a certain curer of Alannantik had buried the "heat" which was causing the deaths in the milpa of his enemy. The people of Alannantik gathered with the curers and the civil officials in the milpa of the "enemy" to dig it out. The curers dug out a charcoal brazier which is the sign of illness and threw it in the Cave of the Star. [683] That evening the suspected witch was killed, presumably by his neighbors.

756 621 627 754 In the most recent confrontation between the civil authorities and an individual curer, in March 1966, the civil authorities showed a united front in denouncing the use of witchcraft to threaten any official. The entire group of practicing curers from both sides of the dual division were called to witness the denunciation before the assembled civil officials in the town hall. The only one absent was the curer accused of attempting to cut short the life of the president because of envy of his position. The assembled

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TABLE 29. Time, Victim, Suspects, Crime, and Outcome in Selected Homicide Cases, 1938–1965

	Victim				
	Curer or other	*Age*	*Killer*	*Suspected crime of victim*	*Outcome*
1938 *	Other	50	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one apprehended
1945	Other	65	Drinking companions	Drunken quarrel	Two companions went to jail
1946	Curer	48	Brothers: 1 elder, 2 younger	Witchcraft	One brother went to jail for five years
1946 *	Other	38	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one complained to authorities
1946	Curer	45	Unknown	Witchcraft	No punishment; no suspect apprehended
1946	Curer	50	Unknown	Witchcraft	Wife of victim complained, but no witness would testify
1958	Curer	27	Father of boy who had died of witchcraft	Witchcraft	Before dying, dead man revealed name of killer. Wife reported it to authorities, but no action taken
1960 *	Other	60	Son-in-law	Witchcraft	Son-in-law fled town
1960	Other	24	Cattle owners' paid killer	Stole cattle	Released killer on bail
1960	Curer	60	Brother-in-law	Witchcraft	No one apprehended
1961	Curer	70	Neighbors	Witchcraft	Neighbors, who felt he was responsible for contagion, were not apprehended
1961 *	Other	30	Wife's brother	Very abusive, fought when drunk	Suspect fled town

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	Victim Curer or other	Age	Killer	Suspected crime of victim	Outcome
1961 *	Other	45	Neighbors	Witchcraft	No one apprehended
1961 *	Other	37	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one apprehended; wife agreed he was a witch
1962	Other	18	Rival for girl	Fought over girl	No one accused
1962	Other	20	Cattle owners' paid killer	Stole cattle	Went to jail but released on bail
1962	Other	35	Brother-in-law	Revenge for death of brother; political conflict	Killer declared he had killed, paid fine and was released
1962 *	Other	20	Rival for girl	Fought over girl	No one accused
1962 *	Other	50	Leader of cattle association	Stole cattle	Unknown
1963 *	Curer	36	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one apprehended, but victim's brother tried to find killer
1963	Curer	45	Indian of neighboring town whom victim had accused of witchcraft	False accusation	No action taken
1963 *	Other	Unknown	Drinking companions	Barroom brawl	One of assailants went to jail, and other two bailed out
1963	Other	70	Sons of a man whom he was accused of having killed	Witchcraft	No action taken
1964 *	Other	30	Killer paid by victim's brothers	Stole cattle	Brother fled town but jailed when he returned
1964 *	Other	34	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one accused
1964	Other	30	Ladino liquor distiller of another town	Denounced distiller to authorities	No action taken

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	Victim: Curer or other	Victim: Age	Killer	Suspected crime of victim	Outcome
1964	Other	30	Brothers	Witchcraft	One brother fled; other put in jail but he claimed first brother did it
1964	Curer	65	Neighbors	Witchcraft in contagion	No action taken
1964	Other	22	Close friend of victim, hired by cattle owners	Stole cattle	Killer freed on bail
1965	Other	45	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one accused
1965 *	Other	45	Unknown	Witchcraft	No one apprehended
1965	Other	42	Unknown	Unknown	No one accused
1965	Other	27	Brother-in-law	Had relations with 14-year-old sister-in-law	Brother-in-law tried but not sufficient evidence
1965 *	Other	35	Unknown	Stole cattle and corn	No action taken
1965	Other	42	Son by first marriage	Failed to provide dowery; also witchcraft	Widow spread rumors against step-son, but insufficient evidence
1965	Other	20	Rival for brother's girl	Mistaken identity—brother's rival took him for competitor	Unknown

* Occurred during a fiesta.

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group walked to the hill where the curer had been reported practicing his witchcraft. There they collected the evidence: fourteen candles of all colors, crosses of wire placed on a photograph, and a gourd. The curers present lifted the evidence and threw it in the river to get rid of the evil. A transcription of the proceedings in the town hall is given below:

President: "We are gathered together here because something which is not good has happened. See here, Tatinel [*to the leading curer*], *we do not know if it is witchcraft or not."*

First Curer Feliciano, of Yetawitz: "The old men [*elder curers*] *have pulsed our children. All the pueblo has helped. We have just brought in the candles. He is a very bad witch. We walked out there and we found it. For this we have gathered together, but if there is an owner of the witchcraft, we have not heard."*

Second Curer Emilio, of Alannantik: "But this owner is not good. Thus spoke my compadre. This is not good. So my compadre and Mam Pelise [*Feliciano, first curer to speak*] *have spoken. Whoever did it has not advised us. The ancestors did not want this. Now who wants it? Who speaks with the holy word? You do not announce whether it is a curer or whether it is or not. We do not know where it is or what it is that he did. But when someone does give an illness, it is a good custom to see where this comes from. This we do not know. It is for this we went to the cave to know where he found it."*

President: "Therefore we had to look for it and see who did it; whether it is someone who knows how to do both witchcraft and curing. But he will pay here in the presidency for what he did, because we are going to announce it, we are going to reveal the crime. Now your hearts are content and truly you cannot do it. Now we know a little, compadre. Truly we have seen and know where it [*the magic*] *was kept."*

Feliciano: "Now you speak a little to God who gave his little child. And what if tomorrow you should come? Now is the time we speak to God, we speak to the Virgin Mother. Don't kill and don't give suffering. Better not do anything. Please don't do anything at night; please do nothing as I have told you. Thus your children [*the younger curers*] *have*

heard our hearts. The people will hear that we didn't do anything. The true curers looked. We came to the place and we found it." 756 621

The curers left the town hall, one by one, saying the pat?o?tan to the judges as they left. The judges remained. 627 754

President: "We have heard clearly what we waited here to hear. They have brought back a little soda."

Judge: "So it is for your work [referring to the soda], what you went to do there [in the hills]."

President: "It is good what you did, but you are afraid because of that." Judges laugh.

The curers in public performances nominally recognize as leading curers the two major speakers for the group, Feliciano of Yetawitz and Emilio of Alannantik. However, these men are not recognized as true leaders. Feliciano lives in the despised barrio of Yetawitz and is associated with the kuriketik, (the inhabitants of the colonia of San Vicente), while Emilio himself has been accused of witchcraft. But the situation required someone to represent the group from each side, and so there was compliance with this temporary role. 756 621

In the public gathering, the curers refrained from accusing anyone, and denied that they had knowledge of the witch. The older curer (not recognized as leader but serving in the place of an elder) warned the group not to kill anyone as a result of the meeting. That evening, the president and his brother announced on the loudspeaker of the cantina that they did know who was trying to murder the president, that it was the curer who was absent, and that he should desist. The curer responded by announcing on another cantina loudspeaker that he was innocent. On the following day, the accused appeared in the town hall with two family-sized bottles of beer. He said that he did not want the president to continue accusing him, since he was not guilty and had truly been sick. (He had consulted the I.N.I. clinic nurse rather than one of his colleagues and had received treatment for a headache. This was commented upon by his opponents, who interpreted it as showing his lack of faith in traditional curing practices.) 756 754 621 627 [156]

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The open confrontation by the civil authorities with the suspected witch, in which they warned him to stop before violence resulted, represents a new strategy in the contest between officials and curers. Formerly even when there was strong suspicion against a man, the principales and judges kept quiet. If they acted, it was to kill the suspect without forewarning. The new strategy reveals the position of strength from which they now operate. That the president could joke in the town hall about the fear of the judges in dealing with the accused curer (see his final remark above) is indicative of a changed attitude. Incidents such as that of the curer consulting the clinic nurse instead of his fellow curers, which was noted and commented upon by the brother of the president, may further serve to undermine the townspeople's belief in the power of the curers.

In the weeks following the incident, the president and his brother discussed the incident, pointing out their fearlessness in openly confronting the witch. The curers clearly tried to deny any responsibility as a group with the remark: "Whoever did it did not advise us." They expressed the feeling that it is against professional ethics: "Whoever did it is a very bad witch"; but they refuse to name him or admit knowledge of who did it. "We do not know where it is or what it is that he did." The behavior of the curers in this incident is clearly defensive and stems from their loss of control and initiative.

Political Parties and Factions

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In 1950 the first contest for the post of president was started by two brothers who had secured the backing of the Partido Acción Nacional (PAN). Never before had anyone initiated his own candidacy outside the traditional nomination procedure through the old officials in the town hall. The brothers lived in the new barrio of Yut Hok, the ejido land grant of Ahk'olnantik. The candidacy disturbed the customary alternation of posts between Ahk'olhantik and Alannantik. Threatened by the imbalance, the leaders of Alannantik secured the backing of the Partido Revolucionario Institutionalizado (PRI) for their candidate. The PAN candidate won the election. However, he was never able to consolidate political sup-

159 622 177 178 partners. He sold a few shares of a truck he and his family owned to Indians, but he retained the controlling interest. His wife was reputed to be [454] a witch, and was an active curer, combining old and new treatments of ill- [754] nesses. [756]

His position was challenged in the 1960s by the Ladino schoolmaster, 159 who had been remarkably unsuccessful from his arrival in 1953 until that 875 time in gaining personal power and influence. His intercession in a local 177 homicide case involving a father's murder of his son outraged the towns- 178 563 people, some of whom threatened to kill him. His attempts to have water 578 installed aroused the curers against him since they were accustomed to [312] bathing their patients at the source of the spring from which they were de- [756] barred when the plumbing was installed. His demands that children [871] within the legal age limit should not only attend school but should be pro- [582] hibited from marrying until they had completed their schooling caused the anger of parents who wanted to give their daughters in an early and profitable marriage.

159 Gradually, however, the schoolmaster extended his own base of support. 875 He minimized his attack on local customs, adhering only to those laws af- 177 fecting the school population, over which he had a great deal of control. 178 Some of his support came from the orthodox Catholic members of the 563 community; he extended his control through compadre relationships with 557 over eighty members of the community. He showed movies which he ac- [608] quired from the United Nations and other educational film sources and [546] gave away medicines acquired from the health officials in the state capitol [278] who were his friends. From one of these sources of philanthropy he ac- [431] quired wool shawls which he gave to every woman in the town.

The professor demanded no return from the townspeople other than their respect and admiration; he was a person who enjoyed commanding others and needed an arena in which to project his own personality. In his early years in the town, he had to satisfy this need by capturing stray tourists and plying them with soda pop or coffee. His first opportunity to gain [474] leadership in the local sphere came in 1963, when he supported the new truck-owning cooperative. He used the influence of contacts in the state capital, including compadres, friends, and relatives of his wife's family. He promoted the cooperative's attempt to gain the presidency. One of the first

159 civil officials, not of me"). He identifies himself with the Indians in the
875 fight against the competitive trucking cooperative ("Those who are with
563 him [Don Ramon] are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by
177 him"). While he does not accuse Ramon's wife directly of witchcraft he
178 implies this in saying that people sign their candidate's nomination peti-
[754] tion for president because they are afraid Juana will use witchcraft. This is
[626] a characteristic mode of attacking one's enemies in the town. He claims credit for all of the innovations in the town which have won public approval—the highway, the water supply, electricity, and so forth.

622 The profit motive is inadequate to explain why Ladinos want to play
875 the role of cacique in these corporate Indian communities. One must seek
563 for an explanation instead in the social status they gain. While their jobs
177 are limited and usually frustrating and they can never be completely inte-
178 grated into the community, political activities offer them a larger arena in which they can derive personal satisfaction. The contrast between the schoolmaster's position in Tzoʔontahal before he became a political leader and his position after finding local supporters illustrates this. In the early days of his residence in town, when he built a chicken coop which extended a few feet beyond the grounds allotted to the schoolhouse, some Indians threatened to kill him. In 1957, I saw him trying to summon a policeman from the town hall, which was adjacent to the schoolhouse, to remove a boulder from the path so that a visiting friend could pass in his automobile. No one heeded his urgent shouts or the whistle he used to call children to school, although they were well aware of what he wanted. But by 1965 there was not a single important transaction which did not require consultation with the schoolteacher. Campesinos from as far as Villa Las Rosas came to request his advice and his help in approaching government agents. In projecting his political role, he gained support for projects which were of interest to him. When he had succeeded in getting the gov-
[653] ernment to install water pipes and electricity, he talked the civil authori-
[312] ties into building a kiosk, or bandstand, in the plaza. This was a fulfill-
[365] ment of his ambition to make the town over in the image of a colonial
[345] Spanish pueblo. His final statement in the speech quoted above, "Today we see a kiosk, tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory!" reveals the symbolic significance it had for him.

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made explicit in the contrasts they make between their conditions and those of the migratory mestizo laborers who work in the sawmills and fincas in the area. They comment on the fact that these workers have no political representation and that they and their children are illiterate and do not attend school. The significant factor is that the Indians of the corporate communities not only have advantages over the mestizo worker, but they perceive these advantages and are acting in terms of them. The preservation of community traditions is seen as a means of retaining community-owned assets and of maintaining a sense of self which is threatened or destroyed when the individual Indian enters into the national society.

The rules of strategy for moving in the direction of change are a transformation of the rules of the game that the Indians hve played in the four and a half centuries since the Conquest. The overall strategy is still defensive and aimed at preserving local independence, but their tactics include new skills acquired from Ladinos. In opposing the old power elite of the curing hierarchy, the present leadership uses the same tactics of the witch-hunt that their opponents used in the past to punish deviates, but they are beginning to confront them openly when sorcery is suspected. Leaders of the new cooperatives state that their aim is to increase opportunities for the whole community, not to make individual profit.

Because the conflict has been contained within community boundaries, the statement of goals remains the same. These goals include the retention of control by local leaders over judgment of guilt or innocence, in ceremonial affairs, and by all townspeople over land. This retention of local control is the key feature of a moving equilibrium in a model of change that puts the emphasis on continuous adjustments and adaptations. In the usual models for discussing modernization, the confrontation is conceived as one between the indigenous society and the outsider representing western influence. In Tzoʔontahal, young leaders within the community have confronted old in the stated interest of preserving tradition. Occasionally they may make alliances with the old leaders as in the conflict with the priest.

These "shifts in the focus of political power within a given system" (Leach 1964:9) are the prelude to structural change. Tzoʔontahal as a case

been made, there is no recourse but to kill the man since he may retaliate by killing his accuser (this occurred in two of the cases noted in Table 29).

Conflict between generations in the role sets father/son and father/son-in-law stems from delay in carrying out role responsibilities. Fathers are expected to provide the money for the costs of betrothal, and to give their children shares of the patrimony including both land and livestock. The scheduling of when this should occur is often a matter of dispute, resulting in at least two cases of homicide in the period analyzed.

New economic enterprises have exacerbated the tensions rising from envy. Foster (1965) has suggested that envy stems from the notion of the "limited good," requiring the strategy of a "zero sum game" (Bennet 1966). The fact that the new wealth is evidence of new opportunities, not a subtraction from a given resource supply, has not entered the cognitive awareness of the people. The prospering leaders of these enterprises feel themselves to be particularly vulnerable to the envy of others and thus to the charge of witchcraft. There have been several open attacks on new leaders accused as witches; the leader of the truck cooperative, for example, was murdered in 1966. Six men have been killed as cattle thieves in the past ten years.

The economic roles created with the introduction of new enterprises have not been integrated in the traditional pattern of recruitment and control. In the association of cattle breeders, leadership tends to be based on the size of the herd; in the case of the truck cooperative, amount of capital invested and entrepreneurial skills have determined the leadership of the enterprise, while driving skill and ability to get along in the Ladino world has been the basis for choice of drivers. Such achievement principles as the basis for recruitment into these envied positions are not accepted in the same way that age and passage through a hierarchy of posts validated higher positions in the old hierarchies. The conspicuous expenditure of wealth in the more expensive posts in the religious hierarchy has also failed to lessen hostility aroused by the increasing disparity in wealth, and in fact those who have served as alférez have been even more subject to witchcraft aroused by envy.

The following list of moral transgressions is roughly ordered in terms of the egregiousness of the crime: witchcraft, theft of cattle, theft of corn, "talking with" a woman (this is a euphemism for having an affair), having more than one wife, killing, and disrespect to parents. There is a fair amount of consistency in the rank order given by different informants. Of five people questioned, all ranked witchcraft first, and theft, without qualification as to what was stolen, second. Subjects questioned differentiated the crime of "talking with" a woman according to the status of the woman —it was worse to have relations with a married woman than with an unmarried girl or with a widow. Killing was listed late or not at all by some because it is assumed that the killer has cause unless the contrary is proved. The dead man is referred to as the guilty one. It is considered worse to kill a consanguineous relative than an affinal relative or a nonrelative. One man remarking on an incident in which a person lost his bull said: "It was a punishment of God for killing his father. If it had been his stepfather, it would be different." Wanton killing is said to be absent in the pueblo, and something that the kurik of the colonias do. The three murders in the past ten years resulting from barroom brawls between "friends" have not dispelled this notion.

Disrespect shown to parents is considered a serious violation of morality. A boy who refuses to listen to his father cannot expect to receive the protection and support of his parents, usually offered a child throughout their lifetime, or of the community. If the son abuses his father verbally or physically in public, the father is supported in whatever action he takes. One father, whose son kicked him in one of the local bars, drew applause when he made the sign of the cross in two deep gashes with his machete on his son's forehead. To beat one's father or mother is a great sin, but to beat one's wife is tolerated, particularly if it is done in drunkenness. If a man other than the husband beats a woman for any cause, she may reciprocate by beating him in court "before the eyes of the judges." One woman who was awarded this privilege when her husband's brother beat her said, "If he were my own husband, it would be all right for him to beat me."

The good man is "of one heart" and reveals it by his humility ("very soft heart"). The rules for demonstrating this are given by an old man who is frequently asked to be a nakawane in his section of the dual divi-

577 887 sion: "I pay respect to my elders. I greet my brothers and my children [extension of kinship terms]. To all I give respect. Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick."

577 [574] [196] [576] A good man is a generous host, expressed in the phrase, "he gives many tortillas." He serves his community in public office but avoids the appearance of seeking power or self-aggrandizement. When he gives orders, it is in a soft, low tone, supplicating rather than ordering with the phrase, "If you would please lend a hand." He gives thanks readily for any service rendered both to God and to his fellow man. He avoids any show of [578] anger, and is always careful to show consideration of others. Those who are of "another heart" or "two-hearted" are the opposite, seeking disputes, "thinking small," "being miserly," and of a "very black soul."

[754] The heightened awareness of the state of the heart of others comes from the ever-present fear of witchcraft. Since the people feel their survival depends upon perception of evil heart before it strikes, they develop an acute sense of the behavioral clues that indicate its presence.

829 183 [192] [828] *Conformity and deviance.* Conventional or preferred behavior is characterized as "reasonable." The phrase "ʔiʔ rason," to take reason or understanding, is applied to a child who is expected to have reason at the age of twelve years or so, as well as to the arrival at agreement of competing parties, as in the case of betrothal.

Reasonable behavior is any behavior conforming to socially accepted understandings of what the world is. These include what a person of non-Indian culture might characterize as beliefs based on faith. They "know" [776] that there are hill spirits, wood spirits who cut off people's heads, and men who transform themselves into animals. Occasionally they subject given 813 understandings to empirical tests: one woman tested the belief that a [241] woman could rid the milpa of insect pests only by walking through a [825] planted field wearing a new skirt; she walked through the field wearing a worn skirt and her belief was confirmed when she found that the insect pests were not killed but just fled and returned later. Empiricism is not lacking; the difference between the content of their category of what is rational or reasonable and ours is based on the premises, not the process of reasoning.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

People who fail to conform to the customs of the town are said to lack "reason." This category includes those who do not attend to the advice of their elders. People from outside of town who do not behave in conventional patterns are said to be "of another sort."

Institutionalized patterns of behavior differ as to the degree of explicitness of the association between action and reason. Curing practices are most directly attached to an understanding of why they are performed. Ritual practices in the cult of the spirits are tied to a more general explanatory system in which something should be done "because it was the custom of our ancestors."

Competency. Judgments concerning the intelligence of a person and his ability to adjust to his social and physical environment complement the criteria of morality and reasonableness. Alertness, or intelligence is associated with the possession of more than one soul: a person may have from one to a dozen additional souls. Curers and witches, by virtue of their possession of an animal spirit, are by definition very intelligent. Evaluations of alertness are often made in discussing the personalities of others. In the myth concerning the three brothers and the honey (Chapter 8) God, the Elder Brother, was described as "not very bright," Jesus Christ, the Second Brother, as "a little brighter," and the Holy Ghost, the Youngest Brother as "the brightest." Alertness is usually associated with manipulation for one's own advantage, but is not necessarily antithetical to having a good heart. In the myth mentioned above, the youngest brother outwits his two older brothers to his own advantage, and coincidentally that of the world.

The word *b'ol* is used figuratively to express the opposite of alertness, stupidity. Literally it means one who is mute; the connection is significant. A child born mute is said to have had its soul stolen at birth so that he must exist without speech. The power of speech is highly valued and the prestigeful roles are accorded to those who can speak well in both formal and informal exchanges. It is a dangerous skill, since the ability to talk to the gods gives an advantage to the speaker over the general population. The ability to speak to the earth, a talent which people say the ancestors possessed and which curers in the neighboring town of Chamula still

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787 claim, has been lost, as has been more recently that of speaking with the ancestors. But the curers can still enter into communication with the spirit world and in this lies their power.

461 Industry is valued along with competency. A man is described as indus-
183 trious with the words, "he carries much wood well," and a woman with the words, "she carries much sand well." These expressions are a kind of
[196] synechdoche for general industriousness, since the tasks serve as the measure of willingness to perform one's sexually defined roles.

[476] Judgments made in the choice of working "partners" in the exchange
[602] labor system are based on competence in working as well as on considera-
[608] tions of kin and compadrazgo relationship. Women make judgments of
[323] others' skill in pottery-making on the basis of both the appearance of the pot and its durability proved in use and transportation without breakage to market. Both men and women known to be hard workers are admired
[754] and envied. They may consequently become the objects of witchcraft.

828 Conceptions of personality are one end product of evaluations of per-
157 formances and condition people's expectations of individuals in their social environment. For the Indians, personality traits tend to imply other traits.
125 In order to derive a sense of these implications for Tzo?ontahal, I drew up
157 a checklist to identify some of these associations. Informants were asked to
828 state whether each of the traits listed on the top line in Table 30 was correlated positively, negatively, or not at all with each of the same traits listed vertically. A plus (+) sign indicates positive correlation, a minus (—) sign indicates negative correlation, and an equal (=) sign indicates that
157 there was no correlation. Thus being bright is positively correlated with
828 being beautiful and negatively correlated with being evil, fearful, lazy, foolish, gullible, braggardly, gossipy, and miserly. There is no connection between being bright and being of good heart, aggressive, or honorable. This suggests that the heart and the mind are independent loci for a set of traits that stem from them. Metaphors such as bitter, acid, and straight, when used to describe personality, are similar in connotation to those used in English. As in English, immediate sensory experiences of taste and vision provide by extension a means of talking about character.

157 In studying these personality traits, I sensed that "being" was "doing"
551 things in certain repetitive ways. This impression is corroborated by the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 286]

"gift of the gods," liquor, to the party whose interests have been slighted. This is done in the case of a suitor who is asking for a woman of the other side of the dual division; he gives the bachelors of that side a garrafón of liquor in compensation for the loss of a potential mate. Liquor has become a substitute for the sacrifice of a child by a man being initiated into the curing profession. Informal offerings of liquor may be made between neighbors or relatives who have been fighting with each other. Liquor is a kind of universal social solvent in disputes, and figures importantly in court cases which are always terminated in a drinking session.

Another technique is simply a payment in money to compensate for damages. In some homicide cases, the payment of "blood money" has compensated the family of the victim to avoid legal action. This is never done, however, if the community agrees that the victim was a witch. Payment of fines in court is another such form of compensation. These payments or offerings minimize the bloodshed or personal involvement in conflictual relations. Payment by the man judged guilty will ensure his reincorporation into his customary place in the community without stigma.

While it is impossible to elicit from informants a theory of roles, it is possible to formulate the principles underlying roles. These are deduced from behavioral observations and from evaluations made of the performances of others. They can be summarized in the following propositions:

1. There is a clear separation between role and role-bearer. This is seen most clearly in the passage through civil and religious offices with a minimum of "halo" effect. It is also found in the situation of household officials whose authority in directing affairs within a household ceases when the ceremony in which they officiate is over. The separation ensures flexibility in a closed social system, enabling people to shift from one role to another. It also permits continuity in a system which requires an almost complete turnover of personnel each year.

2. Function performed is separate from role in which it is performed. This applies even in those roles which are designated on the basis of the most important function required of the performer, for example woman speaker, liquor measurer, and basket carrier. All of

554 these role-bearers have other functions to perform, but the term specifies the most significant of these. Other people may unofficially perform these acts but only the officially appointed person has the other prerequisites for and duties of the role.

3. Recruitment into roles depends on age and sex qualifications. Validation of the role emphasizes, in addition to these ascribed characteristics, innate capacity rather than acquired ability. For example, the curers who are respected are assumed to have been born with an animal spirit, while those who are believed to have acquired it are suspected of being witches. Similarly, high civil officials are expected to be innately clever, not just trained for office.

828 4. Evaluation of performance emphasizes the state of the heart and qualifies judgments of the person according to characteristics of the mind and of the soul. The heart governs emotions such as contentment or inner turmoil and determines the moral relations a person has with others. The mind enables a man to deal effectively in his instrumental activities so that he can speak and work well. Possession of a [774] second soul means that one is clever and capable, but it is the third soul which gives power over the life and death of others. The exchange of [764] evaluations about others is a crucial area of concern in the tense atmosphere dominated by fear of whichcraft. In the belief that their very sur- [156] vival depends upon knowledge of the intent of others before it is expressed in witchcraft, the people constantly consult with relatives, compadres, neighbors, or the curers, in order to anticipate changes in their relations with others.

681 5. Sanctions against behavior that fails to meet role expectations depend on the seriousness of the crime rather than on the attitude of the criminal. This means that compensation relieves the wrong-doer of any guilt burden. Most compensation, even for homicide, can be translated into cash payment.

156 6. Ceremonial behavior in everyday interaction as well as in [554] ritual serves to limit the personal involvement in the encounter and to emphasize the role category. This is particularly emphasized in the [273] initial stage of the encounter. Liquor and cigarettes introduce a more [276] informal behavior in which the etiquette of reserve can be relaxed.

621 Among its duties are those of keeping vital statistics for
[659] the National Population Bureau which are sent to the state office,
[392] solving cases of adultery and theft, collecting the fiesta and
[351] Ejido taxes, keeping the streets clean, building and repairing
[363] roads and public buildings, and also taking charge of the local
[491] jail. Ayuntamiento officers are also called in to prevent or solve
[344] witchcraft cases and give advice and reprimands to misbehaving
[754] wives, sons and other relatives when the household or the responsible
[626] relatives cannot deal with the case on their own.

621 423 432 434 The Ayuntamiento also keeps its own corn field, worked by communal labor, whose crop is sold to collect funds for its own expenses.

794 The Mayordomia, or religious body, performs the formal activities on the religious holidays, is the custodian of the sacred objects (rockets, church keys, bells) connected with the Church, and the authority which carries out the tasks required by all of man's peaceful relations with the supernatural on the village level.

They are responsible as a group for the upkeep of the Church building and saint images, and the preparations for and the performance of Church Fiestas, regular church meetings, etc. Among their duties are those of providing meals for the priest while he is in town, helping during mass, contracting musicians and collecting the Church limosna during mass.

621 This structural level lacks monopoly of either of these functions in relation to other less inclusive social units. Social control and religious activity are carried on at the level of the barrio, the extended family, and within the household, and religious activity can be carried on by individuals.

621 The government in the communities of Aguacatenango and Amatenango is highly "democratic," meaning by this term two things: (1) The decisions of the governing officials have to be in agreement with the community desires, and it cannot take steps which contradict the written code of rules (norms) or force villagers to spend money, goods or labor outside the areas of maintenance of outside the community. In ultimate instance, the community can overrule the Ayuntamiento, replace particular officers or deny rights to the total body to carry out certain decisions which are against the will of the majority of house heads. Before any important decision is passed, the officers investigate its possible acceptance among the village men, and they would not take steps until there is a margin of security that their word or orders will be taken by them in good will. The officers' concern [627] with the justice of their performance is quite important for them personally, because although a man enjoys immunity while he holds a cargo, he can be threatened with death at the end of his year of service. These threats are delivered by anonymous messages left at the Cabildo (House of the Ayuntamiento) door, specifying the reasons for discontent. Many a presidente municipal has been murdered for trying to introduce into his village some innovation [054] which the villagers were opposed. Besides direct threats, there is also the "possibility" of being bewitched while not in office.

[565] (2) The second reason why the community government can [602] be called democratic is that there is no ruling class, as in most Mexican-Ladino towns, nor any special kinship group in charge of the town affairs. A man cannot transmit his political power to

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887 after for advice in many different events, such as helping to
888 decide the divisions of an inheritance among brothers, giving ad-
[154] vice to a drunkard husband, etc. They also have important polit-
ical functions: they are called in by the Ayuntamiento to help solve the difficult witchcraft cases, and they have to approve the nominations of officers before they are presented to the community as candidates.

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554 In selecting new officers, age, marital status, seniority rights and previous experience are considered important. The higher a position in the hierarchy, the more respected it is and the more authority and responsibility it carries. While the lower
[555] positions can be filled by any man, the higher ones require certain personal skills that not everybody possesses, so it becomes more
[624] difficult to find the right man for the job. Some men fail in commanding the respect of their fellow citizens (because they drink, or they fight with their neighbors, or similar breaches of behavior for which they are not selected for cargo), or they become senile, or die before they become pasados, so not every man arrives at the ideal and most reputable role of Principal, which is the top role a man can achieve at the community level.

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554 To be a principal a man has to be able to get along with his kinsmen and neighbors, he should not be suspected of witchcraft, he should be able to deal with outsiders to the community avoiding conflict with them, he should be fast in judging the behavior of others and solving problems, and his word has to be precise and carry the necessary weight to convince others that his opinions are sound (un hombre que "sabe hablar"). Moreover, he can more easily

621 183 (prideful and authoritarian with equals) and commit other misdemeanors against the village norms.

621 156 Individuals as well as families can be accused of having a "bad heart" or "small heart." In a sense, any social deviant (even a person who possesses peculiar physical characteristics) can be accused of having a "small heart," and, therefore, of being a witch if he abuses his political power while in office, or gets involved in deals with Ladinos, or refuses to spend his capital in community enterprises (not only by refusing carxos, but even if he insists on not paying a limosna).

627 754 If an individual is considered a witch, the villagers can try to get rid of him by bewitching him in exchange, and this failing (witches, they think, are difficult to attack because they have powerful souls), can be "condemned" to death. Murders which are witchcraft "revenge" cases occur regularly in the communities. Vengeance against witchcraft is a community affair. If a man develops a reputation as a witch, he knows he cannot count on the support of anybody. Fear and hatred isolate him and his family. He knows that he can be killed, and has to do everything possible to counter-attack the slow but certain build-up of village antagonism which will end in his death, at the most propitious occasion.

The usual procedure in eliminating a witch is for several men, usually those who for particular reasons (such as several recent deaths in their households) feel that they have been personally attacked by the witch, to agree on killing him. This is done in secret, but even then they try to insure, by subtle

627 754 questioning of other men, that after the murder the community would take their side. If a man is killed, and community understanding accepts that he was a witch, no individual is identified publicly as the instrument of communal revenge. Solid community [593] silence accepts the verdict. Even the family of the deceased has to make a public rejection of the dead witch, or else they risk being forced to leave town, having their house burned, or similar misfortunes. That is to say, they have to publicly establish their innocence by expressing their lack of identification with the witch. Of course, not all conflict is always expressed in witchcraft terms. Witchcraft is, in a sense, the ultimate recourse for the explanation or settlement of disputes when all other means have failed to accomplish the re-establishment of social harmony. 578 If one man fights with another in a drunken brawl, for example, 627 he will try, when sober, to make peace with him, rather than let [754] the other man's antagonism become a reason for witchcraft against him. He can try to settle the conflict personally, or the kinsmen of both parties can do it; the case can be taken up by the Ayuntamiento where the man found guilty would pay a fine, and both 627 parties would be lectured on the dangers of quarrelling. Metzger 578 and Kauffman (1961) transcribed and reported one informant's speech which states the case very neatly:

[625] Thus, the mayores, the police, are appointed by the town. You should not quarrel; it is not for the fun of it that they [the town authorities] will come and get you if you look for trouble. They have the commandment of the agente municipal. They have the commandment of the juez municipal, because you have looked for trouble. You will go to jail for one or two days. Then your head and heart will calm down if you did it because of liquor. In clearheadedness you will enter into judgement. If the misdeed is small, the punishment will be

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578 small; you will leave having paid five or ten pesos. You will forgive each other. If the misdeed is large, then you will give twenty-five or thirty pesos as your fine, so that we can give something to him who has been injured by you. We will cure him, so that he gets well, so that he may not die. Then he also will give pardon. But if we do not cure him, if we do not give medicine to the one you have hit, then you will quarrel, then his heart will be angered. Because here we have two kinds of misdeeds. He who is evil will do
• [754] witchcraft. He who does not know witchcraft will give pardon. But he who is evil if he sends sickness to you, then if you get sick, if you die, it is because you did not obey the commandment.

I say this because I am a principal, I am a father [of the town]. I advise you so that the town will go forth in happiness, and in happiness we will increase in our gatherings in the town. But if you are evil, we will not increase, our children will not grow, because there are evil people, there is sickness, there is death from him who knows witchcraft. He who does not know it uses bullets and will kill you that way. Why? Because you sent sickness. So I speak to you thus. Happy, in peace, do not quarrel. It is better.

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[754] The important aspect of witchcraft as a sanctioning procedure is in relation to the distribution of wealth in the community.

A man can accumulate a certain amount of money as long as
[454] he is willing to share it with others and spend it in culturally accepted ways, such as buying cohetes for a fiesta, giving a house party for the Saint in the house altar and inviting many
[186] villagers, etc. But he cannot simply save it without being accused of miserliness; spend it all in building too large or too different a house without being accused of being embarrassed of his Indianess (of which he should be proud); nor can he invest in businesses which are not the traditional economic activities of the Indian without the fierce criticism of his fellow villagers. There is, then, a top limit to the accumulation of wealth imposed not only by the environmental and technological factors, but by

626 556 the few economic alternatives offered to an Indian who wants to live an Indian life among other Indians, in peace. In this sense, Amatenangueros and Aguacatecos are no "penny capitalists" of the type described by Sol Tax (1953). But it is also true that, like the Panajachel Indians, they desire to have more for themselves and their children: money for security against sickness, death, [146] bad crops and other misfortunes. They also want better clothing, more meat in their diet (the amount of animal protein in their diet is extremely small by western standards) and small extra luxuries which have been introduced into their culture, little by little, by the local Ladino merchants: flashlights, mirrors, etc.

627 556 754 [731] Nevertheless, a wealthy man brings upon himself the antagonism of the other villagers, who, in search of a scapegoat during times of stress (such as a village epidemic) would not hesitate to accuse the rich man of being responsible for bringint the misfortune to the town because of his evil spirit, nor hesitate to kill him. Even if people find a man has a good crop, somebody can assume that, because his own crop failed, the other man has "stolen" the soul of his corn or if a man receives a large inheritance, somebody could accuse him of having killed (by witchcraft) the relative from who he inherited it. It takes a good deal of diplomatic skill and a strong control of the sources of gossip to manage to [753] keep oneself clear of such accusations. On the other hand, villagers are afraid of showing excessive wealth (according to community standards) unless they bring upon themselves the other face of witchcraft: supernatural sickness produced by envy. Even

627 556 754 a man in good standing, if he has too many goods or money, may fear witchcraft because he "knows" that he is a good target for the envy of those who, possessing powerful and evil souls (nahuales), decide to bewitch him and make him sick or kill his children or ruin his next crop.

626 754 Thus, the belief in witchcraft operates at two levels: on the one hand the individual lives according to community norms so that he won't be accused of being a witch. On the other hand he lives according to community norms so that he cannot be bewitched.

754 Because witches attack supernaturally, sending out their animal souls while their human body is asleep, it is not possible to know, for certain, the originator of the sickness nor to protect oneself or others from its powers. There are no sorcery spells to counteract it, but people "know" that witches can, sometimes, put "bad medicines" into drinks while a man is drunk or leave little sticks on the road for the victim to step on and acquire the disease which has been sent because of envy. Everybody denies knowing how to bewitch, but everybody suspects others of being able to do it.

[753] One result of this set of beliefs is that the etiology of disease is thought of as being supernatural. Other misfortunes are also explained in metaphysical terms. Sickness is always present in the village, misfortunes do occur which cannot be predicted, and the villager "experiences," then, the effects of witchcraft in everyday life. Therefore, the threat of supernatural

626 754 784 Therefore, the threat of supernatural[64] sanction is powerful as a communal weapon against social deviation.

621 We can see, then, that the structural dynamics of village life are composed of opposing forces. On the one hand, there is a tendency toward egalitarianism which is expressed in the formal organization of political power and the economic life of the village as a unit. On the other hand, there is a tendency toward deviation from the economic norms which is repressed and expressed in the belief system and the sanctioning of deviants. (Obviously, if people would not tend to deviate from the egalitarian norm, witchcraft "specialization" would not be necessary!)

121 There is no society in the world which does not possess criteria for social differentiation. Some criteria are, by nature, universal: the basic biological differences between persons (age, sex) or psychological skills (intelligence, mental deficiency). Some other criteria are culturally determined (age-grade, class, wealth and so on). Even among societies in which the life conditions preclude social stratification, such as the Siriono, some few cultural criteria of individual social differentiation are always present. When I suggest that Amatenango and 621 571 Aguacatenango tend to be communities which reinforce homogeneity at the economic, political, and cultural levels, I am far from [576] indicating that individuals are not evaluated differentially. In every social situation, even meeting on the street, Amatenangueros and Aguacatecos make social distinctions and determine their relative position with respect to each other: one would call a

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

156 62 754 777 The picture of life in Amatenango[67] and Aguacatenango is not, however, from the ideological point of view of the community members, spread only into sanctions of negative dimensions. There are some justifications for wealth or success which are as intimate a part of the world view of the villagers as witchcraft is, because witchcraft has a positive counterpart: suerte (luck).

777 Suerte, as witchcraft power, is also a supernatural power given to the particular individual without the person's will having control over its possession. Some people are born with good suerte, some people with bad suerte. Some people can be "given" a particular suerte by a supernatural being[1] at some time in their life to keep until his death or for some period of time. Of course, a man cannot give his suerte away or transmit it to his children. The suerte is not a general power, but has specific dimensions. For example, a man has suerte to raise cattle, which would, then, grow and reproduce tremendously in his lifetime. But, he may very well have bad bean crops. His children, at his death,

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[776] [1]The suerte can be given by many different supernatural beings. Some informants say it is Dios (God), or the Virgin Mary, some say it is the Sombrerón, or owner of the deer and caves, to whom one has to promise to give one's soul at death, some others indicate that it is written in one's destiny at birth to have a particular type of suerte. The variations in the belief are many, and in a system of ideology without a Church body to create, and control the diffusion of dogma, this is to be expected.

[779] The only organized dogma available to the villager is the local Catholic Church, but this dogma leaves out a series of beliefs [538] such as suerte and brujería as unacceptable. Therefore, these beliefs are only transmitted informally, together with folk-tales, myths and the like. Because dreams are of great importance in re- [787] lation to these beliefs, each individual can contribute, through his personal dream experiences, to the general pool of ideology of [771] the community. Therefore, tales and myth, dream experiences, the "true" stories that people are told in the evening by particular relatives or friends, all tend to produce a mushrooming of alternative versions of the same or similar sets of beliefs.

NM would inherit the cattle, but there is no assurance that the animals would not rapidly die: the children may not have the father's suerte to raise cattle, but one of them may have it to grow beans.

Good suerte is a concept attached also to certain skills: if a man has that special suerte, he can have a mano fría (cold hand) which is necessary to castrate or brand animals without having their wounds get infected. In addition, a woman can become a midwife because she has the suerte to deliver babies. On the contrary, a person with bad suerte can have a mano caliente (hot hand), and be unable to carry on such tasks.[1]

156 Then, ideologically, people belong to two opposite cate-
754 gories. On the one hand, there are those with "small hearts" and
777 witchcraft powers. On the other hand, there are good people with suerte. If a man is well thought of, the villagers say he has suerte. If they dislike him, they say he is a witch.

Every villager has to gamble carefully and weigh his odds, balancing his behavior in such a way as to avoid the "misjudgement" of his fellow villagers. The better they know and like him, the more likely it is that they would think that he has suerte. The more he creates enemies, the higher his probability of being

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[1]There are many part-time specialists in the village who do
[463] [934] their work for neighbors and relatives at irregular intervals, never as a life specialization, except in a few cases such as midwives. Women may castrate chickens, or be called in as cooks at fiesta time. Men may be good at branding horses, roofing, etc. None of these jobs contributes substantially to the household income, except for the roles of carpenter, midwife and curer. Curers, however, are a separate category altogether, being ritual specialists "known" to have metaphysical powers.

156 accused of having an evil supernatural spirit. (A consequence of
754 this is that recent immigrants to the village, not well known by
770 the community at large, or solitary characters that keep to
[609] themselves, are more likely to be thought of as witches even if they do not break community norms.)

621 The Macro-Structure: Barrios

Amatenango and Aguacatenango are both divided into two barrios which are territorial divisions separated by an imaginary line that cuts across the villages through their central plazas. The barrios of Amatenango are called Aconantik and Anantik (Upper and Lower) while the Aguacatenango barrios have Saint's names.

[171] This dual barrio division is common to many Indian settlements in the Tzeltal-Tzotzil region of the highlands of Chiapas, as opposed to the multiple barrio system of the mixed Indian and Ladino towns.

In the community of Oxchuc, the barrios (kalpuletik) function, according to Siverts (1960), as non-exogamous moieties with important political and ritual functions. In the opinion of this author, these barrios are just pseudo-moieties (Murdock, 1949; 47) not being based on rules of descent, but cutting across the lineage, sib and phratry units to which Oxchuqueros belong (Guiteras Holmes, C. 1952; Villa Rojas, 1945). This definition as pseudo-moieties holds true for the barrios of both Amatenango and Aguacatenango. They are not directly connected with any descent groups, but are territorial units with functions similar to those of real moieties.

858 mother's womb, and they compete for survival with other small
854 babies who live close by (one of the two is likely to die). They
754 are extremely susceptible to the mal de ojo (evil eye)[1] because their souls are tender, and they are, for the same reason, easy victims of witchcraft exercised against their parents. During the first few months of life, they are protected and cared for with innumerable precautions: they are covered up when strangers enter the house, attended at the slightest sign of distress, and
[513] rarely taken out of the sitio. Until another child is born, they sleep with the parents on the same petate (mat) or bed.

855 When a mother is ready to have a new baby, the younger
862 one is given to an elder sister or grandmother with whom it can sleep. The baby is also weaned at this time. The separation of the child from the mother is an open traumatic experience, and parents admit that children get sick and even die as a result of "jealousy." Nevertheless, no direct attempt is made to smooth the emotional disturbances or the developing sibling rivalry in

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[1]The evil eye has been described innumerable times for
[826] Middle America. In the Chiapas Highlands it is a sickness caused
[843] by a person with strong or "hot" eyes, who looks at the victim.
[841] Evil eye "carriers" are not necessarily aware of their power, but some individuals are consciously included in this category: pregnant women, menstruating women, and people with glasses or light eyes, or with very deep set eyes. To avoid giving "mal de ojo," the producer has to touch the person who can be a victim. If a menstruating woman distractedly looks at a small baby, she will immediately put her hand on the baby's forehead, to retrieve from him her power, and not make him sick.

The same procedure of touching the person is done if the other person feels that he is unwillingly "envying" the first one, and can be an unconscious witchcraft mediator. For example, if a married woman without babies sees another woman's baby, she will touch him to show that she is not "envying" the mother, and therefore, there is no danger that she will "steal" the baby's soul or make him sick with her envy.

593 518 nor in brotherly love. At times, the transmission of property and authority is smooth; at times it reaches open conflict and extreme hostility.

[754] In several case histories from Aguacatenango, this antagonism between brothers has been expressed by the informants in the "witchcraft" idiom.

593 518 754 428 In one case, for example, a man, while drunk, threatened his younger brother with witchcraft, because their father had not given him a house (the man lived in a house given to him by his wife's relatives), but the younger brother was known to everybody to have been promised his father's sitio. In another case, a man, Miguel, gave his brother, Juan, part of his father's inheritance. Juan divided it among his own sons without consulting Miguel. After a while, one of Juan's sons died, and the people said that it was Miguel, angered by the distribution of property which he considered his own, who had bewitched Juan's son, his own agnatic nephew, in revenge.

593 518 585 The antagonism between brothers reaches aspects other than inheritance itself, such as the rights of sons over father's economic assistance. Church weddings, for example, are considered to be more binding than the traditional local ceremony or civil marriages. In most cases, there is a second marriage ceremony performed after the birth of a child, when the marriage has proved stable and the couple needs to have proof of a religious wedding to get the child baptized.

In one of our case histories from Aguacatenango, the rivalry of two brothers became evident over the matter of a church

159 During the branding of animals in the village, Francisco received
422 a letter from Candelario asking him to brand the cow and calf for
593 him. Francisco and his son, Epifanio, did so.
578

This started the conflict. Jose Mendez, Juana's brother, felt that the cow and calf did not rightfully belong to Candelario, nor to Francisco or Epifanio, but to him. Epifanio had a fight with Jose, and the latter, insisting on his rights, which were not very clear, stated that Candelario had sold him the cow (which was not true), when they were working in the lowlands together. Casimira, Juana and Jose's mother, supported Jose's claims over the animals, because it was the money obtained from Juana's bull that had paid for the cow that had the calf. The relatives of her daughter's husband had less right over the animal than Juana's brother.

It is possible that Jose felt that the cow and calf had been purchased with the money obtained from selling a bull which was originally his father's, not his sister's. Even if it was his sister's, he felt he had more right to use it than the sister's husband's brother and father. If owner of the bull or the cow had been a brother rather than a sister, the conflict would not have arisen. (For genealogy see Fig. 17.)

177 Third, with the introduction of Catholicism, although the
178 native belief system has preserved many of its early features,
754 it is now, without doubt, a new syncretic elaboration. The per-
796 vasive witchcraft powers are, for example, attributed now to
613 Catholic saints, but the concept that the lineage heads of principales have witchcraft power to punish deviants within their

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

177
178 lineage (which exists today in many other communities such as
754 Oxchuc), has disappeared. Without the basic belief in the super-
776
613 natural controlling powers of the lineage heads, the ritual activities performed by the lineage as a corporation became meaningless, and fell out of use.

592
613
434 Finally, from an economic point of view, the large patriline
421 household-compound, as a productive unit, is unfunctional, and the
578 characteristic form of the domestic group is now the nuclear household, which also contributes to the weakening of patriline strength. Within the nuclear household, it is difficult for its members to discriminate between the part of the household income that is derived from the household head in his capacity as a worker and that which is from his unmarried sons; between those profits which are derived from the household head as a capitalist who has provided tools and implements, and finally those which come from his capacity as "owner" of land. In a larger household, differences in labor in-put, rivalry between the women about the food controlled by themselves and belonging to their husbands, or between the men about the property rights of the produce derived from their common effort, tend to create conflict and disunity. In the
592
594 nuclear household, the division of labor is explicit, the role ex-
578 actly and minimally distributed, and conflict, in the case of its occurrence, is likely to be more quickly solved because the fission of the nuclear domestic group is equivalent to the disappearance of the household itself.

178
613 The functions before performed by the lineage are now
592 performed by the household, the community, or by the neighborhood
621
591
184

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

209

184 Within the same cultural frame, two social groups can show many structural diversities which originate from delicate adjustments to internal pressures, even in the case in which, apparently, the variation seems to be the result of influences coming from the external system.

794 754 [177] One example, perhaps, summarizes, by its simplicity, the core of this problem. The post of Alferez, as it functions in the highlands of Chiapas, is an institution that tends to disappear in the more acculturated towns (i.e., those villages more affected by the external system). Although it is a religious post, it does not form part of the Ayuntamiento or Cofradias organization, nor is it part of the hierarchical ladder. A person can become an Alferez independently of his previous service in the government, as long as he can afford the burden financially or "expenses" of the fiesta for which he is selected. "However, in undertaking the post, he is subject to witchcraft exercised by neighbors envious of the wealth he displays in fulfilling his obligation" (Nash, J., 1960:94). Nash reports three informants who considered themselves bewitched as a result of having been

178 Alfereces in Amatenango. In Aguacatenango, the post has not been
794 occupied for the last twenty-five years. People refuse to take
754 the position on the grounds that they cannot afford it, and refuse to "help the pueblo" for fear of witchcraft. One can see that the same internal pressure, the pressure for economic homogeneity, has resulted in the same supernatural rationalization: fear of witchcraft. One of the villages has arrived at the point where the conflict eradicated itself through the disappearance of the post which originates it, while in the other town, Amatenango,

178 it is still functioning in the context of the witchcraft conflict.
794 So, although the fact that the Alferez has disappeared as a post
754 [177] can be taken as a sign of acculturation, it is also a reflection of differential adjustment to internal conflict.

000 Witchcraft itself is a complex phenomenon. It reflects the economic domain, in the sense that witchcraft accusations are important sanctions applied to people who try to deviate from the economic standards of the community. It reflects the kinship domain, insofar as relational roles existing within the kinship frame, in which conflict is likely to occur, are likely targets for witchcraft talk and mutual accusations. It is a territorial domain phenomenon because spatial relations between people affect their social relations and the appearance of conflict: it is common, we have mentioned, that people living on the edges of town tend to be accused of witchcraft more often, and neighbors of the household are expected to be more prone to bewitch household members than people living further away. Finally, it is a psychological phenomenon, insofar as it reflects individual personalities and/or mental distress. Some people show extreme fear of it, and some people doubt its existence (there are agnostics in every society). Some curers, who are individuals with very unstable personalities, are even willing to denounce themselves as witches with the purpose of having others fear them or respect them.
[754] People whom we, in our culture, would consider mentally ill, are
[828] classified as witches in Aguacatenango and Amatenango.

On the one hand, it can be said that witchcraft is a residual category for the explanation of otherwise unexplainable

informants cannot, fortunately, be relegated to the 121
role of rats in the maze of their own cultural settings, 124
I prefer the actor's to the investigator's statement of significantly contrasting units. I have found it useful, however, to retain both modes of analysis. Observation corrects for the shorthand statements of the informant, for his lapses of memory, or for inadequate knowledge. Even if some of these inadequacies are corrected by other informants, there remains the problem as to what is an individual understanding and what is socially shared knowledge. In addition, observation provides cues to the dynamic variables which enter into all social processes.

It is impossible, if not irrelevant, to recount all the 121
behavior occurring in an event. Some of the selection will be fortuitous: we will record what aspects we observe. But not all of this need be included. For ex- 121
ample, one would exclude the trips to the back of the 514
patio to urinate by participants in a household ritual, but what might well be recorded is the etiquette with which they undertake these trips. In Tzoʔontahal, [196]
people carefully excuse themselves, saying, "I go before your face," specifying that they must urinate. Discretion requires explicitness rather than reticence [152]
in reference to such urges, perhaps because of the [754]
paranoic fears, particularly during curing ritual, that the one who is departing may be using counter-healing magic when he leaves the group.

There is no absolute rule to guide one in selection. 121
In my own field notes, I note what is significant in 124
terms of my own comprehension of goals being pursued. Having been cued into most of the activity in sessions with the informants prior to the event, I have

[P. 211-A]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

ment, engrossed as I was in the task of eliciting the formal sequence of events, "Quiet, S.; let's get on with the fiesta." He persisted in what interested him. 124

Eleven years ago they [who? enemies?] tried to get me. I had a piece of land in hot country. My house here was not ready, but the wood was ready. M. C. a neighbor was jealous [*šil yoʔtan*, 'saw his heart']. He had caused another neighbor's illness. He was my wife's *muʔ* [literally 'brother-in-law,' in this case the informant's wife's fa's sis's husband]. He didn't have corn or beans. He was jealous because of my crops and the big house I was going to build. 124 578 [754] [601] [602]

By now I was asking questions and taking notes. I interposed, "How did you know?" 124 578

I knew because when I got sick, the curer (who was the dead husband of the widow who came to the judges' house) told me. The *cabron* (goat) witches leave their signature in the blood (*yak hilel firma ta čiʔ*). Then I went to a curer in Chamula who confirmed it. 754 756

"How did he speak to you?"

In Tzotzil. Then I went to Las Casas. Another curer, also a Chamulteco, said, "Here is his signature in your blood. He is working alone." On January 7 I fell in bed. All month from January to the 19th of April I was very sick. I went to Cruz Quemada (colonia of Tzoʔontahal) where F. G. cured me. He burned candles at the curing arch and prayed. 124 578 755 756 [782]

"Whom did he pray to?"

The hills, the holy land. Then I got well, but I was very tired. My Šwana [wife, Juana] told me "He is going to kill you." I had a rifle. I filled it and went out, but then I returned. Another day I took two measures of trago, took my rifle and went to his house. He was sleeping with his wife close to him in bed, the way we sleep here. I fired four times. The bullets went in his back and came out front. One entered the arm of his wife. Now people say of me I am a killer. I went to the townhall for the enquiry. The man's wife said the door [of the house] was open. She said she did not see me. Afterward I got well. If I hadn't killed him, I never would have lived. Now I am having more trouble first because of the cooperative, then because of my brother being president, and then the comisario. Let us see what will happen this year. If God lends us our life, there are going to be protests. We will walk with our pistols. Špet [wife of Ladino owner of opposing cooperative] gave 1000 pesos to a man from Magronal to kill me. 124 578 682

"How do you know?"

My compadre came and told me. Who knows how many deaths there will be!

[P. 225-A]

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[p. 457-A] Teklum

682 156 themselves killed." When they see a man who is abusive while drunk, who brags of his power and of that of his animal spirit, they will remark: "That man is going to wake up dead" (*sakubk'inal čamel*). When such a man is killed, no one complains, even among his immediate relatives (cases 5, 10, 14, 16, 19, 22, 24, 26, 27, 29, 31, and 32 are of this type). When I asked [562] why women do not get killed, the response was, "They don't look for trouble" (*ma sleik smul*).

682 *Setting*

	Total	*Dawn*	*Afternoon*	*Evening*	*Night*	*??*
Streets of town	11				11	
Milpa, woods, road out of town	10	2	3	2	2	1
Highway	4		1	1	1	1
In cantina	3		1		2	
In houseyard	3			1	2	
In bed	1				1	
Neighboring hamlets & towns	2		1			1
??	3					3
Total	37	2	6	4	19	6

Where the killing takes place and its timing in the diurnal cycle are directly linked. All of the homicides in the streets of the town were committed at night, while those in the roads out of town near the milpa occurred in the late afternoon or evening. In providing privacy and security from discovery, the darkness of night is functionally equivalent to distance from the town center during the daytime. 682 114 When I suggested that the killings might be reduced if the town would connect the lights that had been installed in the streets, the response was that when they had been in use, killings had increased. The lights helped the killer find his victim, perhaps lying out in the road after a drinking session. He would shoot out the light and then kill his victim.

682 579 The only killings in which considerations of space or time were ignored were those in the cantina during a drunken brawl, for in contrast to the usual killing their onset was unpremeditated.

682 [527] [579] The timing of homicide is related also to the annual cycle: 14 homicides occurred during the fiestas in the town or in a neighboring town. The drunkenness of the fiestas provides an appropriate occasion for killing an enemy, although a drunken brawl is in itself rarely a sufficient motive (two cases). [755] [273] Other opportune times are after a curing ceremony (six cases) and after the gathering of curers during an

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.457-B] Teklum

682 epidemic (two cases), when people have drunk
[755] a great deal and their motive is fresh in their
[273] mind.

The settings in which homicides occur indi-
682 cate that a killer is expressing not his own
152 bravery but rather his fears. Wounds are fre-
154 quently inflicted from the rear, and often the
[273] victim is outnumbered and set upon by a group. The victim is sometimes invited to drink with his killer(s), and in this session he is disarmed psychologically and physically. Alcohol reduces the chance of his effective reaction, and this is important when a knife or machete is used. Shotgun killings are done at a distance and do not require this tactic, al-
682 though it may still be employed. For drinking
273 serves to reduce the killer's own fears. Drink
152 "heats the blood" and makes unusual behavior possible. One killer, in recounting his act, was not trying to prove bravery, but rather his own good judgment and cool-headedness. The killer fired at the victim while he was sleeping, his back turned to the door, and killed him. The shot also entered the arm of the
[695] sleeping man's wife. She saw the killer as he left the scene, but testified in court that she
[683] had seen no one. She was, in effect, accepting his verdict that her husband was a witch.[4] This homicide was not regarded by the killer or by anyone else as a heroic act, nor was the killer in recounting it attempting to emphasize anything other than the necessity of the act.

682 *Instrumentality: Weapons and Wounds*
411

gun	14
machete	6
gun and machete	4
knife	3
knife and gun	1
knife and machete	1
knife and stone	1
hatchet	1
nail	1
sandals	1
??	4

The variety of weapons reduces the question of any technological determinism to a minimum. The actual weapon used seems to be a matter of convenience. When more than one is used, it is usually evidence that the assailant had helpers. The nail is unusual. It was hammered into the jaws of a man who had entered the curing profession at an age considered too
682 young. The attack on the jaws of the victim
774 seems related to the power of speech and to the
756 [text continues on p. 461-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

or less inebriated, not from greediness, but because it is a ceremonial necessity for him to be in that condition when dealing with the sacred things. Drunkness was a requisite of certain functions among the old Maya, and with the present-day Lacandones,* the Chontal shamans similarly will not perform unless drunk. 756 [273]

Sebastiano Guzman, a Bachajon at El Encanto, a specialist on snake-bite cases, would not treat a friend for snake-bite, although he carried him on his back for two hours to get treatment from us, because the friend could not buy him any rum. It probably would be considered very dangerous to deal with the supernatural healing powers when sober. 755 273

When a group of Indians are drinking at any time, the shamans, as soon as they are drunk, go off together to one side and proceed to exchange prayers and prescriptions which they will not discuss when sober. They make a curious spectacle thus; a group of elderly men sitting in a corner passing a bottle about, plainly drunk, and gravely intoning prayers that are obviously to all of them matters of weighty importance. 273 756

Of their prayers two, or parts of two, were obtained. The first was copied by a Ladino secretary at El Encanto from the recital of an intoxicated shaman. The shaman became a general object of ridicule to all his people, lay or initiate, for having let out one of his secrets to an outsider. The second was recited by Señor Aguilar of El Encanto, who had overheard it. No one was able to give us any but the most fragmentary and unsatisfactory translations for these prayers; undoubtedly the text is in part archaic, and may contain some gibberish. The manner in which they were acquired, moreover, prevents accurate transcription. They are given here, rather than with the Tzeltal Texts in Appendix V, because of this failure to translate them, and their primarily ethnological value. 756 273 126 782

I.

hun ahau ilic tunic baken pusti-lum tal kowit' tal keke manic tunic inic kilan kun in ahau keke tunic hun tsak-unti-bak tsak-unti-tci. 539

Hun Ahau, the Guardian of the Mountains, has been discussed already. *ilic* was said to mean "drove out the sickness," and *tunic*, "placed the sickness." *pusti-lum* contains the stem *lum*, "earth." *tal* may be the stem of the verb *tal-el*, "to come." *kilan* is a lizard used in medicine. *keke tunic* was explained as meaning that the sickness was placed by means of *ajo* fruit. *tsak-unti* is remarkably similar to the Lacandone *tsakuntik*, "to redden," occurring in a

*Tozzer, 1907.

273*
578 YUN PLETO HA* HIC MAYUK XIWEL *A.
731
539 In order to fight without being afraid.

753 In conjunction with collateral evidence, this text provides support for the following points. One of the standing beliefs in Aguacatenango is that sickness of god /XCAMEL YU*UN TYOS/ is essentially curable. Measles is classified as such a sickness. When the children die in a measles epidemic, some "witch" must be laying on further illness components which cause the death. One mode of reducing the witchcraft component in the illness is to kill the witch or witches.

754
755 The problem of determining who the witch(es) may be in such a case as this is very difficult. The well-defined and formally correct mode is to call together several of the curers, have them pulse the patient, hear their announcement that the sick person is suffering from witchcraft and insist that they name the witch or witches. The curers are likely to go as far as to indicate that a witchcraft component is involved in the illness, but they most often are unwilling to name an individual, as their name becomes associated with their testimony and the alleged witch and his kinsmen are likely to impose severe
754 penalties on the curer. The search for the witch, then, must go on, under the force of standing beliefs as follows: Individuals in the community may be assigned a witchcraft potential on the basis of a variety of evidence. In this case the text

75 not yet appear to be a popular alternative. Generally, the doctor is the last of all medical practitioners referred to in exhausting the curing options in Aguacatenango, though individuals who have had a successful relationship with the doctor are more
756 likely to pursue that option sooner. The only other major class of medical practitioner is the talking saint. Talking saints are more or less representational images of saints who, in conjunction with their "owners" can actively consult with human beings about their trials and tribulations in the world. The most powerful of this class, San Miguel of Soyaló, is about an eight hour trip and a 200 peso fee from Aguacatenango. Talking saints share more features with the curers than they do with doctors. They, like the curers, are predestined by God to their role,
755 but they more directly represent God's omniscience. The cure of the talking saint is more powerful as can be measured by the greater expenditure of funds for such a cure, or as can be measured by his greater ability to divine in the life history of the patient the principal sources of illness.

128 Admitting then, that illness has general characteristics as described above, we turn our attention to the multiple relations between illness and the drinking of aguardiente.

273 753 periencing strong aversive physical effects. It is likely that individuals who wish to reduce the number of informal drinking performances manipulate the informal drinking segment length, because of standing beliefs about the relationship between drinking and illness. The only way a man can get out of his social obligations is to place himself in the special condition of being particularly prone to illness. Procedures for inducing illness are then likely to become strategies in controlling participation in informal drinking performances.

Aguardiente and curing

273 755 There is considerable variation in the use of aguardiente in the curing ceremonies in Aguacatenango. Two classes of use may be distinguished. The first of these may be called medicinal use. The second class involves drinking by the participants of the curing ceremony other than the patient himself. These two classes of use may be relatively easily distinguished as follows: aguardiente as it is administered to the patient is generally mixed with other substances, although occasionally the curer will give the patient a straight draught of aguardiente. The participants (male, married drink deeply; all others drink an intermittent, non-intoxicating amount) on the other hand drink in the ceremonial drinking pattern. In violation of the cere-

273* monial drinking pattern, the curer, no matter what his age rela-
755 tive to the age of others present, is served first.[1]

273* Drinking by participants in the curing ceremony appears
539 in several text fragments as follows:

MAC'ATIK X*ULAH NAL YA HUC' TRAWO X*OC SPAS POX YU*N HIC *AY SPERSA *A.

Those who cure drink trago first before they go in to cure in order to increase their strength.

SPISIL YO*TAN X*OC TA POSTAWANEH.

So that they will be confident when they go in to cure.

HA* LA YAK' BALOR HAL TRAWI.

It's the aguardiente that gives strength.

PERO *AY H*OLIL MA*K YUC'IK TRAWO HIC NAX YA SPAS POSTO, HA* HIC YA SPASIK POX H*ULELTIK *ABI.

But there are some who don't drink trago before they cure, that's the way they are.

Also:

M. TU*L LIHK YU*C'K.

How did they begin to drink?

C. *E HA* XK'O YILIK HAL XC'IN YAHTAL YO*TAN HKUMRE SME* HOSEPA NUN E.

They went to attend the delivery of my comadre, Josefa's mother, over there.

---

[1] From this relative positioning of drinking we conclude
[756] that the role of curer in the curing situation has more status
[554] than the role of old man. In most situations, as has been previously noted, the oldest man present is generally served first.

273* 539 HA* XK'O--TE NEL *AHK'BALTIK KU*NTIK *A HAL *AHK'ABEI

They went over there--we spent the night there last night.

HNUX MA*LAH KUMPRE.

She almost died, compadre.

CAMEN HULEL, LOM LA YAK' SWOKOL.

(The baby) was born dead, she suffered for nothing.

J. ... HA* Z'INABI *E SUNUL *AHK'BAL, MA*A LAHUK *OXE*BUK LITRO I SUNUL *AHK'BAL I.

During the night we drank about three liters, the whole night.

M. *E HAYEBEX *ABI.

And how many of you were there?

J. *E HAYEBOTIK, *E CANE(BOTIK *A SOK CENCO NUN TA HEMEL E, SOK CANTUL *ANZTIK--

How many? Four of us, with Ausencio from over in the valley, and four women.

*E *ULIK STUKEL T'UXAHIK LEK, HA*Z'IN HO*NE MA*BA LOM T'UXAHON LEK ... XLOK' K'AHAL LOK'ONTAL I.

They all got so drunk they fell down. I didn't fall down myself . . . I left as the sun was coming up.

• 755 The curing ceremony is a public performance, the audience of which is constituted of the sick person's near consanguineals, 273* affinals, ritual kin and neighbors. The males in this audience-- 755 which varies in size depending on the estimated severity of the illness--pace their drinking with that of the curer. He in turn is dependent on the host who initially arranged with him to make the cure for the supply of aguardiente. It is characteristic

273 755 that the curer and the adult males will drink sufficient trago through the night (this being the normal length of a single curing segment) so that at least some of the men will continue drinking the next day in other than the curing setting. (The minimal drinking unit equals ceremonial drinking plus informal drinking).

As is indicated in the first text fragment, drinking on the part of the curer is seen to be a mode of fitting himself for the difficult task he has to perform. "Difficult" means in this context that curing an individual is not necessarily likely to result in the patient getting well and the responses of the family members to a cure that failed may include hostility directed towards the curer.

In the case where the sick person appears to be dying the collected relatives and neighbors continue to accompany him as do one or more curers. They remain until he appears to have recovered from the crisis or until he dies. Drinking continues, though on a somewhat more intermittent basis, across this whole period of time, which may be as long as several days.

Quite often other curers will be called in and the pulsing-curing sequence repeated with the resultant increase again in the consumption of aguardiente. When and if the patient dies, a funeral sequence is initiated which will be described below.

273* 755 [757] The administration of trago directly to the patient in the course of the curing ceremony is unusual, though it may be mixed with other ingredients (raw eggs, essence of rosemary, the curer's saliva and/or chicken blood) and a cup or bowl of this mixture given to the patient to drink. Alternatively it may be applied to the body of the patient, the curer blowing it on him a mouthful at a time. Aguardiente is occasionally used to drug chickens which are used in the course of the ceremony. We have seen chickens so drugged placed on the patient's head where they calmly remain for a period of a half hour or more.

273* 764 Drinking during the funeral ceremony

The burial of a dead person takes place within a period of twenty-four hours after he is declared to be dead. The time lag depends primarily on how soon a casket can be bought, the primary source of caskets being carpenter shops in Pinola--a six hour round of walking. The morning after the death, neighbors and bilateral male relatives walk out to the cemetery to dig the grave. They take a liter of trago with them which they drink while they are digging the grave. Others of this group stay at the house of the dead person where a ceremonial is being prepared, where the cadaver is being washed and dressed and wailed over by women who are closely related to the dead person.

The return of the grave diggers to the house signals the

273* formal drinking pattern. These limits may be expressed in terms
571
[885] of the necessity to drink under those circumstances when one is a member of a group which is engaging in a ceremonial drinking sequence. Every male is a member of several such groups. Under most conditions the ceremonial drinking segment leads to deep drunkenness. Under most conditions the ceremonial drinking segment is followed by an informal drinking segment. Informal drinking segments also lead to deep drunkenness. Following the participation in such segments, a man probably recuperates for a day before he returns to his regular daily routines. Hence a typical drinking performance may be expressed as ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking + recuperating period.

273* The ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking pattern is,
527
623 as we have seen, an essential component of many recurring per-
578
755 formances in Aguacatenango. We have described the role of drinking in the celebration of family and community holidays, the certification of civil authority, the resolution of conflict, and the etiology as well as the treatment of illness. The indispensability of drinking to such performances is suggested in the following exchange between the ayuntamiento which is retiring and the ayuntamiento which is entering office (as reported by Juan Perez).

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

tuals and everyday tasks. The dialectic of change lies in the interpretations people make of new experience. 121

My method of study in the field was that of participant-observation combined with extensive eliciting. The assumption implicit in participant-observation that "seeing is believing" denies not only the symbolic significance of the acts one sees, but the relevant social features which are part of their definition of the situation. Rather than impose my own perceptions on the simplest field description, I relied on informants' statements about where, when, what, to whom, and how things were happening. In the case of formally programmed events, I elicited in advance in Tzeltal from two or more informants the sequence of activities as they expected them to transpire. I asked informants to segment the experience they were recounting in as minimal units as they had the descriptive vocabulary to do. This was done for instrumental activities—agriculture and pottery production—as well as ceremonial events in the life cycle and in religious and economic institutions. Implicit in the informants' segmentation of experience is the concept of "molar acts"—purposive and cognitive behavior.[3] The informant says for example that he "eats," not that he raises food to his mouth and chews it. The importance of eliciting descriptions in the performers' own language is indicated in the different way in which experience is lumped or split in Tzeltal. For example, when a curer takes a pulse he both "feels" and "hears" (*ʃʔawai*) the messages communicated by the blood. On the other hand, the verb "to eat" has several terms depending on what is being eaten (Berlin 1967). Their translations into Spanish do not make the same distinctions. 12 [196] [755]

Observation of events in process provided not only a check for validity and completeness of the informants' accounts, but also a means of analyzing the process of change. The attempt to analyze divergence in actual behavior from normative statements in terms of Murdock's ideal-real dichotomy or Kroeber's value-culture and reality-culture is based on an assumption that there is a single perception of the way things ought to be done in

3. Psychologists such as Lewin (1951:72) and Tolman (1961:89) who have studied animal behavior have emphasized that the minimal unit of significant behavior is both purposive and cognitive. Most of my descriptions of behavior are limited to molar behavior, and the analysis of gesture systems is confined to those which have symbolic significance in a ceremonial context.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

342 tite must be satisfied when the house is first occupied and when the chil-
776 dren of the house fall ill from a sickness diagnosed by a curer as a result of
753 their souls being eaten. The souls of the inmates of the house hover near the center post when they are not in the body. The soul calling ceremony
342 is held near this center post. If someone is cured in a house not his own,
• 755 he must not sit near this post because his soul will be confused with those of the inmates of the house. The curing arch is erected directly before the center post, over the square hole in which the ceremonial offering of a sheep's head is buried when the house is built. A live chicken is buried in this spot if the illness is severe.

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778
769

TABLE 3. Spirits and Places

Place	*Place spirit*	*Person spirit*
Loci of spirits to be supplicated		
House	Spirit of the house (*sʔulel na*)	Spirits of children (*sʔuleletik yuntikil*)
Spring of San Nicolás	Little Ladino (*ʔin kaslan*)	Spirits of male patients (*sʔuleletik yuʔun keremetik*)
Spring of Pahaltón	Little Ladina (*ʔin šinlan*)	Spirits of female patients (*sʔuleletik yuʔun ʔaʔišetik*)
Cave of Ancestors	Lopez brothers (*Šuntonetik*)	Spirits of towns-people (*sʔuleletik spisil teklum*)
Loci of spirits to be avoided		
Cave of Don David	Ladino moneylender (*Klabil*)	Petitioners for wealth
Cave of the Black Man	Devil, or black man (*ʔihk'al winik*)	Witches
Cave of Juan Santos	Deceased recipient of wealth from Cave Hwan Santil	Petitioners for wealth
Stone Cave	Owner of cave (*Yahwal sʔen*)	Petitioners for wealth
Cave of Elotes	Owner of cave (*Yahwal sʔen*)	Petitioners for wealth
Cave of the Star	Owner of star (*Yahwal ʔek'*)	Curers and witches

the animal. The curer received from him the severed head and paws which he placed in a large gourd. Then the curer served a potion of herbs in springwater to all of the members of the household. The final ritual act was for the curer to smoke an article of clothing belonging to each member of the household over the incense burning in front of the center arch at the back wall. Liquor was served continaully throughout the ceremony, the first drink always being given to the curer followed by one to the elder houseowner. The first drink was served immediately after the cutting of the jugular vein of the sheep. Flowing blood, water, and liquor are spirit media symbolically linked in ritual behavior. Between each of the major ritual acts—the slaughtering of the sheep, the burial of the head, the serving of the springwater and herbs, and the smoking of the clothing with incense—the curer prayed, but his prayers were so mumbled that I could not hear or record them. Informants said that it was a variation of the prayer given at the first house fiesta. After the rituals, a stew made with the sheep meat was served with tortillas to all the visitors. The music of guitar and gourd rattle, played during the ritual by young male relatives continued after the meal, and the guests remained in the house drinking and dancing for the rest of the afternoon.

Elements of these house fiestas are repeated when any of the children of the household is ill. A severe illness, diagnosed as being caused by the devil eating the soul of the patient, requires offering a meal to the house spirit. The square hole is reopened, and a live black chicken, male if the patient is a boy and female if it is a girl, is placed inside. A food offering of one-fourth liter of liquor, one peso's worth of bread, and 50 cents' worth of chocolate is placed inside with the chicken, and a square board is fitted on top of the hole "to keep the chicken alive for eight days so that the house spirit will hear his cries." When the curing arch is removed, the hole is filled in with dirt over the chicken, now dead, which provides a meal for the spirit house earth.

When the houseowner is sick, an appeal for health is made to the spirit in the house post. The members of the household kiss the post, a splinter is removed and burned in an incense burner with *pom*, the resin of pine. This odor is pleasing to the house spirit.

When a serious illness caused by witchcraft has been cured, the patient

When a serious illness caused by witchcraft has been cured, the patient
789 must be protected against reentry of the evil by a gift of medicine to the house. Palm crosses are made for the corner posts and the entry, and a medicine consisting of a mixture of garlic and creosote, the seeds of mustard, and *polčan*, a "hot" herb, is mixed. As the crosses are nailed on the posts, the curer marks a cross with the medicine over the palm cross. This "covers the eyes of the evil spirit" so that it will not enter the house.

776 The relationship between house spirit and the spirits of the residents is
342 an uneasy one. Fear is associated with this capricious spirit, who might make an alliance with evil spirits, and whose power is evident only in sickness and in death, never in good deeds. A sense of alienation is conveyed in the fact that the house spirit and the spirits of the spring are conceived of as Ladinos. Spirits of the house and of the landscape are exacting landlords from whom the tenants expect nothing in return for their offerings
[782] but freedom from harm. Acceptance of the offerings seals a contract between spiritual occupants that must continually be renewed in order to maintain the balance of security expressed in the phrase "to be of one
[557] heart." The payment of a "tribute" in the form of food, liquor, and enter-
[571] tainment is part of a larger strategy by which these Indians ensure their
[782] survival by appeasement of overlords, demanding government officials, and the very rats which live in their houses and feed on the corn they store in the eaves.

778 *The springs.* Other meeting grounds for the spirits of people and
312 places are the springs. The major spring, San Nicolás, is located on the southwestern periphery of the town. It provides drinking water and water for irrigating the cultivated lands. A second spring, called Pahaltón, lies closer to the village and provides a smaller stream of water directed into
[776] the canals irrigating the fields of the center. Some say the spirit of San Nicolás is a small Ladino boy; others say he is a man. The spirit of Pahaltón is a female non-Indian, or *Ladina*. The spirits of these waters are able to ef-
778 fect miraculous cures for patients who have lost their souls or those who
312 are of two hearts because of upset social relations in the home. Male pa-
755 tients are brought to San Nicolás and female patients are brought to Pahaltón to seek a miracle. In the curing ceremony an arch of flowers entwined in pine boughs is constructed as closely as possible to the spring

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waters. The curer brushes the patients with branches of the cooling bushes and herbs growing near the spring, the same ones used in the fiesta of inauguration and the curing ceremonies conducted in the house. The strategy of making the house spirit happy by providing music, dancing, and drinking is repeated at the spring to make the water spirit happy. Some of the family of the patient must remain in the house as "waiters" (*maliwanehetik*) to receive the spirit if it should arrive before its owner. The maliwanehetik must drink as much liquor as the participants at the spring.

The Cave of the Ancestors. The ancestors, the *me?tiktatik*, were believed to have lived in a cave in the hills lying on the peripheries of the township. In the myth that follows, they are given a historical identity as two brothers, the Shuntonetik. Shunton is one of the Tzeltal patronyms of families still living in the town, and in fact the narrator of this version of the myth is Mariano Shunton, whom people consider a descendant of the ancestors.[6]

Formerly a priest asked for a document to be delivered to Antigua in Guatemala. Two messengers were sent with it, but they did not return. Another messenger went and did not return. Four or five more messengers were sent out and did not come back. Finally they sent a man from the cabildo with his younger brother. They left early in the morning, and the elder brother said as he left the other town officials, "If I succeed, I want a fiesta. Look for my sign of four arches [*rainbow*]*."*

The two brothers first went to a hill. There they called upon their swayohelik [*animal spirits*]. *First the animal spirit of the elder brother spoke. He said, "I am a stone." Then the animal spirit of the younger brother said, "I am a stick. Moreover, I am a snake and a maguey plant." The elder brother said, "Then we are well off. Let us go."*

6. The same identification of a lineage patronym with the most important sacred hill is found in other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities (Holland 1963, Hermitte 1964). The pattern may have originated in a period of pre-Conquest expansion when the dominant lineage was assigned a custodial leadership over the new settlement, with their spirits remaining as guardians of the community. Members of the contemporary communities who bear the same patronym do not have any privileged position. These associations of past and contemporary belief are, as Vogt (1964:216) cautions, still hypothetical.

The relationship of respect and obedience between parents and children 593
is expected to last throughout life. When a boy reaches the age of eight- 582
teen, his parents are expected to provide him with a wife. Wealthier fami- 434
lies tend to fulfill this obligation at an earlier age than do poorer families, 583
in which the boy may have to work in the fincas or in the sawmills to acquire the money for his own marriage.

Instruction in sexual behavior and reproduction is not characterized by 864
continuity, as is instruction about work tasks. Children are given no information about sex prior to marriage, and girls remain entirely innocent. They may be pregnant several months before they are aware of what is happening. The complete sexual segregation in work tasks and play during adolescence makes the relationship between sexes strained.

Even after marriage, the parents are concerned with maintaining their 593
child's marital situation, or, if they judge their child's spouse to be incorri- [586]
gible, to help him get rid of his partner. In the case of women, in particu- [736]
lar, parents continue to provide a refuge in case a daughter's husband should die, be sent to prison, or prove incompatible. Parents usually accompany their children if they are called into court, and failure to attend is tantamount to admitting the guilt of the child.

In successful marriages, the parents-in-law are equivalent to parents and 593
are called "mother" and "father." The parents of both spouses attend the 606
life crisis ceremonies of their children and grandchildren. Grandparents 603
provide support and care for grandchildren if their parents should die or remarry.

When parents reach the age of about sixty-five, they are no longer ex- 593
pected to work actively. A man will then distribute all of his land and ani- 888
mals among his children. He will expect to be taken care of by all of his
children, but special responsibility falls on the youngest who will inherit [428]
the house. Sometimes aged parents move from one of their children's [591]
houses to another, spending a few months or years with each. Children are [755]
expected to pay for any curing ceremonies necessary in their parents' old [764]
age and to provide a good funeral appropriate to their wealth. Failure to [626]
do this incurs loss of respect with the neighbors and collateral relatives of
the deceased. If the parents die after they have distributed their posses- 593
sions, the crisis following the death is minimal. At the funeral, mature 764
children of a deceased parent exhibit to the community their filial respect.

593 worked in the sawmill, he was not as willing to hand over his wages to
578 his wife as is the farmer, who according to established custom gives the
608 proceeds from the sale of his crop to his wife. The judges advise the man
571 to stay sober, adding, "If you want a woman, you ought to support her.
692 You shouldn't fight." They entreat the wife to return to her husband's house "and make a fire there." They refuse to release the marriage license, and the woman's father reluctantly agrees. He has the last word, warning the husband: "The day after tomorrow, don't come back here with a couple more children and say, 'I don't want you; go back to your mother's house.' You are lucky to have a wife. If you don't have a wife, you go get drunk every day. But with a wife, life is good. She will give you coffee and corn to eat. Don't go on fighting whether drunk or sober. Both my compadres [referring to the judges] have advised you."

755 The curing ceremony as a means of adjusting interpersonal conflict is
608 discussed at greater length in the following chapter. Padrinos of baptism,
571 compadres, and other members of the patient's me?iltatil attend, both to
578 see that the curer is performing his duties properly and to lend spiritual
182 support. Like the household and court review of conflict, it permits the open airing of grievances and relies on the authority of elders. Drinking
[273] liquor is a means of restoring good feelings, either as a follow-up to the review of court cases or as a continuous measure of goodwill in curing.

182 The responsibility of the me?iltatil for repairing personal relationships
571 in the family underwrites the importance of this institution in the commu-
608 nity. In these institutionalized means of settling conflict the society recog-
578 nizes the inevitability of friction in intimate relations and draws upon the resources of personnel and techniques developed in the life crisis rituals.

182 The me?iltatil are the guardians of individuals. The security that they
156 provide depends upon the individual conforming to the group norms.
608 They are a personal reference group maintaining customary ways of be-
571 having. I shall show in the following chapters how they are linked as the inner core to a system of guardianship provided by curers within each side of the dual division and by civil authorities at the community-wide level.

182 These are the agents who, by providing models of how the progenitors
608 behaved and by channeling responses to social change, maintain the sense
571 of equilibrium and the illusion of changelessness. The sense of continuity

the curer is a potentially dangerous witch, he can be persuaded to fight the evil power of another. One of the most dangerous and powerful witches, until he was killed five years ago, was a man who boasted as he was curing a patient, "The evil [pukuh] in me will win over that of the witch!" 756

Curing behavior is classified in Tzeltal according to five major schema: (1) pulsing (*pikel ĉ'iĉ*), (2) drawing out the evil (*slok'es ʔak'ĉamel*), (3) calling the soul (*tamohel*), (4) medicating the illness (*poštawane camel*, and (5) medicating the house (*poštawane na*). Each behavioral schema represents the highest level of a behavioral taxonomy which includes discrete actions described below. 755 [757]

Pulsing. The course of the cure for all illnesses is set in motion by the diagnosis through pulsing Throughout the cure, pulsing is performed to gauge the effectiveness of each step. The curer is chosen on the basis of his ability to pulse; when anyone is asked why a curer was chosen, the consistent answer is, "He knows how to pulse." The significance of the curer's ability to pulse is related to the fact that the first level of contrast establishing a taxonomy of diseases is that between "evil" and "good" determined by pulsing. The essence of the pulsing is a diagnosis of the patient's social relationships. It is a kind of exploratory "sociopsy" comparable to the stage of biopsy in modern medicine, resting on a notion that the witch "leaves his signature in the blood." and the curer "hears/feels" it. He does this by placing his thumb over the pulse at the wrist, inner elbow, and sometimes the inner knee joint and temples. The logic is that the blood passes from the heart and "talks" at the pulse points, revealing the condition and needs of the heart. The blood of the curer enters into communication with that of the patient when he holds his own thumb pulse against the patient's pulse. He does not look for the physiological symptoms on which modern medicine bases diagnosis, but for what the blood tells about the patient's relations with people in his social environment and for what the heart needs. Disease symptomology, such as fever and locus of pain, provides the basis for assigning medicines at a later stage in the cure. [756]

Some curers use thirteen candles set before the curing arch to corroborate diagnoses made in the pulsing; if, for example, the candles bend in-

755 ward, the illness is interpreted as a result of trouble within the family. But the use of candles is often interpreted as showing the curer's lack of ability to pulse properly.

755 757 *Taking out the evil.* The evil is drawn out by bleeding or by sucking. Bleeding is diagnostic, curative, and preventative in function. Confirmation of the preliminary diagnosis made in pulsing comes in the bleeding: "clinical" examination by pulsing is reviewed by the "laboratory" findings of the blood analysis. Bleeding is used in cases of surface pains to draw out the evil which is causing the pain. The patient enters the sweatbath so that the heat will stimulate the flow of blood and lessen the pain. The curer makes scratches with broken glass near the source of the pain. Cupping, called *la ventosa,* is done by placing hot water, a piece of pitch pine, and thirteen handmade cigarettes in the gourd. These are very "hot" items, not in the sense of caloric content but of soul power. When these hot items have heated the gourd, they are thrown out and liquor is poured in and burned. When all the liquor is burned, the gourd is slapped onto the cut, so that it "grabs" the flesh, and the blood flows into
755 the vacuum. The diagnosis comes in burning the blood. The curer takes the gourd into the yard so that the odors containing the evil will not linger in the house when the blood is burned. He is accompanied by the guests while the patient remains in the house with an attendant. He gives an account of what the witch has put in the blood. Some of the items I have seen discovered were a wood splinter, explained as evidence of the envy the witch felt because the patient's husband was making a fence; lard, evidence that the witch coveted a pig of the patient; grain of corn or bean, evidence that the witch envied them their harvest. These items are probably inserted by the curer in some slight of hand trick.

The curer prevents the recurrence of the disease by sealing the cuts with garlic and liquor, elements which the devil does not like. The power of the curer is exhibited when he draws out the evil. At this moment he is confronting the enemy directly, fighting the animal spirit of whoever is causing the witchcraft.

The items found in the blood are always attributed to the envy of the witch who is causing the illness. Envy can be countered by the curing rit-

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uals. The resources expended in the process of curing counterbalance the 755 patient's greater wealth which provoked the envy initially. The witch starts the sickness by going to one of the caves in the hills where he burns a candle, drinks a liter of liquor, and prays that the object of his envy fall ill. The essential element in the fight against the witch is the act of drink- [273] ing by all those present at the curing. In consuming their own liquor, often paid for by the sale of cattle or crops, they mitigate the envy of the witch. If the witch persists, he must continue to spend money on the liquor necessary to initiate the witchcraft after each ceremonial cure. Part of the tactic of a rapid series of cures is to demonstrate willingness to use all of the family's resources if necessary to counteract the rituals of the witch. The statement that they drink "in order to finish with the money" takes on significance in this strategy of limiting envy by expending resources.

Medicating the illness. The cure of the disease comes in the bath- 755 ing or heating of the patient and the application or ingestion of medicines, 757 usually a combination of patent medicines purchased in the nearby Ladino town. The specific cures called for depend on the secondary classification of the disease: if it is a "cold disease," hot medicines are applied; if it is a "hot disease," cold medicines are used.

Two kinds of bathing are performed, one a kind of steam bath, called "rise over the fire," for cold illnesses, and another a cold bath for hot illnesses. Chills and fever require both treatments. In the first case, a large charcoal fire is made inside the main room of the patient's house. When the fire is strong, two thick green logs are placed on it to create smoke. The patient mounts on a stool over the fire, and a straw mat is held over him to capture the steam. When he is sweating a great deal, the curer gives him a drink of cold medicines.

The cold bath is given with thirteen branches from bushes which grown near the spring.[4] Patent medicines dissolved in Spring water include syrup of *isidro,* cloves, vapor rub, epsom salts, aspirin, and other cold herbs or juices such as lemon, grapefruit, *cintula,* and *tok'o.* If the trouble is chills and fever, hot herbs such as *inajo, lumahiya,* and apple may be added to restore the body's hot-cold balance. A bad curer may reverse the medicines,

4. These include plants called *tihiliha?, yokmut, tsitsil hi?, lelwamal* and *yetalbulha?.* [824]

755 giving hot medicines for hot diseases. If this is discovered, he will be sub-
757 ject to accusations of witchcraft. The relatives of the patient are present as witnesses "to see what medicines are given."

757 In the case of infections, the curer cauterizes the wound, a process called "take out the odor." First he smells the wound, checking on the severity of the infection. He mixes chile and hot charcoal and puts them on the wound to "cause the evil to rise to the surface." He then sucks on the wound, and spits out a "worm" which indicates the kind of evil caused by witchcraft. He covers the wound with mentholated cream and binds it. The patient is kept covered.

755 *Calling the soul.* The major effort in soul-calling (tamohel) is
[192] concentrated on preparing the patient and the house for the return of his soul. This is done for illnesses caused by fear and resulting in soul-loss. Here a knowledge of the setting is crucial to understand each act. An arch of pine boughs is set at the center post because it is here that the souls of the inmates of the house cluster (over the square hole at the foot of the post where the sheep's head is buried during the inauguration of the house). Thirteen candles, including a large, 50-cent one in the center and twelve 20-cent ones, are set before the arch. If the patient is being cured in the house of the curer, which happens when he goes to another town for a cure, the arch is put near the door in order that his soul not mingle with the souls of the curer's household. The patient is laid out on a mat in front of the curing arch, or if he is a small child, he is held in the arms of his mother. The curing is scheduled so that the arrival of the soul occurs when it will not be seen by people passing in the street. This would cause it embarrassment, and it would not enter the house. The patient continues to sleep under the arch each night until it is removed nine days later. As he sleeps, his soul enters in a dream and is reunited with the body. A gui-
[534] tar and seed rattle are played continuously during the ceremony to make the spirits of guests, patient, and house "of one heart." Many rounds of liq-
[273] uor are served in order to "finish with our money" and thus reduce the envy of the one who caused the witchcraft.

The soul-calling is combined with a cold bath to cure the illness. The patient is disrobed, and the curer brushes him with branches of plants

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from the spring and a live black chicken which draws the heat from the patient, taking it into its own body. The branches are dipped in a mixture of raw cocoa, pieces of melon mixed in water, and other "cold" items. A new set of clothing, smoked over an incense burner in which pitch pine is burned, is put on the patient. A common meal of chicken or beef stew is served with tortillas to all the guests. 755

In the case of more persistent illnesses, the bathing may take place at the springs. Male patient go to the large spring of San Nicolás and female patients to Pahaltón. A curing arch is erected near the spring. The curer calls upon the spirit of the spring to perform a miracle. Some members of the family stay behind at the house so that if the spirit of the patient should return before he does, it will be welcomed. The people waiting in the house, called maliwanehetik, must drink as much liquor as do those at the spring. [776] [273]

Sometimes the soul of a child is called at the place where fear caused it to be lost. The cure is started at the house, and then part of the group goes to the place which the curer has designated as the location of the fright. Soil is gathered in a kerchief or item of the patient's clothing and is placed at the head of his bed. As the group returns to the house, one of the child's relatives plays the guitar at the gate, and the curer sweeps a path for the soul with branches he has taken from the spring. Inside the house, the soul is again called while the curer brushes the child with spring branches. The mother embraces the child as incense is smoked over him and all his clothing. The child is then pulsed to determine whether the soul has returned.

Medicating the house. The strategy of medicating the house is tied to an understanding of the interaction of the spirit of the house and those of the inmates. When the evil sent out by the witch enters the house, it first asks permission of the house posts to enter the soil of the house. The house is adorned with pine branches and flowers to make the house-soul happy. Old men make palm crosses for the center post and corner posts of the yard. One large 50-cent candle is lit at the center post with small 20-cent candles on each side. When these candles are lighted they "blind the eye of evil spirits who can see only in the dark." A black chicken is buried alive in the square hole where the offering of the sheep 755 776 342

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755 776 342 has been made at the time of the house inauguration. Food for the chicken—bread, chocolate, tortilla, and liquor—is put in the hole so it will stay alive for eight days.

The logic of the meal is that the house needs nourishment and for this reason has been fighting with the inmates and causing their illness. After the guests have been fed, the curer marks a cross with a mixture of garlic, creosote, seeds of mustard, and a "hot" herb called poščan, on the center post inside the house and on the corner posts. Like the candles, the cross serves to "blind the eye" of the evil spirits so that they will not reenter the house and talk the spirit of the house into causing harm.

This ceremony replicates that of the house meal at the time of the inauguration (Chapter 1). The music of the guitar and gourd rattle is intended to make both the soul of the house and the souls of the inmates content. Why the curing of the house is always done on Thursday, when "the holy earth is open," is not fully understood by the curers I have questioned; they say, "We have forgotten how to talk to the earth." Chamula curers are reputed to be able to talk to the earth, and consultations may be sought with them if the illness continues.

755 776 782 [539] *Prayer*. The curers talk with the soul of the thirteen ancestors of the world,[5] to the "spirits of the heaven and of the church," and to saints of neighboring towns, asking for a good cure. The following prayer is one given by the oldest and most honored of the curers:

Sacred earth, sacred world
Thirteen holy world, holy flowers
In the center of another holy world

Look mother, its clay
I am a child, its clay.
Holy heaven, Jesus Christ
Holy herbs give the spirit

[801] 5. The number 13 has significance in the Maya cosmology in the 13 levels of heaven (Thompson 1964:125). The 13 candles set before the curing arch symbolize the 13 holy worlds. The meal for the house spirit includes 13 cigarettes.

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776
782
[539]

The companions of the patient
are gathered here with his father
In the center of this other holy
earth
Holy earth, take out the fever.

The curer then calls upon each of the saints of the surrounding towns, asking for help in bringing about a miracle. First he calls upon the major saints of the pueblo (Santa Lucía, San Francisco, Santiago, San Pedro the Martyr, and the Virgen de Rosario), then those of Teopisca (San Augustín and the Virgen de Mercedes), of San Cristóbal (San Cristóbal and Justo Juez), of Villa Carranza (Señor del Pozo and San Bartolo), of Socoltenango (the Virgen de Candelaria), of Villa las Rosas (San Miguel and San José), of Comitán (Santo Domingo, San Caralampio, and the Virgen de Santa Teresa), and finally Señor Esquipulas of Tulanca. Thus he defines the meaningful spiritual universe of the village, building a kind of hegemony of defense and protection.

At any point throughout the cure the patient may consult the doctor sent by the I.N.I., the priest, or the schoolteacher, all of whom compete with each other in gaining clients by dispensing medicines. This does not undermine the role of the curer since curing the disease is considered a separate issue from stopping the witchcraft which is causing it. The disease may be cured, but the persistence of the witchcraft will eventually cause death through spiritual malaise unless treated by the curer. 755 757

All the people of the village know the common herbs and the sicknesses for which they should be used. The basis for the curer's power thus is not specialized knowledge of medicines, but the strength of his swayohel in fighting that of the enemy, and his esoteric knowledge of pulsing. [756] [776]

Formerly curers received minimal pay for practicing. The family of the patient offered about 20 pesos or worked in the fields of the curer. Curers refused larger payments because they said their skill came from God, and it would be a sin to accept money for it. This practice is continued today by one old curer for patients within the community. However, he receives from 100 to 200 pesos from out-of-town patients. A Ladina from the neigh- 756

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 156]

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The Logic of Curing

Diagnosis of illness in Tzo'ontahal is a kind of checklisting against a native taxonomic hierarchy of disease (Frake 1963). The curer is concerned primarily with establishing whether the illness is evil or good, secondarily whether cold or hot, and his prestige depends upon his ability to classify the disease at these highest levels of contrast. 755 753

In questioning the meaning of each act, I encountered no hesitation in giving answers, as I have in investigating other performances. Each act is understood in terms of the part its plays in the diagnosis and curing of the patient, and is in turn tied into a cognitive reference scheme which takes into account the patient's relations with kin and neighbors, environmental conditions, and the state of the patient's constitution. The notion of process underlying the classification of diseases explains some apparent contradictions in behavior. Good illness may so weaken the patient that he is vulnerable to the invasion of evil, and the tactic must shift to counter witchcraft. The alternation of chills and fever means that cold medicines must be administered followed by hot. The curer maintains communication with the blood in frequent pulsing to check whether he has overcome the evil and to ascertain what the blood wants.

The logical premises underlying diagnosis can be summarized as follows: Social relationships are primary causes of illness, while the conditions of the environment, such as cold wind or rain in which the patient gets drenched, provide conditions favorable to the entry of the disease. The effect of the evil projected depends upon the condition of the patient. Thus a mature adult may have the internal resistance to reject disease, while children, the aged, or women after childbirth are more vulnerable. Accidental wounds may render the victim more vulnerable to witchcraft as well as to "sickness of God." The malefactor achieves his goal if any member of the household or even a chicken or cow of the person against whom he has a grudge falls ill. [754]

The emphasis on the origin of illness means that the study of symptoms is of little significance. People involved in some conflict may define themselves as patients or be defined as such by their intimate social group even without having any apparent physical illness. Sometimes a colicky baby

755 Sometimes a colicky baby
753 may become the focus of a curing ceremony designed to "cure" the conflict
593 between husband and wife. In one case, the parents of a healthy young
182 wife separated from her husband staged a curing ceremony to dramatize
578 her marital plight to the in-laws.

178 The breakdown of the curing hierarchy and the recruitment procedures
756 which were maintained by the elder leaders (see Chapter 10) has led to a
608 reevaluation of the role of the curers in the community. They have lost
754 their position as me'iltatil representing the ancestors who guard over the
[627] community. Curers are increasingly being accused of sorcery, and over ten of them have been killed in the past decade as witches (Nash, J. 1967). Paradoxically, it is the belief in their evil power which leads to their persisting role in the society. Clients feel that the more evil the curer is, the more able he is to combat evil. In a community dominated by belief in witchcraft, they are both feared and valued for their ability to control it. From a position as arbiters of morality, they have become the chief targets as deviants from the moral code. Despite the loss of confidence in curers as guardians, they are still called upon to fight the evil of witchcraft, and nearly every day a ritual is performed. The regimen of the curing ritual has not been upset by the undermining of the curers' position. Tied to a
[755] diagnostic system emphasizing the state of the patient's social relations, the
[278] same procedures are carried out even when modern medicines are used.

753 In curing practices, the Indian sees himself as the key figure in the
156 drama of his own self-victimization. His illnesses come from within his own world, usually from within his family or close neighborhood. They are a mark of guilt for having excited the envy or hatred of associates. While the Indian is often portrayed in the role of passive victim to outside domination, in his own self-projection he sees himself dominated by powers within the community. Greater participation and equality in the wider society may in the future release him from these fear-provoking figures in his own environment.

593 There is no double standard for ex-
562 tramarital sexual relations, although men abuse the prohibition more often
[839] than women, judging from court cases. The ability the women has to assert herself rests on her economic contribution in pottery-making and on the fact that female household help is not part of the labor market.

562 Female sexuality has the connotation of negative power over male sexu-
831 ality. A woman should not step over a man's feet or his clothing since she
[829] could affect his virility. This negative power emanates from the odors of a
[825] woman's body, and is captured by anything in contact with it. A woman's
[755] skirt cast over the head of a bull can tame him, and the water used by a
[752] woman to wash her body, particularly the vagina if she has had children, is drunk to cure snake bites because it is very "cold."

[412] Sexuality is seldom extended beyond persons to material objects. There is some feeling that a man's tools, especially the machete and hoe, are male
[241] and that a woman's tools, especially the grinding stone, are female. Corn is a crop of men, while beans are a woman's crop, identified with the Virgin. But I could not get much farther with such distinctions.

593 The accidents of birth determine the recruitment of successive genera-
597 tions into the family of orientation. There is no outright adoption, but a
861 child may be "lent" to a childless couple, usually by a sibling of one of the
[603] spouses, or a grandchild may take up residence in the house of a grandparent when all the children have moved to separate residences. Parents discipline a badly behaved child with the threat, "I am going to sell you to care for someone's house," but I have never known of a case of outright sale of a child.

581 The selection of a spouse is a decision based on both universalistic as
582 well as particularistic considerations. Both the boy and the girl should be hardworking, sober, and dutiful residents of the same section of the dual division. It is considered to be of greater importance that the boy feel af-
[562] fection toward the girl than vice versa. The "taking of the heart" is a test of the strength and exclusiveness of the boy's interest in his chosen mate, and there is no counterpart for the girl. Although there is no term for romantic love, the closest approximation being "want" or "ask for" a woman, there is an awareness of the importance of a warm, affectionate basis if a marriage relationship is to last "at least until the day after tomorrow." A suitor is accepted if he is known to be a hard worker and if he

meal for the house is buried in the inauguration ceremony (Chapter 1) and the door. Left and right are orientation points viewed from inside facing the door. Women of the house sit on mats near the center post. Female visitors occupy the mats to the left of the post and male visitors sit on benches lining the right wall and the interior wall. If it is a large ceremony for the ritual of inauguration or a celebration by the captain of a fiesta, only women enter the house, and the men sit on borrowed benches lining the walls of the porch. 342 352 562 574 796

Relative age is indicated by position in the seating arrangement. For women the seat of honor, occupied by the oldest woman present, is at the center post; other women of the household sit on a straw mat or board in order of descending age clockwise around the room. This order is modified by the presence of the grandmother who, if not a woman speaker, retires to the left (facing door from inside) corner. Visiting women sit to the right of the center post with the oldest immediately next to the post and those decreasing in age and stature to her right. For men, the seat on the bench nearest the door to the interior is called the "head of the bench"; this is the seat of the leading nakawane. The rest of the nakawanehetik sit along this bench in order of age. On the bench facing them sits the house owner, with his brothers and other visitors to his right in an age-ranked order. The b'alnialetik sit on the right wall bench. 342 352 561 562 574

Since prestigeful roles are usually a concomitant of age, especially in the house ceremonies, there is seldom conflict between age and role status. When conflict does occur, it is only seen at the top level; thus, the grandmother if not active because of age, retires to the corner while the woman speaker, who must order the women in the kitchen and receive visiting dignitaries, takes over this position. I have seen the leader of the C'om take precedence over the leader waiter who was older, because of the important role of the former. 342 561 554 [574]

When the family is carrying out a ritual, it is felt that the house should never be left vacant. The role of the "waiters" (maliwanehetik) is specifically that of remaining in the house while others of the celebrants are involved in ritual acts outside of the house. When the members of the betrothal party go to the girl's house, for example, the waiters are left behind; or when the patient leaves with the curer and some of the curing 342 796 [584] [755]

342 party to go to the spring, at least one relative remains in the house to
796 greet the soul if it should precede the curing party.
[584]
[755] Behavior in household rituals is described in Chapters 1, 5, and 8.
[128]

The Cabildo

344 The cabildo, called by the people of the town the "cold house,"[1] was
[196] built following the revolution of 1915, when Piñeda's revolutionary soldiers
[175] destroyed the original colonial structure. The tiles of the roof were confiscated from a finca which the Indians invaded in 1941 in an unsuccessful attempt to gain additional lands. When they were unable to maintain their hold on the land, they burned the owner's house and took the tiles to the town center where they remain as a symbol of their defiant action. They refer to this event with pride. The cabildo houses the jail, equipped with a barred wooden door, in one of its wings, and the Ejido Commission office in the other.

344 Within the cabildo, each official has his established place. The cabildo is
352 furnished with a table at which the president and síndico sit on wooden
621 chairs made in the Indian town of Chamula. Four benches lining the
554 walls on either side of the entry provide seating for the civil officials. On
576 the right side (looking out at the plaza) sit the judges in order of rank;
[693] the regidores, in similar sequence follow them. The principales, and formerly the alfereces, sit on the left side when they appear for ceremonial occasions. This spatial allocation establishes drinking and greeting order as well. Visitors can go directly from one to another in the formal greeting of a handclasp and murmured "good morning, father," or "good afternoon, father," without violating age-respect patterns.

344 During court cases, the claimant and his supporters sit on the bench to
352 the left of the door; on other occasions the bench is occupied by visitors or
695 petitioners. The police sit on one of the two benches lining the outside
[625] wall, or retire to the kitchen, a wooden slat lean-to on the left wing of the

[171] 1. Bunzel (1952) notes that in prayers, the cabildo in Chichicastenango is referred to as "the cold house, the icy house." Although the Quiché term is not given in her manuscript, one can see a similarity in the rhyming couplets and metaphorical allusions in the prayers of the towns.

Religious Behavior

869 776 Socialization of the child includes teaching him how to adjust to spirits of the house and of the surrounding hills and springs as well as to people in his social environment. He learns the obligations he owes to these spirits in the rituals of house inauguration and curing. Place spirits are given an ethnic identity. The ancestor figures who live in the cave are Indians from whom all the people originate. The Ladino spirits residing in the houses and springs are a mythological projection of a conquered people who have learned to coexist with their conquerors by paying tribute of candles, food, liquor, and entertainment. If the spirits are not won over, they will admit the evil spirits who bring sickness and death. Their presence is known only by the trouble they permit rather than by good occurences; the miracles they perform are an undoing of the harm they have permitted.

776 782 789 The belief in the potentially dangerous nature of these spirits when their envy or appetite is aroused is linked to an understanding that men and gods alike are jealous and vindictive. It generates behavior that is in conformity with that of the ancestors. A sense of security is reinforced by the protective symbols of incense, the cross of palm hung on the entrance posts of the yard and house, candles which "blind the eye of the devil," and garlic mixed with hot herbs which exude an odor that evil spirits dislike. When the uneasy contract between spiritual and human coresidents [765] is upset, a curing ritual is performed to make everyone "of one heart." Behavior with respect to both spirits and people stems from a policy of ap- [571] [273] peasement through entertainment and liquor provided in household ceremonials.

776 177 178 Behavior differs in regard to the category of saints called "spirits in the heaven" and those called "spirits in the church." Spirits of the heavens have incorporated pre-Conquest deities with those introduced by the missions. They are a more powerful force influencing human moral behavior. [834] Illicit sexual relations carried out in the milpa by day are believed to [784] arouse the envy of "Our Father the Sun" who will cause the milpa to burn by refusing to give way to rain. Similarly "Our Grandmother the

773 credit to insects who carried it from the hills. Still another myth synthe-
179 sizes both pre-Conquest and Catholic agents: San Antonio, seeing an in-
178 sect bearing a kernel of corn, persuaded a woodpecker to break open the rock which blocked the entrance to the hill where the corn was stored and then organized the insects to bring forth the corn. The contradictions in these myths do not motivate the people to bring the several versions into line with one another because the rituals associated with beliefs concerning crops provide an overall insurance rather than a specific contract. The In-
776 dians do not trust their security to any one saint or even group of deities.
782 The two candles lit in the milpa following the harvest are an offering to
177 the "owner of the earth"; along with this, offerings of corncobs are made
178 to the saints in the church and to the house saint. Even the birds are left
[825] an offering of corn kernels in the fields after the harvest so that they will not be jealous of the farmer.

773 These myths fail to provide specific charters for action. What they do
771 provide is a set of dispositions to behave in certain ways. The underlying
182 disposition is that of self-imposed guilt and recrimination. The ancestors left their cave because the people failed to give them a fiesta; the spirit of money left the town because the religious officials in the past failed to adorn the church and improvidently strewed the floor with green peso notes in place of pine needles. Sickness and poverty are attributed to their own failures.

771 Another disposition is that of appeasement through ceremonial enter-
796 tainment. This is carried out in the fiestas for the spirits of the church and
731 the spirits of the heaven just as for the spirits of the house, caves, springs,
182 and hills surrounding the town. Community-wide disaster is interpreted as a direct result of failure to perform rituals establishing reciprocity with the spirits. When individuals face crop loss, they review their own ritual obligations to see what went wrong. The curing ceremony is an-
[755] other effort to appease the devil whom the witch has persuaded to give illness to his victim.

771 A third such disposition is to project human conflict into the superna-
776 tural sphere. The conflict between Santa Lucía and the patron saint of Ox-
821 chuk, Santo Tomás was taken to be the reason for the church tower being
182

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struck by lightning on two occasions. The solution was to rebuild the tower of metal so that Santo Tomás could not demolish it if he struck again, a defensive reaction which is typical of the Indians in their extra-community relations. When an eclipse of "Our Grandmother the Moon" occurred during my stay in town, everyone went to her assistance, banging metal tools and pots, in what was believed to be a fight with the sun. 771 776 821 182 [789]

The emphasis on self-recrimination and guilt in explaining failure minimizes the build-up of protest. Economic hardship attributed to a man's own improvidence in relation to his fellow man and God are accepted as his lot in life. The drama of the curing ritual projects the Indians' sense of their own guilt for the suffering and poverty they endure. 156 771 755 182

Political Behavior

The structure of the civil hierarchy has been maintained but organizational changes have occurred which have weakened the basis for it. The alternation of offices between church and civil positions survives in the lower levels, but the new leaders in civil affairs now begin in the Ejido Commission, and few of those who pass as president take on posts in the religious hierarchy. The appearance of continuity has been maintained in communal rituals in which the principales provide the link with the past and the alfereces, until 1966, were the link between civil and religious wings; but in the day-to-day running of the town, the officials do not act on these premises. The balance between officials from each side of the dual division has been upset by the population increase on one side. The abolition of the institution of alfereces gives public recognition to the growing awareness of imbalance. Moreover, the factions based on the new trucking cooperatives that cut across the dual division reduce the effectiveness of the dual division in channeling conflict. 621 794 177 178

Behavioral deviation from the norms is present in all societies and is not in itself an index to structural change. This comes about when new interpretations are given to events that undermine confidence in existing institutions and leaders. Political conflicts in the past were interpreted as a contest between members of the sides of the dual division and hostility 621 578 177 178

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Appendix 2

Bloodletting in a Witchcraft Case

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The following conversation is from a transcription of a tape recorded in Tzeltal at the home of the curer during a curing ceremony for a man whose illness was diagnosed as caused by witchcraft. The patient arrived at eight-thirty in the morning. Present are the patient, his wife, the curer, his two sons, their wives, his wife's father, and the interviewer who helped me collect the data. The curer's family helped in the bloodletting because his hands shook so badly with palsy that he could not control them.

Curer's Wife: *How did it begin, compadre?*
Patient: *It began in the month of April when I brought my horse to the threshing mill at six o'clock in the morning. As the other horses entered, one pushed his hoof into my stomach. My body was frightened, and I could not bear the pain.*
Patient's Wife: *He couldn't do anything but cry when he came out.*
Interviewer: *Where did the pain begin?*
Patient: *It began in my leg. My whole body and my leg ached a great deal. It was so numb I couldn't feel anything. My child stayed in the threshing shelter three days. A little later I went to hot country and stayed there. My son asked if I was going down to hot country, and I said, "Yes. I am going to look at my horse. I will return soon." I was of one heart until yesterday, and then I lost my heart. A man told me that he wanted another horse. It was Emilio Čilol who told me, "Boy, I want another horse." "It is good. I will get it," I said. "Yes, I will get it." I went to get it yesterday with another horse. I caught him and handed him over along with his companion. Then the pain began. I felt I couldn't bear it. It is for this reason that I came to you.*
Patient's Wife: *Take the gift, father.* [*Hands liquor to curer.*] *It is for this that I came. His illness is much stronger today.*
Patient: *Truly I could not endure it when I arrived home yesterday. I felt I should come to the elder to be cured and hear what he says. It is for this that I came asking for a favor.*

755 Patient's Wife: *There he was lying down for the day.*
126 Patient: *It is the first day I have stepped foot on soil.*
Patient's Wife: *It is today.*
Patient: *I have endured it for days. So I wanted to go get help from your work. He [Emilio] told me, "Go get the horse to work in the wheat." "Good, I am going to get it. Afterward I am going to leave him in the threshing shelter." When I returned in the afternoon, I could not bear walking.*
Patient's Wife: *I told him, "Better not go yet to caponize your horse."*
Patient: *We had another little horse we were thinking of caponizing this year. But now I couldn't think of it. You have heard how it is with me. Let us see what God says.*
Curer's Wife: *Yes, give another [speaking to liquor pourer who was passing out liquor] to the women.*
[273] [554] *[All the company were given drinks. Drinking order was: father of curer's wife, curer, his two sons, wife of curer, interviewer, patient, his wife, wife of curer's two sons.]*
Curer: *Do you want a little more?*
Patient: *No, it is good.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *With your permission. [Drinks his liquor.]*
Curer [to Father-in-law]: *Enter! [Meaning, "Drink the liquor."]*
[The curer began to bleed the patient. He had eight gourds which he applied three times. He took the basin into which he poured the blood out to the yard and buried it, saying, "We cannot burn it inside because it was witchcraft."]
Curer [to patient]: *Can you endure it again?*
Patient: *I can endure it.*
Patient's Wife: *Please, father.*
Curer: *It is good. You don't have to endure it again.*
[Drinking continues.]
Curer's Father-in-law *[pouring blood into a saucer]*: *Look, it is black.*
Curer's Younger Son [to elder brother]: *It is not good, elder brother. [He had noted that the last gourd did not have much blood.]*
Curer's Father-in-law [to interviewer]: *Ah, God, it is not now as it was before. There is much witchcraft.*
Patient's Wife: *Let us see what came out.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *It is black because the witchcraft is well lodged in his body.*
[Curer points to his son where to make another scratch.]
Curer's Elder Son: *Where truly?*

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Curer: *There truly.*
Curer's Elder Son: *It is the same [meaning, the gourds are yielding the same kind of blood]. Please, Čiko, help a little.*
Curer's Younger Son: *Yes, I will help a little.*
Patient's Father-in-law: *Is there a little water? [He wanted to know if there was a little more water to dip his flower, the* čiliwet, *to sprinkle water on the patient.]*
Patient: *It pains a lot, man!*
Curer's Younger Son: *Yes, it does.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *It is coming out very well with this larger gourd.*
Patient: *I can stand it.*
Curer's Wife: *Whoever comes, he [her husband] can bleed.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *The women are tired now.*
Patient: *Because they are beginning to feel drunk.*
Women: *No, we only smelled the cup! [Laughter; drinking continues.]*
Patient: *Oh, I am tired.*
Women: *It [the bleeding gourd] is very big.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *Do you have another gourd? There is one over there.*
Curer's Wife: *Where? Me? Angela lost it.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *Did you find it?*
Curer's Wife: *No, it stayed there. Look, look well. I will put it here. My sister wanted a bloodletting, and she did not endure it. She got drunk.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *He endured well.*
Curer's Wife: *Why didn't you bring back a little liquor? You are deceiving us.*
Liquor Pourer: *No, because you did not drink it. I am going to bring another.*
Patient [to Curer's Wife]: *Did you drink liquor at the other bloodletting?*
Curer's Wife: *No. We only ate what they gave us.*
Curer: *I don't drink. I used to drink when I was well. When I bled Manuel, I did not get drunk for that.*
Curer's Wife: *When the curer went to see Manuel, one of his arms did not work.*
Curer: *That man endured curing very well. We have to endure. What can you do?*
Patient: *Yes, it is the same sickness he had. There is much air in your hand. It [gourd] is not sucking any more.*
Patient's Wife: *Your blood is afraid. So it is.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *When there is much air in the hand of the curer, you have to take wax and glass.*

755 126 [*Curer's Wife passes cloth to wipe blood.*]
Curer: *Another pull.*
Patient: *Please, favor of God!*
Curer: *Formerly I did everything. I pricked the skin, I put on the gourd. I did everything when I was well. Now I cannot do it. My illness has lasted a long time.*
Curer's Wife: *He cannot even get up well. He doesn't eat. When he takes coffee in his hand, he cannot drink well.*
Curer: *I cannot eat beans or beef.*
Curer's Wife: *He can only drink coffee.*
[*The curing is over. The patient and his wife leave shortly.*]

156 621 571 [426] [155] [476] [431] [608] getting involved in the fight. He can help relatives in distress pay a debt or give a curing ceremony for a sick child. He can be a "hard worker, ready to offer a hand to a neighbor in need of extra labor" (hel-K'abal). He can send his wife with small presents of food to other households. He can make many compadres among those whom he suspects of possibly being against him, thereby assuring their friendship and respect. In sum, he can create around himself a long chain of loyal villagers who are bound to him by many different obligations. Then, because he is a 'leKil winiK' (one that behaves well with the people), he can "afford" to become rich by local standards without the immediate fear of punishment.

Every household head manipulates his environment in these terms. People try to accumulate riches and protect their paths in other ways. They also try to avoid distributing their accumulated wealth outside their household and to prevent the envy or gossip of those not so bound by loyalty, by hiding from others the knowledge of their possessions.

The result of the contradiction between the egalitarian values on the one hand, and the individual aspirations and behavior on the other, is expressed in gossip, "witchcraft talk" and a constant realignment of loyalties among villagers. Every man suspects another of being better off than one is led to believe, while at the same time he himself tries to keep others from suspecting him, and would not voluntarily give information on how many horses he owns or how much corn he has grown.

The picture of life in Amatenango and Aguacatenango is

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

ment, engrossed as I was in the task of eliciting the formal sequence of events, "Quiet, S.; let's get on with the fiesta." He persisted in what interested him. 124

Eleven years ago they [who? enemies?] tried to get me. I had a piece of land in hot country. My house here was not ready, but the wood was ready. M. C. a neighbor was jealous [*šil yoʔtan*, 'saw his heart']. He had caused another neighbor's illness. He was my wife's *muʔ* [literally 'brother-in-law,' in this case the informant's wife's fa's sis's husband]. He didn't have corn or beans. He was jealous because of my crops and the big house I was going to build. 124 578 [754] [601] [602]

By now I was asking questions and taking notes. I interposed, "How did you know?" 124 578

I knew because when I got sick, the curer (who was the dead husband of the widow who came to the judges' house) told me. The *cabron* (goat) witches leave their signature in the blood (*yak hilel firma ta čičʔ*). Then I went to a curer in Chamula who confirmed it. 754 756

"How did he speak to you?" 124

In Tzotzil. Then I went to Las Casas. Another curer, also a Chamulteco, said, "Here is his signature in your blood. He is working alone." On January 7 I fell in bed. All month from January to the 19th of April I was very sick. I went to Cruz Quemada (colonia of Tzoʔontahal) where F. G. cured me. He burned candles at the curing arch and prayed. 578 755 756 [782]

"Whom did he pray to?"

The hills, the holy land. Then I got well, but I was very tired. My Šwana [wife, Juana] told me "He is going to kill you." I had a rifle. I filled it and went out, but then I returned. Another day I took two measures of trago, took my rifle and went to his house. He was sleeping with his wife close to him in bed, the way we sleep here. I fired four times. The bullets went in his back and came out front. One entered the arm of his wife. Now people say of me I am a killer. I went to the townhall for the enquiry. The man's wife said the door [of the house] was open. She said she did not see me. Afterward I got well. If I hadn't killed him, I never would have lived. Now I am having more trouble first because of the cooperative, then because of my brother being president, and then the comisario. Let us see what will happen this year. If God lends us our life, there are going to be protests. We will walk with our pistols. Špet [wife of Ladino owner of opposing cooperative] gave 1000 pesos to a man from Magronal to kill me. 124 578 682

"How do you know?"

My compadre came and told me. Who knows how many deaths there will be!

[P. 225-A]

/2 cont./

614 The chieftaincy of each clan was filled by the oldest man,
887 who was called chunel. (It seems to have the same meaning as
156 the word catinab, but some informants recognized the latter as
the one used in the adjacent municipality of Oxchuc.) The office
was not hereditary, and upon the death of a chunel the oldest man
156 of the clan was venerated as such. The chief of the clan was re-
614 spected and feared, because he was recognized as endowed with
888 supernatural power which, through his lab, he exercised over all
776 the members of the clan. Two informants of advanced age de-
554 fined the chunel as "the oldest one and the greatest sorcerer."
The lab feeds on souls, and a person who has "done wrong" is
776 "eaten" by the lab of the one offended and dies. In this way
761 social control was exercised on and among the members of the
[784] clan, never going beyond the limits of this. The life of the in-
[626] dividual is intimately bound to the life of the lab, or guardian
776 spirit: the death of one brings with it the death of the other. All
the Cancuqueros have their lab, but they hide it and sometimes
[756] deny it. The curer knows which is the lab of the sick person be-
[827] cause "he hears it in the pulse." The lab reveals itself in dreams
[787] to "its owner," with whom it speaks because "it is his own com-
pany." One person discovers the lab of another "because he sees
it." The lab takes care of its owner, defends him, and is the in-
178 strument of revenge for an injury unjustly received. Today this
614 concept is intimately bound up with the omniscience of the patron
626 saint; only with the permission of San Juan can a lab "eat" the
776 soul of a chapomal, or "clan brother," and this permission is
granted only in the case when the saint is unfavorably impressed
by the conduct of the individual. In any case the lab never
wreaks its vengeance except for a bad act that would fully justify
614 it according to the social morality. As can be seen, social con-
626 trol was not only rooted in the chief of the clan, but this function
extended to the whole group, as happens at present.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

and four *chuycales*, who are in charge of sacred matters. Certain shamans, called *dzunubiles*, also participate in calpul government.

In Cancuc, Villa did not inquire into the matter, but in Oxchuc and in Bachajón the calpules have separate patron saints and are known, in the case of Bachajón, by the names of San Sebastian and San Geronimo, in the case of Oxchuc, Santo Tomás and La Trinidad. In the church at Bachajón the santos belonging to the north calpul, San Sebastian and two others, stand on the left side of the church, while San Geronimo, San Manuel, and the Virgin, representing the south calpul, stand at the right side. It appears, however, at least in the case of Oxchuc, that the festivals of these saints are maintained by the people of both calpules jointly.

The antagonism between the calpules of Cancuc has expressed itself from time to time in violence. During Villa's stay it was rumored that the people of the southern half were about to attack those of the northern half, and indeed, shots were fired. Blom and LaFarge reported "a dragging feud" in this village.[28] Apparently marriages may and do take place between the calpules; there is no indication, however, that they are exogamous.

In Oxchuc a principal annual ceremony attends the transfer from one calpul to the other of a certain sacred book. This greatly venerated object was, after some reluctance, shown to Villa. He was requested to deliver to its custodians a dozen rockets, some candles, and some incense; he was then allowed to examine it in the presence of the chiefs and the chuycales of both calpules. It is a notebook of twelve paper sheets, 40 by 20 cm. in size; it has a deerskin cover. Of the twelve pages, nine bear writing, all but one on both sides. The text appears to be a series of orders set down by the Spanish authorities in the year 1674. The book is kept in a black wooden box; before and after removing it the chuycales prayed, kneeling, while incense was burned and the rockets were discharged.

The book is called *cahualtic* 'Our Master.' The ceremony of transfer of this sacred object takes place during the thirteen days beginning December 31. The principal members of the government of both calpules, numbering thirteen, assemble in the cabildo. The book is placed on a table with thirteen candles, thirteen rosaries, thirteen calabashes of lime mixed with tobacco, and thirteen vessels of atole. During the thirteen days the men remain segregated in the cabildo without contact with their homes or with women. Many prayers are uttered. At the conclusion of the period the box containing the book is escorted in solemn procession to the place it occupies during the rest of the year—not in the church, but in a special hut on the outskirts of the calpul of La Trinidad.

Information which Villa received from Indians of Chanal on the customs attending marriage differs in a number of respects from the account given by Blom and LaFarge,[29] or supplements that account, and therefore may be summarized here. There are no professional marriage negotiators. The boy's parents pay, ordinarily, four visits to the girl's parents to complete the agreement. On each visit they bring bread, eggs, fruit, and especially rum. The boy is expected

[28] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:387.

[29] *Ibid.*, 2:358–359.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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[P.455-B] Teklum

621
632 ternated for each three-year term between the
178 upper and lower sections.

But with the recent increase in dealings
621 between the national and regional administra-
632 tive centers and the local communities, re-
178 cruitment into office as president and síndico
554 has come to depend upon the candidates' possessing a knowledge of Spanish, literacy, and familiarity with the ways of Ladino society. Because of the relative scarcity of such skills, selection of these two officials has tended to ignore the former residence requirements
[887] relating to the dual division. Along with this change in the criteria for selecting these officials has come a decrease in the power and the authority exercised by the *principales*—elders from each side of the dual division who rose to their position by passing through all of the lower offices in the hierarchy—and a corresponding increase in the importance of the presidency.

621 This dual division also affected the structure
632 of the curing profession. The curers are men
754 who can overcome sickness caused by witch-
756 craft because of their possession of an animal spirit (*swayohel*) and their knowledge of ritual. In each of the two sections of the town was a leading curer (*statal ʔuʔul*) who, by virtue of his age, experience, and recognized authority, was able to control entry into the profession. Their function was to prevent as well as cure, for the leading curers were also charged with guarding their section against the entry of
621 witchcraft. In the last two decades, leadership
632 by recognized elder curers from each side of the
756 dual division has been lost, and along with it
178 control over limiting the practicing of curing.

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682 ceeded along two lines of enquiry. First, I have
674 analyzed the circumstances surrounding the
121 deaths in as many cases as my informants could remember. Variations in the components of homicidal acts—the setting, agents, purpose, and outcome—suggested the different assumptions underlying each case. Secondly, I have correlated the different kinds of homicide with structural and organizational changes in
682 the community. The analysis of cases in Sec-
674 tion I summarizes the patterned components
128 of behavior. The social environment providing the cues to the actors is explored in Section II.

682 165 [128]

I. THE PATTERNED COMPONENTS OF 37 HOMICIDE CASES

The following tabulations and discussion are based on the 37 cases presented in Table 1.

Who Is Killed-

Sex:	all male	
Age:	18–22	5
	27–30	7
	34–38	7
	42–48	8
	50	3
	60	2
	65	2
	70	2
	??	1
Occupation:	curer	8
	political leader	1
	farmer	28

[463]

One-half the total number of killings occurred to those between the ages of 34 to 50. However, as the six victims aged 60 and over indicate, survival to a late age does not ensure that one will die a nonviolent death. The age of the victim may be correlated with motive, insofar as some events leading to conflict occur only at certain times in the life cycle. Thus, betrothal conflicts involved only young men, while victims accused of witchcraft were older: 27 was the age of the youngest, and 16 out of the 18 men killed as witches were over 34. Cattle theft, on the other hand, occurred throughout the age range.

68 [578]

682 Eight of the victims—more than one-fifth of
165 them—were curers, a much higher proportion
756 than their share in the total population, for there are only about a dozen now living in the town center of 1,900.

682 There is a personality type recognized by the
156 community as distinctive of those who "get

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682 epidemic (two cases), when people have drunk
[755] a great deal and their motive is fresh in their
[273] mind.

The settings in which homicides occur indi-
682 cate that a killer is expressing not his own
152 bravery but rather his fears. Wounds are fre-
154 quently inflicted from the rear, and often the
[273] victim is outnumbered and set upon by a group. The victim is sometimes invited to drink with his killer(s), and in this session he is disarmed psychologically and physically. Alcohol reduces the chance of his effective reaction, and this is important when a knife or machete is used. Shotgun killings are done at a distance and do not require this tactic, al-
682 though it may still be employed. For drinking
273 serves to reduce the killer's own fears. Drink
152 "heats the blood" and makes unusual behavior possible. One killer, in recounting his act, was not trying to prove bravery, but rather his own good judgment and cool-headedness. The killer fired at the victim while he was sleeping, his back turned to the door, and killed him. The shot also entered the arm of the
[695] sleeping man's wife. She saw the killer as he left the scene, but testified in court that she
[683] had seen no one. She was, in effect, accepting his verdict that her husband was a witch.[4] This homicide was not regarded by the killer or by anyone else as a heroic act, nor was the killer in recounting it attempting to emphasize anything other than the necessity of the act.

682 *Instrumentality. Weapons and Wounds*
411

gun	14
machete	6
gun and machete	4
knife	3
knife and gun	1
knife and machete	1
knife and stone	1
hatchet	1
nail	1
sandals	1
??	4

The variety of weapons reduces the question of any technological determinism to a minimum. The actual weapon used seems to be a matter of convenience. When more than one is used, it is usually evidence that the assailant had helpers. The nail is unusual. It was hammered into the jaws of a man who had entered the curing profession at an age considered too
682 young. The attack on the jaws of the victim
774 seems related to the power of speech and to the
• 756 [text continues on p. 461-B]

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682 704 756 location of the soul, *st'alel*, in the tongue, *yat*, wherein lies the particular power of the curer. This possibly suggested the mode of attack.

682 411 412 [223] [224] The instruments used to kill are carried by the farmers of this area most of the time. The men go to their milpa with a machete strapped to their side, a shotgun slung over their shoulder, and sometimes even a knife stuck in their waistband. They frequently interrupt work to hunt birds, rabbits, and deer. The shotgun does not excite suspicion or comment when it is seen. The men of Teklum are technologically prepared to kill in the course of an ordinary day's work.

682 [152] [683] The number of wounds and the thoroughness with which the job is done (see Table 1) suggest not so much the fury of the assailants as the fear motivating their act. In a witch-killing, it appears to be thought necessary to hack up the victim completely so that his power is effectively ended: one witch was cut into 32 pieces; another had 166 wounds.

682 674 656 The death acts drawn up in the local courthouse have been increasingly specific in their statements as to the wounds inflicted ever since the government's intervention in the case of an accidental death in 1950. The local authorities were threatened with a fine of 600 pesos if the details were not properly recorded. The careful measurement of the body in relation to the road and to neighboring milpas and the measurement of the size and depth of the wounds provide the screen of complicity that wards off further investigation by federal authorities and preserves local independence. There is never any questioning of suspects or attempt to solve the crime by officials. The success of the ploy is illustrated in the following account:

> Pedro had animals at the spring and had gone out early with ropes in his bag to lasso them. He was found with a rope tied around his neck hung from a *tikinib* tree. We went out and measured the length and thickness of the rope and how many centimeters it penetrated his neck. We put all these facts in the report, which gave the cause of death as suicide.
>
> At that time we had a schoolteacher in town who asked the dead man's wife why the town didn't investigate who killed him because someone must have done it. He went with the widow to the Ministerio Publico in the capital. Well, when they came out, there were all the facts in the death act. [Informant laughed heartily as he recalled this success.] He saw that we had discovered the body at 3 P.M., that the rope was 15 meters

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682
539
783 Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick.

682
156
828 A good man is of one heart, and he shows it by his humility, *ben k'un yo'tan* or "very soft heart." He can drink with friends on either side of the dual division of the town, and he is called upon in many household fiestas to greet the guests of the house-owner.

But the man who is "very strong of heart," *ben toyal yo'tan*, who "fails to take people into account," *ma l'auu la kwenta*, who "abuses people," *me ya wui*, has means of survival despite the many threats to his life. He surrounds himself with a circle of *compadres*, or godparents; he especially picks out curers, both to mitigate the use of their power against him, and for them to serve as intermediaries if he should have enemies with animal spirits. When a threat becomes imminent, he may stay within his house or limit his range of activities to a very circumscribed area, always taking a weapon when he does go out. He will usually try to limit his drinking, or give it up entirely. These short-range rules of avoidance are clearly indicated by the circumstances in which killings occur: in the hills or at night, when the victim is under the influence of liquor.

[608]
[756]
[273]

682 These 37 cases of homicide reveal a regularity in the kinds of people and situations involved. The victims are most often men who assert power, principally curers, or men who violate standards of behavior by abusiveness or theft. Their killers are often linked to them by kinship or neighborhood, the bonds in which tensions are greatest. The regularity of time and place of homicide suggests the precautions that can be taken to avoid being killed if one has an enemy. The general failure of the community social-control agents to bring negative sanctions against a killer indicates that homicide is an accepted solution for interpersonal conflict. The structural setting that validates this behavior is discussed below.

[578]
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626

II. STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

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626 Case analysis, useful for discerning certain patterns, is inadequate for understanding the interrelationships among a variety of social changes in the community. An increasing rate of homicide of this magnitude indicates fundamental changes in the social matrix in which individual decisions are made: it suggests not

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274 as with the cattle industry, is a covert cause
474 for personal attacks on other grounds.
578

A third enterprise, trucking, has caused a
494 realignment of political interests in factions
474 associated with two truck-owning cooperatives.
578 Membership in one of the cooperatives, or patronage of one of the two trucks, arouses the enmity of members of the other cooperative. Several threats have been made on the lives of the owners and the operators, but the only damage done has been to tires.

682 The tensions resulting from the introduction
578 of these new enterprises cannot be fully measured by the deaths attributed to direct economic conflict. Wealth differences resulting
682 from the new enterprises excite envy, and with
578 it come accusations of witchcraft. In this com-
556 munity, witchcraft killing does not perform
754 the normative function of reducing wealth differentiation that Kluckhohn saw operating
[114] among the Navaho (1944), since it is the poor man who is killed as a witch, not the rich man.
[683] The slaying of the envious witch exacerbates the economic differentiation that provides the seedbed for conflict.

578 Another new source of tension is found in the
423 growing demand for political leadership or
668 even independence from the township by the *ejido* colonies formed since land reform went into effect in 1937. The inept maneuvers of two
[682] founders of the ejido colonies in hot country resulted in two homicides (cases 12 and 18 in
[178] Table 1).[8] The increasing strength of these hamlets will mean that more attempts will be made in the future to gain political equality and/or independence. Whether this will result in increasing homicides will depend on social-control agencies external to the Indian communities.

682 Homicide occurring as a direct result of
578 economic and political competition represents a new strategy in the community. The decision
[626] to kill rather than to use other negative sanctions is related to the social-control mechanisms discussed below.

Changing Mechanisms of Social Control

626 A system of social control rests not only on
182 the exercise of negative sanctions, but on the sense of personal security derived from confi-
[756] dence in the institutions of control. In Teklum,
[769] the maintenance of control was formerly centered in the guardianship against malevolent spirits held by the ancestor spirits and
000 the curers. The "police force," made up of ten

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625 The "police force", made up of ten
626 Indians of the town who served without pay for a year, acted as errand boys more than as guardians of public safety. The townspeople conformed to the cultural code of behavior because of a sense that their welfare was being cared for.

626 More recently, the breakdown of certain
178 structural features and competition between new and old leaders have undermined non-
75 violent methods for the maintenance of social control. These changes will be discussed in
[128] terms of (1) the organization of the curing profession, (2) conflict between the curers and the civil authority, and (3) how both the curing profession and the civil authority are affected by the breakdown of the old dual division of the town.

(1) *Organization of the curing profession.*
[124] Perception of structural changes in the curing profession and their effect on attitudes are indicated in the following statement by an informant:

> Formerly there were not many curers. Only two—one in the low side and the other in the high side. They alone spoke together. They walked every night, looking and watching over the pueblo to see that no illness was brought in, checking to see who was bringing it and to see if there was any illness of God [reference to contagious diseases]. They saw which of the children had a soul
> [174] [reference to the third soul, the swayobel or animal spirit, which gives the power to cure and to do evil].
>
> If anyone wanted to be cured, they bathed them, cured them, and in a little while people got better because there was good illness only. If later on it turned into a disease of the devil, with their animal spirit they seized the force of the illness.
>
> When there was a contagious disease, and a witch "brought heat," and the children began to die, the two curers alone consulted and waited to see who had brought the evil and where they lived. One of them went to the town hall and gave an account of the fact that they had taken care of the evil and gotten rid of it. It was not necessary to gather together the pueblo—only the two knew what was the matter and how to care for it.
>
> The [two] leader curers of each section [*statal ʔuʔulatik*] alone ordered other curers. No one else could enter curing until permitted by the leaders. They continued in power until they died, and then one of the younger curers took over.
>
> Beginning in 1940, more curers started to enter on their own accord. The elder curer had died, and his successor was not recognized. People saw that someone could pulse, and so they would ask him to cure.
>
> Now when there is an epidemic, the president

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626 178 756 orders the curers to gather together. The curers look for the man who has "brought the heat." And then they kill him. Formerly it was not so.

The statement points to two interacting features of change within the curing profession: (1) the loss of leadership and of control over entry into the profession and (2) the loss of faith in the guardianship function of the curers. The effect of these changes has been to reduce security and the maintenance of social control.

756 178 [621] Formerly the recognized leader of the curers in each section of the dual division legitimized entry of new curers and expelled those who abused their power. When these curers died, there was no one of sufficient power to replace them. In listing curers who are active today, there is no agreement as to who the leading curers are or even as to whether there are leaders.

756 Loss of leadership in the curing profession has led to competition among the curers. There is discussion such as the following concerning who is the strongest:

> When N (a former curer, killed as a witch) was alive, he was land-control officer. When we were half drunk one day, the president asked him: "Tell me who is the strongest of all you who know curing." N replied. "Ah, you want to hear. There is no one who is very strong, only the dead Mamal K and myself." The president said, "But Mam D is good." N said, "Less so. I know because one time we proved it, at a meeting of the curers. I arrived as a sheep, and 'took out' [literal translation of *Hok'*] one black dog. He took out a sheep and a pig and ordered them to run. And I saw that they could not run. After my animals ran a little with his, mine arrived first. It is thus that I saw his were less strong."

[541] The present competition among the curers to assert their power by telling such stories or by displaying fearlessness in the bullfights held in community fiestas is symptomatic of the disruption caused by the breakdown in the hierarchy of the profession. When curing was a controlled profession, abusive conduct by the curers was minimized, but the new curers are reputed to use their power for their own gain. The following story is typical:

756 539 J, born in Tetikil, went to live in hot country. A friend invited him to drink. J, who was reputed to be a curer, said to his friend when they were half drunk, "Do you want to 'take out' a girl?" His friend said, "No, how can you?" "*Pendejo!*" J replied, "I can because I have an animal

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• 756 539 [swayohel]." "What one?" asked his friend. "You won't be afraid?" asked J. And then he put his shirt and hat on the floor, spoke three words (my friend didn't say what), and raised his hat and shirt, and a horse appeared. He did this again and a bull appeared. He was a great *?ak'ℓamal* [witch]. [682] He stole a great deal. He was killed by five bullets.

756 Such stories of curers "who walk on both sides" (*ibe?en ta ℓa mehℓ*) are favorites in the [152] drinking sessions of Teklum. The power of curers inspires fear, so much so that some of the town presidents have been afraid of putting them in prison.

756 The open competition between curers serves 776 to undermine the faith of the people in their guardianship function. This function was [133] believed to have been acquired by the leaders from the *me?tiktatik*, the ancestors, who were [769] said to live in a cave in a hill near the town, from which came the progenitors of the present townspeople. To carry out this guardianship function, the animal spirits of the two leading curers roamed the streets at night, when the evil spirits were out, each one remaining within the limits of his own side of the dual division. In this role, the two major curers were called the *me?iltatiletik*, a term derived from the one referring to the ancestors.

178 The loss of faith in the guardianship func- 776 tion of the curers was coincident with the loss 756 of belief in the presence of the me?tiktatik. 769 Some deny that the me?tiktatik live in the cave anymore, and others say they just appear on [796] the day of their fiesta, the Day of the Cross in the Catholic calendar. This fiesta formerly was 796 an important event in establishing the guard- 776 ian power of the leader curers, since they were 756 the only ones who dared enter the cave and 178 talk to the ancestors. But this fear and this 769 belief have gone. In 1960 one young man of the pueblo entered the cave on the day of the fiesta, when the curers were "deceiving the people" in claiming that they were talking to the ancestors; the fact that he dared enter the cave indicates an ambient distrust (in part resulting from verbal attacks by the priest, who at that time was gaining more power in [794] the town). By now, on the Day of the Cross [793] the church and civil officials, the women prayermakers, and an assistant of the priest, the *fiscal*, go to the cave, but the curers are no 178 longer present, even as bystanders. The 756 curers have tried to buttress belief in the guardianship of the ancestors by claiming that 769 a nephew of the ancestors is now in residence in

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178 the cave and that they are in communication
756 with him. But these claims are met with ex-
769 pressions of disbelief by the people. Almost everyone is convinced not only that the curers do not now talk with the ancestors, but that the ancestors no longer look over them from the watchout hill outside their cave.

756 The loss of control by the curers is drama-
178 tized in the long passage quoted above con-
731 trasting the past and present treatment of epidemics. Formerly the two leaders of the curers consulted together and announced to the president that they had rid the town of evil. Now the curers as a group are ordered to come before the civil authority. There, in a [273] long examination called *?iz yo?lan*—"taking the heart"—in which 18 liters of liquor are consumed, the assembled curers and civil authorities decide who among them is responsible for bringing in the witchcraft that is causing the epidemic. Later in the evening, [682] one of the curers is usually killed (cases 11 and 29, Table 1).

756 (2) *Conflict between the curers and the civil*
578 *authority*. The competition between the curers and the civil authority can be traced in a series of incidents beginning in the '30's and culminating in an open confrontation in the spring of 1966.

756 The first incident occurred in 1932, when
578 the town was still part of the neighboring
682 Ladino township:

683 F went and asked permission of the authorities to
[632] kill his enemy, a curer, who he thought was bewitching his brother in-law. The president went to the house of the suspected witch with the order to imprison him. He said they were going to take him to the neighboring township center to put him in jail. The group of authorities set off with the suspected witch. On the way, another group met them and asked them where they were going. The president replied, "To H." The group that had encountered them asked if they would like a drink to heat their body. They gave one cup, and then another. Then they cut up the suspected witch with a machete and put his body in the cave of the ancestors. When the widow enquired the next day where her husband was, the president said that the man must have gone to the finca.

The ambush by the killers was prearranged in the town court, and the president covered their deed when questions were asked.

[622] In 1940, the leading curer of the lower section was president. When he killed a man who

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• 756
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682 accused him of being a witch, he was put in
683 the local jail by the judge and then removed to
756 the departmental capital. During his term of
754 imprisonment an epidemic broke out in the
682 town; it was attributed to witchcraft sup-
683 posedly practiced by him and by two other
578 curers who remained in town. These two were then imprisoned. After they were set free, all three men were killed in different episodes involving accusations of witchcraft. Permission to act as executioners was granted by the civil authority.

178 In the past, the public review of a case before
682 a killing probably served to minimize homi-
754 cide, since permission was not always granted.
627 Since 1953, when a large highway first linked
[491] the town to the departmental capital and communication between this center of justice and the local township increased, the civil authority has not given permission, and prior review of witchcraft cases occurs only with epidemics.

756 The final incident in which the civil author-
754 ity confronted the curers occurred in the spring
578 of 1966. The president accused one of the
627 curers of cutting short his life by lighting candles in the mountains. The curers were called together to hear the threat and to go to the hill to look at the evidence. The accused curer remained at home pleading that he was sick. He was warned not to pursue his witchcraft, and as yet there has been no use of
[178] violence on either side. This open confronta-
[622] tion without the use of violence may indicate a change in the strategy of conflict with the growing power of the president.

756 (3) *Breakdown of the dual division.* The loss
178 of internal controls in the curing profession
578 and the conflict for power and control by the
621 civil officials and the curers are related to a
626 more fundamental change in the social structure of the community. Formerly the division of the town into two sections provided a channel for opposition as well as cooperation. Recruitment into leadership positions in both the civil hierarchy and the curing hierarchy was based upon residence. The system provided checks and balances in the exercise of power, for the two principales—one from each section of the dual division—were supposed to act as watchdogs over the curers. The shift in the locus of social control from the principales to the president has been marked by the open confrontation with the curers.

○○○ The authority of the president, however,

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The authority of the president, however, depends on the use of legal sanctions of prison sentences and fines imposed by extracommunity enforcement agencies in the departmental capital. The weakness of these sanctions—the fine for homicide is 1,000 to 3,000 pesos or three to five years' imprisonment—means that these threats do not have a controlling effect on people's decisions to act. Homicide, carried out by individuals who feel themselves to be threatened, is a supplementary mechanism for social control. Cast in the idiom of witch-killing, homicide is the quasi-official execution of a community threat.

The breakdown in the former structural controls has not been compensated for by the intervention of extracommunity institutions. Attempts to circumvent killing are made by the priest, who counsels against it, warning that the killer will acquire the sins of the man he kills, and by the talking saint of Ixtapa, whom the Indians consult when they are pressed and who advises them to wait—their enemy will be killed for them. This advice is not sufficient to forestall all killings. Motivated by fear, some men still seek to eliminate the object of their fear. The sense of the guardianship of the ancestors and their intermediaries, the curers, is lost along with the intervention of the civil authorities. The individual reacts, using his own means and trying to get sufficient consensus to avoid reprisal.

III. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Homicide in the community of Teklum can be a statement of the fear of witchcraft, of revenge, or of quasi-official reprisal depending on the circumstances and social relationships involved. Even in this small, self-contained community, homicide does not have a single meaning, analyzable within a single framework of change.

Homicide is part of the expectation pattern of the town. The patterning of the acts of homicide in terms of time, place, and agent makes possible rules of avoidance both in long- and in short-term calculations for survival. The long-range rules require respect behavior to elders, equals, and juniors and the avoidance of abusive or boastful statements. The short-range rules are to avoid walking alone in the woods or milpas far from town, to stay home at night, and to stop drinking.

Despite the grim and expectable outcome of being killed, not all men heed these rules. The love of power and the projection of self into

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682 183 wider ranges of expression than are usually permitted in the community prompt men to assert the strength of their swayohel, to run races with the animal spirits of others in the assertion of pre-eminence, to boast of their material goods, and to "wake up dead."

682 674 178 578 The increasing rate of homicide is related to the following changes in the community:

(1) Increasing friction resulting both from the introduction of new economic enterprises and from political competition by the recently settled land-reform colonies has introduced a new kind of homicide, in which an opponent is killed either by the person whose interests are threatened or by hired killers. It has also stimulated accusations of witchcraft stemming from envy.

[754] 558 682 674 178 578 756 754 (2) The curers' loss of leadership and of control over entry into the curing profession has led to competition among them and to a loss of respect for their ability to overcome witchcraft. Curers have become the most frequent suspects of being witches.

682 674 178 789 786 626 (3) Loss of faith in the guardian ancestors and in the guardianship functions acquired from them by the curers has further undermined the position of the curers as agents of social control. This has aggravated the sense of insecurity and fear, which provokes the uncontrolled use of individual violence.

682 674 178 621 626 (4) The shift of power from the principales to the town president has led to a breakdown in the system of checks and balances exerted by the principales over the curers, and to a direct confrontation of the curers by civil officials.

756 682 674 756 178 626 683 (5) In the confrontations of the civil authorities and the curers in the '40's and early '50's, the fact that a witchcraft case was officially reviewed and the killing of the witch sanctioned may have served as a brake on the number of such homicides. Since 1953, when this practice was abandoned, those who have felt themselves or their families to be the victims of witchcraft have been left to their own recourse.

178 578 682 [621] [632] [756] The organizational changes summarized here are provoked by structural changes affecting recruitment into the positions of power and the validation of leadership in the exercise of power. The dual division of the town provided an accepted basis for recruiting

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leaders, both in the civil authority and in the curing profession. The transition from the old hierarchy of control to the new leadership structure is still in process. In the most recent confrontation of the civil authority and curers, the fact that neither side resorted to violence suggests the transitional nature of homicide as a solution in intracommunal conflict.

This study of homicide indicates that the changing rate of behavior points to structural change, but does not in itself indicate what kind of change occurs or from what motives it stems. Qualitative case analysis related to structural changes within the recall of informants is essential for understanding social process.

NOTES

[1] Field work is based on two periods of residence in the community in 1964 and 1965; it was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health. I am grateful for comments by Paul Friedrich, Richard Henderson, Harold Scheffler, and Peter Wilson, who have improved the original version read at the 1965 meetings of the American Anthropological Association. I remain responsible for the contents of the paper.

[2] Henry and Short (1954:18) analyze both suicide and homicide as undifferentiated aggressive reactions to frustration, the rates of which vary—in the first case inversely and in the second case directly—with the strength of the external control system over behavior. Their assumption that homicide is motivationally a single phenomenon, and not an expression of a variety of motives, stems from the assumption that all cases of aggressive acts are the result of frustration. Straus and Straus (1964:587) apply a similar correlational analysis of homicide and suicide rates with structural features of society in Ceylon, but come to opposite conclusions. They maintain that one would expect greater evidence of homicide in a "loosely structured society," by which they mean one with considerable sanctioning of variation in individual behavior. These studies contradict each other in the conclusions that they reach by similar analytical processes, but they are attempts to move away from such psychoanalytic reasoning as the death-wish theory.

[3] Bohannan's (1960) survey of homicide and suicide in African societies represents a useful model for comparing the total pattern of homicide cross-culturally. In presenting the case material here, I have used a similar format, adding to it the circumstances surrounding the killing. In the analysis of these materials, I have diverged from Bohannan's model in trying to demonstrate the linkage among the components—the ratios, to use Burke's (1945) terminology of scene/setting/actor/agent.

[4] The term "witch" is a translation of the Tzeltal term *ʔak'-ʔomal*, literally "giver of sickness." The term "curer" is a translation of *ʔaʔal*. The power to cure and to give sickness stems from the possession of a *xuyohal*, or animal spirit.

[5] For a discussion of the tactics of gaining consensus in witch-killings, see Manning Nash (1960).

[6] Political homicide by agrarian leaders, which is so frequent in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962), is a relatively recent phenomenon in the retreat zones of Indian population. The cases analyzed by Friedrich are a strategy of political power stemming from a revolutionary background, and the cultural assumptions to which he points contrast with those underlying witch-killings. My only comparable case is, significantly, found outside the traditional center, in the new ejido colony.

[7] Jules Henry (1936) sees the formula of fear and anger as the

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

648
the informal chief of one of the semi-separated, turbulent groups 622
already described. He was a well-built, square-faced, sullen yet 624
cunning looking fellow, with a long scar from a machete cut across one cheek, and credited with a number of murders.

The shamans or medicine-men, *poci'*, although primarily doctors. 756 •
have a quasi-priestly status, the result of the intimate relation of 554
prayer and healing, of which more will be said later. They are honored accordingly as holy men, as well as for the power conferred by their knowledge of medicine and charms. A shaman obtains his position by some years of study under another, who teaches him both medicines and prayers. His repute largely depends upon the results of his practice.

Certain older men are selected annually to have charge of the 794
fiestas, or saint's day celebrations; they have charge of all prepara- 796
tions and of the conduct of the fiesta, as well as being usually responsible for the care of the various sacred properties during the year. These officers exist in the hacienda groups as well as in the tribes. At the Finca Tecojá, where a fiesta was observed in progress, they were an amiable pair of rather drunken old men, known as *Caporales*, and at most places, in common with other officers holding posts of Spanish derivation, they were known by Spanish names. Interestingly enough, in the villages with the Governmental organization described above, they rarely coincide with the Government appointees, although this may be partly due to the fact that they are usually selected from among the oldest men. In Guatemala these semi-church officers often are a mask for tribal positions of real power, as was found to be the case with the *tcimañ* of Jacaltenango, who will be described in writing of that place (Chapter XIX). Here their influence and prestige was relatively slight, [554]
save during the period when their duties placed them in charge.

Almost the only trace of pre-Conquest feeling is to be found in 756
the great reverence shown towards all shamans and Government ap- 621
pointees. An ordinary Indian will offer food, drink, or tobacco to 554
all men of authority present before taking anything himself, even 576
though it means the consumption, for instance, of almost all of a bottle of *aguardiente* before he gets any at all. We saw a chief at Tenango, where the same system prevails, take a lighted cigar from an Indian's mouth, giving him instead some unrolled tobacco leaves. When first coming into the presence of such men, or passing them on the road, an Indian will take off his hat, bowing deeply; the chief or shaman touches the Indian's forehead, and he goes on. This is performed with grace and dignity. It is known as *k'ol-tanup*, "head giving" (*k'ol* from *hol*, head). Instances were observed of thus

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

621
554 "giving the head" to certain elder women, but the reason could not
576 be ascertained.

581 Marriage is an economic and social affair, apparently free of religious significance. Don Arturo Tovilla of Cacate-el, gave us a description of the manner of seeking a wife, which is here paraphrased. It will be seen that the importance, ceremonially, centers on the contract with the parents, while the actual joining in marriage is not stressed.

584 The boy's father goes with the boy to the girl's house, both dressed in their best clothes, and carrying a gift of three bottles (pints) of aguardiente "and some animal." His father tells the girl's father that his son wishes to marry the daughter; to which the answer is to call the girl and ask her if she likes him. She says nothing, but keeps on scratching the wall with her finger and the floor with her toe, thereby indicating that she likes the boy, while showing the proper maidenly modesty. The latter gives her a coloured handkerchief, pearl beads, etc., with which the contract is sealed.

The boy is obligated to bring to her house what the father may ask, such as corn, beans, aguardiente, as well as to help in the work for a year. He makes a social visit each Sunday, which the girl must receive. At the end of the time appointed by the parents, he takes her to his house.

If the girl does not signify her consent in the manner described, the match does not take place.

583 When the parents of one or both parties do not countenance the match, it may happen that the children, taking the law into their own hands, run away. The procedure in this case has become formalized so that, while unpleasant enough to act as a deterrent, it recognizes this as a regular manner of marrying. This description also is para-
[115] phrased from Señor Tovilla.

When the parents forbid, but both children desire the match, after the boy has gone to the girl's house and been refused, his obligation of respect is ended. He builds a house in a retired place in the jungle. He and the girl meet to make their plans where she goes to get water, for which purpose she may often choose a spring a kilometer or more from her house. At an appointed time, they run away.

584 When he has carried her off and hidden her, his parents must go
585 and apologize to hers. The girl's father tells the boy's not to leave before being punished. He, however, finds and brings in the couple, who kneel before the girl's parents. The boy's shirt is taken off, and

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

fragments of prayers to him will be given when discussing medicine. 776
Distinct from the guardian of the cornfields, he is known only by name to the ordinary Indians, and mention of him appeared to alarm them a good deal.

Drunkenness still retains some of its old, ceremonial significance, 273
in its association with fiestas, funeral rites, and particularly with medicine, under which head it will be more fully taken up.

There are a number of beliefs and practices, no matter what their 789
origin, which, as they exist today, must be considered as superstitions rather than religion. Of such a type is the belief mentioned 771 822
when speaking of hunting, that painting the bullet red would make it go further. This is of interest in the study of survivals, in view of the importance of the colour red in pre-Christian times. It may be equally well argued, however, that the red in this case represents the blood of the animal to be slain. Most of the superstitions are 774
concerned with the *nagual* or the soul. 776

The set of ideas that constitute Nagualism is derived from ancient and important beliefs. The *nagual*, *tcul-el* (*tcul*, "holy," *-el* "the, the one"), is a companion-spirit to a man, taking the form of some animal. The stronger the *nagual*, the stronger the man, thus one with a jaguar for a familiar could work any kind of magic or other harm on one with a rabbit. We were told both that the *nagual* was assigned by popular consent, due to people's opinion of a man, and that it was seen in a dream. A man who has a quarrel with another will deliberately shoot animals of the species of the other's *nagual*, hoping to hit the particular one associated with his enemy. If that one dies, the man dies, and vice versa. Thus, it is plain that there is no idea of association with a whole class of animals, but only with one individual of a class.

According to Nuñez de la Vega,* in the seventeenth century the 776
nagual was assigned by a shaman, who took it from the name of the 756
day on which the individual was born. The child was later caused 774
to see his *nagual* . . . *"se abrazan cariñosamente con su nagual, que por arte diabólica se le apparece muy doméstica y supersticiosamente cariñosa, aunque sea una bestia muy feroz, como leon, tigre, etc."*† [171]
According to Sapper (1925) exactly the same practices obtain in Guatemala today, the animal being caused to appear by means of hypnotism.

It is possible that further investigation would show a similar 774
manner of choosing the *nagual* among the modern Tzeltal. How- 776

*Nuñez de la Vega, 1702. loc. cit.
†Extract in Paniagua, 1908, Page 57.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

796 178 How-ever, much hinges on the difficult question of whether or not they still possess the old calendar, without which the divination would be impossible. This will be spoken of again. On the whole, the Tzeltal do not show anything like the robust survivals of old religion that are found in Guatemala; in this respect, also, they have retained only a degenerated form.

776 756 Concerning the attitude of the Indian towards his *nagual,* two stories may be told that have a certain interest. The first is an incident which occurred to us at Cacate-el, the ranch of Señor Tovilla in the Bachajon country. A Bachajon came in to complain that another Indian was casting spells on his fields and chickens. The other had taken a piece of dirt from his cornfield, so as "to gain consent of the guardian" (see above). He was making the corn wither and the chickens die. His power lay in his *nagual,* a *leon colorado* (*saxal-tcoq*), the most powerful that one can have. The Indian who complained had some much weaker familiar. We gave him a brilliant chromo of Saint Jerome with his lion; not only because St. Jerome is the patron of the Bachajon, but also because of the lion, obviously to him the Saint's *nagual,* which anyone could see was larger and more powerful than any known to the Indians. With this picture set up in his house, he felt that he could rest in safety. [123]

Señor Tovilla also passed on to us a story told him for true by an educated and trustworthy upper-class Mexican, an *abogado* (somewhat corresponding to the English solicitor). It is interesting for showing what is commonly believed even by the European people, although somewhat hard to accept. This man stopped at a Bachajon house, wherein he saw two old men sitting with their backs to each other, and two dogs fighting furiously on the floor. When he asked why they did not stop the fight, one of them answered:

"Our *naguales* are in those dogs, and my friend (*sic*) and I are fighting."

He went on to relate that, after the dogs gave up from exhaustion, both the men's faces were covered with black and blue marks.

[829] The Indians and their medicine men have succeeded to a remarkable degree in impressing the Ladinos with the reality and power of their magic, although it seems to be generally felt that it can only be used against themselves. Several very extraordinary stories were told to us by trustworthy people of more than the usual intelligence, and we were occasionally surprised at the reluctance of educated Ladinos to give information concerning native shamanism.

Because of the close relationship, the Indians try to keep secret their *nagual* lest an enemy should start hunting for it. Moreover,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

to admit to having a weak one would admit weakness in magic and all other things, and set one's enemies immediately to work with the certainty of success. 776 756

Although the idea prevails among the Ladino people of Chiapas that the *nagual* and the soul are the same, in reality they are quite distinct. The soul, *lap*, is conceived of as a separate possession, distinct also from the principle of life, both in its conception and etimologically ("life"—*kucul*). This soul is a delicate thing, easily lost, and the object of many ceremonial precautions. Apparently it dwells within the body, but may be jarred loose, or lost in whole or in part. 774

Apropos of this, the Yocotan curse, given in Volume I, Chapter VI, a prayer to get hold of a man's soul, shows a similar idea. The damage is not done by catching the soul, but by the magic that may be worked on the man after it is caught. Save for the immortality which the Indian enjoys through it after death, his soul may be regarded as much more of a liability than an asset.

If an Indian falls down, the shock of the fall loosens his soul. He must lie where he is until his companions, or the next comers, place a circle of little crosses of grass about him. They then sweep up the trail behind him, gathering the dust and placing it in a heap by his head. On this the grass crosses are burned, and the Indian, inhaling the smoke, regains his soul.

It should be mentioned that these are a very sure-footed people, who seldom fall, and that no importance is attached to falling down when intoxicated.

In case of severe fright, the soul is also thought of as jarred loose. To cure this, an egg or a chicken is buried at the spot where the fright occurred. There is some idea of fright being caused by a spirit that must be placated, an idea which is differently expressed in a custom described as common among the Chol Indians near Palenque. With them, if a child is frightened, the mother beats it soundly, meantime crying "Go away, devil, go away, devil!" (*Que sale el diablo!*") In this case fright is definitely a form of possession. It is part of a conception found among many of the Mayance tribes that there is something unnatural and supernatural about a sudden shock of this sort. Being startled must be distinguished from merely being afraid of something, which is considered entirely natural and comprehensible.

On the trail the Indians sleep on beds of palm leaves which take an impression of the sleeper's body. Before going on, these leaves must be shaken out, and should also be held over the smoke of the [513]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

704 [513] fire and then hung up to destroy the impression and prevent leaving behind with it a portion of the soul, on which magic could be worked. Our own observation was that this precaution was carelessly observed.

789 123 Although magic may be worked on impressions on leaves, bits of hair, earth from fields, etc., the Indians showed no objection at all to being photographed beyond a certain embarrassment, and very little to being drawn. Often they asked to be photographed, and at some villages posed readily for sketches.

756 Although, according to Núñez de la Vega,* there were originally several classes of shamans among these tribes, at present they seem to have narrowed down to one medicine-man type. Primarily these are doctors, but in their practice they preserve certain priestly char-
756 acteristics. They have a real pharmacopeia, and Ladinos and oc-
757 casional foreigners who have tried their skill testify to the effectiveness of the medicines.† All their knowledge, however, is kept in greatest secrecy. Just enough medicine is administered at once for a dose, the shaman watching to see that it is consumed, and none held out for identification. Of these we were able to find out virtually nothing. Serpent fat, *junto-tcan,* is in common use as a rub for colds. Head-aches and extreme drunkenness are treated by cutting the forehead with a bit of sharp glass, and bleeding is resorted to in some other cases. The use of the tourniquet in cases of snake-bite is widely known.

All applications of medicine are accompanied by prayers recited in such a way as to be unintelligible to lay hearers. The prayers are an essential part of the treatment.

756 Shamans are trained from early infancy, being selected probably by the older practitioners. One of them takes the student in hand and teaches him prayers and medicines proper to his particular specialty. With this goes a certain amount of plain magic. Whether a man may then study under others and continue learning is not known; however, they vary in reputation both for their ability at curing, and for clairvoyance, casting spells, etc. Casting spells is a sort of reverse function of doctoring, the man who can cure disease being, obviously, able also to cause it.

[273] One of the two words given for a shaman, *poci',* shows an interesting resemblance to the Tzeltal for rum, *poc.* This similarity gains importance in view of the real connection between curing and drinking. A shaman definitely will not perform unless he is more

*Op. Cit.
†Cf. Sapper, 1925.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

or less inebriated, not from greediness, but because it is a ceremonial necessity for him to be in that condition when dealing with the sacred things. Drunkness was a requisite of certain functions among the old Maya, and with the present-day Lacandones,* the Chontal shamans similarly will not perform unless drunk. 756 [273]

Sebastiano Guzman, a Bachajon at El Encanto, a specialist on snake-bite cases, would not treat a friend for snake-bite, although he carried him on his back for two hours to get treatment from us, because the friend could not buy him any rum. It probably would be considered very dangerous to deal with the supernatural healing powers when sober. 755 273

When a group of Indians are drinking at any time, the shamans, as soon as they are drunk, go off together to one side and proceed to exchange prayers and prescriptions which they will not discuss when sober. They make a curious spectacle thus; a group of elderly men sitting in a corner passing a bottle about, plainly drunk, and gravely intoning prayers that are obviously to all of them matters of weighty importance. 273 756

Of their prayers two, or parts of two, were obtained. The first was copied by a Ladino secretary at El Encanto from the recital of an intoxicated shaman. The shaman became a general object of ridicule to all his people, lay or initiate, for having let out one of his secrets to an outsider. The second was recited by Señor Aguilar of El Encanto, who had overheard it. No one was able to give us any but the most fragmentary and unsatisfactory translations for these prayers; undoubtedly the text is in part archaic, and may contain some gibberish. The manner in which they were acquired, moreover, prevents accurate transcription. They are given here, rather than with the Tzeltal Texts in Appendix V, because of this failure to translate them, and their primarily ethnological value. 756 273 126 782

I.

hun ahau ilic tunic baken pusti-lum tal kowit' tal keke manic tunic inic kilan kun in ahau keke tunic hun tsak-unti-bak tsak-unti-tci. 539

Hun Ahau, the Guardian of the Mountains, has been discussed already. *ilic* was said to mean "drove out the sickness," and *tunic*, "placed the sickness." *pusti-lum* contains the stem *lum*, "earth." *tal* may be the stem of the verb *tal-el*, "to come." *kilan* is a lizard used in medicine. *keke tunic* was explained as meaning that the sickness was placed by means of *ajo* fruit. *tsak-unti* is remarkably similar to the Lacandone *tsakuntik*, "to redden," occurring in a

*Tozzer, 1907.

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The dimensions of contrast are not simple here, since there is involved as well /H-TUL YAN LUM/, "one of another pueblo" in reference as well to persons other than ladinos. [829] Furthermore, an immediate contrast that suggests itself to the informants when differentiating themselves from ladinos is:

/H-TUL LUMAL/	/KAXLAN/
/POBR-ETIK/	/K'ULEHETIK/
"the poor ones"	"the rich ones"

[756] Among other forms of the class is a series which represents alternative terms for a single group of people, i.e., native curers:

/H-*UL~H-POXTAWAN(EH)~H-*AK'-POX/~/H-ME*TIK+TATIK/

which while possibly distinctive (we are unprepared to say until our studies of Tzeltal medicine have proceeded further), share the characteristic performance /PIK C'IC'/ "pulsing." A contrasting form /H-*OKTOR/, "doctor," marks a curer who does not know how to pulse, but who instead gives "consultations." The form /*OKTOR/ differs from the others in this subset in that it may also be used as a modifier, as in /*OKTOR PEYRO/, "Dr. Pedro" (in reference to an Indian nurse) and /*OKTOR+KAXLAN/, "ladino doctor."

753 statement would be that the names of illnesses are reflexes of all these pressures.

757 Curing strategies more or less line up with this symptom-illness distinction. The early stages of a disease process are handled by medicine, the appropriate form of which and access to which, most adults in Aguacatenango control. For example: for stomach gas, give bicarbonate soda with lime (to drink); for a cough, give boiled brown sugar (to drink); for nausea and headache give té limon. As the combination of "symptoms" increases in the later stages of a disease process, most adults lose control over knowledge of the proper array of medicines and rituals. These in turn become combinatorially more complex. It is at these later stages of the disease process that curers and doctors are called in.

756 759 Curers and doctors differ most obviously in that doctors are ladinos and curers tend to be Indians (although ladino curers are known). In addition, they deal with illnesses in sufficiently contrastive ways so that two role identifying labels must be 75 maintained. They are both recognized to be able to reduce illness (as a basis for further inference and action) by prescribing medicines that can be purchased in the pharmacy. These may be taken orally, injected, or applied as a salve. The doctor further prescribes and may himself perform some minor surgery, X-ray examinations, and other traditional Western-European

75 not yet appear to be a popular alternative. Generally, the doctor is the last of all medical practitioners referred to in exhausting the curing options in Aguacatenango, though individuals who have had a successful relationship with the doctor are more
• 756 likely to pursue that option sooner. The only other major class of medical practitioner is the talking saint. Talking saints are more or less representational images of saints who, in conjunction with their "owners" can actively consult with human beings about their trials and tribulations in the world. The most powerful of this class, San Miguel of Soyaló, is about an eight hour trip and a 200 peso fee from Aguacatenango. Talking saints share more features with the curers than they do with doctors. They, like the curers, are predestined by God to their role,
[755] but they more directly represent God's omniscience. The cure of the talking saint is more powerful as can be measured by the greater expenditure of funds for such a cure, or as can be measured by his greater ability to divine in the life history of the patient the principal sources of illness.

128 Admitting then, that illness has general characteristics as described above, we turn our attention to the multiple relations between illness and the drinking of aguardiente.

273* monial drinking pattern, the curer, no matter what his age rela-
755 tive to the age of others present, is served first.[1]

273* Drinking by participants in the curing ceremony appears
539 in several text fragments as follows:

MAC'ATIK X*ULAH NAL YA HUC' TRAWO X*OC SPAS POX YU*N HIC *AY SPERSA *A.

Those who cure drink trago first before they go in to cure in order to increase their strength.

SPISIL YO*TAN X*OC TA POSTAWANEH.

So that they will be confident when they go in to cure.

HA* LA YAK' BALOR HAL TRAWI.

It's the aguardiente that gives strength.

PERO *AY H*OLIL MA*K YUC'IK TRAWO HIC NAX YA SPAS POSTO, HA* HIC YA SPASIK POX H*ULELTIK *ABI.

But there are some who don't drink trago before they cure, that's the way they are.

Also:

M. TU*L LIHK YU*C'K.

How did they begin to drink?

C. *E HA* XK'O YILIK HAL XC'IN YAHTAL YO*TAN HKUMRE SME* HOSEPA NUN E.

They went to attend the delivery of my comadre, Josefa's mother, over there.

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[1] From this relative positioning of drinking we conclude
[756] that the role of curer in the curing situation has more status
[554] than the role of old man. In most situations, as has been previously noted, the oldest man present is generally served first.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Acknowledgments

My study of the people of Tzo'ontahal was made in four field sessions, the first in 1957 with return trips in 1958, 1964, and 1965, for a total of eighteen months. Brief visits were made in 1966 and 1967. With each returning visit it was possible to penetrate more deeply into the lives and experiences of the villagers, most of whom were highly resistant to an outsider on the first contact. I began writing the book in 1966, and some of the predictions I made came true before I finished it in 1968. These included the demise of the ceremonial leadership of the *alfereces*—the officials in charge of religious celebrations—the waning of the community status of curers, and the killing of one of my principal informants who had taken a leadership role before acquiring the traditional validation of age and experience in office. The transformations over the period of my study in this community created difficulties in recording and organizing my material. I owe whatever clarification has emerged to the efforts of Jane Olson and Gale Griffin of Yale University Press.

I am indebted to the National Institutes of Mental Health, which made possible the research for this study. I owe an intellectual debt to Sol Tax, who introduced me to the problems and potentialities of the area as a locus for field study, to Norman McQuown, who gave me the first instruction in Tzeltal and provided a grammar which facilitated learning the language, and to Manning Nash, who provided some of the earlier formulations of the culture from which I have borrowed. I am grateful to Duane Metzger and Gerald Williams, who generously provided equipment and facilities for work with informants in San Cristóbal Las Casas in the summer of 1964. Alfonso Villa Rojas, who was director of the Instituto Nacional Indígenista, was of great assistance in the first summer's field trip, introducing me to leaders within the town and in the Instituto's headquarters in Las Casas.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

pact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group. The authority of the elders in settling conflicts in the family and the community is weakened, although the hierarchy remains intact. In religious institutions, the personnel has remained the same, but the authority of the religious officials has weakened and the belief in the deities and ancestral figures has been undermined.

Political leadership is the most dynamic area of change. The power of the *principales* had already been taken over by young civil officials when I first went to the town in 1957. The curers, who retained the power derived from belief in their control over the supernatural, were the core of resistance to change in the decade that I knew the community. But this control was being challenged by civil officials and factional leaders, who were aware of its repressive effect. The dynamic aspect of the political sector is linked to the fact that the new leaders saw the necessity of seizing power from those who were privileged in the traditional society. They were reworking the social structure to pave the way for the acceptance of development opportunities being offered by the national government.

In Chapters 10, 11, and 12 I have summarized the structuring of behavior in roles, place, and time and described how these patterns have been affected by change. The following questions are raised in the summary chapters:

1. The role system: How are people recruited into roles? How are roles coordinated? How are performances evaluated? The matrix of roles provides the patterned expectations of what others will do in a given situation. Some of the decisions made in assigning people to roles allow little room for choice. In other cases, new functions, such as those imposed upon governing officials, have replaced traditional bases for making decisions and in turn upset the balance of power between elders, curers, and leaders in civil office. (Continuity and change in the role structure are analyzed in Chapter 10.)

2. The setting: How is appropriate behavior defined for each institutional setting? What kinds of behavior are replicated in each setting? How are changes in role relations reflected in positions assumed in each setting? Observations of behavior in the church and the

Patronym	*Alannantik only*	*Ahk'olnantik only*	*Alannantik and Ahk'olnantik*
Lopez Tz'u?u			12
Lopez Wolto			50
Lopez Yutz			16
Perez			9
Perez Huhan			4
Perez Kam			11
Perez Kantiron			23
Perez Os			17
Perez Otol			16
Perez Tut			18
Perez Ventura			11
Sanchez		3	
Santis Peč	1		
Vasquez		3	
Total	26	58	629

The curing hierarchy was organized on the basis of the dual division until the 1940s. There were two leader curers, one on each side, who were in charge of guarding their own side against intrusion of evil spirits. During the 1940s a breakdown in the hierarchial principle led to some lessening of the power of the group and a collapse of the leadership. People now patronize curers from either section, but there is some feeling that it is safer for the curers if they cure only on their own side.

The dual division persists as a basis of economic organization only in the case of the cattle owner's associations. Pasturage on communal lands is allocated according to residence in the upper or lower division. Since cattle raising for beef has increased the size of herds the cattle owners on each side have formed an association to clear the waterholes and celebrate fiestas at the major waterhole on the Day of the Cross. None of the other new enterprises in town organize on the basis of the territorial division.

In the etiquette of social interaction, the dual division is still taken into account. When a resident of one side walks in the streets of the other side, he is not expected to greet passersby or people in their houses with the usual *b'onme wil* or *b'onme tat* (I go, elder sister or father, or whatever the appropriate extension of kin terms may be). Such street greetings are mandatory on one's own side of the town. It is considered much safer to

342 527 789 *First house fiesta.* In preparation for the fiesta to inaugurate the wooden frame of the house, the older men of the household and the curers make palm crosses called *Tatik Martil,* another reference to San Pedro Martyr. Older men are chosen to do this task because their procreative powers will not be endangered by handling this powerful symbol. Branches of the bushes growing near the springwater of San Nicolás are cut by the younger men of the household to be arranged in an arch, while the women make incense burners and clay candle holders. The protective symbols used in the fiesta—the arch of branches and flowers, the candles, liquor, handrolled cigarettes, palm crosses, and springwater in a gourd—are arranged before the center post of the back wall of the house.

Fig. 1. Relatives Present at House Fiesta

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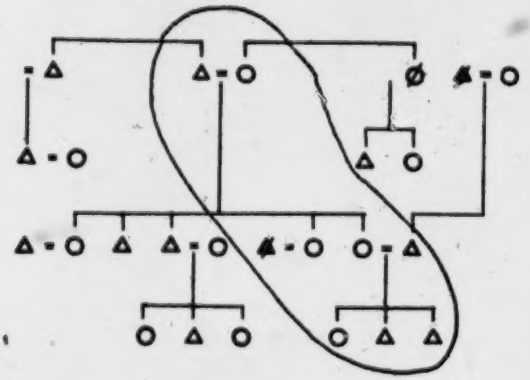

Encircled group will live in house.

342 527 756 788 The activities of a house fiesta observed in 1966 are described below.

The future occupants of the house sat in a row facing the curing arch. Two curers officiated, the elder a resident of the side of the dual division in which the houseowner lives and the second from the barrio in which his son-in-law, Santiago, was born. The elder curer lit the candles at the center post of the back wall, while the younger curer lit those at the center post in the middle wall. The mother of Santiago lit the incense and placed

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it before he arch. The younger curer then took a bunch of the branches of spring bushes and brushed each person over the head, shoulders, back, arms, and legs. Liquor was passed around to the visitors and participants. The elder curer took the bunch of branches, prayed, and brushed the future occupants. The younger curer followed him with another brushing.

The elder curer put some powder in the springwater. He then took a rattle, stuck it it in a bunch of the leaves from the spring, gave it a couple of shakes as though testing it, and handed it to one of the b'alnial *(young male assistants). He then stood before the candles at the back center post, bowed to it, turned, and bowed to the opposite center post. He poured the springwater in a gourd and gave it to Juliana, the houseowner's daughter, who passed it to each member of the household. The curer then took out four cigarettes and put them on either side of the candles. He greeted everyone present and delivered the following prayer:* [782] [839]

> *May no witchcraft enter.*
> *May all the children be cared for.*
> *I can see and hear who enters.*
> *Of one heart are the women, of one heart are the men.*

Santiago began to play the guitar as his wife, Alberta, brought in the coffee and rolls. She handed the first cup to the elder curer. This was followed with a serving of rice and tomatoes. Before he began to eat, the curer said, "good afternoon" to all present.

After the meal, the elder curer led the household members outside. He held one of the palm crosses at the corner post of the house and prayed; then Santiago pounded in a nail to hold it. Each member of the household, including the small children of Alberta, went up and kissed the cross in turn. They went on to the other main posts of the exterior of the house where they did the same thing. They entered the house and continued drinking the rest of the afternoon. Cigarettes were passed around, and the men began to joke. Drinking is compulsory: everyone who attends must drink equal amounts of the liquor served. [273]

Each of the ritual items is introduced because it contains a powerful soul. The branches and the springwater contain souls associated with the

342 527 774 788 spring. The gourd is used as a container for the springwater because, like all growing plants and unlike metal or glass containers, it has a soul. The soul of the tobacco plant is considered particularly strong. The smoke of the candles and incense are the media through which prayers to the spirit [782] of the house are transmitted.

342 527 788 776 533 The house fiesta serves three functions: (1) introducing the spirit of the house inmates to the house spirit, (2) creating a harmonious setting for spiritual interaction of the members of the household and the house spirit, (3) protecting the house against the intrusion of evil. The introduction is achieved by brushing the household members with the branches from the spring, and the harmony is brought about by drinking liquor, playing the guitar, and dancing. The music of the seed gourd, the guitar, and sometimes a radio or phonograph makes the residents, their guests, and the house spirit happy, or "of one heart." Protection is insured by [789] nailing the palm crosses representing the Lord of the Lightning to the house posts.

342 527 782 756 *Second house fiesta* ("meal for the house"). When a meal is given to the spirit of the house earth, the house is arranged as for the house fiesta with curing arches set in front of the center posts at the back and middle walls. The same guests are invited as for the first fiesta. The family buys a sheep and slaughters it in the morning by stringing it up to the center post by it paws and slashing its jugular vein. When the blood has drained into the square hole opened at the base of the center post, the curer removes the head and buries it in the hole. Some curers bury the four paws as well, while others prefer to add an offering of five pieces of bread in a new pottery jar, twenty measures of chocolate, thirteen cigarettes, and a bottle of liquor covered with a new cloth. The head of the sheep is placed so that the eyes look up to watch over the inhabitants. Some refer to it as the *me?iltatil,* identifying it with the curers (who are called me?iltatil in the context of guardianship) and thus with the ancestor guardians.

During the house fiesta I observed in July 1967, an old curer who had officiated at the first ceremony served again. A neighbor, who was not related to the houseowners but who was skilled in butchering, slaughtered

the animal. The curer received from him the severed head and paws which he placed in a large gourd. Then the curer served a potion of herbs in springwater to all of the members of the household. The final ritual act was for the curer to smoke an article of clothing belonging to each member of the household over the incense burning in front of the center arch at the back wall. Liquor was served continaully throughout the ceremony, the first drink always being given to the curer followed by one to the elder houseowner. The first drink was served immediately after the cutting of the jugular vein of the sheep. Flowing blood, water, and liquor are spirit media symbolically linked in ritual behavior. Between each of the major ritual acts—the slaughtering of the sheep, the burial of the head, the serving of the springwater and herbs, and the smoking of the clothing with incense—the curer prayed, but his prayers were so mumbled that I could not hear or record them. Informants said that it was a variation of the prayer given at the first house fiesta. After the rituals, a stew made with the sheep meat was served with tortillas to all the visitors. The music of guitar and gourd rattle, played during the ritual by young male relatives continued after the meal, and the guests remained in the house drinking and dancing for the rest of the afternoon.

Elements of these house fiestas are repeated when any of the children of the household is ill. A severe illness, diagnosed as being caused by the devil eating the soul of the patient, requires offering a meal to the house spirit. The square hole is reopened, and a live black chicken, male if the patient is a boy and female if it is a girl, is placed inside. A food offering of one-fourth liter of liquor, one peso's worth of bread, and 50 cents' worth of chocolate is placed inside with the chicken, and a square board is fitted on top of the hole "to keep the chicken alive for eight days so that the house spirit will hear his cries." When the curing arch is removed, the hole is filled in with dirt over the chicken, now dead, which provides a meal for the spirit house earth.

When the houseowner is sick, an appeal for health is made to the spirit in the house post. The members of the household kiss the post, a splinter is removed and burned in an incense burner with *pom*, the resin of pine. This odor is pleasing to the house spirit.

When a serious illness caused by witchcraft has been cured, the patient

773 *"Good."*
778 *They waited a while and the water came. "Are you going to drink?"*
539 *They drank, and then they made the sign of the rainbow. The president*
769 *sent his síndico to meet them. The síndico got drunk on the way. He sat down halfway in the road. The brothers met him there. They were angry that a fiesta was not prepared for them. And for this they left town, and went to live in Chiapas.*

773 This tale is known to everyone in town, and there is no doubt as to its au-
778 thenticity expressed by those who have given versions of it. When I took
769 some of the Indians on a trip to Guatemala, they pointed out the rocks
123 where the brothers encountered the devil. When they arrived in Guatemala and saw a bus marked Antigua they expressed amazement that the town was still in existence.

769 Some people claim to have seen the ancestors, whom they describe as
778 wearing the old style costume—a long shirt with the hat now worn by the alfereces. The ancestors are believed to have watched over the village from a mound rising abruptly before the mouth of the cave, called Hol Shan, or Head of Palm, because of the trees growing on it (Plate 1). From this eminence they could watch the streets of the village and see whether anyone was trying to bring in evil (Plate 2). They were able to discern the power of evil in the souls of the newborn and could snatch the soul before its possessor grew up to cause evil. Their human agents in guarding the town
[756] against evil were the curers (*ʔuʔuletik*), who in the context of guardianship were called *meʔiltatil*.[7]

796 Each year on the Day of the Cross, May 3d in the Catholic calendar,[8] a
769 fiesta is held in honor of the ancestors. It refers back to the fiesta which
62 ought to have been held for the returning Shuntonetik, and is performed in the interest of the whole community as a means of ensuring good relations with the ancestors.

[756] Formerly the curers were responsible for conducting this fiesta. An informant recalled the ritual:

7. The guardianship role of the curers is related to the functions of pre-Conquest officials, called *ghcanalum*, "caretakers of the soil" (Calnek 1962:25).

[178] 8. The date of the Day of the Cross was changed by the Vatican in 1964. When the local priest tried to reschedule the fiesta in the community, he encountered strong opposition. The Indians continue to celebrate the Day of the Cross on May 3d.

The curers used to go up to the cave with the alfereces, the mayordomos *[religious officials], the prayer reciters, and the people of the village. When they arrived there, the mayordomos played the guitar and gourd rattle. They lit candles and incense, and the leading curers would go inside the cave. All the people contributed money for the liquor and candles which was collected by the officials. They said that they spoke to the ancestors inside, where there was a lake and a beautiful field. They asked for rain and good crops. They would come out and tell the people waiting outside what the ancestors had said.*

Then one year [in 1957] during the fiesta of the cave, the curers went into the cave. The people said to the curers, "We want to see the owners." The curers said they would come out, but they didn't. The people waited and waited. A boy went inside with the curers. They tried to prevent him, saying, "Won't you be afraid?" He said, "No, let's go in." They entered twenty feet inside the door. The curers said, "Let us stay here." The boy asked them where was the river, the lake, and the milpa that were supposed to be inside. The curer replied, "It is all a lie. Now you know; don't tell the people." But when he came out, the boy told the people it was all a deception.

Since the late 1950s the ritual has changed. The curers no longer officiate, nor do they enter the cave and speak to the ancestors as they did formerly. The *fiscal,* or assistant to the priest, leads the mayordomos, alfereces, and prayer-reciters to the cave on the Day of the Cross and simply replace the palm cross at the entrance to the cave just as they do with the palm crosses fixed to the wooden crosses marking the roads leading into the town. The curers have attempted to revive the belief in the presence of the ancestors by saying that their nephew is in residence now, but no one I ever spoke to believes this. Most people agree that the ancestors live permanently in Chiapa de Corso.[9]

The hill and cave owners. While people try to maintain a good relationship with the spirits of the house, of the springs, and of the Cave of the Ancestors, they avoid the dangerous spirits of the hills and caves

9. A similar myth concerning the departure of the ancestors to go live in Chiapa de Corzo exists in Pinola (Hermitte 1964).

776 which have the power to mislead, give illness, or capture people to work for them. Only the most powerful curers and witches, and the very greedy [756] [754] approach these spirits for they are reputed to be very "live" and mali- [825] ciously clever. Snakes are the offspring of the hill and do the bidding of the hill owners.

556 Wealth in the form of livestock, corn, or gold can be gained from some 756 of the cave owners upon request, but there is danger in receiving these 778 gifts since they must be reciprocated. Among the cave owners who give 787 gifts is Don Klabil, a deceased moneylender of the neighboring town. After his death in the 1940s, his spirit went to live in the hill bordering the two towns. People say that when he was alive he used to get money from the true owner of the cave. Those who have been inside the cave say it is filled with animals—cattle, horses, rabbits—which drink at a large interior lake. The appropriate approach for requesting wealth is to go on Thurs- [782] day, "when the earth is open," and burn candles and incense. When the request is granted, the recipient must light candles at the cave every Thursday, and after his death he must work forever for the cave owner. It is said that at his death his wealth dies with him—usually all has been spent, and in fact children are left poor. Some say the spirit of the firstborn child of the recipient must be given to the owner to work for him. For this reason, there is no envy felt by neighbors when they see the increasing wealth of a man who has visited the caves and received such gains and he is doubly protected because no one can hurt an "enchanted man" (one who has entered the cave) with witchcraft.

756 Ladinos' belief in the cave owners gives support to the Indians' credence 776 in their power. Ladinos inquire of Indians where they can find treasures. 778 Once the request to the hill owners is made, it is essential to follow [829] through correctly. Everyone in town knows the story of Martin Bautista, a curer who went to speak to the true owner of the hill in which Don Klabil lives.

[539] *He knew how to talk to the owner. The owner told him that at midnight on the following day, he would give him what he wanted. At midnight Maria, his wife, was alone in the house. She heard a noise and the sound of* "Andale, burro!" *Then there was a knock at the door. When the*

woman opened the door, she said, "Ay, Dios!" *The owner of the cave did not like this, and at that moment, he disappeared. Her husband returned the next morning. He beat her when he heard of the arrival of the hill owner and his disappearance when she invoked the name of the Lord. From that day on, he lost his luck and remained a poor man.*

The personalities of the cave owners are more fully defined than those of the spirits which reside in the forests. These tree spirits are able to talk to people, or they may sing, "as a mother sings to her child." They sometimes play tricks, misdirecting those who are lost in the woods. A man who intends to kill his enemy may go to talk to the tree spirits to gain their advice. Some plant spirits, such as tobacco, are stronger than others. Indians sometimes address the tobacco plant as "our grandfather" when they approach it, asking leave to pass. Some say that if you chew the tobacco plant you will have strength to overcome evil spirits when you walk in the woods.

An especially fearful group of spirits called *bohwaletik* roam the wooded hills in the late afternoons. These spirits, who look like Ladinos, are feared because they cut off people's heads to feed to the church bell in a neighboring town or to give to the spirits of major construction projects, such as dams. Suspicions are immediately aroused when a solitary Ladino is seen on the outskirts of the town near evening, and if several Indians sight him, they may even kill him.

Persistence of belief and rituals related to the old gods and demons that were part of the Maya pantheon is directly related to the fact that the Indians continue to live in the same place surrounded by the hills and caves that were the habitations of both good and bad spirits. The landscape serves as a mnemonic device, keeping alive the myths of the past. Everyone accepts the knowledge that the spirits once lived here; the only doubt is whether they continue to inhabit their appropriate places, particularly in the case of the ancestors who were responsible for crops and security. This is not a crisis of loss in belief, but a phasing into history of the mythological past. Since there is no longer acceptance of the curers' claim to communication with the spirits, the Indians believe they may have gone elsewhere. It is characteristic of these Indians that they do not

hilltop with a digging stick. He knelt and prayed, asking for rain. At that very moment, the rain came. He put the seeds in the holes he made, and from then on people have been planting in the hills.

Other saints are charged with providing rainfall. The saint of greatest importance in this respect is Santo Tomás, the patron saint of Oxchuk. Some Indians have gone to the church there to light a candle and ask for rain, and on their return the rains came. During an extended drought in August 1967, over one hundred people walked to Oxchuk to pray for rain. The people of Tzo'ontahal are somewhat bitter about the Oxchuqueños' neglect of Santo Tomás since over half of the town has converted to Protestantism. Whenever there is a drought, they blame it on the failure of the people of Oxchuk to take care of Santo Tomás.

In addition to the Catholic saints, the ancestor spirits help man to watch over the land. They are responsible for giving the rains in the planting period and early growing season. The fiesta on the Day of the Cross (Chapter 1) is primarily a plea for rain. Until the 1950s, the curers would hold a celebration at the Cave of the Ancestors to ask for rain during a drought. The waning belief in the presence of the ancestor spirits in the town has meant that there is less attention given to such fiestas. Some go to seek the ancestors in Chiapa de Corzo in the cave in which they are supposed to reside, as the following story illustrates:

One time my three brothers-in-law went to Chiapas to ask the ancestors for better crops. When they arrived there, nobody knew where the cave was. They said only a certain mayordomo there could find it.

Another time, two of the prayer-reciters went to the cave. They talked to the guard of the cave, saying, "May we speak to our ancestors?" The guard said, "Are you prepared? Did you bring two liters of trago? The ancestors like to drink."

The prayer-reciters went to get two liters of trago and all three drank it. While they were drinking, they saw a cow and chickens appear. The guardian said that if they came back in May with "food" for the ancestors —candles, incense, and firecrackers—they would get rich crops. I think the prayer-reciters succeeded because now they have a cow and chickens and a horse. They are afraid of the envy of their neighbors.

608 members of the me?iltatil along with relatives and sometimes neigh-
571 bors. They are his sponsors at subsequent life crises—rituals of betrothal, marriage, and death. All of these people become co-parents to each other and to the child's parents. This relationship lasts throughout his and their lifetime. If the marriage bond is threatened, the me?iltatil gather to hear the complaints and try to resolve the problems. When a person dies, his me?iltatil go to his wake to watch over his spirit. He in turn is expected to help in the household of his me?iltatil when they have a ceremony by bringing wood or serving food and drink to guests.

624 2. Civil officials: The civil officials as a group may also be called
561 the me?iltatil; the term has special reference to the judges who represent the ancestors in their judgment of wrongdoers. In their passage through office from lower to higher positions, they are ranked in age-graded sets of junior officials (policemen), senior officials (regidores), and elder officials (judges), with the highest respect in ceremonial occasions accorded to the principales, two men, one from each side of the dual division, selected from those who have served in all offices. Drinking order, marching order, and seating order reflect the age-ordered rank in all ceremonial occasions.

[192] The link between the me?iltatil of the household and the me?iltatil
of the civil authority is provided by a group of officials called the *naka-*
571 *wanehetik*. These men are chosen from among bilaterally related
621 relatives, ritual co-parents, and neighbors who have served in office in
602 the church or the town hall and know the prayers. They direct cere-
794 monies in the house at times of baptism, betrothal, death, and when
608 the household head enters a community office. They are the ones who know how the ancestors did things and "watch and see" that all is done in accord with custom. They instruct the new official in the prayers he
[574] must memorize. Their wives direct the preparation of food by the younger women, and one of them may serve as chief woman speaker greeting guests.

621 3. Curers: Curers are similarly ranked according to age and years
• 756 in practice. The elder curer on each side of the dual division is charged
561 with guarding his side against the intrusion of evil spirits in the form of his own animal spirit. It is in this function of guardianship that the curers are referred to as me?iltatil.

844 house, and the men usually leave the scene. Women are ashamed of their husbands seeing the afterbirth because they joke about it with other men. [522] (I do not know what the joking is about—possibly it is related to the fre- [833] quency of sexual intercourse during pregnancy, since the placenta is believed to be increased by male sperm.)

There is no ceremony attending childbirth. Although some women are assisted by one female relative, most call in a midwife, who is referred to as "grandmother of the child" and who comes when the birth pangs begin. There is only one recognized midwife in Tzoʔontahal; she is the [759] sister of one of the practicing curers and a niece of one of the former leading curers of Alannantik. She has patients on both sides of the dual division. On rare occasions, caused by witchcraft the Indians believe, a woman [845] fails to give birth after two or three days of labor, and then a curer is [756] called in.

The child is delivered with the mother kneeling on the floor. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord with a knife, and the child's navel is tied with a cord. The child is wrapped in cloths which have been smoked over incense, and then a woman's sash is wrapped around him from shoulders to feet, firmly binding the arms and legs so that they cannot move. It is felt that if this is not done, the child will snatch at everything and eventually 846 become a thief. The body remains bound in this way for fifteen days. The umbilical cord and placenta are buried in the houseyard. Some say that a boy's umbilical cord may be tied in a tree "so that when the child grows, he can climb trees and cut fruit." The mother is given a drink of coffee, and the midwife binds her stomach with a band. Three days later the woman enters the sweatbath to cleanse herself. The midwife goes in with her and rubs her with branches of orange leaves and massages her stomach. If the child is born away from his own house, he is brought to it with great care so that his soul will not be dislodged from his body. The midwife makes a pad with branches of bushes growing near the springs, and the father sprays the child's body with springwater from his mouth.

[753] In the first "twenty days or one month" of life, the child's contacts with the world are limited to the immediate family in order to guard against soul-loss and illness from "hot" glances of outsiders. When anyone not of the household approaches the house in which there is a newborn child, he

Chapter 6

Curing and the Curers

Sickness is a sign of upset relations between the spirits or people and those of relatives, neighbors, or places. In the curing ritual, the curers not only treat the disease, but also try to bring about spiritual readjustment by dramatizing the ill effects of animosity. Because they claim to be able to counteract witchcraft, the curers exercise a great deal of power. This power is limited by institutional requirements controlling entry into the profession and exercise of their skill and knowledge. The breakdown in the authority of elder curers during my study of the community, and their attempts to reinstate themselves, made explicit some of the structural principles of the institution.

The Curing Hierarchy

Recruitment into the hierarchy. Until the 1950s, each side of the dual division had an age-ranked order of curers and recognized the leadership of a single elder, called *statal ?u?ul.* The older, more experienced curers, called the *b'ankilal,* or elder brothers, had authority over the novice curers, called the *?ihtz'inal,* or younger brothers. With the breakdown of the hierarchy during my stay, this distinction was becoming less clear. In 1964 there were seven curers in Alannantik and six in Ahk'olnantik; on a return visit I made in 1967, their numbers had been reduced by homicide and exile to five in Alannantik and five in Ahk'olnantik.

Entry into the profession occurs during an epidemic when the civil authority calls upon the curers to gather in the town hall to determine who is bringing the "heat" that causes death from disease. The curers decide whether there are any promising young men who have the third soul, swayohel, which gives them the ability to cure. If a young man is deemed

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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756 suitable, the president and judges give permission to the curers to allow
731 him to enter the profession at this time. The novice provides three liters of liquor which are drunk "in common" by the curers and the civil officials.

174 There is some evidence that, formerly, novice curers were asked to yield
756 the soul of one of their children:

[774] *My dead husband was given permission by Julian Gomez, the leader of the curers of Ahk'olnantik, to enter the curing profession. When my husband told me he wanted to cure, he said that Julian had asked him for a child "for the ancestors to eat." My husband was going to give a child of his brother since we didn't have any, but I said it would be a pity. Then he said he would give trago. This he did. I forget how many liters.*

When the contagion came, the curers went to take out the heat. A policeman called my dead husband, and he went. The policeman said the leading curer had called him. The judges told him, "It is better for you to enter in common with the other curers."

He began to cure. The curers then asked what offering we were going to give.

"We have no children," said my husband. "We will give you liquor. I cannot give my brother's child or my sister's children."

He must have brought them about ten or twelve liters of trago and two packs of cigarettes.

756 The third soul, swayohel, may be acquired, or one may be born with it.
[775] Those who acquire the third soul by capture of the soul of a dead person within twenty days after the death are considered to be potentially dangerous. They are more likely to use the soul for evil than those who have acquired it from the ancestors at birth. Swayoheles can be acquired from a
756 saint named ʔAhau in the neighboring town of Oxchuk.[1] The following
776 account illustrates how one asks this saint for a swayohel:

If you go to the saint with a black face named ʔAhau with two candles of twenty cents you can ask for a swayohel. You say, "I want one t'ulel that is very strong. I have an enemy. I need one." You sleep there, and wake

[171] [776] 1. Lombardo Otero (1944:73) says that in Oxchuk, Mukulajau, or Chulajau, is identified with Trinidad, and is associated with the pigeon, which is the animal spirit of powerful curers.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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up with a swayohel. One man near San Vicente said his friend went there to ask for one. Next day, the enemy died. One man who went there said when he woke up he was sure he had gained a swayohel. He had dreamed of two animals. "Are they my swayoheles?" he asked. They were jaguars. 756 776

When he got to his house, the same two animals came. They thought about how to get his enemies. But when the jaguars had killed his enemies, they were not content. Then they went on to kill many people. Finally the man was shot. The spirits of all those who die as a result of a swayohel received from ?Ahau go to him after their death. [775]

Curers are classified as potentially good or dangerous on the basis of what kind of swayohel they have. Good curers have swayoheles of animals which eat leaves or grass—horses, sheep, bulls, or other herbivorous animals. Potentially dangerous curers have the souls of carnivorous animals —vultures, dogs, cats, mountain lions, coyote, and others. They may not use these swayoheles for evil, but possession of such a soul is a basis for suspicion. Usually the curers keep secret the nature of their swayohel, but sometimes when they are drunk they brag about its power. Good swayoheles fly or walk straight down the main roads of the town, while evil swayoheles lurk at the outskirts of the settled area. 756

Only one woman has a swayohel and practices curing. She is reputed to have acquired her swayohel in the following manner: 756 159 562

There was a woman named Andrea Ča?il and another named Fernanda Ča?il. They were not sisters, but they were of the Ča?iletik. Fernanda died. She was a true elder woman, a very strong woman. She lived in Madronal and Andrea lived in the center.

One day Andrea said, "Let us go collect wood," to two girls.

"Let's go," said the girls. "Where shall we get the wood?"

"Let's go in the woods behind Madronal," replied Andrea. "Let's go."

The women arrived in the mountain to cut wood. When they had the wood, Andrea said she saw a mulberry bush. "Let us eat some berries," she said.

Andrea went to the mulberry bush. She saw a white ball of Čišol *under the bush. "What kind of an animal is that?" she asked.*

The girls looked at it and said, "We don't know."

756 159 562 *Andrea told them to go and eat the mulberries and she would see what kind of an animal it was. The animal said, "Come here." But when they got there, there was no animal.*

In two or four days, people asked them, "What kind of an animal did you see?"

"It was a dog that we saw. Not a real dog, but the soul of the dead Fernanda. Andrea caught it," the girls said.

"Did you truly see where it was?" the people asked.

"I caught it," said Andrea.

"Why did you catch it," the girls asked.

"I caught it because it is a pity it died. Since there is no one to take it, I grabbed it because it made me sad that she [Fernanda] died."

Now Andrea is a me? u?ul [woman curer]. She fights sickness because she has this extra soul.

756 Ordinarily, soul-catching is dangerous since it is sezure of power which has not been granted at birth by the me?iltatil. Andrea, however, has never been accused of doing harm, and people emphasize that she did it out of sympathy for her dead kinswoman.

756 578 There is some sentiment that curers should not enter too young into the curing profession. If they do, they should be extremely deferential to the elder curers, and not claim greater powers. The informant quoted above [754] concerning the initiation of her husband into the curing profession maintains that the older curers did not support her husband when he was accused as a witch because of jealousy of his youth.

159 756 578 683 *My husband was very young when he entered curing. He had gone to cure in the house of a man living near Domingo [his enemy]. Domingo saw him come out drunk. He had a companion, Lorenzo. About eight people gathered. They put a nail in his jaws. He lived three nights. He told me who did it. I went to the cabildo with my father. They got many witnesses to deny they had been near. It was during the fiesta of Carnival.*

My father and I spoke with the authorities in Las Casas. But nothing was done. I did not know how to speak well in Spanish; I went and spoke to Domingo. He told me, "It was your husband's own fault."

"What crime did he have?" I asked.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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"He looked for trouble!" Domingo replied.
I said, "You killed my husband!"
He said, "It was not I! It was not I!"
It doesn't serve to enter curing early. People will kill you right away. Another young man wanted to enter. The curers did not permit him since they said he was a witch. People heard he was a witch, and they killed him. He was the same age as my husband [*about twenty-seven*].

The curers who have survived to an old age were introduced into the profession by an elder relative. They choose their clients carefully, refusing to cure a man who is on the point of death, and remaining within their own section of the dual division. These rules of survival are ignored by some of the younger men who wish to impress their elders with their powers.

The changing image of the curers. The curers of today are unfavorably compared with those of the past who used their power for good. The prototype of the old curer was the fearful Tatik Ča'uk, Lord of the Lightning, possibly a local manifestation of the Maya god Chac.[2] The dialectic of power is exemplified in his control over beneficial and destructive forces. His beneficence is demonstrated in his ability to bring rain to crops, while his vengeance is revealed in lightning bolts which can kill people and destroy houses. Anyone who is struck by lightning is believed to have had some sin for which the Tatik Ča'uk has punished him. His destructive force is equated with a rifle—called "the elder brother of the Lord of Lightning"—and with the "heat" which brings death in illnesses. His habitation is believed to be the Cave of the Star where the heat which causes epidemics is found.

The curers were intermediaries for the Tatik Ča'uk in their control over both destructive and beneficial forces. Formerly, the swayohel of the curers patrolled the streets of the town to prevent the entry of evildoers bringing heat. It is in this role that they are referred to as me'iltatil. If an epidemic occurred, the two leading curers from each side of the town con-

2. In other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities, the god Ča'uk is named as the chief figure from pre-Conquest theology (Hermitte 1964, Holland 1963:93).

756 sulted with each other to determine who was bringing in the heat. They
731 privately disposed of the evil by causing the evildoer to die of an illness.
[827] At the time of my stay, suspicion of the curers meant that a public hearing was held in the town hall to determine who the guilty person was; usually one of the curers themselves was suspected (Chapter 9).

756 The curers formerly demonstrated their beneficial power by bringing
796 rain during a fiesta held in the cave of the ancestors. This is described by
778 an informant:
789
769
[794]

When the pueblo lacked rain in the growing season of corn in May and June, the leading curers went with the other curers, the fiscal, the alfereces, the mayordomos, and the women prayer-reciters to the cave. All the women carried candles of a peso or fifty-cent size and incense burners. They drank a great deal of liquor at the mouth of the cave and then entered to dance. The mayordomos played the guitar, the drum, and flute as the women danced and the curers prayed to the me?tiktatik. There used to be a spring in this cave, people say, and the ancestors granted water from it when they were given a fiesta.

The last fiesta for rain occurred about 1950. The whole town contributed two pesos for the liquor and candles. The leading curer then was Juliano, a man recognized for his powers in curing and in bringing rain. He told the people that he spoke to the me?tiktatik who, he said, were dressed in the old style [a shirt worn over short cotton pants still used by older men of the town, and the handwoven hat worn by alfereces today]. The curers told the people that it would rain, and the afternoon of the fiesta, it came down hard.

178 There is no longer faith that the ancestors live in the cave, nor that the
769 present curers could speak to them if they did.
756

The growing discontent with the curers, the suspicion that they are re-
756 sponsible for much of the witchcraft, is reflected in the account of an older
754 informant.
[178]

[774] *The curer O. K. told me that the curers ate the spirits of sick people who were going to die. The sick people would come to ask the curers for*

medicine. But why should they ask for medicine if the curers were going to eat their souls as he told me? I asked him, "How do you eat their souls?" He said that the five or six curers would make a common meal. They looked for a frying pan, and when it was well cooked, they would call all the curers and say, "Come, let us eat in common." When people came to ask for medicine, they would say, "Please, give us medicine." The curers would give the medicine, but the sick ones did not get well. The curers were only deceiving them. How could they get well if they wanted to eat their souls? They only wasted their money. 756 764 774

It is this that O. K. said to me. He told me himself that he had eaten the souls. Then I felt that he was bad because of what he himself had told me. To this day, I believe that he himself did the evil to his patients.

The personality of the curer. In view of the hazards of entering the curing profession and the low material rewards, the question of what motivates a curer to practice is of some interest. The older curers claim that God spoke to them in a dream and made known His desire that they cure. They conceive of it as a responsibility to the people, and maintain that their power comes from God. This contradicts parallel statements made by the same curers that their power comes from their swayohel. The younger curers say that the curers of their side selected them because they saw that they had a swayohel. 756

Direct questioning yields only limited understanding of what motivates these extraordinary people. The behavior of some of the curers reveals facets of the role which could not be elicited from them in questioning. Curers are able to defy tenets of the moral code of the community which stress softness and slowness, a moderation which is fundamentally based on fear of the world of spirits and of men. When drunk, the curers brag about their strength and fearlessness. They try to avoid the usual negative sanctions to such behavior by asserting the strength of their swayoheles and their imperviousness to harm. 756 156 [183] 756 156 776

My elder brother Albino was drinking with the dead Nicolás, leader of the curers of Alannantik. When both were half drunk, my elder brother asked Niholás what swayohel he had. 159 756

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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159 756 *"You won't be afraid if I show it?" Nicolás asked. He then flipped his kotonču four times and a black bull appeared. It disappeared, and they drank some more. Nicolás made the bull appear again.*

Nicolás was ejido commissioner when I was president. We began to talk one day in the cabildo. "Who is the strongest of all the curers?" we asked. One said that now it was the elder brother Nicolás.

Čiko turned to Nico and said, "Tell us who is the strongest of all who know curing." Nico replied, "Ah, you want to hear. There is no one who is strong as the dead Mamal Komesil [elder Gomez] and I." Čiko said, "Mam D. is good."

"Less so," said Nico. "One time we tested it. I took out a sheep and a black dog. He [D.] took out a goat and a pig, and we ordered the animals to run. And I saw that the swayohel of D. could not run. Mine ran well, and his couldn't arrive before mine. It was then that I saw he was not as strong."

541 756 Formerly, when bullfights were held in the town as a feature of the fiesta of Santiago, curers took the great risk of riding the backs of the bulls to demonstrate their bravery. The fight became a symbolic defiance of culturally instilled fears. The fights are organized in this fashion: one man mounts the bull which has no saddle, bridle, or grip of any kind. His feet are tied under the belly of the bull, which increases the hazard if he is thrown since he can easily be dragged under the hooves of the bull. A man stands with a cape before the bull, trying to unseat his opponent. The curer Minko regularly entered the fights as a rider. He drank copiously before mounting the bull. He himself would try to goad the bull into jumping by leaning backward and biting its tail or kicking its sides. People rated even more highly than Minko's performance that of another curer, Bon, who, they said, never even shook when he climbed onto the bull as did Minko. They realized that Minko needed the liquor to face the threat of being crushed by the hooves of the bull, but that Bon was beyond fear. In these displays of fearlessness, some of the curers enjoy a sense of power and freedom from the inhibitions conditioning the behavior of ordinary men.

756 178 578 Competition and the assertion of power among the younger curers is

symptomatic of the present breakdown in the hierarchical controls which formerly maintained the authority of elder curers. Informants say that in the old days there was no such competition, and the leadership of the elder curers was unchallenged.

Another clue to the personality of the curer can be seen in the statement of a young curer, who expressed in a kind of stream-of-consciousness style the fears and worries that plague him. After responding to the questioning about what he did when he cured, he proceeded to talk of his own concerns as he cured patients:

And when I arrive at Pahaltón [curing spring], I set aside my hat and blanket so that they do not get burned. If a dog should come and chew my sandals or if I should leave them outside the house where I am curing and a house rat chews them, then it will cost me thirty pesos to buy a new pair. When I come out late at night, a cat spirit sometimes appears on the road, and I throw a stone at it so it will not carry off my spirit; or a dog comes and I must beat him with my hand because I have no machete with me, or I must throw a broken bottle at the devil. When I get home, I take off my jacket and hat and go to sleep. My woman must tie up the sandals with a string on the rafters so that the rat will not eat them. Then it is the woman's fault if the devil dog gets them.

Late at night the spirits of the curers come to play and go at cock's crow. And at two o'clock the spirit of a sheep comes out with the devil, and these spirits do not go to sleep in their house until dawn. And if they [the curers' spirits] arrive in bed drunk and take off their huaraches and bother their wife she will put them in prison and then they have to pay a fine of two liters of the "gift" [liquor] and one handful of cigarettes. If their woman leaves the curers and they come out of prison, then if they do the same thing again, they send then to Santo Domingo. In prison they make net bags and if they have a wife, she goes and gives them tortillas and coffee. If their wife or father and mother help and give money, then they can pay for a lawyer and get out. Or if they have a daughter, then they receive the gift of a suitor and eat the bread.[3] *Later there will come the chicken and sweet liquor and trago, and then she will marry. Later*

3. "Eating the bread" signifies that the betrothal negotiations are accepted.

756 156 *they will go to the church wedding. The parents of the couple embrace the godparents. They go dance in the house.*

The paranoic fantasies of this young curer, a man in his early thirties, characterize the world of fears, both real and demonic, which the curers sometimes manipulate and by which they are sometimes victimized. The 756 young curers in their thirties and forties tend to have more domestic dis- 156 putes than most men in town. Emilio, a man in his forties who has been 593 trying to assert his stature as leading curer of Alannantik since his prede- 578 cessor was killed for witchcraft, was deserted by his wife. She fled to a neighbor's house. In a drunken rage, he tried to burn it to the ground. When his attempt failed, he threatened to bring "heat" from the Cave of the Star to cause an epidemic after which, he said, he would "eat the souls 756 of the children by the dozen." In the line of duty, curers are often re- 273 quired to get drunk, and drunkenness loosens the cautions which control 156 behavior. Gloating in the power of their swayoheles, there seems to be no limit to the threats or acts they commit. While drinking has probably al- [154] ways been part of curing ceremonies, the behavior noted in the cases described seems to be a response to the growing insecurity on the part of the curers about their status.

756 The curer reveals in his speech and acts the motivation of power. In 156 Tzoʔontahal, power means freedom from one's own fears as well as from the human and supernatural sanctions imposed on those who ignore the norms governing behavior. The proof of his power lies in the ability to inspire fear in others. For this reason, the curer brags of the evil deeds he has committed or is capable of doing, even though this may bring about his own destruction.

Curing Behavior

756 In their role as "doctors" for the individual patient, curers are referred [192] to as *ʔuʔul* and are addressed with the honorific title *tatin*. Despite the de- [554] clining belief in their guardianship function, there has been a retention of [178] belief in their power to overcome witchcraft. Only the curer, because he possesses a swayohel, can deal with illness caused by witchcraft. Even if

the curer is a potentially dangerous witch, he can be persuaded to fight the evil power of another. One of the most dangerous and powerful witches, until he was killed five years ago, was a man who boasted as he was curing a patient, "The evil [pukuh] in me will win over that of the witch!" 756

Curing behavior is classified in Tzeltal according to five major schema: (1) pulsing (*pikel čʼič*), (2) drawing out the evil (*slokʼes ʔakʼčamel*), (3) calling the soul (*tamohel*), (4) medicating the illness (*poltawane camel*, and (5) medicating the house (*poltawane na*). Each behavioral schema represents the highest level of a behavioral taxonomy which includes discrete actions described below. 755 [757]

Pulsing. The course of the cure for all illnesses is set in motion by the diagnosis through pulsing Throughout the cure, pulsing is performed to gauge the effectiveness of each step. The curer is chosen on the basis of his ability to pulse; when anyone is asked why a curer was chosen, the consistent answer is, "He knows how to pulse." The significance of the curer's ability to pulse is related to the fact that the first level of contrast establishing a taxonomy of diseases is that between "evil" and "good" determined by pulsing. The essence of the pulsing is a diagnosis of the patient's social relationships. It is a kind of exploratory "sociopsy" comparable to the stage of biopsy in modern medicine, resting on a notion that the witch "leaves his signature in the blood." and the curer "hears/feels" it. He does this by placing his thumb over the pulse at the wrist, inner elbow, and sometimes the inner knee joint and temples. The logic is that the blood passes from the heart and "talks" at the pulse points, revealing the condition and needs of the heart. The blood of the curer enters into communication with that of the patient when he holds his own thumb pulse against the patient's pulse. He does not look for the physiological symptoms on which modern medicine bases diagnosis, but for what the blood tells about the patient's relations with people in his social environment and for what the heart needs. Disease symptomology, such as fever and locus of pain, provides the basis for assigning medicines at a later stage in the cure. [756]

Some curers use thirteen candles set before the curing arch to corroborate diagnoses made in the pulsing: if, for example, the candles bend in-

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The companions of the patient
are gathered here with his father
In the center of this other holy
earth
Holy earth, take out the fever.

The curer then calls upon each of the saints of the surrounding towns, asking for help in bringing about a miracle. First he calls upon the major saints of the pueblo (Santa Lucía, San Francisco, Santiago, San Pedro the Martyr, and the Virgen de Rosario), then those of Teopisca (San Augustín and the Virgen de Mercedes), of San Cristóbal (San Cristóbal and Justo Juez), of Villa Carranza (Señor del Pozo and San Bartolo), of Socoltenango (the Virgen de Candelaria), of Villa las Rosas (San Miguel and San José), of Comitán (Santo Domingo, San Caralampio, and the Virgen de Santa Teresa), and finally Señor Esquipulas of Tulanca. Thus he defines the meaningful spiritual universe of the village, building a kind of hegemony of defense and protection.

At any point throughout the cure the patient may consult the doctor sent by the I.N.I., the priest, or the schoolteacher, all of whom compete with each other in gaining clients by dispensing medicines. This does not undermine the role of the curer since curing the disease is considered a separate issue from stopping the witchcraft which is causing it. The disease may be cured, but the persistence of the witchcraft will eventually cause death through spiritual malaise unless treated by the curer. 755 757

All the people of the village know the common herbs and the sicknesses for which they should be used. The basis for the curer's power thus is not specialized knowledge of medicines, but the strength of his swayohel in fighting that of the enemy, and his esoteric knowledge of pulsing. [756] [776]

Formerly curers received minimal pay for practicing. The family of the patient offered about 20 pesos or worked in the fields of the curer. Curers refused larger payments because they said their skill came from God, and it would be a sin to accept money for it. This practice is continued today by one old curer for patients within the community. However, he receives from 100 to 200 pesos from out-of-town patients. A Ladina from the neigh- 756

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 156]

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756 boring community who is reputed to practice both witchcraft and curing receives fees of 200 to 300 pesos regularly. She has been accused of killing more than one patient in giving injections.

753 Since most diseases are not static conditions, a master classification must take into account physiological process. The only absolutely evil diseases are those which are found to be incurable. When diseases which start out as apparently "good," or not caused by evil intent, fail to respond to patent medicines, the patient or his family begin to suspect witchcraft. They then turn to the curer who will diagnose this. Category 1 of Table 22 includes those diseases which, depending on duration and intensity, indicate the presence of evil.

In the case of the illnesses of God, Category 3 of Table 22, an additional complication enters. As in the case of Category 1 diseases, they may begin as "good" diseases, but the introduction of evil by a witch means that the illness can cause death to many people. This category includes the contagious diseases, the most common ones being measles, whooping cough, and heat, which may refer to typhoid, grippe, or to an increase in the virulence of other contagious diseases.

[177] The designation "sickness of God" is one inspired by the priest. He has been active in trying to discourage witch-killing and has insisted that the contagious diseases are sent by God. The villagers have accepted this as far as the origin of the disease is concerned, but as the deaths mount, people begin to suspect witchcraft.

753 761 Sudden attacks causing almost immediate death are classified as judgments of the ancestors rather than as illness. These include "seizure, because the very cold leg and arm of the ancestors touch the body [of the victim]" and "ancestors grab the soul." Asphyxiation and heart attack may be some of the modern classifications for such diseases. If a child should die suddenly, the logic applied in Tzoʔontahal is that the *meʔiltatil kananatay lum,* the mother-father ancestors who care for earth, see a potential danger in the soul of the child and seize it so that he will not develop into a witch. These are the only deaths I know of which are not attributed to witchcraft.

755 Sometimes a colicky baby
753 may become the focus of a curing ceremony designed to "cure" the conflict
593 between husband and wife. In one case, the parents of a healthy young
182 wife separated from her husband staged a curing ceremony to dramatize
578 her marital plight to the in-laws.

178 The breakdown of the curing hierarchy and the recruitment procedures
•756 which were maintained by the elder leaders (see Chapter 10) has led to a
608 reevaluation of the role of the curers in the community. They have lost
754 their position as me'iltatil representing the ancestors who guard over the
[627] community. Curers are increasingly being accused of sorcery, and over ten of them have been killed in the past decade as witches (Nash, J. 1967). Paradoxically, it is the belief in their evil power which leads to their persisting role in the society. Clients feel that the more evil the curer is, the more able he is to combat evil. In a community dominated by belief in witchcraft, they are both feared and valued for their ability to control it. From a position as arbiters of morality, they have become the chief targets as deviants from the moral code. Despite the loss of confidence in curers as guardians, they are still called upon to fight the evil of witchcraft, and nearly every day a ritual is performed. The regimen of the curing ritual has not been upset by the undermining of the curers' position. Tied to a
[755] diagnostic system emphasizing the state of the patient's social relations, the
[278] same procedures are carried out even when modern medicines are used.

753 In curing practices, the Indian sees himself as the key figure in the
156 drama of his own self-victimization. His illnesses come from within his own world, usually from within his family or close neighborhood. They are a mark of guilt for having excited the envy or hatred of associates. While the Indian is often portrayed in the role of passive victim to outside domination, in his own self-projection he sees himself dominated by powers within the community. Greater participation and equality in the wider society may in the future release him from these fear-provoking figures in his own environment.

[P. 198-G]

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Plate 8. Women of a household and their helpers grinding corn and making tortillas with a press in preparation for a house ceremony. They are all dressed in the traditional costume. Most of such food preparation is done inside the house except at the time of large festivals. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

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Plate 9. Curer sitting next to the center post where he has just arranged the candles and branches of spring bushes in preparation for the house fiesta. The basket contains the protective crosses, bound with palm fronds, which he will nail on the house posts. The basin contains springwater, and the gourd in the foreground contains the powdered medicines which will be added to the water and drunk. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

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796 tions betray the intent. As he is hauled up by ropes and hung from the
182 bell tower "to show the world that he killed Christ," the mayordomos on
829 the ground who are assisting those up in the bell tower jab him with long poles. In this horseplay they symbolically castrate him: I heard one mayordomo say, *"Me?čunun,"* (transvestite) as one well-directed blow struck Judas. On Saturday, he is let down and given a ride on horseback around town. Formerly riding a horse was the prerogative only of Ladinos in the department of San Cristóbal Las Casas (Colby and Van den Berghe 1961). Placing Judas on a horse possibly has a symbolic value in identifying him as one of the hated dominant group who asserted this privilege.
[794] As he rides around town, the mayordomos solicit gifts from the people.
[756] Everyone gives fruits except the curers, who donate money. This transac-
[754] tion may indicate an obligation they feel toward Judas as one source of their power over witchcraft-derived illnesses. The money is used to buy liquor, called the "washing of the arms and legs of our Lord Eskipulas." The drinking is mandatory for all the mayordomos who have participated in the hanging of Judas.

The Judas figure, which was the church's symbol of the hated Semite, is made to appear as the enemy of the Indians, the Ladino. He symbolizes the sexual license of Ladinos with Indian women, the oppression of Indians by Ladinos, and the killer of Christ. In retaliation, the Indian symbolically castrate and hang him, and finally burn his body, thus dramatically vanquishing the alien in their midst. So far as I know, the priest is
[793] unaware of the identification Indians make between the Jew and the Ladino. He prevented the ride from taking place the year I witnessed the Easter Week ceremonial on grounds that it was a pagan ritual; when he left town on Sunday, the mayordomos took Judas on his customary rounds.

796 The attitude toward Jesus, as the hero of the morality play, is ambiva-
776 lent. Martyrdom is not the way to win in Indian society. The feeling is
182 that power goes to the one who makes the sacrifice, and since Jesus was a
829 Ladino sacrifice, they have more power than the Indians. During the
[181] Caste War in Chiapas in 1868, the Indians crucified an Indian youth in
[782] the hope that they would find a savior as powerful as Jesus. To this day,
[175] Indians of To?ontahal seem not to identify Jesus as one of themselves,

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Chapter 9

The Competition for Power

829 178 177 Changes in the organization of the civil and religious hierarchies since the constitution of 1927 can be traced in a series of events remembered by members of the community. Their selection of significant events and the interpretation they make of them give the best clues to their response to change. In the remembrance of things past people structure their world and project expectations for the future. Behavior in these events lacks the controls operating in the formal rituals of the officials—age-graded authority, hierarchy, and a code of behavior which conceals the open show of power. The strategies employed in these organizational changes reveal other rules or transformation of the old rules characterizing social interaction.

554 621 794 578 177 178 The structure of roles in the civil and religious hierarchies has remained intact. What has changed are the bases for according prestige and authority and allocating roles. The pivotal positions in which change is occurring are the mediating roles between local and national power structures, specifically those of president and secretary in the civil authority and of fiscal and priest in the religious authority.

[212] [191] [756] The contest for power and "control of the town" has centered in five blocks of competition: (1) the opposition of new young leaders with skills in speaking Spanish, literacy, and knowledge of the idiom of behavior in the national culture to the established succession of an age-dominated authority system; (2) the challenge by the civil authority to the control of the curers who rely on power derived from possession of an animal spirit; (3) the struggle for political power among factions based on new economic enterprises; (4) the contest among local caciques for domination; and (5) the conflict among religious functionaries. The series of events in which these contests have crystallized and brought about a reorganization

776 The belief in power derived
174 from animal spirits was probably influenced by the Toltec belief in nahualism, or transformation of people after death into animals (Calnek 1962:22). The Toltec belief originated in the period of Mexican influence but had many local indigenous manifestations (Foster 1944). The integra-
793 tion of the two systems of power was brought about by calendar priests
787 controlling the distribution of animal spirits (Calnek 1962:19). The degree
754 of retention of calendrical knowledge and of belief in witchcraft gives us
177 one of the best indices of acculturation in the area.[2] In Tzoʔontahal there
178 is no remnant of calendar divination for ceremonial or predictive use.
776 However, witchcraft based on belief in animal spirits continues to be an important factor in the contest for power. The technique of secrecy, of pre-
[621] senting a united front in the face of attempts by the outside Ladinos to
[609] tamper with the local social control system, persists to this day in the town.

621 An endemic problem in communities dominated by belief in witchcraft
626 is control over the evil power of witches. The traditional control system in
754 Tzoʔontahal operated through the guardianship of three sets of power-
769 holders who checked up on each other: the ancestors, the curers, and the
•756 judges. The guardianship of the ancestors consisted in preventing any
177 child possessed of a swayohel from the devil from growing up to abuse his
178 power and in keeping any evil spirits from entering the town. The curers,

[754] the Indians, whether out of cowardice or deceit, withdraw their accusation or claims,
[171] so that it is impossible to convict the evildoers for punishment; and for lack of sufficient proof they cannot be punished, or if there is enough basis to put them in prison, they sometimes disappear and flee to another jurisdiction and hide, denying their place of origin or changing their name.

2. In Oxchuk, calendar experts with the ability to divine the future still set the days for carrying out Catholic fiestas according to the twenty-day Maya ceremonial cycle. Each of the spirits symbolizing the twenty days wielded the power of good or evil. This provided the basis for predicting. When Villa Rojas studied the town in the 1940s, elders of patrilineal lineages controlled the behavior of members by causing sickness brought by their *lab*, or animal spirit (Villa Rojas 1947). In San Pedro Chenalhó, the principales exercise power through their *wayhel*, or animal spirit (Guiteras Holmes 1961). Nahuales of leaders of the patrilineages and principales are feared and respected in Larraínzar, although there is a growing discontent with their oppressive control (Holland 1963). Men believed to have thirteen nahuales figure as guardians and avengers for individuals in Pinola society, although the Indians of this community no longer have a hierarchy of civil offices through which their prestige can be publicly validated (Hermitte 1964).

as the direct agents of the ancestors, guarded the streets of their own side of the dual division. The judges, with the supervision of the principales, were responsible for guarding against the abuse of power by the curers or others possessing a swayohel in their review of witchcraft cases in the town hall. The three sets of functionaries—ancestors, curers, and judges—are classified in a lexicon of role function in the stem *me? . . tat . .*, common to the terms applied to them, me?tiktatik, me?iltatil, and me?eštateš.[3]

The system of control over the use of power has been in a state of uneasy tension. In a series of incidents recounted below, the growing suspicion that the judges and the principales were not countering the witches because of their fear of falling victim to them, and that the curers themselves were exercising the witchcraft becomes apparent.

In the following case, the system of checks and balances was upset by the entry into the presidency in 1940 of Mam Nicolás, the leading curer of Allannantik. Nicolás combined the skills of operating in the traditional culture with those of dealing with the Ladino world. Despite the fact that he was a graduate of the boarding school operating in the town in the 1930s, which had far more extensive effects in acculturation as well as formal education than any prior school, he practiced curing. The case is recounted by Ceferino, the scribe:

Formerly the dead president Mam Nicolás left at midday from the town hall and went to his house where he ate a meal. A neighbor, Francisco, came to talk to him. They drank a half a liter of trago, and then began to drink a second and got drunk. They began to say goodbye, and Francisco left Nicolás' house. When Nicolás saw that Francisco went out, he grabbed his shotgun. He saw that Francisco was now far away, and he fired many shots. One got him right in his back. When Francisco felt it, he shouted. The police heard him and went to get the judges who came to see also. His [Francisco's] wife came. She raised his head and cried when she saw he was dead. An elder sister brought a new mat to carry him.

3. The suffixes *-eš* and *-tik* refer to pronominal forms, as in "you judges" and "our ancestors." *-il* is an article, as in "the curers." In prayer, the ancestors may be addressed in the second person, or the judges may be referred to with the first-person-plural possessive, but these forms are rare in those contexts.

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Eight men of Alannantik wanted the interim president, Simón to remain as president. But the people of Ahk'olnantik did not want him to remain as president. The townspeople began to talk, saying, "Why should he remain as president since he stole twenty bulls? We don't want him. Let us get another president. We shall walk with Ceferino." 159 621 754 682

They wanted me for president since I was first regidor. It is for this reason that I entered as president, but I didn't think that I would be able to stay on as president. Simón received an order from the [state] government that he should return as president. He came with soldiers, and when they took me out of office, the lieutenant said to Simón, "Now you enter."

And so I gave over the archives and seals and everything in the presidency to Simón, and I left the presidency. And the people saw that it was the order of the government, and they did not say anything. The town remained silent.

The incident is given as it was related to me in Tzeltal. I have sorted out the steps in which the conflict developed in order to clarify its meaning.

1. The traditional checks and balance system of the civil authority over the curers was initially upset by the entry of a leading curer into the post of president.

2. When he committed a murder while in office, the judges seized control and had him put in prison. [682] [692]

3. His replacement by the síndico who was from the same side of the dual division, aroused the opposition of the people of the opposite side, Ahk'olmantik, who believed that the epidemic, which followed the president's removal from power, was caused by the curers of Alannantik under the direction of the president who was in jail. [624] [731] [754]

4. The leaders of the revolt in Ahk'olnantik chose as their replacement the first regidor, Ceferino, who was from their side. [624]

5. Leaders from Alannantik rejected this replacement and were able to get official backing from the state government to replace their representative.

The process illustrates the way in which a conflict, precipitated by a clash between civil authorities and the curers, was cast into the idiom of struc- 621 756 578

621 tural opposition between the two sides of the dual division. In this case,
756 resolution came with the intercession of federal troops.
578
[648] When curing was a controlled profession, with a hierarchy legitimizing
756 entry and exit, the power of the curers was directed toward guarding the
178 village against evil as well as curing. In the 1940s, the loss of one leader by death and the other's jail sentence meant loss of control over entry into the profession. A growing suspicion and discontent with the curers as a
[754] group, laying upon them the responsibility of much of the witchcraft, is reflected in the account of another older informant:

> *Formerly when the curers J. C., A. A., S. K., and J. D. were alive, they walked in common. The people were in accord with the curers because they watched over the peublo. They knew about medicine, and so people of Alannantik went to ask them favors to cure them and also the people of Ahk'olnantik went to ask them favors.*
>
> *But then, after they died [about 1940], the principales did not dare fight the curers because they had animal spirits, and the principales themselves didn't—they were just honorable people.*

621 The doubt about the civil authority's control over the curers has in-
756 creased since young leaders have taken the leadership in the town. One in-
178 formant said, "When there are young people in the cabildo, they can't keep control of the curers, but the old people in the cabildo can." With the relaxation of restrictions on entry into the curing profession, following the loss of leadership and the ranked hierarchy, curers were no longer re-
[273] strained by professional standards. When drunk, they bragged of their
[054] power to do evil as well as to do good. The first killing of a curer accused
683 of being a witch occurred in 1937. He was working in Pinola when he
621 was shot. The dead curer's widow wanted to bring his body back to be
[178] buried in the town cemetery, but the request was refused by the judges. This suggests that the town authorities agreed with the accusation, since it is the custom to return the dead to the town for burial. Other assassinations by individuals occurred in 1943 and in 1950. During this period, the civil officials sanctioned the assassinations of persons accused and convicted of witchcraft. When someone wished to kill a man suspected of witchcraft, they would go to the town hall and ask for permission. After a re-

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view of the case by the judges and the other civil authorities, the president would have the suspected witch locked up in the local jail and then give the key to his enemy. The following story illustrates this procedure: 683 621

When we were still part of the township of Teopisca [sometime before 1931] F. went and asked permission of the authorities to kill his enemy, a curer, whom he thought was bewitching his brother-in-law. The president arrived at the house of the suspected witch with the order to imprison him. He said that they were going to Teopisca to put him in jail. The group of authorities set off with the suspected witch. On the way another group met them and asked them where they were going. The President replied, "To Teopisca." The group which had encountered them asked them if they would like a drink to "heat their body." They gave one cup and then another. They then cut up the suspected witch with a machete and put his body in the cave of me?tiktatik that goes to Chiapa de Corzo. When the widow enquired the next day where her husband was, the president said that the man must have gone to the finca.

After telling this story, my informant concluded, "Therefore, little by little, the pueblo is getting better because we scared the curers with the permission of the president to kill them." He felt that this was the point at which the power of the curers, who were more and more frequently being accused as witches, was broken. [829]

While the usual course of action, once a man was accused of witchcraft, was to kill him so that there would be no danger of revenge, the following case illustrates punishment by beating. 756 627 [683]

The time was 1935. There was a very bad curer who stole much cattle. One man who heard that he had stolen his cattle wanted to kill him, but the curer met the man and killed him in an old house. The town authorities seized the curer and forced him to pay one thousand pesos for the bull. The principales punished him by tying him to a tree and beating him five or six times. They beat him well for the town. After they beat him they brought him to prison in San Cristóbal and gave him over to the Ministerio Publico to arrange the case. He did not return to the pueblo but went to another place. In five years he returned to his pueblo.

756 627 *When he arrived here, he did not hear any word that they would kill him. He persisted in his custom of stealing. And the pueblo seized him and put him in prison. The whole town seized him although he had heard no word.*

They tied him to a tree and said to him, "You do not have shame. You are a curer, father of the pueblo, [respect term for curer], and yet you behaved badly and truly stole. The town sees you are a bad man, Emilio. They call you their father, but now I am going to tell you that you ought not to be called father. You're a bad one."

He wanted to be called father, but he was only a bad one. He returned again to San Cristóbal because of two crimes. He did not hear the words. He remained in prison, and when he came out someone else came and killed him.

756 682 178 Since 1938, nine of the thirty-seven homicide cases on which I collected data (Table 29) were killings of curers. The increasing frequency of such killings reveals the loss of faith in the guardianship role of the curers, but along with this, retention of belief in their power to work evil.

731 756 754 627 621 In the series of successful confrontations, the civil authority has gained strength and overcome some of the fear of the people. In May 1964, during a severe contagion of measles, a rumor started that the disease was being spread because of witchcraft. The president called together the curers. The consensus of this gathering was that a certain curer of Alannantik had buried the "heat" which was causing the deaths in the milpa of his enemy. The people of Alannantik gathered with the curers and the civil officials in the milpa of the "enemy" to dig it out. The curers dug out a charcoal brazier which is the sign of illness and threw it in the Cave of the Star. [683] That evening the suspected witch was killed, presumably by his neighbors.

756 621 627 754 In the most recent confrontation between the civil authorities and an individual curer, in March 1966, the civil authorities showed a united front in denouncing the use of witchcraft to threaten any official. The entire group of practicing curers from both sides of the dual division were called to witness the denunciation before the assembled civil officials in the town hall. The only one absent was the curer accused of attempting to cut short the life of the president because of envy of his position. The assembled

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756 621 627 754 group walked to the hill where the curer had been reported practicing his witchcraft. There they collected the evidence: fourteen candles of all colors, crosses of wire placed on a photograph, and a gourd. The curers present lifted the evidence and threw it in the river to get rid of the evil. A transcription of the proceedings in the town hall is given below:

President: "We are gathered together here because something which is not good has happened. See here, Tatinel [*to the leading curer*], *we do not know if it is witchcraft or not."*

First Curer Feliciano, of Yetawitz: "The old men [*elder curers*] *have pulsed our children. All the pueblo has helped. We have just brought in the candles. He is a very bad witch. We walked out there and we found it. For this we have gathered together, but if there is an owner of the witchcraft, we have not heard."*

Second Curer Emilio, of Alannantik: "But this owner is not good. Thus spoke my compadre. This is not good. So my compadre and Mam Pelise [*Feliciano, first curer to speak*] *have spoken. Whoever did it has not advised us. The ancestors did not want this. Now who wants it? Who speaks with the holy word? You do not announce whether it is a curer or whether it is or not. We do not know where it is or what it is that he did. But when someone does give an illness, it is a good custom to see where this comes from. This we do not know. It is for this we went to the cave to know where he found it."*

President: "Therefore we had to look for it and see who did it; whether it is someone who knows how to do both witchcraft and curing. But he will pay here in the presidency for what he did, because we are going to announce it, we are going to reveal the crime. Now your hearts are content and truly you cannot do it. Now we know a little, compadre. Truly we have seen and know where it [*the magic*] *was kept."*

Feliciano: "Now you speak a little to God who gave his little child. And what if tomorrow you should come? Now is the time we speak to God, we speak to the Virgin Mother. Don't kill and don't give suffering. Better not do anything. Please don't do anything at night; please do nothing as I have told you. Thus your children [*the younger curers*] *have*

heard our hearts. The people will hear that we didn't do anything. The true curers looked. We came to the place and we found it." 756 621

The curers left the town hall, one by one, saying the pat?o?tan to the judges as they left. The judges remained. 627 754

President: "We have heard clearly what we waited here to hear. They have brought back a little soda."

Judge: "So it is for your work [referring to the soda], what you went to do there [in the hills]."

President: "It is good what you did, but you are afraid because of that." Judges laugh.

The curers in public performances nominally recognize as leading curers the two major speakers for the group, Feliciano of Yetawitz and Emilio of Alannantik. However, these men are not recognized as true leaders. Feliciano lives in the despised barrio of Yetawitz and is associated with the kuriketik, (the inhabitants of the colonia of San Vicente), while Emilio himself has been accused of witchcraft. But the situation required someone to represent the group from each side, and so there was compliance with this temporary role. 756 621

In the public gathering, the curers refrained from accusing anyone, and denied that they had knowledge of the witch. The older curer (not recognized as leader but serving in the place of an elder) warned the group not to kill anyone as a result of the meeting. That evening, the president and his brother announced on the loudspeaker of the cantina that they did know who was trying to murder the president, that it was the curer who was absent, and that he should desist. The curer responded by announcing on another cantina loudspeaker that he was innocent. On the following day, the accused appeared in the town hall with two family-sized bottles of beer. He said that he did not want the president to continue accusing him, since he was not guilty and had truly been sick. (He had consulted the I.N.I. clinic nurse rather than one of his colleagues and had received treatment for a headache. This was commented upon by his opponents, who interpreted it as showing his lack of faith in traditional curing practices.) 756 754 621 627 [156]

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756 754 621 627 The open confrontation by the civil authorities with the suspected witch, in which they warned him to stop before violence resulted, represents a new strategy in the contest between officials and curers. Formerly even when there was strong suspicion against a man, the principales and judges kept quiet. If they acted, it was to kill the suspect without forewarning. The new strategy reveals the position of strength from which they now operate. That the president could joke in the town hall about the fear of the judges in dealing with the accused curer (see his final remark above) is indicative of a changed attitude. Incidents such as that of the curer consulting the clinic nurse instead of his fellow curers, which was noted and commented upon by the brother of the president, may further serve to undermine the townspeople's belief in the power of the curers.

In the weeks following the incident, the president and his brother discussed the incident, pointing out their fearlessness in openly confronting the witch. The curers clearly tried to deny any responsibility as a group with the remark: "Whoever did it did not advise us." They expressed the feeling that it is against professional ethics: "Whoever did it is a very bad witch"; but they refuse to name him or admit knowledge of who did it. "We do not know where it is or what it is that he did." The behavior of the curers in this incident is clearly defensive and stems from their loss of control and initiative.

Political Parties and Factions

665 621 In 1950 the first contest for the post of president was started by two brothers who had secured the backing of the Partido Acción Nacional (PAN). Never before had anyone initiated his own candidacy outside the traditional nomination procedure through the old officials in the town hall. The brothers lived in the new barrio of Yut Hok, the ejido land grant of Ahk'olnantik. The candidacy disturbed the customary alternation of posts between Ahk'olnantik and Alannantik. Threatened by the imbalance, the leaders of Alannantik secured the backing of the Partido Revolucionario Institutionalizado (PRI) for their candidate. The PAN candidate won the election. However, he was never able to consolidate political sup-

159 622 177 178 [454] [754] [756] partners. He sold a few shares of a truck he and his family owned to Indians, but he retained the controlling interest. His wife was reputed to be a witch, and was an active curer, combining old and new treatments of illnesses.

His position was challenged in the 1960s by the Ladino schoolmaster, 159 875 177 178 563 578 [312] [756] who had been remarkably unsuccessful from his arrival in 1953 until that time in gaining personal power and influence. His intercession in a local homicide case involving a father's murder of his son outraged the townspeople, some of whom threatened to kill him. His attempts to have water installed aroused the curers against him since they were accustomed to bathing their patients at the source of the spring from which they were debarred when the plumbing was installed. His demands that children [871] [582] within the legal age limit should not only attend school but should be prohibited from marrying until they had completed their schooling caused the anger of parents who wanted to give their daughters in an early and profitable marriage.

159 875 177 178 563 558 [608] [546] [278] [431] Gradually, however, the schoolmaster extended his own base of support. He minimized his attack on local customs, adhering only to those laws affecting the school population, over which he had a great deal of control. Some of his support came from the orthodox Catholic members of the community; he extended his control through compadre relationships with over eighty members of the community. He showed movies which he acquired from the United Nations and other educational film sources and gave away medicines acquired from the health officials in the state capitol who were his friends. From one of these sources of philanthropy he acquired wool shawls which he gave to every woman in the town.

The professor demanded no return from the townspeople other than their respect and admiration; he was a person who enjoyed commanding others and needed an arena in which to project his own personality. In his early years in the town, he had to satisfy this need by capturing stray tourists and plying them with soda pop or coffee. His first opportunity to gain [474] leadership in the local sphere came in 1963, when he supported the new truck-owning cooperative. He used the influence of contacts in the state capital, including compadres, friends, and relatives of his wife's family. He promoted the cooperative's attempt to gain the presidency. One of the first

 621 177 178

4. In a series of confrontations, the civil officials have challenged the social control functions of the curers. Witch-killings in which many of the victims have been curers have minimized but not overcome the power of these men. [756]

5. The priest has succeeded in establishing control over the church, but the Indians may yet succeed in deposing him, a plan they were putting into effect when I left town. [193]

The Indians are now aware of their rights to limit—or eliminate if necessary—the self-appointed caciques. The new cacique promotes the community welfare not only in his rhetoric but in the services he performs for the officials. His involvement in political affairs is tolerated, not encouraged, and the officials are ready to turn to alternative sources of aid in their activities. 641 622 177 178

The involvement of the PRI in local elections has not introduced a new center of power in the political arena. Political factions are based on economic interests contained within the town, and the autonomy of the town has in no way been affected by leadership from party headquarters in the state capitol. The community and the party use each other for their own ends in almost complete ignorance of what is occurring in the domain of the other. 665 621 178

The system of beliefs and understandings has changed along with these organizational changes. The most significant change has been the waning belief in the guardianship of the ancestors. The absence of the curers at the fiesta of the caves means that they no longer have this ritual occasion to validate their claims by communicating with the ancestors. The loss of leadership and of a hierarchy of prestige within the ranks of curers has removed internal controls over the profession and further undermined their position. The diminishing respect with which they are treated in the town hall and the increasing number of murders of curers accused of witchcraft is directly related to the loss of belief in their power as guardians. Since they were not an integral part of the civil-religious hierarchy, as the curers were in Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947), this has not upset the hierarchy, but it has changed the balance of power in the wider community. 769 756 178 [683]

The diminishing significance of the leadership of the principales is tied 621 756 178

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621 to the loss of belief in the curers. The principales were formerly conceived
756 to be overseers of the curers, men who, because of their advanced age,
178 could determine whether the curers were acting in the interest of the town. With the loss of this social control function, along with the loss of other functions such as holding public funds and helping the judges to interpret the law, they have declined to the level of ceremonial figures dissociated from political action.

621 The forms of political organization remain the same, but there has been
178 a shift in the balance of power from leaders whose authority rested on guardianship linked with the ancestors to leaders who can deal with the external power structure. The emergent forms of political organization can be partially assessed in the meaning participants assign to the events which precipitated this process of change. To paraphrase George Herbert Mead (1938:liii) it is the "organization of perspectives" concerning the past events and the present conditions which will effect the emergent
829 forms. The analytical problem can be phrased with the questions, "In
578 what dialectical terms is the conflict cast?" and "What changes do the
794 members of the community perceive as an outcome of the struggle?"
621 Whereas in the colonial period the conflict between the Indians and their
177 Spanish conquerers was seen as a struggle for control between Catholicism
178 and traditional religion, today the conflict is phrased as one of opposed economic interests. In the civil sphere, factional opponents seek the support of extra-communal power holders to gain their ends. In the religious
[193] sphere, the Indians see the conflict as one in which their control over the church and the income derived from it is opposed to the priest's growing influence.

829 In this reorganization of perspectives, the Indians share some of the
62 goals of the dominant society, but they continue to oppose themselves to
182 the Ladino world. For this reason they are willing to preserve the form of the civil-religious hierarchy as a means of asserting their independence from the dominant society. They see the community not only as a defensive screen against the outside world, but as a springboard for entry into the national economic and political life. They are now consciously taking advantage of pro-Indian sentiment to secure a preferred position in this society. Their awareness of their advantage over the deculturated Indian is

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made explicit in the contrasts they make between their conditions and those of the migratory mestizo laborers who work in the sawmills and fincas in the area. They comment on the fact that these workers have no political representation and that they and their children are illiterate and do not attend school. The significant factor is that the Indians of the corporate communities not only have advantages over the mestizo worker, but they perceive these advantages and are acting in terms of them. The preservation of community traditions is seen as a means of retaining community-owned assets and of maintaining a sense of self which is threatened or destroyed when the individual Indian enters into the national society.

The rules of strategy for moving in the direction of change are a transformation of the rules of the game that the Indians hve played in the four and a half centuries since the Conquest. The overall strategy is still defensive and aimed at preserving local independence, but their tactics include new skills acquired from Ladinos. In opposing the old power elite of the curing hierarchy, the present leadership uses the same tactics of the witch-hunt that their opponents used in the past to punish deviates, but they are beginning to confront them openly when sorcery is suspected. Leaders of the new cooperatives state that their aim is to increase opportunities for the whole community, not to make individual profit.

Because the conflict has been contained within community boundaries, the statement of goals remains the same. These goals include the retention of control by local leaders over judgment of guilt or innocence, in ceremonial affairs, and by all townspeople over land. This retention of local control is the key feature of a moving equilibrium in a model of change that puts the emphasis on continuous adjustments and adaptations. In the usual models for discussing modernization, the confrontation is conceived as one between the indigenous society and the outsider representing western influence. In Tzo'ontahal, young leaders within the community have confronted old in the stated interest of preserving tradition. Occasionally they may make alliances with the old leaders as in the conflict with the priest.

These "shifts in the focus of political power within a given system" (Leach 1964:9) are the prelude to structural change. Tzo'ontahal as a case

does not drink or have a record of fighting. Character traits are given more significance than wealth, since the minimal differences which distinguish rich from poor can be lost within a few months if a man drinks heavily or does not work. The close identification among siblings means that in accepting a suit the girl's parents will take into consideration not only the boy's reputation, but those of his brothers. If they are considered to be disobedient, lazy, or frequently drunk, their brother may have difficulty finding a woman. 581 582 [593]

Positions of ceremonial importance in the household celebrations are filled by any of the elders who have acquired knowledge of the prayers. The nakawanehetik are chosen from among any of the bilaterally-extended relatives, compadres, or padrinos who have served five times in religious office. They are selected not only on the basis of how well they know the prayers, but also on their behavior when required to drink. A man who can hold his liquor and still speak well or who quietly goes to sleep rather than fighting when drunk is preferred. The me?il k'op is selected from among the female complements of these male relatives. She acquires her knowledge of the prayers in familial settings. The b'alnialetik are chosen from the kihtz'inal (younger siblings and cousins), or from among compadres or members of neighboring households. The rank order between the two sets of roles—the nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik—depends on relative age; thus the older nakawanehetik have greater authority. 794 592 782 555 561 [273]

Familial roles provide both a pattern and a springboard for other roles in the community. The father-son role pair is extended to the relationships between senior and junior officials in both the religious hierarchy and the curing hierarchy. For each saint, the elder mayordomo is called "father" (*Tatil Martoma*), and the younger is called "son" (*Nic'nal Martoma*). A man must fill the junior post at least two times before taking on the senior post. For each side of the dual division, the elder curer (when there was a recognized leader) was called "father" (*Tatil ?u?ul*), and the younger was called "son" (*Nic'nal ?u?ul*) or sometimes "youth" (*Biktal ?u?ul*). The term *me?il* (woman who has borne a child) is used in the reference to ceremonial roles played by women in the household, as in the case of me?il k'op (woman speaker) and me?il c'om (mother of the betrothal). 621 593 561 794 192 [756] 621 592 562

621 593 581 794 Familial role requirements must be fulfilled in order for public roles to be undertaken. A man must be married in order to enter into even the lowest posts in the civil and religious hierarchies.

794 556 434 554 Only in the case of the alfereces has wealth ever been a criterion for recruitment. These four officials had to be able to spend 3,000 pesos during their year in office. The heavy expenditures failed to give prestige to the official, and the display of wealth excited envy rather than respect. The result was that people called upon to accept the post had to be imprisoned before they would accept.

554 756 Recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on innate qualities; special skills and knowledge are attributes acquired in office or other role positions rather than requirements for undertaking roles. Curers are recruited because they are recognized as having an animal spirit; they learn whatever skills are required after they have been initiated into the profession. The curers' special position in the society rests more on esoteric powers than on esoteric knowledge. Everyone in the community [278] knows the herbs and medicines which are prescribed, and most men can give as comprehensive a taxonomy of illnesses as any practicing curer.

868 241 [857] [883] Economic roles, though largely undifferentiated for each sex, are consciously learned and transmitted. Boys accompany their fathers or elder brothers to the field at about the age of eight and continue working with them until they reach independence. Observation of behavior alone would seem to indicate an unconscious absorption of the role of agricultural worker, but informants recount episodes in which training in field work was explicitly transmitted by their fathers or brothers, and formal approval of their ability to do the tasks announced to their mothers. Parents [871] express fear that school attendance not only interferes with working in the milpa, but that it will cause the child to forget what he has learned in the field. Regardless of what other tasks a man performs, he thinks of himself as a farmer.

868 323 Becoming a potter requires an even more explicit training procedure. The fine linguistic segmentation of each act and movement in the schedule of pottery-making is a clue to the explicit transmission of tasks by the

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554 the status. Community integration is achieved at the expense of limiting the range of roles through restricted recruitment and validating mechanisms.

621 794 [182] *Alternation and linkage in office-holding.* The principle of alternation between civil and religious posts serves to integrate these officers in a single functioning system and prevents the development of segmented groups. The alternation of offices between sides of the dual divisions helps to integrate the village by pairing or alternating them in the same office. Some roles served as links between the institutional domaines. Principales are the primary symbolic leaders of both hierarchies since they are chosen from among men who have completed service in both hierarchies. The alfereces formerly symbolized the unity of the civil and religious branches in the transfer of banners from the cabildo to the church and in other ceremonial duties.

621 624 794 [692] [184] The regidores and judges have remained identified with the civil authority in Tzoʔontahal, although in other towns in the area they have become almost exclusively identified with the religious hierarchy (Cancian 1965). The regidores were formerly involved in religious affairs during the household celebration for the installation of the new alférez. At this time they were called personaetik from the Spanish term persona, or personage.

731 756 178 621 Events requiring community action reveal some of the links which unite officials who play roles in different institutional settings. On the occasion of an epidemic, curers are called before the civil authority to "give an account" of who is causing the witchcraft. Formerly the curers were linked to the civil hierarchy by a system of social control in which the principales, as elders, reviewed their actions in guarding the safety and health of the community. This system of checks and balance has been broken by the shift in power from the principales to the president.

794 621 182 The nakawanehetik provide the links between the household and the civil and religious hierarchies. They transmit the knowledge of ritual prayer and acts and officiate at the inauguration of officials. They serve as stage directors in maintaining the traditional household rituals and in ensuring continuity in public ceremonials.

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People who fail to conform to the customs of the town are said to lack "reason." This category includes those who do not attend to the advice of their elders. People from outside of town who do not behave in conventional patterns are said to be "of another sort." 829 183 196 [609]

Institutionalized patterns of behavior differ as to the degree of explicitness of the association between action and reason. Curing practices are most directly attached to an understanding of why they are performed. Ritual practices in the cult of the spirits are tied to a more general explanatory system in which something should be done "because it was the custom of our ancestors." 183 756 829

Competency. Judgments concerning the intelligence of a person and his ability to adjust to his social and physical environment complement the criteria of morality and reasonableness. Alertness, or intelligence is associated with the possession of more than one soul: a person may have from one to a dozen additional souls. Curers and witches, by virtue of their possession of an animal spirit, are by definition very intelligent. Evaluations of alertness are often made in discussing the personalities of others. In the myth concerning the three brothers and the honey (Chapter 8) God, the Elder Brother, was described as "not very bright," Jesus Christ, the Second Brother, as "a little brighter," and the Holy Ghost, the Youngest Brother as "the brightest." Alertness is usually associated with manipulation for one's own advantage, but is not necessarily antithetical to having a good heart. In the myth mentioned above, the youngest brother outwits his two older brothers to his own advantage, and coincidentally that of the world. 828 [774] [756] [754] [539]

The word *b'ol* is used figuratively to express the opposite of alertness, stupidity. Literally it means one who is mute; the connection is significant. A child born mute is said to have had its soul stolen at birth so that he must exist without speech. The power of speech is highly valued and the prestigeful roles are accorded to those who can speak well in both formal and informal exchanges. It is a dangerous skill, since the ability to talk to the gods gives an advantage to the speaker over the general population. The ability to speak to the earth, a talent which people say the ancestors possessed and which curers in the neighboring town of Chamula still [192] [827] [787]

"gift of the gods," liquor, to the party whose interests have been slighted. This is done in the case of a suitor who is asking for a woman of the other side of the dual division; he gives the bachelors of that side a garrafón of liquor in compensation for the loss of a potential mate. Liquor has become a substitute for the sacrifice of a child by a man being initiated into the curing profession. Informal offerings of liquor may be made between neighbors or relatives who have been fighting with each other. Liquor is a kind of universal social solvent in disputes, and figures importantly in court cases which are always terminated in a drinking session.

Another technique is simply a payment in money to compensate for damages. In some homicide cases, the payment of "blood money" has compensated the family of the victim to avoid legal action. This is never done, however, if the community agrees that the victim was a witch. Payment of fines in court is another such form of compensation. These payments or offerings minimize the bloodshed or personal involvement in conflictual relations. Payment by the man judged guilty will ensure his reincorporation into his customary place in the community without stigma.

While it is impossible to elicit from informants a theory of roles, it is possible to formulate the principles underlying roles. These are deduced from behavioral observations and from evaluations made of the performances of others. They can be summarized in the following propositions:

1. There is a clear separation between role and role-bearer. This is seen most clearly in the passage through civil and religious offices with a minimum of "halo" effect. It is also found in the situation of household officials whose authority in directing affairs within a household ceases when the ceremony in which they officiate is over. The separation ensures flexibility in a closed social system, enabling people to shift from one role to another. It also permits continuity in a system which requires an almost complete turnover of personnel each year.

2. Function performed is separate from role in which it is performed. This applies even in those roles which are designated on the basis of the most important function required of the performer, for example woman speaker, liquor measurer, and basket carrier. All of

621 578 177 178 was channeled along existing lines of competition. During my stay in the community from 1964 to 1966, most conflicts were attributed to economic competition between the two trucking cooperatives. Along with this, the [114] [474] [182] waning of the position of the principales has undermined the confidence of the people in the system of checks and balances in which the principales watched over the judges, the judges watched over the curers, the curers watched over the people to see that no one brought in evil, and the ancestors watched over everyone. [756] Curers are more and more often accused of witchcraft and are frequent victims of homicide. The sense that they are the guardians of the pueblo and the agents of the ancestors is nearly dead. They are consulted only because the people feel that, because of the evil in them, they can fight the evil caused by others.

621 756 177 178 The shift in power from the old leaders to the new has not been accompanied by a shift in ideological allegiance. The new leaders cannot offer the security the people felt when they were living in the eyes of the ancestors. The curers remain as a powerful group because of their claims of being able to fight evil, but there is no longer a legitimate authority controlling their use of destructive forces.

561 554 177 178 A system of authority based on rule by elders is a structural correlative of a behavior pattern in which people act out the ways of the ancestors. This applies to the schematized behavior contained in rituals and in traditional productive activities. The ideology of a seniority-based prestige system persists at the explicit level at the same time that behavioral changes in contradiction to this are occurring.

626 177 178 Social control in a system of behavior based on what was done in the past depends upon the belief that people are carrying out their lives "in the eyes of the ancestors." Ritual behavior in Tzoʔontahal seems to confirm this, but in view of the waning belief in the presence of the ancestors and the loss of confidence in their agents, the curers, this behavior is a kind of social lie designed to perpetuate the old code of morality. In their everyday behavior, people no longer act on the same premises. The social lie is perpetuated because the people who enjoyed power in the old social system—the curers and the elders—do not wish to relinquish it. It will last only so long as they can find successors, and with the abolition of the recruitment through alfereces, this should not be for long.

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

ment, engrossed as I was in the task of eliciting the formal sequence of events, "Quiet, S.; let's get on with the fiesta." He persisted in what interested him. 124

Eleven years ago they [who? enemies?] tried to get me. I had a piece of land in hot country. My house here was not ready, but the wood was ready. M. C. a neighbor was jealous [*šil yoʔtan*, 'saw his heart']. He had caused another neighbor's illness. He was my wife's *muʔ* [literally 'brother-in-law,' in this case the informant's wife's fa's sis's husband]. He didn't have corn or beans. He was jealous because of my crops and the big house I was going to build. 124 578 [754] [601] [602]

By now I was asking questions and taking notes. I interposed, "How did you know?" 124 578

I knew because when I got sick, the curer (who was the dead husband of the widow who came to the judges' house) told me. The *cabron* (goat) witches leave their signature in the blood (*yak hilel firma ta čičʔ*). Then I went to a curer in Chamula who confirmed it. 754 756

"How did he speak to you?" 124

In Tzotzil. Then I went to Las Casas. Another curer, also a Chamulteco, said, "Here is his signature in your blood. He is working alone." On January 7 I fell in bed. All month from January to the 19th of April I was very sick. I went to Cruz Quemada (colonia of Tzoʔontahal) where F. G. cured me. He burned candles at the curing arch and prayed. 578 755 756 [782]

"Whom did he pray to?"

The hills, the holy land. Then I got well, but I was very tired. My Swana [wife, Juana] told me "He is going to kill you." I had a rifle. I filled it and went out, but then I returned. Another day I took two measures of trago, took my rifle and went to his house. He was sleeping with his wife close to him in bed, the way we sleep here. I fired four times. The bullets went in his back and came out front. One entered the arm of his wife. Now people say of me I am a killer. I went to the townhall for the enquiry. The man's wife said the door [of the house] was open. She said she did not see me. Afterward I got well. If I hadn't killed him, I never would have lived. Now I am having more trouble first because of the cooperative, then because of my brother being president, and then the comisario. Let us see what will happen this year. If God lends us our life, there are going to be protests. We will walk with our pistols. Špet [wife of Ladino owner of opposing cooperative] gave 1000 pesos to a man from Magronal to kill me. 124 578 682

"How do you know?"

My compadre came and told me. Who knows how many deaths there will be!

[P. 225-A]

342 lages of the lowlands where the houses have
[354] small windows, which improve ventilation
342 and illumination slightly. In places like
184 Chanal, where there is abundant lumber, the sides of the houses are built with wooden boards set vertically. The largest and best-built houses are in Tenejapa center.

Generally, the hut is divided into two rooms: the front is parlor and kitchen, the rear is bedroom. In Bachajon the rear room serves as bedroom and kitchen, the front room for sewing and grinding and the re-
[574] ception of visitors. In Amatenango del Valle the front of the house is open and
[323] used as a porch for visits. Ceramic work
[251] is also performed here. In one room of the house a bin of wood or reeds stores corn.
[343] Sometimes, small structures which serve as granaries are built inside the hut.

343 Among the auxiliary structures outside is
515 the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. Not every hut has a *pus* since one is enough to attend the needs of several neighboring families. The *pus* is a small room 1.5 m. high by 2 m. on each side, built of stones and clay. The roof is flat. Inside a hollow forms a hearth for heating stones. Water thrown on these red-hot stones produces the necessary steam. On the floor are boards on which people lie while taking the bath. Among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil the *pus* is
[184] not only for cleanliness but also for the cure
[757] of certain diseases and to strengthen women
[846] after childbirth. Sweat baths are more commonly taken in Tierra Fria than in Tierra Caliente.

417 The other structures near the hut are the chickencoop and the hogpen.

352 Furniture is limited to essential items. In the kitchen are the three hearth stones, the comal (*samet*), the grinding stone (*chá*), a bench or strong table to hold the metate (*ah-ken*), one or two small tables (*matzmalté* or *vebalté*) 25–39 cm. high and 30–40 cm. in diameter, and small benches 15–20 cm. high made of scooped-out tree trunks
415 (*tzanté*). Kitchen equipment includes earthenware (pans, pitchers, and jars) and
[P. 207-B]

787 776 been taken away by the local authorities and sent to the Indians' Affairs Office in San Cristobal.

LIFE CYCLE

842 183 *Pregnancy and Childbirth*

The strongest desire of every Tzeltal couple is to create a numerous family, preferably 843 [833] boys. The relationship between sexual intercourse and pregnancy is well understood among the Indians. They know that pregnancy lasts nine months and they keep a 843 789 good count of it. On the other hand, there are ideas about the possibility of the woman being influenced by old men or "the owners of the nagual," who can interrupt pregnancy and change the fetus from one woman to another. This is why a woman who thinks she is pregnant for three or four months suddenly realizes that she carries nothing any more, while another one, maybe her neighbor, finds herself in advanced pregnancy, giving birth a few months later. It is to be stressed, however, that these changes can take place only among married women.

844 [181] In conservative villages (Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Cancuc) there is no professional midwife. Children are delivered by the oldest women in the neighborhood.

[757] [237] When labor begins, the first thing is to give the mother a beverage made of powdered opossum tail dissolved in boiling water. It is very common for Indians to have a dry tail hanging next the fireplace. The woman kneels at labor, facing the midwife. The husband's belt or the woman's rebozo is tied very tightly around the upper part of the abdomen to prevent the child from "going up again." The mother can also help herself by seizing a rope tied to the roof, or taking firm hold of any post of the house. The umbilical cord is chopped with a machete or cut with scissors, supported on an [241] [824] ear of corn. This ear is afterwards used as seed and is considered very fertile.

[757] When labor has finished, the mother is given another hot beverage of pepper.

[P 223-B]

844 cloves, and corncake, to keep her "warm
[757] and fertile." The placenta can be burned,
[842] thrown to the dogs, or deeply buried in case
the mother does not want another preg-
[789] nancy soon. The umbilical cord is put under
a three-stone fireplace if the baby is a girl,
on top of a tree if it is a boy so that he may
become brave and agile when adult.

846 A few hours after childbirth, at the latest
515 the next day, both mother and child take a
temascal (steam bath). Some women stay
in the temascal until they feel completely
recovered.

Childhood and Adolescence

789 During the first weeks of life, children are
774 in danger of losing their souls because their
inexperience makes them an easy prey to
the naguales and bad spirits who wander
around. As protection, mothers place a small
[237] piece of beeswax at the back of the child's
head or tie, as a bracelet, a red or blue
thread around the wrist. If none of these
precautions are taken, the mother has to
cover with branches the paths her child
walks, so that his soul can easily find its way
in case he loses it.

789 Because of all these dangers, fathers al-
852 ways try to perform the ceremony of "seed
774 the soul of the child" as soon as possible. It
[553] is during this ceremony that the child is
given a name, later confirmed according to
Catholic ritual at the ceremonial center. A
[608] very important aspect of the ceremony is
selection of the godparents.

753 *Sickness and Death*

776 Most sicknesses come from infection or
[888] malnutrition. To the natives, however, ill-
nesses have a supernatural cause and are
ascribed either to the anger of gods and
spirits or to old people who have a nagual
or who can throw a spell. The most frequent
explanation is that naguales or supernatural
beings are acting against people. They can
adopt human or animal form or appear as

[P 224-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

774 [513] fire and then hung up to destroy the impression and prevent leaving behind with it a portion of the soul, on which magic could be worked. Our own observation was that this precaution was carelessly observed.

789 123 Although magic may be worked on impressions on leaves, bits of hair, earth from fields, etc., the Indians showed no objection at all to being photographed beyond a certain embarrassment, and very little to being drawn. Often they asked to be photographed, and at some villages posed readily for sketches.

756 Although, according to Nuñez de la Vega,* there were originally several classes of shamans among these tribes, at present they seem to have narrowed down to one medicine-man type. Primarily these are doctors, but in their practice they preserve certain priestly characteristics. 756 They have a real pharmacopeia, and Ladinos and occasional foreigners who have tried their skill testify to the effectiveness of the medicines.† 757 All their knowledge, however, is kept in greatest secrecy. Just enough medicine is administered at once for a dose, the shaman watching to see that it is consumed, and none held out for identification. Of these we were able to find out virtually nothing. Serpent fat, *junto-tcan,* is in common use as a rub for colds. Head-aches and extreme drunkenness are treated by cutting the forehead with a bit of sharp glass, and bleeding is resorted to in some other cases. The use of the tourniquet in cases of snake-bite is widely known.

All applications of medicine are accompanied by prayers recited in such a way as to be unintelligible to lay hearers. The prayers are an essential part of the treatment.

756 Shamans are trained from early infancy, being selected probably by the older practitioners. One of them takes the student in hand and teaches him prayers and medicines proper to his particular specialty. With this goes a certain amount of plain magic. Whether a man may then study under others and continue learning is not known; however, they vary in reputation both for their ability at curing, and for clairvoyance, casting spells, etc. Casting spells is a sort of reverse function of doctoring, the man who can cure disease being, obviously, able also to cause it.

[273] One of the two words given for a shaman, *poci',* shows an interesting resemblance to the Tzeltal for rum, *poc.* This similarity gains importance in view of the real connection between curing and drinking. A shaman definitely will not perform unless he is more

*Op. Cit.
†Cf. Sapper, 1925.

753 statement would be that the names of illnesses are reflexes of all these pressures.

757 Curing strategies more or less line up with this symptom-illness distinction. The early stages of a disease process are handled by medicine, the appropriate form of which and access to which, most adults in Aguacatenango control. For example: for stomach gas, give bicarbonate soda with lime (to drink); for a cough, give boiled brown sugar (to drink); for nausea and headache give té limon. As the combination of "symptoms" increases in the later stages of a disease process, most adults lose control over knowledge of the proper array of medicines and rituals. These in turn become combinatorially more complex. It is at these later stages of the disease process that curers and doctors are called in.

756 759 Curers and doctors differ most obviously in that doctors are ladinos and curers tend to be Indians (although ladino curers are known). In addition, they deal with illnesses in sufficiently contrastive ways so that two role identifying labels must be 75 maintained. They are both recognized to be able to reduce illness (as a basis for further inference and action) by prescribing medicines that can be purchased in the pharmacy. These may be taken orally, injected, or applied as a salve. The doctor further prescribes and may himself perform some minor surgery, X-ray examinations, and other traditional Western-European

273* 753 **Circumstances under which the drinking of aguardiente can directly cause illness**

Not only does aguardiente in some contexts serve as medium by means of which witchcraft can be communicated, but also it has a certain disease producing potential of its own when it is taken in certain amounts within a certain time period. (The ceremonial drinking plus one or more adjacent informal drinking units.) We will now review a few of the disease processes which are interpreted as beginning immediately 273* 164 adjacent to drinking performances. The most common illness that results from drinking is a state that may be glossed as a "hangover" /GOMA, XCAMEL YU*UN TRAWO/. This is a minor illness which involves the symptoms of "headache, loss of appetite, dehydration, vomiting, diarrhea, trembling," the response to 273* which is selected from the following alternative set. The 757 461 condition of GOMA is nearly exclusive with the ability to engage in routine agricultural performances. This means that the day after a ceremonial drinking plus informal drinking segment, a man does not work. He has the choice, then, of staying around the house or leaving the house to perform some minor tasks such as gathering poles to support chayote vines, looking at his cattle, or any other task that takes him out of the household setting. This is an important distinction since if a man stays around the house he increases the probability that he will con-

273 tinue drinking by some considerable degree. The confusion of
a 757 setting with cure for GOMA is further reduced if we consider the specific remedies which are employed. Aguardiente is a "hot" substance. This "heat" causes the illness, and the illness can be reduced by drinking remedies which are "cool" or "cold." Coca cola is such a remedy. A man may stay around the house and drink coca cola by way of reducing the GOMA. A second remedy for reducing a hangover is to drink as much as one-half a pint of aguardiente. This is the Tzeltal equivalent to the "hair of the dog" response. Drinking a small amount of aguardiente and staying around the house are the two conditions which make it most likely that the man will continue drinking that day. Drinking coca cola and staying around the house make it slightly less likely that a man will drink on that day. Finally, drinking either aguardiente or coca cola and leaving the house to perform some minor task makes it less and less probable that a man will go on drinking that day. These observations are relevant to an interpretation of the cure for a hangover since they clearly include alternative plans for further action which either produce further hangovers or do not. In other words, if one wishes to cure a hangover and go on drinking, he drinks aguardiente and stays in his house where his previous day's drinking companions will be sure to find him. If, on the

273 *other hand, one wishes to stop drinking, he will drink coca cola
757 and leave the house.

Normally, a cure for a hangover, if it is not followed by more drinking, is successful in a one day time period. The length of a drinking performance can be computed as ceremonial
273 *drinking plus informal drinking plus one day. If some symptons
753 of the hangover continue on successive days, or if the hangover
757 has unusual symptoms, individuals are alerted to the fact that the drinking performance is about to cause more serious conse-
*273 quences. There follow some text fragments in which the more
753 serious consequences are displayed and discussed by informants.
757
539

M. HA* YA HK'AN HTAMTIK RASON TY*L LIHK HATE X.HAL *IK TA SBAKEL HTATA I.

I want to ask the reason why my uncle's backache began.

D. *AX TA YOXEBAL HA*WIL, ME TA XCANEBAL HA*WIL HONC HATE LA STA E.

It began about three or four years ago.

PERE HUN TA TE ...TA K'AXIX ... TA XK'AXEL KUXEBAL YU*N *IP LEK YAKUB HONAX.

It seems that . . . a while ago . . . it was just after Holy Week, because he drank so much.

TONC BAZ'IL LAH YAK' HONC HATE HUN *U MA* BEN E.

For one month he couldn't walk, he really had it.

HUN LAH TA YU*N XIHIL TE* A YA*Y STUK TA YOK I.

It was as though there was a splinter in his foot.

273* YA YAK' HONC HU*N K'AS YU*N TONC YU'N HIC XKOTLAHAN YA X
753 LOK' E.
757
539 It hurt a lot. He had to crawl to go out.

YU*NEN TA TRAWO LA HTA XCI.

Perhaps I got it from the trago," he said.

YU*NEN POX YA SK'AN HONC YU*N AK' TAK'IN E XCI.

"Perhaps it needs medicine, if only there were some money," he said.

X TAL AWA*Y Z'IN E, LI* LA XBAHT TA SBAKEL I.

The next thing he knew, it was here in his back.

WOKOL STUK *IL TAT TONAX YU*N SZ'IKOHONC HEHK STUK TU*L TA *A*TEL I.

It's not a little that he suffers, especially as he is now a mayordomo.

M. MA*YUK YA YAK' SBAH TA POXTAYEL.

Isn't he being cured?

HA*YUN MA*K XCOHP.

That's why it's not getting better.

273* 753 In this particular case, the illness being referred to had already lasted three or four years, according to the text. The association of drinking with the onset of this illness was strong enough, then, to be remembered by the sick man's wife after a period of years.

273* 753 539 In the following text fragment, we see another example of this reasoning about the relationship between illness and drinking.

273* 539 And then to Jose, "Don't take him away, sir, don't take him. Don't you see how we have suffered? He was going to die. He got better with great difficulty, after many efforts. He's not well."

HE* *AYIL ABI TUME C'IN TO *EHUK YU*N TONC MA XC'UN TUT'A KALBETIK I, KAWAY HATE XMALAWANIX HAL TRAWI LA XLOK'AT XAN, HAMAL YU*N MA*K AWA*Y TUT'A HALBOTAT HIL E, HA* KAK'AN XCAMATA TRAW, PERE YU*N MA XU* HONA XCI.

Ay, dios, why should I worry? He's not a little boy. He just doesn't do what we tell him. "You know that the trago is killing you, but you go out again as if you didn't know what they told you. You just want to die of trago." "But I can't stand it, I feel so bad," he said.

273* 757 In order to avoid consequences of drinking as severe as those detailed above, some men procure medicine designed to reduce the probability of their drinking when the occasion arises. We have already cited a text fragment in which such a "cure" is discussed. There, some doubt was expressed as to the medicine's effectiveness, but Candelario, who had just taken it, was not willing to risk dying by drinking while it was in effect. In another text fragment, more evidence in favor of the "cure" is offered as follows:

273* 539 I. HA* PERSA XPOXIL I PE MA HNA* ME *AY WAN XPOXIL TAT *E MA*YUK *E PE XCIIK HONAX.

Some medicine is necessary, but I don't know if there is one, sir. Many people say there isn't.

M. *AY NIX *A YUN TOL STOHOL.

There is, but it's expensive.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* 539 M. *A MA* BA YUC', HA* XANIX TEME YUN A SNAK TE*K E.

Ah, he hasn't drunk since. It's good if it stops him for a while.

I. *E HAYUN HIC A KAL, TEME SPAS TE*K POX TU*L A YUC' TATIK SEKRETARYI.

That's what I mean, if it works like the remedy the Secretary took.

*IPAL HA*WIL TE*K MA*K YUC' HAL A YUC'BE XPOXIL *ILE.

He hasn't drunk for many years, he took medicine.

M. HIC STUK *ILE HUH*U.

You're right about him.

HA* TONIX PERSA STUK C'IN POX LEHTIK (YUC'E)

Those of us who drink are very much interested in such a medicine.

273* 757 The general characteristics of the medicine for reducing the strength and number of one's drinking performances, as perceived by Aguacatenangueros, are the physical effects if one continues to drink after taking it. Illness and even death may be expected, as has been suggested in the texts cited. The medicine thus overrides all social and psychological "reasons" for drinking. One can tell whether or not the medicine is effective by attempting to continue to drink. If one wishes to drink and feels no unusually bad effects therefrom, it is clear that the medicine is not working.

273* 753 Aguardiente is illness-producing either directly because of its substance, or symbolically because it is one of the media

273* 755 [757] The administration of trago directly to the patient in the course of the curing ceremony is unusual, though it may be mixed with other ingredients (raw eggs, essence of rosemary, the curer's saliva and/or chicken blood) and a cup or bowl of this mixture given to the patient to drink. Alternatively it may be applied to the body of the patient, the curer blowing it on him a mouthful at a time. Aguardiente is occasionally used to drug chickens which are used in the course of the ceremony. We have seen chickens so drugged placed on the patient's head where they calmly remain for a period of a half hour or more.

273* 764 Drinking during the funeral ceremony

The burial of a dead person takes place within a period of twenty-four hours after he is declared to be dead. The time lag depends primarily on how soon a casket can be bought, the primary source of caskets being carpenter shops in Pinola--a six hour round of walking. The morning after the death, neighbors and bilateral male relatives walk out to the cemetery to dig the grave. They take a liter of trago with them which they drink while they are digging the grave. Others of this group stay at the house of the dead person where a ceremonial is being prepared, where the cadaver is being washed and dressed and wailed over by women who are closely related to the dead person.

The return of the grave diggers to the house signals the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

the curer is a potentially dangerous witch, he can be persuaded to fight the evil power of another. One of the most dangerous and powerful witches, until he was killed five years ago, was a man who boasted as he was curing a patient, "The evil [pukuh] in me will win over that of the witch!" 756

Curing behavior is classified in Tzeltal according to five major schema: (1) pulsing (*pikel ℓ'iℓ*), (2) drawing out the evil (*slok'es ʔak'ℓamel*), (3) calling the soul (*tamohel*), (4) medicating the illness (*poltawane camel*, and (5) medicating the house (*poltawane na*). Each behavioral schema represents the highest level of a behavioral taxonomy which includes discrete actions described below. 755 [757]

Pulsing. The course of the cure for all illnesses is set in motion by the diagnosis through pulsing Throughout the cure, pulsing is performed to gauge the effectiveness of each step. The curer is chosen on the basis of his ability to pulse; when anyone is asked why a curer was chosen, the consistent answer is, "He knows how to pulse." The significance of the curer's ability to pulse is related to the fact that the first level of contrast establishing a taxonomy of diseases is that between "evil" and "good" determined by pulsing. The essence of the pulsing is a diagnosis of the patient's social relationships. It is a kind of exploratory "sociopsy" comparable to the stage of biopsy in modern medicine, resting on a notion that the witch "leaves his signature in the blood." and the curer "hears/feels" it. He does this by placing his thumb over the pulse at the wrist, inner elbow, and sometimes the inner knee joint and temples. The logic is that the blood passes from the heart and "talks" at the pulse points, revealing the condition and needs of the heart. The blood of the curer enters into communication with that of the patient when he holds his own thumb pulse against the patient's pulse. He does not look for the physiological symptoms on which modern medicine bases diagnosis, but for what the blood tells about the patient's relations with people in his social environment and for what the heart needs. Disease symptomology, such as fever and locus of pain, provides the basis for assigning medicines at a later stage in the cure. [756]

Some curers use thirteen candles set before the curing arch to corroborate diagnoses made in the pulsing: if, for example, the candles bend in-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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755 ward, the illness is interpreted as a result of trouble within the family. But the use of candles is often interpreted as showing the curer's lack of ability to pulse properly.

755 *Taking out the evil.* The evil is drawn out by bleeding or by
• 757 sucking. Bleeding is diagnostic, curative, and preventative in function. Confirmation of the preliminary diagnosis made in pulsing comes in the bleeding: "clinical" examination by pulsing is reviewed by the "laboratory" findings of the blood analysis. Bleeding is used in cases of surface pains to draw out the evil which is causing the pain. The patient enters the sweatbath so that the heat will stimulate the flow of blood and lessen the pain. The curer makes scratches with broken glass near the source of the pain. Cupping, called *la ventosa,* is done by placing hot water, a piece of pitch pine, and thirteen handmade cigarettes in the gourd. These are very "hot" items, not in the sense of caloric content but of soul power. When these hot items have heated the gourd, they are thrown out and liquor is poured in and burned. When all the liquor is burned, the gourd is slapped onto the cut, so that it "grabs" the flesh, and the blood flows into
755 the vacuum. The diagnosis comes in burning the blood. The curer takes the gourd into the yard so that the odors containing the evil will not linger in the house when the blood is burned. He is accompanied by the guests while the patient remains in the house with an attendant. He gives an account of what the witch has put in the blood. Some of the items I have seen discovered were a wood splinter, explained as evidence of the envy the witch felt because the patient's husband was making a fence; lard, evidence that the witch coveted a pig of the patient; grain of corn or bean, evidence that the witch envied them their harvest. These items are probably inserted by the curer in some slight of hand trick.

The curer prevents the recurrence of the disease by sealing the cuts with garlic and liquor, elements which the devil does not like. The power of the curer is exhibited when he draws out the evil. At this moment he is confronting the enemy directly, fighting the animal spirit of whoever is causing the witchcraft.

The items found in the blood are always attributed to the envy of the witch who is causing the illness. Envy can be countered by the curing rit-

uals. The resources expended in the process of curing counterbalance the 755
patient's greater wealth which provoked the envy initially. The witch starts the sickness by going to one of the caves in the hills where he burns a candle, drinks a liter of liquor, and prays that the object of his envy fall ill. The essential element in the fight against the witch is the act of drink- [273]
ing by all those present at the curing. In consuming their own liquor, often paid for by the sale of cattle or crops, they mitigate the envy of the witch. If the witch persists, he must continue to spend money on the liquor necessary to initiate the witchcraft after each ceremonial cure. Part of the tactic of a rapid series of cures is to demonstrate willingness to use all of the family's resources if necessary to counteract the rituals of the witch. The statement that they drink "in order to finish with the money" takes on significance in this strategy of limiting envy by expending resources.

Medicating the illness. The cure of the disease comes in the bath- 755
ing or heating of the patient and the application or ingestion of medicines, 757
usually a combination of patent medicines purchased in the nearby Ladino town. The specific cures called for depend on the secondary classification of the disease: if it is a "cold disease," hot medicines are applied; if it is a "hot disease," cold medicines are used.

Two kinds of bathing are performed, one a kind of steam bath, called "rise over the fire," for cold illnesses, and another a cold bath for hot illnesses. Chills and fever require both treatments. In the first case, a large charcoal fire is made inside the main room of the patient's house. When the fire is strong, two thick green logs are placed on it to create smoke. The patient mounts on a stool over the fire, and a straw mat is held over him to capture the steam. When he is sweating a great deal, the curer gives him a drink of cold medicines.

The cold bath is given with thirteen branches from bushes which grown near the spring.[4] Patent medicines dissolved in Spring water include syrup of *isidro,* cloves, vapor rub, epsom salts, aspirin, and other cold herbs or juices such as lemon, grapefruit, *cintula,* and *tok'o.* If the trouble is chills and fever, hot herbs such as *inajo, lumahiya,* and apple may be added to restore the body's hot-cold balance. A bad curer may reverse the medicines,

4. These include plants called *tihiliha?, yokmut, tzitzil hit, telwamal* and *yetalbulha?.* [824]

755 giving hot medicines for hot diseases. If this is discovered, he will be sub-
757 ject to accusations of witchcraft. The relatives of the patient are present as witnesses "to see what medicines are given."

757 In the case of infections, the curer cauterizes the wound, a process called "take out the odor." First he smells the wound, checking on the severity of the infection. He mixes chile and hot charcoal and puts them on the wound to "cause the evil to rise to the surface." He then sucks on the wound, and spits out a "worm" which indicates the kind of evil caused by witchcraft. He covers the wound with mentholated cream and binds it. The patient is kept covered.

755 *Calling the soul.* The major effort in soul-calling (tamohel) is
[192] concentrated on preparing the patient and the house for the return of his soul. This is done for illnesses caused by fear and resulting in soul-loss. Here a knowledge of the setting is crucial to understand each act. An arch of pine boughs is set at the center post because it is here that the souls of the inmates of the house cluster (over the square hole at the foot of the post where the sheep's head is buried during the inauguration of the house). Thirteen candles, including a large, 50-cent one in the center and twelve 20-cent ones, are set before the arch. If the patient is being cured in the house of the curer, which happens when he goes to another town for a cure, the arch is put near the door in order that his soul not mingle with the souls of the curer's household. The patient is laid out on a mat in front of the curing arch, or if he is a small child, he is held in the arms of his mother. The curing is scheduled so that the arrival of the soul occurs when it will not be seen by people passing in the street. This would cause it embarrassment, and it would not enter the house. The patient continues to sleep under the arch each night until it is removed nine days later. As he sleeps, his soul enters in a dream and is reunited with the body. A gui-
[534] tar and seed rattle are played continuously during the ceremony to make the spirits of guests, patient, and house "of one heart." Many rounds of liq-
[273] uor are served in order to "finish with our money" and thus reduce the envy of the one who caused the witchcraft.

The soul-calling is combined with a cold bath to cure the illness. The patient is disrobed, and the curer brushes him with branches of plants

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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776
782
[539]

The companions of the patient
are gathered here with his father
In the center of this other holy
earth
Holy earth, take out the fever.

The curer then calls upon each of the saints of the surrounding towns, asking for help in bringing about a miracle. First he calls upon the major saints of the pueblo (Santa Lucía, San Francisco, Santiago, San Pedro the Martyr, and the Virgen de Rosario), then those of Teopisca (San Augustín and the Virgen de Mercedes), of San Cristóbal (San Cristóbal and Justo Juez), of Villa Carranza (Señor del Pozo and San Bartolo), of Socoltenango (the Virgen de Candelaria), of Villa las Rosas (San Miguel and San José), of Comitán (Santo Domingo, San Caralampio, and the Virgen de Santa Teresa), and finally Señor Esquipulas of Tulanca. Thus he defines the meaningful spiritual universe of the village, building a kind of hegemony of defense and protection.

At any point throughout the cure the patient may consult the doctor sent by the I.N.I., the priest, or the schoolteacher, all of whom compete with each other in gaining clients by dispensing medicines. This does not undermine the role of the curer since curing the disease is considered a separate issue from stopping the witchcraft which is causing it. The disease may be cured, but the persistence of the witchcraft will eventually cause death through spiritual malaise unless treated by the curer. 755 757

All the people of the village know the common herbs and the sicknesses for which they should be used. The basis for the curer's power thus is not specialized knowledge of medicines, but the strength of his swayohel in fighting that of the enemy, and his esoteric knowledge of pulsing. [756] [776]

Formerly curers received minimal pay for practicing. The family of the patient offered about 20 pesos or worked in the fields of the curer. Curers refused larger payments because they said their skill came from God, and it would be a sin to accept money for it. This practice is continued today by one old curer for patients within the community. However, he receives from 100 to 200 pesos from out-of-town patients. A Ladina from the neigh- 756

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 156]

59 in the house of a mother-in-law" as one informant expressed it.
[606] If they did not try to avoid this, they would have unquestioningly to obey their affinal relatives (especially the mother-in-law), live in a place in which they have practically no power to make decisions, and where, for a long time (even after the birth of a first child), they would be considered outsiders. But because the refusal to follow the husband means the end of the marriage, most husbands are successful in changing the place of residence, and few couples remain long in a uxorilocal setting.

59 3. The third reason for living in the wife's parent's
•757 house is a temporary one.
606

When a woman is living in her husband's parent's house, the household head should take the responsibility for curing if she gets mildly ill, paying the necessary expenses of medicine and curer (or doctors) because she is, by the fact of her residence within the compound, dependent on them.

If a sickness becomes a prolonged or a seriously expensive case, she becomes a burden to the household, without being an economic asset. Both her reproductive and her labor powers become annulled, and her husband's father can refuse to pay for her curing. In this case, she is transferred from her husband's group to her natal household, which becomes responsible for her curing. Usually her husband will move with her, but keep on working the land with his father.

59 These changes of residence create a certain amount of ten-
602 sion between the parents of the young couple because the woman's
757 parents insist that it is not their duty to care for the daughter,

59
602 since she is married and living away from them, while the father
757 believes that he did not make a good choice for his son, selecting a bride who is so much of a problem. While a woman is sick, both pairs of parents will bargain endlessly over whose duty it is to pay for the curing. Sometimes, both sets of parents agree on paying half of the cost, and then the woman stays in her husband's compound. But if this is not possible, the shift in responsibility for the woman is symbolically expressed in the shift in residence.

592 Other reasons, of a psychological nature, bring forth
562 this residential change. The whole system of emotional ties which a woman has created in her lifetime before marriage is broken at the time she changes households to get married. She is thrown into the midst of a group of people, including her husband, whom she hardly knows, and during the first years of marriage she is an outsider in her husband's household. She must work for a woman
592 she did not know previously, her mother-in-law, and obey her with-
562 out delay. Although previously she worked for her mother, the
606 role of a mother and of a mother-in-law are not equivalent, especially in their affective content.

606 An interesting triadic relationship develops between a
593 woman, her husband and her mother-in-law, in which she is the one with the smallest amount of social power (see Caplow [1956], Mills [1954], for a discussion on the dynamics of triad coalitions). In spite of the large amount of interaction between the two women, the relationship is not one of friendly collaboration.

592 Command and sanctions are in the hands of the mother-in-
593 law. Obedience is expected from the younger woman. There is a
606

592 clear social differentiation in the allocation of authority, and
593 the relationship is somewhat antagonistic. Many a man finds him-
606 self between a mother complaining bitterly of the laziness of his wife, and a wife of the hardness of his mother. This antagonistic relation is attenuated by the presence of other women in the household (which makes for an easy schedule in the allocation of every day work) and by the personalities of the individuals involved.

606 The relation of a woman and her father-in-law is characterized by a very mild form of avoidance. Verbal interaction is initiated usually by the father-in-law, and is formal. At meal [264] times the social distance between the two is expressed in the seating arrangements, the young wife sitting at the edge of the eating space, the farthest apart from her husband's father.

593 Together with the pressures brought about by the structure of these relationships, a woman must go through a process of adjustment with the husband, whom she knew only slightly before marriage.

Given this situation, when she is sick, her natal household offers to her certain emotional attractions that her hus-
591 band's household does not. The change of residence at the time
757 of sickness provides a simple example of what Malinowski called the functional solutions offered by a society for the satisfaction of physical as well as emotional needs of the individual. Three cases of residential change for this reason occurred during the summer of 1958.

000 Independently of the analysis of geographical distribution

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

462 All activities related to curing of disease are also performed by specialized men, though in some places women occasionally participate. Help at childbirth is always as-
[844] signed to experienced female relatives; there
[759] are no professional midwives—nor profes-
[584] sional marriage brokers.

Specialization is little developed. Only in
463 the largest centers are there a few individuals concentrated on carpentry, tailoring, trading, masonry, or some other activity.
[241] The families in Tenango and Amatenango who carry on the ceramics industry also

[P. 210-C]

753 statement would be that the names of illnesses are reflexes of all these pressures.

757 Curing strategies more or less line up with this symptom-illness distinction. The early stages of a disease process are handled by medicine, the appropriate form of which and access to which, most adults in Aguacatenango control. For example: for stomach gas, give bicarbonate soda with lime (to drink); for a cough, give boiled brown sugar (to drink); for nausea and headache give té limon. As the combination of "symptoms" increases in the later stages of a disease process, most adults lose control over knowledge of the proper array of medicines and rituals. These in turn become combinatorially more complex. It is at these later stages of the disease process that curers and doctors are called in.

756 759 Curers and doctors differ most obviously in that doctors are ladinos and curers tend to be Indians (although ladino curers are known). In addition, they deal with illnesses in sufficiently contrastive ways so that two role identifying labels must be 75 maintained. They are both recognized to be able to reduce illness (as a basis for further inference and action) by prescribing medicines that can be purchased in the pharmacy. These may be taken orally, injected, or applied as a salve. The doctor further prescribes and may himself perform some minor surgery, X-ray examinations, and other traditional Western-European

844 house, and the men usually leave the scene. Women are ashamed of their husbands seeing the afterbirth because they joke about it with other men. [522] [833] (I do not know what the joking is about—possibly it is related to the frequency of sexual intercourse during pregnancy, since the placenta is believed to be increased by male sperm.)

There is no ceremony attending childbirth. Although some women are assisted by one female relative, most call in a midwife, who is referred to as "grandmother of the child" and who comes when the birth pangs begin. There is only one recognized midwife in Tzo'ontahal; she is the [959] sister of one of the practicing curers and a niece of one of the former leading curers of Alannantik. She has patients on both sides of the dual division. On rare occasions, caused by witchcraft the Indians believe, a woman [845] [756] fails to give birth after two or three days of labor, and then a curer is called in.

The child is delivered with the mother kneeling on the floor. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord with a knife, and the child's navel is tied with a cord. The child is wrapped in cloths which have been smoked over incense, and then a woman's sash is wrapped around him from shoulders to feet, firmly binding the arms and legs so that they cannot move. It is felt that if this is not done, the child will snatch at everything and eventually 846 become a thief. The body remains bound in this way for fifteen days. The umbilical cord and placenta are buried in the houseyard. Some say that a boy's umbilical cord may be tied in a tree "so that when the child grows, he can climb trees and cut fruit." The mother is given a drink of coffee, and the midwife binds her stomach with a band. Three days later the woman enters the sweatbath to cleanse herself. The midwife goes in with her and rubs her with branches of orange leaves and massages her stomach. If the child is born away from his own house, he is brought to it with great care so that his soul will not be dislodged from his body. The midwife makes a pad with branches of bushes growing near the springs, and the father sprays the child's body with springwater from his mouth.

[753] In the first "twenty days or one month" of life, the child's contacts with the world are limited to the immediate family in order to guard against soul-loss and illness from "hot" glances of outsiders. When anyone not of the household approaches the house in which there is a newborn child, he

in the house in which he lives. The midwife, the only person present besides the mother, performs the ritual. She puts cold water in the child's mouth and then goes to the door, saying, "Enter if you arrive, little boy [or little girl]." Then she brushes the child with pine branches dipped in springwater, and smokes with incense of pitch pine the clothing which is then put on the child. The incense "makes a path for the soul to find the body of the child." As she does this, she says, "May your heart be one now that you are in the house." This ceremony is always performed when the child is born outside his parents' residence is order to guide his soul to its proper locale. Three days later, a ceremony called *sti? mut* (eat the chicken) takes place. Only women attend this meal. In one case I observed, the child's mother, her three sisters, mother, and husband's cousin attended. Each woman brings a peso's worth of bread, some chocolate, and ten tortillas. Two hens are cooked in boiling water, and the food is eaten by the women.

Baptism, called "throw the water" (*?iʔ ha?*) occurs as soon as possible after the new-born child's twentieth day of life. If the parents of the child live with either the mother's or the father's family, the grandparents will choose the godparent, or *padrino*. The actual decisions recorded for four families in Table 20 can be compared with statements of preference as to who should be godparents. People say they prefer nonrelatives ("We are not deceived by them"), people of the same section of the dual division ("We like to greet them in the street") and finally people of good reputation. The individual or couple chosen as godparent becomes *compadre* or co-parent to the parents of the child.

People seem to be successful in realizing the preferences they state. 81 percent of compadres are chosen from their own side of the dual division, and only 4 percent are chosen from out of town. 71 percent of compadres are chosen from among nonrelatives. A significant factor in the choice of compadres is maintaining good neighbor relations. Most families surround themselves with a ring of compadres which neutralizes both the fear of being the object of witchcraft and of being accused of witchcraft. Factors of wealth, prestige, and status positions—particularly that of fiscal—are also taken into consideration in choosing a compadre. Most of the padrinos of baptism are chosen from among older members of the community,

mother to her daughter. Informants are able to recount the succession of 868
learning of the tasks, the relative difficulty of each task, and the mistakes 323
they made and how their mother corrected them. Being a potter in Tzoʔontahal is as much a part of being a woman as the role of agriculturalist is of being a man.

Special tasks become crystallized as roles only when few people perform 463
them. Jobs such as caponizing, butchering, net and rope weaving, and 554
wood cutting which are done by almost every man do not have role terms. Bonesetting and curing of certain "good" illnesses, such as swelling caused by embarrassment, are semispecialized activities performed by a few women who have "cold" hands. Midwifery is a fully specialized role per- [759]
formed by two women who are referred to as "the grandmothers of the newborn child."

A new occupational role has been created with the purchase of a truck 463
by Indians of the community. There are now two Indian truck drivers. 554
Recruitment of these particular young men was a result of their fathers' 177
importance in the truck-owning cooperatives, and their skill was acquired [493]
in apprenticeship with a Ladino truck driver hired when the truck was first in operation. Both of them are acculturated in clothing and speech. Since they have acquired skills in dealing with the Ladino world, they often act as intermediaries for Indians of the town in their negotiations in the market or the courts of the departmental capital.

The continuity in occupational adjustment from early childhood to 864
adulthood contrasts with the discontinuities in assuming roles in the life cycle. Girls are not advised about menstruation until they see the first signs of it; they describe their reaction to it as one of fear and surprise. Often they have been pregnant several months before they are aware of the condition or its cause, and they have no preparation for the experience
of childbirth before it is upon them. Boys are not considered men until 885
they are married, but in order to arrive at this status, they must enter into 584
the "fight to get a wife," as the betrothal is often called. 585

Since recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on 554
qualities of the person rather than acquired skills, failure to recognize the prerequisite conditions of age and experience undermines the validity of

/2 cont./

614 The chieftaincy of each clan was filled by the oldest man,
887 who was called chunel. (It seems to have the same meaning as
156 the word catinab, but some informants recognized the latter as
the one used in the adjacent municipality of Oxchuc.) The office
was not hereditary, and upon the death of a chunel the oldest man
156 of the clan was venerated as such. The chief of the clan was re-
614 spected and feared, because he was recognized as endowed with
888 supernatural power which, through his lab, he exercised over all
776 the members of the clan. Two informants of advanced age de-
554 fined the chunel as "the oldest one and the greatest sorcerer."
The lab feeds on souls, and a person who has "done wrong" is
776 "eaten" by the lab of the one offended and dies. In this way
761 social control was exercised on and among the members of the
[784] clan, never going beyond the limits of this. The life of the in-
[626] dividual is intimately bound to the life of the lab, or guardian
776 spirit: the death of one brings with it the death of the other. All
the Cancuqueros have their lab, but they hide it and sometimes
[756] deny it. The curer knows which is the lab of the sick person be-
[827] cause "he hears it in the pulse." The lab reveals itself in dreams
[787] to "its owner," with whom it speaks because "it is his own com-
pany." One person discovers the lab of another "because he sees
it." The lab takes care of its owner, defends him, and is the in-
178 strument of revenge for an injury unjustly received. Today this
614 concept is intimately bound up with the omniscience of the patron
626 saint; only with the permission of San Juan can a lab "eat" the
776 soul of a chapomal, or "clan brother," and this permission is
granted only in the case when the saint is unfavorably impressed
by the conduct of the individual. In any case the lab never
wreaks its vengeance except for a bad act that would fully justify
614 it according to the social morality. As can be seen, social con-
626 trol was not only rooted in the chief of the clan, but this function
extended to the whole group, as happens at present.

753 thunder, wind, or lightning. All the men
776 who occupy or have occupied cargos in the
[794] political or religious organization are sup-
[888] posed to have a nagual, as do the older
[613] members of the lineage. They consider it their duty to punish those members of the group who have sinned and use their nagual, who can devour the soul of the victim little by little.

774 According to this idea, everybody has two
776 souls: one which can be eaten by the naguales, and one which follows the destiny that its patron saint has planned for it.
761 When death comes, the naguales take away
775 the first soul and have a banquet up in the
776 mountains. In this feast, the naguales of the old people of the clan participate, joined by others induced to comradeship.

761 It is a widespread belief that at midyear
773 the naguales go to a place in heaven called
776 Atimaltik, where an old man who possesses the Book of Life lives. Since in this book he keeps account of the time each person can live, it is a source of information for the naguales, who thus can know who is close to death. When the signature of a person disappears from the book, this means that the person died.

764 People have to keep watch over the body for two days and two nights. It is placed on a wooden plank in the middle of the house after being washed or just given a change of clothes. Two candles are placed at the head. At night friends and neighbors come to keep company with the family. They play harp and guitar and drink chicha and aguardiente. At dawn, the men go home and the women remain crying near the corpse.

[613] Following the ancient custom, the dead are buried near the graves of other men of
[184] the same lineage. In Cancuc, however, dead are buried inside the house.

The bottom and sides of the grave are covered with slabs to form a coffin. The corpse, bundled up in a petate, is placed inside. His clothes and other articles he may

[P. 224-B]

The funeral procession leaves for the cemetery about three in the afternoon. Attending the body are the padrinos, parents, aunts, and uncles. If the deceased is a child under two years of age, he is carried by his madrina. One of the former fiscales or someone who knows how to pray goes along. Smaller siblings or children of the dead are left at home with the maliwanebetik, who in this case are chosen from among the more distant relatives, compadres, and neighbors not attending the funeral. As they walk, the women cry and the "owner of the dead," the woman closest of kin, wails constantly in the stylized mourning cry. She stops wailing only when the company stops to pray at the cross at the exit of the town and just before entering the graveyard. At each resting point, the fiscal, who holds a rosary, reads the prayer book, while a neighbor or compadre uses a geranium to sprinkle holy water on the spot. An older male relative holds a palm cross.

When the party arrives at the opened grave, the godmother sits down near the coffin to make the final arrangements. The grave has been opened prior to the arrival of the party, but sometimes the men widen the hole. If they come across a bone, the fiscal shakes holy water over it with the geranium. When a nursing child is buried, the mother leans over the coffin and puts her breast in the child's mouth just before he is lowered into the grave. This is done so that the child's spirit will not think any longer of returning. The godparent or some other attendant dips the geranium in water and shakes it over the body. Handfuls of dirt are then thrown into the coffin. It is at this point that the assembled group, including the men, breaks into loud wails. The wails of the funeral party, though they do not lack feeling, are most important as a controlled communication, uttered when it is appropriate and by particular persons who are expected to cry before a select audience.

As the neighbors who have come to help the bereaved relatives shovel dirt on the grave, the padrino of the deceased approaches the fiscal and recites the pat'o'tan of blessing for the gift of liquor. The liquor is measured in a shot glass and passed around to the company. The women leave soon, and the men remain drinking. At this point a kind of trial is held to see who is responsible for the death. Since almost all sickness is believed to be caused by witchcraft, it is important to decide who the guilty person

761 might be. The father or closest male kin of the dead person is careful to
627 recount all the consultations he has had with curers, both to absolve him-
753 self of the guilt of neglect or unconscious witchcraft and to search for the true culprit.

764 A proper burial with holy water, flowers, grave offerings, and prayers as-
775 sures the survivors that the soul of the deceased will rest and his bones will lie in peace. Lacking any of these features, the dead will disturb the living, as is recounted below:

During the revolution, many were buried without a funeral or without blessed water. On Thursday, the bones burn and cry. You can still see a blue flame rising above the old graveyard on Thursday. You can find money that the ancestors left there, but you have to go at night to dig it up.

An important safeguard to ensure that the soul will lie in peace is burial among people with whom the deceased lived. When a married adult dies,
[593] he is buried with his dead spouse. If he had two dead spouses, he is buried with the first spouse on the right hand and the second on the left. A child
[603] is buried with the grandparents of the household in which he lived—that is, if he lived with his mother's parents he is buried with them, and if with the father's parents, then with them. When people know that they
[763] are going to die, they express their preference as to where they wish to be
[593] buried. Usually they will elect to be buried between their dead parents, but
[608] if they were unhappy with their parents, they might choose a padrino or
[604] uncle. If dissatisfied in its resting place, a soul, even when properly buried, cannot find peace and wanders back to the house. Fearing this, relatives try to comply with the wishes of the dead.

My grandfather used to say that he wanted to be buried between his mother and father. But when he was about to die, he said, "I don't want to be buried there because my father beat me. He will continue beating my soul. I want to go on the side [*of the cemetery*]. *Please don't bury me near my parents." My father said, "All right, we will put you on the side."*

764 The funeral must meet the expectations of the community as well as
554 those of the deceased and his relatives. The mature children of a man who
626
593

756 boring community who is reputed to practice both witchcraft and curing receives fees of 200 to 300 pesos regularly. She has been accused of killing more than one patient in giving injections.

753 Since most diseases are not static conditions, a master classification must take into account physiological process. The only absolutely evil diseases are those which are found to be incurable. When diseases which start out as apparently "good," or not caused by evil intent, fail to respond to patent medicines, the patient or his family begin to suspect witchcraft. They then turn to the curer who will diagnose this. Category 1 of Table 22 includes those diseases which, depending on duration and intensity, indicate the presence of evil.

In the case of the illnesses of God, Category 3 of Table 22, an additional complication enters. As in the case of Category 1 diseases, they may begin as "good" diseases, but the introduction of evil by a witch means that the illness can cause death to many people. This category includes the contagious diseases, the most common ones being measles, whooping cough, and heat, which may refer to typhoid, grippe, or to an increase in the virulence of other contagious diseases.

[177] The designation "sickness of God" is one inspired by the priest. He has been active in trying to discourage witch-killing and has insisted that the contagious diseases are sent by God. The villagers have accepted this as far as the origin of the disease is concerned, but as the deaths mount, people begin to suspect witchcraft.

753 761 Sudden attacks causing almost immediate death are classified as judgments of the ancestors rather than as illness. These include "seizure, because the very cold leg and arm of the ancestors touch the body [of the victim]" and "ancestors grab the soul." Asphyxiation and heart attack may be some of the modern classifications for such diseases. If a child should die suddenly, the logic applied in Tzoʔontahal is that the *meʔiltatil kanatay lum,* the mother-father ancestors who care for earth, see a potential danger in the soul of the child and seize it so that he will not develop into a witch. These are the only deaths I know of which are not attributed to witchcraft.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[p.455-A] Teklum

Death as a Way of Life: The Increasing Resort to Homicide in a Maya Indian Community[1]

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105

The breaking down of a social-control system based on belief in the guardianship of the spiritual ancestors and their temporal agents, the curers, is reflected in a rising homicide rate as people turn to individual sanctions when threatened. The acts of homicide differ in their social significance according to who is killed, the context, the agency, and the motivation of the killer. Thirty-seven homicides between 1938 and 1965, analyzed in terms of these component variables, reflect the conflicts arising from competition in new economic enterprises, the rising suspicion of curers' abuse of their supernatural power, and the loss of belief in the guardianship of the ancestors.

121 682 [762] THE social impact of homicide has caused some analysts[2] to treat it and its supposed inverted complement, suicide, as one kind of behavior with a single meaning, ignoring Durkheim's caveat that behavioral rubrics categorize diverse phenomena. Here I shall [101] analyze the variety of strategies involved in killing in a Mexican community, which I shall call Teklum (the Tzeltal term for village), and endeavor to show how rules of behavior are expressed in killing and in attempts to avoid being killed. Further, I shall endeavor to point out what these indicate about structural and organizational changes both within the community and in its relations with the wider society. Since suicide is absent, except for a [762] single case of a madman, I have restricted my enquiry to homicide.

161 162 [101] 621 Teklum is a predominantly Indian township of Mexico. The population of the town center—about 1,900—includes only one Ladino, or non-Indian, family, that of the schoolteacher. The sense of community is limited to people living in the center and in the four nearby hamlets (*barrios*).

621 632 The town center is divided physically and socially into two endogamous sections, called "upper" and "lower." The outlying hamlets are linked to the nearest section by social and economic ties. The civil and religious posts of 621 632 the town are, in local theory, apportioned evenly between the sections. This was in fact 178 true until the 1950's; for each of the ranked posts had a paired complement, so that both sides of the dual division were represented, and the single posts of president and *síndico* (the president's administrative assistant) were al-

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P.469-B]

leaders, both in the civil authority and in the curing profession. The transition from the old hierarchy of control to the new leadership structure is still in process. In the most recent confrontation of the civil authority and curers, the fact that neither side resorted to violence suggests the transitional nature of homicide as a solution in intracommunal conflict.

This study of homicide indicates that the changing rate of behavior points to structural change, but does not in itself indicate what kind of change occurs or from what motives it stems. Qualitative case analysis related to structural changes within the recall of informants is essential for understanding social process.

NOTES

[1] Field work is based on two periods of residence in the community in 1964 and 1965; it was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health. I am grateful for comments by Paul Friedrich, Richard Henderson, Harold Scheffler, and Peter Wilson, who have improved the original version read at the 1965 meetings of the American Anthropological Association. I remain responsible for the contents of the paper.

[2] Henry and Short (1954:18) analyze both suicide and homicide as undifferentiated aggressive reactions to frustration, the rates of which vary—in the first case inversely and in the second case directly—with the strength of the external control system over behavior. Their assumption that homicide is motivationally a single phenomenon, and not an expression of a variety of motives, stems from the assumption that all cases of aggressive acts are the result of frustration. Straus and Straus (1964:587) apply a similar correlational analysis of homicide and suicide rates with structural features of society in Ceylon, but come to opposite conclusions. They maintain that one would expect greater evidence of homicide in a "loosely structured society," by which they mean one with considerable sanctioning of variation in individual behavior. These studies contradict each other in the conclusions that they reach by similar analytical processes, but they are attempts to move away from such psychoanalytic reasoning as the death-wish theory.

[3] Bohannan's (1960) survey of homicide and suicide in African societies represents a useful model for comparing the total pattern of homicide cross-culturally. In presenting the case material here, I have used a similar format, adding to it the circumstances surrounding the killing. In the analysis of these materials, I have diverged from Bohannan's model in trying to demonstrate the linkage among the components—the ratios, to use Burke's (1945) terminology of scene/setting/actor/agent.

[4] The term "witch" is a translation of the Tzeltal term *ʔah'-ʔamal*, literally "giver of sickness." The term "curer" is a translation of *ʔaʔal*. The power to cure and to give sickness stems from the possession of a *swayohel*, or animal spirit.

[5] For a discussion of the tactics of gaining consensus in witch-killings, see Manning Nash (1960).

[6] Political homicide by agrarian leaders, which is so frequent in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962), is a relatively recent phenomenon in the retreat zones of Indian population. The cases analyzed by Friedrich are a strategy of political power stemming from a revolutionary background, and the cultural assumptions to which he points contrast with those underlying witch-killings. My only comparable case is, significantly, found outside the traditional center, in the new ejido colony.

[7] Jules Henry (1936) sees the formula of fear and anger as the

programs in the interest of "civilizing" the Indians. This formulation involved a basic contradiction between the goal of moving into regional and national networks and that of keeping the old autonomy and independence of the corporate community. He never had to face that contradiction. Unable to gain adherents other than the small group of profit-sharers in the cooperative he organized, he was killed by opponents within the community. 474 472 179 178 [682]

The Family and Household

The core of the traditional culture lay in the local power hierarchies patterned on the familial model of age-ordered paternal authority institutionalized in the me?iltatil. The me?iltatil of the household have provided a flexible institution for adjusting conflict within the kin group. Their role in directing ritual performances preserves a sense of continuity in life cycle changes. 608 571 578 182

The institutionalized authority of the elders has not been upset by the trend toward residence based on nuclear families, which is an adjustment to the pressure of limited space in the town center. Kinship ties are continually reinforced by rituals that draw together the me?iltalil as sponsors of ceremonies marking baptism, marriage, and death. This group of sponsoring relatives has absorbed the institution of compadrazgo, adding compadres to the network of affinally-and bilaterally-related kin. The procedures for adjusting conflict among members of the household and extended family networks reinforce the authority of the elders. When adjustive processes in the house and court "arrangements" and in curing ceremonies fail, the only recourse is for one of the disputants to leave the community or commit homicide. 561 182 602 608 591 626 621 578 [681] [762]

Ceremonies within the household provide a model for the rules of the game that apply to adjustive behavior in the community. The household officials introduce new officials into their role, teaching them the prayers and directing the proceedings. Their authority depends upon age and prestige acquired in office. The me?iltatil, as the elders of the family, are the direct link with the ancestors. They and the nakawane provide the strongest force for preserving the ways of the ancestors. 561 182 [769]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The sense of continuity with the past is preserved in the ceremonials in which these officials act, but nonceremonial activities no longer reinforce the values symbolized in ritual. 182 608 571 796

Death and Burial

When a person dies, his soul is believed to go out from his tongue. The family is responsible for finding a resting place which will be satisfactory to the soul. If the dead person has died of a "good" (not caused by witchcraft) illness, the soul lingers for eight days and then goes to heaven. If the dead person has been killed, his soul stays in the village for "a month or twenty days." The reason given for this is that "the gods did not choose the hour of death, and the soul doesn't know where to go." During this waiting period the dead person "finishes his heart," or ends his emotional ties with friends and relatives. 763 764 795 [593]

Following the death, a sister of the parents of a child or some other adult woman washes the body and puts a wrap over it. The body is always laid out with the feet toward the door; the eyes are shut, and the jaw is wrapped with a kerchief to hold the mouth closed. Two candles are placed at the head and two at the feet. Flowers and a bowl to collect offerings of 2 pesos from each visitor are placed at the head of the body. The contribution given at the burial assures the giver of a hearing with Christ: 764 764 431

Everyone gives a contribution of 50 cents or a peso. Each one considers how much he can give and gives it. God listens to and speaks to those who give gifts. Those who give a candle or a little contribution of corn or flowers give an account of the dead man's life. If he had no crime on his conscience or only one crime, whoever killed him by violence or by witchcraft bears the guilt. Christ listens to the account of those who have given good contributions. Thus the help is given so that Christ will see that he did a favor to one who is poor and who has nothing to bury himself, not corn, or money, or anything to sell, not land, or cattle, or wheat. Therefore everyone who is a relative or a compadre or a neighbor brings one-fourth [bottle of liquor], a half measure of brown sugar, fifteen or twenty corncobs and one or two candles. And all men who arrive at the grave and

761 might be. The father or closest male kin of the dead person is careful to
627 recount all the consultations he has had with curers, both to absolve him-
753 self of the guilt of neglect or unconscious witchcraft and to search for the true culprit.

764 A proper burial with holy water, flowers, grave offerings, and prayers as-
775 sures the survivors that the soul of the deceased will rest and his bones will lie in peace. Lacking any of these features, the dead will disturb the living, as is recounted below:

During the revolution, many were buried without a funeral or without blessed water. On Thursday, the bones burn and cry. You can still see a blue flame rising above the old graveyard on Thursday. You can find money that the ancestors left there, but you have to go at night to dig it up.

An important safeguard to ensure that the soul will lie in peace is burial among people with whom the deceased lived. When a married adult dies,
[593] he is buried with his dead spouse. If he had two dead spouses, he is buried with the first spouse on the right hand and the second on the left. A child
[603] is buried with the grandparents of the household in which he lived—that is, if he lived with his mother's parents he is buried with them, and if with the father's parents, then with them. When people know that they
[763] are going to die, they express their preference as to where they wish to be
[593] buried. Usually they will elect to be buried between their dead parents, but
[608] if they were unhappy with their parents, they might choose a padrino or
[604] uncle. If dissatisfied in its resting place, a soul, even when properly buried, cannot find peace and wanders back to the house. Fearing this, relatives try to comply with the wishes of the dead.

My grandfather used to say that he wanted to be buried between his mother and father. But when he was about to die, he said, "I don't want to be buried there because my father beat me. He will continue beating my soul. I want to go on the side [of the cemetery]. Please don't bury me near my parents." My father said, "All right, we will put you on the side."

764 The funeral must meet the expectations of the community as well as
554 those of the deceased and his relatives. The mature children of a man who
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593

/16 cont./

614 595 two women belonged to the same clan, and in the other two they were women from two different clans. The levirate and sororate 587 exist, but do not constitute a custom practiced /17/ by many; [174] formerly it must have been more frequent, as is proved by the fact of designating the stepfather and stepmother by the same terms used for the father's brother and mother's sister, respectively, 583 and the stepchildren as nephews and nieces. There are several 614 cases of marriage between brother and sister of one clan and sister and brother of another clan. Marriage between cross-cousins is 582 frequent, especially that of a man with the daughter of the mother's brother. Husband and wife always belong to the same generation.

591 Residence is patrilocal, with temporary matrilocal residence for a year after marriage.

593 There still prevails the custom that those who intercede in a 614 direct manner in the preparation of the cadaver and in the in- 764 humation must be members of a different clan. If a married woman who has not had children dies, she is buried with her relatives, without the intervention of her husband.

614 The members of one and the same clan co-operate among themselves and lend each other mutual aid; the younger people obey and respect their elders in the same way that a younger brother respects and obeys his older brother. And we have stressed [626] how "sorcery" is practiced only within the limits of the clan as a [754] means of social control.

Mexico City,
Mexico

101 Note: The materials for the present study were collected 114 during two seasons of field work: May-June, 1945, and June, 1946, 122 financed by the University of Chicago, Instituto Nacional de Antropología de México, and Government of the State of Chiapas.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 456-A) Teklum

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It is in the context of these structural divisions that social change and its behavioral indices must be analyzed.

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Homicide—an act viewed as a delict in national Mexican law—has in the past two decades become an accepted strategy in social interaction. It is part of the expectations of the society upon which members predicate their own code of behavior and in terms of which they react to others. Gossip not only fails to suppress homicide, but serves to create a consensual base for condoning it. The corpse is referred to as "the one who had the guilt," *?a stukel smul*, and even when knowledge of the particular act is lacking, certain assumptions are made: the killer was someone in the community; the victim provoked the killer. In listing crimes, informants sometimes failed to mention killing, or they included it after witchcraft, theft, or adultery. Homicide is considered a *reaction* to crime, not a crime in itself.

[626]
[521]
[764]
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674
[124]

The rate is phenomenally high—up to 251.2 per 100,000 (when adjusted to bring the whole township's population of a little over 3,000 to the base for measuring international rates)—and it is increasing. This compares with national rates of 4.8 for the United States, 31.9 for Mexico (United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1964), and 36.2 for a nearby town (Favre 1964).

The following tabulation summarizes the homicides by decades since 1915, the earliest date for which records are available.

1915–1924	4
1925–1934	5
1935–1944	19
1945–1954	9
1955–1964	35

[114]

Figures prior to 1950 are not apt to be accurate, for only since that time have there been adequate reporting and checking of township records. In the following tabulation, the marked increase in the annual number of homicides since 1960 represents a real increase.

1950	1	1958	1
1951	0	1959	1
1952	1	1960	4
1953	1	1961	7
1954	1	1962	6
1955	0	1963	7
1956	1	1964	4
1957	4	1965	9

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In order to assess the meaning of its remarkable increase during the 1960's, I have pro-

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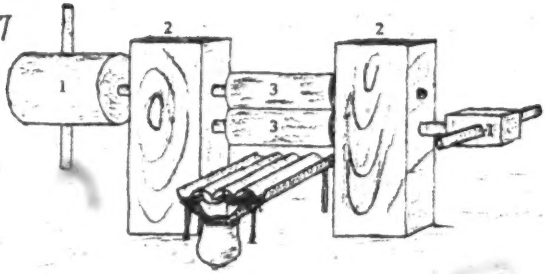

FIG. 6—SUGARCANE PRESS.
1, Kabal-té. 2, Smete-al. 3, S-kab.

184
608 their godchild nor protect him if he be-
736 comes orphaned, but this is only because
431 closer members of the same lineage take
608 care of him. But the padrinos must attend
764 the wake (*kanka-almail*) and the burial
when the godchild dies, as is expected from
the godchild when the godparents die. In
608 these communities, compadrazgo consti-
182 tutes both an important religious obligation
and a means of establishing friendship and
cooperation between families.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

621 The political and religious patern is the
631 same throughout all the Tzeltal communi-
[184] ties, governed by two groups of authorities
whose activities are interrelated. The first
group, formed by members of the cabildo
and ayuntamiento, manages political affairs
of the community. The ayuntamiento main-
tains relationship between the local gov-
631 ernment and the national authorities. The
presidente municipal and the intermediate
authorities are popularly elected and then
confirmed by the congress of the state.
[563] These authorities must represent both eth-
nic groups (Indians and Ladinos) to war-
rant the claim that "justice is equal for
everybody." In 1936 the state government
ruled that in all municipios where the in-
digenous population predominates, the pre-
sidente municipal should be an Indian.

Next in authority after the presidente is

[P. 219B]

753 thunder, wind, or lightning. All the men
776 who occupy or have occupied cargos in the
[794] political or religious organization are sup-
[888] posed to have a nagual, as do the older
[613] members of the lineage. They consider it their duty to punish those members of the group who have sinned and use their nagual, who can devour the soul of the victim little by little.

774 According to this idea, everybody has two
776 souls: one which can be eaten by the naguales, and one which follows the destiny that its patron saint has planned for it.
761 When death comes, the naguales take away
775 the first soul and have a banquet up in the
776 mountains. In this feast, the naguales of the old people of the clan participate, joined by others induced to comradeship.

761 It is a widespread belief that at midyear
773 the naguales go to a place in heaven called
776 Atimaltik, where an old man who possesses the Book of Life lives. Since in this book he keeps account of the time each person can live, it is a source of information for the naguales, who thus can know who is close to death. When the signature of a person disappears from the book, this means that the person died.

• 764 People have to keep watch over the body for two days and two nights. It is placed on a wooden plank in the middle of the house after being washed or just given a change of clothes. Two candles are placed at the head. At night friends and neighbors come to keep company with the family. They play harp and guitar and drink chicha and aguardiente. At dawn, the men go home and the women remain crying near the corpse.

[613] Following the ancient custom, the dead are buried near the graves of other men of
[184] the same lineage. In Cancuc, however, dead are buried inside the house.

The bottom and sides of the grave are covered with slabs to form a coffin. The corpse, bundled up in a petate, is placed inside. His clothes and other articles he may

[P 224-B]

764 need in the afterlife are placed with him: a comb, a bowl, a bottle with water to dissolve the posol, a needle and thread, and, if a man, aguardiente.

The arms of the dead are crossed over the chest and a rosary (*uenteshil*) is put be-

[text continues top of p. 225-B]

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Murdock, 1949

[References continue on middle of p. 225-B]

[p. 225-A]

764 tween his hands. The head is always placed to the west. During the following days, prayers are said to the memory of the dead. [768] Sometimes the house is evacuated because [775] people are afraid of the soul who remains saying goodbye to friends and relatives.

113

Nash, J., 1959
Paniagua, 1876
Redfield and Villa Rojas, 1939
Roys, 1940
Siverts, 1955, 1960
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Starr, F., 1902
Stephens, 1841
Tax, 1937
Tozzer, 1907
Trens, 1942
Villa Rojas, 1946, 1947
Vogt, 1964e

[P. 225-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

789 away, leaving it alone, an ear of yellow corn is left with it, that its soul may not be stolen. There is an interesting parallel here with [171] the ear of corn as a "ceremonial mother" in the Southwestern United States. If somebody expresses too strong admiration of a child, fire must be passed near it, or spittle rubbed over its forehead; otherwise the baby will become ill. Infants are particularly susceptible to the evil eye. To cure one that has been thus cursed, a female shaman is summoned, who passes a whole egg all over the baby's body. This is then opened, and the evil eye will be seen (by the shaman) in the yolk of the egg. They throw the egg into the river, or bury it in a secret place. Almost this same belief was found in Chontal of Tabasco. (Customs of San Fernando, Chapter VI, Volume I).

868 Children's education is simple and direct. As soon as a boy is old enough to work at all—at about five years of age—he is given a worn-down machete and set to cutting and hauling wood. From then on, following his father, he learns the man's duties. Girls are started with a miniature metate, grinding corn.

872 The Government maintains some public schools, such as at Bachajon Village, in which a few children learn to read and write, but in general great difficulty is found in obtaining scholars. As soon as they are old enough to study, they are strong enough to be of material help in the house and the farm; the parents do not like to relinquish what represents the interest on the investment of the price paid by the father for marriage, and the expense of the children's early years. Under the present administration, however, efforts to educate the Indians are being pushed as never before.

881 582 Puberty is attended by no observances of any kind. Marriage, which comes fairly early, has been previously described.

764 At death the ceremonial side is greatly emphasized. The funeral rites combine the idea of mourning with a general belief that the soul of the departed lingers for a brief time about his former domicile. When possible, the house of the deceased is abandoned for a short time, during which period, if any small animal is observed about the house, particularly at night, it is supposed to be his soul. No particular powers are ascribed to the soul, as far as could be found out, but it is considered poor company.

As it happened, a man was killed while we were at the Finca Encanto, whose funeral rites we could observe. His wife began mourning for him almost immediately—this being in the middle of the afternoon. His body was taken to another house, neighbour to his own. The true ceremonies began after nightfall. Accompanied [123] by Lazaro and Señor Aguilar, the writer went up with a gift of

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

candles for the wife; we had previously sent flowers. The family, being poor, were very glad of our contribution. When we arrived the scene was lighted by one tall candle and the glow of a low fire, mostly coals, with a few weak flames flickering across it. The body was laid out, wrapped in all its clothes and then in a mat bound with cords, forming a bundle more or less resembling a mummy. At its head was a cross, on top of which flickered the solitary candle. The family and neighbours were crowded into the house, the women sitting on the floor about the body, their heads covered with black shawls; behind them the men made themselves as comfortable as possible. They brought such musical instruments as they possessed. The family provided rum. At the dead man's feet squatted his wife, her face almost completely covered by the black shawl. 764 [123]

The wife rocked to and fro, from a squatting to a kneeling position, alternately laying her clasped hands on the pall, and holding them to her eyes, keening. She gasped out a few broken words, half choked with sobs, then let her speech rise higher and higher, crescendo, to a wail that broke off with a half-sob, half-gasp. Thus she went on, falling into a chanting rhythm, which the other women joined spasmodically. The men talked in low tones, and played faintly on their instruments, more or less in time with her. The packed place was very warm, and had the acrid, smoky smell of many Indians.

Later, drinking went on, and the visitors danced, as at any ceremonial. The keening was maintained all night.

When we brought our candles, the woman stopped her mourning long enough to hustle the men, who were slow in setting them on the cross, then she took up again.

The body may be interred the following day in a burying-ground, or in the floor of the house. The former custom, observed at El Encanto, is probably due to outside influence. In that case, the body was carried on a plank by four men. A few more men came along to help, and the wife and three or four women followed. The men wore clean clothes, and had left their machetes behind. Only the wife wore a black shawl, which must have been hot in the sun at high noon, when the procession took place. She continued her keening, and carried a lighted candle. Whenever the pall-bearers laid the body down to rest, she fanned flies away with the dead man's hat. [177]

The grave was well dug, about five feet deep, without regard for orientation. After being lowered into it, the ropes binding the body were cut, that the dead man might rise freely on judgment day. Lumps of dirt and rocks were laid on to hold the mat in place.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

764 While this went on, all the women joined with the wife in keening, forming a sort of harmony. A cross was placed at the head. After the grave had been filled in, the party returned to the house where the mourning was carried on in all respects as on the previous night.

The wake is called *kanantaiy-el tca-vinik,* "to watch over (the) dead man." For the second ceremony, the only name obtained was *van-tik pas yan k'in,* "let us go to make another ceremony."

It should be noted that in the case observed, the wife maintained her keening, without apparent cease, from before sunset of one day, through the next day and until the morning following. She was audible, on her high notes, at least five hundred yards away; this was no mean feat of endurance.

On the trail to Bachajon Village, several ruined houses were observed with burials in the floor. The graves were outlined by planks set into the ground vertically. We were told that the dead were buried under their beds, and that a house was abandoned after the number of burials came to be "too much for them." This latter statement is borne out by the frequent occurrence of as many as three graves in one house, occupying most of the floor.

771 In common with most of the Indians of Middle America, the 777 religion of the Tzeltal is a mixture of Catholic Christianity with considerable emphasis on saint-worship, and of their old cults. The surface presents fairly pure Christianity, but further examination shows that the deeper religious current is of an older form, altered by Christian contact. The Indians' attitude towards the newer religion is interestingly stated by Sapper (1925) who says:

"The relation of the Christian God to the remaining pagan gods may briefly be explained by the fact that the Christian God has a higher rank, but, as a foreigner, he cares less for the Indians and does not understand their petty troubles and intimate affairs. This is why the Indian turns to his old gods first in matters of everyday life, as for example when the maize is sown, and at harvest time . . ."

000 The same idea was brought out in the Zotzil uprising of 1868, when a boy was crucified to provide the Indians with a saviour of their own race, who would help them.*

796 Each village or ranch-settlement has and observes its Saint's Day, the celebration centering around the church, and whenever possible a Priest attends and gives Mass. Other fiestas are held on minor Saint's Days, or events such as the coming of a Priest to the

*Pineda, 1888, Page 77.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER IV

DRINKING PATTERNS ASSOCIATED WITH GETTING SICK AND DYING

75 Illness is probably the least well-controlled variable in Aguacatenango planning. As such, it is a recurrent event in the lives of Aguacatenangueros, and its implications are serious.

The household, the most complex and long-enduring organizational effort of Aguacatenangueros, may be destroyed by the death of one of its adult members. Extreme illness may cause a family to close up its house and leave town altogether. Any illness is potentially a severe strain on family resources. 273* 753 Drinking is intimately associated with illness: it figures in the etiology of illness; it is central in the procedures used [164] to reduce illness as a basis for inference and action; and finally, it is an important instrument of expression of mourning should the ill individual die. After a brief description of the [128] "theory of illness" in Aguacatenango, we will show how drinking is related to this theory and to its behavioral expression.

273* 755 [757] The administration of trago directly to the patient in the course of the curing ceremony is unusual, though it may be mixed with other ingredients (raw eggs, essence of rosemary, the curer's saliva and/or chicken blood) and a cup or bowl of this mixture given to the patient to drink. Alternatively it may be applied to the body of the patient, the curer blowing it on him a mouthful at a time. Aguardiente is occasionally used to drug chickens which are used in the course of the ceremony. We have seen chickens so drugged placed on the patient's head where they calmly remain for a period of a half hour or more.

273* 764 Drinking during the funeral ceremony

The burial of a dead person takes place within a period of twenty-four hours after he is declared to be dead. The time lag depends primarily on how soon a casket can be bought, the primary source of caskets being carpenter shops in Pinola--a six hour round of walking. The morning after the death, neighbors and bilateral male relatives walk out to the cemetery to dig the grave. They take a liter of trago with them which they drink while they are digging the grave. Others of this group stay at the house of the dead person where a ceremonial is being prepared, where the cadaver is being washed and dressed and wailed over by women who are closely related to the dead person.

The return of the grave diggers to the house signals the

273* serving of a meal to them and others who are present. Up to
764 this point drinking is light, this being associated with the fact that a number of tasks are being completed which require sobriety. After the midday meal is served, the rezadora comes and prays with the women over the body. The body is then placed in the casket, the lid is nailed down, and it is carried off to the cemetery, about two kilometers distant. Once the casket is placed in the grave, and the grave begun to be filled, the intensity of drinking sharply increases, both men and the near women relatives (wife, mother, daughter) of the deceased, drinking. This increased rate of drinking continues as the funeral party returns to the house of the deceased and there continues to drink through most of the night.

273* M. LA TU *ORA BA MUHUK Z'IN ... HATE *ALAL E.
539
764 When did you go to bury the child?

J. TU *ORA *AHK'BALTIKIX *A LOK'OKOTIK K'AL, SAPET K'INAL I.
We went as night was coming, about seven at night.
WOKOL CIKNAH TAL HONA.
It was difficult to find our way back on the trail.

M. WUC'IK TAL HUHUNUX ABI.
Everybody was a little drunk coming back.

J. HAYUN LA HKA*BETIK C'IN HUHUNUX Z'IN.
We gave everybody a little bit.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

*273
539
764

LA HT'UXAH Z'IN YAN I.

The rest of them fell down afterward.

HAYUN LA HT'UXAH Z'IN, HUN TA Z'IN KUMPRETIK Z'IN STAT *ANTON I, *E *ULEM HONC SAK'INAL Z'IN I.

They fell down afterward, and it seems that our compadre, Antonio's father, was good and drunk by morning.

Many of the males at the funeral fiesta continue to drink on the following day, though in other settings, and the near male relatives of the deceased will continue to drink for as long as a week after the burial--to calm the sadness of their hearts, as they say. The aguardiente for the funeral fiesta is provided by the members of the household in which the dead person lived and/or by the lineal descending relatives. On succeeding days, the men who continue to drink secure their aguardiente under the normal rule of laissez faire drinking (informal drinking).

The relationship of respect and obedience between parents and children 593
is expected to last throughout life. When a boy reaches the age of eight- 582
teen, his parents are expected to provide him with a wife. Wealthier fami- 434
lies tend to fulfill this obligation at an earlier age than do poorer families, 583
in which the boy may have to work in the fincas or in the sawmills to acquire the money for his own marriage.

Instruction in sexual behavior and reproduction is not characterized by 864
continuity, as is instruction about work tasks. Children are given no information about sex prior to marriage, and girls remain entirely innocent. They may be pregnant several months before they are aware of what is happening. The complete sexual segregation in work tasks and play during adolescence makes the relationship between sexes strained.

Even after marriage, the parents are concerned with maintaining their 593
child's marital situation, or, if they judge their child's spouse to be incorri- [586]
gible, to help him get rid of his partner. In the case of women, in particu- [736]
lar, parents continue to provide a refuge in case a daughter's husband should die, be sent to prison, or prove incompatible. Parents usually accompany their children if they are called into court, and failure to attend is tantamount to admitting the guilt of the child.

In successful marriages, the parents-in-law are equivalent to parents and 593
are called "mother" and "father." The parents of both spouses attend the 606
life crisis ceremonies of their children and grandchildren. Grandparents 603
provide support and care for grandchildren if their parents should die or remarry.

When parents reach the age of about sixty-five, they are no longer ex- 593
pected to work actively. A man will then distribute all of his land and ani- 888
mals among his children. He will expect to be taken care of by all of his children, but special responsibility falls on the youngest who will inherit [428]
the house. Sometimes aged parents move from one of their children's [591]
houses to another, spending a few months or years with each. Children are [755]
expected to pay for any curing ceremonies necessary in their parents' old [764]
age and to provide a good funeral appropriate to their wealth. Failure to [626]
do this incurs loss of respect with the neighbors and collateral relatives of the deceased. If the parents die after they have distributed their posses- 593
sions, the crisis following the death is minimal. At the funeral, mature 764
children of a deceased parent exhibit to the community their filial respect.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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The sense of continuity with the past is preserved in the ceremonials in which these officials act, but nonceremonial activities no longer reinforce the values symbolized in ritual.

Death and Burial

When a person dies, his soul is believed to go out from his tongue. The family is responsible for finding a resting place which will be satisfactory to the soul. If the dead person has died of a "good" (not caused by witchcraft) illness, the soul lingers for eight days and then goes to heaven. If the dead person has been killed, his soul stays in the village for "a month or twenty days." The reason given for this is that "the gods did not choose the hour of death, and the soul doesn't know where to go." During this waiting period the dead person "finishes his heart," or ends his emotional ties with friends and relatives.

Following the death, a sister of the parents of a child or some other adult woman washes the body and puts a wrap over it. The body is always laid out with the feet toward the door; the eyes are shut, and the jaw is wrapped with a kerchief to hold the mouth closed. Two candles are placed at the head and two at the feet. Flowers and a bowl to collect offerings of 2 pesos from each visitor are placed at the head of the body. The contribution given at the burial assures the giver of a hearing with Christ:

Everyone gives a contribution of 50 cents or a peso. Each one considers how much he can give and gives it. God listens to and speaks to those who give gifts. Those who give a candle or a little contribution of corn or flowers give an account of the dead man's life. If he had no crime on his conscience or only one crime, whoever killed him by violence or by witchcraft bears the guilt. Christ listens to the account of those who have given good contributions. Thus the help is given so that Christ will see that he did a favor to one who is poor and who has nothing to bury himself, not corn, or money, or anything to sell, not land, or cattle, or wheat. Therefore everyone who is a relative or a compadre or a neighbor brings one-fourth [bottle of liquor], a half measure of brown sugar, fifteen or twenty corncobs and one or two candles. And all men who arrive at the grave and

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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764 [43] *give five or ten pesos are helped by God. Those who give nothing end at their burial with nothing.*

If the death occurs in the night, the body will be buried on the following day. During the wake, called "watching over the dead," relatives of the father, mother, and spouse of the deceased, as well as compadres and neighbors, watch over the body so that the devil cannot enter and steal the [608] soul. If the dead person's padrino is alive, he serves as first *nakawane* and [293] greets the guests. Liquor is served constantly. The women serve coffee and [574] tamales or tortillas to the visitors at midnight.

At midnight the woman who is closest of kin cries for the dead. This is a stylized crying in which the mourner speaks of how the dead man passed his life. If she is his widow, she weeps for the misery she will face. [539] Mourning for herself, she repeats:

How can I eat now with my children?
You will not see how I shall live.
You are of one heart in the ground.
But you do not see how I shall eat with the children.

If the death has been a violent one, the widow may express her sentiments about the blamelessness of her husband, or she may suggest that accusations that he was a witch are true by saying she knew nothing of what he did at night. In any case, people listen carefully to what she sings because it may give some basis for speculating whether there will be an attempt to avenge his death.

On the day of the burial, the coffin is lined with a new straw mat, and all the dead man's used clothing except for his kotonču is placed inside. A gourd drinking cup with *posol,* a spiced corn gruel, is placed near the dead man's mouth along with a tortilla. A metal cup cannot be used to hold water in the coffin because it does not have a soul as does the gourd vessel, which comes from a living plant. If the deceased is a man or boy, his hat is placed next to his head and his sandals are set beside his feet. A cross made of palm is put in the coffin to ward off the devil. If the deceased is a child, his head is adorned witha wreath of paper flowers set on a kerchief which is bound around his head.

The funeral procession leaves for the cemetery about three in the afternoon. Attending the body are the padrinos, parents, aunts, and uncles. If the deceased is a child under two years of age, he is carried by his madrina. One of the former fiscales or someone who knows how to pray goes along. Smaller siblings or children of the dead are left at home with the maliwanehetik, who in this case are chosen from among the more distant relatives, compadres, and neighbors not attending the funeral. As they walk, the women cry and the "owner of the dead," the woman closest of kin, wails constantly in the stylized mourning cry. She stops wailing only when the company stops to pray at the cross at the exit of the town and just before entering the graveyard. At each resting point, the fiscal, who holds a rosary, reads the prayer book, while a neighbor or compadre uses a geranium to sprinkle holy water on the spot. An older male relative holds a palm cross.

When the party arrives at the opened grave, the godmother sits down near the coffin to make the final arrangements. The grave has been opened prior to the arrival of the party, but sometimes the men widen the hole. If they come across a bone, the fiscal shakes holy water over it with the geranium. When a nursing child is buried, the mother leans over the coffin and puts her breast in the child's mouth just before he is lowered into the grave. This is done so that the child's spirit will not think any longer of returning. The godparent or some other attendant dips the geranium in water and shakes it over the body. Handfuls of dirt are then thrown into the coffin. It is at this point that the assembled group, including the men, breaks into loud wails. The wails of the funeral party, though they do not lack feeling, are most important as a controlled communication, uttered when it is appropriate and by particular persons who are expected to cry before a select audience.

As the neighbors who have come to help the bereaved relatives shovel dirt on the grave, the padrino of the deceased approaches the fiscal and recites the pat'o'tan of blessing for the gift of liquor. The liquor is measured in a shot glass and passed around to the company. The women leave soon, and the men remain drinking. At this point a kind of trial is held to see who is responsible for the death. Since almost all sickness is believed to be caused by witchcraft, it is important to decide who the guilty person

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761 might be. The father or closest male kin of the dead person is careful to
627 recount all the consultations he has had with curers, both to absolve him-
753 self of the guilt of neglect or unconscious witchcraft and to search for the true culprit.

764 A proper burial with holy water, flowers, grave offerings, and prayers as-
775 sures the survivors that the soul of the deceased will rest and his bones will lie in peace. Lacking any of these features, the dead will disturb the living, as is recounted below:

During the revolution, many were buried without a funeral or without blessed water. On Thursday, the bones burn and cry. You can still see a blue flame rising above the old graveyard on Thursday. You can find money that the ancestors left there, but you have to go at night to dig it up.

An important safeguard to ensure that the soul will lie in peace is burial among people with whom the deceased lived. When a married adult dies,
[593] he is buried with his dead spouse. If he had two dead spouses, he is buried with the first spouse on the right hand and the second on the left. A child
[603] is buried with the grandparents of the household in which he lived—that is, if he lived with his mother's parents he is buried with them, and if with the father's parents, then with them. When people know that they
[763] are going to die, they express their preference as to where they wish to be
[593] buried. Usually they will elect to be buried between their dead parents, but
[608] if they were unhappy with their parents, they might choose a padrino or
[604] uncle. If dissatisfied in its resting place, a soul, even when properly buried, cannot find peace and wanders back to the house. Fearing this, relatives try to comply with the wishes of the dead.

My grandfather used to say that he wanted to be buried between his mother and father. But when he was about to die, he said, "I don't want to be buried there because my father beat me. He will continue beating my soul. I want to go on the side [*of the cemetery*]. *Please don't bury me near my parents." My father said, "All right, we will put you on the side."*

764 The funeral must meet the expectations of the community as well as
554 those of the deceased and his relatives. The mature children of a man who
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dies are expected to give a funeral appropriate to his station in life and his wealth, as is expressed in the following account:

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When my father got sick, he told his wife not to put him in a black box. He had heard a story that when the dead man is in a black box, his spirit cannot see. He wanted to be in a white box. He told this to his brother. But his brother wanted to get a black box. He bought one black box for three hundred pesos when my father died, because it is the custom of the pueblo to bury adults in a black box. The people would talk if we did not buy a good box because they knew he had animals. We spent six hundred pesos for the funeral. We presented the body in church for a mass. We had a singing mass for thirty pesos, and the box cost three hundred pesos. We had a common meal of beef in the house, and we spent two hundred and sixteen pesos for three garrafones of liquor. Each of his sons contributed sixty pesos for that. If we hadn't given him a good funeral, people would have said, "His children are very lax not to buy a good box to bury their father."

The padre says that all bodies should be presented in the church. He says if you don't have money, you don't have to pay for the mass. But we are ashamed if we don't pay because he does work for us. He charged only twenty-five pesos because he said my father worked hard for the town. We took a collection from all the people who were there, and it amounted to one hundred and thirty pesos. We paid the padre for the mass and gave a contribution. All the people in whose houses he had passed when he was alive came to see him. They said, "Ah, his children gave a very nice box for their father."

If all of the family is poor, no one talks if the funeral is not a good one. But if there is anything that can be sold, it will have to be to make a good funeral. When my father died, he had eighteen horses. We had to sell one, and each of the children gave one hundred pesos. [432]

Some say the souls play the harp and drink liquor when they arrive in heaven. On All Soul's Day they visit the village where they had lived and where they are known. For each member of the household who had died, a specific portion of food is laid out. Special likes are catered to: a bottle of liquor will be set on the table for a deceased father, soda pop for children

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square. Although this conception is contradicted by knowledge learned in 772
school, the two concepts are not brought into direct opposition. The town 361
still defines the outer limit of most meaningful social relations, and most people are not forced by the circumstances of their lives to deal with an understanding of the world as round. It is enough that the four "sides" of their village be protected by crosses at the points of entry. The important orientation points are the east, referred to as the "coming out of the sun," and the west, referred to as "the sleeping place of the sun." North and south are referred to as lowland and highland because of the topography. Compass orientation is important behaviorally only at death. The body of [764]
the deceased is laid out in the cemetery with the head to the east. Indians [829]
comment that the Ladinos lay the body out with the head to the west, but Indians of other towns, such as Zinacantan, also do so. The cemetery is located on the western side of the town.

The House

The reference to the house in prayer as "the entry to suffering, inside 342
the poverty" suggests the "cult of poverty" which Wolf (1955:459) points [782]
out as characteristic of closed corporate Indian communities. Most people conform to a standard house size of five square meters subdivided into an interior sleeping and living area and a porch (Fig. 8). The walls are made of mud strengthened with lime packed in a framework of poles supported on nine main posts. The roofs are pitched with four sheds rising steeply to a truncated ridge. Tiles are used in most new houses to cover the roof, but there are still many thatched palm or wooden shingle roofs. Corn and [251]
beans are stored in the rafters under the eaves of the house.

Inside the house, beds line the two side walls. If there is no cooking [352]
shack separate from the house, the hearth is placed in the center of the in- [354]
terior room. The grinding stone, raised on three posts, is placed to the left [412]
of the center post.

The porch is the area for ceremonial gatherings and for making and storing pottery. A table with the pictures of household saints set against [353]
the inside wall, is adorned with flowers and candles. During house fiestas, [796]
men sit on the benches lining the four walls of the porch, while the [562]
women sit inside in a semicircle.

592 764 People are buried in the cemetery according to the place in which they resided in life. The burial grounds are a small spatial replica of the town itself, the clusters of tombs representing clusters of households of the living.

592 241 184 The agricultural ritual, which in other villages in Chiapas is performed by specialists (rain makers, principales and cabildos de milpa), is in both Amatenango and Aguacatenango, a household affair. It consists of a small ceremony performed in the milpa at planting and harvesting time by the men who have worked the land together, and consists of the lighting of candles and the burning of incense.

592 The household is the stage where the drama of an individual's life is performed, and therefore where a person lives is very crucial.

Household Membership

The placement of a person in a particular homestead is determined by two factors: (1) the domestic unit is composed of a kinship group and (2) it is the basic unit of production, and of the recruitment of labor. Thus, each individual is placed in a particular household both as a kinsman and as a producer. The two factors are not seen as separate by the villager. The role of a person as a kinsman and the role of a person as a producer are intimately related, but one can express a choice as belonging to the kinship and economic domains, simultaneously, or as belonging alternately to one or the other.

In Amatenango and Aguacatenango, there are two types of households which represent different stages in the development of

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432 this time arrives. The main reason for selling a house is to
[764] pay for the burial of a family member. Most widows, if the house
[428] is not reclaimed by the husband's agnatic kin (who have rights over the property if there are no mature sons left by the deceased), will sell the sitio to pay for the husband's burial, and will move to their natal households with their children. Some sons will sell the house to pay for the burial of a father. The selling of the house is also a solution for cases of conflicting inheritance rights. For example, if two brothers claim rights to it, and if they both agree about it, they will sell it and the money obtained would be divided among them.

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591 The fission of the compound household into nuclear house-
578 holds is accepted by the villagers as a traditional pattern of behavior, but residential changes are always expressed in terms of on-going conflict between the couples residing in the compound.

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592 A father tries to keep his son living with him for as
464 long as possible because he is an emotional as well as an economic
562 asset to him. While a man has his son living with him, he has an unpaid agricultural worker bound to him by emotional and jural ties and by his economic dependence, and this allows him to maximize the labor force of the household and, therefore, increase production notably. At the same time, he is able to control a relatively larger amount of land for cultivation. If the son leaves the compound, he is forced to divide the land holdings under cultivation and to give him a parcel, a paternal duty which, in spite of the fact that it is expected of them, they try to avoid as long as possible. When the son leaves, the household

121 it is impossible to do it taking into account any other variable in isolation. Social structures are built up around several simultaneously activated domains of phenomena. Kinship (or the biological facts of birth and copulation and the concomitant social facts of descent and affinality) is one domain. Economics (or the system for the production and allocation of rights over material goods and services) is another domain. Territorial allegiances, based on spatial proximity or distance, is another. The domain of the psychological (the inherent needs of human beings for sociality, positive affection, the sharing of moral values with other men [and perhaps the need for controlling others]), is still another domain.

182 796 If we take ritual as a projective system of the importance of social domains, we can see that it involves, in every case, several of them.

[571] [527] [764] [602] [241] For example, in Aguacatenango and Amatenango, ritual practices are oriented towards: (1) expressing tensions between individuals among whom harmonic relations are re-established through the curing ceremony; (2) expressing the territorial attachments of people, such as the ceremonies for housewarmings and the fact that in the cemetery people are buried according to the place in which they resided (the cemetery is a small replica of the village); (3) expressing kinship bonds, such as the marriage ceremony, the baptisms and compadrazgos, the food given to the ancestors on Todos Santos, etc.; (4) expressing economic needs, such as the rituals performed to insure the success of the harvest.

000 Within the same cultural frame, two social groups can

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764 tween his hands. The head is always placed to the west. During the following days, prayers are said to the memory of the dead. [768] [775] Sometimes the house is evacuated because people are afraid of the soul who remains saying goodbye to friends and relatives.

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Nash, J., 1959
Paniagua, 1876
Redfield and Villa Rojas, 1939
Roys, 1940
Siverts, 1955, 1960
Slocum, 1956
Starr, F., 1902
Stephens, 1841
Tax, 1937
Tozzer, 1907
Trens, 1942
Villa Rojas, 1946, 1947
Vogt, 1964e

[P. 225-B]

591 clearly an available option. The senior couple then live there
768] by themselves until one of them dies, in which case the widow(er) moves to the house of some one of the children, or alternatively, the youngest son moves in to the parental house, closing his own.

These, then, constitute the modalities of the pattern of
591 residence movement which take place at or near the time of marriage in the preponderance of cases. Other de facto household compositions may be interpreted as variant forms of this pattern with the addition of further particular circumstances of little apparent generality.

We have suggested that the observer may understand something of the nature of household composition in Aguacatenango in terms of consanguineal and affinal relationships of the members involved. We see that individuals join existing households primarily through marriage to some member in the household and that new households are established as the potential marriage slots
571 in the existing household fill up. The organization of members
551 in the household as well as the membership in other enduring groups is expressed in part in terms of names which are assigned to individuals on the basis of absolute and relative characteristics they are perceived, and perceive themselves, to possess. These characteristics serve to define a membership potential for any individual and to exclude him effectively from alternative positions. They are used frequently in the course of interactions

361 the women do so, and while 63 per cent of the men in the village
591 live in close patrilocal proximity, only 40 per cent of the men
434 in Santa Cruz live near their parents (see Table 16).

184 **Residence of Widows**

589 Another striking contrast between Aguacatenango and
591 Amatenango is the position of women, in the latter, as household heads, and their residence after they become widows.

562 First, because in many cases a woman owns the house in
589 which she lives with her husband and children, she is not obliged
434 to move out of the site if her husband dies, as she is in Aguaca-
[423] tenango. Second, she does not need an adult man in the household
[768] to be able to support herself and the children because she is able to meet the economic demands of the domestic groups from her
592 own labor in pottery production. The result of women's economic
562 independence is that many of them are the heads of their own
434 households. Out of 280 households, 39 have female heads, and 25
184 do not contain any adult men (the others contain younger sons-in-law). This also means that all corn is bought; there is no income derived from agriculture, but only from pottery sales. In Aguacatenango, where all income derives directly or indirectly from agriculture, this situation is inconceivable: there are no households without men, nor households in which a female is the absolute head of the unit.

583 <u>The Marriage Transactions and the Household</u>
584 In Aguacatenango, a man selects his future spouse and his father arranges the marriage for him. At the ceremonial visits

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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[P 465-8]

as with the cattle industry, is a covert cause for personal attacks on other grounds.

A third enterprise, trucking, has caused a realignment of political interests in factions associated with two truck-owning cooperatives. Membership in one of the cooperatives, or patronage of one of the two trucks, arouses the enmity of members of the other cooperative. Several threats have been made on the lives of the owners and the operators, but the only damage done has been to tires.

The tensions resulting from the introduction of these new enterprises cannot be fully measured by the deaths attributed to direct economic conflict. Wealth differences resulting from the new enterprises excite envy, and with it come accusations of witchcraft. In this community, witchcraft killing does not perform the normative function of reducing wealth differentiation that Kluckhohn saw operating among the Navaho (1944), since it is the poor man who is killed as a witch, not the rich man. The slaying of the envious witch exacerbates the economic differentiation that provides the seedbed for conflict.

Another new source of tension is found in the growing demand for political leadership or even independence from the township by the *ejido* colonies formed since land reform went into effect in 1937. The inept maneuvers of two founders of the ejido colonies in hot country resulted in two homicides (cases 12 and 18 in Table 1).[4] The increasing strength of these hamlets will mean that more attempts will be made in the future to gain political equality and/or independence. Whether this will result in increasing homicides will depend on social-control agencies external to the Indian communities.

Homicide occurring as a direct result of economic and political competition represents a new strategy in the community. The decision to kill rather than to use other negative sanctions is related to the social-control mechanisms discussed below.

Changing Mechanisms of Social Control

A system of social control rests not only on the exercise of negative sanctions, but on the sense of personal security derived from confidence in the institutions of control. In Teklum, the maintenance of control was formerly centered in the guardianship against malevolent spirits held by the ancestor spirits and the curers. The "police force," made up of ten

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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756 539 [swayobel]." "What one?" asked his friend. "You won't be afraid?" asked J. And then he put his shirt and hat on the floor, spoke three words (my friend didn't say what), and raised his hat and shirt, and a horse appeared. He did this again and a bull appeared. He was a great *?ak'tamal* [witch]. [682] He stole a great deal. He was killed by five bullets.

756 Such stories of curers "who walk on both sides" (*lhe?en to ta mehl*) are favorites in the [152] drinking sessions of Teklum. The power of curers inspires fear, so much so that some of the town presidents have been afraid of putting them in prison.

756 776 The open competition between curers serves to undermine the faith of the people in their guardianship function. This function was [133] believed to have been acquired by the leaders from the *me?tiktatik*, the ancestors, who were said to live in a cave in a hill near the town, • [769] from which came the progenitors of the present townspeople. To carry out this guardianship function, the animal spirits of the two leading curers roamed the streets at night, when the evil spirits were out, each one remaining within the limits of his own side of the dual division. In this role, the two major curers were called the *me?iltatiletik*, a term derived from the one referring to the ancestors.

178 776 756 769 [796] 796 776 756 178 769 The loss of faith in the guardianship function of the curers was coincident with the loss of belief in the presence of the me"tiktatik. Some deny that the me"tiktatik live in the cave anymore, and others say they just appear on the day of their fiesta, the Day of the Cross in the Catholic calendar. This fiesta formerly was an important event in establishing the guardian power of the leader curers, since they were the only ones who dared enter the cave and talk to the ancestors. But this fear and this belief have gone. In 1960 one young man of the pueblo entered the cave on the day of the fiesta, when the curers were "deceiving the people" in claiming that they were talking to the ancestors; the fact that he dared enter the cave indicates an ambient distrust (in part resulting from verbal attacks by the priest, who at that time was gaining more power in [794] the town). By now, on the Day of the Cross the church and civil officials, the women [793] prayermakers, and an assistant of the priest, the *fiscal*, go to the cave, but the curers are no longer present, even as bystanders. The 178 756 769 curers have tried to buttress belief in the guardianship of the ancestors by claiming that a nephew of the ancestors is now in residence in

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P 467-B] Teklum

178 the cave and that they are in communication
756 with him. But these claims are met with ex-
769 pressions of disbelief by the people. Almost everyone is convinced not only that the curers do not now talk with the ancestors, but that the ancestors no longer look over them from the watchout hill outside their cave.

756 The loss of control by the curers is drama-
178 tized in the long passage quoted above con-
731 trasting the past and present treatment of epidemics. Formerly the two leaders of the curers consulted together and announced to the president that they had rid the town of evil. Now the curers as a group are ordered to come before the civil authority. There, in a
[273] long examination called *?it yo?tan*—"taking the heart"—in which 18 liters of liquor are consumed, the assembled curers and civil authorities decide who among them is responsible for bringing in the witchcraft that is causing the epidemic. Later in the evening,
[682] one of the curers is usually killed (cases 11 and 29, Table 1).

756 (2) *Conflict between the curers and the civil*
578 *authority*. The competition between the curers and the civil authority can be traced in a series of incidents beginning in the '30's and culminating in an open confrontation in the spring of 1966.

756 The first incident occurred in 1932, when
578 the town was still part of the neighboring
682 Ladino township:

683 I went and asked permission of the authorities to
[632] kill his enemy, a curer, who he thought was bewitching his brother-in-law. The president went to the house of the suspected witch with the order to imprison him. He said they were going to take him to the neighboring township center to put him in jail. The group of authorities set off with the suspected witch. On the way, another group met them and asked them where they were going. The president replied, "To H." The group that had encountered them asked if they would like a drink to heat their body. They gave one cup, and then another. Then they cut up the suspected witch with a machete and put his body in the cave of the ancestors. When the widow enquired the next day where her husband was, the president said that the man must have gone to the finca.

The ambush by the killers was prearranged in the town court, and the president covered their deed when questions were asked.

[622] In 1940, the leading curer of the lower section was president. When he killed a man who

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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The authority of the president, however, depends on the use of legal sanctions of prison sentences and fines imposed by extracommunity enforcement agencies in the departmental capital. The weakness of these sanctions—the fine for homicide is 1,000 to 3,000 pesos or three to five years' imprisonment—means that these threats do not have a controlling effect on people's decisions to act. Homicide, carried out by individuals who feel themselves to be threatened, is a supplementary mechanism for social control. Cast in the idiom of witch-killing, homicide is the quasi-official execution of a community threat.

The breakdown in the former structural controls has not been compensated for by the intervention of extracommunity institutions. Attempts to circumvent killing are made by the priest, who counsels against it, warning that the killer will acquire the sins of the man he kills, and by the talking saint of Ixtapa, whom the Indians consult when they are pressed and who advises them to wait—their enemy will be killed for them. This advice is not sufficient to forestall all killings. Motivated by fear, some men still seek to eliminate the object of their fear.[7] The sense of the guardianship of the ancestors and their intermediaries, the curers, is lost along with the intervention of the civil authorities. The individual reacts, using his own means and trying to get sufficient consensus to avoid reprisal.

III. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Homicide in the community of Teklum can be a statement of the fear of witchcraft, of revenge, or of quasi-official reprisal depending on the circumstances and social relationships involved. Even in this small, self-contained community, homicide does not have a single meaning, analyzable within a single framework of change.

Homicide is part of the expectation pattern of the town. The patterning of the acts of homicide in terms of time, place, and agent makes possible rules of avoidance both in long- and in short-term calculations for survival. The long-range rules require respect behavior to elders, equals, and juniors and the avoidance of abusive or boastful statements. The short-range rules are to avoid walking alone in the woods or milpas far from town, to stay home at night, and to stop drinking.

Despite the grim and expectable outcome of being killed, not all men heed these rules. The love of power and the projection of self into

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682 183 wider ranges of expression than are usually permitted in the community prompt men to assert the strength of their swayohel, to run races with the animal spirits of others in the assertion of pre-eminence, to boast of their material goods, and to "wake up dead."

682 674 178 578 The increasing rate of homicide is related to the following changes in the community:

(1) Increasing friction resulting both from the introduction of new economic enterprises and from political competition by the recently settled land-reform colonies has introduced a new kind of homicide, in which an opponent is killed either by the person whose interests are threatened or by hired killers. It has also stimulated accusations of witchcraft stemming from envy. [754] 558

682 674 178 578 756 (2) The curers' loss of leadership and of control over entry into the curing profession has led to competition among them and to a loss of respect for their ability to overcome witchcraft. Curers have become the most frequent suspects of being witches. 754

(3) Loss of faith in the guardian ancestors and in the guardianship functions acquired from them by the curers has further undermined the position of the curers as agents of social control. This has aggravated the sense of insecurity and fear, which provokes the uncontrolled use of individual violence. 682 674 178 781 776 626

(4) The shift of power from the principales to the town president has led to a breakdown in the system of checks and balances exerted by the principales over the curers, and to a direct confrontation of the curers by civil officials. 682 674 178 621 626

(5) In the confrontations of the civil authorities and the curers in the '40's and early '50's, the fact that a witchcraft case was officially reviewed and the killing of the witch sanctioned may have served as a brake on the number of such homicides. Since 1953, when this practice was abandoned, those who have felt themselves or their families to be the victims of witchcraft have been left to their own recourse. 756 682 674 756 178 626 683

178 578 682 The organizational changes summarized here are provoked by structural changes affecting recruitment into the positions of power and the validation of leadership in the exercise of power. The dual division of the town provided an accepted basis for recruiting [621] [632] [756]

613 than three or four generations. In the past, these lineages were localized, and in places like Bachajon, Cancuc, and Oxchuc the exact locations are still remembered.

613 769 778 A few generations ago, the most distinguished members of each lineage were buried in the cave after which the paraje was named, the bones and ashes of the dead being placed in large jugs or urns. The caves were places for ceremonies honoring the ancestors. Blom (1954) made a study of these burials and mapped the distribution of the sites. These caves are still places for worship but not for burials; the cross protecting all members of the lineage is kept there, as well as, in some instances, small crosses belonging to the important members of it (Villa Rojas, 1946, p. 16).

614 The words *chapomal* and *tijinabal* name the members of the clan in general. It is said that "the neighbors of this paraje are all chapomales," or "those cannot get married because they are chapomales." Tijinabal also means neighbor or member of the same paraje. Another word, *patshunk*, is also an equivalent of tijinabal. These words are currently used in Oxchuc, Cancuc, and Bachajon. On the other hand, there is no specific word to designate the lineage.

[835] The main function of the clan is to regulate marriage, as the union of two chapomales is considered incestuous. The clan [574] also gives much self-confidence to the Indian who travels to other parajes, for he can always find hospitality among people of his own clan. It also has a function of social control, exercised by the old men of the group, who punish all transgressors against the established rules. Helped by the nagual (supernatural spirit), they find out about the behavior of the members of the clan and punish according to the crime (Villa Rojas, 1947).

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613 428 The lineage relationship is also important in inheritance (especially land), since the plots should always be under the control of individuals of the same Indian name. Only where such persons are absent or missing or

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177 very adjustments and adaptations that make economic survival possible.
178 Cut off from other Indian communities around them since the Conquest, when their ceremonial centers were destroyed and the political hierarchy which drew them into a single polity was replaced, the Indians were able to retain a sense of cultural independence within the corporate communi-
[621] ties (Wolf 1957b). Each community developed a distinctive style of life in which the old pre-Conquest beliefs and customs were reworked with the colonial Spanish introductions. Validation of their behavior lay in the be-
[769] lief that they were doing as the ancestors did, and that they were living "in the eyes of our ancestors."

[769] This social fiction is now threatened by a growing disbelief in the presence of these supernatural figures. The crisis caused by the disjunction between belief and behavior is forcing the Indians to reassess their present condition. Awareness of the contradictions between what they do and what they think they ought to do is forced upon them by events over which they have no control.

121 This study of a Maya Indian community in the state of Chiapas, Mexico, deals with the problem of the relation between belief and behavior in a changing world. It is a problem that we have failed to solve in our own society, if the labels of our time—The Age of Anxiety, The Society of Alienation—have meaning. I have studied this small Indian society not in search of a solution but as a way of phrasing the problem in the widest possible context.

I selected Tzoʔontahal because the people seemed to have retained a traditional Indian culture even though the community is on the Pan-American Highway linking them with the departmental and national capitals. The question of what changes had affected their lives and how they had responded to them was relevant to my interest in the effects of national changes on local groups. In the last year of my study my interest broadened from an enquiry into responses to external changes to a study of the meanings assigned to both internal and external changes.

621 Like many other predominantly Mayan communities of the Chiapas highlands, the community is the context of all meaningful social relations. Endogamy and a belief that the people who live in the center and the nearby barrios are descended from the same ancestors give a sense of eth-

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pact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group. The authority of the elders in settling conflicts in the family and the community is weakened, although the hierarchy remains intact. In religious institutions, the personnel has remained the same, but the authority of the religious officials has weakened and the belief in the deities and ancestral figures has been undermined.

Political leadership is the most dynamic area of change. The power of the *principales* had already been taken over by young civil officials when I first went to the town in 1957. The curers, who retained the power derived from belief in their control over the supernatural, were the core of resistance to change in the decade that I knew the community. But this control was being challenged by civil officials and factional leaders, who were aware of its repressive effect. The dynamic aspect of the political sector is linked to the fact that the new leaders saw the necessity of seizing power from those who were privileged in the traditional society. They were reworking the social structure to pave the way for the acceptance of development opportunities being offered by the national government.

In Chapters 10, 11, and 12 I have summarized the structuring of behavior in roles, place, and time and described how these patterns have been affected by change. The following questions are raised in the summary chapters:

1. The role system: How are people recruited into roles? How are roles coordinated? How are performances evaluated? The matrix of roles provides the patterned expectations of what others will do in a given situation. Some of the decisions made in assigning people to roles allow little room for choice. In other cases, new functions, such as those imposed upon governing officials, have replaced traditional bases for making decisions and in turn upset the balance of power between elders, curers, and leaders in civil office. (Continuity and change in the role structure are analyzed in Chapter 10.)

2. The setting: How is appropriate behavior defined for each institutional setting? What kinds of behavior are replicated in each setting? How are changes in role relations reflected in positions assumed in each setting? Observations of behavior in the church and the

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342 tite must be satisfied when the house is first occupied and when the chil-
776 dren of the house fall ill from a sickness diagnosed by a curer as a result of
753 their souls being eaten. The souls of the inmates of the house hover near the center post when they are not in the body. The soul calling ceremony
342 is held near this center post. If someone is cured in a house not his own,
755 he must not sit near this post because his soul will be confused with those of the inmates of the house. The curing arch is erected directly before the center post, over the square hole in which the ceremonial offering of a sheep's head is buried when the house is built. A live chicken is buried in this spot if the illness is severe.

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TABLE 3. Spirits and Places

Place	*Place spirit*	*Person spirit*
Loci of spirits to be supplicated		
House	Spirit of the house (*sP'ulel na*)	Spirits of children (*sP'uleletik yuntikil*)
Spring of San Nicolás	Little Ladino (*ʔin kailan*)	Spirits of male patients (*sP'uleletik yuʔun keremetik*)
Spring of Pahaltón	Little Ladina (*ʔin iinlan*)	Spirits of female patients (*sP'uleletik yuʔun ʔaPiletik*)
Cave of Ancestors	Lopez brothers (*Šuntonetik*)	Spirits of towns-people (*sP'uleletik spisil teklum*)
Loci of spirits to be avoided		
Cave of Don David	Ladino moneylender (*Klabil*)	Petitioners for wealth
Cave of the Black Man	Devil, or black man (*ʔihk'al winik*)	Witches
Cave of Juan Santos	Deceased recipient of wealth from Cave Hwan Santil	Petitioners for wealth
Stone Cave	Owner of cave (*Yahwal sP'en*)	Petitioners for wealth
Cave of Elotes	Owner of cave (*Yahwal sP'en*)	Petitioners for wealth
Cave of the Star	Owner of star (*Yahwal ʔek'*)	Curers and witches

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waters. The curer brushes the patients with branches of the cooling bushes and herbs growing near the spring, the same ones used in the fiesta of inauguration and the curing ceremonies conducted in the house. The strategy of making the house spirit happy by providing music, dancing, and drinking is repeated at the spring to make the water spirit happy. Some of the family of the patient must remain in the house as "waiters" (*maliwanehetik*) to receive the spirit if it should arrive before its owner. The maliwanehetik must drink as much liquor as the participants at the spring.

The Cave of the Ancestors. The ancestors, the *me?tiktatik*, were believed to have lived in a cave in the hills lying on the peripheries of the township. In the myth that follows, they are given a historical identity as two brothers, the Shuntonetik. Shunton is one of the Tzeltal patronyms of families still living in the town, and in fact the narrator of this version of the myth is Mariano Shunton, whom people consider a descendant of the ancestors.[6]

Formerly a priest asked for a document to be delivered to Antigua in Guatemala. Two messengers were sent with it, but they did not return. Another messenger went and did not return. Four or five more messengers were sent out and did not come back. Finally they sent a man from the cabildo with his younger brother. They left early in the morning, and the elder brother said as he left the other town officials, "If I succeed, I want a fiesta. Look for my sign of four arches [rainbow]."

The two brothers first went to a hill. There they called upon their swayohelik [*animal spirits*]. *First the animal spirit of the elder brother spoke. He said, "I am a stone." Then the animal spirit of the younger brother said, "I am a stick. Moreover, I am a snake and a maguey plant." The elder brother said, "Then we are well off. Let us go."*

6. The same identification of a lineage patronym with the most important sacred hill is found in other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities (Holland 1963, Hermitte 1964). The pattern may have originated in a period of pre-Conquest expansion when the dominant lineage was assiged a custodial leadership over the new settlement, with their spirits remaining as guardians of the community. Members of the contemporary communities who bear the same patronym do not have any privileged position. These associations of past and contemporary belief are, as Vogt (1964:216) cautions, still hypothetical.

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773 *As the two brothers were walking, the elder brother said, "Do you see*
778 *what that man is doing?" He was referring to a black man lying near the*
539 *road. "He is sleeping," said the younger. The elder said, "Let us go on."*
• 769 *They approached closer to the sleeping man. The elder brother said, "Let us pass." Just as they were passing, the black man said, "Where are you going? Come back! Come, enter here."*

They entered a cave. The black man said, "Here you are going to die."

"So be it," said the elder.

"Put your head here," said the black man. He went to get his machete, but instead of hitting the head with it, he drove it into the great stone which was the elder brother's swayohel. "Ah, the devil, who are you?" he asked. Turning to the younger brother, he said, "Now it is your turn!"

The younger brother came, and the black man struck him with his machete. The machete broke.

"Now it is your turn, black man!" said the younger brother. The devil began to cry, "Go along, I will not trouble you." "Yes, you will always trouble us," said the elder brother. "I shall give you money," said the black man. "No, I have money," said the elder brother. "Then I shall carry you," said the black man. "I do not want that. You must die!" said the elder brother. "Come, boy [to his younger brother], cut a stick and make two points on each side. Stick it there and a wind will carry him aloft."

Then a snake came and settled right there where the stick was planted. The black man fell, and the stick entered his anus. It came out of his mouth and he died. The brothers cut off his head and brought it to Guatemala. They delivered the paper to the priest, who was very frightened.

"Which way have you come?" asked the priest. "We came along the road," answered the brothers.

"But didn't you see anyone?" asked the priest. "No one," answered the brothers. "But where did you really go?" asked the priest.

"Since you force us to answer, we did meet someone," answered the brothers, "covering the road where we passed midway. We brought him here."

"I want to see him," said the priest. The elder brother said, "Look, I brought him in this box. I cut off his head."

The priest looked, and when he saw the head, he cried. He ordered the

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soldiers to come and throw the Shunton brothers in jail. He ordered a meal brought to prison with a servant. 773 778 539 769

"I do not want it," said the elder brother and returned it with the servant. "Tell him [the priest] that I do not want it but thank him."

The servant told the priest that the brothers did not want the good meal.

"Good," said the priest. "If they don't eat in a little while they will be dead. Go leave them liquor so that they will not feel how they die."

"Good," said the servant. She went to the jail and said, "My master wants to know if you want to drink."

"I don't want any. I have some too. I brought a liter of trago." There they were drinking inside the prison.

At ten in the morning, they came to tie a blindfold on the brothers. They shot at them, but the bullet did not hit. They shot again, but it did not hit. "Who are these people?" asked the priest. "Send out another soldier!" The other began to fire, but the bullets did not hit the brothers. Many soldiers came out and fired, but the bullets did not hit them.

"Then," said the soldier, "you know what we shall do? We shall burn them in this hide."

"Good, go look for the hide. When the hide comes we will prepare it," said the priest.

They began to sew the hide. When they finished sewing, they began to throw wood and lit a fire. They waited until the fire started. They came to see the brothers. They were very drunk.

"Bring them here." said the priest. "Not yet. They are still drinking." But the priest answered, "They have drunk enough. Go bring them and we shall burn them."

On their second return, the fire began to burn the pueblo. The people began to cry. Half the pueblo was burned when the Lord of Lightning and Rain came. A shower hit the fire.

"Good," said the elder brother. "We have won. Now the fire is out and we shall go. Let us see if they are waiting for us in our town. If not, I know where we can find some pretty women in Chiapa."

"Good. Let us rest a little," said the younger brother.

"Good, I am thirsty. Let us go where there is water," said the elder.

773 *"Good."*
778 *They waited a while and the water came. "Are you going to drink?"*
539 *They drank, and then they made the sign of the rainbow. The president*
769 *sent his síndico to meet them. The síndico got drunk on the way. He sat down halfway in the road. The brothers met him there. They were angry that a fiesta was not prepared for them. And for this they left town, and went to live in Chiapas.*

773 This tale is known to everyone in town, and there is no doubt as to its au-
778 thenticity expressed by those who have given versions of it. When I took
769 some of the Indians on a trip to Guatemala, they pointed out the rocks
123 where the brothers encountered the devil. When they arrived in Guatemala and saw a bus marked Antigua they expressed amazement that the town was still in existence.

769 Some people claim to have seen the ancestors, whom they describe as
778 wearing the old style costume—a long shirt with the hat now worn by the alfereces. The ancestors are believed to have watched over the village from a mound rising abruptly before the mouth of the cave, called Hol Shan, or Head of Palm, because of the trees growing on it (Plate 1). From this eminence they could watch the streets of the village and see whether anyone was trying to bring in evil (Plate 2). They were able to discern the power of evil in the souls of the newborn and could snatch the soul before its possessor grew up to cause evil. Their human agents in guarding the town
[756] against evil were the curers (*ʔuʔuletik*), who in the context of guardianship were called *meʔiltatil*.[7]

796 Each year on the Day of the Cross, May 3d in the Catholic calendar,[8] a
769 fiesta is held in honor of the ancestors. It refers back to the fiesta which
621 ought to have been held for the returning Shuntonetik, and is performed in the interest of the whole community as a means of ensuring good relations with the ancestors.

[756] Formerly the curers were responsible for conducting this fiesta. An informant recalled the ritual:

7. The guardianship role of the curers is related to the functions of pre-Conquest officials, called *ghcanalum*, "caretakers of the soil" (Calnek 1962:25).

[178] 8. The date of the Day of the Cross was changed by the Vatican in 1964. When the local priest tried to reschedule the fiesta in the community, he encountered strong opposition. The Indians continue to celebrate the Day of the Cross on May 3d.

The curers used to go up to the cave with the alfereces, the mayordomos *[religious officials], the prayer reciters, and the people of the village. When they arrived there, the mayordomos played the guitar and gourd rattle. They lit candles and incense, and the leading curers would go inside the cave. All the people contributed money for the liquor and candles which was collected by the officials. They said that they spoke to the ancestors inside, where there was a lake and a beautiful field. They asked for rain and good crops. They would come out and tell the people waiting outside what the ancestors had said.*

Then one year [in 1957] during the fiesta of the cave, the curers went into the cave. The people said to the curers, "We want to see the owners." The curers said they would come out, but they didn't. The people waited and waited. A boy went inside with the curers. They tried to prevent him, saying, "Won't you be afraid?" He said, "No, let's go in." They entered twenty feet inside the door. The curers said, "Let us stay here." The boy asked them where was the river, the lake, and the milpa that were supposed to be inside. The curer replied, "It is all a lie. Now you know; don't tell the people." But when he came out, the boy told the people it was all a deception.

Since the late 1950s the ritual has changed. The curers no longer officiate, nor do they enter the cave and speak to the ancestors as they did formerly. The *fiscal*, or assistant to the priest, leads the mayordomos, alfereces, and prayer-reciters to the cave on the Day of the Cross and simply replace the palm cross at the entrance to the cave just as they do with the palm crosses fixed to the wooden crosses marking the roads leading into the town. The curers have attempted to revive the belief in the presence of the ancestors by saying that their nephew is in residence now, but no one I ever spoke to believes this. Most people agree that the ancestors live permanently in Chiapa de Corso.[9]

The hill and cave owners. While people try to maintain a good relationship with the spirits of the house, of the springs, and of the Cave of the Ancestors, they avoid the dangerous spirits of the hills and caves

9. A similar myth concerning the departure of the ancestors to go live in Chiapa de Corzo exists in Pinola (Hermitte 1964).

hilltop with a digging stick. He knelt and prayed, asking for rain. At that very moment, the rain came. He put the seeds in the holes he made, and from then on people have been planting in the hills. 241 776 539

Other saints are charged with providing rainfall. The saint of greatest importance in this respect is Santo Tomás, the patron saint of Oxchuk. Some Indians have gone to the church there to light a candle and ask for rain, and on their return the rains came. During an extended drought in August 1967, over one hundred people walked to Oxchuk to pray for rain. The people of Tzoʔontahal are somewhat bitter about the Oxchuqueños' neglect of Santo Tomás since over half of the town has converted to Protestantism. Whenever there is a drought, they blame it on the failure of the people of Oxchuk to take care of Santo Tomás. 776 821 782 788 628 779 731

In addition to the Catholic saints, the ancestor spirits help man to watch over the land. They are responsible for giving the rains in the planting period and early growing season. The fiesta on the Day of the Cross (Chapter 1) is primarily a plea for rain. Until the 1950s, the curers would hold a celebration at the Cave of the Ancestors to ask for rain during a drought. The waning belief in the presence of the ancestor spirits in the town has meant that there is less attention given to such fiestas. Some go to seek the ancestors in Chiapa de Corzo in the cave in which they are supposed to reside, as the following story illustrates: 769 241 796 778 776 756

One time my three brothers-in-law went to Chiapas to ask the ancestors for better crops. When they arrived there, nobody knew where the cave was. They said only a certain mayordomo there could find it. 539

Another time, two of the prayer-reciters went to the cave. They talked to the guard of the cave, saying, "May we speak to our ancestors?" The guard said, "Are you prepared? Did you bring two liters of trago? The ancestors like to drink."

The prayer-reciters went to get two liters of trago and all three drank it. While they were drinking, they saw a cow and chickens appear. The guardian said that if they came back in May with "food" for the ancestors —candles, incense, and firecrackers—they would get rich crops. I think the prayer-reciters succeeded because now they have a cow and chickens and a horse. They are afraid of the envy of their neighbors.

of what seeds grow best in which soils. Good, fast-growing seed is not 241
sowed indiscriminately but is limited to use on more fertile irrigated 242
lands. The size of a family's holdings is the primary factor in deciding
what proportion of the three major crops—corn, beans, and wheat—they [423]
will grow. Where they grow each of these crops depends upon the quality of the soil categorized by topological criteria, consistency, color, and proved fertility. Decline in productivity is attributed to wearing out of soil fertility because of overuse as well as to loss of the soul of crops. The first explanation leads to adaptive behavior, in which the land is "rested" or turned over to cattle grazing, and to crop rotation, alternating wheat and corn crops. The second explanation leads to adjustive behavior in which the agriculturalist takes care of ceremonial obligations to the saints and to the "owner of the milpa."

The scheduling of activities is determined by the knowledge of time re- 241
quired for maturing of the crop and by expectations concerning seasonal fluctuations as they affect rainfall. Although the farmers have some control
over water supply through irrigation, dependence on rainfall for the non- [782]
irrigated fields means that sporadic appeals to the ancestors or saints are [776]
made to ensure rain in the growing period. These rituals are not as inte- [769]
grated in the agricultural production cycle as they are in the neighboring [171]
towns of Chamula and Oxchuk or in the colonia of San Vicente where irrigation facilities are lacking.

Traditional techniques of pottery production are maintained by a tightly 323
organized schema of procedures which allows for little variation in technique or form. Learning of productive techniques is facilitated by a fine segmentation of tasks. Knowledge of local clays and tempering has been stabilized for at least five hundred years of occupation in this area. Women's work is entirely lacking in rituals to ensure the success of their efforts.

These given sets of cognitive orientations in economic activities do not 241
exclude the possibility of considering new ways or means of doing things. 177
Agriculturalists have tried the new seed introduced by agronomists, but 178
have found them wanting in their resistance to mold, in the case of corn, and in their portability, in the case of wheat. Fertilizers have been tried, but the credit costs proved too high for the agriculturalists to continue.
Women were willing to try a kiln in place of open firing, but either the 177
model introduced was faulty or they were not 323
taught to use it properly.

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dies are expected to give a funeral appropriate to his station in life and his wealth, as is expressed in the following account:

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When my father got sick, he told his wife not to put him in a black box. He had heard a story that when the dead man is in a black box, his spirit cannot see. He wanted to be in a white box. He told this to his brother. But his brother wanted to get a black box. He bought one black box for three hundred pesos when my father died, because it is the custom of the pueblo to bury adults in a black box. The people would talk if we did not buy a good box because they knew he had animals. We spent six hundred pesos for the funeral. We presented the body in church for a mass. We had a singing mass for thirty pesos, and the box cost three hundred pesos. We had a common meal of beef in the house, and we spent two hundred and sixteen pesos for three garrafones of liquor. Each of his sons contributed sixty pesos for that. If we hadn't given him a good funeral, people would have said, "His children are very lax not to buy a good box to bury their father."

The padre says that all bodies should be presented in the church. He says if you don't have money, you don't have to pay for the mass. But we are ashamed if we don't pay because he does work for us. He charged only twenty-five pesos because he said my father worked hard for the town. We took a collection from all the people who were there, and it amounted to one hundred and thirty pesos. We paid the padre for the mass and gave a contribution. All the people in whose houses he had passed when he was alive came to see him. They said, "Ah, his children gave a very nice box for their father."

If all of the family is poor, no one talks if the funeral is not a good one. But if there is anything that can be sold, it will have to be to make a good funeral. When my father died, he had eighteen horses. We had to sell one, and each of the children gave one hundred pesos. [432]

Some say the souls play the harp and drink liquor when they arrive in heaven. On All Soul's Day they visit the village where they had lived and where they are known. For each member of the household who had died, a specific portion of food is laid out. Special likes are catered to: a bottle of liquor will be set on the table for a deceased father, soda pop for children

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769 who have died, or candy and gum. Luxury foods, particularly fruits, meat, and sausage are prepared. Only those dead relatives who were known to the present residents of the house are honored. The celebration of All Souls' Day is not a celebration for the ancestors as a general group.

In addition to the feast given in the house, food and drink are carried up to the graves of the relatives. The cemetery duplicates the residential pattern. When people have relatives buried on the side opposite to where they live, because of a marriage violating the rule of endogamy within sections, they "have shame" to go light a candle at the graves, and they return hastily to the relatives on their own side. The women cry for the recently dead in the stylized wail for the dead. While souls are honored relatives on this one day, if they appear at any other time there is great fear of them.

756 sulted with each other to determine who was bringing in the heat. They
731 privately disposed of the evil by causing the evildoer to die of an illness.
[627] At the time of my stay, suspicion of the curers meant that a public hearing was held in the town hall to determine who the guilty person was; usually one of the curers themselves was suspected (Chapter 9).

756 The curers formerly demonstrated their beneficial power by bringing
796 rain during a fiesta held in the cave of the ancestors. This is described by
778 an informant:
789
769
[794]

When the pueblo lacked rain in the growing season of corn in May and June, the leading curers went with the other curers, the fiscal, the alfereces, the mayordomos, and the women-prayer-reciters to the cave. All the women carried candles of a peso or fifty-cent size and incense burners. They drank a great deal of liquor at the mouth of the cave and then entered to dance. The mayordomos played the guitar, the drum, and flute as the women danced and the curers prayed to the me?tiktatik. There used to be a spring in this cave, people say, and the ancestors granted water from it when they were given a fiesta.

The last fiesta for rain occurred about 1950. The whole town contributed two pesos for the liquor and candles. The leading curer then was Juliano, a man recognized for his powers in curing and in bringing rain. He told the people that he spoke to the me?tiktatik who, he said, were dressed in the old style [a shirt worn over short cotton pants still used by older men of the town, and the handwoven hat worn by alfereces today]. The curers told the people that it would rain, and the afternoon of the fiesta, it came down hard.

178 There is no longer faith that the ancestors live in the cave, nor that the
769 present curers could speak to them if they did.
756

756 The growing discontent with the curers, the suspicion that they are re-
754 sponsible for much of the witchcraft, is reflected in the account of an older
[178] informant.

[774] *The curer O. K. told me that the curers ate the spirits of sick people who were going to die. The sick people would come to ask the curers for*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

[P.198-A]

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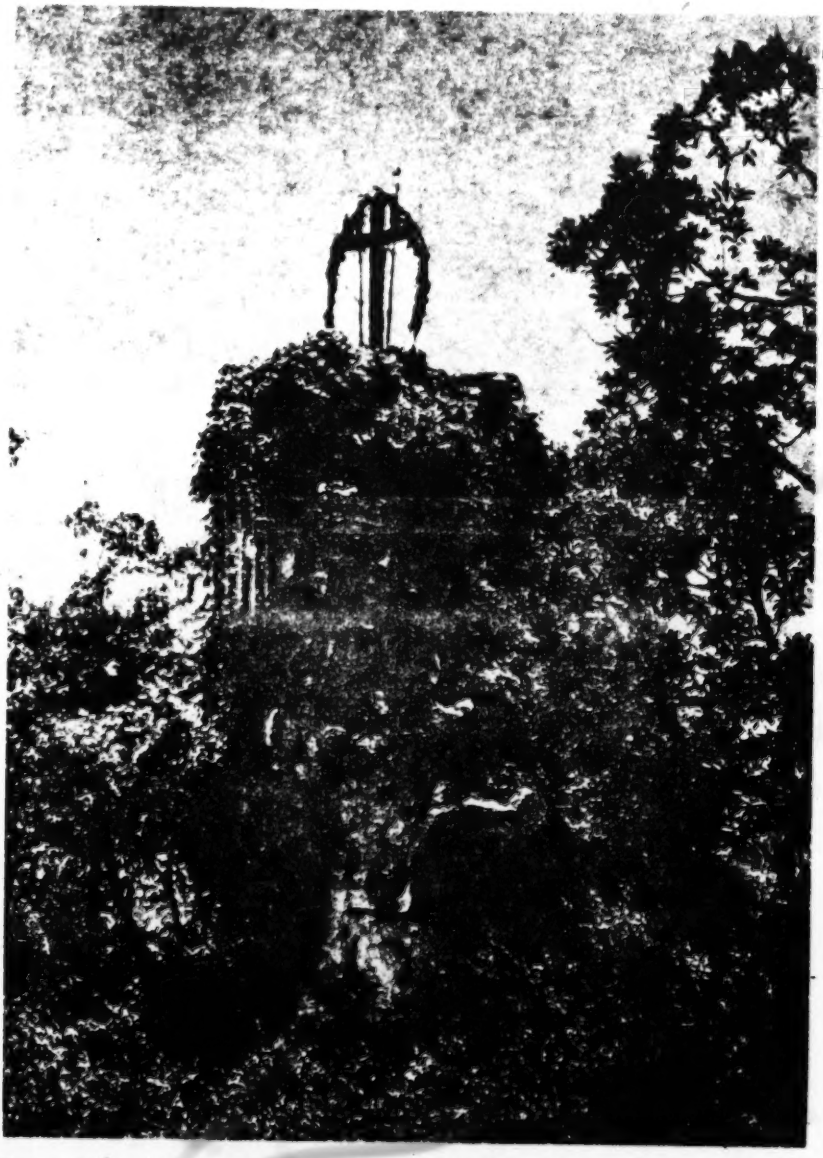

Plate 1. Head of Palm where the ancestors stand and watch over the town. The cross, standing about twelve feet high and adorned with an arch of pine boughs and flowers, tops a jutting rock about thirty feet high. Behind the rock is the hill with the cave in which the ancestors were reputed to live.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

[P. 198-B]

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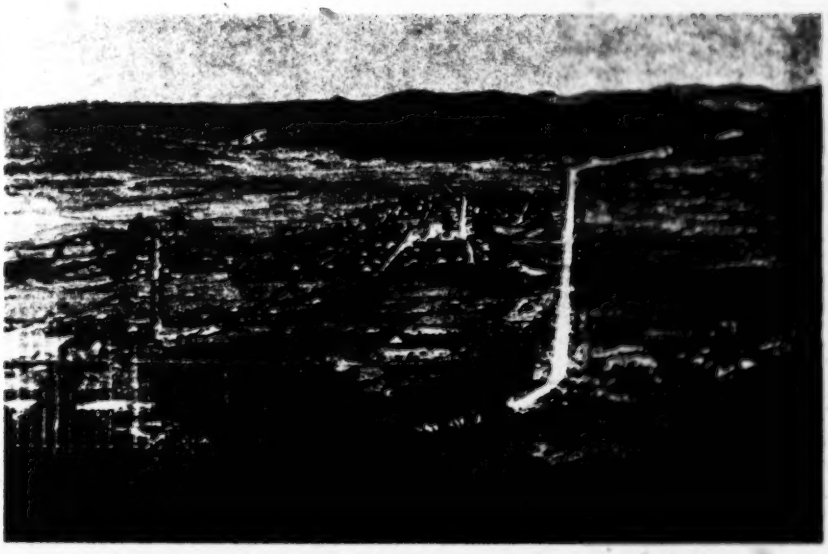

Plate 2. The view the ancestors had of the town from the Head of Palm shows the proximity of the village center to the Pan-American Highway just to the right of center. The church, which can be discerned in the center of the major settlement, is the dividing marker for the dual division. The barrio of Yetawitz is shown just to the left of the major settlement. The barrios of Madronal and La Grandeza are found at the mid-level of the hill in the far left, on the other side of the road which goes to Pinola and "hot country." The Ladino town of Teopisca lies just beyond the hills to the right along the Pan-American Highway. From this site, the ancestors were able to see clearly all of the thoroughfares within the town and guard against the entry of evil.

The belief in power derived from animal spirits was probably influenced by the Toltec belief in nahualism, or transformation of people after death into animals (Calnek 1962:22). The Toltec belief originated in the period of Mexican influence but had many local indigenous manifestations (Foster 1944). The integration of the two systems of power was brought about by calendar priests controlling the distribution of animal spirits (Calnek 1962:19). The degree of retention of calendrical knowledge and of belief in witchcraft gives us one of the best indices of acculturation in the area.[2] In Tzo'ontahal there is no remnant of calendar divination for ceremonial or predictive use. However, witchcraft based on belief in animal spirits continues to be an important factor in the contest for power. The technique of secrecy, of presenting a united front in the face of attempts by the outside Ladinos to tamper with the local social control system, persists to this day in the town.

An endemic problem in communities dominated by belief in witchcraft is control over the evil power of witches. The traditional control system in Tzo'ontahal operated through the guardianship of three sets of power-holders who checked up on each other: the ancestors, the curers, and the judges. The guardianship of the ancestors consisted in preventing any child possessed of a swayohel from the devil from growing up to abuse his power and in keeping any evil spirits from entering the town. The curers,

the Indians, whether out of cowardice or deceit, withdraw their accusation or claims, so that it is impossible to convict the evildoers for punishment; and for lack of sufficient proof they cannot be punished, or if there is enough basis to put them in prison, they sometimes disappear and flee to another jurisdiction and hide, denying their place of origin or changing their name.

2. In Oxchuk, calendar experts with the ability to divine the future still set the days for carrying out Catholic fiestas according to the twenty-day Maya ceremonial cycle. Each of the spirits symbolizing the twenty days wielded the power of good or evil. This provided the basis for predicting. When Villa Rojas studied the town in the 1940s, elders of patrilineal lineages controlled the behavior of members by causing sickness brought by their *lab*, or animal spirit (Villa Rojas 1947). In San Pedro Chenalhó, the principales exercise power through their *wayhel*, or animal spirit (Guiteras Holmes 1961). Nahuales of leaders of the patrilineages and principales are feared and respected in Larraínzar, although there is a growing discontent with their oppressive control (Holland 1963). Men believed to have thirteen nahuales figure as guardians and avengers for individuals in Pinola society, although the Indians of this community no longer have a hierarchy of civil offices through which their prestige can be publicly validated (Hermitte 1964).

as the direct agents of the ancestors, guarded the streets of their own side of the dual division. The judges, with the supervision of the principales, were responsible for guarding against the abuse of power by the curers or others possessing a swayohel in their review of witchcraft cases in the town hall. The three sets of functionaries—ancestors, curers, and judges—are classified in a lexicon of role function in the stem *me? . . tat . . ,* common to the terms applied to them, me?tiktatik, me?iltatil, and me?ełtatel.[3]

The system of control over the use of power has been in a state of uneasy tension. In a series of incidents recounted below, the growing suspicion that the judges and the principales were not countering the witches because of their fear of falling victim to them, and that the curers themselves were exercising the witchcraft becomes apparent.

In the following case, the system of checks and balances was upset by the entry into the presidency in 1940 of Mam Nicolás, the leading curer of Allannantik. Nicolás combined the skills of operating in the traditional culture with those of dealing with the Ladino world. Despite the fact that he was a graduate of the boarding school operating in the town in the 1930s, which had far more extensive effects in acculturation as well as formal education than any prior school, he practiced curing. The case is recounted by Ceferino, the scribe:

Formerly the dead president Mam Nicolás left at midday from the town hall and went to his house where he ate a meal. A neighbor, Francisco, came to talk to him. They drank a half a liter of trago, and then began to drink a second and got drunk. They began to say goodbye, and Francisco left Nicolás' house. When Nicolás saw that Francisco went out, he grabbed his shotgun. He saw that Francisco was now far away, and he fired many shots. One got him right in his back. When Francisco felt it, he shouted. The police heard him and went to get the judges who came to see also. His [Francisco's] wife came. She raised his head and cried when she saw he was dead. An elder sister brought a new mat to carry him.

3. The suffixes *-el,* and *-tik* refer to pronominal forms, as in "you judges" and "our ancestors." *-il* is an article, as in "the curers." In prayer, the ancestors may be addressed in the second person, or the judges may be referred to with the first-person-plural possessive, but these forms are rare in those contexts.

 621 177 178

4. In a series of confrontations, the civil officials have challenged the social control functions of the curers. Witch-killings in which many of the victims have been curers have minimized but not overcome the power of these men. [756]

5. The priest has succeeded in establishing control over the church, but the Indians may yet succeed in deposing him, a plan they were putting into effect when I left town. [193]

The Indians are now aware of their rights to limit—or eliminate if necessary—the self-appointed caciques. The new cacique promotes the community welfare not only in his rhetoric but in the services he performs for the officials. His involvement in political affairs is tolerated, not encouraged, and the officials are ready to turn to alternative sources of aid in their activities. 641 622 177 178

The involvement of the PRI in local elections has not introduced a new center of power in the political arena. Political factions are based on economic interests contained within the town, and the autonomy of the town has in no way been affected by leadership from party headquarters in the state capitol. The community and the party use each other for their own ends in almost complete ignorance of what is occurring in the domain of the other. 665 621 178

The system of beliefs and understandings has changed along with these organizational changes. The most significant change has been the waning belief in the guardianship of the ancestors. The absence of the curers at the fiesta of the caves means that they no longer have this ritual occasion to validate their claims by communicating with the ancestors. The loss of leadership and of a hierarchy of prestige within the ranks of curers has removed internal controls over the profession and further undermined their position. The diminishing respect with which they are treated in the town hall and the increasing number of murders of curers accused of witchcraft is directly related to the loss of belief in their power as guardians. Since they were not an integral part of the civil-religious hierarchy, as the curers were in Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947), this has not upset the hierarchy, but it has changed the balance of power in the wider community. 769 756 178 [683]

The diminishing significance of the leadership of the principales is tied 621 756 178

programs in the interest of "civilizing" the Indians. This formulation involved a basic contradiction between the goal of moving into regional and national networks and that of keeping the old autonomy and independence of the corporate community. He never had to face that contradiction. Unable to gain adherents other than the small group of profit-sharers in the cooperative he organized, he was killed by opponents within the community. 474 472 177 178 [682]

The Family and Household

The core of the traditional culture lay in the local power hierarchies patterned on the familial model of age-ordered paternal authority institutionalized in the me'iltatil. The me'iltatil of the household have provided a flexible institution for adjusting conflict within the kin group. Their role in directing ritual performances preserves a sense of continuity in life cycle changes. 608 571 578 182

The institutionalized authority of the elders has not been upset by the trend toward residence based on nuclear families, which is an adjustment to the pressure of limited space in the town center. Kinship ties are continually reinforced by rituals that draw together the me'iltalil as sponsors of ceremonies marking baptism, marriage, and death. This group of sponsoring relatives has absorbed the institution of compadrazgo, adding compadres to the network of affinally-and bilaterally-related kin. The procedures for adjusting conflict among members of the household and extended family networks reinforce the authority of the elders. When adjustive processes in the house and court "arrangements" and in curing ceremonies fail, the only recourse is for one of the disputants to leave the community or commit homicide. 561 182 602 608 591 626 621 578 [681] [762]

Ceremonies within the household provide a model for the rules of the game that apply to adjustive behavior in the community. The household officials introduce new officials into their role, teaching them the prayers and directing the proceedings. Their authority depends upon age and prestige acquired in office. The me'iltatil, as the elders of the family, are the direct link with the ancestors. They and the nakawane provide the strongest force for preserving the ways of the ancestors. 561 182 [769]

592 778 as archeological pieces ("things of the people of before"). This altar is usually located in the house corridor. The altar is cleaned regularly and adorned with flowers by the women, and a candle or two is lighted on propitious days of the week, or to ask the house Saints for protection against witchcraft.

592 778 769 342 On the first of November, "day of all the dead" according to the Catholic calendar, a ceremonial offering of food to the spirits of the deceased is placed on this altar. It is in memory of the spirits who lived in the house in the immediate past, and who are supposed to come to enjoy the food and the fact that they are being remembered by the household. The ritual is performed only for the immediate generations. It is not the worshipping of one's ancestors, for it is for people who are not necessarily related by kinship, but for those who resided in the house. (Second wives, for example, are expected to offer food to the deceased first wife of their husbands if they lived in the same dwelling.)

592 769 Afterwards, the food is distributed among the living relatives, compadres and neighbors, and all members of the household go to the cemetery.

[794] At the cemetery, the tombs are cleaned, repaired, adorned with marigolds, fruit and other food, and the family pays for the performance of a responso, funeral oration, read by a part-time specialist in such matters.

592 769 342 If these rituals are not performed, the dead come back to their life stage, the house, and wander aimlessly among the living, scaring people, giving them bad dreams, or taking the lives of children.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

000 An excellent discussion of the character of the neighbouring Indians of Guatemala, which applies well to these, by one who has lived long among them, is found in Sapper's "Der Charakter der Mittelamerikanisch Indianer."

Fig. 300—El Encanto, Chia. Bachajon girls.

648 Before passing on to the native culture, a little must be said
771 of the outside influences that do
793 so much to mould it—the Church, the Government, and the Hacienda. The first of these occupies a very curious position indeed. While the Indians are ostensibly Christian, as will be [142] shown later, in many ways they [291] are still unconverted. It may [301] be said, briefly, that they acknowledge two antagonistic wor- [302] ships. Of these, the Christian has publicly the upper hand. The Priests, accordingly, wield a tremendous influence among them, and did even more so in the past, when supported by the State. Our experience on this trip was that, on the whole, this [142] influence was intelligently and [291] beneficially used. To the Priests the Indians confide their [302] troubles, to them they accord the greatest honour on the occasions of their visits to the villages. Yet, at the same time, the Indians conceal from them one-half of their worship, knowing them to be sworn to stamp it out.

Fig. 301—El Encanto, Chia. Bachajon man and boy.

648 The Hacienda system has
241 caused the formation of many
361 small villages, as has been said
466 above. In other cases, as with the Bachajon on the Encanto property, the Indians living at large on the distant lands of the

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

764 While this went on, all the women joined with the wife in keening, forming a sort of harmony. A cross was placed at the head. After the grave had been filled in, the party returned to the house where the mourning was carried on in all respects as on the previous night.

The wake is called *kanantaiy-el tca-vinik,* "to watch over (the) dead man." For the second ceremony, the only name obtained was *van-tik pas yan k'in,* "let us go to make another ceremony."

It should be noted that in the case observed, the wife maintained her keening, without apparent cease, from before sunset of one day, through the next day and until the morning following. She was audible, on her high notes, at least five hundred yards away; this was no mean feat of endurance.

On the trail to Bachajon Village, several ruined houses were observed with burials in the floor. The graves were outlined by planks set into the ground vertically. We were told that the dead were buried under their beds, and that a house was abandoned after the number of burials came to be "too much for them." This latter statement is borne out by the frequent occurrence of as many as three graves in one house, occupying most of the floor.

771 In common with most of the Indians of Middle America, the 177 religion of the Tzeltal is a mixture of Catholic Christianity with considerable emphasis on saint-worship, and of their old cults. The surface presents fairly pure Christianity, but further examination shows that the deeper religious current is of an older form, altered by Christian contact. The Indians' attitude towards the newer religion is interestingly stated by Sapper (1925) who says:

"The relation of the Christian God to the remaining pagan gods may briefly be explained by the fact that the Christian God has a higher rank, but, as a foreigner, he cares less for the Indians and does not understand their petty troubles and intimate affairs. This is why the Indian turns to his old gods first in matters of everyday life, as for example when the maize is sown, and at harvest time . . ."

000 The same idea was brought out in the Zotzil uprising of 1868, when a boy was crucified to provide the Indians with a saviour of their own race, who would help them.*

796 Each village or ranch-settlement has and observes its Saint's Day, the celebration centering around the church, and whenever possible a Priest attends and gives Mass. Other fiestas are held on minor Saint's Days, or events such as the coming of a Priest to the

*Pineda, 1888, Page 77.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

village. In common with all ceremonial celebrations, these fiestas are called *k'in,* the old Maya word for "sun." Even non-Christian elements appear in the fiestas. The Bachajon call their chief fiesta, St. Jerome's Day, May 13th, *kan-k'in,* "yellow sun," an old Maya month name.

On many points one cannot say whether the ritual be Christian or not; the use of the cross is such a point. The Mayas had a cross,* the worship of which was encouraged by the early Padres, while teaching the Indians to associate with it Christian ideas. Certain it is that crosses now play a greater part in Indian than in Ladino religion. They are maintained on the roads at partings of the way and crests of hills, and they are used in ceremonies that have little or nothing to do with the Church. Crosses by the road are usually covered with offerings of flowers and pine tips; in the houses they are decorated with any bits of bright paper, flowers, or pictures that can be obtained. The house-altars seem to be more truly Christian, as is indicated by the names, *altar, tcun tat-ik,* "altar of our Holy Father," and *cruz tcun tat-ik,* "cross of our Holy Father," in both of which the most important word is Spanish. At the house by El Encanto we had a chance to observe one such altar at leisure (fig. 309). It consisted of a neatly made cross, 75 centimeters high, standing above a small and rickety table. About the cross were fir branches, brought down from the highlands, and it was hung with cacao beans and small yellow gourds. A revenue stamp pasted across it gave a touch of more vivid green. The wall behind was entirely covered by a sheet of an old news-

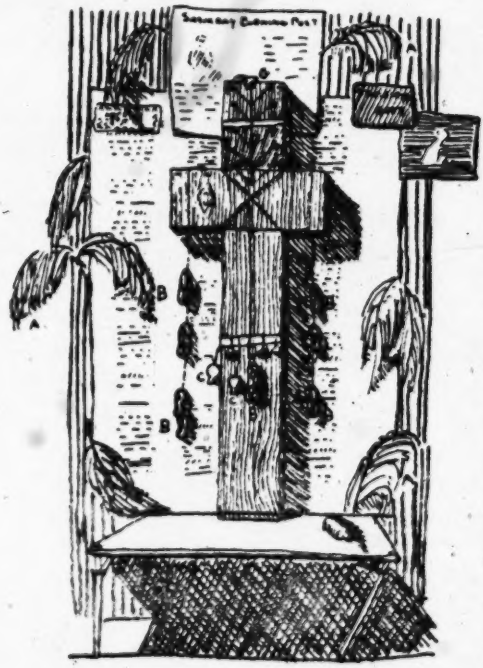

FIG. 309—El Encanto, Chis. Altar in House.

*Cf. Tozzer, 1907, Page 131 ff.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The performance continued until late that night and began again the next morning. Later in the day the banners were carried to the chapel in procession, with music, and deposited by the altar. The *caporales* led in prayer. The fiesta went on again in the evening. 796 [794]

Christian forms are applied to or mixed with non-Christian rites and ideas to some extent, a confusion resembling the appeal to both saints and native gods in prayer among tribes of Guatemala* and British Honduras.† Much of Christianity is adapted to conform to old, fundamental native concepts. 771 172 178 171

In the church at Bachajon Village there are fourteen saints beside the tribal patron, St. Jerome. These others each have a special care, as the cornfield, hunting, the rivers, etc., and are prayed to for help in their particular provinces. They are given gifts of cloth, usually red or blue, which is draped about them. Many of them duplicate the functions of non-Christian "guardians," to be described below. 776

In this connection it may be mentioned that the Zotzil-speaking Indians of Huistan are accustomed to beat their saint (St. Martin) when they have a bad year, and to caress him and anoint him with oil when things go well. We were told that he had lost his nose and both ears due to this practice. [171]

One prayer was dictated to us by Señor Cruz at Toniná, the full text of which is given in Appendix VI, Text I. It is primarily meant for a poor man when making his offering in the cornfield, a use which is indicated by the phrase "health of the earth," but it may also be used in church. The phrase "blood of my flesh" suggests a remniscence of the ancient Maya offerings of blood from the ear, tongue, etc. A free translation is given here. 126 782 196

PRAYER OF A POOR MAN WHO HAS NOT MUCH TO OFFER.

"Do Thou accept, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, what I have gained, and what I have not gained. Do Thou forgive, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, blood of our flesh; our hearts are open, our lips are open. Give health of the earth; protect thy son kneeling here." [539]

Of primary interest to us were the survivals of the old worship. At the time of the Conquest the Spaniards put forth their utmost efforts to suppress the native religion, and the process has gone on 771 178 177

*Sapper, 1925.
†Gann, 1918.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

771 178 177 spasmodically ever since. The temples and idols were overthrown, the theocracy, that knew the lore and could read the books, was killed off or reduced to the common level. The books themselves have vanished. At the same time, churches were built, and Christianity preached with a fine enthusiasm. Later, idols whenever discovered were destroyed, and all forms of heathenism vigourously opposed. This process has continued for some four hundred years. In other places less than half that time has sufficed to wipe out every vestige of an old cult, but here, not only had the Padres to deal with a race at least semi-civilized, supporting a sophisticated religion, but a people of remarkable, tenacious conservatism, and who, moreover, at all times have outnumbered their conquerors.

It must be borne in mind that the highly evolved, elaborate old-time religion could only be maintained in its purity by an educated people, men who could philosophize, study history, and read the stars with scientific accuracy. Obviously, what survives can only be in a simplified and debased form.

778 178 Most directly religious are certain places of worship retained by the Indians. The old Mayas are known to have used, of course, caves as well as their mounds and temples. Nuñez de la Vega* tells of such worship going on in his time, and according to Sapper† it continues in Guatemala today.

In Ocosingo Valley, the pyramids of Cololté (*kolol-te,* a kind of tree), Chakalchib (*cakaltcip',* translation not known), and Campomtik (*kan,* "yellow," *pom,* "incense," *-ětik,* "much"), have been mentioned in the last chapter. They are all prehistoric places of worship. Their use by the Indians has been continued into modern times.

On top of Cololté the almost completely disfigured idol has already been described. It is decked with fir branches, and fir tips have been laid about its base. Before it in an arc stand wooden sticks to hold candles. The Indians do not come here at set periods as is usual elsewhere, but only when there is great need of rain.

Campomtik, across from Cololté, was used annually until a short time ago. Their celebrations made so much uproar that finally a local Priest had them driven away, and the worship there has been discontinued. There is still a big, rotting cross set up on top, but there are no offerings or candlesticks.

Behind Ocosingo, Chakalchib is still a place of worship, where fiestas are held annually without benefit of clergy. A large pile of stone in the center of the platform supports one cross about the

*Nuñez de la Vega, 1765.
†Sapper, 1925.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

fragments of prayers to him will be given when discussing medicine. 776
Distinct from the guardian of the cornfields, he is known only by name to the ordinary Indians, and mention of him appeared to alarm them a good deal.

Drunkenness still retains some of its old, ceremonial significance, 273
in its association with fiestas, funeral rites, and particularly with medicine, under which head it will be more fully taken up.

There are a number of beliefs and practices, no matter what their 789
origin, which, as they exist today, must be considered as superstitions rather than religion. Of such a type is the belief mentioned 771 822
when speaking of hunting, that painting the bullet red would make it go further. This is of interest in the study of survivals, in view of the importance of the colour red in pre-Christian times. It may be equally well argued, however, that the red in this case represents the blood of the animal to be slain. Most of the superstitions are 774
concerned with the *nagual* or the soul. 776

The set of ideas that constitute Nagualism is derived from ancient and important beliefs. The *nagual*, *tcul-el* (*tcul*, "holy," *-el* "the, the one"), is a companion-spirit to a man, taking the form of some animal. The stronger the *nagual*, the stronger the man, thus one with a jaguar for a familiar could work any kind of magic or other harm on one with a rabbit. We were told both that the *nagual* was assigned by popular consent, due to people's opinion of a man, and that it was seen in a dream. A man who has a quarrel with another will deliberately shoot animals of the species of the other's *nagual*, hoping to hit the particular one associated with his enemy. If that one dies, the man dies, and vice versa. Thus, it is plain that there is no idea of association with a whole class of animals, but only with one individual of a class.

According to Nuñez de la Vega,* in the seventeenth century the 776
nagual was assigned by a shaman, who took it from the name of the 756
day on which the individual was born. The child was later caused 774
to see his *nagual* . . . *"se abrazan cariñosamente con su nagual, que por arte diabólica se le apparece muy doméstica y supersticiosamente cariñosa, aunque sea una bestia muy feroz, como leon, tigre, etc."*† [171]
According to Sapper (1925) exactly the same practices obtain in Guatemala today, the animal being caused to appear by means of hypnotism.

It is possible that further investigation would show a similar 774
manner of choosing the *nagual* among the modern Tzeltal. How- 776

*Nuñez de la Vega, 1702, loc. cit.
†Extract in Paniagua, 1908, Page 57.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

291 broidery along all the seams, at the cuffs, and over what would be a pocket in a European shirt. Trousers are either very short "shorts," or replaced by a cotton breech-clout. Hats are seldom worn. Most men carry woolen blankets woven by the Chamula Indians. The red sashes are knotted in front (fig. 322).

The women's dress is the same as at Tenango, but without any 302 decoration, and with a shorter skirt. Their hair is worn in two braids, or done up in a knot over the forehead, forward of where the tump-line is placed.

FIG. 323—Cancuc, Chis. Men on the Cabildo porch.

771 These people, for all their turbulence, are very devout, although, like many who are more civilized, they leave most of the expression 794 to the women. The church is swept out daily by women appointed for the purpose. Along about five o'clock in the afternoon all the women drift in, singly or in small groups, pray for awhile, 346 and come out. Looking in the door one sees the large interior almost pitch dark, cut here and there with [291] tiny, yellow candle-flames, and hears a monotonous sing-song drone of chanted 796 prayers. Their festivals center about the church. In this connection they have a very curious custom. [417] There are two scaffolds by the plaza (fig. 323) very small platforms on four rickety poles about four meters high, surrounded by an insufficient railing, arched over with palm branches, [203] and reached by a frail-looking ladder. The drinking which, as was explained in the last chapter, is an essential part of any ceremony, must all take place on top of these scaffolds. It is indeed a miracle that every fiesta does not cause a score of broken necks.

123 While wandering around to see what he could see, the writer was hailed by an elderly woman who gave him to understand by signs

Chapter 8

Taking Care of the Lord Spirits

Religious behavior is concerned with two major goals: maintaining a given state of prosperity and protecting the community against disaster. In the words of one informant: "All of the goods which we enjoy—the corn, beans, and wheat that we eat, the animals which work for us and give us food—are the gifts of the Lord spirits." The technique for maintaining the flow of goods of the world is the annual cycle of fiestas for the saints. The strategy for protecting the community against disaster is through avoidance of offense and special offerings to the gods identified with pre-hispanic deities and spirits. Responsibility for the ceremonial cycle is assigned to officials who represent the community, but everyone is responsible for the avoidance of disaster, since any transgression of moral behavior by an individual can cause their wrath and bring destruction of crops and animals. The protective rituals involve beliefs continuous from pre-hispanic times; maintenance depends on Catholic saints.

Kinds of Lord Spirits

Religious behavior is based on an understanding of the personality and rank of each deity in a hierarchy of power. The people distinguish two major categories of gods: the lord spirits of the heaven, *ʼultatik ta ʼulčan*, and the lord spirits of the church, *ʼultatik ta ʼulna*. The prefix *ʼul* in all of these terms can be translated as spirit. All growing things—people, plants, and animals—have a spirit. *Tatik* can be translated as our lords, elders, or fathers. The categories of spirits discussed here differ from the ʼuleletik (Chapter 1) since these are spirits possessed by the place in which they dwell, as indicated by the possessive form of the noun with the prefix *s*.

773 credit to insects who carried it from the hills. Still another myth synthe-
177 sizes both pre-Conquest and Catholic agents: San Antonio, seeing an in-
178 sect bearing a kernel of corn, persuaded a woodpecker to break open the rock which blocked the entrance to the hill where the corn was stored and then organized the insects to bring forth the corn. The contradictions in these myths do not motivate the people to bring the several versions into line with one another because the rituals associated with beliefs concerning
776 crops provide an overall insurance rather than a specific contract. The In-
782 dians do not trust their security to any one saint or even group of deities.
177 The two candles lit in the milpa following the harvest are an offering to
178 the "owner of the earth"; along with this, offerings of corncobs are made to the saints in the church and to the house saint. Even the birds are left
[825] an offering of corn kernels in the fields after the harvest so that they will not be jealous of the farmer.

773 These myths fail to provide specific charters for action. What they do
771 provide is a set of dispositions to behave in certain ways. The underlying
182 disposition is that of self-imposed guilt and recrimination. The ancestors left their cave because the people failed to give them a fiesta; the spirit of money left the town because the religious officials in the past failed to adorn the church and improvidently strewed the floor with green peso notes in place of pine needles. Sickness and poverty are attributed to their own failures.

771 Another disposition is that of appeasement through ceremonial enter-
796 tainment. This is carried out in the fiestas for the spirits of the church and
731 the spirits of the heaven just as for the spirits of the house, caves, springs,
182 and hills surrounding the town. Community-wide disaster is interpreted as a direct result of failure to perform rituals establishing reciprocity with the spirits. When individuals face crop loss, they review their own ritual obligations to see what went wrong. The curing ceremony is an-
[755] other effort to appease the devil whom the witch has persuaded to give illness to his victim.

771 A third such disposition is to project human conflict into the superna-
776 tural sphere. The conflict between Santa Lucía and the patron saint of Oz-
821 chuk, Santo Tomás was taken to be the reason for the church tower being
182

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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struck by lightning on two occasions. The solution was to rebuild the tower of metal so that Santo Tomás could not demolish it if he struck again, a defensive reaction which is typical of the Indians in their extra-community relations. When an eclipse of "Our Grandmother the Moon" occurred during my stay in town, everyone went to her assistance, banging metal tools and pots, in what was believed to be a fight with the sun.

The emphasis on self-recrimination and guilt in explaining failure minimizes the build-up of protest. Economic hardship attributed to a man's own improvidence in relation to his fellow man and God are accepted as his lot in life. The drama of the curing ritual projects the Indians' sense of their own guilt for the suffering and poverty they endure.

Political Behavior

The structure of the civil hierarchy has been maintained but organizational changes have occurred which have weakened the basis for it. The alternation of offices between church and civil positions survives in the lower levels, but the new leaders in civil affairs now begin in the Ejido Commission, and few of those who pass as president take on posts in the religious hierarchy. The appearance of continuity has been maintained in communal rituals in which the principales provide the link with the past and the alfereces, until 1966, were the link between civil and religious wings; but in the day-to-day running of the town, the officials do not act on these premises. The balance between officials from each side of the dual division has been upset by the population increase on one side. The abolition of the institution of alfereces gives public recognition to the growing awareness of imbalance. Moreover, the factions based on the new trucking cooperatives that cut across the dual division reduce the effectiveness of the dual division in channeling conflict.

Behavioral deviation from the norms is present in all societies and is not in itself an index to structural change. This comes about when new interpretations are given to events that undermine confidence in existing institutions and leaders. Political conflicts in the past were interpreted as a contest between members of the sides of the dual division and hostility

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

156 The picture of life in Amatenango[67] and Aguacatenango is
62 not, however, from the ideological point of view of the community
754 members, spread only into sanctions of negative dimensions. There
777 are some justifications for wealth or success which are as intimate a part of the world view of the villagers as witchcraft is, because witchcraft has a positive counterpart: suerte (luck).

777 Suerte, as witchcraft power, is also a supernatural power given to the particular individual without the person's will having control over its possession. Some people are born with good suerte, some people with bad suerte. Some people can be "given" a particular suerte by a supernatural being[1] at some time in their life to keep until his death or for some period of time. Of course, a man cannot give his suerte away or transmit it to his children. The suerte is not a general power, but has specific dimensions. For example, a man has suerte to raise cattle, which would, then, grow and reproduce tremendously in his lifetime. But, he may very well have bad bean crops. His children, at his death,

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[1]The suerte can be given by many different supernatural
[776] beings. Some informants say it is Dios (God), or the Virgin Mary, some say it is the Sombreron, or owner of the deer and caves, to whom one has to promise to give one's soul at death, some others indicate that it is written in one's destiny at birth to have a particular type of suerte. The variations in the belief are many, and in a system of ideology without a Church body to create, and control the diffusion of dogma, this is to be expected.

The only organized dogma available to the villager is the
[779] local Catholic Church, but this dogma leaves out a series of beliefs
[538] such as suerte and brujeria as unacceptable. Therefore, these beliefs are only transmitted informally, together with folk-tales, myths and the like. Because dreams are of great importance in re-
[787] lation to these beliefs, each individual can contribute, through his personal dream experiences, to the general pool of ideology of
[791] the community. Therefore, tales and myth, dream experiences, the "true" stories that people are told in the evening by particular relatives or friends, all tend to produce a mushrooming of alternative versions of the same or similar sets of beliefs.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

tions of self will find a responsive audience only within these linguistic and physical boundaries. The sense of insulation is a denial of regional and national political institutions in which they interact with the other Indians and Ladinos who are part of their present world and share their history. The town itself is a product of the Spanish colonial *congregación,* which drew together diverse Indian populations that had been scattered in small settlements. The outlying barrios are occupied by Indians who have moved out from the center, as well as foreign Indians who had worked in the *fincas,* or large plantations, within the township. These latter people are referred to by a derisive term, *Kurik,* meaning roughly "country hick." Beyond these, and still within the municipal limits, there are a series of *colonias,* settlements populated by Indians who have moved here from other towns and by *mestizos,* or acculturated Indians. These settlers acquired land in the time of Juarez or later in the Cardenas period. Ladino men are called *Kaštan* and women *Šinlan;* foreigners who do not appear to be of the country are called *Alemán,* the Spanish term for German.

The focus of this book is on the lives and thoughts of people living within the center. The people of Tzoʾontahal live in a square world, surrounded by a round universe. From the square hole, cut in the earth at the center post of their square house to receive the sacrifice of a live chicken when the house is built, stretches a square village (it appears as a rectangle on the map, but they draw it as a square).[2] The fields are measured in squares of twenty-five arms' breadths, with five handspans measuring the square between each plant. Within this square world, they have elaborated techniques for dealing with spiritual and human co-residents in curing rituals, offerings for crops, burial practices, and baptism rites. Their present cultural stock reveals a selective absorption of Spanish colonial features along with twentieth-century innovations. They have techniques for planting and harvesting milpa, marketing the pottery manufactured in all the households, curing an eclipse of the moon, divining causes of illness and curing the maladjusted social relations which cause it, manufacturing and

2. This view of the world as square is shared by Tzeltal and Tzotzil neighbors in Larráinzar (Holland 1963:69), San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:254), and Pinola (Hermitte 1964). The four-direction concept of the village and world noted by Landa (Tozzer 1941:135) suggests a square-space concept.

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Although the town center forms a rough rectangle on Map 1, the people think of it as being a square.[2] This conforms to the cultural ideal of a square applied in house, milpa, village, and probably world, although when anyone is asked about the last, he cautiously answers, "I have heard that it is round." The center is the unit that the people think of when they say *hteklum*, my land or my village. House lots are not sold to outsiders, particularly Ladinos, but the prohibition applies as well to other Indians living within the limits of the township.

The residents of the center identify themselves with the former residents of the two pre-Conquest sites occupying the hill of Amawitz[3] northwest of the center, and the hill of San Nicolás (called Lelem in Tzeltal) to the southeast. The following account is given of the founding of the present town in the valley:

Our ancestors lived in Amawitz. There wasn't enough water there, but there was a great deal that passed here in the valley. The ancestors came out of their cave to look at where the people should move. They told the people where they should go. The people "thought in common." They cut the trees here; then, when it was dry, they burned it with fire as they do for milpa. When it was cleared, they began to build their houses. Others saw this and came to build their houses. When they finished building their houses, everyone began to think of building a church. The first church was built in Alannantik [the low side] for San Pedro the Martyr. This was torn down because the witches used to come to get the permission of San Pedro to do witchcraft. When the new church was built, there was a division of the town into the upper and lower sections.

It is significant that the people attribute the initiative in the resettlement to the mythical ancestors, although archaeological evidence indicates that the present center was settled after the Conquest. The Conquest is not a part of their mythico-historic past. The ancestors are given credit for establishing everything.

2. The pre-Conquest term for local center was Tzamgholal (Calnek 1962:25), signifying "square head." "Head" town was possibly a ceremonial center.

3. Hermitte (1964:48) notes that in Pinola the "police" of the spiritual government are sent to outposts in Amawitz and Me'wakal in Amatenango. This suggests that it may be considered the ancestral home of other Indians of the area.

Chapter 11

Ordering Behavior by Places

121 554 People act out roles in a space and time matrix that provides the cues for appropriate behavior. Place is a means of patterning three structural dimensions of role: sex, age, and relative prestige. In societies characterized by multiplex relationships, Gluckman (1962:35-36n.) has emphasized the importance of the setting in establishing what role the individual is playing. One's selection of a particular role from the many possible relationships tying people together is supported by observation of official terms of address and reference in these settings. In Tzo?ontahal, the use of place as 554 a designation of role is even more specific since each person occupying a role is given a special place within the setting.

554 342 368 517 The social domains, or fields of activity where major systems of roles are defined in Tzo?ontahal, include the house, the cabildo, the church, and the school. Segmentary role relations are limited to the clinic, the corn-grinding mill, and the store. The house has retained its importance as a ceremonial locus not only for life crisis rituals but also for initiating new officials into the civil and religious hierarchies. The institutional buildings [361] grouped around the plaza—the church, the cabildo, the schoolhouse, the clinic, the mill, and the cooperative store—are the meeting ground for outside representatives of national or supra-local agents and townspeople. These provide the settings in which behavioral adjustments to internal changes and to external standards can be viewed.

The Concept of Space

• 772 361 Relevant social space is conceived of as a square. The square shape of houses, of the offering hole for the house sacrifice, of the corn field, and of the planting pattern for corn conforms to a notion of the world as a

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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square. Although this conception is contradicted by knowledge learned in school, the two concepts are not brought into direct opposition. The town still defines the outer limit of most meaningful social relations, and most people are not forced by the circumstances of their lives to deal with an understanding of the world as round. It is enough that the four "sides" of their village be protected by crosses at the points of entry. The important orientation points are the east, referred to as the "coming out of the sun," and the west, referred to as "the sleeping place of the sun." North and south are referred to as lowland and highland because of the topography. Compass orientation is important behaviorally only at death. The body of the deceased is laid out in the cemetery with the head to the east. Indians comment that the Ladinos lay the body out with the head to the west, but Indians of other towns, such as Zinacantan, also do so. The cemetery is located on the western side of the town.

The House

The reference to the house in prayer as "the entry to suffering, inside the poverty" suggests the "cult of poverty" which Wolf (1955:459) points out as characteristic of closed corporate Indian communities. Most people conform to a standard house size of five square meters subdivided into an interior sleeping and living area and a porch (Fig. 8). The walls are made of mud strengthened with lime packed in a framework of poles supported on nine main posts. The roofs are pitched with four sheds rising steeply to a truncated ridge. Tiles are used in most new houses to cover the roof, but there are still many thatched palm or wooden shingle roofs. Corn and beans are stored in the rafters under the eaves of the house.

Inside the house, beds line the two side walls. If there is no cooking shack separate from the house, the hearth is placed in the center of the interior room. The grinding stone, raised on three posts, is placed to the left of the center post.

The porch is the area for ceremonial gatherings and for making and storing pottery. A table with the pictures of household saints set against the inside wall, is adorned with flowers and candles. During house fiestas, men sit on the benches lining the four walls of the porch, while the women sit inside in a semicircle.

753 776 [794] [888] [613] thunder, wind, or lightning. All the men who occupy or have occupied cargos in the political or religious organization are supposed to have a nagual, as do the older members of the lineage. They consider it their duty to punish those members of the group who have sinned and use their nagual, who can devour the soul of the victim little by little.

774 776 According to this idea, everybody has two souls: one which can be eaten by the naguales, and one which follows the destiny that its patron saint has planned for it. 761 775 776 When death comes, the naguales take away the first soul and have a banquet up in the mountains. In this feast, the naguales of the old people of the clan participate, joined by others induced to comradeship.

761 773 776 It is a widespread belief that at midyear the naguales go to a place in heaven called Atimaltik, where an old man who possesses the Book of Life lives. Since in this book he keeps account of the time each person can live, it is a source of information for the naguales, who thus can know who is close to death. When the signature of a person disappears from the book, this means that the person died.

764 People have to keep watch over the body for two days and two nights. It is placed on a wooden plank in the middle of the house after being washed or just given a change of clothes. Two candles are placed at the head. At night friends and neighbors come to keep company with the family. They play harp and guitar and drink chicha and aguardiente. At dawn, the men go home and the women remain crying near the corpse.

[613] [184] Following the ancient custom, the dead are buried near the graves of other men of the same lineage. In Cancuc, however, dead are buried inside the house.

The bottom and sides of the grave are covered with slabs to form a coffin. The corpse, bundled up in a petate, is placed inside. His clothes and other articles he may

[P. 224-B]

The four sides of the square house are protected by palm crosses which were nailed to each of the four corner posts during the ceremony of the initiation of the house. These crosses prevent the entry of evil. A fifth cross on the door post, replaced each year on the Day of the Cross, ensures the guardianship of San Pedro the Martyr, the Lord of Lightning.[5] 342 789 [776]

The idea of the similarity in substance between a house and its inmates originates in the notions about soil (*lum*) and mud (*ʔač'al*). An origin myth concerning the creation of man indicates that God created man out of soil and this mythical identification is reiterated in prayers when the fleshy part of the body is referred to as *hlumeletik*, our soil, and *kač'aletik*, our mud. Whatever soil man comes into contact with—in his house, in the backyard, or in his travels, may contain some of his soul. This belief is demonstrated in the following practices: When a person's soul is lost because of a fright, such as falling or "seeing a spirit," the soil where the incident occurred is scraped into a shirt or skirt belonging to him and deposited in the soil below the head of his bed. Some older informants say that the soil from beneath the bed is scraped up and deposited in the coffin of a deceased inmate of the house, but I have never seen this done. This intimate relation between soul and soil was best illustrated to us when our landlord refused to let us put a cement floor in the interior of his house since it would interfere with the practices described above and other customs in the house ceremonies mentioned below. 342 773 774 [123]

The house is constructed in two stages. The completion of each stage requires a ceremony linking the spirits of the inmates to that of the dwelling. The first stage is the erection of the house posts and the wooden frame. When the roof is covered with wood shingles, thatch, or tile, the family may set up temporary walls of boards. They wait until the rainy season to complete the second stage of building up the walls with mud. The first ceremony, called "fiesta for the house," is for "the spirit which resides in the posts," and the second, called "meal for the house," is to feed "the spirit of the house earth." People believe that the mud walls, like their fleshy counterpart, the human body, require nourishment. 342 774 [527]

5. San Pedro Martyr is referred to by the Indians as *Tatik Martil* and is identified with the pre-Conquest deity Lord of Lightning, or *Tatik Čaʔuk*. [776]

waters. The curer brushes the patients with branches of the cooling bushes and herbs growing near the spring, the same ones used in the fiesta of inauguration and the curing ceremonies conducted in the house. The strategy of making the house spirit happy by providing music, dancing, and drinking is repeated at the spring to make the water spirit happy. Some of the family of the patient must remain in the house as "waiters" (*maliwanehetik*) to receive the spirit if it should arrive before its owner. The maliwanehetik must drink as much liquor as the participants at the spring.

The Cave of the Ancestors. The ancestors, the *me?tiktatik*, were believed to have lived in a cave in the hills lying on the peripheries of the township. In the myth that follows, they are given a historical identity as two brothers, the Shuntonetik. Shunton is one of the Tzeltal patronyms of families still living in the town, and in fact the narrator of this version of the myth is Mariano Shunton, whom people consider a descendant of the ancestors.[6]

Formerly a priest asked for a document to be delivered to Antigua in Guatemala. Two messengers were sent with it, but they did not return. Another messenger went and did not return. Four or five more messengers were sent out and did not come back. Finally they sent a man from the cabildo with his younger brother. They left early in the morning, and the elder brother said as he left the other town officials, "If I succeed, I want a fiesta. Look for my sign of four arches [rainbow]."

The two brothers first went to a hill. There they called upon their swayohelik [*animal spirits*]. *First the animal spirit of the elder brother spoke. He said, "I am a stone." Then the animal spirit of the younger brother said, "I am a stick. Moreover, I am a snake and a maguey plant." The elder brother said, "Then we are well off. Let us go."*

6. The same identification of a lineage patronym with the most important sacred hill is found in other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities (Holland 1963, Hermitte 1964). The pattern may have originated in a period of pre-Conquest expansion when the dominant lineage was assigned a custodial leadership over the new settlement, with their spirits remaining as guardians of the community. Members of the contemporary communities who bear the same patronym do not have any privileged position. These associations of past and contemporary belief are, as Vogt (1964:216) cautions, still hypothetical.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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773 *As the two brothers were walking, the elder brother said, "Do you see*
778 *what that man is doing?" He was referring to a black man lying near the*
539 *road. "He is sleeping," said the younger. The elder said, "Let us go on."*
769 *They approached closer to the sleeping man. The elder brother said, "Let us pass." Just as they were passing, the black man said, "Where are you going? Come back! Come, enter here."*

They entered a cave. The black man said, "Here you are going to die."

"So be it," said the elder.

"Put your head here," said the black man. He went to get his machete, but instead of hitting the head with it, he drove it into the great stone which was the elder brother's swayohel. "Ah, the devil, who are you?" he asked. Turning to the younger brother, he said, "Now it is your turn!"

The younger brother came, and the black man struck him with his machete. The machete broke.

"Now it is your turn, black man!" said the younger brother. The devil began to cry, "Go along, I will not trouble you." "Yes, you will always trouble us," said the elder brother. "I shall give you money," said the black man. "No, I have money," said the elder brother. "Then I shall carry you," said the black man. "I do not want that. You must die!" said the elder brother. "Come, boy [to his younger brother], cut a stick and make two points on each side. Stick it there and a wind will carry him aloft."

Then a snake came and settled right there where the stick was planted. The black man fell, and the stick entered his anus. It came out of his mouth and he died. The brothers cut off his head and brought it to Guatemala. They delivered the paper to the priest, who was very frightened.

"Which way have you come?" asked the priest. "We came along the road," answered the brothers.

"But didn't you see anyone?" asked the priest. "No one," answered the brothers. "But where did you really go?" asked the priest.

"Since you force us to answer, we did meet someone," answered the brothers, "covering the road where we passed midway. We brought him here."

"I want to see him," said the priest. The elder brother said, "Look, I brought him in this box. I cut off his head."

The priest looked, and when he saw the head, he cried. He ordered the

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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soldiers to come and throw the Shunton brothers in jail. He ordered a meal brought to prison with a servant. 703 708 539 769

"I do not want it," said the elder brother and returned it with the servant. "Tell him [the priest] that I do not want it but thank him."

The servant told the priest that the brothers did not want the good meal.

"Good," said the priest. "If they don't eat in a little while they will be dead. Go leave them liquor so that they will not feel how they die."

"Good," said the servant. She went to the jail and said, "My master wants to know if you want to drink."

"I don't want any. I have some too. I brought a liter of trago." There they were drinking inside the prison.

At ten in the morning, they came to tie a blindfold on the brothers. They shot at them, but the bullet did not hit. They shot again, but it did not hit. "Who are these people?" asked the priest. "Send out another soldier!" The other began to fire, but the bullets did not hit the brothers. Many soldiers came out and fired, but the bullets did not hit them.

"Then," said the soldier, "you know what we shall do? We shall burn them in this hide."

"Good, go look for the hide. When the hide comes we will prepare it," said the priest.

They began to sew the hide. When they finished sewing, they began to throw wood and lit a fire. They waited until the fire started. They came to see the brothers. They were very drunk.

"Bring them here." said the priest. "Not yet. They are still drinking." But the priest answered, "They have drunk enough. Go bring them and we shall burn them."

On their second return, the fire began to burn the pueblo. The people began to cry. Half the pueblo was burned when the Lord of Lightning and Rain came. A shower hit the fire.

"Good," said the elder brother. "We have won. Now the fire is out and we shall go. Let us see if they are waiting for us in our town. If not, I know where we can find some pretty women in Chiapa."

"Good. Let us rest a little," said the younger brother.

"Good, I am thirsty. Let us go where there is water," said the elder.

773 *"Good."*
778 *They waited a while and the water came. "Are you going to drink?"*
539 *They drank, and then they made the sign of the rainbow. The president*
769 *sent his síndico to meet them. The síndico got drunk on the way. He sat down halfway in the road. The brothers met him there. They were angry that a fiesta was not prepared for them. And for this they left town, and went to live in Chiapas.*

773 This tale is known to everyone in town, and there is no doubt as to its au-
778 thenticity expressed by those who have given versions of it. When I took
769 some of the Indians on a trip to Guatemala, they pointed out the rocks
123 where the brothers encountered the devil. When they arrived in Guatemala and saw a bus marked Antigua they expressed amazement that the town was still in existence.

769 Some people claim to have seen the ancestors, whom they describe as
778 wearing the old style costume—a long shirt with the hat now worn by the alfereces. The ancestors are believed to have watched over the village from a mound rising abruptly before the mouth of the cave, called Hol Shan, or Head of Palm, because of the trees growing on it (Plate 1). From this eminence they could watch the streets of the village and see whether anyone was trying to bring in evil (Plate 2). They were able to discern the power of evil in the souls of the newborn and could snatch the soul before its possessor grew up to cause evil. Their human agents in guarding the town
[756] against evil were the curers (*ʔuʔuletik*), who in the context of guardianship were called *meʔiltatil*.[7]

796 Each year on the Day of the Cross, May 3d in the Catholic calendar,[8] a
769 fiesta is held in honor of the ancestors. It refers back to the fiesta which
62 ought to have been held for the returning Shuntonetik, and is performed in the interest of the whole community as a means of ensuring good relations with the ancestors.

[756] Formerly the curers were responsible for conducting this fiesta. An informant recalled the ritual:

7. The guardianship role of the curers is related to the functions of pre-Conquest officials, called *ghcanalum*, "caretakers of the soil" (Calnek 1962:25).

[1178] 8. The date of the Day of the Cross was changed by the Vatican in 1964. When the local priest tried to reschedule the fiesta in the community, he encountered strong opposition. The Indians continue to celebrate the Day of the Cross on May 3d.

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The curers used to go up to the cave with the alfereces, the mayordomos *[religious officials], the prayer reciters, and the people of the village. When they arrived there, the mayordomos played the guitar and gourd rattle. They lit candles and incense, and the leading curers would go inside the cave. All the people contributed money for the liquor and candles which was collected by the officials. They said that they spoke to the ancestors inside, where there was a lake and a beautiful field. They asked for rain and good crops. They would come out and tell the people waiting outside what the ancestors had said.*

Then one year [in 1957] during the fiesta of the cave, the curers went into the cave. The people said to the curers, "We want to see the owners." The curers said they would come out, but they didn't. The people waited and waited. A boy went inside with the curers. They tried to prevent him, saying, "Won't you be afraid?" He said, "No, let's go in." They entered twenty feet inside the door. The curers said, "Let us stay here." The boy asked them where was the river, the lake, and the milpa that were supposed to be inside. The curer replied, "It is all a lie. Now you know; don't tell the people." But when he came out, the boy told the people it was all a deception.

Since the late 1950s the ritual has changed. The curers no longer officiate, nor do they enter the cave and speak to the ancestors as they did formerly. The *fiscal*, or assistant to the priest, leads the mayordomos, alfereces, and prayer-reciters to the cave on the Day of the Cross and simply replace the palm cross at the entrance to the cave just as they do with the palm crosses fixed to the wooden crosses marking the roads leading into the town. The curers have attempted to revive the belief in the presence of the ancestors by saying that their nephew is in residence now, but no one I ever spoke to believes this. Most people agree that the ancestors live permanently in Chiapa de Corso.[9]

The hill and cave owners. While people try to maintain a good relationship with the spirits of the house, of the springs, and of the Cave of the Ancestors, they avoid the dangerous spirits of the hills and caves

9. A similar myth concerning the departure of the ancestors to go live in Chiapa de Corzo exists in Pinola (Hermitte 1964).

mother the Moon gets angry. This might cause an eclipse of the moon, and the crops will suffer because there will be no sun. 241 776 784

There is no prohibition, however, against having sexual relations prior to planting or at other crucial stages, as there are for other Maya Indians (Wagley 1941:34). [171]

During the growing season, candles are lit in the milpa as protection against wind as well as robbers, who "lose their luck" when this is done. 241 788

The spirits' care of the crops. The crops have souls, given by the spirits, which will be lost if they are not cared for. The spirits "watch over the crops as parents watch over their children." The term for seed (*yal*) is a metaphorical extension of the term for "child of a woman." 241 774 776

The following myths give different, occasionally contradictory versions of the origin of crops. This central truth emerges in all of them: The spirits have given us our crops and will continue to do so as long as we offer thanks in the form of ceremonies and gifts to them. [782]

Santo Tomás [*the patron saint of Oxchuk*] *had intercourse with Santa Lucía. She wanted* [asked for] *the soul of corn, and he gave her the seed of corn. Then there came forth beans, corn, and wheat. But then all the saints of San Bartolo and San Miguel* [*neighboring towns*] *asked for the soul of corn. Then the soul of beans left us and went to hot country. Now it does not grow well in the pueblo. Also, the avocado has gone to Comitán. The matasano and ground beans went to Oxchuk when Santa Lucía fought with Santo Tomás.* [539]

The myth of the origin of crops overlays an older myth which has parallels in other groups of Maya-speaking Indians (Castro 1965, Wagley 1941:20). 773 241 171

Formerly, during a famine, there was hunger. The tzisim, *an insect of Ariola, came to take the corn from underground. Thus the ancestors got their first seed. For this reason, people say that corn was born underground, brought up by the tzisim. But I believe God sent us corn.* [539]

Another version has synthesized the role of the saints and that of the animal agent. 241 776 825 539

Chapter 12

Ordering Behavior by Time

The structuring of social acts depends upon shared understandings about how others use time as well as space. Scheduling of activities in the daily and annual cycles minimizes decision-making by individuals and provides a set of expectations that facilitates cooperation.

The Sense of Time

The abstract noun for time, *k'alal,* is derived from the word for day, *k'al.* Time began when k'oǎ, the youngest son of Our Grandmother the Moon, took the sun from his elder brother and carried it around the world so that there was a succession of day and night (Chapter 8). Time past, (*name?il*), is a general state of being in which the ancestors lived. The future is at best a recapitulation of the past.

People judge time by the position of the sun during the day, and by that of the moon or the stars at night. In winter, the appearance of the group of stars called "the sandal" and in summer of the "seven stars" indicates two o'clock in the morning. The appearance of Venus, called "the big star," announces the arrival of dawn.

In addition to these natural indicators, there are three timepieces in the town—in the school, the parish house, and the store. In the morning the policemen check the time with the lay sisters or the schoolmaster before mounting the tower of the church to strike the bell at eight o'clock, the time for rounding up the schoolchildren, at noon, the time for closing the town hall and the church, and at five in the afternoon, the time for evening prayers.

Despite bells and nature, however, people are not very accurate in calcu-

Moon" will not give way to the sun if her envy is aroused by seeing such things. These spirits of the heavens have greater control over natural forces than the spirits of the church, or saints. The saints have only limited influence over the souls of particular crops and chickens; people say "they are just of the pueblo."

The distinction between the "big saints of the church" and the lesser saints is recognized in the rituals accorded each group. Four of the saints are given big fiestas which are longer, require more expenditures, and involve more people than the fiestas for the lesser saints. Few distinctions are made between the personalities of the big saints and those of the lesser saints. They are big because their fiestas are big. The fact that the townspeople have selected four from the rostrum of saints given them suggests a link with the four guardian gods of the pre-Conquest pantheon, but except for San Pedro the Martyr's identification with Chac, or Cha'uk in Tzeltal, I could not make any other associations.

To say that there is a system of beliefs does not rule out inconsistencies. Some contradictions can coexist without giving rise to tension. Awareness of incongruence either between beliefs, or between beliefs and behavior associated with them, arises in specific events in which the conflict becomes apparent—that is, when the participants must make choices between alternatives that affect their interests.

The people do not recognize any division between pre- and post-Conquest spiritual entities. Sometimes two personalities from Catholic sources may be equated with one of pre-Conquest origin in order to fit a story format, as in the case of Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost, with K'oł (Chapter 8). The priests, who had a special dispensation to make whatever cultural translations were necessary in teaching the doctrines of the church (Doctrina Cristiana Lima 1584 III, 3, Recopilación de Leyes, Ley 22 lib. cited in Lamb 1956:531), are responsible for some of the reworking of the two traditions. But local elaborations reveal indigenous cognitive patterning.

Contradictions in myths concerning the origin of crops show some gaps in the union of pre-and post-Conquest legends. The gift of corn is attributed in one myth to the patroness, Santa Lucía, who received it from the patron saint of the neighboring town of Oxchuk. Another myth gives

/7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

773 credit to insects who carried it from the hills. Still another myth synthe-
179 sizes both pre-Conquest and Catholic agents: San Antonio, seeing an in-
178 sect bearing a kernel of corn, persuaded a woodpecker to break open the rock which blocked the entrance to the hill where the corn was stored and then organized the insects to bring forth the corn. The contradictions in these myths do not motivate the people to bring the several versions into line with one another because the rituals associated with beliefs concerning crops provide an overall insurance rather than a specific contract. The In-
776 dians do not trust their security to any one saint or even group of deities.
782 The two candles lit in the milpa following the harvest are an offering to
177 the "owner of the earth"; along with this, offerings of corncobs are made
178 to the saints in the church and to the house saint. Even the birds are left
[825] an offering of corn kernels in the fields after the harvest so that they will not be jealous of the farmer.

773 These myths fail to provide specific charters for action. What they do
771 provide is a set of dispositions to behave in certain ways. The underlying
182 disposition is that of self-imposed guilt and recrimination. The ancestors left their cave because the people failed to give them a fiesta; the spirit of money left the town because the religious officials in the past failed to adorn the church and improvidently strewed the floor with green peso notes in place of pine needles. Sickness and poverty are attributed to their own failures.

771 Another disposition is that of appeasement through ceremonial enter-
796 tainment. This is carried out in the fiestas for the spirits of the church and
731 the spirits of the heaven just as for the spirits of the house, caves, springs,
182 and hills surrounding the town. Community-wide disaster is interpreted as a direct result of failure to perform rituals establishing reciprocity with the spirits. When individuals face crop loss, they review their own ritual obligations to see what went wrong. The curing ceremony is an-
[755] other effort to appease the devil whom the witch has persuaded to give illness to his victim.

771 A third such disposition is to project human conflict into the superna-
776 tural sphere. The conflict between Santa Lucía and the patron saint of Ox-
821 chuk, Santo Tomás was taken to be the reason for the church tower being
182

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

by Blom and LaFarge.[37] At Tenejapa and again at Guaquitepec, Villa met persons terrified by fears of witchcraft; it is apparent that the subject is important throughout the region. The word for witch is *agchamel*, and the phrase used is to the effect that the witch "eats" his victim. Villa understood this to refer to the belief that a person's soul may be lured away from his body, a notion consistent with facts reported by Blom and LaFarge.[38]

Villa's notes establish the fact that the nineteen-month pagan calendar is in current use in the highlands, at least in Chanal, Cancuc, and Oxchuc. In 1702 Nuñez de la Vega [39] published the names of twenty days of the month; these have apparently not been reported since. In 1845 Emeterio Pineda [40] gave for the first time (but for the Tzotzils) the names of the months, omitting only the name *chayquin* for the five-day period. In 1888 Vicente Pineda [41] furnished a complete list of the months for the Tzeltals. Villa was informed that the month *Yaxkin* ended in November so that the new year would begin in the second week of January. Starr [42] says that the first twenty-day period (*Tzin*) begins January 1. Becerra [43] says that the year should begin with the winter solstice. However, he gives, based on information received from the Indians themselves, a table [44] correlating the variations from village to village; thus, the month *Batzul*, first of the year, begins in Oxchuc on January 1, in Cancuc on the second and in Tenejapa on the third. Furthermore, according to this author, there is a marked difference between the correlation followed by the Tzeltals and that followed by the Tzotzils; thus the month *Olalti* [45] begins among the Tzeltals on March 27 and among the Tzotzils on April 12. The list of months Villa secured differs from both Starr's and Pineda's list, but agrees with that of Becerra.

Batzul	(Time of harvest)
Zakilab	(Clearing the milpa begins)
Agelchac	(The clearing continues)
Mac	(Time of sowing)
Olalti	(Time of sowing)
Jul-ol	(Time of sowing)
Uec-cachaquin	(No work)
Joquen-ahau	(Time of sowing in the tierra caliente)
Chin-uch	(Time of weeding)
Mucul-uch	(Time of weeding)
Juc-uinquil	(Time of resting)
Uac-uinquil	?
Jo-uinquil	?
Chan-uinquil	?
Ox-uinquil	?
Pom (Octubre)	(When the new ear forms)
Yax-kin (termina con Noviembre)	?
Mux	?
Tzun	?

[37] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:369–371.
[38] *Ibid.*, 2:371.
[39] Nuñez de la Vega, 1702.
[40] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 111
[41] Vicente Pineda, 1888, pp. 130–131.
[42] Starr, 1902, p. 177.
[43] Becerra, 1933, p. 50.
[44] *Ibid.*, Table 8.
[45] *Ibid.*, Table 10.

682 epidemic (two cases), when people have drunk
[755] a great deal and their motive is fresh in their
[273] mind.

The settings in which homicides occur indi-
682 cate that a killer is expressing not his own
152 bravery but rather his fears. Wounds are fre-
154 quently inflicted from the rear, and often the
[273] victim is outnumbered and set upon by a group. The victim is sometimes invited to drink with his killer(s), and in this session he is disarmed psychologically and physically. Alcohol reduces the chance of his effective reaction, and this is important when a knife or machete is used. Shotgun killings are done at a distance and do not require this tactic, al-
682 though it may still be employed. For drinking
273 serves to reduce the killer's own fears. Drink
152 "heats the blood" and makes unusual behavior possible. One killer, in recounting his act, was not trying to prove bravery, but rather his own good judgment and cool-headedness. The killer fired at the victim while he was sleeping, his back turned to the door, and killed him. The shot also entered the arm of the
[695] sleeping man's wife. She saw the killer as he left the scene, but testified in court that she
[683] had seen no one. She was, in effect, accepting his verdict that her husband was a witch.[4] This homicide was not regarded by the killer or by anyone else as a heroic act, nor was the killer in recounting it attempting to emphasize anything other than the necessity of the act.

682 *Instrumentality: Weapons and Wounds*
411

gun	14
machete	6
gun and machete	4
knife	3
knife and gun	1
knife and machete	1
knife and stone	1
hatchet	1
nail	1
sandals	1
??	4

The variety of weapons reduces the question of any technological determinism to a minimum. The actual weapon used seems to be a matter of convenience. When more than one is used, it is usually evidence that the assailant had helpers. The nail is unusual. It was hammered into the jaws of a man who had entered the curing profession at an age considered too
682 young. The attack on the jaws of the victim
• 774 seems related to the power of speech and to the
056 [text continues on p. 461-B]

3rMash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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[p.461-B] Teklum

682 704 756 location of the soul, *st'silel*, in the tongue, *yut*, wherein lies the particular power of the curer. This possibly suggested the mode of attack.

682 411 412 [223] [224] The instruments used to kill are carried by the farmers of this area most of the time. The men go to their milpa with a machete strapped to their side, a shotgun slung over their shoulder, and sometimes even a knife stuck in their waistband. They frequently interrupt work to hunt birds, rabbits, and deer. The shotgun does not excite suspicion or comment when it is seen. The men of Teklum are technologically prepared to kill in the course of an ordinary day's work.

682 [152] [683] The number of wounds and the thoroughness with which the job is done (see Table 1) suggest not so much the fury of the assailants as the fear motivating their act. In a witch-killing, it appears to be thought necessary to hack up the victim completely so that his power is effectively ended: one witch was cut into 32 pieces; another had 166 wounds.

682 674 656 The death acts drawn up in the local courthouse have been increasingly specific in their statements as to the wounds inflicted ever since the government's intervention in the case of an accidental death in 1950. The local authorities were threatened with a fine of 600 pesos if the details were not properly recorded. The careful measurement of the body in relation to the road and to neighboring milpas and the measurement of the size and depth of the wounds provide the screen of complicity that wards off further investigation by federal authorities and preserves local independence. There is never any questioning of suspects or attempt to solve the crime by officials. The success of the ploy is illustrated in the following account:

> Pedro had animals at the spring and had gone out early with ropes in his bag to lasso them. He was found with a rope tied around his neck hung from a *tibinil* tree. We went out and measured the length and thickness of the rope and how many centimeters it penetrated his neck. We put all these facts in the report, which gave the cause of death as suicide.
>
> At that time we had a schoolteacher in town who asked the dead man's wife why the town didn't investigate who killed him because someone must have done it. He went with the widow to the Ministerio Publico in the capital. Well, when they came out, there were all the facts in the death act. [Informant laughed heartily as he recalled this success.] He saw that we had discovered the body at 3 P.M., that the rope was 15 meters

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 466-A] Teklum

625 The "police force", made up of ten
626 Indians of the town who served without pay for a year, acted as errand boys more than as guardians of public safety. The townspeople conformed to the cultural code of behavior because of a sense that their welfare was being cared for.

626 More recently, the breakdown of certain
178 structural features and competition between
756 new and old leaders have undermined non-
[128] violent methods for the maintenance of social control. These changes will be discussed in terms of (1) the organization of the curing profession, (2) conflict between the curers and the civil authority, and (3) how both the curing profession and the civil authority are affected by the breakdown of the old dual division of the town.

(1) Organization of the curing profession.
[124] Perception of structural changes in the curing profession and their effect on attitudes are indicated in the following statement by an informant:

> Formerly there were not many curers. Only two—one in the low side and the other in the high side. They alone spoke together. They walked every night, looking and watching over the pueblo to see that no illness was brought in, checking to see who was bringing it and to see if there was any illness of God [reference to contagious diseases]. They saw which of the children had a soul
> [194] [reference to the third soul, the swayohel or animal spirit, which gives the power to cure and to do evil].
>
> If anyone wanted to be cured, they bathed them, cured them, and in a little while people got better because there was good illness only. If later on it turned into a disease of the devil, with their animal spirit they seized the force of the illness.
>
> When there was a contagious disease, and a witch "brought heat," and the children began to die, the two curers alone consulted and waited to see who had brought the evil and where they lived. One of them went to the town hall and gave an account of the fact that they had taken care of the evil and gotten rid of it. It was not necessary to gather together the pueblo—only the two knew what was the matter and how to care for it.
>
> The [two] leader curers of each section [*stalal ʔuʔuledik*] alone ordered other curers. No one else could enter curing until permitted by the leaders. They continued in power until they died, and then one of the younger curers took over.
>
> Beginning in 1940, more curers started to enter on their own accord. The elder curer had died, and his successor was not recognized. People saw that someone could pulse, and so they would ask him to cure.
>
> Now when there is an epidemic, the president

844 cloves, and corncake, to keep her "warm
[757] and fertile." The placenta can be burned,
[842] thrown to the dogs, or deeply buried in case
the mother does not want another preg-
[789] nancy soon. The umbilical cord is put under
a three-stone fireplace if the baby is a girl,
on top of a tree if it is a boy so that he may
become brave and agile when adult.

846 A few hours after childbirth, at the latest
515 the next day, both mother and child take a
temascal (steam bath). Some women stay
in the temascal until they feel completely
recovered.

Childhood and Adolescence

789 During the first weeks of life, children are
774 in danger of losing their souls because their
inexperience makes them an easy prey to
the naguales and bad spirits who wander
around. As protection, mothers place a small
[237] piece of beeswax at the back of the child's
head or tie, as a bracelet, a red or blue
thread around the wrist. If none of these
precautions are taken, the mother has to
cover with branches the paths her child
walks, so that his soul can easily find its way
in case he loses it.

789 Because of all these dangers, fathers al-
852 ways try to perform the ceremony of "seed
774 the soul of the child" as soon as possible. It
[553] is during this ceremony that the child is
given a name, later confirmed according to
Catholic ritual at the ceremonial center. A
[608] very important aspect of the ceremony is
selection of the godparents.

753 *Sickness and Death*

776 Most sicknesses come from infection or
[888] malnutrition. To the natives, however, ill-
nesses have a supernatural cause and are
ascribed either to the anger of gods and
spirits or to old people who have a nagual
or who can throw a spell. The most frequent
explanation is that naguales or supernatural
beings are acting against people. They can
adopt human or animal form or appear as
[P 224-A]

753 thunder, wind, or lightning. All the men
776 who occupy or have occupied cargos in the
[794] political or religious organization are sup-
[888] posed to have a nagual, as do the older
[613] members of the lineage. They consider it their duty to punish those members of the group who have sinned and use their nagual, who can devour the soul of the victim little by little.

774 According to this idea, everybody has two
776 souls: one which can be eaten by the naguales, and one which follows the destiny that its patron saint has planned for it.
761 When death comes, the naguales take away
775 the first soul and have a banquet up in the
776 mountains. In this feast, the naguales of the old people of the clan participate, joined by others induced to comradeship.

761 It is a widespread belief that at midyear
773 the naguales go to a place in heaven called
776 Atimaltik, where an old man who possesses the Book of Life lives. Since in this book he keeps account of the time each person can live, it is a source of information for the naguales, who thus can know who is close to death. When the signature of a person disappears from the book, this means that the person died.

764 People have to keep watch over the body for two days and two nights. It is placed on a wooden plank in the middle of the house after being washed or just given a change of clothes. Two candles are placed at the head. At night friends and neighbors come to keep company with the family. They play harp and guitar and drink chicha and aguardiente. At dawn, the men go home and the women remain crying near the corpse.

[613] Following the ancient custom, the dead are buried near the graves of other men of
[184] the same lineage. In Cancuc, however, dead are buried inside the house.

The bottom and sides of the grave are covered with slabs to form a coffin. The corpse, bundled up in a petate, is placed inside. His clothes and other articles he may

[P. 224-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

he is whipped by the girl's father for a thief. The girl is stripped to 584
the waist and whipped by her mother. With this the marriage is 585
legalized. As the first act of their true married life, the girl makes posole and offers it to her parents. The boy is under obligation to bring presents of bread, chocolate, aguardiente, etc., to his parents-in-law.

There are no formal restrictions of marriage, but the Church 582
exercises a general influence against wedding brother and sister, 177
cousins, or other relatives forbidden by Christian doctrine. In this, 178
owing to the disposition of the Indians, and to the purely tribal character of marriage, which is not regarded by them as a religious or governmental matter, the Church is only partially successful. In- 588
formal unions actually do occur between brother and sister, apparently without any ceremony, the pair merely continuing to live together, their family relationship slowly changing into that of a married couple. That such a wife's status has some regularity in their eyes is shown by the fact that she has the same position in funeral rites as an ordinary wife.

It is probably due to the negative influence of the Church that 115
the various important crises in the life of an individual, ordinarily 126
marked by such colourful ceremonies among primitive people, here are distinguished by very little of ritualistic observance. For description of the main events in the life course, we were again dependent on Señor Tovilla, whose information, given with little change below, checked entirely with the result of other inquiries. The funeral ceremonies were observed at first hand, after the fight described at El Encanto; for them, accordingly, I have used my own notes.

When a woman is about to give birth to a child, a midwife—an 844
older woman with some knowledge of herbs—is summoned. A few days before parturition, the woman is carefully tended by the midwife, well fed with choice food, and provided with a little rum. At the moment of giving birth, the midwife prays that the child may be brought forth happily. The mother kneels, and the midwife prepares to receive the child with a new cloth. Meantime the father is told to stay outside the house, or may be allowed to help in minor matters.

It is said that at Tenejapa the women go out into the woods to give birth untended, coming back with the child.

The baby is given Christian baptism. 852

A child's soul is considered to be particularly delicate, and there- 789
fore liable to magic influence. If the people of the house must go [774]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

fragments of prayers to him will be given when discussing medicine. 776
Distinct from the guardian of the cornfields, he is known only by name to the ordinary Indians, and mention of him appeared to alarm them a good deal.

Drunkenness still retains some of its old, ceremonial significance, 273
in its association with fiestas, funeral rites, and particularly with medicine, under which head it will be more fully taken up.

There are a number of beliefs and practices, no matter what their 789
origin, which, as they exist today, must be considered as superstitions rather than religion. Of such a type is the belief mentioned 771 822
when speaking of hunting, that painting the bullet red would make it go further. This is of interest in the study of survivals, in view of the importance of the colour red in pre-Christian times. It may be equally well argued, however, that the red in this case represents the blood of the animal to be slain. Most of the superstitions are 774 776
concerned with the *nagual* or the soul.

The set of ideas that constitute Nagualism is derived from ancient and important beliefs. The *nagual*, *teul-el* (*teul*, "holy," *-el* "the, the one"), is a companion-spirit to a man, taking the form of some animal. The stronger the *nagual*, the stronger the man, thus one with a jaguar for a familiar could work any kind of magic or other harm on one with a rabbit. We were told both that the *nagual* was assigned by popular consent, due to people's opinion of a man, and that it was seen in a dream. A man who has a quarrel with another will deliberately shoot animals of the species of the other's *nagual*, hoping to hit the particular one associated with his enemy. If that one dies, the man dies, and vice versa. Thus, it is plain that there is no idea of association with a whole class of animals, but only with one individual of a class.

According to Nuñez de la Vega,* in the seventeenth century the 776
nagual was assigned by a shaman, who took it from the name of the 756
day on which the individual was born. The child was later caused 774
to see his *nagual* . . . *"se abrazan cariñosamente con su nagual, que por arte diabólica se le apparece muy doméstica y supersticiosamente cariñosa, aunque sea una bestia muy feroz, como leon, tigre, etc."*† [171]
According to Sapper (1925) exactly the same practices obtain in Guatemala today, the animal being caused to appear by means of hypnotism.

It is possible that further investigation would show a similar 774
manner of choosing the *nagual* among the modern Tzeltal. How- 776

*Nuñez de la Vega, 1702, loc. cit.
†Extract in Pardiguas, 1868, Page 97.

800

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

to admit to having a weak one would admit weakness in magic and all other things, and set one's enemies immediately to work with the certainty of success. 776 756

Although the idea prevails among the Ladino people of Chiapas that the *nagual* and the soul are the same, in reality they are quite distinct. The soul, *lap*, is conceived of as a separate possession, distinct also from the principle of life, both in its conception and etimologically ("life"—*kucul*). This soul is a delicate thing, easily lost, and the object of many ceremonial precautions. Apparently it dwells within the body, but may be jarred loose, or lost in whole or in part. 774

Apropos of this, the Yocotan curse, given in Volume I, Chapter VI, a prayer to get hold of a man's soul, shows a similar idea. The damage is not done by catching the soul, but by the magic that may be worked on the man after it is caught. Save for the immortality which the Indian enjoys through it after death, his soul may be regarded as much more of a liability than an asset.

If an Indian falls down, the shock of the fall loosens his soul. He must lie where he is until his companions, or the next comers, place a circle of little crosses of grass about him. They then sweep up the trail behind him, gathering the dust and placing it in a heap by his head. On this the grass crosses are burned, and the Indian, inhaling the smoke, regains his soul.

It should be mentioned that these are a very sure-footed people, who seldom fall, and that no importance is attached to falling down when intoxicated.

In case of severe fright, the soul is also thought of as jarred loose. To cure this, an egg or a chicken is buried at the spot where the fright occurred. There is some idea of fright being caused by a spirit that must be placated, an idea which is differently expressed in a custom described as common among the Chol Indians near Palenque. With them, if a child is frightened, the mother beats it soundly, meantime crying "Go away, devil, go away, devil!" (*Que sale el diablo!*") In this case fright is definitely a form of possession. It is part of a conception found among many of the Mayance tribes that there is something unnatural and supernatural about a sudden shock of this sort. Being startled must be distinguished from merely being afraid of something, which is considered entirely natural and comprehensible.

On the trail the Indians sleep on beds of palm leaves which take an impression of the sleeper's body. Before going on, these leaves must be shaken out, and should also be held over the smoke of the [513]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927.NV9 Tzeltal NV9

774 fire and then hung up to destroy the impression and prevent leaving
[513] behind with it a portion of the soul, on which magic could be worked. Our own observation was that this precaution was carelessly observed.

789 Although magic may be worked on impressions on leaves, bits of
123 hair, earth from fields, etc., the Indians showed no objection at all to being photographed beyond a certain embarrassment, and very little to being drawn. Often they asked to be photographed, and at some villages posed readily for sketches.

756 Although, according to Nuñez de la Vega,* there were originally several classes of shamans among these tribes, at present they seem to have narrowed down to one medicine-man type. Primarily these are doctors, but in their practice they preserve certain priestly char-
756 acteristics. They have a real pharmacopeia, and Ladinos and oc-
757 casional foreigners who have tried their skill testify to the effectiveness of the medicines.† All their knowledge, however, is kept in greatest secrecy. Just enough medicine is administered at once for a dose, the shaman watching to see that it is consumed, and none held out for identification. Of these we were able to find out virtually nothing. Serpent fat, *junto-tcan,* is in common use as a rub for colds. Head-aches and extreme drunkenness are treated by cutting the forehead with a bit of sharp glass, and bleeding is resorted to in some other cases. The use of the tourniquet in cases of snake-bite is widely known.

All applications of medicine are accompanied by prayers recited in such a way as to be unintelligible to lay hearers. The prayers are an essential part of the treatment.

756 Shamans are trained from early infancy, being selected probably by the older practitioners. One of them takes the student in hand and teaches him prayers and medicines proper to his particular specialty. With this goes a certain amount of plain magic. Whether a man may then study under others and continue learning is not known; however, they vary in reputation both for their ability at curing, and for clairvoyance, casting spells, etc. Casting spells is a sort of reverse function of doctoring, the man who can cure disease being, obviously, able also to cause it.

[273] One of the two words given for a shaman, *poci',* shows an interesting resemblance to the Tzeltal for rum, *poc.* This similarity gains importance in view of the real connection between curing and drinking. A shaman definitely will not perform unless he is more

*Op. Cit.
†Cf. Sapper, 1925.

• 774

/For information on the acquisition of the third soul or swayohel by curers, see category 756./

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The four sides of the square house are protected by palm crosses which were nailed to each of the four corner posts during the ceremony of the initiation of the house. These crosses prevent the entry of evil. A fifth cross on the door post, replaced each year on the Day of the Cross, ensures the guardianship of San Pedro the Martyr, the Lord of Lightning.[5] 342 789 [776]

The idea of the similarity in substance between a house and its inmates originates in the notions about soil (*lum*) and mud (*ʔalʼal*). An origin myth concerning the creation of man indicates that God created man out of soil and this mythical identification is reiterated in prayers when the fleshy part of the body is referred to as *hlumeletik*, our soil, and *kalʼaletik*, our mud. Whatever soil man comes into contact with—in his house, in the backyard, or in his travels, may contain some of his soul. This belief is demonstrated in the following practices: When a person's soul is lost because of a fright, such as falling or "seeing a spirit," the soil where the incident occurred is scraped into a shirt or skirt belonging to him and deposited in the soil below the head of his bed. Some older informants say that the soil from beneath the bed is scraped up and deposited in the coffin of a deceased inmate of the house, but I have never seen this done. This intimate relation between soul and soil was best illustrated to us when our landlord refused to let us put a cement floor in the interior of his house since it would interfere with the practices described above and other customs in the house ceremonies mentioned below. 342 773 774 [123]

The house is constructed in two stages. The completion of each stage requires a ceremony linking the spirits of the inmates to that of the dwelling. The first stage is the erection of the house posts and the wooden frame. When the roof is covered with wood shingles, thatch, or tile, the family may set up temporary walls of boards. They wait until the rainy season to complete the second stage of building up the walls with mud. The first ceremony, called "fiesta for the house," is for "the spirit which resides in the posts," and the second, called "meal for the house," is to feed "the spirit of the house earth." People believe that the mud walls, like their fleshy counterpart, the human body, require nourishment. 342 774 [527]

5. San Pedro Martyr is referred to by the Indians as *Tatik Martilʼ* and is identified with the pre-Conquest deity Lord of Lightning, or *Tatik Čaʔuk*. [776]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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342 527 774 788 spring. The gourd is used as a container for the springwater because, like all growing plants and unlike metal or glass containers, it has a soul. The soul of the tobacco plant is considered particularly strong. The smoke of the candles and incense are the media through which prayers to the spirit [782] of the house are transmitted.

342 527 788 776 533 The house fiesta serves three functions: (1) introducing the spirit of the house inmates to the house spirit, (2) creating a harmonious setting for spiritual interaction of the members of the household and the house spirit, (3) protecting the house against the intrusion of evil. The introduction is achieved by brushing the household members with the branches from the spring, and the harmony is brought about by drinking liquor, playing the guitar, and dancing. The music of the seed gourd, the guitar, and sometimes a radio or phonograph makes the residents, their guests, and the house spirit happy, or "of one heart." Protection is insured by [789] nailing the palm crosses representing the Lord of the Lightning to the house posts.

342 527 782 756 *Second house fiesta* ("meal for the house"). When a meal is given to the spirit of the house earth, the house is arranged as for the house fiesta with curing arches set in front of the center posts at the back and middle walls. The same guests are invited as for the first fiesta. The family buys a sheep and slaughters it in the morning by stringing it up to the center post by it paws and slashing its jugular vein. When the blood has drained into the square hole opened at the base of the center post, the curer removes the head and buries it in the hole. Some curers bury the four paws as well, while others prefer to add an offering of five pieces of bread in a new pottery jar, twenty measures of chocolate, thirteen cigarettes, and a bottle of liquor covered with a new cloth. The head of the sheep is placed so that the eyes look up to watch over the inhabitants. Some refer to it as the *me?iltatil,* identifying it with the curers (who are called me?iltatil in the context of guardianship) and thus with the ancestor guardians.

During the house fiesta I observed in July 1967, an old curer who had officiated at the first ceremony served again. A neighbor, who was not related to the houseowners but who was skilled in butchering, slaughtered

242 *Soil characteristics.* The potential productivity of flat irrigated lands is evaluated on the basis of two criteria: color of the soil and consistency of the soil. The preferred land for cultivation is the black loam mixed with some sand, (*ʔihk'al hiʔiletik lum*). The better, quicker growing corn seed is planted here. These very productive soils are called "hot" [822] lands (*k'išin lum*). (Heat is associated with fertility in both lands and [843] people: a pregnant woman and her husband are considered to be in a state [842] of heat, and the contrast state of being cold is attributed to someone who is sterile.) The red (*tzab'alum*) yellow (*k'analum*), and white soils (*sak lum*) are poorer soils and the slower seed is planted here. These soils are considered "cold" (*sik*) and are thought to be "tired."

The loss of soil productivity is attributed either to the loss of the soul of [774] the crop or to the fact that the soil gets "tired." Farmers have noticed that in the first five years of planting in Tulanca, the ejido land grant, the soil was "hot" and gave good crops. When this productivity was lost, people said the soul of the crop left. It is considered dangerous to start crops in the lower lands of hot country because when the location of crops is changed, the soul leaves its original residence. The notion of crop soul loss does not conflict with the awareness of natural causes of soil productivity. Fields are left fallow for four or five years when productivity diminishes and the soil is "tired." The irrigated lands are in continuous use because there is some replenishment of fertility with the overflow of the ditch waters. Cattle fertilizers are used sporadically. Those who have many head of [233] cattle construct corrals into which they herd the cattle each night. The location of the corral is changed yearly. Corn and beans are then planted in [596] the old corral with superior results. The dozen or so corrals in the town [476] are owned and worked cooperatively by extended families and are referred [551] to by the Indian patronyms—for example, *skoral Linetik* (corral of the Lins) or *skoral Čailetik* (corral of the Čailes). The one attempt to use [177] commercial fertilizers provided by the Ejido Bank proved a technical success but an administrative failure (chapter 3). Indians noted the increased yields, but none have attempted to purchase fertilizers.

Soil consistency is evaluated on the basis of how easy it is to work. Wet, sticky, or clayey soil (*łučilum*) and stony soil (*kešilum*) are least desirable. Sandy soil is easier to work, but soil productivity depends on a loam

mother the Moon gets angry. This might cause an eclipse of the moon, and the crops will suffer because there will be no sun.

There is no prohibition, however, against having sexual relations prior to planting or at other crucial stages, as there are for other Maya Indians (Wagley 1941:34).

During the growing season, candles are lit in the milpa as protection against wind as well as robbers, who "lose their luck" when this is done.

The spirits' care of the crops. The crops have souls, given by the spirits, which will be lost if they are not cared for. The spirits "watch over the crops as parents watch over their children." The term for seed (*yal*) is a metaphorical extension of the term for "child of a woman."

The following myths give different, occasionally contradictory versions of the origin of crops. This central truth emerges in all of them: The spirits have given us our crops and will continue to do so as long as we offer thanks in the form of ceremonies and gifts to them.

Santo Tomás [the patron saint of Oxchuk] had intercourse with Santa Lucía. She wanted [asked for] *the soul of corn, and he gave her the seed of corn. Then there came forth beans, corn, and wheat. But then all the saints of San Bartolo and San Miguel [neighboring towns] asked for the soul of corn. Then the soul of beans left us and went to hot country. Now it does not grow well in the pueblo. Also, the avocado has gone to Comitán. The matasano and ground beans went to Oxchuk when Santa Lucía fought with Santo Tomás.*

The myth of the origin of crops overlays an older myth which has parallels in other groups of Maya-speaking Indians (Castro 1965, Wagley 1941:20).

Formerly, during a famine, there was hunger. The tzisim, *an insect of Ariola, came to take the corn from underground. Thus the ancestors got their first seed. For this reason, people say that corn was born underground, brought up by the tzisim. But I believe God sent us corn.*

Another version has synthesized the role of the saints and that of the animal agent.

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The word for the act by which a tube of clay is formed, *ya sb'al*, has the connotation of creativity. In the *pat?o?tan*, a prayer form with many variations which introduces ceremonials, informants explain the terms *sb'al lum* and *sb'al ?al'al* as a reference to the creation of man's body formed out of soil and mud by the ancestors. Sometimes the verb *sb'al* is used instead of the usual word for planted, *tz'un*, to refer to the seeding of crops. 323 192

The parts of pottery are metaphorically equated to those of the body; the belly of the pot and the neck, ears, and mouth all have parallels in English metaphors. But among the Indians, pottery also has a soul. Metal or enamel containers do not have souls as do gourds and handmade pottery. [074]

TABLE 11. Classification of Motions in Pottery Production

Motion *	*Step* †	*Context*
Sb'is + (smooth +)		
-mo?el (raise)	3.5	Pressing walls of base with curved index finger inside pot against flattened fingers outside, working clay upward
te yutil (inside)	6.4	Smoothing interior of vessel
ta snukel (its neck)	6.6	Smoothing neck with piece of leather
-b'e sčikin sok yal sk'ab (its ears with "child finger")	7.6	Smoothing handles on inside with little finger
-b'e sčikin sok sme? (its ears with "mother finger")	7.7	Smoothing handles on outside with thumb
Šyub' + (shape +)		
-šmo?el (raise)	5, 5.2, 5.8	Shape and raise pot upward
Tzak + (stick +)		
yah tzak (stick on)	4.1	Stick on tube of clay to hardened base
-šyubmo?el (shape and raise)	5.2	Stick on another tube of clay to side, shape it upward
šan (another)	5.6	Add another tube of clay to side
-b'e sti?il (mouth)	6.3	Add roll of clay to hardened mouth
-b'e sčikin (ears)	7.3	Add measured, flattened tube of clay to walls of pot for handles
Swol + (make a ball +)		

(*cont.*)

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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model introduced was faulty or they were not taught to use it properly. Notions about the supernatural relation between souls of crops, man, and the saints do not interfere with experimentation or adaptation at the instrumental level. Obligations with respect to them are carried on as a supplement to other practical measures.

The organization of men's work in agriculture contrasts with that of women's work in pottery. Men's work, when performed cooperatively by two or more of an extended household or exchange labor team, is mechanically organized, in Durkheim's terminology. Each of the men does the same task, working closely in the rows of the milpa. Women's work groups are organically organized since segmentation of the pottery production in the stages described above makes possible specialization within a domestic production group including two or more women. Preferences and special abilities can be taken into account. The potters with more experience do the jobs which require more judgement and skill, such as mixing the clay or making the bases, and then the work is passed on to less proficient workers. Or an older woman can leave the more strenuous tasks, such as mixing clay or building up the sides of the larger pots, to younger women and perform the lighter tasks, such as putting on the neck and handles.

These differences in the organization of male and female work tasks suggest the need for a reformulation of the classification of whole societies as organically or mechanically integrated. In assessing the potential for change, internal variations in the organization of production might provide the clues for implementing development programs.

The division of labor according to sex is nearly absolute: women do not learn to work in the milpa nor do men learn to make pottery or perform household tasks. However, women will gather firewood, and men will transport clay (although they do not collect the clay deposits in balls) and help in firing pottery. Women can live without men in the household economy of the town, but men cannot live without women. This is because male labor is a market commodity while female labor in household activities is not. A widow can hire a man to work her fields, but a man cannot hire a cook. If he is widowed, he must remarry, move into his

Chapter 5

Rituals of Life Crisis

571 608 602 The ceremonial occasions marking baptism, betrothal, and death define the network of bilateral relatives, neighbors, and compadres who will guide and help a person throughout his life. These people make up the group called me?iltatil. The constitute a corporate group, but one which is tied to a single transaction. The sense of corporate identity is strengthened by the same group being called upon to act in subsequent household celebrations. But for each set of me?iltatil there is almost always a different membership since the participants are selected for a particular event. The behavior during these ceremonials is marked by formality and replication of a limited number of ceremonial acts. Through this replication, the rituals dramatize continuity with the past and foster a sense of changelessness. [192] The symbolic act establishing the bond is the embrace, called *sme?is-petb'ak*. Within the ritual setting, the child learns whom he can turn to for help and what he is expected to do in his home and community.

Baptism

852 774 After a month of seclusion when the child is hidden from public view, the soul is expected to have found its place in the child's body. A ceremony called *ki'n ha?* (water ceremony) [192] then takes place with the mother and grandmother in attendance. The three enter the sweatbath, and the mother and child are bathed in hot water and then cold.

If the child cries frequently, it is suspected that his soul is still not firmly lodged and has been wandering in the streets where it encounters animal spirits that frighten him. This requires a soul-calling ceremony performed

in the house in which he lives. The midwife, the only person present besides the mother, performs the ritual. She puts cold water in the child's mouth and then goes to the door, saying, "Enter if you arrive, little boy [or little girl]." Then she brushes the child with pine branches dipped in springwater, and smokes with incense of pitch pine the clothing which is then put on the child. The incense "makes a path for the soul to find the body of the child." As she does this, she says, "May your heart be one now that you are in the house." This ceremony is always performed when the child is born outside his parents' residence is order to guide his soul to its proper locale. Three days later, a ceremony called *sti? mut* (eat the chicken) takes place. Only women attend this meal. In one case I observed, the child's mother, her three sisters, mother, and husband's cousin attended. Each woman brings a peso's worth of bread, some chocolate, and ten tortillas. Two hens are cooked in boiling water, and the food is eaten by the women.

Baptism, called "throw the water" (*?ič ha?*) occurs as soon as possible after the new-born child's twentieth day of life. If the parents of the child live with either the mother's or the father's family, the grandparents will choose the godparent, or *padrino*. The actual decisions recorded for four families in Table 20 can be compared with statements of preference as to who should be godparents. People say they prefer nonrelatives ("We are not deceived by them"), people of the same section of the dual division ("We like to greet them in the street") and finally people of good reputation. The individual or couple chosen as godparent becomes *compadre* or co-parent to the parents of the child.

People seem to be successful in realizing the preferences they state. 81 percent of compadres are chosen from their own side of the dual division, and only 4 percent are chosen from out of town. 71 percent of compadres are chosen from among nonrelatives. A significant factor in the choice of compadres is maintaining good neighbor relations. Most families surround themselves with a ring of compadres which neutralizes both the fear of being the object of witchcraft and of being accused of witchcraft. Factors of wealth, prestige, and status positions—particularly that of fiscal—are also taken into consideration in choosing a compadre. Most of the padrinos of baptism are chosen from among older members of the community,

suitable, the president and judges give permission to the curers to allow him to enter the profession at this time. The novice provides three liters of liquor which are drunk "in common" by the curers and the civil officials.

There is some evidence that, formerly, novice curers were asked to yield the soul of one of their children:

My dead husband was given permission by Julian Gomex, the leader of the curers of Ahk'olnantik, to enter the curing profession. When my husband told me he wanted to cure, he said that Julian had asked him for a child "for the ancestors to eat." My husband was going to give a child of his brother since we didn't have any, but I said it would be a pity. Then he said he would give trago. This he did. I forget how many liters.

When the contagion came, the curers went to take out the heat. A policeman called my dead husband, and he went. The policeman said the leading curer had called him. The judges told him, "It is better for you to enter in common with the other curers."

He began to cure. The curers then asked what offering we were going to give.

"We have no children," said my husband. "We will give you liquor. I cannot give my brother's child or my sister's children."

He must have brought them about ten or twelve liters of trago and two packs of cigarettes.

The third soul, swayohel, may be acquired, or one may be born with it. Those who acquire the third soul by capture of the soul of a dead person within twenty days after the death are considered to be potentially dangerous. They are more likely to use the soul for evil than those who have acquired it from the ancestors at birth. Swayoheles can be acquired from a saint named ʔAhau in the neighboring town of Oxchuk.[1] The following account illustrates how one asks this saint for a swayohel:

If you go to the saint with a black face named ʔAhau with two candles of twenty cents you can ask for a swayohel. You say, "I want one t'ulel that is very strong. I have an enemy. I need one." You sleep there, and wake

1. Lombardo Otero (1944:73) says that in Oxchuk, Mukulajau, or Chulajau, is identified with Trinidad, and is associated with the pigeon, which is the animal spirit of powerful curers.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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756 sulted with each other to determine who was bringing in the heat. They
731 privately disposed of the evil by causing the evildoer to die of an illness.
[627] At the time of my stay, suspicion of the curers meant that a public hearing was held in the town hall to determine who the guilty person was; usually one of the curers themselves was suspected (Chapter 9).

756 The curers formerly demonstrated their beneficial power by bringing
796 rain during a fiesta held in the cave of the ancestors. This is described by
778 an informant:
789
769
[794] *When the pueblo lacked rain in the growing season of corn in May and June, the leading curers went with the other curers, the fiscal, the alfereces, the mayordomos, and the women prayer-reciters to the cave. All the women carried candles of a peso or fifty-cent size and incense burners. They drank a great deal of liquor at the mouth of the cave and then entered to dance. The mayordomos played the guitar, the drum, and flute as the women danced and the curers prayed to the me?tiktatik. There used to be a spring in this cave, people say, and the ancestors granted water from it when they were given a fiesta.*

The last fiesta for rain occurred about 1950. The whole town contributed two pesos for the liquor and candles. The leading curer then was Juliano, a man recognized for his powers in curing and in bringing rain. He told the people that he spoke to the me?tiktatik who, he said, were dressed in the old style [a shirt worn over short cotton pants still used by older men of the town, and the handwoven hat worn by alfereces today]. The curers told the people that it would rain, and the afternoon of the fiesta, it came down hard.

178 There is no longer faith that the ancestors live in the cave, nor that the
769 present curers could speak to them if they did.
756 The growing discontent with the curers, the suspicion that they are re-
756 sponsible for much of the witchcraft, is reflected in the account of an older
754 informant.
[178]

[774] *The curer O. K. told me that the curers ate the spirits of sick people who were going to die. The sick people would come to ask the curers for*

medicine. But why should they ask for medicine if the curers were going to eat their souls as he told me? I asked him, "How do you eat their souls?" He said that the five or six curers would make a common meal. They looked for a frying pan, and when it was well cooked, they would call all the curers and say, "Come, let us eat in common." When people came to ask for medicine, they would say, "Please, give us medicine." The curers would give the medicine, but the sick ones did not get well. The curers were only deceiving them. How could they get well if they wanted to eat their souls? They only wasted their money. 756 754 774

It is this that O. K. said to me. He told me himself that he had eaten the souls. Then I felt that he was bad because of what he himself had told me. To this day, I believe that he himself did the evil to his patients.

The personality of the curer. In view of the hazards of entering the curing profession and the low material rewards, the question of what motivates a curer to practice is of some interest. The older curers claim that God spoke to them in a dream and made known His desire that they cure. They conceive of it as a responsibility to the people, and maintain that their power comes from God. This contradicts parallel statements made by the same curers that their power comes from their swayohel. The younger curers say that the curers of their side selected them because they saw that they had a swayohel. 756

Direct questioning yields only limited understanding of what motivates these extraordinary people. The behavior of some of the curers reveals facets of the role which could not be elicited from them in questioning. Curers are able to defy tenets of the moral code of the community which stress softness and slowness, a moderation which is fundamentally based on fear of the world of spirits and of men. When drunk, the curers brag about their strength and fearlessness. They try to avoid the usual negative sanctions to such behavior by asserting the strength of their swayoheles and their imperviousness to harm. 756 156 [183] 756 156 776

My elder brother Albino was drinking with the dead Nicolás, leader of the curers of Alannantik. When both were half drunk, my elder brother asked Niholás what swayohel he had. 159 756

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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People who fail to conform to the customs of the town are said to lack "reason." This category includes those who do not attend to the advice of their elders. People from outside of town who do not behave in conventional patterns are said to be "of another sort."

Institutionalized patterns of behavior differ as to the degree of explicitness of the association between action and reason. Curing practices are most directly attached to an understanding of why they are performed. Ritual practices in the cult of the spirits are tied to a more general explanatory system in which something should be done "because it was the custom of our ancestors."

Competency. Judgments concerning the intelligence of a person and his ability to adjust to his social and physical environment complement the criteria of morality and reasonableness. Alertness, or intelligence is associated with the possession of more than one soul: a person may have from one to a dozen additional souls. Curers and witches, by virtue of their possession of an animal spirit, are by definition very intelligent. Evaluations of alertness are often made in discussing the personalities of others. In the myth concerning the three brothers and the honey (Chapter 8) God, the Elder Brother, was described as "not very bright," Jesus Christ, the Second Brother, as "a little brighter," and the Holy Ghost, the Youngest Brother as "the brightest." Alertness is usually associated with manipulation for one's own advantage, but is not necessarily antithetical to having a good heart. In the myth mentioned above, the youngest brother outwits his two older brothers to his own advantage, and coincidentally that of the world.

The word *b'ol* is used figuratively to express the opposite of alertness, stupidity. Literally it means one who is mute; the connection is significant. A child born mute is said to have had its soul stolen at birth so that he must exist without speech. The power of speech is highly valued and the prestigeful roles are accorded to those who can speak well in both formal and informal exchanges. It is a dangerous skill, since the ability to talk to the gods gives an advantage to the speaker over the general population. The ability to speak to the earth, a talent which people say the ancestors possessed and which curers in the neighboring town of Chamula still

554 these role-bearers have other functions to perform, but the term specifies the most significant of these. Other people may unofficially perform these acts but only the officially appointed person has the other prerequisites for and duties of the role.

3. Recruitment into roles depends on age and sex qualifications. Validation of the role emphasizes, in addition to these ascribed characteristics, innate capacity rather than acquired ability. For example, the curers who are respected are assumed to have been born with an animal spirit, while those who are believed to have acquired it are suspected of being witches. Similarly, high civil officials are expected to be innately clever, not just trained for office.

828 4. Evaluation of performance emphasizes the state of the heart and qualifies judgments of the person according to characteristics of the mind and of the soul. The heart governs emotions such as contentment or inner turmoil and determines the moral relations a person has with others. The mind enables a man to deal effectively in his instrumental activities so that he can speak and work well. Possession of a [774] second soul means that one is clever and capable, but it is the third soul which gives power over the life and death of others. The exchange of [754] evaluations about others is a crucial area of concern in the tense atmosphere dominated by fear of whichcraft. In the belief that their very sur- [156] vival depends upon knowledge of the intent of others before it is expressed in witchcraft, the people constantly consult with relatives, compadres, neighbors, or the curers, in order to anticipate changes in their relations with others.

681 5. Sanctions against behavior that fails to meet role expectations depend on the seriousness of the crime rather than on the attitude of the criminal. This means that compensation relieves the wrong-doer of any guilt burden. Most compensation, even for homicide, can be translated into cash payment.

156 6. Ceremonial behavior in everyday interaction as well as in ritual serves to limit the personal involvement in the encounter and to [554] emphasize the role category. This is particularly emphasized in the [273] initial stage of the encounter. Liquor and cigarettes introduce a more [276] informal behavior in which the etiquette of reserve can be relaxed.

621
627 Many cases of adultery never go outside the fences of the sitio, and many witchcraft cases come to the Ayuntamiento only after a murder has been committed in "revenge," in which case the Ayuntamiento is only called in to re-establish order and calm down the relatives of the deceased, trying to avoid further revenge and bloodshed.

794
776 The Mayordomos, on the other hand, have no control over the household Saints which are "owned" by each family and kept in the house in a special altar, nor do they relate directly, within the Church organization, to the many supernatural beings which populate the belief system of the villagers. The "owners of the hills," spirits which inhabit the caves, rivers and wells, the mythological creatures such as the Sombrerón (frightening ghost which appears to tempt people in isolated spots) or Juan Lopez (the local culture hero), and the evil and powerful souls of witches
794 are in a separate domain. These can be controlled only by the
624 curanderos, who have powerful souls, or by the principales. This
• 774 last group (principales) is also "in charge" of taking care of
776 the health of the village, and do so by having their own souls patrol the boundaries of the community at night and by forbidding entrance to sickness and plagues. The men capable of such supernatural performances "own" animal spirits (nahuales) which help them in their task. Mayordomos, on the contrary, can be men without such powers, and do not need to belong to the select group which deals with the supernatural outside the realms specified by the Catholic Church.

000 The communal offices of the Ayuntamiento and Mayordomías

614 /1/ Cancuc is a Tzeltal town of Chiapas, Mexico, whose
[101] social organization is based on exogamous patrilineal clans.
[776] These clans are intimately related to: 1) the nagual or guardian
[551] spirit, which is given the name of lab among the Indians of this
[613] region; 2) the native surnames that constitute the lineages within
[621] the clans; 3) the "barrios," as the Spanish chroniclers called the endogamous tribal subdivisions (called calpulli among the Aztecs and culibal in Cancuc); 4) the kinship system; and 5) the behavior.

614 All the individuals belonging to a clan consider themselves
601 "legitimate siblings" /Sp. "hermanos legítimos"/, using the terms that designate this class of relatives. This theoretical consanguineous kinship is expressed by means of the word chapomal -- a Cancuquero /a person from Cancuc/ calls another "brother" be-
614 cause he is his chapomal. This form of usage is indicative of
601 common ancestry, something that we were not able to clarify, as
124 our questions on this point only received answers that showed that
829 they had lost any notion of a real or mythical ancestor. Our informants invariably explained this situation with the expressions: "it is the custom," "San Juan /Saint John/ (Patron Saint of Cancuc) ordered it so," or "it was ordered by Manuel (God)." What does constitute a clear concept in the minds of all is that "formerly" each clan lived in a cave, from which its members went out in the form of human beings to populate the earth and in which lived the naguales, or lab, that bound them to their place of origin.
[775] The soul came back to this cave after death. There are as many caves as the number of clans.

614 The children belonged to the paternal clan. A woman who marries does not become a member of the clan of her husband.

/2/ Exogamy is strictly respected; persons belonging to the same clan never marry each other.

[591] The clans are not local, as their members live in all of the places and rancherías.

[178] At present the clans lack chiefs, this institution having dis-
[669] appeared about 30 years ago, according to all our information, when the zone that we are studying underwent a chaotic period due to political revolts.

753 thunder, wind, or lightning. All the men
776 who occupy or have occupied cargos in the
[794] political or religious organization are sup-
[888] posed to have a nagual, as do the older
[613] members of the lineage. They consider it their duty to punish those members of the group who have sinned and use their nagual, who can devour the soul of the victim little by little.

774 According to this idea, everybody has two
776 souls: one which can be eaten by the naguales, and one which follows the destiny that its patron saint has planned for it.
761 When death comes, the naguales take away
775 the first soul and have a banquet up in the
776 mountains. In this feast, the naguales of the old people of the clan participate, joined by others induced to comradeship.

761 It is a widespread belief that at midyear
773 the naguales go to a place in heaven called
776 Atimaltik, where an old man who possesses the Book of Life lives. Since in this book he keeps account of the time each person can live, it is a source of information for the naguales, who thus can know who is close to death. When the signature of a person disappears from the book, this means that the person died.

764 People have to keep watch over the body for two days and two nights. It is placed on a wooden plank in the middle of the house after being washed or just given a change of clothes. Two candles are placed at the head. At night friends and neighbors come to keep company with the family. They play harp and guitar and drink chicha and aguardiente. At dawn, the men go home and the women remain crying near the corpse.

[613] Following the ancient custom, the dead are buried near the graves of other men of
[184] the same lineage. In Cancuc, however, dead are buried inside the house.

The bottom and sides of the grave are covered with slabs to form a coffin. The corpse, bundled up in a petate, is placed inside. His clothes and other articles he may

[P 224-B]

764 tween his hands. The head is always placed to the west. During the following days, prayers are said to the memory of the dead. [768] Sometimes the house is evacuated because [775] people are afraid of the soul who remains saying goodbye to friends and relatives.

113

Nash, J., 1959
Paniagua, 1876
Redfield and Villa Rojas, 1939
Roys, 1940
Siverts, 1955, 1960
Slocum, 1956
Starr, F., 1902
Stephens, 1841
Tax, 1937
Tozzer, 1907
Trens, 1942
Villa Rojas, 1946, 1947
Vogt, 1964e

[P. 225-B]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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The sense of continuity
with the past is preserved in the ceremonials in which these officials act, but nonceremonial activities no longer reinforce the values symbolized in ritual. 182 608 571 796

Death and Burial

When a person dies, his soul is believed to go out from his tongue. The family is responsible for finding a resting place which will be satisfactory to the soul. If the dead person has died of a "good" (not caused by witchcraft) illness, the soul lingers for eight days and then goes to heaven. If the dead person has been killed, his soul stays in the village for "a month or twenty days." The reason given for this is that "the gods did not choose the hour of death, and the soul doesn't know where to go." During this waiting period the dead person "finishes his heart," or ends his emotional ties with friends and relatives. 763 764 775 [593]

Following the death, a sister of the parents of a child or some other adult woman washes the body and puts a wrap over it. The body is always laid out with the feet toward the door; the eyes are shut, and the jaw is wrapped with a kerchief to hold the mouth closed. Two candles are placed at the head and two at the feet. Flowers and a bowl to collect offerings of 2 pesos from each visitor are placed at the head of the body. The contribution given at the burial assures the giver of a hearing with Christ: 764 764 431

Everyone gives a contribution of 50 cents or a peso. Each one considers how much he can give and gives it. God listens to and speaks to those who give gifts. Those who give a candle or a little contribution of corn or flowers give an account of the dead man's life. If he had no crime on his conscience or only one crime, whoever killed him by violence or by witchcraft bears the guilt. Christ listens to the account of those who have given good contributions. Thus the help is given so that Christ will see that he did a favor to one who is poor and who has nothing to bury himself, not corn, or money, or anything to sell, not land, or cattle, or wheat. Therefore everyone who is a relative or a compadre or a neighbor brings one-fourth [bottle of liquor], a half measure of brown sugar, fifteen or twenty corncobs and one or two candles. And all men who arrive at the grave and

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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761 might be. The father or closest male kin of the dead person is careful to
627 recount all the consultations he has had with curers, both to absolve him-
753 self of the guilt of neglect or unconscious witchcraft and to search for the true culprit.

764 A proper burial with holy water, flowers, grave offerings, and prayers as-
• 775 sures the survivors that the soul of the deceased will rest and his bones will lie in peace. Lacking any of these features, the dead will disturb the living, as is recounted below:

During the revolution, many were buried without a funeral or without blessed water. On Thursday, the bones burn and cry. You can still see a blue flame rising above the old graveyard on Thursday. You can find money that the ancestors left there, but you have to go at night to dig it up.

An important safeguard to ensure that the soul will lie in peace is burial among people with whom the deceased lived. When a married adult dies,
[593] he is buried with his dead spouse. If he had two dead spouses, he is buried with the first spouse on the right hand and the second on the left. A child
[603] is buried with the grandparents of the household in which he lived—that is, if he lived with his mother's parents he is buried with them, and if with the father's parents, then with them. When people know that they
[763] are going to die, they express their preference as to where they wish to be
[593] buried. Usually they will elect to be buried between their dead parents, but
[608] if they were unhappy with their parents, they might choose a padrino or
[604] uncle. If dissatisfied in its resting place, a soul, even when properly buried, cannot find peace and wanders back to the house. Fearing this, relatives try to comply with the wishes of the dead.

My grandfather used to say that he wanted to be buried between his mother and father. But when he was about to die, he said, "I don't want to be buried there because my father beat me. He will continue beating my soul. I want to go on the side [of the cemetery]. Please don't bury me near my parents." My father said, "All right, we will put you on the side."

764 The funeral must meet the expectations of the community as well as
554 those of the deceased and his relatives. The mature children of a man who
626
593

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

dies are expected to give a funeral appropriate to his station in life and his wealth, as is expressed in the following account:

When my father got sick, he told his wife not to put him in a black box. He had heard a story that when the dead man is in a black box, his spirit cannot see. He wanted to be in a white box. He told this to his brother. But his brother wanted to get a black box. He bought one black box for three hundred pesos when my father died, because it is the custom of the pueblo to bury adults in a black box. The people would talk if we did not buy a good box because they knew he had animals. We spent six hundred pesos for the funeral. We presented the body in church for a mass. We had a singing mass for thirty pesos, and the box cost three hundred pesos. We had a common meal of beef in the house, and we spent two hundred and sixteen pesos for three garrafones of liquor. Each of his sons contributed sixty pesos for that. If we hadn't given him a good funeral, people would have said, "His children are very lax not to buy a good box to bury their father."

The padre says that all bodies should be presented in the church. He says if you don't have money, you don't have to pay for the mass. But we are ashamed if we don't pay because he does work for us. He charged only twenty-five pesos because he said my father worked hard for the town. We took a collection from all the people who were there, and it amounted to one hundred and thirty pesos. We paid the padre for the mass and gave a contribution. All the people in whose houses he had passed when he was alive came to see him. They said, "Ah, his children gave a very nice box for their father."

If all of the family is poor, no one talks if the funeral is not a good one. But if there is anything that can be sold, it will have to be to make a good funeral. When my father died, he had eighteen horses. We had to sell one, and each of the children gave one hundred pesos.

Some say the souls play the harp and drink liquor when they arrive in heaven. On All Soul's Day they visit the village where they had lived and where they are known. For each member of the household who had died, a specific portion of food is laid out. Special likes are catered to: a bottle of liquor will be set on the table for a deceased father, soda pop for children

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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suitable, the president and judges give permission to the curers to allow him to enter the profession at this time. The novice provides three liters of liquor which are drunk "in common" by the curers and the civil officials.

There is some evidence that, formerly, novice curers were asked to yield the soul of one of their children:

My dead husband was given permission by Julian Gomez, the leader of the curers of Ahk'olnantik, to enter the curing profession. When my husband told me he wanted to cure, he said that Julian had asked him for a child "for the ancestors to eat." My husband was going to give a child of his brother since we didn't have any, but I said it would be a pity. Then he said he would give trago. This he did. I forget how many liters.

When the contagion came, the curers went to take out the heat. A policeman called my dead husband, and he went. The policeman said the leading curer had called him. The judges told him, "It is better for you to enter in common with the other curers."

He began to cure. The curers then asked what offering we were going to give.

"We have no children," said my husband. "We will give you liquor. I cannot give my brother's child or my sister's children."

He must have brought them about ten or twelve liters of trago and two packs of cigarettes.

The third soul, swayohel, may be acquired, or one may be born with it. Those who acquire the third soul by capture of the soul of a dead person within twenty days after the death are considered to be potentially dangerous. They are more likely to use the soul for evil than those who have acquired it from the ancestors at birth. Swayoheles can be acquired from a saint named ʔAhau in the neighboring town of Oxchuk.[1] The following account illustrates how one asks this saint for a swayohel:

If you go to the saint with a black face named ʔAhau with two candles of twenty cents you can ask for a swayohel. You say, "I want one ʔulel that is very strong. I have an enemy. I need one." You sleep there, and wake

1. Lombardo Otero (1944:73) says that in Oxchuk, Mukulajau, or Chulajau, is identified with Trinidad, and is associated with the pigeon, which is the animal spirit of powerful curers.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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up with a swayohel. One man near San Vicente said his friend went there to ask for one. Next day, the enemy died. One man who went there said when he woke up he was sure he had gained a swayohel. He had dreamed of two animals. "Are they my swayoheles?" he asked. They were jaguars.

When he got to his house, the same two animals came. They thought about how to get his enemies. But when the jaguars had killed his enemies, they were not content. Then they went on to kill many people. Finally the man was shot. The spirits of all those who die as a result of a swayohel received from ?Ahau go to him after their death.

Curers are classified as potentially good or dangerous on the basis of what kind of swayohel they have. Good curers have swayoheles of animals which eat leaves or grass—horses, sheep, bulls, or other herbivorous animals. Potentially dangerous curers have the souls of carnivorous animals—vultures, dogs, cats, mountain lions, coyote, and others. They may not use these swayoheles for evil, but possession of such a soul is a basis for suspicion. Usually the curers keep secret the nature of their swayohel, but sometimes when they are drunk they brag about its power. Good swayoheles fly or walk straight down the main roads of the town, while evil swayoheles lurk at the outskirts of the settled area.

Only one woman has a swayohel and practices curing. She is reputed to have acquired her swayohel in the following manner:

There was a woman named Andrea Ča?il and another named Fernanda Ča?il. They were not sisters, but they were of the Ča?iletik. Fernanda died. She was a true elder woman, a very strong woman. She lived in Madronal and Andrea lived in the center.

One day Andrea said, "Let us go collect wood," to two girls.

"Let's go," said the girls. "Where shall we get the wood?"

"Let's go in the woods behind Madronal," replied Andrea. "Let's go."

The women arrived in the mountain to cut wood. When they had the wood, Andrea said she saw a mulberry bush. "Let us eat some berries," she said.

Andrea went to the mulberry bush. She saw a white ball of Čišol *under the bush. "What kind of an animal is that?" she asked.*

The girls looked at it and said, "We don't know."

577 682 in the following statement by a man who admitted to me that he had killed two men:

The padre said that those who kill will get killed. The one who kills also receives all the guilt of his victim and will have to pay for it in the after-world. But my father said that when he was a policeman, there was a man in Tejonero who killed for nothing when he got drunk. He always carried a knife and would kill anyone around. However, he lived until he was very old. Therefore I do not believe the padre.

577 775 Concern about the afterworld does not act as a deterrent to action in this world.

783 794 Most men ignore the priest's attempts to persuade them to go to confession. Women, especially the prayer-reciters, confess and take communion. Their confessions, according to the priest, are a recitation of the sins of their husbands or their neighbors.

273 577 Drinking is often given as a defense for failing to meet standards of behavior. While this serves to excuse minor infractions, a man is supposed to be responsible for his actions even when drunk. When one policeman started a fight in public, an elder judge commented to my informant:

Look at that, younger brother! I drink liquor when I am very drunk, but I do not fight either my elders or minors. When I passed as president formerly, I used to enter the cabildo, and I spoke well to the judges even if I was drunk. One time I came to your house very drunk and you were half drunk, but you did not say anything to me, nor did I. You did not fight. Thus I walk well. I never fight, nor have I gone to prison, and it is because I give respect to my elders and to my juniors.

Reflecting on this advice, my informant added:

And so it is with me also. I have drunk a great deal in Ahk'olnantik [the opposite section from where he lives] both at day and at night. Whoever speaks to me tells me to go drink with them a little liquor, and sometimes I give them a drink or I take them where they sell liquor and we drink. But I never fight, and I am able to drink wherever I like.

626 273 431 The community has developed techniques for compensating failure to meet behavioral norms. The most frequently used is an offering of the

[For the role of "talking saints" in Tzeltal medical practices, see also category 756.]

614 /1/ Cancuc is a Tzeltal town of Chiapas, Mexico, whose
[101] social organization is based on exogamous patrilineal clans.
[776] These clans are intimately related to: 1) the nagual or guardian
[551] spirit, which is given the name of lab among the Indians of this
[613] region; 2) the native surnames that constitute the lineages within
[621] the clans; 3) the "barrios," as the Spanish chroniclers called the endogamous tribal subdivisions (called calpulli among the Aztecs and culibal in Cancuc); 4) the kinship system; and 5) the behavior.

614 All the individuals belonging to a clan consider themselves
601 "legitimate siblings" /Sp. "hermanos legítimos"/, using the terms that designate this class of relatives. This theoretical consanguineous kinship is expressed by means of the word chapomal -- a Cancuquero /a person from Cancuc/ calls another "brother" be-
614 cause he is his chapomal. This form of usage is indicative of
601 common ancestry, something that we were not able to clarify, as
124 our questions on this point only received answers that showed that
829 they had lost any notion of a real or mythical ancestor. Our informants invariably explained this situation with the expressions: "it is the custom," "San Juan /Saint John/ (Patron Saint of Cancuc) ordered it so," or "it was ordered by Manuel (God)." What does constitute a clear concept in the minds of all is that "formerly" each clan lived in a cave, from which its members went out in the form of human beings to populate the earth and in which lived the naguales, or lab, that bound them to their place of origin.
[775] The soul came back to this cave after death. There are as many caves as the number of clans.

614 The children belonged to the paternal clan. A woman who marries does not become a member of the clan of her husband.

/2/ Exogamy is strictly respected; persons belonging to the same clan never marry each other.

[591] The clans are not local, as their members live in all of the places and rancherías.

[178] At present the clans lack chiefs, this institution having dis-
[669] appeared about 30 years ago, according to all our information, when the zone that we are studying underwent a chaotic period due to political revolts.

/2 cont./

614 The chieftaincy of each clan was filled by the oldest man,
887 who was called chunel. (It seems to have the same meaning as
156 the word catinab, but some informants recognized the latter as
the one used in the adjacent municipality of Oxchuc.) The office
was not hereditary, and upon the death of a chunel the oldest man
156 of the clan was venerated as such. The chief of the clan was re-
614 spected and feared, because he was recognized as endowed with
888 supernatural power which, through his lab, he exercised over all
776 the members of the clan. Two informants of advanced age de-
554 fined the chunel as "the oldest one and the greatest sorcerer."
The lab feeds on souls, and a person who has "done wrong" is
776 "eaten" by the lab of the one offended and dies. In this way
761 social control was exercised on and among the members of the
[784] clan, never going beyond the limits of this. The life of the in-
[626] dividual is intimately bound to the life of the lab, or guardian
776 spirit: the death of one brings with it the death of the other. All
the Cancuqueros have their lab, but they hide it and sometimes
[756] deny it. The curer knows which is the lab of the sick person be-
[827] cause "he hears it in the pulse." The lab reveals itself in dreams
[787] to "its owner," with whom it speaks because "it is his own com-
pany." One person discovers the lab of another "because he sees
it." The lab takes care of its owner, defends him, and is the in-
178 strument of revenge for an injury unjustly received. Today this
614 concept is intimately bound up with the omniscience of the patron
626 saint; only with the permission of San Juan can a lab "eat" the
776 soul of a chapomal, or "clan brother," and this permission is
granted only in the case when the saint is unfavorably impressed
by the conduct of the individual. In any case the lab never
wreaks its vengeance except for a bad act that would fully justify
614 it according to the social morality. As can be seen, social con-
626 trol was not only rooted in the chief of the clan, but this function
extended to the whole group, as happens at present.

/3/

178 584 614 There are informants who remember the time when there were chuneles, and the younger ones know about it because their fathers have told them. The social conflict brought about by the disappearance of this institution seems to have its most intense point in what concerns marriage. It was the chunel of the clan of a girl to whom the parents of a boy would go to ask for her in marriage. He received gifts and gave his consent in case he thought it advantageous, and, accompanied by the boy and his parents, he went to the house of her parents, to whom he presented the pleas of the young man. No one could oppose the decision of the chunel. An informant adds: "If the woman does not [586] love her husband and leaves him and flees, the man advises the chunel and the chunel eats the woman." She dies if she does not respect the wishes of the oldest man of her clan. Now that there [578] are no chuneles, a boy, with his parents or without them, is accompanied by any member of the clan to which the girl belongs; generally the parents are opposed, the girl is not willing, and the use of force, which serves instead of the traditional fear and reverence, only gives rise to conflicts, bringing irreconcilable hatreds.

614 Formerly the clans of Cancuc were four: Chik, Chejeb, Ijká, and Boj. At present only the first three exist, the members of the Boj clan having been incorporated into the Ijká clan. This fusion of two clans took place a short time before the political revolts to [125] which we have referred. While taking the census of the town, we found marriages between individuals belonging to these two clans, concluded before the fusion. Since that date "the Boj know that they are now Ijká," and clan exogamy has prevented these unions; "If a Boj marries an Ijká now, the two will die," say my informants, "because they are chapomales."

614 539 776 To an inquiry about the reason for the fusion and the manner of accomplishing it, our informants gave the following explanations, which show undeniably the close relationship existing between clan and nagual:

/3 cont./

614 Esteban Santis Pin, of the Ijká clan:
539 Many ants entered the home of the Boj and they asked the
•776 Ijká to lend them a home, and they joined there, becoming like chaponales /sic/ to each other since then. The ants did not enter the homes of the "Christian" (people), but the home of the lab; "the people did not talk it over, only the lab talked it over."

/4/ Mateo López Chij, of the Chik clan:
Lightning hit the home of the Boj "because it is very high on the hill." "The lab left" and they took refuge in the home of the Ijká. The members of the clans know this because it is in the home of the lab where "the chuleles (souls) are brought up." Before there were four homes and now there are three, because since that day the Boj and the Ijká live together. The homes are caves.

Diego Domínguez Tzul, of the Ijká clan:
The Boj were ill and the Ijká went to help them and to cure them. The Boj said: "It is good that we join the Ijká." It was the lab that spoke, not the Christians; "but the lab speak the same as people do, that is why they drank, talked, and gathered together." The people know this because those of them who have lab told them. The Boj were those who wanted the union with the Ijká, "and they said that when the lab became drunk."

Miguel Ordóñez, of the Chik clan:
"The lab of the Boj talked and drank with the lab of the Ijká, and presently they joined. Perhaps someone with a lab dreamed about this and then told it to his companions."

/4 cont./

614 Juan Jiménez Chan, of the Ijká clan:

539 It was arranged in the times of the old chuneles, when the
776 lab talked it over, there where they live. The chuneles later heard about it through their lab, and they were in agreement.

Tomás Vásquez Coreta, of the Chik clan:

Ants went into the home of the Boj, and the latter went to the home of the Ijká, where they were very well received, and "all are happy." Only the lab spoke, but the chuneles knew and told it to their chapomales.

Domingo López Uax, of the Boj clan; now of the Ijká:

The lab of the Boj and of the Ijká spoke and all was arranged. "Now they are chapomales and cannot marry."

614 The surnames in Cancuc determine the clan to which an
551 individual belongs. There are two of them: a native one which
177 is preceded by a Spanish one (except in various exceptional cases in which there is only a Spanish surname). All the Cancuqueros know their native surname, but most of them do not know the Spanish surname with which it is combined. Upon the uttering of a native surname, all know to which clan it belongs, which does not happen with the Spanish one, because these can be placed before native surnames belonging to one, two, or three clans. Therefore we can say that there is exogamy of the native surname, but not /5/ of the Spanish one, which does not seem to have any function with respect to the clans.

551 In the lists of surnames that we were able to obtain and which
614 in no way pretend to be exhaustive, we find 20 Spanish surnames and 92 native surnames. These last are distributed among the four clans in the following way: 33 of the Chik clan, 31 of the Chejeb, 21 of the Ijká, and 7 of the Boj (now incorporated into the Ijká clan).

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

and four *chuycales*, who are in charge of sacred matters. Certain shamans, called *dzunubiles*, also participate in calpul government.

In Cancuc, Villa did not inquire into the matter, but in Oxchuc and in Bachajón the calpules have separate patron saints and are known, in the case of Bachajón, by the names of San Sebastian and San Geronimo, in the case of Oxchuc, Santo Tomás and La Trinidad. In the church at Bachajón the santos belonging to the north calpul, San Sebastian and two others, stand on the left side of the church, while San Geronimo, San Manuel, and the Virgin, representing the south calpul, stand at the right side. It appears, however, at least in the case of Oxchuc, that the festivals of these saints are maintained by the people of both calpules jointly.

The antagonism between the calpules of Cancuc has expressed itself from time to time in violence. During Villa's stay it was rumored that the people of the southern half were about to attack those of the northern half, and indeed, shots were fired. Blom and LaFarge reported "a dragging feud" in this village.[19] Apparently marriages may and do take place between the calpules; there is no indication, however, that they are exogamous.

In Oxchuc a principal annual ceremony attends the transfer from one calpul to the other of a certain sacred book. This greatly venerated object was, after some reluctance, shown to Villa. He was requested to deliver to its custodians a dozén rockets, some candles, and some incense; he was then allowed to examine it in the presence of the chiefs and the chuycales of both calpules. It is a notebook of twelve paper sheets, 40 by 20 cm. in size; it has a deerskin cover. Of the twelve pages, nine bear writing, all but one on both sides. The text appears to be a series of orders set down by the Spanish authorities in the year 1674. The book is kept in a black wooden box; before and after removing it the chuycales prayed, kneeling, while incense was burned and the rockets were discharged.

The book is called *cannaltic* 'Our Master.' The ceremony of transfer of this sacred object takes place during the thirteen days beginning December 31. The principal members of the government of both calpules, numbering thirteen, assemble in the cabildo. The book is placed on a table with thirteen candles, thirteen rosaries, thirteen calabashes of lime mixed with tobacco, and thirteen vessels of atole. During the thirteen days the men remain segregated in the cabildo without contact with their homes or with women. Many prayers are uttered. At the conclusion of the period the box containing the book is escorted in solemn procession to the place it occupies during the rest of the year—not in the church, but in a special hut on the outskirts of the calpul of La Trinidad.

Information which Villa received from Indians of Chanal on the customs attending marriage differs in a number of respects from the account given by Blom and LaFarge;[20] or supplements that account, and therefore may be summarized here. There are no professional marriage negotiators. The boy's parents pay, ordinarily, four visits to the girl's parents to complete the agreement. On each visit they bring bread, eggs, fruit, and especially rum. The boy is expected

[19] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 187.

[20] *Ibid.*, 2: 158–159.

c: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,3 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

796 carried a red banner. At the church the four men performed a dance. Divided into
535 pairs facing each other at a distance of 6 m., they first shook the ribbons on their poles while giving loud cries, varied by putting the hand over the mouth, and running to meet one another. Then they made a slight inclination of the head, turned half around, and returned to their original places. After repeating this thrice, the pairs exchanged places and performed new figures. At the conclusion they surrounded the flag-bearer, shouting and waving the ribbons.

796 Although harp and guitars were here used in an apparently religious dance,
534 in several of the communities it appears that the stringed instruments of European
184 origin (guitar, violin, and harp) are used only for secular purposes, the religious
[177] musical instruments (which are often kept in the church) consisting of cane flute (*ahmay*) and drums. In Chanal two drums are used, a large drum (*kayob*) and a small one (*chin kayob*). In Tenejapa the single drum is called *anteel* and is accompanied by a sort of cornet.

778 Some minor observances having to do with the cult of the saints may be
776 mentioned. In the highland villages it is usual for each important saint to be repre-
184 sented by two images of which one, the genuine santo, is too sacred to be taken
[194] from the church, the other, called *debo* (for *doble*), substitutes for the true santo in religious processions.[36] In Bachaion the care of the church is alternated weekly between the two calpules, on Christmas Eve each church-caretaker (*priora*) must contribute to the decoration of the altar ten little figures of clay, of which five are in the form of a bull and five in the form of a horse and rider. The church at Citala contains many santos of which two (San Mateo and San Gabriel) are painted black and enjoy special prestige. In this church a straw mat, yellow in color with red ribbons interwoven, is used to kneel upon before the principal saints; it is kept with extraordinary care.[37] At Citala a principal annual event is the ritual
778 washing of the saints' clothing. This occurs two weeks after Holy Week. The
776 "Great Washing," when the clothing of the principal saints is washed, is performed
796 at a spring where the water is thought to be of absolute purity. The "Small Washing" of the clothes of the lesser saints may be done in the river. The Great Washing is reported as involving the consumption of eight hogs and a great quantity of rum.

78 Although it is evident that the religion of the Tzeltals contains many pagan
[114] elements, some of which have been reported by Blom and LaFarge,[38] Villa's notes
778 do not add a great deal on this point. The use of hilltop shrines was noted at
782 Oxchuc, where one of these is called Ikal Ahau, apparently after an ancient deity.[39]
776 The teacher at Amatenango reports that the Indians there make offerings for
114 rain at a rock marked with a zigzag thought to represent the lightning. No information was obtained on the beliefs as to *nahuale*; this subject is discussed by Blom and LaFarge.[37]

[36] The image corresponds perhaps with that of the pairs of santos used by the Quintana Roo Maya, of which one, the less sacred, is missed about in ritual.

[37] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 374.

[38] Sánchez de la Vega (1780, p. [illegible]) says: "Los de Chiapa y de otros pueblos de los Llanos veneran mucho al (ídolo) que llaman [illegible] que quiere decir negro principal o señor de negros," as quoted in Becerra, 1932, p. 244.

37. Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:369-371.

682 674 75 these suspicions and kill the witch. If he should kill the witch while the patient is still alive, it is believed that the patient will die.

682 685 674 [463] [697] Killing men for cattle theft (six cases) is a relatively recent occurrence. It has put homicide on the market: the associations of cattle-owners have hired killers in three of the six cases. In addition to the killer's fee, they pay the fine to release him from prison. Fines for homicide have increased in the past five years—from 1,000 to 3,000 pesos—but not sufficiently to price the murder of cattle thieves out of the market. A good bull is worth [435] 1,500 pesos, and the threat of further loss by theft seems to justify the expenditure of fees 685 and fines. When the cattle-owners lose some 787 of their herd, they go to spiritualists or to San Miguel, the talking saint of Ixtapa, to find out • 776 who did the stealing. Since such evidence does not hold up in court, legal settlement is not 685 attempted. Legal action, moreover, would 694 create an enemy who might seek revenge. A Ladino secretary of the town center who had lost a bull accused a man of stealing his cattle and demanded 500 pesos in compensation. By receiving the money he jeopardized his safety, and eventually he had to leave town.

The Resolution of the Case

682 69 It is nearly impossible to find witnesses to homicide. Of these 37 cases, 28 resulted in no action being taken by the authorities, and in five cases where the killers went to jail, they were released with the payment of minimal fines. In the calculations of the townspeople, it is hardly worth risking one's neck to get such a minimal revenge.

682 593 626 [683] However, this does not mean that homicide goes unnoticed in the community. After a killing the widow sings of the life of the dead man. If she is in agreement with the verdict arrived at by the killer and others, she will deny knowledge of what he has done, or even suggest that she too was aware of what harm he has caused (one widow implied that her husband, killed as a witch, was responsible for the death of four of her six children). If she objects to the verdict, she sings of what a good man he was and how blameless. She will then air her own suspicions in the following weeks as to who killed her husband.

682 683 627 Following the funeral, when the women have left the cemetary, the men sit at the grave. As they measure out a liter of liquor and pass it around, they advance hypotheses as

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.467-A] Teklum

756 539 [682] [swayobel]." "What one?" asked his friend. "You won't be afraid?" asked J. And then he put his shirt and hat on the floor, spoke three words (my friend didn't say what), and raised his hat and shirt, and a horse appeared. He did this again and a bull appeared. He was a great *?ak'tamal* [witch]. He stole a great deal. He was killed by five bullets.

756 [152] Such stories of curers "who walk on both sides" (*sbe?en ta ?a mehl*) are favorites in the drinking sessions of Teklum. The power of curers inspires fear, so much so that some of the town presidents have been afraid of putting them in prison.

756 776 [133] [769] The open competition between curers serves to undermine the faith of the people in their guardianship function. This function was believed to have been acquired by the leaders from the *me?tiktatik*, the ancestors, who were said to live in a cave in a hill near the town, from which came the progenitors of the present townspeople. To carry out this guardianship function, the animal spirits of the two leading curers roamed the streets at night, when the evil spirits were out, each one remaining within the limits of his own side of the dual division. In this role, the two major curers were called the *me?iltatiletik*, a term derived from the one referring to the ancestors.

178 776 756 769 [796] 796 776 756 178 769 The loss of faith in the guardianship function of the curers was coincident with the loss of belief in the presence of the me?tiktatik. Some deny that the me?tiktatik live in the cave anymore, and others say they just appear on the day of their fiesta, the Day of the Cross in the Catholic calendar. This fiesta formerly was an important event in establishing the guardian power of the leader curers, since they were the only ones who dared enter the cave and talk to the ancestors. But this fear and this belief have gone. In 1960 one young man of the pueblo entered the cave on the day of the fiesta, when the curers were "deceiving the people" in claiming that they were talking to the ancestors; the fact that he dared enter the cave indicates an ambient distrust (in part resulting from verbal attacks by the priest, who at that time was gaining more power in the town). By now, on the Day of the Cross the church and civil officials, the women prayermakers, and an assistant of the priest, the *fiscal*, go to the cave, but the curers are no longer present, even as bystanders. The curers have tried to buttress belief in the guardianship of the ancestors by claiming that a nephew of the ancestors is now in residence in

[794] [793] 178 756 769

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P. 468-B]

The authority of the president, however, depends on the use of legal sanctions of prison sentences and fines imposed by extracommunity enforcement agencies in the departmental capital. The weakness of these sanctions—the fine for homicide is 1,000 to 3,000 pesos or three to five years' imprisonment—means that these threats do not have a controlling effect on people's decisions to act. Homicide, carried out by individuals who feel themselves to be threatened, is a supplementary mechanism for social control. Cast in the idiom of witch-killing, homicide is the quasi-official execution of a community threat.

The breakdown in the former structural controls has not been compensated for by the intervention of extracommunity institutions. Attempts to circumvent killing are made by the priest, who counsels against it, warning that the killer will acquire the sins of the man he kills, and by the talking saint of Ixtapa, whom the Indians consult when they are pressed and who advises them to wait—their enemy will be killed for them. This advice is not sufficient to forestall all killings. Motivated by fear, some men still seek to eliminate the object of their fear.[7] The sense of the guardianship of the ancestors and their intermediaries, the curers, is lost along with the intervention of the civil authorities. The individual reacts, using his own means and trying to get sufficient consensus to avoid reprisal.

III. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Homicide in the community of Teklum can be a statement of the fear of witchcraft, of revenge, or of quasi-official reprisal depending on the circumstances and social relationships involved. Even in this small, self-contained community, homicide does not have a single meaning, analyzable within a single framework of change.

Homicide is part of the expectation pattern of the town. The patterning of the acts of homicide in terms of time, place, and agent makes possible rules of avoidance both in long- and in short-term calculations for survival. The long-range rules require respect behavior to elders, equals, and juniors and the avoidance of abusive or boastful statements. The short-range rules are to avoid walking alone in the woods or milpas far from town, to stay home at night, and to stop drinking.

Despite the grim and expectable outcome of being killed, not all men heed these rules. The love of power and the projection of self into

682 wider ranges of expression than are usually
183 permitted in the community prompt men to assert the strength of their swayohel, to run races with the animal spirits of others in the assertion of pre-eminence, to boast of their material goods, and to "wake up dead."

682 The increasing rate of homicide is related to
674 the following changes in the community:
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(1) Increasing friction resulting both from the introduction of new economic enterprises and from political competition by the recently settled land-reform colonies has introduced a new kind of homicide, in which an opponent is killed either by the person whose interests are threatened or by hired killers. It has also stimulated accusations of witchcraft stemming from envy.

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(2) The curers' loss of leadership and of control over entry into the curing profession has led to competition among them and to a loss of respect for their ability to overcome witchcraft. Curers have become the most frequent suspects of being witches.

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(3) Loss of faith in the guardian ancestors and in the guardianship functions acquired from them by the curers has further undermined the position of the curers as agents of social control. This has aggravated the sense of insecurity and fear, which provokes the uncontrolled use of individual violence.

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(4) The shift of power from the principales to the town president has led to a breakdown in the system of checks and balances exerted by the principales over the curers, and to a direct confrontation of the curers by civil officials.

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(5) In the confrontations of the civil authorities and the curers in the '40's and early '50's, the fact that a witchcraft case was officially reviewed and the killing of the witch sanctioned may have served as a brake on the number of such homicides. Since 1953, when this practice was abandoned, those who have felt themselves or their families to be the victims of witchcraft have been left to their own recourse.

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178 The organizational changes summarized
578 here are provoked by structural changes
682 affecting recruitment into the positions of power and the validation of leadership in the exercise of power. The dual division of the town provided an accepted basis for recruiting

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[632]
[756]

241 paraje perform before the altar of the
782 church in the ceremonial center. All prayers
796 are said in Tzeltal; some are Christian in
[778] origin, others entirely pagan. This prayer
[171] I recorded in 1944:

241
796 Here we come to bring you your food, to
782 light your candles, to play the harp, to play the
539 guitar. Here we come to perform your fiesta,
[534] so you may be happy, so you will not abandon us.

We have already planted the milpas; the seed is already in the soil. Father, do not forsake us; let the rains come properly; let them not be abundant nor deficient. Let there be a little sunshine and a few clouds. Let the soil be happy.

Father, let no hail come; let no wind come; let no locust come; let no harmful animals come; let no robbers come, lest they steal from us and leave us in poverty.

Father, let the year come well; let the corn turn out well; let the beans turn out well. Let there be no sickness, let there be no sorrow. Father, the mouthful has already entered; the word had already entered.

The word "mouthful" refers to all the gifts, "word" to all the prayer.

796 A similar ceremony is the *mukul mixa*
[621] ('great Mass'), organized by members of
[776] each calpul. Each calpul has its own patron
[622] saint and its own chiefs. For this ceremony
[534] many more people gather, for representatives and musicians (flute, drum, harp, and guitar) come from all places. The candles offered as "mouthfuls" are greater in number and size.

778 Household ceremonies follow as the head
78 of the household, in private, prepares the small home altar, where the cross which
[834] protects the home is always found. He adorns it with *juncia* and five candles; he says appropriate prayers at 6 o'clock in the morning or at midday, as he observes fasting and sexual abstinence. These family prayers may be repeated occasionally, depending on the condition of the milpa.

241 At the beginning of the month called
782 [P 202-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4.5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

162 Amatenango del Valle, a community of 2,529 inhabitants, of which 1,470 reside in the town center.

621 The town centers are divided into two sections, called barrios by Ladinos and calpules by Indians (Oxchuc and Cancuc). The imaginary line which separates one barrio from another passes through the center of the town, sometimes east-west, sometimes north-south, with no fixed orientation.

[776] Each barrio has its own local authorities and sometimes its own patron saint (Oxchuc and Bachajon). The principal function of the barrios was not only political or religious but also social, in regulating mar-
[178] riage. Endogamy was common to all barrios, but today that rule is losing its rigidity. In Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1960, p. 8) tells us that, "The rule of barrio endogamy, which is viable in 86% of the known marriages, contributes to the localization of related families limiting the geographical range of marriage choice." A similar situation obtains in Amatenango (J. Nash, 1959, p. 3), Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes, 1947, p. 7), and Bachajon (Guiteras Holmes, 1961c, p. 167).

[178] In Bachajon, Guiteras Holmes states that: "In the old days there was no marriage be-
[578] tween the *barrios*. If a boy from San Sebastian took a walk through San Geronimo, he was beaten; they would give him a '*maciza*,' as they say. If a boy from a *barrio* approached the waterholes to court a girl, he fared very badly." The calpules of Oxchuc, although they have politico-religious significance, have no influence at all in the selection of wives.

621 The parajes have a few scattered huts
778 among the cultivated fields. Each paraje is
[361] bound by religious ties to a given cave where a cross, the supreme sacred symbol, is kept. The name of the paraje is generally
778 taken from the name of the cave. Sacred
821 caves of secondary importance also exist.
823 This mystical regard for caves is based in the belief that they are the place from which issues the lightning to punish the

[P 205-A]

631 the secretario, who is, without exception, a Ladino, for his responsibilities require a good knowledge of the Spanish language as well as office skills, which the Indians usually lack. Actually it is this official who controls all the administrative affairs of the municipio. He imposes fines, collects taxes, assigns communal work, and keeps in con-
[62] tact with the state authorities. After him rank the regidor, síndico, alcalde, police commander, and policemen.

621 Besides these authorities, which are the officially recognized ones, the Indians have their own government system, which in most places is still operating. Oxchuc is
[888] typical of the regional pattern. There the
[887] municipio is divided into two calpules, each of which is a kind of fraternity under the supervision of those old men having the
[776] greatest knowledge and prestige. Each cal-
[796] pul has also its own patron saint, venerated with special feasts and ceremonies throughout the year. (In Oxchuc the calpules are not geographically determined, and its members are spread in different parajes of
62 the territory.) Authority is now integrated in the following officials:

1 katinab, supreme chief of the whole calpul
1 okil kabil, "feet and hands" of the preceding, i.e., secretary
2 dzunubiles, supreme "pulsers" or "curers"
1 alcalde, who carries a staff of office
2 cornales (or governors), who also carry staffs of office
2 síndicos, who also carry staffs of office
4 x-tules (or regidores)

555 The four last jobs are reached by strict
624 hierarchy and indicate the progress of each
794 individual in the fulfillment of his social duties. This social-service career begins when the man is not yet married, when he is assigned the cargo of mayordomo of the church, which means that he has to attend to minor affairs connected with the church and to keep it clean. Shortly after his marriage he usually reaches the position of capitán, where he is responsible for the fies-

[P. 220 - A]

794 the calpul must have a powerful nagual, through which they can learn about the private lives of their subordinates. This is usually the way they know who has enough money to pay for a feast, who can occupy special jobs, and which sinners deserve punishment.

Religious Life

The Catholic Cult

177 The beliefs and religious practices intro-
797 duced by Catholic missionaries in the 16th
795 century have been adapted to the aborigi-
795 nal culture. The largest and most important
778 building of the village is the church, situ-
[346] ated on the east side of the ceremonial cen-
[361] ter. In it are the image of the patron saint
[776] of the group, the holy cross, and lesser
[796] saints. The most profound ceremonies take
[794] place before the altar of these saints, who are looked upon as mediators between God and men, and are performed by the cabildos de misa, dzunuhiles, and other elderly men of high rank who know both Catholic and Indian ritual.

346 During the ceremonies the altar is deco-
796 rated with flowers and with paper and rib-
795 bons of different colors. The floor is covered with pine needles, which give off an agree-
[782] able fragrance. Candles and copal are part of every prayer and ceremony, the copal having been used since pre-Hispanic times.

795 Common prayers of people who visit the
782 center also have a place. These people have to enter the church and make an offering of candles to the patron saint. The prayers follow a formal pattern but vary in content according to the need and mood of the suppliant. Each individual talks intimately to the saint, specifying the help he needs, much as he would to a relative or a friend in whom he has absolute confidence. The two most frequent matters of petition are health and food; as the latter depends almost entirely on the condition of the cornfield, people pray that "it may not be damaged by the wind, or by cold, sun, birds, or plagues."

[P 221-A]

795 In most of the prayers, Dios Tatik Jesu-
782 cristo and the 13 *fiadores* who are in heaven are mentioned. These 13 fiadores are God's immediate helpers and correspond to the
[778] Christian saints. The cross is venerated as a representation of God wherever a prayer is said and so appears on the family altar, on mountaintops, in caves, at fountains, at entrances to the town, at the four corners of the plaza, and in front of the church.

795 The local character of Catholicism is seen
778 in the Masses offered to the mountain called
776 Ikal Ajau, near the ceremonial center of
177 Oxchuc. The Indians say that it is a "living mountain" and give it great reverence, for Ikal Ajau was the name of the idol venerated by Oxchuc people in pre-Hispanic
795 times. In almost all the municipios the
184 saints are dressed as Indians. Towns with a
776 large Ladino population have different saints for the Ladinos, who are dressed as Ladinos and to whom the Indians are completely indifferent, even to forgetting the names of them.

Fiesta for the Patron Saint

796
794 One of the major events in the religious life of the Indians is the annual fiesta in honor of the patron saint and the other saints kept in the church. The capitán principal and some of his immediate assistants are in charge of the organization and expenses of these fiestas. The length and cost
[435] of the fiesta correspond to the importance of the saint and range from one day and 100 pesos to four days and several thousand pesos, like the one for the patron saint. To become a capitán principal a man must go through all the ranks and be able to afford the expenses of any fiesta, from a small one to the very large ones of the patrons.

796 The fiesta of the patron of each village is similar to that for any other saint but larger. There are Masses and other religious observances in the church, processions with the image of the saint along the main streets, large meals at the house of the cargoholders, and, above all, constant drink-

[P 221-B]

[Text continues on p. 222-B]

Villa Rojas E-4.5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

796 ing in and out of church. From the second day on, everybody is drunk, including women and young people. The sound of skyrockets is heard continuously and marks the gaiety of the people.

An important part of the ceremony at the church is to clean carefully the face of the saint and to change his clothes for new or at least clean ones so that he can be happy during his fiesta. Another act is to take his [788] image from the main altar to carry it in procession. This is important because there is 776 danger that the patron of other villages may 796 come to steal his power and he would then lose influence over the crops: the saint of Oxchuc helps the growth of corn, the one of Cancuc protects the cotton, and so on. To avoid this danger a substitute image is put in his place while the real one is taken out.

[P 222- B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

776 This substitute is called *gelol*, the same im-
796 age but smaller, which is kept next the original one.

[788] During the procession the saint is carried
[782] in a litter. Incense is burned before him,
[533] while music with drums and flutes is played.

Traditional Ceremonies

796 There are other ceremonies held in the
[177] parajes which, although based on Christian
[178] ritual (including some of the prayers, presence of the cross, candles, etc.), still manifest ancient aboriginal traditions. Among
[776] these ceremonies is the one made before the house altar to Chulmetic (the earth goddess), to God, to Tatik Jesucristo and the 13 Fiadores del Cielo, for the soul of one newborn, to guard against sicknesses or bad influences of any kind. This ceremony is

[P. 222-C]

796 "sembrar el alma del niño" and must be performed by the dzunubiles and the cabildos
[776] de misa. A similar devotion is made to Uch, the supernatural being connected with the growth of the cornfield mentioned earlier.

782 Also important are the prayers said by
778 families before the cross of the ancestors, in the sacred caves.

Finally, certain prayers and offerings are made to particular lakes considered sacred because they are inhabited by virgins who look after the well-being of the people. The best known, of these lakes is Banabil in Tenejapa. Some day during the year, a small box containing a woman's dress and all its ornaments is thrown into the water. The dress must be made by a virgin or an old woman.

787 *Talking Saints*

776 Another religious form where Indian tra-
[177] dition is manifested through Christian formulae is the veneration of the talking saints, a widespread cult among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil. These saints are always private property and are usually kept in a small case on the house altar. The believers go to the house of those who own a talking saint and ask him about any secret problem that might require a special knowledge to be solved. Although any saint can be asked, the most popular one is San Miguelito. In order to consult him, people have to tell his owner their problems. The owner, who supposedly is the only one who can understand his saint, talks to him behind a curtain so that no one can see him. Often the owner of a talking saint succeeds in creating a cult out of the saint's box, making a special altar for him and asking the believers for frequent offerings and prayers. Sometimes there is no box, so the effigy is placed on an altar and concealed by a curtain when the private dialogue takes place.

There have been cases, however, in which the talking saints exceed their function as oracles and advise people on political matters. This is why some talking saints have

[P. 223-A]

787 been taken away by the local authorities
776 and sent to the Indians' Affairs Office in San Cristobal.

LIFE CYCLE

842 *Pregnancy and Childbirth*

183 The strongest desire of every Tzeltal couple is to create a numerous family, preferably
843 boys. The relationship between sexual inter-
[833] course and pregnancy is well understood among the Indians. They know that pregnancy lasts nine months and they keep a
843 good count of it. On the other hand, there
789 are ideas about the possibility of the woman being influenced by old men or "the owners of the nagual," who can interrupt pregnancy and change the fetus from one woman to another. This is why a woman who thinks she is pregnant for three or four months suddenly realizes that she carries nothing any more, while another one, maybe her neighbor, finds herself in advanced pregnancy, giving birth a few months later. It is to be stressed, however, that these changes can take place only among married women.

844 In conservative villages (Tenejapa, Ox-
[81] chuc, Cancuc) there is no professional midwife. Children are delivered by the oldest women in the neighborhood.

[757] When labor begins, the first thing is to
[237] give the mother a beverage made of powdered opossum tail dissolved in boiling water. It is very common for Indians to have a dry tail hanging next the fireplace. The woman kneels at labor, facing the midwife. The husband's belt or the woman's rebozo is tied very tightly around the upper part of the abdomen to prevent the child from "going up again." The mother can also help herself by seizing a rope tied to the roof, or taking firm hold of any post of the house. The umbilical cord is chopped with a machete or cut with scissors, supported on an
[241] ear of corn. This ear is afterwards used as
[824] seed and is considered very fertile.

[757] When labor has finished, the mother is given another hot beverage of pepper,

[P 223-B]

844 cloves, and corncake, to keep her "warm
[757] and fertile." The placenta can be burned,
[842] thrown to the dogs, or deeply buried in case
the mother does not want another preg-
[789] nancy soon. The umbilical cord is put under
a three-stone fireplace if the baby is a girl,
on top of a tree if it is a boy so that he may
become brave and agile when adult.

846 A few hours after childbirth, at the latest
515 the next day, both mother and child take a
temascal (steam bath). Some women stay
in the temascal until they feel completely
recovered.

Childhood and Adolescence

789 During the first weeks of life, children are
774 in danger of losing their souls because their
inexperience makes them an easy prey to
the naguales and bad spirits who wander
around. As protection, mothers place a small
[237] piece of beeswax at the back of the child's
head or tie, as a bracelet, a red or blue
thread around the wrist. If none of these
precautions are taken, the mother has to
cover with branches the paths her child
walks, so that his soul can easily find its way
in case he loses it.

789 Because of all these dangers, fathers al-
852 ways try to perform the ceremony of "seed
774 the soul of the child" as soon as possible. It
[553] is during this ceremony that the child is
given a name, later confirmed according to
Catholic ritual at the ceremonial center. A
[608] very important aspect of the ceremony is
selection of the godparents.

753 *Sickness and Death*

776 Most sicknesses come from infection or
[888] malnutrition. To the natives, however, ill-
nesses have a supernatural cause and are
ascribed either to the anger of gods and
spirits or to old people who have a nagual
or who can throw a spell. The most frequent
explanation is that naguales or supernatural
beings are acting against people. They can
adopt human or animal form or appear as
[P 224-A]

753 thunder, wind, or lightning. All the men
776 who occupy or have occupied cargos in the
[794] political or religious organization are sup-
[888] posed to have a nagual, as do the older
[613] members of the lineage. They consider it their duty to punish those members of the group who have sinned and use their nagual, who can devour the soul of the victim little by little.

774 According to this idea, everybody has two
776 souls: one which can be eaten by the naguales, and one which follows the destiny that its patron saint has planned for it.
761 When death comes, the naguales take away
775 the first soul and have a banquet up in the
776 mountains. In this feast, the naguales of the old people of the clan participate, joined by others induced to comradeship.

761 It is a widespread belief that at midyear
773 the naguales go to a place in heaven called
776 Atimaltik, where an old man who possesses the Book of Life lives. Since in this book he keeps account of the time each person can live, it is a source of information for the naguales, who thus can know who is close to death. When the signature of a person disappears from the book, this means that the person died.

764 People have to keep watch over the body for two days and two nights. It is placed on a wooden plank in the middle of the house after being washed or just given a change of clothes. Two candles are placed at the head. At night friends and neighbors come to keep company with the family. They play harp and guitar and drink chicha and aguardiente. At dawn, the men go home and the women remain crying near the corpse.

[613] Following the ancient custom, the dead are buried near the graves of other men of
[184] the same lineage. In Cancuc, however, dead are buried inside the house.

The bottom and sides of the grave are covered with slabs to form a coffin. The corpse, bundled up in a petate, is placed inside. His clothes and other articles he may

[P 224-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The performance continued until late that night and began again the next morning. Later in the day the banners were carried to the chapel in procession, with music, and deposited by the altar. The *caporales* led in prayer. The fiesta went on again in the evening.

Christian forms are applied to or mixed with non-Christian rites and ideas to some extent, a confusion resembling the appeal to both saints and native gods in prayer among tribes of Guatemala* and British Honduras.† Much of Christianity is adapted to conform to old, fundamental native concepts.

In the church at Bachajon Village there are fourteen saints beside the tribal patron, St. Jerome. These others each have a special care, as the cornfield, hunting, the rivers, etc., and are prayed to for help in their particular provinces. They are given gifts of cloth, usually red or blue, which is draped about them. Many of them duplicate the functions of non-Christian "guardians," to be described below.

In this connection it may be mentioned that the Zotzil-speaking Indians of Huistan are accustomed to beat their saint (St. Martin) when they have a bad year, and to caress him and anoint him with oil when things go well. We were told that he had lost his nose and both ears due to this practice.

One prayer was dictated to us by Señor Cruz at Toniná, the full text of which is given in Appendix VI, Text I. It is primarily meant for a poor man when making his offering in the cornfield, a use which is indicated by the phrase "health of the earth," but it may also be used in church. The phrase "blood of my flesh" suggests a remniscence of the ancient Maya offerings of blood from the ear, tongue, etc. A free translation is given here.

PRAYER OF A POOR MAN WHO HAS NOT MUCH TO OFFER.

"Do Thou accept, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, what I have gained, and what I have not gained. Do Thou forgive, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, blood of our flesh; our hearts are open, our lips are open. Give health of the earth; protect thy son kneeling here."

Of primary interest to us were the survivals of the old worship. At the time of the Conquest the Spaniards put forth their utmost efforts to suppress the native religion, and the process has gone on

*Sapper, 1925.
†Gann, 1918.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

778 178 left-hand fork ended shortly. The right-hand one went on to a small level place, on which about four people could squat at once. The roof was too low to stand. In the end wall a block of rock about half a meter high and twenty centimeters broad stuck out. In front of it were eight small candlesticks in a row, a neat bundle of fir tips laid before each. More of these extended in an arc to the right, and there was a pile of spare tips and candlesticks at one side. Behind this was a square of bark resting on two stones, which showed signs of having had incense burned on it.

The second cave was more open, more of a room, high, and broken with pillars of limestone and dirt. It was caused partly by hollowing out limestone through the action of water, and partly by washing out the soil. In a quite open situation a small, square cross was leant against a rock. There was a flat board for incense, with five candlesticks on the side of the cross, and fir tips around the other three sides (see fig. 310 c).

These two caves, whether or not they were used in pre-Conquest days, do definitely represent the survival of a purely non-Christian manner of worship.

The general attitude of the Indians towards all the carvings of the Old People is not without interest. While they appear to attach no particular significance to the temples, they call all idols by the generic term of "santo." Thus the fine bas-relief found near San José Reforma, told of in the last chapter, was known to the natives as *Santo Ton*, "Saint Stone," or "Holy Stone."

782 Distinct from worship at these archaeological sites are the offerings made to the "guardian," *yaHwal*, of the cornfields, a pure old Maya rite carried on in the modern fields. This is purely family matter, at which the head of the family officiates. A cross is set up, *atole* or *cocoposole* (*posole* with cocoa and sugar) and rum are offered in bowls, candles and incense are burned, and a chicken killed. The prayer quoted on page 365 is recited at this time. The offerings are only made at the time of planting the *milpa* in the spring, and suffice also for the fall *tonamil*. As nearly as we could find out, each field has its particular guardian, an idea which was shown by the case, to be described later when speaking of magic, of a man who took steps to gain the consent of a field's guardian before putting a curse on it.

• 776 [323] There is a guardian of the river, *yabahen*, and of the mountains, *hun ahau*. This last is of particular interest, correponding as it does with the old Maya day-name signifying chief. Hun Ahau is mentioned in Landa, page 200, edition of 1864, as ruler of Mitamnal or hell. As Hunahpu he may be referred to in the Popol Vuh. Two

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

fragments of prayers to him will be given when discussing medicine. 776
Distinct from the guardian of the cornfields, he is known only by name to the ordinary Indians, and mention of him appeared to alarm them a good deal.

Drunkenness still retains some of its old, ceremonial significance, 273
in its association with fiestas, funeral rites, and particularly with medicine, under which head it will be more fully taken up.

There are a number of beliefs and practices, no matter what their 789
origin, which, as they exist today, must be considered as superstitions 771
rather than religion. Of such a type is the belief mentioned 822
when speaking of hunting, that painting the bullet red would make it go further. This is of interest in the study of survivals, in view of the importance of the colour red in pre-Christian times. It may be equally well argued, however, that the red in this case represents the blood of the animal to be slain. Most of the superstitions are 774
concerned with the *nagual* or the soul. 776

The set of ideas that constitute Nagualism is derived from ancient and important beliefs. The *nagual*, *tcul-el* (*tcul*, "holy," *-el* "the, the one"), is a companion-spirit to a man, taking the form of some animal. The stronger the *nagual*, the stronger the man, thus one with a jaguar for a familiar could work any kind of magic or other harm on one with a rabbit. We were told both that the *nagual* was assigned by popular consent, due to people's opinion of a man, and that it was seen in a dream. A man who has a quarrel with another will deliberately shoot animals of the species of the other's *nagual*, hoping to hit the particular one associated with his enemy. If that one dies, the man dies, and vice versa. Thus, it is plain that there is no idea of association with a whole class of animals, but only with one individual of a class.

According to Nuñez de la Vega,* in the seventeenth century the 776
nagual was assigned by a shaman, who took it from the name of the 756
day on which the individual was born. The child was later caused 774
to see his *nagual* . . . *"se abrazan cariñosamente con su nagual, que por arte diabólica se le apparece muy doméstica y supersticiosamente cariñosa, aunque sea una bestia muy feroz, como leon, tigre, etc."*† [171]
According to Sapper (1925) exactly the same practices obtain in Guatemala today, the animal being caused to appear by means of hypnotism.

It is possible that further investigation would show a similar 774
manner of choosing the *nagual* among the modern Tzeltal. How- 776

*Nuñez de la Vega, 1702, loc. cit.
†Extract in Paniagua, 1908, Page 57.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

796 178 However, much hinges on the difficult question of whether or not they still possess the old calendar, without which the divination would be impossible. This will be spoken of again. On the whole, the Tzeltal do not show anything like the robust survivals of old religion that are found in Guatemala; in this respect, also, they have retained only a degenerated form.

• 776 756 Concerning the attitude of the Indian towards his *nagual,* two stories may be told that have a certain interest. The first is an incident which occurred to us at Cacate-el, the ranch of Señor Tovilla in the Bachajon country. A Bachajon came in to complain that another Indian was casting spells on his fields and chickens. The other had taken a piece of dirt from his cornfield, so as "to gain consent of the guardian" (see above). He was making the corn wither and the chickens die. His power lay in his *nagual,* a *leon colorado* (*saxal-tcoq*), the most powerful that one can have. The Indian who complained had some much weaker familiar. We gave him a brilliant chromo of Saint Jerome with his lion; not only because St. Jerome is the patron of the Bachajon, but also because of the lion, obviously to him the Saint's *nagual,* which anyone could see was larger and more powerful than any known to the Indians. With this picture set up in his house, he felt that he could rest in safety. [123]

Señor Tovilla also passed on to us a story told him for true by an educated and trustworthy upper-class Mexican, an *abogado* (somewhat corresponding to the English solicitor). It is interesting for showing what is commonly believed even by the European people, although somewhat hard to accept. This man stopped at a Bachajon house, wherein he saw two old men sitting with their backs to each other, and two dogs fighting furiously on the floor. When he asked why they did not stop the fight, one of them answered:

"Our *naguales* are in those dogs, and my friend (*sic*) and I are fighting."

He went on to relate that, after the dogs gave up from exhaustion, both the men's faces were covered with black and blue marks.

[829] The Indians and their medicine men have succeeded to a remarkable degree in impressing the Ladinos with the reality and power of their magic, although it seems to be generally felt that it can only be used against themselves. Several very extraordinary stories were told to us by trustworthy people of more than the usual intelligence, and we were occasionally surprised at the reluctance of educated Ladinos to give information concerning native shamanism.

Because of the close relationship, the Indians try to keep secret their *nagual* lest an enemy should start hunting for it. Moreover,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

to admit to having a weak one would admit weakness in magic and all other things, and set one's enemies immediately to work with the certainty of success. 776 756

Although the idea prevails among the Ladino people of Chiapas that the *nagual* and the soul are the same, in reality they are quite distinct. The soul, *lap*, is conceived of as a separate possession, distinct also from the principle of life, both in its conception and etimologically ("life"—*kucul*). This soul is a delicate thing, easily lost, and the object of many ceremonial precautions. Apparently it dwells within the body, but may be jarred loose, or lost in whole or in part. 774

Apropos of this, the Yocotan curse, given in Volume I, Chapter VI, a prayer to get hold of a man's soul, shows a similar idea. The damage is not done by catching the soul, but by the magic that may be worked on the man after it is caught. Save for the immortality which the Indian enjoys through it after death, his soul may be regarded as much more of a liability than an asset.

If an Indian falls down, the shock of the fall loosens his soul. He must lie where he is until his companions, or the next comers, place a circle of little crosses of grass about him. They then sweep up the trail behind him, gathering the dust and placing it in a heap by his head. On this the grass crosses are burned, and the Indian, inhaling the smoke, regains his soul.

It should be mentioned that these are a very sure-footed people, who seldom fall, and that no importance is attached to falling down when intoxicated.

In case of severe fright, the soul is also thought of as jarred loose. To cure this, an egg or a chicken is buried at the spot where the fright occurred. There is some idea of fright being caused by a spirit that must be placated, an idea which is differently expressed in a custom described as common among the Chol Indians near Palenque. With them, if a child is frightened, the mother beats it soundly, meantime crying "Go away, devil, go away, devil!" (*Que sale el diablo!*") In this case fright is definitely a form of possession. It is part of a conception found among many of the Mayance tribes that there is something unnatural and supernatural about a sudden shock of this sort. Being startled must be distinguished from merely being afraid of something, which is considered entirely natural and comprehensible.

On the trail the Indians sleep on beds of palm leaves which take an impression of the sleeper's body. Before going on, these leaves must be shaken out, and should also be held over the smoke of the 513

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pact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group. The authority of the elders in settling conflicts in the family and the community is weakened, although the hierarchy remains intact. In religious institutions, the personnel has remained the same, but the authority of the religious officials has weakened and the belief in the deities and ancestral figures has been undermined.

Political leadership is the most dynamic area of change. The power of the *principales* had already been taken over by young civil officials when I first went to the town in 1957. The curers, who retained the power derived from belief in their control over the supernatural, were the core of resistance to change in the decade that I knew the community. But this control was being challenged by civil officials and factional leaders, who were aware of its repressive effect. The dynamic aspect of the political sector is linked to the fact that the new leaders saw the necessity of seizing power from those who were privileged in the traditional society. They were reworking the social structure to pave the way for the acceptance of development opportunities being offered by the national government.

In Chapters 10, 11, and 12 I have summarized the structuring of behavior in roles, place, and time and described how these patterns have been affected by change. The following questions are raised in the summary chapters:

1. The role system: How are people recruited into roles? How are roles coordinated? How are performances evaluated? The matrix of roles provides the patterned expectations of what others will do in a given situation. Some of the decisions made in assigning people to roles allow little room for choice. In other cases, new functions, such as those imposed upon governing officials, have replaced traditional bases for making decisions and in turn upset the balance of power between elders, curers, and leaders in civil office. (Continuity and change in the role structure are analyzed in Chapter 10.)

2. The setting: How is appropriate behavior defined for each institutional setting? What kinds of behavior are replicated in each setting? How are changes in role relations reflected in positions assumed in each setting? Observations of behavior in the church and the

Chapter 1

Spirits and Places

Social space is the cognitive pattern of relationships imposed upon any terrain. In Amatenango del Valle[1] there are two superimposed patterns. One is defined by the nation for the purposes of political administration. This follows the pattern of colonial administration of *municipios*, or townships, with a *cabecera*, or administrative center, containing the church, town hall, and school house, and serving a number of colonias and *rancherias*, local hamlets or nuclei of populations. The other pattern is defined by the inhabitants using Tzeltal terminology or a Tzeltal rendition of a Spanish name. In this pattern, domains of good and bad spirits are defined, and behavior appropriate to each place is specified in myths and rituals. Persistence of this pattern has had profound implications for continuity of pre-Conquest culture. It provides a ground plan for the system of social control and security exercised by the old gods and their human intermediaries.

In the following section, I will discuss first territorial divisions defined by national law and modified by indigenous categories, and then the interaction between the spirits of persons and places.

The Territorial Divisions

The township of Amatenango del Valle is located at 92° 30′ longitude and 16° 30′ latitude in the highland zone of the state of Chiapas. The town center is located no more than fifty yards from the Pan-American Highway twenty-five miles southeast of the departmental capital of San Cristóbal.

1. I use the national designation derived from Nahuatl, Amatenango del Valle, to refer to the township, and the Tzeltal term Tzo'ontahal to refer to the center.

ties to the center. They register births and deaths in the township center, 632
but they do not have any representation in the cabildo. The populations 621
have no identification with Indian subgroups, speak Spanish, and are oriented to the regional rather than the local economic center. The plantations remaining in the area, classified as *ranchos* in the national census, employ Indians from the center. Their only relationship to the central au- [464]
thority is to get help in recruiting additional laborers. Recruitment of [341]
labor is no longer coercive as it was prior to the 1930s when the low wage rate could not attract the help needed. Announcements of the need for workers are made by the president on the loudspeaker system of the town, and men voluntarily go to the plantations.

Spirit Domains

The link between people and place is through the media of the spirits 776
(*E'uleletik*) of persons and of locale. The relationship is maintained 778
through a set of rules governing the behavior among spirits of people and of places. These rules derive from myths and stories of encounters which define the character of the spirits in each of the domains. Danger is localized in a series of caves which are avoided. Benevolent, or guardian, spirits inhabit a different set of sites, where ceremonies are conducted that maintain the well-being of the individual and of the community. By locating [182]
and circumscribing places of danger and guardianship, the members of the community can supplicate helpful spirits and avoid evil; they are delivered from fear of the unknown and provided with a rationale for dealing with fear of the known.

The places where spirits meet are outlined in Table 3. The first group [128]
includes spirits which are supplicated, the second, dangerous spirits which are avoided or approached only by powerful persons.

The house spirits. The spirits of inhabitants and of the house 776
meet at the center post at the rear wall of the house. The spirit of the 342
house lives in this post. Those who claim to have seen the house spirit say he is a small Ladino child. He is capricious, and if he is not happy, he may admit the evil spirits who will eat the souls of the inmates. His appe- [753]

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342 tite must be satisfied when the house is first occupied and when the chil-
• 776 dren of the house fall ill from a sickness diagnosed by a curer as a result of
753 their souls being eaten. The souls of the inmates of the house hover near the center post when they are not in the body. The soul calling ceremony
342 is held near this center post. If someone is cured in a house not his own,
755 he must not sit near this post because his soul will be confused with those of the inmates of the house. The curing arch is erected directly before the center post, over the square hole in which the ceremonial offering of a sheep's head is buried when the house is built. A live chicken is buried in this spot if the illness is severe.

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TABLE 3. Spirits and Places

Place	*Place spirit*	*Person spirit*
Loci of spirits to be supplicated		
House	Spirit of the house (*sʔulel na*)	Spirits of children (*sʔuleletik yuntikil*)
Spring of San Nicolás	Little Ladino (*ʔin kailan*)	Spirits of male patients (*sʔuleletik yuʔun keremetik*)
Spring of Pahaltón	Little Ladina (*ʔin linlan*)	Spirits of female patients (*sʔuleletik yuʔun ʔalʔiletik*)
Cave of Ancestors	Lopez brothers (*Šuntonetik*)	Spirits of townspeople (*sʔuleletik spisil teklum*)
Loci of spirits to be avoided		
Cave of Don David	Ladino moneylender (*Klabil*)	Petitioners for wealth
Cave of the Black Man	Devil, or black man (*ʔihk'al winik*)	Witches
Cave of Juan Santos	Deceased recipient of wealth from Cave Hwan Santil	Petitioners for wealth
Stone Cave	Owner of cave (*Yahwal sʔen*)	Petitioners for wealth
Cave of Elotes	Owner of cave (*Yahwal sʔen*)	Petitioners for wealth
Cave of the Star	Owner of star (*Yahwal ʔek'*)	Curers and witches

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The four sides of the square house are protected by palm crosses which were nailed to each of the four corner posts during the ceremony of the initiation of the house. These crosses prevent the entry of evil. A fifth cross on the door post, replaced each year on the Day of the Cross, ensures the guardianship of San Pedro the Martyr, the Lord of Lightning.[5]

The idea of the similarity in substance between a house and its inmates originates in the notions about soil (*lum*) and mud (*ʔač'al*). An origin myth concerning the creation of man indicates that God created man out of soil and this mythical identification is reiterated in prayers when the fleshy part of the body is referred to as *hlumeletik*, our soil, and *kač'aletik*, our mud. Whatever soil man comes into contact with—in his house, in the backyard, or in his travels, may contain some of his soul. This belief is demonstrated in the following practices: When a person's soul is lost because of a fright, such as falling or "seeing a spirit," the soil where the incident occurred is scraped into a shirt or skirt belonging to him and deposited in the soil below the head of his bed. Some older informants say that the soil from beneath the bed is scraped up and deposited in the coffin of a deceased inmate of the house, but I have never seen this done. This intimate relation between soul and soil was best illustrated to us when our landlord refused to let us put a cement floor in the interior of his house since it would interfere with the practices described above and other customs in the house ceremonies mentioned below.

The house is constructed in two stages. The completion of each stage requires a ceremony linking the spirits of the inmates to that of the dwelling. The first stage is the erection of the house posts and the wooden frame. When the roof is covered with wood shingles, thatch, or tile, the family may set up temporary walls of boards. They wait until the rainy season to complete the second stage of building up the walls with mud. The first ceremony, called "fiesta for the house," is for "the spirit which resides in the posts," and the second, called "meal for the house," is to feed "the spirit of the house earth." People believe that the mud walls, like their fleshy counterpart, the human body, require nourishment.

5. San Pedro Martyr is referred to by the Indians as *Tatik Martil* and is identified with the pre-Conquest deity Lord of Lightning, or *Tatik Čaʔuk*.

342 527 774 788 spring. The gourd is used as a container for the springwater because, like all growing plants and unlike metal or glass containers, it has a soul. The soul of the tobacco plant is considered particularly strong. The smoke of the candles and incense are the media through which prayers to the spirit [782] of the house are transmitted.

342 527 788 776 533 The house fiesta serves three functions: (1) introducing the spirit of the house inmates to the house spirit, (2) creating a harmonious setting for spiritual interaction of the members of the household and the house spirit, (3) protecting the house against the intrusion of evil. The introduction is achieved by brushing the household members with the branches from the spring, and the harmony is brought about by drinking liquor, playing the guitar, and dancing. The music of the seed gourd, the guitar, and sometimes a radio or phonograph makes the residents, their guests, and the house spirit happy, or "of one heart." Protection is insured by [789] nailing the palm crosses representing the Lord of the Lightning to the house posts.

342 527 782 756 *Second house fiesta* ("meal for the house"). When a meal is given to the spirit of the house earth, the house is arranged as for the house fiesta with curing arches set in front of the center posts at the back and middle walls. The same guests are invited as for the first fiesta. The family buys a sheep and slaughters it in the morning by stringing it up to the center post by it paws and slashing its jugular vein. When the blood has drained into the square hole opened at the base of the center post, the curer removes the head and buries it in the hole. Some curers bury the four paws as well, while others prefer to add an offering of five pieces of bread in a new pottery jar, twenty measures of chocolate, thirteen cigarettes, and a bottle of liquor covered with a new cloth. The head of the sheep is placed so that the eyes look up to watch over the inhabitants. Some refer to it as the *me?iltatil,* identifying it with the curers (who are called me?iltatil in the context of guardianship) and thus with the ancestor guardians.

During the house fiesta I observed in July 1967, an old curer who had officiated at the first ceremony served again. A neighbor, who was not related to the houseowners but who was skilled in butchering, slaughtered

342 527 782 756 [788] [273]

the animal. The curer received from him the severed head and paws which he placed in a large gourd. Then the curer served a potion of herbs in springwater to all of the members of the household. The final ritual act was for the curer to smoke an article of clothing belonging to each member of the household over the incense burning in front of the center arch at the back wall. Liquor was served continually throughout the ceremony, the first drink always being given to the curer followed by one to the elder houseowner. The first drink was served immediately after the cutting of the jugular vein of the sheep. Flowing blood, water, and liquor are spirit media symbolically linked in ritual behavior. Between each of the major ritual acts—the slaughtering of the sheep, the burial of the head, the serving of the springwater and herbs, and the smoking of the clothing with incense—the curer prayed, but his prayers were so mumbled that I could not hear or record them. Informants said that it was a variation of the prayer given at the first house fiesta. After the rituals, a stew made with the sheep meat was served with tortillas to all the visitors. The music of guitar and gourd rattle, played during the ritual by young male relatives continued after the meal, and the guests remained in the house drinking and dancing for the rest of the afternoon. [533]

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Elements of these house fiestas are repeated when any of the children of the household is ill. A severe illness, diagnosed as being caused by the devil eating the soul of the patient, requires offering a meal to the house spirit. The square hole is reopened, and a live black chicken, male if the patient is a boy and female if it is a girl, is placed inside. A food offering of one-fourth liter of liquor, one peso's worth of bread, and 50 cents' worth of chocolate is placed inside with the chicken, and a square board is fitted on top of the hole "to keep the chicken alive for eight days so that the house spirit will hear his cries." When the curing arch is removed, the hole is filled in with dirt over the chicken, now dead, which provides a meal for the spirit house earth.

When the houseowner is sick, an appeal for health is made to the spirit in the house post. The members of the household kiss the post, a splinter is removed and burned in an incense burner with *pom*, the resin of pine. This odor is pleasing to the house spirit. [776]

When a serious illness caused by witchcraft has been cured, the patient 000

18 When a serious illness caused by witchcraft has been cured, the patient must be protected against reentry of the evil by a gift of medicine to the house. Palm crosses are made for the corner posts and the entry, and a medicine consisting of a mixture of garlic and creosote, the seeds of mustard, and *poščan*, a "hot" herb, is mixed. As the crosses are nailed on the posts, the curer marks a cross with the medicine over the palm cross. This "covers the eyes of the evil spirit" so that it will not enter the house. In the Eyes of the Ancestors 789

The relationship between house spirit and the spirits of the residents is an uneasy one. Fear is associated with this capricious spirit, who might make an alliance with evil spirits, and whose power is evident only in sickness and in death, never in good deeds. A sense of alienation is conveyed in the fact that the house spirit and the spirits of the spring are conceived of as Ladinos. Spirits of the house and of the landscape are exacting landlords from whom the tenants expect nothing in return for their offerings but freedom from harm. Acceptance of the offerings seals a contract between spiritual occupants that must continually be renewed in order to maintain the balance of security expressed in the phrase "to be of one heart." The payment of a "tribute" in the form of food, liquor, and entertainment is part of a larger strategy by which these Indians ensure their survival by appeasement of overlords, demanding government officials, and the very rats which live in their houses and feed on the corn they store in the eaves. 776 342 [782] [557] [571] [782]

The springs. Other meeting grounds for the spirits of people and places are the springs. The major spring, San Nicolás, is located on the southwestern periphery of the town. It provides drinking water and water for irrigating the cultivated lands. A second spring, called Pahaltón, lies closer to the village and provides a smaller stream of water directed into the canals irrigating the fields of the center. Some say the spirit of San Nicolás is a small Ladino boy; others say he is a man. The spirit of Pahaltón is a female non-Indian, or *Ladina*. The spirits of these waters are able to effect miraculous cures for patients who have lost their souls or those who are of two hearts because of upset social relations in the home. Male patients are brought to San Nicolás and female patients are brought to Pahaltón to seek a miracle. In the curing ceremony an arch of flowers entwined in pine boughs is constructed as closely as possible to the spring 778 812 [776] 778 312 755

The curers used to go up to the cave with the alfereces, the mayordomos [*religious officials*], *the prayer reciters, and the people of the village. When they arrived there, the mayordomos played the guitar and gourd rattle. They lit candles and incense, and the leading curers would go inside the cave. All the people contributed money for the liquor and candles which was collected by the officials. They said that they spoke to the ancestors inside, where there was a lake and a beautiful field. They asked for rain and good crops. They would come out and tell the people waiting outside what the ancestors had said.*

Then one year [*in 1957*] *during the fiesta of the cave, the curers went into the cave. The people said to the curers, "We want to see the owners." The curers said they would come out, but they didn't. The people waited and waited. A boy went inside with the curers. They tried to prevent him, saying, "Won't you be afraid?" He said, "No, let's go in." They entered twenty feet inside the door. The curers said, "Let us stay here." The boy asked them where was the river, the lake, and the milpa that were supposed to be inside. The curer replied, "It is all a lie. Now you know; don't tell the people." But when he came out, the boy told the people it was all a deception.*

Since the late 1950s the ritual has changed. The curers no longer officiate, nor do they enter the cave and speak to the ancestors as they did formerly. The *fiscal*, or assistant to the priest, leads the mayordomos, alfereces, and prayer-reciters to the cave on the Day of the Cross and simply replace the palm cross at the entrance to the cave just as they do with the palm crosses fixed to the wooden crosses marking the roads leading into the town. The curers have attempted to revive the belief in the presence of the ancestors by saying that their nephew is in residence now, but no one I ever spoke to believes this. Most people agree that the ancestors live permanently in Chiapa de Corso.[9]

The hill and cave owners. While people try to maintain a good relationship with the spirits of the house, of the springs, and of the Cave of the Ancestors, they avoid the dangerous spirits of the hills and caves

9. A similar myth concerning the departure of the ancestors to go live in Chiapa de Corzo exists in Pinola (Hermitte 1964).

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776 which have the power to mislead, give illness, or capture people to work
[756] for them. Only the most powerful curers and witches, and the very greedy
[754] approach these spirits for they are reputed to be very "live" and mali-
[825] ciously clever. Snakes are the offspring of the hill and do the bidding of the hill owners.

556 Wealth in the form of livestock, corn, or gold can be gained from some
756 of the cave owners upon request, but there is danger in receiving these
778 gifts since they must be reciprocated. Among the cave owners who give
787 gifts is Don Klabil, a deceased moneylender of the neighboring town. After his death in the 1940s, his spirit went to live in the hill bordering the two towns. People say that when he was alive he used to get money from the true owner of the cave. Those who have been inside the cave say it is filled with animals—cattle, horses, rabbits—which drink at a large interior lake. The appropriate approach for requesting wealth is to go on Thurs-
[782] day, "when the earth is open," and burn candles and incense. When the request is granted, the recipient must light candles at the cave every Thursday, and after his death he must work forever for the cave owner. It is said that at his death his wealth dies with him—usually all has been spent, and in fact children are left poor. Some say the spirit of the firstborn child of the recipient must be given to the owner to work for him. For this reason, there is no envy felt by neighbors when they see the increasing wealth of a man who has visited the caves and received such gains and he is doubly protected because no one can hurt an "enchanted man" (one who has entered the cave) with witchcraft.

756 Ladinos' belief in the cave owners gives support to the Indians' credence
776 in their power. Ladinos inquire of Indians where they can find treasures.
778 Once the request to the hill owners is made, it is essential to follow
[829] through correctly. Everyone in town knows the story of Martin Bautista, a curer who went to speak to the true owner of the hill in which Don Klabil lives.

[539] *He knew how to talk to the owner. The owner told him that at midnight on the following day, he would give him what he wanted. At midnight Maria, his wife, was alone in the house. She heard a noise and the sound of* "Andale, burro!" *Then there was a knock at the door. When the*

woman opened the door, she said, "Ay, Dios!" *The owner of the cave did not like this, and at that moment, he disappeared. Her husband returned the next morning. He beat her when he heard of the arrival of the hill owner and his disappearance when she invoked the name of the Lord. From that day on, he lost his luck and remained a poor man.*

The personalities of the cave owners are more fully defined than those of the spirits which reside in the forests. These tree spirits are able to talk to people, or they may sing, "as a mother sings to her child." They sometimes play tricks, misdirecting those who are lost in the woods. A man who intends to kill his enemy may go to talk to the tree spirits to gain their advice. Some plant spirits, such as tobacco, are stronger than others. Indians sometimes address the tobacco plant as "our grandfather" when they approach it, asking leave to pass. Some say that if you chew the tobacco plant you will have strength to overcome evil spirits when you walk in the woods.

An especially fearful group of spirits called *bohwaletik* roam the wooded hills in the late afternoons. These spirits, who look like Ladinos, are feared because they cut off people's heads to feed to the church bell in a neighboring town or to give to the spirits of major construction projects, such as dams. Suspicions are immediately aroused when a solitary Ladino is seen on the outskirts of the town near evening, and if several Indians sight him, they may even kill him.

Persistence of belief and rituals related to the old gods and demons that were part of the Maya pantheon is directly related to the fact that the Indians continue to live in the same place surrounded by the hills and caves that were the habitations of both good and bad spirits. The landscape serves as a mnemonic device, keeping alive the myths of the past. Everyone accepts the knowledge that the spirits once lived here; the only doubt is whether they continue to inhabit their appropriate places, particularly in the case of the ancestors who were responsible for crops and security. This is not a crisis of loss in belief, but a phasing into history of the mythological past. Since there is no longer acceptance of the curers' claim to communication with the spirits, the Indians believe they may have gone elsewhere. It is characteristic of these Indians that they do not

241 825 *they said to me, "while we go over with the other two." I fell asleep. Then the raccoon entered. And so I believe the raccoon is very bright.*

Also there is the wild pig, who is less bright than the raccoon.

Another "thief" of the milpa is a small black insect which eats beans. These are eliminated in the following way:

[291] *When we plant beans, the women go with us wearing a new skirt and a new shawl. They walk near the plants, waving the shawl. The animals die. It has to be a new skirt. My mother proved it. She went with an old skirt, and she saw that they did not die. They just fled to the mountain out of shame. It is the smell of the old skirt that scared them away.*

241 825 782 788 If many animals are eating the crops, Indians buy three twenty-cent candles. They take them to the fields and light them, praying in Tzeltal: "God, holy world, please look at me and speak to the little animals. God, holy rock, holy forest, please look at me, hear me, speak to the animals."

The candles are media through which communication is made with the gods as well as gifts which seal the contract with the gods ensuring their protection and guardianship over the crops.

241 776 784 Guarding the crops also involves avoidance of certain kinds of behavior by the farmer and his wife. Farmers must always avoid irritating the spirits of the heaven who control the elements which make the growth of the crop possible. One informant explained:

One should not have sexual relations with anyone in the milpa because the Father Sun [Tatik K'ak'al] *gets angry or "ends his heart." He will not give crops. He gets very hot. One time, many women in town were looking for lovers. They would have sexual relations with boys in the daytime. The Father Sun got angry and caused the crops to burn. There was very little corn. The price went up to twenty cents a liter. People bought bread and mixed it with the nixtamal.*

It is different if a man is married to a woman in the church. The Tatik K'ak'al does not get angry. The Tatik K'ak'al does not have a woman of his own, and so he gets jealous if he sees people having sexual relations in the milpa in the daytime.

But if you have relations at night with a man in the milpa, Our grand-

mother the Moon gets angry. This might cause an eclipse of the moon, and the crops will suffer because there will be no sun.

There is no prohibition, however, against having sexual relations prior to planting or at other crucial stages, as there are for other Maya Indians (Wagley 1941:34).

During the growing season, candles are lit in the milpa as protection against wind as well as robbers, who "lose their luck" when this is done.

The spirits' care of the crops. The crops have souls, given by the spirits, which will be lost if they are not cared for. The spirits "watch over the crops as parents watch over their children." The term for seed (*yal*) is a metaphorical extension of the term for "child of a woman."

The following myths give different, occasionally contradictory versions of the origin of crops. This central truth emerges in all of them: The spirits have given us our crops and will continue to do so as long as we offer thanks in the form of ceremonies and gifts to them.

Santo Tomás [the patron saint of Oxchuk] had intercourse with Santa Lucía. She wanted [asked for] *the soul of corn, and he gave her the seed of corn. Then there came forth beans, corn, and wheat. But then all the saints of San Bartolo and San Miguel [neighboring towns] asked for the soul of corn. Then the soul of beans left us and went to hot country. Now it does not grow well in the pueblo. Also, the avocado has gone to Comitán. The matasano and ground beans went to Oxchuk when Santa Lucía fought with Santo Tomás.*

The myth of the origin of crops overlays an older myth which has parallels in other groups of Maya-speaking Indians (Castro 1965, Wagley 1941:20).

Formerly, during a famine, there was hunger. The tzisim, *an insect of Ariola, came to take the corn from underground. Thus the ancestors got their first seed. For this reason, people say that corn was born underground, brought up by the tzisim. But I believe God sent us corn.*

Another version has synthesized the role of the saints and that of the animal agent.

241 776 825 539 *The ant* [alielo] *brings corn out of the house. They say that a saint passed on horseback. The ant came to the saint, bringing a grain of corn. He stood before the saint, and the saint said, "Where are you going with the corn?" The ant replied, "To the storeroom." The saint inquired, "Which one?" The ant went to show the saint a stone as large as a church into which he entered to take out corn. There was white, yellow, and red corn.*

The saint returned to heaven and spoke to San Bartolo. San Bartolo asked, "Where is it?" The saint replied, "I will show you."

San Bartolo went with Santo Tomás to see the stone. Santo Tomás said, "Good, let us figure out how to destroy this stone." San Bartolo said, "Let us go talk to a carpenter." At this moment, a carpenter came. They asked him to cut the stone. "Good," said the carpenter, "I will do it."

But the carpenter could not open the stone. They went to another carpenter—there were three in this mountain. The first couldn't, nor could the second. The third carpenter said, "Let us talk to the tunselek [*woodpecker*]. *He is a good carpenter."*

The first two birds had broken their beaks, and the saints warned the woodpecker that he should be careful or he would fail with the stone. The woodpecker broke open the stone, and all the corn seed—yellow, red, and white—fell out. People should not kill these birds because they broke open the rock where the seeds were kept.

241 776 The necessity for showing respect to crops because of their relationship to the saints is expressed in the following account:

[539] *Corn must be treated with respect, since it is the body of the Virgin. You cannot step on anything which is for eating—beans, corn, or wheat —or the Virgin will become angry. Particular care has to be taken at the harvest to avoid offending the saints.*

Some of the saints serve man by helping to spread the cultivation of crops, as in the case of San Isidro, the patron saint of milpas.

[539] *The Padre told us that San Isidro helps the farmers. Formerly there was only milpa here where there is irrigated land. San Isidro went up to the*

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hilltop with a digging stick. He knelt and prayed, asking for rain. At that very moment, the rain came. He put the seeds in the holes he made, and from then on people have been planting in the hills.

Other saints are charged with providing rainfall. The saint of greatest importance in this respect is Santo Tomás, the patron saint of Oxchuk. Some Indians have gone to the church there to light a candle and ask for rain, and on their return the rains came. During an extended drought in August 1967, over one hundred people walked to Oxchuk to pray for rain. The people of Tzo?ontahal are somewhat bitter about the Oxchuqueños' neglect of Santo Tomás since over half of the town has converted to Protestantism. Whenever there is a drought, they blame it on the failure of the people of Oxchuk to take care of Santo Tomás.

In addition to the Catholic saints, the ancestor spirits help man to watch over the land. They are responsible for giving the rains in the planting period and early growing season. The fiesta on the Day of the Cross (Chapter 1) is primarily a plea for rain. Until the 1950s, the curers would hold a celebration at the Cave of the Ancestors to ask for rain during a drought. The waning belief in the presence of the ancestor spirits in the town has meant that there is less attention given to such fiestas. Some go to seek the ancestors in Chiapa de Corzo in the cave in which they are supposed to reside, as the following story illustrates:

One time my three brothers-in-law went to Chiapas to ask the ancestors for better crops. When they arrived there, nobody knew where the cave was. They said only a certain mayordomo there could find it.

Another time, two of the prayer-reciters went to the cave. They talked to the guard of the cave, saying, "May we speak to our ancestors?" The guard said, "Are you prepared? Did you bring two liters of trago? The ancestors like to drink."

The prayer-reciters went to get two liters of trago and all three drank it. While they were drinking, they saw a cow and chickens appear. The guardian said that if they came back in May with "food" for the ancestors —candles, incense, and firecrackers—they would get rich crops. I think the prayer-reciters succeeded because now they have a cow and chickens and a horse. They are afraid of the envy of their neighbors.

628 People with lands in hot country recount that during droughts the In-
796 dians from the neighboring town of Chamula have held rainmaking fies-
782 tas for which they solicit contributions from other Indians.

821 *The Chamulteco came to us and said, "Let all of us who have milpas*
731 *contribute five pesos for a fiesta." He brought the candles. In the little hill there the people brought drums and flute. We ate chickens and drank liquor. For eleven hours he prayed, and in the afternoon it rained.*

628 The *kuriketik,* rural inhabitants of the colonia of San Vicente who
241 migrated to Amatenango from Chanal, have no irrigated lands and de-
789 pend directly on rainfall throughout the growing season. Indians of the center know of their practice of sticking their digging sticks into the ground with the points toward the sky "to puncture the clouds" when they have planted their milpa, but they do not imitate this practice. Control over the supply of water in the irrigated lands has apparently led to the neglect of supernatural appeals even where the canals do not supply water. Under pressure of extended drought, they will resort to spiritual intercession through Chamula or Oxchuk practitioners in whom they have some faith.

241 Acquiring the protection of the gods does not obviate the practical activ-
796 ities necessary in the cultivation of crops. Fiestas for the saints are a repay-
782 ment for services rendered in watching over the milpa. The sponsorship of
796 fiestas for the saints by the community ensures the protection for all of the crops, and general crop failure due to drought or high winds is explained as a result of mismanagement of these community-wide fiestas. The offering of candles to the spiritual owner of one's own milpa is a kind of individual insurance policy for future crops as well as a repayment for the gift of the corn harvest. The peasant notion of surplus value is implicit in this reciprocal relation: the payment, or gift, of two candles to the milpa spirit is far less than the value of the harvest. But the account is balanced by the expenditure of this surplus in communal fiestas.

Pottery Production

323
178 Making pottery has been a speciality of the town since pre-Conquest
172 days. The old site of the town contains sherds of pottery which is remarkably similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now.

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of what seeds grow best in which soils. Good, fast-growing seed is not 241
sowed indiscriminately but is limited to use on more fertile irrigated 242
lands. The size of a family's holdings is the primary factor in deciding
what proportion of the three major crops—corn, beans, and wheat—they [423]
will grow. Where they grow each of these crops depends upon the quality of the soil categorized by topological criteria, consistency, color, and proved fertility. Decline in productivity is attributed to wearing out of soil fertility because of overuse as well as to loss of the soul of crops. The first explanation leads to adaptive behavior, in which the land is "rested" or turned over to cattle grazing, and to crop rotation, alternating wheat and corn crops. The second explanation leads to adjustive behavior in which the agriculturalist takes care of ceremonial obligations to the saints and to the "owner of the milpa."

The scheduling of activities is determined by the knowledge of time re- 241
quired for maturing of the crop and by expectations concerning seasonal fluctuations as they affect rainfall. Although the farmers have some control
over water supply through irrigation, dependence on rainfall for the non- [182]
irrigated fields means that sporadic appeals to the ancestors or saints are [176]
made to ensure rain in the growing period. These rituals are not as inte- [169]
grated in the agricultural production cycle as they are in the neighboring [171]
towns of Chamula and Oxchuk or in the colonia of San Vicente where irrigation facilities are lacking.

Traditional techniques of pottery production are maintained by a tightly 323
organized schema of procedures which allows for little variation in technique or form. Learning of productive techniques is facilitated by a fine segmentation of tasks. Knowledge of local clays and tempering has been stabilized for at least five hundred years of occupation in this area. Women's work is entirely lacking in rituals to ensure the success of their efforts.

These given sets of cognitive orientations in economic activities do not 241
exclude the possibility of considering new ways or means of doing things. 177
Agriculturalists have tried the new seed introduced by agronomists, but 178
have found them wanting in their resistance to mold, in the case of corn, and in their portability, in the case of wheat. Fertilizers have been tried, but the credit costs proved too high for the agriculturalists to continue.
Women were willing to try a kiln in place of open firing, but either the 177
model introduced was faulty or they were not 323
taught to use it properly.

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model introduced was faulty or they were not taught to use it properly. Notions about the supernatural relation between souls of crops, man, and the saints do not interfere with experimentation or adaptation at the instrumental level. Obligations with respect to them are carried on as a supplement to other practical measures.

The organization of men's work in agriculture contrasts with that of women's work in pottery. Men's work, when performed cooperatively by two or more of an extended household or exchange labor team, is mechanically organized, in Durkheim's terminology. Each of the men does the same task, working closely in the rows of the milpa. Women's work groups are organically organized since segmentation of the pottery production in the stages described above makes possible specialization within a domestic production group including two or more women. Preferences and special abilities can be taken into account. The potters with more experience do the jobs which require more judgement and skill, such as mixing the clay or making the bases, and then the work is passed on to less proficient workers. Or an older woman can leave the more strenuous tasks, such as mixing clay or building up the sides of the larger pots, to younger women and perform the lighter tasks, such as putting on the neck and handles.

These differences in the organization of male and female work tasks suggest the need for a reformulation of the classification of whole societies as organically or mechanically integrated. In assessing the potential for change, internal variations in the organization of production might provide the clues for implementing development programs.

The division of labor according to sex is nearly absolute: women do not learn to work in the milpa nor do men learn to make pottery or perform household tasks. However, women will gather firewood, and men will transport clay (although they do not collect the clay deposits in balls) and help in firing pottery. Women can live without men in the household economy of the town, but men cannot live without women. This is because male labor is a market commodity while female labor in household activities is not. A widow can hire a man to work her fields, but a man cannot hire a cook. If he is widowed, he must remarry, move into his

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suitable, the president and judges give permission to the curers to allow him to enter the profession at this time. The novice provides three liters of liquor which are drunk "in common" by the curers and the civil officials.

There is some evidence that, formerly, novice curers were asked to yield the soul of one of their children:

My dead husband was given permission by Julian Gomez, the leader of the curers of Ahk'olnantik, to enter the curing profession. When my husband told me he wanted to cure, he said that Julian had asked him for a child "for the ancestors to eat." My husband was going to give a child of his brother since we didn't have any, but I said it would be a pity. Then he said he would give trago. This he did. I forget how many liters.

When the contagion came, the curers went to take out the heat. A policeman called my dead husband, and he went. The policeman said the leading curer had called him. The judges told him, "It is better for you to enter in common with the other curers."

He began to cure. The curers then asked what offering we were going to give.

"We have no children," said my husband. "We will give you liquor. I cannot give my brother's child or my sister's children."

He must have brought them about ten or twelve liters of trago and two packs of cigarettes.

The third soul, swayohel, may be acquired, or one may be born with it. Those who acquire the third soul by capture of the soul of a dead person within twenty days after the death are considered to be potentially dangerous. They are more likely to use the soul for evil than those who have acquired it from the ancestors at birth. Swayoheles can be acquired from a saint named ʔAhau in the neighboring town of Oxchuk.[1] The following account illustrates how one asks this saint for a swayohel:

If you go to the saint with a black face named ʔAhau with two candles of twenty cents you can ask for a swayohel. You say, "I want one E'ulel that is very strong. I have an enemy. I need one." You sleep there, and wake

1. Lombardo Otero (1944:73) says that in Oxchuk, Mukulsjau, or Chulsjau, is identified with Trinidad, and is associated with the pigeon, which is the animal spirit of powerful curers.

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up with a swayohel. One man near San Vicente said his friend went there to ask for one. Next day, the enemy died. One man who went there said when he woke up he was sure he had gained a swayohel. He had dreamed of two animals. "Are they my swayoheles?" he asked. They were jaguars.

When he got to his house, the same two animals came. They thought about how to get his enemies. But when the jaguars had killed his enemies, they were not content. Then they went on to kill many people. Finally the man was shot. The spirits of all those who die as a result of a swayohel received from ?Ahau go to him after their death.

Curers are classified as potentially good or dangerous on the basis of what kind of swayohel they have. Good curers have swayoheles of animals which eat leaves or grass—horses, sheep, bulls, or other herbivorous animals. Potentially dangerous curers have the souls of carnivorous animals —vultures, dogs, cats, mountain lions, coyote, and others. They may not use these swayoheles for evil, but possession of such a soul is a basis for suspicion. Usually the curers keep secret the nature of their swayohel, but sometimes when they are drunk they brag about its power. Good swayoheles fly or walk straight down the main roads of the town, while evil swayoheles lurk at the outskirts of the settled area.

Only one woman has a swayohel and practices curing. She is reputed to have acquired her swayohel in the following manner:

There was a woman named Andrea Ča?il and another named Fernanda Ča?il. They were not sisters, but they were of the Ča?iletik. Fernanda died. She was a true elder woman, a very strong woman. She lived in Madronal and Andrea lived in the center.

One day Andrea said, "Let us go collect wood," to two girls.

"Let's go," said the girls. "Where shall we get the wood?"

"Let's go in the woods behind Madronal," replied Andrea. "Let's go."

The women arrived in the mountain to cut wood. When they had the wood, Andrea said she saw a mulberry bush. "Let us eat some berries," she said.

Andrea went to the mulberry bush. She saw a white ball of Čišol *under the bush. "What kind of an animal is that?" she asked.*

The girls looked at it and said, "We don't know."

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"He looked for trouble!" Domingo replied.
I said, "You killed my husband!"
He said, "It was not I! It was not I!"
It doesn't serve to enter curing early. People will kill you right away. Another young man wanted to enter. The curers did not permit him since they said he was a witch. People heard he was a witch, and they killed him. He was the same age as my husband [*about twenty-seven*].

The curers who have survived to an old age were introduced into the profession by an elder relative. They choose their clients carefully, refusing to cure a man who is on the point of death, and remaining within their own section of the dual division. These rules of survival are ignored by some of the younger men who wish to impress their elders with their powers.

The changing image of the curers. The curers of today are unfavorably compared with those of the past who used their power for good. The prototype of the old curer was the fearful Tatik Čaʔuk, Lord of the Lightning, possibly a local manifestation of the Maya god Chac.[2] The dialectic of power is exemplified in his control over beneficial and destructive forces. His beneficence is demonstrated in his ability to bring rain to crops, while his vengeance is revealed in lightning bolts which can kill people and destroy houses. Anyone who is struck by lightning is believed to have had some sin for which the Tatik Čaʔuk has punished him. His destructive force is equated with a rifle—called "the elder brother of the Lord of Lightning"—and with the "heat" which brings death in illnesses. His habitation is believed to be the Cave of the Star where the heat which causes epidemics is found.

The curers were intermediaries for the Tatik Čaʔuk in their control over both destructive and beneficial forces. Formerly, the swayohel of the curers patrolled the streets of the town to prevent the entry of evildoers bringing heat. It is in this role that they are referred to as me'iltatil. If an epidemic occurred, the two leading curers from each side of the town con-

2. In other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities, the god Čaʔuk is named as the chief figure from pre-Conquest theology (Hermitte 1964, Holland 1963:93).

medicine. But why should they ask for medicine if the curers were going to eat their souls as he told me? I asked him, "How do you eat their souls?" He said that the five or six curers would make a common meal. They looked for a frying pan, and when it was well cooked, they would call all the curers and say, "Come, let us eat in common." When people came to ask for medicine, they would say, "Please, give us medicine." The curers would give the medicine, but the sick ones did not get well. The curers were only deceiving them. How could they get well if they wanted to eat their souls? They only wasted their money. 756 754 774

It is this that O. K. said to me. He told me himself that he had eaten the souls. Then I felt that he was bad because of what he himself had told me. To this day, I believe that he himself did the evil to his patients.

The personality of the curer. In view of the hazards of entering the curing profession and the low material rewards, the question of what motivates a curer to practice is of some interest. The older curers claim that God spoke to them in a dream and made known His desire that they cure. They conceive of it as a responsibility to the people, and maintain that their power comes from God. This contradicts parallel statements made by the same curers that their power comes from their swayohel. The younger curers say that the curers of their side selected them because they saw that they had a swayohel. 756

Direct questioning yields only limited understanding of what motivates these extraordinary people. The behavior of some of the curers reveals facets of the role which could not be elicited from them in questioning. Curers are able to defy tenets of the moral code of the community which stress softness and slowness, a moderation which is fundamentally based on fear of the world of spirits and of men. When drunk, the curers brag about their strength and fearlessness. They try to avoid the usual negative sanctions to such behavior by asserting the strength of their swayoheles and their imperviousness to harm. 756 156 [183] 756 156 776

My elder brother Albino was drinking with the dead Nicolás, leader of the curers of Alannantik. When both were half drunk, my elder brother asked Niholás what swayohel he had. 159 756

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symptomatic of the present breakdown in the hierarchical controls which formerly maintained the authority of elder curers. Informants say that in the old days there was no such competition, and the leadership of the elder curers was unchallenged.

Another clue to the personality of the curer can be seen in the statement of a young curer, who expressed in a kind of stream-of-consciousness style the fears and worries that plague him. After responding to the questioning about what he did when he cured, he proceeded to talk of his own concerns as he cured patients:

And when I arrive at Pahaltón [curing spring], I set aside my hat and blanket so that they do not get burned. If a dog should come and chew my sandals or if I should leave them outside the house where I am curing and a house rat chews them, then it will cost me thirty pesos to buy a new pair. When I come out late at night, a cat spirit sometimes appears on the road, and I throw a stone at it so it will not carry off my spirit; or a dog comes and I must beat him with my hand because I have no machete with me, or I must throw a broken bottle at the devil. When I get home, I take off my jacket and hat and go to sleep. My woman must tie up the sandals with a string on the rafters so that the rat will not eat them. Then it is the woman's fault if the devil dog gets them.

Late at night the spirits of the curers come to play and go at cock's crow. And at two o'clock the spirit of a sheep comes out with the devil, and these spirits do not go to sleep in their house until dawn. And if they [the curers' spirits] arrive in bed drunk and take off their huaraches and bother their wife she will put them in prison and then they have to pay a fine of two liters of the "gift" [liquor] and one handful of cigarettes. If their woman leaves the curers and they come out of prison, then if they do the same thing again, they send then to Santo Domingo. In prison they make net bags and if they have a wife, she goes and gives them tortillas and coffee. If their wife or father and mother help and give money, then they can pay for a lawyer and get out. Or if they have a daughter, then they receive the gift of a suitor and eat the bread.[3] *Later there will come the chicken and sweet liquor and trago, and then she will marry. Later*

3. "Eating the bread" signifies that the betrothal negotiations are accepted.

from the spring and a live black chicken which draws the heat from the patient, taking it into its own body. The branches are dipped in a mixture of raw cocoa, pieces of melon mixed in water, and other "cold" items. A new set of clothing, smoked over an incense burner in which pitch pine is burned, is put on the patient. A common meal of chicken or beef stew is served with tortillas to all the guests. 755

In the case of more persistent illnesses, the bathing may take place at the springs. Male patient go to the large spring of San Nicolás and female patients to Pahaltón. A curing arch is erected near the spring. The curer calls upon the spirit of the spring to perform a miracle. Some members of the family stay behind at the house so that if the spirit of the patient should return before he does, it will be welcomed. The people waiting in the house, called maliwanehetik, must drink as much liquor as do those at the spring. [776] [273]

Sometimes the soul of a child is called at the place where fear caused it to be lost. The cure is started at the house, and then part of the group goes to the place which the curer has designated as the location of the fright. Soil is gathered in a kerchief or item of the patient's clothing and is placed at the head of his bed. As the group returns to the house, one of the child's relatives plays the guitar at the gate, and the curer sweeps a path for the soul with branches he has taken from the spring. Inside the house, the soul is again called while the curer brushes the child with spring branches. The mother embraces the child as incense is smoked over him and all his clothing. The child is then pulsed to determine whether the soul has returned.

Medicating the house. The strategy of medicating the house is tied to an understanding of the interaction of the spirit of the house and those of the inmates. When the evil sent out by the witch enters the house, it first asks permission of the house posts to enter the soil of the house. The house is adorned with pine branches and flowers to make the house-soul happy. Old men make palm crosses for the center post and corner posts of the yard. One large 50-cent candle is lit at the center post with small 20-cent candles on each side. When these candles are lighted they "blind the eye of evil spirits who can see only in the dark." A black chicken is buried alive in the square hole where the offering of the sheep 755 776 342

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755 has been made at the time of the house inauguration. Food for the chick-
776 en—bread, chocolate, tortilla, and liquor—is put in the hole so it will stay
348 alive for eight days.

The logic of the meal is that the house needs nourishment and for this reason has been fighting with the inmates and causing their illness. After the guests have been fed, the curer marks a cross with a mixture of garlic, creosote, seeds of mustard, and a "hot" herb called poščan, on the center post inside the house and on the corner posts. Like the candles, the cross serves to "blind the eye" of the evil spirits so that they will not reenter the house and talk the spirit of the house into causing harm.

This ceremony replicates that of the house meal at the time of the inauguration (Chapter 1). The music of the guitar and gourd rattle is intended to make both the soul of the house and the souls of the inmates content. Why the curing of the house is always done on Thursday, when "the holy earth is open," is not fully understood by the curers I have questioned; they say, "We have forgotten how to talk to the earth." Chamula curers are reputed to be able to talk to the earth, and consultations may be sought with them if the illness continues.

755 *Prayer.* The curers talk with the soul of the thirteen ancestors of
776 the world,[5] to the "spirits of the heaven and of the church," and to saints
782 of neighboring towns, asking for a good cure. The following prayer is one
[539] given by the oldest and most honored of the curers:

Sacred earth, sacred world
Thirteen holy world, holy flowers
In the center of another holy world

Look mother, its clay
I am a child, its clay.
Holy heaven, Jesus Christ
Holy herbs give the spirit

[801] 5. The number 13 has significance in the Maya cosmology in the 13 levels of heaven (Thompson 1964:125). The 13 candles set before the curing arch symbolize the 13 holy worlds. The meal for the house spirit includes 13 cigarettes.

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[539]

The companions of the patient
are gathered here with his father
In the center of this other holy
earth
Holy earth, take out the fever.

The curer then calls upon each of the saints of the surrounding towns, asking for help in bringing about a miracle. First he calls upon the major saints of the pueblo (Santa Lucía, San Francisco, Santiago, San Pedro the Martyr, and the Virgen de Rosario), then those of Teopisca (San Augustín and the Virgen de Mercedes), of San Cristóbal (San Cristóbal and Justo Juez), of Villa Carranza (Señor del Pozo and San Bartolo), of Socoltenango (the Virgen de Candelaria), of Villa las Rosas (San Miguel and San José), of Comitán (Santo Domingo, San Caralampio, and the Virgen de Santa Teresa), and finally Señor Esquipulas of Tulanca. Thus he defines the meaningful spiritual universe of the village, building a kind of hegemony of defense and protection.

At any point throughout the cure the patient may consult the doctor sent by the I.N.I., the priest, or the schoolteacher, all of whom compete with each other in gaining clients by dispensing medicines. This does not undermine the role of the curer since curing the disease is considered a separate issue from stopping the witchcraft which is causing it. The disease may be cured, but the persistence of the witchcraft will eventually cause death through spiritual malaise unless treated by the curer. 755 757

All the people of the village know the common herbs and the sicknesses for which they should be used. The basis for the curer's power thus is not specialized knowledge of medicines, but the strength of his swayohel in fighting that of the enemy, and his esoteric knowledge of pulsing. [756] [776]

Formerly curers received minimal pay for practicing. The family of the patient offered about 20 pesos or worked in the fields of the curer. Curers refused larger payments because they said their skill came from God, and it would be a sin to accept money for it. This practice is continued today by one old curer for patients within the community. However, he receives from 100 to 200 pesos from out-of-town patients. A Ladina from the neigh- 756

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 156]

Chapter 8

Taking Care of the Lord Spirits

Religious behavior is concerned with two major goals: maintaining a given state of prosperity and protecting the community against disaster. In the words of one informant: "All of the goods which we enjoy—the corn, beans, and wheat that we eat, the animals which work for us and give us food—are the gifts of the Lord spirits." The technique for maintaining the flow of goods of the world is the annual cycle of fiestas for the saints. The strategy for protecting the community against disaster is through avoidance of offense and special offerings to the gods identified with pre-hispanic deities and spirits. Responsibility for the ceremonial cycle is assigned to officials who represent the community, but everyone is responsible for the avoidance of disaster, since any transgression of moral behavior by an individual can cause their wrath and bring destruction of crops and animals. The protective rituals involve beliefs continuous from pre-hispanic times; maintenance depends on Catholic saints.

Kinds of Lord Spirits

Religious behavior is based on an understanding of the personality and rank of each deity in a hierarchy of power. The people distinguish two major categories of gods: the lord spirits of the heaven, *E'ultatik ta E'ulčan,* and the lord spirits of the church, *E'ultatik ta E'ulna.* The prefix *E'ul* in all of these terms can be translated as spirit. All growing things—people, plants, and animals—have a spirit. *Tatik* can be translated as our lords, elders, or fathers. The categories of spirits discussed here differ from the *E'uleletik* (Chapter 1) since these are spirits possessed by the place in which they dwell, as indicated by the possessive form of the noun with the prefix *s.*

776 177 The two groups of spirits differ in their traditional characteristics and functions. The spirits of the heaven "look to see where everyone is going," "look and listen to all that people say," "are very alive," and "are of the world." In contrast to them, the spirits of the church "are not alive," "do not speak," "do not do anything," "are only of the pueblo." Thus the spirits of the heaven are universal; those of the church are particular. The saints' images which are kept in the church of the town are not considered to represent the same person as these same images in other towns. This [171] conception of saints as local and distinct personalities is found in other Maya Indian towns and differs from that of orthodox Catholicism.

The lord spirits of the heaven. The spirits of the heaven are God the Father, *Tios Tatil,* God the Son, *Tios Nič'anil,* and the Holy Spirit, *Spiritusantú.* Table 27 indicates the identification made between these major figures and pre-hispanic spiritual entities.

[192] TABLE 27. Pre- and Post-Hispanic Equivalents of the Lord Spirits of the Heavens

Post-Hispanic spirits		*Pre-Hispanic spirits*
Tios Tatil (God the Father)	=	B'alamilal (The World) B'ankilal (Elder Brother)
Tios Nič'anil (God the Son, Jesus Christ)	=	Sčeb'al B'ankilal (Second Brother)
Spiritusantú (Holy Spirit)	=	Tatik K'ahk'al (The Lord Sun) K'oš (referential, Last Child) Šut (vocative, proper name) ʔihtz'in (Younger Brother)
Meʔ Santú (Virgin Mary)	=	Meʔtikčič ʔu (Our Grandmother the Moon)

776 539 177 The "mystery" of the Trinity is "explained" in the following story in which pre-hispanic deities are identified with the Christian deities.

Many years ago, the Lord Sun [Tatik K'ak'al] *did not walk as now. He was only hanging in the heavens. Our Grandmother the Moon* [Meʔtik Čič ʔu] *bore three sons named God the Father* [Tios Tatil], the Elder *Brother; God the Son, Second Brother; and a third named K'oš, or Last One. The first brother did not turn out bright nor did the second brother. It was the youngest brother, K'oš, who was the brightest. When the Elder*

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Brother was in heaven, there never was night. He never rested from his work.

One day K'oš said to his brother, "Let us go for a walk. We will get honey and eat it. I know where there is a tree." He told his mother to make tortillas to take with them. She made many tortillas for K'oš to eat, and in addition made two small tortillas.

His mother asked K'oš, "Why do you want to go out walking?"

He replied, "I am going to find honey. Wait for me to return."

K'oš and his two older brothers walked until they arrived at the tree with the honey. The Elder Brother said, "I shall climb very high."

K'oš said, "I too will climb."

The Elder Brother said, "Do not climb. Wait and I shall throw the honey down. You cannot climb the tree, Šut" [for this is what they called K'oš].

K'oš just waited for his brother to throw down the honey. K'oš got very angry because the Elder Brother just threw down beeswax.[1] *An animal entered the trunk of the tree and started eating the root. The tree shook, frightening the two brothers. They called out, "What are you doing, Šut?"*

"Nothing. I am not doing anything. Why don't you give me good honey?"

"Go on and drink it," the older brothers said.

"I don't like it. It isn't any good," replied K'oš.

He did nothing for a while. Then the tree fell. K'oš saw the tree fall. He went and got the two small tortillas his mother had packed in his lunch, and he put one on the Elder Brother's nose. His brother turned into a pig. He tried to put the other tortilla on the Second Brother's nose, but he could not seize him. The Second Brother turned into a wild boar, and fled into the forest. He brought the Elder Brother to his house. When he arrived at his house with his little pig, he said to his mother, "Mother, I have brought a little pig to raise."

"Where did you find it?" his mother asked.

"I just brought it," replied K'oš.

1. In recounting this passage, the narrator laughed, and when I asked why, said that the word for beeswax is also the word for excrement. She commented that K'oš was very bright because he would not tolerate this.

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776 539 177 *"Is there food for it?" asked his mother.*

"I am going to plant a milpa to feed the little pig. You stay here and watch the little pig and I will go."

"Yes, I will care for it," said his mother.

K'oš went to plant his milpa. As he was leaving, he said to his mother, "I will return in the afternoon."

His mother said, "I shall await you in the afternoon."

When K'oš returned, his mother asked, "How is your milpa?"

He replied, "It isn't ready. Tomorrow I am going to burn it because it is just a forest."

The next day, K'oš returned to his milpa. Everything he had cut had grown back in his milpa. He asked himself, "How did it spring up? I am going to wait and see who is causing the trouble." He waited and saw a bird entering the milpa. The bird said, "I don't want to have the woods burned!"

K'oš said, "I am going to start the fire."

He started the fire, and then he said, "I am going to where the day meets the heaven." He picked up the fire of his milpa, saying, "My brother does not know how to walk. I am going to walk around and return."

Now the day walks in front and the night walks behind.[2]

The story has an aftermath which describes the continuing relationship between the Lord Sun, K'oš, and his mother, Our Grandmother the Moon.

The Lord Sun sees all of our sins and puts them in a book. If anyone has sexual relations in the milpa, he puts it down. When he sees this, he gets angry because he walks alone. He wants to end the world since he does not endure our sins. But Our Grandmother the Moon does not want

[184] 2. There are other versions of this story in neighboring Tzeltal-speaking communities. Castro (1959:24–31) gives an Oxchuk version in which the identification of the three brothers with the Christian Trinity is not made. Šut, the vocative term used in the Tzoʔ-ontahal version, is given as the name of the youngest brother, who succeeded in giving a new sun to the world. But in outwitting his brothers with the honey, Šut killed them rather than turning them into pigs. A Chol version (Whittaker and Warkentin 1965) is closer to that of Oxchuk. [171]

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the sun to kill people. She is afraid that if all the people die, other people will come who have just one hand and one foot. They will not be able to work. Our Grandmother the Moon wants things as they are. So she fights the Sun, and then there is an eclipse. For this reason, people say that she bears our sins. 776 539 177 [821]

The tales occasionally try to bring the old gods into focus with the Christian gods and to explain certain cosmological events, for example the eclipse and the movement in the heavens of the sun and the moon. The synthesis is incomplete. First of all, the small part Jesus (Second Brother) plays in the first myth, in which he finally disappears into the forest, shows a failure to fit the three gods into the pre-hispanic format which included only two main characters. Secondly, the myths fail to synthesize the codes of morality stemming from Maya and Christian sources. In Christian mythology, the deities are conceived of as perfect. They are not identified with the sun, but are the power of creation which brought forth the sun and made it move. Destructive forces come from the evil power of the Devil. The deities of the Indians incorporate both good and evil. Cosmological forces are the gods acting directly either to promote or destroy man's work. Even the Grandmother Moon, who shows compassion for her grandchildren, can be piqued into destroying their crops. 776 539 177 178 821

In another tale the personification of good and evil in separate characters shows greater influence from Catholicism. Jesus emerges as the hero who, with the collaboration of the Virgin Mary, outwits the Devil. 776 539 177

After Jesus was crucified, the King of the Jews[3] *called upon people to sow a staff to prove who moves the world. Jesus planted the seed, but the Jews did not let them grow. He did it again, and only one leg came out and one hand came out. Therefore the plant did not stand because the "King of Evil" was watching.*

Jesus and his mother had an idea. He spoke to her, saying, "What do you think, Mother?" She replied, "The only thing I can say is, what can we think of?"

The Lord Christ replied, "Our children and offspring [the milpa] do

3. The Devil is alternately called King of the Jews [Statal Jurio], King of Evil [Statal Pukuh], and the Devil in the story. [192]

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776 539 177 *not stand. Only one stands—he who does not respect us." The Virgin Mother said, "Yes, I saw another one who walks well watching our children." Jesus asked, "Did you get a good look where he walks?" His mother replied, "Yes, indeed, I saw him." Christ asked, "If you know, what are we going to do there where he walks?" "I do not know what we shall do," said his mother.*

Then, after a pause, Christ said, "Now I know what we will do! Do you know what hour he passes?" The Virgin answered, "Yes, I do."

"Good. I am going to make a little house and put a Victrola, an accordion, and also a violin in it. I will put a marimba, a guitar, and a harp on each side of the road. And I shall also put trago and beer, everything that is good to drink. When you see him coming, we will begin to play the marimba and guitar and all the music on both sides of the road. When you see the King of Evil, we will begin the dance and drink trago—everything there is—and he will look at what we drink."

The Virgin said, "I will invite him to dance a little." "Yes, you remain here dancing, and I shall go for a moment to see his children [corn plants]. Continue dancing while I go out to look," said Christ. The Virgin answered, "Good. Good."

And so the Devil passed by. When Christ left, the Virgin began to dance with the Devil. They drank more liquor to make him "lose his heart" [get drunk]. The Virgin did not see that the Devil put his tail in half of the bottle. It is because of this that the people say liquor is one-half Devil and one-half God.

Meanwhile, Jesus arrived where the children of the Devil were. He made no more than the sign of the cross, and all the children of the Devil died. It is after the Children of the Devil died that Christ seized control of the world.

And so it is true that we are his children who came out of Jesus Christ.

In this tale, evil is personified in the enemy of the Catholic Church, the King of the Jews who is also the pre-hispanic "King of Evil." The Virgin Mother is concerned with preventing the world from reverting to the situation in which people were born helpless, with just one arm and one leg, as it was when the Devil was in control. To prevent this, when the moon is "sick" or in eclipse, the people must call her back to life. The strategy is [821] [789]

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to make a great deal of noise by striking hoes, firing rifles, blowing the horns of bulls, and striking gourds. The logic of this behavior can be understood from the following statement of an informant: "The sickness of the moon is a result of the conflict of the sun with the moon. The noise we made frightens the father sun so that he will stop fighting the moon. If he were to win, the people would die, and new people would be born with only one leg and one arm."[4]

We have in this story what appears to be an overlay of post-hispanic mythology, in which the Devil personifies evil forces, superimposed on a prehispanic mythological identification of the powers of both good and evil in single cosmological deities. Whereas in the previous myth it is the Devil, the King of the Jews, who caused all of the children of Jesus to die and to be reborn with only one arm and one leg, in this statement it is the sun who can effect the same reversal of nature. The sun, Tatik K'alik, has the power to cause the milpa to grow, but by staying out too long, it can burn the crop. Similarly lightning, Tatik Ča'uk, may bring rain, but can destroy the milpa with the winds that precede the rain or kill man and destroy his house. Man is responsible for determining how the force of the gods will be directed.

The guardianship of the sun and the moon over the people of the world serves to control or at least restrain the behavior of people. Since both of them "walk alone," without companionship, they become jealous if they see sexual relations performed by people in the milpa. Since all legal sexual relations are carried out in the relative privacy of the house, it is only those who seek illicit relationships who retreat to the milpa, and so this restraint has a prohibitive effect on unsanctioned sexual behavior. If the moon sees someone in the milpa at night, she refuses to retire and stays out, not letting her son the sun rise. Similarly, when the sun sees someone in the milpa in the daytime, he refuses to retire, burning the milpa with his hot rays.

The lord spirits of the east. There is another category of spirits which is ill defined and not many people know. These are the spirits of

4. The same behavior, that of making noise during an eclipse, is found in the Maya Indian community of Cantel, Guatemala, but there it is interpreted as a means of calling the sick grandmother back to life by showing that her grandchildren care about her.

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776 the east. Each of these is responsible for giving something to men: one gave corn, one wheat, one bulls, one horses, and one pigs. These spirits are recognized in the context of the household only: at the end of each household ceremony, the assembled guests stand and look to the East where the gods reside in a place called Santo Arió, somewhere in Guatemala. Since their gifts to mankind are products which are produced and consumed by the household, and since they are recognized in the context of the house, there is some basis for thinking of them as old household gods. Calnek (1962:61) has pointed out that among the ancient Maya, household gods were part of "a hierarchically ordered series of deities, worship or propitiation of which progressively links him not with other individuals conceived particularistically, but to all larger social units of which he is a member."

776 539 177 The only case I know in which an identification is made between these household gods and the saints concerns Santa Teresa:

Once long ago the owners began to harvest their milpas, and they put the corn in a pile. When the harvest was finished, they began to beat the corn from the cob. When they carried off the corn, some of the seed [sb'ak'] *remained.*

A man passed by and heard a saint talking. He asked what she said, and she replied, "Nothing. I said that you should tell the Padre to pick me up and put my body (also sb'ak') in a church. I want a church for myself, and I shall wait here until you come to carry me inside the church. I do not want any companion. I don't want you to throw away the corn seeds, nor do I want you to burn the seeds because they are my bones. Make a good fiesta and bring me into the church with firecrackers and with prayers. Raise me high on a pedestal because I do not want to be kissed, I only want my feet to be kissed."

And now there is a church for Santa Teresa standing in a milpa outside of Comitán, in which she lives alone since there is no companion for her.

776 177 *The lord spirits of the church.* Among the sixteen saints of the church, four "big saints"—Sacramento, San Pedro the Martyr, Santa Lucía, and San Francisco—are distinguished from the others. All four are considered by the Indians to be patron saints of the pueblo, although the

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priest lists only one, San Francisco. Only these top four are hierarchically ordered. The big saints are supposed to be able to make miracles, but there are stories only for San Pedro and Santa Lucía. San Pedro Martyr, *Tatik Martil,* is the only saint possessing a soul. The image of San Pedro shows him with a hatchet in his head, blood dripping over his face. According to legend, San Pedro was the first patron saint of the town. The following story recounts his transformation:

Tatik Martil was of a very foreign kind of heart. He gave permission to the witches to bring sickness. Only those who knew how to make illness spoke with him. They went and asked permission to make the illness continue. People heard he was very evil, and they threw him out of church. They cut off his head, saying, "You only give evil. You do not give any miracles. You have given the old ones permission to give evil."

San Pedro received a new head in Pinola. Now he is good and is of one heart with the Virgin Santa Lucia, with Sacramento, and with San Francisco.

The logic by which San Pedro is cast as leader of the witches is implicit in judgments concerning guilt in cases of homicide. Any man who is killed is referred to as the guilty person, since protecting the village from witchcraft is the main motivation for homicide. When an early priest set up an image of San Pedro in the church, this must have inspired fear and foreboding. He was transmogrified by the people into the leader of the witches, and they burned the church to the ground. (Its foundations are still visible in Alannantik.) Whether the priest at that time (around 1746) convinced the people that, with a new head purchased in Pinola, San Pedro was transformed, or whether the people invented the story, we do not know. Despite his reformation, San Pedro still inspires fear. He is identified with the Lord of Lightning, Tatik Čaʾuk. The following is a typical account of his power:

This power comes from his possession of an animal spirit. Whenever the lightning strikes, people know that some sin has been committed. The old people say that he asked a son-in-law to put down a lightning flash. The son-in-law couldn't do it—I don't know why he couldn't do his work—

776 821 539 177 *and so he returned and the Lord of Lightning gave him another job—that of making lightning flashes.*

San Pedro now gives protection to the people from the power he wields. 776 177 789 During his fiesta, palm crosses are distributed to everyone who attends mass; if a man walks with a cross tucked in his hat or a woman wears one strung on her neck, he or she will not be struck by lightning. The houses are similarly protected with palm crosses.

776 177 Santa Lucía is the only other saint in the local roster who is described as being "very powerful." She is supposed to be able to cure diseases of the eyes. The image of her in the church shows her holding two eyes reflected in a small mirror in the palm of her hand. The story which explains why 776 177 539 821 she holds them was told me with an expression of complete belief, and other informants vouch for its authenticity:

Formerly, Santa Lucía used to "talk with" [a euphemism for "had an affair with"] Santo Tomás of Oxchuk. Santo Tomás loved her because she was pretty. Santa Lucía was so in love with Santo Tomás that she gave him a gift of her eyes. He did not want them—he was frightened by the gift—and he returned them. From then on, she did not speak to him. Now, when a child has sickness of his eyes, his mother buys medicine and takes it to Santa Lucía who gives her blessing, and the child gets well.

They say the lightning struck the church in Oxchuk, and it was the fault of Santa Lucía. But then a few years ago it struck our church. And that was the fault of Santo Tomás. He is very strong.

"I am going to see how she will pay for that!" said Santo Tomás.

And in ten years a storm came and broke the tower of our church. There was a meeting of the principales. They said, "Let's sell the cattle of Santa Lucía so that we can build a new church." The tower was struck another time. All the married men had to contribute forty pesos each. We made it out of metal this time, because Santo Tomás is very strong.

821 776 On a conscious level, most people know that the earth is round, and that the sun revolves around it, but the motivating power behind natural phenomena is still conceived in personalized terms. One informant, when asked why the sun rises and sets, ventured cautiously, "I have heard that our Father, the Sun, revolves and that he goes down below the earth. But

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I do not know if it is so. I just heard that in a story told." He then referred back to the story of K'ol, the younger brother who took over the task of carrying the sun from his elder brother, to explain how the sun's movement started. 821 776

Misfortunes caused by lightning, winds, and drought are explained as failures in social relations among people of the community or between the members of the community and the spirits. Restraint in their own conduct, fulfillment of their ceremonial obligations, and show of respect to the spirits are the only safeguards against such casualties.

Caring for the Lord Spirits of the Church

The relationships established with the spirits of the church contrast to those with the spirits of the heaven in the following ways: First, the upkeep and maintenance of the spirits of the church is delegated to appointed representatives, the mayordomos, who carry the burden for the community; "all the people of the world," on the other hand, are responsible at all times for avoiding behavior which would incur the wrath of the sun and moon. Second, the obligations to the spirits of the church are standardized, while those to the spirits of heaven are ill-defined and involve avoidance of offense rather than positive expectations. Third, duties toward the church spirits are performed in repetitive events following the calendrical cycle of fiestas, while obligations to the spirits of the heaven are fulfilled sporadically, as during an eclipse of the moon or a drought. 776 794 796 821 177

The major strategy in dealing with the spirits of the church is to give them a fiesta. Big fiestas are associated with the big four saints. These fiestas have been the responsibility of the top mayordomos, called kobraria, and until 1966, of the alfereces. Big fiestas also occur on the Day of the Dead, the Day of Santiago, the Day of San Pedro and San Pablo, the Day of the Kings, and during Easter Week. The pattern of fiestas will be described first, followed by a detailed description of the inauguration of the alfereces, witnessed in 1965 before the institution was abolished the following year, and the fiestas of Santiago and Easter Week. 776 794 796 177

Religious fiestas occur in an annual cycle of ceremonies based on the Catholic calendar. In Tzo'ontahal the Maya calendar no longer exists, even in the twenty-day cycle that constituted a month found in the neighboring towns of Oxchuk, Larraínzar, and Chenalhó. 796 [805] [178] [177]

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796 tions betray the intent. As he is hauled up by ropes and hung from the
182 bell tower "to show the world that he killed Christ," the mayordomos on
829 the ground who are assisting those up in the bell tower jab him with long poles. In this horseplay they symbolically castrate him: I heard one mayordomo say, *"Me?čunun,"* (transvestite) as one well-directed blow struck Judas. On Saturday, he is let down and given a ride on horseback around town. Formerly riding a horse was the prerogative only of Ladinos in the department of San Cristóbal Las Casas (Colby and Van den Berghe 1961). Placing Judas on a horse possibly has a symbolic value in identifying him as one of the hated dominant group who asserted this privilege.
[794] As he rides around town, the mayordomos solicit gifts from the people.
[756] Everyone gives fruits except the curers, who donate money. This transac-
[754] tion may indicate an obligation they feel toward Judas as one source of their power over witchcraft-derived illnesses. The money is used to buy liquor, called the "washing of the arms and legs of our Lord Eskipulas." The drinking is mandatory for all the mayordomos who have participated in the hanging of Judas.

The Judas figure, which was the church's symbol of the hated Semite, is made to appear as the enemy of the Indians, the Ladino. He symbolizes the sexual license of Ladinos with Indian women, the oppression of Indians by Ladinos, and the killer of Christ. In retaliation, the Indian symbolically castrate and hang him, and finally burn his body, thus dramatically vanquishing the alien in their midst. So far as I know, the priest is
[793] unaware of the identification Indians make between the Jew and the Ladino. He prevented the ride from taking place the year I witnessed the Easter Week ceremonial on grounds that it was a pagan ritual; when he left town on Sunday, the mayordomos took Judas on his customary rounds.

796 The attitude toward Jesus, as the hero of the morality play, is ambiva-
• 776 lent. Martyrdom is not the way to win in Indian society. The feeling is
182 that power goes to the one who makes the sacrifice, and since Jesus was a
829 Ladino sacrifice, they have more power than the Indians. During the
[181] Caste War in Chiapas in 1868, the Indians crucified an Indian youth in
[782] the hope that they would find a savior as powerful as Jesus. To this day,
[175] Indians of To?ontahal seem not to identify Jesus as one of themselves,

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and they show little personal concern with his fate in the reenactment of the Passion.

The ceremonies by which the Indians care for the spirits are Spanish introductions, but within these forms they have found a means of containing the powers of the spirits and making them work for the benefit of Indians. In the reenactment of the Passion they caricature and symbolically kill their own enemy, the Ladino, without his being aware of it. Through reformulation of introduced ideas and practices, the Indians have preserved a sense of the past in an idiom meaningful to themselves.

The belief in power derived from animal spirits was probably influenced by the Toltec belief in nahualism, or transformation of people after death into animals (Calnek 1962:22). The Toltec belief originated in the period of Mexican influence but had many local indigenous manifestations (Foster 1944). The integration of the two systems of power was brought about by calendar priests controlling the distribution of animal spirits (Calnek 1962:19). The degree of retention of calendrical knowledge and of belief in witchcraft gives us one of the best indices of acculturation in the area.[2] In Tzoʔontahal there is no remnant of calendar divination for ceremonial or predictive use. However, witchcraft based on belief in animal spirits continues to be an important factor in the contest for power. The technique of secrecy, of presenting a united front in the face of attempts by the outside Ladinos to tamper with the local social control system, persists to this day in the town.

An endemic problem in communities dominated by belief in witchcraft is control over the evil power of witches. The traditional control system in Tzoʔontahal operated through the guardianship of three sets of powerholders who checked up on each other: the ancestors, the curers, and the judges. The guardianship of the ancestors consisted in preventing any child possessed of a swayohel from the devil from growing up to abuse his power and in keeping any evil spirits from entering the town. The curers,

the Indians, whether out of cowardice or deceit, withdraw their accusation or claims, so that it is impossible to convict the evildoers for punishment; and for lack of sufficient proof they cannot be punished, or if there is enough basis to put them in prison, they sometimes disappear and flee to another jurisdiction and hide, denying their place of origin or changing their name.

2. In Oxchuk, calendar experts with the ability to divine the future still set the days for carrying out Catholic fiestas according to the twenty-day Maya ceremonial cycle. Each of the spirits symbolizing the twenty days wielded the power of good or evil. This provided the basis for predicting. When Villa Rojas studied the town in the 1940s, elders of patrilineal lineages controlled the behavior of members by causing sickness brought by their *lab*, or animal spirit (Villa Rojas 1947). In San Pedro Chenalhó, the principales exercise power through their *wayhel*, or animal spirit (Guiteras Holmes 1961). Nahuales of leaders of the patrilineages and principales are feared and respected in Larraínzar, although there is a growing discontent with their oppressive control (Holland 1963). Men believed to have thirteen nahuales figure as guardians and avengers for individuals in Pinola society, although the Indians of this community no longer have a hierarchy of civil offices through which their prestige can be publicly validated (Hermitte 1964).

578 *to cook their meal in the yard of the church. They threatened to beat the*
793 *priest with the wood, and he retreated into the church. He later an-*
794 *nounced that he would not give mass, or weddings, or baptism. We did*
273 *not mind that he did not give the mass or would not give weddings, but the people were frightened if he would not give baptism. The mayordomos had a meeting, and they agreed to give up drinking in the church if the priest would continue to give baptism, but they would no longer care for the pigs or bring wood for him without payment. We pay him fifteen*
[465] *pesos for an ordinary mass and forty pesos for a singing mass, so he should pay us for help. The priest was in agreement with the mayordomos.*

[264] As a result of this edict, the drinking has stopped and the mayordomos no longer eat the common meal in the church yard. Drinking was an act linked to eating, since the round of liquor served before the meal was "to prepare the stomach," and the drink after the meal was "to wash down the food." The shift to the house of the cofrade was a ready alternative in this community where the household is a recognized ritual domain.

793 The priest's control over the church has extended to control over the do-
794 nation boxes and the saints' images. He now receives the money donated
178 to the saints and does not permit a public accounting of the funds. Because of this, the civil officials accuse him of stealing some of the money.
793 A recent incident recounted below by one of the prayer-reciters led to even
776 more severe censure:

626 *The bishop visited our church, and when he looked under the silk robes*
578 *of the Virgin Santa Lucia he found a wooden dress covered with gold*
178 *paint. He told the priest to have the cloth dress removed. The people were very upset by this since they are very proud of the dresses bought for the Virgin. One of the prayer-reciters dreamed that the Virgin appeared before her in tears, saying she did not want to appear nude in public. We [the group of prayer-reciters] went to see the bishop to demand that the Virgin should wear her dress in church and that the priest be sent out of the town. The bishop refused. He said the Virgin did not feel cold because she was just a statue. Ha! How could she not feel cold?*

577 sion: "I pay respect to my elders. I greet my brothers and my children [ex-
887 tension of kinship terms]. To all I give respect. Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick."

577 A good man is a generous host, expressed in the phrase, "he gives many
[574] tortillas." He serves his community in public office but avoids the appear-
[196] ance of seeking power or self-aggrandizement. When he gives orders, it is
[576] in a soft, low tone, supplicating rather than ordering with the phrase, "If you would please lend a hand." He gives thanks readily for any service rendered both to God and to his fellow man. He avoids any show of
[578] anger, and is always careful to show consideration of others. Those who are of "another heart" or "two-hearted" are the opposite, seeking disputes, "thinking small," "being miserly," and of a "very black soul."

[754] The heightened awareness of the state of the heart of others comes from the ever-present fear of witchcraft. Since the people feel their survival depends upon perception of evil heart before it strikes, they develop an acute sense of the behavioral clues that indicate its presence.

829 *Conformity and deviance.* Conventional or preferred behavior is
183 characterized as "reasonable." The phrase "?iC' rason," to take reason or
[192] understanding, is applied to a child who is expected to have reason at the
[828] age of twelve years or so, as well as to the arrival at agreement of competing parties, as in the case of betrothal.

Reasonable behavior is any behavior conforming to socially accepted understandings of what the world is. These include what a person of non-Indian culture might characterize as beliefs based on faith. They "know"
[776] that there are hill spirits, wood spirits who cut off people's heads, and men who transform themselves into animals. Occasionally they subject given
813 understandings to empirical tests: one woman tested the belief that a
[241] woman could rid the milpa of insect pests only by walking through a
[825] planted field wearing a new skirt; she walked through the field wearing a worn skirt and her belief was confirmed when she found that the insect pests were not killed but just fled and returned later. Empiricism is not lacking; the difference between the content of their category of what is rational or reasonable and ours is based on the premises, not the process of reasoning.

as lawyers. The defendant is sometimes accompanied by supporters who 693
feel that he has a case. The failure of parents to accompany a defendant, 695
regardless of his age, is attributed to their shame over their child's misbe- [593]
havior and their own failure to train him properly. The judge does not limit himself to passing judgment but also counsels the defendant as to how he should behave.

The town hall is usually shut and locked at noon unless some business 621
requires more time. In the evening about six, the officials return to take [344]
their same posts. They sit with their arms drawn inside their woolen jack- [516]
ets for warmth. After a half an hour they drift home. People rely on the [626]
presence of officials rather than particular actions to maintain social control, and it is their appearance at regular hours that assures the villagers that the town is being well run.

Local autonomy depends primarily on retaining social control functions. 621
Civil officials try to settle disputes locally and avoid the entry of Ladino of- 692
ficials from the departmental capital, although the judges and president 631
will threaten the defendant with taking the case to the department if they cannot get compliance. The number of cases referred to the capital has been increasing since 1950 as Table 32 shows. In 1951 the federal government began to fine local officials who failed to report homicide cases and accidental death. The local officials complied, but departmental courts were unable to bring action in over half the cases. No action was taken in 72 cases, or 54 percent, in comparison with 62 cases, or 46 percent, in which action was taken. Domestic cases, except for one of adultery, are adequately handled in local courts and do not appear in the departmental records. The trend shows an increasing number of cases of crimes against [674]
persons in comparison to crimes against property, an index to the break- [182]
down in social control processes.

The Church

346
The church has been built and on two occasions rebuilt—when the [794]
tower was struck by lightning—with funds collected locally from house- [821]
hold heads. Damage to the church was attributed to the patron saint of [976]
the neighboring town of Oxchuk who, the people say, was fighting with their patroness, Santa Lucía. The townspeople feel that they own the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 301]

The townspeople feel that they own the church, and many resent the intrusion of the priest who resides sometimes two or three days a week in the adjoining rectory. In the past five years, however, the priest has succeeded in asserting more control over the church: he has forbidden drinking in the church or in the courtyard, a prohibition that resulted in an open confrontation with the leading cofrade (Chapter 9); and he now controls the keys to the church and to the money boxes, formerly the responsibility of the fiscal. The two lay sisters who are in residence during the week hold the keys and are in charge of the upkeep of the church. 346 793 794 177 178

People always show respect for the church by removing their hats as they pass the entrance, even when they are at a distance. As they enter the church, they always kneel and cross themselves. They may spit on the floor of the church, for this is not a sign of disrespect. 346 526 788 [514]

The complementarity of church and cabildo is still formally recognized in ceremonial events: participants bow to the church and then to the cabildo during processions. The transfer of sacred symbols from one locale to the other at the time of the inauguration of civil and religious officials ceremonially signifies the integration of civil and religious authority, despite the growing separation in day-to-day functions in each of the domains. 621 794 182

The church serves as a staging platform for the images and symbolic offerings to them in the annual cycle of ceremonies. During the nine days of ceremony accorded to the major saints, their images are moved to the center of the altar or to the center of the nave. The staging effects are particularly notable during the fiesta of Holy Week, when the reenactment of the crucifixion is performed in the nave. The mayordomos, under the direction of the fiscal and the lay sisters, move the saints about and prepare adornments of flowers and pine needles. 346 796 [794]

The church is the locus for the weekly mass given by the priest. The men stand on the left side of the church (facing the altar), while the women kneel or sit on the floor to the right. A few benches near the altar are occupied by the Ladinos of the area who attend the mass. The lay sisters indicate to the congregation when they should kneel and rise in response to the cues of the sermon or mass. [562] [563] [794]

In addition to these scheduled events, the church serves as a locus where 346 776 782

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

346 776 782 individuals can visit the saints on their own personal missions. Appendix 3A records the visits of groups and individuals on an ordinary Sunday. Their actions in the church are part of the standardized behavior incumbent upon all those who enter the building.

Communication with the saints is ensured either by touching and kissing their images or, if the images are enclosed in glass cases, by tapping the gl. with offerings of money. It is believed that one gains an audience [562] by pay..ng for it. When groups larger than individual clusters of visitors enter the church, sexual segregation is observed (for example, when a male child enters with his mother on the occasion of a mass, he remains with her until more people arrive, then leaves her to stand on the male [788] side of the nave). Ritualized wailing is done by women only. After such a [152] demonstration the women show normal composure, since wailing is a standardized mode of communication, not an outburst of uncontrolled emotion. It is private and concerns the individual wailer and the saint to which she appeals; none of the other visitors in the church indicates any sign of response to these displays. Unless there is a focused activity going [794] on, such as a mass or series of baptisms, each visiting group is an autonomous unit, carrying out its own mission.

794 People visit the church most commonly in pairs of two. They congre-
571 gate for mass in a pattern in which women and children enter first, and
562 men, who linger in the plaza until the church is partially filled, enter in clusters and take their places on the male side of the nave. The religious and civil officials enter last, and the mayordomos, whose attendance is one of the obligations of their post, move toward the altar at the front. Men attend church less frequently than do women.

The School

346 Unlike the church, the school is regarded as an alien structure. Assist-
621 ance in reconstruction and maintenance is given under pressure rather
875 than voluntarily. Until fairly recently, schoolteachers too remained uninte-
[177] grated in the community. In the early years of the school's existence, there
[178] was a rapid turnover of teachers. The employment of a schoolmaster with a wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The school has be-

The behavior described for each institution in earlier chapters will be summarized as a mode of adjustment or adaptation in relation to the beliefs that give it meaning and purpose. 128

Economic Activities

868 241 323

Learning agricultural tasks and pottery-making in the household is part of adjusting to membership in the community. Parents are responsible for teaching the value of industriousness and are held accountable throughout the life of the child. Agricultural tasks are scheduled in a yearly cycle that provides sufficient flexibility for a man to carry out community and familial ceremonial responsibilities. In milpa agriculture, there is no specialization of tasks. Small-plot agricultural production with a simple technology has been reinforced by the land reform program. Since the lands incorporated under the Ejido Commission in the 1930s were attached to the community, agriculturalists were not forced to adjust to new ecological conditions. Politicalization was minimal since the local commission operated within the old civil hierarchy. In the recent expansion of ejido colonies in hot country, Indians from the community have developed alliances with non-Indians in asserting claims to the land. Without any preexisting civil hierarchy, these ejidatarios have not had to adjust their activities to a given structure of authority, but have developed independent political organizations as an adaptation to their new environment. 241 177 178 423 621

Women's work in pottery is less subject to changes in techniques and organization than is men's. The schema of production in simple tasks in a fixed sequence makes it easier to teach girls each process and reinforces a given pottery tradition. My guess would be that if wheel production were introduced, it would liberate the creativity of each potter by freeing her of established routines. 323 177 178

Pottery production is not surrounded, as is agricultural production, by ceremonials. There is no god to whom one lights candles or gives offerings to ensure success, although there are hazards in production, particularly at the time of firing. Agricultural productivity, on the other hand, is thought to depend on the proper relation between the spirits of the heaven and of the church with the spirits of crops. 323 241 776 [796]

In the new economic activities, the Indians have shown both adjustive 177 178 233 312 476 621

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Religious Behavior

869 776 Socialization of the child includes teaching him how to adjust to spirits of the house and of the surrounding hills and springs as well as to people in his social environment. He learns the obligations he owes to these spirits in the rituals of house inauguration and curing. Place spirits are given an ethnic identity. The ancestor figures who live in the cave are Indians from whom all the people originate. The Ladino spirits residing in the houses and springs are a mythological projection of a conquered people who have learned to coexist with their conquerors by paying tribute of candles, food, liquor, and entertainment. If the spirits are not won over, they will admit the evil spirits who bring sickness and death. Their presence is known only by the trouble they permit rather than by good occurences; the miracles they perform are an undoing of the harm they have permitted.

776 782 789 The belief in the potentially dangerous nature of these spirits when their envy or appetite is aroused is linked to an understanding that men and gods alike are jealous and vindictive. It generates behavior that is in conformity with that of the ancestors. A sense of security is reinforced by the protective symbols of incense, the cross of palm hung on the entrance posts of the yard and house, candles which "blind the eye of the devil," and garlic mixed with hot herbs which exude an odor that evil spirits dislike. When the uneasy contract between spiritual and human coresidents [755] is upset, a curing ritual is performed to make everyone "of one heart." Be- [571] havior with respect to both spirits and people stems from a policy of ap- [273] peasement through entertainment and liquor provided in household ceremonials.

776 Behavior differs in regard to the category of saints called "spirits in the 177 heaven" and those called "spirits in the church." Spirits of the heavens 178 have incorporated pre-Conquest deities with those introduced by the missions. They are a more powerful force influencing human moral behavior. [834] Illicit sexual relations carried out in the milpa by day are believed to [784] arouse the envy of "Our Father the Sun" who will cause the milpa to burn by refusing to give way to rain. Similarly "Our Grandmother the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Moon" will not give way to the sun if her envy is aroused by seeing such things. These spirits of the heavens have greater control over natural forces than the spirits of the church, or saints. The saints have only limited influence over the souls of particular crops and chickens; people say "they are just of the pueblo."

The distinction between the "big saints of the church" and the lesser saints is recognized in the rituals accorded each group. Four of the saints are given big fiestas which are longer, require more expenditures, and involve more people than the fiestas for the lesser saints. Few distinctions are made between the personalities of the big saints and those of the lesser saints. They are big because their fiestas are big. The fact that the townspeople have selected four from the rostrum of saints given them suggests a link with the four guardian gods of the pre-Conquest pantheon, but except for San Pedro the Martyr's identification with Chac, or Cha'uk in Tzeltal, I could not make any other associations.

To say that there is a system of beliefs does not rule out inconsistencies. Some contradictions can coexist without giving rise to tension. Awareness of incongruence either between beliefs, or between beliefs and behavior associated with them, arises in specific events in which the conflict becomes apparent—that is, when the participants must make choices between alternatives that affect their interests.

The people do not recognize any division between pre- and post-Conquest spiritual entities. Sometimes two personalities from Catholic sources may be equated with one of pre-Conquest origin in order to fit a story format, as in the case of Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost, with K'oš (Chapter 8). The priests, who had a special dispensation to make whatever cultural translations were necessary in teaching the doctrines of the church (Doctrina Cristiana Lima 1584 III, 3, Recopilación de Leyes, Ley 22 lib. cited in Lamb 1956:531), are responsible for some of the reworking of the two traditions. But local elaborations reveal indigenous cognitive patterning.

Contradictions in myths concerning the origin of crops show some gaps in the union of pre-and post-Conquest legends. The gift of corn is attributed in one myth to the patroness, Santa Lucía, who received it from the patron saint of the neighboring town of Oxchuk. Another myth gives

773 credit to insects who carried it from the hills. Still another myth synthe-
179 sizes both pre-Conquest and Catholic agents: San Antonio, seeing an in-
178 sect bearing a kernel of corn, persuaded a woodpecker to break open the rock which blocked the entrance to the hill where the corn was stored and then organized the insects to bring forth the corn. The contradictions in these myths do not motivate the people to bring the several versions into line with one another because the rituals associated with beliefs concerning
776 crops provide an overall insurance rather than a specific contract. The In-
782 dians do not trust their security to any one saint or even group of deities.
179 The two candles lit in the milpa following the harvest are an offering to
178 the "owner of the earth"; along with this, offerings of corncobs are made
[825] to the saints in the church and to the house saint. Even the birds are left an offering of corn kernels in the fields after the harvest so that they will not be jealous of the farmer.

773 These myths fail to provide specific charters for action. What they do
771 provide is a set of dispositions to behave in certain ways. The underlying
182 disposition is that of self-imposed guilt and recrimination. The ancestors left their cave because the people failed to give them a fiesta; the spirit of money left the town because the religious officials in the past failed to adorn the church and improvidently strewed the floor with green peso notes in place of pine needles. Sickness and poverty are attributed to their own failures.

771 Another disposition is that of appeasement through ceremonial enter-
796 tainment. This is carried out in the fiestas for the spirits of the church and
731 the spirits of the heaven just as for the spirits of the house, caves, springs,
182 and hills surrounding the town. Community-wide disaster is interpreted as a direct result of failure to perform rituals establishing reciprocity with the spirits. When individuals face crop loss, they review their own ritual obligations to see what went wrong. The curing ceremony is an-
[755] other effort to appease the devil whom the witch has persuaded to give illness to his victim.

771 A third such disposition is to project human conflict into the superna-
776 tural sphere. The conflict between Santa Lucía and the patron saint of Ox-
821 chuk, Santo Tomás was taken to be the reason for the church tower being
182

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

struck by lightning on two occasions. The solution was to rebuild the tower of metal so that Santo Tomás could not demolish it if he struck again, a defensive reaction which is typical of the Indians in their extra-community relations. When an eclipse of "Our Grandmother the Moon" occurred during my stay in town, everyone went to her assistance, banging metal tools and pots, in what was believed to be a fight with the sun.

The emphasis on self-recrimination and guilt in explaining failure minimizes the build-up of protest. Economic hardship attributed to a man's own improvidence in relation to his fellow man and God are accepted as his lot in life. The drama of the curing ritual projects the Indians' sense of their own guilt for the suffering and poverty they endure.

Political Behavior

The structure of the civil hierarchy has been maintained but organizational changes have occurred which have weakened the basis for it. The alternation of offices between church and civil positions survives in the lower levels, but the new leaders in civil affairs now begin in the Ejido Commission, and few of those who pass as president take on posts in the religious hierarchy. The appearance of continuity has been maintained in communal rituals in which the principales provide the link with the past and the alfereces, until 1966, were the link between civil and religious wings; but in the day-to-day running of the town, the officials do not act on these premises. The balance between officials from each side of the dual division has been upset by the population increase on one side. The abolition of the institution of alfereces gives public recognition to the growing awareness of imbalance. Moreover, the factions based on the new trucking cooperatives that cut across the dual division reduce the effectiveness of the dual division in channeling conflict.

Behavioral deviation from the norms is present in all societies and is not in itself an index to structural change. This comes about when new interpretations are given to events that undermine confidence in existing institutions and leaders. Political conflicts in the past were interpreted as a contest between members of the sides of the dual division and hostility

628 438 571 608 582 628 166 602 establish with them the relations of posada and compadrazgo, mentioned above, as well as (in the infrequent cases of inter-community marriage), some affinal kinship ties. In the few recorded cases of emigration from the village, some members of the community keep communication with a few consanguineal relatives living in other Indian villages, although social exchanges and the memory of such relatives tend to die out after a generation or two.

105 With the other Indian communities in the area, Amatenango and Aguacatenango share a common material culture and belief system, derived from a Highland Maya cultural tradition, the same linguistic background, and a subsistence pattern based on agriculture. They are peasant, in the sense that they are rural villages which depend, for survival, not only on agricultural work, but on economic exchange with other semi-urban and urban centers (Redfield, 1956:25-28).

438 [273] Aguacatenango buys pottery and chayotes from Amatenango, whose women come periodically to sell them, and trago (drinking alcohol) which some Amatenangueros produce illegally. Amatenango buys from Aguacatenango surplus corn.

628 [311] [312] 628 776 The two towns have amicable relations, thinking of each other as neighbors, and sharing the same pasture lands, and source of water for irrigation. The two communities share the same cultural hero, called Juan Lopez in Aguacatenango and Lopez Shuntón in Amatenango, connected with the corn and with the "lightening who lives in a cave." For Aguacatenangueros this personage is the builder of the roads, responsible for the eradication of "cannibalism," the conversion of man-hunting animals

628 into mild forest beasts, the peace made with the "kings of Guate-
776 mala" and the opening of trade with Comitán. He is also in both communities a powerful nahual (supernatural being controlled by the witches or a witch himself), and in Amatenango everyone prays to him on the day of the Santa Cruz (May 3). Both communities agree that he was "an Amatenanguero, born somewhere in the direction of Chiapa de Corzo." There are no compadre relations estab-
[608] lished between the two villages, but two cases of intermarriage
[582] and two of posada relations have been reported (Verbitsky, 1959a).

Both towns criticize the other for its "costumbres," criticisms which are related directly, as will be shown later, to some differences in social structure which will be discussed in this work. Amatenango women criticize Aguacatenango women as being lazy but mistreated by their husbands who make them gather their own firewood, and because they run away from their husbands seeking work in San Cristobal. Aguacatenango men criticize Amatenangueros for being lazy and not seeking work in the fincas, preferring to hunt rats in the cornfields, and their women for being dirty and authoritarian.

361 The central plaza contains the Church, the local government offices,
[366] the school and the National Indian Institute (INI) cooperative
[368] store (see below), in Amatenango this list being increased by the INI clinic. Around these plazas (open squares) the houses are relatively concentrated, the population density is high and the size of the sitio (a household plot) small. (There are about seven or eight sitios in a block one hectare in size.) Toward the margins of the town the houses thin out, being surrounded by milpas. Well established family groups live toward the center, while newcomers, poorer families and deviants live toward the
[096] periphery. Sitios within the center are highly valued in both communities, the outskirts of the town being closer to the unknown dangers of the monte (hill and forest) with its malevolent spirits (animal souls of witches in the search of victims, owners of the caves, etc.).

361 Surrounding the villages one finds the communal grass
311 lands for pasture and the irrigated milpas. The grass lands and
312 the water source for the milpas de regadío (irrigated corn fields)
423 are shared by both villages, although Amatenango makes use of the water first, since the stream flows through Amatenango before it reaches the Aguacatenango lands.

311 Towards the hill slopes the milpas de temporal (corn fields depending on seasonal rain) are planted in scattered small groups, fenced together against the invasion of cattle;[1] and alternating with forested patches.

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[1]See footnote 1, p. 17.

621
627 Many cases of adultery never go outside the fences of the sitio, and many witchcraft cases come to the Ayuntamiento only after a murder has been committed in "revenge," in which case the Ayuntamiento is only called in to re-establish order and calm down the relatives of the deceased, trying to avoid further revenge and bloodshed.

794
776 The Mayordomos, on the other hand, have no control over the household Saints which are "owned" by each family and kept in the house in a special altar, nor do they relate directly, within the Church organization, to the many supernatural beings which populate the belief system of the villagers. The "owners of the hills," spirits which inhabit the caves, rivers and wells, the mythological creatures such as the Sombrerón (frightening ghost which appears to tempt people in isolated spots) or Juan Lopez (the local culture hero), and the evil and powerful souls of witches
794 are in a separate domain. These can be controlled only by the
624 curanderos, who have powerful souls, or by the principales. This
774 last group (principales) is also "in charge" of taking care of
776 the health of the village, and do so by having their own souls patrol the boundaries of the community at night and by forbidding entrance to sickness and plagues. The men capable of such supernatural performances "own" animal spirits (nahuales) which help them in their task. Mayordomos, on the contrary, can be men without such powers, and do not need to belong to the select group which deals with the supernatural outside the realms specified by the Catholic Church.

000 The communal offices of the Ayuntamiento and Mayordomías

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

156 The picture of life in Amatenango[67] and Aguacatenango is, not, however, from the ideological point of view of the community members, spread only into sanctions of negative dimensions. There are some justifications for wealth or success which are as intimate a part of the world view of the villagers as witchcraft is, because witchcraft has a positive counterpart: suerte (luck).

Suerte, as witchcraft power, is also a supernatural power given to the particular individual without the person's will having control over its possession. Some people are born with good suerte, some people with bad suerte. Some people can be "given" a particular suerte by a supernatural being[1] at some time in their life to keep until his death or for some period of time. Of course, a man cannot give his suerte away or transmit it to his children. The suerte is not a general power, but has specific dimensions. For example, a man has suerte to raise cattle, which would, then, grow and reproduce tremendously in his lifetime. But, he may very well have bad bean crops. His children, at his death,

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[1]The suerte can be given by many different supernatural beings. Some informants say it is Dios (God), or the Virgin Mary, some say it is the Sombrerón, or owner of the deer and caves, to whom one has to promise to give one's soul at death, some others indicate that it is written in one's destiny at birth to have a particular type of suerte. The variations in the belief are many, and in a system of ideology without a Church body to create, and control the diffusion of dogma, this is to be expected.

The only organized dogma available to the villager is the local Catholic Church, but this dogma leaves out a series of beliefs such as suerte and brujeria as unacceptable. Therefore, these beliefs are only transmitted informally, together with folk-tales, myths and the like. Because dreams are of great importance in relation to these beliefs, each individual can contribute, through his personal dream experiences, to the general pool of ideology of the community. Therefore, tales and myth, dream experiences, the "true" stories that people are told in the evening by particular relatives or friends, all tend to produce a mushrooming of alternative versions of the same or similar sets of beliefs.

159 During the branding of animals in the village, Francisco received
422 a letter from Candelario asking him to brand the cow and calf for
593 him. Francisco and his son, Epifanio, did so.
578

This started the conflict. Jose Mendez, Juana's brother, felt that the cow and calf did not rightfully belong to Candelario, nor to Francisco or Epifanio, but to him. Epifanio had a fight with Jose, and the latter, insisting on his rights, which were not very clear, stated that Candelario had sold him the cow (which was not true), when they were working in the lowlands together. Casimira, Juana and Jose's mother, supported Jose's claims over the animals, because it was the money obtained from Juana's bull that had paid for the cow that had the calf. The relatives of her daughter's husband had less right over the animal than Juana's brother.

It is possible that Jose felt that the cow and calf had been purchased with the money obtained from selling a bull which was originally his father's, not his sister's. Even if it was his sister's, he felt he had more right to use it than the sister's husband's brother and father. If owner of the bull or the cow had been a brother rather than a sister, the conflict would not have arisen. (For genealogy see Fig. 17.)

177 Third, with the introduction of Catholicism, although the
178 native belief system has preserved many of its early features,
754 it is now, without doubt, a new syncretic elaboration. The per-
796 vasive witchcraft powers are, for example, attributed now to
613 Catholic saints, but the concept that the lineage heads of <u>principales</u> have witchcraft power to punish deviants within their

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

177
178 lineage (which exists today in many other communities such as
754 Oxchuc), has disappeared. Without the basic belief in the super-
•776
613 natural controlling powers of the lineage heads, the ritual activities performed by the lineage as a corporation became meaningless, and fell out of use.

592
613
434 Finally, from an economic point of view, the large patriline
421 household-compound, as a productive unit, is unfunctional, and the
578 characteristic form of the domestic group is now the nuclear household, which also contributes to the weakening of patriline strength. Within the nuclear household, it is difficult for its members to discriminate between the part of the household income that is derived from the household head in his capacity as a worker and that which is from his unmarried sons; between those profits which are derived from the household head as a capitalist who has provided tools and implements, and finally those which come from his capacity as "owner" of land. In a larger household, differences in labor in-put, rivalry between the women about the food controlled by themselves and belonging to their husbands, or between the men about the property rights of the produce derived from their common effort, tend to create conflict and disunity. In the
592
594 nuclear household, the division of labor is explicit, the role ex-
578 actly and minimally distributed, and conflict, in the case of its occurrence, is likely to be more quickly solved because the fission of the nuclear domestic group is equivalent to the disappearance of the household itself.

178
613 The functions before performed by the lineage are now
592 performed by the household, the community, or by the neighborhood
621
591
184

In addition to this regular ladder of officials representing the center and its close-lying barrios are judges representing the *colonias*, or rural settlements, of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Crus Quemada. They do not regularly attend the townhall sessions, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of new officials. Only after I had elicited officials from two informants was I able to get from the third the three judges of the colonias with the question, "Are there any other officials in the cabildo?" 621* 693 632

These civil officials constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. The positions of president and *sintiku* (in Spanish *síndico*), not included in the offices of the townhall as a category by informants, were elicited in response to the question stated above. These posts are occupied by younger men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy, until the present generation, was limited to those in the 30-year age bracket. Those with such skills passed immediately into the *comisario ejidal*, commission for land grants, where they assisted in the control and redistribution of land granted under the ejido program, or went directly into the post of *síndico*. Thus they were able to avoid the onerous and time-consuming functions of the traditional posts and enter into the remunerative post of president, where their authority was recognized at an early age. With improved literacy, the competition for such posts is increasing. Although informants say that the post of president alternates for the two sides of the dual division, case materials do not bear this out. 622 624 [124] [191] [212] [423] [178] [212] 622 621* 114

The only Ladino in the hierarchy is the secretary. For the first time this year (1964) the post of secretary has been taken by an Indian of the town. This is part of the power play described below. 563 624 178

Naming of civil officials is done in November, first in a closed session in the townhall at which each official names his successor, followed by a mass meeting *(Komun K'op)* at which the names are read to the assembled household heads in the plaza. To the question, "What are all the kinds of offices in the church?" the response was given: *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces (or captains, the Spanish term *alfereces* comes from the Arabic). There are 16 mayordomos. Role terms for the mayordomos indicated that each saint was repre- 666 621* 794 [776]

[P 213-B]

sented by an elder *tatil martoma* and a junior *niḉʼanil martoma*, and that the 15 mayordomos were further ranked in terms of the four major saints, the *mas mamalil* or more senior, whose mayordomos are referred to as *ḳobraria*, cofradías or brotherhoods, and the remaining as mayordomos. The four *ḳobrarias* were ranked in terms of the importance and expense of the saint whom they support. The order for Tzoʔontahal is Sacramento *(Saḳramentu)*, Virgin Santa

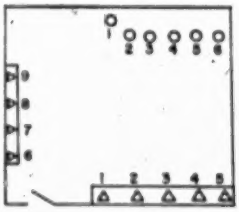

CHART 2 — EVENING, DECEMBER 31, HOUSE OF NEW JUDGE (ELICITED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Meʔil K'op)*
2 Wife of president *(Yinam Presirente)*
3-6 Wives of juniors *(Yinam Niḉʼanil)*[a]

MEN (triangles):
1 Leading house official *(Statal Nakawane)*
2 New judge *(Alʼ Alḳal)*
3-5 Assistants, sons of judge *(Balnialetik)*
6-9 Woodgatherers *(Akniʔetik)*

Lucia *(Halal Meʔtik Santalusia)*, San Pedro Martyr *(Tatik Martil)*, and San Francisco *(Tatik Sanpransisku)*. There was complete agreement among the three informants questioned regarding this rank order, but for rank order of the 12 remaining mayordomos in charge of the 19 lesser saints there was no agreement between informants, and even the same informant was inconsistent in different eliciting sessions.

Outside the traditional hierarchy is the *piskal* (in Spanish *fiscal*), who is the direct assistant of the priest and serves in an advisory capacity in charge of the church activities of the brotherhoods and mayordomos in the absence of the priest. This role was not elicited, but in my questioning about fiestas he was mentioned as performing a certain role. The incumbent in the past three years was serving as president for the third time, showing the scarcity of men with the needed literary skills. The fiscal is usually relieved of other posts while serving in office. Another set of roles external to the hierarchy are the *meʔeletik* (or *resadoras*, the Spanish term for female prayer-makers). These are usually widowed or single wo-

men whom the lay sisters assisting the priest have 794
organized to help carry out the Mass and other
church rituals.

Another pair of officials, the *krinsipaletik* or princi- 624
pales, were not mentioned in the category "officials in 554
the townhall" or in that of "officials in the church,"
until I questioned, "Who names the officials?" The
response was, "Principales with the president." In
order to arrive at the higher honorific posts of princi-
pal, one must serve five times in the civil and six
times in the religious posts in the traditional hier-
archy. The principales provide continuity in the [182]
transfer of authority, remaining in the townhall
when the old officials depart to their homes, and pass-
ing over the staffs to the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28,
31). It is a position without power in the day-to-day
administration of affairs. Although the incumbents 624
occupy prestigeful positions and carry out ceremonial 554
acts, many men avoid the office because of the loss of 794
status in carrying out one of their most important
acts, the collection of contributions for the major
fiestas. The two principales must hold the plate into
which the money is turned over by the police, and
this causes "embarrassment." Formerly they were [453]
also bankers, holding the money until it was spent.
This responsibility gave prestige to the act of receiv-
ing the money, now redefined as a sort of begging
operation.

A ceremonial link between the civil and religious 794
wings is the group of officers known as the *alperese-*
tik, alfereces. They are associated with the four major [776]
saints, who are also represented by the *kobrarias* of
Sacramento, Santa Lucia, San Pedro Martyr, and San
Francisco. Their rank order is determined not by the 794
importance of the saint but by the order of entry into 554
office. These are named: *tat pasaro*, the past "father";
ʔil pasaro, remains past; *sčebal pasaro*, second past;
and *ʔač' alperes*, new alferez. They sit, move, and are
served in this order wherever they appear. Although 794
tied to a *č'ultat*, spirit father or saint, they function in 554
the townhall in bearing the banners there from the 62 *
church for civil affairs (App. 1, Q. 27), and they pro-
vide the post which is crucial for learning the set 537
speeches useful in all formal occasions, called the
patʔot'an, 'behind the heart.' Because of the crucial [624]
nature of this speechmaking, no man can progress
into the post of first or second regidor without having
passed through that of alferez. This post is the most 794
difficult to fill because of the high outlay (3000 pesos 434
in one year of average expenditures, about half the 681

[P. 214-B]

these apparently irrelevant comments reveal the power play going on behind the scene of the ritual. 621* 178

The observed schedule for the civil inauguration (App. 1, column 4) differed from the elicited in four details. The first of these was an item omitted by both informants: after liquor was served in the house of the president, the entire company stood up and "turned toward the wall" (App. 1, Q. 20). When I questioned my informant, he corrected the orientation "toward the wall" and said that they were turning toward the east in deference to the leader of all the saints of the east, led by Santo Aʒio. He said that it was done in all household celebrations in order "to be sure that the devil does not enter." Belief concerning these saints is fragmentary, and perhaps because of this, behavior relating to them is not easily recalled. These behavioral sherds, when cut off from the belief system they once dramatized, survive in "perpetuating the custom of the ancestors" *(hič sluwar hič likem meʔtiktatik)*. 124 [776] •

Another detail not mentioned by informants was the presence in the house of the president of the rural colonia inhabitants (Chart 6). This omission is typical of the neglect in reporting the activity or presence of anyone other than residents of the center. When I asked what they were doing there, I was told they came "to know the president." 124 632 622 574

Finally, an important divergence from expected behavior occurred when the schoolteacher, instead of the secretary, delivered the oath of office. This change was evidence of the schoolteacher's success in a factional struggle developing around new economic enterprises in the town. The former Ladino secretary was in close alliance with the former president and had supporters in the group of 20 co-owners, Indians from the village, of the truck when he had purchased. When the incoming president with his brother bought a truck with the assistance of 30 members of a truck-owning cooperative, a new focus for factional strife appeared in the town. The new cooperative was supported by the schoolteacher in his own bid for power. When the truck owners ran into any difficulty with the highway patrol, carrying wood or passengers without permit, the driver would refer them to the schoolteacher, who would then claim it 621* 875 178 578 621* 578 494 875 494

[P. 222-B]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

156 The picture of life in Amatenango[67] and Aguacatenango is
62 not, however, from the ideological point of view of the community
754 members, spread only into sanctions of negative dimensions. There
777 are some justifications for wealth or success which are as intimate a part of the world view of the villagers as witchcraft is, because witchcraft has a positive counterpart: suerte (luck).

777 Suerte, as witchcraft power, is also a supernatural power given to the particular individual without the person's will having control over its possession. Some people are born with good suerte, some people with bad suerte. Some people can be "given" a particular suerte by a supernatural being[1] at some time in their life to keep until his death or for some period of time. Of course, a man cannot give his suerte away or transmit it to his children. The suerte is not a general power, but has specific dimensions. For example, a man has suerte to raise cattle, which would, then, grow and reproduce tremendously in his lifetime. But, he may very well have bad bean crops. His children, at his death,

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[1]The suerte can be given by many different supernatural
[776] beings. Some informants say it is Dios (God), or the Virgin Mary, some say it is the Sombreron, or owner of the deer and caves, to whom one has to promise to give one's soul at death, some others indicate that it is written in one's destiny at birth to have a particular type of suerte. The variations in the belief are many, and in a system of ideology without a Church body to create, and control the diffusion of dogma, this is to be expected.
[779] The only organized dogma available to the villager is the
[538] local Catholic Church, but this dogma leaves out a series of beliefs such as suerte and brujeria as unacceptable. Therefore, these beliefs are only transmitted informally, together with folk-tales, myths and the like. Because dreams are of great importance in re-
[787] lation to these beliefs, each individual can contribute, through his personal dream experiences, to the general pool of ideology of
[791] the community. Therefore, tales and myth, dream experiences, the "true" stories that people are told in the evening by particular relatives or friends, all tend to produce a mushrooming of alternative versions of the same or similar sets of beliefs.

NN would inherit the cattle, but there is no assurance that the animals would not rapidly die: the children may not have the father's suerte to raise cattle, but one of them may have it to grow beans.

Good suerte is a concept attached also to certain skills: if a man has that special suerte, he can have a mano fría (cold hand) which is necessary to castrate or brand animals without having their wounds get infected. In addition, a woman can become a midwife because she has the suerte to deliver babies. On the contrary, a person with bad suerte can have a mano caliente (hot hand), and be unable to carry on such tasks.[1]

156 754 777 Then, ideologically, people belong to two opposite categories. On the one hand, there are those with "small hearts" and witchcraft powe[illegible] On the other hand, there are good people with suerte. If a man is well thought of, the villagers say he has suerte. If they dislike him, they say he is a witch.

Every villager has to gamble carefully and weigh his odds, balancing his behavior in such a way as to avoid the "misjudgement" of his fellow villagers. The better they know and like him, the more likely it is that they would think that he has suerte. The more he creates enemies, the higher his probability of being

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[463] [934] [1]There are many part-time specialists in the village who do their work for neighbors and relatives at irregular intervals, never as a life specialization, except in a few cases such as midwives. Women may castrate chickens, or be called in as cooks at fiesta time. Men may be good at branding horses, roofing, etc. None of these jobs contributes substantially to the household income, except for the roles of carpenter, midwife and curer. Curers, however, are a separate category altogether, being ritual specialists "known" to have metaphysical powers.

156 754 [609] accused of having an evil supernatural spirit. (A consequence of this is that recent immigrants to the village, not well known by the community at large, or solitary characters that keep to themselves, are more likely to be thought of as witches even if they do not break community norms.)

621 The Macro-Structure: Barrios

Amatenango and Aguacatenango are both divided into two barrios which are territorial divisions separated by an imaginary line that cuts across the villages through their central plazas. The barrios of Amatenango are called Aconantik and Amatik (Upper and Lower) while the Aguacatenango barrios have Saint's names.

[171] This dual barrio division is common to many Indian settlements in the Tzeltal-Tzotzil region of the highlands of Chiapas, as opposed to the multiple barrio system of the mixed Indian and Ladino towns.

In the community of Oxchuc, the barrios (kalpuletik) function, according to Siverts (1960), as non-exogamous moieties with important political and ritual functions. In the opinion of this author, these barrios are just pseudo-moieties (Murdock, 1949; 47) not being based on rules of descent, but cutting across the lineage, sib and phratry units to which Oxchuqueros belong (Guiteras Holmes, C. 1952; Villa Rojas, 1945). This definition as pseudo-moieties holds true for the barrios of both Amatenango and Aguacatenango. They are not directly connected with any descent groups, but are territorial units with functions similar to those of real moieties.

[For information on "suerte", a supernatural power associated with good or bad luck or fortune in carrying out various economic enterprises, see category 777.]

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

621 and four *chuycales*, who are in charge of sacred matters. Certain shamans, called
[756] *dzunubiles*, also participate in calpul government.

621 In Cancuc, Villa did not inquire into the matter, but in Oxchuc and in Bachajón
776 the calpules have separate patron saints and are known, in the case of Bachajón,
184 by the names of San Sebastian and San Geronimo, in the case of Oxchuc, Santo Tomás and La Trinidad. In the church at Bachajón the santos belonging to the north calpul, San Sebastian and two others, stand on the left side of the church, while San Geronimo, San Manuel, and the Virgin, representing the south calpul, stand at the right side. It appears, however, at least in the case of Oxchuc, that the festivals of these saints are maintained by the people of both calpules jointly.

621 The antagonism between the calpules of Cancuc has expressed itself from time
578 to time in violence. During Villa's stay it was rumored that the people of the southern half were about to attack those of the northern half, and indeed, shots were fired. Blom and LaFarge reported "a dragging feud" in this village.[27] Ap-
[582] parently marriages may and do take place between the calpules; there is no indication, however, that they are exogamous.

•778 In Oxchuc a principal annual ceremony attends the transfer from one calpul
788 to the other of a certain sacred book. This greatly venerated object was, after
123 some reluctance, shown to Villa. He was requested to deliver to its custodians a
778 dozen rockets, some candles, and some incense; he was then allowed to examine it in the presence of the chiefs and the chuycales of both calpules. It is a notebook of twelve paper sheets, 40 by 20 cm. in size; it has a deerskin cover. Of the twelve pages, nine bear writing, all but one on both sides. The text appears to be a series of orders set down by the Spanish authorities in the year 1674. The book is kept in a black wooden box; before and after removing it the chuycales prayed, kneeling, while incense was burned and the rockets were discharged.

778 The book is called *cahualtic* 'Our Master.' The ceremony of transfer of this
788 sacred object takes place during the thirteen days beginning December 31. The principal members of the government of both calpules, numbering thirteen, assemble in the cabildo. The book is placed on a table with thirteen candles, thirteen rosaries, thirteen calabashes of lime mixed with tobacco, and thirteen vessels of atole. During the thirteen days the men remain segregated in the cabildo without contact with their homes or with women. Many prayers are uttered. At the conclusion of the period the box containing the book is escorted in solemn procession to the place it occupies during the rest of the year—not in the church, but in a special hut on the outskirts of the calpul of La Trinidad.

58 Information which Villa received from Indians of Chanal on the customs
114 attending marriage differs in a number of respects from the account given by Blom and LaFarge,[28] or supplements that account, and therefore may be sum-
584 marized here. There are no professional marriage negotiators. The boy's parents
583 pay, ordinarily, four visits to the girl's parents to complete the agreement. On each visit they bring bread, eggs, fruit, and especially rum. The boy is expected
000

[27] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 387.

[28] *Ibid.*, 2: 358–359.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

796 carried a red banner. At the church the four men performed a dance. Divided into
535 pairs facing each other at a distance of 6 m., they first shook the ribbons on their poles while giving loud cries, varied by putting the hand over the mouth, and running to meet one another. Then they made a slight inclination of the head, turned half around, and returned to their original places. After repeating this thrice, the pairs exchanged places and performed new figures. At the conclusion they surrounded the flag-bearer, shouting and waving the ribbons.

796 Although harp and guitars were here used in an apparently religious dance,
534 in several of the communities it appears that the stringed instruments of European
184 origin (guitar, violin, and harp) are used only for secular purposes, the religious musical instruments (which are often kept in the church) consisting of cane flute
[197] (*ahmay*) and drums. In Chanal two drums are used, a large drum (*kayob*) and a small one (*chin kayob*). In Tenejapa the single drum is called *anteel* and is accompanied by a sort of cornet.

•778 Some minor observances having to do with the cult of the saints may be
776 mentioned. In the highland villages it is usual for each important saint to be repre-
184 sented by two images of which one, the genuine santo, is too sacred to be taken from the church; the other, called *dcbo* (for *doble*) substitutes for the true santo
[794] in religious processions.[36] In Bachajón the care of the church is alternated weekly between the two calpules; on Christmas Eve each church-caretaker (*priora*) must contribute to the decoration of the altar ten little figures of clay, of which five are in the form of a bull, and five in the form of a horse and rider. The church at Citalá contains many santos of which two (San Mateo and San Gabriel) are painted black and enjoy special prestige. In this church a straw mat, yellow in color with red ribbons interwoven, is used to kneel upon before the principal saints; it is kept with extraordinary care. At Citalá a principal annual event is the ritual
778 washing of the saints' clothing. This occurs two weeks after Holy Week. The
776 "Great Washing," when the clothing of the principal saints is washed, is performed
796 at a spring where the water is thought to be of absolute purity. The "Small Washing" of the clothes of the lesser saints may be done in the river. The Great Washing is reported as involving the consumption of eight hogs and a great quantity of rum.

78 Although it is evident that the religion of the Tzeltals contains many pagan
[114] elements, some of which have been reported by Blom and LaFarge,[37] Villa's notes do not add a great deal on this point. The use of hilltop shrines was noted at
778 Oxchuc, where one of these is called Ikal Ahau, apparently after an ancient deity.[38]
782 The teacher at Amatenango reports that the Indians there make offerings for
776 rain at a rock marked with a zigzag thought to represent the lightning. No
114 information was obtained on the beliefs as to *nahuales*; this subject is discussed by Blom and LaFarge.[37]

[36] This usage corresponds precisely with that of the pairs of crosses used by the Quintana Roo Maya, of which one, the cruz *hadora*, is moved about in ritual.

[37] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:362–374.

[38] Núñez de la Vega (1702, p. 91) says, "Los de Oxchuc y de otros pueblos de los Llamos veneran mucho al (ídolo) que llaman Icalahau, que quiere decir negro principal, o señor de negros," as quoted in Becerra, 1932, p. 244.

37. Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:369-371.

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

241 Between September and October, when the tender ears are ready, some are torn loose to prepare atoles and tamales.

Toward the middle of October, when the milpa has reached maturity, all hands proceed to the task of the *dobla*, folding or breaking the stem of the plant so that the ear dries and may later be put into the [462] barn. This is an easy task, in which men, [857] women, and children take part.

The harvest takes place in November and [592] December with the participation of the whole family; it is a joyful task which compensates for all the moments of anxiety in the previous months, when subsistence was [251] scarce. The produce from the milpa is gathered in large nets and later stored in a corner of the house or in some improvised [804] structure nearby. The crop is measured by *zontles*, units of 400 ears, which are formed by counting the ears by fives; two ears are taken in one hand and three in the other until 400 are reached. The family of five [261] members which manages to harvest from [231] 15 to 20 zontles considers itself happy, since that much will last them the entire year, consuming 20 ears a day plus feeding one or two hogs and 10 or 12 chickens.

The milpa also produces various squashes, manioc (*dzinté*), and peanuts, which the Indians call *caxlan-chenek* ('Ladino's bean').

243 Exceptional among the Tzeltal is the cul-
184 tivation of wheat in Amatenango. There the small valley and a creek have favored its development.

241 The most important ceremonies take
796 place immediately after planting. They entrust the germination of the seed to the care of God, of the "thirteen holders of Heaven," and of "Tatik Jesucristo." The "thirteen holders of Heaven" refer to the principal saints who are mentioned in the prayers. The ceremonies consist in offer- [778] ings of prayers and incense before the [782] crosses kept in caves belonging to each paraje, and in one *bikit mixa* ('small Mass'), which the cabildos and principales of the

[P 201-B]

241 paraje perform before the altar of the
782 church in the ceremonial center. All prayers
796 are said in Tzeltal; some are Christian in
[778] origin, others entirely pagan. This prayer
[177] I recorded in 1944:

241
796 Here we come to bring you your food, to
782 light your candles, to play the harp, to play the
539 guitar. Here we come to perform your fiesta,
[534] so you may be happy, so you will not abandon us.

We have already planted the milpas; the seed is already in the soil. Father, do not forsake us; let the rains come properly; let them not be abundant nor deficient. Let there be a little sunshine and a few clouds. Let the soil be happy.

Father, let no hail come; let no wind come; let no locust come; let no harmful animals come; let no robbers come, lest they steal from us and leave us in poverty.

Father, let the year come well; let the corn turn out well; let the beans turn out well. Let there be no sickness; let there be no sorrow. Father, the mouthful has already entered; the word had already entered.

The word "mouthful" refers to all the gifts, "word" to all the prayer.

796 A similar ceremony is the *mukul mixa*
[621] ('great Mass'), organized by members of
[776] each calpul. Each calpul has its own patron
[622] saint and its own chiefs. For this ceremony
[534] many more people gather, for representatives and musicians (flute, drum, harp, and guitar) come from all places. The candles offered as "mouthfuls" are greater in number and size.

778 Household ceremonies follow as the head
78 of the household, in private, prepares the small home altar, where the cross which
[834] protects the home is always found. He adorns it with *juncia* and five candles; he says appropriate prayers at 6 o'clock in the morning or at midday, as he observes fasting and sexual abstinence. These family prayers may be repeated occasionally, depending on the condition of the milpa.

241 At the beginning of the month called
782 [P. 202-A]

241 *chin-uch* (May 20–June 8), an offering is
782 made to the supernatural being which reigns over it. The natives have vague no-
[825] tions of the nature of this being. They say that *uch* is the name of a small insect which spoils the pozole and, also, of the *tlacuache* or *zarigueya* which often destroys the milpa. The offering, hung at the entrance of the hut, consists of a ball of pozole wrapped in plantain leaf, a red chile, a tortilla, an ear of corn, and a little stick like the kind used to turn the ear cooking over hot coals.
241 All objects are minute in size. When the
782 offering achieves its purpose, on the com-
787 pletion of a 20-day period, the atmosphere becomes hazy "as if there were smoke." It is explained that "the chin-uch burned its house," which forecasts a favorable sun for development of the milpa. If such a sign should not appear on the indicated date or at the end of the next month of *mukul-uch* (June 9–28), the forecast is ominous and indicates that the rains will be excessive, greatly harming the milpa.

778 Another mukul-mixa is performed in Ox-
796 chuc, in homage to the hill called Ikal-Ajau,
[184] near the ceremonial center of which the Indians say "it is a living hill." The name of the hill is that of the ancient hill worshipped by the Oxchuequeños. Nuñez de la Vega (in Becerra, 1933, p. 293) reports: "Those of Oxchuc and other towns of Los Llanos venerate very much the idol which they call Icalajau, which means principal Negro or
[789] lord of the Negroes." This Mass, performed the first days of June, prevents locusts and other plagues from coming.

241 Once the crop is in the granary, other
78 family prayers are said before the household cross, to give thanks for the good received and to petition the supernatural beings to protect the grain from insects and rodents.

Other Subsistence Resources

262 Other food resources include raising
235 chickens and pigs. A family averages about
[231] 10 chickens, using the eggs as money when
[437] [P. 202-B]

162 Amatenango del Valle, a community of 2,529 inhabitants, of which 1,470 reside in the town center.

621 The town centers are divided into two sections, called barrios by Ladinos and calpules by Indians (Oxchuc and Cancuc). The imaginary line which separates one barrio from another passes through the center of the town, sometimes east-west, sometimes north-south, with no fixed orientation.

[776] Each barrio has its own local authorities and sometimes its own patron saint (Oxchuc and Bachajon). The principal function of the barrios was not only political or religious but also social, in regulating mar-

[178] riage. Endogamy was common to all barrios, but today that rule is losing its rigidity. In Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1960, p. 8) tells us that, "The rule of barrio endogamy, which is viable in 86% of the known marriages, contributes to the localization of related families limiting the geographical range of marriage choice." A similar situation obtains in Amatenango (J. Nash, 1959, p. 3), Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes, 1947, p. 7), and Bachajon (Guiteras Holmes, 1961c, p. 167).

[178] In Bachajon, Guiteras Holmes states that: "In the old days there was no marriage be-

[578] tween the *barrios*. If a boy from San Sebastian took a walk through San Geronimo, he was beaten; they would give him a '*maciza*,' as they say. If a boy from a *barrio* approached the waterholes to court a girl, he fared very badly." The calpules of Oxchuo, although they have politico-religious significance, have no influence at all in the selection of wives.

621 The parajes have a few scattered huts

778 among the cultivated fields. Each paraje is

[361] bound by religious ties to a given cave where a cross, the supreme sacred symbol, is kept. The name of the paraje is generally

778 taken from the name of the cave. Sacred

821 caves of secondary importance also exist.

823 This mystical regard for caves is based in the belief that they are the place from which issues the lightning to punish the

[P 205-A]

778 natural elements (hail, wind, storms),
821 which often threaten and destroy the corn-
823 fields.

Distribution of Huts

621 In the parajes as well as in the centers the tendency to cluster huts in patrilineal nuclei is strong. One perceives this tendency also where lineage or clan ties still persist (Oxchuc).

[594] The majority of households consist of the elementary family, a couple and their
342 offspring. The habitations include a hut,
343 which serves as dormitory and kitchen, plus
[417] chickencoop, pigpen, and, sometimes, the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths.
343 Among industrious families another small hut serves exclusively as a kitchen. Seldom
417 does a fence separate this nucleus from its neighbors, but it may protect a vegetable patch from animals. In the capital, however, each family must fence its lot.

Relationships between Communities

628 Communities establish commercial and other ties according to their ecological distribution and cultural condition. In the southern zone, Amatenango and Aguacatenango form a kind of unit, based on physical proximity and cultural affinity. Their residents meet frequently at the Sunday market of Teopisca. In the central zone, Oxchuc, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Tenango, which more or less share ways of life and natural environment, form another informal association, contacts resulting from the weekly markets of Tenejaya and Yochib. In the northern zone, Sitala and Guaquitepec form another unit. Ocusingo, Chilon, and Yajalon are centers of commercial and political importance, occupied largely by Ladinos but used as trade centers by Indians throughout the northern zone.

412 TECHNOLOGY

Tools and Techniques

Farming tools are the most important: axe

[P 205-B]

415 containers made of jicara (*boch*) or teco-
352 mate (*tzu*). In the bedroom is a bed
[513] (*uaybal*) made of boards placed on four
[735] forked poles, usually with a sleeping mat
[415] on it. Only the very poor sleep on mats on the floor. Small chairs, wooden chests for clothes, baskets of all shapes and sizes, pita bags and nets, shelves made of wood ribs, and pegs for hanging clothes are scattered around the hut without order.

353 The most important article is the altar
798 with the family cross. Its construction varies in different areas: it may be a plain small table made of tree trunks or better material. The altar is generally ornamented with pine needles. Occasionally, the figure of a saint is placed by the cross.

Clothing and Ornaments

291 Each community has its own style of
184 clothing, which gives a sense of unity to its members and permits the observer to identify easily the groups during fiestas or market days. This variety applies only to a few items of clothing, which is basically the
291 same for the entire region. Men's costume consists of short pants (*uesh*) and a long shirt (*nátil-kú*) which reaches the knee, both made of cloth that women weave; a red sash or belt (*chuj-chut*) of cotton, 10–15 cm. wide by 1.5 m. long, a palm hat (*pishol*); and leather sandals (*shanabil*). Residents of cold areas wear a woolen chamarra which is manufactured by the Chamulas. Women's costume consists of a skirt made of wool (*tzek*) or blue thick cloth, made in one piece and wrapped around the body with two pleats in front; it is belted at the waist by a red wool sash, which the Chamulas manufacture. Occasionally, they
301 wear a wool rebozo. They tie their hair with a red woolen ribbon (*malal*) and wear earrings (*yulel-chikinil*) and glass necklaces
291 (*ual*) bought in the city. Women always go barefoot, even during long trips. When outdoors they cover their heads with a cloth or wool fabric.

[184] Each municipio has made of these clothes
[P-208-A]

613 than three or four generations. In the past, these lineages were localized, and in places like Bachajon, Cancuc, and Oxchuc the exact locations are still remembered.

613 769 778 A few generations ago, the most distinguished members of each lineage were buried in the cave after which the paraje was named, the bones and ashes of the dead being placed in large jugs or urns. The caves were places for ceremonies honoring the ancestors. Blom (1954) made a study of these burials and mapped the distribution of the sites. These caves are still places for worship but not for burials; the cross protecting all members of the lineage is kept there, as well as, in some instances, small crosses belonging to the important members of it (Villa Rojas, 1946, p. 16).

614 The words *chapomal* and *tijinabal* name the members of the clan in general. It is said that "the neighbors of this paraje are all chapomales," or "those cannot get married because they are chapomales." Tijinabal also means neighbor or member of the same paraje. Another word, *patshunk*, is also an equivalent of tijinabal. These words are currently used in Oxchuc, Cancuc, and Bachajon. On the other hand, there is no specific word to designate the lineage.

[835] The main function of the clan is to regulate marriage, as the union of two chapomales is considered incestuous. The clan [574] also gives much self-confidence to the Indian who travels to other parajes, for he can always find hospitality among people of his own clan. 614 It also has a function of social control, 626 exercised by the old men of the group, 887 who punish all transgressors against the established rules. Helped by the nagual (supernatural spirit), they find out about the behavior of the members of the clan and punish according to the crime (Villa Rojas, 1947).

613 428 The lineage relationship is also important in inheritance (especially land), since the plots should always be under the control of individuals of the same Indian name. Only where such persons are absent or missing or

[P 215-A]

555 ta for minor saints. He alternates between
624 a period of activity and expense and one of
794 quiet and economic recovery. The cargos alternate between church positions and civil government positions, but in communities where Indian tradition is stressed, there is no clear-cut division between civil and religious matters, because of the influence of the sacred and supernatural in daily life.

554 Those functionaries who have a staff of
624 office wield great influence in their calpul.
293 This cane (*nabté*), a sign of important status, is made of pine or other fine wood, and has a silver handle adorned with colored ribbons, primarily yellow, green, and red. The staff is ornamented by the owner and is considered a family object, usually placed on the home altar. Occasionally it is the [708] [782] object of prayers and offerings of incense. People carrying it are called *bastonudos*.

624 It is the duty of the staff-carriers to com-
627 municate to every paraje the orders of the ayuntamiento and those coming from the supreme chief of the calpul; to summon people for communal duties; to apprehend prisoners in cases of crime; and to deal with public problems such as taxation and epidemics. Coping with transgressions such as minor stealing, adultery, disputes, and intrigues are also their responsibility within the paraje, following the traditional form of procuring mutual understanding on both sides, in a calm atmosphere, around a bottle [692] of liquor. If conflict persists, those involved appear before chiefs of the calpul, who are called principales or "cabildos de justicia" even after they have finished their term of office.

794 The cargos from dzunubil on up are sacred and are open only to people with superior knowledge, recognized moral status, and expert experience in church ritual and in the semi-pagan ceremonies practiced in the caves, waterholes, and special mountains. These cargos are thus obtained not by automatic advancement but by special merits which are usually not acquired until advanced age. All such high representatives of

[P 220-B]

794 the calpul must have a powerful nagual, through which they can learn about the private lives of their subordinates. This is usually the way they know who has enough money to pay for a feast, who can occupy special jobs, and which sinners deserve punishment.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

The Catholic Cult

177 797 795 795 778 [346] [361] [776] [796] [794] The beliefs and religious practices introduced by Catholic missionaries in the 16th century have been adapted to the aboriginal culture. The largest and most important building of the village is the church, situated on the east side of the ceremonial center. In it are the image of the patron saint of the group, the holy cross, and lesser saints. The most profound ceremonies take place before the altar of these saints, who are looked upon as mediators between God and men, and are performed by the cabildos de misa, dzunubiles, and other elderly men of high rank who know both Catholic and Indian ritual.

346 796 795 [782] During the ceremonies the altar is decorated with flowers and with paper and ribbons of different colors. The floor is covered with pine needles, which give off an agreeable fragrance. Candles and copal are part of every prayer and ceremony, the copal having been used since pre-Hispanic times.

795 782 Common prayers of people who visit the center also have a place. These people have to enter the church and make an offering of candles to the patron saint. The prayers follow a formal pattern but vary in content according to the need and mood of the suppliant. Each individual talks intimately to the saint, specifying the help he needs, much as he would to a relative or a friend in whom he has absolute confidence. The two most frequent matters of petition are health and food; as the latter depends almost entirely on the condition of the cornfield, people pray that "it may not be damaged by the wind, or by cold, sun, birds, or plagues."

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795 In most of the prayers, Dios Tatik Jesu-
782 cristo and the 13 *fiadores* who are in heaven are mentioned. These 13 fiadores are God's immediate helpers and correspond to the
[778] Christian saints. The cross is venerated as a representation of God wherever a prayer is said and so appears on the family altar, on mountaintops, in caves, at fountains, at entrances to the town, at the four corners of the plaza, and in front of the church.

795 The local character of Catholicism is seen
778 in the Masses offered to the mountain called
776 Ikal Ajau, near the ceremonial center of
177 Oxchuc. The Indians say that it is a "living mountain" and give it great reverence, for Ikal Ajau was the name of the idol venerated by Oxchuc people in pre-Hispanic
795 times. In almost all the municipios the
184 saints are dressed as Indians. Towns with a
776 large Ladino population have different saints for the Ladinos, who are dressed as Ladinos and to whom the Indians are completely indifferent, even to forgetting the names of them.

Fiesta for the Patron Saint

796 One of the major events in the religious
794 life of the Indians is the annual fiesta in honor of the patron saint and the other saints kept in the church. The capitán principal and some of his immediate assistants are in charge of the organization and expenses of these fiestas. The length and cost
[435] of the fiesta correspond to the importance of the saint and range from one day and 100 pesos to four days and several thousand pesos, like the one for the patron saint. To become a capitán principal a man must go through all the ranks and be able to afford the expenses of any fiesta, from a small one to the very large ones of the patrons.

796 The fiesta of the patron of each village is similar to that for any other saint but larger. There are Masses and other religious observances, in the church, processions with the image of the saint along the main streets, large meals at the house of the cargoholders, and, above all, constant drink-

[P 221-B]

[Text continues on p. 222-B]

796 "sembrar el alma del niño" and must be performed by the dzunubiles and the cabildos
[176] de misa. A similar devotion is made to Uch, the supernatural being connected with the growth of the cornfield mentioned earlier.

782 Also important are the prayers said by
778 families before the cross of the ancestors, in the sacred caves.

Finally, certain prayers and offerings are made to particular lakes considered sacred because they are inhabited by virgins who look after the well-being of the people. The best known of these lakes is Banabil in Tenejapa. Some day during the year, a small box containing a woman's dress and all its ornaments is thrown into the water. The dress must be made by a virgin or an old woman.

787 *Talking Saints*

776 Another religious form where Indian tra-
[177] dition is manifested through Christian formulae is the veneration of the talking saints, a widespread cult among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil. These saints are always private property and are usually kept in a small case on the house altar. The believers go to the house of those who own a talking saint and ask him about any secret problem that might require a special knowledge to be solved. Although any saint can be asked, the most popular one is San Miguelito. In order to consult him, people have to tell his owner their problems. The owner, who supposedly is the only one who can understand his saint, talks to him behind a curtain so that no one can see him. Often the owner of a talking saint succeeds in creating a cult out of the saint's box, making a special altar for him and asking the believers for frequent offerings and prayers. Sometimes there is no box, so the effigy is placed on an altar and concealed by a curtain when the private dialogue takes place.

There have been cases, however, in which the talking saints exceed their function as oracles and advise people on political matters. This is why some talking saints have

[P. 223-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

123 able when broken by the clattering of horses hoofs against the paving stones.

172 From the Plaza one can see a great part of the valley and sur-
114 rounding mountains. When the sun in the morning falls on the San Martín mountain, one's attention is attracted by a spur on this mountain which strongly resembles a pyramid. We asked about this and were told that it actually was an ancient mound. Therefore, one morning, we rode to the foot of the San Martín.

Reaching a small ranch, we left our horses behind and ascended on foot. A spur of the mountain had in ancient times been levelled and shaped to the form of an immense truncated pyramid, rising in terraces.

778 We had heard that there were caves in the mountainside, and
114 that every year, on the 3rd of May, the Indians come here to worship the god of the mountain. Soon we reached a small cave, or rock shelter, and upon entering saw that a tunnel led into the dark. This we followed, with lighted candles, into a small cave, and there on the floor we found signs of a small altar.*

We took great pains not to disturb anything on the altar, returning to the mouth of the cave, and emerged into the glaring sunlight. We then climbed to the top of the pyramid, and found a large level area in the center of which stood a small mound. On top of the mound Indians had erected a wooden cross and at its foot we found bunches of pine needles, also remnants of burnt copal incense. Evidently this also was a place of Indian worship.

114 Sitting on top of the mound we had the whole Ocosingo valley
133 at our feet. The red roofs of the town lay 500 meters below us.
172 The top of the pyramid, called Chacalchib, is 1,440 meters above
361 sea level. Far away we could see two other hilltops that likewise had been turned into pyramids. On the northern edge of the valley lay Campomtik, and further away on the same side we could distinguish the ruins of Toniná. On the southern side of the valley was the mountain-pyramid called Cololté. All these places were later visited.

133 The valley floor spread out before us. Here and there lay small
137 ranches, and patches of pine forest. Several groups of mounds were
361 easily distinguished, as those of Santa Teresa just outside Ocosingo
172 on the trail to Bachajon. At the head of the valley lay Sivacá, the Indian village.

172 On the level top of the pyramid were rows of stones, indicating
114 old house foundations, but though we made a careful search, we found no monuments.

*For Description, see Chapter XV.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Slowly we descended towards the valley, enjoying the magnificent view. The country we were to work in for the following weeks lay before us like a map. About half-way down we encountered another cave, in which we also found an Indian altar. This time the offerings were placed before a small cross, crudely made of wood.

La Farge, as usual, was busy collecting data on the Indians' life and customs, and while he paid a visit to the village Sivacá, the writer set out to explore the Cololté pyramid, sometimes called Hocuchupac, which was said to have a stone idol on it. We also heard that the good inhabitants of Ocosingo were afraid to go to the mountain top, not knowing what the Indians might do.

FIG. 200—Cololté, Chis. Altar on top of the Cololté Pyramid.

Our local guide was eventually persuaded to take me to the ranch of a Ladino boy, by name Cenón, on whose property the pyramid was located.

From Ocosingo we rode along the Rio Grande de la Virgen until it joined the Jataté River, which we crossed and soon came to the ranch of Cenón, who was in the field, but came out when we called. Though the pyramid, as stated, was on his property, he was not eager to take me to it, and when he finally agreed, he first armed himself with an old 30-30 Winchester.

Following long, narrow, pine ridges we approached the pyramid. It was beautiful country with scattered pine and grass below.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

133 Finally we reached the foot of a steep hill, on top of which the idol
• 778 was supposed to be. This hill sloped gradually towards the north
172 and the valley. Its southern side was a vertical cliff wall. It was difficult to climb to the top as the ground was slippery underfoot from its carpet of pine needles, but it was well worth the trouble. We reached the top, and there before us stood a small altar, built of rough stones (fig. 200). On the centre of the altar stood the idol, a small figure, 64 cm. high, carved out of yellow sandstone, and of the same type as those idols we had already seen, and knew to come from Toniná. The idol was badly weathered—only its sandaled feet were distinguishable. It was without a head, and had no carved hieroglyphs. Before it stood crude clay bowls in which were the charred remains of copal incense; rows of crude candlesticks were planted between the stones; and offerings of coloured strips of paper and small bunches of pine needles lay scattered around.

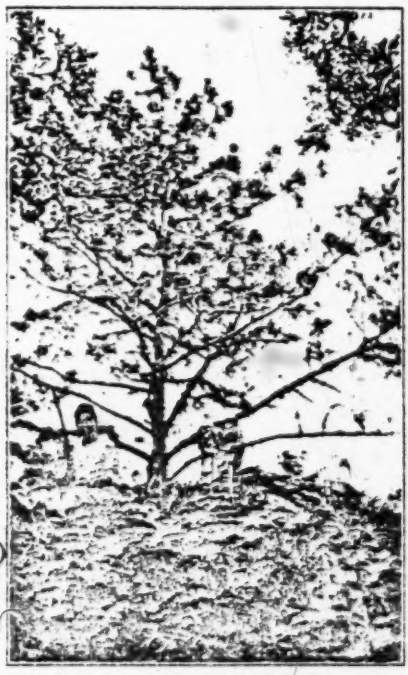

Fig. 200—Cololté, Chis. Altar on top of the Cololté Pyramid.

Four hundred years of Spanish rule, four hundred of Catholic missionizing, had not been able to stamp out the worship of the ancient gods in the ancient way. Here I stood, the first white man to behold this altar, a white man with a deep interest in the ancient history of this country. I could not help feeling that the ancient gods were still living, and that I was nearer to the ancient times at that moment than I had ever
172 been before. As I turned and saw just across the valley the mighty pyramids of Campomtik, and Toniná, the powerful city that once ruled over the valley, I realized that before me lay buried the ruins of a small State within the huge Maya area—a State born of Maya culture, using Maya hieroglyphs, speaking a Maya dialect, but at the same time expressing itself through its art in a way distinct from any other part of the Maya area.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

We have divided Maya history in two groups, the Old Empire and the New Empire. Of the history of the New Empire we know a considerable amount, but our knowledge of the Old Empire history is scant. We know the area in which it flourished as a whole, like knowing Greece without being aware of Sparta, Athens, and Corinth. Here in front of me lay one of the first hints of the subdivisions of the Old Empire. Knowledge will advance, and soon we shall be able to tell about the rise and decline of states and cities, to revive the history of the foremost people of ancient America.

Nearly due north across the valley lies the Campomtik pyramid. La Farge visited it while we worked at Toniná. It, too, is a remodeled mountain top, and as it is covered with grass, it stands out sharply against the forest-clad hills. It consists of a series of terraces with a depression which has stone-faced terraces and floor. From the valley bottom the hill rises 280 meters, of which 105 meters (325 feet) have been terraced. Broken pottery is found in various places on the hillside, and on the top now stands two wooden crosses, set there by the Indians. The name Campomtik means "much yellow incense." Incense was burned on the hilltop until quite recently. At such times they burned great fires, and shot off many rockets bought in Ocosingo. Finally the celebrations got too fervent for the Catholic Father, and he had the Indians driven away by the town officials. Generally, though, the Padres let the Indians alone when they celebrate in honour of the ancient gods (fig. 201).

Outside Ocosingo, where the trail divides, one going to Bachajon, the other to Sivacá, lies a group of mounds called Santa Teresa. Rumors that Indains had buried church treasures here after an uprising, led the townspeople to make a large excavation. According to some people in Ocosingo, they found a small wooden sanctuary, and a beautiful clay bowl with a fish on its lid. This bowl later was bought by Seler.*

It is remarkable how persistent are rumors of buried treasures. Every Ladino expects to find "dinero," money, in any mound, and they are usually sadly disappointed. Also, most of these people believe that we find money, else why should we dedicate so much time to our explorations? We had a case where one man offered to go fifty-fifty with us if we would explore a mound on his lands. The whole mound at Santa Teresa has been dug through, and it is told in Ocosingo that the excavators found, not money, but a small wooden sanctuary with a saint inside. We hear every day, when among the Ladinos and Mexicans, stories of church bells of solid gold, and cocks that crow at midnight on top of the mounds.

*Seler, E., 1901. Fig. 279.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

village. In common with all ceremonial celebrations, these fiestas are called *k'in*, the old Maya word for "sun." Even non-Christian elements appear in the fiestas. The Bachajon call their chief fiesta, St. Jerome's Day, May 13th, *kan-k'in*, "yellow sun," an old Maya month name.

On many points one cannot say whether the ritual be Christian or not; the use of the cross is such a point. The Mayas had a cross,* the worship of which was encouraged by the early Padres, while teaching the Indians to associate with it Christian ideas. Certain it is that crosses now play a greater part in Indian than in Ladino religion. They are maintained on the roads at partings of the way and crests of hills, and they are used in ceremonies that have little or nothing to do with the Church. Crosses by the road are usually covered with offerings of flowers and pine tips; in the houses they are decorated with any bits of bright paper, flowers, or pictures that can be obtained. The house-altars seem to be more truly Christian, as is indicated by the names, *altar, tcun tat-ik*, "altar of our Holy Father," and *cruz tcun tat-ik*, "cross of our Holy Father," in both of which the most important word is Spanish. At the house by El Encanto we had a chance to observe one such altar at leisure (fig. 309). It consisted of a neatly made cross, 75 centimeters high, standing above a small and rickety table. About the cross were fir branches, brought down from the highlands, and it was hung with cacao beans and small yellow gourds. A revenue stamp pasted across it gave a touch of more vivid green. The wall behind was entirely covered by a sheet of an old news-

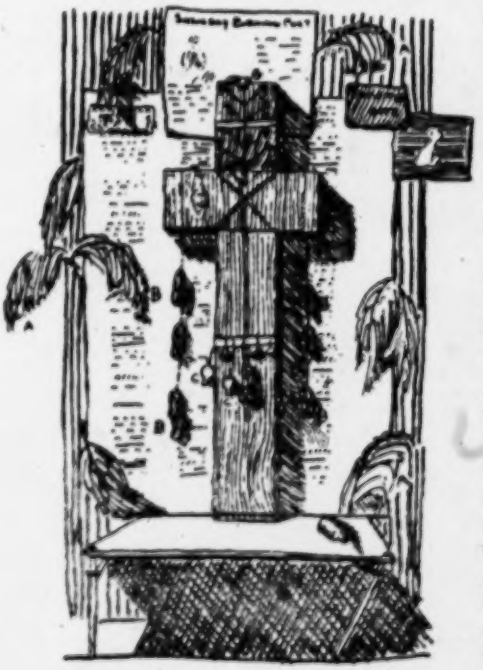

FIG. 309—El Encanto, Chis. Altar in House.

*Cf. Tozzer, 1907, Page 151 ff.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

778 paper, brightened with colour added by a cigarette package, a label from a tin of beets in a deep red, a joke in German about the fall of the mark, of which the prevailing tone was pure viridian, and a page of advertising from the Saturday Evening Post. We gave [123] this family a chromo of a saint, which was immediately framed with a sort of wooden box, and set up beside the cross. The table below was used for laying odds and ends on, such as the spindle and a couple of empty aguardiente bottles.

782 788 177 178 Incense, *pom*, and candles, both extensively used by the Indians today, had a place in the old Maya ritual similar to that of the Catholic Church.

793 The Priest is an important figure to the Indians. They come to him with respect to tell him their troubles, and receive him into their villages with rejoicing. At the same time, there is no doubt that they deliberately hoodwink him as to the orthodoxy of their faith.

796 Although it includes several non-Christian elements, a description of the fiesta observed at Tecojá will give a fair idea of the Tzeltal's church observances. Tecojá ranch has a village of about [241] twenty houses attached to it. The fiesta was held on the twenty-[648] second and twenty-third of June. By custom, the ranch had to allow the Indians this time off, as well as accepting the lowered efficiency on the following "cold grey dawn of the morning after." The owners had, moreover, to provide the rum for the whole celebration, in this case, two demi-johns.

The ranch chapel was thrown open and decorated with fir [794] branches and streamers. The proceedings were in charge of two older men, called *caporales*, who were distinguished by a cross-belting of red handkerchiefs. One house was set aside for the celebrations, in front of which was a table and three triangular, crimson banners with gold edges. By these drumming and flute-playing went on irregularly. Here was the official dispensary for rum, which was given out by the *caporales*. Inside the house, a palm-thatched one with stick walls, about fifteen feet square, some thirty [534] Indians, men and women, were squatting against the walls. There was an orchestra of a guitar and a mouth-organ, occasionally augmented by the piper, who would wander in from outside. This individual, although most amazingly drunk, managed to maintain his [533] musical ability until he fell asleep. The tune they played was like a rather wistful jig, but the time was lively. To this four couples [535] danced, the men facing the women, with a shuffling step not unlike waltzing. They kept very much in one place, but occasionally changed sides. The dancing was evidently a serious affair. This type is called in Spanish *zapatea*, in Tzeltal, *akk'Out*.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

771 178 177 spasmodically ever since. The temples and idols were overthrown, the theocracy, that knew the lore and could read the books, was killed off or reduced to the common level. The books themselves have vanished. At the same time, churches were built, and Christianity preached with a fine enthusiasm. Later, idols whenever discovered were destroyed, and all forms of heathenism vigourously opposed. This process has continued for some four hundred years. In other places less than half that time has sufficed to wipe out every vestige of an old cult, but here, not only had the Padres to deal with a race at least semi-civilized, supporting a sophisticated religion, but a people of remarkable, tenacious conservatism, and who, moreover, at all times have outnumbered their conquerors.

It must be borne in mind that the highly evolved, elaborate old-time religion could only be maintained in its purity by an educated people, men who could philosophize, study history, and read the stars with scientific accuracy. Obviously, what survives can only be in a simplified and debased form.

778 178 Most directly religious are certain places of worship retained by the Indians. The old Mayas are known to have used, of course, caves as well as their mounds and temples. Nuñez de la Vega* tells of such worship going on in his time, and according to Sapper† it continues in Guatemala today.

In Ocosingo Valley, the pyramids of Cololté (*kolol-te,* a kind of tree), Chakalchib (*cakaltcip',* translation not known), and Campomtik (*kan,* "yellow," *pom,* "incense," *-ĕtik,* "much"), have been mentioned in the last chapter. They are all prehistoric places of worship. Their use by the Indians has been continued into modern times.

On top of Cololté the almost completely disfigured idol has already been described. It is decked with fir branches, and fir tips have been laid about its base. Before it in an arc stand wooden sticks to hold candles. The Indians do not come here at set periods as is usual elsewhere, but only when there is great need of rain.

Campomtik, across from Cololté, was used annually until a short time ago. Their celebrations made so much uproar that finally a local Priest had them driven away, and the worship there has been discontinued. There is still a big, rotting cross set up on top, but there are no offerings or candlesticks.

Behind Ocosingo, Chakalchib is still a place of worship, where fiestas are held annually without benefit of clergy. A large pile of stone in the center of the platform supports one cross about the

*Nuñez de la Vega, 1702.
†Sapper, 1925.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

height of a man, and several other smaller ones in more or less dis- 778
repair. On the northeast side is a fireplace. There are a few candle- 178
sticks, some with traces of wax in them. Fir branches and tips, mostly withered, were piled so deeply as to indicate several years' deposits. According to description, Indians come here from far and near, to dance and drink as at any ceremony.

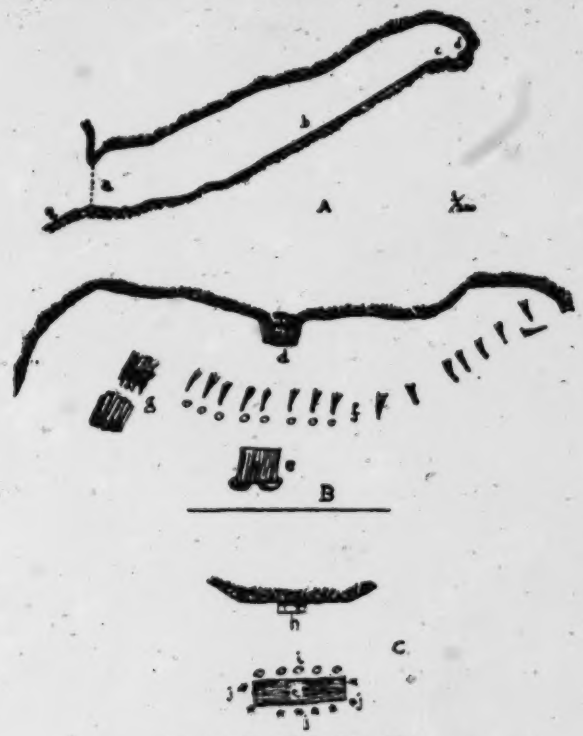

FIG. 310—Chacalchib, Chis. Altars.

A. Section of cave.
a. Sleeping place.
b. Ascent.
c. Level place.
d. Projection of rock.
B. Plan of Altar.
e. Board for incense.
f. Pine tips and candle sticks.
g. Reserve pile of pine tips and candle sticks.
C. Plan of Second Altar.
h. Cross.
i. Candle sticks.
j. Pine tips set on end.

More interesting than the top of the mound were two caves in its side, formed by the natural hollowing out of limestone outcrops near its base. The first of these had a small entrance, not high enough to stand up in, and just about large enough to give room for the grass bed and fire of which we found traces (fig. 310 a, b). From there the cave went up a few meters, and divided. The

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

778 178 left-hand fork ended shortly. The right-hand one went on to a small level place, on which about four people could squat at once. The roof was too low to stand. In the end wall a block of rock about half a meter high and twenty centimeters broad stuck out. In front of it were eight small candlesticks in a row, a neat bundle of fir tips laid before each. More of these extended in an arc to the right, and there was a pile of spare tips and candlesticks at one side. Behind this was a square of bark resting on two stones, which showed signs of having had incense burned on it.

The second cave was more open, more of a room, high, and broken with pillars of limestone and dirt. It was caused partly by hollowing out limestone through the action of water, and partly by washing out the soil. In a quite open situation a small, square cross was leant against a rock. There was a flat board for incense, with five candlesticks on the side of the cross, and fir tips around the other three sides (see fig. 310 c).

These two caves, whether or not they were used in pre-Conquest days, do definitely represent the survival of a purely non-Christian manner of worship.

The general attitude of the Indians towards all the carvings of the Old People is not without interest. While they appear to attach no particular significance to the temples, they call all idols by the generic term of "santo." Thus the fine bas-relief found near San José Reforma, told of in the last chapter, was known to the natives as *Santo Ton*, "Saint Stone," or "Holy Stone."

782 Distinct from worship at these archaeological sites are the offerings made to the "guardian," *yaHwal*, of the cornfields, a pure old Maya rite carried on in the modern fields. This is purely family matter, at which the head of the family officiates. A cross is set up, *atole* or *cocoposole* (*posole* with cocoa and sugar) and rum are offered in bowls, candles and incense are burned, and a chicken killed. The prayer quoted on page 365 is recited at this time. The offerings are only made at the time of planting the *milpa* in the spring, and suffice also for the fall *tonamil*. As nearly as we could find out, each field has its particular guardian, an idea which was shown by the case, to be described later when speaking of magic, of a man who took steps to gain the consent of a field's guardian before putting a curse on it.

776 [323] There is a guardian of the river, *yabahen*, and of the mountains, *hun ahau*. This last is of particular interest, correponding as it does with the old Maya day-name signifying chief. Hun Ahau is mentioned in Landa, page 200, edition of 1864, as ruler of Mitamnal or hell. As Hunahpu he may be referred to in the Popol Vuh. Two

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ties to the center. They register births and deaths in the township center, 632
but they do not have any representation in the cabildo. The populations 621
have no identification with Indian subgroups, speak Spanish, and are oriented to the regional rather than the local economic center. The plantations remaining in the area, classified as *ranchos* in the national census, employ Indians from the center. Their only relationship to the central au- [464]
thority is to get help in recruiting additional laborers. Recruitment of [241]
labor is no longer coercive as it was prior to the 1930s when the low wage rate could not attract the help needed. Announcements of the need for workers are made by the president on the loudspeaker system of the town, and men voluntarily go to the plantations.

Spirit Domains

The link between people and place is through the media of the spirits 776
(*P'uleletik*) of persons and of locale. The relationship is maintained 778
through a set of rules governing the behavior among spirits of people and of places. These rules derive from myths and stories of encounters which define the character of the spirits in each of the domains. Danger is localized in a series of caves which are avoided. Benevolent, or guardian, spirits inhabit a different set of sites, where ceremonies are conducted that maintain the well-being of the individual and of the community. By locating [182]
and circumscribing places of danger and guardianship, the members of the community can supplicate helpful spirits and avoid evil; they are delivered from fear of the unknown and provided with a rationale for dealing with fear of the known.

The places where spirits meet are outlined in Table 3. The first group [128]
includes spirits which are supplicated, the second, dangerous spirits which are avoided or approached only by powerful persons.

The house spirits. The spirits of inhabitants and of the house 776
meet at the center post at the rear wall of the house. The spirit of the 342
house lives in this post. Those who claim to have seen the house spirit say he is a small Ladino child. He is capricious, and if he is not happy, he may admit the evil spirits who will eat the souls of the inmates. His appe- [753]

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342 tite must be satisfied when the house is first occupied and when the chil-
776 dren of the house fall ill from a sickness diagnosed by a curer as a result of
753 their souls being eaten. The souls of the inmates of the house hover near the center post when they are not in the body. The soul calling ceremony
342 is held near this center post. If someone is cured in a house not his own,
755 he must not sit near this post because his soul will be confused with those of the inmates of the house. The curing arch is erected directly before the center post, over the square hole in which the ceremonial offering of a sheep's head is buried when the house is built. A live chicken is buried in this spot if the illness is severe.

776
778
769

TABLE 3. Spirits and Places

Place	*Place spirit*	*Person spirit*
Loci of spirits to be supplicated		
House	Spirit of the house (*sʔulel na*)	Spirits of children (*sʔuleletik yuntikil*)
Spring of San Nicolás	Little Ladino (*čʔin kailan*)	Spirits of male patients (*sʔuleletik yuʔun kerenetik*)
Spring of Pahaltón	Little Ladina (*čʔin šinlan*)	Spirits of female patients (*sʔuleletik yuʔun ʔalʔišetik*)
Cave of Ancestors	Lopez brothers (*Šuntonetik*)	Spirits of townspeople (*sʔuleletik spiul teklum*)
Loci of spirits to be avoided		
Cave of Don David	Ladino moneylender (*Klabil*)	Petitioners for wealth
Cave of the Black Man	Devil, or black man (*ʔihk'al winik*)	Witches
Cave of Juan Santos	Deceased recipient of wealth from Cave Hwan Santil	Petitioners for wealth
Stone Cave	Owner of cave (*Yahwal sʔen*)	Petitioners for wealth
Cave of Elotes	Owner of cave (*Yahwal sʔen*)	Petitioners for wealth
Cave of the Star	Owner of star (*Yahwal ʔek'*)	Curers and witches

18 When a serious illness In the Eyes of the Ancestors caused by witchcraft has been cured, the patient must be protected against reentry of the evil by a gift of medicine to the house. Palm crosses are made for the corner posts and the entry, and a medicine consisting of a mixture of garlic and creosote, the seeds of mustard, and *poščan,* a "hot" herb, is mixed. As the crosses are nailed on the posts, the curer marks a cross with the medicine over the palm cross. This "covers the eyes of the evil spirit" so that it will not enter the house.

The relationship between house spirit and the spirits of the residents is an uneasy one. Fear is associated with this capricious spirit, who might make an alliance with evil spirits, and whose power is evident only in sickness and in death, never in good deeds. A sense of alienation is conveyed in the fact that the house spirit and the spirits of the spring are conceived of as Ladinos. Spirits of the house and of the landscape are exacting landlords from whom the tenants expect nothing in return for their offerings but freedom from harm. Acceptance of the offerings seals a contract between spiritual occupants that must continually be renewed in order to maintain the balance of security expressed in the phrase "to be of one heart." The payment of a "tribute" in the form of food, liquor, and entertainment is part of a larger strategy by which these Indians ensure their survival by appeasement of overlords, demanding government officials, and the very rats which live in their houses and feed on the corn they store in the eaves.

The springs. Other meeting grounds for the spirits of people and places are the springs. The major spring, San Nicolás, is located on the southwestern periphery of the town. It provides drinking water and water for irrigating the cultivated lands. A second spring, called Pahaltón, lies closer to the village and provides a smaller stream of water directed into the canals irrigating the fields of the center. Some say the spirit of San Nicolás is a small Ladino boy; others say he is a man. The spirit of Pahaltón is a female non-Indian, or *Ladina.* The spirits of these waters are able to effect miraculous cures for patients who have lost their souls or those who are of two hearts because of upset social relations in the home. Male patients are brought to San Nicolás and female patients are brought to Pahaltón to seek a miracle. In the curing ceremony an arch of flowers entwined in pine boughs is constructed as closely as possible to the spring

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waters. The curer brushes the patients with branches of the cooling bushes and herbs growing near the spring, the same ones used in the fiesta of inauguration and the curing ceremonies conducted in the house. The strategy of making the house spirit happy by providing music, dancing, and drinking is repeated at the spring to make the water spirit happy. Some of the family of the patient must remain in the house as "waiters" (*maliwanehetik*) to receive the spirit if it should arrive before its owner. The maliwanehetik must drink as much liquor as the participants at the spring.

The Cave of the Ancestors. The ancestors, the *me?tiktatik*, were believed to have lived in a cave in the hills lying on the peripheries of the township. In the myth that follows, they are given a historical identity as two brothers, the Shuntonetik. Shunton is one of the Tzeltal patronyms of families still living in the town, and in fact the narrator of this version of the myth is Mariano Shunton, whom people consider a descendant of the ancestors.[6]

Formerly a priest asked for a document to be delivered to Antigua in Guatemala. Two messengers were sent with it, but they did not return. Another messenger went and did not return. Four or five more messengers were sent out and did not come back. Finally they sent a man from the cabildo with his younger brother. They left early in the morning, and the elder brother said as he left the other town officials, "If I succeed, I want a fiesta. Look for my sign of four arches [rainbow]."

The two brothers first went to a hill. There they called upon their swayohelik [*animal spirits*]. *First the animal spirit of the elder brother spoke. He said, "I am a stone." Then the animal spirit of the younger brother said, "I am a stick. Moreover, I am a snake and a maguey plant." The elder brother said, "Then we are well off. Let us go."*

6. The same identification of a lineage patronym with the most important sacred hill is found in other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities (Holland 1963, Hermitte 1964). The pattern may have originated in a period of pre-Conquest expansion when the dominant lineage was assiged a custodial leadership over the new settlement, with their spirits remaining as guardians of the community. Members of the contemporary communities who bear the same patronym do not have any privileged position. These associations of past and contemporary belief are, as Vogt (1964:216) cautions, still hypothetical.

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773 *As the two brothers were walking, the elder brother said, "Do you see*
• 778 *what that man is doing?" He was referring to a black man lying near the*
539 *road. "He is sleeping," said the younger. The elder said, "Let us go on."*
769 *They approached closer to the sleeping man. The elder brother said, "Let us pass." Just as they were passing, the black man said, "Where are you going? Come back! Come, enter here."*

They entered a cave. The black man said, "Here you are going to die."

"So be it," said the elder.

"Put your head here," said the black man. He went to get his machete, but instead of hitting the head with it, he drove it into the great stone which was the elder brother's swayohel. "Ah, the devil, who are you?" he asked. Turning to the younger brother, he said, "Now it is your turn!"

The younger brother came, and the black man struck him with his machete. The machete broke.

"Now it is your turn, black man!" said the younger brother. The devil began to cry, "Go along, I will not trouble you." "Yes, you will always trouble us," said the elder brother. "I shall give you money," said the black man. "No, I have money," said the elder brother. "Then I shall carry you," said the black man. "I do not want that. You must die!" said the elder brother. "Come, boy [to his younger brother], cut a stick and make two points on each side. Stick it there and a wind will carry him aloft."

Then a snake came and settled right there where the stick was planted. The black man fell, and the stick entered his anus. It came out of his mouth and he died. The brothers cut off his head and brought it to Guatemala. They delivered the paper to the priest, who was very frightened.

"Which way have you come?" asked the priest. "We came along the road," answered the brothers.

"But didn't you see anyone?" asked the priest. "No one," answered the brothers. "But where did you really go?" asked the priest.

"Since you force us to answer, we did meet someone," answered the brothers, "covering the road where we passed midway. We brought him here."

"I want to see him," said the priest. The elder brother said, "Look, I brought him in this box. I cut off his head."

The priest looked, and when he saw the head, he cried. He ordered the

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soldiers to come and throw the Shunton brothers in jail. He ordered a meal brought to prison with a servant.

"I do not want it," said the elder brother and returned it with the servant. "Tell him [the priest] that I do not want it but thank him."

The servant told the priest that the brothers did not want the good meal.

"Good," said the priest. "If they don't eat in a little while they will be dead. Go leave them liquor so that they will not feel how they die."

"Good," said the servant. She went to the jail and said, "My master wants to know if you want to drink."

"I don't want any. I have some too. I brought a liter of trago." There they were drinking inside the prison.

At ten in the morning, they came to tie a blindfold on the brothers. They shot at them, but the bullet did not hit. They shot again, but it did not hit. "Who are these people?" asked the priest. "Send out another soldier!" The other began to fire, but the bullets did not hit the brothers. Many soldiers came out and fired, but the bullets did not hit them.

"Then," said the soldier, "you know what we shall do? We shall burn them in this hide."

"Good, go look for the hide. When the hide comes we will prepare it," said the priest.

They began to sew the hide. When they finished sewing, they began to throw wood and lit a fire. They waited until the fire started. They came to see the brothers. They were very drunk.

"Bring them here." said the priest. "Not yet. They are still drinking." But the priest answered, "They have drunk enough. Go bring them and we shall burn them."

On their second return, the fire began to burn the pueblo. The people began to cry. Half the pueblo was burned when the Lord of Lightning and Rain came. A shower hit the fire.

"Good," said the elder brother. "We have won. Now the fire is out and we shall go. Let us see if they are waiting for us in our town. If not, I know where we can find some pretty women in Chiapa."

"Good. Let us rest a little," said the younger brother.

"Good, I am thirsty. Let us go where there is water," said the elder.

773 *"Good."*

778 *They waited a while and the water came. "Are you going to drink?"*

539 769 *They drank, and then they made the sign of the rainbow. The president sent his síndico to meet them. The síndico got drunk on the way. He sat down halfway in the road. The brothers met him there. They were angry that a fiesta was not prepared for them. And for this they left town, and went to live in Chiapas.*

773 778 769 123 This tale is known to everyone in town, and there is no doubt as to its authenticity expressed by those who have given versions of it. When I took some of the Indians on a trip to Guatemala, they pointed out the rocks where the brothers encountered the devil. When they arrived in Guatemala and saw a bus marked Antigua they expressed amazement that the town was still in existence.

769 778 Some people claim to have seen the ancestors, whom they describe as wearing the old style costume—a long shirt with the hat now worn by the alfereces. The ancestors are believed to have watched over the village from a mound rising abruptly before the mouth of the cave, called Hǫl Shan, or Head of Palm, because of the trees growing on it (Plate 1). From this eminence they could watch the streets of the village and see whether anyone was trying to bring in evil (Plate 2). They were able to discern the power of evil in the souls of the newborn and could snatch the soul before its possessor grew up to cause evil. Their human agents in guarding the town [756] against evil were the curers (*ʔuʔuletik*), who in the context of guardianship were called *meʔiltatil*.[7]

796 769 621 Each year on the Day of the Cross, May 3d in the Catholic calendar,[8] a fiesta is held in honor of the ancestors. It refers back to the fiesta which ought to have been held for the returning Shuntonetik, and is performed in the interest of the whole community as a means of ensuring good relations with the ancestors.

[756] Formerly the curers were responsible for conducting this fiesta. An informant recalled the ritual:

7. The guardianship role of the curers is related to the functions of pre-Conquest officials, called *ghcanalum*, "caretakers of the soil" (Calnek 1962:25).

[178] 8. The date of the Day of the Cross was changed by the Vatican in 1964. When the local priest tried to reschedule the fiesta in the community, he encountered strong opposition. The Indians continue to celebrate the Day of the Cross on May 3d.

The curers used to go up to the cave with the alfereces, the mayordomos [*religious officials*], *the prayer reciters, and the people of the village. When they arrived there, the mayordomos played the guitar and gourd rattle. They lit candles and incense, and the leading curers would go inside the cave. All the people contributed money for the liquor and candles which was collected by the officials. They said that they spoke to the ancestors inside, where there was a lake and a beautiful field. They asked for rain and good crops. They would come out and tell the people waiting outside what the ancestors had said.*

Then one year [*in 1957*] *during the fiesta of the cave, the curers went into the cave. The people said to the curers, "We want to see the owners." The curers said they would come out, but they didn't. The people waited and waited. A boy went inside with the curers. They tried to prevent him, saying, "Won't you be afraid?" He said, "No, let's go in." They entered twenty feet inside the door. The curers said, "Let us stay here." The boy asked them where was the river, the lake, and the milpa that were supposed to be inside. The curer replied, "It is all a lie. Now you know; don't tell the people." But when he came out, the boy told the people it was all a deception.*

Since the late 1950s the ritual has changed. The curers no longer officiate, nor do they enter the cave and speak to the ancestors as they did formerly. The *fiscal*, or assistant to the priest, leads the mayordomos, alfereces, and prayer-reciters to the cave on the Day of the Cross and simply replace the palm cross at the entrance to the cave just as they do with the palm crosses fixed to the wooden crosses marking the roads leading into the town. The curers have attempted to revive the belief in the presence of the ancestors by saying that their nephew is in residence now, but no one I ever spoke to believes this. Most people agree that the ancestors live permanently in Chiapa de Corso.[9]

The hill and cave owners. While people try to maintain a good relationship with the spirits of the house, of the springs, and of the Cave of the Ancestors, they avoid the dangerous spirits of the hills and caves

9. A similar myth concerning the departure of the ancestors to go live in Chiapa de Corzo exists in Pinola (Hermitte 1964).

776 which have the power to mislead, give illness, or capture people to work
[756] for them. Only the most powerful curers and witches, and the very greedy
[754] approach these spirits for they are reputed to be very "live" and mali-
[825] ciously clever. Snakes are the offspring of the hill and do the bidding of the hill owners.

556 Wealth in the form of livestock, corn, or gold can be gained from some
756 of the cave owners upon request, but there is danger in receiving these
778 gifts since they must be reciprocated. Among the cave owners who give
787 gifts is Don Klabil, a deceased moneylender of the neighboring town. After his death in the 1940s, his spirit went to live in the hill bordering the two towns. People say that when he was alive he used to get money from the true owner of the cave. Those who have been inside the cave say it is filled with animals—cattle, horses, rabbits—which drink at a large interior lake. The appropriate approach for requesting wealth is to go on Thurs-
[782] day, "when the earth is open," and burn candles and incense. When the request is granted, the recipient must light candles at the cave every Thursday, and after his death he must work forever for the cave owner. It is said that at his death his wealth dies with him—usually all has been spent, and in fact children are left poor. Some say the spirit of the firstborn child of the recipient must be given to the owner to work for him. For this reason, there is no envy felt by neighbors when they see the increasing wealth of a man who has visited the caves and received such gains and he is doubly protected because no one can hurt an "enchanted man" (one who has entered the cave) with witchcraft.

756 Ladinos' belief in the cave owners gives support to the Indians' credence
776 in their power. Ladinos inquire of Indians where they can find treasures.
778 Once the request to the hill owners is made, it is essential to follow
[829] through correctly. Everyone in town knows the story of Martin Bautista, a curer who went to speak to the true owner of the hill in which Don Klabil lives.

[539] *He knew how to talk to the owner. The owner told him that at midnight on the following day, he would give him what he wanted. At midnight Maria, his wife, was alone in the house. She heard a noise and the sound of* "Andale, burro!" *Then there was a knock at the door. When the*

woman opened the door, she said, "Ay, Dios!" *The owner of the cave did not like this, and at that moment, he disappeared. Her husband returned the next morning. He beat her when he heard of the arrival of the hill owner and his disappearance when she invoked the name of the Lord. From that day on, he lost his luck and remained a poor man.*

The personalities of the cave owners are more fully defined than those of the spirits which reside in the forests. These tree spirits are able to talk to people, or they may sing, "as a mother sings to her child." They sometimes play tricks, misdirecting those who are lost in the woods. A man who intends to kill his enemy may go to talk to the tree spirits to gain their advice. Some plant spirits, such as tobacco, are stronger than others. Indians sometimes address the tobacco plant as "our grandfather" when they approach it, asking leave to pass. Some say that if you chew the tobacco plant you will have strength to overcome evil spirits when you walk in the woods.

An especially fearful group of spirits called *bohwaletik* roam the wooded hills in the late afternoons. These spirits, who look like Ladinos, are feared because they cut off people's heads to feed to the church bell in a neighboring town or to give to the spirits of major construction projects, such as dams. Suspicions are immediately aroused when a solitary Ladino is seen on the outskirts of the town near evening, and if several Indians sight him, they may even kill him.

Persistence of belief and rituals related to the old gods and demons that were part of the Maya pantheon is directly related to the fact that the Indians continue to live in the same place surrounded by the hills and caves that were the habitations of both good and bad spirits. The landscape serves as a mnemonic device, keeping alive the myths of the past. Everyone accepts the knowledge that the spirits once lived here; the only doubt is whether they continue to inhabit their appropriate places, particularly in the case of the ancestors who were responsible for crops and security. This is not a crisis of loss in belief, but a phasing into history of the mythological past. Since there is no longer acceptance of the curers' claim to communication with the spirits, the Indians believe they may have gone elsewhere. It is characteristic of these Indians that they do not

hilltop with a digging stick. He knelt and prayed, asking for rain. At that very moment, the rain came. He put the seeds in the holes he made, and from then on people have been planting in the hills.

Other saints are charged with providing rainfall. The saint of greatest importance in this respect is Santo Tomás, the patron saint of Oxchuk. Some Indians have gone to the church there to light a candle and ask for rain, and on their return the rains came. During an extended drought in August 1967, over one hundred people walked to Oxchuk to pray for rain. The people of Tzo?ontahal are somewhat bitter about the Oxchuqueños' neglect of Santo Tomás since over half of the town has converted to Protestantism. Whenever there is a drought, they blame it on the failure of the people of Oxchuk to take care of Santo Tomás.

In addition to the Catholic saints, the ancestor spirits help man to watch over the land. They are responsible for giving the rains in the planting period and early growing season. The fiesta on the Day of the Cross (Chapter 1) is primarily a plea for rain. Until the 1950s, the curers would hold a celebration at the Cave of the Ancestors to ask for rain during a drought. The waning belief in the presence of the ancestor spirits in the town has meant that there is less attention given to such fiestas. Some go to seek the ancestors in Chiapa de Corzo in the cave in which they are supposed to reside, as the following story illustrates:

One time my three brothers-in-law went to Chiapas to ask the ancestors for better crops. When they arrived there, nobody knew where the cave was. They said only a certain mayordomo there could find it.

Another time, two of the prayer-reciters went to the cave. They talked to the guard of the cave, saying, "May we speak to our ancestors?" The guard said, "Are you prepared? Did you bring two liters of trago? The ancestors like to drink."

The prayer-reciters went to get two liters of trago and all three drank it. While they were drinking, they saw a cow and chickens appear. The guardian said that if they came back in May with "food" for the ancestors —candles, incense, and firecrackers—they would get rich crops. I think the prayer-reciters succeeded because now they have a cow and chickens and a horse. They are afraid of the envy of their neighbors.

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342 177 178 434 of witchcraft. Today probably 95 percent of the new roofs are made of tile. Often the old roofs cannot be replaced with tile because the rafters were not built to support them. One result of the change has been the dependence on a carpenter to construct the gables, since they have to be lined up more accurately than they do with thatch or palm roofs. [335]

361 351 434 House lots in the town center are preferred to those on the margins. As residents of house sites on the ejido lands at the margins of the town acquire wealth, one of the first things they try to do is acquire a house closer to the plaza. These lots are smaller, averaging about 500 square meters, while those farther out average 900 square meters. In a sample measurement of 100 house lots, the size ranged from 180 to 1,440 square meters, and the average size was 77 square meters. Considering the advantages of a large lot in growing chile fruits and corn, the preference for smaller central lots reveals the strong prestige factor influencing choice. [554]

352 435 House furnishings include both purchased and homemade items. Sleeping accommodations consist of wooden bedboards, either nailed on a frame or simply laid on blocks and covered with a straw mat. Woolen blankets from Comitán are sold locally at a price of 24 pesos or for 20 pesos in San Cristóbal and 18 pesos in Comitán. Most households own two or three wooden benches which line the walls of the porch and are made locally. Small chairs are purchased from Chamula carpenters at a cost of 2 to 4 pesos, as well as a small table costing about 4. A higher table is provided for the saints' pictures and candle holders, incense burner, and flower vases or tin cans. Hooks are fashioned from the crotch of trees and suspended on the house posts. Wooden boxes are bought from Ladino carpenters in San Cristóbal at a cost of 10 to 20 pesos depending on size and workmanship and are used to store clothing. In addition to the homemade water holders, water carriers, comales, strainers, and bowls, handmade glazed ware from San Cristóbal, factory-made porcelain dishes, metal cooking pots, knives, and spoons are purchased. Gourds provide serving ware for ceremonial occasions. Stone grinding platforms and rollers are purchased in San Cristóbal for about 10 pesos. Two new items have become increasingly popular in the past five years: a metal grinding machine for corn, hand operated and costing from 40 to 60 pesos depending on the size and quality, and a hinged press for tortillas, costing 15 pesos if made [513] [778] [322] 415 435 439 [412] 435 415 177

852 608 571 788 The church ceremony is followed by another ceremony in the house of the child's parents. As the group returning from the church enters the house, they are greeted with the pat'o'tan by the maliwanehetik who are waiting for them in the house. As they enter, each of the returning party says, "You go forward, kumpare." They embrace all of the waiting party, an act which establishes their relationship as compadres with the entire company. When the padrinos leave, the grandparents and parents of the [273] child go to a spot before the eaves outside the house; there the father of [593] the child serves liquor to the padrinos and the grandparents of the child. [603] The drink is called "the finale as the compadres leave." The group must finish the entire liter "since it is a gift," and if there are only one or two grandparents, they may get fairly drunk. As the compadres leave, the grandpaernts say, "Over the soil, over the mud where you take your holy godchild, your holy flower, your holy candle." The child, referred to metaphorically as holy flower, holy candle, is identified with the most sacred [1778] symbols of the culture.[2]

608 571 171 The emphasis on the group relationship in Tzo'ontahal contrasts with the form of compadrazgo found in the central plateau of Mexico where the dyadic tie between two compadres provides flexibility in achieving instrumental ends in political or economic life.[3] Some of the new leaders in economic enterprises are beginning to emphasize the dyadic contract in their compadrazgo relationships to achieve political support, but its greatest importance is still based on creating or reinforcing group solidarity.

Betrothal and Marriage

796 177 The Indians of Tzo'onthal are initiated into the community of the liv-
584 ing and depart from it with ceremonies deriving from the Spanish colonial
585 culture. The courtship and marriage ceremonies continue indigenous re-

[852] she later attended the household ceremony, she was never called kumare because of the
[571] omission of this act.
[608] 2. See Laughlin (1962) on the symbolism of the candle and flower in Zinacantan.
[171] 3. In regard to the occasions and the kind of respect relation established, compadrazgo in Tzo'ontahal is similar to the institution in other parts of Mexico (Foster 1963, Nader 1964, Wolf and Mintz 1950). The difference lies in the elaboration of the number of ties acquired through compadrazgo at each event.

756 sulted with each other to determine who was bringing in the heat. They
731 privately disposed of the evil by causing the evildoer to die of an illness.
[827] At the time of my stay, suspicion of the curers meant that a public hearing was held in the town hall to determine who the guilty person was; usually one of the curers themselves was suspected (Chapter 9).

756 The curers formerly demonstrated their beneficial power by bringing
796 rain during a fiesta held in the cave of the ancestors. This is described by
778 an informant:
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769
[794] *When the pueblo lacked rain in the growing season of corn in May and June, the leading curers went with the other curers, the fiscal, the alfereces, the mayordomos, and the women prayer-reciters to the cave. All the women carried candles of a peso or fifty-cent size and incense burners. They drank a great deal of liquor at the mouth of the cave and then entered to dance. The mayordomos played the guitar, the drum, and flute as the women danced and the curers prayed to the me?tiktatik. There used to be a spring in this cave, people say, and the ancestors granted water from it when they were given a fiesta.*

The last fiesta for rain occurred about 1950. The whole town contributed two pesos for the liquor and candles. The leading curer then was Juliano, a man recognized for his powers in curing and in bringing rain. He told the people that he spoke to the me?tiktatik who, he said, were dressed in the old style [a shirt worn over short cotton pants still used by older men of the town, and the handwoven hat worn by alfereces today]. The curers told the people that it would rain, and the afternoon of the fiesta, it came down hard.

178 There is no longer faith that the ancestors live in the cave, nor that the
769 present curers could speak to them if they did.
756

The growing discontent with the curers, the suspicion that they are re-
756 sponsible for much of the witchcraft, is reflected in the account of an older
754 informant.
[178]

[774] *The curer O. K. told me that the curers ate the spirits of sick people who were going to die. The sick people would come to ask the curers for*

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[P. 198-A]

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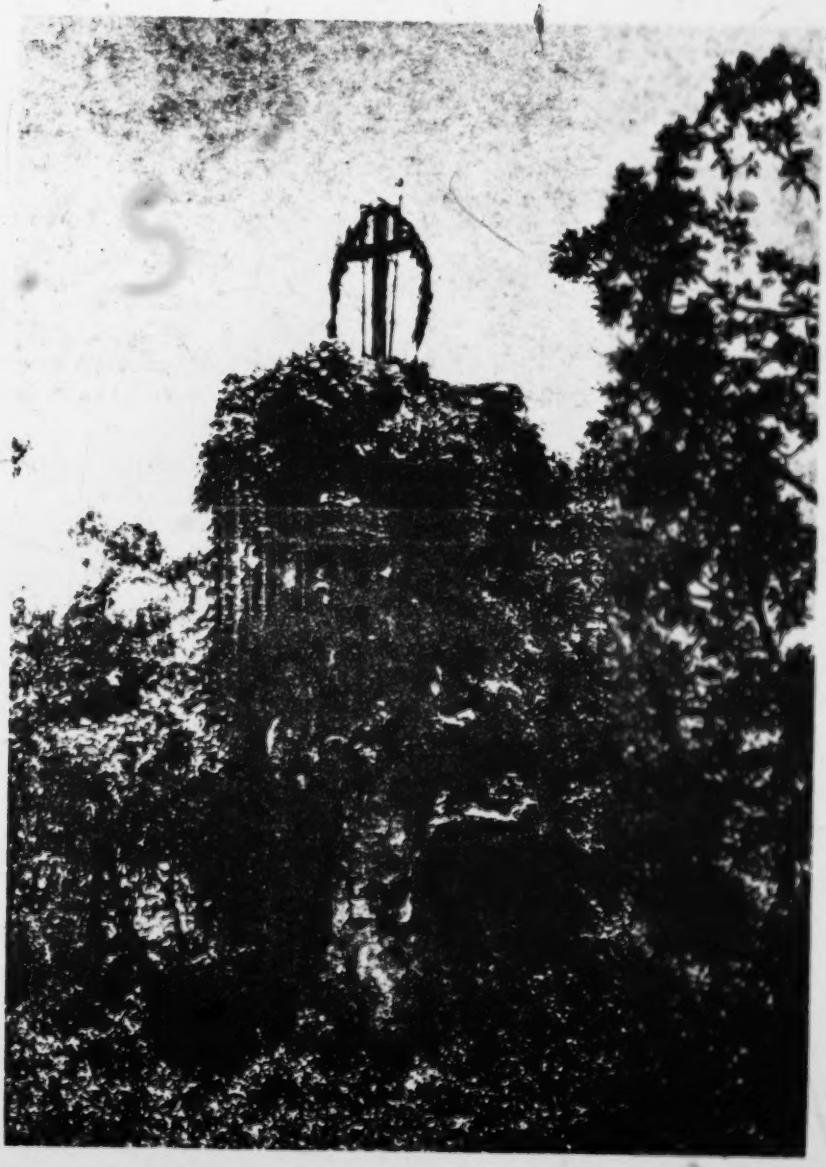

Plate 1. Head of Palm where the ancestors stand and watch over the town. The cross, standing about twelve feet high and adorned with an arch of pine boughs and flowers, tops a jutting rock about thirty feet high. Behind the rock is the hill with the cave in which the ancestors were reputed to live.

[P 198-G]

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Plate 8. Women of a household and their helpers grinding corn and making tortillas with a press in preparation for a house ceremony. They are all dressed in the traditional costume. Most of such food preparation is done inside the house except at the time of large festivals. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

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Plate 9. Curer sitting next to the center post where he has just arranged the candles and branches of spring bushes in preparation for the house fiesta. The basket contains the protective crosses, bound with palm fronds, which he will nail on the house posts. The basin contains springwater, and the gourd in the foreground contains the powdered medicines which will be added to the water and drunk. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

3. Categories of role-bearers sit and act together in all the domains. 571
In the home the me'eletik, the nakawanehetik, and the b'alnialetik have 554
established seats and act in concert. Similarly in the cabildo, four ranks 576
of officials, the principales, judges, regidores, and police, move and act together. In the church, elder and younger mayordomos move in pairs of two.

4. Sexual segregation is present in the home, the church, and the 562
cabildo, but is lacking in the school. This rejection of the community 871
standard for a group situation was the basis for some parents holding 177
their children out of school until coerced by the federal authorities 178
backed by the local officials.

5. Attendance in all domains involves coercion as well as voluntary action. Coercion is most marked in the school, but resistance by the parents to forced attendance and mixing of the sexes is fast wearing down in this domain. In the cabildo, the defendant is required to attend the court hearing and may even be jailed if he does not pay the fines charged against him. Coercion is covert in the home; the lack of alternative housing arrangements makes residence in the household of orientation or of procreation mandatory.

6. Sacred symbols are present in all the domains. The symbols of the cabildo and of the school relate the community to the nation with the national flags and the portraits of the president. The canes of [293]
office which are assumed as each official acquires office are symbols of local authority. The universalistic symbols of the church—the saints im- 778
ages, portraits, and banners—are acquired from Catholic orthodoxy, but 177
have been encapsulated with local sentiments and beliefs. Sacred symbols 178
are treated with respect and avoidance, both in the church and the home. 788
The "holy cross" or banners are touched only with sacred embroidered cloths binding the hands of those who carry them. Saints' images are kissed, but as a mark of respect, not intimacy. The Mexican flag, with 186
which less awe is associated, is saluted.

Each of the domains provides a setting for the recognition and valida- 621
tion of authority figures in the community. Values which are communally 177
shared or imposed from outside are formally instilled in these settings. Ex- 178

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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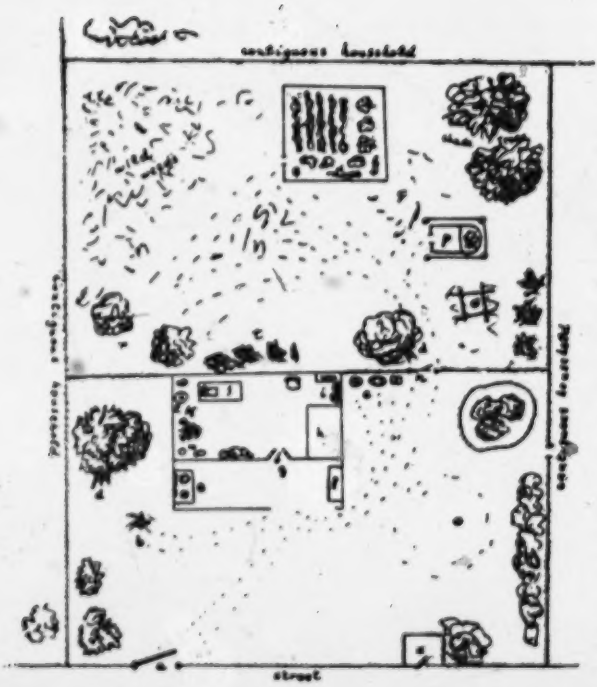

Fig. 10.--Model of a Standard Household

a--entrance gate
b--nixtamal washing-pot
c--water pots
d--chicken coop in a tree
e--Saint's altar in the corridor
f--bench for receiving visitors
g--double door
h--wooden bed
i--petates (mats) chest and chair
j--table for making tortillas (with the grinding stone or metate)
k--molino and fire place
l--water pot inside the house
m--little stools for seating during meals and stored bags
n--gate to back yard
o--raised pig-pen
p--temascal (steam bath)
q--garden with chillis, and "tomatoes"
r--peach trees
s--pig-pen with gate to the street
t--fire-wood drying

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango .
Aguacatenango

TABLE 5

HOUSE TYPES IN AMATENANGO[a]

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Type	Cases	Per Cent
Roof		
Tile	1	1
Shingle	28	24
Thatch	87	75
Wall		
Wattle-and-daub	97	84
Rough Boards	19	16

[a]After Nash, J.: 1959.

342 Houses are a part of the family. They are considered as being alive (they grow old, just as people do) and watching the behavior of humans, toward whom they are somewhat unfriendly. If they are displeased with the behavior of the inhabitants, they can bring nightmares to the adults, death to the children and other misfortunes. Calixta Guiteras-Holmes (1960) has suggested that houses are ideologically connected with the earth, whom one has to please if crops are going to grow steadily, and to the monte (forested hills), where the wood for its construction is gathered. [N/2] Thus, because the monte is the residence of the evil spirits, enemies of mankind, the house is a projection of this malevolent world.

342 753 571 598 Even more significant is the house ritual connected with the sickness of a person who lives in it. It is significant

342 because sickness is considered a supernatural expression of dis-
753 turbed social relations, and this is considered disruptive, not
501 only for the people who inhabit a single dwelling, but also for
578 the building which symbolizes their common residence and interests. As long as the relations of people living in a house are harmonious, the house is kept contented. But if this is not so, both the people
342 and the building have to be ritually cleaned. For example, if a
753 daughter disobeys her mother, she is considered to be suffering
578 from bilis or cólico, and in need of curing. During the curing
783 ceremony, the sick misbehaver has to be instructed about her
782 duties as a good daughter, and is given a speech apropos the misdemeanor. The curing ceremony is not completed if the house is not ritually cured, too. This is done by a curer offering the building some trago, the local brew, asking it to be contented. This offering is then symbolic of both the re-establishment of normal social relations between the individuals living in the house, and between the individuals and their material projection, their house.

572 The people living in a household are in charge of per-
778 forming some other rituals which are expected to insure the welfare of the whole group.

A small altar, usually made of a pine table, is kept in the house. It is covered with Catholic Saints' images and printed religious calendars. The table also contains all kinds of other things: petty cash (which is kept there for small purchases), double corncobs (which are "lucky pieces") or unusually colored maize, and any other oddity found by the household members, such

592 778 as archeological pieces ("things of the people of before"). This altar is usually located in the house corridor. The altar is cleaned regularly and adorned with flowers by the women, and a candle or two is lighted on propitious days of the week, or to ask the house Saints for protection against witchcraft.

592 778 769 342 On the first of November, "day of all the dead" according to the Catholic calendar, a ceremonial offering of food to the spirits of the deceased is placed on this altar. It is in memory of the spirits who lived in the house in the immediate past, and who are supposed to come to enjoy the food and the fact that they are being remembered by the household. The ritual is performed only for the immediate generations. It is not the worshipping of one's ancestors, for it is for people who are not necessarily related by kinship, but for those who resided in the house. (Second wives, for example, are expected to offer food to the deceased first wife of their husbands if they lived in the same dwelling.)

592 769 Afterwards, the food is distributed among the living relatives, compadres and neighbors, and all members of the household go to the cemetery.

[194] At the cemetery, the tombs are cleaned, repaired, adorned with marigolds, fruit and other food, and the family pays for the performance of a responso, funeral oration, read by a part-time specialist in such matters.

592 769 342 If these rituals are not performed, the dead come back to their life stage, the house, and wander aimlessly among the living, scaring people, giving them bad dreams, or taking the lives of children.

Change of Officials

The degree of integration of the civil and religious wings of the hierarchy can be described behaviorally. The following acts (App. 1) indicate this structural feature. 621* 794 182

Q. 24. The civil officials kneel and "measure their noses" as they enter the townhall in deference to the banners. [788]

Q. 27. Sacred objects, such as the holy banners of the *kobrarias*, are present on the table in the townhall as the officers take the oath of office. Officials carry rosaries as they accept oath and wear them in the procession to the church. [778]

Q. 28. The alfereces are present in the townhall to witness the ceremony. As bearers of the four major saints of the town, their role is primarily defined in a religious context.

Q. 41. Officials go to the church immediately following their procession in the plaza to pray for health to carry out their responsibilities. [782]

Q. 48. The religious officials are present in church on New Year's day to witness the arrival of new officials of the civil wing.

The alfereces link the two wings of the hierarchy in the following acts: 794 182

Q. 36. They carry the sacred banners to the townhall on the day of the inauguration.

Chart 9. They lead the parade of new officials of the civil wing.

Q. 28. They witness ("look at") the inauguration of the civil officials in the townhall.

Q. 36. In emerging from the townhall, they bow and incline their banners first before the townhall, then before the church. [788]

In the inauguration of the religious officials the only act uniting officials of the two wings of the hierarchies is that of counting the money (App. 2, Q. 90) when the town treasurer and síndico assist the church officials. The integration of the civil and religious wings in Tzo?ontahal is asymmetrical. The church officials as a group are involved in the civil inauguration, but the civil officials are only peripherally involved in the religious inauguration. 621* 794 182 [624]

Another behavioral basis for stating the dimensions of the civil and religious integration is found in the replication of symbols and acts in each inauguration. In taking the oath, the term *yič huramentu* is used in both settings. The staff as symbol of civil office has its counterpart in the candles handed over to the mayordomos. In both ceremonies, officials of the townhall and of the church wear red kerchiefs and carry rosaries when receiving the oath of office. 621* 794 182 782 788 [641] [292] [293]

Replication of behavior in both civil and religious 000

[P. 220—B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

*621 124 796	26. What do they do in the townhall?	They take the oath		
[798]	27. How is the townhall arranged?	The four holy crosses brought by the alfereces and the holy staffs are on the *tatik* table		On the table were 4 banners, new staffs, key of cabildo laid on orange leaves sprinkled about on table.
	28. Who is in the townhall?	There are gathered the old officials *(mamal k'a hu?cletik)* and the two principales *(mamal krinnipaletik)* and the four alfereces *(alperesil)*. (See Chart 7)	It is the old officials	(See Chart 8)
	29. What are the old officials doing?	They are seated conversing		
*621 124 796 641	30. How do they take the oath?	They take from the *tatik* table what they give the oath for—the four holy crosses and the four staffs.	Standing, the new officials call the name of God. They form a line before the banners	New president ordered new officials to form a circle around table. Then the martomoreys prayed holding rosary in hand
[782]	31. Who passes the staffs *(sbaratik me?tiktatik)*?	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials. They encircle hand with rosary and take their staff	Two principales handed out staffs first to president, then first judge, second judge, assistant judge, regidores and police. The second principal was very drunk and had to be directed by former president
[273]				
*621 124 796 641 875 539	32. Who gave the oath?		The secretary	The schoolteacher
	32a. What does the schoolteacher say when he gives the oath?			Gentlemen, by the will of the pueblo, the government of the state leaves us in charge of the officers before us. The president is in charge of the pueblo during the three years from this one on, 1965, –66, –67. This pueblo has the obligation of helping him in the organization of all his works. It has the obligation of respecting his command, and the authorities that are going to work with him also have the obligation of respecting him because he is the first authority. All of us who belong to the pueblo and all the societies have the obligation of respecting him just as the assistant authorities fulfill his orders because he is the primary authority. Raise the right hand, repeat after me: In the name of the government of the state with the honor that characterizes them I swear to fulfill with honor

hilltop with a digging stick. He knelt and prayed, asking for rain. At that very moment, the rain came. He put the seeds in the holes he made, and from then on people have been planting in the hills.

Other saints are charged with providing rainfall. The saint of greatest importance in this respect is Santo Tomás, the patron saint of Oxchuk. Some Indians have gone to the church there to light a candle and ask for rain, and on their return the rains came. During an extended drought in August 1967, over one hundred people walked to Oxchuk to pray for rain. The people of Tzoʔontahal are somewhat bitter about the Oxchuqueños' neglect of Santo Tomás since over half of the town has converted to Protestantism. Whenever there is a drought, they blame it on the failure of the people of Oxchuk to take care of Santo Tomás.

In addition to the Catholic saints, the ancestor spirits help man to watch over the land. They are responsible for giving the rains in the planting period and early growing season. The fiesta on the Day of the Cross (Chapter 1) is primarily a plea for rain. Until the 1950s, the curers would hold a celebration at the Cave of the Ancestors to ask for rain during a drought. The waning belief in the presence of the ancestor spirits in the town has meant that there is less attention given to such fiestas. Some go to seek the ancestors in Chiapa de Corzo in the cave in which they are supposed to reside, as the following story illustrates:

One time my three brothers-in-law went to Chiapas to ask the ancestors for better crops. When they arrived there, nobody knew where the cave was. They said only a certain mayordomo there could find it.

Another time, two of the prayer-reciters went to the cave. They talked to the guard of the cave, saying, "May we speak to our ancestors?" The guard said, "Are you prepared? Did you bring two liters of trago? The ancestors like to drink."

The prayer-reciters went to get two liters of trago and all three drank it. While they were drinking, they saw a cow and chickens appear. The guardian said that if they came back in May with "food" for the ancestors —candles, incense, and firecrackers—they would get rich crops. I think the prayer-reciters succeeded because now they have a cow and chickens and a horse. They are afraid of the envy of their neighbors.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The informant failed to mention the following actions which I observed: 796

1. In raising the figure of Christ on the cross, the four regidores, in this context called *apultol* (probably from apostles), entered the church. Two of them stood at the head of the cross to receive the image raised from below by the other two. [624]

2. The image was always handled with cloths so that no one's hand would be in contact with the surface.

3. The priest, standing behind a cloth screen, guided the figure up on the cross. 796 793

4. The priest gave a sermon about the significance of Easter and the life and death of Christ. He spoke of the crime of the Jews in killing Christ.[6]

In comparing the elicited and observed accounts, one can see clearly the censoring of the priest's role in the perception of the people. Even while the ceremony is in process, they ignore his appeals. For example, as the body of Christ was lowered from the cross, the priest exhorted the congregation to cry and give vent freely to their emotions in this most holy moment. There was no response from the audience, even after he waited several moments, pleading with them again not to feel embarrassment at their show of emotion, and becoming visibly annoyed at their impassivity. Finally, a woman dressed in Ladina clothing, rewarded him with the stylized wail of mourning.

Observation of the ceremony reveals evidence of attitude and belief coded in the staging, the costuming, the postures and gestures of respect or derision which cannot be elicited. Each element is an interpretative comment by those who direct and act the play. We are told that the Jew is the anti-Christ, but we learn that he is also a Ladino through his clothing, the cigarette, and the horseback ride. The Indians do not state that they castrate him in hoisting him upon the church, but their comments and ac- 796 782 829

6. Despite the fact that the Vatican had exonerated the Jews of the guilt for the murder of Christ the year before (1965), the priest spoke of the crime of the Jews. This time lag in communicating doctrine to the hinterlands would be an interesting problem to investigate. [779]

156 The picture of life in Amatenango and Aguacatenango is
62 not, however, from the ideological point of view of the community
754 members, spread only into sanctions of negative dimensions. There
777 are some justifications for wealth or success which are as intimate a part of the world view of the villagers as witchcraft is, because witchcraft has a positive counterpart: suerte (luck).

777 Suerte, as witchcraft power, is also a supernatural power given to the particular individual without the person's will having control over its possession. Some people are born with good suerte, some people with bad suerte. Some people can be "given" a particular suerte by a supernatural being[1] at some time in their life to keep until his death or for some period of time. Of course, a man cannot give his suerte away or transmit it to his children. The suerte is not a general power, but has specific dimensions. For example, a man has suerte to raise cattle, which would, then, grow and reproduce tremendously in his lifetime. But, he may very well have bad bean crops. His children, at his death,

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[1]The suerte can be given by many different supernatural
[776] beings. Some informants say it is Dios (God), or the Virgin Mary, some say it is the Sombrerón, or owner of the deer and caves, to whom one has to promise to give one's soul at death, some others indicate that it is written in one's destiny at birth to have a particular type of suerte. The variations in the belief are many, and in a system of ideology without a Church body to create, and control the diffusion of dogma, this is to be expected.

The only organized dogma available to the villager is the
[779] local Catholic Church, but this dogma leaves out a series of beliefs
[538] such as suerte and brujería as unacceptable. Therefore, these beliefs are only transmitted informally, together with folk-tales, myths and the like. Because dreams are of great importance in re-
[787] lation to these beliefs, each individual can contribute, through his personal dream experiences, to the general pool of ideology of
[771] the community. Therefore, tales and myth, dream experiences, the "true" stories that people are told in the evening by particular relatives or friends, all tend to produce a mushrooming of alternative versions of the same or similar sets of beliefs.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

796 carried a red banner. At the church the four men performed a dance. Divided into
535 pairs facing each other at a distance of 6 m., they first shook the ribbons on their poles while giving loud cries, varied by putting the hand over the mouth, and running to meet one another. Then they made a slight inclination of the head, turned half around, and returned to their original places. After repeating this thrice, the pairs exchanged places and performed new figures. At the conclusion they surrounded the flag-bearer, shouting and waving the ribbons.

796 Although harp and guitars were here used in an apparently religious dance,
534 in several of the communities it appears that the stringed instruments of European
184 origin (guitar, violin, and harp) are used only for secular purposes, the religious musical instruments (which are often kept in the church) consisting of cane flute
[177] (*ahmay*) and drums. In Chanal two drums are used, a large drum (*kayob*) and a small one (*chin kayob*). In Tenejapa the single drum is called *anteel* and is accompanied by a sort of cornet.

778 Some minor observances having to do with the cult of the saints may be
776 mentioned. In the highland villages it is usual for each important saint to be repre-
184 sented by two images of which one, the genuine santo, is too sacred to be taken from the church; the other, called *debo* (for *doble*) substitutes for the true santo
[194] in religious processions.[34] In Bachajón the care of the church is alternated weekly between the two calpules; on Christmas Eve each church-caretaker (*priora*) must contribute to the decoration of the altar ten little figures of clay, of which five are in the form of a bull, and five in the form of a horse and rider. The church at Citalá contains many santos of which two (San Mateo and San Gabriel) are painted black and enjoy special prestige. In this church a straw mat, yellow in color with red ribbons interwoven, is used to kneel upon before the principal saints; it is kept with extraordinary care. At Citalá a principal annual event is the ritual
778 washing of the saints' clothing. This occurs two weeks after Holy Week. The
776 "Great Washing," when the clothing of the principal saints is washed, is performed
796 at a spring where the water is thought to be of absolute purity. The "Small Washing" of the clothes of the lesser saints may be done in the river. The Great Washing is reported as involving the consumption of eight hogs and a great quantity of rum.

78 Although it is evident that the religion of the Tzeltals contains many pagan
[114] elements, some of which have been reported by Blom and LaFarge,[35] Villa's notes do not add a great deal on this point. The use of hilltop shrines was noted at
778 Oxchuc, where one of these is called Ikal Ahau, apparently after an ancient deity.[36]
782 The teacher at Amatenango reports that the Indians there make offerings for
776 rain at a rock marked with a zigzag thought to represent the lightning. No
114 information was obtained on the beliefs as to *nahuales*: this subject is discussed by Blom and LaFarge. 37

[33] This usage corresponds precisely with that of the pairs of crosses used by the Quintana Roo Maya, in which one, the *cruz fiadora*, is moved about in ritual.

[34] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:362–374.

[35] Núñez de la Vega (1702, p. 93) says, "Los de Oxhchuc y de otros pueblos de los Llanos veneran mucho al ídolo que llaman Icalahau, que quiere decir negro principal, o señor de negros," as quoted in Becerra, 1932, p. 244.

37. Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:369-371.

241 paraje perform before the altar of the
782 church in the ceremonial center. All prayers
796 are said in Tzeltal; some are Christian in
[778] origin, others entirely pagan. This prayer
[177] I recorded in 1944:

241
796 Here we come to bring you your food, to
782 light your candles, to play the harp, to play the
539 guitar. Here we come to perform your fiesta,
[534] so you may be happy, so you will not abandon us.

We have already planted the milpas; the seed is already in the soil. Father, do not forsake us; let the rains come properly; let them not be abundant nor deficient. Let there be a little sunshine and a few clouds. Let the soil be happy.

Father, let no hail come; let no wind come; let no locust come; let no harmful animals come; let no robbers come, lest they steal from us and leave us in poverty.

Father, let the year come well; let the corn turn out well; let the beans turn out well. Let there be no sickness; let there be no sorrow. Father, the mouthful has already entered; the word had already entered.

The word "mouthful" refers to all the gifts, "word" to all the prayer.

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[834] protects the home is always found. He adorns it with *puncia* and five candles; he says appropriate prayers at 6 o'clock in the morning or at midday, as he observes fasting and sexual abstinence. These family prayers may be repeated occasionally, depending on the condition of the milpa.

241 At the beginning of the month called
782 [P. 202-A]

241 *chin-uch* (May 20–June 8), an offering is
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241 Once the crop is in the granary, other
78 family prayers are said before the household cross, to give thanks for the good received and to petition the supernatural beings to protect the grain from insects and rodents.

Other Subsistence Resources

262 Other food resources include raising
235 chickens and pigs. A family averages about
[231] 10 chickens, using the eggs as money when
[437] [P. 202-B]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

186 tions of self will find a responsive audience only within these linguistic and physical boundaries. The sense of insulation is a denial of regional and national political institutions in which they interact with the other Indians and Ladinos who are part of their present world and share their his-
175 tory. The town itself is a product of the Spanish colonial *congregación,*
361 which drew together diverse Indian populations that had been scattered in
162 small settlements. The outlying barrios are occupied by Indians who have
829 moved out from the center, as well as foreign Indians who had worked in the *fincas,* or large plantations, within the township. These latter people are referred to by a derisive term, *Kurik,* meaning roughly "country hick." Beyond these, and still within the municipal limits, there are a series of *colonias,* settlements populated by Indians who have moved here from other towns and by *mestizos,* or acculturated Indians. These settlers acquired land in the time of Juarez or later in the Cardenas period. Ladino men are called *Kallan* and women *Šinlan;* foreigners who do not appear to be of the country are called *Alemán,* the Spanish term for German.

121 The focus of this book is on the lives and thoughts of people living within the center. The people of Tzoʾontahal live in a square world, sur-
772 rounded by a round universe. From the square hole, cut in the earth at the center post of their square house to receive the sacrifice of a live chicken when the house is built, stretches a square village (it appears as a rectangle on the map, but they draw it as a square).[2] The fields are measured in
[804] squares of twenty-five arms' breadths, with five handspans measuring the
[78] square between each plant. Within this square world, they have elaborated techniques for dealing with spiritual and human co-residents in curing ri-
105 tuals, offerings for crops, burial practices, and baptism rites. Their present
177 cultural stock reveals a selective absorption of Spanish colonial features
178 along with twentieth-century innovations. They have techniques for planting and harvesting milpa, marketing the pottery manufactured in all the households, curing an eclipse of the moon, divining causes of illness and curing the maladjusted social relations which cause it, manufacturing and

[171] 2. This view of the world as square is shared by Tzeltal and Tzotzil neighbors in Larráinzar (Holland 1963:69), San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:254), and Pinola (Hermitte 1964). The four-direction concept of the village and world noted by Landa (Tozzer 1941:135) suggests a square-space concept.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Appendix 3

Observation of Behavior in Public Places

A. Observation in Church

Sunday morning, August 1

5:40 The mayordomos are sitting on stone benches in front of the church. They are quiet. 78 126

6:10 Two men go up and ring the bells.

6:23 A man kneels in front of the altar and prays.

6:35 Two men come down from the bell tower. The mayordomos have now moved to the opposite side in the front of the church and are standing around talking.

6:45 Two men go up to the bell tower, ring the bells for three minutes, then repeatedly with no intervals.

7:05 Two women and a boy in Ladino dress kneel in front of Santa Lucía.

7:15 Two women and two girls (five and seven years of age perhaps) kneel in front of Santa Lucía. One of the women has two candles; she lights one. The other women with fresh flowers places them in front of Santiago, touches her candle to him, and then places it in one of the glasses on the altar that is near his statue.

7:23 Two women and a little boy carrying two candles come in and kneel in front of Santa Lucía. A boy of about twelve or thirteen who came in with the first two women had been sitting in front of Santa Lucía but now that quite a few women are here, he has moved over to the men's side.

7:30 One man comes down from the bell tower. All mayordomos come in and light the candles in front of their saints, then leave church.

7:35 Two men genuflect in front of the baptistry (facing baptistry), make the sign of the cross, and then kneel facing the main altar. (Genuflection is a sign of adoration officially and is only supposed to be done facing the Blessed Sacrament.)

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7:45 Miguel, the former fiscal, enters, goes to the left side of the altar, prays a few minutes, goes to a stool in front, and sits there. (He is the only Indian who uses stool to kneel on.) A man with a little girl goes to Santiago, kisses his statue, then kneels and prays in front of him.

7:50 One remaining mayordomo (the rest went home) enters and speaks to the women. Some are leaving now. They kiss altars on the way out, sometimes making the sign of the cross before they kiss the altar. Two women come to me to tell me, "There is no mass."

8:00 Two of the women take out the old flowers in the vases and add the new ones.

8:10 Another woman tells me, "There is no mass." All the women except one have left. The two who fixed the flowers are carrying the old flowers out with them. The woman who stayed is praying out loud now in front of Santa Lucía.

8:20 Two men enter, face the door, make the sign of the cross, and then go up to the front of the church, kneeling now and praying out loud. A man, barefoot, in Ladino dress and carrying a bulging leather bag, enters and kneels in front of the main altar to pray.

8:40 One woman is still wailing (about one-half hour now). A man enters, kneels for one minute in front of the side altar facing the main altar. He goes to Santa Lucía, kisses the altar, goes to all the other altars except one in the front left, and then leaves. The woman stops wailing. She picks three daisies from the vase, touches them four times to the glass front of Santa Lucía's case, kisses them, and leaves them lying on the altar. She kisses each statue on the way out except the statue to the left front.

8:45 Of the mayordomos who are now coming back, five enter the church. One takes Santiago and puts him in the baptistry, then leaves. Two more make the rounds of the statues, pausing a moment in front of each one, then kissing it and moving on. One of them puts money in the coffin-case slot for offerings. They all leave within five minutes. One of the men takes two of the drums with him.

9:15 Men are talking and laughing outside. Once in a while it is quiet. Some begin to play the drum and flute. This lasts for three minutes.

9:20 Another piece is begun, lasting four minutes. One man comes in, kneels facing the front side altar, and after two minutes leaves.

9:45 Two mayordomos begin to play music but don't continue.

10:45 The mayordomos are drinking the liquor left from Santiago's fiesta.

11:00 Some mayordomos are playing the drum and flute.

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11:30 The mayordomos ring the bells again. A man says it is twelve o'clock. 78 126

12:00 They go home, leaving the door open and the church empty.

B. Observation in the School

Morning

The schoolrooms are exceedingly crowded with three hundred and fifty children in four rooms and an open porch. The babble of the children's voices reciting their lessons drowns out the voice of the teacher, who has to shout to draw their attention to a new lesson. 876 126

All the teaching is done in Spanish. On one occasion, when no one in the class understood what was said, the teacher asked a little boy to translate for her. When she talks, usually about only half or three-quarters of the class pays attention. When the children are singing, all but two or three students participate. [191]

In taking roll, the teacher calls the boys' names first. This order is reversed when the children leave the classroom, with the girls going first. Seating order on the long benches set before tables is not segregated by sex, although there is some clustering.

In teaching the children to read, the teacher writes the vowels on the blackboard in alphabetical order. The children are asked to repeat them after her. She does this seven or eight times. She has a number of the children come up and use the pointer to indicate certain vowels while the rest of the children repeat their names. She leads them in singing the song she has taught them before about the vowels. She mixes up the order of the vowels, pointing to them and asking the children to name them. She asks how many there are and writes a number under each vowel. She drills the class in the names of the vowels and the corresponding numbers for about five minutes more. Using sticks (the majority of the children have five sticks which they carry in their bags, and those who don't use their fingers) she leads them in practicing their numbers up to ten. She asks for volunteers to count from one to ten. When a child falters, she repeats the numbers with him.

The teacher uses a doll to teach the children parts of the body, giving the name in Spanish first, and afterward asking, "What do you call this?" She takes the doll to small groups of children sitting at their desks and lets them handle it. They show much interest, crowding around the doll. She then shows

The curers used to go up to the cave with the alfereces, the mayordomos *[religious officials], the prayer reciters, and the people of the village. When they arrived there, the mayordomos played the guitar and gourd rattle. They lit candles and incense, and the leading curers would go inside the cave. All the people contributed money for the liquor and candles which was collected by the officials. They said that they spoke to the ancestors inside, where there was a lake and a beautiful field. They asked for rain and good crops. They would come out and tell the people waiting outside what the ancestors had said.*

Then one year [in 1957] during the fiesta of the cave, the curers went into the cave. The people said to the curers, "We want to see the owners." The curers said they would come out, but they didn't. The people waited and waited. A boy went inside with the curers. They tried to prevent him, saying, "Won't you be afraid?" He said, "No, let's go in." They entered twenty feet inside the door. The curers said, "Let us stay here." The boy asked them where was the river, the lake, and the milpa that were supposed to be inside. The curer replied, "It is all a lie. Now you know; don't tell the people." But when he came out, the boy told the people it was all a deception.

Since the late 1950s the ritual has changed. The curers no longer officiate, nor do they enter the cave and speak to the ancestors as they did formerly. The *fiscal*, or assistant to the priest, leads the mayordomos, alfereces, and prayer-reciters to the cave on the Day of the Cross and simply replace the palm cross at the entrance to the cave just as they do with the palm crosses fixed to the wooden crosses marking the roads leading into the town. The curers have attempted to revive the belief in the presence of the ancestors by saying that their nephew is in residence now, but no one I ever spoke to believes this. Most people agree that the ancestors live permanently in Chiapa de Corso.[9]

The hill and cave owners. While people try to maintain a good relationship with the spirits of the house, of the springs, and of the Cave of the Ancestors, they avoid the dangerous spirits of the hills and caves

9. A similar myth concerning the departure of the ancestors to go live in Chiapa de Corso exists in Pinola (Hermitte 1964).

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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woman opened the door, the said, "Ay, Dios!" *The owner of the cave did not like this, and at that moment, he disappeared. Her husband returned the next morning. He beat her when he heard of the arrival of the hill owner and his disappearance when she invoked the name of the Lord. From that day on, he lost his luck and remained a poor man.*

The personalities of the cave owners are more fully defined than those of the spirits which reside in the forests. These tree spirits are able to talk to people, or they may sing, "as a mother sings to her child." They sometimes play tricks, misdirecting those who are lost in the woods. A man who intends to kill his enemy may go to talk to the tree spirits to gain their advice. Some plant spirits, such as tobacco, are stronger than others. Indians sometimes address the tobacco plant as "our grandfather" when they approach it, asking leave to pass. Some say that if you chew the tobacco plant you will have strength to overcome evil spirits when you walk in the woods.

An especially fearful group of spirits called *bohwaletik* roam the wooded hills in the late afternoons. These spirits, who look like Ladinos, are feared because they cut off people's heads to feed to the church bell in a neighboring town or to give to the spirits of major construction projects, such as dams. Suspicions are immediately aroused when a solitary Ladino is seen on the outskirts of the town near evening, and if several Indians sight him, they may even kill him.

Persistence of belief and rituals related to the old gods and demons that were part of the Maya pantheon is directly related to the fact that the Indians continue to live in the same place surrounded by the hills and caves that were the habitations of both good and bad spirits. The landscape serves as a mnemonic device, keeping alive the myths of the past. Everyone accepts the knowledge that the spirits once lived here; the only doubt is whether they continue to inhabit their appropriate places, particularly in the case of the ancestors who were responsible for crops and security. This is not a crisis of loss in belief, but a phasing into history of the mythological past. Since there is no longer acceptance of the curers' claim to communication with the spirits, the Indians believe they may have gone elsewhere. It is characteristic of these Indians that they do not

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

796 carried a red banner. At the church the four men performed a dance. Divided into
535 pairs facing each other at a distance of 6 m., they first shook the ribbons on their poles while giving loud cries, varied by putting the hand over the mouth, and running to meet one another. Then they made a slight inclination of the head, turned half around, and returned to their original places. After repeating this thrice, the pairs exchanged places and performed new figures. At the conclusion they surrounded the flag-bearer, shouting and waving the ribbons.

796 Although harp and guitars were here used in an apparently religious dance,
534 in several of the communities it appears that the stringed instruments of European
184 origin (guitar, violin, and harp) are used only for secular purposes, the religious musical instruments (which are often kept in the church) consisting of cane flute
[197] (*ahmay*) and drums. In Chanal two drums are used, a large drum (*kayob*) and a small one (*chin kayob*). In Tenejapa the single drum is called *anteel* and is accompanied by a sort of cornet.

778 Some minor observances having to do with the cult of the saints may be
776 mentioned. In the highland villages it is usual for each important saint to be repre-
184 sented by two images of which one, the genuine santo, is too sacred to be taken from the church; the other, called *debo* (for *doble*) substitutes for the true santo
[194] in religious processions.[36] In Bachajón the care of the church is alternated weekly between the two calpules; on Christmas Eve each church-caretaker (*priora*) must contribute to the decoration of the altar ten little figures of clay, of which five are in the form of a bull and five in the form of a horse and rider. The church at Citalá contains many santos of which two (San Mateo and San Gabriel) are painted black and enjoy special prestige. In this church a straw mat, yellow in color with red ribbons interwoven, is used to kneel upon before the principal saints; it is kept with extraordinary care. At Citalá a principal annual event is the ritual
778 washing of the saints' clothing. This occurs two weeks after Holy Week. The
776 "Great Washing," when the clothing of the principal saints is washed, is performed
796 at a spring where the water is thought to be of absolute purity. The "Small Washing" of the clothes of the lesser saints may be done in the river. The Great Washing is reported as involving the consumption of eight hogs and a great quantity of rum.

78 Although it is evident that the religion of the Tzeltals contains many pagan
[114] elements, some of which have been reported by Blom and LaFarge,[37] Villa's notes
778 do not add a great deal on this point. The use of hilltop shrines was noted at
782 Ocuhuc, where one of these is called Ikal Ahau, apparently after an ancient deity.[38]
776 The teacher at Amatenango reports that the Indians there make offerings for
114 rain at a rock marked with a zigzag thought to represent the lightning. No information was obtained on the beliefs as to *nahuales*; this subject is discussed by Blom and LaFarge.[37]

[36] The image corresponds precisely with that of the pairs of crosses used by the Quintana Roo Maya, of which one the cross *kaqiro* is moved about in ritual.

[37] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:362–371.

[38] Núñez de la Vega (1702, p. 97) says, "Los de Ocohuc y de otros pueblos de los Llanos veneran mucho al ídolo que llaman Ikalahau, que quiere decir negro principal, o señor de negros," as quoted in Becerra, 1932, p. 244.

37. Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:369-371.

241 Between September and October, when the tender ears are ready, some are torn loose to prepare atoles and tamales.

Toward the middle of October, when the milpa has reached maturity, all hands proceed to the task of the *dobla*, folding or breaking the stem of the plant so that the ear dries and may later be put into the [462] barn. This is an easy task, in which men, [857] women, and children take part.

The harvest takes place in November and [592] December with the participation of the whole family; it is a joyful task which compensates for all the moments of anxiety in the previous months when subsistence was [251] scarce. The produce from the milpa is gathered in large nets and later stored in a corner of the house or in some improvised [804] structure nearby. The crop is measured by *zontles*, units of 400 ears, which are formed by counting the ears by fives; two ears are taken in one hand and three in the other until 400 are reached. The family of five [261] members which manages to harvest from [231] 15 to 20 zontles considers itself happy, since that much will last them the entire year, consuming 20 ears a day plus feeding one or two hogs and 10 or 12 chickens.

The milpa also produces various squashes, manioc (*dzinté*), and peanuts, which the Indians call *caxlan-chenek* ('Ladino's bean').

243 Exceptional among the Tzeltal is the cul- 184 tivation of wheat in Amatenango. There the small valley and a creek have favored its development.

241 The most important ceremonies take 796 place immediately after planting. They entrust the germination of the seed to the care of God, of the "thirteen holders of Heaven," and of "Tatik Jesucristo." The "thirteen holders of Heaven" refer to the principal saints who are mentioned in the prayers. The ceremonies consist in offer- [778] ings of prayers and incense before the [782] crosses kept in caves belonging to each paraje, and in one *bikit mixa* ('small Mass'), which the cabildos and principales of the

[P 201-B]

241 paraje perform before the altar of the
782 church in the ceremonial center. All prayers
796 are said in Tzeltal; some are Christian in
[778] origin, others entirely pagan. This prayer
[177] I recorded in 1944:

241
796 Here we come to bring you your food, to
782 light your candles, to play the harp, to play the
539 guitar. Here we come to perform your fiesta,
[534] so you may be happy, so you will not abandon us.

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NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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[437] [P. 202-B]

555 ta for minor saints. He alternates between
624 a period of activity and expense and one of
794 quiet and economic recovery. The cargos alternate between church positions and civil government positions, but in communities where Indian tradition is stressed, there is no clear-cut division between civil and religious matters, because of the influence of the sacred and supernatural in daily life.

554 Those functionaries who have a staff of
624 office wield great influence in their calpul.
293 This cane (*nabté*), a sign of important status, is made of pine or other fine wood, and has a silver handle adorned with colored ribbons, primarily yellow, green, and red. The staff is ornamented by the owner and is considered a family object, usually placed
[708] on the home altar. Occasionally it is the
[182] object of prayers and offerings of incense. People carrying it are called *bastonudos*.

624 It is the duty of the staff-carriers to com-
627 municate to every paraje the orders of the ayuntamiento and those coming from the supreme chief of the calpul; to summon people for communal duties; to apprehend prisoners in cases of crime; and to deal with public problems such as taxation and epidemics. Coping with transgressions such as minor stealing, adultery, disputes, and intrigues are also their responsibility within the paraje, following the traditional form of procuring mutual understanding on both sides, in a calm atmosphere, around a bottle
[692] of liquor. If conflict persists, those involved appear before chiefs of the calpul, who are called principales or "cabildos de justicia" even after they have finished their term of office.

794 The cargos from dzunubil on up are sacred and are open only to people with superior knowledge, recognized moral status, and expert experience in church ritual and in the semi-pagan ceremonies practiced in the caves, waterholes, and special mountains. These cargos are thus obtained not by automatic advancement but by special merits which are usually not acquired until advanced age. All such high representatives of

[P 220 ~~B~~]

794 the calpul must have a powerful nagual, through which they can learn about the private lives of their subordinates. This is usually the way they know who has enough money to pay for a feast, who can occupy special jobs, and which sinners deserve punishment.

Religious Life

The Catholic Cult

177 The beliefs and religious practices intro-
797 duced by Catholic missionaries in the 16th
795 century have been adapted to the aborigi-
795 nal culture. The largest and most important
778 building of the village is the church, situ-
[346] ated on the east side of the ceremonial cen-
[361] ter. In it are the image of the patron saint
[776] of the group, the holy cross, and lesser
[796] saints. The most profound ceremonies take
[794] place before the altar of these saints, who are looked upon as mediators between God and men, and are performed by the cabildos de misa, dzunubiles, and other elderly men of high rank who know both Catholic and Indian ritual.

346 During the ceremonies the altar is deco-
796 rated with flowers and with paper and rib-
795 bons of different colors. The floor is covered with pine needles, which give off an agree-
[782] able fragrance. Candles and copal are part of every prayer and ceremony, the copal having been used since pre-Hispanic times.

795 Common prayers of people who visit the
782 center also have a place. These people have to enter the church and make an offering of candles to the patron saint. The prayers follow a formal pattern but vary in content according to the need and mood of the suppliant. Each individual talks intimately to the saint, specifying the help he needs, much as he would to a relative or a friend in whom he has absolute confidence. The two most frequent matters of petition are health and food; as the latter depends almost entirely on the condition of the cornfield, people pray that "it may not be damaged by the wind, or by cold, sun, birds, or plagues."

[P 221-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

795 In most of the prayers, Dios Tatik Jesu-
782 cristo and the 13 *fiadores* who are in heaven are mentioned. These 13 fiadores are God's immediate helpers and correspond to the
[778] Christian saints. The cross is venerated as a representation of God wherever a prayer is said and so appears on the family altar, on mountaintops, in caves, at fountains, at entrances to the town, at the four corners of the plaza, and in front of the church.

795 The local character of Catholicism is seen
778 in the Masses offered to the mountain called
776 Ikal Ajau, near the ceremonial center of
177 Oxchuc. The Indians say that it is a "living mountain" and give it great reverence, for Ikal Ajau was the name of the idol venerated by Oxchuc people in pre-Hispanic
795 times. In almost all the municipios the
184 saints are dressed as Indians. Towns with a
776 large Ladino population have different saints for the Ladinos, who are dressed as Ladinos and to whom the Indians are completely indifferent, even to forgetting the names of them.

Fiesta for the Patron Saint

796
794 One of the major events in the religious life of the Indians is the annual fiesta in honor of the patron saint and the other saints kept in the church. The capitán principal and some of his immediate assistants are in charge of the organization and expenses of these fiestas. The length and cost
[435] of the fiesta correspond to the importance of the saint and range from one day and 100 pesos to four days and several thousand pesos, like the one for the patron saint. To become a capitán principal a man must go through all the ranks and be able to afford the expenses of any fiesta, from a small one to the very large ones of the patrons.

796 The fiesta of the patron of each village is similar to that for any other saint but larger. There are Masses and other religious observances in the church, processions with the image of the saint along the main streets, large meals at the house of the cargoholders, and, above all, constant drink-

[P 221-B]

[Text continues on p. 222-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

796 This substitute is called *gelol*, the same im-
796 age but smaller, which is kept next the original one.

[788] During the procession the saint is carried
[782] in a litter. Incense is burned before him,
[533] while music with drums and flutes is played.

Traditional Ceremonies

796 There are other ceremonies held in the
[177] parajes which, although based on Christian
[178] ritual (including some of the prayers, presence of the cross, candles, etc.), still manifest ancient aboriginal traditions. Among
[776] these ceremonies is the one made before the house altar to Chulmetic (the earth goddess), to God, to Tatik Jesucristo and the 13 Fiadores del Cielo, for the soul of one newborn, to guard against sicknesses or bad influences of any kind. This ceremony is

[P. 222-C]

796 "sembrar el alma del niño" and must be performed by the dzunubiles and the cabildos
[796] de misa. A similar devotion is made to Uch, the supernatural being connected with the growth of the cornfield mentioned earlier.

782 Also important are the prayers said by
778 families before the cross of the ancestors, in the sacred caves.

Finally, certain prayers and offerings are made to particular lakes considered sacred because they are inhabited by virgins who look after the well-being of the people. The best known of these lakes is Banabil in Tenejapa. Some day during the year, a small box containing a woman's dress and all its ornaments is thrown into the water. The dress must be made by a virgin or an old woman.

787 *Talking Saints*

776 Another religious form where Indian tra-
[177] dition is manifested through Christian formulae is the veneration of the talking saints, a widespread cult among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil. These saints are always private property and are usually kept in a small case on the house altar. The believers go to the house of those who own a talking saint and ask him about any secret problem that might require a special knowledge to be solved. Although any saint can be asked, the most popular one is San Miguelito. In order to consult him, people have to tell his owner their problems. The owner, who supposedly is the only one who can understand his saint, talks to him behind a curtain so that no one can see him. Often the owner of a talking saint succeeds in creating a cult out of the saint's box, making a special altar for him and asking the believers for frequent offerings and prayers. Sometimes there is no box, so the effigy is placed on an altar and concealed by a curtain when the private dialogue takes place.

There have been cases, however, in which the talking saints exceed their function as oracles and advise people on political matters. This is why some talking saints have

[P. 223-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

We have divided Maya history in two groups, the Old Empire 175
and the New Empire. Of the history of the New Empire we know 174
a considerable amount, but our knowledge of the Old Empire history is scant. We know the area in which it flourished as a whole, like knowing Greece without being aware of Sparta, Athens, and Corinth. Here in front of me lay one of the first hints of the subdivisions of the Old Empire. Knowledge will advance, and soon we shall be able to tell about the rise and decline of states and cities, to revive the history of the foremost people of ancient America.

Nearly due north across the valley lies the Campomtik pyramid. 172
La Farge visited it while we worked at Toniná. It, too, is a re- 133
modeled mountain top, and as it is covered with grass, it stands out 778
sharply against the forest-clad hills. It consists of a series of terraces with a depression which has stone-faced terraces and floor. From the valley bottom the hill rises 280 meters, of which 105 meters (323 feet) have been terraced. Broken pottery is found in various places on the hillside, and on the top now stands two wooden crosses, set there by the Indians. The name Campomtik means [103]
"much yellow incense." Incense was burned on the hilltop until [782]
quite recently. At such times they burned great fires, and shot off [796]
many rockets bought in Ocosingo. Finally the celebrations got too [177]
fervent for the Catholic Father, and he had the Indians driven away [178]
by the town officials. Generally, though, the Padres let the Indians alone when they celebrate in honour of the ancient gods (fig. 201).

Outside Ocosingo, where the trail divides, one going to Bachajon, 172
the other to Sivacá, lies a group of mounds called Santa Teresa. Rumors that Indains had buried church treasures here after an uprising, led the townspeople to make a large excavation. According to some people in Ocosingo, they found a small wooden sanctuary, and a beautiful clay bowl with a fish on its lid. This bowl later was bought by Seler.*

It is remarkable how persistent are rumors of buried treasures. 123
Every Ladino expects to find "dinero," money, in any mound, and 172
they are usually sadly disappointed. Also, most of these people believe that we find money, else why should we dedicate so much time to our explorations? We had a case where one man offered to go fifty-fifty with us if we would explore a mound on his lands. The whole mound at Santa Teresa has been dug through, and it is told in Ocosingo that the excavators found, not money, but a small wooden sanctuary with a saint inside. We hear every day, when among the Ladinos and Mexicans, stories of church bells of solid gold, and cocks that crow at midnight on top of the mounds.

*Seler, E., 1901. Fig. 279.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

778 paper, brightened with colour added by a cigarette package, a label from a tin of beets in a deep red, a joke in German about the fall of the mark, of which the prevailing tone was pure viridian, and a page of advertising from the Saturday Evening Post. We gave [123] this family a chromo of a saint, which was immediately framed with a sort of wooden box, and set up beside the cross. The table below was used for laying odds and ends on, such as the spindle and a couple of empty aguardiente bottles.

782 788 177 178 Incense, *pom,* and candles, both extensively used by the Indians today, had a place in the old Maya ritual similar to that of the Catholic Church.

The Priest is an important figure to the Indians. They come to 793 him with respect to tell him their troubles, and receive him into their villages with rejoicing. At the same time, there is no doubt that they deliberately hoodwink him as to the orthodoxy of their faith.

796 Although it includes several non-Christian elements, a description of the fiesta observed at Tecojá will give a fair idea of the Tzeltal's church observances. Tecojá ranch has a village of about [241] twenty houses attached to it. The fiesta was held on the twenty-[648] second and twenty-third of June. By custom, the ranch had to allow the Indians this time off, as well as accepting the lowered efficiency on the following "cold grey dawn of the morning after." The owners had, moreover, to provide the rum for the whole celebration, in this case, two demi-johns.

The ranch chapel was thrown open and decorated with fir [794] branches and streamers. The proceedings were in charge of two older men, called *caporales,* who were distinguished by a cross-belting of red handkerchiefs. One house was set aside for the celebrations, in front of which was a table and three triangular, crimson banners with gold edges. By these drumming and flute-playing went on irregularly. Here was the official dispensary for rum, which was given out by the *caporales.* Inside the house, a palm-thatched one with stick walls, about fifteen feet square, some thirty [534] Indians, men and women, were squatting against the walls. There was an orchestra of a guitar and a mouth-organ, occasionally augmented by the piper, who would wander in from outside. This individual, although most amazingly drunk, managed to maintain his [533] musical ability until he fell asleep. The tune they played was like [535] a rather wistful jig, but the time was lively. To this four couples danced, the men facing the women, with a shuffling step not unlike waltzing. They kept very much in one place, but occasionally changed sides. The dancing was evidently a serious affair. This type is called in Spanish *zapatea,* in Tzeltal, *ahk'Out.*

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The performance continued until late that night and began again the next morning. Later in the day the banners were carried to the chapel in procession, with music, and deposited by the altar. The *caporales* led in prayer. The fiesta went on again in the evening. 796 [794]

Christian forms are applied to or mixed with non-Christian rites and ideas to some extent, a confusion resembling the appeal to both saints and native gods in prayer among tribes of Guatemala* and British Honduras.† Much of Christianity is adapted to conform to old, fundamental native concepts. 771 172 178 171

In the church at Bachajon Village there are fourteen saints beside the tribal patron, St. Jerome. These others each have a special care, as the cornfield, hunting, the rivers, etc., and are prayed to for help in their particular provinces. They are given gifts of cloth, usually red or blue, which is draped about them. Many of them duplicate the functions of non-Christian "guardians," to be described below. 776

In this connection it may be mentioned that the Zotzil-speaking Indians of Huistan are accustomed to beat their saint (St. Martin) when they have a bad year, and to caress him and anoint him with oil when things go well. We were told that he had lost his nose and both ears due to this practice. [171]

One prayer was dictated to us by Señor Cruz at Toniná, the full text of which is given in Appendix VI, Text I. It is primarily meant for a poor man when making his offering in the cornfield, a use which is indicated by the phrase "health of the earth," but it may also be used in church. The phrase "blood of my flesh" suggests a remniscence of the ancient Maya offerings of blood from the ear, tongue, etc. A free translation is given here. 126 782 196

PRAYER OF A POOR MAN WHO HAS NOT MUCH TO OFFER.

"Do Thou accept, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, what I have gained, and what I have not gained. Do Thou forgive, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, blood of our flesh; our hearts are open, our lips are open. Give health of the earth; protect thy son kneeling here." [539]

Of primary interest to us were the survivals of the old worship. At the time of the Conquest the Spaniards put forth their utmost efforts to suppress the native religion, and the process has gone on 771 178 177

*Sapper, 1925.
†Gann, 1918.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

778 178 left-hand fork ended shortly. The right-hand one went on to a small level place, on which about four people could squat at once. The roof was too low to stand. In the end wall a block of rock about half a meter high and twenty centimeters broad stuck out. In front of it were eight small candlesticks in a row, a neat bundle of fir tips laid before each. More of these extended in an arc to the right, and there was a pile of spare tips and candlesticks at one side. Behind this was a square of bark resting on two stones, which showed signs of having had incense burned on it.

The second cave was more open, more of a room, high, and broken with pillars of limestone and dirt. It was caused partly by hollowing out limestone through the action of water, and partly by washing out the soil. In a quite open situation a small, square cross was leant against a rock. There was a flat board for incense, with five candlesticks on the side of the cross, and fir tips around the other three sides (see fig. 310 c).

These two caves, whether or not they were used in pre-Conquest days, do definitely represent the survival of a purely non-Christian manner of worship.

The general attitude of the Indians towards all the carvings of the Old People is not without interest. While they appear to attach no particular significance to the temples, they call all idols by the generic term of "santo." Thus the fine bas-relief found near San José Reforma, told of in the last chapter, was known to the natives as *Santo Ton*, "Saint Stone," or "Holy Stone."

782 Distinct from worship at these archaeological sites are the offerings made to the "guardian," *yaHwal*, of the cornfields, a pure old Maya rite carried on in the modern fields. This is purely family matter, at which the head of the family officiates. A cross is set up, *atole* or *cocoposole* (*posole* with cocoa and sugar) and rum are offered in bowls, candles and incense are burned, and a chicken killed. The prayer quoted on page 865 is recited at this time. The offerings are only made at the time of planting the *milpa* in the spring, and suffice also for the fall *tonamil*. As nearly as we could find out, each field has its particular guardian, an idea which was shown by the case, to be described later when speaking of magic, of a man who took steps to gain the consent of a field's guardian before putting a curse on it.

776 [323] There is a guardian of the river, *yabahen*, and of the mountains, *hun ahau*. This last is of particular interest, correponding as it does with the old Maya day-name signifying chief. Hun Ahau is mentioned in Landa, page 200, edition of 1864, as ruler of Mitamnal or hell. As Hunahpu he may be referred to in the Popol Vuh. Two

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

or less inebriated, not from greediness, but because it is a ceremonial 756
necessity for him to be in that condition when dealing with the
sacred things. Drunkness was a requisite of certain functions among [273]
the old Maya, and with the present-day Lacandones,* the Chontal
shamans similarly will not perform unless drunk.

Sebastiano Guzman, a Bachajon at El Encanto, a specialist on 755
snake-bite cases, would not treat a friend for snake-bite, although 273
he carried him on his back for two hours to get treatment from us,
because the friend could not buy him any rum. It probably would
be considered very dangerous to deal with the supernatural healing
powers when sober.

When a group of Indians are drinking at any time, the shamans, 273
as soon as they are drunk, go off together to one side and proceed 756
to exchange prayers and prescriptions which they will not discuss
when sober. They make a curious spectacle thus; a group of elderly
men sitting in a corner passing a bottle about, plainly drunk, and
gravely intoning prayers that are obviously to all of them matters
of weighty importance.

Of their prayers two, or parts of two, were obtained. The first 756
was copied by a Ladino secretary at El Encanto from the recital 273
of an intoxicated shaman. The shaman became a general object of 126
ridicule to all his people, lay or initiate, for having let out one of 782
his secrets to an outsider. The second was recited by Señor Aguilar
of El Encanto, who had overheard it. No one was able to give us
any but the most fragmentary and unsatisfactory translations for
these prayers; undoubtedly the text is in part archaic, and may
contain some gibberish. The manner in which they were acquired,
moreover, prevents accurate transcription. They are given here,
rather than with the Tzeltal Texts in Appendix V, because of this
failure to translate them, and their primarily ethnological value.

I.

hun ahau ilic tunic baken pusti-lum tal kowit' tal keke manic 539
tunic inic kilan kun in ahau keke tunic hun tsak-unti-bak tsak-unti-tci.

Hun Ahau, the Guardian of the Mountains, has been discussed already. *ilic* was said to mean "drove out the sickness," and *tunic*, "placed the sickness." *pusti-lum* contains the stem *lum*, "earth." *tal* may be the stem of the verb *tal-el*, "to come." *kilan* is a lizard used in medicine. *keke tunic* was explained as meaning that the sickness was placed by means of *ajo* fruit. *tsak-unti* is remarkably similar to the Lacandone *tsakuntik*, "to redden," occurring in a

*Tozzer, 1907.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Appendix VI

TZELTAL TEXTS

Given by Senor Aurelo Cruz, of Toniná

TEXT I

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PRAYER OF POOR MAN, WHEN MAKING OFFERINGS IN CHURCH OR IN THE MILPA

(See The Northern Tzeltal, Chap.)

Pas-a	*resib-il*	*yun**	*k-aHwal-tik*
Do thou	accept (Sp. recibir)	in the name of	our guardian of us

Dios		*teul-ba-lum-milal*†	*bin*	*la-ta*‡	*y*
God	(of)	blessed the world	that which	found	and

bin	*ma-va-la-ta.*	*pas-a*	perdon	*yun*
that which	not was found.	do thou	forgive	in the name of

k-aHwal-tik	Dios		*teul-ba-lum-milal*	*teitc'*
our guardian of us	God	(of)	blessed the world	blood

bak'-et-al	*ham-al*	*k'-otan-tik*	*ham-al*	*ti'-tik*
of (?) bones the	open	our hearts of us	open	mouths of us

aw-on	*te-lum-al*	*koltai-ya*	*haHwal*
give me	health of the earth	free it (protect?)	kneeling (?)

ha-witcan.
thy son.

TEXT II

537

TZELTAL CONVERSATION

hoon	*lok'-on*	*tax*		*lum-al*	*t-oon*	*ta'*
I	went out I	from	(my)	land the	went I	to

yan	*lum-etik*§	*ta'*	*yil-el*‖	*yan*	*lugarz-etik*
other	lands	to	see	other	places

y	*lak-il*‖	*s-na*	*es-etik*	*baiyel*
and	look at	their (?) houses	Old Ones ("los antiguos")	plenty

[192]
[193]

*This was originally given *ook*, "with," but one of the Indian girls at El Real corrected it to *yun*.
†The stem is *lum*, "earth." No definite translation was found for *-ba-* or *-milal*.
‡The root is *la*, "come."
§*-etik*, or *-tik*, is the emphatic plural, as well as forming, with the first personal pronoun present or implied, the inclusive plural.
‖*-el* is the generalizing suffix, here it represents the abstract idea of the action, and corresponds to our infinitive.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle
Mexico NU1

Preface

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> And so we shall be able to do what our mothers
> did and what our fathers did here where our
> Holy Father sees us and our Holy Mother sees us.
>
> *From the prayer said at the*
> *time of taking offices in*
> *the civil hierarchy*

In all societies, some of the ideology and behavior of the past persists after their relevance to current problems has ended. How much this continuity eases the absorption of change by providing meaning and motivation and how much it hinders the ability to deal with current issues and to plan for the future is a long-standing social problem. It is of special relevance to developing nations undergoing changes that transform all social institutions. Developing nations have focused their planning on economic change in the hope that other institutions will respond automatically. This hope has not been justified.

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Mexico has shown a growing awareness of the strength to be drawn from its rich cultural heritage in the five decades of development since the revolution. The changes that were transforming the cities a generation ago are now drawing enclaves of Indian populations into the mainstream of national development. In the 1930s government policy was directed toward transforming Indians into modern nationals. Since the 1950s there has been an increasing effort to incorporate Indians without suppressing their distinctive customs and languages. The old melting pot policy has given way to a new policy of selective adaptation.

M
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For the Indians, adhering to the ways of the ancestors is the means of surviving as a people. Their sense of cultural survival is threatened by the

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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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it before he arch. The younger curer then took a bunch of the branches of spring bushes and brushed each person over the head, shoulders, back, arms, and legs. Liquor was passed around to the visitors and participants. The elder curer took the bunch of branches, prayed, and brushed the future occupants. The younger curer followed him with another brushing.

The elder curer put some powder in the springwater. He then took a rattle, stuck it it in a bunch of the leaves from the spring, gave it a couple of shakes as though testing it, and handed it to one of the b'alnial *(young male assistants). He then stood before the candles at the back center post, bowed to it, turned, and bowed to the opposite center post. He poured the springwater in a gourd and gave it to Juliana, the houseowner's daughter, who passed it to each member of the household. The curer then took out four cigarettes and put them on either side of the candles. He greeted everyone present and delivered the following prayer:* [782] [839]

> *May no witchcraft enter.*
> *May all the children be cared for.*
> *I can see and hear who enters.*
> *Of one heart are the women, of one heart are the men.*

Santiago began to play the guitar as his wife, Alberta, brought in the coffee and rolls. She handed the first cup to the elder curer. This was followed with a serving of rice and tomatoes. Before he began to eat, the curer said, "good afternoon" to all present.

After the meal, the elder curer led the household members outside. He held one of the palm crosses at the corner post of the house and prayed; then Santiago pounded in a nail to hold it. Each member of the household, including the small children of Alberta, went up and kissed the cross in turn. They went on to the other main posts of the exterior of the house where they did the same thing. They entered the house and continued drinking the rest of the afternoon. Cigarettes were passed around, and the men began to joke. Drinking is compulsory: everyone who attends must drink equal amounts of the liquor served. [273]

Each of the ritual items is introduced because it contains a powerful soul. The branches and the springwater contain souls associated with the

342 527 774 788 spring. The gourd is used as a container for the springwater because, like all growing plants and unlike metal or glass containers, it has a soul. The soul of the tobacco plant is considered particularly strong. The smoke of the candles and incense are the media through which prayers to the spirit [782] of the house are transmitted.

342 527 788 776 533 The house fiesta serves three functions: (1) introducing the spirit of the house inmates to the house spirit, (2) creating a harmonious setting for spiritual interaction of the members of the household and the house spirit, (3) protecting the house against the intrusion of evil. The introduction is achieved by brushing the household members with the branches from the spring, and the harmony is brought about by drinking liquor, playing the guitar, and dancing. The music of the seed gourd, the guitar, and sometimes a radio or phonograph makes the residents, their guests, and the house spirit happy, or "of one heart." Protection is insured by [789] nailing the palm crosses representing the Lord of the Lightning to the house posts.

342 527 782 756 *Second house fiesta* ("meal for the house"). When a meal is given to the spirit of the house earth, the house is arranged as for the house fiesta with curing arches set in front of the center posts at the back and middle walls. The same guests are invited as for the first fiesta. The family buys a sheep and slaughters it in the morning by stringing it up to the center post by it paws and slashing its jugular vein. When the blood has drained into the square hole opened at the base of the center post, the curer removes the head and buries it in the hole. Some curers bury the four paws as well, while others prefer to add an offering of five pieces of bread in a new pottery jar, twenty measures of chocolate, thirteen cigarettes, and a bottle of liquor covered with a new cloth. The head of the sheep is placed so that the eyes look up to watch over the inhabitants. Some refer to it as the *me?iltatil,* identifying it with the curers (who are called me?iltatil in the context of guardianship) and thus with the ancestor guardians.

During the house fiesta I observed in July 1967, an old curer who had officiated at the first ceremony served again. A neighbor, who was not related to the houseowners but who was skilled in butchering, slaughtered

the animal. The curer received from him the severed head and paws which he placed in a large gourd. Then the curer served a potion of herbs in springwater to all of the members of the household. The final ritual act was for the curer to smoke an article of clothing belonging to each member of the household over the incense burning in front of the center arch at the back wall. Liquor was served continaully throughout the ceremony, the first drink always being given to the curer followed by one to the elder houseowner. The first drink was served immediately after the cutting of the jugular vein of the sheep. Flowing blood, water, and liquor are spirit media symbolically linked in ritual behavior. Between each of the major ritual acts—the slaughtering of the sheep, the burial of the head, the serving of the springwater and herbs, and the smoking of the clothing with incense—the curer prayed, but his prayers were so mumbled that I could not hear or record them. Informants said that it was a variation of the prayer given at the first house fiesta. After the rituals, a stew made with the sheep meat was served with tortillas to all the visitors. The music of guitar and gourd rattle, played during the ritual by young male relatives continued after the meal, and the guests remained in the house drinking and dancing for the rest of the afternoon.

Elements of these house fiestas are repeated when any of the children of the household is ill. A severe illness, diagnosed as being caused by the devil eating the soul of the patient, requires offering a meal to the house spirit. The square hole is reopened, and a live black chicken, male if the patient is a boy and female if it is a girl, is placed inside. A food offering of one-fourth liter of liquor, one peso's worth of bread, and 50 cents' worth of chocolate is placed inside with the chicken, and a square board is fitted on top of the hole "to keep the chicken alive for eight days so that the house spirit will hear his cries." When the curing arch is removed, the hole is filled in with dirt over the chicken, now dead, which provides a meal for the spirit house earth.

When the houseowner is sick, an appeal for health is made to the spirit in the house post. The members of the household kiss the post, a splinter is removed and burned in an incense burner with *pom*, the resin of pine. This odor is pleasing to the house spirit.

When a serious illness caused by witchcraft has been cured, the patient

When a serious illness caused by witchcraft has been cured, the patient must be protected against reentry of the evil by a gift of medicine to the house. Palm crosses are made for the corner posts and the entry, and a medicine consisting of a mixture of garlic and creosote, the seeds of mustard, and *polčan*, a "hot" herb, is mixed. As the crosses are nailed on the posts, the curer marks a cross with the medicine over the palm cross. This "covers the eyes of the evil spirit" so that it will not enter the house.

The relationship between house spirit and the spirits of the residents is an uneasy one. Fear is associated with this capricious spirit, who might make an alliance with evil spirits, and whose power is evident only in sickness and in death, never in good deeds. A sense of alienation is conveyed in the fact that the house spirit and the spirits of the spring are conceived of as Ladinos. Spirits of the house and of the landscape are exacting landlords from whom the tenants expect nothing in return for their offerings but freedom from harm. Acceptance of the offerings seals a contract between spiritual occupants that must continually be renewed in order to maintain the balance of security expressed in the phrase "to be of one heart." The payment of a "tribute" in the form of food, liquor, and entertainment is part of a larger strategy by which these Indians ensure their survival by appeasement of overlords, demanding government officials, and the very rats which live in their houses and feed on the corn they store in the eaves.

The springs. Other meeting grounds for the spirits of people and places are the springs. The major spring, San Nicolás, is located on the southwestern periphery of the town. It provides drinking water and water for irrigating the cultivated lands. A second spring, called Pahaltón, lies closer to the village and provides a smaller stream of water directed into the canals irrigating the fields of the center. Some say the spirit of San Nicolás is a small Ladino boy; others say he is a man. The spirit of Pahaltón is a female non-Indian, or *Ladina*. The spirits of these waters are able to effect miraculous cures for patients who have lost their souls or those who are of two hearts because of upset social relations in the home. Male patients are brought to San Nicolás and female patients are brought to Pahaltón to seek a miracle. In the curing ceremony an arch of flowers entwined in pine boughs is constructed as closely as possible to the spring

776 which have the power to mislead, give illness, or capture people to work
[756] for them. Only the most powerful curers and witches, and the very greedy
[754] approach these spirits for they are reputed to be very "live" and mali-
[825] ciously clever. Snakes are the offspring of the hill and do the bidding of the hill owners.

556 Wealth in the form of livestock, corn, or gold can be gained from some
756 of the cave owners upon request, but there is danger in receiving these
778 gifts since they must be reciprocated. Among the cave owners who give
787 gifts is Don Klabil, a deceased moneylender of the neighboring town. After his death in the 1940s, his spirit went to live in the hill bordering the two towns. People say that when he was alive he used to get money from the true owner of the cave. Those who have been inside the cave say it is filled with animals—cattle, horses, rabbits—which drink at a large interior lake. The appropriate approach for requesting wealth is to go on Thurs-
[782] day, "when the earth is open," and burn candles and incense. When the request is granted, the recipient must light candles at the cave every Thursday, and after his death he must work forever for the cave owner. It is said that at his death his wealth dies with him—usually all has been spent, and in fact children are left poor. Some say the spirit of the firstborn child of the recipient must be given to the owner to work for him. For this reason, there is no envy felt by neighbors when they see the increasing wealth of a man who has visited the caves and received such gains and he is doubly protected because no one can hurt an "enchanted man" (one who has entered the cave) with witchcraft.

756 Ladinos' belief in the cave owners gives support to the Indians' credence
776 in their power. Ladinos inquire of Indians where they can find treasures.
778 Once the request to the hill owners is made, it is essential to follow
[829] through correctly. Everyone in town knows the story of Martin Bautista, a curer who went to speak to the true owner of the hill in which Don Klabil lives.

[539] *He knew how to talk to the owner. The owner told him that at midnight on the following day, he would give him what he wanted. At midnight Maria, his wife, was alone in the house. She heard a noise and the sound of* "Andale, burro!" *Then there was a knock at the door. When the*

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243 vest. Harvesting is done by all the members of the household, sometimes
[592] with the assistance of exchange or hired labor. Women help by going to
[464] the fields and degraining the cobs with few kernels of corn so that there
[462] will not be an unnecessary burden to carry to the houses.

243 A small fiesta for the corn is made following the harvest. The purpose
796 of the fiesta is to reciprocate the spiritual owner of the corn by giving him
782 a "gift." Two candles are lit and set on top of the piles of corncobs. Two other candles are placed near the heaps of corn grains gathered by the

243 Table 7. Stages of Corn Growth and Agricultural Activities
192

Stages of growth	*Activity*	*Time (after planting)*
Šlihk sčital (begins to grow)	First hoeing	8 days
Čištal lik ʔišim (well-grown; about 4 feet)	Second hoeing	1 month
Čištal stekan sniʔ (begins to form husk)		2 months
B'al tzuto (begins to bud)		
Lok'iš tzutohal (flower comes out)		3 months
Yihiš sk'ab'enal (begins to mature)		4 months
Lok'iš yihkatz (cobs fill out)		
Sčam hol (its head dies)	Pick cobs to eat fresh	5 months
Yihištal sk'anubiš (now more yellow)	Double over stalks	6 months
Yihubiš (more yellow)		
Tahkiniš (dry)		
Sk'ahik lok'el (harvest time)	Pick dried corn	7 months

243 women. The candles cause the spirit of the corn to rise and give its "gift to
796 the world" in the following harvest. Failure to make a fiesta would mean
782 an end to all corn harvests.

243 Corn is brought to the house and stored in the rafters, since there are no
251 corn cribs or separate storage facilities of any kind in the village. Most of
136 the houses are infested with rats as a consequence. When the harvest is brought in, there is an attempt to rid the rafters of these "thieves." The
[411] men and boys armed with slingshots stand posted in the yard as the children rustle around in the rafters chasing the rats out. Although they are remarkably good shots since they use this tool from early childhood, the houses are never completely free of rats, and the inhabitants learn to put up with them.

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241 825 *they said to me, "while we go over with the other two." I fell asleep. Then the raccoon entered. And so I believe the raccoon is very bright.*

Also there is the wild pig, who is less bright than the raccoon.

Another "thief" of the milpa is a small black insect which eats beans. These are eliminated in the following way:

[291] *When we plant beans, the women go with us wearing a new skirt and a new shawl. They walk near the plants, waving the shawl. The animals die. It has to be a new skirt. My mother proved it. She went with an old skirt, and she saw that they did not die. They just fled to the mountain out of shame. It is the smell of the old skirt that scared them away.*

241 825 782 788 If many animals are eating the crops, Indians buy three twenty-cent candles. They take them to the fields and light them, praying in Tzeltal: "God, holy world, please look at me and speak to the little animals. God, holy rock, holy forest, please look at me, hear me, speak to the animals."

The candles are media through which communication is made with the gods as well as gifts which seal the contract with the gods ensuring their protection and guardianship over the crops.

241 776 784 Guarding the crops also involves avoidance of certain kinds of behavior by the farmer and his wife. Farmers must always avoid irritating the spirits of the heaven who control the elements which make the growth of the crop possible. One informant explained:

One should not have sexual relations with anyone in the milpa because the Father Sun [Tatik K'ak'al] *gets angry or "ends his heart." He will not give crops. He gets very hot. One time, many women in town were looking for lovers. They would have sexual relations with boys in the daytime. The Father Sun got angry and caused the crops to burn. There was very little corn. The price went up to twenty cents a liter. People bought bread and mixed it with the nixtamal.*

It is different if a man is married to a woman in the church. The Tatik K'ak'al does not get angry. The Tatik K'ak'al does not have a woman of his own, and so he gets jealous if he sees people having sexual relations in the milpa in the daytime.

But if you have relations at night with a man in the milpa, Our grand-

mother the Moon gets angry. This might cause an eclipse of the moon, and the crops will suffer because there will be no sun.

There is no prohibition, however, against having sexual relations prior to planting or at other crucial stages, as there are for other Maya Indians (Wagley 1941:34).

During the growing season, candles are lit in the milpa as protection against wind as well as robbers, who "lose their luck" when this is done.

The spirits' care of the crops. The crops have souls, given by the spirits, which will be lost if they are not cared for. The spirits "watch over the crops as parents watch over their children." The term for seed (*yal*) is a metaphorical extension of the term for "child of a woman."

The following myths give different, occasionally contradictory versions of the origin of crops. This central truth emerges in all of them: The spirits have given us our crops and will continue to do so as long as we offer thanks in the form of ceremonies and gifts to them.

Santo Tomás [*the patron saint of Oxchuk*] *had intercourse with Santa Lucía. She wanted* [asked for] *the soul of corn, and he gave her the seed of corn. Then there came forth beans, corn, and wheat. But then all the saints of San Bartolo and San Miguel* [*neighboring towns*] *asked for the soul of corn. Then the soul of beans left us and went to hot country. Now it does not grow well in the pueblo. Also, the avocado has gone to Comitán. The matasano and ground beans went to Oxchuk when Santa Lucía fought with Santo Tomás.*

The myth of the origin of crops overlays an older myth which has parallels in other groups of Maya-speaking Indians (Castro 1965, Wagley 1941:20).

Formerly, during a famine, there was hunger. The tzisim, *an insect of Ariola, came to take the corn from underground. Thus the ancestors got their first seed. For this reason, people say that corn was born underground, brought up by the tzisim. But I believe God sent us corn.*

Another version has synthesized the role of the saints and that of the animal agent.

hilltop with a digging stick. He knelt and prayed, asking for rain. At that very moment, the rain came. He put the seeds in the holes he made, and from then on people have been planting in the hills.

Other saints are charged with providing rainfall. The saint of greatest importance in this respect is Santo Tomás, the patron saint of Oxchuk. Some Indians have gone to the church there to light a candle and ask for rain, and on their return the rains came. During an extended drought in August 1967, over one hundred people walked to Oxchuk to pray for rain. The people of Tzoʔontahal are somewhat bitter about the Oxchuqueños' neglect of Santo Tomás since over half of the town has converted to Protestantism. Whenever there is a drought, they blame it on the failure of the people of Oxchuk to take care of Santo Tomás.

In addition to the Catholic saints, the ancestor spirits help man to watch over the land. They are responsible for giving the rains in the planting period and early growing season. The fiesta on the Day of the Cross (Chapter 1) is primarily a plea for rain. Until the 1950s, the curers would hold a celebration at the Cave of the Ancestors to ask for rain during a drought. The waning belief in the presence of the ancestor spirits in the town has meant that there is less attention given to such fiestas. Some go to seek the ancestors in Chiapa de Corzo in the cave in which they are supposed to reside, as the following story illustrates:

One time my three brothers-in-law went to Chiapas to ask the ancestors for better crops. When they arrived there, nobody knew where the cave was. They said only a certain mayordomo there could find it.

Another time, two of the prayer-reciters went to the cave. They talked to the guard of the cave, saying, "May we speak to our ancestors?" The guard said, "Are you prepared? Did you bring two liters of trago? The ancestors like to drink."

The prayer-reciters went to get two liters of trago and all three drank it. While they were drinking, they saw a cow and chickens appear. The guardian said that if they came back in May with "food" for the ancestors —candles, incense, and firecrackers—they would get rich crops. I think the prayer-reciters succeeded because now they have a cow and chickens and a horse. They are afraid of the envy of their neighbors.

628 People with lands in hot country recount that during droughts the In-
796 dians from the neighboring town of Chamula have held rainmaking fies-
782 tas for which they solicit contributions from other Indians.

821 *The Chamulteco came to us and said, "Let all of us who have milpas*
731 *contribute five pesos for a fiesta." He brought the candles. In the little hill there the people brought drums and flute. We ate chickens and drank liquor. For eleven hours he prayed, and in the afternoon it rained.*

628 The *kuriketik*, rural inhabitants of the colonia of San Vicente who
241 migrated to Amatenango from Chanal, have no irrigated lands and de-
789 pend directly on rainfall throughout the growing season. Indians of the center know of their practice of sticking their digging sticks into the ground with the points toward the sky "to puncture the clouds" when they have planted their milpa, but they do not imitate this practice. Control over the supply of water in the irrigated lands has apparently led to the neglect of supernatural appeals even where the canals do not supply water. Under pressure of extended drought, they will resort to spiritual intercession through Chamula or Oxchuk practitioners in whom they have some faith.

241 Acquiring the protection of the gods does not obviate the practical activ-
796 ities necessary in the cultivation of crops. Fiestas for the saints are a repay-
782 ment for services rendered in watching over the milpa. The sponsorship of
796 fiestas for the saints by the community ensures the protection for all of the crops, and general crop failure due to drought or high winds is explained as a result of mismanagement of these community-wide fiestas. The offering of candles to the spiritual owner of one's own milpa is a kind of individual insurance policy for future crops as well as a repayment for the gift of the corn harvest. The peasant notion of surplus value is implicit in this reciprocal relation: the payment, or gift, of two candles to the milpa spirit is far less than the value of the harvest. But the account is balanced by the expenditure of this surplus in communal fiestas.

Pottery Production

323 Making pottery has been a speciality of the town since pre-Conquest
178 days. The old site of the town contains sherds of pottery which is remarka-
172 bly similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now.

of what seeds grow best in which soils. Good, fast-growing seed is not 241
sowed indiscriminately but is limited to use on more fertile irrigated 242
lands. The size of a family's holdings is the primary factor in deciding
what proportion of the three major crops—corn, beans, and wheat—they [423]
will grow. Where they grow each of these crops depends upon the quality of the soil categorized by topological criteria, consistency, color, and proved fertility. Decline in productivity is attributed to wearing out of soil fertility because of overuse as well as to loss of the soul of crops. The first explanation leads to adaptive behavior, in which the land is "rested" or turned over to cattle grazing, and to crop rotation, alternating wheat and corn crops. The second explanation leads to adjustive behavior in which the agriculturalist takes care of ceremonial obligations to the saints and to the "owner of the milpa."

The scheduling of activities is determined by the knowledge of time re- 241
quired for maturing of the crop and by expectations concerning seasonal fluctuations as they affect rainfall. Although the farmers have some control
over water supply through irrigation, dependence on rainfall for the non- [082]
irrigated fields means that sporadic appeals to the ancestors or saints are [076]
made to ensure rain in the growing period. These rituals are not as inte- [069]
grated in the agricultural production cycle as they are in the neighboring [171]
towns of Chamula and Oxchuk or in the colonia of San Vicente where irrigation facilities are lacking.

Traditional techniques of pottery production are maintained by a tightly 323
organized schema of procedures which allows for little variation in technique or form. Learning of productive techniques is facilitated by a fine segmentation of tasks. Knowledge of local clays and tempering has been stabilized for at least five hundred years of occupation in this area. Women's work is entirely lacking in rituals to ensure the success of their efforts.

These given sets of cognitive orientations in economic activities do not 241
exclude the possibility of considering new ways or means of doing things. 177
Agriculturalists have tried the new seed introduced by agronomists, but 178
have found them wanting in their resistance to mold, in the case of corn, and in their portability, in the case of wheat. Fertilizers have been tried, but the credit costs proved too high for the agriculturalists to continue. Women were willing to try a kiln in place of open firing, but either the 177
model introduced was faulty or they were not 323
taught to use it properly.

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by the company truck to replenish supplies they bring with them. Most of the workers are young men in their twenties and thirties. They return Saturday evening in a truck supplied by the company and go back to work on Monday morning. Weekly wage payments have upset the usual controls over budget management. Money earned from crops is handled by women. The sawmill workers have resisted passing over their paychecks to their wives or mothers, and several court cases have been precipitated as a result (Appendix 2b).

All of the work in which men are engaged outside of the community is voluntarily undertaken for cash compensation. Formerly, forced labor of two kinds was frequently demanded of the Indians: communal labor in the neighboring ladino town when Tzo?ontahal was an *agente municipal* of that town, and work in neighboring fincas for wages of 50 cents a day. Forced communal work came to an end when the town became an independent municipio in 1931, and the labor roundups at substandard wages were ended when Indians became conscious of their rights guaranteed in the *Ley Federal del Trabajo* in the late 30s. Copies of the *Colección Jurídica Ley Federal del Trabajo* are sold in the departmental marketplace along with the *Codigo Agraria*. Awareness of their rights as workers is concomitant with increasing entry into wage labor employment outside of the local community. As yet, Indians do not have any organized labor interest groups to champion their rights. The Commissioner of Indian affairs in the departmental capital is an intermediary in individual cases that arise. But wage levels and conditions of work are set in a free market in which the Indian's only control is to refuse to work.

The few special occupations in the town, such as butchering, caponizing, weaving bags, carpentry, and midwifery, have never developed into full-time professions.[2] The failure of the development of specialization is related to the tradition of ritual offerings of gifts of liquor and consumables and to the lack of a marketplace in the town.

Most of the livestock raised in the town is sold to butchers of the neighboring town because of lack of storage or of market facilities for the meat. Pigs and bulls are slaughtered in town only on the occasion of a celebra-

2. Curing is treated in a separate chapter since it is an exceptional case of specialization related to social control.

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755 has been made at the time of the house inauguration. Food for the chick-
776 en—bread, chocolate, tortilla, and liquor—is put in the hole so it will stay
342 alive for eight days.

The logic of the meal is that the house needs nourishment and for this reason has been fighting with the inmates and causing their illness. After the guests have been fed, the curer marks a cross with a mixture of garlic, creosote, seeds of mustard, and a "hot" herb called poščan, on the center post inside the house and on the corner posts. Like the candles, the cross serves to "blind the eye" of the evil spirits so that they will not reenter the house and talk the spirit of the house into causing harm.

This ceremony replicates that of the house meal at the time of the inauguration (Chapter 1). The music of the guitar and gourd rattle is intended to make both the soul of the house and the souls of the inmates content. Why the curing of the house is always done on Thursday, when "the holy earth is open," is not fully understood by the curers I have questioned; they say, "We have forgotten how to talk to the earth." Chamula curers are reputed to be able to talk to the earth, and consultations may be sought with them if the illness continues.

755 *Prayer.* The curers talk with the soul of the thirteen ancestors of
776 the world,[5] to the "spirits of the heaven and of the church," and to saints
782 of neighboring towns, asking for a good cure. The following prayer is one
[539] given by the oldest and most honored of the curers:

Sacred earth, sacred world
Thirteen holy world, holy flowers
In the center of another holy world

Look mother, its clay
I am a child, its clay.
Holy heaven, Jesus Christ
Holy herbs give the spirit

[801] 5. The number 13 has significance in the Maya cosmology in the 13 levels of heaven (Thompson 1964:125). The 13 candles set before the curing arch symbolize the 13 holy worlds. The meal for the house spirit includes 13 cigarettes.

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755
776
782
[539]

The companions of the patient
are gathered here with his father
In the center of this other holy
earth
Holy earth, take out the fever.

The curer then calls upon each of the saints of the surrounding towns, asking for help in bringing about a miracle. First he calls upon the major saints of the pueblo (Santa Lucía, San Francisco, Santiago, San Pedro the Martyr, and the Virgen de Rosario), then those of Teopisca (San Augustín and the Virgen de Mercedes), of San Cristóbal (San Cristóbal and Justo Juez), of Villa Carranza (Señor del Pozo and San Bartolo), of Socoltenango (the Virgen de Candelaria), of Villa las Rosas (San Miguel and San José), of Comitán (Santo Domingo, San Caralampio, and the Virgen de Santa Teresa), and finally Señor Esquipulas of Tulanca. Thus he defines the meaningful spiritual universe of the village, building a kind of hegemony of defense and protection.

At any point throughout the cure the patient may consult the doctor sent by the I.N.I., the priest, or the schoolteacher, all of whom compete with each other in gaining clients by dispensing medicines. This does not undermine the role of the curer since curing the disease is considered a separate issue from stopping the witchcraft which is causing it. The disease may be cured, but the persistence of the witchcraft will eventually cause death through spiritual malaise unless treated by the curer. 755 757

All the people of the village know the common herbs and the sicknesses for which they should be used. The basis for the curer's power thus is not specialized knowledge of medicines, but the strength of his swayohel in fighting that of the enemy, and his esoteric knowledge of pulsing. [756] [776]

Formerly curers received minimal pay for practicing. The family of the patient offered about 20 pesos or worked in the fields of the curer. Curers refused larger payments because they said their skill came from God, and it would be a sin to accept money for it. This practice is continued today by one old curer for patients within the community. However, he receives from 100 to 200 pesos from out-of-town patients. A Ladina from the neigh- 756

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 156]

621 527 [539] *holy year. And so we shall be able to do what our mothers and what our fathers did here where the holy Father sees us and the holy Mother sees us."*

[782] *The formal prayer, using elements of all the addresses of pat?o?tan, presages the events which will take place and announces the continuity with the past in following out the work the ancestors have done. The civil authorities, like the religious authorities, assert that they are taking on a holy responsibility. There is, in the words of the pat?o?tan, no distinction between profane and sacred obligations toward the village.*

[273] *Following the drinking and prayers, liquor is served. Drinking order always follows the elder to younger pattern which, in household settings, is always coincident with prestige ranking. At midnight, coffee, bread, and bean-filled tamales are served.*

621 527 574 *The second series of household gatherings takes place on the morning of New Year's Day in the houses of the new president, the first judge, and the first policeman. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the other three regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house and are served coffee and liquor. They then proceed to the house of the president. As the judges and regidores arrive there, the visiting group greets all of the assembled guests at the president's house with a prescribed greeting, the* sak'inaltat *and the hand-kissing, called* ?utzk'aab. *The first judge exchanges an extended pat?o?tan with the first nakawane of the president and then liquor is served to all those gathered. The assembled group next stands and "turns toward the rising sun." This is said to be a "defense against the entry of the devil."*

While the higher officials meet in the house of the president, the policemen join togther in the houses of the first policeman on each side of the dual division. Just as in the house of the president, the ceremony consists in serving liquor and coffee. They await the sound of the firecrackers set off in the yard of the president's house before setting out for the town hall. With this announcement of the departure, the officials at the president's house and at the two first policemen's houses set out for the town hall.

621 527 *Gathered in the town hall are the old officials along with the alfereces and the principals. The new officials enter two by two, the president and*

621 527 *cials, from the last policeman to the first and second judges. The procession makes two turns "to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] who the new officials to remain in office are."*
[788] [554]

Awaiting the arrival of the new officials in the church are all of the mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see who they are." The new officials enter two by two and proceed to the altar rail where they "speak to God," asking for health so that they can fulfill their obligation to the town. They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father cabildo."
[794] [782]

621 527 273 *The first order of the new president is to ask the fourth regidor to buy two liters of the "gift of the ancestors," contraband liquor. When the liquor arrives, the first judge rises and goes to the principales. Standing before them while they remain seated, he asks permission of God to "receive the gift," or drink the liquor, saying, "Give pardon, Mamal Krinsipal; let a little enter and warm your body."*

The policemen, after leaving the church, enter the kitchen shack attached to the town hall. The first new policeman orders the fourth policeman to bring a little trago, and when he returns with the liquor, the first policeman orders one of the policemen of the colonias to measure the drinks. They drink one liter, after which the first policeman of the lower division addresses the first policeman of the upper division in the pat?o-?tan. After the spatbeyo?tan, *or formal address, the first policeman wonders "whether they can endure a little more. Can they drink more liquor without getting drunk?" It is his responsibility to receive any orders from the president, and he wonders, "What should happen if we get drunk? We won't know if there is an errand for the mamal judge and we cannot help. Better rest a while, and if there is an errand we can help a little. If there is no errand, let us drink a little more until midday." At twelve noon both groups retire to their homes to rest their hearts.*

794 527 *Inauguration of religious officials.* The change of the mayordomos occurs twice annually, once on January 6 and a second time on the Day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29. San Pedro is associated with

After another
mouthwash, the b'alnialetik lay a cloth on a small table which is put in the center of the porch, and two liters of trago and a measuring glass are laid on this. The Cofrade of Santa Lucia rises and asks permission of the women, the mayordomos, and all the b'alnialetik to drink the liquor, saying: "God, mother who nurses us, give permission to us so that the water of his body, the water of his hand, the gift will pass in our bodies, that which is the gift of the me?tiktatik. God speaks, tat nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik. Give us permission to hand the gift that will pass in your body from the me?tiktatik. God, Jesus, Mary, only one commander God is three persons. Bless what we eat and what we drink and bless in the name of God the father. God, take the gift, me?eltatel."

The mayordomos, b'alnialetik, and nakawanehetik then make the sign of the cross. The Cofrade of the Virgin Santa Lucia blesses the liquor, saying, "In God's name, God the father, name of God, God the son, Holy Spirit. Yes, I can endure doing what they did, what our mother and what our father did, with my hand which has sinned and my feet which have sinned. Yes, we are changing office on this holy day, this holy year the holy saint, with the holy oath and in the name of God the Father."

The mayordomos drink four measures of liquor, then raise the rest of the drinks to their lips without drinking and take the glass over to one of the nakawanehetik. In this way they show the restraint to which they have been urged in the speeches. At eleven o'clock they leave for the church, putting their red kerchiefs around their necks along with the rosaries. As they set out, the elder nakawane says so the new mayordomos: "May you all get up and go to the church. May you all enter inside the church. May you take the oath inside the church before the face of the fiscal. After you take the oath, make the sign of the cross before the face of the Tatik Jesus Christ. After you have made the sign of the cross, when you enter inside the door of the church, the mamal new kobraria will give the account to the mamal old kobraria."

Sitting within the church are the old mayordomos and the fiscal who have remained there after the mass. They are awaiting the new mayordomos. Two of them play the drum and the flute. The new mayordomos enter, the elder and junior mayordomo of each saint walking together, and kneel before the image of Tatik Jesus Christ. The church has been ar-

Chapter 8

Taking Care of the Lord Spirits

Religious behavior is concerned with two major goals: maintaining a given state of prosperity and protecting the community against disaster. In the words of one informant: "All of the goods which we enjoy—the corn, beans, and wheat that we eat, the animals which work for us and give us food—are the gifts of the Lord spirits." The technique for maintaining the flow of goods of the world is the annual cycle of fiestas for the saints. The strategy for protecting the community against disaster is through avoidance of offense and special offerings to the gods identified with pre-hispanic deities and spirits. Responsibility for the ceremonial cycle is assigned to officials who represent the community, but everyone is responsible for the avoidance of disaster, since any transgression of moral behavior by an individual can cause their wrath and bring destruction of crops and animals. The protective rituals involve beliefs continuous from pre-hispanic times; maintenance depends on Catholic saints.

Kinds of Lord Spirits

Religious behavior is based on an understanding of the personality and rank of each deity in a hierarchy of power. The people distinguish two major categories of gods: the lord spirits of the heaven, *č'ultatik ta č'ulčan,* and the lord spirits of the church, *č'ultatik ta č'ulna.* The prefix *č'ul* in all of these terms can be translated as spirit. All growing things—people, plants, and animals—have a spirit. *Tatik* can be translated as our lords, elders, or fathers. The categories of spirits discussed here differ from the č'uleletik (Chapter 1) since these are spirits possessed by the place in which they dwell, as indicated by the possessive form of the noun with the prefix *s.*

794 796 *Judge: "By force you must receive it. You do not have to give as much. You only have to receive the sacred banner."*

Nominee: "But if I don't give a fiesta, the pueblo will speak badly of me."

Judge: "It is not important what the pueblo says. Pardon us, let us drink a little trago."

[273] [*All the officers drank, contributing jointly to buy the liquor. Each officer took one sip from the measure, but the nominee drank the entire measure on each round. When he became intoxicated, he yielded to the persuasions of the officials and agreed.*]

Nominee: "Good. I am going to see how it goes."

[*The two regidores carried the new alférez to his house.*]

794 796 434 462 323 The activities of the alférez in preparation for the fiesta during which he was installed in his post are summarized below.

Making pottery. *The new alférez prepared for the fiesta by organizing his household to make the pottery that was to be sold to cover the expenses. His brothers and brothers-in-law went on horseback bringing fifteen or twenty loads of clay. The women got the sand, carrying it back with the tumpline. The men went on horseback again to collect the limestone temper, which the women would grind and mix with the clay for cooking pots. The next week, the alférez went with a gift of 2 pesos' worth of bread and one liter of liquor to ask the woman who knew how to make large ollas, pots in which the festal foods are cooked, to help him. The sisters and sisters-in-law of both the alférez and his wife joined together to grind the temper and mix the clay. In addition to the special large pots, the women made bowls, soup plates, and water jugs to sell.*

When the pottery was ready to be fired, the men brought the wood and the women tended to the firing. After the pots were fired, the men sold them in the markets of San Cristóbal or Comitán. They usually made about 26 pesos per dozen, which netted them about 500 pesos.

794 782 Learning the patʔoʔtan. *Each evening, an elder of the family of the alférez who knew the patʔoʔtan, or prayer, came to teach him. This*

might have been his father, an uncle, or a godparent who had already served as alférez. 794 782

Buying festal foods. *The following items were purchased in the neighboring Ladino town of Himlol: 120 pesos' worth of bread; one-half a slaughtered bull for 600 pesos; 6 almudes of beans; 10 kilos of coffee; and 5 pesos' worth of brown sugar. If the alférez owned a bull, he slaughtered it and sold one half.* 794 796 [43]

Preparing liquor. *The alférez rented a still and, with the help of his father and brothers, distilled 7 garafones (126 liters) of liquor, using brown cane sugar.* [273] [429]

Preparing special clothing. *The following items were purchased or bought: jacket for 50 pesos; shirt for 55 pesos; hat for 30 pesos; pair of boots for 32 pesos; red waistband for 16 pesos; and red kerchief for 9 pesos.* 794 796 43 [291]

The hat was made by a man in the town. When the alférez went to ask him to do him the favor of making a hat, he brought 1 peso's worth of bread, 1 liter of trago, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. The alférez borrowed black leather leggings and a black towel. To each of those who lent him clothing, he gave 1 liter of trago, 1 peso's worth of bread, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. When he returned the clothing, he gave the same gifts. [426]

The installation of the new alférez. *During the four days of the fiesta of the saint with which he was charged, the new alférez was initiated into his duties in office. In taking on each of the functions assigned to him, that "dialectical connection between the actor and his part, the person and his roles or status or office," was effected (Fortes 1959:57).* 794 796

The first day (Paswamal). *On the first day of every large fiesta,* Paswamal (*literally, "to make the boughs or decorations"*), *the women of the household and the sisters and sisters-in-law of the new alférez and his wife gathered in his house to cook the food. The men slaughtered the* [252] [262]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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796 tions betray the intent. As he is hauled up by ropes and hung from the
182 bell tower "to show the world that he killed Christ," the mayordomos on
829 the ground who are assisting those up in the bell tower jab him with long poles. In this horseplay they symbolically castrate him: I heard one mayordomo say, *"Me?ɬunun,"* (transvestite) as one well-directed blow struck Judas. On Saturday, he is let down and given a ride on horseback around town. Formerly riding a horse was the prerogative only of Ladinos in the department of San Cristóbal Las Casas (Colby and Van den Berghe 1961). Placing Judas on a horse possibly has a symbolic value in identifying him as one of the hated dominant group who asserted this privilege.
[794] As he rides around town, the mayordomos solicit gifts from the people.
[756] Everyone gives fruits except the curers, who donate money. This transac-
[754] tion may indicate an obligation they feel toward Judas as one source of their power over witchcraft-derived illnesses. The money is used to buy liquor, called the "washing of the arms and legs of our Lord Eskipulas." The drinking is mandatory for all the mayordomos who have participated in the hanging of Judas.

The Judas figure, which was the church's symbol of the hated Semite, is made to appear as the enemy of the Indians, the Ladino. He symbolizes the sexual license of Ladinos with Indian women, the oppression of Indians by Ladinos, and the killer of Christ. In retaliation, the Indian symbolically castrate and hang him, and finally burn his body, thus dramatically vanquishing the alien in their midst. So far as I know, the priest is
[793] unaware of the identification Indians make between the Jew and the Ladino. He prevented the ride from taking place the year I witnessed the Easter Week ceremonial on grounds that it was a pagan ritual; when he left town on Sunday, the mayordomos took Judas on his customary rounds.

796 The attitude toward Jesus, as the hero of the morality play, is ambiva-
776 lent. Martyrdom is not the way to win in Indian society. The feeling is
182 that power goes to the one who makes the sacrifice, and since Jesus was a
829 Ladino sacrifice, they have more power than the Indians. During the
[181] Caste War in Chiapas in 1868, the Indians crucified an Indian youth in
[782] the hope that they would find a savior as powerful as Jesus. To this day,
[175] Indians of To?ontahal seem not to identify Jesus as one of themselves,

793 794 [578] *hundred and fifty pesos for a dress. The padre said I couldn't buy it there. He told me to send for one in Mexico that cost five hundred and fifty pesos. He wanted to make the profit.*

The fiscal. As an intermediary between the traditional religious officials and the priest, the fiscal is the target for both sides of the religious controversy. The priest selects the fiscal, but his retention of the post depends on his being accepted by the mayordomos. The tendency in the past [212] [191] fifteen years since a regular priest has been assigned to the community is to choose a man who speaks Spanish and can read and write, but who can 794 be dominated by the priest. The following statement by a man who served in this post in 1929 defines the functions of the fiscal as the Indians see them:

> *When I served as fiscal, I knew how to sell [the Indians use the verb* to sell *in reference to any propaganda—whether commercial, political, or religious] the catechism. After the prayer, I cleaned the patio. I held the key to the church. I saw [in the sense of watch over] all the mayordomos. I bought the candles and incense for the saints. At midday the mayordomos and I left the church and went home. There was no padre living here then, and the padre from San Cristóbal came only on the days of San Francisco, Virgin Santa Lucía, San Pedro the Martyr, and Santiago. Each Sunday, the ten mayordomos and I entered the church and prayed in the true language.*

[782] [191] Prayers are now given in Spanish by the fiscal and the prayer-reciters under the guidance of the lay sisters, who remain most of the time in the convento. The fiscal, as a consequence, is no longer selected on the basis of [554] his ability to recite the pat'o'tan. Since one of the main tasks of the fiscal is to take care of the church, several recent incumbents have been jeered as being like women, cleaning house and responding to the bidding of the priests. Some have suggested that one was a homosexual. They blame the fiscales for letting control over the domain of the church fall into the hands of the priest.

[782] A man who had filled the post himself, described the careers of several former fiscales:

In 1912, Bernardo was fiscal. He knew how to pray well. About nine in the morning, the girls [prayer-reciters] gathered in the church and heard prayer in common. Then he borrowed money from the church and did not return it. He left for the finca with his father and three men. His wife went with her children. He fled because he didn't have the money, and he never returned. He sold his house in town to buy food. He died there in the finca. The girls remembered him because he was a friend, and they bought a candle for twenty cents. 794 782

Another fiscal, Antonio, began to give prayers to the same girls who accompanied him. He knew how to pray very well, and he prayed each Sunday. Then he died.

Then Carlos passed as fiscal. He knew how to pray from memory. The same girls learned, and all sang the prayer. Then that fiscal sold the tablecloths; he sold the candle holders; he sold everything. Therefore the cofrades did not want him. They said, "Go away because you are not good." God was going to punish him because he sold everything in the church.

In 1929 the pueblo named Ceferino [the informant, who refers to himself in the third person]. He served until he was made president in 1937.

In 1938, Antonio was chosen by the pueblo, but soon they did not want him because he was always ordering the pueblo to do work. He charged a lot for the fiestas, but he did not buy firecrackers or clothing for the saints. In a mass meeting they asked him to leave.

In 1939 Miguel put himself in office. The pueblo did not choose him. He did not know how to pray. He knew a little by memory because he heard what Antonio had said in his prayers, but he did not know the catechism. He didn't want to leave the church, but the pueblo spoke much against him.

The padre was against Miguel because he had begun to take advantage of the trips with the priest to sell the contraband liquor that he distilled. Some maintain that it was during his period as fiscal that the power shifted from the cofrades to the priest. He was accused of stealing the money donated to the saint, a sum of about 300 pesos. Although the money was returned, he is still considered guilty. 794 [793] [685]

Miguel's successor, the present incumbent Pablo, served as president while he was fiscal. [622]

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does not drink or have a record of fighting. Character traits are given more significance than wealth, since the minimal differences which distinguish rich from poor can be lost within a few months if a man drinks heavily or does not work. The close identification among siblings means that in accepting a suit the girl's parents will take into consideration not only the boy's reputation, but those of his brothers. If they are considered to be disobedient, lazy, or frequently drunk, their brother may have difficulty finding a woman.

Positions of ceremonial importance in the household celebrations are filled by any of the elders who have acquired knowledge of the prayers. The nakawanehetik are chosen from among any of the bilaterally-extended relatives, compadres, or padrinos who have served five times in religious office. They are selected not only on the basis of how well they know the prayers, but also on their behavior when required to drink. A man who can hold his liquor and still speak well or who quietly goes to sleep rather than fighting when drunk is preferred. The me?il k'op is selected from among the female complements of these male relatives. She acquires her knowledge of the prayers in familial settings. The b'alnialetik are chosen from the kihtz'inal (younger siblings and cousins), or from among compadres or members of neighboring households. The rank order between the two sets of roles—the nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik—depends on relative age; thus the older nakawanehetik have greater authority.

Familial roles provide both a pattern and a springboard for other roles in the community. The father-son role pair is extended to the relationships between senior and junior officials in both the religious hierarchy and the curing hierarchy. For each saint, the elder mayordomo is called "father" (*Tatil Martoma*), and the younger is called "son" (*Nič'nal Martoma*). A man must fill the junior post at least two times before taking on the senior post. For each side of the dual division, the elder curer (when there was a recognized leader) was called "father" (*Tatil ?u?ul*), and the younger was called "son" (*Nic'nal ?u?ul*) or sometimes "youth" (*Bixtal ?u?ul*). The term *me?il* (woman who has borne a child) is used in the reference to ceremonial roles played by women in the household, as in the case of me?il k'op (woman speaker) and me?il č'om (mother of the betrothal).

"gift of the gods," liquor, to the party whose interests have been slighted. This is done in the case of a suitor who is asking for a woman of the other side of the dual division; he gives the bachelors of that side a garrafón of liquor in compensation for the loss of a potential mate. Liquor has become a substitute for the sacrifice of a child by a man being initiated into the curing profession. Informal offerings of liquor may be made between neighbors or relatives who have been fighting with each other. Liquor is a kind of universal social solvent in disputes, and figures importantly in court cases which are always terminated in a drinking session.

Another technique is simply a payment in money to compensate for damages. In some homicide cases, the payment of "blood money" has compensated the family of the victim to avoid legal action. This is never done, however, if the community agrees that the victim was a witch. Payment of fines in court is another such form of compensation. These payments or offerings minimize the bloodshed or personal involvement in conflictual relations. Payment by the man judged guilty will ensure his reincorporation into his customary place in the community without stigma.

While it is impossible to elicit from informants a theory of roles, it is possible to formulate the principles underlying roles. These are deduced from behavioral observations and from evaluations made of the performances of others. They can be summarized in the following propositions:

1. There is a clear separation between role and role-bearer. This is seen most clearly in the passage through civil and religious offices with a minimum of "halo" effect. It is also found in the situation of household officials whose authority in directing affairs within a household ceases when the ceremony in which they officiate is over. The separation ensures flexibility in a closed social system, enabling people to shift from one role to another. It also permits continuity in a system which requires an almost complete turnover of personnel each year.

2. Function performed is separate from role in which it is performed. This applies even in those roles which are designated on the basis of the most important function required of the performer, for example woman speaker, liquor measurer, and basket carrier. All of

square. Although this conception is contradicted by knowledge learned in 772
school, the two concepts are not brought into direct opposition. The town 361
still defines the outer limit of most meaningful social relations, and most people are not forced by the circumstances of their lives to deal with an understanding of the world as round. It is enough that the four "sides" of their village be protected by crosses at the points of entry. The important orientation points are the east, referred to as the "coming out of the sun," and the west, referred to as "the sleeping place of the sun." North and south are referred to as lowland and highland because of the topography. Compass orientation is important behaviorally only at death. The body of [764]
the deceased is laid out in the cemetery with the head to the east. Indians [829]
comment that the Ladinos lay the body out with the head to the west, but Indians of other towns, such as Zinacantan, also do so. The cemetery is located on the western side of the town.

The House

The reference to the house in prayer as "the entry to suffering, inside 342
the poverty" suggests the "cult of poverty" which Wolf (1955:459) points [782]
out as characteristic of closed corporate Indian communities. Most people conform to a standard house size of five square meters subdivided into an interior sleeping and living area and a porch (Fig. 8). The walls are made of mud strengthened with lime packed in a framework of poles supported on nine main posts. The roofs are pitched with four sheds rising steeply to a truncated ridge. Tiles are used in most new houses to cover the roof, but there are still many thatched palm or wooden shingle roofs. Corn and [251]
beans are stored in the rafters under the eaves of the house.

Inside the house, beds line the two side walls. If there is no cooking [352]
shack separate from the house, the hearth is placed in the center of the in- [354]
terior room. The grinding stone, raised on three posts, is placed to the left [412]
of the center post.

The porch is the area for ceremonial gatherings and for making and storing pottery. A table with the pictures of household saints set against [353]
the inside wall, is adorned with flowers and candles. During house fiestas, [796]
men sit on the benches lining the four walls of the porch, while the [562]
women sit inside in a semicircle.

The townspeople feel that they own the church, and many resent the intrusion of the priest who resides sometimes two or three days a week in the adjoining rectory. In the past five years, however, the priest has succeeded in asserting more control over the church: he has forbidden drinking in the church or in the courtyard, a prohibition that resulted in an open confrontation with the leading cofrade (Chapter 9); and he now controls the keys to the church and to the money boxes, formerly the responsibility of the fiscal. The two lay sisters who are in residence during the week hold the keys and are in charge of the upkeep of the church. 346 793 794 177 178

People always show respect for the church by removing their hats as they pass the entrance, even when they are at a distance. As they enter the church, they always kneel and cross themselves. They may spit on the floor of the church, for this is not a sign of disrespect. 346 576 788 [514]

The complementarity of church and cabildo is still formally recognized in ceremonial events: participants bow to the church and then to the cabildo during processions. The transfer of sacred symbols from one locale to the other at the time of the inauguration of civil and religious officials ceremonially signifies the integration of civil and religious authority, despite the growing separation in day-to-day functions in each of the domains. 621 794 182

The church serves as a staging platform for the images and symbolic offerings to them in the annual cycle of ceremonies. During the nine days of ceremony accorded to the major saints, their images are moved to the center of the altar or to the center of the nave. The staging effects are particularly notable during the fiesta of Holy Week, when the reenactment of the crucifixion is performed in the nave. The mayordomos, under the direction of the fiscal and the lay sisters, move the saints about and prepare adornments of flowers and pine needles. 346 796 [794]

The church is the locus for the weekly mass given by the priest. The men stand on the left side of the church (facing the altar), while the women kneel or sit on the floor to the right. A few benches near the altar are occupied by the Ladinos of the area who attend the mass. The lay sisters indicate to the congregation when they should kneel and rise in response to the cues of the sermon or mass. [562] [563] [794]

In addition to these scheduled events, the church serves as a locus where 346 776 782

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346 776 782 individuals can visit the saints on their own personal missions. Appendix 3A records the visits of groups and individuals on an ordinary Sunday. Their actions in the church are part of the standardized behavior incumbent upon all those who enter the building.

Communication with the saints is ensured either by touching and kissing their images or, if the images are enclosed in glass cases, by tapping the gl. with offerings of money. It is believed that one gains an audience [562] by pay..ng for it. When groups larger than individual clusters of visitors enter the church, sexual segregation is observed (for example, when a male child enters with his mother on the occasion of a mass, he remains with her until more people arrive, then leaves her to stand on the male [788] side of the nave). Ritualized wailing is done by women only. After such a [152] demonstration the women show normal composure, since wailing is a standardized mode of communication, not an outburst of uncontrolled emotion. It is private and concerns the individual wailer and the saint to which she appeals; none of the other visitors in the church indicates any sign of response to these displays. Unless there is a focused activity going [794] on, such as a mass or series of baptisms, each visiting group is an autonomous unit, carrying out its own mission.

794 People visit the church most commonly in pairs of two. They congre-571 gate for mass in a pattern in which women and children enter first, and 562 men, who linger in the plaza until the church is partially filled, enter in clusters and take their places on the male side of the nave. The religious and civil officials enter last, and the mayordomos, whose attendance is one of the obligations of their post, move toward the altar at the front. Men attend church less frequently than do women.

The School

346 Unlike the church, the school is regarded as an alien structure. Assist-621 ance in reconstruction and maintenance is given under pressure rather 875 than voluntarily. Until fairly recently, schoolteachers too remained unin-[177] tegrated in the community. In the early years of the school's existence, there [178] was a rapid turnover of teachers. The employment of a schoolmaster with a wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The school has be-

Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

773 credit to insects who carried it from the hills. Still another myth synthe-
179 sizes both pre-Conquest and Catholic agents: San Antonio, seeing an in-
178 sect bearing a kernel of corn, persuaded a woodpecker to break open the rock which blocked the entrance to the hill where the corn was stored and then organized the insects to bring forth the corn. The contradictions in these myths do not motivate the people to bring the several versions into line with one another because the rituals associated with beliefs concerning crops provide an overall insurance rather than a specific contract. The In-
776 dians do not trust their security to any one saint or even group of deities.
782 The two candles lit in the milpa following the harvest are an offering to
177 the "owner of the earth"; along with this, offerings of corncobs are made
178 to the saints in the church and to the house saint. Even the birds are left
[825] an offering of corn kernels in the fields after the harvest so that they will not be jealous of the farmer.

773 These myths fail to provide specific charters for action. What they do
771 provide is a set of dispositions to behave in certain ways. The underlying
182 disposition is that of self-imposed guilt and recrimination. The ancestors left their cave because the people failed to give them a fiesta; the spirit of money left the town because the religious officials in the past failed to adorn the church and improvidently strewed the floor with green peso notes in place of pine needles. Sickness and poverty are attributed to their own failures.

771 Another disposition is that of appeasement through ceremonial enter-
796 tainment. This is carried out in the fiestas for the spirits of the church and
731 the spirits of the heaven just as for the spirits of the house, caves, springs,
182 and hills surrounding the town. Community-wide disaster is interpreted as a direct result of failure to perform rituals establishing reciprocity with the spirits. When individuals face crop loss, they review their own ritual obligations to see what went wrong. The curing ceremony is an-
[755] other effort to appease the devil whom the witch has persuaded to give illness to his victim.

771 A third such disposition is to project human conflict into the super-
776 natural sphere. The conflict between Santa Lucía and the patron saint of Ox-
821 chuk, Santo Tomás was taken to be the reason for the church tower being
182

342 which usually indicates the emergence of a new domestic group.
592 Its social importance is related to several factors.

342 When the young couple build their first separate house,
591 this symbolizes their right to become a separate domestic group.
592 It means that they have lived together long enough to raise one or more children past the age of weaning, and that they have become economically and jurally independent of their parents.

342 (See later discussion on residence.) The building itself is a
156 material display of a man's good social relations. Although
571 house size does not correlate with the number of people living in it, the villagers think that a house "talks" about its owners. A very small house tells the villagers that it is a "drunk-man house" because his owner spends all his money on liquor and cannot buy materials for building a better place. The house also tells of the amount of industrious effort that a man and his family are able to put into its construction, and it tells about how much his relatives and neighbors are willing to "loan hands" to him (help for house building is not paid for in money, but in reciprocal labor). A house is also a good indicator of how much [177] "ladino influence" its owner has assimilated. Houses with ladino influence would have internal divisions in the rooms, windows, painted walls and/or tile roofs. (This type of house is not common, as can be seen in Fig. 12 and Table 5.)

342 The building of a house is followed by a "house warming"
[527] ceremony, in which offerings to the Mother-Earth or Saintly Earth
[182] and the house are buried under the floor. The ritual preparation of a new home is part of a complex ideological identification between people and their homestead.

[NEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 111]

because sickness is considered a supernatural expression of disturbed social relations, and this is considered disruptive, not only for the people who inhabit a single dwelling, but also for the building which symbolizes their common residence and interests. As long as the relations of people living in a house are harmonious, the house is kept contented. But if this is not so, both the people and the building have to be ritually cleaned. For example, if a daughter disobeys her mother, she is considered to be suffering from bilis or cólico, and in need of curing. During the curing ceremony, the sick misbehaver has to be instructed about her duties as a good daughter, and is given a speech apropos the misdemeanor. The curing ceremony is not completed if the house is not ritually cured, too. This is done by a curer offering the building some trago, the local brew, asking it to be contented. This offering is then symbolic of both the re-establishment of normal social relations between the individuals living in the house, and between the individuals and their material projection, their house.

The people living in a household are in charge of performing some other rituals which are expected to insure the welfare of the whole group.

A small altar, usually made of a pine table, is kept in the house. It is covered with Catholic Saints' images and printed religious calendars. The table also contains all kinds of other things: petty cash (which is kept there for small purchases), double corncobs (which are "lucky pieces") or unusually colored maize, and any other oddity found by the household members, such

621*
"to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] 788
who the new officials to remain in office are." 554
693

Awaiting the new officials in the church are all the mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials 621*
as they enter to see who they are" (App. 1, Q. 48, 49). 794
The new officials "speak to God," asking for health [782]
so that they can complete their obligation to the town.
They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave [788]
the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father townhall." There they spend the remainder of the afternoon.

The mayordomos go to the kitchen attached to the 621*
townhall. The first policeman directs the purchase of 273
liquor and the measuring out of drinks for the ten [794]
policemen from the two sides of the dual division and [625]
the two rural commissioners. In the townhall the new president's first orders are to the fourth regidor to ask
him to buy two liters of "the gift," liquor. The par- [693]
don to the ancestors, and the offering of the gift to the [782]
principales, is in the hands of the first judge, who [431]
knows the *paṡʔot'an*, and can do the honors. The [537]
president is served following the principales in the round of drinking.

The change of religious officials takes place on the 794
fiesta day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29, and 796
on the day of the three Kings, January 6. This provides a six-month term of office. The new officials gather in the homes of the *ḳobraria* of Halal meʔtik and Sakramentu, and in the church. Thus two settings, home and church, come into play with the change of civil officials, but the townhall, significantly, is not part of this act nor are the alfereces called into action.

The ceremony lasts three days: first day is *pas ḳantelero*, 'to make candles,' when the candles are cleaned, and the old mayordomos eat a "common meal" *(ḳomun weʔel)*; second day is *wiṡperes*, when the oath is taken; final day is *sk'ahk'alel*, when the new mayordomos play the drums or flute.

The first gathering, which took place the year I observed it in the house of the *ḳobraria* of Halal Meʔtik Santalusia, was cut short because the *ḳobraria* did not have a porch, and it had begun raining. By local [362]
standards, a house without a porch is considered inadequate, and is called 'cow house' *(waḳaṡ naʔ)* since the owner cannot accommodate guests on such occasions. The group therefore lingered longer in the house of the *ḳobraria* of Sakramentu.

The speech of the *naḳawane* to the "elder new [537]
mayordomos" *(mamal ʔaṡ martomaetik)* (App. 2,

[P. 218-B]

Change of Officials

The degree of integration of the civil and religious wings of the hierarchy can be described behaviorally. The following acts (App. 1) indicate this structural feature. 621* 794 182

Q. 24. The civil officials kneel and "measure their noses" as they enter the townhall in deference to the banners. [788]

Q. 27. Sacred objects, such as the holy banners of the *kobrarias*, are present on the table in the townhall as the officers take the oath of office. Officials carry rosaries as they accept oath and wear them in the procession to the church. [778]

Q. 28. The alfereces are present in the townhall to witness the ceremony. As bearers of the four major saints of the town, their role is primarily defined in a religious context.

Q. 41. Officials go to the church immediately following their procession in the plaza to pray for health to carry out their responsibilities. [782]

Q. 48. The religious officials are present in church on New Year's day to witness the arrival of new officials of the civil wing.

The alfereces link the two wings of the hierarchy in the following acts: 794 182

Q. 36. They carry the sacred banners to the townhall on the day of the inauguration.

Chart 9. They lead the parade of new officials of the civil wing.

Q. 28. They witness ("look at") the inauguration of the civil officials in the townhall.

Q. 36. In emerging from the townhall, they bow and incline their banners first before the townhall, then before the church. [788]

In the inauguration of the religious officials the only act uniting officials of the two wings of the hierarchies is that of counting the money (App. 2, Q. 90) when the town treasurer and síndico assist the church officials. The integration of the civil and religious wings in Tzo?ontahal is asymmetrical. The church officials as a group are involved in the civil inauguration, but the civil officials are only peripherally involved in the religious inauguration. 621* 794 182 [624]

Another behavioral basis for stating the dimensions of the civil and religious integration is found in the replication of symbols and acts in each inauguration. In taking the oath, the term *yič huramentu* is used in both settings. The staff as symbol of civil office has its counterpart in the candles handed over to the mayordomos. In both ceremonies, officials of the townhall and of the church wear red kerchiefs and carry rosaries when receiving the oath of office. 621* 794 182 782 788 [641] [292] [293]

Replication of behavior in both civil and religious 000

[P. 220—B]

ment, engrossed as I was in the task of eliciting the formal sequence of events, "Quiet,' S.; let's get on with the fiesta." He persisted in what interested him. 124

Eleven years ago they [who? enemies?] tried to get me. I had a piece of land in hot country. My house here was not ready, but the wood was ready. M. C. a neighbor was jealous [*ʔil yoʔtan*, 'saw his heart']. He had caused another neighbor's illness. He was my wife's *muʔ* [literally 'brother-in-law,' in this case the informant's wife's fa's sis's husband]. He didn't have corn or beans. He was jealous because of my crops and the big house I was going to build. 124 578 [754] [601] [602]

By now I was asking questions and taking notes. I interposed, "How did you know?" 124 578

I knew because when I got sick, the curer (who was the dead husband of the widow who came to the judges' house) told me. The *cabron* (goat) witches leave their signature in the blood (*yak hilel firma ta čiʔ*). Then I went to a curer in Chamula who confirmed it. 754 756

"How did he speak to you?" 124

In Tzotzil. Then I went to Las Casas. Another curer, also a Chamulteco, said, "Here is his signature in your blood. He is working alone." On January 7 I fell in bed. All month from January to the 19th of April I was very sick. I went to Cruz Quemada (colonia of Tzoʔontahal) where F. G. cured me. He burned candles at the curing arch and prayed. 578 755 756 [782]

"Whom did he pray to?"

The hills, the holy land. Then I got well, but I was very tired. My Swana [wife, Juana] told me "He is going to kill you." I had a rifle. I filled it and went out, but then I returned. Another day I took two measures of trago, took my rifle and went to his house. He was sleeping with his wife close to him in bed, the way we sleep here. I fired four times. The bullets went in his back and came out front. One entered the arm of his wife. Now people say of me I am a killer. I went to the townhall for the enquiry. The man's wife said the door [of the house] was open. She said she did not see me. Afterward I got well. If I hadn't killed him, I never would have lived. Now I am having more trouble first because of the cooperative, then because of my brother being president, and then the comisario. Let us see what will happen this year. If God lends us our life, there are going to be protests. We will walk with our pistols. Špet [wife of Ladino owner of opposing cooperative] gave 1000 pesos to a man from Magronal to kill me. 124 578 682

"How do you know?"

My compadre came and told me. Who knows how many deaths there will be!

[P. 225-A]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

*621 124 796 [178]	26. What do they do in the townhall?	They take the oath		
	27. How is the townhall arranged?	The four holy crosses brought by the alfereces and the holy staffs are on the *tatik* table		On the table were 4 banners, new staffs, key of cabildo laid on orange leaves sprinkled about on table.
	28. Who is in the townhall?	There are gathered the old officials (*mamal k'a hu?cletik*) and the two principales (*mamal krinnipaletik*) and the four alfereces (*alperesil*). (See Chart 7)	It is the old officials	(See Chart 8)
	29. What are the old officials doing?	They are seated conversing		
*621 124 796 641 [182]	30. How do they take the oath?	They take from the *tatik* table what they give the oath for—the four holy crosses and the four staffs.	Standing, the new officials call the name of God. They form a line before the banners	New president ordered new officials to form a circle around table. Then the martomoreys prayed holding rosary in hand
[273]	31. Who passes the staffs (*tbaratik me?tiktatik*)?	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials. They encircle hand with rosary and take their staff	Two principales handed out staffs first to president, then first judge, second judge, assistant judge, regidores and police. The second principal was very drunk and had to be directed by former president
*621 124 796 641 875 539	32. Who gave the oath?		The secretary	The schoolteacher
	32a. What does the schoolteacher say when he gives the oath?			Gentlemen, by the will of the pueblo, the government of the state leaves us in charge of the officers before us. The president is in charge of the pueblo during the three years from this one on, 1965, –66, –67. This pueblo has the obligation of helping him in the organization of all his works. It has the obligation of respecting his command, and the authorities that are going to work with him also have the obligation of respecting him because he is the first authority. All of us who belong to the pueblo and all the societies have the obligation of respecting him just as the assistant authorities fulfill his orders because he is the primary authority. Raise the right hand, repeat after me: In the name of the government of the state with the honor that characterizes them I swear to fulfill with honor

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: Entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
#621 124 796 641 [875]				and enthusiasm what the constitution commands us. I want in this moment, under the oath, to designate the position of municipal president of the pueblo
[539]	33. How did new officials respond to oath?			Officials raised hands with rosary in it. Then they put rosary on their necks
#621 124 796	34. What do they do after the oath?		Pass over the papers with the acts, with all the things	Take inventory of communal possessions—5 chairs in bad estate, 2 *codigo viejo*, etc.
	35. Who takes inventory?			The past president
#621 124 794 796 [533] [788]	36. What do they do after they take their staffs the new officials?	The four alfereces go out with their banners	The alfereces go out in a procession with the banners	First alferez came to table, crossed himself, kissed banner with kerchief bound on handle, unfurled banner. He followed with second, third, and fourth alfereces. Flute and drum began as alfereces came out. They turned and faced the townhall. Inclining banners the police went out, knelt, crossed selves at door. Then the regidores, then president, then síndico and judges
#621 124 796 788	37. What time did the procession begin?			1:05
	38. What did the procession look like?	(Chart 9)		(Chart 10)
	39. How many turns do they take?		They take two turns where the fruit is sold (reference to plaza during a ceremony)	Two turns (started behind school house but old *nakawane* redirected them)
	40. What did the alfereces do?			At door of the townhall, drew up horses facing it, dipped banners. Same at church
	41. Where does the procession go?	To the church	They go to the church	They enter the church
#621 124 796 [624]	42. Who remains at the townhall?		The officials come out, leaving all the townhall silent except for the two principales who will await the new officials	The two principales remain within
[782] [794]	43. What do they do in the church?	All the officials speak to God (Chart 11)	They speak to God. They kiss all the saints	They pray at the altar, then kiss the saints as they leave. The alfereces leave their banners in the church

[P 198-H]

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Plate 10. Future members of the household line up with the branches of spring bushes with which the curer will brush them. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

577 682 in the following statement by a man who admitted to me that he had killed two men:

The padre said that those who kill will get killed. The one who kills also receives all the guilt of his victim and will have to pay for it in the after-world. But my father said that when he was a policeman, there was a man in Tejonero who killed for nothing when he got drunk. He always carried a knife and would kill anyone around. However, he lived until he was very old. Therefore I do not believe the padre.

577 775 Concern about the afterworld does not act as a deterrent to action in this world.

783 794 Most men ignore the priest's attempts to persuade them to go to confession. Women, especially the prayer-reciters, confess and take communion. Their confessions, according to the priest, are a recitation of the sins of their husbands or their neighbors.

273 577 Drinking is often given as a defense for failing to meet standards of behavior. While this serves to excuse minor infractions, a man is supposed to be responsible for his actions even when drunk. When one policeman started a fight in public, an elder judge commented to my informant:

Look at that, younger brother! I drink liquor when I am very drunk, but I do not fight either my elders or minors. When I passed as president formerly, I used to enter the cabildo, and I spoke well to the judges even if I was drunk. One time I came to your house very drunk and you were half drunk, but you did not say anything to me, nor did I. You did not fight. Thus I walk well. I never fight, nor have I gone to prison, and it is because I give respect to my elders and to my juniors.

Reflecting on this advice, my informant added:

And so it is with me also. I have drunk a great deal in Ahk'olnantik [the opposite section from where he lives] both at day and at night. Whoever speaks to me tells me to go drink with them a little liquor, and sometimes I give them a drink or I take them where they sell liquor and we drink. But I never fight, and I am able to drink wherever I like.

626 273 431 The community has developed techniques for compensating failure to meet behavioral norms. The most frequently used is an offering of the

because sickness is considered a supernatural expression of disturbed social relations, and this is considered disruptive, not only for the people who inhabit a single dwelling, but also for the building which symbolizes their common residence and interests. As long as the relations of people living in a house are harmonious, the house is kept contented. But if this is not so, both the people and the building have to be ritually cleaned. For example, if a daughter disobeys her mother, she is considered to be suffering from bilis or cólico, and in need of curing. During the curing ceremony, the sick misbehaver has to be instructed about her duties as a good daughter, and is given a speech apropos the misdemeanor. The curing ceremony is not completed if the house is not ritually cured, too. This is done by a curer offering the building some trago, the local brew, asking it to be contented. This offering is then symbolic of both the re-establishment of normal social relations between the individuals living in the house, and between the individuals and their material projection, their house.

The people living in a household are in charge of performing some other rituals which are expected to insure the welfare of the whole group.

A small altar, usually made of a pine table, is kept in the house. It is covered with Catholic Saints' images and printed religious calendars. The table also contains all kinds of other things: petty cash (which is kept there for small purchases), double corncobs (which are "lucky pieces") or unusually colored maize, and any other oddity found by the household members, such

/2 cont./

614 The chieftaincy of each clan was filled by the oldest man,
887 who was called chunel. (It seems to have the same meaning as
156 the word catinab, but some informants recognized the latter as
the one used in the adjacent municipality of Oxchuc.) The office
was not hereditary, and upon the death of a chunel the oldest man
156 of the clan was venerated as such. The chief of the clan was re-
614 spected and feared, because he was recognized as endowed with
888 supernatural power which, through his lab, he exercised over all
776 the members of the clan. Two informants of advanced age de-
554 fined the chunel as "the oldest one and the greatest sorcerer."
The lab feeds on souls, and a person who has "done wrong" is
776 "eaten" by the lab of the one offended and dies. In this way
761 social control was exercised on and among the members of the
[784] clan, never going beyond the limits of this. The life of the in-
[626] dividual is intimately bound to the life of the lab, or guardian
776 spirit: the death of one brings with it the death of the other. All
the Cancuqueros have their lab, but they hide it and sometimes
[756] deny it. The curer knows which is the lab of the sick person be-
[827] cause "he hears it in the pulse." The lab reveals itself in dreams
[787] to "its owner," with whom it speaks because "it is his own com-
pany." One person discovers the lab of another "because he sees
it." The lab takes care of its owner, defends him, and is the in-
178 strument of revenge for an injury unjustly received. Today this
614 concept is intimately bound up with the omniscience of the patron
626 saint; only with the permission of San Juan can a lab "eat" the
776 soul of a chapomal, or "clan brother," and this permission is
granted only in the case when the saint is unfavorably impressed
by the conduct of the individual. In any case the lab never
wreaks its vengeance except for a bad act that would fully justify
614 it according to the social morality. As can be seen, social con-
626 trol was not only rooted in the chief of the clan, but this function
extended to the whole group, as happens at present.

241 825 *they said to me, "while we go over with the other two." I fell asleep. Then the raccoon entered. And so I believe the raccoon is very bright.*

Also there is the wild pig, who is less bright than the raccoon.

Another "thief" of the milpa is a small black insect which eats beans. These are eliminated in the following way:

[291] *When we plant beans, the women go with us wearing a new skirt and a new shawl. They walk near the plants, waving the shawl. The animals die. It has to be a new skirt. My mother proved it. She went with an old skirt, and she saw that they did not die. They just fled to the mountain out of shame. It is the smell of the old skirt that scared them away.*

241 825 783 788 If many animals are eating the crops, Indians buy three twenty-cent candles. They take them to the fields and light them, praying in Tzeltal: "God, holy world, please look at me and speak to the little animals. God, holy rock, holy forest, please look at me, hear me, speak to the animals."

The candles are media through which communication is made with the gods as well as gifts which seal the contract with the gods ensuring their protection and guardianship over the crops.

241 706 784 Guarding the crops also involves avoidance of certain kinds of behavior by the farmer and his wife. Farmers must always avoid irritating the spirits of the heaven who control the elements which make the growth of the crop possible. One informant explained:

One should not have sexual relations with anyone in the milpa because the Father Sun [Tatik K'ak'al] *gets angry or "ends his heart." He will not give crops. He gets very hot. One time, many women in town were looking for lovers. They would have sexual relations with boys in the daytime. The Father Sun got angry and caused the crops to burn. There was very little corn. The price went up to twenty cents a liter. People bought bread and mixed it with the nixtamal.*

It is different if a man is married to a woman in the church. The Tatik K'ak'al does not get angry. The Tatik K'ak'al does not have a woman of his own, and so he gets jealous if he sees people having sexual relations in the milpa in the daytime.

But if you have relations at night with a man in the milpa, Our grand-

mother the Moon gets angry. This might cause an eclipse of the moon, and the crops will suffer because there will be no sun. 241 776 784

There is no prohibition, however, against having sexual relations prior to planting or at other crucial stages, as there are for other Maya Indians (Wagley 1941:34). [171]

During the growing season, candles are lit in the milpa as protection against wind as well as robbers, who "lose their luck" when this is done. 241 788

The spirits' care of the crops. The crops have souls, given by the spirits, which will be lost if they are not cared for. The spirits "watch over the crops as parents watch over their children." The term for seed (*yal*) is a metaphorical extension of the term for "child of a woman." 241 774 776

The following myths give different, occasionally contradictory versions of the origin of crops. This central truth emerges in all of them: The spirits have given us our crops and will continue to do so as long as we offer thanks in the form of ceremonies and gifts to them. [782]

Santo Tomás [the patron saint of Oxchuk] had intercourse with Santa Lucía. She wanted [asked for] *the soul of corn, and he gave her the seed of corn. Then there came forth beans, corn, and wheat. But then all the saints of San Bartolo and San Miguel [neighboring towns] asked for the soul of corn. Then the soul of beans left us and went to hot country. Now it does not grow well in the pueblo. Also, the avocado has gone to Comitán. The matasano and ground beans went to Oxchuk when Santa Lucía fought with Santo Tomás.* [539]

The myth of the origin of crops overlays an older myth which has parallels in other groups of Maya-speaking Indians (Castro 1965, Wagley 1941:20). 773 241 171

Formerly, during a famine, there was hunger. The tzisim, *an insect of Ariola, came to take the corn from underground. Thus the ancestors got their first seed. For this reason, people say that corn was born underground, brought up by the tzisim. But I believe God sent us corn.* [539]

Another version has synthesized the role of the saints and that of the animal agent. 241 776 825 539

Chapter 8

Taking Care of the Lord Spirits

Religious behavior is concerned with two major goals: maintaining a given state of prosperity and protecting the community against disaster. In the words of one informant: "All of the goods which we enjoy—the corn, beans, and wheat that we eat, the animals which work for us and give us food—are the gifts of the Lord spirits." The technique for maintaining the flow of goods of the world is the annual cycle of fiestas for the saints. The strategy for protecting the community against disaster is through avoidance of offense and special offerings to the gods identified with pre-hispanic deities and spirits. Responsibility for the ceremonial cycle is assigned to officials who represent the community, but everyone is responsible for the avoidance of disaster, since any transgression of moral behavior by an individual can cause their wrath and bring destruction of crops and animals. The protective rituals involve beliefs continuous from pre-hispanic times; maintenance depends on Catholic saints.

Kinds of Lord Spirits

Religious behavior is based on an understanding of the personality and rank of each deity in a hierarchy of power. The people distinguish two major categories of gods: the lord spirits of the heaven, *E'ultatik ta E'ulčan,* and the lord spirits of the church, *E'ultatik ta E'ulna.* The prefix *E'ul* in all of these terms can be translated as spirit. All growing things—people, plants, and animals—have a spirit. *Tatik* can be translated as our lords, elders, or fathers. The categories of spirits discussed here differ from the Čuleletik (Chapter 1) since these are spirits possessed by the place in which they dwell, as indicated by the possessive form of the noun with the prefix *s.*

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Religious Behavior

Socialization of the child includes teaching him how to adjust to spirits of the house and of the surrounding hills and springs as well as to people in his social environment. He learns the obligations he owes to these spirits in the rituals of house inauguration and curing. Place spirits are given an ethnic identity. The ancestor figures who live in the cave are Indians from whom all the people originate. The Ladino spirits residing in the houses and springs are a mythological projection of a conquered people who have learned to coexist with their conquerors by paying tribute of candles, food, liquor, and entertainment. If the spirits are not won over, they will admit the evil spirits who bring sickness and death. Their presence is known only by the trouble they permit rather than by good occurences; the miracles they perform are an undoing of the harm they have permitted.

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The belief in the potentially dangerous nature of these spirits when their envy or appetite is aroused is linked to an understanding that men and gods alike are jealous and vindictive. It generates behavior that is in conformity with that of the ancestors. A sense of security is reinforced by the protective symbols of incense, the cross of palm hung on the entrance posts of the yard and house, candles which "blind the eye of the devil," and garlic mixed with hot herbs which exude an odor that evil spirits dislike. When the uneasy contract between spiritual and human coresidents is upset, a curing ritual is performed to make everyone "of one heart." Behavior with respect to both spirits and people stems from a policy of appeasement through entertainment and liquor provided in household ceremonials.

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[273]

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Behavior differs in regard to the category of saints called "spirits in the heaven" and those called "spirits in the church." Spirits of the heavens have incorporated pre-Conquest deities with those introduced by the missions. They are a more powerful force influencing human moral behavior. Illicit sexual relations carried out in the milpa by day are believed to arouse the envy of "Our Father the Sun" who will cause the milpa to burn by refusing to give way to rain. Similarly "Our Grandmother the

[834]
[784]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Moon" will not give way to the sun if her envy is aroused by seeing such things. These spirits of the heavens have greater control over natural forces than the spirits of the church, or saints. The saints have only limited influence over the souls of particular crops and chickens; people say "they are just of the pueblo."

The distinction between the "big saints of the church" and the lesser saints is recognized in the rituals accorded each group. Four of the saints are given big fiestas which are longer, require more expenditures, and involve more people than the fiestas for the lesser saints. Few distinctions are made between the personalities of the big saints and those of the lesser saints. They are big because their fiestas are big. The fact that the townspeople have selected four from the rostrum of saints given them suggests a link with the four guardian gods of the pre-Conquest pantheon, but except for San Pedro the Martyr's identification with Chac, or Cha'uk in Tzeltal, I could not make any other associations.

To say that there is a system of beliefs does not rule out inconsistencies. Some contradictions can coexist without giving rise to tension. Awareness of incongruence either between beliefs, or between beliefs and behavior associated with them, arises in specific events in which the conflict becomes apparent—that is, when the participants must make choices between alternatives that affect their interests.

The people do not recognize any division between pre- and post-Conquest spiritual entities. Sometimes two personalities from Catholic sources may be equated with one of pre-Conquest origin in order to fit a story format, as in the case of Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost, with K'oł (Chapter 8). The priests, who had a special dispensation to make whatever cultural translations were necessary in teaching the doctrines of the church (Doctrina Cristiana Lima 1584 III, 3, Recopilación de Leyes, Ley 22 lib. cited in Lamb 1956:531), are responsible for some of the reworking of the two traditions. But local elaborations reveal indigenous cognitive patterning.

Contradictions in myths concerning the origin of crops show some gaps in the union of pre-and post-Conquest legends. The gift of corn is attributed in one myth to the patroness, Santa Lucía, who received it from the patron saint of the neighboring town of Oxchuk. Another myth gives

626 754 784 Therefore, the threat of supernatural[64] sanction is powerful as a communal weapon against social deviation.

621 We can see, then, that the structural dynamics of village life are composed of opposing forces. On the one hand, there is a tendency toward egalitarianism which is expressed in the formal organization of political power and the economic life of the village as a unit. On the other hand, there is a tendency toward deviation from the economic norms which is repressed and expressed in the belief system and the sanctioning of deviants. (Obviously, if people would not tend to deviate from the egalitarian norm, witchcraft "specialization" would not be necessary!)

121 There is no society in the world which does not possess criteria for social differentiation. Some criteria are, by nature, universal: the basic biological differences between persons (age, sex) or psychological skills (intelligence, mental deficiency). Some other criteria are culturally determined (age-grade, class, wealth and so on). Even among societies in which the life conditions preclude social stratification, such as the Siriono, some few cultural criteria of individual social differentiation are always present. When I suggest that Amatenango and 621 571 Aguacatenango tend to be communities which reinforce homogeneity at the economic, political, and cultural levels, I am far from [576] indicating that individuals are not evaluated differentially. In every social situation, even meeting on the street, Amatenangueros and Aguacatecos make social distinctions and determine their relative position with respect to each other: one would call a

241 [412] machete (*machit*) or the *luk*, a sort of curved machete with a long handle, are the implements needed. The cutting of the grass from the plot where the milpa had been the previous year is *selab*, the cutting of bush grown for three or four years is *sok-uej*. The work of cutting the bush is done by the entire family, including children of seven or eight years old.

[221] [412] The planting is done between April and May after the first rains, with a long stick whose tip is hardened by fire or protected by a metal point. [242] The seed must come from large, healthy ears whose tips have been cut off because they have small corn. [824] The *olote*, or corncob, is either kept or thrown away at a distance to avoid its being used as fuel, for this would hurt the milpa which then would produce ears with broken kernels.

241 462 785 834 The task of planting is a very delicate matter, to be performed after fasting and sexual abstinence. It is exclusively a man's affair. 241 574 A great banquet is served at noon, generally outdoors as the hut interiors are small, to the friends and neighbors who will participate as helpers. [476] Sometimes as many as 10 men help to plant a friend's milpa. The meal is offered "precisely when the sun stops for a moment midway on its run and the doors of the Church of Heaven are opened, from where the quality of the banquet is observed." This is *s-uelil-abal* ('meal of the planting').

241 262 272 574 [263] When things are properly done, the meal consists of a number of items. First the *atole* (*pajal-ul*) is served, which is slightly sour and sweetened with *panela*. As "companion" to this atole are tamales (*chenkul-uaj*), which are prepared with cornmeal and ground beans. It is said that both things are to be served together so that "the seed may penetrate deep into the ground." 241 252 262 574 272 After this preliminary snack comes what is considered the main course for each person: a hard-boiled egg in a thick reddish broth prepared from dough and ground chile dissolved in water; a large tortilla;

[P.199-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201-A]

her own clothes and her backstrap loom. A widow may continue living in the hut and use its equipment only if she has a son. Otherwise, she must leave the house and return to her father's home because the land will be claimed by the brothers or other male relatives of the deceased husband.

Production and Consumption Groups

The family controls all matters related to production and consumption. The head of the house, with the help of his wife and other members of the family, takes care of farming and producing the basic food crops. In the most conservative communities, the old custom of planting by a cooperative group, composed of relatives and friends, is still practiced. This is a task for men exclusively, since much skill and strength are required to dig up the ground in carefully spaced, perfectly straight rows. The owner of the milpa has to fast and observe sexual abstinence before starting the planting.

Only the family shares in the rest of the labor, according to their sex: men take care of tasks requiring much effort, women perform those such as tending domestic animals. Help from relatives and neighbors may also be asked occasionally, to build up fences around the orchard, to open or improve irrigation systems, etc.

Trade and Markets

Tenango and Amatenango concentrate on producing ceramics and trading them to neighboring municipios. Other municipios have a very limited commercial activity: Tenejapa exports a few sleeping mats; Oxchuc, ropes, nets, and pita bags; Cancuc, wooden combs; Bachajon, clay toys. These Tzeltal villages have no specialized merchants as do Zinacantan and Chamula.

There are a few markets where a large number of people meet regularly: Teopisca, in the south, has a Sunday market where natives from Aguacatenango, Amatenango, and Pinola meet. In the central part of the region they meet every Sunday at the mar-

[P. 212-B]

/2 cont./

614 The chieftaincy of each clan was filled by the oldest man,
887 who was called chunel. (It seems to have the same meaning as
156 the word catinab, but some informants recognized the latter as
the one used in the adjacent municipality of Oxchuc.) The office
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156 of the clan was venerated as such. The chief of the clan was re-
614 spected and feared, because he was recognized as endowed with
888 supernatural power which, through his lab, he exercised over all
776 the members of the clan. Two informants of advanced age de-
554 fined the chunel as "the oldest one and the greatest sorcerer."
The lab feeds on souls, and a person who has "done wrong" is
776 "eaten" by the lab of the one offended and dies. In this way
761 social control was exercised on and among the members of the
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178 strument of revenge for an injury unjustly received. Today this
614 concept is intimately bound up with the omniscience of the patron
626 saint; only with the permission of San Juan can a lab "eat" the
776 soul of a chapomal, or "clan brother," and this permission is
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614 it according to the social morality. As can be seen, social con-
626 trol was not only rooted in the chief of the clan, but this function
extended to the whole group, as happens at present.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 463 - B] Teklum

682 these suspicions and kill the witch. If he should
674 kill the witch while the patient is still alive, it
75 is believed that the patient will die.

682 Killing men for cattle theft (six cases) is a
685 relatively recent occurrence. It has put hom-
674 icide on the market: the associations of
[463] cattle-owners have hired killers in three of the
[697] six cases. In addition to the killer's fee, they pay the fine to release him from prison. Fines for homicide have increased in the past five years—from 1,000 to 3,000 pesos—but not sufficiently to price the murder of cattle
[435] thieves out of the market. A good bull is worth 1,500 pesos, and the threat of further loss by theft seems to justify the expenditure of fees
685 and fines. When the cattle-owners lose some
• 787 of their herd, they go to spiritualists or to San
776 Miguel, the talking saint of Ixtapa, to find out who did the stealing. Since such evidence does not hold up in court, legal settlement is not
685 attempted. Legal action, moreover, would
694 create an enemy who might seek revenge. A Ladino secretary of the town center who had lost a bull accused a man of stealing his cattle and demanded 500 pesos in compensation. By receiving the money he jeopardized his safety, and eventually he had to leave town.

The Resolution of the Case

682 It is nearly impossible to find witnesses to
69 homicide. Of these 37 cases, 28 resulted in no action being taken by the authorities, and in five cases where the killers went to jail, they were released with the payment of minimal fines. In the calculations of the townspeople, it is hardly worth risking one's neck to get such a minimal revenge.

682 However, this does not mean that homicide
593 goes unnoticed in the community. After a
626 killing the widow sings of the life of the dead
[683] man. If she is in agreement with the verdict arrived at by the killer and others, she will deny knowledge of what he has done, or even suggest that she too was aware of what harm he has caused (one widow implied that her husband, killed as a witch, was responsible for the death of four of her six children). If she objects to the verdict, she sings of what a good man he was and how blameless. She will then air her own suspicions in the following weeks as to who killed her husband.

682 Following the funeral, when the women
683 have left the cemetary, the men sit at the
627 grave. As they measure out a liter of liquor and pass it around, they advance hypotheses as

241 *chin-uch* (May 20–June 8), an offering is
782 made to the supernatural being which reigns over it. The natives have vague no-
[825] tions of the nature of this being. They say that *uch* is the name of a small insect which spoils the pozole and, also, of the *tlacuache* or *zarigueya* which often destroys the milpa. The offering, hung at the entrance of the hut, consists of a ball of pozole wrapped in plantain leaf, a red chile, a tortilla, an ear of corn, and a little stick like the kind used to turn the ear cooking over hot coals.
241 All objects are minute in size. When the
782 offering achieves its purpose, on the com-
787 pletion of a 20-day period, the atmosphere becomes hazy "as if there were smoke." It is explained that "the chin-uch burned its house," which forecasts a favorable sun for development of the milpa. If such a sign should not appear on the indicated date or at the end of the next month of *mukul-uch* (June 9–28), the forecast is ominous and indicates that the rains will be excessive, greatly harming the milpa.

778 Another mukul-mixa is performed in Ox-
796 chuc, in homage to the hill called Ikal-Ajau,
[184] near the ceremonial center, of which the Indians say "it is a living hill." The name of the hill is that of the ancient hill worshipped by the Oxchuequeños. Nuñez de la Vega (in Becerra, 1933, p. 293) reports: "Those of Oxchuc and other towns of Los Llanos venerate very much the idol which they call Icalajau, which means principal Negro or
[789] lord of the Negroes." This Mass, performed the first days of June, prevents locusts and other plagues from coming.

241 Once the crop is in the granary, other
78 family prayers are said before the household cross, to give thanks for the good received and to petition the supernatural beings to protect the grain from insects and rodents.

Other Subsistence Resources

262 Other food resources include raising
235 chickens and pigs. A family averages about
[231] 10 chickens, using the eggs as money when
[437] [P. 202-B]

796 "sembrar el alma del niño" and must be performed by the dzunubiles and the cabildos
[796] de misa. A similar devotion is made to Uch, the supernatural being connected with the growth of the cornfield mentioned earlier.

782 Also important are the prayers said by
778 families before the cross of the ancestors, in the sacred caves.

Finally, certain prayers and offerings are made to particular lakes considered sacred because they are inhabited by virgins who look after the well-being of the people. The best known of these lakes is Banabil in Tenejapa. Some day during the year, a small box containing a woman's dress and all its ornaments is thrown into the water. The dress must be made by a virgin or an old woman.

● 787 *Talking Saints*

776 Another religious form where Indian tra-
[177] dition is manifested through Christian formulae is the veneration of the talking saints, a widespread cult among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil. These saints are always private property and are usually kept in a small case on the house altar. The believers go to the house of those who own a talking saint and ask him about any secret problem that might require a special knowledge to be solved. Although any saint can be asked, the most popular one is San Miguelito. In order to consult him, people have to tell his owner their problems. The owner, who supposedly is the only one who can understand his saint, talks to him behind a curtain so that no one can see him. Often the owner of a talking saint succeeds in creating a cult out of the saint's box, making a special altar for him and asking the believers for frequent offerings and prayers. Sometimes there is no box, so the effigy is placed on an altar and concealed by a curtain when the private dialogue takes place.

There have been cases, however, in which the talking saints exceed their function as oracles and advise people on political matters. This is why some talking saints have

[P. 223 - A]

787 776 been taken away by the local authorities and sent to the Indians' Affairs Office in San Cristobal.

Life Cycle

842 183 *Pregnancy and Childbirth*

The strongest desire of every Tzeltal couple is to create a numerous family, preferably 843 boys. The relationship between sexual intercourse and pregnancy is well understood [833] among the Indians. They know that pregnancy lasts nine months and they keep a 843 good count of it. On the other hand, there 789 are ideas about the possibility of the woman being influenced by old men or "the owners of the nagual," who can interrupt pregnancy and change the fetus from one woman to another. This is why a woman who thinks she is pregnant for three or four months suddenly realizes that she carries nothing any more, while another one, maybe her neighbor, finds herself in advanced pregnancy, giving birth a few months later. It is to be stressed, however, that these changes can take place only among married women.

844 In conservative villages (Tenejapa, Ox- [181] chuc, Cancuc) there is no professional midwife. Children are delivered by the oldest women in the neighborhood.

[757] When labor begins, the first thing is to [237] give the mother a beverage made of powdered opossum tail dissolved in boiling water. It is very common for Indians to have a dry tail hanging next the fireplace. The woman kneels at labor, facing the midwife. The husband's belt or the woman's rebozo is tied very tightly around the upper part of the abdomen to prevent the child from "going up again." The mother can also help herself by seizing a rope tied to the roof, or taking firm hold of any post of the house. The umbilical cord is chopped with a machete or cut with scissors, supported on an [241] ear of corn. This ear is afterwards used as [824] seed and is considered very fertile.

[757] When labor has finished, the mother is given another hot beverage of pepper,

[P. 223-B]

776 which have the power to mislead, give illness, or capture people to work
[756] for them. Only the most powerful curers and witches, and the very greedy
[754] approach these spirits for they are reputed to be very "live" and mali-
[825] ciously clever. Snakes are the offspring of the hill and do the bidding of the hill owners.

556 Wealth in the form of livestock, corn, or gold can be gained from some
756 of the cave owners upon request, but there is danger in receiving these
778 gifts since they must be reciprocated. Among the cave owners who give
787 gifts is Don Klabil, a deceased moneylender of the neighboring town. After his death in the 1940s, his spirit went to live in the hill bordering the two towns. People say that when he was alive he used to get money from the true owner of the cave. Those who have been inside the cave say it is filled with animals—cattle, horses, rabbits—which drink at a large interior lake. The appropriate approach for requesting wealth is to go on Thurs-
[782] day, "when the earth is open," and burn candles and incense. When the request is granted, the recipient must light candles at the cave every Thursday, and after his death he must work forever for the cave owner. It is said that at his death his wealth dies with him—usually all has been spent, and in fact children are left poor. Some say the spirit of the firstborn child of the recipient must be given to the owner to work for him. For this reason, there is no envy felt by neighbors when they see the increasing wealth of a man who has visited the caves and received such gains and he is doubly protected because no one can hurt an "enchanted man" (one who has entered the cave) with witchcraft.

756 Ladinos' belief in the cave owners gives support to the Indians' credence
776 in their power. Ladinos inquire of Indians where they can find treasures.
778 Once the request to the hill owners is made, it is essential to follow
[829] through correctly. Everyone in town knows the story of Martin Bautista, a curer who went to speak to the true owner of the hill in which Don Klabil lives.

[539] *He knew how to talk to the owner. The owner told him that at midnight on the following day, he would give him what he wanted. At midnight Maria, his wife, was alone in the house. She heard a noise and the sound of* "Andale, burro!" *Then there was a knock at the door. When the*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

tions have decreased. Their major responsibility is to hold the plate in which the contributions for the fiestas are deposited by the police. Formerly, the fact that the principales also held the money until it was spent lent dignity and prestige to this function. Now that the money is turned over to the treasurer, who also keeps the accounts, passing the plate gives them a sense of shame. When I asked why the principales lost authority, the first response was cast in terms of behavior: my informant, a former president, pointed out that it was because they did not attend the town hall every day. When I asked why they did not appear, the reply was reformulated in functional terms: they did not come because the laws and acts that are raised and interpreted in the town hall are written in Spanish, and the principales could not read or write. As a consequence, the balance of power has shifted to the posts of president and síndico, while the framework in which the officials act has remained.

Challenge by the Civil Officials of the Power of the Curers

The autonomy of the highland Indian corporate community has rested on the retention of social control by local leaders. This local leadership, which has survived over four hundred years of domination by Spanish colonial and national rule, is based on power derived from two sources: (1) control over life and death by men who claim to possess an animal spirit and/or (2) ability to devine or predict the future, such as the calendar priests have (Nuñez de la Vega 1702:19).[1] The belief in power derived

1. Bishop Nuñez de la Vega repeatedly inveighs against the "maestros Nahualistas." This is summarized in an excerpt, which I have translated, from his book (1702:19):

> Almost two hundred years after the light of evangelism dawned, the Indians in most of the Kingdom of New Spain and Guatemala are found full of their primitive errors, superstitions, and misdeeds such that there is hardly a single pueblo where each year there are not deaths brought about by witches, and houses and families known to have, as an inheritance acquired from father to son, evil powers so abominable that they are viewed with great fear by the rest of the Indians. With only a glance and certain words, with which they invoke the Devil, they can end life or cause their victim to go mad with great pains and stupendous illnesses, and the result is that they inflict their rivals for very slight pretexts. We exile them and other spiritual performers from the church, and when the ministers and judges try to verify what happened to the sick ones, all

The belief in power derived from animal spirits was probably influenced by the Toltec belief in nahualism, or transformation of people after death into animals (Calnek 1962:22). The Toltec belief originated in the period of Mexican influence but had many local indigenous manifestations (Foster 1944). The integration of the two systems of power was brought about by calendar priests controlling the distribution of animal spirits (Calnek 1962:19). The degree of retention of calendrical knowledge and of belief in witchcraft gives us one of the best indices of acculturation in the area.[2] In Tzo'ontahal there is no remnant of calendar divination for ceremonial or predictive use. However, witchcraft based on belief in animal spirits continues to be an important factor in the contest for power. The technique of secrecy, of presenting a united front in the face of attempts by the outside Ladinos to tamper with the local social control system, persists to this day in the town.

An endemic problem in communities dominated by belief in witchcraft is control over the evil power of witches. The traditional control system in Tzo'ontahal operated through the guardianship of three sets of powerholders who checked up on each other: the ancestors, the curers, and the judges. The guardianship of the ancestors consisted in preventing any child possessed of a swayohel from the devil from growing up to abuse his power and in keeping any evil spirits from entering the town. The curers,

the Indians, whether out of cowardice or deceit, withdraw their accusation or claims, so that it is impossible to convict the evildoers for punishment; and for lack of sufficient proof they cannot be punished, or if there is enough basis to put them in prison, they sometimes disappear and flee to another jurisdiction and hide, denying their place of origin or changing their name.

2. In Oxchuk, calendar experts with the ability to divine the future still set the days for carrying out Catholic fiestas according to the twenty-day Maya ceremonial cycle. Each of the spirits symbolizing the twenty days wielded the power of good or evil. This provided the basis for predicting. When Villa Rojas studied the town in the 1940s, elders of patrilineal lineages controlled the behavior of members by causing sickness brought by their *lab*, or animal spirit (Villa Rojas 1947). In San Pedro Chenalhó, the principales exercise power through their *wayhel*, or animal spirit (Guiteras Holmes 1961). Nahuales of leaders of the patrilineages and principales are feared and respected in Larrainzar, although there is a growing discontent with their oppressive control (Holland 1963). Men believed to have thirteen nahuales figure as guardians and avengers for individuals in Pinola society, although the Indians of this community no longer have a hierarchy of civil offices through which their prestige can be publicly validated (Hermitte 1964).

7: Nash E-5' (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

People who fail to conform to the customs of the town are said to lack "reason." This category includes those who do not attend to the advice of their elders. People from outside of town who do not behave in conventional patterns are said to be "of another sort."

Institutionalized patterns of behavior differ as to the degree of explicitness of the association between action and reason. Curing practices are most directly attached to an understanding of why they are performed. Ritual practices in the cult of the spirits are tied to a more general explanatory system in which something should be done "because it was the custom of our ancestors."

Competency. Judgments concerning the intelligence of a person and his ability to adjust to his social and physical environment complement the criteria of morality and reasonableness. Alertness, or intelligence is associated with the possession of more than one soul: a person may have from one to a dozen additional souls. Curers and witches, by virtue of their possession of an animal spirit, are by definition very intelligent. Evaluations of alertness are often made in discussing the personalities of others. In the myth concerning the three brothers and the honey (Chapter 8) God, the Elder Brother, was described as "not very bright," Jesus Christ, the Second Brother, as "a little brighter," and the Holy Ghost, the Youngest Brother as "the brightest." Alertness is usually associated with manipulation for one's own advantage, but is not necessarily antithetical to having a good heart. In the myth mentioned above, the youngest brother outwits his two older brothers to his own advantage, and coincidentally that of the world.

The word *b'ol* is used figuratively to express the opposite of alertness, stupidity. Literally it means one who is mute; the connection is significant. A child born mute is said to have had its soul stolen at birth so that he must exist without speech. The power of speech is highly valued and the prestigeful roles are accorded to those who can speak well in both formal and informal exchanges. It is a dangerous skill, since the ability to talk to the gods gives an advantage to the speaker over the general population. The ability to speak to the earth, a talent which people say the ancestors possessed and which curers in the neighboring town of Chamula still

827
• 787 claim, has been lost, as has been more recently that of speaking with the ancestors. But the curers can still enter into communication with the spirit world and in this lies their power.

461 Industry is valued along with competency. A man is described as indus-
183 trious with the words, "he carries much wood well," and a woman with the words, "she carries much sand well." These expressions are a kind of
[196] synechdoche for general industriousness, since the tasks serve as the measure of willingness to perform one's sexually defined roles.

[476] Judgments made in the choice of working "partners" in the exchange
[602] labor system are based on competence in working as well as on considera-
[608] tions of kin and compadrazgo relationship. Women make judgments of
[323] others' skill in pottery-making on the basis of both the appearance of the pot and its durability proved in use and transportation without breakage to market. Both men and women known to be hard workers are admired
[154] and envied. They may consequently become the objects of witchcraft.

828 Conceptions of personality are one end product of evaluations of per-
157 formances and condition people's expectations of individuals in their social environment. For the Indians, personality traits tend to imply other traits.
125 In order to derive a sense of these implications for Tzo?ontahal, I drew up
157 a checklist to identify some of these associations. Informants were asked to
828 state whether each of the traits listed on the top line in Table 30 was correlated positively, negatively, or not at all with each of the same traits listed vertically. A plus (+) sign indicates positive correlation, a minus (—) sign indicates negative correlation, and an equal (=) sign indicates that
157 there was no correlation. Thus being bright is positively correlated with
828 being beautiful and negatively correlated with being evil, fearful, lazy, foolish, gullible, braggardly, gossipy, and miserly. There is no connection between being bright and being of good heart, aggressive, or honorable. This suggests that the heart and the mind are independent loci for a set of traits that stem from them. Metaphors such as bitter, acid, and straight, when used to describe personality, are similar in connotation to those used in English. As in English, immediate sensory experiences of taste and vision provide by extension a means of talking about character.

157 In studying these personality traits, I sensed that "being" was "doing"
551 things in certain repetitive ways. This impression is corroborated by the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 286]

805 lating the time of day; when I questioned them as to the hour, they were often as much as an hour off, usually behind.

Most activities are ordered with reference to the Gregorian calendar, but the twenty-day Maya calendrical month, defined as "twenty days or a month" is used in much the same way that we use "a fortnight." The In-
805 dians consider the moon to be an uncertain indicator of time, since "she
821 does not walk well." But the moon is important in the culture: people note its different phases and are especially aware of the phase under which a child is born—an important sign for the newborn's future. If a baby is
[856] born at the full moon, he is expected to mature more readily. The full
[1187] moon also signifies a propitious time for undertaking certain activities, such as cutting wood for the main posts of a house and cutting palm for the roof.

The Daily Schedule

512
462 Daily activities are organized by traditional economic pursuits. The woman is the first one to rise in the morning. She gets up at dawn, lights
[252] the fire, and sets a jar of water to boil for coffee. She grinds the nixtamal cooked the night before on the stone grinding board, or takes it to the mill
[412] in the center. She then makes tortillas either by hand or with a press; a re-
[177] cent innovation made of two hinged pieces of wood in which the ball of
[178] dough is set between pieces of plastic paper.

The men of the household are served first, followed by the boys; the
[264] women and girls eat last. As soon as they have eaten, the men and boys who have finished the required three years of schooling go out to the
[481] fields to work. They walk single file even in the streets of the town, the fa-
[482] ther preceding his sons. Each carries a machete, net bag, tumpline, and sheepskin back-protector if he plans to carry any loads. Many bring shot-
[411] guns as well in order to hunt for field rats, raccoon, or the burrowing ani-
[224] mals they find in the fields.

After the men leave, the women go to the porch and "seize their work."
[857] The children go to school, which begins at eight-thirty in the morning
[872] and continues until five o'clock in the evening. They return home for
[264] lunch, a meal of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans or chayote when it is in season.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

156 The picture of life in Amatenango[67] and Aguacatenango is
62 not, however, from the ideological point of view of the community
754 members, spread only into sanctions of negative dimensions. There
777 are some justifications for wealth or success which are as intimate a part of the world view of the villagers as witchcraft is, because witchcraft has a positive counterpart: suerte (luck).

777 Suerte, as witchcraft power, is also a supernatural power given to the particular individual without the person's will having control over its possession. Some people are born with good suerte, some people with bad suerte. Some people can be "given" a particular suerte by a supernatural being[1] at some time in their life to keep until his death or for some period of time. Of course, a man cannot give his suerte away or transmit it to his children. The suerte is not a general power, but has specific dimensions. For example, a man has suerte to raise cattle, which would, then, grow and reproduce tremendously in his lifetime. But, he may very well have bad bean crops. His children, at his death,

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[1]The suerte can be given by many different supernatural
[776] beings. Some informants say it is Dios (God), or the Virgin Mary, some say it is the Sombreron, or owner of the deer and caves, to whom one has to promise to give one's soul at death, some others indicate that it is written in one's destiny at birth to have a particular type of suerte. The variations in the belief are many, and in a system of ideology without a Church body to create, and control the diffusion of dogma, this is to be expected.

[779] The only organized dogma available to the villager is the
local Catholic Church, but this dogma leaves out a series of beliefs
[538] such as suerte and brujeria as unacceptable. Therefore, these beliefs are only transmitted informally, together with folk-tales, myths and the like. Because dreams are of great importance in relation to these beliefs, each individual can contribute, through
[787] his personal dream experiences, to the general pool of ideology of
[771] the community. Therefore, tales and myth, dream experiences, the "true" stories that people are told in the evening by particular relatives or friends, all tend to produce a mushrooming of alternative versions of the same or similar sets of beliefs.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

621 and four *chuycales*, who are in charge of sacred matters. Certain shamans, called
[756] *dzunubiles*, also participate in calpul government.

621 In Cancuc, Villa did not inquire into the matter, but in Oxchuc and in Bachajón
776 the calpules have separate patron saints and are known, in the case of Bachajón,
184 by the names of San Sebastian and San Geronimo, in the case of Oxchuc, Santo Tomas and La Trinidad. In the church at Bachajón the santos belonging to the north calpul, San Sebastian and two others, stand on the left side of the church, while San Geronimo, San Manuel, and the Virgin, representing the south calpul, stand at the right side. It appears, however, at least in the case of Oxchuc, that the festivals of these saints are maintained by the people of both calpules jointly.

621 The antagonism between the calpules of Cancuc has expressed itself from time
578 to time in violence. During Villa's stay it was rumored that the people of the southern half were about to attack those of the northern half, and indeed, shots were fired. Blom and LaFarge reported "a dragging feud" in this village.[28] Ap-
[582] parently marriages may and do take place between the calpules; there is no indication, however, that they are exogamous.

778 In Oxchuc a principal annual ceremony attends the transfer from one calpul
•788 to the other of a certain sacred book. This greatly venerated object was, after
123 some reluctance, shown to Villa. He was requested to deliver to its custodians a
778 dozen rockets, some candles, and some incense, he was then allowed to examine it in the presence of the chiefs and the chuycales of both calpules. It is a notebook of twelve paper sheets, 40 by 20 cm. in size; it has a deerskin cover. Of the twelve pages, nine bear writing, all but one on both sides. The text appears to be a series of orders set down by the Spanish authorities in the year 1674. The book is kept in a black wooden box; before and after removing it the chuycales prayed, kneeling, while incense was burned and the rockets were discharged.

778 The book is called *cahualtic* 'Our Master.' The ceremony of transfer of this
788 sacred object takes place during the thirteen days beginning December 31. The principal members of the government of both calpules, numbering thirteen, assemble in the cabildo. The book is placed on a table with thirteen candles, thirteen rosaries, thirteen calabashes of lime mixed with tobacco, and thirteen vessels of atole. During the thirteen days the men remain segregated in the cabildo without contact with their homes or with women. Many prayers are uttered. At the conclusion of the period the box containing the book is escorted in solemn procession to the place it occupies during the rest of the year—not in the church, but in a special hut on the outskirts of the calpul of La Trinidad.

58 Information which Villa received from Indians of Chanal on the customs
114 attending marriage differs in a number of respects from the account given by Blom and LaFarge,[29] or supplements that account, and therefore may be sum-
584 marized here. There are no professional marriage negotiators. The boy's parents
583 pay, ordinarily, four visits to the girl's parents to complete the agreement. On each visit they bring bread, eggs, fruit, and especially rum. The boy is expected
000

[28] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:387

[29] *Ibid.*, 2:358–390

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

796 ing in and out of church. From the second day on, everybody is drunk, including women and young people. The sound of skyrockets is heard continuously and marks the gaiety of the people.

An important part of the ceremony at the church is to clean carefully the face of the saint and to change his clothes for new or at least clean ones so that he can be happy during his fiesta. Another act is to take his [788] image from the main altar to carry it in procession. This is important because there is 796 danger that the patron of other villages may 796 come to steal his power and he would then lose influence over the crops: the saint of Oxchuc helps the growth of corn, the one of Cancuc protects the cotton, and so on. To avoid this danger a substitute image is put in his place while the real one is taken out.

[P. 222-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

776 This substitute is called *gelol*, the same im-
796 age but smaller, which is kept next the original one.

[788] During the procession the saint is carried
[782] in a litter. Incense is burned before him,
[533] while music with drums and flutes is played.

Traditional Ceremonies

796 There are other ceremonies held in the
[177] parajes which, although based on Christian
[178] ritual (including some of the prayers, presence of the cross, candles, etc.), still manifest ancient aboriginal traditions. Among
[176] these ceremonies is the one made before the house altar to Chulmetic (the earth goddess), to God, to Tatik Jesucristo and the 13 Fiadores del Cielo, for the soul of one newborn, to guard against sicknesses or bad influences of any kind. This ceremony is

[P. 222-C]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

778 paper, brightened with colour added by a cigarette package, a label from a tin of beets in a deep red, a joke in German about the fall of the mark, of which the prevailing tone was pure viridian, and a page of advertising from the Saturday Evening Post. We gave [123] this family a chromo of a saint, which was immediately framed with a sort of wooden box, and set up beside the cross. The table below was used for laying odds and ends on, such as the spindle and a couple of empty aguardiente bottles.

782 788 177 178 Incense, *pom*, and candles, both extensively used by the Indians today, had a place in the old Maya ritual similar to that of the Catholic Church.

793 The Priest is an important figure to the Indians. They come to him with respect to tell him their troubles, and receive him into their villages with rejoicing. At the same time, there is no doubt that they deliberately hoodwink him as to the orthodoxy of their faith.

796 Although it includes several non-Christian elements, a description of the fiesta observed at Tecojá will give a fair idea of the Tzeltal's church observances. Tecojá ranch has a village of about [241] twenty houses attached to it. The fiesta was held on the twenty-[648] second and twenty-third of June. By custom, the ranch had to allow the Indians this time off, as well as accepting the lowered efficiency on the following "cold grey dawn of the morning after." The owners had, moreover, to provide the rum for the whole celebration, in this case, two demi-johns.

The ranch chapel was thrown open and decorated with fir [794] branches and streamers. The proceedings were in charge of two older men, called *caporales*, who were distinguished by a cross-belting of red handkerchiefs. One house was set aside for the celebrations, in front of which was a table and three triangular, crimson banners with gold edges. By these drumming and flute-playing went on irregularly. Here was the official dispensary for rum, which was given out by the *caporales*. Inside the house, a palm-thatched one with stick walls, about fifteen feet square, some thirty [534] Indians, men and women, were squatting against the walls. There was an orchestra of a guitar and a mouth-organ, occasionally augmented by the piper, who would wander in from outside. This individual, although most amazingly drunk, managed to maintain his [533] musical ability until he fell asleep. The tune they played was like a rather wistful jig, but the time was lively. To this four couples [535] danced, the men facing the women, with a shuffling step not unlike waltzing. They kept very much in one place, but occasionally changed sides. The dancing was evidently a serious affair. This type is called in Spanish *zapatea*, in Tzeltal, *ahk'Out*.

342 527 789 *First house fiesta.* In preparation for the fiesta to inaugurate the wooden frame of the house, the older men of the household and the curers make palm crosses called *Tatik Martil,* another reference to San Pedro Martyr. Older men are chosen to do this task because their procreative powers will not be endangered by handling this powerful symbol. Branches of the bushes growing near the springwater of San Nicolás are cut by the younger men of the household to be arranged in an arch, while the women make incense burners and clay candle holders. The protective symbols used in the fiesta—the arch of branches and flowers, the candles, liquor, handrolled cigarettes, palm crosses, and springwater in a gourd—are arranged before the center post of the back wall of the house.

Fig. 1. Relatives Present at House Fiesta

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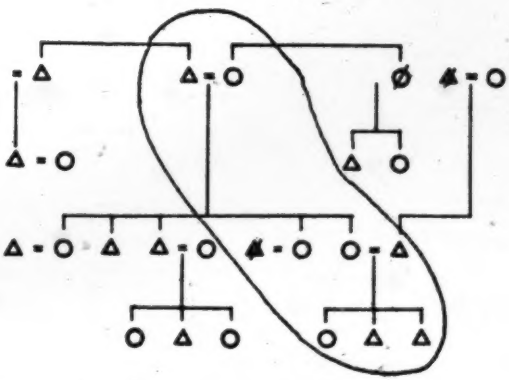

Encircled group will live in house.

342 527 756 788 The activities of a house fiesta observed in 1966 are described below.

The future occupants of the house sat in a row facing the curing arch. Two curers officiated, the elder a resident of the side of the dual division in which the houseowner lives and the second from the barrio in which his son-in-law, Santiago, was born. The elder curer lit the candles at the center post of the back wall, while the younger curer lit those at the center post in the middle wall. The mother of Santiago lit the incense and placed

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it before he arch. The younger curer then took a bunch of the branches of spring bushes and brushed each person over the head, shoulders, back, arms, and legs. Liquor was passed around to the visitors and participants. The elder curer took the bunch of branches, prayed, and brushed the future occupants. The younger curer followed him with another brushing.

The elder curer put some powder in the springwater. He then took a rattle, stuck it it in a bunch of the leaves from the spring, gave it a couple of shakes as though testing it, and handed it to one of the b'alnial *(young male assistants). He then stood before the candles at the back center post, bowed to it, turned, and bowed to the opposite center post. He poured the springwater in a gourd and gave it to Juliana, the houseowner's daughter, who passed it to each member of the household. The curer then took out four cigarettes and put them on either side of the candles. He greeted everyone present and delivered the following prayer:* [782] [639]

> *May no witchcraft enter.*
> *May all the children be cared for.*
> *I can see and hear who enters.*
> *Of one heart are the women, of one heart are the men.*

Santiago began to play the guitar as his wife, Alberta, brought in the coffee and rolls. She handed the first cup to the elder curer. This was followed with a serving of rice and tomatoes. Before he began to eat, the curer said, "good afternoon" to all present.

After the meal, the elder curer led the household members outside. He held one of the palm crosses at the corner post of the house and prayed; then Santiago pounded in a nail to hold it. Each member of the household, including the small children of Alberta, went up and kissed the cross in turn. They went on to the other main posts of the exterior of the house where they did the same thing. They entered the house and continued drinking the rest of the afternoon. Cigarettes were passed around, and the men began to joke. Drinking is compulsory: everyone who attends must drink equal amounts of the liquor served. [273]

Each of the ritual items is introduced because it contains a powerful soul. The branches and the springwater contain souls associated with the

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spring. The gourd is used as a container for the springwater because, like all growing plants and unlike metal or glass containers, it has a soul. The soul of the tobacco plant is considered particularly strong. The smoke of the candles and incense are the media through which prayers to the spirit of the house are transmitted.

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The house fiesta serves three functions: (1) introducing the spirit of the house inmates to the house spirit, (2) creating a harmonious setting for spiritual interaction of the members of the household and the house spirit, (3) protecting the house against the intrusion of evil. The introduction is achieved by brushing the household members with the branches from the spring, and the harmony is brought about by drinking liquor, playing the guitar, and dancing. The music of the seed gourd, the guitar, and sometimes a radio or phonograph makes the residents, their guests, and the house spirit happy, or "of one heart." Protection is insured by nailing the palm crosses representing the Lord of the Lightning to the house posts.

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Second house fiesta ("meal for the house"). When a meal is given to the spirit of the house earth, the house is arranged as for the house fiesta with curing arches set in front of the center posts at the back and middle walls. The same guests are invited as for the first fiesta. The family buys a sheep and slaughters it in the morning by stringing it up to the center post by it paws and slashing its jugular vein. When the blood has drained into the square hole opened at the base of the center post, the curer removes the head and buries it in the hole. Some curers bury the four paws as well, while others prefer to add an offering of five pieces of bread in a new pottery jar, twenty measures of chocolate, thirteen cigarettes, and a bottle of liquor covered with a new cloth. The head of the sheep is placed so that the eyes look up to watch over the inhabitants. Some refer to it as the *me?iltatil,* identifying it with the curers (who are called me?iltatil in the context of guardianship) and thus with the ancestor guardians.

During the house fiesta I observed in July 1967, an old curer who had officiated at the first ceremony served again. A neighbor, who was not related to the houseowners but who was skilled in butchering, slaughtered

the animal. The curer received from him the severed head and paws which he placed in a large gourd. Then the curer served a potion of herbs in springwater to all of the members of the household. The final ritual act was for the curer to smoke an article of clothing belonging to each member of the household over the incense burning in front of the center arch at the back wall. Liquor was served continaully throughout the ceremony, the first drink always being given to the curer followed by one to the elder houseowner. The first drink was served immediately after the cutting of the jugular vein of the sheep. Flowing blood, water, and liquor are spirit media symbolically linked in ritual behavior. Between each of the major ritual acts—the slaughtering of the sheep, the burial of the head, the serving of the springwater and herbs, and the smoking of the clothing with incense—the curer prayed, but his prayers were so mumbled that I could not hear or record them. Informants said that it was a variation of the prayer given at the first house fiesta. After the rituals, a stew made with the sheep meat was served with tortillas to all the visitors. The music of guitar and gourd rattle, played during the ritual by young male relatives continued after the meal, and the guests remained in the house drinking and dancing for the rest of the afternoon.

Elements of these house fiestas are repeated when any of the children of the household is ill. A severe illness, diagnosed as being caused by the devil eating the soul of the patient, requires offering a meal to the house spirit. The square hole is reopened, and a live black chicken, male if the patient is a boy and female if it is a girl, is placed inside. A food offering of one-fourth liter of liquor, one peso's worth of bread, and 50 cents' worth of chocolate is placed inside with the chicken, and a square board is fitted on top of the hole "to keep the chicken alive for eight days so that the house spirit will hear his cries." When the curing arch is removed, the hole is filled in with dirt over the chicken, now dead, which provides a meal for the spirit house earth.

When the houseowner is sick, an appeal for health is made to the spirit in the house post. The members of the household kiss the post, a splinter is removed and burned in an incense burner with *pom*, the resin of pine. This odor is pleasing to the house spirit.

When a serious illness caused by witchcraft has been cured, the patient

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241 825 *they said to me, "while we go over with the other two." I fell asleep. Then the raccoon entered. And so I believe the raccoon is very bright.*

Also there is the wild pig, who is less bright than the raccoon.

Another "thief" of the milpa is a small black insect which eats beans. These are eliminated in the following way:

[291] *When we plant beans, the women go with us wearing a new skirt and a new shawl. They walk near the plants, waving the shawl. The animals die. It has to be a new skirt. My mother proved it. She went with an old skirt, and she saw that they did not die. They just fled to the mountain out of shame. It is the smell of the old skirt that scared them away.*

241 825 782 788 If many animals are eating the crops, Indians buy three twenty-cent candles. They take them to the fields and light them, praying in Tzeltal: "God, holy world, please look at me and speak to the little animals. God, holy rock, holy forest, please look at me, hear me, speak to the animals."

The candles are media through which communication is made with the gods as well as gifts which seal the contract with the gods ensuring their protection and guardianship over the crops.

241 776 784 Guarding the crops also involves avoidance of certain kinds of behavior by the farmer and his wife. Farmers must always avoid irritating the spirits of the heaven who control the elements which make the growth of the crop possible. One informant explained:

One should not have sexual relations with anyone in the milpa because the Father Sun [Tatik K'ak'al] *gets angry or "ends his heart." He will not give crops. He gets very hot. One time, many women in town were looking for lovers. They would have sexual relations with boys in the daytime. The Father Sun got angry and caused the crops to burn. There was very little corn. The price went up to twenty cents a liter. People bought bread and mixed it with the nixtamal.*

It is different if a man is married to a woman in the church. The Tatik K'ak'al does not get angry. The Tatik K'ak'al does not have a woman of his own, and so he gets jealous if he sees people having sexual relations in the milpa in the daytime.

But if you have relations at night with a man in the milpa, Our grand-

mother the Moon gets angry. This might cause an eclipse of the moon, and the crops will suffer because there will be no sun. 241 776 784

There is no prohibition, however, against having sexual relations prior to planting or at other crucial stages, as there are for other Maya Indians (Wagley 1941:34). [171]

During the growing season, candles are lit in the milpa as protection against wind as well as robbers, who "lose their luck" when this is done. 241 788

The spirits' care of the crops. The crops have souls, given by the spirits, which will be lost if they are not cared for. The spirits "watch over the crops as parents watch over their children." The term for seed (*yal*) is a metaphorical extension of the term for "child of a woman." 241 774 776

The following myths give different, occasionally contradictory versions of the origin of crops. This central truth emerges in all of them: The spirits have given us our crops and will continue to do so as long as we offer thanks in the form of ceremonies and gifts to them. [782]

Santo Tomás [the patron saint of Oxchuk] had intercourse with Santa Lucía. She wanted [asked for] *the soul of corn, and he gave her the seed of corn. Then there came forth beans, corn, and wheat. But then all the saints of San Bartolo and San Miguel [neighboring towns] asked for the soul of corn. Then the soul of beans left us and went to hot country. Now it does not grow well in the pueblo. Also, the avocado has gone to Comitán. The matasano and ground beans went to Oxchuk when Santa Lucía fought with Santo Tomás.* [539]

The myth of the origin of crops overlays an older myth which has parallels in other groups of Maya-speaking Indians (Castro 1965, Wagley 1941:20). 773 241 171

Formerly, during a famine, there was hunger. The tzisim, *an insect of Ariola, came to take the corn from underground. Thus the ancestors got their first seed. For this reason, people say that corn was born underground, brought up by the tzisim. But I believe God sent us corn.* [539]

Another version has synthesized the role of the saints and that of the animal agent. 241 776 825 539

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hilltop with a digging stick. He knelt and prayed, asking for rain. At that very moment, the rain came. He put the seeds in the holes he made, and from then on people have been planting in the hills.

Other saints are charged with providing rainfall. The saint of greatest importance in this respect is Santo Tomás, the patron saint of Oxchuk. Some Indians have gone to the church there to light a candle and ask for rain, and on their return the rains came. During an extended drought in August 1967, over one hundred people walked to Oxchuk to pray for rain. The people of Tzo?ontahal are somewhat bitter about the Oxchuqueños' neglect of Santo Tomás since over half of the town has converted to Protestantism. Whenever there is a drought, they blame it on the failure of the people of Oxchuk to take care of Santo Tomás.

In addition to the Catholic saints, the ancestor spirits help man to watch over the land. They are responsible for giving the rains in the planting period and early growing season. The fiesta on the Day of the Cross (Chapter 1) is primarily a plea for rain. Until the 1950s, the curers would hold a celebration at the Cave of the Ancestors to ask for rain during a drought. The waning belief in the presence of the ancestor spirits in the town has meant that there is less attention given to such fiestas. Some go to seek the ancestors in Chiapa de Corzo in the cave in which they are supposed to reside, as the following story illustrates:

One time my three brothers-in-law went to Chiapas to ask the ancestors for better crops. When they arrived there, nobody knew where the cave was. They said only a certain mayordomo there could find it.

Another time, two of the prayer-reciters went to the cave. They talked to the guard of the cave, saying, "May we speak to our ancestors?" The guard said, "Are you prepared? Did you bring two liters of trago? The ancestors like to drink."

The prayer-reciters went to get two liters of trago and all three drank it. While they were drinking, they saw a cow and chickens appear. The guardian said that if they came back in May with "food" for the ancestors —candles, incense, and firecrackers—they would get rich crops. I think the prayer-reciters succeeded because now they have a cow and chickens and a horse. They are afraid of the envy of their neighbors.

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In becoming a padrino of baptism and marriage, C. K. has acquired 33 compadres, 31 comadres, 4 godchildren of baptism, and 7 godchildren of marriage, 4 of which are his nephews. Adding to the 6 compadres of baptism for his own children, he has 39 compadres and 37 comadres, a total of 76. Most people by the time they have reached 60 have acquired well over 50 compadres.

The relationship between compadres is one of respect, and the referential and vocative terms, *kumpare* and *kumare,* or compadre and comrade in Spanish, take precedence over any other relationship term. The godchild is expected to bring a load of wood to his padrino's house when the latter has a household ceremonial, and when the godchild is old enough, he will serve as b'alnial, or assistant. All the people who attend the household ceremony following the church baptism become compadres and constitute the kumparetak. Compadres attend each other's household ceremonials, acting as nakawanehetik (attendants who are present at all household ceremonials) or b'alnialetik. Compadrazgo is patterned on a pre-Conquest institution establishing ties between attendants in household rituals called maliwanehetik.

The relationship of protection and guidance that is to characterize the tie between co-parents, godchildren and their godparents for the rest of their lives is symbolized in the behavior formally prescribed in the baptism ceremony. On the day of baptism, the child is dressed in clothing given by his godparents. The parents and grandparents of the child go together with the godparent to the church. While the child is being baptized by the priest, he is held by his godfather if he is a boy, or by her godmother if a girl. The priest throws water and salt on the child and prays over him, baptizing him in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. After the ceremony the participants embrace the child and each other in front of the church, symbolizing the status they now occupy in respect to the child, his grandparents, and parents. Without this performance, the ritual terms of comadre, compadre, or padrino cannot be used.[1]

1. This behavioral definition of the ritual kinship tie in the sme'ispetb'ak is illustrated in the following incident: The wife of a man who had been asked to be a child's godparent was absent when the priest arrived for the ceremony. Her husband went to the church with the parents and grandparents of the child and embraced them at the church steps. Although

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852 608 571 788 The church ceremony is followed by another ceremony in the house of the child's parents. As the group returning from the church enters the house, they are greeted with the pat'o'tan by the maliwanehetik who are waiting for them in the house. As they enter, each of the returning party says, "You go forward, kumpare." They embrace all of the waiting party, an act which establishes their relationship as compadres with the entire company. When the padrinos leave, the grandparents and parents of the [273] child go to a spot before the eaves outside the house; there the father of [593] the child serves liquor to the padrinos and the grandparents of the child. [603] The drink is called "the finale as the compadres leave." The group must finish the entire liter "since it is a gift," and if there are only one or two grandparents, they may get fairly drunk. As the compadres leave, the grandpaernts say, "Over the soil, over the mud where you take your holy godchild, your holy flower, your holy candle." The child, referred to meta- [778] phorically as holy flower, holy candle, is identified with the most sacred symbols of the culture.[2]

608 571 171 The emphasis on the group relationship in Tzo'ontahal contrasts with the form of compadrazgo found in the central plateau of Mexico where the dyadic tie between two compadres provides flexibility in achieving instrumental ends in political or economic life.[3] Some of the new leaders in economic enterprises are beginning to emphasize the dyadic contract in their compadrazgo relationships to achieve political support, but its greatest importance is still based on creating or reinforcing group solidarity.

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Betrothal and Marriage

584 585 The Indians of Tzo'onthal are initiated into the community of the living and depart from it with ceremonies deriving from the Spanish colonial culture. The courtship and marriage ceremonies continue indigenous re-

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[852] she later attended the household ceremony, she was never called kumare because of the
[571] omission of this act.
[608] 2. See Laughlin (1962) on the symbolism of the candle and flower in Zinacantan.
[171] 3. In regard to the occasions and the kind of respect relation established, compadrazgo in Tzo'ontahal is similar to the institution in other parts of Mexico (Foster 1963, Nader 1964, Wolf and Mintz 1950). The difference lies in the elaboration of the number of ties acquired through compadrazgo at each event.

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síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges of the barrios, the regidores, the judges of the colonias, the two first police, followed by the rest of the police in pairs. As they enter, they kneel and make the sign of the cross, or "measure their noses" (sp'is sniʔik), *an act which shows respect to the holy banners that the alfereces have delivered from the church and laid on the table in the town hall. On this same table are strewn orange blossoms and leaves of laurel with the newly peeled canes of the police and the old staffs of office of the higher officials. The new officials put on their rosaries as they prepare to receive their staffs.* [788]

The principales, fairly inebriated from drinking all morning as they awaited the arrival of the new officials, pass out the staffs assisted by the old president, who helps direct them as they wander in a daze from the table to the line of waiting officials. The second principal picks the staff from the table and hands it to the first principal who passes it on to the recipient. The act of passing over the staffs is a significant index to their role in the hierarchy. They are the only "permanent" officials—permanent so long as they are in good health and not impoverished. They are the link between the outgoing and incoming officials.

The oath of office was given in Spanish by the Ladino schoolteacher the year I observed the ceremony. Formerly, this was performed by the Ladino secretary, but a contest of power in the community resulted in this shift in role performers [*Chapter* 9]. *The inventory of the town's possessions is read by the "old" president*[4] *and each item is inspected as it is passed on to the "new" president.*

After the ceremony in the town hall, all the old officials scatter to their homes and the new officials, wearing their rosaries, go to the church. The principales wait in the town hall for their return.

621 527 788 [794] [554]

The new officials follow the alfereces out of the town hall in a procession. The four alfereces, holding their banners, line up before the town hall and dip their banners toward the town hall and then toward the church. They lead the procession of new officials two times around the plaza, stopping in front of the church to dip the banners toward it and the town hall. The order of the procession indicates the rank order of the offi-

4. The officials who have completed their year in office are referred to as "old," and the incoming officials are referred to as "new" at this event.

621 527 *cials, from the last policeman to the first and second judges. The procession makes two turns "to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] who the new officials to remain in office are."*
[788] [554]

Awaiting the arrival of the new officials in the church are all of the mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see who they are." The new officials enter two by two and proceed to the altar rail where they "speak to God," asking for health so that they can fulfill their obligation to the town. They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father cabildo."
[794] [782]

621 527 273 *The first order of the new president is to ask the fourth regidor to buy two liters of the "gift of the ancestors," contraband liquor. When the liquor arrives, the first judge rises and goes to the principales. Standing before them while they remain seated, he asks permission of God to "receive the gift," or drink the liquor, saying, "Give pardon, Mamal Krinsipal; let a little enter and warm your body."*

The policemen, after leaving the church, enter the kitchen shack attached to the town hall. The first new policeman orders the fourth policeman to bring a little trago, and when he returns with the liquor, the first policeman orders one of the policemen of the colonias to measure the drinks. They drink one liter, after which the first policeman of the lower division addresses the first policeman of the upper division in the pat?o-?tan. After the spatbeyo?tan, *or formal address, the first policeman wonders "whether they can endure a little more. Can they drink more liquor without getting drunk?" It is his responsibility to receive any orders from the president, and he wonders, "What should happen if we get drunk? We won't know if there is an errand for the mamal judge and we cannot help. Better rest a while, and if there is an errand we can help a little. If there is no errand, let us drink a little more until midday." At twelve noon both groups retire to their homes to rest their hearts.*

794 527 *Inauguration of religious officials.* The change of the mayordomos occurs twice annually, once on January 6 and a second time on the Day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29. San Pedro is associated with

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794 527 *ranged with a large table in the center, the candles allotted to each mayordomo laid out in bundles of nine. On the table is a little cross of the crucified Christ. The priest blesses the new mayordomos and the old mayordomos. Then the fiscal gives nine candles wrapped in a napkin to each mayordomo. The nic'nal, junior mayordomo, of each saint first takes the candles allotted to the tatil to the latter's house, and then takes his own to his house. After the oath, the new mayordomos return to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento where they drink until prayer time in the evening.* [788] [273]

On the sk'ak'alel Sk'in, *the true day of the fiesta, the new mayordomos go to hear the mass along with women prayer-reciters at seven in the morning. They then go to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento, leaving three junior mayordomos to play the drums and flute at the door of the church. In the house of the cofrade, they count the money of the Virgin and of San Pedro the Martyr. This fund of money is passed over from the outgoing officials to the incoming officials along with interest. It is now being loaned out to local entrepreneurs. The Virgin has a fund of 228 pesos, and San Pedro the Martyr has 40 pesos. The fiscal supervises the counting of the money, and records the sum, after which the pat?o?tan is recited and drinks are served.* [533] [454]

621 554 In the behavioral sequences of the inauguration, several features of the structure and functioning of the hierarchy can be noted. First, one can see in the actions of the officials that the hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth step ladder but a segmented order. The categories of officials, the alkaletik, rehiroletik, and mayoletik, act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same area in all the settings. Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth (and in the case of the mayoletik, from first to fifth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They command their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge orders the fourth regidor to get liquor, and the first policeman orders the police from the rural colonia to get liquor. By these behavioral indices one can see the ordering and grouping by age, skill in praying, and territorial identification within the segments of the civil-religious hierarchy. These principles apply, however,

796 boring towns of Oxchuk, Larraínzar, and Chenalhó. The ceremonial calendar is given in Table 28.

TABLE 28. Ceremonial Calendar

Big fiestas		*Small fiestas*	
Date	*Fiesta*	*Date*	*Fiesta*
Mar. or Apr.	Tatik Kulibal	Jan. 20	Tatik San Karalampio
Apr. 29	Tatik Martil	May 6	Tatik San Migel
July 25	Tatik Santiagú	May 15	Tatik San Isigre
Aug. 29	Tatik San Pransiskú	May 26	Tatik Spiritu Santú
Nov. 29	Santu?	June 11	Tatik San Antonió
Dec. 13	Me?tik Santa Lucía	June 29	San Pegro-San Pablú
		July 15	Tatik Korasón
		July 20	Tatik San Huan
		Oct. 2	Me?tik Rosario
		Nov. 12	Me?tik Guadalupe
		Dec. 12	Tatik Santo Tomás
		Dec. 25	Me?tik Paskú, Tatik Ninyo

[533] In every fiesta drums and flutes are played, liquor is drunk, candles bu[illegible] and church bells rung. During a big fiesta, which continues for th[illegible] days rather than for a single day, these additional activities are added: contributions of 5 pesos per household are collected, the church is adorned with flowers and greens, mass is held (this may occur in minor fiestas as well if the priest happens to be present), a common meal is prepared for the mayordomos, and the people celebrate with firecrackers, saints' processions, dancing, house fiestas in the homes of the alfereces when they were still being installed, and a fiesta in the houses of the kobraria with a bull slaughtered for the meal.

[273] During fiestas, time is measured in liters of liquor consumed and in cigarettes. The liquor, or "gift of the gods," is the basic element of all fiestas and assures the participants that the celebration will be successful. Safeguards were built into the management of the fiesta in the role of *alisiles*, who used to act as attendants to the alfereces and who watched to see that the alfereces and the guitarists did not get so drunk that they could not perform.

796 The following story about the origin of liquor illustrates its great importance to the fiesta.

794 796 *aetik, and finally the new alférez. The first judge spoke with each set of officials, saying, "God, we have finished the gift of your ancestors"; and the departing alférez said, "So it is, elders."*

The new alférez took his banner from the table and went outside with the four personaetik, followed by the other alfereces carrying their banners, and by the president, the síndico, and the koronaetik, who carried their staffs of office. They went in a procession to the home of the outgoing alférez; at the fence of his house, they lined up their banners in the stand provided. The wife of the outgoing alférez, with the nakawane, brought burning incense from the house and placed it before the banners. The first nakawane exchanged the pat?o?tan with the first judge. In a column of paired officials, they approached the house and seated themselves on the porch. The judges went to the first nakawane and greeted him with the pat?o?tan; then, standing at the door of the interior of the house, the first judge repeated the greeting with the woman speaker.

[273] *The nakawane ordered the b'alnialetik to bring the fermented corn gruel. After it was served, the b'alnial put a small table in the middle of the porch, covered it with the embroidered cloth, and set two liters of liquor on it. The nakawane rose and gave the pat?o?tan to the first judge. He asked permission of the woman speaker to drink, and when this was granted, the b'alnialetik measured out and served the trago.*

[535] *After the two bottles of trago had been consumed, the alisil took the wife of the outgoing alférez, and the dance began, following the same pattern described above. The dancing was followed by a procession to the* • [788] *church in which the new alférez carried the banner, thereby asserting his succession to the office. The old alférez remained in his house with his assembled guests.*

[788] *In the movement of the banners by the alfereces, one could see the symbolic military behavior: the procession to the house was a mock column of march; the military titles of the alfereces and the "colonels" were carried out in vocative and referential titles in the prayers. The handling of the banners was always done with show of sacred respect: cloths were used to handle them, and they were always set carefully in appointed places to the pole never touched the ground; incense was set nearby when they were unattended. In the cermonial movment from the houses of the al-*

the regidores were seated in their customary places; the alfereces sat on the visitors' bench. The two former alfereces went before the two newly appointed alfereces and gave an account of what was going to take place, instructing them on "how they should make a fiesta."

When the two former alfereces entered, they went to the president, saying, "How does the Lord see you alive on this holy afternoon?" They then went to the síndico and the regidores and ended with the judges, exchanging a pat?o?tan.

The alfereces went out, mounted their horses, and were handed the banners by the regidores. The two old alfereces received their banners first. All four made the sign of the cross, first facing the cabildo, then the church, and then rode in procession, preceded by the flutist, two drum players, and a guitarist, and followed by the other horsemen. They stopped before the church, dipping their flags, first toward the church and then the cabildo. The president, síndico, and first judge walked across the plaza to the church as the church bells were rung, and all the musical instruments played—the marimba, bell, drums, and flute. The alfereces dismounted and put their banners in the church.

The final day, called Lahinbahel Sk'in, *was spent sobering up, putting things back in order, and returning borrowed items.*

Although Santiago is not one of the major saints, a major celebration is given in his honor because of the high value placed on horsemanship in this community. Before the construction of the Pan-American Highway in 1953 everyone in town had horses which were used to carry the pottery to market. Riding skills were developed in the free-swinging *macho* (manly) style of northern Mexico's cowboys. Even today when horses are not as economically useful the horse culture has survived. The running of the horses in the fiesta is not competitive. Each rider does his best to tear at high speed across the plaza, but there is no specific goal. Since the drunken riders often fall and are injured, some of the excitement is based on the potential danger.

The behavioral data on which the analysis of rituals depends are included because they provide a basis for comparison with neighboring

794
796 *pulas has risen on the cross. After they have seen Him rise, all the pueblo*
[533] *will go out. At two o'clock in the afternoon, they will again play the sad flute, the drum, the coronet, and the matrake. All the pueblo will collect and will make another prayer to see the Tatik Eskipulas lowered from the*
[188] *cross. When He is lowered, they take Him out on a procession with the priest, the prayer-makers, and all the men and women of the pueblo who will hold candles, and the four guards with rifles. The first mayordomo*
[533] *knows how to blow the old coronet, and another mayordomo knows how to blow the sad flute, and anther plays the drum, and another plays the old matraka. After the procession goes in the plaza, it returns to the*
[273] *church and leaves Tatik Eskipulas in the middle of the church. The mayordomos sit outside the church and drink a liter of trago, and then go to their homes.*

Saturday of glory: Very early in the morning of Saturday, they give a prayer with the sad flute and drum, with the old trumpet and with the
[202] *matraka. Three times it is sounded for the pueblo to gather and hear mass. After the mass, the judge goes to speak to the police to look for a horse to mount the Jew. When the horse arrives, they take the figure of the Jew down from the church and tie him on top of the horse. A mayordomo leads him by the bridle, and he goes out in the pueblo with the flute and drum to ask for contributions. Those who know fiesta [the curers] give fifty or twenty cents or if there is nothing, they give an egg. Afterward, they return to the church and the Jew is taken from the horse. The people set fire to his straw body. When they finish burning this, they check to see how much money they collected. All the mayordomos count the money in common. If there are twenty or thirty pesos, the mayordomos make a fiesta with drum and flute.*

[533] *Sunday of Resurrection: Mayordomos gather and sweep church. After*
[273] *sweeping they play the music to open the mouth of the bell. After the*
[262] *mass, they go drink fermented atol with bean tortilla. They eat a hen or rooster to make a fiesta for our Holy Lord because he is resurrected and because all the town is happy. They give the mayordomos fermented atol to drink. Then they return to the church and take out the lord cross, take out the jail, and the bed where the Father Eskipulas slept.*

The townspeople feel that they own the church, and many resent the intrusion of the priest who resides sometimes two or three days a week in the adjoining rectory. In the past five years, however, the priest has succeeded in asserting more control over the church: he has forbidden drinking in the church or in the courtyard, a prohibition that resulted in an open confrontation with the leading cofrade (Chapter 9); and he now controls the keys to the church and to the money boxes, formerly the responsibility of the fiscal. The two lay sisters who are in residence during the week hold the keys and are in charge of the upkeep of the church. 346 793 794 177 178

People always show respect for the church by removing their hats as they pass the entrance, even when they are at a distance. As they enter the church, they always kneel and cross themselves. They may spit on the floor of the church, for this is not a sign of disrespect. 346 576 788 [514]

The complementarity of church and cabildo is still formally recognized in ceremonial events: participants bow to the church and then to the cabildo during processions. The transfer of sacred symbols from one locale to the other at the time of the inauguration of civil and religious officials ceremonially signifies the integration of civil and religious authority, despite the growing separation in day-to-day functions in each of the domains. 621 794 182

The church serves as a staging platform for the images and symbolic offerings to them in the annual cycle of ceremonies. During the nine days of ceremony accorded to the major saints, their images are moved to the center of the altar or to the center of the nave. The staging effects are particularly notable during the fiesta of Holy Week, when the reenactment of the crucifixion is performed in the nave. The mayordomos, under the direction of the fiscal and the lay sisters, move the saints about and prepare adornments of flowers and pine needles. 346 796 [794]

The church is the locus for the weekly mass given by the priest. The men stand on the left side of the church (facing the altar), while the women kneel or sit on the floor to the right. A few benches near the altar are occupied by the Ladinos of the area who attend the mass. The lay sisters indicate to the congregation when they should kneel and rise in response to the cues of the sermon or mass. [562] [563] [794]

In addition to these scheduled events, the church serves as a locus where 346 776 782

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

346 776 782 individuals can visit the saints on their own personal missions. Appendix 3A records the visits of groups and individuals on an ordinary Sunday. Their actions in the church are part of the standardized behavior incumbent upon all those who enter the building.

Communication with the saints is ensured either by touching and kissing their images or, if the images are enclosed in glass cases, by tapping the gl. with offerings of money. It is believed that one gains an audience [562] by pay..ıg for it. When groups larger than individual clusters of visitors enter the church, sexual segregation is observed (for example, when a male child enters with his mother on the occasion of a mass, he remains with her until more people arrive, then leaves her to stand on the male [788] side of the nave). Ritualized wailing is done by women only. After such a [152] demonstration the women show normal composure, since wailing is a standardized mode of communication, not an outburst of uncontrolled emotion. It is private and concerns the individual wailer and the saint to which she appeals; none of the other visitors in the church indicates any sign of response to these displays. Unless there is a focused activity going [794] on, such as a mass or series of baptisms, each visiting group is an autonomous unit, carrying out its own mission.

794 571 562 People visit the church most commonly in pairs of two. They congregate for mass in a pattern in which women and children enter first, and men, who linger in the plaza until the church is partially filled, enter in clusters and take their places on the male side of the nave. The religious and civil officials enter last, and the mayordomos, whose attendance is one of the obligations of their post, move toward the altar at the front. Men attend church less frequently than do women.

The School

346 621 875 [177] [178] Unlike the church, the school is regarded as an alien structure. Assistance in reconstruction and maintenance is given under pressure rather than voluntarily. Until fairly recently, schoolteachers too remained unintegrated in the community. In the early years of the school's existence, there was a rapid turnover of teachers. The employment of a schoolmaster with a wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The school has be-

3. Categories of role-bearers sit and act together in all the domains. 571
In the home the me'eletik, the nakawanehetik, and the b'alnialetik have 554
established seats and act in concert. Similarly in the cabildo, four ranks 576
of officials, the principales, judges, regidores, and police, move and act together. In the church, elder and younger mayordomos move in pairs of two.

4. Sexual segregation is present in the home, the church, and the 562
cabildo, but is lacking in the school. This rejection of the community 871
standard for a group situation was the basis for some parents holding 177
their children out of school until coerced by the federal authorities 178
backed by the local officials.

5. Attendance in all domains involves coercion as well as voluntary action. Coercion is most marked in the school, but resistance by the parents to forced attendance and mixing of the sexes is fast wearing down in this domain. In the cabildo, the defendant is required to attend the court hearing and may even be jailed if he does not pay the fines charged against him. Coercion is covert in the home; the lack of alternative housing arrangements makes residence in the household of orientation or of procreation mandatory.

6. Sacred symbols are present in all the domains. The symbols of the cabildo and of the school relate the community to the nation with the national flags and the portraits of the president. The canes of [293]
office which are assumed as each official acquires office are symbols of local authority. The universalistic symbols of the church—the saints im- 778
ages, portraits, and banners—are acquired from Catholic orthodoxy, but 177
have been encapsulated with local sentiments and beliefs. Sacred symbols 178
are treated with respect and avoidance, both in the church and the home. 788
The "holy cross" or banners are touched only with sacred embroidered cloths binding the hands of those who carry them. Saints' images are kissed, but as a mark of respect, not intimacy. The Mexican flag, with 186
which less awe is associated, is saluted.

Each of the domains provides a setting for the recognition and valida- 621
tion of authority figures in the community. Values which are communally 177
shared or imposed from outside are formally instilled in these settings. Ex- 178

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

formants' conscious understandings as well as of their subconscious patterns of behavior. [121] [024]

Description of behavior requires a theoretical approach to the problems of segmenting activity streams, selecting events, and ordering them. Too large chunks of behavior are not useful in comparisons made over time in the same society or between societies. However, because human (as well as animal) behavior is characterized by motivation and cognition (Tolman, 1961) we cannot expect to isolate minimal units which are invariant from one context to another. Verbs, as French (1954, p. 162) points out, are one-act plays in which a change of dramatis personae creates entirely new meaning. Furthermore, the symbolic weight of a single act varies; it can encompass the history of an institution, such as crossing oneself, or it can establish identification with a social movement, such as raising a clenched fist. However, for any behavioral schema, which I define, following Piaget, as component acts structured in an organized totality (Flavell, 1963, p. 54), it is possible to segment acts and assess their significance. In the major schema of the inauguration of officials in Tzo?ontahal, place, time, and roles are the bases for structuring related sets of activities.

Segmenting human behavior has been treated as either an actor-oriented or an observer-oriented problem. Pike (1954) and Adams (1962) rely on informants' advice to isolate the "behavioreme," whereas [114] Harris (1964, p. 367 ff.) rejects the actor's statement of goals in favor of the investigator's own definitions of action units. If the "basic unit of action in the human body is purposive motion" (Burke, 1962, p. 61), then we must consider the meaning of action at the first stage of an analysis.[4] The anthropological observer's segmentation at this point injects cultural bias which stems from his point of view (Hymes, 1964, p. 14; Spier and Sapir, 1930, p. 217). Since our [124]

[4] Most verbs used by informants in describing action patterns imply purpose. The informant says that he "eats," not that he raises food to his mouth and masticates it. The coding of motives and goals in the verbs underlines the importance of eliciting in the performer's own language. For example, when one observes the Indians as they enter the townhall, one sees them kneel and do what could be interpreted as crossing themselves. Asked what they do, the informants reply, "We measure our noses (*sp'is smi?ik*)." Measuring water (*sp'is ha?*) is another important ceremonial act. This suggests the possible ceremonial significance of measure in ceremonial performances. To assume knowledge of the act because of its similarity to Catholic forms might rule out suggestions requiring deeper probing. Cf. Adams' (1962) distinction between the reported and the observed act, and Barker (1963). [121] [124] [193] [788] [804] [114]

[P. 210-B]

male helpers who are usually wives of the *balnialetik*, or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors who come to congratulate the new official. Particularly conspicuous because of their Ladino or non-Indian clothing in the house of the president (Chart 6) were the visitors from the outlying rancherías and colonias of Tzoʔontahal. 621* [592] [574]

Validation in the household setting takes place in two scenes. The first occurs on the eve of New Year. Each new official entertains in his house the men he has chosen as his *nakawanehetik* and as his *balnialetik*. Only those *balnialetik* who are immediately related come to this gathering. The *meʔil k'op*, 'woman speaker,' is present along with the wives of the *balnialetik* (Chart 2). The house is decorated with pine needles and juniper boughs in the afternoon. The visitors arrive with wood and pitchpine to light the house at about eight in the evening and stay until the liquor is finished. Drinking order is from elder to younger, which coincides with the prestige ranking. The *nakawanehetik* are served, then the *nic'anil*. 621* 574 592 [602] [353] [273] [554]

The second household gathering takes place on the morning of the New Year. Major settings for such gatherings are the house of the first judge and the house of the new president. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the three other regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house. They join the president at his house and then proceed to the townhall. The group of five police from *ahk'olnantik* meet separately in the house of the first police of that side, and those of *alannantik* meet in the house of their first police. 621* 574 693 [592]

The assembled officials proceed to the townhall, announcing with rockets to the policemen that they have left. Gathered in the townhall, referred to in the formal address or *patʔot'an* as the *sik na*, 'cold house,'[9] are the 'old officials' *(k'a hu'eletik)* along with the alfereces and the principales. They enter two by two, the president and síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges, and the judges of the barrios and colonias. They kneel and 'measure their noses' *(sp'is snisʔik,)* as they enter, showing respect to the holy banners which the alfereces have delivered from the church. 621* 693 [202] [794] [554] [788] [794]

[9] Bunzel (1952, p. 377) translates a formal speech in which the townhall of Chichicastenango is referred to as that "cold house, the icy house," but the Quiche word is not included. The pattern of double synonyms for nouns is present in these Quiche formal texts as in the Tzeltal. [197]

[P 217-A]

reces have delivered from the church. The presence of the alfereces with their banners proclaims the link between civil and religious office. 621* 794 182

The principales, now fairly inebriated after their long wait for the arrival of the new officials, pass out the staffs, assisted by the old president who helps direct them as they wander in a daze from the table to the new officials. The intoxicated state of the principales is never mentioned in elicited statements. The act of passing over the staffs is a significant index to their role in the hierarchy. As the only "permanent" 621* 624 [273]

621* 554 693

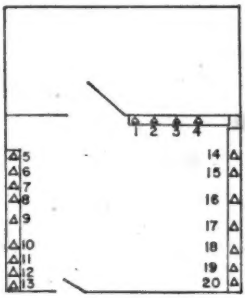

CHART 5 — MORNING, HOUSE OF PRESIDENT, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS (all men):

1 Nakawane
2 President
3, 4 Nakawane
5 First judge
6 Second judge
7 Síndico
8, 9 Assistant judges
10 First regidor
11 Second regidor
12 Third regidor
13 Fourth regidor
14-20 *Balnialetik*

incumbents—permanent so long as they are alive, healthy, and not impoverished—they are the link between the outgoing and incoming officials. When all the old officials have retired to their homes following the ceremony, and the new officials have gone on to the church, the principales wait in the townhall for the new officials to return for the afternoon drinking session in which they will join, as they had done in the morning with the old officials. 621* 624 [273]

Wearing their rosaries, the new officials follow the alfereces out of the townhall in a procession. Holding the holy banners, the alfereces line up before the townhall, dip their banners, and proceed to the 621* 794 788 ●

[P. 217-B]

church where the same reverence is accorded to the church. The order of the procession following them indicates the rank order of the officials, from the *spoil mayol*, the last policeman, to the first and second judge (Chart 9). The precedence of the first two

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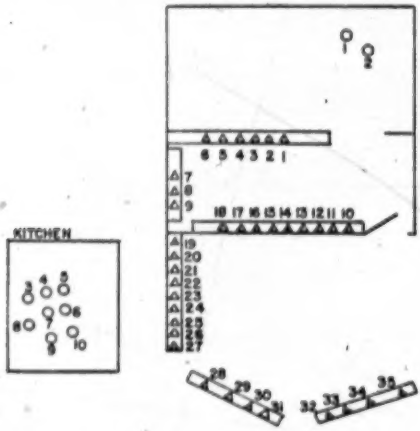

CHART 6 – MORNING, NEW YEAR'S DAY, HOUSE OF NEW PRESIDENT (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):

1 Woman speaker *(Me?il k'op)*, comadre president
2 Second woman, neighbor
3-10 *Wanchesik*

MEN (triangles):

1 First Nakawane
2 Second Nakawane
3 Third Nakawane, brother of president
4 President
5, 6 Visitors from Colonias
7-9 *Balnialesik*
10 First judge
11 Second judge
12 First regidor
13 Second regidor
14 Third regidor
15 Fourth regidor
16 Assistant judge of Madronal
17 Assistant judge of La Grandeza
18 Assistant judge of San Caralampio
19-35 Visitors

judges over the president and síndico reverses that which was taken as they enter the church. There may be some permissible variation here, since the elicited version of the former president indicates that they should enter last. Possibly the threat of assassination (p. 223) caused them to enter before the judges as a security measure. The procession makes two turns

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[P. 218- A]

621*
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"to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] who the new officials to remain in office are."

Awaiting the new officials in the church are all the mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see who they are" (App. 1, Q. 48, 49). The new officials "speak to God," asking for health so that they can complete their obligation to the town. They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father townhall." There they spend the remainder of the afternoon.

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[782]
[788]

The mayordomos go to the kitchen attached to the townhall. The first policeman directs the purchase of liquor and the measuring out of drinks for the ten policemen from the two sides of the dual division and the two rural commissioners. In the townhall the new president's first orders are to the fourth regidor to ask him to buy two liters of "the gift," liquor. The pardon to the ancestors, and the offering of the gift to the principales, is in the hands of the first judge, who knows the *paiʔot'an*, and can do the honors. The president is served following the principales in the round of drinking.

621*
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[794]
[625]
[693]
[782]
[431]
[537]

The change of religious officials takes place on the fiesta day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29, and on the day of the three Kings, January 6. This provides a six-month term of office. The new officials gather in the homes of the *kobraria* of Halal meʔtik and Sakramentu, and in the church. Thus two settings, home and church, come into play with the change of civil officials, but the townhall, significantly, is not part of this act nor are the alfereces called into action.

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The ceremony lasts three days: first day is *pas kanselero*, 'to make candles,' when the candles are cleaned, and the old mayordomos eat a "common meal" *(komun weʔel)*; second day is *wiiperes*, when the oath is taken; final day is *sk'ahk'alel*, when the new mayordomos play the drums or flute.

The first gathering, which took place the year I observed it in the house of the *kobraria* of Halal Meʔtik Santalusia, was cut short because the *kobraria* did not have a porch, and it had begun raining. By local standards, a house without a porch is considered inadequate, and is called 'cow house' *(wakai naʔ)* since the owner cannot accommodate guests on such occasions. The group therefore lingered longer in the house of the *kobraria* of Sakramentu.

[362]

The speech of the *nakawane* to the "elder new mayordomos" *(mamai ʔai martomaetik)* (App. 2,

[537]

[P. 218-B]

Change of Officials

The degree of integration of the civil and religious wings of the hierarchy can be described behaviorally. The following acts (App. 1) indicate this structural feature. 621* 794 182

Q. 24. The civil officials kneel and "measure their noses" as they enter the townhall in deference to the banners. [788]

Q. 27. Sacred objects, such as the holy banners of the *kobrarias*, are present on the table in the townhall as the officers take the oath of office. Officials carry rosaries as they accept oath and wear them in the procession to the church. [778]

Q. 28. The alfereces are present in the townhall to witness the ceremony. As bearers of the four major saints of the town, their role is primarily defined in a religious context.

Q. 41. Officials go to the church immediately following their procession in the plaza to pray for health to carry out their responsibilities. [782]

Q. 48. The religious officials are present in church on New Year's day to witness the arrival of new officials of the civil wing.

The alfereces link the two wings of the hierarchy in the following acts: 794 182

Q. 36. They carry the sacred banners to the townhall on the day of the inauguration.

Chart 9. They lead the parade of new officials of the civil wing.

Q. 28. They witness ("look at") the inauguration of the civil officials in the townhall.

Q. 36. In emerging from the townhall, they bow and incline their banners first before the townhall, then before the church. [788]

In the inauguration of the religious officials the only act uniting officials of the two wings of the hierarchies is that of counting the money (App. 2, Q. 90) when the town treasurer and síndico assist the church officials. The integration of the civil and religious wings in Tzo?ontahal is asymmetrical. The church officials as a group are involved in the civil inauguration, but the civil officials are only peripherally involved in the religious inauguration. 621* 794 182 [624]

Another behavioral basis for stating the dimensions of the civil and religious integration is found in the replication of symbols and acts in each inauguration. In taking the oath, the term *yič huramentu* is used in both settings. The staff as symbol of civil office has its counterpart in the candles handed over to the mayordomos. In both ceremonies, officials of the townhall and of the church wear red kerchiefs and carry rosaries when receiving the oath of office. 621* 794 182 782 788 [641] [292] [293]

Replication of behavior in both civil and religious 000

[P. 220—B]

Second, the house ceremonials require the addition of this segment to complement the civil and religious structures so that we have a triadic set of officials—civil, religious and household—rather than a dyadic set as is usually described for Mesoamerican communities. 621* 794 182 156

Agent, place, time, and acts, both verbal and motor, 121

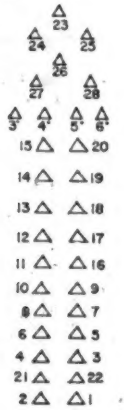

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CHART 9 — PROCESSION, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS:

3-6 Alfereces
23 Guitarist *(alpultero)*
24, 25 Firecracker lighters *(tomese siʔbak)*
26 Flautist *(yamai)*
27, 28 Drummers *(stihik sk'ayobik)*

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7, in addition to 21 and 22, rural judges listed in Chart 8.

carefully described, are the pegs on which comparative analysis can be hung. What we lose in literary value in ethnographic accounts, we may gain in making explicit the inductive bases of structural functional analyses. Once we understand the principles involved in the assignment of position or action in any setting, variations from the elicited and observed pattern provide clues to social change within small time periods. 121

[P. 221-B]

MOST ETHNOGRAPHIC REPORTS on the civil-religious hierarchy emphasize status and the functional goal of community integration. What we have failed to impart is the dynamic aspect of status, role. In the divergences between expected and enacted patterns of behavior in those occasions when the individual

CHART 10 — NEW YEAR'S DAY PROCESSION OF NEW OFFICIALS (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:
29, 30, 31 Comisarios of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Cruz Quemada

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Charts 7 and 9.

"puts into effect the rights and duties which constitute the status" (Linton, 1936, p. 114), we have micrometers to the measurement of change. The details of change may be small—for example, a shift in the lineup of officials in a procession—but it may be a clue to important organizational changes. The behavioral changes in details of this sort provide cues to eliciting information that will explain the divergences. An important supplement to these cues are the unsolicited comments of informants. Sometimes

[P.222-A]

ing "what our mothers and fathers did" (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 64). Second, continuity can be seen in the presence of both old and new officials in the townhall. In this setting, the old officials acknowledge acceptance of the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28). Finally, of greatest importance in establishing continuity are the principales, who await the arrival of the new officials with the old officials (App. 1, Q. 28) who pass over the symbol of authority (App. 1, Q. 31), and who remain alone in the townhall for the return of the new officials, when they have gone to church. 621* 105 794 178 18 [624]

2. *Role commitment.* The officials are members of closed corporate communities, integrated in a prior set of kinship and other social relations. They cannot rely on anonymity when acting in their official capacity as judge or policeman. Thus one of the functions of the inauguration as a rite of passage is a disengagement from the preexisting network of obligations and a commitment to the obligations of the office (cf. Parsons, 1951, pp. 80–84; Gluckman, 1962, p. 34; Cancian, 1964). Behaviorally, this function is indicated in the unfailing use of the term *Mam* (elder respect term) in both address and reference. The reference to the holy nature of their task (App. 1, Q. 19) and of the symbol of their authority, the "holy" staff (App. 1, Q. 30) which they always carry when discharging an official errand, establishes the supernatural authority on which the role is based. The effectiveness of these symbolic role identities in neutralizing prior affective commitments can partially be judged in that most dispute cases are brought before the local courts rather than referred to higher courts, suggesting that the complainant expects fair treatment. 621* 105 794 178 18 156 554 [576] [293] [691]

3. *Role learning.* The inauguration provides a setting in which the individual who is about to assume office learns what is expected of him (cf. Fortes, 1962, p. 82). The instruction of the novice officeholder is acquired most importantly in the home from the speeches of the *nakawanehetik* and cofrades (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 38, Q. 64) and in the directions he may be given in the ceremonial setting (App. 2, Q. 39, observation).

4. *Introduction of new officeholders to the villagers.* The new status of the officeholders is made 621* 105 794 178 18 788 •

[P. 227-8]

public in the procession around the plaza (App. 1, Q. 39). The mayordomos gather in the church specifically to view the new incumbents (App. 1, Q. 50). There is less public display of new officeholders in the case of the religious officials than in the case of civil officials.

The morphological description of the structure of a society is inadequate unless it includes role behavior as well as status positions. The behavioral data pro-

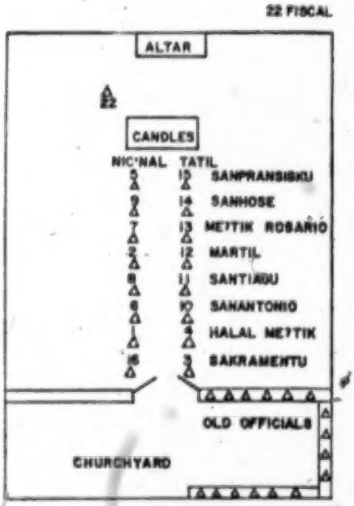


CHART 15 — NEW MAYORDOMOS INSIDE CHURCH, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

vide the basis for describing the physiology of a culture, or how actors and social groups interrelate in carrying out tasks. In the inaugurations, the household emerged in the behavioral descriptions as an important ritual domain supporting the civil and religious hierarchy. Similarly, the asymmetrical relation between the role of religious officials in the civil inauguration and that of civil officials in the religious

[P. 228-A)

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
#62 124 796 693 576 [788]				judge got up and stood before the second judge and did the *spalanbe soltak tuyipal č'in mahtanil* (account to company for the little gift. He then went to the first *nakawane* with the *sak'inal* (good day greeting). Then all the assembled company stood up and turn to wall and gave the benediction to the gift of the ancestors
	21. Why do they stand and turn to the wall?	Not asked—preceded observation	Not asked	So that the devil does not enter
#62 124 796 [273] [693]	22. What do they do after they drink coffee?	They drink liquor seated, resting their heart, in the entry of the house of the president	Drink liquor to await the hour they go to the cabildo	Two beers and 2 liters liquor were laid to rest. At 11:55 women came in to get liters of liquor. Put it under a kerchief and took it out to women in kitchen. Judges and regidores put on red kerchiefs. At 12 noon two judges got up and said goodbye, first to the *halnial* then the first judge went to the *nakawane* while the second judge and two regidores followed behind him. Then together the four said goodbye to the *nakawane* and to the *me?il k'op*. Firecrackers were set off to advise police that the group was setting out on their way to the town hall. Police were to meet them at the townhall and had to be advised so that they would arrive at the same time. Two past regidores came to the *me?il k'op* and said goodbye. The group set out together
[202] [625]				
	[23. Omitted.]			
#62 124 788 796 [693]	24. How do they enter the townhall?	They enter two by two. They kneel and cross themselves at the door of the cabildo	They enter two by two, kneel at the door. They rise, enter, arrive, kneel before the *sanik* table	Pair by pair they entered and touched cross of banner with their rosaries. First the president and síndico then first and second judges followed by judges from Madronal, La Grandeza, San Vicente, and Cruz Quemada
	25. Why do they cross themselves?	Because they show respect to the holy cross		

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
*621 124 796 641 [875]				and enthusiasm what the constitution commands us. I want in this moment, under the oath, to designate the position of municipal president of the pueblo
[559]	33. How did new officials respond to oath?			Officials raised hands with rosary in it. Then they put rosary on their necks
*621 124 796	34. What do they do after the oath?		Pass over the papers with the acts, with all the things	Take inventory of communal possessions—5 chairs in bad estate, 2 *codigo viejo*, etc.
	35. Who takes inventory?			The past president
*621 124 794 796 [533] [788]	36. What do they do after they take their staffs the new officials?	The four alfereces go out with their banners	The alfereces go out in a procession with the banners	First alferez came to table, crossed himself, kissed banner with kerchief bound on handle, unfurled banner. He followed with second, third, and fourth alfereces. Flute and drum began as alfereces came out. They turned and faced the townhall. Inclining banners the police went out, knelt, crossed selves at door. Then the regidores, then president, then síndico and judges
*621 124 796	37. What time did the procession begin?			1:05
788	38. What did the procession look like?	(Chart 9)		(Chart 10)
	39. How many turns do they take?		They take two turns where the fruit is sold (reference to plaza during a ceremony)	Two turns (started behind school house but old *nakawane* redirected them)
	40. What did the alfereces do?			At door of the townhall, drew up horses facing it, dipped banners. Same at church
	41. Where does the procession go?	To the church	They go to the church	They enter the church
*621 124 796 [624]	42. Who remains at the townhall?		The officials come out, leaving all the townhall silent except for the two principales who will await the new officials	The two principales remain within
[782] [794]	43. What do they do in the church?	All the officials speak to God (Chart 11)	They speak to God. They kiss all the saints	They pray at the altar, then kiss the saints as they leave. The alfereces leave their banners in the church

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzoʔontahal

*621
105
192
554

	KRINSIPALETIK, principales	Two men who have passed through five offices in civil and six in religious hierarchy	Address greetings to old first judge; drink, greet new officials pass over staffs
	ʔAČʔAʔTELETIK, new officials	Men of village	Receive oath
	Professor		Gives oath
Plaza, noon	*TEKLUM*, Village (people) *Spisil Meʔeletik*, all the women *Spisil Winketik*, all the men	Men and women of village	Look to see who the new officials are
[788]	*ʔAČʔAʔTELETIK*, new officials		Make two turns in procession
[794]	*ʔALPERESETIK*, alfereces		Lead procession with banners
	BALNIALETIK, assistants	Two of president's assistants	Play flute and drum, light firecrackers
[794] Church, noon	*MARTOMAETIK*, mayordomos		Look to see new officials
	PIŠKAL, fiscal		Look to see new official
	ʔAČ' AʔTELETIK, new officials		Speak to God
Townhall, afternoon	*ʔAČ' AʔTELETIK*, new officials		Drink with *krinsipaletik*
	KRINSIPALETIK, principales		Drink with new officials

241 782 *chin-uch* (May 20–June 8), an offering is made to the supernatural being which reigns over it. The natives have vague no-
[825] tions of the nature of this being. They say that *uch* is the name of a small insect which spoils the pozole and, also, of the *tlacuache* or *zariguey*a which often destroys the milpa. The offering, hung at the entrance of the hut, consists of a ball of pozole wrapped in plantain leaf, a red chile, a tortilla, an ear of corn, and a little stick like the kind used to turn the ear cooking over hot coals.
241 782 All objects are minute in size. When the offering achieves its purpose, on the com-
787 pletion of a 20-day period, the atmosphere becomes hazy "as if there were smoke." It is explained that "the chin-uch burned its house," which forecasts a favorable sun for development of the milpa. If such a sign should not appear on the indicated date or at the end of the next month of *mukul-uch* (June 9–28), the forecast is ominous and indicates that the rains will be excessive, greatly harming the milpa.

778 796 Another mukul-mixa is performed in Ox-chuc, in homage to the hill called Ikal-Ajau,
[184] near the ceremonial center, of which the Indians say "it is a living hill." The name of the hill is that of the ancient hill worshipped by the Oxchuequeños. Nuñez de la Vega (in Becerra, 1933, p. 293) reports: "Those of Oxchuc and other towns of Los Llanos venerate very much the idol which they call Icalajau, which means principal Negro or
[789] lord of the Negroes." This Mass, performed the first days of June, prevents locusts and other plagues from coming.

241 78 Once the crop is in the granary, other family prayers are said before the household cross, to give thanks for the good received and to petition the supernatural beings to protect the grain from insects and rodents.

Other Subsistence Resources

262 235 Other food resources include raising chickens and pigs. A family averages about
[231] 10 chickens, using the eggs as money when
[437] [P. 202-B]

787 776 been taken away by the local authorities and sent to the Indians' Affairs Office in San Cristobal.

Life Cycle

842 *Pregnancy and Childbirth*

183 The strongest desire of every Tzeltal couple is to create a numerous family, preferably boys. The relationship between sexual intercourse and pregnancy is well understood among the Indians. They know that pregnancy lasts nine months and they keep a good count of it. On the other hand, there are ideas about the possibility of the woman being influenced by old men or "the owners of the nagual," who can interrupt pregnancy and change the fetus from one woman to another. This is why a woman who thinks she is pregnant for three or four months suddenly realizes that she carries nothing any more, while another one, maybe her neighbor, finds herself in advanced pregnancy, giving birth a few months later. It is to be stressed, however, that these changes can take place only among married women.

843 [833] 843 789

844 [181] In conservative villages (Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Cancuc) there is no professional midwife. Children are delivered by the oldest women in the neighborhood.

[757] [237] When labor begins, the first thing is to give the mother a beverage made of powdered opossum tail dissolved in boiling water. It is very common for Indians to have a dry tail hanging next the fireplace. The woman kneels at labor, facing the midwife. The husband's belt or the woman's rebozo is tied very tightly around the upper part of the abdomen to prevent the child from "going up again." The mother can also help herself by seizing a rope tied to the roof, or taking firm hold of any post of the house. The umbilical cord is chopped with a machete or cut with scissors, supported on an ear of corn. This ear is afterwards used as seed and is considered very fertile.

[241] [824]

[757] When labor has finished, the mother is given another hot beverage of pepper,

[P 223-B]

844 cloves, and corncake, to keep her "warm
[757] and fertile." The placenta can be burned,
[842] thrown to the dogs, or deeply buried in case
the mother does not want another preg-
[789] nancy soon. The umbilical cord is put under
a three-stone fireplace if the baby is a girl,
on top of a tree if it is a boy so that he may
become brave and agile when adult.

846 A few hours after childbirth, at the latest
515 the next day, both mother and child take a
temascal (steam bath). Some women stay
in the temascal until they feel completely
recovered.

Childhood and Adolescence

789 During the first weeks of life, children are
774 in danger of losing their souls because their
inexperience makes them an easy prey to
the naguales and bad spirits who wander
around. As protection, mothers place a small
[237] piece of beeswax at the back of the child's
head or tie, as a bracelet, a red or blue
thread around the wrist. If none of these
precautions are taken, the mother has to
cover with branches the paths her child
walks, so that his soul can easily find its way
in case he loses it.

789 Because of all these dangers, fathers al-
852 ways try to perform the ceremony of "seed
774 the soul of the child" as soon as possible. It
[553] is during this ceremony that the child is
given a name, later confirmed according to
Catholic ritual at the ceremonial center. A
[608] very important aspect of the ceremony is
selection of the godparents.

753 *Sickness and Death*

776 Most sicknesses come from infection or
[888] malnutrition. To the natives, however, ill-
nesses have a supernatural cause and are
ascribed either to the anger of gods and
spirits or to old people who have a nagual
or who can throw a spell. The most frequent
explanation is that naguales or supernatural
beings are acting against people. They can
adopt human or animal form or appear as
[P 224-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

he is whipped by the girl's father for a thief. The girl is stripped to 584
the waist and whipped by her mother. With this the marriage is 585
legalized. As the first act of their true married life, the girl makes posole and offers it to her parents. The boy is under obligation to bring presents of bread, chocolate, aguardiente, etc., to his parents-in-law.

There are no formal restrictions of marriage, but the Church 582
exercises a general influence against wedding brother and sister, 177
cousins, or other relatives forbidden by Christian doctrine. In this, 178
owing to the disposition of the Indians, and to the purely tribal character of marriage, which is not regarded by them as a religious or governmental matter, the Church is only partially successful. In- 588
formal unions actually do occur between brother and sister, apparently without any ceremony, the pair merely continuing to live together, their family relationship slowly changing into that of a married couple. That such a wife's status has some regularity in their eyes is shown by the fact that she has the same position in funeral rites as an ordinary wife.

It is probably due to the negative influence of the Church that 115
the various important crises in the life of an individual, ordinarily 126
marked by such colourful ceremonies among primitive people, here are distinguished by very little of ritualistic observance. For description of the main events in the life course, we were again dependent on Señor Tovilla, whose information, given with little change below, checked entirely with the result of other inquiries. The funeral ceremonies were observed at first hand, after the fight described at El Encanto; for them, accordingly, I have used my own notes.

When a woman is about to give birth to a child, a midwife—an 844
older woman with some knowledge of herbs—is summoned. A few days before parturition, the woman is carefully tended by the midwife, well fed with choice food, and provided with a little rum. At the moment of giving birth, the midwife prays that the child may be brought forth happily. The mother kneels, and the midwife prepares to receive the child with a new cloth. Meantime the father is told to stay outside the house, or may be allowed to help in minor matters.

It is said that at Tenejapa the women go out into the woods to give birth untended, coming back with the child.

The baby is given Christian baptism. 852

A child's soul is considered to be particularly delicate, and there- 789
fore liable to magic influence. If the people of the house must go [774]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

789 away, leaving it alone, an ear of yellow corn is left with it, that its soul may not be stolen. There is an interesting parallel here with [171] the ear of corn as a "ceremonial mother" in the Southwestern United States. If somebody expresses too strong admiration of a child, fire must be passed near it, or spittle rubbed over its forehead; otherwise the baby will become ill. Infants are particularly susceptible to the evil eye. To cure one that has been thus cursed, a female shaman is summoned, who passes a whole egg all over the baby's body. This is then opened, and the evil eye will be seen (by the shaman) in the yolk of the egg. They throw the egg into the river, or bury it in a secret place. Almost this same belief was found in Chontal of Tabasco. (Customs of San Fernando, Chapter VI, Volume I).

868 Children's education is simple and direct. As soon as a boy is old enough to work at all—at about five years of age—he is given a worn-down machete and set to cutting and hauling wood. From then on, following his father, he learns the man's duties. Girls are started with a miniature metate, grinding corn.

872 The Government maintains some public schools, such as at Bachajon Village, in which a few children learn to read and write, but in general great difficulty is found in obtaining scholars. As soon as they are old enough to study, they are strong enough to be of material help in the house and the farm; the parents do not like to relinquish what represents the interest on the investment of the price paid by the father for marriage, and the expense of the children's early years. Under the present administration, however, efforts to educate the Indians are being pushed as never before.

881 Puberty is attended by no observances of any kind. Marriage,
582 which comes fairly early, has been previously described.

764 At death the ceremonial side is greatly emphasized. The funeral rites combine the idea of mourning with a general belief that the soul of the departed lingers for a brief time about his former domicile. When possible, the house of the deceased is abandoned for a short time, during which period, if any small animal is observed about the house, particularly at night, it is supposed to be his soul. No particular powers are ascribed to the soul, as far as could be found out, but it is considered poor company.

As it happened, a man was killed while we were at the Finca Encanto, whose funeral rites we could observe. His wife began mourning for him almost immediately—this being in the middle of the afternoon. His body was taken to another house, neighbour to his own. The true ceremonies began after nightfall. Accompanied [123] by Lazaro and Señor Aguilar, the writer went up with a gift of

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

fragments of prayers to him will be given when discussing medicine. 776
Distinct from the guardian of the cornfields, he is known only by name to the ordinary Indians, and mention of him appeared to alarm them a good deal.

Drunkenness still retains some of its old, ceremonial significance, 273
in its association with fiestas, funeral rites, and particularly with medicine, under which head it will be more fully taken up.

There are a number of beliefs and practices, no matter what their 789
origin, which, as they exist today, must be considered as superstitions rather than religion. Of such a type is the belief mentioned 771 822
when speaking of hunting, that painting the bullet red would make it go further. This is of interest in the study of survivals, in view of the importance of the colour red in pre-Christian times. It may be equally well argued, however, that the red in this case represents the blood of the animal to be slain. Most of the superstitions are 771
concerned with the *nagual* or the soul. 776

The set of ideas that constitute Nagualism is derived from ancient and important beliefs. The *nagual, tcul-el* (*tcul,* "holy," *-el* "the, the one"), is a companion-spirit to a man, taking the form of some animal. The stronger the *nagual,* the stronger the man, thus one with a jaguar for a familiar could work any kind of magic or other harm on one with a rabbit. We were told both that the *nagual* was assigned by popular consent, due to people's opinion of a man, and that it was seen in a dream. A man who has a quarrel with another will deliberately shoot animals of the species of the other's *nagual,* hoping to hit the particular one associated with his enemy. If that one dies, the man dies, and vice versa. Thus, it is plain that there is no idea of association with a whole class of animals, but only with one individual of a class.

According to Nuñez de la Vega,* in the seventeenth century the 776
naguál was assigned by a shaman, who took it from the name of the 756
day on which the individual was born. The child was later caused 774
to see his *nagual* . . . *"se abrazan cariñosamente con su nagual, que por arte diabólica se le apparece muy doméstica y supersticiosamente cariñosa, aunque sea una bestia muy feroz, como leon, tigre, etc."*† [171]
According to Sapper (1925) exactly the same practices obtain in Guatemala today, the animal being caused to appear by means of hypnotism.

It is possible that further investigation would show a similar 774
manner of choosing the *nagual* among the modern Tzeltal. How- 776

*Nuñez de la Vega, 1702. loc. cit.
†Extract in Paniagua, 1908. Page 57.

800

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

704 [513] fire and then hung up to destroy the impression and prevent leaving behind with it a portion of the soul, on which magic could be worked. Our own observation was that this precaution was carelessly observed.

789 123 Although magic may be worked on impressions on leaves, bits of hair, earth from fields, etc., the Indians showed no objection at all to being photographed beyond a certain embarrassment, and very little to being drawn. Often they asked to be photographed, and at some villages posed readily for sketches.

756 Although, according to Nuñez de la Vega,* there were originally several classes of shamans among these tribes, at present they seem to have narrowed down to one medicine-man type. Primarily these are doctors, but in their practice they preserve certain priestly characteristics. 756 They have a real pharmacopeia, and Ladinos and occasional foreigners who have tried their skill testify to the effectiveness of the medicines.† 757 All their knowledge, however, is kept in greatest secrecy. Just enough medicine is administered at once for a dose, the shaman watching to see that it is consumed, and none held out for identification. Of these we were able to find out virtually nothing. Serpent fat, *junto-tcan*, is in common use as a rub for colds. Head-aches and extreme drunkenness are treated by cutting the forehead with a bit of sharp glass, and bleeding is resorted to in some other cases. The use of the tourniquet in cases of snake-bite is widely known.

All applications of medicine are accompanied by prayers recited in such a way as to be unintelligible to lay hearers. The prayers are an essential part of the treatment.

756 Shamans are trained from early infancy, being selected probably by the older practitioners. One of them takes the student in hand and teaches him prayers and medicines proper to his particular specialty. With this goes a certain amount of plain magic. Whether a man may then study under others and continue learning is not known; however, they vary in reputation both for their ability at curing, and for clairvoyance, casting spells, etc. Casting spells is a sort of reverse function of doctoring, the man who can cure disease being, obviously, able also to cause it.

[273] One of the two words given for a shaman, *poci'*, shows an interesting resemblance to the Tzeltal for rum, *poc*. This similarity gains importance in view of the real connection between curing and drinking. A shaman definitely will not perform unless he is more

*Op. Cit.
†Cf. Sapper, 1925.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The four sides of the square house are protected by palm crosses which were nailed to each of the four corner posts during the ceremony of the initiation of the house. These crosses prevent the entry of evil. A fifth cross on the door post, replaced each year on the Day of the Cross, ensures the guardianship of San Pedro the Martyr, the Lord of Lightning.[5] 342 789 [776]

The idea of the similarity in substance between a house and its inmates originates in the notions about soil (*lum*) and mud (*ʔaḵ'al*). An origin myth concerning the creation of man indicates that God created man out of soil and this mythical identification is reiterated in prayers when the fleshy part of the body is referred to as *hlumeletik*, our soil, and *kaḵ'aletik*, our mud. Whatever soil man comes into contact with—in his house, in the backyard, or in his travels, may contain some of his soul. This belief is demonstrated in the following practices: When a person's soul is lost because of a fright, such as falling or "seeing a spirit," the soil where the incident occurred is scraped into a shirt or skirt belonging to him and deposited in the soil below the head of his bed. Some older informants say that the soil from beneath the bed is scraped up and deposited in the coffin of a deceased inmate of the house, but I have never seen this done. This intimate relation between soul and soil was best illustrated to us when our landlord refused to let us put a cement floor in the interior of his house since it would interfere with the practices described above and other customs in the house ceremonies mentioned below. 342 773 774 [123]

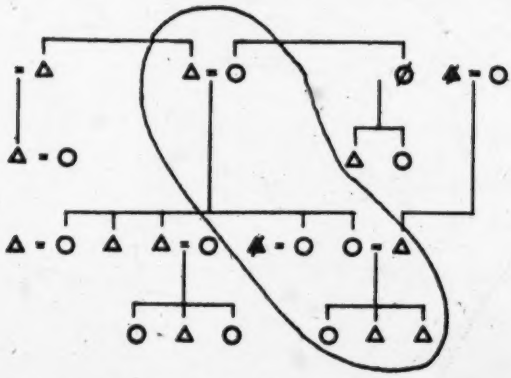
The house is constructed in two stages. The completion of each stage requires a ceremony linking the spirits of the inmates to that of the dwelling. The first stage is the erection of the house posts and the wooden frame. When the roof is covered with wood shingles, thatch, or tile, the family may set up temporary walls of boards. They wait until the rainy season to complete the second stage of building up the walls with mud. The first ceremony, called "fiesta for the house," is for "the spirit which resides in the posts," and the second, called "meal for the house," is to feed "the spirit of the house earth." People believe that the mud walls, like their fleshy counterpart, the human body, require nourishment. 342 774 [527]

5. San Pedro Martyr is referred to by the Indians as *Tatik Martil* and is identified with the pre-Conquest deity Lord of Lightning, or *Tatik Čaʔuk*. [776]

342 527 789 *First house fiesta.* In preparation for the fiesta to inaugurate the wooden frame of the house, the older men of the household and the curers make palm crosses called *Tatik Martil,* another reference to San Pedro Martyr. Older men are chosen to do this task because their procreative powers will not be endangered by handling this powerful symbol. Branches of the bushes growing near the springwater of San Nicolás are cut by the younger men of the household to be arranged in an arch, while the women make incense burners and clay candle holders. The protective symbols used in the fiesta—the arch of branches and flowers, the candles, liquor, handrolled cigarettes, palm crosses, and springwater in a gourd—are arranged before the center post of the back wall of the house.

Fig. 1. Relatives Present at House Fiesta

342 527 602



Encircled group will live in house.

342 527 756 788 The activities of a house fiesta observed in 1966 are described below.

The future occupants of the house sat in a row facing the curing arch. Two curers officiated, the elder a resident of the side of the dual division in which the houseowner lives and the second from the barrio in which his son-in-law, Santiago, was born. The elder curer lit the candles at the center post of the back wall, while the younger curer lit those at the center post in the middle wall. The mother of Santiago lit the incense and placed

342 527 774 788 spring. The gourd is used as a container for the springwater because, like all growing plants and unlike metal or glass containers, it has a soul. The soul of the tobacco plant is considered particularly strong. The smoke of the candles and incense are the media through which prayers to the spirit [782] of the house are transmitted.

342 527 788 776 533 The house fiesta serves three functions: (1) introducing the spirit of the house inmates to the house spirit, (2) creating a harmonious setting for spiritual interaction of the members of the household and the house spirit, (3) protecting the house against the intrusion of evil. The introduction is achieved by brushing the household members with the branches from the spring, and the harmony is brought about by drinking liquor, playing the guitar, and dancing. The music of the seed gourd, the guitar, and sometimes a radio or phonograph makes the residents, their guests, and the house spirit happy, or "of one heart." Protection is insured by [789] nailing the palm crosses representing the Lord of the Lightning to the house posts.

342 527 782 756 *Second house fiesta* ("meal for the house"). When a meal is given to the spirit of the house earth, the house is arranged as for the house fiesta with curing arches set in front of the center posts at the back and middle walls. The same guests are invited as for the first fiesta. The family buys a sheep and slaughters it in the morning by stringing it up to the center post by it paws and slashing its jugular vein. When the blood has drained into the square hole opened at the base of the center post, the curer removes the head and buries it in the hole. Some curers bury the four paws as well, while others prefer to add an offering of five pieces of bread in a new pottery jar, twenty measures of chocolate, thirteen cigarettes, and a bottle of liquor covered with a new cloth. The head of the sheep is placed so that the eyes look up to watch over the inhabitants. Some refer to it as the *me?iltatil,* identifying it with the curers (who are called me?iltatil in the context of guardianship) and thus with the ancestor guardians.

During the house fiesta I observed in July 1967, an old curer who had officiated at the first ceremony served again. A neighbor, who was not related to the houseowners but who was skilled in butchering, slaughtered

18 When a serious illness In the Eyes of the Ancestors caused by witchcraft has been cured, the patient
789 must be protected against reentry of the evil by a gift of medicine to the house. Palm crosses are made for the corner posts and the entry, and a medicine consisting of a mixture of garlic and creosote, the seeds of mustard, and *polčan*, a "hot" herb, is mixed. As the crosses are nailed on the posts, the curer marks a cross with the medicine over the palm cross. This "covers the eyes of the evil spirit" so that it will not enter the house.

776 The relationship between house spirit and the spirits of the residents is
342 an uneasy one. Fear is associated with this capricious spirit, who might make an alliance with evil spirits, and whose power is evident only in sickness and in death, never in good deeds. A sense of alienation is conveyed in the fact that the house spirit and the spirits of the spring are conceived of as Ladinos. Spirits of the house and of the landscape are exacting landlords from whom the tenants expect nothing in return for their offerings
[782] but freedom from harm. Acceptance of the offerings seals a contract between spiritual occupants that must continually be renewed in order to maintain the balance of security expressed in the phrase "to be of one heart." The payment of a "tribute" in the form of food, liquor, and enter-
[557] tainment is part of a larger strategy by which these Indians ensure their
[571] survival by appeasement of overlords, demanding government officials,
[782] and the very rats which live in their houses and feed on the corn they store in the eaves.

778 *The springs.* Other meeting grounds for the spirits of people and
312 places are the springs. The major spring, San Nicolás, is located on the southwestern periphery of the town. It provides drinking water and water for irrigating the cultivated lands. A second spring, called Pahaltón, lies closer to the village and provides a smaller stream of water directed into the canals irrigating the fields of the center. Some say the spirit of San Ni-
[776] colás is a small Ladino boy; others say he is a man. The spirit of Pahaltón is a female non-Indian, or *Ladina*. The spirits of these waters are able to ef-
778 fect miraculous cures for patients who have lost their souls or those who
312 are of two hearts because of upset social relations in the home. Male pa-
755 tients are brought to San Nicolás and female patients are brought to Pahaltón to seek a miracle. In the curing ceremony an arch of flowers entwined in pine boughs is constructed as closely as possible to the spring

628 People with lands in hot country recount that during droughts the In-
796 dians from the neighboring town of Chamula have held rainmaking fies-
782 tas for which they solicit contributions from other Indians.

821 *The Chamulteco came to us and said, "Let all of us who have milpas*
731 *contribute five pesos for a fiesta." He brought the candles. In the little hill there the people brought drums and flute. We ate chickens and drank liquor. For eleven hours he prayed, and in the afternoon it rained.*

628 The *kuriketik,* rural inhabitants of the colonia of San Vicente who
241 migrated to Amatenango from Chanal, have no irrigated lands and de-
789 pend directly on rainfall throughout the growing season. Indians of the center know of their practice of sticking their digging sticks into the ground with the points toward the sky "to puncture the clouds" when they have planted their milpa, but they do not imitate this practice. Control over the supply of water in the irrigated lands has apparently led to the neglect of supernatural appeals even where the canals do not supply water. Under pressure of extended drought, they will resort to spiritual intercession through Chamula or Oxchuk practitioners in whom they have some faith.

241 Acquiring the protection of the gods does not obviate the practical activ-
796 ities necessary in the cultivation of crops. Fiestas for the saints are a repay-
782 ment for services rendered in watching over the milpa. The sponsorship of
796 fiestas for the saints by the community ensures the protection for all of the crops, and general crop failure due to drought or high winds is explained as a result of mismanagement of these community-wide fiestas. The offering of candles to the spiritual owner of one's own milpa is a kind of individual insurance policy for future crops as well as a repayment for the gift of the corn harvest. The peasant notion of surplus value is implicit in this reciprocal relation: the payment, or gift, of two candles to the milpa spirit is far less than the value of the harvest. But the account is balanced by the expenditure of this surplus in communal fiestas.

Pottery Production

323
178 Making pottery has been a speciality of the town since pre-Conquest
172 days. The old site of the town contains sherds of pottery which is remarkably similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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231 cattle was seized by bandits or soldiers. It is "new" only in the size of the
233 holdings, which have expanded from ownership of one or two head per household, primarily useful as draft animals, to a herd as large as two hundred head belonging to the wealthiest man in town. Cattle rearing is now a capital investment for resale as well as for draft animals in plow agriculture.

233 The increasing herds have stimulated competition for community re-
311 sources. The control of communal grazing and waterhole rights is exer-
312 cised through the traditional dual division of the town, with rights to pas-
621 ture allocated on the basis of residence in the upper or lower barrio of the
575 center. An association of cattle owners has developed in each of the sections, and the leaders of each association call together all members to clean the water holes and repair the troughs. A recent project of the cattle association of the upper section has been the erection of a large cross at the
[789] water hole. The water had dried up the year before, and the installation of the cross was an attempt to ensure a continuous supply of water in the fu-
[796] ture. The priest blessed the cross in the dedication, and the fiscal and prayer-reciters adorn it each year on May 3, the Day of the Cross in the old Catholic calendar, along with other crosses of the village.

233 Cattle grazing is the source of much of the conflict in the town. The cat-
621 tle roam freely in the woods and communal pasture lands, and many are
578 lost or stolen. The cattle association has not fenced in the pasture in order
575 to control it. Their tactics have been punitive; they have raised funds from
627 among members to hire men to kill suspected cattle thieves. In the last twenty years, six men have been killed as cattle thieves, and at least three of those were known to be killed by men hired by the association, which then paid the court fines to set the killers free. The leader of one of the cattle associations was killed after an incident in which he fined a man who had failed to assist in cleaning the water holes. The fine of 2 pesos per head of cattle represented a large fee for the man, who had sixty head. He refused to pay more than half, since he said he had not been notified.
[754] When his daughter later died of illness, he blamed her death on witchcraft exercised by the cattle association leader, and later killed him.

231 Cattle are only minimally exploited as a resource. The cattle are not
434 butchered locally since there is not a large enough market, but are sold to

756 sulted with each other to determine who was bringing in the heat. They
731 privately disposed of the evil by causing the evildoer to die of an illness.
[827] At the time of my stay, suspicion of the curers meant that a public hearing was held in the town hall to determine who the guilty person was; usually one of the curers themselves was suspected (Chapter 9).

756 The curers formerly demonstrated their beneficial power by bringing
796 rain during a fiesta held in the cave of the ancestors. This is described by
778 an informant:
789
769

[794] *When the pueblo lacked rain in the growing season of corn in May and June, the leading curers went with the other curers, the fiscal, the alfereces, the mayordomos, and the women prayer-reciters to the cave. All the women carried candles of a peso or fifty-cent size and incense burners. They drank a great deal of liquor at the mouth of the cave and then entered to dance. The mayordomos played the guitar, the drum, and flute as the women danced and the curers prayed to the me?tiktatik. There used to be a spring in this cave, people say, and the ancestors granted water from it when they were given a fiesta.*

The last fiesta for rain occurred about 1950. The whole town contributed two pesos for the liquor and candles. The leading curer then was Juliano, a man recognized for his powers in curing and in bringing rain. He told the people that he spoke to the me?tiktatik who, he said, were dressed in the old style [a shirt worn over short cotton pants still used by older men of the town, and the handwoven hat worn by alfereces today]. The curers told the people that it would rain, and the afternoon of the fiesta, it came down hard.

178 There is no longer faith that the ancestors live in the cave, nor that the
769 present curers could speak to them if they did.
756

The growing discontent with the curers, the suspicion that they are re-
756 sponsible for much of the witchcraft, is reflected in the account of an older
754 informant.
[178]

[774] *The curer O. K. told me that the curers ate the spirits of sick people who were going to die. The sick people would come to ask the curers for*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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776 539 177 *not stand. Only one stands—he who does not respect us." The Virgin Mother said, "Yes, I saw another one who walks well watching our children." Jesus asked, "Did you get a good look where he walks?" His mother replied, "Yes, indeed, I saw him." Christ asked, "If you know, what are we going to do there where he walks?" "I do not know what we shall do," said his mother.*

Then, after a pause, Christ said, "Now I know what we will do! Do you know what hour he passes?" The Virgin answered, "Yes, I do."

"Good. I am going to make a little house and put a Victrola, an accordion, and also a violin in it. I will put a marimba, a guitar, and a harp on each side of the road. And I shall also put trago and beer, everything that is good to drink. When you see him coming, we will begin to play the marimba and guitar and all the music on both sides of the road. When you see the King of Evil, we will begin the dance and drink trago—everything there is—and he will look at what we drink."

The Virgin said, "I will invite him to dance a little." "Yes, you remain here dancing, and I shall go for a moment to see his children [corn plants]. Continue dancing while I go out to look," said Christ. The Virgin answered, "Good. Good."

And so the Devil passed by. When Christ left, the Virgin began to dance with the Devil. They drank more liquor to make him "lose his heart" [get drunk]. The Virgin did not see that the Devil put his tail in half of the bottle. It is because of this that the people say liquor is one-half Devil and one-half God.

Meanwhile, Jesus arrived where the children of the Devil were. He made no more than the sign of the cross, and all the children of the Devil died. It is after the Children of the Devil died that Christ seized control of the world.

And so it is true that we are his children who came out of Jesus Christ.

In this tale, evil is personified in the enemy of the Catholic Church, the King of the Jews who is also the pre-hispanic "King of Evil." The Virgin Mother is concerned with preventing the world from reverting to the situation in which people were born helpless, with just one arm and one leg, as it was when the Devil was in control. To prevent this, when the moon is "sick" or in eclipse, the people must call her back to life. The strategy is

[821] [789]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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to make a great deal of noise by striking hoes, firing rifles, blowing the horns of bulls, and striking gourds. The logic of this behavior can be understood from the following statement of an informant: "The sickness of the moon is a result of the conflict of the sun with the moon. The noise we made frightens the father sun so that he will stop fighting the moon. If he were to win, the people would die, and new people would be born with only one leg and one arm."[4]

We have in this story what appears to be an overlay of post-hispanic mythology, in which the Devil personifies evil forces, superimposed on a prehispanic mythological identification of the powers of both good and evil in single cosmological deities. Whereas in the previous myth it is the Devil, the King of the Jews, who caused all of the children of Jesus to die and to be reborn with only one arm and one leg, in this statement it is the sun who can effect the same reversal of nature. The sun, Tatik K'alik, has the power to cause the milpa to grow, but by staying out too long, it can burn the crop. Similarly lightning, Tatik Čaʾuk, may bring rain, but can destroy the milpa with the winds that precede the rain or kill man and destroy his house. Man is responsible for determining how the force of the gods will be directed.

The guardianship of the sun and the moon over the people of the world serves to control or at least restrain the behavior of people. Since both of them "walk alone," without companionship, they become jealous if they see sexual relations performed by people in the milpa. Since all legal sexual relations are carried out in the relative privacy of the house, it is only those who seek illicit relationships who retreat to the milpa, and so this restraint has a prohibitive effect on unsanctioned sexual behavior. If the moon sees someone in the milpa at night, she refuses to retire and stays out, not letting her son the sun rise. Similarly, when the sun sees someone in the milpa in the daytime, he refuses to retire, burning the milpa with his hot rays.

The lord spirits of the east. There is another category of spirits which is ill defined and not many people know. These are the spirits of

4. The same behavior, that of making noise during an eclipse, is found in the Maya Indian community of Cantel, Guatemala, but there it is interpreted as a means of calling the sick grandmother back to life by showing that her grandchildren care about her.

776 821 539 177 *and so he returned and the Lord of Lightning gave him another job—that of making lightning flashes.*

San Pedro now gives protection to the people from the power he wields. 776 177 789 During his fiesta, palm crosses are distributed to everyone who attends mass; if a man walks with a cross tucked in his hat or a woman wears one strung on her neck, he or she will not be struck by lightning. The houses are similarly protected with palm crosses.

776 177 Santa Lucía is the only other saint in the local roster who is described as being "very powerful." She is supposed to be able to cure diseases of the eyes. The image of her in the church shows her holding two eyes reflected in a small mirror in the palm of her hand. The story which explains why 776 177 539 821 she holds them was told me with an expression of complete belief, and other informants vouch for its authenticity:

Formerly, Santa Lucía used to "talk with" [a euphemism for "had an affair with"] Santo Tomás of Oxchuk. Santo Tomás loved her because she was pretty. Santa Lucía was so in love with Santo Tomás that she gave him a gift of her eyes. He did not want them—he was frightened by the gift—and he returned them. From then on, she did not speak to him. Now, when a child has sickness of his eyes, his mother buys medicine and takes it to Santa Lucía who gives her blessing, and the child gets well.

They say the lightning struck the church in Oxchuk, and it was the fault of Santa Lucía. But then a few years ago it struck our church. And that was the fault of Santo Tomás. He is very strong.

"I am going to see how she will pay for that!" said Santo Tomás.

And in ten years a storm came and broke the tower of our church. There was a meeting of the principales. They said, "Let's sell the cattle of Santa Lucía so that we can build a new church." The tower was struck another time. All the married men had to contribute forty pesos each. We made it out of metal this time, because Santo Tomás is very strong.

821 776 On a conscious level, most people know that the earth is round, and that the sun revolves around it, but the motivating power behind natural phenomena is still conceived in personalized terms. One informant, when asked why the sun rises and sets, ventured cautiously, "I have heard that our Father, the Sun, revolves and that he goes down below the earth. But

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Religious Behavior

869 776 Socialization of the child includes teaching him how to adjust to spirits of the house and of the surrounding hills and springs as well as to people in his social environment. He learns the obligations he owes to these spirits in the rituals of house inauguration and curing. Place spirits are given an ethnic identity. The ancestor figures who live in the cave are Indians from whom all the people originate. The Ladino spirits residing in the houses and springs are a mythological projection of a conquered people who have learned to coexist with their conquerors by paying tribute of candles, food, liquor, and entertainment. If the spirits are not won over, they will admit the evil spirits who bring sickness and death. Their presence is known only by the trouble they permit rather than by good occurences; the miracles they perform are an undoing of the harm they have permitted.

776 782 789 The belief in the potentially dangerous nature of these spirits when their envy or appetite is aroused is linked to an understanding that men and gods alike are jealous and vindictive. It generates behavior that is in conformity with that of the ancestors. A sense of security is reinforced by the protective symbols of incense, the cross of palm hung on the entrance posts of the yard and house, candles which "blind the eye of the devil," and garlic mixed with hot herbs which exude an odor that evil spirits dislike. When the uneasy contract between spiritual and human coresidents is upset, a curing ritual is performed to make everyone "of one heart." Behavior with respect to both spirits and people stems from a policy of appeasement through entertainment and liquor provided in household ceremonials. [755] [571] [273]

776 177 178 Behavior differs in regard to the category of saints called "spirits in the heaven" and those called "spirits in the church." Spirits of the heavens have incorporated pre-Conquest deities with those introduced by the missions. They are a more powerful force influencing human moral behavior. Illicit sexual relations carried out in the milpa by day are believed to arouse the envy of "Our Father the Sun" who will cause the milpa to burn by refusing to give way to rain. Similarly "Our Grandmother the [834] [784]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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struck by lightning on two occasions. The solution was to rebuild the tower of metal so that Santo Tomás could not demolish it if he struck again, a defensive reaction which is typical of the Indians in their extra-community relations. When an eclipse of "Our Grandmother the Moon" occurred during my stay in town, everyone went to her assistance, banging metal tools and pots, in what was believed to be a fight with the sun.

The emphasis on self-recrimination and guilt in explaining failure minimizes the build-up of protest. Economic hardship attributed to a man's own improvidence in relation to his fellow man and God are accepted as his lot in life. The drama of the curing ritual projects the Indians' sense of their own guilt for the suffering and poverty they endure.

Political Behavior

The structure of the civil hierarchy has been maintained but organizational changes have occurred which have weakened the basis for it. The alternation of offices between church and civil positions survives in the lower levels, but the new leaders in civil affairs now begin in the Ejido Commission, and few of those who pass as president take on posts in the religious hierarchy. The appearance of continuity has been maintained in communal rituals in which the principales provide the link with the past and the alfereces, until 1966, were the link between civil and religious wings; but in the day-to-day running of the town, the officials do not act on these premises. The balance between officials from each side of the dual division has been upset by the population increase on one side. The abolition of the institution of alfereces gives public recognition to the growing awareness of imbalance. Moreover, the factions based on the new trucking cooperatives that cut across the dual division reduce the effectiveness of the dual division in channeling conflict.

Behavioral deviation from the norms is present in all societies and is not in itself an index to structural change. This comes about when new interpretations are given to events that undermine confidence in existing institutions and leaders. Political conflicts in the past were interpreted as a contest between members of the sides of the dual division and hostility

756 539 [682] [swayobel]." "What one?" asked his friend. "You won't be afraid?" asked J. And then he put his shirt and hat on the floor, spoke three words (my friend didn't say what), and raised his hat and shirt, and a horse appeared. He did this again and a bull appeared. He was a great *?ak'čomal* [witch]. He stole a great deal. He was killed by five bullets.

756 [152] Such stories of curers "who walk on both sides" (*ibe?en ta ča mehč*) are favorites in the drinking sessions of Teklum. The power of curers inspires fear, so much so that some of the town presidents have been afraid of putting them in prison.

756 776 [133] [769] The open competition between curers serves to undermine the faith of the people in their guardianship function. This function was believed to have been acquired by the leaders from the *me?tiktatik*, the ancestors, who were said to live in a cave in a hill near the town, from which came the progenitors of the present townspeople. To carry out this guardianship function, the animal spirits of the two leading curers roamed the streets at night, when the evil spirits were out, each one remaining within the limits of his own side of the dual division. In this role, the two major curers were called the *me?iltatiletik*, a term derived from the one referring to the ancestors.

178 776 756 769 [796] 796 776 756 178 769 [794] [793] 178 756 769 The loss of faith in the guardianship function of the curers was coincident with the loss of belief in the presence of the me?tiktatik. Some deny that the me?tiktatik live in the cave anymore, and others say they just appear on the day of their fiesta, the Day of the Cross in the Catholic calendar. This fiesta formerly was an important event in establishing the guardian power of the leader curers, since they were the only ones who dared enter the cave and talk to the ancestors. But this fear and this belief have gone. In 1960 one young man of the pueblo entered the cave on the day of the fiesta, when the curers were "deceiving the people" in claiming that they were talking to the ancestors; the fact that he dared enter the cave indicates an ambient distrust (in part resulting from verbal attacks by the priest, who at that time was gaining more power in the town). By now, on the Day of the Cross the church and civil officials, the women prayermakers, and an assistant of the priest, the *fiscal*, go to the cave, but the curers are no longer present, even as bystanders. The curers have tried to buttress belief in the guardianship of the ancestors by claiming that a nephew of the ancestors is now in residence in

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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Teklum
[P. 468-B]

The authority of the president, however, depends on the use of legal sanctions of prison sentences and fines imposed by extracommunity enforcement agencies in the departmental capital. The weakness of these sanctions—the fine for homicide is 1,000 to 3,000 pesos or three to five years' imprisonment—means that these threats do not have a controlling effect on people's decisions to act. Homicide, carried out by individuals who feel themselves to be threatened, is a supplementary mechanism for social control. Cast in the idiom of witch-killing, homicide is the quasi-official execution of a community threat.

The breakdown in the former structural controls has not been compensated for by the intervention of extracommunity institutions. Attempts to circumvent killing are made by the priest, who counsels against it, warning that the killer will acquire the sins of the man he kills, and by the talking saint of Ixtapa, whom the Indians consult when they are pressed and who advises them to wait—their enemy will be killed for them. This advice is not sufficient to forestall all killings. Motivated by fear, some men still seek to eliminate the object of their fear.[7] The sense of the guardianship of the ancestors and their intermediaries, the curers, is lost along with the intervention of the civil authorities. The individual reacts, using his own means and trying to get sufficient consensus to avoid reprisal.

III. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Homicide in the community of Teklum can be a statement of the fear of witchcraft, of revenge, or of quasi-official reprisal depending on the circumstances and social relationships involved. Even in this small, self-contained community, homicide does not have a single meaning, analyzable within a single framework of change.

Homicide is part of the expectation pattern of the town. The patterning of the acts of homicide in terms of time, place, and agent makes possible rules of avoidance both in long- and in short-term calculations for survival. The long-range rules require respect behavior to elders, equals, and juniors and the avoidance of abusive or boastful statements. The short-range rules are to avoid walking alone in the woods or milpas far from town, to stay home at night, and to stop drinking.

Despite the grim and expectable outcome of being killed, not all men heed these rules. The love of power and the projection of self into

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

000 An excellent discussion of the character of the neighbouring Indians of Guatemala, which applies well to these, by one who has lived long among them, is found in Sapper's "Der Charakter der Mittelamerikanisch Indianer."

Fig. 290—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon girls.

648 771 793 Before passing on to the native culture, a little must be said of the outside influences that do so much to mould it—the Church, the Government, and the Hacienda. The first of these occupies a very curious position indeed. While the Indians are ostensibly Christian, as will be shown later, in many ways they are still unconverted. It may be said, briefly, that they acknowledge two antagonistic worships. Of these, the Christian has publicly the upper hand. The Priests, accordingly, wield a tremendous influence among them, and did even more so in the past, when supported by the State. Our experience on this trip was that, on the whole, this influence was intelligently and beneficially used. To the Priests the Indians confide their troubles, to them they accord the greatest honour on the occasions of their visits to the villages. Yet, at the same time, the Indians conceal from them one-half of their worship, knowing them to be sworn to stamp it out.

[142] [291] [301] [302] →

[142] [291] [302] →

Fig. 291—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon man and boy.

648 241 361 466 The Hacienda system has caused the formation of many small villages, as has been said above. In other cases, as with the Bachajon on the Encanto property, the Indians living at large on the distant lands of the

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

778 paper, brightened with colour added by a cigarette package, a label from a tin of beets in a deep red, a joke in German about the fall of the mark, of which the prevailing tone was pure viridian, and a page of advertising from the Saturday Evening Post. We gave [123] this family a chromo of a saint, which was immediately framed with a sort of wooden box, and set up beside the cross. The table below was used for laying odds and ends on, such as the spindle and a couple of empty aguardiente bottles.

782 788 177 178 Incense, *pom*, and candles, both extensively used by the Indians today, had a place in the old Maya ritual similar to that of the Catholic Church.

The Priest is an important figure to the Indians. They come to 793 him with respect to tell him their troubles, and receive him into their villages with rejoicing. At the same time, there is no doubt that they deliberately hoodwink him as to the orthodoxy of their faith.

796 Although it includes several non-Christian elements, a description of the fiesta observed at Tecojá will give a fair idea of the Tzeltal's church observances. Tecojá ranch has a village of about [241] twenty houses attached to it. The fiesta was held on the twenty- [648] second and twenty-third of June. By custom, the ranch had to allow the Indians this time off, as well as accepting the lowered efficiency on the following "cold grey dawn of the morning after." The owners had, moreover, to provide the rum for the whole celebration, in this case, two demi-johns.

The ranch chapel was thrown open and decorated with fir [794] branches and streamers. The proceedings were in charge of two older men, called *caporales*, who were distinguished by a cross-belting of red handkerchiefs. One house was set aside for the celebrations, in front of which was a table and three triangular, crimson banners with gold edges. By these drumming and flute-playing went on irregularly. Here was the official dispensary for rum, which was given out by the *caporales*. Inside the house, a palm-thatched one with stick walls, about fifteen feet square, some thirty [534] Indians, men and women, were squatting against the walls. There was an orchestra of a guitar and a mouth-organ, occasionally augmented by the piper, who would wander in from outside. This individual, although most amazingly drunk, managed to maintain his [533] musical ability until he fell asleep. The tune they played was like a rather wistful jig, but the time was lively. To this four couples [535] danced, the men facing the women, with a shuffling step not unlike waltzing. They kept very much in one place, but occasionally changed sides. The dancing was evidently a serious affair. This type is called in Spanish *zapatea*, in Tzeltal, *ahk'Out*.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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621 794 527 of the legs and arms of our patron lord, Jesus, in reference to liquor). The prayer-like intonation, together with repeated invocation of the gods, gives [192] a sacred quality to the words.

[273] Liquor, referred to as "the gift of God" or "gift of the ancestors," is of crucial significance in both civil and religious ritual. Receiving an offering of liquor is tantamount to accepting part of the spiritual essence of the donor. Drinking in each of the domains—the house, the town hall, and the church—serves to tie together different sets of participants in the obligation system of service to the community. In Mauss' terms (1954:11) receiving the gift defines "a pattern of spiritual bonds between things which are to some extent parts of persons, and persons and groups, that behave in some measure as if they were things."

[273] In both inaugurations an attempt is made to control the intake of liquor so that the officials can function in the ritual. This is shown in the civil inauguration when the first policeman thinks about whether the police can take another drink and still carry out their duties. It is more explicit in the religious inaugurations when the cofrades warn the mayordomos that they should not drink so much that they "walk like madmen." The mayordomos then pass on the drinks served to them to the nakawanehetik who drink them and fall into a stupor.

621 794 527 793 875 In noting the difference between elicited and performed ritual, minimal changes in behavior provided clues to structural change. The change of custom as to where the meal of the mayordomos takes place (it now is given at the house of the cofrade rather than in the courtyard of the church) indicates a significant shift in the relation between the priest and the local religious leadership. The priest has gained control over the church since he has taken up residence in the parish house. The incident in which the confrontation took place is described in Chapter 9. Divergence of the performed from the expected ritual in the inauguration of the civil authority occurred when the schoolteacher delivered the oath instead of the former Ladino secretary. This revealed the schoolteacher's increasing power in his competition with the former cacique.

621 794 527 The rituals of both civil and religious inaugurations reveal the sense of the sacred obligation to the ancestors. Although both the roles and the scheduling of events are derived from outside the culture, the necessity for

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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The informant failed to mention the following actions which I observed: 796

1. In raising the figure of Christ on the cross, the four regidores, in this context called *apultol* (probably from apostles), entered the church. Two of them stood at the head of the cross to receive the image raised from below by the other two. [624]

2. The image was always handled with cloths so that no one's hand would be in contact with the surface.

3. The priest, standing behind a cloth screen, guided the figure up on the cross. 796 793

4. The priest gave a sermon about the significance of Easter and the life and death of Christ. He spoke of the crime of the Jews in killing Christ.[6]

In comparing the elicited and observed accounts, one can see clearly the censoring of the priest's role in the perception of the people. Even while the ceremony is in process, they ignore his appeals. For example, as the body of Christ was lowered from the cross, the priest exhorted the congregation to cry and give vent freely to their emotions in this most holy moment. There was no response from the audience, even after he waited several moments, pleading with them again not to feel embarrassment at their show of emotion, and becoming visibly annoyed at their impassivity. Finally, a woman dressed in Ladina clothing, rewarded him with the stylized wail of mourning.

Observation of the ceremony reveals evidence of attitude and belief coded in the staging, the costuming, the postures and gestures of respect or derision which cannot be elicited. Each element is an interpretative comment by those who direct and act the play. We are told that the Jew is the anti-Christ, but we learn that he is also a Ladino through his clothing, the cigarette, and the horseback ride. The Indians do not state that they castrate him in hoisting him upon the church, but their comments and ac- 796 182 829

6. Despite the fact that the Vatican had exonerated the Jews of the guilt for the murder of Christ the year before (1965), the priest spoke of the crime of the Jews. This time lag in communicating doctrine to the hinterlands would be an interesting problem to investigate. [779]

796 tions betray the intent. As he is hauled up by ropes and hung from the
182 bell tower "to show the world that he killed Christ," the mayordomos on
829 the ground who are assisting those up in the bell tower jab him with long poles. In this horseplay they symbolically castrate him: I heard one mayordomo say, *"Me?čunun,"* (transvestite) as one well-directed blow struck Judas. On Saturday, he is let down and given a ride on horseback around town. Formerly riding a horse was the prerogative only of Ladinos in the department of San Cristóbal Las Casas (Colby and Van den Berghe 1961). Placing Judas on a horse possibly has a symbolic value in identifying him as one of the hated dominant group who asserted this privilege.
[794] As he rides around town, the mayordomos solicit gifts from the people.
[756] Everyone gives fruits except the curers, who donate money. This transac-
[754] tion may indicate an obligation they feel toward Judas as one source of their power over witchcraft-derived illnesses. The money is used to buy liquor, called the "washing of the arms and legs of our Lord Eskipulas." The drinking is mandatory for all the mayordomos who have participated in the hanging of Judas.

The Judas figure, which was the church's symbol of the hated Semite, is made to appear as the enemy of the Indians, the Ladino. He symbolizes the sexual license of Ladinos with Indian women, the oppression of Indians by Ladinos, and the killer of Christ. In retaliation, the Indian symbolically castrate and hang him, and finally burn his body, thus dramatically vanquishing the alien in their midst. So far as I know, the priest is
[793] unaware of the identification Indians make between the Jew and the Ladino. He prevented the ride from taking place the year I witnessed the Easter Week ceremonial on grounds that it was a pagan ritual; when he left town on Sunday, the mayordomos took Judas on his customary rounds.

796 The attitude toward Jesus, as the hero of the morality play, is ambiva-
776 lent. Martyrdom is not the way to win in Indian society. The feeling is
182 that power goes to the one who makes the sacrifice, and since Jesus was a
829 Ladino sacrifice, they have more power than the Indians. During the
[181] Caste War in Chiapas in 1868, the Indians crucified an Indian youth in
[782] the hope that they would find a savior as powerful as Jesus. To this day,
[175] Indians of To?ontahal seem not to identify Jesus as one of themselves,

The belief in power derived from animal spirits was probably influenced by the Toltec belief in nahualism, or transformation of people after death into animals (Calnek 1962:22). The Toltec belief originated in the period of Mexican influence but had many local indigenous manifestations (Foster 1944). The integration of the two systems of power was brought about by calendar priests controlling the distribution of animal spirits (Calnek 1962:19). The degree of retention of calendrical knowledge and of belief in witchcraft gives us one of the best indices of acculturation in the area.[2] In Tzoʔontahal there is no remnant of calendar divination for ceremonial or predictive use. However, witchcraft based on belief in animal spirits continues to be an important factor in the contest for power. The technique of secrecy, of presenting a united front in the face of attempts by the outside Ladinos to tamper with the local social control system, persists to this day in the town.

An endemic problem in communities dominated by belief in witchcraft is control over the evil power of witches. The traditional control system in Tzoʔontahal operated through the guardianship of three sets of powerholders who checked up on each other: the ancestors, the curers, and the judges. The guardianship of the ancestors consisted in preventing any child possessed of a swayohel from the devil from growing up to abuse his power and in keeping any evil spirits from entering the town. The curers,

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the Indians, whether out of cowardice or deceit, withdraw their accusation or claims, so that it is impossible to convict the evildoers for punishment; and for lack of sufficient proof they cannot be punished, or if there is enough basis to put them in prison, they sometimes disappear and flee to another jurisdiction and hide, denying their place of origin or changing their name.

2. In Oxchuk, calendar experts with the ability to divine the future still set the days for carrying out Catholic fiestas according to the twenty-day Maya ceremonial cycle. Each of the spirits symbolizing the twenty days wielded the power of good or evil. This provided the basis for predicting. When Villa Rojas studied the town in the 1940s, elders of patrilineal lineages controlled the behavior of members by causing sickness brought by their *lab*, or animal spirit (Villa Rojas 1947). In San Pedro Chenalhó, the principales exercise power through their *wayhel*, or animal spirit (Guiteras Holmes 1961). Nahuales of leaders of the patrilineages and principales are feared and respected in Larraínzar, although there is a growing discontent with their oppressive control (Holland 1963). Men believed to have thirteen nahuales figure as guardians and avengers for individuals in Pinola society, although the Indians of this community no longer have a hierarchy of civil offices through which their prestige can be publicly validated (Hermitte 1964).

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Conflict among Religious Functionaries

578 794

Conflict in the religious domain stems from the opposition of the traditional religious hierarchy and more recently that of the young leadership in the civil authority to the increasing power of the priest. In this conflict the fiscal is a middleman who often gets knocked by both sides.

The priest. The priest visits thirty other Indian communities of the department of San Cristóbal Las Casas in addition to Tzo'ontahal. In the fifteen years he has been working regularly in this town, he has gained increasing authority over the cofrades. He is assisted by two lay sisters who maintain the church and lead the evening prayers in his absence. He admits that, without them, his own work in the town would be more difficult because of the sexual jealousy of the townsmen. His relationship to the group of about forty *resadoras,* or female prayer-makers, who attend the evening prayers regularly and are the most vocal respondents in the mass, would be suspect without the presence of the lay sisters. 793 [794]

The priest tries to play the role of parish leader as well as spiritual leader. When medicine is available from missionary sources, he gives it to the sick. In his sermons, he advises people to use injections, which he makes available, against contagious diseases. He attempts to counsel the people, advising them not to kill, to steal, or to have illegal sexual affairs. In his role as pastor, the priest is influenced by missionary efforts of American Catholic organizations which have sent supplies to the area. [797] [278] [751] [797]

In recent years, the priest has challenged the authority of the head cofrade in activities occurring within and at the door of the church. The following incident, recounted by the son of the elder cofrade, marked a shift in control in these domains: 578 793 794 273

In 1961 the elder cofrade of Sacramento was drinking with the other mayordomos at the door of the church. The priest came out and demanded that they stop because this was the house of God. The elder replied that it was the custom of the pueblo, and he and the other men refused to leave. The priest went back into the church and returned with a gun in his hand. The mayordomos seized wood which they had gathered

578 *to cook their meal in the yard of the church. They threatened to beat the*
793 *priest with the wood, and he retreated into the church. He later an-*
794 *nounced that he would not give mass, or weddings, or baptism. We did*
273 *not mind that he did not give the mass or would not give weddings, but the people were frightened if he would not give baptism. The mayordomos had a meeting, and they agreed to give up drinking in the church if the priest would continue to give baptism, but they would no longer care for the pigs or bring wood for him without payment. We pay him fifteen*
[465] *pesos for an ordinary mass and forty pesos for a singing mass, so he should pay us for help. The priest was in agreement with the mayordomos.*

[264] As a result of this edict, the drinking has stopped and the mayordomos no longer eat the common meal in the church yard. Drinking was an act linked to eating, since the round of liquor served before the meal was "to prepare the stomach," and the drink after the meal was "to wash down the food." The shift to the house of the cofrade was a ready alternative in this community where the household is a recognized ritual domain.

793 The priest's control over the church has extended to control over the do-
794 nation boxes and the saints' images. He now receives the money donated
178 to the saints and does not permit a public accounting of the funds. Because of this, the civil officials accuse him of stealing some of the money.
793 A recent incident recounted below by one of the prayer-reciters led to even
776 more severe censure:

626 *The bishop visited our church, and when he looked under the silk robes*
578 *of the Virgin Santa Lucia he found a wooden dress covered with gold*
178 *paint. He told the priest to have the cloth dress removed. The people were very upset by this since they are very proud of the dresses bought for the Virgin. One of the prayer-reciters dreamed that the Virgin appeared before her in tears, saying she did not want to appear nude in public. We [the group of prayer-reciters] went to see the bishop to demand that the Virgin should wear her dress in church and that the priest be sent out of the town. The bishop refused. He said the Virgin did not feel cold because she was just a statue. Ha! How could she not feel cold?*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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The issue of the Virgin's clothing has increased the attacks on the priest. These have been aired in public meetings which take place on Sunday. Opposition to the priest has shifted from the old cofrades to the young leadership of the pueblo, men who wish to extend internal control over the church as well as the town hall. They tried to enlist the fiscal's help in getting rid of the priest, but he refused to cooperate. The president's brother, who serves as town treasurer, recounts the following exchange he had with the priest:

I saw Padre Juan take money from the box when I was mayordomo in the church. All of us mayordomos went to talk with him. I asked him how much money was turned in during the fiesta.

"The madres [*lay sisters*] *know," he said, "I don't."*

He called them, and they said, "We haven't counted the money. Come tomorrow."

The priest was very angry that we asked for an account. Pablo [*the fiscal*] *was too afraid to talk with him. When we left the church, I told Pablo, "You are in charge of the church. Why didn't you demand an account of the money in front of the church? We never got an account."*

Then we began to fight. Padre Juan doesn't want to leave the town. He has it too good here. He has a good yard with many fruit trees and a nice house. The Ladinos in Teopisca don't let him stay in their convento overnight. They are sharp, those damned Ladinos! We pay the padre thirty pesos every Sunday. Before he lived here, we used to have good music and more firecrackers for fiestas. Now he wants to stop all this. He was the one who ordered that all the money be collected. We wanted to go buy a gross of firecrackers. He said, "Why do you want firecrackers? It is the mass that has value. The saints don't want firecrackers or music."

He is very smart, the padre. He wants to keep the money for himself. Now we just get two firecrackers each morning of the fiesta and two in the evening. In Teopisca, they fire dozens of firecrackers. Here what is left over from the contributions for the fiesta remains in the box, and he takes it.

I went to get new clothing for the saint. In Comitán they wanted two

793 794 [578] *hundred and fifty pesos for a dress. The padre said I couldn't buy it there. He told me to send for one in Mexico that cost five hundred and fifty pesos. He wanted to make the profit.*

The fiscal. As an intermediary between the traditional religious officials and the priest, the fiscal is the target for both sides of the religious controversy. The priest selects the fiscal, but his retention of the post depends on his being accepted by the mayordomos. The tendency in the past [212] [191] fifteen years since a regular priest has been assigned to the community is to choose a man who speaks Spanish and can read and write, but who can 794 be dominated by the priest. The following statement by a man who served in this post in 1929 defines the functions of the fiscal as the Indians see them:

> *When I served as fiscal, I knew how to sell* [*the Indians use the verb* to sell *in reference to any propaganda—whether commercial, political, or religious*] *the catechism. After the prayer, I cleaned the patio. I held the key to the church. I saw* [*in the sense of watch over*] *all the mayordomos. I bought the candles and incense for the saints. At midday the mayordomos and I left the church and went home. There was no padre living here then, and the padre from San Cristóbal came only on the days of San Francisco, Virgin Santa Lucía, San Pedro the Martyr, and Santiago. Each Sunday, the ten mayordomos and I entered the church and prayed in the true language.*

[782] [791] Prayers are now given in Spanish by the fiscal and the prayer-reciters under the guidance of the lay sisters, who remain most of the time in the convento. The fiscal, as a consequence, is no longer selected on the basis of [554] his ability to recite the patʔoʔtan. Since one of the main tasks of the fiscal is to take care of the church, several recent incumbents have been jeered as being like women, cleaning house and responding to the bidding of the priests. Some have suggested that one was a homosexual. They blame the fiscales for letting control over the domain of the church fall into the hands of the priest.

[782] A man who had filled the post himself, described the careers of several former fiscales:

In 1912, Bernardo was fiscal. He knew how to pray well. About nine in the morning, the girls [prayer-reciters] gathered in the church and heard prayer in common. Then he borrowed money from the church and did not return it. He left for the finca with his father and three men. His wife went with her children. He fled because he didn't have the money, and he never returned. He sold his house in town to buy food. He died there in the finca. The girls remembered him because he was a friend, and they bought a candle for twenty cents. 794 782

Another fiscal, Antonio, began to give prayers to the same girls who accompanied him. He knew how to pray very well, and he prayed each Sunday. Then he died.

Then Carlos passed as fiscal. He knew how to pray from memory. The same girls learned, and all sang the prayer. Then that fiscal sold the tablecloths; he sold the candle holders; he sold everything. Therefore the cofrades did not want him. They said, "Go away because you are not good." God was going to punish him because he sold everything in the church.

In 1929 the pueblo named Ceferino [the informant, who refers to himself in the third person]. He served until he was made president in 1937.

In 1938, Antonio was chosen by the pueblo, but soon they did not want him because he was always ordering the pueblo to do work. He charged a lot for the fiestas, but he did not buy firecrackers or clothing for the saints. In a mass meeting they asked him to leave.

In 1939 Miguel put himself in office. The pueblo did not choose him. He did not know how to pray. He knew a little by memory because he heard what Antonio had said in his prayers, but he did not know the catechism. He didn't want to leave the church, but the pueblo spoke much against him.

The padre was against Miguel because he had begun to take advantage of the trips with the priest to sell the contraband liquor that he distilled. Some maintain that it was during his period as fiscal that the power shifted from the cofrades to the priest. He was accused of stealing the money donated to the saint, a sum of about 300 pesos. Although the money was returned, he is still considered guilty. 794 [793] [685]

Miguel's successor, the present incumbent Pablo, served as president while he was fiscal. [622]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

794 while he was fiscal. He let control over the key to the church and the do-
793 nation boxes slip into the hands of the priest. His opponents accused him of weakness and failure to act in the interest of the town. The careers of
[685] these fiscales illustrate the pitfalls for those filling the post. First, there is the temptation for personal gain, since the fiscal has access to the money of the saints: in the past three fiscales have been charged with robbery. Sec-
[178] ond, there is the problem that the fiscal serves two masters, the priest and the head cofrade, each of whom has different standards of conduct for the role: when the selection of the fiscal was in the hands of the cofrades, they chose a man who knew the pat'o'tan and who was to deal directly with the curers in rituals at the cave of the ancestors and in the homes of the cofrades; now he is chosen by the priest who prefers a young, literate man.
793 If the fiscal follows the commands of the priest, he runs into problems
794 with the cofrades. This was the difficulty with Antonio, who was put out
578 of office by the cofrades because he yielded to the priest's demands to improve the convento and the church. As long as the conflict in interests between the priest and the traditional authorities exist, there is no successful position for the fiscal to take.

Conflict and Social Change

621 In the contest for leadership which has and is occurring, the following
177 observations can be made on the basis of the events described.
178

[212] 1. The community has successfully incorporated the young, literate men into the framework of the traditional hierarchy. This has been accomplished by expanding the scope of activities of the president and síndico and by relieving them of serving in the lower posts of the hierarchy.

2. The ceremonial role of the principales serves as a symbol of continuity in government both in the tie they have with the past and in the annual changeover of officials.

[609] 3. The threat of foreign Indians in the township misusing their skills in dealing with the outside world has been overcome by removing them from office and preventing them from filling high posts.

 621 177 178

4. In a series of confrontations, the civil officials have challenged the social control functions of the curers. Witch-killings in which many of the victims have been curers have minimized but not overcome the power of these men. [756]

5. The priest has succeeded in establishing control over the church, but the Indians may yet succeed in deposing him, a plan they were putting into effect when I left town. [193]

The Indians are now aware of their rights to limit—or eliminate if necessary—the self-appointed caciques. The new cacique promotes the community welfare not only in his rhetoric but in the services he performs for the officials. His involvement in political affairs is tolerated, not encouraged, and the officials are ready to turn to alternative sources of aid in their activities. 641 622 177 178

The involvement of the PRI in local elections has not introduced a new center of power in the political arena. Political factions are based on economic interests contained within the town, and the autonomy of the town has in no way been affected by leadership from party headquarters in the state capitol. The community and the party use each other for their own ends in almost complete ignorance of what is occurring in the domain of the other. 665 621 178

The system of beliefs and understandings has changed along with these organizational changes. The most significant change has been the waning belief in the guardianship of the ancestors. The absence of the curers at the fiesta of the caves means that they no longer have this ritual occasion to validate their claims by communicating with the ancestors. The loss of leadership and of a hierarchy of prestige within the ranks of curers has removed internal controls over the profession and further undermined their position. The diminishing respect with which they are treated in the town hall and the increasing number of murders of curers accused of witchcraft is directly related to the loss of belief in their power as guardians. Since they were not an integral part of the civil-religious hierarchy, as the curers were in Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947), this has not upset the hierarchy, but it has changed the balance of power in the wider community. 769 756 178 [683]

The diminishing significance of the leadership of the principales is tied 621 756 178

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621 to the loss of belief in the curers. The principales were formerly conceived
756 to be overseers of the curers, men who, because of their advanced age,
178 could determine whether the curers were acting in the interest of the town. With the loss of this social control function, along with the loss of other functions such as holding public funds and helping the judges to interpret the law, they have declined to the level of ceremonial figures dissociated from political action.

621 The forms of political organization remain the same, but there has been
178 a shift in the balance of power from leaders whose authority rested on guardianship linked with the ancestors to leaders who can deal with the external power structure. The emergent forms of political organization can be partially assessed in the meaning participants assign to the events which precipitated this process of change. To paraphrase George Herbert Mead (1938:liii) it is the "organization of perspectives" concerning the past events and the present conditions which will effect the emergent
829 forms. The analytical problem can be phrased with the questions, "In
578 what dialectical terms is the conflict cast?" and "What changes do the
794 members of the community perceive as an outcome of the struggle?"
621 Whereas in the colonial period the conflict between the Indians and their
177 Spanish conquerers was seen as a struggle for control between Catholicism
178 and traditional religion, today the conflict is phrased as one of opposed economic interests. In the civil sphere, factional opponents seek the support of extra-communal power holders to gain their ends. In the religious
[793] sphere, the Indians see the conflict as one in which their control over the church and the income derived from it is opposed to the priest's growing influence.

829 In this reorganization of perspectives, the Indians share some of the
62 goals of the dominant society, but they continue to oppose themselves to
182 the Ladino world. For this reason they are willing to preserve the form of the civil-religious hierarchy as a means of asserting their independence from the dominant society. They see the community not only as a defensive screen against the outside world, but as a springboard for entry into the national economic and political life. They are now consciously taking advantage of pro-Indian sentiment to secure a preferred position in this society. Their awareness of their advantage over the deculturated Indian is

The townspeople feel that they own the church, and many resent the intrusion of the priest who resides sometimes two or three days a week in the adjoining rectory. In the past five years, however, the priest has succeeded in asserting more control over the church: he has forbidden drinking in the church or in the courtyard, a prohibition that resulted in an open confrontation with the leading cofrade (Chapter 9); and he now controls the keys to the church and to the money boxes, formerly the responsibility of the fiscal. The two lay sisters who are in residence during the week hold the keys and are in charge of the upkeep of the church. 346 793 794 177 178

People always show respect for the church by removing their hats as they pass the entrance, even when they are at a distance. As they enter the church, they always kneel and cross themselves. They may spit on the floor of the church, for this is not a sign of disrespect. 346 526 188 [514]

The complementarity of church and cabildo is still formally recognized in ceremonial events: participants bow to the church and then to the cabildo during processions. The transfer of sacred symbols from one locale to the other at the time of the inauguration of civil and religious officials ceremonially signifies the integration of civil and religious authority, despite the growing separation in day-to-day functions in each of the domains. 621 794 182

The church serves as a staging platform for the images and symbolic offerings to them in the annual cycle of ceremonies. During the nine days of ceremony accorded to the major saints, their images are moved to the center of the altar or to the center of the nave. The staging effects are particularly notable during the fiesta of Holy Week, when the reenactment of the crucifixion is performed in the nave. The mayordomos, under the direction of the fiscal and the lay sisters, move the saints about and prepare adornments of flowers and pine needles. 346 796 [794]

The church is the locus for the weekly mass given by the priest. The men stand on the left side of the church (facing the altar), while the women kneel or sit on the floor to the right. A few benches near the altar are occupied by the Ladinos of the area who attend the mass. The lay sisters indicate to the congregation when they should kneel and rise in response to the cues of the sermon or mass. [562] [563] [794]

In addition to these scheduled events, the church serves as a locus where 346 796 782

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Moon" will not give way to the sun if her envy is aroused by seeing such things. These spirits of the heavens have greater control over natural forces than the spirits of the church, or saints. The saints have only limited influence over the souls of particular crops and chickens; people say "they are just of the pueblo."

The distinction between the "big saints of the church" and the lesser saints is recognized in the rituals accorded each group. Four of the saints are given big fiestas which are longer, require more expenditures, and involve more people than the fiestas for the lesser saints. Few distinctions are made between the personalities of the big saints and those of the lesser saints. They are big because their fiestas are big. The fact that the townspeople have selected four from the rostrum of saints given them suggests a link with the four guardian gods of the pre-Conquest pantheon, but except for San Pedro the Martyr's identification with Chac, or Cha'uk in Tzeltal, I could not make any other associations.

To say that there is a system of beliefs does not rule out inconsistencies. Some contradictions can coexist without giving rise to tension. Awareness of incongruence either between beliefs, or between beliefs and behavior associated with them, arises in specific events in which the conflict becomes apparent—that is, when the participants must make choices between alternatives that affect their interests.

The people do not recognize any division between pre- and post-Conquest spiritual entities. Sometimes two personalities from Catholic sources may be equated with one of pre-Conquest origin in order to fit a story format, as in the case of Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost, with K'oł (Chapter 8). The priests, who had a special dispensation to make whatever cultural translations were necessary in teaching the doctrines of the church (Doctrina Cristiana Lima 1584 III, 3, Recopilación de Leyes, Ley 22 lib. cited in Lamb 1956:531), are responsible for some of the reworking of the two traditions. But local elaborations reveal indigenous cognitive patterning.

Contradictions in myths concerning the origin of crops show some gaps in the union of pre-and post-Conquest legends. The gift of corn is attributed in one myth to the patroness, Santa Lucía, who received it from the patron saint of the neighboring town of Oxchuk. Another myth gives

175 648 under the administrative jurisdiction of the Provincia de los Llanos.[1] They were, and still are, part of the same Curato of [993] the local Catholic Church, which was under secular clergy, as opposed to most villages in the area which were under Dominican jurisdiction. Up until 1854 they were subjected to the same changes with respect to the administrative districts of the State of Chiapas (districts which were rearranged practically every time 175 there was a change of government). In 1854, however, the local 621 648 districts were reorganized into Municipalidades (the closest 631 English equivalent being a county); Amatenango became attached to Teopisca, the nearest Ladino-Indian town, as a part of the ninth Municipio, while Aguacatenango became dependent upon the fourth Municipio of Comitan, together with the towns of San Bartolomé (also a mixed Ladino-Indian town), Totolapa and Concordia (Trens, 1942).

631 621 At the present time Amatenango is an independent Municipio, having been separated from Teopisca in 1937, while Aguacatenango is an Agencia of the Municipio of Venustiano Carranza. Both com- [692] munities are, however, attached to the equivalent ladino towns in [651] similar ways because of their economic dependence, because such disputes as are not solved within the confines of the village are sent to the juzados of the towns, and because the offices of the Tax Collectors and Ejidos are situated in these ladino towns.

175 669 621 631 Neither of the two communities became directly involved in the Indian Uprisings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,

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[1] San Bartolome de los Llanos; today known as Venustiano Carranza.

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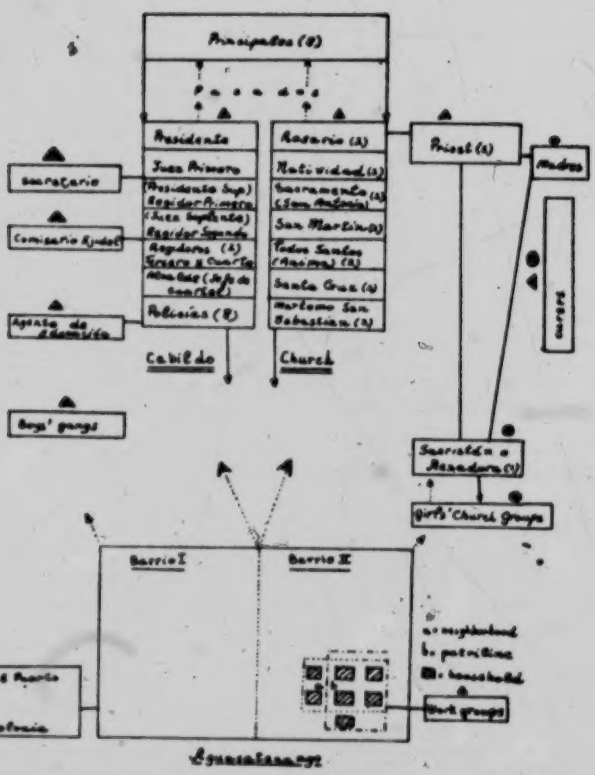

Fig. 2.--Hierarchy Structure in Aguacatenango

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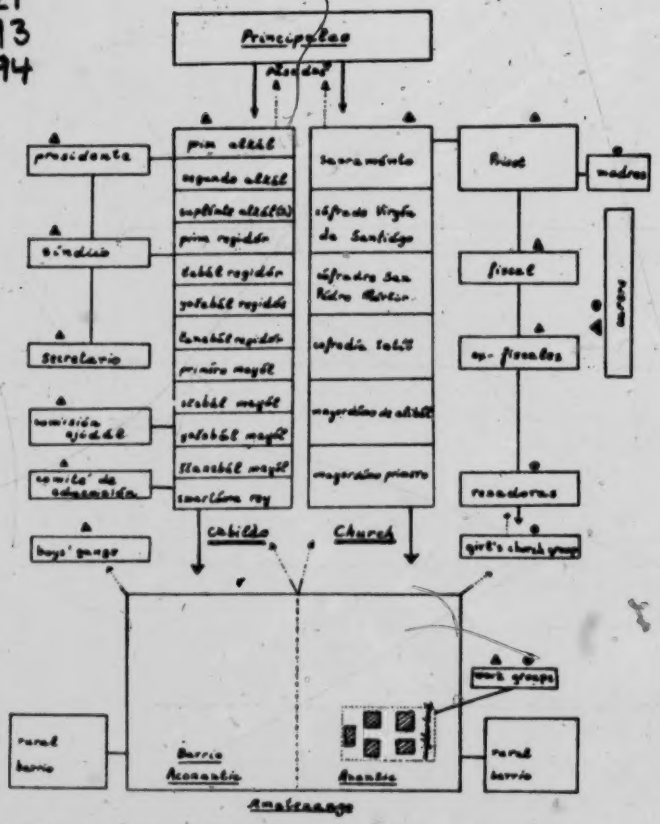

Fig. 3.--Hierarchy Structure in Amatenango

Third, there was opposition on the score that the president had never passed in any other public office. The only incident revealing the discontent was the firing of eight shots at (or above) the president's brother following the house festival on the eve of the inauguration. 666 578 622

The principales, who "formerly were the ones who ruled," no longer have a part in the power struggle 624 178

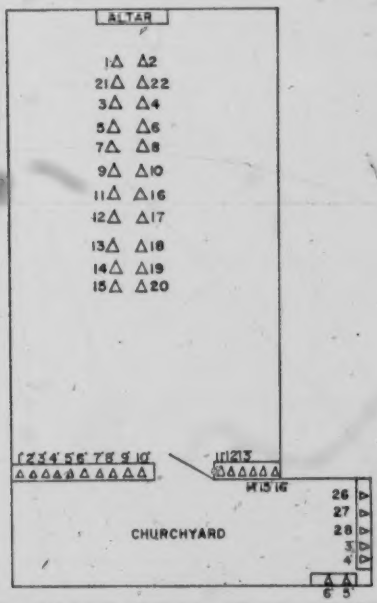

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CHART 11 — NEW OFFICIALS INSIDE CHURCH, NEW YEAR'S DAY

OFFICIALS:
1'-16' Mayordomos

Remaining numbers refer to officials listed in Charts 7-9.

which centers on party membership and economic competition. Their ceremonial role in rituals is preserved as a link with the past as well as a sign of continuity between old and new officials. 624 178 [794]

In the inauguration of the religious officials, divergence in the elicited and the observed event (App. 2, column 4) occurred first of all in the shift of locale for the common meal from the churchyard to the house of the *?ali?bal* instead of in the churchyard (App. 2, Q. 19). This was a clue to the power struggle going on in the church. When I questioned my informant about the disparity, he told me the following story: 794 178 578 [264] [793] [273]

[P. 223-B]

Three years before [in 1961] my father was the *tatik* of Sacramento. One day he and the other mayordomos were drinking at the door of the church. The priest came out and demanded that they stop because this was the house of God. The *tatik* replied that it was the custom of the pueblo, and he and the other men refused to leave. The priest went back into the church and returned with a gun in his hand. The mayordomos seized wood which they had gathered in the yard of the church. They threatened the priest with this and he went back into the church. He announced that he would not give Mass, or perform wedding or baptismal ceremonies. We did not mind if he did not give the Mass or would not give weddings, but the people were frightened if he would not give baptism. The mayordomos had a meeting and they agreed to give up drinking in the church if the priest would continue to give baptism, but they

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CHART 13 — KITCHEN OF POLICE, AFTER CHURCH (ELICITED)

Numbers refer to role terms listed in Charts 7 and 10.

would no longer care for the pigs or bring wood for the priest without payment. We pay him 15 pesos for an ordinary Mass and 40 pesos for a sung Mass, so he should pay us for help. The priest was in agreement with the mayordomos.

My informant had not realized that the ban affected eating in the yard of the church, but it was implied because liquor is served before the meal "to prepare the stomach" *(ya ʼiṭal ʼikoip weʔeletik)* and after the meal "to wash down the food" *(yaʔlel weʔelil)*. [124]

The statement on who defines what performances, and in what setting, provides an index to the locus of power. The priest is gaining more control over the building, maintenance, and developments around the church. The mayordomos give at least a half-day's labor to the priest's projects each Sunday. When they cannot work, they must pay the elder *kobraria* two pesos for a half-day's work missed, or 4 pesos for a full day. The proceeds are used to buy liquor, which the mayordomos drink. Thus the social control is ex- 000

[P. 224-A]

Thus the social control is exerted through the traditional hierarchy, but the benefits of the labor go toward the priest's projects. The priest speaks with some satisfaction of the increasing control the "church" (he) has over the people. He maintains that this is because the people are more "civilized." For him, the indices to civilization are the facts that there is no drinking in the church, there is greater attendance at Mass, and more people are wearing Ladino clothing. 794 793 178 [626]

The second divergence in the elicited and observed accounts for the religious inauguration occurred when the civil officials, including the town secretary and síndico, assisted the religious officials in counting the money collected for the fiesta. 621 794 182

An important supplement to the behavorial data were the unsolicited comments of informants. Their anecdotes often gave me clues to their involvement in the gamesmanship of operating within culturally defined patterns. Although the informant focuses on the formal question, his growing boredom with the sequence (Who sat next to him? What did they do next? Who was there?) leads him to muse about the associated ideas and images which did interest him, often self-damaging or negative aspects of the culture which he might want to hide if questioned directly. The technique resembles that of the astronomer instructing the novice stargazer: "If you want to see the Pleiades, look at Jupiter, and out of the corner of your eye the nebulous cluster of stars of the Pleiades becomes visible." 124

The following illustrates how this free association emerged in the formal eliciting procedure: 124 578 682

Informant 2 constantly reiterated the danger his brother would encounter in undertaking the post of president as we discussed inauguration procedures. For example, when he gave me a list of participants at the Judge's house when his father took on that post, he mentioned the name of a widow, Cika, and provided the unsolicited information that her husband had been shot on December 16, 1963, the fiesta of Halal Me?tik Santalusia. Informant's statement: "He did not know he had an enemy, and so he walked alone that night. Each fiesta someone is killed. During the fiesta of San Francisco this year, another man in Bočibal was killed. No one knows why. He was knifed with a machete. I never go out alone at night because of the fights with the cooperative. They [the members of the opposing cooperative] are very hard *(ha? ben bolik)*. They claim they will kill us."

What prompted the next revelation was my com- 124

[P. 224-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

621*
inauguration is deduced from both elicited and ob- 105
served behavior. These data complement the elicited 182
material on structure in rounding out the ethno- 794
graphic model of social reality. 554
571

Specification of the behavioral data on which struc- 121
tural and functional statements are made should pro-
vide the basis for more precise comparisons over time
and between communities. I turn to the observed in- [571]
teraction to summarize the evidence for microchange [178]
within the community.

Outside of the formally prescribed behavior sched- 621*
uled in the inauguration, a struggle for power is 105
going on which is leading to important organiza- 178
tional changes in the town. This was suggested in the 578
substitution of the schoolteacher for the former La-
dino secretary in the act of giving the oath. Factional
struggle of the leaders of the new enterprises was
revealed in this substitution. Further evidence of
change is seen in the redefinition of the president's
position in relation to that of the principales. The
potential power which the post offers to the incum-
bent and those who back him is now recognized. The
risks are higher as the competition for the post
increases.

In the religious sphere the priest's increasing con- 105
trol over the domain of the church is seen in the shift 793
of setting for the common meal from the churchyard 178
to the *?ali?bal's* house. This evoked the story of the 794
open confrontation of the priest and cofrades a few 578
years before. Public counting of funds by civil officials
suggests an attempt by the new leadership to thwart
the priest's dominance over the cofrades.

In the emergent struggle for power within the com- 621*
munity, we see not just a defensive reaction to La- 105
dinos by Indians of a corporate community, but a 178
play for stakes in the same world. This suggests that 829
the corporate community, now and in the future,
serves not so much as an insulation from the outside
world as in the past but as a springboard for the entry
of the Indians into fuller participation in the national
society.

[P 228-B]

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

796 carried a red banner. At the church the four men performed a dance. Divided into
535 pairs facing each other at a distance of 6 m., they first shook the ribbons on their poles while giving loud cries, varied by putting the hand over the mouth, and running to meet one another. Then they made a slight inclination of the head, turned half around, and returned to their original places. After repeating this thrice, the pairs exchanged places and performed new figures. At the conclusion they surrounded the flag-bearer, shouting and waving the ribbons.

796 Although harp and guitars were here used in an apparently religious dance,
534 in several of the communities it appears that the stringed instruments of European
184 origin (guitar, violin, and harp) are used only for secular purposes, the religious musical instruments (which are often kept in the church) consisting of cane flute
[197] (*ahmay*) and drums. In Chanal two drums are used, a large drum (*kayob*) and a small one (*chin kayob*). In Tenejapa the single drum is called *anteel* and is accompanied by a sort of cornet.

778 Some minor observances having to do with the cult of the saints may be
776 mentioned. In the highland villages it is usual for each important saint to be repre-
184 sented by two images of which one, the genuine santo, is too sacred to be taken from the church; the other, called *debo* (for *doble*) substitutes for the true santo in religious processions.[29] In Bachajón the care of the church is alternated weekly
[194] between the two calpules, on Christmas Eve each church-caretaker (*priora*) must contribute to the decoration of the altar ten little figures of clay, of which five are in the form of a bull, and five in the form of a horse and rider. The church at Citalá contains many santos of which two (San Mateo and San Gabriel) are painted black and enjoy special prestige. In this church a straw mat, yellow in color with red ribbons interwoven, is used to kneel upon before the principal saints; it is kept with extraordinary care. At Citalá a principal annual event is the ritual
778 washing of the saints' clothing. This occurs two weeks after Holy Week. The
776 "Great Washing," when the clothing of the principal saints is washed, is performed
796 at a spring where the water is thought to be of absolute purity. The "Small Washing" of the clothes of the lesser saints may be done in the river. The Great Washing is reported as involving the consumption of eight hogs and a great quantity of rum.

78 Although it is evident that the religion of the Tzeltals contains many pagan
[114] elements, some of which have been reported by Blom and LaFarge,[37] Villa's notes do not add a great deal on this point. The use of hilltop shrines was noted at
778 Oxchuc, where one of these is called Ikal Ahau, apparently after an ancient deity.[30]
782 The teacher at Amatenango reports that the Indians there make offerings for
776 rain at a rock marked with a zigzag thought to represent the lightning. No
114 information was obtained on the beliefs as to *nahuales*; this subject is discussed by Blom and LaFarge.[37]

[29] This image corresponds precisely with that of the pairs of crosses used by the Quintana Roo Maya, of which one, the *cruz hadera*, is moved about in ritual.

[30] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 362–374.

[30] Núñez de la Vega (1702, p. 9) says, "Los de Oxchuc y de otros pueblos de los Llanos venegan mucho al ídolo que llaman Ycalahau, que quiere decir negro principal, o señor de negros," as quoted in Becerra, 1932, p. 244.

37. Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:369-371.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.467-A]

Teklum

756 539 [682] [swayobel]." "What one?" asked his friend. "You won't be afraid?" asked J. And then he put his shirt and hat on the floor, spoke three words (my friend didn't say what), and raised his hat and shirt, and a horse appeared. He did this again and a bull appeared. He was a great *?ak'tamal* [witch]. He stole a great deal. He was killed by five bullets.

756 [152] Such stories of curers "who walk on both sides" (*tbe?en ta ta mehl*) are favorites in the drinking sessions of Teklum. The power of curers inspires fear, so much so that some of the town presidents have been afraid of putting them in prison.

756 776 [133] [769] The open competition between curers serves to undermine the faith of the people in their guardianship function. This function was believed to have been acquired by the leaders from the *me?tiktatik*, the ancestors, who were said to live in a cave in a hill near the town, from which came the progenitors of the present townspeople. To carry out this guardianship function, the animal spirits of the two leading curers roamed the streets at night, when the evil spirits were out, each one remaining within the limits of his own side of the dual division. In this role, the two major curers were called the *me?iltatiletik*, a term derived from the one referring to the ancestors.

178 776 756 769 [796] 796 776 756 178 769 The loss of faith in the guardianship function of the curers was coincident with the loss of belief in the presence of the me?tiktatik. Some deny that the me?tiktatik live in the cave anymore, and others say they just appear on the day of their fiesta, the Day of the Cross in the Catholic calendar. This fiesta formerly was an important event in establishing the guardian power of the leader curers, since they were the only ones who dared enter the cave and talk to the ancestors. But this fear and this belief have gone. In 1960 one young man of the pueblo entered the cave on the day of the fiesta, when the curers were "deceiving the people" in claiming that they were talking to the ancestors; the fact that he dared enter the cave indicates an ambient distrust (in part resulting from verbal attacks by the priest, who at that time was gaining more power in the town). By now, on the Day of the Cross the church and civil officials, the women prayermakers, and an assistant of the priest, the *fiscal*, go to the cave, but the curers are no longer present, even as bystanders. The curers have tried to buttress belief in the guardianship of the ancestors by claiming that a nephew of the ancestors is now in residence in

[794] [793] 178 756 769

631 the secretario, who is, without exception, a Ladino, for his responsibilities require a good knowledge of the Spanish language as well as office skills, which the Indians usually lack. Actually it is this official who controls all the administrative affairs of the municipio. He imposes fines, collects taxes, assigns communal work, and keeps in con-
[62] tact with the state authorities. After him rank the regidor, síndico, alcalde, police commander, and policemen.

621 Besides these authorities, which are the officially recognized ones, the Indians have their own government system, which in most places is still operating. Oxchuc is
[888] typical of the regional pattern. There the
[887] municipio is divided into two calpules, each of which is a kind of fraternity under the supervision of those old men having the
[776] greatest knowledge and prestige. Each cal-
[796] pul has also its own patron saint, venerated with special feasts and ceremonies throughout the year. (In Oxchuc the calpules are not geographically determined, and its members are spread in different parajes of
62 the territory.) Authority is now integrated in the following officials:

1 katinab, supreme chief of the whole calpul
1 okil kabil, "feet and hands" of the preceding, i.e., secretary
2 dzumubiles, supreme "pulsers" or "curers"
1 alcalde, who carries a staff of office
2 cornales (or governors), who also carry staffs of office
2 síndicos, who also carry staffs of office
4 x-tules (or regidores)

555 The four last jobs are reached by strict
624 hierarchy and indicate the progress of each
794 individual in the fulfillment of his social duties. This social-service career begins when the man is not yet married, when he is assigned the cargo of mayordomo of the church, which means that he has to attend to minor affairs connected with the church and to keep it clean. Shortly after his marriage he usually reaches the position of capitán, where he is responsible for the fies-

[P. 220-A]

555 ta for minor saints. He alternates between
624 a period of activity and expense and one of
794 quiet and economic recovery. The cargos alternate between church positions and civil government positions, but in communities where Indian tradition is stressed, there is no clear-cut division between civil and religious matters, because of the influence of the sacred and supernatural in daily life.

554 Those functionaries who have a staff of
624 office wield great influence in their calpul.
293 This cane (*nabté*), a sign of important status, is made of pine or other fine wood, and has a silver handle adorned with colored ribbons, primarily yellow, green, and red. The staff is ornamented by the owner and is considered a family object, usually placed
[778] on the home altar. Occasionally it is the
[782] object of prayers and offerings of incense. People carrying it are called *bastonudos*.

624 It is the duty of the staff-carriers to com-
627 municate to every paraje the orders of the ayuntamiento and those coming from the supreme chief of the calpul; to summon people for communal duties; to apprehend prisoners in cases of crime; and to deal with public problems such as taxation and epidemics. Coping with transgressions such as minor stealing, adultery, disputes, and intrigues are also their responsibility within the paraje, following the traditional form of procuring mutual understanding on both sides, in a calm atmosphere, around a bottle
[692] of liquor. If conflict persists, those involved appear before chiefs of the calpul, who are called principales or "cabildos de justicia" even after they have finished their term of office.

794 The cargos from dztunubil on up are sacred and are open only to people with superior knowledge, recognized moral status, and expert experience in church ritual and in the semi-pagan ceremonies practiced in the caves, waterholes, and special mountains. These cargos are thus obtained not by automatic advancement but by special merits which are usually not acquired until advanced age. All such high representatives of

[P 220-B]

794 the calpul must have a powerful nagual, through which they can learn about the private lives of their subordinates. This is usually the way they know who has enough money to pay for a feast, who can occupy special jobs, and which sinners deserve punishment.

Religious Life

The Catholic Cult

177 The beliefs and religious practices intro-
797 duced by Catholic missionaries in the 16th
795 century have been adapted to the aborigi-
795 nal culture. The largest and most important
778 building of the village is the church, situ-
[346] ated on the east side of the ceremonial cen-
[361] ter. In it are the image of the patron saint
[776] of the group, the holy cross, and lesser
[796] saints. The most profound ceremonies take
[794] place before the altar of these saints, who are looked upon as mediators between God and men, and are performed by the cabildos de misa, dzunubiles, and other elderly men of high rank who know both Catholic and Indian ritual.

346 During the ceremonies the altar is deco-
796 rated with flowers and with paper and rib-
795 bons of different colors. The floor is covered with pine needles, which give off an agree-
[782] able fragrance. Candles and copal are part of every prayer and ceremony, the copal having been used since pre-Hispanic times.

795 Common prayers of people who visit the
782 center also have a place. These people have to enter the church and make an offering of candles to the patron saint. The prayers follow a formal pattern but vary in content according to the need and mood of the suppliant. Each individual talks intimately to the saint, specifying the help he needs, much as he would to a relative or a friend in whom he has absolute confidence. The two most frequent matters of petition are health and food; as the latter depends almost entirely on the condition of the cornfield, people pray that "it may not be damaged by the wind, or by cold, sun, birds, or plagues."

[P 221-A]

795 782 In most of the prayers, Dios Tatik Jesucristo and the 13 *fiadores* who are in heaven are mentioned. These 13 fiadores are God's immediate helpers and correspond to the [778] Christian saints. The cross is venerated as a representation of God wherever a prayer is said and so appears on the family altar, on mountaintops, in caves, at fountains, at entrances to the town, at the four corners of the plaza, and in front of the church.

795 778 776 177 The local character of Catholicism is seen in the Masses offered to the mountain called Ikal Ajau, near the ceremonial center of Oxchuc. The Indians say that it is a "living mountain" and give it great reverence, for Ikal Ajau was the name of the idol venerated by Oxchuc people in pre-Hispanic times. In almost all the municipios the 795 184 776 saints are dressed as Indians. Towns with a large Ladino population have different saints for the Ladinos, who are dressed as Ladinos and to whom the Indians are completely indifferent, even to forgetting the names of them.

Fiesta for the Patron Saint

796 794 One of the major events in the religious life of the Indians is the annual fiesta in honor of the patron saint and the other saints kept in the church. The capitán principal and some of his immediate assistants are in charge of the organization and expenses of these fiestas. The length and cost of the fiesta correspond to the importance [435] of the saint and range from one day and 100 pesos to four days and several thousand pesos, like the one for the patron saint. To become a capitán principal a man must go through all the ranks and be able to afford the expenses of any fiesta, from a small one to the very large ones of the patrons.

796 The fiesta of the patron of each village is similar to that for any other saint but larger. There are Masses and other religious observances in the church, processions with the image of the saint along the main streets, large meals at the house of the cargoholders, and, above all, constant drink-

[P 221-B]

[Text continues on p. 222-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Amatenango del Valle

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FIG. 7—CARGO OFFICIALS, AMATENANGO DEL VALLE. Note ceremonial hats and drum with which church functions are announced. (Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 222-A]

753 thunder, wind, or lightning. All the men
776 who occupy or have occupied cargos in the
[794] political or religious organization are sup-
[888] posed to have a nagual, as do the older
[613] members of the lineage. They consider it their duty to punish those members of the group who have sinned and use their nagual, who can devour the soul of the victim little by little.

774 According to this idea, everybody has two
776 souls: one which can be eaten by the naguales, and one which follows the destiny that its patron saint has planned for it.
761 When death comes, the naguales take away
775 the first soul and have a banquet up in the
776 mountains. In this feast, the naguales of the old people of the clan participate, joined by others induced to comradeship.

761 It is a widespread belief that at midyear
773 the naguales go to a place in heaven called
776 Atimaltik, where an old man who possesses the Book of Life lives. Since in this book he keeps account of the time each person can live, it is a source of information for the naguales, who thus can know who is close to death. When the signature of a person disappears from the book, this means that the person died.

764 People have to keep watch over the body for two days and two nights. It is placed on a wooden plank in the middle of the house after being washed or just given a change of clothes. Two candles are placed at the head. At night friends and neighbors come to keep company with the family. They play harp and guitar and drink chicha and aguardiente. At dawn, the men go home and the women remain crying near the corpse.

[613] Following the ancient custom, the dead are buried near the graves of other men of
[184] the same lineage. In Cancuc, however, dead are buried inside the house.

The bottom and sides of the grave are covered with slabs to form a coffin. The corpse, bundled up in a petate, is placed inside. His clothes and other articles he may

[P. 224-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

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the informal chief of one of the semi-separated, turbulent groups already described. He was a well-built, square-faced, sullen yet cunning looking fellow, with a long scar from a machete cut across one cheek, and credited with a number of murders.

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The shamans or medicine-men, *poci'*, although primarily doctors, have a quasi-priestly status, the result of the intimate relation of prayer and healing, of which more will be said later. They are honored accordingly as holy men, as well as for the power conferred by their knowledge of medicine and charms. A shaman obtains his position by some years of study under another, who teaches him both medicines and prayers. His repute largely depends upon the results of his practice.

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Certain older men are selected annually to have charge of the fiestas, or saint's day celebrations; they have charge of all preparations and of the conduct of the fiesta, as well as being usually responsible for the care of the various sacred properties during the year. These officers exist in the hacienda groups as well as in the tribes. At the Finca Tecojá, where a fiesta was observed in progress, they were an amiable pair of rather drunken old men, known as *Caporales,* and at most places, in common with other officers holding posts of Spanish derivation, they were known by Spanish names. Interestingly enough, in the villages with the Governmental organization described above, they rarely coincide with the Government appointees, although this may be partly due to the fact that they are usually selected from among the oldest men. In Guatemala these semi-church officers often are a mask for tribal positions of real power, as was found to be the case with the *tcimañ* of Jacaltenango, who will be described in writing of that place (Chapter XIX). Here their influence and prestige was relatively slight, save during the period when their duties placed them in charge. [554]

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Almost the only trace of pre-Conquest feeling is to be found in the great reverence shown towards all shamans and Government appointees. An ordinary Indian will offer food, drink, or tobacco to all men of authority present before taking anything himself, even though it means the consumption, for instance, of almost all of a bottle of *aguardiente* before he gets any at all. We saw a chief at Tenango, where the same system prevails, take a lighted cigar from an Indian's mouth, giving him instead some unrolled tobacco leaves. When first coming into the presence of such men, or passing them on the road, an Indian will take off his hat, bowing deeply; the chief or shaman touches the Indian's forehead, and he goes on. This is performed with grace and dignity. It is known as *k'ol-tanup,* "head giving" (*k'ol* from *hol,* head). Instances were observed of thus

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

778 paper, brightened with colour added by a cigarette package, a label from a tin of beets in a deep red, a joke in German about the fall of the mark, of which the prevailing tone was pure viridian, and a page of advertising from the Saturday Evening Post. We gave [123] this family a chromo of a saint, which was immediately framed with a sort of wooden box, and set up beside the cross. The table below was used for laying odds and ends on, such as the spindle and a couple of empty aguardiente bottles.

782 788 177 178 Incense, *pom,* and candles, both extensively used by the Indians today, had a place in the old Maya ritual similar to that of the Catholic Church.

The Priest is an important figure to the Indians. They come to 793 him with respect to tell him their troubles, and receive him into their villages with rejoicing. At the same time, there is no doubt that they deliberately hoodwink him as to the orthodoxy of their faith.

796 Although it includes several non-Christian elements, a description of the fiesta observed at Tecojá will give a fair idea of the Tzeltal's church observances. Tecojá ranch has a village of about [241] twenty houses attached to it. The fiesta was held on the twenty- [648] second and twenty-third of June. By custom, the ranch had to allow the Indians this time off, as well as accepting the lowered efficiency on the following "cold grey dawn of the morning after." The owners had, moreover, to provide the rum for the whole celebration, in this case, two demi-johns.

The ranch chapel was thrown open and decorated with fir [794] branches and streamers. The proceedings were in charge of two older men, called *caporales,* who were distinguished by a cross-belting of red handkerchiefs. One house was set aside for the celebrations, in front of which was a table and three triangular, crimson banners with gold edges. By these drumming and flute-playing went on irregularly. Here was the official dispensary for rum, which was given out by the *caporales.* Inside the house, a palm-thatched one with stick walls, about fifteen feet square, some thirty [534] Indians, men and women, were squatting against the walls. There was an orchestra of a guitar and a mouth-organ, occasionally augmented by the piper, who would wander in from outside. This individual, although most amazingly drunk, managed to maintain his [533] musical ability until he fell asleep. The tune they played was like a rather wistful jig, but the time was lively. To this four couples [535] danced, the men facing the women, with a shuffling step not unlike waltzing. They kept very much in one place, but occasionally changed sides. The dancing was evidently a serious affair. This type is called in Spanish *zapatea,* in Tzeltal, *ahk'Out.*

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The performance continued until late that night and began again the next morning. Later in the day the banners were carried to the chapel in procession, with music, and deposited by the altar. The *caporales* led in prayer. The fiesta went on again in the evening. 796 [794]

Christian forms are applied to or mixed with non-Christian rites and ideas to some extent, a confusion resembling the appeal to both saints and native gods in prayer among tribes of Guatemala* and British Honduras.† Much of Christianity is adapted to conform to old, fundamental native concepts. 771 172 178 171

In the church at Bachajon Village there are fourteen saints beside the tribal patron, St. Jerome. These others each have a special care, as the cornfield, hunting, the rivers, etc., and are prayed to for help in their particular provinces. They are given gifts of cloth, usually red or blue, which is draped about them. Many of them duplicate the functions of non-Christian "guardians," to be described below. 776

In this connection it may be mentioned that the Zotzil-speaking Indians of Huistan are accustomed to beat their saint (St. Martin) when they have a bad year, and to caress him and anoint him with oil when things go well. We were told that he had lost his nose and both ears due to this practice. [171]

One prayer was dictated to us by Señor Cruz at Toniná, the full text of which is given in Appendix VI, Text I. It is primarily meant for a poor man when making his offering in the cornfield, a use which is indicated by the phrase "health of the earth," but it may also be used in church. The phrase "blood of my flesh" suggests a remniscence of the ancient Maya offerings of blood from the ear, tongue, etc. A free translation is given here. 126 782 196

PRAYER OF A POOR MAN WHO HAS NOT MUCH TO OFFER.

"Do Thou accept, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, what I have gained, and what I have not gained. Do Thou forgive, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, blood of our flesh; our hearts are open, our lips are open. Give health of the earth; protect thy son kneeling here." [539]

Of primary interest to us were the survivals of the old worship. At the time of the Conquest the Spaniards put forth their utmost efforts to suppress the native religion, and the process has gone on 771 178 177

*Sapper, 1925.
†Gann, 1918.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

291 broidery along all the seams, at the cuffs, and over what would be a pocket in a European shirt. Trousers are either very short "shorts," or replaced by a cotton breech-clout. Hats are seldom worn. Most men carry woolen blankets woven by the Chamula Indians. The red sashes are knotted in front (fig. 322).

The women's dress is the same as at Tenango, but without any 302 decoration, and with a shorter skirt. Their hair is worn in two braids, or done up in a knot over the forehead, forward of where the tump-line is placed.

Fig. 323—Cancuc, Chis. Men on the Cabildo porch.

971 These people, for all their turbulence, are very devout, although, like many who are more civilized, they leave most of the expression 794 to the women. The church is swept out daily by women appointed for the purpose. Along about five o'clock in the afternoon all the women drift in, singly or in small groups, pray for awhile, 346 and come out. Looking in the door one sees the large interior almost pitch dark, cut here and there with [291] tiny, yellow candle-flames, and hears a monotonous sing-song drone of chanted 796 prayers. Their festivals center about the church. In this connection they have a very curious custom. [417] There are two scaffolds by the plaza (fig. 323) very small platforms on four rickety poles about four meters high, surrounded by an insufficient railing, arched over with palm branches, [273] and reached by a frail-looking ladder. The drinking which, as was explained in the last chapter, is an essential part of any ceremony, must all take place on top of these scaffolds. It is indeed a miracle that every fiesta does not cause a score of broken necks.

123 While wandering around to see what he could see, the writer was hailed by an elderly woman who gave him to understand by signs

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

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	/ ... YU*N *IC HA*/, "of baptism"	/ ... YU*N KOMPRE-MASYON/, "of confirmation"	/ ... YU*N NUH-PUNEL/, "of marriage"	/ ... YU*N S*AN NIWYO/, "of Christmas"
/H-KUMPRE/ /H-KUMRE/	x	x	x	x
/H-TAT+SNARYOS/ /H-ME*+ SNARYOS/	x	x	*	-
/H-NIC'AN+SNAR-YOS/ /K-AL+ SNARYOS/	x	x	*	-

608 851 1974 602 Both baptism and confirmation involve ritual relationships across generations. The padrinos (H-TAT+SNARYOS/, etc.) chosen for the child on these occasions become compadres (/-KUMPRE/ ~ /-KUMRE/) of the child's parents and, sometimes, of the child's paternal grandparents as well.

585 608 601 602 The traditional (in contrast to church) wedding, on the other hand, establishes no cross-generation ritual relationships. The parents and married siblings of the spouses become /-KUMPRE/ ~ /KUMRE/ to each other, as may even the grandparents and parents' siblings of the married pair. The newlyweds alone do not enter into this relationship with anyone present. The terms of reference to persons so related are the stated /-KUMPRE/ ~ /-KUMRE/,

571
554 (Several forms not included in this set are nevertheless part of
192
621 the civil administration--/SEKRETARYO/, "secretary," /PRESIRENTE DE EDUKASYON/, "supervisor of education," and /KOMISARYADO *EYHIDAL/, "ejido commissioner.")

The /*A*TEL-ETIK TA KABILTO/ are responsible for the civil business of the community, resolution of conflicts brought before it, the maintenance of community facilities and the making of a limited number of decisions which affect the community as a whole. Its members are recruited yearly for one-year terms
[641] the whole group assuming office in January. Every male in the community is expected to hold office as a civil cargo holder four times in his life, and the order of recruitment to the position for any individual is more or less fixed.

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554 The forms of the class /H.*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/ are
192 grouped as follows (also in order of ascending rank):
794 The first and lowest set of positions includes:

/MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO/	"mayordomo of San Antonio"
/MARTOMO ME*TIK ROSARYO/	"mayordomo of the Virgin of Rosario"
/MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD/	"mayordomo of the Virgin of Natividad"

By lowest, we mean that set of positions into one of which an individual would initially be co-opted upon entering the mayordomía.

571
554 The saint's name associated with each is that one for whose fiesta
192
794 the mayordomo is primarily responsible. The second and next low-
est set of positions includes:

/MARTOMO *ANIMA/	"mayordomo of Todos Santos"
/MARTOMO SAN MARTIN/	"mayordomo of San Martin"

The third set includes the position:

/MARTOMO SANTA CRUS/	"mayordomo of Santa Cruz"

And the fourth set includes the position:

/MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN/	"mayordomo of San Sebastian"

In turn, for each of the saints, there are two mayordomos, ranked relative to each other, the higher in rank being the:

/BA MARTOMO/	"1st mayordomo"

and the other being the:

/CE*BAL MARTOMO/	"2nd mayordomo"

The /*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/ are formally responsible for the correct interpretation of the saints' days celebrated in Aguacatenango. There are seven of these fiestas under the supervision of the mayordomía, and two /MARTOMO-ETIK/ are co-opted for each, the pair serving for one year beginning on the saint's

571 554 192 794 day for which they serve. Every male in the community is held responsible to be co-opted into four /MARTOMO/ positions before he is freed from any further performaces of this sort, and as was pointed out earlier, these positions must be held earlier.

The various forms of the "role-name" set most often occur as simple terms of reference, often modified by status terms. However, the combination /H-KUMPRE SEKRETARYO/ "my compadre, the secretary" is reported.

Modifiers

In addition to the basic classes of terms of reference, modifiers are important in identifying persons. Among these are enumerators, diminutives (mentioned above), and demonstratives. Two modifiers establish the physical condition of the referent-- [602] /CAM/ and /*AN(I)MA/, both glossed as "dead." One, /MERO/, noted earlier, distinguishes "legitimate" or "real" relationship from terminological equivalence, as in /MERO *ERMANO/, "true brother." 571 554 561 192 [562] Two, differing only by sex of referent, indicate advanced age: /MA MAMAL/ "old" (male referent) and /ME*L/, "old" (female referent). When these two modifiers are used with terms indicating younger persons, the incongruity expresses depreciation or derogation. Other modifiers, most of which are age-status terms like the special kin terms discussed earlier, include the following:

273* 554 pourer of drinks. It is in the succession of drink-pouring to the several members that we observe an orderly recurring pattern.

The drink pourer, who is one of the /REHIDOR-ETIK/, proceeds directly to the /HWES/. The REHIDOR/ carefully pours the drink, picking any dirt from the liquid, and hands it to this individual. The /HWES/ then offers the drinking salute: /LISENSYA TAT/, "With your pardon, sir." The other members of the group respond with /*OCAN TAT/, or alternatively /*OCAN TATA*/, "down it, sir," or, "down it, respected sir." The drink pourer /REHIDOR/ then proceeds to serve succeeding persons down the rank order. The rank order may be observed in the seating arrangements displayed in Table 11 (p. 60). Beginning at the door, the relative order of succession is down the page, through the position /SINTIKO/. Then the position just above the door is served and so on through an adjacent succession through the position of /XWAXKEBAL MAYOR/.

*273 796 • 794 554 One of the important performance correlates of the role of mayordomo is to engage in the drinking of aguardiente. Almost without exception, the mayordomos as a group drink themselves into a state of deep drunkenness on each of the seven fiesta days. The initiation of the drinking takes place on the porch of the annex of the church. Benches run the length of the porch on its inside and outside edges. As the mayordomos as-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

TABLE 11--Continued

000 not included in the civil hierarchy.

273* [2]The positions of president of education and ejido
621 commissioner are two-year appointments, and neither is (yet)
554 in the civil hierarchy.

273* semble, they seat themselves initially on the inside of the two
796
794 benches. The relative order of seating is as follows:
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TABLE 12

SOME PERFORMANCE CORRELATES OF "RANK": SEATING ORDER OF /*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/

BA MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO

XCEBAL MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO

BA MARTOMO ME*TIK ROSARYO

XCEBAL MARTOMO ROSARYO

BA MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD

XCEBAL MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD

BA MARTOMO *ANIMA

XCEBAL MARTOMO *ANIMA

BA MARTOMO SAN MARTIN

XCEBAL MARTOMO SAN MARTIN

BA MARTOMO SANTA CRUS

XCEBAL MARTOMO SANTA CRUS

BA MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN

XCEBAL MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN

273* 796 794 554 The drinking of aguardiente takes place on the porch after the men are seated. Again the aguardiente is distributed in shot glass amounts to each member of the mayordomía. Again, as in the case of the civil officials, a strict relative order of succession of drinking is followed, proceeding from the top of Table 12 (p. 61) to the bottom.

273* 621 794 554 In both the referential sets of civil officials and religious officials, then, there are occasions when both seating arrangements and drinking arrangements uniquely express a relative order property in the relations between members of each set. This relative order property we can call <u>differential rank</u>. While this type of rank is a somewhat special case, it is essentially the same age differential which establishes rank in [561] the community at large. The civil and religious hierarchies are very nearly age-graded, the higher-ranking positions being occupied by older men. A survey of the histories of individuals' cargos indicates that the age grading is more strict in the case of the mayordomos than in the case of the civil officials. In each set of officials, men with adjacent ranks sit next to each other and drink in succession, the man with the higher rank sitting in an arbitrarily defined higher position on the bench and drinking sooner. It is important to note that of a variety of ways in which the aguardiente could be used to express the rank difference (e.g., the distribution of larger amounts to the senior

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positions), only relative order of drinking is used. It is the arbitrary selection of order as the medium of communication of roles and ranks that leads us to describe drinking performances as a code.

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We have observed that on the occasion of ceremonial drinking, not only will the relative age differences of the adult males be expressed in the relative order in which they are served aguardiente, but so also will they arrange themselves spatially in such a way that the drink server will be able to meet the obligation of serving the older person first without skipping anyone in the seating order. In other words, men, in the first stages of ceremonial drinking, will arrange themselves in order of relative age-rank, and thus receive in perfect spatial and temporal succession the aguardiente which they drink.

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The ceremonial drinking sequence is associated with the presence of a marimba which plays throughout the course of the fiesta and the departure of which signals the termination of the same. While the marimba players are paid to play at the fiesta, with regard to the consumption of aguardiente they are treated as are all other males who are present. In some cases, they will be offered drinks with greater frequency to begin with, as it is supposed by the host that they will play more frequently and will charge less if they are somewhat intoxicated.

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The ceremonial drinking sequence is regularly associated

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Acknowledgments

My study of the people of Tzo'ontahal was made in four field sessions, the first in 1957 with return trips in 1958, 1964, and 1965, for a total of eighteen months. Brief visits were made in 1966 and 1967. With each returning visit it was possible to penetrate more deeply into the lives and experiences of the villagers, most of whom were highly resistant to an outsider on the first contact. I began writing the book in 1966, and some of the predictions I made came true before I finished it in 1968. These included the demise of the ceremonial leadership of the *alferezes*—the officials in charge of religious celebrations—the waning of the community status of curers, and the killing of one of my principal informants who had taken a leadership role before acquiring the traditional validation of age and experience in office. The transformations over the period of my study in this community created difficulties in recording and organizing my material. I owe whatever clarification has emerged to the efforts of Jane Olson and Gale Griffin of Yale University Press.

I am indebted to the National Institutes of Mental Health, which made possible the research for this study. I owe an intellectual debt to Sol Tax, who introduced me to the problems and potentialities of the area as a locus for field study, to Norman McQuown, who gave me the first instruction in Tzeltal and provided a grammar which facilitated learning the language, and to Manning Nash, who provided some of the earlier formulations of the culture from which I have borrowed. I am grateful to Duane Metzger and Gerald Williams, who generously provided equipment and facilities for work with informants in San Cristóbal Las Casas in the summer of 1964. Alfonso Villa Rojas, who was director of the Instituto Nacional Indígenista, was of great assistance in the first summer's field trip, introducing me to leaders within the town and in the Instituto's headquarters in Las Casas.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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pact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group. The authority of the elders in settling conflicts in the family and the community is weakened, although the hierarchy remains intact. In religious institutions, the personnel has remained the same, but the authority of the religious officials has weakened and the belief in the deities and ancestral figures has been undermined.

Political leadership is the most dynamic area of change. The power of the *principales* had already been taken over by young civil officials when I first went to the town in 1957. The curers, who retained the power derived from belief in their control over the supernatural, were the core of resistance to change in the decade that I knew the community. But this control was being challenged by civil officials and factional leaders, who were aware of its repressive effect. The dynamic aspect of the political sector is linked to the fact that the new leaders saw the necessity of seizing power from those who were privileged in the traditional society. They were reworking the social structure to pave the way for the acceptance of development opportunities being offered by the national government.

In Chapters 10, 11, and 12 I have summarized the structuring of behavior in roles, place, and time and described how these patterns have been affected by change. The following questions are raised in the summary chapters:

1. The role system: How are people recruited into roles? How are roles coordinated? How are performances evaluated? The matrix of roles provides the patterned expectations of what others will do in a given situation. Some of the decisions made in assigning people to roles allow little room for choice. In other cases, new functions, such as those imposed upon governing officials, have replaced traditional bases for making decisions and in turn upset the balance of power between elders, curers, and leaders in civil office. (Continuity and change in the role structure are analyzed in Chapter 10.)

2. The setting: How is appropriate behavior defined for each institutional setting? What kinds of behavior are replicated in each setting? How are changes in role relations reflected in positions assumed in each setting? Observations of behavior in the church and the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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were not affected by the congregación. The fact that there is no mention in the post-Conquest documents of the introduction of dual divisions suggests that the model was indigenous to the area.

The Indians of Tzo'ontahal state that the dividing line of the division was established in its present position when a new church, replacing the first one which was burned, was built on the present site. Judging from a date carved in a beam of the church, this must have been about the year 1746. The endogamous restriction on marriage has not led to a sense of racial distinction between the two populations. Both groups feel that they are descendants of the same ancestor figures and under their guardianship. The same Tzeltal patronyms are distributed on both sides of the division, although there is a clustering of some of them on one or another side. Table 2 shows the distribution of patronyms of 714 male and female adults; 88 percent of the patronyms are found in both divisions.[4]

The functions of the division in organizing social groupings have been eroded, but some survive. Equal representation by civil officials from the upper and lower sections, when there are two or more posts at the same rank, is still in effect. The principle of alternation of the single posts of president and *síndico,* his administrative assistant, so that one term the incumbent is chosen from Ahk'olnantik and the following term from Alannantik has not been a decisive factor since the 1930s, when Indian communities were being drawn into more active participation in national programs of change (Chapter 9).

Residential expansion within the center has been almost entirely in Ahk'olnantik because of the addition of ejido lands formerly belonging to the finca of San Nicolás on this side of town. This one-sided increase in population finally resulted, in 1965, in a breakdown of the principle of equal representation in the ceremonial posts involving high expenses, those of the four *alfereces*. Although attempts were made to find candidates in Alannantik, there were no men with sufficient funds who had not

4. Carrasco (n.d.:5) quotes a document in the *Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla, Guatemala* 16 indicating that Spanish patronyms were given to the heads of calpules and that these were to be extended to all members of the calpul. The present distribution of name groups in the dual divisions cannot support this, nor can it refute the possibility that Spanish patronyms were related to some larger kin or territorial grouping more than three hundred years ago.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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held that post formerly, and all four alfereces were for the first time taken from one side.

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TABLE 2. Patronyms in the Dual Division

Patronym	*Alannantik only*	*Ahk'olnantik only*	*Alannantik and Ahk'olnantik*
Alvarez			37
Arguella Jimenez	1		
Bautista		1	
Bautista Čail			52
Bautista Čo		5	
Bautista Ko'ton			14
Bautista Sa'ben			20
Cepeda			1
Cepeda Čilol			29
Cruz Mendez	1		
Diaz			6
Diaz Čamo			5
Diaz Ton			8
Diaz Uz			42
Gomez		2	
Gomez Bot			39
Gomez Kompaš			73
Gomez Kut			49
Gomez Waris	1		
Gonzalez	1		
Gonzalez Ikob		3	
Guitierrez	1		
Hernandez	1		
Hernandez Čela	1		
Hernandez Tenan	4	1	
Jimenez		2	
Leon		2	
Leon Či			21
Leon Čulik			14
Leon Malatz	2		
Lopez			1
Lopez Lab'	1		
Lopez Lin			31
Lopez Mai	11		
Lopez Pokoš		13	
Lopez Tapiya		5	
Lopez Šunton		18	

The curers used to go up to the cave with the alfereces, the mayordomos *[religious officials], the prayer reciters, and the people of the village. When they arrived there, the mayordomos played the guitar and gourd rattle. They lit candles and incense, and the leading curers would go inside the cave. All the people contributed money for the liquor and candles which was collected by the officials. They said that they spoke to the ancestors inside, where there was a lake and a beautiful field. They asked for rain and good crops. They would come out and tell the people waiting outside what the ancestors had said.*

Then one year [in 1957] during the fiesta of the cave, the curers went into the cave. The people said to the curers, "We want to see the owners." The curers said they would come out, but they didn't. The people waited and waited. A boy went inside with the curers. They tried to prevent him, saying, "Won't you be afraid?" He said, "No, let's go in." They entered twenty feet inside the door. The curers said, "Let us stay here." The boy asked them where was the river, the lake, and the milpa that were supposed to be inside. The curer replied, "It is all a lie. Now you know; don't tell the people." But when he came out, the boy told the people it was all a deception.

Since the late 1950s the ritual has changed. The curers no longer officiate, nor do they enter the cave and speak to the ancestors as they did formerly. The *fiscal*, or assistant to the priest, leads the mayordomos, alfereces, and prayer-reciters to the cave on the Day of the Cross and simply replace the palm cross at the entrance to the cave just as they do with the palm crosses fixed to the wooden crosses marking the roads leading into the town. The curers have attempted to revive the belief in the presence of the ancestors by saying that their nephew is in residence now, but no one I ever spoke to believes this. Most people agree that the ancestors live permanently in Chiapa de Corso.[9]

The hill and cave owners. While people try to maintain a good relationship with the spirits of the house, of the springs, and of the Cave of the Ancestors, they avoid the dangerous spirits of the hills and caves

9. A similar myth concerning the departure of the ancestors to go live in Chiapa de Corzo exists in Pinola (Hermitte 1964).

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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and sold in Comitán. It is the same as the costume worn by the Indians of that area. A similar garment is made in Comitán but is considered inferior to the contraband product. Shirts and wrapped trousers made of coarse cotton are stitched and sold in Teopisca. The trousers are bound with a red woven sash. These items make up the modified costume worn by most of the boys and men. Men over sixty wear a long, coarsely woven shirt with a slashed neck made in San Bartolomé. This is caught at the waist with a woven band and worn over short trousers. In the evening or during ceremonies the kotonču is always worn. The older men wear high-backed sandals attached to rubber-tire soles with thongs, while younger men wear the *huarache* of crossed leather bands secured to a rubber-tire sole found in many parts of Mexico. Increasingly men are taking on the western clothing worn by Ladinos—the belted cotton trousers, shirt, and underclothing sold in the local store and in the neighboring towns. In 1957, only a half-dozen men, all of them former students in the boarding school established in Cárdenas' term of office, wore this dress, but today over twenty middle-aged men and dozens of youths in their teens wear it. Those who wear modern clothing have substituted a zippered "air-force" jacket for the kotonču. All men wear factory-made straw hats, under which, on ceremonial occasions, they wear a red bandanna bound over the forehead and tied at the nape of the neck. A high-crowned palm hat with black designs, ordered by the alfereces when they enter office, used to be woven by a few specialists; now only one man can make them.

The changing styles in men's clothing reflect three stages of acculturation. The older style worn by elders is said to be the costume worn by the ancestors who live in the cave. Since all of the items are and have for some time been purchased from outside the town, the changing pattern of consumption—the change from modified peasant to ladino-style clothing—has not affected local production.

Girl's wear a machine-embroidered peasant blouse and a mid-calf gathered skirt made of cotton or rayon and purchased in the neighboring towns. They change to the woman's costume when they reach their teens. Boys wear the same clothing as their fathers, except for the old costume. Table 12 shows the cost for these items.

231 tion or when the animal is sick. For ceremonial occasions, the assistant of
79K one of the mayordomos is expected to kill the bull which will provide the
[194] meat for a common meal. On other occasions, someone who is known to have a hand which gives flavor to the meat is asked to do it. The owner of
[465] the animal gives the butcher a half-liter of liquor.

232 Caponizing is a skill learned by some men with a few head of cattle by
[843] watching someone who knows how to perform the operation. If a man's wife is pregnant, he cannot perform the operation himself or even approach the bull, since his glance is very hot and will cause the bull to die. The procedure for making the request and for performing the operation is described below:

The owner goes to speak to one who knows how to caponize. When he arrives at the house of the caponizer, he says, "Are you in, Mam Gomez?" "I am," he replies if he is in. "Come in and sit down," he says.

"Pardon me, I have come to speak to you. Please, for the sake of the Virgin and for the sake of God, will you do nothing more than take out the little scrotum of my bull tomorrow?"

"Yes," replies the caponizer. "Do not worry, I shall take it out tomorrow."

"Good," replies the owner. "I shall wait for you in the house."

The next morning, the caponizer comes. The owner gives him some coffee to drink with a little bread. After they drink, they go to the hills to find the bull. They bring him to a wooded place and tie him by his hind legs to a branch of a tree. They then cast the body on the ground and tie the forelegs to the hind legs with a leather strap. They tie a string around the scrotum and sever the testes. After this, they drink a little. The owner's family join's them. The men blow up the scrotum to make a ball and the children play with it. They cut up the testes and broil them in a pan on the fire. After this is cooked, they pass it out to all of the people present with a tortilla and salt. Two liters of liquor are served. After the common meal, everyone goes to the house of the owner, and there they have a meal of chicken soup with two more liters of liquor. Those who do not drink liquor are served soda.

Very early the next day, the owner goes to see if his bull has died. If he

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phrase "worth my time"). He therefore persuaded a Ladino of Teopisca to lend him 5,000 pesos. He went down to hot country and bought corn when it was scarce in the village, brought it up the hill, sold a little to pay for his needs, but held the rest until the price went up in the next three months. In a two year period of buying and selling with his 5,000 peso investment, he grossed 400,000 pesos. Afterwards he began to hire men to work in his milpa. At a meeting of the cooperative association in 1966, Santos defended his investments of the association's funds by showing his carefully kept accounts. He held up his pencil saying proudly, "This is my machete! This is my hoe!" The phrasing is an imitation of Ladino rhetoric of the provinces.

Santos served as treasurer of the ejido commission and of the town. In 1965 he was made a *nic'nal martoma,* or junior religious official in charge of caring for the saints. His appointment was an attempt made by the former president, a member of the Ladino-owned trucking concern, to cut down Santo's operations in passenger traffic on Sunday by keeping him occupied in religious activities. While in office, Santos began an enquiry into the use of the funds collected in donations to the saints. The priest had gained control over these funds, and had not subjected the collection to the public review and accounting procedures by which funds had been handled by the civil administration. Santos demanded an explanation by the priest, who refused to make a statement. The issue was raised in a general assembly of the men of the community which occurs sporadically on Sundays. Meanwhile Santos was taking advantage of the money associated with each of the major saints. In the cargo system for the care of saints, a fund of money is passed over in the installation ceremony from the outgoing mayordomos to the incoming mayordomo. This fund has always been passed over to the incoming officials with an increment of about 10 pesos. Santos requested the use of these funds to "make them grow," and he thus gained uncontested access to low interest funds which he used in his brokerage activities. In addition to the interest, he gave a gift of clothing to the saint to maintain good credit relations.

Santos' administration of funds in his public capacity as town treasurer, storekeeper, and treasurer of both the ejido commission and the truck cooperative won him a reputation of honesty and reliability. His knowl-

601 wife, and wife's sister with the term *muʔ*. This same term is used by women to refer to sister's husband, and to husband's brother. Men refer to sister's husband, wife's brother and wife's parents' brothers as *b'al*, while women refer to brother's wife and husband's sister as *haʔwan*. The rule is that siblings-in-law of opposite sex of speaker are classified as muʔ and siblings-in-law of same sex as speaker are differentiated by sex of speaker so that men classify them as b'al and women classify them as haʔwan. Parents-in-law are referred to as *tat niʔal* and *meʔ niʔal* and called father and mother. Wives of sons and brothers' sons are referred to as *kalib'* by men.

Fig. 4. Kinship Terms for Affinal Relatives

	Collateral	Lineal		Collateral
+1		Nial Tat	Nial Meʔ	
−1	Bal	(Hmanial) Kinam		Muʔ
	Kihtz'in			

Underlined term is vocative.

Affinal terminology is not applied to spouses of parents' siblings; the terms for father and mother or elder sister and elder brother, depending on their age relative to ego, are extended to them (Fig. 4).

601 The term for assistant in a ceremony, *b'alniʔal*, using the combined
796 terms for ego's generation and parental generation in-laws, may indicate
794 that this group formerly served in household ceremonies. They are still
174 called upon for assistance, but nonrelated neighbors and compadres or
592 godchildren may also assist and the same term is applied to all.

571 Significant reference groups are designated by the Spanish derived terms
197 *yermanotak*, *kumparetak*, and *bersinatak*. The yermanotak is comprised
192 of siblings, their spouses, and siblings of parents; the term is derived from the Spanish *hermanos;* kumparetak, meaning the ritual co-parents, is a

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608 members of the me?iltatil along with relatives and sometimes neigh-
571 bors. They are his sponsors at subsequent life crises—rituals of betrothal, marriage, and death. All of these people become co-parents to each other and to the child's parents. This relationship lasts throughout his and their lifetime. If the marriage bond is threatened, the me?iltatil gather to hear the complaints and try to resolve the problems. When a person dies, his me?iltatil go to his wake to watch over his spirit. He in turn is expected to help in the household of his me?iltatil when they have a ceremony by bringing wood or serving food and drink to guests.

624 2. Civil officials: The civil officials as a group may also be called
561 the me?iltatil; the term has special reference to the judges who represent the ancestors in their judgment of wrongdoers. In their passage through office from lower to higher positions, they are ranked in age-graded sets of junior officials (policemen), senior officials (regidores), and elder officials (judges), with the highest respect in ceremonial occasions accorded to the principales, two men, one from each side of the dual division, selected from those who have served in all offices. Drinking order, marching order, and seating order reflect the age-ordered rank in all ceremonial occasions.

[192] The link between the me?iltatil of the household and the me?iltatil of the civil authority is provided by a group of officials called the *nakawanehetik*. These men are chosen from among bilaterally related
571 relatives, ritual co-parents, and neighbors who have served in office in
621 the church or the town hall and know the prayers. They direct cere-
602 monies in the house at times of baptism, betrothal, death, and when
794 the household head enters a community office. They are the ones who
608 know how the ancestors did things and "watch and see" that all is done in accord with custom. They instruct the new official in the prayers he
[574] must memorize. Their wives direct the preparation of food by the younger women, and one of them may serve as chief woman speaker greeting guests.

621 3. Curers: Curers are similarly ranked according to age and years
756 in practice. The elder curer on each side of the dual division is charged
561 with guarding his side against the intrusion of evil spirits in the form of his own animal spirit. It is in this function of guardianship that the curers are referred to as me?iltatil.

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In becoming a padrino of baptism and marriage, C. K. has acquired 33 compadres, 31 comadres, 4 godchildren of baptism, and 7 godchildren of marriage, 4 of which are his nephews. Adding to the 6 compadres of baptism for his own children, he has 39 compadres and 37 comadres, a total of 76. Most people by the time they have reached 60 have acquired well over 50 compadres.

The relationship between compadres is one of respect, and the referential and vocative terms, *kumpare* and *kumare*, or compadre and comrade in Spanish, take precedence over any other relationship term. The godchild is expected to bring a load of wood to his padrino's house when the latter has a household ceremonial, and when the godchild is old enough, he will serve as b'alnial, or assistant. All the people who attend the household ceremony following the church baptism become compadres and constitute the kumparetak. Compadres attend each other's household ceremonials, acting as nakawanehetik (attendants who are present at all household ceremonials) or b'alnialetik. Compadrazgo is patterned on a pre-Conquest institution establishing ties between attendants in household rituals called maliwanehetik.

The relationship of protection and guidance that is to characterize the tie between co-parents, godchildren and their godparents for the rest of their lives is symbolized in the behavior formally prescribed in the baptism ceremony. On the day of baptism, the child is dressed in clothing given by his godparents. The parents and grandparents of the child go together with the godparent to the church. While the child is being baptized by the priest, he is held by his godfather if he is a boy, or by her godmother if a girl. The priest throws water and salt on the child and prays over him, baptizing him in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. After the ceremony the participants embrace the child and each other in front of the church, symbolizing the status they now occupy in respect to the child, his grandparents, and parents. Without this performance, the ritual terms of comadre, compadre, or padrino cannot be used.[1]

1. This behavioral definition of the ritual kinship tie in the sme?ispetb'ak is illustrated in the following incident: The wife of a man who had been asked to be a child's godparent was absent when the priest arrived for the ceremony. Her husband went to the church with the parents and grandparents of the child and embraced them at the church steps. Although

The funeral procession leaves for the cemetery about three in the afternoon. Attending the body are the padrinos, parents, aunts, and uncles. If the deceased is a child under two years of age, he is carried by his madrina. One of the former fiscales or someone who knows how to pray goes along. Smaller siblings or children of the dead are left at home with the maliwanehetik, who in this case are chosen from among the more distant relatives, compadres, and neighbors not attending the funeral. As they walk, the women cry and the "owner of the dead," the woman closest of kin, wails constantly in the stylized mourning cry. She stops wailing only when the company stops to pray at the cross at the exit of the town and just before entering the graveyard. At each resting point, the fiscal, who holds a rosary, reads the prayer book, while a neighbor or compadre uses a geranium to sprinkle holy water on the spot. An older male relative holds a palm cross.

When the party arrives at the opened grave, the godmother sits down near the coffin to make the final arrangements. The grave has been opened prior to the arrival of the party, but sometimes the men widen the hole. If they come across a bone, the fiscal shakes holy water over it with the geranium. When a nursing child is buried, the mother leans over the coffin and puts her breast in the child's mouth just before he is lowered into the grave. This is done so that the child's spirit will not think any longer of returning. The godparent or some other attendant dips the geranium in water and shakes it over the body. Handfuls of dirt are then thrown into the coffin. It is at this point that the assembled group, including the men, breaks into loud wails. The wails of the funeral party, though they do not lack feeling, are most important as a controlled communication, uttered when it is appropriate and by particular persons who are expected to cry before a select audience.

As the neighbors who have come to help the bereaved relatives shovel dirt on the grave, the padrino of the deceased approaches the fiscal and recites the pat'o'tan of blessing for the gift of liquor. The liquor is measured in a shot glass and passed around to the company. The women leave soon, and the men remain drinking. At this point a kind of trial is held to see who is responsible for the death. Since almost all sickness is believed to be caused by witchcraft, it is important to decide who the guilty person

756 sulted with each other to determine who was bringing in the heat. They
731 privately disposed of the evil by causing the evildoer to die of an illness.
[827] At the time of my stay, suspicion of the curers meant that a public hearing was held in the town hall to determine who the guilty person was; usually one of the curers themselves was suspected (Chapter 9).

756 The curers formerly demonstrated their beneficial power by bringing
796 rain during a fiesta held in the cave of the ancestors. This is described by
778 an informant:
789
769

[794] *When the pueblo lacked rain in the growing season of corn in May and June, the leading curers went with the other curers, the fiscal, the alfereces, the mayordomos, and the women prayer-reciters to the cave. All the women carried candles of a peso or fifty-cent size and incense burners. They drank a great deal of liquor at the mouth of the cave and then entered to dance. The mayordomos played the guitar, the drum, and flute as the women danced and the curers prayed to the me?tiktatik. There used to be a spring in this cave, people say, and the ancestors granted water from it when they were given a fiesta.*

The last fiesta for rain occurred about 1950. The whole town contributed two pesos for the liquor and candles. The leading curer then was Juliano, a man recognized for his powers in curing and in bringing rain. He told the people that he spoke to the me?tiktatik who, he said, were dressed in the old style [a shirt worn over short cotton pants still used by older men of the town, and the handwoven hat worn by alfereces today]. The curers told the people that it would rain, and the afternoon of the fiesta, it came down hard.

178 There is no longer faith that the ancestors live in the cave, nor that the
769 present curers could speak to them if they did.
756

The growing discontent with the curers, the suspicion that they are re-
756 sponsible for much of the witchcraft, is reflected in the account of an older
754 informant.
[178]

[774] *The curer O. K. told me that the curers ate the spirits of sick people who were going to die. The sick people would come to ask the curers for*

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variation on the Spanish colonial model (Camara 1952; Cancian 1963, 1965; Carrasco 1961; Siverts 1964; Tax 1964). In the many community studies of the highland Maya, we have reports of the roles and functions of the hierarchy as they are played out in a specific context (Adams 1957; Bunzel 1952; Guiteras Holmes 1961; La Farge 1947; La Farge and Byers 1931; MacArthur 1961; M. Nash 1955; Siverts 1960, 1964; Valladares 1957;

Fig. 6. Civil and Religious Officials *

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Officials in the town hall
- President
- Secretary
- Síndico

Officials in the church
- Fiscal
- Women Prayer-reciters

Principales (Krinsipaletik)
- Second Principal
- First Principal

Judges (Alkaletik)
- First Judge, Alannantik
- Second Judge, Ahk'olnantik
- Assistant Judge, La Grandeza
- Assistant Judge, Madronal

Regidores (Rehiroletik)
- First Regidor
- Second Regidor
- Third Regidor
- Fourth Regidor

Policemen (Mayoletik)
- 2 First Police
- 2 Second Police
- 2 Third Police
- 2 Fourth Police
- 2 Last Police

Cofrades (Kobrarietik)
- Cofrade of Sacramento
- Cofrade of Santa Lucía
- Cofrade of San Pedro the Martyr
- Cofrade of San Francisco

Mayordomos (Martomaetik)
- Mayordomo of Christ of Ascension
- Mayordomo of San Antonio
- Mayordomo of Virgin Rosario
- Mayordomo of San José
- Mayordomo of Santiago

Alfereces † (Alperesetik)
- First Past Alférez
- Remains Past Alférez
- Second Past Alférez
- New Alférez

Assistants to cofrades (alib'aletik)
- Assistant to Sacramento
- Assistant to Virgin Santa Lucía

Assistants to elders for lesser saints (Nil'aniletik)

* Boxed-in terms refer to age-graded hierarchies. Other posts are outside of this "ladder" as explained in text.

† Alfereces may be chosen after taking higher posts in the religious hierarchy, but cannot become first or second regidor before serving in this post.

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Vogt 1965; Wagley 1949; Wisdom 1940; Zabala 1961). Comparison of the structure and functioning of the hierarchy reveals differing applications of the same principles of allocating roles (age, sex, territorial identification, and previous service) and differing assignments of the same tasks (administrative, judgment, and maintenance). 621 171

In this chapter, I shall analyze the civil-religious hierarchy in Tzo'ontahal as a formally prescribed system of roles and behavior. The data on which the analysis is based are: (1) the system of roles and the principles of allocation, (2) careers in office of household heads, (3) instrumental behavior prescribed for officials, and (4) ritual behavior. The following chapter will be concerned with the exercise of power within the limits set by the formal organization of offices. 128 621. 794.

The Matrix of Roles

Civil officials. Civil offices in Tzo'ontahal are a segmented, ranked set of posts, each of which has an internally age-graded ranking. Outside of these segments are two leadership positions, those of president and his assistant, *síndico,* which are not controlled by the same criteria of entry—service in lower posts of the civil and religious hierarchies and age. Multiple posts at the same level have equal representation of officials from the upper and lower divisions of the center, Ahk'olnantik and Alannantik, and single posts are held alternately by residents of each side. Theoretically, the post of president should alternate as well, but in fact the scarcity of qualified candidates limits consideration of this condition. Since 1948, of the twelve presidents, only four were from Ahk'olnantik. 621 561

The four ranked segments (Fig. 6) from higher to lower are *krinsipaletik,* or principales, *alkaletik,* or judges, *rehiroletik,* or regidores, and *mayoletik,* or policemen. The relative rank of the post is expressed in terms of its power, and the relative rank of the post-holder in terms of age (the term used to describe an older office holder, *mas mamalil,* has the extended meaning of greater power [1]). Age-ranking of officials complements [693]

1. Siverts (1965) points out that in Cancuk the term *mamal,* or elder, was applied to a young man who held a post of high authority because of his skills in literacy and language. By terminological reference, he was graduated into the senior age group.

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hall, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of the new officials. Residents of the barrios and colonias can never rise to any position above that of assistant judge, but once they have served in this post they may become principales in their own localities. One week the first regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the third regidor from Alannantik, and the next week the second regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the fourth regidor from Alannantik. The ten police are ranked in five levels with representatives from each side at every level in the series except for the fourth level, which is occupied by police from the barrios.

These civil officials, called as a group the *hu?eletik*, those who are "able" (in control), constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. To reach a high post, an official must first pass through each of the lower positions in the hierarchy. Outside of this ranked hierarchy, the posts of president and síndico are occupied by young men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy was, until the present generation, limited to a few men in their thirties. With increasing literacy, the competition for these posts is growing.[2] Men who have such skills are called upon as signers of official documents and are called *firmanetik*.

Also existing outside of the traditional hierarchy is the post of secretary which had, until 1965, been occupied by a Ladino. This was the only post which was paid; it also provided opportunity for earning extra income by preparing "acts," or official documents, and fines from court cases. The present incumbent is an Indian of Alannantik.

Because Tzo?ontahal's hierarchy is still a linked series of civil and religious posts, the structure of the civil hierarchy cannot be considered independently from that of the religious hierarchy. The major segments of the religious hierarchy are the *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces or captains of the fiestas. The internal ranking of the sixteen mayordomos depends on the number of religious posts the incumbent has filled and on the rank order of the saints he serves.

The alfereces, or captains of the fiestas, provide a ceremonial link be-

2. Julio de la Fuente (1964:30) has summarized the effect of literacy in breaking the homogeneity of the community since the literate Indians have received greater privileges and release from communal work. When the entire community is educated, the monopoly of literacy is broken.

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794 tween civil and religious authorities. They are in charge of the fiestas for the saints whom they represent: San Francisco, San Pedro the Martyr, Santa Lucía, and Sacramento. The internal ranking of this set of officials is based on time of entry. This varies in the annual cycle since the new alférez enters just before the fiesta for which he will be responsible. He will be expected to give deference to the three who have preceded him during [192] the year. The terms applied to this fluctuating ranking system in order of highest to lowest are *hilon ta pasaro* (remains as past), *pasaro* (past official), *sčebal ?al' ?alperes* (second new alférez), and *?al' ?alperes* (new alférez).

794 562 Outside of the traditional religious hierarchy are roles performed by functionaries on the basis of specific skills. These include the fiscal, assistant to the priest, and the *me?eletik*, women who serve as prayer-reciters. The fiscal takes orders from the priest when the latter is in town, and in the absence of the priest he directs the activities of the mayordomos within the church. He is chosen on the basis of his knowledge of Spanish and willingness to perform the priests' bidding. He remains in office as long as he wishes, or until he is forcibly retired by the priest or by the mayordomos. When retired, he has an ex officio role saying prayers at funerals, and is often called upon for house ceremonies and as godfather in baptisms. The retired fiscales attend mass more often than the rest of the townspeople and sit in the front near the altar. The prayer-reciters are usually widowed or single women of the town whom the lay sisters have organized as support in responding to the catechism.

621 794 The officials who have served in five posts in the civil hierarchy and six posts in the religious hierarchy become *pasaroetik*, the Tzeltal rendering [192] of *pasados* or former officials. Any one of these men may be eligible to serve as one of two principales, one chosen from Alannantik and one from Ahk'olnantik. They remain in office until they are too old to serve or until death. Each of the outlying barrios has two principales chosen from among men who have served in office.

Entry Into and Exit from Office

621 The constitution assures local autonomy in the election of civil officials.
666 The officials of Tzo'ontahal, including the two principales, president,

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síndico, four regidores, ten policemen, four judges, and the "signers" meet in the town hall on the twentieth of November. Except for the post of president, which is now a contested position, each incumbent names his own successor. The president opens the meeting with an address to the principales, saying, "Now, *Mamal* Principales, whom will we name to leave in power in the town hall to pass the year?" The principales reply with the question to each officer: "Whom have you thought of naming?" 621 666

Each officer gives a name, which is written down by the secretary. When the officials have heard who will be the new officials, the first judge speaks with the principales and the "signers" using the formal speech of the pat'o'tan to ask permission to serve the "gift" of trago. Eight days later an assembly of all the male household heads takes place. The president announces the names of the nominated officials in Tzeltal and the secretary announces them in Spanish. The president asks for a show of hands of all those who support the nominations. If the man who is named does not want to take the office, he may request withdrawal of his name. The president accepts refusal by all nominees for civil posts if there is adequate excuse.

The great majority of men begin their careers between the ages of twenty-two and thirty. Only seventeen men, or 5 percent of the 311 household heads censused (Table 24), had reached the age of thirty without serving in any office. Among men fifty and over, only two men had not filled any religious post (Table 25), and all had served in some civil post. 621 561

There are two major channels of mobility in the civil hierarchy. The more common course is for a young married man to enter as a policeman, either at the third or fourth level. Next, he will again be named as policeman, or possibly third or fourth regidor, if he is a poor man and has little hope of rising to the higher posts. If the man or his father is well off, he will be asked to serve as alférez. The appointment may be made with or without prior service in the civil or religious hierarchy, and the main prerequisite is having sufficient money to pay for the expenses. Once he fills this post, he will be eligible for first or second regidor since he will have learned the major speeches required in ritual gatherings. Formerly he took on at this point the post of assistant judge. These positions are now assigned to incumbents from the outlying barrios, and the number of posts a man in the center must fill in order to become a pasado has been reduced 621 794

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TABLE 24. Civil and Religious Careers of Household Heads

(*Civil*)

Age of household head	*No office*	*Police (1 term)*	*Police (2 terms)*	*Síndico*	*Síndico, police*	*Police, regidor*	*Police, regidor, judge*	*Police, regidor, judge (2 terms)*	*Police, síndico, president*	*Síndico, president*	*President*	*Unknown*
19	2											
20	20	3										
21	6											
22	11	1										
23	1	2										
24	7											
25	19	2										
26	6	1										
27	1	2										
28	11	5										
29	1	2										
30	6	6		2								
31	2											
32	5	1		2								
33		2										
34		2		1								
35	6	9	2		1	1						
36	1	5			1	3						

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TABLE 24. Civil and Religious Careers of Household Heads

(*Religious*)

Age of household head	*No office*	*Niʔnal (1 term)*	*Niʔnal (2 terms)*	*Aliʔbal, niʔnal*	*Niʔnal, tatil*	*Niʔnal, aliʔbal, tatil*	*Niʔnal, aliʔbal, tatil (2 terms)*	*Niʔnal, aliʔbal, tatil (2 terms), kobraria*	*Niʔnal, aliʔbal, tatil (2 terms), kobraria (2 terms)*	*Fiscal*	*Unknown*
19	2										
20	18	5									
21	6										
22	11	1									
23	1	11	1								
24	5	2									
25	11	10									
26	3	3		1							
27	1	2									
28	16	9	1								
29	2	1									
30	2	9	1	1	1						
31	2										
32	2	5		1							
33				1	1						
34		3									
35	3	11	2	1	1	1					
36	1	4		3	1	1					

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TABLE 25. Number of Civil and Religious Offices of Household Heads over 50 Years of Age as Related to Wealth

	Wealth			
Age of household head	*Land in hectares*	*Head of cattle*	*No. of civil offices*	*No. of religious offices*
54	3	4	5	3
55	3	8	2	3
65	3	11	6	2
50	2½	2	4	4
75	2½	4	6	6
55	2	8	2	4
55	2		4	3
60	2	2	2	4
65	2		6	6
75	2	7	4	3
78	2	6	2	1
50	2½	2	3	4
50	1½	2	6	5
55	1½	6	2	6
58	1½		1	2
60	1½		6	6
60	1½	4	4	4
60	1½	8	4	5
80	1½		4	5
88	1½	7	6	6
50	1	10	2	3
50	1	1	3	3
54	1	4	6	6
54	1	4	6	6
55	1	6	2	3
56	1	4	3	3
58	1		5	4
60	1	1	5	6
60	1	2	5	6
60	1	2	4	6
65	1	2	3	
65	1		6	6
65	1		3	3
70	1		1	1
75	1		5	5
79	1		5	5
80	1	2	3	
80	1	22	3	1
85	1	6	6	6

Age of household head	Wealth: Land in hectares	Wealth: Head of cattle	No. of civil offices	No. of religious offices
55	½		2	2
55	½		2	2
55	½	2	2	3
60	½		2	3
60	½		1	3
60	½		4	3
62	½	1	2	3
65	½		2	3
65	½	4	4	6
65	½		6	5
75	½		5	6
87	½		4	4

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from six to five. The reason given for this is that there are more people now than formerly. 621 794

The second course of civil careers is to serve as síndico and go on to president, bypassing the intermediate and lower posts of the hierarchy and never filling the higher traditional posts. Of seven who have served as president, two served as síndico, two had no previous office, and three had been both policeman and síndico (Table 25). None of the former presidents served in any civil post after being president. Two served as fiscal in their religious careers and had had no other religious service. This is the course pursued by literate men who speak Spanish well. An alternative course is to enter the ejido commission as secretary, treasurer, or president and then serve as síndico, or even directly as president. The president elected in 1964 had served only on the ejido commission. This caused some discontent, but not enough to prevent his election. [212] [91] [423]

The household head enters religious office first as *niḉ'nal* or junior mayordomo, then serves as *?aliʔbal,* or assistant, next as *tatil,* or elder mayordomo of a lesser saint. The fourth position is tatil of San Pedro, after which comes *ḳobraria,* or cofrade, first of San Francisco, then of Santa Lucía or Sacramento. Following his appointment as tatil of San Pedro, the incumbent holds the first gathering of mayordomos in his house. When he completes his term in this office, he may be called upon by neighbors, relatives, and compadres to serve as nakawane in household ceremonials. He 794 [192]

794 may at any time in his career be called upon as alférez. This may occur
[625] even before he has served as a junior mayordomo or policeman since the
[556] post depends on his own or his father's wealth.

621 The normal career of an official in the traditional hierarchy involves a
794 balance of civil and religious posts. A man enters these posts according to
561 convenience, not in a rigid alternation between civil and religious wings. The rough balancing of posts can be seen in the careers of men over fifty in Table 25. According to informants, a man should start and end his career in the religious wing. By the age of thirty, forty-three men had filled at least one post in the religious hierarchy, and only twenty-four men had served in the civil hierarchy (Table 24). The religious posts are considered less onerous than the civil posts since the incumbents are in attendance only one day a week instead of every day, and their terms in office last only six months.

621 Wealth level, except in cases of extreme poverty, does not limit a man's
794 participation in the traditional hierarchy. Of fourteen men over seventy,
556 eight had completed their civil posts and seven their religious posts. Three who had not followed the traditional career lines had served as president. The town is small enough so that career lines have not followed any polarization of the upper levels of the hierarchy as occurs in towns of larger size (Bunzel 1952, Camara 1952, Cancian 1965). Discrimination is based on residence rather than wealth—those Indians who reside in barrios and colonias cannot reach any post higher than that of assistant judge. Wealth level is a factor, however, in the time span of the individual's career, since at some time before becoming second or first regidor he must have filled the expensive post of alférez. Table 25 lists the careers of men fifty years of age and over in order of wealth. It is possible to finish a career in office by the age of fifty, but if a man has less than one hectare of land, it is unlikely that he will finish before he is sixty-five. The Indians of Tzo'ontahal do not however maximize the importance of passing through the hi-
[554] erarchy. It is a duty not a goal, and the reward in prestige is minimal.

794 The only post in which wealth has been crucial was that of alférez. The
556 incumbent and the household of which he was a member spent 3,000 pesos
796 to carry out the fiestas with which he was charged in his year in office.
666 The president, the four judges, and the four regidores chose the alférez

shortly before the fiesta of the saint's day with which he was charged. 794
When the nomination was made, the president sent out the first policeman with the chief policeman to bring the man chosen to the town hall. 796 556
They expected, and were always confronted with, resistance to the nomination. In order to gain acceptance they got the nominee drunk in a drinking session at the town hall. Liquor was measured out, and all the officials drank only a half cup at each round, but the new alférez was required to drink a full cup. The rounds continued until the new alférez was drunk. If he did not accept at this session, he was put in jail to think it over. Another drinking session took place the following day. [666] [273] [697] [689]

Nomination to the post of alférez was the only situation in which the jail penalty has been brought into effect, since refusal by nominees to other posts simply means that the officials "look for someone else." The reason given for invoking the punishment was "we know he has the wealth and therefore he should serve." Until 1965 the town had always succeeded in recruiting two of the alfereces from Ahk'olnantik and two from Alannantik. Since the upper division of Ahk'olnantik has grown at a more rapid rate than the lower division, candidates were found only in Ahk'olnantik. This unbalancing of the population ratios undermined the institution of alférez, which had always been the most unpopular position. When I returned to the field in 1967, it had been eliminated. 794 556 621 [114]

The Functions of Civil Officials

An analysis of the formally prescribed functions of the civil officials must take into account three sources of data: the functions as prescribed by state legislation, the functions as understood by local officials, and the observed activities of the officials. Table 26 compares the functions of officials as stated in the constitution of the state of Chiapas (Secretaría del Gobierno Departmental de Chiapas, 1828: Decreto 52, Nov. 30, 1825) [3] to statements of informants and to my observations of the carrying out of their official obligations. 128 621

3. I have chosen this constitution as the first post-independence statement of the status of local civil administrators.

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síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges of the barrios, the regidores, the judges of the colonias, the two first police, followed by the rest of the police in pairs. As they enter, they kneel and make the sign of the cross, or "measure their noses" (sp'is sni'ik), *an act which shows respect to the holy banners that the alfereces have delivered from the church and laid on the table in the town hall. On this same table are strewn orange blossoms and leaves of laurel with the newly peeled canes of the police and the old staffs of office of the higher officials. The new officials put on their rosaries as they prepare to receive their staffs.* [788]

The principales, fairly inebriated from drinking all morning as they awaited the arrival of the new officials, pass out the staffs assisted by the old president, who helps direct them as they wander in a daze from the table to the line of waiting officials. The second principal picks the staff from the table and hands it to the first principal who passes it on to the recipient. The act of passing over the staffs is a significant index to their role in the hierarchy. They are the only "permanent" officials—permanent so long as they are in good health and not impoverished. They are the link between the outgoing and incoming officials.

The oath of office was given in Spanish by the Ladino schoolteacher the year I observed the ceremony. Formerly, this was performed by the Ladino secretary, but a contest of power in the community resulted in this shift in role performers [*Chapter* 9]. *The inventory of the town's possessions is read by the "old" president*[4] *and each item is inspected as it is passed on to the "new" president.*

After the ceremony in the town hall, all the old officials scatter to their homes and the new officials, wearing their rosaries, go to the church. The principales wait in the town hall for their return.

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The new officials follow the alfereces out of the town hall in a procession. The four alfereces, holding their banners, line up before the town hall and dip their banners toward the town hall and then toward the church. They lead the procession of new officials two times around the plaza, stopping in front of the church to dip the banners toward it and the town hall. The order of the procession indicates the rank order of the offi-

4. The officials who have completed their year in office are referred to as "old," and the incoming officials are referred to as "new" at this event.

621 527 *cials, from the last policeman to the first and second judges. The procession makes two turns "to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] who the new officials to remain in office are."*
[788] [554]

Awaiting the arrival of the new officials in the church are all of the mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see who they are." The new officials enter two by two and proceed to the altar rail where they "speak to God," asking for health so that they can fulfill their obligation to the town. They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father cabildo."
[794] [782]

621 527 273 *The first order of the new president is to ask the fourth regidor to buy two liters of the "gift of the ancestors," contraband liquor. When the liquor arrives, the first judge rises and goes to the principales. Standing before them while they remain seated, he asks permission of God to "receive the gift," or drink the liquor, saying, "Give pardon, Mamal Krinsipal; let a little enter and warm your body."*

The policemen, after leaving the church, enter the kitchen shack attached to the town hall. The first new policeman orders the fourth policeman to bring a little trago, and when he returns with the liquor, the first policeman orders one of the policemen of the colonias to measure the drinks. They drink one liter, after which the first policeman of the lower division addresses the first policeman of the upper division in the pat?o-?tan. After the spatbeyo?tan, *or formal address, the first policeman wonders "whether they can endure a little more. Can they drink more liquor without getting drunk?" It is his responsibility to receive any orders from the president, and he wonders, "What should happen if we get drunk? We won't know if there is an errand for the mamal judge and we cannot help. Better rest a while, and if there is an errand we can help a little. If there is no errand, let us drink a little more until midday." At twelve noon both groups retire to their homes to rest their hearts.*

794 527 *Inauguration of religious officials.* The change of the mayordomos occurs twice annually, once on January 6 and a second time on the Day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29. San Pedro is associated with

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the functions of the caretakers of the church because, one informant said, his image shows him holding the keys to the gates of heaven. 794 • 527

The ritual of the inauguration begins on June 29, a day called Pas Kantelero, *prepare the candle holders. The old mayordomos who have served for the past six months scrape the candle sticks, while two of the group play the drum and blow the flute. Others sweep the church and clean the interior. Then the fiscal and the mayordomos gather outside the church. A table is brought out, and the money that has been collected from each mayordomo by the two cofrades to be used for the purchase of candles is counted. When the money has been counted, two mayordomos ring the bells in the bell tower. Two servings of contraband liquor are passed out, one called "arrival of our food," before the meal, and the other called "wash down the meal," afterwards. Formerly a meal, consisting of a male turkey, or beef soup if the mayordomos could not afford a turkey, with tortillas and chile, was prepared and served in the church yard. This is now eaten in the home of the cofrade because the priest objected to the preliminary drinking session.* [273] [262]

On the second day of the fiesta, called Wišpereš, *the mayordomos "make a fiesta" which consists of beating the drums, playing the flute, and drinking trago. Early in the morning the priest gives a mass for San Pedro and San Pablo attended by the old and new officials and the women.* [533]

A series of house celebrations takes place in the houses of the cofrades. The new mayordomos go first to the house of the cofrade of Santa Lucia. There they are offered the mouthwash, a bowl of cold water with which they rinse their mouths, followed by a round of two drinks each. The Cofrade of Santa Lucia then speaks to the Tatil of San Pedro the Martyr: [273]

Cofrade of Santa Lucia: "Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal? Thanks that you are alive, word of God, at daybreak. What will we do? What have we done? We have to speak of what is in our heart, our soil, our mud. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials, where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our judge San Pedro and

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San Pablo? So it is that we are here and that we are united in front of the house. Pardon us, if it is not much, you elders. Where we are gathered together there is nothing flavorful nor is there much. It is only a little to warm your body, the water that washed his body, his hand our old saint San Pedro and San Pablo [reference to liquor]. God thank mother and father, mam kobraria."

As the mayordomos prepare to leave the house, the following exchange takes place:

Tatil of San Pedro the Martyr: "What are we thinking? How shall we rise to enter the house of the Kobraria Sakramentu? Why is it he does not want us to drink too much? It is good, we would not remember. It is enough. If you will remember, you will say little, mayordomos. Are we not ready with our rosaries and with our kerchiefs and our candles? Is there anything you want to say?"

Cofrade of Santa Lucia: "It is good. I am going to ask you all if you are ready with your rosary and with your cloth to take the holy candles."

Mayordomos: "Yes, good, we are ready, thank you."

Cofrade of Santa Lucia: "Only one more thing do I have to say. Do not drink too much trago. I do not want you to walk like a mad man. I do not want anyone to say that the kobraria did not say anything to advise you."

Mayordomos: "Yes, thanks. It is good. Let us go now. Let us raise our mud, our soil [reference to body]."

The group goes on to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento who is awaiting them with his nakawanchetik, his b'alnialetik, and the female assistants in the house. They enter saying "Good day, Mamal," greeting first the b'alnialetik, then the third nakawane, then the second nakawane, and finally the first nakawane. The Cofrade of Santa Lucia stands before the first nakawane and recites the spatbeyoʔtan. Then he goes on to speak to the meʔil k'op, *or woman speaker, who is referred to in this instance as the* meʔc'ukušaʔil, *"woman who nursed us."*

The women of the kobraria's kindred, the sisters and first cousins and wives of his brothers, remain inside the house as the men sit on the benches on the porch. The nakawane orders the b'alnialetik to serve the mouthwash which is followed by coffee and tortillas. After another

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After another
mouthwash, the b'alnialetik lay a cloth on a small table which is put in the center of the porch, and two liters of trago and a measuring glass are laid on this. The Cofrade of Santa Lucía rises and asks permission of the women, the mayordomos, and all the b'alnialetik to drink the liquor, saying: "God, mother who nurses us, give permission to us so that the water of his body, the water of his hand, the gift will pass in our bodies, that which is the gift of the me?tiktatik. God speaks, tat nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik. Give us permission to hand the gift that will pass in your body from the me?tiktatik. God, Jesus, Mary, only one commander God is three persons. Bless what we eat and what we drink and bless in the name of God the father. God, take the gift, me?ëtatel*."* 794 527 [273] [782] [539]

The mayordomos, b'alnialetik, and nakawanehetik then make the sign of the cross. The Cofrade of the Virgin Santa Lucía blesses the liquor, saying, "In God's name, God the father, name of God, God the son, Holy Spirit. Yes, I can endure doing what they did, what our mother and what our father did, with my hand which has sinned and my feet which have sinned. Yes, we are changing office on this holy day, this holy year the holy saint, with the holy oath and in the name of God the Father."

The mayordomos drink four measures of liquor, then raise the rest of the drinks to their lips without drinking and take the glass over to one of the nakawanehetik. In this way they show the restraint to which they have been urged in the speeches. At eleven o'clock they leave for the church, putting their red kerchiefs around their necks along with the rosaries. As they set out, the elder nakawane says so the new mayordomos: "May you all get up and go to the church. May you all enter inside the church. May you take the oath inside the church before the face of the fiscal. After you take the oath, make the sign of the cross before the face of the Tatik Jesus Christ. After you have made the sign of the cross, when you enter inside the door of the church, the mamal new kobraria will give the account to the mamal old kobraria." [273]

Sitting within the church are the old mayordomos and the fiscal who have remained there after the mass. They are awaiting the new mayordomos. Two of them play the drum and the flute. The new mayordomos enter, the elder and junior mayordomo of each saint walking together, and kneel before the image of Tatik Jesus Christ. The church has been ar- [533]

794 527 *ranged with a large table in the center, the candles allotted to each mayordomo laid out in bundles of nine. On the table is a little cross of the crucified Christ. The priest blesses the new mayordomos and the old mayordomos. Then the fiscal gives nine candles wrapped in a napkin to each mayordomo. The niɛ'nal, junior mayordomo, of each saint first takes the candles allotted to the tatil to the latter's house, and then takes his own to his house. After the oath, the new mayordomos return to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento where they drink until prayer time in the evening.* [788] [273]

On the sk'ak'alel Sk'in, *the true day of the fiesta, the new mayordomos go to hear the mass along with women prayer-reciters at seven in the morning. They then go to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento, leaving three junior mayordomos to play the drums and flute at the door of the church. In the house of the cofrade, they count the money of the Virgin and of San Pedro the Martyr. This fund of money is passed over from the outgoing officials to the incoming officials along with interest. It is now being loaned out to local entrepreneurs. The Virgin has a fund of 228 pesos, and San Pedro the Martyr has 40 pesos. The fiscal supervises the counting of the money, and records the sum, after which the pat?o?tan is recited and drinks are served.* [533] [454]

621 554 In the behavioral sequences of the inauguration, several features of the structure and functioning of the hierarchy can be noted. First, one can see in the actions of the officials that the hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth step ladder but a segmented order. The categories of officials, the alkaletik, rehiroletik, and mayoletik, act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same area in all the settings. Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth (and in the case of the mayoletik, from first to fifth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They command their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge orders the fourth regidor to get liquor, and the first policeman orders the police from the rural colonia to get liquor. By these behavioral indices one can see the ordering and grouping by age, skill in praying, and territorial identification within the segments of the civil-religious hierarchy. These principles apply, however,

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only to ordering between segments; because of the uneven civil careers of the incumbents, a man in the lower ranks within a segment may be older than another in the same rank because he started his career later. 621 554

A second significant feature of the inauguration behavior is the sacred quality of the acts, indicated by the words of the pat'o'tan—"holy office," "holy cold house," "holy staff, holy wand," "holy day and holy hour." The presence of the alfereces, the observation of the new civil officials by the religious officials, the movement from the town hall to the church and back to the town hall are the behavioral links between "our holy mother church and our holy father cabildo." 621 794 527

The behavioral elements in the inauguration of the religious officials parallel those in the inauguration of the civil officials. As in the case of the latter, the ritual takes place in both domestic and public settings—the house of the new officials and the church. In both inaugurations, the same feature of "raising" (rounding up for gatherings) the officials occurs: those of lower rank gather in the houses of successively higher officials, finally entering the house of the highest official. In each setting, the same ritual acts are performed—the formal greeting, the serving of coffee and bread followed by bean tamales, the request for permission to drink, and the serving of the "gift" of liquor. In the household setting for both civil and religious officials the same role performers—nakawanehetik, b'alnialetik and školtawanetik—lend their support.

In the religious hierarchy the symbolic "tools" of office of the mayordomos are candles while those in the civil hierarchy are canes. In the case of the inauguration of the religious officials, the inventory involves counting the money collected for each saint rather than accounting for the possessions owned by the town. An inventory of the saints' clothing is not made as in other towns, possibly because the lay sisters living in the town maintain this stock of equipment.

The formalized speech of the pat'o'tan is an important social tool in both public and private ceremonials. Characteristic of the speech are the elaboration of simile and metaphor (*me'ba'al, wokol:* poverty and trouble in reference to one's house; *lumiltik kal'aletik:* clay and mud in reference to bodies; *snuk shoy:* his joined one, his companion in reference to one's wife; *sapil yok' sapil sk'aab k'a santuetik k'a peroltik:* the washings [192]

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621 794 527 of the legs and arms of our patron lord, Jesus, in reference to liquor). The prayer-like intonation, together with repeated invocation of the gods, gives [192] a sacred quality to the words.

[203] Liquor, referred to as "the gift of God" or "gift of the ancestors," is of crucial significance in both civil and religious ritual. Receiving an offering of liquor is tantamount to accepting part of the spiritual essence of the donor. Drinking in each of the domains—the house, the town hall, and the church—serves to tie together different sets of participants in the obligation system of service to the community. In Mauss' terms (1954:11) receiving the gift defines "a pattern of spiritual bonds between things which are to some extent parts of persons, and persons and groups, that behave in some measure as if they were things."

[203] In both inaugurations an attempt is made to control the intake of liquor so that the officials can function in the ritual. This is shown in the civil inauguration when the first policeman thinks about whether the police can take another drink and still carry out their duties. It is more explicit in the religious inaugurations when the cofrades warn the mayordomos that they should not drink so much that they "walk like madmen." The mayordomos then pass on the drinks served to them to the nakawanehetik who drink them and fall into a stupor.

621 794 527 793 875 In noting the difference between elicited and performed ritual, minimal changes in behavior provided clues to structural change. The change of custom as to where the meal of the mayordomos takes place (it now is given at the house of the cofrade rather than in the courtyard of the church) indicates a significant shift in the relation between the priest and the local religious leadership. The priest has gained control over the church since he has taken up residence in the parish house. The incident in which the confrontation took place is described in Chapter 9. Divergence of the performed from the expected ritual in the inauguration of the civil authority occurred when the schoolteacher delivered the oath instead of the former Ladino secretary. This revealed the schoolteacher's increasing power in his competition with the former cacique.

621 794 527 The rituals of both civil and religious inaugurations reveal the sense of the sacred obligation to the ancestors. Although both the roles and the scheduling of events are derived from outside the culture, the necessity for

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undertaking the burden of office is still phrased as a means of maintaining the internal system of security. Tying the new official to personal supporters in the household setting is a significant means of integrating the Spanish governmental system with the preexisting authority systems. 621 794 527

The emphasis on continuity is evident in the prescribed pattern of behavior stressing repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetition of behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expectations which links the present with the past.[5] The nakawanehetik, who are the repositories of knowledge of the customs of the ancestors, are stage directors of acts performed in the house. Behavioral replication is reinforced by verbal references in the patʔoʔtan to performing "that which our mothers, that which our fathers did." When any act has lost the wider context of belief in which it must at one time have been embedded, the reason given for the performance is simply "so was the custom of our ancestors." As an example of this, the officials in the president's house on the day of the inauguration stand and bow in the direction of the rising sun. A few informants have heard of the God of the East, Santo Ariyó, the saint in charge of household gods who gave to the people corn, wheat, beans, and cattle, and they say that it is in recognition of him that people turn to the East and bow their heads in all household performances. They further state that in this act they defend the house against the entry of the devil. But the mythological context which might explain the logic of this association is lost. These behavioral sherds, when cut off from the belief system which they dramatized, survive in perpetuating the customs of the ancestors. 621 794 527 177 178

The link with the past is also seen in the presence of both new and old officials in the town hall, providing a setting in which the succession of the new officials is acknowledged by the old. The role of the principales is of the greatest importance in establishing continuity, significantly emphasized in the fact that it is they who hand over the symbol of authority, the 621 794 527 178

5. Bunzel (1952:251) has pointed to this familiarity of ritual sets in a variety of ceremonials as providing ties with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango, and Vogt (1966) has shown the significance of replication in the ceremonials of Zinacantan. Another function served by behavorial replication is that which Leach (1967:2) pointed out for verbal replication in myths and prayers: it overcomes the "static" of less significant background interference. [171]

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621 794 527 178 newly cut pine canes of the police and the old carved and painted staffs of the higher officials.

621 794 527 273 Order and measure, respect and deference are the social effect achieved in the ritual performance of the inaugurations. In the act of drinking, these principles become behaviorally explicit. The drink is carefully measured out and passed to the first principal, who asks permission to drink it of each set of officials in order of their ranked positions in the hierarchy. Each official must receive the drink, whether he is a teetotaler or not. He will then perform the action of drinking, which is sufficient to express his good will as part of the group. The symbolic act of pretending to drink—receiving the "gift" and raising it to one's lips without imbibing—reveals the importance of acts *as such* in social interaction. This is expressed in the [192] Tzeltal loan term *ʔaksion,* from the Spanish *acción,* the pretended act, which demonstrates in this case one's good will in joining in the communal act. We have a tendency in our culture to downgrade the act, stressing motive specific to the immediate goal of the act. If performance is motivated by other goals, we express it in phrases such as "He is only acting," or "It was all a big act." In Tzoʔontahal, the play is the thing, and everything can be justified by reference to traditional expectations.

621 794 561 177 178 Before describing some of the organizational changes which are affecting the civil-religious hierarchy, I shall at this point assess its viability on the basis of structural criteria. These criteria include the effectiveness of the system in (1) coordinating roles such that conflict is minimized in carrying out tasks, (2) motivating people to enter into office and fulfill obligations, (3) absorbing changes without structural modification.

The primary devices for coordinating roles in the hierarchy are those of relative age and residence in the dual division. The major challenge to the age-respect pattern has been the introduction of young leadership in the roles of president and síndico. This shock to the system has been somewhat overcome by the retention of the ceremonial primacy of the principales. The president and síndico are considered outside the traditional hierarchy. This conceptual isolation of the roles becomes obvious when one asks informants to list the civil officials, for they never include the president and síndico in the first response. They are mentioned in response to repeated enquiries as to whether there are other officials.

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The principle of balancing posts according to residence in the dual division is maintained in the traditional civil posts but fails to be effective again in the case of the president. Increasing population in the upper division meant that the expensive post of alférez had to be filled primarily from the side with the highest population. This unbalancing of the sharing of these burdensome posts eventually led to revolt and the post was abolished. Since it was the key post in learning prayers, its loss may mean the end of the traditional rituals in the home.

The hierarchy fails to provide sufficient prestige or power to motivate people voluntarily to undertake some posts. The most vulnerable post was that of alférez. In fulfilling obligations to the saints, alfereces used to spend over 3,000 pesos, twice the normal income of a man in one year. They were assisted by members of their immediate households either in loans or in the sale of pottery to help pay for the house fiestas. The show of wealth at these fiestas, when up to one hundred guests were fed, excited the envy of neighbors, often among the invited guests. It was felt that this provoked witchcraft, and every former alférez I knew maintained that he suffered some catastrophe following his year in office. In the last few years before its demise in 1966 the post was accepted only under duress, and all those who had been nominated at first chose to go to jail. The reason that it survived as long as it did was the insistence of those officials who served in this post that it was essentail to maintaining good fiestas. The resolution of the contradictions by abolishing the post contrast with that of Zinacantan, where men sought the prestige-conferring posts that involved large expenditures of money as a validation of wealth (Cancian 1965).

Another contradition which minimizes the motivation to undertake the traditional posts is that the highest post in the ladder, that of principal, is one associated with embarrassment and shame rather than prestige. Shorn of his roles in decision-making and in guarding public funds, the principal is reduced to holding the plate in which donations for the major fiestas are placed. The ceremonial role of the principales will probably survive, however, since the old men of the community who have retired from active work in the fields enjoy the drinking sessions in the cabildo sufficiently to compensate for the shame associated with the role.

The internal structural contradictions have to be considered in the con-

Chapter 8

Taking Care of the Lord Spirits

Religious behavior is concerned with two major goals: maintaining a given state of prosperity and protecting the community against disaster. In the words of one informant: "All of the goods which we enjoy—the corn, beans, and wheat that we eat, the animals which work for us and give us food—are the gifts of the Lord spirits." The technique for maintaining the flow of goods of the world is the annual cycle of fiestas for the saints. The strategy for protecting the community against disaster is through avoidance of offense and special offerings to the gods identified with pre-hispanic deities and spirits. Responsibility for the ceremonial cycle is assigned to officials who represent the community, but everyone is responsible for the avoidance of disaster, since any transgression of moral behavior by an individual can cause their wrath and bring destruction of crops and animals. The protective rituals involve beliefs continuous from pre-hispanic times; maintenance depends on Catholic saints.

Kinds of Lord Spirits

Religious behavior is based on an understanding of the personality and rank of each deity in a hierarchy of power. The people distinguish two major categories of gods: the lord spirits of the heaven, *ʼultatik ta ʼulčan,* and the lord spirits of the church, *ʼultatik ta ʼulna.* The prefix *ʼul* in all of these terms can be translated as spirit. All growing things—people, plants, and animals—have a spirit. *Tatik* can be translated as our lords, elders, or fathers. The categories of spirits discussed here differ from the ʼuleletik (Chapter 1) since these are spirits possessed by the place in which they dwell, as indicated by the possessive form of the noun with the prefix *s.*

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I do not know if it is so. I just heard that in a story told." He then referred back to the story of K'oš, the younger brother who took over the task of carrying the sun from his elder brother, to explain how the sun's movement started. 821 776

Misfortunes caused by lightning, winds, and drought are explained as failures in social relations among people of the community or between the members of the community and the spirits. Restraint in their own conduct, fulfillment of their ceremonial obligations, and show of respect to the spirits are the only safeguards against such casualties.

Caring for the Lord Spirits of the Church

The relationships established with the spirits of the church contrast to those with the spirits of the heaven in the following ways: First, the upkeep and maintenance of the spirits of the church is delegated to appointed representatives, the mayordomos, who carry the burden for the community; "all the people of the world," on the other hand, are responsible at all times for avoiding behavior which would incur the wrath of the sun and moon. Second, the obligations to the spirits of the church are standardized, while those to the spirits of heaven are ill-defined and involve avoidance of offense rather than positive expectations. Third, duties toward the church spirits are performed in repetitive events following the calendrical cycle of fiestas, while obligations to the spirits of the heaven are fulfilled sporadically, as during an eclipse of the moon or a drought. 776 794 796 821 177

The major strategy in dealing with the spirits of the church is to give them a fiesta. Big fiestas are associated with the big four saints. These fiestas have been the responsibility of the top mayordomos, called kobraria, and until 1966, of the alfereces. Big fiestas also occur on the Day of the Dead, the Day of Santiago, the Day of San Pedro and San Pablo, the Day of the Kings, and during Easter Week. The pattern of fiestas will be described first, followed by a detailed description of the inauguration of the alfereces, witnessed in 1965 before the institution was abolished the following year, and the fiestas of Santiago and Easter Week. 776 794 796 177

Religious fiestas occur in an annual cycle of ceremonies based on the Catholic calendar. In Tzoʔontahal the Maya calendar no longer exists, even in the twenty-day cycle that constituted a month found in the neighboring towns of Oxchuk, Larraínzar, and Chenalhó. 796 [805] [178] [191]

796 boring towns of Oxchuk, Larraínzar, and Chenalhó. The ceremonial calendar is given in Table 28.

TABLE 28. Ceremonial Calendar

Big fiestas		*Small fiestas*	
Date	*Fiesta*	*Date*	*Fiesta*
Mar. or Apr.	Tatik Kulibal	Jan. 20	Tatik San Karalampio
Apr. 29	Tatik Martil	May 6	Tatik San Migel
July 25	Tatik Santiagú	May 15	Tatik San Isigre
Aug. 29	Tatik San Pransiskú	May 26	Tatik Spiritu Santú
Nov. 29	Santuʔ	June 11	Tatik San Antonió
Dec. 13	Meʔtik Santa Luciá	June 29	San Pegro-San Pablú
		July 15	Tatik Korasón
		July 20	Tatik San Huan
		Oct. 2	Meʔtik Rosario
		Nov. 12	Meʔtik Guadalupe
		Dec. 12	Tatik Santo Tomás
		Dec. 25	Meʔtik Paskú, Tatik Ninyo

[533] [788] [794] [273] In every fiesta drums and flutes are played, liquor is drunk, candles burned, and church bells rung. During a big fiesta, which continues for three days rather than for a single day, these additional activities are added: contributions of 5 pesos per household are collected, the church is adorned with flowers and greens, mass is held (this may occur in minor fiestas as well if the priest happens to be present), a common meal is prepared for the mayordomos, and the people celebrate with firecrackers, saints' processions, dancing, house fiestas in the homes of the alfereces when they were still being installed, and a fiesta in the houses of the kobraria with a bull slaughtered for the meal.

[273] [276] During fiestas, time is measured in liters of liquor consumed and in cigarettes. The liquor, or "gift of the gods," is the basic element of all fiestas and assures the participants that the celebration will be successful. Safe-[794] guards were built into the management of the fiesta in the role of *alisiles*, who used to act as attendants to the alfereces and who watched to see that the alfereces and the guitarists did not get so drunk that they could not perform.

796 273 539 The following story about the origin of liquor illustrates its great importance to the fiesta.

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796 539 273 body was washed. The confusion may come not from error, but from an identification of the patron saints with Jesus. The importance of the story is that liquor, as the gift of the gods, is the medium for releasing people from their fears.

796 794 The small fiestas are the responsibility of only the two mayordomos, the elder and the junior, who are assigned to the saint. They ring the church bells, light the candles, and play the drum and flute until noon. In the large fiestas all the mayordomos are active, as well as the fiscal and the priest, the prayer-reciters, and formerly the alfereces. The entire pueblo participates in the mass given at the large fiestas and assembles to "see the saints" when they emerge in the procesión.

The proceedings of the fiesta take place in the church and the church yard, the house of the cofrade of the major saint whose fiesta it is, the plaza, and formerly, the house of the alférez of that saint. In each of these domains different sets of actors are tied together by acts performed in carrying out responsibilities to the saints. The chain of command is established in each setting: in the church the mayordomos are directed by the fiscal; in the household the eldest nakawane orders the b'alnial and re- [562] ceives the visitors with the pat'o'tan. He is the master of ceremonies, as in all household gatherings, and his female counterpart is the woman speaker. She orders the women helpers in the preparation of the food, which is then served by the b'alnialetik. Religious officials hold ceremonies in their houses only after they have served five times in office.

796 In the household, religious ceremonies replicate civil ceremonies. A mouthwash is served, followed by coffee and bean tamales, another round of mouthwash, an offering of thanks for the liquor by the nakawane, and [534] a serving of liquor. Musical instruments played in the household differ from those of the church yard: a guitar and gourd rattle provide the accompaniment to the drinking episode here. Fiestas held in the household of the alfereces were terminated with a dance.

Choosing and Installing the Alférez

794 178 Formerly the alfereces were the chief figures in maintaining the fiesta cycle. During my stay in 1964 and 1965 the officials were experiencing

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more and more resistance from those named to undertake the post. Finally, in 1966 the officials were able to recruit only from the growing division of Ahk'olnantik. There had always been two representatives from each side in the past, and the role was a symbol of the division and of its unity in ceremonial occasions. I predicted at that time that the institution would not survive because the imbalance in representation destroyed the structural premises of the role. When I returned for a brief visit in 1967 I was told that indeed 1966 was the last year the alfereces were inaugurated and that the institution had died. I would expect this to further weaken the structural opposition of the dual division. This case of structural breakdown is a good example of the behavioral feedback one can analyze with an equilibrium model of change. The following description of the fiesta is based on an inauguration I witnessed in 1965.

Formerly, the role of alférez involved both civil and religious functions. At the time that I observed the institution in action, it provided the ceremonial link between the civil and the religious hierarchies, but the duties of the alfereces were only ceremonial. In the words of one informant, their function was "to put on a good fiesta, to drink, and to dance, and to bear the sacred banners in processions."

The alférez was chosen by the four judges and the four regidores with the help of the president and the síndico. About two months before the installation of a new alférez, which occurred during the fiesta for the one of the four saints with which he was associated, the civil officers sent out the first policeman and the martomorey, or elder policeman, to bring in the appointed alférez. The martomorey greeted the alférez with the pat?o-?tan, and the appointment was made known. The standard response of the chosen alférez was, "I don't want it. I have no money. I cannot bear it [the post]." The martomorey and first policeman said, "Good, we shall return another day." On their return, if the nominee still refused to accept the post, they brought him to the jail, where they left him for two or three days before bringing him before the civil officials. There they "took his heart" to see if he would accept. A fairly standardized conversation ensued:

Nominee: "I do not want it; I cannot bear it."

794 796 *Judge: "By force you must receive it. You do not have to give as much. You only have to receive the sacred banner."*

Nominee: "But if I don't give a fiesta, the pueblo will speak badly of me."

Judge: "It is not important what the pueblo says. Pardon us, let us drink a little trago."

[273] [*All the officers drank, contributing jointly to buy the liquor. Each officer took one sip from the measure, but the nominee drank the entire measure on each round. When he became intoxicated, he yielded to the persuasions of the officials and agreed.*]

Nominee: "Good. I am going to see how it goes."

[*The two regidores carried the new alférez to his house.*]

794 796 The activities of the alférez in preparation for the fiesta during which he was installed in his post are summarized below.

434 462 323 Making pottery. *The new alférez prepared for the fiesta by organizing his household to make the pottery that was to be sold to cover the expenses. His brothers and brothers-in-law went on horseback bringing fifteen or twenty loads of clay. The women got the sand, carrying it back with the tumpline. The men went on horseback again to collect the limestone temper, which the women would grind and mix with the clay for cooking pots. The next week, the alférez went with a gift of 2 pesos' worth of bread and one liter of liquor to ask the woman who knew how to make large ollas, pots in which the festal foods are cooked, to help him. The sisters and sisters-in-law of both the alférez and his wife joined together to grind the temper and mix the clay. In addition to the special large pots, the women made bowls, soup plates, and water jugs to sell.*

When the pottery was ready to be fired, the men brought the wood and the women tended to the firing. After the pots were fired, the men sold them in the markets of San Cristóbal or Comitán. They usually made about 26 pesos per dozen, which netted them about 500 pesos.

794 782 Learning the pat'o'tan. *Each evening, an elder of the family of the alférez who knew the pat'o'tan, or prayer, came to teach him. This*

might have been his father, an uncle, or a godparent who had already served as alférez. 794 782

Buying festal foods. *The following items were purchased in the neighboring Ladino town of Himlol: 120 pesos' worth of bread; one-half a slaughtered bull for 600 pesos; 6 almudes of beans; 10 kilos of coffee; and 5 pesos' worth of brown sugar. If the alférez owned a bull, he slaughtered it and sold one half.* 794 796 [43]

Preparing liquor. *The alférez rented a still and, with the help of his father and brothers, distilled 7 garafones (126 liters) of liquor, using brown cane sugar.* [273] [429]

Preparing special clothing. *The following items were purchased or bought: jacket for 50 pesos; shirt for 55 pesos; hat for 30 pesos; pair of boots for 32 pesos; red waistband for 16 pesos; and red kerchief for 9 pesos.* 794 796 43 [291]

The hat was made by a man in the town. When the alférez went to ask him to do him the favor of making a hat, he brought 1 peso's worth of bread, 1 liter of trago, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. The alférez borrowed black leather leggings and a black towel. To each of those who lent him clothing, he gave 1 liter of trago, 1 peso's worth of bread, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. When he returned the clothing, he gave the same gifts. [426]

The installation of the new alférez. *During the four days of the fiesta of the saint with which he was charged, the new alférez was initiated into his duties in office. In taking on each of the functions assigned to him, that "dialectical connection between the actor and his part, the person and his roles or status or office," was effected (Fortes 1959:57).* 794 796

The first day (Paswamal). *On the first day of every large fiesta,* Paswamal *(literally, "to make the boughs or decorations"), the women of the household and the sisters and sisters-in-law of the new alférez and his wife gathered in his house to cook the food. The men slaughtered the* [252] [262]

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794 796 [252] [262] *bull, and the women prepared beef stew and made tortillas and coffee. The floor of the house was strewn with pine needles.*

At noon, two alfereces led the procession of police, judges, síndico, and principales as they collected money for the fiesta. The alfereces held the banners with an embroidered cloth. The movements of the procession were initiated with church bells ringing and rockets set off by two junior mayordomos as they left the church and as they arrived at and left each of the seven "stands," locations marked by crosses at the intersections of the major streets of the village. When they arrived at each stand, the alfereces stood holding the banners and the other civil and religious officials sat on the side of the road, smoking and drinking. The five police scattered, going to collect 5 pesos from each household. When they returned, the síndico noted the amount received and the principales held the money in a tin tray.

When the group arrived back at the church at two-thirty, the alfereces put the banners in the rear corner of the church. They went to the altar rail, knelt and prayed, crossed themselves and kissed first the image of Santiago, then all the other images. The music of drum and flute was played in the church courtyard, and firecrackers were set off. A table was set up to the right of the door of the church, and there the money was counted. As the officials came out of the church, they made the rounds of the seated officials, greeting them with the pat?o?tan. The officials arranged themselves in the traditional pattern: The fiscal and town treasurer stood at the table counting the money before the assembled officials. The principales and judges, stood immediately before the table watching the fiscal and treasurer; their position indicated their guardian role. Bills of the same denomination were set in piles under stones to prevent their blowing away, and then tied into bundles with palm fronds. When all the money had been counted, the principales put it in a manila folder, and the treasurer wrapped this in a red kerchief. The striking of the church bells announced the end of the counting.

794 796 574 602 *All the relatives—the yermanotak, or "brotherhood" group, including bilaterally-extended brothers and brothers-in-law and their wives, compadres, and neighbors—were invited to partake of the meal in the afternoon at the houses of the alfereces. The nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik, rela-*

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tives whose positions in this household fiesta are established on the basis of their age and experience in office, took up the established positions for these roles in the house of the new alférez. The first nakawane blessed the liquor; two bottles were measured into shot glasses and served to the guests. After this the meal was served. [794] [796] [574] [602] [273]

The second day (Wišperel). *All the nakawanehetik appointed for the new alférez gathered in his house at nine o'clock in the morning to drink. The first and second nakawanehetik went to the cabildo to ask the judge and president when the new alférez must take out the holy banner. The president replied that it would be in two days. The question was rhetorical: everyone knew that the ceremony of taking out the banners occurred on the fourth day of the fiesta, and the day itself was named* Šlok' Krus, *taking out of the cross (the banner has a cross adorning the staff). What was being communicated to the civil officials by the question was the recognition of responsibility to the new alférez by the nakawanehetik. In the afternoon of this day, another meal of beef stew and tortillas was served to the same guests assembled on the previous day.*

The third day (Sk'ak'halel Sk'in). *At cock's crow the parents of the new alférez awakened him. Gathered in the house were the woman speaker, the guitarist, and the nakawanehetik. Under the direction of the woman speaker, the alférez' wife helped him put on his clothing, and the guitarist accompanied this procedure with music. When he was dressed, the new alférez danced a turn before the assembled guests to show his new clothing, and reviewed the pat?o?tan with the nakawanehetik who had taught him. He then went with his guitarist to raise his companions. First he went to the third alférez and awakened him. He greeted the nakawane of the third alférez with the pat?o?tan, and was invited to sit down; he was served coffee and bread, followed by a mouthwash. The third alférez dressed, and after the two were served liquor they danced a turn. In this same fashion, the new alférez raised all of his companions. The assembled group went to the cabildo.* [533] [535] [262]

The nakawanehetik and the b'alnialetik, after drinking coffee and eating bean tortillas, went to collect the things needed to receive official

794 796 *guests. They borrowed benches from neighbors; they cut juniper and prepared the resting place for the sacred banner; they borrowed seed-gourd rattles and two tables, and they adorned the house with pine branches and fruit. In the afternoon, all the relatives, the compadres, and the neighbors were invited. Two alisiles were appointed (this term is probably a Tzeltal rendition of* alguacil, *in Spanish an office corresponding to high bailiff or peace officer). The alisiles were charged with watching to see that neither the new alférez nor either of his two guitarists got too drunk to carry out his functions.*

794 796 535 562 *The two alisiles called out the women to dance, first asking permission of the woman speaker. The dance was the most important act in the set of performances on the third day, which was sometimes referred to as the "afternoon of the big dance." The dance was a highly charged event because the women were for the first time cast in a public role. Fear and* [626] [154] *shame, the two conditioning mechanisms of socialization in Tzo?ontahal, had to be overcome when the women became involved in the dance. Special precautions were taken: the alisil formally requested the woman speaker to take the women out:*

[539] *Lord, women who nursed us, give pardon with God, the Virgin Mother. Give holy pardon mother and father with God and with the Virgin Mother. We have gathered here, collected together your child, your offspring, where it is not very pretty, not very flavorful, at the door of your holy poverty, holy suffering, for the holy office, the holy prayer. Again our clay, our mud comes to speak here to the mothers who nursed, who give us fear and embarrassment.*

Then the alfereces took off their hats and kerchiefs and brought them to the women. This act was described by an informant: "The women cover their heads with the kerchief and put on the hat. The girls want the handkerchief and the hat of their husbands in order not to be ashamed to be seen by a boy. They want the kerchief to hide their faces. If they do not want the hat, it is when they are mature women and do not have shame. The wives of the alfereces do not have shame because it is their job." The use of the kerchief which was draped over their head, partially covering

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their eyes, the posture of dance in which they clasped their hands at their stomach-band—all of these manifested the shame that they were overcoming. Whether they really felt the shame or not was irrelevant since they were being judged in terms of their behavior. The wives circled around with a two-step, their eyes downcast and their hands clasped over their stomach-bands, while their husbands stepped up and down in place in a ring around them, shaking the gourd rattle and joking. 794 796 535 562

When the dancing was terminated, a joking session was initiated by the nakawane. The signal for this was the lighting of the first round of cigarettes. Smoking, like drinking, was required of everyone and was rarely indulged in privately. The women sometimes put aside the cigarettes, but they had to accept them. At midnight a meal of bean tortillas and coffee was served. 794 796 522 276 562 262

The fourth day (Šlok' Krus). *The four regidores arrived early in the morning to raise the alférez and take him to the cabildo to receive the oath. In this function the regidores were referred to as* personaetik *or "persons." The Spanish term* persona *signifies the exterior appearance by which men of merit were distinguished, and in its Latin derivation persona is the mask by which role is indicated. I think it is in the sense of assuming a new identity that the Indians incorporated the term as a reference for specific roles assumed by the regidores at this time. The alcaldes, or judges, were on this day referred to as* koronaetik, *or colonels. This reference term evoked the military ranking system, as did also the term alférez or captain, and established the relative ranking of the two sets of officials in the cabildo on the day of receiving the banners. The alfereces were given titles to indicate the order of their entry into office. The seating order of the four in the cabildo followed the succession pattern, with the first to take office sitting nearest to the door.*

The new alférez, with two of his four escorts on either side, sat on the visitor's bench along with the higher officials, themselves once alfereces. The first regidor, or persona, addressed the first judge with the pat?o?tan. The fourth regidor distributed a liter of trago to the assembled officials, first to the judges, then the president and síndico, the alfereces, the person-

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794 796 *aetik, and finally the new alférez. The first judge spoke with each set of officials, saying, "God, we have finished the gift of your ancestors"; and the departing alférez said, "So it is, elders."*

The new alférez took his banner from the table and went outside with the four personaetik, followed by the other alfereces carrying their banners, and by the president, the síndico, and the koronaetik, who carried their staffs of office. They went in a procession to the home of the outgoing alférez; at the fence of his house, they lined up their banners in the stand provided. The wife of the outgoing alférez, with the nakawane, brought burning incense from the house and placed it before the banners. The first nakawane exchanged the pat?o?tan with the first judge. In a column of paired officials, they approached the house and seated themselves on the porch. The judges went to the first nakawane and greeted him with the pat?o?tan; then, standing at the door of the interior of the house, the first judge repeated the greeting with the woman speaker.

[273] *The nakawane ordered the b'alnialetik to bring the fermented corn gruel. After it was served, the b'alnial put a small table in the middle of the porch, covered it with the embroidered cloth, and set two liters of liquor on it. The nakawane rose and gave the pat?o?tan to the first judge. He asked permission of the woman speaker to drink, and when this was granted, the b'alnialetik measured out and served the trago.*

[535] *After the two bottles of trago had been consumed, the alisil took the wife of the outgoing alférez, and the dance began, following the same pattern described above. The dancing was followed by a procession to the* [788] *church in which the new alférez carried the banner, thereby asserting his succession to the office. The old alférez remained in his house with his assembled guests.*

[788] *In the movement of the banners by the alfereces, one could see the symbolic military behavior: the procession to the house was a mock column of march; the military titles of the alfereces and the "colonels" were carried out in vocative and referential titles in the prayers. The handling of the banners was always done with show of sacred respect: cloths were used to handle them, and they were always set carefully in appointed places so the pole never touched the ground; incense was set nearby when they were unattended. In the cermonial movment from the houses of the al-*

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fereces to the cabildo, back to the house of the former alférez, and finally to the church, the old alférez was divested of his post and the new alférez took it on. The theme of continuity and change were exemplified by the rotation of this office just as in the case of the other ceremonial offices. The dialectic of role identification could be seen in the final act of relinquishing the role: the old alférez wept at the altar as he thanked the gods for permitting him to carry through the task. In serving in this office, it was said that the alférez "learns some understanding and speaks with understanding." He became eligible to be nakawane in the household celebrations of others; he learned the commitments to office, the fiesta needs in terms of liquor, wood, and money for food. This office, more than any other, was a rite de passage for acquiring the skills and becoming eligible for higher ceremonial office in the household, church, and cabildo settings. Those who had served in office became aware of its significance, and, despite the resistance and finally outright refusal of young men to accept the post, they were convinced of its importance in the comunal life.

An attenuated version of the post of alférez was retained in the barrio of Madronal for the fiesta of San Antonio. Those who had passed in the office in the center referred slightingly to the post in the barrio, pointing out that the alfereces there did not spend as much money, that their clothing was not as elaborate, their pat?o?tan shorter, and the meal given at the house less adequate since they did not kill a bull and then did not have as many nakewanehetik. All these components combined to give the office the prestige it still possessed in the eyes of the villagers. The value of the office was clearly measured in the costs involved; the very factor (money) which made it hard to get recruits gave luster to the post. Scaling down the costs in an attempt to make the post more attractive to those nominated, would probably have diminished its significance and led to a quicker demise.

Other Fiestas

The acts described for the inauguration of the alfereces are carried out for each of the major fiestas: those in honor of Sacramento, Virgin Lucía, San Pedro the Martyr, and San Francisco. The only exceptional acts occur

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794 796 during the fiesta of Santiago and Easter Week. These are described briefly below.

Fiesta of Santiago. *On the third day of the fiesta the new alférez went to "raise" his three companions. First he went to the house of the alférez who had recently served. There he greeted the nakawanehetik with the pat?o?tan, drank a measure of liquor, and went with the third alférez to the house of the second alférez. The same greeting was exchanged with the nakawanehetik, and the two drank another measure of liquor. They went to the house of the first past alférez, and there they exchanged a greeting with the nakawanehetik in which they comment on the "flowery and flavorful" fiesta for "our old saint and commander, the great angel man Señor Santiago." From there they mounted their horses and began the races.*

[276] [273] *Each of the horseback riders was given a quarter-liter of liquor and a cigarette. Three liters of liquor were distributed at the holy cross (site of a cross no longer standing). The four alfereces stood at the cross, removed their hats, which they stacked one on top of the other, and put them nearby. The four took turns kissing and bowing before the others. They said, "Holy good afternoon," and gave two holy thanks for the gift (the liquor), embracing each other. After the four alfereces greeted each other and the three alisiles, the leader of the races gave the pat?o?tan with the past alférez:* 794 796 539

And good day. What do you see, Mam compadre? You are alive, word of God this holy afternoon. You have not heard of any sickness behind our heart this holy afternoon, Mam compadre? There is no fear, shame, Mam compadre. Give another pardon Lord with Virgin. Give me holy pardon, Mam compadre. See us gathered before you seated our bodies, our clay, our mud, Mam compadre. What can we do, what can we make here where we have arrived again? Speak, raise godchild, afternoon of holy fiesta godchild afternoon of holy child's fiesta of him our saint, our commander. What can we do, what can we make when we have found this holy hour, this holy day of our lord Santiago Calixtro, for our patron god? Where now is the water of her legs, the water of her hand [liquor], *our saint, virgin*

mother? There is nothing but holy suffering, holy penitence here before our sinful clay, our sinful mud. Again we gather here where others have gathered before in the company of our ancestors, the holy alisiles with the liquor bearers. It is your burden the four of you, the holy work, your holy office for his godchildren again give his godchild at the gate of the door of the church our saint, our keeper, the great father Señor Santiago Calixtro for our patron God, again we gather before this doorway our bodies, our clay, our mud with the holy alisit with our costume. Only give a little liquor, the gift of your mothers, your fathers, mam compadre. 794 796 539 [273]

The two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik received one liter of liquor, and the same quota was given to the two alfereces of Alannantik. They drank some and poured off most of the measured shots into the botiles carried by the liquor bearers; then they smoked a cigarette. When they finished this, they raised their banners and entered the plaza on horseback. The bell of the church struck as they entered. About four o'clock, two columns of horsemen formed, one behind the two alfereces of Alannantik and one behind the two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik. One year I observed thirty-eight horsemen from Ahk'olnantik and fifteen from Alannantik. The imbalance in representation for the two sides of the dual division grew sharper each year as the population increased in Ahk'olnantik. Before starting the race, the four alfereces crossed themselves, facing first the church, then the cabildo. As the race began, the mayordomos played the drums and flute in the church yard and the nakawanehetik sat in front of the church wall. 794 796 [273] 794 796 526 [621] [533]

When the racers made four passes across the plaza, they came to drink another trago and smoke two cigarettes in front of the church. At the end of the race, they again drank and smoked the same measured quantities as the pat?o?tan was recited by the leader of the races. [273] [276]

On Sk'ak'halel Sk'in, *the same procedures occurred as on the previous day. The final act of the fiesta took place when, after the races, the alfereces dismounted and the nakawanehetik went to them and drank one liter of liquor before the leader of the races. The two most recently appointed alfereces entered the cabildo, where the banners were laid out on the table among orange and lemon leaves. The president, síndico, two judges, and* [273]

794 796 526 *the regidores were seated in their customary places; the alfereces sat on the visitors' bench. The two former alfereces went before the two newly appointed alfereces and gave an account of what was going to take place, instructing them on "how they should make a fiesta."*

When the two former alfereces entered, they went to the president, saying, "How does the Lord see you alive on this holy afternoon?" They then went to the síndico and the regidores and ended with the judges, exchanging a pat?o?tan.

The alfereces went out, mounted their horses, and were handed the banners by the regidores. The two old alfereces received their banners first. All four made the sign of the cross, first facing the cabildo, then the [788] *church, and then rode in procession, preceded by the flutist, two drum players, and a guitarist, and followed by the other horsemen. They stopped before the church, dipping their flags, first toward the church and then the cabildo. The president, síndico, and first judge walked across the* [533] *plaza to the church as the church bells were rung, and all the musical instruments played—the marimba, bell, drums, and flute. The alfereces dismounted and put their banners in the church.*

[426] *The final day, called* Lahinbahel Sk'in, *was spent sobering up, putting things back in order, and returning borrowed items.*

178 Although Santiago is not one of the major saints, a major celebration is 23 given in his honor because of the high value placed on horsemanship in 526 this community. Before the construction of the Pan-American Highway in [796] 1953 everyone in town had horses which were used to carry the pottery to [492] market. Riding skills were developed in the free-swinging *macho* (manly) style of northern Mexico's cowboys. Even today when horses are not as economically useful the horse culture has survived. The running of the horses in the fiesta is not competitive. Each rider does his best to tear at high speed across the plaza, but there is no specific goal. Since the [273] drunken riders often fall and are injured, some of the excitement is based on the potential danger.

128 The behavioral data on which the analysis of rituals depends are included because they provide a basis for comparison with neighboring

796 is served when the expectations are that the individual will feel embarrass-
154 ment. These occasions formerly occurred when the company arrived at the
house of the alférez before the dance and when the alfereces mounted
[273] their horses. Cigarettes signal relaxation, and when the first round of ciga-
[276] rettes is served in the house setting, the company abandons formal re-
[522] straints and, led by the chief nakawane, indulges in joking.

541 *Carnival and Easter Week*. Carnival has changed over time more
522 than any other religious ceremonial in the town. Until five years ago, a
177 group of masked jokers visited the houses of the captains of the fiestas.
178 They wore Ladino clothing, including vest, pants, and shoes, and they hid their faces behind masks or painted them black. They danced a "Ladino dance" (paired couples), first in the church and then in the houses of the alfereces. While dancing, they made sexual allusions about unmarried women. Their joking emphasized their strangeness to the villagers; for example one of the jokers might say, "You do not know what type of person I am. An airplane made me." They carried small stuffed animals which they made "cry." Pretending they were the husband of a woman, they would go to her and tell her to take care of her "baby." The woman speaker would sometimes respond to their jokes, saying, "Who are you? You are not good looking, you little black boy. You must be from Germany or from the other side of the water. Maybe you are from Patwitz or Yetawitz, and your father is kurik." People say the custom was discontinued because it was too expensive to give liquor to the jokers.

541 Another carnival custom which has been lost is the "common meal" of
262 squash on the five Fridays of Lent. Formerly the wives of the four kobra-
794 ria brought squash from hot country, cooked it, and brought two gourds
177 each to the church. The assistant divided it, giving two pieces to each of
178 the mayordomos. This custom was stopped during the typhoid epidemic
of 1928 and has never been resumed because, it is said, the people did not
[131] want to lose work time. These changes may be a response to the priest's attempts to modify some of the excesses of carnival. Whether or not this is so, the people prefer to attribute change to their own decisions.

796 The events of Easter Week as recounted by an informant are outlined below.

796
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Monday: Nothing
Tuesday: Nothing

Wednesday: All the mayordomos gather at the church. Some go to carry wood for the cross while others look for flowers to make a "bed" for Jesus, Tatik Eskipulas, *to lay Him on after he has been crucified. The mayordomos arrange the table on which he will lie very beautifully. They tie boughs of evergreen on all four sides. Some of the flowers [a small variety of orchid which was possibly of some importance in pre-Catholic rituals] are very fragrant. When all is arranged well, they take out a box so that Tatik Eskipulas can lie where the flowers and branches are. They put this table at the foot of the cross. After the mayordomos have "planted" the cross, they adorn it with pine boughs. They put flowers on each arm of the holy cross. Then they drape it with the holy cloth* [the purple banner]. *At eleven o'clock some of the mayordomos begin to play the coronet, matraka, flute, and drum. Tatik Eskipulas arrives at the cross with the male and female prayer-maker.* [824] [533]

Thursday: Half of us finish making the cross, and the other half arrange the "prison" inside the church where Tatik Eskipulas will spend the night. After we make the prison, we make the Jew. We look for his pants and shoes, his hat and his tie, his mask, his gourd, his bag, his shirt, his cigarette. After we arrange him, we raise him with a rope in front of the church, and leave him hanging for the pueblo to see who killed Christ. Meanwhile, others put Tatik Eskipulas in prison. When night time arrives, four men with rifles watch Tatik Eskipulas to guard Him as the holy evening passes. The mayordomos gather at the church and play the sad flute and the old coronet. They play the matraka. At midnight they play the drum and coronet. [533]

Friday: Very early in the morning of Friday, the four guards of God are changed as the dawn enters. All day, the guards will watch the Lord. They will see Him rise on the cross and descend from the cross. Then the four go to their house to drink a little liquor. At eleven o'clock in the morning the mayordomos will give a sign on the elder coronet, the elder matraka, and the sad flute and the drum. They will play three times to summon the townspeople instead of sounding the bell. When all the women and men arrive, they hear the prayer announcing that Tatik Eski- [533] [202]

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• 794
796 *pulas has risen on the cross. After they have seen Him rise, all the pueblo*
[533] *will go out. At two o'clock in the afternoon, they will again play the sad flute, the drum, the coronet, and the matraka. All the pueblo will collect and will make another prayer to see the Tatik Eskipulas lowered from the*
[188] *cross. When He is lowered, they take Him out on a procession with the priest, the prayer-makers, and all the men and women of the pueblo who will hold candles, and the four guards with rifles. The first mayordomo*
[533] *knows how to blow the old coronet, and another mayordomo knows how to blow the sad flute, and anther plays the drum, and another plays the old matraka. After the procession goes in the plaza, it returns to the*
[273] *church and leaves Tatik Eskipulas in the middle of the church. The mayordomos sit outside the church and drink a liter of trago, and then go to their homes.*

Saturday of glory: Very early in the morning of Saturday, they give a prayer with the sad flute and drum, with the old trumpet and with the
[202] *matraka. Three times it is sounded for the pueblo to gather and hear mass. After the mass, the judge goes to speak to the police to look for a horse to mount the Jew. When the horse arrives, they take the figure of the Jew down from the church and tie him on top of the horse. A mayordomo leads him by the bridle, and he goes out in the pueblo with the flute and drum to ask for contributions. Those who know fiesta [the curers] give fifty or twenty cents or if there is nothing, they give an egg. Afterward, they return to the church and the Jew is taken from the horse. The people set fire to his straw body. When they finish burning this, they check to see how much money they collected. All the mayordomos count the money in common. If there are twenty or thirty pesos, the mayordomos make a fiesta with drum and flute.*

[533] *Sunday of Resurrection: Mayordomos gather and sweep church. After*
[273] *sweeping they play the music to open the mouth of the bell. After the*
[262] *mass, they go drink fermented atol with bean tortilla. They eat a hen or rooster to make a fiesta for our Holy Lord because he is resurrected and because all the town is happy. They give the mayordomos fermented atol to drink. Then they return to the church and take out the lord cross, take out the jail, and the bed where the Father Eskipulas slept.*

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796 tions betray the intent. As he is hauled up by ropes and hung from the
182 bell tower "to show the world that he killed Christ," the mayordomos on
829 the ground who are assisting those up in the bell tower jab him with long poles. In this horseplay they symbolically castrate him: I heard one mayordomo say, *"Me?čunun,"* (transvestite) as one well-directed blow struck Judas. On Saturday, he is let down and given a ride on horseback around town. Formerly riding a horse was the prerogative only of Ladinos in the department of San Cristóbal Las Casas (Colby and Van den Berghe 1961). Placing Judas on a horse possibly has a symbolic value in identifying him as one of the hated dominant group who asserted this privilege.
[794] As he rides around town, the mayordomos solicit gifts from the people.
[756] Everyone gives fruits except the curers, who donate money. This transac-
[754] tion may indicate an obligation they feel toward Judas as one source of their power over witchcraft-derived illnesses. The money is used to buy liquor, called the "washing of the arms and legs of our Lord Eskipulas." The drinking is mandatory for all the mayordomos who have participated in the hanging of Judas.

The Judas figure, which was the church's symbol of the hated Semite, is made to appear as the enemy of the Indians, the Ladino. He symbolizes the sexual license of Ladinos with Indian women, the oppression of Indians by Ladinos, and the killer of Christ. In retaliation, the Indian symbolically castrate and hang him, and finally burn his body, thus dramatically vanquishing the alien in their midst. So far as I know, the priest is
[793] unaware of the identification Indians make between the Jew and the Ladino. He prevented the ride from taking place the year I witnessed the Easter Week ceremonial on grounds that it was a pagan ritual; when he left town on Sunday, the mayordomos took Judas on his customary rounds.

796 The attitude toward Jesus, as the hero of the morality play, is ambiva-
776 lent. Martyrdom is not the way to win in Indian society. The feeling is
182 that power goes to the one who makes the sacrifice, and since Jesus was a
829 Ladino sacrifice, they have more power than the Indians. During the
[181] Caste War in Chiapas in 1868, the Indians crucified an Indian youth in
[782] the hope that they would find a savior as powerful as Jesus. To this day,
[175] Indians of To?ontahal seem not to identify Jesus as one of themselves,

Chapter 9

The Competition for Power

829 178 177 Changes in the organization of the civil and religious hierarchies since the constitution of 1927 can be traced in a series of events remembered by members of the community. Their selection of significant events and the interpretation they make of them give the best clues to their response to change. In the remembrance of things past people structure their world and project expectations for the future. Behavior in these events lacks the controls operating in the formal rituals of the officials—age-graded authority, hierarchy, and a code of behavior which conceals the open show of power. The strategies employed in these organizational changes reveal other rules or transformation of the old rules characterizing social interaction.

554 621 794 578 177 178 The structure of roles in the civil and religious hierarchies has remained intact. What has changed are the bases for according prestige and authority and allocating roles. The pivotal positions in which change is occurring are the mediating roles between local and national power structures, specifically those of president and secretary in the civil authority and of fiscal and priest in the religious authority.

[212] [191] [756] The contest for power and "control of the town" has centered in five blocks of competition: (1) the opposition of new young leaders with skills in speaking Spanish, literacy, and knowledge of the idiom of behavior in the national culture to the established succession of an age-dominated authority system; (2) the challenge by the civil authority to the control of the curers who rely on power derived from possession of an animal spirit; (3) the struggle for political power among factions based on new economic enterprises; (4) the contest among local caciques for domination; and (5) the conflict among religious functionaries. The series of events in which these contests have crystallized and brought about a reorganization

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554 621 794 578 177 178 [128]

of political relations is summarized for each of these conflict areas. Most of the events recorded below are transcriptions of informants' statements given in Tzeltal. I have chosen this method to show how the people interpret incidents and how this leads to cognitive restructuring.

The Conflict among Civil Officials

621 555 212 177 178

In the period of consolidation since the revolution, the crucial issue in determining the allocation of power among local civil authorities has been that of incorporating men who have special abilities to deal with external authority without upsetting an age-ranked system. Prior to the 1950s these skills were rare—in 1920 only four young men could sign their names and read. The civil careers of two men, Ceferino, a native of the town, and Augustín, a revistido Indian from Huistán, illustrate the different courses taken by this new leadership in the post-revolutionary period of the 1930s. Ceferino was included in the given structure of power while Augustín used his skills in dealing with Ladinos to gain personal power. Ceferino was one of the first four men of the town to learn to read and write. The civil authorities recognized his potential usefulness in the town hall, and succeeded in incorporating him in an honorific but powerless position as scribe. He described his introduction into local government:

159 212 621

After I got out of school, the town saw that I knew how to write. Formerly there was no one who knew how to write. In the town hall the judges and president needed someone to write down the contributions and the payment for the government agents. Therefore, when the civil authority changed in the new year, they talked to my mother. As was the custom then, four regidores came to "raise" me, bringing a bottle of trago as a gift for my mother. She did not drink it alone. Together with the regidores we finished the trago. After finishing the trago, the first regidor began to speak to my mother in the pat?o?tan, saying, "I am going to bring one of your children, one of your offspring to the place where we look and where we see [reference to town hall]. We ask this favor because he knows how to write. Therefore the judges and the president ordered me to come and raise him and take out his soil, his mud, for this duty for this obligation.

[624] [873]

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Conflict among Religious Functionaries

578 794

Conflict in the religious domain stems from the opposition of the traditional religious hierarchy and more recently that of the young leadership in the civil authority to the increasing power of the priest. In this conflict the fiscal is a middleman who often gets knocked by both sides.

The priest. The priest visits thirty other Indian communities of the department of San Cristóbal Las Casas in addition to Tzo'ontahal. In the fifteen years he has been working regularly in this town, he has gained increasing authority over the cofrades. He is assisted by two lay sisters who maintain the church and lead the evening prayers in his absence. He admits that, without them, his own work in the town would be more difficult because of the sexual jealousy of the townsmen. His relationship to the group of about forty *resadoras,* or female prayer-makers, who attend the evening prayers regularly and are the most vocal respondents in the mass, would be suspect without the presence of the lay sisters. 793 [794]

The priest tries to play the role of parish leader as well as spiritual leader. When medicine is available from missionary sources, he gives it to the sick. In his sermons, he advises people to use injections, which he makes available, against contagious diseases. He attempts to counsel the people, advising them not to kill, to steal, or to have illegal sexual affairs. In his role as pastor, the priest is influenced by missionary efforts of American Catholic organizations which have sent supplies to the area. [797] [278] [751] [797]

In recent years, the priest has challenged the authority of the head cofrade in activities occurring within and at the door of the church. The following incident, recounted by the son of the elder cofrade, marked a shift in control in these domains: 578 793 794 273

In 1961 the elder cofrade of Sacramento was drinking with the other mayordomos at the door of the church. The priest came out and demanded that they stop because this was the house of God. The elder replied that it was the custom of the pueblo, and he and the other men refused to leave. The priest went back into the church and returned with a gun in his hand. The mayordomos seized wood which they had gathered

578 *to cook their meal in the yard of the church. They threatened to beat the*
793 *priest with the wood, and he retreated into the church. He later an-*
794 *nounced that he would not give mass, or weddings, or baptism. We did*
273 *not mind that he did not give the mass or would not give weddings, but the people were frightened if he would not give baptism. The mayordomos had a meeting, and they agreed to give up drinking in the church if the priest would continue to give baptism, but they would no longer care for the pigs or bring wood for him without payment. We pay him fifteen*
[465] *pesos for an ordinary mass and forty pesos for a singing mass, so he should pay us for help. The priest was in agreement with the mayordomos.*

[264] As a result of this edict, the drinking has stopped and the mayordomos no longer eat the common meal in the church yard. Drinking was an act linked to eating, since the round of liquor served before the meal was "to prepare the stomach," and the drink after the meal was "to wash down the food." The shift to the house of the cofrade was a ready alternative in this community where the household is a recognized ritual domain.

793 The priest's control over the church has extended to control over the do-
794 nation boxes and the saints' images. He now receives the money donated
178 to the saints and does not permit a public accounting of the funds. Because of this, the civil officials accuse him of stealing some of the money. A recent incident recounted below by one of the prayer-reciters led to even
793 more severe censure:
776
626 *The bishop visited our church, and when he looked under the silk robes*
578 *of the Virgin Santa Lucia he found a wooden dress covered with gold*
178 *paint. He told the priest to have the cloth dress removed. The people were very upset by this since they are very proud of the dresses bought for the Virgin. One of the prayer-reciters dreamed that the Virgin appeared before her in tears, saying she did not want to appear nude in public. We [the group of prayer-reciters] went to see the bishop to demand that the Virgin should wear her dress in church and that the priest be sent out of the town. The bishop refused. He said the Virgin did not feel cold because she was just a statue. Ha! How could she not feel cold?*

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The issue of the Virgin's clothing has increased the attacks on the priest. These have been aired in public meetings which take place on Sunday. Opposition to the priest has shifted from the old cofrades to the young leadership of the pueblo, men who wish to extend internal control over the church as well as the town hall. They tried to enlist the fiscal's help in getting rid of the priest, but he refused to cooperate. The president's brother, who serves as town treasurer, recounts the following exchange he had with the priest:

I saw Padre Juan take money from the box when I was mayordomo in the church. All of us mayordomos went to talk with him. I asked him how much money was turned in during the fiesta.

"The madres [*lay sisters*] *know," he said, "I don't."*

He called them, and they said, "We haven't counted the money. Come tomorrow."

The priest was very angry that we asked for an account. Pablo [*the fiscal*] *was too afraid to talk with him. When we left the church, I told Pablo, "You are in charge of the church. Why didn't you demand an account of the money in front of the church? We never got an account."*

Then we began to fight. Padre Juan doesn't want to leave the town. He has it too good here. He has a good yard with many fruit trees and a nice house. The Ladinos in Teopisca don't let him stay in their convento overnight. They are sharp, those damned Ladinos! We pay the padre thirty pesos every Sunday. Before he lived here, we used to have good music and more firecrackers for fiestas. Now he wants to stop all this. He was the one who ordered that all the money be collected. We wanted to go buy a gross of firecrackers. He said, "Why do you want firecrackers? It is the mass that has value. The saints don't want firecrackers or music."

He is very smart, the padre. He wants to keep the money for himself. Now we just get two firecrackers each morning of the fiesta and two in the evening. In Teopisca, they fire dozens of firecrackers. Here what is left over from the contributions for the fiesta remains in the box, and he takes it.

I went to get new clothing for the saint. In Comitán they wanted two

793 794 [578] *hundred and fifty pesos for a dress. The padre said I couldn't buy it there. He told me to send for one in Mexico that cost five hundred and fifty pesos. He wanted to make the profit.*

The fiscal. As an intermediary between the traditional religious officials and the priest, the fiscal is the target for both sides of the religious controversy. The priest selects the fiscal, but his retention of the post depends on his being accepted by the mayordomos. The tendency in the past [212] fifteen years since a regular priest has been assigned to the community is [191] to choose a man who speaks Spanish and can read and write, but who can 794 be dominated by the priest. The following statement by a man who served in this post in 1929 defines the functions of the fiscal as the Indians see them:

When I served as fiscal, I knew how to sell [the Indians use the verb to sell *in reference to any propaganda—whether commercial, political, or religious] the catechism. After the prayer, I cleaned the patio. I held the key to the church. I saw [in the sense of watch over] all the mayordomos. I bought the candles and incense for the saints. At midday the mayordomos and I left the church and went home. There was no padre living here then, and the padre from San Cristóbal came only on the days of San Francisco, Virgin Santa Lucía, San Pedro the Martyr, and Santiago. Each Sunday, the ten mayordomos and I entered the church and prayed in the true language.*

[782] [791] Prayers are now given in Spanish by the fiscal and the prayer-reciters under the guidance of the lay sisters, who remain most of the time in the convento. The fiscal, as a consequence, is no longer selected on the basis of [554] his ability to recite the patʔoʔtan. Since one of the main tasks of the fiscal is to take care of the church, several recent incumbents have been jeered as being like women, cleaning house and responding to the bidding of the priests. Some have suggested that one was a homosexual. They blame the fiscales for letting control over the domain of the church fall into the hands of the priest.

[782] A man who had filled the post himself, described the careers of several former fiscales:

In 1912, Bernardo was fiscal. He knew how to pray well. About nine in the morning, the girls [prayer-reciters] gathered in the church and heard prayer in common. Then he borrowed money from the church and did not return it. He left for the finca with his father and three men. His wife went with her children. He fled because he didn't have the money, and he never returned. He sold his house in town to buy food. He died there in the finca. The girls remembered him because he was a friend, and they bought a candle for twenty cents. 794 782

Another fiscal, Antonio, began to give prayers to the same girls who accompanied him. He knew how to pray very well, and he prayed each Sunday. Then he died.

Then Carlos passed as fiscal. He knew how to pray from memory. The same girls learned, and all sang the prayer. Then that fiscal sold the tablecloths; he sold the candle holders; he sold everything. Therefore the cofrades did not want him. They said, "Go away because you are not good." God was going to punish him because he sold everything in the church.

In 1929 the pueblo named Ceferino [the informant, who refers to himself in the third person]. He served until he was made president in 1937.

In 1938, Antonio was chosen by the pueblo, but soon they did not want him because he was always ordering the pueblo to do work. He charged a lot for the fiestas, but he did not buy firecrackers or clothing for the saints. In a mass meeting they asked him to leave.

In 1939 Miguel put himself in office. The pueblo did not choose him. He did not know how to pray. He knew a little by memory because he heard what Antonio had said in his prayers, but he did not know the catechism. He didn't want to leave the church, but the pueblo spoke much against him.

The padre was against Miguel because he had begun to take advantage of the trips with the priest to sell the contraband liquor that he distilled. Some maintain that it was during his period as fiscal that the power shifted from the cofrades to the priest. He was accused of stealing the money donated to the saint, a sum of about 300 pesos. Although the money was returned, he is still considered guilty. 794 [193] [685]

Miguel's successor, the present incumbent Pablo, served as president while he was fiscal. [622]

794 while he was fiscal. He let control over the key to the church and the do-
793 nation boxes slip into the hands of the priest. His opponents accused him of weakness and failure to act in the interest of the town. The careers of
[685] these fiscales illustrate the pitfalls for those filling the post. First, there is the temptation for personal gain, since the fiscal has access to the money of the saints: in the past three fiscales have been charged with robbery. Sec-
[178] ond, there is the problem that the fiscal serves two masters, the priest and the head cofrade, each of whom has different standards of conduct for the role: when the selection of the fiscal was in the hands of the cofrades, they chose a man who knew the pat'o'tan and who was to deal directly with the curers in rituals at the cave of the ancestors and in the homes of the cofrades; now he is chosen by the priest who prefers a young, literate man.
793 If the fiscal follows the commands of the priest, he runs into problems
794 with the cofrades. This was the difficulty with Antonio, who was put out
578 of office by the cofrades because he yielded to the priest's demands to improve the convento and the church. As long as the conflict in interests between the priest and the traditional authorities exist, there is no successful position for the fiscal to take.

Conflict and Social Change

621 In the contest for leadership which has and is occurring, the following
177 observations can be made on the basis of the events described.
178

[212] 1. The community has successfully incorporated the young, literate men into the framework of the traditional hierarchy. This has been accomplished by expanding the scope of activities of the president and síndico and by relieving them of serving in the lower posts of the hierarchy.

2. The ceremonial role of the principales serves as a symbol of continuity in government both in the tie they have with the past and in the annual changeover of officials.

[609] 3. The threat of foreign Indians in the township misusing their skills in dealing with the outside world has been overcome by removing them from office and preventing them from filling high posts.

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621 756 178 to the loss of belief in the curers. The principales were formerly conceived to be overseers of the curers, men who, because of their advanced age, could determine whether the curers were acting in the interest of the town. With the loss of this social control function, along with the loss of other functions such as holding public funds and helping the judges to interpret the law, they have declined to the level of ceremonial figures dissociated from political action.

621 178 The forms of political organization remain the same, but there has been a shift in the balance of power from leaders whose authority rested on guardianship linked with the ancestors to leaders who can deal with the external power structure. The emergent forms of political organization can be partially assessed in the meaning participants assign to the events which precipitated this process of change. To paraphrase George Herbert Mead (1938:liii) it is the "organization of perspectives" concerning the past events and the present conditions which will effect the emergent forms. The analytical problem can be phrased with the questions, "In what dialectical terms is the conflict cast?" and "What changes do the members of the community perceive as an outcome of the struggle?" Whereas in the colonial period the conflict between the Indians and their Spanish conquerers was seen as a struggle for control between Catholicism and traditional religion, today the conflict is phrased as one of opposed economic interests. In the civil sphere, factional opponents seek the support of extra-communal power holders to gain their ends. In the religious sphere, the Indians see the conflict as one in which their control over the church and the income derived from it is opposed to the priest's growing influence.

829 578 794 621 177 178 [193]

829 621 182 In this reorganization of perspectives, the Indians share some of the goals of the dominant society, but they continue to oppose themselves to the Ladino world. For this reason they are willing to preserve the form of the civil-religious hierarchy as a means of asserting their independence from the dominant society. They see the community not only as a defensive screen against the outside world, but as a springboard for entry into the national economic and political life. They are now consciously taking advantage of pro-Indian sentiment to secure a preferred position in this society. Their awareness of their advantage over the deculturated Indian is

does not drink or have a record of fighting. Character traits are given 581
more significance than wealth, since the minimal differences which distin- 582
guish rich from poor can be lost within a few months if a man drinks
heavily or does not work. The close identification among siblings means [593]
that in accepting a suit the girl's parents will take into consideration not only the boy's reputation, but those of his brothers. If they are considered to be disobedient, lazy, or frequently drunk, their brother may have difficulty finding a woman.

Positions of ceremonial importance in the household celebrations are 794
filled by any of the elders who have acquired knowledge of the prayers. 592
The nakawanehetik are chosen from among any of the bilaterally-ex- 782
tended relatives, compadres, or padrinos who have served five times in reli- 555
gious office. They are selected not only on the basis of how well they 561
know the prayers, but also on their behavior when required to drink. A [273]
man who can hold his liquor and still speak well or who quietly goes to sleep rather than fighting when drunk is preferred. The me?il k'op is selected from among the female complements of these male relatives. She acquires her knowledge of the prayers in familial settings. The b'alnialetik are chosen from the kihtz'inal (younger siblings and cousins), or from among compadres or members of neighboring households. The rank order between the two sets of roles—the nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik—depends on relative age; thus the older nakawanehetik have greater authority.

Familial roles provide both a pattern and a springboard for other roles 621
in the community. The father-son role pair is extended to the relationships 593
between senior and junior officials in both the religious hierarchy and the 561
curing hierarchy. For each saint, the elder mayordomo is called "father" 784
(*Tatil Martoma*), and the younger is called "son" (*Nic'nal Martoma*). A 192
man must fill the junior post at least two times before taking on the senior
post. For each side of the dual division, the elder curer (when there was a [756]
recognized leader) was called "father" (*Tatil ?u?ul*), and the younger was called "son" (*Nic'nal ?u?ul*) or sometimes "youth" (*Biktal ?u?ul*).
The term *me?il* (woman who has borne a child) is used in the reference 621
to ceremonial roles played by women in the household, as in the case of 592
me?il k'op (woman speaker) and me?il c'om (mother of the betrothal). 562

621 593 581 794 Familial role requirements must be fulfilled in order for public roles to be undertaken. A man must be married in order to enter into even the lowest posts in the civil and religious hierarchies.

794 556 434 554 Only in the case of the alfereces has wealth ever been a criterion for recruitment. These four officials had to be able to spend 3,000 pesos during their year in office. The heavy expenditures failed to give prestige to the official, and the display of wealth excited envy rather than respect. The result was that people called upon to accept the post had to be imprisoned before they would accept.

554 756 Recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on innate qualities; special skills and knowledge are attributes acquired in office or other role positions rather than requirements for undertaking roles. Curers are recruited because they are recognized as having an animal spirit; they learn whatever skills are required after they have been initiated into the profession. The curers' special position in the society rests more on esoteric powers than on esoteric knowledge. Everyone in the community knows the herbs and medicines which are prescribed, and most men can give as comprehensive a taxonomy of illnesses as any practicing curer.

[278]

868 241 [857] [883] Economic roles, though largely undifferentiated for each sex, are consciously learned and transmitted. Boys accompany their fathers or elder brothers to the field at about the age of eight and continue working with them until they reach independence. Observation of behavior alone would seem to indicate an unconscious absorption of the role of agricultural worker, but informants recount episodes in which training in field work was explicitly transmitted by their fathers or brothers, and formal approval of their ability to do the tasks announced to their mothers. Parents express fear that school attendance not only interferes with working in the milpa, but that it will cause the child to forget what he has learned in the field. Regardless of what other tasks a man performs, he thinks of himself as a farmer.

[871]

868 323 Becoming a potter requires an even more explicit training procedure. The fine linguistic segmentation of each act and movement in the schedule of pottery-making is a clue to the explicit transmission of tasks by the

554 the status. Community integration is achieved at the expense of limiting the range of roles through restricted recruitment and validating mechanisms.

621 794 [182] *Alternation and linkage in office-holding.* The principle of alternation between civil and religious posts serves to integrate these officers in a single functioning system and prevents the development of segmented groups. The alternation of offices between sides of the dual divisions helps to integrate the village by pairing or alternating them in the same office. Some roles served as links between the institutional domaines. Principales are the primary symbolic leaders of both hierarchies since they are chosen from among men who have completed service in both hierarchies. The alfereces formerly symbolized the unity of the civil and religious branches in the transfer of banners from the cabildo to the church and in other ceremonial duties.

621 624 794 [692] [84] The regidores and judges have remained identified with the civil authority in Tzoʔontahal, although in other towns in the area they have become almost exclusively identified with the religious hierarchy (Cancian 1965). The regidores were formerly involved in religious affairs during the household celebration for the installation of the new alférez. At this time they were called personaetik from the Spanish term persona, or personage.

731 756 178 621 Events requiring community action reveal some of the links which unite officials who play roles in different institutional settings. On the occasion of an epidemic, curers are called before the civil authority to "give an account" of who is causing the witchcraft. Formerly the curers were linked to the civil hierarchy by a system of social control in which the principales, as elders, reviewed their actions in guarding the safety and health of the community. This system of checks and balance has been broken by the shift in power from the principales to the president.

794 621 182 The nakawanehetik provide the links between the household and the civil and religious hierarchies. They transmit the knowledge of ritual prayer and acts and officiate at the inauguration of officials. They serve as stage directors in maintaining the traditional household rituals and in ensuring continuity in public ceremonials.

been made, there is no recourse but to kill the man since he may retaliate by killing his accuser (this occurred in two of the cases noted in Table 29).

Conflict between generations in the role sets father/son and father/son-in-law stems from delay in carrying out role responsibilities. Fathers are expected to provide the money for the costs of betrothal, and to give their children shares of the patrimony including both land and livestock. The scheduling of when this should occur is often a matter of dispute, resulting in at least two cases of homicide in the period analyzed.

New economic enterprises have exacerbated the tensions rising from envy. Foster (1965) has suggested that envy stems from the notion of the "limited good," requiring the strategy of a "zero sum game" (Bennet 1966). The fact that the new wealth is evidence of new opportunities, not a subtraction from a given resource supply, has not entered the cognitive awareness of the people. The prospering leaders of these enterprises feel themselves to be particularly vulnerable to the envy of others and thus to the charge of witchcraft. There have been several open attacks on new leaders accused as witches; the leader of the truck cooperative, for example, was murdered in 1966. Six men have been killed as cattle thieves in the past ten years.

The economic roles created with the introduction of new enterprises have not been integrated in the traditional pattern of recruitment and control. In the association of cattle breeders, leadership tends to be based on the size of the herd; in the case of the truck cooperative, amount of capital invested and entrepreneurial skills have determined the leadership of the enterprise, while driving skill and ability to get along in the Ladino world has been the basis for choice of drivers. Such achievement principles as the basis for recruitment into these envied positions are not accepted in the same way that age and passage through a hierarchy of posts validated higher positions in the old hierarchies. The conspicuous expenditure of wealth in the more expensive posts in the religious hierarchy has also failed to lessen hostility aroused by the increasing disparity in wealth, and in fact those who have served as alférez have been even more subject to witchcraft aroused by envy.

577 682 in the following statement by a man who admitted to me that he had killed two men:

The padre said that those who kill will get killed. The one who kills also receives all the guilt of his victim and will have to pay for it in the after-world. But my father said that when he was a policeman, there was a man in Tejonero who killed for nothing when he got drunk. He always carried a knife and would kill anyone around. However, he lived until he was very old. Therefore I do not believe the padre.

577 775 Concern about the afterworld does not act as a deterrent to action in this world.

783 794 Most men ignore the priest's attempts to persuade them to go to confession. Women, especially the prayer-reciters, confess and take communion. Their confessions, according to the priest, are a recitation of the sins of their husbands or their neighbors.

293 577 Drinking is often given as a defense for failing to meet standards of behavior. While this serves to excuse minor infractions, a man is supposed to be responsible for his actions even when drunk. When one policeman started a fight in public, an elder judge commented to my informant:

Look at that, younger brother! I drink liquor when I am very drunk, but I do not fight either my elders or minors. When I passed as president formerly, I used to enter the cabildo, and I spoke well to the judges even if I was drunk. One time I came to your house very drunk and you were half drunk, but you did not say anything to me, nor did I. You did not fight. Thus I walk well. I never fight, nor have I gone to prison, and it is because I give respect to my elders and to my juniors.

Reflecting on this advice, my informant added:

And so it is with me also. I have drunk a great deal in Ahk'olnantik [the opposite section from where he lives] both at day and at night. Whoever speaks to me tells me to go drink with them a little liquor, and sometimes I give them a drink or I take them where they sell liquor and we drink. But I never fight, and I am able to drink wherever I like.

626 273 431 The community has developed techniques for compensating failure to meet behavioral norms. The most frequently used is an offering of the

as lawyers. The defendant is sometimes accompanied by supporters who feel that he has a case. The failure of parents to accompany a defendant, regardless of his age, is attributed to their shame over their child's misbehavior and their own failure to train him properly. The judge does not limit himself to passing judgment but also counsels the defendant as to how he should behave.

The town hall is usually shut and locked at noon unless some business requires more time. In the evening about six, the officials return to take their same posts. They sit with their arms drawn inside their woolen jackets for warmth. After a half an hour they drift home. People rely on the presence of officials rather than particular actions to maintain social control, and it is their appearance at regular hours that assures the villagers that the town is being well run.

Local autonomy depends primarily on retaining social control functions. Civil officials try to settle disputes locally and avoid the entry of Ladino officials from the departmental capital, although the judges and president will threaten the defendant with taking the case to the department if they cannot get compliance. The number of cases referred to the capital has been increasing since 1950 as Table 32 shows. In 1951 the federal government began to fine local officials who failed to report homicide cases and accidental death. The local officials complied, but departmental courts were unable to bring action in over half the cases. No action was taken in 72 cases, or 54 percent, in comparison with 62 cases, or 46 percent, in which action was taken. Domestic cases, except for one of adultery, are adequately handled in local courts and do not appear in the departmental records. The trend shows an increasing number of cases of crimes against persons in comparison to crimes against property, an index to the breakdown in social control processes.

The Church

The church has been built and on two occasions rebuilt—when the tower was struck by lightning—with funds collected locally from household heads. Damage to the church was attributed to the patron saint of the neighboring town of Oxchuk who, the people say, was fighting with their patroness, Santa Lucía. The townspeople feel that they own the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 301]

The townspeople feel that they own the church, and many resent the intrusion of the priest who resides sometimes two or three days a week in the adjoining rectory. In the past five years, however, the priest has succeeded in asserting more control over the church: he has forbidden drinking in the church or in the courtyard, a prohibition that resulted in an open confrontation with the leading cofrade (Chapter 9); and he now controls the keys to the church and to the money boxes, formerly the responsibility of the fiscal. The two lay sisters who are in residence during the week hold the keys and are in charge of the upkeep of the church. 346 793 794 177 178

People always show respect for the church by removing their hats as they pass the entrance, even when they are at a distance. As they enter the church, they always kneel and cross themselves. They may spit on the floor of the church, for this is not a sign of disrespect. 346 526 188 [514]

The complementarity of church and cabildo is still formally recognized in ceremonial events: participants bow to the church and then to the cabildo during processions. The transfer of sacred symbols from one locale to the other at the time of the inauguration of civil and religious officials ceremonially signifies the integration of civil and religious authority, despite the growing separation in day-to-day functions in each of the domains. 621 794 182

The church serves as a staging platform for the images and symbolic offerings to them in the annual cycle of ceremonies. During the nine days of ceremony accorded to the major saints, their images are moved to the center of the altar or to the center of the nave. The staging effects are particularly notable during the fiesta of Holy Week, when the reenactment of the crucifixion is performed in the nave. The mayordomos, under the direction of the fiscal and the lay sisters, move the saints about and prepare adornments of flowers and pine needles. 346 796 [794]

The church is the locus for the weekly mass given by the priest. The men stand on the left side of the church (facing the altar), while the women kneel or sit on the floor to the right. A few benches near the altar are occupied by the Ladinos of the area who attend the mass. The lay sisters indicate to the congregation when they should kneel and rise in response to the cues of the sermon or mass. [562] [563] [794]

In addition to these scheduled events, the church serves as a locus where 346 796 782

346 776 782 individuals can visit the saints on their own personal missions. Appendix 3A records the visits of groups and individuals on an ordinary Sunday. Their actions in the church are part of the standardized behavior incumbent upon all those who enter the building.

Communication with the saints is ensured either by touching and kissing their images or, if the images are enclosed in glass cases, by tapping the gl. with offerings of money. It is believed that one gains an audience [562] by pay..g for it. When groups larger than individual clusters of visitors enter the church, sexual segregation is observed (for example, when a male child enters with his mother on the occasion of a mass, he remains with her until more people arrive, then leaves her to stand on the male [788] side of the nave). Ritualized wailing is done by women only. After such a [152] demonstration the women show normal composure, since wailing is a standardized mode of communication, not an outburst of uncontrolled emotion. It is private and concerns the individual wailer and the saint to which she appeals; none of the other visitors in the church indicates any sign of response to these displays. Unless there is a focused activity going on, such as a mass or series of baptisms, each visiting group is an autonomous unit, carrying out its own mission. [794]

794 571 562 People visit the church most commonly in pairs of two. They congregate for mass in a pattern in which women and children enter first, and men, who linger in the plaza until the church is partially filled, enter in clusters and take their places on the male side of the nave. The religious and civil officials enter last, and the mayordomos, whose attendance is one of the obligations of their post, move toward the altar at the front. Men attend church less frequently than do women.

The School

346 621 875 [177] [178] Unlike the church, the school is regarded as an alien structure. Assistance in reconstruction and maintenance is given under pressure rather than voluntarily. Until fairly recently, schoolteachers too remained unintegrated in the community. In the early years of the school's existence, there was a rapid turnover of teachers. The employment of a schoolmaster with a wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The school has be-

876 den on the teacher already laboring with the barrier in communication.
Despite these difficulties, the children manage to learn the basics of read-
[875] ing, writing, arithmetic, and Spanish in four years of schooling. The
teachers are devoted and spend at least seven hours in the classroom each
day.

872 During the recess period the children play individual competitive games
524 except when organized games are introduced by one of the teachers.
There is a tendency toward ganging up on weaker individuals in fights,
that occur, but I have never seen signs of marked brutality. Since the La-
[563] dino children are a small minority in the school (there are no more than a
half a dozen among the three hundred and twenty-four students) the In-
dian children do not face the discrimination found in schools with a
greater proportion of Ladinos (cf. Romney and Romney 1966).

876 Discipline is no longer as strict as it was in the early years of public edu-
cation. The teacher allows someone who has been hit to hit the aggressor
but does not herself intercede. Threat of punishment may be made by the
teacher, but I have never seen it carried out, and it is never suggested as a
solution to failure to learn.

571 In comparing the domestic, civil, and religious domains of activi-
561 ties, the following features emerge:

554 1. In each domain, a hierarchy of power is present. In the house,
[592] males take precedence over females, and older members over younger.
[562] In the cabildo, the power hierarchy takes the form of a rank order co-
[621] ordinate with age in most of the offices, while in the schoolhouse, power
is polarized with all authority vested in the schoolteacher. In the church,
[875] the conflict between the priest and the cofrades (Chapter 9) has not
[794] been resolved. Within the ranks of the mayordomos, relationships
between the elder and junior mayordomo establish a graded ranking
system (Chapter 8).

571 2. Behavior in each domain is standardized. Relative rank is re-
554 flected in seating order, greeting order, and drinking order. Autonomous
576 behavior is most marked in the domain of the church. Focused inter-
action is predominant in the school, where order and control are based
on absorbing the attention of the child in a learning task.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

These time and space patterns provide the individual with a cognitive structure which enables him to function appropriately in a given setting and to plan his future actions. Having one piece of information, people can derive the other understandings necessary to adjust their own behavior to the expectations of others.

Time as a measure of value has been affected by changes occurring in the past two decades. Men are less willing to expend time in ceremonial activities than formerly. The first ceremony given up was Carnival, which has not been celebrated for over a decade. Most recently, young men have refused to become alfereces, and their resistance on the basis of loss of time and money was formally recognized in 1966 when the institution was abolished. The resistance parents used to show to their children spending, or wasting their time in school has given way as some of the more modernized parents have seen the advantages of education.

The tempo of life has accelerated with the increasing importance of bus and truck transportation to market. Women's time has always figured as importantly as that of the men because of their pottery production, and they have quickly accepted time-saving innovations such as the tortilla press and the corn-grinding mill. They have not shown any inclination to adopt time-saving technology, such as the potter's wheel, in pottery-making since they have no knowledge of it, and using it would require relearning basic tasks.

The ceremonial cycle still provides the major consideration in programming other activities in the community. The Indian as an agriculturalist remains master of his own time, and he plans his work so that he can fulfill his ceremonial obligations.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

struck by lightning on two occasions. The solution was to rebuild the tower of metal so that Santo Tomás could not demolish it if he struck again, a defensive reaction which is typical of the Indians in their extra-community relations. When an eclipse of "Our Grandmother the Moon" occurred during my stay in town, everyone went to her assistance, banging metal tools and pots, in what was believed to be a fight with the sun.

The emphasis on self-recrimination and guilt in explaining failure minimizes the build-up of protest. Economic hardship attributed to a man's own improvidence in relation to his fellow man and God are accepted as his lot in life. The drama of the curing ritual projects the Indians' sense of their own guilt for the suffering and poverty they endure.

Political Behavior

The structure of the civil hierarchy has been maintained but organizational changes have occurred which have weakened the basis for it. The alternation of offices between church and civil positions survives in the lower levels, but the new leaders in civil affairs now begin in the Ejido Commission, and few of those who pass as president take on posts in the religious hierarchy. The appearance of continuity has been maintained in communal rituals in which the principales provide the link with the past and the alfereces, until 1966, were the link between civil and religious wings; but in the day-to-day running of the town, the officials do not act on these premises. The balance between officials from each side of the dual division has been upset by the population increase on one side. The abolition of the institution of alfereces gives public recognition to the growing awareness of imbalance. Moreover, the factions based on the new trucking cooperatives that cut across the dual division reduce the effectiveness of the dual division in channeling conflict.

Behavioral deviation from the norms is present in all societies and is not in itself an index to structural change. This comes about when new interpretations are given to events that undermine confidence in existing institutions and leaders. Political conflicts in the past were interpreted as a contest between members of the sides of the dual division and hostility

628
621 to his good conduct, plus demonstrate that he is not able to culti-
423 vate within the confines of his own village lands.

621 Membership in the community requires residence within its
423 territorial boundaries. If a person moves away from the village
166 he loses the attached rights of membership, although at his return he can claim such rights back.

621 Maintenance of membership involves clearly specified duties (e.g., paying communal taxes), and the general obligation of living and acting in agreement with the cultural norms.

Government

All the male members of the community, ideally, and most of them in practice, participate (at some time in their lives) in the government machinery of the village.

621 Amatenango and Aguacatenango each have two governmental
794 bodies, the Ayuntamiento (or civil body) and the Mayordomias (or religious body). (The distinction between civil and religious is not a sharp one drawn by the community members themselves. It is an analytical device to label the different functions of these two bodies which are clearly separate and require different skills on the part of the incumbents.)

621 The Ayuntamiento deals with secular matters: it administers the land, the relations with the outside world and the village taxations, and is in charge of the maintenance of social control through the application of the native system of justice (as against, and separate from, National or State Mexican law; see Metzger, D., 1956). Among its duties are those of keeping vital statistics for

621 Among its duties are those of keeping vital statistics for
[659] the National Population Bureau which are sent to the state office,
[692] solving cases of adultery and theft, collecting the fiesta and
[351] Ejido taxes, keeping the streets clean, building and repairing
[363] roads and public buildings, and also taking charge of the local
[491] jail. Ayuntamiento officers are also called in to prevent or solve
[344] witchcraft cases and give advice and reprimands to misbehaving
[754] wives, sons and other relatives when the household or the responsible
[626] relatives cannot deal with the case on their own.

621 The Ayuntamiento also keeps its own corn field, worked by
423 communal labor, whose crop is sold to collect funds for its own
432 expenses.
434

794 The Mayordomia, or religious body, performs the formal activities on the religious holidays, is the custodian of the sacred objects (rockets, church keys, bells) connected with the Church, and the authority which carries out the tasks required by all of man's peaceful relations with the supernatural on the village level.

They are responsible as a group for the upkeep of the Church building and saint images, and the preparations for and the performance of Church Fiestas, regular church meetings, etc. Among their duties are those of providing meals for the priest while he is in town, helping during mass, contracting musicians and collecting the Church limosna during mass.

621 This structural level lacks monopoly of either of these functions in relation to other less inclusive social units. Social control and religious activity are carried on at the level of the barrio, the extended family, and within the household, and religious activity can be carried on by individuals.

621
627 Many cases of adultery never go outside the fences of the sitio, and many witchcraft cases come to the Ayuntamiento only after a murder has been committed in "revenge," in which case the Ayuntamiento is only called in to re-establish order and calm down the relatives of the deceased, trying to avoid further revenge and bloodshed.

794
776 The Mayordomos, on the other hand, have no control over the household Saints which are "owned" by each family and kept in the house in a special altar, nor do they relate directly, within the Church organization, to the many supernatural beings which populate the belief system of the villagers. The "owners of the hills," spirits which inhabit the caves, rivers and wells, the mythological creatures such as the Sombrerón (frightening ghost which appears to tempt people in isolated spots) or Juan Lopez (the local culture hero), and the evil and powerful souls of witches
794 are in a separate domain. These can be controlled only by the
624 curanderos, who have powerful souls, or by the principales. This
774 last group (principales) is also "in charge" of taking care of
776 the health of the village, and do so by having their own souls patrol the boundaries of the community at night and by forbidding entrance to sickness and plagues. The men capable of such supernatural performances "own" animal spirits (nahuales) which help them in their task. Mayordomos, on the contrary, can be men without such powers, and do not need to belong to the select group which deals with the supernatural outside the realms specified by the Catholic Church.

000 The communal offices of the Ayuntamiento and Mayordomías

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

621 The communal offices of the Ayuntamiento[48] and Mayordomías
623 form a hierarchical age-grade system, with a partially compulsory
794 sequence of cargos (literally burdens, although it can best be
561 translated as offices) which end in the cargo of Principal, who is a member of the community council of elders.

561 The age-grade system does not have corporate groups of the age-set type common in East Africa. The system only places the individual in relation to others who are higher or lower than him in the hierarchy. People belonging to the same level of the hierarchy do not act as a group, nor do they develop special relations with each other.

184 The name and number of officerships differ everywhere in
621 the Chiapas highlands from village to village. Larger towns have
794 a larger number of governmental posts within the hierarchy; in some towns the Church organization is more elaborate (perhaps because it was originally a curato head town, or had a convento in the village), the Mayordomías and Cofradías (religious brotherhoods which carry on some fiesta celebrations) have a larger membership, a more elaborate ritual and carry on a larger number of fiestas, while in other villages the Mayordomías have a secondary role with respect to the civil government. This is not the place to discuss the historical and functional reasons for this extensive variation, which would take a study in its own right, but the important thing is that although the form varies, the basic system of hierarchically graded officerships stays the same in all the Chiapas highlands, including Amatenango and Aguacatenango (see Zabala, 1961 and Figs. 2 and 3).

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

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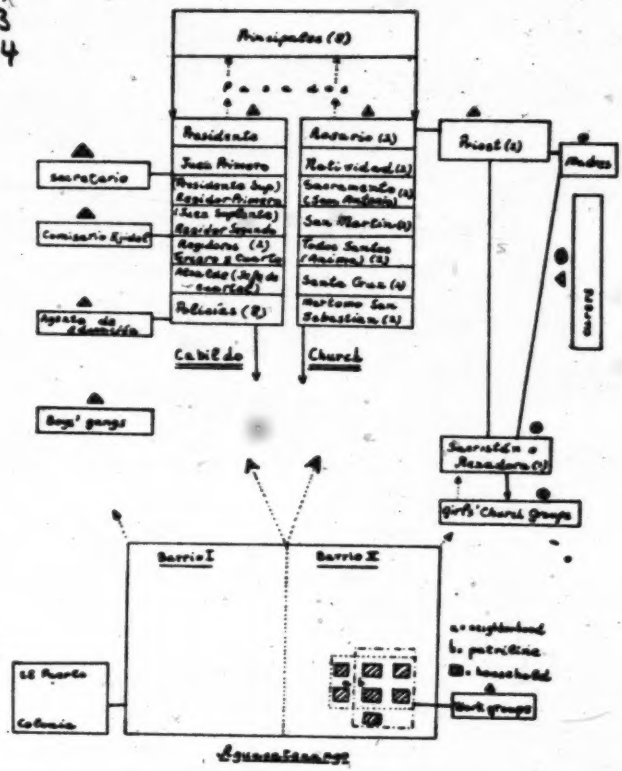

Fig. 2.--Hierarchy Structure in Aguacatenango

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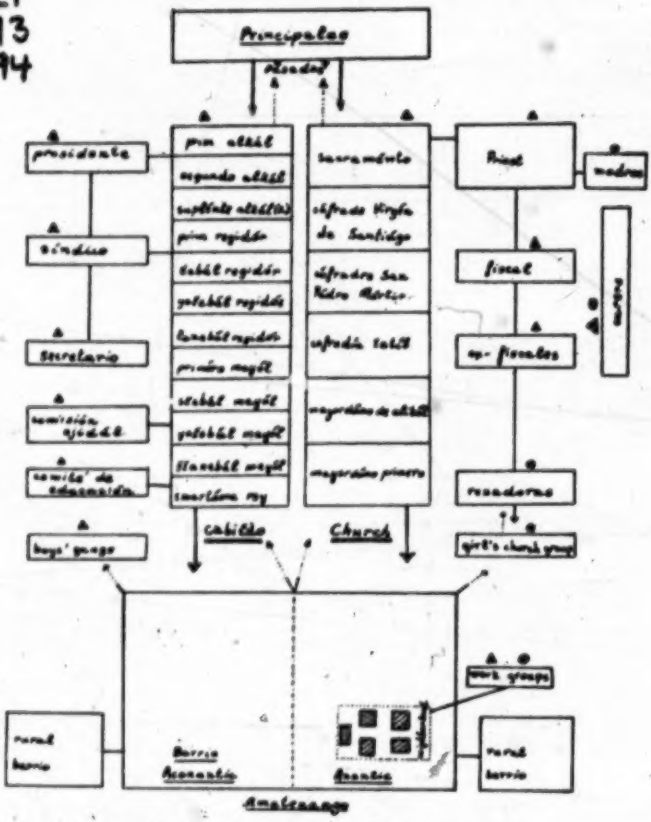

Fig. 3.--Hierarchy Structure in Amatenango

621 578 582 them to "overlook" the trespasser, but not many young men are willing to risk the ire of the other barrio bachelors, nor the gossip and sanctions applied to them by their own barrio mates.[1]

621 794 Each barrio plays a role in the political and religious organization of the village by sending an approximately equal number of officers to the Ayuntamiento and the Mayordomías. Although in some years there are more delegates from one barrio, they attempt to correct the imbalance in the succeeding years. [623] The Principales (council of elders) have also equal representation.

621 [573] [575] [312] Escuadrilla groups (adolescent boys' gangs) and unmarried women's Church groups are formed among barrio mates. Women, with few exceptions, used the water wells or pipe lines in their barrio of residence (the exceptions include women who originally came from the other barrio) and who do their washing at places in [476] the river on their barrio side. Men who work together at such tasks as buying and butchering a cow, building a path or clearing an irrigation ditch belong to the same barrio. House parties [527] [123] organized to buy candles for the Church before a special Saint's day are barrio affairs, and no resident of the other barrio (with [575] the exception of the anthropologist) is invited. In the past, there were, in Aguacatenango, religious sororities sponsored by the Catholic Church, and each barrio had a separate one. There

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[581] [587] [1]A man that has married once is considered to have had his share of the available women of the barrio. Second marriages, especially with girls who have never married before, are not well thought of. It is common, then, that second marriages occur across barrio lines. A man finds it easier to cope with the antagonism of the other barrio men (who are expected, in any case, to be antagonistic) than with the bachelors and neighbors in his own barrio, where he has to face the antagonism in every day interaction.

883 (gang), containing males from the age of about twelve to the time
562 they marry. They usually sleep together in one of the escuadrilla
573 member's house corridor, and spend long nights playing the harmonica, having corn eating competitions or serenading.

562 A man is not considered a full-fledged community member
885 until he marries and has a child (the word for man and father
851 have the same root: tat), which allows him to take the lower
601 post in the government (policía). The government itself is an
621 age-graded organization in which the kinship terms of elder and
621 younger brother are used reciprocally, and by extension, by of-
561 ficers in lower and higher posts.
601

562 With the passing of time, both men and women increase their
593 status by raising a family and by passing to higher positions in
621 the civil-religious hierarchy. Although women do not participate
794 directly in the government, they have some duties as officer's wives (e.g., ironing the Saint's clothes if their husbands are Mayordomos), and they are called by their husband's titles. A man may resign from office if his wife dies and there is no other adult woman in the household who can take care of her part of the officer's performance.

184 The first noticeable difference in the ordering of social
562 relations in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women
592 in the domestic group.

184 In Aguacatenango, the eldest male is the head of the
562 household. He controls the land which the men of the household
462 work, the cattle, the labor of the household members and most of
592 the money obtained through the sale of surplus corn (which is

592 778 as archeological pieces ("things of the people of before"). This altar is usually located in the house corridor. The altar is cleaned regularly and adorned with flowers by the women, and a candle or two is lighted on propitious days of the week, or to ask the house Saints for protection against witchcraft.

592 778 769 342 On the first of November, "day of all the dead" according to the Catholic calendar, a ceremonial offering of food to the spirits of the deceased is placed on this altar. It is in memory of the spirits who lived in the house in the immediate past, and who are supposed to come to enjoy the food and the fact that they are being remembered by the household. The ritual is performed only for the immediate generations. It is not the worshipping of one's ancestors, for it is for people who are not necessarily related by kinship, but for those who resided in the house. (Second wives, for example, are expected to offer food to the deceased first wife of their husbands if they lived in the same dwelling.)

592 769 Afterwards, the food is distributed among the living relatives, compadres and neighbors, and all members of the household go to the cemetery.

[794] At the cemetery, the tombs are cleaned, repaired, adorned with marigolds, fruit and other food, and the family pays for the performance of a responso, funeral oration, read by a part-time specialist in such matters.

592 769 342 If these rituals are not performed, the dead come back to their life stage, the house, and wander aimlessly among the living, scaring people, giving them bad dreams, or taking the lives of children.

736 linearity. The widow is expected to give back to them the house
613 site and house in which they lived, and go to live in her own
423 parental home. In one case, a woman who had kept the house in trust for her sons, asked permission to sell the lot (which originally had been given to her dead husband) from a living male sibling of the deceased.

613 There are no ritual functions which have to be performed
592 by the patriline. Aguacatenango rituals are carried on by the
796 household, by the part-time ritual specialists (curanderos), or
794 by officially appointed town officers (the Mayordomos).

121 This type of "lineage" seems to fit Homan's definition of
613 "weak" lineage, because he considers the following characteristics as defining a weak lineage: (1) few (less than four) generations in depth; (2) narrow spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) locality limited to a few people; and (4) incest rules pulled towards the smaller local units and mainly restricted to the nuclear family. The characteristics of a strong lineage, in contrast, are: (1) many (more than four) generations in depth; (2) wide spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) maximal localization of residence and maximal sharing of activities within the lineage; and (4) incest rules pushed away from the local units, to embrace all relatives within a lineage (lecture in the Oriental Institute, April 22, 1959, unpublished). However, I prefer to call them patrilines to distinguish them from the more elaborate agnatic descent groups common in Africa, from which they are distinguished by (1) the lack of genealogical depth; (2) the absence of the use of genealogical

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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184 Within the same cultural frame, two social groups can show many structural diversities which originate from delicate adjustments to internal pressures, even in the case in which, apparently, the variation seems to be the result of influences coming from the external system.

794 754 [177] One example, perhaps, summarizes, by its simplicity, the core of this problem. The post of Alferez, as it functions in the highlands of Chiapas, is an institution that tends to disappear in the more acculturated towns (i.e., those villages more affected by the external system). Although it is a religious post, it does not form part of the Ayuntamiento or Cofradias organization, nor is it part of the hierarchical ladder. A person can become an Alferez independently of his previous service in the government, as long as he can afford the burden financially or "expenses" of the fiesta for which he is selected. "However, in undertaking the post, he is subject to witchcraft exercised by neighbors envious of the wealth he displays in fulfilling his obligation" (Nash, J., 1960:94). Nash reports three informants who considered themselves bewitched as a result of having been 178 Alfereces in Amatenango. In Aguacatenango, the post has not been 794 occupied for the last twenty-five years. People refuse to take 754 the position on the grounds that they cannot afford it, and refuse to "help the pueblo" for fear of witchcraft. One can see that the same internal pressure, the pressure for economic homogeneity, has resulted in the same supernatural rationalization: fear of witchcraft. One of the villages has arrived at the point where the conflict eradicated itself through the disappearance of the post which originates it, while in the other town, Amatenango,

178 it is still functioning in the context of the witchcraft conflict.
794 So, although the fact that the Alferez has disappeared as a post
754 can be taken as a sign of acculturation, it is also a reflection
[177] of differential adjustment to internal conflict.

000 Witchcraft itself is a complex phenomenon. It reflects the economic domain, in the sense that witchcraft accusations are important sanctions applied to people who try to deviate from the economic standards of the community. It reflects the kinship domain, insofar as relational roles existing within the kinship frame, in which conflict is likely to occur, are likely targets for witchcraft talk and mutual accusations. It is a territorial domain phenomenon because spatial relations between people affect their social relations and the appearance of conflict: it is common, we have mentioned, that people living on the edges of town tend to be accused of witchcraft more often, and neighbors of the household are expected to be more prone to bewitch household members than people living further away. Finally, it is a psychological phenomenon, insofar as it reflects individual personalities and/or mental distress. Some people show extreme fear of it, and some people doubt its existence (there are agnostics in every society). Some curers, who are individuals with very unstable personalities, are even willing to denounce themselves as witches with the purpose of having others fear them or respect them.
[754] People whom we, in our culture, would consider mentally ill, are
[828] classified as witches in Aguacatenango and Amatenango.

On the one hand, it can be said that witchcraft is a residual category for the explanation of otherwise unexplainable

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo'ontahal

62
794
693

CHART 1 — CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS OFFICIALS

Officials in the Townhall	*Officials Who Link Townhall and Church*	*Officials in the Church*
Principales *(Krinnpaletik)* First Principal *(Sba Krinnipal)* Second Principal *(Sbebal Krinnipal)* President *(Presirente)* Secretary *(Secretarió)* Síndico *(Sinnikó)*		Fiscal *(Pilkal)*
Judges *(Alkaletik)* First Judge, Alannantik *(Sba Alkal or Primeró Alkal)* Second Judge, Ahk'olnantik *(Sbebal Alkal)* Assistant Judge, La Grandeza *(Alkal Suplente Bolibal)* Assistant Judge, Madronal *(Alkal Suplente Magronal)*		Mayordomos *(Martomastik)* Cofrades or Brothers *(Kobrurietik)* Cofrade of Sacramento *(Kobrurla Sakramentsi)* Cofrade of Sta. Lucia *(Kobrurla Halal Ile'tik)* Cofrade of San Pedro Martyr *(Kobrurla Tatik Martil)* Cofrade of San Francisco *(Kobrurla Sanprunisiká)* Elders *(Tatik)* Elder of Santiago *(Tatik Santiagó)* Elder of San Antonio *(Tatil Tatik Sanantonió)* Elder of Virgin Rosario *(Tatil Me'tik Rosarió)* Elder of San José *(Tatil Tatik Sanhosé)* Assistants to Cofrades *(Ali'bal Kobrurietik)* Assistant to Sacramento *(Ali'bal Sakramentsi)* Assistant to Virgin Santa Lucia *(Ali'bal Halal Me'tik)* Junior Mayordomos *(Nil'nal Martomastik)* Junior of San Pedro Martyr *(Nil'nal Tatik Martil)* Junior of San Francisco *(Nil'nal Sanprunisiká)* Junior of Santiago *(Nil'nal Santiagó)* Junior of San Antonio *(Nil'nal Tatik Sanantonió)* Junior of Santiago *(Nil'nal Tatik Santiagó)* Junior of Rosario *(Nil'nal Me'tik Rosarió)*
Regidores *(Rehiroletik)* First Regidor *(Primeró Rehirol)* Second Regidor *(Sbebal Rehirol)* Third Regidor *(Yolebal Rehirol)* Fourth Regidor *(Shmebal Rehirol)*		
Policemen *(Mayoletik)* 2 First Police *(Primeró Mayol)** 2 Second Police *(Sbebal Mayol)* 2 Third Police *(Yolebal Mayol)* 2 Fourth Police *(Shmebal Mayol)* 2 Last Police *(Spail Mayol)*	Alferezes *(Alperesetik)* Elder Past *(Tat Pasaró)* Remains Past *(Šil Pasaró)* Second Past *(Sbebal Pasaró)* New Alférez *(Alf Alperés)*	

*Also called Martomastik.

[P. 212]

My eliciting procedures are described to make explicit the steps in constructing the informant's cognitive model. The first responses given by an informant are most often those which have the greatest significance within a structured system of priorities or of dominance. For example, informants in Tzoʔontahal invariably listed the officials in order of primacy. Another clue to the structuring of social relations is the omission of data in the first interview. This can mean either repression of information or lack of significance for the informant as an individual or for the society. These factors can be sorted out in subsequent interviews. 121 124

When asked, "What are all the kinds of offices in Tzoʔontahal," informants replied, "offices in the *kabiltu*, or townhall, and offices in the *čʼulna*, holy house or church. The question, "What are the kinds of officials in the townhall?" elicited the following three categories: *alkaletik*, alcaldes or judges; *rehiroletik*, regidores; and *mayoletik*, mayores or policemen. These categories are ranked relative to each other; for example, *alkaletik* is of greater prestige (*mas mamališ*, senior), *rehiroletik* next, and *mayoletik* least. Thus there are in the *alkaletik* category: *primero alkal*, first judge; *sčebal alkal*, second judge; *čeb suplente alkal*, two assistant judges. In the *rehiroletik* category there are: *primero rehirol*, first regidor; *sčebal rehirol*, second regidor; *yoišebal rehirol*, third regidor; *čanebal rehirol*, fourth regidor. In the *mayoletik* category there are: *primero mayol*, first policeman; *sčebal mayol*, second policeman; *yoišebal mayol*, third policeman; *sčanebal mayol*, fourth policeman; and *spoil mayol*, last policeman. 124 621* 693 [194] 554 621* 693 554 624 554 625

Cutting across this ranked hierarchy of officials are two geographical divisions; these align officials according to the side of the dual division in which they reside and which they represent. There is one judge from the upper division, *ahkʼolnantik*, and one from the lower division, *alannantik*. The first judge is chosen in alternate years from one or the other of the two divisions, and so on for each rank of judges and regidores. There are two sets of five police, one from each side of the dual division serving in alternating weeks. The two assistant judges are chosen from the barrios Magronal and Bočibal. They never attain the first two positions. In addition to this regular ladder 621* 693 [625] [554]

[P. 213-A]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontahal

In addition to this regular ladder of officials representing the center and its close-lying barrios are judges representing the *colonias,* or rural settlements, of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Crus Quemada. They do not regularly attend the townhall sessions, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of new officials. Only after I had elicited officials from two informants was I able to get from the third the three judges of the colonias with the question, "Are there any other officials in the cabildo?" 621* 693 632

These civil officials constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. The positions of president and *sintiku* (in Spanish *síndico*), not included in the offices of the townhall as a category by informants, were elicited in response to the question stated above. These posts are occupied by younger men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy, until the present generation, was limited to those in the 30-year age bracket. Those with such skills passed immediately into the *comisario ejidal,* commission for land grants, where they assisted in the control and redistribution of land granted under the ejido program, or went directly into the post of *síndico.* Thus they were able to avoid the onerous and time-consuming functions of the traditional posts and enter into the remunerative post of president, where their authority was recognized at an early age. With improved literacy, the competition for such posts is increasing. Although informants say that the post of president alternates for the two sides of the dual division, case materials do not bear this out. 622 624 [124] [191] [212] [423] [178] [212] 622 621* 114

The only Ladino in the hierarchy is the secretary. For the first time this year (1964) the post of secretary has been taken by an Indian of the town. This is part of the power play described below. 563 624 178

Naming of civil officials is done in November, first in a closed session in the townhall at which each official names his successor, followed by a mass meeting *(Komun K'op)* at which the names are read to the assembled household heads in the plaza. To the question, "What are all the kinds of offices in the church?" the response was given: *martomaetik,* mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik,* alfereces (or captains, the Spanish term *alfereces* comes from the Arabic). There are 16 mayordomos. Role terms for the mayordomos indicated that each saint was repre- 666 621* 794 • [776]

[P 213-B]

sented by an elder *tatil martoma* and a junior *niʔanil martoma*, and that the 15 mayordomos were further ranked in terms of the four major saints, the *mas mamališ* or more senior, whose mayordomos are referred to as *kobraria*, cofradías or brotherhoods, and the remaining as mayordomos. The four *kobrarias* were ranked in terms of the importance and expense of the saint whom they support. The order for Tzoʔontahal is Sacramento *(Sakramentu)*, Virgin Santa

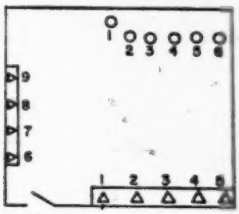


CHART 2 — EVENING, DECEMBER 31, HOUSE OF NEW JUDGE (ELICITED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Meʔil K'op)*
2 Wife of president *(Yinam Presirente)*
3-6 Wives of juniors *(Yinam Niʔanil)*

MEN (triangles):
1 Leading house official *(Statal Nakawane)*
2 New judge *(Alʔ Alkal)*
3-5 Assistants, sons of judge *(Balnialetik)*
6-9 Woodgatherers *(Akniʔetik)*

Lucia *(Halal Meʔtik Santalusia)*, San Pedro Martyr *(Tatik Martil)*, and San Francisco *(Tatik Sanpransisku)*. There was complete agreement among the three informants questioned regarding this rank order, but for rank order of the 12 remaining mayordomos in charge of the 19 lesser saints there was no agreement between informants, and even the same informant was inconsistent in different eliciting sessions.

Outside the traditional hierarchy is the *pilkal* (in Spanish *fiscal*), who is the direct assistant of the priest and serves in an advisory capacity in charge of the church activities of the brotherhoods and mayordomos in the absence of the priest. This role was not elicited, but in my questioning about fiestas he was mentioned as performing a certain role. The incumbent in the past three years was serving as president for the third time, showing the scarcity of men with the needed literary skills. The fiscal is usually relieved of other posts while serving in office. Another set of roles external to the hierarchy are the *meʔeletik* (or *resadoras*, the Spanish term for female prayer-makers). These are usually widowed or single wo-

men whom the lay sisters assisting the priest have 794
organized to help carry out the Mass and other
church rituals.

Another pair of officials, the *krinsipaletik* or princi- 624
pales, were not mentioned in the category "officials in 554
the townhall" or in that of "officials in the church,"
until I questioned, "Who names the officials?" The
response was, "Principales with the president." In
order to arrive at the higher honorific posts of princi-
pal, one must serve five times in the civil and six
times in the religious posts in the traditional hier-
archy. The principales provide continuity in the [182]
transfer of authority, remaining in the townhall
when the old officials depart to their homes, and pass-
ing over the staffs to the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28,
31). It is a position without power in the day-to-day
administration of affairs. Although the incumbents 624
occupy prestigeful positions and carry out ceremonial 554
acts, many men avoid the office because of the loss of 794
status in carrying out one of their most important
acts, the collection of contributions for the major
fiestas. The two principales must hold the plate into
which the money is turned over by the police, and
this causes "embarrassment." Formerly they were [453]
also bankers, holding the money until it was spent.
This responsibility gave prestige to the act of receiv-
ing the money, now redefined as a sort of begging
operation.

A ceremonial link between the civil and religious 794
wings is the group of officers known as the *alperesetik*,
alfereces. They are associated with the four major
saints, who are also represented by the *kobrarias* of [776]
Sacramento, Santa Lucia, San Pedro Martyr, and San
Francisco. Their rank order is determined not by the 794
importance of the saint but by the order of entry into 554
office. These are named: *tat pasaro*, the past "father";
šil pasaro, remains past; *slebal pasaro*, second past;
and *?al' alperes*, new alferez. They sit, move, and are
served in this order wherever they appear. Although 794
tied to a *s'ultat*, spirit father or saint, they function in 554
the townhall in bearing the banners there from the 62 *
church for civil affairs (App. 1, Q. 27), and they pro- 537
vide the post which is crucial for learning the set
speeches useful in all formal occasions, called the
pat?ot'an, 'behind the heart.' Because of the crucial [624]
nature of this speechmaking, no man can progress
into the post of first or second regidor without having
passed through that of alferez. This post is the most 794
difficult to fill because of the high outlay (3000 pesos 434
in one year of average expenditures, about half the 681

[P. 214-B]

average annual earnings of a man in this town); failure to accept the post when it is offered brings a jail sentence. On the following day, during a drinking session in the townhall with the assembled civil officials, the reluctant nominee usually accepts. 794 [434] [681] [273]

The civil career of an individual would be one in which he passed (*sk'as*, which I gloss as 'pass'; it is the same verb as Spanish *pasar*) first as police, then as third or fourth regidor. If he has passed as alferez, he will enter as first or second regidor at this stage, and then go on to second judge and finally become first judge. If not, he will stop as third or fourth regidor. After reaching the peak of his career as first judge, he may return to the police group as *martomorey*. Present leaders of the town consider this an "ugly" custom and say they hope to change it because it puts men of major age in a position of minor importance. Formerly men had to fulfill six turns in civil office, twice as regidor and twice as judge, to be considered free of further obligation. But now, because of increasing population (according to informants), this has been lowered to five required turns. The post which has been eliminated is that of assistant judge, which is now filled by a representative of one of the two barrios. 156 621* 554 693 [794] [829] 624 693 178 156

Throughout his career in office, a household head is expected to alternate between the civil and religious posts. Religious posts are considered less onerous since they require only six months of service, from the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo at the end of June until January 6, and the men are on duty only Sundays and holidays. A balanced number of six turns in each of the branches of the hierarchy was expected, prior to the reduction of the number of civil posts to five, to bring one to the end of one's career. In a census of 311 household heads made in 1964, passage in office shows a balance between posts undertaken in each wing of the hierarchy. Of 13 men over 70 years of age, five had completed service in civil and religious office. Three who had passed as president had served only once or twice in each wing of the hierarchy. The remaining five had a balanced but incomplete career. 621* 156 794 [125]

In the religious hierarchy, a man passes first as *nič'anil kuč ha?*, 'minor who brings liquor.' Then he will pass as *?ali?bal*, the assistant to the *kobraria*, particularly charged with the slaughter of the bull for the large fiestas. These "servants" were not distinguished from other mayordomos in the initial listing of officers, but were mentioned in the description of fiesta 794 554 156

[P. 215-A]

activities. Following this, he then serves as *tatil* of any saint of minor rank, then as *tatil* of San Pedro Martyr or San Francisco, followed by a turn as *tatil* of the *kobraria* Virgin Santa Lucia, and finally as *tatil* of the *kobraria* Sacramento. 794 554 156

The Tzeltal role terms in both the civil and religious hierarchies reveal the preconquest age-ranking system. This is evident in the use of elder and junior 621* 554 794 561 178

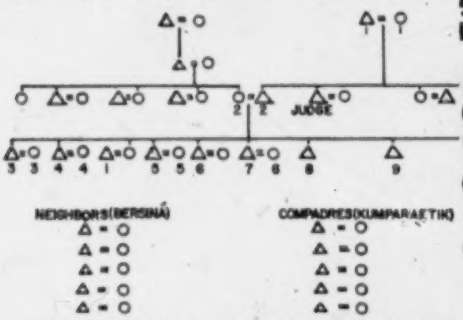


CHART 3 — ASSISTANTS AND PARTICIPANTS IN HOUSE FIESTA OF JUDGE (ELICITED)

Circles indicate women; triangles indicate men. For role term applying to number, see Chart 4.

titles for mayordomos (*tatil* and *nit' anil martoma*) and in the use of *mas mamalil* (more senior) for higher rank offices. 601 574 796 621* 608 693 621* 554 794 561 178

The informant's understanding of the hierarchy is that of a core of officeholders in three ranked segments (Chart 1). This is coded in the group terms for officials. Roles peripheral to the major categories such as those of rural judges, fiscal and women prayer-makers, are elicited only with repeated questioning or with reference to some event in which they function. These roles differ from those mentioned first in that they are either of little significance to the individual informant (this would explain the consistent omission of the rural judge by the people of the center) or are not part of the required posts incumbent upon every male household head to undertake (this might explain the omission of the president, síndico, principales and fiscales in the first eliciting session). Structural principles made explicit by the informants are (1) hierarchical rank, (2) progression from lower to higher posts, and (3) territorial balance in representation of the dual division. An implicit corollary of passage through offices beginning with lower ranks is the age grading of officeholders. Other structural aspects emerged in the description of behavior, described below. 124 621* 794 554

[P 215-B]

male helpers who are usually wives of the *balnialetik*, or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors who come to congratulate the new official. Particularly conspicuous because of their Ladino or non-Indian clothing in the house of the president (Chart 6) were the visitors from the outlying rancherías and colonias of Tzoʔontahal. 621* [592] [574]

Validation in the household setting takes place in two scenes. The first occurs on the eve of New Year. Each new official entertains in his house the men he has chosen as his *nakawanehetik* and as his *balnialetik*. Only those *balnialetik* who are immediately related come to this gathering. The *meʔil k'op*, 'woman speaker,' is present along with the wives of the *balnialetik* (Chart 2). The house is decorated with pine needles and juniper boughs in the afternoon. The visitors arrive with wood and pitchpine to light the house at about eight in the evening and stay until the liquor is finished. Drinking order is from elder to younger, which coincides with the prestige ranking. The *nakawanehetik* are served, then the *niʔanil*. 621* 574 592 [602] [353] [273] [554]

The second household gathering takes place on the morning of the New Year. Major settings for such gatherings are the house of the first judge and the house of the new president. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the three other regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house. They join the president at his house and then proceed to the townhall. The group of five police from *ahk'olnantik* meet separately in the house of the first police of that side, and those of *alannantik* meet in the house of their first police. 621* 574 693 [592]

The assembled officials proceed to the townhall, announcing with rockets to the policemen that they have left. Gathered in the townhall, referred to in the formal address or *pasʔoʔan* as the *sik na*, 'cold house,'[9] are the 'old officials' *(k'a hu'eletik)* along with the alfereces and the principales. They enter two by two, the president and síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges, and the judges of the barrios and colonias. They kneel and 'measure their noses' *(sp'is sniʔik,)* as they enter, showing respect to the holy banners which the alfereces have delivered from the church. 621* 693 [202] [794] [554] [788] [794]

[9] Bunzel (1952, p. 377) translates a formal speech in which the townhall of Chichicastenango is referred to as that "cold house, the icy house," but the Quiche word is not included. The pattern of double synonyms for nouns is present in these Quiche formal texts as in the Tzeltal. [197]

[P 217-A]

reces have delivered from the church. The presence of the alfereces with their banners proclaims the link between civil and religious office. 621* 794 182

The principales, now fairly inebriated after their long wait for the arrival of the new officials, pass out the staffs, assisted by the old president who helps direct them as they wander in a daze from the table to the new officials. The intoxicated state of the principales is never mentioned in elicited statements. The act of passing over the staffs is a significant index to their role in the hierarchy. As the only "permanent" 621* 624 [273]

621* 554 693

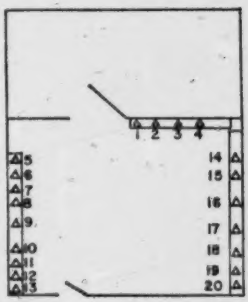


CHART 5 — MORNING, HOUSE OF PRESIDENT, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS (all men):

1 Nakawane
2 President
3, 4 Nakawane
5 First judge
6 Second judge
7 Síndico
8, 9 Assistant judges
10 First regidor
11 Second regidor
12 Third regidor
13 Fourth regidor
14-20 *Balnialetik*

incumbents—permanent so long as they are alive, healthy, and not impoverished—they are the link between the outgoing and incoming officials. When all the old officials have retired to their homes following the ceremony, and the new officials have gone on to the church, the principales wait in the townhall for the new officials to return for the afternoon drinking session in which they will join, as they had done in the morning with the old officials. 621* 624 [273]

Wearing their rosaries, the new officials follow the alfereces out of the townhall in a procession. Holding the holy banners, the alfereces line up before the townhall, dip their banners, and proceed to the 621* 794 788

[P. 217-B]

church where the same reverence is accorded to the church. The order of the procession following them indicates the rank order of the officials, from the *spoil mayol*, the last policeman, to the first and second judge (Chart 9). The precedence of the first two

621* 788 [794] 621* 788 554 693 621* 574 693

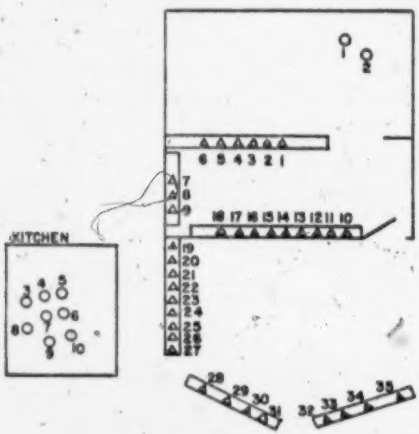


CHART 6 — MORNING, NEW YEAR'S DAY, HOUSE OF NEW PRESIDENT (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):

1 Woman speaker *(Me?il k'op)*, comadre president
2 Second woman, neighbor
3-10 *Wanehenik*

MEN (triangles):

1 First Nakawane
2 Second Nakawane
3 Third Nakawane, brother of president
4 President
5, 6 Visitors from Colonias
7-9 *Balnialetik*
10 First judge
11 Second judge
12 First regidor
13 Second regidor
14 Third regidor
15 Fourth regidor
16 Assistant judge of Madronal
17 Assistant judge of La Grandeza
18 Assistant judge of San Caralampio
19-35 Visitors

judges over the president and síndico reverses that which was taken as they enter the church. There may be some permissible variation here, since the elicited version of the former president indicates that they should enter last. Possibly the threat of assassination (p. 223) caused them to enter before the judges as a security measure. The procession makes two turns

621* 788 693 554

[P. 218- A]

9:Nash E-5 (1964)· 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontahal

621*
"to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] 788
who the new officials to remain in office are." 554
693

Awaiting the new officials in the church are all the mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials 621* as they enter to see who they are" (App. 1, Q. 48, 49). 794 The new officials "speak to God," asking for health [782] so that they can complete their obligation to the town. They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave [788] the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father townhall." There they spend the remainder of the afternoon.

The mayordomos go to the kitchen attached to the 621* townhall. The first policeman directs the purchase of 273 liquor and the measuring out of drinks for the ten [794] policemen from the two sides of the dual division and [625] the two rural commissioners. In the townhall the new president's first orders are to the fourth regidor to ask him to buy two liters of "the gift," liquor. The pardon to the ancestors, and the offering of the gift to the [693] [782] principales, is in the hands of the first judge, who [431] knows the *paṭʔoṭ'an*, and can do the honors. The [537] president is served following the principales in the round of drinking.

The change of religious officials takes place on the 794 fiesta day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29, and 796 on the day of the three Kings, January 6. This provides a six-month term of office. The new officials gather in the homes of the *ḳobraria* of Halal meʔtik and Sakramentu, and in the church. Thus two settings, home and church, come into play with the change of civil officials, but the townhall, significantly, is not part of this act nor are the alfereces called into action.

The ceremony lasts three days: first day is *pas ḳantelero*, 'to make candles,' when the candles are cleaned, and the old mayordomos eat a "common meal" *(ḳomun weʔel)*; second day is *wiṡperes*, when the oath is taken; final day is *sḳ'ahḳ'alel*, when the new mayordomos play the drums or flute.

The first gathering, which took place the year I observed it in the house of the *ḳobraria* of Halal Meʔtik Santalusia, was cut short because the *ḳobraria* did not have a porch, and it had begun raining. By local [362] standards, a house without a porch is considered inadequate, and is called 'cow house' *(wakaṡ naʔ)* since the owner cannot accommodate guests on such occasions. The group therefore lingered longer in the house of the *ḳobraria* of Sakramentu.

The speech of the *nakawane* to the "elder new [537] mayordomos" *(mamal ʔaṡ martomaetik)* (App. 2,

[P. 218-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontahal

Q. 68) is a review of the major activities in which they will take part in the church. The phrase 'before the face of,' *ta sit*, is the orientation he indicates to the new mayordomos to perform these acts. 794 796 [537]

The ceremony in the church when the mayordomos receive their candles is limited to the few words of advice spoken to them by the fiscal and the passing over of the candles. There is no representation by the civil authorities in the ceremonial aspect of installation, although the fiscal, in his dual office as assistant to the priest and as president, indirectly takes this role. The alfereces, who provide the link on other occasions for the civil officers' inauguration, are not active during this changing of the religious officers. [621]* Following the ceremony inside the church, the town treasurer and síndico help the fiscal count the money passed over with each *kobraria*. Thus the "integration" of the hierarchy is asymmetrical, providing for a church representation in civil affairs, but only in a limited sense is there the reverse. [624]

The mayordomos return to the house of the *kobraria* Sakramentu. The *nakawanehetik* have lost their place of honor at the *hol wanku*, 'head of the bench,' and are sleeping under the bench or in the corner. Their presence is no longer socially marked, and it is not a point which was elicited.

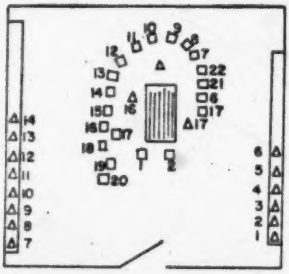
The behavior during the inauguration of civil officials showed the following structural features. The hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth stepladder but a segmented order. The categories elicited in the first session with the informant—*alkaletik*, *rehiroletik*, and *mayoletik*—act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same areas in all the settings (App. 1, Q. 14, 15, 51, 64–74). Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They order their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge issues an order to the fourth regidor to get liquor (App. 1, Q. 55) and the first police orders the commissioner from the rural colonias to get liquor for their group (App. 1, Q. 79). In these behavioral indices one can see the segmentation of the civil hierarchy, ordered by age, skill acquired in the expensive office of alferez, and territorial identification. Age grading is absolute only between the segments, and is roughly applicable within each segment. 621* 571 554 156 [561]

In the inauguration of the religious officials, elder and younger officials associated with each saint act 794 561 156

[P 219-A] TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 220-A

as a team. Thus the junior *(nicʔanil)* and senior *(tatil)* officials walk and sit in pairs. The senior officials order the junior. Just as in the case of the civil officials, some junior mayordomos may be younger than others who are in lower positions, because they have passed in the lower offices at an earlier age, but all senior mayordomos are older than their paired juniors. 794 561 156

Another important structural feature that became apparent in the behavioral schedules is the household base establishing the officeholders' position in both hierarchies. The new official learns his role obligations from the *nakawanehetik*, the group of elders 621* 156 794 592 [867]



621* 554 693 293

CHART 8 — INSIDE THE TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING THE OATH (OBSERVED)

Old officials are indicated by triangles, new officials by squares. Numbers refer to list on Chart 7. Three officials—the old secretary (17) and two new rural judges (21 and 22)—were not listed in the elicited session, Chart 7. Canes of office are on the table near the center of the room. Numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7.

who assemble in his house and who will assist him in his period in office. The ceremony in the house establishes this as a significant domain in public affairs. Relatives, neighbors, and compadres make up the interlocking network of supporters in the setting of the household. Both husband's and wife's relatives are symmetrically represented (Chart 3; see also J. Nash, 1964b, report on alferez assistants). Because of the expenses and the commitment of time during the period of office, the officials must have this backing to fulfill their obligations. A man with many compadres and godchildren has a firmer base to support his career in office. In the case of the new president, this was mentioned as an important asset by the president's brother. The guest list (Charts 3, 4) reveals the multiple references which establish the individual's role during any event. 621* 156 794 592 [867] 621* 794 592 602 156 [608]

[P. 220-A]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9.
Tzoʔontahal

Change of Officials

The degree of integration of the civil and religious wings of the hierarchy can be described behaviorally. The following acts (App. 1) indicate this structural feature. 621* 794 182

Q. 24. The civil officials kneel and "measure their noses" as they enter the townhall in deference to the banners. [788]

Q. 27. Sacred objects, such as the holy banners of the *kobrarias*, are present on the table in the townhall as the officers take the oath of office. Officials carry rosaries as they accept oath and wear them in the procession to the church. [778]

Q. 28. The alfereces are present in the townhall to witness the ceremony. As bearers of the four major saints of the town, their role is primarily defined in a religious context.

Q. 41. Officials go to the church immediately following their procession in the plaza to pray for health to carry out their responsibilities. [782]

Q. 48. The religious officials are present in church on New Year's day to witness the arrival of new officials of the civil wing.

The alfereces link the two wings of the hierarchy in the following acts: 794 182

Q. 36. They carry the sacred banners to the townhall on the day of the inauguration.

Chart 9. They lead the parade of new officials of the civil wing.

Q. 28. They witness ("look at") the inauguration of the civil officials in the townhall.

Q. 36. In emerging from the townhall, they bow and incline their banners first before the townhall, then before the church. [788]

In the inauguration of the religious officials the only act uniting officials of the two wings of the hierarchies is that of counting the money (App. 2, Q. 90) when the town treasurer and síndico assist the church officials. The integration of the civil and religious wings in Tzoʔontahal is asymmetrical. The church officials as a group are involved in the civil inauguration, but the civil officials are only peripherally involved in the religious inauguration. 621* 794 182 [624]

Another behavioral basis for stating the dimensions of the civil and religious integration is found in the replication of symbols and acts in each inauguration. In taking the oath, the term *yič huramentu* is used in both settings. The staff as symbol of civil office has its counterpart in the candles handed over to the mayordomos. In both ceremonies, officials of the townhall and of the church wear red kerchiefs and carry rosaries when receiving the oath of office. 621* 794 182 782 788 [641] [292] [293]

Replication of behavior in both civil and religious 000

[P. 220—B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontabal

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS Replication of behavior in both civil and religious inauguration is also seen in the house ceremonies. Prior to setting out to the townhall or to the church, the new officials acquire a sense of the sacred obligations they are about to undertake from the words of the *nakawanehetik*. 621* 794 796 182

The major behavioral schema are established in the settings in which activities occur. In each setting, the actors assert status in a social arrangement by their position in a physical arrangement: seating order clockwise from the door indicates rank order in all settings. The same act has a different significance in each setting. For example, drinking in the townhall differs from drinking in the house because it ties together different sets of actors.[10] As the actors move from one setting to the next, they are accompanied by some of the members linking them to the prior setting, as when the *nakawanehetik* accompany the president to the townhall. 621* 794 156 182 571 554 [273]

The significance of setting in allocating roles is evident in the Tzeltal terms for categories of officials: religious officials are called "officials in the church" *(ʔaʔteletik te ta ɛ'ulna)* and civil officials are called "officials in the townhall" *(ʔaʔteletik te ta ɛ'ulna)*. If my guess concerning the derivation of the term *nakawane* from house officials is correct (note 6), then this category derives its name from the locus in which authority is recognized. 621* 794 182 192 156

The analysis of behavior, or roles in action, corroborates some of the understandings gained from eliciting the structure, but requires some modification. The segmentary character of the hierarchy is evidenced in the domain, action, and the timing of action. However, qualifications of the elicited model must be made on the basis of the behavioral data. First, the asymmetry of the links between civil and religious officials in the church setting as compared with the townhall setting requires a qualification of the meaning of the integration for the two wings. 621* 794 182 156

[10] This adds a further caveat to the "behaviorist fallacies" pointed out by Lewin (1951, p. 79) when the psychological setting is ignored in the description of the physical dimension of an act. [114]

[P. 221 - A]

Second, the house ceremonials require the addition of this segment to complement the civil and religious structures so that we have a triadic set of officials—civil, religious and household—rather than a dyadic set as is usually described for Mesoamerican communities. 621* 794 • 182 156

Agent, place, time, and acts, both verbal and motor, 121

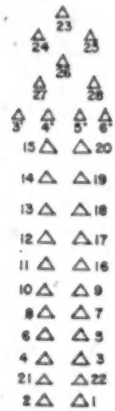


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CHART 9 — PROCESSION, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS:

3'-6' Alfereces
23 Guitarist *(alpultero)*
24, 25 Firecracker lighters *(tomeie siʔbak)*
26 Flautist *(yamai)*
27, 28 Drummers *(stihik sk'ayobik)*

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7, in addition to 21 and 22, rural judges listed in Chart 8.

carefully described, are the pegs on which comparative analysis can be hung. What we lose in literary value in ethnographic accounts, we may gain in making explicit the inductive bases of structural functional analyses. Once we understand the principles involved in the assignment of position or action in any setting, variations from the elicited and observed pattern provide clues to social change within small time periods. 121

[P. 221-B]

MOST ETHNOGRAPHIC REPORTS on the civil-religious 621*
hierarchy emphasize status and the functional 121
goal of community integration. What we have failed 794
to impart is the dynamic aspect of status, role. In the 554
divergences between expected and enacted patterns 178
of behavior in those occasions when the individual

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CHART 10 — NEW YEAR'S DAY PROCESSION OF NEW OFFICIALS (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:
29, 30, 31 Comisarios of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Cruz Quemada

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Charts 7 and 9.

"puts into effect the rights and duties which consti- 621*
tute the status" (Linton, 1936, p. 114), we have 121
micrometers to the measurement of change. The de- 794
tails of change may be small—for example, a shift in 554
the lineup of officials in a procession—but it may be 178
a clue to important organizational changes. The be-
havioral changes in details of this sort provide cues to
eliciting information that will explain the diver-
gences. An important supplement to these cues are 621*
the unsolicited comments of informants. Sometimes 124
[P 222-A] 178

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontahal

was done at his order for the school.[11] The new co- 621*
operative was harassed by the old group, since the 578
president did everything in his power to cut down 474
their competition. As fiscal, his other role, he maneu- 494
vered the appointment of the chief business agent of [875]
the new truck cooperative and three other members [622]
as *nicʼanil martomaetik*, junior caretakers of the [794]
saints. This meant that their Sundays were occupied
in church affairs and cut into their taxiing of passengers from Tzoʔontahal to Himsol, the neighboring Ladino town.

The nomination of the president was effected by 621*
winning the support of the Partido Revolucionario 665
Institucional (PRI). Supporters of the nominee se- 666
cured over 85 signatures from townspeople; the op- 622
position candidate failed to get more than 28. Once 578
PRI support was obtained, the election on November
20 was assured since one-party rule prevails here as in the capital. This is the first election which has been contested in 10 years. The last contest came when some members of the barrio of Yutʼ hok became members of the minor party, Partido Acción Nacional (PAN). Because this group and their presidential candidate all came from one side of the dual division, Alannantik, those from the other side said that they should have a party representative. They drew up a plan to run a candidate on PRI. The PAN candidate won. The present contest was drawn on [474]
the basis of membership in the truck-owning cooperatives which cut across the dual division.

The present nominee did not want to run for office. 666
Early in the running there were verbal threats on his 622
life. He had never passed in any office other than that 578
of president of the ejido commission, and although the office of president is not a rung in the ladder to office, it is expected that the incumbent would at least have experience as síndico. Three sources of opposition to his candidacy developed. First in importance 666
was the original trucking cooperative, which objected 622
to the competition of the president and his faction 578
in the new cooperative. Second, these members 474
spread the rumor that the new president would bring 548
in federal agents to break up the liquor traffic, which was becoming one of Tzoʔontahal's most important economic self-development projects. Thus all the distillers were apprehensive of their future under his term of office. Third, there was opposition on the

[11] Siverts (1964) describes Ladinos' "competition for each others' Indians in Cancuc."

[P. 223-A]

Third, there was opposition on the score that the president had never passed in any other public office. The only incident revealing the discontent was the firing of eight shots at (or above) the president's brother following the house festival on the eve of the inauguration. 666 578 622

The principales, who "formerly were the ones who ruled," no longer have a part in the power struggle 624 178

621* 794 554 346

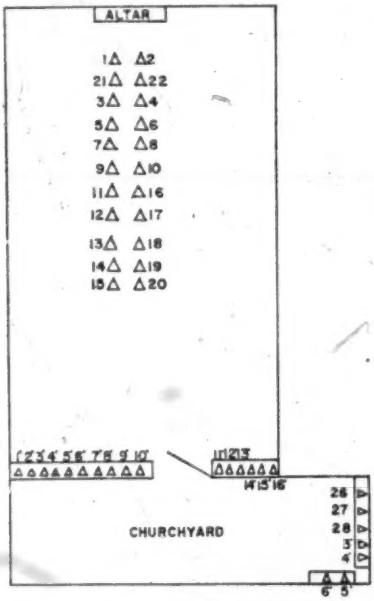

CHART 11 — NEW OFFICIALS INSIDE CHURCH, NEW YEAR'S DAY

OFFICIALS:
1'-16' Mayordomos

Remaining numbers refer to officials listed in Charts 7-9.

which centers on party membership and economic competition. Their ceremonial role in rituals is preserved as a link with the past as well as a sign of continuity between old and new officials. 624 178 [794]

In the inauguration of the religious officials, divergence in the elicited and the observed event (App. 2, column 4) occurred first of all in the shift of locale for the common meal from the churchyard to the house of the *ʔaliʔbal* instead of in the churchyard (App. 2, Q. 19). This was a clue to the power struggle going on in the church. When I questioned my informant about the disparity, he told me the following story: 794 178 578 [264] [793] [273]

[P. 223-B]

Three years before [in 1961] my father was the *tatik* of Sacramento. One day he and the other mayordomos were drinking at the door of the church. The priest came out and demanded that they stop because this was the house of God. The *tatik* replied that it was the custom of the pueblo, and he and the other men refused to leave. The priest went back into the church and returned with a gun in his hand. The mayordomos seized wood which they had gathered in the yard of the church. They threatened the priest with this and he went back into the church. He announced that he would not give Mass, or perform wedding or baptismal ceremonies. We did not mind if he did not give the Mass or would not give weddings, but the people were frightened if he would not give baptism. The mayordomos had a meeting and they agreed to give up drinking in the church if the priest would continue to give baptism, but they

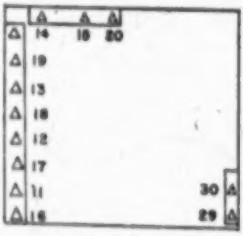

CHART 12 — KITCHEN OF POLICE, AFTER CHURCH (ELICITED)

Numbers refer to role terms listed in Charts 7 and 10.

would no longer care for the pigs or bring wood for the priest without payment. We pay him 15 pesos for an ordinary Mass and 40 pesos for a sung Mass, so he should pay us for help. The priest was in agreement with the mayordomos.

My informant had not realized that the ban affected eating in the yard of the church, but it was implied because liquor is served before the meal "to prepare the stomach" *(ya ʔtal ṡkoip weʔeletik)* and after the meal "to wash down the food" *(yaʔlel weʔelil)*.

The statement on who defines what performances, and in what setting, provides an index to the locus of power. The priest is gaining more control over the building, maintenance, and developments around the church. The mayordomos give at least a half-day's labor to the priest's projects each Sunday. When they cannot work, they must pay the elder *ḳobraria* two pesos for a half-day's work missed, or 4 pesos for a full day. The proceeds are used to buy liquor, which the mayordomos drink. Thus the social control is ex-

Thus the social control is exerted through the traditional hierarchy, but the benefits of the labor go toward the priest's projects. The priest speaks with some satisfaction of the increasing control the "church" (he) has over the people. He maintains that this is because the people are more "civilized." For him, the indices to civilization are the facts that there is no drinking in the church, there is greater attendance at Mass, and more people are wearing Ladino clothing. 794 793 178 [626]

The second divergence in the elicited and observed accounts for the religious inauguration occurred when the civil officials, including the town secretary and síndico, assisted the religious officials in counting the money collected for the fiesta. 621 794 182

An important supplement to the behavorial data were the unsolicited comments of informants. Their anecdotes often gave me clues to their involvement in the gamesmanship of operating within culturally defined patterns. Although the informant focuses on the formal question, his growing boredom with the sequence (Who sat next to him? What did they do next? Who was there?) leads him to muse about the associated ideas and images which did interest him, often self-damaging or negative aspects of the culture which he might want to hide if questioned directly. The technique resembles that of the astronomer instructing the novice stargazer: "If you want to see the Pleiades, look at Jupiter, and out of the corner of your eye the nebulous cluster of stars of the Pleiades becomes visible." 124

The following illustrates how this free association emerged in the formal eliciting procedure: 124 578 682

Informant 2 constantly reiterated the danger his brother would encounter in undertaking the post of president as we discussed inauguration procedures. For example, when he gave me a list of participants at the Judge's house when his father took on that post, he mentioned the name of a widow, Cika, and provided the unsolicited information that her husband had been shot on December 16, 1963, the fiesta of Halal Me?tik Santalusia. Informant's statement: "He did not know he had an enemy, and so he walked alone that night. Each fiesta someone is killed. During the fiesta of San Francisco this year, another man in Bočibal was killed. No one knows why. He was knifed with a machete. I never go out alone at night because of the fights with the cooperative. They [the members of the opposing cooperative] are very hard *(ha? ben bolik)*. They claim they will kill us."

What prompted the next revelation was my com- 124

[P. 224-B]

"Why don't you call in the civil guard?" 124

They will say we are women, that we are afraid. My brother wants to, however. 578 682

He communicated several things in this deviation from the eliciting schedule:

Many assassinations are committed regularly in Tzoʔontahal.
They usually occur at fiestas.
The only recourse is to kill one's enemy.
I am a killer, therefore I am prepared to protect myself.
Everyone knows I am a killer.
When I killed, it wasn't a murder but an execution.

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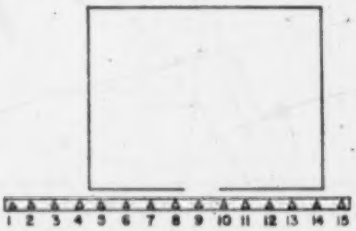

CHART 13 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF THE VIRGIN SANTA LUCIA, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:

1 Cofrade of Virgin Santa Lucia *(Kobraria Halal Meʔtik)*
2 Elder of San Pedro Martyr *(Tatil Yuʔun Martil)*
3 Assistant junior for Sacramento *(Aliʔbal Nilʔnal yuʔun Sakramentú)*
4 Assistant junior for Virgin Santa Lucia *(Aliʔbal Nilʔnal yuʔun Halal Meʔtik)*
5 Elder for the Christ of the Ascension *(Tatil yuʔun Tatik Sanprannisků)*
6 Elder for San Antonio *(Tatil yuʔun Sanantonió)*
7 Elder for Virgin Rosario *(Tatil Halal Meʔtik Rosario)*
8 Elder for Santiago *(Tatil yuʔun Santiagú)*
9 Elder for San Jose *(Tatil yuʔun Sanhosé)*
10 Junior for San Antonio *(Nilʔnal yuʔun Sanantonió)*
11 Junior for Santiago *(Nilʔnal yuʔun Santiagú)*
12 Junior for San Pedro Martyr *(Nilʔnal yuʔun Martil)*
13 Junior for Virgin Rosario *(Nilʔnal yuʔun Meʔtik Rosario)*
14 Junior for San Jose *(Nilʔnal yuʔun Sanhosé)*
15 Junior for Christ of the Ascension *(Nilʔnal yuʔun Sanprannisků)*

Since the informant expected that there might be an attempt made on his life in the approaching inaugural ceremony, he was advertising his own strength and willingness to defend himself even if it meant killing his enemy. I was an audience for him to try on poses of self-assertion. 124 578 [123]

[P. 225-B]

I SUMMARIZE the evidence offered in the inaugural acts first in terms of a functional analysis of the ceremonial behavior and second in terms of structural and organizational changes revealed in the strategies of interaction. The following goals are attained in the rituals of inauguration:

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[128]

1. *Preservation of continuity.* In the highland Maya Indian communities the problem of maintaining continuity is crucial because most of the offices

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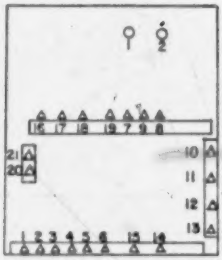

CHART 14 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF SACRAMENTO, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 *Meʔil K'op*
2 *Sčebal smeʔ*

MEN (triangles):
16 Cofrade of Sacramento (*Kobraria Sakramentú*)
17 First Nakawane (*Sba Nakawane*)
18 Second Nakawane (*Sčebal Nakawane*)
19 Third Nakawane (*Yolebal Nakawane*)
20, 21 Guitárist (*Balnial Alpultero*)

Remaining numerals refer to role terms listed in Chart 13.

are changed simultaneously. The emphasis on continuity is evident, first of all, in the repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetitive behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expectation which assures participants in a performance of a link with the past. Bunzel (1952, p. 251) has shown that this familiarity of ritual "sets" in a variety of ceremonials provides linkage with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango. Repetition in behavior is reinforced by verbal references to perform-

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[p. 227 - A]

ing "what our mothers and fathers did" (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 64). Second, continuity can be seen in the presence of both old and new officials in the townhall. In this setting, the old officials acknowledge acceptance of the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28). Finally, of greatest importance in establishing continuity are the principales, who await the arrival of the new officials with the old officials (App. 1, Q. 28) who pass over the symbol of authority (App. 1, Q. 31), and who remain alone in the townhall for the return of the new officials, when they have gone to church. 621* 105 794 178 18 [624]

2. *Role commitment.* The officials are members of closed corporate communities, integrated in a prior set of kinship and other social relations. They cannot rely on anonymity when acting in their official capacity as judge or policeman. Thus one of the functions of the inauguration as a rite of passage is a disengagement from the preexisting network of obligations and a commitment to the obligations of the office (cf. Parsons, 1951, pp. 80–84; Gluckman, 1962, p. 34; Cancian, 1964). Behaviorally, this function is indicated in the unfailing use of the term *Mam* (elder respect term) in both address and reference. The reference to the holy nature of their task (App. 1, Q. 19) and of the symbol of their authority, the "holy" staff (App. 1, Q. 30) which they always carry when discharging an official errand, establishes the supernatural authority on which the role is based. The effectiveness of these symbolic role identities in neutralizing prior affective commitments can partially be judged in that most dispute cases are brought before the local courts rather than referred to higher courts, suggesting that the complainant expects fair treatment. 621* 105 794 178 18 156 554 [576] [293] [691]

3. *Role learning.* The inauguration provides a setting in which the individual who is about to assume office learns what is expected of him (cf. Fortes, 1962, p. 82). The instruction of the novice officeholder is acquired most importantly in the home from the speeches of the *nakawanehetik* and cofrades (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 38, Q. 64) and in the directions he may be given in the ceremonial setting (App. 2, Q. 39, observation).

4. *Introduction of new officeholders to the villagers.* The new status of the officeholders is made

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[P. 227-8]

public in the procession around the plaza (App. 1, Q. 39). The mayordomos gather in the church specifically to view the new incumbents (App. 1, Q. 50). There is less public display of new officeholders in the case of the religious officials than in the case of civil officials.

The morphological description of the structure of a society is inadequate unless it includes role behavior as well as status positions. The behavioral data pro-

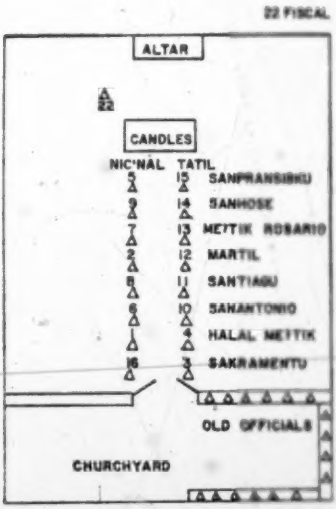

CHART 15 — NEW MAYORDOMOS INSIDE CHURCH, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

vide the basis for describing the physiology of a culture, or how actors and social groups interrelate in carrying out tasks. In the inaugurations, the household emerged in the behavioral descriptions as an important ritual domain supporting the civil and religious hierarchy. Similarly, the asymmetrical relation between the role of religious officials in the civil inauguration and that of civil officials in the religious

[P. 228-A)

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

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inauguration is deduced from both elicited and observed behavior. These data complement the elicited material on structure in rounding out the ethnographic model of social reality.

Specification of the behavioral data on which structural and functional statements are made should provide the basis for more precise comparisons over time and between communities. I turn to the observed interaction to summarize the evidence for microchange within the community.

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[178]

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Outside of the formally prescribed behavior scheduled in the inauguration, a struggle for power is going on which is leading to important organizational changes in the town. This was suggested in the substitution of the schoolteacher for the former Ladino secretary in the act of giving the oath. Factional struggle of the leaders of the new enterprises was revealed in this substitution. Further evidence of change is seen in the redefinition of the president's position in relation to that of the principales. The potential power which the post offers to the incumbent and those who back him is now recognized. The risks are higher as the competition for the post increases.

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In the religious sphere the priest's increasing control over the domain of the church is seen in the shift of setting for the common meal from the churchyard to the *?ali?bal's* house. This evoked the story of the open confrontation of the priest and cofrades a few years before. Public counting of funds by civil officials suggests an attempt by the new leadership to thwart the priest's dominance over the cofrades.

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In the emergent struggle for power within the community, we see not just a defensive reaction to Ladinos by Indians of a corporate community, but a play for stakes in the same world. This suggests that the corporate community, now and in the future, serves not so much as an insulation from the outside world as in the past but as a springboard for the entry of the Indians into fuller participation in the national society.

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APPENDIX I—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
#621 124 796 74 [875]				and enthusiasm what the constitution commands us. I want in this moment, under the oath, to designate the position of municipal president of the pueblo
[530]	33. How did new officials respond to oath?			Officials raised hands with rosary in it. Then they put rosary on their necks
#621 124 796	34. What do they do after the oath?		Pass over the papers with the acts, with all the things	Take inventory of communal possessions—5 chairs in bad estate, 2 *codigo viejo*, etc.
	35. Who takes inventory?			The past president
#621 124 796 796 [538] [788]	36. What do they do after they take their staffs the new officials?	The four alferecs go out with their banners	The alferecs go out in a procession with the banners	First alferez came to table, crossed himself, kissed banner with kerchief bound on handle, unfurled banner. He followed with second, third, and fourth alferecs. Flute and drum began as alferecs came out. They turned and faced the townhall. Inclining banners the police went out, knelt, crossed selves at door. Then the regidores, then president, then síndico and judges
#621 124 796 788	37. What time did the procession begin?			1:05
	38. What did the procession look like?	(Chart 9)		(Chart 10)
	39. How many turns do they take?		They take two turns where the fruit is sold (reference to plaza during a ceremony)	Two turns (started behind school house but old *nakawane* redirected them)
	40. What did the alferecs do?			At door of the townhall, drew up horses facing it, dipped banners. Same at church
	41. Where does the procession go?	To the church	They go to the church	They enter the church
#621 124 796 [624]	42. Who remains at the townhall?		The officials come out, leaving all the townhall silent except for the two principales who will await the new officials	The two principales remain within
[782] [794]	43. What do they do in the church?	All the officials speak to God (Chart 11)	They speak to God. They kiss all the saints	They pray at the altar, then kiss the saints as they leave. The alferecs leave their banners in the church

[P 235]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

#62 124 796	44. Where do the old officials go?	To the house of the old president or to the house of the former first judge		
	45. What do they do there?	They go to say goodbye		
	46. What do their hearts say?	Their hearts are very sad		
	47. Why do they kiss all the people present?		Because they want a miracle in order that there be no illness to pass in office	
#62 124	48. Who is in the church?	The mayordomos are in the church		The mayordomos sit at the bench in back of the church
794 796	49. What are the mayordomos doing?	They are seated at the door of the church. They watch the new officials enter the church		
	50. Why are they seated in the church?	In order to know who will be the new officials to see *(ya ʔʔil)* in the townhall		
#62 124 796	51. Where do the new officials go when they come out of the church?	The new police enter inside the kitchen (Chart 12). The president enters inside the townhall	Leave church and pass to the townhall	The police go to the kitchen attached to the townhall and the rest of the officials go into the townhall
539 693	52. What does the president say to the two principales inside the cabildo?	"Where are you, *Mamal principal?*"	First judge gives *patbeyoʔʔan* with the two principales. "Good day, tat. How does God see you, tat. Now you have taken your heart, has spoken your heart. Now you have been before the face of the motherfather. Where you take the holy oath inside the holy cold house, holy cold abode. You saw the procession in the plaza before the temple and inside the holy mother church for the commander lord. There is no fear, no embarrassment. That is all. Go rest your heart	[I was not present for these sessions]
	53. What does the principal reply?	"Enter, Mr. new president *(mamal ʔalʔ presirente)* and enter, Mr. New judges *(mamal ʔalʔ alkaletik)*"		
#62 124	54. What do they do then?	They sit a little each in his own chair	They sit down. They begin to drink liquor	
273 796 693	55. What do they do after they have rested their heart a little?	The first judge and the president order the fourth regidor to go get a liter of trago		
	56. For whom do they get the liter of the gift?	For the new officials		
	57. What do they do with the gift when the regidor arrives?	They put it in the middle *(ta yolil komun)*		

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Appendix 2—CHANGE OF OFFICIALS IN THE HOLY HOUSE

	Question	Informant 3	Observation
794 796	1. What is the first day of the fiesta called?	*Pas Kantelero*, 'Making the candles'	
124	2. What do the mayordomos do first on Paswamal of the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	They scrape the candles	At 9 A.M. the mayordomos were gathered at the door of the church, scraping the candles. The wax was carefully gathered. It will be melted down to make more candles, but not for ceremonial purposes.
[533]	3. What else do they do in the morning of Paswamal?	Two mayordomos beat the drum and one blows the flute	Music was provided by two mayordomos beating drum and one blowing flute
	4. Where do they scrape the candles?	Inside the church	In the courtyard of the church
	5. Where do they blow the flute?	At the door of the church	On the benches near the door of the church
	6. What else is done on the morning of Paswamal?	They sweep out the church	They sweep the church
[824]	7. What else is done on the morning of Paswamal?	Nothing. Formerly they bought juniper needles to put on the floor inside the church but now they do not	
	8. Why don't they bring pine needles now?	Because now the floor of the church is well finished with pure cement	
	9. What do they do after they finish scraping the candles?	They count the money	The fiscal spent the morning sitting on the benches outside the church with the elder mayordomos watching the counting of money
	10. What day do they collect the money?	On Sunday, eight days before the fiesta of San Pedro	
	11. Who collects the money?	Two kobrarias	
	12. How much do they collect from each mayordomo?	Two pesos each	
	13. Why do they collect the money?	For the price of the candles	
	14. Who counts the money to buy the candles?	Two kobrarias with the fiscal	
794 796	15. What do they do at noon?	They ring the bells. They all begin to drink liquor *(ya?alik)*	They ring the bells. Then they go to the house of the *?ali?bal*
273	16. What do they call the first drink at midday?	One measure to make the food go down *(sko?ip we?eletik)*	
124	17. What do they call the drink after the meal?	Water for the meal *(ya?lel we?elil)*	
	18. How many liters of liquor do the mayordomos drink on Paswamal?	Two liters	

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794 796	19. Where do they drink it?	Behind the church	In the house of the *ʔaliʔbal*
124	20. Where do the old mayordomos eat the common meal?	In the church	In the house of the *ʔaliʔbal*
[273] [264]	21. What do they eat?	Male turkey *(mam koz)*. Beef soup with tortillas and chile	
[262]	22. How do they prepare turkey?	With chile, *yerba buena* and salt	
[263] [252]	23. Who prepares the meal for the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	The *ʔaliʔbal*. The wife of the *Biktal* (minor) mayordomo of San Pedro and San Pablo	
	24. What do they do after the common meal?	They go to their homes	They go home
	25. What do they call the second day of the fiesta?	Wiśperel	
	26. What do the old mayordomos do first?	They make a fiesta. They beat the drums. They play the flute. They drink trago	They ring the bells three times. The people gather in the church
	27. What time do they begin the fiesta?	Early	At 7 o'clock
	28. What do they do in the church?		The padre gives a Mass for San Pedro and San Pablo
	29. Who collects for the Mass?		The old officials and the new officials and the women
[533]	30. Where do the mayordomos blow the flute and beat the drum?	At the door of the church	In front of the church
	31. Where do the new mayordomos gather first?	At the house of the kobraria Santa Lucia	At the house of the kobraria of Santa Lucia
	32. What do they do first?	They take out the mouthwash	They serve the mouthwash
[273]	33. What do they do then?	They take out a liter to drink	They serve coffee and corn gruel. Then they serve liquor
[272] [262] [273]	34. How much do the new mayordomos drink?	Two drinks each	After two rounds are served, drink is served to the mayordomos who go to the *nakawaneketik* and offer their drinks. This is done so that the new officials will not be drunk in church
	35. How many of the new mayordomos don't drink liquor?	Three	
[272]	36. What do they drink?	Cold water (soda)	
124 794 796 539	37. What does the kobraria of Santa Lucia say to the kobraria of San Pedro Martyr at his house when they begin to drink?	Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal. Thanks you are alive, his word God, at daybreak. We want to see no illness at daybreak. What we will do what we have done. We have to say what our heart says, our soil, our mud. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our Judge Sanpegro sanpablu? So it is that we	

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APPENDIX 2—*continued*

794 796 124 539

QUESTION	INFORMANT 3	OBSERVATION
	are here and that we are united in front of the house. Pardon us, it is not much, *me?el tatei*. Where we are gathered together there is nothing flavorful nor is there much. It is only a little to warm your body, of the water to wash his body his hand our old saint San Pedro and San Pablo, God thank mother and father *(me?a ta tat?a)* mam kobraria	
38. What does the kobraria of Santa Lucia say to the Tatil Sanpegro Martil and the mayordomos when they all go out?	What are we thinking? How shall we rise to enter the house of kobraria Sakramentu? How is it he wants us not to drink? It is good we would not remember. It is enough. If you will remember you will say little, mayordomos. Are we not ready with our rosaries, with our kerchiefs, for candles? Is there anything you want to say?	
39. What does the kobraria of San Pedro Martyr say?	It is good, I am going to say. Now I am going to say to all if you are ready with your rosary with your cloth to take the holy candles	The *mayordomos put on* their rosaries and red kerchiefs
40. What do the mayordomos reply?	Yes, good, we are ready thank you. It is only this more I say to you	
41. What does the kobraria say then?	Do not drink much trago. I do not want you to walk like a mad man *(lak ?alel likkel)*. I do not want you to say the kobraria said nothing	
42. What do the mayordomos reply?	Yes, thanks. It is good. Let us go now. Let us raise our mud our soil	
43. Where do they go then?	To the house of the kobraria of Sacramento	To the house of the kobraria of Sacramento
44. What do they say there?	"Good day *mamal*," each one	Good day, *mamal tat*
45. What time do they go to the house of the kobraria of Sacramento?	At 8 o'clock	9 A.M.
46. In what order do they speak to the people at his house the kobraria of Sacramento?		First to the two *balnials*. Then to the third *nakawane*. Then to the second *nakawane*. Then to the first *nakawane*
47. What do they say after the *tak'inal*?		The kobraria of *Halal me?etik* gives the *spat yo?t'an* with the first *nakawané*
48. What (does he say) after *spat yo?t'an*?		He goes to give account to the old woman who nursed us *(me?l'ukasil)* who is the *me?il k'op* in the house

794 796 124

49. Who is the woman speaker? — She is the first elder sister of the mother of the mam kobraria. She has the same mother and father as the father the mam kobraria

50. Who are the women inside the house of the kobraria of Sacramento? — Two or three sisters of the kobraria

51. What do his sisters *(yermanotak)* do inside his house? — They sit on the bench on the porch

52. What do the mayordomos do after the account with the *me?ℓ'ukalailetik?* — They sit on the bench on the porch

53. What does the *nakawane* do? — He tells the *balnial* to take out the mouthwash

54. What do they give after the mouthwash? — First the coffee with the bean tortillas

55. What do they give after the coffee? — They give another mouthwash

56. What do the *balnialetik* do after the mouthwash? — They take out the table with the cloth

[273] 57. What do they do then? — They take out 2 or 3 liters of trago with the measure and a little cold water

58. Who orders the women inside? — *Me?ℓ'ukalail*

59. What do they do before they begin to drink? — The kobraria of the Virgin of Santa Lucia gives the *spatbe yo?tan* He rises to ask permission before the *me?ℓ'ukalailetik*, all the mayordomos and all the *balnialetik*

[539] 60. What does the kobraria of the Virgin of Santa Lucia say then? — God, mother who nurses us, give permission to us. The water of his body the water of his hand, the gift will pass in your body that which is the mothers' fathers' *(me?tiktatik)*. God speaks, *tat nakawanehetik* and *balnialetik*. Give us permission to hand the gift that will pass in your body from the *me?tiktatik*. God, Jesus, Mary, only one commander god is three persons. Bless what we eat and what we drink and bless in the name of god the father. God take the gift, *me?el tatel*

61. What do they do then? — The mayordomos, *balnialetik* and *nakawanetik* measure their noses.

62. What does the *me?ℓ'ukalail* say? — God thank Mamal Tat

63. Then what does the kobraria of the Virgin Santa Lucia say? — He gives the benediction to the liquor

[539] 64. What is the benediction? — In God's name, God father, name of God, God son, Holy spirit. Yes, I can endure to do what they did, that which the mother, which the father

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APPENDIX 2—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3	OBSERVATION
794 796 124 [539]			did with the hand which has sinned, the feet which have sinned. Yes, I am changing holy day holy year, holy saint holy oath and the name of the god the father
[273]	65. How much do the mayordomos drink?		They drink four measures. After four measures they do not finish and give the rest to *mamal nakawanchetik*
	66. Why do they do this?		Because it is said they may get drunk at the hour to go to church
	67. What time do they go to the church?	At 10 o'clock	At 11 left for church. Put on red kerchiefs, rosaries
[539]	68. What does the *nakawane* say to the new mayordomos as they leave to go to church?		May you all get up and go to the church. May you all enter inside the church. May you take the oath inside the church before the face of the fiscal. After you take the oath you measure the nose in the face of the *tatik* Jesus Christ. After you have measured the noses, when you enter inside the door of the church the mamal new kobraria speaks the *palanbetik* to the mamal old kobraria
	69. Who is at the church?	The old mayordomos	The old mayordomos are seated at the door of the church
[538]	70. What are they doing?	They are awaiting the new mayordomos	They play the drum and the flute
	71. How do they take the *huramentu* (oath)?		They enter and kneel each pair, *tatil* and *nil'anil* in front of *tatik* Jesus Christ.
	72. How do they stand?		(Chart 15)
	73. How is the church arranged?		There is a large table with the candles lined up. In the middle of the table stands a little holy Jesus hung on the cross
	74. Who is inside the church?		The priest, the fiscal, the old mayordomos
	75. What does the priest do?		He gives the Mass. He blesses the new and the old mayordomos
	76. What do they do after the blessing?		The fiscal gives the candles wrapped in a napkin
	77. How many candles does he give to each mayordomo?		Nine candles
	78. What are the candles for?		To light for the saints
	79. What does he do with the candles?		Goes and puts them in the elder officeholder's house. Returns and gets his own to bring to his house
	80. Where do they go after the oath?		To the house of the kobraria of Sacramento

794	81. What do they do?		They drink
796	82. What time do they leave his house?		Prayer time *(oración)*
124 [273]	83. Where do they go?		To their house
	84. What do they do first on *sk'ahk'alel?*		Go to hear Mass
	85. Who is in the church to hear Mass?		All the new mayordomos, the women, the prayer leaders
	86. What time is the Mass?		At 7 o'clock
	87. What do they do when they come out of Mass?		Go to the house of the kobraria of Sacramento
	88. How many go?		Thirteen
	89. What do the rest do?		Three juniors *(nit'anil)* remain play drum at door of church
	90. What do they do at the house of the kobraria of Sacramento?		Count the money of the Virgin and San Pedro Martyr
[426]	91. What do they do with the money?		They want to lend it in order to get interest because they want to increase it *(ya sk'an smahanik yu?un ya?be sol yu?un sk'an solin hilel)*
	92. How much money is there for the virgin?		Two hundred twenty-eight pesos
[624]	93. Who counts it?	Fiscal with two kobraria	The town treasurer, the síndico and secretary assisted the fiscal in the accounting of funds. The principales sat on the bench to observe proceedings
	94. How much money is there for San Pedro?	Forty pesos	
[624] [537]	95. What do they do after they count the money?	Begins the *pat?ot'an* with the kobraria of Sacramento	The principales recite the *pat?o?tan* with the kobraria of Sacramento
[273]	96. What do they do afterward?	They drink liquor	They drink liquor

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APPENDIX 3A—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN CIVIL INAUGURATION

	Setting	Role (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	Relationship	Behavior
*621 105 192 554 593 [574]	House, evening of inauguration	*ʔAČ'AʔTEL*, new officials	Ego	Receives guests, sits next to leader *nakawane*
		NAKAWANEHETIK, house officials	Father of new official or elder of neighborhood who has passed in higher offices (first regidor and elder mayordomo)	Initiates greetings; sits in head seat
		BALNIALETIK, assistants	Sons of new officials, husbands of daughters or of sisters	Serve food, measure drinks
[608]		*ʔAK'SIETIK*, wood gatherers	Neighbors, compadres, brothers	Bring wood, eat, drink
		MEʔELETIK, Meʔil K'op, woman speaker Yinam, wife	Mother, or elder relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings
		SKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers		Serves food. Cook food, dish out food, eat
*621 105 192 554 [593]	House, morning of inauguration	*NAKAWANEHETIK*, house officials	Father and/or elder neighbors	Initiates greetings, addresses blessing to liquor
		AʔTELETIK *ALKALETIK* *REHIROLETIK*, judges, regidores	Men of village	Receive food and liquor
[602] [608]		*BALNIALETIK*, assistants	Brothers-in-law, godsons, compadres, fa's sis's sons, brother, comadre's son, neighbors	Serve food, measure drink
[574]		*YULATAK*, visitors	Men from rural colonias	Give *abrazo*, embrace, to new president, eat, drink
		MEʔELETIK, women	Mother or elder relative	Responds to *nakawane's* and *alkal's* greeting. Orders women in serving of food
		Meʔil k'op	?	
		Sčebal Smeʔ	?	
		Yoičbal Smeʔ	?	
		ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	(See Chart 3)	Cooks food, dishes out food
	Townhall, morning session, civil inauguration	*K'AʔAʔTELETIK*, old officials	Men of village	Drink; wait for new officials seated
[594]		*ʔALPERESETIK*, alferecer	Men of village	Bring banners from church, drink wait for new officials

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*621 105 192 554	*KRINSIPALETIK*, principales	Two men who have passed through five offices in civil and six in religious hierarchy	Address greetings to old first judge; drink, greet new officials pass over staffs
	ʔAČʔAʔTELETIK, new officials	Men of village	Receive oath
	Professor		Given oath
Plaza, noon	*TEKLUM*, Village (people) *Spiul Meʔeletik*, all the women *Spiul Winkenik*, all the men	Men and women of village	Look to see who the new officials are
[188]	*ʔAČʔAʔTELETIK*, new officials		Make two turns in procession
[194]	*ʔALPERESETIK*, alferecs		Lead procession with banners
	BALNIALETIK, assistants	Two of president's assistants	Play flute and drum, light firecrackers
[194] church, noon	*MARTOMAETIK*, mayordomos		Look to see new officials
	PIŠKAL, fiscal		Look to see new official
	ʔAČ' AʔTELETIK, new officials		Speak to God
Townhall, afternoon	*ʔAČ' AʔTELETIK*, new officials		Drink with *krinsipaletik*
	KRINSIPALETIK, principales		Drink with new officials

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APPENDIX 38—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN RELIGIOUS INAUGURATION

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SETTING	ROLE (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	RELATIONSHIP	BEHAVIOR
[574] House of kobraria Sacramento, morning of inauguration	KOBRARIA SAKRAMENTU	Ego	Receives guests; sits at first seat on outside wall near door
[604] [605]	NAKAWANEHETIK	Fa's brother and fa's brother's sons	Initiates greetings, sits at head seat
[593] [608]	BALNIALETIK	Sons, sons of campadres, neighbors	Serve liquor, food
[602]	ME?ELETIK, women	Elder female relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings, orders helpers
[608]	Me?ilk'op, woman speaker		
	ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	Comadres, sisters, neighbors	Prepare food, coffee
	MARTOMAETIK 3 KOBRARIA TATILETIK NIČ'ANILETIK		Eat and drink. Listen to advice of *nakawanehetik*
Church, morning of inauguration	PIŠKAL, fiscal KURA, priest ?AČ'MARTOMAETIK, new mayordomos K'A MARTOMAETIK, old mayordomos		Advises mayordomos of duties. Divides up candles brought by mayordomos; hands them to new mayordomos

794 the calpul must have a powerful nagual, through which they can learn about the private lives of their subordinates. This is usually the way they know who has enough money to pay for a feast, who can occupy special jobs, and which sinners deserve punishment.

Religious Life

The Catholic Cult

177 The beliefs and religious practices intro-
797 duced by Catholic missionaries in the 16th
795 century have been adapted to the aborigi-
795 nal culture. The largest and most important
778 building of the village is the church, situ-
[346] ated on the east side of the ceremonial cen-
[361] ter. In it are the image of the patron saint
[776] of the group, the holy cross, and lesser
[796] saints. The most profound ceremonies take
[794] place before the altar of these saints, who are looked upon as mediators between God and men, and are performed by the cabildos de misa, dzunubiles, and other elderly men of high rank who know both Catholic and Indian ritual.

346 During the ceremonies the altar is deco-
796 rated with flowers and with paper and rib-
795 bons of different colors. The floor is covered with pine needles, which give off an agree-
[782] able fragrance. Candles and copal are part of every prayer and ceremony, the copal having been used since pre-Hispanic times.

795 Common prayers of people who visit the
782 center also have a place. These people have to enter the church and make an offering of candles to the patron saint. The prayers follow a formal pattern but vary in content according to the need and mood of the suppliant. Each individual talks intimately to the saint, specifying the help he needs, much as he would to a relative or a friend in whom he has absolute confidence. The two most frequent matters of petition are health and food; as the latter depends almost entirely on the condition of the cornfield, people pray that "it may not be damaged by the wind, or by cold, sun, birds, or plagues."

[P 221-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
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795 782 In most of the prayers, Dios Tatik Jesucristo and the 13 *fiadores* who are in heaven are mentioned. These 13 fiadores are God's immediate helpers and correspond to the [778] Christian saints. The cross is venerated as a representation of God wherever a prayer is said and so appears on the family altar, on mountaintops, in caves, at fountains, at entrances to the town, at the four corners of the plaza, and in front of the church.

795 778 776 177 The local character of Catholicism is seen in the Masses offered to the mountain called Ikal Ajau, near the ceremonial center of Oxchuc. The Indians say that it is a "living mountain" and give it great reverence, for Ikal Ajau was the name of the idol venerated by Oxchuc people in pre-Hispanic 795 184 776 times. In almost all the municipios the saints are dressed as Indians. Towns with a large Ladino population have different saints for the Ladinos, who are dressed as Ladinos and to whom the Indians are completely indifferent, even to forgetting the names of them.

Fiesta for the Patron Saint

796 794 One of the major events in the religious life of the Indians is the annual fiesta in honor of the patron saint and the other saints kept in the church. The capitán principal and some of his immediate assistants are in charge of the organization and expenses of these fiestas. The length and cost [435] of the fiesta correspond to the importance of the saint and range from one day and 100 pesos to four days and several thousand pesos, like the one for the patron saint. To become a capitán principal a man must go through all the ranks and be able to afford the expenses of any fiesta, from a small one to the very large ones of the patrons.

796 The fiesta of the patron of each village is similar to that for any other saint but larger. There are Masses and other religious observances in the church, processions with the image of the saint along the main streets, large meals at the house of the cargoholders, and, above all, constant drink-

[P 221-B]

[Text continues on p. 222-B]

[P. 119]

TABLE 20. Relationship of Individual to Compadres

Informant's family status	Occasion	Residence of compadre: Same section	Opposite section	Other barrio	Neighboring town	Total	Relationship: Relative	Non-relative	Total
65-year-old man, wife, 5 grown children	Baptism of godchild	13	5			18		18	18
	Wedding	31				31	12	19	31
	Baptism of own child	3			2	5		5	5
	Total	47	5		2	54	12	42	54
42-year-old man, wife, adopted daughter	Baptism of godchild	12	1			13	2	11	13
	Wedding	13	3	5		21	6	15	21
	Confirmation		2			2		2	2
	Blessing of loudspeaker	2			2	4		2	2
	Total	27	6	5	2	40	8	30	38
35-year-old man, wife, 5 children	Baptism of godchild	7				7	4	3	7
	Baptism of own child	4			1	5		5	5
	Wedding	4				4		4	4
	House saint	2				2	1	1	2
	Total	17			1	18	5	13	18
34-year-old widow	Baptism of godchild	17	1	1		19	15	4	19
	Wedding	7	3			10	2	8	10
	House saint	2	1		1	4	1	3	4
	Confirmation	1				1	1		1
	Total	27	5	1	1	34	19	15	34
	TOTAL	118	16	6	6	146	44	100	144

602
668
911
857
621
795
585

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The boy is expected to live for a year with the girl's parents; then he makes his own home, usually near that of his father. If the boy's parents are sufficiently powerful, they may pay the girl's parents twelve pesos in lieu of the year's service. Villa was informed that a woman unable to pay a debt or a fine may be taken as a secondary wife by any married man who will pay the debt or fine; that a woman who loses her virginity may be bought similarly of her parents for a little rum; and that in the case of any of these polygynous marriages, a single household is maintained. No such household was observed. 583 591 583 595 595 [681]

No information was obtained on birth customs,[20] or on customs in connection with death.[21] 114

Blom and LaFarge describe a church festival held at Tecojá ranch on June 22 and 23.[22] When Villa visited the highland villages the carnival was being celebrated. In Tenejapa on February 20 he witnessed the "Festival of the Flags" (*tahimalkin*). The (annually elected) leaders of the festival, the *alfereces*, assembled in the morning at the church. Each man conveyed a red banner with green edges, fastened to a pole, and each held in his mouth a short hook on which an orange was impaled. Nothing was learned as to the significance of these objects. The alfereces remained for a time inside the church drinking rum and singing. They then went by fours to pray in turn before each of the crosses set up in the village. The rest of the day they spent visiting the house of each one of them in turn; in each house they sang the same song sung in the church; in each the host offered rum, so that by nightfall all were drunk. These acts were to be twice repeated during the days following. They had for their stated purpose the announcement of the days of carnival. On the following Thursday the carnival became generally celebrated, and many natives went out costumed and masked. [796] [114] [574] [533]

The alfereces were accompanied by musicians, and also by three personages carrying the dried bodies of, respectively, a wild cat, a rodent called *saben*, and an iguana. Villa was informed that these animals are used in a later festal pantomime in which the alfereces enact a sowing, and in which these animals are represented as performing their characteristic mischief. [825]

Villa observed other elements of the carnival ritual in Oxchuc. On Thursday, February 24, Indians of the calpul of Santo Tomás assembled in the church where they prayed for a time before the large altar, and then danced and drank rum in the nave. The dance was performed alternately by men and by women, and was accompanied by music from a harp, a guitar, and a rattle made of a calabash and a deer's hoof. On the following day these acts were performed by Indians of the other calpul; on this occasion the music was furnished by two drums and a flute, and the leader (*capitán*) was dressed in red. On this latter day natives of the calpul of Santo Tomás moved in procession through the streets; four individuals bore each a large pole to which were fastened ribbons of various colors; a fifth carried a red banner. [535] [533]

[20] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359.

[21] *Ibid.*, 2:360–362.

[22] *Ibid.*, 2:364–365.

[23] The frequent association, in Middle America, of small animals, especially furred animals, with festivals, in connection with ideas of fertility and of festal buffoonery, has been noted. See Redfield, 1936, pp. 231–243. [171]

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

796 carried a red banner. At the church the four men performed a dance. Divided into
535 pairs facing each other at a distance of 6 m., they first shook the ribbons on their poles while giving loud cries, varied by putting the hand over the mouth, and running to meet one another. Then they made a slight inclination of the head, turned half around, and returned to their original places. After repeating this thrice, the pairs exchanged places and performed new figures. At the conclusion they surrounded the flag-bearer, shouting and waving the ribbons.

796 Although harp and guitars were here used in an apparently religious dance,
534 in several of the communities it appears that the stringed instruments of European
184 origin (guitar, violin, and harp) are used only for secular purposes, the religious musical instruments (which are often kept in the church) consisting of cane flute
[177] (*ahmay*) and drums. In Chanal two drums are used, a large drum (*kayob*) and a small one (*chin kayob*). In Tenejapa the single drum is called *anteel* and is accompanied by a sort of cornet.

778 Some minor observances having to do with the cult of the saints may be
776 mentioned. In the highland villages it is usual for each important saint to be repre-
184 sented by two images of which one, the genuine santo, is too sacred to be taken from the church; the other, called *debo* (for *doble*) substitutes for the true santo
[194] in religious processions.[34] In Bachajón the care of the church is alternated weekly between the two calpules; on Christmas Eve each church-caretaker (*priora*) must contribute to the decoration of the altar ten little figures of clay, of which five are in the form of a bull, and five in the form of a horse and rider. The church at Citalá contains many santos of which two (San Mateo and San Gabriel) are painted black and enjoy special prestige. In this church a straw mat, yellow in color with red ribbons interwoven, is used to kneel upon before the principal saints; it is kept with extraordinary care. At Citala a principal annual event is the ritual
778 washing of the saints' clothing. This occurs two weeks after Holy Week. The
776 "Great Washing," when the clothing of the principal saints is washed, is performed
796 at a spring where the water is thought to be of absolute purity. The "Small Washing" of the clothes of the lesser saints may be done in the river. The Great Washing is reported as involving the consumption of eight hogs and a great quantity of rum.

78 Although it is evident that the religion of the Tzeltals contains many pagan
[114] elements, some of which have been reported by Blom and LaFarge,[35] Villa's notes do not add a great deal on this point. The use of hilltop shrines was noted at
778 Oxchuc, where one of these is called Ikal Ahau, apparently after an ancient deity.[36]
782 The teacher at Amatenango reports that the Indians there make offerings for
776 rain at a rock marked with a zigzag thought to represent the lightning. No
114 information was obtained on the beliefs as to *nahuales*; this subject is discussed by Blom and LaFarge.[37]

[34] This usage corresponds precisely with that of the pairs of crosses used by the Quintana Roo Maya, of which one, the *cruz fadora*, is moved about in ritual.

[35] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:362–374.

[36] Núñez de la Vega (1702, p. 9) says, "Los de Oxhchuc y de otros pueblos de los Llanos veneran mucho al (ídolo) que llaman Ikalahau, que quiere decir negro principal, o señor de negros," as quoted in Bercerra, 1932, p. 244.

37. Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:369-371.

756 539 [swayobel]." "What one?" asked his friend. "You won't be afraid?" asked J. And then he put his shirt and hat on the floor, spoke three words (my friend didn't say what), and raised his hat and shirt, and a horse appeared. He did this again and a bull appeared. He was a great *?ak'?amal* [witch]. [682] He stole a great deal. He was killed by five bullets.

756 Such stories of curers "who walk on both sides" (*tbe?en ta to mekl*) are favorites in the [152] drinking sessions of Teklum. The power of curers inspires fear, so much so that some of the town presidents have been afraid of putting them in prison.

756 776 The open competition between curers serves to undermine the faith of the people in their guardianship function. This function was [133] believed to have been acquired by the leaders from the *me?tiktatik*, the ancestors, who were [769] said to live in a cave in a hill near the town, from which came the progenitors of the present townspeople. To carry out this guardianship function, the animal spirits of the two leading curers roamed the streets at night, when the evil spirits were out, each one remaining within the limits of his own side of the dual division. In this role, the two major curers were called the *me?iltatiletik*, a term derived from the one referring to the ancestors.

178 776 756 769 The loss of faith in the guardianship function of the curers was coincident with the loss of belief in the presence of the me?tiktatik. Some deny that the me?tiktatik live in the cave anymore, and others say they just appear on [796] the day of their fiesta, the Day of the Cross in the Catholic calendar. This fiesta formerly was 796 776 an important event in establishing the guardian power of the leader curers, since they were 756 178 the only ones who dared enter the cave and talk to the ancestors. But this fear and this 769 belief have gone. In 1960 one young man of the pueblo entered the cave on the day of the fiesta, when the curers were "deceiving the people" in claiming that they were talking to the ancestors; the fact that he dared enter the cave indicates an ambient distrust (in part resulting from verbal attacks by the priest, who at that time was gaining more power in [794] the town). By now, on the Day of the Cross the church and civil officials, the women [793] prayermakers, and an assistant of the priest, the *fiscal*, go to the cave, but the curers are no 178 longer present, even as bystanders. The 756 curers have tried to buttress belief in the 769 guardianship of the ancestors by claiming that a nephew of the ancestors is now in residence in

241 Between September and October, when the tender ears are ready, some are torn loose to prepare atoles and tamales.

Toward the middle of October, when the milpa has reached maturity, all hands proceed to the task of the *doble*, folding or breaking the stem of the plant so that the ear dries and may later be put into the barn. This is an easy task in which men, women, and children take part. [462] [857]

The harvest takes place in November and December with the participation of the whole family; it is a joyful task which compensates for all the moments of anxiety in the previous months, when subsistence was scarce. The produce from the milpa is gathered in large nets and later stored in a corner of the house or in some improvised structure nearby. The crop is measured by *zontles*, units of 400 ears, which are formed by counting the ears by fives; two ears are taken in one hand and three in the other until 400 are reached. The family of five members which manages to harvest from 15 to 20 zontles considers itself happy, since that much will last them the entire year, consuming 20 ears a day plus feeding one or two hogs and 10 or 12 chickens. [592] [251] [804] [261] [231]

The milpa also produces various squashes, manioc (*dzinté*), and peanuts, which the Indians call *caxlan-chenek* ('Ladino's bean').

243 184 Exceptional among the Tzeltal is the cultivation of wheat in Amatenango. There the small valley and a creek have favored its development.

241 246 The most important ceremonies take place immediately after planting. They entrust the germination of the seed to the care of God, of the "thirteen holders of Heaven," and of "Tatik Jesucristo." The "thirteen holders of Heaven" refer to the principal saints who are mentioned in the prayers. The ceremonies consist in offerings of prayers and incense before the crosses kept in caves belonging to each paraje, and in one *bikit mixa* ('small Mass'), which the cabildos and principales of the, [178] [782]

[P 201-B]

241 paraje perform before the altar of the
782 church in the ceremonial center. All prayers
796 are said in Tzeltal; some are Christian in
[778] origin, others entirely pagan. This prayer
[177] I recorded in 1944:

241 Here we come to bring you your food, to
796 light your candles, to play the harp, to play the
782 guitar. Here we come to perform your fiesta,
539 so you may be happy, so you will not abandon
[534] us.

We have already planted the milpas; the seed is already in the soil. Father, do not forsake us; let the rains come properly; let them not be abundant nor deficient. Let there be a little sunshine and a few clouds. Let the soil be happy.

Father, let no hail come; let no wind come; let no locust come; let no harmful animals come; let no robbers come, lest they steal from us and leave us in poverty.

Father, let the year come well; let the corn turn out well; let the beans turn out well. Let there be no sickness; let there be no sorrow. Father, the mouthful has already entered; the word had already entered.

The word "mouthful" refers to all the gifts, "word" to all the prayer.

796 A similar ceremony is the *mukul mixa*
[621] ('great Mass'), organized by members of
[776] each calpul. Each calpul has its own patron
[622] saint and its own chiefs. For this ceremony
[534] many more people gather, for representatives and musicians (flute, drum, harp, and guitar) come from all places. The candles offered as "mouthfuls" are greater in number and size.

778 Household ceremonies follow as the head
78 of the household, in private, prepares the small home altar, where the cross which
[834] protects the home is always found. He adorns it with *juncia* and five candles; he says appropriate prayers at 6 o'clock in the morning or at midday, as he observes fasting and sexual abstinence. These family prayers may be repeated occasionally, depending on the condition of the milpa.

241 At the beginning of the month called
782 [P. 202-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

241 782 *chin-uch* (May 20–June 8), an offering is made to the supernatural being which reigns over it. The natives have vague no-
[825] tions of the nature of this being. They say that *uch* is the name of a small insect which spoils the pozole and, also, of the *tlacuache* or *zarigueya* which often destroys the milpa. The offering, hung at the entrance of the hut, consists of a ball of pozole wrapped in plantain leaf, a red chile, a tortilla, an ear of corn, and a little stick like the kind used to turn the ear cooking over hot coals.
241 782 787 All objects are minute in size. When the offering achieves its purpose, on the completion of a 20-day period, the atmosphere becomes hazy "as if there were smoke." It is explained that "the chin-uch burned its house," which forecasts a favorable sun for development of the milpa. If such a sign should not appear on the indicated date or at the end of the next month of *mukul-uch* (June 9–28), the forecast is ominous and indicates that the rains will be excessive, greatly harming the milpa.

778 796 Another mukul-mixa is performed in Ox-
[184] chuc, in homage to the hill called Ikal-Ajau, near the ceremonial center, of which the Indians say "it is a living hill." The name of the hill is that of the ancient hill worshipped by the Oxchuequeños. Nuñez de la Vega (in Becerra, 1933, p. 293) reports: "Those of Oxchuc and other towns of Los Llanos venerate very much the idol which they call Ikalajau, which means principal Negro or
[789] lord of the Negroes." This Mass, performed the first days of June, prevents locusts and other plagues from coming.

241 78 Once the crop is in the granary, other family prayers are said before the household cross, to give thanks for the good received and to petition the supernatural beings to protect the grain from insects and rodents.

Other Subsistence Resources

262 235 Other food resources include raising chickens and pigs. A family averages about
[231] 10 chickens, using the eggs as money when
[437] [P. 202-B]

631 the secretario, who is, without exception, a Ladino, for his responsibilities require a good knowledge of the Spanish language as well as office skills, which the Indians usually lack. Actually it is this official who controls all the administrative affairs of the municipio. He imposes fines, collects taxes, assigns communal work, and keeps in con-
[62] tact with the state authorities. After him rank the regidor, síndico, alcalde, police commander, and policemen.

621 Besides these authorities, which are the officially recognized ones, the Indians have their own government system, which in most places is still operating. Oxchuc is
[888] typical of the regional pattern. There the
[887] municipio is divided into two calpules, each of which is a kind of fraternity under the supervision of those old men having the
[776] greatest knowledge and prestige. Each cal-
[796] pul has also its own patron saint, venerated with special feasts and ceremonies throughout the year. (In Oxchuc the calpules are not geographically determined, and its members are spread in different parajes of
62 the territory.) Authority is now integrated in the following officials:

1 katinab, supreme chief of the whole calpul
1 okil kabil, "feet and hands" of the preceding, i.e., secretary
2 dzunubiles, supreme "pulsers" or "curers"
1 alcalde, who carries a staff of office
2 comales (or governors), who also carry staffs of office
2 sindicos, who also carry staffs of office
4 x-tules (or regidores)

555 The four last jobs are reached by strict
624 hierarchy and indicate the progress of each
794 individual in the fulfillment of his social duties. This social-service career begins when the man is not yet married, when he is assigned the cargo of mayordomo of the church, which means that he has to attend to minor affairs connected with the church and to keep it clean. Shortly after his marriage he usually reaches the position of capitán, where he is responsible for the fiesta.

[P. 220-A]

794 the calpul must have a powerful nagual, through which they can learn about the private lives of their subordinates. This is usually the way they know who has enough money to pay for a feast, who can occupy special jobs, and which sinners deserve punishment.

Religious Life

The Catholic Cult

177 The beliefs and religious practices intro-
797 duced by Catholic missionaries in the 16th
795 century have been adapted to the aborigi-
795 nal culture. The largest and most important
778 building of the village is the church, situ-
[346] ated on the east side of the ceremonial cen-
[361] ter. In it are the image of the patron saint
[776] of the group, the holy cross, and lesser
[796] saints. The most profound ceremonies take
[794] place before the altar of these saints, who are looked upon as mediators between God and men, and are performed by the cabildos de misa, dzunubiles, and other elderly men of high rank who know both Catholic and Indian ritual.

346 During the ceremonies the altar is deco-
796 rated with flowers and with paper and rib-
795 bons of different colors. The floor is covered with pine needles, which give off an agree-
[782] able fragrance. Candles and copal are part of every prayer and ceremony, the copal having been used since pre-Hispanic times.

795 Common prayers of people who visit the
782 center also have a place. These people have to enter the church and make an offering of candles to the patron saint. The prayers follow a formal pattern, but vary in content according to the need and mood of the suppliant. Each individual talks intimately to the saint, specifying the help he needs, much as he would to a relative or a friend in whom he has absolute confidence. The two most frequent matters of petition are health and food; as the latter depends almost entirely on the condition of the cornfield, people pray that "it may not be damaged by the wind, or by cold, sun, birds, or plagues."

[P 221-A]

795 In most of the prayers, Dios Tatik Jesu-
782 cristo and the 13 *fiadores* who are in heaven are mentioned. These 13 fiadores are God's immediate helpers and correspond to the
[778] Christian saints. The cross is venerated as a representation of God wherever a prayer is said and so appears on the family altar, on mountaintops, in caves, at fountains, at entrances to the town, at the four corners of the plaza, and in front of the church.

795 The local character of Catholicism is seen
778 in the Masses offered to the mountain called
776 Ikal Ajau, near the ceremonial center of
177 Oxchuc. The Indians say that it is a "living mountain" and give it great reverence, for Ikal Ajau was the name of the idol venerated by Oxchuc people in pre-Hispanic
795 times. In almost all the municipios the
184 saints are dressed as Indians. Towns with a
776 large Ladino population have different saints for the Ladinos, who are dressed as Ladinos and to whom the Indians are completely indifferent, even to forgetting the names of them.

Fiesta for the Patron Saint

796 One of the major events in the religious
794 life of the Indians is the annual fiesta in honor of the patron saint and the other saints kept in the church. The capitán principal and some of his immediate assistants are in charge of the organization and expenses of these fiestas. The length and cost
[435] of the fiesta correspond to the importance of the saint and range from one day and 100 pesos to four days and several thousand pesos, like the one for the patron saint. To become a capitán principal a man must go through all the ranks and be able to afford the expenses of any fiesta, from a small one to the very large ones of the patrons.

796 The fiesta of the patron of each village is similar to that for any other saint but larger. There are Masses, and other religious observances in the church, processions with the image of the saint along the main streets, large meals at the house of the cargoholders, and, above all, constant drink-

[P 221-B]

[Text continues on p. 222-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

776 This substitute is called *gelol*, the same im-
796 age but smaller, which is kept next the original one.

[788] During the procession the saint is carried
[782] in a litter. Incense is burned before him,
[533] while music with drums and flutes is played.

Traditional Ceremonies

796 There are other ceremonies held in the
[177] parajes which, although based on Christian
[178] ritual (including some of the prayers, presence of the cross, candles, etc.), still manifest ancient aboriginal traditions. Among
[776] these ceremonies is the one made before the house altar to Chulmetic (the earth goddess), to God, to Tatik Jesucristo and the 13 Fiadores del Cielo, for the soul of one newborn, to guard against sicknesses or bad influences of any kind. This ceremony is

[P. 222-C]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

796 ing in and out of church. From the second day on, everybody is drunk, including women and young people. The sound of skyrockets is heard continuously and marks the gaiety of the people.

An important part of the ceremony at the church is to clean carefully the face of the saint and to change his clothes for new or at least clean ones so that he can be happy during his fiesta. Another act is to take his [788] image from the main altar to carry it in procession. This is important because there is 776 danger that the patron of other villages may 796 come to steal his power and he would then lose influence over the crops: the saint of Oxchuc helps the growth of corn, the one of Cancuc protects the cotton, and so on. To avoid this danger a substitute image is put in his place while the real one is taken out.

[P. 222-B]

796 "sembrar el alma del niño" and must be performed by the dzunubiles and the cabildos
[776] de misa. A similar devotion is made to Uch, the supernatural being connected with the growth of the cornfield mentioned earlier.

782 Also important are the prayers said by
778 families before the cross of the ancestors, in the sacred caves.

Finally, certain prayers and offerings are made to particular lakes considered sacred because they are inhabited by virgins who look after the well-being of the people. The best known of these lakes is Banabil in Tenejapa. Some day during the year, a small box containing a woman's dress and all its ornaments is thrown into the water. The dress must be made by a virgin or an old woman.

787 *Talking Saints*

776 Another religious form where Indian tra-
[177] dition is manifested through Christian formulae is the veneration of the talking saints, a widespread cult among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil. These saints are always private property and are usually kept in a small case on the house altar. The believers go to the house of those who own a talking saint and ask him about any secret problem that might require a special knowledge to be solved. Although any saint can be asked, the most popular one is San Miguelito. In order to consult him, people have to tell his owner their problems. The owner, who supposedly is the only one who can understand his saint, talks to him behind a curtain so that no one can see him. Often the owner of a talking saint succeeds in creating a cult out of the saint's box, making a special altar for him and asking the believers for frequent offerings and prayers. Sometimes there is no box, so the effigy is placed on an altar and concealed by a curtain when the private dialogue takes place.

There have been cases, however, in which the talking saints exceed their function as oracles and advise people on political matters. This is why some talking saints have

[P. 223-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

We have divided Maya history in two groups, the Old Empire and the New Empire. Of the history of the New Empire we know a considerable amount, but our knowledge of the Old Empire history is scant. We know the area in which it flourished as a whole, like knowing Greece without being aware of Sparta, Athens, and Corinth. Here in front of me lay one of the first hints of the subdivisions of the Old Empire. Knowledge will advance, and soon we shall be able to tell about the rise and decline of states and cities, to revive the history of the foremost people of ancient America.

Nearly due north across the valley lies the Campomtik pyramid. La Farge visited it while we worked at Toniná. It, too, is a remodeled mountain top, and as it is covered with grass, it stands out sharply against the forest-clad hills. It consists of a series of terraces with a depression which has stone-faced terraces and floor. From the valley bottom the hill rises 280 meters, of which 105 meters (325 feet) have been terraced. Broken pottery is found in various places on the hillside, and on the top now stands two wooden crosses, set there by the Indians. The name Campomtik means "much yellow incense." Incense was burned on the hilltop until quite recently. At such times they burned great fires, and shot off many rockets bought in Ocosingo. Finally the celebrations got too fervent for the Catholic Father, and he had the Indians driven away by the town officials. Generally, though, the Padres let the Indians alone when they celebrate in honour of the ancient gods (fig. 201).

Outside Ocosingo, where the trail divides, one going to Bachajon, the other to Sivacá, lies a group of mounds called Santa Teresa. Rumors that Indains had buried church treasures here after an uprising, led the townspeople to make a large excavation. According to some people in Ocosingo, they found a small wooden sanctuary, and a beautiful clay bowl with a fish on its lid. This bowl later was bought by Seler.*

It is remarkable how persistent are rumors of buried treasures. Every Ladino expects to find "dinero," money, in any mound, and they are usually sadly disappointed. Also, most of these people believe that we find money, else why should we dedicate so much time to our explorations? We had a case where one man offered to go fifty-fifty with us if we would explore a mound on his lands. The whole mound at Santa Teresa has been dug through, and it is told in Ocosingo that the excavators found, not money, but a small wooden sanctuary with a saint inside. We hear every day, when among the Ladinos and Mexicans, stories of church bells of solid gold, and cocks that crow at midnight on top of the mounds.

*Seler, E., 1901. Fig. 279.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

The country near the village has been farmed out long ago; now the fields lie at a distance in the jungle. After every concentration, the Indians drift away again like blown smoke. Today most of the houses are rotten, sagging, with gaping doors. The paths are grown up with weeds, huge, old moss-covered crosses lean at crazy angles by the main trails. Over all broods the frame of the sacked church, huge stone walls with rank vegetation around them, and a twisted, unhealthy oak-tree on one side, like a composition by Piranesi.

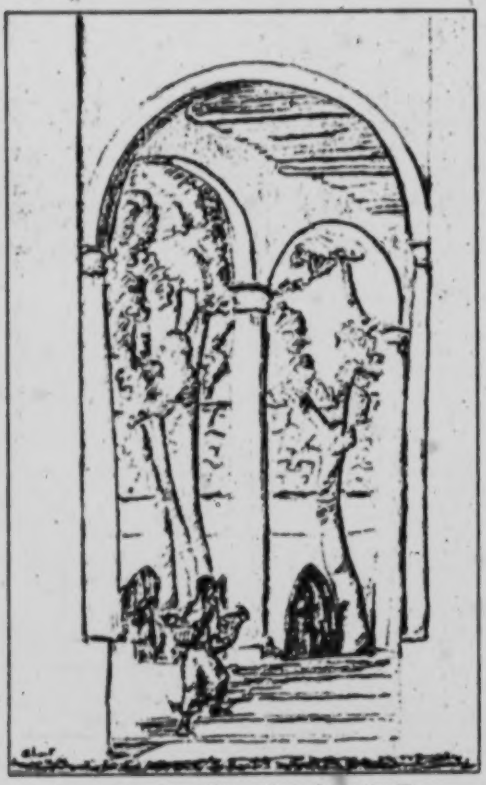

FIG. 277—Ocosingo, Chis. Colonnade on the Plaza.

Ocosingo Valley and its neighbours furnish a transition towards the real highlands. The valleys are fertile and green, ringed in with ranges of steep, rich hills. The soil in the lower parts is light; here palms and pines grow together, with a luxuriance of rich grass that makes an ideal grazing country. Through the valleys are large and small ranches of Ladinos and old Spanish families. The bigger ones, such as San Antonio, Quechil, and Achin in the Ocosingo Valley, San José Reforma and El Real beyond the San José Pass, and Tecojá in its own valley, each has a village of Indian labourers attached to them. The natives' houses are rather better that the average, and often tile-roofed (fig. 278). The Indians of each ranch function more or less as a tribe, governed by the owner of the ranch, conducting their own worship at its chapel. A few Indians own scattered, independent farms. Sivacá (*sivak ha'*, "Gunpowder Water"), near Ocosingo on the trail to Tenango, is a true village, self-governing, with its own *alcalde*, under the supervision of a Ladino *maestro*. All these groups come together at

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

628 796 certain times of the year for ceremonies, such as those at Chakalchib, and formerly at Campomtik, to be mentioned later. The Bachajon hold their own ceremonies at their village.

141 Physically, the Tzeltal, like all the Mayance Indians, are short, averaging probably about 160 centimeters (5 feet, 4 inches) for the 142 men, and slightly less for the women. Their build is slender, with stringy muscles, except for a good development of the calves. Hands and feet are small and well-formed. Their slenderness is 147 deceptive, for their great strength lies in their legs, back, and neck, seen in their ability to carry loads of 45 kilograms (100 lbs.) and upwards, all day up and down hill without undue fatigue. Taking in a tump-line a load under which they cannot rise from the floor.

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FIG. 276—Finca Tecojá, Chis. Houses of Indians attached to the Finca.

147 without help, they will carry it with ease. The lifting power of their arms is less than that of Americans or Ladinos. Their headform is 142 meso- to brachycephalic, and the cranium is small. Deformation in [304] the shape of a marked depression just above the juncture of the hair-line and the forehead, due to the use of a tump-line from early infancy, may be responsible for the conical appearance of the top of the skull. Noses are, on the whole, mesorrhine and small, with little appearance of the famous "Maya Nose," and then in a narrow form, lacking the width of nostril seen in pre-historic figures. Prognathism is slight, alveolar proganthism being the more common, particularly in children. Hair form is straight, coarse, and black. Gray hair or baldness are very unusual. Body hair, as far as could be observed,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

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the informal chief of one of the semi-separated, turbulent groups already described. He was a well-built, square-faced, sullen yet cunning looking fellow, with a long scar from a machete cut across one cheek, and credited with a number of murders.

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The shamans or medicine-men, *poci'*, although primarily doctors, have a quasi-priestly status, the result of the intimate relation of prayer and healing, of which more will be said later. They are honored accordingly as holy men, as well as for the power conferred by their knowledge of medicine and charms. A shaman obtains his position by some years of study under another, who teaches him both medicines and prayers. His repute largely depends upon the results of his practice.

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Certain older men are selected annually to have charge of the fiestas, or saint's day celebrations; they have charge of all preparations and of the conduct of the fiesta, as well as being usually responsible for the care of the various sacred properties during the year. These officers exist in the hacienda groups as well as in the tribes. At the Finca Tecojá, where a fiesta was observed in progress, they were an amiable pair of rather drunken old men, known as *Caporales,* and at most places, in common with other officers holding posts of Spanish derivation, they were known by Spanish names. Interestingly enough, in the villages with the Governmental organization described above, they rarely coincide with the Government appointees, although this may be partly due to the fact that they are usually selected from among the oldest men. In Guatemala these semi-church officers often are a mask for tribal positions of real power, as was found to be the case with the *tcimañ* of Jacaltenango, who will be described in writing of that place (Chapter XIX). Here their influence and prestige was relatively slight, [554] save during the period when their duties placed them in charge.

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Almost the only trace of pre-Conquest feeling is to be found in the great reverence shown towards all shamans and Government appointees. An ordinary Indian will offer food, drink, or tobacco to all men of authority present before taking anything himself, even though it means the consumption, for instance, of almost all of a bottle of *aguardiente* before he gets any at all. We saw a chief at Tenango, where the same system prevails, take a lighted cigar from an Indian's mouth, giving him instead some unrolled tobacco leaves. When first coming into the presence of such men, or passing them on the road, an Indian will take off his hat, bowing deeply; the chief or shaman touches the Indian's forehead, and he goes on. This is performed with grace and dignity. It is known as *k'ol-tanup,* "head giving" (*k'ol* from *hol,* head). Instances were observed of thus

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

764 While this went on, all the women joined with the wife in keening, forming a sort of harmony. A cross was placed at the head. After the grave had been filled in, the party returned to the house where the mourning was carried on in all respects as on the previous night.

The wake is called *kanantaiy-el tca-vinik,* "to watch over (the) dead man." For the second ceremony, the only name obtained was *van-tik pas yan k'in,* "let us go to make another ceremony."

It should be noted that in the case observed, the wife maintained her keening, without apparent cease, from before sunset of one day, through the next day and until the morning following. She was audible, on her high notes, at least five hundred yards away; this was no mean feat of endurance.

On the trail to Bachajon Village, several ruined houses were observed with burials in the floor. The graves were outlined by planks set into the ground vertically. We were told that the dead were buried under their beds, and that a house was abandoned after the number of burials came to be "too much for them." This latter statement is borne out by the frequent occurrence of as many as three graves in one house, occupying most of the floor.

771 In common with most of the Indians of Middle America, the 777 religion of the Tzeltal is a mixture of Catholic Christianity with considerable emphasis on saint-worship, and of their old cults. The surface presents fairly pure Christianity, but further examination shows that the deeper religious current is of an older form, altered by Christian contact. The Indians' attitude towards the newer religion is interestingly stated by Sapper (1925) who says:

"The relation of the Christian God to the remaining pagan gods may briefly be explained by the fact that the Christian God has a higher rank, but, as a foreigner, he cares less for the Indians and does not understand their petty troubles and intimate affairs. This is why the Indian turns to his old gods first in matters of everyday life, as for example when the maize is sown, and at harvest time . . ."

000 The same idea was brought out in the Zotzil uprising of 1868, when a boy was crucified to provide the Indians with a saviour of their own race, who would help them.*

796 Each village or ranch-settlement has and observes its Saint's Day, the celebration centering around the church, and whenever possible a Priest attends and gives Mass. Other fiestas are held on minor Saint's Days, or events such as the coming of a Priest to the

*Pineda. 1888. Page 77.

5: Blom & LaFarge A, E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

village. In common with all ceremonial celebrations, these fiestas are called *k'in*, the old Maya word for "sun." Even non-Christian elements appear in the fiestas. The Bachajon call their chief fiesta, St. Jerome's Day, May 13th, *kan-k'in*, "yellow sun," an old Maya month name.

On many points one cannot say whether the ritual be Christian or not; the use of the cross is such a point. The Mayas had a cross,* the worship of which was encouraged by the early Padres, while teaching the Indians to associate with it Christian ideas. Certain it is that crosses now play a greater part in Indian than in Ladino religion. They are maintained on the roads at partings of the way and crests of hills, and they are used in ceremonies that have little or nothing to do with the Church. Crosses by the road are usually covered with offerings of flowers and pine tips; in the houses they are decorated with any bits of bright paper, flowers, or pictures that can be obtained. The house-altars seem to be more truly Christian, as is indicated by the names, *altar, tcun tat-ik*, "altar of our Holy Father," and *cruz tcun tat-ik*, "cross of our Holy Father," in both of which the most important word is Spanish. At the house by El Encanto we had a chance to observe one such altar at leisure (fig. 309). It consisted of a neatly made cross, 75 centimeters high, standing above a small and rickety table. About the cross were fir branches, brought down from the highlands, and it was hung with cacao beans and small yellow gourds. A revenue stamp pasted across it gave a touch of more vivid green. The wall behind was entirely covered by a sheet of an old news-

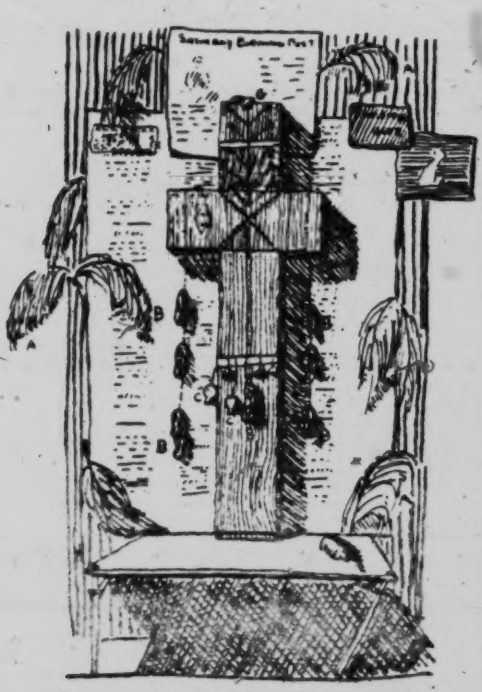

FIG. 309—El Encanto, Chis. Altar in House.

*Cf. Tozzer, 1907, Page 151 ff.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

778 paper, brightened with colour added by a cigarette package, a label from a tin of beets in a deep red, a joke in German about the fall of the mark, of which the prevailing tone was pure viridian, and a page of advertising from the Saturday Evening Post. We gave [123] this family a chromo of a saint, which was immediately framed with a sort of wooden box, and set up beside the cross. The table below was used for laying odds and ends on, such as the spindle and a couple of empty aguardiente bottles.

782 788 177 178 Incense, *pom*, and candles, both extensively used by the Indians today, had a place in the old Maya ritual similar to that of the Catholic Church.

The Priest is an important figure to the Indians. They come to 793 him with respect to tell him their troubles, and receive him into their villages with rejoicing. At the same time, there is no doubt that they deliberately hoodwink him as to the orthodoxy of their faith.

796 Although it includes several non-Christian elements, a description of the fiesta observed at Tecojá will give a fair idea of the Tzeltal's church observances. Tecojá ranch has a village of about [241] twenty houses attached to it. The fiesta was held on the twenty- [648] second and twenty-third of June. By custom, the ranch had to allow the Indians this time off, as well as accepting the lowered efficiency on the following "cold grey dawn of the morning after." The owners had, moreover, to provide the rum for the whole celebration, in this case, two demi-johns.

The ranch chapel was thrown open and decorated with fir [794] branches and streamers. The proceedings were in charge of two older men, called *caporales*, who were distinguished by a cross-belting of red handkerchiefs. One house was set aside for the celebrations, in front of which was a table and three triangular, crimson banners with gold edges. By these drumming and flute-playing went on irregularly. Here was the official dispensary for rum, which was given out by the *caporales*. Inside the house, a palm-thatched one with stick walls, about fifteen feet square, some thirty [534] Indians, men and women, were squatting against the walls. There was an orchestra of a guitar and a mouth-organ, occasionally augmented by the piper, who would wander in from outside. This individual, although most amazingly drunk, managed to maintain his [533] musical ability until he fell asleep. The tune they played was like a rather wistful jig, but the time was lively. To this four couples [535] danced, the men facing the women, with a shuffling step not unlike waltzing. They kept very much in one place, but occasionally changed sides. The dancing was evidently a serious affair. This type is called in Spanish *zapatea*, in Tzeltal, *ahk'Out*.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The performance continued until late that night and began again the next morning. Later in the day the banners were carried to the chapel in procession, with music, and deposited by the altar. The *aaporales* led in prayer. The fiesta went on again in the evening.

Christian forms are applied to or mixed with non-Christian rites and ideas to some extent, a confusion resembling the appeal to both saints and native gods in prayer among tribes of Guatemala* and British Honduras.† Much of Christianity is adapted to conform to old, fundamental native concepts.

In the church at Bachajon Village there are fourteen saints beside the tribal patron, St. Jerome. These others each have a special care, as the cornfield, hunting, the rivers, etc., and are prayed to for help in their particular provinces. They are given gifts of cloth, usually red or blue, which is draped about them. Many of them duplicate the functions of non-Christian "guardians," to be described below.

In this connection it may be mentioned that the Zotzil-speaking Indians of Huistan are accustomed to beat their saint (St. Martin) when they have a bad year, and to caress him and anoint him with oil when things go well. We were told that he had lost his nose and both ears due to this practice.

One prayer was dictated to us by Señor Cruz at Toniná, the full text of which is given in Appendix VI, Text I. It is primarily meant for a poor man when making his offering in the cornfield, a use which is indicated by the phrase "health of the earth," but it may also be used in church. The phrase "blood of my flesh" suggests a remniscence of the ancient Maya offerings of blood from the ear, tongue, etc. A free translation is given here.

PRAYER OF A POOR MAN WHO HAS NOT MUCH TO OFFER.

"Do Thou accept, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, what I have gained, and what I have not gained. Do Thou forgive, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, blood of our flesh; our hearts are open, our lips are open. Give health of the earth; protect thy son kneeling here."

Of primary interest to us were the survivals of the old worship. At the time of the Conquest the Spaniards put forth their utmost efforts to suppress the native religion, and the process has gone on

*Sapper, 1925.
†Gann, 1918.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

796 178 However, much hinges on the difficult question of whether or not they still possess the old calendar, without which the divination would be impossible. This will be spoken of again. On the whole, the Tzeltal do not show anything like the robust survivals of old religion that are found in Guatemala; in this respect, also, they have retained only a degenerated form.

776 756 Concerning the attitude of the Indian towards his *nagual,* two stories may be told that have a certain interest. The first is an incident which occurred to us at Cacate-el, the ranch of Señor Tovilla in the Bachajon country. A Bachajon came in to complain that another Indian was casting spells on his fields and chickens. The other had taken a piece of dirt from his cornfield, so as "to gain consent of the guardian" (see above). He was making the corn wither and the chickens die. His power lay in his *nagual,* a *leon colorado* (*saxal-tcoq*), the most powerful that one can have. The Indian who complained had some much weaker familiar. We gave him a brilliant chromo of Saint Jerome with his lion; not only because St. Jerome is the patron of the Bachajon, but also because of the lion, obviously to him the Saint's *nagual,* which anyone could see was larger and more powerful than any known to the Indians. With this picture set up in his house, he felt that he could rest in safety. [123]

Señor Tovilla also passed on to us a story told him for true by an educated and trustworthy upper-class Mexican, an *abogado* (somewhat corresponding to the English solicitor). It is interesting for showing what is commonly believed even by the European people, although somewhat hard to accept. This man stopped at a Bachajon house, wherein he saw two old men sitting with their backs to each other, and two dogs fighting furiously on the floor. When he asked why they did not stop the fight, one of them answered:

"Our *naguales* are in those dogs, and my friend (*sic*) and I are fighting."

He went on to relate that, after the dogs gave up from exhaustion, both the men's faces were covered with black and blue marks.

[829] The Indians and their medicine men have succeeded to a remarkable degree in impressing the Ladinos with the reality and power of their magic, although it seems to be generally felt that it can only be used against themselves. Several very extraordinary stories were told to us by trustworthy people of more than the usual intelligence, and we were occasionally surprised at the reluctance of educated Ladinos to give information concerning native shamanism.

Because of the close relationship, the Indians try to keep secret their *nagual* lest an enemy should start hunting for it. Moreover,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

539 Lacandone prayer in Tozzer's "Comparative Study of the Maya and Lacandones," page 169. As *tsar*, which a Ladino would probably give as *tsak*, means "red" in Tzeltal, the two words may be taken to be the same. *bak* means "bone," and *tci* means "blood." Many of these translations are doubtful, and all of them together do not suffice to explain the text.

II.

hun ahau bitskilim gravilan yokivin-wits yevakinok . . .

This also begins with Hun Ahau. *wits* means "hill." Beyond that no translation could be obtained.

124 The whole material on medicine and shamans is very slight and unsatisfactory. Indeed it is doubtful whether anything could be learned save after a long stay and much patient work, so secretive are the Indians on this subject, and so suspicious of inquiries. What we have is presented here in the hope that it may prove useful for comparative purposes, and offer suggestions to any worker going into this field.

• 796 178 According to Nuñez de la Vega, the old calendar was still current in his time. Starr* quotes a Zotzil Calendar of eighteen months, and Pineda* gives a Tzeltal calendar of both months and days. We asked in the different villages what names were given 124 to the days, and were told always the Spanish names, as also for 796 the months. This may well have been from unwillingness to impart 177 ceremonial information, but consistent replies, plus the statement of 178 various Ladinos who knew the Indians well, incline me to believe that if the old calendar is known at all, it is known only to a very few of the most learned shamans. Feasts, as far as could be made out, are controlled entirely by the cycle of Christian saint's days. However, the Maya year might well have been by now adjusted to the Gregorian, and a time-count actually kept in the old style be stated for public purposes in the terms of the new. Pineda's calendar is adapted from one published by his father† some forty years earlier, but he speaks of it as being still current.

114 Seler also doubts the modernity of Pineda's calendar. In his 178 article "Der Festkalender der Tzeltal und der Maya von Yucatan" (1898), he brings together various interesting statements. Of them, 796 one may be applied to this survey. Emeterio Pineda he quotes as saying that the sixth month, Olalte, is the time of planting. This would be in April of our year, or the end of April and early May,

*Starr, 1903—Pineda, Vicente, 1888.
†Pineda, Emeterio, 1943.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

as is also shown by his placing of Yaxkin, the first month, in the end of December. The seventh month, Ulol, is co-ordinated with Kankin of the Maya calendar. Now, according to Sebastiano Guzman, the Bachajon shaman, the big fiesta at Bachajon on May 13th is called *Kank'in*. Is this a coincidence, or a true calendar name, and if the latter, what is a Yucatan calendar name doing among the Bachajon, when we should expect the Tzeltal Ulol? In the present state of our knowledge, no more can be done than to state the facts.

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5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

291 broidery along all the seams, at the cuffs, and over what would be a pocket in a European shirt. Trousers are either very short "shorts," or replaced by a cotton breech-clout. Hats are seldom worn. Most men carry woolen blankets woven by the Chamula Indians. The red sashes are knotted in front (fig. 322).

The women's dress is the same as at Tenango, but without any 302 decoration, and with a shorter skirt. Their hair is worn in two braids, or done up in a knot over the forehead, forward of where the tump-line is placed.

FIG. 323—Cancuc, Chis. Men on the Cabildo porch.

771 These people, for all their turbulence, are very devout, although, like many who are more civilized, they leave most of the expression 794 to the women. The church is swept out daily by women appointed for the purpose. Along about five o'clock in the afternoon all the women drift in, singly or in small groups, pray for awhile, 346 and come out. Looking in the door one sees the large interior almost pitch dark, cut here and there with [291] tiny, yellow candle-flames, and hears a monotonous sing-song drone of chanted 796 prayers. Their festivals center about the church. In this connection they have a very curious custom. [417] There are two scaffolds by the plaza (fig. 323) very small platforms on four rickety poles about four meters high, surrounded by an insufficient railing, arched over with palm branches, [273] and reached by a frail-looking ladder. The drinking which, as was explained in the last chapter, is an essential part of any ceremony, must all take place on top of these scaffolds. It is indeed a miracle that every fiesta does not cause a score of broken necks.

123 While wandering around to see what he could see, the writer was hailed by an elderly woman who gave him to understand by signs

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

that he was invited into her house, presumably to take shelter from 123
the evening rain that was beginning to fall. The house, of which he 342
sketched a hurried plan (fig. 324) was more rectangular than is [126]
usual, the prevailing type being square with a pyramidal roof. He
entered through a low doorway, closed with a wooden door on leather hinges. Although the ridge of the roof was high, the many cross poles reaching from the top [417]
of one wall to the other made it necessary to stoop. [196]
The writer squatted by the door, facing the fire, [273]
which smoked merrily in the closed room. The old woman immediately set to shaping a pile of tortillas for baking. Along either wall was a well- 352
made bench, decorated with notches along the top [531]
and geometric designs on the back, similar to the benches on the Cabildo porch (fig. 325). These and a sturdy table that was stored on top of the stringers were said to be purely local products. By the door stood a big jar, a full meter in height, 353
crude and undecorated (fig. 326). There was the [415]
usual collection of ollas and gourds, and one other new form, an open-mouthed pot about eight centimeters high and as many in diameter, flat bottomed, with a handle on one side, called *hitc* (fig. 327). In the thick smoke, it was hard to see anything. I was in-

Fig. 324—Cancuc, Chis. Drinking waterfold.

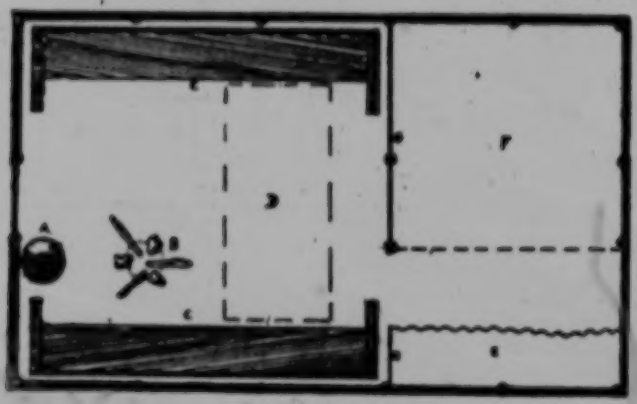

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Fig. 324—Cancuc, Chis. Plan of House.

terested to note that my hostess' eyes watered nearly as much as my 353
own. In the darker end of the house I could make out corn stacked neatly along one wall, and a partition that presumably hid the beds. For a while the woman answered the few questions that I could make 124
her understand by means of signs, my half-a-dozen words of Tzeltal, 123

585 sometimes modified by /MUK'UL/ or /C'IN/ as previously shown.
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601 When, in addition to the exchange of gifts which constitutes
602 the traditional wedding, the couple is married in the church, a pair of padrinos (male and female) is chosen from outside the set of relatives who become compadres in the ceremony just mentioned. These people are referred to as /-TAT+SNARYOS~MAGRINO/ and /-ME*+SNARYOS~MAGRINA/ by the married couple (who are called by them, respectively, /-NIC'AN+SNARYOS~IHADA/ and /-*AL+SNARYOS~*IHADA/) and as /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ (self-reciprocally) by the parents of the married partners.

• 796 The fiesta of Noche Buena establishes /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/
608 relations, and no others, between the host of the fiesta and a few other individuals he invites to sponsor the fiesta.

Other relationship terms

571 There remains a set of terms which, when used with pos-
192 sessive prefixes, identify the referent in terms of a more general relationship to some coordinating person. These terms are as follows:

(1) /HOY/, "companion" (in reference to spouses; one who lives in the same house, including specific kin; and all of the specified kinds of companion below)

548 687 distilling aguardiente. Distillation of aguardiente continued for a relatively short time (perhaps as long as three to four years) because satisfactory arrangements could not be worked out within the community so that the distillers would not be denounced to the authorities by their neighbors. Unlike Amatenango, where the clandestine distillation of aguardiente continues to the present time, inspectors were able to discover and destroy the four or five stills operated by the men of Aguacatenango. The punishments meted out to the owners were relatively severe, some having to spend as long as a year in jail and having to pay as much as 1000 pesos to secure their release.

273* [178] The pattern of procurement of aguardiente has changed substantially in Aguacatenango since the time we began doing [432] field work there. In 1957, when we were first there, the buying of aguardiente was both situation-and-family-specific. Most of the aguardiente was being bought in Pinola and later in Teopisca and had to be carried on one's back to Aguacatenango. In an- [196] ticipation of each fiesta or other occasion where it was known drinking would take place, each family would bring in three or four liters for that occasion. Beyond this family supply, there was relatively little aguardiente in the community. It was not at all unusual, after a fiesta, to see men inquiring all over town about the possibility of buying, or borrowing, a liter of

273* aguardiente. And it was not unusual that they were unable to secure a single liter. In fact, it appears that the termination of drinking performances was in no small amount controlled by
273* the exhausting of the community supply of aguardiente. What re-
432 sale there was of aguardiente in the community was carried on
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589 by widows who might secure as much as five to six extra liters to resell to men who wished to continue drinking after their own supplies were exhausted. As a business venture, a widow would buy for three pesos the liter which she would sell for five, gaining thus ten pesos every month or six weeks.

273* At the fiesta of the patron saint, ladinos would bring
• 796
439 in a supply of aguardiente to be sold. The large number of people coming from the neighboring towns made this a profitable
[191] venture for the three or four days of the fiesta. In order to
[216] increase the sale of the aguardiente (and other distilled beverages, as well as beer), ladino vendors set up cantina complexes in the plaza, the cantina consisting of a thatch or canvas shelter, a few tables and chairs, and principally a tocadisco--a loudspeaker system connected to a phonograph as well as a microphone, so that music and announcements could be made which
275 could be heard from blocks around. Typically in this cantina
216
191 pattern, a man from Aguacatenango would sit down with a few friends, drink a liter or two of aguardiente, and during this period, request that pieces be played on the tocadisco for which

273 554 about the state of their environment are deduced as the result of the communication of information encoded in some one or more media. The determination and certification of an individual's social rank is one type of inference and action that individuals engage in in Aguacatenango. Rank and role are not only encoded in the drinking performances, but also in a variety of other media as well. When we examine the ceremonial drinking cycle as it occurs in the civil and religious hierarchies, it becomes clear that the arrangement of persons in space, modes of greeting, modes of offering toasts, the differential access to settings, etc., all may encode an individual's social position just as do the set of role labels that may be used to identify him.

[598] [609] [796] [621] After the settlement of a dispute, after having agreed to permit a /HTUL YAN LUMAL/, "foreigner," to settle in the community, and on certain saints' days (especially those saints associated with the installation of new civil officers), the /*A*TELETIK TA KABILTO/, or civil hierarchy, is given or secures for itself aguardiente in liter bottles. The aguardiente is equally distributed in shot glass amounts among the members of the /*A*TELETIK/, a particular individual drinking the glass which is offered him; or alternative should he choose not to drink it, taking a sip from it and handing it to some other member of the group who drinks the remaining portion and returns the glass to the first drinker, who in turn returns it to the

273* 554 pourer of drinks. It is in the succession of drink-pouring to the several members that we observe an orderly recurring pattern.

The drink pourer, who is one of the /REHIDOR-ETIK/, proceeds directly to the /HWES/. The REHIDOR/ carefully pours the drink, picking any dirt from the liquid, and hands it to this individual. The /HWES/ then offers the drinking salute: /LISENSYA TAT/, "With your pardon, sir." The other members of the group respond with /*OCAN TAT/, or alternatively /*OCAN TATA*/, "down it, sir," or, "down it, respected sir." The drink pourer /REHIDOR/ then proceeds to serve succeeding persons down the rank order. The rank order may be observed in the seating arrangements displayed in Table 11 (p. 60). Beginning at the door, the relative order of succession is down the page, through the position /SINTIKO/. Then the position just above the door is served and so on through an adjacent succession through the position of /XWAXKEBAL MAYOR/.

*273 • 796 794 554 One of the important performance correlates of the role of mayordomo is to engage in the drinking of aguardiente. Almost without exception, the mayordomos as a group drink themselves into a state of deep drunkenness on each of the seven fiesta days. The initiation of the drinking takes place on the porch of the annex of the church. Benches run the length of the porch on its inside and outside edges. As the mayordomos as-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

TABLE 11--Continued

000 not included in the civil hierarchy.

273* [2]The positions of president of education and ejido
621 commissioner are two-year appointments, and neither is (yet)
554 in the civil hierarchy.

273* semble, they seat themselves initially on the inside of the two
796 benches. The relative order of seating is as follows:
794
554

TABLE 12

SOME PERFORMANCE CORRELATES OF "RANK": SEATING ORDER OF /*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/

BA MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO

XCEBAL MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO

BA MARTOMO ME*TIK ROSARYO

XCEBAL MARTOMO ROSARYO

BA MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD

XCEBAL MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD

BA MARTOMO *ANIMA

XCEBAL MARTOMO *ANIMA

BA MARTOMO SAN MARTIN

XCEBAL MARTOMO SAN MARTIN

BA MARTOMO SANTA CRUS

XCEBAL MARTOMO SANTA CRUS

BA MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN

XCEBAL MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN

273* 796 794 554 The drinking of aguardiente takes place on the porch after the men are seated. Again the aguardiente is distributed in shot glass amounts to each member of the mayordomía. Again, as in the case of the civil officials, a strict relative order of succession of drinking is followed, proceeding from the top of Table 12 (p. 61) to the bottom.

273* 621 794 554 In both the referential sets of civil officials and religious officials, then, there are occasions when both seating arrangements and drinking arrangements uniquely express a relative order property in the relations between members of each set. This relative order property we can call <u>differential rank</u>. While this type of rank is a somewhat special case, it is essentially the same age differential which establishes rank in [561] the community at large. The civil and religious hierarchies are very nearly age-graded, the higher-ranking positions being occupied by older men. A survey of the histories of individuals' cargos indicates that the age grading is more strict in the case of the mayordomos than in the case of the civil officials. In each set of officials, men with adjacent ranks sit next to each other and drink in succession, the man with the higher rank sitting in an arbitrarily defined higher position on the bench and drinking sooner. It is important to note that of a variety of ways in which the aguardiente could be used to express the rank difference (e.g., the distribution of larger amounts to the senior

Patronym	*Alannantik only*	*Ahk'olnantik only*	*Alannantik and Ahk'olnantik*
Lopez Tz'uʔu			12
Lopez Wolto			50
Lopez Yutz			16
Perez			9
Perez Huhan			4
Perez Kam			11
Perez Kantiron			23
Perez Os			17
Perez Otol			16
Perez Tut			18
Perez Ventura			11
Sanchez		3	
Santis Peč	1		
Vasquez		3	
Total	26	58	629

The curing hierarchy was organized on the basis of the dual division until the 1940s. There were two leader curers, one on each side, who were in charge of guarding their own side against intrusion of evil spirits. During the 1940s a breakdown in the hierarchial principle led to some lessening of the power of the group and a collapse of the leadership. People now patronize curers from either section, but there is some feeling that it is safer for the curers if they cure only on their own side.

The dual division persists as a basis of economic organization only in the case of the cattle owner's associations. Pasturage on communal lands is allocated according to residence in the upper or lower division. Since cattle raising for beef has increased the size of herds the cattle owners on each side have formed an association to clear the waterholes and celebrate fiestas at the major waterhole on the Day of the Cross. None of the other new enterprises in town organize on the basis of the territorial division.

In the etiquette of social interaction, the dual division is still taken into account. When a resident of one side walks in the streets of the other side, he is not expected to greet passersby or people in their houses with the usual *b'onme wil* or *b'onme tat* (I go, elder sister or father, or whatever the appropriate extension of kin terms may be). Such street greetings are mandatory on one's own side of the town. It is considered much safer to

773 *"Good."*
778 *They waited a while and the water came. "Are you going to drink?"*
539 *They drank, and then they made the sign of the rainbow. The president*
769 *sent his síndico to meet them. The síndico got drunk on the way. He sat down halfway in the road. The brothers met him there. They were angry that a fiesta was not prepared for them. And for this they left town, and went to live in Chiapas.*

773 This tale is known to everyone in town, and there is no doubt as to its au-
778 thenticity expressed by those who have given versions of it. When I took
769 some of the Indians on a trip to Guatemala, they pointed out the rocks
123 where the brothers encountered the devil. When they arrived in Guatemala and saw a bus marked Antigua they expressed amazement that the town was still in existence.

769 Some people claim to have seen the ancestors, whom they describe as
778 wearing the old style costume—a long shirt with the hat now worn by the alfereces. The ancestors are believed to have watched over the village from a mound rising abruptly before the mouth of the cave, called Hol Shan, or Head of Palm, because of the trees growing on it (Plate 1). From this eminence they could watch the streets of the village and see whether anyone was trying to bring in evil (Plate 2). They were able to discern the power of evil in the souls of the newborn and could snatch the soul before its possessor grew up to cause evil. Their human agents in guarding the town
[756] against evil were the curers (*ʔuʔuletik*), who in the context of guardianship were called *meʔiltatil*.[7]

• 796 Each year on the Day of the Cross, May 3d in the Catholic calendar,[8] a
769 fiesta ~~is held~~ in honor of the ancestors. It refers back to the fiesta which
62 ought to have been held for the returning Shuntonetik, and is performed in the interest of the whole community as a means of ensuring good relations with the ancestors.

[756] Formerly the curers were responsible for conducting this fiesta. An informant recalled the ritual:

7. The guardianship role of the curers is related to the functions of pre-Conquest officials, called *ghcanalum*, "caretakers of the soil" (Calnek 1962:25).

[118] 8. The date of the Day of the Cross was changed by the Vatican in 1964. When the local priest tried to reschedule the fiesta in the community, he encountered strong opposition. The Indians continue to celebrate the Day of the Cross on May 3d.

The curers used to go up to the cave with the alfereces, the mayordomos *[religious officials], the prayer reciters, and the people of the village. When they arrived there, the mayordomos played the guitar and gourd rattle. They lit candles and incense, and the leading curers would go inside the cave. All the people contributed money for the liquor and candles which was collected by the officials. They said that they spoke to the ancestors inside, where there was a lake and a beautiful field. They asked for rain and good crops. They would come out and tell the people waiting outside what the ancestors had said.*

Then one year [in 1957] during the fiesta of the cave, the curers went into the cave. The people said to the curers, "We want to see the owners." The curers said they would come out, but they didn't. The people waited and waited. A boy went inside with the curers. They tried to prevent him, saying, "Won't you be afraid?" He said, "No, let's go in." They entered twenty feet inside the door. The curers said, "Let us stay here." The boy asked them where was the river, the lake, and the milpa that were supposed to be inside. The curer replied, "It is all a lie. Now you know; don't tell the people." But when he came out, the boy told the people it was all a deception.

Since the late 1950s the ritual has changed. The curers no longer officiate, nor do they enter the cave and speak to the ancestors as they did formerly. The *fiscal,* or assistant to the priest, leads the mayordomos, alfereces, and prayer-reciters to the cave on the Day of the Cross and simply replace the palm cross at the entrance to the cave just as they do with the palm crosses fixed to the wooden crosses marking the roads leading into the town. The curers have attempted to revive the belief in the presence of the ancestors by saying that their nephew is in residence now, but no one I ever spoke to believes this. Most people agree that the ancestors live permanently in Chiapa de Corso.[9]

The hill and cave owners. While people try to maintain a good relationship with the spirits of the house, of the springs, and of the Cave of the Ancestors, they avoid the dangerous spirits of the hills and caves

9. A similar myth concerning the departure of the ancestors to go live in Chiapa de Corzo exists in Pinola (Hermitte 1964).

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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243 vest. Harvesting is done by all the members of the household, sometimes
[592] with the assistance of exchange or hired labor. Women help by going to
464 the fields and degraining the cobs with few kernels of corn so that there
[462] will not be an unnecessary burden to carry to the houses.

243 A small fiesta for the corn is made following the harvest. The purpose
796 of the fiesta is to reciprocate the spiritual owner of the corn by giving him
782 a "gift." Two candles are lit and set on top of the piles of corncobs. Two other candles are placed near the heaps of corn grains gathered by the

243
192

TABLE 7. Stages of Corn Growth and Agricultural Activities

Stages of growth	*Activity*	*Time (after planting)*
Šlihk sčital (begins to grow)	First hoeing	8 days
Čištal lik ʔilim (well-grown; about 4 feet)	Second hoeing	1 month
Čištal stękan sniʔ (begins to form husk)		2 months
B'al tzuto (begins to bud)		
Lok'iš tzutohal (flower comes out)		3 months
Yihiš sk'ab'enal (begins to mature)		4 months
Lok'iš yihkatz (cobs fill out)		
Sčam hol (its head dies)	Pick cobs to eat fresh	5 months
Yihištal sk'anubiš (now more yellow)	Double over stalks	6 months
Yihubiš (more yellow)		
Tahkiniš (dry)		
Sk'ahik lok'el (harvest time)	Pick dried corn	7 months

243 women. The candles cause the spirit of the corn to rise and give its "gift to
796 the world" in the following harvest. Failure to make a fiesta would mean
782 an end to all corn harvests.

243 Corn is brought to the house and stored in the rafters, since there are no
25 corn cribs or separate storage facilities of any kind in the village. Most of
136 the houses are infested with rats as a consequence. When the harvest is brought in, there is an attempt to rid the rafters of these "thieves." The
[411] men and boys armed with slingshots stand posted in the yard as the children rustle around in the rafters chasing the rats out. Although they are remarkably good shots since they use this tool from early childhood, the houses are never completely free of rats, and the inhabitants learn to put up with them.

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243 242

Wheat. In selecting the seed, the farmers choose those heads with the most kernels—there may be from thirty to eighty on each head. The same kind of seed must be used in planting each plot of land or the soil "does not give well." A new wheat seed was introduced by an American agronomist in the 1950s. The following reaction by an informant reveals why most of the farmers decided not to use it: 243 177

There is a quick-growing wheat, called foreign wheat because a foreigner brought it and planted it in the soil. Those who wanted to try it were given some. It was difficult to harvest because it was very dry and broke easily. Most of the grain was left behind on the ground. When it got to the threshing floor, most of it was broken. Therefore the town did not want it. So we continue planting the common wheat and it doesn't break.

The inefficient harvesting techniques force the people to consider loss of grains in deciding what wheat they will seed. However, a few of the farmers continue to grow the new wheat.

The scheduling of wheat production is shown in Table 8. The *arada* plow, introduced by the Spaniards (Foster 1951) and made locally by farmers for their own use, is commonly used to prepare the land. A few farmers borrow the plow of a relative, or sometimes a metal plowshare is bought in the departmental capital. 243 [407] [177] [426]

The harvest is the most arduous work in wheat production, but because it is done with the assistance of four or five helpers, usually brothers or compadres, it is a gay occasion. There are about a dozen threshing shelters which are individually owned and rented for 5 pesos a day. At the height of the harvesting season, the farmers have to wait for their turn to use the shelter. After the threshing, a fiesta is held in the house of the owner of the wheat at which liquor and a meal of beef stew is served. Since the labor involved is based on exchange rather than payment, the owner will take part in the harvest and celebration of those whom he has helped. [476] [423] [427] [496] [476]

Beans. The choice of locale and the time of planting vary more radically for beans than for other crops because of the greater differences in type of seed. The two major types of beans are (1) ground beans, of 244

hilltop with a digging stick. He knelt and prayed, asking for rain. At that very moment, the rain came. He put the seeds in the holes he made, and from then on people have been planting in the hills.

Other saints are charged with providing rainfall. The saint of greatest importance in this respect is Santo Tomás, the patron saint of Oxchuk. Some Indians have gone to the church there to light a candle and ask for rain, and on their return the rains came. During an extended drought in August 1967, over one hundred people walked to Oxchuk to pray for rain. The people of Tzoʔontahal are somewhat bitter about the Oxchuqueños' neglect of Santo Tomás since over half of the town has converted to Protestantism. Whenever there is a drought, they blame it on the failure of the people of Oxchuk to take care of Santo Tomás.

In addition to the Catholic saints, the ancestor spirits help man to watch over the land. They are responsible for giving the rains in the planting period and early growing season. The fiesta on the Day of the Cross (Chapter 1) is primarily a plea for rain. Until the 1950s, the curers would hold a celebration at the Cave of the Ancestors to ask for rain during a drought. The waning belief in the presence of the ancestor spirits in the town has meant that there is less attention given to such fiestas. Some go to seek the ancestors in Chiapa de Corzo in the cave in which they are supposed to reside, as the following story illustrates:

One time my three brothers-in-law went to Chiapas to ask the ancestors for better crops. When they arrived there, nobody knew where the cave was. They said only a certain mayordomo there could find it.

Another time, two of the prayer-reciters went to the cave. They talked to the guard of the cave, saying, "May we speak to our ancestors?" The guard said, "Are you prepared? Did you bring two liters of trago? The ancestors like to drink."

The prayer-reciters went to get two liters of trago and all three drank it. While they were drinking, they saw a cow and chickens appear. The guardian said that if they came back in May with "food" for the ancestors —candles, incense, and firecrackers—they would get rich crops. I think the prayer-reciters succeeded because now they have a cow and chickens and a horse. They are afraid of the envy of their neighbors.

628 People with lands in hot country recount that during droughts the In-
796 dians from the neighboring town of Chamula have held rainmaking fies-
782 tas for which they solicit contributions from other Indians.

821 *The Chamulteco came to us and said, "Let all of us who have milpas*
731 *contribute five pesos for a fiesta." He brought the candles. In the little hill there the people brought drums and flute. We ate chickens and drank liquor. For eleven hours he prayed, and in the afternoon it rained.*

628 The *kuriketik*, rural inhabitants of the colonia of San Vicente who
241 migrated to Amatenango from Chanal, have no irrigated lands and de-
789 pend directly on rainfall throughout the growing season. Indians of the center know of their practice of sticking their digging sticks into the ground with the points toward the sky "to puncture the clouds" when they have planted their milpa, but they do not imitate this practice. Control over the supply of water in the irrigated lands has apparently led to the neglect of supernatural appeals even where the canals do not supply water. Under pressure of extended drought, they will resort to spiritual intercession through Chamula or Oxchuk practitioners in whom they have some faith.

241 Acquiring the protection of the gods does not obviate the practical activ-
796 ities necessary in the cultivation of crops. Fiestas for the saints are a repay-
782 ment for services rendered in watching over the milpa. The sponsorship of
796 fiestas for the saints by the community ensures the protection for all of the crops, and general crop failure due to drought or high winds is explained as a result of mismanagement of these community-wide fiestas. The offering of candles to the spiritual owner of one's own milpa is a kind of individual insurance policy for future crops as well as a repayment for the gift of the corn harvest. The peasant notion of surplus value is implicit in this reciprocal relation: the payment, or gift, of two candles to the milpa spirit is far less than the value of the harvest. But the account is balanced by the expenditure of this surplus in communal fiestas.

Pottery Production

323
178 Making pottery has been a speciality of the town since pre-Conquest
172 days. The old site of the town contains sherds of pottery which is remarkably similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now.

7: Nash E-6 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzaital NV9
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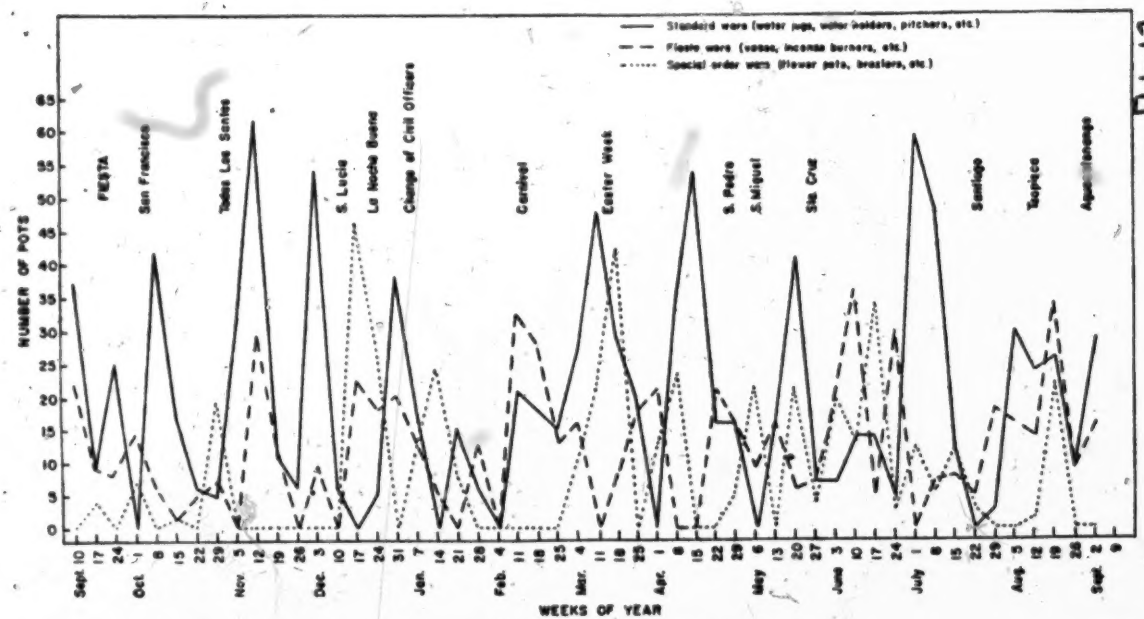
Fig. 2. Pottery Production in the Household and Its Correlation with the Ceremonial Cycle



[P.47]

Source: The above was printed in *Man* (219:186–91) in an article by Manning Nash entitled "The Social Context of Economic Choice in a Small Society."

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?: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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there is no other woman in the house. (c) Number of men in the family. If there are productively employed men, women of the household tend to make less pottery, since they are busy cooking and washing and have their basic subsistence needs supplied. Pottery is then produced to supply cash for fiestas only. Widows make a great deal of pottery since they must either hire men to work in the milpa or buy corn.

2. Wealth of the family: Relatively wealthy families make almost no pottery. In other cases, the scheduling of production is related to consumption needs. Figure 2 charts the pottery production by type of item produced for a family which included two unmarried women, their mother, father, and grandmother. The peaks in production occur just before the major fiestas when the family wants additional money to buy meat, fruits, and clothing. Although this family produced more pottery than the majority of households because of the presence of four women, its production typifies the high periods of activity relating to the fiestas. Production is also related to the seasonal changes: during the rainy season (from June to October) many households curtail production, except to earn money for the fiesta of Santiago (July 25), because of the difficulty of firing without closed kilns.

Variation in production means that an overall estimate of income from pottery cannot be made. It ranges from none to nearly 90 percent of family income in the case of widows without land or male helpers. I would guess that an average family might earn 200 pesos a year, about 10 to 15 percent of the money value of crops. One family of two widows and five children who work constantly throughout the year averages an income of about 600 pesos, or about one-half what an agriculturist can make on one-half hectare of land.

The Motivation to Produce

The motivation to work is tied directly to consumption needs of the household. Failure to meet expenditures with income from agriculture and pottery is met by men hiring out as agricultural workers or as laborers in the sawmill. This alternative is chosen over that of increasing the size

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village. The expenditures of this family on meat, brown sugar, and liquor were required for the house celebrations carried out almost every Sunday. Like family No. 1 they spent 83 percent of their budget on food, a total of 714.80 pesos, and a larger percentage on clothing, 138 pesos. They sold their surplus corn for 292 pesos and their beans for 247 pesos. These crops were produced on one hectare of privately owned, irrigated land, one hectare of privately owned, non-irrigated land and one hectare of ejido land.

Family No. 3 consists of a widow and her widowed daughter-in-law who had five children. The oldest son, aged sixteen, worked their one-half hectare of ejido land and one-half hectare of irrigated land with some hired help during harvest. During the three weeks recorded, there were no returns from their crops, which include wheat and corn, and the family relied entirely on returns from pottery. This household produces more pottery than any of the others recorded, earning 61 pesos in the three weeks, because there are no adult male producers. They spent 63 percent of their budget on food, a total of 42 pesos, and 34 percent or 23 pesos on clothing.

Family No. 4 consists of a married couple with three children seven years of age and under. The husband works occasionally in the sawmill, but since he drinks a great deal, he does not contribute much of his 70-peso weekly wage to the family. He grows wheat on one-half hectare of irrigated land and corn on one-half hectare of ejido land. In the ten days recorded, no money was gained on harvest, but the woman earned 19 pesos from pottery. The family spent 77 percent, or 17.20 pesos of their budget on food and another 22 percent, or 5 pesos such as soap, kerosene, etc.

Family No. 5 consists of a married couple, their married son and daughter-in-law, and three grandchildren. They own one and one-half hectare of irrigated land, on which they grow wheat and corn, and one-half hectare of ejido land. The husband and his son supplement their earning from farming by distilling liquor, earning 108 pesos in the ten days recorded. In addition, the women of the household earned 54 pesos from pottery they made. They spent 143 pesos, or 97 percent of their budget on food and 3 pesos, or 2 percent of their budget, on clothing.

Family No. 6 consists of a young couple with two children. The husband owns one-half hectare of irrigated land, and one-half hectare of non-

434 178 177 I can get one then. Last year I bought a transistor radio for nine hundred and ninety pesos. My wife said she would leave me if I got it because all [053] the children would get sick. But I got it anyway and no one was sick. I am stronger than my enemies."

Innovation on the consumption level is adding a stimulus to innovation in economic activities. The successful innovator must invent a rationale for his improved standards of living and then prove that he can survive the possible evil consequences of envy. The process of adoption is one of a shift in the incidence of choices made in the direction of improving levels of living. The new is often incorporated with the old rather than replacing it. For example, after the rough preparation has been done with the mill, [252] grinding stones are used for the final grinding of corn to get the dough [415] into the preferred consistency for making tortillas. Tin plates are used along with crockery and gourds. Some items are linked in change: for ex- [291] ample, tailored pants are worn only with buttoned shirts and belts and with zippered jackets. The old forms are continued in a ceremonial con- [096] text: kotončů is preferred when a man undertakes an official role, and [415] gourds are preferred to any other container for ceremonial foods. The technology of production lags behind the changes in consumption that have increased the need for greater income—agricultural tools have not been modified since the colonial period when the wooden plow, metal hoe, machete, and plow used with draft animals were added. Changes in consumption needs rather than in productive technology are expanding the economic horizons of the Indians.

Choices and Strategies in Agricultural Production

241 In agricultural and pottery production, decision-making concerning the use of land and labor resources is controlled not only by a traditional technology but more importantly by a given state of cognitive orientations that determines, in Goodenough's words (1966:54), "what states of affairs they have learned to discern, what they believe to be the relations between them, and what they understand to be the processes by which one state can be transformed into another." Agriculturalists have a fine perception

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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by the company truck to replenish supplies they bring with them. Most of the workers are young men in their twenties and thirties. They return Saturday evening in a truck supplied by the company and go back to work on Monday morning. Weekly wage payments have upset the usual controls over budget management. Money earned from crops is handled by women. The sawmill workers have resisted passing over their paychecks to their wives or mothers, and several court cases have been precipitated as a result (Appendix 2b).

All of the work in which men are engaged outside of the community is voluntarily undertaken for cash compensation. Formerly, forced labor of two kinds was frequently demanded of the Indians: communal labor in the neighboring ladino town when Tzoʔontahal was an *agente municipal* of that town, and work in neighboring fincas for wages of 50 cents a day. Forced communal work came to an end when the town became an independent municipio in 1931, and the labor roundups at substandard wages were ended when Indians became conscious of their rights guaranteed in the *Ley Federal del Trabajo* in the late 30s. Copies of the *Colección Jurídica Ley Federal del Trabajo* are sold in the departmental marketplace along with the *Codigo Agraria*. Awareness of their rights as workers is concomitant with increasing entry into wage labor employment outside of the local community. As yet, Indians do not have any organized labor interest groups to champion their rights. The Commissioner of Indian affairs in the departmental capital is an intermediary in individual cases that arise. But wage levels and conditions of work are set in a free market in which the Indian's only control is to refuse to work.

The few special occupations in the town, such as butchering, caponizing, weaving bags, carpentry, and midwifery, have never developed into full-time professions.[2] The failure of the development of specialization is related to the tradition of ritual offerings of gifts of liquor and consumables and to the lack of a marketplace in the town.

Most of the livestock raised in the town is sold to butchers of the neighboring town because of lack of storage or of market facilities for the meat. Pigs and bulls are slaughtered in town only on the occasion of a celebra-

2. Curing is treated in a separate chapter since it is an exceptional case of specialization related to social control.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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231 tion or when the animal is sick. For ceremonial occasions, the assistant of
796 one of the mayordomos is expected to kill the bull which will provide the
[194] meat for a common meal. On other occasions, someone who is known to have a hand which gives flavor to the meat is asked to do it. The owner of
[465] the animal gives the butcher a half-liter of liquor.

232 Caponizing is a skill learned by some men with a few head of cattle by watching someone who knows how to perform the operation. If a man's
[843] wife is pregnant, he cannot perform the operation himself or even approach the bull, since his glance is very hot and will cause the bull to die. The procedure for making the request and for performing the operation is described below:

The owner goes to speak to one who knows how to caponize. When he arrives at the house of the caponizer, he says, "Are you in, Mam Gomez?" "I am," he replies if he is in. "Come in and sit down," he says.

"Pardon me, I have come to speak to you. Please, for the sake of the Virgin and for the sake of God, will you do nothing more than take out the little scrotum of my bull tomorrow?"

"Yes," replies the caponizer. "Do not worry, I shall take it out tomorrow."

"Good," replies the owner. "I shall wait for you in the house."

The next morning, the caponizer comes. The owner gives him some coffee to drink with a little bread. After they drink, they go to the hills to find the bull. They bring him to a wooded place and tie him by his hind legs to a branch of a tree. They then cast the body on the ground and tie the forelegs to the hind legs with a leather strap. They tie a string around the scrotum and sever the testes. After this, they drink a little. The owner's family joins them. The men blow up the scrotum to make a ball and the children play with it. They cut up the testes and broil them in a pan on the fire. After this is cooked, they pass it out to all of the people present with a tortilla and salt. Two liters of liquor are served. After the common meal, everyone goes to the house of the owner, and there they have a meal of chicken soup with two more liters of liquor. Those who do not drink liquor are served soda.

Very early the next day, the owner goes to see if his bull has died. If he

231 cattle was seized by bandits or soldiers. It is "new" only in the size of the
233 holdings, which have expanded from ownership of one or two head per household, primarily useful as draft animals, to a herd as large as two hundred head belonging to the wealthiest man in town. Cattle rearing is now a capital investment for resale as well as for draft animals in plow agriculture.

233 The increasing herds have stimulated competition for community re-
311 sources. The control of communal grazing and waterhole rights is exer-
312 cised through the traditional dual division of the town, with rights to pas-
621 ture allocated on the basis of residence in the upper or lower barrio of the
575 center. An association of cattle owners has developed in each of the sections, and the leaders of each association call together all members to clean the water holes and repair the troughs. A recent project of the cattle association of the upper section has been the erection of a large cross at the
[789] water hole. The water had dried up the year before, and the installation of the cross was an attempt to ensure a continuous supply of water in the fu-
[796] ture. The priest blessed the cross in the dedication, and the fiscal and prayer-reciters adorn it each year on May 3, the Day of the Cross in the old Catholic calendar, along with other crosses of the village.

233 Cattle grazing is the source of much of the conflict in the town. The cat-
621 tle roam freely in the woods and communal pasture lands, and many are
578 lost or stolen. The cattle association has not fenced in the pasture in order
575 to control it. Their tactics have been punitive; they have raised funds from
627 among members to hire men to kill suspected cattle thieves. In the last twenty years, six men have been killed as cattle thieves, and at least three of those were known to be killed by men hired by the association, which then paid the court fines to set the killers free. The leader of one of the cattle associations was killed after an incident in which he fined a man who had failed to assist in cleaning the water holes. The fine of 2 pesos per head of cattle represented a large fee for the man, who had sixty head. He refused to pay more than half, since he said he had not been notified.
[754] When his daughter later died of illness, he blamed her death on witchcraft exercised by the cattle association leader, and later killed him.

231 Cattle are only minimally exploited as a resource. The cattle are not
434 butchered locally since there is not a large enough market, but are sold to

601 wife, and wife's sister with the term *muʔ*. This same term is used by women to refer to sister's husband, and to husband's brother. Men refer to sister's husband, wife's brother and wife's parents' brothers as *b'al*, while women refer to brother's wife and husband's sister as *haʔwan*. The rule is that siblings-in-law of opposite sex of speaker are classified as muʔ and siblings-in-law of same sex as speaker are differentiated by sex of speaker so that men classify them as b'al and women classify them as haʔwan. Parents-in-law are referred to as *tat niʔal* and *meʔ niʔal* and called father and mother. Wives of sons and brothers' sons are referred to as *ḳalib'* by men.

Fig. 4. Kinship Terms for Affinal Relatives

	Collateral	Lineal		Collateral
+1		Nial Tat	Nial Meʔ	
−1	Bal	(Hmamlal) Kinam		Muʔ
	Kibtz'in			

Underlined term is vocative.

Affinal terminology is not applied to spouses of parents' siblings; the terms for father and mother or elder sister and elder brother, depending on their age relative to ego, are extended to them (Fig. 4).

601 The term for assistant in a ceremony, *b'alniʔal*, using the combined
796 terms for ego's generation and parental generation in-laws, may indicate
794 that this group formerly served in household ceremonies. They are still
174 called upon for assistance, but nonrelated neighbors and compadres or
592 godchildren may also assist and the same term is applied to all.

571 Significant reference groups are designated by the Spanish derived terms
197 *yermanotaḳ*, *ḳumparetaḳ*, and *bersinataḳ*. The yermanotak is comprised
192 of siblings, their spouses, and siblings of parents; the term is derived from the Spanish *hermanos;* kumparetak, meaning the ritual co-parents, is a

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852 608 571 788 The church ceremony is followed by another ceremony in the house of the child's parents. As the group returning from the church enters the house, they are greeted with the pat'o'tan by the maliwanehetik who are waiting for them in the house. As they enter, each of the returning party says, "You go forward, kumpare." They embrace all of the waiting party, an act which establishes their relationship as compadres with the entire company. When the padrinos leave, the grandparents and parents of the child go to a spot before the eaves outside the house; there the father of the child serves liquor to the padrinos and the grandparents of the child. The drink is called "the finale as the compadres leave." The group must finish the entire liter "since it is a gift," and if there are only one or two grandparents, they may get fairly drunk. As the compadres leave, the grandpaernts say, "Over the soil, over the mud where you take your holy godchild, your holy flower, your holy candle." The child, referred to metaphorically as holy flower, holy candle, is identified with the most sacred symbols of the culture.[2]

[273] [593] [603] [778]

608 571 171 The emphasis on the group relationship in Tzo'ontahal contrasts with the form of compadrazgo found in the central plateau of Mexico where the dyadic tie between two compadres provides flexibility in achieving instrumental ends in political or economic life.[3] Some of the new leaders in economic enterprises are beginning to emphasize the dyadic contract in their compadrazgo relationships to achieve political support, but its greatest importance is still based on creating or reinforcing group solidarity.

796 179

Betrothal and Marriage

584 585 The Indians of Tzo'onthal are initiated into the community of the living and depart from it with ceremonies deriving from the Spanish colonial culture. The courtship and marriage ceremonies continue indigenous re-

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[852] [591] [608] she later attended the household ceremony, she was never called kumare because of the omission of this act.

2. See Laughlin (1962) on the symbolism of the candle and flower in Zinacantan.

[171] 3. In regard to the occasions and the kind of respect relation established, compadrazgo in Tzo'ontahal is similar to the institution in other parts of Mexico (Foster 1963, Nader 1964, Wolf and Mintz 1950). The difference lies in the elaboration of the number of ties acquired through compadrazgo at each event.

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The sense of continuity with the past is preserved in the ceremonials in which these officials act, but nonceremonial activities no longer reinforce the values symbolized in ritual. 182 609 571 796

Death and Burial

When a person dies, his soul is believed to go out from his tongue. The family is responsible for finding a resting place which will be satisfactory to the soul. If the dead person has died of a "good" (not caused by witchcraft) illness, the soul lingers for eight days and then goes to heaven. If the dead person has been killed, his soul stays in the village for "a month or twenty days." The reason given for this is that "the gods did not choose the hour of death, and the soul doesn't know where to go." During this waiting period the dead person "finishes his heart," or ends his emotional ties with friends and relatives. 763 764 795 [593]

Following the death, a sister of the parents of a child or some other adult woman washes the body and puts a wrap over it. The body is always laid out with the feet toward the door; the eyes are shut, and the jaw is wrapped with a kerchief to hold the mouth closed. Two candles are placed at the head and two at the feet. Flowers and a bowl to collect offerings of 2 pesos from each visitor are placed at the head of the body. The contribution given at the burial assures the giver of a hearing with Christ: 764 764 431

Everyone gives a contribution of 50 cents or a peso. Each one considers how much he can give and gives it. God listens to and speaks to those who give gifts. Those who give a candle or a little contribution of corn or flowers give an account of the dead man's life. If he had no crime on his conscience or only one crime, whoever killed him by violence or by witchcraft bears the guilt. Christ listens to the account of those who have given good contributions. Thus the help is given so that Christ will see that he did a favor to one who is poor and who has nothing to bury himself, not corn, or money, or anything to sell, not land, or cattle, or wheat. Therefore everyone who is a relative or a compadre or a neighbor brings one-fourth [bottle of liquor], a half measure of brown sugar, fifteen or twenty corncobs and one or two candles. And all men who arrive at the grave and

756 sulted with each other to determine who was bringing in the heat. They
731 privately disposed of the evil by causing the evildoer to die of an illness.
[827] At the time of my stay, suspicion of the curers meant that a public hearing was held in the town hall to determine who the guilty person was; usually one of the curers themselves was suspected (Chapter 9).

756 The curers formerly demonstrated their beneficial power by bringing
796 rain during a fiesta held in the cave of the ancestors. This is described by
778 an informant:
789
769

[794] *When the pueblo lacked rain in the growing season of corn in May and June, the leading curers went with the other curers, the fiscal, the alfereces, the mayordomos, and the women prayer-reciters to the cave. All the women carried candles of a peso or fifty-cent size and incense burners. They drank a great deal of liquor at the mouth of the cave and then entered to dance. The mayordomos played the guitar, the drum, and flute as the women danced and the curers prayed to the me?tiktatik. There used to be a spring in this cave, people say, and the ancestors granted water from it when they were given a fiesta.*

The last fiesta for rain occurred about 1950. The whole town contributed two pesos for the liquor and candles. The leading curer then was Juliano, a man recognized for his powers in curing and in bringing rain. He told the people that he spoke to the me?tiktatik who, he said, were dressed in the old style [a shirt worn over short cotton pants still used by older men of the town, and the handwoven hat worn by alfereces today]. The curers told the people that it would rain, and the afternoon of the fiesta, it came down hard.

178 There is no longer faith that the ancestors live in the cave, nor that the
769 present curers could speak to them if they did.
756

The growing discontent with the curers, the suspicion that they are re-
756 sponsible for much of the witchcraft, is reflected in the account of an older
754 informant.
[178]

[774] *The curer O. K. told me that the curers ate the spirits of sick people who were going to die. The sick people would come to ask the curers for*

794 may at any time in his career be called upon as alférez. This may occur
[625] even before he has served as a junior mayordomo or policeman since the
[556] post depends on his own or his father's wealth.

The normal career of an official in the traditional hierarchy involves a
621 balance of civil and religious posts. A man enters these posts according to
794 convenience, not in a rigid alternation between civil and religious wings.
561 The rough balancing of posts can be seen in the careers of men over fifty in Table 25. According to informants, a man should start and end his career in the religious wing. By the age of thirty, forty-three men had filled at least one post in the religious hierarchy, and only twenty-four men had served in the civil hierarchy (Table 24). The religious posts are considered less onerous than the civil posts since the incumbents are in attendance only one day a week instead of every day, and their terms in office last only six months.

621 Wealth level, except in cases of extreme poverty, does not limit a man's
794 participation in the traditional hierarchy. Of fourteen men over seventy,
556 eight had completed their civil posts and seven their religious posts. Three who had not followed the traditional career lines had served as president. The town is small enough so that career lines have not followed any polarization of the upper levels of the hierarchy as occurs in towns of larger size (Bunzel 1952, Camara 1952, Cancian 1965). Discrimination is based on residence rather than wealth—those Indians who reside in barrios and colonias cannot reach any post higher than that of assistant judge. Wealth level is a factor, however, in the time span of the individual's career, since at some time before becoming second or first regidor he must have filled the expensive post of alférez. Table 25 lists the careers of men fifty years of age and over in order of wealth. It is possible to finish a career in office by the age of fifty, but if a man has less than one hectare of land, it is unlikely that he will finish before he is sixty-five. The Indians of Tzoʔontahal do not however maximize the importance of passing through the hi-
[554] erarchy. It is a duty not a goal, and the reward in prestige is minimal.

794 The only post in which wealth has been crucial was that of alférez. The
556 incumbent and the household of which he was a member spent 3,000 pesos
796 to carry out the fiestas with which he was charged in his year in office.
666 The president, the four judges, and the four regidores chose the alférez

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shortly before the fiesta of the saint's day with which he was charged. When the nomination was made, the president sent out the first policeman with the chief policeman to bring the man chosen to the town hall. They expected, and were always confronted with, resistance to the nomination. In order to gain acceptance they got the nominee drunk in a drinking session at the town hall. Liquor was measured out, and all the officials drank only a half cup at each round, but the new alférez was required to drink a full cup. The rounds continued until the new alférez was drunk. If he did not accept at this session, he was put in jail to think it over. Another drinking session took place the following day.

Nomination to the post of alférez was the only situation in which the jail penalty has been brought into effect, since refusal by nominees to other posts simply means that the officials "look for someone else." The reason given for invoking the punishment was "we know he has the wealth and therefore he should serve." Until 1965 the town had always succeeded in recruiting two of the alfereces from Ahk'olnantik and two from Alannantik. Since the upper division of Ahk'olnantik has grown at a more rapid rate than the lower division, candidates were found only in Ahk'olnantik. This unbalancing of the population ratios undermined the institution of alférez, which had always been the most unpopular position. When I returned to the field in 1967, it had been eliminated.

The Functions of Civil Officials

An analysis of the formally prescribed functions of the civil officials must take into account three sources of data: the functions as prescribed by state legislation, the functions as understood by local officials, and the observed activities of the officials. Table 26 compares the functions of officials as stated in the constitution of the state of Chiapas (Secretaría del Gobierno Departmental de Chiapas, 1828: Decreto 52, Nov. 30, 1825) [3] to statements of informants and to my observations of the carrying out of their official obligations.

3. I have chosen this constitution as the first post-independence statement of the status of local civil administrators.

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The principle of balancing posts according to residence in the dual division is maintained in the traditional civil posts but fails to be effective again in the case of the president. Increasing population in the upper division meant that the expensive post of alférez had to be filled primarily from the side with the highest population. This unbalancing of the sharing of these burdensome posts eventually led to revolt and the post was abolished. Since it was the key post in learning prayers, its loss may mean the end of the traditional rituals in the home.

The hierarchy fails to provide sufficient prestige or power to motivate people voluntarily to undertake some posts. The most vulnerable post was that of alférez. In fulfilling obligations to the saints, alfereces used to spend over 3,000 pesos, twice the normal income of a man in one year. They were assisted by members of their immediate households either in loans or in the sale of pottery to help pay for the house fiestas. The show of wealth at these fiestas, when up to one hundred guests were fed, excited the envy of neighbors, often among the invited guests. It was felt that this provoked witchcraft, and every former alférez I knew maintained that he suffered some catastrophe following his year in office. In the last few years before its demise in 1966 the post was accepted only under duress, and all those who had been nominated at first chose to go to jail. The reason that it survived as long as it did was the insistence of those officials who served in this post that it was essentail to maintaining good fiestas. The resolution of the contradictions by abolishing the post contrast with that of Zinacantan, where men sought the prestige-conferring posts that involved large expenditures of money as a validation of wealth (Cancian 1965).

Another contradition which minimizes the motivation to undertake the traditional posts is that the highest post in the ladder, that of principal, is one associated with embarrassment and shame rather than prestige. Shorn of his roles in decision-making and in guarding public funds, the principal is reduced to holding the plate in which donations for the major fiestas are placed. The ceremonial role of the principales will probably survive, however, since the old men of the community who have retired from active work in the fields enjoy the drinking sessions in the cabildo sufficiently to compensate for the shame associated with the role.

The internal structural contradictions have to be considered in the con-

Chapter 8

Taking Care of the Lord Spirits

Religious behavior is concerned with two major goals: maintaining a given state of prosperity and protecting the community against disaster. In the words of one informant: "All of the goods which we enjoy—the corn, beans, and wheat that we eat, the animals which work for us and give us food—are the gifts of the Lord spirits." The technique for maintaining the flow of goods of the world is the annual cycle of fiestas for the saints. The strategy for protecting the community against disaster is through avoidance of offense and special offerings to the gods identified with pre-hispanic deities and spirits. Responsibility for the ceremonial cycle is assigned to officials who represent the community, but everyone is responsible for the avoidance of disaster, since any transgression of moral behavior by an individual can cause their wrath and bring destruction of crops and animals. The protective rituals involve beliefs continuous from pre-hispanic times; maintenance depends on Catholic saints.

Kinds of Lord Spirits

Religious behavior is based on an understanding of the personality and rank of each deity in a hierarchy of power. The people distinguish two major categories of gods: the lord spirits of the heaven, *ʼultatik ta ʼulčan,* and the lord spirits of the church, *ʼultatik ta ʼulna.* The prefix *ʼul* in all of these terms can be translated as spirit. All growing things—people, plants, and animals—have a spirit. *Tatik* can be translated as our lords, elders, or fathers. The categories of spirits discussed here differ from the *ʼuleletik* (Chapter 1) since these are spirits possessed by the place in which they dwell, as indicated by the possessive form of the noun with the prefix *s.*

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I do not know if it is so. I just heard that in a story told." He then referred back to the story of K'oš, the younger brother who took over the task of carrying the sun from his elder brother, to explain how the sun's movement started. 821 776

Misfortunes caused by lightning, winds, and drought are explained as failures in social relations among people of the community or between the members of the community and the spirits. Restraint in their own conduct, fulfillment of their ceremonial obligations, and show of respect to the spirits are the only safeguards against such casualties.

Caring for the Lord Spirits of the Church

The relationships established with the spirits of the church contrast to those with the spirits of the heaven in the following ways: First, the upkeep and maintenance of the spirits of the church is delegated to appointed representatives, the mayordomos, who carry the burden for the community; "all the people of the world," on the other hand, are responsible at all times for avoiding behavior which would incur the wrath of the sun and moon. Second, the obligations to the spirits of the church are standardized, while those to the spirits of heaven are ill-defined and involve avoidance of offense rather than positive expectations. Third, duties toward the church spirits are performed in repetitive events following the calendrical cycle of fiestas, while obligations to the spirits of the heaven are fulfilled sporadically, as during an eclipse of the moon or a drought. 776 794 796 821 177

The major strategy in dealing with the spirits of the church is to give them a fiesta. Big fiestas are associated with the big four saints. These fiestas have been the responsibility of the top mayordomos, called kobraria, and until 1966, of the alfereces. Big fiestas also occur on the Day of the Dead, the Day of Santiago, the Day of San Pedro and San Pablo, the Day of the Kings, and during Easter Week. The pattern of fiestas will be described first, followed by a detailed description of the inauguration of the alfereces, witnessed in 1965 before the institution was abolished the following year, and the fiestas of Santiago and Easter Week. 796 794 796 177

Religious fiestas occur in an annual cycle of ceremonies based on the Catholic calendar. In Tzo'ontahal the Maya calendar no longer exists, even in the twenty-day cycle that constituted a month found in the neighboring towns of Oxchuk, Larraínzar, and Chenalhó. 796 [805] [178] [177]

796 boring towns of Ozchuk, Larraínzar, and Chenalhó. The ceremonial calendar is given in Table 28.

TABLE 28. Ceremonial Calendar

Big fiestas		*Small fiestas*	
Date	*Fiesta*	*Date*	*Fiesta*
Mar. or Apr.	Tatik Kulibal	Jan. 20	Tatik San Karalampio
Apr. 29	Tatik Martil	May 6	Tatik San Migel
July 25	Tatik Santiagú	May 15	Tatik San Isigre
Aug. 29	Tatik San Pransiskú	May 26	Tatik Spiritu Santú
Nov. 29	Santu?	June 11	Tatik San Antonió
Dec. 13	Me?tik Santa Luciá	June 29	San Pegro-San Pablú
		July 15	Tatik Korasón
		July 20	Tatik San Huan
		Oct. 2	Me?tik Rosario
		Nov. 12	Me?tik Guadalupe
		Dec. 12	Tatik Santo Tomás
		Dec. 25	Me?tik Paskú, Tatik Ninyo

[533] [788] [794] [273] In every fiesta drums and flutes are played, liquor is drunk, candles burned, and church bells rung. During a big fiesta, which continues for three days rather than for a single day, these additional activities are added: contributions of 5 pesos per household are collected, the church is adorned with flowers and greens, mass is held (this may occur in minor fiestas as well if the priest happens to be present), a common meal is prepared for the mayordomos, and the people celebrate with firecrackers, saints' processions, dancing, house fiestas in the homes of the alfereces when they were still being installed, and a fiesta in the houses of the kobraria with a bull slaughtered for the meal.

[273] [276] [794] During fiestas, time is measured in liters of liquor consumed and in cigarettes. The liquor, or "gift of the gods," is the basic element of all fiestas and assures the participants that the celebration will be successful. Safeguards were built into the management of the fiesta in the role of *aliṣiles*, who used to act as attendants to the alfereces and who watched to see that the alfereces and the guitarists did not get so drunk that they could not perform.

796 273 539 The following story about the origin of liquor illustrates its great importance to the fiesta.

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Well, hear now how liquor first appeared. They were looking and looking for a bullfighter. But there was none to be found. There was no one drunk enough to make a fiesta. With no one to make a fiesta, there was no fiesta. Therefore Santa Lucía and Santiago wanted to make a fiesta. Santa Lucía said, "There is no one to make a fiesta. I better go take a bath. When the water comes to wash me, then we can have a fiesta. It is because now you are very frightened. You cannot mount on horseback. No one will fight the bull because there is no liquor. You are not prepared because you have to have a liter of trago."

"Good," said Santiago. After Santa Lucía and Santiago spoke they took the water from Santa Lucía's bath and took out of it one liter of trago. They distributed one liter to all and we changed. They built a beautiful corral and everyone in the town gathered.

Well, when they had arrived, they gave a little liquid in the little cup. After drinking a little, it gave strength. Well, everyone changed greatly. Those who drank the trago found strength with each drink. But since many drank, no one got drunk. They finished one liter and then another, but no one got drunk. "Better get another," said someone. They got one more liter, and with this they began the fiesta. One after another mounted on horseback, and fought the bull. Thus they fought, one horse tied to another. How they fought that fiesta! Thus they went on, getting more and more drunk, until the women hid it.

It is thus that liquor appeared by the grace of our patron God. It is for this reason that we say in the pat?o?tan "the washings of his legs and of his arms our saint and leader Jesus Christ, the great master holy Jesus Christ, Santiago, Santa Lucía. So we gather at the door, our clay, our mud." We speak these words because of the liquor, because God gave the trago only by washing himself, only by his powerful urine. There was no trago for the old forefathers because the washings were given to their offspring. So it is that liquor appeared according to this story. Later it was related in the pat?o?tan. Now it is the custom for everyone.

This story is somewhat confused since it is Santa Lucía who took the bath and Jesus Christ who is given the credit. Others have told me that the first liquor appeared when Jesus was taken from the cross and his

796 539 273 body was washed. The confusion may come not from error, but from an identification of the patron saints with Jesus. The importance of the story is that liquor, as the gift of the gods, is the medium for releasing people from their fears.

796 794 The small fiestas are the responsibility of only the two mayordomos, the elder and the junior, who are assigned to the saint. They ring the church bells, light the candles, and play the drum and flute until noon. In the large fiestas all the mayordomos are active, as well as the fiscal and the priest, the prayer-reciters, and formerly the alfereces. The entire pueblo participates in the mass given at the large fiestas and assembles to "see the saints" when they emerge in the procession.

The proceedings of the fiesta take place in the church and the church yard, the house of the cofrade of the major saint whose fiesta it is, the plaza, and formerly, the house of the alférez of that saint. In each of these domains different sets of actors are tied together by acts performed in carrying out responsibilities to the saints. The chain of command is established in each setting: in the church the mayordomos are directed by the fiscal; in the household the eldest nakawane orders the b'alnial and re- [562] ceives the visitors with the pat'o'tan. He is the master of ceremonies, as in all household gatherings, and his female counterpart is the woman speaker. She orders the women helpers in the preparation of the food, which is then served by the b'alnialetik. Religious officials hold ceremonies in their houses only after they have served five times in office.

796 In the household, religious ceremonies replicate civil ceremonies. A mouthwash is served, followed by coffee and bean tamales, another round of mouthwash, an offering of thanks for the liquor by the nakawane, and a serving of liquor. Musical instruments played in the household differ [534] from those of the church yard: a guitar and gourd rattle provide the accompaniment to the drinking episode here. Fiestas held in the household of the alfereces were terminated with a dance.

Choosing and Installing the Alférez

794 178 Formerly the alfereces were the chief figures in maintaining the fiesta cycle. During my stay in 1964 and 1965 the officials were experiencing

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more and more resistance from those named to undertake the post. Finally, in 1966 the officials were able to recruit only from the growing division of Ahk'olnantik. There had always been two representatives from each side in the past, and the role was a symbol of the division and of its unity in ceremonial occasions. I predicted at that time that the institution would not survive because the imbalance in representation destroyed the structural premises of the role. When I returned for a brief visit in 1967 I was told that indeed 1966 was the last year the alfereces were inaugurated and that the institution had died. I would expect this to further weaken the structural opposition of the dual division. This case of structural breakdown is a good example of the behavioral feedback one can analyze with an equilibrium model of change. The following description of the fiesta is based on an inauguration I witnessed in 1965.

Formerly, the role of alférez involved both civil and religious functions. At the time that I observed the institution in action, it provided the ceremonial link between the civil and the religious hierarchies, but the duties of the alfereces were only ceremonial. In the words of one informant, their function was "to put on a good fiesta, to drink, and to dance, and to bear the sacred banners in processions."

The alférez was chosen by the four judges and the four regidores with the help of the president and the síndico. About two months before the installation of a new alférez, which occurred during the fiesta for the one of the four saints with which he was associated, the civil officers sent out the first policeman and the martomorey, or elder policeman, to bring in the appointed alférez. The martomorey greeted the alférez with the pat?o-?tan, and the appointment was made known. The standard response of the chosen alférez was, "I don't want it. I have no money. I cannot bear it [the post]." The martomorey and first policeman said, "Good, we shall return another day." On their return, if the nominee still refused to accept the post, they brought him to the jail, where they left him for two or three days before bringing him before the civil officials. There they "took his heart" to see if he would accept. A fairly standardized conversation ensued:

Nominee: "I do not want it; I cannot bear it."

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794 796 *Judge: "By force you must receive it. You do not have to give as much. You only have to receive the sacred banner."*

Nominee: "But if I don't give a fiesta, the pueblo will speak badly of me."

Judge: "It is not important what the pueblo says. Pardon us, let us drink a little trago."

[273] [*All the officers drank, contributing jointly to buy the liquor. Each officer took one sip from the measure, but the nominee drank the entire measure on each round. When he became intoxicated, he yielded to the persuasions of the officials and agreed.*]

Nominee: "Good. I am going to see how it goes."

[*The two regidores carried the new alférez to his house.*]

794 796 The activities of the alférez in preparation for the fiesta during which he was installed in his post are summarized below.

434 462 323 Making pottery. *The new alférez prepared for the fiesta by organizing his household to make the pottery that was to be sold to cover the expenses. His brothers and brothers-in-law went on horseback bringing fifteen or twenty loads of clay. The women got the sand, carrying it back with the tumpline. The men went on horseback again to collect the limestone temper, which the women would grind and mix with the clay for cooking pots. The next week, the alférez went with a gift of 2 pesos' worth of bread and one liter of liquor to ask the woman who knew how to make large ollas, pots in which the festal foods are cooked, to help him. The sisters and sisters-in-law of both the alférez and his wife joined together to grind the temper and mix the clay. In addition to the special large pots, the women made bowls, soup plates, and water jugs to sell.*

When the pottery was ready to be fired, the men brought the wood and the women tended to the firing. After the pots were fired, the men sold them in the markets of San Cristóbal or Comitán. They usually made about 26 pesos per dozen, which netted them about 500 pesos.

794 782 Learning the patʔoʔtan. *Each evening, an elder of the family of the alférez who knew the patʔoʔtan, or prayer, came to teach him. This*

might have been his father, an uncle, or a godparent who had already served as alférez. 794 782

Buying festal foods. *The following items were purchased in the neighboring Ladino town of Himšol: 120 pesos' worth of bread; one-half a slaughtered bull for 600 pesos; 6 almudes of beans; 10 kilos of coffee; and 5 pesos' worth of brown sugar. If the alférez owned a bull, he slaughtered it and sold one half.* 794 796 [43]

Preparing liquor. *The alférez rented a still and, with the help of his father and brothers, distilled 7 garafones (126 liters) of liquor, using brown cane sugar.* [273] [429]

Preparing special clothing. *The following items were purchased or bought: jacket for 50 pesos; shirt for 55 pesos; hat for 30 pesos; pair of boots for 32 pesos; red waistband for 16 pesos; and red kerchief for 9 pesos.* 794 796 43 [291]

The hat was made by a man in the town. When the alférez went to ask him to do him the favor of making a hat, he brought 1 peso's worth of bread, 1 liter of trago, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. The alférez borrowed black leather leggings and a black towel. To each of those who lent him clothing, he gave 1 liter of trago, 1 peso's worth of bread, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. When he returned the clothing, he gave the same gifts. [426]

The installation of the new alférez. *During the four days of the fiesta of the saint with which he was charged, the new alférez was initiated into his duties in office. In taking on each of the functions assigned to him, that "dialectical connection between the actor and his part, the person and his roles or status or office," was effected (Fortes 1959:57).* 794 796

The first day (Paswamal). *On the first day of every large fiesta,* Paswamal (*literally, "to make the boughs or decorations"*), *the women of the household and the sisters and sisters-in-law of the new alférez and his wife gathered in his house to cook the food. The men slaughtered the* [252] [262]

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bull, and the women prepared beef stew and made tortillas and coffee. The floor of the house was strewn with pine needles.

At noon, two alfereces led the procession of police, judges, síndico, and principales as they collected money for the fiesta. The alfereces held the banners with an embroidered cloth. The movements of the procession were initiated with church bells ringing and rockets set off by two junior mayordomos as they left the church and as they arrived at and left each of the seven "stands," locations marked by crosses at the intersections of the major streets of the village. When they arrived at each stand, the alfereces stood holding the banners and the other civil and religious officials sat on the side of the road, smoking and drinking. The five police scattered, going to collect 5 pesos from each household. When they returned, the síndico noted the amount received and the principales held the money in a tin tray.

When the group arrived back at the church at two-thirty, the alfereces put the banners in the rear corner of the church. They went to the altar rail, knelt and prayed, crossed themselves and kissed first the image of Santiago, then all the other images. The music of drum and flute was played in the church courtyard, and firecrackers were set off. A table was set up to the right of the door of the church, and there the money was counted. As the officials came out of the church, they made the rounds of the seated officials, greeting them with the pat?o?tan. The officials arranged themselves in the traditional pattern: The fiscal and town treasurer stood at the table counting the money before the assembled officials. The principales and judges, stood immediately before the table watching the fiscal and treasurer; their position indicated their guardian role. Bills of the same denomination were set in piles under stones to prevent their blowing away, and then tied into bundles with palm fronds. When all the money had been counted, the principales put it in a manila folder, and the treasurer wrapped this in a red kerchief. The striking of the church bells announced the end of the counting.

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All the relatives—the yermanotak, or "brotherhood" group, including bilaterally-extended brothers and brothers-in-law and their wives, compadres, and neighbors—were invited to partake of the meal in the afternoon at the houses of the alfereces. The nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik, rela-

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tives whose positions in this household fiesta are established on the basis of their age and experience in office, took up the established positions for these roles in the house of the new alférez. The first nakawane blessed the liquor; two bottles were measured into shot glasses and served to the guests. After this the meal was served.

The second day (Wišpereš). *All the nakawanehetik appointed for the new alférez gathered in his house at nine o'clock in the morning to drink. The first and second nakawanehetik went to the cabildo to ask the judge and president when the new alférez must take out the holy banner. The president replied that it would be in two days. The question was rhetorical: everyone knew that the ceremony of taking out the banners occurred on the fourth day of the fiesta, and the day itself was named* Šlok' Krus, *taking out of the cross (the banner has a cross adorning the staff). What was being communicated to the civil officials by the question was the recognition of responsibility to the new alférez by the nakawanehetik. In the afternoon of this day, another meal of beef stew and tortillas was served to the same guests assembled on the previous day.*

The third day (Sk'ak'halel Sk'in). *At cock's crow the parents of the new alférez awakened him. Gathered in the house were the woman speaker, the guitarist, and the nakawanehetik. Under the direction of the woman speaker, the alférez' wife helped him put on his clothing, and the guitarist accompanied this procedure with music. When he was dressed, the new alférez danced a turn before the assembled guests to show his new clothing, and reviewed the pat?o?tan with the nakawanehetik who had taught him. He then went with his guitarist to raise his companions. First he went to the third alférez and awakened him. He greeted the nakawane of the third alférez with the pat?o?tan, and was invited to sit down; he was served coffee and bread, followed by a mouthwash. The third alférez dressed, and after the two were served liquor they danced a turn. In this same fashion, the new alférez raised all of his companions. The assembled group went to the cabildo.*

The nakawanehetik and the b'alnialetik, after drinking coffee and eating bean tortillas, went to collect the things needed to receive official

794 796 *guests. They borrowed benches from neighbors; they cut juniper and prepared the resting place for the sacred banner; they borrowed seed-gourd rattles and two tables, and they adorned the house with pine branches and fruit. In the afternoon, all the relatives, the compadres, and the neighbors were invited. Two alisiles were appointed (this term is probably a Tzeltal rendition of* alguacil, *in Spanish an office corresponding to high bailiff or peace officer). The alisiles were charged with watching to see that neither the new alférez nor either of his two guitarists got too drunk to carry out his functions.*

794 796 535 562 [626] [154] *The two alisiles called out the women to dance, first asking permission of the woman speaker. The dance was the most important act in the set of performances on the third day, which was sometimes referred to as the "afternoon of the big dance." The dance was a highly charged event because the women were for the first time cast in a public role. Fear and shame, the two conditioning mechanisms of socialization in Tzoʔontahal, had to be overcome when the women became involved in the dance. Special precautions were taken: the alisil formally requested the woman speaker to take the women out:*

[539] *Lord, women who nursed us, give pardon with God, the Virgin Mother. Give holy pardon mother and father with God and with the Virgin Mother. We have gathered here, collected together your child, your offspring, where it is not very pretty, not very flavorful, at the door of your holy poverty, holy suffering, for the holy office, the holy prayer. Again our clay, our mud comes to speak here to the mothers who nursed, who give us fear and embarrassment.*

Then the alfereces took off their hats and kerchiefs and brought them to the women. This act was described by an informant: "The women cover their heads with the kerchief and put on the hat. The girls want the handkerchief and the hat of their husbands in order not to be ashamed to be seen by a boy. They want the kerchief to hide their faces. If they do not want the hat, it is when they are mature women and do not have shame. The wives of the alfereces do not have shame because it is their job." The use of the kerchief which was draped over their head, partially covering

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their eyes, the posture of dance in which they clasped their hands at their stomach-band—all of these manifested the shame that they were overcoming. Whether they really felt the shame or not was irrelevant since they were being judged in terms of their behavior. The wives circled around with a two-step, their eyes downcast and their hands clasped over their stomach-bands, while their husbands stepped up and down in place in a ring around them, shaking the gourd rattle and joking. 794 796 535 562

When the dancing was terminated, a joking session was initiated by the nakawane. The signal for this was the lighting of the first round of cigarettes. Smoking, like drinking, was required of everyone and was rarely indulged in privately. The women sometimes put aside the cigarettes, but they had to accept them. At midnight a meal of bean tortillas and coffee was served. 794 796 [522] [276] [562] [262]

The fourth day (Šlok' Krus). *The four regidores arrived early in the morning to raise the alférez and take him to the cabildo to receive the oath. In this function the regidores were referred to as* personaetik *or "persons." The Spanish term* persona *signifies the exterior appearance by which men of merit were distinguished, and in its Latin derivation persona is the mask by which role is indicated. I think it is in the sense of assuming a new identity that the Indians incorporated the term as a reference for specific roles assumed by the regidores at this time. The alcaldes, or judges, were on this day referred to as* koronaetik, *or colonels. This reference term evoked the military ranking system, as did also the term alférez or captain, and established the relative ranking of the two sets of officials in the cabildo on the day of receiving the banners. The alfereces were given titles to indicate the order of their entry into office. The seating order of the four in the cabildo followed the succession pattern, with the first to take office sitting nearest to the door.*

The new alférez, with two of his four escorts on either side, sat on the visitor's bench along with the higher officials, themselves once alfereces. The first regidor, or persona, addressed the first judge with the pat?o?tan. The fourth regidor distributed a liter of trago to the assembled officials, first to the judges, then the president and síndico, the alfereces, the person-

794 796 *aetik, and finally the new alférez. The first judge spoke with each set of officials, saying, "God, we have finished the gift of your ancestors"; and the departing alférez said, "So it is, elders."*

The new alférez took his banner from the table and went outside with the four personaetik, followed by the other alfereces carrying their banners, and by the president, the síndico, and the koronaetik, who carried their staffs of office. They went in a procession to the home of the outgoing alférez; at the fence of his house, they lined up their banners in the stand provided. The wife of the outgoing alférez, with the nakawane, brought burning incense from the house and placed it before the banners. The first nakawane exchanged the pat?o?tan with the first judge. In a column of paired officials, they approached the house and seated themselves on the porch. The judges went to the first nakawane and greeted him with the pat?o?tan; then, standing at the door of the interior of the house, the first judge repeated the greeting with the woman speaker.

[273] *The nakawane ordered the b'alnialetik to bring the fermented corn gruel. After it was served, the b'alnial put a small table in the middle of the porch, covered it with the embroidered cloth, and set two liters of liquor on it. The nakawane rose and gave the pat?o?tan to the first judge. He asked permission of the woman speaker to drink, and when this was granted, the b'alnialetik measured out and served the trago.*

[535] *After the two bottles of trago had been consumed, the alisil took the wife of the outgoing alférez, and the dance began, following the same*
[788] *pattern described above. The dancing was followed by a procession to the church in which the new alférez carried the banner, thereby asserting his succession to the office. The old alférez remained in his house with his assembled guests.*

[788] *In the movement of the banners by the alfereces, one could see the symbolic military behavior: the procession to the house was a mock column of march; the military titles of the alfereces and the "colonels" were carried out in vocative and referential titles in the prayers. The handling of the banners was always done with show of sacred respect: cloths were used to handle them, and they were always set carefully in appointed places so the pole never touched the ground; incense was set nearby when they were unattended. In the cermonial movment from the houses of the al-*

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fereces to the cabildo, back to the house of the former alférez, and finally to the church, the old alférez was divested of his post and the new alférez took it on. The theme of continuity and change were exemplified by the rotation of this office just as in the case of the other ceremonial offices. The dialectic of role identification could be seen in the final act of relinquishing the role: the old alférez wept at the altar as he thanked the gods for permitting him to carry through the task. In serving in this office, it was said that the alférez "learns some understanding and speaks with understanding." He became eligible to be nakawane in the household celebrations of others; he learned the commitments to office, the fiesta needs in terms of liquor, wood, and money for food. This office, more than any other, was a rite de passage for acquiring the skills and becoming eligible for higher ceremonial office in the household, church, and cabildo settings. Those who had served in office became aware of its significance, and, despite the resistance and finally outright refusal of young men to accept the post, they were convinced of its importance in the comunal life. 794 796

An attenuated version of the post of alférez was retained in the barrio of Madronal for the fiesta of San Antonio. Those who had passed in the office in the center referred slightingly to the post in the barrio, pointing out that the alfereces there did not spend as much money, that their clothing was not as elaborate, their pat?o?tan shorter, and the meal given at the house less adequate since they did not kill a bull and then did not have as many nakewanehetik. All these components combined to give the office the prestige it still possessed in the eyes of the villagers. The value of the office was clearly measured in the costs involved; the very factor (money) which made it hard to get recruits gave luster to the post. Scaling down the costs in an attempt to make the post more attractive to those nominated, would probably have diminished its significance and led to a quicker demise. [554]

Other Fiestas

The acts described for the inauguration of the alfereces are carried out for each of the major fiestas: those in honor of Sacramento, Virgin Lucía, San Pedro the Martyr, and San Francisco. The only exceptional acts occur

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794 during the fiesta of Santiago and Easter Week. These are described briefly
796 below.

Fiesta of Santiago. *On the third day of the fiesta the new alférez went to "raise" his three companions. First he went to the house of the alférez who had recently served. There he greeted the nakawanehetik with the pat?o?tan, drank a measure of liquor, and went with the third alférez to the house of the second alférez. The same greeting was exchanged with the nakawanehetik, and the two drank another measure of liquor. They went to the house of the first past alférez, and there they exchanged a greeting with the nakawanehetik in which they comment on the "flowery and flavorful" fiesta for "our old saint and commander, the great angel man Señor Santiago." From there they mounted their horses and began the races.*

[276] [273] *Each of the horseback riders was given a quarter-liter of liquor and a cigarette. Three liters of liquor were distributed at the holy cross (site of a cross no longer standing). The four alfereces stood at the cross, removed their hats, which they stacked one on top of the other, and put them nearby. The four took turns kissing and bowing before the others. They said, "Holy good afternoon," and gave two holy thanks for the gift (the liquor), embracing each other. After the four alfereces greeted each other and the three alisiles, the leader of the races gave the pat?o?tan with the past alférez:*

794 796 539

> *And good day. What do you see, Mam compadre? You are alive, word of God this holy afternoon. You have not heard of any sickness behind our heart this holy afternoon, Mam compadre? There is no fear, shame, Mam compadre. Give another pardon Lord with Virgin. Give me holy pardon, Mam compadre. See us gathered before you seated our bodies, our clay, our mud, Mam compadre. What can we do, what can we make here where we have arrived again? Speak, raise godchild, afternoon of holy fiesta godchild afternoon of holy child's fiesta of him our saint, our commander. What can we do, what can we make when we have found this holy hour, this holy day of our lord Santiago Calixtro, for our patron god? Where now is the water of her legs, the water of her hand* [liquor], *our saint, virgin*

mother? There is nothing but holy suffering, holy penitence here 794
before our sinful clay, our sinful mud. Again we gather here where 796
others have gathered before in the company of our ancestors, the holy 539
alisiles with the liquor bearers. It is your burden the four of you, the holy work, your holy office for his godchildren again give his godchild at the gate of the door of the church our saint, our keeper, the great father Señor Santiago Calixtro for our patron God, again we gather before this doorway our bodies, our clay, our mud with the holy alisil with our costume. Only give a little liquor, the gift of your mothers, your fathers, mam compadre. [273]

The two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik received one liter of liquor, and the 794
same quota was given to the two alfereces of Alannantik. They drank 796
some and poured off most of the measured shots into the bottles carried by [273]
the liquor bearers; then they smoked a cigarette. When they finished this, they raised their banners and entered the plaza on horseback. The bell of the church struck as they entered. About four o'clock, two columns of 794
horsemen formed, one behind the two alfereces of Alannantik and one be- 796
hind the two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik. One year I observed thirty-eight 526
horsemen from Ahk'olnantik and fifteen from Alannantik. The imbalance [621]
in representation for the two sides of the dual division grew sharper each year as the population increased in Ahk'olnantik. Before starting the race, the four alfereces crossed themselves, facing first the church, then the cabildo. As the race began, the mayordomos played the drums and flute in [533]
the church yard and the nakawanehetik sat in front of the church wall.

When the racers made four passes across the plaza, they came to drink another trago and smoke two cigarettes in front of the church. At the end [273]
of the race, they again drank and smoked the same measured quantities as [276]
the pat?o?tan was recited by the leader of the races.

On Sk'ak'halel Sk'in, *the same procedures occurred as on the previous day. The final act of the fiesta took place when, after the races, the alfereces dismounted and the nakawanehetik went to them and drank one liter* [273]
of liquor before the leader of the races. The two most recently appointed alfereces entered the cabildo, where the banners were laid out on the table among orange and lemon leaves. The president, síndico, two judges, and

1794 *the regidores were seated in their customary places; the alfereces sat on the*
• 796 *visitors' bench. The two former alfereces went before the two newly ap-*
526 *pointed alfereces and gave an account of what was going to take place, instructing them on "how they should make a fiesta."*

When the two former alfereces entered, they went to the president, saying, "How does the Lord see you alive on this holy afternoon?" They then went to the síndico and the regidores and ended with the judges, exchanging a pat?o?tan.

The alfereces went out, mounted their horses, and were handed the banners by the regidores. The two old alfereces received their banners first. All four made the sign of the cross, first facing the cabildo, then the [788] *church, and then rode in procession, preceded by the flutist, two drum players, and a guitarist, and followed by the other horsemen. They stopped before the church, dipping their flags, first toward the church and then the cabildo. The president, síndico, and first judge walked across the* [533] *plaza to the church as the church bells were rung, and all the musical instruments played—the marimba, bell, drums, and flute. The alfereces dismounted and put their banners in the church.*

[426] *The final day, called* Lahinbahel Sk'in, *was spent sobering up, putting things back in order, and returning borrowed items.*

178 Although Santiago is not one of the major saints, a major celebration is
231 given in his honor because of the high value placed on horsemanship in
526 this community. Before the construction of the Pan-American Highway in
[796] 1953 everyone in town had horses which were used to carry the pottery to
[492] market. Riding skills were developed in the free-swinging *macho* (manly) style of northern Mexico's cowboys. Even today when horses are not as economically useful the horse culture has survived. The running of the horses in the fiesta is not competitive. Each rider does his best to tear at high speed across the plaza, but there is no specific goal. Since the [273] drunken riders often fall and are injured, some of the excitement is based on the potential danger.

128 The behavioral data on which the analysis of rituals depends are included because they provide a basis for comparison with neighboring

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towns and explain small-scale change over short periods of time. The con- 128
textual description of behavioral details may eventually overcome the lack of replicable events available to laboratory science. By specifying all the conditions of the ritual, it is possible to separate the unique from the patterned components. At one level, the analysis consists in indicating the repetitive patterns and the continuity of beliefs which these exemplify. At another level, rituals can be analyzed as psychodramas in which the individual adopts a social role. The dialectical connection between the new official and his role is established in the obligations he carries out.

When people are asked "why" something is done, they continually shift 796
between the social and psychological levels. "We do this because it was the 829
custom of our ancestors," they will frequently say. When pressed further, they reduce their level of response to the individual, saying, "The women don their husband's ceremonial hat because they wish to hide their face because of embarrassment." Both answers are true interpretations, differing only in the level of social complexity at which the enquiry is directed. One can go farther in elaborating the latent significance of the ritual acts. To 796
continue with the same example, the dance drawing the wife into a public 829
performance was performed because, as one informant said, "she too has 562
done work for the fiesta" (she made pottery to raise the money). The dance gains the favor of the saints, as is demonstrated in the Virgin's tactics with the Devil, and in the curing rituals with the spirits of the house and of the springs. Dancing establishes a relationship to the group: the women dancing in the center of the circle formed by their husbands revolving around them are incorporated as an integral part of a sacred social unit.

Rituals provide a key to the psychic dynamics of the group since they 796
deal with these explicitly. The ritual acts are predicated on expected indi- 154
vidual responses. For example, since liquor overcomes embarrassment,[5] it 273

5. Bennett and Zingg (1937) have stated the even more dramatic social significance of liquor among the Tarahumara. Social intercourse in this mountain tribe is impossible without liquor. Conditioned as they are in isolated nuclear family groups to retreat at the sign of an outsider, the Tarahumara need something to relax their embarrassment and fear in large gatherings. Landa (Tozzer 1941) has commented at length on the compulsory drinking at ceremonials of the Yucatecan Maya. [171]

796 154 is served when the expectations are that the individual will feel embarrassment. These occasions formerly occurred when the company arrived at the house of the alférez before the dance and when the alfereces mounted [273] their horses. Cigarettes signal relaxation, and when the first round of cigarettes is served in the house setting, the company abandons formal re- [276] [522] straints and, led by the chief nakawane, indulges in joking.

541 522 177 178 *Carnival and Easter Week*. Carnival has changed over time more than any other religious ceremonial in the town. Until five years ago, a group of masked jokers visited the houses of the captains of the fiestas. They wore Ladino clothing, including vest, pants, and shoes, and they hid their faces behind masks or painted them black. They danced a "Ladino dance" (paired couples), first in the church and then in the houses of the alfereces. While dancing, they made sexual allusions about unmarried women. Their joking emphasized their strangeness to the villagers; for example one of the jokers might say, "You do not know what type of person I am. An airplane made me." They carried small stuffed animals which they made "cry." Pretending they were the husband of a woman, they would go to her and tell her to take care of her "baby." The woman speaker would sometimes respond to their jokes, saying, "Who are you? You are not good loo' ing, you little black boy. You must be from Germany or from the other side of the water. Maybe you are from Patwitz or Yetawitz, and your father is kurik." People say the custom was discontinued because it was too expensive to give liquor to the jokers.

541 262 794 177 178 [131] Another carnival custom which has been lost is the "common meal" of squash on the five Fridays of Lent. Formerly the wives of the four kobraria brought squash from hot country, cooked it, and brought two gourds each to the church. The assistant divided it, giving two pieces to each of the mayordomos. This custom was stopped during the typhoid epidemic of 1928 and has never been resumed because, it is said, the people did not want to lose work time. These changes may be a response to the priest's attempts to modify some of the excesses of carnival. Whether or not this is so, the people prefer to attribute change to their own decisions.

796 The events of Easter Week as recounted by an informant are outlined below.

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Monday: Nothing
Tuesday: Nothing

Wednesday: All the mayordomos gather at the church. Some go to carry wood for the cross while others look for flowers to make a "bed" for Jesus, Tatik Eskipulas, *to lay Him on after he has been crucified. The mayordomos arrange the table on which he will lie very beautifully. They tie boughs of evergreen on all four sides. Some of the flowers [a small variety of orchid which was possibly of some importance in pre-Catholic rituals] are very fragrant. When all is arranged well, they take out a box so that Tatik Eskipulas can lie where the flowers and branches are. They put this table at the foot of the cross. After the mayordomos have "planted" the cross, they adorn it with pine boughs. They put flowers on each arm of the holy cross. Then they drape it with the holy cloth* [the purple banner]. *At eleven o'clock some of the mayordomos begin to play the coronet, matraka, flute, and drum. Tatik Eskipulas arrives at the cross with the male and female prayer-maker.* [824] [533]

Thursday: Half of us finish making the cross, and the other half arrange the "prison" inside the church where Tatik Eskipulas will spend the night. After we make the prison, we make the Jew. We look for his pants and shoes, his hat and his tie, his mask, his gourd, his bag, his shirt, his cigarette. After we arrange him, we raise him with a rope in front of the church, and leave him hanging for the pueblo to see who killed Christ. Meanwhile, others put Tatik Eskipulas in prison. When night time arrives, four men with rifles watch Tatik Eskipulas to guard Him as the holy evening passes. The mayordomos gather at the church and play the sad flute and the old coronet. They play the matraka. At midnight they play the drum and coronet. [533]

Friday: Very early in the morning of Friday, the four guards of God are changed as the dawn enters. All day, the guards will watch the Lord. They will see Him rise on the cross and descend from the cross. Then the four go to their house to drink a little liquor. At eleven o'clock in the morning the mayordomos will give a sign on the elder coronet, the elder matraka, and the sad flute and the drum. They will play three times to summon the townspeople instead of sounding the bell. When all the women and men arrive, they hear the prayer announcing that Tatik Eski- [533] [202]

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796 *pulas has risen on the cross. After they have seen Him rise, all the pueblo*
[533] *will go out. At two o'clock in the afternoon, they will again play the sad flute, the drum, the coronet, and the matrake. All the pueblo will collect and will make another prayer to see the Tatik Eskipulas lowered from the*
[198] *cross. When He is lowered, they take Him out on a procession with the priest, the prayer-makers, and all the men and women of the pueblo who will hold candles, and the four guards with rifles. The first mayordomo*
[533] *knows how to blow the old coronet, and another mayordomo knows how to blow the sad flute, and anther plays the drum, and another plays the old matraka. After the procession goes in the plaza, it returns to the*
[273] *church and leaves Tatik Eskipulas in the middle of the church. The mayordomos sit outside the church and drink a liter of trago, and then go to their homes.*

Saturday of glory: Very early in the morning of Saturday, they give a prayer with the sad flute and drum, with the old trumpet and with the
[202] *matraka. Three times it is sounded for the pueblo to gather and hear mass. After the mass, the judge goes to speak to the police to look for a horse to mount the Jew. When the horse arrives, they take the figure of the Jew down from the church and tie him on top of the horse. A mayordomo leads him by the bridle, and he goes out in the pueblo with the flute and drum to ask for contributions. Those who know fiesta [the curers] give fifty or twenty cents or if there is nothing, they give an egg. Afterward, they return to the church and the Jew is taken from the horse. The people set fire to his straw body. When they finish burning this, they check to see how much money they collected. All the mayordomos count the money in common. If there are twenty or thirty pesos, the mayordomos make a fiesta with drum and flute.*

[533] *Sunday of Resurrection: Mayordomos gather and sweep church. After*
[273] *sweeping they play the music to open the mouth of the bell. After the*
[262] *mass, they go drink fermented atol with bean tortilla. They eat a hen or rooster to make a fiesta for our Holy Lord because he is resurrected and because all the town is happy. They give the mayordomos fermented atol to drink. Then they return to the church and take out the lord cross, take out the jail, and the bed where the Father Eskipulas slept.*

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The informant failed to mention the following actions which I observed: 796

1. In raising the figure of Christ on the cross, the four regidores, in this context called *apuštol* (probably from apostles), entered the church. Two of them stood at the head of the cross to receive the image raised from below by the other two. [624]

2. The image was always handled with cloths so that no one's hand would be in contact with the surface.

3. The priest, standing behind a cloth screen, guided the figure up on the cross. 796 793

4. The priest gave a sermon about the significance of Easter and the life and death of Christ. He spoke of the crime of the Jews in killing Christ.[6]

In comparing the elicited and observed accounts, one can see clearly the censoring of the priest's role in the perception of the people. Even while the ceremony is in process, they ignore his appeals. For example, as the body of Christ was lowered from the cross, the priest exhorted the congregation to cry and give vent freely to their emotions in this most holy moment. There was no response from the audience, even after he waited several moments, pleading with them again not to feel embarrassment at their show of emotion, and becoming visibly annoyed at their impassivity. Finally, a woman dressed in Ladina clothing, rewarded him with the stylized wail of mourning.

Observation of the ceremony reveals evidence of attitude and belief coded in the staging, the costuming, the postures and gestures of respect or derision which cannot be elicited. Each element is an interpretative comment by those who direct and act the play. We are told that the Jew is the anti-Christ, but we learn that he is also a Ladino through his clothing, the cigarette, and the horseback ride. The Indians do not state that they castrate him in hoisting him upon the church, but their comments and ac- 796 82 829

6. Despite the fact that the Vatican had exonerated the Jews of the guilt for the murder of Christ the year before (1965), the priest spoke of the crime of the Jews. This time lag in communicating doctrine to the hinterlands would be an interesting problem to investigate. [779]

796 tions betray the intent. As he is hauled up by ropes and hung from the
182 bell tower "to show the world that he killed Christ," the mayordomos on
829 the ground who are assisting those up in the bell tower jab him with long poles. In this horseplay they symbolically castrate him: I heard one mayordomo say, *"Me?čunun,"* (transvestite) as one well-directed blow struck Judas. On Saturday, he is let down and given a ride on horseback around town. Formerly riding a horse was the prerogative only of Ladinos in the department of San Cristóbal Las Casas (Colby and Van den Berghe 1961). Placing Judas on a horse possibly has a symbolic value in identifying him as one of the hated dominant group who asserted this privilege.
[794] As he rides around town, the mayordomos solicit gifts from the people.
[756] Everyone gives fruits except the curers, who donate money. This transac-
[754] tion may indicate an obligation they feel toward Judas as one source of their power over witchcraft-derived illnesses. The money is used to buy liquor, called the "washing of the arms and legs of our Lord Eskipulas." The drinking is mandatory for all the mayordomos who have participated in the hanging of Judas.

The Judas figure, which was the church's symbol of the hated Semite, is made to appear as the enemy of the Indians, the Ladino. He symbolizes the sexual license of Ladinos with Indian women, the oppression of Indians by Ladinos, and the killer of Christ. In retaliation, the Indian symbolically castrate and hang him, and finally burn his body, thus dramati-
[793] cally vanquishing the alien in their midst. So far as I know, the priest is unaware of the identification Indians make between the Jew and the Ladino. He prevented the ride from taking place the year I witnessed the Easter Week ceremonial on grounds that it was a pagan ritual; when he left town on Sunday, the mayordomos took Judas on his customary rounds.

796 The attitude toward Jesus, as the hero of the morality play, is ambiva-
776 lent. Martyrdom is not the way to win in Indian society. The feeling is
182 that power goes to the one who makes the sacrifice, and since Jesus was a
829 Ladino sacrifice, they have more power than the Indians. During the
[181] Caste War in Chiapas in 1868, the Indians crucified an Indian youth in
[782] the hope that they would find a savior as powerful as Jesus. To this day,
[175] Indians of To?ontahal seem not to identify Jesus as one of themselves,

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and they show little personal concern with his fate in the reenactment of the Passion.

The ceremonies by which the Indians care for the spirits are Spanish introductions, but within these forms they have found a means of containing the powers of the spirits and making them work for the benefit of Indians. In the reenactment of the Passion they caricature and symbolically kill their own enemy, the Ladino, without his being aware of it. Through reformulation of introduced ideas and practices, the Indians have preserved a sense of the past in an idiom meaningful to themselves.

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square. Although this conception is contradicted by knowledge learned in 772
school, the two concepts are not brought into direct opposition. The town 361
still defines the outer limit of most meaningful social relations, and most people are not forced by the circumstances of their lives to deal with an understanding of the world as round. It is enough that the four "sides" of their village be protected by crosses at the points of entry. The important orientation points are the east, referred to as the "coming out of the sun," and the west, referred to as "the sleeping place of the sun." North and south are referred to as lowland and highland because of the topography. Compass orientation is important behaviorally only at death. The body of [764]
the deceased is laid out in the cemetery with the head to the east. Indians [829]
comment that the Ladinos lay the body out with the head to the west, but Indians of other towns, such as Zinacantan, also do so. The cemetery is located on the western side of the town.

The House

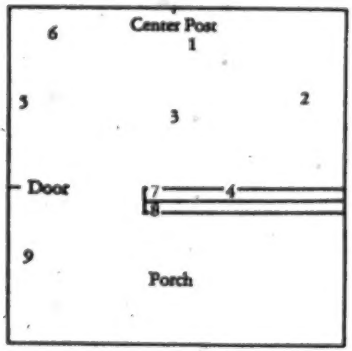
The reference to the house in prayer as "the entry to suffering, inside 342
the poverty" suggests the "cult of poverty" which Wolf (1955:459) points [782]
out as characteristic of closed corporate Indian communities. Most people conform to a standard house size of five square meters subdivided into an interior sleeping and living area and a porch (Fig. 8). The walls are made of mud strengthened with lime packed in a framework of poles supported on nine main posts. The roofs are pitched with four sheds rising steeply to a truncated ridge. Tiles are used in most new houses to cover the roof, but there are still many thatched palm or wooden shingle roofs. Corn and [251]
beans are stored in the rafters under the eaves of the house.

Inside the house, beds line the two side walls. If there is no cooking [352]
shack separate from the house, the hearth is placed in the center of the in- [354]
terior room. The grinding stone, raised on three posts, is placed to the left [412]
of the center post.

The porch is the area for ceremonial gatherings and for making and storing pottery. A table with the pictures of household saints set against [353]
the inside wall, is adorned with flowers and candles. During house fiestas, [796]
men sit on the benches lining the four walls of the porch, while the [562]
women sit inside in a semicircle.

342 women sit inside in a semicircle. A house without a closed-in porch is re-
[196] ferred to as a "cattle house" since it is considered inadequate for entertain-
[621] ing guests at ceremonial affairs. Townspeople prefer to choose as higher
[574] officials those who have houses with porches to accommodate visitors.

Fig. 8. Interior of a House



1. Seat of honor for women
2. Bed area for women of house
3. Hearth
4. Bench area for relatives of house
5. Bench area for visiting men
6. Mats or wooden board for visiting women
7. Honor seat for men (when inside house)
8. Honor seat for men outside house
9. Resting areas for male helpers

592 Each member of the household has his place for sleeping, eating, and sit-
[513] ting. The youngest child sleeps with his parents, and older children sleep with siblings of the same sex or with their grandparents. Newly married couples living with their parents prefer to sleep in the cook shack if there
[264] is a separate structure. At mealtime, men and boys sit on small wooden
[352] chairs at a miniature table placed against the wall separating the interior from the porch, while women and girls kneel on straw mats near the hearth.

342 Reference points inside the house (Fig. 8) are the center post where the
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meal for the house is buried in the inauguration ceremony (Chapter 1) and the door. Left and right are orientation points viewed from inside facing the door. Women of the house sit on mats near the center post. Female visitors occupy the mats to the left of the post and male visitors sit on benches lining the right wall and the interior wall. If it is a large ceremony for the ritual of inauguration or a celebration by the captain of a fiesta, only women enter the house, and the men sit on borrowed benches lining the walls of the porch.

Relative age is indicated by position in the seating arrangement. For women the seat of honor, occupied by the oldest woman present, is at the center post; other women of the household sit on a straw mat or board in order of descending age clockwise around the room. This order is modified by the presence of the grandmother who, if not a woman speaker, retires to the left (facing door from inside) corner. Visiting women sit to the right of the center post with the oldest immediately next to the post and those decreasing in age and stature to her right. For men, the seat on the bench nearest the door to the interior is called the "head of the bench"; this is the seat of the leading nakawane. The rest of the nakawanehetik sit along this bench in order of age. On the bench facing them sits the house owner, with his brothers and other visitors to his right in an age-ranked order. The b'alnialetik sit on the right wall bench.

Since prestigeful roles are usually a concomitant of age, especially in the house ceremonies, there is seldom conflict between age and role status. When conflict does occur, it is only seen at the top level; thus, the grandmother if not active because of age, retires to the corner while the woman speaker, who must order the women in the kitchen and receive visiting dignitaries, takes over this position. I have seen the leader of the č'om take precedence over the leader waiter who was older, because of the important role of the former.

When the family is carrying out a ritual, it is felt that the house should never be left vacant. The role of the "waiters" (maliwanehetik) is specifically that of remaining in the house while others of the celebrants are involved in ritual acts outside of the house. When the members of the betrothal party go to the girl's house, for example, the waiters are left behind; or when the patient leaves with the curer and some of the curing

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342 party to go to the spring, at least one relative remains in the house to
796 greet the soul if it should precede the curing party.
[584]
[755] Behavior in household rituals is described in Chapters 1, 5, and 8.
[128]

The Cabildo

344 The cabildo, called by the people of the town the "cold house,"[1] was
[196] built following the revolution of 1915, when Piñeda's revolutionary soldiers
[175] destroyed the original colonial structure. The tiles of the roof were confiscated from a finca which the Indians invaded in 1941 in an unsuccessful attempt to gain additional lands. When they were unable to maintain their hold on the land, they burned the owner's house and took the tiles to the town center where they remain as a symbol of their defiant action. They refer to this event with pride. The cabildo houses the jail, equipped with a barred wooden door, in one of its wings, and the Ejido Commission office in the other.

344 Within the cabildo, each official has his established place. The cabildo is
352 furnished with a table at which the president and síndico sit on wooden
621 chairs made in the Indian town of Chamula. Four benches lining the
554 walls on either side of the entry provide seating for the civil officials. On
576 the right side (looking out at the plaza) sit the judges in order of rank;
[693] the regidores, in similar sequence follow them. The principales, and formerly the alfereces, sit on the left side when they appear for ceremonial occasions. This spatial allocation establishes drinking and greeting order as well. Visitors can go directly from one to another in the formal greeting of a handclasp and murmured "good morning, father," or "good afternoon, father," without violating age-respect patterns.

344 During court cases, the claimant and his supporters sit on the bench to
352 the left of the door; on other occasions the bench is occupied by visitors or
695 petitioners. The police sit on one of the two benches lining the outside
[625] wall, or retire to the kitchen, a wooden slat lean-to on the left wing of the

[171] 1. Bunzel (1952) notes that in prayers, the cabildo in Chichicastenango is referred to as "the cold house, the icy house." Although the Quiché term is not given in her manuscript, one can see a similarity in the rhyming couplets and metaphorical allusions in the prayers of the towns.

The townspeople feel that they own the church, and many resent the intrusion of the priest who resides sometimes two or three days a week in the adjoining rectory. In the past five years, however, the priest has succeeded in asserting more control over the church: he has forbidden drinking in the church or in the courtyard, a prohibition that resulted in an open confrontation with the leading cofrade (Chapter 9); and he now controls the keys to the church and to the money boxes, formerly the responsibility of the fiscal. The two lay sisters who are in residence during the week hold the keys and are in charge of the upkeep of the church. 346 793 794 177 178

People always show respect for the church by removing their hats as they pass the entrance, even when they are at a distance. As they enter the church, they always kneel and cross themselves. They may spit on the floor of the church, for this is not a sign of disrespect. 346 526 188 [514]

The complementarity of church and cabildo is still formally recognized in ceremonial events: participants bow to the church and then to the cabildo during processions. The transfer of sacred symbols from one locale to the other at the time of the inauguration of civil and religious officials ceremonially signifies the integration of civil and religious authority, despite the growing separation in day-to-day functions in each of the domains. 621 794 182

The church serves as a staging platform for the images and symbolic offerings to them in the annual cycle of ceremonies. During the nine days of ceremony accorded to the major saints, their images are moved to the center of the altar or to the center of the nave. The staging effects are particularly notable during the fiesta of Holy Week, when the reenactment of the crucifixion is performed in the nave. The mayordomos, under the direction of the fiscal and the lay sisters, move the saints about and prepare adornments of flowers and pine needles. 346 796 [794]

The church is the locus for the weekly mass given by the priest. The men stand on the left side of the church (facing the altar), while the women kneel or sit on the floor to the right. A few benches near the altar are occupied by the Ladinos of the area who attend the mass. The lay sisters indicate to the congregation when they should kneel and rise in response to the cues of the sermon or mass. [562] [563] [794]

In addition to these scheduled events, the church serves as a locus where 346 796 782

Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

175 632 466 communal projects for the neighboring town as there had been formerly. The peasant is master of his own time.

125 221 512 Tables 33 and 34 summarize the number of days and percentage of time accorded to various activities for men of two households. The first family consists of a man forty-three years of age and his wife. All of their own children died in infancy, and an adopted daughter recently left home to live with her husband and child in a new ejido plot. The second family consists of a man, his wife, two adult sons, and an unmarried daughter. In this family, the father of sixty-five is retired and his two sons perform all of the agricultural work. Table 34 includes only the activities of the sons. 125 221 The two schedules provide some contrasts:

461 462 561 1. The forty-three-year-old man has many more ceremonial obligations than the youths. This is a factor related to the life cycle in which men over thirty-five years of age are involved in more familial and community celebrations. During the year this schedule was taken, the man was serving as a mayordomo.

2. The older man has fewer productively employed days than the youths (only 54 percent of his time is spent in productive activities) in contrast to 76 percent and 79 percent for the youths). The difference is accounted for by wage employment the youths have undertaken. In order to pay for the cost of betrothal, the elder son worked 56 days (37 percent of the time accounted for) in a neighboring sawmill.

3. The youths were not involved in any exchange labor arrangements; until they become independent heads of households working their own fields, the men do not contract reciprocal exchanges.

221 461 462 796 The fact that men spend only 54 to 79 percent of their time (using these tables to provide minimal and maximal limits) on productive activities means that there is a great deal of flexibility in the use of time for ceremonial responsibilities. Everyone takes an average of twenty days off for celebrating fiestas in addition to fifty-two Sundays.

241 461 [796] The high proportion of time spent in family or communal ceremonials suggests the high value placed on them. The preference for leisure to pursue these activities is proved in cases such as that in which the additional profit in cultivating cabbages was not sufficient to motivate one agricultur-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 316]

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The assumption that leisure is a concept unique to highly civilized societies is denied by peasant behavior in this community and many others like it in which the members are masters of the greater part of their time. What differentiates their scheduling of leisure-time activities from that of most western societies is that theirs is based on community decisions rather than individual predilections and that it is set in the frame of sacred rather than secular performances. Community standards are most notable in the way people dress for fiestas: women wear their newest embroidered blouses; their hair is neatly braided with ribbons. Men wear a kotonču with their cleanest shirt and pants. The children, except for the youngest, wear clothes like the adults'. Villagers "care for" the celebration by sitting on their porches, greeting neighbors, smoking and talking. When a public performance is held in the church or plaza, they participate as observers. Arduous work of any kind is proscribed. Special foods are prepared and served at regular mealtimes. A special mark of all days of fiesta is the serving of fermented corn beverage. Meat or chicken is more likely to be served on Sundays and holidays than on other days.

Timing as a Strategy in Interpersonal Relations

The preferred mode of action is "slow and soft." This applies to motion, especially in rituals, as well as to the scheduling of actions in a series of negotiations. The people are sensitive to the use of time in bargaining as an index to the relative resources of the negotiators. Withholding power in the market gives a marked price advantage in the sale of crops. Sale in advance of harvest means a loss of one-quarter to one-half of the price which could be gained if the crop was sold after it was cut, and corn sometimes doubles in value if withheld for six months or more. Interest as a time payment for the use of money is accepted on the basis that the borrower could put it to work. There is no feeling against the evil of usury, although the rates are relatively high in town—five percent per month.

This understanding of time as an indicator of relative strength extends to social functions. Time serves as an interval to build confidence on the part of both parties entering into contractual arrangement. In the betrothal, both parties are prepared for a long series of visits before the suit

These time and space patterns provide the individual with a cognitive structure which enables him to function appropriately in a given setting and to plan his future actions. Having one piece of information, people can derive the other understandings necessary to adjust their own behavior to the expectations of others. 181 [805] [571]

Time as a measure of value has been affected by changes occurring in the past two decades. Men are less willing to expend time in ceremonial activities than formerly. The first ceremony given up was Carnival, which has not been celebrated for over a decade. Most recently, young men have refused to become alfereces, and their resistance on the basis of loss of time and money was formally recognized in 1966 when the institution was abolished. The resistance parents used to show to their children spending, or wasting their time in school has given way as some of the more modernized parents have seen the advantages of education. 181 177 178 [796] [794] [871]

The tempo of life has accelerated with the increasing importance of bus and truck transportation to market. Women's time has always figured as importantly as that of the men because of their pottery production, and they have quickly accepted time-saving innovations such as the tortilla press and the corn-grinding mill. They have not shown any inclination to adopt time-saving technology, such as the potter's wheel, in pottery-making since they have no knowledge of it, and using it would require relearning basic tasks. 181 177 178 462 823 [252]

The ceremonial cycle still provides the major consideration in programming other activities in the community. The Indian as an agriculturalist remains master of his own time, and he plans his work so that he can fulfill his ceremonial obligations. 181 796

The behavior described for each institution in earlier chapters will be summarized as a mode of adjustment or adaptation in relation to the beliefs that give it meaning and purpose. 128

Economic Activities

868 241 323

Learning agricultural tasks and pottery-making in the household is part of adjusting to membership in the community. Parents are responsible for teaching the value of industriousness and are held accountable throughout the life of the child. Agricultural tasks are scheduled in a yearly cycle that provides sufficient flexibility for a man to carry out community and familial ceremonial responsibilities. In milpa agriculture, there is no specialization of tasks. Small-plot agricultural production with a simple technology has been reinforced by the land reform program. Since the lands incorporated under the Ejido Commission in the 1930s were attached to the community, agriculturalists were not forced to adjust to new ecological conditions. Politicalization was minimal since the local commission operated within the old civil hierarchy. In the recent expansion of ejido colonies in hot country, Indians from the community have developed alliances with non-Indians in asserting claims to the land. Without any preexisting civil hierarchy, these ejidatarios have not had to adjust their activities to a given structure of authority, but have developed independent political organizations as an adaptation to their new environment. 241 177 178 423 621

Women's work in pottery is less subject to changes in techniques and organization than is men's. The schema of production in simple tasks in a fixed sequence makes it easier to teach girls each process and reinforces a given pottery tradition. My guess would be that if wheel production were introduced, it would liberate the creativity of each potter by freeing her of established routines. 323 177 178

Pottery production is not surrounded, as is agricultural production, by ceremonials. There is no god to whom one lights candles or gives offerings to ensure success, although there are hazards in production, particularly at the time of firing. Agricultural productivity, on the other hand, is thought to depend on the proper relation between the spirits of the heaven and of the church with the spirits of crops. 323 241 326 [196]

In the new economic activities, the Indians have shown both adjustive 177 178 233 312 476 621

Moon" will not give way to the sun if her envy is aroused by seeing such things. These spirits of the heavens have greater control over natural forces than the spirits of the church, or saints. The saints have only limited influence over the souls of particular crops and chickens; people say "they are just of the pueblo."

The distinction between the "big saints of the church" and the lesser saints is recognized in the rituals accorded each group. Four of the saints are given big fiestas which are longer, require more expenditures, and involve more people than the fiestas for the lesser saints. Few distinctions are made between the personalities of the big saints and those of the lesser saints. They are big because their fiestas are big. The fact that the townspeople have selected four from the rostrum of saints given them suggests a link with the four guardian gods of the pre-Conquest pantheon, but except for San Pedro the Martyr's identification with Chac, or Cha'uk in Tzeltal, I could not make any other associations.

To say that there is a system of beliefs does not rule out inconsistencies. Some contradictions can coexist without giving rise to tension. Awareness of incongruence either between beliefs, or between beliefs and behavior associated with them, arises in specific events in which the conflict becomes apparent—that is, when the participants must make choices between alternatives that affect their interests.

The people do not recognize any division between pre- and post-Conquest spiritual entities. Sometimes two personalities from Catholic sources may be equated with one of pre-Conquest origin in order to fit a story format, as in the case of Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost, with K'oš (Chapter 8). The priests, who had a special dispensation to make whatever cultural translations were necessary in teaching the doctrines of the church (Doctrina Cristiana Lima 1584 III, 3, Recopilación de Leyes, Ley 22 lib. cited in Lamb 1956:531), are responsible for some of the reworking of the two traditions. But local elaborations reveal indigenous cognitive patterning.

Contradictions in myths concerning the origin of crops show some gaps in the union of pre-and post-Conquest legends. The gift of corn is attributed in one myth to the patroness, Santa Lucía, who received it from the patron saint of the neighboring town of Oxchuk. Another myth gives

773 credit to insects who carried it from the hills. Still another myth synthe-
177 sizes both pre-Conquest and Catholic agents: San Antonio, seeing an in-
178 sect bearing a kernel of corn, persuaded a woodpecker to break open the rock which blocked the entrance to the hill where the corn was stored and then organized the insects to bring forth the corn. The contradictions in these myths do not motivate the people to bring the several versions into line with one another because the rituals associated with beliefs concerning crops provide an overall insurance rather than a specific contract. The In-
776 dians do not trust their security to any one saint or even group of deities.
782 The two candles lit in the milpa following the harvest are an offering to
177 the "owner of the earth"; along with this, offerings of corncobs are made
178 to the saints in the church and to the house saint. Even the birds are left
[825] an offering of corn kernels in the fields after the harvest so that they will not be jealous of the farmer.

773 These myths fail to provide specific charters for action. What they do
771 provide is a set of dispositions to behave in certain ways. The underlying
182 disposition is that of self-imposed guilt and recrimination. The ancestors left their cave because the people failed to give them a fiesta; the spirit of money left the town because the religious officials in the past failed to adorn the church and improvidently strewed the floor with green peso notes in place of pine needles. Sickness and poverty are attributed to their own failures.

771 Another disposition is that of appeasement through ceremonial enter-
796 tainment. This is carried out in the fiestas for the spirits of the church and
731 the spirits of the heaven just as for the spirits of the house, caves, springs,
182 and hills surrounding the town. Community-wide disaster is interpreted as a direct result of failure to perform rituals establishing reciprocity with the spirits. When individuals face crop loss, they review their own ritual obligations to see what went wrong. The curing ceremony is an-
[955] other effort to appease the devil whom the witch has persuaded to give illness to his victim.

771 A third such disposition is to project human conflict into the supernatural sphere. The conflict between Santa Lucía and the patron saint of Ox-
776 chuk, Santo Tomás was taken to be the reason for the church tower being
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182

736 linearity. The widow is expected to give back to them the house
613 site and house in which they lived, and go to live in her own
423 parental home. In one case, a woman who had kept the house in trust for her sons, asked permission to sell the lot (which originally had been given to her dead husband) from a living male sibling of the deceased.

613 There are no ritual functions which have to be performed
592 by the patriline. Aguacatenango rituals are carried on by the
796 household, by the part-time ritual specialists (curanderos), or
794 by officially appointed town officers (the Mayordomos).

121 This type of "lineage" seems to fit Homan's definition of
613 "weak" lineage, because he considers the following characteristics as defining a weak lineage: (1) few (less than four) generations in depth; (2) narrow spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) locality limited to a few people; and (4) incest rules pulled towards the smaller local units and mainly restricted to the nuclear family. The characteristics of a strong lineage, in contrast, are: (1) many (more than four) generations in depth; (2) wide spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) maximal localization of residence and maximal sharing of activities within the lineage; and (4) incest rules pushed away from the local units, to embrace all relatives within a lineage (lecture in the Oriental Institute, April 22, 1959, unpublished). However, I prefer to call them patrilines to distinguish them from the more elaborate agnatic descent groups common in Africa, from which they are distinguished by (1) the lack of genealogical depth; (2) the absence of the use of genealogical

121 it is impossible to do it taking into account any other variable in isolation. Social structures are built up around several simultaneously activated domains of phenomena. Kinship (or the biological facts of birth and copulation and the concomitant social facts of descent and affinality) is one domain. Economics (or the system for the production and allocation of rights over material goods and services) is another domain. Territorial allegiances, based on spatial proximity or distance, is another. The domain of the psychological (the inherent needs of human beings for sociality, positive affection, the sharing of moral values with other men [and perhaps the need for controlling others]), is still another domain.

182 796 If we take ritual as a projective system of the importance of social domains, we can see that it involves, in every case, several of them.

[571] [527] [764] [602] [241] For example, in Aguacatenango and Amatenango, ritual practices are oriented towards: (1) expressing tensions between individuals among whom harmonic relations are re-established through the curing ceremony; (2) expressing the territorial attachments of people, such as the ceremonies for housewarmings and the fact that in the cemetery people are buried according to the place in which they resided (the cemetery is a small replica of the village); (3) expressing kinship bonds, such as the marriage ceremony, the baptisms and compadrazgos, the food given to the ancestors on Todos Santos, etc.; (4) expressing economic needs, such as the rituals performed to insure the success of the harvest.

000 Within the same cultural frame, two social groups can

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

Introduction

BEHAVIORAL REGULARITIES in ritual or informal interaction are usually considered the raw material for making structural-functional statements. The descriptive data are used illustratively or may never be included with published material. This monograph describes ritual activity, both elicited and observed. The object is (1) to state the behavioral dimensions of a structural-functional model and (2) to show where social changes are putting stress on that structure. 121

Ritual events are good occasions for such study because both communally prescribed and individually preferred behavior can be recorded. The expected behavior can be sorted out from the chance since the rules are more explicit than in ordinary interaction. Ceremonial behavior projects in a public performance a given set of status relationships. In doing things as they were done in the past, a theme repeated in prayers and in explanations for actions, people assert continuity of tradition. But just because of this, ceremonies are an occasion for dramatizing social change (Geertz, 1957). Competition between groups and tensions deriving from contradictions which are not apparent in everyday life may be expressed during the ceremony.

I have chosen the rituals of the inauguration of civil and religious officials in the community of Tzo?ontahal, Chiapas, Mexico, because in these performances people act out their techniques for maintaining continuity at the time of change.[1] The inauguration is a rite of passage designed to gain social acceptance of new personnel in a given set of roles. However, as in all ceremonies in this community, the occasion provides the backdrop for the release of latent hostilities. The formal ceremony requires drinking a great deal of the locally distilled liquor, "the gift of the ancestors" that makes fiestas possible.[2] Liquor rids the participants of embarrassment 121 182 796 121 796 273

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[1] Field research was supported by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health which made possible my stay from May to September, 1964, and again in December, 1964. I am grateful to Duane Metzger for providing facilities for working in San Cristobal de las Casas with my informants. Comments by Harold Conklin, Constance Sutton, and David Hunter have helped improve earlier versions. [122] [114] [128]

[2] In a myth concerning the origin of liquor, it is said that the town had no fiestas until Santiago gave the gift of liquor.

[P. 209-A]

and, in fostering social intercourse, it frees them of other constraints. With the usual inhibitions removed, the social interaction following the ceremony allows the investigator to see below the surface. 121 796 273

We have many structural-functional descriptions of the civil-religious hierarchy of highland Maya Indian communities (Adams, 1957; Cámara Barbachano, 1952; Cancian, 1964; McArthur, 1961; Siverts, 1960, 1964; Tax, 1964; Vogt, 1965; Zabala Cubillos, 1961). The roles and functions of the hierarchy are at least minimally described in the many community studies of the area (Bunzel, 1952; Guiteras Holmes, 1961; LaFarge, 1947; LaFarge and Byers, 1931; M. Nash, 1955; Tax, 1947a,b; Valladares, 1957; Wagley, 1949; Wisdom, 1940). We have, as well, historical summaries of the colonial and independence developments (Aguirre Beltrán, 1953; Carrasco, 1952, 1961; Chávez Orozco, 1943). In previous summaries of the structure and functioning of the hierarchies, however, systematic descriptive data on performances are mostly lacking. Vogt (1965, p. 42) has indicated the value of observing behavior as a "reliable operational measure for determining rank" in Zinacantan. Cross-community comparison of institutions would be facilitated by such behavioral data. For example, the recurrent descriptive phrase "closely integrated civil-religious hierarchy" covers a spectrum of behavioral and ideological components which ranges from one in which officials of both ladders are linked by a series of sacred acts, functions and personnel, to one in which there is independent and exclusive participation. These generalizations can be broken down to a series of acts in which they are expressed. If comparison over time or between communities is to be meaningful, we must look to the descriptive detail which went into such generalizations. 121 121 114 121

For any scheduled event such as a ritual, three sources of data are available: the expectations of what will happen, the case histories of similar events in the past, and the observation of the event. In tapping the first of these, I have used the technique developed by Metzger and Williams (1963) in formal ethnographic analysis.[3] In this approach, the informant-co- 121 124

[3] I am indebted to Duane Metzger for training in these methods, and to discussions with him, Brent Berlin, and Paul Kay which helped me in working out the observation schedule. [114]

[P. 209-B]

activities. Following this, he then serves as *tatil* of any saint of minor rank, then as *tatil* of San Pedro Martyr or San Francisco, followed by a turn as *tatil* of the *kobraria* Virgin Santa Lucia, and finally as *tatil* of the *kobraria* Sacramento.

The Tzeltal role terms in both the civil and religious hierarchies reveal the preconquest age-ranking system. This is evident in the use of elder and junior

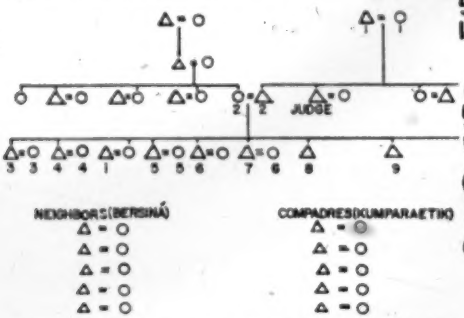

CHART 3 — ASSISTANTS AND PARTICIPANTS IN HOUSE FIESTA OF JUDGE (ELICITED)

Circles indicate women; triangles indicate men. For role term applying to number, see Chart 4.

titles for mayordomos *(tatil* and *nilʔ anil martoma)* and in the use of *mas mamalil* (more senior) for higher rank offices.

The informant's understanding of the hierarchy is that of a core of officeholders in three ranked segments (Chart 1). This is coded in the group terms for officials. Roles peripheral to the major categories such as those of rural judges, fiscal and women prayer-makers, are elicited only with repeated questioning or with reference to some event in which they function. These roles differ from those mentioned first in that they are either of little significance to the individual informant (this would explain the consistent omission of the rural judge by the people of the center) or are not part of the required posts incumbent upon every male household head to undertake (this might explain the omission of the president, síndico, principales and fiscales in the first eliciting session). Structural principles made explicit by the informants are (1) hierarchical rank, (2) progression from lower to higher posts, and (3) territorial balance in representation of the dual division. An implicit corollary of passage through offices beginning with lower ranks is the age grading of officeholders. Other structural aspects emerged in the description of behavior, described below.

[R 215-B]

621* 788 554 693

"to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] who the new officials to remain in office are."

Awaiting the new officials in the church are all the mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see who they are" (App. 1, Q. 48, 49). The new officials "speak to God," asking for health so that they can complete their obligation to the town. They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father townhall." There they spend the remainder of the afternoon.

621* 794 [782] [788]

The mayordomos go to the kitchen attached to the townhall. The first policeman directs the purchase of liquor and the measuring out of drinks for the ten policemen from the two sides of the dual division and the two rural commissioners. In the townhall the new president's first orders are to the fourth regidor to ask him to buy two liters of "the gift," liquor. The pardon to the ancestors, and the offering of the gift to the principales, is in the hands of the first judge, who knows the *pas?ot'an*, and can do the honors. The president is served following the principales in the round of drinking.

621* 273 [794] [625] [693] [782] [431] [537]

The change of religious officials takes place on the fiesta day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29, and on the day of the three Kings, January 6. This provides a six-month term of office. The new officials gather in the homes of the *kobraria* of Halal me?tik and Sakramentu, and in the church. Thus two settings, home and church, come into play with the change of civil officials, but the townhall, significantly, is not part of this act nor are the alfereces called into action.

794 796

The ceremony lasts three days: first day is *pas kantelero*, 'to make candles,' when the candles are cleaned, and the old mayordomos eat a "common meal" *(koniun we?el)*; second day is *wiiperes*, when the oath is taken; final day is *sk'ahk'alel*, when the new mayordomos play the drums or flute.

The first gathering, which took place the year I observed it in the house of the *kobraria* of Halal Me?tik Santalusia, was cut short because the *kobraria* did not have a porch, and it had begun raining. By local standards, a house without a porch is considered inadequate, and is called 'cow house' *(wakaš na?)* since the owner cannot accommodate guests on such occasions. The group therefore lingered longer in the house of the *kobraria* of Sakramentu.

[362]

The speech of the *nakawane* to the "elder new mayordomos" *(mamal ?ač martomaetik)* (App. 2,

[537]

[P. 218-B]

Change of Officials

Q. 68) is a review of the major activities in which they will take part in the church. The phrase 'before the face of,' *ta sit,* is the orientation he indicates to the new mayordomos to perform these acts. 794 796 [537]

The ceremony in the church when the mayordomos receive their candles is limited to the few words of advice spoken to them by the fiscal and the passing over of the candles. There is no representation by the civil authorities in the ceremonial aspect of installation, although the fiscal, in his dual office as assistant to the priest and as president, indirectly takes this role. The alfereces, who provide the link on other occasions for the civil officers' inauguration, are not active during this changing of the religious officers. Following the ceremony inside the church, the town treasurer and síndico help the fiscal count the money passed over with each *kobraria.* Thus the "integration" of the hierarchy is asymmetrical, providing for a church representation in civil affairs, but only in a limited sense is there the reverse. [621]* [624]

The mayordomos return to the house of the *kobraria* Sakramentu. The *nakawanehetik* have lost their place of honor at the *hol wanku,* 'head of the bench,' and are sleeping under the bench or in the corner. Their presence is no longer socially marked, and it is not a point which was elicited.

The behavior during the inauguration of civil officials showed the following structural features. The hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth stepladder but a segmented order. The categories elicited in the first session with the informant—*alkaletik, rehiroletik,* and *mayoletik*—act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same areas in all the settings (App. 1, Q. 14, 15, 51, 64–74). Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They order their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge issues an order to the fourth regidor to get liquor (App. 1, Q. 55) and the first police orders the commissioner from the rural colonias to get liquor for their group (App. 1, Q. 79). In these behavioral indices one can see the segmentation of the civil hierarchy, ordered by age, skill acquired in the expensive office of alferez, and territorial identification. Age grading is absolute only between the segments, and is roughly applicable within each segment. 621* 571 554 156 [561]

In the inauguration of the religious officials, elder and younger officials associated with each saint act 794 561 156

[P 219-A] TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 220-A

Replication of behavior in both civil and religious

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS inauguration is also seen in the house ceremonies. Prior to setting out to the townhall or to the church, the new officials acquire a sense of the sacred obligations they are about to undertake from the words of the *nakawanehetik*. 621* 794 796 182

The major behavioral schema are established in the settings in which activities occur. In each setting, the actors assert status in a social arrangement by their position in a physical arrangement: seating order clockwise from the door indicates rank order in all settings. The same act has a different significance in each setting. For example, drinking in the townhall differs from drinking in the house because it ties together different sets of actors.[10] As the actors move from one setting to the next, they are accompanied by some of the members linking them to the prior setting, as when the *nakawanehetik* accompany the president to the townhall. 621* 794 156 182 571 554 [273]

The significance of setting in allocating roles is evident in the Tzeltal terms for categories of officials: religious officials are called "officials in the church" *(ʔaʔteletik te ta čʼulna)* and civil officials are called "officials in the townhall" *(ʔaʔteletik te ta čʼulna)*. If my guess concerning the derivation of the term *nakawane* from house officials is correct (note 6), then this category derives its name from the locus in which authority is recognized. 621* 794 182 192 156

The analysis of behavior, or roles in action, corroborates some of the understandings gained from eliciting the structure, but requires some modification. The segmentary character of the hierarchy is evidenced in the domain, action, and the timing of action. However, qualifications of the elicited model must be made on the basis of the behavioral data. First, the asymmetry of the links between civil and religious officials in the church setting as compared with the townhall setting requires a qualification of the meaning of the integration for the two wings. 621* 794 182 156

[10] This adds a further caveat to the "behaviorist fallacies" pointed out by Lewin (1951, p. 79) when the psychological setting is ignored in the description of the physical dimension of an act. [114]

[P 221 - A]

"Why don't you cal in the civil guard?" 124

They will say we are women, that we are afraid. My brother wants to, however. 578 682

He communicated several things in this deviation from the eliciting schedule:

Many assassinations are committed regularly in Tzoʔontahal.
They usually occur at fiestas.
The only recourse is to kill one's enemy.
I am a killer, therefore I am prepared to protect myself.
Everyone knows I am a killer.
When I killed, it wasn't a murder but an execution.

796 794 608 554

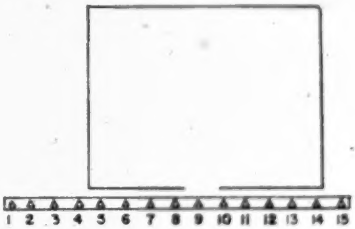

CHART 13 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF THE VIRGIN SANTA LUCIA, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:

1 Cofrade of Virgin Santa Lucia *(Kobraria Halal Meʔtik)*
2 Elder of San Pedro Martyr *(Tatil Yuʔun Martil)*
3 Assistant junior for Sacramento *(Aliʔbal Nilʔnal yuʔun Sakramentú)*
4 Assistant junior for Virgin Santa Lucia *(Aliʔbal Nilʔnal yuʔun Halal Meʔtik)*
5 Elder for the Christ of the Ascension *(Tatil yuʔun Tatik Sanpransiskú)*
6 Elder for San Antonio *(Tatil yuʔun Sanantonió)*
7 Elder for Virgin Rosario *(Tatil Halal Meʔtik Rosario)*
8 Elder for Santiago *(Tatil yuʔun Santiagó)*
9 Elder for San Jose *(Tatil yuʔun Sankosé)*
10 Junior for San Antonio *(Nilʔnal yuʔun Sanantonió)*
11 Junior for Santiago *(Nilʔnal yuʔun Santiagó)*
12 Junior for San Pedro Martyr *(Nilʔnal yuʔun Martil)*
13 Junior for Virgin Rosario *(Nilʔnal yuʔun Meʔtik Rosario)*
14 Junior for San Jose *(Nilʔnal yuʔun Sankosé)*
15 Junior for Christ of the Ascension *(Nilʔnal yuʔun Sanpransiskú)*

Since the informant expected that there might be an attempt made on his life in the approaching inaugural ceremony, he was advertising his own strength and willingness to defend himself even if it meant killing his enemy. I was an audience for him to try on poses of self-assertion. 124 578 [123]

[p. 225-B]

I SUMMARIZE the evidence offered in the inaugural acts first in terms of a functional analysis of the ceremonial behavior and second in terms of structural and organizational changes revealed in the strategies of interaction. The following goals are attained in the rituals of inauguration: 621* 105 794 178 18 [128]

1. *Preservation of continuity.* In the highland Maya Indian communities the problem of maintaining continuity is crucial because most of the offices 796 794 608 554 533

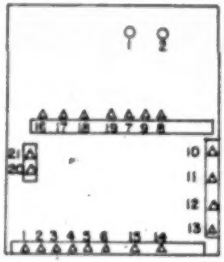

CHART 14 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF SACRAMENTO, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 *Meʔil K'op*
2 *Sčebal smeʔ*

MEN (triangles):
16 Cofrade of Sacramento (*Kobraria Sakramentú*)
17 First Nakawane (*Sba Nakawane*)
18 Second Nakawane (*Sčebal Nakawane*)
19 Third Nakawane (*Yolebal Nakawane*)
20, 21 Guitarist (*Balnial Alpultero*)

Remaining numerals refer to role terms listed in Chart 13.

are changed simultaneously. The emphasis on continuity is evident, first of all, in the repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetitive behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expectation which assures participants in a performance of a link with the past. Bunzel (1952, p. 251) has shown that this familiarity of ritual "sets" in a variety of ceremonials provides linkage with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango. Repetition in behavior is reinforced by verbal references to perform- 621* 105 794 178 18
[P. 227 - A]

public in the procession around the plaza (App. 1, Q. 39). The mayordomos gather in the church specifically to view the new incumbents (App. 1, Q. 59). There is less public display of new officeholders in the case of the religious officials than in the case of civil officials.

The morphological description of the structure of a society is inadequate unless it includes role behavior as well as status positions. The behavioral data pro-

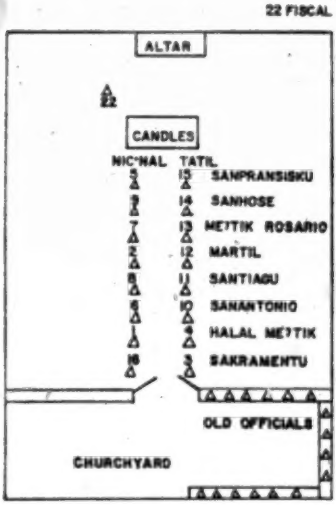

CHART 15 — NEW MAYORDOMOS INSIDE CHURCH, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

vide the basis for describing the physiology of a culture, or how actors and social groups interrelate in carrying out tasks. In the inaugurations, the household emerged in the behavioral descriptions as an important ritual domain supporting the civil and religious hierarchy. Similarly, the asymmetrical relation between the role of religious officials in the civil inauguration and that of civil officials in the religious

[P. 228-A)

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

Appendix 1 — CHANGE OF OFFICIALS IN THE TOWNHALL

	Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
*62 124 796	1. When do they change the officials?	On January 1, *?aš ha?bil* (New Year)	First of January	I observed the preparations for the New Year change of office fiesta in the houses of the president and of the new first policeman on December 31, 1964, and January 1, 1965
	2. What do they do first on the fiesta of changing of officials?	They arrange the house of each official	The wife of the first judge puts the bean tortillas on the fire	
[252]	3. When do they do this?	In the afternoon of December 31	In the morning of the last day of December	The women spend most of the morning and afternoon making the bean tortillas
[353]	4. How do they arrange the house?	They get juniper boughs and needles and put them in the house		Around 8 P.M. the visitors arrive. The house is decorated with pine needles on the floor and in the yard, and there are branches of juniper nailed to the posts of the house entry, just as it is done at the entry to the townhall. I was not present at the gathering
[602]	5. Who helps her?		All her relatives (*kermanotak*) with neighbors (see Chart 1)	
	6. What do they do in the afternoon?		The women eat	
*62 124 796	7. What time do the guests gather in the house of the new officials?	On December 31 at 7 P.M.		
574	8. What do they bring?	They arrive with wood and pitchpine	They bring wood or pitchpine	
[272] [262]	9. What do the visitors do?	They drink coffee with bread and bean tortillas	They say greetings. They drink coffee and eat bean tortillas	
[273]	10. What do they do when they finish the coffee?	They drink liquor	They take out liquor, and the judge recites the benediction	
*62 124 796 [693]	11. Who is present in the house of the new official?		*statal nakawane*, his leading house official, Baltol Kantiron. The new judge, Santos Kantiron, *balnial*, assistants to pass gruel, sons of the new officials *?ak sʔetik*: wood bringers (see Chart 2)	
[624]	12. What do they do first on New Year's day?	The fourth regidor calls everyone together	The fourth regidor raises all the new officials	

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzoʔontahal

APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
*62 124	13. What time does he begin to raise the officials?		He gets up early about 6 A.M.	
796 624	14. How does the fourth regidor raise the other officials?	First he goes to get the third regidor. Then they go to the second. The three go to collect the first. After all are together, the four go to the house of the first judge	The fourth regidor goes to the house of the third regidor. They leave and go to the house of the second regidor, then to the house of the first regidor. Then they go to the síndico's house. Leave and go to the house of the judge	
*62 124 796 693	15. How do the judges join together?	First the two assistant judges call on the second judge. Then the three go to the house of the first judge	The assistant judge for Ahk'olnantik goes to raise assistant for Alannantik. The two go to the house of the second judge. Then they go to the house of the first judge	I arrived at 9:30 at the house of the first alcalde. Present were the following (see Chart 3)
[273]	16. What do the judges do in the house of the first judge?	They drink liquor. They await the arrival of the four regidores	They drink liquor	Before serving liquor the first judge gave the benediction for the liquor *(paṗoṗ'an yil smahtanil)* with the first *nakawane*. His godchild *ahijado shalal nupune*, of marriage, and his brother-in-law Lucian Kut poured liquor. He served cigarettes. Two liters of liquor were drunk here before going to house of president
[292] [576]	17. What do they do then?	They go to the house of the president (see Chart 4)	Go to the house of the president	Assembled company prepared to leave at 10:10. The first judge puts on his plain red kerchief. The assistant judges put on flowered red kerchiefs. First judge said goodbye to the *nakawane*. This formal adieu, the *spat lok'yoʔt'an*. Regidores stood up and came out. Then the assistant judge arrived at the house of President 10:30. (Chart 6)
*62 124 796 693 576	18. What do they do when they enter the house of the president?	The first judge gives the *spat yoʔt'an* with the first nakawane	The first regidor gives the *paṗoṗ'an*	First judge speaks with *meʔil k'op* who stood at door of inner room. The *nakawanehetik* bowed and kissed hands with the first and second alcaldes
[523] [539]	19. How do they give the *spat yoʔt'anik* at his house the president?	They sing what they will do for the year	Holy evening, mamtat, your health. God how does He see you, mamtat. You are alive speak God holy evening. Behind your heart no illness I hear this holy evening.	(See Chart 6 for seating at house of president)

[P. 231]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

#621
124
796
693
576
539

(Judge) I live. There is no illness. Lord mamtat give pardon with God with the Virgin Mother (*Tios sok Halal me?tik*). Enter holy pardon lord, give pardon Virgin Mother

Here we are gathered before you where is seated "our soil our mud" (our bodies). What are we going to do to make arrive to fall to happen holy New Year our patron of heaven (*kak-wulnk*) God. Here in a little dawns the holy hour. Let us go look before our heart where we are going to receive the holy oath inside of the holy cold house the cold hall where we go to receive our suffering our work holy staff, holy wand. It is going to change, holy day, holy year. Thus we do as did in the past our mother our father

20. What do they do after the greeting?

They drink coffee

#621
124
796
264
272
262
693

They drink coffee

At 10:45 served bread set on bowl of coffee and bean tortilla in a cloth wrapping. First served *nakawanchetik* then president, then first and second judge, then first and second regidor, then assistant judge, then visitors. At 10:55 *nakawane* got up and stood before first judge and spoke the *spalan mat* (account of the gruel). Then the first judge spoke the *spalan mat* to second judge. The first two regidores of the past year came in to ask if the new officials were now ready "to raise the change"

(*K'a s'alhal/jul helal*). They said *pat'o'an* before the *nakawane*. Then bowed and kissed hand (*kut' ihale*) with all men in left interior. Went to door and spoke with *me'il k'op, kut' ihale* with her.

At 11:15 *balmalcik* took out the table, laid embroidered cloth on it, put 3 liters of trago and 2 quarts of beer. The first *nakawane* did the *spalanbe makten me'il tatil* with the first judge standing before him. Then the first

#621
124
796
693
576
[293]

APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
#62 124 796 693 576 [788]				judge got up and stood before the second judge and did the *spalambe soltak tuyipal k'in mahtonil* (account to company for the little gift. He then went to the first *nakawanc* with the *sak'inal* (good day greeting). Then all the assembled company stood up and turn to wall and gave the benediction to the gift of the ancestors
	21. Why do they stand and turn to the wall?	Not asked—preceded observation	Not asked	So that the devil does not enter
#62 124 796 [273] [693]	22. What do they do after they drink coffee?	They drink liquor seated, resting their heart, in the entry of the house of the president	Drink liquor to await the hour they go to the cabildo	Two beers and 2 liters liquor were laid to rest. At 11:55 women came in to get liters of liquor. Put it under a kerchief and took it out to women in kitchen. Judges and regidores put on red kerchiefs. At 12 noon two judges got up and said goodbye, first to the *halsial* then the first judge went to the *nakawanc* while the second judge and two regidores followed behind him. Then together the four said goodbye to the *nakawanc* and to the *me?il k'op*. Firecrackers were set off to advise police that the group was setting out on their way to the town hall. Police were to meet them at the townhall and had to be advised so that they would arrive at the same time. Two past regidores came to the *me?il k'op* and said goodbye. The group set out together
[202] [625]				
	[23. Omitted.]			
#62 124 788 796 [693]	24. How do they enter the townhall?	They enter two by two. They kneel and cross themselves at the door of the cabildo	They enter two by two, kneel at the door. They rise, enter, arrive, kneel before the *sanik* table	Pair by pair they entered and touched cross of banner with their rosaries. First the president and síndico then first and second judges followed by judges from Madronal, La Grandeza, San Vicente, and Cruz Quemada
	25. Why do they cross themselves?	Because they show respect to the holy cross		

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*62 124 796	26. What do they do in the townhall?	They take the oath		
[798]	27. How is the townhall arranged?	The four holy crosses brought by the alferecos and the holy staffs are on the *tanik* table		On the table were 4 banners, new staffs, key of cabildo laid on orange leaves sprinkled about on table.
	28. Who is in the townhall?	There are gathered the old officials (*mamal k'a ha'elenik*) and the two principales (*mamal krianpalenik*) and the four alferecos (*alperesal*). (See Chart 7)	It is the old officials	(See Chart 8)
	29. What are the old officials doing?	They are seated conversing		
*62 124 796 64	30. How do they take the oath?	They take from the *tanik* table what they give the oath for—the four holy crosses and the four staffs.	Standing, the new officials call the name of God. They form a line before the banners	New president ordered new officials to form a circle around table. Then the martomoreys prayed holding rosary in hand
[782]	31. Who passes the staffs (*sbaranik me'nktanik*)?	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials. They encircle hand with rosary and take their staff	Two principales handed out staffs first to president, then first judge, second judge, assistant judge, regidores and police. The second principal was very drunk and had to be directed by former president
[273]				
*62 124 796 641 875 539	32. Who gave the oath?		The secretary	The schoolteacher
	32a. What does the schoolteacher say when he gives the oath?			Gentlemen, by the will of the pueblo, the government of the state leaves us in charge of the officers before us. The president is in charge of the pueblo during the three years from this one on, 1965, -66, -67. This pueblo has the obligation of helping him in the organization of all his works. It has the obligation of respecting his command, and the authorities that are going to work with him also have the obligation of respecting him because he is the first authority. All of us who belong to the pueblo and all the societies have the obligation of respecting him just as the assistant authorities fulfill his orders because he is the primary authority. Raise the right hand, repeat after me: In the name of the government of the state with the honor that characterizes them I swear to fulfill with honor

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APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
#621 124 796 541 [875]				and enthusiasm what the constitution commands us. I want in this moment, under the oath, to designate the position of municipal president of the pueblo
[539]	33. How did new officials respond to oath?			Officials raised hands with rosary in it. Then they put rosary on their necks
#621 124 796	34. What do they do after the oath?		Pass over the papers with the acts, with all the things	Take inventory of communal possessions—5 chairs in bad estate, 2 *codigo virjo*, etc.
	35. Who takes inventory?			The past president
#621 124 796 796 [533] [788]	36. What do they do after they take their staffs the new officials?	The four alfereces go out with their banners	The alfereces go out in a procession with the banners	First alferez came to table, crossed himself, kissed banner with kerchief bound on handle, unfurled banner. He followed with second, third, and fourth alfereces. Flute and drum began as alfereces came out. They turned and faced the townhall. Inclining banners the police went out, knelt, crossed selves at door. Then the regidores, then president, then síndico and judges
#621 124 796 788	37. What time did the procession begin?			1:05
	38. What did the procession look like?	(Chart 9)		(Chart 10)
	39. How many turns do they take?		They take two turns where the fruit is sold (reference to plaza during a ceremony)	Two turns (started behind school house but old *nakawane* redirected them)
	40. What did the alfereces do?			At door of the townhall, drew up horses facing it, dipped banners. Same at church
	41. Where does the procession go?	To the church	They go to the church	They enter the church
#621 124 796 [624]	42. Who remains at the townhall?		The officials come out, leaving all the townhall silent except for the two principales who will await the new officials	The two principales remain within
[782] [794]	43. What do they do in the church?	All the officials speak to God (Chart 11)	They speak to God. They kiss all the saints	They pray at the altar, then kiss the saints as they leave. The alfereces leave their banners in the church

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CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

#621 124 796	44. Where do the old officials go?	To the house of the old president or to the house of the former first judge		
	45. What do they do there?	They go to say goodbye		
	46. What do their hearts say?	Their hearts are very sad		
	47. Why do they kiss all the people present?		Because they want a miracle in order that there be no illness to pass in office	
#621 124 794 796	48. Who is in the church?	The mayordomos are in the church		The mayordomos sit at the bench in back of the church
	49. What are the mayordomos doing?	They are seated at the door of the church. They watch the new officials enter the church		
	50. Why are they seated in the church?	In order to know who will be the new officials to see *(yu ʔʔil)* in the townhall		
#621 124 796	51. Where do the new officials go when they come out of the church?	The new polise enter inside the kitchen (Chart 12). The president enters inside the townhall	Leave church and pass to the tnwnhall	The polise go to the kitchen attached to the townhall and the rest of the officials go into the townhall
[539] [693]	52. What does the president say to the two principales inside the cabildo?	"Where are you, *Mamal principal?*"	First judge gives *patbeyoʔʔ'an* with the two principales. "Good day, tat. How does God see you, tat. Now you have taken your heart, has spoken your heart. Now you have been before the face of the motherfather. Where you take the holy oath inside the holy cold house, holy cold abode. You saw the procession in the plaza before the temple and inside the holy mother church for the commander lord. There is no fear, no embarrassment. That is all. Go rest your heart	[I was not present for these sessions]
	53. What does the principal reply?	"Enter, Mr. new president *(mamal ʔaʔ presirente)* and enter, Mr. New judges *(mamal ʔaʔ alkaletik)*"		
#621 124	54. What do they do then?	They sit a little each in his own chair	They sit down. They begin to drink liquor	
293 796 693	55. What do they do after they have rested their heart a little?	The first judge and the president order the fourth regidor to go get a liter of trago		
	56. For whom do they get the liter of the gift?	For the new officials		
	57. What do they do with the gift when the regidor arrives?	They put it in the middle *(ta yolil komun)*		

APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
#621 124 796 539	58. What do the principales say to the first judge in the cabildo on the New Year?	They give the *spatbeyo?t'an*		
693 273	59. What does the judge say when he gives the gift to the principales?	"Give pardon, mamal *krinsipal*. Let a little enter to give warmth to your body"		
	60. What do the principales say?	"Thank you, *tuwo mamal alkal, mamal presirente, mamal sintiku*"		
	61. What does the judge say?	"Pardon and let a little drink warm your body"		
	62. What does the judge say to the regidor?	"Lend me your hand, *mamal rehirol slunebal* (second regidor). Look, pour the gift of the ancestors *(me?tiktatik)* for the *mamal krinsipalenik*"		
	63. What does the fourth regidor say as he pours the gift for the principal?	"With your permission, *mamal krinsipal, mamal ?alkaletik*, I look and give the gift"		
#621 124	64. Who drinks first on New Year in the townhall?	The two principales		
796	65. Second?	President		
693	66. Third?	Síndico		
273	67. Fourth?	First judge		
	68. Fifth?	Second judge		
	69. Sixth?	Third judge		
	70. Seventh?	Fourth judge		
	71. Eighth?	First regidor		
	72. Ninth?	Second regidor		
	73. Tenth?	Third regidor		
	74. Eleventh?	Fourth regidor		
	75. What do they do after the first round of drinks?	They continue drinking until they get a little drunk		
	76. What happens at noon?	They close the doors of the townhall		
	77. What do the police do in the kitchen?	They enter and sit on a bench		
	78. Where do they sit?	(Chart 11)		
	79. What is the first order that he gives the first new police?	He sends the fourth police to bring a little liquor		
	80. What do they do when the fourth returns?	He orders a police of the colonia to "measure" the liquor		

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CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

*62 124 796 213 81. What do they do after the commissioner of the colonia measures the drink?	The first police of Alannantik gets up and speaks a little with the first police of Ah-k'olnantik	
82. What does he say?	He gives the *spatbe yo?t'an*	
83. What time do they finish the celebration of New Year's?	12 o'clock noon	
84. What does he say after the *spatbe yo?t'an?*	He asks if they can endure a little more	
85. What do the police think?	They ask whether they can endure a little more without getting drunk. "What happens if we get drunk? We won't know if there is an errand for the *mamal ?alkalenik* and we might not be able to help. Better to rest the heart a little. If there is an errand we can help a little and so it is. If there is no errand, let us stay till noon"	
86. What do they do then?	They finish a little more. Then after a little all go out because it is midday. Each one goes to his house to rest the heart and until tomorrow	Drinking continued until sundown.

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Appendix 2—CHANGE OF OFFICIALS IN THE HOLY HOUSE

	Question	Informant 3	Observation
794 796	1. What is the first day of the fiesta called?	*Pas Kantelero*, 'Making the candles'	
124	2. What do the mayordomos do first on Paswamal of the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	They scrape the candles	At 9 A.M. the mayordomos were gathered at the door of the church, scraping the candles. The wax was carefully gathered. It will be melted down to make more candles, but not for ceremonial purposes.
[533]	3. What else do they do in the morning of Paswamal?	Two mayordomos beat the drum and one blows the flute	Music was provided by two mayordomos beating drum and one blowing flute
	4. Where do they scrape the candles?	Inside the church	In the courtyard of the church
	5. Where do they blow the flute?	At the door of the church	On the benches near the door of the church
	6. What else is done on the morning of Paswamal?	They sweep out the church	They sweep the church
[824]	7. What else is done on the morning of Paswamal?	Nothing. Formerly they bought juniper needles to put on the floor inside the church but now they do not	
	8. Why don't they bring pine needles now?	Because now the floor of the church is well finished with pure cement	
	9. What do they do after they finish scraping the candles?	They count the money	The fiscal spent the morning sitting on the benches outside the church with the elder mayordomos watching the counting of money
	10. What day do they collect the money?	On Sunday, eight days before the fiesta of San Pedro	
	11. Who collects the money?	Two kobrarias	
	12. How much do they collect from each mayordomo?	Two pesos each	
	13. Why do they collect the money?	For the price of the candles	
	14. Who counts the money to buy the candles?	Two kobrarias with the fiscal	
794 796	15. What do they do at noon?	They ring the bells. They all begin to drink liquor *(yaʔalik)*	They ring the bells. Then they go to the house of the *ʔaliʔbal*
273	16. What do they call the first drink at midday?	One measure to make the food go down *(shoʔip weʔeletik)*	
124	17. What do they call the drink after the meal?	Water for the meal *(yaʔlel weʔelil)*	
	18. How many liters of liquor do the mayordomos drink on Paswamal?	Two liters	

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794 796	19. Where do they drink it?	Behind the church	In the house of the *?ali?bal*
124	20. Where do the old mayordomos eat the common meal?	In the church	In the house of the *?ali?bal*
[273]	21. What do they eat?	Male turkey *(mam koz)*. Beef soup with tortillas and chile	
[261] [262]	22. How do they prepare turkey?	With chile, *yerba buena* and salt	
[263] [252]	23. Who prepares the meal for the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	The *?ali?bal*. The wife of the *Biktal* (minor) mayordomo of San Pedro and San Pablo	
	24. What do they do after the common meal?	They go to their homes	They go home
	25. What do they call the second day of the fiesta?	Wiiperel	
	26. What do the old mayordomos do first?	They make a fiesta. They beat the drums. They play the flute. They drink trago	They ring the bells three times. The people gather in the church
	27. What time do they begin the fiesta?	Early	At 7 o'clock
	28. What do they do in the church?		The padre gives a Mass for San Pedro and San Pablo
	29. Who collects for the Mass?		The old officials and the new officials and the women
[533]	30. Where do the mayordomos blow the flute and beat the drum?	At the door of the church	In front of the church
	31. Where do the new mayordomos gather first?	At the house of the kobraria Santa Lucia	At the house of the kobraria of Santa Lucia
	32. What do they do first?	They take out the mouthwash	They serve the mouthwash
[273]	33. What do they do then?	They take out a liter to drink	They serve coffee and corn gruel. Then they serve liquor
[272] [262] [273]	34. How much do the new mayordomos drink?	Two drinks each	After two rounds are served, drink is served to the mayordomos who go to the *nakawanketik* and offer their drinks. This is done so that the new officials will not be drunk in church
	35. How many of the new mayordomos don't drink liquor?	Three	
[272]	36. What do they drink?	Cold water (soda)	
124 794 796 539	37. What does the kobraria of Santa Lucia say to the kobraria of San Pedro Martyr at his house when they begin to drink?	Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal. Thanks you are alive, his word God, at daybreak. We want to see no illness at daybreak. What we will do what we have done. We have to say what our heart says, our soil, our mud. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our Judge Sanpegro sanpablu? So it is that we	

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APPENDIX 2—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3	OBSERVATION
794 796 124 539		are here and that we are united in front of the house. Pardon us, it is not much, *meʔel tatel*. Where we are gathered together there is nothing flavorful nor is there much. It is only a little to warm your body, of the water to wash his body his hand our old saint San Pedro and San Pablo. God thank mother and father *(meʔa ta tatʔa)* mam kobraria	
38.	What does the kobraria of Santa Lucia say to the Tatil Sanpegro Martil and the mayordomos when they all go out?	What are we thinking? How shall we rise to enter the house of kobraria Sakramentu? How is it he wants us not to drink? It is good we would not remember. It is enough. If you will remember you will say little, mayordomos. Are we not ready with our rosaries, with our kerchiefs, for candles? Is there anything you want to say?	
39.	What does the kobraria of San Pedro Martyr say?	It is good, I am going to say. Now I am going to say to all if you are ready with your rosary with your cloth to take the holy candles	The mayordomos put on their rosaries and red kerchiefs
40.	What do the mayordomos reply?	Yes, good, we are ready thank you. It is only this more I say to you	
41.	What does the kobraria say then?	Do not drink much trago. I do not want you to walk like a mad man *(ṭuḳ ʔalel lihḳel)*. I do not want you to say the kobraria said nothing	
42.	What do the mayordomos reply?	Yes, thanks. It is good. Let us go now. Let us raise our mud our soil	
43.	Where do they go then?	To the house of the kobraria of Sacramento	To the house of the kobraria of Sacramento
44.	What do they say there?	"Good day *mamal*," each one	Good day, *mamal tat*
45.	What time do they go to the house of the kobraria of Sacramento?	At 8 o'clock	9 A.M.
794 796 124	46. In what order do they speak to the people at his house the kobraria of Sacramento?		First to the two *balnials*. Then to the third *nakawane*. Then to the second *nakawane*. Then to the first *nakawane*
	47. What do they say after the *sakʼinal*?		The kobraria of *Halal meʔetiḳ* gives the *spat yoʔtʼan* with the first *nakawane*
	48. What (does he say) after *spat yoʔtʼan*?		He goes to give account to the old woman who nursed us *(meʔtʼukasil)* who is the *meʔil ḳʼop* in the house

794 796 124

49. Who is the woman speaker? — She is the first elder sister of the mother of the mam kobraria. She has the same mother and father as the father the mam kobraria

50. Who are the women inside the house of the kobraria of Sacramento? — Two or three sisters of the kobraria

51. What do his sisters *(yermanotak)* do inside his house? — They sit on the bench on the porch

52. What do the mayordomos do after the account with the *me?ℓ'ukalailetik?* — They sit on the bench on the porch

53. What does the *nakawane* do? — He tells the *balnial* to take out the mouthwash

54. What do they give after the mouthwash? — First the coffee with the bean tortillas

55. What do they give after the coffee? — They give another mouthwash

56. What do the *balnialetik* do after the mouthwash? — They take out the table with the cloth

[293] 57. What do they do then? — They take out 2 or 3 liters of trago with the measure and a little cold water

58. Who orders the women inside? — *Me?ℓ'ukalail*

59. What do they do before they begin to drink? — The kobraria of the Virgin of Santa Lucia gives the *spatbe yo?tan* He rises to ask permission before the *me?ℓ'ukalailetik*, all the mayordomos and all the *balnialetik*

[539] 60. What does the kobraria of the Virgin of Santa Lucia say then? — God, mother who nurses us, give permission to us. The water of his body the water of his hand, the gift will pass in your body that which is the mothers' fathers' *(me?tiktatik)*. God speaks, *tat nakawanehetik* and *balnialetik*. Give us permission to hand the gift that will pass in your body from the *me?tiktatik*. God, Jesus, Mary, only one commander god is three persons. Bless what we eat and what we drink and bless in the name of god the father. God take the gift, *me?el tatel*

61. What do they do then? — The mayordomos, *balnialetik* and *nakawanetik* measure their noses.

62. What does the *me?ℓ'ukalail* say? — God thank Mamal Tat

63. Then what does the kobraria of the Virgin Santa Lucia say? — He gives the benediction to the liquor

[539] 64. What is the benediction? — In God's name, God father, name of God, God son, Holy spirit. Yes, I can endure to do what they did, that which the mother, which the father

APPENDIX 2—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3	OBSERVATION
794 796 124 [539]			did with the hand which has sinned, the feet which have sinned. Yes, I am changing holy day holy year, holy saint holy oath and the name of the god the father
[273]	65. How much do the mayordomos drink?		They drink four measures. After four measures they do not finish and give the rest to *mamal nakawanchetik*
	66. Why do they do this?		Because it is said they may get drunk at the hour to go to church
	67. What time do they go to the church?	At 10 o'clock	At 11 left for church. Put on red kerchiefs, rosaries
[539]	68. What does the *nakawane* say to the new mayordomos as they leave to go to church?		May you all get up and go to the church. May you all enter inside the church. May you take the oath inside the church before the face of the fiscal. After you take the oath you measure the nose in the face of the *tatik* Jesus Christ. After you have measured the noses, when you enter inside the door of the church the mamal new kobraria speaks the *palanbetik* to the mamal old kobraria
	69. Who is at the church?	The old mayordomos	The old mayordomos are seated at the door of the church
[538]	70. What are they doing?	They are awaiting the new mayordomos	They play the drum and the flute
	71. How do they take the *haramento* (oath)?		They enter and kneel each pair, *tatil* and *nit'anil* in front of *tatik* Jesus Christ.
	72. How do they stand?		(Chart 15)
	73. How is the church arranged?		There is a large table with the candles lined up. In the middle of the table stands a little holy Jesus hung on the cross
	74. Who is inside the church?		The priest, the fiscal, the old mayordomos
	75. What does the priest do?		He gives the Mass. He blesses the new and the old mayordomos
	76. What do they do after the blessing?		The fiscal gives the candles wrapped in a napkin
	77. How many candles does he give to each mayordomo?		Nine candles
	78. What are the candles for?		To light for the saints
	79. What does he do with the candles?		Goes and puts them in the elder officeholder's house. Returns and gets his own to bring to his house
	80. Where do they go after the oath?		To the house of the kobraria of Sacramento

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794	81. What do they do?		They drink
796 124	82. What time do they leave his house?		Prayer time *(oración)*
[273]	83. Where do they go?		To their house
	84. What do they do first on *sk'ahk'alel?*		Go to hear Mass
	85. Who is in the church to-hear Mass?		All the new mayordomos, the women, the prayer leaders
	86. What time is the Mass?		At 7 o'clock
	87. What do they do when they come out of Mass?		Go to the house of the kobraria of Sacramento
	88. How many go?		Thirteen
	89. What do the rest do?		Three juniors *(niʔ'anil)* remain play drum at door of church
	90. What do they do at the house of the kobraria of Sacramento?		Count the money of the Virgin and San Pedro Martyr
[426]	91. What do they do with the money?		They want to lend it in order to get interest because they want to increase it *(ya sk'an smahanik yuʔun yaʔbe sol yuʔun sk'an solin hilel)*
	92. How much money is there for the virgin?		Two hundred twenty-eight pesos
[624]	93. Who counts it?	Fiscal with two kobraria	The town treasurer, the síndico and secretary assisted the fiscal in the accounting of funds. The principales sat on the bench to observe proceedings
	94. How much money is there for San Pedro?	Forty pesos	
[624] [537]	95. What do they do after they count the money?	Begins the *patʔot'an* with the kobraria of Sacramento	The principales recite the *patʔoʔtan* with the kobraria of Sacramento
[273]	96. What do they do afterward?	They drink liquor	They drink liquor

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
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175 177 648 [166] *dation of the Spanish dominance* lasted from 1545 (when Fray Bartolomé de las Casas arrived with 17 Dominican friars) until 1600. During this period a vast movement of population took place characterized by changes in location of some towns, reductions, and congregations.

During the entire 17th and early 18th centuries, the *period of slavery and royal land grants*, Indians were subjected to heavy tributes and to forced labor on the plantations and in transporation systems of the encomenderos, as *tememes* or carriers. Great caravans of 300–400 Indians, at the command of 10 or 12 Spaniards, transported goods the 1000 km. from San Cristobal de las Casas to Veracruz. Many died from excessive loads and lack of food (B. Metzger, 1960, p. 19[illegible]

175 177 648 797 From about 1720 to about 1850 may be considered the *period of resurgence and autonomy of the Indian community*, when the system of royal land grants was suppressed, the Order of Dominicans was weakened, and Spanish authority became relaxed and even indifferent. Bishop Polanco sent a report in 1781 to the Royal Court of Justice of Guatemala, complaining of the abandonment of the Indians (Trens, 1942, p. 200).

> It is wondrous that in the town of Chamula, contiguous to Ciudad Real, Indians have need of interpreter to defend themselves or to beg for what they desire. So that they are as they were twenty years after their conquest; in such a state of blindness and ignorance they find themselves. In the town of San Andres, next to Chamula, there are many saints, old and indecent, whom I thought of burying; I did not do it because those evil souls say that they make them see clearly and alleviate their needs. I suspected a riot without having assistance. . . . Oh, my Lord, their audacity and shamelessness are such that they even come to command in the church, without respect for the priest. They hold to the idea that the third person of the Holy Trinity is the Sun, because, they say, it was thus taught to them by the old fathers.

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4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
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175 177 648 797 The mistakes, lack of attention and pretensions of the Indians in regard to the Christian doctrine, who they say they know, and the ones instructed best in them, say as many heretic words as Christian, is consequence or necessary sequel of the lack of care in the secular and ecclesiastical government.

This situation became more and more acute owing largely to the political unrest which absorbed the attention of the authorities, unrest which culminated in the separation of Chiapas from Guatemala and in 1824 its incorporation with Mexico.

175 177 648 The next period, *invasion of lands by Ladinos*, extends from about 1850 to 1911, when the first sparks of the Mexican Revolution reached Chiapas. In this period Ladinos began to invade lands of the Indian communities by bribery or by force. Toward 1856 the Indians complained against the invasion of lands in San Martin, San Miguel Mitontic, San Pedro Chenalo, Cuncuc, and Tenejapa, but failed to halt Ladino inroads (Trens, 1942, pp. 274–75).

The history of recent times, from 1920 on, is marked by increasing support from federal authorities throughout the entire [178] republic. In the Tzeltal area progress has been slow but constantly improving (see LaFarge, 1940; Beals, 1951).

Ethnographic Studies of the Region

114 [101] In his first trip through the Mayance area in 1839 and 1840, Stephens (1841) visited the northern zone of the Tzeltal, from Ocosingo to Yajalon, going through Bachajon and Chilon.

Traveling the same route two decades later in the opposite direction, the French explorer Désiré Charnay recorded his impressions in a small book (1863).

In 1901 Frederick Starr (1902), from the University of Chicago, made a short visit to the region.

In 1925 Blom and LaFarge traversed from north to south a large part of Tzeltal territory, publishing their data in three chapters of their *Tribes and Temples* (1926–

[P. 198 – B]

794 the calpul must have a powerful nagual, through which they can learn about the private lives of their subordinates. This is usually the way they know who has enough money to pay for a feast, who can occupy special jobs, and which sinners deserve punishment.

Religious Life

The Catholic Cult

177 The beliefs and religious practices intro-
797 duced by Catholic missionaries in the 16th
795 century have been adapted to the aborigi-
795 nal culture. The largest and most important
778 building of the village is the church, situ-
[346] ated on the east side of the ceremonial cen-
[361] ter. In it are the image of the patron saint
[776] of the group, the holy cross, and lesser
[796] saints. The most profound ceremonies take
[794] place before the altar of these saints, who are looked upon as mediators between God and men, and are performed by the cabildos de misa, dzunubiles, and other elderly men of high rank who know both Catholic and Indian ritual.

346 During the ceremonies the altar is deco-
796 rated with flowers and with paper and rib-
795 bons of different colors. The floor is covered with pine needles, which give off an agree-
[782] able fragrance. Candles and copal are part of every prayer and ceremony, the copal having been used since pre-Hispanic times.

795 Common prayers of people who visit the
782 center also have a place. These people have to enter the church and make an offering of candles to the patron saint. The prayers follow a formal pattern but vary in content according to the need and mood of the supplicant. Each individual talks intimately to the saint, specifying the help he needs, much as he would to a relative or a friend in whom he has absolute confidence. The two most frequent matters of petition are health and food; as the latter depends almost entirely on the condition of the cornfield, people pray that "it may not be damaged by the wind, or by cold, sun, birds, or plagues."

[P 221-A]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Conflict among Religious Functionaries

578 794

Conflict in the religious domain stems from the opposition of the traditional religious hierarchy and more recently that of the young leadership in the civil authority to the increasing power of the priest. In this conflict the fiscal is a middleman who often gets knocked by both sides.

793

The priest. The priest visits thirty other Indian communities of the department of San Cristóbal Las Casas in addition to Tzoʔontahal. In the fifteen years he has been working regularly in this town, he has gained increasing authority over the cofrades. He is assisted by two lay sisters who maintain the church and lead the evening prayers in his absence. He admits that, without them, his own work in the town would be more difficult because of the sexual jealousy of the townsmen. His relationship to the group of about forty *resadoras,* or female prayer-makers, who attend the evening prayers regularly and are the most vocal respondents in the mass, would be suspect without the presence of the lay sisters. [794]

The priest tries to play the role of parish leader as well as spiritual leader. When medicine is available from missionary sources, he gives it to the sick. In his sermons, he advises people to use injections, which he makes available, against contagious diseases. He attempts to counsel the people, advising them not to kill, to steal, or to have illegal sexual affairs. In his role as pastor, the priest is influenced by missionary efforts of American Catholic organizations which have sent supplies to the area. [797] [278] [751] [797]

578 793 794 273

In recent years, the priest has challenged the authority of the head cofrade in activities occurring within and at the door of the church. The following incident, recounted by the son of the elder cofrade, marked a shift in control in these domains:

In 1961 the elder cofrade of Sacramento was drinking with the other mayordomos at the door of the church. The priest came out and demanded that they stop because this was the house of God. The elder replied that it was the custom of the pueblo, and he and the other men refused to leave. The priest went back into the church and returned with a gun in his hand. The mayordomos seized wood which they had gathered

175 Thus, the village of Aguacatenango was created by joining the
361 parcialidades of Aguacatenango and Quesaltepec, while Amatenango
621
648 was composed of the parcialidades of Amatenango and Sacatepec. It is not possible at present to identify more closely the social groups that the Spaniards called parcialidades.

[797] It is probable that each parcialidad was composed of several lineages and clans, but up to the present time no one has done a comparative study of name distributions on available censuses or other similar materials, nor has any record been found, which explains the procedures used by the Dominican Friars (who controlled the reducciones in the area) when they reorganized
175 the populations of the territory.[1] In central Mexico the term
171 parcialidad refers, in the primary sources, to the four divisions
621 of Tenochtitlan, the Aztec Capital, but they also refer to the
175 barrios or calpuls (Caso, A., 1959). In Chiapas it is normally
621 used to mean the sub-divisions of pueblos reducidos. It is known,
648 however, that the parcialidades were originally separate groups of people which were independent social units. Even after the reducciones they kept important elements of their organization separate, including their political officers, who were responsible for complying with demands made by the Spaniards for tribute and labor. Some of the separate political functions have been re-
174 tained up to the present. It is also safe to assume that each one
621 of the parcialidades was an endogamous group; both Aguacatenango

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[1]The new documents are still unavailable. They have been reported by Edward Calnek in the National Archives in Guatemala, and by Dr. Vicenta Cortez in the Madrid Archives, Spain.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

755 has been made at the time of the house inauguration. Food for the chick-
776 en—bread, chocolate, tortilla, and liquor—is put in the hole so it will stay
342 alive for eight days.

The logic of the meal is that the house needs nourishment and for this reason has been fighting with the inmates and causing their illness. After the guests have been fed, the curer marks a cross with a mixture of garlic, creosote, seeds of mustard, and a "hot" herb called poščan, on the center post inside the house and on the corner posts. Like the candles, the cross serves to "blind the eye" of the evil spirits so that they will not reenter the house and talk the spirit of the house into causing harm.

This ceremony replicates that of the house meal at the time of the inauguration (Chapter 1). The music of the guitar and gourd rattle is intended to make both the soul of the house and the souls of the inmates content. Why the curing of the house is always done on Thursday, when "the holy earth is open," is not fully understood by the curers I have questioned; they say, "We have forgotten how to talk to the earth." Chamula curers are reputed to be able to talk to the earth, and consultations may be sought with them if the illness continues.

755 *Prayer.* The curers talk with the soul of the thirteen ancestors of
776 the world,[5] to the "spirits of the heaven and of the church," and to saints
782 of neighboring towns, asking for a good cure. The following prayer is one
[539] given by the oldest and most honored of the curers:

Sacred earth, sacred world
Thirteen holy world, holy flowers
In the center of another holy world

Look mother, its clay
I am a child, its clay.
Holy heaven, Jesus Christ
Holy herbs give the spirit

[801] 5. The number 13 has significance in the Maya cosmology in the 13 levels of heaven (Thompson 1964:125). The 13 candles set before the curing arch symbolize the 13 holy worlds. The meal for the house spirit includes 13 cigarettes.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
192 197 tortuga	ahk'	ak'	ak'
trueño	{stackwaiyel {sicwaiyel, t'om	{kweye {tcawûk*	tcavok*
tumbar (un arbol)		kE-yEsen	
uñs (de hombre o de animal)		itcek	itchûk
verde	yac	yuc	yuc
vida	kucûl	anto-pican	halin†
viejo	{kaalic {mamal	{tcupin‡ {su'§	nohcib
viento	ik'	ik	ta ik'
volar	wixhlel	kE-wil'e	
yacer			ya ka-cacutoc
yerno	bal	kE-nI'E*	
zaraguate	bats	aHwats	
192 197 1	hun	hun-pe¶	un-to
2	tcê-eb¶	tca'-pe	tca-to
• 802 3	oc-eb	uc'-pe	uc-to
4	tcan-eb	tcum'-pe	tcan-to
5	ho-eb	{hun'-ka (one hand) {no'pe	ho-to
6	hwak-eb	*seis*, etc., in Spanish	
7	huk-eb		
8	wacak-eb		
9	balun-eb		
10	lahun-eb		
11	bulutc-eb		
12	lastcai-yeb		
13	uc-lahun-eb		
14	tcan-lahun-eb		
15	ho-lahun-eb		
16	hwak-lahun-eb		
17	huk-lahun-eb		
18	wacak-lahun-eb		
19	balun-lahun-eb		
20	tab, tax.		
21	hun-ka-vinik		
30	lahun-is-tca-vinik		
40	tca-vinik		
50	ho-lahun-eb‖		
80	tcanc-vinik		
100	hol-vinik		
400	bak		

*Cf. "Relampago."
†Cf. mecte. ‡Used for animate beings. §Used for inanimate objects.
¶The suffix = "times."
‖Obviously an error, cf. 15.

[pp 479-484 contain no Tzeltal material]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

114 27) but without touching on social organization.

[101] Study of social organization began in
[122] 1938 when I made my first trip through the region under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington (Redfield and Villa Rojas, 1939, pp. 107–19). In 1942–44 we spent several periods among the Tzeltal of Oxchuc, establishing camp at Yochib, and published the results soon thereafter (Villa Rojas, 1946, 1947).

Since 1957 various investigations by the universities of Chicago, Harvard, and Stanford have been headed by the anthropologists Sol Tax, Norman A. McQuown, Evon Z. Vogt, Julian Pitt-Rivers, and A. Kimball Romney.

221 SUBSISTENCE PATTERNS AND FOOD HABITS
241 *The Milpa*

Nothing is of greater importance to the Indian than to have a good *milpa*. Three classes of milpas are cultivated: *sijomal*, planted in mid-January and harvested three months later; *nal-aual* or "March milpa" planted in mid-March and harvested toward the end of August; the main milpa, *jabilcaltic* or "milpa of the year," sown between April and May and harvested between November and December. The first two types are most often cultivated in the lower zone of Tierra Caliente, where humidity is favorable.

241 Among the Tzeltal of Oxchuc (Villa
804 Rojas, 1946, pp. 510–39), milpa work begins in February with the measuring of the plot. The measuring rod (*jaubtic*), which presumably corresponds to a *brazada* (the distance between the arms extended), is equivalent to 1.98 m. The area 8 brazadas square takes the name of *tarea* (about 256 sq. m.). The area of the milpa is also computed according to the number of ears of corn needed for seeding: 60 ears of corn are required to fill 1.5 hectares, the average in milpas that we observed.

241 Since the bush is short, only a hatchet
412 (*eche*) is necessary to cut it down. The
[P.199-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

241 Between September and October, when the tender ears are ready, some are torn loose to prepare atoles and tamales.

Toward the middle of October, when the milpa has reached maturity, all hands proceed to the task of the *dobla*, folding or breaking the stem of the plant so that the ear dries and may later be put into the barn. This is an easy task, in which men, women, and children take part. [462] [857]

The harvest takes place in November and December with the participation of the whole family; it is a joyful task which compensates for all the moments of anxiety in the previous months, when subsistence was scarce. The produce from the milpa is gathered in large nets and later stored in a corner of the house or in some improvised structure nearby. The crop is measured by *zontles*, units of 400 ears, which are formed by counting the ears by fives; two ears are taken in one hand and three in the other until 400 are reached. The family of five members which manages to harvest from 15 to 20 zontles considers itself happy, since that much will last them the entire year, consuming 20 ears a day plus feeding one or two hogs and 10 or 12 chickens. [592] [251] [804] [261] [231]

The milpa also produces various squashes, manioc (*dzinté*), and peanuts, which the Indians call *caxlan-chenek* ('Ladino's bean').

243 184 Exceptional among the Tzeltal is the cultivation of wheat in Amatenango. There the small valley and a creek have favored its development.

241 796 The most important ceremonies take place immediately after planting. They entrust the germination of the seed to the care of God, of the "thirteen holders of Heaven," and of "Tatik Jesucristo." The "thirteen holders of Heaven" refer to the principal saints who are mentioned in the prayers. The ceremonies consist in offerings of prayers and incense before the crosses kept in caves belonging to each paraje, and in one *bikit mixa* ('small Mass'), which the cabildos and principales of the [778] [782]

[P 201-B]

291 a typical outfit with special characteristics.
184 For instance, the men of Tenejapa wear a hat of broad brim and pointed round crown, trimmed with thin ribbons of different colors. They also wear a dark chamarra or poncho with thin white stripes. The characteristic clothes of Cancuc are short, tight pants and a long shirt trimmed with red wool yarn. In Tierra Caliente the wool chamarra is not used nor is the variation in outfit so well defined.

Transportation

482 Men and pack animals are the principal
[484] carriers in the Tzeltal region, which is
[487] crossed in all directions by narrow trails.
[492] Men carrying loads of 40–50 kg. usually
482 walk, in one day, as far as 8 leguas
147 (leagues). According to Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:386), the Tzeltal of the highlands are so strong "que ponen en vergüenza a una mula." In 1944 I observed Indians
[565] passing by my Yochib camp, carrying chairs on their shoulders, in which a lady or a child of upper-class Ladinos from Ocosingo
492 and Yajalon would be sitting. Pack animals are now becoming common among the Tzeltal, some of whom also have saddle horses.
491 Part of the Tzeltal-Tzotzil region is crossed by the Pan-American Highway joining Guatemala and Mexico City. In recent years, roads called "brechas de penetración" for motor vehicles are being constructed.
474 The natives of some communities (Oxchuc
493 and Chanal) have organized cooperatives and purchased their own trucks.

804 *Units of Measure*

The system of measures still retains aboriginal characteristics. The main units are:

Nab: Distance between the end of the thumb and the middle finger extended.

Chutub: Distance between the end of the thumb and the index finger extended. It is equivalent to the jeme. The Indians do not use the cuarta (distance between the thumb and little finger extended).

[P 208-B]

804 *Shucubil* ("codo"): Distance from the elbow to the end of the middle finger extended.
Jaub ("braza" or "brazada"): Distance between the ends of both extended arms.
Yankabal (equivalent to the meter): Distance from the armpit to the extended middle finger of the opposite hand.

[484] The "legua" is also used and is equivalent to the distance a man can walk during one hour (approximately 5 km.).

Of square measures used for the milpa, the most common is the *tarea* (equivalent to a square of 8 jaubs). This is equivalent to a square of 16 m., which is very close to the mecate used by the Yucatec Maya. The standard most often used for measuring maize or beans is the *almud*, which among the Tzeltal of Cancuc, Oxchuc, and Tenejapa, is equivalent to 4 *quartillas* (each quartilla is equivalent to 8 large *borcelanas*). The borcelana is an earthen cup or pot, which can be either small or large. The large one is equivalent to ½ kg. of maize, the small one to ¼ kg. of maize. The borcelana is used to measure chile.

[415]

Economics

241 *Division of Labor and Specialization*

462 Care of the milpa is men's work, but sometimes women help with light tasks such as weeding or harvesting. Seeding does not require great effort, but it is considered a job for men exclusively. Women may participate in chile seeding—but in the planting only; the holes in the ground can be made only by men, who use a *macana* or planting stick. Cutting and carrying firewood are tasks for men, but women may perform them when men cannot. Women can handle an axe or machete skillfully. Fetching water, from river or fountain, is work for women. It is considered inappropriate and ridiculous that a man carry a cantaro on the hip. Laundry and all kitchen duties are performed by women, as well as spinning, knitting, sewing, embroidering, and making of earthenware. Manufacture

462

[P 209-A]

[Text continues on p. 210-B]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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tions of self will find a responsive audience only within these linguistic and physical boundaries. The sense of insulation is a denial of regional and national political institutions in which they interact with the other Indians and Ladinos who are part of their present world and share their history. The town itself is a product of the Spanish colonial *congregación,* which drew together diverse Indian populations that had been scattered in small settlements. The outlying barrios are occupied by Indians who have moved out from the center, as well as foreign Indians who had worked in the *fincas,* or large plantations, within the township. These latter people are referred to by a derisive term, *Kurik,* meaning roughly "country hick." Beyond these, and still within the municipal limits, there are a series of *colonias,* settlements populated by Indians who have moved here from other towns and by *mestizos,* or acculturated Indians. These settlers acquired land in the time of Juarez or later in the Cardenas period. Ladino men are called *Kaßlan* and women *Šinlan;* foreigners who do not appear to be of the country are called *Alemán,* the Spanish term for German.

The focus of this book is on the lives and thoughts of people living within the center. The people of Tzo'ontahal live in a square world, surrounded by a round universe. From the square hole, cut in the earth at the center post of their square house to receive the sacrifice of a live chicken when the house is built, stretches a square village (it appears as a rectangle on the map, but they draw it as a square).[2] The fields are measured in squares of twenty-five arms' breadths, with five handspans measuring the square between each plant. Within this square world, they have elaborated techniques for dealing with spiritual and human co-residents in curing rituals, offerings for crops, burial practices, and baptism rites. Their present cultural stock reveals a selective absorption of Spanish colonial features along with twentieth-century innovations. They have techniques for planting and harvesting milpa, marketing the pottery manufactured in all the households, curing an eclipse of the moon, divining causes of illness and curing the maladjusted social relations which cause it, manufacturing and

2. This view of the world as square is shared by Tzeltal and Tzotzil neighbors in Larráinzar (Holland 1963:69), San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:254), and Pinola (Hermitte 1964). The four-direction concept of the village and world noted by Landa (Tozzer 1941:135) suggests a square-space concept.

formants' conscious understandings as well as of their subconscious patterns of behavior. 121 [124]

Description of behavior requires a theoretical approach to the problems of segmenting activity streams, selecting events, and ordering them. Too large chunks of behavior are not useful in comparisons made over time in the same society or between societies. However, because human (as well as animal) behavior is characterized by motivation and cognition (Tolman, 1961) we cannot expect to isolate minimal units which are invariant from one context to another. Verbs, as French (1954, p. 162) points out, are one-act plays in which a change of dramatis personae creates entirely new meaning. Furthermore, the symbolic weight of a single act varies; it can encompass the history of an institution, such as crossing oneself, or it can establish identification with a social movement, such as raising a clenched fist. However, for any behavioral schema, which I define, following Piaget, as component acts structured in an organized totality (Flavell, 1963, p. 54), it is possible to segment acts and assess their significance. In the major schema of the inauguration of officials in Tzo?ontahal, place, time, and roles are the bases for structuring related sets of activities.

Segmenting human behavior has been treated as either an actor-oriented or an observer-oriented problem. Pike (1954) and Adams (1962) rely on informants' advice to isolate the "behavioreme," whereas [114] Harris (1964, p. 367 ff.) rejects the actor's statement of goals in favor of the investigator's own definitions of action units. If the "basic unit of action in the human body is purposive motion" (Burke, 1962, p. 61), then we must consider the meaning of action at the first stage of an analysis.[4] The anthropological observer's segmentation at this point injects cultural bias which stems from his point of view (Hymes, 1964, p. 14; Spier and Sapir, 1930, p. 217). Since our [124]

[4] Most verbs used by informants in describing action patterns imply purpose. The informant says that he "eats," not that he raises food to his mouth and masticates it. The coding of motives and goals in the verbs underlines the importance of eliciting in the performer's own language. For example, when one observes the Indians as they enter the townhall, one sees them kneel and do what could be interpreted as crossing themselves. Asked what they do, the informants reply, "We measure our noses (*sp'is smi?ik*)." Measuring water (*sp'is ha?*) is another important ceremonial act. This suggests the possible ceremonial significance of measure in ceremonial performances. To assume knowledge of the act because of its similarity to Catholic forms might rule out suggestions requiring deeper probing. Cf. Adams' (1962) distinction between the reported and the observed act, and Barker (1963). 121 124 193 [988] [804] [114]

[p. 210-B]

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

by Blom and LaFarge.[87] At Tenejapa and again at Guaquitepec, Villa met persons terrified by fears of witchcraft; it is apparent that the subject is important throughout the region. The word for witch is *agchamel*, and the phrase used is to the effect that the witch "eats" his victim. Villa understood this to refer to the belief that a person's soul may be lured away from his body, a notion consistent with facts reported by Blom and LaFarge.[88]

Villa's notes establish the fact that the nineteen-month pagan calendar is in current use in the highlands, at least in Chanal, Cancuc, and Oxchuc. In 1702 Nuñez de la Vega[89] published the names of twenty days of the month; these have apparently not been reported since. In 1845 Emeterio Pineda[90] gave for the first time (but for the Tzotzils) the names of the months, omitting only the name *chayquin* for the five-day period. In 1888 Vicente Pineda[91] furnished a complete list of the months for the Tzeltals. Villa was informed that the month *Yaxkin* ended in November so that the new year would begin in the second week of January. Starr[92] says that the first twenty-day period (*Tzin*) begins January 1. Becerra[93] says that the year should begin with the winter solstice. However, he gives, based on information received from the Indians themselves, a table[94] correlating the variations from village to village; thus, the month *Batzul*, first of the year, begins in Oxchuc on January 1, in Cancuc on the second and in Tenejapa on the third. Furthermore, according to this author, there is a marked difference between the correlation followed by the Tzeltals and that followed by the Tzotzils; thus the month *Olalti*[95] begins among the Tzeltals on March 27 and among the Tzotzils on April 12. The list of months Villa secured differs from both Starr's and Pineda's list, but agrees with that of Becerra.

Batzul	(Time of harvest)
Zakilab	(Clearing the milpa begins)
Agelchac	(The clearing continues)
Mac	(Time of sowing)
Olalti	(Time of sowing)
Jul-ol	(Time of sowing)
Uec-cachaquin	(No work)
Joquen-ahau	(Time of sowing in the tierra caliente)
Chin-uch	(Time of weeding)
Mucul-uch	(Time of weeding)
Juc-uinquil	(Time of resting)
Uac-uinquil	?
Jo-uinquil	?
Chan-uinquil	?
Ox-uinquil	?
Póm (Octubre)	(When the new ear forms)
Yax-kin (termina con Noviembre)	?
Mux	?
Tzun	?

[87] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 369–371.
[88] *Ibid.*, 2: 371.
[89] Nuñez de la Vega, 1702.
[90] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 111.
[91] Vicente Pineda, 1888, pp. 130–131.
[92] Starr, 1908, p. 177.
[93] Becerra, 1933, p. 50.
[94] *Ibid.* Table 8.
[95] *Ibid.* Table 10.

I do not know if it is so. I just heard that in a story told." He then referred back to the story of K'oš, the younger brother who took over the task of carrying the sun from his elder brother, to explain how the sun's movement started. 821 776

Misfortunes caused by lightning, winds, and drought are explained as failures in social relations among people of the community or between the members of the community and the spirits. Restraint in their own conduct, fulfillment of their ceremonial obligations, and show of respect to the spirits are the only safeguards against such casualties.

Caring for the Lord Spirits of the Church

The relationships established with the spirits of the church contrast to those with the spirits of the heaven in the following ways: First, the upkeep and maintenance of the spirits of the church is delegated to appointed representatives, the mayordomos, who carry the burden for the community; "all the people of the world," on the other hand, are responsible at all times for avoiding behavior which would incur the wrath of the sun and moon. Second, the obligations to the spirits of the church are standardized, while those to the spirits of heaven are ill-defined and involve avoidance of offense rather than positive expectations. Third, duties toward the church spirits are performed in repetitive events following the calendrical cycle of fiestas, while obligations to the spirits of the heaven are fulfilled sporadically, as during an eclipse of the moon or a drought. 776 794 796 821 177

The major strategy in dealing with the spirits of the church is to give them a fiesta. Big fiestas are associated with the big four saints. These fiestas have been the responsibility of the top mayordomos, called kobraria, and until 1966, of the alfereces. Big fiestas also occur on the Day of the Dead, the Day of Santiago, the Day of San Pedro and San Pablo, the Day of the Kings, and during Easter Week. The pattern of fiestas will be described first, followed by a detailed description of the inauguration of the alfereces, witnessed in 1965 before the institution was abolished the following year, and the fiestas of Santiago and Easter Week. 776 794 796 177

Religious fiestas occur in an annual cycle of ceremonies based on the Catholic calendar. In Tzoʔontahal the Maya calendar no longer exists, even in the twenty-day cycle that constituted a month found in the neighboring towns of Oxchuk, Larraínzar, and Chenalhó. 796 [805] [178] [171]

Chapter 12

Ordering Behavior by Time

The structuring of social acts depends upon shared understandings about how others use time as well as space. Scheduling of activities in the daily and annual cycles minimizes decision-making by individuals and provides a set of expectations that facilitates cooperation. 121

The Sense of Time

805
The abstract noun for time, *k'alal,* is derived from the word for day, *k'al.* Time began when k'oš, the youngest son of Our Grandmother the Moon, took the sun from his elder brother and carried it around the world so that there was a succession of day and night (Chapter 8). Time past, (*name?il*), is a general state of being in which the ancestors lived. The future is at best a recapitulation of the past. 192 196 173 822

People judge time by the position of the sun during the day, and by that of the moon or the stars at night. In winter, the appearance of the group of stars called "the sandal" and in summer of the "seven stars" indicates two o'clock in the morning. The appearance of Venus, called "the big star," announces the arrival of dawn. 805 821

In addition to these natural indicators, there are three timepieces in the town—in the school, the parish house, and the store. In the morning the policemen check the time with the lay sisters or the schoolmaster before mounting the tower of the church to strike the bell at eight o'clock, the time for rounding up the schoolchildren, at noon, the time for closing the town hall and the church, and at five in the afternoon, the time for evening prayers. 805

Despite bells and nature, however, people are not very accurate in calcu-

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805 lating the time of day; when I questioned them as to the hour, they were often as much as an hour off, usually behind.

Most activities are ordered with reference to the Gregorian calendar, but the twenty-day Maya calendrical month, defined as "twenty days or a month" is used in much the same way that we use "a fortnight." The Indians consider the moon to be an uncertain indicator of time, since "she does not walk well." But the moon is important in the culture: people note its different phases and are especially aware of the phase under which a child is born—an important sign for the newborn's future. If a baby is born at the full moon, he is expected to mature more readily. The full moon also signifies a propitious time for undertaking certain activities, such as cutting wood for the main posts of a house and cutting palm for the roof.

805 821 [856] [787]

The Daily Schedule

512 462 Daily activities are organized by traditional economic pursuits. The woman is the first one to rise in the morning. She gets up at dawn, lights the fire, and sets a jar of water to boil for coffee. She grinds the nixtamal cooked the night before on the stone grinding board, or takes it to the mill in the center. She then makes tortillas either by hand or with a press; a recent innovation made of two hinged pieces of wood in which the ball of dough is set between pieces of plastic paper.

[252] [412] [177] [178]

The men of the household are served first, followed by the boys; the women and girls eat last. As soon as they have eaten, the men and boys who have finished the required three years of schooling go out to the fields to work. They walk single file even in the streets of the town, the father preceding his sons. Each carries a machete, net bag, tumpline, and sheepskin back-protector if he plans to carry any loads. Many bring shotguns as well in order to hunt for field rats, raccoon, or the burrowing animals they find in the fields.

[264] [481] [482] [411] [224]

After the men leave, the women go to the porch and "seize their work." The children go to school, which begins at eight-thirty in the morning and continues until five o'clock in the evening. They return home for lunch, a meal of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans or chayote when it is in season.

[857] [872] [264]

The assumption that leisure is a concept unique to highly civilized societies is denied by peasant behavior in this community and many others like it in which the members are masters of the greater part of their time. What differentiates their scheduling of leisure-time activities from that of most western societies is that theirs is based on community decisions rather than individual predilections and that it is set in the frame of sacred rather than secular performances. Community standards are most notable in the way people dress for fiestas: women wear their newest embroidered blouses; their hair is neatly braided with ribbons. Men wear a kotonču with their cleanest shirt and pants. The children, except for the youngest, wear clothes like the adults'. Villagers "care for" the celebration by sitting on their porches, greeting neighbors, smoking and talking. When a public performance is held in the church or plaza, they participate as observers. Arduous work of any kind is proscribed. Special foods are prepared and served at regular mealtimes. A special mark of all days of fiesta is the serving of fermented corn beverage. Meat or chicken is more likely to be served on Sundays and holidays than on other days.

Timing as a Strategy in Interpersonal Relations

The preferred mode of action is "slow and soft." This applies to motion, especially in rituals, as well as to the scheduling of actions in a series of negotiations. The people are sensitive to the use of time in bargaining as an index to the relative resources of the negotiators. Withholding power in the market gives a marked price advantage in the sale of crops. Sale in advance of harvest means a loss of one-quarter to one-half of the price which could be gained if the crop was sold after it was cut, and corn sometimes doubles in value if withheld for six months or more. Interest as a time payment for the use of money, is accepted on the basis that the borrower could put it to work. There is no feeling against the evil of usury, although the rates are relatively high in town—five percent per month.

This understanding of time as an indicator of relative strength extends to social functions. Time serves as an interval to build confidence on the part of both parties entering into contractual arrangement. In the betrothal, both parties are prepared for a long series of visits before the suit

571 is accepted. Precipitous action on either side reveals a weakness of which
805 the other party might take advantage, or which might even stop pro-
[584] cedures.

Timing of activities is so specific that it can be read as an equation of social relations: People who come to the house after nightfall are either intimate members of the family, or are members of the circle of me?tiktatik invited for a special household celebration—night is the time when spirits wander, not a time for casual visiting. Arrival of the betrothal party at the
[584] house of the girl's parents after ten o'clock in the morning indicates that the suit has been accepted.

571 Sequential timing expresses relative prestige and a sense of priority. In
805 "raising" the officials for the official ceremonies, the lowest ranks of
554 officials rise first to go to the house and awaken each of their companions
562 in order of rank. The sequence in serving order has already been discussed with respect to rank and prestige. Another principle of sequence operates at a more subtle level: women go before men when there is expectation of a fight since their presence evokes less hostility. This is evident in the be-
[584] trothal: the me? č'om precedes the mam c'om in the initial proceedings
[579] when strong resistance and hostility is anticipated. When drunken fights start during house ceremonies, women intercede with calming effect.

641 Time always is on the side of the Indians when they wish to resist na-
829 tional orders. Verbal agreements to pay fines imposed or to assist federal
805 agents in the capture of criminals are frequently followed by deliberate negligence in carrying out the orders. Usually the order is forgotten or in-
[647] terest wanes at a higher level. Government agencies such as the INI learned to bide their time much as the Indians did. Expecting opposition to any proposed change, they waited for the initial reaction to die down, and then proceeded as support from those who benefited overcame internal resistence.

461 When called upon to perform jobs that require regular appointments,
464 the Indians respond easily to the daily scheduling. Resistance comes
512 against scheduled requirements that involve long spans of time and inter-
805 fere with communal and familial ceremonies. Work away from home is undertaken only on the premise that it will be of limited duration. This
[181] control over their own time is a value which Indians will not easily yield.

These time and space patterns provide the individual with a cognitive structure which enables him to function appropriately in a given setting and to plan his future actions. Having one piece of information, people can derive the other understandings necessary to adjust their own behavior to the expectations of others.

Time as a measure of value has been affected by changes occurring in the past two decades. Men are less willing to expend time in ceremonial activities than formerly. The first ceremony given up was Carnival, which has not been celebrated for over a decade. Most recently, young men have refused to become alfereces, and their resistance on the basis of loss of time and money was formally recognized in 1966 when the institution was abolished. The resistance parents used to show to their children spending, or wasting their time in school has given way as some of the more modernized parents have seen the advantages of education.

The tempo of life has accelerated with the increasing importance of bus and truck transportation to market. Women's time has always figured as importantly as that of the men because of their pottery production, and they have quickly accepted time-saving innovations such as the tortilla press and the corn-grinding mill. They have not shown any inclination to adopt time-saving technology, such as the potter's wheel, in pottery-making since they have no knowledge of it, and using it would require relearning basic tasks.

The ceremonial cycle still provides the major consideration in programming other activities in the community. The Indian as an agriculturalist remains master of his own time, and he plans his work so that he can fulfill his ceremonial obligations.

577 887 sion: "I pay respect to my elders. I greet my brothers and my children [extension of kinship terms]. To all I give respect. Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick."

577 [574] 196 [576] A good man is a generous host, expressed in the phrase, "he gives many tortillas." He serves his community in public office but avoids the appearance of seeking power or self-aggrandizement. When he gives orders, it is in a soft, low tone, supplicating rather than ordering with the phrase, "If you would please lend a hand." He gives thanks readily for any service rendered both to God and to his fellow man. He avoids any show of [578] anger, and is always careful to show consideration of others. Those who are of "another heart" or "two-hearted" are the opposite, seeking disputes, "thinking small," "being miserly," and of a "very black soul."

[754] The heightened awareness of the state of the heart of others comes from the ever-present fear of witchcraft. Since the people feel their survival depends upon perception of evil heart before it strikes, they develop an acute sense of the behavioral clues that indicate its presence.

829 183 [192] [828] *Conformity and deviance.* Conventional or preferred behavior is characterized as "reasonable." The phrase "ʔič' rason," to take reason or understanding, is applied to a child who is expected to have reason at the age of twelve years or so, as well as to the arrival at agreement of competing parties, as in the case of betrothal.

Reasonable behavior is any behavior conforming to socially accepted understandings of what the world is. These include what a person of non-Indian culture might characterize as beliefs based on faith. They "know" [776] that there are hill spirits, wood spirits who cut off people's heads, and men who transform themselves into animals. Occasionally they subject given 813 understandings to empirical tests: one woman tested the belief that a [241] woman could rid the milpa of insect pests only by walking through a [825] planted field wearing a new skirt; she walked through the field wearing a worn skirt and her belief was confirmed when she found that the insect pests were not killed but just fled and returned later. Empiricism is not lacking; the difference between the content of their category of what is rational or reasonable and ours is based on the premises, not the process of reasoning.

162 Amatenango del Valle, a community of 2,529 inhabitants, of which 1,470 reside in the town center.

621 The town centers are divided into two sections, called barrios by Ladinos and calpules by Indians (Oxchuc and Cancuc). The imaginary line which separates one barrio from another passes through the center of the town, sometimes east-west, sometimes north-south, with no fixed orientation.

[776] Each barrio has its own local authorities and sometimes its own patron saint (Oxchuc and Bachajon). The principal function of the barrios was not only political or religious but also social, in regulating mar-
[178] riage. Endogamy was common to all barrios, but today that rule is losing its rigidity. In Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1960, p. 8) tells us that, "The rule of barrio endogamy, which is viable in 86% of the known marriages, contributes to the localization of related families limiting the geographical range of marriage choice." A similar situation obtains in Amatenango (J. Nash, 1959, p. 3), Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes, 1947, p. 7), and Bachajon (Guiteras Holmes, 1961c, p. 167).

[178] In Bachajon, Guiteras Holmes states that: "In the old days there was no marriage be-
[578] tween the *barrios*. If a boy from San Sebastian took a walk through San Geronimo, he was beaten, they would give him a '*maciza*,' as they say. If a boy from a *barrio* approached the waterholes to court a girl, he fared very badly." The calpules of Oxchuc, although they have politico-religious significance, have no influence at all in the selection of wives.

621 The parajes have a few scattered huts
778 among the cultivated fields. Each paraje is
[361] bound by religious ties to a given cave where a cross, the supreme sacred symbol, is kept. The name of the paraje is generally
778 taken from the name of the cave. Sacred
821 caves of secondary importance also exist.
823 This mystical regard for caves is based in the belief that they are the place from which issues the lightning to punish the

[P. 205-A]

778 natural elements (hail, wind, storms),
821 which often threaten and destroy the corn-
823 fields.

Distribution of Huts

621 In the parajes as well as in the centers the tendency to cluster huts in patrilineal nuclei is strong. One perceives this tendency also where lineage or clan ties still persist (Oxchuc).

[594] The majority of households consist of the elementary family, a couple and their
342 offspring. The habitations include a hut,
343 which serves as dormitory and kitchen, plus
[417] chickencoop, pigpen, and, sometimes, the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths.
343 Among industrious families another small hut serves exclusively as a kitchen. Seldom
417 does a fence separate this nucleus from its neighbors, but it may protect a vegetable patch from animals. In the capital, however, each family must fence its lot.

Relationships between Communities

628 Communities establish commercial and other ties according to their ecological distribution and cultural condition. In the southern zone, Amatenango and Aguacatenango form a kind of unit, based on physical proximity and cultural affinity. Their residents meet frequently at the Sunday market of Teopisca. In the central zone, Oxchuc, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Tenango, which more or less share ways of life and natural environment, form another informal association, contacts resulting from the weekly markets of Tenejaya and Yochib. In the northern zone, Sitala and Guaquitepec form another unit. Ocosingo, Chilon, and Yajalon are centers of commercial and political importance, occupied largely by Ladinos but used as trade centers by Indians throughout the northern zone.

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Tools and Techniques

Farming tools are the most important: axe

[P 205-B]

hilltop with a digging stick. He knelt and prayed, asking for rain. At that very moment, the rain came. He put the seeds in the holes he made, and from then on people have been planting in the hills.

Other saints are charged with providing rainfall. The saint of greatest importance in this respect is Santo Tomás, the patron saint of Oxchuk. Some Indians have gone to the church there to light a candle and ask for rain, and on their return the rains came. During an extended drought in August 1967, over one hundred people walked to Oxchuk to pray for rain. The people of Tzo'ontahal are somewhat bitter about the Oxchuqueños' neglect of Santo Tomás since over half of the town has converted to Protestantism. Whenever there is a drought, they blame it on the failure of the people of Oxchuk to take care of Santo Tomás.

In addition to the Catholic saints, the ancestor spirits help man to watch over the land. They are responsible for giving the rains in the planting period and early growing season. The fiesta on the Day of the Cross (Chapter 1) is primarily a plea for rain. Until the 1950s, the curers would hold a celebration at the Cave of the Ancestors to ask for rain during a drought. The waning belief in the presence of the ancestor spirits in the town has meant that there is less attention given to such fiestas. Some go to seek the ancestors in Chiapa de Corzo in the cave in which they are supposed to reside, as the following story illustrates:

One time my three brothers-in-law went to Chiapas to ask the ancestors for better crops. When they arrived there, nobody knew where the cave was. They said only a certain mayordomo there could find it.

Another time, two of the prayer-reciters went to the cave. They talked to the guard of the cave, saying, "May we speak to our ancestors?" The guard said, "Are you prepared? Did you bring two liters of trago? The ancestors like to drink."

The prayer-reciters went to get two liters of trago and all three drank it. While they were drinking, they saw a cow and chickens appear. The guardian said that if they came back in May with "food" for the ancestors —candles, incense, and firecrackers—they would get rich crops. I think the prayer-reciters succeeded because now they have a cow and chickens and a horse. They are afraid of the envy of their neighbors.

628 People with lands in hot country recount that during droughts the In-
796 dians from the neighboring town of Chamula have held rainmaking fies-
782 tas for which they solicit contributions from other Indians.

821 *The Chamulteco came to us and said, "Let all of us who have milpas*
731 *contribute five pesos for a fiesta." He brought the candles. In the little hill there the people brought drums and flute. We ate chickens and drank liquor. For eleven hours he prayed, and in the afternoon it rained.*

628 The *kurikeik*, rural inhabitants of the colonia of San Vicente who
241 migrated to Amatenango from Chanal, have no irrigated lands and de-
789 pend directly on rainfall throughout the growing season. Indians of the center know of their practice of sticking their digging sticks into the ground with the points toward the sky "to puncture the clouds" when they have planted their milpa, but they do not imitate this practice. Control over the supply of water in the irrigated lands has apparently led to the neglect of supernatural appeals even where the canals do not supply water. Under pressure of extended drought, they will resort to spiritual intercession through Chamula or Oxchuk practitioners in whom they have some faith.

241 Acquiring the protection of the gods does not obviate the practical activ-
796 ities necessary in the cultivation of crops. Fiestas for the saints are a repay-
782 ment for services rendered in watching over the milpa. The sponsorship of
796 fiestas for the saints by the community ensures the protection for all of the crops, and general crop failure due to drought or high winds is explained as a result of mismanagement of these community-wide fiestas. The offering of candles to the spiritual owner of one's own milpa is a kind of individual insurance policy for future crops as well as a repayment for the gift of the corn harvest. The peasant notion of surplus value is implicit in this reciprocal relation: the payment, or gift, of two candles to the milpa spirit is far less than the value of the harvest. But the account is balanced by the expenditure of this surplus in communal fiestas.

Pottery Production

323 Making pottery has been a speciality of the town since pre-Conquest
178 days. The old site of the town contains sherds of pottery which is remarka-
172 bly similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now.

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the sun to kill people. She is afraid that if all the people die, other people will come who have just one hand and one foot. They will not be able to work. Our Grandmother the Moon wants things as they are. So she fights the Sun, and then there is an eclipse. For this reason, people say that she bears our sins. 776 539 177 [821]

The tales occasionally try to bring the old gods into focus with the Christian gods and to explain certain cosmological events, for example the eclipse and the movement in the heavens of the sun and the moon. The synthesis is incomplete. First of all, the small part Jesus (Second Brother) plays in the first myth, in which he finally disappears into the forest, shows a failure to fit the three gods into the pre-hispanic format which included only two main characters. Secondly, the myths fail to synthesize the codes of morality stemming from Maya and Christian sources. In Christian mythology, the deities are conceived of as perfect. They are not identified with the sun, but are the power of creation which brought forth the sun and made it move. Destructive forces come from the evil power of the Devil. The deities of the Indians incorporate both good and evil. Cosmological forces are the gods acting directly either to promote or destroy man's work. Even the Grandmother Moon, who shows compassion for her grandchildren, can be piqued into destroying their crops. 776 539 177 178 821

In another tale the personification of good and evil in separate characters shows greater influence from Catholicism. Jesus emerges as the hero who, with the collaboration of the Virgin Mary, outwits the Devil. 776 539 177

After Jesus was crucified, the King of the Jews[3] *called upon people to sow a staff to prove who moves the world. Jesus planted the seed, but the Jews did not let them grow. He did it again, and only one leg came out and one hand came out. Therefore the plant did not stand because the "King of Evil" was watching.*

Jesus and his mother had an idea. He spoke to her, saying, "What do you think, Mother?" She replied, "The only thing I can say is, what can we think of?"

The Lord Christ replied, "Our children and offspring [the milpa] do

3. The Devil is alternately called King of the Jews [Statal Jurio], King of Evil [Statal Pukuh], and the Devil in the story. [192]

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776 539 177 *not stand. Only one stands—he who does not respect us." The Virgin Mother said, "Yes, I saw another one who walks well watching our children." Jesus asked, "Did you get a good look where he walks?" His mother replied, "Yes, indeed, I saw him." Christ asked, "If you know, what are we going to do there where he walks?" "I do not know what we shall do," said his mother.*

Then, after a pause, Christ said, "Now I know what we will do! Do you know what hour he passes?" The Virgin answered, "Yes, I do."

"Good. I am going to make a little house and put a Victrola, an accordion, and also a violin in it. I will put a marimba, a guitar, and a harp on each side of the road. And I shall also put trago and beer, everything that is good to drink. When you see him coming, we will begin to play the marimba and guitar and all the music on both sides of the road. When you see the King of Evil, we will begin the dance and drink trago—everything there is—and he will look at what we drink."

The Virgin said, "I will invite him to dance a little." "Yes, you remain here dancing, and I shall go for a moment to see his children [corn plants]. Continue dancing while I go out to look," said Christ. The Virgin answered, "Good. Good."

And so the Devil passed by. When Christ left, the Virgin began to dance with the Devil. They drank more liquor to make him "lose his heart" [get drunk]. The Virgin did not see that the Devil put his tail in half of the bottle. It is because of this that the people say liquor is one-half Devil and one-half God.

Meanwhile, Jesus arrived where the children of the Devil were. He made no more than the sign of the cross, and all the children of the Devil died. It is after the Children of the Devil died that Christ seized control of the world.

And so it is true that we are his children who came out of Jesus Christ.

In this tale, evil is personified in the enemy of the Catholic Church, the King of the Jews who is also the pre-hispanic "King of Evil." The Virgin Mother is concerned with preventing the world from reverting to the situation in which people were born helpless, with just one arm and one leg, as it was when the Devil was in control. To prevent this, when the moon is "sick" or in eclipse, the people must call her back to life. The strategy is

[821] [789]

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to make a great deal of noise by striking hoes, firing rifles, blowing the horns of bulls, and striking gourds. The logic of this behavior can be understood from the following statement of an informant: "The sickness of the moon is a result of the conflict of the sun with the moon. The noise we made frightens the father sun so that he will stop fighting the moon. If he were to win, the people would die, and new people would be born with only one leg and one arm."[4]

We have in this story what appears to be an overlay of post-hispanic mythology, in which the Devil personifies evil forces, superimposed on a prehispanic mythological identification of the powers of both good and evil in single cosmological deities. Whereas in the previous myth it is the Devil, the King of the Jews, who caused all of the children of Jesus to die and to be reborn with only one arm and one leg, in this statement it is the sun who can effect the same reversal of nature. The sun, Tatik K'alik, has the power to cause the milpa to grow, but by staying out too long, it can burn the crop. Similarly lightning, Tatik Ča'uk, may bring rain, but can destroy the milpa with the winds that precede the rain or kill man and destroy his house. Man is responsible for determining how the force of the gods will be directed.

The guardianship of the sun and the moon over the people of the world serves to control or at least restrain the behavior of people. Since both of them "walk alone," without companionship, they become jealous if they see sexual relations performed by people in the milpa. Since all legal sexual relations are carried out in the relative privacy of the house, it is only those who seek illicit relationships who retreat to the milpa, and so this restraint has a prohibitive effect on unsanctioned sexual behavior. If the moon sees someone in the milpa at night, she refuses to retire and stays out, not letting her son the sun rise. Similarly, when the sun sees someone in the milpa in the daytime, he refuses to retire, burning the milpa with his hot rays.

The lord spirits of the east. There is another category of spirits which is ill defined and not many people know. These are the spirits of

4. The same behavior, that of making noise during an eclipse, is found in the Maya Indian community of Cantel, Guatemala, but there it is interpreted as a means of calling the sick grandmother back to life by showing that her grandchildren care about her.

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priest lists only one, San Francisco. Only these top four are hierarchically ordered. The big saints are supposed to be able to make miracles, but there are stories only for San Pedro and Santa Lucía. San Pedro Martyr, *Tatik Martil,* is the only saint possessing a soul. The image of San Pedro shows him with a hatchet in his head, blood dripping over his face. According to legend, San Pedro was the first patron saint of the town. The following story recounts his transformation:

Tatik Martil was of a very foreign kind of heart. He gave permission to the witches to bring sickness. Only those who knew how to make illness spoke with him. They went and asked permission to make the illness continue. People heard he was very evil, and they threw him out of church. They cut off his head, saying, "You only give evil. You do not give any miracles. You have given the old ones permission to give evil."

San Pedro received a new head in Pinola. Now he is good and is of one heart with the Virgin Santa Lucia, with Sacramento, and with San Francisco.

The logic by which San Pedro is cast as leader of the witches is implicit in judgments concerning guilt in cases of homicide. Any man who is killed is referred to as the guilty person, since protecting the village from witchcraft is the main motivation for homicide. When an early priest set up an image of San Pedro in the church, this must have inspired fear and foreboding. He was transmogrified by the people into the leader of the witches, and they burned the church to the ground. (Its foundations are still visible in Alannantik.) Whether the priest at that time (around 1746) convinced the people that, with a new head purchased in Pinola, San Pedro was transformed, or whether the people invented the story, we do not know. Despite his reformation, San Pedro still inspires fear. He is identified with the Lord of Lightning, Tatik Čaʾuk. The following is a typical account of his power:

This power comes from his possession of an animal spirit. Whenever the lightning strikes, people know that some sin has been committed. The old people say that he asked a son-in-law to put down a lightning flash. The son-in-law couldn't do it—I don't know why he couldn't do his work—

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776 821 539 177 *and so he returned and the Lord of Lightning gave him another job—that of making lightning flashes.*

San Pedro now gives protection to the people from the power he wields. 776 177 789 During his fiesta, palm crosses are distributed to everyone who attends mass; if a man walks with a cross tucked in his hat or a woman wears one strung on her neck, he or she will not be struck by lightning. The houses are similarly protected with palm crosses.

776 177 Santa Lucía is the only other saint in the local roster who is described as being "very powerful." She is supposed to be able to cure diseases of the eyes. The image of her in the church shows her holding two eyes reflected in a small mirror in the palm of her hand. The story which explains why 776 177 she holds them was told me with an expression of complete belief, and other informants vouch for its authenticity:

539 821 *Formerly, Santa Lucía used to "talk with" [a euphemism for "had an affair with"] Santo Tomás of Oxchuk. Santo Tomás loved her because she was pretty. Santa Lucía was so in love with Santo Tomás that she gave him a gift of her eyes. He did not want them—he was frightened by the gift—and he returned them. From then on, she did not speak to him. Now, when a child has sickness of his eyes, his mother buys medicine and takes it to Santa Lucía who gives her blessing, and the child gets well.*

They say the lightning struck the church in Oxchuk, and it was the fault of Santa Lucía. But then a few years ago it struck our church. And that was the fault of Santo Tomás. He is very strong.

"I am going to see how she will pay for that!" said Santo Tomás.

And in ten years a storm came and broke the tower of our church. There was a meeting of the principales. They said, "Let's sell the cattle of Santa Lucía so that we can build a new church." The tower was struck another time. All the married men had to contribute forty pesos each. We made it out of metal this time, because Santo Tomás is very strong.

821 776 On a conscious level, most people know that the earth is round, and that the sun revolves around it, but the motivating power behind natural phenomena is still conceived in personalized terms. One informant, when asked why the sun rises and sets, ventured cautiously, "I have heard that our Father, the Sun, revolves and that he goes down below the earth. But

I do not know if it is so. I just heard that in a story told." He then referred back to the story of K'oł, the younger brother who took over the task of carrying the sun from his elder brother, to explain how the sun's movement started. 821 776

Misfortunes caused by lightning, winds, and drought are explained as failures in social relations among people of the community or between the members of the community and the spirits. Restraint in their own conduct, fulfillment of their ceremonial obligations, and show of respect to the spirits are the only safeguards against such casualties.

Caring for the Lord Spirits of the Church

The relationships established with the spirits of the church contrast to those with the spirits of the heaven in the following ways: First, the upkeep and maintenance of the spirits of the church is delegated to appointed representatives, the mayordomos, who carry the burden for the community; "all the people of the world," on the other hand, are responsible at all times for avoiding behavior which would incur the wrath of the sun and moon. Second, the obligations to the spirits of the church are standardized, while those to the spirits of heaven are ill-defined and involve avoidance of offense rather than positive expectations. Third, duties toward the church spirits are performed in repetitive events following the calendrical cycle of fiestas, while obligations to the spirits of the heaven are fulfilled sporadically, as during an eclipse of the moon or a drought. 776 794 796 821 177

The major strategy in dealing with the spirits of the church is to give them a fiesta. Big fiestas are associated with the big four saints. These fiestas have been the responsibility of the top mayordomos, called kobraria, and until 1966, of the alfereces. Big fiestas also occur on the Day of the Dead, the Day of Santiago, the Day of San Pedro and San Pablo, the Day of the Kings, and during Easter Week. The pattern of fiestas will be described first, followed by a detailed description of the inauguration of the alfereces, witnessed in 1965 before the institution was abolished the following year, and the fiestas of Santiago and Easter Week. 776 794 796 177

Religious fiestas occur in an annual cycle of ceremonies based on the Catholic calendar. In Tzo'ontahal the Maya calendar no longer exists, even in the twenty-day cycle that constituted a month found in the neighboring towns of Oxchuk, Larraínzar, and Chenalhó. 796 [805] 178 [179]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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as lawyers. The defendant is sometimes accompanied by supporters who 693
feel that he has a case. The failure of parents to accompany a defendant, 695
regardless of his age, is attributed to their shame over their child's misbe- [593]
havior and their own failure to train him properly. The judge does not limit himself to passing judgment but also counsels the defendant as to how he should behave.

The town hall is usually shut and locked at noon unless some business 621
requires more time. In the evening about six, the officials return to take [344]
their same posts. They sit with their arms drawn inside their woolen jack- [516]
ets for warmth. After a half an hour they drift home. People rely on the [626]
presence of officials rather than particular actions to maintain social control, and it is their appearance at regular hours that assures the villagers that the town is being well run.

Local autonomy depends primarily on retaining social control functions. 621
Civil officials try to settle disputes locally and avoid the entry of Ladino of- 692
ficials from the departmental capital, although the judges and president 631
will threaten the defendant with taking the case to the department if they cannot get compliance. The number of cases referred to the capital has been increasing since 1950 as Table 32 shows. In 1951 the federal government began to fine local officials who failed to report homicide cases and accidental death. The local officials complied, but departmental courts were unable to bring action in over half the cases. No action was taken in 72 cases, or 54 percent, in comparison with 62 cases, or 46 percent, in which action was taken. Domestic cases, except for one of adultery, are adequately handled in local courts and do not appear in the departmental records. The trend shows an increasing number of cases of crimes against [674]
persons in comparison to crimes against property, an index to the break- [182]
down in social control processes.

The Church

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The church has been built and on two occasions rebuilt—when the [794]
tower was struck by lightning—with funds collected locally from house- [821]
hold heads. Damage to the church was attributed to the patron saint of [976]
the neighboring town of Oxchuk who, the people say, was fighting with their patroness, Santa Lucía. The townspeople feel that they own the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 301]

Chapter 12

Ordering Behavior by Time

The structuring of social acts depends upon shared understandings about how others use time as well as space. Scheduling of activities in the daily and annual cycles minimizes decision-making by individuals and provides a set of expectations that facilitates cooperation. 121

The Sense of Time

805 192 196 773 822

The abstract noun for time, *k'alal,* is derived from the word for day, *k'al.* Time began when k'oš, the youngest son of Our Grandmother the Moon, took the sun from his elder brother and carried it around the world so that there was a succession of day and night (Chapter 8). Time past, (*name?il*), is a general state of being in which the ancestors lived. The future is at best a recapitulation of the past.

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People judge time by the position of the sun during the day, and by that of the moon or the stars at night. In winter, the appearance of the group of stars called "the sandal" and in summer of the "seven stars" indicates two o'clock in the morning. The appearance of Venus, called "the big star," announces the arrival of dawn.

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In addition to these natural indicators, there are three timepieces in the town—in the school, the parish house, and the store. In the morning the policemen check the time with the lay sisters or the schoolmaster before mounting the tower of the church to strike the bell at eight o'clock, the time for rounding up the schoolchildren, at noon, the time for closing the town hall and the church, and at five in the afternoon, the time for evening prayers.

Despite bells and nature, however, people are not very accurate in calcu-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

805 lating the time of day; when I questioned them as to the hour, they were often as much as an hour off, usually behind.

Most activities are ordered with reference to the Gregorian calendar, but the twenty-day Maya calendrical month, defined as "twenty days or a month" is used in much the same way that we use "a fortnight." The In-
805 dians consider the moon to be an uncertain indicator of time, since "she
821 does not walk well." But the moon is important in the culture: people note its different phases and are especially aware of the phase under which a child is born—an important sign for the newborn's future. If a baby is
[856] born at the full moon, he is expected to mature more readily. The full
[787] moon also signifies a propitious time for undertaking certain activities, such as cutting wood for the main posts of a house and cutting palm for the roof.

The Daily Schedule

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462 Daily activities are organized by traditional economic pursuits. The woman is the first one to rise in the morning. She gets up at dawn, lights
[252] the fire, and sets a jar of water to boil for coffee. She grinds the nixtamal cooked the night before on the stone grinding board, or takes it to the mill
[412] in the center. She then makes tortillas either by hand or with a press; a re-
[177] cent innovation made of two hinged pieces of wood in which the ball of
[178] dough is set between pieces of plastic paper.

The men of the household are served first, followed by the boys; the
[264] women and girls eat last. As soon as they have eaten, the men and boys who have finished the required three years of schooling go out to the
[481] fields to work. They walk single file even in the streets of the town, the fa-
[482] ther preceding his sons. Each carries a machete, net bag, tumpline, and sheepskin back-protector if he plans to carry any loads. Many bring shot-
[411] guns as well in order to hunt for field rats, raccoon, or the burrowing ani-
[224] mals they find in the fields.

After the men leave, the women go to the porch and "seize their work."
[857] The children go to school, which begins at eight-thirty in the morning
[872] and continues until five o'clock in the evening. They return home for
[264] lunch, a meal of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans or chayote when it is in season.

773 credit to insects who carried it from the hills. Still another myth synthe-
179 sizes both pre-Conquest and Catholic agents: San Antonio, seeing an in-
178 sect bearing a kernel of corn, persuaded a woodpecker to break open the rock which blocked the entrance to the hill where the corn was stored and then organized the insects to bring forth the corn. The contradictions in these myths do not motivate the people to bring the several versions into line with one another because the rituals associated with beliefs concerning
776 crops provide an overall insurance rather than a specific contract. The In-
782 dians do not trust their security to any one saint or even group of deities.
177 The two candles lit in the milpa following the harvest are an offering to
178 the "owner of the earth"; along with this, offerings of corncobs are made
[825] to the saints in the church and to the house saint. Even the birds are left an offering of corn kernels in the fields after the harvest so that they will not be jealous of the farmer.

773 These myths fail to provide specific charters for action. What they do
771 provide is a set of dispositions to behave in certain ways. The underlying
182 disposition is that of self-imposed guilt and recrimination. The ancestors left their cave because the people failed to give them a fiesta; the spirit of money left the town because the religious officials in the past failed to adorn the church and improvidently strewed the floor with green peso notes in place of pine needles. Sickness and poverty are attributed to their own failures.

771 Another disposition is that of appeasement through ceremonial enter-
796 tainment. This is carried out in the fiestas for the spirits of the church and
731 the spirits of the heaven just as for the spirits of the house, caves, springs,
182 and hills surrounding the town. Community-wide disaster is interpreted as a direct result of failure to perform rituals establishing reciprocity with the spirits. When individuals face crop loss, they review their own ritual obligations to see what went wrong. The curing ceremony is an-
[755] other effort to appease the devil whom the witch has persuaded to give illness to his victim.

771 A third such disposition is to project human conflict into the superna-
776 tural sphere. The conflict between Santa Lucía and the patron saint of Ox-
821 chuk, Santo Tomás was taken to be the reason for the church tower being
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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

struck by lightning on two occasions. The solution was to rebuild the tower of metal so that Santo Tomás could not demolish it if he struck again, a defensive reaction which is typical of the Indians in their extra-community relations. When an eclipse of "Our Grandmother the Moon" occurred during my stay in town, everyone went to her assistance, banging metal tools and pots, in what was believed to be a fight with the sun.

The emphasis on self-recrimination and guilt in explaining failure minimizes the build-up of protest. Economic hardship attributed to a man's own improvidence in relation to his fellow man and God are accepted as his lot in life. The drama of the curing ritual projects the Indians' sense of their own guilt for the suffering and poverty they endure.

Political Behavior

The structure of the civil hierarchy has been maintained but organizational changes have occurred which have weakened the basis for it. The alternation of offices between church and civil positions survives in the lower levels, but the new leaders in civil affairs now begin in the Ejido Commission, and few of those who pass as president take on posts in the religious hierarchy. The appearance of continuity has been maintained in communal rituals in which the principales provide the link with the past and the alfereces, until 1966, were the link between civil and religious wings; but in the day-to-day running of the town, the officials do not act on these premises. The balance between officials from each side of the dual division has been upset by the population increase on one side. The abolition of the institution of alfereces gives public recognition to the growing awareness of imbalance. Moreover, the factions based on the new trucking cooperatives that cut across the dual division reduce the effectiveness of the dual division in channeling conflict.

Behavioral deviation from the norms is present in all societies and is not in itself an index to structural change. This comes about when new interpretations are given to events that undermine confidence in existing institutions and leaders. Political conflicts in the past were interpreted as a contest between members of the sides of the dual division and hostility

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

fragments of prayers to him will be given when discussing medicine. 776
Distinct from the guardian of the cornfields, he is known only by name to the ordinary Indians, and mention of him appeared to alarm them a good deal.

Drunkenness still retains some of its old, ceremonial significance, 273
in its association with fiestas, funeral rites, and particularly with medicine, under which head it will be more fully taken up.

There are a number of beliefs and practices, no matter what their 789
origin, which, as they exist today, must be considered as superstitions rather than religion. Of such a type is the belief mentioned 771 822
when speaking of hunting, that painting the bullet red would make it go further. This is of interest in the study of survivals, in view of the importance of the colour red in pre-Christian times. It may be equally well argued, however, that the red in this case represents the blood of the animal to be slain. Most of the superstitions are 774
concerned with the *nagual* or the soul. 776

The set of ideas that constitute Nagualism is derived from ancient and important beliefs. The *nagual, tcul-el* (*tcul,* "holy," *-el* "the, the one"), is a companion-spirit to a man, taking the form of some animal. The stronger the *nagual,* the stronger the man, thus one with a jaguar for a familiar could work any kind of magic or other harm on one with a rabbit. We were told both that the *nagual* was assigned by popular consent, due to people's opinion of a man, and that it was seen in a dream. A man who has a quarrel with another will deliberately shoot animals of the species of the other's *nagual,* hoping to hit the particular one associated with his enemy. If that one dies, the man dies, and vice versa. Thus, it is plain that there is no idea of association with a whole class of animals, but only with one individual of a class.

According to Nuñez de la Vega,* in the seventeenth century the 776
nagual was assigned by a shaman, who took it from the name of the 756
day on which the individual was born. The child was later caused 774
to see his *nagual* . . . *"se abrazan cariñosamente con su nagual, que por arte diabólica se le apparece muy doméstica y supersticiosamente cariñosa, aunque sea una bestia muy feroz, como leon, tigre, etc."*† According to Sapper (1925) exactly the same practices obtain in [171]
Guatemala today, the animal being caused to appear by means of hypnotism.

It is possible that further investigation would show a similar 774
manner of choosing the *nagual* among the modern Tzeltal. How- 776

*Nuñez de la Vega, 1702. loc. cit.
†Extract in Pazlagoa, 1908. Page 57.

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242 *Soil characteristics.* The potential productivity of flat irrigated lands is evaluated on the basis of two criteria: color of the soil and consistency of the soil. The preferred land for cultivation is the black loam mixed with some sand, (*ʔihk'al hiʔiletik lum*). The better, quicker growing corn seed is planted here. These very productive soils are called "hot" [822] lands (*k'išin lum*). (Heat is associated with fertility in both lands and [843] people: a pregnant woman and her husband are considered to be in a state [842] of heat, and the contrast state of being cold is attributed to someone who is sterile.) The red (*tzab'alum*) yellow (*k'analum*), and white soils (*sak lum*) are poorer soils and the slower seed is planted here. These soils are considered "cold" (*sik*) and are thought to be "tired."

The loss of soil productivity is attributed either to the loss of the soul of [774] the crop or to the fact that the soil gets "tired." Farmers have noticed that in the first five years of planting in Tulanca, the ejido land grant, the soil was "hot" and gave good crops. When this productivity was lost, people said the soul of the crop left. It is considered dangerous to start crops in the lower lands of hot country because when the location of crops is changed, the soul leaves its original residence. The notion of crop soul loss does not conflict with the awareness of natural causes of soil productivity. Fields are left fallow for four or five years when productivity diminishes and the soil is "tired." The irrigated lands are in continuous use because there is some replenishment of fertility with the overflow of the ditch waters. Cattle fertilizers are used sporadically. Those who have many head of [233] cattle construct corrals into which they herd the cattle each night. The location of the corral is changed yearly. Corn and beans are then planted in the old corral with superior results. The dozen or so corrals in the town [598] are owned and worked cooperatively by extended families and are referred [476] to by the Indian patronyms—for example, *skoral Linetik* (corral of the [551] Lins) or *skoral Čailetik* (corral of the Čailes). The one attempt to use [177] commercial fertilizers provided by the Ejido Bank proved a technical success but an administrative failure (chapter 3). Indians noted the increased yields, but none have attempted to purchase fertilizers.

Soil consistency is evaluated on the basis of how easy it is to work. Wet, sticky, or clayey soil (*Iučilium*) and stony soil (*kelilum*) are least desirable. Sandy soil is easier to work, but soil productivity depends on a loam

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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dies are expected to give a funeral appropriate to his station in life and his wealth, as is expressed in the following account:

When my father got sick, he told his wife not to put him in a black box. He had heard a story that when the dead man is in a black box, his spirit cannot see. He wanted to be in a white box. He told this to his brother. But his brother wanted to get a black box. He bought one black box for three hundred pesos when my father died, because it is the custom of the pueblo to bury adults in a black box. The people would talk if we did not buy a good box because they knew he had animals. We spent six hundred pesos for the funeral. We presented the body in church for a mass. We had a singing mass for thirty pesos, and the box cost three hundred pesos. We had a common meal of beef in the house, and we spent two hundred and sixteen pesos for three garrafones of liquor. Each of his sons contributed sixty pesos for that. If we hadn't given him a good funeral, people would have said, "His children are very lax not to buy a good box to bury their father."

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The padre says that all bodies should be presented in the church. He says if you don't have money, you don't have to pay for the mass. But we are ashamed if we don't pay because he does work for us. He charged only twenty-five pesos because he said my father worked hard for the town. We took a collection from all the people who were there, and it amounted to one hundred and thirty pesos. We paid the padre for the mass and gave a contribution. All the people in whose houses he had passed when he was alive came to see him. They said, "Ah, his children gave a very nice box for their father."

If all of the family is poor, no one talks if the funeral is not a good one. But if there is anything that can be sold, it will have to be to make a good funeral. When my father died, he had eighteen horses. We had to sell one, and each of the children gave one hundred pesos.

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Some say the souls play the harp and drink liquor when they arrive in heaven. On All Soul's Day they visit the village where they had lived and where they are known. For each member of the household who had died, a specific portion of food is laid out. Special likes are catered to: a bottle of liquor will be set on the table for a deceased father, soda pop for children

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Chapter 12

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Despite bells and nature, however, people are not very accurate in calcu-

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1936) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

114 chiefly at Tenejapa and Cancuc. In 1925 Blom and LaFarge[7] entered the Tzeltal country from the north, visiting Bachajón, Sivacá, Tenango, Cancuc, Tenejapa, and Amatenango. These authors have published a short general account[8] of the culture of these people. In 1928 the John Geddings Gray Memorial Expedition of the Tulane University of Louisiana passed through the villages of Ococingo and Sivacá, and visited the hacienda "El Real." At this last place Carlos Basauri, a member of the expedition, collected notes on the Tzeltals.[9] Marcos E. Becerra, who was for ten years head of the Department of Public Education of Chiapas, assembled information on the languages, ethnography, and history of the Indians of the highlands and of other parts of the state.[10] Dr. Ruth Bunzel has spent some time recently in the region; her materials are unpublished.

101 361 The Tzeltal-speaking communities may be divided into those situated in the highlands (Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Cancuc, Oxchuc, San Martín, and Tenango), and those situated at less than 1000 m. above sea level and that consequently enjoy a warmer climate (Sivacá, Ococingo, Bachajón, Citala, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo).

133 In general the State of Chiapas is highly dissected and mountainous. It is crossed from east to west with three cordilleras, with subdivisions into various branches which cross with one another to form a complicated orographic system.[11] The ranges which cross the Tzeltal region are those belonging to the Cordillera de Huehitepec[12] reaching an altitude of 2597 m. above sea level[13] in a mountain of this name situated east of the city of Las Casas. With the exception of some [361] Chamula settlements, this is the settlement of greatest altitude (2110 m. above sea level)[14] in the entire state. From this point and continuing northward are to be found the other pueblos Villa visited. The land decreases in altitude until it reaches the Ococingo Valley where there is a sharp descent of 600 m. From here on, the terrain is not so dissected and the altitude is less than 1000 m. above sea level and becomes gradually less.

132 As is natural, the climates of these two zones present marked differences which have given rise to the expressions "tierra fría" and "tierra caliente" by which the [823] natives distinguish them. The former refers to the higher region where, according to Amram, "The temperature rarely falls below freezing, though in November, 1935, it dropped as low as 24° F. During the long dry period, when for weeks at a time no rain falls, the temperature in the shade occasionally rises above 75°, and the temperature in the sun may reach well over 100°. The relative humidity is low, and there are great differences between shade and sun temperatures. The nights are cool."[15]

The region of the tierra caliente begins in the Valley of Ococingo and the temperature rises as one goes northward. At Salto de Agua, 73 m. above sea level, one experiences tropical heat.

[7] Blom and LaFarge, 1927.
[8] *Ibid.*, 2:324-400.
[9] Basauri, 1931.
[10] Becerra, 1932 and 1933.
[11] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 20. See also Waibel, 1935, pp. 69-77.
[12] Santiabañez, 1911; p. 7.
[13] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 20.
[14] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:518.
[15] *Ibid.*, 2:377.
[16] Amram, 1937, p. 52.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

a marriage was incestuous in the same sense as marriage between close relations. These surnames are transmitted patrilineally. Of ten informants in Chanal, nine gave their Indian surnames; the tenth said he had none. Furthermore, in cases where potential spouses have the same Spanish surname but different Indian surnames—and such cases occur—marriage between such persons is similarly discouraged. And in San Martin, Tenango, Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo, where apparently the Indian surnames do not exist, Villa received information to the effect that marriage between persons of the same Spanish surname is disapproved.[71]

Indian surnames noted by Villa, with translations offered him, follow:

CHANAL: Yemuc (large mouth), Xampil, Tiib, Calabal, Chieb, Cories, Comistal.

TENEJAPA: Tzurin (sowing?), Hoviltzil (mad dog), Uacax (cow), Chacax (?), Mee-mut (mother hen), Lobal (banana), Ton (stone).

CANCUC: Chom, Say, Chig-yax, Coreta, Caxlan-pucú, Hokob-canela.

OXCHUC: Chinbac (small bone), Aquilan (from Aquilar), Chichol (tomato), Barsen (*pinto*), Nimail (squash-tip), Holchi (deer head).

In all the highland villages information was given to the effect that each *pueblo* (town, with its rural population, if any) is endogamous; in most instances the endogamy was represented as absolute. As some of the communities include only a few score of households, the matter requires further investigation.

The communities of Cancuc, Oxchuc, and Bachajón (and apparently only these) are divided into antagonistic sub-communities called *calpules*. (Neither Starr nor Blom and LaFarge give information on this point.) In each case an imaginary east-west line across the plaza divides the northern lands of the one calpul from the southern lands of the other. In Cancuc (at least) the lands of the north are considered "hot," those of the south "cold," with corresponding favorable and unfavorable connotations as to their fertility. In Cancuc the northern calpul is called either *muhul calpul* 'large calpul' or else *alankuluhibal;* the southern is called *bikit calpul* 'small calpul' or else *kalankuluhibal*. Each calpul (*barrio* to the Ladinos) had its own government, established by the members of each calpul independently of the formal local government, which, recognized by the state and national authorities, acts for both calpules in matters that must be taken to the outside authorities. In Oxchuc the calpul officers are one *presidente*, two *alcaldes* or *cantakines*, two *gobernadores*, two *catinab* 'very respected chiefs,'

[71] Among the Lacandons there are patrilineal, totemically named kinships grouped into two exogamous phratries (Soustelle, 1936); it is likely that among the ancient Maya of Yucatan there was surname exogamy. Landa says (Section XXIV), "... the Indians consider all of the same name related, and treat them accordingly. ... Thus also no man or woman marries another of the same name, because this was for them a great infamy" (Gates, 1937, p. 40). Landa also says (Section XXV), "... nor did they ever marry one bearing their own name on the father's side, for this was considered a very bad thing." On the subject of Maya names, Roys says, "The Maya family name, which was perpetuated in the male line, survived the Conquest, but the old pagan pre-names were abolished and replaced by Spanish Christian names when the Indians were baptized. Two varieties of pre-names are well known: one, indicating a man's profession or office, and the other, derived from his mother and preceded by the prefix Na-. The Maya called the latter the 'naa', and there were also two other classes of pre-names, which they called the 'boy-name' and the 'jesting name.' Many of the 'boy-names' are referable to fauna-names, especially those of birds, while some of the 'jesting-names' appear to be descriptive. It seems to have been possible for a single person to have borne all four names" (Roys, 1934, p. 106).

162 Amatenango del Valle, a community of 2,529 inhabitants, of which 1,470 reside in the town center.

621 The town centers are divided into two sections, called barrios by Ladinos and calpules by Indians (Oxchuc and Cancuc). The imaginary line which separates one barrio from another passes through the center of the town, sometimes east-west, sometimes north-south, with no fixed orientation.

[776] Each barrio has its own local authorities and sometimes its own patron saint (Oxchuc and Bachajon). The principal function of the barrios was not only political or religious but also social, in regulating mar-

[178] riage. Endogamy was common to all barrios, but today that rule is losing its rigidity. In Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1960, p. 8) tells us that, "The rule of barrio endogamy, which is viable in 86% of the known marriages, contributes to the localization of related families limiting the geographical range of marriage choice." A similar situation obtains in Amatenango (J. Nash, 1959, p. 3), Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes, 1947, p. 7), and Bachajon (Guiteras Holmes, 1961c, p. 167).

[178] In Bachajon, Guiteras Holmes states that: "In the old days there was no marriage be-

[578] tween the *barrios*. If a boy from San Sebastian took a walk through San Geronimo, he was beaten: they would give him a '*maciza*,' as they say. If a boy from a *barrio* approached the waterholes to court a girl, he fared very badly." The calpules of Oxchuc, although they have politico-religious significance, have no influence at all in the selection of wives.

621 The parajes have a few scattered huts
778 among the cultivated fields. Each paraje is
[361] bound by religious ties to a given cave where a cross, the supreme sacred symbol, is kept. The name of the paraje is generally
778 taken from the name of the cave. Sacred
821 caves of secondary importance also exist.
823 This mystical regard for caves is based in the belief that they are the place from which issues the lightning to punish the

[P 205-A]

778 821 823 natural elements (hail, wind, storms), which often threaten and destroy the cornfields.

Distribution of Huts

621 In the parajes as well as in the centers the tendency to cluster huts in patrilineal nuclei is strong. One perceives this tendency also where lineage or clan ties still persist (Oxchuc).

[594] The majority of households consist of the elementary family, a couple and their offspring. The habitations include a hut, which serves as dormitory and kitchen, plus chickencoop, pigpen, and, sometimes, the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. Among industrious families another small hut serves exclusively as a kitchen. Seldom does a fence separate this nucleus from its neighbors, but it may protect a vegetable patch from animals. In the capital, however, each family must fence its lot.

342 343 [417] 343 417

Relationships between Communities

628 Communities establish commercial and other ties according to their ecological distribution and cultural condition. In the southern zone, Amatenango and Aguacatenango form a kind of unit, based on physical proximity and cultural affinity. Their residents meet frequently at the Sunday market of Teopisca. In the central zone, Oxchuc, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Tenango, which more or less share ways of life and natural environment, form another informal association, contacts resulting from the weekly markets of Tenejaya and Yochib. In the northern zone, Sitala and Guaquitepec form another unit. Ocosingo, Chilon, and Yajalon are centers of commercial and political importance, occupied largely by Ladinos but used as trade centers by Indians throughout the northern zone.

412 TECHNOLOGY

Tools and Techniques

Farming tools are the most important: axe

[P 205-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

778 178 left-hand fork ended shortly. The right-hand one went on to a small level place, on which about four people could squat at once. The roof was too low to stand. In the end wall a block of rock about half a meter high and twenty centimeters broad stuck out. In front of it were eight small candlesticks in a row, a neat bundle of fir tips laid before each. More of these extended in an arc to the right, and there was a pile of spare tips and candlesticks at one side. Behind this was a square of bark resting on two stones, which showed signs of having had incense burned on it.

The second cave was more open, more of a room, high, and broken with pillars of limestone and dirt. It was caused partly by hollowing out limestone through the action of water, and partly by washing out the soil. In a quite open situation a small, square cross was leant against a rock. There was a flat board for incense, with five candlesticks on the side of the cross, and fir tips around the other three sides (see fig. 310 c).

These two caves, whether or not they were used in pre-Conquest days, do definitely represent the survival of a purely non-Christian manner of worship.

The general attitude of the Indians towards all the carvings of the Old People is not without interest. While they appear to attach no particular significance to the temples, they call all idols by the generic term of "santo." Thus the fine bas-relief found near San José Reforma, told of in the last chapter, was known to the natives as *Santo Ton*, "Saint Stone," or "Holy Stone."

782 Distinct from worship at these archaeological sites are the offerings made to the "guardian," *yaHwal*, of the cornfields, a pure old Maya rite carried on in the modern fields. This is purely family matter, at which the head of the family officiates. A cross is set up, *atole* or *cocoposole* (*posole* with cocoa and sugar) and rum are offered in bowls, candles and incense are burned, and a chicken killed. The prayer quoted on page 365 is recited at this time. The offerings are only made at the time of planting the *milpa* in the spring, and suffice also for the fall *tonamil*. As nearly as we could find out, each field has its particular guardian, an idea which was shown by the case, to be described later when speaking of magic, of a man who took steps to gain the consent of a field's guardian before putting a curse on it.

776 [323] There is a guardian of the river, *yabahen*, and of the mountains, *hun ahau*. This last is of particular interest, correponding as it does with the old Maya day-name signifying chief. Hun Ahau is mentioned in Landa, page 200, edition of 1864, as ruler of Mitamnal or hell. As Hunahpu he may be referred to in the Popol Vuh. Two

241 [412] machete (*machit*) or the *luk*, a sort of curved machete with a long handle, are the implements needed. The cutting of the grass from the plot where the milpa had been the previous year is *selab*; the cutting of bush grown for three or four years is *sok-uaj*. The work of cutting the bush is done by the entire family, including children of seven or eight years old.

[221] [412] The planting is done between April and May after the first rains, with a long stick whose tip is hardened by fire or protected by a metal point. The seed must [242] come from large, healthy ears whose tips have been cut off because they have small corn. The *olote*, or corncob, is either kept [824] or thrown away at a distance to avoid its being used as fuel, for this would hurt the milpa which then would produce ears with broken kernels.

241 462 785 834 The task of planting is a very delicate matter to be performed after fasting and sexual abstinence. It is exclusively a man's 241 574 affair. A great banquet is served at noon, generally outdoors as the hut interiors are small, to the friends and neighbors who will participate as helpers. Sometimes as [476] many as 10 men help to plant a friend's milpa. The meal is offered "precisely when the sun stops for a moment midway on its run and the doors of the Church of Heaven are opened, from where the quality of the banquet is observed." This is *s-uelil-abal* ('meal of the planting').

241 262 272 574 [263] When things are properly done, the meal consists of a number of items. First the *atole* (*pajal-ul*) is served, which is slightly sour and sweetened with *pangla*. As "companion" to this atole are tamales (*chenkul-uaj*), which are prepared with cornmeal and ground beans. It is said that both things are to be served together so that "the seed may penetrate deep into the ground."

241 252 262 574 272 After this preliminary snack comes what is considered the main course for each person: a hard-boiled egg in a thick reddish broth prepared from dough and ground chile dissolved in water; a large tortilla;

[P.199-B]

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201-A

412 (*eché*), hoe (*asron*), machete (*machit*),
coa (*luk*), and digging stick (*avutel*). In a
243 few towns (Amatenango), where lands are
[407] flat, the plow is made of wood and pulled
by oxen but only for wheat farming. During
[415] corn planting, the seed is carried by the
[824] planter in a *morral* hung from the shoulder,
[237] in a gourd with a large spout, or in containers made of armadillo shells. The harvested crops are placed in deep baskets, made of reed-grass, or in big pita (*chojak*)
[412] net bags. The ear of corn is cleared of its
[237] husk by a sharp bone or a small deer horn.

322 The axe, machete, and knife are used in
412 wood working, which is very rudimentary, though handsaw and hammer have a place. With these tools the Indians make doors, tables, seats, small benches, shelves. Blom
[534] and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:351) add that the Tzeltal near Ocosingo also make violins of a shape similar to the European type, but they have no resonance and poor tone. They also manufacture pipes and combs roughly
[463] finished. No village of this group has specialists in carpentry to compare with the Chamulas (Tzotzil-speaking), who supply furniture at low cost to San Cristobal de las Casas and other places of the area.

324 Stone carving requires a pickaxe with
412 one end very sharp, the other very flat to serve as a hammer, and a short wooden handle. This is the tool used in Tenejapa for making metates. These metates have three legs, but Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:338) mention metates without legs (Ocosingo municipio) which are made of volcanic stone found along the San Martin River. According to the Tzeltal of Oxchuc, the name of the metate is *chá*, its handle *kab-chá*.

412 An iron bar to break the ground, an axe, and a machete are the tools for building huts, chickencoops, sweat houses, and other small structures.

283 Another tool, used in the making of pita
413 rope, is *karet*, which probably comes from the Spanish *carreta*. It consists of a wooden disc fixed to a tree trunk that is nailed to

[P.206-A]

787 776 been taken away by the local authorities and sent to the Indians' Affairs Office in San Cristobal.

LIFE CYCLE

842 183 *Pregnancy and Childbirth*

The strongest desire of every Tzeltal couple is to create a numerous family, preferably 843 [833] boys. The relationship between sexual intercourse and pregnancy is well understood among the Indians. They know that pregnancy lasts nine months and they keep a 843 789 good count of it. On the other hand, there are ideas about the possibility of the woman being influenced by old men or "the owners of the nagual," who can interrupt pregnancy and change the fetus from one woman to another. This is why a woman who thinks she is pregnant for three or four months suddenly realizes that she carries nothing any more, while another one, maybe her neighbor, finds herself in advanced pregnancy, giving birth a few months later. It is to be stressed, however, that these changes can take place only among married women.

844 [81] In conservative villages (Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Cancuc) there is no professional midwife. Children are delivered by the oldest women in the neighborhood.

[757] [237] When labor begins, the first thing is to give the mother a beverage made of powdered opossum tail dissolved in boiling water. It is very common for Indians to have a dry tail hanging next the fireplace. The woman kneels at labor, facing the midwife. The husband's belt or the woman's rebozo is tied very tightly around the upper part of the abdomen to prevent the child from "going up again." The mother can also help herself by seizing a rope tied to the roof, or taking firm hold of any post of the house. The umbilical cord is chopped with a machete or cut with scissors, supported on an [241] [824] ear of corn. This ear is afterwards used as seed and is considered very fertile.

[757] When labor has finished, the mother is given another hot beverage of pepper.

[P 223-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

tied by a string carried down to an arched stick, H, stuck in the 224
ground. This string, by holding down the far ends, counterbalances the weight of the fall at the other ends. At the end of the string the cross-stick, D, holds it against the arch; it, in turn, is held by the trigger, C, one end of which braces against it, the other end against the far side of the trap, passing under the deadfall. A circular fence of sticks prevents an animal from getting at the outer part of the trap. A straight fence on the other side of the fall necessitates its entering through the entrance, AA, to get at the bait, B, on the trigger. The animal dislodges the trigger, releasing D and with it the string. The outer ends of the sticks fly up, and the weighted log falls. In the rat trap, the log and stones came to at least three kilograms, arranged to fall through a space of about ten centimeters, other traps being in proportion.

When hunting with a gun, a red fruit called *ahoon* is frequently [824]
rubbed on the shot, and *palma bendita, tcul-tĕc-wil can,* the palm used in church decorations, is used for the wad. This prevents the bullet "from getting tired" before it reaches its mark.

Meat obtained while hunting, if it cannot be carried immediately 251
to the house, is dried on a rack, *tcax.*

The primary method of carrying goods of all kinds is by the 482
tump-line, for which, as has been said in the discussion of physical and other characteristics, these people are very well adapted. The tump-line, *pak,* is a broad strip of inner bark, or of cow-hide. For their ordinary uses, this is a single strip, the ends being attached to a net (q. v.) of their own manufacture. When a package too bulky for the net is carried, a long strap is used with the ends tied together. This is looped through itself, around the package, so that it hangs in two slings. Additional straps may be attached to the line where it passes over the ears, to wrap around the sides of the burden. A flat piece of cowhide, *tcokHax,* is worn against the back, to protect the carrier from the chafing of his load. Both men and women use the tump-line, the carrying of objects on the head being unusual.

Formerly the Indians of this district are said to have owned a 492
good many mules and horses for packing, which they lost during [78]
the recent political disturbances. Many of them know something about packing. At present, however, few if any own cattle of any kind.

The highland rivers do not, on the whole, lend themselves to 487
water travel, although the Bachajon territory reaches to the Bascan, Tulija, and other more amenable water-ways. Canoes are known only 501
as introductions of German or Ladino ranchers. The natives use a [77]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

286 and often have no fringe. We were told that it was impossible to
123 see a woman weaving at that time, but by persistent stalking the
126 writer finally managed to locate a girl at work, whom he observed
286 and sketched from behind a bush. The women here were so consistently shy that no doubt she would have rolled up her loom, which was of just the same type as the one seen at Sivacá, and fled into the house had she known she was observed. Our procession through this very pretty village, too, was a serious affair—distinguished strangers being shown around town by the mayor—and had none of the cheerful joking and general *bonhommie* that produced such friendliness and good results at Sivacá.

241 Something more should be said about the agriculture here. Ordinarily, Indians go out to choose their own land in the bush and

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FIG. 319—Tenango, Chis. La Farge drawing pottery.

241 plant it with little cultivation, placing the corn close together. Here each family has its land assigned to it by the council. As the same field must be planted year after year, the hills of corn are widely spaced, and the ground is turned over as deeply as possible by means
[417] of heavy hoes, *ak'en*, purchased in San Cristóbal. As was said, everything is fenced as much as possible. When some of our pack animals got loose in a field, the excitement was intense. In the yards of the houses they raise corn, beans, and a plant related to tobacco. This
824 plant grows nearly as tall as a man. The leaf is rubbed on their legs to cure fatigue. It is carried with lime in a small gourd and offered and accepted for chewing with much the same bowing and formalities as obtained among our ancestors when offering snuff.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

woman opened the door, she said, "Ay, Dios!" *The owner of the cave did not like this, and at that moment, he disappeared. Her husband returned the next morning. He beat her when he heard of the arrival of the hill owner and his disappearance when she invoked the name of the Lord. From that day on, he lost his luck and remained a poor man.*

The personalities of the cave owners are more fully defined than those of the spirits which reside in the forests. These tree spirits are able to talk to people, or they may sing, "as a mother sings to her child." They sometimes play tricks, misdirecting those who are lost in the woods. A man who intends to kill his enemy may go to talk to the tree spirits to gain their advice. Some plant spirits, such as tobacco, are stronger than others. Indians sometimes address the tobacco plant as "our grandfather" when they approach it, asking leave to pass. Some say that if you chew the tobacco plant you will have strength to overcome evil spirits when you walk in the woods.

An especially fearful group of spirits called *bohwaletik* roam the wooded hills in the late afternoons. These spirits, who look like Ladinos, are feared because they cut off people's heads to feed to the church bell in a neighboring town or to give to the spirits of major construction projects, such as dams. Suspicions are immediately aroused when a solitary Ladino is seen on the outskirts of the town near evening, and if several Indians sight him, they may even kill him.

Persistence of belief and rituals related to the old gods and demons that were part of the Maya pantheon is directly related to the fact that the Indians continue to live in the same place surrounded by the hills and caves that were the habitations of both good and bad spirits. The landscape serves as a mnemonic device, keeping alive the myths of the past. Everyone accepts the knowledge that the spirits once lived here; the only doubt is whether they continue to inhabit their appropriate places, particularly in the case of the ancestors who were responsible for crops and security. This is not a crisis of loss in belief, but a phasing into history of the mythological past. Since there is no longer acceptance of the curers' claim to communication with the spirits, the Indians believe they may have gone elsewhere. It is characteristic of these Indians that they do not

uals. The resources expended in the process of curing counterbalance the patient's greater wealth which provoked the envy initially. The witch starts the sickness by going to one of the caves in the hills where he burns a candle, drinks a liter of liquor, and prays that the object of his envy fall ill. The essential element in the fight against the witch is the act of drinking by all those present at the curing. In consuming their own liquor, often paid for by the sale of cattle or crops, they mitigate the envy of the witch. If the witch persists, he must continue to spend money on the liquor necessary to initiate the witchcraft after each ceremonial cure. Part of the tactic of a rapid series of cures is to demonstrate willingness to use all of the family's resources if necessary to counteract the rituals of the witch. The statement that they drink "in order to finish with the money" takes on significance in this strategy of limiting envy by expending resources.

Medicating the illness. The cure of the disease comes in the bathing or heating of the patient and the application or ingestion of medicines, usually a combination of patent medicines purchased in the nearby Ladino town. The specific cures called for depend on the secondary classification of the disease: if it is a "cold disease," hot medicines are applied; if it is a "hot disease," cold medicines are used.

Two kinds of bathing are performed, one a kind of steam bath, called "rise over the fire," for cold illnesses, and another a cold bath for hot illnesses. Chills and fever require both treatments. In the first case, a large charcoal fire is made inside the main room of the patient's house. When the fire is strong, two thick green logs are placed on it to create smoke. The patient mounts on a stool over the fire, and a straw mat is held over him to capture the steam. When he is sweating a great deal, the curer gives him a drink of cold medicines.

The cold bath is given with thirteen branches from bushes which grown near the spring.[4] Patent medicines dissolved in Spring water include syrup of *isidro,* cloves, vapor rub, epsom salts, aspirin, and other cold herbs or juices such as lemon, grapefruit, *cintula,* and *tok'o.* If the trouble is chills and fever, hot herbs such as *inajo, lumahiya,* and apple may be added to restore the body's hot-cold balance. A bad curer may reverse the medicines,

4. These include plants called *tihiliha?, yokmut, tsitsil hi?, lelwamal* and *yitalbulha?.*

[P 198-H]

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Plate 10. Future members of the household line up with the branches of spring bushes with which the curer will brush them. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

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Monday: Nothing
Tuesday: Nothing
Wednesday: All the mayordomos gather at the church. Some go to carry wood for the cross while others look for flowers to make a "bed" for Jesus, Tatik Eskipulas, *to lay Him on after he has been crucified. The mayordomos arrange the table on which he will lie very beautifully. They tie boughs of evergreen on all four sides. Some of the flowers* [*a small variety of orchid which was possibly of some importance in pre-Catholic rituals*] *are very fragrant. When all is arranged well, they take out a box so that Tatik Eskipulas can lie where the flowers and branches are. They put this table at the foot of the cross. After the mayordomos have "planted" the cross, they adorn it with pine boughs. They put flowers on each arm of the holy cross. Then they drape it with the holy cloth* [the purple banner]. *At eleven o'clock some of the mayordomos begin to play the coronet, matraka, flute, and drum. Tatik Eskipulas arrives at the cross with the male and female prayer-maker.* [824] [533]

Thursday: Half of us finish making the cross, and the other half arrange the "prison" inside the church where Tatik Eskipulas will spend the night. After we make the prison, we make the Jew. We look for his pants and shoes, his hat and his tie, his mask, his gourd, his bag, his shirt, his cigarette. After we arrange him, we raise him with a rope in front of the church, and leave him hanging for the pueblo to see who killed Christ. Meanwhile, others put Tatik Eskipulas in prison. When night time arrives, four men with rifles watch Tatik Eskipulas to guard Him as the holy evening passes. The mayordomos gather at the church and play the sad flute and the old coronet. They play the matraka. At midnight they play the drum and coronet. [533]

Friday: Very early in the morning of Friday, the four guards of God are changed as the dawn enters. All day, the guards will watch the Lord. They will see Him rise on the cross and descend from the cross. Then the four go to their house to drink a little liquor. At eleven o'clock in the morning the mayordomos will give a sign on the elder coronet, the elder matraka, and the sad flute and the drum. They will play three times to summon the townspeople instead of sounding the bell. When all the women and men arrive, they hear the prayer announcing that Tatik Eski- [533] [202]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontahal

Appendix 2—CHANGE OF OFFICIALS IN THE HOLY HOUSE

Question	Informant 3	Observation
794 796 1. What is the first day of the fiesta called?	*Pas Kantelero*, 'Making the candles'	
124 2. What do the mayordomos do first on Paswamal of the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	They scrape the candles	At 9 A.M. the mayordomos were gathered at the door of the church, scraping the candles. The wax was carefully gathered. It will be melted down to make more candles, but not for ceremonial purposes.
[533] 3. What else do they do in the morning of Paswamal?	Two mayordomos beat the drum and one blows the flute	Music was provided by two mayordomos beating drum and one blowing flute
4. Where do they scrape the candles?	Inside the church	In the courtyard of the church
5. Where do they blow the flute?	At the door of the church	On the benches near the door of the church
6. What else is done on the morning of Paswamal?	They sweep out the church	They sweep the church
[824] 7. What else is done on the morning of Paswamal?	Nothing. Formerly they bought juniper needles to put on the floor inside the church but now they do not	
8. Why don't they bring pine needles now?	Because now the floor of the church is well finished with pure cement	
9. What do they do after they finish scraping the candles?	They count the money	The fiscal spent the morning sitting on the benches outside the church with the elder mayordomos watching the counting of money
10. What day do they collect the money?	On Sunday, eight days before the fiesta of San Pedro	
11. Who collects the money?	Two kobrarias	
12. How much do they collect from each mayordomo?	Two pesos each	
13. Why do they collect the money?	For the price of the candles	
14. Who counts the money to buy the candles?	Two kobrarias with the fiscal	
794 796 15. What do they do at noon?	They ring the bells. They all begin to drink liquor *(yaʔalik)*	They ring the bells. Then they go to the house of the *ʔaliʔbal*
273 16. What do they call the first drink at midday?	One measure to make the food go down *(skoʔip weʔeletik)*	
124 17. What do they call the drink after the meal?	Water for the meal *(yaʔlel weʔelil)*	
18. How many liters of liquor do the mayordomos drink on Paswamal?	Two liters	

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The boy is expected to live for a year with the girl's parents; then he makes his own home, usually near that of his father. If the boy's parents are sufficiently powerful, they may pay the girl's parents twelve pesos in lieu of the year's service. Villa was informed that a woman unable to pay a debt or a fine may be taken as a secondary wife by any married man who will pay the debt or fine; that a woman who loses her virginity may be bought similarly of her parents for a little rum; and that in the case of any of these polygynous marriages, a single household is maintained. No such household was observed. 583 591 583 595 595 [681]

No information was obtained on birth customs,[30] or on customs in connection with death.[31] 114

Blom and LaFarge describe a church festival held at Tecojá ranch on June 22 and 23.[32] When Villa visited the highland villages the carnival was being celebrated. In Tenejapa on February 20 he witnessed the "Festival of the Flags" (*tahimalkin*). The (annually elected) leaders of the festival, the *alfereces*, assembled in the morning at the church. Each man conveyed a red banner with green edges, fastened to a pole, and each held in his mouth a short hook on which an orange was impaled. Nothing was learned as to the significance of these objects. The alfereces remained for a time inside the church drinking rum and singing. They then went by fours to pray in turn before each of the crosses set up in the village. The rest of the day they spent visiting the house of each one of them in turn; in each house they sang the same song sung in the church; in each the host offered rum, so that by nightfall all were drunk. These acts were to be twice repeated during the days following. They had for their stated purpose the announcement of the days of carnival. On the following Thursday the carnival became generally celebrated, and many natives went out costumed and masked. 796 [114] [574] [533]

The alfereces were accompanied by musicians, and also by three personages carrying the dried bodies of, respectively, a wild cat, a rodent called *saben*, and an iguana. Villa was informed that these animals are used in a later festal pantomime in which the alfereces enact a sowing, and in which these animals are represented as performing their characteristic mischief. [825]

Villa observed other elements of the carnival ritual in Oxchuc. On Thursday, February 24, Indians of the calpul of Santo Tomás assembled in the church where they prayed for a time before the large altar, and then danced and drank rum in the nave. The dance was performed alternately by men and by women, and was accompanied by music from a harp, a guitar, and a rattle made of a calabash and a deer's hoof. On the following day these acts were performed by Indians of the other calpul; on this occasion the music was furnished by two drums and a flute, and the leader (*capitán*) was dressed in red. On this latter day natives of the calpul of Santo Tomás moved in procession through the streets; four individuals bore each a large pole to which were fastened ribbons of various colors; a fifth carried a red banner. [535] [533]

[30] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:358.

[31] *Ibid.*, 2:360–362.

[32] *Ibid.*, 2:364–365.

[33] The frequent association, in Middle America, of small animals, especially furred animals, with festivals, in connection with ideas of fertility and of festal buffoonery, has been noted. See Redfield, 1936, pp. 231–243. [171]

241 782 *chin-uch* (May 20–June 8), an offering is made to the supernatural being which reigns over it. The natives have vague no-
[825] tions of the nature of this being. They say that *uch* is the name of a small insect which spoils the pozole and, also, of the *tlacuache* or *zariguaya* which often destroys the milpa. The offering, hung at the entrance of the hut, consists of a ball of pozole wrapped in plantain leaf, a red chile, a tortilla, an ear of corn, and a little stick like the kind used to turn the ear cooking over hot coals.
241 All objects are minute in size. When the
782 offering achieves its purpose, on the com-
787 pletion of a 20-day period, the atmosphere becomes hazy "as if there were smoke." It is explained that "the chin-uch burned its house," which forecasts a favorable sun for development of the milpa. If such a sign should not appear on the indicated date or at the end of the next month of *mukul-uch* (June 9–28), the forecast is ominous and indicates that the rains will be excessive, greatly harming the milpa.

778 Another mukul-mixa is performed in Ox-
796 chuc, in homage to the hill called Ikal-Ajau,
[184] near the ceremonial center, of which the Indians say "it is a living hill." The name of the hill is that of the ancient hill worshipped by the Oxchuequeños. Nuñez de la Vega (in Becerra, 1933, p. 293) reports: "Those of Oxchuc and other towns of Los Llanos venerate very much the idol which they call Icalajau, which means principal Negro or
[789] lord of the Negroes." This Mass, performed the first days of June, prevents locusts and other plagues from coming.

241 78 Once the crop is in the granary, other family prayers are said before the household cross, to give thanks for the good received and to petition the supernatural beings to protect the grain from insects and rodents.

Other Subsistence Resources

262 Other food resources include raising
235 chickens and pigs. A family averages about
[231] 10 chickens, using the eggs as money when
[457] [P. 202-B]

71 Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

776 which have the power to mislead, give illness, or capture people to work
[756] for them. Only the most powerful curers and witches, and the very greedy
[754] approach these spirits for they are reputed to be very "live" and mali-
[825] ciously clever. Snakes are the offspring of the hill and do the bidding of the hill owners.

556 Wealth in the form of livestock, corn, or gold can be gained from some
756 of the cave owners upon request, but there is danger in receiving these
778 gifts since they must be reciprocated. Among the cave owners who give
787 gifts is Don Klabil, a deceased moneylender of the neighboring town. After his death in the 1940s, his spirit went to live in the hill bordering the two towns. People say that when he was alive he used to get money from the true owner of the cave. Those who have been inside the cave say it is filled with animals—cattle, horses, rabbits—which drink at a large interior lake. The appropriate approach for requesting wealth is to go on Thurs-
[782] day, "when the earth is open," and burn candles and incense. When the request is granted, the recipient must light candles at the cave every Thursday, and after his death he must work forever for the cave owner. It is said that at his death his wealth dies with him—usually all has been spent, and in fact children are left poor. Some say the spirit of the firstborn child of the recipient must be given to the owner to work for him. For this reason, there is no envy felt by neighbors when they see the increasing wealth of a man who has visited the caves and received such gains and he is doubly protected because no one can hurt an "enchanted man" (one who has entered the cave) with witchcraft.

756 Ladinos' belief in the cave owners gives support to the Indians' credence
776 in their power. Ladinos inquire of Indians where they can find treasures.
778 Once the request to the hill owners is made, it is essential to follow
[829] through correctly. Everyone in town knows the story of Martin Bautista, a curer who went to speak to the true owner of the hill in which Don Klabil lives.

[539] *He knew how to talk to the owner. The owner told him that at midnight on the following day, he would give him what he wanted. At midnight Maria, his wife, was alone in the house. She heard a noise and the sound of* "Andale, burro!" *Then there was a knock at the door. When the*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Guarding the crops. The crops must be guarded against intruders. The farmers sometimes sleep in the fields when they expect animals to steal the ripening corn. They observe the habits of these intruders and develop belief systems which help them organize opposition:

The raccoon steals maize seeds. He pushes down cornstalks when they are in elote and steals the cob. He is very smart. He can tell whether the owner is sleeping or not by putting his hand on his own anus. If his anus is cold, the owner is awake; if it is hot the owner is asleep and he enters.

Some men who live below in Alannantik have good dogs. They planted their milpa, and the next night wanted to hunt. "You stay with one dog,"

TABLE 9. Schedule of Activities in Bean Production

Activity	*Date*	*No. of days necessary for task*	*Helpers*	*Tools*
Cleaning and preparation of soil is same as for corn (Table 6)				
Ground beans				
Plant between rows of corn	Mar. 1	2	3 exchange workers	Digging stick
Cultivate	Apr. 19	3	2 exchange workers	Hoe
Harvest, pulling up entire plants and putting them in burlap bags	July 10	2		
Store in eaves of house				Burlap bags
When pods are very dry, beat bag with stick to depod beans	Sept. 1	2	women of household	Stick
Pole beans				
Plant, following the second hoeing of corn, setting seeds near each hillock of corn	May 2	1		Digging stick
Wind the vines up on corn stalk; tie	June	1		
Cut pods and store in burlap bags in eaves of house	Nov.	1		Burlap bags
Shell beans as they are used				

SOURCE: Same as for Table 6.

241 825 244 461 464 412 [115]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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241 825 *they said to me, "while we go over with the other two." I fell asleep. Then the raccoon entered. And so I believe the raccoon is very bright.*

Also there is the wild pig, who is less bright than the raccoon.

Another "thief" of the milpa is a small black insect which eats beans. These are eliminated in the following way:

[291] *When we plant beans, the women go with us wearing a new skirt and a new shawl. They walk near the plants, waving the shawl. The animals die. It has to be a new skirt. My mother proved it. She went with an old skirt, and she saw that they did not die. They just fled to the mountain out of shame. It is the smell of the old skirt that scared them away.*

241 825 782 788 If many animals are eating the crops, Indians buy three twenty-cent candles. They take them to the fields and light them, praying in Tzeltal: "God, holy world, please look at me and speak to the little animals. God, holy rock, holy forest, please look at me, hear me, speak to the animals."

The candles are media through which communication is made with the gods as well as gifts which seal the contract with the gods ensuring their protection and guardianship over the crops.

241 776 784 Guarding the crops also involves avoidance of certain kinds of behavior by the farmer and his wife. Farmers must always avoid irritating the spirits of the heaven who control the elements which make the growth of the crop possible. One informant explained:

One should not have sexual relations with anyone in the milpa because the Father Sun [Tatik K'ak'al] *gets angry or "ends his heart." He will not give crops. He gets very hot. One time, many women in town were looking for lovers. They would have sexual relations with boys in the daytime. The Father Sun got angry and caused the crops to burn. There was very little corn. The price went up to twenty cents a liter. People bought bread and mixed it with the nixtamal.*

It is different if a man is married to a woman in the church. The Tatik K'ak'al does not get angry. The Tatik K'ak'al does not have a woman of his own, and so he gets jealous if he sees people having sexual relations in the milpa in the daytime.

But if you have relations at night with a man in the milpa, Our grand-

mother the Moon gets angry. This might cause an eclipse of the moon, and the crops will suffer because there will be no sun. 241 776 784

There is no prohibition, however, against having sexual relations prior to planting or at other crucial stages, as there are for other Maya Indians (Wagley 1941:34). [171]

During the growing season, candles are lit in the milpa as protection against wind as well as robbers, who "lose their luck" when this is done. 241 788

The spirits' care of the crops. The crops have souls, given by the spirits, which will be lost if they are not cared for. The spirits "watch over the crops as parents watch over their children." The term for seed (*yal*) is a metaphorical extension of the term for "child of a woman." 241 774 776

The following myths give different, occasionally contradictory versions of the origin of crops. This central truth emerges in all of them: The spirits have given us our crops and will continue to do so as long as we offer thanks in the form of ceremonies and gifts to them. [782]

Santo Tomás [*the patron saint of Oxchuk*] *had intercourse with Santa Lucía. She wanted* [asked for] *the soul of corn, and he gave her the seed of corn. Then there came forth beans, corn, and wheat. But then all the saints of San Bartolo and San Miguel* [*neighboring towns*] *asked for the soul of corn. Then the soul of beans left us and went to hot country. Now it does not grow well in the pueblo. Also, the avocado has gone to Comitán. The matasano and ground beans went to Oxchuk when Santa Lucía fought with Santo Tomás.* [539]

The myth of the origin of crops overlays an older myth which has parallels in other groups of Maya-speaking Indians (Castro 1965, Wagley 1941:20). 773 241 171

Formerly, during a famine, there was hunger. The tzisim, *an insect of Ariola, came to take the corn from underground. Thus the ancestors got their first seed. For this reason, people say that corn was born underground, brought up by the tzisim. But I believe God sent us corn.* [539]

Another version has synthesized the role of the saints and that of the animal agent. 241 776 [illegible] 539

241 796 825 539 *The ant* [alielo] *brings corn out of the house. They say that a saint passed on horseback. The ant came to the saint, bringing a grain of corn. He stood before the saint, and the saint said, "Where are you going with the corn?" The ant replied, "To the storeroom." The saint inquired, "Which one?" The ant went to show the saint a stone as large as a church into which he entered to take out corn. There was white, yellow, and red corn.*

The saint returned to heaven and spoke to San Bartolo. San Bartolo asked, "Where is it?" The saint replied, "I will show you."

San Bartolo went with Santo Tomás to see the stone. Santo Tomás said, "Good, let us figure out how to destroy this stone." San Bartolo said, "Let us go talk to a carpenter." At this moment, a carpenter came. They asked him to cut the stone. "Good," said the carpenter, "I will do it."

But the carpenter could not open the stone. They went to another carpenter—there were three in this mountain. The first couldn't, nor could the second. The third carpenter said, "Let us talk to the tunselek [*woodpecker*]. *He is a good carpenter."*

The first two birds had broken their beaks, and the saints warned the woodpecker that he should be careful or he would fail with the stone. The woodpecker broke open the stone, and all the corn seed—yellow, red, and white—fell out. People should not kill these birds because they broke open the rock where the seeds were kept.

241 796 The necessity for showing respect to crops because of their relationship to the saints is expressed in the following account:

[539] *Corn must be treated with respect, since it is the body of the Virgin. You cannot step on anything which is for eating—beans, corn, or wheat—or the Virgin will become angry. Particular care has to be taken at the harvest to avoid offending the saints.*

Some of the saints serve man by helping to spread the cultivation of crops, as in the case of San Isidro, the patron saint of milpas.

[539] *The Padre told us that San Isidro helps the farmers. Formerly there was only milpa here where there is irrigated land. San Isidro went up to the*

There is no double standard for extramarital sexual relations, although men abuse the prohibition more often than women, judging from court cases. The ability the women has to assert herself rests on her economic contribution in pottery-making and on the fact that female household help is not part of the labor market.

Female sexuality has the connotation of negative power over male sexuality. A woman should not step over a man's feet or his clothing since she could affect his virility. This negative power emanates from the odors of a woman's body, and is captured by anything in contact with it. A woman's skirt cast over the head of a bull can tame him, and the water used by a woman to wash her body, particularly the vagina if she has had children, is drunk to cure snake bites because it is very "cold."

Sexuality is seldom extended beyond persons to material objects. There is some feeling that a man's tools, especially the machete and hoe, are male and that a woman's tools, especially the grinding stone, are female. Corn is a crop of men, while beans are a woman's crop, identified with the Virgin. But I could not get much farther with such distinctions.

The accidents of birth determine the recruitment of successive generations into the family of orientation. There is no outright adoption, but a child may be "lent" to a childless couple, usually by a sibling of one of the spouses, or a grandchild may take up residence in the house of a grandparent when all the children have moved to separate residences. Parents discipline a badly behaved child with the threat, "I am going to sell you to care for someone's house," but I have never known of a case of outright sale of a child.

The selection of a spouse is a decision based on both universalistic as well as particularistic considerations. Both the boy and the girl should be hardworking, sober, and dutiful residents of the same section of the dual division. It is considered to be of greater importance that the boy feel affection toward the girl than vice versa. The "taking of the heart" is a test of the strength and exclusiveness of the boy's interest in his chosen mate, and there is no counterpart for the girl. Although there is no term for romantic love, the closest approximation being "want" or "ask for" a woman, there is an awareness of the importance of a warm, affectionate basis if a marriage relationship is to last "at least until the day after tomorrow." A suitor is accepted if he is known to be a hard worker and if he

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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577 887 sion: "I pay respect to my elders. I greet my brothers and my children [extension of kinship terms]. To all I give respect. Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick."

577 [574] [196] [576] A good man is a generous host, expressed in the phrase, "he gives many tortillas." He serves his community in public office but avoids the appearance of seeking power or self-aggrandizement. When he gives orders, it is in a soft, low tone, supplicating rather than ordering with the phrase, "If you would please lend a hand." He gives thanks readily for any service rendered both to God and to his fellow man. He avoids any show of [578] anger, and is always careful to show consideration of others. Those who are of "another heart" or "two-hearted" are the opposite, seeking disputes, "thinking small," "being miserly," and of a "very black soul."

[754] The heightened awareness of the state of the heart of others comes from the ever-present fear of witchcraft. Since the people feel their survival depends upon perception of evil heart before it strikes, they develop an acute sense of the behavioral clues that indicate its presence.

829 183 [192] [828] *Conformity and deviance.* Conventional or preferred behavior is characterized as "reasonable." The phrase "?iC' rason," to take reason or understanding, is applied to a child who is expected to have reason at the age of twelve years or so, as well as to the arrival at agreement of competing parties, as in the case of betrothal.

Reasonable behavior is any behavior conforming to socially accepted understandings of what the world is. These include what a person of non-Indian culture might characterize as beliefs based on faith. They "know" [776] that there are hill spirits, wood spirits who cut off people's heads, and men who transform themselves into animals. Occasionally they subject given 813 understandings to empirical tests: one woman tested the belief that a [241] woman could rid the milpa of insect pests only by walking through a [825] planted field wearing a new skirt; she walked through the field wearing a worn skirt and her belief was confirmed when she found that the insect pests were not killed but just fled and returned later. Empiricism is not lacking; the difference between the content of their category of what is rational or reasonable and ours is based on the premises, not the process of reasoning.

773 credit to insects who carried it from the hills. Still another myth synthe-
179 sizes both pre-Conquest and Catholic agents: San Antonio, seeing an in-
178 sect bearing a kernel of corn, persuaded a woodpecker to break open the rock which blocked the entrance to the hill where the corn was stored and then organized the insects to bring forth the corn. The contradictions in these myths do not motivate the people to bring the several versions into line with one another because the rituals associated with beliefs concerning crops provide an overall insurance rather than a specific contract. The In-
776 dians do not trust their security to any one saint or even group of deities.
782 The two candles lit in the milpa following the harvest are an offering to
179 the "owner of the earth"; along with this, offerings of corncobs are made
178 to the saints in the church and to the house saint. Even the birds are left
[825] an offering of corn kernels in the fields after the harvest so that they will not be jealous of the farmer.

773 These myths fail to provide specific charters for action. What they do
771 provide is a set of dispositions to behave in certain ways. The underlying
182 disposition is that of self-imposed guilt and recrimination. The ancestors left their cave because the people failed to give them a fiesta; the spirit of money left the town because the religious officials in the past failed to adorn the church and improvidently strewed the floor with green peso notes in place of pine needles. Sickness and poverty are attributed to their own failures.

771 Another disposition is that of appeasement through ceremonial enter-
796 tainment. This is carried out in the fiestas for the spirits of the church and
731 the spirits of the heaven just as for the spirits of the house, caves, springs,
182 and hills surrounding the town. Community-wide disaster is interpreted as a direct result of failure to perform rituals establishing reciprocity with the spirits. When individuals face crop loss, they review their own ritual obligations to see what went wrong. The curing ceremony is an-
[755] other effort to appease the devil whom the witch has persuaded to give illness to his victim.

771 A third such disposition is to project human conflict into the superna-
776 tural sphere. The conflict between Santa Lucía and the patron saint of Ox-
821 chuk, Santo Tomás was taken to be the reason for the church tower being
182

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Behavior Defined in the Family

Socialization in the family provides the individual with the idiom for behaving in the wider community. The basic principles ordering behavior are respect and obedience toward those who are older, and care for those who are younger. Obedience, expressed by the verb *ĉ'un* which means both to believe (or to be gullible) and to obey, is instilled by cultivating a sense of fear and shame. Fear is communicated by the parent to the child by invoking evil spirits and by the threat or use of punishment, especially whipping with a leather strap. Shame is aroused by ridicule, jeering, and chastising. A good child is a quiet child; questioning is discouraged either by refusing to answer the child or by telling him to keep quiet. The negative aspect of good behavior is stressed. Significantly, the phrase "Behave yourself!" is translated into Spanish as "Don't do anything!" Good behavior is not rewarded either by praise or by gifts. The only public demonstration of affection toward children I have seen is by grandparents toward grandchildren: an elder might give his sweet roll at a ceremony to his grandchild and even fondle him. Parents show affection to youngsters under three years of age, although the last child may be coddled somewhat longer. Mothers and young children show intimacy and affection in delousing each other or combing each others' hair. Kissing is not a sign of intimacy but of formal respect in ceremonies.

Beliefs concerning conception show awareness of both the male and the female contribution to the fetus. The man's sperm (*snal*) enters the womb, *yoʔtan,* (also the word for heart) and mixes with the woman's flow, to bring about conception. The blood of a child is believed to come from its mother and the skin, bones, and brains from the father. During pregnancy, the father must have intercourse with his wife because his sperm nourishes the fetus. This continues right up to the birth of the child. Men too are believed to have wombs, and some men have trouble with "dropped wombs" caused by lifting heavy burdens.

The only people in attendance at the birth of a child are the women of the immediate household, the mother of the woman giving birth if she is not a part of the houshold, and the midwife. Children are kept out of the

858 mother's womb, and they compete for survival with other small
854 babies who live close by (one of the two is likely to die). They
754 are extremely susceptible to the mal de ojo (evil eye)[1] because their souls are tender, and they are, for the same reason, easy victims of witchcraft exercised against their parents. During the first few months of life, they are protected and cared for with innumerable precautions: they are covered up when strangers enter the house, attended at the slightest sign of distress, and
[313] rarely taken out of the sitio. Until another child is born, they sleep with the parents on the same petate (mat) or bed.

855 When a mother is ready to have a new baby, the younger
86 one is given to an elder sister or grandmother with whom it can sleep. The baby is also weaned at this time. The separation of the child from the mother is an open traumatic experience, and parents admit that children get sick and even die as a result of "jealousy." Nevertheless, no direct attempt is made to smooth the emotional disturbances or the developing sibling rivalry in

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[1]The evil eye has been described innumerable times for
[326] Middle America. In the Chiapas Highlands it is a sickness caused
[343] by a person with strong or "hot" eyes, who looks at the victim.
[241] Evil eye "carriers" are not necessarily aware of their power, but some individuals are consciously included in this category: pregnant women, menstruating women, and people with glasses or light eyes, or with very deep set eyes. To avoid giving "mal de ojo," the producer has to touch the person who can be a victim. If a menstruating woman distractedly looks at a small baby, she will immediately put her hand on the baby's forehead, to retrieve from him her power, and not make him sick.

The same procedure of touching the person is done if the other person feels that he is unwillingly "envying" the first one, and can be an unconscious witchcraft mediator. For example, if a married woman without babies sees another woman's baby, she will touch him to show that she is not "envying" the mother, and therefore, there is no danger that she will "steal" the baby's soul or make him sick with her envy.

/2 cont./

614 The chieftaincy of each clan was filled by the oldest man,
887 who was called chunel. (It seems to have the same meaning as
156 the word catinab, but some informants recognized the latter as
the one used in the adjacent municipality of Oxchuc.) The office
was not hereditary, and upon the death of a chunel the oldest man
156 of the clan was venerated as such. The chief of the clan was re-
614 spected and feared, because he was recognized as endowed with
888 supernatural power which, through his lab, he exercised over all
776 the members of the clan. Two informants of advanced age de-
554 fined the chunel as "the oldest one and the greatest sorcerer."
The lab feeds on souls, and a person who has "done wrong" is
776 "eaten" by the lab of the one offended and dies. In this way
761 social control was exercised on and among the members of the
[784] clan, never going beyond the limits of this. The life of the in-
[626] dividual is intimately bound to the life of the lab, or guardian
776 spirit: the death of one brings with it the death of the other. All
the Cancuqueros have their lab, but they hide it and sometimes
[756] deny it. The curer knows which is the lab of the sick person be-
[827] cause "he hears it in the pulse." The lab reveals itself in dreams
[787] to "its owner," with whom it speaks because "it is his own com-
pany." One person discovers the lab of another "because he sees
it." The lab takes care of its owner, defends him, and is the in-
178 strument of revenge for an injury unjustly received. Today this
614 concept is intimately bound up with the omniscience of the patron
626 saint; only with the permission of San Juan can a lab "eat" the
776 soul of a chapomal, or "clan brother," and this permission is
granted only in the case when the saint is unfavorably impressed
by the conduct of the individual. In any case the lab never
wreaks its vengeance except for a bad act that would fully justify
614 it according to the social morality. As can be seen, social con-
626 trol was not only rooted in the chief of the clan, but this function
extended to the whole group, as happens at present.

There is no double standard for extramarital sexual relations, although men abuse the prohibition more often than women, judging from court cases. The ability the women has to assert herself rests on her economic contribution in pottery-making and on the fact that female household help is not part of the labor market.

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People who fail to conform to the customs of the town are said to lack "reason." This category includes those who do not attend to the advice of their elders. People from outside of town who do not behave in conventional patterns are said to be "of another sort." 829 183 196 [609]

Institutionalized patterns of behavior differ as to the degree of explicitness of the association between action and reason. Curing practices are most directly attached to an understanding of why they are performed. Ritual practices in the cult of the spirits are tied to a more general explanatory system in which something should be done "because it was the custom of our ancestors." 183 756 829

Competency. Judgments concerning the intelligence of a person and his ability to adjust to his social and physical environment complement the criteria of morality and reasonableness. Alertness, or intelligence is associated with the possession of more than one soul: a person may have from one to a dozen additional souls. Curers and witches, by virtue of their possession of an animal spirit, are by definition very intelligent. Evaluations of alertness are often made in discussing the personalities of others. In the myth concerning the three brothers and the honey (Chapter 8) God, the Elder Brother, was described as "not very bright," Jesus Christ, the Second Brother, as "a little brighter," and the Holy Ghost, the Youngest Brother as "the brightest." Alertness is usually associated with manipulation for one's own advantage, but is not necessarily antithetical to having a good heart. In the myth mentioned above, the youngest brother outwits his two older brothers to his own advantage, and coincidentally that of the world. 828 [774] [756] [754] [539]

The word *b'ol* is used figuratively to express the opposite of alertness, stupidity. Literally it means one who is mute; the connection is significant. A child born mute is said to have had its soul stolen at birth so that he must exist without speech. The power of speech is highly valued and the prestigeful roles are accorded to those who can speak well in both formal and informal exchanges. It is a dangerous skill, since the ability to talk to the gods gives an advantage to the speaker over the general population. The ability to speak to the earth, a talent which people say the ancestors possessed and which curers in the neighboring town of Chamula still [192] [827] [787]

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787 claim, has been lost, as has been more recently that of speaking with the ancestors. But the curers can still enter into communication with the spirit world and in this lies their power.

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183 Industry is valued along with competency. A man is described as industrious with the words, "he carries much wood well," and a woman with the words, "she carries much sand well." These expressions are a kind of
[196] synechdoche for general industriousness, since the tasks serve as the measure of willingness to perform one's sexually defined roles.

[476] Judgments made in the choice of working "partners" in the exchange
[602] labor system are based on competence in working as well as on considera-
[608] tions of kin and compadrazgo relationship. Women make judgments of
[323] others' skill in pottery-making on the basis of both the appearance of the pot and its durability proved in use and transportation without breakage to market. Both men and women known to be hard workers are admired
[154] and envied. They may consequently become the objects of witchcraft.

828
157 Conceptions of personality are one end product of evaluations of performances and condition people's expectations of individuals in their social environment. For the Indians, personality traits tend to imply other traits.
125 In order to derive a sense of these implications for Tzo?ontahal, I drew up
157 a checklist to identify some of these associations. Informants were asked to
828 state whether each of the traits listed on the top line in Table 30 was correlated positively, negatively, or not at all with each of the same traits listed vertically. A plus (+) sign indicates positive correlation, a minus (—) sign indicates negative correlation, and an equal (=) sign indicates that
157 there was no correlation. Thus being bright is positively correlated with
828 being beautiful and negatively correlated with being evil, fearful, lazy, foolish, gullible, braggardly, gossipy, and miserly. There is no connection between being bright and being of good heart, aggressive, or honorable. This suggests that the heart and the mind are independent loci for a set of traits that stem from them. Metaphors such as bitter, acid, and straight, when used to describe personality, are similar in connotation to those used in English. As in English, immediate sensory experiences of taste and vision provide by extension a means of talking about character.

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551 In studying these personality traits, I sensed that "being" was "doing" things in certain repetitive ways. This impression is corroborated by the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 286]

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P 464-B] Teklum

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Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick.

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A good man is of one heart, and he shows it by his humility. *ben k'un yo?tan* or "very soft heart." He can drink with friends on either side of the dual division of the town, and he is called upon in many household fiestas to greet the guests of the house-owner.

But the man who is "very strong of heart," *ben toyol yo?tan*, who "fails to take people into account," *ma ?awa ta kwenta*, who "abuses people," *me ya wut*, has means of survival despite the many threats to his life. He surrounds himself with a circle of *compadres*, or godparents; he especially picks out curers, both to mitigate the use of their power against him, and for them to serve as intermediaries if he should have enemies with animal spirits. When a threat becomes imminent, he may stay within his house or limit his range of activities to a very circumscribed area, always taking a weapon when he does go out. He will usually try to limit his drinking, or give it up entirely. These short-range rules of avoidance are clearly indicated by the circumstances in which killings occur: in the hills or at night, when the victim is under the influence of liquor.

[608]
[756]
[273]

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These 37 cases of homicide reveal a regularity in the kinds of people and situations involved. The victims are most often men who assert power, principally curers, or men who violate standards of behavior by abusiveness or theft. Their killers are often linked to them by kinship or neighborhood, the bonds in which tensions are greatest. The regularity of time and place of homicide suggests the precautions that can be taken to avoid being killed if one has an enemy. The general failure of the community social-control agents to bring negative sanctions against a killer indicates that homicide is an accepted solution for interpersonal conflict. The structural setting that validates this behavior is discussed below.

[578]
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II. STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Case analysis, useful for discerning certain patterns, is inadequate for understanding the interrelationships among a variety of social changes in the community. An increasing rate of homicide of this magnitude indicates fundamental changes in the social matrix in which individual decisions are made: it suggests not

577 887 sion: "I pay respect to my elders. I greet my brothers and my children [extension of kinship terms]. To all I give respect. Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick."

577 [574] 196 [576] A good man is a generous host, expressed in the phrase, "he gives many tortillas." He serves his community in public office but avoids the appearance of seeking power or self-aggrandizement. When he gives orders, it is in a soft, low tone, supplicating rather than ordering with the phrase, "If you would please lend a hand." He gives thanks readily for any service rendered both to God and to his fellow man. He avoids any show of [578] anger, and is always careful to show consideration of others. Those who are of "another heart" or "two-hearted" are the opposite, seeking disputes, "thinking small," "being miserly," and of a "very black soul."

[754] The heightened awareness of the state of the heart of others comes from the ever-present fear of witchcraft. Since the people feel their survival depends upon perception of evil heart before it strikes, they develop an acute sense of the behavioral clues that indicate its presence.

829 183 [192] [828] *Conformity and deviance.* Conventional or preferred behavior is characterized as "reasonable." The phrase "?ič rason," to take reason or understanding, is applied to a child who is expected to have reason at the age of twelve years or so, as well as to the arrival at agreement of competing parties, as in the case of betrothal.

Reasonable behavior is any behavior conforming to socially accepted understandings of what the world is. These include what a person of non-Indian culture might characterize as beliefs based on faith. They "know" [776] that there are hill spirits, wood spirits who cut off people's heads, and men who transform themselves into animals. Occasionally they subject given 813 understandings to empirical tests: one woman tested the belief that a [241] woman could rid the milpa of insect pests only by walking through a [825] planted field wearing a new skirt; she walked through the field wearing a worn skirt and her belief was confirmed when she found that the insect pests were not killed but just fled and returned later. Empiricism is not lacking; the difference between the content of their category of what is rational or reasonable and ours is based on the premises, not the process of reasoning.

People who fail to conform to the customs of the town are said to lack "reason." This category includes those who do not attend to the advice of their elders. People from outside of town who do not behave in conventional patterns are said to be "of another sort."

Institutionalized patterns of behavior differ as to the degree of explicitness of the association between action and reason. Curing practices are most directly attached to an understanding of why they are performed. Ritual practices in the cult of the spirits are tied to a more general explanatory system in which something should be done "because it was the custom of our ancestors."

Competency. Judgments concerning the intelligence of a person and his ability to adjust to his social and physical environment complement the criteria of morality and reasonableness. Alertness, or intelligence is associated with the possession of more than one soul: a person may have from one to a dozen additional souls. Curers and witches, by virtue of their possession of an animal spirit, are by definition very intelligent. Evaluations of alertness are often made in discussing the personalities of others. In the myth concerning the three brothers and the honey (Chapter 8) God, the Elder Brother, was described as "not very bright," Jesus Christ, the Second Brother, as "a little brighter," and the Holy Ghost, the Youngest Brother as "the brightest." Alertness is usually associated with manipulation for one's own advantage, but is not necessarily antithetical to having a good heart. In the myth mentioned above, the youngest brother outwits his two older brothers to his own advantage, and coincidentally that of the world.

The word *b'ol* is used figuratively to express the opposite of alertness, stupidity. Literally it means one who is mute; the connection is significant. A child born mute is said to have had its soul stolen at birth so that he must exist without speech. The power of speech is highly valued and the prestigeful roles are accorded to those who can speak well in both formal and informal exchanges. It is a dangerous skill, since the ability to talk to the gods gives an advantage to the speaker over the general population. The ability to speak to the earth, a talent which people say the ancestors possessed and which curers in the neighboring town of Chamula still

827
787 claim, has been lost, as has been more recently that of speaking with the ancestors. But the curers can still enter into communication with the spirit world and in this lies their power.

461 Industry is valued along with competency. A man is described as indus-
183 trious with the words, "he carries much wood well," and a woman with the words, "she carries much sand well." These expressions are a kind of
[196] synechdoche for general industriousness, since the tasks serve as the measure of willingness to perform one's sexually defined roles.

[476] Judgments made in the choice of working "partners" in the exchange
[602] labor system are based on competence in working as well as on considera-
[608] tions of kin and compadrazgo relationship. Women make judgments of
[323] others' skill in pottery-making on the basis of both the appearance of the pot and its durability proved in use and transportation without breakage to market. Both men and women known to be hard workers are admired
[154] and envied. They may consequently become the objects of witchcraft.

828 Conceptions of personality are one end product of evaluations of per-
157 formances and condition people's expectations of individuals in their social environment. For the Indians, personality traits tend to imply other traits.
125 In order to derive a sense of these implications for Tzo?ontahal, I drew up
157 a checklist to identify some of these associations. Informants were asked to
828 state whether each of the traits listed on the top line in Table 30 was correlated positively, negatively, or not at all with each of the same traits listed vertically. A plus (+) sign indicates positive correlation, a minus (—) sign indicates negative correlation, and an equal (=) sign indicates that
157 there was no correlation. Thus being bright is positively correlated with
828 being beautiful and negatively correlated with being evil, fearful, lazy, foolish, gullible, braggardly, gossipy, and miserly. There is no connection between being bright and being of good heart, aggressive, or honorable. This suggests that the heart and the mind are independent loci for a set of traits that stem from them. Metaphors such as bitter, acid, and straight, when used to describe personality, are similar in connotation to those used in English. As in English, immediate sensory experiences of taste and vision provide by extension a means of talking about character.

157 In studying these personality traits, I sensed that "being" was "doing"
551 things in certain repetitive ways. This impression is corroborated by the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 286]

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TABLE 30. Personality Traits and Their Implications*

	Bright	*Beautiful*	*Good heart*	*Soft heart*	*Aggressive*	*Evil*	*Industrious*	*Fearful*	*Lazy*	*Foolish*	*Gullible*	*Gossipy*	*Miserly*	*Upright*	*Braggardly*
Bright		+	=	=	−	−	=	−	−	−	−	=	−	=	−
Beautiful	+		=	=	−	−	=	=	−	−	=	−	−	=	−
Good heart	=	+		+	−	−	=	=	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Soft heart	=	=	+		−	−	=	=	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Aggressive	=	=	=	−		+	=	−	+	=	=	−	=	−	=
Evil	−	−	−	−	+		=	−	−	−	−	=	+	−	=
Industrious	=	=	=	=	=	=		=	−	−	=	=	=	=	=
Fearful	−	=	=	=	−	−	=		=	=	=	=	=	=	=
Lazy	−	−	−	−	=	=	−	=		=	=	−	−	−	+
Foolish	−	−	−	−	=	=	−	=	−		−	−	−	−	−
Gullible	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	=	=	−		+	+	−	−
Gossipy	−	−	−	−	=	+	−	−	=	=	+		+	−	=
Miserly	−	−	−	−	=	+	=	=	−	−	+	+		−	+
Upright	=	=	+	+	−	−	=	=	−	−	−	−	−		−
Braggardly	=	−	−	−	=	=	−	−	=	=	=	+	+	−	

* Response of one informant.
+ Positive corelation
= No corelation
− Negative corelation

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828

old and do not have as much opportunity to project their personalities in larger than life terms. Ladinas of the neighboring towns are given nicknames: Me? Sobol for example, was named for her habit of saying when she was drunk, "No soy bola" (I am not drunk); Me? C'ič'el, meaning Mother Blood, was applied to a woman who sold blood of slaughtered animals. 157 551

Behavior is not believed to be totally dependent on innate traits, and the Indians emphasize the socialization processes. A badly behaved youth was said in court to "behave as though he did not have a mother," and to lack fear of his parents. The sense of shame and fear begin at home, and the community relies on the family to instill these controlling influences on behavior. 861 [828]

Notions of Justice and Compensation

Notions of immanent justice, whether acquired from the priest or indigenous beliefs, are peripheral to the morality system. Crimes should be paid for not in suffering, guilt, or remorse, but in fines exacted by the communal authority. Every crime has its price, and most people agree that it is good to be able to pay in money and be exonerated. The scale of values assigned in the fines for crimes is some index to the relative weight given them: 577 687 685

Stealing a bull: 500 to 1,200 pesos, depending on value of bull.
Stealing a turkey: 40 to 70 pesos, depending on value of turkey.
Stealing a horse: 300 to 500 pesos, depending on value of horse.

The range of fines for each act of theft indicates that justice is exacted on the basis of market value of the item stolen. The fine for murder is 1,600 to 3,000 pesos or two to eight years in prison when a killer is captured by the federal authorities. Local authorities rarely try to find the killer. In the thirty-seven cases of homicide analyzed in the period from 1938 to 1965 (Table 29)[1] only two resulted in federal action. 682

People express doubt about the priest's warning that those who do evil will reap the wages of sin in this life or the next regardless of whether they are found guilty. The pragmatic basis for this conclusion is revealed 577 [682]

1 (see pp.245-247..Analyst)

these role-bearers have other functions to perform, but the term specifies the most significant of these. Other people may unofficially perform these acts but only the officially appointed person has the other prerequisites for and duties of the role.

3. Recruitment into roles depends on age and sex qualifications. Validation of the role emphasizes, in addition to these ascribed characteristics, innate capacity rather than acquired ability. For example, the curers who are respected are assumed to have been born with an animal spirit, while those who are believed to have acquired it are suspected of being witches. Similarly, high civil officials are expected to be innately clever, not just trained for office.

4. Evaluation of performance emphasizes the state of the heart and qualifies judgments of the person according to characteristics of the mind and of the soul. The heart governs emotions such as contentment or inner turmoil and determines the moral relations a person has with others. The mind enables a man to deal effectively in his instrumental activities so that he can speak and work well. Possession of a second soul means that one is clever and capable, but it is the third soul which gives power over the life and death of others. The exchange of evaluations about others is a crucial area of concern in the tense atmosphere dominated by fear of whichcraft. In the belief that their very survival depends upon knowledge of the intent of others before it is expressed in witchcraft, the people constantly consult with relatives, compadres, neighbors, or the curers, in order to anticipate changes in their relations with others.

5. Sanctions against behavior that fails to meet role expectations depend on the seriousness of the crime rather than on the attitude of the criminal. This means that compensation relieves the wrong-doer of any guilt burden. Most compensation, even for homicide, can be translated into cash payment.

6. Ceremonial behavior in everyday interaction as well as in ritual serves to limit the personal involvement in the encounter and to emphasize the role category. This is particularly emphasized in the initial stage of the encounter. Liquor and cigarettes introduce a more informal behavior in which the etiquette of reserve can be relaxed.

178 it is still functioning in the context of the witchcraft conflict.
794
754 So, although the fact that the Alferez has disappeared as a post
[177] can be taken as a sign of acculturation, it is also a reflection of differential adjustment to internal conflict.

000 Witchcraft itself is a complex phenomenon. It reflects the economic domain, in the sense that witchcraft accusations are important sanctions applied to people who try to deviate from the economic standards of the community. It reflects the kinship domain, insofar as relational roles existing within the kinship frame, in which conflict is likely to occur, are likely targets for witchcraft talk and mutual accusations. It is a territorial domain phenomenon because spatial relations between people affect their social relations and the appearance of conflict: it is common, we have mentioned, that people living on the edges of town tend to be accused of witchcraft more often, and neighbors of the household are expected to be more prone to bewitch household members than people living further away. Finally, it is a psychological phenomenon, insofar as it reflects individual personalities and/or mental distress. Some people show extreme fear of it, and some people doubt its existence (there are agnostics in every society). Some curers, who are individuals with very unstable personalities, are even willing to denounce themselves as witches with the purpose of having others fear them or respect them.
[754] People whom we, in our culture, would consider mentally ill, are
[828] classified as witches in Aguacatenango and Amatenango.

On the one hand, it can be said that witchcraft is a residual category for the explanation of otherwise unexplainable

614 /1/ Cancuc is a Tzeltal town of Chiapas, Mexico, whose
[101] social organization is based on exogamous patrilineal clans.
[776] These clans are intimately related to: 1) the nagual or guardian
[551] spirit, which is given the name of lab among the Indians of this
[613] region; 2) the native surnames that constitute the lineages within
[621] the clans; 3) the "barrios," as the Spanish chroniclers called the endogamous tribal subdivisions (called calpulli among the Aztecs and culibal in Cancuc); 4) the kinship system; and 5) the behavior.

614 All the individuals belonging to a clan consider themselves
601 "legitimate siblings" /Sp. "hermanos legítimos"/, using the terms that designate this class of relatives. This theoretical consanguineous kinship is expressed by means of the word chapomal -- a Cancuquero /a person from Cancuc/ calls another "brother" be-
614 cause he is his chapomal. This form of usage is indicative of
601 common ancestry, something that we were not able to clarify, as
124 our questions on this point only received answers that showed that
829 they had lost any notion of a real or mythical ancestor. Our informants invariably explained this situation with the expressions: "it is the custom," "San Juan /Saint John/ (Patron Saint of Cancuc) ordered it so," or "it was ordered by Manuel (God)." What does constitute a clear concept in the minds of all is that "formerly" each clan lived in a cave, from which its members went out in the form of human beings to populate the earth and in which lived the naguales, or lab, that bound them to their place of origin.
[075] The soul came back to this cave after death. There are as many caves as the number of clans.

614 The children belonged to the paternal clan. A woman who marries does not become a member of the clan of her husband.

/2/ Exogamy is strictly respected; persons belonging to the same clan never marry each other.

[591] The clans are not local, as their members live in all of the places and rancherías.

[178] At present the clans lack chiefs, this institution having dis-
[669] appeared about 30 years ago, according to all our information, when the zone that we are studying underwent a chaotic period due to political revolts.

/5 cont./

551 614 The great majority of the native surnames could not be translated by our informants, who asserted that they did not signify anything in the Tzeltal language. Those for which we could obtain the meaning are: Chan ... snake, of the Ijká clan; Chij ... deer, of the Chik clan; Uax ... wildcat, of the Boj clan; Chikin ... ear, of the Chik clan; and Lot ... lie /Sp. mentira, lie, story, error/, of the Ijká clan.

428 424 551 613 614 The surnames are inherited through the paternal line and constitute the lineages within each clan. The lands formerly belonged to the lineage and could not be alienated. This custom is tending to disappear in recent times, but even today we have found several cases in which only an individual belonging to the lineage can occupy land that has been left without an owner when one has died without leaving male descendants.

166 551 553 614 A native from another municipality or group who comes to Cancuc with the aim of settling down in it must be incorporated into one of the clans, for which it is necessary to change his native surname for a Cancuc one. (The different native groups of this central region of the State of Chiapas have surnames that differ among themselves, and it is through them that their place of origin is shown.) Generally he keeps the Spanish surname and takes a native surname that in Cancuc corresponds to that. One Gómez Tzima from Oxchuc became Gómez Uotán of the Chejeb clan of Cancuc. One Aguilar belongs to the Chik clan, like all the Aguilar of Cancuc. One Santis Kujul, the small son of an Oxchuquero and a woman from Cancuc, gave up his surname from Oxchuc when his father died and his mother's family incorporated him into the Ijká clan, changing the native surname Kujul for that of Lul, "so that he will be from here, and have his chapomales here, and marry here," his maternal aunt of the Chik clan explained to us. These cases are rare. We could not find out before whom these incorporations are carried out. One informant, born [829] in Cancuc, whose paternal grandfather /6/ had come from the municipality of Tenejapa, told us that he had heard his father say that "in the old times the old people arranged that."

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1936) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

a marriage was incestuous in the same sense as marriage between close relations. 582
These surnames are transmitted patrilineally. Of ten informants in Chanal, nine 551
gave their Indian surnames; the tenth said he had none. Furthermore, in cases [611]
where potential spouses have the same Spanish surname but different Indian [179]
surnames—and such cases occur—marriage between such persons is similarly discouraged. And in San Martin, Tenango, Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo, where apparently the Indian surnames do not exist, Villa received information to the effect that marriage between persons of the same Spanish surname is disapproved."

Indian surnames noted by Villa, with translations offered him, follow: 551

CHANAL: Yemuc (large mouth), Xampil, Tiib, Calabal, Chicó, Cories, Comistal.
TENEJAPA: Tzurin (sowing?), Hovilizil (mad dog), Uacax (cow), Chacax (?), Mee-mut (mother hen), Bobal (banana), Ton (stone).
CANCUC: Oxom, Say, Chig-yax, Coreta, Caxlan-pucú, Hokob-canela.
OXCHUC: Chinbac (small bone), Aquilan (from Aquilar), Chichol (tomato), Barsen (*pinto*), Nimail (squash-tip), Holchi (deer head).

In all the highland villages information was given to the effect that each 621
pueblo (town, with its rural population, if any) is endogamous; in most instances the endogamy was represented as absolute. As some of the communities include only a few score of households, the matter requires further investigation.

The communities of Cancuc, Oxchuc, and Bachajón (and apparently only [184]
these) are divided into antagonistic sub-communities called *calpules*. (Neither Starr nor Blom and LaFarge give information on this point.) In each case an 621
imaginary east-west line across the plaza divides the northern lands of the one 829
calpul from the southern lands of the other. In Cancuc (at least) the lands of 823
the north are considered "hot," those of the south "cold," with corresponding favorable and unfavorable connotations as to their fertility. In Cancuc the 621
northern calpul is called either *muhul calpul* 'large calpul' or else *alankuluhibal*; the southern is called *bikit calpul* 'small calpul' or else *kalankuluhibal*. Each calpul (*barrio* to the Ladinos) had its own government, established by the members of each calpul independently of the formal local government, which, recognized by the state and national authorities, acts for both calpules in matters that must be taken to the outside authorities. In Oxchuc the calpul officers are one *presidente*, two *alcaldes* or *cantakines*, two *gobernadores*, two *catinab* 'very respected chiefs,'

"Among the Lacandons there are patrilineal, totemically named kinships grouped into two exogamous phratries (Soustelle, 1936); it is likely that among the ancient Maya of Yucatan there was surname exogamy. Landa says (Section XXIV), " . . . the Indians consider all of the same name related, and treat them accordingly. . . . Thus also no man or woman marries another of the same name, because this was for them a great infamy" (Gates, 1937, p. 40). Landa also says (Section XXV), " . . . nor did they ever marry one bearing their own name on the father's side, for this was considered a very bad thing." On the subject of Maya names, Roys says, "The Maya family name, which was perpetuated in the male line, survived the Conquest, but the old pagan pre-names were abolished and replaced by Spanish Christian names when the Indians were baptized. Two varieties of pre-names are well known: one indicating a man's profession or office, and the other, derived from his mother and preceded by the prefix Na-. The Maya called the latter the 'mad' and there were also two other classes of pre-names, which they called the 'boy-name' and the 'jesting name.' Many of the 'boy-names' are referable to fauna-names, especially those of birds, while some of the 'jesting names' appear to be descriptive. It seems to have been possible for a single person to have borne all four names" (Roys, 1934, p. 106). [171]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

443 ket of Tenejapa. Other commercial centers are Ocosingo, Chilon, and Yajalon in the north. These markets are also frequented by Ladinos, but others, located far from the cabecera, are exclusively for Indians. The most important of them is the Saturday market of Yochib near Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc. It draws 300–400 natives, who arrive at dawn carrying agricultural and handcraft products. Most people come from 8 to 10 in the morning, after which they begin to depart; about 2 or 3 P.M. only those staying to drink chicha are left. Transactions
[437] are paid in trade or in money.

Wage Work

464 Because the cold climate and the rugged topography of the region produce little corn, the natives must work periodically as day laborers on the coffee plantations of the Soconusco area on the Pacific coast. About 7000 Tzeltal and a few more Tzotzil work there each year. Natives may go to the coffee plantations any time of the year but prefer to do so during the months the milpa requires less attention (either after planting or after harvest). Between Yajalon and Ocosingo are plantations where men from the neighboring villages are hired for short periods.

Use of Wealth

556 578 829 183 Because of their social organization, it is very difficult for these Indians to accumulate wealth. The worst sin an individual can commit against the community is to store up crops, domestic animals, or clothes, or simply to build a better house. Whatever
[754] raises an individual above his fellows—buying a new house, improving an old one, buying a horse—can cause in them a deep fear of being the target of witchcraft (Villa Rojas, 1947).

556 829 183 Those who, enjoying good health, are able to pile up some wealth, are obliged by the community to spend it in banquets and amusements for the community. It is believed that the old men and principales

[P. 213-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

556 829 183 know, with the aid of the *naguales* (supernatural spirits), about the wealth each member of the group has; those who have more than necessary must pay for the expenses of fiestas, etc.

Social Organization

Kinship

614 613 The basic elements of the clan system of the ancient Maya can still be found in the most conservative groups. At the present time, the kinship system is divided into patrilineal clans, which are divided into [177] patrilineages. In some cases, the name of the clan is of Spanish origin; the name of the lineage, of indigenous origin. In Oxchuc there are six clans whose names are: Gómez, Santis, López, Méndez, Encines, and Rodríguez. The first two clans are the largest, since the Gómez clan has 37 lineages, the Santis 39. The last two are almost disappearing as they have only one or two lineages. Among the indigenous names for lineages are: Ichilok, Nimail, Akux, Cojton, Chic, Molox, Nich, Antun, Chisná, Tíb, and Mulesh. These designate names of animals, plants, or objects.

A man whose name is Juan Gómez Nich, for example, belongs to the Gómez clan and to the Nich lineage. Generally, the name of the lineage is enough to show to which clan somebody belongs; if his name is Juan Nich, it is immediately known that he is from the Gómez clan. This special characteristic of the indigenous name is designated by the word *Jol s'bij*, which means "head of the name."

[184] In Cancuc (a community next to Oxchuc) clans have special names, such as Chik, Chejeb, Ijká, and Boj. If the indigenous name is known, the clan name is self-evident. The Spanish name has lost its specific function, and, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, pp. 4–5), there are Indians who do not even remember it. However, the Spanish surname designates exogamic units of a patrilineal type throughout the region; without

[P. 213-B]

[Text continues on p. 214-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Chapter XII

THE OCOSINGO VALLEY

The name Ocosingo is Aztec, signifying the "Place of Pines," a name well chosen, for the valley is enclosed in pine-clad hills. When one stands at the southwestern end of the valley it stretches out in front like a huge natural stadium with the high San Martín mountain lying at the back. The northern and southern sides of the valley consist of two parallel rows of mountains, the inner rows being lower than the outer. The interior ranges slope towards the valley and turn nearly vertical cliff walls towards the very narrow valleys that separate them from the exterior mountains (fig. 196).

The interior ranges are broken up in many points, and this the Maya took advantage of, selecting the highest points for pyramids.

The floor of the valley is grass covered, with scattered groups of pine trees. Here and there lie ranches, mostly inhabited by Mexicans, called Ladinos here. The Ladino is, strictly speaking, a man of mixed Indian and Spanish blood, but the Indians use the term to indicate any Mexican or Spaniard who lives in a town or owns a larger ranch. With the name generally goes a certain amount of education, and the ability to read and write.

Ocosingo town now contains only about 500 inhabitants, living in whitewashed brick houses with red tiled roofs. In the center of the town is a Plaza, at one end of which lies the Palacio Municipal, and at the other end a huge Spanish Colonial church. In front of the church is the public fountain; the water and news supply of the town. All day long girls come here to fill large clay jugs with cool water, led down from the San Martín mountain through an underground canal.

Half of the Plaza is planted with trees, which surround a dilapidated music pavilion, without which no self-respecting Mexican village could exist.

The houses that face the Plaza all have colonnades where one may walk in the shade, and where families bring their rocking chairs in the evenings to sit and watch the crowds of as many as twenty-five men and women who walk around the pavilion, or to look at the horses and cows that feed on the grass growing exuberantly between the paving stones of the Plaza.

The Ocosingo Valley and many smaller valleys adjoining formerly supported large herds of cattle and had considerable trade.

[Text continues on p. 247]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Revolutions have since destroyed the herds, and the town now has only a small local trade in sugar and rum. 233

All goods are transported on mule-back over bad trails. Main trails run to Yajalon, San Cristóbal las Casas, and Comitan. Minor trails connect with Tenosique in Tabasco, a ride of five or six days through uninhabited forests. Other small trails lead into the heart of the forests along the Usumacinta river, where there are a few mahogany camps, fourteen days distance on a good mule. 492 491 [313]

The Spanish Conquerors had quickly discovered the richness of the soil and taken possession of it. Therefore, we find but a few Indians around Ocosingo, save at the small town of Sivacá, entirely inhabited by Tzeltal-speaking Indians. From there we secured our labourers, who were summoned by the municipal president and worked for us at the regulation pay of 50 centavos per day. Ocosingo holds sway over the native towns of Sivacá, Tenango, Oschuc, San Martín, and Bachajon. The municipality commands the Indians for all kinds of work, and in many ways lives on what can be pressed from them. As a consequence, the good people of Ocosingo are anything but popular among the Indians, though it appears that the man then in charge, Señor Simon Leon, was quite friendly towards them, and therefore well liked. 175 134 563 [714] 661 829

Geologically, the Ocosingo Valley is a syncline, the valley bottom and the interior mountain ranges being of a coarse red sandstone, and the exterior ranges of limestone. The axis of the valley runs approximately N-80-W to S-80-E, and Ocosingo town is located at an altitude of 900 meters above sea level. 133 [135]

As we rode into the village, La Farge discovered a stone block, carved with hieroglyphs, set in the pavement of the sidewalk, an excellent reception for archaeologists. 172

Our first concern was to find quarters, which we located in a house on the corner of a street leading into the Plaza. Soon our equipment was unloaded, and while we unpacked, the Ladino guide we had acquired in Bachajon went to his house to order food for us. 114 [122]

The restaurant and meal were a surprise, though not pleasant. In a room with a rotten board floor, the plaster falling off the walls, and a huge box full of saints, we were served fried eggs and black beans by an old woman with a large goitre. Though nothing in the house appeared to be either particularly exclusive or clean, the Ladino family seemed to resent that we sat down at the table with our chief guide, the trusty old Indian, Lázaro, now called "Tata" by us.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

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hacienda, are held liable for a certain amount of labour each year, in lieu of rent. Should one of them fail to do his share, the owners are considered free to arrest him and bring him in. While so working, they are paid, largely in credit at the local store, and fed. On the haciendas with regular village establishments, and in other parts of Mexico, this system has worked smoothly in the past, because the workers found themselves cared and provided for, corn laid up for the future, money or credit ready for festive occasions, and so forth. But the more independent Bachajones seem amply able to take care of themselves, and do not relish working for a ranch miles from their homes, even when they acknowledge its ownership of the jungle in which they dwell.

The payment of labour is seen again in relations of the Indians with the Government, which holds them liable to road-mending and municipal work, as a form of tax. Commonly, crimes are also punished by fines of such work. The system is irregularly applied. For instance, some Indians from Cancuc, who were carrying part of our outfit to San Cristóbal, were held up for two hours road-work at one point. Every Indian that came that way was similarly held. Starr (1902) reports the same experience. In San Cristóbal the right to collect any Indian for labor has been so abused as materially to harm the trade of the town. Quite serious crimes, as long as only committed by one Indian against another, are relatively lightly punished in this manner. It may be said, as far as concerns the tax-*corvée*, that the right of the Indians to go home again before staying away long enough to cause their crops to suffer is generally recognized, and the Indians themselves know when it is time to announce that they must leave. The whole system, however, leads to a certain amount of hard feeling on the Indians' part.

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FIG. 283—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon men.

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Interwoven with these specific factors must be considered the Ladino's general attitude towards the Indian. To him, especially the town-dweller, the natives are barbarous in all respects, legiti-

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5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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648 mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

• 829 The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We received many small favours and [123] acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

FIG. 203—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

241 In their culture these people [181] belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend [433] primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the [291] staple crop. Calabashes, melons, [301] beans, tobacco, bananas, and cotton are raised. The farming is [302] carried on by the same wasteful "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old [178] Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment [166] of many cities. In the case of the Bachajon, it has already become one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn 262 boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates 252 which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and 411 weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but al- 412 ways made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most 184 amazing industries in the world. 177

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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out by a small group bearing a grudge, although in this case the 648
tribe as a whole stands more solidly back of the offenders.

The Bachajon exhibit internal dissension and strife to an un- 628
usual degree. There are many small, outlying sub-groups, some of which are more or less openly at war with the main body. In the description of Zona Sala oil camp (Chapter VIII) something has already been said of the settlement there of men driven away on account of the misbehaviour. They still call themselves Bachajon and maintain some slight intercourse with the tribe, although they are quite inimical in their attitude towards Indians passing through on the way to Palenque. There are other such settlements in different parts of the jungle, although these, having most recently split off, are the most hostile.

What group loyalty the Bachajon have centers around the de- 621
serted village that bears their name. It was described at the begin- 609
ning of this chapter. Founded under compulsion, deserted whenever possible, its church and Cabildo in ruins, none the less it is their focal point, jealously guarded from intrusion. These Indians have had the same experience as our own; the European comes first as a visitor, then a few settle for trade, then comes a host in their footsteps, until soon there is no place for the Indian, and he finds himself an intruder in his own home. Against this sequence of events, so common in our history, the Bachajon protect their land by an attitude of unremitting hostility. Travellers may pass through, but no trader may set up even a lean-to bower under which to display his wares, save during the few days of their main fiestas, although it would be a great convenience for them to have a store nearer than Ocosingo.

The destruction of the Spanish-built church and Cabildo, with 829
the substitution for them of native edifices, is curious. The feeling probably is that when they do congregate in their capital for a fiesta, they do not wish to be confronted by evidences of alien domination.

The strongest actual unit is that of the individual family, the 593
man, his wife, and children. Indians who are forced, for one reason 594
or another, to go into hiding in the jungle, will run great risks to return and fetch their wives and children. Even beyond this smallest 602
group there is a little feeling, a man's relatives by marriage or blood 627
often joining to support him in a feud, or to revenge a wrong done him. Similarly, the relatives of the individual who committed the [672]
wrong are held in some degree liable to punishment, although there is no formal rule of collective responsibility, the action taken depending largely on individual inclination.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

796 178 However, much hinges on the difficult question of whether or not they still possess the old calendar, without which the divination would be impossible. This will be spoken of again. On the whole, the Tzeltal do not show anything like the robust survivals of old religion that are found in Guatemala; in this respect, also, they have retained only a degenerated form.

776 756 Concerning the attitude of the Indian towards his *nagual,* two stories may be told that have a certain interest. The first is an incident which occurred to us at Cacate-el, the ranch of Señor Tovilla in the Bachajon country. A Bachajon came in to complain that another Indian was casting spells on his fields and chickens. The other had taken a piece of dirt from his cornfield, so as "to gain consent of the guardian" (see above). He was making the corn wither and the chickens die. His power lay in his *nagual,* a *leon colorado* (*saxal-tcoq*), the most powerful that one can have. The Indian who complained had some much weaker familiar. We gave him a brilliant chromo of Saint Jerome with his lion; not only because St. Jerome is the patron of the Bachajon, but also because of the lion, obviously to him the Saint's *nagual,* which anyone could see was larger and more powerful than any known to the Indians. With this picture set up in his house, he felt that he could rest in safety. [123]

Señor Tovilla also passed on to us a story told him for true by an educated and trustworthy upper-class Mexican, an *abogado* (somewhat corresponding to the English solicitor). It is interesting for showing what is commonly believed even by the European people, although somewhat hard to accept. This man stopped at a Bachajon house, wherein he saw two old men sitting with their backs to each other, and two dogs fighting furiously on the floor. When he asked why they did not stop the fight, one of them answered:

"Our *naguales* are in those dogs, and my friend (*sic*) and I are fighting."

He went on to relate that, after the dogs gave up from exhaustion, both the men's faces were covered with black and blue marks.

[829] The Indians and their medicine men have succeeded to a remarkable degree in impressing the Ladinos with the reality and power of their magic, although it seems to be generally felt that it can only be used against themselves. Several very extraordinary stories were told to us by trustworthy people of more than the usual intelligence, and we were occasionally surprised at the reluctance of educated Ladinos to give information concerning native shamanism.

Because of the close relationship, the Indians try to keep secret their *nagual* lest an enemy should start hunting for it. Moreover,

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The dimensions of contrast are not simple here, since there is involved as well /H-TUL YAN LUM/, "one of another pueblo" in reference as well to persons other than ladinos. Furthermore, an immediate contrast that suggests itself to the [829] informants when differentiating themselves from ladinos is:

/H-TUL LUMAL/	/KAXLAN/
/POBR-ETIK/	/K'ULEHETIK/
"the poor ones"	"the rich ones"

[756] Among other forms of the class is a series which represents alternative terms for a single group of people, i.e., native curers:

/H-*UL~H-POXTAWAN(EH)~H-*AK'-POX/~/H-ME*TIK+TATIK/

which while possibly distinctive (we are unprepared to say until our studies of Tzeltal medicine have proceeded further), share the characteristic performance /PIK C'IC'/ "pulsing." A contrasting form /H-*OKTOR/, "doctor," marks a curer who does not know how to pulse, but who instead gives "consultations." The form /*OKTOR/ differs from the others in this subset in that it may also be used as a modifier, as in /*OKTOR PEYRO/, "Dr. Pedro" (in reference to an Indian nurse) and /*OKTOR+KAXLAN/, "ladino doctor."

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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tions of self will find a responsive audience only within these linguistic and physical boundaries. The sense of insulation is a denial of regional and national political institutions in which they interact with the other Indians and Ladinos who are part of their present world and share their history. The town itself is a product of the Spanish colonial *congregación,* which drew together diverse Indian populations that had been scattered in small settlements. The outlying barrios are occupied by Indians who have moved out from the center, as well as foreign Indians who had worked in the *fincas,* or large plantations, within the township. These latter people are referred to by a derisive term, *Kurik,* meaning roughly "country hick." Beyond these, and still within the municipal limits, there are a series of *colonias,* settlements populated by Indians who have moved here from other towns and by *mestizos,* or acculturated Indians. These settlers acquired land in the time of Juarez or later in the Cardenas period. Ladino men are called *Kaślan* and women *Šinlan;* foreigners who do not appear to be of the country are called *Alemán,* the Spanish term for German.

The focus of this book is on the lives and thoughts of people living within the center. The people of Tzoʾontahal live in a square world, surrounded by a round universe. From the square hole, cut in the earth at the center post of their square house to receive the sacrifice of a live chicken when the house is built, stretches a square village (it appears as a rectangle on the map, but they draw it as a square).[2] The fields are measured in squares of twenty-five arms' breadths, with five handspans measuring the square between each plant. Within this square world, they have elaborated techniques for dealing with spiritual and human co-residents in curing rituals, offerings for crops, burial practices, and baptism rites. Their present cultural stock reveals a selective absorption of Spanish colonial features along with twentieth-century innovations. They have techniques for planting and harvesting milpa, marketing the pottery manufactured in all the households, curing an eclipse of the moon, divining causes of illness and curing the maladjusted social relations which cause it, manufacturing and

2. This view of the world as square is shared by Tzeltal and Tzotzil neighbors in Larráinzar (Holland 1963:69), San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:254), and Pinola (Hermitte 1964). The four-direction concept of the village and world noted by Landa (Tozzer 1941:135) suggests a square-space concept.

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12 a given culture, and that real behavior is a not always successful attempt to approximate those ideals. This formulation has proved inadequate because the actors have a number of ideas as to what appropriate behavior is, and the permissible range of behavior varies in each setting. In questioning informants about the divergences between the account I elicited prior to an event and the acts I observed, I was able to sort out these kinds of variation from those which indicate adaptation or social change.

121 Past events in the history of the community, selected, described, and interpreted by the participants in those events, provide a framework for analyzing structural and social change. Deviation from the norms is not in itself an index to social change, as Faron (1964:202ff.) and others have pointed out. The impetus to social change depends upon awareness of dissonance between the way things are done and social goals. Past events are assigned significance according to this awareness of changing social conditions. Lies about the past and guesses about the future are as important sources of data as history. When people lie about what they do or have done or will do, they lie in terms of the norms, and when they guess, they guess in terms of patterned expectations. These data are of significance in exploring the patterns underlying both formal and dynamic behavior.

829 171 121 Communities such as Tzoʔontahal represent a paradox in Latin America since the Indians pretend to be the same when they are changing, while non-Indians exaggerate the changes which have occurred. In Indian communities, the old cultural forms persist even while the community responds to the changing cues in the environment. The Indians are aware that the corporate community is an important resource base in easing their transition into regional and national networks, not on the bottom rung of the Ladino social ladder as when individuals leave the community, but in a competitively favorable position. Their insistence that they are following the customs of the ancestors is a means of keeping their boundaries intact and protecting themselves against external encroachment.

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776 which have the power to mislead, give illness, or capture people to work
[756] for them. Only the most powerful curers and witches, and the very greedy
[754] approach these spirits for they are reputed to be very "live" and mali-
[825] ciously clever. Snakes are the offspring of the hill and do the bidding of the hill owners.

556 Wealth in the form of livestock, corn, or gold can be gained from some
756 of the cave owners upon request, but there is danger in receiving these
778 gifts since they must be reciprocated. Among the cave owners who give
787 gifts is Don Klabil, a deceased moneylender of the neighbering town. After his death in the 1940s, his spirit went to live in the hill bordering the two towns. People say that when he was alive he used to get money from the true owner of the cave. Those who have been inside the cave say it is filled with animals—cattle, horses, rabbits—which drink at a large interior lake. The appropriate approach for requesting wealth is to go on Thurs-
[782] day, "when the earth is open," and burn candles and incense. When the request is granted, the recipient must light candles at the cave every Thursday, and after his death he must work forever for the cave owner. It is said that at his death his wealth dies with him—usually all has been spent, and in fact children are left poor. Some say the spirit of the firstborn child of the recipient must be given to the owner to work for him. For this reason, there is no envy felt by neighbors when they see the increasing wealth of a man who has visited the caves and received such gains and he is doubly protected because no one can hurt an "enchanted man" (one who has entered the cave) with witchcraft.

756 Ladinos' belief in the cave owners gives support to the Indians' credence
776 in their power. Ladinos inquire of Indians where they can find treasures.
778 Once the request to the hill owners is made, it is essential to follow
[829] through correctly. Everyone in town knows the story of Martin Bautista, a curer who went to speak to the true owner of the hill in which Don Klabil lives.

[539] *He knew how to talk to the owner. The owner told him that at midnight on the following day, he would give him what he wanted. At midnight Maria, his wife, was alone in the house. She heard a noise and the sound of* "Andale, burro!" *Then there was a knock at the door. When the*

woman opened the door, she said, "Ay, Dios!" *The owner of the cave did not like this, and at that moment, he disappeared. Her husband returned the next morning. He beat her when he heard of the arrival of the hill owner and his disappearance when she invoked the name of the Lord. From that day on, he lost his luck and remained a poor man.* 756 776 778 539

The personalities of the cave owners are more fully defined than those of the spirits which reside in the forests. These tree spirits are able to talk to people, or they may sing, "as a mother sings to her child." They sometimes play tricks, misdirecting those who are lost in the woods. A man who intends to kill his enemy may go to talk to the tree spirits to gain their advice. Some plant spirits, such as tobacco, are stronger than others. Indians sometimes address the tobacco plant as "our grandfather" when they approach it, asking leave to pass. Some say that if you chew the tobacco plant you will have strength to overcome evil spirits when you walk in the woods. 776 [824]

An especially fearful group of spirits called *bohwaletik* roam the wooded hills in the late afternoons. These spirits, who look like Ladinos, are feared because they cut off people's heads to feed to the church bell in a neighboring town or to give to the spirits of major construction projects, such as dams. Suspicions are immediately aroused when a solitary Ladino is seen on the outskirts of the town near evening, and if several Indians sight him, they may even kill him. [829]

Persistence of belief and rituals related to the old gods and demons that were part of the Maya pantheon is directly related to the fact that the Indians continue to live in the same place surrounded by the hills and caves that were the habitations of both good and bad spirits. The landscape serves as a mnemonic device, keeping alive the myths of the past. Everyone accepts the knowledge that the spirits once lived here; the only doubt is whether they continue to inhabit their appropriate places, particularly in the case of the ancestors who were responsible for crops and security. This is not a crisis of loss in belief, but a phasing into history of the mythological past. Since there is no longer acceptance of the curers' claim to communication with the spirits, the Indians believe they may have gone elsewhere. It is characteristic of these Indians that they do not 776 778 [881] 829

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829 reject their past as they appraise their present conditions, but rather fit it into a historic continuum. It is the core of their self-awareness that makes possible the kind of change which I have characterized as a moving equilibrium.

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towns and explain small-scale change over short periods of time. The contextual description of behavioral details may eventually overcome the lack of replicable events available to laboratory science. By specifying all the conditions of the ritual, it is possible to separate the unique from the patterned components. At one level, the analysis consists in indicating the repetitive patterns and the continuity of beliefs which these exemplify. At another level, rituals can be analyzed as psychodramas in which the individual adopts a social role. The dialectical connection between the new official and his role is established in the obligations he carries out.

When people are asked "why" something is done, they continually shift between the social and psychological levels. "We do this because it was the custom of our ancestors," they will frequently say. When pressed further, they reduce their level of response to the individual, saying, "The women don their husband's ceremonial hat because they wish to hide their face because of embarrassment." Both answers are true interpretations, differing only in the level of social complexity at which the enquiry is directed. One can go farther in elaborating the latent significance of the ritual acts. To continue with the same example, the dance drawing the wife into a public performance was performed because, as one informant said, "she too has done work for the fiesta" (she made pottery to raise the money). The dance gains the favor of the saints, as is demonstrated in the Virgin's tactics with the Devil, and in the curing rituals with the spirits of the house and of the springs. Dancing establishes a relationship to the group: the women dancing in the center of the circle formed by their husbands revolving around them are incorporated as an integral part of a sacred social unit.

Rituals provide a key to the psychic dynamics of the group since they deal with these explicitly. The ritual acts are predicated on expected individual responses. For example, since liquor overcomes embarrassment,[5] it

5. Bennett and Zingg (1937) have stated the even more dramatic social significance of liquor among the Tarahumara. Social intercourse in this mountain tribe is impossible without liquor. Conditioned as they are in isolated nuclear family groups to retreat at the sign of an outsider, the Tarahumara need something to relax their embarrassment and fear in large gatherings. Landa (Tozzer 1941) has commented at length on the compulsory drinking at ceremonials of the Yucatecan Maya.

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The informant failed to mention the following actions which I observed: 796

1. In raising the figure of Christ on the cross, the four regidores, in this context called *apulstol* (probably from apostles), entered the church. Two of them stood at the head of the cross to receive the image raised from below by the other two. [624]

2. The image was always handled with cloths so that no one's hand would be in contact with the surface.

3. The priest, standing behind a cloth screen, guided the figure up on the cross. 796 793

4. The priest gave a sermon about the significance of Easter and the life and death of Christ. He spoke of the crime of the Jews in killing Christ.[6]

In comparing the elicited and observed accounts, one can see clearly the censoring of the priest's role in the perception of the people. Even while the ceremony is in process, they ignore his appeals. For example, as the body of Christ was lowered from the cross, the priest exhorted the congregation to cry and give vent freely to their emotions in this most holy moment. There was no response from the audience, even after he waited several moments, pleading with them again not to feel embarrassment at their show of emotion, and becoming visibly annoyed at their impassivity. Finally, a woman dressed in Ladina clothing, rewarded him with the stylized wail of mourning.

Observation of the ceremony reveals evidence of attitude and belief coded in the staging, the costuming, the postures and gestures of respect or derision which cannot be elicited. Each element is an interpretative comment by those who direct and act the play. We are told that the Jew is the anti-Christ, but we learn that he is also a Ladino through his clothing, the cigarette, and the horseback ride. The Indians do not state that they castrate him in hoisting him upon the church, but their comments and ac- 796 182 829

6. Despite the fact that the Vatican had exonerated the Jews of the guilt for the murder of Christ the year before (1965), the priest spoke of the crime of the Jews. This time lag in communicating doctrine to the hinterlands would be an interesting problem to investigate. [779]

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tions betray the intent. As he is hauled up by ropes and hung from the bell tower "to show the world that he killed Christ," the mayordomos on the ground who are assisting those up in the bell tower jab him with long poles. In this horseplay they symbolically castrate him: I heard one mayordomo say, *"Me?čunun,"* (transvestite) as one well-directed blow struck Judas. On Saturday, he is let down and given a ride on horseback around town. Formerly riding a horse was the prerogative only of Ladinos in the department of San Cristóbal Las Casas (Colby and Van den Berghe 1961). Placing Judas on a horse possibly has a symbolic value in identifying him as one of the hated dominant group who asserted this privilege. As he rides around town, the mayordomos solicit gifts from the people. Everyone gives fruits except the curers, who donate money. This transaction may indicate an obligation they feel toward Judas as one source of their power over witchcraft-derived illnesses. The money is used to buy liquor, called the "washing of the arms and legs of our Lord Eskipulas." The drinking is mandatory for all the mayordomos who have participated in the hanging of Judas.

The Judas figure, which was the church's symbol of the hated Semite, is made to appear as the enemy of the Indians, the Ladino. He symbolizes the sexual license of Ladinos with Indian women, the oppression of Indians by Ladinos, and the killer of Christ. In retaliation, the Indian symbolically castrate and hang him, and finally burn his body, thus dramatically vanquishing the alien in their midst. So far as I know, the priest is unaware of the identification Indians make between the Jew and the Ladino. He prevented the ride from taking place the year I witnessed the Easter Week ceremonial on grounds that it was a pagan ritual; when he left town on Sunday, the mayordomos took Judas on his customary rounds.

The attitude toward Jesus, as the hero of the morality play, is ambivalent. Martyrdom is not the way to win in Indian society. The feeling is that power goes to the one who makes the sacrifice, and since Jesus was a Ladino sacrifice, they have more power than the Indians. During the Caste War in Chiapas in 1868, the Indians crucified an Indian youth in the hope that they would find a savior as powerful as Jesus. To this day, Indians of To?ontahal seem not to identify Jesus as one of themselves,

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and they show little personal concern with his fate in the reenactment of the Passion.

The ceremonies by which the Indians care for the spirits are Spanish introductions, but within these forms they have found a means of containing the powers of the spirits and making them work for the benefit of Indians. In the reenactment of the Passion they caricature and symbolically kill their own enemy, the Ladino, without his being aware of it. Through reformulation of introduced ideas and practices, the Indians have preserved a sense of the past in an idiom meaningful to themselves.

Chapter 9

The Competition for Power

829 178 177 Changes in the organization of the civil and religious hierarchies since the constitution of 1927 can be traced in a series of events remembered by members of the community. Their selection of significant events and the interpretation they make of them give the best clues to their response to change. In the remembrance of things past people structure their world and project expectations for the future. Behavior in these events lacks the controls operating in the formal rituals of the officials—age-graded authority, hierarchy, and a code of behavior which conceals the open show of power. The strategies employed in these organizational changes reveal other rules or transformation of the old rules characterizing social interaction.

554 621 794 578 177 178 The structure of roles in the civil and religious hierarchies has remained intact. What has changed are the bases for according prestige and authority and allocating roles. The pivotal positions in which change is occurring are the mediating roles between local and national power structures, specifically those of president and secretary in the civil authority and of fiscal and priest in the religious authority.

[212] [191] [756] The contest for power and "control of the town" has centered in five blocks of competition: (1) the opposition of new young leaders with skills in speaking Spanish, literacy, and knowledge of the idiom of behavior in the national culture to the established succession of an age-dominated authority system; (2) the challenge by the civil authority to the control of the curers who rely on power derived from possession of an animal spirit; (3) the struggle for political power among factions based on new economic enterprises; (4) the contest among local caciques for domination; and (5) the conflict among religious functionaries. The series of events in which these contests have crystallized and brought about a reorganization

view of the case by the judges and the other civil authorities, the president would have the suspected witch locked up in the local jail and then give the key to his enemy. The following story illustrates this procedure: 683 621

When we were still part of the township of Teopisca [sometime before 1931] F. went and asked permission of the authorities to kill his enemy, a curer, whom he thought was bewitching his brother-in-law. The president arrived at the house of the suspected witch with the order to imprison him. He said that they were going to Teopisca to put him in jail. The group of authorities set off with the suspected witch. On the way another group met them and asked them where they were going. The President replied, "To Teopisca." The group which had encountered them asked them if they would like a drink to "heat their body." They gave one cup and then another. They then cut up the suspected witch with a machete and put his body in the cave of me?tiktatik that goes to Chiapa de Corzo. When the widow enquired the next day where her husband was, the president said that the man must have gone to the finca.

After telling this story, my informant concluded, "Therefore, little by little, the pueblo is getting better because we scared the curers with the permission of the president to kill them." He felt that this was the point at which the power of the curers, who were more and more frequently being accused as witches, was broken. [829]

While the usual course of action, once a man was accused of witchcraft, was to kill him so that there would be no danger of revenge, the following case illustrates punishment by beating. 756 627 [683]

The time was 1935. There was a very bad curer who stole much cattle. One man who heard that he had stolen his cattle wanted to kill him, but the curer met the man and killed him in an old house. The town authorities seized the curer and forced him to pay one thousand pesos for the bull. The principales punished him by tying him to a tree and beating him five or six times. They beat him well for the town. After they beat him they brought him to prison in San Cristóbal and gave him over to the Ministerio Publico to arrange the case. He did not return to the pueblo but went to another place. In five years he returned to his pueblo.

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port. At his death, he had no successor, and "the town remained in peace." 665

In this first political contest, the conflict was interpreted as opposition between the dual divisions. Factional disputes and the sense of political responsibility and control were contained within these parameters, and any conflict was conceived of as a threat to territorial balancing mechanisms. 621 829 578

The new factions that have developed since 1963 are tied to economic rather than territorial competition. In 1960 the first truck-owning cooperative was organized under the leadership of the former Ladino secretary. The twenty shareholders of the town had only a small amount of capital in the truck, and the controlling interest was in the hands of the secretary's wife. The cooperative was merely a device to gain business in carrying pottery and wheat from the town to the market centers. In 1963 a new truck-owning cooperative was organized by local Indians. The two brothers, Santiago and José, secured capital to buy the truck from thirty residents of the town without any assistance from outside. The shareholders of the new cooperative came from both sides of the dual division, and from the outlying barrios. 621 474 471 177 178 494

When the leaders of the new cooperative tried to get permits and certificates to license the car and the operator, they were refused by the town president who was a shareholder of the first cooperative. The Indians then hired a Ladino truck driver from the neighboring town, and the son of one of the shareholders served as assistant. They realized that it was necessary to get control of the local political positions in order to extend their operations. With the help of the schoolteacher, they got eighty-one signatures on the petition for the PRI candicacy of one of the brothers, José, in the presidential nomination of 1964. He was opposed by a ladinoized Indian living in one of the barrios who was backed by the Ladino secretary who was leader of the competing trucking cooperative. The opponent did not have a chance of winning, as the leaders of the new cooperative pointed out, because of two strikes against him: he was not a resident of the center and he had only PAN backing. The Indians are aware that nothing can be gained politically by a PAN-backed president since PRI is now the party in control of regional and national offices. 474 621 666

After José's election, the Indian truck driver was able to get a driving license. With the help of the schoolmaster, the cooperative was able to get 621 474 493

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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The issue of the Virgin's clothing has increased the attacks on the priest. These have been aired in public meetings which take place on Sunday. Opposition to the priest has shifted from the old cofrades to the young leadership of the pueblo, men who wish to extend internal control over the church as well as the town hall. They tried to enlist the fiscal's help in getting rid of the priest, but he refused to cooperate. The president's brother, who serves as town treasurer, recounts the following exchange he had with the priest:

I saw Padre Juan take money from the box when I was mayordomo in the church. All of us mayordomos went to talk with him. I asked him how much money was turned in during the fiesta.

"The madres [*lay sisters*] *know," he said, "I don't."*

He called them, and they said, "We haven't counted the money. Come tomorrow."

The priest was very angry that we asked for an account. Pablo [*the fiscal*] *was too afraid to talk with him. When we left the church, I told Pablo, "You are in charge of the church. Why didn't you demand an account of the money in front of the church? We never got an account."*

Then we began to fight. Padre Juan doesn't want to leave the town. He has it too good here. He has a good yard with many fruit trees and a nice house. The Ladinos in Teopisca don't let him stay in their convento overnight. They are sharp, those damned Ladinos! We pay the padre thirty pesos every Sunday. Before he lived here, we used to have good music and more firecrackers for fiestas. Now he wants to stop all this. He was the one who ordered that all the money be collected. We wanted to go buy a gross of firecrackers. He said, "Why do you want firecrackers? It is the mass that has value. The saints don't want firecrackers or music."

He is very smart, the padre. He wants to keep the money for himself. Now we just get two firecrackers each morning of the fiesta and two in the evening. In Teopisca, they fire dozens of firecrackers. Here what is left over from the contributions for the fiesta remains in the box, and he takes it.

I went to get new clothing for the saint. In Comitán they wanted two

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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621 756 178 to the loss of belief in the curers. The principales were formerly conceived to be overseers of the curers, men who, because of their advanced age, could determine whether the curers were acting in the interest of the town. With the loss of this social control function, along with the loss of other functions such as holding public funds and helping the judges to interpret the law, they have declined to the level of ceremonial figures dissociated from political action.

621 178 The forms of political organization remain the same, but there has been a shift in the balance of power from leaders whose authority rested on guardianship linked with the ancestors to leaders who can deal with the external power structure. The emergent forms of political organization can be partially assessed in the meaning participants assign to the events which precipitated this process of change. To paraphrase George Herbert Mead (1938:liii) it is the "organization of perspectives" concerning the past events and the present conditions which will effect the emergent forms. The analytical problem can be phrased with the questions, "In what dialectical terms is the conflict cast?" and "What changes do the members of the community perceive as an outcome of the struggle?" Whereas in the colonial period the conflict between the Indians and their Spanish conquerers was seen as a struggle for control between Catholicism and traditional religion, today the conflict is phrased as one of opposed economic interests. In the civil sphere, factional opponents seek the support of extra-communal power holders to gain their ends. In the religious sphere, the Indians see the conflict as one in which their control over the church and the income derived from it is opposed to the priest's growing influence.

829 578 794 621 177 178 [193]

829 621 182 In this reorganization of perspectives, the Indians share some of the goals of the dominant society, but they continue to oppose themselves to the Ladino world. For this reason they are willing to preserve the form of the civil-religious hierarchy as a means of asserting their independence from the dominant society. They see the community not only as a defensive screen against the outside world, but as a springboard for entry into the national economic and political life. They are now consciously taking advantage of pro-Indian sentiment to secure a preferred position in this society. Their awareness of their advantage over the deculturated Indian is

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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made explicit in the contrasts they make between their conditions and those of the migratory mestizo laborers who work in the sawmills and fincas in the area. They comment on the fact that these workers have no political representation and that they and their children are illiterate and do not attend school. The significant factor is that the Indians of the corporate communities not only have advantages over the mestizo worker, but they perceive these advantages and are acting in terms of them. The preservation of community traditions is seen as a means of retaining community-owned assets and of maintaining a sense of self which is threatened or destroyed when the individual Indian enters into the national society.

The rules of strategy for moving in the direction of change are a transformation of the rules of the game that the Indians hve played in the four and a half centuries since the Conquest. The overall strategy is still defensive and aimed at preserving local independence, but their tactics include new skills acquired from Ladinos. In opposing the old power elite of the curing hierarchy, the present leadership uses the same tactics of the witch-hunt that their opponents used in the past to punish deviates, but they are beginning to confront them openly when sorcery is suspected. Leaders of the new cooperatives state that their aim is to increase opportunities for the whole community, not to make individual profit.

Because the conflict has been contained within community boundaries, the statement of goals remains the same. These goals include the retention of control by local leaders over judgment of guilt or innocence, in ceremonial affairs, and by all townspeople over land. This retention of local control is the key feature of a moving equilibrium in a model of change that puts the emphasis on continuous adjustments and adaptations. In the usual models for discussing modernization, the confrontation is conceived as one between the indigenous society and the outsider representing western influence. In Tzoʔontahal, young leaders within the community have confronted old in the stated interest of preserving tradition. Occasionally they may make alliances with the old leaders as in the conflict with the priest.

These "shifts in the focus of political power within a given system" (Leach 1964:9) are the prelude to structural change. Tzoʔontahal as a case

577 sion: "I pay respect to my elders. I greet my brothers and my children [ex-
887 tension of kinship terms]. To all I give respect. Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick."

577 A good man is a generous host, expressed in the phrase, "he gives many
[574] tortillas." He serves his community in public office but avoids the appear-
[196] ance of seeking power or self-aggrandizement. When he gives orders, it is
[576] in a soft, low tone, supplicating rather than ordering with the phrase, "If you would please lend a hand." He gives thanks readily for any service rendered both to God and to his fellow man. He avoids any show of
[578] anger, and is always careful to show consideration of others. Those who are of "another heart" or "two-hearted" are the opposite, seeking disputes, "thinking small," "being miserly," and of a "very black soul."

[754] The heightened awareness of the state of the heart of others comes from the ever-present fear of witchcraft. Since the people feel their survival depends upon perception of evil heart before it strikes, they develop an acute sense of the behavioral clues that indicate its presence.

• 829 *Conformity and deviance.* Conventional or preferred behavior is
183 characterized as "reasonable." The phrase "ʔiʔ rason," to take reason or
[192] understanding, is applied to a child who is expected to have reason at the
[828] age of twelve years or so, as well as to the arrival at agreement of competing parties, as in the case of betrothal.

Reasonable behavior is any behavior conforming to socially accepted understandings of what the world is. These include what a person of non-Indian culture might characterize as beliefs based on faith. They "know"
[776] that there are hill spirits, wood spirits who cut off people's heads, and men who transform themselves into animals. Occasionally they subject given
813 understandings to empirical tests: one woman tested the belief that a
[241] woman could rid the milpa of insect pests only by walking through a
[825] planted field wearing a new skirt; she walked through the field wearing a worn skirt and her belief was confirmed when she found that the insect pests were not killed but just fled and returned later. Empiricism is not lacking; the difference between the content of their category of what is rational or reasonable and ours is based on the premises, not the process of reasoning.

People who fail to conform to the customs of the town are said to lack "reason." This category includes those who do not attend to the advice of their elders. People from outside of town who do not behave in conventional patterns are said to be "of another sort."

Institutionalized patterns of behavior differ as to the degree of explicitness of the association between action and reason. Curing practices are most directly attached to an understanding of why they are performed. Ritual practices in the cult of the spirits are tied to a more general explanatory system in which something should be done "because it was the custom of our ancestors."

Competency. Judgments concerning the intelligence of a person and his ability to adjust to his social and physical environment complement the criteria of morality and reasonableness. Alertness, or intelligence is associated with the possession of more than one soul: a person may have from one to a dozen additional souls. Curers and witches, by virtue of their possession of an animal spirit, are by definition very intelligent. Evaluations of alertness are often made in discussing the personalities of others. In the myth concerning the three brothers and the honey (Chapter 8) God, the Elder Brother, was described as "not very bright," Jesus Christ, the Second Brother, as "a little brighter," and the Holy Ghost, the Youngest Brother as "the brightest." Alertness is usually associated with manipulation for one's own advantage, but is not necessarily antithetical to having a good heart. In the myth mentioned above, the youngest brother outwits his two older brothers to his own advantage, and coincidentally that of the world.

The word *b'ol* is used figuratively to express the opposite of alertness, stupidity. Literally it means one who is mute; the connection is significant. A child born mute is said to have had its soul stolen at birth so that he must exist without speech. The power of speech is highly valued and the prestigeful roles are accorded to those who can speak well in both formal and informal exchanges. It is a dangerous skill, since the ability to talk to the gods gives an advantage to the speaker over the general population. The ability to speak to the earth, a talent which people say the ancestors possessed and which curers in the neighboring town of Chamula still

square. Although this conception is contradicted by knowledge learned in 772
school, the two concepts are not brought into direct opposition. The town 361
still defines the outer limit of most meaningful social relations, and most people are not forced by the circumstances of their lives to deal with an understanding of the world as round. It is enough that the four "sides" of their village be protected by crosses at the points of entry. The important orientation points are the east, referred to as the "coming out of the sun," and the west, referred to as "the sleeping place of the sun." North and south are referred to as lowland and highland because of the topography. Compass orientation is important behaviorally only at death. The body of [764]
the deceased is laid out in the cemetery with the head to the east. Indians [829]
comment that the Ladinos lay the body out with the head to the west, but Indians of other towns, such as Zinacantan, also do so. The cemetery is located on the western side of the town.

The House

The reference to the house in prayer as "the entry to suffering, inside 342
the poverty" suggests the "cult of poverty" which Wolf (1955:459) points [782]
out as characteristic of closed corporate Indian communities. Most people conform to a standard house size of five square meters subdivided into an interior sleeping and living area and a porch (Fig. 8). The walls are made of mud strengthened with lime packed in a framework of poles supported on nine main posts. The roofs are pitched with four sheds rising steeply to a truncated ridge. Tiles are used in most new houses to cover the roof, but there are still many thatched palm or wooden shingle roofs. Corn and [251]
beans are stored in the rafters under the eaves of the house.

Inside the house, beds line the two side walls. If there is no cooking [352]
shack separate from the house, the hearth is placed in the center of the in- [354]
terior room. The grinding stone, raised on three posts, is placed to the left [412]
of the center post.

The porch is the area for ceremonial gatherings and for making and storing pottery. A table with the pictures of household saints set against [353]
the inside wall, is adorned with flowers and candles. During house fiestas, [796]
men sit on the benches lining the four walls of the porch, while the [562]
women sit inside in a semicircle.

571 is accepted. Precipitous action on either side reveals a weakness of which
805 the other party might take advantage, or which might even stop pro-
[584] cedures.

Timing of activities is so specific that it can be read as an equation of social relations: People who come to the house after nightfall are either intimate members of the family, or are members of the circle of me?tiktatik invited for a special household celebration—night is the time when spirits wander, not a time for casual visiting. Arrival of the betrothal party at the
[584] house of the girl's parents after ten o'clock in the morning indicates that the suit has been accepted.

571 Sequential timing expresses relative prestige and a sense of priority. In
805 "raising" the officials for the official ceremonies, the lowest ranks of
554 officials rise first to go to the house and awaken each of their companions
562 in order of rank. The sequence in serving order has already been discussed with respect to rank and prestige. Another principle of sequence operates at a more subtle level: women go before men when there is expectation of a fight since their presence evokes less hostility. This is evident in the be-
[584] trothal: the me? č'om precedes the mam c'om in the initial proceedings
[579] when strong resistance and hostility is anticipated. When drunken fights start during house ceremonies, women intercede with calming effect.

641 Time always is on the side of the Indians when they wish to resist na-
829 tional orders. Verbal agreements to pay fines imposed or to assist federal
805 agents in the capture of criminals are frequently followed by deliberate negligence in carrying out the orders. Usually the order is forgotten or in-
[647] terest wanes at a higher level. Government agencies such as the INI learned to bide their time much as the Indians did. Expecting opposition to any proposed change, they waited for the initial reaction to die down, and then proceeded as support from those who benefited overcame internal resistence.

461 When called upon to perform jobs that require regular appointments,
464 the Indians respond easily to the daily scheduling. Resistance comes
512 against scheduled requirements that involve long spans of time and inter-
805 fere with communal and familial ceremonies. Work away from home is
[181] undertaken only on the premise that it will be of limited duration. This control over their own time is a value which Indians will not easily yield.

M 426 441 563 554 his community, who desire to buy something in credit from the Ladino (land, cattle, fireworks, etc.). The Indian Fiador carries the accounts of the debt, counting with corn grains, and is responsible for collecting the money from his fellow villagers and for paying the debt to the Ladino. Finally, the Patrón relation M 464 563 is one in which the Ladino becomes a temporary employer of the Indian who desires to work for wages.

M 563 369 T 369 829 Indian knowledge of the Ladino town and the frequency of the relationships with the town decrease as the distance of the village to the town increases, so for Amatenango and Aguacatenango, San Cristobal is a place to which one goes but few times in a year while the Capital of Mexico is a place where one is "likely to be eaten by cannibals."

M 563 875 Within the villages themselves the only Ladino residents are the school teachers, who are looked upon with suspicion and resentment, there being a tradition that local school teachers attempt to increase their meager salaries by monopolizing Indian produce, or interfere with Indian political affairs, at times even with the good will of "civilizing" them. A frequent Ladino visitor is the priest (the same for Aguacatenango and Amatenango M 563 793 796 and thirty-one other villages), a necessity if one is to keep on performing the Church ceremonies connected with the village religious holidays, which were established as part of the calendar of festivities early in Colonial times, and now are an important part of community ritual.

M 563 621 649 Other Ladinos who live in the surrounding territories do not participate in any way in the life of the communities, with the exception of peddlers and the infrequent visits of the

462 [23] [24] sitio (household territory): pigs and chickens, and the cultivation of the rudimentary gardens within the back patios. These gardens do not have great economic importance. Women plant chiles, cilantro, chayotes, té limón, mostaza, and sometimes even beans and a small milpa for elote (tender corn), but gardening is not a serious occupation: most women only plant two of three varieties of plants, a little bush of flavor herbs for the beans, some medicinal plant, or some flowers to ornament the house altar. Many backyards just grow wild, and the collection of its products is mainly "gathering in one's backyard" rather than harvesting (see Fig. 6).

[434] By selling the products of the small garden, some eggs, or fruits, a woman can contribute to the household cash income, but this money is considered somewhat of a luxury. The extra cash can be used to buy some clothes before a fiesta, or a new pot, or a similar item, but women are not expected to support their families: this is the basic responsibility of the family men.

166 462 464 Women have very few cultural alternatives for transforming their labor into a substantial income. Young single girls whose parents are too poor to support them, or who are alocadas (lightheaded) and desire to break away from home, can leave town to go to work as servants in Ladino towns. Wives running away from a mother-in-law who is too strict, or from a drunkard husband, or widows, would occasionally take up this kind of work. This, of course, isolates a woman from the village, and is a form of self-imposed exile. Working for Ladinos is a somewhat awe inspiring [879] idea. Women "know" or suspect that Ladino men violate Indian

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 79]

166 women and that Ladino women mistreat their servants. Working in
462 towns is remembered, by those who have done it, as a strange mix-
464 ture of carefree economic independence and innumerable small
[829] humilitations and suffering. Its lack of attractiveness is well reflected in the fact that, from a random sample of sixty-eight households, only fourteen women have worked outside their homes (see Fig. 5).

562 The only women who are the bread-winners or heads of their
462 homes are forced to do so because they have no male relatives to
434 provide for them. In this case, they have few alternatives open
[464] to them, the two most common being: 1) acting as a servant (al-
[275] ready discussed above) or 2) selling liquor in their houses to the
[558] men of the village. This second occupation is not very well thought of by the villagers, trago sellers being gossiped about as being bold women, "sexy" females who enjoy the company of drunks and men married to other women.

Amatenango

462 In Amatenango, the division of labor presents a very dif-
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438 ferent picture. The whole village of Amatenango is a pottery
[241] factory because, in addition to the household income derived from
[434] the agricultural work of the village men, each Amatenango woman is a pottery producer.

Pottery that is made for selling is neither a choice, nor a part-time job, nor an individual specialization, but a town specialty. All women in Amatenango are expected to know how to make pots, and to make them. The women of each household

174 segments of different breadth of inclusion, it is possible that
613 the Indian last name was a smaller lineage segment than the
551 Spanish last name, or, as it occurs in other Chiapas villages, that the Indian name was the lineage name and the Spanish name the clan name, but that clans have disappeared in Aguacatenango. The result is that there are more Indian than Spanish names, and sometimes a Spanish name, such as Hernandez, has within it the patrilines Wayal, Obispo and Chalté, while Perez has the patrilines Ich, Tuluk and Chauk.

613 At the present time, the patriline is very shallow. Connections are lost frequently after the second ascending generation and the localized agnatic line includes only three, or at best four, adjacent generations, when the linking relative in the higher generation is still alive or recently deceased and still remembered.

613 The Indian name, which indicates the patriline, is not
551 known by many people in the younger generation, and older people are reluctant to mention the subject. With the influence of the
• [829] Mexican system of naming (which includes both the Spanish last name of the father and the mother), the older villagers are becoming aware that westerners do not have the same descent name system, and are embarrassed to discuss this subject with non-villagers, although in Tzeltal conversations among themselves they identify people through them.

126 We did collect some patriline names (which are Tzeltal
613 words for animals and natural phenomena), but unfortunately the
551 limited field-work season did not allow for more detailed
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average annual earnings of a man in this town); failure to accept the post when it is offered brings a jail sentence. On the following day, during a drinking session in the townhall with the assembled civil officials, the reluctant nominee usually accepts. 794 [434] [681] [273]

The civil career of an individual would be one in which he passed (*sk'as*, which I gloss as 'pass'; it is the same verb as Spanish *pasar*) first as police, then as third or fourth regidor. If he has passed as alferez, he will enter as first or second regidor at this stage, and then go on to second judge and finally become first judge. If not, he will stop as third or fourth regidor. After reaching the peak of his career as first judge, he may return to the police group as *martomorey*. Present leaders of the town consider this an "ugly" custom and say they hope to change it because it puts men of major age in a position of minor importance. Formerly men had to fulfill six turns in civil office, twice as regidor and twice as judge, to be considered free of further obligation. But now, because of increasing population (according to informants), this has been lowered to five required turns. The post which has been eliminated is that of assistant judge, which is now filled by a representative of one of the two barrios. 156 621* 554 693 [794] [829] • 624 693 178 156

Throughout his career in office, a household head is expected to alternate between the civil and religious posts. Religious posts are considered less onerous since they require only six months of service, from the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo at the end of June until January 6, and the men are on duty only Sundays and holidays. A balanced number of six turns in each of the branches of the hierarchy was expected, prior to the reduction of the number of civil posts to five, to bring one to the end of one's career. In a census of 311 household heads made in 1964, passage in office shows a balance between posts undertaken in each wing of the hierarchy. Of 13 men over 70 years of age, five had completed service in civil and religious office. Three who had passed as president had served only once or twice in each wing of the hierarchy. The remaining five had a balanced but incomplete career. 621* 156 794 [125]

In the religious hierarchy, a man passes first as *nič'anil kuč haʔ*, 'minor who brings liquor.' Then he will pass as *ʔaliʔbal*, the assistant to the *kobraria*, particularly charged with the slaughter of the bull for the large fiestas. These "servants" were not distinguished from other mayordomos in the initial listing of officers, but were mentioned in the description of fiesta 794 554 156

[P. 215-A]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontahal

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inauguration is deduced from both elicited and observed behavior. These data complement the elicited material on structure in rounding out the ethnographic model of social reality.

Specification of the behavioral data on which structural and functional statements are made should provide the basis for more precise comparisons over time and between communities. I turn to the observed interaction to summarize the evidence for microchange within the community.

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[571]
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Outside of the formally prescribed behavior scheduled in the inauguration, a struggle for power is going on which is leading to important organizational changes in the town. This was suggested in the substitution of the schoolteacher for the former Ladino secretary in the act of giving the oath. Factional struggle of the leaders of the new enterprises was revealed in this substitution. Further evidence of change is seen in the redefinition of the president's position in relation to that of the principales. The potential power which the post offers to the incumbent and those who back him is now recognized. The risks are higher as the competition for the post increases.

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In the religious sphere the priest's increasing control over the domain of the church is seen in the shift of setting for the common meal from the churchyard to the *ʔaliʔbal's* house. This evoked the story of the open confrontation of the priest and cofrades a few years before. Public counting of funds by civil officials suggests an attempt by the new leadership to thwart the priest's dominance over the cofrades.

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In the emergent struggle for power within the community, we see not just a defensive reaction to Ladinos by Indians of a corporate community, but a play for stakes in the same world. This suggests that the corporate community, now and in the future, serves not so much as an insulation from the outside world as in the past but as a springboard for the entry of the Indians into fuller participation in the national society.

[P 228-B]

made in speaking of toddlers: boys are called *htatil* and girls *kantzil*. 554
After five years of age, a boy is referred to as *č'in kerem*, "little boy" and a 561
girl as *č'in ?ačil*, "little girl." The term for younger sibling, *kihts'in*, 562
which is extended to all of the people younger than oneself on one's own 192
side of the dual division, is not sex marked, but the terms for all people [801]
older than oneself are. Sexual segregation begins at the age of five in sleep- [513]
ing arrangements as well as in public gatherings, when little boys stand [593]
with their fathers. The modifier "č'in" is dropped after the age of nine, and the terms "kerem" and "ačil" are used until marriage. At the age of fifteen, a girl is referred to as *?antz wiltal*, "just arriving at womanhood," and when she is married she is classified as an *?antz*, or woman. A boy is referred to as a kerem until he is married, when he is called *ač' winik* or "new man." A woman with children is referred to as *me?elil*, and is a full-fledged member of her sex, the *me?il*. A man's reference term does not change with paternity. When a young unmarried man dies, people say with sorrow that it was a pity "he did not try out life," and that "he did not try out a woman."

In her youth a woman's role is tied to the reproductive cycle, but after 554
menopause she is released from the restrictions of childbearing women. 561
She need not appear as modest in public, and can drink and dance at fies- 562
tas. A noticeable personality change can be seen as women move out of the chrysalis of their reproductive cycle. Some older women begin to take [831]
a keen interest in sex, and widows in particular may have sexual relations with young unmarried men. It is after menopause that a woman takes her first role in ceremonials as a woman speaker.

In the man's life cycle, leadership roles are related to age. Paternal roles [593]
are the prototype for both familial and public authority positions. Thus [821]
the term for father, *tat* is the stem for the term for leader, *statal*. [192]

In the relationship between the sexes, women are considered to be under 562
the control of a male protector, either their father or husband. However, 593
there is a kind of equality between the sexes which is not found in Ladino society. Usually there is only a small age difference between husband and [582]
wife, even in second marriages, and parents resist giving a young unmarried girl to an older previously married man. Mutual respect is stressed in the advice given by elders at marriage. There is no double standard for ex-

There is no double standard for ex-
593 tramarital sexual relations, although men abuse the prohibition more often
562 than women, judging from court cases. The ability the women has to as-
[839] sert herself rests on her economic contribution in pottery-making and on the fact that female household help is not part of the labor market.

562 Female sexuality has the connotation of negative power over male sexu-
831 ality. A woman should not step over a man's feet or his clothing since she
[829] could affect his virility. This negative power emanates from the odors of a
[825] woman's body, and is captured by anything in contact with it. A woman's
[765] skirt cast over the head of a bull can tame him, and the water used by a
[752] woman to wash her body, particularly the vagina if she has had children, is drunk to cure snake bites because it is very "cold."

[412] Sexuality is seldom extended beyond persons to material objects. There is some feeling that a man's tools, especially the machete and hoe, are male
[241] and that a woman's tools, especially the grinding stone, are female. Corn is a crop of men, while beans are a woman's crop, identified with the Virgin. But I could not get much farther with such distinctions.

593 The accidents of birth determine the recruitment of successive genera-
597 tions into the family of orientation. There is no outright adoption, but a
861 child may be "lent" to a childless couple, usually by a sibling of one of the
[603] spouses, or a grandchild may take up residence in the house of a grandparent when all the children have moved to separate residences. Parents discipline a badly behaved child with the threat, "I am going to sell you to care for someone's house," but I have never known of a case of outright sale of a child.

581 The selection of a spouse is a decision based on both universalistic as
582 well as particularistic considerations. Both the boy and the girl should be hardworking, sober, and dutiful residents of the same section of the dual division. It is considered to be of greater importance that the boy feel af-
[562] fection toward the girl than vice versa. The "taking of the heart" is a test of the strength and exclusiveness of the boy's interest in his chosen mate, and there is no counterpart for the girl. Although there is no term for romantic love, the closest approximation being "want" or "ask for" a woman, there is an awareness of the importance of a warm, affectionate basis if a marriage relationship is to last "at least until the day after tomorrow." A suitor is accepted if he is known to be a hard worker and if he

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Behavior Defined in the Family

Socialization in the family provides the individual with the idiom for behaving in the wider community. The basic principles ordering behavior are respect and obedience toward those who are older, and care for those who are younger. Obedience, expressed by the verb *i'un* which means both to believe (or to be gullible) and to obey, is instilled by cultivating a sense of fear and shame. Fear is communicated by the parent to the child by invoking evil spirits and by the threat or use of punishment, especially whipping with a leather strap. Shame is aroused by ridicule, jeering, and chastising. A good child is a quiet child; questioning is discouraged either by refusing to answer the child or by telling him to keep quiet. The negative aspect of good behavior is stressed. Significantly, the phrase "Behave yourself!" is translated into Spanish as "Don't do anything!" Good behavior is not rewarded either by praise or by gifts. The only public demonstration of affection toward children I have seen is by grandparents toward grandchildren: an elder might give his sweet roll at a ceremony to his grandchild and even fondle him. Parents show affection to youngsters under three years of age, although the last child may be coddled somewhat longer. Mothers and young children show intimacy and affection in delousing each other or combing each others' hair. Kissing is not a sign of intimacy but of formal respect in ceremonies.

Beliefs concerning conception show awareness of both the male and the female contribution to the fetus. The man's sperm (*snal*) enters the womb, *yo?tan*, (also the word for heart) and mixes with the woman's flow, to bring about conception. The blood of a child is believed to come from its mother and the skin, bones, and brains from the father. During pregnancy, the father must have intercourse with his wife because his sperm nourishes the fetus. This continues right up to the birth of the child. Men too are believed to have wombs, and some men have trouble with "dropped wombs" caused by lifting heavy burdens.

The only people in attendance at the birth of a child are the women of the immediate household, the mother of the woman giving birth if she is not a part of the houshold, and the midwife. Children are kept out of the

787 776 been taken away by the local authorities and sent to the Indians' Affairs Office in San Cristobal.

Life Cycle

842 183 *Pregnancy and Childbirth*

The strongest desire of every Tzeltal couple is to create a numerous family, preferably 843 boys. The relationship between sexual intercourse and pregnancy is well understood [833] among the Indians. They know that pregnancy lasts nine months and they keep a 843 good count of it. On the other hand, there 789 are ideas about the possibility of the woman being influenced by old men or "the owners of the nagual," who can interrupt pregnancy and change the fetus from one woman to another. This is why a woman who thinks she is pregnant for three or four months suddenly realizes that she carries nothing any more, while another one, maybe her neighbor, finds herself in advanced pregnancy, giving birth a few months later. It is to be stressed, however, that these changes can take place only among married women.

844 [81] In conservative villages (Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Cancuc) there is no professional midwife. Children are delivered by the oldest women in the neighborhood.

[757] [237] When labor begins, the first thing is to give the mother a beverage made of powdered opossum tail dissolved in boiling water. It is very common for Indians to have a dry tail hanging next the fireplace. The woman kneels at labor, facing the midwife. The husband's belt or the woman's rebozo is tied very tightly around the upper part of the abdomen to prevent the child from "going up again." The mother can also help herself by seizing a rope tied to the roof, or taking firm hold of any post of the house. The umbilical cord is chopped with a machete or cut with scissors, supported on an [241] [824] ear of corn. This ear is afterwards used as seed and is considered very fertile.

[757] When labor has finished, the mother is given another hot beverage of pepper,

[P 223-B]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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844 house, and the men usually leave the scene. Women are ashamed of their husbands seeing the afterbirth because they joke about it with other men. [522] (I do not know what the joking is about—possibly it is related to the fre- [833] quency of sexual intercourse during pregnancy, since the placenta is believed to be increased by male sperm.)

There is no ceremony attending childbirth. Although some women are assisted by one female relative, most call in a midwife, who is referred to as "grandmother of the child" and who comes when the birth pangs [759] begin. There is only one recognized midwife in Tzoʔontahal; she is the sister of one of the practicing curers and a niece of one of the former leading curers of Alannantik. She has patients on both sides of the dual division. On rare occasions, caused by witchcraft the Indians believe, a woman [845] fails to give birth after two or three days of labor, and then a curer is [756] called in.

The child is delivered with the mother kneeling on the floor. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord with a knife, and the child's navel is tied with a cord. The child is wrapped in cloths which have been smoked over incense, and then a woman's sash is wrapped around him from shoulders to feet, firmly binding the arms and legs so that they cannot move. It is felt that if this is not done, the child will snatch at everything and eventually 846 become a thief. The body remains bound in this way for fifteen days. The umbilical cord and placenta are buried in the houseyard. Some say that a boy's umbilical cord may be tied in a tree "so that when the child grows, he can climb trees and cut fruit." The mother is given a drink of coffee, and the midwife binds her stomach with a band. Three days later the woman enters the sweatbath to cleanse herself. The midwife goes in with her and rubs her with branches of orange leaves and massages her stomach. If the child is born away from his own house, he is brought to it with great care so that his soul will not be dislodged from his body. The midwife makes a pad with branches of bushes growing near the springs, and the father sprays the child's body with springwater from his mouth.

[753] In the first "twenty days or one month" of life, the child's contacts with the world are limited to the immediate family in order to guard against soul-loss and illness from "hot" glances of outsiders. When anyone not of the household approaches the house in which there is a newborn child, he

241 [412] machete (*machit*) or the *luk*, a sort of curved machete with a long handle, are the implements needed. The cutting of the grass from the plot where the milpa had been the previous year is *selab*; the cutting of bush grown for three or four years is *sok-uej*. The work of cutting the bush is done by the entire family, including children of seven or eight years old.

[221] [412] The planting is done between April and May after the first rains, with a long stick whose tip is hardened by fire or protected by a metal point. The seed must [242] come from large, healthy ears whose tips have been cut off because they have small corn. The *olote*, or corncob, is either kept [824] or thrown away at a distance to avoid its being used as fuel, for this would hurt the milpa which then would produce ears with broken kernels.

241 462 785 834 The task of planting is a very delicate matter, to be performed after fasting and sexual abstinence. It is exclusively a man's 241 574 affair. A great banquet is served at noon, generally outdoors as the hut interiors are small, to the friends and neighbors who will participate as helpers. Sometimes as [476] many as 10 men help to plant a friend's milpa. The meal is offered "precisely when the sun stops for a moment midway on its run and the doors of the Church of Heaven are opened, from where the quality of the banquet is observed." This is *s-uelil-abal* ('meal of the planting').

241 262 272 574 When things are properly done, the meal consists of a number of items. First the *atole* (*pajal-ul*) is served, which is slightly sour and sweetened with *panela*. As "com- [263] panion" to this atole are tamales (*chenkul-uaj*), which are prepared with cornmeal and ground beans. It is said that both things are to be served together so that "the seed may penetrate deep into the ground."

241 252 262 574 272 After this preliminary snack comes what is considered the main course for each person: a hard-boiled egg in a thick reddish broth prepared from dough and ground chile dissolved in water; a large tortilla;

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TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201-A

241 paraje perform before the altar of the
782 church in the ceremonial center. All prayers
796 are said in Tzeltal; some are Christian in
[778] origin, others entirely pagan. This prayer
[177] I recorded in 1944:

241 Here we come to bring you your food, to
796 light your candles, to play the harp, to play the
782 guitar. Here we come to perform your fiesta,
539 so you may be happy, so you will not abandon
[534] us.

We have already planted the milpas; the seed is already in the soil. Father, do not forsake us; let the rains come properly; let them not be abundant nor deficient. Let there be a little sunshine and a few clouds. Let the soil be happy.

Father, let no hail come; let no wind come; let no locust come; let no harmful animals come; let no robbers come, lest they steal from us and leave us in poverty.

Father, let the year come well; let the corn turn out well; let the beans turn out well. Let there be no sickness; let there be no sorrow. Father, the mouthful has already entered; the word had already entered.

The word "mouthful" refers to all the gifts, "word" to all the prayer.

796 A similar ceremony is the *mukul mixa*
[621] ('great Mass'), organized by members of
[776] each calpul. Each calpul has its own patron
[622] saint and its own chiefs. For this ceremony
[534] many more people gather, for representatives and musicians (flute, drum, harp, and guitar) come from all places. The candles offered as "mouthfuls" are greater in number and size.

778 Household ceremonies follow as the head
78 of the household, in private, prepares the small home altar, where the cross which
[834] protects the home is always found. He adorns it with *juncia* and five candles; he says appropriate prayers at 6 o'clock in the morning or at midday, as he observes fasting and sexual abstinence. These family prayers may be repeated occasionally, depending on the condition of the milpa.

241 At the beginning of the month called
782 [P. 202-A]

421 586 her own clothes and her backstrap loom. A widow may continue living in the hut and use its equipment only if she has a son. Otherwise, she must leave the house and return to her father's home because the land will be claimed by the brothers or other male relatives of the deceased husband.

Production and Consumption Groups

592 433 241 The family controls all matters related to production and consumption. The head of the house, with the help of his wife and other members of the family, takes care of farming and producing the basic food crops. 462 476 241 In the most conservative communities, the old custom of planting by a cooperative group, composed of relatives and friends, is still practiced. This is a task for men exclusively, since much skill and strength are required to dig up the ground in carefully spaced, perfectly straight rows. The owner [785] of the milpa has to fast and observe sexual [834] abstinence before starting the planting.

462 592 Only the family shares in the rest of the labor, according to their sex: men take care of tasks requiring much effort, women perform those such as tending domestic animals. Help from relatives and neighbors [476] may also be asked occasionally, to build up fences around the orchard, to open or improve irrigation systems, etc.

Trade and Markets

438 Tenango and Amatenango concentrate on producing ceramics and trading them to neighboring municipios. Other municipios have a very limited commercial activity: Tenejapa exports a few sleeping mats; Oxchuc, ropes, nets, and pita bags; Cancuc, wooden combs; Bachajon, clay toys. These Tzeltal villages have no specialized merchants as do Zinacantan and Chamula.

443 There are a few markets where a large number of people meet regularly: Teopisca, in the south, has a Sunday market where natives from Aguacatenango, Amatenango, and Pinola meet. In the central part of the region they meet every Sunday at the mar-

[P. 212-B]

to make a great deal of noise by striking hoes, firing rifles, blowing the horns of bulls, and striking gourds. The logic of this behavior can be understood from the following statement of an informant: "The sickness of the moon is a result of the conflict of the sun with the moon. The noise we made frightens the father sun so that he will stop fighting the moon. If he were to win, the people would die, and new people would be born with only one leg and one arm."[4]

We have in this story what appears to be an overlay of post-hispanic mythology, in which the Devil personifies evil forces, superimposed on a prehispanic mythological identification of the powers of both good and evil in single cosmological deities. Whereas in the previous myth it is the Devil, the King of the Jews, who caused all of the children of Jesus to die and to be reborn with only one arm and one leg, in this statement it is the sun who can effect the same reversal of nature. The sun, Tatik K'alik, has the power to cause the milpa to grow, but by staying out too long, it can burn the crop. Similarly lightning, Tatik Čaʔuk, may bring rain, but can destroy the milpa with the winds that precede the rain or kill man and destroy his house. Man is responsible for determining how the force of the gods will be directed.

The guardianship of the sun and the moon over the people of the world serves to control or at least restrain the behavior of people. Since both of them "walk alone," without companionship, they become jealous if they see sexual relations performed by people in the milpa. Since all legal sexual relations are carried out in the relative privacy of the house, it is only those who seek illicit relationships who retreat to the milpa, and so this restraint has a prohibitive effect on unsanctioned sexual behavior. If the moon sees someone in the milpa at night, she refuses to retire and stays out, not letting her son the sun rise. Similarly, when the sun sees someone in the milpa in the daytime, he refuses to retire, burning the milpa with his hot rays.

The lord spirits of the east. There is another category of spirits which is ill defined and not many people know. These are the spirits of

4. The same behavior, that of making noise during an eclipse, is found in the Maya Indian community of Cantel, Guatemala, but there it is interpreted as a means of calling the sick grandmother back to life by showing that her grandchildren care about her.

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Religious Behavior

Socialization of the child includes teaching him how to adjust to spirits of the house and of the surrounding hills and springs as well as to people in his social environment. He learns the obligations he owes to these spirits in the rituals of house inauguration and curing. Place spirits are given an ethnic identity. The ancestor figures who live in the cave are Indians from whom all the people originate. The Ladino spirits residing in the houses and springs are a mythological projection of a conquered people who have learned to coexist with their conquerors by paying tribute of candles, food, liquor, and entertainment. If the spirits are not won over, they will admit the evil spirits who bring sickness and death. Their presence is known only by the trouble they permit rather than by good occurences; the miracles they perform are an undoing of the harm they have permitted.

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The belief in the potentially dangerous nature of these spirits when their envy or appetite is aroused is linked to an understanding that men and gods alike are jealous and vindictive. It generates behavior that is in conformity with that of the ancestors. A sense of security is reinforced by the protective symbols of incense, the cross of palm hung on the entrance posts of the yard and house, candles which "blind the eye of the devil," and garlic mixed with hot herbs which exude an odor that evil spirits dislike. When the uneasy contract between spiritual and human coresidents is upset, a curing ritual is performed to make everyone "of one heart." Behavior with respect to both spirits and people stems from a policy of appeasement through entertainment and liquor provided in household ceremonials.

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Behavior differs in regard to the category of saints called "spirits in the heaven" and those called "spirits in the church." Spirits of the heavens have incorporated pre-Conquest deities with those introduced by the missions. They are a more powerful force influencing human moral behavior. Illicit sexual relations carried out in the milpa by day are believed to arouse the envy of "Our Father the Sun" who will cause the milpa to burn by refusing to give way to rain. Similarly "Our Grandmother the

[834]
[784]

Moon" will not give way to the sun if her envy is aroused by seeing such things. These spirits of the heavens have greater control over natural forces than the spirits of the church, or saints. The saints have only limited influence over the souls of particular crops and chickens; people say "they are just of the pueblo."

The distinction between the "big saints of the church" and the lesser saints is recognized in the rituals accorded each group. Four of the saints are given big fiestas which are longer, require more expenditures, and involve more people than the fiestas for the lesser saints. Few distinctions are made between the personalities of the big saints and those of the lesser saints. They are big because their fiestas are big. The fact that the townspeople have selected four from the rostrum of saints given them suggests a link with the four guardian gods of the pre-Conquest pantheon, but except for San Pedro the Martyr's identification with Chac, or Cha'uk in Tzeltal, I could not make any other associations.

To say that there is a system of beliefs does not rule out inconsistencies. Some contradictions can coexist without giving rise to tension. Awareness of incongruence either between beliefs, or between beliefs and behavior associated with them, arises in specific events in which the conflict becomes apparent—that is, when the participants must make choices between alternatives that affect their interests.

The people do not recognize any division between pre- and post-Conquest spiritual entities. Sometimes two personalities from Catholic sources may be equated with one of pre-Conquest origin in order to fit a story format, as in the case of Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost, with K'ol (Chapter 8). The priests, who had a special dispensation to make whatever cultural translations were necessary in teaching the doctrines of the church (Doctrina Cristiana Lima 1584 III, 3, Recopilación de Leyes, Ley 22 lib. cited in Lamb 1956:531), are responsible for some of the reworking of the two traditions. But local elaborations reveal indigenous cognitive patterning.

Contradictions in myths concerning the origin of crops show some gaps in the union of pre-and post-Conquest legends. The gift of corn is attributed in one myth to the patroness, Santa Lucía, who received it from the patron saint of the neighboring town of Oxchuk. Another myth gives

613 than three or four generations. In the past, these lineages were localized, and in places like Bachajon, Cancuc, and Oxchuc the exact locations are still remembered.

613 769 778 A few generations ago, the most distinguished members of each lineage were buried in the cave after which the paraje was named, the bones and ashes of the dead being placed in large jugs or urns. The caves were places for ceremonies honoring the ancestors. Blom (1954) made a study of these burials and mapped the distribution of the sites. These caves are still places for worship but not for burials; the cross protecting all members of the lineage is kept there, as well as, in some instances, small crosses belonging to the important members of it (Villa Rojas, 1946, p. 16).

614 The words *chapomal* and *tijinabal* name the members of the clan in general. It is said that "the neighbors of this paraje are all chapomales," or "those cannot get married because they are chapomales." Tijinabal also means neighbor or member of the same paraje. Another word, *patshunk*, is also an equivalent of tijinabal. These words are currently used in Oxchuc, Cancuc, and Bachajon. On the other hand, there is no specific word to designate the lineage.

[835] The main function of the clan is to regulate marriage, as the union of two chapomales is considered incestuous. The clan [574] also gives much self-confidence to the Indian who travels to other parajes, for he can always find hospitality among people of his own clan. It also has a function of social 614 626 control, exercised by the old men of the 887 group, who punish all transgressors against the established rules. Helped by the nagual (supernatural spirit), they find out about the behavior of the members of the clan and punish according to the crime (Villa Rojas, 1947).

613 428 The lineage relationship is also important in inheritance (especially land), since the plots should always be under the control of individuals of the same Indian name. Only where such persons are absent or missing or

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581 end, the husband gives a big meal sometime
574 (even 30 years later) which must be attended by the important members of the wife's
[1953] clan. Many illnesses in a family are attributed to the fact that the man did not fulfill this third requirement of a food gift (*oshevuelto-uaj-matz*, 'third delivery of food').

584 Another custom, known as *yajk makte achish* ('cover or secure the girl'), is practiced when the chosen girl is too young (10–12 years) to get married. To secure her in the future, the boy's parents make arrangements with those of the girl, offering them liquor that other members of the girl's clan also share. When she grows older, they proceed with the wedding arrangements and the customary formal ceremonies.

583 Another form of marriage, existing among very traditional groups, begins with the capture of the girl. This happens when she has no father or important man representing the house. The boy and his parents must obtain cooperation from one of the male members of the girl's clan. With this accomplice the men go to the girl's house at midnight, take her, and bring her to the boy's parents either by persuading her mother with liquor or by force. Days later, they try to calm the anger of the important people of her clan, bringing further bottles of liquor. Usually the union becomes formally recognized after this, and the couple settle in their own home with the neighbors' approval. It is thus a sort of institutionalized capture.

581 Among the less conservative communities,
177 these forms of marriage are being replaced
585 by Ladino forms, which regard marriage not as a contract between two lineages or families but as an agreement between two individuals. Furthermore, the Catholic ceremony
583 is considered very important. Premarital sex-
836 ual relations and elopement are frequent.
584 Metzger states that, "in Aguacatenango, to a considerable extent, the marriage choice
[836] is made by the boy and the girl after sexual experimentation and a period of 'going steady.' The boy tells his family about it and they proceed to make the arrangements

[P. 218-B]

The following list of moral transgressions is roughly ordered in terms of the egregiousness of the crime: witchcraft, theft of cattle, theft of corn, "talking with" a woman (this is a euphemism for having an affair), having more than one wife, killing, and disrespect to parents. There is a fair amount of consistency in the rank order given by different informants. Of five people questioned, all ranked witchcraft first, and theft, without qualification as to what was stolen, second. Subjects questioned differentiated the crime of "talking with" a woman according to the status of the woman —it was worse to have relations with a married woman than with an unmarried girl or with a widow. Killing was listed late or not at all by some because it is assumed that the killer has cause unless the contrary is proved. The dead man is referred to as the guilty one. It is considered worse to kill a consanguineous relative than an affinal relative or a nonrelative. One man remarking on an incident in which a person lost his bull said: "It was a punishment of God for killing his father. If it had been his stepfather, it would be different." Wanton killing is said to be absent in the pueblo, and something that the kurik of the colonias do. The three murders in the past ten years resulting from barroom brawls between "friends" have not dispelled this notion.

Disrespect shown to parents is considered a serious violation of morality. A boy who refuses to listen to his father cannot expect to receive the protection and support of his parents, usually offered a child throughout their lifetime, or of the community. If the son abuses his father verbally or physically in public, the father is supported in whatever action he takes. One father, whose son kicked him in one of the local bars, drew applause when he made the sign of the cross in two deep gashes with his machete on his son's forehead. To beat one's father or mother is a great sin, but to beat one's wife is tolerated, particularly if it is done in drunkenness. If a man other than the husband beats a woman for any cause, she may reciprocate by beating him in court "before the eyes of the judges." One woman who was awarded this privilege when her husband's brother beat her said, "If he were my own husband, it would be all right for him to beat me."

The good man is "of one heart" and reveals it by his humility ("very soft heart"). The rules for demonstrating this are given by an old man who is frequently asked to be a nakawane in his section of the dual divi-

There is no double standard for extramarital sexual relations, although men abuse the prohibition more often than women, judging from court cases. The ability the women has to assert herself rests on her economic contribution in pottery-making and on the fact that female household help is not part of the labor market.

Female sexuality has the connotation of negative power over male sexuality. A woman should not step over a man's feet or his clothing since she could affect his virility. This negative power emanates from the odors of a woman's body, and is captured by anything in contact with it. A woman's skirt cast over the head of a bull can tame him, and the water used by a woman to wash her body, particularly the vagina if she has had children, is drunk to cure snake bites because it is very "cold."

Sexuality is seldom extended beyond persons to material objects. There is some feeling that a man's tools, especially the machete and hoe, are male and that a woman's tools, especially the grinding stone, are female. Corn is a crop of men, while beans are a woman's crop, identified with the Virgin. But I could not get much farther with such distinctions.

The accidents of birth determine the recruitment of successive generations into the family of orientation. There is no outright adoption, but a child may be "lent" to a childless couple, usually by a sibling of one of the spouses, or a grandchild may take up residence in the house of a grandparent when all the children have moved to separate residences. Parents discipline a badly behaved child with the threat, "I am going to sell you to care for someone's house," but I have never known of a case of outright sale of a child.

The selection of a spouse is a decision based on both universalistic as well as particularistic considerations. Both the boy and the girl should be hardworking, sober, and dutiful residents of the same section of the dual division. It is considered to be of greater importance that the boy feel affection toward the girl than vice versa. The "taking of the heart" is a test of the strength and exclusiveness of the boy's interest in his chosen mate, and there is no counterpart for the girl. Although there is no term for romantic love, the closest approximation being "want" or "ask for" a woman, there is an awareness of the importance of a warm, affectionate basis if a marriage relationship is to last "at least until the day after tomorrow." A suitor is accepted if he is known to be a hard worker and if he

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593
562 her before making important decisions, and allow her to handle
421 some of the household property, such as the selling of pigs.

562 But even under the best conditions, the position of a
593 woman is de facto lower than the position of men. If her husband gets drunk and beats her up, she is not supposed to complain, but accept it as part of her role. One of our informants said that once she scolded her husband for drinking, and he said: "I am not
593 asking you for the money." If he is unfaithful, she has no real
586 way of controlling his behavior except by leaving his house, run-
837 ning away to San Cristóbal to work for a few days as a servant or breaking up the marriage.

184 In Amatenango, the pottery making village, the situation
562 is quite different. First, women are economically independent,
434 being able to make a living without a male in the household.
592 Second, they control the profits made by the household from the
421 sale of pottery and from the sale of cash crops such as chayotes which they plant in their gardens. In many cases, they own the house in which they live with their husband and children. They contribute as much as their male siblings to the support of the whole domestic group while they were living in their family's home, and it is possible for them to inherit both land and cattle, a fact which reinforces the equivalent standing between women and their male siblings.

184 Adultery in Amatenango has strong reactive sanctions for
593 both men and women, and a "wife is considered within her rights to
[837] order an erring husband out of the house." "Women do not tolerate

613 476 murdered. Informants declare that "all the Mendeztik will get
626 together against the Perezetik if a Perez kills a Mendez." We have
627 witnessed cases of "talk of revenge," but never any case of the
613 lineal solidarity functioning in this way in practice. In a case
736 where the father of a man dies, it is within the agnatic line that
a man finds a sponsor to live with, to pay his bride-price, and to
613 work the land with. If there is conflict over an adulterous wife,
837 or over the distribution of an inheritance among brothers, it is the
428 duty of the elder members of the agnatic line to give advice, witness the distribution of the property, etc.

613 The patriline is not a land holding unit, in the sense that
423 there is no land that is said to belong to the line as a corporation, but the group of agnatically related men have control over the distribution of it, and its inheritance. If a man dies without adult sons, the closest agnatic kin (father, brother, or in some cases a father's brother if the other two are dead or have enough land) will take over the cultivated fields that he has left. According to the Mexican Agrarian Code, Eiido land can only be transmitted to people that live in the same domestic unit, and communal land cannot be transmitted at all: at the death of the person who held usufruct rights over a parcel, the land should revert to the Ayuntamiento, which has the power to re-distribute it as it considers convenient. In practice, in Aguacatenango, if the household fails to provide heirs, the parcels (both eiido and communal) are re-allocated among agnatic kin. Therefore, although the patriline does not "own" land, some land is allocated through linearity.

858 mother's womb, and they compete for survival with other small
854 babies who live close by (one of the two is likely to die). They
754 are extremely susceptible to the mal de ojo (evil eye)[1] because their souls are tender, and they are, for the same reason, easy victims of witchcraft exercised against their parents. During the first few months of life, they are protected and cared for with innumerable precautions: they are covered up when strangers enter the house, attended at the slightest sign of distress, and
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[P 223-B]

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[P. 224-A]

242 *Soil characteristics.* The potential productivity of flat irrigated lands is evaluated on the basis of two criteria: color of the soil and consistency of the soil. The preferred land for cultivation is the black loam mixed with some sand, (*?ihk'al hi?iletik lum*). The better, quicker growing corn seed is planted here. These very productive soils are called "hot" [822] lands (*k'ilin lum*). (Heat is associated with fertility in both lands and [843] people: a pregnant woman and her husband are considered to be in a state [842] of heat, and the contrast state of being cold is attributed to someone who is sterile.) The red (*tzab'alum*) yellow (*k'analum*), and white soils (*sak lum*) are poorer soils and the slower seed is planted here. These soils are considered "cold" (*sik*) and are thought to be "tired."

The loss of soil productivity is attributed either to the loss of the soul of [774] the crop or to the fact that the soil gets "tired." Farmers have noticed that in the first five years of planting in Tulanca, the ejido land grant, the soil was "hot" and gave good crops. When this productivity was lost, people said the soul of the crop left. It is considered dangerous to start crops in the lower lands of hot country because when the location of crops is changed, the soul leaves its original residence. The notion of crop soul loss does not conflict with the awareness of natural causes of soil productivity. Fields are left fallow for four or five years when productivity diminishes and the soil is "tired." The irrigated lands are in continuous use because there is some replenishment of fertility with the overflow of the ditch waters. Cattle fertilizers are used sporadically. Those who have many head of [233] cattle construct corrals into which they herd the cattle each night. The location of the corral is changed yearly. Corn and beans are then planted in [596] the old corral with superior results. The dozen or so corrals in the town [476] are owned and worked cooperatively by extended families and are referred [551] to by the Indian patronyms—for example, *skoral Linetik* (corral of the Lins) or *skoral Čailetik* (corral of the Čailes). The one attempt to use [177] commercial fertilizers provided by the Ejido Bank proved a technical success but an administrative failure (chapter 3). Indians noted the increased yields, but none have attempted to purchase fertilizers.

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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

23 tion or when the animal is sick. For ceremonial occasions, the assistant of
79 one of the mayordomos is expected to kill the bull which will provide the
[194] meat for a common meal. On other occasions, someone who is known to have a hand which gives flavor to the meat is asked to do it. The owner of
[465] the animal gives the butcher a half-liter of liquor.

282 Caponizing is a skill learned by some men with a few head of cattle by watching someone who knows how to perform the operation. If a man's
[843] wife is pregnant, he cannot perform the operation himself or even approach the bull, since his glance is very hot and will cause the bull to die. The procedure for making the request and for performing the operation is described below:

The owner goes to speak to one who knows how to caponize. When he arrives at the house of the caponizer, he says, "Are you in, Mam Gomez?" "I am," he replies if he is in. "Come in and sit down," he says.

"Pardon me, I have come to speak to you. Please, for the sake of the Virgin and for the sake of God, will you do nothing more than take out the little scrotum of my bull tomorrow?"

"Yes," replies the caponizer. "Do not worry, I shall take it out tomorrow."

"Good," replies the owner. "I shall wait for you in the house."

The next morning, the caponizer comes. The owner gives him some coffee to drink with a little bread. After they drink, they go to the hills to find the bull. They bring him to a wooded place and tie him by his hind legs to a branch of a tree. They then cast the body on the ground and tie the forelegs to the hind legs with a leather strap. They tie a string around the scrotum and sever the testes. After this, they drink a little. The owner's family joins them. The men blow up the scrotum to make a ball and the children play with it. They cut up the testes and broil them in a pan on the fire. After this is cooked, they pass it out to all of the people present with a tortilla and salt. Two liters of liquor are served. After the common meal, everyone goes to the house of the owner, and there they have a meal of chicken soup with two more liters of liquor. Those who do not drink liquor are served soda.

Very early the next day, the owner goes to see if his bull has died. If he

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4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

462 All activities related to curing of disease are also performed by specialized men, though in some places women occasionally participate. Help at childbirth is always as-
[844] signed to experienced female relatives; there
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Specialization is little developed. Only in
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[P. 210-C]

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5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

he is whipped by the girl's father for a thief. The girl is stripped to 584
the waist and whipped by her mother. With this the marriage is 585
legalized. As the first act of their true married life, the girl makes posole and offers it to her parents. The boy is under obligation to bring presents of bread, chocolate, aguardiente, etc., to his parents-in-law.

There are no formal restrictions of marriage, but the Church 582
exercises a general influence against wedding brother and sister, 177
cousins, or other relatives forbidden by Christian doctrine. In this, 178
owing to the disposition of the Indians, and to the purely tribal character of marriage, which is not regarded by them as a religious or governmental matter, the Church is only partially successful. In- 588
formal unions actually do occur between brother and sister, apparently without any ceremony, the pair merely continuing to live together, their family relationship slowly changing into that of a married couple. That such a wife's status has some regularity in their eyes is shown by the fact that she has the same position in funeral rites as an ordinary wife.

It is probably due to the negative influence of the Church that 115
the various important crises in the life of an individual, ordinarily 126
marked by such colourful ceremonies among primitive people, here are distinguished by very little of ritualistic observance. For description of the main events in the life course, we were again dependent on Señor Tovilla, whose information, given with little change below, checked entirely with the result of other inquiries. The funeral ceremonies were observed at first hand, after the fight described at El Encanto; for them, accordingly, I have used my own notes.

When a woman is about to give birth to a child, a midwife—an 844
older woman with some knowledge of herbs—is summoned. A few days before parturition, the woman is carefully tended by the midwife, well fed with choice food, and provided with a little rum. At the moment of giving birth, the midwife prays that the child may be brought forth happily. The mother kneels, and the midwife prepares to receive the child with a new cloth. Meantime the father is told to stay outside the house, or may be allowed to help in minor matters.

It is said that at Tenejapa the women go out into the woods to give birth untended, coming back with the child.

The baby is given Christian baptism. 852

A child's soul is considered to be particularly delicate, and there- 789
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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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844 house, and the men usually leave the scene. Women are ashamed of their husbands seeing the afterbirth because they joke about it with other men. [522] [833] (I do not know what the joking is about—possibly it is related to the frequency of sexual intercourse during pregnancy, since the placenta is believed to be increased by male sperm.)

There is no ceremony attending childbirth. Although some women are assisted by one female relative, most call in a midwife, who is referred to as "grandmother of the child" and who comes when the birth pangs begin. [959] There is only one recognized midwife in Tzoʔontahal; she is the sister of one of the practicing curers and a niece of one of the former leading curers of Alannantik. She has patients on both sides of the dual division. On rare occasions, caused by witchcraft the Indians believe, a woman [845] [756] fails to give birth after two or three days of labor, and then a curer is called in.

The child is delivered with the mother kneeling on the floor. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord with a knife, and the child's navel is tied with a cord. The child is wrapped in cloths which have been smoked over incense, and then a woman's sash is wrapped around him from shoulders to feet, firmly binding the arms and legs so that they cannot move. It is felt that if this is not done, the child will snatch at everything and eventually 846 become a thief. The body remains bound in this way for fifteen days. The umbilical cord and placenta are buried in the houseyard. Some say that a boy's umbilical cord may be tied in a tree "so that when the child grows, he can climb trees and cut fruit." The mother is given a drink of coffee, and the midwife binds her stomach with a band. Three days later the woman enters the sweatbath to cleanse herself. The midwife goes in with her and rubs her with branches of orange leaves and massages her stomach. If the child is born away from his own house, he is brought to it with great care so that his soul will not be dislodged from his body. The midwife makes a pad with branches of bushes growing near the springs, and the father sprays the child's body with springwater from his mouth.

[753] In the first "twenty days or one month" of life, the child's contacts with the world are limited to the immediate family in order to guard against soul-loss and illness from "hot" glances of outsiders. When anyone not of the household approaches the house in which there is a newborn child, he

844 house, and the men usually leave the scene. Women are ashamed of their husbands seeing the afterbirth because they joke about it with other men. [522] [833] (I do not know what the joking is about—possibly it is related to the frequency of sexual intercourse during pregnancy, since the placenta is believed to be increased by male sperm.)

There is no ceremony attending childbirth. Although some women are assisted by one female relative, most call in a midwife, who is referred to as "grandmother of the child" and who comes when the birth pangs begin. [759] There is only one recognized midwife in Tzoʔontahal; she is the sister of one of the practicing curers and a niece of one of the former leading curers of Alannantik. She has patients on both sides of the dual division. On rare occasions, caused by witchcraft the Indians believe, a woman [845] [756] fails to give birth after two or three days of labor, and then a curer is called in.

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342 lages of the lowlands where the houses have
[354] small windows, which improve ventilation
342 and illumination slightly. In places like
184 Chanal, where there is abundant lumber, the sides of the houses are built with wooden boards set vertically. The largest and best-built houses are in Tenejapa center.

Generally, the hut is divided into two rooms: the front is parlor and kitchen, the rear is bedroom. In Bachajon the rear room serves as bedroom and kitchen, the front room for sewing and grinding and the re-
[574] ception of visitors. In Amatenango del Valle the front of the house is open and
[323] used as a porch for visits. Ceramic work
[251] is also performed here. In one room of the house a bin of wood or reeds stores corn.
[343] Sometimes, small structures which serve as granaries are built inside the hut.

343 Among the auxiliary structures outside is
515 the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. Not every hut has a *pus* since one is enough to attend the needs of several neighboring families. The *pus* is a small room 1.5 m. high by 2 m. on each side, built of stones and clay. The roof is flat. Inside a hollow forms a hearth for heating stones. Water thrown on these red-hot stones produces the necessary steam. On the floor are boards on which people lie while taking the bath.
[184] Among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil the *pus* is
[757] not only for cleanliness but also for the cure of certain diseases and to strengthen women
[846] after childbirth. Sweat baths are more commonly taken in Tierra Fria than in Tierra Caliente.

417 The other structures near the hut are the chickencoop and the hogpen.

352 Furniture is limited to essential items. In the kitchen are the three hearth stones, the comal (*samet*), the grinding stone (*chá*), a bench or strong table to hold the metate (*ah-ken*), one or two small tables (*matzmalté* or *vebalté*) 25–39 cm. high and 30–40 cm. in diameter, and small benches 15–20 cm. high made of scooped-out tree trunks
415 (*tzanté*). Kitchen equipment includes earthenware (pans, pitchers, and jars) and
[P. 207-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

844 cloves, and corncake, to keep her "warm
[757] and fertile." The placenta can be burned,
[842] thrown to the dogs, or deeply buried in case
the mother does not want another preg-
[789] nancy soon. The umbilical cord is put under
a three-stone fireplace if the baby is a girl,
on top of a tree if it is a boy so that he may
become brave and agile when adult.

846 A few hours after childbirth, at the latest
515 the next day, both mother and child take a
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Childhood and Adolescence

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753 *Sickness and Death*

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[888] malnutrition. To the natives, however, ill-
nesses have a supernatural cause and are
ascribed either to the anger of gods and
spirits or to old people who have a nagual
or who can throw a spell. The most frequent
explanation is that naguales or supernatural
beings are acting against people. They can
adopt human or animal form or appear as

[P 224-A]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

844 house, and the men usually leave the scene. Women are ashamed of their husbands seeing the afterbirth because they joke about it with other men. [522] [833] (I do not know what the joking is about—possibly it is related to the frequency of sexual intercourse during pregnancy, since the placenta is believed to be increased by male sperm.)

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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

must announce his arrival at the gate so that the mother can cover the child from view. In this period, the mother sleeps with the child apart from her husband. 846 [513]

Infants remain swaddled in wrapped skirt pieces—the woman's sash is not used after the first fifteen days—throughout the first year of life. Their arms are bound to their sides by kerchiefs crossed over the chest and drawn around the back with the ends tucked in; this makes it easier to carry the child on the back, wrapped in a large carrying cloth. Mothers sometimes lay sleeping infants on their bed when they are working in the house, but much of the time they carry them on their backs. 854

The child is given corn gruel to supplement nursing during his third or fourth month. Weaning may be consciously done after the child reaches the age of one and a half or two years. If the child persists in trying to nurse, the mother may put chile sauce or draw a face on her breasts to discourage him. 853 862

Much of the care of children from two to four years of age is done by elder siblings. Both girls and boys of from seven to ten years of age carry younger siblings in a carrying cloth on their backs, even when playing very active games. They pacify the child by holding a flower or twig for him to chew or grasp, and they usually share with him any cookies or scraps of food they are given. 855 857

School is commonly considered the most joyful time of a person's life. There the children, especially boys, make friendships which last throughout life. School recess is a time for untestrained running, shouting, and laughter such as I have rarely seen in the houseyards when children play together. 871 857

In teaching their children how to work, parents are expected to inculcate not only competence but also a sense of the value of work, for industry is one of the most esteemed traits in both boys and girls. Small girls do errands for their mothers from the age of about four years. When a woman is occupied with pottery, she rarely disturbs herself to get needed items, but calls upon her children to fetch a pot which is out of reach or to bring water for the painting. She gives these orders in a quiet undertone, and I have never seen any need to prompt or cajole the child into fulfilling the errand. By the age of ten or eleven, girls begin to make small pots like 867 857 868 323

591 587 [601] [183] The stepmother refers to her as "my husband's child," and she did not count her, when giving census information, among the children of her household, but as a child living with "my husband's mother." Another characteristic that makes this case [848] anomalous is that this stepchild was born of an extra-marital relation between the father and another woman, while the father was already married to the stepmother.

593 591 587 [428] The rationale given by the people when asked the reasons why a father does not keep his children with him, is that "stepmothers are no good." It is possible that one of the main forces operating behind this arrangement is the possibility of conflict over inheritance rights of stepchildren. By assigning rights and duties towards stepchildren only to stepfathers, it is implied that a man marrying a woman with children takes not only a wife, but the economic and jural responsibilities of being a father, including the duty of making them his heirs. We do not have, at the moment, sufficient information to support this point, and it is only given here as a suggestion for future inquiry.

591 592 423 426 These alternative rules of residence explain the composition of the compound households made up of the remnants of two or more original nuclear families, except for the cases in which people are living in borrowed houses. In one of the two cases in our sample, a house was "borrowed" from a brother of the husband's father. The family living in this compound is a very large one, twelve members, with only two males who are of working age, and very poor by Aguacatenango standards. The male head is an orphan who lived before marriage with his mother's mother and

584 with the family of the girl. If the boy is accepted, the gifts are received and the marriage takes place.

585 184 [177] In Aguacatenango and Amatenango, the Catholic ceremony is sometimes delayed for several years after the informal marriage, because of the belief that the latter really consolidated the union. On the other hand, in places where the Ladino population is larger (Pinola and San Bartolo) the religious ceremony is considered by the Indians as a very important part of the customs.

184 177 608 The compadrazgo relationship is stressed among these communities where Ladinos have great influence. There are baptism, confirmation, and wedding padrinos. The rights and duties established through this relationship are still respected, especially 608 the compadre relationship. It is the duty of the child's parents to give occasional gifts [736] to the godparents. If the child's parents die, the godparents must take care of him, except when there are closer relatives to the father.

585 608 It is the main duty of the wedding godparents to help the couple maintain a good understanding and to dissolve, by advice, any disagreement. They always receive great respect and affection from their *ahijados*.

608 [851] Among conservative groups, the compadrazgo relationship arises only from the baptism of a child. Sometimes this relationship is established in a very informal way; perhaps during fiesta at the ceremonial center they may take advantage of the priest's presence to ask a very close friend to "embrace" the child. The padrino is then invited 574 608 to have aguardiente. At other times the arrangement is made formally; the parents of the child go to the house of their future [431] compadres to ask them that favor. Exchanges of gifts and dinner invitations are frequent, the child's parents feeling the greater obligation. These meals can be really banquets where many "platillos" and much aguardiente are consumed. Among 184 608 some groups, padrinos neither give a gift to 431 736 [P. 219-A]

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

608
601

	/ ... YU*N *IC HA*/, "of baptism"	/ ... YU*N KOMPRE-MASYON/, "of confirmation"	/ ... YU*N NUH-PUNEL/, "of marriage"	/ ... YU*N S*AN NINYO/, "of Christmas"
/H-KUMPRE/ /H-KUMRE/	x	x	x	x
/H-TAT+SNARYOS/ /H-ME*+ SNARYOS/	x	x	*	-
/H-NIC'AN+SNAR-YOS/ /K-AL+ SNARYOS/	x	x	*	-

608
851
1794
602

Both baptism and confirmation involve ritual relationships across generations. The padrinos (H-TAT+SNARYOS/, etc.) chosen for the child on these occasions become compadres (/-KUMPRE/ ~ /-KUMRE/) of the child's parents and, sometimes, of the child's paternal grandparents as well.

585
608
601
602

The traditional (in contrast to church) wedding, on the other hand, establishes no cross-generation ritual relationships. The parents and married siblings of the spouses become /-KUMPRE/ ~ /KUMRE/ to each other, as may even the grandparents and parents' siblings of the married pair. The newlyweds alone do not enter into this relationship with anyone present. The terms of reference to persons so related are the stated /-KUMPRE/ ~ /-KUMRE/,

883 (gang), containing males from the age of about twelve to the time
562 they marry. They usually sleep together in one of the escuadrilla
573 member's house corridor, and spend long nights playing the harmonica, having corn eating competitions or serenading.

562 A man is not considered a full-fledged community member
885 until he marries and has a child (the word for man and father
851 have the same root: tat), which allows him to take the lower
601 post in the government (policía). The government itself is an
621 age-graded organization in which the kinship terms of elder and
621 younger brother are used reciprocally, and by extension, by of-
561 ficers in lower and higher posts.
601

562 With the passing of time, both men and women increase their
593 status by raising a family and by passing to higher positions in
621 the civil-religious hierarchy. Although women do not participate
794 directly in the government, they have some duties as officer's wives (e.g., ironing the Saint's clothes if their husbands are Mayordomos), and they are called by their husband's titles. A man may resign from office if his wife dies and there is no other adult woman in the household who can take care of her part of the officer's performance.

184 The first noticeable difference in the ordering of social
562 relations in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women
592 in the domestic group.

184 In Aguacatenango, the eldest male is the head of the
562 household. He controls the land which the men of the household
462 work, the cattle, the labor of the household members and most of
592 the money obtained through the sale of surplus corn (which is

159 come back when the father was home because not even he could sell
592 the pig without his consent. The Ladino was then forced to give up.
437
602 A few days later, Juan sold the pig according to his own plans. He kept the money, except for a small amount that he gave to his wife and daughter-in-law, in spite of the fact that Maria had fattened the pig, and that it had been previously said that the pig was the young couple's animal.[1]

592 A woman living with her husband in a separate household
593 has some autonomy within it, but she is still subordinate to her
562 husband. She owns little property. A woman may be given a cow
421 when she marries, but her father is not obliged to do so. It is
[931] simply a regalo (present). She does not own agricultural implements. She can not own land or inherit from her husband, except in cases where she is, in effect, keeping the house in trust for her male children, and it has not been claimed by her husband's father or brothers who have primacy rights over such property.

[561] As she grows older, and with the birth of children, her
[851] position becomes somewhat less dependent. She has more prestige in the eyes of her husband's family and other people, and if her marital relation has developed into a strong emotional bond, her interaction with her husband is less subordinate. He would consult

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[231] [1]The animals are usually said to "belong" to one particular
[421] woman in the household. However, this does not mean that she has
[562] property rights over it; it only means that she is the person in charge of feeding it. Thus, the expression "el cochi de María" (María's pig) means the pig which María has the responsibility to feed every day, and it does not assume that she can sell it, kill it for meat, or do anything about it without the consent of the head of the household.

585 183 593 606 family, that she starts a new life. She now has a new family and a new home where she should learn new ways of doing things from her mother-in-law, and forget the old ones she learned from her mother. Among her duties as a good wife and daughter-in-law she should keep her husband well fed and clean, obey her mother-in-law for whom she should work hard, and respect the head of the household (her father-in-law). She should not visit her family too often, and she should gather firewood with her mother-in-law instead of with her mother.[1] The ceremony indicates two things: [581] (1) the transfer of the wife's reproductive and labor power from her natal home to her husband's; (2) the boundaries of her new role. In a sense, the people of Aguacatenango define the role of a wife in terms of her performance as a worker and as a daughter-in-law, and in terms of her relations with all the members of the household rather than only in terms of her relation to her husband.

593 885 [851] On the other hand, a new husband's performance is under trial. He has to demonstrate that he can get along with his wife, and become a father, before his role as a dependent child is replaced by his role as a married man. At the time of acquiring a wife, a man is regarded by the community as a "child," being both economically and jurally dependent upon his father, who has complete authority over his actions, and is directly responsible for his son's misdeeds.[2]

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[583] [1]One of my informants tells me that although she was robada by her husband (she lived in the other barrio) the night she arrived at her husband's household, her father-in-law gave her a shortened version of the wedding speech. I do not know if this is a common practice.

[592] [672] [2]If a young man commits a crime while living under his father's roof, the father is responsible for his defense and for paying the fines to the Ayuntamiento.

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[789] nancy soon. The umbilical cord is put under
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Childhood and Adolescence

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[P. 224-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

he is whipped by the girl's father for a thief. The girl is stripped to 584
the waist and whipped by her mother. With this the marriage is 585
legalized. As the first act of their true married life, the girl makes posole and offers it to her parents. The boy is under obligation to bring presents of bread, chocolate, aguardiente, etc., to his parents-in-law.

There are no formal restrictions of marriage, but the Church 582
exercises a general influence against wedding brother and sister, 177
cousins, or other relatives forbidden by Christian doctrine. In this, 178
owing to the disposition of the Indians, and to the purely tribal character of marriage, which is not regarded by them as a religious or governmental matter, the Church is only partially successful. In- 588
formal unions actually do occur between brother and sister, apparently without any ceremony, the pair merely continuing to live together, their family relationship slowly changing into that of a married couple. That such a wife's status has some regularity in their eyes is shown by the fact that she has the same position in funeral rites as an ordinary wife.

It is probably due to the negative influence of the Church that 115
the various important crises in the life of an individual, ordinarily 126
marked by such colourful ceremonies among primitive people, here are distinguished by very little of ritualistic observance. For description of the main events in the life course, we were again dependent on Señor Tovilla, whose information, given with little change below, checked entirely with the result of other inquiries. The funeral ceremonies were observed at first hand, after the fight described at El Encanto; for them, accordingly, I have used my own notes.

When a woman is about to give birth to a child, a midwife—an 844
older woman with some knowledge of herbs—is summoned. A few days before parturition, the woman is carefully tended by the midwife, well fed with choice food, and provided with a little rum. At the moment of giving birth, the midwife prays that the child may be brought forth happily. The mother kneels, and the midwife prepares to receive the child with a new cloth. Meantime the father is told to stay outside the house, or may be allowed to help in minor matters.

It is said that at Tenejapa the women go out into the woods to give birth untended, coming back with the child.

The baby is given Christian baptism. 852

A child's soul is considered to be particularly delicate, and there- 789
fore liable to magic influence. If the people of the house must go [774]

Chapter 5

Rituals of Life Crisis

571 The ceremonial occasions marking baptism, betrothal, and death define
608 the network of bilateral relatives, neighbors, and compadres who will
602 guide and help a person throughout his life. These people make up the group called me?iltatil. The constitute a corporate group, but one which is tied to a single transaction. The sense of corporate identity is strengthened by the same group being called upon to act in subsequent household celebrations. But for each set of me?iltatil there is almost always a different membership since the participants are selected for a particular event. The behavior during these ceremonials is marked by formality and replication of a limited number of ceremonial acts. Through this replication, the rituals dramatize continuity with the past and foster a sense of changelessness. The symbolic act establishing the bond is the embrace, called *sme?is-*
[192] *petb'ak*. Within the ritual setting, the child learns whom he can turn to for help and what he is expected to do in his home and community.

Baptism

852
774 After a month of seclusion when the child is hidden from public view, the soul is expected to have found its place in the child's body. A cere-
[192] mony called *ki'n ha?* (water ceremony) then takes place with the mother and grandmother in attendance. The three enter the sweatbath, and the mother and child are bathed in hot water and then cold.

If the child cries frequently, it is suspected that his soul is still not firmly lodged and has been wandering in the streets where it encounters animal spirits that frighten him. This requires a soul-calling ceremony performed

in the house in which he lives. The midwife, the only person present besides the mother, performs the ritual. She puts cold water in the child's mouth and then goes to the door, saying, "Enter if you arrive, little boy [or little girl]." Then she brushes the child with pine branches dipped in springwater, and smokes with incense of pitch pine the clothing which is then put on the child. The incense "makes a path for the soul to find the body of the child." As she does this, she says, "May your heart be one now that you are in the house." This ceremony is always performed when the child is born outside his parents' residence is order to guide his soul to its proper locale. Three days later, a ceremony called *sti? mus* (eat the chicken) takes place. Only women attend this meal. In one case I observed, the child's mother, her three sisters, mother, and husband's cousin attended. Each woman brings a peso's worth of bread, some chocolate, and ten tortillas. Two hens are cooked in boiling water, and the food is eaten by the women.

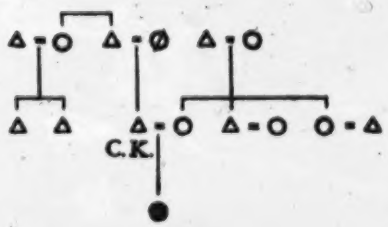
Baptism, called "throw the water" (*?iʔ ha?*) occurs as soon as possible after the new-born child's twentieth day of life. If the parents of the child live with either the mother's or the father's family, the grandparents will choose the godparent, or *padrino*. The actual decisions recorded for four families in Table 20 can be compared with statements of preference as to who should be godparents. People say they prefer nonrelatives ("We are not deceived by them"), people of the same section of the dual division ("We like to greet them in the street") and finally people of good reputation. The individual or couple chosen as godparent becomes *compadre* or co-parent to the parents of the child.

People seem to be successful in realizing the preferences they state. 81 percent of compadres are chosen from their own side of the dual division, and only 4 percent are chosen from out of town. 71 percent of compadres are chosen from among nonrelatives. A significant factor in the choice of compadres is maintaining good neighbor relations. Most families surround themselves with a ring of compadres which neutralizes both the fear of being the object of witchcraft and of being accused of witchcraft. Factors of wealth, prestige, and status positions—particularly that of fiscal—are also taken into consideration in choosing a compadre. Most of the padrinos of baptism are chosen from among older members of the community,

852 but on other occasions they are as likely to be chosen from among peers of the parents.

608 571 [128] The occasions on which the first informant in Table 20 acquired compadres are spelled out in the following diagrams to show the growth of the network of compadrazgo relations in the course of a lifetime.

608 571 852 [601] *Compadres of C. K., sixty-five-year-old man.* C. K. chose as compadres on the occasion of the baptism of his first child an older man who lived in the same section of town. The diagram shows the composition of the baptismal party. The darkened symbol in this and the following diagrams represents the child baptized.



C. K. addresses all of the guests by the term "compadre" and refers to the group as "kumparetak." The second child has the same padrino, and the same group of relatives attended the ceremony. For the third child, C. K. chose a Ladino shopkeeper from the neighboring town. He chose him because, "I sold wheat to him, and I saw he was honorable." C. K. had a house fiesta to which the shopkeeper came with his wife. This is somewhat unusual and occurred because the compadre was from another town. C. K. chose as the padrino of his fourth child another Ladino he knew in the same town, but the padrino did not attend the house fiesta to which only his sister, her husband, and her husband's brother came. A woman prayer-reciter of the same section was chosen as *madrina* of his fifth and sixth child when C. K. was fiscal. A younger man of the same section was chosen as the padrino of the seventh child. C. K. helped his son select the padrino of a grandson born in his house, a man from the same section.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 120]

[p. 119]

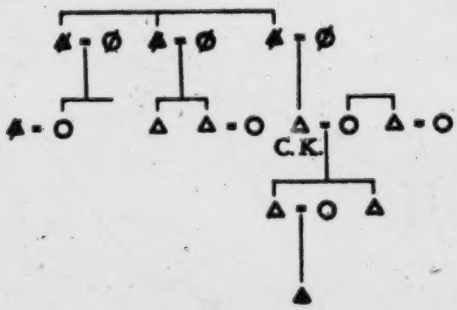
TABLE 20. Relationship of Individual to Compadres

Informant's family status	Occasion	Residence of compadre: Same section	Opposite section	Other barrio	Neighboring town	Total	Relationship: Relative	Non-relative	Total
65-year-old man, wife, 5 grown children	Baptism of godchild	13	5			18		18	18
	Wedding	31				31	12	19	31
	Baptism of own child	3			2	5		5	5
	Total	47	5		2	54	12	42	54
42-year-old man, wife, adopted daughter	Baptism of godchild	12	1			13	2	11	13
	Wedding	13	3	5		21	6	15	21
	Confirmation		2			2		2	2
	Blessing of loudspeaker	2			2	4		2	2
	Total	27	6	5	2	40	8	30	38
35-year-old man, wife, 5 children	Baptism of godchild	7				7	4	3	7
	Baptism of own child	4			1	5		5	5
	Wedding	4				4		4	4
	House saint	2				2	1	1	2
	Total	17			1	18	5	13	18
34-year-old widow	Baptism of godchild	17	1	1		19	15	4	19
	Wedding	7	3			10	2	8	10
	House saint	2	1		1	4	1	3	4
	Confirmation	1				1	1		1
	Total	27	5	1	1	34	19	15	34
	TOTAL	118	16	6	6	146	44	100	144

6092
6968
1-
1-
1-

608 571 602 852 [601]

section. Attending this house fiesta was the group of relatives represented in the diagram.



The relatives assembled are essentially the same as those who attended the birth of C. K.'s first child. They are the core of the me?iltatil for his family, a core which expands to include additional compadres and neighbors for special house rituals. The second and third grandchildren had as padrino a man from the opposite section.

In summary, C. K. has chosen four Indian compadres and two Ladino compadres for the baptisms of his own children. Other members of the me?iltatil who became compadres on these occasions include five men and three women who are bilateral and affinal relatives.

608 852 571

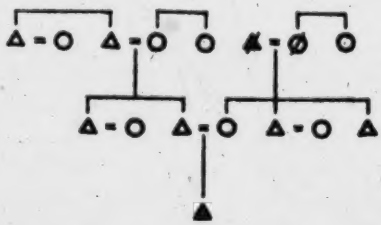
C. K. has been asked to be padrino of baptism by four persons:

1. A neighbor asked him to be padrino of his child. At a small fiesta, he became compadre of the father and godfather of the child.

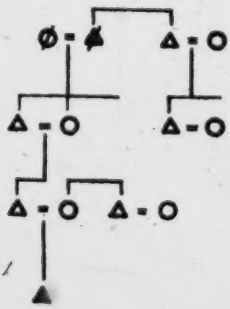
2. A man from the opposite section asked him to be padrino of his son's child, and he acquired the group of compadres shown in the diagram.

[601]

3. A man of the same section asked him to be padrino, and he acquired 6 compadres and 7 comadres. 608 571 852 601

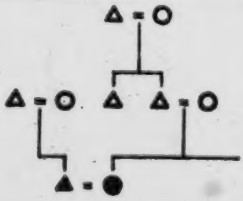


4. A man of same section asked him to be padrino, and he acquired 5 compadres and 5 comadres.



He has been asked to be padrino of marriage ceremonies, also by four parties. The darkneed symbols represent the individuals married. 608 571 585

1. A man of the same section.



[601]

In becoming a padrino of baptism and marriage, C. K. has acquired 33 compadres, 31 comadres, 4 godchildren of baptism, and 7 godchildren of marriage, 4 of which are his nephews. Adding to the 6 compadres of baptism for his own children, he has 39 compadres and 37 comadres, a total of 76. Most people by the time they have reached 60 have acquired well over 50 compadres. 608 571 [852] [585]

The relationship between compadres is one of respect, and the referential and vocative terms, *kumpare* and *kumare,* or compadre and comrade in Spanish, take precedence over any other relationship term. The godchild is expected to bring a load of wood to his padrino's house when the latter has a household ceremonial, and when the godchild is old enough, he will serve as b'alnial, or assistant. All the people who attend the household ceremony following the church baptism become compadres and constitute the kumparetak. Compadres attend each other's household ceremonials, acting as nakawanehetik (attendants who are present at all household ceremonials) or b'alnialetik. Compadrazgo is patterned on a pre-Conquest institution establishing ties between attendants in household rituals called maliwanehetik. [852] [788] [794] [592]

The relationship of protection and guidance that is to characterize the tie between co-parents, godchildren and their godparents for the rest of their lives is symbolized in the behavior formally prescribed in the baptism ceremony. On the day of baptism, the child is dressed in clothing given by his godparents. The parents and grandparents of the child go together with the godparent to the church. While the child is being baptized by the priest, he is held by his godfather if he is a boy, or by her godmother if a girl. The priest throws water and salt on the child and prays over him, baptizing him in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. After the ceremony the participants embrace the child and each other in front of the church, symbolizing the status they now occupy in respect to the child, his grandparents, and parents. Without this performance, the ritual terms of comadre, compadre, or padrino cannot be used.[1] 852 608 571

1. This behavioral definition of the ritual kinship tie in the sme'ispetb'ak is illustrated in the following incident: The wife of a man who had been asked to be a child's godparent was absent when the priest arrived for the ceremony. Her husband went to the church with the parents and grandparents of the child and embraced them at the church steps. Although

852 608 571 788 The church ceremony is followed by another ceremony in the house of the child's parents. As the group returning from the church enters the house, they are greeted with the pat'o'tan by the maliwanehetik who are waiting for them in the house. As they enter, each of the returning party says, "You go forward, kumpare." They embrace all of the waiting party, an act which establishes their relationship as compadres with the entire company. When the padrinos leave, the grandparents and parents of the [273] child go to a spot before the eaves outside the house; there the father of [593] the child serves liquor to the padrinos and the grandparents of the child. [603] The drink is called "the finale as the compadres leave." The group must finish the entire liter "since it is a gift," and if there are only one or two grandparents, they may get fairly drunk. As the compadres leave, the grandpaernts say, "Over the soil, over the mud where you take your holy [778] godchild, your holy flower, your holy candle." The child, referred to metaphorically as holy flower, holy candle, is identified with the most sacred symbols of the culture.[2]

608 571 171 The emphasis on the group relationship in Tzo'ontahal contrasts with the form of compadrazgo found in the central plateau of Mexico where the dyadic tie between two compadres provides flexibility in achieving instrumental ends in political or economic life.[3] Some of the new leaders in economic enterprises are beginning to emphasize the dyadic contract in their compadrazgo relationships to achieve political support, but its greatest importance is still based on creating or reinforcing group solidarity.

796 179

Betrothal and Marriage

584 585 The Indians of Tzo'onthal are initiated into the community of the living and depart from it with ceremonies deriving from the Spanish colonial culture. The courtship and marriage ceremonies continue indigenous re-

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[852] she later attended the household ceremony, she was never called kumare because of the [571] omission of this act.

[608] 2. See Laughlin (1962) on the symbolism of the candle and flower in Zinacantan.

[171] 3. In regard to the occasions and the kind of respect relation established, compadrazgo in Tzo'ontahal is similar to the institution in other parts of Mexico (Foster 1963, Nader 1964, Wolf and Mintz 1950). The difference lies in the elaboration of the number of ties acquired through compadrazgo at each event.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

must announce his arrival at the gate so that the mother can cover the child from view. In this period, the mother sleeps with the child apart from her husband. 846 [513]

Infants remain swaddled in wrapped skirt pieces—the woman's sash is not used after the first fifteen days—throughout the first year of life. Their arms are bound to their sides by kerchiefs crossed over the chest and drawn around the back with the ends tucked in; this makes it easier to carry the child on the back, wrapped in a large carrying cloth. Mothers sometimes lay sleeping infants on their bed when they are working in the house, but much of the time they carry them on their backs. 854

The child is given corn gruel to supplement nursing during his third or fourth month. Weaning may be consciously done after the child reaches the age of one and a half or two years. If the child persists in trying to nurse, the mother may put chile sauce or draw a face on her breasts to discourage him. 853 862

Much of the care of children from two to four years of age is done by elder siblings. Both girls and boys of from seven to ten years of age carry younger siblings in a carrying cloth on their backs, even when playing very active games. They pacify the child by holding a flower or twig for him to chew or grasp, and they usually share with him any cookies or scraps of food they are given. 855 857

School is commonly considered the most joyful time of a person's life. There the children, especially boys, make friendships which last throughout life. School recess is a time for unrestrained running, shouting, and laughter such as I have rarely seen in the houseyards when children play together. 871 857

In teaching their children how to work, parents are expected to inculcate not only competence but also a sense of the value of work, for industry is one of the most esteemed traits in both boys and girls. Small girls do errands for their mothers from the age of about four years. When a woman is occupied with pottery, she rarely disturbs herself to get needed items, but calls upon her children to fetch a pot which is out of reach or to bring water for the painting. She gives these orders in a quiet undertone, and I have never seen any need to prompt or cajole the child into fulfilling the errand. By the age of ten or eleven, girls begin to make small pots like 867 857 868 323

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

the thigh. The spinning is done with the left hand, the right holding and drawing out the thread, *tsahalna'* (fig. 302-d). 283

The thread is then arranged for the warp on a form called *kumen* (fig. 302-c). This is a pole 1.40 meters long, notched at intervals on one side, and with a groove in one end joining two unnotched sides. In one of the notches, according to the length of thread desired, is placed a cross stick, *tumin-te,* (equals *kumen-te?*), 45 centimeters long. The thread is laid from one end of this cross stick, through the groove, around to the other end of the cross stick, and so, back and forth, until the required number of woof-strands are prepared. The loops around one half of the cross stick are then transferred to the head-stick of the loom, those around the other to the foot-stick, and the woof is ready. At the head end, the loops are braided for the selvage. 286 342 284 142 516 854 302 291 231

FIG. 301—Sivacá, Chia. Woman Winding Thread.

The loom, *holĕl,** has no rigid frame. The woof is stretched over the head and foot-sticks, *wolol-te.* The head-stick is fastened to a beam in the house or to a branch, usually more than a meter above the ground. Before this the weaver sits, with the foot-stick strapped to her by a broad leather strap, *ku'epat,* thus holding the set-up taut (fig. 303). At a little distance below the head-stick, the woof-strands are crossed, those underneath being carried on top, and held in place

*holĕl is one of a large class of words ending in *-al, -il,* or *-il,* which are at once verbal nouns and infinitives; e. g. *tal-il,* to come, or the act of coming, corresponding to the Latin *venire* and *veniendo. hol-il* primarily means to weave, here it is also applied to the loom. [193]

302 edge (fig. 315). Married women use the same head-dress, but with a smaller disk. Girls not yet marriageable do their hair in a pig-tail.

291 The women's blouse is of the old *huipil* type, a long sack of a garment, hanging to the knees, with the shoulders broad enough to come to the elbow, or else with short sleeves sewn on. The seams, cuffs, and neck are picked out with red stitching. The skirt is dark blue, and comes about half-way between knee and ankle.

323 It is an interesting point, and one which archaeologists should note, that Tenango makes the only decorated pottery in the district and has a monopoly also on the big, three-handled water-jars. The

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854
291

Fig. 314—Tenango, Chis. Married Couples.

323 Indians explain that they go in for pottery-making because they need the money to supplement the products of their insufficient fields. We were there during the farming season when no work is done on pottery so we were not able to see the processes of manufacture. However, one of our guides took us to the house of a woman who had some reputation for skill, and all types were brought out for us. Besides the forms described in the last chapter, and the big water-jars (fig. 316), they make a goblet-shaped salt-cellar, *yoc-wal-ats' a'* (*atsam*—"salt"), a *tacta* bowl of

[302]

Fig. 315—Tenango, Chis. Woman's head-dress.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

291 shorts are also usually embroidered in red and yellow. The chief had such a pair, very fine and gaudy, which we asked to see. He took [123] them off to show us, but when we tried to buy them from him he [293] became furiously angry and abusive. Sandals, when worn, are of the ordinary type. Most of the Indians carry a staff of some kind.

[531] The women wear the typical blue skirt, but the blouse, cut like a poncho, is usually tucked inside and heavily embroidered about the neck and shoulders. This work takes a long time, and the finished blouses are valued very highly. When worn outside they nearly cover the skirts, which are just knee length. Red sashes with a yellow stripe from Tapachula, of the kind worn also around Ocosingo, bind the skirts at the waist. Hair is done in two braids with dark red ribbon, or tied up in a knot over the forehead as at Cancuc.

[342] [231] [854] ← 302 → 301 → 621 563 → [293] →

Fig. 89.—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians in the street.

Men and women alike wear cheap, gay-coloured necklaces, usually rosaries.

The Indians move with great freedom through the town and lounge in company with the Ladinos on the broad porch of the Town Hall. The officials are distinguished by silver-headed canes with black tassels. In lieu of a Maestro, they are directly under the Ladino *Presidente Municipal,* and their disputes are tried by the local judge. Their lawsuits have a mediaeval air, carried on publicly with great clamor on the Town Hall porch, and all concerned speaking with the utmost freedom. A breach of promise case was observed in the course of trial. It went on for at least two hours with never less than two Indians, usually women, speaking at once. One could not but admire the patience of the rather bored and indifferent judge.

695 344

114 The cargadores from Cancuc arrived shortly after dark, still lively despite the long day and steep climb. More remarkable still,

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858 mother's womb, and they compete for survival with other small
854 babies who live close by (one of the two is likely to die). They
854 are extremely susceptible to the mal de ojo (evil eye)[1] because their souls are tender, and they are, for the same reason, easy victims of witchcraft exercised against their parents. During the first few months of life, they are protected and cared for with innumerable precautions: they are covered up when strangers enter the house, attended at the slightest sign of distress, and
[513] rarely taken out of the sitio. Until another child is born, they sleep with the parents on the same petate (mat) or bed.

855 When a mother is ready to have a new baby, the younger
862 one is given to an elder sister or grandmother with whom it can sleep. The baby is also weaned at this time. The separation of the child from the mother is an open traumatic experience, and parents admit that children get sick and even die as a result of "jealousy." Nevertheless, no direct attempt is made to smooth the emotional disturbances or the developing sibling rivalry in

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[1]The evil eye has been described innumerable times for
[326] Middle America. In the Chiapas Highlands it is a sickness caused
[343] by a person with strong or "hot" eyes, who looks at the victim.
[341] Evil eye "carriers" are not necessarily aware of their power, but some individuals are consciously included in this category: pregnant women, menstruating women, and people with glasses or light eyes, or with very deep set eyes. To avoid giving "mal de ojo," the producer has to touch the person who can be a victim. If a menstruating woman distractedly looks at a small baby, she will immediately put her hand on the baby's forehead, to retrieve from him her power, and not make him sick.

The same procedure of touching the person is done if the other person feels that he is unwillingly "envying" the first one, and can be an unconscious witchcraft mediator. For example, if a married woman without babies sees another woman's baby, she will touch him to show that she is not "envying" the mother, and therefore, there is no danger that she will "steal" the baby's soul or make him sick with her envy.

pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline. The sand which is mixed with the clay is found nearby. In preparing it for use, the clay has to be chopped with a hatchet and soaked. A temper for cooking pots is made of ground sandstone, called *baJ*. This is found near the border of the neighboring town of Aguacatenango, and sometimes Indians of that town bring pieces which they exchange for a soup bowl or other small pottery item.

Variation in the color of the clay—it may be white, white mixed with yellow, true yellow, black, or blue-green—provides the basis for discerning its quality. The white clay is thought to be best since it doesn't break as much in firing. The preferred clay is very soft, and the women test deposits by feeling them with their hands.

The rhythm of work is regular. Children under three years of age climb on their mother's back or lap or sometimes stand by her side nursing. The women do not interrupt their work when this happens, although they may shift their body to accommodate the child. In the organization of work, there is no discussion of what is to be done or who will do it. Orders are given only to the young children. When the women are working, all motions which would require a break in activity are assigned to children who bring unfinished pots to be worked on and shoo away chickens or dogs. The standardization of production rhythm is evidenced in the uniformity in time required for each operation. Timing one potter's production of 10 *apastes* (soup bowls) on two different days, I found that she spent one hour and 10 minutes for each set, an average of 11 minutes per pot. Another woman made a *comal* (platter) in 26 minutes and a second one in 28 minutes. A pair of larger bowls produced by another woman took 15 minutes each.

The continuity in tradition of pottery production stems from a tightly organized behavioral schema with defined units of motion and stages of production. I follow Piaget in his definition of behavioral schema which Flavell (1963:54) has summarized as follows:

> Thus, an action sequence, if it is to constitute a schema, must have a certain cohesiveness and must maintain its identity as a quasi-stable, repeatable unit. It must possess component actions which are tightly

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855 the elder child, except that they allow the child some freedom
862 to run around the sitio, or go outside the sitio with other adults
883 in order to go visiting.[1]

The adolescent children, especially those going to school, have complete freedom of movement within the community. They are sent to visit their grandmothers, to deliver little presents, or they are sent to ask for borrowed things. They also bring news and gossip back and forth between households. Their role as [585] messengers is sometimes formalized, as during weddings when children are sent ahead to announce the arrival of the bride, and her family, to the groom's household.

857 Pre-adolescent girls have the responsibility of caring for
868 their younger siblings, and are initiated into the woman's work
562 at an early age. They are trained by their mothers in making tortillas, carrying water, sweeping and sewing. They can go visiting on their own, and play outside the home with other girls before and after school, if they are regular school goers.

882 After the first menstruation (and sometimes a little before
562 if they show signs of maturity), they change from the light cotton
[291] skirt into the traditional dark blue nagua (tubular skirt) and red faja (sash), and are considered marriageable (solteritas or tek' el). At this point, they are expected to stay within the homestead grounds, except if they are told to bring water or if they go with compañía (company) to the afternoon rezo (praying

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[1] In extreme cases, when the elder child shows extreme signs of distress (crying long hours and refusing to eat anything), it will be given to a woman relative living in other household, usually the paternal grandmother or a married sister without children. This, however, is extremely rare.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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[178] dough is set between pieces of plastic paper.

The men of the household are served first, followed by the boys; the
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4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
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241 Between September and October, when the tender ears are ready, some are torn loose to prepare atoles and tamales.

Toward the middle of October, when the milpa has reached maturity, all hands proceed to the task of the *dobla*, folding or breaking the stem of the plant so that the ear dries and may later be put into the barn. This is an easy task, in which men, women, and children take part.

The harvest takes place in November and December with the participation of the whole family; it is a joyful task which compensates for all the moments of anxiety in the previous months, when subsistence was scarce. The produce from the milpa is gathered in large nets and later stored in a corner of the house or in some improvised structure nearby. The crop is measured by *zontles*, units of 400 ears, which are formed by counting the ears by fives; two ears are taken in one hand and three in the other until 400 are reached. The family of five members which manages to harvest from 15 to 20 zontles considers itself happy, since that much will last them the entire year, consuming 20 ears a day plus feeding one or two hogs and 10 or 12 chickens.

The milpa also produces various squashes, manioc (*dzinté*), and peanuts, which the Indians call *caxlan-chenek* ('Ladino's bean').

243 184 Exceptional among the Tzeltal is the cultivation of wheat in Amatenango. There the small valley and a creek have favored its development.

241 796 The most important ceremonies take place immediately after planting. They entrust the germination of the seed to the care of God, of the "thirteen holders of Heaven," and of "Tatik Jesucristo." The "thirteen holders of Heaven" refer to the principal saints who are mentioned in the prayers. The ceremonies consist in offerings of prayers and incense before the crosses kept in caves belonging to each paraje, and in one *bikit mixa* ('small Mass'), which the cabildos and principales of the

[462] [857] [592] [251] [804] [26] [231] [778] [782]

[P 201-B]

pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline. The sand which is mixed with the clay is found nearby. In preparing it for use, the clay has to be chopped with a hatchet and soaked. A temper for cooking pots is made of ground sandstone, called *baʃ*. This is found near the border of the neighboring town of Aguacatenango, and sometimes Indians of that town bring pieces which they exchange for a soup bowl or other small pottery item. 317 323 [438]

Variation in the color of the clay—it may be white, white mixed with yellow, true yellow, black, or blue-green—provides the basis for discerning its quality. The white clay is thought to be best since it doesn't break as much in firing. The preferred clay is very soft, and the women test deposits by feeling them with their hands.

The rhythm of work is regular. Children under three years of age climb on their mother's back or lap or sometimes stand by her side nursing. The women do not interrupt their work when this happens, although they may shift their body to accommodate the child. In the organization of work, there is no discussion of what is to be done or who will do it. Orders are given only to the young children. When the women are working, all motions which would require a break in activity are assigned to children who bring unfinished pots to be worked on and shoo away chickens or dogs. The standardization of production rhythm is evidenced in the uniformity in time required for each operation. Timing one potter's production of 10 *apastes* (soup bowls) on two different days, I found that she spent one hour and 10 minutes for each set, an average of 11 minutes per pot. Another woman made a *comal* (platter) in 26 minutes and a second one in 28 minutes. A pair of larger bowls produced by another woman took 15 minutes each. 323 461 [855] [857]

The continuity in tradition of pottery production stems from a tightly organized behavioral schema with defined units of motion and stages of production. I follow Piaget in his definition of behavioral schema which Flavell (1963:54) has summarized as follows: 323 [178]

> Thus, an action sequence, if it is to constitute a schema, must have a certain cohesiveness and must maintain its identity as a quasi-stable, repeatable unit. It must possess component actions which are tightly 121

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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must announce his arrival at the gate so that the mother can cover the child from view. In this period, the mother sleeps with the child apart from her husband. 846 [513]

Infants remain swaddled in wrapped skirt pieces—the woman's sash is not used after the first fifteen days—throughout the first year of life. Their arms are bound to their sides by kerchiefs crossed over the chest and drawn around the back with the ends tucked in; this makes it easier to carry the child on the back, wrapped in a large carrying cloth. Mothers sometimes lay sleeping infants on their bed when they are working in the house, but much of the time they carry them on their backs. 854

The child is given corn gruel to supplement nursing during his third or fourth month. Weaning may be consciously done after the child reaches the age of one and a half or two years. If the child persists in trying to nurse, the mother may put chile sauce or draw a face on her breasts to discourage him. 853 862

Much of the care of children from two to four years of age is done by elder siblings. Both girls and boys of from seven to ten years of age carry younger siblings in a carrying cloth on their backs, even when playing very active games. They pacify the child by holding a flower or twig for him to chew or grasp, and they usually share with him any cookies or scraps of food they are given. 855 857

School is commonly considered the most joyful time of a person's life. There the children, especially boys, make friendships which last throughout life. School recess is a time for unrestrained running, shouting, and laughter such as I have rarely seen in the houseyards when children play together. 871 857

In teaching their children how to work, parents are expected to inculcate not only competence but also a sense of the value of work, for industry is one of the most esteemed traits in both boys and girls. Small girls do errands for their mothers from the age of about four years. When a woman is occupied with pottery, she rarely disturbs herself to get needed items, but calls upon her children to fetch a pot which is out of reach or to bring water for the painting. She gives these orders in a quiet undertone, and I have never seen any need to prompt or cajole the child into fulfilling the errand. By the age of ten or eleven, girls begin to make small pots like 867 857 868 323

868 857 the larger ones their mothers make, but their products are usually not [323] commercially saleable until they reach the age of marriage. Their responsi- [312] bility in preadolescence is to bring water from the faucets installed in every other block of the town, and to degrain corn, tend the fire as the *nixtamal,* or corn dough mixed with lime, cooks, and help their mother grind it. The careful assessment of the child's capacity to perform tasks is exemplified by the gradations of water-carrying jars given to each child: the older the child, the larger the jar, with minute variations in scale. The [592] close, usually wordless cooperation between women in a household comes [462] from years of working together and knowing their part in cooperative tasks.

Boys accompany their fathers to the fields after they reach the age of six and when they are not attending school. They do not participate in the work of the milpa until they are eight or older, but they pick up twigs for the fire or gather the wild berries or plants which supplement the diet of [411] the family. They usually carry slingshots with which they kill field rats [262] and birds, which they bring home to cook and eat. Teaching a boy the 868 tasks involved in agriculture is consciously undertaken by older brothers 241 or the father when the child reaches the age of twelve or thirteen. The following reminiscence of this training is given by a man who had been brought up by his widowed mother and brother.

159 *I went to the field with my brother who is eighteen years older than I,*
868 *when I was thirteen years old. My brother brought me to clean the milpa,*
241 *saying, "Let us go and you will learn how to work. See what I do and you do the same. You will learn what I do and you can do the same."*

One day I finished six rows. My brother said when he saw my work, "Good, just give a little more soil at the foot of the corn because the little corn must have a little soil. Now you do it well." "Yes," I said. He saw it was good, and he told me, "You have learned your work. You are going to forget it when you enter school. When you come out of school, go do two or three rows of work. When you hear the bell strike, go back to school."

He told my mother that I had learned to work, and she said, "Good you know how to cultivate." I learned to do my work better by going along with my elder brother in his work so that I would not forget.

621 593 Familial role requirements must be fulfilled in order for public roles to be
581 794 undertaken. A man must be married in order to enter into even the lowest posts in the civil and religious hierarchies.

794 556 Only in the case of the alfereces has wealth ever been a criterion for re-
434 554 cruitment. These four officials had to be able to spend 3,000 pesos during their year in office. The heavy expenditures failed to give prestige to the official, and the display of wealth excited envy rather than respect. The result was that people called upon to accept the post had to be imprisoned before they would accept.

554 756 Recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on innate qualities; special skills and knowledge are attributes acquired in office or other role positions rather than requirements for undertaking roles. Curers are recruited because they are recognized as having an animal spirit; they learn whatever skills are required after they have been initiated into the profession. The curers' special position in the society rests more on esoteric powers than on esoteric knowledge. Everyone in the com-
[298] munity knows the herbs and medicines which are prescribed, and most men can give as comprehensive a taxonomy of illnesses as any practicing curer.

868 241 Economic roles, though largely undifferentiated for each sex, are consciously learned and transmitted. Boys accompany their fathers or elder
[857] brothers to the field at about the age of eight and continue working with
[883] them until they reach independence. Observation of behavior alone would seem to indicate an unconscious absorption of the role of agricultural worker, but informants recount episodes in which training in field work was explicitly transmitted by their fathers or brothers, and formal approval of their ability to do the tasks announced to their mothers. Parents
[871] express fear that school attendance not only interferes with working in the milpa, but that it will cause the child to forget what he has learned in the field. Regardless of what other tasks a man performs, he thinks of himself as a farmer.

868 323 Becoming a potter requires an even more explicit training procedure. The fine-linguistic segmentation of each act and movement in the schedule of pottery-making is a clue to the explicit transmission of tasks by the

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Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

876 them a mirror, tells them what it is called, and lets the children look at them-
126 selves in it. About one-fourth of the class responds. She pastes a picture on the blackboard of a man carrying a valise accompanied by a dog and a boy. She asks what each object is called in Spanish and practices the name of the object with the whole class. Visual aids are pictures cut from coloring books or magazines, things she draws on the board, as well as articles from a box stored in her desk including a comb, mirror, glass, flag, color wheel, cut-outs of a boy, girl, chair, table, bear, soldier, flower, and leaf. After practicing the names of each, she stands in the back of the room and tells different children to bring the various objects to her. After drawing two ducks on the board and getting no reaction from the children when she asks them the name, she tells them and then leads them in practicing it.

She asks them the name of the town, of the school director, of the school, and when they fail to respond, she tells them and has them repeat the words over and over.

She leads the class in about five different songs she has taught them. The number of children who know the songs varies from one-fourth to three-fourths, with about one-fifth never singing. Some attempt a word every once in a while. She sings the elephant song, which most of them know and which utilizes their knowledge of numbers from one to five. Twice, when a few children begin to sing on their own initiative, she tells them to be quiet. She asks them, "Do you like to sing?" and all respond, "Yes, teacher."

The teacher seldom smiles at the children. As they leave the room in single file, she rebukes any who attempt to run out or pair with another.

[257] *Recess.* Two boys are fighting and three others join with one of them. The one who has been ganged up on finally gets away, and they do not chase him. Boys around ten years old play keep-away with a ball on their own initiative. There isn't much teamwork. Often one boy will get the ball and run with it, the other boys after him. Finally he will throw it to someone or someone will take it away from him. The girls sit in groups, sometimes embroidering or knitting. Some boys just stand by watching those who are playing.

In the classroom after recess. The teacher shows the color wheel and asks the names of the colors to which she points. A couple of girls put their hands in their ears while the class is reciting. When the teacher asks for a volunteer to hold the color wheel in the demonstration, approximately twenty out of the fifty-four children raise their hands. One little boy in the back pays

855 the elder child, except that they allow the child some freedom
862 to run around the sitio, or go outside the sitio with other adults
883 in order to go visiting.[1]

The adolescent children, especially those going to school, have complete freedom of movement within the community. They are sent to visit their grandmothers, to deliver little presents, or they are sent to ask for borrowed things. They also bring news and gossip back and forth between households. Their role as [585] messengers is sometimes formalized, as during weddings when children are sent ahead to announce the arrival of the bride, and her family, to the groom's household.

857 Pre-adolescent girls have the responsibility of caring for
868 their younger siblings, and are initiated into the woman's work
562 at an early age. They are trained by their mothers in making tortillas, carrying water, sweeping and sewing. They can go visiting on their own, and play outside the home with other girls before and after school, if they are regular school goers.

882 After the first menstruation (and sometimes a little before
562 if they show signs of maturity), they change from the light cotton
[291] skirt into the traditional dark blue nagua (tubular skirt) and red faja (sash), and are considered marriageable (solteritas or tek' el). At this point, they are expected to stay within the homestead grounds, except if they are told to bring water or if they go with compañía (company) to the afternoon rezo (praying

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[1] In extreme cases, when the elder child shows extreme signs of distress (crying long hours and refusing to eat anything), it will be given to a woman relative living in other household, usually the paternal grandmother or a married sister without children. This, however, is extremely rare.

Some of the effects of this change can be seen in the growing wealth of cantineros, observable in changes in house construction, and a shift to the raising of small livestock (always an alternative strategy) by women who must support themselves. With regard to drinking performances, the effect of the change in retailers seems to have been an increase in the number of drinking performances--especially for boys and young men, whose limited ceremonial responsibilities have made them relatively infrequent drinkers in the past. In turn, the increase in the number of drinking situations has required slight modification in the timing of the drinking--men seem to drink for shorter periods of time. Thus, for example, drinking on Sunday is becoming more common, but the continuation of drinking on a second day (Monday) has decreased. These matters will be spelled out in more detail in later sections.

Age-sex distribution of drinking

Aguardiente is bought by men who have control of money, and it is drunk almost exclusively by them. Women drink rarely, and it is considered inappropriate for them to do so. Children do not drink at all; boys begin to drink on festive occasions at fifteen or sixteen, and it is probably relevant that by this time they are old enough to work for wages and usually have some money of their own. Old men often give up drinking except when, as of-

Behavior Defined in the Family

Socialization in the family provides the individual with the idiom for behaving in the wider community. The basic principles ordering behavior are respect and obedience toward those who are older, and care for those who are younger. Obedience, expressed by the verb *k'an* which means both to believe (or to be gullible) and to obey, is instilled by cultivating a sense of fear and shame. Fear is communicated by the parent to the child by invoking evil spirits and by the threat or use of punishment, especially whipping with a leather strap. Shame is aroused by ridicule, jeering, and chastising. A good child is a quiet child; questioning is discouraged either by refusing to answer the child or by telling him to keep quiet. The negative aspect of good behavior is stressed. Significantly, the phrase "Behave yourself!" is translated into Spanish as "Don't do anything!" Good behavior is not rewarded either by praise or by gifts. The only public demonstration of affection toward children I have seen is by grandparents toward grandchildren: an elder might give his sweet roll at a ceremony to his grandchild and even fondle him. Parents show affection to youngsters under three years of age, although the last child may be coddled somewhat longer. Mothers and young children show intimacy and affection in delousing each other or combing each others' hair. Kissing is not a sign of intimacy but of formal respect in ceremonies.

Beliefs concerning conception show awareness of both the male and the female contribution to the fetus. The man's sperm (*snal*) enters the womb, *yo?tan,* (also the word for heart) and mixes with the woman's flow, to bring about conception. The blood of a child is believed to come from its mother and the skin, bones, and brains from the father. During pregnancy, the father must have intercourse with his wife because his sperm nourishes the fetus. This continues right up to the birth of the child. Men too are believed to have wombs, and some men have trouble with "dropped wombs" caused by lifting heavy burdens.

The only people in attendance at the birth of a child are the women of the immediate household, the mother of the woman giving birth if she is not a part of the houshold, and the midwife. Children are kept out of the

184 ones, the terminology consistently emphasizes the distinction
60 between direct and collateral relatives. In that sense, and only in that sense, the terminology usage reflects the consistency between the linguistic realm and the non-linguistic behavior realms, a consistency which has been assumed by many anthropologists to be axiomatic.

561 562 The Ordering of Social Relations

In both communities relative age and sex are important in the structuring of social relations within the household and throughout the community. The exact chronological age of an individual is often unknown, but his relative age, with respect to siblings, cousins, relatives and other people who live close by, is always known. Any two individuals can always place each other in terms of seniority or order of birth.

561 Children are classified as those who are still at the mother's breast and cannot walk (husul 'it), small walking children (kosh kerem), pre-adolescents (hc' iel), and adolescents of marriageable age (tek' el). Married men are distinguished by whether they have children, by whether they have or do not have an independent household, and by the number of cargos they have passed in the government. Mature men are classified as still being active in the civil-religious hierarchy or as being pasados. Pasados are separated into those who are just old (mamal) and those who are principales.

858 Little babies and small children are not always counted as part of the household because they die so easily. They can have their souls "stolen" by other children who are still in their

858 mother's womb, and they compete for survival with other small
854 babies who live close by (one of the two is likely to die). They
854 are extremely susceptible to the mal de ojo (evil eye)[1] because their souls are tender, and they are, for the same reason, easy victims of witchcraft exercised against their parents. During the first few months of life, they are protected and cared for with innumerable precautions: they are covered up when strangers enter the House, attended at the slightest sign of distress, and [313] rarely taken out of the sitio. Until another child is born, they sleep with the parents on the same petate (mat) or bed.

855 When a mother is ready to have a new baby, the younger
86 one is given to an elder sister or grandmother with whom it can sleep. The baby is also weaned at this time. The separation of the child from the mother is an open traumatic experience, and parents admit that children get sick and even die as a result of "jealousy." Nevertheless, no direct attempt is made to smooth the emotional disturbances or the developing sibling rivalry in

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[1]The evil eye has been described innumerable times for [346] Middle America. In the Chiapas Highlands it is a sickness caused [343] by a person with strong or "hot" eyes, who looks at the victim. [341] Evil eye "carriers" are not necessarily aware of their power, but some individuals are consciously included in this category: pregnant women, menstruating women, and people with glasses or light eyes, or with very deep set eyes. To avoid giving "mal de ojo," the producer has to touch the person who can be a victim. If a menstruating woman distractedly looks at a small baby, she will immediately put her hand on the baby's forehead, to retrieve from him her power, and not make him sick.

The same procedure of touching the person is done if the other person feels that he is unwillingly "envying" the first one, and can be an unconscious witchcraft mediator. For example, if a married woman without babies sees another woman's baby, she will touch him to show that she is not "envying" the mother, and therefore, there is no danger that she will "steal" the baby's soul or make him sick with her envy.

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There is no double standard for extramarital sexual relations, although men abuse the prohibition more often than women, judging from court cases. The ability the women has to assert herself rests on her economic contribution in pottery-making and on the fact that female household help is not part of the labor market.

Female sexuality has the connotation of negative power over male sexuality. A woman should not step over a man's feet or his clothing since she could affect his virility. This negative power emanates from the odors of a woman's body, and is captured by anything in contact with it. A woman's skirt cast over the head of a bull can tame him, and the water used by a woman to wash her body, particularly the vagina if she has had children, is drunk to cure snake bites because it is very "cold."

Sexuality is seldom extended beyond persons to material objects. There is some feeling that a man's tools, especially the machete and hoe, are male and that a woman's tools, especially the grinding stone, are female. Corn is a crop of men, while beans are a woman's crop, identified with the Virgin. But I could not get much farther with such distinctions.

The accidents of birth determine the recruitment of successive generations into the family of orientation. There is no outright adoption, but a child may be "lent" to a childless couple, usually by a sibling of one of the spouses, or a grandchild may take up residence in the house of a grandparent when all the children have moved to separate residences. Parents discipline a badly behaved child with the threat, "I am going to sell you to care for someone's house," but I have never known of a case of outright sale of a child.

The selection of a spouse is a decision based on both universalistic as well as particularistic considerations. Both the boy and the girl should be hardworking, sober, and dutiful residents of the same section of the dual division. It is considered to be of greater importance that the boy feel affection toward the girl than vice versa. The "taking of the heart" is a test of the strength and exclusiveness of the boy's interest in his chosen mate, and there is no counterpart for the girl. Although there is no term for romantic love, the closest approximation being "want" or "ask for" a woman, there is an awareness of the importance of a warm, affectionate basis if a marriage relationship is to last "at least until the day after tomorrow." A suitor is accepted if he is known to be a hard worker and if he

old and do not have as much opportunity to project their personalities in larger than life terms. Ladinas of the neighboring towns are given nicknames: Me? Sobol for example, was named for her habit of saying when she was drunk, "No soy bola" (I am not drunk); Me? Č'iČ'el, meaning Mother Blood, was applied to a woman who sold blood of slaughtered animals. 157 551

Behavior is not believed to be totally dependent on innate traits, and the Indians emphasize the socialization processes. A badly behaved youth was said in court to "behave as though he did not have a mother," and to lack fear of his parents. The sense of shame and fear begin at home, and the community relies on the family to instill these controlling influences on behavior. 861 [828]

Notions of Justice and Compensation

Notions of immanent justice, whether acquired from the priest or indigenous beliefs, are peripheral to the morality system. Crimes should be paid for not in suffering, guilt, or remorse, but in fines exacted by the communal authority. Every crime has its price, and most people agree that it is good to be able to pay in money and be exonerated. The scale of values assigned in the fines for crimes is some index to the relative weight given them: 577 681 685

Stealing a bull: 500 to 1,200 pesos, depending on value of bull.
Stealing a turkey: 40 to 70 pesos, depending on value of turkey.
Stealing a horse: 300 to 500 pesos, depending on value of horse.

The range of fines for each act of theft indicates that justice is exacted on the basis of market value of the item stolen. The fine for murder is 1,600 to 3,000 pesos or two to eight years in prison when a killer is captured by the federal authorities. Local authorities rarely try to find the killer. In the thirty-seven cases of homicide analyzed in the period from 1938 to 1965 (Table 29)[1] only two resulted in federal action. 682

People express doubt about the priest's warning that those who do evil will reap the wages of sin in this life or the next regardless of whether they are found guilty. The pragmatic basis for this conclusion is revealed 577 [682]

1 (see pp.245-247..Analyst)

must announce his arrival at the gate so that the mother can cover the child from view. In this period, the mother sleeps with the child apart from her husband. 846 [513]

Infants remain swaddled in wrapped skirt pieces—the woman's sash is not used after the first fifteen days—throughout the first year of life. Their arms are bound to their sides by kerchiefs crossed over the chest and drawn around the back with the ends tucked in; this makes it easier to carry the child on the back, wrapped in a large carrying cloth. Mothers sometimes lay sleeping infants on their bed when they are working in the house, but much of the time they carry them on their backs. 854

The child is given corn gruel to supplement nursing during his third or fourth month. Weaning may be consciously done after the child reaches the age of one and a half or two years. If the child persists in trying to nurse, the mother may put chile sauce or draw a face on her breasts to discourage him. 853 862

Much of the care of children from two to four years of age is done by elder siblings. Both girls and boys of from seven to ten years of age carry younger siblings in a carrying cloth on their backs, even when playing very active games. They pacify the child by holding a flower or twig for him to chew or grasp, and they usually share with him any cookies or scraps of food they are given. 855 857

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858 mother's womb, and they compete for survival with other small
854 babies who live close by (one of the two is likely to die). They
854 are extremely susceptible to the mal de ojo (evil eye)[1] because their souls are tender, and they are, for the same reason, easy victims of witchcraft exercised against their parents. During the first few months of life, they are protected and cared for with innumerable precautions: they are covered up when strangers enter the house, attended at the slightest sign of distress, and
[513] rarely taken out of the sitio. Until another child is born, they sleep with the parents on the same petate (mat) or bed.

855 When a mother is ready to have a new baby, the younger
• 86 one is given to an elder sister or grandmother with whom it can sleep. The baby is also weaned at this time. The separation of the child from the mother is an open traumatic experience, and parents admit that children get sick and even die as a result of "jealousy." Nevertheless, no direct attempt is made to smooth the emotional disturbances or the developing sibling rivalry in

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[1] The evil eye has been described innumerable times for
[826] Middle America. In the Chiapas Highlands it is a sickness caused
[843] by a person with strong or "hot" eyes, who looks at the victim.
[841] Evil eye "carriers" are not necessarily aware of their power, but some individuals are consciously included in this category: pregnant women, menstruating women, and people with glasses or light eyes, or with very deep set eyes. To avoid giving "mal de ojo," the producer has to touch the person who can be a victim. If a menstruating woman distractedly looks at a small baby, she will immediately put her hand on the baby's forehead, to retrieve from him her power, and not make him sick.

The same procedure of touching the person is done if the other person feels that he is unwillingly "envying" the first one, and can be an unconscious witchcraft mediator. For example, if a married woman without babies sees another woman's baby, she will touch him to show that she is not "envying" the mother, and therefore, there is no danger that she will "steal" the baby's soul or make him sick with her envy.

855 the elder child, except that they allow the child some freedom
862 to run around the sitio, or go outside the sitio with other adults
883 in order to go visiting.[1]

The adolescent children, especially those going to school, have complete freedom of movement within the community. They are sent to visit their grandmothers, to deliver little presents, or they are sent to ask for borrowed things. They also bring news and gossip back and forth between households. Their role as [585] messengers is sometimes formalized, as during weddings when children are sent ahead to announce the arrival of the bride, and her family, to the groom's household.

857 Pre-adolescent girls have the responsibility of caring for
868 their younger siblings, and are initiated into the woman's work
562 at an early age. They are trained by their mothers in making tortillas, carrying water, sweeping and sewing. They can go visiting on their own, and play outside the home with other girls before and after school, if they are regular school goers.

882 After the first menstruation (and sometimes a little before
562 if they show signs of maturity), they change from the light cotton
[291] skirt into the traditional dark blue nagua (tubular skirt) and red faja (sash), and are considered marriageable (solteritas or tek' el). At this point, they are expected to stay within the homestead grounds, except if they are told to bring water or if they go with compañía (company) to the afternoon rezo (praying

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[1] In extreme cases, when the elder child shows extreme signs of distress (crying long hours and refusing to eat anything), it will be given to a woman relative living in other household, usually the paternal grandmother or a married sister without children. This, however, is extremely rare.

ered to be dirty since the pigs and dogs cannot scavenge the feces. Mothers train their children to have bowel movements in the evening when darkness offers them privacy in the houseyard.

Changes in house types in the seven-year period from my first census in 1958 to the second in 1964 are tabulated in Table 14. There has been a general improvement in the standards: tile roofs have increased from 1 to 20.1 percent. The increase has been at the expense of both wood shingle (declined 8.3 percent) and of thatch and palm leaf (declined 9.8 percent).

TABLE 14. Types of House Construction

	1958 *		1964 †	
	Number of houses	*Percent of all houses*	*Number of houses*	*Percent of all houses*
Roofs				
Tile	1	1	58	20
Shingle	27	23	41	14
Thatch or palm	87	76	190	66
Walls				
Board plank	17	15	66	23
Wattle and daub	98	85	223	77
Sweatbath				
Have	60	52	120	42
Have not	54	47	169	58
Unknown	1	1		

* Based on sample of 115 houses.
† Based on total survey of houses in center with 22 unspecified.

The numbers of houses with wood plank walls has increased from 14.8 percent to 22.8 percent. This is a temporary arrangement, and the planks are usually replaced with wattle and daub, so the increase may simply reflect new construction. The percentage of houses having sweatbaths has declined from 52.1 to 41.5. No new sweatbaths have been made for the last ten years or so, and many of those recorded are not in use.

The changes in housing type reflect the greater prosperity of the town as well as the increasing receptivity to outside influence. The increase in tile roofs means a greater dependency on external markets. Ten years before the final census, a man who put on a tile roof feared the consequences of witchcraft.

The relationship of respect and obedience between parents and children 593
is expected to last throughout life. When a boy reaches the age of eight- 582
teen, his parents are expected to provide him with a wife. Wealthier fami- 434
lies tend to fulfill this obligation at an earlier age than do poorer families, 583
in which the boy may have to work in the fincas or in the sawmills to acquire the money for his own marriage.

Instruction in sexual behavior and reproduction is not characterized by 864
continuity, as is instruction about work tasks. Children are given no information about sex prior to marriage, and girls remain entirely innocent. They may be pregnant several months before they are aware of what is happening. The complete sexual segregation in work tasks and play during adolescence makes the relationship between sexes strained.

Even after marriage, the parents are concerned with maintaining their 593
child's marital situation, or, if they judge their child's spouse to be incorri- [586]
gible, to help him get rid of his partner. In the case of women, in particu- [736]
lar, parents continue to provide a refuge in case a daughter's husband should die, be sent to prison, or prove incompatible. Parents usually accompany their children if they are called into court, and failure to attend is tantamount to admitting the guilt of the child.

In successful marriages, the parents-in-law are equivalent to parents and 593
are called "mother" and "father." The parents of both spouses attend the 606
life crisis ceremonies of their children and grandchildren. Grandparents 603
provide support and care for grandchildren if their parents should die or remarry.

When parents reach the age of about sixty-five, they are no longer ex- 593
pected to work actively. A man will then distribute all of his land and ani- 888
mals among his children. He will expect to be taken care of by all of his children, but special responsibility falls on the youngest who will inherit [428]
the house. Sometimes aged parents move from one of their children's [591]
houses to another, spending a few months or years with each. Children are [755]
expected to pay for any curing ceremonies necessary in their parents' old [764]
age and to provide a good funeral appropriate to their wealth. Failure to [626]
do this incurs loss of respect with the neighbors and collateral relatives of the deceased. If the parents die after they have distributed their posses- 593
sions, the crisis following the death is minimal. At the funeral, mature 764
children of a deceased parent exhibit to the community their filial respect.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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mother to her daughter. Informants are able to recount the succession of 868
learning of the tasks, the relative difficulty of each task, and the mistakes 323
they made and how their mother corrected them. Being a potter in Tzo'ontahal is as much a part of being a woman as the role of agriculturalist is of being a man.

Special tasks become crystallized as roles only when few people perform 463
them. Jobs such as caponizing, butchering, net and rope weaving, and 554
wood cutting which are done by almost every man do not have role terms. Bonesetting and curing of certain "good" illnesses, such as swelling caused by embarrassment, are semispecialized activities performed by a few women who have "cold" hands. Midwifery is a fully specialized role per- [759]
formed by two women who are referred to as "the grandmothers of the newborn child."

A new occupational role has been created with the purchase of a truck 463
by Indians of the community. There are now two Indian truck drivers. 554
Recruitment of these particular young men was a result of their fathers' 177
importance in the truck-owning cooperatives, and their skill was acquired [493]
in apprenticeship with a Ladino truck driver hired when the truck was first in operation. Both of them are acculturated in clothing and speech. Since they have acquired skills in dealing with the Ladino world, they often act as intermediaries for Indians of the town in their negotiations in the market or the courts of the departmental capital.

The continuity in occupational adjustment from early childhood to 864
adulthood contrasts with the discontinuities in assuming roles in the life cycle. Girls are not advised about menstruation until they see the first signs of it; they describe their reaction to it as one of fear and surprise. Often they have been pregnant several months before they are aware of the condition or its cause, and they have no preparation for the experience of childbirth before it is upon them. Boys are not considered men until 885
they are married, but in order to arrive at this status, they must enter into 584
the "fight to get a wife," as the betrothal is often called. 585

Since recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on 554
qualities of the person rather than acquired skills, failure to recognize the prerequisite conditions of age and experience undermines the validity of

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Behavior Defined in the Family

Socialization in the family provides the individual with the idiom for behaving in the wider community. The basic principles ordering behavior are respect and obedience toward those who are older, and care for those who are younger. Obedience, expressed by the verb *t'un* which means both to believe (or to be gullible) and to obey, is instilled by cultivating a sense of fear and shame. Fear is communicated by the parent to the child by invoking evil spirits and by the threat or use of punishment, especially whipping with a leather strap. Shame is aroused by ridicule, jeering, and chastising. A good child is a quiet child; questioning is discouraged either by refusing to answer the child or by telling him to keep quiet. The negative aspect of good behavior is stressed. Significantly, the phrase "Behave yourself!" is translated into Spanish as "Don't do anything!" Good behavior is not rewarded either by praise or by gifts. The only public demonstration of affection toward children I have seen is by grandparents toward grandchildren: an elder might give his sweet roll at a ceremony to his grandchild and even fondle him. Parents show affection to youngsters under three years of age, although the last child may be coddled somewhat longer. Mothers and young children show intimacy and affection in delousing each other or combing each others' hair. Kissing is not a sign of intimacy but of formal respect in ceremonies.

Beliefs concerning conception show awareness of both the male and the female contribution to the fetus. The man's sperm (*snal*) enters the womb, *yo?tan*, (also the word for heart) and mixes with the woman's flow, to bring about conception. The blood of a child is believed to come from its mother and the skin, bones, and brains from the father. During pregnancy, the father must have intercourse with his wife because his sperm nourishes the fetus. This continues right up to the birth of the child. Men too are believed to have wombs, and some men have trouble with "dropped wombs" caused by lifting heavy burdens.

The only people in attendance at the birth of a child are the women of the immediate household, the mother of the woman giving birth if she is not a part of the houshold, and the midwife. Children are kept out of the

must announce his arrival at the gate so that the mother can cover the child from view. In this period, the mother sleeps with the child apart from her husband. 846 [513]

Infants remain swaddled in wrapped skirt pieces—the woman's sash is not used after the first fifteen days—throughout the first year of life. Their arms are bound to their sides by kerchiefs crossed over the chest and drawn around the back with the ends tucked in; this makes it easier to carry the child on the back, wrapped in a large carrying cloth. Mothers sometimes lay sleeping infants on their bed when they are working in the house, but much of the time they carry them on their backs. 854

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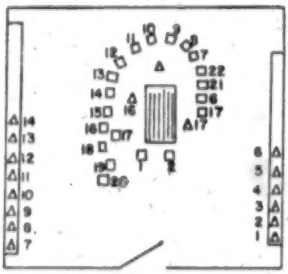
In teaching their children how to work, parents are expected to inculcate not only competence but also a sense of the value of work, for industry is one of the most esteemed traits in both boys and girls. Small girls do errands for their mothers from the age of about four years. When a woman is occupied with pottery, she rarely disturbs herself to get needed items, but calls upon her children to fetch a pot which is out of reach or to bring water for the painting. She gives these orders in a quiet undertone, and I have never seen any need to prompt or cajole the child into fulfilling the errand. By the age of ten or eleven, girls begin to make small pots like 867 857 868 323

as a team. Thus the junior *(niĉ'anil)* and senior *(tatil)* officials walk and sit in pairs. The senior officials order the junior. Just as in the case of the civil officials, some junior mayordomos may be younger than others who are in lower positions, because they have passed in the lower offices at an earlier age, but all senior mayordomos are older than their paired juniors. 794 561 156

Another important structural feature that became apparent in the behavioral schedules is the household base establishing the officeholders' position in both hierarchies. The new official learns his role obligations from the *nakawanĉhetik*, the group of elders 621* 156 794 592 [867]



621* 554 693 293

CHART 8 — INSIDE THE TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING THE OATH (OBSERVED)

Old officials are indicated by triangles, new officials by squares. Numbers refer to list on Chart 7. Three officials—the old secretary (17) and two new rural judges (21 and 22)—were not listed in the elicited session, Chart 7. Canes of office are on the table near the center of the room. Numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7.

who assemble in his house and who will assist him in his period in office. The ceremony in the house establishes this as a significant domain in public affairs. Relatives, neighbors, and compadres make up the interlocking network of supporters in the setting of the household. Both husband's and wife's relatives are symmetrically represented (Chart 3; see also J. Nash, 1964b, report on alferez assistants). Because of the expenses and the commitment of time during the period of office, the officials must have this backing to fulfill their obligations. A man with many compadres and godchildren has a firmer base to support his career in office. In the case of the new president, this was mentioned as an important asset by the president's brother. The guest list (Charts 3, 4) reveals the multiple references which establish the individual's role during any event. 621* 156 794 592 [867] 621* 794 592 602 156 [608]

[P. 220-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

789 away, leaving it alone, an ear of yellow corn is left with it, that its soul may not be stolen. There is an interesting parallel here with [171] the ear of corn as a "ceremonial mother" in the Southwestern United States. If somebody expresses too strong admiration of a child, fire must be passed near it, or spittle rubbed over its forehead; otherwise the baby will become ill. Infants are particularly susceptible to the evil eye. To cure one that has been thus cursed, a female shaman is summoned, who passes a whole egg all over the baby's body. This is then opened, and the evil eye will be seen (by the shaman) in the yolk of the egg. They throw the egg into the river, or bury it in a secret place. Almost this same belief was found in Chontal of Tabasco. (Customs of San Fernando, Chapter VI, Volume I).

868 Children's education is simple and direct. As soon as a boy is old enough to work at all—at about five years of age—he is given a worn-down machete and set to cutting and hauling wood. From then on, following his father, he learns the man's duties. Girls are started with a miniature metate, grinding corn.

872 The Government maintains some public schools, such as at Bachajon Village, in which a few children learn to read and write, but in general great difficulty is found in obtaining scholars. As soon as they are old enough to study, they are strong enough to be of material help in the house and the farm; the parents do not like to relinquish what represents the interest on the investment of the price paid by the father for marriage, and the expense of the children's early years. Under the present administration, however, efforts to educate the Indians are being pushed as never before.

881 582 Puberty is attended by no observances of any kind. Marriage, which comes fairly early, has been previously described.

764 At death the ceremonial side is greatly emphasized. The funeral rites combine the idea of mourning with a general belief that the soul of the departed lingers for a brief time about his former domicile. When possible, the house of the deceased is abandoned for a short time, during which period, if any small animal is observed about the house, particularly at night, it is supposed to be his soul. No particular powers are ascribed to the soul, as far as could be found out, but it is considered poor company.

As it happened, a man was killed while we were at the Finca Encanto, whose funeral rites we could observe. His wife began mourning for him almost immediately—this being in the middle of the afternoon. His body was taken to another house, neighbour to his own. The true ceremonies began after nightfall. Accompanied [123] by Lazaro and Señor Aguilar, the writer went up with a gift of

Chapter 2

Traditional Economic Activities

The traditional occupation of every adult man is working in the milpa and of every adult woman, making pottery. The fiction is maintained that they do this work, even if they are actually engaged fulltime in some other activity. In response to the census question, "What is the work of the man or woman?" men answered universally that they were agriculturalists and women that they were potters. Men who work outside the community, in the fincas or in the sawmills, consider this a temporary means of gaining cash income and do not define themselves as sawyers or laborers for others. They work outside the community only when they do not have sufficient land to provide themselves with corn to eat and a surplus to sell, or when they must pay debts incurred by bethrothal or assumption of religious posts. Many women who do not make pottery for extended periods of time, or make it only for a special fiesta, still consider themselves pottery producers.

Persistence of the same occupations and the daily effort to make a living strengthen the link between generations and to tradition. The primary emphasis in child training is teaching both boys and girls to work efficiently and industriously in these traditional occupations. The techniques for codifying and perpetuating a given way of doing things, particularly evident in pottery production, provide clues to the way in which other kinds of behavior are schematized.

Agricultural Production

Agricultural production involves two areas of decision making: what to grow and when to schedule each activity related to production. Decisions in both these areas are based upon custom and time-proved results. I shall

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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perienced potter in the household, sometimes with the help of a trainee. 323
Older women prefer doing the lighter tasks, such as putting on the han- 461
dles and mouth or applying the slip of watered clay, to raising the sides which requires greater force and exertion of the back muscles. A second basis for the division of labor is the kind of item produced: older women for example, make bowls in preference to large water jugs and containers.

Learning to make pottery. A girl begins to make pottery about 323
the age of eleven. First she makes small replicas of the articles her mother 868
produces. Then, under her mother's direction, she learns to prepare the clay. The mother feels the clay with her fingers, telling her daughter to add more sand if this is lacking. She is taught to knead the clay three times. In making the pot, the most difficult phases are mixing the clay, forming the base, and rounding out the walls of the vessel as it is raised. The child is expected to learn slowly and is encouraged gently to improve each step. While the child works on her first pot, the mother makes a similar one; three or four times they exchange vessels, and the mother shapes her daughter's pot into a better form.

About two generations ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve 582
were the rule. Since most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques 178
begins at that age, pottery was taught to the bride by her mother-in-law if 323
she resided in her husband's house (Blom and La Farge 1927). Most mar- [606]
riages now are contracted for girls from fourteen to seventeen years of age. By this time they are already proficient potters and accustomed to working [593]
with their mothers. Therefore there is greater stress on their remaining in [591]
or near the parental home after marriage.

The pottery is fired in the streets of the town outside the house, usually 323
after the women have made four or five dozen items. The pots are set on planks forming a rough square around the fire in the center. Charcoal is added to the fire as the brush or corn husks set between the pots begin to burn. The women tend the pots, turning them every five minutes until the surface is well dried and hardened. Wood is added to the fire, and then the jugs are stacked in a pyramid, each one protected from the one it touches with a broken piece of pottery. The stacking is crucial to permit even firing and must be done carefully so that none are broken. Once the

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child from view. In this period, the mother sleeps with the child apart [513]
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the errand. By the age of ten or eleven, girls begin to make small pots like 857
868
323

868 857 the larger ones their mothers make, but their products are usually not [323] commercially saleable until they reach the age of marriage. Their responsi- [312] bility in preadolescence is to bring water from the faucets installed in every other block of the town, and to degrain corn, tend the fire as the *nixtamal*, or corn dough mixed with lime, cooks, and help their mother grind it. The careful assessment of the child's capacity to perform tasks is exemplified by the gradations of water-carrying jars given to each child: the older the child, the larger the jar, with minute variations in scale. The [592] close, usually wordless cooperation between women in a household comes [462] from years of working together and knowing their part in cooperative tasks.

Boys accompany their fathers to the fields after they reach the age of six and when they are not attending school. They do not participate in the work of the milpa until they are eight or older, but they pick up twigs for the fire or gather the wild berries or plants which supplement the diet of [411] the family. They usually carry slingshots with which they kill field rats [262] and birds, which they bring home to cook and eat. Teaching a boy the 868 tasks involved in agriculture is consciously undertaken by older brothers 241 or the father when the child reaches the age of twelve or thirteen. The following reminiscence of this training is given by a man who had been brought up by his widowed mother and brother.

159 *I went to the field with my brother who is eighteen years older than I,*
868 *when I was thirteen years old. My brother brought me to clean the milpa,*
241 *saying, "Let us go and you will learn how to work. See what I do and you do the same. You will learn what I do and you can do the same."*

One day I finished six rows. My brother said when he saw my work, "Good, just give a little more soil at the foot of the corn because the little corn must have a little soil. Now you do it well." "Yes," I said. He saw it was good, and he told me, "You have learned your work. You are going to forget it when you enter school. When you come out of school, go do two or three rows of work. When you hear the bell strike, go back to school."

He told my mother that I had learned to work, and she said, "Good you know how to cultivate." I learned to do my work better by going along with my elder brother in his work so that I would not forget.

621 593 Familial role requirements must be fulfilled in order for public roles to be
581 undertaken. A man must be married in order to enter into even the lowest
794 posts in the civil and religious hierarchies.

794 Only in the case of the alfereces has wealth ever been a criterion for re-
556 cruitment. These four officials had to be able to spend 3,000 pesos during
434 their year in office. The heavy expenditures failed to give prestige to the
554 official, and the display of wealth excited envy rather than respect. The re-
sult was that people called upon to accept the post had to be imprisoned
before they would accept.

554 Recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on in-
756 nate qualities; special skills and knowledge are attributes acquired in office
or other role positions rather than requirements for undertaking roles.
Curers are recruited because they are recognized as having an animal
spirit; they learn whatever skills are required after they have been ini-
tiated into the profession. The curers' special position in the society rests
more on esoteric powers than on esoteric knowledge. Everyone in the com-
[278] munity knows the herbs and medicines which are prescribed, and most
men can give as comprehensive a taxonomy of illnesses as any practicing
curer.

868 Economic roles, though largely undifferentiated for each sex, are con-
241 sciously learned and transmitted. Boys accompany their fathers or elder
[857] brothers to the field at about the age of eight and continue working with
[883] them until they reach independence. Observation of behavior alone would
seem to indicate an unconscious absorption of the role of agricultural
worker, but informants recount episodes in which training in field work
was explicitly transmitted by their fathers or brothers, and formal ap-
proval of their ability to do the tasks announced to their mothers. Parents
[871] express fear that school attendance not only interferes with working in the
milpa, but that it will cause the child to forget what he has learned in the
field. Regardless of what other tasks a man performs, he thinks of himself
as a farmer.

868 Becoming a potter requires an even more explicit training procedure.
323 The fine linguistic segmentation of each act and movement in the sched-
ule of pottery-making is a clue to the explicit transmission of tasks by the

mother to her daughter. Informants are able to recount the succession of 868
learning of the tasks, the relative difficulty of each task, and the mistakes 323
they made and how their mother corrected them. Being a potter in Tzo'ontahal is as much a part of being a woman as the role of agriculturalist is of being a man.

Special tasks become crystallized as roles only when few people perform 463
them. Jobs such as caponizing, butchering, net and rope weaving, and 554
wood cutting which are done by almost every man do not have role terms. Bonesetting and curing of certain "good" illnesses, such as swelling caused by embarrassment, are semispecialized activities performed by a few women who have "cold" hands. Midwifery is a fully specialized role per- [759]
formed by two women who are referred to as "the grandmothers of the newborn child."

A new occupational role has been created with the purchase of a truck 463
by Indians of the community. There are now two Indian truck drivers. 554
Recruitment of these particular young men was a result of their fathers' 197
importance in the truck-owning cooperatives, and their skill was acquired [493]
in apprenticeship with a Ladino truck driver hired when the truck was first in operation. Both of them are acculturated in clothing and speech. Since they have acquired skills in dealing with the Ladino world, they often act as intermediaries for Indians of the town in their negotiations in the market or the courts of the departmental capital.

The continuity in occupational adjustment from early childhood to 864
adulthood contrasts with the discontinuities in assuming roles in the life cycle. Girls are not advised about menstruation until they see the first signs of it; they describe their reaction to it as one of fear and surprise. Often they have been pregnant several months before they are aware of the condition or its cause, and they have no preparation for the experience
of childbirth before it is upon them. Boys are not considered men until 885
they are married, but in order to arrive at this status, they must enter into 584
the "fight to get a wife," as the betrothal is often called. 585

Since recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on 554
qualities of the person rather than acquired skills, failure to recognize the prerequisite conditions of age and experience undermines the validity of

The behavior described for each institution in earlier chapters will be summarized as a mode of adjustment or adaptation in relation to the beliefs that give it meaning and purpose. 128

Economic Activities

868

Learning agricultural tasks and pottery-making in the household is part of adjusting to membership in the community. Parents are responsible for teaching the value of industriousness and are held accountable throughout the life of the child. Agricultural tasks are scheduled in a yearly cycle that provides sufficient flexibility for a man to carry out community and familial ceremonial responsibilities. In milpa agriculture, there is no specialization of tasks. Small-plot agricultural production with a simple technology has been reinforced by the land reform program. Since the lands incorporated under the Ejido Commission in the 1930s were attached to the community, agriculturalists were not forced to adjust to new ecological conditions. Politicalization was minimal since the local commission operated within the old civil hierarchy. In the recent expansion of ejido colonies in hot country, Indians from the community have developed alliances with non-Indians in asserting claims to the land. Without any preexisting civil hierarchy, these ejidatarios have not had to adjust their activities to a given structure of authority, but have developed independent political organizations as an adaptation to their new environment. 241 323 241 177 178 423 621

Women's work in pottery is less subject to changes in techniques and organization than is men's. The schema of production in simple tasks in a fixed sequence makes it easier to teach girls each process and reinforces a given pottery tradition. My guess would be that if wheel production were introduced, it would liberate the creativity of each potter by freeing her of established routines. 323 177 178

Pottery production is not surrounded, as is agricultural production, by ceremonials. There is no god to whom one lights candles or gives offerings to ensure success, although there are hazards in production, particularly at the time of firing. Agricultural productivity, on the other hand, is thought to depend on the proper relation between the spirits of the heaven and of the church with the spirits of crops. 323 241 776 [196]

In the new economic activities, the Indians have shown both adjustive 177 178 233 312 476 621

241 592 462 Each man tries to cultivate enough food to make his household self-sufficient the whole year around.

241 868 The younger males of a household are initiated into the agricultural work by their fathers and elder brothers who work with the household head in the same fields. Around the age of ten, they are expected to leave grammar school and the children's playground, and to start learning their life trade: the tech- [582] niques of cultivation. No young male is capable of marrying if he is not capable of bearing on his shoulders the economic burden of supporting a household with his labor in the fields.

241 433 434 In addition to producing enough corn for the consumption of his homestead, a man is expected to cultivate some surplus which the household can exchange in the local markets and stores for the manufactured goods and staples which they need: machetes, candles, needles, coffee and various other commodities. Moreover, [464] if the household is in need of extra cash to pay for the expenses of a burial, a wedding, or any other emergency expenditure, he is expected to earn it by selling his labor to other men in the village for wages, or by working for short periods of time in the sugar cane plantation of Puiiltic. (Usually between one and two weeks of wage work will cover such emergencies. See Fig. 5.)

562 The women of Aguacatenango are economically dependent on their male relatives: father, husband, siblings and adult male 462 children. The women have many responsibilities; they are in charge of cooking and cleaning, sewing the family clothes, gathering [231] firewood for the hearth, and educating the young. They are also [241] in charge of feeding the small livestock which is kept in the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77]

855 the elder child, except that they allow the child some freedom
862 to run around the sitio, or go outside the sitio with other adults
883 in order to go visiting.[1]

The adolescent children, especially those going to school, have complete freedom of movement within the community. They are sent to visit their grandmothers, to deliver little presents, or they are sent to ask for borrowed things. They also bring news and gossip back and forth between households. Their role as [585] messengers is sometimes formalized, as during weddings when children are sent ahead to announce the arrival of the bride, and her family, to the groom's household.

857 Pre-adolescent girls have the responsibility of caring for
868 their younger siblings, and are initiated into the woman's work
562 at an early age. They are trained by their mothers in making tortillas, carrying water, sweeping and sewing. They can go visiting on their own, and play outside the home with other girls before and after school, if they are regular school goers.

882 After the first menstruation (and sometimes a little before
562 if they show signs of maturity), they change from the light cotton
[291] skirt into the traditional dark blue nagua (tubular skirt) and red faja (sash), and are considered marriageable (solteritas or tek' el). At this point, they are expected to stay within the homestead grounds, except if they are told to bring water or if they go with compañía (company) to the afternoon rezo (praying

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[1] In extreme cases, when the elder child shows extreme signs of distress (crying long hours and refusing to eat anything), it will be given to a woman relative living in other household, usually the paternal grandmother or a married sister without children. This, however, is extremely rare.

882 562 584 session in Church). Water carrying is associated with courting and the bachelors stay around the paths that connect the houses of their sweethearts with the well to which they go to fetch water, expecting to receive some indication of acceptance on their part, and if they are literate, to hand them a love letter. Girls, on these occasions, are expected to behave modestly and to be embarrassed. If not, they are usually judged as alocades (light-headed) and not fit for marriage.

156 571 The concept of tener su compañía runs throughout all activity, at all ages. Having company means protection from the supernatural on a long trip, help around the house, harmonious social relations with age mates and kinsmen, and insurance against loneliness. Older women who are left alone in a house for several days will "borrow" a younger girl, a son's daughter for example, to keep them company, and a young wife going to market or to get firewood is usually expected to find company to do so. If not, [753] she can well meet a strange man on the road, and get sick from verguenza (sickness assumed to originate from shame at being placed in an anomalous or embarrassing social situation) or espanto (fear and soul loss).

882 562 Boys (kerem and tek' el) do not have as many restrictions of behavior or of movement as girls after puberty, but they are [868] also expected to have their company. They start working with their fathers around the age of ten, depending on their physical strength, but in the beginning, it is not a serious occupation. 883 562 573 As soon as they become regular workers, they spend their free time with other bachelors and form a compañía or escuadrilla

423 593 The reasons for keeping a son are not as pressing as the [432] reasons for keeping a daughter. Amatenango land holdings are [184] somewhat smaller than Aguacatenango, and the buying and selling of agricultural parcels, as long as it does not involve outsiders to the village, is a common practice which accounts for approximately 16 per cent of land transactions. The

423 241 592 464 limited land holding units in Amatenango require minimal cooperation in agriculture. Because of fractured land holdings, fewer than one-half of the households have two tablones . . . of land. Therefore, fewer than one-half the households can keep more than one man actively employed. Even in those households with from two to five tablones, a man and his adult son are sufficient labor for most activities except harvest. 592 323 434 868 Women's pottery production, however, requires frequent cooperation. Two tendencies are reinforcing the cooperation of women, especially of mothers and daughters: (1) with increasing need for cash income to buy products which are not longer produced in the home, or which have been introduced, money [582] is constantly needed. Pottery offers an easy means of acquiring cash with almost immediate returns, and (2) marriages are [178] currently contracted at a later age for girls than formerly. Before, about a generation ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve were the rule. Most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques begins at that age. Consequently, pottery was taught to the daughter by the mother-in-law if the girl was married and resided in the husband's house. (See Frans [114] Blom and Oliver LaFarge [1927] who commented that all pottery was taught by the mother-in-law.) Most marriages now are contracted for girls from 14 to 17 years of age. At this time they are already proficient potters, and accustomed to working with their mother. Therefore, there is a greater stress put on their remaining in or near their parental home after marriage (Nash, J., 1960:47).[1]

592 868 323 The people of Amatenango recognize that during the period in which a woman learns to make pottery, she establishes particular habits of cooperation and a strong solidarity bond with the woman from whom she learns and with whom she works. "Parents say that there is an advantage in early marriages, in that the girl would be more willing to learn the ways of her mother-in-law if she

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[161] [1]It is also important to notice that with the increase in population over the area, the market has increased.

592 takes up residence in her husband's house" (Nash, J., 1960:28)
868 at an age in which she is not fully trained in pottery production.
323 At the same time, "mothers prefer to keep their daughters at home
[582] at least until the age of fourteen if there is no economic necessity in the family" (Nash, J., 1960:28).

592 Pottery production as a source of income is not equally
434 important for all households. (1) Households with more children
433 produce less pottery, because "child care compete with pottery
323 making for a woman's time." (2) Households with more women produce more pottery because the different tasks of the woman: pottery making, child care, and house maintenance, can be best distributed among them during the day. (3) The motivation to work at pottery production is stronger in poorer households, "because alternative sources of income are less, and more of the family subsistence must come from pottery making." (4) Households with more men and land produce less pottery. First, land needs men to work it, and a single man cannot work much, or lay claim to government Ejido land of any considerable size. "In richer households (in terms of land and cattle) there is sufficient milpa raised that corn need not be bought, and the need for continuous cash income is not so pressing. This has also a circular effect: richer households tend to be able to keep more children alive; with more children to care for, women devote less time to pottery." "Conversely, poorer households depend upon pottery income, have fewer children, and less experience with prolonged periods of little or no pottery production" (Nash, M., 1961:188).

If the woman's work in pottery is a crucial factor in

606 184 [593] a mother-in-law does not. The affective ties which develop with the nurturant figure are extremely durable, even though they seldom see each other after the daughter marries.

• [868] In Amatenango, perhaps because of early marriages which increase the nurturant aspect of the mother-in-law role (she certainly takes part in the socialization of the daughter-in-law by teaching her how to make pottery), and because of the establishment of a relationship before the younger woman had many chances to establish adult affective ties with any woman other than her own mother, the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond is less tense. The women create a strong solidarity bond in their active cooperation in pottery making, and their association is both intense and constant. The result is that "a successful relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is not an authoritarian one, but is rather characterized by mutual cooperation" (Nash, J., 1960: 184 29, 62-67). We can also observe that the residence pattern 591 grants, in Aguacatenango, unconditional power to the mother-in-law, 606 while in Amatenango, where a woman after marriage can reside with 578 her own parents if she dislikes her in-laws, a mother-in-law is made to be more careful about her own behavior towards the younger woman. If she is too harsh, she can find herself with no female help in the house, and losing a son at the same time, which means that the household loses two laborers.

Religious Behavior

869 776 Socialization of the child includes teaching him how to adjust to spirits of the house and of the surrounding hills and springs as well as to people in his social environment. He learns the obligations he owes to these spirits in the rituals of house inauguration and curing. Place spirits are given an ethnic identity. The ancestor figures who live in the cave are Indians from whom all the people originate. The Ladino spirits residing in the houses and springs are a mythological projection of a conquered people who have learned to coexist with their conquerors by paying tribute of candles, food, liquor, and entertainment. If the spirits are not won over, they will admit the evil spirits who bring sickness and death. Their presence is known only by the trouble they permit rather than by good occurences; the miracles they perform are an undoing of the harm they have permitted.

776 782 789 The belief in the potentially dangerous nature of these spirits when their envy or appetite is aroused is linked to an understanding that men and gods alike are jealous and vindictive. It generates behavior that is in conformity with that of the ancestors. A sense of security is reinforced by the protective symbols of incense, the cross of palm hung on the entrance posts of the yard and house, candles which "blind the eye of the devil," and garlic mixed with hot herbs which exude an odor that evil spirits dislike. When the uneasy contract between spiritual and human coresidents [755] is upset, a curing ritual is performed to make everyone "of one heart." Be- [571] havior with respect to both spirits and people stems from a policy of ap- [273] peasement through entertainment and liquor provided in household ceremonials.

776 177 178 Behavior differs in regard to the category of saints called "spirits in the heaven" and those called "spirits in the church." Spirits of the heavens have incorporated pre-Conquest deities with those introduced by the missions. They are a more powerful force influencing human moral behavior. [834] Illicit sexual relations carried out in the milpa by day are believed to [784] arouse the envy of "Our Father the Sun" who will cause the milpa to burn by refusing to give way to rain. Similarly "Our Grandmother the

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1936) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

As is the case in the highlands of Guatemala, the outstanding social unit, corresponding to a tribe, is the population of several hundred or several thousand Indians whose activities center in one leading settlement from which the community gets its name. As in Guatemala, these communities vary greatly with respect to the proportion of Indians living permanently in this central settlement. Dr. Tax[14] uses the phrase "town nucleus type" for Guatemalan Indian communities in which all or a large majority of the Indians live in the principal settlement, and the phrase "vacant town type" for those in which most of the Indians live in scattered rural habitations, coming to the town center occasionally for commercial, governmental, or festal reasons. Among the Tzeltals the town-nucleus type is less atypical than it is in Guatemala, and the town-nucleus communities are suffering from a scarcity of land. The following communities may be regarded as of this type: Amatenango, San Martin, Tenango, Sivacá, Petalcingo, and probably also Chanal and Citalá, although at least in the case of the last two, there are also considerable numbers of Indians dwelling in the countryside. The vacant-town type of community is represented by Cancuc, Oxchuc, Bachajón, and Chilón. It will be seen that both types are represented in both highlands and lowlands. With respect to this classification Tenejapa, Guaquitepec, and Yajalón are intermediate, and illustrate Tax's "Type III" in that many of the people live in the town and work their fields closely surrounding it, while many live on their farms and only occasionally come to town.

As in the highlands of Guatemala, the ethnic distinction between Indian and Ladino is marked; here also the Ladinos are much outnumbered by the Indians, and here too the Ladinos are very predominately town-dwellers. In Chilón and Yajalón the permanent town-dwellers are chiefly Ladinos; the permanent population of Oxchuc consists of about seventy Ladino families; the several thousand Indians live about the town and in the country. In other towns (Tenejapa,[15] Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Petalcingo) a considerable number of Ladino families have become established, although in these communities there are more Indians even among the inhabitants of the town itself than there are Ladinos. A general disposition to exclude Ladinos from permanent settlement in Indian communities is most marked in Cancuc, the site of the uprising of 1712,[16] and where in 1935 some Ladino merchants were slain by the Indians. No Ladinos reside there now. In Amatenango, Chanal, Bachajón, San Martin, Tenango, and Sivacá the Indians are also unfavorable to settlement by Ladinos; in each of the three last-named villages the only Ladino residents are the school-teacher and the government-imposed municipal agent. Recently a few Ladino tradespeople have settled in Bachajón, and a "Center of Native Education" has been established there (as also at Amatenango) by the Mexican national government. In the lowland towns of

[14] Tax, 1937, pp. 441–444.

[15] It is interesting that in Tenejapa, where both Indians and Ladinos live in town, the two groups recognize different patron saints and there are separate schools for Indians and for Ladinos, whereas in Oxchuc, where all the Indians live outside the town, the same santos are worshipped by both groups, but the Ladinos maintain their own celebration on the day of the festival.

[16] Vicente Pineda, 1888.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

must announce his arrival at the gate so that the mother can cover the child from view. In this period, the mother sleeps with the child apart from her husband. 846 [513]

Infants remain swaddled in wrapped skirt pieces—the woman's sash is not used after the first fifteen days—throughout the first year of life. Their arms are bound to their sides by kerchiefs crossed over the chest and drawn around the back with the ends tucked in; this makes it easier to carry the child on the back, wrapped in a large carrying cloth. Mothers sometimes lay sleeping infants on their bed when they are working in the house, but much of the time they carry them on their backs. 854

The child is given corn gruel to supplement nursing during his third or fourth month. Weaning may be consciously done after the child reaches the age of one and a half or two years. If the child persists in trying to nurse, the mother may put chile sauce or draw a face on her breasts to discourage him. 853 862

Much of the care of children from two to four years of age is done by elder siblings. Both girls and boys of from seven to ten years of age carry younger siblings in a carrying cloth on their backs, even when playing very active games. They pacify the child by holding a flower or twig for him to chew or grasp, and they usually share with him any cookies or scraps of food they are given. 855 857

School is commonly considered the most joyful time of a person's life. There the children, especially boys, make friendships which last throughout life. School recess is a time for unrestrained running, shouting, and laughter such as I have rarely seen in the houseyards when children play together. 871 857

In teaching their children how to work, parents are expected to inculcate not only competence but also a sense of the value of work, for industry is one of the most esteemed traits in both boys and girls. Small girls do errands for their mothers from the age of about four years. When a woman is occupied with pottery, she rarely disturbs herself to get needed items, but calls upon her children to fetch a pot which is out of reach or to bring water for the painting. She gives these orders in a quiet undertone, and I have never seen any need to prompt or cajole the child into fulfilling the errand. By the age of ten or eleven, girls begin to make small pots like 867 857 868 323

159 partners. He sold a few shares of a truck he and his family owned to Indians, but he retained the controlling interest. His wife was reputed to be a witch, and was an active curer, combining old and new treatments of illnesses.

His position was challenged in the 1960s by the Ladino schoolmaster, who had been remarkably unsuccessful from his arrival in 1953 until that time in gaining personal power and influence. His intercession in a local homicide case involving a father's murder of his son outraged the townspeople, some of whom threatened to kill him. His attempts to have water installed aroused the curers against him since they were accustomed to bathing their patients at the source of the spring from which they were debarred when the plumbing was installed. His demands that children within the legal age limit should not only attend school but should be prohibited from marrying until they had completed their schooling caused the anger of parents who wanted to give their daughters in an early and profitable marriage.

Gradually, however, the schoolmaster extended his own base of support. He minimized his attack on local customs, adhering only to those laws affecting the school population, over which he had a great deal of control. Some of his support came from the orthodox Catholic members of the community; he extended his control through compadre relationships with over eighty members of the community. He showed movies which he acquired from the United Nations and other educational film sources and gave away medicines acquired from the health officials in the state capitol who were his friends. From one of these sources of philanthropy he acquired wool shawls which he gave to every woman in the town.

The professor demanded no return from the townspeople other than their respect and admiration; he was a person who enjoyed commanding others and needed an arena in which to project his own personality. In his early years in the town, he had to satisfy this need by capturing stray tourists and plying them with soda pop or coffee. His first opportunity to gain leadership in the local sphere came in 1963, when he supported the new truck-owning cooperative. He used the influence of contacts in the state capital, including compadres, friends, and relatives of his wife's family. He promoted the cooperative's attempt to gain the presidency. One of the first

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

acts of the new officials was to fire the Ladino secretary and install an Indian for the first time. The schoolmaster had won his battle for recognition. In every legal dispute in which the town became involved, the schoolmaster accompanied the town officials as they went to visit departmental and state leaders, acting as their spokesman. He never accepted even expenses for these trips. His satisfaction was in giving advice to the officials on all matters, in being the man whom outsiders consulted before anything could be accomplished, and in finding an audience.

The schoolmaster consolidated his position by drawing together all his supporters in a parent-teachers association, which served as a captive audience for his extended monologues. I was called upon as a witness to the installation of the members, and I took advantage of the occasion to record some of the schoolmaster's rhetoric as he addressed the "parents." In attendance were the president, his brother, four members of their truck-owning cooperative, and about ten other representatives. The teacher told me that they were the best people in town—not one of them had killed anyone! The excerpt below is not complete, but there was sufficient repetition in the schoolmaster's discourse so that nothing is lost.

Schoolmaster: "I don't fight with anyone. We do not come to fight. A schoolmaster is a guide to teach respect. I have thirty-three years teaching in pueblos of campesinos, poor people like you. I am your brother. I am your teacher. The ignorant people do not want to send their children to school. This is a good school, and there are those of you who have succeeded by learning. Ramon Leon was a boarding school student for two years. He and seven others have received scholarships. They accuse me of not working, but they do not know what is happening in the school. Those who know give congratulations to the school. The children of this school won the competition at the conference of teachers. It is neither a poor school with poor students, nor a rich school with rich students, but all are together. They say we do not teach. Compadre" (to president), "is this so? They say we only dance, but at the conference our students won the prize.

"This school is yours. It is better organized than any other. The flag which we had we gave to Villa Las Rosas because they are campesinos;

159 *they are my friends. I prefer to send it there than to Teopisca, because*
895 *they are campesinos.*
871 *"I have proved to you I am a friend of campesinos and of the poor. I*
563 *don't have to say anything if I see that some are killing, that some are dis-*
177 *tilling liquor. This is an affair of the civil authorities, not of me. If some*
178 *come to tell me that so and so has killed someone, I close my ears.*
557 *"What is more important in life is what is in your head, not your cloth-ing. Do you understand me?"*

All reply, "Yes, maestro."

"If we are going to win over Teopisca and Villa Las Rosas, our children have to work hard. I had the luck of receiving a medal because I am one of the principal teachers and know the preparation of teachers. The Jefe of Operation put a medal on my breast and gave me an abrazo. *Here is the picture taken two years ago—Lupe get the rag!" Schoolmaster dusts photograph with rag. "Here you see me with the medal on my breast.*

"Who is more important—the one who accuses me and has to put his finger to sign the declaration, or those of you who can write?

"Now the schoolmaster does not give permission to let the children stay away from school. We do not have authority to release the children except for illness. Those children who go most often to school are those who get ahead. They speak idioma [*native language*] *when they play, but when they enter the school they speak* Castellano [*Spanish*].

"Now you know everything. I am happy with you. If there are some who are not happy that I am here, then I shall go happily. There are schools where schoolmasters hit the children. There is a school where the Indian teacher hit a child three times. This is a crime!

"I know where all this talk comes from. Don Ramon [*Ladino secretary who supported opposing candidate mentioned above*] *has a truck—he and Doña Juana. They buy wheat and corn at half price. If the Indians do not pay off, they get double the return at the next harvest. My compadres have come and told me. Those who are with him are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by him. They have two trucks in Teopisca. They come and ask people to sign a paper supporting their candidate. People sign because they are afraid she* [*Juana*] *will use witchcraft."*

President: "Ramon left her, but then he went back to her because of witchcraft." 159

Schoolmaster "This is the group which is against me and is against the pueblo." 875 871 563

Schoolmaster's wife: "You see how happy the pueblo is." She waves her hand to plaza where marimba is playing for the fiesta. "Everything is well organized. Not as it was formerly when Don Ramon was in town." 177 178 557

President: "You see how the pueblo is learning. The children are learning to knit. Everyone knits."

Schoolmaster, giving oath of office to parents: "In the name of the Secretary of Public Education, I ask you to serve with faithfulness to the pueblo. The school is the defense of the country. It is preparing you for tomorrow. The society of parents of the school represents you. Your children represent the future of the country in the sign of the three colors, and you have the obligation to defend the country. The country will become great when all the children know how to write. When Mexico has need of its children, the children will be prepared to die for the country. You should see that schools prepare the children. See Mexico is a country united.

"I have been here since 1953. It is not now as it was then. We have water, a highway. You are not in the state you were then.

"Today we see a kiosk." He waves hand to plaza. "Tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory. It will be a grand pueblo, a civilized pueblo. There was a schoolmaster here who worked two days a week. I have worked every day since 1953. I secured eight scholarships for the children. If there are some who didn't go, it is because their father does not send them. If there are those who say the school does not function, they are traitors to the pueblo. Honorable Society of Fathers of Families, I am the schoolmaster. I shall explain. Give an applause." Applause.

The schoolmaster's discourse reveals several aspects of his position in the town. He indicates the lesson he has learned in avoiding interference in the town's social control system ("I don't have to say anything if I see that some are killing, that some are taking out trago. This is an affair of the 159 875 563 177 178

621 Familial role requirements must be fulfilled in order for public roles to be
593 undertaken. A man must be married in order to enter into even the lowest
581 posts in the civil and religious hierarchies.
794

794 Only in the case of the alfereces has wealth ever been a criterion for re-
556 cruitment. These four officials had to be able to spend 3,000 pesos during
434 their year in office. The heavy expenditures failed to give prestige to the
554 official, and the display of wealth excited envy rather than respect. The re-
sult was that people called upon to accept the post had to be imprisoned
before they would accept.

554 Recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on in-
756 nate qualities; special skills and knowledge are attributes acquired in office
or other role positions rather than requirements for undertaking roles.
Curers are recruited because they are recognized as having an animal
spirit; they learn whatever skills are required after they have been ini-
tiated into the profession. The curers' special position in the society rests
more on esoteric powers than on esoteric knowledge. Everyone in the com-
[298] munity knows the herbs and medicines which are prescribed, and most
men can give as comprehensive a taxonomy of illnesses as any practicing
curer.

868 Economic roles, though largely undifferentiated for each sex, are con-
241 sciously learned and transmitted. Boys accompany their fathers or elder
[857] brothers to the field at about the age of eight and continue working with
[883] them until they reach independence. Observation of behavior alone would
seem to indicate an unconscious absorption of the role of agricultural
worker, but informants recount episodes in which training in field work
was explicitly transmitted by their fathers or brothers, and formal ap-
proval of their ability to do the tasks announced to their mothers. Parents
[871] express fear that school attendance not only interferes with working in the
milpa, but that it will cause the child to forget what he has learned in the
field. Regardless of what other tasks a man performs, he thinks of himself
as a farmer.

868 Becoming a potter requires an even more explicit training procedure.
323 The fine linguistic segmentation of each act and movement in the sched-
ule of pottery-making is a clue to the explicit transmission of tasks by the

3. Categories of role-bearers sit and act together in all the domains. In the home the me'eletik, the nakawanchetik, and the b'alnialetik have established seats and act in concert. Similarly in the cabildo, four ranks of officials, the principales, judges, regidores, and police, move and act together. In the church, elder and younger mayordomos move in pairs of two.

4. Sexual segregation is present in the home, the church, and the cabildo, but is lacking in the school. This rejection of the community standard for a group situation was the basis for some parents holding their children out of school until coerced by the federal authorities backed by the local officials.

5. Attendance in all domains involves coercion as well as voluntary action. Coercion is most marked in the school, but resistance by the parents to forced attendance and mixing of the sexes is fast wearing down in this domain. In the cabildo, the defendant is required to attend the court hearing and may even be jailed if he does not pay the fines charged against him. Coercion is covert in the home; the lack of alternative housing arrangements makes residence in the household of orientation or of procreation mandatory.

6. Sacred symbols are present in all the domains. The symbols of the cabildo and of the school relate the community to the nation with the national flags and the portraits of the president. The canes of office which are assumed as each official acquires office are symbols of local authority. The universalistic symbols of the church—the saints images, portraits, and banners—are acquired from Catholic orthodoxy, but have been encapsulated with local sentiments and beliefs. Sacred symbols are treated with respect and avoidance, both in the church and the home. The "holy cross" or banners are touched only with sacred embroidered cloths binding the hands of those who carry them. Saints' images are kissed, but as a mark of respect, not intimacy. The Mexican flag, with which less awe is associated, is saluted.

Each of the domains provides a setting for the recognition and validation of authority figures in the community. Values which are communally shared or imposed from outside are formally instilled in these settings. Ex-

These time and space patterns provide the individual with a cognitive structure which enables him to function appropriately in a given setting and to plan his future actions. Having one piece of information, people can derive the other understandings necessary to adjust their own behavior to the expectations of others.

Time as a measure of value has been affected by changes occurring in the past two decades. Men are less willing to expend time in ceremonial activities than formerly. The first ceremony given up was Carnival, which has not been celebrated for over a decade. Most recently, young men have refused to become alfereces, and their resistance on the basis of loss of time and money was formally recognized in 1966 when the institution was abolished. The resistance parents used to show to their children spending, or wasting their time in school has given way as some of the more modernized parents have seen the advantages of education.

The tempo of life has accelerated with the increasing importance of bus and truck transportation to market. Women's time has always figured as importantly as that of the men because of their pottery production, and they have quickly accepted time-saving innovations such as the tortilla press and the corn-grinding mill. They have not shown any inclination to adopt time-saving technology, such as the potter's wheel, in pottery-making since they have no knowledge of it, and using it would require relearning basic tasks.

The ceremonial cycle still provides the major consideration in programming other activities in the community. The Indian as an agriculturalist remains master of his own time, and he plans his work so that he can fulfill his ceremonial obligations.

Chapter 13

Belief and Behavior in a Changing Society

Continuity is the theme stressed in the rules of the game that apply to living in the square world of the community. The framework of continuity is the landscape itself with the ancestral hills and devils' caves reminding people of the moral order of the past. Repetitive behavior in rituals symbolically projects the past into the future, and behavioral schema in pottery and agricultural production reinforce the belief that all remains the same. The conditions making for change stem from the very attempts to preserve the existing equilibrium. A rising population on a limited land base using colonial techniques of cultivation is bringing about an increasing reliance on outside markets for the sale of labor and the purchase of goods. The ejido program which has perpetuated the system of subsistence cultivation has at the same time increased the dependency on external political influence and undermined dependency on parents. Some of the rules of strategy that have developed in response to changes coming from outside the community can no longer be justified by the beliefs that govern behavior within its boundaries. The community is now in crisis: people are losing faith in the old beliefs and have not yet developed a meaningful ideology for new strategies.

The crisis does not affect all institutions equally. It is absent in the traditional economic activities of milpa cultivation and pottery production. It is incipient in the households, especially where there are wage-workers in nonagricultural jobs. It is more apparent in the civil than in the religious sphere, and it is most manifest in the new economic activities. The school, as an externally imposed institution, generates awareness of the conflict between old beliefs and the ideology of nationalism, but until recently receptivity to these ideas has been limited. The behavior described for each in-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

789 away, leaving it alone, an ear of yellow corn is left with it, that its soul may not be stolen. There is an interesting parallel here with [171] the ear of corn as a "ceremonial mother" in the Southwestern United States. If somebody expresses too strong admiration of a child, fire must be passed near it, or spittle rubbed over its forehead; otherwise the baby will become ill. Infants are particularly susceptible to the evil eye. To cure one that has been thus cursed, a female shaman is summoned, who passes a whole egg all over the baby's body. This is then opened, and the evil eye will be seen (by the shaman) in the yolk of the egg. They throw the egg into the river, or bury it in a secret place. Almost this same belief was found in Chontal of Tabasco. (Customs of San Fernando, Chapter VI, Volume I).

868 Children's education is simple and direct. As soon as a boy is old enough to work at all—at about five years of age—he is given a worn-down machete and set to cutting and hauling wood. From then on, following his father, he learns the man's duties. Girls are started with a miniature metate, grinding corn.

872 The Government maintains some public schools, such as at Bachajon Village, in which a few children learn to read and write, but in general great difficulty is found in obtaining scholars. As soon as they are old enough to study, they are strong enough to be of material help in the house and the farm; the parents do not like to relinquish what represents the interest on the investment of the price paid by the father for marriage, and the expense of the children's early years. Under the present administration, however, efforts to educate the Indians are being pushed as never before.

881 582 Puberty is attended by no observances of any kind. Marriage, which comes fairly early, has been previously described.

764 At death the ceremonial side is greatly emphasized. The funeral rites combine the idea of mourning with a general belief that the soul of the departed lingers for a brief time about his former domicile. When possible, the house of the deceased is abandoned for a short time, during which period, if any small animal is observed about the house, particularly at night, it is supposed to be his soul. No particular powers are ascribed to the soul, as far as could be found out, but it is considered poor company.

As it happened, a man was killed while we were at the Finca Encanto, whose funeral rites we could observe. His wife began mourning for him almost immediately—this being in the middle of the afternoon. His body was taken to another house, neighbour to his own. The true ceremonies began after nightfall. Accompanied [123] by Lazaro and Señor Aguilar, the writer went up with a gift of

come the domain of the schoolmaster, who represents federal influence in the local community. He has rebuilt parts of the structure in the thirteen years he and his family have lived and worked in this building; it was his fortress when the Indians threatened to kill him for building a chicken coop obtruding into the street, and again when he interceded in a case of homicide. He has a small arsenal stored in his bedroom in preparation for any reversal of his position in the community. The school is his platform, the area he controls and from which he shouts to his compadres—the storekeeper, the fiscal, and the president—to come speak with him. 346 621 875

The long building is subdivided into four classrooms and the living quarters of the schoolmaster's family. The classrooms are furnished with crude benches and tables; blackboards and charts of birds, animals, and the alphabet decorate the walls. The back porch, converted to classrooms to accommodate the three hundred and fifty children, overflows with benches. The students' own materials—a notebook, pencil, and erasers—are provided by their parents. When a notebook is filled, the students industriously erase all the marks and reuse the book until it falls apart. 346 352 353 872

When I was in the village, the schoolmaster often encouraged visitors to share a Coca-Cola with him in his office. Here, surrounded by his books, his collection of artifacts of both genuine and spurious origin, a picture of the district inspector of federal schools pinning a medal on his chest, the flag of the Mexican republic, he could speak freely of the personal attacks and frustrations and of the rare satisfactions he encountered "in bringing civilization to the town." As he began to build up his political power in the community, the president and síndico often consulted with him on town affairs. Agents of the federal or departmental offices who came to town frequently communicated with him directly before going to the cabildo. The school became the arena for working out political programs and strategies. The schoolmaster prided himself on being the primary channel of communication between the outside world and the village. 621 875 [346] [353]

The conflict of interest between the schoolmaster and the parents of the children over attendance in school has been ameliorated in recent years with the acceptance by some of the parents of education as an advantage. In the early years of compulsory education, physical force was used to round up the children. The traumatic experience of his first day in school 872 875 573 177 178 872 177

304 The traumatic experience of his first day in school is recounted by a man now sixty-eight years of age. He was thirteen in 1918, the first year that compulsory education was introduced into the town. In the Eyes of the Ancestors

872 177 115

159 197 872

I was in my house when I heard the civil authorities call the children to school. The police came to tell me to go to school. I did not go because my mother wanted me to accompany her on the road to Teopisca. On our way to Teopisca, the inspector saw me and asked me why I didn't go to school. My mother replied, "I am a widow. He came with me because I seek for what we eat. Therefore he must go with me."

The inspector did not hear her words. Since he was mounted on horseback, he said to me as I was walking, "Come here, boy. Don't walk on foot, climb up on the horse." I was embarrassed to climb up on the horse, and I had some fear because I had never ridden on horseback. I began to cry. "Don't cry," he said. "You are only going to school. The schoolmaster will not beat you." It is then that my mother said, "Señor, don't take him. See that there is no one else to accompany me on the road. When I come home, there will be no one to do errands."

But the inspector feared nothing. His heart was hot, hot. A man came by and told the inspector that I did not know how to ride and that I was afraid. The inspector said, "If he doesn't know how to ride, then you take him." But the man replied, "But I don't want to. It is better that I go get wood. You take him by force if you can, Señor. I go before your face" [*a way of excusing himself*].

I didn't want to go, and I just cried because I didn't want to. The inspector seized me, and put me on horseback. I was afraid to get up, and I cried and cried from fear. He said, "Stop it! Let us go!"

And so he led the horse with me on it. My mother cried when she saw the inspector take me off on horseback. She remained very sad as I left, since she no longer had a companion. I went on to school, and the inspector handed me over to the schoolmaster.

The schoolmaster gave me a paper with my name, which I didn't know. I did not hear what was said in that large school because I did not know Spanish. The schoolteacher asked me, "What are you called, little boy?" I cried a great deal because I felt sad for my mother whom I had left in

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Teopisca. The schoolmaster said, "Don't cry, Ceferino. I am not going to beat you because you will learn to write. It is good to know how to write. You will speak Spanish because you will hear it, and you will look at the letters because the letters are the same as they are spoken in Spanish. Sit down now, and come tomorrow." 159 177 872

Then I told my mother to look for a slate and chalk because every morning and afternoon I wrote. She was of one heart and did not cry when she heard how I entered in the school.

For the most part, the teachers rely on authority in their program of instruction rather than encouraging the active involvement of students. In the early years of the school, there was a rapid turnover of teachers, but the employment of a schoolmaster with his wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The children respond with respect and fear to the schoolmaster, and occasionally with interest and enthusiasm. The following reminiscences by the informant, Ceferino, reflect the fear, tempered by some pleasure and interest, which he experienced: 875 876 159 212

The first schoolteacher I had when I entered school was called Chaya. She taught me to write with chalk on a blackboard. Every time I wrote badly, she told me to erase the letters and write another. After I finished, I went to my house at three in the afternoon. The next day I would go back to school. I would write on the blackboard. Writing was another kind of thing. The chalk did not stick well on the blackboard. Afterward, we started to use ink, and I began to learn well. But for a long time, I did not learn how to read. For one year, I couldn't speak Spanish, but I continued writing letters. This schoolteacher left and another came, Mista Munda Gordi. He asked me what my name was, and I told him. He saw that I didn't write the letters well. He was interested. He told me how to do it. Then I began to improve, and my name came out well. He said that the letters were better. He saw that now it was good. "Now you can make capital letters." 875 876

Mista Munda used to beat us if we did not make good letters, but I did not know how to make capitals. He told me he would beat me, so I began to do the capitals well. He saw that it was better. When he saw the letters, he gave me a book. In the first year, I finished the book, and he gave me

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Despite the beating and the scolding, Ceferino recognized that the schoolteachers cared, and this inspired him to learn. He learned to write without any knowledge of the meaning of the words in his first year of schooling, but this did not discourage him. He was among the first four literate Indians in the community. 159 212 875 876

The program of education for primary schools today is scheduled by the Secretary of Public Education in Mexico City. The teachers conform to this as best they can in the overcrowded, understaffed conditions. The first-year program, according to the book, includes, in addition to reading and math, health studies—basic knowledge of nutrition, social and personal hygiene, the study of the healthful environment, the prevention of diseases and accidents, and first aid. The second-year course includes the study of nature—the sky, earth, seasons, the various changes in the moon, and conservation of natural resources. In the third year of their training the children learn about social life—the child in the home, school, community, and nation. The fourth year includes creative activities—games and artistic expression through learning to play musical instruments and the formation of orchestras, for example. The fifth year teaches practical activities—the construction of toys, work in gardens and other agricultural projects, and the economics of the home; and the program during the sixth year stresses the study of the national language, arithmetic, and geometry. Each of these six sections has a list of the knowledge, habits, abilities, and attitudes the teacher should have formed in the children by the time they have finished the year. The lists become more detailed with each passing year. The amount of material the teacher is expected to cover is impressive. 872 [875]

Mary Marshall's observation of classroom behavior (Appendix 3B) suggests some of the complexities of communicating this standard program in a class of first-year pupils. Inside the schoolroom almost all behavior is initiated and controlled by the teacher. All communication within the school is in Spanish—the teacher ignores responses other than those in Spanish—although most of the children understand no Spanish when they enter school. The regular pattern of question and response is sometimes broken up by demonstration of objects. The children's response is greater when the teacher reverses the pupil-schoolteacher role and lets them ask the questions she tells them. The scarcity of materials imposes a greater bur- 876

876 den on the teacher already laboring with the barrier in communication. Despite these difficulties, the children manage to learn the basics of read-
[875] ing, writing, arithmetic, and Spanish in four years of schooling. The teachers are devoted and spend at least seven hours in the classroom each day.

• 872 During the recess period the children play individual competitive games
524 except when organized games are introduced by one of the teachers. There is a tendency toward ganging up on weaker individuals in fights, that occur, but I have never seen signs of marked brutality. Since the La-
[563] dino children are a small minority in the school (there are no more than a half a dozen among the three hundred and twenty-four students) the Indian children do not face the discrimination found in schools with a greater proportion of Ladinos (cf. Romney and Romney 1966).

876 Discipline is no longer as strict as it was in the early years of public education. The teacher allows someone who has been hit to hit the aggressor but does not herself intercede. Threat of punishment may be made by the teacher, but I have never seen it carried out, and it is never suggested as a solution to failure to learn.

571 In comparing the domestic, civil, and religious domains of activi-
561 ties, the following features emerge:

554 1. In each domain, a hierarchy of power is present. In the house,
[592] males take precedence over females, and older members over younger.
[562] In the cabildo, the power hierarchy takes the form of a rank order co-
[621] ordinate with age in most of the offices, while in the schoolhouse, power is polarized with all authority vested in the schoolteacher. In the church,
[875] the conflict between the priest and the cofrades (Chapter 9) has not
[794] been resolved. Within the ranks of the mayordomos, relationships between the elder and junior mayordomo establish a graded ranking system (Chapter 8).

571 2. Behavior in each domain is standardized. Relative rank is re-
554 flected in seating order, greeting order, and drinking order. Autonomous
576 behavior is most marked in the domain of the church. Focused interaction is predominant in the school, where order and control are based on absorbing the attention of the child in a learning task.

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805 lating the time of day; when I questioned them as to the hour, they were often as much as an hour off, usually behind.

Most activities are ordered with reference to the Gregorian calendar, but the twenty-day Maya calendrical month, defined as "twenty days or a month" is used in much the same way that we use "a fortnight." The In-
805 dians consider the moon to be an uncertain indicator of time, since "she
821 does not walk well." But the moon is important in the culture: people note its different phases and are especially aware of the phase under which a child is born—an important sign for the newborn's future. If a baby is
[856] born at the full moon, he is expected to mature more readily. The full
[787] moon also signifies a propitious time for undertaking certain activities, such as cutting wood for the main posts of a house and cutting palm for the roof.

The Daily Schedule

512
462 Daily activities are organized by traditional economic pursuits. The woman is the first one to rise in the morning. She gets up at dawn, lights
[252] the fire, and sets a jar of water to boil for coffee. She grinds the nixtamal cooked the night before on the stone grinding board, or takes it to the mill
[412] in the center. She then makes tortillas either by hand or with a press; a re-
[177] cent innovation made of two hinged pieces of wood in which the ball of
[178] dough is set between pieces of plastic paper.

The men of the household are served first, followed by the boys; the
[264] women and girls eat last. As soon as they have eaten, the men and boys who have finished the required three years of schooling go out to the
[481] fields to work. They walk single file even in the streets of the town, the fa-
[482] ther preceding his sons. Each carries a machete, net bag, tumpline, and
[411] sheepskin back-protector if he plans to carry any loads. Many bring shot-
[224] guns as well in order to hunt for field rats, raccoon, or the burrowing animals they find in the fields.

After the men leave, the women go to the porch and "seize their work."
[857] The children go to school, which begins at eight-thirty in the morning
[872] and continues until five o'clock in the evening. They return home for
[264] lunch, a meal of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans or chayote when it is in season.

175 called by the historians the Wars of the Castes (Pineda, 1888;
669 Molina, C., 1934; Kline, H., 1960), and both of them voted to join
621 Mexico when the State of Chiapas was contemplating annexation to
631 either Mexico or Guatemala (Trens, 1942:274).

TABLE 2

175 AMATENANGO AND AGUATENANGO: POLITICAL AND
631 ADMINISTRATIVE JURISDICTIONS
621

Time	Amatenango	Aguacatenango
1600 to 1778	Obispado de Ciudad Real Provincia de los Llanos	
1829	Departamento del Sur Partido de los Llanos	
1844	Distrito del Centro Partido de Las Casas o San Cristobal	
1854	Municipio de San Cristobal 9th Municipio	Distrito de Comitan 4th Municipio
1937-1958	Municipio de Amatenango	Municipio de V. Carranza

175 In the end of the eighteenth century (1792) the Bishop
177 Francisco Gabriel de Olivares y Benito tried to specialize
286 Amatenango, Teopisca and Aguacatenango as small textile centers (cotton) by giving the weaving materials to widows and young female children to process and sell. A school for the training of weavers
• [874] was established in the same year, but the project ended unsuccessfully in the beginning of the nineteenth century (Trens, 1942: 175-6).

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621 794 527 of the legs and arms of our patron lord, Jesus, in reference to liquor). The prayer-like intonation, together with repeated invocation of the gods, gives [192] a sacred quality to the words.

[273] Liquor, referred to as "the gift of God" or "gift of the ancestors," is of crucial significance in both civil and religious ritual. Receiving an offering of liquor is tantamount to accepting part of the spiritual essence of the donor. Drinking in each of the domains—the house, the town hall, and the church—serves to tie together different sets of participants in the obligation system of service to the community. In Mauss' terms (1954:11) receiving the gift defines "a pattern of spiritual bonds between things which are to some extent parts of persons, and persons and groups, that behave in some measure as if they were things."

[273] In both inaugurations an attempt is made to control the intake of liquor so that the officials can function in the ritual. This is shown in the civil inauguration when the first policeman thinks about whether the police can take another drink and still carry out their duties. It is more explicit in the religious inaugurations when the cofrades warn the mayordomos that they should not drink so much that they "walk like madmen." The mayordomos then pass on the drinks served to them to the nakawanchetik who drink them and fall into a stupor.

621 794 527 793 • 875 In noting the difference between elicited and performed ritual, minimal changes in behavior provided clues to structural change. The change of custom as to where the meal of the mayordomos takes place (it now is given at the house of the cofrade rather than in the courtyard of the church) indicates a significant shift in the relation between the priest and the local religious leadership. The priest has gained control over the church since he has taken up residence in the parish house. The incident in which the confrontation took place is described in Chapter 9. Divergence of the performed from the expected ritual in the inauguration of the civil authority occurred when the schoolteacher delivered the oath instead of the former Ladino secretary. This revealed the schoolteacher's increasing power in his competition with the former cacique.

621 794 527 The rituals of both civil and religious inaugurations reveal the sense of the sacred obligation to the ancestors. Although both the roles and the scheduling of events are derived from outside the culture, the necessity for

159 622 177 178 [454] [754] [756] partners. He sold a few shares of a truck he and his family owned to Indians, but he retained the controlling interest. His wife was reputed to be a witch, and was an active curer, combining old and new treatments of illnesses.

His position was challenged in the 1960s by the Ladino schoolmaster, 159 875 177 178 563 578 [312] [756] who had been remarkably unsuccessful from his arrival in 1953 until that time in gaining personal power and influence. His intercession in a local homicide case involving a father's murder of his son outraged the townspeople, some of whom threatened to kill him. His attempts to have water installed aroused the curers against him since they were accustomed to bathing their patients at the source of the spring from which they were debarred when the plumbing was installed. His demands that children [871] [582] within the legal age limit should not only attend school but should be prohibited from marrying until they had completed their schooling caused the anger of parents who wanted to give their daughters in an early and profitable marriage.

159 875 177 178 563 559 [608] [546] [278] [43] Gradually, however, the schoolmaster extended his own base of support. He minimized his attack on local customs, adhering only to those laws affecting the school population, over which he had a great deal of control. Some of his support came from the orthodox Catholic members of the community; he extended his control through compadre relationships with over eighty members of the community. He showed movies which he acquired from the United Nations and other educational film sources and gave away medicines acquired from the health officials in the state capitol who were his friends. From one of these sources of philanthropy he acquired wool shawls which he gave to every woman in the town.

The professor demanded no return from the townspeople other than their respect and admiration; he was a person who enjoyed commanding others and needed an arena in which to project his own personality. In his early years in the town, he had to satisfy this need by capturing stray tourists and plying them with soda pop or coffee. His first opportunity to gain [474] leadership in the local sphere came in 1963, when he supported the new truck-owning cooperative. He used the influence of contacts in the state capital, including compadres, friends, and relatives of his wife's family. He promoted the cooperative's attempt to gain the presidency. One of the first

acts of the new officials was to fire the Ladino secretary and install an Indian for the first time. The schoolmaster had won his battle for recognition. In every legal dispute in which the town became involved, the schoolmaster accompanied the town officials as they went to visit departmental and state leaders, acting as their spokesman. He never accepted even expenses for these trips. His satisfaction was in giving advice to the officials on all matters, in being the man whom outsiders consulted before anything could be accomplished, and in finding an audience.

The schoolmaster consolidated his position by drawing together all his supporters in a parent-teachers association, which served as a captive audience for his extended monologues. I was called upon as a witness to the installation of the members, and I took advantage of the occasion to record some of the schoolmaster's rhetoric as he addressed the "parents." In attendance were the president, his brother, four members of their truck-owning cooperative, and about ten other representatives. The teacher told me that they were the best people in town—not one of them had killed anyone! The excerpt below is not complete, but there was sufficient repetition in the schoolmaster's discourse so that nothing is lost.

Schoolmaster: "I don't fight with anyone. We do not come to fight. A schoolmaster is a guide to teach respect. I have thirty-three years teaching in pueblos of campesinos, poor people like you. I am your brother. I am your teacher. The ignorant people do not want to send their children to school. This is a good school, and there are those of you who have succeeded by learning. Ramon Leon was a boarding school student for two years. He and seven others have received scholarships. They accuse me of not working, but they do not know what is happening in the school. Those who know give congratulations to the school. The children of this school won the competition at the conference of teachers. It is neither a poor school with poor students, nor a rich school with rich students, but all are together. They say we do not teach. Compadre" (to president), "is this so? They say we only dance, but at the conference our students won the prize.

"This school is yours. It is better organized than any other. The flag which we had we gave to Villa Las Rosas because they are campesinos;

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159 *they are my friends. I prefer to send it there than to Teopisca, because*
895 *they are campesinos.*
871 *"I have proved to you I am a friend of campesinos and of the poor. I*
563 *don't have to say anything if I see that some are killing, that some are dis-*
177 *tilling liquor. This is an affair of the civil authorities, not of me. If some*
178 *come to tell me that so and so has killed someone, I close my ears.*
557 *"What is more important in life is what is in your head, not your cloth-ing. Do you understand me?"*

All reply, "Yes, maestro."

"If we are going to win over Teopisca and Villa Las Rosas, our children have to work hard. I had the luck of receiving a medal because I am one of the principal teachers and know the preparation of teachers. The Jefe of Operation put a medal on my breast and gave me an abrazo. *Here is the picture taken two years ago—Lupe get the rag!" Schoolmaster dusts photograph with rag. "Here you see me with the medal on my breast.*

"Who is more important—the one who accuses me and has to put his finger to sign the declaration, or those of you who can write?

"Now the schoolmaster does not give permission to let the children stay away from school. We do not have authority to release the children except for illness. Those children who go most often to school are those who get ahead. They speak idioma [*native language*] *when they play, but when they enter the school they speak* Castellano [*Spanish*].

"Now you know everything. I am happy with you. If there are some who are not happy that I am here, then I shall go happily. There are schools where schoolmasters hit the children. There is a school where the Indian teacher hit a child three times. This is a crime!

"I know where all this talk comes from. Don Ramon [*Ladino secretary who supported opposing candidate mentioned above*] *has a truck—he and Doña Juana. They buy wheat and corn at half price. If the Indians do not pay off, they get double the return at the next harvest. My compadres have come and told me. Those who are with him are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by him. They have two trucks in Teopisca. They come and ask people to sign a paper supporting their candidate. People sign because they are afraid she* [*Juana*] *will use witchcraft."*

President: "Ramon left her, but then he went back to her because of witchcraft." 159 875

Schoolmaster "This is the group which is against me and is against the pueblo." 871 563

Schoolmaster's wife: "You see how happy the pueblo is." She waves her hand to plaza where marimba is playing for the fiesta. "Everything is well organized. Not as it was formerly when Don Ramon was in town." 177 178 557

President: "You see how the pueblo is learning. The children are learning to knit. Everyone knits."

Schoolmaster, giving oath of office to parents: "In the name of the Secretary of Public Education, I ask you to serve with faithfulness to the pueblo. The school is the defense of the country. It is preparing you for tomorrow. The society of parents of the school represents you. Your children represent the future of the country in the sign of the three colors, and you have the obligation to defend the country. The country will become great when all the children know how to write. When Mexico has need of its children, the children will be prepared to die for the country. You should see that schools prepare the children. See Mexico is a country united.

"I have been here since 1953. It is not now as it was then. We have water, a highway. You are not in the state you were then.

"Today we see a kiosk." He waves hand to plaza. "Tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory. It will be a grand pueblo, a civilized pueblo. There was a schoolmaster here who worked two days a week. I have worked every day since 1953. I secured eight scholarships for the children. If there are some who didn't go, it is because their father does not send them. If there are those who say the school does not function, they are traitors to the pueblo. Honorable Society of Fathers of Families, I am the schoolmaster. I shall explain. Give an applause." Applause.

The schoolmaster's discourse reveals several aspects of his position in the town. He indicates the lesson he has learned in avoiding interference in the town's social control system ("I don't have to say anything if I see that some are killing, that some are taking out trago. This is an affair of the 159 875 563 177 178

159 civil officials, not of me"). He identifies himself with the Indians in the
875 fight against the competitive trucking cooperative ("Those who are with
563 him [Don Ramon] are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by
177 him"). While he does not accuse Ramon's wife directly of witchcraft he
178 implies this in saying that people sign their candidate's nomination peti-
[754] tion for president because they are afraid Juana will use witchcraft. This is
[626] a characteristic mode of attacking one's enemies in the town. He claims credit for all of the innovations in the town which have won public approval—the highway, the water supply, electricity, and so forth.

622 The profit motive is inadequate to explain why Ladinos want to play
875 the role of cacique in these corporate Indian communities. One must seek
563 for an explanation instead in the social status they gain. While their jobs
177 are limited and usually frustrating and they can never be completely inte-
178 grated into the community, political activities offer them a larger arena in which they can derive personal satisfaction. The contrast between the schoolmaster's position in Tzoʔontahal before he became a political leader and his position after finding local supporters illustrates this. In the early days of his residence in town, when he built a chicken coop which extended a few feet beyond the grounds allotted to the schoolhouse, some Indians threatened to kill him. In 1957, I saw him trying to summon a policeman from the town hall, which was adjacent to the schoolhouse, to remove a boulder from the path so that a visiting friend could pass in his automobile. No one heeded his urgent shouts or the whistle he used to call children to school, although they were well aware of what he wanted. But by 1965 there was not a single important transaction which did not require consultation with the schoolteacher. Campesinos from as far as Villa Las Rosas came to request his advice and his help in approaching government agents. In projecting his political role, he gained support for projects which were of interest to him. When he had succeeded in getting the gov-
[653] ernment to install water pipes and electricity, he talked the civil authori-
312 ties into building a kiosk, or bandstand, in the plaza. This was a fulfill-
[365] ment of his ambition to make the town over in the image of a colonial
[345] Spanish pueblo. His final statement in the speech quoted above, "Today we see a kiosk, tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory!" reveals the symbolic significance it had for him.

building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office.

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist.

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first.

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient portable typewriter. Since typing is a new skill for him, he makes many errors, and his retrials are accepted with patience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

346 776 782 individuals can visit the saints on their own personal missions. Appendix 3A records the visits of groups and individuals on an ordinary Sunday. Their actions in the church are part of the standardized behavior incumbent upon all those who enter the building.

Communication with the saints is ensured either by touching and kissing their images or, if the images are enclosed in glass cases, by tapping the gl with offerings of money. It is believed that one gains an audience [562] by paying for it. When groups larger than individual clusters of visitors enter the church, sexual segregation is observed (for example, when a male child enters with his mother on the occasion of a mass, he remains with her until more people arrive, then leaves her to stand on the male [788] side of the nave). Ritualized wailing is done by women only. After such a [152] demonstration the women show normal composure, since wailing is a standardized mode of communication, not an outburst of uncontrolled emotion. It is private and concerns the individual wailer and the saint to which she appeals; none of the other visitors in the church indicates any sign of response to these displays. Unless there is a focused activity going [794] on, such as a mass or series of baptisms, each visiting group is an autonomous unit, carrying out its own mission.

794 571 562 People visit the church most commonly in pairs of two. They congregate for mass in a pattern in which women and children enter first, and men, who linger in the plaza until the church is partially filled, enter in clusters and take their places on the male side of the nave. The religious and civil officials enter last, and the mayordomos, whose attendance is one of the obligations of their post, move toward the altar at the front. Men attend church less frequently than do women.

The School

346 621 875 [177] [178] Unlike the church, the school is regarded as an alien structure. Assistance in reconstruction and maintenance is given under pressure rather than voluntarily. Until fairly recently, schoolteachers too remained unintegrated in the community. In the early years of the school's existence, there was a rapid turnover of teachers. The employment of a schoolmaster with a wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The school has be-

come the domain of the schoolmaster, who represents federal influence in the local community. He has rebuilt parts of the structure in the thirteen years he and his family have lived and worked in this building; it was his fortress when the Indians threatened to kill him for building a chicken coop obtruding into the street, and again when he interceded in a case of homicide. He has a small arsenal stored in his bedroom in preparation for any reversal of his position in the community. The school is his platform, the area he controls and from which he shouts to his compadres—the storekeeper, the fiscal, and the president—to come speak with him. 346 621 875

The long building is subdivided into four classrooms and the living quarters of the schoolmaster's family. The classrooms are furnished with crude benches and tables; blackboards and charts of birds, animals, and the alphabet decorate the walls. The back porch, converted to classrooms to accommodate the three hundred and fifty children, overflows with benches. The students' own materials—a notebook, pencil, and erasers—are provided by their parents. When a notebook is filled, the students industriously erase all the marks and reuse the book until it falls apart. 346 352 353 872

When I was in the village, the schoolmaster often encouraged visitors to share a Coca-Cola with him in his office. Here, surrounded by his books, his collection of artifacts of both genuine and spurious origin, a picture of the district inspector of federal schools pinning a medal on his chest, the flag of the Mexican republic, he could speak freely of the personal attacks and frustrations and of the rare satisfactions he encountered "in bringing civilization to the town." As he began to build up his political power in the community, the president and síndico often consulted with him on town affairs. Agents of the federal or departmental offices who came to town frequently communicated with him directly before going to the cabildo. The school became the arena for working out political programs and strategies. The schoolmaster prided himself on being the primary channel of communication between the outside world and the village. 621 875 [346] [353]

The conflict of interest between the schoolmaster and the parents of the children over attendance in school has been ameliorated in recent years with the acceptance by some of the parents of education as an advantage. In the early years of compulsory education, physical force was used to round up the children. The traumatic experience of his first day in school 872 875 578 177 178 872 177

Teopisca. The schoolmaster said, "Don't cry, Ceferino. I am not going to beat you because you will learn to write. It is good to know how to write. You will speak Spanish because you will hear it, and you will look at the letters because the letters are the same as they are spoken in Spanish. Sit down now, and come tomorrow." 159 177 872

Then I told my mother to look for a slate and chalk because every morning and afternoon I wrote. She was of one heart and did not cry when she heard how I entered in the school.

For the most part, the teachers rely on authority in their program of instruction rather than encouraging the active involvement of students. In the early years of the school, there was a rapid turnover of teachers, but the employment of a schoolmaster with his wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The children respond with respect and fear to the schoolmaster, and occasionally with interest and enthusiasm. The following reminiscences by the informant, Ceferino, reflect the fear, tempered by some pleasure and interest, which he experienced: 875 876 159 212

The first schoolteacher I had when I entered school was called Chaya. She taught me to write with chalk on a blackboard. Every time I wrote badly, she told me to erase the letters and write another. After I finished, I went to my house at three in the afternoon. The next day I would go back to school. I would write on the blackboard. Writing was another kind of thing. The chalk did not stick well on the blackboard. Afterward, we started to use ink, and I began to learn well. But for a long time, I did not learn how to read. For one year, I couldn't speak Spanish, but I continued writing letters. This schoolteacher left and another came, Mista Munda Gordi. He asked me what my name was, and I told him. He saw that I didn't write the letters well. He was interested. He told me how to do it. Then I began to improve, and my name came out well. He said that the letters were better. He saw that now it was good. "Now you can make capital letters." 875 876

Mista Munda used to beat us if we did not make good letters, but I did not know how to make capitals. He told me he would beat me, so I began to do the capitals well. He saw that it was better. When he saw the letters, he gave me a book. In the first year, I finished the book, and he gave me

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159 212 875 876 *another book that added to the letters I knew. He saw that I was doing well. I began to read out loud, and he listened to see if I read well. Then he heard that I did well, and he gave me another letter to learn. Then he gave me another book, to take to my house.*

[*"Was he a good teacher?" I asked.*]

He beat us if we didn't do the letters well. He would pull my ear and he scolded very much. I began to make the letters better, and I was writing when the schoolmaster left.

A third schoolmaster came and taught in the pueblo. He was named Carmen Urban. We received him. I learned a little more writing. Now when he asked me a letter, I could reply. He saw that I knew all the letters, and he gave me another notebook. I began to write with a pen. With the pen my writing came out well. He saw that it was good and gave me another book. After I finished all that was in the book, he took another writing book out. He told me that I read all the letters well. He gave me a fourth book and a piece of paper. It was a very fine book! But this schoolmaster stayed only three months. Then he left. I did not continue in school since my mother said I should continue to learn only until I know all the letters.

She said, "You are an orphan since you don't have a father. You eat by my strength only. Now that you know your letters well, I want to see how well you can help me because I alone am buying corn and you are only eating it. Now that you know everything, you don't have to go to school because you must accompany me in looking for corn."

She saw that I was too big to stay in the school. She went to talk with the schoolmaster to tell him that I could not return. She told the schoolmaster, "See before your eyes that Ceferino has no father. It is for this that I want him to accompany me looking for corn." The schoolmaster said that I could not go out because I was now learning well. But my mother began to cry before the eyes of the schoolmaster and the president. He lowered his heart and said, "Well, take him then."

I left then. My mother heard and went happily because her boy had come out. When I came out I said "Thank you" to the schoolmaster. He said, "Now you know and go. Don't forget your letters. Take this book, and go on reading in order not to forget." I began to copy all the letters in the book so that I would learn some.

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Despite the beating and the scolding, Ceferino recognized that the schoolteachers cared, and this inspired him to learn. He learned to write without any knowledge of the meaning of the words in his first year of schooling, but this did not discourage him. He was among the first four literate Indians in the community. 159 212 875 876

The program of education for primary schools today is scheduled by the Secretary of Public Education in Mexico City. The teachers conform to this as best they can in the overcrowded, understaffed conditions. The first-year program, according to the book, includes, in addition to reading and math, health studies—basic knowledge of nutrition, social and personal hygiene, the study of the healthful environment, the prevention of diseases and accidents, and first aid. The second-year course includes the study of nature—the sky, earth, seasons, the various changes in the moon, and conservation of natural resources. In the third year of their training the children learn about social life—the child in the home, school, community, and nation. The fourth year includes creative activities—games and artistic expression through learning to play musical instruments and the formation of orchestras, for example. The fifth year teaches practical activities—the construction of toys, work in gardens and other agricultural projects, and the economics of the home; and the program during the sixth year stresses the study of the national language, arithmetic, and geometry. Each of these six sections has a list of the knowledge, habits, abilities, and attitudes the teacher should have formed in the children by the time they have finished the year. The lists become more detailed with each passing year. The amount of material the teacher is expected to cover is impressive. 872 [875]

Mary Marshall's observation of classroom behavior (Appendix 3B) suggests some of the complexities of communicating this standard program in a class of first-year pupils. Inside the schoolroom almost all behavior is initiated and controlled by the teacher. All communication within the school is in Spanish—the teacher ignores responses other than those in Spanish—although most of the children understand no Spanish when they enter school. The regular pattern of question and response is sometimes broken up by demonstration of objects. The children's response is greater when the teacher reverses the pupil-schoolteacher role and lets them ask the questions she tells them. The scarcity of materials imposes a greater bur- 876

876 den on the teacher already laboring with the barrier in communication. Despite these difficulties, the children manage to learn the basics of reading, writing, arithmetic, and Spanish in four years of schooling. The [875] teachers are devoted and spend at least seven hours in the classroom each day.

877 During the recess period the children play individual competitive games 524 except when organized games are introduced by one of the teachers. There is a tendency toward ganging up on weaker individuals in fights, that occur, but I have never seen signs of marked brutality. Since the La- [563] dino children are a small minority in the school (there are no more than a half a dozen among the three hundred and twenty-four students) the Indian children do not face the discrimination found in schools with a greater proportion of Ladinos (cf. Romney and Romney 1966).

876 Discipline is no longer as strict as it was in the early years of public education. The teacher allows someone who has been hit to hit the aggressor but does not herself intercede. Threat of punishment may be made by the teacher, but I have never seen it carried out, and it is never suggested as a solution to failure to learn.

571 In comparing the domestic, civil, and religious domains of activi-
561 ties, the following features emerge:

554 1. In each domain, a hierarchy of power is present. In the house, [592] males take precedence over females, and older members over younger. [562] In the cabildo, the power hierarchy takes the form of a rank order co- [621] ordinate with age in most of the offices, while in the schoolhouse, power is polarized with all authority vested in the schoolteacher. In the church, [875] the conflict between the priest and the cofrades (Chapter 9) has not [794] been resolved. Within the ranks of the mayordomos, relationships between the elder and junior mayordomo establish a graded ranking system (Chapter 8).

571 2. Behavior in each domain is standardized. Relative rank is re-
554 flected in seating order, greeting order, and drinking order. Autonomous
576 behavior is most marked in the domain of the church. Focused interaction is predominant in the school, where order and control are based on absorbing the attention of the child in a learning task.

these apparently irrelevant comments reveal the power play going on behind the scene of the ritual. 621* 178

The observed schedule for the civil inauguration (App. 1, column 4) differed from the elicited in four details. The first of these was an item omitted by both informants: after liquor was served in the house of the president, the entire company stood up and "turned toward the wall" (App. 1, Q. 20). When I questioned my informant, he corrected the orientation "toward the wall" and said that they were turning toward the east in deference to the leader of all the saints of the east, led by Santo Aṭio. He said that it was done in all household celebrations in order "to be sure that the devil does not enter." Belief concerning these saints is fragmentary, and perhaps because of this, behavior relating to them is not easily recalled. These behavioral sherds, when cut off from the belief system they once dramatized, survive in "perpetuating the custom of the ancestors" *(hič sluwar hič lik̦em meʔtiktatik̦)*. 124 [776]

Another detail not mentioned by informants was the presence in the house of the president of the rural colonia inhabitants (Chart 6). This omission is typical of the neglect in reporting the activity or presence of anyone other than residents of the center. When I asked what they were doing there, I was told they came "to know the president." 124 632 622 574

Finally, an important divergence from expected behavior occurred when the schoolteacher, instead of the secretary, delivered the oath of office. This change was evidence of the schoolteacher's success in a factional struggle developing around new economic enterprises in the town. The former Ladino secretary was in close alliance with the former president and had supporters in the group of 20 co-owners, Indians from the village, of the truck when he had purchased. When the incoming president with his brother bought a truck with the assistance of 30 members of a truck-owning cooperative, a new focus for factional strife appeared in the town. The new cooperative was supported by the schoolteacher in his own bid for power. When the truck owners ran into any difficulty with the highway patrol, carrying wood or passengers without permit, the driver would refer them to the schoolteacher, who would then claim it 621* 875 178 578 621* 578 474 875 494

[P. 222-B]

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was done at his order for the school.[11] The new co- 621*
operative was harassed by the old group, since the 578
president did everything in his power to cut down 474
their competition. As fiscal, his other role, he maneu- 494
vered the appointment of the chief business agent of [875]
the new truck cooperative and three other members [622]
as *nič'anil martomaetik*, junior caretakers of the [794]
saints. This meant that their Sundays were occupied in church affairs and cut into their taxiing of passengers from Tzoʔontahal to Himšol, the neighboring Ladino town.

The nomination of the president was effected by 621*
winning the support of the Partido Revolucionario 665
Institucional (PRI). Supporters of the nominee se- 666
cured over 85 signatures from townspeople; the op- 622
position candidate failed to get more than 28. Once 578
PRI support was obtained, the election on November 20 was assured since one-party rule prevails here as in the capital. This is the first election which has been contested in 10 years. The last contest came when some members of the barrio of Yut' hok became members of the minor party, Partido Acción Nacional (PAN). Because this group and their presidential candidate all came from one side of the dual division, Alannantik, those from the other side said that they should have a party representative. They drew up a plan to run a candidate on PRI. The PAN candidate won. The present contest was drawn on [474]
the basis of membership in the truck-owning coopera-
tives which cut across the dual division.

The present nominee did not want to run for office. 666
Early in the running there were verbal threats on his 622
life. He had never passed in any office other than that 578
of president of the ejido commission, and although the office of president is not a rung in the ladder to office, it is expected that the incumbent would at least have experience as síndico. Three sources of opposi- 666
tion to his candidacy developed. First in importance 622
was the original trucking cooperative, which objected 578
to the competition of the president and his faction 474
in the new cooperative. Second, these members 548
spread the rumor that the new president would bring in federal agents to break up the liquor traffic, which was becoming one of Tzoʔontahal's most important economic self-development projects. Thus all the distillers were apprehensive of their future under his term of office. Third, there was opposition on the

[11] Siverts (1964) describes Ladinos' "competition for each others' Indians in Cancuc."

[P. 223-A]

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*621 124 796	26. What do they do in the townhall?	They take the oath		
[798]	27. How is the townhall arranged?	The four holy crosses brought by the alfereces and the holy staffs are on the *tatik* table		On the table were 4 banners, new staffs, key of cabildo laid on orange leaves sprinkled about on table.
	28. Who is in the townhall?	There are gathered the old officials *(mamal k'a hu?eletik)* and the two principales *(mamal krinipaletik)* and the four alfereces *(alperesil)*. (See Chart 7)	It is the old officials	(See Chart 8)
	29. What are the old officials doing?	They are seated conversing		
*621 124 796 641	30. How do they take the oath?	They take from the *tatik* table what they give the oath for—the four holy crosses and the four staffs.	Standing, the new officials call the name of God. They form a line before the banners	New president ordered new officials to form a circle around table. Then the martomoreys prayed holding rosary in hand
[782]	31. Who passes the staffs *(sbaratik me?tiktatik)*?	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials. They encircle hand with rosary and take their staff	Two principales handed out staffs first to president, then first judge, second judge, assistant judge, regidores and police. The second principal was very drunk and had to be directed by former president
[273]				
*621 124 796 641 875 539	32. Who gave the oath?		The secretary	The schoolteacher
	32a. What does the schoolteacher say when he gives the oath?			Gentlemen, by the will of the pueblo, the government of the state leaves us in charge of the officers before us. The president is in charge of the pueblo during the three years from this one on, 1965, –66, –67. This pueblo has the obligation of helping him in the organization of all his works. It has the obligation of respecting his command, and the authorities that are going to work with him also have the obligation of respecting him because he is the first authority. All of us who belong to the pueblo and all the societies have the obligation of respecting him just as the assistant authorities fulfill his orders because he is the primary authority. Raise the right hand, repeat after me: In the name of the government of the state with the honor that characterizes them I swear to fulfill with honor

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APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
*621 124 796 641 [875]				and enthusiasm what the constitution commands us. I want in this moment, under the oath, to designate the position of municipal president of the pueblo
[539]	33. How did new officials respond to oath?			Officials raised hands with rosary in it. Then they put rosary on their necks
*621 124 796	34. What do they do after the oath?		Pass over the papers with the acts, with all the things	Take inventory of communal possessions—5 chairs in bad estate, 2 *codigo viejo*, etc.
	35. Who takes inventory?			The past president
*621 124 796 [538] [788]	36. What do they do after they take their staffs the new officials?	The four alfereces go out with their banners	The alfereces go out in a procession with the banners	First alferez came to table, crossed himself, kissed banner with kerchief bound on handle, unfurled banner. He followed with second, third, and fourth alfereces. Flute and drum began as alfereces came out. They turned and faced the townhall. Inclining banners the police went out, knelt, crossed selves at door. Then the regidores, then president, then síndico and judges
*621 124 796 788	37. What time did the procession begin?			1:05
	38. What did the procession look like?	(Chart 9)		(Chart 10)
	39. How many turns do they take?		They take two turns where the fruit is sold (reference to plaza during a ceremony)	Two turns (started behind school house but old *nakawane* redirected them)
	40. What did the alfereces do?			At door of the townhall, drew up horses facing it, dipped banners. Same at church
	41. Where does the procession go?	To the church	They go to the church	They enter the church
*621 124 796 [624]	42. Who remains at the townhall?		The officials come out, leaving all the townhall silent except for the two principales who will await the new officials	The two principales remain within
[782] [794]	43. What do they do in the church?	All the officials speak to God (Chart 11)	They speak to God. They kiss all the saints	They pray at the altar, then kiss the saints as they leave. The alfereces leave their banners in the church

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Then I told my mother to look for a slate and chalk because every morning and afternoon I wrote. She was of one heart and did not cry when she heard how I entered in the school.

For the most part, the teachers rely on authority in their program of instruction rather than encouraging the active involvement of students. In the early years of the school, there was a rapid turnover of teachers, but the employment of a schoolmaster with his wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The children respond with respect and fear to the schoolmaster, and occasionally with interest and enthusiasm. The following reminiscences by the informant, Ceferino, reflect the fear, tempered by some pleasure and interest, which he experienced: 875 876 159 212

The first schoolteacher I had when I entered school was called Chaya. She taught me to write with chalk on a blackboard. Every time I wrote badly, she told me to erase the letters and write another. After I finished, I went to my house at three in the afternoon. The next day I would go back to school. I would write on the blackboard. Writing was another kind of thing. The chalk did not stick well on the blackboard. Afterward, we started to use ink, and I began to learn well. But for a long time, I did not learn how to read. For one year, I couldn't speak Spanish, but I continued writing letters. This schoolteacher left and another came, Mista Munda Gordi. He asked me what my name was, and I told him. He saw that I didn't write the letters well. He was interested. He told me how to do it. Then I began to improve, and my name came out well. He said that the letters were better. He saw that now it was good. "Now you can make capital letters." 875 876

Mista Munda used to beat us if we did not make good letters, but I did not know how to make capitals. He told me he would beat me, so I began to do the capitals well. He saw that it was better. When he saw the letters, he gave me a book. In the first year, I finished the book, and he gave me

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another book that added to the letters I knew. He saw that I was doing well. I began to read out loud, and he listened to see if I read well. Then he heard that I did well, and he gave me another letter to learn. Then he gave me another book, to take to my house.

[*"Was he a good teacher?" I asked.*]

He beat us if we didn't do the letters well. He would pull my ear and he scolded very much. I began to make the letters better, and I was writing when the schoolmaster left.

A third schoolmaster came and taught in the pueblo. He was named Carmen Urban. We received him. I learned a little more writing. Now when he asked me a letter, I could reply. He saw that I knew all the letters, and he gave me another notebook. I began to write with a pen. With the pen my writing came out well. He saw that it was good and gave me another book. After I finished all that was in the book, he took another writing book out. He told me that I read all the letters well. He gave me a fourth book and a piece of paper. It was a very fine book! But this schoolmaster stayed only three months. Then he left. I did not continue in school since my mother said I should continue to learn only until I know all the letters.

She said, "You are an orphan since you don't have a father. You eat by my strength only. Now that you know your letters well, I want to see how well you can help me because I alone am buying corn and you are only eating it. Now that you know everything, you don't have to go to school because you must accompany me in looking for corn."

She saw that I was too big to stay in the school. She went to talk with the schoolmaster to tell him that I could not return. She told the schoolmaster, "See before your eyes that Ceferino has no father. It is for this that I want him to accompany me looking for corn." The schoolmaster said that I could not go out because I was now learning well. But my mother began to cry before the eyes of the schoolmaster and the president. He lowered his heart and said, "Well, take him then."

I left then. My mother heard and went happily because her boy had come out. When I came out I said "Thank you" to the schoolmaster. He said, "Now you know and go. Don't forget your letters. Take this book, and go on reading in order not to forget." I began to copy all the letters in the book so that I would learn some.

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Despite the beating and the scolding, Ceferino recognized that the schoolteachers cared, and this inspired him to learn. He learned to write without any knowledge of the meaning of the words in his first year of schooling, but this did not discourage him. He was among the first four literate Indians in the community. 159 212 875 876

The program of education for primary schools today is scheduled by the Secretary of Public Education in Mexico City. The teachers conform to this as best they can in the overcrowded, understaffed conditions. The first-year program, according to the book, includes, in addition to reading and math, health studies—basic knowledge of nutrition, social and personal hygiene, the study of the healthful environment, the prevention of diseases and accidents, and first aid. The second-year course includes the study of nature—the sky, earth, seasons, the various changes in the moon, and conservation of natural resources. In the third year of their training the children learn about social life—the child in the home, school, community, and nation. The fourth year includes creative activities—games and artistic expression through learning to play musical instruments and the formation of orchestras, for example. The fifth year teaches practical activities—the construction of toys, work in gardens and other agricultural projects, and the economics of the home; and the program during the sixth year stresses the study of the national language, arithmetic, and geometry. Each of these six sections has a list of the knowledge, habits, abilities, and attitudes the teacher should have formed in the children by the time they have finished the year. The lists become more detailed with each passing year. The amount of material the teacher is expected to cover is impressive. 872 [875]

Mary Marshall's observation of classroom behavior (Appendix 3B) suggests some of the complexities of communicating this standard program in a class of first-year pupils. Inside the schoolroom almost all behavior is initiated and controlled by the teacher. All communication within the school is in Spanish—the teacher ignores responses other than those in Spanish—although most of the children understand no Spanish when they enter school. The regular pattern of question and response is sometimes broken up by demonstration of objects. The children's response is greater when the teacher reverses the pupil-schoolteacher role and lets them ask the questions she tells them. The scarcity of materials imposes a greater bur- 876

876 den on the teacher already laboring with the barrier in communication. Despite these difficulties, the children manage to learn the basics of reading, writing, arithmetic, and Spanish in four years of schooling. The [875] teachers are devoted and spend at least seven hours in the classroom each day.

872 During the recess period the children play individual competitive games 524 except when organized games are introduced by one of the teachers. There is a tendency toward ganging up on weaker individuals in fights, that occur, but I have never seen signs of marked brutality. Since the La- [563] dino children are a small minority in the school (there are no more than a half a dozen among the three hundred and twenty-four students) the Indian children do not face the discrimination found in schools with a greater proportion of Ladinos (cf. Romney and Romney 1966).

876 Discipline is no longer as strict as it was in the early years of public education. The teacher allows someone who has been hit to hit the aggressor but does not herself intercede. Threat of punishment may be made by the teacher, but I have never seen it carried out, and it is never suggested as a solution to failure to learn.

571 In comparing the domestic, civil, and religious domains of activi-
561 ties, the following features emerge:

554 1. In each domain, a hierarchy of power is present. In the house, [592] males take precedence over females, and older members over younger. [562] In the cabildo, the power hierarchy takes the form of a rank order co- [621] ordinate with age in most of the offices, while in the schoolhouse, power is polarized with all authority vested in the schoolteacher. In the church, [875] the conflict between the priest and the cofrades (Chapter 9) has not [794] been resolved. Within the ranks of the mayordomos, relationships between the elder and junior mayordomo establish a graded ranking system (Chapter 8).

571 2. Behavior in each domain is standardized. Relative rank is re-
554 flected in seating order, greeting order, and drinking order. Autonomous
576 behavior is most marked in the domain of the church. Focused interaction is predominant in the school, where order and control are based on absorbing the attention of the child in a learning task.

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11:30 The mayordomos ring the bells again. A man says it is twelve o'clock.

12:00 They go home, leaving the door open and the church empty.

B. Observation in the School

Morning

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The schoolrooms are exceedingly crowded with three hundred and fifty children in four rooms and an open porch. The babble of the children's voices reciting their lessons drowns out the voice of the teacher, who has to shout to draw their attention to a new lesson.

All the teaching is done in Spanish. On one occasion, when no one in the class understood what was said, the teacher asked a little boy to translate for her. When she talks, usually about only half or three-quarters of the class pays attention. When the children are singing, all but two or three students participate. [191]

In taking roll, the teacher calls the boys' names first. This order is reversed when the children leave the classroom, with the girls going first. Seating order on the long benches set before tables is not segregated by sex, although there is some clustering.

In teaching the children to read, the teacher writes the vowels on the blackboard in alphabetical order. The children are asked to repeat them after her. She does this seven or eight times. She has a number of the children come up and use the pointer to indicate certain vowels while the rest of the children repeat their names. She leads them in singing the song she has taught them before about the vowels. She mixes up the order of the vowels, pointing to them and asking the children to name them. She asks how many there are and writes a number under each vowel. She drills the class in the names of the vowels and the corresponding numbers for about five minutes more. Using sticks (the majority of the children have five sticks which they carry in their bags, and those who don't use their fingers) she leads them in practicing their numbers up to ten. She asks for volunteers to count from one to ten. When a child falters, she repeats the numbers with him.

The teacher uses a doll to teach the children parts of the body, giving the name in Spanish first, and afterward asking, "What do you call this?" She takes the doll to small groups of children sitting at their desks and lets them handle it. They show much interest, crowding around the doll. She then shows

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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• 876 126 them a mirror, tells them what it is called, and lets the children look at themselves in it. About one-fourth of the class responds. She pastes a picture on the blackboard of a man carrying a valise accompanied by a dog and a boy. She asks what each object is called in Spanish and practices the name of the object with the whole class. Visual aids are pictures cut from coloring books or magazines, things she draws on the board, as well as articles from a box stored in her desk including a comb, mirror, glass, flag, color wheel, cut-outs of a boy, girl, chair, table, bear, soldier, flower, and leaf. After practicing the names of each, she stands in the back of the room and tells different children to bring the various objects to her. After drawing two ducks on the board and getting no reaction from the children when she asks them the name, she tells them and then leads them in practicing it.

She asks them the name of the town, of the school director, of the school, and when they fail to respond, she tells them and has them repeat the words over and over.

She leads the class in about five different songs she has taught them. The number of children who know the songs varies from one-fourth to three-fourths, with about one-fifth never singing. Some attempt a word every once in a while. She sings the elephant song, which most of them know and which utilizes their knowledge of numbers from one to five. Twice, when a few children begin to sing on their own initiative, she tells them to be quiet. She asks them, "Do you like to sing?" and all respond, "Yes, teacher."

The teacher seldom smiles at the children. As they leave the room in single file, she rebukes any who attempt to run out or pair with another.

[857] *Recess.* Two boys are fighting and three others join with one of them. The one who has been ganged up on finally gets away, and they do not chase him. Boys around ten years old play keep-away with a ball on their own initiative. There isn't much teamwork. Often one boy will get the ball and run with it, the other boys after him. Finally he will throw it to someone or someone will take it away from him. The girls sit in groups, sometimes embroidering or knitting. Some boys just stand by watching those who are playing.

In the classroom after recess. The teacher shows the color wheel and asks the names of the colors to which she points. A couple of girls put their hands in their ears while the class is reciting. When the teacher asks for a volunteer to hold the color wheel in the demonstration, approximately twenty out of the fifty-four children raise their hands. One little boy in the back pays

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no attention; he was one who had sat by himself on the bandstand at recess.

They practice counting from one to five. The teacher then writes the numbers on the blackboard with A E I O U written above them. They practice these for about five minutes. She says them first; they repeat. She then picks a child to point to them, and the class repeats after the child. More children pay attention when the child is directing the class. She has ten volunteers for this job. They use sticks when counting to ten, passing them from one hand to the other. A few are doing it right. Although some count correctly, they do not have the right number of sticks correlated with the number spoken. They proceed to copy pictures the teacher has drawn on the board. The teacher asks one girl why she isn't drawing. The girl says she has no pencil. The teacher says nothing and goes on down the aisle.

The children are dismissed from class and line up, each grade together, in front of the school; the teacher tells them to be sure to come that afternoon or she will punish them tomorrow.

Afternoon

The teacher comes in to say a few words to the children (for my benefit, I suppose). She calls up one little girl and reprimands her in front of the group for coming to school with her hair uncombed and with dirty clothes. The child is frightened and hesitant about coming forward, and the teacher shows more impatience. The child's head is cast down all the time her teacher speaks to her. [123]

Vowel practice is resumed. The children are told to erase the vowels they have written in their books and write them over. The teacher has each of the aisles recite the vowels in turn. She asks which of the aisles is best. There is no response from the children; she never says which is best.

Two little boys are writing numbers in their books while some of the others are reciting. The teacher takes the pencils out of their hands and puts them on the table. They pick them up when she is no longer looking and continue writing. A little girl begins to cry. She says, when the teacher asks why she is crying, that the boy in front of her hit her. The teacher tells her to hit him back, which she proceeds to do. The boy shows no reaction at all.

They drill about twenty minutes. A few leaders answer while the rest chime in. "Take out pencil and notebook," the teacher orders. About two-thirds respond. She asks them what things there are in the plaza. One little boys replies, "Ć'ulna" (Tzetal for church). She ignores him and names in Spanish the

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buildings in the plaza. She then draws two men and three pieces of fruit. She stands and watches as the children draw the figures in their notebooks. Many of them show each other what they have drawn. One little boy draws a bus, with seats inside and people sitting in them.

She shows them a cut-out of a chair. The first time she asks them what it is, a few answer "bear," a word they had been practicing before. She asks one child who responds correctly. They practice the word "chair." They practice the difference between *niño* and *niña* (boy and girl). She uses cut-outs of a boy and girl in western dress. Two make mistakes when she asks them to state which is niña and which niño; four get it correctly after they have practiced. She shows a picture of a boy with a train. "What is he doing?" she asks. *"Jugending"* (playing) replies one. The teacher teaches them *"está jugando."*

Some are writing, some looking out the door; others talk in small groups. The majority are watching the teacher as she talks and demonstrates different objects and says their names. They know door and window when she points to these and asks them to name them. She now puts all the visual-aid objects on the table and tells various individuals to bring them to her when she asks for a specific object. "Chair, niño, niña," "Bear," "Soldier," "What thing is lacking yet?" The children answer, "A table." The teacher sends a child to get it. They seem to like this game. There are volunteers to go and get things. They know the objects and so are sure they can bring the correct ones.

The children tend to kneel on the benches, which are high for the smaller ones. The teacher is continually telling them to sit down. A couple of little girls begin to sing. She reproves them and when they continue, she says to them, "Do you remember the animals?" "Yes, teacher," they chorus. "What animal would you like me to draw on the board?" Finally, one boy says, "Chicken." After she has drawn the chicken, the students copy it. She goes around the class and puts a line through the drawing if she approves of it. She finds all of them satisfactory.

The teacher next shows the students a flag, which they are to draw in their notebooks. A bigger girl helps a small boy. The Teacher then asks who knows the recitation about the flag. Three students raise their hands, and sing a song about the flag. Three girls in the back are still drawing in their notebooks. They spend a lot of time erasing so they can use their notebooks over again.

One little girl helps a little boy who has no pencil draw his picture. Another little boy does not draw for the same reason, but when he tells the teacher his problem she does not respond.

She draws pictures around vowels and doesn't explain them to the children,

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simply telling them to copy the drawings in their notebooks. Their drawings seem to show that they have not seen the connection with the vowels.

She then sings a song that has accompanying gestures (points to stars, hands covering face, hands under head as when sleeping, and so on). A few students seem to know when to do what and understand the words; most of the others copy them.

At four-thirty the classroom teacher tells the children to line up in single file, girls first. She shouts, "No!" as some attempt to run out together. As they line up, each grade together in front of the school, the schoolteacher tells them to be sure to come the next day or she will punish them.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

789 away, leaving it alone, an ear of yellow corn is left with it, that its soul may not be stolen. There is an interesting parallel here with [171] the ear of corn as a "ceremonial mother" in the Southwestern United States. If somebody expresses too strong admiration of a child, fire must be passed near it, or spittle rubbed over its forehead; otherwise the baby will become ill. Infants are particularly susceptible to the evil eye. To cure one that has been thus cursed, a female shaman is summoned, who passes a whole egg all over the baby's body. This is then opened, and the evil eye will be seen (by the shaman) in the yolk of the egg. They throw the egg into the river, or bury it in a secret place. Almost this same belief was found in Chontal of Tabasco. (Customs of San Fernando, Chapter VI, Volume I).

868 Children's education is simple and direct. As soon as a boy is old enough to work at all—at about five years of age—he is given a worn-down machete and set to cutting and hauling wood. From then on, following his father, he learns the man's duties. Girls are started with a miniature metate, grinding corn.

872 The Government maintains some public schools, such as at Bachajon Village, in which a few children learn to read and write, but in general great difficulty is found in obtaining scholars. As soon as they are old enough to study, they are strong enough to be of material help in the house and the farm; the parents do not like to relinquish what represents the interest on the investment of the price paid by the father for marriage, and the expense of the children's early years. Under the present administration, however, efforts to educate the Indians are being pushed as never before.

881 582 Puberty is attended by no observances of any kind. Marriage, which comes fairly early, has been previously described.

764 At death the ceremonial side is greatly emphasized. The funeral rites combine the idea of mourning with a general belief that the soul of the departed lingers for a brief time about his former domicile. When possible, the house of the deceased is abandoned for a short time, during which period, if any small animal is observed about the house, particularly at night, it is supposed to be his soul. No particular powers are ascribed to the soul, as far as could be found out, but it is considered poor company.

As it happened, a man was killed while we were at the Finca Encanto, whose funeral rites we could observe. His wife began mourning for him almost immediately—this being in the middle of the afternoon. His body was taken to another house, neighbour to his own. The true ceremonies began after nightfall. Accompanied [123] by Lazaro and Señor Aguilar, the writer went up with a gift of

855 the elder child, except that they allow the child some freedom
862 to run around the sitio, or go outside the sitio with other adults
883 in order to go visiting.[1]

The adolescent children, especially those going to school, have complete freedom of movement within the community. They are sent to visit their grandmothers, to deliver little presents, or they are sent to ask for borrowed things. They also bring news and gossip back and forth between households. Their role as [585] messengers is sometimes formalized, as during weddings when children are sent ahead to announce the arrival of the bride, and her family, to the groom's household.

857 Pre-adolescent girls have the responsibility of caring for
868 their younger siblings, and are initiated into the woman's work
562 at an early age. They are trained by their mothers in making tortillas, carrying water, sweeping and sewing. They can go visiting on their own, and play outside the home with other girls before and after school, if they are regular school goers.

882 After the first menstruation (and sometimes a little before
562 if they show signs of maturity), they change from the light cotton
[291] skirt into the traditional dark blue nagua (tubular skirt) and red faja (sash), and are considered marriageable (solteritas or tek' el). At this point, they are expected to stay within the homestead grounds, except if they are told to bring water or if they go with compañía (company) to the afternoon rezo (praying

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[1] In extreme cases, when the elder child shows extreme signs of distress (crying long hours and refusing to eat anything), it will be given to a woman relative living in other household, usually the paternal grandmother or a married sister without children. This, however, is extremely rare.

882 562 584 session in Church). Water carrying is associated with courting, and the bachelors stay around the paths that connect the houses of their sweethearts with the well to which they go to fetch water, expecting to receive some indication of acceptance on their part, and if they are literate, to hand them a love letter. Girls, on these occasions, are expected to behave modestly and to be embarrassed. If not, they are usually judged as alocades (light-headed) and not fit for marriage.

156 571 The concept of tener su compañía runs throughout all activity, at all ages. Having company means protection from the supernatural on a long trip, help around the house, harmonious social relations with age mates and kinsmen, and insurance against loneliness. Older women who are left alone in a house for several days will "borrow" a younger girl, a son's daughter for example, to keep them company, and a young wife going to market or to get firewood is usually expected to find company to do so. If not, [753] she can well meet a strange man on the road, and get sick from verguenza (sickness assumed to originate from shame at being placed in an anomalous or embarrassing social situation) or espanto (fear and soul loss).

882 562 Boys (kerem and tek' el) do not have as many restrictions of behavior or of movement as girls after puberty, but they are [862] also expected to have their company. They start working with their fathers around the age of ten, depending on their physical strength, but in the beginning, it is not a serious occupation. 883 As soon as they become regular workers, they spend their free 562 573 time with other bachelors and form a compañía or escuadrilla

275 178 434 736 Some of the effects of this change can be seen in the growing wealth of cantineros, observable in changes in house construction, and a shift to the raising of small livestock (always an alternative strategy) by women who must support themselves. With regard to *273 178 drinking performances, the effect of the change in retailers seems to have been an increase in the number of drinking performances--especially for boys and young men, whose limited ceremonial responsibilities have made them relatively infrequent drinkers in the past. In turn, the increase in the number of drinking situations has required slight modification in the timing of the drinking--men seem to drink for shorter periods of time. Thus, for example, drinking on Sunday is becoming more common, but the continuation of drinking on a second day (Monday) has decreased. These matters will be spelled out in more detail in later sections.

Age-sex distribution of drinking

273* [434] Aguardiente is bought by men who have control of money, [562] and it is drunk almost exclusively by them. Women drink rarely, [858] and it is considered inappropriate for them to do so. Children [883] do not drink at all; boys begin to drink on festive occasions at fifteen or sixteen, and it is probably relevant that by this time they are old enough to work for wages and usually have some money of their own. Old men often give up drinking except when, as of-

621 593 Familial role requirements must be fulfilled in order for public roles to be
581 undertaken. A man must be married in order to enter into even the lowest
794 posts in the civil and religious hierarchies.

794 Only in the case of the alfereces has wealth ever been a criterion for re-
556 cruitment. These four officials had to be able to spend 3,000 pesos during
434 their year in office. The heavy expenditures failed to give prestige to the
554 official, and the display of wealth excited envy rather than respect. The result was that people called upon to accept the post had to be imprisoned before they would accept.

554 Recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on in-
756 nate qualities; special skills and knowledge are attributes acquired in office or other role positions rather than requirements for undertaking roles. Curers are recruited because they are recognized as having an animal spirit; they learn whatever skills are required after they have been initiated into the profession. The curers' special position in the society rests more on esoteric powers than on esoteric knowledge. Everyone in the com-
[278] munity knows the herbs and medicines which are prescribed, and most men can give as comprehensive a taxonomy of illnesses as any practicing curer.

868 Economic roles, though largely undifferentiated for each sex, are con-
241 sciously learned and transmitted. Boys accompany their fathers or elder
[857] brothers to the field at about the age of eight and continue working with
[883] them until they reach independence. Observation of behavior alone would seem to indicate an unconscious absorption of the role of agricultural worker, but informants recount episodes in which training in field work was explicitly transmitted by their fathers or brothers, and formal approval of their ability to do the tasks announced to their mothers. Parents
[871] express fear that school attendance not only interferes with working in the milpa, but that it will cause the child to forget what he has learned in the field. Regardless of what other tasks a man performs, he thinks of himself as a farmer.

868 Becoming a potter requires an even more explicit training procedure.
323 The fine linguistic segmentation of each act and movement in the schedule of pottery-making is a clue to the explicit transmission of tasks by the

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862 to run around the sitio, or go outside the sitio with other adults
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883 (gang), containing males from the age of about twelve to the time
562 they marry. They usually sleep together in one of the escuadrilla
573 member's house corridor, and spend long nights playing the harmonica, having corn eating competitions or serenading.

562 A man is not considered a full-fledged community member
885 until he marries and has a child (the word for man and father
851 have the same root: tat), which allows him to take the lower
601 post in the government (policía). The government itself is an
621 age-graded organization in which the kinship terms of elder and
621 younger brother are used reciprocally, and by extension, by of-
561 ficers in lower and higher posts.
601

562 With the passing of time, both men and women increase their
593 status by raising a family and by passing to higher positions in
621 the civil-religious hierarchy. Although women do not participate
794 directly in the government, they have some duties as officer's wives (e.g., ironing the Saint's clothes if their husbands are Mayordomos), and they are called by their husband's titles. A man may resign from office if his wife dies and there is no other adult woman in the household who can take care of her part of the officer's performance.

184 The first noticeable difference in the ordering of social
562 relations in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women
592 in the domestic group.

184 In Aguacatenango, the eldest male is the head of the
562 household. He controls the land which the men of the household
462 work, the cattle, the labor of the household members and most of
592 the money obtained through the sale of surplus corn (which is

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal-NV9
Aguacatenango

273* Participation in drinking cycles[54] is restricted to adult
562 males, and in fact participation signals that such persons are
• 885 indeed adult males. These are some of the things that participation in drinking cycles "means."

273* Types of drinking cycles

Particular instances of the drinking cycle differ in the degree of "formality" of their organization.

Ceremonial drinking

The full expression of a ceremonial drinking cycle has a number of performance correlates which permit its identification. While it is generally true that ceremonial drinking, in contrast to "informal" drinking, is specifically initiated as a part of one of the rituals just mentioned, its most crucial, i.e., unambiguous characteristic is a formal speech which a senior male of the sponsoring group makes to the receiving group. This speech is responded to with equal formality by a senior male of the receiving group. There are several examples in text of this particular interchange between the sponsor and the receiver. An example of one of these, as reported by Lorenzo Mendez, is given below.

273* 539 *E TYOS KUMPRE, *AK'A LAH PERTON, BA* LA HZO*BEX TALEL, BA* LA HYOMEX TALEL HZ'INUK, H*A K'UK, TA STI*IL HME*BAL HWOKOL. BWENO, SOYOK KALTIK HNIC'ANTIK.

Ay, dios, compadre, excuse me. I have brought you here, gathered you here for a moment, for a little while, at the door of my poor house, with my children and grandchildren.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER V

SUMMING THE MATTER UP

273* 554 There are basically two patterns of drinking among the Aguacatenangueros. The first of these we may define as the internally complex unit ± ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking (but at least one of these). The second of these we will define as intermittent non-cumulative drinking--that is, drinking performances which do not lead to deep drunkenness. These two patterns of drinking performances are associated with large classes of the population. The ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking pattern is expressed by married males. The intermittent non-cumulative drinking pattern is expressed by all other persons (unmarried males and all females).[1] When individuals drink, they are constrained to express one pattern or the other as is congruent with their role. By drinking in a particular way, an individual certifies his membership in a particular role class.

273* 571 885 Adult males (equivalent to males married at least once) drink within the limitations of the ceremonial drinking ± in-

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[184] [171] [1]This particular contrast is not general to all Tzeltal-Tzotzil speakers in the Chiapas highlands.

273* formal drinking pattern. These limits may be expressed in terms
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[885] of the necessity to drink under those circumstances when one is a member of a group which is engaging in a ceremonial drinking sequence. Every male is a member of several such groups. Under most conditions the ceremonial drinking segment leads to deep drunkenness. Under most conditions the ceremonial drinking segment is followed by an informal drinking segment. Informal drinking segments also lead to deep drunkenness. Following the participation in such segments, a man probably recuperates for a day before he returns to his regular daily routines. Hence a typical drinking performance may be expressed as ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking + recuperating period.

273* The ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking pattern is,
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623 as we have seen, an essential component of many recurring per-
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755 formances in Aguacatenango. We have described the role of drinking in the celebration of family and community holidays, the certification of civil authority, the resolution of conflict, and the etiology as well as the treatment of illness. The indispensability of drinking to such performances is suggested in the following exchange between the ayuntamiento which is retiring and the ayuntamiento which is entering office (as reported by Juan Perez).

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

mother to her daughter. Informants are able to recount the succession of 868
learning of the tasks, the relative difficulty of each task, and the mistakes 323
they made and how their mother corrected them. Being a potter in Tzoʔontahal is as much a part of being a woman as the role of agriculturalist is of being a man.

Special tasks become crystallized as roles only when few people perform 463
them. Jobs such as caponizing, butchering, net and rope weaving, and 554
wood cutting which are done by almost every man do not have role terms. Bonesetting and curing of certain "good" illnesses, such as swelling caused by embarrassment, are semispecialized activities performed by a few women who have "cold" hands. Midwifery is a fully specialized role per- [759]
formed by two women who are referred to as "the grandmothers of the newborn child."

A new occupational role has been created with the purchase of a truck 463
by Indians of the community. There are now two Indian truck drivers. 554
Recruitment of these particular young men was a result of their fathers' 177
importance in the truck-owning cooperatives, and their skill was acquired [493]
in apprenticeship with a Ladino truck driver hired when the truck was first in operation. Both of them are acculturated in clothing and speech. Since they have acquired skills in dealing with the Ladino world, they often act as intermediaries for Indians of the town in their negotiations in the market or the courts of the departmental capital.

The continuity in occupational adjustment from early childhood to 864
adulthood contrasts with the discontinuities in assuming roles in the life cycle. Girls are not advised about menstruation until they see the first signs of it; they describe their reaction to it as one of fear and surprise. Often they have been pregnant several months before they are aware of the condition or its cause, and they have no preparation for the experience of childbirth before it is upon them. Boys are not considered men until 885
they are married, but in order to arrive at this status, they must enter into 554
the "fight to get a wife," as the betrothal is often called. 585

Since recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on 554
qualities of the person rather than acquired skills, failure to recognize the prerequisite conditions of age and experience undermines the validity of

883 (gang), containing males from the age of about twelve to the time
562 they marry. They usually sleep together in one of the escuadrilla
573 member's house corridor, and spend long nights playing the harmonica, having corn eating competitions or serenading.

562 A man is not considered a full-fledged community member
• 885 until he marries and has a child (the word for man and father
851 have the same root: tat), which allows him to take the lower
601 post in the government (policía). The government itself is an
621 age-graded organization in which the kinship terms of elder and
621 younger brother are used reciprocally, and by extension, by of-
561 ficers in lower and higher posts.
601

562 With the passing of time, both men and women increase their
593 status by raising a family and by passing to higher positions in
621 the civil-religious hierarchy. Although women do not participate
794 directly in the government, they have some duties as officer's wives (e.g., ironing the Saint's clothes if their husbands are Mayordomos), and they are called by their husband's titles. A man may resign from office if his wife dies and there is no other adult woman in the household who can take care of her part of the officer's performance.

184 The first noticeable difference in the ordering of social
562 relations in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women
592 in the domestic group.

184 In Aguacatenango, the eldest male is the head of the
562 household. He controls the land which the men of the household
462 work, the cattle, the labor of the household members and most of
592 the money obtained through the sale of surplus corn (which is

585 183 593 606 family, that she starts a new life. She now has a new family and a new home where she should learn new ways of doing things from her mother-in-law, and forget the old ones she learned from her mother. Among her duties as a good wife and daughter-in-law she should keep her husband well fed and clean, obey her mother-in-law for whom she should work hard, and respect the head of the household (her father-in-law). She should not visit her family too often, and she should gather firewood with her mother-in-law instead of with her mother.[1] The ceremony indicates two things: [581] (1) the transfer of the wife's reproductive and labor power from her natal home to her husband's; (2) the boundaries of her new role. In a sense, the people of Aguacatenango define the role of a wife in terms of her performance as a worker and as a daughter-in-law, and in terms of her relations with all the members of the household rather than only in terms of her relation to her husband.

593 825 [851] On the other hand, a new husband's performance is under trial. He has to demonstrate that he can get along with his wife, and become a father, before his role as a dependent child is replaced by his role as a married man. At the time of acquiring a wife, a man is regarded by the community as a "child," being both economically and jurally dependent upon his father, who has complete authority over his actions, and is directly responsible for his son's misdeeds.[2]

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[583] [1]One of my informants tells me that although she was robada by her husband (she lived in the other barrio) the night she arrived at her husband's household, her father-in-law gave her a shortened version of the wedding speech. I do not know if this is a common practice.

[592] [672] [2]If a young man commits a crime while living under his father's roof, the father is responsible for his defense and for paying the fines to the Ayuntamiento.

593 885 During the first few years of marriage, he slowly becomes a tat (man). He establishes his own nuclear family, and he is able to take up the first officership in the local government, acquiring thus the rights to political ascension in the civil-religious hierarchy. We could say that the period of patri/virilocal residence has the function of smoothing the transition between bachelorhood and the responsibilities of married life.

581 591 Aguacatecos believe that a marriage has proved stable once children are produced and the man is capable of carrying on the economic burden of a family of his own. At this time, the couple should move to a house of their own, and form an independent household. A father, then, has to provide his son with a house site, in addition to a parcel to grow milpa.

591 [582] Soon, a younger brother (ideally, children marry in order of seniority) will marry and bring his wife into the parental home, starting a new cycle. The last of the sons (the po'h) [593] should stay with the parents until their death, and he and his [428] wife will inherit the parental house. It is preferable to have 591 606 only one daughter-in-law at a time living in the household. One informant suggested that the reason is that the mother-in-law is bound to prefer one of the two women, and this creates jealousy between them and fights.[1]

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[592] [1]When a second son marries, if the first son and his wife stay in the sitio they set up a separate kitchen, and eat their meals separately. In this case, the first daughter-in-law becomes independent of the mother-in-law, and works by herself, no longer under her mother-in-law's direct power. Except for the close spatial proximity, this arrangement functions as if the couple has set up a separate homestead, and the couple forms a separate domestic group within the same sitio (lot). The separate kitchen, or rather,

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885 But a man wants to become independent of his father. While he is living within his parent's compound he is considered by the
621 community to be "a child." He is bound to work his father's land and cannot control the produce of his own labor. Until he sets up his own separate domestic group, and becomes economically independent, he does not have full rights to participation in the political life of the community because (1) he is bound to make political decisions following his father's, and he has no voice in most community affairs which are the concern of household heads, and because (2) he cannot materially afford to take up the expenses of officership.

562
592 Women are also usually anxious to set up their own sep-
885 arate domestic group and independent housekeeping because this
606 gives them some autonomy which they cannot achieve otherwise. The bond between a daughter-in-law and a mother-in-law is not expected to be a strong one. We have already discussed how the two women are assumed to be somewhat antagonistic, and their common work of housekeeping is unequally distributed.

While women live in the same compound with their mother-in-law, they have no power to make decisions of their own about their working schedule, their housekeeping, or the food stored by the elder because this is under the control of the elder woman.

[574] A woman cannot freely take time to visit her mother because she is expected to keep her social life within the boundaries of
[313] her husband's domestic unit. She cannot even go to gather firewood, which is an activity highly enjoyed by women. Except for getting water from the well or pipes in the street or gathering firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound.

300 firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound.
462 Going to gather wood is a very nice break in the routine, and women
313 usually go in the company of other women with whom they chat, ex-
606
592 changing news and gossip. A young wife usually stays home cooking while her mother-in-law leaves the house to gather the fuel for the hearth. Even if a woman does go out to gather wood, she is expected to do so with her mother-in-law, rather than with the
[626] women of her own natal family. A woman talking about a bad daughter-in-law will say, "She does not even want to gather firewood with me, she always runs to her mother's."

562 Women look upon having their own homestead as the only so-
592 lution for gaining independence. It is true that, even then, they
885 are under their husband's authority, but they control the food brought by the husband to the home, and they can make their own
[574] decisions about the work schedule. They can also take time to
[572] visit their own female relatives and childhood girl friends, a
[606] habit which is disliked by their mothers-in-law as being a threat to their own position.

592 We can see, then, that there are several factors which
578 provoke structural tensions in the compound home; some are economic, others are related to the ordering of social relations in the kinship domain, and still others depend on the aspirations of the individuals.

In the course of time, the structural tensions accumulate to the point that they precipitate the fission of the household. The triad of a woman, her son and her son's wife, and the dyadic conflict between a father and son dissolves the compound into two

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Tzeltal NV9

[Information on the role of the "principales" in Tzeltal society has been filed in categories 624 and/or 794.]

/2 cont./

614 The chieftaincy of each clan was filled by the oldest man,
887 who was called chunel. (It seems to have the same meaning as
156 the word catinab, but some informants recognized the latter as the one used in the adjacent municipality of Oxchuc.) The office was not hereditary, and upon the death of a chunel the oldest man
156 of the clan was venerated as such. The chief of the clan was re-
614 spected and feared, because he was recognized as endowed with
888 supernatural power which, through his lab, he exercised over all
776 the members of the clan. Two informants of advanced age de-
554 fined the chunel as "the oldest one and the greatest sorcerer." The lab feeds on souls, and a person who has "done wrong" is
776 "eaten" by the lab of the one offended and dies. In this way
761 social control was exercised on and among the members of the
[784] clan, never going beyond the limits of this. The life of the in-
[626] dividual is intimately bound to the life of the lab, or guardian
776 spirit: the death of one brings with it the death of the other. All the Cancuqueros have their lab, but they hide it and sometimes
[756] deny it. The curer knows which is the lab of the sick person be-
[827] cause "he hears it in the pulse." The lab reveals itself in dreams
[787] to "its owner," with whom it speaks because "it is his own company." One person discovers the lab of another "because he sees it." The lab takes care of its owner, defends him, and is the in-
178 strument of revenge for an injury unjustly received. Today this
614 concept is intimately bound up with the omniscience of the patron
626 saint; only with the permission of San Juan can a lab "eat" the
776 soul of a chapomal, or "clan brother," and this permission is granted only in the case when the saint is unfavorably impressed by the conduct of the individual. In any case the lab never wreaks its vengeance except for a bad act that would fully justify
614 it according to the social morality. As can be seen, social con-
626 trol was not only rooted in the chief of the clan, but this function extended to the whole group, as happens at present.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.455-B]

Teklum

621
632 ternated for each three-year term between the
178 upper and lower sections.

But with the recent increase in dealings
621 between the national and regional administra-
632 tive centers and the local communities, re-
178 cruitment into office as president and síndico
554 has come to depend upon the candidates' possessing a knowledge of Spanish, literacy, and familiarity with the ways of Ladino society. Because of the relative scarcity of such skills, selection of these two officials has tended to ignore the former residence requirements
[887] relating to the dual division. Along with this change in the criteria for selecting these officials has come a decrease in the power and the authority exercised by the *principales*—elders from each side of the dual division who rose to their position by passing through all of the lower offices in the hierarchy—and a corresponding increase in the importance of the presidency.

621 This dual division also affected the structure
632 of the curing profession. The curers are men
754 who can overcome sickness caused by witch-
756 craft because of their possession of an animal spirit (*swayohel*) and their knowledge of ritual. In each of the two sections of the town was a leading curer (*statal ?u?ul*) who, by virtue of his age, experience, and recognized authority, was able to control entry into the profession. Their function was to prevent as well as cure, for the leading curers were also charged with guarding their section against the entry of witchcraft. In the last two decades, leadership
621 by recognized elder curers from each side of the
632 dual division has been lost, and along with it,
756 control over limiting the practicing of curing.
178

613 than three or four generations. In the past, these lineages were localized, and in places like Bachajon, Cancuc, and Oxchuc the exact locations are still remembered.

613 769 778 A few generations ago, the most distinguished members of each lineage were buried in the cave after which the paraje was named, the bones and ashes of the dead being placed in large jugs or urns. The caves were places for ceremonies honoring the ancestors. Blom (1954) made a study of these burials and mapped the distribution of the sites. These caves are still places for worship but not for burials; the cross protecting all members of the lineage is kept there, as well as, in some instances, small crosses belonging to the important members of it (Villa Rojas, 1946, p. 16).

614 The words *chapomal* and *tijinabal* name the members of the clan in general. It is said that "the neighbors of this paraje are all chapomales," or "those cannot get married because they are chapomales." Tijinabal also means neighbor or member of the same paraje. Another word, *patshunk*, is also an equivalent of tijinabal. These words are currently used in Oxchuc, Cancuc, and Bachajon. On the other hand, there is no specific word to designate the lineage.

[835] The main function of the clan is to regulate marriage, as the union of two chapomales is considered incestuous. The clan [574] also gives much self-confidence to the Indian who travels to other parajes, for he can always find hospitality among people of 614 his own clan. It also has a function of social 626 control, exercised by the old men of the 887 group, who punish all transgressors against the established rules. Helped by the nagual (supernatural spirit), they find out about the behavior of the members of the clan and punish according to the crime (Villa Rojas, 1947).

613 428 The lineage relationship is also important in inheritance (especially land), since the plots should always be under the control of individuals of the same Indian name. Only where such persons are absent or missing or

[P 215-A]

631 the secretario, who is, without exception, a Ladino, for his responsibilities require a good knowledge of the Spanish language as well as office skills, which the Indians usually lack. Actually it is this official who controls all the administrative affairs of the municipio. He imposes fines, collects taxes, assigns communal work, and keeps in con-
[62] tact with the state authorities. After him rank the regidor, síndico, alcalde, police commander, and policemen.

621 Besides these authorities, which are the officially recognized ones, the Indians have their own government system, which in most places is still operating. Oxchuc is
[888] typical of the regional pattern. There the
[887] municipio is divided into two calpules, each of which is a kind of fraternity under the supervision of those old men having the
[776] greatest knowledge and prestige. Each cal-
[796] pul has also its own patron saint, venerated with special feasts and ceremonies throughout the year. (In Oxchuc the calpules are not geographically determined, and its members are spread in different parajes of
62 the territory.) Authority is now integrated in the following officials:

1 katinab, supreme chief of the whole calpul
1 okil kabil, "feet and hands" of the preceding, i.e., secretary
2 dzunubiles, supreme "pulsers" or "curers"
1 alcalde, who carries a staff of office
2 cornales (or governors), who also carry staffs of office
2 síndicos, who also carry staffs of office
4 x-tules (or regidores)

555 The four last jobs are reached by strict
624 hierarchy and indicate the progress of each
794 individual in the fulfillment of his social duties. This social-service career begins when the man is not yet married, when he is assigned the cargo of mayordomo of the church, which means that he has to attend to minor affairs connected with the church and to keep it clean. Shortly after his marriage he usually reaches the position of capitán, where he is responsible for the fies-

[P. 220-A]

*273 Old men often give up drinking except when, as of-
887 fice holders, they are obligated to participate in drinking per-
621 formances. Changes in drinking patterns during the life cycle
273* are discussed by Felix Perez as follows:
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HTATIK TA HNA *AMETO LEK SYA*BE C'IN TRAWO, HO*TIK X*ATEHOTIK *A MATO HNA*TIK YUC'EL *A C'IN TRAWI.

My father drank aguardiente a lot. We worked, we didn't know how to drink aguardiente.

*EHK STUKEL KOM TA YUC'EL Z'IN *EHK C'IN TRAWI.

Then he himself stopped drinking trago.

*ATEHON HPAS PUERSA NAME TALE MATO KUC'LEK *EHK *A C'IN TRAWI.

I worked, I made an effort for several years. I didn't drink much trago.

YUN Z'IN TE HLIHK HZAK MANYA Z'IN *EHKE, KUC' PERO YUN LA KILIX TEK TE *AY TU*Y KUN Z'IN *EHKE.

Then the madness began to get hold of me, and I drank, but it was because I saw that I had something of my own.

Composition of drinking groups

273* Almost without exception, men drink in groups rather than
571 alone. The importance of companions in the development of a
273* drinking situation is suggested by Sabino Hernandez' description
539
571 of one such situation:

TAL Z'IN *IL *ABANKIL, STAT CIKO, BETO Z'INI.

In came your elder brother, the father of Francisco, Alberto.

HUL SK'AN HUN KWARTA XC'IN YA*AL.

He came to ask for a cuarto of aguardiente.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

323 pyramid is complete, wood is laid against the pots in a tepee formation.
[313] When the sawmill in the vicinity was in operation, flat boards—scraps of
[372] cut lengths—were used, but now only logs are available. Corn husks or
[462] dry straw are stuffed between the planks or logs. When a large number of pots are being fired, the men usually help at the final stages to remove the
[476] charred planks with poles. If men are not available, the women of the household often call upon their neighbors for help. In this operation, the
[292] women wear sandals and hats for protection from the heat. When the pots are cooled, the women, sometimes with the help of the men, stack them in net bags, six to a net with straw protecting the pots.

647 About fifteen year ago, a kiln was introduced by the government in the
177 interest of conserving wood. Those who tried it claim that the pottery did
323 not fire well and that many of the pots were broken. I.N.I. (the Instituto
372 Nacional Indigenista) planned to introduce an improved kiln, and while most of the people we questioned expressed a willingness to try it, the proposal was never put into action.

462 The men do most of the marketing of pottery. Loads of one or two
442 dozen may be taken by bus or truck to San Cristóbal or to Comitán.
443 When there is large-scale production throughout the community, as occurs
494 just before major fiestas, truckers come from the neighboring town of Teopisca to contract for delivery.

592 The amount of pottery produced in households varies with the follow-
323 ing factors:
433

1. Household composition: (a) Number of women in the family.
[464] If there is only one woman, very little or no pottery is produced because of the demands of domestic duties. Households with two or more women are able to sustain the ideal output of at least a dozen water jugs a week (I use "ideal" here to suggest their notion of what they produce when asked to guess. As Fig. 2 indicates, this varies considerably during the
• [887] year.) (b) Age of women and ages of children. Older women over sixty do not independently undertake pottery production. They may assist in washing pots with corn gruel or making the neck, mouth, and handles, but they are unable to endure the harder task of collecting clay. A woman with infants under two years of age makes little pottery if

The following list of moral transgressions is roughly ordered in terms of the egregiousness of the crime: witchcraft, theft of cattle, theft of corn, "talking with" a woman (this is a euphemism for having an affair), having more than one wife, killing, and disrespect to parents. There is a fair amount of consistency in the rank order given by different informants. Of five people questioned, all ranked witchcraft first, and theft, without qualification as to what was stolen, second. Subjects questioned differentiated the crime of "talking with" a woman according to the status of the woman —it was worse to have relations with a married woman than with an unmarried girl or with a widow. Killing was listed late or not at all by some because it is assumed that the killer has cause unless the contrary is proved. The dead man is referred to as the guilty one. It is considered worse to kill a consanguineous relative than an affinal relative or a nonrelative. One man remarking on an incident in which a person lost his bull said: "It was a punishment of God for killing his father. If it had been his stepfather, it would be different." Wanton killing is said to be absent in the pueblo, and something that the kurik of the colonias do. The three murders in the past ten years resulting from barroom brawls between "friends" have not dispelled this notion.

Disrespect shown to parents is considered a serious violation of morality. A boy who refuses to listen to his father cannot expect to receive the protection and support of his parents, usually offered a child throughout their lifetime, or of the community. If the son abuses his father verbally or physically in public, the father is supported in whatever action he takes. One father, whose son kicked him in one of the local bars, drew applause when he made the sign of the cross in two deep gashes with his machete on his son's forehead. To beat one's father or mother is a great sin, but to beat one's wife is tolerated, particularly if it is done in drunkenness. If a man other than the husband beats a woman for any cause, she may reciprocate by beating him in court "before the eyes of the judges." One woman who was awarded this privilege when her husband's brother beat her said, "If he were my own husband, it would be all right for him to beat me."

The good man is "of one heart" and reveals it by his humility ("very soft heart"). The rules for demonstrating this are given by an old man who is frequently asked to be a nakawane in his section of the dual divi-

577 sion: "I pay respect to my elders. I greet my brothers and my children [ex-
887 tension of kinship terms]. To all I give respect. Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick."

577 A good man is a generous host, expressed in the phrase, "he gives many
[574 tortillas." He serves his community in public office but avoids the appear-
196 ance of seeking power or self-aggrandizement. When he gives orders, it is
[576 in a soft, low tone, supplicating rather than ordering with the phrase, "If you would please lend a hand." He gives thanks readily for any service rendered both to God and to his fellow man. He avoids any show of
[578 anger, and is always careful to show consideration of others. Those who are of "another heart" or "two-hearted" are the opposite, seeking disputes, "thinking small," "being miserly," and of a "very black soul."

[754 The heightened awareness of the state of the heart of others comes from the ever-present fear of witchcraft. Since the people feel their survival depends upon perception of evil heart before it strikes, they develop an acute sense of the behavioral clues that indicate its presence.

829 *Conformity and deviance.* Conventional or preferred behavior is
183 characterized as "reasonable." The phrase "?ič' rason," to take reason or
192 understanding, is applied to a child who is expected to have reason at the
828 age of twelve years or so, as well as to the arrival at agreement of competing parties, as in the case of betrothal.

Reasonable behavior is any behavior conforming to socially accepted understandings of what the world is. These include what a person of non-Indian culture might characterize as beliefs based on faith. They "know"
[776 that there are hill spirits, wood spirits who cut off people's heads, and men who transform themselves into animals. Occasionally they subject given
813 understandings to empirical tests: one woman tested the belief that a
241 woman could rid the milpa of insect pests only by walking through a
825 planted field wearing a new skirt; she walked through the field wearing a worn skirt and her belief was confirmed when she found that the insect pests were not killed but just fled and returned later. Empiricism is not lacking; the difference between the content of their category of what is rational or reasonable and ours is based on the premises, not the process of reasoning.

621 his children, nor can he keep control of village affairs after his year of service has been fulfilled. Even a man occupying a post of high responsibility and prestige, a juez (judge) for example, becomes just an ordinary citizen after he leaves the office. All the men in the village theoretically, and most of them in practice, become village officers at some time in their life.

An individual starts at the bottom of the hierarchical ladder in the cargo of policía (also called mayor, topil or comisariado), which is a messenger or cleaning and errand boy for both the Mayordomos and Cabildo members. (He is the hands and feet [581] of the government.) The only requirement for this job is to be married. After this position has been "passed," a man is ready to start climbing the ladder to higher officerships, if he fulfills [521] the other requirements. He must have a child, a wife, and the [555] money which he is compelled to spend as part of the job: new clothes, liquor, and perhaps money to pay other men to help him with the agricultural work to which he cannot, being an officer, dedicate his full time.

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624 his kinsmen and neighbors, he should not be suspected of witchcraft,
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• 888
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Tzeltal NV9

[Information on the role of the "principales" in Tzeltal society has been filed in categories 624 and/or 794.]

/2 cont./

614 The chieftaincy of each clan was filled by the oldest man,
887 who was called chunel. (It seems to have the same meaning as
156 the word catinab, but some informants recognized the latter as
the one used in the adjacent municipality of Oxchuc.) The office
was not hereditary, and upon the death of a chunel the oldest man
156 of the clan was venerated as such. The chief of the clan was re-
614 spected and feared, because he was recognized as endowed with
888 supernatural power which, through his lab, he exercised over all
776 the members of the clan. Two informants of advanced age de-
554 fined the chunel as "the oldest one and the greatest sorcerer."
The lab feeds on souls, and a person who has "done wrong" is
776 "eaten" by the lab of the one offended and dies. In this way
761 social control was exercised on and among the members of the
[784] clan, never going beyond the limits of this. The life of the in-
[626] dividual is intimately bound to the life of the lab, or guardian
776 spirit: the death of one brings with it the death of the other. All
the Cancuqueros have their lab, but they hide it and sometimes
[756] deny it. The curer knows which is the lab of the sick person be-
[827] cause "he hears it in the pulse." The lab reveals itself in dreams
[787] to "its owner," with whom it speaks because "it is his own com-
pany." One person discovers the lab of another "because he sees
it." The lab takes care of its owner, defends him, and is the in-
178 strument of revenge for an injury unjustly received. Today this
614 concept is intimately bound up with the omniscience of the patron
626 saint: only with the permission of San Juan can a lab "eat" the
776 soul of a chapomal, or "clan brother," and this permission is
granted only in the case when the saint is unfavorably impressed
by the conduct of the individual. In any case the lab never
wreaks its vengeance except for a bad act that would fully justify
614 it according to the social morality. As can be seen, social con-
626 trol was not only rooted in the chief of the clan, but this function
extended to the whole group, as happens at present.

584 ments through a special person (*chunel*)
[184] for each of the four clans, and differed from Oxchuc, where the case is presented to the nearest old man of the clan. In Cancuc, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, p. 3):

> The boy's parents dealt with the *Chunel* of the girl's clan when petitioning her. He received the gifts and gave approval; and then accompanied by the boy and his parents he went into the house of the girl's parents. There, he presented the boy's petition. Nobody could oppose the Chunel's decisions. The girl would die if she didn't obey the decisions of the elder of the clan.

583 Once a marriage feast is finished, the boy stays in his parents-in-law's house to fulfill the bride price (*stojyinam*). This service, which consists in helping the father-in-law in the milpa and in other duties, usually lasts a year, or less if arrangements are made in advance. Frequently during this period the man spends alternate periods of three weeks with his parents-in-law and with his own parents. When he has the means to do it, he builds his own house and starts the new cycle of a nuclear family.

581 After the first year of marriage, if the
585 couple get along together, the man must
574 make a present of two garrafones of aguar-
[273] diente and the same petitionary items of
[614] food, though in larger amounts. This time, more of the girl's clan are present, and so increase the importance of the event. The purpose is to celebrate the success of the couple and the union that will exist between the two families. This big *tertulia*, along with the corresponding meal, is called
[888] *mukel-ja* ('abundance of drink'). Old men of
[273] the clan who cannot attend receive at their homes the portion of aguardiente they
586 should have drunk. On the other hand, if the couple could not get along during the first year and the union is annulled because of the woman's fault, her parents must give back all they have received during the first ritual.

581 Finally, to bring all these duties to an
574 [P. 218-A]

631 the secretario, who is, without exception, a Ladino, for his responsibilities require a good knowledge of the Spanish language as well as office skills, which the Indians usually lack. Actually it is this official who controls all the administrative affairs of the municipio. He imposes fines, collects taxes, assigns communal work, and keeps in con-
[62] tact with the state authorities. After him rank the regidor, síndico, alcalde, police commander, and policemen.

621 Besides these authorities, which are the officially recognized ones, the Indians have their own government system, which in most places is still operating. Oxchuc is
[888] typical of the regional pattern. There the
[887] municipio is divided into two calpules, each of which is a kind of fraternity under the supervision of those old men having the
[776] greatest knowledge and prestige. Each cal-
[796] pul has also its own patron saint, venerated with special feasts and ceremonies throughout the year. (In Oxchuc the calpules are not geographically determined, and its members are spread in different parajes of
62 the territory.) Authority is now integrated in the following officials:

1 katinab, supreme chief of the whole calpul
1 okil kabil, "feet and hands" of the preceding, i.e., secretary
2 dzunubiles, supreme "pulsers" or "curers"
1 alcalde, who carries a staff of office
2 cornales (or governors), who also carry staffs of office
2 síndicos, who also carry staffs of office
4 x-tules (or regidores)

555 The four last jobs are reached by strict
624 hierarchy and indicate the progress of each
794 individual in the fulfillment of his social duties. This social-service career begins when the man is not yet married, when he is assigned the cargo of mayordomo of the church, which means that he has to attend to minor affairs connected with the church and to keep it clean. Shortly after his marriage he usually reaches the position of capitán, where he is responsible for the fies-

[P. 220-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

844 cloves, and corncake, to keep her "warm
[757] and fertile." The placenta can be burned,
[842] thrown to the dogs, or deeply buried in case
the mother does not want another preg-
[789] nancy soon. The umbilical cord is put under
a three-stone fireplace if the baby is a girl,
on top of a tree if it is a boy so that he may
become brave and agile when adult.

846 A few hours after childbirth, at the latest
515 the next day, both mother and child take a
temascal (steam bath). Some women stay
in the temascal until they feel completely
recovered.

Childhood and Adolescence

789 During the first weeks of life, children are
774 in danger of losing their souls because their
inexperience makes them an easy prey to
the naguales and bad spirits who wander
around. As protection, mothers place a small
[237] piece of beeswax at the back of the child's
head or tie, as a bracelet, a red or blue
thread around the wrist. If none of these
precautions are taken, the mother has to
cover with branches the paths her child
walks, so that his soul can easily find its way
in case he loses it.

789 Because of all these dangers, fathers al-
852 ways try to perform the ceremony of "seed
774 the soul of the child" as soon as possible. It
[553] is during this ceremony that the child is
given a name, later confirmed according to
Catholic ritual at the ceremonial center. A
[608] very important aspect of the ceremony is
selection of the godparents.

753 *Sickness and Death*

776 Most sicknesses come from infection or
• [888] malnutrition. To the natives, however, ill-
nesses have a supernatural cause and are
ascribed either to the anger of gods and
spirits or to old people who have a nagual
or who can throw a spell. The most frequent
explanation is that naguales or supernatural
beings are acting against people. They can
adopt human or animal form or appear as
[P. 224-A]

753 thunder, wind, or lightning. All the men
776 who occupy or have occupied cargos in the
[794] political or religious organization are sup-
[888] posed to have a nagual, as do the older
[613] members of the lineage. They consider it their duty to punish those members of the group who have sinned and use their nagual, who can devour the soul of the victim little by little.

774 According to this idea, everybody has two
776 souls: one which can be eaten by the naguales, and one which follows the destiny that its patron saint has planned for it.
761 When death comes, the naguales take away
775 the first soul and have a banquet up in the
776 mountains. In this feast, the naguales of the old people of the clan participate, joined by others induced to comradeship.

761 It is a widespread belief that at midyear
773 the naguales go to a place in heaven called
776 Atimaltik, where an old man who possesses the Book of Life lives. Since in this book he keeps account of the time each person can live, it is a source of information for the naguales, who thus can know who is close to death. When the signature of a person disappears from the book, this means that the person died.

764 People have to keep watch over the body for two days and two nights. It is placed on a wooden plank in the middle of the house after being washed or just given a change of clothes. Two candles are placed at the head. At night friends and neighbors come to keep company with the family. They play harp and guitar and drink chicha and aguardiente. At dawn, the men go home and the women remain crying near the corpse.

[613] Following the ancient custom, the dead are buried near the graves of other men of
[184] the same lineage. In Cancuc, however, dead are buried inside the house.

The bottom and sides of the grave are covered with slabs to form a coffin. The corpse, bundled up in a petate, is placed inside. His clothes and other articles he may

[P. 224-B]

The relationship of respect and obedience between parents and children 593
is expected to last throughout life. When a boy reaches the age of eight- 582
teen, his parents are expected to provide him with a wife. Wealthier fami- 434
lies tend to fulfill this obligation at an earlier age than do poorer families, 583
in which the boy may have to work in the fincas or in the sawmills to acquire the money for his own marriage.

Instruction in sexual behavior and reproduction is not characterized by 864
continuity, as is instruction about work tasks. Children are given no information about sex prior to marriage, and girls remain entirely innocent. They may be pregnant several months before they are aware of what is happening. The complete sexual segregation in work tasks and play during adolescence makes the relationship between sexes strained.

Even after marriage, the parents are concerned with maintaining their 593
child's marital situation, or, if they judge their child's spouse to be incorri- [586]
gible, to help him get rid of his partner. In the case of women, in particu- [736]
lar, parents continue to provide a refuge in case a daughter's husband should die, be sent to prison, or prove incompatible. Parents usually accompany their children if they are called into court, and failure to attend is tantamount to admitting the guilt of the child.

In successful marriages, the parents-in-law are equivalent to parents and 593
are called "mother" and "father." The parents of both spouses attend the 606
life crisis ceremonies of their children and grandchildren. Grandparents 603
provide support and care for grandchildren if their parents should die or remarry.

When parents reach the age of about sixty-five, they are no longer ex- 593
pected to work actively. A man will then distribute all of his land and ani- 888
mals among his children. He will expect to be taken care of by all of his children, but special responsibility falls on the youngest who will inherit [428]
the house. Sometimes aged parents move from one of their children's [591]
houses to another, spending a few months or years with each. Children are [755]
expected to pay for any curing ceremonies necessary in their parents' old [764]
age and to provide a good funeral appropriate to their wealth. Failure to [626]
do this incurs loss of respect with the neighbors and collateral relatives of the deceased. If the parents die after they have distributed their posses- 593
sions, the crisis following the death is minimal. At the funeral, mature 764
children of a deceased parent exhibit to the community their filial respect.

576 support of whatever is said—repeating the final phrase of the person con-
[535 versing or injecting supportive statements such as "indeed, indeed," or "so it is." In the dance of the alfereces' wives, for example, women were the model of deference, moving in a self-contained pattern before the assembled guests, with slow, tiny steps, eyes downcast, a shawl covering their heads on which they wore their husbands' ceremonial hats.

621 Through recruitment procedures, alternation and linkage in official
182 roles, and leadership validated by age and service in lower positions—principles applying to role relations in all institutions—Tzo'ontahal has remained an integrated community. There is a high degree of stereotyping in behavior from one institution to another, and norms of behavior are the
[682] same for public as for private roles. However, a remarkably high homicide
[578] rate and open conflict in all of the institutional settings indicate basic sources of disruption.

682 Since 1960 the rate of homicide in town has increased from an average
593 of 1 every 2 years to an average of 5 or 6 per year. Table 29 indicates the
609 role relationships of killer to victim in 37 of over 70 homicides occurring
428 between 1937 and 1964. The highest incidence of homicide (7 cases) oc-
578 curred between brothers and brothers-in-law. Male siblings comprise the closest cooperating group. Brothers work together in the milpa until the father dies or divides his property among his children during his lifetime. Bilateral inheritance with equal division of land and houses among female as well as male offspring means that brothers-in-law are potential competitors for the same limited resources. Friction arising among brothers and brothers-in-law does not come from the principle of equal inheritance, but rather because of the fact of differing responsibilities and expenses within the family. For example, the child who has remained with the parents and
[888] thus assumes the burden of care for them in their declining years often feels that he should inherit a greater share. The disputes arise in the decisions concerning how much this disadvantage should be weighted. The
682 suppression of overt competition may in part explain the homicidal acts.
683 Although the tensions in fact stem from suppressed economic competition,
[154] they are translated into witchcraft accusations as soon as anyone in the
[626] family becomes ill. Violence against a witch is condoned by the community and provides a channel for latent hostility. Once the accusation has

1/1 (see pp.245-247..Analyst)

621 his children, nor can he keep control of village affairs after his year of service has been fulfilled. Even a man occupying a post of high responsibility and prestige, a juez (judge) for example, becomes just an ordinary citizen after he leaves the office. All the men in the village theoretically, and most of them in practice, become village officers at some time in their life.

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593 156 621 [583] Aguacatecos expect a man to take the responsibility of setting up his son in "business" as a community member. He pays for his son's bride, teaches him the skills for tilling the soil in order to earn a living, and provides him, at a prudential time, with the means of production: a parcel of land, and perhaps a few animals, and a house where he can live with his wife and children.

593 888 At the same time, a son is expected to take care of his parents when they are old and the father retires from agricultural work because he is too old, sick or weak to do, by himself, all the work necessary for the maintenance of his household as an economically independent unit. The people say that a son should provide for his aged parents because: "Did we not give them everything?"

The primary responsibility for the care of aged parents is usually given to one son in particular, preferably the last one (po'h). The villagers explain that this is his duty, because "if [428] he stays with us when all our other sons marry, get their land and leave, this house will be for him, he will inherit this place." Thus, the villager visualizes his dependency on the last son as an economic exchange between kinsmen: he receives from his son food and shelter, he gives him a house lot and house. The duties of a son toward his parents are expressed both in the kinship idiom

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[592] the separate cooking fire, is the symbol of the unity of one [591] single domestic group. When two couples live within the sitio [606] without dividing it, people are very careful to explain if they still cook together or not, and if they cultivate the land separately or not.

593 888 (e.g., the filial piety which is a basic component of the role of son), and in terms of economic rewards.

592 [183] The ideal pattern is one of reciprocal obligations: an established domestic group "launches into the world" the new domestic groups formed by the male offspring of the household couple, and a well established domestic group is responsible for the welfare of the domestic group from which it originated. Thus, [602] agnatically related domestic groups are expected to perform certain duties with respect to both the domestic group which originate them, and the domestic groups which they originate.

593 888 The concept of mantener (support), meaning to provide for a person's food, shelter and company, is a very important one for the villager. There is no sadder man than the one who has given everything to his sons, who has supported them for many years, and whose sons then refuse the reciprocal duty of caring for him in his old age. Parents who are unsuccessful in keeping one of [526] their married sons living with them are indeed very unhappy. People gossip about them as being "bad people" who did wrong to their children-in-law and mistreated their own. They gossip about the children themselves, accusing them of having a "small [936] heart" and of being envious and selfish. Aguacatecos pity widows (meba' al) and orphans (meba') because "they have nobody to support them." There is nothing as threatening to a couple as not having children, and if this happens, the community looks upon them with commiseration and says: "Poor little people, who is going to support them when they grow old?. . ."

592 593 Thus, the membership of a household changes through time,

591 2. When a couple have no male children, they try to keep a married daughter living with them, as a replacement for the unachieved son. They will also attempt to do this in a case where all the male children have refused to stay with the parents after the initial years of married life.

593 888 [626] Parents who are unsuccessful in keeping a married son living with them when they are old have very little prestige in the community because it usually means that there is some conflict between them, and they are easy targets for village gossip. It also means that they have no "insurance for the aged," that is, no child to support them when they grow too old to work.

591 583 Therefore, a couple with a single daughter still at home will be eager to keep her after marriage, to replace the sons who have gone away. To obtain this, the parents will request, during the pedidas (the visits to arrange a marriage, called "asking visits"), that the groom should "come to the house as a yerno (son-in-law) of theirs, and stay there indefinitely. Only if the groom agrees to this condition do they give him the daughter as a spouse.

591 These arrangements are very unstable. A man usually agrees to stay with his wife's parents, but after the marriage has been consummated, he will insist on moving away, being anxious to occupy his place as a dutiful son, living and working with his [606] father whose heir he may be. Women look forward to this kind of arrangement, the same way that they look forward to marrying a man whose mother is dead, because these are ways of avoiding the heavy burden of "becoming nueras" (daughter-in-law) or "suffering